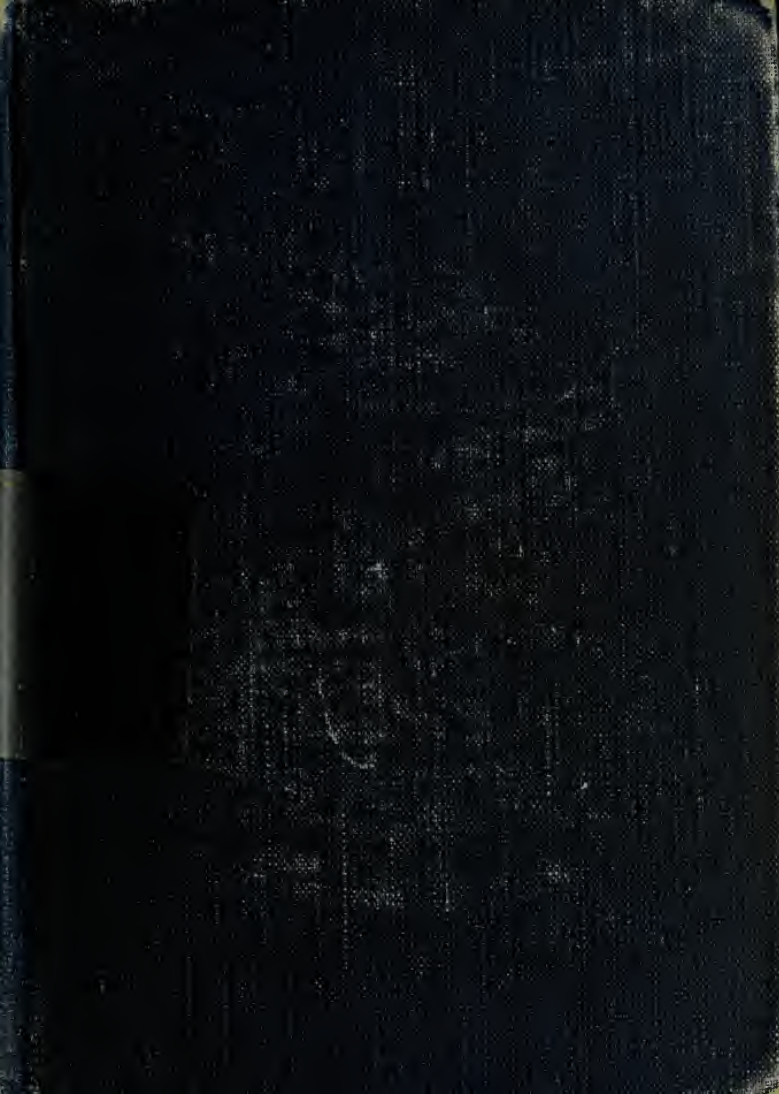




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CENTURY BIBLE HANDBOOKS

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APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE OLD & NEW TESTAMENT

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LONDON

T. C. & E. C. JACK

16 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.
AND EDINBURGH

1908

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA—INTRODUCTION	I
II. THE APOCRYPHA PROPER	7
III. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS	14
IV. THE DIDACTIC BOOKS	30
V. THE RELIGIOUS ROMANCES	44
VI. PROPHETIC WRITINGS	58
VII. THE WIDER APOCRYPHA	69
VIII. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE	74
IX. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (<i>continued</i>)	89
X. OTHER APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE	105
XI. THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA	120
XII. NON-CANONICAL BOOKS WHICH WERE USED AS SCRIPTURE BY THE EARLY CHURCH	126
XIII. THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS	141
XIV. THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS (<i>continued</i>)	155
XV. APOCRYPHAL ACTS, EPISTLES, ETC.	165
INDEX	180

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA— INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT-DAY VALUE OF THE APOCRYPHA

THE first question which naturally suggests itself in approaching the study of Jewish Apocryphal literature is, Why should we trouble about the Apocrypha at all? What value has the Apocrypha for us to-day? Immersed as we are in theological problems of the first importance, why should we devote time and strength to the study of books which have been unanimously rejected by the whole of Protestant Christendom?

This question might be answered in various ways.

There are many grounds upon which the Apocrypha can lay claim to our interest.

1. We must remember that up to the time of the Reformation the Apocrypha formed *an integral part of the Christian Bible*. It is true that many of the Christian Fathers drew a distinction between the Apocrypha

and the rest of the Old Testament ; but after the fifth century the distinction was almost universally forgotten, and for a thousand years the Apocrypha held a well-nigh unchallenged place in Holy Writ. The Council of Trent definitely decreed that it was of equal authority with the other books of the Bible, and this position is still maintained by Roman Catholics to-day. Even after the Reformation the Apocrypha still held a high place in the affections of a large number of Protestants, though it was assigned a subordinate position as compared with that of the other books of Scripture. The sixth article of the English Church, for instance, defined the position of the Apocrypha thus : “ And the other books (as Jerome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners ; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.” It was not till 1827 that English Bibles began to be commonly printed without the Apocrypha. The Apocrypha, therefore, has played no insignificant part in the history of the Christian Church. For more than half the time, during which Christianity has been in existence, it was regarded as an integral part of Scripture, and during the other half it has exercised an influence only second to that of the inspired books themselves. For this reason alone, no student of Church History or Christian Doctrine can afford to neglect the Apocrypha. We are bound to recognise the force which it has exercised in shaping Christian thought and moulding Christian char-

acter. And though the question of the Canon has been closed and is not likely to be reopened, the Apocrypha, as I shall hope to show presently, has still an important rôle to play in the work of theological reconstruction, which is the immediate task that lies before the Church.

2. The Apocrypha has claims upon our interest on account of the *intrinsic value* of some of its books. There can be little doubt that, if it were possible for us to revise the Canon of the Old Testament, very many people would prefer to substitute Ecclesiasticus for Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Wisdom for the Song of Solomon. Some might even, like Josephus, consider I. Esdras an improvement on our Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while the religious tone of Judith is undoubtedly higher than that of Esther. The spiritual value of much of the Apocrypha has been recognised in the Church from the very first. Traces of its influence are obvious in the pages of the New Testament. Some of Paul's arguments in the Epistle to the Romans were undoubtedly inspired by the Book of Wisdom, and the language in which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews describes Christ (chap. i. 1-3) was borrowed from the same source. The Fathers of the Church always recognised the worth of the Apocrypha, and, for the most part, treated it as Scripture. When Augustine, towards the end of his life, made an anthology of the passages of Scripture which he considered specially

helpful for the culture of the spiritual life, the quotations from Ecclesiasticus occupied no less than an eighth of the book (36 pages out of 285 in Wehlrich's edition of the "Speculum"), twice as much space as was given to the Gospel of St. Matthew. Even though we may think that Augustine attaches too much weight to Ecclesiasticus, it is impossible to dispute the proposition that the best books of the Apocrypha are undoubtedly worth reading for their own sakes, and contain much that is profitable and stimulating.

3. The Apocrypha is also of immense importance from a *historical point of view*. Between the latest book of the Old Testament (the Book of Daniel, which dates from about 168 B.C.) and the birth of Christ, there is a gap of more than a century and a half. During this period, radical changes took place both in the political and religious condition of the Jewish people. Why should our interest in the history of Israel cease with Daniel? Why should we ignore the interval between the two Testaments? If the story of the Maccabæan struggle for freedom does not appeal to us, the history of the development of Jewish theology ought surely to command our attention. God's revelation of Himself to Israel did not end with Ezra. It is impossible to think of Him as silent for four hundred, or even for a hundred and fifty years. There was no hiatus in the Divine preparation for the advent of the Messiah. The

religious and political movements during this intermediate period profoundly affected the life and thought of the infant Church. For this reason alone, if for no other, the Apocrypha is of priceless value to us, since it is the source from which we derive most of our knowledge of Jewish history during the years that separate the Old Testament from the New.

4. *A knowledge of Apocryphal literature is absolutely indispensable for the scientific study of the New Testament.* It is no exaggeration to say that New Testament criticism has been simply revolutionised during the last ten years, and the revolution has largely been produced by the publication of the Jewish Apocalyptic writings. New problems have been raised which never before excited serious attention. We cannot, for instance, read the Epistles of Paul to-day without asking questions which never troubled theologians in the past. It is impossible for us to take Paul's statements just as we find them. We are bound to ask, What is the source from which he derived his ideas? How much of his theology, for instance, is simply Judaism carried over into Christianity? To what extent is his interpretation of Christianity coloured by his Pharisaic training? What is the origin of the thought-forms in which he clothes his Christian experience? Whence did he obtain the categories which he uses in explaining the Person of Christ or the Doctrine of the Atonement? What is the validity of

these ideas for modern theology? Questions like these, and many other similar problems which confront us in New Testament criticism to-day, can only be answered by the scientific study of Apocryphal literature. As Sanday and Headlam say in their Commentary on Romans, "It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible." Two epoch-making books have already appeared which illustrate the tremendous importance of the new method. Dr. Charles' "Eschatology" throws a flood of light on the Pauline doctrine of the Future Life; and Tennant's "Sources of the Doctrine of Original Sin" has proved conclusively the influence of the Apocrypha on this particular aspect of Pauline theology. These books are only the pioneers of a new principle of criticism which must, sooner or later, be applied to the whole range of New Testament theology. In this work, the effects of which upon the theology of the future can scarcely be foreseen at present, the Apocrypha is destined to exercise an enormous influence. It may be said, therefore, that *a knowledge of Apocryphal literature is even more essential for the study of the New Testament than a knowledge of the Old Testament itself.* The present handbook is merely an attempt to give an account of the literature, but an opportunity has been taken, wherever it was possible, of pointing out the value of each particular book for the student of the New Testament.

CHAPTER II

THE APOCRYPHA PROPER

THE term Apocrypha in its technical sense has been used since the time of the Reformation to describe a collection of Jewish books, whose claim to be regarded as part of the Old Testament has been challenged by the Protestant section of Christendom. This collection comprises some fourteen works of varying character and value. They may be classified as follows :—

1. *Historical Works*.—I. Esdras ; I. and II. Maccabees.
2. *Didactic Works*.—The Wisdom of Solomon ; the Book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus).
3. *Religious Romances*.—The Book of Tobit ; the Book of Judith.
4. *Prophetic or Apocalyptic Works*.—The Book of Baruch ; IV. Ezra (sometimes called II. Esdras).
5. *Additions to the Old Testament*.—The addition to the Book of Esther ; the Prayer of Manasseh ; the three additions to Daniel, viz. (a) The Song of the Three Holy Children ; (b) The Story of

Susanna ; (c) The Story of Bel and the Dragon. Most of these additions might very properly be placed in the class of Religious Romances.

What is the Apocrypha ?—The Christian Church in modern times first became conscious of the existence of the Apocrypha at the Reformation, though individual scholars and theologians had of course always known of it before. Up to the Reformation the Bible in common use was the Latin version originally made by Jerome, and known as the Vulgate. When, however, Reuchlin reintroduced the study of the Hebrew language, and Protestants began to read the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, the discovery was made that the Vulgate contained many more books than the Hebrew Bible. *The name Apocrypha was accordingly given to those books which were found in the Vulgate but not in the Hebrew Bible.* But how did the books get into the Vulgate? If they were not part of the original Hebrew, whence did Jerome obtain them? The answer to the question is simple. The Jews in the early centuries of the Christian era had two versions of the Old Testament, one the original Hebrew, which was used more particularly in Palestine, the other a Greek translation, called the Septuagint, which was originally made at Alexandria and used by the Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion. The Greek Bible, like the Vulgate, contains

the extra books, known as the Apocrypha (with the exception of IV. Ezra), which are not found in the Hebrew, and it was from the Greek Bible that Jerome introduced them into his Latin translation. The Apocrypha therefore *represents the difference between the contents of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint plus IV. Ezra.*

The Origin of the Apocrypha.—The statement that the Apocrypha is the excess of the contents of the Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible, only drives the question which was raised about the Vulgate a stage further back. We have still to ask how the Apocrypha got into the Septuagint when it is absent from the Hebrew. To answer this question it is necessary to consider the problem of the origin of the Old Testament Canon. It is impossible to go into the details, or discuss the debatable points connected with this important subject. All that can be done here, is simply to state the main conclusions with regard to which there is general agreement amongst modern scholars. How, then, was the Old Testament formed? Obviously it did not drop from the skies, and equally obviously its books were not composed at the same time. The Old Testament is a collection of books written by many different people over a period of several centuries. How were the books collected together? It is certain now that the collection was not made at any one particular point in the history of Israel, though it may have received

official sanction at a particular date. The Old Testament was formed very gradually, and over five hundred years elapsed between the beginning and the end of the process. The chief points in the evolution of the Canon were as follows: (1) In its earliest form the Old Testament consisted merely of "the Law." The word "Law," however, in this connection is used in a broad sense, and covers the six books of the Hexateuch. These books were recognised as authoritative about 444 B.C. or perhaps in their present form a little later. If the Bible of 400 B.C. had been stereotyped, it would thus have ended with the Book of Joshua. As a matter of fact, the Samaritan Old Testament only contained the Pentateuch. (2) In the second stage, a further collection, consisting of the prophetical writings, and including the historical books (*i.e.* Judges, I. and II. Samuel, I. and II. Kings), was added to the Canon. When exactly this addition was made cannot be precisely determined, but we know that it must be placed somewhere between 400 and 200 B.C. The Old Testament of 200 B.C. therefore consisted of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Historical Books. (3) A final addition, consisting of the Hagiographa, and comprising all the books not found in the two other sections, was made between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100, and the total collection received official recognition at the Jewish Synod of Jamnia (about A.D. 90), so that the Old Testament, as

we know it in its complete form, was finally adopted as the Bible of the Jewish people about the end of the first century of our era. Here the process stopped as far as Palestine was concerned. If we ask why a development which had been going on for five hundred years should have been suddenly arrested, the only satisfactory explanation that we can find is that it was probably due to the revolutionary change in the character of Judaism which resulted from the destruction of the Temple. Before A.D. 70 the Temple had been the centre and soul of the Jewish religion. When its Temple was destroyed, it had to find a new centre, and it turned to its sacred writings. The first problem it had to settle was the question as to what was to be regarded as sacred, and what not. The decision of this question was of vital importance. Hence the Synod of Jamnia. From this point onwards, the Bible took the place of the Temple, and Judaism became the religion of a book. But though the process stopped in Palestine, it did not stop in Alexandria. The Jews of Alexandria still went on adding to the Old Testament, and the books which they added consisted of the writings which we now call "the Apocrypha." We owe the Apocrypha, therefore, to the fact that the process of the evolution of the Old Testament was arrested at an earlier stage in Palestine than it was at Alexandria.

Reasons why the Apocrypha was rejected.—The

grounds upon which the Apocrypha was rejected by Protestants are not far to seek. Protestantism was the religion of a Book. Its seat of authority was the Bible. The Bible was to it what the Church had hitherto been to Christendom. Its doctrine of inspiration sharply differentiated the Bible from all other literature. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to reject all books of disputed canonicity. The right of the Apocrypha to a place in the Bible had never been universally acknowledged. It had no place in the Hebrew Scriptures. It was with great reluctance that Jerome had admitted it into the Vulgate. Several of the Fathers of the Church had protested against its use. In the face of this divergence of opinion, it was impossible to regard the Apocrypha as inspired Scripture, and no book of doubtful inspiration could have any place in the Protestant Bible. Besides the divergence of opinion, there were other reasons which probably weighed with the Protestants. (a) The re-discovery of the Hebrew and Greek originals had created a revulsion of feeling against the Vulgate. Some of the renderings of the Vulgate seemed to afford unfair support to the doctrines of Roman Catholicism. The whole version was therefore regarded with suspicion, and the suspicion naturally extended to the Apocrypha. (b) The Apocrypha contained some passages which conflicted with Protestant theology. The doctrines of the intercession of the

saints and of prayers for the dead were both clearly taught in some of the books. Many passages in Ecclesiasticus lent support to the Romanist doctrine that "salvation is of works." There cannot be much doubt that theological considerations weighed both with Roman Catholics in their acceptance of the Apocrypha and with Protestants in their rejection of it. Many of the old objections have lost their weight to-day. The rigid theory of inspiration has been given up. Few would now deny that there is more inspiration in some of the books of the Apocrypha than there is in some of the writings included in the Old Testament. On the other hand, every impartial student is bound to admit that the general spiritual level of the Apocrypha is nothing like as high as that of the Old Testament, and partly for this reason, and partly too because of the grave problems that would be raised if the question of the Canon were reopened, the verdict, which was passed on the Apocrypha by Protestantism at the Reformation, is not likely to be reversed.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

THERE are only three books in the Apocrypha proper which can be termed historical, viz. I. and II. Maccabees and I. Esdras, and of these three I. Maccabees is by far the most important. Its importance is due to the fact that it is our chief authority for one of the most stirring periods in Jewish history. From it we derive our most trustworthy account of the heroic struggle for civil and religious liberty which forms almost the only brilliant episode in the dreary centuries that separate the epoch of the great prophets from the time of Christ. As Westcott says, "History offers no parallel to the undaunted courage with which the Maccabæan brothers dared to face death, one by one, in the maintenance of a holy cause. The result was worthy of the sacrifice. The Maccabees inspired a subject people with independence: they found a few personal followers and they left a nation."

The Contents of I. Maccabees. — The narrative

covers a period of forty years from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes in 175 B.C. to the death of Simon in 135 B.C., and gives therefore a complete picture of the struggle. The book may be conveniently divided into five sections. (1) *The cause of the revolt* (chap. i.). The writer gives a vivid description of the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, in conjunction with the Hellenising party in Judæa, to abolish the Jewish religion and establish paganism in its stead. A Greek gymnasium was erected in Jerusalem; the Temple was desecrated, and became the scene of idolatrous sacrifices; a terrible inquisition was instituted, and all Jews who refused to abandon their faith were put to death. (2) *The outbreak of the revolt* (chap. ii.). The standard of revolt was raised at Modin by Mattathias and his five sons, who gathered together a force and resisted the demands of Antiochus (167 B.C.). Just before his death, which occurred in the following year, Mattathias charged his sons "to be zealous for the law and give their lives for the covenant." (3) *The struggle under the leadership of Judas* (chaps. iii. 1-ix. 22). Judas is the hero of the book, and the writer dwells at length on his valorous deeds during the five years (166-161) of his captaincy. In his first campaign he won three signal victories, the first over Apollonius, the second over Seron, the third over a large army specially sent from Antioch to avenge the previous defeats under the command of Nicanor and

Gorgias (chaps. iii., iv.). In the following year he was again successful against a still larger Syrian army under Lysias, and this triumph enabled him to obtain possession of the Temple at Jerusalem, which he purified and re-dedicated to the worship of Jehovah (chaps. v. and vi.). The victories of Judas, and the difficulties which arose in Syria after the death of Antiochus, compelled Lysias to abandon the policy of destroying the Jewish religion, and grant the Jews religious liberty. Judas, however, was not content with this concession. The remainder of his life was devoted to the attempt to secure political independence as well (chaps. vii.-ix.). (4) *The leadership of Jonathan* (chaps. ix. 23-xii. 53), which lasted from 161 B.C. to 143. After a fruitless guerilla warfare, in which Jonathan won some victories, a change of fortune took place through a civil strife in Syria. Jonathan was made High Priest in 153, and by diplomatic alliances succeeded in maintaining his position for ten years. (5) *The leadership of Simon* (chaps. xiii.-xvi.) from 143-135 B.C. Partly by success in war, partly by diplomacy, Simon consolidated his position and secured complete independence for the Jews. His rule was characterised by many administrative reforms. In 135 B.C. he was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who hoped to secure the position.

Authorship and Date.—The name of the author of I. Maccabees is unknown. It is certain, however,

that he must have been a Palestinian Jew. This is clearly proved (1) by the fact that, as we know from the express statements of Origen and Jerome, the book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic; (2) by the author's minute acquaintance with the geography and topography of Palestine. Many scholars think that the religious tone of the book indicates that the writer was a Sadducee. The date cannot be fixed with precision. The book must have been written before the Roman invasion of Palestine in 63 B.C., because otherwise the writer's attitude to the Empire must have been much less favourable than it is: 63 B.C. is therefore the latest possible limit. The earliest possible date seems to be fixed by the reference to Hyrcanus in chap. xvi. 23. The statement, "the rest of the acts of John . . . are written in the chronicles of the priesthood," seems to imply that Hyrcanus was already dead, and that an account of his life had been written. The death of Hyrcanus occurred in 105 B.C. Consequently the majority of modern scholars date the book between 100 and 80 B.C. There is, however, another view. Some scholars, including Wellhausen, think that the last two chapters did not form part of the original book, but are a later addition. If this be so, an earlier date may be adopted, and some authorities place the book in the early part of the reign of John Hyrcanus, between 140 and 125 B.C.

Characteristics of the Book.—(a) *Its historical value.*

For accuracy and trustworthiness I. Maccabees compares very favourably with most historical writings of ancient times. It is not entirely free from mistakes. It represents, for instance, the partition of Alexander's empire as having been made by himself (chap. i. 6), and it is at variance with the statements of other historians with regard to the date of the murder of Antiochus VI. (chap. xiv. 1). No historian, however, not even Thucydides, is absolutely infallible, and such errors as have been discovered in the book belong for the most part to extraneous affairs, and do not affect the essence of the narrative. (b) *Its freedom from legendary accretions.* The most remarkable characteristic of I. Maccabees is its absolute freedom from mythical elements. It confines itself to the sober facts of history. The narrative contains no miracles, no portents, no supernatural interventions. In this respect it stands almost alone among ancient histories, and the fact is all the more wonderful when we remember that the writer was dealing with a great religious movement, which must have afforded no little material that a superstitious imagination might have easily developed into supernatural events. (c) *Its religious tone.* One of the most striking features about I. Maccabees is its religious reticence. This is not due to scepticism or want of faith, however. There can be no question about the genuine faith and religious

devotion which the writer exhibits throughout the book. He is in fullest sympathy with the aims of the movement which he is describing. He shows the greatest zeal for all the institutions of Judaism, for the Law and the Ordinances, for the Temple and for the Scriptures. He refers to the Divine deliverances of Israel in the past, and is confident that "none that put their trust in Him shall want for strength." Yet never once, from beginning to end of the book, according to the true text, does the term "God" or "Lord" occur. The writer either describes God by the word "Heaven," or leaves the reader to supply his own subject to the verb. The writer evidently belongs to a school of thought which had lost the sense of the nearness of God, and which no longer used the old familiar names. To it God had become remote and far away—in fact, little more than an abstraction. I. Maccabees is lacking, too, in a belief in the future life. There is no hint of any reward or punishment, or even of any existence after death. It contains, however, an adumbration, at any rate, of the Messianic hope. Twice the writer speaks of certain temporary arrangements which have been made and are to continue "till the prophet comes" (chaps. iv. 46, xiv. 41).

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

II. Maccabees presents many points of contrast with I. Maccabees. It is widely different in (*a*) the scope of its contents, (*b*) its aim and purpose, (*c*) its historical value, (*d*) its religious outlook.

The Contents of II. Maccabees.—While the first book of Maccabees covers the whole period from 175 B.C. to 135 B.C., the scope of the second book is much more limited. It begins a year earlier, but only extends to the death of Nicanor, which occurred in 161 B.C. Thus it only covers fifteen years, and, like the Acts of the Apostles, ends without recording the death of its hero. The first seven chapters contain new material; chaps. viii.–xv. run parallel to I. Maccabees i.–vii. The new material comprises the following elements: (*a*) two prefatory letters from the Jews of Palestine to their brethren in Egypt (chaps. i. 1–ii. 18), which, however, seem to be a later addition and not an integral part of the book; (*b*) the writer's preface describing the aim and source of the book (chap. ii. 19–32); (*c*) the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the Temple (chap. iii.); (*d*) the intrigues amongst the High Priests at Jerusalem (chap. iv.); (*e*) the attack on the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. v.); (*f*) the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brethren (chaps. vi., vii.).

The Aim of the Book.—The interest of the author

of I. Maccabees is purely historical: the book is entirely free from any ulterior purpose, and is intended to be an unvarnished record of facts. The case, however, is different with the second book. The writer definitely states that his object was to write for the pleasure and profit of his readers. "We have been careful that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit" (chap. ii. 25). He compares himself to a decorator putting the finishing touches on the ornamentation of a house (chap. v. 29). The writer's idea of what would be profitable to his readers may be gathered from the general tone of the book. His purpose is "writ large" on almost every page. He is always striving to impress upon the Egyptian Jews that they were part and parcel of the Jewish race, and so the participants in the glories of the Maccabæan age. His great ideal is the unity of Jewish people. Centrifugal forces were at work. A temple had been established at Leontopolis, and there was a danger that the Diaspora in Egypt would be completely dis severed from Palestinian Judaism. It is against this spirit that the author of II. Maccabees is protesting, and he uses the events of the Maccabæan struggle to exalt the Temple at Jerusalem and to urge the necessity for keeping the Palestinian festivals. The book might be described as a tract in favour

of unity based on the events of the Maccabæan war.

Historical Value.—II. Maccabees is of considerably less historical value than the first book, for : (*a*) Historical accuracy and chronological order are subordinated to the religious purpose of the book. The festivals of the Dedication and of Nicanor, for instance, are taken out of their proper place in the narrative for dramatic effect. There are many discrepancies, too, between the statements of the two books on points of detail and order, and in every case internal evidence favours the narrative of I. Maccabees. (*b*) The writer of II. Maccabees has a predilection for introducing marvellous and supernatural incidents. He speaks of the manifest signs which came from heaven (chap. ii. 21). Amongst the prodigies related in the book may be mentioned the great apparition of the terrible rider who smote Heliodorus (chap. iii. 24-29), the apparition of the horsemen fighting in the air (chap. v. 2-4), the supernatural protection given to Judas on the battle-field (chap. x. 29-31), &c. (*c*) There is a lack of true historical perspective. Minor events often receive an undue emphasis, and a disproportionate amount of space is allotted to them.

Yet in spite of all this, the fact remains that the book possesses no little historical value. There is much in it that we have to discount. No one, for

instance, accepts the account of the martyrdom of the seven brethren (chap. vii.) as literal history. Nevertheless, by the use of critical methods, it is possible to extract many precious grains of fact from the husk of fiction which overlays the narrative.

Religious Outlook.—The dissimilarity between the two books is most obvious when we come to the question of religious tone. If the first book can be said to represent the Sadducean standpoint, the second is certainly written from the point of view of the Pharisees. There is no reserve or reticence about the writer of II. Maccabees. He is always obtruding his religious convictions upon his readers. He never misses an opportunity of "pointing the moral" of the story. The most interesting feature in the theology of the book is the emphasis which it lays upon the resurrection of the dead. There is no other Pre-Christian Jewish book where the doctrine of the future life is so strongly insisted upon as in II. Maccabees. There is, moreover, most distinct evidence that the resurrection to which the writer looked forward was a resurrection not merely of the soul but of the body as well. Most of the crucial passages on the subject occur in the account of the martyrdoms in chaps. vi. and vii.

Authorship and Date.—Nothing is known about the author except that he was probably an Alexandrian, who sympathised with, if he did not actually belong to,

the Pharisaic party. He derived the bulk of his information from a history of the Maccabees written by Jason of Cyrene, whose work he abridged. It is not always easy to decide, however, what was taken from Jason and what is the author's own production. Nor have we any clear indications which enable us to fix with certainty the date of either work. There are a number of small points in II. Maccabees which have led the majority of modern scholars to assume that the book was written in the closing decades of the first century B.C., between 60 B.C. and A.D. 1. It seems probable, too, that Jason's History was written about a century earlier—possibly between 150 and 120 B.C.

THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS

The different titles which are given to this book are somewhat confusing. In the Septuagint it is called the First Book of Esdras (Esdras A); II. Esdras being equivalent to our canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which originally formed one work. In the Vulgate, on the other hand, it is termed the Third Book of Esdras; I. and II. Esdras representing respectively our Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. To avoid the ambiguity modern scholars often speak of it as the "Greek Esdras."

Contents.—With the exception of one section, viz. chaps. iii.–v. 6, the book is a compilation from

II. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The following table will make its relations to these books apparent:—

Esdras i.	=	II. Chron. xxxv., xxxvi.
ii. 1-14	=	Ezra i.
ii. 15-25	=	Ezra iv. 7-24.
iii.-v. 6	=	The original section.
v. 7-70	=	Ezra ii. 1-iv. 5
vi. vii.	=	Ezra v., vi.
viii.-ix. 36	=	Ezra vii.-x.
ix. 37-55	=	Neh. vii. 73-viii. 13.

The main theme of the book is concerned with the rebuilding of the Temple. The chronological arrangement, however, is hopeless. After mentioning (chap. ii. 1-14) the decree of Cyrus (538-530 B.C.), the writer without a word of warning leaps over a period of eighty years, and proceeds to describe (chap. ii. 15-25) the opposition encountered from Artaxerxes (464-425 B.C.). In the original section of the book we are transferred to the second year of Darius (520 B.C.). Chap. v. 7-70 returns to the reign of Cyrus. In chaps. vi. and vii. we are back again in the reign of Darius, while the remainder of the book belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes. With chap. ii. 15-25 and chap. v. 7-70 in their present places, it is impossible to reduce the chronological chaos of the book into order. The original section is interesting. It gives an

account of a literary contest between three pages-in-waiting at the court of Darius. The three pages submit three themes to Darius on "what is the strongest force in the world." The first maintains that "wine is the strongest," the second that "the king is the strongest," the third that "women are strongest, but above all things truth beareth away the victory." The last-named, a Jewish youth, won the prize, and received as his reward a promise from the King that the Temple at Jerusalem should be rebuilt.

Historical Value.—The historical worth of the book is a matter of keen controversy amongst scholars to-day. At first sight, its chronological inaccuracies would seem to put it out of court altogether. There are, however, some important considerations on the other side. (1) It is clear that Josephus used I. Esdras as his authority for this period of Jewish history in preference to the other narratives which were at his disposal. (2) The position assigned to the book in the Septuagint suggests that more importance was attached to it at the time than to Ezra and Nehemiah, which are accorded an inferior position. (3) The contents imply that it belongs to a comparatively early age, when Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were as yet undivided. (4) The book was universally accepted in the Christian Church up to the time of Jerome. In face of these arguments, it is impossible to set the book aside as a

worthless compilation. The difficulties, however, remain, and present an insoluble problem. Josephus substituted the name of Cambyses for the Artaxerxes of chap. ii. 15, and so removed one very serious stumbling-block. Sir H. Howorth, who is the foremost English champion of I. Esdras, suggests that the Darius mentioned in chaps. vi. and vii. is not Darius Hystaspis, as is usually supposed, but Darius Nothus (423-404). Many scholars think that the book was a compilation of gradual growth. The earliest stratum is the original section (chaps. iii.-v. 6). This was placed in a historical setting by the addition of chaps. vi. 1-vii. 15 and ii. 16-30 from an Aramaic document. It was only in the third stage that the book assumed its present form, the further additions being made by a later writer from the canonical books. Some such theory seems necessary to explain the arrangement of the book. On any hypothesis, however, it is clear that the failure of the compiler to arrange his sources in proper order does not detract from the historical value of the original documents themselves.

Date of the Book.—The date of the book cannot be fixed except within broad limits. Its use by Josephus (A.D. 100), and the fact that he would not have been likely to use it unless it had already acquired an established reputation, prove that it could not have been written later than the early decades of the first century A.D. On the other hand, its linguistic affinities with

the Book of Daniel prove that it could not have been written earlier than 168 B.C. We may be tolerably certain, therefore, that the book falls between 160 B.C. and 1 A.D., but it is impossible to arrive at any certain date between those limits. There is an absolute cleavage of opinion among scholars as to whether the book belongs to the first or second century B.C.

Motive of the Book.—Judging from the contents and tone of I. Esdras, there seems to be a suggestion of three underlying motives for its compilation. (1) One of its objects was undoubtedly to establish the dictum, “*Fortis est veritas et prævalebit.*” This suggests an apologetic purpose, and possibly the book may have been written in a time of persecution to encourage the Jewish sufferers and assure them that ultimately the truth was bound to prevail. (2) There is a second apologetic note in the book. The writer seems to lay stress on the fact that great emperors like Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes had shown favour to the Jews, and so to suggest to the authorities of his own time that their attitude ought to be imitated. (3) The emphasis laid on the rebuilding of the Temple seems to be intended by the author to encourage his readers in a similar project. The theory has been propounded that the book was written to support Onias in his task of establishing a temple at Leontopolis. There is, however, no evidence in support of the conjecture, and the date of the

building of the temple (168) is too early for the composition of I. Esdras.

The author of I. Esdras completely hides his identity. It is probable that he was an Alexandrian. It seems clear, too, that he did not use the Septuagint version of his sources, but either an earlier Greek version which has been lost, or the Hebrew original itself. The original section of the book shows no signs of Hebrew or Aramaic origin.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIDACTIC BOOKS

THERE can be little doubt that the two didactic books, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, constitute the most valuable part of the Apocrypha for us to-day. These books belong to a special class of writings to which the name "Wisdom Literature" has been given. They occupy the same position in the Apocrypha as Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes in the Old Testament. While the other types of Jewish literature deal with the peculiarly national aspects of Israelitish religion and law, the Wisdom Literature moves on a broader plain, and treats of the universal elements in morality and religion. The priests and the scribes were content, for the most part, with expounding and expanding the enactments of the legal code, but the wise men or sages set themselves to face the wider problems of life and discover the essential truths which lie at the basis of morality. The spirit of the sage is well described in Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 1-11: "He that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High . . . will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients. . . .

He will keep the sayings of the renowned men, and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences and be conversant in dark parables. . . . He will travel through strange countries. . . . He will give his heart to seek early to the Lord, and will pray before the Most High. When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding : he shall pour out wise sentences. He will direct his counsel and knowledge, and on His secrets shall he meditate."

ECCLESIASTICUS

The Title of the Book.—The word Ecclesiasticus means "belonging to the Church" or "used in the Church." The title was bestowed on certain books, which, though they had not been admitted into the Canon, were recognised as suitable for use in public worship. Our present treatise subsequently seems to have monopolised the term, as being *par excellence* the "Church-book" of the Apocrypha, and so in the Vulgate it is called Ecclesiasticus, and from the Vulgate the name has passed into common use. In the Greek versions, however, the book is generally described as the "Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach," and so it is often referred to by abbreviation as the "Book of Sirach."

The Author.—The book was originally written in Hebrew by Jesus, the son of Sirach, and translated into

Greek by his grandson, who bore the same name. The family relationships are described in different ways in different MSS. Many scholars think that Jesus was the son of Eleazar, and that the phrase "Son of Sirach" or Ben Sira is a family title. Nothing further is known about either author or translator. The former is described in some MSS. as belonging to Jerusalem, but the text is doubtful. We may infer from certain allusions in the book itself that he was a man of means and leisure, fond of travel, a philosophical observer of life, an ardent Israelite, belonging to the religious party which afterwards developed into Sadduceeism.

The Date.—The date of the Greek edition of the book may be fixed from the statement in the prologue, "Coming into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year when Euergetes was king." There were two kings of Egypt named Ptolemy Euergetes. The first, however, only reigned twenty-five years (247-222 B.C.), and so is impossible. The reference must therefore be to the second, who reigned, partly as co-regent, and partly as sole king, from 170 to 116 B.C. The date of the translator's arrival in Egypt thus falls in the year 132 B.C., and his book was published shortly afterwards. We may assume that his grandfather's original work was written about fifty years before. The only other reference of importance bearing upon the question of date is found in the eulogium passed upon "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias"

(chap. l. 1). Simon is singled out for such high praise, and his achievements are described in such detail, that we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that he lived near to the times of the writer of the book, and possibly may have been contemporaneous with him. Unfortunately, however, we cannot identify him with certainty. We know of two men who answer to the description given: (1) Simon I., the son of Onias I. (310-291 B.C.); (2) Simon II., son of Onias II. (219-199 B.C.). The second named fits in with the date mentioned above (190-170 B.C.), but we cannot be certain with regard to the identification because we only possess very scanty information about him. A theory has recently been propounded by N. Schmidt that the Simon of Ecclesiasticus ought to be identified with Simon the Maccabee (143-137 B.C.), the phrase "son of Onias" being due to a corruption of the text. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this view. It need not, however, affect the date which we have assigned to the original work, as Schmidt holds that the concluding chapters of the book are a later appendix, and did not form part of the Hebrew edition. We may safely, therefore, date the Greek Ecclesiasticus between 130 and 120 B.C. and the Hebrew original between 190 and 170 B.C.

The Contents of the Book.—It is impossible to give an analysis of the book. It consists very largely of a number of proverbs and counsels strung loosely

together without any orderly development of thought. It gives advice on the regulation of conduct under all possible circumstances and in every relationship of life. It lays down rules for the training of children, the management of business, the treatment of slaves, the government of the nation, &c. There is no attempt, however, to arrange these precepts on any definite principle. The writer turns at random from one subject to another. The process by which the book was composed seems to have been this.—The writer collected from every available source striking sayings, interesting proverbs, sage counsels, shrewd remarks, and apposite phrases, and then without even attempting to classify them, threw them together into a book, adding here and there dicta of his own. He describes himself as “one that gathered after the grape-gatherers, and filled his wine-press like a gatherer of grapes” (chap. xxxiii. 16). The last eight chapters of the book on “the praise of famous men,” seem to be a separate composition, and are marked by a unity of purpose which is entirely lacking in the remainder of the book.

Religious Teaching.—Ecclesiasticus is of supreme importance to us because it gives a clear picture of the religious thought and ethical teaching of the second century B.C. The doctrine of God represented by the book may be described as conventional and commonplace. The writer is a firm believer in God as the Ruler

of the Universe and the Lord of mankind, but his statements are altogether devoid of originality, and lack prophetic insight and passion. "It would have been as impossible for him," says Schmidt, "to watch with the eyes of an Amos or an Isaiah the doings of Israel's Holy One, as to go forth with unwavering faith in his own inspiration to deliver the oracles of Yahwe." He emphasises the forbearance and mercy of God. "Great is the pity and forgiveness of God, for all things are not possible to men" (chap. xvii. 25). He attaches very little importance to the conception of atonement. "Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations" (chap. vii. 9). "Concerning propitiation be not without fear to add sin to sin" (chap. v. 5). Almsgiving is of more importance, as an act of atonement, than the sacrifices of the Temple. The book knows nothing of angels or spirits. There are a few allusions to supernatural beings in the Greek version, but they are completely absent from the original Hebrew. Even when quotations are given from the Old Testament, all references to angels in them are carefully obliterated. The sole intermediary between God and Man is the Divine attribute of Wisdom, which is personified and represented as the eternal principle of creation. There is absolutely no place in the theology of Ecclesiasticus for the conception of a future life. "Who shall praise the Most High in the grave? . . . The son of man is not immortal" (chap. xvii. 27, 30).

Ethical Teaching.—Ecclesiasticus was intended by its author to be a compendium of ethical teaching—a kind of *vade mecum*—the moral “guide, philosopher, and friend” of the average Jew in every relationship of life. “It gives,” as Schmidt says, “more detailed directions than any other book in the Bible as to proper conduct in different circumstances. It teaches a man how to govern his wife, his children, and his slaves: how to deal with his friends and his foes, his superiors and inferiors, his creditors and his debtors, the rich and the poor: how to behave at the banqueting table and in the house of mourning, in the home and in the public assembly, in the Temple and in the mart: how to control his passions, practise moderation, cultivate his nobler tastes, emulate the example and seek the company of the wise.” Amongst the more prominent characteristics of the ethical teaching of the book we may note: (1) *The influence of Greek philosophy.* Wisdom is identified with knowledge according to the Socratic principle. Throughout the book the pious man is represented as wise, the sinner as a fool. (2) *The utilitarian character of the system.* The writer undoubtedly attempts to connect his ethical system with his religion, and to make the fear of God his main moral motive; but all his sanctions are prudential; the end of morality is always the man’s own well-being and happiness. (3) *The externality of the ethical teaching.* The book deals almost entirely

with the external aspects of morality: very little is said about the aspirations, motives, and ideals of the inward life. (4) *Limitation to the present life*. There being no conception of a future existence in Ecclesiasticus, the ethical teaching is concerned entirely with the present life. The punishment of vice and the reward of virtue are dealt out here and now. (5) *Individualism*. The ethics of Ecclesiasticus are individualistic. No interest is taken in the national life or in society as a whole.

The Different Versions of the Book.—The author of the Greek Ecclesiasticus says in his preface that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and Jerome states that a Hebrew version was in existence in the fourth century A.D. All traces of the Hebrew original were lost up to 1896, when Mrs. Agnes Lewis brought a fragment from Palestine containing chaps. xxxix. 15–xl. 18. This discovery led to further investigation, and many other fragments have been brought to light, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. S. Schechter. These fragments contain the bulk of the book, though several chapters are still missing. A good deal of discussion has been raised as to whether these fragments can claim to represent the original Hebrew text. Some scholars have maintained that they are a re-translation made either from a Persian or Syriac version. On the whole, however, it may be said that the consensus of modern criticism favours the view that they represent the original

Hebrew, and regards them of great importance for the work of textual criticism. Besides these Hebrew fragments, we have versions in Syriac (made from the Hebrew), in Latin (made from the Greek), in Coptic, in Æthiopic, and in Armenian.

THE BOOK OF WISDOM

The Book of Wisdom belongs to the same class of literature as Ecclesiasticus, but represents a great advance upon it in many important respects. In its prophetic insight, in its religious outlook, in the ordered development of its thought, and in the broad range of its ideas, it is undoubtedly far superior to the earlier book.

Contents.—The book may be divided into the following parts: (1) Chaps. i.–v. are polemical, and attack the current unbelief and pessimism of the age. Wisdom is depicted as the source of immortality. (2) Chaps. vi.–ix. contain the writer's own positive statement, based, or supposed to be based on his own experience. Wisdom is commended as the source of all moral and intellectual power. (3) Chaps. x.–xix. are an appeal to the history of Israel in support of the writer's fundamental position. Illustrations are taken from the lives of the patriarchs, and the early history of the nation, to prove that wisdom has always been at the root of success, and the lack of it the cause of failure. In the

midst of this section there is a digression (chaps. xiii.-xv.) containing a very strong denunciation of idolatry.

Aim and Purpose.—The book is partly polemical and partly apologetic. Its opening chapters contain a very strong attack against “the ungodly.” By “the ungodly” the writer probably means the Sadducees. He describes them as men who deny the future life, and are not deterred by the fear of punishment after death. “After our end there is no returning.” As a result they became Epicurean in their attitude to moral questions. “Our life is short and tedious,” they said; “let us enjoy the good things that are present; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and deck ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered!” (chap. ii. 5-9). The arguments with which the Book of Wisdom meets the Hedonism of the age imply a great advance upon the ethical situation in Ecclesiasticus. The writer of Ecclesiasticus is content with the simple statement that men should be virtuous because virtue is its own reward in this life. That position, however, in the interval between the two books, had fallen to pieces because it seemed contrary to the facts of life. Virtue did not always secure the prize. The righteous suffered like other people. The loss of the conventional moral sanction drove men over into Epicureanism, and it is as a protest against this fatal tendency that the Book of Wisdom was written. Upon

what does the writer base his new Apologetic? He bases it: (1) Partly upon his doctrine of the future life. He introduces new religious sanctions in place of the old exploded Utilitarianism. (2) Partly upon an appeal to his own personal experiences. (3) Partly, too, upon an appeal to history. It was the first argument, however, that constituted the writer's chief contribution to Jewish thought. He attempted to redress the balance in favour of morality by "calling a new world into being." We shall not be far wrong if we say that the Book of Wisdom was written to counteract the pessimism and scepticism which had been created by the failure of Utilitarianism as represented by Ecclesiasticus.

Author.—We know nothing about the author of the Book of Wisdom, except that he must have been an Alexandrian Jew. Augustine attributed it to Jesus the son of Sirach, but the differences between it and Ecclesiasticus put the theory out of court at once. Jerome tells us that many of "the old writers" of his time regarded Philo as its author, and this view was accepted by Luther and many other scholars of the Reformation period. A careful examination of Philo's works, however, reveals such marked discrepancies of style, terminology, method of quotation, and philosophy that this theory is now universally rejected. An attempt has been made in recent times to associate the name of Apollos with the authorship of the book. This hypo-

thesis is based on the assumption that Apollos was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is nothing more than a conjecture, and cannot be substantiated. The absence of any specifically Christian ideas is a most serious objection to the theory.

Date.—We have very few data for fixing the date of the book. The writer uses the Septuagint of the Pentateuch, and the book must therefore have been written later than 250 B.C. It is certain that the book was known to and used by Paul, especially in the Epistle to the Romans. This fixes the latest possible limit at about A.D. 50. There is the utmost divergence of opinion as to the point at which the book ought to be placed within these two extremes. Modern scholars prefer either a date between 100 B.C. and A.D. 1 or a date between A.D. 1 and 40. We shall probably not be far wrong if we say that the book was written somewhere about the commencement of the Christian era.

Religious Outlook.—The religious teaching of the Book of Wisdom is extremely interesting. The writer emphasises the omniscience and omnipotence of God, yet links with this conception a firm belief in the Divine Fatherhood. He lays far greater stress on the love of God than other Apocryphal writers. "Thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing. . . . Thou sparest all things, O God, thou lover of souls" (chap. xi. 24-26). The most interesting point in his doctrine of

God is the way in which he develops the personification of the Divine attribute of Wisdom. "Wisdom is the breath of the power of God and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty. . . . She is the brightness of everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all things, and remaining in herself she maketh all things new, and in all ages entering into the holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets" (chap. vii. 25-27). The conceptions of the Logos and the Holy Spirit are also a prominent feature of the book, though the exact relation between these ideas and Wisdom is not defined. In one passage the three great conceptions—God, Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit—are joined together in a manner which adumbrates the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (chap. ix. 17). There can be little doubt that the speculations of the writer of the Book of Wisdom helped to provide the categories for the Christian interpretation of Christ. In fact, some of the language in which he describes Wisdom is boldly borrowed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and applied to Christ (compare chap. vii. 26 and Heb. i. 1, 2). It is in his doctrine of man and the future life, however, that the writer of Wisdom shows most originality. He believes, for instance, in the pre-existence of souls, an idea which he borrowed from Greek philosophy. He

holds that man was created for immortality. "God created man," he says, "for immortality, and made him the image of his own eternity" (chap. ii. 23). "God did not make death, and takes no pleasure in the destruction of the living" (chap. i. 12). Death was introduced into the world through the Fall. "Through envy of the devil death came into the world" (chap. ii. 24). Another conception borrowed from Greek thought is to be seen in the stress which is laid on the dualism of body and soul. "The corruptible body presses down the soul and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind" (chap. iv. 15). Wisdom cannot dwell "in a body subject to sin" (chap. i. 4). The writer's belief in the future life is expressed with indomitable conviction. "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. . . . Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality" (chap. iii. 1-4). "The righteous shall live for ever, and in the Lord is their reward" (chap. v. 15). The wicked will suffer retribution in this world and the next.

No one can read the Book of Wisdom without being struck by the many points of similarity between its teaching and the theology of the Apostle Paul. There can be little doubt that it was one of the most important sources from which Paul drew the materials out of which he constructed his philosophy of the Christian religion.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS ROMANCES

THE Jews utilised all the resources of literature in their efforts to enforce the truths of their religion and kindle the flame of religious enthusiasm. History, poetry, philosophy, and prophecy were all pressed into service, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find them using legends and romances—religious novels, as we should term them to-day—as vehicles for conveying instruction and arousing faith. The two most important of these romances are the Books of Judith and Tobit. “The Story of Susanna” and “The Story of Bel and the Dragon” are further illustrations of the same literary principle. It is a fatal mistake to attempt to discover history in these works. They are religious novels pure and simple, and it is only when we recognise this that they become intelligible.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

The Story of the Book.—The tale of Judith has come down to us in two different versions. The story as it is told in the ordinary version is as follows:

Nebuchadnezzar, King of the Assyrians, after defeating Arphaxad of Ecbatana, resolves to send a punitive expedition against the nations between Persia and Memphis which had refused to render him help in the war. Holofernes, who is put in command, marches towards Palestine and occupies the principal towns on the sea coasts. The Jews, terrified by the tidings of his approach, hastily fortify the hill-country in order to protect Jerusalem. Special instructions are sent to the fortress of Bethulia, which commanded the situation, to arrest the progress of the Assyrian army. Holofernes lays siege to Bethulia and cuts off the water supply. The people, in despair, beseech the rulers of the city to surrender, and they agree to do so unless help arrives within five days. Judith, however, hearing of this craven counsel, determines to save the city with her own hands. After obtaining permission of the rulers, she puts off her widow's dress, and attiring herself in her finest robes, goes into the camp of Holofernes and obtains an audience with him on the plea that she has useful information to impart which will enable him to take the town. Holofernes becomes enamoured of her beauty and invites her to a banquet. She accepts the invitation in order to gain her purpose. Holofernes drinks deeply and falls into a drunken sleep. Judith with her own scimitar cuts off his head and carries it back to Bethulia in triumph. The Assyrian army, when

it hears of the death of its general, retreats in confusion and Jerusalem is saved.

In the shorter version, though the story is practically the same, it is put in a different setting. Seleucus takes the place of Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, and the scene is laid at Jerusalem and not at Bethulia.

The Religious Tone of the Book.—The Book of Judith possesses some very marked religious characteristics. No one can read it, for instance, without noting the stress which is laid on legal observances and ceremonial. Judith's piety is described as consisting largely (*a*) in the regularity of her fastings (chap. viii. 6), (*b*) in the scrupulous care with which she avoided unclean meats (chap. x. 5, xii. 2), (*c*) in her attention to the ritual "washings" prescribed by the law (chap. xii. 7-9). The same conception is very prominent, too, in the significant passage in which Judith declares to Holofernes that the city will be taken because its inhabitants will be forced by famine to offend God by eating unclean food (chap. xi. 11-19). The Temple, too, occupies an important position in the book. The main concern of the Jews at the prospect of Holofernes' conquests is that the Temple will be destroyed (chap. iv. 11-15). All these marks point to the fact that the author sympathised with the Pharasaic party, though it should be noted that there is no reference to angels or a belief in the future life.

Object of the Book.—It is quite clear that Judith is not history. Luther was right when he spoke of it as a “poem” or “sacred drama.” It was written to encourage the Jews to be faithful to their religion and their law in the face of heathen attacks. “Judith,” says Dr. Sayce, “is a type of that portion of the Jewish nation who remained true to the Law and its observances, and against whom, therefore, weak though they seemed to be, the whole might of the Gentile world was unable to prevail.” The book may be described as a religious novel with a purpose—the purpose being to induce men to keep the Law under the promise of God’s protection.

The Date.—The date of Judith is a matter of dispute. There are numerous theories, but the only two which claim consideration are: (1) the theory which connects it with the Maccabæan age (160–140 B.C.); (2) the theory which places it at a date soon after the Roman invasion in 63 B.C. We have not sufficient evidence to decide absolutely between these two views, but the similarity of the religious outlook in Judith and the Psalms of Solomon has led many scholars to accept the second alternative, and date the book about 50 B.C.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

The Book of Tobit, though of quite a different type from Judith, may be regarded as a companion volume because it belongs to the same class of literature.

The Story of the Book.—Tobit tells the story of the misfortunes which befell two Jewish families, and of a happy *dénouement*, resulting in their union by marriage. The plot is of a less heroic and more domestic character than in the case of Judith. Tobit, a pious Jew, had been carried away captive, together with his son Tobias and his wife Anna, by Shalmaneser to Nineveh. At Nineveh, though remaining faithful to the principles of the Jewish religion, he obtained favour at court, and was appointed royal purveyor. After the accession of Sennacherib, who succeeded Shalmaneser, he fell into disrepute, owing largely to his habit of giving burial to his Jewish kinsmen who had been killed in the streets of Nineveh. He lost his sight, too, through an accident, and became entirely dependent upon his wife for support. One day his wife, in a fit of temper, taunted him with the uselessness of his alms and deeds of piety. In despair he prayed to God that he might die. At this point we are introduced by the story to the second family, who lived at Ecbatana. Sara, the daughter of Raguel, had been married to seven husbands, all of whom had been slain by the demon Asmodeus on the bridal night. And on the day when Tobit was taunted by his wife, Sara was also driven to distraction by the reproaches of her maids, and prayed for death. The prayers of both were heard, and the angel Raphael was sent to deliver them. The help

came in the following way. Some time previously Tobit had deposited ten talents of silver with a Jew at Rages. Under the pressure of poverty he now resolved to send his son Tobias to secure the money. When Tobias sought for a guide to accompany him, the angel Raphael offered his services. Terms were arranged, and the two set out on the journey. It was necessary for them to go through Ecbatana, and they stayed with Raguel, who was a kinsman of Tobit. Tobias fell in love with Sara, and sought her hand in marriage, undeterred by the fate of her previous husbands. By means of a magic charm, given to him by the angel, Tobias exorcised the evil spirit, and the wedding festival was celebrated amidst much rejoicing. Having obtained the repayment of the loan, Tobias and his wife went to Nineveh with Raphael. Tobit is cured of his blindness and all ends happily.

The Religious Teaching of Tobit.—The religious purpose of Tobit is very similar to that of Judith. Great stress is laid upon legal observances and upon almsgiving. This is clearly brought out in the description of Tobit's piety. "I went often to Jerusalem at the feasts . . . having the first-fruits and tenths of increase . . . and them gave I at the altar to the priests" (chap. i. 5, 6). "All my brethren did eat of the bread of the Gentiles . . . but I kept myself from eating (chap. v. 7). "I gave many alms to my brethren, and bread to the hungry,

and clothes to the naked, and if I saw any of my nation dead I buried him" (chap. v. 16, 17). The same ideal appears in the words of the angel (chap. xi. 4-15): "Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. . . . It is better to give alms than to lay up gold, for alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin." The moral of the book appears in Tobit's final appeal: "O, ye sinners, turn ye and do righteousness before him; who can tell if he will accept you and have mercy on you?" (chap. xiii. 6). There are, however, some points which are emphasised in Tobit which have nothing corresponding to them in Judith. (1) The belief in angels and demons plays a most important part in the book. Raphael and Asmodeus are two of the chief *dramatis personæ*. (2) The belief in magic is also most pronounced. The demon Asmodeus is expelled by the smoke produced by burning the heart and liver of a fish, according to the instructions of Raphael. Tobit's eyes are cured by an application of gall taken from the same fish. (3) The necessity for the proper burial of the dead is insisted upon.

Different Versions of the Story.—The story of Tobit was so popular that versions of it were issued in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Greek. These versions vary from each other in many important details. Some of them, for instance, omit the reference to the dog which accompanied Raphael and Tobias. Some of

them speak of Tobit in the third person throughout, others make Tobit speak in the first person as far as chap. iii. 15. Some of them expand the didactic part of the book. These variations show that the book as we possess it to-day in the ordinary form passed through many stages, in each of which it received accretions. The allusions to Achiacharus are interesting. They represent a separate story—the legend of Ahikar—which has been woven in different forms into the Tobit narrative. Ahikar, according to the legend, was a pious courtier of Sennacherib, who, being childless, adopted a boy, Nadan, and brought him up as his heir and successor. Nadan, however, turned against Ahikar, and by means of forged documents accused him of treason and secured his condemnation. The executioner, however, spared his life and imprisoned him in a cellar beneath his house. Later on he was rescued and restored to favour (see Tobit xiv. 10).

Purpose of the Book.—The writer of Tobit used, as his groundwork, a common story, which has its counterpart in most mythologies, and adapted it as a vehicle for enforcing the moral and religious truths of Judaism—especially the duty of obeying the Law, giving alms, and burying the dead. Luther described the book as “a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction.”

Date of the Book.—The only data which we have for fixing the approximate date of Tobit are: (1) We

know that it was quoted by Polycarp in A.D. 112. (2) In chap. xiv. 5, 6 we read, "God will bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, but not like to the first . . . Afterward the house of God shall be built with a glorious building." This passage has been taken to mean that Tobit was written before the commencement of Herod's Temple, but the deduction is not absolutely convincing. (3) The prominence given to the burial of the dead may point to the Maccabæan age. Antiochus Epiphanes "cast out a multitude" unburied. (4) Tobit has many points of resemblance with the Book of Ecclesiasticus. These indications have led the majority of modern scholars to place the book in the second century B.C., probably between 150 and 100 B.C.

THE STORY OF SUSANNA

The Story of Susanna is one of the three additions made by the Apocrypha to the canonical Book of Daniel. In the Septuagint it is placed before chap. i.; in the Vulgate it stands as chap. xiii.

The Narrative.—The story has no connection with the Book of Daniel, except that it illustrates the wise judgment of the hero of the book. Susanna is the wife of Joachim, a wealthy Jew of Babylon. Two Jewish elders, ravished by her beauty, form an intrigue against

her. Foiled in their purpose, they charge her before the Council with having committed adultery, and produce evidence in support of their accusation. Susanna is condemned by the Council. At this point Daniel comes into the court and calls for a new trial on the ground that the witnesses have committed perjury. He demands that the two elders shall be examined separately. A discrepancy at once makes itself apparent between the stories of the two men. Susanna is acquitted and the elders are condemned.

The Motive of the Story.—Here, again, there can be little doubt that we have a common story, which is widely circulated in different forms, put into Jewish dress and used to enforce a Jewish moral. An ingenious theory as to its origin and motive has been suggested by an English scholar, C. J. Ball. About the year 100 B.C. a miscarriage of justice occurred in Jerusalem, the son of Simon, the President of the Council, being condemned by the perjury of his accusers. This led the Pharisaic party to advocate legal reforms: (*a*) the more stringent examination of witnesses; (*b*) the infliction of severer penalties on false witnesses. If perjury was discovered, the guilty parties were to suffer the same penalty which they had *attempted* to inflict on the innocent. The Sadducean party opposed, arguing that the penalty ought not to be inflicted on the perjurers unless the innocent victim had actually suffered it. On this theory, the

story of Susanna is a tract issued by the Pharisees in support of their policy.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

This forms another addition to the Book of Daniel. It consists of two independent stories, which have no connection with each other except that they are both associated with the name of Daniel, and both are directed against idolatrous practices.

The Story of Bel.—The image of Bel was one of the chief objects of worship in the city of Babylon. Daniel, true to his principles, refused to obey the king's edict enjoining the worship of the image. The king expostulated, and in proof of the deity of the image pointed to the amount of food which it consumed. Daniel in reply asks the king to arrange for a test. The food is prepared and the doors are sealed, and Daniel, suspecting the trickery of the priests, has the floor lightly strewn with fine ashes. Next morning, though the seals are unbroken, the food is gone. Examination, however, discloses the marks of naked feet on the floor. The priests are convicted and put to death.

The Story of the Dragon.—There was in Babylon a great dragon which was universally worshipped as divine. Daniel, however, again refused, and offered to kill the beast. Upon obtaining the king's permission,

he prepared a concoction largely comprised of pitch, and threw it to the dragon. As a result the dragon burst asunder. The furious populace demanded that Daniel should be thrown into the lions' den. He remained unharmed, and was finally restored to favour.

The stories are full of anachronisms and extravagances, and evidently are merely folk-lore adapted as a vehicle of religious instruction. The motive is sufficiently obvious. Like the Epistle of Jeremy, they are an attack on idolatry, and probably belong to the same period—the first century B.C.

OTHER ADDITIONS TO THE CANONICAL BOOKS

Besides the passages inserted in Daniel, already mentioned, there are other additions to the canonical books which, though they cannot be described as legendary, may be conveniently dealt with in this connection.

The Song of the Three Children, or "The Prayer of Azarias," as it is sometimes called, is an addition of sixty-eight verses, inserted by the Septuagint after Daniel iii. 23. It is divided into three parts: (1) the prayer of Azarias (vers. 1–22); (2) a continuation of the narrative in Daniel iii. 23, describing how the king's servants kept on heating the fiery furnace with naphtha

and pitch, and how an angel came down and formed an inner zone within the furnace which the flames could not reach (vers. 23-27); (3) the thanksgiving song of the three martyrs (vers. 28-68). It is probable that the document is the work of more than one writer. Whether it was originally composed in Hebrew or Greek is a matter of dispute.

The Rest of Esther.—This document contains six chapters of additional material which was inserted in the Book of Esther by the Septuagint. The English Apocrypha, following the Vulgate, has collected the added parts into a separate whole. In the Septuagint they are scattered about in different places of the book. Thus—

Chap. x. 4-xi. 1 forms the conclusion of the Septuagint Esther.

Chap. xi. 2-xii. 6 forms its commencement.

Chap. xiii. 1-7 is placed after iii. 13.

Chap. xiii. 8-xiv. 19 is placed after iv. 17.

Chap. xv. is substituted for v. 1-3.

Chap. xvi. is placed after viii. 12.

The object of the addition was twofold: (1) partly to expand the narrative by the addition of new material, (2) partly to give a religious tone to the book. In the canonical Book of Esther the name of God never occurs, and the religious interest is very slight. In the additional parts the religious note is very emphatic. To

take one instance. Observe the frequent introduction of the Divine name in chap. x. 9: "Israel which cried to God and were saved; for the Lord hath saved his people, and the Lord hath delivered us from all those evils, and God hath wrought great signs and wonders."

The Prayer of Manasseh.—The explanation of this addition is to be found in the statement in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19: "Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God . . . behold they are written in the acts of the kings of Israel. His prayer also, and how God was intreated of him . . . behold they are written in the history of Hozai" (or the seers). The prayer of Manasseh, therefore, is an attempt to supply an omission on the part of the writer of Chronicles. There is no justification for regarding the prayer as genuine. Everything points to the fact that it was an imaginative composition, and the work of a Hellenistic Jew. It is generally found appended to the Book of Psalms.

CHAPTER VI

PROPHETIC WRITINGS

THE BOOK OF BARUCH

THE Book of Baruch has most affinities with the type of prophecy represented by Jeremiah, with which it is closely associated in the Septuagint and Vulgate.

Contents.—The Book of Baruch is not a unity. It consists of two, perhaps three, quite distinct documents : (1) The preface (chap. i. 1-14). (2) The first part, containing a confession of sin, and prayer for restoration to Divine favour (chaps. i. 15-iii. 8). (3) The second part, containing a discourse of encouragement to the Jews of the Diaspora (chaps. iii. 9-v. 9).

The **Preface** gives what purports to be a historical introduction to the book. The scene is laid at Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans. Baruch, the author, reads his work to Jehoiachin and his court, who at once determine to send it to Jerusalem. They also collect money that the Jews at Jerusalem may purchase sacrifices to offer on behalf of the King of Babylon. The preface

is highly artificial, and does not fit the contents of either of the documents which follow, though some scholars think that it may possibly have originally been the introduction to the second document.

The First Document appears to contain two distinct confessions of sin, and a prayer for restoration: (*a*) an ancient form of confession used by the Palestinian remnant (chaps. i. 15–ii. 5); (*b*) the exiles' confession (chap. ii. 6–13); (*c*) the exiles' prayer (chaps. ii. 14–iii. 8). The style of the document resembles that of Deuteronomy and the prophecy of Jeremiah.

The Second Document may be divided into two parts: (*a*) A passage in praise of wisdom, identifying wisdom with the Law (chaps. iii. 9–iv. 4). This passage possesses many characteristics of the descriptions of wisdom found in the Wisdom Literature. (*b*) A discourse containing words of comfort and encouragement to the Jews of the Dispersion, resembling in many particulars some of the poetical passages in Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Job. Whether these two sections are separate entities is a matter of debate amongst scholars. It is quite easy to regard them as parts of a single document, the first section showing that the calamities which have befallen the people are due to the fact that they have deserted the fountain of wisdom, the second consoling them with promises of future restoration.

The Date of Baruch.—From what has already been

said it is clear that we are concerned with at least two documents, each of which must be dealt with separately. It will be simpler to deal with the *second document* first, because modern opinion is much more unanimous with regard to its date than it is in the case of the document which forms the first half of the book. There is a general agreement amongst recent critics that this document cannot be placed earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This result seems to be decisively established by the fact that the author used the Psalms of Solomon (especially Ps. xi.). The Psalms of Solomon date from 70-40 B.C., and it was probably not till after the commencement of the Christian era that a Greek translation of them was published. This being so, we are bound to place our document in the first century A.D., and there is no historical situation suited to its contents, till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

There is much more diversity of opinion with regard to the date of the *first document*. Leaving out of account the impossible theory which regards the document as belonging to the historical situation described in the Preface (*i.e.* 583 B.C.), the following views find favour in different schools of criticism to-day : (1) some scholars, following Ewald, place the document in the period following the conquest of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I. in 320 B.C. ; (2) others place it in the Maccabæan period,

160-140 B.C. ; (3) others regard it as belonging to the same age as the *second document*, i.e. the period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The only datum that seems to help us in arriving at a definite conclusion in the undoubted connection between chaps. i. 15-ii. 12, and Daniel ix. 4-19. The fact that Baruch seems deliberately to omit three references in Daniel to the desolation of Jerusalem which would have been particularly appropriate if the book were written after A.D. 70, militates against the third theory. Those who accept 320 B.C. as the date, have to resort to the hypothesis that Baruch and Daniel are embodying a common tradition, in order to explain the resemblances between the two. On the whole the second view seems to present least difficulty, and we may place the document in the period between 150 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era.

The Religious Outlook of Baruch.—There can be little doubt that Baruch was compiled in its present form by a devout Jew in the last decades of the first century A.D. for the purpose of consoling and comforting his people for the loss of their city. It is contemporaneous, therefore, with a large part of our New Testament, and throws a flood of light upon one type of Jewish thought during this important period. We notice in reading the book : (1) the writer's firm confidence in God and in the divine promises to Israel ; (2) his pride

in his religion—"God hath found out all the way of knowledge and given it unto Israel his beloved" (chap. iii. 36); (3) his anti-Gentile prejudices—"Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation"—a statement which helps us to understand the opposition of the Judaisers to St. Paul; (4) his devotion to the Law, which he regards as the expression of the wisdom of God, and so of eternal value (chap. iv. 1-3); (5) that the writer never advances upon the position of the prophets. He lives in the spiritual world of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah. This is especially noticeable in the absence of any allusion to the future life.

THE SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS

The second book of Esdras (sometimes called IV. Ezra) is by common consent one of the most important books in the Apocrypha. It occupies the same place in the Apocrypha as the Book of Revelation in the New Testament, and is the only specimen of apocalyptic (as distinct from prophetic) literature in it. The wide popularity which it enjoyed in ancient times is evident from the fact that versions of it are found in Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic. The Hebrew and Greek originals have been lost. The Latin text from which the Authorised Version was translated

is imperfect, and lacks an important section, which has been torn out between the 35th and 36th verses of chap. vii. The missing fragment, however, has been recovered by the discovery, made by Professor Bensly in 1875, of an unmutilated MS. at Amiens.

Contents.—The version of II. Esdras in our Apocrypha contains the original book in a Christian frame. The first two and the last two chapters are a later addition, and were attached to the book to make it suitable for use amongst Christians. The original book, as we know from the versions, comprised only chaps. iii.–xiv. . It is generally divided into seven parts, answering to the seven visions which it describes. (1) *The first vision* (chaps. iii. 1–v. 20). Esdras, perplexed by the problem of the sufferings of his own people and the prosperity of their enemies, asks God for an explanation. The angel Uriel is sent to him, and tells him that he must not inquire into things which only God can understand. (2) *The second vision* (chaps. v. 14–vi. 63). After seven days Esdras, dissatisfied with Uriel's words, appeals to God a second time. Uriel reappears, and tries to console him by pointing out the weakness of man's judgment and the approach of the Day of the Lord, when all will be set right. (3) *The third vision* (chaps. vi. 35–ix. 35), contains a further discussion between Esdras and Uriel, more particularly on the question whether few or many should be saved. Uriel

replies that the number of the elect is small. The main point in the vision is the vivid picture of the final judgment and the future state of the righteous and the wicked. (4) *The fourth vision* (chaps. ix. 25-x. 59). On the plain of Ardat Esdras meets a mourning woman who has just lost her only son. He tries to comfort her by referring to the greater desolation of Jerusalem. She suddenly vanishes and Esdras beholds a city. Uriel returns and tells him that the woman represented Jerusalem. (5) *The fifth vision* (chaps. xi. 1-xii. 39). Esdras sees in a dream the vision of an eagle with three heads, twelve wings, &c., which is destroyed by a lion. The eagle, he is told, represents the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel, and the lion is the Messiah. (6) *The sixth vision* (chaps. xii. 40-xiii. 58). A further vision of the Messiah, who destroys his foes and sets up his kingdom on earth. (7) *The seventh vision* (chap. xiv.). Esdras is warned that he is soon to be translated from the earth. He pleads for his people, who will be left without a teacher. He is told to write, and under the influence of the angel dictates ninety-four books—twenty-four of which were to be published (*i.e.* the Old Testament), and the remaining seventy hidden for the use of the wise (*i.e.* the Apocryphal writings).

The Date of II. Esdras.—There is a general agreement amongst modern scholars that II. Esdras was written in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96).

This conclusion is based upon the following data: (1) The book must be later than Daniel (168 B.C.), which it mentions, and earlier than Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 200), who is the first Christian writer to quote from it. (2) The author himself says that he wrote "in the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city" (chap. iii. 1). There can be little doubt that "the ruin of the city" refers to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. (3) This date affords the simplest interpretation of the Eagle vision. The eagle represents Rome, and the three heads are the three emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. It should be noted, however, that some modern scholars (among them Charles) hold that II. Esdras is a composite work, made out of five earlier Apocalypses, ranging in date from 20 B.C. to A.D. 100. These documents were combined by a redactor about A.D. 120.

The Problem of the Book.—II. Esdras presents a striking contrast to Baruch, the bulk of which belongs to the same period. The author of Baruch is a man of simple faith, whose confidence in God remains unshaken by the destruction of the city. He is content with a simple explanation of the disaster. It is due to Israel's sin, and Israel's repentance will lead to restoration. Esdras, however, is not so easily satisfied. The Jews were not the only sinners. "Are they of Babylon better than they of Sion? Why has God destroyed His

people and preserved His enemies?" (chap. iii. 30, 31). II. Esdras, therefore, is a problem book, and deals with the old enigma, which forms the subject of the Book of Job, and which rent the heart of the apostle Paul (Rom. ix.-xi.): "Why hath God cast off His people?" It cannot be said that the book discovers a real solution for the difficulty. It does, however, suggest some lines of thought in which comfort can be found. Perhaps its greatest contribution is its frank admission that no single formula meets the case. We must look in many directions for our solution of the problem. (1) We must remember our own limitations, and that it is impossible for us to understand the inscrutable dealings of Providence. (2) We must trust in the boundless love of God. "Lovest thou the people better than He that made them?" (chap. v. 33). (3) This world is not the end of things. The future life will make amends for present suffering. (4) The day of God's Redemption is drawing near, when the Messiah will come and restore the kingdom. On the whole, in spite of its pessimistic tone, II. Esdras is undoubtedly the finest discussion of the problem of evil in the whole range of Jewish literature.

Value of II. Esdras for Theology.—Apart from the main problem of the book, II. Esdras has many points of interest for modern theology. (1) It lays great stress on the doctrine of original sin. "The first Adam transgressed and was overcome, and so be all they that are

born of him" (chap. iii. 21). (2) It has a developed doctrine of the future life. All the dead will arise either to bliss or woe. The reward of the good, and the punishment of the wicked, are sevenfold (chap. vii.). (3) It has a firm belief in the advent of a Messiah, who will reign for 400 years and establish the kingdom of God. (4) A man's future destiny is fixed by this life, and cannot be changed after death. Prayers for the dead, therefore, are useless. (5) It links together faith and works in a way which shows that the discussion on the subject in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James was familiar to the Jewish schools. (6) It attaches more importance to the Apocryphal books than to the Old Testament.

The Christian Framework of the Book.—The date of the concluding chapters, xv. and xvi., is placed about A.D. 268 by most modern critics. Chap. xv. 10-12 refers to the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (A.D. 260-268); chap. xv. 28-33 to the conquests of the Sassanidæ (especially Sapor I., A.D. 240-273); chap. xv. 33 describes the murder of Odenathus at Emesa (A.D. 266). The date of the opening chapters cannot be fixed with such precision, but probably belonged to the same period.

THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY

The Epistle of Jeremy is a separate fragment in the Greek version of the Apocrypha, but in the Vulgate and other Latin MSS. is attached to the Book of Baruch, of which it forms the sixth chapter. It purports to be a letter written by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon, to warn them against idolatry. This claim, however, is quite out of the question for several reasons. (1) The Epistle is written in Greek, and shows no signs of having been translated from Hebrew. (2) Its style and general thought are quite unworthy of Jeremiah. (3) Its statement that the captivity would last for seven generations points to the fact that it is the work of a later writer. We have very little evidence to guide us in determining its data and origin. Many scholars think that there is an allusion to it in II. Maccabees ii. 2: "Jeremiah charged the exiles not . . . to be led astray in their minds when they saw images of gold and silver." If this is so, we may surmise that the fragment originated in Alexandria in the first century B.C. It affords us an excellent illustration of the temptations to which the Jews of the Diaspora were subjected, and so throws light upon the attitude of the Apostle Paul to the question of "eating meat offered to idols."

CHAPTER VII

THE WIDER APOCRYPHA

IN addition to the Apocrypha proper, there are many other Jewish writings, belonging practically to the same period, which have never claimed to be regarded as Scripture, though they were held in high value by large circles of Christians in early times. In all probability, if the process, by which the Old Testament was evolved, had been continued, they too would eventually have obtained a place in the Canon. Two of them, at any rate, III. and IV. Maccabees, are actually found in one of the most valuable MSS. of the Septuagint.

The most important books of the wider Apocrypha may be classified as follows :—

1. *Historical*.—III. and IV. Maccabees. The latter, however, as will be explained, though purporting to be historical, is really a philosophical discourse.
2. *Poetry*.—The Psalms of Solomon.
3. *Apocalyptic Literature*.—The Book of Enoch ; the Book of the Secrets of Enoch ; the Apocalypse of Baruch ; the Assumption of Moses ; the

Book of Jubilees; the Ascension of Isaiah; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

It will be observed from this list that the Apocalyptic writings occupy the largest and most important place in the wider Apocrypha. A few words must be said with regard to the character of these books.

The Meaning of "Apocalyptic."—The word Apocalyptic is, of course, an adjective formed from the noun "Apocalypse," and so means "of the nature of" or "belonging to" an Apocalypse. "Apocalypse" itself is the Greek equivalent of the better-known Latin form "Revelation." Thus, we speak of the last book in the New Testament as "the Revelation" or "the Apocalypse" of St. John. What the Book of Revelation is to the New Testament the Jewish Apocalypses are to Apocryphal literature. The Apocalypses claim to give a vision of the future. They are a peculiarity, as far as their form goes, of Jewish literature. There is nothing exactly like them elsewhere. The nearest approach is to be found in books like Plato's "Republic" or Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," which contain a dream of an ideal state. No one, however, who reads "Utopia" and the Jewish Apocalypses side by side would think of classing them together, because in form and style they are utterly dissimilar.

The Origin of Apocalyptic Literature.—There are elements of Apocalyptic in some of the later Jewish

prophets, notably in Ezekiel. In Daniel, of course, the Apocalyptic element is very marked. It may be said that Daniel started a new fashion in literature, and between his day and A.D. 100, Apocalyptic became the popular mode of conveying religious teaching. There was, however, a stronger reason for the adoption of the new mode than the desire to copy Daniel. "Apocalyptic" appealed to writers and teachers because it seemed to be the most appropriate vehicle for expressing the religious aspirations of Israel. Throughout this period, from a political point of view, the Jewish nation was in an evil plight. The hopes, of which the prophets had spoken, had not been realised, and what is more, their realisation now seemed quite beyond the range of possibility. Palestine had fallen under the sway of one foreign power after another. There was a brief revival of hope during the Maccabæan age, but it was short-lived; and when at last Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans, a dark despair settled upon the people. It was owing to these disappointments, and to the failure of the promises which the prophets had given to Israel, that the soul of the nation found a new outlet for its faith in the vision of a millennial future, an era of blessedness after the judgment-day. The new faith found its expression in Apocalyptic literature. It must not be thought, however, that the Apocalyptic writings deal solely or mainly with the Millennium; many

of them are contented with making an attempt to find a solution for the problem, which continually confronted them, of the sufferings of Israel. A new philosophy of religion was needed, and in one way or another all the Apocalyptic books are more or less engaged in the effort to discover it. We find, therefore, important discussions on such questions as the origin of sin, the explanation of evil, the future destiny, &c.

Importance of Apocalyptic Literature.—In certain circles of the Jews, Apocalyptic was regarded as of even higher value than the Old Testament itself. This is clear from the famous passage in II. Esdras (chap. xiv. 42-48). "The Highest gave understanding to five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night. . . . In forty days they wrote ninety-four [some texts read 204] books, and it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake saying: The first that thou hast written [a reference to the Old Testament] publish openly, that the worthy and the unworthy may read it. But keep the seventy last [*i.e.* the Apocryphal books], that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people. *For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.*" The modern value of the literature cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Charles. "No attempt to study Christianity in its origins can dispense with a knowledge of this literature. If we wish

to reconstruct the world of ideas and aspirations which filled the heart of an earnest Jew at the beginning of the Christian era, it is to this literature that we must have recourse for our materials. Although in its higher aspects Christianity infinitely transcends the Judaism that preceded it, yet in others it is a genuine historical development from such Judaism. Christianity came forth from the bosom of Pharisaic Judaism, and in Apocalyptic literature this form of Judaism found its essential utterance. . . . Thus Jewish Apocalypses not only supply a history of religious beliefs in the two pre-Christian centuries, but they also fill up the otherwise unavoidable gap in the history of Jewish thought, and constitute the living link between the prophetic teachings and ideals of the Old Testament and their fulfilment in Christianity."

CHAPTER VIII

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

THE Apocalypse which is known as the Book of Enoch is not a single book, but a library containing at least five volumes, written by different authors at different periods in the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era. It is not difficult to see why it was that a whole literature grew up around the name of Enoch. The well-known statement in Gen. v. 24, "Enoch walked with God," suggested that the favour of Divine intercourse was bestowed upon Enoch in an unusual degree, and his name, therefore, naturally occurred to Apocalyptic writers as a fitting medium for the conveyance of their ideas. The importance of this Enoch literature can scarcely be over-estimated. There is hardly a book in the New Testament which does not show some traces of its influence, and the Epistle of Barnabas quotes it as Scripture.

The Contents of the Book.—The Book of Enoch has been divided by Dr. Charles, who is our chief

authority on Apocalyptic literature, into five parts. (1) *The first book*, comprising chaps. 1-36, was written some time before 170 B.C. Like most Apocalyptic writings, this book deals with the problem of evil. The distinguishing features of its teaching are: (a) Its explanation of the origin of evil. Sin is represented as coming into the world, not through the fall of Adam, but through the lust of the angels for the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1-8). (b) Its demonology. The present evil in the world is largely due to the influence of the evil spirits which went forth from the seed of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. (c) The material character of the future Messianic age. The Millennium is described as a time of sensuous enjoyment. (2) *The second book*, from a chronological point of view, consists of chaps. 83-90. The date is fixed by certain allusions to the Maccabæan rising which make it clear that the book belongs to the reign of Judas (166-161 B.C.). The explanation of evil given in this section is interesting and original. God had entrusted Israel to the charge of seventy shepherds (angels). These shepherds had proved faithless to their trust, and destroyed those whom they ought to have protected. God will, however, require vengeance, and then Israel will be restored. A righteous league will be established in Israel, and in it will arise a family from which the deliverer of Israel (Judas Maccabæus) will come forth. (3) *The third book*

is made up of chaps. 91-104, and belongs to the last quarter of the first century, between 134 and 95 B.C. Its author is clearly a member of the Pharisaic party, and the book may be said to represent the views of the Pharisees of the period. He finds the solution of the problem of evil, not in the establishment of a Messianic kingdom on earth, nor in the advent of a great deliverer, but in the future life. He "calls a new world into being to redress the balance of the old." After the final judgment the righteous will be raised as spirits and enter into the portals of the new heaven, where they will become companions of the heavenly hosts and shine as the stars for evermore. The wicked, on the other hand, are doomed to eternal punishment in the Sheol of fire and darkness. (4) *The fourth book*, known as the "Similitudes" (chaps. 37-70), was written either between 94 and 79 B.C. or between 70 and 64 B.C., and contains a denunciation of the later Maccabæan princes and their allies, the Sadducees. Its most noticeable features are: (a) The origin of sin is traced one stage further back. The sinful angels of the first book are represented as sinning owing to the evil influence of "the Satans." (b) The solution of the problem is found in the advent of a Messiah, who will come to judge the earth, inflict the direst punishment on sinners, and inaugurate an era of righteousness. This is the most remarkable conception in the book, and marks the climax of Messianic

prophecy. (5) *The fifth book*, or the "Book of Celestial Physics" as it is called, consists of chaps. 72-82, though the order of the chapters has been disarranged by the compiler—chap. 79, which contains the conclusion of the book, being put in the wrong place. Its contents are quite unlike anything which is found in the other sections. It is an attempt to establish an essentially Hebrew calendar in preference to the heathen calendars which were then in vogue.

The Influence of the Book of Enoch on New Testament Theology.—There can be little doubt that New Testament theology owes a very considerable debt to the Book of Enoch. This is particularly apparent when we compare its Messianic conceptions with the New Testament interpretation of Christ. The Book of Enoch provided a large number of the categories which were used for explaining the person of Christ. (a) In the Book of Enoch the term "Christ," is applied for the first time in Jewish literature to the coming Messianic king. (b) The title "the Son of Man" makes its first appearance in Enoch, and passes from Enoch into the New Testament. (c) Two other titles which are used in Enoch of the Messiah, viz. "the Righteous One" and "the Elect One," are used of Christ in the New Testament (*cf.* Acts iii. 14, vii. 52). (d) One of the main functions of the Messiah in Enoch was that of judgment, and this conception is almost verbally reproduced in

John v. 22. (*e*) The Messiah is depicted as “pre-existing” and as “sitting on the throne of His glory”—two ideas which are also familiar to readers of the New Testament.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch is a recent discovery, for which we are indebted to the energy and acumen of Dr. Charles. In 1892 a statement was made by a student of Russian Pseudepigraphic literature, named Kozak, that a version of the Book of Enoch existed in Slavonic. As the Book of Enoch had hitherto only been known in the Æthiopic version, Dr. Charles at once caused an investigation to be made. The examination which was instituted resulted in the discovery that the Slavonic Enoch differed *in toto* from the Æthiopic edition, and represented an entirely new work. In 1896 Dr. Charles published a translation of the book, with introduction and commentary.

Date and Authorship.—There are various indications that the Slavonic Enoch was originally written in Greek, probably at Alexandria. The author was an orthodox Hellenistic Jew, who, however, was broad-minded enough to appreciate and assimilate many elements in current Greek and Egyptian thought. The date may be fixed approximately by the following considerations: The fact that the book makes use of the Æthiopic

Enoch in its present form proves that it could not have been written earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. The absence of any reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the implication that the Temple was still standing, clearly show that the book must have been published before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. "We may therefore," as Dr. Charles says, "with reasonable certainty, assign the composition of our text to the period A.D. 1-50."

Contents of the Book.—The book describes the ascension of Enoch, and his voyage through the seven heavens. In the *first* heaven Enoch sees a great sea, the rulers of the stars, the treasures of the snow, the clouds, and the dew, and their guardian angels. In the *second* he sees the fallen angels and the prisoners awaiting eternal judgment. The *third* heaven is the place of Paradise, which is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those "who turn their eyes from unrighteousness and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, clothe the naked, raise the fallen." On the western side of this heaven is "a very terrible place of savage darkness and impenetrable gloom," which is reserved as an eternal inheritance for those "who commit evil deeds upon the earth." In the *fourth* heaven Enoch is shown the courses of the sun and the moon and "an armed host of angels serving the Lord with cymbals." The *fifth* heaven is the prison-house of the

angels who had rebelled and committed sin with the daughters of men. The *sixth* heaven is the abode of the angels who regulate the powers of nature and record the deeds of men. Finally, in the *seventh* heaven, Enoch sees God sitting on His throne surrounded by the heavenly hosts. The remainder of the book is occupied with a description of the creation of the world and a prophecy of the Millennium.

The Religious Value of the Book.—The Slavonic Enoch is valuable because it helps to explain the origin of several conceptions which played an important part in later Christian theology.

(1) The idea of the Millennium is first found in this book. The conception is derived from the story of the creation. God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh. One day is to God as a thousand years. The world will last, therefore, for six thousand years, and then will come a Millennium of one thousand years.

(2) The book helps to explain many allusions to the heavens in the New Testament, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul. When Paul speaks, for instance, of being caught up to "the third heaven" (II. Cor. xii. 2), it is quite clear that he is familiar with the conception of the heavens in the Secrets of Enoch. The agreement seems to extend even to details, for both Paul and the author of Enoch locate Paradise in "the third heaven."

Paul's description of Satan as "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2) is unintelligible without the explanation of Enoch that Satan was driven out of the heavens and given the air as his domain. In the same way such statements as Col. i. 20, "to reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon earth or things in the heavens," and Eph. iv. 10, "He ascended far above all the heavens," can only be explained by supposing that Paul accepted the scheme of heavens described by the author of the Slavonic Enoch.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

The Apocalypse of Baruch is also a comparatively recent discovery. We owe it to an Italian scholar, named Ceriani, who found a Syriac version of the book in the Milan Library and published a Latin translation of it in 1866. The Syriac version was translated from the Greek, which in its turn was derived from a Hebrew original, so that we only know the real Apocalypse at third hand.

Contents of the Book.—The name Baruch is of course assumed by the author or editor of the book, in accordance with the customary usage of Apocalyptic writers, who always father their productions upon some well-known figure in the history of Israel. The scene is laid in Jerusalem, during the period preceding and

following the capture of the city by the Chaldæans. The writer makes a careless blunder in connection with his fictitious background. He dates the book in the "twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah," who, however, only reigned three months, and was carried captive to Babylon eleven years before the fall of Jerusalem. The truth is that the author of the Apocalypse is really dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and, instead of using contemporary figures and names, clothes the story in all the imagery of ancient history. The book divides itself into seven sections. In the *first* the fall of Jerusalem is announced, but Baruch is comforted by the promise that the overthrow of Israel will only be "for a season." In the *second* the destruction of the city is described. The overthrow is depicted as the work of angels and not of the Chaldæans. The *third* section contains Baruch's complaint to God, and raises the old problem—which is the theme of the second Book of Esdras—as to the explanation of evil. The *fourth* contains the promise that the future world is made in the interests of the righteous, and states "that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its quality and its end." In the *fifth* Baruch complains of the delay in the advent of the kingdom, and receives the explanation that the predestined number of men must be made up before the day of the Lord can come. As soon as the number is complete, the

Messiah will appear. The *sixth* gives the vision of the cedar and the vine, which symbolise the Roman Empire and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who will share in the future glory, the answer is given, "Those who believe." In the *last section* the future course of history is described in the form of the vision of a cloud which discharged "black waters and clear." The six "black waters" denote six evil periods in the world's history, and the "six clear waters" a corresponding number of good periods. It is in this section that the writer's doctrine of the resurrection of the body is developed.

The Date of the Book.—The Apocalypse of Baruch is not a unity but a compilation of several documents. This is proved by the diversity of tone and outlook which we find in different parts of the book. Some sections, as Dr. Charles says, "agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future on earth and in inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom," whereas in others "such expectations are absolutely abandoned, and the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgment and the spiritual world alone." Dr. Charles thinks that the various documents, out of which the Apocalypse was compiled, were written at different points in the period which preceded and followed the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* between A.D. 50 and 100, and that the Apocalypse in its present form was com-

posed a little later, certainly before A.D. 130. All the authors were Pharisees, "full of confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or the next."

The Theological Value of the Book.—The Apocalypse of Baruch is of exceptional interest to us because it affords us a clear illustration of Jewish thought in the last half of the first century of the Christian era, and shows us the sort of literature which the Apostle Paul would probably have produced if he had not become a Christian. The measure of the difference between the Apocalypse of Baruch and the Epistles of Paul is the measure of the influence of the Christian religion. The book enables us to see, too, what exactly Pauline theology owes to Judaism, and how Paul has purified and christianised the Jewish elements which he incorporated into his new philosophy of religion. Among the more interesting points connected with the theology of the book—(1) The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is emphatically affirmed. In answer to the question, "In what shape will those live who live in thy day?" the statement is made, "The earth will assuredly restore the dead . . . making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them . . . to show to the living that the dead have come to life again." After recognition, however, the form of the body will be changed. "They shall be made like unto angels, and changed into every form they

desire, from beauty into loveliness and from light into the splendour of glory" (chaps. xlix.-li.). (2) In its doctrine of free will and sin, the Apocalypse represents the more liberal form of Jewish theology. It denies altogether the theory of original sin and maintains, that "every man is the Adam of his own soul." The only effect upon mankind of Adam's sin was the introduction of physical death into the world. (3) The Apocalypse strongly maintains the view that "salvation is of works." The righteous are saved by their works, and their works avail not only for themselves, they are a defence also to the unrighteous among whom they dwell, and even after death are regarded as a lasting merit, on the ground of which God will forgive His people.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

This Apocalypse was also, like Baruch, discovered by Ceriani in the library of Milan in 1861. It exists only in a single Latin fragment, which is incomplete. The Latin version contains evidence which proves that it was made from a Greek original, which came itself from a Hebrew autograph.

Contents of the Assumption.—The book puts into the mouth of Moses, who is on the point of death, a summary of the future history of Israel in the form of prophecy. The story, which is told with great brevity,

begins with the work of Joshua and ends with the rule of the sons of Herod the Great. At this point the writer turns to the future, and the second half of the book gives us his religious and political outlook. The writer thinks that troublous times are in store for Israel. Tyrannical and impious rulers will arise. The Jews will be persecuted for their faith by "the king of the kings of the earth," who, like Antiochus Epiphanes, will make circumcision a penal offence. A second Eleazar will arise who, like the famous martyr of the Maccabæan age, will take his sons into the wilderness and suffer martyrdom rather than transgress the Law. Then the kingdom of the Lord will appear on earth, and God Himself will redeem His people and punish its Gentile oppressors.

Religious Teaching of the Book.—The chief interest of the Assumption of Moses lies in its general point of view rather than in its opinions on the details of Jewish theology. It raises the important question—What ought to be the attitude of a religious Jew towards his persecutors? The Zealots answered the question by proclaiming the doctrine of resistance. Force must be met by force and violence by violence. "We must emulate the example," they said, "of Judas Maccabeus, who raised an armed force and defeated the oppressors." The Assumption of Moses is a protest against this view. It preaches the doctrine of non-resistance, or rather of passive resistance. We must not take up arms, it

argues, but quietly suffer for our religion. The ideal attitude is not that of Judas Maccabæus, but rather that of Eleazar, the great martyr of the Maccabæan age. It is martyrdom and not violence that will usher in the Messianic age. The Assumption may thus be termed the manifesto of Jewish Quietism.

Date.—The date of the book may be fixed within narrow limits. It takes us up to the death of Herod the Great in 3 B.C., and it was evidently written before the destruction of Jerusalem, because the Temple is still standing. But we can reduce these limits still further. The writer speaks of Herod's sons in a way which implies that the book was written before the end of their reign. We may place the Assumption, therefore, between A.D. 1 and 30. This fact adds greatly to the interest of the book, since it must have been written during the actual lifetime of Jesus.

Value of the Book for the Study of the New Testament.—The Assumption throws light on many passages in the New Testament. (1) There are several phrases in the Epistle of Jude, and in Stephen's speech as recorded in Acts. vii., which can only be understood when compared with the statements of this book. (2) The writer's vivid description of the ruling classes in Palestine (the Sadducees) proves that others, besides Jesus, felt acutely the degradation into which the government of the day had fallen. He speaks of the rulers as "scorn-

ful and impious men, treacherous self-pleasers, dissemblers, lovers of banquets, gluttons, gourmands, devourers of the poor . . . filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset"—language which more than corroborates the picture which is drawn of these same men in the Gospel narratives.

CHAPTER IX

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (*continued*)

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

THE Book of Jubilees was first published in modern times in the form of a German translation from the Æthiopic version by Dillmann in 1851. A Latin version was also discovered by Ceriani in the Milan Library a little later, and printed for the first time in 1861.

Character of the Book.—The Book of Jubilees is also known as “the little Genesis.” This second title indicates the character of its contents. It is a revised version of the earlier history of Israel, from the creation of the world down to the institution of the Passover (Exodus xii.). It contains the narrative of the Book of Genesis, re-written from the point of view of later Judaism. Just as the author of Chronicles modified the historical narrative of the Books of Kings to suit his own religious ideas, so the writer of Jubilees wrote over again the story of the patriarchal age, and brought it into harmony with his own conceptions of what ought to have happened during that period. The title “little

Genesis" is given to the book, not because it is an abbreviation of our canonical Genesis (for, as a matter of fact, it is of greater length), but to show that it is of inferior and secondary authority. The chief modifications which the writer introduces into the Biblical narrative are as follows: (1) The story is put into the mouth of "the angel of the face," who is represented as telling Moses on Mount Sinai the part which the angels had played in the creation of the world and the history of the patriarchal age. (2) The writer evinces a particular interest in chronology. He divides the period into jubilees (hence the title of the book) and dates each event in relation to the particular jubilee under which it fell. (3) The writer omits many stories which apparently offended the religious sense of his day. One or two examples may be given by way of illustration. The story of the offering of Isaac (Gen. xxii.), for instance, seems to have presented as much difficulty to the author of Jubilees as it does to the modern reader, and he boldly solves the problem by stating that Abraham was tempted, not by Jehovah, but by an evil spirit named Mastema. Many incidents which appear to reflect upon the character of the patriarchs are cut out altogether, *e.g.* Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (Gen. xii. 11-14), Jacob's attempt to outwit Laban (Gen. xxx., xxxi.), Jacob's fear of Esau (Gen. xxxii., xxxiii.). The whole of chap. xlix. is suppressed because

of its severity on Levi and the pre-eminence which it assigns to Judah. (4) Many additions are also made to the narrative. The names of the wives of all the patriarchs are given, and the writer even knows the name of the wife of Cain. The story of Abraham is expanded, and many legends are added in connection with his early life. Particular prominence is assigned to Levi. (5) Great stress is laid on the Hebrew feasts, all of which are supposed to have been instituted in patriarchal times. The Feast of Tabernacles, for instance, owes its origin to Abraham. (6) The utmost emphasis is laid on the Jewish Law, and the writer of Jubilees traces the origin of its various enactments back to the age of the Patriarchs.

Date of the Book.—Dr. Charles gives a series of strong arguments to prove that the Book of Jubilees falls within the period 135–96 B.C. The main grounds upon which he arrives at this result are as follows. The book was evidently written by a member of the Pharisaic party who was in strong sympathy with the Maccabæan movement. In the year 96 B.C. a serious rupture occurred between the Pharisees and Alexander Jannæus, the representative of the Maccabæan family at the time. After this date it is unlikely that a Pharisaic writer would have shown the same attitude towards the Maccabæans which we find in the Book of Jubilees. The detailed allusions of the Apocalypse also seem to imply a

Maccabæan background. The insistence which is laid upon circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath, the pre-eminence which is assigned to Levi over Judah, the references to Edom, find their simplest explanation in the events connected with this period of Jewish history. The Book of Jubilees was used, too, by the author of Æthiopic Enoch (chaps. 91-104), and as the year 95 B.C. is given as the latest possible date for this section of Enoch, it follows that our Apocalypse must have been composed some years earlier. We may say, therefore, that Jubilees belongs to 135-115 B.C.

It should be stated, however, that there is another view which has found many supporters amongst the specialists who have made this book their particular study. This alternative theory maintains that the Book of Jubilees was written during the period which immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* between A.D. 30 and 60, and was intended largely as a Pharisaic manifesto against the teaching of the Apostles.

Purpose and Aim of the Book.—There is no doubt, whatever the date of Jubilees may be, that its main purpose was to utter a protest against an attempt which was being made to weaken the force of the Jewish code. If we agree with Charles in placing the book at the close of the second century B.C., we shall see in it an effort to resist the Hellenic spirit which was creeping over Judaism at the time, and trying to rob it of the

distinctive features of its legal system. If we accept the theory which places the book in the Apostolic age, we shall look upon it as a kind of counterblast to the arguments used by St. Paul and the other Apostles in their attack upon Judaism. It must be admitted that there is a good deal in Jubilees which seems to fit excellently into this latter hypothesis. One of St. Paul's favourite arguments in replying to the Judaisers was this: "You insist upon the Law of Moses, but you must remember that the Law is not eternal: it is only an interlude in the history of Israel's religious development. We must go back behind Moses to our forefather Abraham, and when we do that we find that the great principle of Abraham's religion was not law but faith." Paul's appeal from Moses to Abraham was practically unanswerable. The only possible reply was to do exactly what the author of Jubilees has done—*i.e.* assert that the Law itself did not originate with Moses, as the ordinary narrative of the Old Testament implies, but goes back to the patriarchal age, and is as ancient as the human race itself.

The Value of the Book.—The Book of Jubilees contains many points which are full of interest to modern readers. (1) It illustrates, for instance, in a very striking manner the freedom with which Jewish writers dealt with the Old Testament narrative. The author of Jubilees did not feel the slightest hesitation in altering the story

of Genesis in order to substantiate his own particular theological views. The historical sense is altogether subordinated to religious interests. (2) The manner in which the author attempts to prove the eternity of the Jewish Law is also most instructive. He is not content with antedating the enactments of the Mosaic code, but he even argues that the Law is kept in heaven. Angels were created circumcised, and are subject to the law of the Sabbath. (3) Another interesting feature of the book is its developed angelology. The author divides angels into three classes or grades: (*a*) the angels of the face, (*b*) the angels of sanctification, (*c*) the angels who superintend the work of nature. (4) Equally important is the author's belief in demons. They originated from the giants who were the offspring of the "wicked angels" and "the daughters of men." They are under the rule of an evil spirit named Mastema, and they are the source of all sin and evil in the world.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

This Apocalypse has been preserved in its entirety only in an Æthiopic version, though fragments are found both in Latin and Greek. It differs from any of the Apocalypses, which we have hitherto dealt with, in containing a large admixture of Christian elements.

Contents of the Book.—The Ascension of Isaiah

may be divided into two main sections. The first half of the book (with the exception of one very important interpolation) is Jewish, and gives an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah. The second half is mainly Christian, and describes Isaiah's vision of the advent of the Messiah. (a) *The martyrdom* (chaps. i.-iii. 13; v. 2-14). The story is as follows. At the end of his reign King Hezekiah summons his son Manasseh to receive his last instructions, and to hear an account of the revelations which had come to him during his sickness. The prophet Isaiah tells Hezekiah of the fate which he foresees will befall him when Manasseh becomes king. Upon the death of Hezekiah, Manasseh abandons the service of Jehovah. Isaiah and the prophets flee into the wilderness for refuge. A false prophet, named Balkira, discovers his retreat, and tells Manasseh. Manasseh at once sends his emissaries to seize the prophet. [At this point comes the interpolated section, which will be discussed separately.] Isaiah refuses to recant, and is "sawn asunder with a wooden saw." (b) *The interpolated section* (chaps. iii. 13-v. 1) is really an independent Apocalypse, though an attempt is made to connect it artificially with the remainder of the narrative. One of the grounds for Belial's enmity to Isaiah, was his prophecy of the coming of the Messiah. In this section, the Christian interpolater relates how the prophecy will be fulfilled; how the twelve Apostles

will preach the Gospel after the death of Christ and win many converts: how evil will creep into the Church, and how Belial will incarnate himself in the form of an impious king: and how, finally, he will be overthrown and Christ will return to the earth and establish His kingdom. (*c*) *The vision of Isaiah* (chaps. vi.–xi.). This part of the book, which presents some points of resemblance with the Slavonic Enoch, describes the journey of Isaiah through the seven heavens. Each of the heavens is depicted at length. The series represents an ascending scale of glory, which reaches its climax in the seventh, where Isaiah beholds the Lord of Glory, and “a second most glorious one like unto Him,” and “the angel of the Holy Spirit, the inspirer of the prophets.” Then the voice of the Most High is heard speaking to His Son, bidding Him descend through the heavens to the world. “The Beloved” (this is the title commonly bestowed on the Messiah in this book) carries out His Father’s bidding, passes through all the heavens unrecognised, and enters into this world through a Virgin Birth. His life, death, and resurrection are briefly described, and then the prophet beholds His ascension through the heavens, in all of which He is now recognised, until at last He reaches the seventh heaven, and takes His seat on the right hand of the “Great Glory.”

Date of the Book.—The Ascension of Isaiah in its present form is, as we have seen, a compilation of three

different documents, two of which contain large Christian elements. This final stage in the composition of the work cannot have been reached till the second century A.D., and possibly may even have to be placed at the commencement of the third century. The documents themselves, however, go back to earlier times. *The Martyrdom* probably belongs to the first half of the first century, A.D. 1-50. This conclusion is based on two grounds. (a) There seems to be an allusion to it in Hebrews xi. 37. (b) It is scarcely probable that Jewish books would obtain recognition in the Christian Church after the destruction of Jerusalem. The other two documents, according to Charles, originated a little later, and belong to the last decades of the century, A.D. 80-100, at least in their simplest form. Harnack, however, adopts a much later date for the documents. He thinks that the interpolated section belongs to the second century A.D. and the *Vision* to the third.

Value of the Book.—The chief points of interest in the book for the modern student occur in the Christian sections. The first of these (*i.e.* the interpolated section) gives a graphic picture of the condition of the Church about A.D. 80. "In those days," says the writer, "many will love office though devoid of wisdom. There will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by the sheep. . . . There will be much slander and vain-

glory in those days. . . . And there will not be many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there. . . . There will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other." This description is borne out by similar statements which we find in I. Peter and the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Other valuable features in these sections are: (1) The description of the seven heavens. It should be noted that there are some important points on which the account of the heavens in the Ascension differs from that given by the Slavonic Enoch. (*a*) In Enoch some of the heavens are tenanted by evil angels: in the Ascension the evil angels are located on the firmament. (*b*) Enoch places certain physical elements in the lower heavens, *e.g.* the treasures of the ice and snow. In the Ascension the heavens are purely spiritual worlds. (2) The Messiah is almost uniformly described as "the Beloved," a title which is often found in the New Testament (*cf.* Mark i. 11, Eph. i. 9). (3) There is a clear reference to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in the *Vision* section. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are linked together and receive adoration and worship, though the two latter are placed in a subordinate position, and in their turn do homage to the Father. The Holy Spirit is described as an angel ("the angel of the Spirit" or "the angel of the Holy Spirit"), and twice is identified with Gabriel. (4) The

doctrine of the Virgin Birth is also plainly taught, and in a manner which marks a clear advance upon the statements in Matthew and Luke. (5) There is a marked trace in the book of Doketism—the theory that denied the real humanity of Christ, and held that He possessed merely a phantom body. (6) The book is valuable, too, because it enables us to trace the development of the belief in the appearance of Antichrist, and so throws light upon Paul's prophecy of the coming of "the man of sin" in II. Thessalonians, and similar statements in the Book of Revelation. (7) The doctrine of the future life is in complete agreement with the later views of St. Paul. The righteous after death will receive "garments," in which they will be clothed, and then they will ascend with Christ into heaven.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is one of the most interesting of the documents which belong to this class of Jewish literature. It consists of twelve small pamphlets, which purport to contain the last utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob. Each of these men is represented as calling his children around him on his deathbed and giving them words of counsel and advice with regard to the conduct of life. In most cases the

Patriarch recalls some of the leading incidents of his own career, and uses them as a text from which he draws lessons of warning or exhortation for his children. The Testament of Gad may be taken as an illustration of the method of the writer. Gad tells the story of his own enmity against Joseph. Joseph, according to the narrative, had carried to his father a tale that his brothers were killing the best of his flock and making a feast. This angered Gad, and made him often wish to kill Joseph. His plans, however, were frustrated by the action of Judah, who sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. Upon this incident the writer bases his sermon against malice and hatred, which forms the theme of the book. "Beware, therefore, my children, of hatred, for it worketh lawlessness even against the Lord Himself. . . . Love ye each one his brother and put away hatred from your hearts."

The Character of the Book.—There has been a great deal of discussion among modern scholars as to the character of the book. Until quite recently the prevailing opinion seems to have regarded the Testaments as the work of a Christian, and to have given it a place in early Christian literature. The monographs of Schnapp and Charles have, however, completely reversed this verdict. There are, of course, undoubted Christian elements in the book, and the problem that faces the modern scholar is, How are these Christian elements to be accounted for? The older view maintained that

they represented the views of the original author. Schnapp and Charles, on the contrary, argue that they are later interpolations. The case for the latter view seems to have been substantiated by the following considerations: (*a*) Many of these interpolations are not found in the Armenian version. This fact proves that the process of interpolation was gradual, and that when the Armenian version was made, it was still incomplete. (*b*) Even the Greek MSS. differ among themselves with regard to the amount of the interpolations. Passages found in one are absent from another MS. (*c*) The interpolations are not homogeneous, and do not represent a uniform theology. The older view was completely at a loss when it attempted to define the theological position of the author of the document. Nitzsch, for instance, described him as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed certain current Essene beliefs. Ritschl regarded him as a Gentile Christian, while Kayser defined him as an Ebionite. The only theory that satisfactorily explains the facts is the view of Charles, that the Christian elements were interpolated at different times by different hands. ✓

The Date of the Book.—The Testaments consist of three different strata: (*a*) the original groundwork, which contains about eleven-twelfths of the whole work; (*b*) certain Jewish interpolations; (*c*) the Christian additions. The date of the original groundwork is placed by

Charles between 109 and 107 B.C. The arguments upon which this conclusion is based are: (1) Certain references in the book imply that the Jewish nation was ruled by one who combined in his own person the offices of prophet, priest, and king. These three functions were only united in a single person, viz. John Hyrcanus (137–105 B.C.). (2) There are various indications—*e.g.* the allusion to the destruction of Samaria—which suggest that the book belonged to the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, *i.e.* between 109 and 105. (3) Just before the end of his reign a breach occurred between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. It is inconceivable that a Pharisaic writer, such as the author of the Testaments, could have spoken of Hyrcanus in such terms of praise after the outbreak had taken place. The date, therefore, may be fixed between 109 and 107 B.C. With regard to the Jewish interpolations, Dr. Charles holds that the bulk of them were made between 70 and 40 B.C. The Christian additions were made at different periods. Many of them must have been introduced into the text at a very early date, because they are found in a Greek version, with which St. Paul was familiar, and which must therefore have been in existence before A.D. 50.

Value of the Book.—The Testaments are full of interest for the modern student.

(1) There is no Jewish document which had a greater influence on the New Testament. Charles cites a

number of passages which seem to prove conclusively that the resemblances between certain elements in the teaching of Jesus and the statements of the Testaments could not have been accidental. He further quotes no less than thirty passages from the Epistles of Paul which make it absolutely certain that our document must have produced a great impression upon the mind of the Apostle. There are, for instance, no less than seventy words common to the Epistles of Paul and the Testaments which are not found elsewhere in the pages of the New Testament. From the point of view of New Testament exegesis, therefore, the document is of incalculable value.

(2) The Testaments represent the high-water mark of Jewish ethics. No other document affords us such clear insight into the higher moral teaching of the Judaism of this period. In many respects there is a considerable advance upon the ethical teaching of the Old Testament and an approximation to that of the New. It contains, for instance, as Charles says, "the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature." "If a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee, he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. . . . And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame

when reprov'd, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee and be at peace with thee. But if he be shameless, and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging" (Test. Gad, vi. 3-7).

(3) Another important feature of the book is its *universalism*. It has a broader outlook than any other document of the period. The Gentiles are included in the scope of the Divine purpose. The Law was given "to lighten every man," and not merely the Jew. There are righteous men to be found in every nation. At the great consummation "the twelve tribes shall be gathered together, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation."

CHAPTER X

OTHER APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THERE are three other books belonging to the wider Apocrypha which cannot be classed as Apocalyptic, and must therefore be treated separately, viz. III. Maccabees, IV. Maccabees, and the Psalms of Solomon.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES

The title bestowed upon this book is altogether a misnomer. There is absolutely no reference to the Maccabees or the Maccabæan age in it at all. How the book got its name is quite inexplicable. The only point which it has in common with the other books of Maccabees is, that it tells the story of the faithfulness of the Jewish people in a time of persecution. Some scholars have tried to justify the title by supposing that it was intended originally to be a kind of introduction to the books which deal with the Maccabæan rising, but there seems to be nothing in the book itself that at all substantiates this theory. The only plausible explanation is to suppose that the title is due to an accident in transmission, though it is quite impossible, of course, to discover how the accident happened.

Contents.—III. Maccabees may be termed a historical romance. The scene is laid in Jerusalem and Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy (IV.) Philopator (222–204 B.C.). The story of the book is as follows. After his victory over Antiochus at Raphia in 217 B.C., Ptolemy visits Jerusalem and makes an attempt to enter the Temple, in spite of the indignant protests of priests and people. A scene of the utmost confusion ensues. The people clamour for armed resistance. Amidst the panic the voice of the High Priest Simon is heard supplicating God to prevent the violation of the Temple. In answer to Simon's prayer, Ptolemy is smitten with paralysis, and returns to Alexandria, resolved on vengeance. He issues an edict ordering all the Jews in Alexandria to embrace the worship of Bacchus or forfeit their civic status and privileges. As this edict does not produce the desired effect, Ptolemy determines to proceed to more extreme measures. He commands that the whole of the Jewish population of Alexandria shall be imprisoned in the hippodrome, and that their names shall be taken down in a register before the general massacre, which he contemplates, is carried into effect. The work of registration goes on continuously for forty days, and then the clerks report that, owing to the vast number of the Jews, the supply of writing materials has been exhausted. Ptolemy then gives the order that intoxicated elephants are to be let loose upon the Jews in

the hippodrome. The description of the manner in which the catastrophe was averted by Providence forms the climax of the story. The final deliverance was preceded by two temporary respites. On the first occasion, King Ptolemy overslept himself, and did not awake till it was too late to execute the order on the appointed day. On another occasion, Ptolemy is made by Providence to forget his orders and declare that he never issued them. These interventions were only a prelude, however, to the *dénouement*, when, in answer to the prayers of the venerable priest Eleazar, "two angels, glorious and terrible," appeared from heaven and struck consternation into the hearts of the king and the people. The miracle completely changed the attitude of King Ptolemy. The advisers who had counselled the persecution were ignominiously dismissed, and the Jewish people restored to all their ancient privileges.

Historical Value.—Very little value can be attached to the narrative of III. Maccabees. A similar story is told by Josephus of a later king, Ptolemy VII. (146-116 B.C.). His account is as follows: "When Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city (Alexandria) with their wives and children, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for the purpose, the

event proved contrary to his preparations, for the elephants left the Jews and fell violently upon Physco's friends and slew a great number of them; after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost which prevented his hurting these men. . . . It is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day on account of the great deliverance which was vouchsafed to them by God."¹ The accounts in Josephus and in III. Maccabees contain so many discrepancies that it is impossible to reconcile them, and difficult to regard either of them as historical. Probably, however, there is some basis of fact behind the stories. The Alexandrian Jews doubtless, at some time or other, were providentially delivered from a fierce persecution, in which perhaps the royal elephants may have been destined to play a part. The original fact, however, has been so overlaid with legendary elements that it is quite impossible to disconnect the truth from the fiction with which it has been surrounded.

Date and Authorship.—An attempt has been made by several distinguished scholars to connect the book with Caligula's attempt to defile the Temple at Jerusalem by erecting within its precincts a statue of himself, and his subsequent persecution of the Jews (A.D. 40). Though this hypothesis furnishes an excellent motive for the composition of III. Maccabees, it cannot, unfortunately, be substantiated. The writer would surely

¹ Treatise against Apion, ii. 5.

not have allowed Caligula's claim to receive divine honours to pass unnoticed, when an allusion to it would have heightened the colours in which he has portrayed Ptolemy's acts of sacrilege. Since this theory seems to fail us, and no other explanation of the occasion of the book is forthcoming, it is only possible to form the vaguest views with regard to the authorship and date of III. Maccabees. All that we can say is that the author must have been an Alexandrian Jew, and that he composed the book either in the first century B.C. or (as seems more probable) the first century A.D.

Religious Teaching.—There are very few specially distinctive features about the religious teaching of III. Maccabees. It discusses no theological problems, and it makes very little contribution to theological thought. Its interests are in the practical rather than in the speculative side of religion. The following ideas are prominent: (1) Great stress is laid upon the value of prayer. The miraculous interventions are represented in both cases as direct answers to prayer, and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, which produced the interventions, are reported at length. (2) Emphasis is laid upon the conception of Providence. The writer speaks of "the unconquerable Providence" which came to the assistance of the Jews (chap. iv. 21). This is a Greek idea which attained particular prominence amongst the Stoics.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

The fourth book of Maccabees is quite unlike the other books which bear the same title. It makes no pretence to give a historical account of the Maccabæan age. Its chief interest is in philosophy and religion: the historical elements (if such they can be called) are entirely secondary and subordinate, and are only introduced to illustrate and substantiate its philosophical principles. The book is really a sermon or homily, a hortatory address intended to urge its hearers or readers to a life of fidelity to God and self-control.

Contents.—The theme of the book is stated in the opening sentence. The writer says that “he intends to demonstrate a most philosophical proposition, viz. that pious reason is absolute master of the passions.” It is through reason, he asserts, that man is able to attain self-control, and curb the appetites and passions which constantly threaten to destroy his virtue. There is one limitation, however, to the power of reason. It cannot control its own affections. It does not enable a man to root out desire, though it does make it possible for him to avoid being enslaved to it. “A man may not be able to eradicate malice, but reason has power to prevent him yielding to it,” “for reason is not an eradicator but an antagonist of the passions” (chap. iii. 1-3). The writer’s method of proof may be given in

his own words. "I might prove to you from many other considerations that pious reason is the sole master of the passions, but I shall prove it most effectually from the fortitude of Eleazar, and of the seven brethren and their mother; for all these proved by their contempt of torture and death that reason has command over the passions." These historical illustrations, which the writer regards as a demonstration of his thesis, occupy three-fourths of the book. We may divide IV. Maccabees, therefore, into the following sections: (*a*) statement of thesis and definition of terms (chaps. i.-iv.); (*b*) narrative of the trial and torture of the aged priest Eleazar (chaps. v. 1-vi. 30); (*c*) the lessons which are to be drawn from the story (chaps. vi. 31-vii. 23); (*d*) description of the torture and martyrdom of the seven youths (chaps. viii. 1-xii. 20); (*e*) the writer's comments on their fortitude (chaps. xiii. 1-xiv. 10); (*f*) reflections on the sufferings and constancy of their mother (chaps. xiv. 11-xviii.). These historical illustrations are an expansion of the narrative in II. Maccabees (chaps. vi. 18-vii. 42).

Characteristic Features of the Book.—(1) As has already been said, the book is probably a homily, and the only specimen of Jewish sermonic literature which has been preserved in the Apocrypha. This conclusion is drawn from the frequent appeals which the writer makes to his hearers or readers (*cf.* chap. xviii. 1).

Though the writer adopts the sermonic form, however, it can scarcely be supposed that the book represents an ordinary Jewish discourse such as might have been delivered in the synagogue. There is a certain artificiality about the language and the argument of the book which seems to show that the form has been chosen as a literary device rather than as an example of Jewish preaching. (2) The book has been described as a "characteristic product of Hellenistic culture of the best type." The influence of Greek thought is patent upon every page. The very thesis of the book may be described as a Jewish version of the Socratic dictum, "Virtue is knowledge." The terminology which the writer uses in his treatment of his subject has far more in common with Greek philosophy than it has with the Old Testament. There are marked traces, too, of Stoic tendencies. The four cardinal virtues, for instance, upon which the writer so strongly insists, are borrowed directly from Stoicism. Yet in spite of his sympathy with Greek and Stoic thought, the author of IV. Maccabees is a loyal Jew, devoted to the Law, and passionately opposed to any weakening of its authority. Indeed he goes as far as to maintain that "it is only the children of the Hebrews who are invincible in the fight for virtue" (chap. ix. 18). (3) The book has absolutely no historical value. The writer borrows his illustrations from II. Maccabees, a source of most dubious authority,

and expands the narrative in order to suit his own purpose. The speeches and prayers which he puts into the mouths of his heroes are clearly his own composition.

Authorship and Date.—Many of the early Christian Fathers, *e.g.* Eusebius and Jerome, attributed IV. Maccabees to Josephus. There does not, however, seem to be the slightest justification for the theory, since the book presents the most marked differences, both in style and thought, from the genuine works of Josephus. The name of the author is lost beyond recovery, but the internal evidence of the book itself enables us to form a tolerably clear conception of his character and general outlook. We know that he must have been: (a) A *Jew*, who sympathised mainly with the Pharisaic party, and probably belonged to it. His attitude to the Law is enough in itself to make this conclusion unassailable. (b) A *Quietist*, like the author of the Assumption of Moses. This deduction is obvious from the fact that he selects as his heroes, not Judas Maccabæus, but the martyrs who laid down their lives rather than submit to the demands of Antiochus Epiphanes. "And the nation through them," he writes, "obtained peace, and having renewed the observance of the Law drove the enemy out of the land" (chap. xviii. 4), a statement which is not strictly true, as it ignores altogether the work of the Maccabees. (c) A *Hellenist*, who had come under the

influence of Greek and Stoic ideas. There is no other book in the Apocrypha which shows such sympathy with the wider culture of the age. (*d*) Probably an *Alexandrian*. The use which the book makes of II. Maccabees, and the fact that the earliest notices of it are found in literature of Alexandrian origin, seem to make this assumption a certainty. With regard to the *date* of the book, we have no evidence to go upon, except that we know that it must have been written later than II. Maccabees, from which it drew a considerable amount of material. The probability is that it was composed either just before or just after the commencement of the Christian era.

Religious Value.—IV. Maccabees is of great value for the student of the New Testament. Its author had many points in common with the Apostle Paul. Both were zealous Pharisees, both were animated by intense religious fervour, both were influenced by the culture of the day, especially in its Stoic form. In fact, it would not be difficult to imagine that the book might have been the composition of Paul if he had never been converted to Christianity. We may almost say, therefore, that the measure of the difference between IV. Maccabees and the Epistles of Paul represents the measure of the influence of Christianity. The following points in the book seem to be particularly instructive: (1) The main theme of the book—or rather its limitation—that reason

is not master of its own affections, and so cannot control thoughts and motives, throws a clear light on the religious development of Paul in his pre-Christian days. It was when Paul realised that the Law did not enable him to keep the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," and that it had no power to govern the inner realm of the spirit, that the crisis came which proved the turning-point in his spiritual life. It was this limitation, which is so acutely recognised in IV. Maccabees, which gave Paul no peace till he found peace in the Gospel of Christ. (2) Great stress is laid in the book on the conception of "propitiation." The death of the martyrs atones for the sins of the people. This idea occurs several times in the book, but the clearest statement is found in chap. xvii. 22. "So that they became an atonement for the sin of the people, and by the blood of those pious ones, and by their propitiatory death, the Divine Providence saved Israel, which aforetime had been afflicted." It seems probable that this passage suggested to Paul some of the ideas which are found in his great statement in Rom. iii. 25. (3) This book helps also to explain and illustrate the combination of Jewish and Stoic elements in the Pauline theology, though, of course, the combination in Paul is not the same as that in IV. Maccabees.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

The Psalms of Solomon occupy the same place in Apocryphal literature as the Psalter does in the Old Testament, though it is clear, from the scantiness of the allusions to them in early times, that they never secured a wide circulation, nor won their way into the affection of the Christian Church. The collection consists of eighteen Psalms of varying length and value. They are written for the most part in imitation of the Old Testament Psalter, and often reproduce its language, though it must be admitted that some of them are not devoid of originality and forcefulness.

Date.—The date of the Psalms can be fixed by the allusions to historical events which are found in them. The political situation, which constitutes the historical background of the book, is as follows. The Jews are in a condition of great outward prosperity, when suddenly a rumour is heard that a hostile host is approaching the city, led by a stranger who comes from the uttermost parts of the earth, and is called, at different times, "the sinner," "the lawless," "the dragon," and "the adversary." The invader attacks Jerusalem, and breaks down its walls with his battering-ram: the Gentile host enters the Temple and pollutes the altar. A massacre takes place, in which blood is poured out like water in the streets of Jerusalem. Large numbers of Jews are sent

into exile "in the bounds of the west." Later on, however, retribution overtakes the conqueror for his profanity. He is assassinated in Egypt, his body lies tossing on the waves, and there is no one to bury him. There is only one episode in Jewish history which at all answers to this description, viz. the destruction of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. We may therefore, with confidence, place the Psalms of Solomon in the period 70-40 B.C., the latter date being fixed by the death of Pompey, which occurred in 48 B.C.

Authorship.—In view of the minor differences which appear in the various Psalms, it is impossible to maintain the theory of a common author. The collection was probably the work of a group of men who, while agreeing with regard to their general religious outlook, differed among themselves upon smaller questions. There is no difficulty in deciding upon the party to which this group belonged. They were evidently Pharisees, and the Psalms were composed with the object of strengthening the Pharisaic position and attacking the Sadducees. Throughout the book the Pharisees are termed "the righteous" and "the saints," while the Sadducees are described as "sinners" and "transgressors." All the distinctive Pharisaic tenets are strongly enforced and emphasised by the Psalmists; in fact the books afford the best portrait which we possess of the Pharisaic ideal in the middle of the first century B.C. Everything

points to the fact that the Psalms were the work of Palestinian Jews who almost certainly lived in Jerusalem. The evidence of the language and style proves conclusively, too, that these Psalms, which we only possess in a Greek version, were originally written in Aramaic.

Religious Outlook.—As we have already seen, the book represents the creed of the Pharisees, and its specific theological teaching is therefore necessarily that of this particular school of Jewish thought. Among the ideas which are most prominent in these Psalms we may note the following: (1) The belief in theocracy. The watchword of the Pharisees, especially in the face of the Roman domination, was always, "The Lord is King." (2) The belief in the Law as the expression of the Divine ideal. True righteousness consists in strictly keeping the legal ordinances and avoiding any violation of the ceremonial law. It must be admitted, however, that much more stress is laid upon the inner life and the need of prayer and repentance by the authors of these Psalms than by the later Pharisees who are described in the pages of the New Testament. (3) The belief in the future life. At the time of God's visitation, the righteous will rise to "life eternal" and inherit the promises of the Lord. The fate of the wicked, on the other hand, is stated in terms which seem to imply the doctrine of annihilation. "The destruction of the sinner is for ever." There is no evidence to show that the writers

believed, like most Pharisees, in a physical resurrection, though this idea is not excluded.

The Prophecy of the Messiah.—The most noteworthy feature of the Psalms is the great prophecy of the advent of the Messiah which is found in Ps. xvii. 27–51. The Messiah, to whom the Psalmist looks forward, is undoubtedly an earthly ruler. He is described as “Son of David” and “the Lord Christ,” but has no Divine attributes assigned to him. This Messiah is to be raised up by God to deliver the people from the Roman supremacy and to terminate the Sadducean rule. He will cleanse Jerusalem from all impurity, and bring back into Palestine the Jews of the Dispersion. He himself will be free from sin and will make his people holy. He will win his victory not by force of arms but by “the word of his mouth.” To quote the words of Ryle and James, to whom we owe our best edition of the Psalms: “The Messiah of this Psalm is not Divine. Divinely appointed, divinely raised up, endowed with Divine gifts he is, but he is nothing more than man. Neither of supernatural birth nor of pre-existence in the bosom of God or among the angels of God do we find any trace. If he is called Lord, the word is only used of him as it might be used of an earthly lord. However high the conception of his moral character and spiritual qualifications, he is man and man only.”

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THERE is a sense in which it can be said that the New Testament does not possess an Apocrypha. There is no well-defined collection of writings, like the Old Testament Apocrypha proper, which have been recognised at any time as Scripture by the general consent of the Church. The New Testament Apocryphal writings correspond more nearly to the wider Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and comprise a number of documents of very varying value, which claim to have originated from the Apostolic age, and some of which were held in high esteem by the Christian Church.

The reason *why there is no New Testament Apocrypha* in the technical sense of the word can easily be explained. The Old Testament Apocrypha is the result of the existence of two different Canons of the Old Testament, both of which won for themselves wide recognition. In the case of the New Testament this phenomenon does not exist. There have been, of course, different Canons in different sections of the Church.

The Æthiopic Canon, for instance, contains eight books which are not found in our New Testament. The Canon of the Greek Church omits the Book of Revelation, and includes some documents which are not recognised elsewhere. The Syrian Canon omitted four of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. The Muratorian Fragment (A.D. 170) did not include Hebrews, James, or II. Peter, but recognised the Apocalypse of Peter. Individual Fathers, too, in the third and fourth centuries, showed their own particular preferences by their acceptance or rejection of different books. But there never was a time, at least after the third century, when two rival Canons divided Christendom.

At one period it seemed as if such a division of opinion were inevitable. At the close of the second century we find different Canons of the New Testament in the Eastern and Western divisions of the Church. Both Canons included the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, I. John, I. Peter, and the Apocalypse. The Eastern Canon added to this list Hebrews and James, the Western II. and III. John, and Jude. Neither Canon included II. Peter. Now, if this cleavage of opinion had been maintained, the result would have been that a New Testament Apocrypha would have been created, consisting of the differentia between the two Canons, viz. Hebrews, James, II. and III. John, and Jude, to which doubtless II. Peter would have been

afterwards added. The difference, however, was not perpetuated. The two Canons coalesced, with the result that our present New Testament was produced.

The Apocryphal Writings.—But though we have no Apocrypha in the technical sense of the term, we have a large number of documents which correspond to the wider Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They may be classified as follows:—

(1) *Books which were at one time used as Scripture* in the Church. This class forms the nearest approach to a New Testament Apocrypha proper. The New Testament, like the Old, was only gradually collected together. The process took, at any rate, three centuries. During this period, several books which did not finally get into the Canon were used in public worship. Some of them are actually found appended to the two earliest and most valuable MSS. of the New Testament. The most important documents belonging to this class are the Epistle of Clement, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas. The Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter were also used in church, but for purposes of convenience they will be dealt with in another class.

(2) *Apocryphal Gospels.* We possess a large number of Apocryphal Gospels of varying importance. They may be classified as follows: (a) *Gospels which have some claim to be regarded as genuine and authentic.* The only

Gospel which is generally admitted into this class is the Gospel according to the Hebrews. (b) *Heretical Gospels*, i.e. Gospels which have been altered and amended to suit the views of some heretical sect. The most important Gospels of this kind are: the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Gospel of the Ebionites. (c) The *Logia* documents, or the newly discovered "Sayings of Jesus," to use the better known description, must be put in a class by themselves, because at present we do not possess sufficient data for determining their value. (d) *The Legendary Gospels*, all of which are full of romantic stories about Jesus which are universally regarded as fictitious. These Gospels may be divided into the following groups: (1) Those which relate to the Virgin Birth and Infancy of Jesus. The most important document of this class is the Protevangelium of James, which is the source from which several of the other Gospels of this species, viz. the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, were derived. Under this heading we may also conveniently place the History of Joseph the Carpenter, and the Assumption of Mary. (2) Those which deal with the boyhood of Jesus. The chief place in this class must be given to the Gospel of Thomas. (3) Gospels which relate to Pilate. The most important of these is the Gospel of Nicodemus.

(3) *Apocryphal Acts*. We also possess a considerable

number of documents written in imitation of the Acts of the Apostles, and claiming to give a history of the work of different Apostles after the Ascension of Jesus. The most important of these are: the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Acts of Thomas, the Acts of Andrew, the Acts of John, the Acts of Peter, the Acts of Peter and Paul.

(4) Very few *Apocryphal Epistles* have survived. The most important of these are: the Correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus, the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, and the Correspondence between Paul and Seneca.

(5) The most valuable and best known of the *Apocryphal Apocalypses* is the Apocalypse of Peter, a large fragment of which has been recently discovered. There are others, e.g. the Apocalypses of John and Paul, but they are of slight importance.

Value of the New Testament Apocrypha.—The New Testament Apocrypha are not so important for us to-day as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They have a greater value for the student of Church history and Christian doctrine than for the student of the New Testament. They illustrate, for instance, the rise of the heretical sects and their treatment of Scripture, the growth of Mariolatry, the prevalence of the Doketic explanation of Christ, the development of superstition, &c. Still they are not without some value even for

New Testament work. (*a*) The fragments of the Gospel to the Hebrews, for instance, are now generally regarded as containing authentic material for the life of Christ. So, too, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter, when the heretical elements in it have been discounted, appears to contain genuine tradition which can be judiciously turned to account. (*b*) The Logia throw some light on the synoptic problem, since they bear witness to the existence of separate collections of sayings of Jesus similar to the document which must have been used by Matthew and Luke in the writing of their Gospels. (*c*) The earlier documents are valuable for the purposes of textual criticism, since they preserve certain early readings. (*d*) The Apocryphal books also at times assist us in the work of exegesis, since they give the interpretation placed upon certain passages of the New Testament in early times. (*e*) The Legendary Gospels act as a foil to show the sobriety of the narratives in the Canonical Gospels.

CHAPTER XII

NON-CANONICAL BOOKS WHICH WERE USED AS SCRIPTURE BY THE EARLY CHURCH

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

THAT the first Epistle of Clement was used in public worship is clearly proved by two statements of Eusebius (330) in his Ecclesiastical History. The first statement is found in an excerpt from a letter of Dionysius of Corinth (160-180) to Soter, Bishop of Rome. In reply to Soter, Dionysius says: "To-day has been the Lord's day, and we have read your Epistle. Whenever we read it, we shall have our minds stored with counsel, as we do when we read the letter which was written to us in former times by Clement" (Book iv. 23). It was not only in Corinth, however, that this Epistle was used in worship, for in his second statement (Book iii. 16) Eusebius says: "This Epistle we know to have been publicly read for the common benefit in most of the churches both in former times and in our own day." The custom of using the Epistle in church seems to have continued for some time after Eusebius, for at the commencement of the

fifth century Jerome tells us that "it was still read publicly in some places."

The Character of the Epistle.—The Epistle was written in the name of the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth. "The Church of God sojourning in Rome" (so runs the opening verse) "to the Church of God sojourning in Corinth." The occasion of its composition was the outbreak "of an unholy and detestable sedition" which threatened to destroy the unity of the Corinthian Church. The Church at Corinth seems never to have been able to shake off its unenviable reputation for party divisions and factions, which from the earliest times, as we know from the Epistles of St. Paul, marred its harmony and hindered its development. What particular form the dispute took on this occasion, cannot be definitely determined. It raged round the heads of some of the presbyters, as the officers of the Church were called, but on what ground it is impossible to tell. It may have been a purely personal quarrel: possibly the Church had grown tired of its officers. Or it may have been the birth-pangs which attended the rise of a new system of government in the Church. The old order of things, as we know, was beginning to pass away, and a new method of government, which finally placed each Church under the control of a single bishop, was beginning to develop, and it may be that the strife at Corinth was in some way connected with

this change. Whatever its source, the controversy was absolutely fatal to the peace of the Church, and stultified its influence. And so the Church at Rome, for the first time in history, intervened with this letter of friendly counsel and wise advice. The Epistle may be described, therefore, as a tract in favour of unity and charity, and it must have been largely due to its character that it obtained its position among the "sacred writings" which were used in the worship of the Church.

Authorship and Date.—The Epistle is anonymous, and affords no hint as to the identity of its author. Tradition from the time of Dionysius of Corinth is unanimous in ascribing it to Clement of Rome. Who was this Clement? Many of the ancient Fathers identify him with the Clement mentioned by Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians (chap. iv. 3). This theory, however, seems to be very improbable. Though Clement mentions Paul in the Epistle, he never alludes to any personal connection with him, and neither in contents or style does the Epistle show the slightest trace of Pauline influence. The name Clement was very common, and no two Clements ought to be identified on the mere ground that they bore the same name. A second attempt to identify Clement has been made in modern times. We know that a certain Flavius Clemens, a consul and relative of the Emperor Domitian, was sentenced to death for atheism [*i.e.* for being a Christian]

during the time of the persecution. A later writing ascribed to Clement of Rome (though not really his) states that he was of regal extraction. Putting these two facts together, many scholars have concluded that the bishop and the martyr were one and the same person. The fatal objection to this hypothesis, however, is the fact that there is absolutely no reference in Christian literature or tradition to the martyrdom of Clement of Rome: on the contrary, Eusebius distinctly asserts that he died a natural death in the third year of Trajan's reign. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that nothing can be ascertained with regard to Clement of Rome, except that he was a distinguished leader in the Roman Church, and in later days was dignified with the title of Bishop. The date of the Epistle is almost unanimously placed in A.D. 95-96.

Value of the Epistle.—It cannot be said that the Epistle of Clement possesses a very great intrinsic value of its own. The style is diffuse and tedious, and the writer's ideas rarely rise above the commonplace. The theology is conventional, and shows but little appreciation of the great truths which constitute the essence of the teaching of St. Paul. It is not easy at first sight to explain the attraction which the Epistle had for the early Church. Its popularity was probably due: (1) to its plain and simple message; (2) the fact that its exhortation to unity was constantly needed; (3) its antiquity,

for it was more ancient than some of the later books of the New Testament ; (4) its Roman origin, which in later times, when the Roman Church was claiming the supremacy, naturally commended it. To-day no one would put in a plea for its recognition as Scripture, yet from a historical point of view the Epistle has no little interest for us. (a) It is probably the earliest Christian document outside the New Testament. (b) It gives us a very good conception of the Christian belief at the time, and proves conclusively that the teaching of St. Paul had not yet been assimilated by the Church. (c) It contains an explicit reference to Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, and gives several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and so proves that these books were widely circulated and recognised before the close of the first century.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

The Didache or Teaching of the Apostles was discovered in 1873 by Bryennius, an ecclesiastic of the Greek Church, in the Jerusalem Convent at Constantinople, and published ten years later. We have abundant evidence that the book held a very high place in the regard of the early Church. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as Scripture. It is mentioned in Athanasius' list of sacred writings, where it follows immediately after Judith

and Tobit. In Eusebius' classification of the books which claimed recognition in the Canon, it is ranked in the class of "the rejected."

Character and Contents.—The book falls into two parts, which are only loosely connected together. The first part, known as "The Two Ways," is an ethical tract setting forth the contrast between the paths of righteousness and unrighteousness, "the way of life" and "the way of death." It gives us a clear exposition of the general moral teaching of the early Church. Christians are urged to follow the rule of forgiveness and charity as laid down by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, and warned against the sins forbidden in the Decalogue and in the teaching of Jesus and Paul. The second part of the book deals with the institutions of the Church. It lays down regulations for the rite of Baptism and the celebration of the Agape. It gives the criteria by which the true teacher can be distinguished from the false, and offers advice with regard to fasting and the election of ministers.

Date of the Didache.—There is a considerable divergence of opinion with regard to the date of the Didache. Some scholars place it as early as A.D. 70 or 80. Harnack thinks that it did not assume its present form till between 130 and 160. Harnack's conclusions are based upon the assumption that the author of the Didache used the Epistle of Barnabas, which, according to him,

was written about 130. This assumption, however, is not demonstrable. The undoubted relation between the two books can be explained in other ways. The *Didache* bears on its face clear tokens of an early date. The Lord's Supper, for instance, is still part of the Agape; the authority of the bishop has not yet been established; the order of prophets occupies the highest rank in the Church. The book was evidently written during a state of transition, when the simple organisation of the New Testament was beginning to pass over into the episcopal form of government which was almost universally adopted before the middle of the second century. The *Didache*, therefore, seems to stand half-way between the Epistles of St. Paul and the Letters of Ignatius (A.D. 117). We shall not be far wrong if we date it about A.D. 100, though it may have been written a decade or two earlier.

The Value of the *Didache*.—The *Didache* is a treatise of very great importance from a historical point of view. (a) It gives us a graphic picture of the ethical teaching of the early Church. There can be little doubt that it was originally composed as a manual of instruction for catechumens before Baptism, and represents, therefore, the teaching which was given to new converts before their admission to the Church. It may thus be said to preserve the opinion of the Church in the last decades of the first century with regard to the essential truths of

the Christian religion. (2) It bridges over the gap between the New Testament and Patristic literature, and shows us how the organisation and simple rites of the Apostolic Church were beginning to pass into the elaborate system which they assumed in later time. The reference to Baptism, for instance, is very interesting, because it reveals to us the way in which the transition from immersion to aspersion took place. "Baptize" (so runs the regulation of the Didache) "in running water: but if running water is not available, use other water. If you cannot baptize in cold water, baptize in warm. If neither is possible, pour water over the head [of the candidate] thrice in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." (3) It gives us an interesting description of the Agape and Lord's Supper. The most remarkable feature about the statement is that, in the prayers which are given for use on the occasion of the celebration of the Sacrament, there is no allusion at all to the redemptive value of the death of Christ. (4) It proves conclusively that Lightfoot and Hatch were right in maintaining that episcopacy was not the earliest form of Church government, but only originated in the second century. The ministry to which the greatest importance was attached at first was that of the prophets. In the Didache the influence of the prophets is beginning to wane, and there are already signs that their place is beginning to be taken by the bishops.

To the student of the New Testament, therefore, who is anxious to form some conception of the condition of the Church at the close of the Apostolic age, the Didache is a document of supreme value.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

The high importance which was attached to the Epistle of Barnabas in early times is proved by the following facts: it is found in one of the earliest and most valuable MSS. of the New Testament—the Sinaitic—where it follows immediately after the Book of Revelation; Clement of Alexandria (200) frequently quotes it, and ascribes it to the Apostle Barnabas; Origen (250) describes it as the “Catholic Epistle of Barnabas,” and cites it as Scripture.

Contents.—The Epistle seems to be addressed, not to the members of a particular congregation, but to the Church as a whole. Its aim and purpose are defined by its author thus: “I write unto you that along with your faith ye might have perfect knowledge” (*gnosis*). The problem with which the book deals is one which is familiar to readers of the New Testament, and which forms the theme of some of the Epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, viz. What attitude ought the Church to adopt towards the Jewish Law? Is the legal code of the Old Testament

binding upon Christians? The writer, who is extremely anti-Judaistic, takes up a very radical position, which he attempts to substantiate by some extremely novel arguments. (1) He shows that the attacks which the prophets made upon the sacrificial and ceremonial system prove that the Jewish code could not, as ordinarily interpreted, be of Divine origin. (2) As a matter of fact, the Jews had definitely rejected the covenant which God had offered to Moses. When Moses broke the tables of stone, it meant that Israel had refused the covenant. (3) The Old Testament, therefore, is not a Jewish but a Christian book, and only the Christian can properly interpret it. (4) The true interpretation of the book cannot be found by taking the statements literally. We must look below the surface. The Old Testament is an allegory, and it is only when it is treated as an allegory that it yields its true meaning. When we read it aright, we find that, far from being anti-Christian, it proclaims the essential truths of the Christian faith. (5) The writer then proceeds to work out his principle, and gives us some of the most interesting illustrations of the method of allegorical interpretation found in the literature of the Church. Two examples may be given. (*a*) The writer cites inaccurately the statement of Genesis with regard to the 318 servants of Abraham, and asks, Why 318? There must be a mystical explanation, he says, lying

behind the number. The Greek equivalent for the number 318 is formed of the letters TIH. Now T obviously represents the Cross, and IH are the first two letters of the word Jesus (it should be noted that, in Greek, H is the form used to denote capital E long). The 318, therefore, typifies the death of Christ upon the Cross. (b) Equally remarkable is the writer's explanation of forbidden foods. "Moses spoke with a mystical reference. 'Neither shalt thou eat,' says he, 'the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven.' Thou shalt not join thyself, he means, to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labour and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity."

Author and Date.—The traditional view which ascribes the book to the Apostle Barnabas is very improbable, and has now been almost universally rejected. The main grounds for the rejection are: (a) The mistakes which the writer makes in describing Jewish ritual would be incomprehensible if the Epistle were written by a Levite like Barnabas. (b) The rabid anti-Judaism of the Epistle is quite foreign to the spirit of Barnabas—at least, if the picture of him which is drawn by the writer of Acts is true. (c) The Epistle exhibits none of the characteristics which we should naturally expect to find in a book written by the Barnabas of Acts.

There is a great deal of controversy amongst scholars with regard to the date of the Epistle. Many place it

in the decade following the destruction of Jerusalem. Others (among them Harnack) date it about 130. The present writer is inclined to accept the latter view, on the following grounds : (*a*) There is no direct reference to or connection with the Apostolic age in the Epistle. Its whole tone seems to breathe the spirit of the second century rather than the first. (*b*) The writer makes a definite quotation from Matthew, which he introduces by the formula, "it is written," implying that he regarded the source from which the citation was taken as Scripture. Matthew could scarcely have been quoted as Scripture before the second century. (*c*) The writer's statement in chap. xvi., "They who pulled down the Temple shall built it up," seems to refer to the rebuilding of the Temple, which took place in 130.

Value of the Epistle.—The chief value of the Epistle for us to-day lies in : (*a*) The fact that it proves that the Old Testament constituted a serious problem in the minds of the early Christians. If the Old Testament was divinely inspired, why should not its injunctions still be enforced? The Epistle gives us one solution of the problem—a solution which in different forms has always been popular in the Church. (*b*) The illustrations which it gives of the application of the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture—a method which obtained great vogue in the Church, and some traces of which are found in the Epistles of St. Paul.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

No book outside the New Testament was more popular in the ancient Church than the Shepherd of Hermas. It is found in the famous Codex Sinaiticus at the close of the New Testament, and in several other MSS. besides. Irenæus (180) quotes it as Scripture. Origen (250) regards it as "divinely inspired." Eusebius (330), though he refuses to recognise it as canonical, says that "it was publicly read in churches," and "deemed most necessary for those who have need of elementary instruction."

Contents.—The book falls into three divisions, consisting respectively of (*a*) visions, (*b*) commandments, (*c*) parables. (*a*) In the first part Hermas relates *five visions* which came to him at different times. The visions are of different kinds. The first, for instance, the vision of Rhoda, his former mistress, is intended to impress upon Hermas the sinfulness of unchaste thoughts. In another, an old woman, who represents the Church, appears to Hermas and reproaches him for his failure to restrain his wife and children from folly and sin. The reason why the Church was portrayed as an *old* woman is explained thus: "She was created first of all, and for her sake the world was made." In the last vision Hermas sees "a man of glorious aspect dressed like a shepherd," who teaches him the commandments and parables which form the remaining

part of the book. It is from this vision that the book gets its name. (b) The *commandments* contain an interesting epitome of the ethical teaching of the Church of the second century. They emphasise the following virtues and graces of the Christian life: belief in God, simplicity of life, truthfulness, chastity, forbearance, the fear of God, temperance, cheerful trust in God, confidence in prayer, the necessity of discerning between true and false prophets, &c. (c) The third part of the book consists of a number of disconnected *parables* and *similitudes* intended to enforce the main teaching of the book. The parable of the vine and the elm, for instance, is used to enforce the lesson that the rich man is helped by the prayers of the poor. The fact that in winter all trees look alike, and the living cannot be distinguished from the dead, is used to show the impossibility of judging the real character of men in this life.

Authorship and Date.—Some of the Patristic writers thought that the book was written by the Hermas mentioned by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14). This view, however, is quite impossible, and finds no support in modern times. There is a much more probable account of the origin of the book in the Muratorian Fragment (about 170): "The Shepherd was written very recently in our times by Hermas during the bishopric of his brother Pius." This would make the date about 140. There is one great objection to this theory:

in the second vision Hermas mentions a man named Clement, who is generally identified with Clement of Rome. Clement of Rome could not have been living, as the passage implies he was, at as late a date as 140. Hence many modern scholars reject the statement of the Muratorian Fragment, and date the book about 100. Probably the best solution of the difficulty is to suppose, with Harnack, that the book in its present form was written about 140, but that it embodies elements of a much earlier origin, some of which may go back to the commencement of the century.

Value of the Book.—The Shepherd of Hermas has been very aptly called the “Pilgrim’s Progress” of the early Church. Like the great allegory of Bunyan, it tries to enforce religious truth by visions and illustrations and parables. The book is valuable for us because: (a) It shows the literary devices to which early teachers resorted in order to make their teaching easy to understand. (b) It contains an excellent manual of the ethical teaching which was in vogue in the Church about the middle of the second century. (c) Like all the other literature of the period, it proves the insignificant influence which the theology of Paul had as yet exerted over the thought of the Church. Nothing is more remarkable in early Christian literature than the almost complete eclipse of Paul. Paulinism never held the place in early theology which has been assigned to it in Protestantism.

CHAPTER XIII

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS

THE Apocryphal Gospels, as we have seen, may be divided into three classes : (1) Those which possibly preserve elements of genuine tradition. (2) Heretical Gospels, *i.e.* Gospels in which the narrative has been purposely altered to suit the tenets of some heretical sect. (3) Legendary Gospels, which embroider the account of the beginning and end of Christ's life with fictitious stories.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

The only Gospel which has any serious claim to be regarded as genuine and reliable is the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Unfortunately, however, we only possess a few fragments of it, culled from the writings of various Fathers of the Church. The most important and interesting of these are :—

(a) Two references to the Baptism of Jesus. “Lo, the mother of the Lord and his brethren said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins ;

let us go and be baptized by him. But he said, What sin have I committed that I should go and be baptized by him, unless perchance this very word which I have spoken is a sin of ignorance."

"Now it came to pass, when the Lord had come up out of the water, the Holy Spirit with full stream came down and rested upon him and said to him, My son, in all the prophets I was waiting for thee, that thou shouldest come and I might rest in thee, for thou art my rest. Thou art my first-born son, who reignest for ever."

(b) An extract containing an account of the visit of the rich young man to Christ, which proceeds upon the lines of Matt. xix. 16-22, but adds the following words:—

"But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him, How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and lo! many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger, and thy home is full of many goods and nothing at all goes out to them."

(c) A fragment recording the appearance of Jesus to James after the Resurrection:—

"Now the Lord, when he had given the cloth to the servant of the priest, went to James and appeared to

him. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour on which he had drunk the cup of the Lord till he saw him rising from the dead. [And the Lord said] Bring a table and bread. And he took the bread, and blessed and brake, and afterwards gave it to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from that sleep."

(*d*) The following post-Resurrection utterance of Jesus:—

"Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."

(*e*) A few sayings of Jesus:—

"He that wonders shall reign and he that reigns shall rest."

"Never be joyful except when ye shall look upon your brother in love."

Origin of the Gospel.—The question of the origin of the Gospel to the Hebrews has been a matter of keen debate amongst scholars in recent times. There are several views. (1) Some of the ancient Fathers regarded the Gospel as the original of our Matthew. Jerome, for instance, says, "Vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum." Judging from the fragments which have been preserved, this view seems quite untenable, as they bear very little relation to our Gospel of Matthew. (2) For the same reason the view of some modern scholars, that

the Gospel to the Hebrews was a version of our Matthew, made in the interest of Jewish Christians, seems equally out of the question. (3) The Gospel has been identified with the original Logia, or Collection of the Sayings of Jesus, which was one of the main sources out of which our Gospels of Matthew and Luke were composed. This view, however, is a pure hypothesis, and does not seem to rest on any substantial basis. (4) The theory which seems to be most in favour with critics to-day maintains that the Gospel is an independent version of the Gospel narrative based on the same sources which underlie our Synoptics. It was originally written in Aramaic, and was composed to suit the needs of the Jewish Christian congregations of Palestine. It never secured much of a circulation outside Palestine, and as Palestinian Christianity sank into comparative insignificance, the Gospel to the Hebrews attracted little attention, and gradually fell into disfavour.

Date and Value of the Gospel.—There is a marked tendency amongst modern scholars to attach a very early date to the Gospel. Harnack, for instance, places it between A.D. 65 and 100, thus making it coeval with our Synoptics and earlier than the Fourth Gospel. This conclusion is largely based upon the fact that the Gospel is definitely mentioned by Hegesippus (170) and quoted by Ignatius (115). If Harnack is right, then the fragments of the Gospel become exceedingly valuable, and must be

taken into consideration in every attempt to construct a life of Christ. The fragments which deal with the Baptism and Resurrection of Jesus are particularly important.

HERETICAL GOSPELS

I. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. PETER

The most interesting of all the heretical Gospels is that ascribed to Peter, a large fragment of which was recently discovered by the French Archæological Mission, in a tomb at Akmîm (Pentapolis), in Upper Egypt, and published in 1892. The fragment, unfortunately, only covers the last scenes in the life of Christ. It begins with the trial before Pilate, and ends with the visit of the women to the empty tomb on Easter morning.

Character of the Gospel.—The Gospel of Peter is a version of the life of Christ written in the interest of the Doketic heresy. The Doketists held a peculiar theory with regard to Christ. They thought that Divinity and humanity could not co-exist in one person, and that the humanity was therefore not real, but merely apparent. A God could not be born or suffer hunger or be put to death. The Divine Christ, therefore, descended into a human form after the Baptism and ascended into heaven again before the Crucifixion. In order to substantiate this view there were many points in the Gospel narrative

which needed amendment, and the Gospel of Peter affords us some interesting illustrations of the freedom with which heretics treated the Gospel story. The most startling alteration is found in the treatment of the cry of Christ upon the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This, of course, is a flat contradiction to the Doketic position, and so the words are changed into "My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me"—an allusion to the departure of the Divine Christ before the Crucifixion. In the account of the Crucifixion, too, the statement is made that Jesus "held his peace, as having no pain." This is another feature of the Doketic position. The body in which the Divine Christ dwelt is regarded as incapable of suffering. Another marked characteristic of the Gospel is the antipathy which it exhibits towards the Jews. The whole responsibility for the Crucifixion is placed upon their shoulders. Pilate is completely exonerated from any share in the blame. After the Crucifixion they are represented as coming to their senses and lamenting their crime. "Then the Jews . . . began to lament and say, Woe for our sins : for the judgment and the end of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh." The Gospel contains some expansions of the ordinary narrative, which are evidently due to legendary accretion. The most famous is the account which it gives of the actual Resurrection of Jesus :—

"And in the night in which the Lord's day was

drawing on, as the soldiers kept watch two by two on guard, there was a great voice from heaven : and they saw the heavens opened and two men descending thence with a great light and approaching the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled away of itself and departed to one side, and both the young men entered in. When, therefore, the soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurions and the elders, for they too were hard by keeping watch. And as they declared what things they had seen, again they see coming forth from the tomb three men, and two supporting the one, and a Cross following them. And of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, Hast thou preached to them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the Cross, Yea."

The last sentence is particularly interesting, as it illustrates the statements in 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6, which assert that the Gospel was preached to "the spirits in prison."

Date of the Gospel of Peter.—Harnack regards the Gospel as a very early production, dating it between 110 and 130. The grounds upon which he arrives at this conclusion are: (*a*) The Gospel was used by Justin Martyr (150). (*b*) The account of the Resurrection implies an early date, because the scene of Christ's

appearance to the disciples is laid in Galilee and not in Jerusalem. Harnack attaches a great deal of value to the Gospel, and looks upon it as a source "of first importance," after our canonical Gospels. Though Harnack's date has many supporters, a large number of scholars think that we must place the Gospel later, between 150 and 170, since its use by Justin Martyr cannot be proved.

II. OTHER HERETICAL GOSPELS

The Gospel of the Ebionites has often been identified with the Gospel according to the Hebrews on the strength of certain statements in Jerome and Epiphanius, who certainly confused the two narratives. Harnack, however, has clearly shown that the Gospel of the Ebionites is quite a distinct production. Only a few fragments of it remain. They may be found in Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," pp. 471-473. The fragments prove : (1) That the Gospel was originally ascribed to Matthew, since Matthew is personally addressed in the second person by Jesus. "Thee, Matthew, I called, as thou wert sitting at the receipt of custom." (2) That the Gospel was written in the interest of a sect which held vegetarian principles. In the account of John the Baptist, it is said that his food consisted of wild honey and honey-cakes—the

latter term being substituted for the "locusts" of the Gospel narrative. The change is effected by the alteration of a couple of letters, the Greek word for locusts being *akridas* and for honey-cakes *egkridas*. For the same reason the statement of Luke xxii. 15, "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover," is changed into an interrogative: "Have I desired to eat this flesh, the Passover, with you?" The *date* of the Gospel is placed by Harnack between 180 and 200.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians.—Harnack regards this Gospel as a document of the highest value. He thinks that it was originally written, as a counterblast to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for the use of Gentile Christians. Unfortunately we have only two authenticated excerpts from it: (*a*) A sentence preserved in Epiphanius, which attributes to Christ the saying, to which so much importance was attached by the author of the Sabellian heresy, that "one and the same Being was alike Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." (*b*) An important extract preserved in Clement of Alexandria:—

"When Salome asked, How long will death prevail? the Lord said, As long as ye women bear children: for I have come to destroy the functions of women. And Salome said to him, Did I well, then, in not bearing children? And the Lord answered and said, Eat of every herb, but do not eat of that which is bitter. And

when Salome asked when the things would be known about which she had inquired, the Lord said, When ye have trampled upon the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one and the male with the female neither male nor female."

This quotation shows that the Gospel was written in the interest of a sect which regarded marriage as a sin. In spite of the fact that these two quotations constitute our only authenticated information with regard to the contents of the Gospel, Harnack thinks that it is possible to extend our knowledge, and claims for it certain other anonymous quotations which are found elsewhere. In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, which is really a homily (ascribed by Harnack to Bishop Soter of Rome, about 170), there are a number of citations, giving sayings of Jesus, some of which cannot be traced back to any known source. One of them corresponds in many particulars to the authenticated fragment from the Gospel according to the Egyptians quoted above. Upon the basis of the identity of these two excerpts Harnack argues that (1) all the other quotations come from the same source, (2) and the fact that the Gospel is so largely drawn upon by a Roman bishop proves the exalted position which it held in the estimation of the Church. Harnack's arguments, however, are not conclusive. The quotation in II. Clement, upon which he relies for

the identification, has many remarkable dissimilarities from the authenticated fragment, which must make us pause before we jump to the conclusion that they come from the same source ; and even if the identity of the two could be maintained, there would still be no proof that the other citations in II. Clement were taken from the same Gospel. On the whole, it must be said that Harnack's position is "not proven." His attempt to rehabilitate the Gospel to the Egyptians cannot be regarded as successful. The most probable view is still that of the ancient Fathers, who describe it as a heretical Gospel written in the interests of the Sabellians and Encratites. Harnack's date, too, seems far too early. He places it in the reign of Trajan, certainly earlier than 130. The Gospel could scarcely have originated, however, before 150.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED "SAYINGS OF JESUS"

In 1897 a papyrus fragment was discovered, in the mounds of Oxyrhynchus, an Egyptian town on the edge of the Libyan desert 120 miles south of Cairo, containing seven or eight "Sayings of Jesus."

The most important of these "Sayings" are as follows :

"Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God ; and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath ye shall not see the Father."

“Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart.”

“Jesus saith, Wherever there are (two), they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there am I.”

“Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.”

In 1904 further excavations at Oxyrhynchus brought to light another papyrus leaf with five more “Sayings,” the most interesting of which are the following :—

“Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having the kingdom he shall rest.”

“Jesus saith, Ye ask, Who are those that draw us to the kingdom if the kingdom is in heaven? The fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth, and the fishes of the sea, these are they which draw you, and the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. Strive, therefore, to know yourselves and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Father, and ye shall know . . .”

"Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee, for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised."

These "Sayings" constitute a very interesting problem in criticism, which cannot at present be said to have found a satisfactory solution. It is easier to ask the questions which naturally come into the mind when we read them—*e.g.* Whence did they originate and what is their value?—than it is to supply an answer. We shall probably have to wait for other "finds" before we obtain the clue which will enable us to give a sure explanation of the "Sayings." Upon one point, however, there seems to be a general agreement amongst scholars, viz. that the "Sayings" belong to a very early date. A.D. 140 is given as the latest possible time at which they could have come into existence, and they may possibly be considerably earlier than that; some scholars suppose that they go back to the first century. Upon the question of *the origin of the "Sayings"* there is the utmost divergence of opinion amongst scholars. Some suppose that they are extracts from one of the Apocryphal Gospels. Harnack, for instance, thinks that they are excerpts from the Gospel of the Egyptians—a theory which is based upon his more than doubtful reconstruction of the Gospel in question. Others suggest the Gospel to the Hebrews or the Gospel of Thomas as

the source from which they were taken. Others again, regard them as a cento of quotations taken not from a single Gospel but from several. It is impossible to make out a convincing case for any of these theories. There are no Gospels with which we are familiar which seem altogether to suit the character of the "Sayings." On the whole, opinion seems to be coming round to the view that the papyri represent an independent collection of the sayings of Jesus of very early origin. There is nothing to show that the collection was made in the interests of any heresy or schism in the Church. We seem to find in the papyri an illustration and example of the Logia, or collections of the sayings of Jesus, which we know must have been the earliest form, or one of the earliest forms, in which the Christian tradition took shape. To what extent the "Sayings" of the papyri preserve authentic utterances of Jesus cannot be determined. As far as our present fragments are concerned, there seems to be no motive which explains the invention of "the sayings," though of course, if we had larger data to go upon, perhaps the key to the riddle might be found. If further discoveries do not reveal the hand of the heretic, or suggest a clue which can account for the manufacture of the "Sayings," we shall be warranted in supposing that the collection preserves genuine elements of tradition, and so is a document which the student of the Gospels is bound to take into account.

CHAPTER XIV

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS (*continued*)

THE LEGENDARY GOSPELS

WE possess some twenty-two documents — most of them belonging to a late date—which expand certain parts of the history of Christ's life by the addition of legendary embellishments. They may be divided into three classes; (*a*) Those which deal with the history of Joseph and Mary before the birth of Jesus. (*b*) Those which deal with the infancy and boyhood of Jesus. (*c*) Those which relate to the history of Pilate.

I. THE GOSPELS OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH

1. The most important of the first class of legendary Gospels is the book known as the **Protevangelium of James**. This title does not appear in the document itself, but was given to it by Postel, who published the modern version of it in Latin in 1552. The book is extant in Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions, and we possess no less than fifty MSS. of it altogether. The book may be divided into three parts: (*a*) The story of Mary before the birth of Jesus. Mary is the daughter

of Joachim and Anna, who were childless till late in life. They vowed that, if God would give them a child, they would dedicate it to His service. When Mary was three years old, they took her to the Temple, and placed her in the charge of the priests. When she reached the age of twelve, the priests, fearing the responsibility of keeping a marriageable girl in the Temple, resolved to place her in the charge of a widower. Joseph is miraculously chosen for the task, and Mary is placed in his keeping. (*b*) The account of the miraculous birth. The document follows in the main the narrative of Luke, though there are some important legendary additions, *e.g.* the ordeal imposed on Joseph and Mary of drinking "the waters of jealousy," the unbelief of Salome, &c. (*c*) The story of Zacharias. At the time of the slaughter of the Innocents, Elizabeth and the child John are miraculously saved by the opening of a mountain, which effectually conceals them from their pursuers. Zacharias, refusing to give information as to their hiding-place, is murdered by command of Herod. The utmost diversity of opinion exists among scholars with regard to the date of the Protevangelium. There are some, *e.g.* Zahn and Krüger, who regard it as a very early document, and place it in the first decade of the second century (100-110). Others go to the opposite extreme, and hold that it belongs to the fourth century. Harnack strikes out a mediating position. He thinks that the Protevangelium

is made up of three separate documents. (1) The story of Mary (which is, properly speaking, the Book of James) was written a little before 250. (2) The account of the birth of Jesus probably belongs to the end of the second century or the commencement of the third. (3) The Book of Zacharias dates from the opening decades of the third century. He agrees, however, with the prevalent opinion, that in its present form the book does not go back beyond 350. The author of the Gospel was evidently a Jewish Christian, as is clearly proved from the interest which he takes in Jewish rites and ceremonies. This, however, does not prevent him from falling at times into serious anachronisms. The narrative does not seem to have been written in the interest of any doctrinal or ecclesiastical theory. There is no evidence to show that the writer advocated the Adoration of the Virgin, though the book certainly bears witness to the increasing sanctity which was attached to her.

2. **The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew** is largely based upon the Protevangelium of James, the greater part of which it embodies. It carries the story to a later date, giving an account of the visit to Egypt, and recounting many miraculous incidents in the later boyhood of Jesus. It adds many new legendary elements to the narrative of the Protevangelium. For instance, it describes the adoration paid by the ox and ass to the infant Jesus as He lay in the manger at Bethlehem, and

says that this was the fulfilment of the prophecy, "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." The Gospel also describes many miraculous events which happened during the flight into Egypt; how, for instance, lions and leopards adored the child, how a palm bowed its head at the child's command and supplied its fruit to satisfy His mother's need, how when He entered an idol-temple the idols all fell shattered to the ground. The account of the boyhood of Jesus is borrowed from the Gospel of Thomas, with which we shall have to deal later on. Pseudo-Matthew contains more mythical stories, probably, than any other Gospel, and cannot be dated earlier than the fifth century.

3. **The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary** is also a lineal descendant of the Protevangelium. The story of Mary is told almost exactly upon the lines of the Protevangelium, though of course Mary now becomes the central figure of the narrative, and the story ends with the birth of Christ. There are some embellishments in the narrative, *e.g.* angelic visitations to Mary are of daily occurrence during her sojourn in the Temple. The Gospel of the Nativity can scarcely be earlier than the fifth century. It had a wide circulation, and exercised an important influence in mediæval times—especially upon art and theology.

4. **The History of Joseph the Carpenter.**—This Gospel, which is preserved in Arabic and Coptic, relates

the story of the life of Joseph. The narrative is put into the mouth of Jesus, who is represented as telling it to the disciples on the Mount of Olives just before the Crucifixion. The first part of the story follows the Protevangelium, but carries the history on to the death of Joseph, who was about ninety years old when Jesus was born, and lived to the age of a hundred and eleven. Full particulars are given of various incidents connected with Joseph's death, *e.g.* his confession of sin and his conflict with devils, the miraculous preservation of his body from corruption, &c. It seems probable that the Gospel was composed in Egypt, possibly in the fifth century, to celebrate the Festival of Joseph's death.

5. Another document which may be conveniently placed under the class of Apocrypha, though it does not deal specifically with the Virgin Birth, is the little work known as the **Assumption of Mary**, or the "Passing of Mary." It is found in several forms, which, though differing in details, are in substantial agreement with regard to the main points of the story. Two years after the Ascension of Jesus, Mary is warned that her end is approaching. The Apostles are miraculously borne on clouds from the ends of the earth to witness her departure. In the full sight of them all, Mary is carried up to heaven without dying. The document probably belongs, as Tischendorf thinks, to the fourth century.

II. THE GOSPELS OF THE BOYHOOD OF JESUS

1. The most important of the Gospels which deal with the boyhood of Jesus is the **Gospel of Thomas**, which occupies the same place in this class as the *Protevangelium* in the former. We possess no less than four different recensions of this book: (*a*) the longer Greek, (*b*) the shorter Greek, (*c*) the Latin, (*d*) the Syriac. All these recensions differ in general contents as well as in detail, but contain enough common matter to prove that they were derived from the same source. The Syriac is not even ascribed to Thomas, and is known simply as the "Syriac Gospel of the Boyhood of our Lord Jesus." These Gospels purport to describe the life of Jesus from His fifth to His twelfth year. They teem with miraculous events. The boy Jesus restores the dead to life, and also sometimes inflicts death upon those who thwart Him. He makes birds of clay and causes them to fly, miraculously lengthens a short piece of wood to make it equal to a longer, cures His brother James when he had been bitten by a venomous serpent, confounds His teachers by an exhibition of prodigious knowledge, &c. The portrait of Jesus is anything but majestic. The miracles are generally puerile displays of magical power, and lack the ethical motive which is so prominent in the Gospels of the New Testament. It is not easy to determine the

date at which the Gospel of Thomas was written. We know that a Gospel of Thomas circulated in Gnostic circles in the second century. Hippolytus quotes from a Gospel of this name which, he says, was used by the sect of the Naasenes. Quotations in Irenæus (180) seem to imply that the Gospel was in existence at his time. We may be certain, therefore, that a Gospel of Thomas did exist amongst certain sects between 150 and 180. But we cannot be sure that our version of the Gospel is identical with the Gnostic Thomas, for two reasons: (1) A quotation in Hippolytus taken from the Gnostic Thomas is not found in any of our recensions. (2) Our Gospel does not exhibit any traces of heresy. The probability therefore is, as Harnack suggests, that our Gospel is an expurgated edition of the Gnostic Thomas made in the interests of Catholic Christianity. When, and by whom, this version was made, cannot be determined.

2. The only other Gospel of importance belonging to this class is the **Arabic Gospel of the Infancy**. The author states that he derived his materials from "the book of Joseph the high priest, and some have said that he is Caiaphas." The contents of the book fall into three parts: (1) The story of the birth of Jesus, which is derived from the Protevangelium. (2) The story of the flight into Egypt, which has much in common with Pseudo-Matthew. (3) The story of the boyhood of Jesus, which seems to be taken from the Gospel of Thomas.

III. GOSPELS WHICH RELATE TO PILATE

A very large Apocryphal literature has gathered round the person of Pilate. By far the most important work is the so-called **Gospel of Nicodemus**—a book which obtained a remarkable popularity both in ancient and mediæval times. The title is comparatively modern, and is not found till the thirteenth century. The Gospel of Nicodemus contains two documents of very different character and origin: (1) the Acts of Pilate; (2) the Descent of Jesus into the Underworld. There are several different recensions of both documents in Greek, Latin, and Armenian. A Coptic version also exists.

The first document, the Acts of Pilate, contains an account of the trial of Jesus before Pilate and of the subsequent action taken by the Jewish Sanhedrin. The most important points in the narrative are: (*a*) The charge of illegitimacy which is brought against Christ by the Jews and successfully rebutted. (*b*) The defence of Jesus by Nicodemus, who proceeds on the lines of Gamaliel in Acts v. (*c*) The witness in favour of Christ by those whom He had healed. (*d*) The action of Joseph of Arimathea, and the persecution which he received from the priests. (*e*) The testimony to the Ascension of Jesus by the three men of Galilee.

There is a keen controversy amongst scholars as to the date at which the Acts of Pilate was written. There

are some who, like Tischendorf, suppose that it was written very early in the second century, and hold that it is therefore a very valuable document, containing genuine traditions, which may be used to expand the account of the Crucifixion in the Gospels. Others think that the book belongs to the fourth or even fifth century, and is a worthless compilation. The arguments in favour of the latter view, which has the support of Harnack, are : (1) Eusebius never mentions a Christian Gospel of Pilate, though he gives an account of a pagan Acts of Pilate, which was used in public schools to throw derision upon Christianity. (2) The allusions to Acts of Pilate in Justin and Tertullian, which are the basis on which the theory of an early date rests, are inconclusive. It is true that Tertullian does quote some document relating to Pilate, but there is no proof that this document is identical with the Gospel of Nicodemus. On the contrary, Harnack argues with much acumen that the statements of Tertullian were used by the author of Nicodemus as one of his sources. In spite of the fact that Dr. Rendel Harris has recently ingeniously championed the theory of an early date, the case for the genuineness of the Gospel cannot be made out. The probability is that the Gospel was composed as a Christian reply to the heathen Acts of Pilate mentioned by Eusebius.

The second document of the Gospel deals with the

descent of Christ into Hell. Two young men, Charinus and Leucius, who had been raised from the dead, describe the visit of Christ to Hades. They recount how suddenly a great light filled the underworld, how the Lord appeared in glory and, amid the songs of the redeemed, set up the Cross as the symbol of His triumph. The document is interesting because it expands and develops the statements in our First Epistle of Peter and the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. The account, of course, is purely imaginary, and its sole value consists in the fact that it illustrates the position which this article of the Creed had obtained in the fourth century.

There are five other minor documents dealing with Pilate, some of which are appended to the Gospel of Nicodemus in some MSS., viz. the *Letter of Pilate* to the Emperor Tiberius ; the *Report of Pilate*, which purports to be Pilate's official report of the Crucifixion of Christ to the Emperor ; the *Paradoses of Pilate* and the *Death of Pilate*, which give an account of Pilate's death ; the *Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea*, which describes the part played by Joseph in the Crucifixion. All these are late fabrications, and have no claim to receive consideration from a historical point of view.

CHAPTER XV

APOCRYPHAL ACTS, EPISTLES, ETC.

APOCRYPHAL ACTS

MORE than a dozen different Apocryphal Acts have been preserved, of varying date and value. They all attempt to supplement our canonical Acts by giving an account of the lives and works of the Apostles. Amongst these Apocryphal books, the following are the most important :—

The Acts of Paul and Thecla.—This book records an interesting episode in connection with Paul's visit to Iconium (Acts xiv. 1-7). Stripped of its mythical elements, the story is as follows. During his stay at Iconium, Paul lived in the house of Onesiphorus. In an adjoining mansion there resided a noble Iconian lady, named Thecla, who from her chamber often listened to Paul's preaching. She was fascinated by his message and became a Christian. This so enraged the members of her family and her affianced husband, Thamyris, that they induced the magistrates to cast Paul into prison. Thecla visited Paul in prison secretly,

and when this was discovered, the Apostle was hurriedly expelled from the city. Thecla, however, resisted all the attempts which were made to induce her to renounce her Christian faith, and finally fled to Antioch, where she was arrested and condemned, on the charge of having insulted a pagan priest. She had a marvellous escape from the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, which refused to touch her, and was afterwards released. She subsequently lived under the protection of Queen Tryphæna, whom she was the means of converting to Christianity.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Acts of Thecla was written at a comparatively early date. Tertullian (A.D. 200) states that a presbyter of Asia had confessed to the authorship of the book, pleading that he had written it through his love to Paul. The book could scarcely, therefore, be later than 170, and this is the date at which Harnack puts it. Sir W. Ramsay holds that, though in its present form the book belongs to 130-160, yet the present version shows signs of being based upon an earlier document, which originated in the first century. He accordingly regards it as containing a genuine tradition, and thinks that some such incident actually occurred. Harnack, however, argues that the case for the existence of an earlier document has not been made out, and maintains that the Acts of Thecla contains "a great deal of fiction and very little truth."

The Acts of Thomas.—Next in importance to the

Acts of Thecla comes the Acts of Thomas. This is a specially interesting book, because it bears upon its face the stamp of Gnostic influence. We shall not be far wrong if we describe it as a religious novel, with the Apostle Thomas for its hero, written in support of the doctrine of celibacy. According to the story of the book, when the world was parcelled out among the Apostles, India fell by lot to Thomas. He at first refused to go, and it was only when the Lord appeared to him and sold him as a slave to an Indian merchant, who was looking out for a carpenter, that he consented to undertake the mission. The most interesting incident in the book is the following. When Thomas arrived in India, he was commissioned by King Gundaphorus to erect a royal palace. He at once consented to undertake the contract, but instead of building a palace spent the king's money in relieving the wants of the poor. When the king returned and found no palace, he was exceedingly angry, and ordered Thomas to be arrested. It so happened, however, that the king's brother Gad died about this time. After death, upon arriving in heaven, he saw a beautiful palace, and asked permission to make it his home. He was told, however, that the palace had been built by Thomas for King Gundaphorus. Gad thereupon returned to earth, and, appearing to his brother, endeavoured to purchase the heavenly palace from him. This opened the eyes

of Gundaphorus, and led to his conversion. The other stories in the book are all written to support the view that marriage is sinful, and celibacy the only right mode of life. Thomas's preaching finally resulted in his martyrdom. He converted the wife of the chief minister, who refused to live any longer with her husband. The minister complained to the king, and he ordered his soldiers to put Thomas to death. The date of the Acts of Thomas is difficult to fix. The book is first mentioned by Eusebius, who denounces its heretical character. Our present version is possibly a purified version of the original Gnostic edition, made for the benefit of Catholic Christians. The majority of modern scholars, including Harnack, hold that it was not composed till after the commencement of the third century.

The Acts of Andrew.—There are several documents which deal with the history of the Apostle Andrew, viz. the Acts of Andrew, the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, the Acts of Peter and Andrew. The most important incidents related in these documents are : (1) The story of Andrew's rescue of Matthew from the island of the cannibals. The narrative abounds in impossible and fantastic romances. Andrew receives orders from God to go to Matthew's help. When he reaches the coast he finds a boat, with Jesus at the helm under the guise of a steersman, and manned by angels under the form of sailors. Upon arriving at the island, he miraculously

enters the prison. The warders fall dead when he breathes upon them, and Matthew is released. The most amazing scenes follow. A statue belches forth acrid water, which destroys all the inhabitants of the city. They are restored to life by Andrew's intervention, and eagerly embrace Christianity. (2) The story of Andrew's martyrdom at Patara in Achaia. The bulk of the narrative is taken up with a discussion between Andrew and the proconsul Ægeates. After a long argument, Ægeates, unable to answer Andrew, orders him to be executed. The account of the crucifixion is full of marvels. Andrew hung upon the cross for three days and three nights, entrancing the crowd with his eloquence. The crowd, astonished at the miracle, begged that his life might be spared, but Andrew prayed that God might not allow him to be released. His prayer was answered, and he was suffered to die. Tradition ascribes the Acts to Leucius, who is supposed to have been a disciple of John the Apostle. Innocent I. (d. 417) says that it was written by the philosophers Nexocharis and Leonidas. The book is first mentioned by Eusebius, and we know from later references that it circulated at first amongst heretical sects. Our present fragments, however, contain no traces of heretical influence, and so probably represent a purified edition made for the use of ordinary Christians. The date can scarcely be earlier than the third century.

The Acts of John describes : (a) The appearance of John before the Emperor Domitian in Rome. Domitian was anxious to stamp out Christianity. Information was given him that John was the champion of Christianity in Asia. Accordingly he at once sent soldiers to arrest him and bring him to Rome. John made a great impression upon the emperor, and by drinking a cup of poison without any ill effect convinced him that the new religion was not altogether a superstitious fancy. Unwilling, however, to revoke his edict against the Christians, Domitian ordered John to be imprisoned in the isle of Patmos. (b) The death of John. Towards the end of his life John called his disciples around him and bade them farewell, exhorting them in many speeches to remain loyal to the faith. Then he ordered a grave to be dug, threw in his clothes, and entered it alive. Next day his disciples found no trace of the Apostle, but there was a fountain where the grave had been.

The book is associated in tradition with the name of Leucius. The stress which it lays upon celibacy and abstinence from meats shows that it emanated from heretical sects. Whether it belongs to the second or the third century cannot be determined. There is a comparative freedom from romantic and fantastic elements about the book.

The Acts of Philip, which appears in several forms, describes : (a) The work of Philip at Athens. Philip meets

three hundred philosophers at Athens and expounds to them his doctrine. They ask for time to consider his arguments, and write to the high priest Ananias at Jerusalem asking him for information about Philip. Ananias determines to hurry to Athens at once, and confront Philip before the Athenians. The book recounts the story of the meeting of Philip and Ananias and the utter discomfiture of the latter. The Athenian philosophers are converted and accept the Christian faith.

(b) The martyrdom of Philip at Hierapolis. Philip came to Hierapolis in company with his sister Mariamne and Bartholomew, one of the seventy. Through the influence of Mariamne, Nicanora the wife of the proconsul was converted. This so infuriated "the gloomy tyrant, her husband," that he at once ordered the arrest and execution of the missionaries. Philip was crucified head downwards, and the other two were subjected to the most shameful indignities. Philip, in the agony of his suffering, imprecated the vengeance of God upon the city. In response to his prayer, the abyss opened and swallowed up the persecutors. The Lord, however, appeared to him and reproached him for this act of vengeance, and told him that, because of it, he was doomed to die and spend forty days in the anguish of hell before entering heaven. The Acts of Philip can only be described as a religious novel of Gnostic origin. There is no evidence to prove that it belongs to the second century.

The Acts of Peter and Paul.—A whole Apocryphal literature naturally clustered round the names of Peter and Paul. The Acts of Paul has unfortunately been lost, but the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Peter and Paul have been preserved for us, as well as some other documents of minor importance. The Acts of Peter and Paul are best known and most accessible to the ordinary reader since they appear in most collections of Apocryphal literature. The story is as follows : The Emperor Nero is warned by the Jews that Paul is coming to Rome, and issues an edict ordering the governors of any city to which he may come to arrest him and put him to death. At Puteoli, Dioscurus, the captain of the ship, is mistaken for Paul, and put to death. Paul is thus enabled to reach Rome in safety. The Jews urge him to champion their religion and confute Peter, who is seeking to destroy the Mosaic Law. Paul promises them to put Peter to the test. The two men meet in the most amicable spirit, and find that their views are in exact agreement. Paul is successful in healing the feud between the Jewish and Gentile Christians of Rome. Then follows an account of the contest between the Apostles and Simon Magus in the presence of Nero. Simon performs many feats of witchcraft, and the Apostles work miracles of healing. Peter challenges Simon to a contest of thought-reading, which the latter declines. After several long debates and

many rival exhibitions of skill, Simon undertakes to fly through the air. In the midst of his flight, the supernatural support which enabled him to achieve his success is withdrawn, owing to the prayers of the Apostles, and Simon falls to the ground and perishes. Nero orders the Apostles to be put into irons, and finally sentences Paul to be beheaded and Peter to be crucified. The Acts of Peter tell practically the same story, with the exception of the important fact that they contain no reference to the presence of Paul in Rome. The majority of scholars seem to be agreed that the Petrine Acts are the earlier version of the legend. Nothing can be definitely determined with regard to the date at which these works were written. Harnack puts the Acts of Peter about 220. The Dutch scholar Van Manen thinks that both versions originated almost simultaneously in different circles of the Church about 160. There can be no doubt that the contents of the books are mainly fiction. They may contain some germs of fact, but it is almost impossible to disconnect the fact from the fiction. They bear witness to the fact, however, that there was a strong tradition in the Church to the effect that both Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome.

APOCRYPHAL EPISTLES

The Correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus.—Eusebius tells us that he discovered in the archives of Edessa two Epistles, one written by Abgarus to Jesus, and the other containing the reply of Jesus. These letters were in Syriac, and Eusebius translated them into Greek. The contents are as follows: Abgarus, King of Edessa, being smitten with a grievous disease, and having heard of the miracles wrought by Jesus in Palestine, asks Him to come to Edessa and heal him, saying that he was convinced that Jesus was either God come down from heaven or the Son of God. Jesus replies, "Blessed art thou, O Abgarus, who without seeing hast believed in me," but states that it is impossible to comply with the request because it is necessary for Him to fulfil the mission for which He had been sent into the world. After his death, however, He promises to send one of His disciples to cure Abgarus. The book from which Eusebius probably extracted these letters is still extant in Syriac. It is known as the Teaching of Addai, and was edited with an English translation by Dr. Phillips in 1876. It contains a great deal of material which Eusebius does not use, and which possibly may be a later addendum to the original work. It relates how the promise given by Jesus was fulfilled by the mission of

the Apostle Addai, who was sent by Thomas to heal Abgarus and preach the Gospel in Edessa. We have also a Greek version of the story, known as the Acts of Thaddæus. There seems to be no possibility of doubt that the correspondence is fictitious. The first trace of Christianity in Edessa is not found till about A.D. 200. The letters were probably forged in the third century by an Edessan Christian who was anxious to bring the origin of his Church into relationship with Christ.

The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.—In his Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 16) Paul writes, “And when this Epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans and that ye also read the Epistle from Laodicea.” A letter is in existence which purports to be this “letter from Laodicea” mentioned by Paul. It is found only in a Latin form (see Lightfoot’s “Epistle to the Colossians,” p. 285), but internal evidence proves that it was originally written in Greek. “The Epistle,” to quote the words of Lightfoot, “is a cento of Pauline phrases strung together without any definite connection or any clear object. . . .” “The Apostle’s injunction in Col. iv. 16 suggested the forgery, and such currency as it ever attained was due to the support which that passage was supposed to give to it. Unlike most forgeries, it had no ulterior aim. It was

not framed to advance any particular opinions, whether heterodox or orthodox. It has no doctrinal peculiarities. Thus it is quite harmless, so far as falsity and stupidity combined can ever be regarded as harmless."

The Correspondence between Paul and Seneca.—Fourteen letters are in existence, six of which claim to have been written by Paul to Seneca, and the remaining eight by Seneca to Paul. The contents of these letters are very flimsy and uninteresting. They consist mainly of an interchange of compliments between the Apostle and the philosopher, and relate to an attempt which Seneca is supposed to be making to secure the interest of Nero in the writings of Paul. The letters carry their condemnation on their face. As Lightfoot says, "the letters are inane and unworthy throughout: the style of either correspondent is unlike his genuine writings: the relations between the two, as there represented, are highly improbable: and lastly the chronological notices (which, however, are absent in some important MSS.) are wrong in almost in every instance." The correspondence is obviously a forgery, dating probably from the fourth century, the object of it being either "to recommend Seneca to Christian readers or to recommend Christianity to students of Seneca."

APOCRYPHAL APOCALYPSES

The Apocalypse of Peter.—The oldest of the Apocryphal Apocalypses is undoubtedly that ascribed to Peter. A large fragment of it, containing probably about half the original book, has recently been discovered at Akmîm (Pentapolis), together with the fragment of the Gospel of Peter. The Apocalypse enjoyed a great popularity in the early Church. It is mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment (about A.D. 170), was quoted by Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 200), and, as we know from the statement of the historian Sozomen, even as late as the fifth century, though it had been definitely rejected by Eusebius and other writers, was publicly read once a year in certain churches of Palestine. The Apocalypse has very little in common with the canonical Book of Revelation. The subject, which forms its theme, is the condition of the dead. The disciples are represented as coming to the Lord and asking Him to show them “one of the righteous brethren that had departed from the world, that they might see of what form they were and take courage.” The fragment is made up of two visions: (*a*) the vision of the saints in Paradise, (*b*) the vision of Inferno. The first vision depicts the saints thus: “Their bodies were whiter than snow and redder than the rose, and the red was mingled with the white: there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and all their raiment

was light such as never eye of man beheld." Paradise is described as a land "blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and fair-flowering plants incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit." It is, however, to the picture of Inferno that the Apocalypse devotes most space. The place of chastisement is described as "very squalid." It contained a lake of "flaming mire" and many other loathful places. Punishment is meted out to various types of sinners in different ways. Blasphemers, for instance, are described as hanging by their tongues over a flaming fire. Murderers were cast into a "narrow place full of evil reptiles." The selfish rich were rolled in torment upon red-hot pebbles sharper than any sword. Usurers were compelled to wallow up to the knees in "a lake of pitch and blood and boiling mire." The sensual were hurled from the top of a cliff into a deep abyss, and forced to reascend continually that the process might be repeated. The influence exerted by the Apocalypse can scarcely be overestimated. Its ideas reappear in other writings, *e.g.* the Apocalypses of Paul, the Sibylline Oracles, &c., and through these and other writings influenced mediæval theology, and were thus the source from which Dante's picture of the Inferno was derived. The Apocalypse must have been of comparatively early origin. It can scarcely be later than A.D. 150, and may be even earlier.

The Apocalypse of Paul is a weak imitation of the

Apocalypse of Peter. It deals with the same theme, and gives a description of heaven and hell. It belongs, however, to a much later date, as the following passage shows: The angel, when asked what certain prisoners had done, who had been cast into a deep well in Inferno, replies, "These are they that denied that the Holy Mary is the Mother of God and said that the Lord did not become man out of her, and that the bread of thanksgiving and cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood." This statement is a clear proof that the Apocalypse could not have been written before the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

INDEX

ABGARUS, 174
 Achiacharus, 51
 Acts, Apocryphal, 123, 165-173
 Adam, 66, 75, 85
 Ahikar, 51
 Allegorical interpretation, 135, 136
 Almsgiving, 35, 49
 Andrew, Acts of, 168
 Angels, 50, 94, 98
 Angels, fall of, 75
 Apocalypse of Baruch, 81-85
 Apocalypse of Peter, 177
 Apocalypses, New Testament, 177-179
 Apocalyptic literature—
 importance, 72
 contents, 69
 meaning cf, 70
 origin, 71
 Apocrypha proper—
 value of, 1-6
 contents, 7
 character, 8
 origin, 9
 rejection, 11
 Apocrypha, wider, 69-73
 Apocrypha (New Test.)—
 character, 121
 origin, 121
 contents, 122
 value, 124
 Arabic Gospel, 161
 Ascension of Isaiah, 94-99
 Assumption of Mary, 159

Assumption of Moses, 85-88
 Azarias, prayer of, 55

BAPTISM, 133
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 134-137
 Baruch, Apocalypse of, 81-85
 Baruch, Book of, 58-62, 65
 Bel and Dragon, 54

CANON (Old Test.), 9-11
 (New Test.), 120-122
 "Christ," 77, 119
 Clement, Epistle of, 126-130

DANIEL, additions to, 52-55
 Demons, 50, 75, 94
 Didache, 130-134
 Doketism, 99, 124, 145-147
 Dualism, 43

EBIONITES, Gospel of, 148
 Ecclesiasticus, 31-38
 Egyptians, Gospel of, 149-151
 Enoch, Book of, 74-78
 Enoch, Secrets of, 78-81
 Epicureanism, 39
 Epistles, Apocryphal, 174
 Esdras I., 24-29
 Esdras II., 62-67
 Esther, rest of, 56
 Ethics, 34, 36, 39, 103, 112, 132, 140
 Evil, problem of, 65, 71, 75, 82
 Ezra IV., *see* Esdras II.

FAITH, 67
 Fall, the, 43, 66-85
 Fasting, 46, 50
 Forgiveness, 103
 Future Life, 19, 23, 35, 37, 43,
 67, 76, 99, 118

GENESIS, 89, 90
 Gentiles, 62, 104
 Gospels, Apocryphal, chaps. xiii.,
 xiv.

Gospel of Ebionites, 148
 „ Egyptians, 149
 „ Hebrews, 141-145
 „ James, 154-157
 „ Nativity, 158
 „ Nicodemus, 162
 „ Peter, 145-148
 „ Pseudo-Matthew, 157
 „ Thomas, 160

HADES, descent into, 164
 Heavens, doctrine of the, 79, 98
 Hebrews, Gospel of, 141-145
 Hedonism, 39
 Hellenism, 36, 43, 113, 114
 Heretical Gospels, 123, 145-151
 Hermas, 138-140
 Holy Spirit, 42, 98
 Hyrcanus, 17, 102

IDOLATRY, 39, 55, 68
 Infancy, Gospel of, 161
 Isaiah, Ascension of, 94-99

JAMES, Gospel of, 155-157
 Jason, 24
 Jeremy, Epistle of, 68
 Jesus, Sayings of, 151-154
 John, Acts of, 170
 Joseph, History of, 158
 Josephus, 26, 27

Jubilees, Book of, 89-94
 Judith, 44-47

LAODICEA, Epistle to, 175
 Law, the, 46, 49, 62, 91, 92, 94,
 118
 Leontopolis, 21
 Leucius, 169
 Logia, 123, 151-154
 Luther, 47, 51

MACCABEES I., 14-19
 „ II., 20-24
 „ III., 105-109
 „ IV., 110-115
 Manasseh, Prayer of, 57
 Mary, Nativity of, 158
 „ Assumption of, 159
 Mastema, 94
 Merit, doctrine of, 85
 Messiah, 19, 67, 76, 77, 78, 83,
 95, 96, 98, 118
 Millennium, 71, 75, 80
 Moses, Assumption of, 85-88

NEW TESTAMENT—
 Canon, 120-122
 influence of Apocrypha, 3, 5,
 43, 77, 80, 84, 87, 93, 98,
 102, 114, 118
 Nicodemus, Gospel of, 162

OLD TESTAMENT—
 Canon, 9-11
 interpretation, 135

PARADISE, 178
 Patriarchs, Testaments of, 99-104
 Paul, Apocalypse of, 177
 Paul, Acts of, 172
 Paul and Apocrypha, 5, 42, 43,
 80, 84, 93, 99, 102, 103, 114
 Paulinism, 129, 140

Peter, Acts of, 172
 „ Apocalypse of, 177
 „ Gospel of, 145-148
 Pharisees, 23, 53, 76, 91, 117
 Philip, Acts of, 170
 Philo, 40
 Pilate Documents, 162-164
 Pre-existence, 42
 „ of Messiah, 78
 Prayers for dead, 67
 Propitiation, 35, 115
 Protevangelium, 155-157
 Providence, 109
 Psalms of Solomon, 116-119
 Pseudo-Matthew, 157

 QUIETISM, 86, 113

 RESURRECTION, 84 (*see* Future Life)

 SADDUCEES, 17, 117
 Sayings of Jesus, 151-154
 Seneca, 176
 Septuagint, 9, 41
 Shepherd of Hermas, 138-140
 Sin, original, 43, 66, 75, 76, 85
 Sirach, *see* Ecclesiasticus

Slavonic Enoch, 78-81
 Solomon, Psalms of, 116-119
 Song of Three Children, 55
 Stoics, 109, 112-115
 Susanna, 52

 TEACHING of Apostles, 130-134
 Temple, the, 28, 46, 52
 Testaments of Patriarchs, 99-104
 Thecla, Acts of, 165
 Thomas, Acts of, 166
 Thomas, Gospel of, 160
 Tobit, 47-51
 Trinity, 42, 96

 UNIVERSALISM, 104
 Utilitarianism, 36, 39

 VEGETARIANISM, 148
 Virgin Birth, 96, 155-159
 Vulgate, 8

 WISDOM, 35, 42, 59
 Wisdom, Book of, 42-59
 Wisdom literature, 30, 59
 Works, 67, 85

 ZEALOTS, 86, 87

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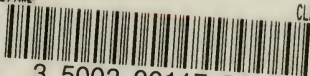
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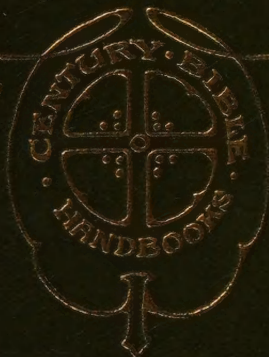
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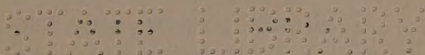
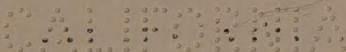
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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA—INTRODUC-	
TION	I
II. THE APOCRYPHA PROPER	7
III. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS	14
IV. THE DIDACTIC BOOKS	30
V. THE RELIGIOUS ROMANCES	44
VI. PROPHETIC WRITINGS	58
VII. THE WIDER APOCRYPHA	69
VIII. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE	74
IX. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (<i>continued</i>)	89
X. OTHER APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE	105
XI. THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA	120
XII. NON-CANONICAL BOOKS WHICH WERE USED	
AS SCRIPTURE BY THE EARLY CHURCH	126
XIII. THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS	141
XIV. THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS (<i>continued</i>)	155
XV. APOCRYPHAL ACTS, EPISTLES, ETC.	165
INDEX	180

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA— INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT-DAY VALUE OF THE APOCRYPHA

THE first question which naturally suggests itself in approaching the study of Jewish Apocryphal literature is, Why should we trouble about the Apocrypha at all? What value has the Apocrypha for us to-day? Immersed as we are in theological problems of the first importance, why should we devote time and strength to the study of books which have been unanimously rejected by the whole of Protestant Christendom?

This question might be answered in various ways.

There are many grounds upon which the Apocrypha can lay claim to our interest.

I. We must remember that up to the time of the Reformation the Apocrypha formed *an integral part of the Christian Bible*. It is true that many of the Christian Fathers drew a distinction between the Apocrypha

and the rest of the Old Testament; but after the fifth century the distinction was almost universally forgotten, and for a thousand years the Apocrypha held a well-nigh unchallenged place in Holy Writ. The Council of Trent definitely decreed that it was of equal authority with the other books of the Bible, and this position is still maintained by Roman Catholics to-day. Even after the Reformation the Apocrypha still held a high place in the affections of a large number of Protestants, though it was assigned a subordinate position as compared with that of the other books of Scripture. The sixth article of the English Church, for instance, defined the position of the Apocrypha thus: "And the other books (as Jerome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." It was not till 1827 that English Bibles began to be commonly printed without the Apocrypha. The Apocrypha, therefore, has played no insignificant part in the history of the Christian Church. For more than half the time, during which Christianity has been in existence, it was regarded as an integral part of Scripture, and during the other half it has exercised an influence only second to that of the inspired books themselves. For this reason alone, no student of Church History or Christian Doctrine can afford to neglect the Apocrypha. We are bound to recognise the force which it has exercised in shaping Christian thought and moulding Christian char-

acter. And *though the question of the Canon has been closed and is not likely to be reopened*, the Apocrypha, as I shall hope to show presently, has still an important rôle to play in the work of theological reconstruction, which is the immediate task that lies before the Church.

2. The Apocrypha has claims upon our interest on account of the *intrinsic value* of some of its books. There can be little doubt that, if it were possible for us to revise the Canon of the Old Testament, very many people would prefer to substitute Ecclesiasticus for Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Wisdom for the Song of Solomon. Some might even, like Josephus, consider I. Esdras an improvement on our Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while the religious tone of Judith is undoubtedly higher than that of Esther. The spiritual value of much of the Apocrypha has been recognised in the Church from the very first. Traces of its influence are obvious in the pages of the New Testament. Some of Paul's arguments in the Epistle to the Romans were undoubtedly inspired by the Book of Wisdom, and the language in which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews describes Christ (chap. i. 1-3) was borrowed from the same source. The Fathers of the Church always recognised the worth of the Apocrypha, and, for the most part, treated it as Scripture. When Augustine, towards the end of his life, made an anthology of the passages of Scripture which he considered specially

helpful for the culture of the spiritual life, the quotations from Ecclesiasticus occupied no less than an eighth of the book (36 pages out of 285 in Wehlrich's edition of the "Speculum"), twice as much space as was given to the Gospel of St. Matthew. Even though we may think that Augustine attaches too much weight to Ecclesiasticus, it is impossible to dispute the proposition that the best books of the Apocrypha are undoubtedly worth reading for their own sakes, and contain much that is profitable and stimulating.

3. The Apocrypha is also of immense importance from a *historical point of view*. Between the latest book of the Old Testament (the Book of Daniel, which dates from about 168 B.C.) and the birth of Christ, there is a gap of more than a century and a half. During this period, radical changes took place both in the political and religious condition of the Jewish people. Why should our interest in the history of Israel cease with Daniel? Why should we ignore the interval between the two Testaments? If the story of the Maccabæan struggle for freedom does not appeal to us, the history of the development of Jewish theology ought surely to command our attention. God's revelation of Himself to Israel did not end with Ezra. It is impossible to think of Him as silent for four hundred, or even for a hundred and fifty years. There was no hiatus in the Divine preparation for the advent of the Messiah. The

religious and political movements during this intermediate period profoundly affected the life and thought of the infant Church. For this reason alone, if for no other, the Apocrypha is of priceless value to us, since it is the source from which we derive most of our knowledge of Jewish history during the years that separate the Old Testament from the New.

4. *A knowledge of Apocryphal literature is absolutely indispensable for the scientific study of the New Testament.* It is no exaggeration to say that New Testament criticism has been simply revolutionised during the last ten years, and the revolution has largely been produced by the publication of the Jewish Apocalyptic writings. New problems have been raised which never before excited serious attention. We cannot, for instance, read the Epistles of Paul to-day without asking questions which never troubled theologians in the past. It is impossible for us to take Paul's statements just as we find them. We are bound to ask, What is the source from which he derived his ideas? How much of his theology, for instance, is simply Judaism carried over into Christianity? To what extent is his interpretation of Christianity coloured by his Pharisaic training? What is the origin of the thought-forms in which he clothes his Christian experience? Whence did he obtain the categories which he uses in explaining the Person of Christ or the Doctrine of the Atonement? What is the validity of

these ideas for modern theology? Questions like these, and many other similar problems which confront us in New Testament criticism to-day, can only be answered by the scientific study of Apocryphal literature. As Sanday and Headlam say in their Commentary on Romans, "It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible." Two epoch-making books have already appeared which illustrate the tremendous importance of the new method. Dr. Charles' "Eschatology" throws a flood of light on the Pauline doctrine of the Future Life; and Tennant's "Sources of the Doctrine of Original Sin" has proved conclusively the influence of the Apocrypha on this particular aspect of Pauline theology. These books are only the pioneers of a new principle of criticism which must, sooner or later, be applied to the whole range of New Testament theology. In this work, the effects of which upon the theology of the future can scarcely be foreseen at present, the Apocrypha is destined to exercise an enormous influence. It may be said, therefore, that *a knowledge of Apocryphal literature is even more essential for the study of the New Testament than a knowledge of the Old Testament itself.* The present handbook is merely an attempt to give an account of the literature, but an opportunity has been taken, wherever it was possible, of pointing out the value of each particular book for the student of the New Testament.

CHAPTER II

THE APOCRYPHA PROPER

THE term Apocrypha in its technical sense has been used since the time of the Reformation to describe a collection of Jewish books, whose claim to be regarded as part of the Old Testament has been challenged by the Protestant section of Christendom. This collection comprises some fourteen works of varying character and value. They may be classified as follows:—

1. *Historical Works*.—I. Esdras; I. and II. Maccabees.
2. *Didactic Works*.—The Wisdom of Solomon; the Book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus).
3. *Religious Romances*.—The Book of Tobit; the Book of Judith.
4. *Prophetic or Apocalyptic Works*.—The Book of Baruch; IV. Ezra (sometimes called II. Esdras).
5. *Additions to the Old Testament*.—The addition to the Book of Esther; the Prayer of Manasseh; the three additions to Daniel, viz. (a) The Song of the Three Holy Children; (b) The Story of

Susanna; (c) The Story of Bel and the Dragon. Most of these additions might very properly be placed in the class of Religious Romances.

What is the Apocrypha?—The Christian Church in modern times first became conscious of the existence of the Apocrypha at the Reformation, though individual scholars and theologians had of course always known of it before. Up to the Reformation the Bible in common use was the Latin version originally made by Jerome, and known as the Vulgate. When, however, Reuchlin reintroduced the study of the Hebrew language, and Protestants began to read the Hebrew original of the Old Testament, the discovery was made that the Vulgate contained many more books than the Hebrew Bible. *The name Apocrypha was accordingly given to those books which were found in the Vulgate but not in the Hebrew Bible.* But how did the books get into the Vulgate? If they were not part of the original Hebrew, whence did Jerome obtain them? The answer to the question is simple. The Jews in the early centuries of the Christian era had two versions of the Old Testament, one the original Hebrew, which was used more particularly in Palestine, the other a Greek translation, called the Septuagint, which was originally made at Alexandria and used by the Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion. The Greek Bible, like the Vulgate, contains

the extra books, known as the Apocrypha (with the exception of IV. Ezra), which are not found in the Hebrew, and it was from the Greek Bible that Jerome introduced them into his Latin translation. The Apocrypha therefore *represents the difference between the contents of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint plus IV. Ezra.*

The Origin of the Apocrypha.—The statement that the Apocrypha is the excess of the contents of the Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible, only drives the question which was raised about the Vulgate a stage further back. We have still to ask how the Apocrypha got into the Septuagint when it is absent from the Hebrew. To answer this question it is necessary to consider the problem of the origin of the Old Testament Canon. It is impossible to go into the details, or discuss the debatable points connected with this important subject. All that can be done here, is simply to state the main conclusions with regard to which there is general agreement amongst modern scholars. How, then, was the Old Testament formed? Obviously it did not drop from the skies, and equally obviously its books were not composed at the same time. The Old Testament is a collection of books written by many different people over a period of several centuries. How were the books collected together? It is certain now that the collection was not made at any one particular point in the history of Israel, though it may have received

official sanction at a particular date. The Old Testament was formed very gradually, and over five hundred years elapsed between the beginning and the end of the process. The chief points in the evolution of the Canon were as follows: (1) In its earliest form the Old Testament consisted merely of "the Law." The word "Law," however, in this connection is used in a broad sense, and covers the six books of the Hexateuch. These books were recognised as authoritative about 444 B.C. or perhaps in their present form a little later. If the Bible of 400 B.C. had been stereotyped, it would thus have ended with the Book of Joshua. As a matter of fact, the Samaritan Old Testament only contained the Pentateuch. (2) In the second stage, a further collection, consisting of the prophetical writings, and including the historical books (*i.e.* Judges, I. and II. Samuel, I. and II. Kings), was added to the Canon. When exactly this addition was made cannot be precisely determined, but we know that it must be placed somewhere between 400 and 200 B.C. The Old Testament of 200 B.C. therefore consisted of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Historical Books. (3) A final addition, consisting of the Hagiographa, and comprising all the books not found in the two other sections, was made between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100, and the total collection received official recognition at the Jewish Synod of Jamnia (about A.D. 90), so that the Old Testament, as

we know it in its complete form, was finally adopted as the Bible of the Jewish people about the end of the first century of our era. Here the process stopped as far as Palestine was concerned. If we ask why a development which had been going on for five hundred years should have been suddenly arrested, the only satisfactory explanation that we can find is that it was probably due to the revolutionary change in the character of Judaism which resulted from the destruction of the Temple. Before A.D. 70 the Temple had been the centre and soul of the Jewish religion. When its Temple was destroyed, it had to find a new centre, and it turned to its sacred writings. The first problem it had to settle was the question as to what was to be regarded as sacred, and what not. The decision of this question was of vital importance. Hence the Synod of Jamnia. From this point onwards, the Bible took the place of the Temple, and Judaism became the religion of a book. But though the process stopped in Palestine, it did not stop in Alexandria. The Jews of Alexandria still went on adding to the Old Testament, and the books which they added consisted of the writings which we now call "the Apocrypha." We owe the Apocrypha, therefore, to the fact that the process of the evolution of the Old Testament was arrested at an earlier stage in Palestine than it was at Alexandria.

Reasons why the Apocrypha was rejected.—The

grounds upon which the Apocrypha was rejected by Protestants are not far to seek. Protestantism was the religion of a Book. Its seat of authority was the Bible. The Bible was to it what the Church had hitherto been to Christendom. Its doctrine of inspiration sharply differentiated the Bible from all other literature. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to reject all books of disputed canonicity. The right of the Apocrypha to a place in the Bible had never been universally acknowledged. It had no place in the Hebrew Scriptures. It was with great reluctance that Jerome had admitted it into the Vulgate. Several of the Fathers of the Church had protested against its use. In the face of this divergence of opinion, it was impossible to regard the Apocrypha as inspired Scripture, and no book of doubtful inspiration could have any place in the Protestant Bible. Besides the divergence of opinion, there were other reasons which probably weighed with the Protestants. (a) The re-discovery of the Hebrew and Greek originals had created a revulsion of feeling against the Vulgate. Some of the renderings of the Vulgate seemed to afford unfair support to the doctrines of Roman Catholicism. The whole version was therefore regarded with suspicion, and the suspicion naturally extended to the Apocrypha. (b) The Apocrypha contained some passages which conflicted with Protestant theology. The doctrines of the intercession of the

saints and of prayers for the dead were both clearly taught in some of the books. Many passages in Ecclesiasticus lent support to the Romanist doctrine that "salvation is of works." There cannot be much doubt that theological considerations weighed both with Roman Catholics in their acceptance of the Apocrypha and with Protestants in their rejection of it. Many of the old objections have lost their weight to-day. The rigid theory of inspiration has been given up. Few would now deny that there is more inspiration in some of the books of the Apocrypha than there is in some of the writings included in the Old Testament. On the other hand, every impartial student is bound to admit that the general spiritual level of the Apocrypha is nothing like as high as that of the Old Testament, and partly for this reason, and partly too because of the grave problems that would be raised if the question of the Canon were reopened, the verdict, which was passed on the Apocrypha by Protestantism at the Reformation, is not likely to be reversed.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

THERE are only three books in the Apocrypha proper which can be termed historical, viz. I. and II. Maccabees and I. Esdras, and of these three I. Maccabees is by far the most important. Its importance is due to the fact that it is our chief authority for one of the most stirring periods in Jewish history. From it we derive our most trustworthy account of the heroic struggle for civil and religious liberty which forms almost the only brilliant episode in the dreary centuries that separate the epoch of the great prophets from the time of Christ. As Westcott says, "History offers no parallel to the undaunted courage with which the Maccabæan brothers dared to face death, one by one, in the maintenance of a holy cause. The result was worthy of the sacrifice. The Maccabees inspired a subject people with independence: they found a few personal followers and they left a nation."

The Contents of I. Maccabees. — The narrative

covers a period of forty years from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes in 175 B.C. to the death of Simon in 135 B.C., and gives therefore a complete picture of the struggle. The book may be conveniently divided into five sections. (1) *The cause of the revolt* (chap. i.). The writer gives a vivid description of the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, in conjunction with the Hellenising party in Judæa, to abolish the Jewish religion and establish paganism in its stead. A Greek gymnasium was erected in Jerusalem; the Temple was desecrated, and became the scene of idolatrous sacrifices; a terrible inquisition was instituted, and all Jews who refused to abandon their faith were put to death. (2) *The outbreak of the revolt* (chap. ii.). The standard of revolt was raised at Modin by Mattathias and his five sons, who gathered together a force and resisted the demands of Antiochus (167 B.C.). Just before his death, which occurred in the following year, Mattathias charged his sons "to be zealous for the law and give their lives for the covenant." (3) *The struggle under the leadership of Judas* (chaps. iii. 1-ix. 22). Judas is the hero of the book, and the writer dwells at length on his valorous deeds during the five years (166-161) of his captaincy. In his first campaign he won three signal victories, the first over Apollonius, the second over Seron, the third over a large army specially sent from Antioch to avenge the previous defeats under the command of Nicanor and

Gorgias (chaps. iii., iv.). In the following year he was again successful against a still larger Syrian army under Lysias, and this triumph enabled him to obtain possession of the Temple at Jerusalem, which he purified and re-dedicated to the worship of Jehovah (chaps. v. and vi.). The victories of Judas, and the difficulties which arose in Syria after the death of Antiochus, compelled Lysias to abandon the policy of destroying the Jewish religion, and grant the Jews religious liberty. Judas, however, was not content with this concession. The remainder of his life was devoted to the attempt to secure political independence as well (chaps. vii.-ix.). (4) *The leadership of Jonathan* (chaps. ix. 23-xii. 53), which lasted from 161 B.C. to 143. After a fruitless guerilla warfare, in which Jonathan won some victories, a change of fortune took place through a civil strife in Syria. Jonathan was made High Priest in 153, and by diplomatic alliances succeeded in maintaining his position for ten years. (5) *The leadership of Simon* (chaps. xiii.-xvi.) from 143-135 B.C. Partly by success in war, partly by diplomacy, Simon consolidated his position and secured complete independence for the Jews. His rule was characterised by many administrative reforms. In 135 B.C. he was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, who hoped to secure the position.

Authorship and Date.—The name of the author of I. Maccabees is unknown. It is certain, however,

that he must have been a Palestinian Jew. This is clearly proved (1) by the fact that, as we know from the express statements of Origen and Jerome, the book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic; (2) by the author's minute acquaintance with the geography and topography of Palestine. Many scholars think that the religious tone of the book indicates that the writer was a Sadducee. The date cannot be fixed with precision. The book must have been written before the Roman invasion of Palestine in 63 B.C., because otherwise the writer's attitude to the Empire must have been much less favourable than it is: 63 B.C. is therefore the latest possible limit. The earliest possible date seems to be fixed by the reference to Hyrcanus in chap. xvi. 23. The statement, "the rest of the acts of John . . . are written in the chronicles of the priesthood," seems to imply that Hyrcanus was already dead, and that an account of his life had been written. The death of Hyrcanus occurred in 105 B.C. Consequently the majority of modern scholars date the book between 100 and 80 B.C. There is, however, another view. Some scholars, including Wellhausen, think that the last two chapters did not form part of the original book, but are a later addition. If this be so, an earlier date may be adopted, and some authorities place the book in the early part of the reign of John Hyrcanus, between 140 and 125 B.C.

Characteristics of the Book.—(a) *Its historical value.* For accuracy and trustworthiness I. Maccabees compares very favourably with most historical writings of ancient times. It is not entirely free from mistakes. It represents, for instance, the partition of Alexander's empire as having been made by himself (chap. i. 6), and it is at variance with the statements of other historians with regard to the date of the murder of Antiochus VI. chap. xiv. 1). No historian, however, not even Thucydides, is absolutely infallible, and such errors as have been discovered in the book belong for the most part to extraneous affairs, and do not affect the essence of the narrative. (b) *Its freedom from legendary accretions.* The most remarkable characteristic of I. Maccabees is its absolute freedom from mythical elements. It confines itself to the sober facts of history. The narrative contains no miracles, no portents, no supernatural interventions. In this respect it stands almost alone among ancient histories, and the fact is all the more wonderful when we remember that the writer was dealing with a great religious movement, which must have afforded no little material that a superstitious imagination might have easily developed into supernatural events. (c) *Its religious tone.* One of the most striking features about I. Maccabees is its religious reticence. This is not due to scepticism or want of faith, however. There can be no question about the genuine faith and religious

devotion which the writer exhibits throughout the book. He is in fullest sympathy with the aims of the movement which he is describing. He shows the greatest zeal for all the institutions of Judaism, for the Law and the Ordinances, for the Temple and for the Scriptures. He refers to the Divine deliverances of Israel in the past, and is confident that "none that put their trust in Him shall want for strength." Yet never once, from beginning to end of the book, according to the true text, does the term "God" or "Lord" occur. The writer either describes God by the word "Heaven," or leaves the reader to supply his own subject to the verb. The writer evidently belongs to a school of thought which had lost the sense of the nearness of God, and which no longer used the old familiar names. To it God had become remote and far away—in fact, little more than an abstraction. I. Maccabees is lacking, too, in a belief in the future life. There is no hint of any reward or punishment, or even of any existence after death. It contains, however, an adumbration, at any rate, of the Messianic hope. Twice the writer speaks of certain temporary arrangements which have been made and are to continue "till the prophet comes" (chaps. iv. 46, xiv. 41).

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

II. Maccabees presents many points of contrast with **I. Maccabees**. It is widely different in (*a*) the scope of its contents, (*b*) its aim and purpose, (*c*) its historical value, (*d*) its religious outlook.

The Contents of II. Maccabees.—While the first book of Maccabees covers the whole period from 175 B.C. to 135 B.C., the scope of the second book is much more limited. It begins a year earlier, but only extends to the death of Nicanor, which occurred in 161 B.C. Thus it only covers fifteen years, and, like the Acts of the Apostles, ends without recording the death of its hero. The first seven chapters contain new material; chaps. viii.–xv. run parallel to I. Maccabees i.–vii. The new material comprises the following elements: (*a*) two prefatory letters from the Jews of Palestine to their brethren in Egypt (chaps. i. 1–ii. 18), which, however, seem to be a later addition and not an integral part of the book; (*b*) the writer's preface describing the aim and source of the book (chap. ii. 19–32); (*c*) the attempt of Heliodorus to plunder the Temple (chap. iii.); (*d*) the intrigues amongst the High Priests at Jerusalem (chap. iv.); (*e*) the attack on the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (chap. v.); (*f*) the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brethren (chaps. vi., vii.).

The Aim of the Book.—The interest of the author

of I. Maccabees is purely historical: the book is entirely free from any ulterior purpose, and is intended to be an unvarnished record of facts. The case, however, is different with the second book. The writer definitely states that his object was to write for the pleasure and profit of his readers. "We have been careful that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it comes might have profit" (chap. ii. 25). He compares himself to a decorator putting the finishing touches on the ornamentation of a house (chap. v. 29). The writer's idea of what would be profitable to his readers may be gathered from the general tone of the book. His purpose is "writ large" on almost every page. He is always striving to impress upon the Egyptian Jews that they were part and parcel of the Jewish race, and so the participants in the glories of the Maccabæan age. His great ideal is the unity of Jewish people. Centrifugal forces were at work. A temple had been established at Leontopolis, and there was a danger that the Diaspora in Egypt would be completely dis severed from Palestinian Judaism. It is against this spirit that the author of II. Maccabees is protesting, and he uses the events of the Maccabæan struggle to exalt the Temple at Jerusalem and to urge the necessity for keeping the Palestinian festivals. The book might be described as a tract in favour

of unity based on the events of the Maccabæan war.

Historical Value.—II. Maccabees is of considerably less historical value than the first book, for : (a) Historical accuracy and chronological order are subordinated to the religious purpose of the book. The festivals of the Dedication and of Nicanor, for instance, are taken out of their proper place in the narrative for dramatic effect. There are many discrepancies, too, between the statements of the two books on points of detail and order, and in every case internal evidence favours the narrative of I. Maccabees. (b) The writer of II. Maccabees has a predilection for introducing marvellous and supernatural incidents. He speaks of the manifest signs which came from heaven (chap. ii. 21). Amongst the prodigies related in the book may be mentioned the great apparition of the terrible rider who smote Heliodorus (chap. iii. 24-29), the apparition of the horsemen fighting in the air (chap. v. 2-4), the supernatural protection given to Judas on the battle-field (chap. x. 29-31), &c. (c) There is a lack of true historical perspective. Minor events often receive an undue emphasis, and a disproportionate amount of space is allotted to them.

Yet in spite of all this, the fact remains that the book possesses no little historical value. There is much in it that we have to discount. No one, for

instance, accepts the account of the martyrdom of the seven brethren (chap. vii.) as literal history. Nevertheless, by the use of critical methods, it is possible to extract many precious grains of fact from the husk of fiction which overlays the narrative.

Religious Outlook.—The dissimilarity between the two books is most obvious when we come to the question of religious tone. If the first book can be said to represent the Sadducean standpoint, the second is certainly written from the point of view of the Pharisees. There is no reserve or reticence about the writer of II. Maccabees. He is always obtruding his religious convictions upon his readers. He never misses an opportunity of "pointing the moral" of the story. The most interesting feature in the theology of the book is the emphasis which it lays upon the resurrection of the dead. There is no other Pre-Christian Jewish book where the doctrine of the future life is so strongly insisted upon as in II. Maccabees. There is, moreover, most distinct evidence that the resurrection to which the writer looked forward was a resurrection not merely of the soul but of the body as well. Most of the crucial passages on the subject occur in the account of the martyrdoms in chaps. vi. and vii.

Authorship and Date.—Nothing is known about the author except that he was probably an Alexandrian, who sympathised with, if he did not actually belong to,

the Pharisaic party. He derived the bulk of his information from a history of the Maccabees written by Jason of Cyrene, whose work he abridged. It is not always easy to decide, however, what was taken from Jason and what is the author's own production. Nor have we any clear indications which enable us to fix with certainty the date of either work. There are a number of small points in II. Maccabees which have led the majority of modern scholars to assume that the book was written in the closing decades of the first century B.C., between 60 B.C. and A.D. 1. It seems probable, too, that Jason's History was written about a century earlier—possibly between 150 and 120 B.C.

THE FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS

The different titles which are given to this book are somewhat confusing. In the Septuagint it is called the First Book of Esdras (Esdras A); II. Esdras being equivalent to our canonical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which originally formed one work. In the Vulgate, on the other hand, it is termed the Third Book of Esdras; I. and II. Esdras representing respectively our Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. To avoid the ambiguity modern scholars often speak of it as the "Greek Esdras."

Contents.—With the exception of one section, viz. chaps. iii.—v. 6, the book is a compilation from

II. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The following table will make its relations to these books apparent:—

Esdras i.	=	II. Chron. xxxv., xxxvi.
ii. 1-14	=	Ezra i.
ii. 15-25	=	Ezra iv. 7-24.
iii.-v. 6	=	The original section.
v. 7-70	=	Ezra ii. 1-iv. 5
vi. vii. 7-8	=	Ezra v., vi.
viii.-ix. 36	=	Ezra vii.-x.
ix. 37-55	=	Neh. vii. 73-viii. 13.

The main theme of the book is concerned with the rebuilding of the Temple. The chronological arrangement, however, is hopeless. After mentioning (chap. ii. 1-14) the decree of Cyrus (538-530 B.C.), the writer without a word of warning leaps over a period of eighty years, and proceeds to describe (chap. ii. 15-25) the opposition encountered from Artaxerxes (464-425 B.C.). In the original section of the book we are transferred to the second year of Darius (520 B.C.). Chap. v. 7-70 returns to the reign of Cyrus. In chaps. vi. and vii. we are back again in the reign of Darius, while the remainder of the book belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes. With chap. ii. 15-25 and chap. v. 7-70 in their present places, it is impossible to reduce the chronological chaos of the book into order. The original section is interesting. It gives an

account of a literary contest between three pages-in-waiting at the court of Darius. The three pages submit three themes to Darius on "what is the strongest force in the world." The first maintains that "wine is the strongest," the second that "the king is the strongest," the third that "women are strongest, but above all things truth beareth away the victory." The last-named, a Jewish youth, won the prize, and received as his reward a promise from the King that the Temple at Jerusalem should be rebuilt.

Historical Value.—The historical worth of the book is a matter of keen controversy amongst scholars to-day. At first sight, its chronological inaccuracies would seem to put it out of court altogether. There are, however, some important considerations on the other side. (1) It is clear that Josephus used I. Esdras as his authority for this period of Jewish history in preference to the other narratives which were at his disposal. (2) The position assigned to the book in the Septuagint suggests that more importance was attached to it at the time than to Ezra and Nehemiah, which are accorded an inferior position. (3) The contents imply that it belongs to a comparatively early age, when Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were as yet undivided. (4) The book was universally accepted in the Christian Church up to the time of Jerome. In face of these arguments, it is impossible to set the book aside as a

worthless compilation. The difficulties, however, remain, and present an insoluble problem. Josephus substituted the name of Cambyses for the Artaxerxes of chap. ii. 15, and so removed one very serious stumbling-block. Sir H. Howorth, who is the foremost English champion of I. Esdras, suggests that the Darius mentioned in chaps. vi. and vii. is not Darius Hystaspis, as is usually supposed, but Darius Nothus (423-404). Many scholars think that the book was a compilation of gradual growth. The earliest stratum is the original section (chaps. iii.-v. 6). This was placed in a historical setting by the addition of chaps. vi. 1-vii. 15 and ii. 16-30 from an Aramaic document. It was only in the third stage that the book assumed its present form, the further additions being made by a later writer from the canonical books. Some such theory seems necessary to explain the arrangement of the book. On any hypothesis, however, it is clear that the failure of the compiler to arrange his sources in proper order does not detract from the historical value of the original documents themselves.

Date of the Book.—The date of the book cannot be fixed except within broad limits. Its use by Josephus (A.D. 100), and the fact that he would not have been likely to use it unless it had already acquired an established reputation, prove that it could not have been written later than the early decades of the first century A.D. On the other hand, its linguistic affinities with

the Book of Daniel prove that it could not have been written earlier than 168 B.C. We may be tolerably certain, therefore, that the book falls between 160 B.C. and 1 A.D., but it is impossible to arrive at any certain date between those limits. There is an absolute cleavage of opinion among scholars as to whether the book belongs to the first or second century B.C.

Motive of the Book.—Judging from the contents and tone of I. Esdras, there seems to be a suggestion of three underlying motives for its compilation. (1) One of its objects was undoubtedly to establish the dictum, "*Fortis est veritas et prævalebunt.*" This suggests an apologetic purpose, and possibly the book may have been written in a time of persecution to encourage the Jewish sufferers and assure them that ultimately the truth was bound to prevail. (2) There is a second apologetic note in the book. The writer seems to lay stress on the fact that great emperors like Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes had shown favour to the Jews, and so to suggest to the authorities of his own time that their attitude ought to be imitated. (3) The emphasis laid on the rebuilding of the Temple seems to be intended by the author to encourage his readers in a similar project. The theory has been propounded that the book was written to support Onias in his task of establishing a temple at Leontopolis. There is, however, no evidence in support of the conjecture, and the date of the

building of the temple (168) is too early for the composition of I. Esdras.

The author of I. Esdras completely hides his identity. It is probable that he was an Alexandrian. It seems clear, too, that he did not use the Septuagint version of his sources, but either an earlier Greek version which has been lost, or the Hebrew original itself. The original section of the book shows no signs of Hebrew or Aramaic origin.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIDACTIC BOOKS

THERE can be little doubt that the two didactic books, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, constitute the most valuable part of the Apocrypha for us to-day. These books belong to a special class of writings to which the name "Wisdom Literature" has been given. They occupy the same position in the Apocrypha as Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes in the Old Testament. While the other types of Jewish literature deal with the peculiarly national aspects of Israelitish religion and law, the Wisdom Literature moves on a broader plain, and treats of the universal elements in morality and religion. The priests and the scribes were content, for the most part, with expounding and expanding the enactments of the legal code, but the wise men or sages set themselves to face the wider problems of life and discover the essential truths which lie at the basis of morality. The spirit of the sage is well described in Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 1-11: "He that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High . . . will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients. . . .

He will keep the sayings of the renowned men, and where subtle parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences and be conversant in dark parables. . . . He will travel through strange countries. . . . He will give his heart to seek early to the Lord, and will pray before the Most High. When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences. He will direct his counsel and knowledge, and on His secrets shall he meditate."

ECCLESIASTICUS

The Title of the Book.—The word Ecclesiasticus means "belonging to the Church" or "used in the Church." The title was bestowed on certain books, which, though they had not been admitted into the Canon, were recognised as suitable for use in public worship. Our present treatise subsequently seems to have monopolised the term, as being *par excellence* the "Church-book" of the Apocrypha, and so in the Vulgate it is called Ecclesiasticus, and from the Vulgate the name has passed into common use. In the Greek versions, however, the book is generally described as the "Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach," and so it is often referred to by abbreviation as the "Book of Sirach."

The Author.—The book was originally written in Hebrew by Jesus, the son of Sirach, and translated into

Greek by his grandson, who bore the same name. The family relationships are described in different ways in different MSS. Many scholars think that Jesus was the son of Eleazar, and that the phrase "Son of Sirach" or Ben Sira is a family title. Nothing further is known about either author or translator. The former is described in some MSS. as belonging to Jerusalem, but the text is doubtful. We may infer from certain allusions in the book itself that he was a man of means and leisure, fond of travel, a philosophical observer of life, an ardent Israelite, belonging to the religious party which afterwards developed into Sadduceeism.

The Date.—The date of the Greek edition of the book may be fixed from the statement in the prologue, "Coming into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year when Euergetes was king." There were two kings of Egypt named Ptolemy Euergetes. The first, however, only reigned twenty-five years (247-222 B.C.), and so is impossible. The reference must therefore be to the second, who reigned, partly as co-regent, and partly as sole king, from 170 to 116 B.C. The date of the translator's arrival in Egypt thus falls in the year 132 B.C., and his book was published shortly afterwards. We may assume that his grandfather's original work was written about fifty years before. The only other reference of importance bearing upon the question of date is found in the eulogium passed upon "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias"

(chap. I. 1). Simon is singled out for such high praise, and his achievements are described in such detail, that we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that he lived near to the times of the writer of the book, and possibly may have been contemporaneous with him. Unfortunately, however, we cannot identify him with certainty. We know of two men who answer to the description given: (1) Simon I., the son of Onias I. (310-291 B.C.); (2) Simon II., son of Onias II. (219-199 B.C.). The second named fits in with the date mentioned above (190-170 B.C.), but we cannot be certain with regard to the identification because we only possess very scanty information about him. A theory has recently been propounded by N. Schmidt that the Simon of Ecclesiasticus ought to be identified with Simon the Maccabee (143-137 B.C.), the phrase "son of Onias" being due to a corruption of the text. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this view. It need not, however, affect the date which we have assigned to the original work, as Schmidt holds that the concluding chapters of the book are a later appendix, and did not form part of the Hebrew edition. We may safely, therefore, date the Greek Ecclesiasticus between 130 and 120 B.C. and the Hebrew original between 190 and 170 B.C.

The Contents of the Book.—It is impossible to give an analysis of the book. It consists very largely of a number of proverbs and counsels strung loosely

together without any orderly development of thought. It gives advice on the regulation of conduct under all possible circumstances and in every relationship of life. It lays down rules for the training of children, the management of business, the treatment of slaves, the government of the nation, &c. There is no attempt, however, to arrange these precepts on any definite principle. The writer turns at random from one subject to another. The process by which the book was composed seems to have been this.—The writer collected from every available source striking sayings, interesting proverbs, sage counsels, shrewd remarks, and apposite phrases, and then without even attempting to classify them, threw them together into a book, adding here and there dicta of his own. He describes himself as “one that gathered after the grape-gatherers, and filled his wine-press like a gatherer of grapes” (chap. xxxiii. 16). The last eight chapters of the book on “the praise of famous men,” seem to be a separate composition, and are marked by a unity of purpose which is entirely lacking in the remainder of the book.

Religious Teaching.—Ecclesiasticus is of supreme importance to us because it gives a clear picture of the religious thought and ethical teaching of the second century B.C. The doctrine of God represented by the book may be described as conventional and commonplace. The writer is a firm believer in God as the Ruler

of the Universe and the Lord of mankind, but his statements are altogether devoid of originality, and lack prophetic insight and passion. "It would have been as impossible for him," says Schmidt, "to watch with the eyes of an Amos or an Isaiah the doings of Israel's Holy One, as to go forth with unwavering faith in his own inspiration to deliver the oracles of Yahwe." He emphasises the forbearance and mercy of God. "Great is the pity and forgiveness of God, for all things are not possible to men" (chap. xvii. 25). He attaches very little importance to the conception of atonement. "Say not, God will look upon the multitude of my oblations" (chap. vii. 9). "Concerning propitiation be not without fear to add sin to sin" (chap. v. 5). Almsgiving is of more importance, as an act of atonement, than the sacrifices of the Temple. The book knows nothing of angels or spirits. There are a few allusions to supernatural beings in the Greek version, but they are completely absent from the original Hebrew. Even when quotations are given from the Old Testament, all references to angels in them are carefully obliterated. The sole intermediary between God and Man is the Divine attribute of Wisdom, which is personified and represented as the eternal principle of creation. There is absolutely no place in the theology of Ecclesiasticus for the conception of a future life. "Who shall praise the Most High in the grave? . . . The son of man is not immortal" (chap. xvii. 27, 30).

Ethical Teaching.—Ecclesiasticus was intended by its author to be a compendium of ethical teaching—a kind of *vade mecum*—the moral “guide, philosopher, and friend” of the average Jew in every relationship of life. “It gives,” as Schmidt says, “more detailed directions than any other book in the Bible as to proper conduct in different circumstances. It teaches a man how to govern his wife, his children, and his slaves: how to deal with his friends and his foes, his superiors and inferiors, his creditors and his debtors, the rich and the poor: how to behave at the banqueting table and in the house of mourning, in the home and in the public assembly, in the Temple and in the mart: how to control his passions, practise moderation, cultivate his nobler tastes, emulate the example and seek the company of the wise.” Amongst the more prominent characteristics of the ethical teaching of the book we may note: (1) *The influence of Greek philosophy.* Wisdom is identified with knowledge according to the Socratic principle. Throughout the book the pious man is represented as wise, the sinner as a fool. (2) *The utilitarian character of the system.* The writer undoubtedly attempts to connect his ethical system with his religion, and to make the fear of God his main moral motive; but all his sanctions are prudential; the end of morality is always the man’s own well-being and happiness. (3) *The externality of the ethical teaching.* The book deals almost entirely

with the external aspects of morality: very little is said about the aspirations, motives, and ideals of the inward life. (4) *Limitation to the present life*. There being no conception of a future existence in Ecclesiasticus, the ethical teaching is concerned entirely with the present life. The punishment of vice and the reward of virtue are dealt out here and now. (5) *Individualism*. The ethics of Ecclesiasticus are individualistic. No interest is taken in the national life or in society as a whole.

The Different Versions of the Book.—The author of the Greek Ecclesiasticus says in his preface that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and Jerome states that a Hebrew version was in existence in the fourth century A.D. All traces of the Hebrew original were lost up to 1896, when Mrs. Agnes Lewis brought a fragment from Palestine containing chaps. xxxix. 15–xl. 18. This discovery led to further investigation, and many other fragments have been brought to light, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. S. Schechter. These fragments contain the bulk of the book, though several chapters are still missing. A good deal of discussion has been raised as to whether these fragments can claim to represent the original Hebrew text. Some scholars have maintained that they are a re-translation made either from a Persian or Syriac version. On the whole, however, it may be said that the consensus of modern criticism favours the view that they represent the original

Hebrew, and regards them of great importance for the work of textual criticism. Besides these Hebrew fragments, we have versions in Syriac (made from the Hebrew), in Latin (made from the Greek), in Coptic, in Æthiopic, and in Armenian.

THE BOOK OF WISDOM

The Book of Wisdom belongs to the same class of literature as Ecclesiasticus, but represents a great advance upon it in many important respects. In its prophetic insight, in its religious outlook, in the ordered development of its thought, and in the broad range of its ideas, it is undoubtedly far superior to the earlier book.

Contents.—The book may be divided into the following parts: (1) Chaps. i.–v. are polemical, and attack the current unbelief and pessimism of the age. Wisdom is depicted as the source of immortality. (2) Chaps. vi.–ix. contain the writer's own positive statement, based, or supposed to be based on his own experience. Wisdom is commended as the source of all moral and intellectual power. (3) Chaps. x.–xix. are an appeal to the history of Israel in support of the writer's fundamental position. Illustrations are taken from the lives of the patriarchs, and the early history of the nation, to prove that wisdom has always been at the root of success, and the lack of it the cause of failure. In the

midst of this section there is a digression (chaps. xiii.-xv.) containing a very strong denunciation of idolatry.

Aim and Purpose.—The book is partly polemical and partly apologetic. Its opening chapters contain a very strong attack against “the ungodly.” By “the ungodly” the writer probably means the Sadducees. He describes them as men who deny the future life, and are not deterred by the fear of punishment after death. “After our end there is no returning.” As a result they became Epicurean in their attitude to moral questions. “Our life is short and tedious,” they said; “let us enjoy the good things that are present; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and deck ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered!” (chap. ii. 5-9). The arguments with which the Book of Wisdom meets the Hedonism of the age imply a great advance upon the ethical situation in Ecclesiasticus. The writer of Ecclesiasticus is content with the simple statement that men should be virtuous because virtue is its own reward in this life. That position, however, in the interval between the two books, had fallen to pieces because it seemed contrary to the facts of life. Virtue did not always secure the prize. The righteous suffered like other people. The loss of the conventional moral sanction drove men over into Epicureanism, and it is as a protest against this fatal tendency that the Book of Wisdom was written. Upon

what does the writer base his new Apologetic? He bases it: (1) Partly upon his doctrine of the future life. He introduces new religious sanctions in place of the old exploded Utilitarianism. (2) Partly upon an appeal to his own personal experiences. (3) Partly, too, upon an appeal to history. It was the first argument, however, that constituted the writer's chief contribution to Jewish thought. He attempted to redress the balance in favour of morality by "calling a new world into being." We shall not be far wrong if we say that the Book of Wisdom was written to counteract the pessimism and scepticism which had been created by the failure of Utilitarianism as represented by Ecclesiasticus.

Author.—We know nothing about the author of the Book of Wisdom, except that he must have been an Alexandrian Jew. Augustine attributed it to Jesus the son of Sirach, but the differences between it and Ecclesiasticus put the theory out of court at once. Jerome tells us that many of "the old writers" of his time regarded Philo as its author, and this view was accepted by Luther and many other scholars of the Reformation period. A careful examination of Philo's works, however, reveals such marked discrepancies of style, terminology, method of quotation, and philosophy that this theory is now universally rejected. An attempt has been made in recent times to associate the name of Apollos with the authorship of the book. This hypo-

thesis is based on the assumption that Apollos was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is nothing more than a conjecture, and cannot be substantiated. The absence of any specifically Christian ideas is a most serious objection to the theory.

Date.—We have very few data for fixing the date of the book. The writer uses the Septuagint of the Pentateuch, and the book must therefore have been written later than 250 B.C. It is certain that the book was known to and used by Paul, especially in the Epistle to the Romans. This fixes the latest possible limit at about A.D. 50. There is the utmost divergence of opinion as to the point at which the book ought to be placed within these two extremes. Modern scholars prefer either a date between 100 B.C. and A.D. 1 or a date between A.D. 1 and 40. We shall probably not be far wrong if we say that the book was written somewhere about the commencement of the Christian era.

Religious Outlook.—The religious teaching of the Book of Wisdom is extremely interesting. The writer emphasises the omniscience and omnipotence of God, yet links with this conception a firm belief in the Divine Fatherhood. He lays far greater stress on the love of God than other Apocryphal writers. "Thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing. . . . Thou sparest all things, O God, thou lover of souls" (chap. xi. 24-26). The most interesting point in his doctrine of

God is the way in which he develops the personification of the Divine attribute of Wisdom. "Wisdom is the breath of the power of God and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty. . . . She is the brightness of everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all things, and remaining in herself she maketh all things new, and in all ages entering into the holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets" (chap. vii. 25-27). The conceptions of the Logos and the Holy Spirit are also a prominent feature of the book, though the exact relation between these ideas and Wisdom is not defined. In one passage the three great conceptions—God, Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit—are joined together in a manner which adumbrates the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (chap. ix. 17). There can be little doubt that the speculations of the writer of the Book of Wisdom helped to provide the categories for the Christian interpretation of Christ. In fact, some of the language in which he describes Wisdom is boldly borrowed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and applied to Christ (compare chap. vii. 26 and Heb. i. 1, 2). It is in his doctrine of man and the future life, however, that the writer of Wisdom shows most originality. He believes, for instance, in the pre-existence of souls, an idea which he borrowed from Greek philosophy. He

holds that man was created for immortality. "God created man," he says, "for immortality, and made him the image of his own eternity" (chap. ii. 23). "God did not make death, and takes no pleasure in the destruction of the living" (chap. i. 12). Death was introduced into the world through the Fall. "Through envy of the devil death came into the world" (chap. ii. 24). Another conception borrowed from Greek thought is to be seen in the stress which is laid on the dualism of body and soul. "The corruptible body presses down the soul and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind" (chap. iv. 15). Wisdom cannot dwell "in a body subject to sin" (chap. i. 4). The writer's belief in the future life is expressed with indomitable conviction. "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. . . . Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality" (chap. iii. 1-4). "The righteous shall live for ever, and in the Lord is their reward" (chap. v. 15). The wicked will suffer retribution in this world and the next.

No one can read the Book of Wisdom without being struck by the many points of similarity between its teaching and the theology of the Apostle Paul. There can be little doubt that it was one of the most important sources from which Paul drew the materials out of which he constructed his philosophy of the Christian religion.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS ROMANCES

THE Jews utilised all the resources of literature in their efforts to enforce the truths of their religion and kindle the flame of religious enthusiasm. History, poetry, philosophy, and prophecy were all pressed into service, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find them using legends and romances—religious novels, as we should term them to-day—as vehicles for conveying instruction and arousing faith. The two most important of these romances are the Books of Judith and Tobit. “The Story of Susanna” and “The Story of Bel and the Dragon” are further illustrations of the same literary principle. It is a fatal mistake to attempt to discover history in these works. They are religious novels pure and simple, and it is only when we recognise this that they become intelligible.

THE BOOK OF JUDITH

The Story of the Book.—The tale of Judith has come down to us in two different versions. The story as it is told in the ordinary version is as follows:

Nebuchadnezzar, King of the Assyrians, after defeating Arphaxad of Ecbatana, resolves to send a punitive expedition against the nations between Persia and Memphis which had refused to render him help in the war. Holofernes, who is put in command, marches towards Palestine and occupies the principal towns on the sea coasts. The Jews, terrified by the tidings of his approach, hastily fortify the hill-country in order to protect Jerusalem. Special instructions are sent to the fortress of Bethulia, which commanded the situation, to arrest the progress of the Assyrian army. Holofernes lays siege to Bethulia and cuts off the water supply. The people, in despair, beseech the rulers of the city to surrender, and they agree to do so unless help arrives within five days. Judith, however, hearing of this craven counsel, determines to save the city with her own hands. After obtaining permission of the rulers, she puts off her widow's dress, and attiring herself in her finest robes, goes into the camp of Holofernes and obtains an audience with him on the plea that she has useful information to impart which will enable him to take the town. Holofernes becomes enamoured of her beauty and invites her to a banquet. She accepts the invitation in order to gain her purpose. Holofernes drinks deeply and falls into a drunken sleep. Judith with her own scimitar cuts off his head and carries it back to Bethulia in triumph. The Assyrian army, when

it hears of the death of its general, retreats in confusion and Jerusalem is saved.

In the shorter version, though the story is practically the same, it is put in a different setting. Seleucus takes the place of Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, and the scene is laid at Jerusalem and not at Bethulia.

The Religious Tone of the Book.—The Book of Judith possesses some very marked religious characteristics. No one can read it, for instance, without noting the stress which is laid on legal observances and ceremonial. Judith's piety is described as consisting largely (*a*) in the regularity of her fastings (chap. viii. 6), (*b*) in the scrupulous care with which she avoided unclean meats (chap. x. 5, xii. 2), (*c*) in her attention to the ritual "washings" prescribed by the law (chap. xii. 7-9). The same conception is very prominent, too, in the significant passage in which Judith declares to Holofernes that the city will be taken because its inhabitants will be forced by famine to offend God by eating unclean food (chap. xi. 11-19). The Temple, too, occupies an important position in the book. The main concern of the Jews at the prospect of Holofernes' conquests is that the Temple will be destroyed (chap. iv. 11-15). All these marks point to the fact that the author sympathised with the Pharasaic party, though it should be noted that there is no reference to angels or a belief in the future life.

Object of the Book.—It is quite clear that Judith is not history. Luther was right when he spoke of it as a “poem” or “sacred drama.” It was written to encourage the Jews to be faithful to their religion and their law in the face of heathen attacks. “Judith,” says Dr. Sayce, “is a type of that portion of the Jewish nation who remained true to the Law and its observances, and against whom, therefore, weak though they seemed to be, the whole might of the Gentile world was unable to prevail.” The book may be described as a religious novel with a purpose—the purpose being to induce men to keep the Law under the promise of God’s protection.

The Date.—The date of Judith is a matter of dispute. There are numerous theories, but the only two which claim consideration are: (1) the theory which connects it with the Maccabæan age (160–140 B.C.); (2) the theory which places it at a date soon after the Roman invasion in 63 B.C. We have not sufficient evidence to decide absolutely between these two views, but the similarity of the religious outlook in Judith and the Psalms of Solomon has led many scholars to accept the second alternative, and date the book about 50 B.C.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

The Book of Tobit, though of quite a different type from Judith, may be regarded as a companion volume because it belongs to the same class of literature.

The Story of the Book.—Tobit tells the story of the misfortunes which befell two Jewish families, and of a happy *dénouement*, resulting in their union by marriage. The plot is of a less heroic and more domestic character than in the case of Judith. Tobit, a pious Jew, had been carried away captive, together with his son Tobias and his wife Anna, by Shalmaneser to Nineveh. At Nineveh, though remaining faithful to the principles of the Jewish religion, he obtained favour at court, and was appointed royal purveyor. After the accession of Sennacherib, who succeeded Shalmaneser, he fell into disrepute, owing largely to his habit of giving burial to his Jewish kinsmen who had been killed in the streets of Nineveh. He lost his sight, too, through an accident, and became entirely dependent upon his wife for support. One day his wife, in a fit of temper, taunted him with the uselessness of his alms and deeds of piety. In despair he prayed to God that he might die. At this point we are introduced by the story to the second family, who lived at Ecbatana. Sara, the daughter of Raguel, had been married to seven husbands, all of whom had been slain by the demon Asmodeus on the bridal night. And on the day when Tobit was taunted by his wife, Sara was also driven to distraction by the reproaches of her maids, and prayed for death. The prayers of both were heard, and the angel Raphael was sent to deliver them. The help

came in the following way. Some time previously Tobit had deposited ten talents of silver with a Jew at Rages. Under the pressure of poverty he now resolved to send his son Tobias to secure the money. When Tobias sought for a guide to accompany him, the angel Raphael offered his services. Terms were arranged, and the two set out on the journey. It was necessary for them to go through Ecbatana, and they stayed with Raguel, who was a kinsman of Tobit. Tobias fell in love with Sara, and sought her hand in marriage, undeterred by the fate of her previous husbands. By means of a magic charm, given to him by the angel, Tobias exorcised the evil spirit, and the wedding festival was celebrated amidst much rejoicing. Having obtained the repayment of the loan, Tobias and his wife went to Nineveh with Raphael. Tobit is cured of his blindness and all ends happily.

The Religious Teaching of Tobit.—The religious purpose of Tobit is very similar to that of Judith. Great stress is laid upon legal observances and upon almsgiving. This is clearly brought out in the description of Tobit's piety. "I went often to Jerusalem at the feasts . . . having the first-fruits and tenths of increase . . . and them gave I at the altar to the priests" (chap. i. 5, 6). "All my brethren did eat of the bread of the Gentiles . . . but I kept myself from eating (chap. v. 7). "I gave many alms to my brethren, and bread to the hungry,

and clothes to the naked, and if I saw any of my nation dead I buried him" (chap. v. 16, 17). The same ideal appears in the words of the angel (chap. xi. 4-15): "Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. . . . It is better to give alms than to lay up gold, for alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin." The moral of the book appears in Tobit's final appeal: "O, ye sinners, turn ye and do righteousness before him; who can tell if he will accept you and have mercy on you?" (chap. xiii. 6). There are, however, some points which are emphasised in Tobit which have nothing corresponding to them in Judith. (1) The belief in angels and demons plays a most important part in the book. Raphael and Asmodeus are two of the chief *dramatis personæ*. (2) The belief in magic is also most pronounced. The demon Asmodeus is expelled by the smoke produced by burning the heart and liver of a fish, according to the instructions of Raphael. Tobit's eyes are cured by an application of gall taken from the same fish. (3) The necessity for the proper burial of the dead is insisted upon.

Different Versions of the Story.—The story of Tobit was so popular that versions of it were issued in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Greek. These versions vary from each other in many important details. Some of them, for instance, omit the reference to the dog which accompanied Raphael and Tobias. Some of

them speak of Tobit in the third person throughout, others make Tobit speak in the first person as far as chap. iii. 15. Some of them expand the didactic part of the book. These variations show that the book as we possess it to-day in the ordinary form passed through many stages, in each of which it received accretions. The allusions to Achiacharus are interesting. They represent a separate story—the legend of Ahikar—which has been woven in different forms into the Tobit narrative. Ahikar, according to the legend, was a pious courtier of Sennacherib, who, being childless, adopted a boy, Nadan, and brought him up as his heir and successor. Nadan, however, turned against Ahikar, and by means of forged documents accused him of treason and secured his condemnation. The executioner, however, spared his life and imprisoned him in a cellar beneath his house. Later on he was rescued and restored to favour (see Tobit xiv. 10).

Purpose of the Book.—The writer of Tobit used, as his groundwork, a common story, which has its counterpart in most mythologies, and adapted it as a vehicle for enforcing the moral and religious truths of Judaism—especially the duty of obeying the Law, giving alms, and burying the dead. Luther described the book as “a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction.”

Date of the Book.—The only data which we have for fixing the approximate date of Tobit are: (1) We

know that it was quoted by Polycarp in A.D. 112. (2) In chap. xiv. 5, 6 we read, "God will bring them again into the land, where they shall build a temple, but not like to the first . . . Afterward the house of God shall be built with a glorious building." This passage has been taken to mean that Tobit was written before the commencement of Herod's Temple, but the deduction is not absolutely convincing. (3) The prominence given to the burial of the dead may point to the Maccabæan age. Antiochus Epiphanes "cast out a multitude" unburied. (4) Tobit has many points of resemblance with the Book of Ecclesiasticus. These indications have led the majority of modern scholars to place the book in the second century B.C., probably between 150 and 100 B.C.

THE STORY OF SUSANNA

The Story of Susanna is one of the three additions made by the Apocrypha to the canonical Book of Daniel. In the Septuagint it is placed before chap. i.; in the Vulgate it stands as chap. xiii.

The Narrative.—The story has no connection with the Book of Daniel, except that it illustrates the wise judgment of the hero of the book. Susanna is the wife of Joachim, a wealthy Jew of Babylon. Two Jewish elders, ravished by her beauty, form an intrigue against

her. Foiled in their purpose, they charge her before the Council with having committed adultery, and produce evidence in support of their accusation. Susanna is condemned by the Council. At this point Daniel comes into the court and calls for a new trial on the ground that the witnesses have committed perjury. He demands that the two elders shall be examined separately. A discrepancy at once makes itself apparent between the stories of the two men. Susanna is acquitted and the elders are condemned.

The Motive of the Story.—Here, again, there can be little doubt that we have a common story, which is widely circulated in different forms, put into Jewish dress and used to enforce a Jewish moral. An ingenious theory as to its origin and motive has been suggested by an English scholar, C. J. Ball. About the year 100 B.C. a miscarriage of justice occurred in Jerusalem, the son of Simon, the President of the Council, being condemned by the perjury of his accusers. This led the Pharisaic party to advocate legal reforms: (a) the more stringent examination of witnesses; (b) the infliction of severer penalties on false witnesses. If perjury was discovered, the guilty parties were to suffer the same penalty which they had *attempted* to inflict on the innocent. The Sadducean party opposed, arguing that the penalty ought not to be inflicted on the perjurers unless the innocent victim had actually suffered it. On this theory, the

story of Susanna is a tract issued by the Pharisees in support of their policy.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

This forms another addition to the Book of Daniel. It consists of two independent stories, which have no connection with each other except that they are both associated with the name of Daniel, and both are directed against idolatrous practices.

The Story of Bel.—The image of Bel was one of the chief objects of worship in the city of Babylon. Daniel, true to his principles, refused to obey the king's edict enjoining the worship of the image. The king expostulated, and in proof of the deity of the image pointed to the amount of food which it consumed. Daniel in reply asks the king to arrange for a test. The food is prepared and the doors are sealed, and Daniel, suspecting the trickery of the priests, has the floor lightly strewn with fine ashes. Next morning, though the seals are unbroken, the food is gone. Examination, however, discloses the marks of naked feet on the floor. The priests are convicted and put to death.

The Story of the Dragon.—There was in Babylon a great dragon which was universally worshipped as divine. Daniel, however, again refused, and offered to kill the beast. Upon obtaining the king's permission,

he prepared a concoction largely comprised of pitch, and threw it to the dragon. As a result the dragon burst asunder. The furious populace demanded that Daniel should be thrown into the lions' den. He remained unharmed, and was finally restored to favour.

The stories are full of anachronisms and extravagances, and evidently are merely folk-lore adapted as a vehicle of religious instruction. The motive is sufficiently obvious. Like the Epistle of Jeremy, they are an attack on idolatry, and probably belong to the same period—the first century B.C.

OTHER ADDITIONS TO THE CANONICAL BOOKS

Besides the passages inserted in Daniel, already mentioned, there are other additions to the canonical books which, though they cannot be described as legendary, may be conveniently dealt with in this connection.

The Song of the Three Children, or "The Prayer of Azarias," as it is sometimes called, is an addition of sixty-eight verses, inserted by the Septuagint after Daniel iii. 23. It is divided into three parts: (1) the prayer of Azarias (vers. 1–22); (2) a continuation of the narrative in Daniel iii. 23, describing how the king's servants kept on heating the fiery furnace with naphtha

and pitch, and how an angel came down and formed an inner zone within the furnace which the flames could not reach (vers. 23-27); (3) the thanksgiving song of the three martyrs (vers. 28-68). It is probable that the document is the work of more than one writer. Whether it was originally composed in Hebrew or Greek is a matter of dispute.

The Rest of Esther.—This document contains six chapters of additional material which was inserted in the Book of Esther by the Septuagint. The English Apocrypha, following the Vulgate, has collected the added parts into a separate whole. In the Septuagint they are scattered about in different places of the book. Thus—

Chap. x. 4-xi. 1 forms the conclusion of the Septuagint Esther.

Chap. xi. 2-xii. 6 forms its commencement.

Chap. xiii. 1-7 is placed after iii. 13.

Chap. xiii. 8-xiv. 19 is placed after iv. 17.

Chap. xv. is substituted for v. 1-3.

Chap. xvi. is placed after viii. 12.

The object of the addition was twofold: (1) partly to expand the narrative by the addition of new material, (2) partly to give a religious tone to the book. In the canonical Book of Esther the name of God never occurs, and the religious interest is very slight. In the additional parts the religious note is very emphatic. To

take one instance. Observe the frequent introduction of the Divine name in chap. x. 9: "Israel which cried to God and were saved; for the Lord hath saved his people, and the Lord hath delivered us from all those evils, and God hath wrought great signs and wonders."

The Prayer of Manasseh.—The explanation of this addition is to be found in the statement in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19: "Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God . . . behold they are written in the acts of the kings of Israel. His prayer also, and how God was intreated of him . . . behold they are written in the history of Hozai" (or the seers). The prayer of Manasseh, therefore, is an attempt to supply an omission on the part of the writer of Chronicles. There is no justification for regarding the prayer as genuine. Everything points to the fact that it was an imaginative composition, and the work of a Hellenistic Jew. It is generally found appended to the Book of Psalms.

CHAPTER VI

PROPHETIC WRITINGS

THE BOOK OF BARUCH

THE Book of Baruch has most affinities with the type of prophecy represented by Jeremiah, with which it is closely associated in the Septuagint and Vulgate.

Contents.—The Book of Baruch is not a unity. It consists of two, perhaps three, quite distinct documents. (1) The preface (chap. i. 1-14). (2) The first part, containing a confession of sin, and prayer for restoration to Divine favour (chaps. i. 15-iii. 8). (3) The second part, containing a discourse of encouragement to the Jews of the Diaspora (chaps. iii. 9-v. 9).

The **Preface** gives what purports to be a historical introduction to the book. The scene is laid at Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans. Baruch, the author, reads his work to Jehoiachin and his court, who at once determine to send it to Jerusalem. They also collect money that the Jews at Jerusalem may purchase sacrifices to offer on behalf of the King of Babylon. The preface

is highly artificial, and does not fit the contents of either of the documents which follow, though some scholars think that it may possibly have originally been the introduction to the second document.

The First Document appears to contain two distinct confessions of sin, and a prayer for restoration: (*a*) an ancient form of confession used by the Palestinian remnant (chaps. i. 15-ii. 5); (*b*) the exiles' confession (chap. ii. 6-13); (*c*) the exiles' prayer (chaps. ii. 14-iii. 8). The style of the document resembles that of Deuteronomy and the prophecy of Jeremiah.

The Second Document may be divided into two parts: (*a*) A passage in praise of wisdom, identifying wisdom with the Law (chaps. iii. 9-iv. 4). This passage possesses many characteristics of the descriptions of wisdom found in the Wisdom Literature. (*b*) A discourse containing words of comfort and encouragement to the Jews of the Dispersion, resembling in many particulars some of the poetical passages in Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Job. Whether these two sections are separate entities is a matter of debate amongst scholars. It is quite easy to regard them as parts of a single document, the first section showing that the calamities which have befallen the people are due to the fact that they have deserted the fountain of wisdom, the second consoling them with promises of future restoration.

The Date of Baruch.—From what has already been

said it is clear that we are concerned with at least two documents, each of which must be dealt with separately. It will be simpler to deal with the *second document* first, because modern opinion is much more unanimous with regard to its date than it is in the case of the document which forms the first half of the book. There is a general agreement amongst recent critics that this document cannot be placed earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This result seems to be decisively established by the fact that the author used the Psalms of Solomon (especially Ps. xi.). The Psalms of Solomon date from 70-40 B.C., and it was probably not till after the commencement of the Christian era that a Greek translation of them was published. This being so, we are bound to place our document in the first century A.D., and there is no historical situation suited to its contents, till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

There is much more diversity of opinion with regard to the date of the *first document*. Leaving out of account the impossible theory which regards the document as belonging to the historical situation described in the Preface (*i.e.* 583 B.C.), the following views find favour in different schools of criticism to-day: (1) some scholars, following Ewald, place the document in the period following the conquest of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I. in 320 B.C.; (2) others place it in the Maccabæan period,

160-140 B.C.; (3) others regard it as belonging to the same age as the *second document*, i.e. the period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The only datum that seems to help us in arriving at a definite conclusion in the undoubted connection between chaps. i. 15-ii. 12, and Daniel ix. 4-19. The fact that Baruch seems deliberately to omit three references in Daniel to the desolation of Jerusalem which would have been particularly appropriate if the book were written after A.D. 70, militates against the third theory. Those who accept 320 B.C. as the date, have to resort to the hypothesis that Baruch and Daniel are embodying a common tradition, in order to explain the resemblances between the two. On the whole the second view seems to present least difficulty, and we may place the document in the period between 150 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era.

The Religious Outlook of Baruch.—There can be little doubt that Baruch was compiled in its present form by a devout Jew in the last decades of the first century A.D. for the purpose of consoling and comforting his people for the loss of their city. It is contemporaneous, therefore, with a large part of our New Testament, and throws a flood of light upon one type of Jewish thought during this important period. We notice in reading the book: (1) the writer's firm confidence in God and in the divine promises to Israel; (2) his pride

in his religion—"God hath found out all the way of knowledge and given it unto Israel his beloved" (chap. iii. 36); (3) his anti-Gentile prejudices—"Give not thine honour to another, nor the things that are profitable unto thee to a strange nation"—a statement which helps us to understand the opposition of the Judaisers to St. Paul; (4) his devotion to the Law, which he regards as the expression of the wisdom of God, and so of eternal value (chap. iv. 1-3); (5) that the writer never advances upon the position of the prophets. He lives in the spiritual world of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah. This is especially noticeable in the absence of any allusion to the future life.

THE SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS

The second book of Esdras (sometimes called IV. Ezra) is by common consent one of the most important books in the Apocrypha. It occupies the same place in the Apocrypha as the Book of Revelation in the New Testament, and is the only specimen of apocalyptic (as distinct from prophetic) literature in it. The wide popularity which it enjoyed in ancient times is evident from the fact that versions of it are found in Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic. The Hebrew and Greek originals have been lost. The Latin text from which the Authorised Version was translated

is imperfect, and lacks an important section, which has been torn out between the 35th and 36th verses of chap. vii. The missing fragment, however, has been recovered by the discovery, made by Professor Bensly in 1875, of an un mutilated MS. at Amiens.

Contents.—The version of II. Esdras in our Apocrypha contains the original book in a Christian frame. The first two and the last two chapters are a later addition, and were attached to the book to make it suitable for use amongst Christians. The original book, as we know from the versions, comprised only chaps. iii.–xiv. It is generally divided into seven parts, answering to the seven visions which it describes. (1) *The first vision* (chaps. iii. 1–v. 20). Esdras, perplexed by the problem of the sufferings of his own people and the prosperity of their enemies, asks God for an explanation. The angel Uriel is sent to him, and tells him that he must not inquire into things which only God can understand. (2) *The second vision* (chaps. v. 14–vi. 63). After seven days Esdras, dissatisfied with Uriel's words, appeals to God a second time. Uriel reappears, and tries to console him by pointing out the weakness of man's judgment and the approach of the Day of the Lord, when all will be set right. (3) *The third vision* (chaps. vi. 35–ix. 35), contains a further discussion between Esdras and Uriel, more particularly on the question whether few or many should be saved. Uriel

replies that the number of the elect is small. The main point in the vision is the vivid picture of the final judgment and the future state of the righteous and the wicked. (4) *The fourth vision* (chaps. ix. 25-x. 59). On the plain of Ardat Esdras meets a mourning woman who has just lost her only son. He tries to comfort her by referring to the greater desolation of Jerusalem. She suddenly vanishes and Esdras beholds a city. Uriel returns and tells him that the woman represented Jerusalem. (5) *The fifth vision* (chaps. xi. 1-xii. 39). Esdras sees in a dream the vision of an eagle with three heads, twelve wings, &c., which is destroyed by a lion. The eagle, he is told, represents the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel, and the lion is the Messiah. (6) *The sixth vision* (chaps. xii. 40-xiii. 58). A further vision of the Messiah, who destroys his foes and sets up his kingdom on earth. (7) *The seventh vision* (chap. xiv.). Esdras is warned that he is soon to be translated from the earth. He pleads for his people, who will be left without a teacher. He is told to write, and under the influence of the angel dictates ninety-four books—twenty-four of which were to be published (*i.e.* the Old Testament), and the remaining seventy hidden for the use of the wise (*i.e.* the Apocryphal writings).

The Date of II. Esdras.—There is a general agreement amongst modern scholars that II. Esdras was written in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96).

This conclusion is based upon the following data: (1) The book must be later than Daniel (168 B.C.), which it mentions, and earlier than Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 200), who is the first Christian writer to quote from it. (2) The author himself says that he wrote "in the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city" (chap. iii. 1). There can be little doubt that "the ruin of the city" refers to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. (3) This date affords the simplest interpretation of the Eagle vision. The eagle represents Rome, and the three heads are the three emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. It should be noted, however, that some modern scholars (among them Charles) hold that II. Esdras is a composite work, made out of five earlier Apocalypses, ranging in date from 20 B.C. to A.D. 100. These documents were combined by a redactor about A.D. 120.

The Problem of the Book.—II. Esdras presents a striking contrast to Baruch, the bulk of which belongs to the same period. The author of Baruch is a man of simple faith, whose confidence in God remains unshaken by the destruction of the city. He is content with a simple explanation of the disaster. It is due to Israel's sin, and Israel's repentance will lead to restoration. Esdras, however, is not so easily satisfied. The Jews were not the only sinners. "Are they of Babylon better than they of Sion? Why has God destroyed His

people and preserved His enemies?" (chap. iii. 30, 31). II. Esdras, therefore, is a problem book, and deals with the old enigma, which forms the subject of the Book of Job, and which rent the heart of the apostle Paul (Rom. ix.-xi.): "Why hath God cast off His people?" It cannot be said that the book discovers a real solution for the difficulty. It does, however, suggest some lines of thought in which comfort can be found. Perhaps its greatest contribution is its frank admission that no single formula meets the case. We must look in many directions for our solution of the problem. (1) We must remember our own limitations, and that it is impossible for us to understand the inscrutable dealings of Providence. (2) We must trust in the boundless love of God. "Lovest thou the people better than He that made them?" (chap. v. 33). (3) This world is not the end of things. The future life will make amends for present suffering. (4) The day of God's Redemption is drawing near, when the Messiah will come and restore the kingdom. On the whole, in spite of its pessimistic tone, II. Esdras is undoubtedly the finest discussion of the problem of evil in the whole range of Jewish literature.

Value of II. Esdras for Theology.—Apart from the main problem of the book, II. Esdras has many points of interest for modern theology. (1) It lays great stress on the doctrine of original sin. "The first Adam transgressed and was overcome, and so be all they that are

born of him" (chap. iii. 21). (2) It has a developed doctrine of the future life. All the dead will arise either to bliss or woe. The reward of the good, and the punishment of the wicked, are sevenfold (chap. vii.). (3) It has a firm belief in the advent of a Messiah, who will reign for 400 years and establish the kingdom of God. (4) A man's future destiny is fixed by this life, and cannot be changed after death. Prayers for the dead, therefore, are useless. (5) It links together faith and works in a way which shows that the discussion on the subject in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James was familiar to the Jewish schools. (6) It attaches more importance to the Apocryphal books than to the Old Testament.

The Christian Framework of the Book.—The date of the concluding chapters, xv. and xvi., is placed about A.D. 268 by most modern critics. Chap. xv. 10-12 refers to the troubles of Alexandria under Gallienus (A.D. 260-268); chap. xv. 28-33 to the conquests of the Sassanidæ (especially Sapor I., A.D. 240-273); chap. xv. 33 describes the murder of Odenathus at Emesa (A.D. 266). The date of the opening chapters cannot be fixed with such precision, but probably belonged to the same period.

THE EPISTLE OF JEREMY

The Epistle of Jeremy is a separate fragment in the Greek version of the Apocrypha, but in the Vulgate and other Latin MSS. is attached to the Book of Baruch, of which it forms the sixth chapter. It purports to be a letter written by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon, to warn them against idolatry. This claim, however, is quite out of the question for several reasons. (1) The Epistle is written in Greek, and shows no signs of having been translated from Hebrew. (2) Its style and general thought are quite unworthy of Jeremiah. (3) Its statement that the captivity would last for seven generations points to the fact that it is the work of a later writer. We have very little evidence to guide us in determining its data and origin. Many scholars think that there is an allusion to it in II. Maccabees ii. 2: "Jeremiah charged the exiles not . . . to be led astray in their minds when they saw images of gold and silver." If this is so, we may surmise that the fragment originated in Alexandria in the first century B.C. It affords us an excellent illustration of the temptations to which the Jews of the Diaspora were subjected, and so throws light upon the attitude of the Apostle Paul to the question of "eating meat offered to idols."

CHAPTER VII

THE WIDER APOCRYPHA

IN addition to the Apocrypha proper, there are many other Jewish writings, belonging practically to the same period, which have never claimed to be regarded as Scripture, though they were held in high value by large circles of Christians in early times. In all probability, if the process, by which the Old Testament was evolved, had been continued, they too would eventually have obtained a place in the Canon. Two of them, at any rate, III. and IV. Maccabees, are actually found in one of the most valuable MSS. of the Septuagint.

The most important books of the wider Apocrypha may be classified as follows :—

1. *Historical*.—III. and IV. Maccabees. The latter, however, as will be explained, though purporting to be historical, is really a philosophical discourse.
2. *Poetry*.—The Psalms of Solomon.
3. *Apocalyptic Literature*.—The Book of Enoch ; the Book of the Secrets of Enoch ; the Apocalypse of Baruch ; the Assumption of Moses ; the

Book of Jubilees; the Ascension of Isaiah; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

It will be observed from this list that the Apocalyptic writings occupy the largest and most important place in the wider Apocrypha. A few words must be said with regard to the character of these books.

The Meaning of "Apocalyptic."—The word Apocalyptic is, of course, an adjective formed from the noun "Apocalypse," and so means "of the nature of" or "belonging to" an Apocalypse. "Apocalypse" itself is the Greek equivalent of the better-known Latin form "Revelation." Thus, we speak of the last book in the New Testament as "the Revelation" or "the Apocalypse" of St. John. What the Book of Revelation is to the New Testament the Jewish Apocalypses are to Apocryphal literature. The Apocalypses claim to give a vision of the future. They are a peculiarity, as far as their form goes, of Jewish literature. There is nothing exactly like them elsewhere. The nearest approach is to be found in books like Plato's "Republic" or Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," which contain a dream of an ideal state. No one, however, who reads "Utopia" and the Jewish Apocalypses side by side would think of classing them together, because in form and style they are utterly dissimilar.

The Origin of Apocalyptic Literature.—There are elements of Apocalyptic in some of the later Jewish

prophets, notably in Ezekiel. In Daniel, of course, the Apocalyptic element is very marked. It may be said that Daniel started a new fashion in literature, and between his day and A.D. 100, Apocalyptic became the popular mode of conveying religious teaching. There was, however, a stronger reason for the adoption of the new mode than the desire to copy Daniel. "Apocalyptic" appealed to writers and teachers because it seemed to be the most appropriate vehicle for expressing the religious aspirations of Israel. Throughout this period, from a political point of view, the Jewish nation was in an evil plight. The hopes, of which the prophets had spoken, had not been realised, and what is more, their realisation now seemed quite beyond the range of possibility. Palestine had fallen under the sway of one foreign power after another. There was a brief revival of hope during the Maccabæan age, but it was short-lived; and when at last Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Romans, a dark despair settled upon the people. It was owing to these disappointments, and to the failure of the promises which the prophets had given to Israel, that the soul of the nation found a new outlet for its faith in the vision of a millennial future, an era of blessedness after the judgment-day. The new faith found its expression in Apocalyptic literature. It must not be thought, however, that the Apocalyptic writings deal solely or mainly with the Millennium; many

of them are contented with making an attempt to find a solution for the problem, which continually confronted them, of the sufferings of Israel. A new philosophy of religion was needed, and in one way or another all the Apocalyptic books are more or less engaged in the effort to discover it. We find, therefore, important discussions on such questions as the origin of sin, the explanation of evil, the future destiny, &c.

Importance of Apocalyptic Literature.—In certain circles of the Jews, Apocalyptic was regarded as of even higher value than the Old Testament itself. This is clear from the famous passage in II. Esdras (chap. xiv. 42-48). "The Highest gave understanding to five men, and they wrote the wonderful visions of the night. . . . In forty days they wrote ninety-four [some texts read 204] books, and it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake saying: The first that thou hast written [a reference to the Old Testament] publish openly, that the worthy and the unworthy may read it. But keep the seventy last [*i.e.* the Apocryphal books], that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people. *For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge.*" The modern value of the literature cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Charles. "No attempt to study Christianity in its origins can dispense with a knowledge of this literature. If we wish

to reconstruct the world of ideas and aspirations which filled the heart of an earnest Jew at the beginning of the Christian era, it is to this literature that we must have recourse for our materials. Although in its higher aspects Christianity infinitely transcends the Judaism that preceded it, yet in others it is a genuine historical development from such Judaism. Christianity came forth from the bosom of Pharisaic Judaism, and in Apocalyptic literature this form of Judaism found its essential utterance. . . . Thus Jewish Apocalypses not only supply a history of religious beliefs in the two pre-Christian centuries, but they also fill up the otherwise unavoidable gap in the history of Jewish thought, and constitute the living link between the prophetic teachings and ideals of the Old Testament and their fulfilment in Christianity."

CHAPTER VIII

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

THE Apocalypse which is known as the Book of Enoch is not a single book, but a library containing at least five volumes, written by different authors at different periods in the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era. It is not difficult to see why it was that a whole literature grew up around the name of Enoch. The well-known statement in Gen. v. 24, "Enoch walked with God," suggested that the favour of Divine intercourse was bestowed upon Enoch in an unusual degree, and his name, therefore, naturally occurred to Apocalyptic writers as a fitting medium for the conveyance of their ideas. The importance of this Enoch literature can scarcely be over-estimated. There is hardly a book in the New Testament which does not show some traces of its influence, and the Epistle of Barnabas quotes it as Scripture.

The Contents of the Book.—The Book of Enoch has been divided by Dr. Charles, who is our chief

authority on Apocalyptic literature, into five parts. (1) *The first book*, comprising chaps. 1-36, was written some time before 170 B.C. Like most Apocalyptic writings, this book deals with the problem of evil. The distinguishing features of its teaching are: (a) Its explanation of the origin of evil. Sin is represented as coming into the world, not through the fall of Adam, but through the lust of the angels for the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1-8). (b) Its demonology. The present evil in the world is largely due to the influence of the evil spirits which went forth from the seed of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. (c) The material character of the future Messianic age. The Millennium is described as a time of sensuous enjoyment. (2) *The second book*, from a chronological point of view, consists of chaps. 83-90. The date is fixed by certain allusions to the Maccabæan rising which make it clear that the book belongs to the reign of Judas (166-161 B.C.). The explanation of evil given in this section is interesting and original. God had entrusted Israel to the charge of seventy shepherds (angels). These shepherds had proved faithless to their trust, and destroyed those whom they ought to have protected. God will, however, require vengeance, and then Israel will be restored. A righteous league will be established in Israel, and in it will arise a family from which the deliverer of Israel (Judas Maccabæus) will come forth. (3) *The third book*

is made up of chaps. 91-104, and belongs to the last quarter of the first century, between 134 and 95 B.C. Its author is clearly a member of the Pharisaic party, and the book may be said to represent the views of the Pharisees of the period. He finds the solution of the problem of evil, not in the establishment of a Messianic kingdom on earth, nor in the advent of a great deliverer, but in the future life. He "calls a new world into being to redress the balance of the old." After the final judgment the righteous will be raised as spirits and enter into the portals of the new heaven, where they will become companions of the heavenly hosts and shine as the stars for evermore. The wicked, on the other hand, are doomed to eternal punishment in the Sheol of fire and darkness. (4) *The fourth book*, known as the "Similitudes" (chaps. 37-70), was written either between 94 and 79 B.C. or between 70 and 64 B.C., and contains a denunciation of the later Maccabæan princes and their allies, the Sadducees. Its most noticeable features are : (a) The origin of sin is traced one stage further back. The sinful angels of the first book are represented as sinning owing to the evil influence of "the Satans." (b) The solution of the problem is found in the advent of a Messiah, who will come to judge the earth, inflict the direst punishment on sinners, and inaugurate an era of righteousness. This is the most remarkable conception in the book, and marks the climax of Messianic

prophecy. (5) *The fifth book*, or the "Book of Celestial Physics" as it is called, consists of chaps. 72-82, though the order of the chapters has been disarranged by the compiler—chap. 79, which contains the conclusion of the book, being put in the wrong place. Its contents are quite unlike anything which is found in the other sections. It is an attempt to establish an essentially Hebrew calendar in preference to the heathen calendars which were then in vogue.

The Influence of the Book of Enoch on New Testament Theology.—There can be little doubt that New Testament theology owes a very considerable debt to the Book of Enoch. This is particularly apparent when we compare its Messianic conceptions with the New Testament interpretation of Christ. The Book of Enoch provided a large number of the categories which were used for explaining the person of Christ. (a) In the Book of Enoch the term "Christ" is applied for the first time in Jewish literature to the coming Messianic king. (b) The title "the Son of Man" makes its first appearance in Enoch, and passes from Enoch into the New Testament. (c) Two other titles which are used in Enoch of the Messiah, viz. "the Righteous One" and "the Elect One," are used of Christ in the New Testament (*cf.* Acts iii. 14, vii. 52). (d) One of the main functions of the Messiah in Enoch was that of judgment, and this conception is almost verbally reproduced in

John v. 22. (*e*) The Messiah is depicted as "pre-existing" and as "sitting on the throne of His glory"—two ideas which are also familiar to readers of the New Testament.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch is a recent discovery, for which we are indebted to the energy and acumen of Dr. Charles. In 1892 a statement was made by a student of Russian Pseudepigraphic literature, named Kozak, that a version of the Book of Enoch existed in Slavonic. As the Book of Enoch had hitherto only been known in the Æthiopic version, Dr. Charles at once caused an investigation to be made. The examination which was instituted resulted in the discovery that the Slavonic Enoch differed *in toto* from the Æthiopic edition, and represented an entirely new work. In 1896 Dr. Charles published a translation of the book, with introduction and commentary.

Date and Authorship.—There are various indications that the Slavonic Enoch was originally written in Greek, probably at Alexandria. The author was an orthodox Hellenistic Jew, who, however, was broad-minded enough to appreciate and assimilate many elements in current Greek and Egyptian thought. The date may be fixed approximately by the following considerations: The fact that the book makes use of the Æthiopic

Enoch in its present form proves that it could not have been written earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. The absence of any reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the implication that the Temple was still standing, clearly show that the book must have been published before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. "We may therefore," as Dr. Charles says, "with reasonable certainty, assign the composition of our text to the period A.D. 1-50."

Contents of the Book.—The book describes the ascension of Enoch, and his voyage through the seven heavens. In the *first* heaven Enoch sees a great sea, the rulers of the stars, the treasures of the snow, the clouds, and the dew, and their guardian angels. In the *second* he sees the fallen angels and the prisoners awaiting eternal judgment. The *third* heaven is the place of Paradise, which is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those "who turn their eyes from unrighteousness and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, clothe the naked, raise the fallen." On the western side of this heaven is "a very terrible place of savage darkness and impenetrable gloom," which is reserved as an eternal inheritance for those "who commit evil deeds upon the earth." In the *fourth* heaven Enoch is shown the courses of the sun and the moon and "an armed host of angels serving the Lord with cymbals." The *fifth* heaven is the prison-house of the

angels who had rebelled and committed sin with the daughters of men. The *sixth* heaven is the abode of the angels who regulate the powers of nature and record the deeds of men. Finally, in the *seventh* heaven, Enoch sees God sitting on His throne surrounded by the heavenly hosts. The remainder of the book is occupied with a description of the creation of the world and a prophecy of the Millennium.

The Religious Value of the Book.—The Slavonic Enoch is valuable because it helps to explain the origin of several conceptions which played an important part in later Christian theology.

(1) The idea of the Millennium is first found in this book. The conception is derived from the story of the creation. God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh. One day is to God as a thousand years. The world will last, therefore, for six thousand years, and then will come a Millennium of one thousand years.

(2) The book helps to explain many allusions to the heavens in the New Testament, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul. When Paul speaks, for instance, of being caught up to "the third heaven" (II. Cor. xii. 2), it is quite clear that he is familiar with the conception of the heavens in the Secrets of Enoch. The agreement seems to extend even to details, for both Paul and the author of Enoch locate Paradise in "the third heaven."

Paul's description of Satan as "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2) is unintelligible without the explanation of Enoch that Satan was driven out of the heavens and given the air as his domain. In the same way such statements as Col. i. 20, "to reconcile all things unto Himself, whether things upon earth or things in the heavens," and Eph. iv. 10, "He ascended far above all the heavens," can only be explained by supposing that Paul accepted the scheme of heavens described by the author of the Slavonic Enoch.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

The Apocalypse of Baruch is also a comparatively recent discovery. We owe it to an Italian scholar, named Ceriani, who found a Syriac version of the book in the Milan Library and published a Latin translation of it in 1866. The Syriac version was translated from the Greek, which in its turn was derived from a Hebrew original, so that we only know the real Apocalypse at third hand.

Contents of the Book.—The name Baruch is of course assumed by the author or editor of the book, in accordance with the customary usage of Apocalyptic writers, who always father their productions upon some well-known figure in the history of Israel. The scene is laid in Jerusalem, during the period preceding and

following the capture of the city by the Chaldæans. The writer makes a careless blunder in connection with his fictitious background. He dates the book in the "twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah," who, however, only reigned three months, and was carried captive to Babylon eleven years before the fall of Jerusalem. The truth is that the author of the Apocalypse is really dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and, instead of using contemporary figures and names, clothes the story in all the imagery of ancient history. The book divides itself into seven sections. In the *first* the fall of Jerusalem is announced, but Baruch is comforted by the promise that the overthrow of Israel will only be "for a season." In the *second* the destruction of the city is described. The overthrow is depicted as the work of angels and not of the Chaldæans. The *third* section contains Baruch's complaint to God, and raises the old problem—which is the theme of the second Book of Esdras—as to the explanation of evil. The *fourth* contains the promise that the future world is made in the interests of the righteous, and states "that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its quality and its end." In the *fifth* Baruch complains of the delay in the advent of the kingdom, and receives the explanation that the predestined number of men must be made up before the day of the Lord can come. As soon as the number is complete, the

Messiah will appear. The *sixth* gives the vision of the cedar and the vine, which symbolise the Roman Empire and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who will share in the future glory, the answer is given, "Those who believe." In the *last section* the future course of history is described in the form of the vision of a cloud which discharged "black waters and clear." The six "black waters" denote six evil periods in the world's history, and the "six clear waters" a corresponding number of good periods. It is in this section that the writer's doctrine of the resurrection of the body is developed.

The Date of the Book.—The Apocalypse of Baruch is not a unity but a compilation of several documents. This is proved by the diversity of tone and outlook which we find in different parts of the book. Some sections, as Dr. Charles says, "agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future on earth and in inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom," whereas in others "such expectations are absolutely abandoned, and the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgment and the spiritual world alone." Dr. Charles thinks that the various documents, out of which the Apocalypse was compiled, were written at different points in the period which preceded and followed the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* between A.D. 50 and 100, and that the Apocalypse in its present form was com-

posed a little later, certainly before A.D. 130. All the authors were Pharisees, "full of confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or the next."

The Theological Value of the Book.—The Apocalypse of Baruch is of exceptional interest to us because it affords us a clear illustration of Jewish thought in the last half of the first century of the Christian era, and shows us the sort of literature which the Apostle Paul would probably have produced if he had not become a Christian. The measure of the difference between the Apocalypse of Baruch and the Epistles of Paul is the measure of the influence of the Christian religion. The book enables us to see, too, what exactly Pauline theology owes to Judaism, and how Paul has purified and christianised the Jewish elements which he incorporated into his new philosophy of religion. Among the more interesting points connected with the theology of the book—(1) The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is emphatically affirmed. In answer to the question, "In what shape will those live who live in thy day?" the statement is made, "The earth will assuredly restore the dead . . . making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them . . . to show to the living that the dead have come to life again." After recognition, however, the form of the body will be changed. "They shall be made like unto angels, and changed into every form they

desire, from beauty into loveliness and from light into the splendour of glory" (chaps. xlix.-li.). (2) In its doctrine of free will and sin, the Apocalypse represents the more liberal form of Jewish theology. It denies altogether the theory of original sin and maintains, that "every man is the Adam of his own soul." The only effect upon mankind of Adam's sin was the introduction of physical death into the world. (3) The Apocalypse strongly maintains the view that "salvation is of works." The righteous are saved by their works, and their works avail not only for themselves, they are a defence also to the unrighteous among whom they dwell, and even after death are regarded as a lasting merit, on the ground of which God will forgive His people.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

This Apocalypse was also, like Baruch, discovered by Ceriani in the library of Milan in 1861. It exists only in a single Latin fragment, which is incomplete. The Latin version contains evidence which proves that it was made from a Greek original, which came itself from a Hebrew autograph.

Contents of the Assumption.—The book puts into the mouth of Moses, who is on the point of death, a summary of the future history of Israel in the form of prophecy. The story, which is told with great brevity,

begins with the work of Joshua and ends with the rule of the sons of Herod the Great. At this point the writer turns to the future, and the second half of the book gives us his religious and political outlook. The writer thinks that troublous times are in store for Israel. Tyrannical and impious rulers will arise. The Jews will be persecuted for their faith by "the king of the kings of the earth," who, like Antiochus Epiphanes, will make circumcision a penal offence. A second Eleazar will arise who, like the famous martyr of the Maccabæan age, will take his sons into the wilderness and suffer martyrdom rather than transgress the Law. Then the kingdom of the Lord will appear on earth, and God Himself will redeem His people and punish its Gentile oppressors.

Religious Teaching of the Book.—The chief interest of the Assumption of Moses lies in its general point of view rather than in its opinions on the details of Jewish theology. It raises the important question—What ought to be the attitude of a religious Jew towards his persecutors? The Zealots answered the question by proclaiming the doctrine of resistance. Force must be met by force and violence by violence. "We must emulate the example," they said, "of Judas Maccabeus, who raised an armed force and defeated the oppressors." The Assumption of Moses is a protest against this view. It preaches the doctrine of non-resistance, or rather of passive resistance. We must not take up arms, it

argues, but quietly suffer for our religion. The ideal attitude is not that of Judas Maccabæus, but rather that of Eleazar, the great martyr of the Maccabæan age. It is martyrdom and not violence that will usher in the Messianic age. The Assumption may thus be termed the manifesto of Jewish Quietism.

Date.—The date of the book may be fixed within narrow limits. It takes us up to the death of Herod the Great in 3 B.C., and it was evidently written before the destruction of Jerusalem, because the Temple is still standing. But we can reduce these limits still further. The writer speaks of Herod's sons in a way which implies that the book was written before the end of their reign. We may place the Assumption, therefore, between A.D. 1 and 30. This fact adds greatly to the interest of the book, since it must have been written during the actual lifetime of Jesus.

Value of the Book for the Study of the New Testament.—The Assumption throws light on many passages in the New Testament. (1) There are several phrases in the Epistle of Jude, and in Stephen's speech as recorded in Acts. vii., which can only be understood when compared with the statements of this book. (2) The writer's vivid description of the ruling classes in Palestine (the Sadducees) proves that others, besides Jesus, felt acutely the degradation into which the government of the day had fallen. He speaks of the rulers as "scorn-

ful and impious men, treacherous self-pleasers, dissemblers, lovers of banquets, gluttons, gourmands, devourers of the poor . . . filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset"—language which more than corroborates the picture which is drawn of these same men in the Gospel narratives.

CHAPTER IX

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE (*continued*)

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

THE Book of Jubilees was first published in modern times in the form of a German translation from the Æthiopic version by Dillmann in 1851. A Latin version was also discovered by Ceriani in the Milan Library a little later, and printed for the first time in 1861.

Character of the Book.—The Book of Jubilees is also known as “the little Genesis.” This second title indicates the character of its contents. It is a revised version of the earlier history of Israel, from the creation of the world down to the institution of the Passover (Exodus xii.). It contains the narrative of the Book of Genesis, re-written from the point of view of later Judaism. Just as the author of Chronicles modified the historical narrative of the Books of Kings to suit his own religious ideas, so the writer of Jubilees wrote over again the story of the patriarchal age, and brought it into harmony with his own conceptions of what ought to have happened during that period. The title “little

Genesis" is given to the book, not because it is an abbreviation of our canonical Genesis (for, as a matter of fact, it is of greater length), but to show that it is of inferior and secondary authority. The chief modifications which the writer introduces into the Biblical narrative are as follows: (1) The story is put into the mouth of "the angel of the face," who is represented as telling Moses on Mount Sinai the part which the angels had played in the creation of the world and the history of the patriarchal age. (2) The writer evinces a particular interest in chronology. He divides the period into jubilees (hence the title of the book) and dates each event in relation to the particular jubilee under which it fell. (3) The writer omits many stories which apparently offended the religious sense of his day. One or two examples may be given by way of illustration. The story of the offering of Isaac (Gen. xxii.), for instance, seems to have presented as much difficulty to the author of Jubilees as it does to the modern reader, and he boldly solves the problem by stating that Abraham was tempted, not by Jehovah, but by an evil spirit named Mastema. Many incidents which appear to reflect upon the character of the patriarchs are cut out altogether, *e.g.* Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (Gen. xii. 11-14), Jacob's attempt to outwit Laban (Gen. xxx., xxxi.), Jacob's fear of Esau (Gen. xxxii., xxxiii.). The whole of chap. xlix. is suppressed because

of its severity on Levi and the pre-eminence which it assigns to Judah. (4) Many additions are also made to the narrative. The names of the wives of all the patriarchs are given, and the writer even knows the name of the wife of Cain. The story of Abraham is expanded, and many legends are added in connection with his early life. Particular prominence is assigned to Levi. (5) Great stress is laid on the Hebrew feasts, all of which are supposed to have been instituted in patriarchal times. The Feast of Tabernacles, for instance, owes its origin to Abraham. (6) The utmost emphasis is laid on the Jewish Law, and the writer of Jubilees traces the origin of its various enactments back to the age of the Patriarchs.

Date of the Book.—Dr. Charles gives a series of strong arguments to prove that the Book of Jubilees falls within the period 135–96 B.C. The main grounds upon which he arrives at this result are as follows. The book was evidently written by a member of the Pharisaic party who was in strong sympathy with the Maccabæan movement. In the year 96 B.C. a serious rupture occurred between the Pharisees and Alexander Jannæus, the representative of the Maccabæan family at the time. After this date it is unlikely that a Pharisaic writer would have shown the same attitude towards the Maccabæans which we find in the Book of Jubilees. The detailed allusions of the Apocalypse also seem to imply a

Maccabæan background. The insistence which is laid upon circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath, the pre-eminence which is assigned to Levi over Judah, the references to Edom, find their simplest explanation in the events connected with this period of Jewish history. The Book of Jubilees was used, too, by the author of Æthiopic Enoch (chaps. 91-104), and as the year 95 B.C. is given as the latest possible date for this section of Enoch, it follows that our Apocalypse must have been composed some years earlier. We may say, therefore, that Jubilees belongs to 135-115 B.C.

It should be stated, however, that there is another view which has found many supporters amongst the specialists who have made this book their particular study. This alternative theory maintains that the Book of Jubilees was written during the period which immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* between A.D. 30 and 60, and was intended largely as a Pharisaic manifesto against the teaching of the Apostles.

Purpose and Aim of the Book.—There is no doubt, whatever the date of Jubilees may be, that its main purpose was to utter a protest against an attempt which was being made to weaken the force of the Jewish code. If we agree with Charles in placing the book at the close of the second century B.C., we shall see in it an effort to resist the Hellenic spirit which was creeping over Judaism at the time, and trying to rob it of the

distinctive features of its legal system. If we accept the theory which places the book in the Apostolic age, we shall look upon it as a kind of counterblast to the arguments used by St. Paul and the other Apostles in their attack upon Judaism. It must be admitted that there is a good deal in Jubilees which seems to fit excellently into this latter hypothesis. One of St. Paul's favourite arguments in replying to the Judaisers was this: "You insist upon the Law of Moses, but you must remember that the Law is not eternal: it is only an interlude in the history of Israel's religious development. We must go back behind Moses to our forefather Abraham, and when we do that we find that the great principle of Abraham's religion was not law but faith." Paul's appeal from Moses to Abraham was practically unanswerable. The only possible reply was to do exactly what the author of Jubilees has done—*i.e.* assert that the Law itself did not originate with Moses, as the ordinary narrative of the Old Testament implies, but goes back to the patriarchal age, and is as ancient as the human race itself.

The Value of the Book.—The Book of Jubilees contains many points which are full of interest to modern readers. (1) It illustrates, for instance, in a very striking manner the freedom with which Jewish writers dealt with the Old Testament narrative. The author of Jubilees did not feel the slightest hesitation in altering the story

of Genesis in order to substantiate his own particular theological views. The historical sense is altogether subordinated to religious interests. (2) The manner in which the author attempts to prove the eternity of the Jewish Law is also most instructive. He is not content with antedating the enactments of the Mosaic code, but he even argues that the Law is kept in heaven. Angels were created circumcised, and are subject to the law of the Sabbath. (3) Another interesting feature of the book is its developed angelology. The author divides angels into three classes or grades: (*a*) the angels of the face, (*b*) the angels of sanctification, (*c*) the angels who superintend the work of nature. (4) Equally important is the author's belief in demons. They originated from the giants who were the offspring of the "wicked angels" and "the daughters of men." They are under the rule of an evil spirit named Mastema, and they are the source of all sin and evil in the world.

THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH

This Apocalypse has been preserved in its entirety only in an Æthiopic version, though fragments are found both in Latin and Greek. It differs from any of the Apocalypses, which we have hitherto dealt with, in containing a large admixture of Christian elements.

Contents of the Book.—The Ascension of Isaiah

may be divided into two main sections. The first half of the book (with the exception of one very important interpolation) is Jewish, and gives an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah. The second half is mainly Christian, and describes Isaiah's vision of the advent of the Messiah. (a) *The martyrdom* (chaps. i.-iii. 13; v. 2-14). The story is as follows. At the end of his reign King Hezekiah summons his son Manasseh to receive his last instructions, and to hear an account of the revelations which had come to him during his sickness. The prophet Isaiah tells Hezekiah of the fate which he foresees will befall him when Manasseh becomes king. Upon the death of Hezekiah, Manasseh abandons the service of Jehovah. Isaiah and the prophets flee into the wilderness for refuge. A false prophet, named Balkira, discovers his retreat, and tells Manasseh. Manasseh at once sends his emissaries to seize the prophet. [At this point comes the interpolated section, which will be discussed separately.] Isaiah refuses to recant, and is "sawn asunder with a wooden saw." (b) *The interpolated section* (chaps. iii. 13-v. 1) is really an independent Apocalypse, though an attempt is made to connect it artificially with the remainder of the narrative. One of the grounds for Belial's enmity to Isaiah, was his prophecy of the coming of the Messiah. In this section, the Christian interpolater relates how the prophecy will be fulfilled; how the twelve Apostles

will preach the Gospel after the death of Christ and win many converts: how evil will creep into the Church, and how Belial will incarnate himself in the form of an impious king: and how, finally, he will be overthrown and Christ will return to the earth and establish His kingdom. (c) *The vision of Isaiah* (chaps. vi.-xi.). This part of the book, which presents some points of resemblance with the Slavonic Enoch, describes the journey of Isaiah through the seven heavens. Each of the heavens is depicted at length. The series represents an ascending scale of glory, which reaches its climax in the seventh, where Isaiah beholds the Lord of Glory, and "a second most glorious one like unto Him," and "the angel of the Holy Spirit, the inspirer of the prophets." Then the voice of the Most High is heard speaking to His Son, bidding Him descend through the heavens to the world. "The Beloved" (this is the title commonly bestowed on the Messiah in this book) carries out His Father's bidding, passes through all the heavens unrecognised, and enters into this world through a Virgin Birth. His life, death, and resurrection are briefly described, and then the prophet beholds His ascension through the heavens, in all of which He is now recognised, until at last He reaches the seventh heaven, and takes His seat on the right hand of the "Great Glory."

Date of the Book.—The Ascension of Isaiah in its present form is, as we have seen, a compilation of three

different documents, two of which contain large Christian elements. This final stage in the composition of the work cannot have been reached till the second century A.D., and possibly may even have to be placed at the commencement of the third century. The documents themselves, however, go back to earlier times. *The Martyrdom* probably belongs to the first half of the first century, A.D. 1-50. This conclusion is based on two grounds. (a) There seems to be an allusion to it in Hebrews xi. 37. (b) It is scarcely probable that Jewish books would obtain recognition in the Christian Church after the destruction of Jerusalem. The other two documents, according to Charles, originated a little later, and belong to the last decades of the century, A.D. 80-100, at least in their simplest form. Harnack, however, adopts a much later date for the documents. He thinks that the interpolated section belongs to the second century A.D. and the *Vision* to the third.

Value of the Book.—The chief points of interest in the book for the modern student occur in the Christian sections. The first of these (*i.e.* the interpolated section) gives a graphic picture of the condition of the Church about A.D. 80. "In those days," says the writer, "many will love office though devoid of wisdom. There will be many lawless elders, and shepherds dealing wrongly by the sheep. . . . There will be much slander and vain-

glory in those days. . . . And there will not be many prophets, nor those who speak trustworthy words, save one here and there. . . . There will be great hatred in the shepherds and elders towards each other." This description is borne out by similar statements which we find in I. Peter and the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Other valuable features in these sections are: (1) The description of the seven heavens. It should be noted that there are some important points on which the account of the heavens in the Ascension differs from that given by the Slavonic Enoch. (a) In Enoch some of the heavens are tenanted by evil angels: in the Ascension the evil angels are located on the firmament. (b) Enoch places certain physical elements in the lower heavens, e.g. the treasures of the ice and snow. In the Ascension the heavens are purely spiritual worlds. (2) The Messiah is almost uniformly described as "the Beloved," a title which is often found in the New Testament (cf. Mark i. 11, Eph. i. 9). (3) There is a clear reference to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in the *Vision* section. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are linked together and receive adoration and worship, though the two latter are placed in a subordinate position, and in their turn do homage to the Father. The Holy Spirit is described as an angel ("the angel of the Spirit" or "the angel of the Holy Spirit"), and twice is identified with Gabriel. (4) The

doctrine of the Virgin Birth is also plainly taught, and in a manner which marks a clear advance upon the statements in Matthew and Luke. (5) There is a marked trace in the book of Doketism—the theory that denied the real humanity of Christ, and held that He possessed merely a phantom body. (6) The book is valuable, too, because it enables us to trace the development of the belief in the appearance of Antichrist, and so throws light upon Paul's prophecy of the coming of "the man of sin" in II. Thessalonians, and similar statements in the Book of Revelation. (7) The doctrine of the future life is in complete agreement with the later views of St. Paul. The righteous after death will receive "garments," in which they will be clothed, and then they will ascend with Christ into heaven.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is one of the most interesting of the documents which belong to this class of Jewish literature. It consists of twelve small pamphlets, which purport to contain the last utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob. Each of these men is represented as calling his children around him on his deathbed and giving them words of counsel and advice with regard to the conduct of life. In most cases the

Patriarch recalls some of the leading incidents of his own career, and uses them as a text from which he draws lessons of warning or exhortation for his children. The Testament of Gad may be taken as an illustration of the method of the writer. Gad tells the story of his own enmity against Joseph. Joseph, according to the narrative, had carried to his father a tale that his brothers were killing the best of his flock and making a feast. This angered Gad, and made him often wish to kill Joseph. His plans, however, were frustrated by the action of Judah, who sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. Upon this incident the writer bases his sermon against malice and hatred, which forms the theme of the book. "Beware, therefore, my children, of hatred, for it worketh lawlessness even against the Lord Himself. . . . Love ye each one his brother and put away hatred from your hearts."

The Character of the Book.—There has been a great deal of discussion among modern scholars as to the character of the book. Until quite recently the prevailing opinion seems to have regarded the Testaments as the work of a Christian, and to have given it a place in early Christian literature. The monographs of Schnapp and Charles have, however, completely reversed this verdict. There are, of course, undoubted Christian elements in the book, and the problem that faces the modern scholar is, How are these Christian elements to be accounted for? The older view maintained that

they represented the views of the original author. Schnapp and Charles, on the contrary, argue that they are later interpolations. The case for the latter view seems to have been substantiated by the following considerations: (*a*) Many of these interpolations are not found in the Armenian version. This fact proves that the process of interpolation was gradual, and that when the Armenian version was made, it was still incomplete. (*b*) Even the Greek MSS. differ among themselves with regard to the amount of the interpolations. Passages found in one are absent from another MS. (*c*) The interpolations are not homogeneous, and do not represent a uniform theology. The older view was completely at a loss when it attempted to define the theological position of the author of the document. Nitzsch, for instance, described him as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed certain current Essene beliefs. Ritschl regarded him as a Gentile Christian, while Kayser defined him as an Ebionite. The only theory that satisfactorily explains the facts is the view of Charles, that the Christian elements were interpolated at different times by different hands.

The Date of the Book.—The Testaments consist of three different strata: (*a*) the original groundwork, which contains about eleven-twelfths of the whole work; (*b*) certain Jewish interpolations; (*c*) the Christian additions. The date of the original groundwork is placed by

Charles between 109 and 107 B.C. The arguments upon which this conclusion is based are: (1) Certain references in the book imply that the Jewish nation was ruled by one who combined in his own person the offices of prophet, priest, and king. These three functions were only united in a single person, viz. John Hyrcanus (137–105 B.C.). (2) There are various indications—*e.g.* the allusion to the destruction of Samaria—which suggest that the book belonged to the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, *i.e.* between 109 and 105. (3) Just before the end of his reign a breach occurred between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. It is inconceivable that a Pharisaic writer, such as the author of the Testaments, could have spoken of Hyrcanus in such terms of praise after the outbreak had taken place. The date, therefore, may be fixed between 109 and 107 B.C. With regard to the Jewish interpolations, Dr. Charles holds that the bulk of them were made between 70 and 40 B.C. The Christian additions were made at different periods. Many of them must have been introduced into the text at a very early date, because they are found in a Greek version, with which St. Paul was familiar, and which must therefore have been in existence before A.D. 50.

Value of the Book.—The Testaments are full of interest for the modern student.

(1) There is no Jewish document which had a greater influence on the New Testament. Charles cites a

number of passages which seem to prove conclusively that the resemblances between certain elements in the teaching of Jesus and the statements of the Testaments could not have been accidental. He further quotes no less than thirty passages from the Epistles of Paul which make it absolutely certain that our document must have produced a great impression upon the mind of the Apostle. There are, for instance, no less than seventy words common to the Epistles of Paul and the Testaments which are not found elsewhere in the pages of the New Testament. From the point of view of New Testament exegesis, therefore, the document is of incalculable value.

(2) The Testaments represent the high-water mark of Jewish ethics. No other document affords us such clear insight into the higher moral teaching of the Judaism of this period. In many respects there is a considerable advance upon the ethical teaching of the Old Testament and an approximation to that of the New. It contains, for instance, as Charles says, "the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature." "If a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee, he take to swearing and so thou sin doubly. . . . And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame

when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee and be at peace with thee. But if he be shameless, and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging" (Test. Gad, vi. 3-7).

(3) Another important feature of the book is its *universalism*. It has a broader outlook than any other document of the period. The Gentiles are included in the scope of the Divine purpose. The Law was given "to lighten every man," and not merely the Jew. There are righteous men to be found in every nation. At the great consummation "the twelve tribes shall be gathered together, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation."

CHAPTER X

OTHER APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THERE are three other books belonging to the wider Apocrypha which cannot be classed as Apocalyptic, and must therefore be treated separately, viz. III. Maccabees, IV. Maccabees, and the Psalms of Solomon.

THE THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES

The title bestowed upon this book is altogether a misnomer^{*}. There is absolutely no reference to the Maccabees or the Maccabæan age in it at all. How the book got its name is quite inexplicable. The only point which it has in common with the other books of Maccabees is, that it tells the story of the faithfulness of the Jewish people in a time of persecution. Some scholars have tried to justify the title by supposing that it was intended originally to be a kind of introduction to the books which deal with the Maccabæan rising, but there seems to be nothing in the book itself that at all substantiates this theory. The only plausible explanation is to suppose that the title is due to an accident in transmission, though it is quite impossible, of course, to discover how the accident happened.

Contents.—III. Maccabees may be termed a historical romance. The scene is laid in Jerusalem and Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy (IV.) Philopator (222–204 B.C.). The story of the book is as follows. After his victory over Antiochus at Raphia in 217 B.C., Ptolemy visits Jerusalem and makes an attempt to enter the Temple, in spite of the indignant protests of priests and people. A scene of the utmost confusion ensues. The people clamour for armed resistance. Amidst the panic the voice of the High Priest Simon is heard supplicating God to prevent the violation of the Temple. In answer to Simon's prayer, Ptolemy is smitten with paralysis, and returns to Alexandria, resolved on vengeance. He issues an edict ordering all the Jews in Alexandria to embrace the worship of Bacchus or forfeit their civic status and privileges. As this edict does not produce the desired effect, Ptolemy determines to proceed to more extreme measures. He commands that the whole of the Jewish population of Alexandria shall be imprisoned in the hippodrome, and that their names shall be taken down in a register before the general massacre, which he contemplates, is carried into effect. The work of registration goes on continuously for forty days, and then the clerks report that, owing to the vast number of the Jews, the supply of writing materials has been exhausted. Ptolemy then gives the order that intoxicated elephants are to be let loose upon the Jews in

the hippodrome. The description of the manner in which the catastrophe was averted by Providence forms the climax of the story. The final deliverance was preceded by two temporary respites. On the first occasion, King Ptolemy overslept himself, and did not awake till it was too late to execute the order on the appointed day. On another occasion, Ptolemy is made by Providence to forget his orders and declare that he never issued them. These interventions were only a prelude, however, to the *dénouement*, when, in answer to the prayers of the venerable priest Eleazar, "two angels, glorious and terrible," appeared from heaven and struck consternation into the hearts of the king and the people. The miracle completely changed the attitude of King Ptolemy. The advisers who had counselled the persecution were ignominiously dismissed, and the Jewish people restored to all their ancient privileges.

Historical Value.—Very little value can be attached to the narrative of III. Maccabees. A similar story is told by Josephus of a later king, Ptolemy VII. (146-116 B.C.). His account is as follows: "When Ptolemy Physco had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city (Alexandria) with their wives and children, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed, and when he had made those elephants drunk for the purpose, the

event proved contrary to his preparations, for the elephants left the Jews and fell violently upon Physco's friends and slew a great number of them; after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost which prevented his hurting these men. . . . It is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day on account of the great deliverance which was vouchsafed to them by God."¹ The accounts in Josephus and in III. Maccabees contain so many discrepancies that it is impossible to reconcile them, and difficult to regard either of them as historical. Probably, however, there is some basis of fact behind the stories. The Alexandrian Jews doubtless, at some time or other, were providentially delivered from a fierce persecution, in which perhaps the royal elephants may have been destined to play a part. The original fact, however, has been so overlaid with legendary elements that it is quite impossible to disconnect the truth from the fiction with which it has been surrounded.

Date and Authorship.—An attempt has been made by several distinguished scholars to connect the book with Caligula's attempt to defile the Temple at Jerusalem by erecting within its precincts a statue of himself, and his subsequent persecution of the Jews (A.D. 40). Though this hypothesis furnishes an excellent motive for the composition of III. Maccabees, it cannot, unfortunately, be substantiated. The writer would surely

¹ Treatise against Apion, ii. 5.

not have allowed Caligula's claim to receive divine honours to pass unnoticed, when an allusion to it would have heightened the colours in which he has portrayed Ptolemy's acts of sacrilege. Since this theory seems to fail us, and no other explanation of the occasion of the book is forthcoming, it is only possible to form the vaguest views with regard to the authorship and date of III. Maccabees. All that we can say is that the author must have been an Alexandrian Jew, and that he composed the book either in the first century B.C. or (as seems more probable) the first century A.D.

Religious Teaching.—There are very few specially distinctive features about the religious teaching of III. Maccabees. It discusses no theological problems, and it makes very little contribution to theological thought. Its interests are in the practical rather than in the speculative side of religion. The following ideas are prominent: (1) Great stress is laid upon the value of prayer. The miraculous interventions are represented in both cases as direct answers to prayer, and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, which produced the interventions, are reported at length. (2) Emphasis is laid upon the conception of Providence. The writer speaks of "the unconquerable Providence" which came to the assistance of the Jews (chap. iv. 21). This is a Greek idea which attained particular prominence amongst the Stoics.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

The fourth book of Maccabees is quite unlike the other books which bear the same title. It makes no pretence to give a historical account of the Maccabæan age. Its chief interest is in philosophy and religion: the historical elements (if such they can be called) are entirely secondary and subordinate, and are only introduced to illustrate and substantiate its philosophical principles. The book is really a sermon or homily, a hortatory address intended to urge its hearers or readers to a life of fidelity to God and self-control.

Contents.—The theme of the book is stated in the opening sentence. The writer says that “he intends to demonstrate a most philosophical proposition, viz. that pious reason is absolute master of the passions.” It is through reason, he asserts, that man is able to attain self-control, and curb the appetites and passions which constantly threaten to destroy his virtue. There is one limitation, however, to the power of reason. It cannot control its own affections. It does not enable a man to root out desire, though it does make it possible for him to avoid being enslaved to it. “A man may not be able to eradicate malice, but reason has power to prevent him yielding to it,” “for reason is not an eradicator but an antagonist of the passions” (chap. iii. 1-3). The writer’s method of proof may be given in

his own words. "I might prove to you from many other considerations that pious reason is the sole master of the passions, but I shall prove it most effectually from the fortitude of Eleazar, and of the seven brethren and their mother; for all these proved by their contempt of torture and death that reason has command over the passions." These historical illustrations, which the writer regards as a demonstration of his thesis, occupy three-fourths of the book. We may divide IV. Maccabees, therefore, into the following sections: (*a*) statement of thesis and definition of terms (chaps. i.-iv.); (*b*) narrative of the trial and torture of the aged priest Eleazar (chaps. v. 1-vi. 30); (*c*) the lessons which are to be drawn from the story (chaps. vi. 31-vii. 23); (*d*) description of the torture and martyrdom of the seven youths (chaps. viii. 1-xii. 20); (*e*) the writer's comments on their fortitude (chaps. xiii. 1-xiv. 10); (*f*) reflections on the sufferings and constancy of their mother (chaps. xiv. 11-xviii.). These historical illustrations are an expansion of the narrative in II. Maccabees (chaps. vi. 18-vii. 42).

Characteristic Features of the Book.—(1) As has already been said, the book is probably a homily, and the only specimen of Jewish sermonic literature which has been preserved in the Apocrypha. This conclusion is drawn from the frequent appeals which the writer makes to his hearers or readers (*cf.* chap. xviii. 1).

Though the writer adopts the sermonic form, however, it can scarcely be supposed that the book represents an ordinary Jewish discourse such as might have been delivered in the synagogue. There is a certain artificiality about the language and the argument of the book which seems to show that the form has been chosen as a literary device rather than as an example of Jewish preaching. (2) The book has been described as a "characteristic product of Hellenistic culture of the best type." The influence of Greek thought is patent upon every page. The very thesis of the book may be described as a Jewish version of the Socratic dictum, "Virtue is knowledge." The terminology which the writer uses in his treatment of his subject has far more in common with Greek philosophy than it has with the Old Testament. There are marked traces, too, of Stoic tendencies. The four cardinal virtues, for instance, upon which the writer so strongly insists, are borrowed directly from Stoicism. Yet in spite of his sympathy with Greek and Stoic thought, the author of IV. Maccabees is a loyal Jew, devoted to the Law, and passionately opposed to any weakening of its authority. Indeed he goes as far as to maintain that "it is only the children of the Hebrews who are invincible in the fight for virtue" (chap. ix. 18). (3) The book has absolutely no historical value. The writer borrows his illustrations from II. Maccabees, a source of most dubious authority,

and expands the narrative in order to suit his own purpose. The speeches and prayers which he puts into the mouths of his heroes are clearly his own composition.

Authorship and Date.—Many of the early Christian Fathers, *e.g.* Eusebius and Jerome, attributed IV. Maccabees to Josephus. There does not, however, seem to be the slightest justification for the theory, since the book presents the most marked differences, both in style and thought, from the genuine works of Josephus. The name of the author is lost beyond recovery, but the internal evidence of the book itself enables us to form a tolerably clear conception of his character and general outlook. We know that he must have been: (a) A *Jew*, who sympathised mainly with the Pharisaic party, and probably belonged to it. His attitude to the Law is enough in itself to make this conclusion unassailable. (b) A *Quietist*, like the author of the Assumption of Moses. This deduction is obvious from the fact that he selects as his heroes, not Judas Maccabæus, but the martyrs who laid down their lives rather than submit to the demands of Antiochus Epiphanes. "And the nation through them," he writes, "obtained peace, and having renewed the observance of the Law drove the enemy out of the land" (chap. xviii. 4), a statement which is not strictly true, as it ignores altogether the work of the Maccabees. (c) A *Hellenist*, who had come under the

influence of Greek and Stoic ideas. There is no other book in the Apocrypha which shows such sympathy with the wider culture of the age. (d) Probably an *Alexandrian*. The use which the book makes of II. Maccabees, and the fact that the earliest notices of it are found in literature of Alexandrian origin, seem to make this assumption a certainty. With regard to the *date* of the book, we have no evidence to go upon, except that we know that it must have been written later than II. Maccabees, from which it drew a considerable amount of material. The probability is that it was composed either just before or just after the commencement of the Christian era.

Religious Value.—IV. Maccabees is of great value for the student of the New Testament. Its author had many points in common with the Apostle Paul. Both were zealous Pharisees, both were animated by intense religious fervour, both were influenced by the culture of the day, especially in its Stoic form. In fact, it would not be difficult to imagine that the book might have been the composition of Paul if he had never been converted to Christianity. We may almost say, therefore, that the measure of the difference between IV. Maccabees and the Epistles of Paul represents the measure of the influence of Christianity. The following points in the book seem to be particularly instructive : (1) The main theme of the book—or rather its limitation—that reason

is not master of its own affections, and so cannot control thoughts and motives, throws a clear light on the religious development of Paul in his pre-Christian days. It was when Paul realised that the Law did not enable him to keep the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," and that it had no power to govern the inner realm of the spirit, that the crisis came which proved the turning-point in his spiritual life. It was this limitation, which is so acutely recognised in IV. Maccabees, which gave Paul no peace till he found peace in the Gospel of Christ. (2) Great stress is laid in the book on the conception of "propitiation." The death of the martyrs atones for the sins of the people. This idea occurs several times in the book, but the clearest statement is found in chap. xvii. 22. "So that they became an atonement for the sin of the people, and by the blood of those pious ones, and by their propitiatory death, the Divine Providence saved Israel, which aforetime had been afflicted." It seems probable that this passage suggested to Paul some of the ideas which are found in his great statement in Rom. iii. 25. (3) This book helps also to explain and illustrate the combination of Jewish and Stoic elements in the Pauline theology, though, of course, the combination in Paul is not the same as that in IV. Maccabees.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

The Psalms of Solomon occupy the same place in Apocryphal literature as the Psalter does in the Old Testament, though it is clear, from the scantiness of the allusions to them in early times, that they never secured a wide circulation, nor won their way into the affection of the Christian Church. The collection consists of eighteen Psalms of varying length and value. They are written for the most part in imitation of the Old Testament Psalter, and often reproduce its language, though it must be admitted that some of them are not devoid of originality and forcefulness.

Date.—The date of the Psalms can be fixed by the allusions to historical events which are found in them. The political situation, which constitutes the historical background of the book, is as follows. The Jews are in a condition of great outward prosperity, when suddenly a rumour is heard that a hostile host is approaching the city, led by a stranger who comes from the uttermost parts of the earth, and is called, at different times, “the sinner,” “the lawless,” “the dragon,” and “the adversary.” The invader attacks Jerusalem, and breaks down its walls with his battering-ram: the Gentile host enters the Temple and pollutes the altar. A massacre takes place, in which blood is poured out like water in the streets of Jerusalem. Large numbers of Jews are sent

into exile "in the bounds of the west." Later on, however, retribution overtakes the conqueror for his profanity. He is assassinated in Egypt, his body lies tossing on the waves, and there is no one to bury him. There is only one episode in Jewish history which at all answers to this description, viz. the destruction of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. We may therefore, with confidence, place the Psalms of Solomon in the period 70-40 B.C., the latter date being fixed by the death of Pompey, which occurred in 48 B.C.

Authorship.—In view of the minor differences which appear in the various Psalms, it is impossible to maintain the theory of a common author. The collection was probably the work of a group of men who, while agreeing with regard to their general religious outlook, differed among themselves upon smaller questions. There is no difficulty in deciding upon the party to which this group belonged. They were evidently Pharisees, and the Psalms were composed with the object of strengthening the Pharisaic position and attacking the Sadducees. Throughout the book the Pharisees are termed "the righteous" and "the saints," while the Sadducees are described as "sinners" and "transgressors." All the distinctive Pharisaic tenets are strongly enforced and emphasised by the Psalmists; in fact the books afford the best portrait which we possess of the Pharisaic ideal in the middle of the first century B.C. Everything

points to the fact that the Psalms were the work of Palestinian Jews who almost certainly lived in Jerusalem. The evidence of the language and style proves conclusively, too, that these Psalms, which we only possess in a Greek version, were originally written in Aramaic.

Religious Outlook.—As we have already seen, the book represents the creed of the Pharisees, and its specific theological teaching is therefore necessarily that of this particular school of Jewish thought. Among the ideas which are most prominent in these Psalms we may note the following: (1) The belief in theocracy. The watchword of the Pharisees, especially in the face of the Roman domination, was always, "The Lord is King." (2) The belief in the Law as the expression of the Divine ideal. True righteousness consists in strictly keeping the legal ordinances and avoiding any violation of the ceremonial law. It must be admitted, however, that much more stress is laid upon the inner life and the need of prayer and repentance by the authors of these Psalms than by the later Pharisees who are described in the pages of the New Testament. (3) The belief in the future life. At the time of God's visitation, the righteous will rise to "life eternal" and inherit the promises of the Lord. The fate of the wicked, on the other hand, is stated in terms which seem to imply the doctrine of annihilation. "The destruction of the sinner is for ever." There is no evidence to show that the writers

believed, like most Pharisees, in a physical resurrection, though this idea is not excluded.

The Prophecy of the Messiah.—The most noteworthy feature of the Psalms is the great prophecy of the advent of the Messiah which is found in Ps. xvii. 27-51. The Messiah, to whom the Psalmist looks forward, is undoubtedly an earthly ruler. He is described as "Son of David" and "the Lord Christ," but has no Divine attributes assigned to him. This Messiah is to be raised up by God to deliver the people from the Roman supremacy and to terminate the Sadducean rule. He will cleanse Jerusalem from all impurity, and bring back into Palestine the Jews of the Dispersion. He himself will be free from sin and will make his people holy. He will win his victory not by force of arms but by "the word of his mouth." To quote the words of Ryle and James, to whom we owe our best edition of the Psalms: "The Messiah of this Psalm is not Divine. Divinely appointed, divinely raised up, endowed with Divine gifts he is, but he is nothing more than man. Neither of supernatural birth nor of pre-existence in the bosom of God or among the angels of God do we find any trace. If he is called Lord, the word is only used of him as it might be used of an earthly lord. However high the conception of his moral character and spiritual qualifications, he is man and man only."

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

THERE is a sense in which it can be said that the New Testament does not possess an Apocrypha. There is no well-defined collection of writings, like the Old Testament Apocrypha proper, which have been recognised at any time as Scripture by the general consent of the Church. The New Testament Apocryphal writings correspond more nearly to the wider Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and comprise a number of documents of very varying value, which claim to have originated from the Apostolic age, and some of which were held in high esteem by the Christian Church.

The reason *why there is no New Testament Apocrypha* in the technical sense of the word can easily be explained. The Old Testament Apocrypha is the result of the existence of two different Canons of the Old Testament, both of which won for themselves wide recognition. In the case of the New Testament this phenomenon does not exist. There have been, of course, different Canons in different sections of the Church.

The Æthiopic Canon, for instance, contains eight books which are not found in our New Testament. The Canon of the Greek Church omits the Book of Revelation, and includes some documents which are not recognised elsewhere. The Syrian Canon omitted four of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. The Muratorian Fragment (A.D. 170) did not include Hebrews, James, or II. Peter, but recognised the Apocalypse of Peter. Individual Fathers, too, in the third and fourth centuries, showed their own particular preferences by their acceptance or rejection of different books. But there never was a time, at least after the third century, when two rival Canons divided Christendom.

At one period it seemed as if such a division of opinion were inevitable. At the close of the second century we find different Canons of the New Testament in the Eastern and Western divisions of the Church. Both Canons included the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul, I. John, I. Peter, and the Apocalypse. The Eastern Canon added to this list Hebrews and James, the Western II. and III. John, and Jude. Neither Canon included II. Peter. Now, if this cleavage of opinion had been maintained, the result would have been that a New Testament Apocrypha would have been created, consisting of the differentia between the two Canons, viz. Hebrews, James, II. and III. John, and Jude, to which doubtless II. Peter would have been

afterwards added. The difference, however, was not perpetuated. The two Canons coalesced, with the result that our present New Testament was produced.

The Apocryphal Writings.—But though we have no Apocrypha in the technical sense of the term, we have a large number of documents which correspond to the wider Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They may be classified as follows :—

(1) *Books which were at one time used as Scripture* in the Church. This class forms the nearest approach to a New Testament Apocrypha proper. The New Testament, like the Old, was only gradually collected together. The process took, at any rate, three centuries. During this period, several books which did not finally get into the Canon were used in public worship. Some of them are actually found appended to the two earliest and most valuable MSS. of the New Testament. The most important documents belonging to this class are the Epistle of Clement, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas. The Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter were also used in church, but for purposes of convenience they will be dealt with in another class.

(2) *Apocryphal Gospels.* We possess a large number of Apocryphal Gospels of varying importance. They may be classified as follows : (a) *Gospels which have some claim to be regarded as genuine and authentic.* The only

Gospel which is generally admitted into this class is the Gospel according to the Hebrews. (b) *Heretical Gospels*, i.e. Gospels which have been altered and amended to suit the views of some heretical sect. The most important Gospels of this kind are : the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Gospel of the Ebionites. (c) The *Logia* documents, or the newly discovered "Sayings of Jesus," to use the better known description, must be put in a class by themselves, because at present we do not possess sufficient data for determining their value. (d) *The Legendary Gospels*, all of which are full of romantic stories about Jesus which are universally regarded as fictitious. These Gospels may be divided into the following groups: (1) Those which relate to the Virgin Birth and Infancy of Jesus. The most important document of this class is the Protevangelium of James, which is the source from which several of the other Gospels of this species, viz. the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, were derived. Under this heading we may also conveniently place the History of Joseph the Carpenter, and the Assumption of Mary. (2) Those which deal with the boyhood of Jesus. The chief place in this class must be given to the Gospel of Thomas. (3) Gospels which relate to Pilate. The most important of these is the Gospel of Nicodemus.

(3) *Apocryphal Acts*. We also possess a considerable

number of documents written in imitation of the Acts of the Apostles, and claiming to give a history of the work of different Apostles after the Ascension of Jesus. The most important of these are: the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Acts of Thomas, the Acts of Andrew, the Acts of John, the Acts of Peter, the Acts of Peter and Paul.

(4) Very few *Apocryphal Epistles* have survived. The most important of these are: the Correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus, the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, and the Correspondence between Paul and Seneca.

(5) The most valuable and best known of the *Apocryphal Apocalypses* is the Apocalypse of Peter, a large fragment of which has been recently discovered. There are others, *e.g.* the Apocalypses of John and Paul, but they are of slight importance.

Value of the New Testament Apocrypha.—The New Testament Apocrypha are not so important for us to-day as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They have a greater value for the student of Church history and Christian doctrine than for the student of the New Testament. They illustrate, for instance, the rise of the heretical sects and their treatment of Scripture, the growth of Mariolatry, the prevalence of the Doketic explanation of Christ, the development of superstition, &c. Still they are not without some value even for

New Testament work. (a) The fragments of the Gospel to the Hebrews, for instance, are now generally regarded as containing authentic material for the life of Christ. So, too, the fragment of the Gospel of Peter, when the heretical elements in it have been discounted, appears to contain genuine tradition which can be judiciously turned to account. (b) The Logia throw some light on the synoptic problem, since they bear witness to the existence of separate collections of sayings of Jesus similar to the document which must have been used by Matthew and Luke in the writing of their Gospels. (c) The earlier documents are valuable for the purposes of textual criticism, since they preserve certain early readings. (d) The Apocryphal books also at times assist us in the work of exegesis, since they give the interpretation placed upon certain passages of the New Testament in early times. (e) The Legendary Gospels act as a foil to show the sobriety of the narratives in the Canonical Gospels.

CHAPTER XII

NON-CANONICAL BOOKS WHICH WERE USED AS SCRIPTURE BY THE EARLY CHURCH

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

THAT the first Epistle of Clement was used in public worship is clearly proved by two statements of Eusebius (330) in his Ecclesiastical History. The first statement is found in an excerpt from a letter of Dionysius of Corinth (160-180) to Soter, Bishop of Rome. In reply to Soter, Dionysius says: "To-day has been the Lord's day, and we have read your Epistle. Whenever we read it, we shall have our minds stored with counsel, as we do when we read the letter which was written to us in former times by Clement" (Book iv. 23). It was not only in Corinth, however, that this Epistle was used in worship, for in his second statement (Book iii. 16) Eusebius says: "This Epistle we know to have been publicly read for the common benefit in most of the churches both in former times and in our own day." The custom of using the Epistle in church seems to have continued for some time after Eusebius, for at the commencement of the

fifth century Jerome tells us that "it was still read publicly in some places."

The Character of the Epistle.—The Epistle was written in the name of the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth. "The Church of God sojourning in Rome" (so runs the opening verse) "to the Church of God sojourning in Corinth." The occasion of its composition was the outbreak "of an unholy and detestable sedition" which threatened to destroy the unity of the Corinthian Church. The Church at Corinth seems never to have been able to shake off its unenviable reputation for party divisions and factions, which from the earliest times, as we know from the Epistles of St. Paul, marred its harmony and hindered its development. What particular form the dispute took on this occasion, cannot be definitely determined. It raged round the heads of some of the presbyters, as the officers of the Church were called, but on what ground it is impossible to tell. It may have been a purely personal quarrel: possibly the Church had grown tired of its officers. Or it may have been the birth-pangs which attended the rise of a new system of government in the Church. The old order of things, as we know, was beginning to pass away, and a new method of government, which finally placed each Church under the control of a single bishop, was beginning to develop, and it may be that the strife at Corinth was in some way connected with

this change. Whatever its source, the controversy was absolutely fatal to the peace of the Church, and stultified its influence. And so the Church at Rome, for the first time in history, intervened with this letter of friendly counsel and wise advice. The Epistle may be described, therefore, as a tract in favour of unity and charity, and it must have been largely due to its character that it obtained its position among the "sacred writings" which were used in the worship of the Church.

Authorship and Date.—The Epistle is anonymous, and affords no hint as to the identity of its author. Tradition from the time of Dionysius of Corinth is unanimous in ascribing it to Clement of Rome. Who was this Clement? Many of the ancient Fathers identify him with the Clement mentioned by Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians (chap. iv. 3). This theory, however, seems to be very improbable. Though Clement mentions Paul in the Epistle, he never alludes to any personal connection with him, and neither in contents or style does the Epistle show the slightest trace of Pauline influence. The name Clement was very common, and no two Clements ought to be identified on the mere ground that they bore the same name. A second attempt to identify Clement has been made in modern times. We know that a certain Flavius Clemens, a consul and relative of the Emperor Domitian, was sentenced to death for atheism [*i.e.* for being a Christian]

during the time of the persecution. A later writing ascribed to Clement of Rome (though not really his) states that he was of regal extraction. Putting these two facts together, many scholars have concluded that the bishop and the martyr were one and the same person. The fatal objection to this hypothesis, however, is the fact that there is absolutely no reference in Christian literature or tradition to the martyrdom of Clement of Rome: on the contrary, Eusebius distinctly asserts that he died a natural death in the third year of Trajan's reign. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that nothing can be ascertained with regard to Clement of Rome, except that he was a distinguished leader in the Roman Church, and in later days was dignified with the title of Bishop. The date of the Epistle is almost unanimously placed in A.D. 95-96.

Value of the Epistle.—It cannot be said that the Epistle of Clement possesses a very great intrinsic value of its own. The style is diffuse and tedious, and the writer's ideas rarely rise above the commonplace. The theology is conventional, and shows but little appreciation of the great truths which constitute the essence of the teaching of St. Paul. It is not easy at first sight to explain the attraction which the Epistle had for the early Church. Its popularity was probably due: (1) to its plain and simple message; (2) the fact that its exhortation to unity was constantly needed; (3) its antiquity,

for it was more ancient than some of the later books of the New Testament ; (4) its Roman origin, which in later times, when the Roman Church was claiming the supremacy, naturally commended it. To-day no one would put in a plea for its recognition as Scripture, yet from a historical point of view the Epistle has no little interest for us. (a) It is probably the earliest Christian document outside the New Testament. (b) It gives us a very good conception of the Christian belief at the time, and proves conclusively that the teaching of St. Paul had not yet been assimilated by the Church. (c) It contains an explicit reference to Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, and gives several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and so proves that these books were widely circulated and recognised before the close of the first century.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

The Didache or Teaching of the Apostles was discovered in 1873 by Bryennius, an ecclesiastic of the Greek Church, in the Jerusalem Convent at Constantinople, and published ten years later. We have abundant evidence that the book held a very high place in the regard of the early Church. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as Scripture. It is mentioned in Athanasius' list of sacred writings, where it follows immediately after Judith

and Tobit. In Eusebius' classification of the books which claimed recognition in the Canon, it is ranked in the class of "the rejected."

Character and Contents.—The book falls into two parts, which are only loosely connected together. The first part, known as "The Two Ways," is an ethical tract setting forth the contrast between the paths of righteousness and unrighteousness, "the way of life" and "the way of death." It gives us a clear exposition of the general moral teaching of the early Church. Christians are urged to follow the rule of forgiveness and charity as laid down by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, and warned against the sins forbidden in the Decalogue and in the teaching of Jesus and Paul. The second part of the book deals with the institutions of the Church. It lays down regulations for the rite of Baptism and the celebration of the Agape. It gives the criteria by which the true teacher can be distinguished from the false, and offers advice with regard to fasting and the election of ministers.

Date of the Didache.—There is a considerable divergence of opinion with regard to the date of the Didache. Some scholars place it as early as A.D. 70 or 80. Harnack thinks that it did not assume its present form till between 130 and 160. Harnack's conclusions are based upon the assumption that the author of the Didache used the Epistle of Barnabas, which, according to him,

was written about 130. This assumption, however, is not demonstrable. The undoubted relation between the two books can be explained in other ways. The *Didache* bears on its face clear tokens of an early date. The Lord's Supper, for instance, is still part of the Agape; the authority of the bishop has not yet been established; the order of prophets occupies the highest rank in the Church. The book was evidently written during a state of transition, when the simple organisation of the New Testament was beginning to pass over into the episcopal form of government which was almost universally adopted before the middle of the second century. The *Didache*, therefore, seems to stand half-way between the Epistles of St. Paul and the Letters of Ignatius (A.D. 117). We shall not be far wrong if we date it about A.D. 100, though it may have been written a decade or two earlier.

The Value of the *Didache*.—The *Didache* is a treatise of very great importance from a historical point of view. (a) It gives us a graphic picture of the ethical teaching of the early Church. There can be little doubt that it was originally composed as a manual of instruction for catechumens before Baptism, and represents, therefore, the teaching which was given to new converts before their admission to the Church. It may thus be said to preserve the opinion of the Church in the last decades of the first century with regard to the essential truths of

the Christian religion. (2) It bridges over the gap between the New Testament and Patristic literature, and shows us how the organisation and simple rites of the Apostolic Church were beginning to pass into the elaborate system which they assumed in later time. The reference to Baptism, for instance, is very interesting, because it reveals to us the way in which the transition from immersion to aspersion took place. "Baptize" (so runs the regulation of the Didache) "in running water: but if running water is not available, use other water. If you cannot baptize in cold water, baptize in warm. If neither is possible, pour water over the head [of the candidate] thrice in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." (3) It gives us an interesting description of the Agape and Lord's Supper. The most remarkable feature about the statement is that, in the prayers which are given for use on the occasion of the celebration of the Sacrament, there is no allusion at all to the redemptive value of the death of Christ. (4) It proves conclusively that Lightfoot and Hatch were right in maintaining that episcopacy was not the earliest form of Church government, but only originated in the second century. The ministry to which the greatest importance was attached at first was that of the prophets. In the Didache the influence of the prophets is beginning to wane, and there are already signs that their place is beginning to be taken by the bishops.

To the student of the New Testament, therefore, who is anxious to form some conception of the condition of the Church at the close of the Apostolic age, the *Didache* is a document of supreme value.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

The high importance which was attached to the Epistle of Barnabas in early times is proved by the following facts: it is found in one of the earliest and most valuable MSS. of the New Testament—the Sinaitic—where it follows immediately after the Book of Revelation; Clement of Alexandria (200) frequently quotes it, and ascribes it to the Apostle Barnabas; Origen (250) describes it as the “Catholic Epistle of Barnabas,” and cites it as Scripture.

Contents.—The Epistle seems to be addressed, not to the members of a particular congregation, but to the Church as a whole. Its aim and purpose are defined by its author thus: “I write unto you that along with your faith ye might have perfect knowledge” (*gnosis*). The problem with which the book deals is one which is familiar to readers of the New Testament, and which forms the theme of some of the Epistles of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, viz. What attitude ought the Church to adopt towards the Jewish Law? Is the legal code of the Old Testament

binding upon Christians? The writer, who is extremely anti-Judaistic, takes up a very radical position, which he attempts to substantiate by some extremely novel arguments. (1) He shows that the attacks which the prophets made upon the sacrificial and ceremonial system prove that the Jewish code could not, as ordinarily interpreted, be of Divine origin. (2) As a matter of fact, the Jews had definitely rejected the covenant which God had offered to Moses. When Moses broke the tables of stone, it meant that Israel had refused the covenant. (3) The Old Testament, therefore, is not a Jewish but a Christian book, and only the Christian can properly interpret it. (4) The true interpretation of the book cannot be found by taking the statements literally. We must look below the surface. The Old Testament is an allegory, and it is only when it is treated as an allegory that it yields its true meaning. When we read it aright, we find that, far from being anti-Christian, it proclaims the essential truths of the Christian faith. (5) The writer then proceeds to work out his principle, and gives us some of the most interesting illustrations of the method of allegorical interpretation found in the literature of the Church. Two examples may be given. (*a*) The writer cites inaccurately the statement of Genesis with regard to the 318 servants of Abraham, and asks, Why 318? There must be a mystical explanation, he says, lying

behind the number. The Greek equivalent for the number 318 is formed of the letters TIH. Now T obviously represents the Cross, and IH are the first two letters of the word Jesus (it should be noted that, in Greek, H is the form used to denote capital E long). The 318, therefore, typifies the death of Christ upon the Cross. (b) Equally remarkable is the writer's explanation of forbidden foods. "Moses spoke with a mystical reference. 'Neither shalt thou eat,' says he, 'the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven.' Thou shalt not join thyself, he means, to such men as know not how to procure food for themselves by labour and sweat, but seize on that of others in their iniquity."

Author and Date.—The traditional view which ascribes the book to the Apostle Barnabas is very improbable, and has now been almost universally rejected. The main grounds for the rejection are: (a) The mistakes which the writer makes in describing Jewish ritual would be incomprehensible if the Epistle were written by a Levite like Barnabas. (b) The rabid anti-Judaism of the Epistle is quite foreign to the spirit of Barnabas—at least, if the picture of him which is drawn by the writer of Acts is true. (c) The Epistle exhibits none of the characteristics which we should naturally expect to find in a book written by the Barnabas of Acts.

There is a great deal of controversy amongst scholars with regard to the date of the Epistle. Many place it

in the decade following the destruction of Jerusalem. Others (among them Harnack) date it about 130. The present writer is inclined to accept the latter view, on the following grounds: (*a*) There is no direct reference to or connection with the Apostolic age in the Epistle. Its whole tone seems to breathe the spirit of the second century rather than the first. (*b*) The writer makes a definite quotation from Matthew, which he introduces by the formula, "it is written," implying that he regarded the source from which the citation was taken as Scripture. Matthew could scarcely have been quoted as Scripture before the second century. (*c*) The writer's statement in chap. xvi., "They who pulled down the Temple shall built it up," seems to refer to the rebuilding of the Temple, which took place in 130.

Value of the Epistle.—The chief value of the Epistle for us to-day lies in: (*a*) The fact that it proves that the Old Testament constituted a serious problem in the minds of the early Christians. If the Old Testament was divinely inspired, why should not its injunctions still be enforced? The Epistle gives us one solution of the problem—a solution which in different forms has always been popular in the Church. (*b*) The illustrations which it gives of the application of the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture—a method which obtained great vogue in the Church, and some traces of which are found in the Epistles of St. Paul.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

No book outside the New Testament was more popular in the ancient Church than the Shepherd of Hermas. It is found in the famous Codex Sinaiticus at the close of the New Testament, and in several other MSS. besides. Irenæus (180) quotes it as Scripture. Origen (250) regards it as "divinely inspired." Eusebius (330), though he refuses to recognise it as canonical, says that "it was publicly read in churches," and "deemed most necessary for those who have need of elementary instruction."

Contents.—The book falls into three divisions, consisting respectively of (a) visions, (b) commandments, (c) parables. (a) In the first part Hermas relates *five visions* which came to him at different times. The visions are of different kinds. The first, for instance, the vision of Rhoda, his former mistress, is intended to impress upon Hermas the sinfulness of unchaste thoughts. In another, an old woman, who represents the Church, appears to Hermas and reproaches him for his failure to restrain his wife and children from folly and sin. The reason why the Church was portrayed as an *old* woman is explained thus: "She was created first of all, and for her sake the world was made." In the last vision Hermas sees "a man of glorious aspect dressed like a shepherd," who teaches him the commandments and parables which form the remaining

part of the book. It is from this vision that the book gets its name. (b) The *commandments* contain an interesting epitome of the ethical teaching of the Church of the second century. They emphasise the following virtues and graces of the Christian life: belief in God, simplicity of life, truthfulness, chastity, forbearance, the fear of God, temperance, cheerful trust in God, confidence in prayer, the necessity of discerning between true and false prophets, &c. (c) The third part of the book consists of a number of disconnected *parables* and *similitudes* intended to enforce the main teaching of the book. The parable of the vine and the elm, for instance, is used to enforce the lesson that the rich man is helped by the prayers of the poor. The fact that in winter all trees look alike, and the living cannot be distinguished from the dead, is used to show the impossibility of judging the real character of men in this life.

Authorship and Date.—Some of the Patristic writers thought that the book was written by the Hermas mentioned by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14). This view, however, is quite impossible, and finds no support in modern times. There is a much more probable account of the origin of the book in the Muratorian Fragment (about 170): "The Shepherd was written very recently in our times by Hermas during the bishopric of his brother Pius." This would make the date about 140. There is one great objection to this theory:

in the second vision Hermas mentions a man named Clement, who is generally identified with Clement of Rome. Clement of Rome could not have been living, as the passage implies he was, at as late a date as 140. Hence many modern scholars reject the statement of the Muratorian Fragment, and date the book about 100. Probably the best solution of the difficulty is to suppose, with Harnack, that the book in its present form was written about 140, but that it embodies elements of a much earlier origin, some of which may go back to the commencement of the century.

Value of the Book.—The Shepherd of Hermas has been very aptly called the "Pilgrim's Progress" of the early Church. Like the great allegory of Bunyan, it tries to enforce religious truth by visions and illustrations and parables. The book is valuable for us because: (*a*) It shows the literary devices to which early teachers resorted in order to make their teaching easy to understand. (*b*) It contains an excellent manual of the ethical teaching which was in vogue in the Church about the middle of the second century. (*c*) Like all the other literature of the period, it proves the insignificant influence which the theology of Paul had as yet exerted over the thought of the Church. Nothing is more remarkable in early Christian literature than the almost complete eclipse of Paul. Paulinism never held the place in early theology which has been assigned to it in Protestantism.

CHAPTER XIII

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS

THE Apocryphal Gospels, as we have seen, may be divided into three classes: (1) Those which possibly preserve elements of genuine tradition. (2) Heretical Gospels, *i.e.* Gospels in which the narrative has been purposely altered to suit the tenets of some heretical sect. (3) Legendary Gospels, which embroider the account of the beginning and end of Christ's life with fictitious stories.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS

The only Gospel which has any serious claim to be regarded as genuine and reliable is the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Unfortunately, however, we only possess a few fragments of it, culled from the writings of various Fathers of the Church. The most important and interesting of these are:—

(a) Two references to the Baptism of Jesus. "Lo, the mother of the Lord and his brethren said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins ;

let us go and be baptized by him. But he said, What sin have I committed that I should go and be baptized by him, unless perchance this very word which I have spoken is a sin of ignorance."

"Now it came to pass, when the Lord had come up out of the water, the Holy Spirit with full stream came down and rested upon him and said to him, My son, in all the prophets I was waiting for thee, that thou shouldest come and I might rest in thee, for thou art my rest. Thou art my first-born son, who reignest for ever."

(b) An extract containing an account of the visit of the rich young man to Christ, which proceeds upon the lines of Matt. xix. 16-22, but adds the following words:—

"But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said to him, How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets, since it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and lo! many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger, and thy home is full of many goods and nothing at all goes out to them."

(c) A fragment recording the appearance of Jesus to James after the Resurrection:—

"Now the Lord, when he had given the cloth to the servant of the priest, went to James and appeared to

him. For James had taken an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour on which he had drunk the cup of the Lord till he saw him rising from the dead. [And the Lord said] Bring a table and bread. And he took the bread, and blessed and brake, and afterwards gave it to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from that sleep."

(d) The following post-Resurrection utterance of Jesus:—

"Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."

(e) A few sayings of Jesus:—

"He that wonders shall reign and he that reigns shall rest."

"Never be joyful except when ye shall look upon your brother in love."

Origin of the Gospel.—The question of the origin of the Gospel to the Hebrews has been a matter of keen debate amongst scholars in recent times. There are several views. (1) Some of the ancient Fathers regarded the Gospel as the original of our Matthew. Jerome, for instance, says, "*Vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.*" Judging from the fragments which have been preserved, this view seems quite untenable, as they bear very little relation to our Gospel of Matthew. (2) For the same reason the view of some modern scholars, that

the Gospel to the Hebrews was a version of our Matthew, made in the interest of Jewish Christians, seems equally out of the question. (3) The Gospel has been identified with the original Logia, or Collection of the Sayings of Jesus, which was one of the main sources out of which our Gospels of Matthew and Luke were composed. This view, however, is a pure hypothesis, and does not seem to rest on any substantial basis. (4) The theory which seems to be most in favour with critics to-day maintains that the Gospel is an independent version of the Gospel narrative based on the same sources which underlie our Synoptics. It was originally written in Aramaic, and was composed to suit the needs of the Jewish Christian congregations of Palestine. It never secured much of a circulation outside Palestine, and as Palestinian Christianity sank into comparative insignificance, the Gospel to the Hebrews attracted little attention, and gradually fell into disfavour.

Date and Value of the Gospel.—There is a marked tendency amongst modern scholars to attach a very early date to the Gospel. Harnack, for instance, places it between A.D. 65 and 100, thus making it coeval with our Synoptics and earlier than the Fourth Gospel. This conclusion is largely based upon the fact that the Gospel is definitely mentioned by Hegesippus (170) and quoted by Ignatius (115). If Harnack is right, then the fragments of the Gospel become exceedingly valuable, and must be

taken into consideration in every attempt to construct a life of Christ. The fragments which deal with the Baptism and Resurrection of Jesus are particularly important.

HERETICAL GOSPELS

I. THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. PETER

The most interesting of all the heretical Gospels is that ascribed to Peter, a large fragment of which was recently discovered by the French Archæological Mission, in a tomb at Akmîm (Pentapolis), in Upper Egypt, and published in 1892. The fragment, unfortunately, only covers the last scenes in the life of Christ. It begins with the trial before Pilate, and ends with the visit of the women to the empty tomb on Easter morning.

Character of the Gospel.—The Gospel of Peter is a version of the life of Christ written in the interest of the Doketic heresy. The Doketists held a peculiar theory with regard to Christ. They thought that Divinity and humanity could not co-exist in one person, and that the humanity was therefore not real, but merely apparent. A God could not be born or suffer hunger or be put to death. The Divine Christ, therefore, descended into a human form after the Baptism and ascended into heaven again before the Crucifixion. In order to substantiate this view there were many points in the Gospel narrative

which needed amendment, and the Gospel of Peter affords us some interesting illustrations of the freedom with which heretics treated the Gospel story. The most startling alteration is found in the treatment of the cry of Christ upon the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This, of course, is a flat contradiction to the Doketic position, and so the words are changed into "My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me"—an allusion to the departure of the Divine Christ before the Crucifixion. In the account of the Crucifixion, too, the statement is made that Jesus "held his peace, as having no pain." This is another feature of the Doketic position. The body in which the Divine Christ dwelt is regarded as incapable of suffering. Another marked characteristic of the Gospel is the antipathy which it exhibits towards the Jews. The whole responsibility for the Crucifixion is placed upon their shoulders. Pilate is completely exonerated from any share in the blame. After the Crucifixion they are represented as coming to their senses and lamenting their crime. "Then the Jews . . . began to lament and say, Woe for our sins: for the judgment and the end of Jerusalem hath drawn nigh." The Gospel contains some expansions of the ordinary narrative, which are evidently due to legendary accretion. The most famous is the account which it gives of the actual Resurrection of Jesus:—

"And in the night in which the Lord's day was

drawing on, as the soldiers kept watch two by two on guard, there was a great voice from heaven : and they saw the heavens opened and two men descending thence with a great light and approaching the tomb. And that stone which was put at the door rolled away of itself and departed to one side, and both the young men entered in. When, therefore, the soldiers saw it, they awakened the centurions and the elders, for they too were hard by keeping watch. And as they declared what things they had seen, again they see coming forth from the tomb three men, and two supporting the one, and a Cross following them. And of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but the head of him that was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, Hast thou preached to them that sleep? And an answer was heard from the Cross, Yea."

The last sentence is particularly interesting, as it illustrates the statements in 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6, which assert that the Gospel was preached to "the spirits in prison."

Date of the Gospel of Peter.—Harnack regards the Gospel as a very early production, dating it between 110 and 130. The grounds upon which he arrives at this conclusion are: (*a*) The Gospel was used by Justin Martyr (150). (*b*) The account of the Resurrection implies an early date, because the scene of Christ's

appearance to the disciples is laid in Galilee and not in Jerusalem. Harnack attaches a great deal of value to the Gospel, and looks upon it as a source "of first importance," after our canonical Gospels. Though Harnack's date has many supporters, a large number of scholars think that we must place the Gospel later, between 150 and 170, since its use by Justin Martyr cannot be proved.

II. OTHER HERETICAL GOSPELS

The Gospel of the Ebionites has often been identified with the Gospel according to the Hebrews on the strength of certain statements in Jerome and Epiphanius, who certainly confused the two narratives. Harnack, however, has clearly shown that the Gospel of the Ebionites is quite a distinct production. Only a few fragments of it remain. They may be found in Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," pp. 471-473. The fragments prove: (1) That the Gospel was originally ascribed to Matthew, since Matthew is personally addressed in the second person by Jesus. "Thee, Matthew, I called, as thou wert sitting at the receipt of custom." (2) That the Gospel was written in the interest of a sect which held vegetarian principles. In the account of John the Baptist, it is said that his food consisted of wild honey and honey-cakes—the

latter term being substituted for the "locusts" of the Gospel narrative. The change is effected by the alteration of a couple of letters, the Greek word for locusts being *akridas* and for honey-cakes *egkridas*. For the same reason the statement of Luke xxii. 15, "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover," is changed into an interrogative: "Have I desired to eat this flesh, the Passover, with you?" The *date* of the Gospel is placed by Harnack between 180 and 200.

The Gospel according to the Egyptians.—Harnack regards this Gospel as a document of the highest value. He thinks that it was originally written, as a counterblast to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for the use of Gentile Christians. Unfortunately we have only two authenticated excerpts from it: (a) A sentence preserved in Epiphanius, which attributes to Christ the saying, to which so much importance was attached by the author of the Sabellian heresy, that "one and the same Being was alike Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." (b) An important extract preserved in Clement of Alexandria:—

"When Salome asked, How long will death prevail? the Lord said, As long as ye women bear children: for I have come to destroy the functions of women. And Salome said to him, Did I well, then, in not bearing children? And the Lord answered and said, Eat of every herb, but do not eat of that which is bitter. And

when Salome asked when the things would be known about which she had inquired, the Lord said, When ye have trampled upon the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one and the male with the female neither male nor female."

This quotation shows that the Gospel was written in the interest of a sect which regarded marriage as a sin. In spite of the fact that these two quotations constitute our only authenticated information with regard to the contents of the Gospel, Harnack thinks that it is possible to extend our knowledge, and claims for it certain other anonymous quotations which are found elsewhere. In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, which is really a homily (ascribed by Harnack to Bishop Soter of Rome, about 170), there are a number of citations, giving sayings of Jesus, some of which cannot be traced back to any known source. One of them corresponds in many particulars to the authenticated fragment from the Gospel according to the Egyptians quoted above. Upon the basis of the identity of these two excerpts Harnack argues that (1) all the other quotations come from the same source, (2) and the fact that the Gospel is so largely drawn upon by a Roman bishop proves the exalted position which it held in the estimation of the Church. Harnack's arguments, however, are not conclusive. The quotation in II. Clement, upon which he relies for

the identification, has many remarkable dissimilarities from the authenticated fragment, which must make us pause before we jump to the conclusion that they come from the same source ; and even if the identity of the two could be maintained, there would still be no proof that the other citations in II. Clement were taken from the same Gospel. On the whole, it must be said that Harnack's position is "not proven." His attempt to rehabilitate the Gospel to the Egyptians cannot be regarded as successful. The most probable view is still that of the ancient Fathers, who describe it as a heretical Gospel written in the interests of the Sabellians and Encratites. Harnack's date, too, seems far too early. He places it in the reign of Trajan, certainly earlier than 130. The Gospel could scarcely have originated, however, before 150.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED "SAYINGS OF JESUS"

In 1897 a papyrus fragment was discovered, in the mounds of Oxyrhynchus, an Egyptian town on the edge of the Libyan desert 120 miles south of Cairo, containing seven or eight "Sayings of Jesus."

The most important of these "Sayings" are as follows :

"Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God ; and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath ye shall not see the Father."

“Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart.”

“Jesus saith, Wherever there are (two), they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there am I.”

“Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him.”

In 1904 further excavations at Oxyrhynchus brought to light another papyrus leaf with five more “Sayings,” the most interesting of which are the following:—

“Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having the kingdom he shall rest.”

“Jesus saith, Ye ask, Who are those that draw us to the kingdom if the kingdom is in heaven? The fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth, and the fishes of the sea, these are they which draw you, and the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. Strive, therefore, to know yourselves and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Father, and ye shall know . . .”

"Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee, for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised."

These "Sayings" constitute a very interesting problem in criticism, which cannot at present be said to have found a satisfactory solution. It is easier to ask the questions which naturally come into the mind when we read them—*e.g.* Whence did they originate and what is their value?—than it is to supply an answer. We shall probably have to wait for other "finds" before we obtain the clue which will enable us to give a sure explanation of the "Sayings." Upon one point, however, there seems to be a general agreement amongst scholars, viz. that the "Sayings" belong to a very early date. A.D. 140 is given as the latest possible time at which they could have come into existence, and they may possibly be considerably earlier than that; some scholars suppose that they go back to the first century. Upon the question of *the origin of the "Sayings"* there is the utmost divergence of opinion amongst scholars. Some suppose that they are extracts from one of the Apocryphal Gospels. Harnack, for instance, thinks that they are excerpts from the Gospel of the Egyptians—a theory which is based upon his more than doubtful reconstruction of the Gospel in question. Others suggest the Gospel to the Hebrews or the Gospel of Thomas as

the source from which they were taken. Others again, regard them as a cento of quotations taken not from a single Gospel but from several. It is impossible to make out a convincing case for any of these theories. There are no Gospels with which we are familiar which seem altogether to suit the character of the "Sayings." On the whole, opinion seems to be coming round to the view that the papyri represent an independent collection of the sayings of Jesus of very early origin. There is nothing to show that the collection was made in the interests of any heresy or schism in the Church. We seem to find in the papyri an illustration and example of the Logia, or collections of the sayings of Jesus, which we know must have been the earliest form, or one of the earliest forms, in which the Christian tradition took shape. To what extent the "Sayings" of the papyri preserve authentic utterances of Jesus cannot be determined. As far as our present fragments are concerned, there seems to be no motive which explains the invention of "the sayings," though of course, if we had larger data to go upon, perhaps the key to the riddle might be found. If further discoveries do not reveal the hand of the heretic, or suggest a clue which can account for the manufacture of the "Sayings," we shall be warranted in supposing that the collection preserves genuine elements of tradition, and so is a document which the student of the Gospels is bound to take into account.

CHAPTER XIV

THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS (*continued*)

THE LEGENDARY GOSPELS

WE possess some twenty-two documents — most of them belonging to a late date—which expand certain parts of the history of Christ's life by the addition of legendary embellishments. They may be divided into three classes: (*a*) Those which deal with the history of Joseph and Mary before the birth of Jesus. (*b*) Those which deal with the infancy and boyhood of Jesus. (*c*) Those which relate to the history of Pilate.

I. THE GOSPELS OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH

1. The most important of the first class of legendary Gospels is the book known as the **Protevangelium of James**. This title does not appear in the document itself, but was given to it by Postel, who published the modern version of it in Latin in 1552. The book is extant in Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions, and we possess no less than fifty MSS. of it altogether. The book may be divided into three parts: (*a*) The story of Mary before the birth of Jesus. Mary is the daughter

of Joachim and Anna, who were childless till late in life. They vowed that, if God would give them a child, they would dedicate it to His service. When Mary was three years old, they took her to the Temple, and placed her in the charge of the priests. When she reached the age of twelve, the priests, fearing the responsibility of keeping a marriageable girl in the Temple, resolved to place her in the charge of a widower. Joseph is miraculously chosen for the task, and Mary is placed in his keeping. (*b*) The account of the miraculous birth. The document follows in the main the narrative of Luke, though there are some important legendary additions, *e.g.* the ordeal imposed on Joseph and Mary of drinking "the waters of jealousy," the unbelief of Salome, &c. (*c*) The story of Zacharias. At the time of the slaughter of the Innocents, Elizabeth and the child John are miraculously saved by the opening of a mountain, which effectually conceals them from their pursuers. Zacharias, refusing to give information as to their hiding-place, is murdered by command of Herod. The utmost diversity of opinion exists among scholars with regard to the date of the Protevangelium. There are some, *e.g.* Zahn and Krüger, who regard it as a very early document, and place it in the first decade of the second century (100-110). Others go to the opposite extreme, and hold that it belongs to the fourth century. Harnack strikes out a mediating position. He thinks that the Protevangelium

is made up of three separate documents. (1) The story of Mary (which is, properly speaking, the Book of James) was written a little before 250. (2) The account of the birth of Jesus probably belongs to the end of the second century or the commencement of the third. (3) The Book of Zacharias dates from the opening decades of the third century. He agrees, however, with the prevalent opinion, that in its present form the book does not go back beyond 350. The author of the Gospel was evidently a Jewish Christian, as is clearly proved from the interest which he takes in Jewish rites and ceremonies. This, however, does not prevent him from falling at times into serious anachronisms. The narrative does not seem to have been written in the interest of any doctrinal or ecclesiastical theory. There is no evidence to show that the writer advocated the Adoration of the Virgin, though the book certainly bears witness to the increasing sanctity which was attached to her.

2. **The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew** is largely based upon the Protevangelium of James, the greater part of which it embodies. It carries the story to a later date, giving an account of the visit to Egypt, and recounting many miraculous incidents in the later boyhood of Jesus. It adds many new legendary elements to the narrative of the Protevangelium. For instance, it describes the adoration paid by the ox and ass to the infant Jesus as He lay in the manger at Bethlehem, and

says that this was the fulfilment of the prophecy, "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." The Gospel also describes many miraculous events which happened during the flight into Egypt; how, for instance, lions and leopards adored the child, how a palm bowed its head at the child's command and supplied its fruit to satisfy His mother's need, how when He entered an idol-temple the idols all fell shattered to the ground. The account of the boyhood of Jesus is borrowed from the Gospel of Thomas, with which we shall have to deal later on. Pseudo-Matthew contains more mythical stories, probably, than any other Gospel, and cannot be dated earlier than the fifth century.

3. **The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary** is also a lineal descendant of the Protevangelium. The story of Mary is told almost exactly upon the lines of the Protevangelium, though of course Mary now becomes the central figure of the narrative, and the story ends with the birth of Christ. There are some embellishments in the narrative, *e.g.* angelic visitations to Mary are of daily occurrence during her sojourn in the Temple. The Gospel of the Nativity can scarcely be earlier than the fifth century. It had a wide circulation, and exercised an important influence in mediæval times—especially upon art and theology.

4. **The History of Joseph the Carpenter.**—This Gospel, which is preserved in Arabic and Coptic, relates

the story of the life of Joseph. The narrative is put into the mouth of Jesus, who is represented as telling it to the disciples on the Mount of Olives just before the Crucifixion. The first part of the story follows the Protevangelium, but carries the history on to the death of Joseph, who was about ninety years old when Jesus was born, and lived to the age of a hundred and eleven. Full particulars are given of various incidents connected with Joseph's death, *e.g.* his confession of sin and his conflict with devils, the miraculous preservation of his body from corruption, &c. It seems probable that the Gospel was composed in Egypt, possibly in the fifth century, to celebrate the Festival of Joseph's death.

5. Another document which may be conveniently placed under the class of Apocrypha, though it does not deal specifically with the Virgin Birth, is the little work known as the **Assumption of Mary**, or the "Passing of Mary." It is found in several forms, which, though differing in details, are in substantial agreement with regard to the main points of the story. Two years after the Ascension of Jesus, Mary is warned that her end is approaching. The Apostles are miraculously borne on clouds from the ends of the earth to witness her departure. In the full sight of them all, Mary is carried up to heaven without dying. The document probably belongs, as Tischendorf thinks, to the fourth century.

II. THE GOSPELS OF THE BOYHOOD OF JESUS

1. The most important of the Gospels which deal with the boyhood of Jesus is the **Gospel of Thomas**, which occupies the same place in this class as the Protevangelium in the former. We possess no less than four different recensions of this book: (*a*) the longer Greek, (*b*) the shorter Greek, (*c*) the Latin, (*d*) the Syriac. All these recensions differ in general contents as well as in detail, but contain enough common matter to prove that they were derived from the same source. The Syriac is not even ascribed to Thomas, and is known simply as the "Syriac Gospel of the Boyhood of our Lord Jesus." These Gospels purport to describe the life of Jesus from His fifth to His twelfth year. They teem with miraculous events. The boy Jesus restores the dead to life, and also sometimes inflicts death upon those who thwart Him. He makes birds of clay and causes them to fly, miraculously lengthens a short piece of wood to make it equal to a longer, cures His brother James when he had been bitten by a venomous serpent, confounds His teachers by an exhibition of prodigious knowledge, &c. The portrait of Jesus is anything but majestic. The miracles are generally puerile displays of magical power, and lack the ethical motive which is so prominent in the Gospels of the New Testament. It is not easy to determine the

date at which the Gospel of Thomas was written. We know that a Gospel of Thomas circulated in Gnostic circles in the second century. Hippolytus quotes from a Gospel of this name which, he says, was used by the sect of the Naasenes. Quotations in Irenæus (180) seem to imply that the Gospel was in existence at his time. We may be certain, therefore, that a Gospel of Thomas did exist amongst certain sects between 150 and 180. But we cannot be sure that our version of the Gospel is identical with the Gnostic Thomas, for two reasons: (1) A quotation in Hippolytus taken from the Gnostic Thomas is not found in any of our recensions. (2) Our Gospel does not exhibit any traces of heresy. The probability therefore is, as Harnack suggests, that our Gospel is an expurgated edition of the Gnostic Thomas made in the interests of Catholic Christianity. When, and by whom, this version was made, cannot be determined.

2. The only other Gospel of importance belonging to this class is the **Arabic Gospel of the Infancy**. The author states that he derived his materials from "the book of Joseph the high priest, and some have said that he is Caiaphas." The contents of the book fall into three parts: (1) The story of the birth of Jesus, which is derived from the Protevangelium. (2) The story of the flight into Egypt, which has much in common with Pseudo-Matthew. (3) The story of the boyhood of Jesus, which seems to be taken from the Gospel of Thomas.

III. GOSPELS WHICH RELATE TO PILATE

A very large Apocryphal literature has gathered round the person of Pilate. By far the most important work is the so-called **Gospel of Nicodemus**—a book which obtained a remarkable popularity both in ancient and mediæval times. The title is comparatively modern, and is not found till the thirteenth century. The Gospel of Nicodemus contains two documents of very different character and origin: (1) the Acts of Pilate; (2) the Descent of Jesus into the Underworld. There are several different recensions of both documents in Greek, Latin, and Armenian. A Coptic version also exists.

The first document, the Acts of Pilate, contains an account of the trial of Jesus before Pilate and of the subsequent action taken by the Jewish Sanhedrin. The most important points in the narrative are: (*a*) The charge of illegitimacy which is brought against Christ by the Jews and successfully rebutted. (*b*) The defence of Jesus by Nicodemus, who proceeds on the lines of Gamaliel in Acts v. (*c*) The witness in favour of Christ by those whom He had healed. (*d*) The action of Joseph of Arimathea, and the persecution which he received from the priests. (*e*) The testimony to the Ascension of Jesus by the three men of Galilee.

There is a keen controversy amongst scholars as to the date at which the Acts of Pilate was written. There

are some who, like Tischendorf, suppose that it was written very early in the second century, and hold that it is therefore a very valuable document, containing genuine traditions, which may be used to expand the account of the Crucifixion in the Gospels. Others think that the book belongs to the fourth or even fifth century, and is a worthless compilation. The arguments in favour of the latter view, which has the support of Harnack, are : (1) Eusebius never mentions a Christian Gospel of Pilate, though he gives an account of a pagan Acts of Pilate, which was used in public schools to throw derision upon Christianity. (2) The allusions to Acts of Pilate in Justin and Tertullian, which are the basis on which the theory of an early date rests, are inconclusive. It is true that Tertullian does quote some document relating to Pilate, but there is no proof that this document is identical with the Gospel of Nicodemus. On the contrary, Harnack argues with much acumen that the statements of Tertullian were used by the author of Nicodemus as one of his sources. In spite of the fact that Dr. Rendel Harris has recently ingeniously championed the theory of an early date, the case for the genuineness of the Gospel cannot be made out. The probability is that the Gospel was composed as a Christian reply to the heathen Acts of Pilate mentioned by Eusebius.

The second document of the Gospel deals with the

descent of Christ into Hell. Two young men, Charinus and Leucius, who had been raised from the dead, describe the visit of Christ to Hades. They recount how suddenly a great light filled the underworld, how the Lord appeared in glory and, amid the songs of the redeemed, set up the Cross as the symbol of His triumph. The document is interesting because it expands and develops the statements in our First Epistle of Peter and the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. The account, of course, is purely imaginary, and its sole value consists in the fact that it illustrates the position which this article of the Creed had obtained in the fourth century.

There are five other minor documents dealing with Pilate, some of which are appended to the Gospel of Nicodemus in some MSS., viz. the *Letter of Pilate* to the Emperor Tiberius; the *Report of Pilate*, which purports to be Pilate's official report of the Crucifixion of Christ to the Emperor; the *Paradoses of Pilate* and the *Death of Pilate*, which give an account of Pilate's death; the *Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea*, which describes the part played by Joseph in the Crucifixion. All these are late fabrications, and have no claim to receive consideration from a historical point of view.

CHAPTER XV

APOCRYPHAL ACTS, EPISTLES, ETC.

APOCRYPHAL ACTS

MORE than a dozen different Apocryphal Acts have been preserved, of varying date and value. They all attempt to supplement our canonical Acts by giving an account of the lives and works of the Apostles. Amongst these Apocryphal books, the following are the most important :—

The Acts of Paul and Thecla.—This book records an interesting episode in connection with Paul's visit to Iconium (Acts xiv. 1-7). Stripped of its mythical elements, the story is as follows. During his stay at Iconium, Paul lived in the house of Onesiphorus. In an adjoining mansion there resided a noble Iconian lady, named Thecla, who from her chamber often listened to Paul's preaching. She was fascinated by his message and became a Christian. This so enraged the members of her family and her affianced husband, Thamyris, that they induced the magistrates to cast Paul into prison. Thecla visited Paul in prison secretly,

and when this was discovered, the Apostle was hurriedly expelled from the city. Thecla, however, resisted all the attempts which were made to induce her to renounce her Christian faith, and finally fled to Antioch, where she was arrested and condemned, on the charge of having insulted a pagan priest. She had a marvellous escape from the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, which refused to touch her, and was afterwards released. She subsequently lived under the protection of Queen Tryphæna, whom she was the means of converting to Christianity.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Acts of Thecla was written at a comparatively early date. Tertullian (A.D. 200) states that a presbyter of Asia had confessed to the authorship of the book, pleading that he had written it through his love to Paul. The book could scarcely, therefore, be later than 170, and this is the date at which Harnack puts it. Sir W. Ramsay holds that, though in its present form the book belongs to 130-160, yet the present version shows signs of being based upon an earlier document, which originated in the first century. He accordingly regards it as containing a genuine tradition, and thinks that some such incident actually occurred. Harnack, however, argues that the case for the existence of an earlier document has not been made out, and maintains that the Acts of Thecla contains "a great deal of fiction and very little truth."

The Acts of Thomas.—Next in importance to the

Acts of Thecla comes the Acts of Thomas. This is a specially interesting book, because it bears upon its face the stamp of Gnostic influence. We shall not be far wrong if we describe it as a religious novel, with the Apostle Thomas for its hero, written in support of the doctrine of celibacy. According to the story of the book, when the world was parcelled out among the Apostles, India fell by lot to Thomas. He at first refused to go, and it was only when the Lord appeared to him and sold him as a slave to an Indian merchant, who was looking out for a carpenter, that he consented to undertake the mission. The most interesting incident in the book is the following. When Thomas arrived in India, he was commissioned by King Gundaphorus to erect a royal palace. He at once consented to undertake the contract, but instead of building a palace spent the king's money in relieving the wants of the poor. When the king returned and found no palace, he was exceedingly angry, and ordered Thomas to be arrested. It so happened, however, that the king's brother Gad died about this time. After death, upon arriving in heaven, he saw a beautiful palace, and asked permission to make it his home. He was told, however, that the palace had been built by Thomas for King Gundaphorus. Gad thereupon returned to earth, and, appearing to his brother, endeavoured to purchase the heavenly palace from him. This opened the eyes

of Gundaphorus, and led to his conversion. The other stories in the book are all written to support the view that marriage is sinful, and celibacy the only right mode of life. Thomas's preaching finally resulted in his martyrdom. He converted the wife of the chief minister, who refused to live any longer with her husband. The minister complained to the king, and he ordered his soldiers to put Thomas to death. The date of the Acts of Thomas is difficult to fix. The book is first mentioned by Eusebius, who denounces its heretical character. Our present version is possibly a purified version of the original Gnostic edition, made for the benefit of Catholic Christians. The majority of modern scholars, including Harnack, hold that it was not composed till after the commencement of the third century.

The Acts of Andrew.—There are several documents which deal with the history of the Apostle Andrew, viz. the Acts of Andrew, the Acts of Andrew and Matthias, the Acts of Peter and Andrew. The most important incidents related in these documents are : (1) The story of Andrew's rescue of Matthew from the island of the cannibals. The narrative abounds in impossible and fantastic romances. Andrew receives orders from God to go to Matthew's help. When he reaches the coast he finds a boat, with Jesus at the helm under the guise of a steersman, and manned by angels under the form of sailors. Upon arriving at the island, he miraculously

enters the prison. The warders fall dead when he breathes upon them, and Matthew is released. The most amazing scenes follow. A statue belches forth acrid water, which destroys all the inhabitants of the city. They are restored to life by Andrew's intervention, and eagerly embrace Christianity. (2) The story of Andrew's martyrdom at Patara in Achaia. The bulk of the narrative is taken up with a discussion between Andrew and the proconsul Ægeates. After a long argument, Ægeates, unable to answer Andrew, orders him to be executed. The account of the crucifixion is full of marvels. Andrew hung upon the cross for three days and three nights, entrancing the crowd with his eloquence. The crowd, astonished at the miracle, begged that his life might be spared, but Andrew prayed that God might not allow him to be released. His prayer was answered, and he was suffered to die. Tradition ascribes the Acts to Leucius, who is supposed to have been a disciple of John the Apostle. Innocent I. (d. 417) says that it was written by the philosophers Nexocharis and Leonidas. The book is first mentioned by Eusebius, and we know from later references that it circulated at first amongst heretical sects. Our present fragments, however, contain no traces of heretical influence, and so probably represent a purified edition made for the use of ordinary Christians. The date can scarcely be earlier than the third century.

The Acts of John describes: (a) The appearance of John before the Emperor Domitian in Rome. Domitian was anxious to stamp out Christianity. Information was given him that John was the champion of Christianity in Asia. Accordingly he at once sent soldiers to arrest him and bring him to Rome. John made a great impression upon the emperor, and by drinking a cup of poison without any ill effect convinced him that the new religion was not altogether a superstitious fancy. Unwilling, however, to revoke his edict against the Christians, Domitian ordered John to be imprisoned in the isle of Patmos. (b) The death of John. Towards the end of his life John called his disciples around him and bade them farewell, exhorting them in many speeches to remain loyal to the faith. Then he ordered a grave to be dug, threw in his clothes, and entered it alive. Next day his disciples found no trace of the Apostle, but there was a fountain where the grave had been.

The book is associated in tradition with the name of Leucius. The stress which it lays upon celibacy and abstinence from meats shows that it emanated from heretical sects. Whether it belongs to the second or the third century cannot be determined. There is a comparative freedom from romantic and fantastic elements about the book.

The Acts of Philip, which appears in several forms, describes: (a) The work of Philip at Athens. Philip meets

three hundred philosophers at Athens and expounds to them his doctrine. They ask for time to consider his arguments, and write to the high priest Ananias at Jerusalem asking him for information about Philip. Ananias determines to hurry to Athens at once, and confront Philip before the Athenians. The book recounts the story of the meeting of Philip and Ananias and the utter discomfiture of the latter. The Athenian philosophers are converted and accept the Christian faith.

(b) The martyrdom of Philip at Hierapolis. Philip came to Hierapolis in company with his sister Mariamne and Bartholomew, one of the seventy. Through the influence of Mariamne, Nicanora the wife of the proconsul was converted. This so infuriated "the gloomy tyrant, her husband," that he at once ordered the arrest and execution of the missionaries. Philip was crucified head downwards, and the other two were subjected to the most shameful indignities. Philip, in the agony of his suffering, imprecated the vengeance of God upon the city. In response to his prayer, the abyss opened and swallowed up the persecutors. The Lord, however, appeared to him and reproached him for this act of vengeance, and told him that, because of it, he was doomed to die and spend forty days in the anguish of hell before entering heaven. The Acts of Philip can only be described as a religious novel of Gnostic origin. There is no evidence to prove that it belongs to the second century.

The Acts of Peter and Paul.—A whole Apocryphal literature naturally clustered round the names of Peter and Paul. The Acts of Paul has unfortunately been lost, but the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Peter and Paul have been preserved for us, as well as some other documents of minor importance. The Acts of Peter and Paul are best known and most accessible to the ordinary reader since they appear in most collections of Apocryphal literature. The story is as follows : The Emperor Nero is warned by the Jews that Paul is coming to Rome, and issues an edict ordering the governors of any city to which he may come to arrest him and put him to death. At Puteoli, Dioscurus, the captain of the ship, is mistaken for Paul, and put to death. Paul is thus enabled to reach Rome in safety. The Jews urge him to champion their religion and confute Peter, who is seeking to destroy the Mosaic Law. Paul promises them to put Peter to the test. The two men meet in the most amicable spirit, and find that their views are in exact agreement. Paul is successful in healing the feud between the Jewish and Gentile Christians of Rome. Then follows an account of the contest between the Apostles and Simon Magus in the presence of Nero. Simon performs many feats of witchcraft, and the Apostles work miracles of healing. Peter challenges Simon to a contest of thought-reading, which the latter declines. After several long debates and

many rival exhibitions of skill, Simon undertakes to fly through the air. In the midst of his flight, the supernatural support which enabled him to achieve his success is withdrawn, owing to the prayers of the Apostles, and Simon falls to the ground and perishes. Nero orders the Apostles to be put into irons, and finally sentences Paul to be beheaded and Peter to be crucified. The Acts of Peter tell practically the same story, with the exception of the important fact that they contain no reference to the presence of Paul in Rome. The majority of scholars seem to be agreed that the Petrine Acts are the earlier version of the legend. Nothing can be definitely determined with regard to the date at which these works were written. Harnack puts the Acts of Peter about 220. The Dutch scholar Van Manen thinks that both versions originated almost simultaneously in different circles of the Church about 160. There can be no doubt that the contents of the books are mainly fiction. They may contain some germs of fact, but it is almost impossible to disconnect the fact from the fiction. They bear witness to the fact, however, that there was a strong tradition in the Church to the effect that both Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome.

APOCRYPHAL EPISTLES

The Correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus.—Eusebius tells us that he discovered in the archives of Edessa two Epistles, one written by Abgarus to Jesus, and the other containing the reply of Jesus. These letters were in Syriac, and Eusebius translated them into Greek. The contents are as follows: Abgarus, King of Edessa, being smitten with a grievous disease, and having heard of the miracles wrought by Jesus in Palestine, asks Him to come to Edessa and heal him, saying that he was convinced that Jesus was either God come down from heaven or the Son of God. Jesus replies, "Blessed art thou, O Abgarus, who without seeing hast believed in me," but states that it is impossible to comply with the request because it is necessary for Him to fulfil the mission for which He had been sent into the world. After his death, however, He promises to send one of His disciples to cure Abgarus. The book from which Eusebius probably extracted these letters is still extant in Syriac. It is known as the Teaching of Addai, and was edited with an English translation by Dr. Phillips in 1876. It contains a great deal of material which Eusebius does not use, and which possibly may be a later addendum to the original work. It relates how the promise given by Jesus was fulfilled by the mission of

the Apostle Addai, who was sent by Thomas to heal Abgarus and preach the Gospel in Edessa. We have also a Greek version of the story, known as the Acts of Thaddæus. There seems to be no possibility of doubt that the correspondence is fictitious. The first trace of Christianity in Edessa is not found till about A.D. 200. The letters were probably forged in the third century by an Edessan Christian who was anxious to bring the origin of his Church into relationship with Christ.

The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.—In his Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 16) Paul writes, "And when this Epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans and that ye also read the Epistle from Laodicea." A letter is in existence which purports to be this "letter from Laodicea" mentioned by Paul. It is found only in a Latin form (see Lightfoot's "Epistle to the Colossians," p. 285), but internal evidence proves that it was originally written in Greek. "The Epistle," to quote the words of Lightfoot, "is a cento of Pauline phrases strung together without any definite connection or any clear object. . . ." "The Apostle's injunction in Col. iv. 16 suggested the forgery, and such currency as it ever attained was due to the support which that passage was supposed to give to it. Unlike most forgeries, it had no ulterior aim. It was

not framed to advance any particular opinions, whether heterodox or orthodox. It has no doctrinal peculiarities. Thus it is quite harmless, so far as falsity and stupidity combined can ever be regarded as harmless."

The Correspondence between Paul and Seneca.—Fourteen letters are in existence, six of which claim to have been written by Paul to Seneca, and the remaining eight by Seneca to Paul. The contents of these letters are very flimsy and uninteresting. They consist mainly of an interchange of compliments between the Apostle and the philosopher, and relate to an attempt which Seneca is supposed to be making to secure the interest of Nero in the writings of Paul. The letters carry their condemnation on their face. As Lightfoot says, "the letters are inane and unworthy throughout: the style of either correspondent is unlike his genuine writings: the relations between the two, as there represented, are highly improbable: and lastly the chronological notices (which, however, are absent in some important MSS.) are wrong in almost in every instance." The correspondence is obviously a forgery, dating probably from the fourth century, the object of it being either "to recommend Seneca to Christian readers or to recommend Christianity to students of Seneca."

APOCRYPHAL APOCALYPSES

The Apocalypse of Peter.—The oldest of the Apocryphal Apocalypses is undoubtedly that ascribed to Peter. A large fragment of it, containing probably about half the original book, has recently been discovered at Akmîm (Pentapolis), together with the fragment of the Gospel of Peter. The Apocalypse enjoyed a great popularity in the early Church. It is mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment (about A.D. 170), was quoted by Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 200), and, as we know from the statement of the historian Sozomen, even as late as the fifth century, though it had been definitely rejected by Eusebius and other writers, was publicly read once a year in certain churches of Palestine. The Apocalypse has very little in common with the canonical Book of Revelation. The subject, which forms its theme, is the condition of the dead. The disciples are represented as coming to the Lord and asking Him to show them “one of the righteous brethren that had departed from the world, that they might see of what form they were and take courage.” The fragment is made up of two visions: (*a*) the vision of the saints in Paradise, (*b*) the vision of Inferno. The first vision depicts the saints thus: “Their bodies were whiter than snow and redder than the rose, and the red was mingled with the white: there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and all their raiment

was light such as never eye of man beheld." Paradise is described as a land "blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and fair-flowering plants incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit." It is, however, to the picture of Inferno that the Apocalypse devotes most space. The place of chastisement is described as "very squalid." It contained a lake of "flaming mire" and many other loathful places. Punishment is meted out to various types of sinners in different ways. Blasphemers, for instance, are described as hanging by their tongues over a flaming fire. Murderers were cast into a "narrow place full of evil reptiles." The selfish rich were rolled in torment upon red-hot pebbles sharper than any sword. Usurers were compelled to wallow up to the knees in "a lake of pitch and blood and boiling mire." The sensual were hurled from the top of a cliff into a deep abyss, and forced to reascend continually that the process might be repeated. The influence exerted by the Apocalypse can scarcely be overestimated. Its ideas reappear in other writings, *e.g.* the Apocalypses of Paul, the Sibylline Oracles, &c., and through these and other writings influenced mediæval theology, and were thus the source from which Dante's picture of the Inferno was derived. The Apocalypse must have been of comparatively early origin. It can scarcely be later than A.D. 150, and may be even earlier.

The Apocalypse of Paul is a weak imitation of the

Apocalypse of Peter. It deals with the same theme, and gives a description of heaven and hell. It belongs, however, to a much later date, as the following passage shows: The angel, when asked what certain prisoners had done, who had been cast into a deep well in Inferno, replies, "These are they that denied that the Holy Mary is the Mother of God and said that the Lord did not become man out of her, and that the bread of thanksgiving and cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood." This statement is a clear proof that the Apocalypse could not have been written before the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

INDEX

ABGARUS, 174
 Achiacharus, 51
 Acts, Apocryphal, 123, 165-173
 Adam, 66, 75, 85
 Ahikar, 51
 Allegorical interpretation, 135,
 136
 Almsgiving, 35, 49
 Andrew, Acts of, 168
 Angels, 50, 94, 98
 Angels, fall of, 75
 Apocalypse of Baruch, 81-85
 Apocalypse of Peter, 177
 Apocalypses, New Testament,
 177-179
 Apocalyptic literature—
 importance, 72
 contents, 69
 meaning cf, 70
 origin, 71
 Apocrypha proper—
 value of, 1-6
 contents, 7
 character, 8
 origin, 9
 rejection, 11
 Apocrypha, wider, 69-73
 Apocrypha (New Test.)—
 character, 121
 origin, 121
 contents, 122
 value, 124
 Arabic Gospel, 161
 Ascension of Isaiah, 94-99
 Assumption of Mary, 159

Assumption of Moses, 85-88
 Azarias, prayer of, 55

BAPTISM, 133
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 134-137
 Baruch, Apocalypse of, 81-85
 Baruch, Book of, 58-62, 65
 Bel and Dragon, 54

CANON (Old Test.), 9-11
 " (New Test.), 120-122
 " Christ," 77, 119
 Clement, Epistle of, 126-130

DANIEL, additions to, 52-55
 Demons, 50, 75, 94
 Didache, 130-134
 Doketism, 99, 124, 145-147
 Dualism, 43

EBIONITES, Gospel of, 148
 Ecclesiasticus, 31-38
 Egyptians, Gospel of, 149-151
 Enoch, Book of, 74-78
 Enoch, Secrets of, 78-81
 Epicureanism, 39
 Epistles, Apocryphal, 174
 Esdras I., 24-29
 Esdras II., 62-67
 Esther, rest of, 56
 Ethics, 34, 36, 39, 103, 112, 132,
 140
 Evil, problem of, 65, 71, 75, 82
 Ezra IV., *see* Esdras II.

FAITH, 67
 Fall, the, 43, 66-85
 Fasting, 46, 50
 Forgiveness, 103
 Future Life, 19, 23, 35, 37, 43,
 67, 76, 99, 118

GENESIS, 89, 90
 Gentiles, 62, 104
 Gospels, Apocryphal, chaps. xiii.,
 xiv.

Gospel of Ebionites, 148
 „ Egyptians, 149
 „ Hebrews, 141-145
 „ James, 154-157
 „ Nativity, 158
 „ Nicodemus, 162
 „ Peter, 145-148
 „ Pseudo-Matthew, 157
 „ Thomas, 160

HADES, descent into, 164
 Heavens, doctrine of the, 79, 98
 Hebrews, Gospel of, 141-145
 Hedonism, 39
 Hellenism, 36, 43, 113, 114
 Heretical Gospels, 123, 145-151
 Hermas, 138-140
 Holy Spirit, 42, 98
 Hyrcanus, 17, 102

IDOLATRY, 39, 55, 68
 Infancy, Gospel of, 161
 Isaiah, Ascension of, 94-99

JAMES, Gospel of, 155-157
 Jason, 24
 Jeremy, Epistle of, 68
 Jesus, Sayings of, 151-154
 John, Acts of, 170
 Joseph, History of, 158
 Josephus, 26, 27

Jubilees, Book of, 89-94
 Judith, 44-47

LAODICEA, Epistle to, 175
 Law, the, 46, 49, 62, 91, 92, 94,
 118
 Leontopolis, 21
 Leucius, 169
 Logia, 123, 151-154
 Luther, 47, 51

MACCABEES I., 14-19
 „ II., 20-24
 „ III., 105-109
 „ IV., 110-115
 Manasseh, Prayer of, 57
 Mary, Nativity of, 158
 „ Assumption of, 159
 Mastema, 94
 Merit, doctrine of, 85
 Messiah, 19, 67, 76, 77, 78, 83,
 95, 96, 98, 118
 Millennium, 71, 75, 80
 Moses, Assumption of, 85-88

NEW TESTAMENT—
 Canon, 120-122
 influence of Apocrypha, 3, 5,
 43, 77, 80, 84, 87, 93, 98,
 102, 114, 118
 Nicodemus, Gospel of, 162

OLD TESTAMENT—
 Canon, 9-11
 interpretation, 135

PARADISE, 178
 Patriarchs, Testaments of, 99-104
 Paul, Apocalypse of, 177
 Paul, Acts of, 172
 Paul and Apocrypha, 5, 42, 43,
 80, 84, 93, 99, 102, 103, 114
 Paulinism, 129, 140

Peter, Acts of, 172
 „ Apocalypse of, 177
 „ Gospel of, 145-148
 Pharisees, 23, 53, 76, 91, 117
 Philip, Acts of, 170
 Philo, 40
 Pilate Documents, 162-164
 Pre-existence, 42
 „ of Messiah, 78
 Prayers for dead, 67
 Propitiation, 35, 115
 Protevangelium, 155-157
 Providence, 109
 Psalms of Solomon, 116-119
 Pseudo-Matthew, 157

QUIETISM, 86, 113

RESURRECTION, 84 (*see* Future Life)

SADDUCEES, 17, 117
 Sayings of Jesus, 151-154
 Seneca, 176
 Septuagint, 9, 41
 Shepherd of Hermas, 138-140
 Sin, original, 43, 66, 75, 76, 85
 Sirach, *see* Ecclesiasticus

Slavonic Enoch, 78-81
 Solomon, Psalms of, 116-119
 Song of Three Children, 55
 Stoics, 109, 112-115
 Susanna, 52

TEACHING of Apostles, 130-134
 Temple, the, 28, 46, 52
 Testaments of Patriarchs, 99-104
 Thecla, Acts of, 165
 Thomas, Acts of, 166
 Thomas, Gospel of, 160
 Tobit, 47-51
 Trinity, 42, 96

UNIVERSALISM, 104
 Utilitarianism, 36, 39

VEGETARIANISM, 148
 Virgin Birth, 96, 155-159
 Vulgate, 8

WISDOM, 35, 42, 59
 Wisdom, Book of, 42-59
 Wisdom literature, 30, 59
 Works, 67, 85

ZEALOTS, 86, 87

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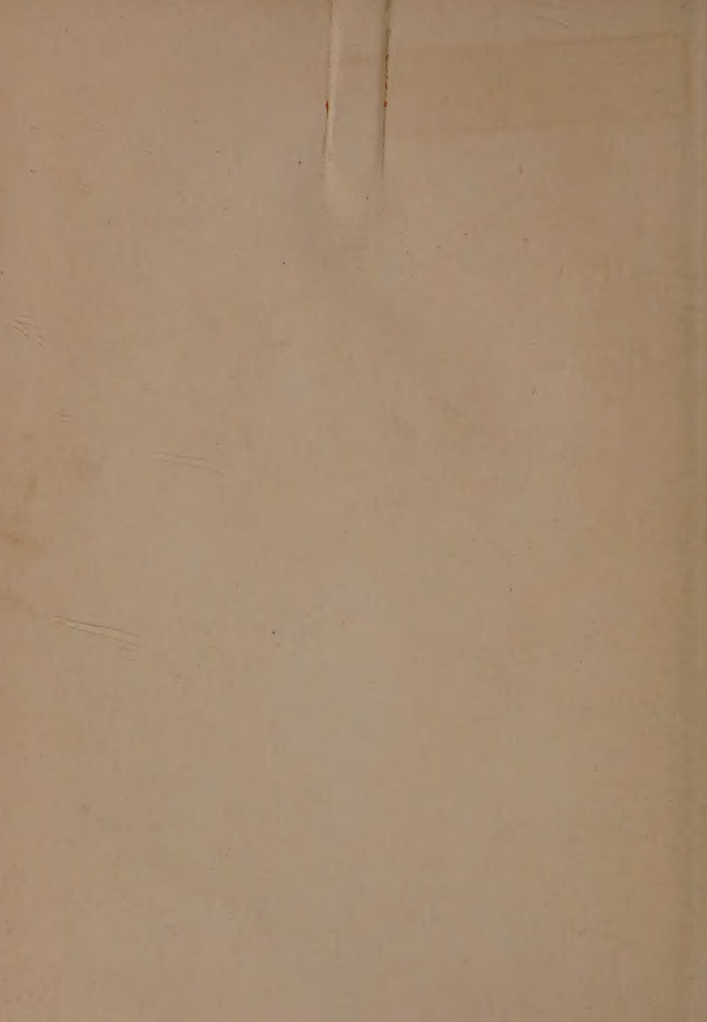
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A6 ments / by H.T. Andrews. -- London :
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vii, 182p. ; 16cm. -- (Century Bibl

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IN ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS

EDITED IN CONJUNCTION WITH MANY SCHOLARS BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.LITT., D.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

VOLUME II
PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1913

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

FOR students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 B.C. to A.D. 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.¹ Indeed, such an undertaking would have been all but impossible at an earlier date, seeing that critical editions of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have not been published till within the last few years.

The method observed in this work.

In all the contributions one and the same method has been observed. Each contribution consists of an introduction, an English translation from the best critical text—in a few cases the Revised Version has been adopted and emendations suggested in the notes—and of a critical and exegetical commentary.² As regards the introductions, the subjects dealt with in them have, so far as possible, been treated in the same order to facilitate the use of the work. Though a large discretion has naturally been given to the various editors, the following order has more or less been observed as a guide or been actually carried out.

- § 1. Short account of the book, embodying its leading features and the editor's chief conclusions.
- § 2. Title of the book.
- § 3. The MSS.
- § 4. The Ancient Versions.
- § 5. Date of (a) the original text, (b) of the Ancient Versions.
- § 6. Integrity or composite nature of the text.
- § 7. Authorship.
- § 8. Influence of the book on later literature—(a) Jewish ; (b) Christian.
- § 9. Theology of the book.
- § 10. Bibliography—
 - (a) Chief editions of the text (and of the Ancient Versions).
 - (b) Chief critical inquiries.
 - (c) Chief editions of the book.

¹ Kautzsch published an edition in German in 1900, but on a smaller scale than the present work and embracing fewer books of this literature (vol. i. 1-507; vol. ii. 1-540).

² In the case of Sirach and Tobit the editors have been allowed much beyond the normal number of pages for their critical apparatus, which they have used to good purpose.

PREFACE

The extent of the present work.

The first volume contains what is generally known as the Apocrypha Proper, which constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, which excess was in turn borrowed from the LXX. But this volume differs from the Apocrypha Proper at once in the way of excess and in the way of defect. 3 Maccabees has been added after 2 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the LXX, and 4 Ezra has been transferred to Volume ii since it is essentially a Pseudepigraph.

Volume ii contains all the remaining extant non-Canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 with possibly one or two exceptions. The greater part of these books have hitherto been accessible only in expensive editions—such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Psalms of Solomon, Pirkē Aboth, the Story of Aḥikar, &c. As regards the last two, it is not necessary to make any apology for their introduction into the present work, although they do not properly fall within the true limits above defined, but they were used, at all events partially, by Jewish readers within this period, nor can they be rightly designated Pseudepigraphs. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work are of an historical character, and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise apocalyptic material of an interesting nature.

The General Editor, in conclusion, wishes to express his thanks to the Delegates of the Press for undertaking this work, and to the Officers of the Press, whose help and counsel were always ready to meet each difficulty as it arose. The Editor is also under deep obligations to the many scholars who, notwithstanding the pressure of other duties, have yet given themselves so unsparingly to the tasks they had undertaken, that in every instance most valuable service has been rendered to the student and the scholar, while in not a few instances their contributions form actual monographs within the limits assigned. His thanks are due to Messrs. A. and C. Black, the publishers of his editions of Jubilees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Testament of the XII Patriarchs, Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, for permission to reprint the translation and make use of the introduction and notes contained in those editions. Finally, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, who has acted throughout as his secretary and also made the General Index.

R. H. CHARLES.

24 BARDWELL ROAD, OXFORD.
March, 1913.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

	PAGES
CONTRIBUTORS	vi
THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	
GENERAL INTRODUCTION (Charles)	vii
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA	xii
PRIMITIVE HISTORY REWRITTEN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE LAW—	
THE BOOK OF JUBILEES (Charles)	i-82
SACRED LEGENDS—	
THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS (Andrews)	83-122
THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE (Wells)	123-154
THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH (Charles)	155-162
APOCALYPSES—	
1 ENOCH (Charles)	163-281
THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS (Charles)	282-367
THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (Lanchester)	368-406
THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES (Charles)	407-424
2 ENOCH, OR THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH (Forbes and Charles)	425-469
2 BARUCH, OR THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Charles)	470-526
3 BARUCH, OR THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Hughes)	527-541
4 EZRA (Box)	542-624
PSALMS—	
THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON (Gray)	625-652
ETHICS AND WISDOM LITERATURE—	
4 MACCABEES (Townshend)	653-685
PIRKĒ ABOTH (Herford)	686-714
THE STORY OF AHIKAR (Harris, Lewis, Conybeare)	715-784
HISTORY—	
THE FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK (Charles)	785-834
GENERAL INDEX	835-871

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II.

§ 1. *The apocalyptic and legalistic sides of pre-Christian Pharisaism—starting originally from the same source—developed ultimately into Christianity and Talmudic Judaism.*

APOCALYPTIC Judaism and legalistic Judaism were not in pre-Christian times essentially antagonistic. Fundamentally their origin was the same. Both started with the unreserved recognition of the supremacy of the Law. This is to be expected in regard to legalistic Pharisaism, which was therein only adopting the teaching of the priesthood.¹ But it is enforced also in apocalyptic Pharisaism. Thus the most universalistic and ethical of all the apocalyptic writings, i.e. the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, declares that this Law is 'the light that lighteth every man'. To all Jewish apocalyptic writers the Law was of eternal validity, but they also clung fast to the validity of the prophetic teaching as the source of new truth and the right of apocalyptic as its successor in this respect. We have early evidence of this conjunction of legalism and apocalyptic in the Book of Joel. The Law is there recognized as authoritative, its ritual as of the highest import, while at the same time the impending advent of the kingdom of God is depicted in highly apocalyptic colouring. In the Book of Jubilees, the narrowest book that ever emanated from legalistic Judaism, the same conjunction is manifest, though naturally the theology is of a much more advanced type.

Thus devotion to the Law is the note that characterizes apocalyptic from its earliest beginnings. It appears in the declaration of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees; it was voiced by the Jews in their uprising against Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and it is stereotyped in words placed in the mouth of the Quietist saint in the Assumption of Moses: 'Let us die rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers' (ix. 6).

This original and fundamental identity of apocalyptic and legalistic Pharisaism in respect to devotion to the Law needs to be emphasized, because Jewish scholars in the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, have denied to apocalyptic its place in the faith of pre-Christian orthodox Judaism. This action on their part is unintelligible, seeing that Talmudic Judaism, no less than Christianity, owes its spiritual conceptions of the future to apocalyptic.

The affinity then between Jewish apocalyptic and legalism is essential, since the Law was for both valid eternally, but when apocalyptic passed over into Christianity and therein naturally abandoned this view of the Law, it became in a measure anti-legalistic.² Even before the Christian era each of these two sides of Pharisaism necessarily tended to lay more and more emphasis on the chief factor in its belief and study to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and thus legalistic Pharisaism in time drove out almost wholly the apocalyptic element as an active factor (though it accepted some of its developments) and became the parent of Talmudic Judaism, whereas apocalyptic Judaism developed more and more the apocalyptic, i.e. prophetic, element, and in the process came to recognize, as in 4 Ezra, the inadequacy of the Law for salvation. From this it follows that the Judaism that survived the destruction of the Temple, being almost wholly bereft of the apocalyptic wing which had passed over into Christianity, was not the same as the Judaism of an earlier date. Before A.D. 70 Judaism was a Church with many parties: after A.D. 70 the legalistic party succeeded in suppressing its rivals, and so Judaism became in its essentials a Sect. In modern times Judaism is striving to recover the liberty of prophesying.

¹ One of the elements that contributed to this recognition was the identification of the Law and Wisdom. This is already an accomplished fact in Sirach, though it had probably been long a current belief: cp. xix. 10, xxiv. 23: see vol. i. 305 sq. But the most absolute assertion of the supremacy and everlastingness of the Law in pre-Christian Judaism is to be found in Jubilees. See this vol., 1 sq.

² The Law is not mentioned even once in the great New Testament Apocalypse.

§ 2. *Jewish apocalyptic has been always pseudonymous from the third century B.C. onwards. This pseudonymity due to the absolute supremacy of the Law, which left no room for prophecy. The prophetic spirit cannot openly declare itself in Judaism save by a breach with Talmudic Judaism.*

Apocalyptic works written before the third century B.C. were not pseudonymous. Joel is perhaps the latest apocalypticist in the Old Testament whose work was not pseudonymous. But Zech. ix-xiv and Isaiah xxiv-xxvii—not to speak of other later additions to the earlier prophets—were in all probability pseudonymous. At all events, from the third century B.C. onwards apocalyptic has always been pseudonymous in Judaism. On the other hand in Christianity, for the first century at any rate, apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous, and the seer came forward in his own person. Of these strange and conflicting phenomena explanations have been advanced by various scholars, and the latest by Gunkel, but they are all partial or inadequate. The present writer is of opinion that he has arrived at an hypothesis which will satisfy all the conditions of the problem.

We have already adverted to the fact that in the third century B.C. the Law had come to be conceived as the final and supreme revelation of God. When once this idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—had become an accepted dogma of Judaism, as it became in the post-Exilic period, there was no longer room for independent representatives of God appearing before men, such as the pre-Exilic prophets. God had, according to the official teachers of the Church, spoken His last and final word through the Law, and when the hope was expressed that in the coming age a prophet will arise, he was only conceived as one whose task was to decide questions of ritual or priestly succession, or legal interpretation in accordance with the Law. Thus in 1 Macc. iv. 46 the stones of the defiled altar of burnt-offering were to be put aside till a prophet arose, and similarly in xiv. 41 (cf. ix. 27) the high-priesthood of Simon was to be provisionally acknowledged till a prophet arose, who could decide on the validity of his high-priesthood. Accordingly the first fact we are to recognize is, that from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah *the Law has not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as it lay in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility.* The prophet who issued a prophecy under his own name after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah could not expect a hearing unless his prophecy had the imprimatur of the Law.¹

This is exactly the view of the Rabbinic scholars. Thus they taught that whereas the Prophets and Hagiographa will in the future cease to be, for there is nothing in them which is not suggested in the Law (Jer. Meg. 70d), the Law itself would endure for ever (Taanit 9a); and that 'Any prophet who attempted to annul one of its laws would be punished by death' (Toseph. xiv. 13), and that 'though all mankind should combine, they could not abolish one yod of it' (Cant. R. v. 11; Lev. R. xix; Num. R. xvii, &c.). (See *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 197.)

It is now clear, I think, that from Nehemiah's time onward prophecy could not gain a hearing, whether the prophecy was genuine—that is, appeared under the name of its actual author—or was anonymous, unless it was acceptable in the eyes of the Law. From the class of genuine and anonymous works we pass on to the third division, the pseudonymous. There are at all events two of them in the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. With the former we have here no concern. But how are we to explain the pseudonymity of Daniel and the other apocalyptic works of the second century B.C., such as Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs? This pseudonymity has already in part been explained. These apocalypticists do not merely repeat the old truths, which in so many cases had become the mere shibboleths of a petrified orthodoxy, they not only challenged many of the orthodox views of the time and condemned them, but they also carried

¹ Nay more, according to Zech. xiii. 1-5 (a late work written from the priestly standpoint), if a man declared himself to be a prophet his father and his mother were to put him to death. By such drastic measures prophecy was driven forth from the bosom of Judaism, and has never since been suffered to return. The task of leading the people into more spiritual conceptions, alike as regards the present life and that which is to come, devolved henceforth on apocalyptic, and that a pseudonymous apocalyptic.

forward the revelation of God in the provinces of religion, ethics, and eschatology. Against the reception of such fresh faith and truth the Law stood in the way, unless the books containing them came under the aegis of certain great names in the past. Against the claims and authority of such names the official representatives of the Law were in part reduced to silence, at all events in the case of the Book of Daniel. But there is another ground for the adoption of pseudonymity, and when we combine it with the autocracy claimed and exercised by the Law we have the grounds for which we are in search. This second ground is the formation of the threefold Canon of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Before the formation of the prophetic Canon anonymous prophetic writings could gain currency and acceptance on the ground of their inherent worth, but when once the prophetic Canon was closed, no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such. Now the collection of the Prophets existed pretty much in its present form about 200 B.C., though additions may have been made to Hosea, Isaiah, and Zechariah, &c., subsequently to that date. Into the Hagiographa were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the time of Ezra. To this third division of the Canon books were admitted down to A.D. 100, and the last were Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Daniel was admitted to this third Canon at some period in the second century B.C.

Daniel was admitted into the Canon in the belief that it was written by the ancient worthy of that name; but not among the Prophets, for the prophetic Canon was closed, but among the Hagiographa. The example of Daniel was followed by Jewish apocalyptic down to the thirteenth century A.D. It was pseudonymous and remained pseudonymous; for the Law was supreme, inspiration was officially held to be dead, and the Canon was closed. Moreover, all the great Jewish apocalypses which were written before A.D. 10, and which carried on the mystical and spiritual side of religion as opposed to the legalistic, Judaism dropped and banned after its breach with Christianity, just as it dropped and banned the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Thereupon Legalism became absolute, and determined henceforth the character of Judaism. Apocalyptic, which had exercised a determining influence in many of the great crises of the nation, and had given birth to and shaped the higher theology of Judaism, was driven from its position of secondary authority, and either banished absolutely or relegated wholly into the background. Owing to this fact Jewish scholars like Jost and Graetz have denied the great significance of apocalyptic in Judaism. But this blunder is every day becoming more impossible, and now we find that Jewish scholars like Bittenwieser (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 676) maintain that the courage and persistency of the Jews in their faith, their indomitable hope under persecution, their scorn of death, were all nourished by apocalyptic from the times of the Maccabees down to the thirteenth century A.D. 'The darker the present grew . . . the more eagerly did their minds turn to the comfort offered by apocalyptic promises, which predicted the end of their suffering and the dawn of their delivery.'

All Jewish apocalypses, therefore, from 200 B.C. onwards were of necessity pseudonymous if they sought to exercise any real influence on the nation; for the Law was everything, belief in inspiration was dead amongst them, and their Canon was closed.¹

§ 3. *The ethical advance in Judaism.*

Prophecy has always been recognized as the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was apocalyptic in its time, and yet an attempt has recently been made by advanced liberals to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic on the ground that apocalyptic and ethics are distinct, and that ethics are the kernel and apocalyptic the husk which Christianity shed when it ceased to need it. How any scholar who was really acquainted with the texts could make such a statement I cannot understand. Apocalyptic was essentially ethical. To use the mixed metaphor of St. Paul, it was rooted and grounded in ethics, and that an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God.

¹ See my *Eschatology*², pp. 193-205.

In every crisis of the world's history, when the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand was ever: 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and its uncompromising optimism, its unconquerable faith under the most overwhelming disasters, was: 'God reigns, and righteousness shall ultimately prevail'.

The ethical element is the fundamental element in the chief books of this literature. What else but an inexpugnable sense of truth and duty to truth inspire the refusal of the three children in Daniel to fall down and worship the image that the king had set up? When the king demands: 'Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?' mark the splendid heroism of their reply: 'There is a God whom we serve who is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17 sqq.).

Now let us turn to the apocalyptic books outside the Canon.

What an expressive ethical statement is that in Jubilees (xxi. 22) addressed to Israel!

'Beware lest thou walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death against the Most High God,
And so He deliver thee back again into the grip of thy transgression.'

Or, turning to a different theme, let us hear what the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs say of the faithful doer of the word of God:

'Every man that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth . . .
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise can nought take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness,
Or the callousness (that comes) of sin. . . .
Even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.'

(T. Levi, xiii. 3, 7-8.)

Or again, in 2 Enoch (xliii. 2-3): 'As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another. This man on account of having possessions, that man on account of the wisdom of the heart, another on account of understanding, another on account of purity, another on account of strength . . . but let it be heard everywhere; there is none greater than he that feareth God.'

Or again, when the apocalypticist says of the unceasing service of an order of heavenly beings: 'They rest not day nor night; for unto them thanksgiving is rest.'

There are numberless other passages showing the moral depth and inwardness of this literature. What nobler advice could the best ethical Christian teacher give to a defeated rival than this: 'If a man is prospered beyond you, do not be vexed, but even have recourse unto prayer on his behalf, that he may be prospered to the full' (T. Gad vii. 1)? Or again: 'If any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil ye shall be redeemed of the Lord' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). Or again: 'The holy man is merciful to him that revileth him, and holdeth his peace' (T. Benj. v. 4).

Now it would be possible to fill many pages in setting forth the teaching of apocalyptic on such ethical subjects as conscience, courage, endurance, longsuffering, justice, truthfulness, temperance, singleness of heart, deceit, calumny, folly; on religious themes of an ethical character as love, faith, works, forgiveness, compassion, humility, reverence, covetousness, lust; or on metaphysical themes influencing ethics, as foreknowledge, freedom, determinism, heredity, individualism, universalism; but we have established our thesis sufficiently for our present purpose.¹

¹ Reprinted from my *Eschatology* (2nd ed.), 190 sqq., where the renderings differ slightly in diction from those given in this volume.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

The ethical teaching on these subjects in apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the O.T., and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the O.T. with the N.T.

This ethical element is present also in Talmudic literature, but somehow it lacks the fire and inspiration that distinguish it in the Pseudepigrapha. It is more nearly related to the average morality and practical wisdom of the Proverbs of the Old Testament. The chief work on Ethics in the Talmud, which is reproduced in the Jewish Book of Common Prayer, i.e. *The Sayings of the Fathers*, has been translated and added to this volume, in order that the student might have before him the best that Later Judaism produced in the domain of Ethics. It will be obvious even to the most cursory reader that a great gulf divides the Ethics of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and even those of 2 Enoch, from these excellent but very uninspiring sayings of Jewish sages belonging to the legalistic wing of Judaism. It is quite true that many a fine saying is found in the other tractates of the Talmud and other Rabbinic writings, but the harvest that rewards the diligent reaper is slight in comparison of the toil, and the number of really fine sayings that were uttered before A.D. 100 is far from great.¹

¹ For a very favourable account of this side of Rabbinic Judaism see Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909. The chapter on the 'Joy of the Law' (pp. 148-69) is well worth study. It shows that in all ages in Judaism the joy that the Psalmists felt in the service of God was experienced likewise by many a Jew in the fulfilment of the innumerable later requirements of the Law—requirements which to the non-Jew could only prove an intolerable and unspiritual burden, and which were felt even by many spiritually-minded Jews to be a yoke that neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear (Acts xv. 10). But this type of mind which reaches its fullest satisfaction in unquestioning submission to an external commandment is, of course, to be found in all religions. It is not progressive or prophetic in character, but it helps to preserve some of the best elements in the past. See also Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and the Worship of the Synagogue*, chap. vii.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

P. 386 (The Sibylline Books).

Sibyll. III. 396-397. Instead of the rendering in the text, which is right indeed grammatically, we should unquestionably render as follows:—

‘Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.’

The ‘one root’ was Antiochus V, Eupator, who was murdered by Demetrius I, son of Seleucus IV. He was the last of ten horns, i.e. ten kings. We appear here to have an almost contemporary interpretation of the ten horns in Daniel vii. 7-8, for the latest date of this section is 140 B.C. The above rendering has the support of Rzach, Geffcken, and Schürer.—GEN. EDITOR.

P. 473 (2 Baruch). l. 23 from bottom read ‘Sukka’ for ‘Sakka’.

P. 474 seq. On these pages I have given an analysis of the various elements of 2 Baruch, with their approximate dates from A.D. 60 to 100. But owing to the fact that Mr. Box, in his admirable Commentary on 4 Ezra, has accepted Rosenthal’s view that 2 Baruch was derived from the school of R. Aqiba and written in the year A.D. 115, it is necessary to consider the grounds from which Rosenthal draws this conclusion. Mr. Box’s Commentary was not published when the edition of 2 Baruch for the present work was prepared. We shall now deal with Rosenthal’s thesis.

Rosenthal (*Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, Berlin, 1885) sought to prove that the Assumption of Moses, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Book of Tobit were written by members of the school of R. Aqiba.

As regards the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Tobit no scholar would now agree with Rosenthal. But for the learned and admirable Commentary of Mr. Box on 4 Ezra it would not be necessary to reconsider Rosenthal’s views on 2 Baruch. Mr. Box (*The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. lxx sq.), however, writes: ‘We may therefore conclude that our book (4 Ezra) emanates from a school of apocalyptic writers who reflect the school of Shammai; just as the companion Apocalypse of Baruch (i.e. 2 Baruch) represents an apocalyptic school under the influence of Aqiba. This important distinction has been well brought out by Rosenthal.’

With this statement I must join issue. On pp. 95-100 Rosenthal gives five grounds from which he concludes the influence of R. Aqiba in 2 Baruch. The fifth is so beside the mark and irrelevant—being commonplaces about the last plagues—that I will take no account of it here. The rest, indeed, are not much better, but need to be considered owing to Mr. Box’s acceptance of Rosenthal’s conclusion. These are as follows:

(1) 2 Baruch (xi, 1 sq.) and Aqiba (*Sifre* on Deut. § 43) alike complain of the prosperity of Rome and the desolation of Zion, and both alike comfort their readers with the promised restoration of Zion. This would naturally be a commonplace with most Jewish writers after A.D. 70, just as corresponding complaints and hopes appear in the post-Exilic prophets respectively with regard to the successive oppressors of Judah and the coming restoration of Jerusalem. But the same actual combination of complaint and comfort with regard to Rome and Jerusalem respectively is found in the Psalms of Solomon ii. 1 sqq., 30-41, and the Assumption of Moses vi. 8-9, x. 8-10. Hence no dependence of 2 Baruch on Aqiba can be deduced from this fact.

(2) Both believed strongly in the freedom of the will. But this does not prove anything. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 9) the Sadducees believed in the complete freedom of the will, while the Pharisees believed alike in the freedom of the will and in Providence. Now according to this view the teaching of our book is that of ordinary Pharisaism. Thus in A^s (i.e. liv-lxxiv) we find the vigorous assertion of free-will: ‘each of us has been the Adam of his own soul’ (liv. 19). And yet throughout the section the supremacy of Providence is acknowledged; cf. lxix. 2, lxx. 2. Exactly the same teaching is found in the Psalms of Solomon. Thus in ix. 7 we have:

‘Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.’

See also v. 4-6. Philo also (*Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 10) speaks in the strongest terms of man’s God-given freedom.

(3) The next ground adduced by Rosenthal is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba alike bring forward the chastening effects of adversity. But this teaching is found in Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xxxii. 1, 5, lxxiii. 14, lxxxix. 30-34, cxix. 71, 75; Prov. iii. 12, xiii. 24; frequently in the Prophets and the Pseudepigrapha. For the latter cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 16, vii. 3, viii. 7, 27, &c.

(4) The fourth ground is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba held that none who denied the resurrection would share in it. According to *Sanh.* 90a R. Aqiba made this statement, but nowhere in 2 Baruch is such an

affirmation made, though no doubt its various writers believed in the resurrection. Yet Rosenthal thinks he finds it there, and cites two passages, i.e. xxx. 1, which in the present form of the text speaks, however, not of belief in the resurrection of the dead, but in the hope of the Messiah. The second passage betrays an extraordinary misunderstanding of Ceriani's Latin rendering of 2 Baruch lxv. 1, i.e. 'Manasses . . . cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista.' This of course means: 'Manasses . . . thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things.' But Rosenthal took it as meaning: 'Manasses thought in his time that there would be no future life!'

Thus the doctrines, which 2 Baruch and Aqiba hold in common, are commonplaces even of pre-Christian Pharisaism, and furnish no evidence for Rosenthal's hypothesis, while all the internal evidence of 2 Baruch postulates various dates for its several constituents from A.D. 60 to 100. Moreover, whereas Aqiba declared that the Ten Tribes would never return, 2 Baruch emphasizes this hope repeatedly; cf. lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 5, 6, 7, lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10, i. 4.

From the above it is clear that there are no grounds of evidence for Rosenthal's contention. 2 Baruch, if it belongs to any school, belongs to that of Hillel, who was the great rival of Shammai. Its main theses are certainly in accord with much that is known of Hillel. Even its latest sections are too early to be the products of R. Aqiba's school, as is clear from the following dates. At the earliest Aqiba was born about A.D. 40-50. As he did not attend the Rabbinic schools till he was forty, and did not become himself a teacher till he had studied for thirteen years (see Aboth R. N. vi. 29, ed. Schechter), it follows that his school was founded about the beginning of the second century A.D. Now, according to lxviii. 5-6, the Temple was standing when A³ was written (and also A¹ and A²), while as regards the other elements of 2 Baruch the evidence is against any later date than A.D. 90-100.—GEN. EDITOR.¹

P. 528 (3 Baruch). l. 29 from bottom *read* 'Apoc.' *for* 'apoc.'

P. 625 (Psalms of Solomon). l. 11 from top *for* '(H)' *read* '(V)'.

l. 6 from bottom *for* 'H' *read* 'V'

P. 738 (Story of Ahiqar). col. 3, l. 6 from top *for* 'get thy boon fragrant' *read* 'get a good name', the former reading being due to a corruption in the MSS.—CONYBEARE.

P. 809 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In line 2 *for* 'make atonement for' *read* 'pardon'.

P. 814 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In the first note on this page the statement regarding Simon ben Shetach is wholly wrong, and is to be deleted. This Pharisee did not appropriate the sacrifices of the Nazirites, but by means of a gross lie to the king enabled them to offer their sacrifices at half the cost. By falsely stating that he would bear half the expenses of the sacrifices, if King Jannaeus would bear the other half, he prevailed on the king by this mendacious assertion to do so. The most remarkable point about the incident, if it is wholly authentic, is that Simon ben Shetach appears to have been wholly unconscious of having done any wrong.—GEN. EDITOR.

¹ Mr. Box has recently in a letter informed me that he is willing to accept the earlier dates I have assigned to certain of the sections of 2 Baruch, but that he regards them as redacted by an editor or editors of the school of Aqiba. This hypothesis, however, is quite different from that of Rosenthal.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN INTRODUCTIONS, TEXT AND NOTES

See special lists as under :—

1 Esdras vol. I. 19, 20.
Tobit „ I. 201.

Sirach vol. I. 315.
Prayer of Manasses „ I. 620.
1 Enoch „ II. 187.

Test. XII Patr. vol. II. 295.
2 Baruch „ II. 475.
4 Ezra „ II. 560.

See also under Versions and MSS. in the different books.

A¹ &c. See 2 Bar. § 7
A.J.Th. *American Journal of Theo-*
Aboth Pirkê Aboth [logy]
Ab. R. Nathan = Aboth Rabbi Nathan
ἀπ. λεγ. or εἰρ. ἀπὸς λεγόμενον or εἰρημένον
Apoc. Abrah. Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. of Baruch = 2 Baruch
Apoc. Zeph. Apocalypse of Zephaniah
Aq. Aquila
Ar. Arabic
Aram. Frag. Aramaic Fragment. See Test.
 App. II
Arm. Armenian
Asc. Is. Ascension of Isaiah
Ass. Mos. Assumption of Moses
Aug. Augustine
B¹ &c. See 2 Bar. § 7
B.D. *Bible Dictionary*
B.S. Deissmann, *Biblical Studies*
1 Bar. Apocryphal Book of Baruch
2 Bar. Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Bar. Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
Ber. Rabb. Bereshith rabba
Berach. or Berakh. = Berachoth
Beresh. Bereshith
C.I.G. *Corpus Inscriptionum Grae-*
 carum
C.O.T. *Cuneiform Inscriptions and*
 the Old Testament. See
 K.A.T.
Cat. Niceph. Catalogue of Nicephorus
Chag. Chagigah (Talmud)
Chron. Pasch. = *Chronicon Paschale*
Clem. Alex. Clement of Alexandria
Clem. Recog. *Pseudo-Clementine Recogni-*
Cod. Codex [tions]
D.B. *Dictionary of the Bible*
Dan. Daniel
Diod. Sic. Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert. Diogenes Laertius
E.A. See 4 Ezra, § 7, and ii. 560
E.B. or Bi. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*
Edd. Editions
1 En. 1 Enoch or Ethiopian Enoch
2 En. 2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch
Encyc. Brit. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*
Ep. Barn. Epistle of Barnabas
Ep. Jer. Epistle of Jeremy
Epiph. Epiphanius
Eth. Ethiopic
Eus. Eusebius
Ev. Nicod. *Evangelium Nicodemī*
4 Ez. Fourth Book of Ezra
Fayum P. Fayum Papyri
Fr. or Frag. Fragment
Gr Greek Version
G. d. Jud. *Geschichte des Judenthums*
G.J.V. Schürer's *Geschichte des jü-*
 dischen Volkes
G.V.I. *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*
Gen. rabb. Genesis rabba
Gk. Greek
Gk. Frag. Greek Fragment. See Test.
 App. II
Gr. Grimm
Gr. of O.T. *Greek Grammar of Old Testa-*
 ment Greek (Thackeray)
H.D.B. *Hastings' Dictionary of the*
 Bible
H.J.P. *History of the Jewish People*
Heb. Gr. Hebrew Grammar
Herm. *Hermas, Pastor*
Hes. Hesiod

Hiph. Hiphil
Hom. Homer
Il. Iliad
Int. Crit. Comm. = *International Critical*
 Commentary
Intr. Introduction
J.E. *Jewish Encyclopaedia*
J.Q.R. *Jewish Quarterly Review*
J.R.A.S. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*
 Society
J.T.S. *Journal of Theological Studies*
Jalkut Schim. = Jalkut Shimeoni
Jashar Book of Jashar
Jer. Joma &c. = Joma in Jerusalem Tal-
 mud
Jerus. Targ. Jerusalem Targum
Jos. Ant. &c. Josephus, *Antiquities*, &c.
Jub. Book of Jubilees
Jüd. Theol.² *Jüdische Theologie*² (Weber)
K. Kautzsch
K.A.T. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften*
 und das Alte Testament
Kit. Kittel
L.A.E. Deissmann, *Light from the*
 Ancient East
L.d.T. Weber, *Die Lehren des Tal-*
 muds
L. & S. Liddell and Scott
LXX. Septuagint Version
Lact. Lactantius
Lib. V.T. *Libri Veteris Testamenti*
Luc. Lucian
Lucr. Lucretius
MS. Manuscript
MT. Massoretic Text
1 Macc. &c. First, &c., Book of Maccabees
Macro. Macrobius
Mart. Is. Martyrdom of Isaiah
Mass. Massoretic
Megill. Megilla
Menach. Menachoth (Talmud)
Mg. Margin
Midr. Midrash
N.H.W. *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*
N.T. New Testament
O.T. Old Testament
Onk. Onkelos, Targum of
Onom. Sacr. *Onomasticon Sacrum*
Or. Sibyll. Sibylline Oracles
Orph. Frag. Orphic Fragment
P.E.F. Palestine Exploration Fund
P.P. Petrie Papyri
P.R. Eliezer Pirke Rabbi Eliezer
P.R.E. *Real-Encyclopädie für pro-*
 test. Theologie und Kirche
P.S.B.A. *Proceedings of the Society of*
 Biblical Archaeology
Pesikt. Pesikta
Ps. Clem. Recog. = Pseudo-Clementine
 Recognitions
Ps. Jon. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ps. of Sol. Psalms of Solomon
R. Rabbi
R.E. *Real-Encyclopädie*
R.E.J. *Revue des Études juives*
Rel. des Jud. *Religion des Judenthums*
Sam. Samaritan
Sam. Chron. Samaritan Chronology
Sanh. Sanhedrin
Schürer, E.T. Schürer's *History of the Jew-*
 ish People, English Trans-
Sept. Septuagint [lation]
Shabb. Shabbath

Sir. Sirach
Slav. Bar. See vol. ii. 131
Slav. Vit. Slavonic *Vita Adae et Evae*.
 See Books of Adam and
Soph. Sophocles [Eve]
Stob. Stobaeus
Symm. Symmachus
Synzell. Synzellus
Syr. Syriac
Syr. H. Hexaplaric Syriac
Syr. W. Syriac Version in Walton's
 Polyglot
Sok. Sokolov's Text of 2 Enoch
T.A. &c. See under 'Testaments' in
 list of symbols prefixed to
 Index.
T.b. Babylonian Talmud
Targ. Jer. Jerusalem Targum
Targ. Jon. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Th. Gram. Thackeray, *Grammar of Old*
 Testament Greek
Theod. Theodotion
Theoph. Theophilus
Tebt. P. Tebtuneh Papyrus
Tert. Tertullian
Test. Testament
Test. Sim. See vol. ii. 153
Test. XII Patr. = Testaments of the Twelve
 Patriarchs
Tisch. Tischendorf
Tob. Tobit
V.L. or Vet. Lat. = Versio Vetus Latina, Old
 Latin Version
Vit. Ad. Vita Adae
Vulg. Vulgate
W.P. Walton's Polyglot
Wellh. Wellhausen
Wisd. Book of Wisdom
Z.A.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wis-*
 senschaft
Z.D.M.G. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen*
 Morgenländischen Gesell-
 schaft
Z.N.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die N. T.*
 Wissenschaft
Z.W.T. or Z.f.W.T. = *Zeitschrift für*
 wiss. Theologie
[] indicate an intrusion into the
 original text
† † indicate that the word or
 passage so enclosed is cor-
 rupt
() or italics indicate that the
 word or words so enclosed
 or printed are supplied for
 the sake of clearness.
+ indicates that the authority
 or authorities quoted insert
 the word or words follow-
 ing this mark.
> indicates that the authority
 or authorities quoted omit
 the word or words follow-
 ing this mark.
< > indicate a restoration in the
 text.
Thick type indicates an emendation in
 the text.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

(Charles)

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of Jubilees is in certain limited aspects the most important book in this volume for the student of religion. Without it we could of course have inferred from Ezra and Nehemiah, the Priests' Code, and the later chapters of Zechariah the supreme position that the law had achieved in Judaism, but without Jubilees we could hardly have imagined such an absolute supremacy of the law as finds expression in this book. This absolute supremacy of the law carried with it, as we have seen in the General Introduction, the suppression of prophecy—at all events of the open exercise of the prophetic gifts. And yet these gifts persisted during all the so-called centuries of silence—from Malachi down to N.T. times, but owing to the fatal incubus of the law these gifts could not find expression save in pseudepigraphic literature. Thus Jubilees represents the triumph of the movement, which had been at work for the past three centuries or more.

And yet this most triumphant manifesto of legalism contained within its pages the element that was destined to dispute its supremacy and finally to reduce the law to the wholly secondary position that alone it could rightly claim. This element of course is apocalyptic, which was the source of the higher theology in Judaism, and subsequently was the parent of Christianity, wherein apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous and became one with prophecy.

The Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which has already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity. From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, in the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realized on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1,000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.¹

¹ Three-fourths of this section is reprinted from the present writer's Introduction to his Commentary on the Book of Jubilees.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

§ 2. VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK.

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew.

(a) Jubilees = τὰ ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ ἰωβηλαῖοι = היובלים.

(b) The Little Genesis = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = בראשית זוטא.

(c) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of the book.

(a) *Jubilees*. This appears from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6) to have been its usual designation. It is found also in the Syriac Fragment entitled 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book of Jubilees,' first published by Ceriani, *Mon. sacra et profana*, ii. 1. 9-10, and reprinted by the present writer in his edition of *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, p. 183. This name admirably describes the book, as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. The writer pursues a perfectly symmetrical development of the heptadic system. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, i. e. 2450.

(b) *The Little Genesis*. The epithet 'little' does not refer to the extent of the book, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but to its character. It deals more fully with details than the biblical work. The Hebrew title was variously rendered in Greek. 1° ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) as in Epiphanius, Syncellus, Zonaras, Glycas. 2° ἡ Λεπτογένεσις in Didymus of Alexandria and in Latin writers, as we may infer from the Decree of Gelasius. 3° τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως in Syncellus. 4° ἡ Μικρογένεσις in Jerome, who was acquainted with the Hebrew original.

(c) 1° The Apocalypse of Moses.

2° The Testament of Moses.

3° The Book of Adam's Daughters.

4° The Life of Adam.

1° *The Apocalypse of Moses*. This title had some currency in the time of Syncellus (see i. 5, 49). It forms an appropriate designation since it makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in the book. 2° *The Testament of Moses*. This title is found in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175, where it precedes a quotation from x. 21 of our book. It has, however, nothing to do with the Testament of Moses, which has become universally known under the wrong title—the Assumption of Moses. Röscher and other scholars formerly sought to identify Jubilees with this second Testament of Moses, but this identification is shown to be impossible by the fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus 4,300 stichoi are assigned to Jubilees and only 1100 to this Testament of Moses. On the probability of a Testament of Moses having been in circulation—which was in reality an expansion of Jubilees ii-iii see my edition of Jubilees, p. xviii. 3° *The Book of Adam's Daughters*. This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius, but it probably consisted merely of certain excerpts from Jubilees dealing with the names and histories of the women mentioned in it. Such a collection, as we have already seen, exists in Syriac, and its Greek prototype was used by the scribe of the LXX MS. no. 135 in Holmes and Parsons' edition. 4° *The Life of Adam*. This title is found in Syncellus i. 7-9. It seems to have been an enlarged edition of the portion of Jubilees, which dealt with the life of Adam.

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC MSS.

There are four Ethiopic MSS., *abcd*, the first and fourth of which belong to the National Library in Paris, the second to the British Museum, and the third to the University Library at Tübingen. Of these *ab* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively) are the most trustworthy, though they cannot be followed exclusively. In *a*, furthermore, the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original against *bcd* in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29; iv. 4, 8, &c. For a full description of these MSS. the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii seqq.

§ 4. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC.

(a) *The Greek Version* is lost save for some fragments which survive in Epiphanius περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν xxii (ed. Dindorf, vol. iv. 27-8). This fragment, which consists of ii. 2-21, is published with critical notes in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text. Other fragments of this version are preserved in Justin Martyr, Origen, Diodorus of Antioch, Isidore of Alexandria, Isidore of Seville, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, John of Malala, Syncellus, Cedrenus. Syncellus attributes to the Canonical Genesis statements derived from our text. This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.

(b) *The Ethiopic Version*. This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule

INTRODUCTION

servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence, but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: 'my wife' in iii. 6 instead of 'wife'; xv. 12; xvii. 12 ('her bottle' instead of 'the bottle'); xxiv. 19 (where the words 'a well' are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS. *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, &c., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* there appears to be only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see Charles's Text, pp. xii seqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see Charles on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

(*c*) *The Latin Version*. This version, of which about one-fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b-21; xv. 20^b-31^a; xvi. 5^b-xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b-xix. 25; xx. 5^b-xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2-19^a; xxiii. 8^b-23^a; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b-23^a; xxvii. 11^b-24^a; xxviii. 16^b-27^a; xxix. 8^b-xxx. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b-18, 29^b-32; xxxii. 1-8^a, 18^b-xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b-xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b-12^a; xxxvi. 20^b-xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b-16^a; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b-18; xlii. 2^b-14^a; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b-22. This version was next edited by Rösensch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente*. This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgement and critical acumen. Rösensch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth century (pp. 459-60). In 1895 Charles edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rösensch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlv. 14, where it adds 'et Oon' against all other authorities. The Ethiopic version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text, but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (*canos meos* where our Ethiopic text = *μον τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12, where it reads 'in tota terra' for 'in terra'. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version 'et creverunt et iuvenes facti sunt' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause 'eorum quae fiebant in carcere' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, &c. (see my Text, p. xvi).

(*d*) *The Syriac Version*. The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS. (Add. 12154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by Charles as Appendix III to his Text of Jubilees (p. 183).¹

§ 5. THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK.

Like all the biblical literature in Ethiopic, Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from the Greek. Greek words such as *δρῦς*, *βάλανος*, *λίψ*, *σχῖνος*, *φάραγξ*, &c., are transliterated into Ethiopic. Secondly, many passages must be retranslated into Greek before we can discover the source of their corruptions. And finally, many names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew.

¹ (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) reprinted from the present writer's Commentary.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

That the Latin is derived directly from the Greek is no less obvious. Thus in xxxix. 12 *timoris* = *δειλίας*, a corruption of *δουλείας*; in xxxviii. 13 *honorem* = *τιμὴν*, which should have been rendered by *tributum*. Another class of mistranslations may be seen in passages where the Greek article is rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in *huius Abrahæ* xxix. 16, *huic Israel* xxxi. 15. Other evidence pointing in the same direction is to be found in the Greek constructions which have been reproduced in the Latin; such as xvii. 3 'memor fuit sermones' = *ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους*: in xv. 22 'consummavit loquens' = *συνετέλεσε λαλῶν*: in xxii. 8 'in omnibus quibus dedisti' = *ἐν πάσιν οἷς ἔδωκας*.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

The early date of our book—the second century B. C.—and the fact that it was written in Palestine speak for a Semitic original, and the evidence for such an original is conclusive. But the question at once arises, was the original written in Hebrew or Aramaic? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic original, as Cettin xxiv. 28; Adurin xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin xxiv. 14–16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Again, in the list of the twelve trees suitable for burning on the altar some are transliterations of Aramaic names. But in a late Hebrew work—written at the close of the second century B. C.—the popular names of such objects would naturally be used. Moreover, in certain cases the Hebrew may have already been forgotten, or, when the tree had been lately introduced, been non-existent.

But the arguments for a Hebrew original are many and weighty. (1) A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew; for Hebrew, according to our author, was the sacred and national language, xii. 25–6; xliii. 15. (2) The revival of the national spirit is, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language. (3) The existing text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text. Thus *lā'ēlēja* in xliii. 11 = *ἐν ἐμοί*, which is a mistranslation in this context of *בִּי*; for *בִּי* here = *δέομαι*, 'pray,' as in Gen. xiv. 18. In xlvi. 9 the text = 'domum' (= *בֵּית*) Faraonis', but the context demands 'filiam' (= *בַּת*) Faraonis', though here the argument is not conclusive, since *בַּת* might have been corruptly written for *בֵּית*, which in Aramaic = 'daughter'. Again in xxxvi. 10 (cp. also xxxix. 6) the text = *οὐκ ἀναβήσεται* (= *ja'arg*) *εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς*. But *ja'arg* must = 'will be recorded'. Now this meaning is unattested elsewhere in Ethiopic, but the difficulty is solved when we find that it is a Hebrew idiom: see 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34. (4) Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew, as in iv. 9 there is a play on the name Enoch, in iv. 15 on Jared, in viii. 8 on Peleg, &c. (5) Many passages are preserved in Rabbinic writings, and the book has much matter in common with the Testaments xii Patriarchs, which was written about the same date in Hebrew. Both books, in fact, use a chronology peculiar to themselves. (6) Fragments of the original Hebrew text or of the sources used by its author are to be found in the Book of Noah and the Midrasch Wajjisau in Jellinek's *Beth-ha-Midrasch*, iii. 155–6, 3–5, reprinted in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text on pp. 179–81.

§ 7. TEXTUAL AFFINITIES.

A minute study of the text shows that it attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. Thus it agrees with individual authorities such as the Samaritan or the LXX, or the Syriac, or the Vulgate, or the Targum of Onkelos against all the rest. Or again it agrees with two or more of these authorities in opposition to the rest, as for instance with the Massoretic and Samaritan against the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic and Onkelos against the Samaritan, LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic, Samaritan and Syriac against the LXX or Vulgate. But the reader must here be referred to Charles's Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii–xxxix) for a full classification of these instances. A study of these phenomena proves that our book represents some form of the Hebrew text midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac; for it agrees more frequently with the LXX, or with combinations into which the LXX enters, than with any other single authority. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. On the other hand, its independence of the LXX is shown by a large array of readings, where it has the support of the Samaritan and Massoretic, or of these with various combinations of the Syriac, Vulgate and Onkelos. From these and like considerations we may conclude that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B. C. and 100 A. D. and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. THE VALUE OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES IN THE CRITICISM OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

From a study of the facts which are referred to in the preceding Section it will be clear that both before and after the Christian era the Hebrew text did not possess any hard and fast tradition. It will further be obvious that the Massoretic form of this text, which has so long been generally assumed as conservative of the most ancient tradition and as therefore final, is after all only one of the many phases through which the text passed in the process of over 1,000 years, i. e. 400 B. C. till A. D. 600, or thereabouts.

As we pursue the examination of the materials just mentioned we shall see grounds for regarding the Massoretic text as the result partly of conscious recension and partly of unconscious change extending over many centuries. How this process affected the text in the centuries immediately preceding and subsequent to the Christian era, we have some means of determining in the Hebrew-Samaritan text which, however much it may have been tampered with on religious or polemical grounds, still preserves in many cases the older reading, even as it preserves the older form of the alphabet. Next we have the LXX of the Pentateuch, to which we may assign the date 200 B. C.; next the Book of Jubilees just before the Christian era; the Syriac Pentateuch before A. D. 100; the Vulgate of the fourth century; the Targums of Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. in their present form A. D. 300-600.

We have above remarked that the evidence of § 6 shows that the Massoretic text is only one of the phases through which the Hebrew text has passed; and if we consider afresh the materials of evidence suggested in that Section in connexion with their dates, and given in some fullness in the Introductions to Charles's Text and Commentary, we shall discover that in some respects it is one of the latest phases of the Hebrew Pentateuch that has been stereotyped by Jewish scholars in the Massoretic text.

This conclusion will tally perfectly with the tradition that all existing Massoretic MSS. are derived in the main from one archetype, i. e. the Hebrew Codex left behind him by Ben Asher, who lived in the tenth century, and whose family had lived at Tiberias in the eighth.

We shall now proceed to give a list of readings in the Massoretic text which should be corrected into accord with the readings attested by such great authorities as the Sam., LXX, Jub., Syr., Vulg.

The following list was published in Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* in 1895. More than two-thirds of the emendations of the Book of Genesis here suggested were subsequently accepted independently, on the evidence of the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., without a knowledge of Jubilees, by C. J. Ball in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1896, by Kittel in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1905, and more than half in the recent Commentary of Gunkel.

In Gen. viii. 19 for **כָּל־הַחַיָּה וְכָל־הָעוֹף וְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ בְּלֶחֱמֵהֶם** we should read **כָּל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ וְכָל־הָעוֹף וְכָל־הַחַיָּה** with the Sam., Sam. Vers., Jub. (v. 32), Vulg. ('omnia animantia iumenta et reptilia quae reptant super terram'), and Arabic. The LXX and Syr. confirm our emendation (see my Ethiopic text, p. 21, note 29). Here Onk. only supports the Massoretic. The restoration is confirmed by Gen. i. 26 where the very combination **הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ** is actually found.

In xi. 8 after **הָעִיר** add **וְהַמְּגִדֵּל** with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (x. 24), against Mass. and Vulg.

In xi. 31 **וַיֵּצֵאוּ אֹתָם** we have a reading that should be emended into **וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם** with Jub. (xii. 15) and Syr., or into **וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם** with the Sam., LXX, Itala, and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Massoretic.

In xii. 3 for **וַיִּמְלֹךְ** read **וַיִּמְלֹךְ** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xii. 23), Syr., Vulg. The reading of the Mass. is the first movement in the change of plurals into singulars, which is completed in Onk. and Ps.-Jon., where both the participles are in the singular. A few Hebrew MSS., however, preserve the original reading.

In xv. 21 after **וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם** add **וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם** with the Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xiv. 18), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 14 after **וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ** add **בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא** with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xv. 14), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 16 for **וַיִּבְרַכְתִּי** read **וַיִּבְרַכְתִּי** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Mass. For **וַיִּהְיֶה** of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read **מָמְנָה** with LXX, Jub., Syr., and Vulg. For **מָמְנָה** of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read **מָמְנָה** with LXX, Jub., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 19 add **וְ** before **לְרַעוּ** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 19), Syr., Vulg., and Arab. Only Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxi. 8 after **אֶת־יִצְחָק** add **בְּנוֹ** with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 1), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after **הָאִמָּה** add **הָאִמָּה** with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 6), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after **לְגוֹי** read **נָדוּל** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xvii. 6), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Only such late authorities as Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. omit on religious and polemical grounds, the last giving quite a different turn in expression of national hatred, **עַם לֹסִיטִים**, 'nation of robbers.'

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In xxii. 13 for אָחֵר read אָחֵר with some Hebrew MSS., Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 12), Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven., against Mass. and Vulg. Onk. combines both readings.

In xxii. 16 after אֶת־יְהוֹרֵךְ add מִמֶּנִּי with Sam., LXX (*δι' ἐμέ*), Jub. (xviii. 15), Syr., Vulg. (*propter me*). Only the Targums support the Mass.

In xxv. 8 for וַיִּשְׁבַּע יָמִים read וַיִּשְׁבַּע יָמִים, as in Gen. xxxv. 29, with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiii. 8, cf. xxi. 1; xxii. 7), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxvi. 18 for בְּיָמֵי of Mass. and Onk. read עֲבָדִי with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiv. 18), Vulg. Syr. combines both readings.

In xxvii. 27 after שָׁדָה add מְלֵא with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxvi. 22, Lat.), Syr. Vet. (*teste Diodoro*), Vulg. Onk. supports Mass. in omitting.

In xxviii. 4 after אֲבָרָהָם add אֲבִיךָ with Sam., LXX, Jub. (= אָבִי xxvii. 11). Mass., Syr., and Vulg. omit.

In xxix. 27 for וְנִתְּנָה of Mass. and Onk. read וְנִתְּנָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 8), Syr., Vulg., and Arab.

In xli. 56 for אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם read אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם אֲשֶׁר with Jub. (xlii. 3), LXX *τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας* and Onk. אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם, also Targ., Jer., and Ps.-Jon., Syr., and Vulg., support אֲשֶׁר, while בָּר is actually found in the Sam., which reads בָּר בָּהֶם.

In xlv. 31 after הַנֶּעַר add אֶתְּנִי with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliii. 12), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Mass. and Onk. stand here alone.

In xlv. 28 after רַב read לִי with LXX, Jub. (xliii. 24), Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against Mass. and Sam.

In xlv. 13 for פָּנָה read פִּנְיָה with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xlv. 17), Syr., Vulg., Onk. 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlv. 13 for יוֹב of Mass., Vulg., and Onk. read יֵשִׁיב with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xlv. 17). 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlv. 24 for שָׁלֵם read שְׁלֹם with Sam., Jub. (xlv. 30), and 1 Chron. vii. 13. The Syr. *ܫܠܡ* and LXX *Σαλλήμ* support the former.

In xlv. 28 for לְהוֹרֹת read לְהַרְאוֹת with Sam., Syr., or לְרִאוֹת with Jub. (xlv. 9) and Onk. or לְהַקְרוֹת with LXX.

§ 9. DATE OF (a) THE ORIGINAL TEXT AND (b) OF THE VERSIONS.

(a) Jubilees was written between 153 B. C. and the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees. (1) It was written during the pontificate of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 155 B. C., when this office was assumed by Jonathan the Maccabee. For in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a 'priest of the Most High God.' Now the only Jewish high-priests who bore this title were the Maccabean, who appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Despite the objections of the Pharisees, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to Hyrcanus II (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2). (2) It was written before 96 B. C.; for since our author was of the strictest sect a Pharisee and at the same time an upholder of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96, when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus were openly engaged in mortal strife. (3) It was written before the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees when Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party. As Hyrcanus died in 105, our book was written between 153 and 105.

But it is possible to define these limits more closely. The book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony—such as that under Simon and Hyrcanus. The conquest of Edom, which was achieved by the latter, is referred to in xxxviii. 14. Again our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second century B. C. It declares that they will fall into the hands of the righteous nation, and we learn from 1 Macc. and Josephus that Ashdod and Gaza were destroyed by Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus respectively. But it is in the destruction of Samaria, which is adumbrated in the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 4-6, that we are to look for the true *terminus a quo*. Now all accounts agree in representing the destruction of Samaria as effected by Hyrcanus about four years before his death. Hence we conclude that *Jubilees was written between 109 and 105 B. C.*

Many other phenomena point to the second-century origin of our book, which are given in Charles's edition, pp. lviii-lxvi. Amongst these we might mention the currency of older and severer forms of the halacha than prevailed in the rabbinical schools, or were registered in the Mishnah. The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second century B. C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishnah and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second century B. C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishnah. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly

INTRODUCTION

probable that such a halacha did exist in the second century B. C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes and xx. 4 note.

Other cases of strict rules afterwards relaxed are the limitation of trees for use with burnt-offerings (see xxi. 12-15 notes), the restriction of the eating of the passover to the court of the Lord's house (see xlix. 20 note), the close adherence to the exacting demand of Lev. xix. 24 that the fourth year's fruit should be holy (see vii. 36 notes), though here we have a variant reading. Note that the rest of the firstfruits belong to the priests, who are to eat them 'before the altar.' On the other hand, the thank-offerings in xxi. 8-10 do not belong to the priest. The computation of the Feast of Weeks is different from the later prevalent Pharisaic reckoning (see xv. 1 note; xvi. 13; xlv. 4-5), while the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in xvi. 21-31 is peculiar to Jubilees.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44 *a*) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former. Attention might also be drawn to the fact that the Priests and Levites still numbered in their ranks, as in the days of the author of Chronicles, the masters of the schools and the men of learning, and that these positions were not filled as in the days of Shammai and Hillel by men drawn from the laity. This inference is to be deduced from the fact that the Levites are represented as the guardians of the sacred books and of the secret lore transmitted from the worthies of old time (x. 4, xlv. 16).

(*b*) *Date of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.* There is no evidence for determining the exact date of the Ethiopic version, but since it was practically regarded as a canonical book it was probably made in the sixth century. Rösensch, as we have already pointed out in § 4, gives some evidence for regarding the Latin version as made in the fifth century.

§ 10. JUBILEES FROM ONE AUTHOR BUT BASED ON EASTERN BOOKS AND TRADITIONS.

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms of course the bulk of the book, but much that is characteristic in it is due to his use of many pseudepigraphic and ancient traditions. Amongst the former might be mentioned the Book of Noah, from which in a modified form he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. In vii. 26-39 he reproduces his source so faithfully that he leaves the persons unchanged, and forgets to adapt this fragment to its new context. Similarly our author lays the Book of Enoch under contribution, and is of great value in this respect in determining the dates of the various sections of this book. See *Introd.* to 1 Book of Enoch, *in loc.* For other authorities and traditions used by our author see Charles's edition, § 13.

§ 11. JUBILEES IS A PRODUCT OF THE MIDRASHIC TENDENCY WHICH HAD BEEN ALREADY AT WORK IN THE O.T. BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

The Chronicler rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. His object was to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. In the course of this process all facts that did not square with the Chronicler's presuppositions were either omitted or transformed. Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings, and so he rewrote it in such a way as to show that the law was rigorously observed even by the Patriarchs. The author represents his book to be as a whole a revelation of God to Moses, forming a supplement to and an interpretation of the Pentateuch, which he designates 'the first law' (vi. 22). This revelation was in part a secret republication of the traditions handed down from father to son in antediluvian and subsequent times. From the time of Moses onwards it was preserved in the hands of the priesthood, till the time came for its being made known.

Our author's procedure is of course in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis, for according to this code 'Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready' (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124). This fact seems to emphasize in the strongest manner how freely our author reinterpreted his authorities for the past. But he was only using to the full a right that had been exercised for nearly four centuries already in regard to Prophecy and for four or thereabouts in regard to the law.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

§ 12. OBJECT OF JUBILEES—THE DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF JUDAISM FROM THE PHARISAIC STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND CENTURY B. C.

The object of our author was to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism, and this he did (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles and particularly Israel's national enemies. In this last respect Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was a reflection of the divine.

But on (*a*) it is to be observed further that to our author the law, as a whole, was the realization in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. It was observed not only on earth by Israel but in heaven. Parts of the law might have only a time reference, to Israel on earth, but in the privileges of circumcision and the Sabbath, as its highest and everlasting expression, the highest orders of archangels in heaven shared with Israel (ii. 18, 19, 21; xv. 26–28). The law, therefore, was supreme, and could admit of no assessor in the form of Prophecy. There was no longer any prophet because the law had made the free exercise of his gift an offence against itself and God. So far, therefore, as Prophecy existed, it could exist only under the guise of pseudonymity. The seer, who had like Daniel and others a message for his time, could only gain a hearing by issuing it under the name of some ancient worthy.

§ 13. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISEE WHO RECOGNIZED THE MACCABEAN PONTIFICATE AND WAS PROBABLY A PRIEST.

Since our author was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, and held the strictest views on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the duty of complete separation from the Gentiles, since he believed in angels and demons and a blessed immortality, he was unquestionably a Pharisee of the strictest sect. In the next place, he was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers, and applies to them the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thoroughgoing an admirer of this dynasty as the authors of Test. Lev. xviii. or Ps. cx, who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family. Finally, that our author was a priest might reasonably be inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxi–xxxii), and from the statement in xlv. 16 that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 14. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

On the influence of Jubilees on 1 Enoch i–v, xci–civ, Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jasher, the Samaritan Chronicle, on Patristic and other writings, and on the New Testament writers, see Charles's edition, pp. lxxiii–lxxxvi.

§ 15. THEOLOGY. SOME OF OUR AUTHOR'S VIEWS.

Freedom and determinism. The author of Jubilees is a true Pharisee in that he combines belief in Divine omnipotence and providence with the belief in human freedom and responsibility. He would have adopted heartily the statement of the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 (written some sixty years or more later) τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν: v. 6 ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἐν σταθμῷ, οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ πλεονάσαι παρὰ τὸ κρίμα σου, ὁ θεός. Thus the path in which a man should walk is ordained for him and the judgement of all men predetermined on the heavenly tablets: 'And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even the judgment of all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in' (v. 13). This idea of an absolute determinism underlies many conceptions of the heavenly tablets (see Charles's edition, iii. 10 note). On the other hand, man's freedom and responsibility are fully recognized: 'If they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature' (v. 13): 'Beware lest thou walk in their ways, And tread in their paths, And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God. Else He will give thee back into the hand of thy transgression.' Even when a man has sinned deeply he can repent and be forgiven (xli. 24 seq.), but the human will needs the strengthening of a moral dynamic: 'May the Most High God . . . strengthen thee to do His will' (xxi. 25, xxii. 10).

The Fall. The effects of the Fall were limited to Adam and the animal creation. Adam was

INTRODUCTION

driven from the garden (iii. 17 seqq.) and the animal creation was robbed of the power of speech (iii. 28). But the subsequent depravity of the human race is not traced to the Fall but to the seduction of the daughters of men by the angels, who had been sent down to instruct men (v. 1-4), and to the solicitations of demonic spirits (vii. 27). The evil engendered by the former was brought to an end by the destruction of all the descendants of the angels and of their victims by the Deluge, but the incitement to sin on the part of the demons was to last to the final judgement (vii. 27, x. 1-15, xi. 4 seq., xii. 20). This last view appears in 1 Enoch and the N.T.

The Law. The law was of eternal validity. It was not the expression of the religious consciousness of one or of several ages, but the revelation in time of what was valid from the beginning and unto all eternity. The various enactments of the law, moral and ritual, were written on the heavenly tablets (iii. 31, vi. 17, &c.) and revealed to man through the mediation of angels (i. 27). This conception of the law, as I have already pointed out, made prophecy impossible unless under the guise of pseudonymity. Since the law was the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth, there was no room for any further revelation: much less could any such revelation, were it conceivable, supersede a single jot or tittle of the law as already revealed. The ideal of the faithful Jew was to be realized in the fulfilment of the moral and ritual precepts of this law: the latter were of no less importance than the former. Though this view of morality tends to be mainly external, our author strikes a deeper note when he declares that, when Israel turned to God with their whole heart, He would circumcise the foreskin of their heart and create a right spirit within them and cleanse them, so that they would not turn away from Him for ever (i. 23). Our author specially emphasizes certain elements of the law such as circumcision (xvi. 14, xv. 26, 29), the Sabbath (ii. 18 seq., 31 seq.), eating of blood (vi. 14), tithing of the tithe (xxxii. 10), Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 29), Feast of Weeks (vi. 17), the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages (xx. 4, xxii. 20, xxv. 1-10). In connexion with many of these he enunciates halacha which belong to an earlier date than those in the Mishnah, but which were either modified or abrogated by later authorities.

The Messiah. Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii-xc to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see Charles's edition, xxxi. 18 n.). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic kingdom. According to our author (i. 29, xxiii. 30) this kingdom was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1,000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgement was apparently to take place at its close (xxiii. 30). This view was possibly derived from Mazdeism.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii-xc in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed, his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx, or Hyrcanus in the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C. and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realize the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (xxx. 15), while according to the Test. Reuben 6 he was to 'die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen'. In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author, as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.

Priesthood of Melchizedek. That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note on xiii. 25, and, that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv, we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii as applied to our Lord.

The Future Life. In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest

attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in 1 Enoch xci-civ.

The Jewish Calendar. For our author's peculiar views see Charles's edition § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.

Angelology. We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see Charles's edition.

Demonology. The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(b) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince Mastêmâ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgement of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-5; Luke xi. 24-6). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgement (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

Judgement. The doctrine of retribution is strongly enforced by our author. It is to be individual and national in this world and in the next. As regards the individual the law of exact retribution is according to our author not merely an enactment of human justice—the ancient *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; it is observed by God in His government of the world. The penalty follows in the line of the sin. This view is enforced in 2 Macc. v. 10, where it is said of Jason, that, as he robbed multitudes of the rites of sepulture, so he himself was deprived of them in turn, and in xv. 32 seq. it is recounted of Nicanor that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. So also in our text in reference to Cain iv. 31 seq. and the Egyptians xlviii. 14. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation, but spiritually conceived it represented the profound truth of the kinship of the penalty to the sin enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament: 'Whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap' (Gal. vi. 7); 'he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done' (Col. iii. 25, &c.). Again in certain cases the punishment was to follow instantaneously on the transgression (xxxvii. 17).

The final judgement was to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom (xxiii. 30). This judgement embraces the human and superhuman worlds (v. 10 seq., 14). At this judgement there will be no respect of persons, but all will be judged according to their opportunities and abilities (v. 15 seq.). From the standpoint of our author there could be no hope for the Gentiles.

§ 16. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Greek Version: see above, § 4 (a). Ethiopic Version: this text was first edited by Dillmann from two MSS. *cd* in 1859, and by R. H. Charles from four MSS. *abcd*. *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees . . . with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin Fragments*, Oxford, 1895. Latin Version: see above, § 4 (a).

(b) Translations. Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissensch., 1850-1, ii. 230-56; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS. Schodde, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* ('Bibliotheca Sacra,' 1885-7): Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, v. 703-8; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-45; 1895, vii. 297-328): Littmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, 1900, ii. 31-119). This translation is based on Charles's text.

(c) Commentaries. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1902. Rönsch published a Commentary on the Latin Version. See above, § 4.

(d) *Critical Inquiries.* Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen des A. T.,' Herzog's *R. E.*², xii. 364-5; 'Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes' (*Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akad.*, 1883); Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1898; Bohn, 'Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen' (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1900, 167-84). For a full bibliography see Charles's Commentary or Schürer.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. Apostasy of Israel, 5-9. Captivity of Israel and Judah, 10-13. Return of Judah and rebuilding of the temple, 15-18. Moses' prayer for Israel, 19-21. God's promise to redeem and dwell with them, 22-5, 28. Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?), 26. And an angel to write down the law, 27. This angel takes the heavenly chronological tablets to dictate therefrom to Moses, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their Jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, 'Go up to the top of the Mount.'

1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the 2450
 1 third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me Anno
 2 on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which Mundi.
 3 I have written, that thou mayst teach them.' And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the
 4 glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. And He called
 5 to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the
 6 Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. And Moses was on the Mount forty days
 7 and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days
 8 of the law and of the testimony. And He said: 'Incline thine heart to every word which I shall
 9 speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how
 10 I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant
 11 which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. And thus
 12 it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more
 13 righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that
 14 I have been truly with them. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto
 15 thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land
 16 of which I swear to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: 'Unto your seed
 17 will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. And they will eat and be satisfied, and
 18 they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their
 19 tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. For they will
 20 forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the
 21 Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will
 22 prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. And many will perish

Prologue gives admirable account of contents of the book. At once a history and a chronological system dominated by sacred number 7. History extends from creation to legislation on Sinai. Thus it embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. All is re-written from standpoint of *strictest Judaism*.

throughout all the years of the world. These words imply intention of the author to write history up to time of Messianic kingdom. Cf. i. 26.

1. third month, on the sixteenth day of the month. Completes imperfect date of Exod. xix. 1. (Same day as God appears to Jacob on way to Egypt, xlv. 5.) For the rest of the verse cf. Exod. xxiv. 12.

2-4 a. Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. out of. Emended in accordance with Exod. xxiv. 26, פתח by a change of one letter.

flaming. Change of one vowel would give 'devouring' as in Exod. xxiv. 17.

4. God taught him the earlier and the later history. Cf. i. 26; also Megilla 19 b 'The Holy One, blessed be his name, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times'; so also Shem. Rabb. 40 (Wünsche, 282), Menachoth 29 b, Wajikra Rabb. 26 (Beer).

5-10. Ezra ix. 9, 10, 11; Exod. xxxiii. 33, xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxx. 1-20, xxxi. 19, 20, 24-6, 27; 2 Kings xvii. 7-17.

5. write them, &c. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

how I, &c. Cf. Ezra ix. 9.

transgressing. An emendation, *šēḥēṭō* from 'ašēṭō of bcd.

6. Deut. xxx. 1.

7. write. See i. 27 (note). On verse cf. Deut. xxxi. 27; Exod. xxxiii. 3.

10. Captivity of Israel who had forsaken 'my sanctuary', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15-68, and Lev. xxvi. 14-39.

and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set my name
 11 upon it, and that it should dwell (there). And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they
 12 will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change
 13 everything so as to work evil before My eyes. And I will hide My face from them, and I will deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I will remove them from the midst of the land, and I will scatter them amongst the Gentiles.
 14 And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go
 15 astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I will gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, so
 16 that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul. And I will disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I will †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they shall be for a blessing and not for
 17 a curse, and they shall be the head and not the tail. And I will build My sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be their God and they shall be My people in truth and
 18, 19 righteousness. And I will not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God.' And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, 'O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against
 20 Thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them
 21 from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in
 22 their sins from henceforth until eternity.' And the Lord said unto Moses: 'I know their contrari-ness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess
 23 their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity.
 24 And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My
 25 commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be My children. And they all shall be

11-13. Idolatry and captivity of Judah. Cf. Ezek. xx. 28, 31; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, xxviii. 3; 1 En. xcix. 7.

12. I will send witnesses . . . but they will not hear. Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 19, xxxvi. 15-16; Jer. xxv. 4; Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

but . . . will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26.

work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. Cf. xxi. 22; Isa. i. 15; 2 Kings xxi. 14.

for a prey = *lahabl* emended from *lahebl*.

14. Captive Judah forgets service of God. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15-17. Repentance of Judah will bring return and rebuilding of the Temple. 15. Deut. iv. 30, 29; Jer. xxix. 13, 14.

16. †remove them the plant of uprightness†. The expression 'Plant of uprightness' = Israel from the outset. Original perhaps is Jer. xxxii. 41. Cf. 1 En. x. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Not improbably 'in this land' was lost after the verb. We might read *וְנִטְעָתִים* for *וְהִטְעָתִים* = 'I will plant them in this land.' Cf. Jer. xxxii. 41. Reversal of the judgement in 13 is required here.

they shall be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13; 1 En. ciii. 11.

17. The second Temple. *ab* > 'their' before God. Cf. Exod. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12; Ezek. xiv. 11; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22.

18. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. do not forsake . . . rule over them. 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

20. Ps. li. 10. Beliar, see note on xv. 33.

21. Deut. ix. 26, 29. a holy spirit. Cf. i. 23 and xv. 14 (note).

22. Deut. xxxi. 27. confess, &c. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. turn, &c. 2 Chron. vi. 38. circumcise. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6. I will cleanse them . . . eternity. Implies no more exile for Israel.

24. I will be their Father, &c. From 2 Sam. vii. 14; used in 2 Cor. vi. 18 of all Christians. In 2 Sam. vii. 14 these words refer to Solomon. God is the Father of the nation in Deut. xxxii. 6; Isa. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9;

called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that
 26 I love them. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell
 27 with them throughout eternity.' And He said to the angel of the presence: 'Write for Moses from
 28 the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall
 29 be holy.' And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1–16. Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated, 17–32. (Cf. Gen. i.–ii. 3.)

2 1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and
 2 appointed it as a sign for all His works. For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him—the angels of the

Cf. also Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Isa. xliii. 6; Judges ix. 4. In Sir. xxiii. 1; Wisd. ii. 16, &c., it is used of the righteous individual, elsewhere of righteous Israel. In Jubilees Israelites are God's children in virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 13. Also *Sayings of the Fathers*, iii. 22 (Taylor's ed.).

25. **children of the living God.** Hosea i. 10.

26. Moses receives 'Jubilees' as a secret revelation. Cf. esp. 4 Ezra xiv. 6, also Exod. xxxiv. 27–28; Deut. x. 2–4. Conclusion of this verse implies that history of 'Jubilees' is to be brought down to author's own time—that of the early Maccabees. Like 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1; Ass. Mos. x; 1 En. xci–civ, he expected God would dwell with man. He lived in hourly expectation of the 'end of the times'. Like author of 'Beast Visions', 1 En. lxxxvii–xc, he believed this would be accomplished by a Messiah, but his Messiah was to spring from Judah, cf. xxxi. 18 n.

27. Angels only accompany Jahweh in Deut. xxxiii. 2, they mediate indirectly in Ezek. xl. 3. Zechariah and Daniel assign even a larger rôle to the angels. Test. Dan. vi further develops the idea. In N.T. times the ministry of angels has become the universal means of approaching or hearing from God. Expressly affirmed by Philo, *De Somniis*, i. 22, Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3; Paul (Gal. iii. 19), Stephen (Acts vii. 53), and author of 'Hebrews' ii. 2, also Samaritans (Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* 15), De Sacy, xii. 16. Hostility to Christians caused Rabbis to revert to older view in Shabb. 88 b, Shem. Rabb. 28. The angel here writes, not the Pentateuch, but a history up to the Messianic kingdom, but Deut. xxviii–xxx may be meant.

28. Read this verse after 25. **eyes of all.** Cf. Rev. i. 7.

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 23.

29. **angel of the presence**, derived from Isa. lxiii. 9. Cf. Test. Judah xxv.; 1 En. xl. 2; probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,² 168; Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6.

went before, &c. Exod. xiv. 19.

from the day of the [new] creation > 'new', inserted wrongly.

†when† > *b*. Possibly an interpolation, or a mistake of *ὡς* for *ἕως*; translate 'until'.

Author as Isa. lxi. 17, lxvi. 22; Test. Levi xviii, believed in a *gradual* transformation of the world, moral and physical. Perhaps borrowed from Mazdeism (cf. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, 254). From 100 B.C. this view was supplanted by the belief in a violent and sudden revolution of things (1 En. xci. 16, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The author divides this process of renewal into three periods: 1st, Deluge, v. 12, 13; 2nd, choice of Israel, i.e. foundation of Hebrew nation, xix. 25, cf. ii. 22; 3rd, establishment of Messianic kingdom, cf. i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. This division is *unique*.

renewed for healing, as Rev. xxii. 2.

II. Cf. Epiphanius, *περὶ Μέντρων καὶ Σταθμών*, xxii; Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 4); Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, 7); Midrash Tadshe, vi. 11–16, all based on Jubilees, though the last, like other Jewish writings, postpones creation of angels to second day (so Ber. Rabb., others fifth, Philo seventh) in order to show gulf between them and God. For full notes see Charles' Commentary, pp. 10–12.

2. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4; Epiph. *Haer.* lxxv. 4; Rufinus, *Expos. in Symb.* 21.

the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. These two superior classes of angels (i. 19, ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14) alone are superior to righteous Israelites. Cf. Sanh. 93 a; Tanchuma 13; Ber. Rabb. 8. Epiph. reads 'glory' for 'sanctification'. But the Lat. xv. 27 has 'sanctificationis'.

The inferior angels are over natural phenomena. Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; 1 En. lx. 12–21, lxxv, lxxx; 2 En. xix. 1–4; Rev. xiv. 18, iv. 5, vi. 1, vii. 1, &c.

presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of his heart. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. And on the second day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all (plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by his hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. And He finished all his work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. And He said unto us: 'Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so will I bless them, and they shall be My people and I will be their God. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as

[of . . . angels] *b c d.* > *a*, Epiph.

of snow. So Epiph. *ab* read 'of all' > *cd.*

the. Eth. reads 'all', *kuellu* for *ellu* = 'these' = *ras* simply.

and night, added from Epiph.

4. Cf. Gen. i. 6-7; 2 En. xxvi-xxvii.

5-14. Cf. Gen. i. 9-28; 2 En. xxx. 1-8.

5. third day + 'He made as' MSS.

7. in Eden, or 'for pleasure': dittography. Eden created on third day as in 'Conflict of Adam and Eve,' i. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxx. 1; Ber. rabb. 15.

4 Ezra iii. 6 taught it was 'pre-existent'; this became the prevailing view among Jews and Christians. Cf. Weber, *J.T.* 198; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8.

plants after their kind. So Epiph.

9. Author avoids the moon, because it upsets his calendar.

16. on the sixth day. So Gen. ii. 2^a (Sam., LXX, Syr. against Mass.).

17-21. The two chief orders of angels like Israel observe the Sabbath: apparently the third order, like the Gentiles, do not, as they are inferior to Israel.

20. Cf. Isa. xli. 8, xlv. 1, 2. I have chosen. 'I will choose', Epiph.

My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever ; and I will teach them the
 21 Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.' And thus He created therein a
 sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to
 drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself
 22 a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. And He
 caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . .
 23 There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of
 work were made until the seventh day ; this is blessed and holy ; and the former also is blessed and
 24 holy ; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. And to this (Jacob and
 his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony
 25 and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. He created
 heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy,
 for all His works ; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon
 26 shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. Wherefore do thou command the children of
 Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to
 27 defile it, as it is holier than all other days. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever
 does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day
 throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land ; for it is a holy day and a blessed
 28 day. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and
 29 blessed throughout all days like unto us. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this
 day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of
 their hearts ; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is **unseemly**, to do thereon
 their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, †and
 (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden, ‡
 30 which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. And they shall
 not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day ; for that day is more holy and blessed
 than any jubilee day of the jubilees ; on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made
 31 known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator of all things blessed
 it, but he did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them
 32 alone he permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator
 of all things blessed this day which He had created for blessing and holiness and glory above all
 33 days. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their
 generations.

My first-born son. Cf. Exod. iv. 22 ; Ps. lxxxix. 27 ; Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. a peculiar people. Cf. Deut. vii. 6 ; Exod. xix. 5 ; Amos iii. 12. peculiar. So Eth. easily emended.

22. commands † †

sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21 ; Exod. xxix. 18 ; Ezek. xx. 41 ; 2 Cor. ii. 15 ; Eph. v. 2.

acceptable before Him. Rom. xii. 1 ; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. Agreement of all authorities proves a lacuna here. Restored text='as there were twenty-two letters and twenty-two sacred books and twenty-two heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made twenty-two kinds of work.' Combine twelve minor prophets, Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, taking Kings, Chronicles, and Samuel as three books, hence twenty-two.

Jacob and the Sabbath are parallel in their exaltation.

25. Cf. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15, xxxv. 2 ; Numb. xv. 32-6.

27. rooted out. Cf. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. Cf. Isa. lvi. 2, 4 ; lviii. 13 ; Neh. xiii. 15-22. Which is unseemly. Like Littmann, I take za'jerkawen za'ijāstar'î as = שְׁלֵא יִהְיֶה רָאִי. See also on iii. 15. Or we may connect 'unseemly' with the following infinitive, 'unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure', as this is the usual construction after רָאִי. Cf. Esther ii. 9 ; Chull. 83 b ; Nid. vi. 4.

Law against preparing food deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, xxxv. 3. The order is dislocated here. Either we have a dittography of 30 or else the law concerning burdens should precede law about preparing food. Latter law in Ber. 2 b, former in Jer. xvii. 21-7 ; Neh. xiii. 19 ; Shabb. vii. 2 ; esp. John v. 10.

30. Chief Jewish festivals observed in heaven. Cf. vi. 18.

31. the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples . . . to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone. The words or rather the thought of them recurs in the Jewish Prayer Book (ed. Singer), p. 124, 'O Lord our God . . . who hast sanctified us . . . and . . . hast given us this holy Sabbath ; ' 139, 'Thou didst not give it unto the nations of other lands,' &c.

31. it. Restored by a change of punctuation in one letter.

Israel alone privileged and for ever. Cf. Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14 ; Ex. xxvii. 21.

32. He had created for blessing and holiness and glory. Cf. Jewish Prayer Book, p. 150. 'This Sabbath day which Thou hast given us for holiness . . . for honour and for glory.'

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification, 4-14. Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion, 15-29. Law of covering one's shame enacted, 30-2. Adam and Eve live in Êldâ, 32-5. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.)

- 3 ¹ And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day.
- ² And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.
- ³ And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. And the Lord said unto us: 'It is not good that the man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him.' And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband.' Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the garden of Eden. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets in regard to her that gives birth: 'if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days.' And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being kept]. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God commanded you,

III. 1-16. Gen. ii. 19-25.

3. **found**, Mass., Sam.; against LXX, Syr., Vulg. of Gen. ii. 20, 'was found'.

4. **Let us make**. So Gen. ii. 18 (LXX, Vulg.). Mass., Sam., Syr., 'I will make'.

5, 6. Cf. Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21, 'thirteenth rib.'

6. [my] interpolated from Eth. version, where alone it is found; Mass., Syr., Vulg. > 'her'.

7. Omits 'twain' as Mass., Onk.

8-14. Adopts ancient or invents new legend to explain origin of law of purification after child-birth in Lev. xii. 2-5. Cf. *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 74; Anastasius Sinaita; Glycas, *Chron.* 392; Syncell. i. 8-9; Midrash Tadshe xv; Eppstein, *R. E. J.* (1890), xxxi. 92. For quotations see Charles' Commentary, 22-4.

10. **heavenly tablets**. Cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, xciii. 2, ciii. 2; Test. Levi v; Test. Asher ii, vii. In En. and Test. the idea wavers between absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple.

In Jubilees they are at times a record even for contemporary events (xiv. 9, xxx. 20, xxxi. 32), or a heavenly copy of levitical laws (iii. 8, 31, iv. 32, v. 13, vi. 17, xv. 25, xvi. 29, xxiv. 33, xxviii. 6, xxxii. 15, &c.).

15. Adam seven years in paradise. Sanh. 38 b, *Die Schatzhöhle* (trans. Bezold), p. 7, says six hours.

God instructs him. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 26-9; later assigned to Michael (Vit. Ad. xxii) or angels (Ber. Rabb. 24).

suitable. With Littmann I take *zajâstarî* as = *זאת*. See on ii. 9. But the ord. sense 'revealed' may be right here.

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

18 saying, 'Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' And she said to it, 'Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'
 19 And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and
 20 evil.' And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit
 21 was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. And when she had first covered her shame with figleaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was
 22 naked. And he took figleaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and
 23, 24 covered his shame. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . And He was
 wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He
 said unto her: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth
 25 children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee.' And to Adam also
 he said, 'Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which
 I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns
 and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till
 thou returnest to the earth from whence thou **wast taken**; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt
 26 thou return.' And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from
 27 the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as
 a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the
 28 rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. And on that day was closed the mouth
 of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they
 could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue.
 29 And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was
 scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created
 30 for them. And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and
 31 cattle. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets as touching all those who know the
 judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the
 32 Gentiles uncover themselves. And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went 8 A.M.
 33 forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of Êldâ in the land of their creation. And
 34 Adam called the name of his wife Eve. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he
 35 knew her. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, 13-15. Enoch and his history, 16-25. Four sacred places, 26. Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, 27, 28. Death of Adam and Cain, 29-32. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, 32. (Cf. Gen. iv-v.)

4 1 And in the third week in the second jubilee^a she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth^b she 64-70 A.M.
 2 gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth^c she gave birth to her daughter Âwân. And in the first (year) of 71-77 A.M.
 the third jubilee,^d Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept 78-84 A.M.
 3 the offering of Cain. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, 99-105 A.M.

23. Lacuna: supply from Syncell. i. 14; Targ., Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iii. 14, Midrash Koheleth some statement to the effect that the serpent's feet were cut off. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

24. Follows Gen. iii. 16 (LXX).

25-6. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. **thy bread**. So LXX. Mass., Sam. > 'thy'.

wast taken, *tanshâ'êka* corrupt, as often, for *tanashâ'êka*.

27. Adam's incense-offering antedates Exod. xxx. 34.

day . . . he covered his shame. Cf. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42. Beer 41 suggests he was thinking of priests at the altar.

28. A common Jewish belief. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4; *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 18; Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32. Our text is quoted by Syncell. i. 14; Cedren. i. 9, 10; Zonaras, i. 23. Original language was said to be Hebrew (xii. 25; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xi. 1; Ber. rabb. 18; Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11); or Syriac (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Theodoret, Ephraem); or Greek (Eutychius; 2 En. xxx. 13; Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-6); or Aramaic, since Adam wrote Ps. cxxxix (Sanh. 38 b; but Shabb. 12 b says angels do not understand Aramaic).

31. Good indication of date. Author protests against following Greeks in stripping for the games. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12-14; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1.

32. 'Êldâ, corrupt for מולדה, 'land of nativity,' as Onk. and Ps.-Jon. in Gen. iii. 23. So 'creation' is a rendering of 'Êldâ.

34. No marriage in Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7.

IV. 1. No two early authorities agree in the names of Adam's daughters.

Syncell. i. 14 dates Cain's birth in 70 A.M., Abel's in 77, 'Asouam's' (= Âwân's) in 85, and puts Abel's sacrifice at 22 years of age, i. e. 99 A.M.

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

4 complaining because he had slain him. And the Lord reproveth Cain because of Abel, because he
 5 had slain him, and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he
 6 cursed him upon the earth. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, 'Cursed is
 7 he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and
 8 the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other.' And for this reason
 9 we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and
 10 on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. And Adam and his wife mourned for 99-127 A.M.
 11 Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week they became joyful, and Adam 130 A.M.
 12 knew his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said 'GOD has
 13 raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him.' And in the sixth
 14 week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. And Cain took Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare 134-40 A.M.
 15 him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth 190-196 A.M.
 16 jubilee, houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of 197 A.M.
 17 his son Enoch. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. And in the fifth week 225-31 A.M.
 18 of the fifth jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth 235 A.M.
 19 week) she bare him Enos. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. And in the
 20 seventh jubilee in the third week Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son 309-15 A.M.
 21 in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. And at the close of the eighth 325, 386-
 22 jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, 392 A.M.
 23 in the first week in the third year of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. And in the 395 A.M.
 24 second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dinâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl 449-55 A.M.
 25 the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and 461 A.M.
 26 he called his name Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who
 27 are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do
 28 judgment and uprightness on the earth. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, 512-18 A.M.
 29 and her name was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth
 30 week of this jubilee, and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and 522 A.M.
 31 he called his name Enoch. And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt
 32 writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order
 33 of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of
 34 their separate months. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of
 35 men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known
 36 to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years
 37 as we made (them), known to him. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep,
 38 as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he
 39 saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all
 40 the children of men and for their generations. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week 582-88 A.M.

3. **complaining.** Cf. Gen. iv. 10; 1 En. xxii. 5, 6.

4. Eth. *nuf*, a bad transliteration of Hebrew נֹפֵט, 'fugitive,' Gen. iv. 12.

6. Cf. Intr. to 2 Enoch xxxiv, Charles' edition.

7-8. Usually the mother names the child in Genesis, father in 'Jubilees', as Sam. in Gen. iv. 25. Exceptions are Gen. iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26, Exod. ii. 22.

9. **Enoch.** Cf. Gen. iv. 17; Syncell. i. 16; Jashar, 96.

10. **nine sons**, quoted by Epiph. *Haer.* xxxix. 6. Jashar speaks of three; Syncell. i. 18 and Vit. Ad. of thirty-three.

11. () supplied acc. to Syncell. i. 17.

12. Gen. iv. 26. Originally as here הוּמַל was taken in a good sense. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 1, LXX, Syr., but Jerome, and later Rabbis, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 23, Jashar ii. 1090, 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20, Shabb. 118 b, and Onk. take as implying ceasing from prayer or beginning idolatry.

15. Read 'father's brother' for 'father's sister' with Greek MS. r on Gen. v. 15 and Syriac Fragment.

Jared . . . descended, play on words in Hebrew.

angels of the Lord descended on the earth. Gen. vi. 1-4; Is. xxiv. 21. True interpretation here as in 1 Enoch vi. 2 (Greek), Test. of XII Patr., Philo, Jude, 2 Peter, and Epiphanius. Subsequently to Christians, 'sons of God' become 'children of Seth'; first in Julius Africanus, emphatically in Chrysostom, *Homilies*, Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv, Jerome, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii, Eutychius, Syncellus, *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, esp. bk. iii, iv, Zonaras, Glycas. Later Jewish authors (Onkelos, Symmachus, Ps.-Jon., Ber. rabb., Jashar, &c.) made them into 'mighty men', 'judges', &c. By this means Enoch's greatness was transferred to Seth by Christians, just as to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, by Jews.

Watchers, as in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; 1 En. i. 5, xx. 1; 2 En. vii, xviii.

17-23. Shows the parts of Enoch books which were known to our author. Cf. 1 En. vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi, lxxii-xc.

17. For 'Enoch the scribe' see 1 En. xii. 3, 4. Contrast 1 En. lxx. 8.

18. Enoch does not deal with 'weeks of jubilees', &c. See Jub. vii. 37, xxi. 10 (note):

19. This vision is that in 1 En. lxxxiii-xc. Name of his wife and nature of his dream are the same in both, also ascetic tone (vision seen before marriage).

thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of Dânel, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name 587 A.M.
 21 Methuselah. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down 22 everything. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch 23 testified against (them) all. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the con- 24 demnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the 25 deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, 26 (even) sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. For the Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness through- 27 out the generations of the world. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself 652 A.M. a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the 28 first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. And in the fifteenth 701-7 A.M. jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâkî'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, 'This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground 29 which the Lord hath cursed.' And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in 930 A.M. the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he 30 was the first to be buried in the earth. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he 31 did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in 32 righteous judgment. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tablets: 'With the instru- ment with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that 33 he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him.' And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah 1205 A.M. took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Emzârâ, the daughter of Râké'el, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year thereof she bare him 1207 A.M. Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare 1209 A.M. him Japheth. 1212 A.M.

21, 22. Refer to 1 En. xii-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi.

23. Points to tradition like that at base of 1 En. lxx. Enoch is heavenly scribe here as in 2 En. xxiii. 1-3. Cf. also 1 En. xii. 3; 2 En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5.

Garden of Eden, as in 1 En. lxx. 1-3; 2 En. lxvii. 2.

24. Cf. 2 En. xxxiv. 3; Test. Naph. 4.

25. *quatr* corrupt for *quêtârê*, 'sweet spices.' Cf. Exod. xxx. 7.

26. Four abodes of God on earth. 'Mountain of the East', uncertain; either Mount Ephraim (Rapoport, *ZDMG*, xi. 730-33, implying Samaritan authorship) or Lubar on Ararat (Rönsch, pp. 505-6); or mount above Eden where Sethites live (in *Die Schatzhöhle, Conflict of Adam and Eve*, &c.); or 'throne of God' in 1 En. xviii. 6, xxiii. 1, xxxii. 1.

27. father's brother. Emended as in iv. 15.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. ? Noah born in 707 as Sam. Chron. The explanation of Noah's name is much elaborated in Jashar 13b; Ber. Rabb. 25.

29. Cf. iii. 32.

30. one thousand years . . . one day. 2 Pet. iii. 8; Ep. Barn. xv; 2 En. xxxiii; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxii, and Lactant. *Institution.* vii. 14.

On the day, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 17.

31-2. Two legends exist of Cain's death. This is the earlier, quoted in Syncell. i. 19; Cedren. i. 16. Law of exact retribution enforced by Cain's fate; cf. Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19. Beer says this law was unknown to traditional Judaism in cases of murder; but cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32. It reaches the ideal in Gal. vi. 7; Col. iii. 25 and Gospel parables of 'Dives and Lazarus' and 'Unforgiving Debtor'. The later legend makes Lamech slay Cain.

33. Shem really oldest in Gen. x. 21: so Vulg., Sanh. 69b.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. Corruption of all creation, 2-3. Punishment of the fallen angels and their children, 4-9 a. Final judgment announced, 9 b-16. Day of Atonement, 17-18. The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi-viii. 19.)

5 ¹ And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they
² chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men
³ (was) thus evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil
⁴ before His eyes. And He said that He would destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth
^{5, 6} which He had created. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and
⁷ behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed
⁸ from under heaven. And He said 'My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh
⁹ and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years'. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword
¹⁰ and were destroyed from the earth. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before
¹¹ the Lord. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom
¹² He judged not according to all their wickedness. And he †made† for all his works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all
¹³ righteous each in his kind alway. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and
¹⁴ for every kind. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are
¹⁵ ordained and written and engraved. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. And He is not
¹⁶ one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the
¹⁷ gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness,
¹⁸ He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is written and ordained that
¹⁹ He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was com-
²⁰ manded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. And the Lord said that he would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and
²¹ beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. And He commanded Noah to
²² make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh jubilee of years, in the fifth week 1307 A.M.

V. Parallel to Gen. vi-viii. 19. Cf. 1 En. vi. 1, 2, vii. 5, x. 12, lxxxix. 3.

3. wrought all manner of evil. See Ethiopic text.

4. that He would, &c. So MSS. *bc*.

11-12. Corruption of tense probable in Hebrew; the 'new creation' is still in the future.

16. Cf. Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated, or transposed from xxxiv. 18-19.

18. The Day of Atonement blots out all sins for the truly penitent (contrary to Lev. xvi. 21; Yoma viii. 9).

19. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23-32.

22. Read 'twenty-seventh' for 'twenty-second'.

- 23 in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, 1308 A.M.
in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and
all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth
evening.
- 24 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.
- 25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.
- 26 And the waters increased upon the earth:
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.
- 27 And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months—one hundred and fifty days.
- 28, 29 And the ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. And (on the
new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of
heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses
30 of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. And on the new
moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first 1309 A.M.
31 month the earth became visible. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth
week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.
- 32 And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and
birds, and every moving thing.

*Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-2). God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden,
4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood, 11-14.
Bow set in the clouds for a sign, 15-16. Feast of weeks instituted, history of its observance, 17-22.
Feasts of the new moons, 23-8. Division of the year into 364 days, 29-38.*

- 6 1 And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on
2 that mountain. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its
3 blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save
4 those that were in the ark with Noah. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an
ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and
placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled
wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before
5 the Lord. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there
should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and
harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not
6 change their order, nor cease for ever. 'And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and
become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I will
7 inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. And behold I have given unto you all beasts,
and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all
8 things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. But flesh, with the life
thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of
your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast) will I require the
9 blood of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of
10 God made He man. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth.' And Noah and his sons

28. Lûbâr, in Armenia (Sayce); the Babylonian Noah rested on Mount Nizir, in the Lulubi of the Assyrian inscriptions.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. The earth became dry exactly one year after Noah entered the ark. In Gen. viii. 14 this is on the twenty-seventh, not the seventeenth day. Lagarde's LXX MS. *z* on Gen. viii. 14 quotes part of 31 and 32; also the date in vi. 1.

VI. 1. Cf. xiv. 1, xlv. 1 (events on same date). Ber. Rabb. 34 placed Noah's altar at Jerusalem.

2. Cf. Lev. xviii. 26; Num. xxxv. 33, but they give no exact parallels.

3. Gen. viii. 20, expanded by Lev. ii. 2, 5; Exod. xxix. 40.

acceptable, *jâshamer* for text *jêshamer*.

4-7. God's covenant with Noah, as Gen. viii. ix.

5. be a blessing for 'multiply' in Gen. ix. 7.

upon. Text *mâ'ekala* corrupt for *lâ'elêhâ*.

10-14. Noah's covenant is completed and confirmed by the Mosaic one in same month. Cf. Exod. xix. 1.

swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the
 11 Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month. On this account He
 spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the
 mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words
 12 of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. And this testimony is written concerning
 you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts
 or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of
 cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land.
 13 And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed
 14 may be before the Lord our God continually. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is
 for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue suppli-
 cating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and
 evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep
 15 it and not be rooted out. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again
 16 be a flood on the earth. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there
 17 should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. For this reason it
 is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this
 18 month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. And this whole festival was celebrated in
 heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years:
 and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's 1309-
 death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and 1659 A.M.
 19 they eat blood. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to
 thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.
 20 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a
 21 commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. For
 it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature:
 22 according to what is written and engraven concerning it, **celebrate** it. For I have written in the
 book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its
 season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should
 remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year.
 23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the
 new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remem-
 brance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained
 24 as a testimony for ever. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever,
 25 so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. And on the new moon of the first month
 he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened
 26 (the ark) and saw the earth. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths
 of the abyss beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of
 27 the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. And on the new
 28 moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. And on this
 account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained.
 29 And they placed them on the heavenly tablets, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another
 (passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the
 30 third to the fourth. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and
 (these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly
 31 tablets. And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year.

11, 14. Proper use of blood in daily sacrifice. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8.

17-18. **the feast of weeks** is connected with Noah's covenant here only. Later it is ascribed to Moses. The name 'Pentecost' (2 Macc. xii. 32; Tobit ii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 8) is not yet in use.

21. Cf. Num. xxviii. 26.

celebrate, *gēbarā*, emended from *gēbrā*, 'its celebration.'

22. **one day** = first day (Eppstein), i. e. of the week. Pentecost was to be on a Sunday every year. Cf. xlix. 7, 8.

23. The four great days of the year have a religious significance here, but an astronomical one in 1 En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 (intercalary days). Cf. Ezek. xlvi. 6; Rosh ha-Shanah, i. 1. They are associated here with patriarchal events. Cf. iii. 32, v. 29, vi. 26, xvi. 1, xxviii. 24, xlv. 1, xii. 16, xiii. 8, xxviii. 14, &c.

26-7. Gen. viii. 2, 5; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8.

29-30. Solar year of 364 days (cf. iv. 17, v. 27, xii. 16) = 12 months of 30 days and 4 intercalary days. Eppstein, on vi. 32 (*Revue des Études Juives* xxii. 10-13), suggests that Jubilees uses two calendars—the second being a parallel ecclesiastical year, a multiple of 7; i. e. 13 months of 28 days. Cf. vi. 22, 28. On the great difficulties connected with the calendar of our author and of pre-Christian Judaism see my Commentary *in loc.*

32 And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—
 three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not
 disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to
 33 their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect
 and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons,
 and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years
 34 will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget,
 and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths,
 35 and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I
 declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and
 on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant
 36 and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For
 there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the
 37 seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come
 upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony,
 and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and
 the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and
 38 jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after
 thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and
 sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and
 sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1–5. Becomes drunk and exposes his person, 6–9. The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth, 10–12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20–8). Noah's sons and grandsons and their cities, 13–19. Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed, 20–39.

7¹ And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on 1317 A.M.
 the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they
 produced fruit in the fourth year, and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the 1320 A.M.
 2 seventh month. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth 1321 A.M.
 3 year, until the first day, on the new moon of the first month. And he celebrated with joy the day
 of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven
 4 sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself
 and his sons. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on
 the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice,
 5 and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. And he placed
 all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he
 had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to
 6 ascend acceptable before the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his
 7 children with joy. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down
 8 and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and
 9 went forth and told his two brethren without. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and
 Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame
 10 of their father, and their faces were backward. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that
 his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: 'Cursed be Canaan; an
 11 enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren.' And he blessed Shem, and said: 'Blessed be the

32. The impossible number 364 as in 1 En. lxxiv. 10, lxxv. 2; 2 En. xlviii, is probably due to dogmatic considerations; to make the festivals fall on the same day of the week from year to year. Contrast 2 En. xiv. 1 ('365½ days'). Bacon, *Hebraica*, viii. 79–88, 124–39 (1891–2), shows that the same causes operated on the authors of the Deluge story in P. The flood lasted *one year* in the Chaldaean account—this was a lunar year of 354 days but P makes it last *one year and ten days*; i.e. a year of 364 days.

34. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 4–6.

35. *not of my own devising*. Cf. Num. xvi. 8; Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

36. Cf. ii. 9, iv. 21. Contrast 1 En. lxxiv. 12; Sam. Chronicle (Neubauer, *Journal Asiatique* (1869), xiv, no. lv. 421, seq.).

VII. 3. Cf. ritual of Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. *acceptable*. Emended as in vi. 3.

6–12. Gen. ix. 21–7 (LXX).

9. Text restored by emending *gatsômû* into *gabî'ômû*.

- 12 Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall
 13 dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.' And Ham knew that his father
 had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from
 14 his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. And he built for
 15 himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. And Japheth saw it,
 and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after
 16 the name of his wife 'Adâtânêsês. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close
 to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb.
 17 And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its
 18 east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. And these are the sons of
 Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and
 19 **Lud, and Aram.** The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and
 20 Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to ¹³²⁴⁻
 enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, ^{1372 A.M.}
 and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to
 bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls
 21 from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood
 upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their
 ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they
 22 chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and
 †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the
 23 Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. And every one sold himself
 24 to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. And after this
 they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much
 blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil
 25 continually. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the
 wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth
 26 He destroyed everything. 'And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered
 with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness;
 for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are
 envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother.
 27 For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children,
 and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth,
 28 and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. For whoso sheddeth man's blood,
 and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth.
 29 And there shall not be left any man that eateth blood,
 Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
 Nor shall there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven;
 For into Sheol shall they go,
 And into the place of condemnation shall they descend,
 And into the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death.
 30 There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye
 have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your
 31 souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. And ye shall not be like him
 who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you: cover the blood,
 32 for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. And
 suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required
 33 at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. For the earth will not be clean from the blood

13. Gen. x. 6.

16. Shem is the good son.

18. Unintelligible text restored by a few slight changes.

20-39. Fragment of lost 'Book of Noah'. Cf. Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii.

Our author has left unchanged the 1st persons of the verbs in verses 26-39.

21. **These three things.** Almost the three cardinal sins. Cf. Gen. vi. 2; 1 En. vii. 1; Ber. Rabb. 31.

22. Three classes of giants. Cf. 1 En. vii. 1 (Greek), lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2.

were unlike, perhaps better 'plundered' or 'strove' (by slight emendations).

23. 1 Kings xxi. 20; 1 En. ix. 1-9, vii. 5, lxxxvii. 1.

24. **they sinned against.** Cf. 1 En. vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

29. Used by 1 En. ciii. 7-8.

which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be
 34 purified throughout all its generations. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and
 righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your
 35 glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. And behold, ye will go
 and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover
 36 all fruit-bearing trees. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered:
 and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable
 before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in
 abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and
 37 what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). And
 in the fifth year

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous,
 38 and all that you plant shall prosper. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command
 Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things
 39 which his fathers commanded him. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch
 commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he com-
 manded and testified to his son and to his son's sons until the day of his death.'

*Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1-4. His sons, 5-8. Noah's sons and
 Noah divide the earth, 10-11. Shem's inheritance, 12-21: Ham's, 22-4: Japheth's, 25-30.
 (Cf. Gen. x.)*

8 In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to 1373 A.M.
 himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ējâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elam, and she
 2 bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. And the son grew, 1375 A.M.
 and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for
 3 himself a city. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he
 read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching
 of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and
 4 stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was
 5 afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. And in the
 thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name 1429 A.M.
 was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and 1432 A.M.
 6 called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' [And in the fourth year he was
 born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of
 Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year 1499 A.M.
 7 thereof. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he 1503 A.M.
 took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second
 8 jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him 1564 A.M.
 a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began 1567 A.M.
 9 to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. And they
 10 divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. And it came to pass in the
 beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham 1569 A.M.
 and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us,
 11 who had been sent, was with them. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and
 their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession,
 and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father.

34. who saved me, &c. Probably read by 2 Peter ii. 5.

may be planted. Emended by Dillmann by a change of one vowel.

36. Beer says this was the view of Ibn Ezra, Caraites, and Samaritans, concerning the fruit of the fourth year. The
 law in Lev. xix. 23-4 seems rather exacting. Our translation agrees with it in reading 'will be accounted holy'
 (b c; 'will be gathered' a d), but this interpretation is contrary to the ordinary view of Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19, &c.

37. Lacuna here. Laws about fruit should be continued.

39. the seventh. Cf. 1 En. lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14. See on xxi. 10 for the attribution of halachoth to Enoch.

VIII. 5. Madai emended with Syr. Frag. and Lagarde's Greek MS. *r*: μέλχα θυγατηρ μαδαι. Text here corrupt.

Play on words Shelah, 'sent'. Cf. 'Peleg' in 8.

9-10. The secret division of the earth is followed by an authoritative compact. The object here is to vindicate the
 Hebrew invasion of Palestine, as the rightful inheritance of sons of Shem. Cf. similar accounts in Epiph. *Ancorat.*
 cxii; *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544; Chron. Paschale i. 53; Jerahmeel xxxi. 2; Syncell. i. 82; Cedren. i. 23.

12 And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river Tinâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mē'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of (its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the east and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tinâ. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.'

19 And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which 23 everything which is not destroyed descends†. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy 24 for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. And for Japheth came forth the third portion beyond the river Tinâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of 27 Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly 28 to the waters of the sea of Mē'at. And it extends to the region of the river Tinâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns 29 round towards the north. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever;

12. Palestine, middle of the earth, as Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1; Sanh. 37 a.

Râfâ = Ural Mountains. Tinâ = Tanais or Don. Mē'at = Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13. Kârâsô = Chersonese (Dillmann), or Rhinocorura on Egyptian border, perhaps more likely.

15. 'Afrâ = Africa in early limited sense. Gihon = the Nile, as Jer. ii. 18, Shihor; Sir. xxiv. 27.

16. Read 'north' for 'south'.

18-19. The three 'Abodes of God' are in Shem's portion. Cf. iv. 26.

21. Kaftûr or Kamâtûri, either Crete or Cyprus or Cilicia or Cappadocia (Amos ix. 7, LXX) or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid. Sanîr or Senir (Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5) is Hermon. 'Amânâ is Antilibanus or Mt. Amanus. Mâ'êdâi is Media.

22-24. Ham's portion: vague limits in Asia. 'Atêl = Atlantic? Mâ'ûk = Oceanus. Gâdîr = Cadiz.

25-29. Japheth's portion. Gog = Scythians (Josephus). Qêlt = Celts. 'Afêrâg? = Phrygia.

30 five great islands, and a great land in the north. But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: Shem's 2-6: Japheth's, 7-13. Oath taken by Noah's sons, 14-15.

9 1 And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him 2 [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk 3 to the Red Sea and the river Tinâ. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of 4 Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the 5 Euphrates. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains 6 of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of 7, 8 Asshur his brother. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tinâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of 9 Mê'at. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two 10 brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. And for Javan came forth the fourth 11 portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. 12 And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it 13 approaches the east of Gâdir. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî 14 came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating 15 a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. And they all said, 'So be it; so be it,' for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. Noah's prayer, 3-6. Mastêmâ allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits, 7-11. Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons, 12-14. Noah dies, 15-17. Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, 18-27. Canaan seizes on Palestine, 29-34. Madai receives Media, 35-6.

10 1 And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of† 2 the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and 3 slaying his sons' sons. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

29. five islands, as 1 En. lxxvii. 8.

30. Epiphanius makes this heat of his country Canaan's reason for seizing Palestine.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6. Cush = Ethiopia. Mizraim = Egypt. Put = Libya.

2. Elam, from Red Sea to Pontus, includes India.

3. skirts. Text corrupt, but easily emended.

9. Madai's lot embraces Britain (Epiph., Syncell., Jerahmeel).

10. Javan = Ionia, here all islands of Aegean.

12. 'Three tongues.' Probably Italy, Greece, Thrace.

13. Tiras = Aegean sea-coast, or Thracians (Josephus). [] interpolated from ix. 4.

X. Another fragment of 'Apocalypse of Noah', part of Hebrew original in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iv. 155.

1. unclean demons: cf. 1 En. xv-xvi; souls of children of disobedient 'watchers'.

'God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4 But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth.
5 And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day: and as for
these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and
let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and
6 created in order to destroy. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone
canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous
7, 8 from henceforth and for evermore.' And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. And the chief of
the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let
them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left
to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for
corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.'
9 And He said: 'Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the
10 place of condemnation.' And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their
11 medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. And
we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemna-
12 tion, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. And
we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he
13 might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we
instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from
14 (hurting) the sons of Noah. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he
15 loved him exceedingly above all his sons. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on
16 Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen 1659 A.M.
17 jubilees and two weeks and five years. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men
save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained
for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation
18 unto generation, till the day of judgment. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year
in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômânâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar,
and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said:
'Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves
19 a city and a tower in the land of Shinar.' For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to
Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, 'Go to, let us ascend thereby into
20 heaven.' And they began to build, and in the fourth week they **made brick** with fire, and the bricks
served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which
21 comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. And they built it: 1645-
forty and three years were they building it; **its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick)** 1688 A.M.
was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall
22 was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). And the Lord our God said unto us: 'Behold,
they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them.
Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's
speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with

3. **God of the spirits of all flesh.** Cf. Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. **sons of perdition:** 2 Thess. ii. 3.

6. **canst . . . them:** *kuânmenô lômâ* emended from *kuennanêhômâ*.

8. **Mastêmâ** (Hos. ix. 7, 8) = 'enmity' = Mastiphat (-m) (Syncell., Cedren.), Mansemat (Acts of Philip, ed. Tisch. p. 98). The demons, as in 1 Enoch, are accusers, seducers, and destroyers. In xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28, Israel is declared free from them; here he falls from this hope to talk of spells, charms, &c. Shem, as priest, receives these from Noah; cf. xlv. 16.

9. The **tenth** here is a modification of 1 En. xv-xvi ('all').

18. **Reu . . . evil.** A play on words in the Hebrew.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20, 21. Text without emendations unintelligible.

21. Quoted by Eutychius 51, Glycas 240, Nicephorus i. 175, &c. For the emendations see my text, pp. 36-7.

22. Gen. xi. 6.

23 them till the day of judgment.' And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the
 24 city and the tower which the children of men had built. And he confounded their language, and
 they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the
 25 tower. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there
 confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their
 26 cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against
 the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the
 27 land of Shinar, and they called its name 'Overthrow'. In the fourth week in the first year in the 1688 A.M.
 beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.
 28 And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion
 29 in the land of the south. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt, that it was
 very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he
 dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border
 30 of the sea. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers said unto him: 'Thou hast
 settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou
 dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition
 31 ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. Dwell
 32 not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. Cursed art
 thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound our-
 33 selves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father.' But
 he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of
 34 35 Egypt, he and his sons until this day. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. And
 Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw
 the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and
 Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until
 36 this day. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the
 name of their father Madai.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). *Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry*, 2-7. *Nachor and Terah*, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). *Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds*, 15-24.

11 1 And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself 1681 A.M.
 a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and
 2 he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. And the sons of Noah 1687 A.M.
 began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men
 on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals
 (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go
 to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do
 evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell
 3 male and female slaves. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and
 4 called its name after his own name and the name of his father. And they made for themselves
 molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for
 themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits
 5 assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. And the prince
 Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under
 his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy,
 6 and to shed blood upon the earth. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one
 7 turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees,
 near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the
 thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter 1744 A.M.
 8 of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this
 week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the
 9 Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee 1800 A.M.

25. Gen. xi. 9.

26. This story occurs also in Orac. Sibyl. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3, &c.; Syncell. i. 77; Cedren. i. 22.

29. This story comes only here and in dependent authorities; e.g. Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.

XI. 1. Sêrôh. Heb. סֵרוֹר, 'turn aside'.

2-6. Cf. Book of Adam and Eve iii. 24 for corruption of mankind.

in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. And she bare him Terah in the seventh year of this week. 1806 A.M.
 11 And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough
 12 in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. And for this reason he called his name Terah because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their
 13 seed. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the
 14 earth in their days. And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah 1870 A.M.
 took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ednâ, the daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's
 15 sister. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, 1876 A.M.
 by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.
 16 And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he 1890 A.M.
 17 separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that
 18 his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the
 19 ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the
 20 ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, 'Descend not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back. And he caused the
 clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land
 21 where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the
 22 land of the Chaldees. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought
 23 enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. And in the first year of the fifth week Abram taught 1891 A.M.
 those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down
 therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the
 24 ravens. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. Marries Sarai, 9. Haran and Nachor, 9-11. Abram burns the idols: death of Haran, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). Terah and his family go to Haran, 15. Abram observes the stars and prays, 16-21. Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed, 22-4. Power of speaking Hebrew given to him, 25-7. Leaves Haran for Canaan, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

12 I And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his 1904 A.M.
 2 father, saying, 'Father!' And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said,

'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,
 And before which thou dost bow thyself?

3 For there is no spirit in them,
 For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
 Worship them not:

10. Gen. xi. 25.

11-20. Legends of Abram's boyhood, quoted by Jerome, *Epist. lxxviii, ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24.

12. reduced . . . to destitution i.e. תרע, 'lay waste'—a play on Terah (תרה).

16-17. Cf. Beer, *Leben Abrahams* 102-4; Fabricius, i. 422.

20. caused. The causal form is needed.

XII. 1-14. The extravagant legend of Abram in fiery furnace, common in the later Rabbis, is apparently unknown to our author; Haran's fate in 14 is a relic of this idea based on Gen. xv. 7; Exod. xx. 2; Isa. xxix. 22.

2. Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 38, makes Terah inventor of image-worship. For help and profit cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21.

3. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 17.

- 4 Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.
- 5 Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them:
Worship them not.'
- 6 And his father said unto him, 'I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have
7 made me to serve before them? And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul
8 cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee.' And
9 these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent. And
in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, 1925 A.M.
10 and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife. And Haran, his
brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the 1928 A.M.
11 seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself 1932 A.M.
12 a wife. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year 1936 A.M.
thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the
13 house, and no man knew it. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the
14 midst of the fire. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt
in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of
15 the Chaldees. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land
of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with
16 Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, 1951 A.M.
Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars
from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard
17 to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. And a word came into his heart and he said:
'All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord.
Why do I search (them) out?
- 18 If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in his hand.'
- 19 And he prayed that night and said,
'My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of thy hands.
- 20 Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.'
- 21 And he said, 'Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them,
or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy
servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God.'

4. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22; Matt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.

5. Jer. x. 3, 9; Am. v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Ass. Mos. viii. 4; Ep. Jer. 4, 26.

9. Follows Gen. xx. 12. Abram's action is contrary to law of Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; evasions of later writers unknown apparently to our author; e.g. Josephus i. 6. 5, 7. 1 turns Sarah into Abraham's niece.

16-18. Abram is rebuked for star-gazing. Cf. Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* xxxii; Ber. rabb. 44 and later authors.

21. he; MSS. read 'I'.

- 22 And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: 'Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land*which I will show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.
- 23 And I will bless thee
And I will make thy name great,
And thou shalt be blessed in the earth,
And in Thee shall all families of the earth be blessed,
And I will bless them that bless thee,
And curse them that curse thee.
- 24 And I will be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
25 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God.' And the Lord God said: 'Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed'; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the
26 overthrow (of Babel). And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak
27 with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six
28 rainy months. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his 1953 A.M.
father and informed him, that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and
29 return to him. And Terah his father said unto him; 'Go in peace:
May the eternal God make thy path straight,
And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from all evil,
And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee;
Go in peace.
- 30 And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take
31 Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together.'

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14a. Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron, 14b-21. Chedorlaomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah: Lot taken captive, 22-4. Law of tithes enacted, 25-9. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20; xiii. 11-18; xiv. 8-14; 21-4.)

- 13 1 And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near
2 a lofty oak. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to
3 the lofty oak. And the Lord said to him: 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.' And
4 he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to
5 him. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the
6 east, and pitched his tent there. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and
everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil
7 trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the
8 mountains. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought
9 him to this land. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of 1954 A.M.
the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: 'Thou,
10 the eternal God, art my God.' And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He
should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. And he removed from thence and
went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt
there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine

25-26. Abram at 75 taught the sacred language (Hebrew), quoted by Syncell, i. 185; Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.
27. **six rainy months** = winter; as Talmud (Ta'an. 3 b, Erub. 56 a).

29. This blessing protects Abram from the reproach of leaving his aged father. (Singer, *Jubiläen*, 170; Ber. Rabb. 39).

XIII. 2. **the lofty oak**. So LXX. Gen. xii. 6 (Mass. = 'oak of Moreh').
3-10. Gen. xii. 7-10.

6. **date trees**: *bīlanōs* for *bībanōs* (a).

10. **Bealoth** = Josh. xv. 24.

11 in the land. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt
 12 five years before his wife was torn away from him. Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built—
 13 seven years after Hebron. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram,
 14 that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.
 15 And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses,
 and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also,
 16 his brother's son, was wealthy. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent
 him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the
 beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the
 17 Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee,
 in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, 1963 A.M.
 and called on the name of the Lord, and said: 'Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever
 18 and ever.' And in the fourth year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and 1964 A.M.
 19 the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's
 son had parted from him; for he had no children. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the
 Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: 'Lift
 up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and
 20 eastward. For all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I
 will make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet
 21 thy seed shall not be numbered. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth
 of it, and see it all; for to thy seed will I give it.' And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.
 22 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch,
 king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom
 23 fled, and many fell through wounds in the **vale of Siddim**, by the Salt Sea. And they took captive
 Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and
 24 all his possessions, and they went to Dan. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that
 25 his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. . . .
 . . . for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the first fruits to
 the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests
 26 who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. And to this law there is no limit of
 days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the
 tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep.
 27 And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. And the king of
 Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: 'Our Lord Abram, give unto us the
 29 souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine.' And Abram said unto him: 'I lift up
 my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that
 is thine lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have
 eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These shall take
 their portion.'

*Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. Offers a sacrifice and is
 told of his seed being in Egypt, 8-17. God's covenant with Abram, 18-20. Hagar bears
 Ishmael, 21-4. (Cf. Gen. xv.; xvi. 1-4, 11.)*

14 1 After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the
 word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: 'Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and
 2 thy reward will be exceeding great.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I
 go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he
 3 will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed.' And he said unto him: 'This (man) will not
 4 be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir.' And He

12. Tanais = Zoan (Num. xiii. 22).

13-15. Gen. xii. 15-20; but 18 and Abraham's deception are cut out.

17. Gen. xiii. 11.

19-21. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

22. Names as LXX.

22. **vale of Siddim**: an easy emendation.

25. This lacuna told of the pursuit, and the meeting with Melchizedek. Our author would naturally be interested
 in the first man who bore the title assumed by his heroes, the Maccabees.

26. He finds precedent in Gen. xiv. 20 for law of universal tithing.

28-9. Gen. xiv. 21-4.

XIV. 1-16. Gen. xv. 1-16.

brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: 'Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them.' And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: 'So shall thy seed be.' And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. And He said unto him: 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I will be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?' And He said unto him: 'Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon.' And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they shall bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years. And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall come forth thence with much substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.' And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit offerings, and their drink offerings, and the fire devoured them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him: 'Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her.' And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, 'Do (so).' And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram.

1965 A.M.

Abram celebrates the feast of first fruits, 1-2: his name changed and circumcision instituted, 3-14. Sarai's name changed and Isaac promised, 15-21. Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised, 22-4. Circumcision an eternal ordination, 25, 26. Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised, 27-9. Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels, 30-2. Future faithlessness of Israel, 33-4. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

15 ¹ And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the ^{1979 A.M.} ² month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain harvest. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep

12, 17, 19. Text = ταθέντα corrupt for τμηθέντα = **the pieces**: or corrupt for καθέντα = מִנְיָן as in Mass. = 'carcases'.
12. and . . . away as Mass. Aquila.

13. **four hundred years**: Gen. xv. 13; contradicts (a) Exod. xii. 40 (430 years); (b) Period calculated from Exod. vi. 18, 20 and vii. 7 (ages of Kohath, Amram, and Moses at Exodus). Author like Philo and Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell.* v. 9. 4) avoids later attempts to reconcile them, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 39. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 118-20.

16. Cf. Gen. xxi. 5. A generation was one hundred years.

18. **Hivites**: Gen. xv. 20, Sam. LXX.

20. **that day** = Sivan 15; day of Noah's covenant.

21-4. Gen. xvi. 1-4, 11.

XV. 1. †**Fourth**† (a c d). *b* reads 'seventh'. It should be 'third', here and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognized. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xlv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

First of all it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word 'Sabbath' in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the

on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: 'I am God Almighty; approve thyself before me and be thou perfect. And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly.' And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6 'Behold my ordinance is with thee,
And thou shalt be the father of many nations.

7 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram,
But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.
For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8 And I will make thee very great,
And I will make thee into nations,
And kings shall come forth from thee.

9 And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.
10 <And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee> the land where thou hast been a sojourner,
11 the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I will be their God.' And the Lord said unto Abraham: 'And as for thee, do thou keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it shall be a token of
12 an eternal covenant between Me and you. And the child on the eighth day ye shall circumcise,

Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved 'on the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, מחרת השב, *memחרat hashab*). In what sense, then, are we to take the word 'Sabbath'? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

First the word 'Sabbath' is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day. (i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης (here ἡ πρώτη = חשבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, מבחר יומא מנא קמאח, *mebcher yomah menah qamah*; in the Targum of Onkelos (מבחר יומא מנא, *mebcher yomah menah*) where 'the Sabbath' is simply rendered the 'feast day': in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, τῇ δὲ δευτέρῃ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρῃ: in Philo, *de Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: 'Εορτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (a) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (b) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A. D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase מחרת השב = 'after the second (feast) day', that is Nisan 21. (c) But the usage is as early as the second century B. C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term 'Sabbath' stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 a) took 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. Pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-7) holds that the τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribē de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connexion. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos. Recht*,² 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבח), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (*Herzog's Real-Encyc.*² xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*² and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

1-27. Gen. xvii. 1-27.

2. Not as Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

10. Words restored from Gen. xvii. 8 were lost through hmt.

every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought
 13 with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. He that is born in
 thy house shall surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money shall be circum-
 14 cised, and My covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. And the uncircumcised male
 who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from
 15 his people, for he has broken My covenant.' And God said unto Abraham: 'As for Sarai thy wife,
 16 her name shall no more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. And I will bless her, and give
 thee a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become a nation, and kings of nations shall
 17 proceed from him.' And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: 'Shall a son
 be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?'
 18, 19 And Abraham said unto God: 'O that Ishmael might live before thee!' And God said: 'Yea,
 and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My
 20 covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him. And as for Ishmael also
 have I heard thee, and behold I will bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly,
 21 and he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation. But My covenant will
 22 I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee, in these days, in the next year.' And He left
 23 off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. And Abraham did according as God had
 said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had
 24 bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. And
 on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the
 house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were
 25 circumcised with him. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of
 the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained
 26 and written on the heavenly tablets. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not
 circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made
 with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he
 is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of

14. on the eighth day. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary in *Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatszsch, vi. 123-4): *Incircumciscus masculus, qui non fuerit circumciscus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa*: and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV, many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenizing attitude towards circumcision our author emphasizes what was apparently the current view of his time, i. e., that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: 'A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well.' But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (*Eichhorn's Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: 'We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לֹא נִאָחֲרֵי יוֹם אֶחָד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more.' That the severer form of the halachah prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second century A. D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): 'Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κἀν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων);'. Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?' This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10 b, Sotah 10 b, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פְּרִיעָה, 'or the laying bare'. This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

17. rejoiced. Nestle has pointed out that Jub. here as Targ. Onk. on Gen. xvii. 17 read יִרְדָּה, while Targ. Jon. has וְתָמָה. Hence he explains John viii. 56.

24. and those . . . house: restored with Lat.

26. on: MSS. and Lat. wrongly 'till'.

27 the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them, sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron and Isaac again promised, 1-4. Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance, 5-9. Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God, 10-19. Institution of the feast of Tabernacles, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12; xix. 24, 29, 33-7; xx. 1, 4, 8; xxi. 1-4.)

16 1 And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2 And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets (i. e.) Isaac, 4, 5 And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [10] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6 And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. But Lot we saved; for God 7 remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his 9 time; for the man lay with his daughters. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day 10 of condemnation. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between 11 Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from 12 thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited 13 Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken and she conceived. And she bare a son in the third

27. Latin wrongly makes four orders of angels—really two, as in ii. 18. Cf. Weber, *J. T.* 25.

31-2. Dependent on Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX). Cf. Sir. xvii. 17; Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; 1 En. lxxxix; cf. also 1 Cor. x. 19; Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

lead them astray. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21, 22; 1 En. xc. 22. Ultimate result treated as immediate purpose of God's action, but cf. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i. 805-20.

33. Shows great strength of Hellenist movement in second century B.C. Sons of Beliar cf. Test. Dan. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

34. Our prophet has here become a mere writer of annals.

XVI. Cf. Gen. xviii, xix. The story of the angels' visit is curtailed (perhaps their eating shocked him) and Abram's unseemly conduct to Abimelech is passed over.

12-14. Gen. xxi. 1-4. Isaac born on Sivan 15, but according to Rosh ha-Shanah 10 b on the Passover Feast, and according to Midrash Tanchuma on Nisan.

month, and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on
 14 the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. And Abraham circumcised his son on
 the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained
 15 for ever. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath,
 and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have
 16 conceived a son. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and
 we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him,
 that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but
 17 (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: And (that) all the seed of his sons should be
 Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy
 18 seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the
 Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord
 a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and
 19 a holy nation. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and
 20 they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had
 delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated
 a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath.
 21 And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate
 22 the feast of tabernacles on the earth. And during these seven days he brought each day to the
 altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin offering,
 23 that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven
 kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings; and he
 burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour.
 24 And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte,
 and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in
 25 equal parts (and) pure. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart
 and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house, and there was no stranger with him,
 26 nor any that was uncircumcised. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation,
 for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him
 would arise the plant of righteousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it
 27 should become like Him who had made all things. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the
 28 name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. And we
 blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because
 29 he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets. For this
 reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of
 30 tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for
 ever throughout their generations every year. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained

15. †fourth†. Read 'third'. [] a gloss.

16. him = Lat., Eth. = 'her'; six sons more: cf. Gen. xxv. 2.

17. Cf. Sanh. 59 b.

18. Read *terit* ('possession') for *tersit* ('magnificence') (*abc*); cf. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; *d* has *rest* ('inheritance'); cf. Deut. iv. 20. Latin, *populum sanctificatum*.

a kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = βασιλεία καὶ ἱερείς, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = βασιλεία ἱερατική = מְמֹלַכְת כהנים. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερείς exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 βασιλείαν ἱερείς. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in giving practically the same rendering of מְמֹלַכְת כהנים in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as מְלָכִין כהנים (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. מְשֻׁמְשֵׁי כְהֻנָּה וְכֹהֲנֵי כְלִילָה (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. מְלָכִין וְכֹהֲנֵים; and the Syr. version مَلِكِيَا وَكَهَنِيَا; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

19. rejoiced: cf. xv. 17.

20-31. Contrast Num. xxix. 12-40. This peculiar account of the Feast of 'Tabernacles' is quoted by Cedrenus, i. 50.

24. Uses Exod. xxx. 34; cf. Sir. xxiv. 15. These seven spices are as Jer. Joma iv. 5; Kerithoth 6a b; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, ii. 248.

26. plant of righteousness, cf. 1 En. x. 16, lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10.

29, 30. Cf. Lev. xxiii, 40-1.

for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon
 31 their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. And Abraham took **branches** of
 palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches
 seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

*Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to
 sacrifice Isaac in order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen.
 xxi. 8-21.)*

17 ¹ And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made ^{1982 A.M.}
² a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. And Ishmael, the son of
 Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced
 3 and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. And he remembered the
 words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced
 because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his
 4 mouth the Creator of all things. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing †and dancing,† and Abraham
 rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, 'Cast out this
 5 bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac.' And
 the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son,
 6 that he should drive them from him. And God said to Abraham 'Let it not be grievous in thy
 sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee,
 7 hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. But as for
 8 the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed.' And Abraham
 rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders
 9 of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of
 Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on,
 10 and fell down. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her
 down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my
 11 child,' and as she sat she wept. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, 'Why
 weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy
 12 voice, and hath seen the child.' And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she
 went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards
 13 the wilderness of Paran. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him, and his
 14 mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. And she bare him a son, and he called
 15 his name Nebaioth; for she said, 'The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him.' And it came ^{2003 A.M.}
 to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth
 of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He
 16 told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. And the prince
 Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him
 above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will
 do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.
 17 And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through
 his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again
 through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through
 18 Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. And in everything wherein He
 had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act;
 for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

*Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba
 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)*

18 ^{1, 2} And God said to him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said, Behold, (here) am I.' And he said,

30. Wreaths only here in connexion with this Feast; but cf. Wisd. ii. 7: Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1; and Gittin 7a;
 Sota 49b, a practice at weddings.

31. **branches.** MSS. and Lat. 'heart'. לֹבַב was taken as לֶבֶב.

XVII. 1-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.

1. †fifth†. Read 'fourth'.

4. **and dancing** (wa-yezafen): ? corrupt for 'with Isaac' (ba-yeshaq) (LXX, Vulg.).

7. **a great nation**: as Sam., Syr., LXX, Vulg.; Ps.-Jon. 'a nation of robbers'. Mass., Onk. > 'great'.

11. An angel takes the place of God here: as Mastêmâ does in 16. In both cases, due to reverence.

17. Abraham's ten trials. The number nearly always the same; the contents different. Here concludes with Sarah's
 burial, xix. 3-8; usually with sacrifice of Isaac. See my Comm., 121, 122.

XVIII. 1-17. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

'Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee.' And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, 'Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you.' And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. And Isaac said to his father, 'Father; and he said, 'Here am I, my son.' And he said unto him, 'Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?' And he said, 'God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son.' And he drew near to the place of the mount of God. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac his son. And I stood before him, and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, 'Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord.' And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: 'Abraham, Abraham; and he was terrified and said: 'Behold, (here) am I.' And I said unto him: 'Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me.' And the prince Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold a ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called that place 'The Lord hath seen', so that it is said (in the mount) the Lord hath seen: that is Mount Sion. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. And he said: 'By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,
And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,
That in blessing I will bless thee,

And in multiplying I will multiply thy seed
As the stars of heaven,
And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed shall inherit the cities of its enemies,
16 And in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee:
Go in peace.'

17 And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the Well of the Oath. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and returned in peace. And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah, 1-9. Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham. Birth of Esau and Jacob, 10-14. Abraham commends Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1-4, 11-16; xxiv. 15; xxv. 1-2, 25-7; xiii. 16.)

19 1 And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt 2 opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. And in the first year of the †third† week

2. **thy beloved son.** As in LXX.

11. **I have shown** = Lat. version *manifestavi*. The Eth. could also be rendered 'I have known', as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יָדַעְתִּי, but 'shown' is supported by both Lat. and Eth. in ver. 16. Cf. also Syr. of Gen. *l. c.*

13. **in the mount**: added from Latin = Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass.-LXX).

15. **thy beloved son** (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = יִירֵךְ. Lat. has, however, *tuus unigenitus* = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יְחִיד. For similar divergences perhaps due to a dittography in the Hebrew cf. LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὐτῆς μονογενὴς αὐτῆς ἀγαπητή, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16. But here *c d* have 'thy first-born son' (ver. 11), and add (like Lat. *quem dilexisti*) 'whom thou hast loved', which addition may go back to Gen. xxii. 2, or to יִירֵךְ (the variant or dittograph of יְחִיד) in Gen. xxii. 16.

cities. So Onk., Sam. Vers., LXX in Gen. xxii. 17, where Mass. and Sam. have 'gate'.

16. **Go in peace:** 1 Sam. i. 17.

XIX. 2. Read 'second' for 'third'. This chapter uses much of Gen. xxiii, xxv.

2058/1425
Jubilee
2058

- 3 of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not 4 disturbed. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they 5 should give him a place in which to bury his dead. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double 6 cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. And they besought him, saying, We shall give it to thee for nothing; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice, and after 7 this he buried his dead in the double cave. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the 8 years of the life of Sarah. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found 9 faithful, patient in spirit. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of 10 God. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca 2020 A.M. [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mēlcā, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11 And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, 12 and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. And in 13 the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and 2046 A.M. Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob 14 dwelt in tents. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn, for he 15 was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. And Abraham 16 loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding 17 Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. And he said unto her:
- My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,
For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.
- 18 For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all 19 peoples that are upon the face of the earth. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.
- 20 Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he shall be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.
- 21 Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He shall be blessed for ever,
And his seed shall fill the whole earth.
- 22 If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also shall be numbered.
- 23 And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and 24 his seed alway. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and

5. **double-cave**: as LXX.

four hundred: as Latin; Eth. gives 40.

9. **friend of God**: cf. xxx. 20 and xxiv. 15; Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 7; Dan. iii. 35 (LXX); James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ.-Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17 and Philo, *De Sobrietate* 11.

10. **daughter . . . Bethuel**, emended with help of Latin.

11. **daughters**: Lat.; Eth. has 'sons'. Author explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later view identified Hagar and Keturah. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in Gen. xxv. 1; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 83-198.

16. According to later Jewish tradition Abraham did not live to see Esau's sin; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63.

18. **possession**. See xvi. 18; Deut. vii. 6.

peoples restored from Latin.

- 25 Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. And these shall serve
To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.
- 26 And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and
27 said: 'Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament,
and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and
Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me,
may he cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the
28 earth. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the
29 Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and
30 thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son.' And they both went forth
31 together from Abraham. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very
much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. Dismisses them with gifts, 11. Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah, 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)

- 20 1 And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, 2052
2 and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. And he (? 2045)
commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteous- A.M.
ness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each
3 so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. That they should
circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the
right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep
ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and
4 uncleanness]. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire,
and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take
to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of
5 the land. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites,
how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their forni-
cation, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.
- 6 'And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
And from all pollution of sin,
Lest ye make our name a curse,
And your whole life a hissing,
And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,
And ye become accursed like Sodom,
And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.
- 7 I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to all His commandments.
- 8 And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,
And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods;
For they are vanity,
And there is no spirit in them;
For they are work of (men's) hands,
And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

24. List of 'righteous patriarchs'. Why is Methuselah omitted and Adam and Mahalalel inserted? Opinion about Adam varied. Erubin 18 b held him a saint. Sanh. 38 b an atheist!

25. Cf. Isa. li. 16.

28. Cf. xv. 31-2.

XX. 1. Read 'sixth' for 'seventh'.

twelve sons: Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *sab'ê* ('war') emended to *sab'ê* ('men').

4. Cf. xli. 25. This punishment was restricted to priests' daughters in Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 33; Ezek. xvi. 40.

6. **make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing**: based on Isa. lxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18; 1 En. v. 6.

8. Deut. xxvii. 15; Exod. xx. 5.

- 9 Serve them not, nor worship them,
But serve ye the most high God, and worship Him continually:
And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,
And send rain upon you morning and evening,
And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,
And bless thy bread and thy water,
And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.
- 10 And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
And all nations of the earth will desire you,
And bless your sons in my name,
That they may be blessed as I am.'
- 11 And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away
12 from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. And Ishmael and his sons, and the
sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in
13 all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. And these mingled with each other, and
their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1-11. Also regarding the woods to be used in sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

- 21 1 And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and ²⁰⁵⁷
commanded him: saying, 'I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my (2050)
2 days. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my ^{A.M.}
life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly
3 in all His ways. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have
4 given my heart and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. For He is
the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him
no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judg-
5 ment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. And do thou, my
son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the
6 abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. And eat no blood at all of
7 animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. And if thou dost slay a victim as an
acceptable peace offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the
offering offer on the altar with fine flour and the meat offering mingled with oil, with its drink
offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.
8 And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and
the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that

9. have pleasure in. Read *diligat* for *dirigat* in Latin. The blessings are those of Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 8, Exod. xxiii. 25.

10. Cf. Gen. xii. 2.

13. Latin 'clave to the Arabs, and (they are) Ishmaelites, to this day'.

XXI. These dying commands of Abraham about the ritual of sacrifice occur also in Test. Levi. ix, where, however, they are put into the mouth of Isaac. Both accounts come from a common source, as has been made clear from the recent discovery of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments relating to Levi. These deal with, among other things, the avoidance of fornication (Frag., verses 16, 17 = T. Levi ix. 9, not explicitly in Jub.), ablutions of the sacrificing priest (19-21, 26, 53-4 = T. L. ix. 11, Jub. xxi. 16), words to be used in sacrifice (23-4 = T. L. ix. 12, Jub. xxi. 12) and salting the sacrifice (26, 29, 37-40 = T. L. ix. 14, Jub. xxi. 11). There is a reference back to Abraham in T. Levi. ix. 12 and Frag. 22, 50, 57.

1. For 'seventh' read 'sixth', i. e. 2050 A. M.

I am . . . death. Isaac's words to Esau in Gen. xxvii. 2.

3. < > added from the Latin; lost in Eth. through hmt.

4. Deut. x. 17.

6. Lev. vii. 26.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15; Lev. iii. 7-10.

and the meat offering. Omitted in Latin. Cf. also Lev. ii. 4.

9 is upon them, and upon the loins and liver **thou shalt remove**, together with the kidneys. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.

11 And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the **salt of the covenant** be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these: cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive, myrrh, laurel, aspalathus. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayest be upright in all thy deeds. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and **the earth** cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that **thou mayest be accepted** before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

- 21 I see, my son,
That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,
And there is no righteousness with them.
- 22 Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.
Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed shall perish from the whole earth.
- 23 Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,
And do His will and be upright in all things.
- 24 And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee a plant of righteousness through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name shall not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

8. **shalt remove**: emended with Latin, *tēblēl* for *teblāl*.

9. **the bread**, &c. Lev. iii. 11.

10. [] dittography. **the books of my forefathers**, handed by Shem to Abraham according to Pirke R. Eliezer viii.

11. **salt of the covenant**. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS. read 'covenant of salt'.

12. Explains Exod. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. Greek Fragment 23-4 for a full discussion of this list of trees in my edition of the Test. XII Patr., pp. 248-9.

13. Stricter than any known halachah; Tamid. ii. 3 allows all but vine and olive.

14. **goes not up**: negative inserted (Littmann).

16. Exod. xxx. 19-21.

17, 18. Lev. xvii. 13, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

19. Cf. Num. xxxv. 33.

the earth: emended by Dillmann from 'its blood'.

20. **thou mayest be accepted**: MSS. vary. See Eth. Text.

21-4. Written originally in Hebrew verse.

22. **sin unto death**: Num. xviii. 22; 1 John v. 16. Cf. xxvi. 34.

[] omitted as it spoils the parallelism.

- 25 Go, my son, in peace.
 May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
 And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all
 righteous blessings,
 That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth.'
- 26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first fruits at Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. Prayer of Abraham, 6-9. Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob, 10-30.

- 22 1 And it came to pass in the †first† week in the †forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that
 is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to
 celebrate the feast of weeks—that is, the feast of the first fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their
 2 father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come. For Isaac had many possessions in
 3 Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions and to return to his father. And in
 those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice
 4 for a burnt offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. And
 he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made
 new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father,
 from the first fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died.
 5 And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank offering, that he might eat and
 6 drink. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,
 Who hath created heaven and earth,
 Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
 And given them to the children of men
 That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.
- 7 'And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold,
 I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have
 8 been unto me peace. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given
 9 me and my children all the days of my life until this day. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace
 be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and
 an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the
 10 generations of the earth, unto all the ages.' And he called Jacob and said: 'My son Jacob, may
 the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may
 He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will
 11 always. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me.' And he drew near and kissed him,
 and he said:
 'Blessed be my son Jacob
 And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:
 May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
 And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;
 May nations serve thee,
 And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.
- 12 Be strong in the presence of men,
 And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.
 Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
 So that they shall become a holy nation.
- 13 May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
 Wherewith He has blessed me

XXII. 1. All dates wrong. Read 'sixth week, forty-second jubilee, seventh year', i.e. 2051 A.M.

3. 'both' = Lat. *utrique* easily emended from Eth. Cf. xxxi. 11.

4. **Creator of all things**: Sir. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24, vii. 23.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

8. **sword of the adversary**: Jer. vi. 25; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

11. **may nations**, &c. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

12. **seed of Seth**: mankind. But in Num. xxiv. 17, 'children of Sheth' = 'children of confusion'.

- And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam ;
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.
- 14 And may He cleanse thee from all **unrighteousness** and impurity,
That thou mayest be forgiven all the transgressions ; which thou hast committed ignorantly.
And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,
- 15 And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the
days of the earth.
- 16 And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :
Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them :
And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate ;
For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.
- 17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead
And they worship evil spirits,
And they eat over the graves,
And all their works are vanity and nothingness.
- 18 They have no heart to understand
And their eyes do not see what their works are,
And how they err in saying to a piece of wood : 'Thou art my God,'
And to a stone : 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.'
[And they have no heart.]
- 19 And as for thee, my son Jacob,
May the Most High God help thee
And the God of heaven bless thee
And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.
- 20 Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan ;
For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.
- 21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
And all his seed shall be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof,
And none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgment.
- 22 And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(b) There shall be no hope for them in the land of the living ;
(c) And there shall be no remembrance of them on the earth ;

13. **rest on the sacred head.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 26 (Syr.). It implies נִיר for נִיר.

14. **unrighteousness** : emended with Latin where Eth. reads 'defilement'.

16. Jewish exclusiveness here traced to Abraham ; needed in second century B.C. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile, because of (1) Law of 'unclean meats' ; cf. Deut. xii. 23 ; Lev. xi. 4, 7, 10-12, 13-20. (2) Idol sacrifices ; cf. 1 Cor. x. 20-9. See also Dan. i. 8-10 ; 1 Macc. i. 47, 62 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21. Cf. Mark ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

16. **a pollution.** An outstanding feature of Antiochus' persecution ; 1 Macc. i. 46, 48, 63, iv. 43-8, iii. 51 ; 2 Macc. v. 27, xiv. 3, vi. 2, 19, 25.

17. **sacrifices to the dead** : cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ps. cvi. 28 ; Sir. vii. 33 ; Tobit, iv. 17. They are attacked in Sir. xxx. 18 ; Wisd. xiv. 15, xix. 3 ; *Or. Sibyl.* viii. 382-4 ; Ep. Jer. 31, 32.

evil spirits : idols, as Deut. xxxii. 17 ; Lev. xvii. 7 ; Ps. cvi. 37 ; 1 En. xix. 1 ; 1 Macc. i. 43 ; Baruch, iv. 7.

eat over the graves : cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-4.

18. Cf. Jer. ii. 27.

[] Dittography spoils parallelism.

20. Gen. xxviii. 1 ; Test. Lev. ix ; Jub. xxv. 5, xxviii. 10, xxx. 7.

21. **the day of judgment.** Cf. xxiii. 11, xxxvi. 10.

22. **the profane** or 'the adversaries'. Both are easy emendations from the reading of *a b d*.

- (c) For they shall descend into Sheol,
(d) And into the place of condemnation shall they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

- 23 Fear not, my son Jacob,
And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham :

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may he deliver thee.

- 24 This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham ; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever ; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth.'

- 25, 26 And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his heart rejoiced over him. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: 'The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever.' And he blessed Jacob and said: 'My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed always. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance ; And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth.'

Abraham's death and burial, 1–8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7–10). Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind: Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners of the Gentiles, 11–25. Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous, 26–31.

- 23 1 And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers.
2 And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: 'Father, father'; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were ended. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. For the days

25. commanding: from Hebrew צוה, used technically of a man's last will and testament (2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Isa. xxxviii. 1; Test. Reub. 1; Baba Bathra, 147 a, 151 b).

27. Probably an interpolation—Jacob is not mentioned till the next verse.

28. I rejoice: c d; 'rejoices', a b.

be lift up upon him: from Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.

29. eyes be opened: Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18; 1 Kings viii. 29, 52.

XXIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xlv. 4. Closing the eyes strictly forbidden till death had ensued in Shabb. 151 b.

stretched out: as Gen. xlix. 33 Eth. and Syr., but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = gathered up.

slept the sleep of eternity: as Jer. li. 39, 57.

Gen. i. i.

7. days of inserted. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8. MSS. vary. b = 'the lamentation of'; d = 'lamentation and'; a c omit.

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men grow old quicker owing to the increasing degeneration.

of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of
¹⁰ Abraham. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, **when** he had
¹¹ grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. And all the generations which shall arise from this time until the day of the great judgment shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge shall forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge shall vanish away]. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they shall say regarding him: 'He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and
¹³ tribulation, and there is no peace: For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and
¹⁴ pains.' And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses **on the earth**: their works
¹⁵ are **uncleanness** and fornication, and pollution and abominations. Then they shall say: 'The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years,
¹⁶ and **those** evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation.' And in that generation the sons shall convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.
¹⁷ For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and
¹⁸ an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. Behold the earth shall be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and
¹⁹ all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments.
²⁰ And they shall stand (with bows and) swords and war to turn them back into the way; but they shall
²¹ not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they shall all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they **shall name** the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they shall defile the holy of
²² holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to
²³ judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who shall respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,
 And much blood shall be shed upon the earth,
 And there shall be none to gather and none to bury.

10. **when**: 'until', text.

11. Here the Messianic kingdom seems to follow the judgment. But see ver. 30.

12. **the greater part . . . sorrow**. Ps. xc. 10 (LXX, Syr., Vulg.).

13-14. Melancholy account of Judah's plight in his own day, i.e. early decades of second century B.C.

14. **on the earth**, &c. Emended with Lat.

15. **those** Eth. reads *kuëllä* corrupt for *'ellä*.

16. An account of the rise of the Chasids exactly parallel with 1 En. xc. 6, 7. 'Lambs' there are 'sons' here.

forsaking the covenant: cf. Hellenizers in Dan. xi. 30; 1 Macc. i. 15. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, p. 199.

17. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, ii. 6.

18-24. The woes before the Messianic Age are a feature of all Apocalypse. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Hos. iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7, *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 796; Apoc. Bar. xxvii, xlviii. 31-7, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra vi. 14-18, 21-4; Matth. xxiv. 6-29; Sota ix. 15.

20. () supplied from Lat.

the way: cf. Isa. xxx. 21; Acts ix. 2, xiv. 9, xxiv. 22.

21. **shall name**: So Lat. Eth. is easily emended.

23. Describes religious wars of Judas Maccabaeus. The Syrian invasion is described in the language of Jer. vi. 23. After 162 B.C. there was civil war in Judah, and peace with Syria. Thus this passage cannot be later than that date.

- 24 In those days they shall cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;
But none shall be saved.
- 25 And the heads of the children shall be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks shall appear old like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature shall be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.
- 26 And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the path of righteousness.
- 27 And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men
Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.
- 28 And there shall be no old man
Nor one who is (not) satisfied with his days,
For all shall be (as) children and youths.
- 29 And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy,
And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.
- 30 And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.
And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.
- 31 And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him
- 32 And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them)
on the heavenly tablets for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34).
Isaac goes down to Gerar, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9-27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

- 24¹ And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he
arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week 2073 A.M.
2 of this jubilee, seven years. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, 2080 A.M.
3 besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. And Jacob sod lentil pottage,
and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: 'Give me of this red
pottage.' And Jacob said to him: 'Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give
4 thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage.' And Esau said in his heart: 'I shall die; of
5 what profit to me is this birthright?' And he said to Jacob: 'I give it to thee.' And Jacob said:
6 'Swear to me, this day,' and he sware unto him. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage,
and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name
7 called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. And Jacob became

24. sinners and gentiles practically synonymous. Cf. Gal. ii. 15.
26. Renewed study of the law brings spiritual transformation.
27. nigh to one thousand years: cf. iv. 30. As in Test. Levi. xviii all change is gradual.
28. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 20, whence 'not' is inserted here.
29. no Satan: cf. Ass. Mos. x. 1, Jub. xl. 9, xlv. 1, 2, 5.
30. Probably does not refer to a Resurrection to the Messianic kingdom. Our author's eschatology is that of 1 En.
xciv-civ. Judgement will be at the end of the Messianic kingdom, and precedes the spiritual bliss of the righteous.
31. Cf. 1 En. xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4. The bodies rest, but the spirits rise.
XXIV. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11, 29-34, xxvi. 1-6, 13-25, 32, 33. No reference is made in 13 to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca. For derivation of name of Edom in 6 cf. Gen. xxv. 29.
3. red pottage. Text = 'wheaten pottage', i.e. *πυρρὸν* for *πυρροῦν*. Sell = *ἀπόδου*, which here means 'sell' 'agbe'e.
E

8 the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: 'Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee and bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land, and I will establish My oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land.' And he dwelt in Gerar three weeks of years. And Abimelech charged concerning him, and concerning all that was his, saying: 'Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die.' And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: 'Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we'; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: 'The water is ours'; and Isaac called the name of the well 'Perversity', because they had been perverse with us. And they dug a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name 'Enmity'. And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it 'Room', and Isaac said: 'Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land.' And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: 'I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant.' And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. And they digged a well and they found living water. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: 'I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us.' And he called the name of that place the Well of the Oath; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: 'Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they shall be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30 And no remnant shall be left to them,
Nor one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;
For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there shall no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

14. household: *ministerium* Lat. = עֲבָדָה. Eth. has 'possession'.

19. The: 'this' in Eth. = def. article.

20. Enmity = *šēpē* emended from *šabāb* = 'narrow'. Lat. has *inimicitias*. An Ethiopic scribe has introduced the antithesis of 'narrow' as opposed to 'room'.

Room = *sefh* emended from *sefūh*; so Lat. *capacitas*.

26. the prefect of his host. So Lat. Eth. has only 'his prefect'.

28-32. Only intelligible during Maccabean wars; fierce hatred of Philistines; cf. 1 Macc. x. 89, v. 68, x. 84, xvi. 10, xi. 62; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1890, 200.

28. Cf. Hdt. i. 205, ii. 157-9 for the Philistines' suffering at the hands of the Egyptians.

Kittim = Macedonians. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4.

29. righteous nation: Judah under Maccabees.

generations: Lat.; 'days', Eth.

30. these = *'ellā* emended from *ku'ellā* = 'all'. Lat. = 'these'.

Caphtorim = Philistines; cf. Amos. ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4.

- 31 For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence shall he be brought down,

†And though he make himself strong on earth,†
Thence shall he be dragged forth,

And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence shall he be rooted out ;

And though he descend into Sheol,
There also shall his condemnation be great,
And there also he shall have no peace.
32 And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life shall they slay him on the way,
And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth ;
For into eternal malediction shall he depart.’
33 And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, to do unto him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman, 1-3. Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry a Canaanitish woman, 4-10. Rebecca blesses Jacob, 11-23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)

- 25 1 And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto 2109 A.M.
him, saying: ‘My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother,
who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their
unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them,
2 for (their deeds) are evil. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection
3 bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. And now, my son, hearken to my voice,
and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of
the house of my father, and of my father’s kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my
father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and
4 a holy seed.’ And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: ‘Behold, mother,
I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed
5 myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. For I remember,
mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters
6 of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father’s house and from my kindred. I have
heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them
7 to take a wife from amongst them. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against
sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust
8 and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. And, despite all that he has com-
manded me, these two and twenty years my brother has striven with me, and spoken frequently to
me and said: ‘My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives’; but I refuse to do as he has done.
9 I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters
10 of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. Fear not, mother; be
11 assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever.’ And
thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her
mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him
12 thanks and praise. And she said: ‘Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed
for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine
13 shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord,
14 and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.’ And at that hour, when

31. †† Lat. = *ubi fugiens erit*. Corruption originated in Hebrew apparently.

XXV. Gen. xxvii is put after Gen. xxviii. 1-4 to give more blame to Esau and to excuse Jacob.

4. Jacob is sixty-three when he receives the blessing, as in Ber. Rabb. 68; Seder Olam, 2.

neither, &c.: Syncell. i. 197 wrongly attributes this to Josephus.

the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said :

- 15 'Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages ;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.
May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.
- 16 And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.
And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.
- 17 And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him alway—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.
- 18 And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.
- 19 And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during [†]her[†] life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee thus,
[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.
- 20 Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever ;
And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have peace.
- 21 And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,
And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,
And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.
- 22 Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely, may it be cursed.'
- 23 And she kissed him, and said to him ;
' May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee.'
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing, 5-9. Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it, 10-24. Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing, 25-34. Threatens Jacob, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

- 26 ¹ And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : ' I am ² old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may ³ eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.' But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.
- ^{4, 5} And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him : ' Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : " Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that ⁶ I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die." And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he ⁷ may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed.' And Jacob

14. spirit of righteousness (*ab d*) : cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 3. For ' Holy Spirit ' (*c*) cf. Isa. lxiii. 10, 11.

17. as He said . . . alway. Cf. Luke i. 55.

19. [†]her[†]. Read 'thy'. [] out of place, or a dittography of םך.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41, often loosely rendered.

said to Rebecca his mother: 'Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing.' And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: 'Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.' And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. And Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac said to his son: 'How hast thou found so quickly, my son?' And Jacob said: 'Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find.' And Isaac said unto him: 'Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not.' And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau,' and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. And he said: 'Art thou my son Esau?' and he said: 'I am thy son': and he said, 'Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee.' And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Come near and kiss me, my son. And he came near and kissed him. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: 'Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;

And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:

Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee.'

And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: 'Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Who art thou?' And he said unto him: 'I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me.' And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: 'Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever.' And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: 'Bless me, (even) me also, father.' And he said unto him: 'Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing.' And he said: 'Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away

7 a. Added by author in favour of Jacob.

10. < >. Added from Latin.

15. <The Lord>. Supplied from Latin. caused me to find (bc): Latin *direxit*.

18. A dispensation to assist the deceit! Clause borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15, 'a thing brought about of the Lord'.

< > supplied from Lat.

19. I am thy son. An evasion—not so bad as Ber. Rabb. 65.

22. <full> added from Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg., cf. Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. dew of the earth. So Gen. xxvii. 28 in Eth. version.

give thee: bcd add 'and multiply thee', while a transposes it before 'give thee'.

and plenty: MSS. add before 'plenty' the words 'may He give plentifully to thee', against the parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28.

25. he hid himself and. This seems an addition. Read 'that'.

30. I know why = οἶδα ὡς perhaps corrupt for δικαιῶς. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 36.

- 31 my blessing.' And he said: 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father?' and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:
 'Behold, I have made him thy lord,
 And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
 And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him:
 And what now shall I do for thee, my son?'
- 32 And Esau said to Isaac, his father:
 'Hast thou but one blessing, O father?
 Bless me, (even) me also, father.'
- 33 And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said unto him:
 'Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
 And far from the dew of heaven from above.'
- 34 And by thy sword wilt thou live,
 And thou wilt serve thy brother.
 And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,
 And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,
 Thou shalt sin a complete sin unto death,
 And thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven.'
- 35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his heart: 'May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob.'

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob, 13-18. Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel, 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

- 27 1 And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and
 2 called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 'Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on
 3 thee so as to kill thee. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban,
 my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he
 remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from
 4, 5 thence.' And Jacob said: 'I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him.' But she said
 6 unto him: 'Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day.' And Jacob said to Rebecca his
 mother: 'Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are
 dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and
 my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; when he sends me, then only will I go.'
- 7, 8 And Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away.' And
 Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom
 Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such
 9 as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil.' And Isaac called
 10 Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 'Do not take thee a wife of any of
 the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father,
 11 and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. And God
 Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations,
 and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou
 mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my
 12 son, in peace.' And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of
 13 Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. And it came to pass after Jacob had
 14 arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. And

34. *becomest great* = 'abaika (b). *ac* = 'refusest' = 'abaika, a corruption of *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאריך, Gen. xxvii. 40. The Mass. = תריך, which the versions variously translate. The LXX gives καθέλγς, i.e. תוריד from ירד.

sin a complete sin unto death, &c.: changed contrary to all tradition. This version is adopted by Syncell. i. 202 and Glycas. 263 (who, however, attributes it to Josephus). For 'sin unto death' cf. xxi. 22.

35. Note malicious turn here given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-5. *in a dream*: Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 'by the Holy Spirit'.

6. Cf. xii. 31. Defends Jacob from the reproach of leaving his old father (Singer).

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and
 15 in peace will he return. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him;
 16 for He will not forsake him all his days; For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things
 17 wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. Fear not on his account,
 my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish.
 18, 19 Weep not.' And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. And Jacob
 went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-
 fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first 2115 A.M.
 month of this week, and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the
 20 road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. And he took one of the stones of that
 21 place and laid (it at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. And he
 dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and
 behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it.
 22 And he spake to Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of
 23 Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee. And
 thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt increase to the west and to the east, to the
 24 north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the nations be blessed. And
 behold, I will be with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee
 again into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.'
 25 And Jacob **awoke from his sleep**, and said, 'Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew
 it not.' And he was afraid and said: 'Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of
 26 God, and this is the gate of heaven.' And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone
 which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top
 of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first.
 27 And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: 'If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in
 this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my
 father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar
 for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth
 to thee, my God.'

*Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids,
 11-24. Jacob seeks to leave Laban, 25; but stays on at a certain wage, 26-8. Jacob becomes
 rich, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35; xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43; xxxi.
 1, 2.)*

28 1 And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca,
 2 and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week. And in the first year of 2122 A.M.
 the third week he said unto him: 'Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years'; and
 3 Laban said unto Jacob: 'I will give thee thy wife.' And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his
 elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an hand-
 4 maid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. And he went in unto her, and
 behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: 'Why hast thou dealt
 thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me?
 5 Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me.' For Jacob loved Rachel more
 than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful
 6 eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. And Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not so done in our
 country, to give the younger before the elder.' And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained
 and written in the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—
 but the elder, one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down
 guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the

14. **My sister**: affectionate term for wife; cf. Tobit v. 21, vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. Compare Isaac's answer to Abimelech's men in Gen. xxvi. 7.

16. **will be prospered**: so Lat.; 'he will prosper', Eth.

17. **on the upright path**: Lat. So *b*, or perhaps 'upright in his way'.

19-27. Gen. xxviii. 10-22.

20. Add with Latin 'at his head'. Genesis has not 'under the tree'. This was probably an asherah.

25 a. MSS. corrupt; 'slept a sleep' emended to 'awoke from his sleep'.

XXVIII. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-29, xxx. 2, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.

6. No hint of this ordinance in tradition (Singer, Beer). Lev. xviii. 18 expressly forbade Jacob's conduct in marry-
 ing both sisters. Cf. Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 134.

7 Lord. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take
 8 nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. And Laban said to
 Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou
 mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former
 9 week.' And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel
 to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of
 10 Zilpah, as a handmaid. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given
 11 to him for nothing. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob
 a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of ²¹²²
 12 the third week. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and
 13 Rachel loved. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son,
 and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this ²¹²⁴
 14 week. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he
 15 called his name Levi, in the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. And again ²¹²⁷
 Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
 16 on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. And on account of all ²¹²⁹
 this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: 'Give me children'; and Jacob
 17 said: 'Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?' And when Rachel
 saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto
 18 him: 'Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me.' (And she
 gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife). And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare
 him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the ²¹²⁷
 19 †third† week. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare
 Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Napthali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the ²¹³⁰
 20 second year of the fourth week. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear,
 she envied Rachel, and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and
 bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of ²¹³¹
 21 the fourth week. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and
 Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth ²¹³³
 22 week. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name
 Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him ²¹³²
 23 to a nurse. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son
 and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zabulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, ²¹³⁴
 24 in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. And the Lord was
 gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his ²¹³⁴
 25 name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. And
 in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and sons, and let me
 go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I
 26 have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father.' And Laban said
 to Jacob: '†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages.'
 27 And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids
 28 which were born **black** and spotted and †white†, (these) were to be his wages. And all the sheep
 brought forth spotted and **speckled and black, variously marked**, and they brought forth again
 lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were
 29 Laban's. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and
 30 asses and camels, and menservants and maid-servants. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and
 Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

8. Rachel given to Jacob as soon as Leah's wedding feast (seven days) was over.

9. Zilpah and Bilhah: sisters, as in Test. Naph. i.

11-24. Twelve sons of Jacob, as in Gen. xxix. 32-4, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. In date of birth, all lists differ. Various explanations are given. Cf. also Syncell. i. 198; Fabric. i. 749-54; Rönsch, 327-9. See Test. XII Patriarches passim; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21. See my Comm. 170-2.

18. < > added from Lat. and Gen. xxx. 4.

26. **tarry with me for thy wages**: 'expecta me in mercede', Lat. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has 'Appoint (נִקְחָה) me thy wages'.

27-28. See my Eth. text for emendations.

27. Read 'speckled' for 'white'.

29. **and sheep**: only in LXX of Gen. xxx. 43.

Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. Laban pursues after him, 5-6. Covenant of Jacob and Laban, 7-8. Abodes of the Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. Laban departs, 12. Jacob is reconciled to Esau, 13. Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron, 14-17, 19-20. Esau marries again, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 46, 47; xxxii. 22; xxxiii. 10, 16.)

29 ¹ And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they
² were distant from him a three days' journey. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his
³ sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with
⁴ him to the land of Canaan. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that
⁵ He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: 'To every place
⁶ whither thou goest we will go with thee.' And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the
⁷ God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took
⁸ all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention
⁹ from Laban and told him not. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) ^{2135 A.M.}
¹⁰ toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and
¹¹ overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. And the
¹² Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for he appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban
¹³ spake to Jacob. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who
¹⁴ came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should
¹⁵ cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. And he made there a heap for
¹⁶ a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: 'The Heap of Witness,' after this heap. But
¹⁷ before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the
¹⁸ Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to
¹⁹ seven cubits. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon,
²⁰ and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Misûr, and Beon. And
²¹ the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the
²² Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought
²³ to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. And Jacob sent away
²⁴ Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of
²⁵ Gilead. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that
²⁶ day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto
²⁷ the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he ^{2136 A.M.}
²⁸ crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea to the
²⁹ heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. And he sent to his
³⁰ father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and
³¹ cheese, and some dates of the valley, And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the
³² times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season)
³³ and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. For Isaac had returned from the Well
³⁴ of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son
³⁵ Esau. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath,
³⁶ the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went
³⁷ up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. And Isaac
³⁸ went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains
³⁹ of Hebron, And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to
⁴⁰ time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

XXIX. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24.

4. **hid.** As LXX and Onk. Mass., Sam., Syr. = 'stole'.

7-8. Gen. xxxi. 46, 47.

7. **to the other.** See Eth. text.

9 foll. Places mentioned are scenes of great Maccabean victories. Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.

Rephaim (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11); **Edrei**: Og's capital (Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31); **Misûr** (Deut. iii. 10; Joshua xv. 8); **Beon** (Num. xxxii. 3, destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 4, 5); **Bethshan** (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = 'Scythopolis' (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29), friendly to the Maccabees; **Dothan** (Gen. xxxvii. 17; Judith iv. 6, vii. 3); **the forest of Akrabbim**.—Read 'the ascent' of Akrabbim (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Joshua xv. 3).

13. **passed . . . Jabbok.** Gen. xxxii. 22. **on the eleventh thereof.** Lat. has 'et undecim filii ipsius'.

he was reconciled. So Lat. Eth. easily emended.

15-16. Another proof of Jacob's filial piety.

16. **rain** is 'former rain'; falls from middle of October to middle of December.

between winter and spring = the latter rain in March and April.

18. Put in to show Esau's selfishness.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. Slaughter of the Shechemites, 4-6. Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen, 7-17. Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites, 18-23. Dinah recovered, 24. Jacob's reproof, 25-6. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5)

- 30** ¹ And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in ² the fourth month. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, ³ and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt ⁴ deceitfully with them and beguiled them. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured ⁵ their sister Dinah. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword ⁶ all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of ⁷ Israel should be defiled. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because ⁸ she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: ⁹ they shall stone him with stones. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tablets regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with ¹⁰ stones. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given ¹¹ of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for ¹² their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: 'We will not give our daughter ¹³ to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us.' And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those that take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and

XXX. 1. to Salem . . . in peace combines interpretations of all versions of Gen. xxxiii. 18 where Sam. reads שָׁלוֹם 1-3. Gen. xxiv. 2-13.

2. child of twelve. Cf. Test. Levi xii. 5 and Jub. xxviii. 14, 23, which together make her eleven.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connexion with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand, this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi vi: καὶ ἠκούσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi v, where the angel bids Levi ποιήσων ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, καὶ γὰρ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἑμμὼρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν: and in the Test. Levi vi-vii, where Levi says that he saw that 'the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem', and still more strongly: ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου Συμεὼν, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἱ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίasma καὶ ἐγύνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κτλ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκούσται καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-8). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

7. Cf. xli. 17. To our author, marriage with a Gentile was no better than fornication. To give your daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her 'to Moloch', and merited the same penalty, i.e. death by stoning. Cf. Lev. xx. 2. A woman was to be treated as Tamar was threatened in Gen. xxxviii or a priest's daughter commanded in Lev. xxi. 9.

10. given . . . to Moloch. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xviii. 21; Sanh. 82a; Megill. 25a. Perhaps this dates from Maccabean Age, when extreme measures were needed. Contrast Megill. iv. 9.

11. for their sons. So Latin. > bcd. a = αὐτοί, i.e. λαλήθοντά, corrupt for λαλήθοντά, = 'for their sons'.

12. we will not. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14 abominable to Israel. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles.
 15 For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the
 16 whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of **this man**. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and
 17 so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: 'Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it
 18 was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous
 19 to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tablets blessing and righteousness before
 20 the God of all: And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous
 21 man. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which
 22 has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of
 23 those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.
 24 And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their
 25 flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. And he **reproached them** because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites.
 26 And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4, 7, 14). Isaac blesses Levi, 4-17, and Judah, 18-22. Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him, 24. Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah, 26-30. Jacob blesses the God of his fathers, 31-2.

31 1 And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: 'Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because he has been with me and
 2 brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among you.' And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her father she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt

14. Based on Lev. xx. 2-4.

15. <upon him> from Latin.
 whole nation: an extension of the area of guilt to justify the massacre; cf. charges in Test. Levi vi against the Shechemites in general.

profanation of this man = Lat. Eth. = 'this profanation'.

16. [] dittography; Latin omits.

18. for he was zealous, &c. Contrast xxxii. 3 (Levi became priest as the tenth son); Test. Levi iv (in answer to his prayer); Shem. Rabb. 19 (the Levites' constancy in Egypt in retaining circumcision). Cf. Weber, *J. T.*² 309, Singer (115 note) for different motives for God's choice of Levi.

22. transgress: Latin + *testamentum*. book of life: cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3. Latin has 'of destructions' instead of 'of those who will be destroyed'.

24. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

25. reproached: needed by sense of context for 'spake to them' (Eth. and Latin); cf. Test. Levi vi. 6.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1, 2. Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

2. gave up (*masawēwómá*) emended from *masawēwómá*, 'melted'.
 on their necks. Read perhaps 'in their hands'. If so, take 'which were in their hands' after 'gods'.
 her father (*abúhá*): for 'her brother' (*ēhúhá*).

and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of
 3 Shechem. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an
 altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father
 4 Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. And Isaac said: 'Let my son
 5 Jacob come, and let me see him before I die.' And Jacob went to his father Isaac and
 to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons
 with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca.
 6 And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace
 him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: 'Behold Jacob thy son has come'; and she kissed
 7 him. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: 'Are these thy sons,
 my son?' and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: 'In you shall the
 8 seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye shall prove a blessing on the earth.' And Jacob went in
 to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the
 hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son,
 9 and wept upon his neck. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob,
 10 Levi, and Judah, and he said: 'Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee.' And he said
 unto him that they were truly his sons: 'And thou hast truly seen that they are †truly† my sons'.
 11 And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together.
 12 And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and
 13 Judah by his left. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him:
 'May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the
 14 ages. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee
 and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the
 presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, shall the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness
 15 and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages. And they shall be judges and princes,
 and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
 And they shall judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they shall declare My ways to Jacob
 And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths
 To bless all the seed of the beloved.

- 16 Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
 And justly has she called thy name;
 Thou shalt be joined to the Lord
 And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;
 Let His table be thine,
 And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;
 And may thy table be full unto all generations,
 And thy food fail not unto all the ages.
- 17 And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
 And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

3, 4. Cf. Test. Levi ix.

5. Last meeting with Isaac and Rebecca, unknown to later Haggada.

10. **truly**: Lat. has 'father'. So read 'abbā in Eth. for 'amān.

11. **both**: Lat. *utroque*. Eth. *kuëllômâ* corrupt for *këll'êhômû*. Cf. xxii. 3.

13. Cf. Test. Levi ix.

14. †† Lat. = 'great seed to understand His glory.'

holy ones here = 'angels of sanctification'; cf. ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Cf. Test. Levi iii (Arm.) for one or two orders of ministering angels.

may He make them great: Latin *sanctificabit*.

15. Describes early Maccabean princes (kings as well as priests); cf. Test. Levi viii. The latter passage refers to John Hyrcanus. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, 165; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7.

the blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths: cf. Sir. l. 20, Test. Reub. vi.

16. Cf. Gen. xxix. 34; Numb. xviii. 2-4, play on words. The Lat. has instead of 'joined to the Lord' *ad decorem Dei* = לְיוֹהֵה 'a crown'.

Let His table be thine: cf. Test. Judah xxi; Test. Levi viii.

And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.'

18 And to Judah he said:

'May the Lord give thee strength and power

To tread down all that hate thee;

A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob;

May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region.

Then shall the Gentiles fear before thy face,

And all the nations shall quake

[And all the peoples shall quake].

19 In thee shall be the help of Jacob,

And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20 And when thou sittest on the throne of honour of thy righteousness

There shall be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved;

Blessed be he that blesseth thee,

And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee

Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.'

21 And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the

22 sons of Jacob his son in very truth. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and bowed down to him, and he blessed them and rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they

23 eat and drank with joy. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the

24 other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. And Jacob told his father everything

during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered (him in) all

25 his ways, and protected him from all evil. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who

26 had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. And in the

morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which

27 he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be

made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. And Isaac said

unto Jacob his son: 'I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go,

28 my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to

journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. And I know, my son, that thou hast

29 come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have

seen thee, my son. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off

thy vow; for thou shalt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to

perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow.'

30 And he said to Rebecca: 'Go with Jacob thy son'; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and

31 Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his

father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his

32 fathers, Abraham and Isaac. And he said: 'Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons

also, before the God of all'; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an

eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tablets how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son, 2-3. Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe, 4-9. Law of tithes ordained, 10-15. Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tablets his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles, 27-9. Death of Deborah, 30. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel, 33-4. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

32 1 And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed

18-19. Cf. Test. Levi xviii; Reub. vi: Signs of Messiah's coming. As in 1 En. xc He has no active part to play, but springs from Judah ('one of thy sons'). This seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom; cf. xxiii. 30.

18. **thy name**: i.e. that of the Jewish people. [] bracketed as dittography.

20. **honour . . . peace**. So *db*. But *c* reads 'honour; thy righteousness shall be great peace'.

XXXII. Cf. Test. Levi v, viii, ix.

1. **priest of the Most High God**: title assumed by the Maccabean priest-kings; cf. Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Ps. cx. 1-4 (acrostic on Simon as Bickell has shown); Rosh-ha-Shanah 18 *b*. See Test. Levi viii. 14.

2 the Lord. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a
 tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment,
 3 yea, he gave tithes of all. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin.
 And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his
 4 father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. And on the fifteenth of
 this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams,
 and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the
 5 altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. This was his offering, in consequence
 of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-
 6 offerings. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a
 thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old,
 7 and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. And he and all his sons and his
 men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who
 8 had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow. And he tithed all the clean
 animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he
 9 gave him all the souls of the men. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob
 his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus
 10 he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. And for this
 reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the
 Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law
 11 there is no limit of days for ever. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to
 year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing
 12 shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. For in its year shall the seed be
 eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine,
 13 and the oil till the days of its season. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded
 14 as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. And thus let them eat it together in the
 15 sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall
 be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, which they will eat before Him from year to
 16 year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tablets. And on the
 following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to
 surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children
 17 after him. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name
 18 shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' And He said unto him again: 'I
 am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I will increase thee and multiply thee
 exceedingly, and kings shall come forth from thee, and they shall judge everywhere wherever the foot
 19 of the sons of men has trodden. And I will give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven,
 and they shall judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they shall get possession
 20 of the whole earth and inherit it for ever.' And He finished speaking with him, and He went up
 21 from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. And he saw in a vision of the night,
 and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to
 Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons
 22 throughout all the ages. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him:
 'Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is
 not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day
 23 of the death of thy father. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried
 24 with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. Fear not, for as thou hast
 seen and read it, thus shall it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read.'

3. Known to Syncell. i. 200; probably to Cedren. i. 60; new version in P. R. Eliezer, xxxvii.
 filled his hands: a technical expression, as Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. Celebration of Feast of 'Tabernacles' differs from Lev. xxiii. 34-44 and Numb. xxix. 12-40.
 seven lambs: Lat. *septem*; Eth. = sixty, but the heptadic system is here followed.

twenty-one: Lat.; Eth. = twenty-nine (*évvéa* for *éva*).

altar of sacrifice: i.e. *meshwá'á querbán* emended according to Lat. *altarium fructuum* from *meshwá'á querbána* (a).

8. Corrects Test. Levi ix. Unclean animals are excepted.

9 tithed, &c.: Numb. xviii. 26.

10. eat before the Lord: cf. Deut. xiv. 22; Tobit i. 7.

15. tithes of the oxen and sheep: cf. Lev. xxvii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. These tithes were unknown to Nehemiah,
 Neh. x. 37-9; xii. 44-7, xiii. 5, 12, and were limited to yearly increase by later Rabbis. Cf. Rosh-ha-Shanah, i.
 17-20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-13. 19 is a great exaggeration of Gen. xxxv. 12.

21. tablets: cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

knew: emended with Latin. Text = 'read.' Both words may be dittographic renderings of *ἀνέγνω*.

25 And Jacob said: 'Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?' And he said unto
 26 him: 'I will bring all things to thy remembrance.' And he went up from him, and he awoke from
 his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the
 27 words which he had read and seen. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed
 thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †'Addition,† for
 28 †this day was added,† and the former days he called 'The Feast'. And thus it was manifested that
 it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tablets: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should
 29 celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast. And its name was called †'Addition,†
 †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of
 30 the days of the year. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse
 died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this
 31 place, 'The river of Deborah,' and the oak, 'The oak of the mourning of Deborah.' And Rebecca
 went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and
 32 he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. And he went after his
 33 mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. And Rachel bare a son in the
 night, and called his name 'Son of my sorrow'; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father
 called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this
 34 jubilee. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, 2143 A.M.
 and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen xxxv. 21, 22). Laws regarding incest, 10-20. Jacob's children, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-7.)

33 1 And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he
 2 and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid,
 3 the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. And he hid himself
 at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in
 4 her house. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in
 the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered
 5 that it was Reuben. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he
 6, 7 fled. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. And
 when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: 'I am not clean for thee, for I have been
 defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was
 8 asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me.' And Jacob was
 exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his
 9 father's skirt. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for
 any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before
 10 the Lord. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man should not
 lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall
 surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have
 11 wrought uncleanness on the earth. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation
 12 which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. And again, it is written a second time: 'Cursed
 be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame'; and all the
 13 holy ones of the Lord said 'So be it; so be it.' And do thou, Moses, command the children of
 Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and
 there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to
 death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God.
 14 For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he

25. Cf. John xiv. 26.

27. †Addition†. Perhaps ἐπισχεσις in Greek was misread ἐπιθεσις, as Rönsch suggests. Latin has *retentatio*, 'a keeping back'. Cf. Chagiga, 18 a. The Hebrew is עֲצִיָּתָהּ, really = 'sacred assembly'; cf. 2 Chron. vii. 9.

The Feast: as in Sukk. 42 b, 48 a, for 'the Feast of Tabernacles'.

29. because that = διότι = 'when'.

amongst the days: emended with Latin *in dies*. according to; ; for ; = 'in'.

30. Gen. xxxv. 8.

32-4. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. Kabrâtân = כְּבֵרֶת הָאֶרֶץ = 'some distance'. Cf. LXX, χαβραθά, i.e. כְּבֵרֶת taken as a proper name.

34. Gen. xxxv. 19; Jashar ii. 1172 adds that she was forty-five at her death.

XXXIII. 1. Magdalâdrâ'êf, 'tower of Eder of Ephrath' (Gen. xxxv. 21) compressed.

2. Cf. Test. Reub. iii. 11-14; Shabb. 55 b. Later Rabbis wholly denied Reuben's guilt.

8-10. Phrases from Deut. xxii. 30; Lev. xx. 11.

15 is abominable and unclean. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband 16 Jacob, his father, was still alive. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of 17 seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst 18 of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts. 19 And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before 20 our God. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy 21 nation. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house 22 of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. And they 23 came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren, 10. Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-6). Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah, 15. Jacob mourns for Joseph, 13, 14, 17. Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived, 18-19. Wives of Jacob's sons, 20-1.

34 1 And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their 2148 A.M. 2 sheep, and his servants with them to the pastures of Shechem. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and 3 to take their cattle as a prey. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was 4 the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa†, and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anisâkir†, and all those who dwell in these 5 mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. And they announced this to Jacob saying: 'Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds.' 6 And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own 7 servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. And he slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †Amânî- 8 sakir† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl

16. Theory of Romans iv. 15, that where there is no law there is no transgression.
and = *wa* emended from *ba*.

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-7.

XXXIV. 2-8. Short outline of ancient legend of Jacob's wars, suggested, perhaps, by Maccabean victories. The germ is seen in Gen. xlviii. 22, developed in Targ. Jerusalem, Gen. rabb. 97, Baba Bathra 123 a. These changed 'sword and bow' into 'merits and good deeds'. Cf. Test. Jud. iii-vii, Midr. Wajjissau in 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (Gaster) 80-7, Jashar 1173-84. Proper names, whether of kings or of places, differ in all accounts; but there are almost invariably links of connexion, though place and personal names are hopelessly confused.

4. Tâphû = Tephon (1 Macc. ix. 50), Tappuah (Joshua xv. 53). 'Arêsa = Aser (Tobit i. 2) = Hazor (cf. 1 Macc. xi. 67), Sêlô = Shiloh. Gâ'as = Gaash (Joshua xxiv. 30). Bêthôrôn = Beth-Horon (1 Macc. iii. 13-24, vii. 39-47). Ma'anisâkir = not 'Shakir of Mahanaim' (so Midrash Wajjissau and Jashar probably read) but Mahanisakir, i. e. the Camps of Shakir—See Test. Jud. vi. 3 (note).

7. Shechem: Cf. Test. Jud. iv. 1.

8-9. Test. Jud. vii. has different version of the sequel. Rôbêl = Arbela in Jashar 1184 (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) Rabael in Test. Jud. vii. 9.

9 and Tamnâtârês. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his
 10 servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. And in the seventh year of this ^{2149 A.M.}
 week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem,
 11 and he found them in the land of Dothan. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed
 a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants,
 and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the
 12 †chief of the cooks†, priest of the city of 'Êlêw. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped
 the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month.
 13 And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became
 feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: 'An evil beast hath devoured Joseph'; and all
 the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with
 14 him all that day. And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be
 15 comforted for his son. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died
 mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had
 16 perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. And they buried
 17 Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. And he
 mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said 'Let me go down to the grave mourning
 18 for my son'. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict
 themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for
 Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with
 a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the
 19 affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. And this day has been ordained that they should
 grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they
 20 might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob
 took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife
 is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed
 of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's
 wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zabulon's wife, †Nî'imân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and
 the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the
 name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name
 21 of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his
 brothers.

*Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1-8. Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he
 will not injure Jacob, 9-12. Isaac consents, 13-17. Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob,
 18-26. Death of Rebecca, 27.*

35 1 And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and ^{2157 A.M.}
 commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the
 2 days of his life. And Jacob said: 'I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing
 will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.
 3 And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in
 4 my heart, that I always think good concerning all. And how should I not do this thing which thou
 5 hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! Tell me, mother, what
 6 perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me.' And
 she said unto him: 'My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright
 deeds. And yet I will tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive
 this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond
 a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to
 7 live.' And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that

8. Tamnâtârês = 'Timnah' (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50).

10. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17-20, 28-36.

11. †chief of the cooks†: so LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36, wrongly, for שר-הטבחים = 'the captain of the bodyguard'.

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-5.

15. Ps.-Philo *Ant. bibl.* lib. p. 51 says Dinah married Job; Gen. rabb. 80 says Simeon.

17. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

18. afflict themselves: = fasting in Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 27-32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12.

20. 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite. Cf. Shaul—'son of a Canaanitish woman', Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15. It is to our
 author's credit that he does not seek to explain this away, as was done by later Rabbis. Cf. Beer, *Jubilæen*, 51.
 Bêtasû'êl cf. Bathshua in Test. Jud. viii, xiii, xvi.

Asenath: from Gen. xli. 45. Other names obscure. Nî'imân: ? invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Syr. Frag.
 gives 'Adni', Jasher 'Marusa', *a b d* >.

XXXV. 5. mercy: Latin *miser cordia domini*.

she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment
 8 had touched her all the days of her life. And Jacob said unto her: 'Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou
 9 wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death.' And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: 'One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth,
 10 and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off
 11 all thy possessions from before thy face. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. And he is bitter against thee because thou
 12 didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually
 13 at home honouring us.' And Isaac said unto her: 'I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and
 14 there is no righteousness around him.] And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone
 15 after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide
 16 by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his
 17 hands.] And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau.' And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: 'I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do
 19 thou promise to do it, my son.' And he said: 'I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and
 20 I will not refuse thy petition.' And she said unto him: 'I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be
 21 a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.' And he said: 'I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as
 22 thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came
 23 we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me
 24 the lower. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the
 25 days of my life but good only.' And he swore unto her regarding all this matter. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which
 26 she had spoken to Esau. And he said: 'I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.'
 27 And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

9. Referred to by Syncell. i. 202.

13. [and there . . .]. A dittography.

16. [for he . . .]. A gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. guardian of Jacob. Earliest reference to belief in guardian angels; cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Hebrews i. 14. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. Divides his possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him, 21-4.

36¹ And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to 2162 A.M. him, and he said unto them: 'My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house 2 where my fathers are. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which 3 I digged for myself, there bury me. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that 4 he would do to Abraham and to his seed. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on 5 the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full 6 of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted 7 out unto all the generations for ever. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will 8 fear Him and worship Him. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, 9 so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth everyone that devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hand, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from 10 under heaven. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he shall depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration 11 and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which shall come upon the man who wishes to 12 injure his brother.' And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that 13 Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. And he said: 'This larger portion I will give to the firstborn.' And Esau said, 'I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be 14 given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.' And Isaac said, 'May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not 15 pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever.' And he ended 16 commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and 17 slept. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons 18 Esau and Jacob buried him. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and 19 dwelt there. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible 20 commands according as He had divided the days of his generations. And Leah his wife died in 2167 A.M. the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave

XXXVI. 1. eternal house: cf. Eccles. xii. 5.

6. how = *kama* emended for *emze*, 'after this'.

10. turbulence and execration and indignation and anger: cf. 1 En. xxxix. 2.

13. give (*ʿhūb*) for 'make great' (*ʿaʿādū*).

16. Most High God: twenty-five times in this book, thirteen in Daniel, forty-eight times in Sir., twenty-one in Pss., nine times in N.T., three times in Tobit, not at all in Pss.-Solomon, nine times in 1 En. xci-civ, six times in Test. Levi, twenty-three times in Apoc. Bar., frequent in 4 Ezra, twice in Ass. Mos., four times in 1 En. xxxvii-lxx, once in Judith, twice in Pentateuch outside Gen. xiv, and only once in the prophets. It was most used in early part of Maccabean age, though rare in 1 En. i-xxxvi, lxxii-xc and absent from 1 Macc.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

20. generations. So Lat. Eth. = *lādatū* corrupt for *tēwladū*.

- ²² near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. And all her sons and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he ²³ was lamenting her. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable. ²⁴ And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and constrain him to war with the assistance of 4,000 mercenaries against Jacob, 1-15. Jacob reproves Esau, 16-17. Esau's reply, 18-25.

- 37** ¹ And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac 2162 A.M.
² had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. And they strove with their father, saying: 'Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed
³ over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?' And he said unto them 'Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought
⁴ my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways
⁵ corrupt.' And they said unto him, 'We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt
⁶ to thee also. And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong.'
⁷ And their father said unto them, 'Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him.'
⁸ And they said unto him, 'This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and
⁹ thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words.' And they sent to Aram, and to Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand
¹⁰ fighting men, chosen men of war. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the
¹¹ Kittim mighty men of war. And they said unto their father: 'Go forth with them and lead them, ¹² else we shall slay thee.' And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. But afterward he remembered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days
¹³ against Jacob his brother. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the
¹⁴ tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, 'Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons'; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for
¹⁵ Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. But Jacob would not believe until they came
¹⁶ very near to the tower. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, 'Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to
¹⁷ thy father wast thou condemned.' And then Esau answered and said unto him, 'Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each
¹⁸ may slay his adversary and foe. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is
¹⁹ no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,
²⁰

XXXVII. Wars of Jacob and Esau. Cf. Test. Judah ix; Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 80-7. Latter two adapt the legend to the Herodian situation, and turn Adora into 'Arodin' (= Herodion). Jashar ii. 1236-8 adapts it further.

1-12. Differs from later accounts in putting more of the blame on the sons of Esau. Cf. Chron. Jerahmeel xxxvii. 1. 5. him and his sons: so Lat. 'him his sons' a; 'his sons' bcd.

9-10. Enumerates peoples actually allied against Judah under the Maccabees: Ammonites (1 Macc. v. 6-8). Philistines (cf. xxiv. 28), Syrians (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3, 65).

- If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool,
 Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,
 Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.
 †And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for thou hast not been a brother to me†.
 21 And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence,
 And if their hearts are towards them for good,
 Then there shall be peace in my heart towards thee.
- 22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him.
 And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
 Then will I make peace with thee.
- 23 And when the raven becomes white as the rāzā,
 Then know that I have loved thee
 And shall make peace with thee.
 Thou shalt be rooted out,
 And thy sons shall be rooted out,
 And there shall be no peace for thee.'
- 24 And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with
 all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon
 25 the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; then he spake to his own and to his
 servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1-10. Edom reduced to servitude 'till this day', 11-14. Kings of Edom, 15-24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-9.)

- 38 1 And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: 'Bend thy bow, father, and
 send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the
 power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: **let us give him**
 2 (this) honour.' Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother (on
 3 his right breast) and slew him. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean,
 4 on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. And then went forth the sons of Jacob,
 5 they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. And
 Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south
 side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped.
 6 And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them,
 7 and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went
 forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the
 8 Philistines. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the
 tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout
 warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father
 9 lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. And the sons of Jacob pursued after
 them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and
 10 he returned to his house. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the moun-
 11 tains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. And they
 12 sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. And Jacob
 sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the
 13 yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. And they
 14 continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. And the sons of
 Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on
 15 them until this day. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king

20. **boar**: symbol for *Edom* in 1 En. lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 69. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. †† Out of place; possibly also corrupt; read after 19 *a* ('for ever') these two clauses in reverse order and substitute 'since' for 'and if' and 'twins' for 'breasts'.

23. **rāzā**: 'a large white bird that eats grasshoppers' (Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, cf. Mandaean Adam-Book).

XXXVIII. 1. **let us give him** Lat. Eth. 'with us', i.e. *baḥabēna* for *nahabō*.

2-3. Others attributed Esau's death to Chushim, son of Dan. Cf. Sotah 13 *a*; Jashar 1235; Pirke R. Eliezer 39; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13. Our author agrees with Test. Judah ix, but expands.

2. (**on his right breast**). Supplied from Latin and Jalkut.

8-9. 'Adûrâm = 'Adora' (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4; *Bell.* i. 2. 6; 1 Macc. xiii. 20). **Horites**: cf. xxxvii. 10.

14. **until this day**: Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by John Hyrcanus.

15-24. Gen. xxxvi. 31-9.

16 over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned
 17 in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of
 18 Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead.
 19 And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his
 20 stead, and the name of his city was Avith. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned
 21, 22 in his stead. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. And Saul
 23 died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor,
 died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabith, the daughter of
 24 Mâtarat, the daughter of Mêtâbêdzâ'ab. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

*Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. His purity and imprisonment, 5-13. Imprisonment of
 Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii.
 2; xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23; xl. 1-5, 21-3; xli. 1.)*

39 1, 2 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. These are
 the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into
 3 the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. And he
 set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on
 4 account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. And the Egyptian committed
 everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the
 5 Lord prospered him in all that he did. And Joseph's appearance was comely [and very beautiful
 was his appearance], and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him,
 6 and besought him to lie with her. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the
 Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham,
 that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the
 punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin
 7 will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. And Joseph
 8 remembered these words and refused to lie with her. And she besought him for a year, but he
 9 refused and would not listen. But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order
 to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left
 10 his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. And
 the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his
 lord, saying: 'Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie
 with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in
 11 my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door.' And the Egyptian saw the gar-
 ment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into
 12 prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. And he was
 there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison
 guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord
 13 made all that he did to prosper. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of
 the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the
 14 Lord perfected it. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
 was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker, and he put
 15 them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. And the chief of
 16 the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. And they both
 17 dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. And as he inter-
 preted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the
 18 (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the
 prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform
 Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

XXXIX. 2. **seventeen years old**: cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

chief cook. See xxxiv. 11, xxxix. 14.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. **into the hands**: emended with Latin in ver. 13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6. Eth. = 'before him'.

6. Cf. xx. 4, xxv. 7; Test. Jos. iii. 3; Soteh 36b.

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. **into his hands**. See ver. 4; Eth. 'before him'.

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-3.

14. **two years**: Gen. xli. 1.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. Elevation and marriage of Joseph, 5-13.

(Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 seqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-6, 49.)

- 40¹ And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them).
² And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: 'Seven years shall come (in which there shall be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all
⁴ the land. And now let Pharaoh appoint **overseers** in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven
⁵ years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.' And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: 'We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with
⁶ him.' And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all
⁷ Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him 'Ël 'Ël wa 'Abîrër,' and placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and
⁸ said unto him: 'Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.' And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land.
⁹ And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil
¹⁰ person (therein). And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântiphâns, and gave Joseph to wife the
¹¹ daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. And on the day that
¹² Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the
¹³ land of Egypt abundantly produced, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. Judah's incest with Tamar 8-18. Tamar bears twins, 21-2. Judah forgiven, because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not been consummated, 23-8. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-6, 29-30; xli. 13.)

- 41¹ And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his ^{2165 A.M.}
² first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the
³ kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. And this Er, the first-born of Judah,
⁴ was wicked, and the Lord slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: 'Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother.' And
⁵ Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew

XL. Cf. Gen. xli.

4. **overseers**: Latin *speculatores*; *cd* read 'threshing floors'. Possibly corrupt in Gk. *συναρχίας* for *συνάρχας* (Rönsch).

7. (herald): plural *praeconaverunt*, only in Latin.

'Ël 'Ël wa 'Abîrër: 'God, God, the Mighty One of God', the title of a great magician. Cf. Acts viii. 10 (Simon Magus); Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 774-84; ii. 85 (Joseph); cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 336 note.

9. **no Satan**. Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. Sēphântiphâns = Zaphnath-paaneah, Gen. xli. 45 = 'Revealer of secrets' acc. to later Judaism.
 priest of Heliopolis. Origen, *Cat. Niceph.* i. 463, refers to this function of Potiphar. Later Rabbis, e.g. Pirke R. Eliezer 36, &c., tried to explain this marriage with a heathen priest's daughter. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 makes her Dinah's daughter.

XLI. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-7, 9-18, 20-6; Test. Judah x, xii, xiv; also xix (Judah saved by prayers).

4. Cf. Deut. xxv. 5.

6 him. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: 'Remain in thy father's house as a widow till
 7 Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife.' And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the
 wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died 2168 A.M.
 8 in the fifth year of this week. And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. 2169 A.M.
 9 And they told Tamar: 'Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep.' And she
 put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the
 10 way to Timnah. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot,
 and he said unto her: 'Let me come in unto thee'; and she said unto him: 'Come in,' and he went
 11 in. And she said unto him: 'Give me my hire'; and he said unto her: 'I have nothing in my
 12 hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand.' And
 she said unto him: 'Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire'; and he said unto her:
 'I will send unto thee a kid of the goats'; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and
 13, 14 she conceived by him. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. And
 Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not;
 and he asked the people of the place, saying: 'Where is the harlot who was here?' And they said
 15 unto him: 'There is no harlot here with us.' And he returned and informed him, and said unto
 him that he had not found her; 'I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: "There
 16 is no harlot here."' And he said: 'Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision.' And
 when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah,
 17 saying: 'Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.' And Judah went to the
 house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: 'Bring her forth, and let them burn
 18 her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.' And it came to pass when they brought her forth
 to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying:
 19 'Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.' And Judah acknowledged, and said: 'Tamar
 20 is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.' And for that reason she was
 21 not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. And after that she bare two sons, Perez 2170 A.M.
 22 and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness
 23 were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. And Judah acknowledged that the deed
 which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in
 his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray, for he had uncovered the
 skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression.
 24 And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented,
 25 and did not again commit it. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from
 his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one
 who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is
 26 uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. And do thou command the
 children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his
 daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the
 man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment
 27 from Israel. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason
 28 his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. For in singleness of
 eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham,
 which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

*Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. Joseph recognizes them and retains
 Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned, 5-12. Notwithstanding
 Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained
 by Joseph, 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56; xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-5, 29-30, 34-8; xliii. 1-2, 4-5,
 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34; xliv. 1-2.)*

42 1 And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the 2171 A.M.
 2 land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. And the earth grew

12. () Restored from Lat.

15. **keep** Lat. Eth. 'arise', one letter different.

17. Cf. xxx. 7 note.

22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

25. **because he turned . . . ignorance**: best to transpose these two clauses and read 'because of his ignorance
 and because . . . sin'.

25, 26. Enforce laws of Lev. xx. 14; xviii. 15; xx. 12.

28. Judah commended for his severity.

singleness of eye: favourite expression in Test. XII Patriarchs.

XLII. Cf. Gen. xli. 54-xliv. 2.

barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the
 3 seven years of plenty and had preserved it. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give
 them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to
 4 the people of the land for gold. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob
 heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him
 in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those
 5 that went (there). And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto
 them and questioned them, and he said unto them; 'Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to
 6 explore the approaches of the land?' And he put them in ward. And after that he set them free
 7 again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. And he filled their sacks with corn,
 8 and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. And he commanded them to bring
 9 their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. And
 they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their
 father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and
 10 had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. And Jacob said: 'Me have ye bereaved of my
 children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your
 11 wickedness come.' And he said: 'My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick;
 for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me.
 If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death.'
 12 For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he
 13 feared to send him. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all
 lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed
 for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses
 14 and preserving it for the years of famine. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during
 15 the first year of their famine. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and
 that there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons: 'Go again, and procure food for us that we die
 16 not.' And they said: 'We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go.'
 17 And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine.
 18 And Reuben said: 'Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two
 19 sons instead of his soul.' And he said unto him: 'He shall not go with thee.' And Judah came near
 and said: 'Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before
 20 thee all the days of my life.' And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the 2172 A.M.
 first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had)
 21 presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. And they went and
 stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: 'Is
 this your youngest brother?' And they said unto him: 'It is he.' And he said: 'The Lord be
 22 gracious to thee, my son!' And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them
 and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their
 23 hands. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was
 24 seven times larger than that of any of theirs. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with
 25 their asses. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts
 of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: 'Fill all their
 sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out
 of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.'

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. Judah's supplication, 11-13. Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-8, 30-2; xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-1, 23, 25-8.)

43 1 And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their
 2 money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. And early in the morning they departed,
 and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his
 house: 'Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, "For good ye have requited me with evil; you
 have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks." And bring back to me their

4. < > supplied from Latin, with Gen. xlii. 5.

5. questioned them: Latin has 'appellavit eos dure'.

6. Latin varies: 'et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum'.

12. to every man: emended by prefixing *la* to *kuëllä*.

XLIII. Cf. Gen. xlv. 3-xlv. 28.

2. seize = *ta'ahazômû* emended with Gen. xlv. 4 from *tagâ'azômû* = 'upbraid'.

3 youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment.' And he ran
 4 after them and said unto them according to these words. And they said unto him: 'God forbid
 that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money
 also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of
 5 Canaan. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and
 wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our
 6 asses will serve thy lord.' And he said unto them: 'Not so, the man with whom I find, him only
 7 shall I take as a servant, and ye shall return in peace unto your house.' And as he was searching in
 their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's
 8 sack. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the
 9 house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. And
 Joseph said unto them: 'Ye have done evil.' And they said: 'What shall we say and how shall
 we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the
 10 servants of our lord, and our asses also.' And Joseph said unto them: 'I too fear the Lord; as for
 you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not
 11 that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me.' And Judah
 said: 'O my lord, let thy servant, **I pray thee**, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy
 servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he
 alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with
 12 the life of this (lad). And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is
 13 not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. Now
 rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go
 with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not
 14 bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever.' And Joseph saw that they
 were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them
 15 that he was Joseph. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and
 16 wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. And he said unto them: 'Weep not over
 me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and **ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the**
 17 **eyes of my brother Benjamin see.** For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are
 18 still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. Come down quickly ye and your
 households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for
 19 the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. And tell my
 father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh,
 20 and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. And tell my father of all my glory, and
 21 all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me.' And by the command of the mouth of
 Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured
 22 raiment and silver. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn,
 23 and he sent them away. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was
 measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt.
 24 And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the
 wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: 'It is enough for me if
 Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die.'

*Jacob celebrates the feast of firstfruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10.
 Names of his descendants, 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28.)*

44¹ And Israel took his journey from †Harant from his house on the new moon of the third month,
 and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his
 2 father Isaac on the seventh of this month. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen
 3 at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. And while he was thinking of sending word
 to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if

5. **thy**: for 'my' (Gen. xlv. 9).

10. **delights in his cup**: a change of *jāsta'adēm* into *jāstaqasēm* ('divines') would bring text into line with Gen. xlv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.

11. **I pray thee**: MSS. 'on me', mistranslation of ַּ in Gen. xlv. 18.

15. **Hebrew tongue**: so Ber. rabb. 93.

16. **ye see . . . Benjamin see**, emended in text. See my Eth. text, p. 157.

XLIV. 1. †**Harant** for 'Hebron' (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 14).

4 perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed [in the land], for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Jacob, Jacob'; and he said, 'Here am I.' And He said unto him: 'I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee, and I will bring thee up (again), and in this land shalt thou be buried, and Joseph shall put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt.' And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman—seven. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: The sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri), and Areli, and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, and Arodî—eight. All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. And these are the names of their

4-8. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-6. Jacob's vision is on the day after the Feast of 'Weeks'.

4. [in the land]: a dittography.

9. Gen. xlv. 28. For readings see p. 6.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlv. 27. On the other hand in Gen. xlv. 15, 18, 22, 25 and Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlv. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah, against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	Reuben and 4 sons	. . . 5	Rachel's children	Joseph and 2 sons	. . . 3
	Simeon and 6 sons	. . . 7		Benjamin and 10 sons	. . . 11
	Levi and 3 sons	. . . 4			—
	Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons	. . . 4			14
	Issachar and 4 sons	. . . 5			
	Zebulon and 3 sons	. . . 4	Bilhah's	Dan and 5 sons	. . . 6
		—		Naphtali and 5 sons	. . . 6
		29			—
					12
Zilpah's	Gad and 7 sons	. . . 8			
	Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	. . . 6			
		—			
		14			

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlv. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS. give 70, but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

13. Zephathite, i.e. of Zephath, a Canaanite city (Judges. i. 17).

20, 21. < > names required to complete numbers 'eight' and 'six'.

28. Cf. Gen. xlv. 23 which gives Hushim only.

sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmon, and Asûdi, 29 and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there 30 was left to Dan Hushim alone. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, 31 and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32, 33 And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died 34 in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh, 8-12. Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron, 13-15. His books given to Levi, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30; xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28; 1. 13.)

45 1 And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth 2172 A.M.
2 month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph went to meet his
3 father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. And Israel said unto
Joseph: 'Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed,
the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from
4 His servant Jacob. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true
is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be
5 His name.' And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob
rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before
him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his
6 twelve sons. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling
in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before
Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt;
7 and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. And Joseph nourished
his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the
8 seven years of the famine. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph
acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people
9 and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and
Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth
10 year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. For in the seven years of the famine it had
(not) overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed
11 and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. And this was the first year of 2178 A.M.
12 the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part
for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for
13 the land of Egypt until this day. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the
days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the fourth 2188 A.M.
14 year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told
them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what
would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in
15 the land. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of
Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in
16 the land of Hebron. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son
that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

33. before Joseph (*bc*); 'before they married' (*a*); 'who did not marry' (*d*).

XLV. 1-4 *a*. Gen. xlv. 28-30.

4. whilst †I am† yet alive: change *ana* to *anta* = 'thou' and read 'that' for 'whilst', then = Gen. xlv. 30.

6. Gen. xlvii. 11.

one hundred and thirty years: from Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. as much as sufficed: emend *ya'aktômû* to *'akâlômû* = 'according to their persons', as LXX, Gen. xlvii. 12.

8. for Pharaoh: with Latin *b* reads 'and Pharaoh'.

9, 10. Gen. xlvii. 23. Restore (the land) and (not) from Latin and emend 'it bore' to 'they harvested' (Latin *collegerunt*).

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

the corn of. Read with Lat. 'all the'.

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28. Date conflicts with that in xix. 13. See xxv. 4.

14. told them, &c. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Jub. xxx. 21.

15. Cf. Gen. 1. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. Our author, who published these traditions, was probably himself a priest.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. Death of Joseph, 3-5. War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron, 6-11. Egypt oppresses Israel, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. i. 22, 25-6; Exod. i. 6-14.)

46 1 And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten 2242 A.M.
2 weeks of years, all the days of the life of Joseph. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children
3 of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in
4 prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. And he died and all
5 his brethren and all that generation. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that
6 they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. And he made
them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and
bury him in the land of Canaan, for Makamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of
Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the
7 Egyptians to the gates of Êrmôn. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become
king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of
8 Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. And Joseph died in the forty-
sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and 2242 A.M.
9 all his brethren died after him. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan 2263 A.M.
in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought
forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the
10 field in the double cave in the mountain. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of
11 them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and Amram thy father remained with them. And the
12 king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. And he
devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them and he said unto the people of
13 Egypt: 'Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we.
Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with
slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

3. Cf. Gen. i. 22, 26 (Joseph's death at 110).

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the T. Sim. viii. 2 and T. Benj. xii. 3 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. viii. 2 ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσιπτῶν τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστά αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ: and Benj. xii. 2, 3 καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστά τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν (Arm. = ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναανοί). If we could trust the date in T. Gad viii. 5 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (T. Gad i. 1; Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt (see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. xii. 3 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS.) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. xix. 5; Zeb. x. 7; Dan vii. 2) add that 'afterwards' (ὕστερον) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: 'His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον) and buried them in Hebron.' St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii and *Bible Dictionary* i. 662, 665. But our text, which emphasizes the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend having many details in common with that in Josephus is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate and still more grotesque edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-53). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. Êrmôn = Heroônpolis, near the desert on the canal of Ramses.

10. No other mention of this stay of Amram in Palestine; but cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10-12, 14.

unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan.' And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom, and Raamses and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 5-9. Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian), 10-12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22; ii. 2-15.)

47¹ And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. And thy sister said unto her: 'Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?' And she said (unto her): 'Go.' And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. And afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: 'Why dost thou smite thy brother?' And he was angry and indignant, and said: 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?' And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. The ten plagues, 4-11. Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea, 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15; iv. 19, 24; vii. seqq.)

48¹ And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell (in the land of Midian) five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt

13. our enemies: so Lat.; Eth. 'the enemy'.

their hearts, &c. Rösensch compares Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. strong cities: with LXX. Heb. = עִרֵי מְסֻכּוֹת.

Raamses: Latin adds 'et Oon' from LXX, Exod. i. 11.

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. seven months: Cedren. i. 85, quotes it as 'ten months'.

5. Greek form 'Thermuthis' in Syr. Frag.; Joseph. Ant. ii. 9. 5; Syncell. i. 227.

her maidens: plural only in Syr. of Exod. ii. 5.

7. (unto her) restored from Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. Jochebed: Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

9-12. Exod. ii. 10-14.

9. daughter = Exod. i. 10. Eth. and Lat. = 'house'.

'Amram . . . taught thee writing': not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, Vit. Mosis, ii. 83.

three weeks: cf. Joseph. Ant. ii. 9. 6.

XLVIII. 1. in the land of Midian: restored from Latin with Exod. ii. 15.

one year: read 'three years'.

return into Egypt, as Exod. iv. 19.

2. Author avoids offence by ascribing God's deed to Mastêmâ. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Jubilees xvii. 16. () Eth. text corrupt; emended from Latin.

3 (on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place). Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute
 4 judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and
 5 against all his house, and against his servants and his people. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of
 6 men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people.
 7 And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the
 8 land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He
 9 would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. And the prince Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped
 10 the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. The evils indeed we permitted
 11 them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that
 12 they could not perform a single sign. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince Mastêmâ was not put to shame **because** he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the
 13 hosts of the peoples of Egypt. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the
 14 midst of the sea as if it were dry land. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on
 15 account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he
 16 might not accuse them. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the
 17 Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and
 18 cast them into the sea. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in
 19 which they had forced them to serve. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-3, 30, 46; xv. 22.)

49¹ Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill

3. Author explains away meaning of Exod. iv. 24, unlike Jerahmeel xlvii. 1, 2, where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son.

5. (by the death): Lat. and Eth. omit.

6. **declare** (*tenger*) emended from 'shouldest do' (*tegbar*).

8. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. **prince Mastêmâ**: *a b* here and in verses 12 and 15, and xviii. 9, 12 read 'prince of the Mastêmâ'.

11. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Exod. xiv. 8, 9. **because**. So I read for 'until'.

took courage: *a* has 'took thought'.

13. *a b* read 'between thee and' before 'between'; *c d* add these words after 'Egyptians and'.

14. *Lex talionis*: cf. iv. 31; Wisd. xi. 1, 7, 8, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 45; Philo, *adv. Flacc.* xx; Joseph. *contra Ap.* ii. 13; Exod. xviii. 11; Gen. ix. 6.

17. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.

18. **fourteenth**: with *b* and Cedren. i. 87; *a d* read 'seventeenth'.

XLIX. 1-21. Exod. xii. 6, 13, 22, 23, 28.

it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the
 2 time of the setting of the sun. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning
 of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let
 loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born
 3 of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. And this is the sign which the Lord gave
 them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into
 (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that
 4 were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. And the powers of the Lord did
 everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel,
 and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or
 5 man, or dog. And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt
 6 where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. And all Israel was eating the flesh
 of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to
 the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from
 7 the evil bondage. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to
 year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not
 8 adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven
 on the heavenly tablets regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on
 its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained
 9 for ever. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion
 of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the
 Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand shall be cut off: because
 he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he shall take the guilt upon himself.
 10 Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth
 day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of
 11 the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening. This
 12 is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. And
 it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the
 evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and
 whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn
 13 it with fire. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the
 fire: **they shall eat it** with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast
 with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.
 14 For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its
 fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded,
 and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its
 15 festival let it be observed. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover

2. See notes on xlvi. 17, x. 8, &c.

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. **drinking the wine**: first mention of this practice at the Passover.

7-8. Cf. vi. 20, 22.

8. **regarding all** = *lakuëllômû* emended with Lat. from *la'ëla*.

9. Cf. Numb. ix. 13. Explained in Pesach. ix. 4.

10. Exod. xii. 6.

12. **slay it . . . during the period (or 'time') bordering on the evening**. According to our text the Passover victim might be slain 'during the period bordering on the evening'. This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase 'between the evenings' (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover 'at even, at the going down of the sun'. But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—'from the third part of the day to the third part of the night.'—The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase 'between the evenings'. The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, i.e. from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, i.e. 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἑνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during 'the third part of the day' before sunset; and this harmonizes on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts: 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. **they shall eat it**: emended with Lat.

†of the children . . . †. The Latin seems better: 'non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac.'

15. No evil will come in the year of a Passover rightly performed.

throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it shall come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague shall come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His
 16 command. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season.
 17 And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it
 18 in the sanctuary of the Lord. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it
 19 before the Lord from year to year. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at
 20 sunset, at the third part of the day. And they shall offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted
 21 with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they shall not go astray from the Lord.
 22 And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and †the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of
 23 joy before the Lord on the altar of your God. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6-13.

50 ¹ And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which
² is between Elim and Sinai. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. And the land also shall keep its sabbaths while they dwell
³ upon it, and they shall know the jubilee year. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks
⁴ and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, 2410 A.M. and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 'distant') for learning the 2450 A.M. commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the
⁵ west. And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there shall be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore.
⁶ And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—
⁷ and all the judgments of its laws. Six days shalt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-
⁸ servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his)

17. from twenty years old (Exod. xxx. 14, Numb. i. 32). Rabbis said fourteen.

20. Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house, &c. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) 'thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose'. But the Mishnah extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. Based on Deut. xvi. 5 (LXX).

nor. Eth. reads 'and' but Latin omits.

go astray from the Lord: Zeph. i. 6.

22. †and the day of its days, and†—Latin *in tempore dierum suorum*, 'during its days.'

23. Cf. Exod. xii. 11.

Shur: from Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sinai, corrupt for Sin.

2. Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34.

4. 'Jubilees' are periods of forty-nine years in our author's opinion; of fifty in most Jewish writers.

5. Cf. xxiii. 26-8.

7. Exod. xx. 9, 10.

8. The man that does any work on it shall die. This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.

Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprang probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46 a,

- wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tablets, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise *Nidda* 38a. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishnah on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in *Nedar* iii. 10, viii. 6, while in *Baba kamma* 82a it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should 'eat garlic' (i.e. cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.* 1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-9 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of *Exod.* xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in *Nedar* iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 seq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (*bd*). *ac* omit 'thereon'. This command was derived from *Exod.* xvi. 29, where the people are bidden to 'abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day' and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2,000 cubits (*Erubin* iv. 3, i, v. 7), which was called the 'Sabbath limit' (תחום השבת) or simply 'limit' (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (σαββαρίου ὁδός, *Acts* i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitationes on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's *Lexicons* on תחום; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, ii. 2. 102-3. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἐξεστὶ δ' ἡμῖν οὐτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὐτ' ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS. prefix 'and'. The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in *Neh.* x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against 'eating or drinking anything' may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

takes up any burden to carry it, &c. See note on ii. 29. This is the thirty-ninth form of work forbidden in the treatise *Shabbath*. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a 'burden'. Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 782, 784).

12. tills (his) farm: cf. *Exod.* xxxiv. 21; *Shabb.* vii. 2.

lights a fire: forbidden in *Exod.* xxxv. 3; *Numb.* xv. 32, 33.

rides on any beast: cf. *Sanh.* 46a; *Beza* v. 2.

strikes or kills anything: cf. *Shabb.* vii. 2.

fasts: cf. *Judith*, viii. 6.

makes war: cf. *Shabb.* vi. 2, 4; 1 *Macc.* ii. 31-8; 2 *Macc.* vi. 11, xv. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xiv. 4. 2. Partially superseded in 1 *Macc.* ii. 41. It was a constant hindrance to the Jews, especially at Pompey's siege of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but was once abandoned with success in the final war (Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 19. 2).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE CHARACTER OF THE EPISTLE.

THE Epistle claims to be a contemporary record, written with the personal knowledge of an eye-witness, by Aristeas, an officer at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), to his brother Philocrates, giving an account of the circumstances which led up to the composition of the LXX version of the Jewish law. The events with which it deals are supposed to take place during the lifetime of Queen Arsinoë (§ 41). As Arsinoë became Queen about 278 B.C. and died in 270 B.C., these dates provide us with the time limits within which the story must be placed. If the allusion to the royal children in § 41 is not an anachronism, but contains a reference to the fact that Arsinoë, finding herself childless, adopted the offspring of her predecessor, the date must be fixed towards the end of this period.¹ The writer strives to give us the impression that the Epistle was composed almost immediately after the occurrence of the events which it records.

This claim, however, cannot be sustained. There are many reasons which make it quite certain that the Epistle could not have been written by a Greek Court-official in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

1. On two occasions the writer makes statements which betray the fact that he belongs to a later age. In § 28 he speaks of the manner in which 'the affairs of state *used to be carried out* by these Egyptian kings' and in § 182, after referring to the arrangement which was made for the entertainment of guests at court in the time of Philadelphus, he adds the significant words, 'it is an arrangement which is still maintained to-day'.

2. The writer is guilty of several serious historical anachronisms.

(a) He represents Demetrius of Phalerum as head of the library of Alexandria and ascribes the translation of the law to his influence and initiative (§§ 9–11 *et passim*). The evidence, however, proves quite conclusively that Demetrius was banished by Philadelphus at the commencement of his reign (c. 283 B.C.) for supporting the claim of Keraunos to the throne, and died shortly afterwards (see note on § 9).

(b) In § 180 Aristeas makes Philadelphus allude to a 'naval victory over Antigonus'. If the reference is to the battle of Kos (258 B.C.), he is guilty not only of turning a defeat into a victory, but also of antedating the event by some twenty years or so. If, as many scholars suppose, the reference is to the battle of Andros, the former objection is removed (for Egypt was victorious at Andros) but the latter difficulty is intensified, for the battle was not fought till at any rate the last year of the reign of Philadelphus (247 B.C.) and possibly not till the beginning of the reign of his successor.

(c) In § 201 Menedemus the philosopher is represented as being present at the banquet and taking part in the discussion. Menedemus lived at Eretria and we have no evidence that he ever visited Alexandria. Moreover, he probably died in 277 B.C., a year or two before the time when Aristeas introduces him into the narrative. The references to Theopompus (§ 314) and Theodektes (§ 316) seem to be equally impossible, and the stories which are told about them must be regarded as purely fictitious.

(d) At times the Epistle assumes the existence of the LXX before the translation was made. In §§ 57–8 the specifications of the table which Philadelphus sent as a present to Eleazar are taken from the LXX, which differs very considerably from the Hebrew. In § 228 a phrase from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 is put into the mouth of one of the Jewish envoys. In the description of the dress of the High Priest (§§ 96–9) many terms are used from the LXX of Exodus xxviii and xxix.

¹ Epiphanius gives the date as the 7th year of Philadelphus 'more or less'; other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd, 17th, 19th, or 20th year.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

In § 155 there is a conflate quotation made up of phrases taken from the LXX of two different passages in Deuteronomy. And—most important of all—the law is spoken of as Scripture (§§ 155 and 168).

3. The writer of the Epistle could not have been a Greek courtier, as he claims to be in § 16. To write under a Greek mask was a favourite literary device of Jewish apologists. We have examples of it in the Sibylline books, in pseudo-Hecataeus, and in the forged additions which were made to the Greek poets (Schürer, *ET* ii. 3, p. 294 ff.). The whole tone of the letter from beginning to end proves conclusively that its author was a Jew and that the Greek rôle was assumed to strengthen the force of the argument and commend it to non-Jewish readers.

The Epistle of Aristeas therefore must not, in spite of its author's asseverations, be regarded as a historical document. It is really a piece of apologetic—'a panegyric' as Schürer describes it—'upon Jewish law, Jewish wisdom, and the Jewish name in general'. We may compare it to a modern historical novel written with a purpose. It is only valuable because it indicates the views which were held at the time when it was written with regard to the origin of the LXX.

It may be added that the genuineness and authenticity of the letter were first questioned by Ludovicus de Vives in his commentary on Aug. *de Civ. Dei* xviii. 4 (1522), and subsequently by Scaliger. Ussher and Voss defended the letter, but its claim to belong to the period of Philadelphus was finally destroyed by Humphry Hody (1684-1705), though unsuccessful attempts were made later on by Grinfield in his *Apology for the LXX* (1850) and by Oeconomus in his *περὶ τῶν ὁ ἐρμηνευτῶν* (Athens, 1844-9) to resuscitate its reputation.

§ 2. THE CONTENTS AND PURPOSE OF THE EPISTLE.

The contents of the Epistle may be analysed as follows:—

- I. Introduction, dedicating the book to Philocrates, §§ 1-8.
- II. Preliminary proceedings, §§ 9-51.
 - (a) The proposal of Demetrius, §§ 9-12.
 - (b) The emancipation of the Jewish captives, §§ 13-28.
 - (c) The letter of Philadelphus to Eleazar, §§ 29-40.
 - (d) The reply of Eleazar, §§ 41-6.
 - (e) The names of the translators, §§ 47-50.
- III. The description of the royal presents to Eleazar, §§ 52-82.
 - (a) The sacred table, §§ 52-72.
 - (b) The other presents, §§ 73-82.
- IV. The description of Jerusalem, §§ 83-120.
 - (a) The temple, including the arrangements for the water supply, §§ 83-91.
 - (b) The ministration of the priests and of Eleazar in particular, §§ 92-9.
 - (c) The Akra or citadel, §§ 100-4.
 - (d) A brief description of the city itself, §§ 105-6.
 - (e) A description of the country districts of Palestine, §§ 107-20.
- V. Eleazar's farewell to the translators, §§ 120-7.
- VI. Eleazar's defence of the Jewish law, §§ 128-71.
- VII. The reception of the translators at Alexandria, §§ 172-86.
- VIII. The banquet, and the table-talk of the translators. The 72 questions and answers, §§ 187-300.
- IX. The translation and reception of the law, §§ 301-22.

The apologetic interest of the Epistle reveals itself in the following directions:—

1. The account of the liberation of the Jewish captives by Ptolemy Philadelphus indicates that one of the aims of the author was to vindicate the right of the Jewish people to political liberty. The writer holds up the magnanimity of the king as a mirror to his own age and cites it as an illustration of the attitude which ought to be adopted by rulers towards the Jewish race. The appeal of Aristeas and Sosibius to Philadelphus is really directed to the authorities of the writer's own day.

2. The vindication of the purpose and function of the Jewish law forms the theme of one of the most important sections of the book (§§ 128-71). The writer admits that there were many enact-

INTRODUCTION

ments in the Mosaic code which seemed incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, e.g. the distinction between clean and unclean meats. The method by which he justifies these injunctions is ingenious and interesting. For the first time in the history of Jewish apologetic he resorts to the allegorical method for which Alexandria in later times became so famous. He rejects 'the degrading notion' that the regulations were made in the interests of the animals themselves (§ 144) and insists that they are merely 'symbols', drawn up to teach men lessons of righteousness (§ 151).

3. The long section, which relates the table-talk between Philadelphus and his guests, is introduced to exemplify the wisdom, moral insight, intellectual ability, and philosophical acumen of the leaders of the Jewish people. The high commendation which is given to the answers by the philosophers at the court and especially by Menedemus (§§ 200, 201) serves to exalt the endowments of the Jewish translators at the expense of other teachers. The writer, however, is aware that he has overdone the encomium on Jewish wisdom, for he adds: 'I suppose it will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative', § 296. The writer's argument is in line with the theory commonly adopted by Jewish apologists, that the philosophers of Greece derived their wisdom from the teaching of Moses.

4. There are other signs, too, that the Epistle was intended by its author to advocate the Jewish propaganda:—

(a) In § 16 an attempt is made to show that the God of the Jews is to be identified with the being 'whom all men worship', though they call him by other names.

(b) The idealized picture of Eleazar and the Jewish priests in §§ 92–9 is obviously intended to affect the mind of the reader. 'I am convinced', writes Aristeeas, 'that any man who takes part in the spectacle . . . will be filled with indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind', § 99.

(c) The stamp of approval which is given to the LXX in § 310 is intended to vindicate it against the attacks of critics and secure appreciation for it in the minds of Greek readers.

It is not too much to say that the writer's one object is to demonstrate the supremacy of the Jewish people—the Jewish priesthood, the Jewish law, the Jewish philosophy, and the Jewish Bible.

§ 3. THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE.

The date of the Epistle constitutes an almost insoluble problem. There are three main theories—(1) Schürer holds that it was written about 200 B.C.; (2) Wendland places it between 96–93 B.C.; (3) Graetz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than 33 A.D.). *

The arguments upon which Schürer relies are as follows:—(1) The reference to the translation of the LXX in Aristobulus (170–150 B.C.). The words of Aristobulus as reported by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 2) are as follows:—*ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως. . . . Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.* 'The complete translation of the whole of the Jewish law *was made* in the time of the king who was surnamed Philadelphus, and was due to the efforts of Demetrius of Phalerum.' Schürer argues that the introduction of the anachronism with regard to Demetrius makes it certain that Aristobulus is dependent upon Aristeeas, and as Aristobulus is dated about 170–150 B.C., Aristeeas must be written some years earlier. The argument of Schürer is corroborated to some extent by the interesting parallel between Aristeeas § 306 and a passage of Aristobulus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 10. 377 a.

Aristeeas.

πᾶσα γὰρ ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται.

Aristobulus.

ὥστε . . . τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

Unfortunately for Schürer, however, the genuineness of these quotations, and indeed of the whole work attributed to Aristobulus, has been seriously questioned by some modern scholars, e.g. Kuenen, Graetz, Joel, L. Cohn, and Wendland. And even if their authenticity be admitted, there is nothing to prove that Aristeeas must be the earlier of the two writers. It is quite possible that, instead of Aristobulus using Aristeeas as Schürer supposes, it may have been Aristeeas who used Aristobulus.

(2) Schürer lays great stress on the political condition of Palestine as described in the Epistle: 'A period when the Jewish people were leading a peaceful and prosperous existence under the conduct of their high priest and in a relation of very slight dependence upon Egypt, i.e. the *period before the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucidae*, evidently from the background of the book. There is nowhere any allusion to the complications which begin with the Seleucidian conquest. The

Jewish people and their high priest appear as almost politically independent. Especially is it worthy of remark that the fortress of Jerusalem is in the possession of the Jews' (*ET* ii. 3. 309 f.). There would be additional force in Schürer's argument if we could rely upon the statement of Josephus that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the Akra to the ground (see note on § 100). In view of the fact, however, that Josephus is in conflict with 1 Maccabees and the possibility, which G. A. Smith suggests, that Aristeas may not be referring to the original Akra but to the later Baris, the point cannot be pressed.

The argument would possess considerable weight if it could be proved that the section which deals with Palestine was written from the author's own observations. But if, as Wendland has made extremely probable, Aristeas obtained his information second-hand from the writings of Hecataeus, the data cannot be used as Schürer uses them and the ground is cut from underneath his position.

It is extremely difficult to maintain so early a date as 200 B.C. in view of the internal evidence supplied by the Epistle itself. There are a number of points—none of them conclusive in itself, but possessing cumulative effect when they are taken together—which seem to render it extremely probable that the document belongs to the post-Maccabean period:—

1. In the list of the seventy-two translators, which is due to the writer's imagination, there are many names which are particularly associated with the Maccabean age, e.g. Mattathias, Judas (three times), Simon (three times), Jonathan (three times). Moreover, the high priest in Aristeas bears the same name as the famous Eleazar who is the hero of 2 Maccabees. The unusual names Chelchias (among the 72), Sosibius, and Dositheus are found among the courtiers of the later Ptolemies, and possibly the author himself, as Wendland suggests, assumes the name of the later historian Aristeas (see note on § 6).

2. The evidence of the Papyri affords a clear presumption in favour of the later date. Three points seem to have been made out:—

(a) The omission of the pronoun in the formula *ἐὰν φαίνεται* does not occur on the Papyri till 163 B.C. (see note on § 32).

(b) Strack has proved that while the title *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* is often found in the singular in the Papyri of the third cent. B.C., the plural form which is used in § 40 of Aristeas does not occur till about 145 B.C.

(c) The use of the word 'friends' as a court title is not found till the Papyri of the period of Ptolemy V (205–182 B.C.), see note on § 45.¹

3. Certain statements of the Epistle seem to bear out the same point. To quote Thackeray: 'The alleged widespread interest in the Jewish law (§ 128) and the false views which were in circulation about it (§ 144), the pointed reference to a difference between the Greek text and the Hebrew in a passage of Exodus (§ 57), and the probable allusion to attempts which had been made to improve on the rendering of the translators—all these appear to indicate a date further removed from the age of Philadelphus than that which Schürer would adopt.

If Schürer's view is too early, the date assigned to the Epistle by² Graetz and Willrich is too late. It is difficult to see how the document could have sufficiently established its reputation to be used by Philo and Josephus, if it had been composed as late as 33 B.C. Moreover, the description of Palestine, even though it is borrowed from Hecataeus, could scarcely have been written in its present form after the Roman occupation of Palestine. The island of Pharos, too, is described as inhabited. The conquest of Egypt by Julius Caesar rendered it desolate (Strabo xvii. 6).

The evidence seems to suggest a date between 130 and 70 B.C. May we go further with Wendland and fix upon a definite point within this period? The grounds upon which Wendland decides for 96–93 B.C. are as follows:—In § 115 the ports of Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais are said to be in possession of the Jews. Joppa was conquered about 146 B.C., but Gaza was not captured till 96 B.C., and Ascalon and Ptolemais never became Jewish territory. It is of course the capture of Gaza which is the determining point with Wendland. It is quite conceivable, however, that the author, writing at an earlier time, may have made the same mistake about Gaza as he did about Ptolemais and Ascalon.

There are one or two facts, however, which it seems difficult to reconcile with a date within the period 130–70 B.C. Twice in the Epistle the law is spoken of as Scripture. There seems to be no trace of the application of the term Scripture to the Old Testament before the commencement of the Christian era. We have no other instance either of the application of the allegorical method in the manner in which it is used in Aristeas before that date.

¹ Too much stress should not perhaps be laid on this point as the term may possibly be used in the technical sense in 1 Kings iv. 5.

² For the arguments of Graetz see notes on §§ 28, 167. Drummond, *Philo*, 233 ff.

INTRODUCTION

We seem to have therefore one set of facts, e.g. the Ptolemaic background and the absence of any reference to the Roman occupation of Palestine, which compel us to date the Epistle before 70 B.C., and another set of facts which suggest that it could not have originated till the Christian era.

The solution of the problem will probably be found in some such hypothesis as the following. The Epistle was issued in its present form at the commencement of the Christian era, possibly as late as the date suggested by Graetz and Willrich—but a large part of it—possibly the whole except the law section, §§ 128–71—was in existence before and belongs to the period 130–70 B.C. The law section is quite separate from the rest of the book and might easily have been inserted. It may also be found, when a detailed comparison has been made between Aristeas and 2 and 3 Maccabees, that other sections or at any rate sentences are the work of the later editor. Nothing except some form of the partition theory seems likely to provide the key for the riddle.

§ 4. THE AUTHOR.

Nothing is known with regard to the author of the Epistle. We may, however, draw some inferences from the book with regard to his personality. We may conclude that (1) *he was a Jew*. This is obvious from the tone and purpose of the book; (2) *he belonged to Alexandria*. Lumbroso has proved that the acquaintance which the book shows with the technicalities of the Court life of the later Ptolemies clearly indicates that it was of Alexandrian origin. The employment of the allegorical method of interpreting the law points to the same conclusion. (3) *He was a propagandist*, as is evidenced by the apologetic interest of the book. (4) He belonged to what may be termed 'the common sense school of philosophy'. There are no flights of speculation in the book. No problems trouble the mind of the author, who is simple and conventional in his treatment of the ethical and religious questions which emerge. (5) His attachment and devotion to the Jewish law indicate that the *author had leanings towards Pharisaism*, though it must be admitted that his Pharisaism is not of a pronounced type, except in the section dealing with the Jewish law. (6) He was interested (a) in psychology (§§ 155–6) and especially in the psychology of sleep (§§ 160, 213–16); (b) in political and social problems (*passim*, see Introduction, § 6). (7) Swete has an interesting suggestion that he was a native of Cyprus, based on the fact that his brother came from that island, and that the name Aristeas frequently occurs on the Inscriptions found in the islands of the Aegean (*Introd. to LXX*. 10).

§ 5. SOURCES.

The author claims to write as an eyewitness and consequently gives little indication of the sources from which his information was derived. The only indications which he affords us of having used other authorities are (1) the quotation from Hecataeus in § 31; (2) his reference to the Minutes of Court Proceedings in § 298. We may dismiss the latter at once as an attempt on the part of the author to secure credence for his narrative. The allusion to Hecataeus, however, is more important, and if Wendland is right, reveals the real source which lies behind the Epistle. The quotations which Josephus gives from Hecataeus, though they may be coloured by later tradition or even by Josephus himself, indicate that he covered pretty much the same ground as Aristeas in his description of Palestine. Similar resemblances are pointed out between Diodorus Siculus, who embodied a great deal of Hecataeus in his writings, and our Epistle. Among the points of similarity between the statements of Aristeas and what may be assumed to have been said by Hecataeus, Wendland mentions the following—(a) the account of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, §§ 12, 13; (b) the comparison between the God of the Jews and Zeus (§ 16); (c) the high praise which is bestowed upon agriculture (§ 107 ff.); (d) the description of the Temple and the priesthood at Jerusalem (§§ 83 f., 92 f.); (e) the description of the produce and agriculture of Palestine (§§ 107–20).

There are, however, some points of discrepancy between Hecataeus and Aristeas which weaken the force of Wendland's argument; (a) in § 105 Aristeas describes the extent of the city as 40 furlongs, while Hecataeus says 50; (b) in § 95 Aristeas estimates the number of Jewish priests at 700, while Hecataeus puts the figure at 1,500. We may conclude therefore that while it is certain that Aristeas made use of Hecataeus, very possibly Wendland has exaggerated the extent of his indebtedness.

For the table-talk section it is possible that Aristeas made use of a collection of 'Moral Sayings', though whether they were Jewish or Greek cannot be determined. The theological conclusion, which the writer adds, is sometimes forced and fails to fit on to the previous statement.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

§ 6. THEOLOGY AND ETHICAL TEACHING.

The Epistle is not directly interested in theological problems. The most interesting features are its doctrine of God and its view with regard to the significance of the Jewish law.

1. The conception of God is in many ways quite modern. The most noteworthy point is the identification of the God of the Hebrews with Zeus (§ 16). Stress is laid upon Monotheism (§§ 132, 139). It is through God that 'all things are endowed with life and come into being' (§ 16). 'His power is manifested throughout the Universe and every place is filled with His sovereignty' (§ 132). He is the source of all the endowments and blessings of life (§ 190). Evil as well as good comes from His hand (§ 197). We are dependent upon him for success (§ 196) and for virtue (§ 226 *et passim*). He is the 'ruler and lord of the Universe' (§§ 16, 201, 210), *ὁ κυριεύων πάντων θεός* (§§ 18, 45), the most High God (*μέγιστος θεός* § 19), the great godhead (*μεγάλη θεϊότης* § 95), the Almighty (*ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός* § 185). Nothing can be hid from Him. 'None of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge' (§ 132). He sways the lives of men (§ 17) and grants answers to their prayers (§ 192). The utmost emphasis is laid upon the benignity, the forbearance, and the forgiveness of God, who is described as *χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἀπάσης* (§ 254). Though there is a general reference to the punishments which He inflicts upon the guilty in § 131, yet it is elsewhere asserted that these punishments are mild and that 'God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and makes merely a display of the greatness of his power' (§ 194). There is a vigorous attack upon idolatry in §§ 134-7 which is remarkable for its Euhemeristic explanation of the origin of idol-worship.

2. The section on the Jewish law is the outstanding feature of the book. The law is described as 'Scripture' (§ 168, cf. § 155) and as the 'Oracles of God' (§§ 158, 177). Its divine origin is continually emphasized (§§ 31, 240, 313). It is entirely free from blemish (§ 31), and the utmost sanctity attaches to it (§§ 31, 171). It is the peculiar protection of Israel, 'It has fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron that we might not mingle with the other nations' (§ 139). It contains the moral ideal. 'The good life consists in keeping the enactments of the law' (§ 127). 'All its ordinances have been drawn up to assist the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character' (§ 144, cf. §§ 168, 169). Some of its regulations may seem trivial but there is a hidden meaning attached to them, and they are all intended to teach a moral lesson (§ 150). By a novel application of the allegorical method, Aristeas endeavours to show the real significance of the law with regard to unclean food, and he is specially ingenious in his interpretation of the 'cloven hoof' and 'chewing the cud' (§§ 150-6).

3. Aristeas has no doctrine of sin. The word only occurs once and then it is used in quite a general sense (§ 192). On more than one occasion, however, he refers to the natural bias toward evil in human nature. 'Every man has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure' (§ 108, cf. §§ 222-3). 'All men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence injustice springs up and a flood of avarice' (§ 277).

4. *Ethical Teaching.* A great part of the book is devoted to ethical teaching but it is very largely conventional and possesses very little originality. The utmost emphasis is laid on the connexion between morality and religion. God is 'the starting point' (*καταρχή*) of ethics (§§ 189, 200, 235). The moral ideal is embodied in the law (§ 127), and it is through the power of God that its realization becomes possible. The latter point is brought out clearly in § 236, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power alone to receive the good and reject the opposite'; and again, in § 231, 'It is the gift of God to be able to do good actions' (see also §§ 226, 238, 248). Virtue is spoken of as a general principle which is 'the source of good deeds' (§ 272). The Aristotelian virtue of 'the middle course' or moderation comes into prominence on several occasions (§§ 122, 223, 256). A version of 'the Golden Rule' in its negative form appears in § 207. There is no trace of dualism—in fact the divine origin of the body, and the manifestation of the wisdom of God in its various organs and functions are clearly enunciated in §§ 155-6. Stress is sometimes laid on outward observances and etiquette (§ 246). The teaching shows no sign of asceticism though men are constantly warned not to allow themselves to be carried away by passion and impulse and urged to a life of self-discipline and self-control (§§ 209, 216, 221, 238, 248, 256). The other virtues emphasized are justice and righteousness ('injustice is equivalent to the deprivation of life', § 212), sobriety, temperance, kindness, duty to parents and children, truthfulness, forbearance, sympathy, and forgiveness. Among the vices to be avoided are injustice, pride, intemperance, lying, pleasure-seeking, churlishness, anger, and malice. The general teaching of the book may be summed up in the words of § 195: 'The highest good in life is to know that God is the Lord of the Universe and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal'.

INTRODUCTION

5. *Political Philosophy.* Aristetas incidentally draws a picture of the ideal monarch who is portrayed as a benevolent despot and a philosopher-king. No other form of government is discussed at all. The question is indeed raised as to whether a man born to the purple or a private citizen makes the best ruler, but it is left unanswered (§§ 288-90). The absoluteness of the monarchy is taken for granted. He has power of life and death over his subjects (§ 253). But he is urged to remember that only justice and benevolence, and clemency, and a real desire to promote the welfare of his subjects can render his throne secure (§§ 205, 225, and 283). The ideal condition is reached 'when subjects continually dwell in a state of peace and justice is speedily administered' (§ 291). In order to secure this end, the king must study the part he has to play, as actors do (§ 219), and strict rules of etiquette must be maintained at Court (§ 246). He must pay careful attention to the official reports which are sent up from the provinces, with a view to the correction of abuses and the removal of grievances (§ 283). He must take special precautions to see that his subordinates are not guilty of injustice or oppression (§ 271), and he must put down informers with a strong hand (§§ 166, 167). Moreover, he must see to it that his employes are paid a fair wage (§ 258). Above all he must remember that he owes his throne to God and only the power of God can keep it secure (§ 224).

The interest which Aristetas takes in *social problems* is seen in his views on the following points—(a) He advocates *mild* forms of punishment for offenders. 'If you exhibit clemency, . . . you will turn men from evil and lead them to repentance' (§ 188, see also § 208). (b) He gives an account of the measures which were adopted at Alexandria to prevent the depopulation of the rural districts by influx into the towns (§§ 107-11), and his words seem to suggest that the question was as acute in his day as it is in modern times. (c) He is impressed with the difficulties that arise from the mingling of different races in the big centres, and is opposed to 'residence abroad' whether for rich or poor (§ 249). (d) He is emphatic in demanding fair wages for artisans (§§ 258-9). (e) He holds pronounced views on the inferiority of women, 'Women are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and they are essentially weak' (§ 250).

§ 7. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The two chief authorities on the textual criticism of Aristetas are Wendland and Thackeray, both of whom have constructed a modern text of the Epistle. Thackeray's text was published in 1900 as an appendix to Swete's 'Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek', and Wendland's appeared the same year.

The two texts are not made entirely out of the same materials and unfortunately the Editors use a different system of denominating the MSS. in their *apparatus criticus*.

I propose to state first the MSS. which have been used by both Editors, and then those which have been used by one of them, and finally those which do not seem as yet to have been used at all.

I. The MSS. which have been used by both editors. For the purpose of convenience I give both systems of notation.

	Wend.	Thack.
Vaticanus 383	A.	K.
Venice 534	V.	G.
Palat. 203	P.	I.
Flor. Laur. 44	L.	T.
Barberini iv. 56	B.	P.
Vaticanus 747	C.	H.

II. In addition to these Wendland has used

Monacensis 9	M.
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III. The additional MSS. used by Thackeray are

Paris 128	A.
Paris 129	B.
Paris 5	C.
Paris 950	Q.
Zürich (Omont 169)	Z.

We may include also three MSS. which are the descendants of Paris 128 (A.)

Paris 130	D.
Brit. Mus. Burney 34	F.
Vatican 746	L.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

and one MS. which is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K.)

Basileensis O. iv. 10 R.

Partial use has also been made of

Vaticanus 1668 S.

Mention is made too in the introduction of a MS. which does not appear to be cited in the *apparatus criticus*.

Ottobonianus 32 M.

IV. Certain other MSS. are known to exist but do not appear to have been collated.

Atheniensis 389.

Scorialensis Σ. 1. 6.

Monacensis 82.

V. In addition to the MSS., we have (a) the paraphrase of Josephus which covers the ground of §§ 9-81, &c.; (b) the citations in Eusebius, of §§ 9-11, §§ 28-46, §§ 88-90, §§ 128-71. Eusebius is the more valuable of the two, because Josephus has taken the trouble to rewrite every sentence, and though he still employs the characteristic words and phrases of Aristeas, it is very often impossible to reconstruct the text which he was using. The citations in Eusebius are on the whole accurate and reliable; he sometimes abbreviates a little and sometimes misquotes, but as Freudenthal says, 'it is only in extremely rare cases that he inserts additions of his own, and the cases in which we meet with fundamental alterations of the text are still more uncommon.' (Quoted by Thackeray, Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 576.)

Classification of MSS. With regard to the classification of the MSS. Wendland and Thackeray are on the whole in agreement, though there is some difference as to details. For the sake of comparison I append a table, giving the two classifications, using the notation of Thackeray in order to make the agreements and differences obvious:

	Thackeray.	Wendland.
Group I	{ (a) TB (b) CPSZ	TBPSZ
Group II	{ (a) GIM (b) HA (DFL) K (R)	{ (a) GIMC (b) HKADF
Group III	wanting	Cod. Monacensis 9

It will be seen that the only essential differences are (a) Thackeray puts C (Paris 5) in group I, Wendland in group II; (b) Wendland uses Cod. Monacensis 9 and places it in a group by itself.

But though the two editors are in general agreement with regard to classification, they differ with regard to the comparative value of the groups. Wendland holds that the purest text is found in Cod. Monacensis 9 which Thackeray does not use at all, the next most important MSS. being T, P, and the MSS. of the first group, while the second group is 'minoris pretii'. Thackeray, on the other hand, maintains that the first group 'while presenting a specious text is in reality based upon a recension, though in a few passages it has kept the original readings'. In the second group 'no correction has taken place, and though the text which has been handed down is not altogether free from corruption, yet the true reading is in most cases to be looked for here'.

A full account of the different MSS. will be found in Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, 504-16).

It remains to add the names of scholars who have worked on the emendation of the text.

C. L. Struve, *Opuscula Selecta* II, pp. 195-7, 270, 277, 310, 311, 329. Lipsiae, 1854.

C. G. Cobet, *Δόκιμος Έρμής*, vol. i, pp. 177-81. Leyden, 1866.

Lumbroso, *Dell' uso delle iscrizioni e dei papyri per la critica del libro di Aristeas: Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. iv, 1868-9, pp. 229-54.

L. Mendelssohn, *Zum Aristeasbriefe*: Rhein. Mus. xxx. 1875, pp. 631, 632.

Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem Epistulae initium. Jurievi, 1897.

Kuiper, *De Aristeae ad Philocratem fratrem epistola.* Mnemosyne, xx. 1892, pp. 252-72.

§ 8. EDITIONS.

The earliest edition of Aristeas appeared in the form of a Latin translation by Matthias Palmerius which was published at Rome in 1471 in the famous Roman Bible of Sueynheim and Pannartz, reprinted at Nürnberg 1475, and issued separately at Erfurt 1483. The *Editio princeps* in Greek was issued by Simon Schard at Basle in 1561. Upon what MSS. Schard's edition rested, is

INTRODUCTION

a matter of dispute. We know that Codex Basileensis O. iv. 10 (R) was presented to the library at Basle by Schard, but we may be certain that he did not use it as the basis of his text. R is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K), and it is from this MSS. that Schard's *variae lectiones* were taken. Wendland thinks that the text was derived from Codex Monacensis 9.

Up till 1870 all editions were simply reprints of Schard, e. g. the text prefixed by Hody to his *De Bibliorum Textibus* in 1705, or the text in Havercamp's *Josephus*, or in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum* (ii. 773-804).

The modern study of Aristeas began with the publication of Schmidt's new text, which was published in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, vol. i (1870), pp. 241-312. Schmidt collated and used the two Paris MSS. known as B and C. In the same year a valuable contribution was made to the subject by Prof. Lumbroso, who examined the text of Aristeas in the light of the Papyri and published his results in his *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin, 1870). His critical study and his emendations have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Some twenty-five years later Mendelssohn of Dorpat undertook the task of examining and collating the MSS. with a view to the construction of a scientific text. He only lived, however, to complete the text of §§ 1-51, which was published in 1897 under the title *Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem epistolae initium*. The work which he left unfinished was taken up by Wendland in Germany and Thackeray in England, whose texts were published in 1900 (see Introduction, § 7).

Little has been done at present in the way of commentary. The Epistle is still very largely virgin soil. The absence of a proper text, and the difficulty of looking up references, since the text was not broken up into sections till Wendland's edition, together with the general neglect of the study of non-canonical Jewish literature until the recent revival, have left, what is from many points of view a most valuable document, in obscurity.

The only good translations are Wendland's in German (Kautzsch ii. 1-30) and Thackeray's in English (*JQR* xv. 337-91). I regret that I did not discover the latter till my own translation was complete, but I have found it extremely helpful in revision, and I have made very considerable use of the footnotes, which are more extensive than those in Kautzsch.

With regard to the general literature on the Epistle, there is not very much to be said. The best account of the book (apart from the introductions in Kautzsch and Thackeray) is in Schürer, *ET* ii. 3. 306-17, where a full account is given of the older literature, and in Drummond, *Philo*, i. pp. 230-42. The only important monographs are Kurz, *Aristeae epistula ad Philocraten*, Bern, 1872; Graetz, *Die Abfassungszeit des Pseudo-Aristeas* (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1876, pp. 289 f., 337 f.); Papageorgios, *Ueber den Aristeasbrief*, München, 1880. References are found in many Jewish Histories and Introductions to the Old Testament, e. g. Nöldeke, Freudenthal, Ewald, Hitzig. Amongst the more recent discussions may be mentioned, the articles by L. Cohn on the relation between Aristeas and Philo in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Alterth.* i (1898), 521 ff., and H. Willrich on the date in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111-30, and the references in Nestle's article on the 'Septuagint', *DBH* iv. 438 f., and in Swete's *Introduction to LXX*, pp. 10-20, 500-74, and Nestle's article on Aristeas in *Realencyclopädie*.

§ 9. THE INFLUENCE OF ARISTEAS ON LATER LITERATURE.

A complete *catena* of 'Testimonia' is printed in full in Wendland's edition of the text of Aristeas (pp. 87-166), to which some few addenda have been made by Nestle, *DBH* iv. 439. It will only be possible to mention the more important facts here.

A. Jewish Literature.

The earliest authority generally cited is Aristobulus. The relevant passages have already been quoted in Introduction § 3. See also note on § 30. The grounds for rejecting the genuineness of the fragments ascribed to Aristobulus by Eusebius are given by L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Alterthum*, i. 8 (1895)) and Wendland (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii (1898), 447-9).

The use of Aristeas by Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. 5-7) seems clearer, though this too has been denied by Cohn (ib. 1898, i. 521). Philo states that Philadelphus, 'the greatest of the Ptolemies,' in his anxiety to obtain a translation of the Jewish law, sent ambassadors to the Jewish High Priest, and requested him to select men to carry out his wish. The High Priest, thinking that Ptolemy's desire was due to divine inspiration, sent some of his most distinguished men to Alexandria. Upon their arrival the king fêted them, and put questions to them to test their wisdom. Owing to the unhealthiness of the town, they were located on the island of Pharos, where the translation was

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

made. The principle which governed it was that the translators regarded themselves as μήτ' ἀφελεῖν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας (cf. Aristeas, § 311). There is no specific reference to the Epistle, and many of its salient features are omitted, but on the whole it seems probable that it formed the basis of Philo's statement.

With regard to Josephus there is no possibility of doubt. In *Antiq.* xii. 2 he gives us a running paraphrase of (a) §§ 9-81, (b) §§ 172-87, (c) §§ 201, 293, 294, (d) §§ 301-21. There is a specific reference to the book itself—ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα (§ 100 in the edition of Niese). It should be noted that Josephus always spells the name Ἀρισταῖος, instead of Ἀριστέας. There are further references to the subject matter of the Epistle in *Antiq.* i. 10; *c. Apion.* ii. 44.

B. *Christian.*

There is no clear proof that Aristeas directly influenced the language of the New Testament, though there are a few interesting parallels.

(1) Aristeas § 177 (cf. § 158).

εὐχαριστῶ . . . τῷ θεῷ οὐκ ὀκνῶς ἐστι τὰ λόγια ταῦτα.

Romans iii. 2.

ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.

Hebrews v. 12.

τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ.

(2) § 280.

θεοῦ σοὶ στέφανον δικαιοσύνης δεδωκότος.

2 Tim. iv. 8.

ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.

This phrase also occurs in the Testaments of the Patriarchs (T. Levi viii. 2).

(3) §§ 140-1.

. . . ὁ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, . . . ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης. . . τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν ἢ σκέψις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν.

Matt. vi. 31-3.

μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες τί φάγωμεν; ἢ τί πίωμεν; . . . πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν. . . ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν : . .

(4) Compare also the argument of

with

§ 144.

1 Cor. ix. 9.

You must not fall into the degrading idea that it was for the sake of mice and weasels that Moses drew up his laws. These ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness.

Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea for our sake it was written.

The earliest reference to the translation of the LXX in Patristic literature is found in JUSTIN MARTYR (*Apol.* i. 31), who states that Philadelphus, wishing to obtain a copy of the Hebrew *prophets*, sent to King *Herod* for the Book. When it arrived, it was found to be unintelligible owing to the language, and Philadelphus sent a second request to the King to send translators.

In the anonymous *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 13 we find what is probably the first attempt to embellish the story. The seventy translators were separated, and placed in cells or huts and not allowed to have any communication with each other. Their translations, when compared, were found to be in complete agreement, without the slightest variation even of language. The writer adds that during a visit to Alexandria, he had been shown the tracks (τὰ ἵχνη) of the cells in which the translators worked.

The same legendary element is repeated in almost the same form by IRENAEUS (iii. 21, 2, quoted by Eusebius, *HE* v. 8. 11) and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromateis* i. § 148.

TERTULLIAN (*Apolog.* c. 18) is the first writer to mention Aristaeus, as he calls him, by name, and his version is more sober, but he adds 'hodie apud Serapeum Ptolomaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur'.

The long quotations from the Epistle in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Aristeas (Ἀρισταῖος) is described as ἀνὴρ λόγιος μὲν ἄλλως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατυχῶν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Πτολεμαῖον (viii. 1. 8), and on one occasion the title of the book is given as Περὶ τῆς Ἑρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμου (ix. 38).

EPIPHANIUS (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 3, p. 155) has a long account of the translation of the Hebrew Bible. Though he quotes Aristeas as his authority (ὡς ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρισταῖος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι) there are many discrepancies. (1) He gives the number of the books in the Alexandrian

INTRODUCTION

library as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω. (2) He says that the 72 translators were placed in 36 cells, and that their translations were found to be in absolute verbal agreement even in their additions and omissions. (3) He inserts two letters from Philadelphus to the teachers in Jerusalem, neither of which agrees with the letter to Eleazar in Aristeas, §§ 35 ff., and the second of which contains a quotation from Sirach xx. 30 = xli. 14 θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου . . . τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις; (4) He adds the information that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus more or less' when the translation was made. Draeseke maintains that Epiphanius drew his information from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias.

JEROME (*Praef. in Pentateuch.* xxxviii, p. 181) takes a more sober view and rejects the story of the separate cells as being incompatible with the accounts of Aristeas and Josephus, 'nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo extruxerit . . . cum Aristeas . . . et multo post tempore Iosephus nihil tale retulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant.'

The embellishments, however, appear again in the account which is given by Augustine of the origin of the LXX, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 42. For other 'Testimonia' see Wendland.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

- 1 SINCE I have collected *material* for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning, 2 a *quality* which is the highest possession of man—to be constantly attempting ‘to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements’ whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.
- 3 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession *documents* of the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their 4 laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters. This *embassy* then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity of *pleading* with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king’s father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worth while that I should tell 5 you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the 6 island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul. On a former occasion,

1. Since I have collected. ‘*Ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως . . . συνεσταμένης*. Thackeray renders ‘As the story of our interview . . . is a remarkable one’—but this does not bring out the full force of *συνεσταμένης*.

as you lose no opportunity, &c. This translation is based on an emendation of Wendland, who reads *παρ’ ἑκάστα ὑπομνήσκων* for the MSS. *παρ’ ἑκάστα ὑπομνήσκων* which is untranslatable.

2. to add to his stock of knowledge. As Thackeray points out, ‘these words form an iambic line in Greek and are probably a quotation from a lost tragedy.’ He quotes two fragments from Sophocles which convey a similar idea: ‘And we must ever be daily acquiring knowledge while it is possible to learn better things,’ and ‘Ever desire to add something useful to thy knowledge’. (*Frag.* 779 and 662 in Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*) *JQR* xv, p. 341.

and so acquires a definite purpose. This rendering follows the text of Thackeray. Wendland connects *τὴν προαίρεσιν* with the following sentence. The translation in this case would be, ‘Having fixed its aim on piety . . . it directs its course by an infallible rule. It was my determination to make a careful study of things divine that led me,’ &c.

3. Documents of the highest value. There is no word for ‘documents’ in the Greek, which reads *κατακεκτημένου μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν*. I have adopted the rendering of Wendland and Thackeray though with some hesitation. Possibly we should translate more simply ‘who had acquired the power of rendering the greatest benefits to the Jews by his interpretation of the divine law.’

for the interpretation. Thackeray disagreeing with Wendland connects this phrase with the following clause which he translates ‘the object of our mission was the translation of the law of God’.

4. This embassy then I undertook, *ἣν δὲ καὶ ἐποιεσάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῇ*. Mendelssohn emends by reading *σπουδῇ* on the ground that it is difficult to supply *πρεσβείαν* as an antecedent, owing to the distance which separates it from the relative, and Thackeray following this suggestion translates ‘And the interest which we displayed when an opportunity offered itself, in bringing before the king the case of the men . . . this also is worth while my telling thee’.

transported . . . by the king’s father. Ptolemy I (Lagus) 322–285 B.C. ‘When Ptolemy had succeeded to the throne of Egypt and had beaten off the attack of Perdikkas, he forthwith made an invasion into Palestine and Syria and annexed all the country. When driven out of it by Antigonos, we hear that he carried off to Egypt a large number of the inhabitants either as slaves or as compulsory settlers. And this happened apparently four times. He always retreated in time to carry his booty with him. But in spite of these repeated raids or temporary occupations and this repeated carrying off of plunder from Palestine, we are persistently informed that the house of Ptolemy was most popular with the Jews.’ (Mahaffy, *EP*, p. 87.)

5. from the island. This is generally supposed to refer to Pharos, but it is difficult to see how Philocrates could have been in ignorance of the events recorded in the Epistle if he had been living so near to Alexandria as Pharos, especially as the translation of the LXX was made on the island, § 301. Possibly Cyprus is meant; cf. Swete (*Introd.* to LXX, p. 10, footnote), who draws an inference that Aristeas himself may have been a Cypriote.

- too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,—the record
 7 which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the † most learned † land of Egypt. As you
 are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent
 upon me to impart to you *all the information in my power*. I should feel the same duty towards all
 who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations
 which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less than in blood
 8 but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness. For neither the pleasure derived from gold
 nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the
 pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by
 a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.
- 9 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the
 purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of
 purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king. On
 one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there *in the library*?
 10 and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the
 immediate future *to gather together* the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand
 may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in
 11 your library.' 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is
 necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius,
 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have
 a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac
 tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he under-
 stood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his
 purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.
- 12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius
 of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had
 been transported from Judea by the king's father—for when by a combination of good fortune and
 courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful

6. **I sent you a record.** This seems to be an attempt on the part of the author to identify himself with the historian Aristeas, the writer of a book called *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* referred to in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* ix. 25. The fragment of this Aristeas quoted by Eusebius is taken from the treatise of Alexander Polyhistor, who is dated c. 50 B.C. Aristeas himself belongs probably to the second century B.C. If there is any reference to this Aristeas here, this date would constitute a *terminus a quo* for our Epistle. It is quite possible, however, that the Author of the Epistle is referring to another book written by himself which has been lost.

the most learned land, *λογιωτάτην* probably a textual corruption accidentally introduced from the following phrase *λογιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων*.

9. **Demetrius of Phalerum.** The facts known about Demetrius are as follows:—About the year 307 B.C. he was driven out of Athens, where he had ruled for ten years as deputy for Cassander, by Demetrius the Besieger. He was persuaded by Ptolemy I, who happened to be visiting Greece at the time, to migrate to Alexandria, where he was afterwards associated with the Museum. At the end of the reign of Ptolemy I he fell into disfavour because he opposed the king's desire to make his youngest son Philadelphus successor to the throne, and advocated the claims of the eldest son Keraunos, who possessed the right of primogeniture. As a result Demetrius was sent into exile and died soon afterwards from the bite of an asp (c. 283 B.C.). The fact and date of the exile seem to be substantiated by the statements of Plutarch (*de Exil.* p. 602), Diogenes Laertius (v. 78), and Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.* 9), which have behind them the authority of Hermippus Callimachus, who lived under the third and fourth Ptolemies. The statements of Aristeas must therefore be regarded as an anachronism, since Demetrius could not possibly have exercised any influence over Philadelphus. Moreover, we know from the investigations of Busch (*de bibliothecariis Alexandrinis*, p. 1 ff.) that the office of librarian under Philadelphus was held first by Zenodotus of Ephesus and then by Erastosthenes. It is possible, however, as Swete suggests, that the project of translating the Jewish law may have been mooted by Demetrius in the time of Ptolemy I, though it was not carried out till the reign of his successor (see Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 19; *JQR*, Jan. 1902, p. 338, Ostermann, *de Demetrii Ph. vita* (1857), Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* I, p. 6, 138).

10. **above two hundred thousand.** Epiphanius gives the number of the books as 54,800 *πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω*.

11. **speak a peculiar dialect, i. e. Aramaic.**

12. **his attack on Coele-Syria.** The reference is probably to Ptolemy I's second campaign against Syria and Palestine which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.). The fragments of Hecataeus in Josephus (*con. Ap.* i. 186), which though disputed are probably genuine, confirm the statements of Aristeas and may have been the source from which they were taken. Hecataeus (see Note on § 31) says, 'Ptolemy got possession of many places in Syria after the battle of Gaza, and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, they went along with him to Egypt and were willing to assist him in his affairs.' The impression given by this fragment is that the action of Ptolemy's army was much less drastic than is represented in Aristeas. The presence of large settlements of Jews in Egypt at this time, though denied by Willrich, seems to be abundantly proved by the Papyri. A village named Samareia in the Fayyum is mentioned more than once in the Petrie collection of Papyri. There was a Jewish colony at Psenuris (cf. *P.P.* I. 43 *παρα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, in which mention is also made of Jewish slaves). For further evidence see Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 93.

issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the
 13 Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent to Egypt to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)
 14 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war.

Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation, I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow
 15 our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom. They worship the same God—the Lord and Creator of the Universe, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or
 16 Dis. This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the ruler and lord of the Universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.'

17 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty—for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that *the king* might be constrained to grant my request. For I had
 18 great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfilment of my prayer. For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)—*the king* raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near,
 19 replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristeeas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thankoffering in your power.' Extremely pleased *with these arguments* he gave orders that an addition should be
 20 made to the wages of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money, that twenty drachmae should be paid to the owners for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it. He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time

13. **The Persian.** The reference seems to be to Cambyses who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Wendland thinks that this statement is due to a misunderstanding of Hecataeus who says, 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon as also not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia'.

Psammetichus. We know from Herodotus (II. 151, fol.) that Psammetichus I (c. 671-617 B.C.) was the first Egyptian king to employ Greek mercenaries and that Psammetichus II, who became king in 595 B.C., carried on a campaign against the Aethiopians (Her. II. 159-61), but we have no evidence to connect the Jewish people with either. Wendland thinks the allusion a pure fiction.

16. **Zeus or Dis.** The two accusative forms of *Zeus*, viz. *Zēna* and *Δία*, are here used, and it is difficult to translate them as the nominative of the second form is obsolete. They are derived by Aristeeas, as by the Stoics and Orphic writers, from *ζῆν* (to live) and *διά* (through) respectively. Compare the statement of Aristobulus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 7) *καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιμάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα*. For a similar comparison between Jehovah and Zeus see Diodor. Sic. i. 12. 2, who probably derived the idea from Hecataeus.

18. **I had great hopes, &c.** This rendering follows the suggestion of Mendelssohn who supplies *τῶν* before *ἀνθρώπων*. Otherwise we must translate with Thackeray, 'I had a good hope in bringing forward a proposal concerning the deliverance of men.' The phrase *προτιθέμενος λόγον* may mean either 'bringing forward a proposal' or 'giving a reason to oneself'—'assuring oneself'.

or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

- 21 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more
 22 manifest. The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of *Alexandria* and the land of *Egypt* or sold them to others—and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards—all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive
 23 this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury. We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of *battle* was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of
 24 absolute injustice. Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists of *slaves* for the officers appointed to carry out our will,
 25 and immediately produce the persons of *the captives*. For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'
- 26 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the
 27 decree ratified within seven days. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.
- 28 When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these *Egyptian* kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in
 29 magnificence and technical skill. The following is a copy of the memorial. *The Memorial of Demetrius to the great king.* 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes,

20. **four hundred talents.** In § 19 the number of captives is given as a 'little more than 100,000'. The redemption money at 20 drachmae a piece comes to 2,000,000 drachmae or $333\frac{1}{3}$ talents. Thus $66\frac{2}{3}$ talents are allowed for the redemption of the captives, whose release was provided for by the additional clause. The number was therefore estimated at 20,000, making a total of 120,000 slaves to be emancipated. This estimate was greatly exceeded, see § 27.

27. **six hundred and sixty talents.** The estimate of 400 talents (§ 20) was found to be considerably below the mark; 660 talents provided ransom for 198,000 captives. It is difficult to account for the additional 78,000. The children could not possibly have reached that number. We must either assume that the mothers had been omitted in the previous estimate or follow Wendland in supposing that Aristeas has grossly exaggerated the total. The estimate of Josephus, i. e. 460 talents, is much more probable. This makes the total number of captives 138,000, and the number of children therefore 18,000, a much more reasonable figure. Possibly, however, the difference between the 460 of Josephus and the 660 of Aristeas is due to a copyist's blunder in the case of the latter.

28. **used to be carried out.** This phrase indicates that the Epistle belongs to a later date than the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cp. also § 182. Graetz thinks that it proves that the Epistle was written after the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

29. **which are defective.** The Greek words *ἵνα . . . τὰ διαπεπρωκτότα τύχη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς* might mean 'that those which have been lost shall be duly replaced' (Thackeray). The translation given above is supported by Gifford; Eusebius, *Praef. Evang.* viii. 3.

- 30 and I now have the following proposal to lay before you. The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent *from the library*. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am
 31 informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them. It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived †and are living† in accordance with them, because their
 32 conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe—men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law—that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!'
 33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the *Jewish* captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and
 34 for other needs. I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:
 35 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their
 36 power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives—large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be

30. **The books of the law.** There is no article before 'books' in the MSS., though most editors insert or supply it. Thackeray omits and translates 'certain books of the Jewish law'.

carelessly interpreted. The exact force of *σεσήμενται* is uncertain. If we translate 'interpreted' it involves the supposition that an earlier, though imperfect, translation of the law into Greek was in existence. This hypothesis is supported by the statement of Aristobulus, *διηρμήνευται δὲ πρὸς Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἐτέρων* [*ν. λ. δι' ἐτέρων*] *πρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξηγήσις.* (Swete, *Introductio* to LXX, i, 2), cp. also the reference to earlier and unreliable translations in § 314. The term *σεσήμενται* need not, however, imply translation. It may simply mean 'copied' or 'committed to writing' (cp. Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 Ε τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν), or as Diels suggests 'vocalized'.

31. **have lived and †are living†:** *τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἀνδρῶν.* Wendland and Thackeray obelise the words *καὶ πολιτευομένων* as a later addition, since they are omitted in Eusebius and Josephus. The explanation given here of the absence of any reference to the Jewish Scriptures in Greek literature is further elaborated in §§ 312-316.

Hecataeus of Abdera lived in the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, and wrote a history of Egypt, which probably contained many references to Jewish History. He is credited by Josephus (*c. Apion.* 22) with being the author of a special history of the Jews, which most modern authorities regard as a later forgery, worked up from the material obtained from the History of Egypt (see Schürer, ii, 3, p. 302 *ET*). Wendland holds that Aristeas used not the later Pseudo-Hecataeus but the genuine 'History of Egypt'. His conclusion is based on numerous resemblances which he finds between Aristeas and the statements of Didorus Siculus, who used Hecataeus as his main authority in his first book. Whether the quotations in Josephus (*c. Apion.*) came from the genuine or the pseudo-Hecataeus is more difficult to decide.

32. **If it please you:** *ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται*, a later formula as Thackeray has shown by an examination of the Papyri (*JQR* xv, 348). In the early Ptolemaic period we find the classical formula *εἰ σοι δοκεῖ* or *ἐάν σοι δοκῇ* in general use. Between 252 B.C. and 163 B.C. *ἐάν σοι φαίνηται* is generally substituted for the earlier form. From 163 B.C. to 70 B.C. the pronoun is generally omitted and the phrase is used as in Aristeas. There is no instance, however, of the omission of the pronoun in the Papyri before 163 B.C. These facts seem to indicate that our book must be later than this date.

in a conspicuous place. The meaning of the Greek *θῶμεν ἐν δόμῳ* is uncertain. The rendering given above is that of Thackeray and Gifford (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3) and refers of course to the library at Alexandria, though it is difficult to see why the idea is not conveyed in plainer terms. The words might mean 'that we may place it on record in seemly fashion' or 'make the meaning plain'.

continual prosperity, εὐτύχει, the regular salutation used by a subordinate to his superior. The formula for addressing an equal or a subordinate is *ἔρρωσο* (see Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80), which is the word used by Ptolemy and Eleazar in their correspondence with each other, §§ 40, 46.

36. **when he had proved the loyalty, &c.:** *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προόντας.* This rendering is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3. Thackeray, however, takes *τοὺς προόντας* to mean 'those who were already in the country'—'in like manner from his confidence in those who were already in the country he placed under their charge' [i.e. under the charge of the newly imported Jews], &c.

might be intimidated. The MSS. of Aristeas read *ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχη*, 'that native Egyptians might be free from fear.' Both Josephus and Eusebius, however, omit *μὴ*, and most modern editors follow them.'

intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours—I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thankoffering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the court, I have established in official positions. Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that *in questions of dispute* we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this work. I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristeas—men whom I hold in high esteem—to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a new pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell.’

To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: ‘Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend. My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe your sister and your children. I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the temple stands in need. These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter. I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very

40. **Andreas chief of the bodyguard.** ‘*Ἀνδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων*. Strack has proved that the plural form of *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* does not occur in the Papyri till 145 B.C. Jerome describes Aristeas as Ptolemaei *υπερασπιστής* (*Praef. in Pent.* xxviii, p. 181).

41. **replied appropriately.** There is some question as to the meaning of *ἐνδεχομένως* which I have rendered ‘appropriately’ (so too Gifford), cp. *αἱ ἐνδεχόμεναι τιμωρίαι*, Lycurg. 164. 38. The adverb, however, seems to be generally used as the equivalent of *ὅσον ἐνδέχεται*, ‘as far as possible’. Wendland suggests ‘so far as he could write Greek’. Diels would substitute *ἐκδεχομένως* = straightway. Josephus paraphrases *ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως*. Thackeray renders ‘Eleazar wrote much as follows’.

Queen Arsinoe your sister. On the famous Mendes stele Arsinoe is described as ‘the daughter, sister and great wife of a king who loves him, the divine Arsinoe Philadelphos’. Arsinoe was the daughter of Ptolemy I. She was first married about 301 B.C. to Lysimachus King of Thrace to whom she bore at least three children. After the death of Lysimachus, who was killed at the battle of Korupedion 281 B.C., she married Ptolemy Keraunos her half-brother who was endeavouring to secure the throne of Thrace. No sooner, however, had Keraunos got Arsinoe into his power than he murdered her children whom he regarded as his rivals, and banished her to Samothrace. Arsinoe was not content to remain quietly in exile but made her way to Egypt, where she succeeded in inducing Ptolemy Philadelphus to abandon his wife, her namesake and stepdaughter Arsinoe I, and marry her instead. Arsinoe’s third marriage took place about 278 B.C. With regard to this type of Marriage Mahaffy remarks ‘It is only in the researches of our own day that the Egyptian dogmas and sentiment in this matter have been duly examined and it is now clear that far from being a licence or an outrage, the marriage of full brother and sister was in the royal family of Egypt, the purest and most excellent of all marriages and the highest security that the sacred blood of kings was not polluted by inferior strains’ (*The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 77). Compare the statement of Maspero. ‘The marriage of brother and sister was the marriage *par excellence*, and it contracted an unspeakable sanctity when this brother and sister were born of parents who stood in the same relation’ (*Annuaire de l’École des Hautes Études* for 1896, p. 19, quoted by Mahaffy, p. 77). From the time of her marriage to her death in 270 B.C. Arsinoe held the highest possible place in popular esteem. ‘She became a great figure not only in the Egyptian but in the Hellenistic world. Of no other queen do we find so many memorials in various parts of the Greek world.’ (Mahaffy, p. 76.)

your children, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II had no children of their own, and this statement is often supposed to be another instance of Aristeas’ mistakes. We know, however, that Arsinoe II adopted the children of her predecessor and the reference may be to these. Compare the statement of Theocritus in the scholia on the Encomium of Ptolemy II (Idyll. xviii) *καὶ εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθέντας παῖδας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἀρσινόη ἀτεκνὸς ἀπέθανεν*.

unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many
 45 (ways). Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and
 your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that
 Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the
 46 holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully. In the presence of all
 the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you
 with a copy of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that
 as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety.
 Farewell.'

47 *The following are the names of the elders:* Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John,
 Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of
 48 the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis. Of the fourth tribe,
 Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias. . . . Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sab-
 49 bataeus, Simon, Levi. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias. Of
 the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe,
 Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham,
 50 Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel. Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas,
 Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of
 the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in
 all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter.

51 I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were
 wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the
 workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negli-
 52 gently. First of all I will give you a description of the table. The king was anxious that this piece
 of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews
 53 in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem. And when
 they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure.
 And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he
 said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless
 54 for the temple services. He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple,
 for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting
 55 sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made. He did not suppose
 that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems
 to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. †For had the order been given,
 there would have been no lack of means†. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper
 56 measure. At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for
 he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination
 which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented by the finished work. He
 gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the Jewish Scriptures, everything
 should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be
 carried out to the letter.

57 They made the table two cubits long (one cubit broad) one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of

44. *unusual*, lit. contrary to nature, *παρὰ φύσιν*. The translation of the Jewish law into a foreign language was regarded as contrary to nature.

in many ways. In the MSS. of Aristeas we read simply *κατὰ πολλούς*. Eusebius, however, adds *τρόπους*, which is the justification for the translation given above.

45. *friends*, a special court title, which came into prominence in the time of Ptolemy V. (205-182 B.C.). It occurs frequently on the Papyri of this period but is not found at an earlier date, though Strack thinks it may have occurred in some of the *lacunae* of the Papyri of Ptolemy IV (222-205 B.C.). We seem to have here another anachronism (Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 161), though as the title is apparently used in the O.T. (1 Kings, iv. 5) too much stress must not be laid upon this point.

48. The fifth and sixth names of the fourth tribe are given by Epiphanius, who uses Aristeas in his *De mens. et pond.* as Zacharias and Chelkias. Probably the Chabrias of Aristeas is a corruption.

50. For Chabu (*Χαβευ*) Epiphanius reads Caleb, which seems obviously to be correct.

55. *had the order been given*: the text is corrupt at this point. The MSS. read *ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς οὐσης, οὐθὲν ἂν ἐσπίνιζε*. This is difficult to translate, though it might perhaps be rendered 'Nothing would have been lacking for the present table'. It is better, however, to accept Mendelssohn's brilliant conjecture and substitute *ἐπιταγῆς* for *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς*.

56. *picture the appearance*, *εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν*. This might also mean 'To design the appearance of objects'. The interest which Philadelphus took in art and architecture is well attested.

in the scriptures: the reference is to the instructions laid down in Exodus, xxv. 23, 24. The technical term for Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*) does not occur here—though it is found in §§ 155, 168. The phrases used here are *ὅσα δ' ἂν ἡ ἄγραφα*, . . . *ὅσα δὲ διὰ γραπτῶν*, see note on § 168.

57. *one cubit broad*: these words are not in the MSS. of Aristeas but are found in Josephus and in Exodus xxv, 23. Wendland thinks that their omission here is purely accidental.

pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole structure was of massive gold welded together. And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously wrought on its three sides. For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance. †Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator†. Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, *the rim* was three-sided, †from whatever point of view one approached it†. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic device. For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perforations *in the stones*. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm. On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, †elaborately engraved† by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely connected together round the whole table. And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged. These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold. And after the crown of fruit had been put on, *underneath* there was inserted another pattern of eggs *in precious stones*, and other fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according to the wishes of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended down to the feet of the table. They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used

massive gold welded together: lit. the plate of beaten metal was attached to it.

58. **They made a border.** The description of the table is an elaboration of the data in Exod. xxv. 23: 'Thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make a border of an handbreadth round about and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about'. In the LXX as in Aristeas there is no mention of the foundation of acacia wood. The whole table is to be made χρυσὴν χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ. The use of the LXX phrase στρεπτὰ κυμάτια is also significant. Either we have an anachronism. The table is supposed to be made according to the specifications of the LXX text which did not as yet exist. Or else the LXX translation was influenced by the table of Philadelphus, and the differences between it and the Hebrew were introduced to bring the new table more into accord with Scripture.

There is considerable difficulty with regard to the exact significance of the word translated border (ἡ, στεφάνη, κυμάτια στρεπτὰ). AV and RV render by 'crown', RV m. by 'rim or moulding'. The phrase κυμάτια στρεπτὰ suggests a cable moulding—and this is the interpretation which Aristeas puts upon it; (so also Josephus, τὸ ἑδαφος ἑλικος, a spiral). On the other hand 'the same phrase is used in architecture to denote an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus. In any case both the sides and the ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table', DBH iv. 663.

wreath of wavework: the meaning of this phrase, and indeed of the whole sentence, is very dubious. Thackeray translates 'They made . . . its ledges of twisted work' but suggests that the phrase may mean 'its mouldings (or rims) were made so as to revolve'.

59. **It was triangular,** ἦν γὰρ τριγωνία. This cannot refer to the table, which had four legs and must have been oblong in shape. If the text is correct, it must refer to the border. Thackeray suggests that we ought to follow Josephus in reading τρίγωνα and translate 'the ledges were triangular in shape'.

whichever side they were turned: the meaning is very obscure. The words might be translated 'to whichever side a man turned himself, the same appearance met his eyes' (Wendland).

Of the two sides, &c. The text of this sentence is so corrupt that its meaning cannot be made out. I have followed the conjecture which substitutes κειμένω, for the κειμένου or κειμένης of the MSS. at the commencement of the sentence. Thackeray translates 'and while the ledge rested on the border that side of it which sloped towards the table was beautifully worked although the side which sloped outwards [alone] met the eye of the spectator'. Wendland renders 'Während aber die nach dem Tische gerichtete Seite der auf dem Rand aufliegenden [Leiste] ihre schöne Arbeit dem Anblick entzog, bot sich die äussere Seite den Blicken des Beschauers dar'.

62. **elaborately engraved:** the text ἐκτίπωσιν ἔχουσα προσοχῆς is corrupt and we can only conjecture its meaning.

63. **These fruits were wrought,** lit. 'They worked the stones which had the colour of each species of the aforesaid fruits to resemble those fruits'.

with a band of gold, or 'they attached them to the gold all round the table' (Thackeray).

64. **according to the wishes.** We must follow Wendland and read αἰδώνται for αἰρῶνται here and in the following section.

the wave work, &c. Thackeray translates this sentence 'with such symmetry that the ledges and the border reappeared on the side nearest the feet'.

65. **Thus it became, &c.** The meaning of the Greek is obscure. Thackeray renders 'This metal plate was visible on the surface as the work was constructed so as to be reversible'.

- 66 either way. On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander', having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel
 67 in beauty. And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called,
 68 had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders. They made the feet of the table with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the
 69 table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright. The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth *high* all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.
 70 And they made *the foot appear like* ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with *akanthus* and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top of the foot. All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and
 71 everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality *which it represented*. And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work
 72 must have cost many talents. For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.
 73 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought (in gold), and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with
 74 great artistic skill. Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, **with its surface** wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the
 75 brim. In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were
 76 engraven all round. Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more
 77 clearly than in mirrors. But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see
 78 them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle. The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.
 79 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to
 80 complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king. In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the
 81 excellence of his *designs*. For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner
 82 worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land. There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size.

69. **the whole expanse of the foot**, lit. 'the whole plate of the foot'. Thackeray renders 'upon this rested the whole plate into which the leg was inserted'.

71. **fitted and dovetailed**, lit. 'being fitted together by dove-tailing which was secured by pegs in the thickness of the structure' (Thackeray).

74. **with its surface**: we must read here with Wendland *ἐν ὑπεροχῇ* for *ἐνυπὲρ*.

The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

- 83 I have given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived in the land of the Jews we saw the city situated 84 in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings 85 were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented. It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and 86 the stability of the lintel. The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant 87 spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away. The construction of the altar **was in keeping** with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a *gradual* slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their 88 ankles. The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the 89 blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days. And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes 90 so that the different streams converge together. And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base of the altar which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an 91 eye. Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.
- 92 The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption—some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others 93 again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength. For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place of the altar and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select the beasts which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described,

83. **In the land of the Jews.** Text corrupt.

86. **in proportion to that of the entrance.** Reading *θυρώσι*. Thackeray prefers the reading *θυρώσει* and translates 'The fashion of the curtain bore a very close resemblance to a door'.

the curtain bulged out. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *κατὰ τὴν κόλπῳσιν μέχρι τῆς ἄνω διατάσεως*. Schmidt conjectures *κατατείνειν* for *κατά*. Thackeray renders 'the swell extended to the upper and tauter part of the curtain'.

87. **was in keeping.** Following the conjecture of Mendelssohn *συμμέτρως ἔχουσιν*.

in linen garments. *βυσσίνους χιτῶσιν*, quoted from LXX of Ex. xxxvi. 35. See note § 228.

89. **an abundant natural spring.** This statement is supported by Tacitus, who speaks of a 'fons perennis aquae' (*Hist.* v. 12). There are objections, however, to the statement: (a) No trace of such a well has been discovered, (b) the system of aqueducts which brought water from a distance would have been unnecessary if such a spring had existed. These 'two facts or rather our present evidence for them are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple enceinte', G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 85, 86.

wonderful . . . cisterns. Some thirty-six or thirty-seven of these remarkable reservoirs have been discovered and surveyed. Full lists and descriptions are given in *Recovery of Jerus.* 204 ff.; P. E. F. *Mem.* 'Jerus.' 217 ff.; P. E. F. 2. 1880; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 292 ff. Speaking of their general characteristics, G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 120, says: 'They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the low-lying *meleki* rock, 30, 40, 50, and 60 feet deep (one of them 'the Great Sea' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented; their roofs of the harder upper *mizze* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry; with channels of communication, passages for inspection and conduits for draining the water at different levels.'

90. **fastened with lead**, or 'had their bases and sides of lead'.

94 is carried out. There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready to resume their duties rise up spontaneously since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of the sacrifices. The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty of his appearance, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells upon the garment which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue. He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty, woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way its own particular colour. On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these emblems in the ministrations. Their appearance created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

100 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most

95. **seven hundred.** This number is at variance with the estimate given in the passage from Hecataeus which is quoted by Josephus *c. Apion.* i. 22: 'All the Jewish priests who are in receipt of the tithe of the produce [of the soil] and administer the public moneys [or affairs] are at the most fifteen hundred'. Josephus states that there were four tribes of priests, each containing more than five thousand (*c. Apion.* ii. 8) but probably he includes the Levites and the servants.

96-9. The description of the dress of the High-priest is based upon Exodus xxviii and xxix. For other accounts of this dress see Charles' *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ET, p. 42. Many phrases are taken from the LXX, showing that the writer must have been perfectly familiar with the version. For further illustrations of the use of the LXX see §§ 56, 57, 87, 228.

97. **the oracle of God.** Exod. xxviii. 30 reads: 'Thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim'—which the LXX renders καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δὴλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. This mistaken rendering (which is followed by Aristeas) is mainly responsible for the view that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels in the breastplate, see *DBH*, iv. 839. We have here another proof that the LXX translation had superseded, in the mind of Aristeas, the Hebrew original before our Epistle was written.

98. **sacred letters**—i.e. the older Hebrew characters such as are found on old Hebrew seals, the Moabite Stone, and in Phoenician inscriptions before they had changed into the later square characters. Driver, *Exodus* (*Cam. Bib.*, p. 309).

99. **Their appearance.** Following an emendation of Wendland, who reads ἐμφάνεια for συμφάνεια.

100. **the summit of the neighbouring citadel.** There are many problems connected with the site and the history of the ἄκρα. 'Theories of the position of the Akra are almost as numerous as the writers who have devoted attention to the subject' (for a discussion of the various views see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 444 ff). The earliest reference to the ἄκρα is found in Josephus, who says that it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison when in 198 B.C. the Jews welcomed Antiochus the Great to Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes 'fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an ἄκρα or citadel' (1 Mac. i. 33-6). 'It became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary and throughout an evil adversary to Israel' (1 Mac. iv. 40). For further references in the Maccabean period see G. Adam Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 157 f. Josephus, however, tells us that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the ἄκρα to the ground. (*BJ*, ii. 2, iv. 1, *Ant.* xiii. 6. 7). In the passages in the *Antiquities* he states that Simon, anxious 'that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the temple should be higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished.' This statement, however, is difficult to reconcile with the assertion of 1 Mac. xiv. 37 that 'Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.' If the assertion of Josephus could be relied upon, it would suggest a point which would have to be considered in discussing the date of Aristeas. There is a further difficulty, however. Possibly, as G. Adam Smith suggests (*ib.* ii. 447) Aristeas is referring not to the Akra but to the later Baris. Graetz thinks that the description of the Castle points to the tower of Antonia built by Herod the Great (*op. cit.* 295-6).

trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant to admit us,—though we were but two unarmed men—to view the offering of the sacrifices. And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might efficiently protect it.

The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them† now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper towers are more frequented†. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads, and †some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road† because of those who are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful. It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight *with regard to what was required*. For the country is extensive and beautiful. Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially (those which are contiguous to the land of Judea). The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land. The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure. The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling *in the city*, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one *who lived in the country*, the case must be settled within five days. And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry. I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy

104. And were . . . to carry out. So Thackeray emends.

105. forty furlongs. This estimate agrees with the statement of Timochares (quoted by Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 34), but Hecataeus states that the circuit was about 'fifty furlongs' (quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 197).

in the shape of a theatre, 'with the comparison to a theatre,' cf. *Ency. Bib.* ii. 2412. 'There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the west side of its main course—a kind of dell or *theatre-shaped* depression extending westwards, a depression which would face a spectator looking westwards from the temple-mount, where the writer of our letter professes to be standing' (Thackeray, *JQR*, xv. 360).

now the cross roads. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read καὶ φαινομένων δὴ δὼν τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν ἡθισμένων, but it seems impossible to extract any relevant meaning from the words as they stand. In the phrase τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν εἰθισμένων Thackeray reads εἰθισμένως and translates 'the resemblance extending to the cross streets, which are seen some below, some above, in the usual manner [of a theatre]'. Wendland following a conjecture of Diels substitutes μή for καί at the commencement of the sentence, and ἐσχισμένων for ἡθισμένων and renders 'und man sieht zwar nicht die Durchgänge der unteren [Türme], wohl aber die der oberen, die bei den Durchgängen durchbrochen sind.'

106. the ground ascends, ἀνάκλασιν γὰρ τὰ τῶν τόπων. Thackeray translates 'the ground is irregular' and takes ἀνάκλασιν to mean 'a bending back'. He quotes in illustration a statement from Smith's *DB* I, ii, 1587: 'the northern and southern outliers of the Mount of Olives bend round slightly towards the city.'

some . . . are . . . going up.† The meaning is obscure. Thackeray translates: 'Some persons take their way along the higher level, and others underneath, the distinction in the means of journeying being chiefly made for the sake of those who are undergoing the usual purifications'. Wendland substitutes διεστηκνίας for διεστηκότες. 'They ascend by the one, they descend by the other, especially if they have a long journey to make, with a view to observing', &c.

107. contiguous to the land of Judea. These words are supplied by conjecture to fill a *lacuna* in the MSS. Wendland's reading, 'namely those which are in the centre', is possibly more correct.

108. a natural tendency. For a further explanation of this inherent bias in human nature, see §§ 222-3, and especially 277.

111. farmers and their advocates. The meaning of the latter term (προστάται) is uncertain. Thackeray translates 'directors or agents', but suggests that we might render 'the agricultural class who are also the protectors (backbone) of the country.' Legislation in the interests of agriculture is illustrated in the Papyri (cf. Paris Papyri, no. 63, *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xviii, Letronne and Brunet, and Thackeray's Note, *JQR*, p. 361).

which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these. There are cattle of all kinds in
 113 great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly
 114 regulated. A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the
 115 city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea. It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them. The country produces everything in abundance,
 116 since it is well watered in all directions and well protected *from storms*. The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally (the country) contained not less than 60 million acres—though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it—and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land. Near the district belonging to the people of
 117 Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of
 118 Ashdod. The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep
 119 ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained. This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread
 120 abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive, in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the *Persian* rule, †since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district†.

I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject
 121 in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel. The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most
 122 carefully that of the Greeks as well. They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course—and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question. And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in
 123 its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly
 124 besought Andreas to work *for the same end* and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability. And

114. *rich in the arts*, *πολύτεχνος*. The description of Jerusalem as 'a city of many crafts' is an exaggeration even when we admit that the phrase need not necessarily imply technical originality. Apollonius of Rhodes goes to the opposite extremes when he says 'the Jews are the most inept of the Barbarians and the only ones who have not contributed any invention useful to life', Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 15. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 373.

115. *Ptolemais founded by the King*. The reference is to Philadelphus II, who gave his name to the town which was previously called Acco or Akka, though some authorities regard it as the foundation of Ptolemy I (cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 60). The place figures very largely in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, see *Ency. Bib.*, art. 'Ptolemais'. Wendland attaches considerable importance to the data afforded by the mention of these harbours for fixing the date of Aristeas. Joppa did not belong to the Jews till after 146 B.C. (1 Mac. x. 76, xiv. 5, 34) Gaza was not Jewish territory till it was captured by Alexander Jannaeus about 96 B.C. The fact, however, that Ascalon and Ptolemais were never Jewish towns makes it impossible to attach too much importance to this evidence. The writer might obviously have made the same mistake about Joppa and Gaza as about Ascalon and Ptolemais.

116. *made incursions*. Two MSS. read *ὑπέβησαν* ('retired') for *ἐπέβησαν*. It is difficult, however, to make this reading fit in with the general sense of the passage.

a hundred acres. The writer may possibly be transferring the land system of the Fayûm to Palestine. We know from the Papyri that cleruchies of 100 arourae were common in this district of Egypt. Cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 90.

122. *They espoused the middle course*. An illustration of the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean on Jewish thought, cp. § 223 *πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν*, and also § 256.

although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to
 125 summon him to his court. For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were
 126 now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities. And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive—but it was for the common advantage of
 127 all the citizens that he was sending them. For, *he explained*, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading. From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.

128 It is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For I suppose that most people feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law, especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean. When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such
 130 matters as these) he began his reply as follows: 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find
 131 the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives. Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects of *sin* and the
 132 punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty. For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge. For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to
 133 Him. Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil—to say nothing of actually effecting it,—he would not escape
 134 detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law. Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom
 135 they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though
 136 they have clear proof that they possess no feeling. For it would be utterly foolish to suppose that any one became a god in virtue of his inventions. For the inventors simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they
 137 did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves. For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days *who have been deified*, and yet they would never come to worship them. The makers and authors of these myths think that they are
 138 the wisest of the Greeks. Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead?'
 139 'Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took

124. to give our best attention. The MSS. read ἀφροντίσειν which is obviously a corruption. Wendland suggests εὖ φροντίσειν, which gives the sense required.

127. The good life consists: a good statement of the Pharisaic position which is advocated in this section of the Epistle. For the ethical function of the law cp. §§ 144, 168, 169.

128. I suppose people. So Euseb.

129. specially scrupulous. The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. read πάνι δεισιδαιμόνως. Eusebius has πάλιν for πάνι. Other MSS. of Aristeas combine the two. Schmidt suggests παντάσῃσι and Wendland reads παντελῶς. The meaning however is clear.

133. the power of God pervaded, or 'throughout the whole of the law, he displayed the power of God' (Thackeray).

135. who have invented something useful. Aristeas' explanation of the origin of idolatry is Euhemeristic. Euhemerus, who lived at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia about 316 B.C., maintained that the gods were originally men who had distinguished themselves either as warriors or benefactors of mankind, and who after their death received divine worship from the grateful people. Contrast the explanation of the origin of idolatry in the *Book of Wisdom*, where it is derived from Nature-worship (ch. xiii), 'Vain are all men by nature who are ignorant of God . . . and deem either fire or wind or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the turbulent water, or the lights of heaven to be the gods which govern the world.'

136. it would be . . . foolish, reading ἀνόητον (Eusebius) for the MSS. ἀνόητοι. became a god. So Wendland emends.

a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole
 140 creation. Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God". This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men *not of God* but of meats and drinks and clothing. For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things.
 141 Among our people such things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their whole life their
 142 main consideration is the sovereignty of God. Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by
 143 rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see. For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two
 144 points and explain them to you. For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and
 145 the perfecting of character. For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves,
 146 locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above. And not only so, but
 147 they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth
 148 and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred. Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own
 149 strength. For since it is *considered* unseemly even to touch such *unclean* animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own
 150 characters should be destroyed to the same extent? Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these *birds* and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view
 151 to the practice of virtue. For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must perform all our actions

140. **cognizant with (our) affairs**, μετασχηκότες πραγμάτων, 'conversant with the world' (Thackeray). Diels suggests γραμμάτων, for πραγμάτων, 'conversant with literature.'

men of meats and drinks, &c. Cp. Matt. vi. 31-2 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.' The word translated 'clothing' (σκέπη) also means 'shelter' or 'protection' and this may possibly be the meaning here.

144. **the degrading idea**, εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον, or 'Thou must not be led to follow the rejected view' (Thackeray).

mice. In Eusebius the best attested reading seems to be μυῶν, 'flies'. For the Mosaic prohibition see Lev. xi. 29. For the argument cp. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 'Doth God care for the oxen?'

145. **locusts**, Lev. xi. 22. In both RV and AV the word ἀράκνης is translated 'bald locust'. In Eusebius the best attested reading is ἀτταγῆ a species of moor-fowl. There is a full description of this bird in Athen. ix. 387, where it is said to be 'rather bigger than a partridge, striped all over the back and of the colour of clay but rather redder, corresponding perhaps to the "attagen Ionicus" of Hor. *Epod.* ii. 54.' Cp. Gifford's note on Eusebius, *Præf. Evang.* 372 c.

147. **destruction of their own kindred**. Eusebius (whom Wendland follows here) inserts οὕτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὕτε, before τῶν συγγενικῶν 'for the destruction either of those beneath them or of their own kind'.

150. **teaching us a moral lesson**. The allegorical method seems to have been first employed on a large scale by the Stoics, though there are traces of it in Plato and Aristotle. Philo is of course the great exponent of the method, though the fact that he speaks of it as a well-established system and warns men that the allegorical interpretation does not destroy the literal force of the enactments of the law, proves that it had already found its way into Jewish circles—a fact which is further substantiated by the New Testament (Drummond, *Philo*, i. 20). There is a sign of it, too, in the Book of Wisdom (x. 17, xviii. 24). But we have no trace of so elaborate an employment of the method, as we find in Aristeas, amongst the Jews before Philo. It is curious, too, that it is only used in the law section. Aristeas does not take the opportunity of introducing it into his explanation of the High Priest's dress, which was a favourite subject with later allegorists (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 11-14, *De Monarchia*, ii. 225. 7 and Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 7. 7). The best illustration of the method of Aristeas is found in the Epistle of Barnabas.

division of the hoof, cp. Lev. xi. 3 ff., Deut. xiv. 6 ff.

151. **compels us to recognise**. The text is uncertain. There are two readings (1) ἀναγκάζει τὸ σημειοῦσθαι,
 108

with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness—more especially because we have
 152 been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind. For most other men defile themselves by
 promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride them-
 selves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own
 153 mothers and even their daughters. But we have been kept separate from such sins. And the
 people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised by the *Lawgiver*
 as possessing the *gift* of memory. For all animals “which are cloven-footed and chew the cud”
 154 represent to the initiated the *symbol* of memory. For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else
 than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food,
 155 wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: “Thou shalt surely remember the Lord
 that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things”. For when they are properly conceived,
 they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the
 156 food and the separation of each individual limb and, far more, the organisation of the senses, the operation
 and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the
 157 arts, display an infinite *resourcefulness*. Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid
 parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every
 158 time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us). For in the
 matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith *enjoy*
our meal. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like
 manner he has ordered us to put the *divine* oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of
 159 God. And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that
 we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering (our own creation), and above all the
 160 fear of God. He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the
 works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced
 upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible
 161 the change from one of these states to the other is. The excellency of the analogy in regard to
 discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of “the
 cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud”. For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in
 accordance with the first *casual* thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the
 162 indication of right reason. For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and
 drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly
 163 nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason. In the case of the wild animals, too,
 the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such
 164 animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive. Mice defile and damage everything,
 not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever
 165 it falls in their way to damage. The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it

(2) . . . τῷ σημειοῦσθαι. Thackeray conjectures ὁ σημειοῦται, and translates ‘He constrains us to do everything . . . as he signifies by these symbols’. Gifford in Eusebius rendering (2) translates ‘by the signification herein given’.

152. **we have been kept separate**, διεστάλμεθα or ‘we have received express injunctions’, see Lev. xviii. 6 ff. It is significant as Wendland says that there is no reference to the Egyptian practice of marrying a sister.

154. **life is wont to be sustained**, or ‘He considers that life exists by taking food’ (Thackeray).

155. **in the scripture**. For this remarkable introduction to the quotation, see note on § 168.

Thou shalt remember. A loose quotation of phrases conflated from Deut. vii. 18, 19, and x. 21. ‘The great and wonderful things’ of Deut. refer to the Divine deliverances of Israel, but here the phrase is applied to the human anatomy. Gifford thinks there is a reminiscence of Job xlii. 3.

156. **display an infinite**, &c., lit. ‘contain an infinite manner’, ἀπέραστον περιέχει τρόπον. Thackeray renders ‘bear the marks of an infinite wisdom’. Gifford, reading ἐπέραστον, renders ‘have a delightful character’.

157. **kept together . . . with consummate skill**. Thackeray renders ‘are both created and preserved’.

158. **enjoy**. So Euseb.

upon our garments, ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων. There seems to be an allusion to Num. xv. 38, and Deut. xxii. 12 ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κραπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου. The reference is to the *zizith* or *gedilim* fringes or twisted threads at the four corners of the garment, see *DBH* art. ‘Fringes’. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

the divine oracles, see note on § 177.

upon our gates, cp. Deut. vi. 7 ff., a reference to the *Mesusa*, an oblong box fixed to house and room doors above the right-hand door-post on which was written in twenty-two lines the two paragraphs, Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

159. **upon our hands**, cp. Deut. vi. 8, a reference to the *Tephilla*, a small dice-shaped hollow parchment case on which were written the passages Ex. xiii. 1-10, xiii. 11-16; Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21. It was fastened by means of a strap drawn through it to the upper part of the left arm, Schürer *ET*, ii. 2. 113.

our own creation. Restored from Euseb.

160. **going to sleep**. Aristeas seems to have been interested in the psychology of sleep. See §§ 213-16, and cp. the discussion in 3 Mac. v. 11.

162. **by the abuse of the power**, &c., or ‘and not by availing ourselves of the overbearing power of speech have recourse to unrighteousness’ (Thackeray), or ‘nor to resort to injustice by employing the mastery of language’.

has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the mouth. And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.'

Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to painful forms of death'. 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean; for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing. And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God. And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.'

He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all its moods. I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the king, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the king was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar. The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys summoned to his presence *at once*. Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days—but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them. When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion *between the pages* had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon as he saw them began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said: 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and

165. *through the mouth*, cf. *Ep. Barn.* x. 8. Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, iii. 6. 5, refutes this common belief and explains its origin. 'The weasel has just the same kind of womb as all other quadrupeds. How then can the embryo pass from it into the mouth? But because the weasel, like all other cloven-footed animals . . . brings forth extremely small young and often carries them from place to place in her mouth, she has given rise to this opinion' (quoted by Gifford, *Euseb.* 374 d).

167. *informer*s, ἐμφανισταί—*delatores*. Graetz cites this passage as an argument for the late date of the Epistle—and thinks that it refers incontestably to the punishment inflicted on two Roman knights at the instigation of the Emperor for bringing false charges against the Praetor Magius Caecilianus in A.D. 21: cp. the concluding words of § 166, 'Your king as we are informed does quite right in putting such men to death'.

168. *has been enacted in the Scripture*, οὐδὲν εἰκὴ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς. Compare § 155. This is probably the first instance where the law is spoken of as Scripture. It is quite a question whether ἡ γραφή is used in this sense even in the New Testament (see Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii. 22). We find the phrase ἐν γραφῇ νόμον Μωυσέως used in the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* (T. Zab. iii. 4), but there appears to be no instance of ἡ γραφή used alone in the pre-Christian era. Deissmann has shown that the phrase [κατὰ τὴν] γραφὴν is found on a Fayûm Papyrus of 5-6 A.D.—and argues that in the first instance it was used as the equivalent of τὸ γεγραμμένον in legal documents (*Biblical Studies*, p. 250). Compare the use of ἀγραφα and διὰ γραπτῶν in § 56. Possibly the usage may go back to earlier times.

168. *without due reason*, lit. 'of a legendary character', or 'in a fabulous way', reading μυθωδῶς (as in Eusebius) for θυρωδῶς as in the MSS.

170. *He seemed to me*. There is some doubt as to whether this rendering of ἐνόμιζε is possible. Gifford thinks this usage of the word is peculiar to Aristeas and compares the phrases νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς in § 128. Wendland and Thackeray conjecture ἐνομίζετο. Otherwise we must translate 'He thought that he had given me a good defence on all the points'.

171. *sanctity and natural meaning*, διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου. The meaning of the latter phrase is uncertain. Schürer thinks it refers to the 'naturalness' or 'reasonableness' of the law. Thackeray translates 'the solemnity and inner meaning of the law'.

178 most of all God, whose oracles these are.' And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of soul and the *sense of the* overwhelming honour which had been
 179 paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune. He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand of *friendship* to you. It was for this reason that I
 180 did this first. I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of
 181 my naval victory over Antigonos. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.' 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared (for you) in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet.
 182 And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after the *Jews*, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day. For as many cities (as) have (special) customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed to look after their requirements. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after *Jewish* guests was
 183 a very conscientious man. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour. When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in
 184 accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty
 185 God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!' At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then
 186 they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the *attendants* were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.
 187 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause in the banquet the king asked the envoy who sat in

177. whose oracles these are. Cp. § 158. This is probably the earliest instance of the application of the term τὰ λόγια to the law as a whole, though it is used in Sirach xxxvi. 14 of divine utterances in general. This use of the word is found several times in the New Testament: Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12.

180. celebrated annually. Philo asserts that an annual festival was held at Pharos in his day to celebrate the translation of the LXX (*de vita Moysis*, ii. 7. 140 M).

naval victory over Antigonos. Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonos Gonatas at the battle of Kos (c. 258). As a result of this battle Egypt lost its supremacy for some years, though it regained its power in the battle of Andros. Wendland thinks that Aristeas has purposely turned a defeat into a victory. Thackeray holds that the reference may be to the victory at Andros. This latter suggestion seems very improbable. According to Droysen the battle of Andros did not take place till 245 B.C.—two years after the death of Philadelphus. And even if with Mahaffy we date it 247 B.C.—in the last year of the reign of Philadelphus—it would be impossible to reconcile the statement here with other historical data in Aristeas. A victory in 247 B.C. could not have been made the subject of an annual celebration before the death of Arsinoe (in 270 B.C.), who is assumed to be alive throughout the Epistle.

181. that you may have occasion to use. I adopt the conjecture of Wendland, who reads οἱς συγχρησθε for the συγχρησσεσθε or συγχρησθησθε of the MSS. One important MS. reads συγχρησθαι, which seems to justify the emendation.

near the citadel. See note on § 41.

182. the lord high steward. The MSS. read ἀρχίτροπος, the chief physician. This does not seem satisfactory, and Josephus paraphrases ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος . . . Letronne conjectures ἀρχεδέαιρος (which is accepted by Wendland). This word is found only on an Inscription (C.I.G. 4678). The term ἐδέαιρος originally meant the official who tasted dishes before the king, and was borrowed from Persia by Alexandria. Ἀρχεδέαιρος may be translated 'the lord high steward', cp. Thackeray, *JQR*, xv, p. 371. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie polit. de l'Égypte*, 205.

183. all the stores, &c. Thackeray translates 'He laid out all the coverings for the couches which were in his keeping and were set apart for receptions of this kind'.

184. Eleazar. According to Josephus the man's name was Elisha, and Wendland suggests that this ought to be regarded as the true reading here.

185. your wife and your children. See notes on § 41.

your comrades: ὁμονοοῦσι, lit. 'Those who are in harmony with you.' Wendland suggests ὁμογενέσι 'relatives'.

186. among the attendants, or 'among the guests were royal children', &c.

- the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), How he could keep his kingdom
 188 unimpaired to the end? After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its
 security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and
 inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will
 189 turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.' The king praised the answer and then asked
 the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If
 a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering
 that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you
 will never miss the goal.'
- 190 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he could have
 friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the
 multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the
 191 human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.' After expressing
 his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing
 judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said,
 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of
 192 offenders. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the
 worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by
 means of dreams or events of what was harmful *in their requests* and that God does not smite them
 according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'
- 193 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be
 invincible in military affairs? And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his
 warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while
 194 he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.' Welcoming this answer, he asked another
 how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining
 a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve
 a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting
 reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'
- 195 This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he
 answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not
 we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us
 to the goal.'
- 196 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep
 all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And
 he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your
 undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God
 who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy.'
- 197 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could
 bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought
 that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is
 impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought *always*
 to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'
- 198 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put
 a question to one other', *he added*, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention
 199 to the enjoyment of *the feast* and spend a pleasant time.' Thereupon he asked the man, What is the
 true aim of courage? And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in
 accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage,
 O king, since your purpose is good.'

188. **inflict mild punishments**, βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπιεικέστερον καθὼς εἰσιν ἄξιοι. Thackeray, following Schmidt, inserts *ἢ* before καθὼς, 'punish with greater forbearance than is due to them.' Cp. also § 208.

189. **do everything for the best**, following the emendation of Wendland πῶς ἂν ἕκαστα (κάλλιστα) πράττοι. **If a man . . . act rightly**. I follow the text of Wendland here: δίκαιον εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας διατηροῖ ἑαυτόν, καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει. Thackeray reads ἐαυτῷ and connects with the following clause ἐαυτῷ καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει. This is very difficult to translate because we cannot render 'he will act rightly by Himself.' Dr. Charles has suggested to me that we might possibly read ἐαυτόν (which is found in some MSS.) and translate 'He will do everything best as regards himself so long as he observes what is just towards all'; or else we might suppose that a καί has dropped out before ἐαυτῷ, and then changing πράξει to πράσσει or πράσσει we might translate 'If a man maintains righteousness towards all and always acts rightly in himself,' &c.

starting-point. The emphasis on the connexion between morality and religion is one of the characteristics of the Epistle. For the conception of God as the *καταρχή* of Ethics see §§ 200, 235.

194. **Even God instils**. It will be observed that there is no logical parallel here between the human and divine action. Wendland suggests that Aristeas makes use of an older collection of sayings, appending to each of them a not always appropriate theological conclusion.

- 200 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'
- 201 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King—for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.' When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.
- 203 On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who had given answers on the previous day. He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion. When silence was established, he asked How he could continue to be rich? After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied—'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and Him man must needs obey.' The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.'
- 207 The king received the answer with great delight and looking *at another* said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men *to Himself* by his benignity.'
- 208 The king praised him and asked the next in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much trouble and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful.'
- 209 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?' 'To keep oneself', he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.'
- 210 Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'
- 211 The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, *this is the true way of ruling* if you reason the matter well out. For **all that you really need** is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.'

201. Menedemus, a Greek philosopher who lived at Eretria in Euboea, where he founded a school of thought. Born about 350 and died between 278 and 275 B.C. He was the disciple of Stilpo and the friend of Antigonos Gonatas. Our knowledge of his philosophy is limited and indefinite; it is derived from statements in Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch. We have no knowledge that he ever visited Alexandria, and his death had in all probability occurred before he is introduced into the narrative here. See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, ii. 205 ff.; H. Mallett, *Histoire de l'école de Mégare et des écoles d'Élis et d'Érétrie* (1845).

206. in addition to this, reading *προσλαμβάνειν*. Wendland prefers *προλαμβάνειν*, which would be translated 'you must always set before your mind'.

207. As you wish that no evil. A similar statement of 'the golden rule' in its negative form is found in Tob. iv. 15 *καὶ ὁ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσης*. Cp. Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow man.' *cf. Slav. Ex. 61:2*

208. with much trouble, following an emendation of Wendland, who conjectures *πόνος* for *χρόνος*. If we take the MSS. reading we must translate with Thackeray, 'By considering after how long a time and through what great sufferings the human race comes to maturity, aye and to the birth!'

211. This is the true way. The text is corrupt and some such words must be supplied to make sense.

All that you really need, following a conjecture of Wendland, who suggests *ὅσα δέον*, for *ὡς οὐδέν*. With the

- 212 The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.'
- 213 Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast in these
- 214 by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness *during sleep*. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. And yet we actually do imagine such
- 215 things to be taking place. So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do
- 216 despite to righteousness. For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And he who has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself in *righteousness* both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be steadfast in the constant discipline of self.'
- 217 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another—'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question,
- 218 How can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself? And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are
- 219 consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'
- 220 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.
- 221 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over
- 222 for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government? And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind.
- 223 It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'
- 224 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'
- 225 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another How he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of good gifts to receive from God.'

reading of the MSS. we must translate, 'Everything is at your command, and it is as nothing.' Mendelssohn conjectures *ὡς οὐδενί* 'you, as no one else, possess everything you need.'

214. And yet we actually, following the conjecture of Schmidt, *καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνομεν καθεστάναι*. Thackeray connects with the previous sentence and reads *ἀ κατὰ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν*. . . . 'Other such things which we then suppose to be taking place.' Mendelssohn would substitute *σφάλλεται* for *καθεστάναι*, reading *καὶ ὁ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων σφάλλεται*, 'He who makes this supposition is under a delusion.'

216. he who has all his thoughts. Reading with Wendland *ὅς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμὸν* for the MSS. *ὡς δέ*. Thackeray suggests *θεὸς δέ* (on the ground that the divine name is always used in the concluding sentence of each response), and further *ἐργηγορότος* for *ἐργηγορός*. The translation then runs 'but God directs every thought and action which aims at the highest both in waking hours and in sleep.'

219. worse than the actors, lit. 'the least of the actors.'

220. the guests were urged, 'they urged the guests to sleep.' The text appears to have suffered dislocation. when the conversation ceased, *καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἔληξεν*, lit. 'when the turn of these men was ended' (Thackeray), but probably the text is corrupt.

222. natural bent. For a further account of this inherent bias in human nature see § 108 and especially 277.

223. and great renown, following the emendation of Wendland *καὶ* (for *κατὰ*) *τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος*. If we follow the MSS., the meaning is 'in proportion to the greatness of their renown.'

moderation in all things. See note on § 122, and compare § 156.

224. by his own power, following the reading of Wendland, *παρ' ἐαυτόν* for *ἐαυτοῦ*, 'king of himself.'

225. best of good gifts. The text is corrupt. For the MSS. *καὶ καλὸν δῶρον εἰληφέναι παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κράτιστο*.—

- 226 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'
- 227 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'
- 228 Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude? And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul". You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'
- 229 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'
- 230 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill, and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'
- 232 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.'
- 234 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory? And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'
- 235 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.
- 236 On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'
- 237 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'
- 238 The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'
- 239 The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in

Thackeray suggests καὶ καλῶν δώρων (as above). Wendland conjectures καὶ καλὴν δόξαν εἰληφέναι δῶρον—'To win a fair reputation is the highest gift of God.'

227. To whom ought a man, reading with Wendland πρὸς τίνα for the MSS. πᾶς τινα.

228. most important commandment. Exod. xx. 12.

a friend . . . as thine own soul, ἵσον τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν φίλον, quoted from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 φίλος ἵσος τῆς ψυχῆς σου (A τῇ ψυχῇ). For the use of the LXX see §§ 56-7, 87, 96-9.

236. The soul is so constituted, &c., or 'The soul is through God's power so adapted as to accept all that is good and to reject what is contrary thereto' (Thackeray). For the conception that Divine assistance is needed for the attainment of virtue see §§ 226, 238, 248.

- a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'
- 240 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'
- 241 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own—then the strength of kinship is apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'
- 243 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'
- 244 The king expressed his approval and asked another How he could always maintain a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity *from some* and brings others to great honour and glory.'
- 245 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'
- 246 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.
- 248 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect? And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that our children may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'
- 249 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'
- 250 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them
- 251 and not to provoke strife. For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'
- 252 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And

239. **apply them to the crisis.** The text is uncertain. The MSS. read *ἀνθυποτιθῆς πρὸς τὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἂν ἀντιπράσσειται*, which is obviously corrupt. Thackeray renders 'that . . . bringing it to bear upon an emergency thou mayest counteract the events of critical times'.

242. **help, when it is linked,** τὸ γὰρ συνεργὲς εὐδώς γινόμενον. Some editors prefer τὸ γὰρ συγγενές, 'kinship.'

246. **natural,** lit. 'free', ἐλευθέριον.

If he observed whether. It is doubtful whether the sentence refers to the conduct of the king or the courtiers. If we read *μηδὲν ὑπερτρένοντας τοῦ δέοντος*, we must adopt the latter alternative. If we read *ὑπερτρένειν*, the former is just possible and we may translate, 'If he maintained a free bearing and constantly observed the proper rule of precedence at receptions, councils, and in his general intercourse with those about him and took care to avoid exceeding the bounds of propriety in his congratulations,' &c. The other reading and rendering, however, provides the best answer to the question.

248. **Our desire,** τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι παῖδια for the MSS. *παιδείαν*. Wendland also suggests that we should read *ἐπιδεῖσθαι*, 'But to live to see our children endowed with self-control is a gift,' &c.

he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

253 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord, 254 deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.'

255 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing *what is advantageous* to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfilment because you practise piety.'

256 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.'

257 The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when travelling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was travelling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'

258 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his 259 needs without wages. For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'

260 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom? And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil 261 and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and steadfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.

262 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and 263 he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?' And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'

264 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors? and he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'

265 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with 266 your wish.'

266 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To

255. *comparing what is advantageous*. The meaning is not clear. I follow Wendland in supplying the clause in italics. Thackeray translates, 'And while forming our decisions not neglecting to weigh [lit. comparing] the injurious effects of following the opposite view.'

257. *It is a recognized principle*, κοινῶς. Thackeray takes the word with the latter clause only: 'the human race commonly loves,' &c.

- convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array of arguments. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'
- 267 The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another How he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom? 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.'
- 268 The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve *over them* because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil.'
- 269 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, How is reputation lost? And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'
- 270 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves? 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and time-serving. For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'
- 271 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe? And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement'.
- 272 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour? And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'
- 273 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any—such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.
- 275 On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid being deceived by fallacious reasoning? and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'
- 277 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'
- 279 The king said that he had answered well, and asked, What ought kings to obey? And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you

266. by showing him his mistakes, &c., or 'pointing out his errors by means of the chain of arguments which he has formulated' (Thackeray).

273. in return for the benefits, or 'for the glory of rendering thee service' (Thackeray).
for those dependent on them, τῶν βίον, or 'for their welfare' (Thackeray).

277. by nature intemperate. Aristeas has no developed doctrine of original sin but he lays stress on the natural bias or *yezer* in human nature, cp. § 108, 222 f. His clear enunciation of this view is remarkable, because there is little reference to the *yezer* in Alexandrian literature. Tennant says that he is unable to find 'any certain proof that the *yezer* doctrine was adopted by the Alexandrian' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, p. 138). It is of course common in Sirach and Palestinian literature.

by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'

280 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, Whom ought we to appoint as governors? And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

281 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by **risking** their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'

282 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, What man is worthy of admiration? And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.'

283 The king expressed his approval and said to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the *study* of the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the *various* kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

284 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another How ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation? And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted with dignity and decency is **profitable and appropriate**. For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'

286 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets? And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you **useful hints** with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more 287 educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes—as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'

288 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king **over** them or a member of the royal family? And he 289 replied, 'He who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of 290 poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants. But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'

291 The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the

280. **crown of righteousness**, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8. The phrase is also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T. Levi viii. 1) where it is used of the crown of the High Priest.

281. **risking**. MSS. read περιβάλλοντας, which Schmidt has emended into παραβάλλοντας.

282. **possesses a soul equal to it all**, or 'yet inwardly regards himself as on an equality with all men' (Thackeray).

who makes you care, διδόντος εἰς ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. This is the reading of the MSS., but Wendland prefers to emend ἐπιμέλειαν into ἐπιτέλειαν. 'Who grants you the capacity for attaining these things.'

283. **the records of official journeys**. Illustrations of these travel-diaries or *acta diurna* are to be found in the Papyri as Wendland points out. See Wilcken, article on ὑπομνηματισμοί in *Philologus*, liii. 80 ff.

written in reference to the kingdoms. Mendelssohn reads τοὺς βασιλεῖς for τὰς βασιλείας, 'written for kings.'

284. **is profitable and appropriate**, following the suggestion of Mendelssohn to read βίῳ σύμφωρον καὶ καθήκον for the MSS. βιοῖ (βιοῖς) σωφρονῶν καὶ κατέχων, which cannot be translated without infringing the canons of Greek syntax.

286. **give you useful hints**, reading with Wendland χρήσιμα for χρήματα.

more suitable or . . . educative, ἐμμελέστερον ἢ μουσικώτερον. Thackeray renders 'No more harmonious or sweeter music could'st thou find'.

288. **king over them**, reading ἐπ' αὐτῶν (Wendland) for ὑπ' αὐτῶν 'appointed by them'.

He who is best, reading τὸν ἄριστον (with Schmidt) for τὸ ἄριστον.

291. **some time**. Wendland attaches this phrase to the previous clause.

greatest achievement in ruling an empire? And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute. 292 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'

293 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence. 294 I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver should be presented to each of them, and *appointed* one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.

295 I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which 296 really needed a long time to devise. For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions *ready at once* and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will 297 read my narrative in the future. But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make 298 a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets. For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings—a most excellent and useful arrangement. 299 For on the following day *the minutes of the doings and sayings* of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right. 300 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.

301 Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts of *Pharos*. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose 302 was placed at their disposal. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius. 303 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical 304 needs. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself—for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and 305 after saluting the king went back to their own place. And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and 306 translating the particular passage *upon which they were engaged*, and I put the question to them, Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed? And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

295. I have written at length, *εἰπα πλείονα*. Mendelssohn suggests *εἰ πεπλεόνακα* ('if I have been too prolix') and this emendation is accepted by Wendland and Thackeray.

297. I was so impressed, or 'after hearing with approval at their own mouth their powers of speech' (Thackeray). For the allusion to the recorders see Wilcken's article mentioned in § 283.

298. from the moment. The MSS. read *ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας* for which Mendelssohn reads *ὥρας*. Probably, as Thackeray suggests, the original text ran *ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρξῇται* with an ellipse of *ὥρας* (cp. Luke vii. 45) and *ἡμέρας* is an interpolation.

300. from the public records, or 'from the keepers of the public records' (Thackeray).

301. the sea-wall. The Heptastadion or breakwater which connected Alexandria with the island of Pharos and divided the bay into two main harbours. See the description in Strabo, xvii. 6. 792, and Botti's map of Alexandria in Mahaffy's *Ptolemaic Dynasty*.

302. making them agree. Contrast the later traditions which represent the agreement as supernatural. See Introduction ix on Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, Irenaeus, Clement of Alex. and Epiphanius.

304. Dorotheus is represented in § 182 as the special officer appointed to look after the needs of Jewish guests.

305. they washed their hands. For the Jewish customs of purification see Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 109; the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 591, and the references in the New Test.: Matt. xv. 2, xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2-5; Luke xi. 38, 39.

306. every form of activity. Thackeray compares the statement of Aristobulus (ap. Eusebius, *PE*, viii. 10. 377 a)

- 307 As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.
- 308 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had
- 309 conferred upon them. They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.
- 310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no
- 311 alteration should be made in it. And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.
- 312 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful
- 313 achievement?' And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention of dealing with it have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from
- 314 their purpose.' He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered
- 315 a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him. And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health. I have heard, too, from the lips
- 316 of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when

ὥστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμει νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι. Cp. also the reference to the *Tephilla*, § 159.

310. the Jewish community, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος. Though the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship at Alexandria, they nevertheless formed an independent and separate community within the city. This community, as Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2) tells us, was presided over by an ἐθνάρχης, 'who governs the people and administers justice among them and sees that they fulfil their obligations and obey orders just like the archon of an independent city.' The use of the term πολιτεύμα for the Jewish community is confirmed by the Berenice inscription quoted by Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 246. It is rather striking that there should be no allusion to the ethnarch in the present passage, and that the term πρεσβύτεροι should be used in connexion both with the translators and the community. It almost looks as if the word 'ethnarch' had accidentally dropped out.

311. They bade them, so Eusebius. The MSS. of Aristeas read 'He (i. e. Demetrius) gave orders'. in accordance with their custom, cf. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32; Rev. xxii. 18f. Possibly this statement may point to the fact that at the time when the Epistle was written, the text of the LXX had begun to be tampered with. We know that corruptions had crept into the text as early as the time of Philo, and Justin Martyr charges the Jewish authorities with the deliberate excision of many passages; see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 478-9.

314. Theopompus, a Greek historian and rhetorician, born c. 380 B.C. at Chios. He became the pupil of Isocrates, who advised him to devote himself to writing history. He lived under the protection of Alexander, and after his death was expelled from Chios: he went to Egypt about 305 B.C., but was coldly received by Ptolemy I. Among the writings ascribed to him are *The Hellenica*, *The Epitome of Herodotus*, *The History of Philip*, and several panegyrics and hortatory addresses, the chief of which is *The Letter to Alexander*. The papyrus fragment of a Greek historian discovered by Grenfell and Hunt is regarded by some authorities as an extract from the *Hellenica* (*Oxyrhynchus Pap.* V, 1908). He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (πολυπράγμων), which gives point to the περιεργασμένος of § 315. Theopompus' writings seem to have been characterized by a pretentious and turgid rhetoric, and a fondness for sensational stories. The fragments which remain of his works are collected in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i, and in *The Fragments of Theopompus and Cratippus* (Oxford, 1909).

earlier and . . . unreliable translations, τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν. I follow Wendland in taking ἐπισφαλέστερον with προηρμηνευμένων. Thackeray, however, takes it with προσιστορεῖν and translates, 'when he was too rashly intending to introduce into his history some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated.' For the reference to Greek translations earlier than the LXX, see note on § 30.

316. Theodektes (c. 380-340 B.C.), Greek rhetorician and tragic poet, pupil of Isocrates and Plato and friend of Aristotle, lived the greater part of his life at Athens. He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in the contest for the oratorical prize arranged by Artemisia, though he won the prize for tragedy. He is said to have been victorious eight times out of thirteen dramatic contests. The fragments of his works are collected in Nauck (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1887). See monograph by C. F. Märker (Breslau, 1835), and article in Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

in the book. As Thackeray says, 'This seems to be the earliest use of ἡ βιβλος for a collection of sacred writings.'

he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

317 And after the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should
318 be sacredly guarded. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he
319 would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him. He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.

320 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.
321 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.

322 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

We have elsewhere βιβλος or βιβλίον διαθήκης (Ecclus. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57), τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου (1 Macc. i. 56) τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια (1 Macc. xii. 9). It is possible, however, that the reference to the τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον in 2 Macc. viii. 23 may be earlier. Cp. also the allusion to the line as Scripture, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς in § 168.

318. **they would receive rich presents**, καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι. For πολυδωρίας (MSS. and Joseph.) Mahaffy (*Class. Rev.* viii. 349) suggests πολυωρίας, which is adopted by Wendland and Thackeray, 'They would meet with the utmost consideration at his hands.'

319, 320. **a sideboard**. The MSS. read κυλίκιον (in both paragraphs), which generally means goblet or beaker. Wendland suggests κυλικεῖον—side-board. 'The form κυλίκιον, however, occurs in 1 Macc. xv. 32, where a piece of furniture for supporting vessels is clearly intended, and that is probably the meaning here' (Thackeray).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book, or rather Books, which bear the name of Adam belong to a cycle of legendary matter, of which the Jews were fond, and which the Christians took, and developed, from them. It is hard to tell how much belongs to the original Jewish kernel.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 179–81, 'Book of Adam'), in reconstructing this, combines most of the matter to be found in the Greek and Latin versions of the story, even including those parts of the Latin which the editor of the Slavonic saw fit to omit.

The Book opens with the period immediately following the expulsion from paradise, which is treated as a garden of fruit-trees; not in Heaven, but separated only by a low wall from the earth (cf. Apoc. Mos. xvii. 1). If we endeavour to reconstruct the Greek 'Apocalypsis Mosis' by the aid of the Slavonic Life of Adam, we shall be compelled to pass over the opening sections of the Latin 'Vita' and begin with the dream of Eve, which follows immediately on their departure to the west, where they sojourn eighteen years and two months, and where Cain and Abel are born. This dream foreshadows Abel's murder which is then related.¹ The parents are overcome with grief, but comforted by the appearance of Michael, who promises them another son. After this Seth is born.

The story then hastens at once to the death-bed scene where Adam is lying ill, surrounded by his sixty-three children, whom he intends to bless before he dies. Seth is distressed and surprised at his condition, for pain and sickness is to him a thing unknown. Adam tells the story of his fall and God's curse upon him. Adam's cries of woe rouse Seth to action, and at his father's request he undertakes to go with Eve to the gate of paradise, there to pray God to give him oil from the Tree of Life to anoint Adam. On their way they are attacked by a beast (which the Vita wrongly calls a serpent and identifies with the devil); this is merely a sign of the beast's revolt, which followed the Fall (Apoc. Mos. xi). Eve is powerless before it, Seth is bitten, Vita. xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 2 = Apoc. Mos. xii. 1–2 (A) x. 3, but succeeds in escaping by frightening it with God's judgement. Their prayers for mercy are answered by a promise of a pure heart in the future, Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3–5. The Vita turns this into a prophecy of Christ (xlii. 2).

They are told to go back, as Adam will die 'in six days'. On their return Adam abuses Eve, who has brought a curse on all mankind, and asks her to tell their children how she was deceived (the Vita evades this by adding 'after my death'), which she proceeds to do; cf. Apoc. Mos. x, xiv, with Vita xliv. Her fall is told in such a way as to suggest a double element in the source of the narrative. The devil sometimes appears as the inspirer, sometimes rather as the *alias* of the serpent, Apoc. Mos. xvii. The story is brought down to the time of their expulsion from paradise, when they were comforted by a gift of perfumes, seeds for their food, and a promise of future resurrection, Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 4, xxix.

Thereupon Eve witnesses marvellous scenes accompanying Adam's reconciliation, but falls asleep when God comes down to paradise before the burial of Adam.

In answer to the prayer of the angels Adam is pardoned, and his soul given to Michael to be cleansed in the Acherusian stream, Apoc. Mos. xxxvii–xxxix, and kept in paradise till the end of the times, when a resurrection is promised. His body is then buried by the archangels in the neighbourhood of the earthly paradise, Apoc. Mos. xl–xliii = Vita xlviii.

The book ends with a typical Jewish admonition given by Michael, Israel's guardian angel, to Seth not to mourn on the Sabbath day, Vita li, Apoc. Mos. xviii; cf. Jubilees ii. 23, &c.

Chapters xxviii–xl of the Slavonic Vita are in reality a recension of the same subject-matter of the Latin Vita i–x. It deals with the penitence of Adam and Eve and the second temptation of Eve by Satan, and chapters xii–xvii of the Latin Vita explain the envy and fall of Satan.

The Vita also inserts before Eve's death an account of her directions to Seth concerning memorials of her life, which are mentioned by Josephus. Lastly, this version expands in non-

¹ According to the Slavonic, Adam dreams this dream before the birth of his children.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

ascetic Jewish tone the story of Cain's birth. Ginzberg (contrary to Israel Levi) seems to have established the Jewish nature of all these pieces. I have given elsewhere my reasons for believing they never formed one book with the rest of the Apoc. Mos.

Two more pieces remain. These are Vit. xxv-xxx—Adam's vision of the future, seen after he 'had eaten of the tree of knowledge', and ending in a specifically Christian prophecy. The other in the Slav. Vit. xxxiii is strongly dualistic in tone, and is taken by Jagić to be a mediaeval interpolation by a writer of the Bogomilian heresy.

For other versions of the story, see 'Ancient Versions,' § 4.

§ 2. TITLE OF THE BOOKS.

The title 'Apocalypsis Mosis' (Tischendorf, 1866, Ceriani) is an erroneous one; it perhaps arose through a confusion with the book of 'Jubilees', which was a revelation to Moses through the Angel of the Presence (Jub. i. 29, ii. 1). Cf. heading to Apoc. Mos. (A B C D Arm. slight variations only). See Fuchs in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 507.

Still less can 'Apocalypsis Seth' (Hort) be original. The 'Sethite' character of these books, which is much exaggerated in the case of the Armenian by Preuschen, is reduced to a minimum in the case of the oldest text (cf. Kabisch Liechtenhan in *ZNTW.*, Giessen, 1903, 1906).

It is not the same as the 'Apocalypsis' = 'Testament of Adam' (M. R. James, Renan) in Syriac, Coptic, and Greek Fragment.

Latin and Russian versions simply 'Vita Adae et Evae', to be carefully distinguished from 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' (in Ethiopic), Dillmann and Trumpp's *Adambuch des Morgenlandes*.

According to Ginzberg (*Jew. Encyc.* i. 179), the statement of Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, as to the mention of a Hebrew 'Book of Adam' in the Talmud, from Aboda Zarah 5 a, Gen. R. xxiv. 2, is incorrect, though such a book must have existed whatever its name. Moreover, Zunz mentions also Baba Mezia 86 a—Wajjikra rabb. 181 b, Midrash Koheleth 84 a in support of a book of Adam at the beginning of the third century. Fuchs supposes that the original was the work of a Hellenistic Jew in language influenced by the LXX, Ginzberg would say in Aramaic.

The book in its mediaeval form, and connected with a 'Lignum Crucis' (Holy Rood) legend, had an extensive circulation in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, not only in England, Germany, and Russia, but in Bulgaria, Italy, and Servia, &c., being translated into many languages. The original of these translations is nearly always the Latin, not the Greek form of the story. The exception is the Slavonic version extant in two recensions, which are probably composed out of two or more independent tales. See § 6.

§ 3. THE MSS.

1° <i>Apoc. Mosis.</i>	Six MSS. are at present known of the Apoc. Mosis.	
A Venice.	Thirteenth century.	} Tischendorf.
B Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	
C Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	
D Milan.	Eleventh century.	} Ceriani.
E ¹ Paris.	Fifteenth century.	
E ² Montpellier.		} Fuchs.

The names are those of Ceriani, Tischendorf, and Fuchs. I owe my knowledge of the different readings of E¹ and E² to the great kindness of Dr. Fuchs, who placed all his notes at my disposal. The knowledge of the other MSS. is derived from Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocryphae*, 1866, and Ceriani, *Monumenta*, v. I.

It will be observed that all these MSS. are more or less fragmentary with the exception of C. This, however, is often obscure. A, though nearly complete till xxxvi, is rightly regarded by Fuchs as very untrustworthy, and is much spoilt by glosses, Apoc. Mos. xvi. 2, xiv. 2, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 3, xxxii. 4, even while it preserves some good readings, especially xxii. 2 ('judgement'), and retains Apocalypse in xiii, which I believe to be original, and elsewhere lost through influence of Latin version.

D, where it is to be had (i-xvi, xxxvi-xliv) seems the safest to follow; but it appears, especially at the end, to aim too much at clearness and classical Greek, and I have often found myself suspecting that the less easy and more clumsy sentences of C had a closer affinity with the original text; even though conscious that in so doing I have been compelled to depart from the precedent set by Dr. Fuchs, whose work marks an epoch in the study of this literature, and to whom I owe much.

INTRODUCTION

Besides D, like B, though to a less extent, is not above filling up the gaps from the Scriptures (cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, &c.), and altering phrase or word to correspond with a biblical text (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1-2, &c.).

E, like B, is often redundant and diffuse. Its chief interest lies in its very near relationship to the Armenian Version, with which it often agrees against all the others; if not the source of that translation, it is very closely related to it.

In the following translation, I have taken D and C as the chief guides, but, where they are unsatisfactory, have often thought it wiser to follow one of the others. Cf. xxvi. 4 (AB), xxix. 5 (E). I agree with Fuchs that the construction of the true text is 'schwierig' and largely guesswork, but have adopted no reading without comparing all MSS.

2° *Vita Adae et Evae*. Numerous MSS. and versions exist of the Latin Vita, which Meyer has divided into four classes.

Cod. Arund., 326. 10, which I have seen at the British Museum, seems to belong to Class II and contains the additional paragraph describing Solomon's finding of the tables.

To Class III, which contains 'legend of the holy rood' in an expanded form, belong most of the mediaeval versions, e. g. *Deutsches Adam-Buch*, 'Herlwin', and others.

Meyer's text from which I have translated is based principally on Class I, and omits all the additions in the other classes. Where I have departed from it, I have noted the fact.

Class IV. The text of the Paris MSS. of the eighth or ninth century, often abbreviated and corrupt, is interesting if it is, as Meyer believes, an autograph of the tutor of Charles Martel and shows the early interest taken in the book. It is occasionally used and forms one of the authorities for the text of the long interpolation in Vit. xxix.

§ 4. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE ADAM BOOKS.

1° *Armenian*. Besides those of the Latin Vita we have two others of the Apoc. Mosis. First, the Armenian (translated by Conybeare in *JQR.*, 1895, vol. vii; Preuschen, *Armen.-Gnostische Adam-Schriften*, 1904) is based on three MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin. This has been published by Mechitarist Fathers at Venice, and contains an edited and expanded version of the tale. Most of the additions and verbal alterations, especially those not already found in E, are in a Gnostic direction, and their presence as well as that of other similar Gnostic works on Seth, &c., has led Preuschen to suggest a Gnostic origin for the whole Adam literature, which is an untenable hypothesis. The present Arm. text is from a Gk. MS. akin to E.

The names of herbs in xxix. 6 are transliterations of the Greek. Sea 'not made with hands' (*ἀχειροποίητον*) is a scribal emendation of (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) *Ἀχέρουσταν*; cf. 'Hojil' for 'Jael' in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 7.

2° *Slavonic*. The Slavonic has been edited with Latin and German translations by Jagić from nine MSS. It presents longer and shorter (South Slav.) recensions of the same book. (*Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. Wissensch.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., xlii, Vienna, 1893). Jagić is convinced that these are from the same original. The present version is closely parallel to the Greek from which, like the Armenian (Kabisch), it is evidently translated; but at xxxvii, Eve goes on to tell a tale of penance in the water on the lines of that described in Vita i-xii, though with many significant variations, e. g. '44' for '37' (Slav. Vit. xxxv. 3). The devil's story of his own Fall, Vit. xii-xviii, is left out, but another incident of the devil claiming rule over man (Slav. Vit. xxxiii-xxxiv), strongly dualistic and perhaps connected with Bogomilian heresy, takes its place. The end of the book is very abbreviated and several passages are rudely Christianized by a phrase, e. g. xlv. 1 ('Christ'), xlvii. 3 ('Sign of the Cross'), l. 1.

The misunderstanding of the old Hebrew name of Jah-El had led to the creation of a new and imaginary angel named 'Joel' (see notes). While the beast who attacks the penitents is described not as a serpent but a 'cotur', which Vollmer (*Deutsches Adam-Buch*, 1908) would translate as *felis* = 'a cat.'

The old Jewish ending in praise of the Sabbath (Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li) is obscured.

3° *Christian and Gnostic*. Besides these Christian editions of the Jewish original, numerous other versions of the Adam tales exist, to which a Christian or Gnostic author can definitely be assigned.

Such are the Gnostic 'Testament' or 'Apocalypse of Adam'—the two names belong to two recensions—in Syriac and Arabic, rightly mentioned by Renan as the piece referred to in Gelasius' decree, 'Liber qui appellatur Penitentia Adae Apocryphus.' Renan thinks its liturgy of 'the hours' became through Coptic and then Apost. Constitutions, viii-xxiv, a chief source for determining the 'Canonical Hours'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

It is probable that this book (which is mainly concerned with an elaborate breviary and angelology) has borrowed from the Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xl its account of the gloom of sun and moon after Adam's death and the funeral carried out by the 'virtues' (cf. Vita Ad. xxi). It has been used in turn by the Ethiopic Adam Book, which follows it in bringing the story down to the prophecy of Christ, of whom Seth, not Adam, is regarded as the prototype (cf. Gloss in Slav. Vita, xlv). This latter has taken largely from a Syriac work, *The Cave of Treasure*, translated by Bezold into German, *Die Schatzhöhle*. Hort supposed this might be derived from the Ethiopic, but this is very unlikely. Both these works are strongly Christian and plainly ascetic. In both, 'sons of God' (Gen. vi. 1) = 'sons of Seth'. Holiness consists in celibacy.

All these later works differ from our books in making Adam's life and death but a starting-point for further chronicles, prophecies, and expectations of later ages. In the last two, the point of Adam's death lies in the history of the fortunes of his corpse in its progress to Mount Calvary. This is embalmed and placed in a cave with the treasures the Magi are to bring to the second Adam (this is the new version of the fragrant herbs for which Adam made request in the Apoc. Mos. xxix).

The *Conflict*¹ is the latest and most elaborate, but this work and the *Schatzhöhle* are entirely Christian, and wholly unlike our works, though they employ very little new material.

§ 5. DATE OF ORIGINAL TEXT.

Terminus ad quem. Frequently the principal means of ascertaining the date of ancient books is the nature of the ideas which appear in their pages. In the case of the Books of Adam as in the 'Odes' of Solomon historical allusions are conspicuously absent. The chief, if not the only criterion of date, is the relation of religious notions to those of other works. Still we are in a position at once to place the composition both of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita Adae before the appearance of the Ethiopic Adambuch (dated to seventh century by Dillmann and Malan; fifth century by Charles, 2 En., Intro. § 5, p. xviii) which borrows largely from both; and also before the Armenian version which dates, perhaps, from a period before 360 (Preuschen). The mention of the Acherusian lake (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) is perhaps the original of the Apoc. Pauli xxii which was 'revealed' in A.D. 380 (Tisch.). Charles (*Encycl. Brit.*, ii. 175) dates it A.D. 388 from internal evidence.

Meyer thinks the Vita Adae xlii (= Ev. Nicodemi xix of A.D. 405–50) was a later interpolation into the text of Vita which existed before. Bousset thinks that the interpolation in Vita xxix, 'maior quam prius,' is part of a Jewish Apocalypse to which a Christian has added a long piece (like a gloss). If so, he thinks it refers to Herod's temple, which was built in the author's lifetime. For another view of this, see my note *in loc.*

Only general considerations remain to fix the date more exactly, but they are the most important. We have ample evidence to prove (1) that the contents are Jewish; (2) that the tone and temper is earlier than the Golden Age of the Rabbis, e.g. it has no polemic against the Christians; (3) that the Theology and Eschatology are that of the later Judaism and akin to that of the 2 Enoch.

There is little doubt that the author of the Apoc. Mos. is indebted to the latter book, or the school where it originated, for some of his most characteristic traits, e.g. its conception of the Tree of Life and of the sacred oil (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3), the sin of Eve, and the lake of purification, the 'seven Heavens', &c. His relation to the older books of Enoch is more remote and his angelology is more developed than even that in the 'Parables' (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi). The Demonology outside the Vita xlii–xlv is of a pre-Christian type, and Kabisch may be right in claiming that 2 Cor. xi. 14 is quoted from our text or more likely from the source of our text. Of the angelology and the eschatology, especially the doctrine of the Heavens, the same is true. See §§ 7–9.

It is equally certain that the Book (apart from brief interpolations and possibly Vita xxv–xxix) is of purely Jewish origin. As Ginzberg, Kabisch, and Fuchs unanimously declare, there is absolutely nothing specifically Christian in the contents. Many of the cited Christian phrases, e.g. 'son of wrath' (Apoc. Mos. iii. 2), are Hebraisms and in accordance with Rabbinic usage. (Cf. Hort's list with Ginzberg's article, 'Book of Adam,' in *Jew. Encyc.*) The complete absence of references,

¹ In *Conflict*, Bk. i, the following appear to be derived from the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita:—vi, xvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxvii (Acherusian lake); xxviii = Apoc. Mos. vi. 2, xxix. 3; Vita xxxi. 1; v. xx = Apoc. Mos. xlii. 4; vi = Vita xlii, xviii, xv. 3; cf. Koran Sura ii. 30; xviii = Vita xxxvii–xl; ix, xxi = Vita iii. 1; xvii = Apoc. Mos. xvi; xxxii, xxxiii = Vita vi–x; xxxvii = Vita xxxvi. 2; Apoc. Mos. ix. 3; xxxviii. 2 = Vita xlii = Evangel Nicodemi xix. 1; xlv. 9 = Apoc. Mos. x. 1–2, xi. 2; Vita xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 2; xxxix = Vita iv. 2, v. 2.

The 'water of life' in *Conflict* is not referred to in Apoc. Mos. or in Vita (save interpolation in Vita xxix). It is Christian substitute for 'oil of life' (Apoc. Mos. ix, xlii, xxviii; Vita xxxvi, xl–xlii).

INTRODUCTION

direct or indirect, to Christian notions of Incarnation, Redemption, even of Christian higher moral teaching, would make it impossible to assign to most of the work a Christian origin. The startling abruptness of Christian interpolations serves, as in the case of Test. Twelve Patriarchs *passim*, to clinch the argument from silence; which is the stronger, since the doctrine of a future judgement and future resurrection is clearly taught (Apoc. Mos. x, xii, xiii, xxviii, xxxvii, xli, xliii, Vita xxxix, xlvi, li); even though the Messiah plays no part and no judge other than God is mentioned. The Resurrection is rather connected in both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. with the weekly rest of the Sabbath. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii, Vita li with Jub. iii. 17. Nor can Preuschen's theory of a Gnostic (Sethite) origin for these pieces be accepted, even in the case of the Armenian version (though we have sought to show in the notes how this version has been subsequently modified in a Sethite direction on the lines of 'the Gospel of Seth' and other Adam legends preserved only in Armenian, which have so largely modified Preuschen's conclusion); see his Adam Books, ii-vii. See § 9.

Terminus a quo. Hort was ready to admit a date anywhere in the first three centuries for the Apoc. Mos. It seems certain that the whole material contained in our Adam Books belongs to a period not earlier than the first century A.D. or later than the fourth century; but the uniform absence of polemic against the Christians, the wide and tolerant view of the future of the Gentiles, the conception of Adam's or rather Eve's sin (so nearly akin to that in Paul and 4 Ezra), the old simple hopes of the future Resurrection, the glaring dissimilarity of the Christian interpolated passages (Vita xlii, xxix; Apoc. Mos. xliii-end, xxxvi-end, A only) render the earlier date far the more probable for the bulk of the work. The absence of any Messiah in the future prospects (see § 9) is yet another link with the 2 Enoch, and points not obscurely to an author of 'the Dispersion', perhaps in Alexandria. Since it is certain that both the Latin, the Slavonic, and the Armenian, are from a Greek original, though ultimately parts of the book may be based on Hebrew documents (see § 5^a), seeing that the text is strongly coloured by Hebrew words and phrases, a further proof is forthcoming that the author or authors were Jewish Hellenists. For the date of the several parts, or books, included in this material, and especially for the relation of the Greek Apoc. Mos. to the Latin Vita, see § 6.

§ 5^a. DATE OF VERSIONS OF THE ADAM BOOKS.

Armenian. The MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin were written by Mechitarist fathers in 1539. Preuschen ascribes the earliest translation in Armenian to an Archontic heretic Eutaktus in 360, but this is bound up with his view of the Gnostic character of these works. Conybeare would admit a date in fifth century.

Slavonic. Jagić ascribes the earliest of these MSS. to a date not later than the fourteenth century, but the existence of a second Bulgarian recension probably derived from it renders this date none too early. Both are from the Greek, much modified by similar tales in the Russian 'Palaea', the Bohemian 'Life of Adam' (containing also parts of the Vita absent here), and other Polish and Slavonic Adam tales of the sixteenth century.

Syriac. 'The Cave of Treasure.' Bezold assigns the *Schatzhöhle* to sixth century. Undoubtedly written in Syriac, which language it declares to be 'the queen of tongues', the speech of paradise and of Heaven. Written not by S. Ephraem but by a Christian and one of his disciples. Hort thinks this and 'Conflict' are based on fourth century traditions.

Syriac and Arabic. 'The Apocalypse or Testament of Adam.' Probably not later than fourth century. Decret. Gelasii-Lücke, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, i. 232, referred to by Syncell. *Chron.* xviii, Cedren. I. In Syriac, Arabic and Greek fragment. Renan decides it is early Gnostic. Hort says not Gnostic but 'lies outside Greek and Latin Christianity'.

Ethiopic. 'Conflict of Adam and Eve.' From Ethiopic (Kraft's) MSS. Since the author of the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' criticises Syrians, Greeks and Hebrews, he was none of these (Hort). Dillmann assigns it to the seventh, Charles to the sixth century. The original was Arabic.

Gospel of Eve. A Gnostic work describing Eve's seduction by Satan and the birth of Cain and Abel, sons of Satan (the Serpent). Epiphanius, *adv. Haereses*, xxvi. Date uncertain. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 95. (1712.)

Armenian Adam Books bound up in MSS. with Armen. Version of the Vita Adae, treated as one, by Preuschen, include 'Gospel of Seth', 'Words of Adam to Seth', 'Tale of the Sons of Adam', 'Tale of the penance of Adam and Eve', 'Death of Adam', 'Tale of the Creation of Adam and Eve', 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve.' Compare Story of Satan's trick in 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve' with Slav. Vita Ad. xxxi, xxxii.

All these are Christian, or Gnostic anti-Jewish pieces (in 'Death of Adam', Jerusalem is called 'place of the fallen angels'), and are far more akin to the 'Conflict', especially in attitude to celibacy, than to the Armenian Version of Apoc. Mos. Probably this latter was modified to agree with them.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Seth is here always the hero. Satan's fall is narrated, and history brought down to Christ as in other Christian books. The Trinity is definitely and crudely taught. Preuschen's derivation from Archontic heretics through Eutaktus A.D. 360 may be right. (Cf. Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* xl–xlvi.) They show a complete knowledge of the contents of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita (except i–xii).

§ 6. COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE TEXT.

The Problems. It is plain at first glance, that the three versions with which we are here concerned, though exhibiting a great deal of unity, are also in some respects strikingly divergent. In § 1 we found that to the main narrative in Apoc. Mos. a number of separate pieces are attached both in the Slav. and Latin versions¹ of the legend. Before discussing the nature and origin of these, we must pause to justify the position. 1°. That the Apoc. Mos. and not the Vita is the main narrative. 2°. That this story possesses a unity of its own which is disturbed by the addition of the separate legends referred to.

Both positions have been and will be challenged; and it must be admitted that neither can be proved to demonstration. The defence of the first is based on Dr. Fuchs' masterly essay in his introduction to these books. He seeks to show that (*a*) the material of the Apoc. Mos. was certainly before the editor of the Vita. It may further be urged (*b*) that the Vita was unknown or at least unemployed by the author of the Apoc. Mos.

(*a*) It is hard to see how any careful reader of the books can deny this first proposition. From xxix–li the Vita is little more than a condensed abstract of the picturesque and extravagant descriptions of the Apoc. Mos. To suppose that these represent a working up of the earlier simple language of the Vita seems to be a direct misunderstanding of the methods and style of Jewish Apocalyptic, as they appear in all the mass of literature which still remains. Moreover, if these phantasies are a later production, despite the countless parallels in Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature, some few of which are adduced in our notes, how is it that they have received so faint a colouring from their presumably Christian authors? In § 9 it is intended to illustrate the purely Jewish nature of the theology which these sections exhibit even down to the fact that Jehovah still bears his ancient name; that marriage is still regarded as a holy thing, and not denounced as by the monks who wrote romances for Christians. Besides, the Vita, though it omits Eve's tale (Apoc. Mos. xv–xxx) in its proper place, has incorporated practically the whole of the material therein contained; thus the division of paradise into two parts for Adam and Eve (Vita xxxii. 2) is taken from Apoc. Mos. xv. 2; Vita xi–xvii seems almost like an expansion of Apoc. Mos. xvi. 3; Vita xlv contains preface to Eve's tale, only postponed by three additional words, 'after my death'; but the most striking fact of all is that the account of their attempt to get food in Vita v does not prevent Vita xliii from taking Eve's account in Apoc. Mos. xxix; leaving out the 'seeds for his food' and delaying the events till after their quest for the oil of life, making this a sort of substitute for that which they were 'not to receive now'.

Lastly, the interpolation from Ev. Nicodemi replaces an obviously Jewish, if not original, Apocalypse, in this same section of the Apoc. Mos. Since this interpolation is found in Vit. xliii (eighth century) earliest MS. of Vita, it is of some age, though not, perhaps, in the first text.

(*b*) On the other hand, the present text of the Apoc. Mos. shows no trace of the special matter peculiar to the two other versions, though this matter is of Jewish origin, as Ginzberg has shown that it is *well known in other Jewish works*. The long account of the devil's fall, not in the Slavonic, but closely akin to the legends on which both the Slav. Palaea Historica, the Koran, and the Mandaean Book of Adam are based, presupposes a wholly different demonology to that in the Apoc. Mos. The nearest approach is in Apoc. Mos. xxxix. 3, but 'those who have hearkened to him' is most naturally taken of wicked men. The whole piece seems to be introduced through the second failure of Eve, which is omitted even in the Slavonic, and never hinted at in the Apoc. Mos. The elaborate Midrash on Cain's birth (Vita xvii–xxii) has no parallel in the Apoc. Mos., though it is thoroughly Jewish and quite innocent of any doctrinal application, to which the author might have objected. The explanation of the way Adam and Eve obtained food from God (whose object is obscured by the new ending put on the story to find room for Satan's narrative) is not only different from, but inconsistent with, the story that Adam obtained this help from God by the angel's prayers at the time of his expulsion, Apoc. Mos. xxix, a relic of which has, as we have seen, been retained by the Vita in a wrong connexion. The forty days' fast in Jordan is entirely ignored in Apoc. Mos.,

¹ Both these seem plainly translations from the Greek. For Slav. see §§ 4, 5. In the Latin Vita, apart from transliteration of Greek names of herbs (Vita xliii. 3) 'cinnamomum et calaminthen et nardum', there are many Graecisms, e.g. *plagas* = πλάγας (Vita xxxiv. 1); *plasma* = πλάσμα (Vita xlv. 3, cf. xxvii. 2); *sindones byssinas* (xlviii. 4), σινδόνας βυσσίνους.

INTRODUCTION

nor is fasting mentioned as a means by which Eve and Seth may induce God to grant them the Tree of Life. The fact that this tale is amplified in the Pirke Eliezer, where forty-nine days are assigned to it, does not even prove an early origin, for Israel Levi in *ƳQR*, 1895, has shown that this work is subsequent to the Mohammedan movement and mentions the Mosque of Omar. Early or not, the story is ignored by the author of the Apoc. Mos., and its inclusion in the Slav. version tends to show rather the acquaintance of the Slav. editor with several Adam books, of which the original Greek form of the Vita may be one, for it comes very awkwardly after God has granted to Adam 'the seeds for his food'; it contrasts alike with the heretical interpolation of xxxii-xxxiii, and the bald statement of the Vita xxii. 1 that God gave them 'seeds for their food' after Cain's birth (a new version of the Apoc. Mos. xxix). Lastly, its triumphant conclusion in the Slav. version compels the alteration of Adam's words to Eve at the close of her tale (Slav. Vita xl; Apoc. Mos. xxxi).

The final directions of Eve concerning the tables (though the story is as old as Josephus) are not represented in the Apoc. Mos., even though she tells her story to warn future generations (Apoc. Mos. xxx. 1).

Vita xxv-xxix, quite apart from the markedly Christian ending, which is probably a later gloss, is somewhat removed in tone, temper, and theology, from the rest of the Vita, and the whole of the Apoc. Mos. Adam and Seth are here glorified, despite a possible reference to Apoc. Mos. xxiv. 1. Paradise is treated not as the garden of Eden, but as a celestial realm, the abode of God (Vita xxv. 3, cf. 2 Enoch viii) into which Adam is translated long before 'the end of the times' (Apoc. Mos. xiii) in contradiction to the whole tenor of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mosis.¹

Still more astonishing is the new attitude towards knowledge and the Tree of Knowledge, the eating of which has brought, not death, but supernatural wisdom (xxix. 2, xxvii. 3).²

Besides these facts, the new names for God, 'Light,' 'Life,' 'Almighty,' 'Power,' &c., the new date for the 'translation'³ immediately after the expulsion, the abrupt entrance of the story into the narrative, no preface or attempt to soften the break, are comparatively insignificant, though sufficiently remarkable features. It seems possible that the author of this piece had both our works before him—e.g. xxv. 3 seems borrowed from the account of God's coming to paradise in Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3, cf. xxxiii. 2—but he used them merely as ornament to his own wholly original vision, of which the ending seems to be lost. I confess it seems strange to me that the separate nature of this piece has not been more remarked.⁴ It appears as if the editor of the Latin Vita put this and other pieces together with little regard to order or probability. His object was, perhaps, merely the collection of all the oldest legends relating to our 'first father'.

The Apoc. Mos. is thus in our view the oldest document. This was then combined with other Jewish legends about Adam and Eve and translated into Latin. Possibly the translator incorporated xxv-xxix of the Vita, perhaps also xiii-xvii, from earlier Jewish sources. The addition of Christian touches, e.g. Jordan for Gihon (Vit. vi), &c., and interpolations, such as xlii, may have been made subsequently. Whether the Apoc. Mos. as it stands is a complete unity is a hard question. The text is at any rate much injured and disarranged, and the original hard to find. I have taken the liberty of altering the order in my translation of xxxix and xxxvii in deference to a suggestion in Dr. Fuchs' edition.

§ 7. AUTHORSHIP.

I have attempted to show, in examining the date of these works, that the author of the original Apocalypsis Mosis, and very probably also the editor, who put together the other legends concerning Adam and Eve contained in the Latin Vita, was a Jew of the Dispersion writing between A. D. 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period.

The Greek text is full of Hebraic words and phrases, of which Fuchs (in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 511) gives a fairly full list; most of these will be found mentioned in the notes with a few others, such as the constant use of *καί*, where we should expect *ἔστε* (Deissmann, *Light from Ancient East*, shows this use of 'and' was common in Greek popular dialect of N.T. times), and a very frequent use of cognates, 'die the death', 'weep with tears', &c., or plays on words, which are so frequent in the Old Testament and later Jewish books (see critical notes).

Perhaps the most striking of Dr. Fuchs' examples, besides Jael (xxix-xxxiii), (Jahwe-Elohim)

¹ Since the Adam literature is dependent on 2 Enoch, the reference to the 'Paradise of Righteousness' in this section is quite consistent with its belonging to this literature. As regards Adam's temporary translation see note 3.—[Gen. Editor.]

² This idea is Judaistic and pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch xxxii. 6.—[Gen. Editor.]

³ Adam is not here finally translated but only temporarily in order to receive the revelation. The same type of translation is found in the Books of Enoch and other Apocalypses.—[Gen. Editor.]

⁴ The Vision in xxv-xxix is already referred to in the Apoc. Mos. iii.—[Gen. Editor.]

are Ἀλληλούια (xliii); λόγοι παρανομίας (xxi) = 'words of Belial' רבִּי בְּלִיעַל (cf. Ps. Sol. iv. 11) and the strange names for Cain (Diaphotos or Barekhood, or Adiaphotos I) and Abel (Amilabes see note on i. 1): σκεῦος ἀχάριστον (xxvi. 1), ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου (I confess I do not understand why Fuchs says 'nicht als ein Wortspiel zu beurteilen'); on the contrary, the parallel in Vita seems to prove this. The curious use of the relative and the article with the infinitive in conjunction with the preposition ἐν may stand for Hebrew הַ or even הָ, e. g. xvi. 1 ῥῆμα ἐν ᾧ, cf. τρόπον ἐν ᾧ (xxx. 1), ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυλάσσειν ἡμᾶς (xv. 2), ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ῥέει ἐξ αὐτοῦ (xiii. 2). Other Hebraisms may be exclamations such as Ἴδὸν ἐγώ, ii. 2 cf. 1 Sam. iii. 4-5; ὣς ὁ θεὸς ὄντι (xviii), cf. 2 Kings xi. 1. The obvious error in A. M. xxv. 1 ἐν ματαίοις (see note) is a strong evidence of a Hebrew source, also οὐ εἶπεν μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (xxi. 3).

On the other hand, most of the quotations are from LXX (Fuchs, 511 f.), and for Hebrew conceptions such as 'Gan Eden', She'ol, Gehenna; Greek words παράδεισος, Ἀχερουσία (or Ἀχέρουσα) are employed, or phrases, e. g. τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (Apoc. Mos. xxxix).

Dr. Fuchs seems to rest his faith on an Aramaic original from which his Hellenist has translated; or a supposed 'Book of Adam', containing all existing traditions on the subject. If such existed, it was probably not the work of a single author. For any nearer determination of the author's place and time, our only guide is the author's literary connexion with other works whose date is approximately known. Since a fuller treatment of the theology of this work is given in § 9, while its influence on subsequent writings is discussed in § 8, it must suffice here to point out some of the links connecting it with earlier literature. It is, as we have seen, a commentary on the ancient books of the Law written from a didactic standpoint. As such it belongs to a period when reflection on the Old Testament narratives had passed through a considerable process of development and reached some striking conclusions as to the real events connected with 'the Fall' and its consequences upon the race of men. The blessing of deliverance from this curse (not restricted as in the Palestinian 4 Ezra to the Jews, but extended to all men) is taught as a hope in the future, but it is not connected with a Messiah. (This omission is of course soon supplied by Christian interpolators in Slav. and Latin versions.) There is, therefore, no polemic in the book, though it moves in the circle of ideas familiar to readers of Paul and 4 Ezra (cf. 4 Ezra iii. 21, iv. 30, vii. 118), esp. Apoc. Mos. x. 2, xiv. 2 (cf. Rom. v. 12-14); but a 'Christ' as either the Jews or the Christians expected him is wholly ignored (whereas in 4 Ezra vii he is attacked); as he is in the 2 Enoch. As in Paul, the mercy of God (quite unlike 4 Ezra and Apoc. Bar.) is repeatedly dwelt on, but God pities man 'because he made him' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 2), not because 'Christ died for him'; cf. Rom. iv. 25, 30.

(Only in Apoc. Mos. xxviii is a condition attached to the promise of Resurrection, 'if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil,' but this is not to be compared with the doctrine of works of merit as it is taught in Apoc. Baruch; cf. esp. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 12.)

It is perhaps not without significance that sacrifice, though alluded to in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 3, iv. 2, is not treated as a cause of God's pardon to Adam; which is due to God's mercy and the angel's prayers (Apoc. Mos. xxxv-xxxvii; cf. 2 En. lxi. 4).

The resemblance to the Pauline teaching is the more remarkable since Everling (*Paulinische Demonologie*) and Thackeray (*St. Paul and Contemporary Thought*) have shown that the two appear to agree very closely in their estimate of Eve's part in the fall of man. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 10, esp. 1 Tim. ii. 14 and 2 Cor. xi. 3 and 13-15. (See Thackeray's note on pp. 53-4.) Cf. Apoc. Mos. xix. 1, 2, 3 with xvii. 1 = Vita ix and Apoc. Mos. xxv. 3; 2 En. xxxi. 1, Sir. xxv. 23; Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, x. 2 = Vita iii. 2, v. 3. Cf. Philo, Quaestiones, 1-33.

2 Cor. xi. 14 reads almost like a quotation from Apoc. Mos. xvii or its prototype. It is of comparatively minor importance that Everling notices the close resemblance of Paul's early conception of the Parousia in 1 Thess. ii. 14 with that portrayed in Apoc. Mos. xxii; while 'the Paradise in the Third Heaven' of 2 Cor. xii. 2 is identical with that in Apoc. Mos. xl. 1, xxxvii. 5. These are common features in the Rabbinic writings, though Talmud (Ber. Rabb. vi, Chagiga 12 b) changed the order of the Heavens (see Charles, 2 En. xxxviii).

If Kabisch goes too far in identifying our Apoc. Mosis with the source used by St. Paul, it seems at least tenable that S. Paul and the author of the 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Apoc. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas; profoundly modified in St. Paul's case by his Christian convictions; in the case of 2 Enoch by the author's interest in the Philonic and Platonic speculations, e. g. of Pre-Existence; in the case of the author of Apoc. Mos. by his love of the picturesque and extravagant use of Jewish Haggada. In that case, we may assign the original nucleus of the Apoc. Mos., of which our Greek copy is a slightly revised version, to the middle or end of the first century A. D. and picture the author as a religious Jew of Alexandria.¹

¹ If the author was an Alexandrian Jew, then he must have drawn on Hebrew or Aramaic sources, since the text in certain passages presupposes mistranslations of a Semitic original.—[Gen. Editor.]

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

Some traditions included in the Latin version are not without early attestation. In the *Vita L.*, the request of Eve concerning the two 'tables', which are to commemorate her life and Adam's, is probably parallel with, not derived from, the legend in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 3, perhaps from a Babylonian original.¹ See note *in loc.*

The way by which Satan secured his bond over man (Slav. *Vita* xxxiii-iv) appears in a new form in the Arm. 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve', ii, iii, connected with fear of darkness; cf. also Aboda Zara 8 a, Conflict of Adam and Eve, I, xii; both appear to be of later origin. But the devil's claim seems to have appeared in embryo form also in the original 'Assumption of Moses' as reconstructed by Charles from later allusions (Charles, *Ass. Moses*, p. 106).

The story of the serpent putting the poison of lust on the fruit (connected with Rabbinic teaching of *yeşer hara* (יֵצֶר הָרָע) 4 Ezra's 'evil seed' in man) has been frequently dwelt upon in the Rabbis and in the Jewish Apocalypses (now Christianized), Slav. Bar. xcvi, Apoc. Abraham xxiii (cited by Ginzberg).

The glory of Adam and Eve before the Fall, the brightness they lost, the Resurrection that was promised to Adam, the nature of the serpent's temptation, the limbs of the serpent, the kind of the tree of knowledge, the trumpet of Michael the guardian angel of Eve, the judgement of God coming with his angels, the mutilation of the serpent, all are enumerated in Rabbinic literature (see notes on Apoc. Mos. xvii, xviii, xx, xxvi, xxxii-xxxvii, xxix, &c.).

Far from showing no repentance, Adam is regarded already in Jub. xix. 24 as a righteous patriarch, and the nature of his penance is described in Erubin 18 b, Ab. Zara 18 a, Ab. R. Nath. i (cited by Ginzberg). The sacrifice of fragrant herbs offered by Adam (xxix) and the failure of Cain to bury Abel (xl) are both already known to the author of Jubilees. With the seventy-two 'plagues' of God's curse on Adam in Apoc. Mos. viii. 2; cf. Mishna, *Neg.* i. 4 (Ginzberg), as also God's words in Targ. Jer. iii. 9, with Apoc. Mos. viii. 1 (= xxxiii. 1). The later scenes in God's care of Adam's soul and body after death are all to be found in the Rabbinic commentaries, very likely derived from this book. The 'Apocalypse' or 'Testament of Abraham', which according to James, *Texts and Studies*, and Kohler (*JQR*, 1895, 581-601), is in the main pre-Christian, Jewish, or Essene, and certainly dates before Origen, i. e. circ. A. D. 200, has taken much from our book for the material on which it is based; concerning the nature of the Fall, the tree of which they ate, even the old Hebrew name of Jael for God, also the seventy-two kinds of death (cf. Apoc. Mos. viii. 2, seventy-two 'plagues' or 'strokes').

With regard to the more general features of belief in angels, seven 'Heavens', two abodes of Paradise, 'chariot of cherubim,' revolt of the beasts, Acherusian lake, &c., see § 9, 'Theology.' These, alike in Christian and Jewish Apocalypse, form a large body of common ground not derived from a single work, but the crystallized conceptions of generations. Cf. art. 'Apocalyptic' in *Jewish Encyc.*

When we come to a consideration of Christian, Gnostic, and Moslem productions, the suspicion of a direct influence becomes more pressing, though it is still hard to decide in individual cases. It has already appeared that both Syriac *Schatzhöhle* and Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, and especially the latter, are full of comments on, and expansions of, the subject-matter of both the *Vita* and the Apoc. Mos. A reader of these works and of the Gnostic Armenian Tales of Adam and Seth, and the Syriac 'Testament of Adam', will be struck at once by the contrast of the tone and likeness of the events narrated in the two literary cycles. The most marked characteristic of these Christian and Gnostic books is the new part played by the ascetic life as such. Ascetic touches, e. g. division of paradise for males and females (*Vita* xxxii = Apoc. Mos. xv), Eve's 'sin of the flesh' (Apoc. Mos. xxv), the fasting in Jordan (*Vita* i-xii), the birth of Cain after the Expulsion from Eden (Apoc. Mos. i, *Vita* xix-xxi) are not wanting in our Adam books; but they are far removed from the way of thinking presented by those products of the pious imagination of monks, where it is on account of their fasting and celibacy that the children of Seth are styled 'Sons of God', and live apart on a holy mountain; where the temptation of Adam is an incitement to marry Eve, where long years of separation between husband and wife are only brought to an end by the special command of God (even as Noah is only induced to take a wife against his will by the same command), where fasting is a constant practice, and celibacy a necessary mark of saintliness.

In the 'Testament' yet another feature of our books is taken up and enormously expanded. This is the old Hebrew notion of the sympathy of the elements, conceived almost as angels (so in 1 En. lxxvi, 'those stars', also xxi. 3) in the sorrows of men. The prayers of the sun and moon for Adam (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi-xxxvii, condensed in *Vita* xlvi) and the darkness of the sun in the presence of God (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi = 2 En. xiv. 2 (Charles' note), cf. *Vita* viii, Slav. *Vit.* xxxvii), are the basis of the elaborate poetical description of the combined intercessions of all the powers of

¹ This seems to be a late development of the myth found in Jubilees viii. 3. See my edition *in loc.*—[Gen. Editor.]

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Heaven, of which we are told in this work. The arrangement into hours of day and night is perhaps based on Gnostic imaginations of the 'aeons' of the world, but serves to give a grandeur and completeness to the representation. A more direct reference to the words of Apoc. Mos. xxxv is to be found possibly in the Dormitio Mariae xxxviii (Tisch.), a late Christian book, condemned in Decret. Gelasii vi. 28, and perhaps this account is copied from Apoc. Mos. Probably the censuring by angels of Mary's corpse in Dorm. Mar. xxvi repeats idea of Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4.

The pleading of Seth and Eve for the oil of mercy is probably taken down by the author of the Ev. Nicodemi xix direct from our text (Apoc. Mos. xiii = Vita xli), though in a later form (but before Ethiopic 'Conflict', sixth century) of the Latin version his own statement of the promise has taken the place of the Jewish 'Apocalypse' in Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3-5; where its presence seems to me (with Fuchs, Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 509) to need no apology.

Similarly the Apoc. Pauli xxii seems to have taken the name 'Acherusian lake', though not the thing, which is very old, from Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3; cf. *Orac. Sibyl.* i. 302, ii. 341. Apoc. Pauli xlv claims for Sunday rest and peace even in Hell, which Jews and Essenes ascribed to the Sabbath, as in Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li.

§ 9. THEOLOGY OF THE APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate that the Apocalypsis Mosis originated in a foreign city than the complete absence, outside the manifest insertion in Vita xxix, of any reference to the Jerusalem temple; unless 'the place where he was accustomed to pray', on which the Moslems learnt to build their reverence for the sacred Caaba, may be taken as a distant allusion (Vit. xxx. 1 = Apoc. Mos. v. 1) to some specially holy place. This distinguishes it from the 'Assumptio Mosis', the work of a Palestinian, a Pharisaic Quietist, without a Messiah. Nor, as we have seen, does the author follow his teacher, the author of 2 Enoch (xlii. 6, lix. 1, 2, lxvi. 2), in giving prominence to sacrifice, which is here treated as entirely subsidiary, and plays no part in attaining the desired pardon. Yet the God he pictures, like the future he prophesies, is a naïve and childlike conception only one step removed from the primitive figure in Genesis. Despite occasional higher flights, e.g. xxxvii, Eve's prayers in xxxii. 2 and xlii. 4-8, the studied anthropomorphism is so marked as almost to suggest an antiquarian design. In this respect, he goes far beyond 2 Enoch. God not only speaks to Adam and Eve (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxix. 5), comes to the garden in a chariot of his Cherubim (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3), or as Slav. has it, 'on their shoulders', sits on a throne placed at the tree of life (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 4), rebukes the angels for being more merciful than Himself (Apoc. Mos. xxvii. 4; cf. Apoc. Abraham xxviii), puts out his hand and lifts up Adam from the Acherusian lake after handing him over to Michael to be dealt with, comes down to supervise the arrangements for Adam and Abel's burial (xxxviii. 3-5), and holds a conversation first with Adam's soul (xxxix), and then with his corpse (xli. 1, 3). Yet despite this curious humbling of the Almighty, the author shows many traces of the new and transcendent view of His attributes, which was causing men to lift Him ever further and further out of reach. Though God often speaks to Adam, his appearance after the Fall is not described as in Gen. iii. 8, but heralded by the 'trump of the archangel' (xxii. 1, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16 of the 'Parousia'), and neither the expulsion, the funeral, nor the last injunctions are his direct work; they are entrusted to a host of subordinate beings. The two cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 are there (Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3) but their efforts are now supported by a host of other angelic beings. The archangels (four of whom are mentioned by name, xl. 1, cf. Vita xlvi. 6) and the Seraphim, one of whom (xxxvii. 3) is given the task of casting Adam's soul into the Acherusian lake, are the most important. Thus Michael's special concern is with the care of men's bodies (Apoc. Mos. xxxii. 3). This was a well-known conception of later Judaism (see Notes). The other archangels (Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel) who carry out the funeral, are all names well known to readers of 'Enoch' and parallel works of Jewish Apocalyptic. The 'virtues', who support Eve in her hour of trial, Vita xxii. 1, and watched her once in Paradise, Vita xxxiii. 1 (perhaps the latter passage in the Vita borrows them from here, i.e. Apoc. Mos. vii. 2) are the guardian angels of which Our Lord speaks (Matt. xviii. 10) and which are perhaps first mentioned in Jubilees xxxv. 17. In another respect the author follows the practice of the later Jews in ascribing great efficacy to the prayers not only of the righteous but of angels, for the departed (cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi; Vita xxi. 2, ix. 3). In this case he opposes the teaching of 2 Enoch (liii. 1) who, unlike Philo, attacked this practice.

The doctrine of a Future Life corresponds very nearly to the notion entertained by the later Judaism. The teaching of a Resurrection and a Judgement is clear and emphatic, as also is the doctrine concerning the intermediate abode of departed souls in Paradise, the third of the seven Heavens (Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4, (A) Tisch.), (xxxv. 2), (xxxvii. 3, 5, xl. 2) and thus quite distinct from the original Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve dwelt before the Fall. (Apoc. Mos. i, vi, viii, xiii, xvi, xxii, &c.; Vita xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlvi, &c.; Slav. Vita xxx, xxxi.)

INTRODUCTION

§ 10. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Penance of Adam and Eve, i-xi.

- i. ¹ When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.
- ii. ¹ But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they ² found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for (something) for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before.'
- iii. ¹ And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they ² used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: 'Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence.'
- ³ Adam answered: 'Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not.'
- iv. ¹ And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise, but found only animals' ² food. And Adam said to Eve: 'This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; ³ but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living.'

i. ¹. **paradise.** Cod. Ar. + 'they went to the West'.

ii. ¹. **after seven days.** Cod. Ar. has 'after six days'; cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6. started to look for = *quaerebant*.

iii. ¹. **seven days.** Mishna Taanit i. 6 says he fasted seven days, see Intro. §§ 4, 5. **victual . . . in paradise:** eating beasts' food was one of Adam's curses in Ber. rabba xx, Pirke Eliezer. Slav. explains it as 'nettles'.

². **on my account.** MSS. have doublet 'quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus vis interficere me ut moriar et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradysum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde'.

³. **bring . . . some other curse.** Cod. Ar. 'curse us with some other curse', Hebraism. my own flesh = Gen. ii. 24.

iv. ². **angels' food:** cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25 (Fuchs).

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

And we sat together before the gate of para- xxviii.
dise, Adam weeping with his face bent down
to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting.
And seven days passed by and we had nothing ²
to eat and were consumed with great hunger,
and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O
Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth
thus!'

And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that xxix.
we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth
me and my heart within me is brought low.'
Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of ²
killing thee, but I fear since God created thine
image and thou showest penitence and criest to
God; hence my heart hath not departed from
thee.'

And Adam arose and we roamed through all xxx.
lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and)
grass of the field. And we returned again to
the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature. ²
O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. xxxi.
Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel ²
praying for us, and Joel the archangel was
commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh
part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the ³
Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up
from under thy hands; and from thy sweat
shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble
when she looketh upon thee.'

✓ The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith xxxii.
the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command
thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy
wife?' Again Joel the archangel bade Adam ²
separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and
creeping things and animals, both wild and tame;
and to give names to all things. / Then indeed ³
he took the oxen and began to plough.

xxviii. ¹. **before the gate of paradise.** Slav. Vita i marks this off from Heavenly 'Paradise'.

xxxi. ². **Joel.** Confusion with Jah-El. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii. 4 (note).

xxxii. ³. **plough.** No extreme asceticism—corn regarded as a blessing—just as there is no disparagement of marriage; contrast Christian version in Intro. § 5 a.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

v. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?'

vi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. 2 And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.'

vii. 1 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did 2 as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

viii. 1 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.'

3 Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Then the devil approached and stood before xxxiii. 1 the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of 2 earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things 3 of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till xxxiv. 1 the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of 2 the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord 3 would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy 4 bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us xxxv. 1 pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'

But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of 2 thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, 3 fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the xxxvi. 1 river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And 2 I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 3 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And 4 Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

vi. 1. as thou hast strength for. I *et salveris*: II *sed salveris*.

unlawful and forbidden. I *contradicti*: II III *illicito et contradicto*. Cor. Ar. *illicito*.

2. Jordan. Probably changed by Christian editor from 'Gihon', where Jews, e.g. Pirke Eliezer, placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.

viii. 3. stood still. I *steterunt ex aqua non agentes cursum*†. Meyer gives singular as text. Katona's text says this lasted eighteen days.

xxxiii-xxxv. Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagić). 'Paradise' here is the *Heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section cf. Pauline phrase 'bond servants of sin'. It occurs in all Slav. MSS. of 'Solfenus' and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.

xxxiv. 3. But Adam, &c. A gloss within a gloss.

xxxv. 3. forty-four. Eve stronger here. In Latin Vit. vi, I has 'thirty-seven', III 'thirty' days.

xxxvi. 3. fall . . . snare = *scandalizeris*.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- ix. 1 And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river 2 Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious 3 and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; 4 and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying 5 out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready.'
- x. 1 But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was (trembling) 2 like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. 3 But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: 'O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of thy penitence? 4 How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?'
- xi. 1 And when she heard this, Eve understood that (it was) the devil (who) had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth and her sorrow and groaning and wailing 2 was redoubled. And she cried out and said: 'Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft? Or why doth thy malice 3 assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honour? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy (and persecute us) to the death in wickedness and envy?'

ix. 1. was wroth. III >.

4. crying out. II III *plangitis*: I *planxistis*.

xi. 2. with craft = *dolose* Fuchs, Meyer, Katona: others *dolore*.

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

And there, the angels came together and all xxxvii. I living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam.

The devil came to me, wearing the form and xxxviii. I brightness of an angel, and shedding big tears, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water, 2 Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.'

But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil xxxix. I and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took 2 me and led me out of the water.

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be xl. I silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.'

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypsis Mosis xxxii. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

xxxvii. 1. a wall. Far greater than concise Latin account. Cf. Rom. viii. 22. In Recension ii. Satan appears twice—the first time as Adam. The 'tokens' of xxxvi. 3 are explained there.

xxxix. 1. answered nothing. Here only, Eve is not deceived. Contrast 'Conflict' of Adam and Eve, I. xxxiii-xxxv.

xl. 1. Adam cried out, &c. Only here. Latin Vita xi perhaps inserted to link on story in xvi-xxiii. Eve deliberately compels Satan to come forward with his tale.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

The Fall of the Devil, xii-xvii.

- xii. 1 And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake : ' O Adam ! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens
2 in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, ' What dost
3 thou tell me ? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee ? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us ?'
- xiii. 1 The devil replied, ' Adam, what dost thou tell me ? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled
2 from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God ; and God the Lord spake : Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.'
- xiv. 1 And Michael went out and called all the angels saying :
' Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.'
2 And Michael himself worshipped first ; then he called me and said : ' Worship the image of God
3 the Lord.' And I answered, ' I have no (need) to worship Adam.' And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, ' Why dost thou urge me ? I will not worship an inferior and younger being (than I). I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me.'
- xv. 1, 2 When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, ' Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wrath
3 with thee.' And I said, ' If He be wrath with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest.'
- xvi. 1 And God the Lord was wrath with me and banished me and my angels from our glory ; and on
2 thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And
3 straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we
4 were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory.'
- xvii. 1 When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake : ' O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give
2, 3 me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan.

Birth of Cain and Abel ; Death of Abel ; Book of Seth, xviii-xxiv.

- xviii. 1 And Eve said to Adam : ' Live thou, my Lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the commandment of God ; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting,
2 and there will I be, until I die.' And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn
3 and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

xii. 1. expelled I. III + *et alienatus sum*. Story closely parallel to Al Koran Suras vii-xi, Codex Nazaraeus 67 : ' The highest kings of light declared : " Let the kings of fire serve Adam." But one, the author of ill, did not follow the commands of the Lord and was hurled in chains.' Cf. Rabbi Moses-Hadarschan : ' When God made Adam, he said to the higher angels, " Bow yourselves down ! " '

3. no harm. II III *non nocitus* : III 15 *damnatus* : I *natus*. II 9. 17, III 4 >.

xiii. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxxi. 3.

xiv. 2. God the Lord = Jahwe Elohim (יהוה אלהים).

3. I have no (need) to = *non habeo* with infinitive.

xv. 1. the angels . . . under me. Sole reference to devils (in plural) in Vita or Apoc. Mos.

3. like the Highest. Midrasch on Isa. xiv (LXX). Cf. Dan. xi. 11. stars II III. ' throne ' I.

xviii. 1. error = *praevaricatio*.

2. western parts = Apoc. Mos. i. 1.

3. offspring. So Meyer III I. Jewish anti-ascetic piece. Contrast ' Conflict ' and Magyar ' Vita Adae ', where they remain apart one hundred years and are only married at God's express command. Cf. Noah in Arm. ' Gospel of Seth ' (Preuschen's translation).

three months old. So III 43 ; II 3. 9. II 17 + ' Cain '.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- xix. 1 And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she
2 cried aloud to the Lord and said: 'Pity me, O Lord, assist me.' And she was not heard and the
3 mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: 'Who shall tell my lord Adam?
I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my
lord Adam.'
- xx. 1 But in that hour, Adam said: 'The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more
hath the serpent fought with her.'
- 2 And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: 'From the moment I saw thee,
my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to
3 hearken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains.' And Adam entreated
the Lord for Eve.
- xxi. 1 And behold, there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left
2 of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to
the breast and said to Eve: 'Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and
intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and
3 prepare thee to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up
and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was
called Cain.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- xxii. 1 And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led
2 them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers
seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to
Adam and showed him how to work and till
the ground, that they might have fruit by which
they and all their generations might live.
- 3 For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son,
whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used
to stay together.
- 4 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, while I
slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of
our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was
gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have
sorrow.'
- 5 And Adam said, 'Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet
let us separate them from each other mutually,

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

- This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had i. 1
gone out of Paradise. And Adam knew his wife 2
Eve and went upwards to the sun-rising and abode
there eighteen years and two months. And Eve 3
conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who
is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.
- And after this, Adam and Eve were with one ii. 1
another and while they were sleeping, Eve said
to Adam her lord: 'My lord, Adam, behold, I 2
have seen in a dream this night the blood of my
son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured
into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went
on drinking it without pity. But he begged him
to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened 3
not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor
did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his

- xix. 2. did not encircle her. Not a Christian sentiment, but Jewish.
3. what time . . . to the east. Cf. Test. Adam, describing the fourth hour of the night.
xx. 1. the serpent. Cf. Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv-xxx. Also attack of beast in Vita xxxvii, Apoc. Mos. x-xi.
2. was refreshed. *refrigeravit* Meyer: *I infrigeravit*.
xxi. 1. virtues (or 'powers' Fuchs). Probably 'guardian angels' (Ginzberg). Cf. Apoc. Mos. vii. Like Pauline
'principalities, thrones, powers', &c. Name agrees in Test. Adam.
and Michael . . . right. II only. So Meyer.
2. on the face. *I faciem eius*: II, III *eam a facie*.
3. shining (*lucidus*). Cf. Adiaphotos, Apoc. Mos. i. The 'Incunabulum' (see Meyer 215), the Deutsches Adam
Buch and III say Eve was frightened and wished to kill Cain. Perhaps alludes to myth that he was Satan's child.
blade of grass . . . Cain. Better 'reed.' Play on words—Hebrew קַנְהָ (Kāneh) and קַיִן (Cain). Some Rabbis
say Cain slew Abel with a reed.
xxii. 4. I saw. In Slav. Adam sees it before Cain's birth.
5. separate . . . mutually. Midrasch on Gen. iv. 2, 7-10.

i. All MSS. (ABCD and Arm.) give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel. Like the title, this is a later addition. Slav. describes subjection of all animals in first chapter (cf. beasts' words in Apoc. Mos. xi. 1).

2. knew. *ἐγνων* (Gen. iv. 1) DE Arm.: AC 'took' (*ἐλαβεν*).
went upwards (*ἀνῆλθεν*) AC: D 'went out' (*ἐξῆλθεν*).
3. Adiaphotos D: other MSS†. Arm. 'Anloys' = 'full of light.' Cf. Vita xxi. 3 *lucidus*. The translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests *διαφύτωρ* or *διαφυτευτής*, 'a planter,' for Adiaphotos and *μηλοβότης*, 'a keeper of sheep' for Amilabes.

Amilabes AD: CB corrupt. Arm. 'Barekhooch' = 'well-minded' (Conybeare).

- ii. 2. went on drinking E: ACD has aorist (*ἐπιεν*).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.'

- xxiii. 1 And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated.
2 And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

- 3 And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

- xxiv. 1 And Adam said to Eve, 'Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew.'
2 And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

mouth. And Adam said, 'Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.'

And they both went and found Abel murdered iii. 1 by the hand of Cain his brother. And God saith to Michael the archangel: 'Say to Adam: "Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show (to thee) all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him nothing."' Thus spake the archangel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel their son.

And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Seth. iv. 1

And Adam said to Eve: 'See! we have begotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God.'

And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty daughters and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick and cried with a loud voice and said, 'Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Vision of Adam, xxv-xxix.

- xxv. 1 And Adam said to Seth, 'Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw the

xxiii. 2. one hundred and twenty-two. Cf. Jub. iv. 3 (Charles's note); Abel there is twenty-two.

xxiv. 2. sixty-three. Cf. Jub. iv. 10 (Charles's note): Jub. says 'nine'; 'Conflict of A. and E.' says 'five'; Arm. omits 'thirty daughters'.

xxv. 1. Seth. Some MSS. have preface explaining choice of Seth. D. A. B. says it was told to all his sons.

2. at prayer. D. A. B. says 'where he was standing in Jordan'.

3. fiery. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Ezek. i; Apoc. Mos. xxxiii.

Paradise of righteousness. Heavenly Paradise, as in 2 En. and 1 En. (xxxii. 3). Elsewhere in Vita either garden of Eden on earth or 'third Heaven' (e.g. Apoc. Mos. xxvii, xl.1), not in presence of God, as here.

4. said DE: AC + 'to Eve'.

Let us arise and go CE: D is better Greek (*ἀναστάντες*), but less original.

what has happened AD: C 'what is this dream about our sons': Arm. 'to see about our sons'.

assailing. C prefixes *ἐλθών* = 'has come and is assailing'.

iii. 2. archangel BCE Slav.: AD 'angel'.

the secret. Arm. changes to 'the secret of the vision' (i. e. Vita xxv-xxix).

son of wrath. Eph. ii. 3.

his stead (Gen. iv. 25). Here not in Abel's, but in Cain's stead (Kabisch).

all that thou shalt do. Arm. alters to 'all that I shall do' (for same reason cf. Introd. 3, 4). A + 'to him'.

tell him nothing AC Arm. Tisch.

3. also Eve. E Slav. expand.

iv. 2. glory and sacrifice: So A. CD read 'glorify God and give worship': B 'glory': E Slav. 'praise and sacrifice': Arm. 'praise and glory'. Cf. 'Conflict', I. ii-xi.

v. 1. And Adam lived . . . years DB Slav. Arm. AC >.

2. sick Arm.: E 'a little sick': C 'a great disease'.

die C + 'and he sent off his son Seth to all to tell them'.

Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

- xxvi. 1 When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before
2 God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, 'Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst hearken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightst hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words.'
- xxvii. 1 And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshipped the Lord and said, 'My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my
■ breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, (me) whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favour him whom Thou didst nourish.'
3 And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me and the Lord said to me, 'Since thy days
†were fashioned†, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed for ever the (right) to serve Me.'
- xxviii. 1 And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God and said, 'Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give thee honour and praise.
■ 'Thou art the true Light gleaming above all light(s), the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy.'
3 After I had worshipped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and
4 cast me out of the paradise †of 'vision'† and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.
- xxix. 1 And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to
2 the place whence he had caught me up. Hearken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets [and sacraments] that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the
3 knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; [what God intends to do
4 to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire (and) from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes [from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword] and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty.
5 And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted and they
6 themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God;
7 and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth [in visible form]; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished

flaming fire. Cf. 1 En. (xiii-xvii) for description of God's dwelling, &c.

xxvi. 2. rather II *in primis*; I *prius*, III (Meyer) *plus*. to thy wife. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxiv.

xxvii. 1. name. Hebrew expression = personality. Cf. Kautzsch, Hastings' *B. D.*, art. 'Religion of Israel'.

2. didst form. *plasmasti* (Graecism).

favour. II *gratia*: I *gratiae*.

3. concerning thee = *tuum* (*verbum*).

came upon me. *incedit* II 5: *incendit*, 'inflamed' II 17.

were fashioned. †*figurantur* (Meyer). All MSS. corrupt.

love of knowledge. See Introd. § 6.

xxviii. 2. Light . . . Life . . . Power. Gnostic epithets.

mighty. So Fuchs. MSS. corrupt. II 5, III 2 *magnitudinis*: I *matutine*: II 3 *magna*.

3. vision and of God's command. II 3. 17 *visionis*: II 5 and III *visitationis et visionis*: Fuchs with Cod. Wright *visitationis et iussionis*.

4. a rod. *virgam* II (and so Fuchs): I †*virtutes*.

froze hard. Sea of ice round Paradise. Cf. 2 En. iii. 3; Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2; Test. Lev. iii. 2; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* iv. 132. Perhaps = 'Acherusian Lake' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii-xxxix).

xxix. 2. [and sacraments] II III. Meyer brackets as a gloss. I (and Fuchs) >.

3-10. In II (3, 5, 9, 17), III (18 only), IV. Interpolation. First part (3-6)—'what God . . . than of old'—may be fragment of *Jewish* Apocalypse; last part certainly Christian.

6. greater than of old (*maior quam prius*). Bousset refers this to Herod's temple; perhaps more likely the Messianic one. Cf. 1 En. xci. 13.

7. in visible form, &c. These phrases are certain marks of Christian origin. [Cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 7, LXX Vulg. T. Zeb. ix. 8 where God is spoken of as being seen by men. There is no good reason for regarding xxix. 3-10 as Christian with the exception of a few words,—Gen. Editor.]

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

8 by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their 9 works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And 10 in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

xxx. 1 After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: 'Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them.'

2 And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used 3 to worship the Lord God. And they asked him (saying): 'What concerns thee, Father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on 4 thy bed?' Then Adam answered and said: 'My sons, I am sick and in pain.' And all his sons said to him: 'What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?'

xxxi. 1 Then said Seth his son: 'O (my) lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will hearken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed.'

2 Adam answered and said: 'No, my son, I do not long (for this), but I feel weakness and great 3 pain in my body.' Seth answered, 'What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us (about it).'

xxxii. 1 And Adam answered and said: 'Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree

And all assembled, for the earth was divided v. 3 into three parts. And Seth his son said to him: 4 'Father Adam, what is thy complaint?'

And he saith, 'My children, I am crushed by 5 the burden of trouble.' And they say to him, 'What is trouble?'

And Seth answered and said to him: 'Hast vi. 1 thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it?'

'If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and 2 bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel (and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee.'

Adam saith to him: 'Nay, my son Seth, but 3 I have (much) sickness and trouble!' Seth saith to him: 'And how hath this come upon thee?'

And Adam said to him: 'When God made us, vii. 1 me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in

9-10. purified by water, i.e. baptism.

xxx. 1. bless them. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 14, xlviii. 3, 2 En. lxiv. 4.

2. in the house of prayer. So I *coram oratorio*; II III *ante oratorium* Apoc. Mos. v (A C). Meyer and Kabisch find here origin of 'Caaba' legends (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*). See Introd. §§ 1, 8, 9.

3. parts. So D B. A + 'they came to the door of the house where he used to enter to pray to God.' So C except that it reads 'before him, where' instead of 'to the door of the house'.

4. Adam A B D: C >.

5. I am crushed, &c. Lit. 'great disease oppresses me'. A B C D Slav. (πόνος πολλὸς συνέχει με).

What is trouble? B + 'father': A D + 'and sickness'.

vi. 1. in yearning for it (ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῶν). Arm. A Tisch. D B C >. ? a gloss.

2. I will go (πορεύσομαι) C D: A B 'I go': Slav. 'we'.

dung. Arm. 'dust'.

that. Lit. 'and' = vav conversive.

bring me a plant. Inserted for clearness—perhaps in original. B has ἐνέγκει (sic) μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ

ἐν εὐσ.

3. how . . . upon thee (πῶς σοι) A C E Arm. Slav.: D 'how much' (πόσοι).

vii. 1. to him. C only has πρὸς αὐτόν as often.

tree (ξύλου) C: A B D 'plant' (φυτοῦ): Arm. 'fruits'.

I die A C E D: B Arm. 'we die'.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; (saying)
 2 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and (a part) to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and the north, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

xxxiii. 1 (Moreover) God the Lord gave us two angels
 2 to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary [the devil] found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the
 3 unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

xxxiv. 1 And immediately, the Lord God was wrath with us, and the Lord said to me: 'In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body, seventy blows; with divers griefs, shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every
 2 separate limb. These hath God appointed for chastisement†. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.'

xxxv. 1 Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am
 2 beset.' And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: 'O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned.'

3 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine.'

xxxvi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Rise up and go with

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

paradise, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels 2 who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat. 3

'And God was wroth with us, and the Lord viii. 1 came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?" And he 2 saith to me: "Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee."'

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned ix. 1 sore and said: 'What shall I do? I am in great distress.'

And Eve wept and said: 'My lord 2 Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou

xxxii. 2. **your mother.** Incident from Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv.

xxxiv. 1. **was wroth.** Condensed from story in Apoc. Mos. viii, xxi-xxiii.

confirmed. *confortavi* II III. I in margin *mandavi*.

seventy Apoc. Mos. viii. 2 (A B C). The 'Cant' (see Meyer 211) has 'sixty and two'.

2. **appointed for chastisement†.** MSS. obscure.

all our race. Read *omne genus nostrum* with II III: Meyer 'all our generations' (*omnes nostras generationes*).

that one only D B E C.

2. **guarding** A B C: 'watching' D E: Arm. 'looked to your mother for her to render worship'. Cf. Jub. iv. 22, Chagiga 16a, Ber. 60b. Ginzberg calls these angels 'virtues' (cf. Vita xxi).

Lord. C adds 'as their fashion (τύπος) was'; a gloss.

and I was far from her. C only.

of which . . . not to eat. C only.

viii. 1. **paradise.** A B + 'when we had eaten and placed His throne'.

Adam . . . thou. D adds gloss from Gen. iii. 12.

builder. This saying occurs in Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 9. > D.

2. **to me.** D B E only.

seventy-two D E, Slav., Mishna *Neg.* i. 4, but 'seventy' A B C, Vita; latter is common symbolic number, probably a correction.

ix. 1. **distress** (λύπη) C Arm. Slav.: D 'stress' (ἀνάγκη). D has a long gloss from Gen. iii. 19.

2. **thy trouble** D C Arm. A B 'sickness'.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God. Perchance He will have pity (upon you) and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.'

xxxvii. 1 Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast [a serpent] and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: 'Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God.' And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: 'Accursed beast! how (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?'
xxxviii. 1 The beast answered in the language of men: 'Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice (is directed)? Are not ye the objects of our rage?'
2 Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it.'

xxxix. 1 Then said Seth to the beast: 'God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be brought to the ordeal.' And the beast said to

art beset with toils and troubles.' But Adam said to Eve, 'Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.'

Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, x. 1 and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast cried out and said:

'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, if I begin to reprove thee.'

Then Seth speaketh to the beast, 'Close thy mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment.' Then saith the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.

xxxvi. 2. oil of life. Cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 3 (note).

xxxvii. 1. [a serpent]. A gloss to connect with tale of Fall. Originally this passage was midrash to explain beasts' revolt.

bit Seth proves work is not *Sethite*. Seth here is weak and fallible. Arm. version >.

3. how is it that, &c. II+ (with A D of Apoc. Mos. x) 'how were thy teeth made strong?'

xxxviii. 2. the fruit. II+ 'which the Lord commanded thee not to eat'.

reprove. *probationem* II III: Meyer *comprobationem* ('ordeal').

begin . . . bear it. Meyer II 3. 9: I >.

xxxix. 1. confounder and destroyer (*confusio perditionis*). A Hebraism.

and troubles. A omits. D adds gloss from Gen. iii.

3. earth A C: Arm. Slav. D 'dust'.

the tree, i.e. the Tree of Life described in I En. xxiv. 3, 4; 2 En. viii. 3; Apoc. Paul. xlv; Test. Lev. xviii. 11; Rev. xxii. 2. Naturally conceived as an 'olive'—the great wealth of Mediterranean peoples. See Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, on 'Wild and tame olives'.

oil of pity: Latin Vita xli. 3. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiii. 1. A play on words in Greek—*ἐλαιος*, *ἐλεος*. Cf. Bousset, *Religion des Judéens*, 327; 2 En. xxii. 8, 9; Ps. Clem. *Recognitions* I. 45; 4 Ezra ii. 12.

have rest A D: C 'will be redeemed from (*λυτρωθῶ ἐκ*) the trouble': A B+ 'I will show you the manner in which we were deceived in the former case'—a gloss.

x. 1. a wild beast. This passage is a midrash on Gen. iii. 15. Vita xxxix+ 'a serpent', and implies it was Satan (xxxix. 1). Slav. calls it 'Cotur' or 'Gorgo', and adds it pursued him 'to devour him'.

Eve saw. C+ 'from afar'.

2. Resurrection A C D: B 'Judgement': Slav. 'Second Advent'.

xi. 2. transformed C D: Arm. Slav. expand. Cf. Sanh. 106 b, Pesikt. 44 b (Ginzberg).

xii. 2. lair C (*κοίτην*): A B D E 'tent' (*σκηνήν*).

Seth: 'See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said.' Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

- xl. 1 But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, (and) they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth and began to lament and
2 make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the 'tree of His mercy'.

- xli. 1 But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: 'I have been sent to you from the Lord—I am set by God over the
2 bodies of men—I tell thee, Seth, (thou) man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

- xlii. 1 'For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days.'
2 [When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive
3 the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the
4 oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of
5 water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]

- xliii. 1 'But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall go off his body and when

And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and xliii. 1 they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God 2 sent the archangel Michael and he spake to Seth: 'Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now,

but in the end of the times. 3 Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,—all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be 4 given to them and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for 5 the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the 6 term of his life hath been fulfilled and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But

2. wounded by his teeth II 17: I III ++.

xli. 1. angel Michael. Originally 'guardian angel of Israel' (Dan. xii). Cf. Midrash Konen. in *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 27 (Ginzberg), 2 En. xxii. 6, 1 En. xx. 5. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 168.

3. man of God = prophet. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 6, &c. Jewish trait.

xlii. 1. that. The MSS. reading *quia* = Greek *ὅτι* = 'that'.

2. When five thousand five hundred years . . . tree of mercy. Christian interpolation from Gospel of Nicodemus, xix (Greek work).

king I. II III >.

xliii. 1. there A B C: D >.

oil of mercy A C Arm.: Slav. >: E B 'mercy of mercy' (ἐλεος ἐλέου): (ἐλεος ἐλαίου) D 'mercy of oil'; probably not dittography, as Fuchs supposes, but play on words.

2. floweth with oil C (Kabisch): 'in which flows the oil' D A B Tisch.: E₂ †.

with prayers and entreaties (εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἱκεσίᾳ): a Hebraism.
it shall not B C + 'for' (γάρ).

3-6. Then shall . . . God only A B, Tisch., Fuchs). This short Apocalypse certainly Jewish, perhaps original. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3, 4 and cf. Jubilees xxii. 26-9; Ezek. xxxvi. 27; 1 En. v. 4; Bamidbar rabba 17; Schem rabba 41; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 381, 400; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 359.

5. evil heart (yešer hara (יֵצֶר הָרָע)). Prominent feature in later Jewish theology, as in St. Paul and 4 Ezra. See Introd. §§ 1, 5, 6, 9.

6. will die C: D †. three days from to-day. C only.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

it shall have gone out, thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the luminaries of heaven. With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.

3 And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.

xliv. 1 And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast [the serpent] bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy children after my death, [for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be wanting and curse us (and) say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the beginning].' When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful (scene of) his passing.'

Thus spake the angel and departed from them. xiv. 1 And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: 'Eve, what hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, [lording it over all our race].' And he saith to her, 'Call all our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Eve's Account of her Fall.

xv. 1 Then saith Eve to them: 'Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. [For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me.]

xvi. 1 And the devil spake to the serpent saying, "Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word whereby thou mayst have profit." And he arose and came to him. And the devil saith to him: "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even as we were cast out through him." The serpent saith to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me." The devil saith to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him."

xlili. 1. **luminaries of Heaven.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi.

3. **herbs of fragrance.** From Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xxix = Slav. Vit. xxv—inconsistent with Vita x-xii; Slav. Vita xxviii-xxx. III + Christian gloss from *lignum crucis* legend.

xliv. 2. **tell.** II 9 *refer*: III *referent filiis nostris*: Meyer suggests *refert*.

after my death. Insertion. Contrast Apoc. Mos. xiv. 3. It shows intention of editor to omit Eve's tale (Fuchs).

3. **toil and fail.** Play on words in Latin: *sufficiant* . . . *deficient*. Perhaps a gloss.

4. **All.** MS. prefixes *quoniam*; perhaps for *ὅτι* = 'that'. Cf. xlii. 1 (note).

awful scene of his passing (τὴν ἀνοδὸν αὐτῆς φοβερὰν) A B D: C >.

xiv. 2. **what hast thou wrought.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxii, Vita xviii. 1. With St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 14) and 2 En. xxx. 18, our author makes Eve primary cause of sin; 4 Ezra iii. 21 lays guilt on Adam.

which is death A B C D E_{1,2}: Arm. >. Cf. Rom. v. 14, 4 Ezra iv. 30.

[lording it over all our race] C >. Probably an interpolated gloss.

xv. 1. **Then saith Eve.** In Arm. E, Eve blames herself; in Slav. she is asked to tell her tale by her sons.

2. **the portion allotted.** Cf. Vita xxxii.

3. **where the male creatures.** Both Hebrew (שֶׁנֶּה) and Greek (ὄφεις) words for 'serpent' are masculine.

[For God . . . to me.] AD only have this explanation. Cf. B. C is corrupt. Arm. >.

your father A B E: 'our father' C D.

xvi. 1. **to the serpent.** Cf. 'Conflict of A. and E.' i. 17; Ber. rabba, xix; Weber, *JT.* 219-20. Slav. + 'thou art beloved before God, Eve will believe thee'.

mayst have profit A B E (ὀφελήθης).

2. **I hear** A B D: C 'I learn': Arm. 'I behold'.

counsel thee C: A D 'I consort with thee' (ὁμιλέω): Arm. 'unite with': A B + 'yet dost thou worship the less!'

Cf. Vita xiv. 3. A gloss from Vita.

3. **out of paradise.** A B + 'through his wife' (a gloss).

5. **deceive him** C: A 'deceive them'.

- xvii. 1 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to
2 worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And
I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: "Art thou Eve?" And I said
3 to him, "I am." "What art thou doing in paradise?" And I said to him, "God set us to guard and
4 to eat of it." The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: "Ye do well but ye do not eat
5 of every plant." And I said: "Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise,
concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat
of it, ye shall die the death."
- xviii. 1 Then the serpent saith to me, "May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not
have you ignorant. But arise, (come) hither, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree."
2, 3 But I said to him, "I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us." And he saith to me: "Fear
not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil.
4 But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of
5, 6 it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory." Yet I feared to take
of the fruit. And he saith to me: "Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me."
- xix. 1 And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: "I have changed my
2 mind and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband." (And) I said,
"What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the
3 Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat." And
when he had received the oath from me, he went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wicked-
ness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took
of the fruit and I ate.
- xx. 1 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the right-
2 eousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou
3 done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?" But
I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished.
4 And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none,
for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-
5 tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same
plant of which I had eaten.
- xxi. 1 And I cried out in that very hour, "Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and
2 I will show thee a great secret." But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression
3 [which have brought us down from our great glory]. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and

xvii. 1. **he hung.** E reads 'the devil inside the serpent hung', as Moslem fable in Weil, *B. L. der M.*
when. A B prefix 'about the ('ninth' B) hour.'

form of an angel. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14. Points to old idea of a literal seduction; cf. Gen. vi. 1-6; 1 En. vi-xii,
lxxxviii-xc; Sota ix. 9; Ber. rabba xxiv; Jalk. Schim. Ber. xlii.

2. Slav. reads 'I thought him an angel since he came from Adam's district'—emphasizing this feature throughout;
Arm. weakens it.

4. **every plant** B C D. 'all plants' A.

5. **die the death.** A Hebraism; lit. 'die with death' (θανάτω ἀποθανείσθε).

xviii. D breaks off here till xxxvi.

1. **I would not have you ignorant.** Arm. 'I desire not your ignorance': A B + 'for ye are as beasts'; a gloss:
A B C E Slav. 'since ye understand nothing'.

3. **ye . . . as God** C.

4. **God perceived . . . envied you.** With Tisch. A B: C >.

5. **glory.** Arm. alters this Midrash on Gen. iii. 6 to 'the glory of the Highest' (Gnostic?): A B + long gloss
(Gen. iii. 6).

xix. 1. **I opened.** C Arm.: E >: B 'he opened': Arm. + Gnostic gloss to the effect that Eve is without paradise
—first brought in by the serpent.

2. **What sort of oath** (ποῖον ὄρκον) C: A B E Arm. + 'I know not'.

3. **poured upon.** So Tisch. emends MSS.

the root and beginning of every sin C: A B 'head'. Fuchs thinks this is play on words in Hebrew (יֵטֵב = ראש
and κεφαλή = שׂוֹרֵט = 'head'). Idea is common among Rabbis, e.g. Aboda Zara 22b; 1 En. lxix. 6; Slav. Bar.
xc. 7; Apoc. Abraham xxiii; Gen. Rabb. xix. 6; Ab. R. Nathan v. 6. Cf. James i. 15.

he bent E Arm.: A B C 'I bent'.

I ate (Gen. iii. 6) C E Arm. Slav.

xx. 1. **clothed (upon)** (ἐνδεδυμένη) A B Tisch. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2; Isa. lxi. 10.

3. **which I had sworn** C E.

4. **my part** A B: C †.

5. **very same plant** A B C Slav. Ber. rabba xv; Schatzhöhle; Test. Adam. agree with our author that this was
a fig-tree. Apoc. Abraham xxiii calls it 'a grape'; Beresch. xl. 8 'barley'; Samuel Ben Isaac 'a date'.

xxi. 1. **secret** (μυστήριον) C: Arm. Slav. *mirabilia*.

2. [which have . . . glory]. Only A B Arm. A gloss.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as a God." And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be wroth with me." And I said to him, "Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil." And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and straightway his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness. And to me he saith, "O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?"
- xxii. 1 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam."
- 3 And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.
- xxiii. 1 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder?" Then your father answered; "It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might, (my) Master." God saith to him, "Who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my commandment, which I delivered thee to keep (it)." Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, (saying) "I will make thee secure before God"; and he turned and said to me: "Why hast thou done this?" And I said, "The serpent deceived me."
- xxiv. 1 God saith to Adam: "Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast hearkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labours,
- 2 Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. [Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.]
- 3 Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.
- 4 The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment."
- xxv. 1 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since thou hast hearkened to the serpent, and turned a deaf ear to my commandment, thou shalt be in **throes of travail** and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much **trembling** and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee."
- xxvi. 1 But he turned to the serpent [in great wrath] and said: "Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts.
3. my lord Adam. Aboth. R. Nathan i. 6 (Ginzberg) says Eve always addressed Adam as 'lord'.
6. what have I done C: Arm. A 'what hast thou done?'.
that = καί, ? for vav conversive: Slav. reads 'why'. See Introd. § 7.
- xxii. 1. [with his trumpet] interpolation: in A Arm. only. To soften anthropomorphisms in Genesis. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 52; cf. *Beṭ ha-Midrash* ii. 61 (Jellinek).
2. judgement . . . judge (κρίματος κρίνω) A Arm. (? Hebraism): for κρίματος C has 'word' (ῥήματος): Slav. *sententiam et quale iudicium*.
3. and mine. Slav. contradicts—plants in Eve's part were *withered*.
4. was fixed (ἐστηρίξετο) C. Cf. Targ. Jer. on Gen. vi. 9. This statement modifies 2 En. viii. 3 'that place on which God rests'. A Arm. E slight variants (e.g. εὑτρεπίξετο).
- xxiii. 1. 'where art thou' C. 'where art thou hidden' A.
3. forsaken E A Tisch. (ἐγκατέλειπες): Arm. 'transgressed.'
4. secure A C E Arm. (ἀκίνδυνον).
5. I said A + 'remembered the word of the serpent and'.
- xxiv. 1. in thy works E Arm. A: C 'for thy sake'.
2. Thou shalt be . . . taste A C; from Gen. iii. 18.
3. Only in A (gloss).
- xxv. 1. throes of travail. So Fuchs emends from A C 'empty pains' (ἐν ματαίοις): E 'empty toils'. In Hebrew חבל was misread for חבל.
2. trembling (τρόμοις). Tisch. emends from τρόπους ('ways') C A: Arm. E 'with great sorrow'.
3. no more E (οὐκέτι) C 'not'.
sin of the flesh A: B C E 'thy flesh': Arm. 'against my body'!
4. in thee. A B + 'And thou shalt turn to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.'
- xxvi. 1. turned . . . and C. A B >.
a thankless vessel (σκεῦος ἀχάριστου) A B E: Arm. 'offspring of wickedness', perhaps = Hebrew כלי בליעל = 'instrument of Belial' (Fuchs). Cf. xvi. 8.
innocent hearts (παρεμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ) A C: B παρισταμένους: Arm. 'the upright in heart.' E >.

- 2 Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat and shalt feed on dust all the days of
3 thy life; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk and be robbed of hands and feet. There
shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that with which thou didst ensnare them in
4 thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise; and I will put enmity between thee and
his seed; he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgement."
- xxvii. 1. 2 Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise: and as we were being driven out
amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said: "Leave me a little
(space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only
3 have sinned." And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying: "Pardon me,
4 O Lord, my deed." Then the Lord saith to the angels, "Why have ye ceased from driving Adam
from paradise? Why do ye not cast him out? Is it I who have done wrong? Or is my judgement
5 badly judged?" Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, "Thou
art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgement."
- xxviii. 1 But the Lord turned to Adam and said: "I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise."
2 And Adam answered and said, "Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before
3 I be cast out." Then the Lord spake to Adam, "Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have com-
manded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth (every way) to guard it from thee that
4 thou taste not of it; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee; yet when
thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when
again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee
the Tree of Life."
- xxix. 1. 2 Thus spake the Lord and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept
before the angels opposite paradise and the angels say to him: "What wouldst thou have us to do,
3 Adam?" And your father saith to them, "Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to
take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out
4 of paradise that he hear me." And the angels approached God and said: "JAEL, Eternal King,
command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odour from paradise and seeds
5 for his food." And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise
6 and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go and he took four kinds: crocus and nard and
calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food: and, after taking these, he went out of
7 paradise. And we were on the earth.
- xxx. 1 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived; and do ye guard
yourselves from transgressing against the good.'
- xxxi. 1 And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die
2 after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him: 'How is it that
3 thou diest and I live or how long have I to live after thou art dead? Tell me.' And Adam saith
to her: 'Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together.

2. hands and feet A + 'thy': B + long gloss explaining sin as sensual.

The serpent = (Satan) has limbs in Apoc. Abrah. xxiii; Targ. Jon. on Gen. iii; Ber. Rabb. xix, xx; Jalk. Schim.
ix. 11. Cf. Wisd. ii. 26; 2 En. xxxi. 3; and cf. Jubilees iii. 23 (Charles' note).

4. day of Judgement A B Arm.: C 'day of thy life' (Gen. iii. 14).

xxvii. 3. Pardon me Slav. + 'Allow me food that I may live'. Text of Slav. in disorder; read xxvi after xxvii.

4. driving Adam A B: Arm. E + 'why have ye hearkened to him?'

xxviii. 2. before = *πρό* with genitive and infinitive.

3. take of B Tisch. Arm.: C 'taste of'.

of it A B Arm. + 'and be immortal for ever' (Gen. iii. 22).

4. about to (*μέλλων*) C: A B 'willing to' (*βουλόμενος*): Arm. 'thinkest on death'. Ginzberg, with Gen. rabba xx;
Apost. Const. vii, xxiv, emends to 'thou wilt die.' Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiv; Haggada on Gen. iii. 17-22. Contrast
Vita xxix, xli. (Christian.)

xxix. 3. Behold A B: C 'since'.

so that = *ὅπως* with future indicative (C).

Cf. 'Conflict' I. xxiv. Slight variations in A B C Arm. Slav.

4. Jael (A B) = 'Jah-El' (*יה-אל*), Hebrew for 'Lord God': C >. Arm. has 'Hojil': E Slav. 'Joel', confused with
angel in xxxii and xlv, Apoc. Abraham x. 20, xvii. 22.

5. and seeds for his food E; cf. Slav. Vita xxv. 4, xxviii. Arm. omits the request, but says they were given:
A C says God let him take 'fragrant herbs for his food' (cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6): B says 'for sacrifice' only; cf. Jub.
iii. 27: E seems to preserve original.

6. four Arm. E: Slav. 'three': A B 'both'. Jubilees mentions 'frankincense, galbanum and stacte'. The same
four as in our text are mentioned in Arm. A B C.

7. were (*ἔγενόμεθα*). C 'were present' (*παρουγεγόναμεν*): Arm. 'saw ourselves placed on the earth': Slav. 'sat before
gate of paradise'. Passage parallel to Vita i-x follows in Slav.

xxx. 1. children C: A Tisch. *τεκνία*; diminutive.

transgressing (*παραβαίνειν*) C. A B 'forsaking.'

xxxi. 2. have I to live B: C 'do I desire to live' (*θέλω*): A >.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

And †she shall lie† in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the
4 angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek
His own creature; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands
who gave it me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or
be merciful and intend to pity and receive us.

xii. 1, 2 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and began to say: 'I have sinned,
O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect
angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable
Throne. I have sinned before Thee and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation.'
3 Even thus prayed Eve on her knees; (and) behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised
4 her up and said: 'Rise up, Eve, (from thy penitence), for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out
of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker.'

xxiii. 1 And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, 'Lift up thy-
2 self from the earth.' And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by
four bright eagles, (and) it were impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or
3 behold their face—and angels going before the chariot—and when they came to the place where
4 your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between
your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the
5 incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the
angels fell down and worshipped God, crying aloud and saying, 'JAEL, Holy One, have pardon, for
he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands.'

xxiv. 1 And I Eve beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for
2 fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, 'Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam,
and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

xlv. 1 And just as Michael the archangel had fore-
2 told, after six days came Adam's death. When
Adam perceived that the hour of his death was
at hand, he said to all his sons: 'Behold, I am
nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,
3 bury me towards the sunrising †in the field of
yonder dwelling†.' And it came to pass that
when he had finished all his discourse, he gave
up the ghost.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Then Seth arose and came to his mother and xxxv. 1
to her he saith: 'What is thy trouble? Why
weepest thou?' (And) she saith to him: 'Look 2
up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens
opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies
on its face and all the holy angels are praying
on his behalf and saying: "Pardon him, Father
of All, for he is Thine image." Pray, my child 3
Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one
day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible
Father, even our God? But who are the two 4

3. she shall lie A B C: Arm. E 'you shall be laid'—change of person marks confused text. So again in xxxiv. 1.
touch A C: 'see' Arm.

4. His own creature C: A B Arm. 'the vessel He hath fashioned': B + gloss from John vi. 37.

our Maker A B Arm.: C 'him' (αὐτόν).

pity us C: A >: B Arm. 'turn to pity us' (ἐπιστρέψῃ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς).

xxxii. 2. I have sinned. Eve's prayer-text. So C. E A B Slav. expand. Cf. Luke xv. 21.

3. the angel of humanity. Michael (cf. Vita xli): Arm. B 'angel of the lover of mankind'.

4. thy penitence. B + 'and thy prayer'.

his Maker C: A B + 'to meet Him': Arm. + 'to be before Him'.

xxxiii. 1. with her hand Arm. E: A B C 'set her hand on her face'. Slav. >.

2. gazed steadfastly (ἀρενίσασα) C: A ἡρένισεν. Cf. Acts vii. 55.

(and) it. Lit. 'which' (ὅ A: ἃ C).

tell (εἰπεῖν) A C: Arm. 'write'.

3. Only in A Tisch.

B ends here.

4. the firmaments. A only. See Introd. § 9. Cf. xxxv. 2 (seven heavens). Cf. Charles, Introd. to 2 En. and
notes on Test. Levi ii, iii.

5. holy (ἁγίων) hands C Tisch.: Arm. 'blameless hands': A 'hands' simply.

xxxiv. 1. wonders (μυστήρια). Lit. 'secrets' C: Arm. Slav. 'wonders': A + 'standing in the presence of God'.

xlv. 2. †in the field of yonder dwelling.† II III in agro habitationis illius. I magnum†.

xxxv. 1. what is thy trouble? A: C >.

2. soul. Arm. only. Others read 'body' wrongly (so Charles). holy angels A: C > 'holy'.

3. what shall this mean? C: A E Slav. >: Arm. 'what shall I be?' even our God A >.

4. Text as C. A shorter.

who are Arm.

D begins again.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

(Then) was the sun darkened and the moon
 xlv. 1 and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his
 mourning embraced from above the body of his
 father, and Eve was looking on the ground with
 hands folded over her head, and all her children
 wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared
 2 Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam
 and said to Seth: 'Rise up from the body of thy
 3 father and come to me and see what is the doom
 of the Lord God concerning him. His creature
 is he, and God hath pitied him.'

And all angels blew their trumpets, and cried:
 xlvii. 1 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity
 on Thy creature.'

xlvi. 1 Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out
 holding Adam and he handed him over to
 2 Michael, saying: 'Let him be in thy charge till
 the day of Judgement in punishment, till the last
 years when I will convert his sorrow into joy.
 3 Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath
 been his supplanter.'

negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy
 father Adam?'

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are xxxvi. 1
 the sun and moon and themselves fall down and
 pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith 2
 to him: 'And where is their light and why have
 they taken on such a black appearance?' And 3
 Seth answereth her, 'The light hath not left
 them, but they cannot shine before the Light of
 the Universe, the Father of Light; and on this
 account their light hath been hidden from
 them.'

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, xxxvii. 1
 lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood
 up all the angels (and they were) lying on their
 faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and
 said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from 2
 the works of His making, for He hath pitied
 Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the 3
 angels had said these words, lo, there came one
 of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up
 Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake,
 and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

And God saith to him: 'Adam, what hast xxxix. 1
 thou done? If thou hadst kept my command-
 ment, there would now be no rejoicing among
 those who are bringing thee down to this place.
 Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief 2
 and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will trans-
 form thee to thy former glory, and set thee on
 the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast 3
 into this place to see thee sitting above him,
 then he shall be condemned and they that heard
 him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth
 thee sitting on his honourable throne.'

xlvi. 1. sun darkened, &c. Abbreviated from Apoc. Mos. xxxvi—ordinary setting to Jewish 'Apocalypse'. Cf. Matt.
 xxiv. 29; 2 En. xiv. 2-4; Test. Adam, &c.

hands folded over her head. Fuchs compares 2 Sam. xiii. 19 for this attitude in mourning.

her head. II 9 Meyer + 'and leaning her head on her knees.'

most bitterly. Lit. 'wept with most bitter weeping', a Hebraism.

3. what is the doom: *quid disponat de eo*, Meyer I II.

xlvi. 1. blew their trumpets. Lit. 'sang and spake with the trumpets'.

xlvi. 2. Judgement = *dispensationis* Meyer II III. I *defensionist*.

3. his supplanter. II *qui supplantavit*, III *seduxit*, I *plantavi cum* †; Vita xlvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxix.

xxxvi. 1. that *οἱ* D. So I read for *οὗτοι*. 'these' (A C Tisch.): Slav. >: Arm. 'those men.'

3. Light of the Universe A C D; cf. 2 En. xiv. 2-4.

Father of Light D Arm. only; cf. James i. 17.

A ends here.

xxxvii. 2. Adam C Arm. Slav.: D >.

3. carried him off D: C >.

Acherusian. So Tisch. E C: D 'Agerusian': Slav. *locum gerusi*: Arm. *ἀχειροποίητον* = (sea) 'not made with hands'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli xxxi; 2 En. x. 2; 'Conflict' I. vi. 17; Plato, *Phaedo*, 173 a. Cf. Greek Acheron, and 'fiery stream' of I En. xiv. 19 seq., xxiii. 2.

xxxix. This chapter displaced; see Introd. § 1.

1. this place = 'Acherusian lake'. E Arm. add gloss 'I send him into the Gehenna of fire.'

2. transform thee† . . . glory. So I read with Arm.: D 'to thy beginning': C †.

3. grieved sore C: D > 'sore' (*πολλά*).

honourable throne. D > 'honourable' (*τιμίον*).

sitting . . . throne. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12-18; Matt. xi. 23, xxiii. 12; Vita Adae xv, xvi.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

xlviii. 4 And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.'
5 And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was 6 consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother 7 [and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said:

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, xxxvii. 4 and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto 5 the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left 6 him where God told him.

But after all this, the archangel asked concern- xxxviii. ing the laying out of the remains. And God 2 commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the 'Lord 3 of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And 4 they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God'. Then Adam's body lay there in 5 paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, xl. 1 (Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away 2 to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be 3 brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied 4 since the day when Cain his brother slew him;

xlvi. 4. and bury . . . his son. II III only.
5. the sleep. So II III. I has *dormitatio* = 'resting-place'. According to Schatzhöhle (Christian), Ibn Ater, Abdul Serag, Adam was buried at Jerusalem; according to Jews, e.g. Ber. Rabba 58, Erubin 53 a, Pirke R. Eliezer, and Vit. Adae (III and Slav.), at Hebron. Cf. Fabric. i. 10. (MSS. III + 'in a place called Calvary'; Christian.)

powers = *virtutes*. See xxi. 1.

6. [and no one else] I >. A gloss.

xxxvii. 5. third Heaven C D: Arm. E 'second Heaven': Slav. is confused and corrupt, and separates paradise from 'third Heaven'.

my reckoning C D: Arm. 'day of renewal': Slav. 'my resurrection'. Cf. 2 En. viii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Apoc. Paul xviii. 2; Test. Levi iii; Chagiga 12 b.

6. left him (ἀφῆκεν D) D E Slav.; C + κατήλειψεν (κατήλιψεν).

told him. D + 'and all the angels sang an angels' hymn marvelling at the pardon of Adam.'

xxxviii. 1. laying out of the remains C: D corrupt and obscure.

3. Lord of Hosts (κύριος στρατιῶν) C: D 'mighty lord', κραταῖος κύριος.

4. born according to the appointment of God C (διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι καθ' ὅρον τοῦ θεοῦ): D 'he was there' (ἐγένετο ἐκεῖσε): Charles emends to καθορᾶν ('to behold' God). Arm. characteristically reads 'for the Lord wished to show him a marvel.'

5. Then Adam's body . . . over him C only. May be right, as it leads on to xl (to glorify Seth).

xl. 1. C has a fuller text and in v. 2 gives the names of four archangels.

2. third heaven C: Arm. 'second heaven': D >.

oil of fragrance. Cf. 2 En. viii.

three great angels. C >.

3. Let the body. C imperative: D infinitive mood.

Abel. Arm. + 'righteous'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

'Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: 'I will not 5 receive a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.' At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And 6 both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they 7 brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

And God called and said, 'Adam, Adam.' And xli. 1 the body answered from the earth and said: 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told 2 thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrec- 3 tion; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Eve's directions as to the Memorials of her life.

- xlix. 1 Six days after, Adam died; and Eve perceived that she would die, (so) she assembled all her sons
2 and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all: 'Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.
3 On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.
1. 1 But hearken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write
2 on them, all my life and your father's (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard).'

7. bury your dead. A feature of Adam legends; cf. Fabric. i. 1-100.

xlix. 3. by fire (Stoic). Greek idea adopted by Hellenist Jews, e.g. *Sibyl. Orac.* iii. 760.

1. 2. baked hard. Well-known Jewish fable. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. xi; Bousset in *ZNTW*, 1902; Manetho, Syncell. *Chron.* xl; Jubilees, viii. 3 (Charles' note). Egyptian derivation has been suggested ΣΗΘ for ΘΩΘ (Thoth.); doubtful (?). Probably all accounts are *parallel*, not dependent.

In III (3, 5, 14, 17) and Jean is added the story of Solomon finding 'the tables', with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world. Of Greek origin (e.g. *tabulas achiliacas* = ἀχειροποιήτους). All MSS. explain this differently. Monkish scribes here knew but little Greek.

4. the body sprang up . . . saying. So I read with D.

5. a companion (ἑταῖρον) C: D (and so Fuchs) reads ἕτερον, 'another'.

on a rock. 1 En. xxii. 7 and Jub. iv. 29 prove early date of this legend.
was buried D. C 'died.'

6. and He caused . . . two D.

7. placed them C: D >.

digged and builded CD.

xli. 1. saith (λέγει) C: D aorist.

2. return. Cf. Gen. iii. 19. Arm. and Slav. have crude Christian glosses.

3. every man C: D Arm. 'every race of man'. (? Christian.)

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

3 When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

li. 1 When they had been mourning four days, (then) Michael the archangel appeared and said
2 to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.'
3 Thereupon Seth made the tables.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

After these words, God made a seal and sealed xlii. 1 the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. 2 And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, 3 fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in 4 the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: 'Lord, 5 Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me 6 worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgression, we were 7 (both) led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not 8 separate us now.'

But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: 'God of All, receive my spirit,' and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

And Michael came and taught Seth how to xliii. 1 prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her (body) where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael 2 spake to Seth and saith: 'Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.' And after giving him this rule; he 3 saith to him: 'Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because

li. 2. Man of God. Cf. xli.

the Lord rested. Motive here is, if possible, even more Jewish than the injunction. A symbol of Resurrection in Sanh. 97 a (Ginzberg); contrast motive in Hebrews iv. 9. This motive impossible to a Christian; cf. Jubilees ii. 17-21.

xlii. 1. sealed the tomb. Slav. + 'and made the sign of the Cross'.

2. their place C: 'the heaven' D Arm. (an explanation).

3. for she knew not. Motive for Eve's grief same in all versions.

except Seth C: D says 'all slept'. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxviii, which contradicts Vit. xlviii.

4. prayed C + 'in the hour of her death'.

5. rule (ἀρχὴς) D: C ἀρετὴς ('virtue').

thy handmaid. C only.

didst thou make me. Cf. Gen. ii. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 12.

6. enter into his tabernacle D. C 'be buried with his body.'

8. C adds 'and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God': D >.

xliii. 1. Michael came. C expands—makes Michael present at her death.

2. the Resurrection. Arm. + 'and Advent' (Christian gloss).

3. rest and rejoice on it D Arm. Slav.: after these words, however, Arm. reads 'for on this day we rejoice, God and all his angels, besides all the spirits of his creatures, which may be upon the earth'. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 4, xxxii. 2; Test. Abraham ii, iii, vii; 1 En. lxvii. 2; Exod. xxxi. 13; Apoc. Zeph. xx; Sanh. 69b; Test. Sim. viii. 11; Jub. ii. 19-21; 4 Ezra ii. 23. Both the practice, the injunction, and the symbol are typical and commonplace in later Judaism. Even the fires of Gehenna were cooled on the Sabbath (Test. Abrah.). Apoc. Pauli xlv transfers this notion to the 'Lord's Day' (Sunday). Aboda Zara says approach of Sabbath saved Adam from much worse punishment.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

There follows in the following MSS.: II 3, 5, 19, 17, Jean; and Ar. 210, a long story of Solomon finding 'tabulas achiliacas.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

on that very day, God rejoiceth (yea) and we angels (too) with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth.' Even thus spake 4 the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: 'Allelujah.'

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of 5 God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honour and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.]

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power for ever and for ever. Amen.]

[Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.']

4. the angel D C E: Slav. 'archangel Joel'; see note on 'Jael', xxix. 4.

5. Doxologies are later Christian additions. The first paragraph occurs in C, the second in Arm., the third in Slav.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Martyrdom of Isaiah has not survived independently, but as one of the three constituents of the Ascension of Isaiah. In its present form we cannot be sure that the Ascension of Isaiah existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era. The three constituents of which it consists are the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these with which we are here mainly concerned was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers.

The Vision of Isaiah—vi—xi. 40 of the Ascension of Isaiah—is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c.

The long-lost Testament of Hezekiah—ii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 of the same work—is of very great value for the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among clergy, of the covetousness and vainglory and growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Timothy, 2 Peter, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii).

The Martyrdom of Isaiah—i. 1–2 *a*, 6 *b*–13 *a*, ii. 1–8, 10—iii. 12, v. 1 *c*–14—is fragmentary. It opens with Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh his son and of Isaiah into his presence in order that the former should receive his dying commands relative to his duty in the coming days (i. 1–2 *a*). But Isaiah assures Hezekiah that all his words will be of none effect inasmuch as Manasseh would become the servant of Beliar and he Isaiah would be sawn asunder by Manasseh, and that no action of Hezekiah's could prevent his martyrdom (i. 6 *b*–13 *a*). On the death of Hezekiah Manasseh turned to evil ways and became the servant of Beliar and caused Israel to sin in every form of witchcraft, and fornication and lawlessness (ii. 1–7). And Isaiah withdrew first to Bethlehem and then to the mountains beyond it, where he and the prophets with him spent two years mourning and fasting because of the apostasy of Israel (ii. 10–16). The false prophet Belchira discovers his retreat and accuses him before Manasseh on three grounds: that he had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, that he had claimed to see God, though Moses had said that no man could see God and live, and that he had called Jerusalem Sodom, and its princes and people Gomorrah (iii. 1–12). On account of these things Manasseh caused Isaiah to be sawn asunder with a wood saw, Belchira and the false prophets standing by and deriding him (v. 1 *c*–14).

§ 2 TITLE.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has, as we have seen, been preserved to us only in a fragmentary form as part of the Ascension of Isaiah. The whole book was known under several names. (*a*) Ἀπόκρυφον Ἰσαίου is the designation given to it early in the third century by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49) καὶ Ἰσαίας δὲ πεπρίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ιστόρηται. εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ιστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἰσαίᾳ αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9, and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* vi. 26. (*b*) It was known in the fourth century as τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἰσαίου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, who says that it was used by his Archontici and his Hieracites. Cf. also lxvii. 3. In like manner Jerome (*Comm. in Isaiam* lxiv. 4) calls it his *Ascensio Isaiae*. (*c*) Again it went by the name Ὁρασις Ἰσαίου as may be inferred from the texts of E^s and L² of vi. 1. This designation appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal books, and was used by Euthymius Zigabenus in the eleventh century when anathematizing his Massaliani (*Victoria de Massal.* Anath. iv). This title belongs specifically and probably originally only to vi.—xi. 40. (*d*) Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐξεκίου by Cedrenus I. 120–1. That such a work was incorporated in the *Ascension* might also be inferred from i. 2 *b*–5 *a*, which describe the contents of Hezekiah's vision. This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 and to it alone. The fact, too, that Cedrenus quotes partially iv. 12, 14 and refers to iv. 15–18 of this very section points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

§ 3. THE VERSIONS.

Since the Martyrdom of Isaiah was originally an independent work, we shall deal here only with the Versions of this work and not with those that reproduce the rest of the Ascension of Isaiah.

(a) *The Greek Version.* This version existed in two forms, G¹ and G², as early as the third century. The former is lost, but its characteristics are reproduced by the Ethiopic (= E) and the first Latin Version (= L¹). Phrases and sentences of G¹ from every chapter of the Ascension of Isaiah, except iv, have been preserved by the 'Greek Legend'. This work was found by von Gebhardt in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century, no. 1534 in the National Library at Paris, and published by him in the *ZfWT* 330-53. In my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is reprinted from Gebhardt's text with one or two necessary emendations, and all the phrases taken directly from G¹ are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse placed in the margin. Of G² an actual fragment was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. On this fragment see my edition, pp. xxviii-xxx, and for the fragment itself, pp. 84-95. G¹ and G² are in turn derived from a lost archetype G, which was known in its original form to the writer of the *Opus Imperfectum*: see pp. xl-xlvi of my edition.

(b) *The Ethiopic Version.* This is the only version that preserves in its entirety the Ascension of Isaiah. It is, as I have shown in my edition, derived from G¹. It is a very faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. As yet only three MSS., *abc*, have been brought to Europe from Abyssinia. The first of these was edited by Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, Oxoniae, 1819, and the whole three by Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine*, Lipsiae, 1877, and by the present writer, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the new Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here published in full*, London, 1900. The last work is based on a fresh and more accurate collation of the MSS.

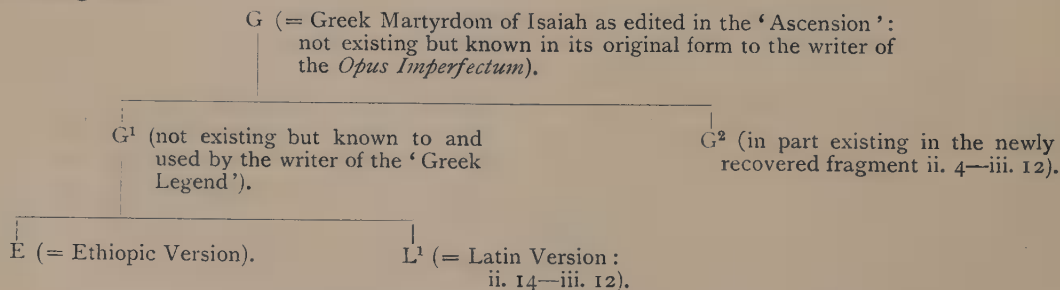
(c) *The Latin Versions.* There were two Latin versions, one of which, L², embraces vi-xi. 1-19, 23-40, the other, L¹, only ii. 14-iii. 13, vii. 1-19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice in 1522 from a MS. now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in 1832 and by Dillmann as an appendix to his edition in 1877, and by the present writer with critical notes and corrections in his edition of 1900.

The two smaller fragments, i. e. L¹, which were first edited by Mai in 1828 from a sixth-century Vatican MS., were re-edited by the present writer from a fresh collation of the MS.

A study of E, L¹, L², the 'Greek Legend', and of the Slavonic Version (= S) which exists only for vi-xi proves that EL¹ and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text, which we might name G¹, and that SL² go back similarly to G².

§ 4. RELATIONS OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS.

Some of these relations have already been briefly indicated in the preceding section. The student will find them dealt with at length in my edition, pp. xviii-xxxiii, xl-xlvi. As regards the Martyrdom of Isaiah the textual affinities of all the textual authorities can be shortly summarized in the following table:—



§ 5. THE EXTENT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH.

All writers save Laurence recognize a plurality of authorship in the Ascension of Isaiah, and the independent origin of the Martyrdom of Isaiah. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors. Ewald's analysis was remodelled and issued in the following form by Dillmann:—

- i. The Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 2-14.
- ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1-xi. 1, 23-40.

INTRODUCTION

iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed i. 1, 2, 4 *b*—13 and appended xi. 42, 43.

iv. Finally a Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13—v. 1 and xi. 2—22, and added also i. 3, 4 *a*, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's analysis has on the whole been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in his 'Greek Legend' there is not a trace of iii. 13—v. 1, xi. 2—22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the 'Greek Legend' was composed. Thus according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong; for as I have shown in my edition the writer of the 'Greek Legend' was acquainted with both these sections, inasmuch as he incorporates phrases from iv. 2, 6, 8, 14, 19, xi. 19, 20. Hence Dillmann's analysis can no longer be maintained. With the full discussion of the questions at issue we are not here concerned. It will be sufficient to state the conclusions at which the present writer has arrived in his edition, and these are: 'The conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and the Vision of Isaiah (= vi—xi. 40), of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text. Amongst the obvious editorial additions are i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, 13 *a*, ii. 9, iii. 13 *a*, iv. 1 *a*, 19—v. 1 *a*, 15, 16, xi. 41—3.'

We have herein given the extent of the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, but that of the Martyrdom requires investigation. According to Dillmann the latter consists of ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*—14. But with this view the present writer cannot agree. Other fragments survive in Chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions: What commands are these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2 *a*, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6 *b* we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which go back *not to our text but to the original Martyrdom*. There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year; for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depository of certain visions i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, but to receive directions as to his religious duties and the government of the kingdom: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' But the final editor of the Ascension of Isaiah, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2, 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i. e. iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him (vi—xi. 40). Thus i. 2 *b*—6 *a* was added by the final editor to introduce the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah.

We have now seen that i. 1, 2 *a*, 6 *b* are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source—indeed from 6 *b* to the close. This follows from the Latin passage in the *Opus Imperfectum* which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. This passage, wherein I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book, runs as follows: 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) *obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum*, et (i. 8, ii. 4) *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo*. . . . Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6 *b*) *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa*. (i. 7) *Et dixit ad eum Esaias: vere quia non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interficere*: (i. 10, 12) *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere*, dicens: Quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix Esaias propheta, dicens, (i. 13) *irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum hoc*.' (Printed with Chrysostom's works, vi, pp. xx—xxi.—Ed. Montfaucon.)

§ 6. THE DATE.

The Martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum*, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, and in all probability by Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 *περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαίου ὃν πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπίσσερε*). It was not improbably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

brings us, if the last reference is trustworthy, to the first century A. D. And this appears to be the right date; for it is unlikely that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

§ 7. AUTHORSHIP AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

The author was a Jew. The details as to the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh are found in the Talmud (*Jebamoth* 49*b*) in a form closely related to that in our text. Thus it is told that Rabbi Simeon ben 'Azzai found in Jerusalem an account of the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh. Manasseh condemned Isaiah to death because he had claimed to see God (Isa. vi. 1 sqq.), whereas according to the Law it was declared that no man could see God and live (Exod. xxxiii. 20). The same passage tells also of Isaiah taking refuge in a cedar tree, and of the cedar being sawn in sunder and Isaiah within it. Another version of the same legend is given in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x), and still another in Targum on Isaiah quoted by Jolowicz (*Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Propheten Jesajas*, p. 9). See *Jewish Encyc.*, viii. 636.

It is very probable that the original was written in Hebrew. The Jewish origin of the legend points in this direction, and particularly its recurrence in the Talmud. The following facts also lend confirmation to this hypothesis. In ii. 1 there is a paronomasia of the words 'Manasseh . . . did not remember' = when retranslated into Hebrew: מנשה נשח. Again in i. 8 Malchira is probably a transliteration of מלכירע or מכירע as S. A. Cook has pointed out. In iii. 2 we have the familiar Hebraism καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἔλθειν . . . καί. Finally, 'wooden saw', i. e. πρίων ξύλινος in v. 11, 14, appears to be a mistranslation of עץ משר, which means a saw for sawing wood. In the Greek Legend iii. 14 it is described as πρίων σίδηρος.

§ 8. THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND THE ORIENTAL INFLUENCES APPARENT IN IT.

The legend of the Martyrdom of Isaiah took its origin most probably in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. In Sanh. 103*b* it is said that Manasseh put Isaiah to death; and in *Jebamoth* 49*b* that Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh because he declared that he had seen God. There, as in our text, Isaiah is charged with contradicting the words of Moses in Exod. xxxiii. 20. His death also by being sawn in sunder is also recounted. This account is probably drawn ultimately from the Semitic original of our text. Another form of the Legend appears in Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x).

The legend was known in the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 (ἐπρόσθησαν) a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this is doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2*a*, 6—iii. 12, v. 1*b*—14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A. D. In the next century Justin Martyr most probably quotes from our text (see note on v. 11), while somewhat later frequent references and quotations are found in Origen.

But though the legend is undoubtedly Jewish, it appears to have been derived from Eastern sources. According to the Zamyâd Yast 46 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 297), Bundahis xxxi. 5, xxxiv. 4 (*op. cit.* v. 131, 150) Yima reigned 616½ years and was then dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship and sawn in two by the serpent of three heads, Azhi Dahâka. In the Persian work 'The History of King Djemchid and the Devas' which Larionoff translated into French from the Persian (*Journal Asiat.* pp. 59–83, 1889) we find a nearly related legend. When Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later Ahriman and Biver (i. e. Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself, in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Notwithstanding, through the help of Iblis they discovered his hiding-place and had the tree sawn in twain, and so Djemchid was killed. This legend appears to have directly influenced the Talmudic accounts of the martyrdom of Isaiah exactly in the points wherein they differ from that in our text.

§ 9. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For complete bibliography see the present writer's edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and Schürer³ iii. 283–5.

(a) The chief editions of the texts of the Ancient Versions will be found under § 3.

(b) *Critical Inquiries* (dealing with the *Ascension of Isaiah* as a whole and with its parts). Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141–80; Nitzsch, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209–46; Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1852, pp. 274–302; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v–xviii; Stokes, art. 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. 298–301; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236–75; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854–6; ii. 573–9, 714; Clemen, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja,' *ZfWT*, 1896, pp. 388–415; 1897, pp. 455–65; Robinson, 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501; Beer, *Apok. und Pseudep.*, 1900, ii. 119–23; Littmann, *Jewish Encyc.*, 1904, vi. 642–3.

(c) *Editions*. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic Version, is here published in full*, 1900.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

- 1¹ And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he
 2 called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. And he called him into the presence of
 Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet; and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah.
 6 b, 7 And whilst he (*Hezekiah*) gave commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, Isaiah said to
 Hezekiah the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: 'As the Lord
 liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, [and as the Beloved of my Lord liveth], and as
 the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words shall be made of none
 effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of
 8 my body. And Sammael Malchîrâ shall serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he shall
 9 become a follower of Beliar rather than of me. And many in Jerusalem and in Judaea he shall
 cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar shall dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be
 10 sawn asunder.' And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments,
 11 and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. And Isaiah said unto him: 'The counsel of
 12 Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought shall avail thee.' And on that day Hezekiah

- I. 1. 'in the twenty-fifth year', according to the *Greek Legend*.
 2. **Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.** Amoz אִמּוֹץ the father of Isaiah seems here to be confused with Amos
 the prophet עֲמוֹס. The LXX uses Ἀμὸς for both, and the Asc. Isa. iv. 22 and Megilla 10^b both regard Isaiah as
 a prophet's son. According to the latter the father of Isaiah and King Amaziah were brothers.
 Jôsâb, i. e. Shear-jashub, Isa. vii. 3.
 the son of Isaiah. The editorial addition 2^b-6^a that here follows is omitted as being of Christian origin. See
 my edition, p. 2.
 6. **commands.** Cf. ii. 1.
 7. **and as the Beloved . . . liveth.** This is an addition by the Christian editor who thus converts a reference to
 the transcendence of God into a doctrinal statement about the Trinity.
 depart. + 'from life', *Greek Legend*, i. 8.
 8. **Sammael סַמְאֵל.** Originally an archangel, he enticed the serpent to tempt Eve in order to make the earth his
 kingdom, Jalkut Shim Beresh. 25. He became a chief Satan, Debarim rabba, 11; and the angel of death, Targ. Jer.
 on Gen. iii. 6. See Weber's *Jüd. Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253.
Malchîrâ. This appears to be a surname of Sammael, cf. Asc. Isa. xi. 41 'Sammael Satan.' But it also appears
 as a variant of the name Balchîrâ in v. 8 below. S. A. Cook in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan.
 1901, p. 168, suggests מַלְכִּירָע or מַלְאֲכִירָע, 'evil king' or 'evil angel'. Beer in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigr. des A. T.*
 suggests that that Bechira (see ii. 12) = Bevir, the other name of Zohak, the man of serpents, the associate of Ahriman
 in the persecution of Djemchid.
serve Manasseh. The idea of demons being at the behest of men seems out of place here. On the other hand
 Belchîrâ's service of Manasseh is equally unsuitable.
Beliar. Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11; v. 4 (*ac*). E corruptly reads 'Berial'. He is the chief of the evil spirits, and the
 opponent of Christ, 2 Cor. vi. 15; cf. Jub. i. 20, xv. 33; Sib. Or. ii. 167 (to come as Antichrist), iii. 63-73, (to proceed
 from the emperors of Rome, working signs and deceiving the elect, and finally to be burnt up); Test. xii Patr. *passim*.
 For the etymology see *Encycl. Bibl.* 525-7.
 Note Sammael's relation to Beliar. They are alike in taking possession of Manasseh, ii. 1 and i. 9, iii. 11. But
 Sammael is inferior, as he exerts himself to make Manasseh subject to Beliar i. 8 (ii. 1, 4).
 9. **Beliar.** 'Satan,' *Greek Legend* i. 9.
 10. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* i. 10.
 11. **Sammael.** 'Satan,' *Gk. Leg.* i. 11.
 12. **And on that day.** 'on this day and' *bc*, 'on those words' *a*; 'and in that hour' *Gk. Leg.*

I-II. 1. We may compare for the diction as well as the sense of many clauses in I-II. 1 the *Opus Imperfectum in
 Matthaum Homil. I* (printed with Chrysostom's works, vol. VI, pp. xx-xxi, Montfaucon). 'Providentia autem Dei sic
 eum dispensavit vocari, quia obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui (ii. 1) sanctam et . . . stimulatus ab
 insurgente diabolo (i. 8, ii. 4) . . . Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaïas
 propheta visitandum, vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare (i. 1, 6^b), quod debeat Deum
 timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. Et dixit ad eum Esaïas: vere quia non descendunt verba tua in cor
 eius; sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici (i. 7). Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere
 (i. 12) dicens: quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius
 persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix Esaïas propheta, dicens: irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum (i. 13) hoc, videns
 Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.'

8-12. For a different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah see Berachoth, 10 a. 'What is the meaning
 of the words "Thou shalt die and not live?" "Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world." He said:
 "Wherefore is all this?" He answered him: "Because thou hast not preached fruitfulness and increase." He
 rejoined: "Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me." He
 replied: "What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldst have done what was commanded
 thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him." He replied thereto: "Give me thy daughter:
 perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me." Then replied
 he: "The judgment is already determined regarding thee."

13 resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: ['The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and] the purpose of thy heart shall not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called [and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved].'

- 21 And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father but forgot them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah (from) the words of wisdom and from the service of God. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which was spread abroad in Jerusalem. And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John of Anathoth, and by (Zadok) the chief of the works. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. And when Isaiah the son of Amoz saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. [And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain.] They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of days on the mountains and hills. [And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false prophet whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab king of Israel had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal,

13. ['The Beloved hath . . . Beloved']. Editorial additions like 2^b-6^a.

II. 1. **Manasseh . . . forgot.** Cf. for the play on the words Gen. xii. 51; also the *Opus Imperf.*, and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. **commands of Hezekiah.** See i. 6. **Sammael.** See i. 8 (note).

2. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. A Jewish legend makes Manasseh remove the sacred name from the scriptures. 3. So the Ethiopic text. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως. Beer not so well renders 'changed in the house . . . all that had been', &c. from, supplied as in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.

4. **Beliar the angel of lawlessness.** Cf. Asc. Isa. iv. 2 'lawless king'; 2 Thess. ii. 3 'the man of lawlessness' (= the Antichrist).

Beliar the ruler of this world. Cf. John xii. 31, xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4; also Eph. vi. 12 κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, also ii. 2.

Matanbûchûs. ac. 'Metanbakas' b. In v. 3 it occurs as Mechêmbêchûs. ✓ Goussert 385 n.1. in apostatizing. But ἐν ἀποστάσει E². Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9.

5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) ἐκκληρονομήτο καὶ ἐφαρμακεύτο καὶ οἰωνίζετο, also 2 Kings xxi. 6. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3. and adultery. > E and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3. persecution. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16.

Belachîrâ and. > E. A premature mention, see ii. 12.

Anathoth. See *Encycl. Bibl.* in loc.

Zadok. E only.

6. 2 Kings xxi. 17, &c.

7. wantonness E; πομπήν E; ἀσωτίαν *Gk. Leg.* iii. 8.

9. An editorial addition from Asc. Isa. vi. 7; 'withdrew . . . mountain' is from ver. 8 here; 'his son' and 'many of the faithful . . . heaven' are the editor's own.

11. **herbs.** Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 ff. This asceticism was a preparation for visions and revelations. Cf. Dan. x. 2, 3; 4 Ezra ix. 26, xii. 51.

12-16. Belchîrâ and his history. 12-16 is an insertion and interrupts the narrative of ii. 11-iii. 1.

12. **Belchîrâ,** ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12. The Greek Papyrus gives four different forms Βελιχειάρ, Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά, and Μελχειρά. The *Gk. Leg.* gives Βεχειράς (iii. 10), the Latin *Bechira*. The Ethiopic varies even more. The most probable original is Melchîrâ or Melchiah. See i. 8 (note). Beer prefers Bechira. But the *Gk. Leg.* often mentions a false prophet Μελχίας. Perhaps there was a confusion between the demon's and the false prophet's names. Or more probably the tempter and tormentor of the prophet is regarded as an impersonation of the devil. See v. 9, 10. Isaiah calls him Διάβολος in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Ambrose on Ps. cxviii. uses diabolus. See v. 4 (note).

Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan. See 1 Kings xxii. 11.

Bethlehem. 'Bethany' E.

†Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî E. Read 'Zedekiah,' as in *Gk. Frag.* For the variation cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 98 B ἦσαν ψευδοπροφῆται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλα and 96 C ψευδοπροφῆται Ζεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι.

the 400 prophets of Baal. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* l. c. Really the fellow-prophets of Zedekiah in 1 Kings xxii. 6 are nominally prophets of the Lord, and he is not connected with the 400 of Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

- 13 had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. And he, Micaiah, had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. (And he was) with Zedekiah the prophet: they were
 14 with Ahaziah the son of Ahab, king in Samaria. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain
 15 the prophets of God. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and
 16 their teacher Gemarias of Mount †Joel† had heard—now he was brother of Zedekiah—when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of †Aguaron† and slew Micaiah.)
 3 1 And Belchîrâ recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan.
 2 And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine (and a half) tribes captive, and led them away to the mountains of the Medes and the
 3 rivers of Tâzôn; this (*Belchîrâ*) while still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria; for he feared
 4 Hezekiah. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem.
 5 And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem.
 6 And they persuaded . . . And Belchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying: 'Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and (against the children of Judah and) Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (*bound*) with hooks
 7, 8 and iron chains': But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. And Isaiah himself hath
 9 said: 'I see more than Moses the prophet.' But Moses said: 'No man can see God and live':
 10 and Isaiah hath said: 'I have seen God and behold I live.' Know, therefore, O king, that he is lying. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath

smitten, &c. 1 Kings xxii. 24.

Amâdâ = Imlah.

13. And he was. $\mathfrak{C}^2$ supplies.

Ahab, king in Samaria. Alamerem balalâ'aw E; 'Alâ(μ) ἐν Σεμωμα $\mathfrak{C}^2$. For 'Alam' = 'Ahab' see $\mathfrak{C}^2$
 ii. 15. balalâ'aw = probably basala'aw, i.e. βασιλεύς. The '-erem' is explicable from ἐν Σεμωμα $\mathfrak{C}^2$ as 'in Samaria'.

14. Elijah is introduced here unexpectedly.

of Têbôn of Gilead. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) ὁ Θεσβεΐτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ, and Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβεῶν τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας. This Thisbe is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. For the omission of ὁ Θεσβεΐτης cf. MS. A of the LXX. The Massoretic punctuation in 1 Kings xvii. 1 of מַחֲשָׁבִי = 'of the sojourners of'.

prophesied regarding Ahaziah. 2 Kings i. 1-6.

Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

15. Gemarias $\mathfrak{L}^1$; Jâlerjâs E; 'Iallapias $\mathfrak{C}^2$; corruptly Joel E; Ιολαλ $\mathfrak{C}^2$; Efrem $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Here again the Latin version gives the easier reading. S. A. Cook, *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests that Joel is a corruption of Ebal and Efrem of Gerizim, or that Rephaim (Joshua xv. 8) and Jeruel (2 Chron. xx. 16) are referred to. Probably, however, Joel is corrupt for Israel, for which $\mathfrak{L}^1$ boldly substitutes the familiar phrase 'Efrem' after 'mount'.

16. now he $\mathfrak{L}^1$; now Îbchîrâ E (a); now Βεχερά $\mathfrak{C}^2$. $\mathfrak{L}^1$ makes Gemarias the brother of Zedekiah, E and $\mathfrak{C}^2$ make Belchîrâ, though in ver. 12 he is said to be his nephew.

†Aguaron† E; Gomorrha $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Probably שמרון was misread עמורה (Cooke). If so, restore 'Samaria'.

III. 1. And Belchîrâ recognized. $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

2. Alagar Zagâr. i.e. Salmanassar. Cf. ii. 14.

and a half. $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19; lxxviii. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Syr. and Arab.). > and a half E.

mountains $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'boundaries (?)' E. Cf. LXX and Mass. in 2 Kings xvii. 6.

Tâzôn = Gozan. 2 Kings xvii. 6.

5. they persuaded $\mathfrak{C}^2$; 'he persuaded' E. Who the 'they' are is uncertain. Perhaps the false prophets persuaded Belchîrâ.

6. those E; 'the prophets' $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

against the children of Judah and. Restored from $\mathfrak{L}^1$.

with hooks and iron chains. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 (LXX 'bonds' not 'hooks').

7. Judah + 'and Jerusalem' $\mathfrak{L}^1$; 'and Benjamin they hate, and their word is evil against Judah and Israel' $\mathfrak{C}^2$.

8-9. Cf. Origen, *In Iesaiam Homil.* i. 5 'Aiunt ideo Iesaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit: "Nemo videbit faciem meum et vivet." Iste vero ait: "Vidi Dominum Sabaoth." Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnauerunt ut impium.'

9. No man, &c. Exod. xxxiii. 20.

I have seen God. Isa. vi. 1.

10. he is lying. $\mathfrak{C}^2$ $\mathfrak{L}^1$. 'they are lying prophets' E.

Jerusalem . . . Sodom, &c. Cf. Isa. i. 10. Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 'aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Iesaiam: quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhæ eos appellaverit, et quod, Domino dicente ad Mosen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.' Cf. Jebam. 49 b.

declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the
 11 prophets before Manasseh. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the
 12 princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. And the
 words of Belchîrâ pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah.
 5 1 b, 2 And he sawed him asunder with a wood-saw. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder
 Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because
 3 of Isaiah. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing]
 4 deriding; And Balchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise
 5 the ways of Manasseh are good and right. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are
 6, 7 good."' And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. But Isaiah was (absorbed)
 8 in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them <not>. And Balchîrâ spake
 thus to Isaiah: 'Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh
 9 and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee.' And Isaiah answered
 and said: 'So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and
 10, 11 all thy house. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.' And they
 12 seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wood-saw. And Manasseh and
 13 Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. And to
 the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region
 14 of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' And when Isaiah was being
 sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he
 was sawn in twain.

11. Beliar. See i. 9 (note).

12. exceedingly. E only.

V. 2. wood-saw. See note on ver. 11.

3. Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs. So all MSS. But the verbs following are in the plural. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 4.

laughing, a doublet.

4-8. Balchîrâ *b* (or 'Beliar' *ac*) tempts Isaiah.

4. Cf. Ambrose, *Comm.* on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'ferunt quod Esaiae, in carcere posito cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum: Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quae dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur iniuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'

7. saw . . . not. Negative supplied as in Asc. Isa. vi. 10.

8. Balchîrâ *bc*. Milchîras' *a*. See ii. 12 (note).

9. So far . . . accursed *b*. 'So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—' *a*. The curse is against the false prophet as man ('house') and as an emissary of Satan ('powers'). Cf. *κατάθεμά σοι, Μελχία ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε*, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Cf. also Matt. xvi. 23.

11. a wood-saw. For the sawing asunder of Isaiah cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15; Tert. *De Patientia*, 14 'His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de Domino non secatur'; *Scorpiace* 8. A 'wooden saw' E, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 19, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 *περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαίου, ὃν πρίον ξυλίνω ἐπίστατε*, &c., is a misunderstanding of מִשּׁוֹר עֵץ, which is a saw for sawing wood, whether of iron or any other metal. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 14 has *πρίονι σιδηρῷ*.

12. and—an intrusion.

13. the cup. Cf. Matt. xx. 22.

14. neither cried aloud nor wept. Cf. 'patientiae viribus,' Tert. *l. c.*

BOOK OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ I. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

IT is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ. 11-12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom'. This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic writings was very widespread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity.¹ But our book contained much of a questionable character, and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom till over a century ago, when an Ethiopic version of the work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three MSS. of it, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch. It was not, however, till recent years that the Book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own owing to their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward. In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.

From what has been already said it is clear that no unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated. This Book of Noah clearly embraced chapters vi-xi, liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.²

¹ Nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas. The authors of the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra, laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book.

² Portions have been preserved in Jubilees vii. 20-39, x. 1-15, but the date of this Noachic literature is at latest pre-Maccabean.

As regards the Enoch elements, the oldest portions of it are likewise pre-Maccabean, i.e. xii-xxxvi, and probably xc. 1-10, xci. 12-17, i.e. the Apocalypse of Weeks. The Dream Visions, i.e. lxxxiii-xc, were in all probability written when Judas the Maccabee was still warring, 165-161 B.C., lxxii-lxxxii before 110 B.C., the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi and xci-civ, 105-64 B.C.

The authors of all the sections belong to the Chasids or their successors the Pharisees.

Conflicting views are advanced on the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, the origin of sin, Sheol, the final judgement, the resurrection, and the nature of the future life. There is an elaborate angelology and demonology, and much space is devoted to the calendar, and the heavenly bodies and their movements. Babylonian influences are here manifest and in a slight degree Greek.

The Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was written originally partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. From an Aramaic original is derived vi-xxxvi, and possibly lxxxiii-xc, while the rest of the book comes from a Hebrew original. To determine these questions categorically is a task of no little difficulty, seeing that for four-fifths of the text we have only a translation of a translation, and that such close affinities exist between Hebrew and Aramaic. For the resemblances between the two languages are so great that frequently retranslation from the Ethiopic into either is sufficient to explain corruptions in the former. There has accordingly been great divergence of opinion on this question, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has spent considerable time on the problem, the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the view above stated.

In the course of his studies it suddenly dawned upon the writer that much of the text was originally written in verse. This discovery has frequently proved helpful in the criticism of difficult passages, and the recovery of the original in a multitude of cases.

§ 2. THE TITLE.

Our book appears under various titles, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1°. *Enoch*. Jude 14 ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . ἔβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων.

Ep. Barn. ix. 3 ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.

Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dindorf iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδόξων τῷ Ἐνὼχ: also in iii. 474.

Origen, *In Ioannem* vi. 25 ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται: *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γεγραμμένων.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* ii. 20 'ut Enoch refert'; *De Idol.* iv 'Enoch praedicens' xv; 'Spiritus . . . praececinat per . . . Enoch.'

Anatolius of Laodicea (cited by Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 19 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα).

2°. *The Books of Enoch*. This is probably the oldest title. The fifth section of the book itself opens with the words: xcii. 1 'The book written by Enoch'. cviii. 1 begins: 'Another book which Enoch wrote.' In lxxxii. 1 Enoch says to Methuselah: 'All these things I am recounting to thee . . . and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve . . . the books from thy father's hands.' xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness'. The third section, i.e. lxxii. 1, begins 'The book of the courses of the luminaries'. These passages imply a plurality of books.

But though apparently the oldest title, it has not the oldest independent attestation. It is found in the following works:

T. Jud. xviii. 1 (β A S¹) ἐν βιβλοῖς Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

T. Lev. x. 5 (A) = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλοῖς Ἐνὼχ.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία: *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2 'In libellis qui appellantur Enoch'.

Pistis Sophia 'ea in secundo libro teu, quae scripsit Enoch'.

Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind.), i. 19 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ Ἐνὼχ. The same phrase recurs in i. 20, 48. Cf. i. 42 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου Ἐνὼχ. Here and in the preceding work the division of Enoch into books is clearly recognized. There were five such divisions or books; see § 6.

3°. *Book of Enoch*. This title is found in:

T. Levi x. 5 (a, deg) καθὼς περιέχει ἡ (> a b f) βίβλος Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

Origen, *De Princ.* i. 3. 3 'In Enoch libro': iv. 35 'in libro suo Enoch ita ait'.

Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3 'Fertur id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat'.

Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* iv 'De libro Enoch qui apocryphus est'.

Syncellus, *op. cit.* i. 60 ὡς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐνὼχ φέρεται. But this title may refer merely to one of the books of Enoch, and so come under 2°.

3°. *Words of Enoch*. This title has the oldest external attestation. Jub. xxi. 10, 'For thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.'

INTRODUCTION

T. Benj. ix. 1 ἀπὸ λογίων (= λόγων β-*d*) Ἐνώχ τοῦ δικαίου. This title finds some justification in 1 Enoch i. 1 'words of the blessing of Enoch'; xiv. 1 'book of the words of righteousness.'

4°. *Writing of Enoch*:

T. Lev. xiv. 1 (β A), ἔγνων ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνώχ. See also in T. Sim. v. 4, T. Naph. iv. 1.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit.'

§ 3. ITS CANONICITY.

The citations of Enoch by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and by the Book of Jubilees shows that at the close of the second century B.C., and during the first century B.C., this book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. When we come down to the first century A.D., we find that it is recognized as Scripture by Jude. See under § 2, 1°. In the next century this recognition is given amply in the Ep. Barnabas xvi. 5 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; by Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 24 ἀ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται (referring to Enoch); in the third century by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Prophet.* ii, see § 2, 1°; by Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 'Enoch . . . placens Deo . . . legatione ad angelos fungebatur'; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3, *De Idol.* xv, see § 2, 1°; by Zosimus of Panopolis, quoted in Syncellus (Dind. i. 24) τοῦτο οὖν ἔφασαν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ αἱ θεαὶ γραφαί, ὅτι ἄγγελοι τινες ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν γυναικῶν. After the third century the Book of Enoch fell into discredit and gradually passed out of circulation.

§ 4. THE MSS.

- a. Bodley, No. 4. Large quarto. 40 foll. 3 cols. 105 chapters. Latter half of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- b. Bodley, No. 5. Large quarto. 141 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century (?). Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Daniel.
- c. Frankfurt MS. Rüpp. II. 1. 34 × 30 cm. 181 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century. In several hands. Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Octateuch.
- d. Curzon MS. Quarto. 91 foll. 2 cols. Enoch (102 chapters), Job, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Sirach.
- e. Curzon MS. Small quarto. 101 foll. 2 cols. Marginal notes from another hand. Enoch (98 chapters?), Samuel, Kings, and Apocryphal book.
- f. British Museum. Add. 24185 (Wright's Catalogue, 1877, No. 5). 2 cols. of 23 lines. Nineteenth century. Enoch only. 106 chapters.
- g. Brit. Mus. Orient. 485 (Wright, No. 6). 190 foll. 23 × 19 cm. 2 cols. of 23 or 24 lines. First half of sixteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Book of Jubilees. On foll. 168^a–177^a a duplicate of chapters xcvi. 6^b–cviii. 10 is inserted from another MS. akin to g. See next MS.
18. This MS. consists only of xcvi. 6^b–cviii. 10, and is found in foll. 168^a–177^a of g. It is inserted between the last word and the last but one of xci. 6. It is written by the same scribe, but the text though belonging to the best type differs from g.
- h. Brit. Mus. Orient. 484 (Wright, No. 7). 3 cols. of 50 or 51 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Sirach.
- i. Brit. Mus. Orient. 486 (Wright, No. 8). 3 cols. of 29 lines. Eighteenth century. Chapters i–lx. 13^a missing. Nos. of remaining chapters erased. Enoch, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Sirach.
- k. Brit. Mus. Orient. 490 (Wright, No. 12). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- l. Brit. Mus. 24990 (Wright, No. 13). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (divided into chapters, but no numbers supplied), Job, Books ascribed to Solomon, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel.
- m. Brit. Mus. Orient. 491 (Wright, No. 15). 219 foll. 40 × 32 cm. 3 cols. of 27 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Job, Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.
- n. Brit. Mus. Orient. 492 (Wright, No. 16). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (87 chapters), Books ascribed to Solomon, Jeremiah, 1 Ezra, Canticles, Sirach, Judith, Esther, Tobit.
- o. Brit. Mus. Orient. 499 (Wright, No. 23). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- p. Formerly in the possession of Lord Crawford—now in the Rylands Collection. 67 foll. 39 × 33 cm. 3 cols. Seventeenth century. Enoch and other books.
- q. Berlin MS. Peterm. II. Nachtr. No. 29 (Dillmann's Cat. 1). 167 foll. 17 × 14 cm. 2 cols. of 13 to 14 lines. Sixteenth century. Without division into chapters. Enoch only.
- r. Abbadianus 16 (vid. *Cat. raison. de mss. éthiop. appartenant à A. d'Abbadie*, Paris, 1859). Nineteenth century. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. This is a poor MS., but it exhibits a few good readings.
- s. Abbadianus 30. Eighteenth century. Enoch and other works. This is a poor MS., but has some notably good readings.

- l. Abbadianus 35. 40 × 35 cm. 3 cols. of 38 to 39 lines. Seventeenth century. There are many erasures and corrections and marginal notes. The latter belong to the later type of text, and are designated as t². The division into chapters is marked in the margin on the first few folios. Enoch, Job, Samuel 1 and 2, Kings, Chronicles, Books ascribed to Solomon, Prophets, Sirach, 1-4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther.
- u. Abbadianus 55. 191 foll. 51 × 39 cm. 3 cols. of 48 to 50 lines. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters) and other works. Text of Enoch much abbreviated after chapter lxxxiii.
- v. Abbadianus 99. 70 foll. 23 × 17 cm. 2 cols. Nineteenth century. Copy made for M. d'Abbadie from a MS. in high estimation among the native scholars. This MS. has all the bad characteristics of the later type of text, but has some excellent readings. Enoch only.
- w. Abbadianus 197. 157 foll. 26 × 23 cm. 3 cols. of 29 lines. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works.
- x. Vatican MS. 71 (cf. Mai, *Script. veterum nova collectio*, Romae, 1831, tom. v. 2, p. 100). 27 foll. 3 cols. of 32 lines. Seventeenth century. Enoch only. 98 chapters.
- y. Munich MS. 30. 61 foll. 25 × 15 cm. 2 cols. of 20 to 28 lines. Seventeenth century. Division into chapters only at the beginning. Enoch only.
- z. Paris MS. 50 (see Zotenberg's Cat.). Seventeenth century. Enoch (division into chapters only at the beginning) and other works.
- z^b. Paris MS. 49. Eighteenth century. Copy of b.
- 1a. Garrett MS. 17 × 12 cm. 2 cols. of 22 lines. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- 1b. Westenholz MS. 71 foll., of which first and last two are empty. 2 cols. of 24 lines. Eighteenth century. 106 chapters. Enoch only.

Relations of the Ethiopic MSS.

(a) There are two forms of text, *a*, *β*, of which *β* is late and secondary. *a* is represented by *g₁gmqtu* (and in some degree by *n*), while *β*, which owes its origin to native scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is represented by all the remaining MSS. The result of their labours has been on the whole disastrous, as these revisers had neither the knowledge of the subject-matter nor yet critical materials to guide them as to the true form of the text. The attestation, however, of neither group is uniform; especially is this so with *a*, which only once perhaps in twenty cases is undivided in its testimony. Thus it appears that the recension was not the work of a few years, but was rather a process which culminated in such a text as we find in *β*, and particularly in the MS. *v*.

(b) *β* or groups in *β* at times preserve the original text, where *a* is secondary.

(c) *The character and affinities of the chief MSS.*

g. Of the MSS. of *a*, *g* is decidedly the best all-round MS. It has been made the basis, so far as any single MS. can, of my text. It, however, exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar.

1*g*. This MS. (already described under *Ethiopic MSS.*) shows certain idiosyncrasies in ciii. 9-15, where it uses the first person over against the third in the other MSS. On the whole it is most nearly related to *g*.

m. This MS. is in some respects the weakest of the older group. It attaches itself so closely to *g*, that we must assume its having come under its influence. In the majority of its unique readings 1*g* is unaccompanied by *m*, which, however, has many affinities with it.

q. Though teeming with errors in the way of additions, corruptions, and omissions, this MS. contains a larger number of unique original readings than any other used in our text. It approximates more closely to *g₁gm* than to *tu*.

t. This is a most interesting MS. as it gives the older type of reading in the text, and the later either over erasures or in the margin with the rejected words in the text bracketed. The corrector has not, however, done his work thoroughly. Moreover, in some cases the correction represents a return to the older text. *t* is closely connected with *u*.

u. This is a good MS. but very imperfect after lxxxiii. The omissions are capriciously made; sometimes words, sometimes phrases, sometimes whole sentences and paragraphs are excised to the entire destruction of the sense. Still, as *u* is a valuable MS. I faithfully record its omissions and changes.

n. Of the *β* class of MSS. *n* is by far the best. Indeed, though embodying in the main the second type of text, it attests more unique and original readings in i-xxxii than *m* or *t* or *u*. Also, at times, it alone of the *β* class supports various MSS. of the first class in the true reading.

INTRODUCTION

§ 5. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

THE GREEK VERSIONS.

The Greek Versions have only in part been preserved. Chapters i-xxxii. 6 and xix. 3-xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered in 1886-7 at Akhmîm by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published by M. Bouriant in 1892. They are designated G^s , and as G^{s1} and G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Large fragments have been preserved in Syncellus—vi-x. 14, xv. 8-xvi. 1; and viii. 4-ix. 4 in a duplicate form. These are designated G^s , and as G^{s1} , G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Another fragment is found in a Vatican Greek MS., No. 1809, written in tachygraphic characters. For Greek quotations from 1 *Enoch*, see § 10 (*b*, *c*).

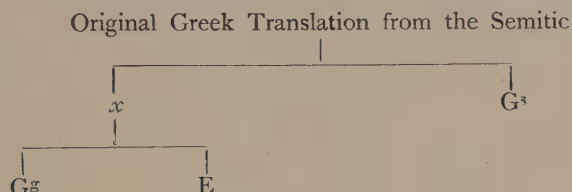
The relations of the G^s and G^s to each other and to E (the Ethiopic Version).

(*a*) G^s is more original than G^s . Though closely related these two fragments exhibit marks of independence. G^s has in several passages a different and undoubtedly better order of text. Thus it rightly places vii. 3-5 of G^s (or rather its equivalent of vii. 3-5) after viii. 3 of G^s . Again in viii. 3 G^s is very defective compared with G^s . The additional matter in G^s could not have been written by a Greek, as in every instance the office constitutes when translated into Aramaic a play on the name of the angel who discharges the office. Similarly in vi. 7 the order of the angels' names is different, and G^s is here again preferable to G^s E. Moreover, in viii. 4; ix. 9; x. 2, 4, G^s has a fuller and more original reading than G^s E. Finally G^s preserves several right readings over against G^s E. See x. 11, 14.

(*b*) Relations of G^s and G^s to E. E and G^s are more closely related than E and G^s , or G^s and G^s . They have the same corruptions over against the reading of G^s in x. 7, 11, 14; xiv. 8, 18; xv. 9; xviii. 5; xxii. 4; xxv. 5; xxviii. 2.

On the other hand, E preserves certain original readings lost by G^s and vice versa.

(*c*) From the above facts it follows that G^s and E spring from a common ancestor which we may designate x , and that this x and G^s proceed ultimately from the same original, the first Greek translation of the *Book of Enoch*, though the evidence postulates the existence of duplicate renderings in this translation, x adopting one rendering and G^s the other. In some cases x adopted both, which were reproduced respectively by G^s and E. In some cases there may have been variants in the Semitic original. Hence the genealogy of the above documents might be represented thus:



THE LATIN VERSION.

The Latin Fragment, which constitutes a very imperfect reproduction of cvi. 1-18, was discovered in 1893 in the British Museum by Dr. James. In the same year he issued it in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, II, No. 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 146-50. This MS. seems to point to a Latin translation of *Enoch*, and shows no signs of being an excerpt from a collection of excerpts.

For *Latin* quotations see under § 10 (*c*).

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.

The Ethiopic Version has been preserved in twenty-nine MSS. of which fifteen are to be found in England, eight in France, four in Germany, one in Italy, and one in America. Of these MSS. there are only three of which my knowledge is indirect and slight, p and z , z^b . Of these z^b is of no account as it is an exact transcript of b .

The division of *Enoch* into chapters was made apparently in the sixteenth century. The division into 108 chapters was made by Dillmann without MS. authority, and has been followed by all subsequent scholars. This division is indeed found in one MS., i.e. h , but it was unknown to Dillmann when he made his text. Moreover, the chapters in h vary frequently in length from those in Dillmann's text.

§ 6. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works. These consist of i-xxxvi, xxxvii-lxxi, lxxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xci-cviii. Behind this apparently artificial division lies a real difference as to authorship, system of thought, and date. When I edited my first edition of Enoch in 1893 it was necessary for me to go at great length into the differentiae marking these divisions, since the accepted criticism of the day regarded i-xxxvi, lxxii-civ as forming the groundwork, and proceeding from one and the same author. Since that date this impossible hypothesis has vanished from the field of criticism. My task here is, therefore, no longer of a polemical nature, but simply to determine so far as possible the extent, character, and date of the various independent writings embodied in this work. The various sections will now be dealt with in the order of their occurrence.

Fragments of the Book of Noah. But before we enter on the criticism of the various elements in the book, we should observe first of all that it contains fragments of an earlier work—entitled the Book of Noah. Of the existence of this book we know independently from the Book of Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10, and later sources. But even if we had possessed no independent reference to such a book, we could have had no doubt as to its existence; for the contents of chapters lx, lxv-lxix. 25 prove conclusively that they are from this source; also cvi-cvii. Furthermore, vi-xi¹ are derived from the same work. These latter chapters never refer to Enoch, but to Noah. Moreover, where the author of Jubilees in vii. 20-25 describes the laws laid down by Noah for his children, and Noah's accounts of the evils that had brought the Flood upon the earth, he borrows not only the ideas, but at times the very phraseology of these chapters. Finally, we may observe that chapters lxxxviii-lxxxix. 1 presuppose a minute acquaintance with chapter x. liv. 7-lv. 2 probably belong to the same source. *The Noachic fragments preserved in this book are thus:* vi-xi, liv-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.

These facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up on the débris of the former.

Having now disposed of the earlier materials utilized by the writers of the different Sections of Enoch, we shall now proceed to deal with the five Sections or Books in the order of their occurrence.

SECTION I. i-xxxvi. We have already seen that vi-xi belonged originally to the Book of Noah; xii-xvi, on the other hand, are a vision or visions of Enoch in which he intercedes on behalf of Azazel and the Watchers. These visions are preserved in a fragmentary form, and not in their original order—a fact which is most probably due to the editor of the whole work, since the same dislocation of the text recurs in lxxviii-lxxx and xci-xciii. The original order of xii-xvi was, so far as the present fragmentary text goes: xiv. 1 . . . xiii. 1-2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2, xii. 4-6 || xvi. 3-4. xii. 1-2 is an editorial introduction.

This portion of our text began obviously with the words: xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers'. Then came a request on the part of Azazel that Enoch should intercede for him. This request was acceded to on the part of Enoch, who in a vision received God's judgement on Azazel. But both the request and the vision are lost. In xiii. 1-2, however, the answer to Azazel's request is given in the divine doom announced by Enoch. Next Enoch is besought by the Watchers to intercede for them, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-7. Thereupon Enoch has a vision regarding them, xiii. 8, which he recounts to them, xiii. 9-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2. Finally the section closes with the message of doom, which Enoch is bidden to take to the Watchers, xvi. 3-4. Of xvi. 3-4 there is a doublet, xii. 4-6, which is more original than xvi. 3-4.

xvii-xix stand by themselves, exhibiting, as they do, strong traces of Greek influences in their description of the underworld, and yet showing a close affinity to xx-xxxvi, since xviii. 6-9 is a doublet of xxiv. 1-3, xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10, xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; xix. 2, moreover, reflects the same view as x. 14.

xx-xxxvi come apparently from one and the same author: the functions ascribed to the archangels in xx are tolerably borne out in xxi-xxxvi. But since only four of the seven archangels mentioned in xx are dealt with in xxi-xxxvi, it is possible that a considerable passage was early lost.

¹ Even these chapters are composite; for they are a conflation of two distinct cycles of myths relating respectively to Semjaza and Azazel (see my second edition, pp. 13-14 notes), and this conflation was anterior to the date of the Dream Visions, which presuppose the existence of these chapters in their present form, or at all events of chapter x.

INTRODUCTION

i-v now call for treatment. These chapters are connected in phraseology with every section of the book save lxxii-lxxxii. (See my edition, p. 2 sq.) Thus the phrase 'he took up his parable', i. 2, suggests a connexion with xxxvii-lxxi, but this may be a mere coincidence, since the writer is here consciously influenced by Num. xxiii-xxiv, where the phrase recurs several times. These chapters, moreover, appear to be of composite origin. ii-v seem to be a unity. But I see no satisfactory solution of the problem.

To sum up. i-xxxvi may be analysed into the following independent elements, i-v, v-xi, xii-xvi, xvii-xix, xx-xxxvi. When the Book of Jubilees was written we shall see that vi-xxxvi had already been put together.

SECTION II. xxxvii-lxxi. As all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, I will simply refer the reader here to my edition, pp. 65 sq., for some of the grounds for this conclusion.

xxxvii-lxxi have been handed down in a fragmentary condition, and many of the problems they suggest can only be tentatively solved or merely stated.

xxxvii-lxxi consist in the main of three Parables, xxxviii-xliv, xlv-lvii, lviii-lxix. These are introduced by xxxvii and concluded by lxx, which describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah. lxxi, which contains two visions received in his lifetime, belongs to one of the three Parables. We have already seen that liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, are interpolated from the ancient Book of Noah.

Behind the Parables there appear to lie two sources, as Beer suggested though he did not work out his suggestion. The one was the 'Son of Man' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel who went with me': i.e. xl. 3-7, xlvi-xlvi. 7, lii. 3-4, lxi. 3-4, lxii. 2-lxiii, lxix. 26-9, lxx-lxxi, and the other 'the Elect One' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel of peace': i.e. xxxviii-xxxix, xl. 1-2, 8-10, xli. 1-2, 9, xlv, xlvi. 8-10, l-liv. 1-2, 5-9, liii-liv. 6, lv. 3-lvii, lxi. 1-2, 5-13, lxii. 1. See my edition, pp. 64-5.

SECTION III. lxxii-lxxxii. Chapter lxxii introduces a scientific treatise. In this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances in the O.T. regarding physical phenomena into one system. The sole aim of his book is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object he pursues undeviatingly to lxxix. 1, where it is said that his treatise is finished. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author's interest is scientific, and, like the author of Jubilees in vi. 32-6, he upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time, lxxiv. 12. And this order is inflexible and will not change till the new creation, lxxii. 1. But in lxxx. 2-8 the interest is ethical and nothing else, and though it recognizes an order of nature, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance. lxxx. 2-8 appears then to be an addition. Nor, again, can lxxxii belong to lxxii-lxxxii. Whereas the blessing of lxxii-lxxix, lxxxii is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years, the blessing of lxxxii. 4 is for the man 'who dies in righteousness'. lxxxii is of the nature of a mosaic and may come from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. Finally lxxxii stood originally before lxxix. 6 'Such is the . . . sketch of every luminary which Uriel . . . showed unto me'. After the long disquisition on the stars in lxxxii, the first words in lxxix. 1 come in most appropriately: 'I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.' If lxxxii did not precede, these words could not be justified. For like dislocations cf. xii-xvi, xci-xciii.

Thus the original order of this Section was: lxxii-lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix. For a full discussion of this Section and its independence of i-xxxvi and the knowledge it implies of the Calendar, see my edition, pp. 147-50.

SECTION IV. lxxxiii-xc. This is the most complete and self-consistent of all the Sections, and has suffered least from the hand of the interpolator. For passages that have suffered in the course of transmission see xc. 19, which I have restored before xc. 14: also lxxxix. 48. In xc, vv. 13-15 are a doublet of vv. 16-18.

lxxxiii-xc is of different authorship to vi-xxxvi. (1) The descent of the Watchers in lxxxvi. 1-3 differs from that in vi. (2) The throne of judgement is in Palestine in xc. 20-6, but in the N.W. in the midst of the Seven Mountains in xviii. 8, xxv. 3. (3) The scene of the kingdom in lxxxiii-xc is the New Jerusalem set up by God Himself: in i-xxxvi it is Jerusalem and the earth *unchanged* though purified, x. 18, 20. (4) lxxxiii-xc are only visions assigned to Enoch's earlier and unwedded life: vi-xxxvi are accounts of actual bodily translations and are assigned to his later life. If these two Sections were from one and the same author, and that an ascetic, exactly the converse would have been the case. For other grounds see my edition, pp. 179 sq.

Identity of authorship appears, therefore, to be impossible ; but the similarities in phraseology and idea (see *op. cit.*) prove that one of the authors had the work of the other before him. Of the two Sections there is no room for doubt that lxxxiii-xc is the later.

SECTION V. xci-civ. *Critical Structure.* This Section is in the main complete and self-consistent. It has, however, suffered at the hands of the editor of the entire work in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. We have already seen his handiwork in the case of xii-xvi and lxxviii-lxxxii. The dislocations of the text are a remarkable feature in this Section, and I cannot see any adequate explanation. The editor incorporated an earlier work—the Apocalypse of Weeks—into his text, xciii. 1-10, xci. 13-17, the former part dealing with the first seven weeks of the world's history and the latter with the last three. Taken together these form an independent whole. But this is not all. Since this Section is of different authorship to the other Sections of the book it is obvious that it began originally with xcii. 1, 'Written by Enoch the scribe,' &c. On xcii follows xci. 1-10, 18-19 as a natural sequel, where Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks: xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. Thus the original order of the book is xcii, xci. 1-10, 18-19, xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17, xciv.

Relation to vi-xxxvi. At first sight the evidence for the unity of authorship of these two Sections is very great. They have many phrases in common. In each there are references to the law, the eating of blood, and to the regularity of nature. There is no hint of a Messiah in either. There are other resemblances but they are seeming and not real. On the other hand, in vi-xxxvi the Messianic kingdom is eternal, in xci-civ it is temporary, if the Apocalypse of Weeks is taken to be a constituent part of xci-civ. In the former the final judgement is held before the establishment of the kingdom, x. 12, xvi. 1, in the latter at the close of the temporary kingdom (xciii. 1-10, xci. 1-10). Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation to a temporary blessedness, x. 17, xxv. 5, in the latter it is not to the temporary kingdom spoken of in xci. 13, 14, xcvi. 8, but to one of eternal blessedness subsequent to the final judgement, c. 4, 5. Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation in a physical body, in xci-civ it is a resurrection in a spiritual body, xcii. 3, 4, civ. 2, 6. In the latter there is a resurrection of the righteous only: not so in the former. For other grounds see my edition, 219 sq.

Relation to lxxxiii-xc. In xci-civ the Messianic kingdom is temporary in duration but not so in lxxxiii-xc: in the former the final judgement is consummated at the close of the kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. In xci-civ there is a resurrection of the righteous only; in lxxxiii-xc of the righteous and the apostate Jews. The kingdom to which the righteous rise in xci-civ is not the temporary kingdom on the earth but the new heaven, but in lxxxiii-xc it is the Messianic kingdom on the earth.

cv. This chapter appears to be an independent fragment.

cvi-cvii. These chapters have already been dealt with as part of the Book of Noah.

cviii. This chapter forms an appendix to the entire work added not by the editor but by a subsequent writer to confirm the righteous in the face of repeated disappointment in their expectations.

§ 7. DATES OF THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.

I will here deal with these elements in the order of their age.

Book of Noah. This book was, as we have seen already, laid under contribution by the author of the Book of Jubilees and by the general editor of Enoch. Part of it is embodied in vi-xxxvi, and this part is presupposed as already existing by lxxxiii-xc. Now, since lxxxiii-xc cannot be later than 161 B. C., it follows that we have here the *terminus ad quem* of this work.

vi-xxxvi. Since vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi were known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (see my edition, p. lxix) this Section must have been written before the latter half of the second century B. C. Since, further, lxxxiii-xc, written before 161 B. C., show a minute acquaintance with x, the date of vi-xi must be put back to the first third of that century. Many other points in lxxxiii-xc (see my edition, p. 179) point to the acquaintance of the author of lxxxiii-xc with vi-xxxvi. Again, since vi-xxxvi makes no reference to the persecution of Antiochus, the *terminus ad quem* is thus fixed at 170 B. C. The fact that vi-xxxvi were written in Aramaic is in favour of pre-Maccabean date; for when once a nation recovers, or is trying to recover, its independence, we know from history that it seeks to revive its national language.

lxxxiii-xc. The fourth and last of the four periods into which lxxxiii-xc divide history between the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom began about 200 B. C. (see my edition, pp. 180 sq., 206 sqq.), and marks the transition of supremacy over Israel from the Graeco-Egyptians to the Graeco-Syrians, as well as the rise of the Chasids. The

INTRODUCTION

Chasids, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep, xc. 6, are already an organized party in the Maccabean revolt. But certain of these lambs became horned, i.e. the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabaeus, xc. 9. As this great horn is still warring at the close of the rule of the shepherds, xc. 16, this section must have been written before the death of Judas, 161 B.C.

xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. This—the Apocalypse of Weeks—may have been written before the Maccabean revolt. There is no reference in it to the persecution of Antiochus. But the date is wholly doubtful.

lxxii-lxxxii. This section is referred to in Jubilees iv. 17, 21, where the author tells how Enoch wrote a book of the order of the months, the seasons of the years, and the rule of the sun. Hence the *terminus ad quem* is 110 B.C. or thereabouts.

xci-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the Maccabees were the religious champions of the nation and the friends of the Chasidim. Here they are leagued with the Sadducees and are the foes of the Pharisaic party. This section was written, therefore, after 109 B.C., when (?) the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees took place. But a later date must be assumed according to the literal interpretation of ciii. 14, 15, where the rulers are said to uphold the Sadducean oppressors and to share in the murder of the righteous. This charge is not justified before 95 B.C. As for the later limit, the Herodian princes cannot be the rulers here mentioned; for the Sadducees were irrevocably opposed to these as aliens and usurpers. The date, therefore, may be either 95-79 B.C. or 70-64 B.C., during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees. In my edition of Jubilees, pp. lxix-lxxi, I have given various grounds for regarding xci-civ as dependent on Jubilees.

xxxvii-lxxi. From a full review of the evidence, which is given and discussed in the notes of my edition on xxxviii. 5, it appears that the kings and the mighty so often denounced in the Parables are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters—the later Maccabean princes, on the one hand, and not the earlier; for the blood of the righteous was not shed as the writer complains (xlvi. 1, 2, 4) before 95 B.C.: the later Maccabean princes, on the other hand, and not the Herodians; for (1) the Sadducees were not supporters of the latter, and (2) Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers—a fact which necessitates an earlier date than 64 B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea. Thus the date of the Similitudes could not have been earlier than 94 B.C. or later than 64 B.C. But it is possible to define the date more precisely. As the Pharisees enjoyed unbroken power and prosperity under Alexandra 79-70 B.C., the Parables must be assigned either to the years 94-79 or 70-64.

§ 8. THE POETICAL ELEMENT IN 1 ENOCH.

In the course of editing the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch I was fortunate enough to discover that no small proportion of it was written originally in verse. But the full extent of the poetical element was not recognized till the completion of the present edition. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book, but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connexions of wrongly disjointed clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Our recognition of this fact enables us to recognize the genuineness of verses which had hitherto been regarded as interpolations, and to excise others which were often in themselves unmeaning or at variance with their contexts. The very first chapter is the best witness in these respects. There we find that i. 6-9 consists of nine stanzas of three lines each. E had lost two of the lines of stanza seven, but happily these had been preserved by G^s. Again, in vi. 4-9 we have eight stanzas of four lines each. The order of the lines has been disarranged as will be seen in vi. 6-7, but here the parallelism enables us to effect their restoration. Ch. 51 would without a recognition of the poetical character be in many respects inexplicable. In other passages it enables us to recognize certain lines as ditto-graphs: cf. lix. 6^a, lxxi. 3^c, lxxx. 7^c, lxxxii. 2^b, xciv. 7^a.

§ 9. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF CHAPTERS VI-XXXVI—ARAMAIC; OF I-V, XXXVII-CIV—HEBREW.

That 1 Enoch was originally written in a Semitic language is now universally admitted. But what that language is is still, as regards portions of the book, a question of dispute. In the past, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles (formerly), Littmann, and Martin have advocated a Hebrew original, while at various times an Aramaic original has been maintained by De Sacy, Lévi, Eerdmans, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Praetorius. Ewald, Dillmann

Lods, Flemming could not come to a decision between Hebrew and Aramaic. But of the above scholars only three have really grappled with the subject, i. e. Halévy, Charles, and Schmidt, and three different theses are advanced by them. While Halévy maintains a Hebrew original, and Schmidt an Aramaic, the present writer, as a result of his studies in editing the Ethiopic text and the translation and commentary based upon it, is convinced that neither view can be established, but that each appears to be true in part.¹ In other words, like the Book of Daniel, part of 1 Enoch was written originally in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The proofs of this thesis amount in certain sections almost to demonstration: in the case of others only to a high probability. The results of the present study of this problem tend to show that chapters vi-xxxvi were originally written in Aramaic, and xxxvii-civ, and probably i-v in Hebrew.

Chapters i-v. Probably from a Hebrew original. These chapters, as we have shown elsewhere, do not come from the same author or period as vi-xxxvi.

i. 1. In E the text = ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς πονηροὺς whereas G^s has ἐξᾶραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. The former, as the context shows, as well as Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (see note on p. 4 of the Commentary), is original, the latter not. Now the former = כל־הרעים, the latter = כל־הצרים, a corruption of the former. The same corruption is found in the LXX of Prov. xx. 22. Since E and G^s are in the main derived from the same Greek translation, this fact, unless due to a sheer blunder of a copyist, points to the presence of alternative readings in the margin of the Hebrew archetype, which were reproduced by the Greek translator. Other facts point in the same direction: see note on v. 9^b below.

i. 9. In 'He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones' the text reproduces the Massoretic of Deut. xxxiii. 2 in reading אֲנִי = ἔρχεται, whereas the three Targums, the Syriac and Vulgate read אֲנִי = μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here the LXX diverges wholly. The reading אֲנִי is recognized as original. The writer of i-v therefore used the Hebrew text and presumably wrote in Hebrew.

v. 6^b. ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσονται πάντες οἱ καταρώμενοι = כל־המקללים בכם is, so far as I am aware, a Hebrew idiom, and not an Aramaic. See note on p. 12 of my Commentary.

v. 9^b. Here G^s reads ἀμάρτωσιν, but E = κριθήσονται = אֲשָׁמוּ (cf. Prov. xxx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 6; Jer. ii. 3, &c.). Here the parallelism shows that G^s is right. Here, as in i. 1 above, we can explain the double rendering by assuming that one of these readings stood in the text and the other in the margin.

Since none of the evidence favours an Aramaic original, and whatever linguistic evidence there is makes for a Hebrew, we may provisionally conclude in favour of the latter.

Chapters vi-xxxvi. The evidence in favour of an Aramaic original of these chapters is practically conclusive.

(a) *Aramaic words transliterated in the Greek or Ethiopic.* Amongst the many Semitic words transliterated in these versions the following are Aramaic and Aramaic only: in G^s φουκά, xviii. 8, i. e. פוכא, מανδο-βαρά, xxviii. 1, and βαβδηρά, xxix. 1, i. e. מדברא. Another Aramaic form is χερουβίν, xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, but this form is indecisive as it is found not infrequently in the LXX. In E manzerân² for manzerîn, x. 9, i. e. ממזרין: 'alwâ, xxxi. 2 (see note *in loc.*) = אהלâ. The Hebrew form is אהלים.

Other transliterations are βάτους, x. 19, i. e. בת, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic: χαλβάνη, xxxi. 1, i. e. חלבנה Hebrew or חלבנא Aramaic. On the other hand there are two Hebrew words transliterated: thus σαπράν, xxxi. 1 = צִרְיָ, which is not found in Aramaic but which is rendered in Aramaic by קטף: and γῆ, xxvii. 2 = גיא = 'valley', which is a pure Hebrew word, the Aramaic being חילâ. These last two cases are somewhat strange, but, since גיא is here used as a proper name, its use in an Aramaic document may be justified.

(b) *Aramaic constructions.* In xix. 2 we have the peculiar Greek αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων. This is a literal reproduction of the Aramaic idiom נשיהון די מלאכיא די חטו. The same construction recurs in E ix. 8 which = συνεκοιμήθησων μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν = שכיבו עמהן עם נשיא. Here G^s, it is true, has omitted μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν. This omission was probably due to the unintelligibility of the construction to a Greek scribe. G^s, however, preserves the missing clause but wrongly connects it with the following verb—this change being due no doubt to an attempt to normalize the Greek. Thus G^s reads συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμάνθησαν. Here the καὶ should be restored after θηλείαις. In vi. 8 we have a third instance of this idiom, though in a corrupt form: οἱ τοὶ εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεκά(δων) = ראשיהון דעסריתא. This Aramaic idiom has found its way into the O.T. as in Cant. iii. 7.

(c) *Some of the proper names with which paronomasias are connected postulate an Aramaic original.* Thus in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now the ὁ τρίτος in vi. 7 is Ἀρακιήλ = ארקיאל, where אר is Aramaic for 'earth'. Thus this angel naturally taught the signs of the earth: ארקיאל יאליה אחי. Again in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ εἰκοστός ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, where ὁ εἰκοστός according to G^s vi. 7 is Σαριήλ = סהריאל. Here סהר is Aramaic for 'moon'. Again in viii. 3 the ὁ ὄγδοος in ὁ ὄγδοος

¹ This view was first advanced in my edition of the Ethiopic text, pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

² Here G^s has μαζήρεους and cannot account for E. Hence E here, as in i. 1, v. 9^b above, presupposes another reading than that in G^s, this reading being in the text or margin of the Greek translation.

INTRODUCTION

ἐδίδαξε ἀεροσκοπίαν is in G^s vi. 7 Ἐξεκλήλ (G^s Ζακλήλ) = שְׁחִיאל. רָשָׁם (= אֶהָר), it is true, is Hebrew as well as Aramaic.

In xiii. 7 it is said that 'the angels were mourning in Abilene', i. e. אַבְלִין בְּאַבְלִין. In G^s vi. 7 the play on Hermon is possible both in Aramaic and Hebrew (see note *in loc.*), but the play on Jared in the same verse is only possible in Hebrew. Whence we may infer that this paronomasia originated in Hebrew and is only reproduced in this Aramaic document. Finally in E G^s x. 7 the command is given to Raphael: ἰασαι τὴν γῆν = רַפִּי הָאָרֶעָא, in which there is an obvious play on Raphael's name. But though Nöldeke states that 'רפא ist gemeinsemitisch' (ZDMG, 1886, xl. 723, quoted by Schmidt) it is not found in the Targums and later rabbinical literature. Here, therefore, the play may be due to a pre-existing Hebrew document or myth, just as we are obliged to make the same presupposition in the case of 'Jared' above.

(d) *Text restored through retranslation into Aramaic.* In this section there are many corrupt passages, as might be expected, which can be restored through retranslation either into Aramaic or Hebrew, owing to the close affinities of these languages. This may be the case in ix. 4 מַלְכִּיָּא (i. e. τῶν βασιλέων E) corrupt for עַלְמִיָּא = τῶν αἰῶνων, or מַלְכִּיָּא for עַלְמִיָּא: similarly in x. 7 ἐπάταξαν E G^s = אַבְרוּ, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, and corrupt for אַמְרוּ = εἶπον G^s.¹ In x. 17 τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν = שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, wrongly vocalized for שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, or = שַׁבְּתָם corrupt for שַׁבְּתָם. xiv. 8 κατεσπούδαζον καὶ ἐθούρβαζον†. Here the second verb is impossible. The clause in Aramaic = יוֹחוֹן וַיְבַחֵל. Now the pael יבִּחֵל = θορυβάζειν, ταρασσειν, or συνταρασσειν in Dan. iv. 2, 16; v. 9, 10; vii. 15, 28, and is rendered by Theodotion by the latter two verbs. On the other hand, the LXX renders the same Aramaic verb by κατασπύδειν in iv. 16; v. 6. Thus the translator of the LXX, who, as we know from the rest of his translation of the Aramaic section of Daniel, was very familiar with Aramaic, assigns to the part of the Aramaic verb the same meaning as the piel and hiphil of the Hebrew בָּחַל. Hence we may assume that the pael in Aramaic could mean κατασπύδειν or θορυβάζειν. Thus we could explain ἐθούρβαζον as a mistranslation in this context of יבִּחֵל. It is also possible that the two verbs are alternative renderings of one and the same verb in the Aramaic. This would have been possible also if the original had been Hebrew; for יבִּחֵל pointed as a piel would mean κατεσπούδαζον and ἐθούρβαζον as a niphel. In xiii. 2; xv. 4, 11; xxix. 2 also the text can be restored by either language. (See notes *in loc.*)

But there are other passages that apparently defy restoration save through retranslation into Aramaic. In ix. 10 ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελεθῆναι, the ἐξελεθῆναι is meaningless, but by retranslation we discover the origin of the corruption. ἐξελεθῆναι corrupt for לִמְפַּסַּק = 'cease'. The lamentations 'cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth'.

In x. 7 (where see note) the variations of the versions can be explained through the Aramaic, where E has twice 'earth' (= γῆ), G^s has once γῆ and once πλεγγή, and G^s πλεγγή both times. The variations could, of course, have originated in G, but γῆ and πλεγγή can be readily accounted for as renderings of אֶרֶעָא, which, punctuated as אֶרְעָא = γῆ, and as אֶרְעָא = πλεγγή.

In xvii. 7 E = τὰ ὅρη τῶν γρόφων = מוֹרֵי קְבֵלָא. The phrase was derived most probably from Jer. xiii. 16 הָרִי נִשֵּׁף. But G^s reads ἀνέμους τῶν γρόφων = רוחי קְבֵלָא. Here, as we have seen several times already, the Greek translator appears to have found מוֹרֵי in the text and רוחי in the margin (or vice versa), and to have rendered both, one of which was preserved by G^s and the other by the Greek ancestor of E.

In xviii. 2 the text ἴδον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στρώμα (G^s E) is quite impossible. The winds do not bear the earth. By retranslation into Aramaic we see that τὴν γῆν arose in the Aramaic through a dittography. The clause = חוּיָא רוחֵיא אַרְבַּע אַרְעָא אַרְבַּע, where אַרְעָא is a dittograph of אַרְבַּע. The winds bear the firmament, not the earth.

In xxviii. 2 πλήρης δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων. It would be absurd to speak of a plain as being 'full of trees and seeds'. Here ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων = וּמִזְרַעֵין, corrupt for וּזְרַעֵין (cf. Dan. i. 12, 16; Mishna, Kil. ii. 2; iii. 2) = καὶ τῶν φυτευμάτων. Or the wrong phrase may be due to a wrong punctuation of the Aramaic word by the Greek translator. See note *in loc.*

In xxxi. 3 ὅταν τρίβωσιν refer to certain fragrant trees mentioned in the preceding verse. These trees yielded a fragrant odour when burnt. (See note *in loc.*) Hence I assume that יִרְקֶקֶן (= τρίβωσιν) is corrupt for יִרְלֶקֶן = καύσωσιν.

Chapters xxxvii-lxxi from a Hebrew original. In support of this view Halévy (*op. cit.* pp. 364 sqq.) criticized over a dozen of passages from the Parables and the interpolations with a view to showing that the meaning of the text could not be recovered unless by retranslation from a Hebrew original. Unhappily Halévy based his work on the corrupt text of Dillmann, and most of his conclusions have thereby been invalidated. Some, however, are of permanent value. On the other hand Schmidt (*O.T. and Semitic Studies*, ii. 336-43) strongly contests this view, and maintains the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I have studied carefully his ingenious essay, but this study has served to confirm me in the belief in a Hebrew original, which I assumed in my edition of 1893, and supported by arguments in my text of 1908. The preparation of my new edition has served to bring fresh evidence on this question to light.

¹ Here again the two readings in the Greek versions can be best explained by variants in the margin of the Semitic original. See footnote p. 173, and the paragraphs on xiv. 8 (*ad fin.*), xvii. 7.

First of all I will give (a) a list of passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original; (b) passages which are believed to presuppose an Aramaic only; and (c) passages which postulate a Hebrew original.

(a) *Passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.* xxxvii. 4 'Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits.' Here the Ethiopic has 'ēmǧǧdma = ἐκ προσώπου or ἐμπροσθεν = מִלְפָּנַי, 'from before,' or practically 'by', as I have rendered it. This late use of מִלְפָּנַי is found in Esther i. 19; iv. 8; 1 Chron. xxix. 12. The same idiom is found in Aramaic, i. e. מִן־קִדְרָם: cf. Dan. vi. 27 (|| iii. 29 מִן־יָדַי). The same idiom recurs in lxv. 10, and possibly in xlvi. 2, 3, 6.

xl. 9. The play on the names of Raphael and Gabriel is found in Hebrew; it is possible in Aramaic in the case of Gabriel, but a play on Raphael has never been found in Aramaic. In fact, רפא is not found in the Targums.

xlvi. 3. 'Shall try their works.' For 'try' the text reads 'choose'. Now, as I pointed out in 1908, this = יבחר, corrupt for יבחן; or, if the original had been Aramaic, we had to suppose that the translator followed the wrong meaning of יבחר. Schmidt accepts the latter supposition.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Shall raise up the kings . . . from their seats.' A dittograph of this verse reappears in xlvi. 5^a 'shall put down the kings from their thrones'. Here 'raise up' = יטול is corrupt for יפיל = 'put down'. This restoration is possible either in Hebrew or Aramaic.

liv. 10. 'And when.' Here the text reads 'and because', but the context requires 'when'. The wrong rendering can be explained either from Hebrew or Aramaic (see note in loc.).

lv. 3. In my note I have restored the text by means of Hebrew: but it is possible also through Aramaic, since מִן־קִדְרָם can also mean 'because of'.

lxv. 11. See note in loc.

lxvi. 2. Here the text reads 'hands' הידים or ידיא corrupt for הימים or ימיא.

lxviii. 2. Text reads 'provokes me' = יארגיזני or ירגיזני.

lxix. 1. As in lxviii. 2.

lxix. 4. The corruption can be explained either by Hebrew or Aramaic.

lxix. 13. Task. Here 'number' = מנין (or מנינא as Schmidt points out) which seems corrupt for ענין (or ענינא) = 'task'.

lxxi. 1. Same corruption as in lxix. 4.

(b) *Phrases and passages which are adduced by Schmidt in support of an Aramaic original.* Some of these have been dealt with already under (a), i. e. xxxvii. 4; xl. 9; xlv. 3; lxv. 11; lxviii. 2; lxix. 13, in which cases Schmidt suggests that the corrupt passages in question can be best explained by an Aramaic original, though possible also by a Hebrew original. His suggestions on li. 3, xli. 5 are unnecessary, as the corruptions are native to E, and that on lii. 9, as we shall see later, is untenable, and his transformation of xxxviii. 2 'whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits' into 'whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits' is wholly uncalled for, since there is no difficulty in the phrase which recurs twice in xl. 5, xlvi. 8, and has a parallel in Judith viii. 24. The plurals Sûrâfên, Kîrûbên, Afîn in lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 are certainly Aramaic in form, but σεραιφέν which occurs only twice in the O.T., i. e. in Isa. vi. 2, 6, appears both times in the oldest MSS. of the LXX in this form, in Isa. vi. 2 and in B in vi. 6. The Aramaic form χερουβεέν is often found in the LXX. Hence this evidence for an Aramaic original is without weight.

But 'the most convincing evidence . . . of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term "Son of Man". They are walda sab'ê xlvi. 2, 3, 4; xlvi. 2; lx. 10: walda b'êšî lxii. 5; lxix. 29^{a, b}; lxxi. 14: and walda 'ëguâla 'ëma hëjâw lxii. 7, 9, 14; lxiii. 11; lxix. 26, 27; lxx. 1; lxxi. 17. . . . Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally it means "the son of the offspring of the mother of the living" . . . and is a rendering of οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων and especially of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.' Schmidt then proceeds to emphasize the importance of these different renderings in the Parables, whereas in the N.T. it is the last that is uniformly used as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and observes: 'before lxii he uses no other term than walda sab'ê, the equivalent of the Aramaic בֶּר נִשָּׂא. Later he employs four times the phrase walda b'êšî which corresponds to the Aramaic בְּרָה דְּנִבְרָא. . . . This title is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Sinaitic text'. From the above evidence Schmidt concludes that, if the translator had 'a Greek text before him in which the N.T. title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was uniformly used', it would be scarcely conceivable that he would have used three distinct Ethiopic expressions to render it, and 'these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to the three different Ethiopic terms'. He holds, therefore, that 'the conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. . . . General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the Parables of Enoch were translated from a Greek text one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it or a reference to it in early Christian literature'. But Schmidt can find none.

The last argument I will answer first. The reader has only to refer to the list of parallels between the N.T. books and the Parables on pp. 180 sq. in order to learn that the Parables did influence, and that directly, the writers of the N.T. Further, Tertullian's words, when discussing the authenticity of 1 Enoch, cannot be adequately explained, unless as bearing on passages in the Parables referring to the Son of Man: 'Cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere quae sonant Christum' (*De Cultu*

INTRODUCTION

Fem. i. 3). The Noah Apocalypse, moreover, which is interpolated in the Parables, is referred to in Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 52 οὗς (i. e. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) γενέσθαι κακοὺς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα (1 En. lxvii. 6, 11, 12). This evidence necessitates the existence of a Greek Version of the Parables.

Let us turn now to the next argument. The Ethiopic must have been made direct from the Aramaic because of the three forms in which the title 'Son of Man' is given in the Ethiopic, since these, according to Schmidt, correspond exactly to the three forms in Aramaic. But here I must join issue. We have, unless I have failed wholly in this study, seen that the evidence adduced by Schmidt for an Aramaic original is quite inconclusive, and that on the contrary the evidence so far points, though not conclusively, to a Hebrew original. For this conclusion other evidence will be adduced later. We are not, therefore, predisposed to accept such an extraordinary thesis as that the Ethiopic must have been made directly from the Aramaic. Before dealing directly with the titles in question we might point to two facts which render this thesis not merely improbable, but incredible. 1^o. No known Ethiopic version has been made directly from the Aramaic. 2^o. The Book of Enoch, by its artificial division into five books, like the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of the Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five books in Proverbs, in Ecclesiasticus, the five divisions in the Pirke Aboth, and the five books of the Maccabean wars by Jason of Cyrene (see Hawkins², *Horae Synopticae*, p. 164), was after its kind a carefully edited work in which the fragments of a literature were put together with just as much fitness and insight as that of the Proverbs or the Pirke Aboth. This five-fold division was thus a well-known Jewish device, and, since according to the use of the book made by the N.T. writers it existed in its completed form in the first half of the first century A. D., if not nearly a century earlier, we cannot understand how an Ethiopic translator in the sixth or seventh century A. D. could have used the Greek version for the four books of Enoch, i-xxxvi, lxxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xc-cviii, and an Aramaic for the fifth, i. e. the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi. It is very probable that the entire book was translated early in the first century of the Christian era into Greek. That the Semitic original was early lost is to be inferred from the fact that no evidence of any kind testifies to its existence after the birth of Christianity, whereas multitudinous evidence attests the existence of the Greek version.

We may, therefore, safely relegate to the limbo of impossibilities the hypothesis that chapters xxxvii-lxxi of the Ethiopic version were translated directly from the Aramaic.

We have now to consider what Schmidt terms 'the most convincing evidence of an Aramaic original', i. e. the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man'. The Ethiopic translation was made, as we have just seen, from the Greek. Hence whatever explanation we give of the three forms must be justified by a Greek retranslation. This fact at once discounts any attempt to find a Greek prototype for 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw 'offspring of the mother of the living'. This Ethiopic phrase is used indifferently as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἄνθρωποι, υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνήρ. And the full form walda 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Dan. vii. 13, Ps. lxxix. 18, in Ezekiel about ninety times, Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and in the Gospels always = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In itself the Ethiopic phrase can mean 'son of man' or 'the Son of Man'. But if the translator wished to make it clear that the latter title was used, he could do so by prefixing a demonstrative pronoun as a rendering of the Greek article ὁ. This is done in every instance in the Parables save three. In the course of eight verses in lxxxix. 42-9 the Greek article is so rendered eleven times.

Let us now examine the other two titles walda sab'ē and walda b'ēsī. sab'ē distinctively = ἄνθρωπος (though in a few cases it = ἀνήρ). Thus walda sab'ē = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. It can also = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but to make this unmistakable the translator could prefix the demonstrative pronoun as the equivalent of ὁ.

Next comes walda b'ēsī. b'ēsī = ἀνήρ generally, but as Dillmann (*Lex.* 519) puts it, it stands *creberrime* for ἄνθρωπος. In fact in the Ethiopic Version of our book it is used as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος in i. 2, xv. 1. If more of the Greek version had survived we should no doubt find many other instances.

The result of the above examination comes to this. The above three renderings do not presuppose three different forms in the Greek. They most probably presuppose merely one, i. e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but walda b'ēsī may presuppose ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός. But I think the latter improbable. In lxii. 5; lxix. 29 (*bis*); lxxi. 14 b'ēsī may be a rendering of ἀνθρώπου as in i. 2; xv. 1.

This change of rendering may seem surprising, but we have a perfect parallel in the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions of the Syriac N.T.¹ Thus whereas in the Peshitto b'reh dē-našā (ברה רנשא) occurs uniformly as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in the Curetonian version we have b'reh de-gabrā (ברה דגברא) in Luke vii. 34; ix. 26; xxii. 48, and in the Sinaitic version b'reh de-gabrā in Mark viii. 38; Luke vii. 34; John xiii. 31, and elsewhere in both these versions b'reh de-našā. In the Palestinian Lectionary there is still another way of rendering the phrase, but this does not concern us here. We have, however, learnt from these versions that differences in the manner of rendering the title 'Son of Man' in these versions does not imply any difference in the original Greek. Similarly we conclude that the three renderings of this title in the Parables do not presuppose corresponding variations in the Greek, but are due to the translator.

If, then, these variations in the Parables are due to the translator or translators it follows that these translators were Aramaic-speaking Jews, since the phrases walda b'ēsī and walda sab'ē are respectively equivalents of b'reh de-gabrā and b'reh dē-našā.²

On the above grounds we conclude that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου stood in all cases in the Greek version of the

¹ See Schmidt in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4714.

² The Aramaisms in the Ethiopic version of the O.T. are probably due to Aramaean missionaries.

Parables.¹ That this Greek *phrase* represents the Hebrew בְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמ, we shall further conclude from the evidence given in the next section.

(c) *Passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

xxxix. 7^b. 'The righteous . . . shall †be strong† (a-m: 'be beautiful' m, β) as fiery lights'. Neither reading is satisfactory. a-m = יִחְזָקוּ which may be corrupt for יִהְיֶה = 'shine': cf. Dan. xii. 3 כְּכֹכָבִים . . . יִהְיוּ.

xlvi. 7. 'These are they who †judge† the stars of heaven.' Here, as I have shown, the text appears to be based on Dan. viii. 10, and should be read (see my note *in loc.*) as follows:—

'These are they who raise their hands against the Most High,
And cast down the stars of heaven,
And tread them upon the earth.'

Thus 'judge' = יָדִינוּ which the context shows to be corrupt for יָרִידוּ = 'cast down'.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**.' As the context shows (see my note *in loc.*) these words mean that the number of the righteous, i.e. the martyrs, is complete: cf. Rev. vi. 10, 11. Now a reads qarēba = ῥῆγγε = קָרַב, which in Mishnaic Hebrew = 'has been offered'. This meaning is not found in the qal of this verb in Aramaic.

lii. 9. 'All these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth.' Here there were two alternative Greek renderings of יִכָּחֲרוּ. One was originally in the text, and the other in the margin, but subsequently both were incorporated into the text. Or the dittograph was native to the Hebrew, i.e. יִכָּחֲשׁוּ and יִכָּחֲרוּ. Schmidt attempts to explain the corruption from an Aramaic basis by assuming that יִתְרַמְאוּ stood in the original, and that this received the two renderings in the text. But רִמָּא does not mean 'to destroy'. Moreover, the Ethiopic word kēhēda here, which means 'to deny', occurs again in xlv. 1; xlv. 7; xlviii. 10, in which three passages Schmidt says it goes back to the Aramaic כִּפַּר. Thus his proposal is satisfactory in no respect.

lx. 6. I have followed u in the text, but the parallelism is in favour of regarding the text as corrupt in the word 'worship'. This word is wholly unsatisfactory. It = יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, which may be corrupt (or יִשְׁחָתוּ = 'pervert' or 'corrupt'). Thus we recover an excellent parallelism:—

'For those who corrupt the righteous law,
And for those who deny the righteous judgement,
And for those who take His name in vain.'

lxv. 10^a. 'Their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by me for ever.'

For 'withheld' the text reads οὐ λογισθήσεται or ἀριθμηθήσεται. The Ethiopic word can mean either. The former rendering (as in lii. 8^d) is generally followed here. It is, however, unsatisfactory. The true reading, as I pointed out in my text, can be recovered by retranslation into Hebrew. οὐ λογισθήσεται = לֹא יִחְשַׁב, corrupt for לֹא יִשְׁשַׁךְ = 'shall not be withheld'. Here Schmidt follows the other possible meaning of the Ethiopic word ἀριθμηθήσεται = יִתְמַנָּא—a corruption of יִתְמַנֵּעַ.

lxv. 10^b. 'Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' Instead of 'sorceries' the Ethiopic reads 'months' = חֳדָשִׁים, which Halévy rightly recognized as a corruption of חֲרָשִׁים = 'sorceries'. It is true that on an exceptional occasion Aramaic-speaking Jews used חֲרָשִׁא instead of their own word יִרְחָא. Hence the evidence for a Hebrew original is slightly weakened here.

The text of this passage as known to Halévy and originally to myself was corrupt, and Schmidt rightly objected to this text even when emended as follows: 'because of the sorceries which they have searched out and (through which) they know that the earth . . . will be destroyed.' Schmidt observes that it 'is a strange idea that the terrible judgement of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed.' This observation is just, but the remedy lies in the MSS. *gtu*, which omit the 'that'. The omission of this word restores the meaning of the whole verse. See note on p. 131 of my second edition of *Enoch*.

From the above evidence we infer a Hebrew original. As in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel, so here there were possibly many Aramaisms.

Chapters lxxii–lxxvii. From a Hebrew original.

lxxvi. 1, 14. Here the word in the text 'winds' = רִיחוֹת, which should have been rendered 'quarters'. This restoration is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

lxxvii. 1. In this verse there is a play on the four quarters of the earth. It is possible to recover this play by retranslation into either Hebrew or Aramaic in the case of the 'east' and 'north': קִדְמָא or קִדְמָא and צָפוֹן or צָפוֹן.

But this is not so in the case of the south and west. As regards the first the text reads 'the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea there . . . will He . . . descend' = דָּרוֹם כִּי יֵרֵד שָׁם. This is possible only in Hebrew.

lxxvii. 2. 'And the west quarter is named (lit. 'its name') diminished because there all the luminaries wane.' וְהָרֹחַ הַמְעֵרְבִית שְׁמוֹ אֲחֵרֹן כִּי שָׁם יֵאָחֲזוּ כָּל־הַמְּאֹרוֹת.

¹ There is just a possibility that two forms stood in the Greek version, i.e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, and that these were due to the translators, who in this case also would be Aramaic-speaking Jews, but this is highly improbable.

INTRODUCTION

lxxviii. 1. Of the two names of the sun which are transliterated, though corruptly, in this verse, one is Hebrew and not Aramaic; i. e. Orjares = אור הָרָם. The other, Tômâs, i. e. תֹּמָס, is Hebrew and Aramaic; but if it is corrupt from חמה, as Halévy conjectures, it is Hebrew.

lxxviii. 2. Of the four names of the moon which are here transliterated, three are Hebrew only, Asônjâ, i. e. אֲסֹנְיָה, Eblâ, i. e. אֵבְלָה, and Benâsê, i. e. בְּנֵאֲשֵׁה.

lxxx. 5. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 10. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 15. 'Tamâinî and Sun.' These two names are one, i. e. שֶׁמֶשׁ תִּמְנִי 'the southern sun'. This is Hebrew, and not Aramaic.

Chapters lxxxiii–xc. From a Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original.

lxxxix. 44. The emendation suggested here is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

xc. 13^a, 16^a. In the duplicate version which we have of these verses, 'shepherds' in xc. 13 corresponds to 'ravens' in xc. 16. The latter is right. The corruption can be explained from a Hebrew background, רָעִים, corrupt for עֲרֵבִים, or from an Aramaic רַעִין, corrupt for עֲרֵבִין.

xc. 13^b, 16^b. In the former 'cried to' corresponds to 'were gathered together' in the latter. Now the former = ἐκράζον = יִצְעֲקִי or יִצְעָקִי, and the latter יִצְעָקִי or יִצְעָקִי in Hebrew. But this explanation is impossible in Aramaic; for though זַעַק and צַעַק occur in the sense of 'to cry', no mood of this verb is used in the sense of 'to assemble'. For this word they use כִּנֵּשׁ.

xc. 18. **covered them.** The Ethiopic expression here is not good Ethiopic, but reproduces the Greek ἐκάλυπεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, which in turn is a literal rendering of כָּסָה עֲלֵיהֶם (Hebrew), or עלִיהֶון (or כָּסִי) חָפָא in Aramaic.

xc. 27. 'I saw those sheep †burning and their bones burning†.' This clause is obviously corrupt. In 'bones' there appears to be a mistranslation of the late Hebrew עֶצֶם or the Aramaic גֶּרֶם, which literally mean 'bone' or 'bones', but which when compounded with a suffix = 'self' or 'selves'. The participle is then a doublet. Hence we have וַאֲרָא הַצֹּאן הַזֶּה עֶצְמָה בַּעֲרָת = 'I saw these very sheep burning.' This is possible also in Aramaic.

xc. 38. 'The first among them became the **lamb**.' 'The lamb' = הַטֵּלָה, which was corrupted into הַמֵּלָה, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, whence the Ethiopic text 'the word'. This explanation is possible also in Aramaic.

Chapters xci–civ. From a Hebrew original.

xciii. 5. Text reads 'after him' = אַחֲרָיו, which I take to be corrupt for אַחֲתָיו = 'his posterity'.

xciii. 8^b. The Ethiopic has a peculiar form, and = ἀσεβήσουσιν καρδίαι πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας, which is pure Hebrew = כָּל־מַחֲמָה יִרְשַׁע לִבָּב. Cf. Ps. xviii. 22, מִשְׁעֵתִי מֵאֱלֹהִי.

xcv. 1^a. 'Oh, that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters.' The bracketed word is either an intrusion and = עֵינַי, a dittograph of עֵינִי = 'eyes', or עֵינַי is corrupt for עֵינַי = 'fount', the corruption being due to the occurrence of the phrase 'cloud of waters' in xcv. 1^a. Hence 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters'. This is possible also in Aramaic.

xcvi. 5. 'Who devour the finest of the wheat
And drink **wine in large bowls**.'

For the emended phrase E has here the extraordinary words 'strength of the root of the fountain' = ἰσχυρὸν ῥίζης πηγῆς = כֹּחַ עֵקֶר עֵינַי, corrupt for כֹּחַ עֵקֶר עֵינַי (Amos vi. 6). See my note *in loc.*

xcvi. 6^a. **From every fountain.** E reads 'at every time' = בְּכָל־עֵת, corrupt for מְכָל־עֵינַי.

xcvii. 8^b–9. We have here a remarkable series of rhyming verses which arise on retranslation into Hebrew.

8	עֵשֶׂר עֲשָׂרָנוּ	9 ^a	וְנַעֲשֶׂה שְׁחָשְׁבָנוּ
	וְרָכֹשׁ לָנוּ	b	כִּי כֶסֶף אֶסֶף אֶסְפָנוּ
	וְכָל קִנְיָנוּ	d	וְרָבִים אֶכְרִי בְתִינוּ
	אֲשֶׁר אֲוִינוּ	c	וּמְלָאִים כְּמִים אֲוִצִּינוּ

xcviii. 4^{ab}. See note *in loc.*

xcix. 6. Here E = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀδιαλείπτου, but in Tertullian (*De Idol.* iv) the phrase appears as 'in diem sanguinis perditionis' = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀπωλείας = לְיוֹם דָּם לֵאדִיר, where לֵאדִיר is corrupt for לְעֵד = ἀδιαλείπτου.

xcix. 16. E (1gβ) reads 'the spirit of His indignation' = רוּחַ אַפּוֹ, corrupt for חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ = 'His fierce indignation.'

c. 6^a. See note *in loc.*

ci. 4. E reads 'kings' = מְלָכִי, corrupt for מַלְחִי, 'sailors'. This is also possible in Aramaic.

§ 10. (a) INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON JEWISH LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, written before 105 B.C., the older Sections of 1 *Enoch* are drawn upon, but in the later Sections the converse relation may be assumed:—

Jubilees.

- i. 11. 'sacrifice . . . to demons'.
- 16. 'the plant of uprightness'.

1 *Enoch.*

- xix. 1. 'sacrificing to demons as gods'.
- xciii. 2. 'the plant of uprightness'.

Jubilees.

29. 'the heavens . . . shall be renewed . . . the powers of the heaven . . . the luminaries be renewed'.
ii. 2. 'the spirit . . . of snow . . . of hoar-frost'.

iii. 10. 'the heavenly tablets', and *passim*.
iv. 15. 'Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth'.
'the Watchers'. Cf. x. 5.
20. 'he took to himself a wife . . . Ednî'.
22. 'testified to the Watchers'.
'unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men'.
23. 'we conducted him into the Garden of Eden'.

26. 'the Mount of the East'.
v. 1. 'they bare . . . giants'.
6. 'He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth'. Cf. v. 10, x. 7.
9. 'that each should slay his neighbour'.
10. 'And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation when judgement is executed', &c.

11, 12. 'He †destroyed† all . . . And He †made† . . . a new and righteous nature', &c.

29. 'the (i.e. the seven) floodgates of heaven were restrained; and . . . all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below'.

vii. 22. The Giants, the Nâphîl, the Eljô.

'they devoured one another'. Cf. v. 2, 9.
23. 'shed much blood . . . the earth was filled with iniquity'.

29. 'into Sheol shall they go, and into the place of condemnation shall they descend, and into the darkness'. Cf. xxii. 22.

39. 'the seventh in his generation'.

viii. 12. 'the middle of the earth' (Shem's lot).

x. 1. 'the unclean demons began to lead astray . . . and destroy them'.

xii. 2. 'What help and profit have we from those idols?'

4. 'who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth'.

xv. 32. 'But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit for He alone is their ruler'. Contrast 1 En. lxxxix. 59.

'He will . . . require them at the hands of His angels'.

xvi. 26. 'plant of righteousness'.

xxii. 17. 'worship evil spirits'.

xxx. 22. 'the book of life'. Cf. xxxvi. 10.

xxxii. 18, 19. Jacob's seed are to rule and judge.

xxxvii. 20. 'the boar' (= Esau).

1 Enoch.

xc. 16. 'a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light'.

lx. 18. 'the spirit of the snow'.

17. 'the spirit of the hoar-frost'.

lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2. 'the heavenly tablets'.

vi. 6. (the angels) 'descended in the days of Jared'.

i. 5, xii. 2-4. 'the Watchers'.

lxxxv. 3. 'Before I took . . . Edna'.

xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-10, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq.

x. 11. 'united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them'. Cf. xv. 3, 4.

lx. 8. ' . . . the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'.

xviii. 7, 8. Cf. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3.

vii. 2. 'they bare great giants'.

x. 12. 'bind them fast . . . **in the valleys** (*emended*) of the earth'.

x. 9. 'that they may destroy each other in battle'.

x. 12. 'And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved, bind them fast for seventy generations **in the valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated'.

x. 15, 16. 'destroy all . . . and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear', &c.

lxxxix. 7. 'those (i.e. the seven) water torrents were removed from that high roof and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these', &c.

vii. 1. (*Syncellus' Greek Version*). The Giants, Nephilim, the Eliud.

lxxxvii. 1. 'devour each other'. Cf. vii. 5, x. 9, 12.

ix. 1. 'much blood being shed . . . all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth'.

ciii. 7, 8. 'their souls shall be made to descend into Sheol . . . and into darkness . . . and a burning flame . . . grievous judgement'.

xciii. 3. 'the seventh in the first week'.

xxvi. 1. 'the middle of the earth' (Palestine).

xix. 1. 'their (i.e. the angels') spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray'. Cf. also xv. 8, 11; xvi. 1.

xcix. 7. 'shall get no manner of help from them'.

ci. 2. 'withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth'.

lxxxix. 59. 'And He called seventy shepherds and cast those sheep to them'.

xc. 17, 22.

x. 16. 'plant of righteousness'.

xcix. 7. 'worship impure spirits and demons'.

xlvi. 3. 'the books of the living'.

xcv. 3; xcvi. 1. The righteous rule and judge.

lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 66. 'wild boar', 'wild boars' (= Edom).

INTRODUCTION

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written between 109 and 105 B. C., there are nine direct references to Enoch.

T. Lev. x. 5. 'the house which the Lord shall choose . . . as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous'.

xvi. 1. 'I have learned (+ 'in the book of Enoch' $\beta A^\beta S$) . . . for seventy weeks,' &c.

xiv. 1. 'I have learned ('from the writing of Enoch' $\beta A^\beta S^1$), &c.'

The other six, *T. Sim.* v. 4; *T. Jud.* xviii. 1 ($\beta A S^1$); *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 (βS^1); *T. Dan.* v. 6; *T. Naph.* iv. 1; *T. Benj.* ix. 1, cannot be traced directly to any passage in 1 En. In *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 *a* reads 'Moses' for 'Enoch' in βS^1 .

There are also parallels in the *Testaments* to 1 *Enoch*, e. g. :

T. Reub. v. 6, 7. The Watchers, the women, and the giants.

T. Lev. iii. 4. 'the Great Glory' ($\alpha \beta A^\beta S^1$).

xvi. 2. 'make void the law and set at naught . . . by evil perverseness'.

xviii. 5. 'The heavens shall exult in his days

And the earth shall be glad . . .

And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him'.

T. Naph. iii. 5. 'the Watchers also changed the order of their nature'.

Possibly 1 *Enoch* was used by the author of the *Assumption of Moses*, written between A. D. 7 and 30.

Ass. Mos.

x. 3. 'He will go forth from His holy habitation,

4. And the earth shall tremble : to its confines shall it be shaken : And the high mountains shall be made low, and the hills (*emended*) shall be shaken and fall'.

The affinities of 2 *Baruch* with 1 *Enoch* are more numerous.

2 *Bar.*

x. 8. 'Sirens'.

xiii. 8. 'the judgement . . . no respect of persons'.

xxiv. 1. 'the books shall be opened'.

xxix. 4. Myth of Behemoth and Leviathan.

5. 'the earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold'.

xxxv. 2. Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears'.

li. 10. 'they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made equal to the stars'.

liv. 2. 'For whom nothing is too hard'.

lv. 3. Ramiel.

lvi. 12-13.

lix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

In 4 *Ezra*, written between A. D. 81-96, we find an apparent use of 1 *Enoch*, particularly of the Parables.

4 *Ezra.*

vi. 49-52. Leviathan and Behemoth.

vii. 32, 33. 'Et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria red-
dent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et revelabitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii.'

37.

85, 95.

125. 'nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigrae'.

1 *En.* lxxxix. 50. 'the house for the Lord', &c.

lxxxix. 59 sqq. 'seventy shepherds'.

xc. 6, 7.

1 *En.* vi-ix. 2.

xiv. 20; cii. 3.

xcix. 2, 14; civ. 9, 10.

li. 4. 'And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,

And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,

And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy'.

vi.-ix. 2.

1 *Enoch.*

i. 4. 'will come forth from His dwelling'.

i. 5, 6. ' . . . unto the ends of the earth. The high mountains shall be shaken And the high hills . . . made low'.

1 *Enoch.*

xix. 2. 'Sirens'.

lxiii. 8. 'His judgements have no respect of persons'.

xc. 20. 'opened those books'.

lx. 7-9, 24. Myth of Leviathan and Behemoth (earlier form).

x. 19. 'Each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand'.

xcv. 1. 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters', &c.

civ. 2, 4. 'ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . . have great joy as the angels'.

lxxxiv. 3. 'nothing is too hard for Thee'.

xx. 7. 'Remiel' (G^2).

vi-x.

xcix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

1 *Enoch.*

lx. 7-9, 24. Leviathan and Behemoth (earliest form of myth).

li. 1, 3. 'and in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes . . . And the Elect one shall . . . sit on My throne'.

lxii. 1 : lx. 6.

c. 5.

lxii. 10. 'the darkness shall grow deeper on their faces'.

From the second century A.D. onwards all knowledge of the *Book of Enoch* vanishes from Jewish literature with the exception of a few references that are given by Jellinek in the *Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1853, p. 249.

(b) THE INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1 *Enoch* has had more influence on the *New Testament* than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. A few examples will clearly illustrate this.

New Testament.

(a) General Epistles.

Jude 6. 'the angels which left their own habitation . . . reserved . . . great day'.

14. 'the seventh from Adam'.

14, 15.

1 *John* i. 7. 'walk in the light'.

ii. 8. 'the darkness is past'.

15. 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world'.

(b) Revelation.

ii. 7. 'the tree of life'. Cf. xxii. 2, 14, 19.

iii. 5. 'clothed in white raiment'.

10. 'them that dwell upon the earth'.

17. 'I am rich and increased with goods'.

20. 'I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me'.

iv. 6. 'round about the throne were four living creatures'.

8. 'they rest not . . . saying'.

vi. 10. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.

15, 16. Compare the fear of the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, when they see 'the face of him that sitteth on the throne'.

vii. 1. Angels of the winds.

15. 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them'.

ix. 1. 'I saw a star from heaven fallen to the earth'.

20. 'worship demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood'.

xiii. 14. 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth'.

xiv. 9, 10. 'tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels . . . '.

10. 'holy angels'.

20. 'blood came out . . . even to the horses' bridles'.

xvii. 14. 'Lord of lords and King of kings'.

xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead . . . and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them'.

15. 'cast into the lake of fire'.

xxii. 3. 'no more curse'. Cf. xxi. 4.

(c) Epistles of St. Paul.

Rom. viii. 38. 'angels . . . principalities . . . powers'. Cf. *Eph.* i. 21; *Col.* i. 16.

ix. 5. 'God blessed for ever'. Cf. xi. 31.

1 *Cor.* vi. 11. 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus'.

1 Enoch.

xii. 4. 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven' . . .

x. 4-6, 11, 12. 'Bind . . . darkness . . . judgement'.

lx. 8. 'the seventh from Adam'.

i. 9. Cf. v. 4; xxvii. 2.

xcii. 4. 'walk in eternal light'.

lviii. 5. 'the darkness is past'.

cviii. 8. 'love . . . nor any of the good things which are in the world'.

xxv. 4-6. The tree of life.

xc. 31. 'clothed in white'.

xxxvii. 5. 'those that dwell on the earth'.

xcvii. 8. 'We have become rich with riches and have possessions'.

lxii. 14. 'and with that Son of Man shall they (i.e. the righteous) eat and lie down and rise up'.

xl. 2. 'On the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four presences'.

xxxix. 13. 'who sleep not . . . and say'.

xlvi. 2. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.

lxii. 3. 'the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted

5. . . shall be terrified . . . and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.

lxix. 22. 'spirits . . . of the winds'.

xlvi. 4. 'I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them'.

lxxxvi. 1. 'And I saw . . . and behold a star fell from heaven'.

xcix. 7. 'worship stones, and grave images of gold, and silver, and wood, <and stone> and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons'.

liv. 6. 'leading astray those who dwell on the earth'.

xlvi. 9. 'burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous'.

xx. 1 and *passim*. 'holy angels'.

c. 3. 'the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners'.

ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

li. 1. 'in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back . . . and hell shall give back . . . '.

xc. 26. 'cast into this fiery abyss'.

xxv. 6. 'no sorrow or plague or torment or calamity'.

1 Enoch.

lx. 10. 'angels of power and . . . angels of principalities'.

lxxvii. 1. 'He who is blessed for ever'.

xlvi. 7. 'in his (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

INTRODUCTION

New Testament.

2 Cor. iv. 6. 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.

Eph. i. 9. 'according to His good pleasure'.

v. 8. 'children of light'. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 5.

Col. ii. 3. 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'.

1 Thess. v. 3. 'then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child'.

2 Thess. i. 7. 'the angels of His power'.

1 Tim. i. 9. 'law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless', &c.

i. 15. 'worthy of all acceptance'. Cf. iv. 9.

v. 21. 'the elect angels'.

vi. 15. 'King of kings and Lord of lords'.

(d) *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

iv. 13. 'there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do'.

xi. 5. 'Enoch was translated', &c.

xii. 9. 'Father of Spirits'.

(e) *Acts of the Apostles.*

iii. 14. 'the Righteous One' (= Christ).

iv. 12. 'none other name . . . whereby we must be saved'.

x. 4. 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God'.

xvii. 31. 'He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained'.

(f) *The Gospels.*

John v. 22. 'He hath committed all judgement unto the Son'.

xii. 36. 'sons of light'. Cf. Luke xvi. 8.

xiv. 2. 'mansions'.

Luke i. 52. 'He hath put down princes from their thrones'.

ix. 35. 'This is My Son, the Elect One'.

xviii. 7. 'Shall not God avenge His elect which cry unto Him day and night'. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9.

xxi. 28. 'your redemption draweth nigh'.

xxiii. 35. 'the Christ of God, the Elect One'.

Matt. xix. 28. 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory'.

'ye also shall sit on twelve thrones'.

xix. 29. 'inherit eternal life'.

xxv. 41. 'prepared for the devil and his angels'.

xxvi. 24. 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born'.

1 Enoch.

xxxviii. 4. 'the Lord of Spirits has **caused His light to appear** (*emended*) on the face of the holy, righteous and elect'.

xliv. 4. 'according to His good pleasure'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xlvi. 3. 'the Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden'.

lxii. 4. 'Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'.

lxi. 10. 'the angels of power'.

xciii. 4. 'a law shall be made for the sinners'.

xciv. 1. 'worthy of acceptance'.

xxxix. 1. 'elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven'.

ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

1 Enoch.

ix. 5. 'all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee'.

xv. 1; lxx. 1-4.

xxxvii. 2. 'Lord of Spirits' (and *passim* in Parables).

1 Enoch.

liii. 6. 'the Righteous and Elect One' (= Messiah).

xlvi. 7. 'in His (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

xcix. 3. 'raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High'.

xli. 9. 'He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him'.

1 Enoch.

lxix. 27. 'the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xxxix. 4. 'dwelling places of the holy', &c.

xlvi. 4. 'shall raise up (Read 'put down') the kings . . . from their thrones'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One' (i.e. the Messiah). Cf. xlv. 3, 4 'Mine Elect One'; xlix. 2, 4.

xlvi. 1, 2. 'the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them', &c.

li. 2. 'the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One'.

lxii. 5. 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.

cviii. 12. 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour'.

xl. 9. 'inherit eternal life'.

liv. 4, 5. 'chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl'.

xxxviii. 2. 'It had been good for them if they had not been born'.

(c) THE INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

Epistle of Barnabas (soon after A. D. 70).

xvi. 4 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.

1 Enoch.

lxxxix. 56. 'He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them (i.e. 'those sheep') all into the hands of the lions, to . . . devour them. 66. . . devoured. . . those sheep . . . and they burnt that tower and demolished that house'.

Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Robinson and James, 1892).

2. τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, &c.
3. σώματα . . . λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρότερὰ παντὸς ῥόδου.
5. μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν.
6. οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι.
8. ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

Justin Martyr.

Apol. ii. 5 οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι . . . γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες . . . καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας . . . καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἔσπειραν. Cf. i. 5.

Tatian (flor. A. D. 160).

Oratio adv. Graecos, 8.

20.

Athenagoras (about A. D. 170).

Legatio pro Christianis, 24, 25 οἱ τοῖνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, . . . οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια ὑπεκκύβηαι δυνάμενοι· καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαί, οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες.

Minucius Felix.

xxvi 'Isti igitur spiritus, posteaquam simplicitatem substantiae suae . . . perdiderunt . . . non desinunt perditam iam perdere . . . et alienati a Deo, inductis religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemonas esse poetae sciunt . . .'

Irenaeus (ob. circa A. D. 202).

i. 15. 6 . . . Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιεῖν.

iv. 16. 2 (ed. Stieren) 'Sed et Enoch . . . cum esset homo, legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus est et conservatur usque nunc testis iudicii Dei, quoniam angeli quidam transgressi deciderunt in terram in iudicium.'

iv. 36. 4.

v. 28. 2 ' . . . daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciet signa, in quibus seducat habitantes super terram.'

Tertullian, writing between A. D. 197 and 223, regards Enoch as scripture.

Apol. xxii.

De Cultu Fem. i. 2.

ii. 10.

De Idol. iv.

De Idol. ix; *De Virg. Veland.* vii.

Clement of Alexandria (circa A. D. 150-210).

Eclogae Prophet. (ed. Dindorf), iii. 456.

iii. 474.

Strom. iii. 9.

Julius Africanus (ob. circa A. D. 237).

Chronographia. . . . ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνήλθον. Ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εἶρον 'οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἐτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδοκέσαι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὓς τῆς κακίας ἐπιγενομένης . . .

i *Enoch.*

cviii. 7-9.

cvi. 2, 10.

lxi. 9-11. 'one voice . . . bless', &c.
liii. 3, &c. 'angels of punishment'.

ix. 8, 9; xv. 8, 9.

viii. 3. 'astrology'.

vi. 6; xv. 8, 9.

vi; vii; xiii. 5; xv. 8, 10.

viii; xv. 8-12; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

viii. 1. Cf. also x. 8.

xii. 4-6; xiii; xiv. 3-7; xv; xvi.

x. 2, 'a deluge,' &c.

xcix. 7.

xix. 1.

i *En.* xv. 8, 9.

viii. 1. 3.

viii. 1.

xix. 1; xcix. 6, 7.

vi; xiv. 5.

xix. 3.

viii. 2, 3.

viii; xvi. 3.

vii. 1; viii, &c.

INTRODUCTION

Origen (A. D. 185-254) does not regard Enoch as inspired, and yet he does not wholly reject it. Cf. *Contra Celsum*, v. 52-4; *In Ioannem*, vi. 25; *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2; *De Princip.* i. 3. 3; iv. 35.

Acta SS. Perpet. et Felic. (ed. Robinson, p. 72 sqq.).

vii.

xii.

Commodianus (flor. A. D. 250), *Instructiones* (ed. Migne, P. L. v. 203-4).

i. 3. (Deus) Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam,
Legitima cuius spreverunt illi dimissi,
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quae flecteret illos,
Ut coinquinati non possent caelo redire.
Rebelles ex illo contra Deum verba misere.
Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illos
De semine quorum gigantes nati feruntur.
Ab ipsis in terra artes prolatae fuere,
Et tingere lanas docuerunt et quaeque geruntur,
Mortales et illi mortuos simulacro ponebant.
Omnipotens autem, quod essent de semine pravo,
Non censuit illos recipi defunctos e morte.
Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa
Maxime quos hodie colitis et deos oratis.

Cyprian (flor. A. D. 250).

De Hab. Virg. 14 (ed. Hartel, i. p. 197) 'Neque Deus . . . tingere . . . docuit . . . lapillis aut margaritis . . . quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt . . . oculos circumducto nigrore fucare . . .'

Pseudo-Cyprian (third century A. D.).

Ad Novatianum (ed. Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67) 'Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere iudicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quae fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.'

Hippolytus (flor. A. D. 220).

Or. adv. Graecos (ed. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i. 393). . . . "Αἰδου, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων . . . 'Ο "Αιδης τόπος ἐστὶν . . . ἀκατασκέυαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμον οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει.

Zosimus of Panopolis (third century), quoted in *Syn-cellus* (Dindorf, i. 1829, p. 24).

Clementine Homilies (fourth century?).

viii. 12 sqq.

The *Clementine Recognitions* has a parallel but independent passage, iv. 26, 27.

Lactantius (flor. A. D. 320) in his *Instit.* ii. 14 (Migne, P. L. vi. 330-2; Brandt and Laubmann, i. p. 162 sqq.) gives quite a long passage which for its main features is indebted to 1 *Enoch* xiv. 5-7; lxix. 4; vii. 1; liv. 6; xv. 8-11; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

Inst. iv. 27; v. 18.

vii. 7.

vii. 16.

vii. 19.

vii. 24.

vii. 26.

Cassianus (A. D. 360-435).

Collatio viii. 21 ' . . . illa opinio vulgi, qua credunt angelos vel maleficia vel diversas artes hominibus tradidisse.'

1 *Enoch*.

xxii. 9.

xiv. 9-17.

(Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15).

vi. 1, 2.

xiv. 5.

i. 9; xiii. 2.

x. 4 sq.; xii. sq.

vii. 2.

viii. 1.

xix. 1.

xv. 6.

xix. 1.

1 *En.* viii. 1, &c.

i. 9.

xxii. 3. 'all the souls of the children of men'.

xxi. 1. 'where things were chaotic' . . . 'a place chaotic'.

vi-viii.

vi. 1-xix. 1.

xix. 1.

xxii.

lxxx. 2.

xc. 19; xci. 12.

x. 17 sq.

xlvi. 9.

viii. 1.

Thenceforward *1 Enoch* fails to secure a single favourable notice. See *Hilary, Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3; *Chrysostom, Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1; *Jerome, De Viris Illustr.* iv, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum* i. 12; *Augustine, De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, 4, xviii. 38. The book is finally condemned in explicit terms in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16. From this period the book fell into disuse and became lost to the Western Church, except in the fragments preserved by *Syncellus* in his *Chronography*, pp. 20-3; 42-7 (ed. Dindorf, 1829). These fragments are vi-ix. 4; viii. 4-x. 14; xv. 8-xvi. 1 and another.

There are also, as might be expected, many parallels in *Gnostic and Apocryphal Literature* to *1 Enoch*.

Pistis Sophia (third century?) ed. Schwartze, 1851-3.

p. 245.

p. 354.

Acts of Thomas (Tisch. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*).

p. 218, ch. xxxii.

Acts of 'the Disputation of Archelaus with Manes'
(perhaps early in fourth century).

ch. xxxii (Routh, *Reliquiae*, iv. p. 211).

1 En. xxxii. 3, 6.

vii. 1; viii. 3.

vi. 6; lxxxvi. 3; vii. 2, 4.

lxxxvi. 1, 3; vii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 11, 12.

The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea (date uncertain) has a close parallel to *1 Enoch*.

iii. 3 (ed. Tisch. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed.,
Lipsiae, 1876, p. 465).

c. 10, 12.

The Apocalypse of Paul has a similar idea.

4 sqq. (Tisch. *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 36).

c. 10, 12.

The Book of Adam and Eve (ed. Malan, 1882).

ii. 8.

ii. 19.

ii. 22.

iii. 4.

xxvi. 1; xc. 26.

vi. 6; viii. 1.

xxxix. 4, 6, 7.

vi-x.

(For the above details in Patristic and Apocryphal Literature I owe much to Dr. Lawlor in *Journal of Philology*, xxv (1897) 164-225.)

§ 11. INFLUENCE ON NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE.

B. Doctrines in *Enoch* which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines, or are at all events necessary to the comprehension of the latter.

(a) The nature of the Messianic kingdom and of the future life.

(b) The Messiah.

(c) Sheol and the Resurrection.

(d) Demonology.

(a) *The Kingdom.* We shall only deal with one incident coming under this head; it is found in the three Synoptists: Matt. xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-36. This incident can only be rightly understood from *Enoch*. When the Sadducees said, 'Whose wife shall she be of them; for the seven had her to wife,' they are arguing from the sensuous conception of the Messianic kingdom—and this was no doubt the popular one—given in *1 Enoch* i-xxxvi, according to which its members, including the risen righteous, were to enjoy every good thing of earth, and to have each a thousand children. The Sadducees thought thereby to place this young prophet on the horns of a dilemma, and oblige Him to confess either that there was no resurrection of the dead, or else that polygamy or polyandry would be practised in the coming kingdom. But the dilemma proves invalid; and the conception of the future life portrayed in our Lord's reply tallies almost exactly in thought, and partially in word, with that described in *1 En.* xci-civ, according to which there is to be a resurrection indeed, but a resurrection of the spirit, and the risen righteous are to rejoice 'as the angels of heaven' (*1 En.* civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25), being 'companions of the hosts of heaven' (*1 En.* civ. 6).

(b) *The Messiah.* The Messiah is referred to in xc. 37, 38. He is represented as the head of the Messianic community out of which he proceeds, but he has no special rôle to fulfil, and his presence in that description seems due merely to literary reminiscence. This Messiah-reference exercised no influence on New Testament conceptions. But with regard to the Messiah described in the Parables the case is very different. Four titles applied for the first time in literature to the

personal Messiah in the Parables are afterwards reproduced in the New Testament. These are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Elect One', and 'the Son of Man'.

Christ or the Anointed One. This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlviii. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David.

The Righteous One. This title, which occurs in Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14 (cp. 1 John ii. 1), first appears in 1 Enoch as a Messianic designation; see 1 En. xxxviii. 2; liii. 6. Righteousness is one of the leading characteristics of the Messiah, xlv. 3.

The Elect One. This title likewise appearing first in 1 En. xl. 5; xlv. 3-4; xlix. 2, 4; li. 3, 5, &c., passes over into the New Testament, Luke ix. 35; xxiii. 35, 'The Christ, the Elect One.' In the Old Testament we find 'Mine Elect', Isa. xlii. 1, but not 'the Elect One'.

The Son of Man. This definite title (see notes on xlv. 2, 3) is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents. For an account of the relations between the Enochic and New Testament uses of this title, we must refer to the Appendix on 'The Son of Man' at the close of the book.

(c) *Sheol.* If we except the Psalms we have in 1 Enoch the first instances in which this word is found in its New Testament signification. For the history of this word and its meanings, see note on lxii. 10. Observe that x. 6, 13 refers to an abyss of fire prepared for Semjaza and his angels (cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 4, 13-15).

It is further interesting to note that the writer of xci-civ delivers himself of a sustained polemic in cii. 4-civ. 9 against the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol, and the fact that this writer in xci. 4 borrows Sirach i. 25 makes it probable that the immediate book he had in view is Sirach, which enforces dogmatically and repeatedly the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

The Resurrection. This doctrine, which is first taught beyond possibility of doubt in Dan. xii, though a true exegesis will find many intimations of the doctrine in earlier books, was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch. For the various forms this doctrine assumed, see note on li. 1.

(d) *The Demonology* of 1 Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament.

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, are the angelic Watchers who fell from lusting after the daughters of men, and whose fall and punishment are recounted in 1 En. vi-xvi. They have always been imprisoned in darkness from the time of their fall.

(β) Demons. These are, according to 1 En. xvi. 1, the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. These demons were to work moral ruin on the earth without hindrance till the final judgement as disembodied spirits.

So in the New Testament. The demons are disembodied spirits, Matt. xii. 43-5; Luke xi. 24-6. They are not punished till the final judgement: Matt. viii. 29, 'Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?' They are subject to Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8.

(γ) Satan appears in Enoch as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil, yet a kingdom subject to the Lord of Spirits. He led astray the angels and made them his subjects, liv. 6; lxix. 5. A Satan also led astray Eve, lxix. 6. The Satans (as in Job) can still appear in heaven, xl. 7. The functions of the Satans are threefold: they tempted to evil, lxix. 4, 6; they accused the fallen, xl. 7; they punished the condemned as angels of punishment, liii. 3; lvi. 1.

So in the New Testament there is the counter-kingdom of sin, Matt. xii. 26; Luke xi. 18; 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?' Satan led astray the angels, Rev. xii. 4, and led astray man, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The demons are subjects of Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8. The functions of Satan are tempting, Matt. iv. 1-12; Luke xxii. 31; accusing, Rev. xii. 10; punishing, 1 Cor. v. 5, where impenitent sinners are delivered over to Satan for punishment.

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(b) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

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- In 1860, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 1), vol. xii. 308-10, he recognized the separate authorship of xxxvii-lxxi, and its priority to the rest of the book.
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(c) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

See under Translations, § 12 (a) i.

LAURENCE.
 DILLMANN.
 SCHODDE.
 CHARLES.

BEER.
 FLEMMING and RADERMACHER.
 MARTIN.
 CHARLES.

§ 13. ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF 1 ENOCH.

a, b, c, d, &c., denote the Ethiopic MSS.

a denotes the earlier Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *g₁ g m q t u*.

β denotes the later Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *a b c d, &c.* (i. e. from *a* to *z₁ a₁ b*, with the exception of the earlier MSS.).

E denotes the Ethiopic Version.

G^a denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of *8^b-9^b* there are two forms of the text, *G^{s1} G^{s2}*.

G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmim, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.

Two special brackets are used in the translation of 1 Enoch:

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in *G^g* but not in *E*.

⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in *E* but not in *G^g* or *G^a*.

BOOK OF ENOCH

SECTION I. CHAPTERS I—XXXVI

INTRODUCTION

I-V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

- 1** ¹ The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect ² and ³ righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked ⁴ and godless ⁵ are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, ⁶ which ⁷ the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up ⁸ my ⁹ parable concerning them :

- The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
⁴ And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai,
 [And appear from His camp]
 And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven ¹⁰ of heavens ¹¹.
⁵ And all shall be smitten with fear,
 And the Watchers shall quake,
 And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.
⁶ And the high mountains shall be shaken,
 And the high hills shall be made low,
 And shall melt like wax before the flame.

- I. 1. **The blessing of Enoch.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1, 'the blessing of Moses.'
the elect and righteous. This phrase is found also in xxxviii. 2, 3, 4, xxxix. 6, 7, xlvi. 1, lviii. 1, 2, lx. 13, lxiii. 12, 13, 15, lxx. 3.
day . . . removed. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (a citation?).
all the wicked. Here Gk. reads *πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς* = כל־הצרים corrupt for כל־הרעים. So E.
removed + 'and the righteous will be saved' Gg.
². **took up his parable, &c.** So Gg. Cf. Num. xxiv. 3, 4, whence also 'eyes were opened' (of Balaam).
saw. 'had' Gg, corrupt.
the Holy One. See verse 3. The change from the first to the third person, as here, is frequent in this book.
 Cf. xii. 1-3, xxxvii. 1, 2, lxx. 1, 3, lxxi. 5, xcii. 1, and esp. xci-civ.
to come + 'do I speak' Gg.
³. **the elect.** This designation belongs mainly to the Parables. It occurs in i. 8, v. 7, xxv. 5, xl. 5, xli. 2, xlvi. 1, 9, li. 5, lvi. 6, 8, lviii. 3, lxi. 4, 12, lxii. 7, 8, 11, xciii. 2.
^{3b-9}. A poem consisting of tristichs. The discovery of this structure is helpful in the restoration of the text, especially in stanzas 1 and 7.
Holy Great One. So Gg, E always has 'Holy and Great One'. Also in x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 6, civ. 9. God is called simply 'The Holy One' in i. 2, xciii. 11; and 'The Great One' in xiv. 2, ciii. 4, civ. 1 (twice).
come forth from His dwelling. Mic. i. 3, Isa. xxvi. 21, Ass. Mos. x. 3.
the eternal God = אלהי העולם, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος. Cf. Gen. xxi. 33, Isa. xl. 28, Rom xvi. 26. This could also be translated 'God of the world'. Cf. lviii. 4, lxxi. 10, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2; also xii. 3, lxxxi. 3 ('Lord, King . . . of the world').
⁴. Sinai, where the law was given, will be the place of future judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxviii. 17. Verses 4-9 all deal with the final judgement.
upon the earth Gg, 'thence' E.
 [And appear from His camp]. So Gg, a needless repetition after 'from his dwelling'. It spoils the parallelism. E has 'and appear with His hosts'.
⁵. **Watchers.** Here and in x. 9, 15, xii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xci. 15 = fallen angels. In xii. 2, 3, xx. 1, xxxix. 12, 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12, lxxi. 7 = archangels. The name first occurs in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23. The Greek here inaptly inserts the singing of the Watchers (see 2 En. xviii).
quake E, 'believe' Gg.
⁶. Cf. O.T.; e.g. Ps. xcvi. 5, Mic. i. 4, and Ass. Mos. x. 4.
shaken + 'shall fall and be dissolved' Gg.
made low + 'so that the mountains shall waste away' Gg.

7 And the earth shall be 'wholly' rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).

8 But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall 'all' be blessed.

'And He will help them all',
And light shall appear unto them,
'And He will make peace with them'.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of 'His' holy ones
To execute judgement upon all,
And to destroy 'all' the ungodly:

And to convict all flesh
Of all the works 'of their ungodliness' which they have ungodly committed,
'And of all the hard things which' ungodly sinners 'have spoken' against Him.

2₁ Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, 'and' the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, 'how steadfast they are', how 'none of the things upon earth' change, 'but' all the works of God appear 'to you'. Behold the summer and the winter, 'how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.'

3 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees 'seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5₁ Observe yeⁿ how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed 'and know' with regard to all 'His works', and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

2 And 'all' His works go on 'thus' from year to year 'for ever', and all the tasks which they

8. will make peace. See v. 4 (note).

the righteous. i. 7, 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxviii. 3, xxxix. 4, xliii. 4, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, xlviii. 1, 7, 9, l. 2, liii. 7, lvi. 7, lviii. 3, 5, lx. 2, lxi. 3, lxii. 3, lxxxii. 4, xciv. 3, 11, xcvi. 3, 7, xcvi. 1, 8, xcvi. 1, 3, 5, xcvi. 12-14, xcix. 3, c. 5, 7, 10, cii. 4, 10, ciii. 1, civ. 1, 6, 12, 13.

will protect, &c. So E. Gg has ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις. Cf. Wisd. iv. 15.

they shall be prospered. τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς Gg, corrupt for εὐδοκίαν as in Sir. xliii. 26.

light. Cf. xxxviii. 4. This 7th stanza is restored from the Greek. E omits two clauses of the tristich.

9. Quoted by St. Jude 14, 15; Pseudo-Cyprian (ed. Hartel iii. 67); Pseudo-Vigilius (Migne lxii. col. 363). The Greek supplies the defects in the Ethiopic, i.e. 'His', 'all', 'of their ungodliness' and hard words which 'have spoken'. Cf. v. 4, xxvii. 2, ci. 3. For a full discussion of the literary problem see my edition of Enoch in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part xi, pages 5 and 7. The Greek, however, has ὅτι wrongly for ἰδοὺ, and a dittograph in the last clause of stanza 9.

Ten thousands of His holy ones. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. vii. 10. The angels are so called in xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxx. 5, ciii. 2, cvi. 19, as already in Job v. 1, xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13. They are called 'holy angels' in xx. 1-7, xxi. 5, 9, xxii. 3, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 2, xxxii. 6, lxxi. 8, xciii. 2. And 'holy ones of heaven' in ix. 3. For other names see vi. 2 (note).

II. In ii-v. 3 the order of nature is contrasted with the disorder of man's world. In Test. Naph. iii. 2, 3, men are told to observe God's law as sun, moon, and stars observe their appointed order, and the Watchers who left their natural order are held up as a warning. Cf. Sirach xvi. 26-28, Pss. Sol. xviii. 12-14.

2. steadfast: 'corruptible' Gg, possibly a misreading of נכלים as נבלים.

3. The Hebrews had two seasons only, Summer and Winter. Cf. Gen. viii. 22, Isa. xviii. 6, Zech. xiv. 8.

III. On the fourteen evergreen trees see Geoponica xi. 1. The twelve trees (see my Greek Verss. of Test. of xii Patr., pp. 248, 249) for use with sacrifices have nothing to do with this list here. The Greek has lost iii. 1^{b-v}. 1^a through homoeoteleuton.

V. 2. all the tasks . . . change not 'all His works serve Him and change not' E.

accomplish for Him, and 'their tasks' change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and 'change not' their tasks 'from His commandments'.

4 But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the 'years of your destruction' shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.

6a In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,

b And by you shall 'all' who curse, curse,
'And all' the sinners 'and godless' shall imprecate by you,

7c And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

6d 'And all the . . . shall rejoice,

e And there shall be forgiveness of sins,

f And every mercy and peace and forbearance :

g There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

i And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,

j But on you all shall abide a curse'.

7a But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,

b And they shall inherit the earth.

8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride :
But they who are wise shall be humble.

9 And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

4. the commandments of the Lord. Cf. xcix. 2 'the eternal law'.

of the Lord : 'His' G^g.

proud and hard words. See i. 9, note, and Cf. Ps. xii. 4 : Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20. The charge of blasphemy is frequent in xci-civ, e.g. xci. 7, 11.

greatness + 'for ye have spoken with your lies' G^g, a gloss.

hard-hearted. Cf. xcvi. 11, c. 8 'obstinate of heart'.

ye shall find no peace. This phrase occurs only in i-xxxvi and xci-civ, v. 4, xii. 5, xiii. 1, xvi. 4, xciv. 6, xcvi. 11, 15, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, and cf. i. 8. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21.

5. shall perish G^g. 'ye shall destroy' E, corruptly.

6. ye shall make your names E (lit. 'give'). 'your names shall be' G^g. Read perhaps 'ye shall leave', &c., as in Isa. lxxv. 15.

by you . . . curse G^g. 'you shall the sinners curse' E, wrongly. For G^g cf. Ps. cii. 9. G^g adds five lines, of which one or two only can be original. I have transferred 7c, so as to give three parallel tetrastichs in 6, 7.

7. The temporal blessings promised in the O.T., cf. Ps. xxxvii. 11, are here renewed, but the writer has forsaken O.T. ground on the question of Sheol and the Resurrection.

joy E, 'grace' G^g.

8. bestowed upon the elect wisdom. See xlii. 1, 2. G^g adds in this verse doublets from 7^{ao} 8^a.

wise . . . humble seems suspicious. G^g adds largely, and omits 'humble'.

9. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 20, 22, Zech. viii. 4 ; 1 En. xxv. 4, 5 (note).

Sin G^g. 'be judged' E, another meaning of ܫܝܢ.

increased, multiplied. Cf. Gen. i. 22, &c., but here of spiritual expansion.

VI-XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralization of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom—* (a Noah fragment).

6¹ And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children.' And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then sware they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended 'in the days' of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samiâzâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabiêl, Tâmiêl, Râmiêl, Dâniêl, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjal, Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârêl, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêêl, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâêl, Sariêl. These are their chiefs of tens.

VI-XI. These chapters are abruptly introduced. See introduction. vi. 3-8, viii. 1-3, ix. 7, x. 11 belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As in lxix. 2 he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form when lxxxviii-lxxxix. 1 were written. Again, x. 1-3 belongs to an Apocalypse of Noah, many fragments of which occur in Enoch. Syncellus gives an additional fragment of it after x. 3. Indeed, vi-xi is all Noachic; cf. Jub. vii. 21-25, and my edition of Jubilees lxxi seq., 264. xii-xvi, however, belong to the Book of Enoch.

VI. 2. **children of the heaven.** Cf. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xxxix. 1. See xv. 1-7. Cf. 'sons of the holy angels' lxxi. 1, and note.

The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1-4: 'the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men.' This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian (?) myth to the effect that before Zoroaster's coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women (Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 382, 560). The original LXX rendering for 'sons of God' was ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, as in Philo, *de Gigantibus*, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. 5, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose. On the myths see Grünbaum in *ZDMG* xxxi. 225 ff., and for statements dependent on this account in Enoch, or harmonizing with it, cf. Jub. iv. 15, v. 1 seqq.; Test. Reub. v. 6, 7, Test. Naph. iii. 5, 2 En. vii, xviii, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Joseph, *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Philo, *de Gigantibus*; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 5; Ps. Clement, *Hom.* viii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 10; Tert. *de Virg. Veland.* vii; *Adv. Marcion.* v. 18; *De Idol.* ix; Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15; Commodian, *Instruct.* i. 3. In the *De Civ. Dei* xv. 23 Augustine combats this view and denies the inspiration of Enoch which Tertullian had upheld.

saw and >G^s.

4. And they >G^s.

and said >G^s.

6. in the days of Jared see cvi. 13. So the Greek; the Ethiopic is corrupt. We thus get two paronomasiae in the Hebrew: Jared, and ירד 'descend', and Hermon and הרם 'a curse'. For the tradition cf. Orig. *Comment. in Ioann.* tom. viii, p. 132, ed. Huet.; Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 4, ed. Petav., tom. i, p. 4; Hilary, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3.

The reasons for the angels' descent in the Book of Jubilees differ from those given in this chapter. There in iv and v it is said that the Watchers were sent to earth by God 'to instruct the children of men to do judgement and uprightness', and that when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men. Cf. Test. Reub. v. 6. In 1 Enoch the angels are said to have descended because of their lust, and the same reason is given in Jalkut Shim. *Beresh.* 44. See Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 253.

The Book of Jubilees has an implicit polemic against this and other statements of Enoch. In later tradition Azazel could not return to heaven because he had outstayed the seven days' limit assigned to angelic visitants to earth.

7. This list is incomplete, as a name has been lost after Tûrêl.

Samîâzâz: possibly שמעון or שמחזאי (cf. Shamchazai in Targ. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3).

Râmêêl: probably corrupt for Arakiêl as in G^s. In viii. 3 G^s says of Arakiêl, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now in Aramaic ערץ = 'earth', and thus his duties are reflected in his name. He is mentioned as unfallen in Sib. Or. ii, 215-217.

Kôkabiêl = 'star of God'.

Tâmiêl = 'perfection of God'.

Râmiêl: see 2 Bar. lv. 3, Sib. Or. ii, 215-217.

Êzêqêêl: in viii. 3 G^s says ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν; thus his name describes his function, as קחש = ἀήρ

(2 Kings xxii. 12).

Barâqîjal = 'lightning of God'.

Armârôs or Pharmaros (G^s), Arearôs (G^s). In viii. 3 G^s says he ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἐπαοιδίς . . . καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον: the name thus may come from חבר, a spell or incantation, and be Abarôs or something similar.

Samsâpêêl. G^s in viii. 3 assigns to the 7th τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου. So the name should be Shamshiel. For the sun-god Shamash see *K.A.T.*⁸ 367-370.

Tûrêl = 'rock of God'.

Jômjâêl = 'day of God'.

Sariêl, Arâzjâl (E), Esdrêl (viii. 3). G^s (viii. 3) assigns him τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, so these forms are corrupt for Sariel (G^s) סריר = 'moon'. G^s gives Sariel in viii. 3 but Atriel here.

8. chiefs of tens. G^s has ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα, an Aramaic construction = our text. Cf. xix. 2 G.

- 7¹ And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to **defile** themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.
- 8¹ And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them **the metals** (of the earth) and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, 'Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqîjâl (taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the constellations, Êzêqêêl **the knowledge of the clouds**, (Araqîêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs of the sun), and Sariêl the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven . . .
- Q. Sariêl 9¹ And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another: 'The earth made †without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings† up to the gates of heaven. 3 "And now to you, the holy ones of heaven", the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause

VII. The Ethiopic and Greek vary considerably in this and the eighth chapter. The notes of time in the Greek are due to later hands.

1. **charms and enchantments.** Cf. Wisdom xii. 4, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5.

2. **great giants.** For further references to these cf. Wisdom xiv. 6, Tob. vi. 14, Sir. xvi. 7, 1 Bar. iii. 26, 3 Macc. ii. 4, Jubilees vii. 22, 23.

three thousand ells. Syncellus omits the height, and the misdeeds of the giants (verses 3–6), but adds 'And they bare unto them three kinds (of offspring); first, great giants. And the giants †begot the Naphilim and to the Naphilim were† born the Eliud. And they grew according to their greatness'. The Eth. and the Gk. have lost this from the original. Jub. vii. 21–22 is based on this passage and enables us to correct 'begot' and 'were born' to 'slew'. Also in vii. 24 Jub. quotes most of viii. 5. Cf. E and G^s (omitted by G^s). Thus both lines of text E G^s and G^s are here defective. The three classes of giants go back to Gen. vi. 4; cf., too, 1 En. lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2 and Jub. vii. 21, 22 (Giants, Nâphil, Eljô).

5. **drink the blood.** With the Jews a great crime. Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32–34; Acts xv. 20; Jub. vii. 28, xxi. 6, 1 En. xcvi. 11.

one another's flesh. One class of giants destroyed another. Cf. Jub. vii. 22.

VIII. 1. **Azâzêl.** See note on vi–xi, also x. 4 note. The origin of the name is unknown. See *Encyc. Bib. in loc.* Azâzêl here is first in order and tenth in command according to Syncellus, who alone adds a number. He calls Semjâzâ the *πρώταρχος* in verse 3.

metals . . . antimony, &c. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2; ii. 10 ('ut Enoch refert'), where he follows this passage closely. Cf., too, Test. Reub. v. 5, 6; Isa. iii. 16–24. The Ethiopic misread *μέταλλα* (G^s) as *μετ' αὐτά*, G^s as *μεγάλα*.

the metals of the earth G^s. So E on repeating the phrase in a doublet. G^s ends this verse: 'And the children of men made (them) for themselves and their daughters and transgressed and led astray the holy ones.' This contradicts our Noachic text, and agrees with Jub. and Test. xii Patr. where the women by these arts seduce the angels.

2–3. The variations between the Eth. and G^s are here numerous.

2. **and they committed . . . astray** > G^s.

3. **resolving of enchantments.** Dan. v. 12; cf. 1 En. xcv. 4 'anathemas that cannot be resolved'.

astrology. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* Dind. iii. 474 'Ενώχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάτας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.

Several of these names correspond to the functions. See vi. 7 (notes). G^s alone gives us the complete list, and he gives their numbers not their names, according to their order in vi. 7.

Êzêqêêl. E reads Tâmiêl wrongly here (See vi. 7, note), G^s has Sathêl, and G^s E *ἀστεροσκοπίαν* for *ἀεροσκοπίαν*. After viii. 3 G^s introduces 'after this the giants began to devour men's flesh', and this leads up to viii. 4, the cry of men.

4. **to heaven** + 'saying Bring our cause before the Most High and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in greatness' G^s 2. Cf. ix. 3.

IX. 1. **And then** (E), 'then' G^s, + 'the four great archangels hearing' G^s 12.

The Eth. has Surjan and Urjan, i.e. Suriel and Uriel. For Suriel the Greek has Raphael, thus giving us the usual four archangels. See xl. 2 (note).

looked down from heaven. Ps. xiv. 2.

2. **the earth . . . heaven:** 'the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven' G^s.

without inhabitant. Cf. lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5; Test. Naph. iii. 5.

3. **and now . . . heaven.** Lost in G^s 12 through hmt.

holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

4 before the Most High." And they said to the Lord of the ages: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, (and God of the ages), the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the 5 ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou: and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all 6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which 7 men were striving to learn: And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over 8 his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the 9 women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have 10 borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended: and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are 11 wrought on the earth. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.'

1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, 2 and said to him: '<Go to Noah and> tell him in my name "Hide thyself!" and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come 3 upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape 4 and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.' And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening 5 in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged

Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

4. The angels' prayer is fuller in G^s, and a still more rhetorical form of it occurs in lxxxiv. 2, 3. For angelic intercession see v. 10 note.

Lord of the ages. So G^{s1}. Lord of the kings E, >G^{s2}. <and God of the ages> G^{s12}.

5. **power over all things** EG^s, 'all power' G^s.
and nothing . . . seest. Lost in G^s through hmt.

6. **revealed . . . to learn**, G^s. E corrupt, but easily emended to our text. For ἔγνωσαν G^s we read γινῶναι as G^s suggests. G^s 'revealed to the world the things which are (preserved) in heaven. And the children of men are practising his practices in order to know the mysteries'.

the eternal secrets, &c. What these are is not told.

7. <and> G^s. Semjaza is the leader in this verse, as Azazel in verse 6. See note on vi-xi.

8-9. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι—γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἠττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἱ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες—καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας—καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἐσπείραν.

8. **with the women** >G^s.

The Eth. contains an Aramaism μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν which has led G^s to add a verb ἐμάνθησαν, and G^s to omit μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν.

all kinds of sins + 'and have taught them to make hate-producing charms' G^s, or reading μισητίαν for μίσσητρα, 'to practise lewdness'.

9. **Giants.** τιτᾶνας G^s, γίγαντας G^s.

10. **cannot cease**, &c. ἐξέλθειν, E G^s=פרימל corrupt for פרימל='cease'.

The angels' intercession on men's behalf, as in this chapter and also in xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 1, is an O.T. doctrine; cf. Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23; Zech. i. 12. It was evidently a popular doctrine. Cf. Tobit xii. 12 (contrast Acts x. 4), xii. 15; Rev. viii. 3; Test. Levi iii. 5 and v. 6, 7 (see my full note on doctrine 200 B.C.—A.D. 100, T. Levi iii. 5).

11. **seest** G^s, 'knowest' E.

suffer them. So Greek texts, misread by E τὰ εἰς for ἐῖς.

X. 1 <said> >E.

the Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

the Holy and Great One (E). See i. 3 (note). 'And the Great Holy One' G^s.

Uriel. So G^s, G^s has Istraël. E is corrupt.

son of Lamech, i.e. Noah.

2. <Go to Noah and> G^s; original, as each command begins with 'Go'. Cf. x. 4, 9, 11 in G^s.

Hide thyself; i.e. to receive further disclosures from the angel. Cf. xii. 1, 2.

3. G^s is much fuller. 'Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, from the son of Lamech, and he will preserve his soul unto life and escape through the world, and from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world.'

of the world G^s n >E-n.

4-8. Raphael's task—to remove Azazel and heal the earth; Uriel's task is given in 1-3, Gabriel's in 9-10, Michael's in 11-12.

4. Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in v. 11, Semjaza), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda (Joma, vi. 8). This Beth Chaduda (= 'Dudael' of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Cf. Lev. xvi. 10, 22. On Semjaza and Azazel see Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3, where both names occur and the myth is given. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

5. **upon him**, 'under him' Gk. wrongly. Cf. liv. 5.

- rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may
 6, 7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the
 earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal
 the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the
 8 Watchers have **disclosed** and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted
 9 through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' And to Gabriel said the
 Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication:
 and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and
 cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in
 10 battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make
 of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and
 11 that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, **bind**
 Semjâzâ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves
 12 with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have
 seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the **valleys**
 of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is
 13 for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: (and)
 14 to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be
condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all
 15 generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because
 16 they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work
 come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: 'and it shall prove a blessing;
 the works of righteousness and truth¹ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.
 17 And then shall all the righteous escape,
 And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
 And all the days of their youth and their **old age**
 Shall they complete in peace.

for ever, i.e. *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, may denote various periods, according to the context in which it is used. Here it equals seventy generations (cf. v. 12); in v. 10 five hundred years; elsewhere again an unending period.

For verses 5 and 12 cf. Jude 6.

6. **day of the great judgement** G^s, 'great day of judgement' E. See xlv. 2 (note). This judgement inaugurates the final judgement of the angels.

the fire. See xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10; 2 Bar. xlv. 15, xlviii. 39, lix. 2.

7. Raphael's name suggests 'healing'. Cf. Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14.

healing of the earth E G^s, 'healing of the plague' G^s.

the plague G^s, 'the earth' E.

disclosed G^s, 'smitten' E G^s.

8. Note how all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels.

works that were taught G^s, 'teaching of the works' E.

9, 10. Gabriel to destroy the giants. The account here is closely followed by Jubilees v. 6-11. The giants slay one another in the presence of their parents; cf. xiv. 6, and v. 12 here. The parents are then bound in the earth's abysses, and their power of hurting the earth is at an end; cf. xiv. 5. But it is not so with the spirits of the giants. They enjoy an impunity in wrong-doing until the final judgement. See xv. 11-xvi. 1.

9. **[the children . . . and]** >G^s, dittograph in E.

[and cause . . . forth] dittograph in E of 'send'.

send . . . battle, 'send . . . war' G^s.

10. **an eternal life**, i.e. five hundred years. See v. 5 (note). As to the prayer of the fallen angels, cf. xii. 6, xiii. 4-6, xiv. 7.

11. This verse describes Michael's task, which is distinct from that of Gabriel. Cf. lxxviii. 3 which is distinct from lxxviii. 2.

the Lord >G^s.

bind. So G^s, 'show' G^s and E, i.e. *δηλώσον* for *δησον*.

united . . . with them. Jub. iv. 22.

12. **their sons:** 'all these sons' E, 'all' being corrupt as often in E for def. art.

The binding of the angels in the valleys has been altered in E to 'in the hills' as in the Greek myths of the Titans. For the valley see lxvii. 4 sqq. and cf. Jub. v. 10 'in the depths of the earth', and Jude 6 *ὑπὸ ζόφον*.

seventy generations. This period has no connexion with the Apocalypse of Weeks.

13. **abyss of fire**, i.e. the same as that mentioned in v. 6, xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24. Cf. Rev. xx. 10, 14, 15 'lake of fire', and Matt. xxv. 41.

14. **condemned** G^s. *κατακασθῇ* G^s E. corrupt for *κατακριθῇ*.

all generations E, 'the ('their' G^s) generation' G^s. Here G^s ends.

15. Gabriel is given this charge in v. 9.

16. **plant of righteousness**, i.e. Israel. Israel springs from a seed that 'is sown' by God, lxii. 8: hence it is established as 'a plant of the seed for ever', lxxiv. 6; is called 'the plant of uprightness', xciii. 2; the plant of righteousness, xciii. 5; the eternal plant of righteousness, xciii. 10; and 'the plant of righteous judgement', xciii. 5.

17. The writer wanders off to a very sensuous picture of Messianic bliss; cf. xxv. 4 (note).

old age. The reading (E and G^s) 'Sabbath' is due to a corruption in the original Aramaic or Hebrew.

- 18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and
 19 be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it:
 and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which
 is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield
 20 ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness,
 and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth
 21 destroy from off the earth. 'And all the children of men shall become righteous', and all nations
 22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed
 from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will
 never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.
- 11 1 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send
 2 them down 'upon the earth' over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace
 shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations
 of men.'

XII-XVI. *Dream-Vision of Enoch: his Intercession for Azazel and the fallen Angels: and
 his Announcement of their first and final Doom.*

- 12 1 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was
 2 hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the
 Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.
 3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of **majesty** and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers
 4 called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me: 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare†
 to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled
 themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves

18. shall all be planted with trees E, 'and a tree shall be planted in it' G^g.

18, 19. Cf. O.T. prophecies, Amos ix. 13, 14; Hos. ii. 22, 23; Jer. xxxi. 5; Isa. xxv. 6; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 26, 27.

19. G^g corrupt.

each measure shall bear. Contrast Isa. v. 10, and cf. the chiliastic expectations of Papias in Iren. *adv.*
Haer. v. 33. Cf., too, 2 Bar. xxix. 5.

20. The cleansing is by the Messianic kingdom probably, not by the deluge.

oppression E, 'impurity' G^g.

20, 21. from off . . . righteous E >G^g.

21. The conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. xc. 30 (note), xci. 14.

22. the earth E, 'all the earth' G^g.

XI. concludes an account of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 12.

upon the earth >G^g.

2. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 10; Isa. xxxii. 17.

of men G^g, ἀνάνων E †for ἀνθρώπων.

XII-XVI. The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. Cf. lxxviii-lxxx, xci-xciv. As Enoch
 can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in x is not yet carried out. The original order was: Enoch was
 asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in xiii. 1-2; then to intercede for the Watchers, xiii. 3, xii. 3,
 xiii. 4-7, vision in xiii. 8, answer to the Watchers xiii. 9-10. This second vision is given at length, with God's
 revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom, xiv. 2-xvi. 2. The closing message of doom for the Watchers
 in xvi. 3-4 is a duplicate of xii. 4-6, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Thus the original
 order would be xiv. 1 . . . , xiii. 1-2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2, xii. 4-6 || xvi. 3-4. xii. 1-2 is an editorial
 introduction. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels: in the Noah section angels intercede
 for men (ix. 3, 4), but not for angels (lxviii. 3, Noachic).

XII. 1. Before these things, before the angels' intercession for men (ix) and God's doom (x) on the Watchers.
 was hidden E, 'was taken' G^g, to receive the following revelation. Cf. x. 2. Enoch is still living, and not finally
 translated from earth as yet. As man he writes the petition for the fallen angels (xiii. 6); receives a vision in sleep,
 and is transported in spirit unto heaven (xiv. 2); speaks with a tongue of flesh (xiv. 2); and is terrified, like a mortal
 man, at the presence of God (xiv. 24).

2. holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

Watchers. See i. 5 (note).

3. of majesty G^g. So E by the slightest change.

King of the ages. See i. 3 (note). Watchers E, + 'of the Holy Great one' G.

called. Enoch is really asked to intercede. So read this verse after xiii. 3.

the scribe. Cf. xcii. 1. Enoch is further called the scribe of righteousness (xii. 4, xv. 1), because he is himself
 a righteous man (xv. 1, lxxi. 14-16) and also declares the righteous judgement that is coming (xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, 'xxxi. 6,
 lxxxii. 1, &c.).

4-6. Really the close of xii-xvi. See note above.

4. Cf. Jude 6. † declare E, G^g 'and say', correctly. Cf. xvi. 4.

have left. Cf. xv. 3.

the holy eternal place E, 'the holiness of the eternal place' G^g.

5 wives: "Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgive-
6 ness of sin: and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in† their† children, The murder of †their†
beloved ones shall† they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall† they† lament, and
shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."

13 ¹ And Enoch went and said: 'Azâzêl, thou shalt have no peace: a severe sentence has gone forth
² against thee to put thee in bonds: And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee,
because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness
³ and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.' Then I went and spoke to them all
⁴ together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to
draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence
⁵ of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their
⁶ eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their
petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their
⁷ requests that they should have forgiveness and length†. And I went off and sat down at the waters
of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon: I read their petition till I fell
⁸ asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of
chastisement, 'and a voice came bidding (me)† to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.
⁹ And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in
¹⁰ 'Abelsjâîl, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. And I recounted before
them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and
to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

14 ¹ The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance
² with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with
a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to
³ converse therewith and understand with the heart. As He has created and given "to man the power of
understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given" me the power of reprimanding
⁴ the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus,
that your petition will not be granted unto you "throughout all the days of eternity, and that judge-

Ye have G^g, 'and have' E.

5. And ye G^g, 'and they' E.

no peace. Cf. v. 4, xiii. 1.

5, 6. †they, †their. Read 'ye', 'your'.

6. Cf. x. 10, 12, xiv. 6.

XIII. 1. Azazel addressed in conformity with x. 4. Message of his doom. See xii-xvi (note).

went and said E, 'said "Go"' G^g.

no peace xvi. 4, v. 4.

bonds x. 4.

2. †request. Read 'rest'.

4, 5. As the angels could not address God nor lift up their eyes to heaven, Enoch is besought to become their
intercessor. As a scribe, he draws up their petition in writing, and does not present it by word of mouth.

4. read G^g, 'take up' E.

6. †in regard to . . . length†. For 'length' read 'length of days', x. 9, 10.

7. waters of Dan. This river, called also the Little Jordan (Joseph, *Ant.* v. 3. 1, viii. 8. 4) is a tributary of the
Jordan. This place (from דן, to judge) is chosen because of the significance of its name here—judgement.

the west of Hermon E, 'Hermon of the West' G^g.

8. to tell . . . and reprimand E, 'Tell . . . to reprimand' G^g.

sons of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).

9. 'Abelsjâîl, perhaps Abilene אבילין, with a play on אבלין, 'mourning'.

10. Sênêsêr—Senir, a name of Hermon—Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8.

recounted G^g, 'spake' E.

reprimand, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'judge angels'.

heavenly Watchers. See i. 5 (note). The vision follows in xiv. 2-xvi. 2.

XIV. 1. A title for the section xii-xvi.

The book of the words G^g, 'This book is the word' E (rest of MSS.).

eternal, lit. 'who are from eternity', in the loose sense of that word. See x. 5 (note).

Holy Great one G^g, 'Holy and Great one' E. See i. 3 (note).

XIV. 2.-XVI. 2—the Vision.

2, 3. God has created man with a tongue for speech and a faculty of understanding, and so has created Enoch with
a power of reprimanding the eternal watchers.

tongue of flesh. Cf. lxxxiv. 1.

the Great One. Cf. ciii. 4, civ. 1.

and understand with the heart E, 'with understanding of the heart' G^g.

3. to man . . . and given >G^g, through hmt.

children of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).

4-7. Enoch's reprimand to the Watchers.

5 ment has been finally passed upon you : yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you¹. And from
 henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and 'in bonds' of the earth the decree
 6 has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And (that) previously you shall have seen
 the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before
 7 you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own :
 even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have
 8 written. And the vision was shown to me thus : Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist
 summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in
 9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew
 nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire : and it began to affright
 10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals :
 and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was
 11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were
 fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its
 12 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice : there
 13 were no delights of life therein : fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked
 14 and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo ! there was a second house, greater
 15 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And
 in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to
 17 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path
 18 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw 'therein' a lofty throne : its
 appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the **vision** of
 19 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look
 20 thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and
 21 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason
 22 of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about
 Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him : ten thousand times
 23 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no **counsellor**. And the most holy ones who were
 24 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on
 my face, trembling : and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me : 'Come hither,

5. Cf. xiii. 5. Also Athenagoras' *Apology*, xxv. 1 ; Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.
 in bonds of the earth G^s, 'on the earth' E. Read 'in bonds on the earth' or (cf. Lam. iii. 34) 'as prisoners of the earth'.

6. Cf. x. 9, xii. 6.
 pleasure in them. Cf. xii. 6. So G^s. E has 'ye shall not possess them'.
 7. **speak all the words**. I have emended μή into μὴ in G^s καὶ μὴν λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα (Cf. converse in x. 7 G^s).
 If we accept the negative and read λαχόντες for λαλοῦντες, we can take the phrase as an apodosis—'ye are not to be granted a single request', &c.

Iren. iv. 16. 2 refers to this passage and to Enoch's *legatio ad angelos*.
 8. **clouds invited me**. The expression is peculiar. Cf. perhaps Matt. xvii. 5. We should expect, however, some such idea as in Ps. xviii. 10, 11, civ. 3.

sped E, κατεσπούδαζον G^s. Cf. *Passio Perpetuae* xi.
 hastened ἐθορύβαζον G^sE. But θῆν in Heb. and Aram. means also 'hasten', cf. Dan. iv. 5.
 caused me to fly E=ἀνεπέρωσαν, G^s=ἐξέπετασαν. Perhaps read ἐξεπέρασαν, cf. Num. xi. 31.
 9-13. Enoch is carried up into heaven and passes within the outer court of God's palace.

10. **crystals**=hailstones. Cf. Isa. xxx. 30. (made) of crystals E. G^s has 'and they were all of snow'.
 13. **delights**=τρυφή. τροφή G^s.
 14. Cf. lx. 3, lxxi. 11 ; Ezek. i. 28 ; Dan. viii. 17, 18.
 15. The doors are open so that Enoch can describe what is within. G^s is corrupt.
 18-22. The writer draws on Isa. vi : Ezek. i. x. ; Dan. vii. 9, 10. This passage is used by the author of lxxi. 5-8.

18. **therein** > G^s.
 a lofty throne : Ezek. i. 26 ; Dan. vii. 9 ; 1 Kings xxii. 19 ; Isa. vi. 1 ; Ass. Mos. iv. 2 ; Test. Levi v. 1 ; Rev. iv. 2.
 vision. So I emend. E has 'voice' (ὁπός). G^s has opos corrupt for ὄρασις.

19. Dan. vii. 10.
 streams of flaming fire E, 'flaming streams of fire' G^s.
 20. **the Great Glory**. Cf. cii. 3 ; Test. Lev. iii. 4.
 whiter than, &c. Cf. Dan. vii. 9 ; Ps. civ. 2 ; Jam. i. 17 ; Rev. iv. 3.
 21. **enter** + 'into this house' G^s.
 by reason of the magnificence and glory G^s, 'of the Magnificent and Glorious One' E (cf. ciii. 1), but this seems corrupt.

22. **could draw nigh**. Cf. 3 Macc. ii. 15 ; 1 Tim. vi. 16.
 He needed no counsellor. Cf. Sir. xlii. 21, and 2 En. xxxiii. 4. E, with a slight change, gives our text. G^s has πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. 2 En. xxxiii. 4.

23. **the most holy ones** G^s, 'the holiness of the holy ones' E^a.
 'did not leave.' Contrast lxxi. 8.
 24. **prostrate** G^s. E is corrupt. Cf. Dan. viii. 17 ; 2 En. xxi. 2 ; Luke xxiv. 5.

25 Enoch, and hear my word.' 'And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me¹, and He made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.

- 15 ¹ And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to "the Watchers of heaven"², who have sent thee to intercede³ for them: "You should intercede⁴ for men, and not men for you: Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those 'also⁵ do who die and perish. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were 'formerly⁶ spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men⁷ and⁸ from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and⁹ evil spirits shall they be called. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, 'but nevertheless hunger¹⁰ and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded 'from them¹¹.
- 16 ¹ From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death 'of the giants¹, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great 'judgement¹ in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." And now as

hear my word G^s, 'to my holy word' E (ἀγίου for ἄκουσον).

25. bowed: so G^s, 'looked' E corruptly.

XV. 1. scribe of righteousness. See xii. 3 (note).

2. Watchers of heaven >G^s.

intercede. See ix. 10 (note).

for them.. intercede >G^s through hmt.

3. Cf. xii. 4; Jude 6.

4-7. For mortal man upon earth wedlock is appointed, to continue the race; but for immortal angels in heaven it involves pollution and guilt. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30, no marriage in heaven.

4. spiritual, living the eternal life E, 'and spirits, living, eternal' G^s.

as the children of men, 'with the blood of men' G^s E, i.e. כְּבָנֵי לְדָם for כְּבָנֵי.

lusted after + 'and made' E.

5. nothing.. to them. E^{tu} corrupt.

6. spiritual, &c. G^s as in v. 4.

8-9. The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, i.e. demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5; Tert. *Apol.* xxii. Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15 regards the demons as wicked angels and no more.

8. shall be called evil spirits E G^s; πνεύματα ἰσχυρά G^s, defective and corrupt.

9. from men G^s, 'from those above' G^s E.

beginning E + 'of their creation' G^s.

they shall be.. earth E G^s. > G^s.

10. G^s omits. The verse is only a repetition of 7, 8.

of the earth E, 'on the earth' G^s.

11. afflict: 'laying waste' G^s, 'clouds' E G^s, i.e. עננין corrupt for מענין = 'afflict'. The demons' evil activities will continue on the earth.

trouble E; δρόμους G^s, corrupt for τρόμους (?).

but nevertheless hunger G^s. >E + καὶ φάσματα ποιοῦντα G^s, perhaps rightly.

cause offences G^s, also E, easily corrected.

12. against the women E, 'of the women' G^s.

XVI. 1. The demons will not be punished until the final judgement, whereas the watchers are punished before and again at that judgement. This doctrine also appears in Jubilees x. 5-11, and in the N.T. Cf. Matt. viii. 29, 'to torment us before the time.'

of the giants E G^s >G^s + Ναφθαλείμ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνομαστοί G^s. Cf. Gen. vi. 4.

from the souls of whose flesh E^{eny} G^s. All texts are here corrupt, though ^{eny} are best.

consummation. See xlv. 2 (note).

2. Here we might read a quotation in Syncellus ending—'and these are from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers'. It limits the age of man to 120 years and so perhaps does belong to the lost Apocalypse of Noah. See my forthcoming Commentary on Enoch, pp. 14, 15.

to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been "aforetime in heaven", (say to them): "You have been in heaven, but 'all' the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

4 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."

XVII-XXXVI. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII-XIX. *The First Journey.*

17¹ And they took 'and brought' me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries 'and the treasures of the stars' and of the thunder, 'and' in the uttermost depths, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, 'and a fiery sword' and all the lightnings. And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great 'river and to the great' darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

18¹ I saw the treasures of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. "And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven", and have their station between heaven and earth: "these are the pillars

aforetime E > G^{ss}.

3. E wrongly inserts 'and now' at the beginning of 3.

all G^{ss} > E.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ed. Dindorf. iii. 9 is based on this statement.

4. no peace. See v. 4 (note).

XVII-XIX. These chapters are foreign to the rest of this section. They are full of Greek elements, e.g. Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus (xvii. 5, 6); the Ocean Stream (xvii. 5, 7, 8; xviii. 10); Hades in the West (xvii. 6).

Again xviii. 6-9 is a duplicate account of xxiv. 1-3; xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; and xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10.

Again xix. 1 contradicts x. 11-14; xiv. 5. How could the imprisoned angels (xv. 12-xvi) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

XVII. 1. and brought supplied from G^{ss}.

like flaming fire. Cf. Ps. civ. 4.

appeared as men. Cf. xix. 1, 'assuming many different forms', and 2 Cor. xi. 14.

2. of darkness G^{ss} ζοφώδη, 'of whirlwind' E = γνοφώδη. Cf. Job xxxvii. 9.

the point of E > G^{ss}.

3. places of the luminaries: perhaps the chambers of the sun and moon cf. xli. 5.

and the treasures of the stars supplied from G^{ss}.

of the thunder. Cf. xli. 3, xlv, lix, lx. 13-15 and notes.

in the uttermost depths. E is thus easily emended. G^{ss} has εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθῆ.

fiery bow, with which the lightnings are shot. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Hab. iii. 9; Lam. ii. 4, iii. 12.

arrows, i.e. lightnings. Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 17, 18.

and a fiery sword E. > G^{ss}. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 41.

4. took E, 'brought' G^{ss}.

The living waters G^{ss}, 'waters of life' E. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; and esp. Rev. xxii. 17.

fire of the west. See xxiii. (notes). This fire is not Gehenna as Enoch does not place that in the west.

receives E, παρέχον G^{ss}.

5. river of fire. The Pyriphlegethon.

great sea. Ὠκεανός.

towards the west E, 'of the west' G^{ss}.

6. I saw G^{ss}, 'and I saw' E, also in verses 7 and 8, &c. The omission of the copula suits the Aramaic idiom.

the great rivers. Are these the Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus?

river and to the great supplied from G^{ss}.

no flesh G^{ss}, 'all flesh' E.

7. the mountains of the darkness E. 'the winds of the darkness' G^{ss}.

8. The mouths, &c., i.e. Oceanus. Cf. 'the springs of the great deep' in Babylonian cosmogony: they are at the ends of the earth, and the mountains (cf. v. 7) are near by.

XVIII. 1. treasures of all the winds. See xxxiv-xxxvi, xli. 4 (note), lx. 11, 12.

foundations of the earth. Cf. O.T. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 15.

2. corner-stone. Job xxxviii. 6.

the earth and G^{ss} E, but a dittograph of ארבע 'four' in the Aramaic seems probable, misread ארעא 'earth'.

3. And I saw . . . heaven E, > G^{ss} through hmt.

These are . . . heaven > G^{ss} through hmt.

pillars of the heaven. Cf. Job. xxvi. 11 for the words but not the idea.

- 4 of the heaven⁷. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and
 5 all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw⁷ the paths
 6 of the angels. I saw⁷ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. And I proceeded
 and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones,
 7 three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, (one) was
 of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of **jacinth**, and those towards the south of red stone.
 8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the
 9, 10 throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains Is a region the
 11 end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns⁷ of
 heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns⁷ of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards
 12 the height and towards the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament
 of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no
 13 birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,
 14 and to me, when I inquired regarding them, The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and
 15 earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll
 over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of
 16 their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them,
 and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even)⁷ for ten thousand years¹.'
- 19 1 And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women,
 and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray
 into sacrificing to demons⁷ as gods⁷, (here shall they stand,) till⁷ the day of⁷ the great judgement in

4. winds which turn . . . the sun. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.

bring . . . to . . . setting. = *δύνοντας* (Active). *διανέοντας* G⁸ which Dillmann emends to *διανέοντας*, 'whirling'.

5. carrying the clouds (*ζ, β* only) explains the difficulties in Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 16. G⁸ *gmgmu* read 'in the cloud'.
 at the end of the earth the firmament. The firmament's ends rest on the earth's ends, cf. xxxiii. 2, while its
 vault is supported by the winds, xviii. 2, 3.

6-9. For the seven mountains see the other account in xxiv. 1-3. Also cf. Jubilees viii. 22.

6. proceeded + 'to the south' E. This addition is obviously wrong. The mountains are in the NW., lxxvii. 3,
 lxx. 3. Moreover, as three are towards the east and three towards the south, this *v.* (6) implies that the corner one
 must be in the NW.

and saw a place G⁸ > E which seems to have read *εἰς τὸν νότον* for *εἰδὸν τόπον*.

seven mountains. The Garden lies to the east of them xxxii. 1-2 and like them is in the NW. lxx. 3. Cf. too
 xxiv. 1-3 (the mountains), xxiv. sqq. (the Garden or at least the tree of life). See further lxxvii. 3, lx. 22, 23, lx. 8,
 xxxii. 1-3 for the Garden's position. For the number 'seven' cf. 4 Ezra vi. 42, 1 En. lxxvii. 5, 8. See full note in my
 new Comm. on 1 En. xviii. 6. With the mountains cf. those in lii. 2, liii. 7.

three¹⁰ E, > G⁸.

7. **jacinth** (?) *ἰάσεως* E, corrupt for (?) *ἰάσπιδος*, 'jasper'. But G⁸ has *ταθεν*. So *ἰακίνθου* or *ἰανθίνου* is more probably
 original. We can neither be sure of identifying the stones or discovering the source of the ideas in our text. But cf.
 Ezek. xxviii. 13.

8. like the throne of God. In xxv. 3 it *is* the throne of God. God's mountain is in the north in Isa. xiv. 13. Cf.
 Ezek. i. 4; Job xxxvii. 22. Cf. 'the holy mountain of God', Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.

alabaster. *φονκα* G⁸ = *נכס*.

sapphire. Ezek. i. 26.

9. a flaming fire. Cf. xxiv. 1.

And beyond these G⁸. E attests, but here as always misrenders, as *ἐπὶ ἐκείνων* for *ἐπέκεινα* (G⁸). Cf. ver. 12.

10. Cf. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2.

11. Is this the final place of punishment for the fallen angels? If so, cf. x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24.

of heavenly fire . . . columns > G⁸. Cf. Gen. xix. 24; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.

height . . . depth E. ∞ G⁸.

12-16. The place of punishment for the disobedient stars, already occupied. Cf. xxi. 1-6.

13-16. The stars are regarded as conscious, and therefore punished. Cf. Jude 13 *ἀστέρες πλανῆται*.

13. and to me . . . them G⁸, E corrupt.

14. host of heaven. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21.

15. the Lord G⁸, 'God' E.

rising + *ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστίν* G⁸—a gloss on *v.* 12.

16. till the time = ten thousand years, xxi. 6.

ten thousand years G⁸, *ἐνιαυτῶ μυστηρίου* E corrupt.

XIX. This chapter disagrees with xv. 12-xvi, as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice
 to demons. In fact the fallen angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the
 demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix belongs to x-xvi, then xix is defective. 'Their
 spirits' should be followed by 'of the giants', which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek
 translator.

1. sacrificing to demons as gods. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Bar. iv. 7. This passage and xcix. 7 are the
 source of Tert. *De Idol.* iv.

as gods E > G⁸.

the day of E > G⁸.

the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

² which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who
³ went astray shall become sirens.' And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and
no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. *Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.*

²⁰ ^{1, 2} And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is
³ over the world and over Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.
^{4, 5} Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. Michael, one
⁶ of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind †and† over chaos. Saraqâêl,
⁷ one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy
⁸ angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels,
whom God set over those who rise.

XXI—XXXVI. *The Second Journey of Enoch.*

XXI. *Preliminary and final Place of Punishment of the fallen Angels (stars).*

²¹ ^{1, 2} And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither
³ a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw
⁴ seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then
⁵ I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then
said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why
⁶ dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars †of heaven†,
which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years,
⁷ the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' And from thence I went to another place, which
was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt
and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of
⁸ fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: 'How

^{2. the women . . . of the angels} G⁸, 'lit. their women . . . of the angels'. An Aramaic idiom. E is corrupt.
^{will become sirens.} So G⁸. E is corrupt *ὡς εἰρηναῖαι*. For sirens cf. Apoc. Bar. x. 8. *σειρήν* in the LXX renders
ἡνν e.g. Mic. i. 8.

^{3. the ends of all things.} Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) as *ὅλας πάσας* and Origen, *De Princ.*
iv. 35, as 'universas materias'.

XX. There are seven archangels in this chapter, but only four are mentioned in i-xix, cf. xxi-xxxvi. See lxxxi. 5.
Other discrepancies, however, are reduced by the evidence of G⁸.

^{1. G^{81,2} are defective, G⁸² omits and G⁸¹ reads only 'angels of the powers'.} Both, however, in v. 8 end *ὀνόματα*
ζ' ἀρχαγγέλων.

^{who watch.} See i. 5, xii. 2.

^{2. Uriel's province here explains, e.g. xix, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4.} Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 1, where he is overseer of
the world.

^{Tartarus} G^{81,2}. E = *τρόμον*, corrupt.

^{3. Raphael.} See x. 4, 7. His province here suits admirably in xxii. 3, 6. In xxxii. 6, however, his province seems
that assigned to Gabriel in xx. 7.

^{4. Raguel.} There seems to be no connexion between name and function. Cf. xxiii. 4.

^{†takes vengeance on.†} See xxiii. 4 (note).

^{world of G^{81,2}.} 'world and' E.

^{5. Michael is Israel's guardian angel, as in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, and elsewhere.} Cf. xxiv. 6.

^{(and) over chaos} G^{81,2}. *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῶ* E.

^{6. Saraqâêl E, 'Sariel' G^{81,2}.}

^{spirits + 'of mankind' E.}

^{7. Gabriel, not Raphael, should be the speaker in xxxii, according to this verse.}

^{8. Remiel.} This clause (only in G⁸²) completes the *seven*, which number G⁸¹ also mentions. For Remiel cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36.

XXI. 1-6. Cf. xviii. 12-16. The place where the disobedient stars are punished.

^{1. Origen cites in De Princ. iv. 35 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum.'}

^{chaotic.} So G^{81,2}, and E is easily so emended.

^{3. together E.} 'and cast down' G^{81,2}.

^{5. chief over them G^{81,2}.} 'chief over me' E.

^{why art thou eager for the truth} G^{81,2}. The Aramaic original = Dan. vii. 16 (cf. 19), and the Greek text
used by E, had *ἀκρίβειαν*, not *ἀλήθειαν*.

^{6. of heaven G^{81,2}.} > E.

^{the Lord} G^{81,2} but late MSS. read 'Most High God', a title not found in Enoch, though 'Most High' occurs
in all the sections. E has 'God'. See xcix. 3 (note).

^{ten thousand years} G^{81,2}. 'ten thousand ages' E, i.e. 'ālam for 'ām.

^{the time} G^{81,2}. 'the number of the days' E.

^{7-10. Another place.} Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of xviii. 11, 12, which was below
the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already. For this final prison, cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, liv. 6, xc. 24-5.

^{7. conjecture.} E^{ms} G^{81,2}. All E MSS. prefix a gloss 'to look upon'.

9 fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon ! ' Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me : ' Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright ? ' And
 10 I answered : ' Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said
 "unto me" : ' This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. *Sheol or the Underworld.*

22 1 And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west 'another' great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

E
 2 And there was in it †four† **hollow** places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are **the hollow places** and deep and dark to look at.

Gg
 And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep² and very smooth : †three† of them were dark and one bright and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said : ' †How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me : ' These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should
 4 assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places **have been made** to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

E
 5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven
 6 and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him : ' This spirit—whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit ? '

Gg
 I saw <the spirit of> a **dead man** making suit, 5 and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was 6 with me, and I said unto him : ' This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven ? '

7 And he answered me saying : ' This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8. **terrible**, δεινός, 'terrible' G^g12. E = ὀδυνηρός.

9. **Uriel** E > G^g1,2.

and I answered G^g1,2. > E which inserts 'and he answered me' after 'with me'.
 the spectacle of the pain E (ὀδύνης), 'the terrible (δεινῆς) spectacle' G^g.

10. **unto me** E > G^g.

for ever G^g gives a doublet.

XXII. This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already fullgrown. The departed have conscious existence, and moral, not social distinctions are observed in Sheol. See lxiii. 10, for the history of this doctrine. Cf. Dan. xii.

1. [and] > G^g.

2. †four†, three are gloomy and one bright, according to our text, but vv. 8 and 9 show that there are *three* in all, not *four* (G^g). E has there inserted 'regarding it and' to avoid the inconsistency.

†four† . . †three†. Read 'three . . two'.

hollow. καλοί E for καίλοι. So too in ver. 3.

†how†. Read 'why' to suit the reply 'for this very purpose' in v. 3. **hollow places**²⁰. So G. E has κυκλώματα.
deep and dark. This seems to suit only the places of punishment. Contrast 'one bright' and v. 9.

3. Raphael has the same rôle in Tobit.

created E. ἐκρίθησαν G^g corruptly.

the spirits of the souls of the dead, G^g E^gu, E rest of MSS. corrupt. Cf. ix. 10.

4. **been made**. So I emend G^g E, which corruptly read 'made'.

to receive them. Cf. promptuaria of 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 95, 1 En. c. 4, 5 (note).

[till the period appointed.] A dittograph.

5-7. Formerly thought to describe the first division of Sheol, which contains the souls of the righteous, who in their life were persecuted, and suffered a violent and undeserved death. The idea of the righteous or of the angels crying for vengeance on the wicked occurs in all the sections of Enoch. Cf. ix. 1-3, 10, 11, xxii. 5-8, xlvii. 1, 2, lxxxix. 76, xcvi. 3, 5, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3. Cf. also Rev. vi. 10; 4 Ezra iv. 35. But really these verses describe not a division of Sheol, but the sight of a soul demanding vengeance.

5. **spirits** . . **dead**. E. ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐν τυχάνοντος G^g defective and corrupt. Note the singular in v. 6.

6, 7. Abel's soul cries for vengeance. Gen. iv. 10.

6. **which maketh suit** > E.

answered + 'and said to me' E, a doublet of 'saying'.

E

8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places**: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made (for) the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the **bright** spring of
10 water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their
11 lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There
12 He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days
13 of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

G^g

Then I asked regarding all the **hollow places**: 8 'Why is one separated from the other?'

And he answered me saying: 'These three 9 have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And **this** 10 has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great 11 pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, **so that** (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And **this** 12 division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And **this** has been 13 made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'

Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 14 'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world.'

XXIII. *The fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

23 1, 2 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning
3 fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. And

8. The three divisions of Sheol are now given.

hollow places. κριμάτων E, κυκλωμάτων G^g, both corrupt for κοιλωμάτων.

9. The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue even after death, despite 5-7. 'The bright spring' seems to refer to an existing tradition. For the phrase 'water of life' in Babylonian literature see *K.A.T.*³ 523 seqq.

spirits *n.* Rest of MSS. read 'souls', but 'nafs' often = 'spirits'. Cf. xv. 12, lxix. 12, xcix. 7.

bright. E has 'brightness'.

10. The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honourable burial, having escaped punishment in life.

this. G^g corruptly reads 'thus'.

11. **great pain.** Cf. ciii. 7, 8; Luke xvi. 23-5.

great day of judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

the accursed = τῶν καταραμένων, which E wrongly takes actively.

so that, &c., emended by Radermacher.

for ever, in Greek, 'till the age', i.e. till the final judgement.

12. The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.

13. **their spirits shall not be slain.** There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be 'the slaying of the spirit', but even this did not imply annihilation. See cviii. 3 (note), also xcix. 11.

their spirits + 'because those who suffer affliction here are punished less' G^g, a gloss.

shall not be punished G^g. 'shall not be slain' E.

nor shall they be raised. The sinners in the second division will rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.

14. After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology. Cf. xxv. 7, xxvii. 5, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9-13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv. xc. 40.

Lord of glory. See xxv. 3 (note).

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xc. 40, cvi. 3.

XXIII. 1, 2. Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire. xvii. 4 seems to deal with the same subject.

1. **west of the ends** G^g. E = 'west, to the ends'.

2. **burning** E. > G^g.

but ran regularly E. G^g = ἄμα (corrupt for ἀλλὰ) διαμένον.

- 4 I asked saying: 'What is this which rests not?' Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me 'and said unto me': 'This course 'of fire' 'which thou hast seen' is the fire in the west which †persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.'

XXIV—XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

- 24 1 'And from thence I went to another place of the earth', and he showed me a mountain range of
2 fire which burnt 'day and' night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all
differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent
as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: 'three towards' the east, 'one' founded on the
other, and three towards the south, 'one' upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which
3 joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them
4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst
them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like
it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever:
5 and its fruit 'is beautiful, and its fruit' resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: 'How' beautiful
is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms 'very' delightful in appearance.'
6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy 'and honoured' angels who was with me, and was their
leader.
- 25 1 And he said unto me: 'Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree,
2 and 'why' dost thou wish to learn the truth?' Then I answered him 'saying': 'I wish to
3 know about everything, but especially about this tree.' And he answered saying: 'This high
mountain 'which thou hast seen', whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the
Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit
4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the
great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation

4. And said unto me E. > G^g.
of fire G^g. > E.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
†persecutes† ἐκδιώκων G^g (E supports) corrupt for ἐκδικῶν.

XXIV. Enoch has been in the extreme West in xxiii: now he goes to the NW. First he sees a mountain range of fire, and then the seven great mountains, one of which is the throne of God.

1. And from thence . . . of the earth E. > G^g.
day and E. > G^g.
2. beyond it. ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν. E = 'towards it': cf. xviii. 9.
and beautiful E. 'in beauty' G^g.
three towards ¹ E. > G^g.
one ¹ ² E. > G^g.
rough G^g. 'crooked' E.
3. excelled them in height *ho, b.* G^g omits 'them'. All other MSS. of E read 'their height'.
resembling G^g. E easily emended.
fragrant E. 'of goodly appearance' G^g = εὐειδῆ for εὐώδη.
4. The tree of life. Cf. xxv. 4-6.
neither was any amongst them E. 'and no one else had enjoyed them' G^g.
is beautiful and its fruit E. > G^g through hmt.
5. How G^g. > E.
fragrant G^g. E = 'of goodly appearance'.
its blooms G^g. E corrupt.
very E. > G^g.
6. Michael, Israel's patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From xx. 7, we should expect Gabriel here.
and honoured E. > G^g.

XXV. 1. ask + 'and why didst thou marvel' G^g.
why ² G^g. > E.

- wish to learn the truth G^g, 'enquire accurately to learn' E.
2. Then I + 'Enoch' *a-g, β.* > G^g.
saying E. > G^g.
3. This high mountain, i.e. the middle one of the seven. Cf. xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3. It is not Sinai, but the throne of God when He descends to bless the earth. Cf. lxxvii. 1.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
the Holy Great One . . . Glory E. G^g = 'the Great Lord the Holy One of Glory'.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
Lord of Glory. Cf. xxii. 14, (xxv. 7), xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxxiii. 8.
Eternal King. Cf. vv. 5, 7, xxvii. 3; only found in i-xxxvi.
He shall come down. This mountain is in the north-west. In lxxvii, God will descend in the south.
4. great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
4, 5. This is the tree of life. After the final judgement men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life—not eternal life. Cf. v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7; lxxiv. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later, e.g. 4 Ezra viii. 52; ? Rev. ii. 7, xii. 2, 14.

5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:

And in their days shall no 'sorrow' or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

XXVI. *Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.*

26 1 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place 'in which there were
2 trees' with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain,
3 'and' underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And
I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow
4 ravine: in it also ran a stream 'underneath' the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another
mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine 'deep and dry' between
5 them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three 'mountains'. And all
the ravines were deep 'and narrow', (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon
6 them. And I marvelled 'at the rocks, and I marvelled' at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

27 1 Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this
2 accursed valley 'between'?' 'Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and
said:

5. then G^g, E = 'this'.

holy G^g, 'humble' E.

Its fruit . . . to the elect. So G. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12. E is very corrupt.

elect. See i. 3 (note).

transplanted, i.e. the tree of life was moved from the earthly Eden to the Garden of Righteousness, and will
thence be moved to Jerusalem.

to the holy place, i.e. Jerusalem when purified. For the divine New Jerusalem see xc. 29.

6. In this verse I have followed G^g. E differs in lines 2 and 3, where *gy, o, b* read for 'shall . . . bones', 'and they
shall draw the fragrance thereof into their bones,' i.e. into themselves. If we accept this, we might read 'Then shall
they rejoice with joy And be glad in the holy place', &c.

no sorrow or plague. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 19, 20. torment . . . touch them cf. Wisd. iii. 1.

7. For doxology cf. xxii. 14 (note).

who, G. E = 'because'.

created them, G^g, 'created such things', E.

XXVI. Enoch visits Jerusalem and its vicinity.

1. the middle of the earth—Jerusalem. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's
ὁμφαλός or navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks. In 1 En. xc. 26, Gehenna is 'in the midst of the earth'.

blessed place, all MSS. of E except *g* read 'blessed planted place'. Cf. xxvii. 1, lxxxix. 40; Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45.
branches abiding and blooming. Cf. the blessing of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22: also John xv. 5.

2. a holy mountain, Zion.

and 2^o > G^g.

a stream, the brook of Siloah.

flowed E, G^g has *δύσω* for *ρύσω*.

3. another mountain, the Mount of Olives.

between them E. 'between it' G.

a ravine, the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat.

underneath G^g, 'towards' or 'alongside' E.

4. another mountain, i.e. the Mount of Offence.

a ravine, i.e. the valley of Hinnom.

deep and dry G^g, 'underneath it' E.

XXVII. 1. and this accursed valley between E. G^g = 'and (why is) this valley accursed?' i.e. G^g has lost *ῥ*.
Gehenna was early associated with the worship of Moloch, repressed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and cursed by
Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 2, 6, xxxii. 35). In Isa. lxvi. 24, the rebellious and apostate Jews suffer by fire there, in
the presence of the righteous, as here. There are two stages in the growth of the idea. (1) In 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, liv.
1, 2, lxii. 12, 13, xc. 26, 27, the apostate Jews are there corporally and spiritually punished for ever. In xxxvii–lxx, the
wicked are to be swept away after awhile. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12, 13. (2) It is a place of spiritual punishment only, for
apostate Jews xci–civ. Cf. xcvi. 3. In the N. T. (e.g. Matt. v. 29, 30) Gehenna is for the wicked generally.
Later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the purgatory of faithless Jews, and the place of eternal perdition for the
Gentiles. Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 341 sqq.

2. Then Uriel . . . said: This E. > G^g.

'This⁷ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all 'the accursed' be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

E

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of the righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

G^s

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. In the last times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the godly bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with 5 which He has assigned them (their lot). Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His 'glory' and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII—XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

28¹ And thence I went 'towards the east', into the midst 'of the mountain range' of the desert, and 2 I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. 'And' water gushed forth from 3 above. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.

29¹ And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain 2 range. And 'there' I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

30^{1, 2} And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. And 3 therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

31¹ And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were 'groves of' trees, and there flowed forth from 2 them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another

valley. G^s has γῆ—a transliteration of 'אָ as in Neh. xi. 35, &c.

the accursed > E.

unseemly words. Cf. v. 4 (note).

habitation G^s. 'judgement' E.

2-3. The text differs, according as we follow G^s or E.

3. spectacle E. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12.

the godly=εὐσεβείς emended from ἀσεβείς. E corrupt: ? emend to 'those who have obtained mercy'.

Lord of glory. See xxv. 3.

Eternal King. See xxv. 3 (note).

5. His 'glory' G^s. > 'glory' E. lauded G^s. 'remembered' E, zakarkû for zamarkû.

XXVIII. The Wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan according to Ezek. xlvii. 8, 12 was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.

1. towards the east > G^s.

of the mountain range > G^s.

and plants. E > 'and'. Both G^s and E misrender the Aramaic original as 'seeds'.

2. and > G^s.

3. rushing G^s. E φαινόμενον corrupt for φερόμενον.

which flowed. Added in E.

caused . . . to ascend G^s. E so emended by change of a vowel point.

clouds. G^s E read ὕδωρ, i. e. מַיִן for עָנָן.

XXIX. 1. Enoch goes further East to the region of fragrant trees.

and thence, E transposes before + 'water' (= 'clouds') in preceding verse.

2. there > G^s.

aromatic. A corruption in the Aramaic leads to a false reading—'of judgement'.

exhaling G^s. E=πλέον for πνέοντα.

almond tree G^s. > E, but after πλέον in line before has kuaskuas= ? καρύαις (G^s).

XXX. 1. beyond G^s. See xviii. 9 note.

went G^s. 'mountains' E.

afar G^s. 'not afar' E.

another + 'great' G^s.

water + 'like that which fails not' E—a gloss?

2. therein was a tree G^s. 'I saw a beautiful tree' E.

the colour G^s. 'like' E.

3. beyond. See xviii. 9 (note).

XXXI. 1. groves G^s. > E.

nectar. E prefixes 'as it were'.

sarara E. σαρραν G^s, a transliteration of 'אָ a kind of balsam.

mountain 'to the east of the ends of the earth', 'whereon were aloe-trees', and all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

E

Gg

32. 1 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

To the north-east I beheld seven mountains full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.

2 And thence I went over the summits of 'all' these mountains, far towards the east 'of the earth', and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over 'the angel' Zotiêl.

E

Gg

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.

And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great—†two† trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

4 'That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are' like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then I said: 'How' beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me 'and said': 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old (in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

2. to the east of the ends of the earth G^s. >E.

whereon were aloe trees E. >G^s. This aloe is the modern eagle wood. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 120-1.

all G^s. E corrupt.

of stacte i.e. στακτῆς emended from G εἰς αὐτῆς, and E=στερεός.

3. burnt τριβωσιν G. E=λάβωσιν, probably corrupted from G's reading. G in turn follows a misreading of בלל 'burn' as בלל 'pound'.

it G^s reads διό corrupt for αὐτό. E=τὸν καρπὸν.

smelt sweeter G^s. 'was better' E.

XXXII. The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.

1. and after . . . odours >G^s through hmt.

To the north-east G^s, 'towards the North' E. That G^s is right appears from v. 2 'far towards the East' in both G^s and E. So the Garden of Righteousness in lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3 in the NW. is distinct from the primitive earthly Garden of Righteousness or Eden in the NE. mentioned here. Also the seven mountains here in the NE. must be distinct from the seven mountains, one being God's throne, in the NW. in xviii. 6, xxiv. 2 seqq. The garden here seems not to be the abode of the departed righteous, unlike the garden in lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxx. 2, lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3. Instead their souls have a division in Sheol. xxii. 9.

2. Erythraean sea. The Persian and Indian Oceans. Cf. lxxvii. 6, 7.

went G^s. E corrupt.

far from it E. G^s corrupt.

the angel E. >G^s.

Zotiêl. Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to Paradise.

3. Garden of Righteousness. Cf. lxxvii. 3; also lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, with notes. This garden is in the East; that in lxxvii. 3 in a part of the North; in lxx. 3 in the NW.

In xxxvii-lxx, as well as in the Noachic fragments, this garden is the abode of the departed righteous; while in i-xxxvi a special division in Sheol is assigned to their spirits. Can this division and the garden be the same place? Both are in the West lxx. 3, 4 and xxii. 1. See my Commentary *in loc.*

beyond. So E which wrongly makes μακρόθεν govern the following words.

growing E (= φυτόμενα). G^s reads δύο μέν, which would require 'the tree of life' before 'and the tree of wisdom'. But the tree of life is near the chief of the Seven Mountains in the NW. See xxxii. 1, xxv. 5, xviii. 9 (notes).

4. That tree . . . its leaves are G^s. >E through hmt.

the fragrance . . . afar E in q, but gmu add, after 'penetrates', 'proceeds', while t³ add 'and proceeds'. G^s reads 'its fragrance penetrates afar from the tree'.

5. Then G^s. 'and' E. G^s preserves the Aramaic idiom. Cf. ix. 1, &c.

How G^s, ὥς. >E as in xxiv. 5.

the tree G^s. 'this tree' E.

and how G^s q + 'beautiful and' E.

6. Adam and Eve here seem to be still alive. If x. 1 belongs to this section the Samaritan chronology is followed. See lxx. 2 (note). Note that Adam's sin is not regarded as the cause of man's fall.

Then G^s. 'and' E.

Raphael. xx. 7 leads us to expect Gabriel here.

and said E. >G^s.

thy father. G^s breaks off with 'thy father ate'.

- 33** ¹ And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven ² rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and ³ I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their ⁴ times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV—XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

- 34** ¹ And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and ² glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, ³ snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, [†]it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence. [†]
35 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the [†]east[†], the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

- 36** ¹ And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals ² of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, [†]and wind[†]. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals ³ above them. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course ⁴ to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

SECTION II. CHAPTERS XXXVII—LXXI.

THE PARABLES.

- 37** ¹ The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son ² of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy

XXXIII. 2. **whereon the heaven rests.** See xviii. 5 (note).

3. The portals of the stars are described at length in lxxii–lxxxii.

4. Uriel here writes down the accounts, but in *v.* 3 it is Enoch who writes. **companies**, or 'companions'. So *Ea. Eβ* reads 'functions.'

XXXIV. The portals of the North winds, and the nature of those winds. Cf. lxxvi. For the winds of the four quarters cf. Rev. vii. 1.

1. **device** (*a-m*) 'wonder' *mt²β*.

2. **and > q. north winds.** So apparently *gm, β* and also *t¹t²u*. 'winds through the north' *q*.

XXXV, XXXVI. Portals of the West and South and East winds.

XXXV. **the † east †.** Read the North. Or, better, transpose this chapter after xxxvi. 3.

XXXVI. 1. **come** + 'the south wind' *a-q, β*. 'from the south' *u*.

[†]**And wind**[†]. Meaningless. But cf. xxxiv. 2. Perhaps these stood originally 'and from thence come the south winds, and when they blow there is dew and rain'.

2, 3. Above the winds' portals are the stars' portals in the East.

4. **to spirits and to men** *gqu¹* (but *gq* read *nafāsāt*, *u nafāsātā*), other MSS. 'to the spirits of men'. **the work of His might.** *q* reads 'the might of His work'.

XXXVII. 1. This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work. **The second vision.** The first seems to be i. 2.

2. **beginning.** The Ethiopic word used here and in *v.* 3 may also = 'sum'. **and say.** 'Say', *a-m, dy, a*.

men of old time, including Cainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, according to the LXX chronology, followed in the Parables. See liv. 7 (note), lxx. 4 (note).

words of the Holy One *gmt, fv, b*. Other MSS. 'holy words'.

- 3 One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.
4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of
5 eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII—XLIV. The First Parable.

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

38 I The first Parable.

- When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth :
2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,
Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits ?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.
3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted :

Lord of Spirits. Only in 2 Macc. iii. 24 in contemporary or earlier writings, yet cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. In Enoch it occurs in xxxvii. 4 (twice), xxxviii. 2 (twice), 4, 6, xxxix. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12, xl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, xli. 2 (twice), 6, 7, xlii. 4 (twice), xlv. 1, 2, xlv. 3 (twice), 6, 7, 8, xlvii. 1, 2 (twice), 4, xlviii. 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10 (twice); xlix. 2, 4, 1, 2, 3 (twice), 5, li. 3, lii. 5, 9, liii. 6, liv. 5, 7, lv. 3, 4, lvii. 3, lviii. 4, 6 (twice), lix. 1, 2, lx. 6, 8, 24, 25 (twice), lxi. 3, 5, 8, 9 (thrice) 11, 13 (twice), lxii. 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 (twice), lxiii. 1, 2 (twice), 7, 12 (twice), lxx. 9, 11, lxvi. 2, lxvii. 8, 9, lxviii. 4 (twice), lxix. 24 (twice), 29, lxx. 1, lxxi. 2, 17. We find it in all 104 times, and 28 of these at least in the Interpolations. In the genuine portions it fits the context most closely: cf. xxxix. 12, xl. 1-10, xlv. 3-8, &c.: but in the Interpolations it is never so appropriate: cf. xli. 6, 7, lix. 1, 2 (context = natural phenomena).

3. to the men of old time. For 'ēllū I read la'ēlla.

4. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2; also 1 En. xciii. 10 seqq.

by i.e. 'emqēdma = מלפני.

the lot of eternal life. Cf. xl. 9, lviii. 3, lxii. 14. The life of a member of the Messianic kingdom is eternal in xxxvii-lxx; in i-xxxvi it is limited in duration, v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6, in the Dream Visions, lxxxiii-lxxxix, its duration is uncertain. The kingdom itself is temporary in xci-civ, and the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic kingdom and the final judgement.

5. Parables. Cf. Num. xxxii. 7, 18, Job xxvii. 1 = elaborate discourses, in the form of a vision, a prophecy, or a poem.

those that dwell on the earth. This phrase has a good ethical sense in the genuine portions of this section, as xxxvii. 2, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5. So Rev. xiv. 6. In the Interpolations it has a bad sense in liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxx. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and doubtful or merely geographical elsewhere, never good. In the Rev. it always has the bad sense except in xiv. 6.

XXXVIII. The time of requital is coming. When righteousness appears, and the light of the Lord of Spirits shines on the face of the righteous and elect, where will the sinners and deniers dwell?

1. the congregation of the righteous. Peculiar to the Parables, and explained by xxxviii. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 8. Cf. Ps. i. 5, cxlix. 1, Pss. Sol. xvii. 18.

driven from the face of the earth. Cf. Ps. i. 4, and 1 En. i. 1, xxxviii. 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 6, xlv. 8, xlviii. 9, 10, liii. 2.

2. the Righteous One mβ. a-m read 'righteousness' i.e. šēdēq for šādēq cf. liii. 6. For other titles of the Messiah cf. xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, 10.

works q prefixes 'hope and'.

hang upon the Lord of Spirits. Cf. Judith viii. 24.

denied the Lord of Spirits, a frequent charge against the sinners: in fact their chief offence. Cf. xli. 2, xlv. 2, xlv. 7, xlviii. 10, lxiii. 7. Cf. Jude 4. They deny too the heavenly world xlv. 1, the Messiah, xlviii. 10, the spirit of God lxvii. 10, the righteous judgement, lx. 6, while the righteous believe in the name of the Lord xliii. 4. The phrase is borrowed by the Interpolations, lxvii. 8, 10.

denied 'outraged' q.

It had been good, &c., cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

3. the secrets of the righteous revealed. The blessings in store for them are still hidden, lviii. 5, as also the Messiah, lxii. 7.

and the sinners q. Other MSS. omit 'and' and so make 'the sinners, &c.' the apodosis.

4. The supremacy and oppression of the earth's great ones are drawing speedily to a close. This is the Parables' constant theme, xlv. 4-8, xlviii. 8-10, liii. 5, lxii. 1-12, lxiii; borrowed too by the Interpolations lxvii. 8-13. It distinguishes xxxvii-lxx from xci-civ.

From that time. MSS. prefix 'and', i.e. waw introducing the apodosis.

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

- 5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

- 39¹ [And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the
2 high heaven, and their seed† will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch
received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]
And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.
4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.
5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.
And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,
And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.
6a And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7a And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6b And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

the holy and righteous and elect, xlviii. 1.

has caused . . . to appear. MSS. read 'is seen' but *a*, *d* have 'the Lord of Spirits' in the nom. and *q* has 'His light' in the acc.

His light, transfigures His saints. Light is the blessing of the kingdom. See v. 7, i. 8, xlv. 4, xxxviii. 2, l. 1, lviii. 3, xxxviii. 4, lviii. 3-6.

The idea is still further developed in xci-cviii, e.g. xcii. 4, civ. 2, cviii. 11, 12, 13.

5. **Then** *q*. 'and then' other MSS.

the kings and the mighty *a*. 'the mighty kings' *t*²*β*. Cf. lxii. 1, 3, 6, 9, lxiii. 1, 2, 12, lxvii. 8, 12. They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anointed (xlvi. 10), and a heavenly world (xlv. 1), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlv. 7 seems to point to heathen rulers 'their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,' but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes (cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, xvii. 17), e.g. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.

perish and *> q*.

given into the hands of the righteous. Cf. xlviii. 9, also xli. 2, lxii. 11. This seems to imply that the judgement is not catastrophic.

righteous and holy. xlviii. 1, 4, 7, li. 2 (lxv. 12). In the former passages it is used of members of the kingdom.

6. The time for mercy is past, l. 5.

thenceforward. *q* reads 'there'.

for themselves *a*, *cov*, *b*.

XXXIX, 1, 2^a, Interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older Book of Enoch such as we find in vi-xxxvi. The tenses should be past and not future.

elect and holy children, &c. *q* reads 'holy and elect'. Cf. cvi. 13. For 'elect' cf. 1 Tim. v. 21.

2. **Enoch received**, i.e. did not write himself.

zeal and wrath 'wrath and zeal' *q*.

3. A real translation here, like Elijah's, and no dream as in xiv. 8, 9.

4. **dwelling-places**, or 'dwellings' or 'abiding places'. See xxxix. 7, 8, xli. 2; 2 En. lxix. 2; John xiv. 2, a vision of the future Messianic kingdom under the protection of the Lord of Spirits. The unities of time and place are curiously neglected.

5. **His righteous angels** *a*. 'the angels' *β*.

water and dew = abundance. Cf. xlix. 1, Amos v. 24.

6-7. The text is slightly out of order.

6. **that place** *a-m*. 'those days' *m*, *t*²*β*.

the Elect One *a-q*, 'the place of the elect' *q*, *β-ax*.

the Elect One of righteousness and of faith. See xlv. 3 (note).

7^a. **his** *gm*. 'their' *qtu*, *β*.

6^b. **his days** *a*. 'their days' *t*²*β*.

7b And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,
And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]

8 There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place:

And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of
10 Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying:
11 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him
there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from
12 generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless,
praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with
13 spirits." And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say:
14 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' And my face was changed;
for I could no longer behold.

XL—XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

40 1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude
2 beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the
Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names:
for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.
3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.
4, 5 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard
pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord
8 of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went
with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four presences which I have
9 seen and whose words I have heard and written down?' And he said to me: 'This first is Michael,
the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds

7b. be †strong† *a-m* = *קוֹדֶשׁ* which may be corrupt for *קוֹדֶשׁ* = 'shine'. *mt²β-a* read 'be beautiful'.
fiery lights = stars, cf. Dan. xii. 3.

[and uprightness, &c.], a dittography.

8. Enoch predestined to a place in the kingdom. Cf. lxxi. 14–17, xc. 31; Dan. xii. 1.
and there *q, n*. Other MSS. 'there'.

9. As in xxxvii. 4 we have the free grace of God brought forward, though in that passage 'according to my insight' occurs as well.

12. Those who sleep not. Cf. xxxix. 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12 (and Interpolations lxxi. 7).
Lord of Spirits. 'Lord of Hosts' in the Trisagion, Isa. vi. 3.

13. all + 'the wakeful ones' *q*.

14. Cf. Ascensio Isaiae vii. 25. Here Enoch is 'blinded by excess of light.'
for *a*. 'till' *t²β-e*.

XL. 1. thousands, &c., Dan. vii. 10. (Interpolations lx. 1, lxxi. 8).

2. The angels of the presence come from Isa. lxiii. 9. This list is taken over by the Interpolations, lxxi. 9. For the chiefs' names contrast ix. 1, xx.

those that sleep not *a-m*, 'those that stand' *t²β*.

the angel that went with me. Cf. xliii. 3, &c., and 'the angel of peace' xl. 8, &c.

4. Michael 'who is like God?' in *v*. 9, is 'the merciful'.

5. Raphael is the 'healer' in *v*. 9. (Cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14.)

the Elect One, Isa. xlii. 1. Used only in the Parables (see xlv. 3) and Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35.
and the elect ones, 'of the elect ones' *q*.

6. Gabriel here intercedes, but in *v*. 9 is set over the powers.

pray and intercede . . . supplicate. These verbs are in the plural in all MSS. but *d*.

7. Phanuel is set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (*v*. 9), and here restrains the Satans. These are ruled by a chief, Satan (liii. 3) to whom the Watchers became subject and so fell (liv. 6). They had access into heaven, xl. 7 (cf. Job i. 6). They tempted to evil (lxix. 4, 6), they accused (xl. 7), they punished, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1. (Interpolations lxvi. 1.)

The Talmud confuses the Satans and the fallen angels, as does lxix. N.T. Demonology resembles that of Enoch.

8. angel of peace. Cf. xl. 2, Test. xii Patr. Dan vi. 5, also Asher vi. 6.
hidden + 'I said unto him' *abcdex*.

9. Michael *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

of the children of men, is Raphael : and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel : and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'

- 10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.
 41 1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the
 2 actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off : and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3-9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

- 3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there
 4 I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the
 5 beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they
 6 are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the command-
 7 ment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.
 And they give thanks and praise and rest not ;
 For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
 8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
 And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous
 And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
 Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
 And divided the spirits of men,
 And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
 In the name of His righteousness.

Gabriel *a*, 'the holy Gabriel' *β*.
 repentance unto hope *a-g* and many *β* MSS. 'repentance unto repentance' *q*, 'repentance and hope' *abcex*.
 For our text cf. Acts xi. 18 ; 2 Cor. vii. 10.
 is named *a*, 'is' *β*.

10. Lord of Spirits *a*, 'Most High God' *β*.

XLI. 1. What kingdom can this be? Is it the Messianic Kingdom, or the kingdom of this world, or a division (into seven parts) of heaven?

actions of men are weighed. Cf. lxi. 8 ; Job xxxi. 6 ; Prov. xvi. 2 ; Ps. lxii. 9 ; Dan. v. 27. The Talmud materializes this conception.

2. and ¹⁰ *q*. > *a-g*, *β*.

driven thence, xxxviii. 1.

deny, &c., xxxviii. 2.

3-8. This section is alien to the context. It may, however, belong to the Parables. Cf. Job, &c. It belongs certainly in character and detail to xliii. 1, 2, xlii, lix, lxix. 13-25. See xliii.

3. Lightning and thunder are often treated of. Cf. xvii. 3.

secrets of the winds. On the wind's functions cf. xviii. 1-5, xxxiv-xxxvi, lxxvi.

dusty earth *gt¹u*, 'dust of the earth' *mt²β*.

4. And there *mt²β*, 'there' *gu*.

the chamber, &c. Based on Job xxxviii. 22.

and winds. > 'and' *β-hov¹b*.

and of the clouds > *gu²*.

5. for the sun and moon see further lxxii. 5.

the oath. Sun, moon, and stars seem conscious ; they are subject only to God, xli. 6 ; they praise and rest not, xli. 7. Cf. lxix. 24, xliii. 1, 2.

by which they are bound together. So *k* alone, probably a fortunate conjecture.

6. traverses, 'returns' *qc*.

7. hidden . . . path of the moon, i.e. when the moon is invisible. See lxxiii-lxxiv.

before + 'the glory of' *mt²u*.

8. Note the doctrine of predestination.

the sun *ap^y*, 'the shining sun' *mt²β-p^y*.

- 9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

- 42 1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.
2 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:
Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.
3 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,
As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII—XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

- 43 1 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their
2 names and they hearkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance
according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appear-
ing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the
3 number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went
4 with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord
of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable'): these are the names
of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'
44 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and
become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV—LVII. *The Second Parable.*

XLV. *The Lot of the Apostates: the New Heaven and the New Earth.*

- 45 1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy
ones and the Lord of Spirits.
2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:
Such shall be the lot of the sinners
9. The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after xli. 2. Cf. Acts xvii. 31.
no angel hinders and no power *mqṭ²u* β-γ. 'neither angel nor power' *gt¹y*.
He appoints. So *g* only.
a judge *a* only has the acc. The rest of the MSS. read 'the judge sees them all'.
XLII. A fragment out of connexion with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know.
1. 2. A favourite theme—the praise of wisdom. She dwelt in heaven, lxxxiv. 3; Job xxviii. 12–14, 20–4; Baruch
iii. 29; Sirach xxiv. 4: came down among men, Prov. i. 20, viii. ix. 1–10: no place was found for her, 1 En. xciv. 5.
She will return in Messianic times, v. 8, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 3, xci. 10; 2 Bar. xlv. 14; 4 Ezra viii. 52.
2. went forth *a*, 'came' *abcex*.
3. The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.
XLIII, XLIV. This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at
once. Cf. Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context
in this work.
XLIII. 1. by their names. Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.
2. weighed, &c. Cf. xli. 5.
how their revolution produces lightning *gqṭ¹(mu)*. 'and revolution: how one flash of lightning produces
another' *t²β*.
3. Cf. xlvii. 2.
3, 4. The stars represent the holy: cf. Dan. viii. 10. See too civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43. For the stars as
angels cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Deut. iv. 19.
4. holy *a*, 'righteous' β.
believe. Cf. 'faith' in xxxix. 6, lviii. 5, lxi. 4, 11, and 'denial' xxxviii. 2.
XLIV. Shooting stars. Cf. xliii. 2.
XLV. 1. The Second Parable begins.
deny the name of the dwelling, i. e. the Sadducees. Cf. xxxviii. 2, and note.
and the Lord *a*, 'and of the Lord' β.
2. and ¹*a-l*. > *t²β*.
The transformed earth (*v*. 5) will be for the righteous only.

- Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.
- 3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.
And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name :
- 4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light :
- 5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing :
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it :
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.
- 6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me :
But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

- 46 1 And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.
- 2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
3 Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me :
This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

denied the name . . . of the Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
day of suffering and tribulation. Also called 'that great day', liv. 6, 'day of judgement and consummation', x. 12, 'of destruction', xcvi. 10, 'of darkness', xciv. 9. See my Commentary further *in loc.*

The phrase refers to (1) the Deluge in x. 4, 5, 12^b, liv. 5, 7-10, xci. 5, xciii. 4, (2) final world-judgement at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, x. 6, 12^a, xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, xxv. 4, xlv. 2, liv. 6, lv. 4, xc. 20-7. (3) Judgement of the sword by the righteous, also at the Messianic Kingdom's beginning, l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12. (4) Final world judgement at its close, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, c. 4, ciii. 8, civ. 5. In xlvi. 8-10 (2) and (3) seem to be combined, and in xcix. 9, 15 (3) and (4).

3. Mine Elect One, *a-m*. 'the Elect One', *mt*²β. See xl. 5.
throne of glory. Cf. lv. 4, lxii. 3, 5. Also lxi. 8, lxii. 2, lxix. 27, 39 (as judge). The throne is that of the Head of Days, xlvii. 3, li. 3.

try. The translator read בַּחֵר for בָּחַן or if the original was in Aramaic he followed the wrong meaning of בַּחֵר.

And their places of rest, &c. This comes better in v. 5 or 6.

souls, *a*, 'spirits' β. See xxii.

elect ones, *a-m*. 'Elect One' *m*, *abcfhoxy*¹.

glorious *a*. 'holy and glorious' *t*²β.

4. Elect One, *mt*, β-*c*. 'elect ones', *gguncy*².

4, 5. After the judgement the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (xlv. 4, li. 4) and earth (xli. 2, xlv. 5), with angels and men as members xxxix. 4 (note). Isa. lxxv. 17 and lxxvi. 22, have the idea, but without the logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75.

6. destroy them . . . earth. Cf. lxix. 27.

XLVI. 1. Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, 'Head of Days' i.e. 'The Everlasting', occurs in xlv. 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, and in the Interpolations lv. 1, lx. 2, lxxi. 10-14, but not so appropriately.

2. the angel. The MSS. wrongly read 'one of the angels'. See note on xl. 2.

that Son of Man. Cf. xlv. 4, xlviii. 2, lxii. 9, 14, lxiii. 11, lxix. 26, 27, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, in all of which passages the demonstrative occurs; it is missing only in lxii. 7. But, 'that' and 'this' in our translator are usually renderings of the Greek article, and so here. Thus in Enoch this title is the distinct designation of the personal Messiah, and the Greek equivalent must have been *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and not *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*.

3. The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness (xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, liii. 6, and here. Cf. Ps. xlv. 4-7, lxxii; Isa. xi. 3-5), wisdom (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), and power (xlix. 3, lxii. 6). As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, and raise the dead, li. 1, lxi. 5, and judge all, li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3, lxix. 27. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous, xxxix. 7, xlviii. 4, 7, li. 5, liii. 6, lxii. 7, 8, 14, 15.

who hath righteousness. Cf. Isa. ix. 6-7, xi. 3 seqq.; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 seqq.
hath chosen him. Hence he is called the Elect one, xxxviii. 2, xl. 4.

And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

- 4 | And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.
- 5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
- 6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 7 And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
- 8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*

- 47 1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.
- 2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.

hath the pre-eminence, *aefh¹k*. 'hath surpassed everything' *i²β-efh¹k*.

- 4, 6. Cf. O.T. e.g. Isa. xiv. 9, 11; Ps. iii. 7, lviii. 6; Lam. iii. 16.
4. †raise up†. Read 'put down' as in the dittograph in *v*. 5.
4. mighty from their seats. Cf. Luke i. 52 (a quotation?). *v*. 5 is a dittograph of this.
- break the teeth, &c. Cf. Ps. iii. 7.
5. whence the kingdom. Cf. Wisdom vi. 23; Rom. xiii. 1.
6. worms . . their bed. Hardly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' death in 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, but to burial in general
- cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. Acts xii. 23 has a strangely similar connexion of thought to 'because they do not extol'.
7. This verse is an echo of Dan. viii. 10. We may reconstruct it thus:
'And these are they who cast down the stars of heaven
And tread to the earth those who dwell upon it.'
- We require a distich here, and the title 'Most High' does not occur elsewhere in the Parables.
- †judge† = ירינו corrupt perhaps for יורירו 'cast down'.
- the stars, here = the righteous, as in Dan. viii. 10.
- tread. Cf. 'stamped upon them' in Dan. viii. 10. So read 'to the earth'.
- and dwell upon it possibly = בה וישבו corrupt for יושבו.
- manifest *a-q*. > *q₁b*. 'and manifest' *i²abcx*.
- unrighteousness + 'their ('and all their' *gm*) works are unrighteousness' all MSS. except *qu, en₁b*.
- their power rests upon their riches. Cf. Ps. xlix. 6, lii. 7; En. xciv. 8 (note).
- their faith, &c. A strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
8. persecute *gt*, 'are driven forth' *mqu, β*.
- the houses *gmt'u*, 'from the houses' *q, i²β*. Cf. liii. 6.

- XLVII. 1. The judgement follows the dethronement of the mighty.
- the righteous. Here in the plural, but in the next line in the singular (collective).
- the blood, &c. Alex. Jannaeus was the first to shed the blood of the righteous, 95 B.C. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
2. On the angels' intercession. See xv. 2 (note).
- the prayer of the righteous. Cf. Rev. vi. 10; En. xcvi. 5 (note).

- 3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him :
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy ;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness : the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous : Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 48 1 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible :
And around it were many fountains of wisdom :
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.
2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.
6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous ;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

3. **books of the living.** In O.T. these are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, &c. ; Ps. lxxix. 28 ; Isa. iv. 3 ; also Jubilees xxx. 20, 22. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. Cf. N.T. Phil. iv. 3 ; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, &c., and the idea in Luke x. 20 ; Heb. xii. 23. Cf. too Enoch ciii. 4, 'the memorial of the righteous.'

There were also books recording good and evil deeds. Ps. lvi. 8 ; Mal. iii. 16 ; Jubilees xxx. 22 ; also Dan. vii. 10 ; Rev. xx. 12 ; Asc. Isa. ix. 22, and in Enoch evil deeds only (as Isa. lxxv. 6), lxxxii. 4, lxxxix. 61–77, xc. 17, 20, xcvi. 7, 8, civ. 7 ; also 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

Further there were the heavenly tablets of God's plans. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40 ; Dan. x. 21. Also in Enoch lxxxii. 1, 2, xciii. 1–3, ciii. 2, 3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1, cviii. 7 ('books of the holy ones' as ciii. 2). See my Commentary *in loc.*

4. **the number of the righteous had been offered.** Cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 ; 4 Ezra iv. 36 ; Rev. vi. 10, 11.

the righteous m. Other MSS. read 'righteousness'.

been offered, a late sense of קרב misrendered 'drawn nigh' here.

XLVIII. 1. **And qt,β. > gmu.**

fountains of wisdom. Cf. xlii. 1, 2 (note). Cf. Isa. lv. 1.

2. **at that hour,** i. e. when Enoch was beholding these visions.

The Parables assert the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man. See vv. 3 and 6, xlvi. 1, 2, xlix. 2, lxii. 7. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 26.

3. **the signs,** of the Zodiac, מִזְרֵי, Job xxxviii. 32. See also viii. 3, lxxii. 13, 19.

4. **righteous + 'and to the holy' β.**

whereon to stay themselves. Cf. lxi. 3.

the light of the Gentiles. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6. He will become their light through his future coming and character being made known to them.

troubled of heart. Cf. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

5. **All shall fall down,** even his deniers, lxii. 6, 9, lxiii. xc. 37. Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9, 11 ; Phil. ii. 10.

praise and bless a, ∞ q,β.

the Lord a-m, 'the name of the Lord', m,β.

6. **and q,β. > a-q.**

hidden. 4 Ezra xiii. 52.

before Him. q reads after 'for evermore'.

7. **revealed,** through O.T. prophecy. Cf. lxii. 7.

holy and righteous ∞ tu,l.

preserved the lot, &c., i. e. guard their future inheritance.

- Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits :
For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.
- 8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.
- 9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect :
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy :
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.
- 10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again :
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them :
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

- 49¹ For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.
- 2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance ;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.
- 3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.
- 4 And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him ;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

hated and despised this world, &c. Cf. cviii. 8-10 ; Gal. i. 4.
in his name they are saved. Cf. I Cor. vi. 11 ; Acts iv. 12.
according to his good pleasure . . . life *g* : 'his good pleasure hath been for their life' *owy₁b* : 'he is the avenger of their life' *mtu,β-owy₁b* : *g* is corrupt : *g* = bafaqâdû : *mtu* = faqâdê.

8. day of their anguish. See xlv. 2 (note).

9. into the hands. Cf. xxxviii. 5 (note).

As straw . . . as lead. Cf. Exod. xv. 7, 10.

Gehenna is here visible to the righteous, cf. xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27 ; 4 Ezra vi. 1, but not so in En. lxii. 12, 13 ; Rev. xx. 14 ; or in the last clause here—'no trace'. Really the Parables transform the conception of Gehenna, and the spectacle is only temporary in this verse.

before the face of the righteous *a*, 'before . . . holy' *β*.

10. rest. Cf. liii. 7.

And before them (> 'and' *q*) *a*, 'and before him' *β*.

fall and not rise again. Ps. xxxvi. 12.

the Lord . . . and His Anointed. Ps. ii. 2. In O.T. Messiah is not an exact technical term, but is used of the Davidic kings, and even Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1). It is first found in the later sense in the Parables here, xlviii. 10, lii. 4 : then in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8 ; 4 Ezra vii. 29, xii. 32 ; 2 Bar. xxix. 3, &c.

XLIX. The Messiah's acts follow from his attributes. Cf. Isa. xi.

1. wisdom. Cf. Isa. xi. 9.

2. Cf. xlv. 2 (note).

disappear as a shadow, &c. Job xiv. 2.

continuance, lit. 'standing-ground'.

glory . . . for ever. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7 ; Mic. v. 2.

3. which gives *gqtû*. 'Of Him who gives' *m,β*.

the spirit of those, &c. He perfectly realizes the eschatological hopes of those who in the past were faithful.

4. Cf. v. 2, xliii. 3 (note).

a lying word. Cf. lxii. 3, lxvii. 9.

Elect One. Cf. xlviii. 6.

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

- 50 1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.
And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this)
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands.
3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4 And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

- 51 1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.
5a For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,

L. Interpolated or at least containing incongruous details due to literary reminiscence. As in lxxxiii-xc and xci-civ the judgement of the sword precedes the Messianic kingdom which comes gradually together with the conversion of the heathen, and the final judgement follows. But in xxxvii-lxx the Son of Man suddenly appears and begins his reign with the resurrection and final judgement, with no place of repentance or time for conversion; cf. lxii, lxiii.

1. A gradual change from the night of oppression to the light of glory and honour; cf. lviii. 5, 6.

holy and elect; cf. lxii. 8.

2. For the period of the sword; cf. xc. 19, 34, xci. 12.

On the day *a*: β prefixes 'and'.

day of affliction; cf. xlvi. 10, xlv. 2 (note).

on which *gmt.* > *qu*, β .

evil *g* wrongly in acc.

shall have been *gg*, 'shall be' β -*fy*, 'is' *ut*².

repent. Cf. the Gentiles' conversion in xc. 30-4, xci. 14.

3. They are saved without honour.

through the name of *a*, 'before' *t*² β .

4, 5. The final judgement. The unrepentant perish. Cf. lx. 5, 25; also 4 Ezra vii. 33-4; 2 Bar. lxxxv. 12.

LI. 1. There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan. xii. 2; 1 En. i-xxxvi (except xxii. 13), xxxvii-lxx, lxxxiii-xc; Ps. lxx (title) in LXX; 2 Macc. vii. 9, &c.; 2 Bar. l-li. 6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; Ps. xvi. 10, 11, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxxiii. 24-7; Job xiv. 13-15, xix. 26-7; 1 En. xci-civ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16, xiii. 9, xiv. 7, xv. 15; 2 Bar. xxx; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37; Test. 12 Patr. Benj. x. 6-8.

Some Jews believed the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. Wisdom of Sol. iii. 1, &c., iv. 7, v. 16, viii. 20 (compared with ix. 15, xv. 8); Jubilees xxiii. 30.

the earth also . . . received. So *g* save that it substitutes a gloss 'those who are treasured up' in it'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 32. *tu* are defective: 'Sheol shall give back that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received.' β conflates *g* and *tu*.

The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together, according to Sanh. 91^a.

Sheol and hell here = the intermediate state. See lxiii. 10 (note).

hell = destruction or Abaddon, Job xxvi. 6; Rev. ix. 10. Here the body rises, cf. lxii. 15, i-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc. Also 2 Macc. vii. 9 seqq.; 2 Bar. xxx, l-li. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37. In xci-civ the soul and spirit rise. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, &c. 2-5. These verses are 'out of order'. The 'he' in *v*. 2 refers to the Elect One in *v*. 3 or *v*. 5. If we bring 5^a before 2 we get five stanzas of three lines each, and the first four begin with 'in those days'.

2. choose. Cf. Matt. xxv. 32.

the day has drawn nigh, &c. Cf. Luke xxi. 28.

3. Cf. xlvi. 1, xlix. 3, lxi. 7, 11, also xlii. 2 (note).

the Elect One *gmu*, β , 'Mine Elect One' *qt*¹.

My throne *a*, 'His throne' *t*² β .

And his mouth shall **pour** forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

- 4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.
- 5^b And the earth shall rejoice,
^c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
^d And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

- 52 ¹ And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for
² I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—There mine eyes saw
all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and
a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.
³ And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in
⁴ secret?' And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion
of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'
⁵ And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto
thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.
⁶ And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
⁷ And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
⁸ And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

his . . . counsel. Emended. q, β = 'all the secrets of wisdom shall go forth from the counsel of his mouth'.
 $a-g$ put 'all the secrets' in the acc. and gu insert 'and' after 'wisdom'.

4. **mountains leap.** Cf. Ps. cxiv. 4, 6; and for the whole verse cf. Test. 12 Patr. Levi xviii. 5.

angels . . . joy. Cf. Luke xv. 10. We can translate either 'the angels . . . as to their faces' or 'the angels—their faces'.

[all] Omit, and read 'ēllū for kuēllū, as often.

5. Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 29, 34.

walk q , 'go' mtu , 'go and walk' β (and g over an erasure).

LII. The mountains, and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31-45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom.

This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In verses 1-4 the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in 5-9 they are destroyed before his presence. Again, verse 4 and verse 5 give two independent answers to verse 3. Of the two sources suggested by Beer for the Parables, verses 3-4 thus belong to the Son of Man source, verses 5-9 the Elect One source. Verses 1-2 are common to both sources.

1. in that place, i.e. in heaven, xxxix. 3.

2. **lead.** We expect seven mountains here. Five are given in lxvii. 4, and tin is added in lii. 8. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22 for the gates of the seven metals in the mysteries of Mithra.

4. These world powers show the Messiah's might by melting before him, as metals before the fire.

5. **that angel.** Here 'that' = Greek article.

a little + 'and thou shalt see' β .

surround the Lord of Spirits $a-m$: 'the Lord of Spirits has established' $m, t^2 \beta$.

6-9. No metal will avail as ransom or weapon.

6. **wax before the fire**, Ps. xcvi. 5; 1 En. i. 6; Mic. i. 3, 4, where also 'water' and 'streams down'.
streams down + 'upon those mountains' MSS.

7. Zeph. i. 18; cf. Isa. xiii. 17.

8. Cf. Hos. ii. 18.

nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate (or 'coat of mail'). So q , but u, β = 'garment for a coat of mail' (or 'breastplate'). In $a-u$ there is a dittograph.

[shall be . . . and]. A dittograph.

and shall not be esteemed $> q$.

- 9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII—LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

- 53 ¹ There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.
² And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.
³ For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
⁴ And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
⁵ And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.'
⁶ And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
⁷ And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

- 54 ¹ And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning
² fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
³ And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
⁴ And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.'
⁶ And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance
be [denied] and destroyed. Two alternative renderings, cf. יְהִיָּה.

LIII. The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles, Joel iii. 2, 12.

In Joel Theodotion renders τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως and the Targ. Jon. 'plain of the decision of judgement'. The Midrash Mishle 68^d holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2353.

1. there *a-g*, 'and there' *qβ*.

deep valley with open mouths *mqtu,β-n*. 'open and deep-mouthed valley' *g*.
not become full. This seems inexplicable.

1, 2. The presents and homage of the mighty ones avail not, as they are sinners and oppressors, and therefore torments await them.

2. whom they lawlessly oppress. I emend jêšâmêwû 'produce' into jêšâmawû 'oppress', cf. *v.* 7.
shall perish. All MSS. insert a negative.

3. angels of punishment. See xl. 7 (note), also cf. liv. 3-5.
abiding *mqt(gu)*. Other MSS. 'going'.

5. these > *qu,nx*.

prepare *β*. > *a*.

this earth: 'this' = Greek article.

6. house of his congregation. See xxxviii. 1 (note) = synagogue. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 8.

7. Cf. lii. 6, and Isa. lxiv. 3; Zech. iv. 7. There is a return to the figurative language of lii, where the mountains = the kingdoms of the earth.

his righteousness *a-g*. 'His face' *q, l²β-n*.

LIV. The writer passes from the valley of judgement and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

1. a deep valley, Gehenna. See xlviii. 9 (note), and cf. lvi. 3, 4. This valley of Hinnom lay to the south of Jerusalem.

3-5. The first judgement of the Watchers, cf. x-xvi. The 'abyss' here is only the preliminary place of punishment, cf. x. 5, 12.

4. chains, 'chains of ('and' *qt*) instruments' *mqt,β-dn*.

5. and they shall cover. *q* reads 'to cover'.

6. Their second judgement.

on that great day. See xlv. 2 (note).

Note that in the Parables the guilt of the Watchers lay in becoming subject to Satan. Cf. xl. 7; Jubilees x. 8 seqq.
and ⁵⁰ > *q,abcde*.

cast them *tu,β*. > *gmq*.

furnace *a-g*, 'fire' *q,y*, 'furnace of fire' *β-y*. Cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24, 25. Not Gehenna.

on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.
8 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine,
9 and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell
10 on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.'

55 1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell
2 on the earth.' And He sware by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.'

LV. 3.—LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azazel, the Watchers and their children.*

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of this**, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith
4 God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye† mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

56 1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains
2 of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are
3 these who hold the scourges going?' And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley.'

4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved,
And the days of their lives shall be at an end,
And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. Interpolated. A digression on the first world-judgement—the Deluge and so a Noachic fragment. Cf. xxxix. 1, 2^a, liv. 7—lv. 2, lx, lxx—lxix. 25. These all (1) disturb the context; (2) claim to be by Noah lx. 7—11, 24, 25, lxxv—lxxviii. 1; (3) misunderstand the Parables, e. g. combine lii. 1, 2 with liv. 1; (4) give a definite date, lx. 1; (5) in lxxviii. 2—5 contradict liv. 4—6, lv. 3, 4; (6) confuse the Satans and the fallen angels, lxix, and make Semjaza the leader, not Azazel; (7) misuse borrowed technical terms and phrases, lx. 11, 24, lxxvii. 8, 10: also liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 10, lxxvi. 1; (8) use the Samaritan chronology, not that of the LXX, see lxx. 2 (note).

Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10 mention a Book of Noah, whence these passages were interpolated to supply Enoch's silence about the Flood.

7. **above the heavens.** All MSS. but ¹_b wrongly add 'and in addition to the fountains which are beneath the heavens'.

8. In primitive Babylonian cosmology water = the primitive element or the original male and female elements.

9. **all who dwell**, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

10. **And > q.**

when, emended: 'inasmuch as' *tu, ew*. 'on this account' *gmqt²β-cw*. The translator misread קִי (Heb.) or אֲרִי (Aramaic). Yet 'on this account' may be right, but requires 'shall recognize'.

LV. 1. **the Head of Days**, inappropriately introduced by interpolator.
repented. Cf. Gen. viii. 21.

2. **so q, t²β.** > *gmt¹u, x*.

this is in accordance with My command *gt*, 'this is My command' *m*, 'this command is according to My desire' *q*, 'after this according to My command' *ut²β*.

3. resumes liv. 6.

day of tribulation and pain. See xlv. 2 (note).

because of this. Text = 'before this'.

I will cause ... to abide *a-qu*, 'shall abide' *q, β-d*.

chastisement ... wrath *a, ∞ β*.

4. The kings have to witness Azazel's judgement, and thence infer their own. Perhaps we should read 'Ye kings and mighty'.

of glory *a-q*, 'of My glory' *qβ*.

LVI. 1—4. The Watchers and the demons are now judged. The demons, or 'beloved' (x. 12, xiv. 6), at last fill the valley. See liii. 1.

1. **they held** *gq, β*. > *mtu*.

scourges and *g*. > *qt, β*: *mu* read 'and'.

2. **these who** *gt²*, 'these' *mq¹u*, 'who' *β-n*.
the scourges *g*. > *a-gβ*.

3. **chasm of** > *q*.

4. **and** ¹⁰ > *q*.

reckoned, i. e. continued.

LVI. 5-8. *Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel.*

- 5 And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes :
They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,
That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.
- 6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,
[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway :]
- 7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.
And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,
And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,
Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.
- 8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,
And their destruction shall be at an end ;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

- 57 1 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and
2 coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons
was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars
of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven
3 to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this
is the end of the second Parable.

5-LVII. 3^a. Another section from the 'Elect One' source (see p. 169) which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit lxxxiii-xc or xci-civ, but not xxxvii-lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C.: while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the Elect One Source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100-64 B.C.

5. The Gentiles are stirred up, not by God directly as in Ezek. xxxviii. 14-17, but by angels, as in Dan. x. 13 seqq.
return *gm'q*, 'assemble' *m'tu,β*.
6. His elect ones ¹⁰ *gqt*. 'their elect ones' *mu,β-e*.
[And . . . highway]. The construction is against the insertion of these words.
threshing-floor. Cf. Isa. xxi. 10.
7. The attack fails, Zech. xii. 2, 3; the invaders disagree, Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Zech. xiv. 13; Hag. ii. 22, and destroy one another. Cf. c. 1-3.
But *tuβ*. > *gmq*.
his brother *a*, 'his neighbour and his brother' *β*.
no number . . . slaughter. *q* reads 'for their number through their death and chastisement shall be corpses and it shall not be in vain'. In fact only a scribe in *t* inserts a negative. Possibly then we should restore 'till the number of the corpses be more than myriads', supposing *ממותם* corrupt for *מרביות*.
8. in *a-q*, 'and in' *q,β*.
Sheol shall open its jaws. Cf. Num. xvi. 31-3; Isa. v. 14. See lxiii. 10.
shall be at an end *g*. > *t,β*, 'shall not end' *q*, 'has sunk down' *m*, 'has been destroyed' *u*.
- LVII. Dispersed Israel returns from east and west. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13, xliii. 5, 6, xlix. 12, 22, 23.
1. on the winds. Perhaps read 'like the winds'.
from the west. 'to the west' *q*.
2. was heard *gq,β*, 'was' *mtu*.
the pillars . . . moved. Cf. Hag. ii. 6, 7; Joel iii. 16.
one end . . . other *a-q*, 'the end of the earth to the end of the heaven' *β*.

LVIII—LXXI. The Third Parable.

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

- 58 1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.
 2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
 For glorious shall be your lot.
 3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
 And the elect in the light of eternal life :
 The days of their life shall be unending,
 And the days of the holy without number.
 4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits :
 There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.
 5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
 That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith :
 For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
 And the darkness is past.
 6 And there shall be a light that never endeth,
 And to a limit (lit. ' number ') of days they shall not come,
 For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
 [And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
 And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

- 59 1 [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements
 they execute (lit. ' their judgement ') : and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of
 2 Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the
 heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth,
 whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.
 3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for
 blessing and for satisfying.]

Book of Noah—a Fragment.

LX. *Quaking of the Heaven : Behemoth and Leviathan : the Elements.*

- 60 1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†.
 In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host
 of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were

LVIII. The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces lviii, lxi–lxiv, lxix. 26–9. The main theme is the final judgement by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

2. **your lot**, preserved for them by the Messiah xlviii. 7.
3. **light of the sun**. See xxxviii. 4 (note), and verse 4 here.
- eternal life**. See xxxvii. 4 (note). Cf. Dan. xii. 2 ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16.
4. **the Eternal Lord** or ' Lord of the ages ' . See lxxxix. 10. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.
5. **secrets of righteousness**, i.e. their hidden recompense, as in xxxviii. 3, and xlviii. 7. They must still ' seek ', and so their life is progressive.
- heritage of faith**. Cf. xxxix. 6, lxi. 4, 11.
6. **never endeth**, emended for MSS. ' cannot be numbered ' .
 [And . . . Spirits]. Dittograph of following line.

LIX. An intrusion of the same class as xli. 3–8, xliii, xlv, probably from a Noah-Apocalypse.

1. Cf. Job xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 5, 13, xxxviii. 24–7, for their ethical ends.

In *a*, ' and in ' *β*.

of the lights *a, ev*, ' the lights ' *β- ev*.

a blessing or a curse. Cf. xli. 8 ; Job xxxvi. 31.

2. Cf. lx. 13–15.

he caused *a- u*, ' they caused ' *αδουχ, α, β*.

judgements. Text has read *οικηματα* for *κριματα*.

on the earth. All MSS. but *u* add ' and the voice of the thunder ' .

3. Job xxxviii. 24–7.

LX. One of the Noachic fragments. See liv. 7 (note), also notes on lx. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, &c.

1. **the year 500**. This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch ; so for ' Enoch ' read ' Noah ' .

in the seventh month, &c., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.

- In that Parable, unsuitable to the words ' I saw ' , and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Read ' in that vision ' .

host of the Most High, &c. Cf. i. 6, 7, 9, for the theophany, also for the host xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13.

- 2 disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.
- 3 And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.
- 4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain—that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.
- 25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience.'
- 7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the 8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first 9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses 10 of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: 'Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

2. **Head of Days.** See xlv. 1 (note); liv. 7 (note).

the righteous could hardly have been before God's throne before the Deluge, as few if any righteous had as yet died.

3. Cf. xiv. 14, 24.

loins gave way. Ps. lxxix. 23; Isa. xlv. 1.

dissolved. All MSS. but *u, dy* add 'and'. Hence β supplies an extra verb 'melted' to 'reins.'

4. Cf. Dan. v. 6, viii. 17, x. 9, 10. Michael as chief archangel (xl. 4, 9) sends 'the angel of peace' (v. 24).

5. Michael *a.* 'the holy Michael' β .

merciful and long-suffering. Cf. lx. 25, l. 3, 5, lxi. 13.

6. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 37. The Deluge has here features belonging properly to the Messianic judgement of the Parables. Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).

worship not. Only *u* has the negative. If we omit it, we might restore 'corrupt' instead of 'worship'.

law. Text = 'judgement'. Heb. מִשְׁפָּט has both meanings.

25. punishment . . . rest. Cf. lxii. 12.

Afterwards . . . according to His mercy, i.e. after the Deluge. Cf. Gen. viii. 21, 22; En. lx. 5 (note).

There is a dittograph preceding this verse 'in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be (*bcx*: 'may not come' *e*; all other MSS. omit negative and verb) in vain and may slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers'. Before the last sentence 'Afterwards, &c.' all MSS. insert another dittograph 'when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon these'.

7-10. A fragment dealing with Creation myths.

7. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl, xli, but Jewish exponents find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. l. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1. See 4 Ezra vi. 49-52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4, where these monsters are to be the food of the righteous in the Messianic age. See too Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 202, 389, 402.

that day, i.e. Creation.

fountains of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; En. lxxxix. 7.

8. †Dûidâin† *u*, Dûnadâin *g*, 'Dûndâin† *t*, Dêndâin *m, \beta -eh*, Dêin (?) *h*. Cf. 'land of Nod' Gen. iv. 16. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 39.

the garden. See xxxii. 3 (note). Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in xxxii. 3-6, and the righteous dead are in the West xxii; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, lxi. 12, lx. 8, 23: of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, lxx. 2-4; of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, lxxxix. 52; of Enoch in lxxv. 2 (see note), and here. This passage (lx. 8) and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise. Cf. Latin version of Sir. xlv. 16, Ethiopic of Gen. v. 24. See Weber, *L.d.T.* 251.

seventh from Adam. Cf. xciii. 3; Jude 14; Jubilees vii. 39.

7-9, 24. Both 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and 2 Bar. xxix. 4 seem to have drawn on our text.

9. the other angel, see vv. 4 and 11. For the answer see v. 24. *g, \beta -n* read 'that' for 'the'.

10. Thou son of man, = Noah. Cf. Ezekiel's use of the phrase, and contrast the use in the Parables xlv. 1-3 (note).

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the
 12 heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions
 13 are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.
 14 For the thunder has [†]places of rest[†] (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together
 15 through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.
 16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains
 17 of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good
 18 angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength—There is a
 19 special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is [†]glorious[†] both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.
 20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the
 21 mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on
 22 the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain,
 23 and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.
 24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: 'These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

61 I And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

- 11–13. A long account about physical secrets. The answer to *v.* 9 comes in *v.* 24 and is given by the angel of peace.
 11. the other angel, &c. Borrowed from *xvi.* 2. Cf. *xliii.* 3.
 12. The powers of nature are personified or regarded as conscious intelligences. Cf. *Jubilees ii.* 2 'angels of the spirit of fire', &c.; *Rev. vii.* 1, 2, *xiv.* 18, *xix.* 17; *Asc. Isa. iv.* 18.
 chambers. All MSS. but *g* read 'in the chambers'.
 how they are weighed. Cf. *xliii.* 2, *Job. xxviii.* 25.
 portals. So Flemming emends.
 lights of the moon. Its various phases.
 13. Cf. *Job xxxvii.* 1–5.
 16. The ebb and flow of the sea, which is also supposed to supply the springs in the mountains.
 17. a good angel. Hail often hurts, but yet is not in charge of a demon.
 19. Unlike the previous phenomena, mist appears in all seasons, and by night and by day.
 is glorious. Text may = כבד. If so, it should have been rendered 'is oppressive'.
 in its chamber is an angel *tu*, 'its chamber is an angel' *gmq*, 'in its chamber is light and its angel' *β*.
 20. The dew dwells at the ends of the heaven. Cf. *xxxiv.* 1, 2; *xxxvi.* 1 and *lxxv.* 5.
 21. The rain is so important for the well-being of man (*Job xxxvii.* 12, 13) that its spirit is not independent, but subordinated to the angels. Cf. *Job xxviii.* 26, *xxxviii.* 25–8.
 and ¹⁹ > *gg*.
 And whensoever . . . on the earth *a-q* (*u* omits 'with the water on the earth').
 22. for *mt, β-doyb*. > *u.* *g, doy, b* read 'from the place of'. *g* = a corruption of *mt*.
 23. the Garden. See *v.* 8 (note). Note that the seas and the Garden adjoin as in *lxxvii.* 3, 4.
 24. goes back to *v.* 9. The angel of peace is out of place here. See *vv.* 4, 9, 11.
 LXI. 1. The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.
 those angels. The reference may be lost. *g* reads 'the two angels'.
 wings, only assigned to angels in the latest books of the O. T. cf. *1 Chron. xxi.* 16.
 towards the north, perhaps Paradise. See *xxxii.* 3 (note); *lxx.* 3.

- 2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him : ' Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off ? ' And he said unto me : ' They have gone to measure . '
- 3 And the angel who went with me said unto me :
' These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever . '
- 4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness .
- 5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One ;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed .
- 6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire .
- 7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life .
- 8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory .
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed .
- 9 And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits .
- 10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God,

. the angel of peace, in the Elect One sections.

the cords *a.* ' the long cords ' *β.*

have gone > *mud.* to measure (*g*) *tuβ.* ' to begin ' *gm.*

3-5. The measures and ropes seem to represent the nature of the ideal community of the righteous living and departed, and the union and communion of such with one another and with the Lord of Spirits.

3-4. Belong to Son of Man source, as ' the angel who went with me ' interprets.

3. to the righteous *gqtu, n.* > *m.β-n.*

stay themselves on. Cf. *xlvi.* 4, *lxi.* 5.

4. righteousness *a.* *β* prefixes ' the voice of '.

5. The righteous alone rise here ; in *li.* 1, 2 all Israel.

devoured ¹⁰. *g* omits next nine words through *hmt.*

by the beasts *tu.* ' by the treasures ' *gm.* *β-n* reads ' and by the beasts ' after ' of the sea ', omitting ' and . . devoured '.

6. all who dwell above in the heaven, i.e. the angels as in *vv.* 8, 10, 12, ix. 3, *xlvi.* 2.

one voice. Cf. 2 Bar. xxx. 2 ' in one assemblage of one thought '.

7. that One = the Lord of Spirits, or else the Elect One, *v.* 5. Or better, for *la* read *ba* and render ' with their first words they blessed '.

8. See *xl.* 3 (note) : cf. Ps. cx. 1.

glory *a.* ' His glory ' *β.*

the holy, i.e. the angels. Cf. *lxi.* 6. But *g* reads ' the righteous '.

shall their deeds be weighed *mqu, β.* ' they (' he ' *t, abcdefhkl*) shall weigh their deeds ' *g.* See *xli.* 1 (note).

9. ways, ' cause ' *t.*

the word of the name, or ' command of the name '.

Lord of Spirits ²⁰ *a.* ' Most High God ' *β.*

sanctify *a, n.* ' praise ' *β-n.*

10. He will summon. Or if *ješêw'ê* is a misrendering of *βοήσσει*, render ' the host . . . shall cry out '.

Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin. Cf. *xiv.* 11, 18, *xx.* 7, *lxxi.* 7. The Cherubim were primarily symbolic figures, the means of revealing or concealing God's presence, but here = an order of angels. Cf. Rev. v. 6 ; 2 En. xix. 6, *xx.* 1. The Seraphim served in His immediate presence. They are not classed together in O. T. The Ophannim (i.e. wheels) come from Ezek. i. 15. The Talmud classes them with Cherubim and Seraphim, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 168, 205.

- the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."
- All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:
And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.
- For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty: Blessedness of the Righteous.*

- And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said:
'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'
- And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.
- And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.
- Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.
- And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,

angels of power and . . . of principalities. Cf. Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Test. 12 Patr. Levi iii. 8. the other powers on the earth, i.e. the lower angel-powers over nature.

11. The seven virtues of the praising angels. Cf. xlix. 3. glorify + 'and praise' β.

exalt > g.

in the spirit of patience *il₁a*. 'in patience' other MSS.

Blessed is He, &c. Cf. xxxix. 10; and Rev. iv. 9, 11, v. 13.

12. who sleep not. See i. 5 (note).

the holy ones *a*, *bwxy*: 'His holy ones' β-*bwxy*.

garden of life. See lx. 8 (note). The LXX chronology is followed here as in all the Parables. Cf. liv. 7 (note).

spirit of light, i.e. good spirit, human or angelic. Cf. cviii. 11; Luke xvi. 8.

blessed *a*. 'holy' β.

13. mercy. See lx. 5 (note).

LXII. A long account of the judgement, esp. of the kings and mighty. Short accounts occur in xlvi. 4-8, xlviii. 8-10, liii-liv. 3. They behold the Messiah with anguish, and pray for mercy, but are carried off to torment. The righteous are glorified.

1. the kings, &c. See xxxviii. 5.

lift up your horns. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4.

2. seated him. So Dillmann emends for MSS. 'sat'. Cf. Isa. xi. 4.

word of his mouth. The judgement is forensic.

all the sinners, cf. lxix. 27 (note).

from before *a*. 'and from before' β.

3. righteousness *a*. 'the righteous in righteousness' β-*no*, *b*, 'the righteous' *no*, *b*.

no lying word. xlix. 4.

4. Cf. Isa. xliii. 8, xxi. 3, xxvi. 17.

[and . . . forth] dittograph of line 4.

5. one portion, &c. Isa. xliii. 8. Cf. Wisdom v. 1 seqq.

- And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.
- 6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.
- 7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.
- 8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.
- 9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.
- 10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.
- 11 And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect
- 12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect :
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.
- 13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.
- 14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.
- 15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
- And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

- Son of Man *a-m*, 'Son of the woman' *m,β*. See xlv. 2 (note).
Sitting on the throne of his glory. Cf. Matt. xxv. 31.
6. the kings and the mighty *a-u*. 'the mighty Kings' *u,β*.
rules over all. Dan. vii. 14.
who was hidden, or 'that was hidden', i.e. the unseen universe.
6, 7. hidden. Cf. xlviii. 6, 7. Revealed by the Lord of Spirits to the elect, who thus became a congregation, the plant of righteousness of x. 16.
7. from the beginning. So *mgt, β-1a*.
8. congregation. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
elect and holy *a*, 'holy and elect' *β*.
10. shame, and darkness. Cf. xlv. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 55. grow deeper *gt,β-f*. Cf. Nah. ii. 10.
11. He will deliver them to, &c. So Flemming emends. *mβ* read 'the angels of punishment shall take them in charge'.
angels for punishment. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liii. 3—liv. 2.
12. spectacle. See xlviii. 9 (note).
sword, used figuratively as in lxiii. 11.
drunk. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6.
13. saved, cf. xlviii. 7.
14. God Himself (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Zeph. iii. 15-17) and the Messiah (xxxix. 6, 7, xlv. 4) will dwell with the righteous and elect for ever.
eat: 'abide and eat' *β-n¹*.
eat and lie down. Zeph. iii. 13.
15, 16. garments of glory . . . of life. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, also 1 En. cviii. 12.
15. of glory *a,in*. 'of life' *β-in*.

- 16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits :
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 63¹ In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them
a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall
2 down, and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. And they shall
bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say :
'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever :
Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.
4 We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'
5 And they shall say :
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory !
6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not :
We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not :
And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever :
7 For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]
But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.
8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession
That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice,
And His judgements have no respect of persons.
9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

garments of life $q\beta$, $a-q$ prefix 'your garments'.
from $a-t^1$, t^2 , 'with' β .
not grow old; cf. Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5.

LXIII. A last despairing appeal by the kings and mighty. They justify God's judgement. Cf. Wisdom v. 3-8.

1. the mighty and the kings a , 'kings' $aehknvw$, 'mighty kings' $bcd\tilde{f}ilopxy_1a_1b$.
His angels $a-tu\beta$, 'the angels' t_1q^2 .

2. They confess what before they denied, xli. 5.

3. Cf. xlix. 2.

splendid . . . power $a-mu$, 'every secret thing is lighted up and Thy power' β .

5. glorify and give thanks $a-q$. 'glorify Him and thank Him' q,β (+ 'and bless Him' β).

6. And now q,β . 'now' $a-q$.

follow hard upon gt^1b . $> u,i$. 'are driven away' mq , $t^2\beta-i_1a_1b$.
obtain, &c.: q reads 'obtain not light; it has', &c.
darkness is our dwelling-place. Cf. xli. 6.

7. believed or 'confessed'.

of spirits gq , efv . 'of lords' m . 'of kings' tu , $\beta-efv$.

[our Lord] a , 'the Lord in all His work' β .

sceptre gm , io_1a_1b . 'throne' tu , fv . 'sceptre of the throne' $q,dhkl_n$.

8. No place of repentance when the final judgement has come.
our Lord is true, &c. Cf. Jub. iv. 21.

- 10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.'
- 11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.
- 12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

- 64^{1, 2} And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

- 65^{1, 2} And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?' And thereupon there was a great commotion on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?'
6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those

10. Riches avail not to save them. Cf. lii. 7, liii. 1, 2; Ps. xlix. 7–12.

unrighteous gain. Cf. Luke xvi. 9, 11; Sir. v. 8.

from the midst thereof *gqu*. 'from the flame thereof' *mt*, *β-b*.

into the †burden†. Possibly *βápv* = 'stronghold' was misread as *βάπος*, 'burden'. Or we might read 'into the burden of the flame of Sheol'.

Sheol. See my Commentary for a full discussion of this word's history. (1) The oldest view occurs in e.g. Job xxx. 23; Num. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Cf. the Homeric Hades. (2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (cf. li. 1). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (lxiii. 10, xcix. 11). See Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life*,—*passim*.

11. Bousset suggests that this verse is an interpolation. It resembles lxii. 10.

darkness and shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10.

12. Thus *a-g*, 'as' *g*, 'and thus' *β*.

LXIV. A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable, liv. 3, &c., lv. 3, 4. It is out of the context here, as 'that place' in *v*. 1 cannot be Sheol referred to in lxiii. 10.

2. I heard, 'and I heard' *m*, *vix*.

angel, 'angels' *m*.

descended + 'from heaven' *t*, *β*.

LXV—LXIX. 25. Professedly part of a Noah Apocalypse (see liv. 7), giving here three accounts (1) lxv. 1–lxvii. 3, the coming Flood and Noah's escape; (2) lxvii. 4–lxix. 1, the fallen angels' punishment, and that of the kings and the mighty; (3) lxix. 2–25, the angels' fall and the secrets they disclosed.

LXV. 1. Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in lx. 1.

and *g,β*. > *a-g*.

Noah. 'I Noah' *t*, and so in first person for verses 1 and 2.

2. the ends of the earth, i.e. where the entrance to heaven is. Cf. cvi. 8.

grandfather, really great-grandfather. Cf. lx. 8.

3. I said *a, v*: 'he said' *tβ-iv*.

4. a voice, the command of verse 6.

6–10^a. Text out of order. Clearer if verses 9–10^a followed at once on verse 5.

6. those who dwell on the earth, borrowed from the Parables. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

have learnt all the secrets, &c. Cf. vii, viii, lxix.

all their powers—the most secret ones *gt*, 'their secret powers' *β-an*, 'the powers of their most secret secrets' *m*. 'their powers' *qu*.

who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images
 7 for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal
 8 originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain
 9 that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.' And after that my
 grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have
 10 asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: "Because
 of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by
 Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those
 11 who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever,
 because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my
 son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.
 12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
 And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
 And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
 And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

66 1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose
 all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruc-
 2 tion on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to
 the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them
 3 in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence
 of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

67 1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come
 2 up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making
 a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and
 preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the
 3 earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever,
 and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be **unfruitful** on the face of the earth,
 but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'
 4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley

the power of witchcraft. Cf. vii. 1, viii. 3. The Deluge is due to the corruption wrought through the angels.

8. from the earth > *q*.

is pre-eminent. So *t*. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit*.

9. my hand *gq*. 'his hand' *mtu*, *β*.

10. withheld. Text = 'reckoned', i.e. **יחשב** corrupt for **יחשן** in Hebrew, or **יחמנא** for **יחמנע** in Aramaic.

sorceries. So Halévy **חרישים** for **חרישים** = 'months' in text. This emendation is possible in Aramaic as well as Hebrew. Or **יחיא** might be corrupt in Aramaic for **סחריא** = 'secrets'.

11. place of repentance. Text = 'return'. In Hebrew **תשובה** and in Aramaic **תשובה** mean both 'repentance' and 'return'.

12. Noah is to found a new and righteous generation.

thy righteous seed *gmtu(q)*, 'thy seed in righteousness' *β*.

both for kingship *q(t)*, 'both for kings' *β*, 'both kings' *gmu*.

fountain. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 26.

LXVI. 1. **angels of punishment**. They deal solely with the second judgement in the Parables. Here they wrongly are said to be the agents of the Deluge, and angels over the power of the waters. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liv. 7 and lx. 16. Cf. Rev. xvi. 5.

[abide and]. A dittograph > *q*: *u*, *bx* omit 'and dwell'.

2. **the waters**. Text corruptly reads 'the hands'.

The angels are to pause that the ark may be built. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.

LXVII. 1. Cf. Gen. vi. 9.

2. In lxxxix. 1, Noah himself makes the ark.

have completed *t*. So *a-t* in a corrupt form. 'have gone' *β*.

3. Cf. lxx. 12.

it shall not be unfruitful. Emended. > *bdoxy, b*. Or we might emend to 'they shall not tempt (thy seed)'.

LXVII. 4—LXIX. 1. This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second judgement are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, e.g. the burning valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (lxvii. 4), while in liv. 1 it is in 'another part of the earth'.

4. The Deluge and the judgement of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in x. 2, 4, but here (1) the prison is the burning valley (= the Gehenna of liv, though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and (2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned beneath that land. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgement shall come upon them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.' Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonished at the Severity of the Judgement.*

68¹ And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before

in the west, borrowed from lli. 1. It increases the geographical confusion.

5, 6. Features of the Deluge, and volcanic disturbances are combined, the latter connected with the angels' punishment.

6. burned beneath that land. A subterranean fire was believed to exist under the Gehenna valley. Cf. xxvii. 1 (note). Cf. too the fate of Sodom.

8. The hot springs result from the meeting of the water and fire underground by which the angels were punished. Herod the Great resorted to such a spring, Callirhoe to the east of the Dead Sea, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5. Cf. the hot springs of Machaerus, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 3.

in those days—those of the writer.

healing of the body *gm, bx*. 'healing of the soul and body' *qtu, β-bx*.

punishment of the spirit i. e. in the final judgement.

punished in their body. At present the sin of their spirit entails suffering on the body only, which is healed by the waters, but in Gehenna spirit and body alike will suffer.

denied the Lord of Spirits. Cf. xxxviii. 2 (note), liv. 7 (note).

see their punishment daily, i. e. can read their future torments in the present ones of the angels.

9. The kings will repent under torment, but without avail.

an idle word. Cf. xlix. 4 (note).

10. deny the Spirit of the Lord. This phrase is unique in Enoch.

11. With the angel's departure the waters cool. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in these waters *a*, 'in those days' *β-v*.

12. Michael *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

13. The waters heal now, and their healing virtue blinds the kings to the fire below which is reserved for their future torment. Cf. v. 8.

kings. Text = 'angels' i. e. מלאכיא for מלכיא.

lust *m*, 'desire' *gqtu*, 'death' *β-y*.

LXVIII. 1. Note that the Parables already exist as a complete work in the hands of the redactor, who confesses to combining them with the Noah fragments. The meaning of this chapter is far from clear.

words of the book. 'book of the words' *g*.

2. This dialogue of Michael and Raphael sets forth the severity of the judgement over the fallen angels, or rather the Satans.

The power of the spirit. A strange phrase. Halévy suggests that 'power' here = י in the sense of 'punishment'.

makes me to tremble. Text = 'provokes me' = יאריניני.

because of *a-g*, 'and because of' *g, β*.

judgement of the secrets. Perhaps the penalty for the secrets divulged by the Satans.

of the angels *gβ*. > *a-g*.

executed + 'and abides' *β*.

3 which they melt away? ' And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: ' Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement 4 (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out? ' And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: ' I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do 5 as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

69 1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them to **tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.
2 And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûràêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Simâpêsiêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl, 3 the twentieth †Rûmâêl†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].
4 The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them 5 down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled 6 their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons 7 of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell 8 on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the 9 children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to 10 eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation 11 to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power

3. **Michael** *a.* 'the holy Michael' *β.* So too in *v.* 4.
answered + 'me' *gqu.*
is not softened *β.* 'is not convicted' *a.*
word of judgement (that) has gone forth *gq.* 'word: judgement &c.' *mtu, β.*
because of those who have thus led them out, i. e. the Satans who seduced these angels.
4. do as if they were the Lord. Cf. Isa. xiv. 11–13.
5. all that is hidden *a.* 'the hidden judgement' *β.*
neither angel nor man suffers their torments, but these fallen angels alone.

LXIX. 1. **make them to tremble.** Text = 'irritate them' = אִרְרִיזֵהוּ which has both meanings.
2, 3. I have bracketed 3 and most of 2 as an intrusion. These angels are those who fell in the days of Jared, but in *v.* 4 seqq. we have Satans. So perhaps read in 2 'behold the names of those Satans,' and go on to 4.
2. The thirteenth is superfluous and not in *vi.* 7, where see note.
4. In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished. The latter fell in the days of Jared in i–xxxvi, and xci–civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused. Azazel causes all sin in i–xxxvi (x. 8), and Semjaza in *vi.* 3, ix. 7.

Jeqôn *a-u*, Jeqûn *β*, i. e. 'inciter'.
the sons of **God**. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7. Emended for text 'the sons of the angels', i. e. מְלַאכֵי אֱלֹהִים was misread as מְלַאכֵי אֱלֹהִים.
t, bed, &c., add 'holy', which may go with 'sons' or 'angels'.
5. **Asbeêl** 'deserter from God' or (Schmidt) 'thought of God'.
6. **Gâdreêl**, a Satan, as he led astray Eve. In *viii.* 1 it is Azazel that makes weapons of war. In Aramaic Gadreel = 'God is my helper' עֲדָרִיאֵל.

[the weapons . . . men] dittograph from end of verse.
8. **Pênêmûe**. Cf. פְּנִימִי 'the inside'.
9–10. The art of writing is a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.

11. Man was originally righteous and immortal. Cf. Wisdom, i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24. Cf. Talmud, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 215, 216, 222, 248. He lost his uprightness and immortality through the devil's envy, Wisdom ii. 24; the evil knowledge introduced by the Satans or angels, 1 En. lxix. 11; his own evil act, 1 En. xcvi. 4.
pure and righteous *a-g*, 'pure and holy' *g*, 'righteous and pure' *β*.

- 12 †it is consuming me†. And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smitings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâ'êt. And this is the †task† of Kâsbeël, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael.
- 16 And these are the secrets of this oath . . .
And they are strong through his oath :
And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And for ever.
- 17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.
- 18 And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.
- 19 And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
- 20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.
- 21 And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.
- 22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths
23 from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light
of the lightnings: and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-
24 frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe
and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food
is in every act of thanksgiving: they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits
for ever and ever.]
- 25 And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

†it is consuming me†. Perhaps read 'they are being consumed'.

12. Cf. Ps. xci. 5, 6, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on these verses.

Tabâ'êt, unknown name. Schmidt, *O.T. and Semitic Studies*, p. 341, conjecturally restores the lost clause of 12 and all 13.

13. task = ענין emended from text = 'number' = מנין. I cannot interpret this verse.

14. this α , 'and this' β .

show him α - q , 'show them' β .

the hidden name that + 'they might enunciate that (+ 'evil and' m) hidden name' mu : + 'they might see that hidden name and' β .

16. heaven was suspended. Cf. Job xxvi. 7.

17. earth . . . water. Cf. Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6.

from . . . mountains . . . waters. Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 13.

beautiful waters α - u , *aefhikp*. 'beautiful (> u , ly_1a) waters for the living' u , *bclxy_1a*.

18. †as its foundation† seemingly corrupt for 'to limit it'.

the sand. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9.

19. depths made fast. Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

20. to eternity q , β . > α - q .

21. calls them by their names. Cf. xliii. 1 (note).

22-24. An interpolation.

22. quarters. So I render with Flemming, otherwise 'bands'.

23. the voices of the thunder α . β prefixes 'chambers of'.

chambers of the hail. Cf. lx. 11, 19-21. This verse seems to be an interpolation within an interpolation.

24. Cf. xli. 7.

25. Resumes the 'oath' of verses 14-21.

Close of the Third Parable.

- 26 And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.
- 27 And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.
- 28 With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
- 29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible;
For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.
This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. The final Translation of Enoch.

- 70 1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of
2 Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft
3 on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no
longer numbered amongst them: and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the
4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And
there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. Two earlier Visions of Enoch.

- 71 1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens:
And I saw the holy sons of God.

26–29. These verses form the conclusion of the third Parable; we have returned to its main theme.

26. the name of that Son of Man had been revealed. Cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12. See also 1 En. xlviii. 7, lxii. 7.

27. on the throne of his glory. See xlv. 3 (note).

the sum, i. e. all judgement. Cf. John v. 22, 27. For 'sum' cf. שִׁמּוּם in Ps. cxxxix. 17.

the sinners, esp. the mighty ones in the Parables, though in general also, cf. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 5, 6,

[1. 2] liii. 2, 7, lxii. 2, 13.

and be destroyed > q.

from off the face of the earth. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).

28. Cf. liii–lvi.

29. Summarizes, e. g. xlix.

the word of *t*, *bch^hnx*: 'they shall say to' *a-t df*, &c.

LXX. The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this chapter is in keeping with the Parables.

1. Son of Man. Note the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man here. Cf. xlviii. 2 (note), and xlvi. 2 (note)

and to the Lord *gqt*, 'to the Lord' *mu*, *β*.

those who dwell, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

2. he was raised. 'his name was raised' *t*.

chariots. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11. For Enoch's translation cf. lxxxvii. 3, 4, lxxxix. 52.

his name *mqt*. 'the name' *gu*, *β*. his name, i. e. his person.

3. numbered *gqt, i*. 'dragged' *m, β-i*.

between the North and the West. See xviii. 6 (note), xxiv. 1–3 (notes), lx. 8 (note) and lxvii. 4.

the cords. Cf. lxi. 1 seqq.

4. Paradise already contains his righteous forefathers. Cf. lxi. 12.

LXXI. Seems to belong to the Parables. There are two visions in this chapter: (1) verses 1–4. Enoch is translated in spirit to the heavens, has a vision of God, and is shown by Michael the secrets of the spiritual and physical worlds. (2) verses 5–17. Again Enoch is translated in spirit to the heaven of heavens and has a vision of God's house, without Michael's guidance. Both visions should come before lxx, which describes the translation of 'his name', i. e. his final translation.

1–4. The first vision.

1. translated: 'hidden' E, as always. See xii. 1 (note).

holy sons of God. Text has 'sons of the holy angels'. See lxix. 4 (note), 5, cvi. 5. The expression 'sons of Elohim' in Gen. vi. is the source of this phrase.

They were stepping on flames of fire :
 Their garments were white [and their raiment],
 And their faces shone like snow.

- 2 And I saw two streams of fire,
 And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
 And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.
- 3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
 And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
 And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.
- 4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
 And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
 Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.
- 5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
 And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
 And between those crystals tongues of living fire.
- 6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
 And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
 And they girt that house.
- 7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin :
 And these are they who sleep not
 And guard the throne of His glory.
- 8 And I saw angels who could not be counted,
 A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
 Encircling that house.
 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
 And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
 Go in and out of that house.
- 9 And they came forth from that house,
 And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
 And many holy angels without number.
- 10 And with them the Head of Days,
 His head white and pure as wool,
 And His raiment indescribable.
- 11 And I fell on my face,
 And my whole body became relaxed,
 And my spirit was transfigured ;

[and their raiment] a duplicate rendering.

2. streams of fire. Cf. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, also vv. 1, 5, 6 here.
3. and he showed. All MSS. but *u* prefix 'and he showed me all (> β) the secrets of mercy'. As 'mercy' is an alternative rendering for 'righteousness', this is a dittography.
4. Physical secrets here as in xli. 3-8, xliii, xliv occur in contexts of an entirely ethical character. 5-17. The second vision.
- 5, 6. Cf. xiv. 9-17.
5. he translated my spirit *a*. 'a spirit translated him' β . there. MSS. add a gloss 'in the midst of that light'.
6. the girdle *a-g*. 'a girdle' *g, \beta*.
7. Cf. xli. 10, 12, also xxxix. 13, xl. 2. and 3^o *a*, > β .
8. a thousand, &c. Cf. xiv. 22, xl. 1. Michael, &c. See xl. 4-7. go in and out, not so in xiv. 23.
9. and 2^o *a-l*. > ι , β .
10. Head of Days. See xlv. 1 (note); Dan. vii. 9.
11. and I fell . . . relaxed. Cf. lx. 3. spirit was transfigured. Contrast xxxix. 14; and cf. Asc. Isa. vii. 25.

And I cried with a loud voice,
 . . . with the spirit of power,
 And blessed and glorified and extolled.

- 12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of
 13 Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands
 and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch
 asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

- 14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me :
 ' This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness,
 And righteousness abides over him,
 And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not.'
 15 And he said unto me :
 ' He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come ;
 For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
 And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.
 16 And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh him :
 With him will be their dwelling-places, and with him their heritage,
 And they shall not be separated from him for ever and ever and ever.
 17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
 And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
 In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

SECTION III.

CHAPTERS LXXII-LXXXII. THE BOOK OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINARIES.

LXXII. *The Sun.*

- 72 1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their
 classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according
 to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me ; and he
 showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world
 2 and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the
 first law of the luminaries : the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven,
 3 and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and

spirit of power. Cf. lxi. 11. Some words seem lost before this phrase.

14-16. Owing to the loss of a reference to the Son of Man, some scribe has altered third to second persons in 14, 16,
 but not in 17, or 15.

14. Cf. xlvi. 3.

he *gmt.* >u. 'that angel' qβ.

This is . . . is restored for text 'Thou art . . . art'.

unto *gtu, abcf,* &c. 'in' *mq, deh,* &c.

righteousness. See xlvi. 3 (note) for this attribute of the Son of Man.

him restored for 'thee'. So in v. 16 *passim*.

15. proclaims unto thee peace. Cf. Mic. iii. 5 ; Zech. ix. 10 ; Isa. lvii. 7.

the world to come—the Messianic kingdom. Earliest use of the phrase. See Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 120 seqq.

16. all + 'shall be and' β-*al*₁b.

dwelling-places. Cf. xxxix. 4, 7.

17. length of days : i.e. an eternity ; contrast v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6.

an upright way *m.* 'his upright way' β. *gtu* support *m.* + 'to the righteous' all MSS.

Note on 14-17. I do not hold, as Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 348, Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 200, that our text elevates
 Enoch to the dignity of the Messiah. Bousset quotes 2 En. xxii. 6, lxvii. 2 ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. v. 24 ; Ps. Clem. *Hom.*
 xviii. 13 ; *Recog.* ii. 47.

LXXII. 1. dominion. Cf. lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8-20.

names. Cf. lxxviii. 1, 2.

origin i.e. rising.

the new creation. Cf. xlv. 4, xci. 15, 16 ; Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22 ; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1 ; also the Yasts xiii.
 57-58 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 194).

2. Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and
 decrease of the days and nights.

portals. See Babylonian *Creation Epos* v. 9 ; *K.A.T.*³ 619, 630. Cf. xxxiii-xxxvi for portals of winds and stars.
 In lxxii-lxxxii, sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in xxxiii-xxxvi the stars' portals are small, while
 in lxxii. 6 one of the sun's portals is called 'great'.

six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than

leaders of the stars. See lxxv. 1 (note).

windows. Cf. v. 7, lxxv. 7.

right and left=south and north.

4. Cf. xli. 5-7.

circumference, a disk or a sphere. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 3, also xviii. 4, lxxiii. 4.

5. The chariot. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, 8; driven by the wind xviii. 4, lxxviii. 2.

returns through the north. Cf. xli. 5.

is so guided, possibly by an angel. The sun is not, as the heavenly bodies are in i-xxxvi, semi-conscious.

6. the first month, of the Hebrews, i.e. Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.

6, 7. the great portal, so distinguished from the twelve window-openings of each portal (lxxii. 3, lxxv. 7), with their heat-giving flames.

8. The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals, cf. the 'chamber' of Ps. xix. 5. Though well aware of a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being 'on account of the sign', i.e. that of the equinoxes or solstices. Cf. lxxii. 13, 19. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49° .

10. on $a-t$, 'and on' t , β .

a ninth part, i.e. of the whole day, gqu . $>mt$, β . All MSS. wrongly insert 'twice as much' after 'longer'.

exactly a . $>\beta$.

11. in the fourth + 'portal' $q, \beta-bcdx_1a$.

12. and 1° . $>bcdlopx_1a_1b$.

†two†. Read 'one'.

13. it returns a . 'the sun returns' β .

portal 1° . $>a-t$.

its sign, i.e. the summer solstice here, cf. v. 19, lxxv. 3, lxxviii. 7.

14. on $a-g$. 'and on' $q^2 \beta$.

15. mounts up, to start on his return journey to the first portal.

18. †two†. Read 'one'.

19. its sign + 'in the fourth portal ($>u$) in the east' a

20. [and . . . length], a duplicate rendering.

22. and night becomes longer than night, $a-m$. 'till the thirtieth morning' β .

day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a †ninth† part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven. On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. 'they are separated'). So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun, for ever and ever. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

73¹ And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.
 2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides
 3 is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. And her rising and setting
 4 change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform
 5 (i.e. full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first
 phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and
 constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the
 5 portal where the sun rises. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole

morning, *a-q, efln.* > *q.* 'day' *abcd*, &c.

25. into the first portal *β-a*, 'in it on the first day (?)' *gq*, 'in the sixth portal' *m*, 'on that day' *tu*.

27. that portal *m, β*, 'all the portals' *a-m*.

28. on that night, *gq, f.* 'on that day' *mt*, *β-f*.

a †ninth† part *gqu.* > *m.* 'one part' *t, β-a*, 'ninth' should be 'eighteenth', as in 16. Or for 'decreased in length' we might emend to 'grown shorter than the day'.

31. that portal *a-t.* 'that second portal' *t, β*.

35. he returns *a-m.* 'he returns, he returns' *m, β*.

sixty times, i.e. two months in each portal, one month on his northward and one month on his southward journey. The author disregards for the time being the extra day in the first, third, fourth, and sixth portals.

luminary *a.* 'eternal luminary' *β*.

37. as he rises, so he sets *g*, 'so he rises and (+ 'so' *qt*) he sets' *mqt*, 'and so he sets' *u*, 'and so he rises and sets' *β-anx*.

day and night + 'in his chariot' *t², β*.

sevenfold brighter. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 4. Also cf. Isa. xxx. 26.

as regards size . . . equal. So Lucretius believed, *De Rer. Nat.* v. 564-91.

LXXIII. This chapter and LXXIV treat of the moon's course.

2. the heaven *a-m, bcdilo*, 'the sun' *m, aefhknprv*.

3. her rising and setting, i.e. the place of her rising and setting.

4. her first phase lit. 'her beginning', i.e. the new moon in the popular sense, on the first day of her visible reappearance.

thirtieth morning, of the solar month.

5-8. The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days alternately, and is divided into two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, i.e. each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the

circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the fourteenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. *The Lunar Year.*

74 ¹ And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly ² revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months ³ as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her ⁴ darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues ⁵ her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun : in those two middle portals the ⁶ third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light : and she recedes from the sun, and in eight ⁷ days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in ⁸ seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light : and she recedes and enters into the ⁹ first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the ¹⁰ sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And ¹¹ if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue ¹² to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days : in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days : and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And the sun and the stars bring in all

moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part. Verses 5, 6 suppose the period from new to full moon to be 14 days, verse 7 supposes it to be 15 days.

5. *goes forth*, MSS. read *rehûq* = *ἐξέρχων*, which is used of the sun's rising or appearing. It in turn may render *ἔλθω*, which is used of the rising of the sun and stars. Flemming proposes to emend the text to *re'ûj* = 'visible'.

one-seventh part *gqtu*, *abc*, &c. Other MSS. corrupt.

(and) the fourteenth part *gqu*. 'of the fourteenth part' *mt*, *β*. + 'of half' *g*, needlessly, as the fractions are fractions of half in this verse and the next.

6. one-seventh part ²⁰ *gmgu*, *d*. 'the thirteenth part' *t*, *l*. 'the fourteenth part' *β*-*dklo*. Apparently $\frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{14}$ of $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{8}$ of the whole moon are lighted the first day when there are only 14 days to the full moon.

7. half of one part of light, i.e. one twenty-eighth. When the waxing takes 15 days, the moon only receives one twenty-eighth part, and so is practically invisible, the first morning : on the second day she attains to one-fourteenth, and becomes visible.

fourteen *gu*, *abc*, &c. 'thirteen' *mgt*, *il*, *b*.

8. thirteen *a*, *n*. 'fourteen' *β*-*n*.

LXXIV. This chapter deals with the moon's waxing and waning, her monthly change of position with regard to the signs and the sun, and the difference between lunar and solar years.

2. of them all, i.e. the moon's phases.

fifteen days, i.e. between conjunction and full moon.

3. Cf. lxxiii and lxxviii.

and in single seventh . . . darkness *>a*, *an*.

4. peculiar course, independent of the sun.

5, 6. During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. In verse 6 the moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, i.e. the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

6. and accomplishes. 'and in that accomplishes' *t*², *β*.

9. how the moons rose and the sun set *a-g*. 'according to the order of their moons the sun rising and setting' *q*, *β*.

10, 11. The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see lxxviii. 15). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (lxxiv. 10, 12). In verses 10^a and 11 these intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

11. the moon *t*², *β* : *a* has transposed the word to the next sentence, as subject to 'bring in'.

12. Accuracy of the solar and sidereal time-division. Jubilees vi. 32-6 protests against the use of the lunar year.

and the sun. So *gmt* except that they prefix 'from' before 'the sun', *>qu*, *β*.

and the stars *u*, 'and from the stars' *gmt*, *>t*², *β*. Here all MSS. add 'and (>*n*) the moon', following the lead of *a*.

the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity;
 13 but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in
 14 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount
 in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is
 15 to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.] And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days
 16 in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the
 17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their
 world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun)
 rises and sets 30 days.

75 ¹ And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over
 all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office,
 according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not
 2 reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries
 truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the
 heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accom-
 3 plished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times
 and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever
 over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the
 face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun,
 moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots
 4 of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's
 chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth
 5 diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. [And for the winds and
 6 the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] As for the
 twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars,
 7 and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, There are many windows open to the left
 and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding
 (as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them,
 8 and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running
 9 in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than
 all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

but **complete** = ἀλλὰ τελοῦσιν, corrupted into ἀλλὰ ττοῦσιν, whence the Ethiopic text.

13–16. Merely seem to assert that the solar year of 364 days exceeds the lunar of 354 by 10 days. But why should
 eight years be referred to? The author seems to have in mind the eight-year cycle or octaetris, which, however, allowed
 for 365½ days in the solar year. See special Introduction to lxxii–lxxxii, p. 150 in my new Commentary.

14. The totals for 3 and 5 years are added together to give the total for 8 years. (1062 + 1770 = 2832.)

The brackets indicate a marginal gloss.

(1000 and) found only in the margin of c.

16. [] a doublet.

17. **their world-stations** *a-m*, 'their stations' *m*, *β*.

LXXV. The intercalary days, the stars, and the sun.

1. The four intercalary days are under charge of the highest stars, the leaders of the heads of ten thousands. See
 lxxxii. 11, 12.

and ¹⁰ *g*, *β*. > *a-g*.

their office *m*. 'its (>*g*) office' *a-m*. 'their position' *l²β*.

the reckoning ¹⁰ *a*: *β* prefixes 'all'.

are not reckoned. The popular reckoning was 360 days to the year. Cf. lxxxii. 5.

2. Men reckon wrongly, by omitting these intercalary days, lxxxii. 4–6.

the exactness of the year *g*: 'in exactness the world' *g*: 'the exactness of the world' *mtu*, *β*. In Ethiopic 'ām
 = 'year', and 'âlam = 'world'.

is accomplished *gm*, *β*: 'accomplishes' *qtu* (taking 'the exactness' as object).

3. These days are, however, real. Uriel showed them to Enoch. Cf. lxxii. 1.

signs, i.e. of the Zodiac, lxxii. 13, 19.

Lord of glory *a-g*: 'Lord of Spirits' *g*: 'Eternal Lord of glory' *β-l*. See lxxxiv. 2 (note). Cf. 'the great Lord,
 the King of glory', lxxxi. 3.

chariots of the heaven. Cf. lxxii. 5; *g* reads 'troops of the heaven'.

4. The variation in the sun's heat is explained by the twelve openings in the disk of the sun.

doors Uriel showed me, open (*mtu*, *afhkn*: 'open' *g*: 'doors and Uriel showed me' *g*).

5. An intrusion. The first clause is unintelligible, the second 'when they' &c. seems to be a dittograph of the last
 clause in 4 and the first in 5.

opened *a-g*. + 'in the seasons' *l²β*.

6, 7. Adjoining each one of the sun's twelve portals are twelve windows open to the left and right of them. Cf.
 lxxii. 3, 7. These diffuse warmth over the earth, one being open at a time, and all differing in heating power.

6. This verse begins in *a* with a dittograph 'when they are opened' from *v*. 4. *β* inserts 'I saw', thus altering
 'twelve portals' from a *nominativus pendens* into the acc. But Enoch had been viewing them since lxxii.

8. **above** + 'and below' *bcd*, &c.

9. **one is larger**. Perhaps the Great Bear.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

- 76¹ And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the **quarters** (of the heaven), from
² which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east)
of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and
³ three on the left (i.e. the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of [†]the
⁴ north, and three [after those on the left] of the south[†], and three of the west. Through four of these
come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are
sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon,
and on everything which is in the water and on the land.
- ⁵ And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal
which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat,
⁶ and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from
it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which
lies toward the north come cold and drought.
- ⁷ And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of
⁸ them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there
⁹ come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third
portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.
- ¹⁰ And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts
¹¹ and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew
and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and
rain, and dew and locusts.
- ¹² And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth
¹³ dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and
rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth
¹⁴ drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four **quarters**
of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their bene-
factions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

- 77¹ And the first **quarter** is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because
the Most High will **descend** there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever
² **descend**. And the west **quarter** is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the
³ heaven wane and go down. And the fourth **quarter**, named the north, is divided into three parts:

LXXVI. A detailed account of the twelve portals of the winds and the nature of the winds which issue therefrom.
Cf. xxxiii-xxxvi.

1. **the quarters.** The text wrongly renders רוח as 'wind'. See lxxvii. 1 (note).
2. **right . . . left,** cf. lxxii. 3.
3. **and** ¹⁰ >gmt. The words 'north' and 'south' are in the wrong order.
4. Through the four portals come beneficial winds, i.e. the middle of the three in each quarter. For the hurtful winds cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.
- 5-6. Winds from the east, i.e. ESE., E., ENE.
6. **what is fitting** or 'advantageous' or 'right'. Text=rēt'ē; cf. rēt'ēt in v. 11 rendered 'in a direct direction'.
- 7-9. Winds from the south, i.e. SES., S., SWS.
7. **through the first qu:** gmt, β prefix 'the first'.
- 10-11. NEN., N., NWN. winds.
10. **north winds:** MSS. adds a gloss 'which is named the sea and which came forth'.
- in the east** + 'towards the south' gtu: + 'which inclines towards the south' m, β-a₁a.
11. **in a direct direction.** Read perhaps 'what is fitting'. See v. 6 (note).
- health and rain and dew** a. β puts 'health' last.
- in the west:** MSS. add 'which inclines to the north'.
- 12-13. WNW., W., WSW. winds.
12. **dew** + 'and rain' β.
14. **quarters,** MSS. read 'portals' corruptly.
- all** ²⁰ >qu.
- all** ³⁰ >q, β-fhi.
- my son Methuselah.** Cf. lxxxii. 1.

LXXVII. 1-3. The four quarters, and the meaning of their names. They are each explained from the Hebrew. The East קדמון is first or foremost קדמון. The South דרום is where the Most High descends ירד דם. Cf. xxv. 3. The West אררין (not existing in Aramaic). The North צפון is divided into three parts: one for men, one for waters (צפה an overflowing), and clouds and darkness (צפן to conceal), while one contains Paradise (צפן to reserve).

1. **quarter.** Here and in verses 2, 3 the text='wind' i.e. רוח as in Ezek. xlii. 20.

the first of them is for the dwelling of men : and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds ; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth : and thence
5 comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth
larger than all the rivers : one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea.
6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the
7 east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, <two of them to>
the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say :
8 into the desert]. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland : two in the mainland
and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon : the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

78 1, 2 And the names of the sun are the following : the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. And the
moon has four names : the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth
3 Erâe. These are the two great luminaries : their circumference is like the circumference of the
4 heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are
seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is
5 transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals
of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals
6 on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven :
7 [the light becomes full in her] : on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts
of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to
the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth
8 parts. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on
the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to
ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the
tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the four-
9 tenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And

the garden of righteousness. See lx. 8 (note), lxx. 3 (note).

4. Note recurrence of the number seven in this book, as in Jewish writers generally. Cf. xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, lxi. 11, lxxii. 37, xci. 16, xciii. 10.

seven high mountains, not those of xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, though originally they are derived from the same source.

pass + 'and go' *q, β*.

5. seven *β*. >*u*.

from the †west†, seemingly the Nile. If so 'ârab (= 'west') should be a transliteration of עֲרָבָה 'desert' or 'steppe'.
the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. Num. xxxiv. 6, 7.

6. The Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Erythraean Sea, a general name for the Arabian, Persian, and Indian seas.

7. <two of them to> must be supplied.

[and some say . . .]. A gloss.

8. two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea *bcdfiloxy, a, β* : >'in the mainland' *aeħkn* : 'seven, and two in the Red Sea' *a-m* : 'two in the mainland and five in the Red Sea' *m*. For the 'five great islands' cf. Jub. viii. 29, and for the number 'seven' see *K.A.T.*³ 618.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. The relations of the sun and moon are again described as well as the waxing and waning of the moon.

LXXVIII. 1. For Halévy's interpretations of the names see my Commentary *in loc*. He connects the two names of the sun with the two seasons, cold and hot, in Palestine, and the four names of the moon with its phases.

and ¹⁹ *a-q, ehl*. >*q, β-ehl*.

3. Cf. lxxii. 4, 37, lxxiii. 2.

the size of the circumference *a* : 'the size' *β* : + 'like the circumference of the heaven' *a-u*, a dittography.

4. In lxxii. 37 and lxxiii. 3 we are told that the sun's light is seven times that of the moon : in lxxiii. 2 that light is added to the moon in due measure. Here we are further told that one-seventh of the sun's light is gradually transferred to the moon, till the moon is full.

5. by the north. Cf. lxxii. 5.

6-17. The waxing and waning of the moon, the length of the months, &c.

6. See lxxiii. 5, 6 (notes) for the case of fourteen days' waxing.

[the light becomes full in her] *a-u*. A duplicate of 'accomplishes her light'. *u* is partly untranslatable. *β* reads in this verse 'and when the moon rises, she appears in the heaven, and has a fourteenth part of her light, and on the fourteenth day she accomplishes all her light'.

7. See lxxiii. 7, 8 (notes) for the fifteen days' waxing.

8. As the moon wanes, her light decreases each day by one-fourteenth part : on the fifteenth the remainder, i.e. one twenty-eighth, vanishes.

half of a seventh *t, β* : 'half and to a seventh' *a-t*.

10 in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by 11 the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven], 12 and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first 13 day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against 14 the sun. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of 15 light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first 16 portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for 17 three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

- 79¹ And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is 2 completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month 3 and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this 4 sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: (And the waning) which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven 5 days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when 6 this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.
- 80¹ And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

9. twenty-nine days. Cf. lxxiv. 10–17, lxxviii. 15–17.

once twenty-eight, a reference to the cycle of Callippus, in which the last month in seventy-six years had only 28 days. See my Commentary *in loc.*, and cf. lxxiv. 13–16 for a reference to the octaetris.

11. The moon waxes over against the sun on the side turned to the sun, i.e. the western side.

[her light . . . heaven]¹⁰ β: > 'in the heaven' α. Bracketed as a dittograph.

13. A true observation.

She becomes. γ, β prefix 'and'.

15. and ²⁰ α: > β.

at her time + 'when she is accomplishing her waning' *gmt*, and *qu* originally.

the first period of time, i.e. the first half-year. The author recognizes only two seasons in the year; cf. iii, iv. As often as the moon is in the first portal during the first half-year, she is waning; cf. lxxix. 3, 4.

16. the time of her going out, i.e. the second half of the year.

17. like a man, i.e. a human face. Hence perhaps the name Asônjà in *v.* 2 (Halévy).

LXXIX. 1. my son + 'Methuselah' *t*, β.

the law of all α-*u*: 'all the laws of' *u*, β.

2. of bearing rule α-*u*: 'for every power' β.

3. of the waning α: 'of the month and of the waning' β.

4. (And the waning). Restored. So also Flemming and Martin.

5. She falls behind α-*t*: *n* prefixes 'and': *t*, β prefix 'and how'.

and the order. So emended for 'and (> *mq*) according to the order of'. Our text here identifies the solar and sidereal systems, as in lxxiv. 12.

one period, i.e. half-year. See lxxiv. 10–17.

LXXX. An interpolation. As soon as we pass from lxxix we enter into a world of new conceptions; the whole interest is ethical and nothing else. There is no fixity at all in natural phenomena: their laws and uniformities are always dependent on the moral action of men. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1–13.

1. the angel *gmt*: > *qu*, β.

I have shown *mq*, β: 'I will show' *gtu*.

leaders of the stars. Cf. lxxii. 3, lxxv. 2, 3.

those who turn them, probably the winds. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.

and times + 'and they turn them' *gmt*.

LXXX. 2-8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

- 2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time :
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
- 3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
- 4 And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
- 5 [And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening †on the extremity
of the great chariot in †the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
- 6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
- 7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
- 8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

- 81 1 And he said unto me :
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'
- 2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh
3 that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord
the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world,

2-8. Note the tristichs.

2. Cf. Jer. iii. 3, v. 25.

shall alter β (intransitive): $a-u$ give transitive form, and t supplies 'its ways'.

withhold m, β . 'stand still' *gqtu* (by change of a vowel point).

4. Cf. Joel ii. 10; Amos viii. 9; 4 Ezra v. 4.

5. The first two lines are corrupt and out of the context. If we remove them, verses 4-5 form a tristich relating to the moon.

the sun. Text has 'the heaven' (mq, β : 'in the heaven' *gtu*), i.e. שמים for שמש.

and he shall journey in the evening. Text has 'and hunger shall come', i.e. רעב 'hunger' corrupt for ערב 'evening'. For יראה 'shall be seen' we might read ירצה 'shall rise' (cf. 4 Ezra v. 4), and for בקץ 'on the extremity' read מציק, 'causing distress' and make 'shall come (or 'journey')' refer to the 'chariot'. Then we have: 'And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening, || And his great chariot shall journey to the west, causing distress.' These emendations are possible in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic.

6. chiefs of the stars. Cf. v. 1 (note). The MSS. read: 'chiefs of the stars of the order shall transgress.'
transgress the order. Cf. xviii. 15, xxi. 6.

7. shall be concealed. Contrast lxxv. 2, and cf. lxxxii. 4-6.

those on the earth, here in the same sense as in the interpolations in the Parables. See xxxvii. 5 (note).

[And they . . . ways]. Intrusion, possibly a doublet of 6^b.

take them to be gods. Cf. xix. 1. Acts vii. 42.

8. all a : 'them all' β .

LXXXI. Also an interpolation. is a sort of mosaic, and came probably from the editor of the complete Enoch. 'Those seven holy ones' in lxxxi. 5 are taken from lxxxvii. 3: 'the heavenly tablets' in lxxxi. 1, 2 from xciii. 2, ciii. 2: 'the books of judgement' from lxxxix. 61, 64: while lxxxii. 5, 6 refer to lxxxii. 1, 2 and xci. 1.

1. these heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note). $\beta-n$ prefixes 'the writing of'.

2. the book of *mt*: 'the book' *gu*: 'the book and all that was written therein' q, β .

3. Cf. xxii. 14 for a like doxology.

the great Lord a : 'the Lord' β .

the King of glory for ever a : 'the Eternal King of glory' $\beta-bc$.

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

- 4 And after that I said :
'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'
- 5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house,
and said to me : 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no
6 flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with
thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record (it)
for them, and testify to all thy children ; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.
- 7 Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good ;
The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.
- 8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.
- 9 And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'
- 10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the
world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch : the four Intercalary Days : the Stars which lead the
Seasons and the Months.*

- 82 1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee,
and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these : so preserve,
my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the
generations of the world.
- 2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

children of men *a, filioy, a₁b* : 'children of the world' *β-fhi*, &c.

4. Contrast the blessing of lxxii-lxxix and lxxxii. 4, which is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years.
day of judgement *gnu*. 'unrighteousness' *q, l², β*. Can this mean that there is no judgement for the
righteous?

shall be found *a-m* : 'has been found' *m, l², β*.

5. those seven holy ones, probably the seven Watchers, cf. xx : *β* reads 'three' for 'seven'. See lxxxvii. 2, xc. 21, 22.
no flesh is righteous. Cf. Job ix. 2 ; Ps. xiv. 1.

Creator. Cf. xciv. 10.

5, 6. These verses are inserted to serve as an introduction to xci-civ.

6. thy son *a* : 'thy sons' *β*.

till. The MSS. add 'again', a dittograph of *ty* but read with a different pointing.

givist thy (last) commands, i.e. the idiomatic meaning of *ἡγῶ*. So *mt* (*g*), *β-cde* : 'comfortest' *q* : 'growest
strong' *cde*.

8. go down, i.e. into Gehenna.

9. The righteous die, yet they are taken away to the abodes of the blessed. The phrase is borrowed from Isa. lvii. 1,
'The righteous is taken away out of the way of (or 'because of') the evil.' Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20 ; Wisdom iv. 7-14. The
Hebrew word 'take away' occurs in e.g. Num. xx. 26 ; Ps. civ. 29.

10. Lord of the world, or 'Eternal Lord' *a-q* : 'Lord of the ages' *q, β*. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lviii. 4, lxxxi. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

LXXXII. Conclusion of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

1. In xxxiii. 4 Uriel writes down everything for Enoch ; but in this book, cf. lxxii. 1, lxxiv. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxix. 2-6, lxxxii. 1,
Uriel only shows the hidden things to Enoch, whereas Enoch writes them down.

deliver them to the generations of the world, i.e. to all, and not only to the far distant generations as in
i-xxxvi. See i. 2. Cf. Tert. *Du Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'Cum Enoch filio suo Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam
eorum posteris suis traderet.'

2. wisdom, i.e. the revelations. Cf. xxxvii. 4, xcii. 1, xciii. 10-14.

to thee and to thy children *mqu, β* : 'to thy son' *l*. *g* is corrupt. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. As Lamech is thus
already born, the Samaritan or Massoretic reckoning is followed.

[And thy ...]. Interpolation.

- 3 And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.
- 4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin
not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering
into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the
stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which
5 lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon
them in the **whole reckoning of the year**: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accur-
6 ately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one
in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year
is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.
- 7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries,
and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the
8 Lord of the whole creation of the world hath **subjected** the host of heaven. And he has power
over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars,
9 and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders
of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.
- 10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they** enter at their times,
in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.
- 11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders
of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over
thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder
12 the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and
13 leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. And these are the names of the
leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Mîlkî'êl, Hel'emmêlêk, and Mêl'êjal,
14 and Nârêl. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'êl, and Ijâsûsa'êl, and 'Elômê'êl—these
three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders
which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.
- 15 In the beginning of the year Melkejâl rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âinî and sun,† and
16 all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of
the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms;
and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the
rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season
17 become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'êl, Zêlebs'êl,

3. **better than good food.** Cf. Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 103.
4. **blessed are all those** *t, β-y: >gu, y*: 'blessed (+ 'moreover' *q*): are all (+ 'the righteous' *m*) *mq*.
The four intercalary days introduced by four leaders. Cf. v. 11, lxxv. 1, 2.
divide *qt, β-no, b*, cf. lxxxii. 11: 'are divided' *gmu, no, b*.
5. Cf. lxxv. 2.
whole reckoning of the year. So with Beer I emend 'in the reckoning of the whole world'.
6. On the four intercalary days and their portals see lxxv.
the year is completed in three hundred, &c. *β*: 'the year of three hundred . . . is completed' *a-gmu*.
7. **to whom . . . hath subjected.** Emended from *a-q, β* 'whom He hath commanded for me'.
Lord of the whole creation of the world. Here only; cf. lxxxiv. 2.
- 9-20. An account of the stars as promised in lxxii. 1, and declared to be given in lxxix. 1.
10. **who watch that they enter.** MSS. read 'who watch and they enter'—? a Hebrew idiom preserved.
times + 'who lead them in their places' (>'in their places' *u*) *a*.
11. The leaders of the four intercalary days, the twelve months, and the 365 days.
for *> q*.
... **sixty (days) there are heads** *gqu(m)*: '... sixty-four (days) with the heads' *t, β*.
12. Not clear.
a station. 'his station' *q, a*.
13. Milkiel is an inversion of Helemmek. These four are over the four seasons of the year, and each has three
under him, one for every month.
14. Not clear. The latter part of the verse seems to defy explanation.
- 15-17. The period from spring to summer = 91 days is under the dominion of Melkejal or Milkiel. He is named
'the southern sun', as Goldschmidt and Beer point out 'Tam'âinî' and 'sun' should be read together, i. e. שמש תימני.
15. **of the year** *m β*: *> a-m*.
16. **calms** *u*: 'anxiety' *a-u*.
the rose-flowers, not in O.T., except in English version of Isa. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1.
which come forth *a-m*: 'bloom' *β*: *> m*.
17. The subordinate leaders are those of the months, three to the quarter.

and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hîlûjâsêph : and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18 The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days
19 of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth : glowing heat
and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep
pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is
20 in the fields, and the winepress : these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are
the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands : Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl,
and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl : and the days of his dominion
are at an end.

SECTION IV.

CHAPTERS LXXXIII—XC. THE DREAM-VISIONS.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

83 1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting
2 them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other :
the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible
3 vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grand-
father Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to
4 the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss,
and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent
5 from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth,
6 and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said : 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather
Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me : 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why
7 dost thou make such lamentation ?' And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen,
and he said unto me : 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-
vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth : it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with
8 a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou
art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole
9 earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great
10 destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer
11 for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when
I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting
in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as†He had known†it in the beginning,

Hîlûjâsêph. Note play on חסף 'is added'.

18–20. Summer to autumn.

19. the signs of (his) days β . 'the days of his sign' *gmt* (*qu*).

20. This verse is confused. The three names are those of the leaders of the three months. The fourth, Asfâêl, is an inversion of Hîlûjâsêph (verse 17), and belongs to the first triad. There is no account of the remaining six months. The redactor may have omitted them.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. The first Dream-Vision deals with the Deluge or first world-judgement.

LXXXIII. 1. my visions *a-t*. 'visions' *t*, β .

2. Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna, 1 En. lxxxv. 3, cf. Jubilees iv. 19, where these Dream-Visions are referred to. Note that lxxxiii–xc are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on *ascetic* grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.

3. Mahalalel. 'Malâl'êl' in text.

5. lifted up (my voice) *mqu*, β -*n*. 'arose' *g*. 'began' *t*, *n*.

7. secrets of all the sin (*tu*) β . 'sin of all the sin' *gm*. 'sin of all' *q*.

8. Lord of glory. xxv. 3, 7, xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxv. 3.

and that He . . . earth *t*, β . > *a-t* through hmt. (?).

9. from heaven, i. e. ordained of God.

10. The prayer is given in lxxxiv. 2–6.

and besought *a-g*. > *q*, β .

my prayer *mt*, β . 'I prayed and' *g*. > *qu*.

11. the whole earth *gmq*, *cdiloy*₁, *a*, *b*. > *t*, *abekknx*.

as †He had known† it. Read 'as I had known it,' or 'as He had made (or 'established') it'.

then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.

84 1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

2 'Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.

And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion;
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

3 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne,
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].
4 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.
5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.
6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

Lord of judgement. Here only.

windows. Never used of the sun in i-xxxvi nor in lxxii-lxxxii, where 'portal' is the word. For 'windows' see lxxii. 3 (note).

†and he ascended. Read 'so that he ascended', i. e. וַיַּעֲלֶה for וַיַּעֲלֵל.

LXXXIV. Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.

1. **The Holy and Great One.** See i. 3 (note).

tongue of flesh. See xiv. 2.

children of the flesh of men *gmt, abcfhiknx*. 'children of men' (+ 'of flesh' *q*) *qu, de, &c.*

2. Cf. ix. 4 sqq.

Lord of the whole creation of the heaven. Here only. Cf. lxxxii. 7; also lviii. 4 (note).

King of kings. ix. 4.

God of the whole world. Here only. Cf. i. 3 (note).

All the heavens are Thy throne. Isa. lxvi. 1.

3. **nothing is too hard for Thee.** Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where the LXX render 'is hidden from thee'. The MSS. here add a dittograph 'and nothing' (or 'no').

Wisdom departs not from . . . Thy throne. Cf. Wisdom ix. 4, also Prov. viii. 30 in the LXX version ἡμῶν παρ' αὐτῶ, and Sirach i. 1.

departs not *g*. Other MSS. 'departs not from Thee.'

from the place of Thy throne, nor turns away. Text='nor turns away (*gqm* corrupt) from her life (*>qu*) (+ 'from' *mq*) Thy throne and'. So transpose 'nor turns away', and read 'from the place' ('*ēmēn̄bārāta*) for 'from her life' ('*ēmmanbartā*).

[for Thou . . .] A dittograph from the line before.

4. **upon the flesh of men.** Cf. verses 1, 5; Job. xii. 10.

great day of judgement. Most MSS. read 'day of the great judgement'. See my text. See xlv. 2 (note). Here=the Deluge, but in xix. 1 the final judgement, and so always in xci-civ.

5. **Great King.** xci. 13.

6. **a plant of the eternal seed.** See x. 16 (note). Cf. lxii. 8; xciii. 2, 5, 10.

LXXXV—XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch: the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

- 85^{1, 2} And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah: 'To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.
- 9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him 10 proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

- 86¹ And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell 2 from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began 3 to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became 4 bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, 5 and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their 6 horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXV—XC. The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgement, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, e.g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17; the fallen Watchers by stars; unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the O.T., but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

LXXXV. 2. Cf. Prov. v. 1.

3. Edna. Cf. lxxxiii. 2.

I saw, &c. Cf. Dan. iv. 10.

on my bed *g*, β . 'of my bed' *gmt*. *u* corrupt.

white is the colour symbolizing righteousness throughout this vision. Cf. lxxxv. 8, lxxxvii. 2, &c., and Isa. i. 18, Ps. li. 7, Rev. vii. 14.

a heifer = Eve.

two bulls. Cain, black with his sin; Abel, red as a martyr.

5. that heifer = Cain's wife; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.

him ³⁰ *g*, β . 'them' *gmt*.

6. Eve seeks Abel.

lamentation, i.e. אבול, a play on Abel, i.e. אבל.

over him *g*. 'with regard to him' *g*. 'thereupon' *mt*, β .

8. another white bull, i.e. Seth. So *mt*, β . 'a pair of white oxen' *gqu*, i.e. Seth and a sister. See Jub. iv. 8, 11.

9. Seth and his descendants are righteous.

many *gmt*. > β .

LXXXVI. 1. a star, i.e. Azazel, cf. lxxxviii. 1; x. 4. In vi all the angels descend together, cf. Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253).

2. And after that β . 'and these' *mq*. 'and in the midst' *t*. 'and' *u*. > *g*.

Are the 'large' oxen Sethites?

to live with each other. 'to lament one to ('with' β) another' *a-g*, β . 'to live to one another' *g*.

3. Fall of the rest of the angels.

became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them *a*. 'were amongst those cattle and bulls, pasturing with them' β .

4. elephants, camels, and asses, represent the three classes of giants. See vii. 2 (note).

6. children of the earth. The symbolism is dropped for a moment.

from them *gm*. > other MSS.

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

- 87¹ And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth
² began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold
there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place
³ and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took
me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me
⁴ a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me: 'Remain
here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the
oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

- 88¹ And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had
fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss: now that abyss was
² narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those
elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked
³ because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth
stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were
like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1-9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

- 89¹ And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being
terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon;
² and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine
eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents
³ flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened
on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface,
⁴ and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness,
and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above
the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.
⁵ And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were
⁶ swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen
and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer

LXXXVII. 1. The conflict of the bulls and giants.

2. The unfallen angels are symbolized by men, as men by animals.

and I saw in the vision > *qu*.

four *a*. 'one' *β*.

four . . . and three with them. See lxxxviii. 1 for the 'four'. The 'three angels' are found again in xc. 31.

For the seven archangels, cf. lxxxi. 5, xci. 21, 22, xx.

with them *m*. 'with him' *a-m*, *β*.

3, 4. This tower seems to be Paradise, and thus we have in lxxxiii-xc a conception of its locality and inhabitants quite different from any that has preceded. See lx. 8 (note).

3. all the hills were lower *t*, *β*. 'it was built all the hills' (*sic*) *a-t*.

4. one said *a-g*, *cefhik*. 'they said' *q*, *β-cefhik*.

oxen, and all of them *a-u*. 'and all the oxen' *u*, *β*.

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX. 1. Closely connected with x. 1-14, but the variations are too many to presuppose it in quite its present form. Azazel is the only leader here.

LXXXVIII. 1. Cf. x. 4-8, where Raphael binds Azazel.

2. In x. 9, 10 Gabriel performs this task.

and camels *t*, *β*. > *a-t*.

3. In x. 12-14 Michael binds and imprisons the Watchers. Semjaza is not mentioned here.

come forth . . . stoned (them) from heaven. Read 'descended' for 'stoned', or with *n* read 'hurled a sword'.

gathered and took *t*, *β* in sing., *u* reads 'gathered' in sing., *m* reads 'took' in sing.

an abyss of the earth. In x. 12 'under the hills'.

LXXXIX. 1-9. The Deluge, and Noah's deliverance.

1. Cf. x. 1-3 where Uriel visits Noah for the same end. To build the ark, Noah becomes a man.

that white bull *m*. 'those white bulls' *a-m*, *β*.

without his being terrified *gqu*, 'terrified as he was' *mt*, *β*.

three bulls—his three sons.

covered in, cf. Gen. vii. 16; 1 En. lxvii. 2.

2. seven. Cf. lxxvii. 4 (note).

3, 4. The Deluge.

3. saw²⁰ *u*. 'caused it not to be seen' *t*, *β*.

6. with all the animals, i. e. the real animals.

7 see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10-27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, 11 eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the 12 wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white 13 sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep 14 to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many 15 flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to 16 cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended 17 at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should 18 admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the 19 sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they 20 began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became 21 quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep 22 with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep 23 followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves 24 began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between

7. **the chasms of the earth.** The writer conceives the flood as caused by a cleaving of the depths of the earth, and stayed by their closing up. Cf. Jub. vi. 26; Prayer of Manasses 3.

9. **and one black β .** > *a*.

that white bull departed, i.e. Noah died.

10. The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17.

different genera. Here 'ahzâb means races of animals as well as of men.

a white bull. Abraham.

11. **A wild ass.** Ishmael. In verses 15, 16 the Arabs or Midianites are called the 'wild asses', not inaptly. Cf. Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the 'white bull'.

the wild asses *a, abd, &c.*: 'the wild ass' *cefh*.

12. **A black wild boar.** Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested. Cf. verses 42, 43, 49, 66. In 72 it is used of the Samaritans.

A white sheep. Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

13. **one of them,** i.e. Joseph.

the asses. Midianites (*v. 11*).

the wolves, the Egyptians.

16. **a sheep which had been saved,** i.e. Moses.

Lord of the sheep. The usual title in this and the following chapters.

18. **another sheep,** Aaron.

met it *a-l*. 'met that sheep' *t, β -d*.

went and *gmq*. > *tu, β* .

20-27. The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

20. **they began** *a-m*: 'He began' *m, β* .

22. **glorious and terrible to behold** *gmt*: 'terrible to behold' *qu*: 'His appearance was terrible and glorious' *β -a*.

24. **led them** *u*. Other MSS. 'leading them' (we must excise 'and' in the latter case).

25 them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.
 26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered
 27 those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28-40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep
 29 pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that
 30 sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And
 31 after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and
 32 terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all
 33 feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst
 34 them]: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led
 35 them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander
 36 from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the
 37 sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from
 38 the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen
 39 away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their
 40 folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those
 41 sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.
 42 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep; and I saw till
 43 all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and
 44 approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew
 45 from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw
 46 till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the **two** sheep
 47 as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep and led
 48 them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw
 49 till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

28-40. Journeyings through the wilderness, the lawgiving on Sinai, and the occupation of Palestine.

28. began to open their eyes, i.e. to recover their spiritual vision and return to God. Cf. lxxxix. 32, 33, 41, 44, 54, xc. 6, 9, 10, 35.
 and to see *mtu*, β . 'and they saw' *gq*.
 29. Moses ascends Sinai, and returns to Israel. Exod. xix.
 30. great and *a*. > β -v.
 31. that sheep with them = Aaron.
 with them *gmq*. 'with him' *t*, β .
 [which was amongst them] *gu*. A dittograph. 'the other sheep which was among ('with' *q*) them' *mq $\dot{t}$* , β .
 32. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 sqq., xxxii.
 again ascended, or 'returned and ascended'.
 33. fallen away + 'from His path' β .
 34. it, i.e. Moses.
 return to their folds = give up their errors.
 35. Exod. xxxii. 26-9.
 and β^o + 'after that' *t*, β .
 36. Moses becomes a man to build the tabernacle. Cf. verses 1, 9.
 in this vision *a-u*. 'there a vision' β .
 placed . . . in that house, i.e. made the tabernacle the centre of their worship.
 37. Death of Aaron and of all the generation that had gone out of Egypt.
 that sheep *t*, β . So *g*, but corrupt. *mu* defective. > *q*.
 led them *a*. 'led the sheep' β .
 a stream, Jordan with a pasture to the east of it.
 38. Moses dies. Cf. Deut. xxxiv.
 39. the two sheep. Joshua and Caleb. I emend *kuëllômú* = 'all' to *këll'êhômú* = 'the two'.
 40. glorious land. Palestine. Cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41.

LXXXIX. 41-50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them †all†. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it †forsook its glory† and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the **lamb** to another **lamb** and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had †forsaken its glory†. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram. And that second ram arose and led the [little] sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the 48^b sheep and robbed them no more of ought. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

Greek fragment from Vatican MS., published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, t. ii, deciphered by Gildemeister, in *ZDMG*, 1855, pp. 621, 622.

Ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνὸς βιβλίου χρήσις.

Καὶ οἱ κύνες ἤρξαντο κατεσθίειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ 42
ῥες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες κατήσθιον αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ ἡγείρεν
ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων κριὸν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων.
Καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν 43
τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ῥας καὶ ἀπόλεσεν ῥας πολλοὺς
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς . . . τοὺς κύνας. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα 44
ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν ἐθεάσαντο τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς προβάτοις, ἕως οὗ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι †ἀνοδιά. Καὶ ὁ κύριος τῶν προ- 45
βάτων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄρνα τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἄρνα ἕτερον
τοῦ στήσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν προβάτων
ἀντὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ ἀφέντος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ 46
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ σιγῇ κατὰ
μόνας καὶ ἡγείρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ
εἰς ἡγουμένον τῶν προβάτων καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τούτοις ἔθλιβον τὰ πρόβατα. [Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις 47
γέγραπται ὅτι] ὁ κριὸς ὁ πρῶτος τὸν κριὸν τὸν δεύτερον
ἐπεδίωκεν καὶ ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· εἴτ'
ἐθεώρουν, [φησὶν], τὸν κριὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἕως οὗ
ἔπεσεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κυνῶν. Καὶ ὁ κριὸς ὁ δεύ- 48
τερος ἀναπηδήσας ἀφηγήσατο τῶν προβάτων. Καὶ 49
τὰ πρόβατα ἠδξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ πάντες
οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες ἔφυγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφο-
βοῦντο αὐτόν.

50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: <and> a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower

41-50. The times of the Judges and Kings till the Temple is built.

Of 42-9 a fragment of the Greek version survives. Note the ζῆς in v. 47 and also the φησὶν showing quotation from some catena of excerpts from Enoch.

42. The dogs are the Philistines (46, 47). The foxes are the Ammonites (55), and the wild boars are the Edomites (12, 43, 49, 66).

till the Lord of the sheep raised up, &c. *gn.* Cf. Gk. Other MSS. give 'till another sheep, the Lord of the sheep, arose'.

43. that ram. Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all. The Greek has πολλοὺς. Note the Greek article = Ethiopic demonstrative 'those'.

44. That sheep whose eyes were opened, i.e. Samuel, who alone was seer when there had been no 'open' vision. Cf. i. 2; i Sam. iii. 1, 21. The Greek has 'sheep' in the plural.

till. MSS. have ὡς corrupt for ἕως. See Gk.

its glory†, 'his way' Gk. For רכבו restore רך 'the way of the Lord'.

45, 46. David anointed king. Both Samuel and David (until king) are lambs, as Solomon previous to coronation is a little sheep (v. 48^b).

45. lamb Gk. 'sheep' Eth. MSS.

that ram Gk. 'that ram, sheep' *d.* 'that sheep' other MSS.

46. during Eth. 'in addition to' Gk., i. e. another sense of ἐπὶ (Dative not Gen.).

48. led the sheep. So Gk., but Eth. MSS. give 'led the little sheep', pointlessly.

48^b. And that ram begat . . . leader of those sheep, should follow v. 49, which suits best the reign of David. Gk. omits, as it ended with v. 49.

50. That house = Jerusalem. So Test. Levi x. 4 (quoting this passage). The 'tower' is the Temple. 'A full table' refers to the offerings and sacrifices.

it was built . . . on the house *gmt, ilno₁a₁b* (*mt, in* have 'that' before 'house'); 'it was built for those sheep <and> a high tower on the house' *β-ilno₁a₁b*: 'it was built for those sheep <and> a lofty tower was built' *q: m, ilno₁a₁b* add a dittograph after 'tower'—'lofty on that house and a tower'.

was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

[LXXXIX. 51-67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep,
52 but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from
53 the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent
54 to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until
55 those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild
56 beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them,
57 into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured
58 by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.
59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep
60 henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye.' And
61 He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than
62 I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he
63 effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my

51-67. Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.

51. **forsook . . . their house.** True only of the Ten Tribes.

that their house, 'that' in Eth. = *rov* in Gk.

called . . . and sent, i.e. the prophets.

slay. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 4.

52. Elijah's escape and translation. Cf. xciii. 8.

from the sheep *gm.* Other MSS. 'from the hands of the sheep'.

54. **the Lord** + 'of the sheep' *β.*

invited that slaughter and betrayed His place, called in the heathen to help them and so betrayed Jerusalem.

Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

55. The fall of the two kingdoms, and their oppressors' names.

lions and tigers. Assyrians and Babylonians. In 56, 65 the 'lions' are the Babylonians. The 'wolves' are Egyptians, and perhaps the 'hyenas' are the Ethiopians.

56. God forsakes His city and people. Ep. Barn. xvi. 5 refers to this verse.

57. **Lord of the sheep.** 'Lord of the lions' *gmq.*

the wild beasts > *g.*

59. **seventy** *β.* 'seven' *α.* The 'seventy shepherds' raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together, lxxxix. 59. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they cannot be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He withdraws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of lxxxix. 61 is called 'another'. (6) In the judgement they are classed with the fallen angels, xc. 21-25. (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.

60. The number to be destroyed was a definite one.

61. **another,** in xc. 14, 22 an archangel and Israel's guardian angel, i.e. Michael. This task devolves on Enoch in xii. 3, xv. 1, xcii. 1; in 4 Ezra xiv. 22-26 on Ezra, in 2 En. xxii. 11 on Vretil. See *K. A. T.*³ 400 sq.

63. **destroy** + 'of their own caprice' *bcefnpx.*
comprehend, emended by very slight change.

64 command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which 65 the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered 66 those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished 67 that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68-71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other 69 in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many 70 more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep—even everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made 71 away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72-77. *Second Period—from the Time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that 73 house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruc- 75 tion, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the 76 beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings 77 of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1-5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

90 1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep),

64. No interference allowed with the shepherds, but only a record of their evil deeds.

65, 66. The lions are the Babylonians, who destroy the 'tower' and the 'house'. Thus the shepherds begin about 590, or if the Assyrians are meant, about 720. For the 'wild boars', or Edomites, cf. Obad. 10-12; Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 sqq.; Isa. lxiii. 1-14; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

68. was written *u*. 'should write' *g*. 'wrote' other MSS.

69. lament + 'very much' *β*.

70. The first period ends. It lasts twelve hours (*v*. 72), i.e. twelve shepherds' reigns. The periods are divided thus: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12.

71. from his hand *gmt*. 'in His hand' *β*.

72. three of those sheep, Zerubbabel, Joshua, and ^{*not*} either Ezra ^{*but*} or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these = three tribes, Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. T. Joseph xix. 3. wild boars. Here = Samaritans, not Edomites, as *v*. 66.

73. named + 'as before' *g*.

The bread... was polluted. Cf. Mal. i. 7 'polluted bread,' i.e. unclean offerings because of the unworthy and heathenized people and priesthood. Cf. Ass. Mosis. iv. 8.

75. The Dispersion.

76. before the Lord *g*. 'in the mansions of ('before' *β*) the Lord' *mtu*, *β*.

the shepherds *gmq*. 'their shepherds' *t*, *β*.

gave testimony *mt*, *β*. 'it was heard' *gq*.

77. The second period ends with the fall of the Persian power, which lasts twenty-three hours.

XC. 1. Thirty-five. All the MSS. are corrupt. *qt*, *β-ky* read 'thirty-seven' (corrupted further in *qu*). In xc. 5 at the close of the third period the three periods are summed up as (12 + 23 + 23 = 58).

and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6-12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt.*

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it †looked at† them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

as . . . the first. As the twelve had fulfilled their times, so did the rest of the thirty-five.

others received them. Here we have the transition to the Greek period, i. e. from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330-200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule from 200 till about 140 or 130.

2. The new world power—of the Greeks, is represented by a new order—birds of prey. The 'eagles' are the Greeks or Macedonians. The 'ravens' are the Syrians under the Seleucidae (*vv.* 8, 9, 12). The 'vultures' and 'kites' must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.

2-4. The Graeco-Egyptian domination.

3. was being devoured *α-υ*. 'was devoured' *υ*, *β*.

I looked *gqu*. 'I saw' *m*. 'I cried out' *†*, *β*.

4. the dogs, i. e. Philistines (lxxxix. 42, 46, 47).

neither flesh nor skin. Mic. iii. 2, 3.

5. twenty-three + 'shepherds' *†*, *β*.

6-17. The fourth and last period of heathen supremacy, the Graeco-Syrian domination over Israel, from 200 to 140 or 130 B.C. See Commentary *in loc.*

6. behold *α*. 'little' *β*.

began to open their eyes: rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. See 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13, and 1 En. xc. 9. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgement, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (lxxxix. 73). For this writer the Chasid aims—the re-establishment of the Theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom—are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date lxxxiii-xc before 153 B.C.

6-7. The Chasids or 'lambs' appeal in vain to the nation, owing to foreign oppression.

7. Yea, they cried to them *g*, i. e. the lambs cried to the sheep: 'but they (i. e. the sheep) did not cry to them' *g*: 'but they oppressed them' *m*: 'but they did not hear them' *†*: 'but the sheep did not cry to them' *β-ino*.

8. one of those lambs. Onias III, put to death by the Syrians in 171 B.C. See 2 Macc. iv. 33-35.

9. of one *g*. 'one' other MSS.

The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas' death in 160 B.C. See my Commentary for further notes.

eyes were opened. Unlike the Chasids, the Maccabees do not appeal in vain.

opened + 'and their eyes saw' *gmt*.

10. †looked at†. For *r'ēja* 'looked at' read *r'ēja* 'pastured with'.

it cried *m*, *β-in*. 'they cried' *α-m*.

rams, a different word here from that in lxxxix. 42-44.

11, 12. Syria uses every effort against Judas but in vain.

12. with it: 'with them' *g*, *eh*.

its horn: 'their horn' *q*.

XC. 13-19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where vv. 13-15 and 16-18 are doublets).

- 13 And I saw till the †shepherds and† eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come. All the eagles and vultures and ravens and 16 kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.
- 19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.
- 14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram]. And I saw that man, who wrote the book 17 according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.
- 15 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto 18 them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

13-19. As early as 1893 I read *v.* 19 before *v.* 16, and bracketed 15 as a doublet of 18. Martin suggests that 13-15, and 16-18 are doublets. I have gone further as the text shows. *Ver.* 19 follows 13 (=16), and many emendations are still required.

13. The symbolism becomes looser here, and the 'vultures' and 'kites' are no longer restricted to the Graeco-Egyptians as in *v.* 2. See *v.* 16, and compare the varying reference of boars in lxxxix. 66 and 72. So perhaps here the vultures and kites are Ammon and Moab.

†shepherds and† (*g* omits 'and') i.e. רעים corrupt for ערבים 'ravens', probably due to a dittography in 13. See *v.* 16.

†they cried† i.e. יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) for יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) 'were gathered together'. See *v.* 16 again. The LXX thus mistranslates יִצְעֲקוּ in Judges vi. 34, 35, xviii. 22, Jos. viii. 16, 1 Sam. xiv. 20. So I read 'and I saw till the ravens and eagles and vultures and kites were gathered together,' &c.

16. All¹⁰. 'and' *u*.

ravens and kites ∞ *m*.

came¹⁰ *gg*. 'brought' *mtu*, β.

all the sheep—in the nom. *g*, in the accus. *mgt*, β.

19. The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in *chi.* 12 the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgement of oppression and sin.

14. The text is corrupt.

carried up has no object, but requires 'the book' as in *v.* 17.

opened in *v.* 17 can hardly be right as the books are opened later in *v.* 20. In any case the book would be carried up first. Cf. lxxxix. 70, 76. So I read here in *v.* 14 'and I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds, carried up (the book) into the presence of the Lord of the sheep'.

[came and helped . . . ram.] An intrusion. There is no intervention needed to save Israel which triumphs over Gog in *v.* 19. This clause, whether added in the Hebrew or the Greek, has a clear reference to the help which Michael gave to Judas Maccabaeus. See 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. Michael is Israel's patron, as well as the heavenly scribe in these chapters.

helped it + 'and saved it' *g*.

for the help *g*. Other MSS. 'a help.'

17. till he opened . . . destruction: 'for it was opened by the command of the Lord concerning the destruction' *g*.

before the Lord of the sheep *mq*, β. 'formerly. 18. And the Lord of the sheep' *gtu*.

15, 18. God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Num. xvi. 31 sqq. This is the first act of the final judgement; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

15. the Lord *α-g*. 'that Lord' *g*, β.

†into His shadow† i.e. בְּצֵלָי corrupt for מִצַּיִן 'from among the sheep'. *gm* read 'into the shadow'.

18. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep ('of the sheep' > *m*) came unto them *m*, β. > *g* through hmt. 'and the Lord of the sheep I saw till He came to those sheep (till the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *t*) *gt*, 'and the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *u*.

staff and smote the earth recall Num. xx. 11, while the earth clave asunder recalls Num. xvi. 31-33.

it covered them. The Ethiopic = ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς—a Hebraism. *g* is corrupt. > *u*.

XC. 20-27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

- 20 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.
 21 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members
 22 were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more
 23 than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.
 24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full
 25 of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast
 26 into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and
 27 cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning† and their bones burning†.

XC. 28-42. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah. Enoch awakes and weeps.*

- 28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried
 29 it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.
 30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying
 31 them in every thing. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they

20. the pleasant land, i.e. Palestine, cf. lxxxix. 40 and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem (vv. 28, 29). The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. See xlvii. 3 (note). The Messiah does not appear till after the judgement in lxxxiii-xc.

the other. Text has 'all' kuëllô for kâl'û, and so reads 'and He took all the sealed books'.

21. men a. > β.

the seven qtu, β. 'and seven' m. > g.

seven first white ones. For these seven archangels cf. the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, and Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2. See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* pp. 281, 282, &c.; *Jewish Encycl.* i. 590.

bring gm, β. 'come' qtu.

before Him. > gu, d.

star. See lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

all the stars, &c. So I emended in 1893, with Dillmann.

horses + 'and the first star which went out (g; other MSS. 'fell') first'—a dittograph.

22-25. The shepherds are judged along with the fallen Watchers.

22. said unto him mtu, β-hox₁b. 'said unto them' gq, hox₁b.

23. g has only 'And behold they were all bound before Him'.

24. an abyss full of fire. Their final prison, as in x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, liv. 6. Contrast xviii. 12.

flaming and full of: 'flaming with' g.

26. The Apostates are cast into Gehenna, south of Jerusalem ('to the right', &c.).

27. The Apostates suffer in view of the blessed Jerusalem. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24, 1 En. xlviii. 9 (note).

and their bones. Read 'yea their very selves'—a Hebrew idiom; עצמם = 'self'.

28, 29. The old Jerusalem removed and the new set up. Cf. O.T. prophecy: Ezek. xl-xlvi; Isa. liv. 11, 12; lx; Hagg. ii. 7-9; Zech. ii. 6-13. A New Jerusalem descending from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 26; xiii. 36; 2 Bar. xxxii. 2; Rev. xxi. 2, 10.

28. folded up, np(y): 'submerged' gqtu, β-npy.

29. and (>g) all the sheep were within it a-m, addiklo₁a₁b. 'and (>m) the Lord of the sheep was within it' m, befnpux. The omission of 'and' in gm suggests that we should read 'from which He had sent forth all the sheep', by reading 'abâg'a for 'abâg'ë and prefixing 'ë to mâ'ëkalâ.

30. Conversion of the surviving Gentiles and their spontaneous submission to Israel. Cf. Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21, &c. Contrast the later Jewish view, Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 384-387, 395.

and obeying them mt, β. >gqu.

in every thing, lit. 'in every word'.

31. those three, &c. see lxxxvii. 2, 3.

that ram, seemingly Elijah, lxxxix. 52.

32 took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep†before the judgement took place†. And those
 33 sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed
 and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house,
 and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to
 34 His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they
 brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep
 35 were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they
 36 saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was
 large and broad and very full.
 37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the
 38 birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations
 were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a **lamb**, and
 that **lamb** became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep
 39 rejoiced over it and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.
 40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and
 41 gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer
 endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and
 42 be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered
 the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

SECTION V. XCI—CIV (i.e. XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19, XCIII. 1–10, XCI. 12–17, XCIV—CIV).

A BOOK OF EXHORTATION AND PROMISED BLESSING FOR THE RIGHTEOUS
 AND OF MALEDICTION AND WOE FOR THE SINNERS.

XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

92. The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

before the judgement took place. These words are awkward here.

32. **white**=righteous; abundant and clean wool=righteousness in large measure. Cf. Isa. i. 26; iv. 3; lx. 21.

33. The righteous dead will rise to share in the kingdom. Cf. li. 1. Also the dispersion are gathered into it. Cf. Mic. iv. 6, 7.

rejoiced. Cf. Isa. lxii. 3–5; lxxv. 19.

34. Israel's sword sealed and preserved as a memorial.

into the house *g.* 'into His house' *mqt*, *β.*

were invited *g.* Other MSS. 'were enclosed'.

it held them not. Cf. Isa. xlix. 19–21; Zech. ii. 4; x. 10.

37. a white bull. The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgement. The Messiah-hope was practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the O.T. Messiah, the Son of David as in Pss. Solomon (70–40 B.C.), others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94–70 B.C.).

38. All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now apparently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, i.e. Adam was a white bull.

a lamb. The text corruptly runs 'the first became among them (*a-u, aikn*: 'among them became' *bedlox₁a₁b*) a word and that word became a great animal'. I no longer consider that the corruption arose in the Greek, i.e. *ῥῆμα* for *ρημα* a transliteration of *רִמָּה*, but follow Goldschmidt (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 91) in tracing it to the Hebrew, i.e. *מלה* 'word' for *מלה* 'lamb'. This correction is supported by Test. Joseph xix. 3–9, where the three harts first become three lambs, and then with the other nine harts become twelve sheep. Again there in *vv.* 5–9 the bull-calf (=Judas Maccabaeus) becomes a lamb, and yet as a lamb overcomes and destroys the beasts and reptiles who attack him. The lamb, or rather the horned lamb, is the nation's head, indeed its Messianic head. Here the Testaments seem to be dependent on 1 Enoch.

great *a.* 'great and' *β.*

black seems wrong here.

40. Cf. xxii. 14.

XCI–XCIV. I have rearranged these chapters in what was apparently their original order (see above) and treated the Apocalypse of Weeks, i.e. xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, as an earlier fragment incorporated by the author of xci–civ or the editor of the whole book. Beer, however, taking xci. 1–11, 18–19 as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, rearranges the order as xci. 1–11, 18–19, xciii, xci. 12–17, xcii, xciv.

XCII. The beginning of the new book composed of xci–civ. The original order was xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv, as printed here.

1. The book . . . indeed wrote (*g.*) Other MSS. 'written by Enoch the scribe'. For 'scribe' cf. xii. 3, 4.

[Enoch indeed . . . all the earth]. An interpolation.

this complete doctrine of wisdom (which is) praised, *a-t.* *t* reads 'of the' for 'this'. *β-γ* read 'is praised' after 'wisdom'.

a judge of all the earth. For wisdom as God's assessor see lxxxiv. 3 (note).

- 2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.
- 3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.
- 4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.
- 5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

XCI. 1-10, 18-19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

- 91 1 'And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother;
For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'
- 2 And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.
- 3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said:
- 'Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:
- 4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.
- 5 For I know that violence **must** increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:
- Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

2. The times though evil are ordained of God.
the Holy and Great One *gg, el₁a*: 'the Holy Great One' *mt, β-el₁a*. See i. 3 (note).

3. the righteous one. Used collectively as in xci. 10.

the righteous one . . . sleep, [shall arise]. *g* reads 'and wisdom shall arise'.

4. the righteous *tu, β*: *gg* = 'righteousness'.
power. Uprightness and power will no longer be dissevered.
he shall *mt, β*. 'they shall' *gqu*.
in eternal light. See xxxviii. 4 (note).

5. Cf. x. 16, 20.

XCI. 1. Enoch calls his sons together. Cf. lxxxi. 5, 6.

all thy brothers . . . all the sons of thy mother ∞ *g*.

all the sons. Their names are given in 2 En. i. 10, lvii. 2.

3. unto all the children of righteousness *gg, y₁b*. 'to all (> *u*, + 'his children' *i*) concerning his (> *β-ehny₁a₁b*) righteousness' *mtu, β-ehny₁a₁b*.

beloved *a-u*. 'my beloved' *β*.

4. love uprightness, &c. Cf. xciv. 1.

draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart. Cf. Sir. i. 25. Cf. Ps. xii. 2; Jas. i. 8.

associate not, &c. > *gu* through *hmt*. Cf. xciv. 2, 3, civ. 6.

in righteousness, my sons. 'in uprightness and righteousness' *g*.

good paths. Perhaps a reference to the Two Ways. Cf. v. 19.

5. The Deluge.

violence **must** increase. Emended easily from text which = 'the state of violence shall increase.'

cut off from its roots, cf. vv. 8, 11.

- 6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.
- 7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.
- 8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.
- 9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,
And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.
- 10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.
- 11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed
by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan
violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]
- 18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
- 19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCI. 12-17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

93 1, 2 And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said :

- 7, 8. This fresh development of wickedness will call forth the final judgement.
7. in all *a-g*. 'and all' *q, β*.
and transgression > *gn*.
from heaven > *g*.
And > *gmt*.
Lord + 'upon earth' *g*.
8. And the roots *mtu, β*. > *gg*. Cf. *vv*. 5, 11.
And (> *u, bc/fhp*) they shall be destroyed *mtu, β*. > *gg*.
9. The absolute rejection of the heathen seems to be taught here, the prevailing, though not the universal, belief of later Judaism. Contrast *v*. 14.
10. the righteous. The singular used collectively, as in *xcii*. 3. In *xc*-*civ* only the righteous attain to the Resurrection. See *li*. 1 (note).
their sleep *gmq, x*. 'his sleep' *tu, β-x*.
wisdom. See *xl*. 1, 2 (note).
11. This verse is an interpolation by the final editor, added to introduce *vv*. 12-17, which originally followed *xciii*. 1-10. Judgement has already been consummated in *xc*. 7-9, and the resurrection attained *xc*. 10. Verse 11 reverts to the period of the sword—which precedes the Resurrection (*xc*. 19, *xc*. 12; cf. *c*. 4, 5).
- 12-17. I read these verses after *xciii*. 14.
18. will show *m, β*. 'have shown' *gqt*. > *u*.
19. hearken unto me *qtu*. 'hearken' *β*. > *g*.
And 2° > *g*.
paths of righteousness . . . paths of violence. For 'paths' cf. *xciv*. 1, 2, 4. This is one of the earliest non-canonical references to the Two Ways. See *Test. Ash. i*. 3, 5; 2 *En. xxx*. 15 (note).

XCI. 1-10. An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks of *xc*. 12-17 belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, *lxxxiii-xc*, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially towards its close, by some great event, e.g.

'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons :

According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said :

'I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up ;
And in it there shall be the first end.

And in it a man shall be saved ;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.

5 And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

And in it a man shall ascend ;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

the first by Enoch's birth, the third by Abraham's call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch's writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgement in xci. 15 is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

1. †gave† *a-mt*. 'was' *t, β*. I cannot explain this corruption.
and began. > *a-g*.

the books. Cf. xxxiii. 3, 4, xl. 8, lxxiv. 2, lxxxi. 1, 2.

2. These disclosures are for the children of righteousness. Cf. xcii. 1.

the elect of the world. Here only in Enoch.

the plant of uprightness. See x. 16 (note).

uprightness *a-g*. 'righteousness' (+ 'and uprightness' *β*) *g, β*.

will declare *gq, β*. 'have declared' *mtu*.

heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

3. Enoch > *mqt*.

seventh in the first week. Cf. 'seventh from Adam', Jude 14; also Gen. v. 24 where he is the seventh of the patriarchs. This does not imply that each week = exactly seven generations, as the sixth and seventh must = fourteen or more.

still endured. i.e. goodness still prevailed. Or we may render 'were still held back', i.e. the Deluge was not yet.

4. great wickedness. This growth of wickedness should belong to Jared's days as in vi. 6 and cvi. 13. The Deluge and the covenant with Noah (a law for the sinners) occur in this week.

a law shall be made *g, n*. Also *gmu* read 'law' in the nom., cf. v. 6. *t, β-n* read 'He will make a law'.

5. Abraham and his seed are chosen to reveal God's righteous judgements. Cf. x. 16 (note) and xciii. 2, 10.

his posterity shall become. Text reads 'after him (or 'it') it shall come' (or 'become').

6. Visions. Divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt.

Visions of the holy and righteous *mq, β*. *u* omits 'and righteous'. *g* reads 'visions . . . righteousness'. *t =*

'holy and righteous visions'.

a law, given on Sinai, binding for all time. Cf. xcix. 2.

an enclosure, i.e. Palestine. Cf. lxxxix. 2.

7. The Temple will stand for ever, though one form of it may give place to another. In xci-civ proper, there appears to be no Temple after the final judgement. The risen righteous enjoy a purely spiritual existence like the angels. Cf. Jub. and possibly Pss. Sol.

8. The divided kingdoms, Elijah (lxxxix. 52), the Temple's fall and the Captivity.

chosen root *g, β*. 'root of might' *mqt*.

- 9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.
- 10 And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.
- 11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without
being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works
12 of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could
understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see
13 all their ends and think them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what
is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?
14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon
what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12-17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

- 91 12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.
- 13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
- 14^d And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.
- 14^a And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
^b And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
^c And the world shall be written down for destruction.
- 15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

9. From the captivity to the author's time an apostate period. Cf. lxxxix. 73-75.
apostate ¹⁰ > *gm*.

10. The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of the seventh week. For the extravagant claims he makes cf. Sir. xxiv. 28-32.

shall be elected *a, acfhikn*: 'shall be recompensed' *bdlopxy, a, b*.

The elect righteous *q, abefhikx*. Cf. i. 1 Greek Version. *t* supports this *g, dloy, a, b* read 'the elect of righteousness'. *m* 'the righteous'. *u* 'the elect'. These alone will receive the revelations. Cf. c. 6, civ. 12, 13.

XCIII. 11-14. These verses are quite out of place in their present context, and suit rather the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries lxxii-lxxx, lxxxii; but are foreign to the whole tone of this book, xci-civ.

11. **the voice of the Holy One**, i. e. the thunder. Cf. Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix.

think His thoughts. Cf. Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxviii. 33; Ps. xl. 5, xcii. 5; Eccles. xi. 5.

12. **a soul** *gmq, bxy*: 'His breath' *t, β-bxy*.

a spirit *mtu, bxy* (*gy* corrupt): 'His spirit' *β-bxy*.

Enoch's journey through heaven and Hades is referred to.

their ends, i. e. of the things of heaven. But the text may be corrupt for 'their causes'.

13. Not given in Enoch. Cf. Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

14. Not given in Enoch. Jer. xxxi. 37; Job xi. 8.

founded. Cf. xviii. 2, 3.

XCI. 12-17. These verses giving an account of the last three weeks of the world's history are here restored to their place after xciii. 1-10, the account of the first seven weeks.

12. The eighth week sees the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, and the first act of the final judgement—the period of the sword (xc. 19), when the wicked are given into the hand of the righteous. Cf. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12, xcix. 4, 6, also xxxviii. 5.

13. After strife will follow rest and quiet possession of the earth. Cf. Isa. lx. 21, 22, lxxv. 20-23.

a house . . . for the Great King. The temple, and also Jerusalem. *g* reads 'the house of the Great King shall be built'.

14. This verse may refer to the conversion of the Gentiles, as l. 2-5, xc. 30, 33, 35, cf. 14^d. Or it may refer to the open punishment by God of the wicked. Cf. 14^c.

the works of the godless shall vanish. Cf. x. 16, 20, 21.

the world . . . for destruction *m, β*: 'He shall write down (i. e. decree) the destruction of the world' *g*: 'He shall write down the world for destruction' *t*: > *u*: *q* = a corruption of *g* (?). This is to take place in the end of the tenth week.

15. **There shall be . . . angels** *a-t*. The structure of the stanza supports this text. *t, β-in* insert a gloss and read 'There shall be the eternal judgement. And it shall be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven, The great (judgement) in which He will execute vengeance among the angels.'

- 16 And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.
- 17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1-5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

- 94 1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.
- 2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.
- 3 And now I say unto you the righteous:
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.
- 4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.
- 5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts;
For I know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may diminish.

XCIV. 6-11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

- 6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.
- 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

16. a new heaven (cf. Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; Ps. cii. 26), but no new earth. Cf. civ. 2 (note). For a new creation, cf. xlv. 4, lxxii. 1 (note).

sevenfold. Isa. xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20.

light. *mg* t, *β-akk* add 'for ever'.

17. End of Apocalypse of Weeks.

And all *g*. > other MSS.

XCIV. Introduces the practical part of this section.

1. love righteousness. Cf. xci. 3.

worthy of acceptance *t*, *β* (cf. 1 Tim. i. 15): 'worthy and acceptable' *gmq*: 'worthy' *u*.

paths of unrighteousness . . . destroyed. Cf. Ps. i. 6. On the 'Two Ways' see xci. 19 (note).

2. The revelations through Moses and the Prophets.

paths . . . of death. Cf. Prov. xiv. 12; Jer. xxi. 8.

3. paths *gmt*, *bx*: 'path' *β-bx*.

wickedness + 'and of violence' *β*.

draw not nigh. Cf. xci. 4, civ. 6.

4. But seek. *g* reads 'as those who seek evil' and connects with preceding verse.

And ye shall *gmq*. 'that ye may' *t*, *β*.

5. to evilly-entreat. Text = 'to make . . . evil' = *κακοποιεῖν*.

no place. Cf. xlii. 1.

6-10. Woes, cf. Isa. v. 8-25; Matt. xxiii. 13-33, &c.

6. build. Cf. xci. 5 ('structure').

have no peace. Cf. xcvi. 11, 16, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, also v. 4 (note).

7. build their houses with sin: from Jer. xxii. 13. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 13.

[And those . . . perish]. The subject of 'riches' comes in the next verse, and this clause spoils the stanza here.

- 8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.
- 9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.
- 10 Thus I speak and declare unto you :
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.
- 11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

- 95 1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud †of waters† :
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart !
- 2 †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness ?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†
- 3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous ;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.
- 4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed :
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.
- 5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil ;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 6 Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.
- 7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous ;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

9. day of slaughter, &c. See xlv. 2 (note). Cf. James v. 1-5.

And the day of darkness. > g, a.

10. your Creator will rejoice, &c. Contrast Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11, and cf. Pss. ii. 3, 4; xxxvii. 12, 13;

1 En. lxxxix. 58 and xcvi. 2.

11. This stanza is imperfect.

XCV. 1. Oh that, &c. From Jer. ix. 1. Quoted by 2 Bar. xxxv. 2.

[a cloud of] i.e. ענן a doublet for עיני 'my eyes' or a corruption of עין 'a spring'.

cloud †of waters†. Read 'cloud (pours) rain', i.e. זרם 'rainstorm' for מים 'waters'.

2. †Who has permitted you g, β (= מי נתנכם). But a-g read, and possibly rightly, 'Oh that ye were' (= מי יתנכם). Then, either omitting with g 'to practise', or emending it to 'become', and adopting the subjunctive in the next line with β, and not the indicative in a, we have:

Oh that ye were become a reproach and an evil,

And that so judgement might overtake you, sinners.

3. again, as in the first Maccabean victories. Though now even the Maccabean princes are Sadducees, the righteous will again prevail.

into your hands. Cf. xci. 12.

4. Cf. viii. 3. Magical practices and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.

which cannot be reversed m. For 'cannot' gq reads 'can': 'which you cannot reverse' t, β.

5. requite . . . with evil. Cf. Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 29; Rom. xii. 17.

requited according to your works. Cf. c. 7; Judges i. 7.

7. ye shall be delivered up g. 'Ye shall deliver up' other MSS.

and persecuted a-gt, β-a. 'and shall persecute' gt, a.

its yoke gmq. 'their yoke' t, β.

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous: Woes for the Wicked.*

- 96 1 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.
- 2 [And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you—and weep.]
- 3 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.
- 4 Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.
- 5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink **wine in large bowls**,
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.
- 6 Woe to you who drink water **from every fountain**,
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.
- 7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy:
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.
- 8 Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous;
For the day of your destruction is coming.
In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of Unrighteous Wealth.*

- 97 1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.
- 2 Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

XCVI. The righteous are to hope for the coming Messianic kingdom.

1. **lordship.** Cf. xci. 12 (note), xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 12.
 2. Interpolation. The wicked will hide themselves, not the righteous, in the coming time; xcvii. 3, c. 4, cii. 1, civ. 5. But the first three lines may be original.
 - tribulation of the sinners.** Is it suffered or caused by the sinners?
 - mount and rise.** From Isa. xl. 31.
 - higher than the vultures.** Cf. Jer. xlix. 16.
 - enter the crevices, &c.** Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, from the presence of the Lord, not as here 'before the unrighteous'—a clumsy insertion.
 - the sirens:** 'as the sirens' *qt*, *β*. These may be satyrs or sirens—by the same word the Eth. version renders *σείρηνες* in Isa. xlii. 21, Jer. xxvii. (1.) 39.
 3. **a bright light.** See xxxviii. 4 (note).
 4. Prosperity was a mark of righteousness, in the O.T. doctrine of retribution.
 5. **The finest of the wheat.** Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14.
 - wine in large bowls,** i.e. not in ordinary wine-cups. Cf. the flagons of the magnates in Samaria, Amos vi. 6.
- The text is corrupt = 'the strength of the root of the fountain' = *בְּחֵץ שֶׁיֶשֶׁר עֵץ* which I emend to *בְּמִזְרְקֵי יַיִן* = the phrase in Amos.
6. The self-indulgent life will fail, for want of the fountain of true life. Cf. Jer. ii. 13; Ps. xxxvi. 9.
 - drink water from every fountain.** Text corruptly reads *בְּכָל-עֵץ* for *בְּכָל-עֵץ*.
 - shall ye be consumed** *mqd*. 'shall ye be requited and consumed' *g*, *β*. > *u* (defective).
 - forsaken.** Cf. Jer. ii. 13.
 7. Cf. xci. 8, xciv. 6, 9.
 8. **many and good days:** a temporary Messianic kingdom, in which the righteous then alive will share.

XCVII. Woes of the wicked.

1. **the day of unrighteousness,** i.e. the judgement day. See xlv. 2 (note).
2. **angels . . . rejoice, &c.** Cf. xciv. 10 and contrast Luke xv. 10. **angels of heaven** *a-n*. 'angels' *β-n*.

- 3 What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?
- 4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony:
"Ye have been companions of sinners."
- 5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgement shall come.
- 6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.
- 7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.
- 8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say:
"We have become rich with riches and have possessions;
And have acquired everything we have desired."
- 9 And now let us do what we purposed:
For we have gathered silver,
9^c And many are the husbandmen in our houses."
9^d And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,
10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you;
For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners: Sin originated by Man: all Sin recorded in Heaven*
Woes for the Sinners.

- 98¹ And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.
- 2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin:
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.
3. **prayer of the righteous.** Cf. v. 5, and xlvii. 2, xcvi. 3, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3, and Rev. vi. 10.
4. **shall fare** *gqu. mt, β* read 'shall not fare'.
Against whom *g.* 'for against you' *t.* 'ye against whom' *mq, β.*
this word. Cf. xcvi. 4. Note the Pharisaic idea of separateness from the unrighteous.
5. **righteous** *a-g, β-afhikpv.* 'holy' *g, afhikpv.*
6. **all the words of** *mq, β-a.* 'all' *g.*
shall be read out, from the books. See xlvii. 3 (note). Cf. Matt. xii. 36.
Great Holy One, *g₁gmq, n.* 'Great and Holy One' *tu, β-n₁a.* See i. 3 (note), xcii. 2 (note).
covered with shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10, lxiii. 11.
He will reject every work *gqt.* 'every work shall be rejected' *mu, β.*
7. **remembrance.** Cf. c. 10, 11, civ. 8.
8. Cf. xciv. 7, 8 (note); also Sir. xi. 19; Luke xii. 19.
with riches *mq, β.* > *gu.*
9. **And many** *g₁g, ₁b.* 'many' *qt, β-₁b.*
as with water *lg.* Other MSS. prefix 'and'. Note the rejoinder in 10^a.
10. A rejoinder to the boasting of the sinners.
your riches *u.* 'riches with you' *a-u, β.*
riches shall . . . ascend, &c. Prov. xxiii. 5.
all *gmt, β-n.* > *gqu.*

XCVIII. A new division begins, xcvi. 3, a denunciation of the sinners' errors in life and doctrine. Their coming judgement.

1. **I swear.** Here first, but frequently after, in verses 4, 6, xcix. 6, &c.
wise and . . . foolish. xcvi. 3 to the foolish; cii. 4-civ to the wise.
to the foolish *mu, β:* 'not to the foolish' *g₁gqt.*
2. Their personality will be lost in their possessions, as water is lost in the earth. Cf. Ps. xxii. 14 for the phrase.

- 3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.
- 4 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.
- 5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.
- 6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.
- 7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see
8 that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth
ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of
your judgement.
- 9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: and ye transgress against the wise,
10 and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day
of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know
no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and
great shame for your spirits.
- 11 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood:
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which
the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.
- 12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto
yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut
13 off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation
14 of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at nought the words of
15 the righteous; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless
words; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their)
16 neighbour. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

3. Their spirits: cf. verse 10, ciii. 8. As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of punishment.
into the furnace of fire g_1g, β . > $mqtu$.

4. Sin is of man's own devising. See lxix. 11 (note). Contrast c. 4. It is not original or unavoidable, but
voluntary, and therefore punished. Cf. 2 Baruch xviii. 2, liv. 15.
mountain, הר is masc. in Heb. while גבעה = 'hill' is feminine.

5. The instance is an illustration of the general law. Cf. Hos. ix. 14.

barrenness $lu, \beta-n^1$: 'simulation', or 'excuse' g_1gmq, n^1 .

6-8. God does concern Himself with men's deeds. Cf. Job xxii. 13; Ps. lxxiii. 11.

6. Holy Great One, $gqtu$. 'Holy and Great One' gm, β .

7. recorded. Cf. xcvi. 6, xcvi. 8, c. 10, civ. 7, 8.

8. From henceforth, after the publication of Enoch's book.

9. transgress against g_1g : 'know not' m : 'tend not' q : 'hearken not to' t, β .

10. prepared. xciv. 9.

no ransom. Ps. xlix. 7, 8, 9.

for ye g, β : 'and ye' q : 'ye' mqt .

day of the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

for your spirits, see verse 3.

11. obstinate of heart: c. 8.

who work: 2nd sing. in t, β : 3rd sing. in g_1gmq . But only β has 'eat' in 2nd sing.

eat blood. Cf. vii. 5; Jubilees vii. 28-32, xxi. 6; Acts xv. 29.

the Lord $a-m$. 'our Lord' m, β .

no peace. See v. 4 (note), also v. 16 below.

12. into the hands of the righteous. See xci. 12 (note).

13. No burial. Cf. Jer. viii. 2, xxii. 19.

shall be dug for you, 'of yours shall be seen' g_1g .

14. no hope of life, &c. Cf. xcvi. 10.

15. Cf. civ. 10. Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.

act godlessly towards $gqtu$. β inserts a negative and this necessitates a change of rendering, 'not forget'.

neighbour a . 'folly' β .

16. a sudden death. Cf. xciv. 1, 6, 7, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 1, 6.

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Lawbreakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the Last Days: further Woes.*

- 99¹ Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.
- 2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.
- 3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.
- 4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.
- 5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.
- 6, 7 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And
they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood (and stone) and clay, and
those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge,
shall get no manner of help from them.
- 8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts
And through visions in their dreams.
- 9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.
- 10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

XCIX. 1. Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 15.

to you *a-1g*. 'to them' *1g*, *β*. MSS. constantly confuses 2nd and 3rd person.

2. to them *g1gm*. 'to you' *qtu*, *β*.

the eternal law, i.e. of Moses. Cf. v. 4, xcix. 14.

transform themselves, adopt Gentile customs, become apostates, and possibly undergo the operation mentioned in Ass. Mos. viii. 3.

[into sinners]. A gloss.

3. your prayers. See xcvi. 3 (note).

place them... before the angels. For angelic mediation cf. ix. 2-11, and in O.T. Job v. 1; Zech. i. 12; in N.T. only Rev. viii. 3, 4. See too my notes in T. Levi iii. 5; T. Dan vi. 2.

place them *a*. 'ye have placed them' *β*.

the Most High, in all sections of the book; ix. 3, x. 1, xlv. 7, lx. 1, 22, lxii. 7, lxxvii. 1, xciv. 8, xcvi. 2, xcvi. 7, 11, xcix. 3, 10, ci. 1, 6, 9.

4. Wars, tumults, and the period of the sword. Cf. xc. 19, &c.

shall be *t*, *β*. 'are' *a-1gt*.

shall arise *t*, *β*. 'shall raise up' *a-mt*.

5. abandon them *a*. 'abandon their children' *β*.

6-C. 6. Denunciation of idolatry.

day of unceasing bloodshed. See xci. 12 (note), xlv. 2 (note). Quoted by Tertullian *De Idol.* iv. See my Comm. on I En. *in loc.*

7. (and stone) inserted from Tertullian.

impure *β*. 'evil' *a*.

demons. Cf. xvi. 1, xix. 1, also Rev. ix. 20.

not according to knowledge, *gqt(1gu)*, Tert.: 'in idols' temples' *β*.

8. Idolaters go from bad to worse. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 12, 27; Rom. i. 21.

10. Salvation is for those who accept the true wisdom.

of His righteousness *a-u*. 'of righteousness' *u*, *β*.

- 11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.
- 12 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.
- 13 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.
- 14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.
- 15 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,
And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.
- 16 For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. *The Sinners destroy each other: Judgement of the Fallen Angels: the Safety of the Righteous: further Woes for the Sinners.*

- 100 1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten
And brothers one with another shall fall in death
Till the streams flow with their blood.
- 2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother:
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.
- 3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.
- 4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

11. slain in Sheol. Cf. cviii. 3—the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Cf. xxii. 13. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment. See lxxiii. 10 (note).

12. measures *a-mt*, *i*¹. 'foundations' *t*, *β*-*i*.

cause bitterness *mt*, *β*. 'know' *gq*. tempt' *1g*.

13. build . . . toil of others. Cf. Jer. xxii. 13; also 1 En. xciv. 7, xcvii. 8.

14. the measure and eternal heritage, the Mosaic law. Cf. *v*. 2.

whose souls follow after *1gm*. 'and follow after the souls of' *guqt*. 'who cause their souls to follow after' *β*.
have no rest. Cf. the sufferings of the righteous, ciii. 13; also 'no peace', xciv. 6.

15. to them *1gu*, *β*. 'to you' *gmqt*.

day of the great judgement. See xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, also xlv. 2 (note).

16. His fierce indignation. *1gβ* read 'the spirit of His indignation' = *אפיו רוח אפו* corrupt for *אפיו חרון אפו*: *gmqt* read 'His indignation and His spirit'. 'His spirit' is nom. in *qt*. + 'into your hands' *g*.

holy and righteous *g1gmq*. ∞ *t*, *β*.

remember your sins, and so hasten your destruction. See xcvii. 5 (note).

C. 1. brothers one with another shall fall *β*. *a* inserts 'and' after 'another'.
streams flow with their blood. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 3, 7; Ps. lviii. 10.

2. his sons' sons *β*. 'his son's son' *gmt*. *1gq* corrupt. + 'in compassion' *tβ*.
the sinner *t*, *β*. 'as for the sinner, he' *g*, *gmq*.

his honoured brother. Aristobulus slew his beloved brother Antigonus (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1, 2). On the internecine strife that was to initiate the kingdom cf. lvi. 7, xcix. 5, 6; Zech. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Hag. ii. 22; Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 21, 34, 35, xxiv. 10, &c.

3. up to the breast. Cf. Rev. xiv. 20.

to its height *m*, *β*. 'to the day of its (> *1g*) height' (a dittograph of 'day'). 'it shall be filled to its height' *t*.

4. The fallen angels who brought down sin will be gathered from 'the secret places'.
the angels shall descend, &c. Cf. Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49.

brought down sin *a-t*. 'helped sin' *t*, *β*.

of judgement *a-tu*. > *tu*, *β*.

amongst *1gmqu*. 'and amongst' *g*. 'on all the' *t*, *β*.

- 5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.
- 6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise in security,
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.
- 7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire :
Ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness :
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.
- 9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.
- 10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun
and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute
11 judgement on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist
and dew and rain ; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they
12 shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descend-
ing upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.
- 13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues
fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

5. The righteous souls in the place of the departed are guarded. Cf. the promptuaria of 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95 ; also 4 Ezra iv. 32, 40, vii. 32 ; 2 Bar. xxx. 2.

all ¹. > *g^u*.

the apple of an eye. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10 ; Ps. xvii. 8.

He makes an end of all *g₁₈gm²*. 'all has been made an end of' *q¹tu,β*.

the righteous sleep a long sleep. The writer of xci-civ did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The 'long sleep' seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in xci-civ follows the final judgement.

6. I have transposed 'the children of the earth' from the second line to the first, and with *1g^q* taken 'the wise' in the acc. and not in the nom. as *gmt, β*. 'The wicked see the bliss of the wise.' Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 85 ; Wisdom iv. 17, &c. children of the earth, cf. cii. 3: the counterpart of 'the children of heaven' or the righteous, ci. 1.

in security. Text = *πιστόν* or *πεποιθότα*—a wrong rendering of *חבצ* used pregnantly = dwelling in security. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

7. on the day of strong anguish. The MSS. wrongly transpose this into the next clause.

Ye who. MSS. read *sôba* = 'when', corrupt for 'ella.

burn them with fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vii.

according to your works. Cf. xcv. 5.

8. obstinate of heart *a*. 'perverse of heart' *β*. Cf. xcvi. 11.
watch. Cf. Isa. xxix. 20.

9. sinners + 'for' *1g, β*.

which your godlessness has wrought *gmu*: 'because of the work of your godlessness' *t*: 'which are the work of your godlessness' *q*: 'which as a work ye have godlessly committed' *β*.

in blazing flames . . . burn. Here *a-1g* > 'shall ye burn', and *1g, β* > 'burning'. The two texts seem to be complementary.

10. All the heavenly powers which witness the sins of the wicked testify against them. Cf. xcvi. 6-8, also xcvi. 7, civ. 1. Cf. the witness of stones and beams in their houses against the wicked, Hab. ii. 11.

in heaven. 'from heaven' *g* + 'and' *a-u*.

execute judgement on = *ποιεῖτε κρίσιν μετὰ* (so *gmqt*)—a Hebraism.

11. All the natural powers which minister to the earth's fruitfulness will testify against sinners, as they are withheld on account of their sins. Cf. lxxx (interpolation in lxxii-lxxxii): cf. Jer. iii. 3.

they shall be mindful *a-mt*. 'shall they not be mindful' *mt, β* (*t, β* 'watchful').

12. Ironically spoken.

that it may descend *g₁₈gt, bilopxy₁a₁b*. 'that it should not descend' *mq*. > *u, β-bilopxy₁a₁b*.

13. Even the punishment by the elements will be irresistible.

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him but not the Sinners.*

- 101 1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him
2 and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and
3 the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends
His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent
4 words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the **sailors** of
the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are
5 in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea
with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will
6 perish therein. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most
7 High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His
reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are
8 on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?
Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?
9 Do not the **sailors** of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

- 102 1 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you
Will you not be affrighted and fear?
2 And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.
3 And all the †angels shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.
4 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

CI. 1. The same subject continued, but verse 1 contains an aside to the righteous.

children of heaven, equivalent to 'sons of God' i. e. righteous Israelites. See Test. Lev. iv. 2 (note); Wisd. ii.

13, 18. For 'children of heaven' cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 22.

2. Address to the wicked resumed, c. 11, 12.

If *gt*, *β-enx*: 'for', *1gu*, *ex*: 'when' *mq*, *n*.

windows of heaven. Gen. vii. 11.

3. if *g1gtu*, *β*: 'when' *mq*.

because of (+ 'all' *1g*) **your deeds** *gm*: 'and upon (+ 'all' *β*) your deeds' *t*, *β*: 'your deeds' *gq*.

proud and insolent words: v. 4 (note); xxvii. 2. Cf. xcvi. 7, 8, cii. 6.

4-7. Sailors fear the sea: how much more should men fear God, of whom the sea is sore afraid. Cf. Ps. cvii. 23-27.

4. **sailors**. Text = 'kings', i. e. מלכי corrupt for מלחי.

6, 7. The sea is in the hand of God. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10, xxxviii. 8-11; Ps. lxxxix. 9, civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29.

has He not set limits to its doings *e* (but it reads 'aqama for 'aqama): *y* preserves the verb: *β-y* alter it to

hatama = 'has sealed': *gmqt* read 'its doings and waters' (i. e. wamajā, perhaps corrupt for 'aqama).

at His reproof . . . dries up. Isa. i. 2.

is afraid and dries up *a-1g*, *x*: 'dries up and is afraid' *β-x*.

9. A pregnant summing up.

sailors. See v. 4 (note).

CII. 1-3. Whither they will flee on the terrible day of the Lord, when heaven and earth will be aghast and the very angels seek to hide themselves?

1. **a grievous fire**, i. e. hell. Cf. xcix. 11.

His word, i. e. of judgement.

3. †angels . . . commands†. Corrupt: for 'angels' read kings. Cf. Rev. vi. 15.

execute their commands. I cannot emend.

3. **the Great Glory** *a*. 'the Great in Glory' *β*. Cf. xiv. 10.

children of earth. Cf. c. 6.

have no peace. Cf. xciv. 6 (note).

4-CIV. 9. Discussion and condemnation of Sadducean views of the future life.

4, 5. The righteous are to be of good cheer, though their life and death be in grief.

4. **ye that have died** *n*, *cfhikln1a*: 'they who have died' *ggtu*: 'the day of your death' *abdeox1b*: 'the souls of those who have died' *1g*: *q* adds 'ye who have died in righteousness' after 'grieve not' in the next line.

- 5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.
- 6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you :
" As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds ?
- 7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we ?
From henceforth we are equal.
- 8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever ?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."
- 9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and
10 acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner
11 of violence is found in them till their death ? " Nevertheless they perished and became as though
they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners : fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

- 103 ¹ Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and
² Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.
I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them :
- 3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

5. Strong in the belief in a blessed future for the righteous, the writer can concede the apparent equality of righteous and wicked in life and death.

if *g_{1g}*. Other MSS. 'that' or 'because'.

soul + 'into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and' *t, β*.

Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note).

wait for. Here I emend *ēnka ba* (= 'moreover on') into *šenhû la* = 'wait for'. Cf. cviii. 2.

judgement of sinners. Text = 'ye became sinners'. The next line requires this emendation here.

day of . . . chastisement. Hos. v. 9.

6-8. The Sadducean argument—the O.T. view of the retribution of the righteous in this life was interpreted as implying that men could be judged by their fortunes in this life, and that where there is no difference in this life there will be none in the next. Cf. Wisdom ii. 1-5, iii. 2-4; Eccles. ii. 14-16, iii. 19-21, &c.

7. in grief and darkness. The O.T. view of Sheol, lxiii. 10 (note).

8. what will they receive *mt, β*: 'how will they rise' *g_{1gq}*.

Behold *a-_{1g}*. 'For behold' *1g, β*.

9-10. Answer of the writer. The distinction of righteous and wicked is not an outward, but a religious and ethical one. The wicked man's life is moulded by material and temporal aims only.

9. see good days. So LXX of Ps. xxxiv. 12.

10. falls out *a*. 'is peace' *β*.

death *a-_{1g}*. 'day of their death' *1g, β*.

11. The wicked rejoice that Death awaits both alike.

spirits *a-_{1g}*. 'souls' *1g, β*.

CIII. 1-4. The writer turns to the righteous, and assures them from the heavenly tablets and the holy books that every good thing is in store for them.

1. A more solemn oath than in xcvi. 1, 4, 6, &c.

by the glory . . . dominion *g* and almost *1g*: 'by His great glory ('by the glory of the Great One' *qt*) and by His honoured kingdom' *mq_t*: 'by His great glory and honour and by His honoured kingdom' *β-y*.

2. a mystery *a-t*. 'this mystery' *t, β*.

read *gqu*. 'read in' *mt, β*.

the holy books *gqt*. 'books of the holy ones' *1gm, β*. Cf. cviii. 7, xlvii. 3. See also cviii. 3.

3. Where are these blessings to be enjoyed, in Sheol, or in the spiritual theocracy set up after the final judgement ? There seems to be only a resurrection of the spirit.

for them *1g, β*. > *a-_{1g}*.

the spirits of those who *mt, β*: 'your spirits which' *gq*.

manifold good *1gmg*. 'things manifold and good' *gt*. 'with manifold good' *β*.

- 4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world : wherefore no longer fear their contumely.
- 5 Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you :
" Blessed are the sinners : they have seen all their days.
- 6 And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life ;
And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."
- 7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.
- 8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your
spirits enter ;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.
- 9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life :
" In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.
- 10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word :
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.
- 11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail :
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil ;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.
- 12 They have had dominion over us that hated us† and smote us ;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks
But they pitied us not.

4. spirits of you $g_{1g}q$, β : 'spirits of them' *mt.*
who have died (2nd sing. in $1g$, $t^2\beta$). 'who have died' (3rd sing.) a_{-1g} .
rejoice + 'and be glad' g_{1gm} , β .
And their spirits shall not perish, nor a . 'their spirits and' β .
5-8. The wicked are not at an end after death. Darkness, chains and a burning fire await them.
5. when ye have died a_{-u} . $> \beta$.
the wealth of a_{-g} . $> q, \beta$.
7. Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note). Here, unlike in cii. 5, 11, it is the final place of punishment. Our text is a development of Jub. vii. 29, as it adds to Sheol one of the characteristics of Gehenna. See v. 8a.
8. of the world a . 'unto eternity' β .
have no peace. See v. 4 (note); xciv. 6 (note).
- 9-15. An ironical description of the lot of the righteous. Cf. the Sadducean view in cii. 6, 7.
9. From this verse to the end of the chapter $1g$ stands frequently alone, exhibiting nearly sixty variations, mostly between 1st and 3rd plurals. The MSS. evidence goes to prove that the 3rd person was original, for whereas $1g$ gives the 3rd person in all but seven instances (these are confined to vv. 14 and 15), all other MSS. with few exceptions give the 1st person. Thus the wicked assume the rôle of the righteous and speak in their person in ciii. 9-15. Yet in civ. 1-6 the author addresses his reply not directly to the sinners who have just spoken but to the righteous (cf. ciii. 1), and returns to the sinners in civ. 7-9.
- our troubled days t^2, β : 'their troubled days' $gq t^1 u$: 'the days of their life with their troublous toil' $1g$.
we. 'they' $1g$, and so on except in 14-15.
been consumed: 'they have suffered from disease' $1g$.
become few. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 62.
our spirit small. Not 'humble' but 'poor-spirited'.
10. we . . . have not found any to help us even with a word $a_{-1g}t$. So $1g$ but with a change of persons. 'There has been none to help us in word or deed: we are powerless and have found nothing' t, β .
11. We hoped a . 'and we hoped' β .
to be the head. Deut. xxviii. 13.
laid their yoke, &c. Deut. xxviii. 48.
12. had dominion . . . hated us. Cf. Esther ix. 1.
to those that hated us. I think this is a dittograph from the line before, and 'that smote us' belongs to this line. Thus we have: 'They have had dominion over us that hated us, And to those that smote us we have bowed our necks, But they pitied us not.'

- 13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.
- 14 And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us,
But they did not attend to our cries
And would not hearken to our voice.
- 15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they
concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us
and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they
had lifted up their hands against us.

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous: Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of
the Words of Uprightness.*

- 104 ¹ I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great
² One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for aforetime
ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
³ ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your
cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the
⁴ rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope;
⁵ for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do? Ye shall not
have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal
⁶ judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous,
when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways: be not companions with them,
⁷ but keep afar from their violence; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And,
although ye sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless

13. we desired $a_{-1}g$. $1g\beta$ prefix 'and'.

14. cried out + 'and made lamentation' g : $1g$ inserts this clause before 'in our tribulation'.

14, 15. These verses help to fix the date of xci-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. 'Dispersed' and 'murdered' point to Jannaeus, and the date 94-79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70-64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.

15. they helped $1g\beta$: 'you have helped' gmt : 'thou hast helped' q .
the yoke of those that $g_{1g}m$, &c. 'their yoke but' qt , &c.

CIV. Again the writer replies, not to the wicked, but to the righteous, as in ciii. 1. The righteous have indeed no hope in this life, but must look for the blessed future awaiting them in heaven.

1. unto you + 'ye righteous' $t^2\beta$.

the angels remember you. For angelic mediation cf. xv. 2 (note), xl. 5-7, xlvii. 2, lxxxix. 76.
and a, i . $> \beta-ei$.

names are written: xlvii. 3 (note). The Great One: xiv. 2, ciii. 4.

2. now: used here of the impending future.

shine as the lights. Cf. Dan. xii. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.

ye shall shine $2^o a$. $> \beta$.

portals of heaven. For the open gates cf. Rev. xxi. 25. There is no hope of a new earth. Cf. xci. 16 (note).

3. Their demand for justice, unheard on earth, ciii. 14, 15, will one day be satisfied. Cf. for the cry of the righteous xcvii. 3, 5 (note), xcix. 3, 16.

the rulers. Cf. ciii. 14, 15 (note).

4. as the angels of heaven. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30; 1 En. civ. 6.

5. what shall ye . . . do $a-t, e$. 'as for what ye shall . . . do' $t, \beta-e$.

day of the great judgement. Cf. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 4, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, xcix. 15.

the eternal judgement. Cf. xci. 15, also xlv. 2 (note). This verse seems to imply no judgement for the righteous.

Contrast li. 2.

6. in their ways $g_{1g}gmt$. 'in their lusts' β .

Note Pharisaic exclusiveness. Cf. xci. 3, 4. The hope of the righteous can be realized in heaven alone. The Messianic kingdom falls into the background.

be not a . 'and be not' β .

companions, &c.; cf. civ. 2, 4. In 2 Bar. li. 5, 10, 12 the righteous attain and even transcend the glory of the angels.

hosts. So β , reading ḥarâ. Cf. Luke ii. 13; Rev. xix. 14; gmt read ḥêrâna = τῶν ἀγαθῶν (corrupt for ἀγγέλων, Flemming).

7, 8. He warns the wicked that, though they know it not, their sins are recorded daily.

7. All our sins . . . out. So Beer and n . Other MSS. read 'ye shall not search out all our sins'. t, β give 'all our sins' in nom.: $g_{1g}mq$ in acc.

be written down t, β . 'they ('he' $1gq$; 'ye' mu) shall write' $g_{1g}mq$.

8 they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness,
 9 day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words
 of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your
 10 idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And
 now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many
 ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning
 11 their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not
 change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified
 12 concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the
 13 wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books
 be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who
 have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man*

105 1 In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning
 their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.
 2 For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and
 ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

8. For the witness of natural powers cf. c. 10 (note).

9-13. Disclosures and directions regarding his own book.

9. The wicked are bidden not to alter or misinterpret the O.T. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 14, xcix. 2.

Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).

take account of *g₁gq*. 'praise' *mt*, *β*.

your idols. Cf. xcix. 7-9, 14.

10. A time will come when the words of revelation will be perverted, and books be written enforcing wicked and
 heathen doctrine.

sinners . . . in many ways *g₁gmt*. 'many sinners' *q*, *β*.

books *t*, *β*. 'my books' *g₁gmq*.

11. But the writings of Enoch will counteract these heathen teachings. The writer speaks here from Enoch's stand-
 point.

my words *tu*, *β*. 'words' *g₁gmq*.

their languages, i.e. Greek and Aramaic.

12. At last a righteous and wise generation will receive and understand his works (cf. i. 2). Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9, 10.

13. **recompensed**: i.e. find their reward in these books (xciii. 10, c. 6, civ. 12, 13, cv. 1), or perhaps in the Messianic
 kingdom thereupon set up.

CV. This chapter does not seem to belong to xci-civ. (1) Children of earth is used in a good sense. Contrast c. 6.
 (2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in xci-civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an
 idea of i-xxxvi), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in xci-civ.

1. **In those** *a-m*. 'and in those' *m β*.

and testify *> m*.

recompense. Cf. civ. 13.

2. **I and My Son,** i.e. the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29, xiii. 32, 37, 52, xiv. 9. The righteous are God's children,
 and pre-eminently so the Messiah. Cf. the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii, also 1 En. lxii. 14; John xiv. 23.

in their lives, thus finite.

ye shall have peace. Contrast the curse of the wicked, xciv. 6 (note).

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH

106 ¹ And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became ² pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head †and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful†. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house ³ was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and †conversed with† the Lord of righteousness. ⁴ And his father Lamech was afraid of him and ⁵ fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be ⁷ wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is ⁸ amongst the angels.' And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said unto him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, **wherefore** hast ⁹ thou come to me?' And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision ¹⁰ have I approached. And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the colour

LATIN FRAGMENT.

Factum est autem [cum esset Lamech annorum ¹ tricentorum quinquaginta] natus est ei filiu(s) cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli autem eius ² candi(di)ores in septies niue corpori autem eius nemo hominum potest intueri.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae et ³ adorauit dominum uiuentem in secula [laudauit].

et timuit Lamech. ⁴
et uenit ad patrem suum Mathusalem et ⁵ narrauit illi omnia.

ne non ex eo natus esset nisi nontius dei. ⁶

dixit Mathusalem: Ego autem non possum ⁷ scire nisi eamus ad patrem nostrum Enoc.

quum autem uidit Enoc filium suum Mathu- ⁸ salem uenientem ad se [et] ait. quid est quod uenisti ad me nate?

dixit: ⁹

quod natus est filio suo [nomine] Lamech cui ¹⁰ oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli[s] eius candiiores septies niue, corpori autem eius nemo hominum potest intueri

CVI—CVII. A fragment of a Noah Apocalypse. Part of this section has been preserved in a Latin Version which I print side by side with the text.

2. and his long locks . . . beautiful. The Latin does not mention these 'long locks', and the Eth. is easily emended into 'was white . . . and his eyes were like the rays of the sun'. Cf. the Eth. version in v. 5, and v. 10. In the Latin (v. 2) *septies* seems corrupt for *capitis*. Cf. v. 10.

as wool. Cf. xlv. 1.

3. And thereupon ^{1g}. Other MSS. 'and when'.

opened his mouth. Cf. v. 11. Latin defective here.

†conversed with†. Here *tanâgara* is corrupt for *tagânaja* = 'praised' = [*laudauit*] in the Latin, where, however, *adorauit* also occurs. See my Comm. *in loc*.

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xxii. 14, xc. 40.

5. and ^{2o} *g_{1g}*. > other MSS.

sons of the God of heaven. Cf. lxix. 4, 5, also lxxi. 1 (note).

6. but from the angels. The Lat. gives a different idea. *Nontius* = ἄγγελος. The Lat. of 6 follows 'Lamech' in v. 4.

7. Latin corrupt; observe *eamus*.

amongst the angels, i.e. at the ends of the earth, as in lxxv. 2.

8. wherefore. So Latin *quid est quod* = διὰ τί. But Eth. = διότι, a corruption.

9. cause of anxiety *g_{1gm}*. 'matter' β.

10. And now + 'hear me' ^{1gm}.

colour of his body ^{1g}. Other MSS. = 'his colour'. But *corpori* in the next clause in the Lat. and σώματα in Apoc. Petri support ^{1g}.

of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and
 11 thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened
 12 his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayst make known to me the truth.
 13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the **angels** of heaven
 14 transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them,
 17 and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the
 15 earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and
 16 a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth
 18 shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.
 19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae eadem 11
 hora, qua *procidit* de utero matris suae. orauit
dominum uiuentem in secula et laudauit.
 et timuit Lamech. 12

et dixit Enoc: nuntiaturum est mihi fili quia 13
 post quingentos annos

mittet deus cataclismum aquae ut debeat 15
 omnem creaturam [XL.] ostendit oculis nostris.

et erunt illi · III · filii [et erunt nomina filiorum 16
 eius · Sem · Cham · Iafeth]

et ipse uocabitur Noe qui *interpretatur* requies 18
quia requiem prestabit in archam.

the colour . . . rose, eyes . . . sun. Borrowed by Apoc. Petri.

11. Lord of heaven. Here only in Enoch. But note Lat. = 'dominum viventem in saecula.' Also cf. v. 1.

13. do a new thing. Num. xvi. 30; Isa. xliii. 19.

in the generation of . . . Jared. Cf. vi. 6.

some of the angels. Easily emended from Eth. = 'some from the heights'. *n* reads 'angels'.

14. transgress the law—of spiritual beings. Cf. xv.

17. I have restored this verse to its original place.

And *qt, x.* > *β-x.* *g₁g* are defective through hmt. here.

15. one year. Cf. Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14.

16. and ¹⁰ *g₁gq*. > other MSS.

[he and his sons shall be saved] > *g₁gq*. It is a repetition of the clause in v. 18.

18. unrighteousness which shall *mt, β*: *g₁gq* read 'unrighteousness of apostasy (which) shall'.

19. the mysteries of the holy ones. Either the secrets known to the angels, or the secrets relating to the righteous in the future.

heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

107 ¹ And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all ² manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this ³ son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

108 ¹ Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, ² and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is ³ made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they ⁴ burn; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not †look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining ⁵ mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing ⁶ fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth ⁷ of the prophets—even the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners,

CVII. 1. The fresh growth of sin after the Deluge: its destruction and the advent of the Messianic kingdom. till: *t*, *β*: 'that' *g₁gmq*.

3. The meaning of the name Noah given in Gen. v. 29 is here repeated.

everything in secret *a*: 'every secret thing' *β*.

returned and showed *m*. So *g* (but omits two letters through hmt.): 'returned after having seen' *t₁abcdloxy₁b*: *>g₁qu*.

CVIII. This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with i-xxxvi and xci-civ, or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with i-xxxvi is very inaccurate. What in chapters xviii and xxi was the place of punishment for the disobedient stars becomes in cviii. 3-6 practically Gehenna. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honour paid to asceticism, the scorn of silver and gold in 8-10, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness so prominent in 11-14.

This chapter is more akin to xci-civ than any other in the book. Its object is to encourage the righteous still to hope on despite the long delay in the coming of the kingdom.

1. keep the law. Contrast 'fall away from the law', xcix. 2.

2. The faithful are exhorted to further patience.

good *g₁g*. *>* other MSS.

shall wait *g₁gmq*. 'and are waiting' *t*, *β*.

3. And ¹⁰ *a*. *>* *β*.

blotted out of the book of life. Cf. xlvii. 3 (note).

out of the book of life and *g₁g*: 'out of the books of the living', *g*, *x*: 'out of the book and' *mt*.

holy books, *mqt*, *e₁b* (cf. ciii. 2). 'book of the Holy One' *g*: 'books of the holy ones' *β-ex₁b*. These contain the roll of the members of the kingdom. Cf. ciii. 2, 3.

spirits shall be slain. Cf. xxii. 13; xcix. 11 (note). It does not imply annihilation as the victims still 'cry and make lamentation'.

in a place. This chaotic flaming hell beyond the limits of the earth is the place of punishment for the angels in xviii. 12-16; xxi. 1-7.

chaotic. Eth.=ἀόπαρος, the LXX rendering of תהו in Gen. i. 2.

in the fire shall they burn. So after xxi. 3 I emend the Eth.= 'in fire they have burnt' (*g₁gmqt*, *β-abcx*): 'in fire they shall burn' (*abcx*)—a different form of the verb.

4. Further description of this hell and its inhabitants in terms borrowed from xviii. 13; xxi. 3.

†look over†. We might emend to 'behold its height' or 'tell its circuit' (or 'size').

of fire *g₁qu*: other MSS.= 'of its fire'.

5. one of the holy angels. This phrase is borrowed from i-xxxvi: cf. xxvii. 2.

voice, &c. Cf. xviii. 13.

weeping and crying *a*: ∞ *β*.

6. This hell which is outside the earth is the final place of punishment for sinners and blasphemers and perverters of God's revelation through the prophets. In vv. 3-6 the writer has confounded places (i.e. Gehenna, and the hell of the disobedient stars) that are most carefully distinguished in i-xxxvi, and yet he has borrowed the phraseology of that section.

blasphemers. Cf. xci. 7.

spoken *mtu*, *β*: 'done' *g₁gy*.

the prophets. Here only expressly mentioned in Enoch.

7. written and inscribed—refers to the heavenly tablets. Cf. xlvii. 3. These records are also called the books of the holy ones, for their purpose is to let the angels know of the future: cf. ciii. 2. See also Asc. Isa. vii. 27.

and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed
 8 by God; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither
 gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to
 9 torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything
 as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were
 10 found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have
 recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been
 found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden
 under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame,
 11 yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation
 of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed
 12 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who
 13 have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. And they shall be
 resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful
 14 He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were
 15 born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall
 cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed
 for them.'

7-9. **the humble.** The עֲנָוִים and עֲנָוִים of the Psalms. They constitute the true Israel as opposed to the proud, the selfish and the paganizers. Cf. Cheyne on Ps. ix. 13.

those who have afflicted their bodies . . . loved neither gold nor silver . . . longed not after earthly food. These phrases would apply well to the Essene party. Cf. xlvi. 7, cii. 5. These marks of the righteous have their counterpart in those of the wicked: cf. xcvi. 5-7, xcvi. 8-10, xcvi. 2.

8. **loved** *a, β-cdnoy_{1b}*: 'love' *1g, cānoy_{1b}*.

9. **Who**, *gg* (*gmt* slightly corrupt): 'and' *u*: 'and who' *β*.

everything *u*. 'their bodies' *1g*. 'themselves' *gmt*, *β*. 'Bodies' is unsuitable, and 'themselves' would read better if the sinners were speaking: cf. Wisdom ii. 2-4. Cf. Job vii. 7, 8.

the Lord tried them much, &c. Cf. Wisdom iii. 5.

10. Enoch speaks, and refers his hearers and readers to his books.

their life in the world. Cf. xlvi. 7.

11. Verses 11 and 12 are spoken by God.

generation of light. Cf. lxi. 12 (note), xxxviii. 4 (note).

who were born in darkness. Of those who are born in darkness, i.e. heathenism, the faithful who were not recompensed with honour are transformed: but those who remain in their darkness are cast therein as their condemnation. Cf. v. 14.

were not recompensed with *a-gu, β*: 'did not seek' *g*.

12. **in shining light**, i.e. clad in it. Cf. Matt. vii. 15. Or we might render 'into shining light'. Cf. 2 En. xxii. 8-10, the garments of the blessed are composed of God's glory. In 1 En. lxii. 16, they are 'garments of life'. Really they are the spiritual bodies of the blessed. Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, &c.; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Asc. Isa. iv. 16, vii. 22, viii. 14.

throne of his honour *a,n*. 'throne of honour, of his honour' *β-n*. Cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. iii. 21, iv. 4; Asc. Isa. ix. 10, 18.

13. Enoch again speaks.

resplendent, &c.: cf. xxxix. 7, civ. 2, cviii. 14.

the habitation of upright paths *t, β*: 'the habitation and (> *g*) upright paths' *gg*: 'the habitation and uprightness' *m*: 'the upright paths' *u*.

14. **born in darkness.** See v. 11 (note).

led into darkness. Cf. ciii. 8.

led *gmq*. Cf. ciii. 8. 'cast' *t, β*.

15. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, 3.

resplendent *a*. 'shining' *β*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE BOOK AND ITS FORTUNES.

THE Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high-priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Ḥasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Ḥasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel. But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved, Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgement and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work, or rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of the dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest-kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.¹

¹ That this ethical teaching belongs to the essence of the book is obvious to any careful student of the work. As such it forms alike its warp and woof. On the other hand, the *dogmatic Christian interpolations* are patches differing alike in colour and texture from the original material, stitched on at times where originally there was no rent at all, and at others rudely thrust in where a rent had been deliberately made for their insertion. See § 13.

INTRODUCTION

After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS. of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob.

It is perhaps needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. The twentieth century sees this book at last come into its own.¹

§ 2. THE TITLE.

The *general* title was in all probability 'The Testaments of the Patriarchs'. Such is the designation in use in the Armenian version. In the Greek MSS. the title varies. In *a* (= *chi*) *bd* it appears as Διαθήκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ (+ τοῦ Πατριάρχου *a*), *a* αἱ διαθήκαι τῶν υἱῶν πατρ. πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν. In the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Pitra, and others, the book is simply called Πατριαρχαί.

As regards the title of the individual testaments, it was no doubt simply 'The Testament of Reuben', 'The Testament of Simeon', &c. If the reader refers to my edition of the *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlv–xlvī, he will see that, whereas the *a* MSS. uniformly give one form of title, the *β* MSS. (with the exception of *adg*), that is, *bef*, give another, in which in addition to the name of the Patriarch the main subject of the Testament is given. Thus the title of Gad's Testament is διαθήκη Γὰδ περὶ μίσους. The titles in *d* are generally conflated from *bef* and *a*; in *a* simply the name of the patriarch is given, while as for *g*, it takes a line of its own. In the Armenian the titles agree partly with those given in the Greek MSS. *bef*, but oftener do not. From this short summary of the facts it follows that the titles in *bef*, *A* are secondary. There remain now the forms in *a* and the single MS. *a*, and that found in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, i. e. יעקב צוואת נפתלי 'The Testament of Naphtali the son of Jacob'. The form in *a* (i. e. simply the name of the patriarch) may be at once dismissed as an idiosyncrasy of this MS. In the *a* MSS. the title of the individual Testaments resembles closely that of the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, but the greater number of them are obviously inaccurate and therefore not original. That of Reuben and some others are accurate enough; thus *a* gives διαθήκη Ρουβήμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ Λείας, which is true enough; but in the case of Naphtali we have the impossible διαθήκη Νεφθαλείμ τοῦ ὀγδόου υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ Βάλλας. Naphtali was the second son of Bilhah. If, however, we omit the name of the mother, we arrive possibly at the original form of the titles of the individual Testaments. Possibly, I say; for the order of the Testaments is not chronological, but depends on the groupings of the patriarchs according to their respective mothers. Thus the first six patriarchs are the sons of Leah, the next two are the sons of Bilhah, the next two of Zilpah, and the last two of Rachel. Hence it is more than probable that the position of the patriarch as the first, third, or seventh son, was not mentioned in the original title. Thus we conclude that the evidence points to the following as the original form.

יעקב צוואת ראובן = διαθήκη Ρουβήμ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ = 'The Testament of Reuben the son of Jacob'.

§ 3. THE GREEK MSS.

(a) Bodley MS. Baroccio 133. Quarto. This paper MS. contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments occupy folios 179a–205b. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for the large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters.

(b) University Library, Cambridge, ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four

¹ From the present writer's edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. xvi sqq.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203a-262b. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, twenty lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin Version was made.

(c) Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS. written on paper, with twenty-two or twenty-three lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97a-167b. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS.

(d) Vatican Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios 340a-349b, and on 350-380 of our present text. There are from 33-39 lines in each page. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments, Διαθήκαι τῶν 12 πατριαρχῶν νῦν Ἰακώβ, appear the words Λεπτής Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently.

(e) Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of forty lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios 197b-229a. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of two and two-third columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments.

(f) Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first seventy-two folios. Each page contains twenty-three lines. On folio 1a there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin on 1b. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension (S'). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings.

(g) MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century.

(h) Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14.5 by 10.35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains seventeen lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ποτε ἑβραίου εἰδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν 12 νῦν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν. The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine.

(i) Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21-23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as h. See preceding MS.

§ 4. THE ARMENIAN MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venice edition of the text by the Mechitarist Fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as A^a, A^b, &c.

A^a. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., five by seven inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

A^{b*}. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS. is the worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version.

A^b. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., six by ten inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of twenty-six lines each, and consists of 679 folios. It belongs to the first recension.

A^c. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, eight by ten inches, was written on vellum in double columns of fifty lines each in the year 1655.

A^d. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of forty-three lines each.

A^e. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society.

A^f. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin

INTRODUCTION

in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of fifty lines each in a beautiful hand.

A^g. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche.

A^h. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *e.* 30 (thirteenth century). Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio 168^a), Levi (173^a), Joseph (183^b), Benjamin (195^b), Judah (202^a). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest eighteenth century), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i–xiv. 8^{a b c} (i. e. *ἐὰν . . . ἀισχρορημονεῖν*) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. 8^{d e}–xxvi, to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as A^{a b}, but it is more closely related to A^a than to A^b.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

Aⁱ. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *ƳQR* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

A^k. Mechitarist Library, Vienna, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1895, p. 71, 411 sqq.). This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first 105 folios it contains the history of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these Reuben, Dan, Naphtali, are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of A^b. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv–xxvi, and T. Benj. x. 8^b–xii, by Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that A^k belongs to the first Armenian recension, and furthermore, that A^k is more nearly related to A^{a h} than to A^b, and to A^h than to A^a.

(A^l). The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS.*, p. 19, 1891).

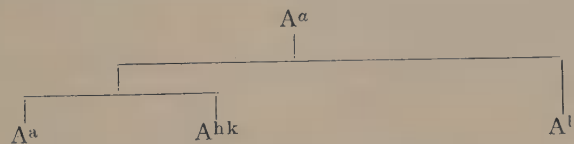
§ 5. THE SLAVONIC VERSION AND ITS TWO RECENSIONS S¹, S².

This version is late and is based on the type of text represented by *aef*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for S¹ always and occasionally S² agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament, that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. This version, as I have shown in my edition, exhibits traces of the influence also of *a*.

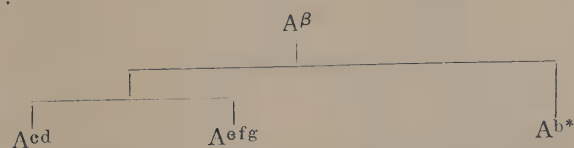
The two Slavonic recensions S¹ and S² are primarily taken from the so-called *Palea* (Greek *Παλαιά*), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament. They are printed in Tichonravov's work entitled *Pamjatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

§ 6. THE ARMENIAN VERSION IN ITS TWO RECENSIONS A^α, A^β. VALUE OF THIS VERSION.

As we have already observed in § 4, there are two recensions of this version, A^α, A^β. A^α, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., A^{abhk}. The relations of these MSS. can be represented as follows:—



A^β, which appears to be found only in Biblical MSS., includes A^{b*cd efg}. Of these A^{b*} stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a very few cases, where it diverges from the other representatives of this recension, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. The relations of these MSS. are as follows:—



The variations between A^α and A^β are very numerous, but the greater part of them appear to have arisen from internal corruption, or from the attempt on the part of the scribe of A^α to abbreviate the text. But over and above these differences, there are certain important sections where the differences

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

between the two recensions go back to the Greek, as in T. Levi ii. 7-10, xiv. 1, where A^a agrees with a against β , and in T. Levi iii. 1-5, where A^a is less corrupt than a , and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

Exclusive of the sections just mentioned, A , taken as a whole, agrees with β S against a (see my edition of the Text, p. xv sq.). But within β there are two secondary types of text, to which aef and bdg belong respectively. All but universally A agrees with bdg where bdg differs from aef .

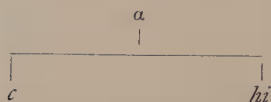
The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A , but they are present in a much less degree in A than in a and β . This is especially the case in the last two Testaments.

But, however valuable A is, it must be admitted that on almost every page it is guilty of omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus $\lceil \rceil$ are omitted by A .

§ 7. THE GREEK VERSION IN TWO RECENSIONS a, β .

The Greek version is found in two forms, a and β . I do not call them recensions, since, as I have sought in my edition to prove, they very probably go back to distinct forms in the Hebrew.

a and its characteristics. a is represented by three MSS., *chi*. Their relations may be represented as follows:—



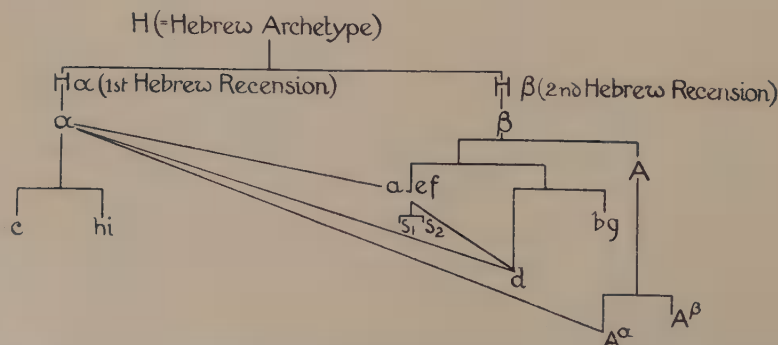
hi are derived from one and the same parent and show signs of a mixed ancestry (i.e. the influence of β), and herein diverge occasionally from c . a shows some omissions such as T. Reub. ii. 3^{b-4}, T. Jud. vi. 1-2, xii. 6-10, &c. Though much freer than β from Christian interpolations, it too has suffered from the Christian scribes' ill-directed activity.

β and its characteristics. β is represented by six MSS., *abdefg*, which represent two diverging types of text, *aef* showing affinities with a , and *bdg* with A . We have already pointed out (§ 5) that S is derived from *aef*. *aef* agree closely together, but not so *bdg*. Furthermore *bdg* are remarkable for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. vi. 4-6, vii-viii. 3, ix. 8^{ad}. These may have belonged to the original tradition.

Space will not admit of a description of *bdg*, but a few characteristics of b should here be noted. The variants of this MS. are sometimes due to deliberate emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been *πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου*, i.e. "perfect with the Lord." But the scribe of b , failing naturally to understand this Semitic idiom, wrote *πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου*. Not infrequently it alters the text against all the other authorities. Thus it adds *καὶ ἐθαύμαζον* in T. Jos. xvii. 5, *ξήσεσθε* in T. Jud. xvi. 2, changes *συντρέχει* into *συνεργεῖ* in T. Benj. iv. 5, *συγγενῇ* into *συμπεισθῆς* in T. Jos. vii. 3, and in iv. 5, &c. On the other hand, it possibly preserves two words *καὶ νότον* in T. Jud. v. 2, which have been lost in all the other MSS. Though a good representative of the type *bdg*, b cannot form a secure foundation on which to build a text.

d. This MS. exhibits peculiarities on every page. Though agreeing generally with bg , it attests readings of a and also of *aef* against bg .

The affinities of the various MSS. and Versions may be represented as follows:—



In this table all the main connexions are represented, but not the influence that in a few cases the descendants of β have exerted on *hi*.

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. THE GREEK VERSION A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till recently. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such a great Semitic scholar as Dillmann (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* xii. 362) could write: 'Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek.' Dr. Sinker in the Cambridge edition of the Greek text is still more pronounced.

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler (1893) and Gaster (1904) within the last twenty years belongs the honour of reopening the question of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, but the former did not advance any linguistic evidence, and the latter, though he brought forward a few good points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present writer began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion, which he set forth in the *Encyc. Biblica* i. 241 (1899), that the bulk of the work was written before 100 B.C., and subsequently in full detail in *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1908. Since that date this thesis has been accepted by all Semitic scholars.

In what follows only a few specimens of the evidence for a Hebrew original can be given. A fuller statement of the evidence will be found in my edition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlii-1 (1908), and a nearly complete one in my edition of the *Greek Versions* (pp. xxiii-xxxix) above referred to.

1^o. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the Greek language.*

T. Reub. i. 6 ἀγνοία νεότητος = 'sins of youth', i. e. פשע נעורים; iii. 8 συνιδὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ = בן בתורה; iv. 6 οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν = בלא עתם; vi. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο = בו בחר.

T. Sim. ii. 12 καίγε = ונם in its adversative meaning = 'but'—a non-Greek use. Cf. Eccles. iii. 13, vi. 7; in iv. 4 ἡγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου (a) = אהבני עם אחי. In β we have the normal rendering ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς. v. 4 ἐν Δευὶ ἀδικήσουσι = בלוי ירעי; v. 5 οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Δεὺν = לא יכלו ללוי (the same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Dan v. 4); vi. 5 σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ. Here as in T. Lev. ii. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered simply by αὐτός. Cf. Midrash Wajjikra on Lev. xvii. 3 אנא בעצמי גואל אתהם.

T. Lev. viii. 8 κλάδον . . . ἐλαίας πιότητος = 'a branch of the oil-olive', i. e. זית שמן; cf. Deut. viii. 8; viii. 14 ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = יקרא לו שם חדש.

T. Jud. vii. 1 ὄχλος βαρύς = חיל כבד 'a numerous army'; xii. 8 ἕως τῆς ζωῆς μου = בחיי 'so long as I lived'; xx. 4 ἐν στήθει ὁστέων αὐτοῦ, which is absolutely unintelligible, is full of meaning in the Hebrew = על לב עצמו 'on his very heart'; xxv. 1 ἑξαρχοὶ σκίηπτρων = 'chiefs of the tribes' (שבטים).

T. Ash. iii. 1 ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτήν = אלהים ישכן בה 'God hath his habitation therein'.

T. Jos. ii. 3 ἔδωκέ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), 'granted me to find mercy in the sight of'; xii. 3 ποίησον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11 κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί = בי תשבו בבטח 'ye shall dwell securely with me'. The same mistranslation is found in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 28, &c.

The above instances are sufficient in themselves to prove the derivation of the text from a Hebrew original. The bulk of the above expressions could hardly, on any hypothesis, have been written for the first time in Greek. But the evidence can be multiplied fourfold, both in quantity and conclusiveness.

2^o. *Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.*

In T. Naph. iii. 5 ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν γῆν δοίκτηον is a clear instance of dittography. The original may have been יושב מבלי which is twice rendered in the Greek. In vi. 2 the impossible μεστὸν τὰρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν is due to the same cause. μεστὸν τὰρίχων = מלא מלחים, a corruption of בלא מלחים = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. One more will here suffice. In viii. 4, 6 there are a strophe and an antistrophe. The latter consists of six lines, but the former of seven. Now if we compare them closely, we discover the six lines of the antistrophe correspond line for line to the first six lines in the strophe. Thus the seventh line is against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the sense. How then did it come to be here? We discover the reason the moment we retranslate into Hebrew. The genuine line καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς (cf. the corresponding line in the antistrophe καὶ ὁ κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν) = ואלהים יאהבכם which was written corruptly a second time as ומלאכים יאהבכם.

3^o. *Paronomasiae which are lost in the Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover more than a dozen of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs, i. e. on Simeon, Gershom, Kohath, Merari, Jochebed, Judah, Issachar, Gad, Zebulun, Naphtali, Bilhah, Asher, Benjamin. See my edition of the *Greek Versions*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

4^o. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation.*

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

In T. Reub. iv. 9 πολλὰ ἐποίησε αὐτῷ, where the text is speaking of Potiphar's wife trying to ensnare Joseph, cannot be right. As Perles has pointed out, לו חרבה is corrupt for לו תארב, i. e. 'she lay in wait for him'.

In T. Sim. iii. 6 καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονομένῳ
καὶ συγγινώσκει τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν
καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου

cannot be right, and as Perles recognizes the error lies in ἀγαπῶσιν which is against the parallelism and sense. Here τοῖς ἀγ. αὐτόν = אהבי, corrupt for איבי 'those hostile to him'.

In T. Lev. ii. 8 the second heaven is said to be brighter and more brilliant than the first, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον. Clearly there is something wrong here. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error, therefore, lies in the ὕψος. This word = בָּהַ, which is corrupt for נֶגַה = φῶς or φέγγος. Thus the brightness of the second heaven was due to a boundless light (φῶς ἄπειρον) that was therein. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view, which represents the sun, moon, and stars as being in the second heaven (Chag. 12^b).

In T. Jud. ix. 3 καὶ ἤρθητ' νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σειρ, καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐν Ἀνονιράμ ἀπέθανεν (β, S'), the words καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν are omitted by α as unintelligible. But a comparison with the Midrash Wajjissau where the same incident is recounted shows that this clause belongs to the original text, and in the form in which it appears in β, S'. Moreover these authorities help us to discover how the corruption in νεκρὸς arose. νεκρὸς = נבלה, whereas the Midrash has נחלה = τετραυματισμένος. Thus Esau was wounded on Mount Seir and died as he was passing over Anoniram.

T. Jud. xxi. 6 οἱ μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν αἰχμαλωτιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἀρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια. Here instead of κινδυνεύουσιν, we require a verb forming an antithesis to πλουτοῦσιν. Now κινδυνεύουσιν = יִסְכְּנוּ (late Hebrew) which in earlier Hebrew = πτωχεύουσιν.

T. Zeb. ix. 2 ἐὰν δὲ εἰς πολλὰ διαιεθῶσιν, ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει αὐτά, καὶ γίνονται εὐκαταφρόνητα. Here, as Perles has pointed out, εὐκαταφρόνητα = יִמָּסוּ, which is either a corruption or secondary form of יָמַס = 'melt away', 'vanish'. The same corruption underlies ὡς ὕδωρ ἄχρηστον (= 'as useless water') = כמים נמסים, corrupt for כמים נמסים 'vanishing away as water'.

In T. Jos. xi. 7 ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἔργῳ(α). β, A omit καὶ ἔργῳ as unintelligible. But by retranslation the source of the corruption springs to light. ἔργῳ = עברה, which the translator read as עברה = ἔργῳ, but which he should have read as עברה = 'household servants'.

The above form a small part of the passages where the Greek text has to be retranslated in order to discover the source of the corruption. In all these passages there is no divergence between the MSS. and Versions. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and Versions attest different readings, α generally standing in opposition to β, A, S.

By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached. We have proved that our book is derived from an Hebrew original: we shall now try and prove that α and β did not originate in the Greek but are derived respectively from two distinct Hebrew recensions H^α and H^β.

§ 9. THE TWO GREEK TYPES OF TEXT, α AND β, APPEAR TO BE DERIVED FROM TWO HEBREW RECENSIONS, H^α AND H^β.

α and β are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions; for their chief variations appear not to have originated in the Greek, but to go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as H^α and H^β. Of these two recensions, H^α and H^β, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. According to the most likely hypothesis H^α was first translated into Greek, i. e. α, and then H^β was rendered into Greek by a translator who had α before him. In regard to the Book of Daniel the same hypothesis is necessary. The LXX version was undoubtedly made first, and subsequently that of Theodotion from a Semitic text diverging considerably from that used by the translator of the LXX version, not merely in individual readings but also in the subject-matter, especially in Daniel iv. Now in the case of the text before us the same phenomenon is repeated, but on a very much smaller scale. In T. Lev. ii. 7-iii, the description of the Three Heavens is more or less faithfully handed down in α, whereas in the corresponding chapters in β there is an account of the Seven Heavens. There is no good ground for assuming that this divergence originated in the Greek and not in the Hebrew; for such duplicate accounts of the same event are found occasionally in the Hebrew books of the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, I will now give a few of the passages, where α and β undoubtedly presuppose variations in the Hebrew. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 (α) ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνω καλῷ. (β, A) ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν γήρει καλῷ.
Here H^β (i. e. β, A) is undoubtedly right. In H^α שנה (= γήρει) was corrupted into שנה = ὕπνω. The same

INTRODUCTION

corruption was present in both H^a and H^β in T. Zeb. x. 6; T. Dan vii. 1 (c); T. Ash. viii. 1; T. Jos. xx. 4; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in the Hebrew Test. Naph. i. 1 we find בְּשִׁיבָה טוֹבָה. Though this Testament is not the original Testament of Naphtali, it preserves in several passages a more original text than the Greek.

T. Ash. vi. 6 (a) εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

(β, A) παραμυθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ.

Here H^a is right and not H^β. The angel of peace, who is mentioned earlier in the verse, conducts the good soul into eternal life. Here εἰσφέρει = יָנַח, which in H^β was corrupted into יָנַח. ὁδηγεῖ would have been the usual rendering of יָנַח, as we find in T. Benj. vi. 1 ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὁδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. The LXX implies the same corruption of יָנַח into יָנַח in 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18, and Symmachus the converse corruption in Job xxxix. 25.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (a) μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν.

(β) μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν.

Here a, which is in part supported by A, is clearly right. ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς = יְשִׁרִים בְּמַעֲשֵׂים, of which יְשִׁרִים was corrupted in H^β into יְשִׁרִים = καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι.¹

T. Ash. vi. 5 (a) ὅτε γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.

(β, A) ὅτε γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται.

Here רַעוּשָׁה (= τεταραγμένη) in H^β was corrupted in H^a into רַשָׁעָה = πονηρὰ.

T. Jos. iv. 7 (a *aef*) ἀντεφιλονέικει.

(β, A) ἐσιώπησε.

Here H^a read הִתְחַרְחַרְתָּ which was a corruption of H^β הִתְחַרְשָׁה.

T. Jos. iv. 3 (a) τῆς δολιότητος αὐτῆς.

(β, A) τῆς Αἰγυπτίας.

Here H^a = מִמְצִיחָהּ 'from her snares' (so Perles, but neither δόλιος nor its derivatives ever render this Hebrew word in the LXX): or = מִתְרַמִּיתָהּ and H^β מִמְצִרִית.

T. Zeb. iv. 3 (a) ἀπεδόθη = נָמַכָּר.

(β, A) ἐπράθη = נָמַכָּר.

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew—H^a, H^β. For over thirty other passages in the Testaments where the variations postulate the same conclusion see *Intro.* to my *Text*, § 12.

§ 10. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL HEBREW.

The date of the original Hebrew is not difficult to determine. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. vi. 10–11) admonishes his sons: 'Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation.' Here a high-priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of officers naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: 'And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible and shall be among you an eternal king.' A similar statement is made in T. Sim. v. 5. Thus the high-priest is not only to be high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But the identification becomes undeniable as further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now the Maccabean high-priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title anciently borne by Melchizedek, and applied to the Maccabean high-priests in Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, Josephus, and the Talmud. A kindred title of the same significance is applied according to a growing body of expositors to Simon the Maccabee in Ps. cx. In due accord with these facts our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

But the praises accorded in this book could not apply to all the Maccabean priest-kings; for, since it was written by a Pharisee, it could not have been composed after the breach arose between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees towards the close of the second century B.C. Thus the date of composition lies between 153, when Jonathan the Maccabee assumed the high-priesthood, and the year of the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees. But the limits can be determined more closely. To only one member of the Maccabean dynasty are the prophetic gifts assigned in our text (T. Lev. viii. 15) in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now in all Jewish history the triple offices were ascribed to only one individual, John Hyrcanus. Hence we conclude that the Testaments were written between 137 and 107 B.C. But the limits may be fixed still more

¹ Since καλοῖς would be the stock rendering of טוֹבִים, it is possible that this word stood in H^a and was corrupted into וטוֹעִים in H^β.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

definitely. For the text refers most probably to the destruction of Samaria, T. Lev. vi. 11. In that case our book was written between 109 and 107 B. C. (see my edition, pp. l-liii).

§ 11. INTEGRITY, AUTHORSHIP, SOURCES.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§§ 12, 13), presents, it must be confessed, a certain want of coherence, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in at times very abruptly. Notwithstanding, I accept on the whole the unity of the book; for its two main characteristics—the strictly Hasid element in the book and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—belong to the period to which our author belongs and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to the use of sources and to faulty transmission of the text.

The author was a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the Law and of the Temple sacrifices: he looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body to a new life therein. He taught the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, and temperance. Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the O.T., Sirach, and 1 Enoch, as well as of other ancient works—such as the account of the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorites utilized in T. Jud. iii-vii, Jubilees xxxiv. 1-9, the Midrash Wajjissau (see my Text, pp. 235-8), and the Book of Jasher: the account of the war between Jacob and Esau utilized in T. Jud. ix, Jubilees xxxvii-xxxviii, and the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132.

Another very important source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document, from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments are printed in my *Greek Versions of the Testaments*, pp. 245-56, and translated in my *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 228-35. This source deals with the temple ritual of the second century B. C. and is therefore of great importance from an historical standpoint.

Our author drew also upon a Hebrew document dealing with the 'Two Ways' in the T. Asher and upon Jewish tradition generally on a great variety of points.

§ 12. JEWISH ADDITIONS TO THE ORIGINAL WORK.

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period was about 70-40 B. C., and the object of the additions was the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century B. C. had become guilty of the most abandoned lewdness and baseness.

1°. *First century additions* :—

T. Lev. x, xiv-xvi.

T. Jud. xvii. 2-xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6-xxiii, xxiv. 4-6.

T. Zeb. ix.

T. Dan v. 6-7, vii. 3(?).

T. Naph. iv.

T. Gad viii. 2.

T. Ash. vii. 4-7.

In these passages the nation is declared to be guilty of apostasy; the laying waste of the Temple is predicted, and a second captivity: a redemption of the nation either by God Himself or by a Messiah sprung from Judah, and a blessed return to their own land. In all these respects these passages agree with the Psalms of Solomon, which belong to the same period.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Enoch literature. The citations cannot be found in 1 Enoch, but bear a close affinity to certain passages in 2 Enoch, whence we may reasonably infer the existence of certain portions of that literature, which were subsequently embodied in some form in 2 Enoch.

2°. *Other additions of various dates* :—

T. Reub. ii. 3-iii. 2.

T. Lev. xvii. 1-9.

T. Zeb. vi. 4-6, vii-viii. 3.

T. Jos. x. 5-xviii.

On this section see my edition, pp. lvii-lxi.

INTRODUCTION

§ 13. CHRISTIAN ADDITIONS.

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods. The dominant characteristic of all these additions (which are bracketed in the following translations, and a full list of which is given in my edition, pp. lxi–lxv) is their *dogmatic* character. They always import dogmatic Christian statements into a Jewish text, to which they are naturally alien in character. A few English scholars on the ground of these undoubted interpolations have proceeded to infer that all other passages common to the Testaments XII Patriarchs and the N.T. must have been interpolated in the former from the latter. But these scholars have failed to observe the characteristic differences between the two sets of passages in question. In the case of the first we have *dogmatic Christian statements* interpolated in a *Jewish work at variance not only with the teaching and character of that work as a whole, but also at variance with their respective contexts*. But in regard to the second, we have ethical sayings and teachings, *which are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts*. The ethical teaching, while very much loftier than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and, though not so pure and sublime as that of the N.T., is a product of the school that prepared the way for the N.T.

It is hard to understand the mental attitude of those who regard these ethical teachings as Christian interpolations. Three-fourths of these teachings have no direct parallels in the N.T., and they stand practically on the same level as the rest, which are parallel to, or rather have exercised a direct influence on, the N.T. The only reasonable conclusion is that these ethical teachings belong to the original Testaments.

Fragments of an ethical tradition which was largely independent of the O.T. are preserved in the Story of Ahikar. That this story with its moral goes back to a very ancient date we now know, since Aramaic fragments of the fifth century B.C. have been recently discovered. For the account of this story the reader should consult Dr. Rendel Harris' study of it at the close of this volume. Now our author appears to have borrowed a few of his sayings from this story. Thus—

Ahikar, *Syr. Version* 28 (Syr. 28; Arab. 19^b, 58^b).
'If thine enemy meet thee with evil meet him with wisdom' ('with good' Syr. Frag. 20).

Greek version preserved in Aesop. xxvi. 6 τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μάλλον βλάψει.

These parallels are close; but it will be observed how our author has touched to finer issues and glorified what he has borrowed, far above the highest imaginings of Ahikar.

Ahikar Syr. 19 (Syr. Frag. 7) 'My son, go not after the beauty of a woman: and lust not after her in thy heart.'

With the above we might compare Matt. v. 28 πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ἥδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Once more in T. Jos. iii. 5 the words, which Joseph uses with regard to himself, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον καὶ ἐλάβανόν μου τὴν τροφήν καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὴν τοῖς πένησιν, seem to be used deliberately to contrast his conduct with that of Nadan the nephew of Ahikar, who acted in the opposite fashion, when he believed Ahikar was dead. As Drs. James and Harris have already pointed out, the story of Ahikar lies at the base of the Parable of the Wicked Servant, Matt. xxiv. 48–51 || Luke xii. 45–6.

T. Jos. xviii. 2 'If any one seeketh to do evil to thee do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil shall ye be redeemed of the Lord'. Cf. T. Benj. iii. 3.

T. Gad iii. 3 (ὁ μισῶν) τῷ κατ'ορθοῦντι φθονεῖ. vii. 1 ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐδοῦνται μὴ λυπεῖσθε, ἀλλ' εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα τελείως εὐδοῦνται (b d e g A S'). 2 καὶ ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλείον ὑψοῦνται, μὴ φθονεῖτε. T. Sim. iii. 6 συμπαθεῖ τῇ φθονουμένῳ.

T. Reub. iv. 1 μὴ οὖν προσέχετε, τέκνα μου, κάλλος γυναικῶν. Cf. T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. T. Benj. viii. 2 ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν (β S') . . . οὐχ ὀρεῖ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν.

§ 14. INFLUENCE ON JEWISH AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

See my edition pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

§ 15. INFLUENCE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Since the influence of the Testaments on the N.T. has been very extensive only some of the chief instances of this influence can be touched on here. The reader can consult my edition, pp. lxxviii–xcii, where it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount reflects in several instances the

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

spirit and even reproduces the very phrases of our text: that many passages in the Gospels exhibit traces of the same, and that St. Paul seems to have used the book as a *vade mecum*.

1. **Forgiveness.** Matt. xviii. 15 ἔὰν δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὑπάγε ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον.

xviii. 35 ἔὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν.

With the above we must take Luke xvii. 3 ἔὰν ἁμάρτη ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔὰν μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot be reasonably denied.

2. **Duty of loving God and our neighbour.** Matt. xxii. 37-9 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . τῇ ψυχῇ σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

T. Gad vi. 3 (β) ἔὰν τις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σε εἰπὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ ἔὰν . . . μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

vi. 6 ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. v. 7 ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας.

T. Dan v. 3 ἀγαπήσατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

Our text, which enunciates the same duty twice elsewhere, T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6, is the first literary authority to conjoin the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour. These commandments are given separately in Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. In the latter passage and possibly in our text the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites, but in our Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

3°. Various borrowings of ideas or diction.

Matt. xxv. 35, 36 ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν . . . ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἤλθατε πρὸς με.

Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

Acts xii. 11 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς.

John i. 9 τὸ φῶς . . . ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

T. Jos. i. 5, 6 ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἡμῖν καὶ θεὸς μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.

T. Lev. vi. 2 συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.

T. Sim. ii. 8 ὁ θεὸς . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.

T. Lev. xiv. 4 τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.

T. Benj. vi. 4 οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν . . . ἀνθρώπων (β-α, S').

v. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω.

4°. The Pauline borrowings are too numerous to be dealt with here. The reader can consult my text. There are over seventy words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, but which are not found in the rest of the N.T. Only a few of the most notable passages where St. Paul draws upon the Testament will here be appended:

1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+ τοῦ θεοῦ D E F G, Itala. Vulg.) εἰς τέλος.

Rom. i. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσοουσιν.

xiii. 21 νικά ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν . . . ἔμαυτῷ σύννοια.

vii. 5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι . . . ἵνα σχολάσῃτε τῇ προσευχῇ.

2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται.

T. Lev. vi. 11 ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος.

T. Ash. vi. 2 καὶ πράσσοуси τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσοουσιν (a).

T. Benj. iv. 3 οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικά τὸ κακόν.

T. Iss. vii. 1 οὐκ ἔγνω ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν.

T. Naph. viii. 8 καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός, καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ.

T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

§ 16. THEOLOGY, FORGIVENESS, THE TWO GREAT COMMANDMENTS, UNIVERSALISM, THE MESSIAH, THE RESURRECTION, THE ANTICHRIST.¹

Forgiveness.—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

¹ This section is reprinted in the main from my edition of the Testaments, pp. xcii sqq.

INTRODUCTION

preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren ; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22 : ' If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat ; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head, And the Lord shall reward thee.' But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, ' Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown : Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him, And He turn away His wrath from him.' Moreover, the righteous man can pray to God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies : ' Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3-7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii of my edition). These verses, as I have said in my notes, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And it is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which rises within us when we suffer wrong, and which, when indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 292. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Ḥasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Ḥasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself, ' Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, ' Love the Lord and your neighbour' ; T. Dan. v. 3, ' Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart' ; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, ' I loved the Lord ; Likewise also every man with all my heart.'

Various ethical teachings.—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus : ' Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth' (T. Dan ii. 2). ' Hatred, therefore is evil ; for it constantly mateth with lying' (T. Gad v. 1). ' Envy dominates the whole mind of man' (T. Sim. iii. 2), ' it has no rest while the object of it prospers' (iii. 3) : ' Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God' (iii. 4). Wherefore ' If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity' (T. Gad vii. 1). ' When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival' (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is ' not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him' by his neighbour' (T. Zeb. viii. 5), a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

is wrongly rendered in A.V. by 'thinketh no evil', and misleading in R.V. by 'taketh not account of evil'.

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: 'If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 2-3). 'Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed' (T. Jud. xiv. 1-3).

Universalism.—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of accomplishing their destruction (xv. 31). Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7-17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgement the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

The first century B.C. additions are likewise characterized by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B.C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii-xxxi and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

The Messiah.—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words he is to be first of all priest, and then prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7-12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5-9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first-century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

The Resurrection.—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6-8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

Demonology.—The book represents a very developed demonology as a reference to 'Spirits' in Index II in my edition will show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

The Antichrist.—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

INTRODUCTION

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 For a complete bibliography see this volume.

§ 18. BRACKETS AND SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Brackets. The same brackets are used in this book as throughout the entire work; and in addition the brackets Γ γ to signify that the words so enclosed are omitted by A.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

- α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ι denote the Greek MSS.
 α denotes the MSS. $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon$ of the first class.
 β denotes the MSS. $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta \epsilon \zeta \eta$ of the second class.
A denotes the Armenian Version.
 A^a , A^{b*} , A^b , A^c , &c., denote the Armenian MSS.
 A^a denotes the MSS. $A^{a b b k}$ of the first class.
 A^a denotes the MSS. $A^{b* c d e f g}$ of the second class.
 S^1 denotes the first Slavonic recension.
 S^2 denotes the second Slavonic recension.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN, THE FIRST-BORN SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

- 1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons 'before he
 2 died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life'. Two years after the death of Joseph 'his
 3 brother', when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And
 4 he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing
 'there' Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to
 my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length
 5 I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and
 6 do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father. in the commands which I give unto you. And
 behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of
 7 youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And
 I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father
 8 Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old
 9 when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And
 10 after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and
 strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but
 I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.
 2 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when

TITLE. So h i. c is corrupt; bef add 'regarding thoughts'; A^{a e f g} 'the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First (> A^a) Testament'; A^b 'Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles'.

1. **hundred and twenty-fifth year.** This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is itself based on Jubilees and the Testaments. It gives Reuben's age as 125, Simeon's as 120, Levi's 137, Dan's 125, Judah's 119 (?), Naphtali's 133, Gad's 125, Issachar's 122, Asher's 123, and Joseph's 110.

2. **Two years after the death of Joseph.** This agrees with Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, which says Reuben was born in 2122 A.M. and Joseph in 2135. As Joseph died at the age of 110, Reuben lived two years longer to attain the age of 125.

his brother. So a d only.

3. **go the way of my fathers.** Cf. Joshua xxiii. 14 'Go the way of all the earth'. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 2, 10.

4. **Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren.** Joseph alone of the other patriarchs addresses his brethren as well as his sons.

what things I have in my heart. T. S. ii. 1.

now at length, = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν. Thus the LXX translates ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν in Gen. xvi. 30 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν. Cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν in John i. 51 in some MSS. Also ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Matt. xxvi. 64 = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Luke xxii. 69.

5. **Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear.** So a A^e S¹. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. This reading suits the context better than 'hear, my brethren, and give ear' β-d g A^{d e g}; or 'hear, my (> d) children, and give ear' d A^{a b}.

6. **I call to witness against you this day.** A reminiscence cf. Deut. iv. 26 where Moses calls heaven and earth to witness. ἐπιμαρτύρομαι is, however, unsuitable with 'God', and ὀρκῶ, 'I adjure,' is more so. Still we might compare Exod. xix. 21 διαμάρτυραι.

I was poured out. A classical use of ἐξεχύθην. Cf. Pindar, *Isth.* i. 4.

7. The importance of prayer is emphasized by our author. Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. G. v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. B. iii. 6. Cf. T. S. ii. 2, 13; T. N. vi. 8; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1; T. B. v. 5. Fasting accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. B. i. 4.

8. **thirty years old.** Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1-5 says Reuben was only twenty-one.

9. The chastisement lasted seven months, the penance seven years.

10. **eat no pleasant food.** Cf. Dan. x. 3. Reuben practises abstinence for seven years, Simeon for two, T. S. iii. 4, and Judah till old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years to preserve his chastity, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar in his righteousness and self-control abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man 'combines fasting with chastity', T. Jos. ix. 2: the double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. A. ii. 8, iv. 3.

such as had not been in Israel. So c and practically A. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

II. 1. **seven spirits of deceit.** Origen refers to this passage (*Hom. in Iosua* 15^b, ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143, as from the Testaments of the XII Patr. as implying various 'Satanæ'. Matt. xii. 45 speaks of seven evil spirits.

spirits of deceit. The Testaments contain a vast demonology. The chief of the demons is called Beliar *passim* (see T. Lev. iii. 3); the Devil, T. N. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. S. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or your Prince (of Dan), T. D. v. 6. Beliar's works are opposed to God's law, T. L. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. He rules over disturbed souls, T. D. iv. 7, or those which yield to their evil inclination, T. A. i. 8. He flees, however, from the righteous and keepers of the law, T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take away from him the captive souls, T. D. v. 10; Beliar will be bound, T. L. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. The evil spirits in general are

² I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works
³ of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be
⁴ done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is
⁵ created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of
^{6, 7} hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given
⁸ to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The
⁹ sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is
⁸ produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and
⁹ sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in
order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the
youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

3 ¹ Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of
^{2, 3} nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.] First, the
spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness,
⁴ in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of
⁵ obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The
fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying,
⁶ in perdition and jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The

called spirits of deceit, T. R. ii. 1, 2; T. S. iii. 1; and *passim*: also wicked spirits, T. S. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, &c.; unclean spirits, T. B. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. A. vi. 4. Their function is threefold as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N. T., (1) to tempt men, (2) to accuse them when they fall, (3) to torment them. (2) is not a feature in this book, (3) is mentioned twice, T. L. iii. 2, spirits of retribution, and T. A. vi. 5, the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death to torment it. (1) is their most prominent function in the Testaments. Of the tempting spirits, there are the seven spirits of deceit which attack youth, T. R. ii. 1–2, namely, those of fornication (cf., too, T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, and injustice, T. R. iii. 3–6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 adds the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. S. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are wicked and poisonous spirits, T. S. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. D. ii. 4. There are angels, moreover, which stir men to murder, T. D. i. 7; and idolatry, T. N. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The faithless and wicked fall an easy prey to them, but the spirits first require permission to tempt men, T. B. iii. 3 (cf. Job i. 12, ii. 6). If men yield, the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. N. viii. 6; but if they are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. B. iii. 3; indeed, the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. N. viii. 4; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. B. v. 2. Nay, more, the righteous rule over them, T. S. vi. 6, and tread them under foot, T. L. xviii. 12, T. Z. ix. 8 (bdg). These spirits are punished on the judgement day, T. L. iii. 3.

² against man + 'by Beliar' β A S.

leaders in the works. 'leader', β-f-g A^a S, which points to the singular שׂוֹאֵה in Hebrew, which = 'poison' as well as 'leader'. Cf. 'poisonous spirit', T. S. iv. 9.

II. 3—III. 2. A late addition to the text, undoubtedly first made in Greek, and chiefly drawn from Greek sources. Not only does this passage intrude between the promise in ii. 1 and its fulfilment in iii. 3, 7, but it has no organic connexion with either. Moreover, the division of the bodily senses here given is based on Stoic theories, e.g. the peculiar meaning attached to πνεύματα as that of senses, organs, or appetites. The Stoics held that the soul had eight parts, namely, the five senses, the powers of reproduction and speech, and the dominant part or reason which ruled the other seven. They discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents or πνεύματα. Cf. Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21; also Zeller, *Stoics*, 214–15 (Eng. Trans.). For full quotations see my Comm. on the Testt.; also my note in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9. A parallel interpolation occurs in MS. 248 of Sirach xvii. 4, and precedes as here the Hebrew division of various powers.

³ seven other spirits. 'other' α, > β S, 'again' A. This use of πνεύματα is confined to the Stoics, and has no parallel in the Hebrew רִיחַ. The Stoic division gives eight πνεύματα, but our text omits ἀφή, and replaces the eighth power τὸ ἡγεμονικόν by πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

⁴ spirit of life. Here πνεῦμα is used in its usual sense, cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. But the Hebrew usage would not imply more than life in an impersonal sense, whereas the Stoic parallel τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, and the next phrase 'with which the constitution of man is created' suggest the power which gives vitality and life to the material organism and constitutes man's powers into a unity which is personal.

⁵ sense. πνεῦμα, and so in verses 5 and 7.

sight . . . desire. Cf. 1 John ii. 16 ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

to draw air and breath. Cf. T. N. ii. 8 (note); also Arist. *De Spir.* 2.

⁶ power. πνεῦμα.

⁷ and by it strength is produced, αὐτῷ can refer only to πνεῦμα. Only d reads αὐτῇ (γεύσις).

⁹ as a blind man to a pit. Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1–2. This reference to an eighth spirit, of sleep, is due to the interpolator himself, who has also inserted iii. 7. It is not found in Stoic teaching.

¹ trance of nature (ἐκστασις φύσεως). Unlike the preceding bodily powers, sleep is not credited with any contribution to human activity.

the image of death. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, &c.

² An adaptation of ii. 3–iii. 1 to its present context.

⁴ spirit of fighting, in the liver. Cf. T. N. ii. 8.

⁵ in perdition and jealousy†. Probably corrupt in the Hebrew text, בשואה וקנאה for לשונא ומקנא. Hence read 'to practise deceits on an enemy and a rival and concealments', &c.

- seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts.
- 7, 8 [And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of
- 9 God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye 'the words of' Reuben your father.
- 10 Pay no heed to the face of a woman,
Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.
- 11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity.
- 12 For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not 'to sleep' until I had
- 13 wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her
- 14 chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety 'without her
- 15 perceiving it', and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.
- 4 1 Pay no heed, therefore, 'my children', to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did.
- 2 For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren,
- 3 because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my
- 4 impiety. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have
- 5 been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, 'I say unto you', observe 'all' things
- 6 whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and under-

6. fulfil a. 'do' β A S.

7. An interpolation. See iii. 1 (note). Sleep is properly a natural power, not a vice like the other seven. a a e read 'which is error and fantasy'.

8. darkening his mind. Cf. Eph. iv. 18 ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, also Rom. i. 21.

understanding the law. Here συνιών ἐν τῷ νόμῳ is a Hebraism.

9. the words of. So a a e f.

10. Pay no heed, &c. See iv. 1.

associate (a): 'be alone' β-g S¹. Cf. Sir. ix. 9, where the verb is κάθου, 'sit,' in the Greek, טעם 'eat' in the Hebrew, and תרבה שוחה 'talk much' according to the Syriac (cf. Aboth i. 5). In Sanh. 100^b and Yebam. 63^b, where Sir. is quoted, we have אל תמ אצלה 'turn not aside to her'. Cf. also Nedarim 20^a.

meddle with affairs, &c. Cf. Sir. xli. 21. For πράξιν (a b f S), 'affairs', a reads ὄψιν, A b* κάλλος καὶ πράξεις.

11-15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1-9. Reuben's sin is denied in late works, e.g. Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22. See note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.

13. had gone to Isaac. Jub. xxxiii. 1.

Eder near to Ephrath. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.

Bilhah became drunk. Peculiar to our text. Hence the new turn to the story in v. 15.

14. without her perceiving it a: > β A S.

leaving her sleeping. Jub. xxxiii. 4-7 says Bilhah awoke and cried out. She also told the matter to Jacob on his return.

IV. 1. Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women, &c. Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4; also Sir. ix. 8. Abodah Zara 20^b forbids a man to look on a beautiful woman if single, or a homely one if married.

singleness of heart, ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας = תַּם-לֵב. Wisd. i. 1; Col. ii. 22; Eph. vi. 5. See note on upright-

ness in T. Iss. iii. 1.

on good works and. So a A. ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποσπλανόμενοι β S. i.e. the β recension had a corrupt Hebrew בְּמַעֲשֵׂים יְשָׁרִים instead of יְשָׁרִים בְּמַעֲשֵׂים.

your flocks. Cf. stress on husbandry, T. Iss. v. 3; vi. 2.

3. This is the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the conscience as a fully-developed conception. The LXX first uses the word in the technical sense in Wisd. xvii. 10 αἰ δὲ προσεῖληφεν τὰ χαλεπὰ (πονηρία) συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 (a). The action of the conscience is described (without the term) in T. Jud. xx. 5; T. G. v. 3.

impiety a. 'Sin' β S¹.

4. that the anger of the Lord might pass. Jub. xxxiii. 15 says 'Reuben was granted life and forgiveness'.

until now, ἕως νῦν a. μετανοῶν, 'repenting', d g A. ἕως ἐννοιών, '(even) in thought', a e f.

5. I say unto you. a only.

6-7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2-6, on the evils of fornication.

6. A pit, βόθρος, a a f. ὀλεθρος, 'destruction' β-a f. תַּחַשׁ has both meanings.

separating it from God . . . near to idols. This recurs in T. S. v. 3. Cf. Kethub. 11^b 'Most idolaters are adulterers', also Wisd. xiv. 12 ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας (= spiritual unfaithfulness) ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων.

7 standing, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, 'or rich or poor', he bringeth reproach upon himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. Therefore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.

5 1 'For' evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use 2 wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot 3 bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. 'For' moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accomplished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman 6 who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and 7 appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.

6 1 Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every 2 woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure 3 in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an 4 irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. For in fornication 5 there is neither understanding nor† godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. There-

leadeth down . . . to Hades. Cf. Prov. vii. 27, where LXX has *κατάγονσαι* as here.

before their time, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = *בלא עתם*. Cf. T. Jud. xvi. 3.

7. many hath fornication destroyed. Cf. Prov. vii. 26; also Sir. ix. 8, where read *ἀπεκτάνθησαν* for *ἐπλανήθησαν*. So Sanh. 100^b, Yebam. 63^b.

or rich or poor. *a* only.

derision, *γέλῳτα*, de A S. *πρόσκομμα*, 'an offence' or 'stumbling-block', *a*, i. e. *מוקש* for *קוש*.

8. For ye heard, &c., 'for since Joseph guarded himself from every woman . . . he found', &c. *β A S¹*.

found favour in the sight of God ('of the Lord' *β A S¹*). Cf. T. S. v. 2; also 1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52. Acts vii. 10 says of Joseph 'God . . . gave him favour'.

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

did many things unto = *תרכה*, perhaps corrupt for *תארב*, 'lay in wait for'.

10. delivered him, &c. Cf. Acts vii. 10.

evil, *a*. 'visible and' *β-d A β S¹*, i. e. *ראו* for *רע*.

11. Beliar is powerless with the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

V. 1. For. *a* only.

evil are women. Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

by outward attractions, *ἐν σχήμασι*, i. e. figure, bearing, attire, and gestures.

2. by outward attractions, *διὰ σχήματος a*. *δυνάμεως β A S¹*, i. e. *הון* for *הור* or *חן*.

3. they plot. Cf. Eccles. vii. 26, 27.

glance of the eye. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. B. vi. 3; also Prov. vi. 25; Sir. xxiii. 4.

4. openly . . . beguiles him. *a* only.

5. adorn not their heads and faces. Enoch viii. 1 says that the fallen Watchers taught women to beautify the face and wear precious metals. For Hebrew adornments see Isa. iii. 16.

reserved for eternal punishment, *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται*. Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν*; 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένων*.

6. thus they allured the Watchers. Jub. iv. 15 (see note) says the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). See Chron. Jerahmeel xxv. 2-4. In xxv. 7, 13 Azazel is said to be 'appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin'. Is this story in view in 1 Pet. iii. 3-5; 1 Tim. ii. 9?

Watchers. See Dan. iv. 13, 23; 1 En. vi-viii; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 En. xviii. 3.

lusted after them *A b b* c d e g*; 'lusted after one another' *a β-g*.

7. reaching unto heaven. Their height was 3,000 ells, 1 En. vii. 2.

VI. 1. Beware . . . of fornication. Cf. iv. 6; T. S. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12.

if you wish . . . guard *β A S¹*: 'be pure in mind: guard also' *a*.

2. Cf. iii. 10. Note that purity of heart is required. Cf. Matt. v. 27, 28.

3. a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach *a*: 'an eternal reproach of Beliar' *β S¹*: 'a great reproach' *A*.

4. godliness, *εὐσέβειαν*. Probably corrupt for *ἐνλάβειαν*, 'discretion'.

jealousy. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5-12. Many passages in the Testaments set forth Levi's merits and claims. Cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. L. ii. 11, viii. 14,

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

fore, 'then I say unto you', ye will be jealous 'against the sons of Levi', and will seek to be exalted over them; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, 'and ye shall die by an evil death'. For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the anointed High Priest, of whom the Lord spake. I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.

7^{1, 2} And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him 'in Hebron' in the cave where his father was.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON, THE SECOND SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

1¹ The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the 2 hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, 'his brother', died. For when Simeon

xviii. 1, 2; T. D. v. 4; T. N. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 1; T. Jos. xix. 11. The salvation of Israel is to come from both Levi and Judah jointly, T. S. vii. 1, &c. Only in T. G. viii. 1 (probably corrupt) is Judah placed before Levi. Levi is priest and king, T. R. vi. 7-12; T. L. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2; as high-priest, T. S. vii. 2. Judah is king T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5; T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt?). T. R. vi. 7^b and T. Jud. xxiv. 4-6 are additions.

5. then, I say unto you a only.

jealous against the sons of Levi. Cf. the charge against Simeon's sons, T. S. v. 4, and Dan's, T. D. v. 5. The purpose of this admonition is to establish the Maccabean hegemony.

6. and ye . . . death. These words are omitted by A.

7. Levi is to be king. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation. Why 'to Dan' is not clear. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we have the non-Maccabean view: 'because thou (Reuben) didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.'

8. shall know: 'shall make known' A.

give ordinances for judgement, διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν cβ-bg S: διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν hg A, 'fulfil as regards judgement', perhaps corrupt for διατελέσει κρίσιν.

all Israel (> 'all' a). The Twelve Tribes are considered as in Palestine by our author. John Hyrcanus, who is meant by our text, is to bless Israel and Judah, verse 11. The title 'Twelve Patriarchs' points to the same view. Cf. the letter of Aristaeus, which says that Eleazar the high-priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. The pre-Maccabean view (1 En. lxxxix. 72) was that the Northern tribes were still in captivity. The Maccabean view was due to the extensive sway of those native kings. With the failure of the Maccabees, the Messianic promises were again attached to Judah instead of Levi, and the idea of the Captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9; Sib. Or. ii. 170-3; 4 Ezra xiii. 39-47; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxiv. 10. For the rejection of Dan see T. D. v. 6-7.

consummation of the times, τελειώσεως χρόνων. Cf. T. L. x. 2 (T. B. xi. 3) συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων; T. Z. ix. 8 καιροῦ συντελείας. This means the closing years of the age present to the writer, and the opening of a new era, possibly with no catastrophe, as in Jub. i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26-30 (see notes). Cf. Daniel's 'time of the end' (Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 49), מָלְכוּת. The LXX gives ὥραν καιροῦ, ὥραν συντελείας, καιροῦ συντελείας. Cf. 1 En. x. 13 ἡμέρας τελεσμοῦ, xvi. 1 ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως. Also Ass. Mos. i. 18 'in consummatione exitus dierum'; x. 13 '(tempora) consummentur'; 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, &c. 'consummation of the times'; lvi. 2 'of the world'; lxxxiii. 7 'of the age'. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 5 and T. Iss. vi. 1 (note); also Matt. συντέλεια αἰῶνος, xiii. 39, xxiv. 3.

as the anointed High Priest. So emended from ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ h: (times) 'of the anointed High Priest' cβ S.

of whom the Lord spake. Ps. cx, originally written in honour of Simon, is here interpreted of John Hyrcanus. Cf. for reinterpretation Dan. vii. 7, 8 as explained in Dan. vii. 23-5, and interpreted anew in 4 Ezra xi. 1 ff.

9. do truth h i β S: 'walk in truth' A: 'speak truth' c, as also T. D. v. 2 (Zech. viii. 16; Gal. iv. 25).

entertain love. Cf. T. L. xix. 18; also T. S. iv. 7; T. D. v. 3.

10-11. Levi as priest and king. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41 concerning Simon, ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα.

receive a blessing. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15; Sir. l. 20.

11. him hath the Lord chosen, i.e. Levi: ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο—a Hebraism.

nation a f A: 'nations' β-f S¹.

12. Achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests. Most 'died in wars visible', cf. T. S. v. 5. As spiritual leaders they spent themselves in warfare against spiritual opposition. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

eternal king ('kings' A). Cf. ἱερεὺς εἰς αἰῶνα 1 Macc. xiv. 41; Ps. cx. 4. 'Seed' and 'die', however, may be corrupt. If so, read וְיָעַד for וְיָעַד and יָעַד for יָמֻת, and render 'Bow down before his might, for he will stand forth . . . a king for ever', of Hyrcanus.

VII. 2. Joseph's bones alone remained in Egypt till the Exodus. Cf. Acts vii. 16.

TITLE a: + 'regarding envy' β-a d e A^a f g S¹.

1. 1. The copy of the words h β-d e S¹: 'testament' c: 'copy of the testament' d e A^a b. before . . . died > a d.

hundred and twentieth year β-d g A^b* c d. See T. R. i. 1.

Joseph died. Jub. xxviii. 13, 24 makes Joseph ten years younger than Simeon.

was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

- 2 1 Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
2 I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
3 Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
4 For my heart was hard,
And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.
5, 6 Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the
time of my youth I was jealous 'in many things' of Joseph, because my father loved him 'beyond
7 all'. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the
spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even
8 Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him
9 out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to
Dothan, where were our necessities and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites.
10 And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father.
11 But on hearing this I was 'exceedingly' wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and
12 for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld 'from
13 me' the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my
children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the
Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy
14 'and from all folly'. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my
father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.
3 1, 2 And now, my children, 'hearken unto me and' beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy
ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him 'neither to eat nor to drink', nor to do any
3 good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that
4 is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years 'therefore' I afflicted my soul with
fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.
5 For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened.
6 And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who are
hostile to him, and so ceaseth from his envy.
4 1 And my father asked 'concerning me', because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am
2 pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph.
3 And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly,
4 and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being

II. 2. Simeon . . . heard her prayer. Cf. Gen. xxix. 33 for this play on the name.

4. liver. Here the spirit of war dwells, T. R. iii. 4.

6. jealous of Joseph. Cf. iv. 2, 3; and Targum Ps.-Jon. which attributes Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 to Simeon and Levi.
in many things *a* only.
beyond all *a* only.

7. mind, *ἡ πᾶσα*. See *v.* 4.

prince of deceit. See T. R. ii. 1 (note).

blinded my mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8.

8. sent forth his angel and delivered. Dan. iii. 28; Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.

9. Reuben to Dothan. Reuben's absence explains Gen. xxxvii. 21.

Judah . . . sold him. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26-8.

10. heard these things, *ἀκούσας c* (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21): 'came' *β A S¹*, i.e. *בשמועו בשובו*. Same corruption in
v. 11.

restore *c A* = *השיב*: 'save' *β-a f S¹* = *הושיע*.

13. the Lord God *a d*: 'the Lord' *β-d A b* c d e g S¹*: 'God' *A a b h*.

III. 1. spirit of deceit and envy *a A S²*. Cf. ii. 7. 'spirits' *β S¹*.

3. and so long, &c. Perhaps render 'And he that is envied flourisheth, and', &c.

4. afflicted my soul with fasting. Ps. xxxv. 15. Cf. T. R. i. 10.

6. forgiveth, *συγγνώσκει a a e f S¹*. *οὐ καταγνώσκει b d g A b* c d e*.

are hostile to. The text has 'love' = in the Hebrew original *אהבתי* corrupt for *איבתי*.

IV. 4. Joseph is commended here and always in the Testaments except Naph. Cf. T. R. iv. 8-10.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his 5 brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of

heart,	$\beta A S^1$ soul and with good heart, keeping in mind Joseph your father's brother,
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that God may give 'you also' grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in 6 Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own 7 soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also, my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from 8 you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

and leadeth the mind into frenzy,	$\beta A^B S^1$ and leadeth the mind into frenzy, 'and suffereth not prudence to act in men'; moreover, it taketh away sleep,
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[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body].

9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits disturbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion; and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 1 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness 2 dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children,

Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.

3 Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.

4 For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication, 5 and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi; 6 for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer 'all' your hosts. And they shall be few in number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our father prophesied in his blessings.

6 1, 2 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,
As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;
And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

5. singleness of heart. See T. Iss. iii. 2 (note).

of heart a. $\beta A S^1$ read 'soul and (> A^{ah}) with good ('pure' $A^{ahb*cd\epsilon g}$ > A^b) heart, keeping in mind Joseph (> b) your father's brother ('brother' A). d is corrupt. The twofold recension obviously goes back to the Hebrew original.

6. gave us riches, &c. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.

7. love each one his brother. Cf. T. R. vi. 9.

will withdraw a &c.: 'put ye away' β -e g S^1 . For 'withdraw' cf. iii. 5, 6.

8. and suffereth . . . men > $A^{b*cd\epsilon fg}$: 'moreover . . . sleep' recurs T. Jud. xviii. 4 with a new verb. [and causeth tumult . . . body], bracketed as a corrupt dittography of 8^a.

9. Sir. xl. 5-7.

poisonous. Cf. T. R. v. 3; also ii. 2 (note).

V. 1. comely, &c. Gen. xxxix. 6.

2. grace before the Lord and men. Luke ii. 52; T. R. iv. 8.

3. Separating from God, &c. See T. R. iv. 6.

4. in the writing of Enoch. Cf. T. L. x. 5, &c. Not in our Enoch: 2 En. xxxiv. 2 says similar things of the Antediluvians. Possibly a reference to Num. xxv. 6, 7, 14.

the sons of Levi. See T. R. vi. 5.

5. wage the war of the Lord—refers to the Maccabees, T. R. vi. 12.

6. few in number, divided in Levi and Judah. Cf. Gen. xlix. 7. 'I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob and disperse them in Israel.' Levi is omitted from this curse here, yet Levi claims the credit of destroying Shechem in T. L. vi. 4, and is praised for it in Jub. xxx. 18-23. Cf. T. L. v. 3. Contrast the tone of Gen. xlix. 6-7 and later Rabbinic tradition.

VI. 1. acquitted of your sin. Cf. T. L. xiv. 2.

3 Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
[And all the Cappadocians shall perish],
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.

4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.
Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.

Restored Text

5 Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify
Shem,
For the Lord God shall appear on earth,
And Himself save men.

A^{abh}

Then shall Shem (MSS. 'Seth') be glorified,
For the Lord our God shall appear on earth
[as man]
And Himself saves again.

6 Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits.

7 Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men].

7¹ And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for
2 from them shall arise unto you the salvation [of God]. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it
were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles
3 and] the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your
children, that they may observe them throughout their generations.

8¹ And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an
2 hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to
3 Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph
4 the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure
of the bones of Joseph there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding
great plague to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother.

9^{1, 2} And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their
departure by the hand of Moses.

3. The destruction of Israel's foes.

And all . . . perish > A. The Cappadocians seem to mean here the Capthorim or Philistines. Cf. Deut. ii. 23, and note on Jub. xxiv. 29.

Hittites, either חתים 'Hittites' or כְּתִיִּם (i. e. Greeks, or Macedonians).

4. all the people. Which people? λαός generally refers to Israel, and so perhaps the Messianic ὁδῶνες are meant.

5-8. A Theophany. God Himself comes to save men, subdues the evil spirits, and raises the righteous.

5. For other Theophanies see T. L. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Z. ix. 8; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3.

the Mighty One of Israel. So β S A^{b*c*d*o*g} (in 2nd clause), while *a* reads μέγα τῷ Ἰσραὴλ (in 1st clause).

shall glorify. Conjectured from ἐνδοξασθήσονται, all MSS., i. e. יִכְבֹּד corrupt for יִכְבֵּד.

Shem. So bd A^{b*c*d*o*g}: 'Seth' A^{a*b*h}: 'the sign' aβ-b d S. Possibly σημεῖον = יֵיטֵן misread for יֵיזֵן = 'Zion'.

[as man] aβ-a S, a Christian addition.

and Himself save men: lit. = 'and save in Himself the Adam' aβ S. ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered by αὐτός.

This third clause is wanting in A^{b*c*d*o*g} and corrupt in A^{a*b*h}.

For this primitive view of the Messianic kingdom as a visible Theocracy cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. It will be on this earth, and the righteous dead will rise to share in it.

6. Cf. Luke x. 19, 20 'to tread . . . on every power of the enemy', 'the spirits are subject unto you'. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12. Based on Ps. xci. 13.

7. [Because God hath taken a body, &c.] Cf. a like Christian interpolation in T. A. vii. 3; also T. D. v. 13^d, vi. 9.

VII. 1. and Judah c: 'and in Judah shall ye ('we' A^{b*c*d*o*f*g}) be redeemed' hβ A S.

be not lifted up. Cf. T. R. vi. 5.

from them shall arise . . . salvation. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

2. Levi's supremacy is here (with the text of N. viii. 2) alone in this work limited to the priesthood.

all the Gentiles. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

VIII. 2. wooden coffin a A^{b*c*d*o*f*g}: 'coffin of incorruptible wood' β-g A^{a*b*h} S.

during a war of the Egyptians β A S. See T. B. xii. 3 (note).

3. tombs a: 'treasure-houses' β A^β S. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. i. 26 says, 'they embalmed him and placed him in a coffin and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt'. Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. R. Nathan says Joseph was buried in Pharaoh's palace.

4. Reason for the guarding of Joseph's bones. Why should the darkness be chosen for mention out of all the Plagues?

IX. 1. their father + 'according to the law of mourning' β S.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI, THE THIRD SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1** ¹ The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that
² they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in
health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when
they were gathered together he said to them:
- 2** ^{1, 2} I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about
³ twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And
when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me,
and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and law-
⁴ lessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the
⁵ Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and
⁶ I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
7 And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.	7. And when I had entered into the first heaven. †and he escorted raised me† to the second. And I saw there a great sea hanging.	And I entered from the first 7 heaven into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other.
8 And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a bound- less light also therein.		And further I saw a third 8 heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein.
9 And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.	9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me :	And I said unto the angel : 9 Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me : Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable,

TITLE. So *a*: 'Testament of Levi concerning the priesthood' *β*-*a d e A S*: + 'and arrogance' *b d e f A^b* c d e f g*.

I. 1. **until the day of judgement.** This event is therefore conceived as near to the time of the writer.
revealed to him. Levi has several revelations.

II. 2. **about twenty years**; eighteen according to T. L. xii. 5. Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 makes Simeon two years older.

3. **Abel-Maul** = the Abel-meholah of the O.T. e.g. Judges vii. 22.
corrupting their way. Cf. Gen. vi. 12.
unrighteousness had built . . . towers *β A^c d e g S¹*: 'sin was built upon a wall and unrighteousness sat upon
towers' *a*. Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 'unrighteousness will come to an end, . . . and its whole structure will be destroyed'. Cf.
also Zech. v. 8-11.

After 3 *e* makes a long addition, describing the call and purifying of Levi.

5. **and I was upon it** *a*. 'This is the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul' *g A^b* f g*. See T. L. vi. 1.

II. 7-III. The original passage described three heavens, but it has been worked up to include seven. The first
heaven really has the great sea, as *v. 8* in *a* shows, for the second heaven is further on. This second becomes the third
in *β A^β S¹*. Again in 9, 10 *a* speaks of 'another heaven'. *β A^β S¹* makes 'four other heavens' of it. In 10 the word
'thither' and the general effect require no more than one heaven. In iii. 1-4 *a* once more gives us three heavens, and
God dwelling in the highest. *β A^β S¹* makes four of the first two, and then passes at a leap to the highest, which in
verses 5-8 we find has two or three others between it and the fourth or third heaven. *a* also has undergone alteration
in verses 5-8 and mentions three other heavens.

The doctrine of the seven heavens was prevalent in Judaism before and after the time of Christ. See e.g. 2 En.
iii-xxi; Talmud, *Chag.* 12^b; 4 Ezra vii. 81-7.

Christian apocalypses like Asc. Isa. followed Hebrew teaching on this point. Thus the redaction originated in
Hebrew, and has been betrayed by the testimony of the first and better of the two independent Greek Versions—*a*.
That they are independent is shown by iii. 2 *κρίσεως*, *a*: *προστάγματος*, *β*, iii. 6 *θυσίαν*, *a*: *προσφοράν*, *β*; iii. 9 *τρέμμεν*, *a*:
σαλευόμεθα, *β*.

7. **a great sea**, i.e. the waters above the firmament, Gen. i. 7. Cf. Jub. ii. 4 and 1 En. liv. 8. For 'hanging'
perhaps read 'in the firmament' *ברקיע* for *מוקיע*.

8. The 'second' in *a* becomes the 'third heaven' in *β*. Instead of the brightness iii. 3 mentions the avenging
hosts in it.

light. Text = 'height' = *גבה* corrupt for *גנה*, 'light' or 'brightness'. So read *גנה* = *φέγγος* or *φῶς* instead of
גבה = *ψψος*.

9. Note that the one heaven in *a* becomes four in *β*.

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A S¹</i>
10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mysteries to men, And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel.	10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And his coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men.	When thou hast ascended 10 thither. 'Because' thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men, And shalt proclaim concerning the redemption of Israel.
11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, 'Saving every race of men.'		
12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life, And He shall be thy field and vineyard, And fruits, gold, and silver.		
<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
3 1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.	Hear, therefore, regarding the 1 seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.
2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.	2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.	The second has fire, snow, ice 2 ready for the day of the ordinance of the Lord in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on the lawless.
3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.		In the third are the hosts of 3 the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy.

10-12. Levi has not yet ascended into the third heaven; in fact he does not do so till v. 1. The angel appears to anticipate in 10-12, and resumes his account in iii. 1. Otherwise 10-12 would follow naturally on iv. 2.

10. Levi is to be made priest on ascending into the third heaven. See v. 1, 2.

stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister. Cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11; Jub. xxxi. 14.
the redemption of Israel. *A^β* alone preserves the original reading. *a β S* are all modified by Christian influence to 'Him that shall redeem Israel'. > *A^a*.

11. by thee and Judah. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

appear among men. That God Himself would appear and dwell with men was the older Jewish view in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vi. 5 (note); T. L. v. 2; 1 En. xxv. 3.

Saving every race of men > *A*. See T. S. vi. 5 (note).

12. from the Lord's portion. See viii. 16 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17, where Israel is the Lord's portion.

III. 1. gloomy . . . in that it beholds, &c. Cf. 2 Bar. liii. 5, lvi. 5, 7 'the black waters'. Cf. also 3 Baruch viii; Apoc. Esdrae; Apoc. Pauli 4; and see James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67.

2. The first (*a*) heaven contains the instruments of God's retribution for sin. 2 En. iii. 3; v. 1 also holds, like *a*, that the treasures of the ice and snow, and the great sea, are in the first heaven.

for the day of judgement. Cf. *ἐν ἐκδικήσεσι ἐκτίσται*, Sir. xxxix. 29. Cf. also Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 and xl. 9, 10.

spirits of the retributions. Natural phenomena are the agents of punishment, but they are under the control of spirits or angels. Cf. 1 En. lx. 12.

on the lawless, 'on men' *a*, by textual corruption. Cf. Sir. xl. 10.

3. In the second heaven are the angelic armies in readiness to destroy Beliar. 2 En. xvii gives us an armed host, but in the fourth heaven and for a different purpose.

†And those in the fourth†. The *β* recension here cannot be cleared up by *a*, as it was independently altered by the redactor. Verse 8 in *β* naturally refers to the fourth heaven, which therefore need not be mentioned here. Perhaps we should read 'and the four heavens above these are holy', i.e. *ושברביעי והארבעה*. This gives a point to the 'for' in v. 4 (*β*).

above them are the holy ones *a*. These are the angels. For the first passage in which the abode of the

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.	For in the Highest of all 4 dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness.
5 In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;	5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,	And in [the heaven next to] 5 it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous.
6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	6. And praising the Lord,	And they offer to the 6 Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering.
7 And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead.	And in [the heaven below] 7 are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.
8 An †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.		And in the heaven next to 8 this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God.
<i>aβ A^β S¹</i>		
9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.	9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.	
10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.		
4 1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent, And the sun quenched, And the waters dried up,		

blessed even after judgement is heaven is in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4, i.e. between 100 and 50 B.C. The intermediate abode of souls—even of the righteous—is Sheol at this date, 1 En. xxii. 4–9, li. 1, c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41); 2 Macc. vi. 23.

4. **the Great Glory.** 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3. Cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, xlvii. 3. 5–8. Even *a* here has been interpolated. The sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens are introduced, but there is still a gap between *v.* 3 and *v.* 8, as there is no third heaven mentioned in 3 (*a*). The descending order is a witness to the original text, which thus enumerated the angels in the third heaven.

5. **minister and make propitiation.** A sacrificial service in heaven is suggested by the heavenly patterns spoken of in Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4, and was already a familiar idea. See my Commentary *in loc.* The intercession of angels occurs in Zech. i. 12; Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23, and especially in 1 En. ix. 3, xv. 2, lxxxix. 76. See T. D. vi. 2. Cf. too 1 En. xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, xl. 6, civ. 1. For *λειτουργοῦντες* cf. Heb. i. 14.

sins of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Z. i. 5.

6. **reasonable**, *λογικὴν*. Cf. Rom. xii. 1. Cf. Origen, *De Orat.* xi *λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν*, of Raphael offering on Tobit's behalf.

bloodless offering. Cf. Essenes' objection to bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457.

7. How 'answers'? These are a lower order of angels. Perhaps we should render 'bear the answers for the angels of the presence', or 'of the angels', &c. (as *g*). The analogy of Rev. v. 8, however, would suggest 'prayers' instead of תשובות 'answers'. Cf. 3 Bar. xi–xii; Apoc. Pauli vii–x; Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1.

8. **thrones and dominions.** Cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1.

they offer praise. Cf. 2 En. xvii, xviii.

9. This verse and Sir. xvi. 18, 19 are independent versions of a lost Hebrew original. Moreover *a* and *β* differ. Thus *a* has *τρέμμεν*, *β* *σαλευόμεθα*, Greek of Sir. *συνσειόνται*. For parallels cf. Judges v. 4; Isa. lxix. 1; Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4.

10. **no perception . . . sin.** Cf. 1 En. lxvii. 13.

IV. 1. **sun quenched.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24.

waters dried up. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

- And the fire cowering,
And all creation troubled,
And the invisible spirits melting away,
And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.
On this account with punishment shall they be judged.
2 'Therefore' the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son,
And a servant, and a minister of His presence.
3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.
4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.
5 'And' therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this;
6 Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
And they that curse† Him shall perish.
5 1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon
2 a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me: Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the
3 priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the
earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me: Execute vengeance on Shechem because
4 of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at
5 that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him: I pray
6 thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said:
I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,
7 for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High,
and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

And Hades taketh spoils. Cf. Isa. v. 14. Or a Christian addition—'and Hades is despoiled', σκυλευομένου being taken in a passive not middle sense.

visitations. A difficult but possible rendering of πάθει. If an interpolation, = 'passion'.

unbelieving and persist. Cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21; 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13. For ἀπιστοῦντες β-d A^β S we have ἀπειθοῦντες, 'disobedient' a d.

2. become to Him a son. Already in the second century B.C. we find the individual Israelite viewed as a son of God. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); Jub. i. 24 (note).

minister of His presence. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 14.

3. The light of knowledge. See xviii. 3 (note).

4. This 'blessing' is probably God's blessing on Levi, as Jub. xxxi. 13, not that pronounced by the priests (T. R. vi. 10, note), or the priestly privileges, T. L. v. 2.

Until the Lord shall visit. Cf. v. 2.

in His tender mercies. α β A^β S read 'in His Son's tender mercies'.

A^a reads in 4 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that God shall send [His Son] to save the created things [and thy sons shall lay hands on and crucify Him]'. α β A^β S also have the last clause—an obvious Christian addition.

6. For 'Him' read 'thee', as in Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 17.

V. 1. opened to me the gates. Cf. the opened door in Rev. iv. 1. Levi now enters the third heaven of ii. 9 (a). **the holy temple.** With xviii. 6 and perhaps iii. 4 (β A^β S¹), the earliest reference to the heavenly temple. Cf. Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17 and contrast Rev. xxi. 22.

and upon . . . Most High β A S: 'the Holy Most High One sitting upon a throne' a.

2. until I . . . sojourn. For the visible theocracy cf. iv. 4; T. S. vi. 5.

3. a shield. See vi. 1.

Execute vengeance. Yet Levi says 'we sinned' in vi. 7.

4. This verse interrupts the narrative.

heavenly tables β A^β S¹. See T. A. ii. 10, vii. 5 (β A S¹): 'tables of the fathers' a, perhaps better. Cf. Jub. xxx. 23.

6. angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel. See my Commentary *in loc.* παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος β-d: προϊστάμενος τοῦ γένους d: παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους a: φύλαξ τοῦ γ. A: σώζων τὸ γ. S¹. a seems a bad rendering of ὄψ, as in D. vi. 2 a. d A S¹ = 'protector'. For β-d cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) 'Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate'.

This angel then appears to be Michael. Cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. Also see 1 En. xx. 7, which limits his good offices to the righteous in Israel, cf. T. L. v. 7. He intercedes for Israel, 1 En. lxxxix. 76, helps Israel, xc. 14 and opposes the angels of the heathen nations in Dan. x-xii. God Himself is Israel's Patron in Deut. xxxii. 8-9 (LXX); Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 5, and only the other nations have angel-patrons. Or it may be the angel of peace that is referred to here. Cf. T. D. vi. 5; Dan. x. 5-6, 11^a, 12-14, 19-21, xi-xii. See also T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, &c., for this angel as a guide. He is distinct from Michael, Dan. x. 13; 1 En. xl. 8-9.

utterly . . . attacketh it > a.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 6** ¹ And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield; wherefore also the name of the
² mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. And I kept these words in my
³ heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor
not to be circumcised; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on
⁴ ⁵ my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers
⁶ came and smote 'that' city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard 'these things' and
was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been
⁷ put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done
⁸ this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for
evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do to Sarah 'and Rebecca' as they had done to Dinah our
⁹ sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a
stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his
¹⁰ house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their
¹¹ wives by force, and they †banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the
uttermost.
- 7** ¹ And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give
² their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be
³ called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also
⁴ they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.
- 8** ¹, ² And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven
men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of right-
eousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the
³ turban of the †head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put
(them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for

VI. 1. shield. Prof. Sayce suggests this = שריון, i.e. Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9) which is 10 miles SE. of Abilene, but 40 miles from Gebal.

wherefore δὴ. ἐν ᾧ a.

2. I kept . . . heart. Cf. Dan. iv. 25 LXX (contrast LXX in vii. 28); Luke ii. 19.

3. my brother > c.

not c only. Jub. xxx. 1-4; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 21. 1 omit the circumcision of the Shechemites. Levi was opposed to their circumcision as he intended to avenge the insult done to his sister.

on my sister a A^a: 'in Israel' β A⁸ S¹.

4-5. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-7, where the other sons of Jacob 'came upon the slain and spoiled the city'.

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30; Jub. xxx. 25. Gen. says Jacob reproached Simeon and Levi.

looked amiss. παρῆιδεν a: 'did inequitably', ἄλλως ἐποίησεν β-d g A⁸ S¹.

7. he was sick c b: 'I was sick' h β-b A S¹.

8. upon Shechem > a. and Rebecca > a. The Shechemites had done nothing to Sarah and Rebecca—for the incidents at Gerar see Gen. xx. 3, xxvi. 7.

9. Also not in Genesis.

10. their wives β-a f A S¹: τὰς ξένας a a f, i.e. wives of guests or strangers.

banished, a mistranslation of ידחון 'seduced them' (to idolatry), or 'forced them', as Prov. vii. 21. See Jub. xxx. 7-17, where intermarriage with heathen involves the death penalty, as in the case of the Shechemites. Marriage with a Gentile was considered equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols.

11. of the Lord β S¹: 'of God' a. This verse, adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16, seems to be based on Gen. xxxv. 5 and presupposes יִיָּע חַמַּת instead of יִיָּה חַמַּת. Jub. xxx. 26 reads the latter.

VII. 1. Jacob a: 'be not angry my (a f g: > A^a) lord Jacob (> d)' β-b A S¹.

2. a city of imbeciles. Cf. Sir. l. 26—of Shechem.

3. wrought folly in Israel. Gen. xxxiv. 7; Jub. xxx. 5.

4. And we + 'took our sister' b e g.

came to Bethel. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. 1. For this vision cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, where, however, Levi has already visited Isaac and returned to Bethel. See T. L. ix. 1.

2. Seven men. For the 'seven angels' cf. Ezek. ix. 2, and for their names see 1 En. xx.

robe of the priesthood, &c. See my Commentary *in loc.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36-8, xxix. 5; Sir. xiv. 8-12; Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 11-14; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 1-6.

robe = כְּתֹנֶת or tunic of every priest.

crown = כִּטְרוֹן.

breastplate of understanding. Cf. 'breastplate of judgement', Exod. xxviii. 15; cf. Sir. xlv. 10.

garment—the long outer robe or ποδήρης.

plate = πέταλον or יָיִן. See *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

turban of the †head. The μίτρα should have some virtue or power associated with it. So for ראש (κεφαλῆς a), and מופת (σημείον b d e g A^a, corrupted to στήθιον a f S¹), we must read מִישׁוֹר, 'uprightness'.

ephod of prophecy. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10.

3. a priest . . . ever β A S¹. 'A priest, thou and all thy seed' a. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, which supports β A S¹.

- 4, 5 ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.
- 16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed, And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon, And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.
- 17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes; For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.
- 18, 19 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.
- 9 1, 2 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen. And he would not come with us to Bethel. And when we came to Bethel, my father saw a vision concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning, and paid tithes of all to the Lord through me. And so we came to Hebron to dwell there.
- 6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the

4. of judgement > a.

5. bread and wine, (even) the most holy things ci β S¹: 'holy bread and wine' h A. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18. Is Christian influence apparent here?

9-10. So α β S¹: 'And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord' A^a: 'And the sixth placed a diadem of priesthood on my head and the seventh filled,' &c. A^b*: 'And the sixth and the seventh gave me a diadem of priesthood and again filled,' &c. A^{c d e f g}.

filled my hands. This = ordination. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41.

God α: > β A S.

11. These three offices filled by Moses (12), the Aaronitic priesthood (13), and the Maccabean princes (14, 15), are signs of the Messiah's coming.

12. the first portion, κληρος, is Moses. Text = α: + πιστεύσας (before πῶτος) b d e g: 'And those who believe first shall have a great portion' A.

14. the third, the Maccabees, and in particular John Hyrcanus.

a new name: 'priests of the Most High God'. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 (Melchizedek); also Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, Ant. xvi. 6. 2; Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16; T. L. viii. 15.

king. See 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Simon was ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης.

in Judah, 'out of Judah' α β: 'in Judah' A, possibly.

new priesthood. Cf. xviii. 2.

after the fashion of the Gentiles, &c. α β-d A^β S: 'a new priesthood to all the Gentiles' d. The bracketed words may go back to a dittography in the Hebrew. For 'after the fashion' read perhaps as in the note in my Commentary 'for a mediator'.

15. Verses 14-15 date this work in the time of the Maccabean dynasty. Verse 15 dates it under John Hyrcanus, who alone of the Maccabees is credited with the gift of prophecy, Josephus, Bell. Jud. i. 2. 8. Cf. refs. in T. L. xviii. 6 (note). Moreover, it must be earlier than his struggle with the Pharisees.

beloved α a f S²: 'unutterable' β-a f A.

16. Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16; also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21.

17. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15.

guarded β-a f A^β: 'taken' a f (c h imply).

by their mouth = 'at their word'.

18-ix. 9. Cf. Aramaic Fragment, Appendix II in Commentary.

19. The first dream vision is also kept secret by Levi. Cf. vi. 2.

IX. 1. Here the visit to Isaac follows the dream vision of T. L. viii. In Jub. xxxi. 13-17 the visit and Isaac's blessing precede the vision at Bethel in xxxii. 1.

to Isaac. Isaac was living in Abraham's house (Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (v. 5, Gen. xxxv. 27). Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. v. 11.

2. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 13-17.

he would not come. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27.

3. and when . . . Bethel α b e g. In Jub. xxxii. 1 Levi, not Jacob, has this vision. If 'Jacob' be read there for 'Levi', the difference in order mentioned in ix. 1 (note) would be removed.

unto God β S¹: 'before the Lord' A: > α.

4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2.

5. At Hebron Isaac was living.

6-14. These instructions Abraham gives to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1-23.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

7 angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices,
8 whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing
9 me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of
10 fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore,
11 to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of
12 strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the
13 sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves
14 offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast 'and bird' offer a
15 sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the
16 Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.

10 1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have
2 heard from my fathers 'I have declared unto you. And behold' I am clear from your ungodliness
and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the
world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the
3 Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem
because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your
4 shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach
5 and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem,
as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.

11 1, 2 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And
she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.
3, 4 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in the
5 thirty-fifth year 'of my life', towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high
6 in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of
7 majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since
his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was

7. law of the priesthood, i.e. *ἡ θρησκεία* 'custom' or 'prerogatives' of the priests. Cf. Deut. xviii. 3. Cf. the peace-offerings and thank-offerings in Jub. xxi. 7-9.

8. before the Lord > a.

9. beware of . . . fornication. Cf. Jub. xxi. 21-2; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16; T. R. i. 6, &c. holy place, or 'holy things'.

10. Take . . . a wife. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17.

11. For these ablutions cf. Jub. xxi. 16; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.

wash, *νίπτου*, i.e. the hands and the feet, whereas 'bathe', *λουού*, refers to the whole body.

12. trees having leaves a g; 'evergreen trees' β-g A. See Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23-4; Jub. xxi. 12.

13. and bird > A.

14. of . . . first fruits . . . the first. Cf. Ezek. xlv. 30 (Heb.); Sir. xlv. 20 (Gk.).

as a sacrifice to the Lord God a: 'a sacrifice unto the Lord' a f: 'unto the Lord' d e g A^β S¹: > b.

and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt > a. Cf. Jub. xxi. 11; Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50.

X. This chapter belongs to the first century B.C., and is an attack on the later Maccabean high-priests. See xiv-xv (note).

1. I have declared unto you > d A.

2. And behold > β A.

[against the Saviour . . . godlessly.] A Christian addition. 'Christ' c only: 'acting godlessly' β A S¹. stirring up . . . evils. Cf. Isa. x. 26, &c.

3. together with Israel β A S¹: 'in Israel' c.

the veil, *καταπέτασμα* c (h plur.); cf. Mark xv. 38. *ἐνδυμα* β-d A S suggests that *τοῦ ναοῦ* is an interpolation, and that the rending of garments is spoken of; cf. Isa. xxii. 8. A^a inserts *κόσμου* before *τοῦ ναοῦ*.

4. there + 'and a trampling under foot' β A S. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 18.

5. This verse seems to be an addition or at least an afterthought.

the house which the Lord shall choose. 1 En. lxxxix. 54 calls Jerusalem 'the house of the Lord'.

which the Lord shall choose. Deut. xii. 5, &c.

the book of Enoch. The references to Enoch in the Testaments are suspicious. See my Commentary, pp. 49-50. References occur in T. S. v. 4; T. L. x. 5, xiv. 1 (> a), xvi. 1 (> a); T. Jud. xviii. 1 (> a); T. D. v. 6; T. N. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1 (> A). Four of these belong to the first century B.C., and only in two, T. S. v. 4, T. N. iv. 1, of the others do all our authorities agree. S² further refers to Enoch in T. A. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

XI. 1. See xii. 5.

Melcha. Gk. and Syr. Frag. 62 and Jub. xxxiv. 20.

2. Gersam. Cf. Gen. xlv. 11.

sojourners. Cf. Exod. ii. 22: 'in a land of sojourning' a.

3. Cf. Gk. Frag. 64, 65. Gersam was born at sunset, and so was not to rise to honour.

4. thirty-fifth: 'thirty-fourth' Aram. (and Gk. ?) Frag.

5-6. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67, which also suggests a paronomasia of *קהל* and *קהל* 'congregation'. The brackets indicate a gloss. The Gk. Frag. 67 adds 'and his seed shall be *ἀρχὴ βασιλείων ἱεράρευμα*.' Cf. here *ἀρχὴ μεγάλων καὶ συμβιβασμός*.

7. my bitterness > 'my' a. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69.

8 like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.

12 1, 2 And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath,
3, 4 Amram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And 'in the
5 ninety-fourth year' Amram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one
6 day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen
7 years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took
8 a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation.

13 1 And now, my children, I command you :
2 Fear the Lord your God 'with your whole heart',
3 And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
4 And do ye also teach your children letters,
5 That they may have understanding all their life,
6 Reading unceasingly the law of God.
7 For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
8 And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
9 Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
10 And many men shall desire to serve him,
11 And to hear the law from his mouth.
12 Work righteousness, 'therefore', my children, upon the earth,
13 That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.
14 And sow good things in your souls,
15 That ye may find them in your life.
16 But if ye sow evil things,
17 Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.
18 Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence ;
19 For though there be a leading into captivity,
20 And cities and lands be destroyed,
21 And gold and silver and every possession perish,
22 The wisdom of the wise nought can take away,
23 Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
24 'For if one keep oneself from these evil things',
25 Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
26 And in a strange country a fatherland,
27 And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
28 Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
29 Shall be enthroned with kings,
30 As was also Joseph my brother.

8. Jochebed . . . renowned, a play on the name in Hebrew. Cf. the Frag. 71.

XII. 1-3. Cf. Exod. vi. 17-19.

5. Eight years. Cf. Syr. Frag. 'eighteen' Aram. Frag. 78 : 'nine' Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14.

eighteen years. So Syr. Frag. and Aram. Frag., also Jub. xxx. 2 with xxviii. 14, 23.

forty-eight : 'forty' text, 'forty-eight' Aram. Frag. 79. Cf. T. Jud. xii. 12 (note).

7. hundred and eighteenth. For a different calculation see Jub. xxviii. 14, 24.

XIII. 1. A poem in praise of the wise. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 9-11.

2. teach . . . letters. Cf. T. R. iv. 1. This verse > a.

4. desire to serve him. Cf. Sir. x. 25.

5. righteousness = alms. Cf. LXX in Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiv. 5.

have (it) as a treasure emended. 'find' β A β S : 'be healed' a. Both תמצאו and תרפאו corrupt for תאצרו.
Cf. Matt. vi. 20; Tobit iv. 8-9; Pea 15^b; B. Bathra 11^a; Pss.-Sol. ix. 6, 9; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. The treasure of good
works occurs also in 4 Ezra vii. 77; 2 Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31^b; and is the measure of the righteous' final reward,

4 Ezra viii. 33; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

6. sow evil. Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.

7. with diligence β A β S : > a A α .

nought, οὐδεις, text.

the blindness of ungodliness. Cf. xiv. 4.

8. For if . . . things a : 'But if one keep these' d : > β -d A S.

9. teaches . . . and does. Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.

noble a : 'these' β A.

- 14 ^{a, A^a} Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.
- ^{β, A^β S¹} And now, my children, I have learnt from the writing of Enoch that in the end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.
- ² For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].
- ^{a, A^a} ^{β S¹} ^{A^β}
- ³ For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.
- ³ The heaven is purer than the earth, and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.
- My children, be ye pure as the heaven is (purer) than the earth: and ye who are the lights of Israel, shall be as the sun and moon.
- ⁴ But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.
- ⁴ What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.
- What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.
- ⁵ The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions, eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the command-

XIV-XVI. The groundwork and indeed the main narrative of the Testaments is pro-Maccabean, and exalts Levi and his posterity. Unquestioning obedience to them is required. But in x, xiv-xvi words fail to denounce the lewdness and baseness of the priests. The chief priests transgress, are covetous, corrupt the law, teach contrary to God's ordinances, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. For this reason the Temple shall be laid waste and they shall go into captivity, a scorn to the Gentiles.

The date is not after A. D. 70, as the Temple prediction might seem to suggest, for the Sadducees, who are in view in xiv. 4 and xvi. 2, disappear after that date as a party. The Pharisees, moreover, were not the subjects of persecution after 63 B. C. when the Pharisaic Hyrcanus became a vassal king under the Romans. Nor were the high-priests immoral in the first century A. D. The sack of Jerusalem, if already enacted, would be more than a vague prophecy.

The charges of gross immorality and profanation and of persecuting the righteous apply alike to the Hellenistic priests of 200-170 B. C., and the Sadducean priests of 100-60 B. C. But the eating of sacrifices with harlots in public can refer only to Jannaeus. See xiv. 5 (note). As he died in 78 B. C., this passage cannot be much later. In any case it is later than Dan. ix. 24, which is the source of the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as weeks of years in xvi. 1, and later too than 1 En. lxxxix. 54, which cannot be dated before 164 B. C.

XIV. 1. **learnt** + 'from the writing of Enoch' β A S¹. The following words do not occur in Enoch; yet cf. 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

transgress . . . wickedness + 'against Him' a, a Christian addition: > 'all' a. We might render β A^β S¹ 'stretching out hands against the Lord in all wickedness'.

² **pure**, &c. Cf. T. S. vi. 1. The **chief-priests** are the Maccabean prince-priests, in particular Jannaeus. [who shall lay, &c.], a Christian addition.

³ a gives the clearest version. Yet β S¹ and A^β lead us to correct 'sun' into 'heaven', and 'on' to 'than'. 'Sun and moon' in β A^β S¹ also may be original, and 'than all the Gentiles' may be due to a's drawing upon the next verse.

⁴ The author connects sin closely with darkness of mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8; T. L. xiii. 7, xiv. 4, xix. 1; T. Jos. vii. 5; also T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6; T. D. ii. 4; T. G. iii. 3, vi. 2.

the light of the law. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4; Prov. vi. 23; T. L. xviii. 3; Ps. cxix. 105.

light . . . to lighten every man. John i. 9.

teaching commandments contrary. Cf. incident of Jannaeus, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4. 3, together with Talmud, Sukka 48^b. See also Pss. Sol. viii. 12, 13 for the Maccabean robbery of temple gifts, and approach when unclean to the altar. See also Jub. xv. 1.

⁵ This verse and 6 up to 'defile and' > A^a.

the offerings . . . rob. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 τὰ ἅγια τοῦ θεοῦ δήμεζον. For the case of Simon ben Shetach see my Commentary, p. 57.

steal choice portions a af. 'steal: and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions,' b deg A^β.

eating them contemptuously with harlots. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14. 2, of Jannaeus' savage celebration of his victory over the Pharisees: Ἐστιάμενος ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων.

⁶ **out of covetousness.** Cf. Mic. iii. 11, 'the priests teach for hire.' Cf. 1 Pet. v. 2.

ments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile¹; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall condemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be

wedded women, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23, for like charges against the Sadducees.

and the virgins of Israel (Jerusalem bg) shall ye defile. β only. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14.

with harlots and adulteresses. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.

daughters of the Gentiles . . . wife. The prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in Deut. vii. 3 (cf. Gen. xxiv. 3, &c.) was suspended in the case of captives during war, Deut. xxi. 10–13. After Ezra (Ezra ix. 1–2, x. 10–11; Neh. x. 30) the prohibition was extended to all Gentiles. Contrast 1 Macc. i. 15 (the Hellenizing Jews), and the reaction again in Jub. xxx. 7, 10.

purifying . . . purification βA : > a . Lax observance of customary purifications may be meant, or it may be that any purification is unlawful, i.e. the prohibition is absolute.

like unto Sodom. Cf. Jude 7.

7. lifting . . . men $a \beta A^a$: > A^b .

XV. 1–2. I take this to be a bona fide prediction.

1. shall be laid waste (cf. xvi. 4), as under Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i. 39, iv. 38.

3. hate $a a e f S$: 'see' b d g A^b .

shall rejoice at your destruction a : 'shall flee from you' βA^b .

4. our seed $c^1 A^a$: 'your seed' h $c^2 d A^b$: 'my seed' β -d S.

XVI. 1. I have learnt + 'in the book of Enoch' $\beta A^b S$: 'and . . . that' > A^a . The seventy weeks come from Dan. ix. 24. Cf. the seventy shepherd periods of 1 En. lxxxix. 59.

profane the priesthood. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.

pollute the sacrifices, i.e. approach the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 3, viii. 13, 26; Ass. Mos. vi. 1. sacrifices. 'altars' a , cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38.

2. make void the law, &c. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2; civ. 9, 10.

persecute righteous men. A charge against the Sadducees in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.

3. Is this verse a Christian interpolation, or is it recast by Christian scribes? If the latter, the Onias of Josephus, Ant. xiv. 2. 1, 2 may be meant, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II. Or possibly Onias III, alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33–6. Cf. 1 En. xc. 8.

in the power of the Most High $a \beta S^1$: 'of the Most High' A^b : > A^a .

a deceiver. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 63, of our Lord.

rush (upon him) to slay him a . Cf. Acts vii. 57, 58. 'slay as ye suppose' $\beta A^b S$: 'ye shall slay him' A^a .

These variants seem to point to a dittography in the Hebrew.

dignity, ἀνάστημα, $a \beta S^1$: 'resurrection', ἀνάστασις $A^b c d e$.

taking innocent blood . . . heads. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.

4. And β -b A : > b S^1 : 'and I say unto you' a .

him. 'it' g.

laid waste $a A^a$: 'polluted' $\beta A^b S$.

5. [through faith and water] $a \beta$ -e¹ $A S$: > e¹ A^a . Probably a Christian addition. But baptism was already in use among the Jews by the Christian era, while 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23, insist on the need and value of faith. See also 2 Bar. liv. 16, 21, lvii. 2, &c.

XVII. This chapter is unintelligible. Verses 1–9 seem to be an intrusion, or defective. Possibly they were added with x, xiv–xvi, or at a later time. Levi was apparently not the speaker.

1. There was no account of the seventy weeks in xvi: only a bare mention.

2. jubilee, should be forty-nine or fifty years. Where the seven begin or end is uncertain, also the duration of each.

the first who is anointed, Levi or Moses. For Levi cf. v. 2, vi. 2 ff.

speak to God as to a father. Cf. xviii. 6. Moses spoke with God as a friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

- perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world].
 3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his
 4 priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold
 5 of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall **gather itself against**
 6 him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of
 7 by darkness. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution
 8 as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they
 9 be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.
 10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the
 11 Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money,
 18 ¹ And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.
 2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
 And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
 And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.
 3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
 Lighting up the light of knowledge **as the sun the day**,
 And he shall be magnified in the world.
 4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
 And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
 And there shall be peace in all the earth.
 5 The heavens shall exult in his days,
 And the earth shall be glad,
 And the †clouds shall rejoice;
 [And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
 And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
 6 The heavens shall be opened,
 And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
 With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
 7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
 And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
 8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore;

perfect with the Lord. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, &c.

[and in the day . . . arise, &c.] An intrusion.

3. Aaron apparently, born during the oppression in Egypt.

5. shall gather itself against him. Restored from 'shall add to him' text. Perhaps should be 'shall be added unto him'. The references are most obscure.

10-11. Part of the original text, containing a division of some period into seven weeks. Their duration is uncertain, but the events referred to are clear.

10. Return of Ezra and Nehemiah, and re-dedication of the temple, about 516 B.C. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72.

11. The Hellenizing chief-priests who with Antiochus Epiphanes opposed Judaism.

seventh β A⁸ S: 'seventieth' a.

adulterers a: 'contentious' β A⁸ S¹.

XVIII. The new priesthood, to follow the immoral Hellenizers of the Zadokite line.

2-15. A Messianic hymn.

2. a new priest. Cf. viii. 14.

3. his star. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1, also derived from Num. xxiv. 17.

in heaven. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1, same passage recurs with 'in peace.'

lighting up the light of knowledge = Hos. x. 12 (LXX). Cf. Syr. and Targ. Jon. The Hebrew there reads 'till ye the untilled ground'. For our text cf. iv. 3; T. B. xi. 2; also Jer. iv. 3.

as the sun the day. So emended from texts, all corrupt. Cf. iv. 3.

in the world + 'until his ascension' β A⁸ S¹.

5. And the †clouds, perhaps read 'because of him' and omit 'shall be glad'. The bracketed words spoil the parallelism. Cf. 1 En. li. 4 (as emended).

6. heavens shall be opened. Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2; also Ezek. i. 1. The voice from the opened heaven resembles Matt. iii. 16, 17, &c.

With the Father's voice. This seems to refer to Hyrcanus, whose receiving of a Bath Qol is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 3; Jer. Talmud, Sotah. ix. 12. Probably Hyrcanus had some attestation, at least in popular belief, such as Simon had in Ps. cx.

as from Abraham to Isaac, i.e. as son, in a Messianic sense.

7. spirit of understanding. Cf. Isa. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.

[in the water] > e only. A Christian addition.

8. For a only.

he, probably John Hyrcanus, and not God. Hence 'of the Lord' and not 'His own majesty'. On the other hand in vv. 10-12 'he' seems to mean God.

sons in truth = true sons, T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

- And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever.
- 9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
- 10 And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
- 11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
- 12 And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
- 13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.
- 14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.
- 19 1 And now, my children, ye have heard all; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the
2 darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying,
3 Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is
4 witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word
5 of your mouth. And his sons said unto him: We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding
6 his sons; and he stretched out his feet 'on the bed', and was gathered to his fathers, after he had
lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried
him in Hebron, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH, THE FOURTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1 1, 2 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered
3 themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them: 'Hearken, my children, to
4 Judah your father'. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob; and Leah my mother named
5 me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son 'also'. I was
6 swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my
mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying,
Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

none succeed him, i.e. the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx; 1 Macc. xiv. 41 'a priest for ever', of Simon.

9. **grace of the Lord** + 'But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief', all MSS. except b e. A Christian addition.

sin come to an end. For a gradual renewing of heaven and earth, ethically conditioned by Israel's conduct cf. Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26-8. Also 1 En. lxix. 29; Pss. Sol. xvii. 29; and 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5 for the disappearing of sin.

[And the just . . . him] > e. An interpolation.

10. **open . . . paradise.** If 'he' = the Messiah, this passage alone in Jewish literature ascribes the act to him. For the opening cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52; Sib. Or. iii. 769 ff.; also 4 Ezra vii. 36; 2 En. x.; 2 Bar. li. 11.

Adam, or 'man'.

11. **tree of life, in Paradise,** 4 Ezra viii. 52; eaten by the righteous, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6; 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. **Beliar . . . bound.** In Isa. xxiv. 22, 23 God imprisons certain of the host of heaven. In Matt. xii. 29; Luke x. 19 Christ binds the strong man. In Rev. xx. 2, 3 an angel binds Satan. If the Messiah here binds Beliar, cf. his position in 1 En. lxii. 5 ff.; lxix. 27.

power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits. Cf. T. S. vi. 6, also Luke x. 19, and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

His children = the righteous.

14. **joy b e g A^b:** 'righteousness' a a f S¹.

XIX. 1. **choose, &c.** Cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

the light . . . Beliar. Cf. T. N. ii. 6, and especially 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15 *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμ-φώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαν;*

2. **his sons.** Several MSS. here and in v. 3 have the 1st person, 'we', &c.

4. **on the bed a:** > β-d A S¹.

TITLE a + 'concerning courage and love of money (> e S¹) and fornication' (> f S¹) b e f S¹, also A generally.

1. 3. **hearken . . . father a:** > β-d A.

Judah . . . give thanks to the Lord. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35 for the play on words.

6. **blessed, ἐπεύχαιο.** Cf. xvii. 5.

Thou shalt be a king. Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3; Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

- 2^{1, 2} And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that
 3 I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes
 I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and
 4 caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw
 5 and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it 'as I ran',
 6 I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and
 7 hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and
 seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.
- 3¹ And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much
 people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves
 2 and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his
 3 horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature 'I found',
 hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds
 4 weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) other for two
 5 hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was
 6 stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound
 my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled.
 7 And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high.
 8, 9 And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from
 10 anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision 'concerning me' that an
 angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.
- 4¹ And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle
 array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and

II. 2. and he did eat > β-g S.

3. A wild mare . . . tamed it β-a e S¹: > α (defective).

4. hurled g A: 'let go' a a: both = שָׁלַח: 'rolled' b d e f.

and it was crushed a: 'and it was broken in pieces on them' d: 'and any beast that turned on me, I rent it like a dog' β A S¹.

6. on the rocks and it was broken in twain a: 'and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza' β-d A S¹. Gaza is 37 miles from Hebron. But cf. Judges xvi. 1-3. Was there a Hebron near Gaza? For the feat cf. T. G. i. 2.

III-VII. These chapters contain an ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22 'which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow'. See Jub. xxxiv. 2-8, which tells of an attack by seven Amorite kings. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 1-3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi, and especially the Book of Jashar (see French trans. *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-84).

III. Fighting near Shechem, according to Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar.

1-5. Judah's slaughter of two kings, those of Hazor and Tappuah. 'Achor', v. 3, is corrupt.

1. > later accounts.

Canaanites, in Jub., &c. 'Amorites': Jashar 'Canaanite and Amorite kings'.

against our flocks. Cf. Jub. Other authorities give as motive to exterminate Jacob's sons.

of Hazor. 'the other' a. See iv. 2 (note). This Hazor is near Shechem.

2-6. The Midr. Wajjis. gives 'And he slew at the outset Jashub king of Tappuah who was . . . riding on a horse and could hurl his javelins . . . from horseback in front and behind. When Judah saw . . . he took up a stone . . . weighing sixty shekels and hurled it . . . he (Jashub) clave the shield in twain . . . (Judah) cut off his feet . . . And while he was stripping him of his armour there came against him nine of his companions.' See my Commentary, pp. 70, 71 for full quotation.

2-5. There were seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2; Midr. Wajjis.) = king of Hazor, iii. 1; of Tappuah, iii. 2-5; four kings, iv. 1; of Shilo, iv. 7. Thus Achor is one too many. Besides, iii. 1 mentions two kings, not three. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar (ii. 1174-75) give the details in vv. 3 and 4 and assign them to Jashub.

2. [I slew . . . people]. An addition, necessitated by the corrupt reading 'Achor the king'.

3. [Achor the king], i.e. 'the other (אֲחֹר) king' a dittography of v. 2.

I found a: > β A S¹.

before and . . . horseback β A S¹, Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Jashar: > α.

smote A S¹: 'have given' a f g.

4. > α, through hmt.

other. Emended from 'Αχώρ β-c, Ναχώρ Αβ.

clave his shield. The Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar make Jashub cleave Judah's shield.

5. nine A^{e f g}: Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar: 'eight' α β-g S¹: 'seven' A^{e f g}.

6. four of them; he killed the other eight, according to the Hebrew authorities, while Levi slew the king of Gaash.

7. Jacob . . . slew. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar say Jacob slew four other kings.

†Beelesath e: corrupt for 'lord of Shiloh', given by Hebrew authorities.

9. I should not be overcome β A S¹: 'none shall touch me' α = עַל differently pointed.

IV. The fighting is now near Hazor, as Midr. Wajjis. explains.

1. and four kings β A S¹: > α. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 2-8. They are the kings of Sartan, Gaash, Beth-horon, and Mahanaim. The Hebrew authorities ascribe the slaughter to Jacob, and give a different list.

2, 3 four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four mighty men. And so we captured Hazor, and took all the spoil.

5¹ On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city, while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

a

6 And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with them. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.

β A S¹

And as we were departing the men of Tappuah set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and took as spoil all that was in it.

6^{1, 2} And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; †and their allies from Shiloh we slew¹, and we did not leave them †power¹ to come in against us. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7¹ And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three

2. upon the wall. Midr. W. adds 'of Hazor'.

four mighty men. So I restore from the Hebrew authorities. 'still other four kings' A: 'two other kings' *β S¹*: 'their king' (i. e. of Hazor) *a*. These four mighty men are distinct from the 'four kings' of iv. 1. See Midr. W., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6; Jashar (ii. 1176).

3. captured Hazor Midr. W.: 'freed Hebron' text. 'Hebron' is out of the context, and 'freed' = תפס חפש. all the spoil + 'of the kings' *β-d A S¹*.

V. The destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.

1. Aretan *b e¹*: Areta *d A*: ἐρέταν *a a e² f S¹*. Hebrew authorities give Sartan, cf. Saregan, Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7. walled and inaccessible *β-d g A S¹*. Cf. Midr. W. 'mighty' *a*.

2. I and Gad . . . on the east, &c. The Midr. W., &c., give quite different dispositions.

3-4. Not in Hebrew authorities.

3. were drawn down *a β S¹*: 'prolonged the war' A. Perhaps emend to 'set themselves in array', i. e. ערכו misread as נרכו.

4. climbed > *a A*.

by stakes > *a*.

while the men knew it not > *a*.

5. we set fire . . . it and them *β*: 'we burnt (them) with fire and so we took them all and all their possessions' *a*. Midr. W. makes Judah slay 200 on the tower. Cf. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7; Jashar gives two towers, ii. 1177.

6-7. *a* is more accurate but less full than *β A S¹*. In *a* we have a successful raid, and a recovery of the spoil: in *β A S¹* an attempted raid, and the destruction of the city.

seized *a e*. Hebrew authorities. 'set upon' *β-a e A S*.

VI. The rout of the men of Arbela, and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.

1-2. > *a*: while *A^β* omits 1.

Kozeba. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 22, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.

the men of †Jobel *b*: 'Arbelians', Jashar ii. 1178. Cf. 'Arbael', Midr. W.

2. their allies from Shiloh we slew *β-f*. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.

power = δυνάμειον, a dittography, or a rendering of the ¹ in Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

3. †Makir. 'Shabir' Midr. W.: 'Shakir' Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9: 'camp of Shakir' Jub. xxxiv. 4 (Maanisakir).

to seize our spoil > *a*.

battle *β-d f A S¹*: 'sword' *a f*.

for there was . . . amongst them > *a*.

4. women. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. mention only men.

rolled, 'hurled' Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

VII. 1. king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host *a d*: 'Gaash the city of the kings with a great host' *a e f*: 'the cities of the two kings with a great host' *b S¹*: 'Gaash a city with a powerful king' A.

2. I therefore . . . allies *β-d e S¹*: 'and I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies' *a*.

3. all that was . . . down > *a*.

three walls. Cf. Hebrew authorities.

4 walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings.
5 Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and
6 they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would
7 have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by
8 another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt,
9 and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my
10 father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me
and my brethren.

8^{1, 2} And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when
I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; 'and he spake unto us', and he made us a feast;
3 and when I was heated he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan
and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.

9¹ And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after
2 that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the
3 fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong
4 people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up wounded on Mount Seir, and
5 as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city
with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter 'into it', and we encamped around, and
6 besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder 'in the sight of all'
and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three
7 talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then
8 they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as
9 tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred
measures of wine, 'until the famine', when we went down into Egypt.

10¹ And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram.
2 Now Er was wicked, and he †was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land
3 of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. 'And he had not known her
4 according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the

4. Thamna, i.e. Timneh. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.

substance: 'refuge' b g.

5-6. These incidents are told of Gaash, not Thamna, in the Hebrew authorities.

5. The Hebrew authorities give the occasion of the insult.

against them to the summit = לראש עליהם. Midr. W. 'upon the wall the first' = ראשון לחומה.

kept slinging. Cf. Midr. W.

6. Jacob rescues Judah in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11.

7. he made peace with them β-a f S¹ Midr. W.: 'they made peace with him' a a f.

8. they became tributary to us a. Cf. Midr. W.: 'we made a truce with them' β A S¹.

we restored. Midr. W. and Jashar make the Amorites restore the spoil to Jacob's sons. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 7-9.

9. β A S¹: 'and we built also their city' a. See Jub. xxxiv. 8 'Robel (i.e. Arbela, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) and Tamnatares', also Midr. W.

10. twenty years. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxiv. 1.

VIII. 1. Iram. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.

2. he spake unto us a only.

when I was heated. Conjectured for παρακαλέσας. Cf. Isa. lvii. 5 (LXX). Cf. T. Jud. xi. 2, xiii. 5-7, xiv. 3. For the offence of this Canaanite marriage cf. Jub. xxxiv. 20.

IX. 1. The war between Jacob and Esau. For fuller accounts see Jub. xxxvii-xxxviii. 1-14; Midr. W., and Chron. Jer. xxxvii, and a different one in Jashar, ii. 1235-6.

2. in the fortieth year of my life. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 14. > a.

3. Jacob smote Esau, &c., a. Jub. xxxviii. 2; Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.: 'he fell by the bow of Jacob' b g A S¹. wounded. So I restore in accordance with Midr. W. for text = 'dead'. But cf. Jub. xxxviii. 8 'slain'.

and as he went . . . Anoniram > c h.

Anoniram β-b d A: 'Aduram' Jub. xxxviii. 9: 'Arodim' Midr. W. This is the Adora which Hyrcanus took and forced to accept circumcision, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xxii. 15. 4.

4. with walls of iron and gates of brass β-d A: 'strong' a. Cf. v. 1.

5. sustaining . . . stones. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. assign this feat to Naphtali and Gad as well.

upwards . . . weight > a.

7. as tributaries. Cf. vii. 8 and Midr. W. > a.

8. five hundred a a f S¹: 'two hundred' b d e A.

baths, 'ephahs' seem to be implied by a a f.

the famine when a: > β S¹.

X. 1. daughter of Aram, i.e. a Semite. Cf. Jub. xli. 1, and *Opus Imperfectum* on Matt. i. 3.

2. he was . . . night > a.

†was in need, or 'difficulty', perhaps corrupt in Hebrew for 'put to shame'. Cf. Jub. xli. 2.

3. > A through hmt.

for . . . by her > a. The *Opus Imperf.* says: 'Mater autem eius cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eum accipere ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Deus malignantem.'

days¹ of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not, though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness. And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; 'for she wrought evil against Tamar¹, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.

11 ¹ And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.

12 ¹ And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. 'For it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate¹. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the diadem of my kingdom 'in pledge¹. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And when I called her, I heard also the secret words which 'I spoke¹ when lying with her in my drunkenness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while I lived, because I had done 'this¹ abomination in 'all¹ Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into Egypt 'to Joseph¹, because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three years lived I in Egypt.

13 ¹ And now I command you, my children, hearken 'to Judah your father¹, and keep my sayings to perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against

4. β A S¹: 'And I gave her to Aunan my second son, and behold the Lord slew him' *a*.

5. > *a*.

6. his mother *a*: 'my wife Bathshua' β A S. Cf. Jub. xli. 7. against Tamar b d e S.

XI. 2. pouring out wine > A S¹.

owing to the intoxication > *a*.

took her *a*: 'had intercourse with her' β S¹.

not counselled. Cf. xlii. 3.

3. Jub. xli. 7 only says that Bathshua stopped Shelah's marrying.

5. through her . . . sons *a*: 'through the wickedness of her sons' β A S¹.

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-26; Jub. xli. 8-23.

1. adorned. Jub. xli. 9; also LXX, Syr., Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. has 'enwrapped'.

Enaim c.e. A proper name as in Gen. xxxviii. 14 (LXX, not Targums or Syriac).

gate + 'of the inn' *a*.

2. about to marry β S¹: 'a widow' *a*. Cf. the bride's sacrifice to Mylitta, Herod. i. 199.

seven days by the gate > *a*.

3. + 'at the waters of Kozeba' β -d f A ^{a h b * c d e f g} S¹ at the beginning of verse.

4. staff . . . girdle . . . diadem. Gen. xxxviii. 18 has also 'signet' as *a* here.

girdle > *a*, wrongly, see xv. 3. Cf. Jub. xlvi. 11.

diadem, is not in Gen.

in pledge > β A S¹.

5. wished to slay her > a d g.

but she . . . shame. 'I sent to receive the pledge' *a*.

6-10. > *a*, but substitutes an abbreviation of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24-30, LXX.

7. Explains 6^a.

9. harlot, lit. 'temple prostitute'. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18.

12. forty-six. 'forty-three' in Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1. Cf. T. L. xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.).

XIII. 1. Text = *a*. Other MSS. vary.

2. walk not β A S¹: 'be not evil' *a*.

nor in the imaginations of your thoughts > *a* a g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

3. enticed β A: 'met' *a* S¹, i.e. ἐπήντησε for ἠπάτησε.

4 me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was 5 a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the 6 feast †with the beauty of women.† And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my 7 heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the 8 Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 1 And now, my children, †I say unto you†, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away 2 from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the 3 mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts †leading to fornication†, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be 4 present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the inebriated man, my children; for he 5 who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought 6 a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I revered 7 not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine, a man 8 may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 1 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put 2 to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his 3 kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my 4 kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor 5 did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over 6 king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his 7 might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of 2 lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and 3 shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God, 4 and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as

I lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*, β A S¹: *συνετέλεσα εἰς*, α.

4. he was unwilling, but > β-d A S¹.

5. †with the beauty of women† > c A^b. Read 'with the ornaments of women', or the words may be corrupt for 'in the women's apartment'.

7. lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*. See xi. 2, xiii. 3 (notes). fathers. 'father' α.

XIV. 1. I say unto you h: 'I say' c: > β A S¹.

be not drunk with wine. Cf. xvi. 1 and Eph. v. 18.

2. mind of man α A^b h: 'might of man' β A^b b* c d e g S.

3. The translation follows β A S¹. α has 'thou drinkest . . . thy mind . . . and to fornication heateth, &c.'

carnal union, 'pleasure' α.

and if . . . present > α.

4. the inebriated man, *πάρουος*, emended from *πονηρός*, α α f: *πόρνος*, e: *οἶνος*, β A S.

7. much > β A S¹.

a man may, 'that a man should' β-d g A S¹.

8. glory in his shame. Cf. Phil. iii. 19.

XV. 1-2. Cf. T. R. iv. 7.

2. stripped of + 'and goes forth from' β A.

3. girdle α a d f: omit next seven words through hmt.

4. joy, 'folly' c.

5. for ever > α.

alike + 'and in them there is no advance of life' α.

XVI. 1. For this verse and xix. 1 cf. Col. iii. 5 'covetousness is idolatry'; Eph. v. 5; also Eph. v. 5 for 'profligacy' or 'excess'. See xiv. 1, xxi. 1.

2. For if . . . departeth e f A S¹: 'for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth' b: > α.

3. if ye would live soberly α: 'what say I?' α e f: 'I tell you, if it is possible for you' d: 'it is a good thing (not to)' A.

before your time. Cf. T. R. iv. 6.

4. God and men + 'to aliens' b A^a b* d.

I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

- 17 ¹ And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. ^{2, 3} [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which ⁴ the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my ⁵ father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed ⁶ me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.]

- | | | |
|--|----------------------------|--|
| <p>18 ¹ And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.]</p> | <p>α</p> | <p>β A S¹</p> <p>For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]</p> |
|--|----------------------------|--|

- ² Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.
- ³ For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.
- ⁴ They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
[And drive away sleep from him],
And devour his flesh.
- ⁵ And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
[And he remembereth not the blessing of God,]
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.
- ⁶ [For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night].

- 19 ¹ My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness. ² For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, [and my humiliation], and ³ the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers

5. > α .

XVII. 1. **nor to gaze upon.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

XVII. 2—XVIII. 1. Bracketed as a later addition. xviii. 2 resumes xvii. 1.

2. **wickedness** β S¹: 'perdition of fornication' α : 'fornication' A.

3. **because of my obedience.** See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328 for various reasons for Judah's headship.

4. **caused grief to Jacob** α a A^b: 'caused grief to the word of Jacob' β -a g S¹. Perhaps the Hebrew original was 'I disobeyed the word of J.'

5-6. For Judah's kingship cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 5, xxii. 3.

5. **Isaac** d A: 'Abraham' α β -d S (and therefore c reads 'great-grandfather').

blessed me to be king. Supply λέγων after 'blessed me' and render 'saying I should be king.' Cf. i. 6.

Jacob a d: 'Isaac' β -d A S¹.

XVIII. 1. **the books of Enoch**, an interpolation. See T. L. x. 5 (note), and cf. T. A. vii. 2 for 'I know'.

2. Resumes xvii. 1.

3. **blind**, &c. Cf. xiii. 7.

4. **drive away sleep from him** α : 'put away his sleep' β -d g S¹. Sir. xlii. 9. Cf. T. S. iv. 8.

6. **For . . . obey God** α f: 'for being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God' α e S¹.

Cf. Matt. vi. 24.

walketh in the day. Cf. Rom. xiii. 13.

XIX. 1. **love of money . . . idolatry.** Cf. Col. iii. 5; Eph. v. 5; Shem. rab. 121 'qui opes suas multiplicat per foenus, ille est idolatra'; cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 and Matt. vi. 24 for Mammon as a god.

2. **my repentance** α : 'the repentance of my flesh' β -f A S.

my humiliation α : 'the humiliation of my soul' β S¹.

prayers of my father. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 3; T. G. v. 9.

been accepted, τ συνέδραμον, α : > β S¹: $\epsilon\sigma\omega\zeta\omicron\nu$, A^{-b}. Probably Heb. was עזרו 'helped', or נרצו 'were acceptable'.

See T. G. v. 9 (note).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 4 had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; 'and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible'.
- 20 1 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will.
- 3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth.
- 4 And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been written down 'before the Lord'. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up 'by his own heart', and cannot raise his face 'to the judge'.
- 21 1 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and 'exalt not yourselves against him', lest ye be utterly destroyed. 'For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is dominated by the earthly kingdom'. For 'the angel of the Lord said unto me': The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table 'and to offer Him the first-fruits' of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.
- 6 And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about, 'some taken into captivity while some are enriched', so also shall every race of men be in thee: some shall be impoverished, being taken captive, 'and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of others'.
- 7 For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters 'of freemen' shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:
- 8 And with the flesh of many shall they 'wrongfully' feed the ravens and the cranes;
'And they shall 'advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†'
- 9 And there shall be false prophets 'like' tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.
- 22 1 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions 'one against another'.

3. **had mercy on me** *a*: 'the compassionate and merciful pardoned me' β S¹. Cf. Jub. xli. 25, and 1 Tim. i. 13 ἡλεῖθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 9, xvii. 6.

4. **as flesh**. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

XX. 1–3. Here *a* is without *v*. 1, has four words in 2, and last clause of 3.

1. **the spirit of truth**. Cf. John xv. 26; also T. A. i. 4.

2–5. A striking description of man's attitude to good and evil. He can will either (*v*. 2), and the results are written on his heart or character, ever open to the eyes of God (3–4).

2. The 'understanding' seems to mean the will: *a* reads 'conscience'.

3. **written upon the hearts**. God (Jer. xxxi. 33) and man (Prov. iii. 3) can write thus on the heart.

4. Text as β -*a* β S¹.

on the heart itself = ἐν στήθει ὁστέων αὐτοῦ, a Hebraism. **on** > *a*.

5. **testifieth all things and** > *a*. Cf. John xv. 26.

testifieth . . . accuseth. Cf. Rom. ii. 15, where the conscience is still the judge of past actions, and not the deciding power as to present policy.

burnt up . . . heart. Cf. T. G. v. 3.

XXI. Levi's pre-eminence is enforced as in T. R. vi. 5–12, &c.

1. **exalt . . . him**. Cf. T. R. vi (note).

4. **As the heaven is higher than the earth** > *a*. Cf. T. L. xiv. 3.

5. **the angel . . . unto me** > β A S¹.

to eat of His table. Cf. T. L. viii. 16 (note).

to offer Him > β A S¹.

king of Jacob. Cf. xvii. 5–6.

XXI. 6–XXIII. An alien section, possibly a polemic against the kings (xxi. 6–8) Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (70–40 B. C.). Cf. xxii. 1–2. But the visitations of xxiii. 3–5 suit the Babylonian or Syrian conquests of 588 and 168 B. C.

XXI. 6. **amongst** *a* *e* *f* *g*: 'to' a *b*.

and unjust > *a* *a* *f*.

impoverished. Text reads 'in danger', owing to wrong punctuation in the original Hebrew.

the possessions of others > β A S¹.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11–17.

8. **advance in evil**. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 13.

XXII. 1. **divisions one against another**, i.e. the civil wars of Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, 70–40 B. C. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2–4.

And there shall be 'continual' wars in Israel ;

- 2 And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
'Until the appearing of the God of righteousness',
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.

- 3 And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever ;

For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed for ever.

- 23 1 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries which ye shall practise 'against the kingdom', following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and
2 demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in
3 the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the temple of God,] the
4 laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make some of you eunuchs for their wives.

a

- 5 Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent and walk in all His commandments, and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

a β S¹

- 24 1 And after these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise [from my seed], like the sun of righteousness,
Walking with the sons of men in meekness and righteousness;
And no sin shall be found in him.

β A S¹

Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart 5
repenting and walking in all the commandments of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.

A

And after these things shall arise the star of 1
peace,

And he shall walk with men in meekness and righteousness.

continual wars. From Alexander's death to Herod's accession this holds good.

2. my kingdom . . . end, i. e. in 40 B. C., with Herod's accession.

[and all the Gentiles] > A. An interpolation, as this section is not universalistic.

3. He would not . . . for ever a A (>'from my seed' c). The other MSS. vary much. For the idea cf. xvii. 5-6, and Gen. xlv. 10.

XXIII. A general denunciation of Israel as a whole and its future judgements, if 'against the kingdom' is an interpolation.

1. them that have familiar spirits, ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27; Isa. xix. 3.

2. your daughters . . . harlots. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15.

the abominations of the Gentiles. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, ii. 13, 14, viii. 14.

3. famine, &c. Cf. Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2.

sword A + 'avenging' a β.

beleaguering by enemies. Cf. Jer. xix. 9. + καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν, a β—a before ἐχθρῶν, added from Jer. xv.

3 (LXX).

friends + 'destruction and blighting of the eyes' text: > hi A: emend to 'destruction of bribes', or possibly to 'destruction of children' (dittography of next phrase). Or, like κύνας, &c., regard it as an intrusion.

the rape of wives > a.

[the burning of the temple of God], not realized in Maccabean times (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 (gates only consumed);

1 Macc. iv. 38) or in the first century B. C.

enslavement . . . Gentiles. Cf. the captivities of Apollonius, 1 Macc. i. 29-40; 2 Macc. v. 23-6: and of Pompey, Philo, *De leg. ad Caium*, 23; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, xvii. 14; T. Z. ix. 6: of Cassius Longinus in 49 and 43 B. C., Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 11. 2.

4. eunuchs. Cf. 2 Kings xx. 18. Herod also had some, but we are not told that the Seleucids had any.

5. the Lord visit you, when . . . ye repent. National repentance is the condition of Israel's restoration. Cf. Jub. i. 15-17, 23; Ass. Mos. i. 18; 1 Bar. iv. 28-37; 2 Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7; also Dan. ix. 4-19.

from captivity. Cf. v. 3 (note); 1 En. xc. 33; Sir. xxxvi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50.

XXIV. Two Messianic fragments. Verses 1-3 speak of a Messiah, probably from Levi, as 'from my seed' is an interpolation. Cf. both for diction and matter, T. L. xviii, the hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus. Thus cf. 1^a here with 3^a there, 2 with 6, 1^b with 4^a, 1^c with 9^a, 3^a with 8^a. Verses 5, 6 start afresh and refer directly to a Messiah from Judah. Verse 4 is a marginal gloss.

1. a star . . . from Jacob. Cf. Num. xxiv. 17; T. L. xviii. 3.

in peace. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 'in heaven'.

a man shall arise. Cf. LXX of Num. xxiv. 17 ('a sceptre shall arise' Hebrew).

sun of righteousness. Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. L. xviii. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.

Walking with the sons of men. See T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 13; and especially 1 En. lxii. 14.

meekness and righteousness. Ps. xlv. 4, interpreted of the Messiah by Targum and LXX. Cf. too Zech. ix. 9

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

a β S¹

A

- 2 And the heavens shall be opened unto him,
To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of
the Holy Father ;
- 3 And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon
you ;
And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first
and last.
- 4 [This Branch of God Most High,
And this Fountain giving life unto all.]
- 5 Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine
forth ;
And from your root shall arise a stem ;
- 6 And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness
to the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the
Lord.
- 25 1 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren
shall be chiefs of the tribes 'of Israel': Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth,
2 Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the
Presence, me ; the powers of glory, Simeon ; the heaven, Reuben ; the earth, Issachar ; the sea,
Zebulun ; the mountains, Joseph ; the tabernacle, Benjamin ; the luminaries, Dan ; Eden, Naphtali ;
the sun, Gad ; the moon, Asher.
- 3 And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue ;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of 'Beliar',
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.
- 4 And they who have died in grief shall arise 'in joy',
'And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich',
And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake 'to life'.
- 5 And the harts of Jacob shall run 'in joyfulness',
And the eagles of Israel shall fly 'in gladness',
And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.
- 26 1 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold
2 fast unto His ways. And 'he said to them : Behold', I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and

And the heavens shall be opened unto him, 2
And the blessings of the Holy Father shall be
poured down upon him.
And He will pour down upon us the spirit of 3
grace.
And ye shall be His true children by adoption,
And ye shall walk in His commandments first
and last.
[Then a branch shall go forth from me.] 4
And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine 5
forth ;
And from your root shall arise a stem ;
And from it shall grow up the rod of righteous- 6
ness unto the Gentiles,
To judge and to save all that call upon the
Lord.

'Thy king cometh to thee, righteous and lowly', and Zeph. ii. 3. Meekness is not an attribute of the Messiah in Jewish literature 200 B.C.—A.D. 100. See T. D. vi. 9.

2. See T. L. xviii. 6 (note).

And the heavens. Cf. 1 En. xi. 1.

3. pour . . . grace. Cf. Ps. xlv. 2.

And ye shall be . . . walk. 'in truth' a.

sons in truth. Cf. T. L. xviii. 8.

first and last. Cf. e.g. 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

4. A marginal gloss.

This Branch. Cf. Isa. xi. 1 ; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.

this Fountain, &c. a (β S¹) : > A. Cf. John iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xiii. 14, &c.

5-6. A new Messianic fragment, added by the inserter of xxi. 6-xxiii.

5. a stem. 'a fountain' a, corruptly. Cf. Isa. xi. 1.

6. rod of righteousness. Cf. Ps. xlv. 6.

XXV. A Resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth.

1. tribes, σκήπτρων, i.e. שבטים. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 'In the regeneration . . . judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.

2. Eden. Text ἡ τρυφή = עֵדֶן. Cf. Gen. ii. 15 (LXX).

3. one tongue, i.e. Hebrew. Ber. rabba 18 ; Shabb. 12^b ; Jub. iii. 28 (note).

be there a : 'be no more' β S¹ ; 'be among you' A.

4. rich + 'and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be strong' a b a f S¹. Cf. Matt. v. 6.

5. Jacob a b g A S¹ : 'Joseph' a d e f.

And the eagles . . . gladness a β S¹ : 'And the heifers of Israel shall leap' A + 'But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep' a β S¹.

XXVI. 1. hold fast unto a : 'direct' β S¹, i.e. שומרים מישרים.

2. Behold > β A S¹.

before your eyes > a.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR 1. 1—2. 5

3 nineteen years old. Let no one bury me 'in costly apparel', nor tear open my bowels, 'for this
4 shall they who are kings do'; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said
these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and
they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR, THE FIFTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

1 1 The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:

Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;

Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.

2, 3 I was born the 'fifth son to Jacob', by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben 'my brother'
4 brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and
5 at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were 'sweet-smelling' apples
6 which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not
give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. 'For the Lord hath despised me,
7 and I have not borne children to Jacob'. Now there were two apples; and Leah said 'to Rachel':
8 Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said
9 'to her': Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes 'of thy son'. And Leah said to her:
10 Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself;
for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.

a

11 And had not craft increased on the earth and
the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst
not now see the face of Jacob.

β A S

What shall I do to thee? for the craft and 11
the subtlety of men are increased, and craft pros-
pereth on the earth—if it were not so, thou
wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.

12, 13 For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived
me, 'and removed me on that night', and did not suffer 'Jacob to see me; for' had I been
14 there, this had not happened 'to him'. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring Jacob to thee
15 for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she 'conceived and' bare me, and on account of the hire
I was called Issachar.

2 1 Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch
2 as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah
my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons;
for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord
3 visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and
4 not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the man-
5 drakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not,
but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who
was at that time.

nineteen β A S¹: 'eighteen' a, wrongly.

3. nor tear open . . . kings do > a.
with you. 'where are my fathers also' a.

1. 1. TITLE a: + 'concerning simplicity' b f S¹: 'concerning goodness' e.

the words of him who is beloved c i a e f A: 'the words beloved' h d S¹: '(my) words, ye beloved' b g.

2-14. Cf. Gen. xxx. 14-18.

3. my brother > β A S¹.

5. which were . . . Haran a ('Canaan' h i): 'which the land of Aram produced on a height' β S¹: 'and they
were produced in the wood in Aram' A.

6. For the Lord . . . to Jacob a: > β A S¹.

7. to Rachel > β A S¹.

8. to her > β A S¹.

9. Jacob is mine, for I a: 'Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I' β A S¹.

10. Boast . . . thyself: 'How so?' β A S¹.

11. β A S version is due to dittography.

13. Jacob a only. to him a only.

14. Nevertheless . . . mandrakes a: 'And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other' β-d g S¹:
β A S¹ mention the second mandrake in ii. 4; d after i. 15: Leah gave Rachel both, ii. 2.

11. 1. Two b A a b * e d S¹: > a a e f: d omits the clause: g omits the entire chapter.

4. Jacob + 'in order that she might receive the other ('still another' A a b * e d f) mandrake' β d g A a b * e d f S¹.

5. priest of the Most High β A a b * e d f S¹ + 'God' A^b: 'priest' a.

- 3¹ When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to their season. 'And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him'. And I was not a busybody in my doings, 'nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye'. Therefore, when I was thirty-'five' years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; 'but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me'. And my father 'always' rejoiced in my rectitude, 'because I offered through the priest to the Lord all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart'.
- 4¹ And now, hearken to me, my children, And walk in singleness 'of your heart', For I have seen in it 'all' that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
- 2 'The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold, He overreacheth not his neighbour, He longeth not after manifold dainties, He delighteth not in varied apparel. He doth not desire to live a long life, But only waiteth for the will of God'. And the spirits of deceit have no power against him, For he looketh not on the beauty of women, 'Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption'.
- 5 There is no envy in his thoughts, [No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,] Nor worry with insatiable desire in his mind.
- 6 For he walketh in singleness 'of soul', And beholdeth all things in uprightness 'of heart', Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world, Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.
- 5¹ Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God, And get singleness,

III-VI. Issachar is here held up as the single-hearted husbandman (iii. 1, v. 3, 5) who scorns luxuries and wealth (iv. 2), is free from envy, malice, and greed (iii. 3, iv. 5), shuns lust (iv. 4), offers freely to God and his father (iii. 6), and to the poor (iii. 8). Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός, 'he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork' (Heb.). The Targums interpret this labour as in the law; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

III. 1. **uprightness**, εὐθύτητι, ישר. As this work was translated into Greek between the completion of the LXX and A.D. 50 it employs more frequently than the LXX the late Greek word ἀπλότης = חם. The MSS. waver between the two at times, probably because ἀπλότης was not yet so popular a term as it later became. See my Commentary, p. 103, and cf. T. G. vii. 7, T. Iss. iv. 6.

according to their season > a f.

2. > A.

rectitude, ἀπλότης = wholeness, integrity. Cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32.

3. busybody. Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.

4. singleness of eye. Cf. Matt. vi. 22; T. Iss. iv. 6 (note).

5. five > b d g A.

sleep. Perhaps read 'old age'. Cf. T. Z. x. 6.

6. because, 'for on whatsoever I laboured' β S¹.

all first-fruits + 'all the choicest fruit and all the firstfruits' β S¹.

7. ten thousandfold a: 'twofold' β S¹.

8. bestowed . . . singleness of heart. Cf. Rom. xii. 8. Hence the meaning 'disinterested generosity' in 2 Cor. ix. 13, ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτούς.

IV. 1. **heart** c g: 'soul' h i a e f.

in it b d g A: 'in you' a a e f S¹.

2. coveteth not . . . neighbour b d e g S¹: 'gaineth not gold wrongfully' a a f.

3. doth not desire to live S¹: οὐκ ἐπιγράφει τοῦ ζῆν a β S², i.e. נִחַם, perhaps corrupt for נִחַם.

4. looketh not on the beauty, οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι (ἐπιλέξασθαι f g A: > S¹) κάλλος. Perhaps there was a ditto-graphy in the original Hebrew בָּחַר בְּחַן = ἐπιλέξασθαι κάλλος. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

5. is . . . in a: 'can . . . invade' β S.

[No malicious person, &c.] An interpolation > A: 'malice . . . not' b d g S.

6. singleness of soul a: > 'of soul' A: β S read 'uprightness of soul' and so 'singleness of heart' below.

eyes . . . evil. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23 'eye . . . single; eye . . . evil', i.e. ethically unsound. In Matt. xx. 15 = 'envious.'

- 1 'And walk in guilelessness,
 Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour,
 2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
 Have compassion on the poor and weak¹.
 3 Bow down your back unto husbandry,
 And toil in labours 'in all manner of husbandry,
 Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving¹.
 4 For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, 'even as He blessed all the saints
 5 from Abel even until now¹. For no other portion is given to you 'than of the fatness of the earth,
 6 whose fruits are raised by toil¹. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of
 7 first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the
 Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom.
 8 And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it
 been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].
 6 1 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times
 Your sons will forsake singleness,
 'And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
 And¹ leaving 'guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
 And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
 They will cleave unto Beliar.
 2 And leaving¹ husbandry,
 They will follow after their own 'wicked¹ devices,
 And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
 And shall serve their enemies.
 3 And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more
 4 quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into
 their land.
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">a</p> <p>7 1 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred
 and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of
 committing any sin.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">β A S¹</p> <p>I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and 1
 I am not conscious of having committed any sin
 'unto death.</p> |
|---|--|
- 2 Except my wife I have not known any woman¹. I never committed fornication by the uplifting
 of my 'eyes¹.
 3 I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;
 I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.
 4 Guile arose not in my heart;
 A lie passed not through my lips.
 5 If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,

V. 1. busybody with + 'the commands of God and' β S¹.

3. Bow . . . husbandry. Gen. xlix. 15 (Heb.).

labours a + 'of the earth' β A S¹.

5. to you g A: 'to thee' β-a g S: 'to us' a: > a.

whose fruits are raised by toil b g S¹: 'through the toils of fruits' a a e f: > d.

6-7. A is defective and confused.

7. to Levi . . . to Judah c: 'to the one . . . to the other' h β.

8. [for (β A S¹: 'and' a) unto Gad . . . Israel.] Probably out of place, and belonged to T. Gad originally, preceded by a phrase like 'and she called his name Gad'. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.

VI. 1. in the last times. Cf. T. L. x. 2, xiv. 1; T. G. viii. 2 (β A S); T. Z. ix. 5 (b d g); T. D. v. 4; T. Jos. xix. 10 (c β S); also T. Z. viii. 2, ix. 9. The phrase = the close of the present age—present, that is, from the writer's standpoint.

2. dispersed. Cf. T. L. xvi. 5; T. A. vii. 2, 6; T. Jos. xix. 2.

serve their enemies. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3; T. N. iv. 2.

4. bring them back. Cf. T. D. v. 9; T. A. vii. 7.

VII. hundred and twenty-two β A S = Midrash Tadshe. See T. R. i. 1 (note).

am not conscious, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; T. Z. i. 4.

sin unto death β A S. Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxviii. 18; 1 John v. 16.

2. a omits οὐκ ἔγνω through hmt. It reads 'woman except my wife'.

the uplifting, μετewρισμός. Cf. T. B. vi. 3; Sir. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 25.

4. A has 'And guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour'.

5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.

α

βS^1

- 6 I loved the Lord ;
Likewise also every man with all my heart.
- 7 So do you also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you ;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart¹.
- 8 And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron,
9 and bury him there in the cave 'with his fathers'. And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good
old age ; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN, THE SIXTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1 The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons 'before he died' in the
2 hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them :
3 Harken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good
4 gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks
5 and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned
6 all my days, 'save in thought'. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the
7 sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph ; for I **covenanted** with my brethren not to tell
8 my father what had been done. But I wept 'in secret' many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my
9 brethren, 'because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain'.
10 But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much 'with tears' not to be guilty of this sin.
- 2 1, 2 For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph 'to kill him', and he said unto them with tears: Pity
me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father: lay not upon me your hands
3 'to shed innocent blood', for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with
4 chastening chastise me, 'my brethren', but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our
5 father. And as he spoke these words, 'wailing as he did so', I was unable to bear his lamentations,
6 and 'began to weep', and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened.

shared my bread. Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.

with the poor + 'I never eat alone, I moved no landmark' βS^1 .

kept truth α : 'did truth' β -b e S^1 : 'and I walked in holiness' A + 'I loved godliness' c.

7. shall flee. Cf. T. N. viii. 4.

walk with men . . . heart hief ('his heart' h i): 'walking with men in the singleness of His heart' c
(= Messiah, cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1): 'walking with men of (or 'in') singleness of heart' β -e f.

8. in the cave > a g.

9. and died . . . sleep. 'and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep' a.

the eternal sleep. This does not preclude Resurrection. T. Jud. xxv. 1 ; T. B. x. 6 ff.

TITLE α + 'compassion and mercy' ('almsgiving' d g) β -a S^1 .

1. 1. before he died c d.

fourteenth h i β -a S^1 , cf. Jashar ii. 1248: 'fourth' c: 'fiftieth' a: 'twenty-fourth' A.

two years. See Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (notes).

3. Zebulun, a good gift. Gen. xxx. 20.

straked rods. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 ff.

he had: 'I had' a d.

4. am not conscious, &c. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.

5. sin of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6 ; T. L. iii. 5 ; T. Jud. xix. 3.

which I committed > a.

covenanted with = כרתִי emended from כסיתי 'concealed for' b g A: 'confirmed to' a β -b g S^1 .

7. I adjured: 'I summoned' h i: c omits rest of verse and ii. 1^a to 'kill him' through hmt.

11. 1. Simeon + 'and Dan' h. Cf. iii. 2.

against Joseph: 'with anger' g. + 'with anger' d e S^1 .

and he said . . . tears: 'and falling on his face Joseph said to them' β -a f S^1 .

2. upon me > a.

3. upon me: 'to slay your brother' a.

4. wailing as he did so > β A S^1 .

I was . . . lamentations a: 'I pitied him' β S^1 .

poured out d g. Cf. Lam. ii. 11: 'melted' a β -d g S^1 .

was †loosened a + 'within my soul' β A S^1 . Perhaps emend to 'was troubled', as Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

5 And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, and the joints of my body trembled¹, and I was
6 not able to stand. And when Joseph saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to
7 slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: 'Come¹, my
brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged
8 and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order
that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

3 1, 2 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren
took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, and their children¹,
3 saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread
it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, and so let us see what will become of
4 his dreams¹. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise
5 up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the
brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the
6 sandal which they wore against Joseph their brother¹. For when they came into Egypt they were
unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the
7 fashion of King Pharaoh. And not only did they make obeisance to him, but were spit upon also,
8 falling down before him forthwith, and so they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after
this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

a

4 1 And after he was sold my brothers sat down
2 to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph,
did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah
feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush
3 off and slay him. But when they saw that I did
not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was
5 sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came
and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had
been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning,
said: How shall I look on the face of my father
6 Jacob? And he took the money and ran after
the merchants, but as he failed to find them he
returned grieving. But the merchants had left
the broad road and marched through the Tro-
glodytes by a short cut.

β A S¹

And after they had cast him into the pit my 1
brethren sat down to eat. For I through two 2
days and two nights eat nothing, through pity
for Joseph¹. And Judah eat not with them, but
watched the pit¹; for he feared lest Simeon and
Gad should run off and slay him. And when 3
they saw that I also eat not, they set me to
watch him until he was sold. And he spent in 4
the pit three days and three nights, and so was
sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that 5
while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he
rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall
I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he 6
took the money and ran after the merchants, and
found no one; for they had left the main road,
and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a
short cut.

7 'But Reuben was grieved¹, and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said:
8, 9 Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay

5. my heart sounded. Cf. Jer. iv. 19.

joints of my body, &c. Cf. Dan. v. 6.

6. beseeching them: 'beseeching (me) to help him' a.

7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.

found no water. See Jub. xxiv. 25 (note).

9. they did so a d g A: 'the Lord did so' β-d g S¹.

III. 2. Gad . . . brethren: 'Dan and Gad and their children' a.

bought sandals. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28; Pirke R. El. xxxviii; also Amos ii. 6.

3. the price of . . . blood. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.

let us see, &c. Gen. xxxvii. 20.

4-7. An attempt to explain certain customs of the Levirate Law.

4. law of Moses a: 'law of Enoch' β S¹.

whosoever will not, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxv. 10; Ruth iv. 4.

7. forthwith, παραχρημα, b d f S: παρα σχημα, a a e g.

before β-d A S¹: 'by' a d.

β S¹: 'for they heard the evils that they had done unto him' a.

IV. 1. sold a: παθῆναι corrupt for βληθῆναι.

sat down a d only. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.

2. Dan (a). See ii. 1.

3. to the Ishmaelites (a). Cf. T. S. ii. 9; T. Z. ii. 9.

4. > a, possibly through hmt.

5. How shall I look . . . Jacob? So Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30.

6. Troglodytes: 'Indokolpitae' in T. Jos. xi. 2. See LXX of 2 Chron. xii. 3.

9. slay b d A + 'with the sword' a β-b d S¹.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 10 a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is
 11 this the coat of thy son? And they did so. 'For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they
 were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave'. Now Simeon took the coat, and would
 not give it up, 'for he wished to rend it with his sword', as he was angry that Joseph lived and that
 12 he had not slain him. Then we 'all' rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we
 13 will say 'to our father' that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them,
 and they did even as Dan had said.
- 5 1 And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, 'and to show mercy to your
 neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.
 2 For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me', and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped with-
 3 out sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts,
 my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him.
 4 For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, 'because they
 5 showed not mercy in their hearts'; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And
 when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and
 when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.
- 6 1 I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding 'and
 2 wisdom therein'. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright
 3 piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my
 father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4-6 found only in b d g.

- 4, 5 [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger,
 or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man
 6 had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me
 with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold
 7 more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw,
 8 and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter
 I kept sheep with my brethren.

vii-viii. 3 found only in b d g.

- 7 1 [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-
 time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and
 2 gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth
 upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with
 3 a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for
 4 him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that
 needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in
 compassion.
- 8 1 Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the
 2 Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send
 3 His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For
 in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the

let us send . . . saying a: 'and we will say' β A S¹.

10. his coat a: 'the coat of our father' β-d g S¹.

11. Joseph lived and > a.

12. to our father a g.
 in Israel. a only.

V. 3. even as a man, &c. Cf. viii. 3; Judges i. 7; Matt. vii. 2.

4. in their hearts β S¹: 'to them' c.

VI. 1. the first to make a boat. Cf. Gen. xlix. 13.

2. rudder, lit. 'a piece of wood'.

3. catching fish g: 'and I caught fish' b d A: 'in' a f: > a.

4-6. The sections peculiar to b d g, i.e. vi. 4-6, 7^b, vii-viii, go back probably to a Hebrew original. viii. 3, though
 a saying attributed to Gamaliel II or Gamaliel of Jabneh (80-105 A.D.), is virtually the same as v. 3.

6. satisfied, ἐνέπλησε, d: ἐποίησε, b g, wrongly.
 neighbour + 'with all willingness' d.

7. [and gave . . . father] b d g only.
 whom I saw b g: 'what sufficed' d.

VII. 1. my father's house d: 'my house' b g.

2. show . . . mercy without hesitation. Cf. Jude 22, if μὴ is restored before διακρινόμενοι there.

3. needeth, or 'asketh', χροῖζοντι. Cf. Matt. v. 42.

VIII. 2. last days. See T. Iss. vi. 1 (note).

3. See v. 3 (note) and vi. 4-6 (note). Cf. Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151^b.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN 4. 9—9. 8

- 4, 5 Lord also upon him.] And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, 'approve yourselves without malice, and¹ love one another; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth 'all kindred, and troubleth the soul', and weareth away the countenance.
- 9¹ Observe, 'therefore', the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, and they vanish away. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that
- Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.
- 6 And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

a

- 7 And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,
And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil against the sons of men,
Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

a a e f A S¹

- 8 And after these things shall there arise 'unto you' the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

β A S¹

- And after these things ye shall remember the Lord, and repent,
[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh,
And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

b d g

- And after these things there shall arise unto 8 you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness, [And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.
He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar;
And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down];
And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.

4. Resumes vi. 3.

And when. b d g read 'for when', which supports the originality of vii-viii. 2. against us + 'but when he saw me he had compassion' b g.

5. approve . . . malice and > a a e f A.

set not down in account, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 5. evil against c A: 'the evil of' β S¹.

6. and weareth away the countenance ('possessions' a e f A (?) S¹) a: 'for he who beareth malice hath no bowels of mercy' b d g.

IX. Written at a time of national divisions, e.g. Hyrcanus II's struggles with Aristobulus II.

1. and other things a: 'sand' β-b d A.

2. vanish away. So I emend with Perles; the text has 'become of no account', i.e. ^{אין חשבון} corrupt for ^{אין חסד}. See

1 Sam. xv. 9.

4, 5. two heads = Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.

5. writing of my fathers. See T. L. x. 5 (note). + 'that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and' b d g. kings: 'kingdoms' a a e f S².

abomination + 'and worship every idol' h i β S¹.

6. be evil entreated: 'dwell' c b d.

tribulations + 'and anguish of soul' b d g.

7. repent: ἐπιστρέψετε a: μετανοήσετε β A S¹: both = תשובה.

cause . . . to return β A S¹. Or ἐπιστρέψει may be rendered 'return' if we omit ὑμᾶς. Cf. T. D. v. 9^a.

setteth not down in account. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.

Because . . . flesh. Cf. Gen. vi. 3; T. Jud. xix. 4.

8. b d g appear to be a Jewish expansion of a a e f A S¹. Thus 8^b comes from Mal. iv. 2, suggested by 'light of righteousness', 8^c = T. D. v. 11^a, 8^d = T. L. xviii. 12 or T. S. vi. 6.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

a a e f A S¹

And ye shall return unto your land.
And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, 'for His name's sake'.

b d g

And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man] (the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem is its name.

- 9 And again 'through the wickedness of your works' shall ye provoke Him to anger, And ye shall be cast away 'by Him' unto the time of consummation.
- 10 1 And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my 2 end. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, 'as a ruler in the midst of his sons'; and I shall rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, 'and the commandments 3 of Zebulun their father'. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them 4, 5 throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But 6 do ye fear the Lord 'our God with all your strength all the days of your life'. And when he had 7 said these things he fell asleep, 'at a good old age'. And his sons laid him in a 'wooden' coffin. And afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN, THE SEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and 2 twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Harken to my words, ye 3 sons of Dan; and give heed to the words 'of your father'. I have proved in my heart, and in my whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger 4 are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children, 5 that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph 'my brother', the true and good man. [And 6 I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy 7 and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me up, saying: Take this sword, and 'with it' slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead. 8 Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to crush Joseph as a leopard crusheth a kid.

a

- 9 But the God of my fathers did not suffer him to fall into my hands, so that I should find him alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to be destroyed in Israel.

β A S¹

But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver 9 him into my hands that I should find him alone, nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes should be destroyed in Israel.

- 2 1 And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.

c

- 2 For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth.

β A S¹

There is blindness in anger, my children, and 2 no angry man seeth the face with truth.

- 3 For though it be a father or a mother, 'he behaveth towards them as enemies'; though it be a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though

see Him a: 'see the Lord' a e f A S¹.
(the place) . . . its name b: 'whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake' g: 'and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel' d.

9. by Him a: > β S¹: 'among the Gentiles' A.

X. 1. be cast down, στυμνιττε. Cf. T. Jos. vii. 1.

2. Cf. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 7.

3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.

throughout all generations: 'from the children of Israel' A.

6. good old age: 'good sleep' text. שינה was misread for שמה. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. D. vii. 1, &c.
wooden a: > β A S¹. Cf. T. S. vii. 2.

TITLE a: + 'concerning anger ('wrath' d g) and lying' b d e f g S¹: + 'concerning arrogance and hatred' A.

1. 3. just dealing. We expect longsuffering here, as in ii. i, vi. 8.

4. resolved a: rejoiced β (A) S¹: i. e. שמחתי for שמתתי. For Dan's design, see T. Z. ii. 1.

5. Bracketed, as it breaks the connexion of 4 and 6.

7. Cf. T. Z. ii. 1, iii. 2.

stirred me up = יעיר. Text = 'helped me' = עזר.

8. to crush . . . a kid β-a d f A: ■ has the order different.

crush = רצען: emended from 'suck' = מצען.

9. Why 'a second tribe'? β A S¹ seems to have the better reading.

11. 2. angry man: > 'angry' a e f A S¹.

4 a righteous man, he regardeth him not; 'though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him'. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying
5 darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

3 1 For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself.	β-a A S¹ For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it becomes a soul to the soul itself.
--	---

2 And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and
3 it bestoweth upon the body 'power that it may work all' iniquity. And when the body does all
4 these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his
5 own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath
6 he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying 'at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying' his works may be wrought.

4 1, 2 Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it †strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his
3 mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved
4 either to delight or to disgust]. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds for provocation; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry.
5 If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, 'be not afflicted'; for this very spirit maketh (a man)
6 desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath 'with lying'.
7 Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,

And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.

2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour.
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

4. spirit of anger . . . deceit: 'spirit of deceit . . . nets of luxury' A.
5. And . . . his eyes. A reads 'And then it encompasses (him) with its own eye, and surrounds . . . with hatred . . . brother a: 'with hatred of heart and it giveth him its own heart ('a heart hostile' A: 'a heart' S¹) so as to be envious of his brother' β A S¹. Cf. d f.

III. 1. it troubleth even a: 'it becometh a soul to' β-a g S¹, perhaps better.

2. power a g: 'its own power' β-g S¹.

3. when the body . . . aright a: 'when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth . . . seeth not' β A S¹.

4. a mighty man + 'in body' a.

having . . . evil: 'having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working' β A S¹.

5. yet hath he . . . by nature β A S¹: 'the passion of anger springeth up in him with twofold power' a.

6. Bracketed words > a A.

IV. 1. †vain. Read 'a destroyer'.

2. giveth provocation: 'is provoked' a a e f.

†strengtheneth. Read 'embittereth' or 'inciteth'.

3. The bracketed words are out of the context.

4. †it pleaseth the hearing†. Read 'the thing said giveth provocation'.

the grounds for provocation, reading τὸ ἐρεθισαν for τὸ ἐρεθισθέν a β-d g S¹.

5. This spirit deceives in order to irritate. But A reads, 'the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin.'

affliction, πάθος, a. 'longing', πόθος, β S¹.

7. Moreover . . . lying: > a f g through hmt.

V. 2. Speak truth, &c.: from Zech. viii. 16. Cf. T. R. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 25.

God of peace. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.

war. Perles suggests 'enemy' πολέμιος for πόλεμος. Cf. Jer. i. 19; xv. 20.

- 3 Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.
- 4 I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both;
For by them shall Israel stand.
- 5 And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of
the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits
6 of wickedness work 'in you'. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince
is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will conspire to attend constantly on the
sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.
- 7 And my sons will draw near to Levi,
And sin with them in all things;
And the sons of Judah will be covetous,
Plundering other men's goods like lions.]
- 8 Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles.
- 9 And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
And He shall give you peace.
- 10 And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord;
And he shall make war against Beliar.
And execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies;
- 11 And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
- 12 And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,

3. Earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39.
through all your life: 'with all your soul' h d. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 6; Sir. vii. 29, 30.
4. Levi . . . Judah, &c. Cf. T. R. vi. 5-12; T. S. v. 5.
- 5-7. spirits of wickedness a f: 'spirits of fornication' b e A S¹, i.e. πορνείας for πορνίπας. Cf. v. 6.
- 6-7. Contradict v. 4, where Dan opposes Levi and Judah, who are led of God. These two verses refer to the
demoralization under the later Maccabees, like T. L. x. xiv-xvi; T. Jud. xxi. 6-xxxiii; T. Z. ix.
6. The earliest authority we have for the connexion of Dan and the Antichrist. Dan in the O.T. was idolatrous,
Judges xviii. 30; 1 Kings xii. 29; according to Ps.-Jon. on Deut. xxv. 18 Dan was the 'hindmost' and 'feeblest',
referred to in that verse; while Jer. viii. 16 is interpreted by Irenaeus v. 30. 2 of the Antichrist (and so Dan is omitted
Rev. vii. 5-8). Cf. Ber. rab. xliii on Jer. viii. 16.
- book of Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
- righteous + 'and I have known' ('found' h i) c h i.
- is a β: 'will be' A S¹.
- all > a f.
- conspire = יקשרו, emended from יקשיבו = 'obey' in the text.
7. sin with them. Levi was to lead Israel astray, T. L. x. 2.
- sons of Judah, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxi. 6, 7.
8. led away. Cf. T. L. x. 4; T. Z. ix. 6.
- [with them], added by interpolator of 6-7.
- evils of the Gentiles. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. N. iv. 2.
9. when ye return . . . mercy. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
- He shall bring you, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 5; T. Iss. vi. 3; T. A. vii. 7.
- give you peace. Cf. Haggai ii. 9; 1 En. lxxi. 17.
10. arise . . . salvation of the Lord. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3; T. Jud. xxiv. 1; T. Z. ix. 8, &c.
- the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi: The singular, 'tribe,' necessitates one name only. Only T. G. viii. 1
(corrupt) puts Judah before Levi, and only T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6 (first century B.C.) and T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt) derive the
Messiah from Judah.
- war against Beliar. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12.
- everlasting. So I emend text = 'of victory', which is due to a wrong rendering of נצח in Hebrew.
- our enemies = אויבינו. So I emend from text = 'our fathers' = אבותינו.
11. the captivity = 'disobedient hearts' enslaved through sin. Brackets show a Christian addition.
- turn disobedient, &c. Cf. Luke i. 17; and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).
12. Eden. Cf. T. L. xviii. 10.
- the New Jerusalem b g A S¹: 'the kingdom of J.', c; 'the new Holy J.', h i. This is the earliest occurrence of

- And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
- 13 And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth
on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].
- 6 1, 2 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God
and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the
3 peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager
4 to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall
5 repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall
6 strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the law-
lessness of Israel, that the Lord will **not** depart from them, but **will transform them into** a nation
7 that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every
place in Israel, 'and among the Gentiles'.
- 8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.
- 9 And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye 'also' impart to your children [that
the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and
10 teacheth by his works the law of God]. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto
the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.
- 7 1, 2 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his
sons buried him, And after that they carried up 'his bones', and placed them near Abraham, and
3 Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, 'Dan' prophesied unto them that they should forget their God,
and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance 'and from the race of Israel', and from the
family of '†their seed.†']

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, THE EIGHTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred
2 and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the
3 first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after
the expression in Jewish literature. Cf. 1 En. xc. 29; also Ezek. xl, xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2.
Here it is Jerusalem rebuilt, *v.* 13.
- and it shall be unto: 'which is' *a.*
13. Brackets indicate Christian additions, though for the Messiah's humility cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 (note).
- VI. 1-7. A section complete in itself. Israel is between the opposing spiritual forces of God and of Satan. The
reign of evil will end when Israel repents, therefore Satan seeks to destroy those who call upon God. Even in Israel's
lawlessness, the angel of peace is with them, to transform them into a nation doing the will of God.
2. **intercedeth for you**: 'followeth with you' *c.*; 'followeth us' *h i.* Cf. T. L. v. 6 (note).
- mediator between God and man.** Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here of Michael cf. Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (ed.
Tischendorf, p. 1); Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vi. 75; Jalk. Chad., f. 120. Later, about the time of Christ, Moses
was regarded as mediator, Ass. Mos. i. 14, iii. 12.
- stand up.** Cf. Dan. xii. 1.
- against the kingdom of the enemy** *b g* (A) *S*¹: 'before the kingdom of God' *a d e f.*
4. **repent** *a*: 'believe' *β* (A) *S*¹. If all Israel repent, redemption will come, Pesikt. 163^b, &c. See my Comm., p. 132.
5. **angel of peace.** Cf. T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5. See T. L. v. 6 (note).
- strengthen**: 'convert and strengthen' *c.*
- that it fall not, &c.** Cf. T. L. v. 6.
6. Two corrections have been made: i. 'not' restored before 'depart'; ii. 'will go over to' (= יִהְיֶה intransitive)
emended to 'will transform them into' = יִהְיֶה (transitive).
- doeth**: 'seeketh' *c.*
7. **Gentiles** + 'Saviour' *β S*¹.
8. **all**: > *a.*
9. **that the Saviour . . . receive you.** A Christian addition. The rest may be Jewish. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1.
10. **the righteousness of** + 'the law of' *β S*¹.
- and your race** > *b.*
- VII. 1. **old age**: 'sleep' *c.* See T. Z. x. 6. For 'eternal sleep' *β A S*¹, cf. T. Iss. vii. 9.
3. A later addition.
- their God** *a S*¹: 'the law of their God' *b d A.*
- †their seed†** *a*: 'and so it came to pass' *β.*
- TITLE *a*: + 'concerning natural goodness' *b d e f A^a f.*
1. 1. **hundred and thirtieth** *h a e f A S*¹: 'hundredth' *c g*; 'hundred and thirty-second' *b d.* Cf. T. R. i. 1
Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (note in large edition).
2. **while . . . health** > *a.*
- and wine** > *a.*

4 he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying; and they believed him not. And as he
5 glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began
6 then to say: Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from
7 Bilhah, 'and' because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she
8 conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, 'therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel
9 loved me very much because I was born upon her lap'; and when I was still young she was wont
10 to kiss me, and say: May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence
11 also Joseph was like unto me 'in all things', according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother
12 was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and
the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-
fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban; and he gave
him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name
of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying: My daughter
hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to
suck it.

2¹ And I was swift 'on my feet' like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages,
2 and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to
contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of
3 the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does
4 not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the
5 creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth
the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For
there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His
own image.

a

6 For as a man's strength, so also is his work;
as his [†]eye, so also is his sleep; as his soul, so
also is his word either in the law of the Lord or
in the law of Beliar.

β-ag A

As a man's strength, so also is his work; and 6
as his mind, so also is his skill; 'and as his
purpose, so also is his achievement; and as his
heart, so also is his mouth;'[†] as his [†]eye, so also
is his sleep; as his soul, so also is his word, either
in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar.

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there
a division between man and man, and between woman and woman; and it is not to be said that the
8 one is like the other either in face or in mind. 'For' God made all things good in their order, the
five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for
comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for excrement, and the stomach for

4. grew strong *a*: 'affirmed' *β S¹*.

that . . . he should die *β S¹*: 'after . . . my body died' *a*.

5. > *S¹*.

6. For the play on the words cf. Gen. xxx. 8.

conceived and > *β S¹*.

7. May I have *A*: 'may I see' *β-g S¹*: *a* is corrupt.

prayers *b d A*: 'blessings' *a a e f S¹*.

9-11. The aim is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent. Cf. e. g. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29.

11. Zilpah, here a sister of Bilhah, as in Jub. xxviii. 9, and Ps.-Jon., &c.

12. Bilhah . . . hastens, i. e. בלהה נבהלה.

for . . . to suck it > *a d g*.

II. 1. as a deer . . . blessing. See Gen. xlix. 21.

2. accordingly *h a e f*: 'unto it' *c d*.

3. was all the creation made *a*: 'was every creature of the Most High' *b A*: 'was every creature exalted' *d e f*.
For the weighing and measuring of all, cf. Job xxviii. 25; Isa. xl. 12; 1 En. xliii. 2; 4 Ezra iv. 36; also Wisd. xi. 20;
Pss. Sol. v. 6.

4. beginneth *b d A*: 'cometh' *a e f*.

5. inclination, πλάσμα = יצר. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

created . . . after His own image. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3. Earliest quotation (with Sirach) of Gen. i. 26, 27.

6. as his [†]eye, so also is his sleep. Something is wrong. Perhaps for 'eye' read 'maw', as in Berach. 61^b.

8. the five senses. See T. R. ii. 3-iii. 1 (note).

and He joined . . . head > *a S¹*. Compare the lists of man's powers and faculties in (1) Berach. 61^{ab}, (2) and

(3) Othioth of 'R. Akiba' (ed. Jellinek, *Beṭ ha-Midrash*, iii. 42, 43), (4) Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6, least akin to our text.
heart for understanding, in (1) (2) (3) and practically (4).

belly for excrement, in (2). I read διαόρησιν for διάκρισιν. Perles neatly suggests that the Heb. was לפרש =

'for excrement', which the translator took for = לפרש = εἰς διάκρισιν.

(grinding), the windpipe for taking in (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins for prudence, the muscles of the loins for power, the lungs for drawing in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So 'then', my children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

3¹ Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.

4¹ These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and 'there' shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.

5¹ For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem,

stomach for (grinding) ('grinding' supplied from (2)) = (1) (2) (3).

windpipe for taking in (text, = 'reed for health', corrupt) = (2) (3). Cf. (1) (4), 'sending out.'

liver for wrath (1) (2) (3) (4). Cf. T. R. iii. 4.

gall for bitterness > (2) (4): (1) (3) 'the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it.'

spleen for laughter (1) (2) (3) (4).

reins for prudence (πανουργία, as Prov. i. 4, viii. 5, LXX): 'reins for counsel' (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). (1) and (2) tell us that the reins give both good and bad counsel. Cf. Eccles. x. 2.

muscles of the loins for power. No parallel; a dittography.

lungs for drawing in (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). But our text is corrupt. πλευρὰν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν α: πλευρὰν εἰς

θήκην β-g S¹. Read πλευρόνα, ריאה לשאוב.

loins for strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11.

9. while in darkness . . . light. Cf. John iii. 9.

works of light. Cf. Eph. v. 9, 'fruits of light.'

III. 1. with vain words to beguile. Cf. Eph. v. 6.

Beliar α d: 'the devil' β-d A^{a b}.

2. Cf. Sir. xvi. 26-8, xliii. 6 ff.; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14.

change β S¹: 'hide' α: 'hinder' A.

3. stones α + 'having followed after' β A S¹. α regards the stocks and stones as spirits of deceit.

4. as Sodom. Cf. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 6 speaks of the angels who kept not τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀρχήν.

5. the Watchers. Cf. 1 En. vi ff.

without inhabitants. 1 En. ix. 2 (not Gk.), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5.

IV. A first-century B.C. passage like Zeb. ix. The reference to Enoch and v. 4 support this view.

1. I have read β d g A S¹: 'I have known' α a e f. So α did not at first mention Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

2. there. Cf. T. Dan. v. 8: > d A S¹.

be bowed down A: 'be covered' β g S: 'dwell' α a d e f.

affliction and tribulation. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.

3. become minished and > α.

bring you back. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Z. ix. 7.

4. again forget. Cf. T. Z. ix. 9. Renewed apostasy under Seleucids or later Maccabees.

5. the compassion of the Lord: 'the Lord' A^{a b} (+ 'with compassion' A^{b c d}). Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

a man working righteousness, the Messiah, not a Maccabee.

afar off. Isa. lvii. 19.

V-VII. The hatred of Joseph here reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria.

V. 1-5. This vision is hardly intelligible. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii.

1. a vision > β A S¹.

² that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; 'and to him that seizeth them will the sun and moon belong.' And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them. And when Levi became as a sun, 'lo', a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. But Joseph came, and seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 ¹ And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship. And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves, until it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, 'and we were all divided upon nine planks', and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth. ⁹ Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land 'as it were' in peace. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with one accord.

7 ¹ These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things.

² Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see 'always' that the Lord numbereth him with you.

³ And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee.

⁴ He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that 'Joseph' had been sold, but I feared my brethren.

8 ¹ And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in Israel. Do ye also, 'therefore', charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah; For through **them** shall salvation arise unto Israel, And in **them** shall Jacob be blessed.

2-3. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2-4, which adds 'nine stars'. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9.

4. This obscure verse is given differently in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4-6.

5. Dittography of 3^{a b c}. β A S¹ read 'ran to each other and laid hold of each other'.

6-8. In the Heb. T. Naph. Joseph holds aloof (ii), but finally (iii) mounts a great bull and rides for four hours (the 400 years until the division of the kingdoms). In the end a storm disperses the tribes (the captivity). Our text in 7. 8 goes on to the Syrian (Seleucid) rule.

6. a bull, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17.

eagle's wings: like a stork's, according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.

7. came and seized a: 'got ahead and took' β.

8. for I was there a β-d S¹: 'for we were ('that he was' A) in paradise' d A.

Persians + 'Elamites, Gelachians' ('Chelkaeans' a e f) β.

[Chaldeans]. In the wrong order. It should be before 'Medes'.

VI. 1. days a: 'months' β A^{a b} S¹.

2. sailing by + 'full of salt fish' β A מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography in Heb. of בלא מלחים = 'without sailors'.

4. departed a β-b g S¹: 'flew away' b g A: 'was hidden' Heb. T. Naph. vi. 1.

5. pounded . . . waves β-d f A S¹: 'borne along' a: 'and the waves of the sea smote it to the rock' Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.

until: text has 'so that'.

6. Joseph = Samaria.

nine a: 'ten' β S¹.

7. of the earth > β-d S¹.

8. for us all > a: 'for us' A.

VII. 1. The repeated dream showed the matter was established, Gen. xli. 32; Heb. T. Naph. vii. 1-5.

3. Ah me > β A S¹.

4. me: 'us' β A S¹.

Joseph > β A S¹.

VIII. 2. united to Levi and to Judah. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. Cf. T. D. v. 10 (note). through them . . . in them: text = 'through Judah . . . in him'. But salvation comes through Levi and Judah jointly. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

- 3 For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.
- 4 If ye work that which is good, my children,
[Both¹ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
And the devil shall flee from you,
[And the wild beasts shall fear you],
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].
- 5 As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance;
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.
- 6 But him that doeth not that which is good,
[Both¹ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.
- 7 For the commandments of the law are twofold,
[And¹ through prudence must they be fulfilled.
- 8 For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.
- 9 So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring [very
10 great¹ sin [upon men]. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God,
[my children], and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every
word, that the Lord may love you.
- 9¹ And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should
2 remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had
3 eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to
all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD, THE NINTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1¹ The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-
2 fifth year of his life, saying unto them: [Hearken, my children], I was the ninth son born to Jacob,
3 and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded [at night¹ the flock; and whenever
the lion came, [or the wolf¹, or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and [overtaking (it)]¹
4 I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph
[my brother¹ was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick

3. **their tribes**: text = 'his tribe', a Christian alteration.

God appear. Cf. T. S. vi. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.

[**dwelling among men**]: a Christian interpolation?

the righteous from amongst the Gentiles, or 'the righteous of the Gentiles', i.e. conversion of the Gentiles.

Cf. 1 En. x. 21, xc. 9-16, 18, 30. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).

4-6. Verses 4 and 6 are antithetic, so bracket 4^g.

4. **Both** > a A.

devil . . . flee: James iv. 7.

And the Lord shall love you: eg A^{b*} c d e f S: > a a b d f. But cf. 6^f, while 4^g looks like a dittography in the Hebrew.

6. **And God . . . through him** > a.

8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 and 1 Cor. vii. 5—'a season . . . unto prayer'.

9. **there are two commandments**: 'the two (commandments) of God are' a e f.

very . . . men a: 'sin' β A S¹.

TITLE a: + 'concerning hatred' β-a d (A) S.

1. **1. hundred and twenty-fifth**. So Midrash Tadshe; Shemoth rab. i. 5; Jashar (ii. 1246).

3. Cf. Judah's feats, T. Jud. ii.

Accordingly a: > β S.

came + 'or leopard or bear' b e g A S¹.

or any wild beast > a.

overtaking . . . seized a: 'seizing' β A S¹.

hurled . . . throw a: 'whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it over two furlongs' β-d S¹. For

Gad's strength cf. Ber. rabba xcv. 4.

4. **young** a S¹: 'delicate' β A.

- 5 by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him,
6 because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of 'Zilpah and' Bilhah
were slaying the best 'of the flock' and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah.
7 For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but
8 had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And
9 regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph 'until the day that he was sold. And the spirit of hatred
was in me', and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes,
because he rebuked us to our faces 'saying' that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For
whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.
- 2 1 I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from
2 my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land
of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.

α

- 3 And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmael-
ites.

- 5 Thus the God of our fathers delivered him
from our hands, that we should not work great
lawlessness in Israel.

- 3 1 And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the
Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of
2 men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abomineth him: and though a man worketh the law of
the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is
3 righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh
evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I †also 'then' looked† on Joseph.
- 4 1 Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness 'even' against the Lord Him-
2 self. For it will not hear 'the words of' His commandments concerning the loving of one's neigh-
3 bour, 'and' it sinneth against God. 'For if a brother stumble', it delighteth immediately to proclaim
it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death.
4 And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against
5 him, if possibly he can be put to death. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that
prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.
- 6 For as love would quicken 'even' the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to
die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live.
- 7 For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to
men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the
salvation of men.

β A S¹

Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ish- 3
maelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them
we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren].

And thus through covetousness we were bent 4
on slaying him.

And the God of my fathers delivered him from 5
my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in
Israel.

6. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 says Joseph reported that Zilpah and Bilhah's sons were eating flesh cut from the
living animal.

7. eaten it + 'and he told our ('his' A^b) father' b A^b.

9. to hear. A only.

11. 1. from my heart α A: ζωσ ψυχης β-g S¹.

2. Cf. T. D. i. 7.

to lick. Cf. Num. xxii. 4 and T. D. i. 8: 'to blot out' d A (? a g).

3-5. β A S¹ show Christian influence, e.g. the thirty pieces. Gen. xxxvii. 28 gives 'twenty pieces of silver'.

3. Simeon β-b A S². Cf. T. Z. iii. 2 and T. S. iv. 2. 'Judah' α b S¹. Cf. T. S. ii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 26.

of gold: LXX of Gen. alone.

4. we were β-b g S¹: 'I was' b g A.

5. delivered. Cf. T. S. ii. 8.

11. 2. Whatsoever a man doeth . . . him β-f g S: 'Whatsoever the hater doeth is abominable' α A.

3. envieth. Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

prospereth, or 'doeth right'.

I †also looked on†. Read perhaps 'it blinded me also in regard to'.

IV. 3. For . . . stumble β S. Cf. Gal. vi. 1. > α A.

delighteth β A S¹: 'hasteneth' α.

4. stirreth . . . up against α β S¹: 'slandereth' A.

it deviseth against b S¹: 'it rejoiceth over' α β-b. Perhaps omit 'with' before 'every affliction'.

5. also against, or 'and with regard to'; connecting with following words.

7. hastiness of spirit. Cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11.

- 5¹ 'Hatred, therefore, is evil', for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and 'kindleth' wrath, and 'stirreth' up war, and violence and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, 'therefore', I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, 'being reprov'd not of another', but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had hardly failed but my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. Since, 'therefore', my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.
- 6¹ And now, my children, 'I exhort you', love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

a

β A S¹

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>3 Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.</p> | <p>Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; 3 and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.</p> |
| <p>4 But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take</p> | |

- V. 1. **mateth with lying.** Cf. Sir. xx. 25.
causeth . . . darkness. Cf. Isa. v. 20.
kindleth: 'disturbeth' *a*: > *β A S¹*.
stirreth up > *β A S¹*.
 2. **God** *c* *d* *A*: 'the Lord' *h β-d S*.
 3. **envy** *a g A b**: 'hatred' *a b e A a b c d e f S*.
the Lord looketh on. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.
his inclination *β-d A S¹*: 'his soul' *a*.
 4. **God** *c β-be*: 'Most High' *b A S¹*.
overcometh hatred *β A S¹*: 'dwelleth in him' *a*, by corruption in the Hebrew original.
 5. **wrong . . . even in thought.** Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 21, 27.
 7. **repentance after a godly sort . . . salvation.** Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; Sir. iv. 22. Bracketed words are a gloss: > *A*.
 8. So *β-a f S¹*. 'and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who return through repentance' *a*. For 'it . . . repentance' *A* reads 'repentance knoweth'.
 9. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.
of Jacob > *a*.
succoured me, ἐβοήθησάν μοι, *a A*: > *β-a S*: ἐφθασαν *a*. Cf. T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).
 10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32. For the popularity of the doctrine of retaliation in the second century B.C. cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33. Cf. Col. iii. 25. *W. S. 11: 26*
also > *a*.
 11. **eleven months** *β A S*: 'ten periods' *a*.
Joseph + 'until he was sold' *β A S*.
 VI. 1. **in the inclination of the soul.** Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.
 3-7. A unique passage in ancient literature on the subject of forgiveness. It shows remarkable insight, and the diction and thought are closely parallel to Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. Forgiveness is perfect when we gain our offending brother, and restore him to communion with ourselves. But we can at least cast out our own anger, even if he is not reconciled.
 3. **if a man sin.** Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3. On the duty of rebuke, cf. Lev. xix. 17.
the poison *β A S¹*. Cf. *v. 4*.
peaceably . . . not guile. Contrast Jer. ix. 7.
if he . . . repent, forgive. Cf. Luke xvii. 3.
 4. **catching the poison from thee,** in text follows 'intent' in *v. 5*, i.e. was separated from its context by the interpolation, *v. 5*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 5 to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for 6 oftentimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear 7 and] be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave 'to God the avenging.
- 7 1 If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him¹, that he may have 2 perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious 'of him¹, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and 3 profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will **rest** and be at peace. 4 And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jeal- 5 ous; 'but¹ wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil 6 means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because 7 he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.
- 8 1 Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour †Judah and Levi†, for from 2 them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] 3 And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury 4 5 me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER, THE TENTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and 2 twenty-fifth year of his life. 'For¹ while he was still in health, he said to them: Hearken, ye chil- dren of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord.

5. Cf. Prov. xxv. 8-10; Sir. xix. 8-9.
addresseth a b f g: 'slayeth' d e A S.
6. reproving a: 'bringing forth' β (S¹).
repent. Cf. T. B. v. 4.
so as not . . . wrong: 'of having wronged' a.
yea . . . at peace: 'and he may [fear and] be at peace' a.
[fear and]. 'fear' = יָחַר a corrupt dittograph of יָהָר = 'honour'.
7. leave to God the avenging. Cf. Rom. xii. 19. A is here defective.
leave, lit. 'give'.
- VII. 1-7. High ethical teaching like vi. 3-7. We must banish envy, when a rival prospers.
1. have perfect prosperity: 'be perfected' a f.
3. rest, emended: 'shine' a: 'not (> b f) leave' β-a.
5. wealth A: 'them' other texts, corruptly.
wealth gotten by evil means. Cf. Prov. xiii. 11 (Peshitto, Targum, and LXX).
is reserved a (A): 'he reserveth' b d e f g S¹.
for eternal punishment d A: 'for ever the punishment' a b e f g, which requires 'for the unrepentant as in b d e f g S¹.
6. the poor man if free a: 'the man who is poor and free' β-a A S¹.
pleaseth a: 'giveth thanks to' β-a A S¹.
blessed = אֲשֵׁר: texts have 'rich' = עֲשֵׂר. Cf. Pirke Aboth iv. 3.
travail of vain men, a: 'evil travail of men' β A S¹. Cf. Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13.
7. jealousy: 'hatred' text.
uprightness. See T. Iss. iii. 1 (note).
- VIII. 1. †Judah and Levi†. Read 'Levi and Judah'. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note); T. D. v. 10; T. B. xi. 2.
Lord raise up salvation (+ 'unto you' h i) h i g A: 'Lord the Saviour arise unto you' a d e f: 'Lord raise up a Saviour' b S: 'Lord, salvation, arise unto us' c.
2. First century B. C. addition.
I know. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 1; T. A. vii. 2.
at the last > a.
before: 'from' a.
4. drew up his feet a β: 'kissed his sons' A.
5. five years. If Gad lived 125 years (i. 1), and was born 2131 A. M. (Jub. xxviii. 20), he died in 2256, and was buried 2261 A. M. But Benjamin was buried in the 91st year after Israel went down into Egypt (T. B. xii. 3) in 2172 A. M. (Jub. xlv. 1), i. e. in 2263, which is also the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan (Jub. xlvi. 9; T. S. viii. 2; T. B. xii. 3). Is b then right, in T. G. i. 1, in reading 127 years?
- TITLE a: + 'concerning the two faces of vice ('duplicity' A) and virtue' b d e f A S¹.
1. 2. upright, a play in Hebrew on יָשָׁר and אֲשֵׁר.

3 Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and
4 two modes (of action), and two issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the
5 other. 'For' there are two ways of good and evil, and †with these are the two inclinations in our
6 breasts discriminating them†. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its
7 actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set
upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth
8 the sin. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth
away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good,
9 he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action
into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.

2 1 A person then may with words help the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action
2 leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in
3 evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him
that worketh evil, because he would prefer 'even' to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it
is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

α

β S¹

4 †Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked
who concealeth what is evil for the sake of the
good name†, but the end of the action tendeth
unto evil.

Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked 4
as it concealeth what is evil; now this thing
seemeth good in name, but the end of the action
tendeth unto evil.

5 Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this 'too'
6 hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and
swareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the
7 law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He 'defileth the soul, and'
maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
8 whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when
he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and notwithstanding

3. Two ways. Earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8 and 2 En. xxx. 15 (my note).
two inclinations. The oldest reference to the good yeşer. See my Commentary *in loc.*, also my ed.
2 Bar. 92-93. For the evil yeşer cf. Hebrew Sir. xv. 14, Sir. xxi. 11, xxvii. 5-6. The good impulse is free from Beliar's
power (T. B. vi. 1), admits no evil desire (T. R. iv. 9), receives no glory from men (T. B. vi. 4). God knows
(T. N. ii. 5) and tries it (T. Jos. ii. 6), rewards according to it (T. Jud. xiii. 8). The yeşer is blinded by fornication
(T. Jud. xviii. 3), and the evil yeşer blinds the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1).

4. all things are by twos. Cf. v. 1; Sir. xxxvi. 15, xlii. 24; Eccles. vii. 14.

5. †with these are . . . discriminating them†, perhaps a Hebraism for 'and these . . . discriminate.'

6. The right of choice belongs to the soul, as to the 'spirit of the understanding of the mind' in T. Jud. xx. 1.

in the good β A S¹: 'to walk in goodness' α.

all its actions are: 'it does all its actions' α.

7. The modes of the good yeşer's action.

8. if it incline to the evil inclination: 'if the inclination incline to evil' text. But the subject here should be
'the soul' as in v. 6. So 'its' (actions) = αὐτῆς, not αὐτοῦ.

cleaveth to c h: 'receiveth' β A S¹.

ruled by Beliar. The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16^a, and is a strange god, Shab-
bath 105^b.

9. to do: 'as though to do' β A S¹.

into evil for him α: 'into evil doing' β-b A S¹.

treasure of the inclination, a play on words, i. e. אוצר יצר. Cf. Matt. xii. 35 'evil man . . . evil treasure'.

is filled with: 'is born from' g.

an evil spirit: 'the poison of the evil spirit' β-d g: 'evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit' A.

II. 1. help. So I emend for various corrupt readings, e. g. ἀφιστῶσα, α.

the issue . . . leadeth, or 'it (the soul) leadeth the issue'.

2. him . . . evil: 'those who serve his turn' α.

3. worketh evil: + 'which thing is wickedness' α: + 'since he also ('likewise he' beg) is in wickedness'
b d e f g A S¹.

for his sake > α A.

4. A has 'Though they love, yet are they evil', &c.

concealeth: read 'loveth', unless a sentence has been lost before 4.

6. the law > α.

7. but the whole is evil c β-b A: > h b.

8. adultery . . . abstaineth from meats. Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2.

and fornication > h i.

the power of his wealth: 'his power and his wealth' b d g A.

notwithstanding: texts read 'after'.

his excessive wickedness he doeth 'the' commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,—like those that divide the hoof, but in very deed are unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

3¹ But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4¹ For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the 'whole' work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he accepteth not the seeming good as the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because 'they walk' in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

5¹ Ye see, my children, how that there are two 'in all things', one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: 'in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter grief, in wedlock profligacy'. Death succeedeth to life, 'dishonour to glory', night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, 'unjust things under death']; wherefore also eternal life awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor right wrong; for all truth is under the light, 'even as all things are under God'. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

6¹ Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are **guilty of a twofold sin**; 'for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it', following the example of the spirits of deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, 'therefore, my children,' keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all

9. are hares *a S*¹. Cf. Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7. 'are like swine' *b d g A* (+ 'hares' *b d g*).

clean like those that divide the hoof. Texts read *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν καθαρὸί*. Here *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμῶν* = כִּי מִפְּרִיָם corrupt for כִּי מִפְּרִיָם. Cf. Ber. rab. xxii. 13. Cf. Perles, who, however, wrongly rejects *καθαροί*.

10. tables of the commandments: 'heavenly tablets' *β A S*¹. Cf. T. L. v. 4; T. A. vii. 5 (*β A S*¹).

III. 1. God: 'Lord God' *a*.

2. destroying . . . by your good works. Master the evil tendency by obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11. the (evil) inclination. See notes on i. 3-9, and cf. T. Jud. xi. 1. 'the devil' *β A S*¹. See Sir. xxi. 27. serve not God, but: 'are not Gods, but serve' *a*.

IV. 3. See ii. 5, 8.

this, too, hath a twofold aspect: 'he also is double-faced' *a d g*.

accepteth: 'expecteth' *a*.

as the genuine good, emended from 'with the genuine good' ('evil' *β*) *a A a b*.

4. Asceticism is bad in itself.

a good day. Cf. Esther viii. 17: 'good days' *c*: Pss. xxxiv. 12 (LXX).

5. Seems corrupt.

Lord *a*: 'God' *β A S*¹.

what God . . . commandments *h β-g S*¹: 'what God hateth' *c*: 'what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate' *A*.

warding *e f*: 'and they ward' *b d S*¹: 'and to ward' *A*: *c a* omit this and the following words: *h g* defective.

V. 1. See i. 4 (note).

in wealth . . . covetousness *> a*.

profligacy *a*: 'intemperance' *a e S*¹: *> f*.

2. Brackets indicate intrusions.

eternal life. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, &c.

awaiteth, we expect 'followeth on'.

4. with singleness . . . good *> a*.

VI. 2. are guilty of a twofold sin: 'are chastened doubly' text. Cf. 1 En. v. 9.

for they both do . . . it *> b g A*. Rom. i. 22. Cf. T. A. ii. 3, iii. 2.

following . . . striving: 'evil spirits hate ye which ('because they' *d*) strive' *b d g A*.

of deceit and striving *a*: 'of evil which strive' *a e f S*¹.

4 commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they **meet** the angels of the 5 Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works.

a

6 But if he is peaceful with joy he **meeteth** the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life.

β A S¹

But if peacefully 'with joy', he **hath met** the 6 angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life.

- 7 ¹ Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for 2 ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; 'and' your 3 land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four 4 corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion **vanishing away** as water. Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and break- 5 ing the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in 6 the person of man]. [Therefore do 'ye also, my children', tell these things to your children, that they 7 disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act 8 ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted 9 through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall 10 know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His tender mercy, 'and' for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]
- 8 ¹ And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded them, saying: Bury me in Hebron. 2 And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

4-6. A man's latter end reveals his true character. The idea that good or evil angels meet the soul at death as it leaves the body occurs here first in Jewish literature. Cf. Kethuboth 104^a, and see my Comm. 168, 169.

4. **when they meet** = יוֹעֲדוּ: text corrupt. 'and are known to' = יוֹדְעוּ a (cf. T. A. vii. 1): 'and they know' = יִדְעוּ A. Cf. β S¹.

the angels: 'the law' A.

Satan: 'Beliar' a.

5. **troubled** β A S¹: 'evil' a.

6. **with joy** > A S¹. Possibly a corruption for 'departs', or else read with following words.

meeteth: 'shall know' a: 'knew' β A S¹.

angel of peace. Cf. T. D. vi. 5.

leadeth a. Cf. T. B. vi. 1.

†**comforteth** β A, corrupt for 'leadeth'. Cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18.

VII. 1. **sinned against**. The LXX uses ἀγνοῖν to translate אָשָׁם, רָשָׁע, שָׁגָה. (Perles.)

2. For like predictions see T. S. v. 3 ff.; T. L. x, xiv-xvi; T. Jud. xxiii; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2; T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; T. G. viii. 2.

delivered . . . enemies. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. Z. ix. 6.

holy places destroyed. Cf. T. L. x. 3, &c.

scattered: T. A. vii. 6; T. L. x. 4, &c.

vanishing away as water. Text is ὡς ὕδωρ ἀχρηστον = כִּמְיֵם נִמְאִים corrupt for כִּמְיֵם נִמְסִים. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2.

So Perles.

3. A Theophany followed by the destruction of the primeval foe, the dragon. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 13.

breaking c: 'in peace breaking' h β A S¹.

in g A c¹ g: 'through' a β-g.

all the Gentiles. For this universalism cf. T. B. ix. 2 (note); Jer. iv. 2, &c.; Isa. ii. 2-4, &c.; Ps. xxii. 27-31;

lxv. 2.

4-7. First century B. C. addition. Cf. T. G. viii. 2.

5. **known**: 'read' b d g A + 'in the heavenly tablets' β A S¹. Cf. ii. 10.

disobedient c + 'unto him' h i β A S¹.

ungodly + 'towards him' β A S¹.

being . . . wickedness > a b: 'being carried away by sheer wickedness' d e g.

6. **as Gad and Dan**. See T. G. viii. 2; T. D. v. 8, vii. 3.

and ye a: 'who' β.

7. **the Lord** β-e A S¹: 'He' a e.

through + 'the hope of' β A S¹.

VIII. 1. **good old age**: 'good sleep' text. See T. Z. x. 6 (note).

2. **to Hebron** > β A S¹. At end + 'Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126 years' f S¹ (g).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH, THE ELEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

- 1¹ The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them:—
- 2 My brethren and my children,
Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel;
Give ear, my sons, unto your father.
- 3 I have seen in my life envy and death,
Yet I went not astray, 'but persevered' in the truth of the Lord.
- 4 These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me:
They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me:
They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.
- 5 I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
- 6 I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;
In bonds, and He released me;
- 7 Slandered, and He pleaded my cause;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me;
Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.
- 2^{1, 2} And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, 'I was mocked'; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.
- 4 For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities.
- 5 For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is he afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.
- a
- 6 But in all those things doth He give protection, | But in all places He is at hand, β A S¹
- And in divers ways doth He comfort,
(Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul. 6

TITLE a: + 'concerning sobriety' b e f S¹: + 'concerning envy' A^{b h e f g}.

I—X. 4. In this Testament there appear to be two independent writings, i—x. 4 and x. 5—xviii. Yet in historical sequence x. 5—xvi should be read after i. In i—x. 4 the theme is chastity; in x. 5—xviii it is brotherly love. In i—x. 4 Potiphar is called 'the Egyptian man' (iv. 5), but Pentephri(s) in x. 5—xviii (e.g. xii. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 6). In i—x. 4 his wife is called the Egyptian woman (and β-d wrongly in xvi. 1), while in x. 5—xviii she is known as the Memphian woman (so, too, the conflate reading in iii. 6). We find also recurring phrases like 'Joseph the son of a mighty man' (x. 6) and 'I held my peace lest I should put to shame' (x. 6, &c.) in the later section. Joseph also transgresses the Testament's rule of truthfulness in it.

1. 2. my sons . . . father: 'the words of my mouth' a.
3. but persevered > b g A.
5. into slavery a A: 'to be a slave' β S.
- captivity, hunger. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35, 36 for this and the next verse. The resemblance to our Lord's words is very striking.
6. and God . . . prison > c h.
- Lord a e f: 'Most High' b d g S: 'God' A.
- my God A^{b* c d f g}: 'Lord' S¹: 'the Saviour' a β S².
- In bonds and He released me > d. Without it stanzas 4-7 are symmetrical. Yoma 35^b says Joseph used the words to Potiphar's wife.
7. by the Egyptians: 'for (my) dreams' a.
- Envied . . . slaves: 'a slave' a: > A^{c d e f g}.
- II. 1. this chief captain of Pharaoh: 'the eunuch of Pharaoh' β-b: 'so Petaphres' ('Photiphar' A^{b c d f g}) A.
2. Israel my father b e f g: 'my father' h A^{b* c d f g}: 'my father Jacob' a d: 'my fathers' c.
3. granted me . . . mercy, &c. Cf. Dan. i. 9.
4. doth a d A: 'will' β-d S.
- c. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29.
- [weak or]. An addition.
- affrighted a: 'rejected' β A S¹, corruptly.
6. doth He give protection, *πορίσται*, a: 'He is at hand', *παρίσται*, β S¹: 'is' A.
- departeth a: 'departing' β A. Isa. liv. 7.

- 7 In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.
- 3 1 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going into my chamber, I wept and prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me.
- α
- 7 And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son.
- β A S¹
- And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child.
- 8 And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit.
- 10 And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.
- 4 1 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. 'For' she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing 'thereby', she came 'again' to me under the plea of instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou wilt that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, †but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips'. But she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.
- 5 1 'And' again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my

7. ten β A: 'eleven' α. See Jub. xvii. 17; xix. 3.
patience: 'to those who endure' A.

III. 1. and when . . . her, she α: 'when . . . her! And she' β-a A^a S¹.

2. in my house α: 'mine' β A S¹.

3. father c (+ 'Jacob' dg A). Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6: 'fathers' h a e f S¹: 'fathers of my father Jacob' b.

4. seven: 'ten' in Jub. xli. 3.

Egyptians c: 'Egyptian' rest of MSS.

fast . . . beauty of face. Dan. i. 15.

5. Cf. Luke xii. 45. Cf. for Joseph, Zeb. 118^b.

lord α (A?): > B S¹.

6. Egyptian woman of Memphis, conflate text.

7. and so . . . child β A S¹, disturbs the context.

8. knew it not. Cf. xiv. 4.

†but later α: 'that' α: 'finally' b e S¹: 'later' f: 'and after this' A.

9. came to myself. Cf. Luke xv. 17.

IV. 1. Often therefore α: 'how often' β-a A S¹.

3. ground + 'in sackcloth (+ 'and ashes' A) β A S¹.

her deceit α: 'the Egyptian woman' β-a A S¹.

4. God α: 'the Lord' β A S¹.

5. my husband α A: 'the Egyptian' β S¹ (+ 'Potiphar' S¹).

in the law of β A S¹: 'before' c: 'in the name of' h.

6. but in those α only.

7. held her peace b g A: 'was angry' α β-b g.

V. 1. my husband α: 'the Egyptian' β A S¹. Cf. iv. 5.

by poison and α: 'and so lawfully' β A S¹, by corruption in Hebrew.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6 1, 2 And 'afterwards' she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And 'when he had gone out' I wept, nor did I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food, and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with 'deadly' enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to idols, but to the Lord 'alone'. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see and repent.

a

7 But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.

β A S¹

But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me.

8 And 'when she saw this' she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

a

7 1 But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing deeply she became downcast, though she was not sick.

β A S¹

But (d A 'nevertheless') her heart was still set upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast.

2 And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said 'unto him': I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff, if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord, and said unto her: Why, 'wretched woman', art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life 'and my children', and I expect that I shall enjoy my desire 'also'. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake

2. unto her > β-d A S¹.

God af: 'the Lord' β-f A S¹.

know . . . device a: 'I will declare thy ungodly device' β A S, i. e. 7 'wicked' for 7 'know'.

3. this device a: 'to any one her wickedness' β-g A S.

4. sending . . . men β-d A S¹: 'every delight' a.

VI. 2. (her) scheme . . . beguile me a: 'this ('her' b) scheme . . . beguile (+ 'the soul' b)' β-d A^{a b h} S¹: 'it was a scheme of Satan and to beguile (my) soul' d.

5. deadly enchantments a: 'death' β A S¹.

6. His angel a A: 'an angel' β-d g.

7. angel of Abraham. Is this Michael or the angel of peace?

VII. 1. deeply, συντόμως, a, corrupt for συντόμως.

became downcast, συνέπιπτε, cf. T. Z. x. 1: + 'in countenance' d (cf. v. 2): + 'in spirit' A.

set upon me . . . lewdness b d g A: 'set upon lewdness' a e f S¹ (cf. a).

2. her husband a A-b^{f g}: 'the Egyptian man' β A^{b f g} S¹.

who was not sick: 'in words' a, corruptly.

3. Then . . . opportunity a: 'then' β-d S¹: 'one day' d: 'and when I was passing' A^{a b}: 'and on the second day' A^{b c d g}.

over a cliff a a e f S¹: 'into a well' A^{a b} (+ 'or over a cliff' b (d) g A^{b c d}).

5. Asteho a: 'Asitho' e f A^{b g}: 'Setho' b.

thou wilt a β-b g S¹: 'she will' b g (A).

6. let this suffice me: only strive for a: 'this (> β-d S¹) alone (> A) suffices me that (> af) thou strivest for' β A S¹.

and I a: > β-a d g S¹: 'if I' a: 'I therefore' d g A.

7. my lord: 'God' b d S¹, against context.

8 thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

8¹ I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night; and about dawn I rose up, weeping
2 the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her.

a A

3 When, 'therefore', I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

a

4 And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

a

5 And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

β S

When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force to my garment, I fled away naked.

β-d A S¹

And she falsely accused me to her husband, and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

β-d A S¹

And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered **from the lustful desire** of the Egyptian woman.

9¹ And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to 'fulfil my desire', and I will release thee
2 from thy bonds, 'and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than
3 the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this
4 also upon me. How often¹, though she were sick, did she come down 'to me' at unlooked for times,
5 and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. 'For' when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, 'that I might lie with her; for she was' very beautiful, 'splendidly adorned' in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

10^{1, 2} Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So

8. that passion a: 'the passion by which (> 'by which' A) he is vanquished' β-a g A S¹.
to his a A: 'to the' β S¹.

VIII. 1. and all a: 'together with all' β A S¹.

her a: 'the Egyptian woman' β-d A S¹.

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-14, 16.

3. garment, χιτῶνα, a: ἱμάτια, β.

left it behind + 'and shook it off' a: > A¹ g.

by force β-a e f g S.

5. was sick, ἡσθένει, β-d A S¹: 'was oppressed', στυνείχετο, a.

from the lustful desire = מתאנה. So I emend 'through a pretext' = בתאנה a β S: 'from the pretexts' A. For a like corruption cf. Prov. xviii. 1.

IX. A omits much in ix.

2. fasting with chastity. Contrast T. A. ii. 8.

fasting β-a f S¹: 'believing' a f: 'faithfulness' a.

the man . . . chambers β-b d S¹: 'the king ('man' b) who in chambers' b c d.

3. > d.

and if a man ('but he' c b S¹) . . . chastity a e f (g): > h.

and 3^o > a: 'and if' b.

5. and breasts > a.

lie with = συμπίεω. See T. Jud. xiii. 3 (note).

adorned. Cf. Yoma 35^b.

X. A new section begins.

1. prayer with fasting. Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

- ye too, 'if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befall (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only¹ delivereth him from evil, 'but also exalteth him even as me.
- 4, 5 For in every way the man¹ is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself 'in my mind': although I was a child,
- 6 'I had the fear of God in my heart¹'; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did not raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.
- 11 ¹ Do ye also, my children, 'have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and¹ honour your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when I came to the Indocolpitae with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But I said that I was 'their¹ slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver 'and in household servants¹. And I was with him three months and five days.
- 12 ¹ And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down 'in a chariot¹, 'with great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me¹. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.
- 13 ¹ And Pentephri was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear 'concerning thee¹, that thou stealest persons out of the land of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying: I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephri said unto him: Whence, then,

2. prayer with fasting > β S¹.
3. envy . . . befalleth (a man) a: 'a man fall into envy . . . slander or darkness' β S¹. For ver. cf. i. 7.
4. Text = β-b g S¹: with συνεπαίρεται (d) for συνέρχεται, a ef: συνέχεται, b g S¹: (πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους) συνέρχεται, a. But d transposes v. 4 after 'mind' in v. 5.
5. I had . . . heart > A. Cf. xi. i.
6. I did not . . . intent c (? 'not'): 'I measured myself' β A S¹. Perhaps read 'I did not exalt myself' = v. 5. If the 'not' is omitted we may conjecture the original Hebrew word was רָמַמְתִּי as in Ps. cxxxii. 2 'I kept myself quiet', which LXX reads as רָמַמְתִּי.
- even > β A S¹.
- telling + 'my race' β A S¹.
- Jacob > c A^a b* c d g.
- mighty β A S¹: 'just' a. Cf. יָדִיכָה, Prov. xvii. 7 = δίκαιος LXX.
- XI. 1. before your eyes > h b.
2. came . . . Ishmaelites β-d S¹: 'was coming with the Ish.' a: 'came with them to the Indocolpitae' A.
- saying . . . slave a: + 'or a freeman' A: > β S¹. Jashar (ii. 1187) says his brethren sold Joseph as being their slave.
- a home-born a a f: 'their home-born' b d e A S¹.
- I might not put . . . shame. Cf. x. 6, &c.
3. manifest + 'concerning thee. And he threatened me 'unto death¹. β A S¹.
4. which of them, &c. a β S¹.
6. gave me favour. Gen. xxxix. 21.
7. God a a f: 'the Lord' β-a f A S¹.
- and in household servants: 'and in work' a: > β A S¹. ἔργον is a mistranslation of עֲבָדָה.
- five days > a.
- XII. 1. came down a: 'passed' β A S¹.
- in a chariot > b g A S¹.
- with . . . me: 'she looked and saw me' A.
- she . . . eunuchs a: 'her eunuchs had told her' β S¹.
2. that the merchant a: 'concerning the merchant that he' β A S¹.
3. to thy house a e f S¹: 'to our house' a: 'to be thy steward' b d g (A).
- XIII. 1. to be brought b d g S¹: 'to come' a a e f: 'to bring' A^b.
2. But . . . at his feet a g: 'therefore ('and' A) . . . on his face' β-d g A S¹.
3. And . . . him a: 'but he said' (> 'said' a e f) β A S¹.

- is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return.
 4 But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted
 5 in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did
 6 obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart
 7 from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. And he said:
 8 Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And
 9 I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: 'Truly' thou liest; and
 'straightway' he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.
 14 1 Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window 'at me while I was being beaten, for
 her house was near, and she sent unto him saying': Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish
 2 a 'free' man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change
 in my statement, 'though I was beaten', he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners
 3 of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the
 4 captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For
 5 she wished to see me out of a desire 'of sin', but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And
 he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before
 6 proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be
 imprisoned.
 15 1 Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob 'my father'
 2 was mourning 'much' concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst
 that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of
 3 Canaan, and thy father 'still' mourneth for thee in sackcloth 'and ashes'. 'When I heard this my
 bowels were dissolved and my heart melted', and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself,
 that I should not put my brethren to shame. 'And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave'.
 4 5 Then, 'therefore', they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they
 feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had
 6 heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release
 7 me from the judgement of Pentiphris. And they came and requested me, saying: 'Say' that thou
 wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.
 16 1 Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they
 are selling him.

c

β A S¹

- 2 And straightway she sent a eunuch to the | And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and 2
 3 Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But | asked them to sell me. The chief captain, there-

is a: 'hast thou' β-f A S¹.

4. be brought a b d g: 'answer' a e f S¹.

5. Pentephris a: 'the chief of the eunuchs' β S¹: 'him' A.

third . . . Pharaoh a. Cf. Dan. v. 7. 'his rank was second to P.' A: 'third in rank with P., (as) officer of all
 the eunuchs, having wives and concubines and children' β.

6. And I said > a to 'and I said' in v. 8.

9. Truly a only.

straightway a g.

XIV. 1. at me > b e f.

for . . . near > β A S¹.

him a: 'her husband' β S¹.

Thy: 'the' β-b A a b * o d f g.

thou dost punish . . . as . . . transgressor: 'to punish unjustly' a, corruptly.

2. me: 'us' d e f g.

owners of the boy: 'his' ('my' d A b f g) owners' d g A.

3. her husband a: 'him' β A S¹.

in bonds > β A S¹.

be waited upon a: 'wait upon thee' β A S¹.

4. Cf. iii. 8.

5. her c: 'the Memphite woman' β-a d A^{-b}.

XV. 1. for . . . heard a: 'and having heard' β A S¹: + 'when they were in the land of Canaan' d A.

3. When . . . melted a only.

5. my father a: 'Jacob' β A S¹.

grievous = κινδύνου.

God a g: 'the Lord' β-g A S¹.

7. and he will set us: 'and he set us' b d g: 'and the merchant set' (+ 'us' A a b h) A.

XVI. 1. said . . . youth a: 'instructed' ('sent to' A) her husband to buy me' β-d A S¹: h omits from 'buy' to
 the end of the Testament of Benjamin.

2. The chief . . . sell me > c b d g.

c

since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.

β A S¹

fore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. 'And since he did not agree (to their price) he departed'. But the eunuch, 'when he had made trial of them', made known to his mistress that they asked a large price 'for their slave'.

- 4 'And she sent another eunuch', saying: Even though they demand two minas, 'give them', do not spare 'the gold'; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.

c

5 The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and† he received me†; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.

β-d A S¹

And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for 5 me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.

- 6 And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.

- 17¹ Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to 2 shame. Do ye also, 'therefore', love one another, 'and with long-suffering hide ye one another's 3 faults'. For God delighteth 'in the unity of brethren, and' in the purpose of a heart that takes 4 pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their 5 money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my father I loved them 'more abundantly', and all things whatsoever he commanded I did 'very 6 abundantly' for them. And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that 7 was in my hand I gave unto them. 'And' their children were my children, and my children as their servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, 'and all their sickness 8 was my infirmity'. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not myself among them 'in arrogance' because of my 'worldly' glory, 'but I was among them as one of the least'.

- 18¹ If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there, 2 and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. 'And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, 3 do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil'. [For], behold, ye see that 'out of my humility and long-suffering' I took unto wife the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made 4 them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel; and He preserved me 'unto old age in strength and' in beauty, because I was like in all things to Jacob.

3. since he . . . But the eunuch . . . made known β e g S¹: 'since the eunuch . . . and made known' a f.

4. minas c + 'of gold' β A S¹.

give them c a d: 'take care' β e f g.

to me c: > β A S¹.

5. †received me†, corrupt for 'for me'.

6. put to shame c: 'be tortured' a e f A S¹.

XVII. 3. a heart β A S¹: 'a good heart' c.

love β-a: 'the good' c a A^h b* c d g. Read perhaps 'brotherliness'.

4. Egypt + 'when' β A S¹.

5. my father > β-d g A^b f g.

he ('they' A) commanded β-a d A S; 'they wished' c a.

7. their . . . my β S¹: 'my . . . their' c A.

My . . . land > c a e f.

their . . . my c d g: 'my . . . their' β e f S¹.

8. I was . . . least. Cf. Luke xxii. 27.

XVIII. 1. A has 'walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ 'with me' A^b) and God ('Israel Shaddai' A^b* c d f g) will glorify you and exalt you for ever.'

He . . . bless you: 'God (> a f) will exalt you' c a f.

2. Cf. T. G. vi-vii; Ahikar. Syr. Frag. I. 20 'if thy enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good'.

3, 4. > a.

my humility and c: > β S¹.

priest of Heliopolis c. Cf. Jub. xl. 10 (note). 'of my masters' (β-a A S¹).

talents. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1211).

4. A has 'And (+ 'Asenath my wife' A^b) was beautiful as a flower, and (+ 'I was' A^b) beautiful beyond ('all' A^b) the chosen ones of Israel (+ 'and temperate and humble' A^b), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ('I was more beautiful than they' A^b) because I was like Jacob in all things.'

as a flower > c.

like . . . to Jacob. See Gen. rabba lxxxiv. 6; Num. r. xiv. 16.

cβS¹

19¹ And hear ye, my children, also the vision
 2 which I saw. There were twelve harts feeding:
 and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the
 earth, and likewise also the three.

8 And I saw that [from Judah was born] a
 †virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her]
 was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his
 left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the
 beasts rushed against him, and the lamb over-
 came them, and destroyed them and trod them
 9 under foot. And because of him the angels and
 10 men rejoiced, and all the land. And these things
 shall come to pass in their season, in the last

A

Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. 1
 I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them 2
 were dispersed. Now the three were preserved,
 but on the following day they also were dis-
 persed. And I saw that the three harts became 3
 three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He
 brought them forth into a flourishing and well-
 watered place, yea He brought them out of
 darkness into light.

And there they cried unto the Lord until 4
 there gathered together unto them the nine harts,
 and they became as twelve sheep, and after a
 little time they increased and became many
 flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, 5
 twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which pro-
 duced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the
 twelve flocks and innumerable herds.

And the horns of the †fourth bull went up 6
 unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks,
 and in the midst of the 'two' horns there grew
 another horn. And I saw a bull calf which 7
 surrounded them twelve times, and it became a
 help to the bulls wholly.

And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin 8
 [wearing a many-coloured garment, and from
 her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was
 as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the
 reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb over-
 came them and destroyed them. And the bulls 9
 rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the
 harts] exulted together with them. And these 10
 things must come to pass in their season. And 11

XIX. Here the Armenian version comes to our aid. It alone has 3-7, and 8 and 11 in it are fairly pure.

1. saw β: 'know' c.

2-4. A vision concerning the nine tribes and the three, their captivity and return. The nine are regarded as back in Palestine.

2. harts. See note in Commentary, p. 191. Used of the princes of Judah, Lam. i. 6.

feeding + 'in a place' c.

all > b S¹.

were preserved A^{a b * c d f g}: 'fed with each other' A^b.

3. three harts. Cf. 'three sheep', 1 En. lxxxix. 72. For their change into lambs, cf. 1 En. xc. 38, where the sheep become oxen.

and He: 'and the Lord' A^{b h}.

out of darkness into light. Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

4. the nine. Cf. 'nine tribes', Ethiopic version, 4 Ezra xiii. 40. For nine and a half tribes cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 (note). 5-9. This second vision introduces the person of the Messiah. The date is the second century B. C., as the Twelve Tribes are regarded as in Palestine. So 'in the midst of the horns' implies that the Messiah is to arise from the Maccabees (cf. v. 11 Levi and Judah). Judah was to help—the lion on the left hand in v. 8.

6. †fourth, i.e. tribe = Judah. Is this a Christian alteration of 'third' = Levi?

two > A^{o f g}.

another horn. Perhaps Mattathias.

7-9. Is the bull-calf the same as the lamb of v. 8? If so, Judas would be both; if not, the lamb is Hyrcanus.

7. a bull . . . times: 'twelve oxen which surrounded them' A^{b * d}. For 'surrounded' read perhaps 'protected'.

a help. Cf. Dan. xi. 34, 'little help'.

8. [from Judah was born]. A Christian addition. A omits it, and a definite name is here out of place. A 'virgin' also clashes with the animal symbolism. So read 'And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull-calf became a lamb'. For 'wearing' cf. Rev. xii. 1.

a lion = Judah.

all the beasts, i.e. the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16.

9. The Greek text interprets 'cow' aright as = Palestine; but the 'bulls' are the tribes, not 'angels and men'. [and the harts] > the Greek texts. They have no place in this vision.

the cow . . . harts A^{b * c d g}: 'the descendants of the three harts' A^{a b}: 'two of the three harts' A^b.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

c β S¹

11 days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise 'unto you' [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.

12 For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.

20 1 'For' I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will 2 bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; 3 for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians¹.

c A b* c d g

3 And carry ye up Asenath your mother 'to the Hippodrome', and near Rachel your mother bury her.

4 5 And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good old age. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.

c

6 And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.

A

do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.

For my kingdom which is among you shall 12 come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.

β S¹

And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and 3 nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel.

β S¹

For he felt even for the Egyptians as though 6 a member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN, THE TWELFTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

1 1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived 2 a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham 3 in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had 4 no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve 5 years 'after she had borne Joseph'; and she prayed the Lord 'with fasting twelve days, and she 6 sons born from her'. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

11. Levi and Judah c A. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note). 'Judah and Levi' β S¹.
from them β A S¹: 'from their seed' c.
unto you β S¹: 'unto us' c: > A.
[the Lamb, &c.] Christian additions.
who taketh . . . world c: 'by grace' β S.

12. Dan. vii. 14.
pass away c β-a b: 'be shaken' a b S¹.
watcher's hammock. Isa. i. 8, xxiv. 20.

XX. 2. Cf. Gen. i. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.

3. Asenath your mother c d: 'Zilpah your mother' b e f A b* c d g S¹: 'your brother' A a b h: 'brothers' A a.

[to the Hippodrome] > A. Cf. LXX in Gen. xlviii. 7 (? = Ephrath). Rachel was buried near Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16 ff., xlviii. 7.

nigh to Bilhah β S¹. Jub. xxxiv. 16 says she was buried near Rachel.

4. good old age. So I emend 'good sleep' c (cf. T. Z. x. 6): 'eternal sleep' β S¹: cf. Jer. li. 39; T. Iss. vii. 9: > A.

6. as though . . . nation a e f: 'as for his own members' b g: + 'Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived one hundred and ten years' f S¹.

TITLE c: + 'concerning a pure mind' β-a g S¹: + 'to love one's neighbour' g.

1. I. words: 'Testament' d A.

2. old age c d: 'hundredth year' β-d A. Cf. Gen. xxi. 2, 5. Jashar (ii. 1172) gives the same date for Benjamin's birth. See, however, Jub. xix. 13.

3. my mother > β-d A a b* c d g S¹.

4. twelve years: 'eleven' in Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33.

twelve days > c. For the prayer and fasting cf. Num. rabba xiv. 8.

6. Benjamin, a son of days. Cf. Gen. xlv. 20 'a son of old age'; Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 15. A^b reads 'son of a right hand'. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. Jashar explains Benjamin as 'son of the south' (ii. 1172).

2 ¹ And when I went into Egypt, to †Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said† unto me:
² What did they tell my father when they sold me? And I said †unto him‡, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

c
³ And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run.
⁴ And as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met him and slew him. And so his associates were affrighted.

β S¹
³. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. ⁴. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. ⁵. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.

A
 And Joseph said unto me: ³ Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force. And it came to pass that as ⁴ they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his ⁵ associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie ⁶ in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: Do not tell my father what ye ⁷ have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And ⁸ let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

3 ¹ Do ye also, therefore, my children, †love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments‡, following the example of the good and holy man †Joseph‡.

c β S
² And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth ³ all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even ⁴ as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of ⁵ Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.

A
 For until his death he was not willing to tell ²⁻⁵ regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.

⁶ For Joseph also besought our father †that he would pray for his brethren‡, that †the Lord‡ would

II. 1-2. Jashar (ii. 1222) makes Benjamin the first to recognize Joseph.

1. to †Joseph and c: 'and Joseph' β-d A S. If x. 1 belongs to this context, we might read it before ii. 1, and emend here to 'and I recognized Joseph'.

2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-2; T. Z. iv. 9.

3-5. The text of c alone agrees with the context, but T. Z. iv. 10 makes his brothers give him the loin-cloth. β S¹ and A differ from the context and the biblical account.

5. to their companions β S¹: 'to the Ishmaelites' A. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1187-90).

8. And let + 'not' A^a b.

III. 1. and earth c d: > β-d S.

holy c β S¹: 'true' A.

3. spirits of Beliar claim. Cf. Luke xxii. 31.

claim β S¹: 'dement' c.

to afflict with every evil: text = 'unto every evil of affliction'.

they not c: 'no evil of tribulation' β S¹.

4. spirit c + 'of the air' β S¹. Cf. Eph. ii. 2.

5. by the Lord . . . love g (cf. c): 'by the love' (+ 'of the Lord' β-d g S¹) β-g S¹.

6. Joseph > b A^a b* c d g S¹.

father + 'Jacob' b S¹.

his brethren c: 'his sons' β-b: 'our brethren' b.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

7 not impute to them as sin 'whatever evil they had done unto him'. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

c β S¹

8 In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

A

In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of 8 heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.

4 1 See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his 'compassion, there- 2 fore, with a good mind', that 'ye also' may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not 3 a †dark eye; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. 'And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God'; 4 and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; 'on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises'.

c A

5 And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

β-a S¹

As for him who hath the fear of God, he pro- 5 tecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5 1 If, 'therefore, ye also' have a 'good mind', then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you 'and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from 2 their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If 3 ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you'; and the beasts will dread you. 'For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.' 4 'For' if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for 'the holy man' is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

c

5 And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

β-a S¹

And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and 5 the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

as sin c g A: > β-g S¹.

done unto c: 'devised regarding' β S¹.

7. And thus Jacob c β-d: 'then Joseph' A. child + 'Joseph' b g A.

8. For vicarious suffering, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 38 in pre-Christian times.

a sinless β S¹: 'the sinless' c A.

in the blood of the covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.

IV. 1. end c β S: 'mercy' A.

crowns of glory: earliest reference. Cf. Rev. ii. 10; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22.

2. hath not a †dark eye. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23. But read perhaps 'hath a compassionate eye': cf. T. Iss. iv. 6.

3. devise with evil intent β S¹: 'wish not well' c.

by doing good he c a d e f: 'he that doeth good' β S¹.

overcometh evil. Cf. Rom. xii. 21; T. Jos. xviii. 2; T. G. vi, vii.

righteous β A S¹: 'unrighteous' c.

4. laudeth A: 'loveth' c: 'trusteth and laudeth' β-a f.

singeth praises β: 'feareth' c.

5. helpeth b: d e f g read 'runneth with' corrupt for 'hath pleasure in', cf. Ps. xlix. 18 (LXX).

V. 1. have . . . mind c β S¹: 'are good' A.

covetousness + 'which they had' c.

2. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4.

3. reverence . . . light c: 'light of ('reverence for' b) good works' a b e f S¹: 'light, a good work' d: 'a pure light' g.

4. holy: 'true' A.

repenteth. Cf. T. G. vi. 6.

5. A has 'and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother'.

6¹ The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the
 2 angel of peace guideth his soul. 'And' he gazeth not 'passionately' upon corruptible things, nor
 3 gathereth together riches 'through a desire of pleasure'. He delighteth not in pleasure, '[he grieveth
 not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes', for
 4 the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory 'nor dishonour' from men, and it
 knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his
 5 soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of
 cursing, of contumely and 'of honour', of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy
 and of truth, '[of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one 'disposition', uncorrupt and pure, concerning all
 6 men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, 'or speaketh, or
 7 seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not
 be condemned by men as well as' by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold,
 and there is no singleness in them.

c β S¹

7¹ Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the
 malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them
 that obey him.

A

Flee, my children, malice [and fornication];
 for it giveth a sword to them that obey it.

c b g

2 And the sword is the mother
 of seven evils. First the mind
 conceiveth through Beliar,† and
 first there is bloodshed; second-
 ly ruin; thirdly, tribulation;
 fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth;
 sixthly, panic; seventhly, de-
 struction.

β-b g S¹

2. And the sword is the mother
 of seven evils. First the mind
 conceiveth through Beliar: and
 sometimes it brings forth first,
 bloodshed; secondly, ruin; third-
 ly, tribulation; fourthly, capti-
 vity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly,
 panic; seventhly, destruction.

A

And the sword is the mother 2
 of seven evils, and it receiveth
 (them) through Beliar. And
 first there is bloodshed (&c. as
 in c β S¹).

3 Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeance by God, for in every hundred years
 the Lord brought one plague upon him.

c

4 And when he was two hundred years old he
 began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year

β A

When he was two hundred years old he began 4
 to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was

VI. 1. inclination. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

angel of peace. See T. D. vi. 5 (note); T. A. vi. 6.

3. Perhaps A is right in the omissions.

uplifting, &c. See T. Iss. vii. 2 (note).

Lord is his portion. Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.

4. receiveth not glory . . . from men. Cf. John v. 41.

knoweth not > c.

lighteth up his soul. Cf. T. G. v. 7.

rejoiceth . . . alway. Cf. Phil. iv. 4.

5. tongues of blessing and of cursing. Cf. James iii. 10.

of sorrow and of joy > c.

[of poverty . . . wealth] > A.

7. he cleanseth . . . God. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.

in like manner. 'and whoso doeth' A.

works + 'of God and' A.

in them > β-a A S¹.

VII. 1-2. See my Commentary *in loc.*, p. 206. Read either (1) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for the mind
 conceiveth through Beliar, and is the mother of seven evils; and first,' &c., or (2) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for he
 giveth a sword to those who obey him. And the sword' (&c. as A).

For the seven compare the eight plagues of Sir. xl. 9; and seven of Pirke Aboth, v. 11.

1. giveth a sword to: 'is a sword in the hands of' A^a.

him c: 'it' β S¹.

2. the mind . . . Beliar cβ-d g S¹; 'the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar' d.

sometimes af S¹: 'what . . . is' d e.

bloodshed. Read φόνος for φθόνος. Cain's first evil was murder.

ruin . . . We expect 'panic' here. See notes in Commentary, p. 207.

destruction: text reads 'desolation'.

3-4. Gen. iv. 15, 24 tells of a sevenfold vengeance on Cain's slayer. Here the sevenfold penalty is transferred to
 Cain himself. Contrast Jub. iv. i. 31, which puts his death in his 860th year. Is Lamech here regarded as Cain's
 slayer? Cf. Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Jalkut i. 38, &c.

4. two hundred years. Cain was thirty to thirty-five when he slew Abel, according to Jub. iv. 2.

c

he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.

β A

destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times 'seven'.

- 5 Because for ever those who are like Cain 'in envy and hatred of brethren', shall be punished 'with the same judgement'.

c β S¹

- 8 ¹ And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness
² and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him.

A

Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing ¹ and cleave to goodness. For he that hath it ² looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.

- 3 For 'as' the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, 'but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell'; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather **cleanseth** (them) and is not itself defiled.

- 9 ¹ And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.

c β S¹

- 2 Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an 'only-begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon
4 a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gen-

A

But in your portion shall be His inheritance. ² And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [And the Lord shall be treated ³ with outrage and set at nought. And He will ⁵ depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]

[at the Flood], impossible on any chronology; even the Samaritan (1307 A. M.).

With the seven evils a d g A: 'in the 700 years' b e f. Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. iv. 15 (contrast on v. 24) say he was punished for seven generations. See my Commentary, p. 208.

VIII. 1-2. A seems more original, though shorter.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 28.

hath . . . in his heart c β S: 'beholdeth' A, not so good.

3. by shining on f: προσέχων c β-f A S¹.

cleanseth: text corruptly reads 'buildeth up'.

IX. 1. that . . . among you: 'also doings' c, defective.

from . . . righteous c β-d S¹: 'for I have learnt from the book of the words,' &c. d: 'for I have heard from the words of our fathers' A.

shall renew wanton deeds: 'and again ye (> A) shall be renewed unto . . . deeds' ('unto . . . deeds' > c) c A.

straightway He β S¹: 'the upright' (εὐθεῖς) A^a b h: 'an upright man' A^b * e d (i.e. David shall take the kingdom from Saul): > c.

2. The text of c β S¹ is better. The second temple is more glorious (cf. Haggai ii. 9), and under John Hyrcanus the twelve tribes met there in worship.

the temple . . . in your portion. See Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.

all the Gentiles. The Maccabean triumphs lead to the hope of a general conversion of the Gentiles in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vii. 2. See my Commentary, pp. 210, 211. The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism. God understands all men, T. N. ii. 5 (cf. Sir. xvii. 3). The Law is given to lighten every man, T. L. xiv. 4. Michael guards all the righteous, T. L. v. 7 (β A β S¹).

Apart from Christian interpolations like T. Jos. xix. 11, the salvation of the Gentiles is taught in T. L. iv. 4, viii. 14, ii. 11; T. S. vi. 5; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3; T. D. vi. 7; T. Jud. xxv. 5; T. B. ix. 2, x. 5.

an 'only-begotten prophet β-b: 'His only begotten Son' c. Read 'beloved' for 'only begotten', as T. L. viii. 15, 'beloved as a prophet of the Most High.'

3-5. Christian additions. Cf. Luke xviii. 32; Mark ix. 12.

4. veil of the temple, &c. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.

pass on to c β-b d: 'ascend' b S¹: 'descend' d.

c β S¹

A

5 tiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend
from Hades and shall pass from earth into
heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be
upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]

10 ¹ Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure 'and the form of his countenance'; and
through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, even his entire
figure exactly as he was.

² 'And when he had said these things, he said unto them': Know ye, therefore, my children, that
I am dying.

c

β A S¹

³ Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neigh-
bour, and keep the law of the Lord and His
commandments.

Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness 'each 3
one to his neighbour', and judgement unto con-
firmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his
commandments.

⁴ For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, 'therefore', give them to your
⁵ children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these
things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord
⁶ shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. 'And' then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abra-
ham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.

c β S¹

A

⁷ Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe,
worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared
upon earth in the form of a man in humility.
And as many as believe on Him on the earth
⁸ shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall
rise, some unto glory and some unto shame.

Then shall we also rise, each over our own 7
tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King.

Then shall we all be changed, some into glory 8
and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel
first for the unrighteousness which they have
committed.

And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles. 9

And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their
unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God
in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him
⁹ not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles,
[as many as believed Him not when He appeared
¹⁰ upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through
the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He
reproved Esau through the Midianites, who
†deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into
fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated
from God], becoming therefore children in the
portion of them that fear the Lord.

And He shall convict Israel through the 10
chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through
the Midianites who loved their brethren. Be ye
therefore, my children, in the portion of them
that fear the Lord.

5. Hades c b d g: 'people' e f S¹.

And I know . . . heaven > c A b * e d o g.

X. 1. > c. Restore to beginning of ii. 1.

3. and judgement unto confirmation > a A b b h; 'and judgement unto faith in the Lord' A b * c d.

4. leave c: 'give' A: 'teach' β S¹.

5. Keep . . . of God: 'So do ye' A.

to all Gentiles: 'in all the earth' A.

6-7. The Testaments give a primitive view of the resurrection to this present earth (cf. 1 En. vi-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc),
transformed gradually to sinlessness (T. L. xviii. 9), of the righteous. Note the order of resurrection. Cf. v. 8; cf.
also T. Jud. xxv. 4; Dan. xii. 1, 2. The risen enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. L. xviii. 10, 11, and dwell in the
New Jerusalem, T. D. v. 12.

6. Shem β-d S¹: 'Seth' c. Cf. T. S. vi. 5.

on the right hand β A S¹: 'on His right hand' c. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.

7. over our tribe > c.

8. shall rise c β S: 'shall be changed' A.

some unto shame. Cf. Dan. xii. 2. Contrast 1 En. lxxxiii-xc; 2 Macc. vi-vii where the righteous alone are to rise.
their unrighteousness c: 'the unrighteousness (done) unto Him' β-d S¹.

God in the flesh c + 'a deliverer' β.

10. Israel is judged by Gentile standards. c omits this verse.

And . . . Gentiles > A b b h.

as He convicted . . . loved. A has the better text. The corruption and addition n β S¹ refers to Num. xxv.
therefore a A: 'not' β-a, corruptly.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

11 If ye 'therefore, my children', walk in holiness 'according to the commandments of the Lord', ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

c	β S ¹	A
11 ¹ And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good.	1. And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good.	And I shall no longer be ¹ called a †captain of robbers, and a † wolf, on account of your ravages. But one beloved of ² the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.
² And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].	2. And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice] and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.	

β

³ Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their ⁴ rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both ⁵ his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c	β A S ¹
12 ¹ And when he had said these things he stretched ² out his feet. And died †in [a beautiful] and ³ good sleep†. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it ⁴ in Hebron with his fathers. And the number (of the days) of his life were a hundred and twenty-five years.	And when he finished his words, he said: ¹ I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and ² twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first ³ year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned ⁴ from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

11. according . . . of c: 'before the face of' β S¹.

securely: 'in hope' text, wrongly as LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, &c.

XI. A is original and refers only to Benjamin. c adds a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. β S¹ transfers it to Paul. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 (on Gen. xlix. 27).

1. I: 'he' A.

a worker . . . what is good > A.

distributing food. Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 27, and 'dabit escam', Tertullian *L. c.* There the Mass. has 'divide the spoil'.

2. one beloved of the Lord. Deut. xxxiii. 12, of Benjamin. Here c twists it into a reference to the Messiah. For 'the Beloved' = Christ. See my ed. Asc. Isa. i. 4 (note).

of His mouth: 'in his mouth' c: 'of His will' β A^{ah} S¹. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

bursting in b e g(df): 'shining' a.

5. through them . . . my father f: 'because of him', &c., e: 'because of him Jacob my father instructed me' b: > a d: 'because of this he puffed me up' g.

fill up that which lacketh. A phrase of St. Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, &c.

tribe b g: 'belly' d e f.

XII. Here β A S¹ is the better text.

2. at a good old age β A S¹: 'in a beautiful and good sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6.

3. See T. G. viii. 5 (note).

entrance . . . into: The text absurdly reads 'exodus . . . from'.

Canaanitish war β A S¹. See T. S. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 5.

4. f S¹ add at the close: 'Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years.'

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT

These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.

THIS IS THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, SON OF JACOB.

- 1** ¹ The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him ¹ [*the wrestlings of God*].² When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good T. Naph. old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he i. 6 began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and ² receive the commands of your father.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Lo, we hearken to ³ fulfil all that thou commandest us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you *concerning* T. Jos. *my silver, nor concerning my gold, *nor all my substance* ³ that I leave unto you here under the sun, xi. 6 nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to ⁴ you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil.' And his sons answered and replied a second time, ⁵ and said, 'Speak, O father, for we listen.' He said unto them, 'I give you no command save in ⁶ regard to the fear of the Lord: Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave.' They said unto him, 'What need hath He of our service?' He said unto them, 'It is not that He hath need of any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour ⁷ what he doth not like for himself.' They said unto him, 'Our father! hast thou forsooth seen us ⁸ departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' He said unto them, 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread that which is T. Levi to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of xix. 3 the peoples of the lands, and lest ye *join* the children of Joseph instead of *the children of Levi and T. Naph. the children of Judah*.' They said unto him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this vii. 2 ¹⁰ wise?' He said unto them, 'Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant in Egypt.
- 2** ^{1, 2} 'Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. I saw, and lo, my T. Naph. twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, "My v. 1-3 children, *run and seize ye, each *before me*,⁴ what comes to his portion." We answered and said unto ⁴ him, "What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars." *He said unto them, "(Take hold) of them."⁵ When Levi heard it he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon ⁵ *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise; and he *seized* a staff, ⁶ and sprang upon *the moon*, and rode thereon. So did *all the ⁶ tribes; each rode upon his star and ⁷ his planet in the heavens; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. Jacob our father said unto him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He said unto him, "My father, what have they⁷ that are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand upon the earth?"
- 3** ¹ 'Whilst Joseph was speaking, lo, there stood near him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings* T. Naph. ² *of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Reēm. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, v. 6 ³ my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob ⁴ our father departed from us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked and ran, at times *he flew* up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the v. 7 ⁵ standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. Judah said to him, "My

¹ only in P.

² A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8.

³ J; also in A in a corrupt form.

⁴ For לפני read with T. Naph. v. 2, κατὰ δύναμιν, להכי כח. The כח could fall out before the following אחר כל.

⁵ PJ. > A.

⁶ A. 'the nine' PJ.

⁷ PJ. 'he' A.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 6 brother, why dost thou smite me?" He said unto him, "Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve
7 staves, and I have only one; *give me ten,¹ and there shall be peace." But Judah refused to give
8 them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were
9 left with Judah. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, "Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi?
10 Depart from them and follow after me." When his brothers heard Joseph's words, they departed
11 from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin
12 to Benjamin his brother, "Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with
13 me." But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. And it came to pass when the day
14 drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that
15 no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said
16 unto me, "My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been
17 repeated."
- 4 1, 2 'But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision. Whilst we stood all together with Jacob T. Naph.
our father on the shore of the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing in the middle of the sea vi. 1-3.
3 without a sailor and a man (pilot). Our father said to us, "Do ye see what I am seeing?" We
4 said unto him, "We see it." He said unto us, "Do what ye see me doing." Thereupon Jacob our
5 father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. And the first
6 were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. And behold in that
7 ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob our father said unto them, "Look at what
8 is written on the mast; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written
9 on the mast." Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, "This ship
10 belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein." When Jacob our father heard that,
11 he rejoiced very much, and bowed down, and thanked God. He said, "Not enough that He has
12 blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too!" Then he said unto us, "My children,
13 quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share." Thereupon
14 Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. The second after him, Judah, also leapt
15 to the second mast, which was next to Levi's mast, and he also sat thereon. And the rest of
16 my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the vi. 4.
17 ship by them. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, "My son Joseph, take
18 thou also thine oar." But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take
19 his oar, he said unto him, "Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in
20 my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land." And
21 he taught each one of us, and said unto us, "Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be
22 afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you."
- 5 1, 2 'And when he had made an end of commanding us, he disappeared from us. And Joseph took
3 both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were
4 rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two
5 masts to look out which way the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind,
6 and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and² the
7 ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and
8 Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching
9 of Judah; and the ship went a wrong course, and the waves of the sea dashed it on a rock, so that
10 the ship was broken up. T. Naph. vi. 5.
- 6 1 'Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of
2 the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. And behold there came Jacob our father, and
3 found us dispersed, one here, and another there. He said unto us, "What is the matter with you,
4 my sons? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you?" And
5 we said unto him, "By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast
6 commanded us; but Joseph transgressed against the command; for he did not steer the ship
7 according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Levi and Judah, for he was jealous of them."
8 And he said unto us, "Show me the place (of the ship)." And he saw, and behold the tops of the
9 masts were visible, and behold it was floating upon the surface of the water. And my father
10 whistled, and we all gathered round him. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he
11 repaired the ship. And he reprov'd Joseph, and said unto him, "My son, thou shalt not again
12 deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee."
- 7 1 'And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his
2 eyes shed tears. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. So I took the

¹ PJ. 'Come now, give them to me', A.

² A'; > APJ.

APPENDIX I

- hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, "Oh servant of the Lord! why do
 4 thine eyes shed tears?" He said unto me, "My son, because of the repetition of thy vision my
 heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him
 above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will
 5 be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision.
 6 Therefore I *command* you not to unite with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah*." viii. 2
- 8 1 'Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be
 2 satisfied with its delights. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to (Deut.
 3 oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. And do not xxxii.
 forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when 15.)
 4 the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. For at that time the Lord, blessed be He, came down
 from His highest heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their
 5 head. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah
 6 seventy languages. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their
 Creator. But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and
 Eber, and in the house of Abraham our father, who is one of their descendants.
- 9 1 'And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each
 2 nation separately: "You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into
 which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will
 3 worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered
 and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the
 4 language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, and Migrain, and Tubal, and Javan, and
 Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of
 5 the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost
 thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and select only Him
 who said, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body;
 Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the
 days of the world."
- 10 1 'Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share
 2 and lot. And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed
 be He; only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after him Isaac
 3 and Jacob. Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than
 4 Him whom your fathers have chosen. For know assuredly that there is none like unto Him, and
 no other who can do as He or like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do
 5 wonders like unto His mighty deeds. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of
 6 man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? He created him from head to foot; with
 his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he
 smells, and *with his wind-pipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and T. Naph.
 drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (?); with his hands he does ii. 8
 his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry;*
 and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins he*
 7 *is counselled*. And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. It is
 8 therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that
 hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop¹ in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth
 him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of
 the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to His
 place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a
 9 living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit
 of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator
 as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it (to him).'
- 10 Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, *with
 words sweeter than honey.²

¹ The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1.

² Emended. See my Text.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

Col. a.

- 1 ... from ... daughter ... that all ... to do according to right in ... Jacob my father, and saw
... and we said to them ... they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions.
2 Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision
of ... and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. b.

- 3 ... my brother at every time, ... that were in Shechem ... my brother and Dan showed ... in
Shechem and what ... (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them ... that I and Simeon my
brother went to him ... to Reuben our brother, who ... Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep ...

BODLEIAN ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

- 4 [Col. a] ... peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for
dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine.
5 Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and
sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall
6 depart. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of
7 everlasting peace. And two weeks passed from me, and I *awoke from my sleep*. Then I said: *The T. Levi*
one vision is even as the other. I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid* viii. 18
8 *this also in my heart and revealed it to no man*. And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like viii. 19
9 manner (blessed) me. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the twelve) all that should happen to him
according to his vow, (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his
sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the
priesthood, and (*fil*)*led my hands*,¹ and I became a priest to God ... , and I offered all his offerings, viii. 10
10 and blessed my father in my life, and blessed all my brethren. Then they all blessed me, and father
11 also blessed me, and I finished [Col. b] offering his offerings in Bethel. And we went from Bethel,
12 and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our father*. And Isaac our father saw us ix. 1, 5
13 all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God,
the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me, and to *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to ix. 7
14 me, 'Levi, take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are
15 greater than those of all flesh. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide
16 from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. First, *take heed to thyself*, my ix. 9
17 son, against all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication*. *And do thou take to thyself a wife* ix. 10
18 like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. *Thou art nigh* ii. 10
19 *to (God) and nigh to all His holy ones*. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all (Jub. xxi.
men. 16)
- 19 [Col. c] *And when thou risest up to enter the *house of God,*² *wash thyself* with water, and then ix. 11
20 clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy
21 hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. *And when thou takest to offer* all that
22 is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. And offer the split logs, and
prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking
23 heed. Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the ix. 12
24 altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and
almond, and fir, and pine,³ and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, (Jub. xxi.
12)

¹ So Jub. xxxii. 3, 'His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands.'

² Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give 'the sanctuary'.

³ Text reads 'thorns' (ܐܫܝܐ) corrupt for ܐܝܬܐ = 'pine'.

APPENDIX II

25 and aspalathus.¹ These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to
26 kindle [Col. *α*] them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. And again wash
27 thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. Offer the head first,
28 and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. And
after it the neck, and after the neck its forelegs, and after its forelegs the breast with the side, and
after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together
29, 30 with the entrails. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. And
after this the meal mingled with oil, and after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them
frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet
31 savour before the Most High God. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and
weight; add nothing which is not fitting, and fall not short of the account of what is fitting (?) con-
32 cerning (?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. For the great
bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf²
which is offered . . .

Verses 32^b-66 (found only in the Greek).

33 And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone, five minas. And for a great bullock
34 (μόσχον) forty minas. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for
35 the fat three minas. And if it be a lamb or a kid twenty minas; and for the fat two minas.
36 And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas;
37 and for the fat half a mina. And sprinkle³ salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer
it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt,
38 salt therewith the hide. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the
39 bullock (μόσχον) the half of the measure. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the
40 like measure. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting
41, 42 for them. For the great⁴ bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. And for
the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of
43, 44 a measure, and the oil. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. And
for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb†.
And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and
45 the kid. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third
46 thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. If you offer this not upon (?) the fat, let
there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the
47 third of the ephah. And the two parts of the bath and the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels.
And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.⁵ The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi
48 (θερμοί) and of one (and the same) weight. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my
commands, and let not these my words depart from your heart throughout all thy days, because thou
49 art a holy priest of the Lord. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give com-
50 mandment that they do according to this use⁶ as I have shown thee. For so my father Abraham
51 commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou
hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is
52 befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer
before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command
thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the
53 animals. And always wash⁷ thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou
goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same
54, 55 day†. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. And let no blood be seen upon
56 thee, †and every soul,† for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. And if thou preparest for thyself⁸
any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou
57 shalt not eat of the blood. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the
58 writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou
art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy

Jub. xxi.
16-18 =
verses
53-56

Jub. xxi.
1

¹ The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Greek fragment diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the *σχίνος*. See my text of the Testaments, 249.

² The Greek has 'the second bull' here and in verses 38, 41.

³ Emended. See my Text.

⁴ See verse 32.

⁵ Here follows in the text *θερμόν δ'* corrupt for *θερμών δ'* = 'of four thermoi.'

⁶ *κρίσω* = *משפט*.

⁷ Verses 53-6 agree almost verbally with Jub. xxi. 16-18.

⁸ MS. reads *οὐσης σεαυτῶν*, which may possibly be emended into *ποιῆς σεαυτῶν*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

59 brethren. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of
 60 the memorial of life unto all ages. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted
 61 out unto all the ages. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the
 62 generations of the ages.' And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, i. e. *in my T. Levi*
twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife of the lineage of my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of xi. 1
 63 Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. And *she conceived and bare me a first son*, and xi. 2
 I called his name Gershom; for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I was
 64 born. *We are sojourners as . . . in the land . . .* And *in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that xi. 3
 65 he would be cast out, he and his seed from the chief priesthood Thirty years old was I in my
 66 life when he was born, and in the tenth month he was born towards sunset. And again she conceived
 and bare me about the time that is fitting with women, *and I called his name Kohath*.¹ xi. 6

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

66 [Col. c] (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with her, and she concei)ved
 67 again (and bare me another son, and) I (call)ed his name (Kohath. And I saw) that to him xi. 5
 (would b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high-(priest)hood (over all Is)rael.
 68 *In the fo(ur and thirt)ieeth year of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the xi. 4
 69 mo(nth), at sunrise. And again I was wi(th her), *and she bare me a third son and I called his name* xi. 7
Merari, for it was bitter to me concerning him exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he died; and
 it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was like to die*, and I besought and prayed for
 70, 71 him, and it was in all bitterness. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third month. And
 72 again I was with her, and she conceived and bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Jochebed*, xi. 8
 (for) I sai(d), as she hath borne to me honour, she hath borne for me *glory* to Israel. *In the sixty-*
fourth year of my life she bare, in the first day of the seventh month, after that [Col. d.] we entered
 73 Egypt. In the sixte(en)th year we entered the land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the
 74 daughters of my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. The names of the sons of *Gershon (Libnai* xii. 1, 2
and) Shimei; and the names of *the sons of Ko(hath, Amram and Ishar and Hebron and Uzziel*; xii. 3
 75 (and the names of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai*. (And) *Amram (took) to him as wife* xii. 4
 76 *Jochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living in the 9(4)th year of my life. And I called the name
 of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the
 77 people from the (land of Eg)ypt. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. *On one day* xii. 4
 78 *(were they born he) and Jochebed my daughter. Eighteen years old was I when I went in(to the l)and* xii. 5
of Canaan, and (nine)teen years old when I slew She(chem) and destroyed the workers of violence.
 79 *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me*
 80 *a wife. And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and
 nine years I lived in Egypt.
 81 [Col. e] And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 years, and I saw my sons of the th(ird generation) xix. 4
 82 before I died. And *in the (hundred and eigh)teenth (year) of my life*, that is, the y(ear) in which xii. 6, 7
Joseph my brother died, I called (my) so(ns) and their sons, and began to charge them with all that
 was in my heart.
 83 And I answered and said to (my) sons:
 (Hear) the word of Levi your father,
 And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
 84 *I give you a charge, my sons,*
 And I show you the truth, my beloved. xiii. 1
 85 Let the sum of your works be truth,
 And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever. (Ps. cxix.
 86 And the tr(uth) . . . 160)
 And to them the harvest is blessed.
 87 *He that soweth good, reapeth good;*
And he that soweth evil, his seed returneth upon him. xiii. 6
 88 And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons*,
 And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour. xiii. 2
 89 *He that learneth wisdom, she is an honour to him,*
 And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt. xiii. 3
 90 My sons, behold *Joseph my brother,*
Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom. xiii. 9
 xiii. 2

¹ This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

APPENDIX II

- 91 [Col. f] . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry) and city . . . to him brother . . . was xiii. 3
in it, *he is (not like) a stranger in it,** and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),¹ and not like an alien in it ;
for they all give him honour in it, for all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4
- 92 *His friends are many,*
And they that salute him are great ones.
- 93 And on a seat of honour they place him,
To hear the words of his wisdom.
- 94 Great wealth of honour is wisdom.
And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7
- 95 If there come mighty kings and much people,
And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them,
And take . . country and city,
And spoil all that is in them,
The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil
Nor find out her hidden things
Nor . . .

¹ The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SIBYLLINE ORACLES IN GENERAL.

THE collection of verses known as the Sibylline Oracles was originally comprised in fifteen books and various fragments. Three books (ix, x and xv) are entirely missing, and there are gaps in some of those that remain, but with a total of some 4,240 lines their bulk is still very considerable. The greater part of this collection, however, is late and of comparatively little intrinsic worth, and the present study deals only with those of the fragments which are preserved in Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, and together form a kind of prelude or Proem, and with the earlier books iii, iv and v. But it will be necessary to give some preliminary sketch of the problem presented by the Sibylline literature in general.

It is a common feature of early peoples to look for oracular utterances of divine or quasi-divine inspiration from the mouth of old women, such as are represented by the witch of Endor in the Old Testament, the Pythian priestess among the Greeks, and, possibly, the nymph Egeria among the Romans; and it added immensely to the prestige of such utterances if they were ambiguous or difficult to understand. It was from a common feeling such as this that the Sibylline Oracles took their rise, but they are pre-eminent among all similar literature in the authority which they wielded and the fascination which they exercised over the minds of men. Their power they owed chiefly to their claim to remote antiquity, and to the obscurity in which they were always wrapped. Of Greek origin, and written principally, if not exclusively, in Greek, it was at Rome where they were chiefly venerated and had the most direct influence. In times of special difficulty they were frequently consulted, apparently with satisfactory result. There can be little doubt that the ingenuity of the custodians of the Sibylline rolls supplied sometimes a suitable response to the question under discussion.

A brief account of these oracles among the Romans is given below, but it is not with them that we have to deal. They have nearly all perished, and have left little more than a name and a history behind. But their great interest lies in the fact that the success which they achieved in their day led Jews and, later, Christians, seeking to defend or propagate their faith, to compose or adapt verses which they put forth under the name and authority of the ancient mysterious prophetesses known as the Sibyls, and in which lessons of monotheism and the like were put forth as the real teaching of the inspired teachers of the most hoar antiquity. With the morality of such a proceeding we have not here to deal: it is closely bound up with the question of the ancient idea of copyright, which was, as is obvious, radically different from ours. But of the success of this method of proselytising there can be little doubt, and indeed most Christian writers down to the time of Augustine accept without question the genuineness of these verses.

The Sibylline Oracles, therefore, which we possess are a compilation of old and new oracles worked up by Jewish or Christian authors who lived at various times between *c.* 160 B.C. and the fifth century, or even later, A.D. Their chief interest for us lies in (i) their date and interpretation, (ii) their relation to other apocalyptic literature, (iii) the side-lights thrown on history.

The above brief sketch must now be somewhat amplified, in order to explain the peculiar authority exercised by this form of oracle over Pagan, Jewish and Christian thought alike. And it will be necessary to go into a little more detail as to the Sibyl herself and the history of the Sibylline literature.

§ 2. THE SIBYL.

The name 'Sibyl' first attracts attention. It has been maintained by some scholars (especially by R. H. Klausen in *Aeneas und die Penaten*) that the word is not a proper name but implies a sound issuing from a subterranean oracle, conveyed either by the rustling of the wind, as in the case of the oaks of Dodona, or by the splash of water. But there seems to be little justification for this, and it is better to follow the universal testimony of antiquity in regarding Σίβυλλα as a proper name. Nor

INTRODUCTION

is there any inherent improbability in deriving the name from *Θεός* and *βουλή*, for there is sufficient evidence to show that among the Aeolians and Dorians *Θεός* appeared as *Σιός*, and in an inscription from Cumae *βoλλᾶ* is found for *βουλῆ*. *Σίβυλλα*, therefore, means the counsel of God (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6).

Early writers know of only one Sibyl. So Heraclitus (ap. Plutarch), Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle. But in course of time many more were recognized, though the exact number differs widely among various writers. The earliest mention of a plurality of Sibyls seems to emanate from a certain sophist named Sopater, who is quoted by Photius as the author of a work on Prophetic women 'which include the so-called Sibyls'. Other writers, e.g. Solinus and Ausonius, recognize at least three: Pausanias and Aelian speak of four: Clement of Alexandria mentions nine, and Varro's list (cf. Lact. *l. c.*) includes ten. The names given to the various Sibyls vary considerably, but there is convincing testimony that the earliest and most famous was the Erythraean, of whom Clement preserves a detailed but somewhat confused account. He gives her date as prior to Orpheus, whereas others, including Augustine, make her contemporary with the siege of Troy, and Suidas puts her nearly five centuries later. The Erythraeans believed her to be the offspring of a shepherd and a nymph. According to an early and widespread tradition she was connected with Apollo. This is referred to in 'Constantine's' *Oratio ad Sanctos*, preserved in Eusebius, where it is said that she was at an early age consecrated by her parent against her will to the temple of that god. At his hands she is said to have met her death after surviving nine generations of men, and her grave-stone was for long shown on the Erythraean shore, while her image or token is regularly found on the coins of that town.

Before long the claims of Erythrae to be the birthplace of the Sibyl were challenged by Marpessus, a town said by Pausanias to lie in Trojan Ida. Erythrae based her claims on the testimony of the Sibyl herself as contained in the lines (Orac. in Pausanias x. 12. 3):

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγανῖα μέσον θνητῆς τε Θεᾶς τε
νύμφης τ' ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφάγοιο
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενῆς, πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή.

But Marpessus alleged that *Ἐρυθρή* was merely an adjective, and that the next line,

Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἱερῆ, ποταμὸς δ' Αἰδωνεύς,

had been suppressed by the Erythraeans.

Connected alike with Erythrae and Marpessus is the Sibyl of Cumae, whose fame early rivalled that of Erythrae. Justin Martyr paid a visit to Cumae, and relates how he saw there the cave made out of the single massive rock from which the oracles were given, and the three cisterns in which the Sibyl was said to wash. It was this Sibyl who, in the famous story told by Varro and Livy, came to Rome and offered the nine fateful books to Tarquin, and on being refused her price came back with six books and then with three. Various notices of her are preserved by Virgil and Ovid. The former represents her as having lived 700 years and having 300 yet to run, while Ovid relates that being offered by Apollo any boon she chose, she took up a handful of sand and asked that she might live as many years as there were grains in it.

These are the more famous Sibyls. It will not be necessary to do more than enumerate the various others connected with Tibur, Samos, Colophon, Rhodes, Ephesus, Babylonia, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily.

§ 3. THE EARLIEST SIBYLLINE VERSES.

The first reference to the oracles of Sibyls is found in a quotation from Heraclitus, preserved in Plutarch (*De Pyth. Or.* 709 C): he says that the poems contained many gloomy matters, and specifies 'many revolutions and upheavals of Greek cities, many appearances of barbarous hordes and murders of rulers'. Aristophanes mentions the Sibyl more than once and always with some tinge of respect (*Pax* 1095, 1116), and Plato speaks of her with reverence: Aristotle lays stress on her melancholy character and dismisses her more summarily. More details are given by Suidas, who summarizes the writings of the various Sibyls which he knows. Servius in his commentary on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, mentions that the Cumaean Sibyl divided up the ages under the names of metals and showed which god was ruler in each (*quis quo imperaret*). But there is nothing to show exactly when collections of such verses came to be made. If we may believe the story of the Sibyl who appeared to Tarquin there was already a collection of nine books, but they must have been small in compass if a woman could carry them in the cumbrous form of rolls. It is probable that there were a great number of detached oracles, sometimes consisting of a line or two, current in the Greek-speaking world, and there may have been many private collections. After the destruction of the official Sibylline books in the burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C., a commission was dispatched to collect

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

oracles from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and a large number were brought back (including 1,000 lines from Erythrae), from which a collection was made. After this the numbers increased so rapidly that Augustus commanded 2,000 spurious volumes to be destroyed. But with their increase in bulk their credit began to diminish, and the Emperor found it necessary to carry out a similar process of weeding.

§ 4. THE JEWISH SIBYLLINE VERSES.

The beginning of the Maccabean revolt revived the enthusiasm of the Jews in every department of life. Among other things the missionary side of their faith aroused greater interest, and a serious attempt was made to place its claim on intellectual grounds more clearly before the world. At the same time eschatology began to exercise more and more influence on men's minds, and the conception of a final setting aright of all apparent injustice by the direct judgement of God appealed with increasing force to the more thoughtful of the Jews. The former tendency may be illustrated by the attempt of Aristobulus, a Jew living at the court of Ptolemy VII about 160 B.C., to prove that the best literature of Greece was in reality indebted to a large extent to Jewish inspiration: the latter point by the composition of the books of Daniel and Enoch. Both these tendencies combined to suggest to a cultivated Jew living in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., that, if he could use the authority of the ancient and revered Sibyl, he might by means of verses written in the Sibylline style gain a very much wider audience for the propagation of his faith. The example of the book of Daniel was in all probability before him, and he would recognize no moral fault in the use of such means, especially if collections of Sibylline Oracles were from time to time receiving large additions. His method was not pure invention: he took ancient oracles and pieced them together, adding passages of his own which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people. It is probably to this¹ unknown author that we owe the greater part of the third book. His example could hardly fail to inspire imitators both among Jews and later among Christians. Nor did the feeling of the day see anything incongruous in the ancient Sibyl denouncing idolatry and singing the praises of the happy land of Judaea. Indeed the new collection of oracles achieved very considerable success.

§ 5. THE SIBYLLINES IN LATER HISTORY.

The burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C. resulted in the complete destruction of the official collection of Sibylline Oracles. Seven years later the Senate dispatched three commissioners to Erythrae to fetch from thence any that could be discovered, and as a result of their efforts some 1000 verses were collected from that place while a considerable number were added from elsewhere. It is not improbable that the interest aroused by this search inspired the manufacture of many spurious oracles, some of which may have been of Jewish origin. From the materials thus collected a selection was made by the Quindecimviri, and the accepted verses were kept in greater secrecy. Nevertheless some knowledge of them was public property. Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 54) remarks on the art displayed in them as exemplified by their² acrostic form and throws some suspicion on their genuineness. Virgil in his famous description of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* iv quotes from Sib. iii. 785 ff. But the publication of oracles took away the main point of their sanctity, and we find the Emperors diligent in preserving them, as far as possible, inviolate. So Augustus instituted a searching inquiry into them and destroyed all except a small collection which was stored under the base of the Palatine Apollo. A further investigation was carried out on similar lines by Tiberius.

In view of these facts, it is obvious that the wide knowledge of Sibylline verses among early Christian writers points to there having been many collections over and above the official collection of Rome. It is possible that the oracles rejected by the scrutiny of the Quindecimviri instead of being destroyed merely found a wider audience, being incorporated with various subsequent additions. Inasmuch as the official collection, which was finally burned by order of Stilicho in the reign of Theodosius, was, as far as we know, never published, it would appear that the verses which we possess were all preserved in private hands.

There is no evidence that the Sibylline Oracles enjoyed any great popularity with later Jewish writers. Josephus (*Ant.* i. § 4) indeed alludes to Sib. iii. 97 ff., but the early appropriation of the Sibyl by Christian writers seems to have militated against extensive Jewish use. Among the early Fathers allusions and quotations are very frequent. Heras alludes to the Sibyl in *Pastor* 2, § 4. Clement of Rome (cf. Justin, *Resp. ad Quaest.* 74) speaks of the Sibyl's prophecy that the world should

¹ The suggestion that the writer was Aristobulus himself is a tempting one and was put forward by Alexandre (*Exc. ad Sib.*).

² The only Sibylline acrostic which we possess is the Christian one in Sib. viii. 217-50, which is of considerably later date.

INTRODUCTION

perish by fire. Justin refers without reserve to Books iii and iv, Athenagoras and Theophilus to the Proem and Book iii. Clement of Alexandria quotes freely from all the Jewish books and even represents St. Paul as appealing to the Sibyl (Strom. vi), and Celsus (*ap. Orig.* v, § 4) is moved to ridicule by their frequent use in Christian writers. Origen himself only once mentions the Sibyl (*c. Cels.* v, § 61), while Tertullian, though speaking of the Sibyl as anterior to all literature (*ad Nat.* 2), never makes use of the testimony of the Sibyl in his apologetics. Lactantius uses less reserve:¹ he quotes freely from all the Jewish books and his writings are a perfect mine of Sibylline verses. His view of the Sibyls was that, though in themselves they were prophetesses of false gods, yet from time to time filled with Divine inspiration they poured forth precious truths. Ambrose has but one quotation from the Sibyllines: Augustine is aware of a prejudice against them, but in discussing their claims he finds nothing in them pertaining to the worship of false gods and he gravely admits the Sibyl to the number of those who belong to the City of God (*de Civ. Dei* xviii. 23).

§ 6. INTRODUCTION TO THE JEWISH BOOKS.

The two considerable fragments which are usually printed at the end of the book, together with the three lines of Fragment ii, are preserved to us in the treatise of Theophilus *ad Autolyicum* (end of first century A.D.) in which the writer attempts to justify to an educated heathen the Christian idea of God and the doctrine of the Resurrection. From Fr. i. 30, Alexander has deduced a Christian origin for them, but their tone is rather Jewish than Christian and their main purport is to vindicate the unique sovereignty of the Holy Invisible God as against the undignified stories of polytheism on the one hand, and the worship of animals and idols on the other. In character they are closely similar to iii. 1-45 and all seem to originate from Egypt. There is no distinctive mark of date, but the Fragments are most probably prae-Christian. They are ascribed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria. From the way in which Theophilus introduces these lines (*ad Aut.* ii. 36 Σίβυλλα δέ, ἐν Ἑλληνισμῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν γενομένη προφήτις, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας αὐτῆς ἀνειδίξει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος λέγουσα . . .) the inference has been drawn that they stood originally at the beginning of the third book.

Book III has been variously divided. Friedlieb divides into three main sections 1-294: 295-488: 489-828, but these sections are not entirely homogeneous.

The following is an analysis:

1-7 is an introduction expressing the pain of the Sibyl under the Divine compulsion.

8-45 express the Jewish hatred of idolatry and give a description of the true God the Creator of the World.

46-62 an eschatological passage describing the reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. Lines 46, 47 and 52 give an indication of date, which, however, is not easy to fix. It may be as early as *c.* 168 B.C., at which time Rome first interfered decisively in the affairs of Egypt by the embassy of Popilius Laenas. Then the three men of l. 52 who are to afflict Rome would be, perhaps, the Gracchi. Or the date may be *c.* 96 B.C. when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed by will his kingdom of Cyrene to the Roman people. In this case the three men would be Marius, Sulla, and Cinna.

Or it may be as late as *c.* 51 B.C. when Ptolemy Auletes bequeathed his kingdom to his Roman creditors. Then the three men would be the Triumvirs, whether the First (so Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, p. 47), or the Second (so Friedlieb, *Intr.* p. xxvii). The middle date is, on the whole, to be preferred. Alexandre would refer the 'holy king' of l. 49 to Vespasian and the 'three men' to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but this is quite improbable.

62-92. The destruction of Beliar: a late passage probably from the latter part of the first century A.D. Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 87, 100, considers the passage to be Jewish, but Jülicher, reviewing him in *Theol. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1896, maintains its Christian origin, and Geffcken is of the same opinion. The question largely turns on the meaning given to Σεβαστήνων in 63. The idea that the whole world should come under the dominion of a woman recurs in viii. 200. The most probable explanation is that the woman is Rome.

93-6. Four lines of transition usually regarded as Christian, but not necessarily so.

97-294. A section derived primarily from the Erythraean Sibyl relating to the building of Babylon, the story of the Titans and the birth of Zeus, with a short summary of history dealing specially with the history of the Jews. The antiquity of the section is attested by the references to

¹ Detailed references are given in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quae apud Lactantium reperiuntur*, 1817) and Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, 254 ff.). Also in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud Sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844) and Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'Église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*, Montauban, 1851).

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

it in Alexander Polyhistor (80-40 B.C.) and Abydenus (first or second century B.C.) and by the frequent quotations in Christian writers. There are two main marks of date: (1) the reference to the seventh king of Egypt in 192, 193 (cf. 318, 608) who is, in all probability, Ptolemy Philometor 182-146 B.C.; (2) the description of Rome in 175 ff., which would suit the years immediately following the battle of Pydna 168 A.D. A date circ. 160 A.D. would seem to be the most probable. The working up of old heathen oracles by a Jew would then be closely parallel to the attempt of Aristobulus about the same date to prove that the Old Testament was the primary source of the best works of ancient Greek literature. The Sibyllist takes not only the Erythraean Sibyl, but also extracts from the Babylonian (97-104), and perhaps the Chaldaean (218-30). But the latter section is also ascribed by Lactantius to the Erythraean Sibyl.

295-488 contain for the most part a collection of various oracles of different dates. Many of them are of a general character and cannot be historically identified. But the following passages contain some note of time.

314-18 seems to refer to the internal struggles in Egypt between Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes which ended with the capture of Euergetes in Cyprus in 154 B.C.

323-33 may refer to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C.

350-5 probably refers to the Mithradatic war of 88-84 B.C.

388-400 is best explained as depicting the events of 162-142 B.C.

464-9 appears to have reference to the Social war of 89-88 B.C.

483-8 mentions the capture of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C.

The section contains some ancient oracles, e.g. 364-6; 401-30.

The passage about Alexander 381-7 is referred to by Varro as coming from the Persian Sibyl; while the Scholion on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 ascribes it to the Chaldaean Sibyl.

Lines 414-33 are ascribed on the authority of Pausanias and Varro to the Erythraean Sibyl.

489-829. This long section begins with woes on various lands, and especially on Greece, which is to be subjugated by a barbarian power. Then follows praise of the Jews and a reference to the attack of Antiochus Epiphanes on Egypt in 170 B.C. (611-15). An eschatological passage comes next, leading up to the description of the coming of the Messiah, to be followed by a time of ideal peace and prosperity for the Jews. This is interrupted by a short passage (732-40), which appears to celebrate the capture of the Acra of Jerusalem from the Seleucid troops. Another Messianic passage (767-95) is followed by a short description of the signs that are to precede the end (796-808) and the book ends with an Epilogue, which in itself seems to be composite, 819-29 being apparently a later addition.

The marks of date then in this last section are as follows:—

508-11. Refers to the Gaulish invasion of Asia Minor in 280 B.C.

520-61. Subjugation of Greece especially after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.

573-85. Prosperity of the Jews in Maccabean times c. 140 B.C.

608-15 refer particularly to 180-179 B.C.

732-40 represent the feeling of c. 140 B.C.

It should be noticed that l. 776 bears marks of having been at least worked over by a Christian hand.

Taking the book as a whole there is no adequate reason for doubting that lines 97-819 are, with the exception of a few passages (e.g. 350-5, 464-9, 776) either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B.C. The Egyptian colouring is marked e.g. by the interest in Egyptian history, 159, 161, 314-18, 348, 608-15; but the writer has frequent references to Rome and Greece, and, to a lesser degree, to Asia Minor.

An attempt has been made (by Friedlieb) to show that lines 97-808, together with the Proem, comprised the poem that went under the name of the Erythraean Sibyl, and is said by Lactantius¹ to comprise about one thousand lines. It is a further suggestion of Bleek that lines 1-45, 819-29 may be ascribed to the author of Books I and II. These suggestions have the merit of providing a comprehensive framework for the first three Sibylline books, but they cannot be regarded as more than tentative. It is probable, for instance, that iii. 97-104 comes from the Chaldaean Sibyl, or possibly a Hebrew Sibyl (Josephus, *Ant.* i. § 4) and the frequent notice of Egypt to which reference has been made would suggest that parts at least of the poem are from another source. At the same time, it is obvious that the Erythraean Sibyl became by far the most noted, and it is quite possible that other ancient oracles which bore no special mark of authorship were collected under her name.

The fourth book does not present any such difficult problems. Its plan is fairly simple. After

¹ *Div. Inst.* i. 6.

INTRODUCTION

a description of God as the source of inspiration (1-23) the writer proceeds to draw a picture of the joy of the righteous and the fate of the ungodly (24-46). He then proposes a sketch of the history of the ten generations of the world, but after two generations he breaks off into a series of oracles against various countries and towns in the dismal Sibylline style (47-151). Then follows an eschatological passage (152-92) interrupted by an exhortation to repentance (162-78).

The book is, therefore, in all probability a unity, and its date can be fixed with considerable certainty.

107-8 speak of the restoration of Laodicea after the earthquake of 60 A.D.

115-18 speak of the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege in 69 A.D.

125-6 speak of the destruction of the Temple.

119-24 speak of the disappearance of Nero, the expectation of his return, and the struggles of 69 A.D., and a similar expectation recurs in 138 f.

128, 129, 143, 144 speak of a great earthquake in Cyprus, which is fixed by a notice of Eusebius in 76 A.D.

The date then is after 76 A.D., but not long after, and at a time when the stirring events of the years 69-70 were fresh in men's minds, and the expectation of the return of Nero was real and vivid. So by general consent the book is ascribed to about the year 80 A.D.

There is some uncertainty as to whether the writer is a Jew or a Christian. In favour of the latter supposition is adduced the outlook on temples (28) and sacrifices (29), the mention of the folly of the Jews (117), and the stress laid on repentance (168). But none of these ideas would be unnatural in a thoughtful Jew of 80 A.D., and as there is nothing specifically Christian in the book, so it ends with an eschatological outlook which seems distinctly Jewish in character.

The fifth book presents problems of its own. It is obvious at once that lines 1-51 stand by themselves. They give a brief sketch of history up to the time of Hadrian, or, if l. 51 be genuine, up till the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The rest of the book consists, in the main, of the proclamation of troubles in various lands; in Egypt (52-114), Asia (115-36), Greece, Italy, and other lands (137-78), Egypt, India, Corinth, &c. (179-227), Asia, Thrace, &c. (286-343), Babylon, &c. (434-83), Egypt, &c. (484-511). This fills up the main bulk of the book, but, interspersed among these conventional Sibylline outpourings, there are sections on other subjects which merit attention. Such are an ode to *ἕβρις* (228-46), which seems Eastern in character, and in which Hildebrandt claims to have discovered a direct quotation from the Avesta; an ideal description of Judaea (247-55, 260-85); a Christian fragment (256-9); an eschatological passage (344-85); a denunciation of evil livers (386-402); a hint of an attack on the Holy Land and of a Divine vengeance (403-33); and a description of a coming battle of the stars (512-31).

Passages which bear upon the question of the date are as follows. In the first section the extravagant praise of Hadrian (48, 49) would be inexplicable in a Jewish writing except in the earlier years of his reign, or at any rate before the revolt of Bar Cochba and the erection of *Ælia Capitolina* on the site of Jerusalem. But l. 51 speaks of three successors of Hadrian, one of whom (by which Marcus Aurelius is probably meant) should reign late in life. There is good reason to suspect this line to be a later interpolation.

In the main section, 52 to end, the chief indication of date lies in lines 411-13, which seem to speak of Titus as doomed to death as soon as he reached Italy on his return from the capture of Jerusalem. The expectation, which appears to have been somewhat widely held, was, of course, falsified by history, and so this section at any rate, if the emendation proposed be accepted, is fixed for the year 70 A.D. For the rest the expectation of the return of Nero appears in 34 f., 104 ff., 139 ff., 215 ff., 363 ff., as a conviction deeply held, although he is by this time half identified with the Antichrist.

The general conclusion leaves the date more or less uncertain. But there is no real reason to separate 1-51 from the rest of the book, and if we except lines 51 and 411-13 we may fix the date as somewhere in the reign of Hadrian before 130 A.D.¹

The author seems undoubtedly to be living in Egypt. So the Sibyl calls herself (if the text be not corrupt) sister of Isis (53), and has much to say about Egypt and its towns (60-114, 179-99, 458-9, 484-511).

Opinions are much divided as to whether the author is a Jew or a Christian. The adjective

¹ The minute dissection of a 'Higher Criticism' may be illustrated by the following table taken from Zahn's *Apokalyptische Studien*:—

(a) A. D. 71, 111 (or 115)-78; ? 200-5; 228-46; 361-433; 484-531.

(b) c. A. D. 120, 1-49^a, 50^b; 52-110; 179-99; 206-27; 247-360 (or, at any rate, 247-85; 328-82); 434-83.

(c) c. A. D. 150, 49^b-50^a; 51; 257; 413, and probably many isolated verses.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

θεοχρίστους in l. 68 seems to stamp the section to which it belongs as Christian, and 256-9 are unmistakably the same. But for the rest of the book the outlook is more Jewish than Christian. There is no reference to a New Testament writing, with the possible exception of l. 158 (cf. Apoc. viii. 10).

§ 7. MANUSCRIPTS.

Special service in the collation of MSS. has been rendered by A. Mai, Keil, and Rzach. The results are given at length in the introduction to Geffcken's edition. The MSS. fall into three main classes, to which the terms Ω , Φ , and Ψ are conventionally given. The following are the only MSS. which contain the Jewish portions:—

In class Ω :

- V. Codd. Vaticani 1120, 743, both fourteenth century, contain iv.
Cod. Monacensis 1541 contains iv.

In class Φ :

- A. Cod. Vindobonensis hist. gr. xcvi. 6, fifteenth century, contains all our sections.
- P. Cod. Monacensis 351, fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the first part of the Prologue.
- S. Cod. Scorialensis 11 Σ 7 contains all our sections.
- B. Cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 109, end of fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the Prologue and iii. 1-106.

In class Ψ :

- F. Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus plut. xi. 17, fifteenth century, contains iii with the subscription *στίχοι*¹ αλδ (1,034 lines), iv with subscription *ρπδ*² (181 lines), v with subscription *στίχοι φλη*³ (538 lines).
- R. Cod. Parisinus 2851, end of fifteenth century, contains iii (with similar remark *στίχοι αλδ*), iv (*στίχοι ρπα*), v. 1-106.
- L. Cod. Parisinus 2850: 1475 A.D. contains the same three books with the same remarks; only Book iii is called *λόγος τέταρτος* and Book iv *λόγος πέμπτος*.
- T. Cod. Toletanus, a MS. recently discovered in the Library of Toledo Cathedral, written about 1500, containing all our sections except v. 482-end. It has Latin notes both in the margin and between the lines, but Geffcken regards it as of no particular value.

Besides the MSS. the following extracts have been found:—

- Cod. Parisinus 1043 contains iv. 179-85, 187, 189, 190; v. 93-111.
- Cod. Vat. 1357 contains viii. 217-50.

The citations in the early Fathers are also of great service in restoring the text.

Geffcken calls attention to the extreme difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory text. It is not infrequent to find lines in which no MS. gives a metrically possible text, and then it becomes necessary to have recourse to conjecture. In other instances a composite text has to be formed out of several different versions. But Geffcken arrives at two conclusions that are of definite value. First, the Ω text is on the whole preferable to Φ and Ψ ; and secondly, Φ and Ψ seem to have branched off from an earlier and better text, and of the two Φ is to be preferred, though not by any means in every instance.

As regards the date of the different classes of MSS., Geffcken would put the Ω in the third or fourth century, and would find a kind of Ψ before the end of the fifth century.

§ 8. THEOLOGY.

The main object of the Jewish Sibyllists is to maintain the unity and sovereignty of God. God is one Being, invisible, self-sprung, without beginning or end. Idolatry is condemned in terms of unmeasured scorn; the heathen gods are nothing, lifeless and powerless; the sacred animals of Egypt are merely deceptions; Isis and Sarapis will be found ineffective to help their worshippers in the

¹ Our present third book contains only 829 lines. But there is good reason to suppose that originally it contained considerably more than this.

² Our book contains 192. But Ψ omits 86, 94, 95, 112, 113, 115, 148, 153, 154, 182, 183, 186, 191.

³ Our book has only 531.

time of bitter distress. Phoebus himself, the inspirer of the heathen Sibyl, is a mere delusion. All idolaters, of whatever class, are people who have mistaken the true highway of life and wandered off into tortuous by-ways. They have failed to recognize the true God, Who although so lofty and majestic, has yet revealed Himself to men, and Who keeps a constant watch over all that goes on on earth. The ignorance and wilful transgressions of purblind man are inevitably storing up for the world volumes of wrath that will burst forth in terrible destruction.

The doctrine of God, then, is a fairly full one: again and again stress is laid on His unique position as existing from all time and owning no Creator. The terms which express this idea (*αὐτοφύης, αὐτογένητος, αὐτολόχευτος*) are themselves open to misconstruction, but they seem to imply nothing more than God's eternal existence, as contrasted with the idols that are the works of men's hands and the gods of mythology concerning whose birth so many tales were rife. In three respects His intimate connexion with the visible world is vindicated: He is the Creator and Sustainer of all, sending rain and fruitful seasons, and manifesting His wrath in hailstorms and earthquakes. He has also revealed Himself to man, and although the means of His self revelation are not actually stated they are probably regarded as lying in the visible phenomena of nature. And again God is finally to judge the world, sending the just either to a fresh life of happiness on earth or to the abode of bliss, while the wicked are condemned to the woes of Tartarus. It may be noted that stress is laid on the conception of God Himself being the Judge (cf. iv. 41, 183) as though in protest against the Christian idea of Christ as the Judge of all, whereas the work of Creation is carried out through the medium of the Word (iii. 20, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6).

With regard to worship there are varying conceptions. The older passages speak freely of the offering of sacrifices (e.g. Frag. i. 21: Bk. iii. 576 ff.), but in the fourth book we find a repudiation of all animal sacrifices (28 ff.) and even of a visible temple (8 and 28). This book seems to be tinged with Essene thought which manifests itself also in the stress laid on Grace before meals (25 f.) and lustrations (165).

The middle of the second century B.C. was a time when men's minds were very full of the thought of the coming judgement of God, and the literature of that age influenced deeply the thought of successive generations. So although the main eschatological portions of the Sibyllines occur in the third book, echoes of them are not lacking in other parts. The wrath of God as it culminates in judgement on the earth is depicted in scenes of bewildering complexity. A principal element is fire, which is to burn up the world. Sometimes it is in the form of a rushing stream (ii. 54), sometimes as an essence (iii. 72), sometimes it comes in form of a sword (iii. 672, 798, iv. 174). A mighty darkness is to envelop the earth (v. 349); the sun, moon, and stars are to fail (iii. 801, v. 346); the very heavenly bodies are to come crashing down (iii. 80 ff.); a star is to be one of the agents of the destruction (v. 158 ff.). God himself is to appear in the clouds (v. 65 f.). The destruction of the earth is sometimes represented as complete (e.g. iii. 84 ff.). More generally it is only the ungodly who are to be destroyed, the righteous being reserved for a blessed life (v. 375-85). The signs of the end are manifold. There is to be a great increase of wickedness and presumption; in the later books this is usually connected with the return of Nero. A comet is to herald the end (iii. 334). Various portraits are to be seen, e.g. a battle among the clouds (iii. 805, v. 212). There is to be great distress among nations (ii. 556 ff., v. 225). Beliar is to appear and lead men astray with various lying wonders (ii. 63 ff.). Nero is to return in pride and arrogance, the world is to fall under the dominion of a woman (iii. 75 ff.).

It is noticeable that the destruction of the world is not strongly distinguished from judgements that are to affect merely certain localities. The universal and the particular shade off very easily into one another. Similarly in some passages the judgement is merely a prelude to the establishment of a blessed kingdom among the godly on earth (e.g. iii. 767 ff.). The Messiah himself is to come from heaven to assume the kingdom (v. 414 ff.). Under his rule the godly are to enjoy great peace (iii. 702 ff.); the earth is to bring forth her fruits in extraordinary abundance (iii. 741 ff.); the rough places of nature are to be made smooth (iii. 777 ff.), and even the animal world is to share in the universal peace and goodwill (iii. 785 ff.). Jerusalem is to become the fairest spot on earth (v. 420 ff.); the temple is to be resplendent once more with the gifts of varied peoples (iii. 657, 772).

It will be seen that the greater part of these idyllic conceptions are not in themselves unique or peculiar, but their fullness and variety make the Sibylline workings conspicuous among similar literature. They testify to the deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the present conditions among the most loyal spirits of the Jews, and the confident hope that the apparent injustice of God's dealings in the world as shown in the triumph of His enemies, would be righted within no very long time by the vindication of His Divine purpose for men.

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THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

FRAGMENTS

i

(1) O ye mortal men of flesh who are nought, (2) why do ye so quickly exalt yourselves, having no eye unto life's end? (3) Do ye not tremble at nor fear God, who overlooks you? (4) the Most High who knows, who looks on all, who witnesses all, (5) who nourishes all? the Creator who has planted his sweet Spirit in all, (6) and made him a guide to all mortals? (7) There is one God, sole Sovereign, excellent in power, unbegotten, (8) almighty, invisible, yet seeing all himself. (9) Yet he himself is beheld by no mortal flesh. (10) For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true (11) God, the Immortal, whose abode is the heaven? (12) Nay not even face to face with the sun's rays (13) are men able to stand, being mortals, (14) mere veins and flesh wedded to bones. (15) Worship him, who is alone Prince of the World, (16) who alone exists from age to age, (17) self sprung, unbegotten, holding all in sway through all time, (18) giving to all men their testing time in the common light. (19) But of your evil counsel ye shall have the fitting reward, (20) for that forsaking the honouring of the true and eternal God, (21) and the offering to him of sacred hecatombs, (22) ye have made your sacrifices to the deities in Hades. (23) In insolence and madness ye walked, and, forsaking the straight high-road, (24) ye turned aside and were wandering through thorns (25) and stakes. Cease, vain mortals, (26) roaming in darkness and in black murky night, (27) and leave the darkness of night and take hold of the light. (28) Behold he is plain unto all and such as cannot be missed. (29) Come, pursue not ever darkness and murkiness! (30) Behold, the sweet-eyed light of the sun shines brightly forth. (31) Conceive wisdom in your hearts and have knowledge. (32) There is one God who sends rain and winds and earthquakes, (33) lightnings, famines, pestilence and sad cares, (34) and snow and hail: why should I detail them one by one? (35) He is Lord of heaven, Sovereign of earth, the one Existence.

ii

(1) But if the gods have offspring and yet remain immortal, (2) there would have been more gods born than men, (3) nor would room have been found for mortals to stand.

iii

(1) But if any thing brought into being wholly perishes, God could not have been fashioned (2) from the loins of a man and from the womb. (3) But God is one, most exalted of all, who has made (4) the heaven, the sun, the stars, and the moon, (5) the fertile earth too, and the swellings of the sea-water, (6) and the lofty mountains, and perennial founts of springs. (7) Again he brings into

i. The whole Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36. The first line is quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 3. 14. The strong monotheism of the passage is probably Jewish rather than Christian, but Fehr (*Stud. in Or. Sib.*, p. 16 ff.) points out its close similarity with Orphic writings.

5, 6. Cf. Wisdom xii. 1. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 as coming from the beginning of the Erythraean Sibyl. In 6 Lact. has *θεόν* for *βροτῶν*, but this is probably a Christian alteration.

7-9. Quoted by Justin, *Coh. ad Graec.* 16.

10. Cf. iii. 17; Deut. v. 26.

12. Geffcken quotes a similar thought ascribed to Socrates in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vi. 71.

14. The rendering follows the restoration of Nauck.

18. **testing time**, *κρίτηριον*, is of doubtful meaning. Geffcken quotes Philo, *De Opif. Mund.* 20, p. 14, in which it appears to mean 'discrimination'. The phrase 'common light' is probably of Stoic origin. It recurs in iii. 494.

22. For the idea that the heathen gods are dead cf. iii. 545 ff., viii. 393.

28-35. Quoted in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* viii. 37. Line 28 is also quoted in *Strom.* v. 14. 116.

30. Alexandre supposes the 'sweet-eyed light' to refer to Christ. But the thought is more of the actual sun declaring the glory of God.

ii. The second Fragment is also found in Theophilus (*ad Aut.* ii. 3. 2), and is alluded to specifically in [Constantine's] *Or. ad sanct. coet.* 4. It appears to be closely connected with the following Fragment.

iii. The Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 36. 29. The first and the second lines are quoted in Hipp. *Philos.* v. 16, and in Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 8. 3, and alluded to in Justin, *Cohort. ad Graec.* 23. 6.

being the multitudes countless in number of the creatures of the water, (8) and He keeps alive the reptiles that move on the earth, (9) and the manifold species of winged things, twittering with clear voice, (10) brown birds with liquid trill, beating the air with outstretched wings; (11) and in the mountain glades he has set the wild race of beasts, (12) and to us mortals he has subjected all domestic creatures. (13) He has constituted man as the Divinely appointed ruler of all, and (14) to him he has subjected every variety of things, and things that cannot be understood. (15) For what mortal flesh can know all these things? (16) Nay, none knows them save He who from the beginning has made them, (17) the incorruptible Creator, the Eternal, dwelling in the sky (18), putting before the good much greater reward of good (19) but for the evil and unjust raising up wrath and anger, (20) and war and pestilence and tearful woes. (21) Ye men, why do ye vainly exalt yourselves—to be rooted out? (22) Be ashamed of making gods of cats and beasts. (23) Does not madness and frenzy take away the sense of the mind, (24) if gods purloin dishes and carry off pots: (25) and in place of dwelling in the golden **limitless** sky (26) they look moth-eaten and are woven with thick spiders' webs. (27) Ye witless folk, worshipping serpents, dogs and cats, (28) ye reverence winged creatures and animals that creep on the earth, (29) and images of stone and statues made with hands, (30) and stones piled together by the roads. These things ye reverence (31) and many other vain things which it is a shame even to mention. (32) These are gods **who lead on** weak-willed men **by guile**, (33) from whose very mouth deadly poison is poured. (34) But to Him Who is both life and deathless, endless light, (35) and who pours forth upon men gladness sweeter than (**luscious**) honey, (36) to Him alone bend thy neck, (37) and †incline† thy path among the blessed lives. (38) All these things ye left and quaffed the full goblet of justice, (39) unadulterated, strong, fortified, in no wise tempered, (40) yea all of you with spirit frenzied by folly. (41) And ye will not wake to soberness and come to a temperate mind, (42) and know the King, the God Who oversees all things. (43) Therefore the gleam of blazing fire is coming upon you. (44) Ye shall be burned with torches the livelong day throughout the age, (45) being ashamed of your lying futile idols. (46) But they who honour the true and everlasting God (47) inherit life, throughout the aeonian time (48) dwelling in the fertile garden of Paradise, (49) feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

BOOK III

(1) O thou who thunderest from on high, blessed heavenly one, who hast the Cherubim (2) as thy throne, I pray thee give me a short respite from mine unerring oracle, (3) for my soul within me is weary. (4) Nay, why did my heart again flutter, and why is my soul, (5) lashed with a spur from within, compelled to announce my message (6) to all? So again I will proclaim all (7) that God bids me proclaim unto men.

8. **keeps alive.** The verb *ψυχотροφεῖται* is apparently found nowhere else. The middle is a little awkward, and Opsopoeus' reading, *ψυχотροφεῖ τε* (from M), is not reliable.

12. Cf. Ps. viii. 7, 8. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 28 (the whole chapter should be read).

17-19. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* xxii. 7, as from Erythraean Sibyl.

18, 19. Cf. Sirach xxxix. 25.

21. The question is a highly compressed one. For the thought cf. iii. 57 ff.

22. The mention of cats as objects of worship points to an Egyptian source cf. iii. 30.

25. **limitless**, *ἀπείρονα*, an emendation of Wilamowitz.

26. **look moth-eaten.** The phrase *σητόβρωτα δέδορκε* is scornfully modelled on the heroic idiom *πῦρ . . . δεδορκώς* (Odys. xix. 446, &c.). The sarcasm is very effective. The deified cats pilfer savoury morsels, and the images are covered with spiders' webs.

32. **who lead on . . . by guile**, *δόλω ἡγητῆρες* is Wilamowitz's suggestion for *δολοήτορες*.

35. This line and the next are deficient. There is nothing to show how they should be filled up.

37. †**incline**†. The verb is uncertain. MS. reading is *ἀνακλινοῖ*. Rz. alters to *ἀνακλίνεις*, but the optative is awkward after the imperative. Perhaps read *ἀνακαίνον*, 'renew.'

38. The metaphor of the cup is probably derived from Isa. li. 17.

45. MS. 'being ashamed of lies in the futile idols'.

46-48. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* ii. 12. 19.

47. The phrase **inherit life** recalls Matt. xix. 29, but is not exclusively a Christian conception.

49. **sweet bread.** This is probably manna, which is to be the food of the blessed. Cf. Sib. iii. 746 and 2 Baruch xxix. 8.

III. 1-7. *Introduction. The Divine compulsion.*

1. The line needs emendation to make it scan. Read *ὑψίβρομε, μάκαρ, οὐράνε ὅς ἔχεις τὰ Χερουβίμ*. The scansion goes more by accent than by strict rules, and indeed in all this section there are metrical abnormalities.

3. The Sibyl regularly represents herself as speaking under Divine compulsion, cf. *infr.* l. 295. The Fathers distinguished her inspiration from that of the Hebrew prophets by its unwilling character.

(8) Ye men that bear the form that God did mould in his image, (9) why do ye wander at random and walk not in the straight path, (10) being ever mindful of the eternal Creator? (11) There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in heaven, (12) self sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone. (13) No mason's hand did make him, nor does some model formed from gold (14) or ivory by the varied skill of man represent him. (15) But he, himself Eternal, hath revealed himself (16) as One who is and was before, yea and shall be hereafter. (17) For who, being mortal, can gaze on God with his eyes? (18) Or who could bear even to hear the mere name (19) of the mighty, heavenly God, the World-Ruler? (20) Who by his word created all, both heaven and sea (21) and tireless sun and moon at full (22) and twinkling stars, mighty mother Ocean, (23) springs and rivers, fire immortal, days and nights. (24) Yea it is God Himself who fashioned four-lettered Adam, (25) the first man fashioned, who completes in his name (26) morn and dusk, antarctic and arctic. (27) He too both established the fashion of the form of mortal men (28) and made the beasts and things that creep and fly. (29) Ye do not worship nor fear God, but wander at haphazard, (30) bowing down to serpents and doing sacrifice to cats, (31) and to **dumb** idols and stone statues of mortal wights, (32) and sitting down before the doors of godless temples (33) **ye weary** the God who ever is, who guards all (34), taking your delight in miserable stones, forgetting the judgement (35) of the Eternal Saviour Who created heaven and earth. (36) O race that delights in blood, crafty, wicked race of godless men, (37) liars and double-tongued, immoral, (38) adulterous, idolatrous, of wily devices, (39) within whose heart is evil, a frenzied spur, (40) snatching for **yourselves**, having a shameless mind! (41) For no man of wealth endowed with goods will give any part to another, (42) but miserable meanness shall be among all mortals, (43) and faith they shall never keep at all, (44) but many widowed women shall have other secret lovers for lucre's sake, (45) and gaining husbands shall not keep hold of the rope of life.

(46) But when Rome shall rule over Egypt as well, (47) †as she **still** hesitates to do,† then the mightiest kingdom (48) of the immortal king over men shall appear. (49) And a holy prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world (50) unto all ages of hurrying time. (51) And then there shall be inexorable wrath on Latin men. (52) Three with piteous fate shall bring ruin on Rome, (53) and all its people shall perish in their own dwellings, (54) whensoever a cataract of fire shall flow from heaven. (55) O wretched me! when shall that day arrive, (56) even the judgement of the eternal God, the mighty King? (57) Yet for the present be ye founded, O ye cities, and adorned all of you (58) with temples and race-courses, with markets and statues (59) of gold and silver and stone, that ye may come to the day of bitterness. (60) For come it will, whenever the odour of brimstone pervades (61) all mankind. But I will tell out in particular (62) all those cities in which men are to suffer woe.

8-45. Praise of God and denunciation of idolatry. The passage is similar to Fr. i. and iii. Cf. also Isa. xl. 18 ff.; Wisdom of Solomon xiii. 10 ff.

12. **seeing . . . alone.** There is no need to alter ὁρῶν μόνος (φ, ψ) into ὁρώμενος. For the thought cf. *Orph. Frag.* iv. 9 f. οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν εἰσπράει θνητῶν αὐτὸς δὲ τε πάντας ὁρᾷται.

14. **by the varied skill.** τέχνησ' is a conjecture of Wilamowitz. It is possible to translate the MSS. τεχνῆς, 'no model of the art of man . . .'

17. Cf. Exod. xxxiii. 20; Judg. xiii. 22, &c.

20. For God's word as the agent of Creation cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6. It is not yet personified as in Philo.

24. The letters of Adam are represented as giving the initials of East, West, South, and North. In 2 En. xxx. 13 an acrostic is formed on this name. The same idea recurs in an anonymous writing, *De Montibus Sina et Sion* 4, and in Aug. *Tract. in Ioh. Evang.* ix. 14.

25. **in his name.** For καὶ ὄνομα it is necessary to read κατ' ὄνομα.

30. The objects of worship are specially Egyptian. Cf. *Frag.* iii. 27.

31. **dumb.** ἀλάλους. So Alexandre emends from ἄλλους.

33. **ye weary.** The MSS. reading τηρεῖτε can hardly be translated. Read τείρετ' αἰ. Cf. Isa. xliii. 24.

34. **forgetting.** ἐκλαθόντες does not occur elsewhere in the active with this meaning. Mein. suggests ἐκλελαθόντες, but this is usually causative in meaning.

37. The restoration of the text is due to Castalio.

40. **for yourselves.** For αὐτοῖς it seems necessary to read αὐτοῖς.

42. **meanness,** κακίη in the special sense of *stinginess*. Cf. Rom. i. 29.

44-5. In 1 Tim. v. 11, 12 regularly constituted church widows are forbidden to marry again. Here the objection seems to be against second marriages in general.

45. **rope of life.** This is probably a nautical metaphor.

46-62. The reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. For the question of the date see Introduction, p. 371.

46. A Rabbinic guess as to the time of the coming of the Messiah was nine months after the empire of Rome had extended over the whole world. Cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 169 (with notes).

47. †as she **still** hesitates to do.† The text is uncertain, and various emendations are possible. In Geffcken's text εἰσέει (for MSS. εἰς ἐν) δηθύνουσα *τότε δὴ* it seems necessary to omit δὴ. Buresch and Fehr suggest εἰς ἐν δ' ἰθύνει.

49. **a holy prince.** He must be the Messiah, and not as Alexandre suggests, Vespasian.

54. Possibly a reference to the burning of the Capitoline Juppiter in 84 B.C., in which the Sibylline Books perished, or to the destruction by lightning of the statue of Juppiter on the Alban Mount in 57 B.C.

60. For **brimstone** as a feature of the Judgement cf. *infr.* 462; 1 Enoch cxvii. 6.

(63) From the stock of Sebaste Beliar shall come in later time (64) and shall †raise† the mountain heights and raise the sea, (65) the great fiery sun and the bright moon, (66) and he shall raise up the dead and shall perform many signs (67) for men: but they shall not be effective in him. (68) Nay, but he deceives mortals, and many shall he deceive, (69) Hebrews faithful and elect and lawless too, and other (70) men who have never yet listened to the word of God. (71) But at whatsoever time the threatened vengeance of the Almighty God draws near, (72) and fiery energy comes through the swelling surge to earth, (73) and burns up Beliar and the overweening men, (74) even all who have put their trust in him, (75) then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands (76) obeying her every behest. (77) Then when a widow shall reign over the whole world (78) and cast both gold and silver into the godlike deep, (79) **and the brass and iron** of shortlived man (80) cast into the sea, then the elements of the world one and all (81) shall be widowed, what time God Whose dwelling is in the sky (82) shall roll up the heaven as a book is rolled. (83) And the whole firmament in its varied forms shall fall on the divine earth (84) and on the sea: and then shall flow a ceaseless cataract of raging fire, (85) and shall burn land and sea, (86) and the firmament of heaven and the **stars** and creation itself (87) it shall cast into one molten mass and clean dissolve. (88) Then no more shall there be the luminaries' twinkling orbs, (89) no night, no dawn, no constant days of care, (90) no spring, no summer, no winter nor autumn. (91) And then the judgement of the Mighty God shall come into the midst (92) of the mighty aeon, when all these things shall come to pass.

(93) O for the watery tracks and all the dry land, (94) when the sun arises which never sets again. (95) All shall obey him as he ascends again upon the world, (96) for as much as he first **fashioned** them, and his might.

(97) But whensoever the threatened vengeance of the Mighty God is brought to pass, (98) that vengeance with which once he threatened mortals when they made a tower (99) in the Assyrian land—Now all were of one tongue (100) and they desired to ascend into the starry heaven. (101) But straightway the Eternal laid great stress (102) upon the blasts: then the winds dashed down the great

63-92. The coming and destruction of Beliar. In P. this section is introduced with the following words: 'After this she proceeds in her discourse about the deceiving devil, the Antichrist, and speaks as follows.'

63. Sebaste is Samaria, and the reference is probably to Simon Magus regarded as Belial or the Antichrist. But 'the stock of Sebaste' may refer to the Emperors (Augusti), and, if so, Beliar is Nero represented as returning. So R. H. Charles (*Asc. Isa.* p. lxviii).

64. **raise**. The use of the verb *στήσει* is difficult. Possibly it alters its meaning from 'bring down' in this line to 'raise up' in l. 66. Or in l. 64 we might read *σπρώσει*.

67. In Acts of Peter with Simon xxviii ff. Simon Magus resuscitates a dead body, but only in appearance. When he departs the charm vanishes, and it is St. Peter who actually performs the miracle. The unreality of the miracles is alluded to in Ps. Hippol. xxiii. 106. 14.

70. The reading of *φ οὐπω Θεοῦ λόγον* need not necessarily be altered.

71. The idea that the world would be destroyed by fire appears among the Romans as a Stoic doctrine. Probably it was derived from Heraclitus. Among the Jews it was possibly suggested by Oriental influences.

75. For the idea of the dominion of a woman cf. viii. 200. It has been suggested that Cleopatra is intended, transformed into a demoniacal personage. Bousset sees a recollection of the mythical Sea Monster, originally regarded as feminine.

79. **the brass too and iron**. *Καὶ χαλκὸν τε σίδηρον*. Emend with Wilamowitz into *σὺν χαλκῷ τε σίδηρον*.

81. **be widowed**. Probably, as Blass suggests, 'bereft of living things'.

82. Cf. Isa. xxxiv 4; Ps. cii. 26; Apoc. vi. 14, and frequently in later literature, e.g. Armenian Apoc. of Daniel, 240. 13 (cf. Bousset-Keane in *Antichrist Legend*, p. 242).

84. **cataract of . . . fire**. Cf. Secrets of Enoch x. 3.

86. **stars**, *σήματα*, a conjectural emendation for *ἡματα*.

89. The cessation of seasons is paralleled in Secrets of Enoch xxxiii. 2; cf. also 4 Ezra vii and Sib. ii. 325.

90. **winter**. There is no need to alter the MS. reading *χειμῶν* to *χειμῶν'*.

92. **the mighty aeon** (*αἰὼν μέγας*) was originally a Stoic conception.

93-6. The lines are usually regarded as Christian, but there is nothing distinctively Christian in them. The reference to the sun probably goes back to Malachi iv. 1, 2. It is possible, indeed, that Justin is referring to these lines in *Cohort. ad Graec.* 38, and if so he understood them to be Christian in interpretation. But that does not prove that they are of Christian origin.

96. **fashioned** (*ἐπήγνε*) for MSS. 'knew' (*ἐπέγνω*).

97-294. A long section from the Erythraean Sibyl beginning with twelve lines adapted from the Babylonian Sibyl. The passage is widely quoted or alluded to: cf. Euseb. i. 23, 24, who quotes from Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 80-40 B.C.); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3. Eusebius preserves also notices in Abydenus and Eupolemus (cf. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 14, xvii). Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6 explicitly refers the section to the Erythraean Sibyl, but a notice in the *Scholía* on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 B ascribes the account of the tower and the giants to the Hebrew Sibyl.

100. There appears to be some confusion of the story in Genesis with the legend of the giants piling Pelion on Ossa. Homer, *Od.* xi. 304 ff.; Virg. *Georg.* i. 280 ff.

102. The wind is not mentioned in Genesis, but the allusion occurs in Jubilees x. 26; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

tower from on high, (103) and incited mortal men to mutual strife. (104) Therefore men named the city Babylon.

(105) But when the tower was fallen and men's tongues (106) divided off with divers kinds of sounds, then the whole (107) earth began to be filled with separate kingdoms. (108) Then came the tenth generation of articulate men, (109) since the flood came upon the men of yore. (110) And Cronos, Titan, and Iapetus were kings, (111) the goodliest children of Gaia and Ouranos, whom men called (112) Earth and Heaven, dubbing them so (113) because they were the first of all articulate men. (114) Three-fold were the divisions of earth in the portion of each, (115) and each was king in his own sphere, nor did they fight, (116) for oaths had been made to their father, and the shares were just. (117) Then their father's full time of age arrived (118) and so he died. And his sons in monstrous transgression of their oaths (119) stirred up strife against one another (120) as to who should reign over mortals in possession of royal honour. (121) And Cronos and Titan fought against each other. (122) But them Rhea and Gaia and garland-loving Aphrodite, (123) Demeter and Hestia and fair-tressed Dione (124) brought to friendship, reconciling the kings (125) all brethren as they were and of one kin, and the other (126) men who were of like blood and parentage. (127) And they resolved that Cronos should reign as king of all, (128) because he was eldest and fairest of form. (129) But Titan for his part imposed mighty oaths on Cronos (130) that he should not rear a family of male children, so that he himself might be king (131) when old age and death overtook Cronos. (132) So whensoever Rhea was in travail, the Titans would sit beside her (133) and tear in pieces every male child, (134) but the women children they would leave alive to be reared with their mother. (135) But our lady Rhea when she brought forth her third child (136) brought forth Hera first: and when they saw evidently (137) that the child was female they went away to their homes, those rough (138) Titans. And then Rhea brought forth a man child, (139) whom she quickly sent away, to be reared secretly and privily, (140) to Phrygia, taking three Cretan men under oath into her counsel. (141) Therefore they gave him the name of Zeus because he was sent away unsuspected. (142) In like manner too she sent away Poseidon stealthily. (143) Then at the third time Rhea, goddess among women, gave birth to Pluto (144) as she was passing Dodona, whence ran the watery courses (145) of the river Europus, and the water flowed to the sea (146) blended with the Peneius, and they call it the Stygian stream. (147) But when the Titans heard that there were sons (148) born privily to the union of Cronos and Rhea, (149) then Titan mustered his seventy sons, (150) and held in bonds Cronos and Rhea his consort. (151) And he hid them in the earth and kept them in fetters. (152) Then indeed the sons of mighty Cronos heard of it, (153) and they raised up for him a great war and battle din. (154) And this is the beginning of war to all mortals (155) [yea this is the first beginning of war to mortals].

(156) And then God inflicted evil on the Titans. (157) And all the families of the Titans and of Cronos (158) died. Then in the circling course of time (159) the Egyptian empire arose, then that of the Persians, (160) of the Medes and Ethiopians and of Assyrian Babylon, (161) then that of the Macedonians, again that of Egypt and then of Rome.

(162) And then the message of the Great God fluttered in my breast (163) and bade me prophesy

104. The derivation is taken from Genesis where the name is connected with בבל. Babel is probably *bab ili* 'gate of god', and Babylon *bab ilani* 'gate of the gods'.

110 ff. The account of the Titans is parallel to Hesiod, *Theog.* 421 ff., but differs in several details. See Friedl., *Einkl.*, p. xxvii.

114 ff. Compare the account in Epiph. *Ancoratus* cxiv, in which Noah is represented as dividing the world among his three sons and exacting from them an oath that none should invade his brother's portion. It is from Ham's violation of this compact by robbing Shem of Canaan that Epiphanius deduces the justice and morality of the command to Israel to exterminate the Canaanites. A similar story is told in an Ethiopian work (*Kebra Nagast*, ed. Bezold, 1905).

119. For the wars of the gods cf. Hes. *Theog.* 629 ff.

122. Geffcken quotes a similar story from Moses of Khoren (*History of Armenia* i. 6) in which Kronos is represented by Zrwan.

132. The account is curiously parallel to Apoc. xii. 4.

140. The ordinary account as alluded to in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 46 ff.; Lucr. ii. 629 ff.; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 150 represents Zeus as reared in Crete when the Curetes drown his infant cries by beating cymbals.

141. The derivation of Zeus, from the preposition of διεπέμφθη, 'he was sent away', is singularly weak, and may be not original, but Geffcken compares a similar derivation in Cornutus 2.

144. Dodona was celebrated for its whispering oaks, the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

145. the river Europus, i. e. Homer's Titaresius, a tributary of the Peneius. In *Il.* ii. 753 f. it is said to flow with the Peneius, but not to mingle its waters. Homer also mentions its connexion with Styx.

156-61. A concise summary which is, perhaps, not original here. Friedlieb suggests that 156 is picked up by 199, the intervening lines being an interpolation.

159. The prominence given to Egypt is to be noticed. It is the first of empires and the only name that recurs.

162-294. The Babylonian Sibyl standing in the remote past reviews the history of the world as far as the time of Cyrus (167-210 an interpolation).

162. fluttered, ἵπτατο, so MSS. Rz. and Geffcken. 'stood', ἵστατο.

severally about each (64) land and to their kings, and to put them in mind of things that are to be. (65) And this was the first thing that God vouchsafed to my understanding, (66) namely how many kingdoms of men are being mustered. (67) First of all the house of Solomon shall hold sway, (68) **and the Phoenician invaders** of Asia and of the islands as well (69), and the race of the Pamphylians, Persians, and Phrygians, (70) and that too of the Carians and Mysians and Lydians rich in gold.

(71) Then shall come the Greeks overweening and unholy: (72) **then** a very motley race of Macedonia shall hold sway, (73) who shall come as a dread war cloud upon mortals. (74) But the God of heaven shall smite them utterly.

(75) Next there shall be the sway of another empire, (76) an empire of many hoary heads from the western sea, (77) which shall hold sway over much land, and shall convulse many men, (78) and shall cause fear to many kings in time to come; (79) much gold too and silver it shall ravish (80) from many cities: and again there shall be in the godlike earth (81) gold, yes, and silver, and raiment too.

(82) And they shall afflict mortals. But those men shall have a great (83) fall, whensoever they enter on a course of unjust insolence. (84) And straightway a stress of ungodliness shall fall on them, (85) and male shall draw near to male, and they shall set their children (86) in ill-famed houses, and there shall be in those days (87) great tribulation among men, and it shall set all things wrong, (88) and cut everything short, and fill everything with evils, (89) through covetousness the corrupter of life, and ill-gotten wealth, (90) in many lands and especially in Macedonia. (91) And it shall stir up hatred, and they shall show all manner of guile, (92) until the seventh reign when there shall reign (93) over Egypt a king, who shall be of Greek origin.

(94) And then the nation of the Mighty God shall be again powerful, (95) that nation which shall be to all mortals the guide of life. (96) But why has God put this too into my mind to say (97) what shall be the first evil and the next one and the last which is to fall (98) on all men, and what shall be the beginning of these? (99) First of all God shall inflict evil on the Titans, (200) for they shall suffer vengeance at the hands of the sons of the mighty Cronos, (201) because they bound Cronos and the honoured mother. (202) Then, secondly, the Greeks shall have tyrannies and haughty (203) kings, overweening and unchaste, (204) adulterous and evil in every way, and no longer shall mortals have (205) rest from war. And the terrible Phrygians shall perish, (206) all of them, and evil shall be upon Troy on that day. (207) Then to the Persians and Assyrians evil shall come, (208) and to the whole of Egypt, and to Libya and the Ethiopians, (209) and the Carians and Pamphylians an evil **hard** to remove, (10) and to all men. Why, then, do I detail each severally?

(11) But when the first have reached their end, straightway then shall (12) be a second series upon men. But now I will proclaim this first of all. (13) Evil shall come to the godly men, who dwell around the great temple (14) of Solomon, and who are the descendants of righteous (15) men. Yet of these also I will proclaim (16) the family and kindred of their fathers and the people of all, (17) everything expressly will I proclaim, O mortal of cunning wiles and crafty mind.

(18) There is a city <Camarina> down in the land of Ur of the Chaldees, (19) from which comes

167 ff. The list of world powers falls into five divisions: (a) Asia, (b) Greece, (c) Rome, (d) Egypt, (e) Jews.

168. **and the Phoenician invaders of Asia**, &c. MSS. have 'invaders of Phoenicia, Asia', &c.

172. **then**. *εἴτα* Volkmann for *ἀλλο*, MSS.

175-93. Rome is still a distant power, but it arouses intense apprehension. The lines seem to reflect a date between 190 (Magnesia) and 165 B.C. when Rome intervened to effect a peace between the Hasmoneans and Lysias.

176. **of many hoary heads**, lit. 'white and many headed', referring to the Roman Senate.

178. Perhaps referring to the check of Antiochus Epiphanes by G. Popilius Laenas in 168 B.C.; cf. Polyb. xxix. 27.

179. Referring to the tribute of 15,000 talents exacted after Magnesia.

180. **there shall be in the godlike earth gold**. The meaning seems to be that men would hide their treasures in order to prevent their being requisitioned to pay the tribute. The practice is condemned in Sirach xxix. 10; 2 Enoch li. 2.

183 ff. The particular vices are out of place as ascribed to the Romans of this early date.

188. The line is repeated in l. 613, where it refers to Antiochus the Great.

190. Macedonia was divided after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), and made a Roman province in 147 B.C.

192. The seventh king is Ptolemy VII, Philometor, son of Cleopatra I, and grandson of Antiochus III. He was proclaimed king in 182 B.C. Ewald, however, would understand the king to be Ptolemy Physkon.

194. The exaltation of the Jews refers to the age of the later Maccabees.

199-210. Another different enumeration of world powers beginning with the Titans.

200. i.e. *νῆοις γὰρ κρατεροῖο δικὰς τίσουσιν Κρόνοις* emended from *νιοι γαρ κρτ. Κρονου τισουσιν δικας* (Badt).

204. **adulterous** refers to the abduction of Helen by Paris.

209. **an evil hard to remove**. Read *τ' ἀπορον* for *τε κακόν* (with Herwerden).

211-17. An introduction to a sketch of Jewish history, which extends to 294.

218. The lacuna is to be filled up by 'Camarina', which Eupolemus gives as an old name for Ur. Schrader points out that Camarina might be connected with the Arabic word for moon, Ur being one of the main seats of the worship of Sin the Moon God. Ewald understands *Ὀὐρχαλδαίου* to refer to Abraham, and 'the land of Abraham' to mean Palestine. He reads *σηκός τε* for *καμάρινα*. For *Ὀὐρ Χαλδαίων* ψ read *εὐρυάγυι*, but this seems a mere guess.

219. For *δὴ ψ* reads *μοι*, 'my race'; as if the Sibyl claimed a Mesopotamian descent.

a race of most righteous men, (20) who ever give themselves up to sound counsel and fair deeds. (21) For they search not out the circling course of the sun or the moon, (22) nor monstrosities beneath the earth, (23) nor the depth of Ocean's shimmering sea, (24) nor portents of sneezes, and birds of augurers, (25) nor wizards, nor magicians, nor enchanters, (26) nor the deceits of ventriloquists' foolish words, (27) nor do they study the predictions of Chaldaean astrology, (28) nor do they astronomize: for all these things are in their nature prone to deceive, (29) such things as witless men are searching out day by day, (30) exercising their souls for a work of no profit. (31) Yes, and they have taught deceits to ill-starred men, (32) from which come many evils to mortals on the earth, (33) so that they are led astray from good paths and righteous acts. (34) But these diligently practise justice and virtue, (35) and not covetousness, which is the source of myriad ills (36) to mortal men, of war and desperate famine.

(37) But they have just measures in country and city, (38) nor do they carry out night robberies one against another, (39) nor do they drive off herds of oxen and sheep and goats, (40) nor does a neighbour remove his neighbour's landmarks, (41) nor does a man of much wealth vex his lesser brother, (42) nor does **anyone** afflict widows but rather assists them, (43) ever ready to supply them with corn and wine and oil. (44) And always the wealthy man among the people sends a portion of his harvest to those who have nothing, (45) but are in want, (46) fulfilling the command of the Mighty God, the **ever abiding** strain: (47) for Heaven has wrought the earth for all alike.

(48) But when the people of twelve tribes with their God-sent leaders (49) shall leave Egypt and pursue their road, (50) journeying with a fiery pillar in the night-time, (51) and in a pillar of cloud **whensoever** the dawn leads on day, (52) over them He shall set up as leader the mighty man (53) Moses, whom the princess found and took home from a marsh, (54) and bringing up called her son. But when he came, (55) leading the people whom God was bringing from Egypt (56) to Mount Sina, then God gave them the law forth from heaven, (57) writing all its ordinances on two tables, (58) and commanded to keep them: and if so be any disobeyed, (59) he should pay the penalty, either according to law or by mortals' hands, (60) or if he escaped mortal men, he should perish by divine justice.

(63) To them alone does the fruitful field yield its fruit (64) up to an hundred fold from one, and the measures of God are yielded.

(65) But they too shall have evil, neither shall they escape (66) pestilence. Yea, and thou too shalt leave thy lovely shrine (67) and flee, since it is thy fate to leave thine holy soil. (68) And thou shalt be carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see thine infant children (69) enslaved to hostile men, (70) and thy wives: and all thy livelihood and wealth shall perish. (71) And every land shall be full of thee and every sea: (72) and every one shall be incensed at thy customs. (73) And the whole land shall be empty of thee: and the fenced altar, (74) and the temple of the Mighty God and the long walls (75) shall all fall to the ground, because thou didst not obey in thy mind (76) the holy law of the Immortal God, but wentest astray, (77) and didst serve miserable idols, and didst not fear (78) the Immortal Father of gods and of all men, (79) nor wouldst honour Him, but didst honour the idols of mortal men. (80) Therefore for seven decades of times thy fruitful land (81) shall all be empty of thee and (so shall) thy wondrous shrine. (82) But there awaits thee good at the end and exceeding great glory, (83) as the **Immortal** God has ordained for thee. But do thou tarry, (84) trusting in the holy laws of the Mighty God, (85) when **bowing** thy knee thou prayest toward the light of dawn.

227-8. **astrology . . . astronomize.** The distinction between *αστρολογεῖν* and *αστρονομεῖν* appears, apart from this passage, to be not earlier than Sextus Empiricus. For Chaldaea as the home of astronomy cf. Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, c. 32.

242. The line is metrically defective, and has to be emended. Read οὐδέ γέ τις χήρας θλίβει μᾶλλον δὲ βοηθεῖ (Mein.).

246. **ever abiding**, *ἔμμονον*, conjecture, for 'lawful', *ἐννομον*. For 'strain', *ὑμνον*, there is a variant, 'sleep', *ὑπνον*.

247. For the sentiment cf. ii. 319 ff., viii. 110 ff.

248. **God-sent leaders.** These are either Moses and Aaron, or, according to Jewish tradition, angels, who guided the Israelite host. Volkmann compares Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i, p. 628.

251. **whensoever** (*ὅταν*), a conjecture of Geffick. for 'all' (*πάν*).

260. **divine** (*θεῖη*) seems required for MSS. 'all' (*πάση*). Compare the trespass of Achan (Judg. vii). After this line two lines are omitted. Lines 247 and 585 are inserted in some MSS.

264. **measures of God** perhaps = 'bounteous measures'. The imperfect *τελείθοντο* (are yielded) is, perhaps, used gnominically.

266. **leave.** *καταλιπών*, though metrically defective, need not be altered to *κάρτα λιπών* (Wilamowitz) or *καλλείπων* (Alex).

283. **Immortal.** MSS. *καὶ βροτός* for *ἄμβροτος*. Volkmann would read *ὁ καὶ βροτός*, and understand a reference to the Incarnation, but this is highly improbable.

285. The text is certainly corrupt. The MSS. have *ὁππότε σείω καμὸν ὀρθὸν γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρη*, 'whenever he lifts thy tired (or 'and my') knee upright toward the light.' The emendation is not very violent to *ὁππότε σου κάμπτων ὀρθοῦ γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρη*.

(86) And then the God of heaven shall send a king, (87) and shall judge each man with blood and flame of fire. (88) There is a royal tribe, whose family shall (89) never stumble: and this in the circuit of times (90) shall have dominion and shall begin to raise up a new shrine of God. (91) And all the kings of the Persians shall succour it (92) with gold and brass and well wrought iron. (93) For God Himself shall give a holy dream by night. (94) And then the Temple shall be again as it was before.

(95) Then indeed my spirit ceased its God-sent strain, (96) and I besought the Great Father to ease me from my spell. (97) And again the word of the Great God fluttered in my breast, (98) and bade me prophesy of each several (99) land and to put in the minds of the kings that which is to be. (300) And this first God put it in my mind to say, (301) how many grievous woes the Eternal has devised for Babylon, (302) because it sacked His great temple.

(303) Woe unto thee Babylon and race of Assyrian men, a rushing destruction is coming one day upon the whole land of the sinners, (305) and a crash shall destroy the whole country of men, (306) even the scourge of the Mighty God †the inspirer of my strains†.

(307) For from the air from above there shall come to thee Babylon (308) (yea from heaven there shall come down to thee from the Holy Place) (309) and to the children of wrath eternal perdition. (10) And then thou shalt be as thou wast before as though thou hadst not been born. (11) And then thou shalt be surfeited with blood, as formerly thou thyself (12) didst spill the blood of good men and just, (13) whose blood even now cries unto the farthest heaven.

(14) Then shall come home to thee, O Egypt, a mighty plague (15) and dread, which thou didst never expect to come to thee. (16) †For a sword shall go through the midst of thee†, (17) and confusion and death and famine shall last (18) to the seventh generation of kings, and then thou shalt cease.

(19) Woe unto thee, land of Gog and Magog that art in the midst of (20) the rivers of Ethiopia; what an outpouring of blood shalt thou receive, (21) and thou shalt be called among men the habitation of judgement, (22) and the drenched earth shall drink thy life blood.

(23) Woe unto thee, Libya: woe to the sea and land! (24) Ye daughters of the West to what a bitter day shall ye come: (25) yea come pursued by a grievous struggle, (26) dreadful and grievous: a dreadful judgement shall there be again. (27) And perforce ye shall all come to perdition (28) forasmuch as ye utterly destroyed the great House of the Eternal, (29) and ground it fearfully with iron teeth. (30) Therefore thou shalt see thy land full of dead bodies, (31) some from war and all assaults of the devil, (32) by famine and pestilence, and by savage-hearted foes. (33) And all thy land shall be empty of thee, and thy cities deserts.

(34) In the west a star shall shine, which they shall call a comet, (35) a messenger to men of the sword, famine, and death, (36) and the †destruction† of ruling men and great notables.

(37) Again there shall be very great signs among men: (38) for deep eddying Tanais shall leave the Maeotic sea, (39) and down the deep bed a fertile furrow shall be drawn, (40) and the vast stream shall

286. **king.** The king is Cyrus, though possibly the writer has in mind his own times rather than the Babyionian captivity, and looks for a deliverer like Cyrus. Ewald understands the king to be the Messiah.

288. The royal tribe is Judah, from which tribe sprang Jesus son of Jozedek.

293. The writer is probably thinking of the story in 1 Esdras iii. 3 ff.

295-488. The third main section in the book. The date is uncertain, various sections of different ages being apparently incorporated. Alexandre supposes the editor to be a Christian or semi-Jew of the age of the Antonines, but there is no trace of Christian influence. Badt puts the date at about 140 B. C.

306. **the inspirer of my strains.** The title ἡγέτορος ὕμνων is curious and of uncertain meaning.

307. **from the air,** or 'at dawn' (so Kautzsch, *Pseudeph.*).

314-18. Woe on Egypt. Bousset regards these lines as a later insertion.

316. Reference to the internal struggle between the two brothers Ptolemy VII Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes II, who reigned conjointly in Egypt from 170 B. C. The MSS. reading is unmetrical, and emendations are purely conjectural.

318. Cf. supr. 192. Here, however, it is pointed out that there is a more obvious break in the Ptolemaic history after the death of Ptolemy Physkon in 117 B. C.

319-22. The names Gog and Magog occur frequently in apocalyptic literature, but their identification is not without difficulty. Nowhere else are they located as 'amid the rivers of Ethiopia'. Here, perhaps, they represent Nubians, who returned with Antiochus from Egypt, when he desecrated the Temple. In Rabbinic theology Gog and Magog are those who revolt against God and His Messiah. See references in Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 176.

324. **daughters of the West.** These are probably Libyans in the army of Antiochus. Alexandre understands the phrase to refer to the Romans under Vespasian. Explanations differ widely, but there is, very probably, a reference to Ezek. xxxviii. 39, which represents Magog, Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya as marching to lay waste the Holy Land.

333. **thy cities deserts.** MSS. have 'the desolations of thy city'.

334. Perhaps refers to the comet mentioned in Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 15, as occurring at the death of Demetrius, King of Syria.

336. **destruction.** φθοράν, though metrically false, is not improbably original.

338. **Tanais** = the River Don. The 'Maeotic Sea' = the sea of Azov.

bend its neck. (41) Chasms there shall be and yawning gulfs : and many cities (42) shall fall with all their people : in Asia's land Iassus, (43) Cebren, Pandonia, Colophon, Ephesus, Nicaea, (44) Antioch, **Cyagra**, Sinope, Smyrna, **Murine**, (45) Gaza rich in wealth, Hierapolis, Astypalaea, (46) and of Europe famous Tanagra, royal Meropea, (47) Antigone, Magnesia, and divine Mycenae. (48) Know then that the baleful race of Egypt is nigh its doom, (49) and then to the Magnesians the year that is past shall be better.

(50) For all the wealth that Rome received from tributary Asia, (51) threefold as much shall Asia receive back again (52) from Rome, and shall repay to her her hideous violence. (53) And for all those children of Asia who served Italian homes, (54) Italians to twenty-fold shall live in bondage and penury in Asia, (55) and shall pay back their debt ten thousand-fold.

(56) O Rome, pampered golden offspring of Latium ! (57) thou virgin oft intoxicated by thy many suitors in marriage, (58) as a slave-girl shalt thou be wedded without ceremony, (59) and oftentimes shall thy mistress shear thy luxuriant locks, (60) and passing sentence on thee shall cast thee from heaven to earth, (61) and shall lift thee up again from earth to heaven, (62) because men held to a bad and lawless life.

(63) Samos too shall be sand, Delos shall vanish (64) and Rome become a street : and all the oracles are being fulfilled. (65) Of perishing Smyrna there shall be no account. Outlaw shall she be, (66) but with evil counsels and the villainy of her leaders.

(67) But tranquil peace shall make its way to the land of Asia. (68) And Europe shall then be happy, the air salubrious, (69) year after year bracing and free from storms and free from hail, (70) producing everything, birds and creeping creatures of the earth. (71) Thrice happy who shall live unto that time, man (72) or woman : ***happy he whose life is as among country folk***. (73) For good law shall come in its fullness from the starry heaven (74) upon men, and good justice, and with it (75) the best of all gifts to men, sober concord, (76) and affection, faithfulness, friendship from strangers and **fellow-citizens** too. (77) And lawlessness, murmuring, envy, wrath, and folly (78) shall flee from men : penury, too, shall flee, and distress, (79) and murder, and destructive strifes, and baleful feuds, (80) and thefts by night and every evil in those days.

(81) But Macedonia shall bring forth a grievous calamity for Asia, (82) and for Europe there shall shoot up a desperate woe, (83) from the race of the son of Cronos, a family of bastards and slaves. (84) This shall subdue even the fortified city of Babylon, (85) and after being called mistress of every land on which the sun looks, (86) shall perish with miserable fate, (87) keeping but a name among its far-wandering sons of a later age.

(88) One day there shall come unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land (89) a man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders, (90) savage, a stranger from justice, fiery : **for he hath exalted himself** (91) **even against the thunder**, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall have an evil yoke, (92) and

344. **Cyagra**. Alex.'s emendation for Tanagra (see line 346).

Murine. An emendation of Alex. for *Mápos*.

347. The end of the line is uncertain. Meineke suggests Mycenae, Oiantheia (in Locris).

350-62. A great Roman disaster in Asia. If a specific occasion is to be found it may be the Mithradatic war of 88-84 B.C., or the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C. But possibly it denotes merely the humbling of the world powers that is to precede the days of the Messiah.

356 ff. The picture suggested by Isa. xiii ; Apoc. xviii.

363. **Samos . . . sand**. For the play on words *Σάμος ἄμμος*, *Δῆλος ἄδελος*, *Ῥώμη ῥύμη*, cf. iv. 92, viii. 165, 166. Also Tert. *De Pallio* 2, Lact. vii. 25.

366. There is apparently a gap after this : but the whole order of lines is uncertain.

372. The line is unintelligible and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Geffcken proposes *μακάρων κεν ἔη φάτις ὡς ἐν ἀγραύλοις*, and suspects a Christian interpolation. But the first part should probably be *μάκαρ ὅς κεν ἔη*. For the thought cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 50.

376. **from strangers and fellow-citizens too**. *ξείνων ἀπὸ κἀστών*, a conjecture for *ξείνων ἀπὸ καὶ τῶν*.

381-7. Disaster to Asia and Europe arising from Macedonia : perhaps from the Persian Sibyl.

383. Alexander gave himself out to be the son of Juppiter Ammon after his visit to the shrine of that God in 332 B.C. The translation follows an emendation of Castalio. MSS. have *νόθον δοῦλόν τε*.

384. Babylon, captured in 331 B.C.

388-400. The reference is much disputed. The view adopted here is, in the main, that of Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.*, 68 ff. The unknown one (388) is Antiochus Epiphanes ; the race which he destroys (394) is his brother Seleucus Philopator's infant son. But Demetrius, the elder son of Seleucus, had the sons of Antiochus put to death (395). A certain Alexander Balas, however, came forward as the second son of Antiochus, and in 150 B.C. Demetrius I fell in battle against him (398). Alexander Balas was defeated by Ptolemy Philometor in 145, and shortly afterwards assassinated. Demetrius II then reigned alone, but a usurper, Tryphon, seized the throne (400), at first in the name of Antiochus, a young son of Alexander Balas. He, however, died, or was murdered, in 142, and Tryphon then became sole king.

388. **unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land**, or 'unexpectedly from Asia to the wealthy land'. All MSS. have *ἐξ*, but *ἐς* seems required.

391. **for he hath exalted himself even against the thunder**. The rendering rests on a conjecture. MSS. have 'for the thunder raised him up before, a man'.

the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood. (93) But even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed. (94) By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy (95) by them shall his own family be destroyed. (96) Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off, (97) he shall put forth a side-shoot of ten horns. (98) He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race, (99) †and he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a like fate of war†: (400) and then a parasite horn shall have dominion.

(401) Then fertile Phrygia shall have a sign (402) when in the land of Rhea an accursed race, a perennial branch (403) vigorous with roots that feel no thirst, (404) disappears stock and all in one night, (405) with men and all in the city of the earth-shaking Thunderer, (406) which in time to come they shall call from that event Dorylaeum (407) in ancient dark Phrygia, the land of many tears. (408) That time goes by the name of the Earth-shaking time. (409) It shall shatter the recesses of the earth and pull down the walls, (10) and signs shall spring forth which are the beginning not of good but of evil. (11) It shall have kings expert in the war of every tribe, (12) *wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas, an aboriginal race*. (13) But in after times thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers.

(14) Ilium, I pity thee: for in Sparta an avenging fury (15) shall put forth a shoot exceeding fair, ever famed and noble, (16) leaving the far-spread sea of Asia and Europe. (17) But to thee above all it shall bring lamentations and labours and groanings, (18) and set them down; yet to future generations thy fame shall never wax old.

(19) Then again there shall be an aged wight false in writing, (20) and false in birthplace: and the light in his eyes shall set. (21) Yet he shall have much wit, and a verse fitted to his thoughts (22) blended under two names. Chian shall he call (23) himself, and he shall write the story of Ilium, not truthfully indeed, (24) but with poetic skill; for he shall gain possession of my verses and measures. (25) He first shall unfold my books with his hands: (26) and then right well shall he deck out the helmed men of war, (27) Hector Priam's son and Achilles, offspring of Peleus, (28) and all the rest who cared for doughty deeds. (29) Yea and he shall make gods stand by the warriors' side (30) leading astray in every way the mortals of empty head. (31) Their widespread glory rather will it be to have died (32) in Ilium: but he himself shall receive his recompense.

(33) To Lycia too the race of Locros shall bring forth many evils.

(34) Chalcedon, to whose lot has fallen the passage of the narrow sea, (35) to thee too shalt the scion of Aetolia come and work ruin.

(36) Cyzicus, from thee the sea shall rend away thy ponderous wealth. (37) *And thou, Byzantium, one day wilt look on Ares' shield*, (38) and then thou shalt receive groanings and seas of blood.

(39) Thou too, Krasos, lofty mountain of Lycia, from a rock (40) opening in chasms from thy peak water shall bubble forth, (41) until it cause even Patara's prophetic wonders to cease.

(42) O Cyzicus, thou that dwellest in vine-growing Propontis, (43) the crested wave of Rhyndacus shall thunder round about thee.

(44) And thou, Rhodes, shalt for a long time escape slavery, (45) thou daughter of the day, and great shall be thy wealth in later times, (46) and on the sea thou shalt have strength pre-eminent over

396. The Destroyer is Demetrius I.

397. side-shoot. This is Alexander Balas, who gave himself out as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'ten horns', if it refers to him, may have reference to the ten letters of Alexandros. But cf. Daniel vii. 7 ff.

The reading in 397 and 399 is uncertain. The conjecture followed in 399 is καὶ τὸς ὑφ' υἱωνῶν καθ' ὁμόφρονα αἰσαν "Αρης.

398. The parent is Demetrius I: the purple race is Demetrius II, who married Cleopatra of Egypt.

399. This is wrong. Alexander Balas was assassinated by some followers after a defeat by Ptolemy Philometor, not by the hand of Demetrius' children.

400. a parasite horn, i. e. Tryphon.

401-18. The Fall of Troy. From the Erythraean Sibyl. Cf. Paus. x. 12. 2.

402. the land of Rhea = Phrygia. The 'accursed race' = the Trojans, ancestors of the Romans.

Lines 402-4 recur early in i. 184-6. For κύμα it seems necessary to read κλήμα, 'branch'.

405. the city of the . . . Thunderer, i. e. Troy, whose walls were built by Poseidon.

406. Dorylaeum is in Phrygia, on the Thymbris. Coins of this city with the head of Poseidon have been found. But the whole passage 406-9, which appears to identify Troy with Dorylaeum, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is possible that Dorylaeum is merely suggested in its literal meaning (= the prey of the spear) as a nickname for Troy.

412. wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas. Read Αἰνεάδας δολίους αὐτόχθονας.

413. thy lovers, i. e. Paris and Helen. Geffcken compares Pausanias x. 12. 2 ἡ δὲ Ἡροφίλη, νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης (sc. τῆς Δελφικῆς) φαίνεται δὲ ὁμῶς πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὡς ἐπ' ὁλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραπήσοιτο ἐν Σπάρτῃ.

419. aged wight, i. e. Homer. For the contention that Homer borrowed from the Sibyl cf. Lact. Div. Inst. i. 6. 9, Diod. Sic. iv. 66. The argument is also found in Aristobulus in the second century B.C.

420. The blindness of Homer is alluded to as early as in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, quoted in Thucyd. iii. 104.

422. two names, i. e. the Iliad and Odyssey.

433-88. A series of calamities on various towns and countries.

437. look on . . . shield. The rendering rests on an emendation (ἀσπίδα δέρξη for Ἀσίδι στέρξη).

441. Patara, the seaport of Xanthus, contained a famous oracle of Apollo. Cf. Horace, Carm. iii. 4. 64.

others. (47) But in the end thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers (48) with thy beauty and thy wealth: a grievous yoke shalt thou put upon thy neck.

(49) Furthermore, a Lydian earthquake shall lay Persia in ruins, (50) bringing most direful woes on Europe and Asia. (51) †The Sidonians' baleful king, and the war of others (52) shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring Samians.† (53) With the blood of perishing men the plain shall bubble to the sea: and wives with bright-robed girls (55) shall shout aloud for their own hideous violence, (56) some for their **bridegrooms**, some for their perishing sons.

(57) The token of Cyprus: an earthquake shall destroy its ravines, (58) and Hades at one fell swoop shall possess himself of many souls.

(59) Trallis, neighbour to Ephesus, shall shake down with an earthquake (60) its well-built walls and people of stout-hearted men. (61) And the earth shall be drenched by boiling water, (62) and the stupefied earth shall drink in **mist** as well: and there shall be an odour of sulphur. (63) Samos too at that time shall build a royal mansion.

(64) Italy, to thee **no** foreign war shall come, (65) but a people of thy blood shall destroy thee, (66) shameless one, with many woes, stalwart as thou art and much renowned. (67) And thou, stretched by thine own warm **ashes**, (68) †careless of thy children's future, shalt slay thyself,† (69) and thou shalt be not the mother of heroes but the nurse of beasts.

(70) But when from Italy a destroyer shall come, (71) then Laodicea, (72) thou fair city of the Carians beside the wondrous waters of Lycus, thou shalt be dashed headlong, (73) and be silent after bemoaning thy much-vaunted parent.

(74) The Thracian **Crobuzi** shall rise throughout Haemus.

(75) On the Campanians there falls chattering of teeth, by reason of the **city-wasting** famine, (76) and they shall bewail their long-lived ancestor.

(77) Cygnos and Sardo, by the great storm eddies (78) and the lashes of the Holy God through the depths of the sea, (79) shall sink beneath the wave with their sea-faring children. (80) Alas for all the maids that Death shall wed, (81) and the lads whom the deep shall attend unanealed. (82) Alas for the infant children floating on the sea, and the stores of wealth.

(83) The happy Mysian land shall suddenly produce a royal race. (84) But not for long shall Carthage †truly† be. (85) And the Galatians shall have a miserable and piteous fate. (86) To Tenedos too there shall come a final unequalled evil. (87) And brazen Sicyon and thou, Corinth, too (88) †shalt resound with howls for all: and **Aulis** shall shout in equal measure†.

(89) Then when my spirit ceased its inspired strain, (90) again the oracle of Mighty God stirred within my breast, (91) and bade me prophesy of several lands.

(92) Woe to the race of Phoenicians, men and women, (93) and to all their sea-coast cities: not one of you, (94) shall come to the light of the sun in that light that is common to all. (95) Nor shall there be any more any numbering of thy life nor tribe to thee, (96) because of thine unrighteous tongue and thy lawless and unclean life (97) which all have led, opening their mouth for uncleanness, (98) and because they covenanted with monstrous words, false and unjust, (99) and stood before God

447. **Rhodes** was subdued by Rome in 167 B.C., after having successfully maintained its independence and prosperity through many difficult years.

451-2. Reading very uncertain. A slight emendation would give 'a baleful king and war of others shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring sons of the Sidonians.' Sidon was barbarously ravaged by Artaxerxes Ochus in 352 B.C.

456. **bridegrooms** (*νυμφίων*), a conjecture of Rzach for 'corpses' (*νεκύων*).

462. **mist**: a conjecture (*ἀχλὺν* for *αὐτῆς*).

463. **Samos** fell into the hands of the Ptolemies some time before 274 B.C.

464 ff. Reference probably to the Social War.

no foreign war. For *οὐτις* MSS. have *οὐτος*.

467. **ashes**, *σποδιῇσι*, a conjecture for 'offerings', *σπονδῇσι*.

468. MSS. unintelligible. Various conjectures proposed. The text translates *ἀπροιδὴς τεκέσσιν εἰς ἐναρίξαι αὐτήν*.

470. **a destroyer**, i.e. probably Sulla, who sailed for Greece in 87 B.C. to prosecute the war against Mithradates.

472. For the earthquakes at Laodicea cf. iv. 107. The date is, however, uncertain.

473. **thy much-vaunted parent**, i.e. Zeus, whose figure is very common on the coins of the town.

474. **Thracian Crobuzi**. The restoration of these names is due to Meineke. *φ ψ Θρήκες ἀκρόβυζοι*.

475. **city-wasting**. MSS. 'fruitful' (*πολύτιπορον* (So Castal.) for *πολύκαρπον*).

476. The end of the line is apparently corruptly restored from 473.

477. **Cygnos and Sardo** = Corsica and Sardinia.

480. Compare the discussion on death represented as marriage in J. C. Lawson's *Ancient Greek folk-lore and modern Greek religion*, pp. 546 ff.

484. **Carthage**. It is proposed to read 'Chalcedon'. But the allusion may be to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

487-8. The rendering is a mere conjecture, the text being unintelligible.

489-808. A further series of woes, the prosperity of the righteous, eschatological pictures, and exhortations to true worship.

495. **nor tribe**. Perhaps 'throughout thy race', *κατὰ φύλον* for *καὶ φύλον*.

the Great King, (500) and opened with falsehood their filthy mouth. Therefore shall he (501) marvellously bring them low with His scourges more than any (502) land, and God shall send on them a bitter fate, (503) burning their cities from the ground and their many foundations.

(504) Woe to thee, much-vexed Crete. To thee shall come a scourge (505) and a dread eternal destruction. And all the earth shall see thee once more wreathed in smoke, (507) and fire shall never leave thee but thou shalt burn.

(508) Woe unto thee, Thrace: how shalt thou come to the yoke of bondage: (509) when Galatians mingled with the sons of Dardanus (10) **swoop on to ravage Hellas**, then shall be thine evil day, (11) and to a strange land thou shalt give (thine own) and receive nought.

(12) †Woe unto thee, Gog and Magog, and to all the several tribes, (13) Marsians and **Dacians**†, how many evils fate brings near to you: (14) (many, too), to the sons of the Lycians, Mysians and Phrygians. (15) And many tribes of the Pamphylians and Lydians shall fall, (16) of Moors and Ethiopians and nations of barbarous speech, (17) Cappadocians and Arabians. But why should I proclaim the fate of each severally? (18) for upon all nations who dwell on the earth (19) the Most High shall send a grievous scourge.

(20) But whosoever a numerous barbarian race shall fall upon the Greeks, (21) it shall destroy many heads of picked men, (22) and many of men's fat flocks shall they ravish, (23) and herds of horses and mules and lowing oxen. (24) And well-built houses shall they lawlessly burn with fire. (25) And many miserable wights shall they carry by force as slaves to another land, (26) children and tender deep-girdled women, (27) snatched from their chambers and with delicate feet falling forward. (28) They shall see them in bonds at the hand of strange-tongued foes (29) suffering every horror of outrage. And they shall have (30) no man to lend them but a little aid in war and to succour their lives. (31) They shall see the foe reaping the enjoyment of their own possessions and of all their wealth, (32) and trembling shall be underneath their knees. (33) An hundred shall flee and one shall slay them all: (34) and five shall rout a heavy **squadron**; and they, thrown one against another (35) in shameful confusion by the dread din of battle, (36) shall bring exultation to the foe but to Greeks mourning.

(37) Then all Hellas shall lie under the yoke of slavery, (38) and war and pestilence shall come upon all mankind at once, (39) and God shall make the great heaven above brazen, (40) and drought over the whole earth, and it of iron. (41) Then all mankind shall grievously lament (42) no sowing and no ploughing: and fire upon earth (43) shall He send down **column upon column**, who created heaven and earth: (44) and of all mankind the third part shall be **destroyed**.

(45) Hellas, why dost thou put thy trust in governors, (46) mortal men who are powerless to escape the consummation of death? (47) With what view dost thou proffer vain gifts to the dead (48) and sacrifice to idols? Who has put error in thine heart, (49) that thou shouldst perform these rites and forsake the face of Mighty God? (50) Reverence the name of the Father of all and forget him not. (51) There are a thousand years and five hundred more, (52) since the reign of the haughty kings (53) of the Greeks who were the pioneers of evils to mankind, (54) **holding fast** to many idols of defunct gods, (55) whereby ye have been taught to think vain things. (56) But when the wrath of the great God shall be upon you, (57) then shall ye know the face of the great God. (58) And every soul of men with deep groans, (59) upraising their hands straight to the broad heaven, (60) shall begin to call to his succour the Mighty king, (61) and to seek who shall come as a deliverer from the mighty wrath.

(62) But come and learn this and store it in thy mind, (63) how many shall be the woes of the

505. **destruction**. The reading follows a conjecture of Wilamowitz, ἐξαλάπαξις for ἐξαλαπάξει.

509. The Gaulish invasion of 280 B. C.

510. The line as it stands is unmetrical.

swoop on to ravage Hellas, then shall be thine evil day. Read Ἑλλαδ' ἐπέσυνται πορθεῖν, τότε σοι κακὸν ἔσται.

511. (thine own). Supply τὸ σὸν after δώσεις.

512-13. The lines are corrupt and the names of the tribes cannot be restored with certainty. For Marsians we should perhaps read Mardians, a tribe inhabiting the hill country of Hyrkania.

520 ff. Probably referring to the Roman invasion culminating in the capture of Corinth in 146 B. C.: so Hilgenfeld. The reference, however, may be to the Gaulish invasion of 279 B. C.

533. Cf. Isa. xxx. 17; Deut. xxxii. 30.

534. **squadron** (λόχον), Wilamowitz's conjecture for 'wrath' (χόλον).

539. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 23; 1 En. lxxx. 2; Jub. xxiii. 18.

543. **column upon column**. Alexandre's suggestion πολύνηστον is followed for the unintelligible πολὺν ἰστόν.

544. **shall be destroyed**, ἔσσει' αἶστον, a conjecture for ἔσσειται αὐθις.

545, 547-9. Quoted by Lact. Div. Inst. i. 15. 15.

554. **holding fast**, κατέχοντες, a conjecture for θανεόντων, which leaves no governing verb.

563. A line has evidently dropped out after this. That inserted is a mere conjecture. Apparently the meaning is that the doom of Hellas is irrevocably fixed.

circling years. [For not even if thou shouldst offer up hecatombs of sacrifices], (64) **as many as** Hellas offered of old, of kine and bellowing bulls, (65) bringing whole burnt sacrifices to the temple of the Mighty God, (66) not even so wilt thou escape from jarring war and panic (67) and pestilence, and the yoke of bondage again. (68) But so long the race of godless men shall exist, (69) until the day of fate reaches its appointed end. (70) Ye shall not sacrifice to God until all these things come to pass. (71) Whatsoever the one God purposes fails not of its accomplishment. (72) For that all things be accomplished the stress of necessity will insist.

(73) There shall be thereafter a holy race of God-fearing men, (74) adhering to the counsels and the mind of the Most High: (75) who pay full honour to the temple of the mighty God, (76) with drink offerings and fat offerings and sacred hecatombs, (77) with sacrifices of lusty bulls and unblemished rams, (78) and piously offer as whole burnt sacrifices rich flocks of firstling sheep and lambs upon the great altar. (80) And in righteousness possessing the law of the Most High, (81) they shall dwell happily in their cities and rich fields, (82) themselves as prophets exalted by the Immortal One, (83) and bringing great joy to all mortals. (84) For to them alone the Mighty God has given discreet counsel, (85) and faith and an excellent understanding in their hearts: (86) in that they give not themselves to vain deceits, nor honour the works of men's hands, (87) of gold and brass, silver or ivory, (88) idols of dead gods of wood and stone, (89) idols of clay vermilion painted, pictured likenesses of beasts, (90) such things as men with minds void of counsel do honour. (91) But they instead raise heavenwards holy arms, (92) rising early from their bed and ever cleansing their flesh (93) with water, and they honour Him alone who reigns for ever, (94) the Eternal, and after him their parents: and more than any (95) men they are mindful of the purity of marriage. (96) Nor do they hold unholy intercourse with boys, (97) as do the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Latins, (98) and *spacious* Hellas, and many nations of other men, (99) Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing (600) the holy law of the immortal God **which he ordained**. (601) For which cause the Eternal shall impose on all men (602) retribution and famine and woes and groans, (603) war, too, and pestilence and fearful calamities; (604) because they would not honour in holiness the eternal Father of all men, (605) but revered and honoured idols (606) made by men's hands, which men themselves shall cast (607) into the crannies of rocks and hide in shame, (608) whensoever a youthful king of Egypt, seventh in line, (609) of his own land reckoned from the Greeks shall reign over (10) an empire, over which the doughty Macedonians shall reign; (11) and there comes from Asia a mighty king, a fiery eagle, (12) who shall darken every land with foot and horse, (13) and shall break up everything and fill everything with miseries: (14) he shall cast down the kingdom of Egypt, and taking all (15) its wealth, shall ride upon the broad surface of the sea. (16) And then at length to God the great King, the Eternal, (17) they shall bend the white knee upon the fruitful earth, (18) and the works of men's hand shall all fall into the flame of fire. (19) And then God shall give great joy to men. (20) For the earth and the trees and the innumerable flocks of sheep, (21) shall give their true fruit to mankind, (22) of wine and sweet honey and white milk (23) and corn which is to men the most excellent gift of all.

(24) But thou, O man of wiles, tarry not with hesitation, (25) but turning round again make intercession to God. (26) Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstling lambs (27) and of goats in the circling seasons. (28) Yea, make intercession to Him, the Immortal God, if perchance He may have mercy upon thee. (29) For He alone is God, and there is none beside. (30) Honour righteousness and oppress no man: (31) for these are the commands of the Eternal to wretched mortals.

(32) But do thou beware of the wrath of the mighty God, (33) whenever the consummation of

564. The beginning of the line is quite uncertain. MSS. have 'even those which Hellas offered'.

573 ff. The happy state of the righteous. The writer has, perhaps, in mind the prosperity of the Jews under Simon Maccabeus.

578. **flocks**, *μηλα*. For this Mendelssohn suggests 'thighs', *μηρα*, but the correction is not convincing.

589. Cf. Wisdom xiii. 14. Such painting was common among the Romans: cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 45; Virg. *Ecl.* x. 25.

The reading is uncertain. Perhaps *πύλινα μιλτόχριστ' ἢ ζωγραφίας τυποειδείς* (so Volkmann).

591-2. Cf. iv. 165-6. The insistence on lustration is specially Essene. Cf. Joseph. *Bell. Ind.* ii. 8. 5. For prayer on waking cf. Pss. Sol. vi. 6.

600. The end of the line is a conjecture. (*ὅνπερ ἔθηνεν for ὃν παρέβησαν*). MSS. 'which they transgressed'.

606. Cf. Isa. ii. 18, 19, xxxi. 7.

608. **a youthful king**, i.e. Ptolemy Philometor, cf. 192. In fleeing from the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes (170-169 B.C.) he was captured and brought back a prisoner. Antiochus failed to take Alexandria, but captured much booty and returned by sea (615).

613. Cf. supra 188.

616. The writer passes over an interval of years and comes to the prosperous conditions under the later Maccabees.

618. Lact. quotes this line (*Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 9) as *ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα Θεῶν κατακαυθήσονται*. He refers it to the Erythraean Sibyl.

625-6. Quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 74 as Orphic verses.

pestilence comes upon all mortals, (34) and, overthrown, they meet with a terrible retribution (35) and king captures king and takes his land, (36) and nations ravage nations and potentates people, (37) and rulers all flee to another land, (38) and the land is changed in men and a barbarian empire (39) ravages Hellas, and drains the rich land (40) of its wealth, and men come face to face in strife (41) for the sake of gold and silver, (42) (the love of money shall be the shepherd of evils to many) (43) in a foreign land. And all shall be unburied, (44) and vultures and savage beasts of the earth (45) shall devour the flesh of some. And when all these things are fulfilled, (46) the giant earth shall devour the relics of the dead. (47) And it shall all be unsown and unploughed, (48) proclaiming in its misery the corruption of myriads of men. (49) And then for many spaces of time in circling years [men shall gather and burn in their houses] (50) targes and shields and javelins and divers kinds of weapons. (51) Nor shall wood be cut from the thicket to kindle fire.

(52) And then from the sunrise God shall send a king, (53) who shall give every land relief from the bane of war: (54) some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. (55) Nor shall he do all these things by his own will, (56) but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.

(57) And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, (58) with gold and silver and purple adornment. (59) The land shall bear her increase, and the sea (60) shall be full of good things. And kings shall begin to be weary (61) of repelling evil one against another with wrath. (62) Envy is no good thing for miserable mortals. (63) But again the kings of the nations shall throw themselves against this land (64) in troops, bringing retribution on themselves. (65) For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men (66) they shall seek to ravage whensoever they come to the land. (67) In a ring round the city the accursed kings shall place (68) each one his throne with his infidel people by him. (69) And then with a mighty voice God shall speak unto all (70) the undisciplined empty-minded people, and judgement shall come upon them (71) from the mighty God, and all shall perish (72) at the hand of the Eternal. From heaven shall fall (73) fiery swords down to the earth: lights shall come bright (74) and great, flashing into the midst of men. (75) And earth, the universal Mother, shall shake in those days (76) at the hand of the Eternal, and the fishes in the sea, (77) and all the beasts of the earth and the countless tribes of flying things, (78) and all souls of men and every sea (79) shall shudder at the presence of the Eternal and there shall be panic. (80) And the towering mountain peaks and the hills of the giants (81) He shall rend, and the murky abyss shall be visible to all. (82) And the high-hung ravines in the lofty mountains (83) shall be full of dead bodies: the rocks shall flow (84) with blood, and each torrent shall flood the plain. (85) The well-built walls of the disaffected men shall all fall to the ground, (86) because they knew not the law (87) nor the judgement of the Mighty God, but with witless mind (88) with one united onslaught †ye cast your spears† against the Holy One. (89) And God shall judge all with war and sword, (90) and with fire and cataclysms of rain. And there shall be (91) brimstone from heaven, yea stones and hail (92) incessant and grievous: and death shall be upon the fourfooted beasts. (93) And then shall they know the Immortal God, who ordains these things. (94) †Wailing and lamenting through the length and breadth of the land† (95) shall come with the perishing of men: and all the shameless (96) shall be washed with blood. Yea, the land itself shall

635-7. An allusion to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes (see on l. 608).

638. a barbarian empire, i.e. Rome. Cf. l. 520.

642. to many, πολέσσω, possibly intended as from πολύς.

648. myriads (μυρίων) is unmetrical. Possibly read μερόπων, 'articulate'.

After this verse there is a gap in the text. The line supplied is a conjecture. The thought is taken from Ezek. xxxix. 9, and is referred to again in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 26. 4.

651. Recurs in 729.

652 ff. The coming of the Messiah.

from the sunrise, ἀπ' ἡελίου, may mean either 'from the East' or 'from heaven': cf. supr. 286 (of Cyrus), Sib. v. 414.

Holtzmann thinks of Simon Maccabeus as the heaven-sent king.

657. people (λαός). Meineke and Geffck. alter to 'temple' (ναός), but this seems unnecessary.

661-2. shall begin . . . wrath. MSS. 'shall begin to be angry with one another (κοτέειν) avenging evils in their mind'. The translation renders κοπιᾶν . . . ἀπαμύνοντες.

663. A fresh onslaught against the Holy City. The description is borrowed in part from Jer. i. 15. Cf. 1 En. lvi. 5.

667. Cf. 4 Ez. xiii. 33; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43.

673. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 5.

shall come. A comparison with 1 En. cii. 2. 3 suggests that for ἵξονται we should very likely read φρίζονται.

688. ye cast your spears. The change of person is awkward. Perhaps read 'they lifted up reproach' (ἤραν ἔλεγχος for ἤρατε λόγους).

691. Cf. Apoc. ix. 17.

694. The text of the MSS. needs some emendation. Read (with Rzach) οἰμωγή τ' ἀλαλαγμός ὁμοῦ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

695. shameless (ἀναιδέις) for 'speechless' (ἄναιδοι).

drink (97) of the blood of the perishing: the beasts shall eat their fill of flesh. (98) God Himself, the great eternal God (99) bade me prophesy these things: and they shall not lack their fulfilment. (700) Nothing fails of its appointed end when He but conceives the thought. (701) For all over the world the Spirit of God cannot lie.

(702) Then again all the sons of the great God (703) shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts (704) which He shall give, who is the Creator, and sovereign righteous Judge. (705) For He by Himself shall shield them, standing beside them alone in His might, (706) encircling them, as it were, with a wall of flaming fire. (707) Free from war shall they be in city and country. (708) For they shall not feel the touch of horrid war, for the Eternal shall be (709) Himself their champion, and the hand of the Holy One. (10) And then all the isles and the cities shall say, (11) How doth the Eternal love those men! (12) For all things work in sympathy with them and help them, (13) the heaven and God's chariot the sun, and the moon. (15) A sweet strain shall they utter from their mouths in hymns. (16) Come, let us all fall upon the earth and supplicate (17) the Eternal King, the mighty, everlasting God. (18) Let us **make procession** to His Temple, for He is the sole Potentate. (19) And let us all ponder the law of the Most High God, (20) who is the most righteous of all on earth. (21) But we had gone astray from the path of the Eternal, (22) and with foolish heart worshipped the works of men's hands, (23) idols and images of men that are dead. (24) So shall the souls of the faithful raise their cry. (25) Come, let us throughout God's people fall upon our faces, (26) and gladden with hymns God our Father throughout our households, (27) furnishing ourselves with the weapons of our enemies throughout the whole land (28) for seven spans of circling years, (29) targets and shields and helms and weapons of all and sundry kinds (30) in great numbers, and quantities of bows and arrows and **javelins**. (31) For even wood shall not be cut from the thicket for kindling fire.

(32) But, wretched Hellas, cease thine arrogance: (33) supplicate the great heart of the Eternal and take heed to thyself. (34) To dispatch indeed against this city thine ill-advised people, (35) which comes **not** of the holy land of the Mighty! (36) Arouse not Camarina: 'tis better not aroused. (Rouse not) (37) a leopard from its lair, lest mischief befall. (38) Nay, withhold thine hand, and cherish not a spirit of overweening arrogance in thy breast, (39) dispatching to a mighty contest. (40) And serve the Mighty God, that thou mayst have a share in these gifts.

(41) But when the fated day shall reach this consummation, (42) and there shall come to mortals the judgement of the Eternal God, (43) there shall come upon men a great judgement and empire. (44) For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best (45) fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil. (46) Yea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luscious honey, (47) **the trees** shall yield their **proper** fruits, and rich flocks, (48) and kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats. (49) He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth. (50) And the cities shall be full of good things and the fields rich: (51) neither shall there be any sword throughout the land nor battle din: (52) nor shall the earth be convulsed any more with deep-drawn groans. (53) No war

702-31. The peace and prosperity of the sons of God.

705. in His might (μεγαλῶστί) for 'and greatly' (μεγάλως τε). So Geffcken.

706. Cf. Zech. ii. 5.

710. isles = 'Gentiles': cf. Isa. xlix. 1, li. 5.

713. After this l. 675 is interpolated in the MSS.

715. Reading a little uncertain. The hymn is modelled on the theocratic Psalms xcv-c.

718. **make procession** (πομπῶμεν), a conjecture for 'send' (πέμπωμεν).

721 f. The confession of the converted is quoted by Justin, *Cohort.* 16.

725-31. Apparently an alternative hymn incorporating 649-51.

728 ff. Cf. 649 ff.

730. **javelins** (ἀκίδων), a conjecture of Meineke for 'of the unjust' (ἀδίκων).

732-40. A warning to Greece.

734-5. A passage that has given much trouble and occasioned many conjectures. The rendering keeps the MSS. reading with the single exception of μή for μέν in 735. It is probably a taunt sung at the expulsion of the Seleucid garrison from the Acra at Jerusalem in 141 B.C.

736. An ancient proverb quoted by Servius on Virg. *Aen.* iii. 701. There was a swamp round Camarina which protected the city till it was drained.

737. Another proverb: the verb is lacking.

739. **dispatching**. The participle is masc., whereas 'Hellas' is fem. Probably the writer has in mind the Seleucid king.

741 ff. The blessings of Messiah's reign.

741-3. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 20. 1 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

742. Occurs only in Lact. and seems to be a doublet. Cf. Secrets of Enoch lxv. 6.

746-8. Are marked by Wilam. as an interpolation.

747. **trees . . . fruits**. It is best to read (with Fehr) δένδρων τ' ἀκροδρύων. For the fruitfulness of trees cf. 2 Enoch ix. 7.

749. Cf. Joel iii. 18. A similar idea in Koran, *Sura* xlvii.

shall there be any more nor drought throughout the land, (54) no famine nor hail to work havoc on the crops. (55) But there shall be a great peace throughout all the earth, (56) and king shall be friendly with king till the end (57) of the age, and a common law for men throughout all the earth (58) shall the Eternal perfect in the starry heaven (59) for all those things which have been wrought by miserable mortals. (60) For He above is God and there is none else. (61) He too shall burn with fire the race of stubborn men.

(62) But **consecrate your** minds within your breasts, (63) and eschew unlawful service: serve the Living God. (64) Shun adultery and confused intercourse with males. (65) Rear thine own offspring and slay it not: (66) for the Eternal will surely be wroth with him who commits these sins.

(67) And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages (68) over men, he who once gave a holy law (69) to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth (70) and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, (71) and everlasting sense and eternal gladness.

(72) And from every land they shall bring frankincense and gifts to the house (73) of the great God: and there shall be no other (74) house for men even in future generations to know (75) but only that which He has given **to faithful men** to honour. (76) For mortals call that **alone** (the house) of the great God. (77) And all the paths of the plain and the sheer banks, (78) and the lofty mountains and the wild sea waves (79) shall become easy to travel over by foot or sail in those days. (80) For nought but peace shall come upon the land of the good: (81) and the prophets of the Mighty God shall take away the sword. (82) For they are the judges of mortal men and just kings. (83) Even wealth shall be righteous among men: (84) for this is the judgement and the rule of the Mighty God.

(85) Rejoice, O virgin, and exult: for to thee (86) the Creator of heaven and earth has given everlasting joy. (87) And in thee shall he dwell, and thou shalt have eternal light.

(88) And wolves and lambs together shall crop grass upon the mountains, (89) and leopards shall feed with kids. (90) Prowling bears shall lie with calves, (91) and the carnivorous lion shall eat hay in the manger (92) like the ox, and the tiniest infants shall lead them in bonds, (93) for He shall make the beasts upon the earth incapable of harm. (94) Serpents and **asps** shall sleep with babes, (95) and shall not harm them: for God's hand shall be *stretched* over them.

(96) Now I will tell thee a very evident sign, that thou mayst understand (97) when the end of all things is coming on the earth. (98) When swords in the star-lit heaven (99) appear by night towards dusk and towards dawn, (800) and straightway dust is carried from heaven (801) †to earth, and all the brightness of the sun (802) fails at midday from the heavens†, and the moon's (803) rays shine forth and come back to earth, (804) and a sign comes from the rocks with dripping streams of blood: (805) and in a cloud ye shall see a battle of foot and horse, (806) as a hunt of wild beasts, like unto misty clouds. (807) This is the consummation of war which God, whose dwelling is in heaven, is bringing to pass. (808) But all must sacrifice to the Mighty king.

(809) These are the acts of the wrath of God which I, leaving the far-off walls of Assyrian Babylon

761. **race**. Another reading is 'might' (γένος ψ, μένος φ).

762-6. An exhortation to right living. The lines interrupt, and are possibly out of place.

762. **consecrate your minds**. Reading uncertain. MSS. 'hastening my mind' (κατασπεύσαντες ἐμὰς φρένας). The simplest emendation is, as above, κατασπείσαντες ἐάς.

767-84. Further description of the Messianic kingdom. The passage may refer to the eternal condition of the godly, for the Messianic kingdom on earth was not regarded as permanent; contrast 767-8.

772. For the offerings of the converted heathen to the Temple, cf. Isa. lx; Tobit xiii. 11; 1 En. xc. 33, 37.

773-4. Perhaps a reference to the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus.

775. **but only that which**. Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 reads ἄλλον for ἀλλ' ὄν, 'God gave Another to faithful men to honour', and supposes a reference to the Son of God.

to faithful men. MSS. have πιστὸν ἄνδρα instead of πιστοῖς ἄνδρεσσιν.

776. MSS. have 'for mortals call him the son of the Mighty God'. For 'son' (υἱόν) it is proposed to read 'temple' (ναόν). It is simpler to read 'alone' (οἶον). So Mendelssohn. Gfrörer, Hilgenfeld and Fehr regard the line as an interpolation.

777. For the smoothing away of the difficulties of nature cf. Isa. xi. 15, 16, xl. 3; Pss. Sol. xi. 5 f.

781. For the part assigned to the prophets cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

785 ff. Cf. Zech. ii. 10; Isa. liv. 1.

788 ff. Cf. Isa. xi. 6. Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 17, 21 f.; Lactantius quotes 788-91, 794 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

794. **and asps**, an emendation of the MS. reading ἄμα σφισι, 'with themselves.'

796-808. The signs that are to herald the end. Compare the signs related in 2 Macc. v. 1-4 as preceding the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, and in Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 5 as presaging the fall of Jerusalem.

801. The line is defective and emendations can only be conjectural.

805. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 13 'visae per coelum concurrere acies'.

807. **the consummation of war**. Reading again uncertain. Perhaps 'the end of all things', τοῦτο τέλος πάντων τελέει Θεός. So Rzach from 797.

809-29. Epilogue and credentials.

Lact. expressly assigns 809-18 to the Erythraean Sibyl, who, as he says, claims to have been born at Babylon. But it is not easy to see why the Erythraean Sibyl should come from Babylon, and it has been suggested that the

(10) impelled by frenzy, and coming as a fire launched forth against Hellas, (11) am proclaiming unto all mankind, (12) so as to proclaim unto mortals the mysteries of God.

(13) And mortals throughout Greece shall call me a stranger of another land, (14) born of Erythrae and shameless. Others shall call me, born of my mother Circe (15) and my father Gnostos, the Sibyl, (16) a crazy impostor. But when all these things come to pass, (17) then ye shall make mention of me, and no man any more (18) shall call me crazy, the prophetess of the Mighty God. (19) For he did not reveal to me those things which before he revealed to my parents, (20) but all those things which happened first of all God hath (not) detailed to me, (21) but of the later things God hath put all in my understanding, (22) so that I may proclaim the things that shall be and that were before (23) and tell them to mortal men. For when the world was being swallowed up (24) by the waters, and one man only who found favour was left, (25) floating on the waters in a dwelling of hewn wood, (26) with beasts and birds, that the world might be replenished again: (27) his daughter-in-law was I, and of his blood I came, (28) to whom the first things happened: and now the latter things have all been told. (29) So let all these things be accounted true that are spoken of my mouth.

BOOK IV

(1) Hear, O ye people of vaunting Asia and Europe, (2) what prophetic strains of truth I purpose to pour forth, through the honied speech of my mouth from our shrine. (4) No oracle-monger I of a false Phoebus whom vain (5) men have called a god and falsely termed a seer; (6) but the prophetess of the mighty God whom men's hands fashioned not, (7) like to dumb idols of polished stones. (8) For He has not as His habitation a stone set up in a temple, (9) dumb and helpless, a bugbear of many woes to mortals. (10) But He is one whom none can see from earth, nor measure (11) with mortal eyes, seeing He was not fashioned by mortal hand. (12) With all-embracing view He beholds all, yet Himself is seen by none. (13) His is the murky night and day, the sun, (14) the stars and moon, and sea the haunt of fish; (15) and land and rivers and the source of perennial streams, (16) creatures ordained for sustaining life and showers that cause the cornfield fruit to grow, (17) and trees and vines and olive trees. (18) He has driven a goad right through my heart (19) to tell out exactly all that is happening to men now and all that is to happen, (20) reaching from the first generation to the tenth. (21) For He shall vindicate all (22) by bringing it to pass. But do thou, O people, hearken in all things to the Sibyl (23) as she pours forth true speech from holy mouth.

(24) Happy shall those men be throughout the earth who shall truly love the Mighty God, blessing Him (26) before eating and drinking, staunch in their godliness. (27) Who, when they see them, shall

name of the Babylonian Sibyl has been purposely omitted and some lines from the Erythraean added without careful adjustment.

811. The sentence lacks a verb. Instead of 'mortals' (*θνητοῖς*) it is proposed to read 'I show' (*φαίνω*). After this line some MSS. show a gap. It is suggested that it contained the name Sambethe, who, according to Justin, *Cohort.* 37, was the daughter of Berossus the historian.

814. According to Virg. *Aen.* vi. 36, Deiphobe, the Cumaeen Sibyl, is the daughter of Glaucus, and possibly of Circe.

819. Compare Plutarch's account of the Sibyl (*De Pyth. Or.* vii).

819-29. These lines are not referred to by Lact., and Alex. regards them as spurious.

819. for he did not reveal to me. MSS. read 'for he will not reveal to me' (*δὲ λῶσει*). For οὐ Rzach reads ὅς.

823. Suidas represents the Chaldaean Sibyl as a descendant of Noah, and says she prophesied about the time of Alexander the Great. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* 26. § 8 says the Gnostics attributed certain books to Noria the wife of Noah.

Tatian, on the other hand (*Orat. c. Graec.* 41), says that the Sibyl was not older than Moses.

IV. 1-24. The Sibyl claims to be the prophetess of the true, invisible, and almighty God.

1. Hear, κλῦτε. Most MSS. have 'weep' (*κλαίε*).

2. shrine (*μεγάροιο*). Mendelssohn's emendation for 'great' (*μεγάλιοι*) agreeing with 'mouth'.

4. Cf. v. 326. Lines 4-7 are quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50.

8. set up in a temple (*ἱδρυθέντα*). There is a variant 'dragged to a temple' (*ἐλκυσθέντα*).

habitation (*οἶκον*). Buresch would read 'likeness' (*εἰκόν*), but the fem. gender of this word would cause a difficulty. The writer appears to condemn the ancient Semitic idea of sacred stones as the dwelling-place of a god.

9. helpless (*νοθρόν*), an emendation for 'toothless' (*νοδόν*).

11. The end of the line is uncertain in reading. Perhaps read οὐδ' ἐπλάσθη χερὶ θνητῇ.

12. Cf. Frag. i. 8.

18. Cf. iii. 5.

20. to the tenth. Cf. ii. 15 ff. The MSS. have 'to the eleventh' (*ἐνδεκάτην* or *ἐνδεκάτης*). But the world's history is regularly divided into ten periods,

23. as she pours forth. The participle is, however, masculine.

24-34. The happiness of the godly.

24-30. Quoted by Just. *Coh.* 16. The last three lines are also quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 62.

26. For the custom of saying grace before meals cf. Arist. *Apol.* 15. It was a strict rule among the Essenes (Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 8. 5), and among the Pharisees. Cf. Mishna, *Berakhoth* iii; Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. ii, vol. ii, p. 117.

27. The abhorrence of temples and animal sacrifice is specially Essene. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 369 ff.

disown all temples (28) and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, (29) befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices (30) of four-footed beasts. But they shall look to the great glory of the one God (31) neither committing dastard murder, nor bartering for dishonest (32) gain, which things are altogether evil. (33) Nor do they set their foul affection on another's bed, (34) [nor on the hateful and hideous abuse of males].

(35) Whose conversation and godliness and manners other men (36) will never emulate, men whose affections are set on shamelessness. (37) But mocking them with ribald jest and laughter, (38) fools in their senselessness, they will falsely attribute to them (39) all the dastardly and evil deeds that they shall do. (40) For slow of faith is all the race of men. But when (41) the assizes of the world and of mortals shall come, which God himself (42) shall hold when he judges ungodly and godly alike: (43) then shall he send the ungodly in the fire beneath the murky gloom, (44) and then shall they know what grievous impiety they have committed. (45) But the godly shall remain upon the fruitful field, (46) when God has given them breath and life and grace. (47) But all these things are to be accomplished in the tenth generation. (48) Now I will tell all that is to come to pass from the first generation.

(49) First of all, the Assyrians shall rule over all mankind, (50) holding the world for six generations under their sway, (51) from the time when, since the heavenly God was wroth with (52) the cities themselves and all mankind, (53) the sea covered the earth with the outbreak of the flood.

(54) Them shall the Medes subdue and vaunt themselves on their throne, (55) yet their generations shall be but two. In their time shall be these mighty works. (56) Darkling night shall fall at the middle hour of day: (57) the stars and the moon's disk shall fail from heaven. (58) And the earth shaken by the upheaval of a mighty earthquake (59) shall cast down headlong many cities and works of men. (60) And then islands shall peep forth from the depths of the sea.

(61) But when great Euphrates shall run in torrents of blood, (62) then betwixt Medes and Persians the dread din of battle (63) shall arise in war. And the Medes, overthrown by the Persians' spears, (64) shall flee over the broad waters of the Tigris. (65) And the Persians' might shall be supreme in all the world; (66) yet they shall have but one generation of prosperous kingship.

(67) Then there shall be all those evil works which men pray to be spared, (68) wars and murders, schisms and exiles, (69) the headlong crash of towers and the overthrow of cities, (70) when proud Hellas shall sail to the broad Hellespont, (71) bringing grievous doom to Phrygians and to Asia.

(72) Then into Egypt the many-furrowed land of wheat, (73) famine and failure of crops shall stalk for twenty circling years, (74) when the Nile, the cornblade's nurse, (75) shall hide its black water somewhere else beneath the earth.

(76) There shall come from Asia a king brandishing a mighty sword (77) with ships innumerable; and over the watery paths of the deep (78) he shall journey on foot, and shall cut a path for his ships through a lofty mountain peak. (79) Yet craven Asia shall receive him back a fugitive from war.

(80) Wretched Sicily shall be burned up from end to end (81) by a stream of mighty fire when Etna's flame belches forth. (82) And Croton's great city shall fall into the deep stream. (83) Hellas shall have strife: and men distraught with rage one against another (84) shall cast down headlong many cities and shall slay many (85) in battle: and the strife shall be of doubtful issue.

(86) But when the race of mortals comes to the tenth generation, (87) then the Persians shall experience the yoke of slavery and terror.

28. The reading comes from Justin. In Clement a line is inserted here from Frag. iii. 49 and another after l. 30.

34. The line is probably a gloss and is omitted in Ω .

35-46. The impending judgement on the ungodly.

38. For the thought that the heathen are themselves guilty of the same charges which they bring against the godly cf. Tert. *Apol.* § 9.

46. The righteous are to be quickened again for a further life on earth. The line recurs infra line 189.

47-85. The history of the first nine generations.

50. **generation** is evidently a vague term. Assyrian supremacy may be said to have lasted roughly six centuries (c. 1250-630 B.C.). The Median empire closed with the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in 546 B.C.

56. Possibly an allusion to the phenomenon mentioned in Herod. i. 71. During a battle between the Lydians and Medes in 585 B.C. the day suddenly became night.

65. The conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. may be said to have given the Persians the empire of the world.

70. The Athenians sent maritime assistance to the Ionians in their revolt from Persia in 499 B.C.

72. **of wheat.** For πυρόφορον τε Ω has φαῦλος ἐπέλθῃ. The subjunctive would be used as future.

76-79. The expedition of Xerxes 491-490 B.C. Reference is made to the bridge of boats built across the Hellespont (Herod. vii. 35-54), and the canal cut through Mount Athos (Herod. vii. 22-8; Thuc. iv. 109; Juv. v. 174).

82. Possibly **Croton** is confused with Sybaris, over which, after its capture, the river Crathis was turned (Herod. v. 45). Some MSS. have 'a great city of men' (βορῶν) for 'Croton'.

83-5. The Peloponnesian war, or, more probably, the fighting which ended in the Thirty Years' Truce in 446 B.C.

87. The reference would be to Alexander's victories, especially at the Granicus (334 B.C.) and Issus (333 B.C.).

(88) But when the Macedonians boast of the sceptre, (89) then Thebes too in later days shall experience capture. (90) And Carians shall occupy Tyre and the Tyrians shall perish; (91) and sand shall envelop the whole of Samos under sandhills, (92) and Delos shall appear no more, but all Delos shall disappear. (93) And Babylon mighty to behold but puny in battle (94) shall stand buoyed up by ineffective hopes. (95) Macedonians shall occupy Bactra; and the fugitives **from** Bactra (96) and Susa shall all flee to the land of Greece.

(97) Posterity shall know a time when silvery eddying Pyramus (98) pushing forward its strand shall come to the holy island. (99) And **thou, Baris**, shalt fall and Cyzicus too when the earth (100) quivers with earthquakes and cities perish. (101) And to the Rhodians there shall come a last but crowning disaster.

(102) Nor shall the might of Macedonia last. But from the west (103) a great Italian war shall blossom forth, whereby the world (104) shall serve as slaves under the yoke of the sons of Italy. (105) And thou, ill-starred Corinth, shalt one day look on thy capture. (106) Carthage, thy tower, too, shall bend the knee to earth.

(107) Miserable Laodicea, thee too an earthquake shall one day raze (108) in precipitate ruin, but thou shalt stand built up again as a city.

(109) O fair Lycian Myra, thy quivering earth shall no longer (110) hold thee firm: but falling down headlong on the earth, (111) thou shalt be fain to flee as an exile to another land, (112) †what time over the impieties of Patara the **Lord** (113) shall spread the dark sea wave with thunderings and earthquakes†.

(114) For thee, too, Armenia, the stress of slavery is in store.

(115) To Solyma too the evil blast of war shall come (116) from Italy, and shall lay in ruins God's great temple, (117) whenever, confident in their folly, they shall cast godliness to the winds (118) **and commit hateful murders** before the temple. (119) And then from Italy a great king, like a fugitive slave, (120) shall flee unseen, unheard of, over the passage of the Euphrates; (121) when he shall dare even the hateful pollution of a mother's murder, (122) and many other things beside, venturing so far with wicked hand. (123) And many for the throne of Rome shall dye the ground with their blood, (124) when he has run away beyond the Parthian land. (125) And a Roman leader shall come to Syria, who shall burn down Solyma's temple with fire, (126) and therewith slay many men, (127) and shall waste the great land of the Jews with its broad way.

(128) And then an earthquake shall destroy Salamis and Paphos together, (129) when the dark stormy water shall swamp Cyprus.

89. Thebes was captured by Alexander in 335 B.C.

90. **Carians** perhaps = 'mercenaries'. Cf. Plato, *Laches* 187.

occupy Tyre. Capture of Tyre 332 B.C.

91, 92. Cf. iii. 363. Alexandre would place these lines after 96; Rzach after 100.

93. Babylon captured without resistance 331 B.C.

95. Alexander's invasion of Bactria. Cf. Strabo, xi; Arrian, iii. 29.

from Bactria. For *ὑπὸ Βάκτρων* it seems necessary to read *ἀπὸ Βάκτρων*.

96. **Susa** surrendered soon after Babylon.

97, 98. The **Pyramus** is a Cilician river. This oracle is quoted by Strabo, *Geogr.* i. p. 53, xii. p. 536, who in the second line has 'Cyprus' for 'island'.

99. **thou, Baris.** Badt's conjectural emendation for 'Sybaris'. Baris was a Pisidian town, mentioned by Pliny v. 42. The *a* is strictly long. Another conjecture is *Κιβύρα*, a Phrygian town.

101. Cf. viii. 166.

102. Macedonian Wars beginning in 214 B.C. and ending with the Battle of Pydna, 168 B.C.

105, 106. Capture of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B.C.

107. **Laodicea.** The famous earthquake here in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) seems too late. On the strength of *Sib.* iii. 471 Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 38) postulates an earthquake in Laodicea about 125 B.C.; but the inference is precarious.

112-113. The reading is uncertain, and the lines are omitted in many MSS. The rendering follows a conjecture *ὁ Μέδων* for *ὁ μαδων*.

114. Armenian wars A.D. 43-66, in which latter year Tiridates came to Rome to receive his crown from Nero.

115-28. Disaster to Jerusalem.

117, 118. Referring to the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege. Cf. Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 3.

118. **and commit hateful murders.** The reading of the MSS. is corrupt.

119 ff. Nero died by his own hand in A.D. 68, but there was a persistent belief that he would return. At least three false Nero's arose at different times.

119. **fugitive slave** (*δράστης*). Some MSS. have 'star' (*ἀστήρ*).

121. Nero had his own mother put to death (Suet. *Nero* xxxiv). Dio Cass. lxi. 9 preserves a pseudo-Sibylline oracle: *ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει*.

123. The year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

125. The Roman leader is Titus.

(30) But when a firebrand starting from a deep cavern in the land of Italy (31) shall reach the broad heaven, (32) and burn many a city and consume its men, (33) and clouds of sooty ashes beset the great heaven, (34) and grains fall from the sky like red earth, (35) then recognize the wrath of the God of heaven, (36) because they shall destroy the guiltless race of godly men. (37) And to the west shall come the strife of gathering war, (38) and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, (39) crossing the Euphrates with many myriads.

(40) Ill-starred Antioch, they shall call thee no longer a city, (41) when in thy folly thou fallest under Italian spears. (42) And **Cyrrhus** shall be consumed by pestilence and dreadful strife.

(43) Woe to thee, wretched Cyprus, the level sea-wave (44) shall envelop thee tossed up and down with wintry blasts.

(45) There shall come to Asia great wealth which Rome once (46) stole for herself and stored in her rich treasure-house. (47) And twofold and more shall she restore (48) to Asia, and then there shall be a surfeit of war.

(49) The cities of the Carians by the waters of the Maeander, (50) with all their battlements exceeding fair, shall be destroyed by pinching (51) famine, when Maeander buries her black water. (52) But when faith in godliness shall perish from men, (53) and justice is hidden away in the world, (54) †and men, becoming renegades† and living on unholy enterprises, (55) commit deeds of shame and acts dastardly and evil, (56) and no man takes account of the godly, but even (57) in their senselessness, fond fools, destroy them all, (58) rejoicing in acts of violence and turning their hands to deeds of bloodshed; (59) then be sure that God is no more of tender mercy, (60) but gnashing His teeth in wrath and destroying at once (61) the whole race of men by means of a mighty conflagration.

(62) O ill-starred mortals, let not these things be, and (63) drive not the great God to divers deeds of wrath; but have done with (64) swords and moanings and killing of men, and deeds of violence, (65) and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers, (66) and, stretching your hands to heaven, seek forgiveness for your former deeds, (67) and with praises ask pardon for your bitter ungodliness. (68) God will grant repentance (69) and will not slay: He will stay his wrath once more if with one accord (70) ye practise precious godliness in your hearts. (71) But if with evil mind ye obey me not, but delighting in ungodliness (72) ye receive all these words with ill-affected ears, (73) then fire shall come upon the whole world, and a mighty sign (74) with sword and trumpet at the rising of the sun. (75) The whole world shall hear a rumbling and a mighty roar. (76) And he shall burn the whole earth, and consume the whole race of men, (77) and all the cities and rivers and the sea. (78) He shall burn everything out, and there shall be sooty dust.

(79) But when at last everything shall have been reduced to dust and ashes (80) and God shall quench the giant fire, even as he kindled it, (81) then God Himself shall fashion again the bones and ashes of men, (82) and shall raise up mortals once more as they were before.

(83) And then the judgement shall come wherein God himself shall give sentence, (84) judging the world again. And all who have sinned with deeds of impiety (85) a heap of earth shall cover again, (86) and murky Tartarus and the black recesses of hell. (87) But all who are godly shall live again on earth (89) when God gives breath and life and grace to them, (90) the godly. †And then all shall

130-6. The great eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii, August 23, 24, A. D. 79. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16. 20.

130. **starting from.** For ἀποστραφθεῖς it is tempting to read (with Alexandre) ἀπαστραφθεῖς 'shot out like lightning'.

139. It was expected that Nero would return from Parthia.

140. Probably the Syrian Antioch is meant, which revolted several times against Rome.

141. **folly . . . Italian spears.** The text renders ἀφροσύνης Ἰταλούς. So φψ. Geffcken reads ἀφροσύνησι τεαῖς with Ω.

142. **Cyrrhus** a conjecture. MSS. have 'Scyros' or 'Cyprus'. Alexandre suggests Συρίην.

143. Cf. *supra*, 129.

145-8. A Roman defeat. Probably the defeat of Paetus at Randeia in A. D. 62.

148. The line is omitted in φψ.

153-4. The text has become corrupt. 154 is omitted in some MSS. and in others 153-4 are joined.

159-61. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* 23. 5.

160. **gnashing his teeth**, βρύχοντα. Lact. has 'heavy with wrath', βρίθοντα.

165. The stress on complete lustration seems Essene. Cf. iii. 592.

168. **God will grant.** Θεὸς δώσει. So Volkmann from Ω which reads Θεὸς δὲ δώσει. ψ has Θεὸς δ' ἔξει.

173. Another reading gives 'fire shall be throughout the world wherein this sign is wrought', ἐν ᾧ τότε σῆμα τέτυκται. So φψ.

179-92. The Judgement following on the destruction of the world. The passage up to 190 is quoted in *Ap. Const.* v. 7 as a testimony of the Sibyl to the Resurrection, the New Life, the Judgement.

181. Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10.

183 ff. Cf. *supra* 40-6.

185. The text in *Ap. Const. l.c.* runs 'those mortals, who have sinned with deeds of impiety, the earth shall cover'.

187. After this there is a weak line inserted only in Ω and rejected by Rzach and Geffcken.

190. **then . . . shall behold themselves**, τότε εἰσὶόνται ἑαυτοὺς. The text comes from *Ap. Const.* Ω has κόψονται, 'bewail'. φ εἰσόνται χάριν αὐτοῖς (or αὐτοῖς) perhaps 'shall have themselves to thank'. Possibly the true reading is τότε ὀφόνται θεὸν αὐτόν.

behold themselves,† (91) beholding the lovely and pleasant sunlight. (92) Thrice blest the man who lives until that time.

BOOK V

(1) Now come, **hearken** unto the woful chronicle of the sons of Latium. (2) Verily first of all after the decease of the kings (3) of Egypt, all of whom a like measure of earth bore down; (4) and after the citizen of Pella, under whom the whole (5) East had been subdued and the West with its stores of wealth, (6) whom Babylon disillusioned and handed over, a corpse, to Philip, (7) famed by no true report a son of Zeus, of Ammon: (8) and after the man of the family and blood of **Assaracus**, (9) who **came from Troy**, who clave the onrushing fire; (10) and after many kings and warlike wights, (11) and after infants, children of the beast who preys on sheep, (12) there shall be a king first of all, who shall sum up twice ten (13) with his initial letter: and in wars he shall conquer for long. (14) He shall have his first initial of ten: and so after him (15) shall reign one who has the first of letters. (16) Before him Thrace shall cower, and Sicily, and, later, Memphis: (17) Memphis hurled headlong by the wickedness of its rulers (18) and of an untamable woman who fell upon the wave. (19) And he shall ordain laws for the people and bring all things under his sway. (20) After a long time he shall hand over the empire to another, (21) who shall have his first letter of the number of three hundred, (22) and a river's own name, who shall also reign over the Persians (23) and Babylon: then he shall subdue the Medes with his spear. (24) Then one shall reign who has the letter of the number three. (25) The next king who shall reign shall have twice ten for his first letter: (26) and he shall go to Ocean's farthest (27) water, †directing his ebb against the Ausonians†. (28) Then he shall be sovereign who has the letter of fifty, (29) a direful serpent causing grievous war, who shall one day put forth his hands (30) on his own family and slay them, and shall throw all into confusion, (31) as athlete, charioteer, murderer, and doer of a thousand extravagant acts. (32) He shall pierce, too, the **hill between two seas**, and besprinkle it with blood; (33) Yea, even when he disappears, he shall be malignant. Then he shall return, (34) making himself equal to God: but *God* shall convince him that he is not.

(35) Three kings after him shall perish at each other's hands. (36) Then there shall come a great destroyer of godly men (37) who displays the letter of seventy. (38) His son, who has the initial of three hundred, shall overcome him (39) and take away his power: and after him there

191. Omitted in $\phi\psi$.

192. Cf. iii. 371.

V. 1-51. A brief sketch of history till the reign of Hadrian.

1. **hearken**. The reading is due to Rzach. MSS. have no verb. $\phi\psi$ κλεινῶν τε Λατίνων.

The first eleven lines recur at the beginning of the twelfth book.

4. **The citizen of Pella** = Alexander the Great. Cf. Juv. x. 168 'Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis'.

6. Alexander died of fever at Babylon 323 B.C. Clem. Al. *Protr.* x. 96 quotes the first part of this line as $\delta\upsilon$ Βαβυλῶν ἡλεγε νεκρόν.

7. After his visit to the temple of Zeus Ammon in 332 B.C. Alexander seems to have persuaded himself that he was the son of that god.

8. **Assaracus**, king of Phrygia and great-grandfather of Aeneas. The restoration of the name is due to Castalio.

9. Referring to the escape of Aeneas from burning Troy. Text corrupt; restored by Rz. from xii. 9.

11. i.e. Romulus and Remus.

12. **twice ten**. The name is Καῖσαρ (K denoting 20); line 14 gives Ἰούλιος (I denoting 10).

15. **one who has the first of letters**. i.e. Αὔγουστος.

16. References to the Battle of Philippi, the war with Sextus Pompeius, and the struggle with Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt.

18. The desertion of Cleopatra's fleet at Actium. The parallel line in xii. 22 has ὑπὸ δουρί for ἐπὶ κύμα.

21. **who shall have . . . three hundred**. i.e. Τριβέριος.

23. War between Rome and Parthia A.D. 34-5.

24. **who has . . . three**. i.e. Τρίος.

25. **twice ten** = K. Κλαύδιος is meant.

26. Claudius' short-lived expedition to Britain A.D. 43.

27. The reading is uncertain. Ausonia is strictly S. Italy, but is used poetically for the whole country.

28. **fifty** = N. Νέρων is meant.

29. A serpent was found around Nero's neck when he was an infant. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.

30. For Nero's murder of his mother cf. iii. 121.

31. A reference to Nero's competing as a charioteer in the Olympian Games. Cf. Juvenal x. 224 ff.

32. Nero made an attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth, in A.D. 66-7. Cf. l. 138.

hill between two seas. δίκυμον ὄρος is a conjecture of Rzach from xii. 84: $\phi\psi$ have δῆκμον ὕδωρ.

33. For the expectation of the return of Nero cf. iv. 119.

34. For the claim of Antichrist to be God cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Iren. v. 25. 1; Asc. Isa. iv. 6.

35. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

37. i.e. Οὐεσπασιάνος the conqueror of the Jews.

39. An ungrounded suspicion charges Titus with attempting to supplant his father. Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5, 6.

shall be a sovereign (40) of the letter of four, **a cursed man**. And next (41) a reverend man of the number of fifty. And after him (42) one whose initial signifies three hundred, (43) a Celtic mountaineer; and he, hot-footed for Eastern war, (44) shall not escape ignoble fate, but shall succumb. A foreign dust shall hide his corpse, (45) even one that has the name of the Nemean flower. And after him another shall reign, (46) a silver-helmed man: he shall have the name of a sea. (47) He shall be a most excellent man and shall understand everything. (48) And in thy time, most excellent, most noble, dark-haired prince, (50) and in the time of thy scions, all these days shall come. (51) After him three shall reign, but the third shall rule late in life.

(52) Thrice wretched I, I am wearied to conceive the message of evil in my heart, (53) I the familiar friend of Isis, and the inspired strain of oracles. (54) First of all around the steps of thy lamented temple, (55) frenzied priestesses shall rush, and thou shalt be in evil hands (56) on that day when the Nile passes over (57) the whole land of Egypt up to sixteen cubits, (58) so as to flood the whole land and drench it with its streams. (59) And the grace of the land shall subside and the glory of its face.

(60) Memphis, thou shalt mourn more than all for Egypt. (61) For thou, who before wast the mighty mistress of earth, shalt become (62) miserable, so that even He whose delight is in the thunder shall shout (63) from heaven with a loud voice: O Memphis, mighty in strength, (64) thou who of old didst boast so loudly to miserable men, (65) shalt mourn wretched and ill-starred, (66) so that the eternal immortal God will notice thee in the clouds. (67) Where is thy spirit that has been so masterful among men? (68) Forasmuch as thou hast spent thy fury upon my divinely anointed servants, (69) and hast launched forth evil upon men that are good, (70) in return for such things thou shalt have such a nurse for thy recompense. (71) Thou shalt have no longer any right [†]openly[†] among the blessed. (72) Thou hast fallen from the stars: thou shalt not ascend to heaven. (73) These things God bade me tell forth to Egypt (74) in the last time when men shall be wholly evil. (75) But wicked men exhaust wickedness awaiting (76) the wrath of the immortal, loud-thundering God of heaven, (77) and worshipping stones in place of God, and beasts, (78) and fearing a motley crowd of deities, which have no speech, (79) no understanding and no hearing, such things as it is a shame for me even to mention, (80) each several form of idols which owe their being to the hands of mortal men. (81) And from their own labours and miserable devices (82) men have taken to themselves gods of wood and stone, (83) of brass and gold and silver too, vain gods, (84) lifeless and dumb and smelted in the fire, (85) have they made, putting their trust in vain in such as these. (86) [†]Thmouis and Xouis are in tribulation. **Abydos laments**,[†] (87) and (the cities) of Heracles, Zeus and Hermes. (88) And thee Alexandria, famous nurse of cities, (89) war shall not leave, nor **famine**, but thou shalt pay the **penalty** (90) of thy haughtiness and all thy former deeds. (91) Long ages shalt thou be in silence and the day of return **thou shalt not see**. (92) And

40. **cursed**. MSS. untranslatable. It is simplest to emend τέφθος μόρος to ἐφθαρμένος. Compare the imprecation φθείρεσθε.

41. Νερούας, i. e. Nerva, who was over 60 at his accession, and was long remembered as the gentlest of the Emperors.

42. Τραιανός born at Italica in Spain. After continual wars in the East he died at Selinus in Cilicia.

45. The parsley (σέλινον) furnished the wreath which was the prize at the Nemean games. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 46: Νέμ. iv. 143.

46. i. e. Hadrian, whose name recalls the Adriatic Sea.

50. Hadrian had no children. He adopted first L. Verus and then Antoninus.

51. On this line see Intr. p. 373.

52-9. A calamity in Egypt.

53. **familiar friend** (γνωστή): perhaps 'kinswoman' (γυνωτή). A suggestion is 'Isis, thou shalt know God' (Ἰσι, θεὸν γνώσῃ) from vii. 66.

55. **rush**, αἰξουσι: most MSS. 'increase', αἰξουσι.

60-72. Woes on Memphis.

67. Cf. the dirge on Babylon in Isa. xiv; also xix. 12 ff.

68. **divinely anointed**, perhaps = 'Christian'.

70. The **nurse** is probably Rome. Alex. would translate 'foster-child'.

71. The sense is unsatisfactory. We might read 'Thou shalt no longer have a right among the clans of the blessed' (φρήτραις for φανερώς).

72. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12, 13.

73-110. The confusion of Egypt.

86. Text corrupt in the second half of the line.

Thmouis and **Xouis** are towns in Lower Egypt connected with the worship of Amen.

Abydos is merely a conjectural emendation (κόπτετ' Ἀβυδος).

87. The word for **cities** is missing. The three towns are Heracleopolis, Diospolis (= Thebes), and Hermopolis.

89. The latter part of the line is missing. The restoration is by Alex.

91. A gap in the MSS. after this line.

92. The line is cut short. Supply Νεῖλος ἀπάζων.

no more shall the Nile flow for thee with its boon of delicious drink. (93) For the Persian shall come upon thy field like hail (94) and shall destroy thy land and thy men of evil arts, (95) with blood and corpses, †beside thy glorious altars†; (96) a people of uncouth mind, stalwart, red with blood, of senseless rage, (97) in full force like the sand to hasten thy doom. (98) And then, O thou rich with the wealth of cities, thou shalt be rich with distress. (99) All Asia shall mourn because of those gifts of thine from which (100) she joyed to crown her head, now falling upon earth. (101) And he to whose lot fell the Persians' land shall war thee down, (102) and killing man by man shall crush out thy whole life, (103) so that but a third part shall remain to wretched men. (104) And he shall leap on thee with light spring from the West, (105) blockading thy whole land and laying it all in waste. (106) But when he reaches his zenith of power, and his boldness **knows no shame**, (107) he shall come fain even to sack the city of the blessed. (108) And then a king sent from God against him (109) shall destroy all the mighty kings and the best of the men. (110) And so shall the judgement come from the Immortal upon men.

(111) Woe unto thee, my craven heart, why dost thou provoke me (112) to declare these things unto Egypt, even the grievous partition of sovereignty? (113) Go to the East, to the senseless Persian tribes, and signify to them the present and that which is to be.

(115) The stream of the river Euphrates shall bring on a flood (116) and it shall destroy Persians and Iberians and Babylonians, (117) and Massagetae lovers of war and trusting in bows. (118) The whole of Asia shall blaze with flames of fire as far as the islands. (119) Pergamus, of old so venerable, shall perish as a cluster of grapes, (120) and Pitane shall appear among men as a mass of ruins. (121) The whole of Lesbos shall sink into the deep abyss to perish. (122) Smyrna shall one day mourn rolled down the cliffs; (123) she that of old was revered and renowned shall perish. (124) The Bithynians shall mourn their land reduced to ashes, (125) and great Syria and Phoenice **with its multitude of peoples**.

(126) Woe to thee, Lycia, for all the evils that the sea is devising against thee, (127) invading of its own accord thy woebegone land, (128) so as to flood with evil earthquake and bitter streams (129) the myrrhless myrrh-breathing land of Lycia.

(130) Phrygia, too, shall have grievous wrath on account of the **infatuation** (131) whereby Rhea the (mother) of Zeus came and stayed there.

(132) The sea shall destroy the family of the Tauri and their barbarian folk, (133) and **a devourer** shall slay the Lapithae throughout their land†. (134) The deep-eddying river shall destroy the Thessalian land, (135) even Peneius with its deep stream chasing **mortals** from the land.

(137) Poets shall sing well-a-day for thrice-wretched Hellas, when one from Italy shall pierce the neck of the isthmus, even the mighty king of mighty Rome, a godlike man, (140) to whom, they say, Zeus himself gave birth and our lady Hera. (141) Who courting applause with honied strains uttered

93-111 are contained (except 98) only in the Paris excerpt, which has besides iv. 179-190 (see Introduction, p. 374). At the end of 111 there is a summary in prose of the contents of this passage.

93. The line is only found in the Paris excerpt, and the word for **fields** (δάπος) is omitted. Possibly the Persian is Nero representing the Antichrist returning at the head of a Parthian army, cf. 147. For the description cf. 1 En. lvi. 5. Fehr compares a striking passage in Commodian, *Carm. Apol.* 825 ff.

95. **beside thy glorious altars**. Text again uncertain. Geffck. proposes 'shall fill full thine altars'. περιπλήσουσι τε βωμούς.

101. Reading due to Buresch from Paris excerpt.

104. Nero is to lead a successful campaign in the West. For **spring** (ἄλματι) Par. excerpt has 'chariot' (ἄρματι).

107-10. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 18. 5. In 106 read (with Geffcken) ἀναιδής for ἀηδής.

108. The Messiah is to intervene from heaven to save Jerusalem. φ ψ are unmetrical: σθεναρὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον.

111-31. Calamities in various Eastern countries foretold.

112. The partition of sovereignty would refer to the disputes as to the imperial throne of Rome.

119. The simile is a little strained. Alex. would read 'from its foundations' (βαθρῆδόν).

125. Read πολύφυλον for MSS. πολύφυτον.

129. The epithets ἄμυρον, μυρρίπνον, are apparently chosen to play on the name Myra, the chief city of Lycia. But for ἄμυρον (*myrrhless*) we might possibly read ἀμάραν (*water-channel*).

130. **infatuation** (λύσσης), a suggestion for 'grief' (λύπης). Rhea is closely connected with Cybele, whose worship was attended with great orgies.

132-6. The whole text is corrupt and only a conjectural restoration is possible. In 133 **a devourer** (δάπτων) is a conjecture for 'ground' (δάπεδον). In 135 μέροπας, 'mortals', is read for μορφάς 136 is regarded as a doublet of 135 and omitted. It runs, literally, 'Epidanus claiming (saying) one day to beget the forms of beasts'.

The *Lapithae* were a wild tribe living in Thessaly in heroic times, and the *Peneius* is the principal river of Thessaly.

137-54. The return of Nero.

138. Cf. 632. The description in the next two lines is bitterly sarcastic.

140. It was said that Nero's birth was wrapped in mystery, cf. Suet. *Nero* 6.

with melodious voice (42) shall destroy many together with his ill-starred mother. (43) Then shall flee from Babylon a king fearful and shameless (44) whom all mortals and all the best men loathe. (45) For he destroyed many and laid his hands on the womb (46) and sinned against wives and was born of **abominable** parentage. (47) He shall come to the Medes and to the kings of the Persians, (48) the first whom he desired and to whom he added glory, (49) making his lair with these evil men against the true people. (50) He seized the temple built by God, and burnt the citizens and the people who went up to it, whom I have justly sung. (52) For when he died the whole of creation was shaken (53) and kings perished, and those among whom the empire remained (54) destroyed the great city and the righteous people.

(55) But when after the fourth year a great star shines, (56) which by itself shall destroy the (whole) land, †because of the honour (57) which they first paid to Poseidon god of the sea†, (58) then shall come a great star from heaven into the divine sea, (59) and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself, (60) and the land of Italy on whose account (61) many faithful saints of the Hebrews have perished, and the true people.

(62) Thou shalt be afflicted with evil among evil men, (63) but thou shalt remain utterly desolate for whole ages hereafter, . . . (65) hating thy soil because thou didst love magic. (66) Adulteries are with thee and unlawful intercourse with boys, (67) effeminate and unjust, thou wicked city, most ill-starred of all. (68) Woe unto thee all unclean city of Latin land, (69) frenzied and †poison-loving†, in widowhood shalt thou sit beside thy banks, (70) and river Tiber shall mourn for thee, his wife, (71) that hadst a bloodthirsty heart and a godless mind. (72) Didst thou not know what God can do and what are his designs? (73) But thou hast said, I am unique, and none shall bring ruin on me. (74) But now God whose Being is for ever shall destroy thee and all of thine, (75) and there shall be no token of thee in that land, (76) as of old when the Mighty God found for thee thine honour. (77) Remain, O lawless one, unique, and, wedded unto flaming fire, (78) make thine home in the nether region of Hades where laws are not.

(79) But now once more, Egypt, I bemoan thy doom. (80) Memphis, thou shalt be in the van of troubles, †smitten in thine ankles†. (81) The very pyramids in thee shall utter a speechless voice. (82) Python, thou that of old wast justly called the double city, (83) be thou silent for ages that thou mayst cease from thy wickedness. (84) Insolence, storehouse of evil woes, frenzied with much lamentation, (85) direful sufferer, full of tears, thou shalt remain a widow for ever. (86) For many a year thou wast the sole sovereign of the world.

(87) But when Barca puts on the white kilt (88) over soiled clothes, may I not live or be born.

143. Babylon probably means Rome. But it is noticeable that in the Avesta Azhidaka has his seat at Babylon, and some have supposed that the Nero myth has borrowed certain features from this source.

146. **abominable**, *μιαρῶν*. Most MSS. read 'small', *μικρῶν*, but the correction is certain. It is noticeable in how many details Nero and the Antichrist are confused.

148. Nero desired to transfer his seat of empire to the East. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 40.

150. Nero did not, of course, capture Jerusalem. But his sending Vespasian to the East to quell the Jewish revolt was the beginning of the end.

152. **died**, *θανέοντος*. MSS. 'appeared', *προφάνεοντος*. But Nero's death was followed by a terrific earthquake (Dio 63. 28), and the kings who perished would be Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

MSS. have 'the' ἡ for 'the whole of', *ὅλην*, and the line is left unmetrical.

155-61. An apocalyptic passage suggested by a notable comet which appeared in A.D. 73 (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 25), and is supposed to presage the fate of Rome.

157. The line is corrupt; perhaps we should read 'because of the precious things which aforetime they put on Poseidon god of the sea'. The arrogance of Babylon (= Rome) is based to a large extent on the wealth of its sea-borne merchandise, cf. Apoc. xviii. 4-20.

162-78. A dirge on Rome suggested by Isa. xiii. and Apoc. xviii.

164. The line omitted ('it shall be, but it shall remain utterly desolate for ever') is evidently a doublet.

165. **magic**, *φαρμακίη*. Cf. Apoc. xviii. 23.

169. **poison-loving**, *ἐχιδνοχάρης*, properly 'delighting in vipers'. The word may have been suggested by the story of the death of Cleopatra.

173. Cf. Isa. xiv. 5.

177. A reference to the great fire of A.D. 63.

179-205. A dirge on Memphis and other Egyptian towns.

180. **smitten in thine ankles**, *πληχθεῖσα τένοντας* (Geffck.) may refer to the system of canals which crossed ancient Memphis. But the MSS. reading gives *πλησθεῖσα τένοντος*, and it is simple to read with Alex. *πλησθεῖσα θανόντων*, 'filled with the dead'.

181. A reference to the sounding pyramid mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 58, Juv. xv. 5.

182. **Python** = Pithom, the treasure city partially built by the Israelites. The Romans built another city close by, called Heropolis. It is Egypt in general rather than Memphis or Python that is now addressed.

For **speechless** (*ἄναδον*) the MSS. have 'shameless' (*ἀναιδῆ*).

184. Cf. l. 231 ff.

187. **Barca**, a city of Cyrenaica captured by the Persians in the time of Darius. The **kilt** (*κυπάσσιον*) was a Persian garment. The oracle is probably an ancient one: *γενοίμαν* shows a Doric ending.

(89) O Thebes, where is thy great strength? a savage man (90) shall utterly destroy thy people. And thou, taking thy sombre garments (91) shalt mourn, poor wretch, alone, and shalt make full amends (92) for all that thou didst before in the shamelessness of thine heart. (93) And they shall make grievous lament because of their lawless deeds.

(94) Syene an Ethiopian hero shall destroy. (95) Teuchira the dark-skinned Indians shall forcibly occupy. (96) Pentapolis, thou shalt mourn: †a man of mighty strength shall destroy thee.† (97) O Libya, steeped in tears, who shall tell forth thy dooms? (98) And what mortal, Cyrene, shall weep piteous tears for thee? (99) Thou shalt not cease thy lament to the time of thine hateful destruction.

(200) Among the Britains and the Gauls rich in gold (201) the ocean shall roar filled with streams of blood: (202) forasmuch as they too committed wickedness against the children of God (203) †when the red king brought against the Sidonians (204) a great horde of Gauls out of Syria†. And he shall slay even thee, (205) O Ravenna, and shall rule over thee with bloodshed.

(206) Ye Indians, be not overbold, and ye stout-hearted Ethiopians. (207) For when the circle of the **arched** Axis, Capricorn (208) and Taurus among the Twins revolve round mid heaven, (209) and Virgo is coming forth, and the sun (10) reigns fixing his fire-flashing belt about his brow: (11) then there shall be a great celestial conflagration on the earth, (12) and in the battle of the stars a new creation shall come forth, so that (13) the whole land of the Ethiopians shall perish with fire and moanings.

(14) Do thou too, Corinth, bemoan the piteous destruction that is in thee. (15) For when with their weft of twisted thread the three sister-Fates (16) bring back him that fled by guile to the bank of the Isthmus (17) in mid-air that all may see him, (18) who once pierced the rock with ductile brass, (19) then he shall destroy thy land and waste it, as it was determined before. (20) For to him God hath given strength to do (21) such things as none of all the former kings have done.

(22) For first of all **cutting off** with a mighty blow the roots from three heads, (23) he shall give them to his **mighty comrades** to devour (24) so that they shall eat the flesh of the parents of the unholy king. (25) For for all men blood and horrors are in store (26) because of the great city and the righteous people, (27) brought safe through all, whom Providence exalted.

(28) O thou unsettled and of evil counsel, beset with evil fate, (29) source of trouble and its great end unto men (30) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (31) O violence, fountain-head of evils and great bane unto men, (32) who of mortals hath desired thee, who within him hath not been vexed? (33) By thee a king cast down has lost his august life. (34) Thou hast ordered all amiss and hast brought on all the flood-tide of evil, (35) and through thee the fair plains of the earth have been altered. (36) Throw out these seeds of strife (perhaps they are thy last) for our contention. (37) How and what dost thou speak? I will persuade thee, yea, even if I blame thee I say it. (38) There was once among men the bright sun-ray, when the beam of the

193. **make lament** (κόψονται), an emendation for 'see lament' (ὀψονται). The ending of lines 192, 193 are transposed in the MSS.

194. **Syene**, modern Assouan. There was an Ethiopian invasion of Egypt in 24 B.C.

195. **Teuchira**, a city in Cyrenaica, afterwards called Arsinoe.

196. **Pentapolis**, a district on the coast embracing Cyrene. The text is uncertain.

200-5. Woes on Western peoples.

200. **Britains**. MSS. Βρύττεσι. Wilam. suggests Βρύγεςσι.

203. Meaning uncertain. βασιλεὺς Φοῖνιξ may refer to Vespasian who brought Gallic troops to the campaign in Palestine. Or there may be an allusion to the phoenix which reappeared at certain intervals, and if so the reference would probably be to Nero.

205. MSS. 'thee, Ravenna here' (σε . . . αὕτη 'Ραβέννη).

206-13. A conflagration to occur among the Ethiopians at a certain conjunction of stars.

206. **be not overbold**, μὴ θαρσείτε. MSS. 'fear not', μὴ ταρβείτε.

207. **arched**, κυρτοῦ, an emendation for τοῦτους which gives no sense.

210. **fire-flashing**. The word is uncertain.

214-28. A dirge on Corinth.

216. Reading uncertain. If the restored text as translated is accepted there is apparently a reference again to Nero. In the next line he seems confused with Simon Magus, who, according to tradition, met his death while flying in the air. Line 218 would then return to Nero and his attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth.

bank, ὄχθην. φψ have ὁμφίην, 'voice'.

222. Cf. the picture in Dan. vii. 8. The three heads may be the three Flavian Emperors.

cutting off (σπασσάμενος), a suggestion for 'weighing' (στησάμενος).

223. **his comrades** (ἐτάροις), a conjecture for 'others' (ἐτέροις). So μεγάλοις for μέγας.

224. **For parents** (γονέων) we should perhaps read 'race' (γενέας). The unholy king is Nero.

228-46. A much disputed passage. Hildebrandt sees in it a direct allusion to the Avesta. Fehr regards it as an address to Rome. It seems more probable that it refers to the Rabbinic conception of the fall of Adam brought about by the envy of the Angels, and of the withdrawal of the Shechinah from earth. But the whole passage is obscure.

230. **by the Fates** (Μοίραις). MSS. have 'when destiny is again saved', σωζομένης πάλι Μοίρης.

237. Alex. would read 'If thou hast aught against me, speak it', εἰ δέ τι μέμφει αὐδα.

prophets was shed forth in concord. (40) A tongue distilling a fair **honed** drink to all mortals (41) came forth and waxed greater, and reared its gentle crop for all. (42) Therefore, O thou of cramped counsel, fountain-head of the greatest of evils, (43) the hooked knife and mourning shall come on that day. (44) O thou source of trouble and its great end unto men, (45) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (46) listen to my bitter speech of evil sound, thou bane unto men.

(47) But when the Persian land shall be quit of war (48) and of pestilence and lamentation, then there shall be on that day (49) the godlike heavenly race of the blessed Jews, (50) who dwell around the city of God at the centre of earth. (51) Building a great ring-wall as far as Joppa (52) they are exalted on high up to the darkling clouds. (53) No more shall the trumpet hiss forth the blast of war's turmoil, (54) nor shall they perish any more by the fanatic hands of their foes. (55) But they shall set up trophies **around** in an age **innocent of harm**.

(56) Then there shall come from the sky a certain exalted man, (57) whose hands they **nailed** upon the fruitful tree, (58) the noblest of the Hebrews, who **shall** one day **cause** the sun to stand still, (59) when he cries with fair speech and pure lips.

(60) Let thy spirit within thy breast no longer be vexed, thou blessed one, (61) child of God, excellent in wealth, only longed-for blossom, (62) pleasant light, august **offshoot**, longed-for **branch**, (63) well-favoured Judaea, fair city, inspired in hymns. (64) No longer shall the Greeks' unclean foot run riot in thy land, (65) for they shall have within their breasts a mind that conforms to thy laws. (66) But thy noble sons shall encircle thee with honour, (67) and with holy music they shall attend thy table, (68) with divers kinds of sacrifices and prayers to the honour of God. (69) All those righteous men who from short-lived affliction have endured troubles, (70) shall **have** a more ample and well-favoured **rope of life**. (71) But the evil men who trim to the breeze a lawless tongue (72) shall cease to speak one against another, (73) and they shall hide themselves [†]until the world pass away[†]. (74) And then shall come from the clouds a rain of flaming fire. (75) No longer shall men gather in the blithe corn-blade from the earth. (76) All shall remain unsown and unploughed, until mortal men take note of (77) God, the Chief of all, the Immortal and Eternal, (78) and no longer pay homage to mortal things, (79) nor dogs and vultures, which Egypt has taught (80) to reverence with **vain** mouths and foolish lips. (81) But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things. (82) An ambrosial stream distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous. (84) For they fixed their hope on the one God, the Father who alone is excellent, (85) and they held fast to great piety and faith.

(86) But why, O why, does my wise mind lay this burden on me? (87) Now it is thou, O wretched Asia, that I piteously lament, and the race of the Ionians, Carians, and Lydians rich in gold. (89) Woe to thee, Sardis: and to thee, lovely Trallis. (90) Woe to thee, Laodicea, fair city, how shall ye perish (91) destroyed by earthquakes and reduced to dust. (92) To dusky Asia and (the race) of the Lydians rich in gold. . . .

(93) The shrine of Artemis fashioned (by the citizens) of Ephesus (94) shall one day by yawnings

240. The **tongue** was perhaps a comet, a sign of peace and prosperity. μέλι σταγέουσα, 'distilling . . . honeyed' is a conjecture of Alex. for μὲν σταγέουσα φ. (ψ has μὲν στυγέουσα.)

241. For φαῖνε τέ read φαίνεται.

249. Lact. quotes this line and refers it to the Christians.

250. For the Rabbinic idea that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth cf. 1 En. xxvi. 1; Jubilees viii.

255. The text is corrupt, and the emendation proposed is slight. Read ἀλλὰ περίξ στήσουσ' ἀκάκῳ αἵωνι τρόπαια.

256-9. A Christian interpolation.

257. MSS. 'whose hands he spread out', οὐ παλάμας ἥπλωσεν. For ἥπλωσεν read ἥλωσαν. Fehr, reading δαριστύς in 258, renders 'whose hands the company of the Hebrews spread out'. Blass refers this line to Moses (Exod. xvii. 12).

258. In the MSS. the verb is in the past, στήσε. Many commentators treat this as referring to Joshua, but manifestly the allusion is to St. Luke xxiii. 43, 44.

260-85. The coming prosperity of Judaea and the plight of the ungodly.

Bleek and Geffrörer treat this section as one of the oldest (c. 160 B.C.), but without convincing reason.

262. Read θάλος for τέλος, and ἔρνος for ἄγνος.

267. **attend thy table**. Perhaps 'set up (ἐπιστήσουσι) thy table'. Referring to the restoration of the Temple sacrifices, which was to be one of the features of the new Jerusalem.

270. **rope** is a conjecture (κάλων for καλόν: cf. iii. 45). The metaphor would be a nautical one, but it is not very convincing, and there is probably a corruption in the text.

273. **until the world pass away**. Read (with Rzach) ἕως ἀλλαχθῆ ὁ κόσμος for ἕως κόσμος ἀλλαγῇ.

280. **vain mouths**, κενόις. MSS. 'new' (νέοις). Alexandre suggests 'their mouths' (στοματέσσιν εἰοῖς).

286-97. Disasters in Asia following an earthquake.

There was a specially severe earthquake in A.D. 17, details of which are given in Tac. Ann. ii. 47; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 86. Twelve cities were destroyed in one night and Sardis suffered most severely.

292. Obviously there is a gap after this line. It may be filled in with a line like iv. 101.

293. The temple of Ephesus survived, and was changed into a Christian Church.

and quakings of the earth sink into the divine sea (95) headlong, even as tempests overwhelm ships. (96) Ephesus shall lament **prostrate** and weeping by her shores, (97) and seeking for her temple which is no longer inhabited.

(98) And then in wrath the Immortal God who dwells in heaven (99) shall hurl from the sky a fiery meteor down on the unholy head. (300) And instead of winter there shall be summer on that day, (301) and then indeed shall be **autumn's end** to mortal men. (302) For He who thunders from on high shall utterly destroy all the shameless men, (303) with thunderings and lightnings and flaming thunderbolts, (304) on those who are his enemies, and he shall destroy them as ungodly (305) so that dead bodies shall remain on the earth more numerous than the sand.

(306) Smyrna too shall come bemoaning her **minstrel** (307) to the gates of Ephesus, and she shall perish more thoroughly.

(308) And Cyme, the foolish, with her streams inspired of God, (309) hurled down by the hands of godless men, unjust and lawless, (310) shall not so much as **put forth a branch** toward heaven, (11) but shall remain dead by its **swelling** streams. (12) And then they shall groan together awaiting an evil doom. (13) They shall know when they have a token wherefore they have laboured, (14) that stubborn folk and shameless race of the Cymaeans. (15) Then when they shall bemoan their wicked land reduced to ashes (16) Lesbos shall be for ever destroyed by Eridanus.

(17) Woe unto thee **Cibyra**, thou fair city, cease thy rout, (18) and Hierapolis, thou land uniquely wedded to the god of wealth. (19) Thou shalt have, what thou hast **longed** to have, **gold** but **gold** of many tears, (20) burying it in the earth by the streams of Thermodon. (21) And rock-clinging Tripolis by Maeander's waters, (22) **left widowed** by the billows at night against the shore, (23) God's Providence shall one day make a full end of thee **unto the ground**.

(24) May it never befall me to choose willingly the land that is neighbour to Phoebus. (25) One day a meteor from on high shall destroy delicate Miletus, (26) forasmuch as she chose the deceitful verse of Phoebus, (27) and men's learned study and prudent counsel.

(28) Be favourable, Father of all, to the delicate fruitful land, (29) to great Judaea, that we may see thy purposes. (30) Her first didst thou know, O God, with thine acts of favour, (31) so that she seemed to all mankind to be the object of thy special grace, (32) and to realize what a charge she had from thee.

(33) Thrice wretched me, I long to see the Thracians' works, (34) and the wall that spans two seas, dragged by Ares (35) river-like in the dust **like** a fishing diver.

(36) Wretched Hellespont, a son of the Assyrians shall one day yoke thee. (37) †The Thracians' battle shall come and utterly destroy thy might†: (38) and an Egyptian king shall take Macedonia, (39) and a barbarian clime shall cast down the might of rulers. (40) Lydians and Galatians, Pamphylians and Pisidians (41) bear rule with all their people armed with bitter strife.

296. **prostrate**. Read *ὑπρία* for *ὑπρία δ'*.

298-305. Further calamities and reversal of seasons. The section seems misplaced here.

301. **autumn's end**. *μετόπωρ'* for MSS. *μετέπειτ'*.

306. **minstrel**, *λυρουργόν*. Geffck's emendation for *λυκουργόν*. The reference would be to Homer. The idea seems to be that in the general distress even the inveterate rivalry between Ephesus and Smyrna would cease.

308. The people of the Asiatic Cumae were regarded as specially foolish. But the reference to the inspired streams would fit in better with the Cumae in Campania.

310. Read *κλήμα προήσσει* for *ἄρμα προδώσει*.

311. **swelling** (*κυμαίνουσι*) for 'Cumaeon' (*κυμήουσι*). The play on words seems to make this emendation preferable to Geffcken's *κνανέουσι*.

316. The Eridanus was a river famous in old legends. Here, perhaps, used for the sea. Cf. Virgil's 'Acheloia pocula'.

317. **Cibyra**. Mendelssohn's emendation for Corcyra. Cibyra was on the borders of Caria and Lycia.

319. **longed to have** (*πεπόθηκας*). MSS. 'made' (*πεποίηκας*). *Gold*, *χρυσόν*, is a suggested emendation for *place*, *χώρον*. It carries on the idea of 'wedded to the god of wealth' (*Πλούτωνι μγείσα*).

One of the features of Hierapolis was the Ploutonium, a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 86.

322. **left widowed**. Read *χρηρευθείσα* for MSS. *κληρωθείσα*. Should we read 'hurled down', *καρριφθείσα*?

Tripolis was situated on a hill overhanging the Maeander.

323. Read *πέδονδε* for *ποθ' ἦδε*.

324. Miletus was not far from the famous temple of Apollo at Branchidae.

327. **study** = *μελέτην*, a play on *Μίλητον*. Miletus was proud of her philosophers, and especially of Thales.

334. The great wall that spanned the isthmus on which Byzantium stood.

335. **like** (*ὡς*) a suggestion for 'to' (*ἐπ'*). The diver was probably a sea bird.

336. Xerxes' bridge across the Hellespont.

337. Reading uncertain. It is suggested to read *Δυσίμαχον* for *εἰς σὲ μάχη*, and translate 'The Thracians' might shall utterly undo Lysimachus'. The reference would be to the death of Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedium in 281 B. C. His vanquisher, Seleucus, was slain by Ptolemy Keraunos, and he in his turn was defeated and killed by the Gauls in 280 B. C.

341. **bear rule** (*κρατεύουσι*). Perhaps read *κροτεύουσι*, 'resound with din of arms'.

(42) Thrice-wretched Italy, thou shalt remain all desolate, unwept. (43) A baleful beast in thy luxuriant land shall destroy thee.

(44) †When the broad heaven above is clear†, (45) men shall hear a crash, as of thunder, even the voice of God. (46) And even the imperishable fires of the sun itself shall be no more, (47) nor shall there be any more the bright moonlight (48) in the last time when God shall reign. (49) All things shall become black and darkness shall be over the earth, (50) (and mortals shall be blind and beasts evil) and trouble. (51) That day shall last long time, so that (52) men will take note of God Himself, the King, the Watcher of all from heaven. (53) Then he shall have no pity for those who are his foes, (54) when they spend themselves in sacrificing herds of lambs and sheep and lowing bulls, (55) of great calves too with gilded horns (56) to lifeless Hermes and gods of stone. (57) But let justice, wisdom, and glory hold sway over the just, (58) lest the Immortal God in anger destroy (59) the whole **bloodstained** race of men and their shameless kin. (60) We needs must love God the Father, the Wise, the Everlasting.

(61) There shall be at the last time, about the waning of the moon, (62) a world-convulsing war deceitful in guilefulness. (63) And there shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide (64) fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans in his mind. (65) He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, (66) and surpass all men in the cunning of his mind. (67) That for which he perished he shall seize at once. (68) And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, (69) and shall burn all men as none other ever did. (70) And those that were fallen he shall raise up again through contrary zeal. (71) And from the west shall come much war to men, (72) and streams of blood shall flow up to the banks of the deep-eddying rivers. (73) And gall shall distil in the plains of Macedonia† . . . (74) alliance, but to the king from the west destruction†. (75) And then a wintry blast shall blow throughout the earth, (76) and the plain shall be filled again with cruel war. (77) For fire shall rain on mortal men from the fields of heaven, (78) fire and blood, water, meteor, darkness, heaven's night, (79) and consumption in war and a mist over the slain (80) shall destroy at once all kings and the best of men.

(81) Then at last war's piteous ruin shall be stopped (82) and no man shall fight any more with swords or steel, (83) nor with javelins either, for these things shall no more be permitted. (84) But the wise people that are left shall have peace, (85) having had trial of evil that later they might rejoice.

(86) Ye matricides, cease from your shamelessness and wicked boldness. (87) Ye that of old foully furnished boys for abuse, (88) and set in your houses as harlots those who before were pure (89) with wanton violence and punishment and laboured foulness. (90) In thee a mother had incestuous commerce with her child, (91) and a daughter became the bride of her own father. (92) In thee even kings befouled their ill-starred mouth: (93) in thee evil men even found means to lie with beasts. (94) Silence, thou miserable, wicked city, from the revel that thou hadst. (95) For no longer under the roof of thy virgin-loving court shall the virgins tend the divine fire. (97) Quenched from thee was thine house, desired of old, (98) when for the second time I saw thine house hurled (99) headlong down, lapped with fire, by an unholy hand, (400) thine ever flourishing house, the temple that guarded thy god, (401) made with holy hands, (402) and such as men from their soul and body itself trusted would be ever immortal.

(403) Not recklessly do they praise a God of **senseless** earth, (404) nor did a cunning workman

343. The reading of the MSS. needs some correction. Read *ἐξαπολεῖ σε* for *ἐξαπολέσθαι*.

344. MSS. unintelligible. Read *ἔσται δ' ὁπποταν αἰθριος οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεῖν*.

358-60. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei*, xxiii. 8.

359. **bloodstained** (*βροτόεν*) a conjecture for 'life' (*βίονον*).

361-85. Wars and disasters preceding the end.

363. **The ends of the earth**. Either Parthia, or the West conceived of as the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist in the form of Nero. A similar description in Testament of the Lord v.

The passage is referred to in Lact. *De Morte Pers.* ii. 8.

367. Probably the sovereignty.

370-3. Friedlieb supposes these lines to be an interpolation.

373. A gap after this line. The sense was probably, 'But God shall send from on high to that people help (or alliance)'.

386-402. Outburst of hatred against Rome. For the description cf. iii. 185 ff.

395. No good sense can be obtained from the MSS. A somewhat bold emendation is proposed. Read *οὐκέτι γὰρ παρὰ σεῖο τέγει φιλοπαρθένου αὐλῆς*. The reference is apparently to the burning of the Temple of Vesta in A. D. 64 (or possibly the second burning in A. D. 191).

398. The Sibyl claims to have seen the Temple at Jerusalem twice destroyed, and regards its destruction as the reason for the burning of Vesta's Temple.

401. The indestructibility of Herod's Temple was a dogma deep-rooted in the Jewish mind. Compare the story in Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 5.

403. **senseless** (*ἄφρονος*) for 'vanished' (*ἀφανοῦς*).

among them make a god of stone: (405) no ornament of gold to lead souls astray do they worship. (406) But God, the great Father of all within whom is the breath of God, (407) they were wont to reverence with holy sacrifices and hecatombs. (408) But now an obscure unholy king has gone up (409) and cast it down and left it without inhabitant (10) with a great multitude and with doughty warriors. (11) But he himself perished **when he landed on the mainland from the Eternal Land**, (12) and no such sign has yet been wrought on men (13) that others should think to lay in ruins the great city.

(14) For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man (15) with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp: (16) and he has won fair dominion over all, and has restored to all (17) the good the wealth which the former men took. (18) And he has destroyed every city from its foundations with sheets of fire, (19) and burnt up the families of the men who before wrought evil, (20) and the city which God loved he made (21) more radiant than the stars and the sun and the moon; (23) **and he set it as the jewel of the world, and made a temple** (23) exceeding fair **in its fair sanctuary**, and fashioned it (24) in size of many furlongs, with a giant tower (25) touching the very clouds and seen of all, (26) so that all the faithful and all the righteous may see (27) the glory of the invisible God, the vision of delight. (28) East and West have hymned forth the glory of God: (29) for no longer are wretched mortals beset with deeds of shame, (30) adulteries and unnatural passions for boys, (31) murder and tumult, but rivalry is fair among all. (32) It is the last time of the saints, when God accomplishes these things, (33) God the sender of thunder, the Creator of the great Temple.

(34) Woe to thee, Babylon, golden-throned and golden-sandalled, (35) thou who for many a year wast queen, sole sovereign of the world, (36) of old so great and cosmopolitan, no more shalt thou lie (37) on golden mountains and by Euphrates' streams. (38) Thou shalt be levelled by an earthquake's shock: and the dread Parthians (39) have made thee **rattle** through and through. Keep thy mouth **with** the bridle of constraint, (40) thou race of the Chaldees, and ask not nor care (41) how thou mayst rule the Persians or have dominion over the Medes. (42) For because of the empire that thou hadst, †thou shalt send hostages (43) to Rome, even those who were in bondage to Asia†. (44) Therefore thou thyself, thou haughty queen, shalt come to the **summons** of thine (45) adversaries on whose account thou hast sent ransom, (46) and for thy crooked words thou shalt give a bitter reckoning to thine enemies.

(47) And in the last time the sea shall be dry, (48) and no longer shall ships sail to Italy, (49) and great Asia which produces everything shall be water, (50) and Crete a plain. Cyprus shall have a great sorrow (51) and Paphos shall **lament** aloud her grievous fate, so that (52) even Salamis the great city shall perceive that she has suffered a great sorrow. (53) Now again the dry land up to the sea-shore shall be barren, (54) and swarms of locusts shall waste the land of Cyprus. (55) Ye ill-starred mortals, ye shall weep when ye look toward Tyre. (56) Phoenicia, grievous wrath awaits thee, till thou fallest (57) with a grievous fall so that the Sirens in very truth should weep.

(58) There shall be a time in the fifth generation, when Egypt's destruction shall cease, (59) when kings ally themselves in shameless marriages. (60) And Pamphylian races shall settle in Egypt, (61) and in Macedonia and in Asia and among the Lycians (62) *there shall be* a world-convulsing war with streams of blood in the dust, (63) which a king of Rome and western princes shall arrest.

408. The **king** is Titus.

411. Text uncertain. Titus lingered for some time in Egypt after the capture of Jerusalem, and there was an expectation among the Jews that he would die directly he set foot on Italian soil. Read *χέρσῳ ἀπ' ἀθανάτης ἐπιβὰς γῆς* and understand *χέρσῳ* of the mainland of Italy.

414-33. The coming of the Messiah, conceived of as already having occurred.

420, 421. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 24. 6.

422. The line is mutilated in the middle. The emendation suggested is *καὶ κόσμου κατέθηκεν ἄγαλμα, νεῶν τ' ἐποίησεν ἐν σηκῷ καλῷ περικαλλέα*.

434-46. Woes on Babylon and the Parthians.

435. Cf. Isa. xlvii. 5.

437. The **golden mountains** are merely a proverbial figure for immense wealth.

439. **rattle** (*κροτεῖν*) for MSS. 'rule' (*κρατεῖν*). In the latter half of the line the MSS. reading has been kept with the single alteration of *φίμῳ* to *φίμῳ*.

443. The text is again corrupt. Read *εἰς Ῥώμην πέμψεις σου καὶ Ἀσιδὶ θητεύοντας*. Augustus, by diplomacy, induced the Parthians to restore the Roman prisoners captured at Carrhae.

444. Reading again uncertain. For *εἰς κρίσιν* read *ἐπὶ κλήσιν*.

447-57. Convulsions of nature.

451. **lament**, *αἰῶζει*. Alexandre's emendation for *αἰζει*.

457. For the Sirens as spirits of lamentation cf. 2 Bar. x. 8.

458. War in Egypt. For 'when . . . shall cease' (*ὅτε παύσεται*) we should, perhaps, read 'when . . . shall come' (*ὅτ' ἐλεύσεται*).

459. Perhaps a reference to Cleopatra and Caesar.

461. For **Lycians** Alex. suggests 'Libyans', referring to Octavian's capture of Pelusium and Alexandria.

(64) When a wintry blast distils in form of snow, (65) and a great river and the largest lakes are frozen, (66) straightway a barbarian horde shall make its way to the land of Asia, (67) and shall destroy the race of the dreaded Thracians as though it were but puny. (68) And then mortals in desperation shall devour their own parents (69) in the last stages of famine, and shall consume them greedily as food. (70) And from every house beasts shall devour the table (71) and the very birds shall devour all mortals, (72) and as a result of grievous war the bloodstained ocean shall be filled (73) with the flesh and blood of the insensate men. (74) Then such faintness shall there be throughout the earth (75) that one may tell the number of men and the measure of women. (76) Myriad shall be the lamentations of the **wretched** generation about the term (77) when the sun sets never to rise again, (78) waiting to be bathed in the waters of ocean. (79) For it has seen the unholy villainies of many men. (80) There shall be a moonless darkness even around the great heaven, (81) and no slight mist shall envelop the folds of earth (82) a second time. But then God's light shall guide (83) all those good men who have raised their hymns to God.

(84) Isis, thou goddess thrice ill-starred, thou shalt remain by the streams of Nile (85) alone, frenzied but speechless by the sands of Acheron, (86) and no memory of thee shall remain throughout the whole earth. (87) And thou, Sarapis, **covered with many useless stones**, (88) shalt lie a giant corpse in Egypt thrice ill-starred. (89) And all who have brought the precious things of Egypt to thee, (90) shall weep for thee bitterly, bethinking them of the Immortal God. (91) They shall know thee to be nothing, all who have sung hymns to thee as God. (92) And then one of the priests shall say, a linen-clad man, (93) Come, let us set up the fair temple of the true God. (94) Come, let us change the grievous custom we have received from our fathers, (95) whereby, performing processions and rites to gods of stone and earthenware, they had no sense. (97) Let us turn ourselves and hymn the Immortal God, (98) the Father himself who is from everlasting, (99) the Chief of all, the True, the King, (500) the Father, Sustainer of souls, the Great Eternal God. (501) And then in Egypt there shall be a great and holy temple, (502) and to it the people whom God made shall bring sacrifices. (503) To these God shall grant a life without decay.

(504) But when, leaving the shameless tribes of the Triballi, (505) the Ethiopians tarry to till **the land of Egypt**, (506) they shall begin their evil deeds that all the latter things may come to pass. (507) For they shall destroy the great temple of the land of Egypt. (508) And God shall rain grievous wrath upon them down to earth, (509) so as to destroy all the evil and all the lawless. (10) And there shall be no more any sparing in that land (11) because they did not keep that which God entrusted to them.

(12) I saw the threatening of the gleaming sun among the stars, (13) and the moon's grievous wrath among the lightning flashes. (14) The stars travailed with **war**: and God suffered them to fight. (15) For instead of the sun long flames rose in revolt, (17) and the two-horned **revolution** of the moon was changed. (16) Lucifer waged battle, mounted on Leo's back. (18) Capricorn smote the heel of the young Taurus: (19) and Taurus snatched from Capricorn his day of return. (20) Orion removed the Scales so that they remained no more. (21) Virgo changed her sphere with the Twins in Aries. (22) The Pleiad appeared no more: and the Dragon disowned the Belt. (23) Pisces entered into the girdle of Leo. (24) Cancer did not stay, for he feared Orion. (25) Scorpio drew up his tail, because of savage Leo: (26) and the dog-star perished from the sun's flame. (27) The might of doughty Lucifer burned up Aquarius. (28) Heaven itself was stirred till it shook the warriors, (29) and in anger cast them headlong to the earth. (30) And smitten swiftly into the waters of Ocean, (31) they kindled the whole earth: and the sky remained starless.

464-74. A Gaulish invasion. Probably an ancient oracle on the Gaulish inroad into Asia after their repulse at Delphi in 279 B. C.

476-83. A plague of darkness, the righteous only having light.

476. **wretched**, δειλός, a conjecture for MSS. δεινός.

482. The writer has in mind probably the darkness that reigned in Egypt when only the Israelites had light.

484-503. The conversion of Egypt. Four lines are quoted by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50 with slight alterations from the MSS.

487. So Clem. But the MSS. have 'stretched on thy stones thou shalt have many toils', λίθοις ἐπικείμενε πολλὰ μόγησις.

489. Or perhaps 'whom the spell of Egypt hath brought to thee'. ὅσους δ' Αἰγύπτου πόθος ἤγαγεν εἰς σε (so Rz.).

501. The Temple of Onias at Heliopolis was destroyed by order of Vespasian.

504-11. Destruction of the Temple followed by God's vengeance.

504. The Triballi, properly a rude tribe living on the borders of Thrace, are here used generally for savages.

505. The MSS. tarry is to be kept. But 'the land of Egypt' is Alexandre's emendation (Αἰγύπτου γαῖαν for Αἰγύπτου ἐν τε).

512-31. The battle of the stars; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 72. If the stars are taken as representing angelic beings, the scene is parallel to the 'war in heaven' in Apoc. xii. 7. Only here all are finally expelled.

514. **war**. A necessary emendation for the MSS. reading, which gives no sense.

517. **revolution** (δολίχος) for 'trouble' (δίζυς).

525. MSS. uncertain.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Assumption of Moses was in all probability a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between A.D. 7 and 29, and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A.D. Of this a few phrases and sentences appear to have been preserved in Acts vii. 36, Jude 9, 16, 18, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers. The Greek version was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century. Of this version a large fragment was discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian library in Milan.

The book was written by a Pharisaic Quietist and was designed by its author as a protest against the growing secularization of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. Its author sought herein to recall his party to the old paths, which they were fast forsaking, of simple unobtrusive obedience to the law. He glorifies accordingly the old ideals which had been cherished and pursued by the Chasid and Early Pharisaic party, but which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. And yet he was full of patriotism; for he looked for the return of the Ten Tribes, the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, the triumph of Israel over its foes. But though a patriot he was not a Zealot. The duty of the faithful was not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the law, and prepare, through repentance, for the personal intervention of God in their behalf. Accordingly, though he depicts in all its horrors the persecution under Antiochus, he leaves unmentioned the great achievements of the Maccabean leaders and only once refers to the entire dynasty from 165 to 37 B.C., and that in most disparaging terms. For him the true saints and heroes of the time were not Judas and his great brethren, but an obscure group of martyrs—Eleazar and his seven sons, who unresistingly yielded themselves to death on behalf of God and the law. In setting forth his ideal saints and heroes our author idealized deliberately the facts of history and represented as a single incident two distinct events—a pardonable liberty on the part of an Apocalypticist—not to speak of an unconquerable optimist and idealist. His action in regard to the Maccabean movement was the natural outcome of his conception of religion, and reflected his attitude towards the present dominant form of Pharisaism; for he clearly saw the growing secularization of the religion of his time, and perhaps foresaw the doom to which his country was hurrying under such a shortsighted and unspiritual policy, and laboured with all his power to stay its downward progress. But all in vain. He but played afresh the part of Cassandra. The leavening of Pharisaism with earthly political ideals went on apace, and the movement thus initiated culminated finally in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D.

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry, and that its conception of spiritual religion as opposed to an alliance of religion with politics generally or with any specific school of politics was essentially one with His.¹

§ 2. THE PRESENT BOOK IN REALITY A TESTAMENT OF MOSES—NOT THE ASSUMPTION, WHICH IS PRESERVED ONLY IN A FEW GREEK QUOTATIONS.

In the lists of Apocryphal books we find mention of a Testament of Moses (Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses (Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως). In the 'List of Sixty Books' and in the Synopsis of Athanasius the number of stichoi is omitted, but this desideratum is supplied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus, which assigns to them respectively 1,100 and 1,400 stichoi. Schürer conjectured that these designations were titles of two separate divisions of one

¹ This section is mainly taken from my edition of the *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiii sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

and the same book, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second. The studies of the present writer have led him to accept this suggestion in a modified form. The 'Testament' and 'Assumption' mentioned in the above lists are not to be regarded with Schürer as 'two separate divisions of one and the same work', but as two originally independent works subsequently put together and edited as one.

Of the Latin fragment of the Assumption (i. e. the Testament), which consisted originally of 1,100 stichoi, about one-half is preserved.¹ Some writers, as Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 480 sq.), have sought to identify this Testament with the Book of Jubilees. But this is impossible; for since 4,300 stichoi are assigned to the Canonical Book of Genesis in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, this Testament, if it were identical with the Book of Jubilees, would have run to 5,000 or 6,000 stichoi and not to 1,100, as it is there stated. Independently of this fact on a variety of grounds this identification is inadmissible.

We shall now give some of the grounds for regarding the Latin version and the Greek fragments in the Fathers as belonging to two originally independent works, which were subsequently edited together.

1°. The book quoted by Jude, Clement of Alexandria, and later Greek writers,² was wholly concerned with the individual destiny of Moses, i. e. his assumption and incidents connected with it. This was the original Assumption of Moses.

2°. The book partially preserved in the Latin version is the 'Testament' which was wholly taken up with the destinies of the chosen people: it was distinct also from the Assumption of Moses; for according to the Latin version (i. e. the 'Testament') Moses was to die an ordinary death. Thus in i. 15 Moses says: 'I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people,' and similarly in x. 14. In iii. 13 the Tribes speak of Moses' death. In these three passages the death referred to is obviously an ordinary one, and the same fact was stated in x. 12, before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. In x. 12, i. e. 'From my death [assumption] until His advent, there will be CCL times,' this word 'assumption' was introduced by the final editor into the Testament, which knew nothing of Moses' assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, 'The Assumption of Moses'.

3°. In the thirteenth section of the *Palaea Historica* edited by Vassiliev—an O.T. history of events from Adam to Daniel—of the portion which deals with the death of Moses, part seems to be ultimately derived from the 'Testament' and part from the 'Assumption' properly so called. The following lines (pp. 257–58) would form a fitting close to the 'Testament'.

καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν (τὸν) τοῦ Ναυί. Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν. κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀναγγέλιον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατήλθεν Ἰησοὺς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτήσατο. Here Moses dismisses Joshua and dies apparently an ordinary death. But according to the Assumption proper (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15) both Joshua and Caleb were present, when the assumption

¹ It is not improbable that the lost half of the Testament dealt with certain revelations made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight. We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. VT*, ii. 121–2) 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulcri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit ubi cadaver conderetur'. Here there is an extraordinary disappearance of Moses' body as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 but no assumption. If the writer had been acquainted with the original Assumption, in which the details of Moses' ascension to heaven were recorded, he could not have written in these vague terms.

² On pp. 105–10 of my edition I have shown by an examination of the existing Greek fragments of the *Assumption proper*, that the order of action in it was probably as follows:

1°. Michael was commissioned to bury Moses.

2°. Satan opposed the burial on the ground (a) that he was the lord of matter (ὅλη) and that accordingly the body should be rightfully handed over to him; (b) that Moses was a murderer, having slain the Egyptian.

3°. Michael having rebutted Satan's accusations proceeded to charge Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve.

4°. Finally, all opposition having been overcome, the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A two-fold presentation of Moses appeared: one was Moses in company with angels, the other was the dead body of Moses, being buried in the recesses of the mountains.

The passages in support of 1° will be found in Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512–19). See Cramer, *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, p. 160; likewise the two anonymous passages *op. cit.* on pp. 161, 163; two scholia from Oecumenius (c. 990). In support of 2° Jude 9; Clem. Alex., *Adumbrat. in Ep. Iudae*; Didymus Alex. (309–94); Severus of Antioch; *Acta Synodi Nicaen.* ii. 20; anonymous passages in Cramer's *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, pp. 160, 161, 163 and the scholia of Oecumenius. In support of 3° Origen, *De Princ.* iii. 2. 1. In support of 4° Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15; Origen, *In Ios. Hom.* ii. 1; Euodius, *Ep. ad August.* 258. All these passages are given in full in my edition, pp. 105–10.

INTRODUCTION

of Moses took place. The words that follow on the above in the *Palaea Historica* are based ultimately on the Assumption proper and deal with the strife of Sammael and Michael over the body of Moses, the real Moses in a spiritual form having been borne off to heaven by angels.

4°. The two books—the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption'—were probably put together in one work in the first century A.D., since Jude draws upon both in his Epistle. See § 10. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8. 48), while holding fast to Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6, shows that he is aware of the new claims made on Moses' behalf in the Assumption: νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ σπάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν. Does the account of the Transfiguration point in any respect to popular belief in Moses' assumption?

§ 3. OTHER BOOKS OF MOSES.

i. In Jewish literature.

(a) *Midrash Tanchuma Debarim* translated by Wünsche into German (1882). *Petirath Moshe* (פטרית משה) ed. by Gaulmyn (Paris 1629) with a Latin translation, which latter was republished by Fabricius in 1714 and Gfrörer in 1840. Two other recensions of this work were printed by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrash* i. 115-29, 1853; vi. 71-8, 1877.

גדולת משה. This Hebrew Apocalypse tells of Moses' transformation into the form of a fiery angel and his ascent through the seven heavens. Since it shows many affinities with 2 Enoch, some of its contents will be found under § 4 of the Introduction to that book.

Another legend dealing with the temporary translation of Moses before his death into heaven is preserved in the *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* of R. Moses Ha-Darshan published by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrash* vi, § 22. When translated into heaven the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple were revealed to him, and he was told these would descend to earth after God had gathered Israel a second time from the ends of the earth.

On the above legends see Beer, *Leben Mosis nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 1863; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 183.

(b) In Greek. Philo's *Vita Mosis*; Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 4, 48.

βίβλος λόγων μυστικῶν Μωσέως. This book is mentioned in the Acts of the Nicene Council ii. 18. Its contents as there given have their parallels in Rabbinic literature. See *Jewish Encyc.* ix. 53.

(c) In Arabic and Slavonic. See my edition of *The Assumption*, p. xvi.

ii. In Christian literature.

Apocalypsis Mosis in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*. This book is wrongly named and belongs really to the Adamic literature.

Apocryphum Mosis (Ἀπόκρυφον Μωσέως). According to Euthalius and others Gal. vi. 16 was borrowed from this book, but there can be little doubt that the borrowing is just the other way.

§ 4. THE LATIN VERSION OF THE ASSUMPTION.

The solitary MS. of this version was discovered in the Ambrosian library in Milan by Ceriani and published by him in his *Mon. sacr. et prof.* I. i. 55-64 in 1861. This MS. is a palimpsest of the sixth century. It consists of eight folios written on both sides. There is no division of words, and occasionally whole verses are undecipherable. It is not, as scholars have supposed, the actual work of the original Latin translator, but only a fragmentary copy of that version; for our text contains duplicate renderings and attempts at a better translation, which were primarily marginal glosses, but were afterwards introduced by a copyist into the text; cf. v. 6, xi. 13, and probably in vi. 3 and viii. 5.

The Latin belongs in style and orthography to the fifth century. Nearly all its chief characteristics can be paralleled from the fifth-century Bobbio MS. *K* edited in 1886 by Wordsworth, Sanday and White. A full study of our MS. and its idiosyncrasies and critical worth will be found in my edition, pp. xxx-xxxvi.

§ 5. THE LATIN VERSION—A TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question.

Thus (1) Greek words are transliterated, as *chedrio* i. 17 from κεδρώ, *heremus* iii. 11 from ἐρημος, *acrobistia* viii. 3 from ἀκροβυστία.

(2) Greek forms and idioms survive in the Latin. Thus scene i. 7 = τῇ σκηνῇ: 'usque nos duci captivos' iii. 13 is an imitation of the Greek ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

(3) Not infrequently we must translate not the Latin text, but the Greek which it presupposes but which was misrendered by the translator. Thus *nam* must not be rendered by 'for' in ii. 4, 5; viii. 2, 4; x. 11, &c. In vii. 7 'ab oriente ad occidentem' is to be rendered not 'from east to west' but 'from sunrise to sunset', i.e. ἀφ' ἡλίου ανατέλλοντος μέχρι δυσμέρου. The Greek is susceptible of either meaning.

(4) Fragments of the Greek version are still preserved: see note on i. 14.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

The view maintained by Hilgenfeld that this book was written originally in Greek has been long universally abandoned. The only question at issue now is as to the original being Hebrew or Aramaic. Schmidt-Merx, Colani, Hausrath, and Carrière decide for the latter, and Rosenthal for the former. Of these scholars only Schmidt-Merx and in a minor degree Rosenthal have treated the question seriously. In the *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* i. ii. 111-52 Schmidt-Merx show how readily the text admits of retranslation into Aramaic; but this proof is wholly inadequate, for the same passages can be just as readily rendered into Hebrew. In two passages, however, they urge that the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text can be explained on the hypothesis of an Aramaic original but not on that of a Hebrew. The first is i. 10 'promitte . . . omnia quae mandata sunt ut facias'. Here the position of 'ut facias' (which = לעשות) after its object is usual in Aramaic די אתפקד למעבר. But the same order is found also in Hebrew. See Isa. xlix. 6; 2 Chron. xxviii. 10. The second instance of alleged Aramaic order is that in iii. 2 'sancta vasa omnia' = קדושיא מאנאי כלהון. The position of 'omnia' is no doubt conformable to Aramaic, but it is also possible in classical Hebrew, כלי קדש כלם. Cf. 2 Sam. ii. 9; Jer. xiii. 19, xlviii. 31.

Among the positive grounds for a Hebrew original might be enumerated the following:

1°. *Hebrew idiomatic phrases survive in the text.* 'Circumibo' ii. 7 = אסובב = 'I will protect': cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 22; Ps. xxxii. 10. 'Dividentur ad veritatem' v. 2 = יִקְרְאוּ עַל-הַכִּהֲנִים: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 21. 'In sacerdotes vocabuntur' vi. 1 = יִקְרְאוּ עַל-הַכִּהֲנִים: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. These are pure Hebraisms, and cannot apparently be explained from Aramaic.

2°. *In some cases we must translate, not the Latin, but the Hebrew presupposed by it.* Thus in i. 7 'successor' = διάδοχος = מִשְׁרֵת, which must here be rendered 'minister'. In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο = לא הוֹאִיל, which must here be rendered 'he was not pleased', 'did not consent'.

3°. *Frequently it is only through retranslation that we can understand the source of the corruptions in the text.* In iv. 9 we have the impossible text 'x tribus crescent et devenient apud tñatos† in tempore tribum'. Here 'tribum' is for 'tribuum' and 'natos' corrupt for 'nationes'. Clemen renders the text thus emended: 'zehn Stämme werden immer mehr zu Heiden werden.' Now, to translate 'devenient apud nationes' by 'become heathens' is highly questionable. But, even if this were possible, 'crescent et devenient' cannot, if the original was Semitic, mean 'will become more and more', and it cannot do so in either Greek or Latin. And finally this idea of the Ten Tribes becoming heathen is contrary to the beliefs expressed in 4 Ezra xiii. 36-48, and in Philo, *Leg. ad Caium* 31, as to their religious character and their immense numbers in the first century A.D. That our author shares in this view is clear from iii. 5-14, where he represents all the Tribes as joining in a general confession of sin with the Two Tribes, and all the Tribes in iii. 9 as claiming that God had sworn that the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob should never fail from the land that He had given them, and from x. 8, where all the Tribes are represented as ultimately triumphant. We conclude, therefore, that iv. 9 speaks favourably of the Ten Tribes. The verb 'crescent' is therefore what we might expect. The corruption, therefore, lies in 'devenient' and 'tribuum'. The former = κατελεύσονται = ירדו, which is obviously corrupt for ירבו. Next in the phrase 'in tempore tribuum' we should have the time defined during which this increase took place. From Philo, Josephus, and 4 Ezra we know that it was while the Ten Tribes were in exile. Hence שבטים (i.e. 'tribuum') is corrupt for שביתם or שבים = 'captivitis suae'. This reconstruction of the original is not possible from an Aramaic background.

In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο, but the text requires a verb of another meaning. Now οὐκ ἤρξατο = לא הוֹאִיל, which can also mean 'was not pleased'.

For other passages see the notes on v. 5, v. 6, vii. 4, xii. 7.

INTRODUCTION

§ 7. THE DATE.

The book was written before A. D. 70; for the temple was to stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, i. 17. It was standing when the book was written; for if it had fallen such an event could not have been passed over in silence. It could not have been passed over in a book, where all the fortunes of the temple, even its temporary profanations by a faithless priesthood, are carefully recorded: see ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9; viii. 5. When the temple did fall it left an inefaceable mark on all subsequent literature.

So far for the latest limit of composition, i. e. A. D. 70. Now as to its earliest. This is 3 B. C.; for Herod is already dead, vi. 6, and the War of Varus already past, vi. 9. Thus the limits lie between 3 B. C. and A. D. 70. But there are data for a nearer determination. In vi. 7 the statement, 'And he (Herod) shall beget children, who, succeeding him, shall rule for shorter periods,' is true of Archelaus alone; for Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. Hence the book must have been written before A. D. 30. But the limits may be defined still more closely. For the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father may be reasonably explained from two considerations: (a) from the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority; but still more (b) from the actual deposition of Archelaus after a short reign of ten years, 4 B. C.—A. D. 6—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgement, and suggest to him the prediction that appears in our text. Hence, however we may interpret the 'four hours' in vii. 1, it may be fairly concluded that part of these had already elapsed when the author wrote, and that the earliest limit of composition was A. D. 7. Thus the book was written between the years A. D. 7–30.

§ 8. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISAIC QUIETIST.

The school to which the writer of our book belonged cannot be mistaken. (1) He was not a Sadducee; for he looks forward to the direct intervention of God on behalf of Israel, and his establishment of the theocratic kingdom on earth. He dwells on the future blessedness of the righteous (x. 10, 11). Finally, he attacks the Sadducean party in the most bitter terms. (2) He was not a Zealot, as Dillmann and Schürer suppose, for his complete silence as to the Maccabean rising forms an emphatic censure of their appeal to arms. This silence is all the more impressive, as the writer was thoroughly acquainted with all the history of the Maccabean movement. Moreover, whilst he evinces clearly his aversion to a militant Judaism, he indicates just as clearly his admirations. He will not trust an arm of flesh. His ideal hero (ch. ix) was not one who flew to arms on behalf of Israel, but one who amid the most bitter persecution in the history of Israel raised no hand in self-defence, but committed his cause to God. Ch. x further is wholly against the idea of a Zealot author. The theocratic kingdom is here introduced, not by the militant acts of the saints, but by the direct intervention of God.

(3) He was not an Essene—a view that has been advocated by Schmidt and Merx. For the entire book is interpenetrated with national hopes and aspirations. The ideal of the Essene was individualistic and ethical, and not national. The greatest interest is taken in all the fortunes of the temple, ii. 4, 8, 9; v. 3, 4; iii. 2; vi. 1. Such an interest would not be natural in an Essene. The author also was much concerned in the character of the temple sacrifices, but the Essene disapproved wholly of animal sacrifices.

(4) From the preceding facts it follows that our author was neither Sadducee, Zealot, nor Essene, but a Pharisaic Quietist. He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation.

§ 9. THEOLOGY.

Good works. On the doctrine of merit or good works, our author's views are more nearly allied to O.T. conceptions than to the legalism of the rabbinic doctrine of man's righteousness, which bulks so largely in Jewish literature from A. D. 50 onwards, and against which the Pauline dialectic was so vigorously directed. So far was man's righteousness from involving merit over against God, that the greatest hero of Judaism is represented as declaring: 'Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but of His good pleasure have His compassion and long-suffering fallen to my lot' (xii. 7). Similarly the election of the nation was not due to any righteousness of its own: 'For I say unto you, Joshua, it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations' (xii. 8). This call, therefore, alike of the individual as of the nation was a matter of grace, and the covenant relation between God and Israel was based on divine grace and not on human merit. But whilst the divine grace is made the absolute pre-condition of Israel's election and salvation,

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

the necessity of works is no less insisted on and moral responsibility affirmed, xii. 10-12: 'Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered; but those who sin and set at nought the commandments shall be without the blessings before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments.' There is, however, one passage from which the sense of demerit is wholly absent, i. e. ix. 4 sq.: 'Observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength.' These words imply that a faithful remnant existed at all times. But even so they introduce a note of discord into the writer's theology.

Quietism. We have touched repeatedly on this characteristic in our author, so that it does not call for further notice here. It was typical of the older Pharisees, and in this respect the tone of the book has its affinities with that of the Sermon on the Mount, which essentially exhibits this temper.

The Messianic kingdom. There is no Messiah. This is probably due to the fact that the conception of the Messiah, as a man of war, was gaining more and more acceptance amongst the Pharisees, and was thus of a nature to promote the growing secularization of Pharisaism. No such Messiah could be acknowledged by our author.

The kingdom was to be ushered in by a day of repentance (i. 17). 1750 years after the death of Moses, between A. D. 75 and 107 (?) God was to intervene on behalf of Israel—of Israel and not merely of Judah and Benjamin. Our author always dwells on the solidarity of the nation. As the tribes suffered vicariously for each other's sins (iii. 5), so the promises were made to the Twelve Tribes collectively (iii. 9), and they were all to be glorified together (x. 8). During their kingdom Israel's national enemies were to be destroyed (x. 8). Finally, Israel was to be exalted to heaven (x. 9), whence they should see their enemies in Gehenna (x. 10).

Moses' unique relation to Judaism. Moses was prepared from the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant with His people (i. 14; iii. 12). Pre-existence is here ascribed to Moses, but to him uniquely. In Alexandrian Judaism it was conceived to be the prerogative of mankind generally.¹ During his life Moses was Israel's intercessor with God (xi. 11, 17); for forty years he suffered many things at their hands in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness (iii. 11). When about to die, he chose Joshua in his stead (x. 15), apparently as the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15. His death was an ordinary one (i. 15; iii. 13; x. 12, 14), but no single place was worthy to mark the place of his burial; for his sepulchre was from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north (xi. 8). His relation, moreover, with Israel did not cease with death; he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world (xii. 6).

Israel. Israel was God's own people (i. 12); the world was created in their behalf (i. 12), and Moses prepared, before the foundation of the world, to establish the covenant relation between God and His people (i. 14), and Jerusalem prepared in like manner to be the centre of the worship of Yahweh till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom.

§ 10. INFLUENCE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Jude was unquestionably acquainted with the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses properly so-called. From the latter Jude 9 is derived: ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· Ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι Κύριος.

Jude's acquaintance with the Testament of Moses may be reasonably concluded from the following parallels:

Jude 16 γογγυσταί, μεμφίμοιροι⁵
κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι· καὶ τὸ στόμα
αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρρογκα
θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, ὠφελείας χάριν.

vii. 7 querulosi
vii. 9 et manus eorum et mentes eorum immunda
tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia
v. 5 mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes
munera.

The ἀσεβεῖς who are mentioned in Jude 4 appear twice in Ass. Moys. vii. 3, 7 (*impii*). The classes of evildoers are those who shall be 'in the last time', Jude 18, and when 'the times shall be ended', in Ass. Moys. vii. 1.

¹ This belief appears in Wisdom and 2 Enoch as the prerogative of mankind generally. This view is challenged by Dr. Porter ('The Pre-existence of the Soul in The Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings' in the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1908, pp. 53-115), but I cannot agree with him.

INTRODUCTION

2 Peter ii. 13 ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφῆν,
ibid. ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς αὐτῶν συνευχόμενοι
 ὑμῖν.

Acts vii. 36 ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
 καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἑτὴ τεσσαρά-
 κοντα.

Ass. Moys. vii. 5 omni hora diei amantes convivia.
 vii. 8 habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam.

iii. 11 Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto
 et in mari rubro et in heremo annis xl.

For other possible borrowings or parallels see my edition, pp. lxiv. sq.

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In this last work (pp. xviii-xxviii) a full bibliography is given; see also Schürer³, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, iii. 222 sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

1 ¹ The Testament of Moses *even* the things which he commanded in the one hundred and twentieth
² year of his life, that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world:
³ [But according to oriental reckoning the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth
⁴ after the departure from Phoenicia], when the people had gone forth after the Exodus that was made
⁵ by Moses to Amman beyond the Jordan, in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deutero-
^{6, 7} nomy: and he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, that he might be
⁸ the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its holy things, and that he
⁹ might bring the people into the land given to their fathers, that it should be given to them according
to the covenant and the oath, which He spake in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua: saying to Joshua

I. 1. Three lines are wanting. These must not consist of more than forty-eight or forty-nine lines, or less than forty-five as the following lines in the MS. show. Now since, as I have shown elsewhere, this book is the actual *διαθήκη* *Μωυσέως* or *Testamentum Moysi* (see p. xlv of my Comm.), and since the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs begin always with the title of the Testament (cf. T. Reub. i. 1 *ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης* 'Ρουβήμ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο) so here the text most probably ran:—

‘ Testamentum Moysi
Quae precepit año vi
tae eius Cmo et xxmo.’

Here I have put *quae* and not *quod* since in every case the Testaments have *ἃ* or *ὅσα* in this very same context.

Hilgenfeld restores: ‘Assumptio Moysis quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo; Volkmar: Liber profetiae Moysis quem scripsit año aetatis centesimo vicesimo; Rönsch: Liber receptionis Moysi factae anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo; Clemen: Liber profetiae Moysis, quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo.’

Schmidt Merx’s restoration (‘et factum est anno aetatis Moysi centesimo et vigesimo’) will not do here owing to its being too short as well as on other grounds. The need of a title such as Testamentum or Assumptio is against Volkmar’s and Clemen’s restoration: while the fact that the book is not the Assumption but the Testament is against Hilgenfeld’s and Rönsch’s.

2-4. These verses are an interpolation—apparently made by a Greek scribe and in the West. No Hebrew writer would regard himself other than an Oriental, and a Jew is beyond question the author of this book. Hence he could not have written verse 3. Nor could a Jew have described Hebron, from which Jacob set out for Egypt, as being in Phoenicia. Moses, moreover, could not have spoken of Amman as beyond the Jordan: only a dweller in Jerusalem could have so described it.

2. **two thousand five hundredth year.** Contrast the dates given in Jubilees (2450 A.M.), Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 3. 1 and xx. 10 (2550), Samaritan Pentateuch (3309), LXX (3859), while the Massoretic chronology (2706) seems unknown to all the others. But cf. the ‘Oriental reckoning’ of verse 3 (as restored).

3. **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth.** Text = ‘*numerus . . . mus et . . . mus et . . . mus*’. I restore (with Clemen) ‘*numerus MMMus et DCCmus, et CCCCmus*’.

four hundredth after the departure from Phoenicia. The number of years varies in different authorities; as some give 400 (cf. Gen. xv. 13), others 430. The *terminus a quo* of reckoning also varies. The Samaritan reckoning (cf. also LXX, Jubilees, Gal. iii. 17; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps. Jon. on Exod. xii. 40) embraces in the four hundred and thirty years the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. Exod. xii. 40 (Mass. text) states that Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, while Gen. xv. 13 may be interpreted either way. See also *Ant.* vii. 6.

4. **Amman**—in the tribe of Gad, *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag., 88, 31; 92, 2.

5. **in the prophecy.** *profetiae* I take as = *profetiā*. *ae* occasionally is found for *a* in fifth-century Latin. Cf. *in scenae* for *in scena*, i. 9.

6. **called to him . . . Nun.** Cf. Deut. xxxi. 7.

the son of Nun. Text = *filium Nave*, the LXX spelling of the name.

approved of the Lord. Cf. Acts ii. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

7. **minister of the people.** Text = *successor plebi*. *διάδοχος* means the chief minister of the king in LXX of 1 Chron. xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, xxviii. 7; also in Philo, and Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. In Sirach xlvi. 1 the Hebrew equivalent is מְשִׁיבָה, the special term used in Exod. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1 to describe Joshua’s relation to Moses; also in Num. viii. 26, &c., it is used of service in the tabernacle. Cf. Ass. Mos. x. 15 (note).

tabernacle of the testimony, i.e. the tabernacle in its aspect of a witness to God’s presence, with the ark and the tables of testimony. In its aspect of meeting-place it was the spot where God spoke to Moses and Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 14-23.

8. **bring . . . into.** So Deut. xxxi. 7 (Samaritan text, Syriac and Vulgate versions), against ‘enter’ (Massoretic, LXX, Targum of Onkelos).

to their fathers = *patribus*. So I emend text *ex tribus*.

9. **the covenant and the oath.** Cf. ii. 7 (restored), iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

which He spake, Deut. xxxi. 14, 20, 23.

by Joshua. Text = *de Iesum*, cf. v. 1 *de reges*.

saying to Joshua, resumes verse 6, ‘And he called’.

- 10 these words: '(Be strong) and of a good courage so as to do with thy might all that has been com-
 11, 12 manded that thou mayst be blameless unto God.' So saith the Lord of the world. For He hath created
 13 the world on behalf of His people. But He was not pleased to manifest this purpose of creation from
 14 the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own
 15 humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. Accordingly He designed and devised
 16 me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His
 17 covenant. And now I declare unto thee that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am
 18 passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people. And receive thou this
 19 writing that thou mayst know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto thee: and thou
 20 shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in
 21 the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the world, that His name should
 22 be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in
 the consummation of the end of the days.
- 2 1 And now they shall go by means of thee into the land which He determined and promised to give to
 2 their fathers, in the which thou shalt bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their

10. <Be strong> and of a good courage. Text = *et promitte*. *Promitte* is due to a corruption in the Hebrew אָמַר for אָמַן, while the *et* betrays a word lost after *verbum hoc* = הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה. Probably הָוֶן was omitted after הָוֶה. Clemens's suggestion, 'And promise' has no support in the O.T. text. Moses exacted no promise from Joshua, while my restoration is upheld by Deut. xxxi. 7, &c.

that thou mayst be . . . unto God. Text = *est ideo*, corrupt for *sis Deo*. Clemens renders 'as is blameless. Therefore thus saith, &c.', putting a full stop after *est*.

blameless unto God. Cf. Deut. xviii. 13, &c.

11. So saith the Lord. God says these words 'Be strong', &c., directly in Deut. xxxi. 23; by Moses, xxxi. 6, 7. Lord of the world. Cf. iv. 2 'Lord of all . . . who rulest the world'. Cf. xi. 17.

12. created the world on behalf of His people. The prevalent Judaistic view from first century A.D. onwards. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; 2 Bar. xiv. 18 (note). The still more narrow view that the world was created for the sake of the righteous in Israel occurs in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Cf. Hermas' Shepherd, *Vis.* i. 1. 6, ii. 4. 1, iv, v (for the Church's sake). The larger view—that it was for the sake of mankind, we find in 2 Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44; Hermas, *Mand.* xii. 4; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 10 and post-apostolic writers generally.

13. was . . . pleased. Text = *coepit* = הוֹאִיל which also means 'was pleased'.

purpose. Text = *inceptionem*.

13, 14. These verses are strongly predestinarian. The Gentiles are fore-ordained to ignorance and blind conjecture, while Moses is the chosen agent of the true revelation.

14. Quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicum in his *Comm. Act. Syn. Nic.* ii. 18, 'the prophet Moses being about to depart from life, as is written in the book of the Assumption of Moses, summoned Joshua, the son of Nun, and, speaking with him, said: καὶ προεθεσάτο με ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναι με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.'

Moses here is assigned pre-existence as is the Son of Man in 1 En. xliii. 2 (note). Later Judaism, like the Alexandrian form of first century A.D., held the pre-existence of all souls alike. See 2 En. xxiii. 5.

Note that the Latin has 'ab initio orbis terrarum' = Gelasius' πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

mediator. Moses is not given this title in the O.T. where indeed the word only occurs once, in Job ix. 33 (LXX), but he obviously exercises mediatorial functions in Exod. xx. 19; Deut. v. 2, 5. The title was commonly assigned to him by the first century A.D. Cf. i. 14, iii. 12; Gal. iii. 18; Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii. 19; Talmud (see Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Lex.* iii. 595, 596). It is implied in Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24.

15. sleep with my fathers. Cf. iii. 13, x. 12, 14; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Bar. xiv. 2. Observe there is no reference to Moses' Assumption. Unlike our text, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 state that his death was witnessed by no one, while the Greek fragments of the Assumption make Joshua and Caleb alone view it, and not all the people.

16. thou. Supply *tu* to fill the space in the text. Cf. x. 11, xi. 1.

the books, i.e. the Pentateuch.

17. anoint. Books were thus preserved. Even the heavenly books shown to Enoch, 2 En. xxii. 12, are 'fragrant with myrrh'.

from the beginning of the creation of the world. Cf. verse 14.

the place, i.e. Jerusalem. Zion is said to be the centre of the earth in Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1, xc. 26; Jubilees viii; while in Joma 54^b the world is said to be created with Zion as a starting-place.

18. until the day of repentance. This must have been written before A.D. 70, as the existing temple is expected to stand until the Theocratic kingdom is set up.

the day of repentance. A great national repentance was to usher in the new kingdom of God, and was a necessary condition to its coming. 'If Israel practises repentance, it will be redeemed; if not, it will not be redeemed,' Sanh. 97^b. 'Israel will not fulfil the great repentance before Elijah comes,' Pirke R. Eliezer, xliii; cf. Mal. iv. 6, and Luke i. 16, 17; Matt. xvii. 10-12. 'If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow,' Pesikta 163^b.

the visitation, in a good sense. Cf. Luke i. 79; Acts xv. 14. For the bad sense cf. 2 Bar. xx. 1 (note). The time of visitation, Wisd. iii. 7; Luke xix. 44, is the setting up of the kingdom of God.

the consummation, i.e. the time of the kingdom. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8. Contrast 2 Bar. xxx. 3.

II. 1. And now. Supply *et nunc* in lacuna.

2. their inheritance in me. Cf. 'inheritance in the son of Jesse', 2 Sam. xx. 1. Or for 'in me' read *in eam*, a Hebrew repetition after *in qui*.

inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and thou shalt appoint them prefectures according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgement and righteousness. And it shall come to pass five years after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten tribes shall break away. And the twelve tribes shall go down and transfer the tabernacle of the testimony. Then the God of heaven will make the court of His tabernacle and the tower of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall be (there) established: but the ten tribes shall establish kingdoms for themselves according to their own ordinances. And they shall offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: and seven shall entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but four shall transgress the covenant of the Lord, and profane the oath which the Lord made with them. And they shall sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they shall set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. And in the house of the Lord they shall work impiety and engrave every form of beast, even many abominations.

3¹ And in those days a king from the east shall come against them and his cavalry shall cover their land. And he shall burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he shall carry away all the holy vessels. And he shall cast forth all the people, and he shall take them to the land of his nativity, yea he shall take the two tribes with him. Then the two tribes shall call upon the ten tribes, and shall march as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. And they shall cry aloud: 'Righteous and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner, have been carried away with you, together with our children.' Then the ten tribes shall mourn on hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and they shall say: 'What have we done unto you, brethren? Has not this tribulation come on all the house of Israel?' And all the tribes shall mourn,

appoint. Text = *dimittes* seems corrupt.

prefectures. Text = *magisteria locorum*, i.e. *τοπαρχίας*. Perhaps we should translate 'local magistrates'. Cf. Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.

3. it shall come to pass. There is a gap in the text.

five years. I supply 'five'. The conquest of Canaan took five years, Josh. xiv. 10; Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1. 19. eighteen years, i.e. the fifteen judges, and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon.

nineteen years, the nineteen kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. This is an anticipation, as verse 4 returns to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem by David.

tribes shall break away. Text = *abrumpens tib.* Read 'se abrumpent tribus'.

4. twelve. Text = 'two'. The reference is to David's action in 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 1-4.

tabernacle of the testimony. Text = 'testimony of the tabernacle'.

the God of heaven. Cf. iv. 4, v. 3; Gen. xxiv. 7. After the exile this title became frequent. Cf. Ezra v. 11, vi. 9, &c.; Dan. ii. 18, &c.

court. Text = *palam* emended to *aulam*. Cf. Exod. xxvii. 9.

tower. Text = *ferrum* emended to *turrem*. Cf. the tower in 1 En. lxxxix. 50, 67, 73. The text is uncertain. For *aulam* and *ferrum* Volkmar suggests *locum* and *terram*; Haupt *portam* and *forem*.

5. A parenthesis.

6. twenty years, the twenty sovereigns (including Athaliah's) of Judah.

7. Apparently the 'seven', 'nine', and 'four' reigns must be taken successively of three periods, of the advance, power, and falling away of Judah.

The 'seven' are Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah. The 'nine' are Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah; while the 'four' are Jehoahaz, Jehoikim, Jehoachin, and Zedekiah.

four, inserted to complete the twenty.

transgress. Text = *adcedent ad* = *προσβήσονται* corrupt for *παραβήσονται*. Cf. Ezek. xvi. 59, &c.

the oath. Text = *finem* = *ὄρον* corrupt for *ὄρκον*. Thus the combination of covenant and oath is restored. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 28; also Ass. Mos. i. 9; iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

8. idols in the sanctuary. Text = *idola scenae*. For this form of the ablative cf. i. 9 'in scenae'. Rönisch proposes *idola obscena*, comparing LXX of Jer. xxxii. 34 τὰ μιάσματα αὐτῶν.

9. form. Text = *similitudinem* omitted in text after *omnem* through hmt. For 'beast . . . many abominations' cf. Ezek. viii. 10, where there is the same apposition.

III. 1. a king from the east. Nebuchadnezzar, 588-586 B. C.

2. colony. This gives a clue to the date of the Greek or Latin translation as being later than 135 A. D., when Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem as a Roman colony. Cf. v. 6, vi. 9.

all the holy vessels, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Part had been removed in Jehoikim's reign, according to Dan. i. 2; Jer. xxvii. 19, 20; while 2 Bar. vi describes the concealment of the vessels by angels, 2 Macc. ii. 4-8 by Jeremiah, to preserve them for the future Messianic kingdom.

4. march. Possibly the text *ducent se* is wrong, and is due to a corruption of *ἀχθέσονται*, 'will be indignant,' into *ἀχθήσονται*. This suits the simile of the lioness better.

hungry and thirsty, 2 Bar. lxxvii. 14. Text adds 'with our children'. I transpose to the end of verse 5.

5. Righteous and holy. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 3, 4.

inasmuch as ye have sinned. Judah suffers for the sins of Israel. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 10; Jer. xi. 17; Dan. ix. 7; 1 Baruch ii. 26 ascribe the captivity to the sins of Judah as well.

7. have we done. Text = 'shall we do'.

this tribulation. The allusion seems to be to some recent calamity.

- 9 crying unto heaven and saying: 'God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy covenant which Thou didst make with them, and the oath which Thou didst swear unto them by
 10 Thyself, that their seed should never fail from the land which Thou hast given them.' Then they
 11 shall remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: 'Is not
 12 this that which Moses did **then** declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt
 and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: and **assuredly** called heaven and
 earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was
 13 a mediator unto us? Behold these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration,
 as he declared to us at that time, **yea behold these** have taken place even to our being carried away
 14 captive into the country of the east.' Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.
 4 1 Then there shall enter one who is over them, and he shall spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his
 2 knees and pray on their behalf saying: 'Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rulest the world,
 and didst will that this people should be Thine elect people, then (indeed) Thou didst will that Thou
 shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers.
 3 And yet they have gone in captivity in another land with their wives and their children, and
 4 †around† the gates of strange peoples and where there is great **vanity**. Regard and have compas-
 5 sion on them, O Lord of heaven.' Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which
 6 He made with their fathers, and He will manifest His compassion in those times also. And He will
 put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he shall send them off to their land
 7 and country. Then some portions of the tribes shall go up and they shall come to their appointed
 8 place, and they shall anew surround the place with walls. And the two tribes shall continue in their
 prescribed faith, sad and lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their
 9 fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase and **multiply** among the **Gentiles** during the time of their
 captivity.
 5 1 And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share
 2, 3 in their guilt and punish them, they themselves also shall be divided as to the truth. Wherefore

8. **heaven**, an equivalent for 'God'. Cf. Dan. iv. 23.

9. **the oath**. Gen. xvii. 8. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 5; Test. xii Patr., Jud. 22.

10-13. These verses are the source of 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 2-5, or else both passages are derived from the same original. Cf. Dan. ix. 11-13.

11. **then**. Text = *cum*, which I emend with Schmidt-Merx to *tum*.

in Egypt . . . **years**. Cf. Acts vii. 36; 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 3.

12. **and assuredly called**, &c. So I render *et testans* (*testatus et in text*) *invocabat* . . . *testes*. Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28; 2 Bar. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 2.

mediator. See i. 14 (note).

13. **Behold these**. Text = *quae* corrupt for *ecce ea*. Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 5.

after his death, *de isto* = 'after him'. Cf. Job xxi. 21.

14. **seventy and seven years**. Perhaps this number is to be taken as implying an indefinite period. Cf. Gen. iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22. In any case it is a modification of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity, Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10, which Dan. ix. 24 reinterprets as being seventy weeks of years, i. e. 490. Merx suspects a play on עו" = 77 and עבודה זרה, 'strange service', i. e. 'idolatry,' which is often denoted by ע"ז.

IV. 1. **one**, i. e. Daniel; Dan. ix. 4-19.

2. **elect people**. Cf. Isa. xlii. 1, &c.

3. †around†. Text = *circa*. Read perhaps 'go about in the gates'.

vanity. Text = *maiestas* = *μεγαλειότης* corrupt for *ματαιότης*, i. e. an idol. Cf. Ps. xxxi. 6; also 2 Kings xvii. 15; Jer. ii. 5, x. 3.

4. Dan. ix. 18, 19; 2 Bar. xlviii. 18.

6. Cyrus. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1-4.

8. **not be able to offer sacrifices**. For the low value set on the worship of the restored temple, cf. 2 Bar. 'not as fully as in the beginning', lxxviii. 5, 6 (Hag. ii. 3; Ezra iii. 12). The sacrifices were unacceptable, cf. the 'polluted bread' of Mal. i. 7; 1 En. lxxxix. 73. The objection here indeed is not an Essene one to sacrifice as such, but to the imperfection of the worship of God's people so long as they were subject to heathen powers. God would restore their glory and freedom when they repented, i. 17, but on no other condition, ix.

9. **multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity**. Text = *devenient apud natos*† in tempore *tribum*†. *Devenient* cannot refer to a going up to Jerusalem, nor can *apud* mean anything but 'among' or 'with'. Now *devenient* = יררו, which is an easy corruption of ירבו = *multiplicabuntur* and *natos* is corrupt for *nationes*. *tribum*, i. e. *tribuum* = שבטים, which Rosenthal takes to be corrupt for שפטים = *iudiciorum*. But I prefer to emend to שביתם or שביים, *captivitatis suae*, comparing Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5. 2; 4 Ezra xiii. 36-48; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 31. Clemen's rendering 'werden immer mehr (*crecunt et devenient*) zu Heiden werden' is quite impossible.

V. 1. **through the kings**. Text = *de reges*, cf. *de Iesum*, i. 9. These kings are the Seleucidae who had encouraged the disuse of the Jewish law and worship, and later, in the person of Antiochus, punished the apostate nation. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 16.

2. **divided as to the truth**. Already under the Seleucid domination the enormities of the Sadducean priesthood reacted upon the stricter scribes and led to a religious awakening and the formation of what was later known as the Pharisaic party. See 1 En. xc. 6, 7 (note).

it hath been said: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and [because] 'they shall go a-whoring after strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the (very) gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. And many in those times shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts, and pervert judgment [on receiving presents]. And on this account the colony and the borders of their habitation shall be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges: they shall be ready to judge for money as each may wish.

6. 1 Then there shall be raised up unto them kings bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God: they shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. And an insolent king shall succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he shall judge them as they shall deserve. And he shall cut off their chief men with the sword, and shall destroy them in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. He shall slay the old and the young, and he shall not spare. Then the fear of him shall be bitter unto them in their

3. hath been said = *fatum fuit* emended by Schmidt-Merx from *factum fuit*.

This saying is pieced together from the O.T., e.g. Ezek. iii. 20, 'turn . . . righteousness'; xlv. 7, 'defile . . . worship.' Cf., too, Pss. Sol. i. 9, viii. 26. 'They will go . . . gods,' Deut. xxxi. 16.

[because]. Text = *quia*, which may, however = 'that' introducing a new quotation.

3, 4. These verses cannot refer to the Maccabean high-priests. They did not go astray after strange gods. Moreover, they were of true priestly descent (1 Macc. ii. 1-5), and not sons of slaves. They are referred to in vi. 1, and so their mention here would be premature. But the statements suit Jason and Menelaus exactly, the Hellenizing priests who preceded the Maccabees. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13, 19, 20, v. 8. A decisive factor in the identification is the statement 'who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves'. Menelaus was not of the tribe of Levi, but a Benjamite, 2 Macc. iii. 4, iv. 23. Cf. the implication in 1 Macc. vii. 14 that other high-priests had belonged to non-Aaronic families. Moreover they were the nominees and absolute tools of Antiochus, 2 Macc. iv. 7-9, 23-9. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5 mentions, but only to deny, the slander that Hyrcanus's mother had been a captive under Antiochus. Cf. the Talmud also for the tale.

5. And many. So I emend 'qui enim magistri sunt' = הרבים, i.e. 'the many' or 'the Rabbis'. Text adds 'doctores eorum', a gloss on the word in the latter meaning.

shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts and pervert. The text reads 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et acceptiones munerum et pervendent', which is un-Semitic. *Acceptiones* is an easy corruption of *accipientes*, after which, taken as a noun, *munerum* could stand. Now leaving for the present *cupiditatum* let us pass on to the next clause. This runs *pervendent iustitias*. This phrase does not occur in Jewish literature, but we find, 1 Sam. viii. 3 'acceperunt munera et perverterunt iudicium' = LXX ἐλάβανον δῶρα καὶ ἐξέκλινον δίκαιώματα, וְקִיחוּ שֹׁחַד וַיִּטּוּ מִשְׁפָּט. Hence I accept Wieseler's emendation *pervertent*. We have now 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munerum et pervertent iustitias'. Now if we compare Deut. xvi. 19 we find οὐκ ἐκκληνοῦσι κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἐπιγνώσονται πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λήφονται δῶρα, שֹׁחַד וְלֹא-תִקַּח פְּנִים לֹא תִפִּיר מִשְׁפָּט לֹא תִמָּה מִשְׁפָּט, which is exactly what we have arrived at above. The original of our text could be reconstructed from this verse save that instead of הִפִּיר we should use נָשָׂא. Cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7 οὐδὲ θαυμάσαι πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δῶρα (LXX), וַיִּמְשָׁא פָנִים וַיִּמְקַח-שֹׁחַד.

We have still to consider *cupiditatum*. Clemen compares Dan. ix. 23, x. 11, 19. He might have added Ezek. xxiii. 6, בַּחוּרֵי חָמָר. And yet in none of them have we a real parallel. *Accipiendo poenas* I have bracketed as an explanatory gloss.

6. those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges. There is a curious dittography in the text here: 'a deo ut qui facit erunt impii iudices', 'a domino qui faciunt erunt impii iudices': the first and inferior version was intended to be deleted. For *qui faciunt erunt impii* read *qui faciunt impie erunt* and the text is restored = מִיְהוָה הַרְשָׁעִים יִהְיוּ שֹׁפְטִים. Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 22 Vulg. 'non egi impie a Deo meo', לֹא רָשַׁעְתִּי מִאֱלֹהֵי, and Ass. Mos. xi. 17 'si . . . impie fecerunt'.

they shall be ready to judge for money. Text = 'erunt in eam post iudicare', 'inerunt in campo iudicare'. The second version of the doublet gives the right clue. *In campo* = ἐν ἀγρῷ corrupt for ἐν ἀργύρῳ = בַּכֶּסֶף.

VI. 1. kings bearing rule, i.e. the Maccabees like Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, though not technically styled kings. Cf. 'king of the west', vi. 8.

they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God. Jonathan became high-priest in 153 B.C., and the office was declared to be hereditary in the Maccabean family in 141 B.C.

call themselves. Text = *in . . . vocabuntur*, a Hebraism. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 (LXX).

priests of the Most High God. This title was claimed by the Maccabean prince-priests. Cf. Ps. cx, a hymn to Simon. 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'

shall assuredly work iniquity. Text = *facient facientes*, a Hebraism.

2. an insolent king, Herod the Great, 37-4 B.C. He was only half a Jew, Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 2, the son of Antipater of Idumea, though Nicolas of Damascus claimed a Jewish origin for Antipater.

judge them. Herod cut off the Maccabean family, the Sadducean aristocracy, and according to vi. 4, 5 oppressed the nation at large. The Pharisees and the Essenes did not suffer under him.

3. their chief men. Herod on becoming king executed forty-five of the Sadducean nobles (*Ant.* xv. 1. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 18. 4).

destroy. I read *stinguet* for *singuli* corrupt. Hilgenfeld emends into *sepeliet*, which is weak. I have omitted 'et corpora illorum' before 'ut nemo sciat'.

secret places. These secret murders are mentioned in *Ant.* xv. 10. 4.

4. young, and he. Perhaps, we should read 'young he', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 50.

5. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 3 for the phraseology.

6 land. And he shall execute judgements on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during
7 thirty and four years, and he shall punish them. And he shall beget children, (who) succeeding him
8 shall rule for shorter periods. Into their parts cohorts and a powerful king of the west shall come,
9 who shall conquer them: and he shall take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire,
(and) shall crucify some around their colony.

7¹ And when this is done the times shall be ended, in a moment the (second) course shall be (ended),
2, 3 the four hours shall come. They shall be forced. . . . And, in the time of these, destructive and
4 impious men shall rule, saying that they are just. And these shall stir up the poison of their minds,
being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at
5, 6 every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands. . . . Devourers of the goods of the (poor) saying that
7 they do so on the ground of their justice, but in reality to destroy them, complainers, deceitful,
concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity

6. **thirty and four years.** Herod reigned for thirty-four years after Antigonos's death, and thirty-seven after he had been declared king by the Romans.

7. **children . . . shorter periods.** The text is defective: '(p)roduct natos (qui su)ccedentes sibi breviora tempora donarent' (we must read *dominant*). Herod's sons are to reign for shorter periods than their father. This is true of Archelaus only, as Antipas reigned forty-three years and Philip thirty-seven. So that this book must be earlier than A.D. 30, i. e. thirty-four years from Herod's death in 4 B.C.; unless we suppose that the author is thinking of Archelaus and Agrippa, who alone had close connexion with Jerusalem.

8. **Into their parts cohorts.** Text = 'in pares eorum mortis', emended into 'in partes eorum cohortes'.
a powerful king of the west. Varus, governor of Syria, quelled a Jewish rebellion in 4 B.C. (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 9, 10. 11. 1).

who. Text = *quia* corrupt for *qui*.

9. **burn a part of their temple.** The soldiers of Varus's lieutenant Sabinus did such damage that the repairs were not completed till Nero's reign (*Ant.* xx. 9. 7).

crucify some. Varus crucified 2,000 (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 10).

VII. 1. **the times shall be ended.** We have now arrived at the date at which the author is writing, and so leaves obvious historical allusions for obscure predictions and enigmatical symbols. The text is often doubtful.

(second) . . . (ended). Text defective, '. . . etur cursus a . . .'. Merx reads *sequetur* not *finietur*, and Hilgenfeld *aevi* not *alter*.

2. The text, which defies translation, is: 'Coguntur secund . . . ae . . . pos . . . initiis tribus ad exitus viiii propter initium tres septimae secunda tria in tertia duae h . . . ra . . . tae.' For attempted restorations see my Comm., p. 78.

3-10. The identification of the persons here attacked is much disputed. They cannot be the Herodian princes, as ver. 10 would suit none of them. Nor can they be the Pharisees. Their worst enemies never accused them of open unblushing gluttony and profligacy. Matt. xxiii. 25 mentions only their secret 'extortion and excess'. (Colani ingeniously suggests that the Jewish doctors at Jabne and Usha after A.D. 135 are meant. But he requires too late a date for the book.) Nor yet can verses 3, 4 be assigned to the Sadducees, and 6-10 to the Pharisees. This division is not justified by the text. The Roman procurators, again, are excluded by phrases like 'Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me', and 'concealing themselves lest they should be recognized'. The most probable explanation is that the Sadducees are meant. The play on צדק, the priestly aloofness of ver. 10, and their rule (the Sanhedrim, which was almost entirely Sadducean, was the virtual ruling power under the Romans from A.D. 6 till 70). The close parallels with the attacks on the Sadducees in the Psalms of Solomon seem to clinch the matter.

3. **in the time of these.** Text = *de his* = ἐπὶ τούτων (?). Perhaps translate 'some of these' = ἐκ τούτων.

destructive. Cf. verse 5.

impious, could not be said of a Pharisee.

shall rule. Cf. ver. 8, also for the Sadducean constitution of the Sanhedrim Pss. Sol. iv. 1 σὺ κάθησαι βέβηλε ἐν συνεδρίῳ.

saying that they are just, a play on צדיקים 'Sadducees' and צדיקים 'just'. **saying.** I read *dicentes* for *docentes* corrupt.

4. **poison.** Here I take *iram animorum suorum* = θυμὸν τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν = לִפְהָם, where לִפְהָם should have been rendered לִוְנָה = poison. This gives a good sense, but the change of *animorum* into *anicorum* (so Clemen) does not.

treacherous. Pss. Sol. iv. 27 ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δολίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν.

self-pleasers. Probably the Hebrew original was misread עצמם, 'of themselves', instead of עצומים, 'of the mighty'. The designation 'pleasers of the mighty' would then be parallel to ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, Pss. Sol. iv, used of the Sadducees.

dissemblers. Text = *ficti*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 7 ἐν ὑποκρίσει.

5. This verse of seven lines is undecipherable, except for *omnis*.

6. **Devourers of the goods of the (poor).** Cf. the charge against the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 11, 13, 15, 23; xii. 2, 4; also the charge in Matt. xxiii. 14; Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.

(poor). Text = *(pauperum)*.

justice, misericordiam. The Hebrew צדקה is often thus rendered, here mistakenly. The Sadducees were as proverbially severe (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1) as the Pharisees were merciful in judgement (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6). See also Pss. Sol. iv. 2, 3.

7. **to destroy them.** Text = *et exterminatores*, corrupt for *ut exterminarent*.

deceitful. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 4, 12, 14.

concealing themselves, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5 ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἁμαρτάνει ὡς οὐχ ὁρώμενος. Cf. also i. 7.

impious . . . iniquity. For παράνομοι and ἁμαρτωλοὶ as epithets of the Sadducees see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, Introd. xlv-xlviii.

8 from sunrise to sunset: saying: 'We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, and we
9 shall esteem ourselves as princes.' And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet
10 their mouth shall speak great things, and they shall say furthermore: 'Do not touch me lest thou
shouldst pollute me in the place (where I stand)' . . .

8 And there shall come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from
the beginning until that time, in which He will stir up against them the king of the kings of the
earth and one that ruleth with great power, who shall crucify those who confess to their circumcision:
2 and those who conceal (it) he shall torture and deliver them up to be bound and led into prison.
3 And their wives shall be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons shall be operated
4 on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. And others amongst them shall be
punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they shall be forced to bear in public their idols, polluted
5 as they are like those who keep them. And they shall likewise be forced by those who torture them
to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they shall be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the
word, finally after these things the laws and what they had above their altar.

from sunrise to sunset, not 'from East to West' as the phrase in Greek might also mean.

8. shall esteem ourselves. Text = *et putabimus nos*. Possibly *potabimus*, 'we shall drink,' but *nos* is against this.
princes. Text adds 'we shall be'. An intrusion due to the difficulty of *nos*.

9. though . . . yet. Text = *et . . . et*. A Hebraism. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11.

mouth . . . speak great things. Dan. vii. 8, 20; Jude 16.

9, 10. For this combination of priestly aloofness with an unclean and worldly life, cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8; ii. 14, 15;
viii. 13; xvii. 17.

10. Isa. lkv. 5. Four lines are defective at the end of 10.

VIII-IX. This 'second visitation' is too accurate an account of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution to refer to any
other calamity, or to have been a bare prediction, e.g. of Bar Cochba's suppression in A.D. 136. Strangely enough
there is a gap in the history between V and VI of this book, where an account of Antiochus's devastation is required.
It is equally out of place here. Thus we have a clear case of transposition by the final editor. Cf. 1 En. xci-xciii.
V ends with the Hellenizing priests under Antiochus, VI begins with the Maccabean princes. Such a tragic time
would not be omitted in a work like this, still less could the greatest desecration of the temple have been overlooked
when minor injuries to it are mentioned, e.g. ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; iv. 7, 8; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9.

VIII. 1. a second visitation. So ix. 2. The final woes would not be so described. The text has . . . *ta* (or *te*)
only. Fritzsche restores *tantā*. I read *altera* with Merx.

such as has not, &c. Dan. xii. 1; cf. Jer. xxx. 7; 1 Macc. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. xvi. 18. 'from the
beginning', *a saeculo*, which is nearer the Syriac (= *a diebus saeculorum*) of Dan. xii. 1 than the LXX or Theod.
Compare *an' āp̄h̄s kōsmou*, Matt. xxiv. 21.

king of the kings of the earth, used of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12, so naturally here of the despot Antiochus IV.

one that ruleth. Text = *potestatem*. I read *potentatem*.

crucify . . . circumcision. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4. For the crucifying cf. Joseph.
Ant. xii. 5. 4.

2. conceal. Text = *necantes*. I read *celantes*. Possibly we should read *secantes*, 'circumcise', or even *negantes*,
'refuse to confess'.

3. wives shall be given to the gods, &c. For the cult of Venus see 2 Macc. vi. 4. But *diis donabuntur* may be
corrupt for *disdonabuntur* (Haupt). Then translate 'will be distributed among the Gentiles'.

their young sons, &c. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18.

4. tortures. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 28, vii; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.

fire. 2 Macc. vi. 11.

bear in public their idols. 2 Macc. vi. 7. For the carrying of idols cf. Amos v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Epist. Jer. 4, 26.
polluted, &c. The rendering is uncertain and difficult.

like. Text = *pariter* = also 'likewise' in the next verse.

5. inmost sanctuary of the heathen temples which the Jews were compelled to build. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 47; Joseph.
Ant. xv. 5. 4. Or it may be the Holy Place.

the word = *ὁ λόγος* = *הַדְבָּר*, which in late Hebrew (Jer. Shabb. vii. 10^a, &c.) and Aramaic = 'the person' of God.

the laws and. I read *leges et* for text *et leges*.

what . . . above their altar, i.e. the sacrifice upon it, Matt. xxiii. 18. Clemen states that under *altarium* we
are to understand *בִּימָה*. But this latter word simply means the raised platform in the Synagogue from which prayers
were said and the Law read. There is no ground, so far as I am aware, for ever connecting the two ideas. See *Religion
and Worship of the Synagogue*, Box and Oesterley, 309 sqq. = Schürer³, ii. 450. The expression favours our inter-
preting the inmost sanctuary of the Temple.

IX. The historical references seem to be to 2 Macc. vi. 18 (Eleazar the Scribe) and vii (the seven brothers, sons of
the widow), who went to the tortures rather than eat swine's flesh; while in 1 Macc. ii. 29-38 we are told of those who
fled to the secret places of the wilderness, to avoid the 'unclean visitation' (Ass. Mos. ix. 2) of Antiochus. For the close
parallels with 1 and 2 Maccabees see the notes.

This piecing together of details has a purpose. The author intentionally avoids a reference to Mattathias, and
thus by implication censures the Maccabean uprising with its methods and aims. He emphasizes the opposed policy
of the Chasids, as evidenced by the passages quoted above, by way of suggesting and urging their stricter and quietistic
methods. The ideal is not 'Let us war', but 'Let us die rather than transgress'.

The Chasids' temporary coalition with the Maccabees, 1 Macc. ii. 42, &c., is not mentioned. It soon ended, and
the Pharisees returned to their old attitude of non-resistance. But by the close of the first century B.C. Pharisaism, as
the Psalms of Solomon show, was being leavened with patriotism and earthly political ideas. Our author must have
been in the minority by the time he wrote.

- 9 ¹ Then in that day **there shall be** a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo, who having
² seven sons **shall speak** to them exhorting (them): 'Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and)
unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and **far exceeding** the first.
³ For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who
⁴ have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? Now, there-
fore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers
⁵ tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we
⁶ will do. Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in
the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our
⁷ fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord.
- 10 ¹ And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
And then Satan shall be no more,
And sorrow shall depart with him.
² Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
Who has been appointed chief,
And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies.
³ For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
And He will go forth from His holy habitation
With indignation and wrath on account of His sons.
⁴ And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
And the high mountains shall be made low
And the hills shall be shaken and fall.

1. **day there shall be.** I read *die erit* for text *dicente*.
of the tribe of Levi. Thus the Chasid movement emanated from the priestly tribe. Our author seems to identify the Eleazar here with the Eleazar of 2 Macc. vi. 18, who was one of the chief scribes, and, according to 4 Macc. v. 3, a priest.

Taxo. Professor Burkitt has offered the right interpretation. Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = Ταξωκ = תכסוק, which by Gematria = אלעזר, Eleazar. Cf. 4 Macc. i. 8. This interpretation strengthens the argument for a dislocation of the text.

seven sons. The widow of 2 Macc. vii (following on the martyrdom of Eleazar in vi. 18-31) and 4 Macc. has seven sons. Mattathias had five, 1 Macc. ii. 1.

shall speak. I read *dicet*, for text *dicens*.

2. **second . . . unclean visitation,** under Antiochus, with its ceremonial defilement and moral abominations. The first was under Nebuchadnezzar. See chapter iii.

far exceeding. I read *eminens* for *eminent*, text.

3. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

4. **neither did the fathers, &c.** Text = 'nunquam temptans deum nec parentes nec proavi eorum'. Clemens restores 'neither did I nor the fathers', supplying *ego* to agree with *temptans*, which, however, is corrupt for *temptantes*. Cf. the consciousness of fulfilling God's law in the Psalms. The sense of sin is markedly absent at times: here with regard to the nation.

6. **fast,** here a sign not of repentance but of desperate resolution. For fasting cf. Dan. vi. 18, ix. 3; 2 Bar. v. 7, &c.; 4 Ezra v. 20, &c.

let us go into a cave. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 53, ii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2; Heb. xi. 38; also 2 Macc. vi. 11, x. 6.

let us die rather than transgress. For this typical and earnest motto of those persecuted under Antiochus, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 2; 4 Macc. ix. 1; also for the resolve, 1 Macc. ii. 37; 2 Macc. vi. 19; *Ant.* xii. 6. 1.

7. **avenged.** Cf. the seven brethren, 2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 31, 35-7.

X. 1-10. These verses form a hymn of ten stanzas with three lines each. There are three main divisions, 1-2, 3-6, 7-10. Note that the kingdom and the angel appear in the first division, but God Himself arises in the second.

1. **His kingdom.** Cf. the 'kingdom of God' in Mark and Luke; Pss. Sol. xvii. 4. There is no mention of a new heaven and a new earth here.

Satan seems to be here the head of the kingdom of evil. But 2^b suggests that he is the adversary of Israel.
sorrow, &c. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 4.

2. **hands . . . filled.** Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; Test. Levi viii. 10. Here it signifies the delegation of power as warrior not as priest.

the angel. Michael. Cf. Dan. xii. 1. He is Israel's patron angel.

chief. Michael is at the head of the forces of heaven, Rev. xii. 7. Here he avenges Israel, but in ver. 7 God does so. Thus 3-10 (which belong to the text) are inconsistent with 1-2, an insertion, as the felicity of ver. 1, contrasted with the terror of 4-6, also shows.

3-6. Signs to accompany God's coming.

3. **the Heavenly One.** Cf. ii. 4, iv. 4.

He will go forth, &c. Mic. i. 3; Isa. xxvi. 21; 1 En. i. 3.
from His holy habitation. Deut. xxvi. 15; Isa. lxiii. 15.

4. **high mountains . . . made low.** Isa. xl. 4; 1 En. i. 6.

and the hills shall be shaken and. I read 'et colles concutientur et' for 'et concutientur et convalles'. The mountains would not be shaken after being made low, nor could the valleys fall. We require a hill after the high mountains. Cf. Isa. xl. 4. It is easy to explain *convalles* = נבעות corrupt for נבעות as in LXX of Isa. xl. 12.

- 5 And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness;
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
- 6 And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers shall dry up.
- 7 For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.
- 8 Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt †mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended†.
- 9 And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
†In the place of their habitation†.
- 10 And thou shalt look from on high and shalt see thy enemies in Ge(henna),
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator.
- 11, 12 And do thou, Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book; For from my death
13 [assumption] until His advent there shall be CCL times. And this is the course of the times which

5. The MS. has 'sol non dabit lumen et in tenebris convertent se cornua lunae et confringentur et tota convertit se in sanguine'. The order seems wrong. The darkening is always connected with the sun, and only with the moon in conjunction with it. Cf. Joel ii. 10; iii. 15; Eccles. xii. 2. See also Isa. xiii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12, ix. 2. Again, 'non dabit lumen' is used only of the moon, Ezek. xxxii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24. Thirdly, 'turned into blood' is only used of the moon, Joel ii. 31; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12. Thus I alter the text to

(Et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras convertet se;
Et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem.'

circle. Text = *orbis*.

6. fountains . . . fail. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Test. Levi iv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

fountains . . . and rivers. Cf. Rev. viii. 10, xvi. 4.

dry up. I read *exarescent* for MS. *expavescent*.

7-10. God punishes the Gentiles, destroys their idols, makes Israel triumph over Rome, and exalts them to heaven.

7. Eternal God. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 27 אלהי קרם. 8^a and probably 8^b are based on verse 29 of that chapter.

alone, i.e. without help of Michael or Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 26, vi. 6.

destroy . . . idols. Cf. 1 En. xci. 9.

8. Israel to triumph in this world over Rome.

Then thou . . . happy. Deut. xxxiii. 29.

†mount upon the necks. So Deut. xxxiii. 29 in LXX Syr. Vulg. Targ. Onk., Targ. Jon., Jarchi. Modern scholars, however, render 'tread upon their high places'. For 'necks' cf. Baruch iv. 26; also for the idea Josh. x. 24. An older form of the Eagle Vision, that in 4 Ezra xi sqq. may here be in the mind of the writer. Now line 2 is too long and line 3 too short. Formerly I accepted Dr. Cheyne's suggestion that *dies luctus tui* (cf. Isa. lx. 20) was lost after *implebuntur*. Clemen suggests *dies aquilae*; but neither accounts for the irregularity noted, and there is no loss of letters in the MS. Hence I propose that there has been simply a transposition of *cervices et alas* (i.e. *alae*) from line 3 to 2. Then *et implebuntur* = καὶ συνελεσθήσονται, *perdentur* or *delebuntur*. Hence:

'And thou shalt go up against the eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'

9. Israel to be exalted to heaven.

to approach. Text = *haerere*, i.e. נגע.

the heaven of the stars. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 5 ὑψώθησαν ὡς τῶν ἀστρων, and Jer. li. (xxviii. in LXX) 9. Cf. 'the stars of heaven', Isa. xiv. 13 (LXX), or 'the stars of God' (Heb.), which, however, Targ. Jon. renders 'the people of God'. Here, however, there is no metaphor, but a description of Israel transfigured and glorified after the final judgement. Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 6.

†In the place of their habitation.† Text = *loco habitationis eorum*. *Eorum* suits neither 'stars' nor 'thee'. The parallelism also requires 'and He' to commence the clause. There I read והקים 'and He will establish' for במקום 'in the place', and כושבך 'thy habitation among them' for מושבם 'their habitation', and render:

'And He will establish thy habitation among them.'

Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 4, 6.

10. shalt look. I read *conspicies* for *conspiges*, text.

shalt see. I read *videbis* for *vides*, text.

Gehenna. MS. has *terram* = γῆ, i.e. ארץ or ירד transliterated as in Josh. xviii. 16 (LXX), &c. Gehenna is called 'the valley' in Jer. ii. 23; iii. 40, and so הנום need not be restored. Clemen thinks 'in terra' can be supported by Isa. lxvi. 24, but the cases are not parallel.

In earlier times (Isa. lxvi. 24; 1 En. xxvii. 2, 3, liv. 1, 2, xc. 26, 27) Gehenna was considered the place of punishment for faithless Jews, who should be tormented there in full view of the righteous. But in N.T. times it had come to be thought of as the future abode of all the wicked. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 36.

11. this book. Cf. i. 16, xi. 1.

12. [assumption]. The original here told only of Moses' death, not his assumption. Cf. i. 15 and x. 15. The addition is due to the editor, who combined this 'Testament of Moses' with another work, the 'Assumption of Moses'.

14. 15 they shall pursue till they are consummated. And I shall go to sleep with my fathers. Wherefore, Joshua thou (son of) Nun, (be strong and) be of good courage; (for) God hath chosen (thee) to be minister in the same covenant.

11 1 And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were so written in his writing all that he had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. And Moses comforted him and wept with him. And Joshua answered him and said: 'Why dost thou comfort me, (my) lord Moses? And how shall I be comforted in regard to the bitter word which thou hast spoken which has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that thou departest from this people? (But now) what place shall receive thee? Or what shall be the sign that marks (thy) sepulchre? Or who shall dare to move thy body from thence as that of a mere man from place to place? For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchres on earth; but thy sepulchre is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all the world is thy sepulchre. My lord, thou art departing, and who shall feed this people? Or who is there that shall have compassion on them and who shall be their guide by the way? Or who shall pray for them, not omitting a single day, in order that I may lead them into the land of their forefathers? How therefore am I to foster this people as a father (his) only son, or as a mistress her daughter, a virgin who is being prepared to be given to the husband whom she will revere, while she guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the ground. (And how) shall I supply them with food and drink according to the pleasure of their will? For of them there shall be 600,000 (men), for these have multiplied to this degree through thy prayers, (my) lord Moses. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or answer by word in the house (of the Lord)? And the kings of the Amorites also when they hear that we are attacking them, believing that there is no longer among them the sacred spirit who

CCL times, i. e. 250 year-weeks, or 1,750 years. Thus from the Creation (2,500 years before Moses' death) to the final judgement will be 4,250 years or 85 jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97^b, which gives the same date for the Messiah's coming.

13. of the times. MS. = '... horum' emended to *temporum*.

14. Moses expects an ordinary death, a sleep with his fathers in Sheol.

15. (be strong and) be of good courage. MS. *forma te*. I have restored with Schmidt-Merx 'confortare et firma te'. See i. 10 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23.

(for) ... (thee). I supply *nam te* after *firma te*.

minister. See i. 7 (note). Is Joshua thus the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15?

XI. 1. Moses' feet. I emend MS. *pedes meos* to *pedes Monse*.

4. comfort me ... be comforted. I read 'solaris ... solabor' with Schmidt-Merx for MS. 'celares ... celabor'; Volkmar emends to 'zelaris ... zelabor'.

For the mourning at his departure, cf. 2 Bar. xxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 2; 4 Ezra xii. 44.

depart = die, as in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 1, xliii. 2, &c.

this people. Text = *plebe ist (a)*.

5. (But now) what, &c. Text is defective.

7. Baldensperger thinks this verse is directed against the Christians, as Christ's body was moved from the cross to the sepulchre.

from thence. I restore *inde* for *in e*.

that of a (mere) man. I restore *hominis* for *homo*.

8. all the world is thy sepulchre. Cf. Thuc. ii. 43 *πάσα γῆ τάφος*.

9. thou art departing. I restore *abis* for *ab his* MS.

11. pray. Cf. xii. 6.

not omitting. Text = *nec patiens* = οὐδὲ παριείς.

single. MS. = *uno* corrupt for *unum*.

forefathers. I restore *atavorum* for *Araborum*. Ewald *Amorreorum*.

12. foster. MS. = *potero (hanc plebem)* = δυνήσομαι (τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον) = אֹכֵל (העם הזה) where אֹכֵל is corrupt for אֲכַלֵּל = 'nourish'.

as a mistress her daughter, a virgin. Text = 'tanquam + filiam dominam virginem +'. If *κυρία* (= *dominam*) can be applied to persons as Volkmar supposes and mean 'legitimate', 'his own', then the difficulty is solved. But the repetition of *tanquam* is against this view. It seems to require a parallel noun in the nominative such as *domina*. And was *κύριος* ever applied in the above sense even to things? Failing this we might with Fritzsche read *filiam domina, virginem*, or since *κυρία* alone may be suspicious in this sense *domina virginem* may = בעלת בתולה corrupt for בעלת הבית, 'mistress of the house'.

to be given. I restore *dari* for *tali* MS.

whom. I restore *quem* for *quae*.

revere. Cf. Sirach xxvi. 28.

guards her person. Cf. Sirach vii. 24, 25.

13. (And how). I supply *et quid* to fill the lacuna.

pleasure of their will. I read *voluptatem voluntatis* for MS. = *voluntatem voluntatis*. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

14. 600,000. I insert D before C *milia*, from Exod. xii. 37.

(men). I restore *virī* in lacuna in MS.

15. (of the Lord). I restore *Domini* in lacuna after *domo* in MS.

16. among them. I read *secum* for *semet* MS.

sacred spirit ... manifold. Cf. πνεῦμα ... πολυμεοές, Wisd. vii. 22.

was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, [that he is no longer among them], shall say "Let us go against them. If the enemy have but once wrought impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, like Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that ruleth all the world with compassion and righteousness, reminding *Him* of the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath." For they shall say: "He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the earth." What shall then become of this people, my lord Moses?

- 12 1, 2 And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him: 3, 4 'Joshua, do not despise **thyself**, but set thy mind at ease, and hearken to my words. All the nations which are in the earth God hath created and us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and **caused all to come forth**. (Yea) all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen and lo! they are brought forward (into the light. . . . The Lord) hath on their behalf appointed me to (pray) for their sins and (make intercession) for them. For not for any virtue or **strength** of mine, but of **His good pleasure** have His compassion and longsuffering fallen to my lot. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations. The **lights** of the heaven, the **foundations** of the earth have been made and approved by God and are under the **signet ring** of His right hand. Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered: but those who sin and set at nought the commandments **shall be without the blessings** before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments by the nations. But wholly to root out and destroy them is not permitted. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and by the oath which . . .

worthy of the Lord. Cf. Wisd. iii. 5.

lord of the word, a unique expression.

faithful in all things. Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2.

God's chief prophet. Text = *divinum . . . profetem* = נביא האלהים = 'the prophet of God'. [that he . . . them]. A dittography from above.

17. wrought impiously against. Text = *impie fecerunt in* = רשעו ב, perhaps corrupt for רשעו מ. Cf. v. 6 (note). no advocate to offer prayers. This is the function of Jeremiah especially (for Moses cf. ver. 14), e.g. 2 Macc. xv. 14; 4 Baruch ii. 3; 2 Bar. ii. 2 (note).

Moses. MS. wrongly adds 'was'.

looking for help . . . world. MS. = 'intuens homini potentem orbem,' &c. *homini* is clearly a corruption. Hilgenfeld suggests *omnipotentem orbem*. But it is better to read *omnis* and *orbis*, 'potentem omnis orbis.' Schmidt-Merx suggest 'omni potent(ia tenent)em orbem'.

XII. 2. Cf. Sifre Piska 140 on Num. xxvii. 28. 'Thereupon (Moses) raised him (Joshua) from the ground and placed him beside himself on the chair.'

3. **thyself**. I restore *te* for *et*, MS.

4. A word of comfort against the time of Israel's tribulation. God made Israel and the nations, and foresees the destinies of both. Therefore all that befalls must tend to the same end (Israel's benefit, i. 12).

caused all to come forth. I read 'promovit cuncta' for MS. 'provovit cum eis'; 'provovit' may, however, be corrupt for *praenovit* = προέγνω = רָעַ, which again may be corrupt for יָרַע, *praedestinavit*.

6. **appointed me to (pray) for their sins**. This is a real Jewish idea and not borrowed from Christianity. Cf. Jeremiah (see xi. 17 above); also Enoch, 2 En. lxiv. 5 (MSS. A, B), the righteous forefathers, Philo, *De Execr.* ix (ii. 436). Contrast 2 En. liii. 1. The text is defective. I supply *orarem* and *implorarem*.

7. **strength**. I read *firmitatem* for MS. *infirmiorem*.

of His good pleasure. Text = *temperantius* = ἐπιεικέστερον. ἐπιεικώς in both its occurrences in the O.T. = הוֹאִיל, the verb, so that I have rendered it 'of His good pleasure' in the text, though a closer rendering of the Hebrew would be 'He was pleased that His compassion, &c., should fall to my lot'. Cf. for this doctrine of the divine election, Rom. ix. 11, 12, to privilege, and Gal. i. 15, to service. According to the Tanchuma Pikkude 3, God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the power of the man. See 2 En. xxx. 15.

8. **not on account of the godliness**, &c. Cf. Deut. ix. 4, 5, 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 32. The nation is so evil and needs such frequent chastisement, that its selection by God must be due not to merit but to the Divine purpose. Yet the world was created on behalf of Israel, i. 12; and it is God's foreknowledge, not His purpose, that is dwelt on in xli. 4, 5, 13.

9. **lights**. Read *lumina* for text *omnia*.

foundations. Read *fundamenta* for text *firmamenta*.

and approved. I read *et probata* for *ut provata*.

signet ring. Read *annulo* for *nullo*. Cf. Jer. xxii. 24 ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, also Sirach xlix. 11.

10. **God**. Read *Dei* for *ei*, MS.

11. **shall be without the blessings**. Read *carebunt bona* (nom. plur.) for *carere bonam*. But Schmidt-Merx may be right, who retain the text and retranslate τοῖς γὰρ ἀμαρτάνουσιν . . . ἐστὶ ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

12. **destroy**. I read *extinguat* for *relinquat*.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience it will in this edition be designated shortly as '2 Enoch', in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch which is designated as '1 Enoch'.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature came to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic or 1 Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, pp. 127-158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I applied to the late Professor Morfill for help, who procured printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. When once I had before me Professor Morfill's English translations of these texts, it did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In some respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

2 Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it should exercise a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Books of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400-500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (A.D. 70-90). It is quoted by name in the later portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

But it was not only on Christian literature that the influence of 2 Enoch is manifest. A Hebrew book entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך) and twice 'the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ספר רזין דחנוך) in the Zohar exhibits very close affinities with 2 Enoch. R. Ishmael, a martyr of the Hadrianic persecution, is claimed to be its author, but its composition belongs most probably to a later date. It is, however, possible, that this Hebrew Book of Enoch has preserved in some cases the Hebrew original, from which apparently portions of 2 Enoch are derived. But the influence of 2 Enoch is not confined to this Hebrew Book of Enoch. Traces of it are found also in the apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* vi. 19-30, and also in the Zohar.¹

§ 2. THE TWO SLAVONIC VERSIONS.

The two versions of the Slavonic redaction of the book of Enoch from which the following translations have been made* are:

1. The complete version, published by Mr. A. Popóv in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow, University Press, 1880). The MS. is a South Russian recension, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and belongs to Mr. A. Khludov. It is in many places so corrupt that emendation in the absence of the Greek text is impossible. This version is marked by the letter A in Morfill's translation.²

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 677 sqq.

² There is a Bulgarian recension of the above version in a MS. in the public library of Belgrade according to Morfill (Gen. Editor).

* by N. Forbes.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

2. The incomplete version, published by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Stdrine* (Agram, 1884). The MS. is a Servian recension dating from the sixteenth century, and is in the Public Library at Belgrade. It is marked B in Morfill's translation. In order to spare biblical students the confusion inseparable from the omission of the division of the paragraphs into verses and from a disposition of the paragraphs themselves in any way different from that to which they are already used, I have adopted that arrangement of paragraphs and verses which both Morfill and Bonwetsch employed in their translations. It must be pointed out, however, that in the complete version (A) there are only sixty-three, while Morfill and Bonwetsch both divide the same quantity of text into sixty-eight paragraphs; that in the incomplete version (B) there is no division into paragraphs; that in neither A nor B is there any division of the paragraphs into verses,¹ and that in neither A nor B² are the titles of the paragraphs in brackets, as indicated in Morfill's translation. (N. FORBES.) *Translator of the appended text.*

§ 3. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. Part of this book—possibly the main part—was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I appointed him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four component parts: from East, from West, from South, from North.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Sirach, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Sirach xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Sirach i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Sirach vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Sirach xxxix. 25: also lxxv. 2—Sirach xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Sirach and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book may have been written originally in Hebrew. (See § 4 *ad fin.*)

2. This book in its present form was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Iustit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There seems to be no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally, swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

§ 4. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One from out the order of angels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to My power. And I threw him from the height.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem.

¹ This division into verses was necessarily made by the General Editor when he edited this book in 1896.

² The bracketing of the titles in A was due not to the translator but to the editor, for they have no claim to being original. They are not given in Sokolov's text which was used by Professor Morfill, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of 'Entry of Enoch into the first heaven, Entry of Enoch into the second heaven', &c. (Gen. Editor).

INTRODUCTION

Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from 2 En. xxxi. 2: '... the gloomless light' seen by Adam in Paradise.

Next in the *Apocalypse of Moses* (ed. Tischend. 1866) p. 19 we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see Apoc. Mos. xxxvi. 1-3 under 'The Books of Adam and Eve' in this volume.

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἐνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (*sic*) ὡραῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαυεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of 2 Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place, whereon the Lord rests, when He goes up into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μερίζομενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'Two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς and ὁ πύρινος ποταμός (pp. 57, 58) we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there is no light there . . . and a fiery river coming forth.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχου, and 88 σὴν χεῖρα πενητεῦουσιν ὄρεξον are too closely parallel to li. 1, 'Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to the widow (B),' 'Stretch out your hands to the poor (A),' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

There is a direct reference in Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in 1 Enoch, Origen is here referring to 2 Enoch xxiv-xxx.

The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. II. 77 is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. 1 (note).

During the years A.D. 50-100 our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, viii. 16 we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their faces or behaviour or manner of dress.'

In 4 *Ezra* vii. 97 the words 'incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces were shining like the sun'.

With 2 *Baruch* iv. 3 'I showed it (i.e. Paradise) to Adam before he sinned', compare xxxi. 2.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv. 4 τί λέγει τό Συντελέσειεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χιλία ἔτη, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2-xxxiii. In xv. 5-7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὁγδόης ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστιν ἄλλον κόσμον ἀρχήν. It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, 1 Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσιν . . . ἡ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκοτὸς seem to be derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I . . . showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lii. 11, 'Blessed is he who implants peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, "yea, yea," or "nay, nay." (See notes.)

With vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'In their works are known those who lie evilly.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . for eternal inheritance.' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'In the great time (to come) . . . are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Bow not down to vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Dominions, orders, and governments': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is truth that he may speak truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see my edition, pp. xxxix-xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I tell to thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.' With Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 4, 'Their faces were shining like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'The key-holders and guards of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A very great Sea greater than the earthly sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxxv. 7, 'Then all time shall perish, and the years,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'That . . . there should be . . . a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the T. Lev. iii. 2 we have avenging powers in the third heaven: ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, . . . οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν . . . τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης. With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. With the statement from Enoch in T. Dan v. 5, 6 τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. 'Ανέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν we might compare xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. Ἐργηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light.' In the T. Naph. iv. 1-2 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: 'Ανέγνων ἐν γραφῇ Ἐνὼχ, ὅτι καί γε ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε πᾶσαν πονηρίαν Σοδόμων. 2. καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος ὑμῖν αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἀναλώσει κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This may be a loose adaptation to later times of 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2, 3. The quotation in T. Sim. v. 4 is probably derived from the same source, and also that in T. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις οὐ καλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου' πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπωλείσθε ἕως βραχύ (so β S¹, and practically c). The words in T. Jud. xviii. 1-2 ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου (so β A S¹, but not α), ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that a considerable part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis seems necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

But there is further evidence in this direction. Many of the most notable statements regarding Enoch in 2 Enoch are to be found in later Hebrew writings. Now it is hardly conceivable that these traditions were borrowed from a Greek source. We must assume that their source is native to Judaism, and that 2 Enoch is an outstanding and comparatively early representation of this tradition. This tradition appears in various forms in the 'Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך), sometimes called the

INTRODUCTION

'Sepher Hekalot' (i.e. the 'Book of the Halls'), the 'Life of Enoch' (חיי חנוך), and the Hekalot Rabbati. We shall deal here only with the first and point out a few of the many points in which this work draws on 2 Enoch or rather upon the Hebrew source behind 2 Enoch.

In this work R. Ishmael (of the time of Hadrian) ascends through the six heavens and is received by the Metatron, i.e. Enoch, at the entrance to the seventh. Enoch tells him how he was translated (iii-v, vii-xvi) in a fiery chariot to heaven in order there to bear witness against his wicked contemporaries: how God transfigured him and made him like one of the archangels (cf. 2 Enoch xxii. 6^b-10): how he had been instructed in the mysteries of creation, in things past and to come (cf. 2 Enoch xxiv-xxxiii. 2): how God abode under the tree of life, when Adam was driven forth from Paradise (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3): how Adam and his contemporaries saw the heavenly glory till the fall of the angels (cf. 2 Enoch xxxii. 2). In xviii-xxii the seven heavens are described, the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. Even the three heavens mentioned in 2 Enoch xxi. 6-xxii. 1—only in the A recension as the eighth, ninth, and tenth, i.e. Muzaloth, Kuchavim, Aravoth—are reproduced here, but with a difference: Muzaloth and Kuchavim are placed below the seven heavens and Aravoth above them. This Jewish work was published by Jellinek, *B. H.* 1873, v. 170-190; and under the title ספר הכולות at Lemberg in 1864 and Warsaw in 1876.¹

Again we find a large amount of material has been borrowed from 2 Enoch by the גרלות משה which is printed in Jellinek's *B.H.M.*, 9 sqq. This work tells of Moses' ascent to heaven, after Metatron has transformed his body into a fiery figure like to that of the angels. In the first heaven Moses sees waters, and also windows by which are let in and out all the things pertaining to human life and its needs. In the second heaven he sees the angels who control the clouds, the winds, and the rain; in the third, the angels placed over vegetation; in the fourth, those over the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and spheres. The seventh heaven, we observe, is called 'Arabot'. Moses is also privileged to view hell and Paradise. The angel Gabriel conducts him to hell. 'There he sees the manifold torments and punishments of the different classes of sinners, those who were envious of their fellow men and bore false witness against them; women who exposed their charms to young men; sinners who committed adultery, theft, and murder; those who perjured themselves; those who desecrated the Sabbath, despised the learned, and persecuted orphans; those who committed sodomy and idolatry, or cursed their parents; those who took bribes, put their fellow men to shame, delivered up their brother-Israelite to the Gentile, and denied the oral law; those that ate all kinds of forbidden food; usurers; apostates, and blasphemers; those who wrote the ineffable name of God, and those who ate on Yom Kippur.' In Paradise among other things Moses sees the guardian angel of Paradise sitting under the tree of life; also 'the fountain of life welling forth from beneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, and four rivers flowing under each throne, the first of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.'¹

§ 5. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The passages presupposed by the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* must be of a pre-Christian date. These passages may belong to an older form of the Enoch tradition than 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch in its present form was written probably between 30 P.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of Sirach, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Wisdom (see my edition pp. xxv. sq.), and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing. We may, therefore, reasonably assign its composition to the period A.D. 1-50.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8-10; in which the righteous shall wear 'the raiment of God's glory', xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2 note), and Zend (lviii. 4-6 notes), elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

§ 6. SOME OF THE AUTHOR'S VIEWS ON CREATION, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2.² (For a detailed account of each day's creations see xxv-xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3, and all the

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 676-7, whence this account is derived.

² Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. This six days of work followed by a seventh of rest is at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The age was resolved for man's sake, lxv. 3 (B). When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, and while in the Garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15. But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biased its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin¹, xl. 12, 13; xli. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners, hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who beholds the labour of his own hands, but cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of another, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be impartially just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, xlii. 7. And men should also practise charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the faithful man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, li. 1, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay, xlix. 1; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another till they depart from this age of ills, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is better than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 7. ON THE VALUE OF THE BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND LATER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

See my edition, pp. xxix–xlvii. *OT E. B. p. 228*

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¹ Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4–6.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

A

Of Enoch's life and dream.

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

A

1 ¹ At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal. After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-
2 five years. On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my
3 couch and slept. And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would
4 happen to me. And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on
5 earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too *were* like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth †with clothing and singing of various kinds† in appearance purple, their wings *were* brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my
6 name. And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.
7 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from
8 terror, and those men said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to

B

Now behold the books of the secret of God, the revelations of Enoch.

At that time when three hundred and sixty-¹ 1 five years were fulfilled to me, on a certain day ² of the second month I was alone in my house.

I was in great trouble, weeping with my eyes, ³ and was resting, asleep on my couch, and there ⁴ appeared to me two very big men, such as I have never seen on earth—their faces shone like the ⁵ sun, their eyes *were* like burning candles, out of their mouths was fire coming forth, their clothes *and* singing were various, and their arms like golden wings—at the head of my couch, and called upon me by my name.

And I having awoken from my sleep and stood ⁶ up †at my couch† bowed down to them and ⁷ covered my face from terror.

And the two men spoke to me: 'Have courage, ⁸ Enoch, do not fear, the Eternal Lord hath sent

1. 2, 3. Cf. 1 En. lxxxiii. 3, 5.

5. faces . . . sun. Cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra vii. 97.

eyes, &c. Dan. x. 6: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12.

fire coming forth. Cf. Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. The next clause is corrupt.

of various kinds (A). The text has *razdayaniya* = 'of distribution'. Emend to *raz(d)nīya* = 'of different kinds'.

various (B), i.e. differing from one another.

their wings > B.

whiter than snow. Cf. 1 En. cvi. 2, 10; Apoc. Petri.

7. appearance . . . changed. Dan. v. 6, 9, 10.

8. Have courage. Cf. Matt. xiv. 27. The LXX renders thus the Hebrew 'fear not'.

do not fear. Cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6; 1 En. xv. 1.

A

thee, and lo! thou shalt to-day ascend with us
 9 into heaven, and thou shalt tell thy sons and all
 thy household all that they shall do without thee
 on earth in thy house, and let no one seek thee
 10 till the Lord return thee to them. And I made
 haste to obey them and went out from my house,
 and made to the doors, as it was ordered me, and
 summoned my sons Mathusal and Regim and
 Gaidad and made known to them all the marvels
 those *men* had told me.

The Instruction. How Enoch instructed his sons.

2 1 Listen to me, my children, I know not whither
 2 I go, or what will befall me; now therefore, my
 children, I tell you: turn not from God before
 the face of the vain, who made not Heaven and
 earth, for these shall perish and those who
 3 worship them, and may the Lord make confident
 4 your hearts in the fear of him. And now, my
 children, let no one think to seek me, until the
 Lord return me to you.

Of Enoch's assumption; how the angels took him into the first heaven.

3 1 It came to pass, when Enoch had told his sons,
 that the angels took him on to their wings and
 bore him up on to the first heaven and placed
 2 him on the clouds. And there I looked, and
 again I looked higher, and saw the ether, and
 3 they placed me on the first heaven and showed
 me a very great Sea, greater than the earthly
 sea.

Of the Angels ruling the stars.

4 1 They brought before my face the elders and
 rulers of the stellar orders, and showed me two
 hundred angels, who rule the stars and *their*
 2 services to the heavens, and fly with their wings
 and come round all those who sail.

ascend with us. Cf. iii. 1, &c.

9. sons. 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6; xci. 1 mentions them, but not by name.

10. Regim. See lvii. 2.

Gaidad. Gen. iv. 18 (LXX) gives this as the son of the Enoch who is Cain's grandson. So B rightly omits.

II. 1. know not whither. Cf. vii. 5.

2. turn not from God. 1 Sam. xii. 20.

vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth (B). Cf. Acts xiv. 15; Jer. x. 11; also Ps. xcvi. 5; Isa. ii. 18; Jub. xii. 2, 3, 4.

3. make confident, &c. Prov. xiv. 26.

III. 1. In 1 En. xiv. 8 the clouds invite and the winds raise Enoch.

2. the ether = the firmament of Asc. Isa. vii. 9, i. e. the first heaven.

3. a very great Sea. Cf. Rev. iv. 6; xv. 2. In Test. Levi ii. 7 this sea lies between the first and second heavens.

IV. 1. the elders, *starêishina* = 'elder', i. e. one set in command over the rulers of the stellar orders. For another account of these see 1 En. lxxxii. 9-18, 20. Note the divergence of B, which makes the elder, or special angel, of the stars act as guide to Enoch in the first heaven.
 two hundred angels. In 1 En. vi. 5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels.

B

us to thee, behold to-day thou shalt go up with us on to the heavens.

Tell thy sons and thy household all that they 9 must do in thy house, and let no one seek thee, till the Lord return thee to them.

And I listened and went out, summoned my 10 sons Mefusailom and Regim, and told them all that those two men had spoken to me.

And behold, my children, I know not whither 2 1 I go, nor what will befall me, and now, my chil- 2 dren, turn not away from God, walk before the Lord's face and observe his judgements, and bow not down to vain gods, to gods who made neither heaven nor earth, they shall perish.

Keep your hearts true to terror of the Lord, 3 and now, my children, let no one seek me till 4 the Lord return me to you.

Enoch's ascent on to the first heaven.

And it happened when I had spoken to my 3 1 sons, and the two men summoned me, and took me on to their wings and carried me up on to the first heaven and set me down there,

and brought 4 1 me before the face of the elder, the ruler of the stellar orders, and he showed me all their courses, and their passages from year to year, and he showed me two hundred angels, and he showed me there a very great sea, greater than the earthly 2 sea, and angels were flying with their wings.

A

Of how the Angels keep the store-houses of the snow.

- 5 1 And here I looked down and saw the treasure-houses of the snow, and the angels who keep
2 their terrible store-houses, and the clouds whence they come out and into which they go.

Of the dew and of the olive-oil, and various flowers.

- 6 1 They showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its form, as of all the flowers of the earth; further many angels guarding the treasure-houses of these *things*, and how they are made to shut and open.

Of how Enoch was taken on to the second heaven.

- 7 1 And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners hanging, watched, awaiting the great
2 and boundless judgement, and these angels were dark-looking, more than earthly darkness, and incessantly making weeping through all hours, and I said to the men who were with me:
3 'Wherefore are these incessantly tortured?' they answered me: 'These are God's apostates, who obeyed not God's commands, but took counsel with their own will, and turned away with their prince, who also *is* fastened on the fifth heaven.
4 And I felt great pity for them, and they saluted me, and said to me: 'Man of God, pray for us to the Lord'; and I answered to them: 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? who knoweth whither I go, or what will befall me? or who will pray for me?'

Of the assumption of Enoch to the third heaven.

- 8 1 And those men took me thence, and led me up on to the third heaven, and placed me there;

B

He showed me the store-house of cloud, whence 5 1 it goes up and goes out, and showed me all the treasure-houses of snow and cold, and terrible angels guarding the treasure-houses,

and he 6 1 showed me the treasure-houses of the dew, like olive oil, and angels guarding their treasure-houses, and their clothing like all the flowers of the earth.

Enoch's ascent to the second heaven.

And the two men placed me *thence* and carried 7 1 me up on to the second heaven, and showed me there prisoners kept of the measureless judgement, and I saw the condemned weeping, and I spoke 2 to the two men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these tormented?' and the two men said to me: 'These are the Lord's apostates, not listening to the Lord's voice, but taking counsel of their own will.'

And I was very sorry for them. And the 4 angels bowed down to me and said to me: 'Man of God, would that thou mightst pray for us to God!'

And I answered them: 'Who am I, a mortal 5 man, that I should pray for angels? who knows whither I go or what will befall me or *who* pray for *me*?'

The ascent on to the third heaven.

And the two men placed me thence and carried 8 1 me up on to the third heaven and set me down

V. 1. treasure-houses of the snow. Job xxxviii. 22; cf. 1 En. lx. 17, 18—in the second heaven according to Test. Levi iii. 2.

store-house of cloud (B). Cf. 1 En. lx. 19. A seems corrupt.

VI. 1. treasure-house of the dew. Cf. 1 En. lx. 20.

VII. 1. darkness . . . prisoners . . . watched, awaiting the great and boundless judgement. Cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6, and possibly Test. Levi iii. 2. The angels who sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth in 1 En. x as in 2 En. xviii. 7; those who sinned by ambition are imprisoned in the second heaven. See, however, xviii. 4 (note).

3. took counsel with their own will. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 10.

their prince = Satanail, xviii. 3.

fifth heaven. These angels had originally been in the fifth heaven, see xviii. But it is hard to see why their leader alone should be imprisoned there, when they are reduced to the second. See xxix. 3-5 (notes).

4. The angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii. 4.

Man of God. Deut. xxxiii. 1.

5. Cf. 1 En. xv. 2.

VIII. 1. Paradise is here in the third heaven, as in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4.

A

and I looked downwards, and saw the produce of these places, such as has never been known for
 2 goodness. And I saw all the sweet-flowering trees and beheld their fruits, which were sweet-smelling, and all the foods borne *by them* bubbling
 3 with fragrant exhalation. And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into paradise; and this tree is of ineffable goodness and fragrance,
 4 and adorned more than every existing thing; and on all sides *it is* in form gold-looking and vermilion and fire-like and covers all, and it has produce from all fruits. Its root is in the garden
 5 at the earth's end. And paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go round
 6 with quiet course, and go down into the paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. And thence they go forth along the earth, and have a revolution to their circle even as other
 7 elements. And here there is no unfruitful tree, and every place is blessed. And *there are* three hundred angels very bright, who keep the garden, and with incessant sweet singing and never-silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place,' and those men said to me:

The showing to Enoch of the place of the righteous and compassionate.

9.1 This place, O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who endure all manner of offence from those that exasperate their souls, who avert their eyes from iniquity, and make righteous judgement, and give bread to the hungry, and cover the naked with clothing, and raise up the fallen, and help injured orphans, and who walk without fault before the face of the Lord, and serve him

B

in the midst of Paradise, and a place unknown in goodness of appearance.

Every tree sweet-flowering, every fruit ripe, all 2 manner of food perpetually bubbling with all pleasant smells, and four rivers flowing by with quiet course, and every growth is good, bearing fruit for food, and the tree of life is at that 3 place, at which God rests when he goes up into Paradise, and that tree is ineffable for the goodness of its sweet scent, and another olive tree 5 alongside was always discharging the oil of its fruit.

And there is no tree there without fruit, and 7 every tree is blessed. And the angels guarding 8 the Paradise are very bright and serve the Lord all days with incessant voice and sweet singing. And I said: 'How very sweet is this place!'

And the two men answered me: 'This place, 9.1 Enoch, is prepared for the righteous, who suffer offence in their lives and spite in their souls, and avert their eyes from injustice and make righteous judgement, to give bread to the hungry, to clothe the naked and cover them with a garment, to raise the fallen, and help the wronged, who walk before God's face and serve him alone; now

unknown in goodness of appearance (B), i.e. the like of which is not known anywhere else.

2. all the sweet-flowering trees, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 9; 1 En. xxix. 2; Apoc. Mosis xxxviii. 4. all the foods. Cf. 'twelve manner of fruits', Rev. xxii. 2.

3. in the midst of the trees that of life. For the 'tree of life' see Gen. ii. 9. For this familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypse cf. 1 En. xxv. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14; 4 Ezra vii. 53; viii. 52; Test. Levi xviii. 11. See also Iren. i. 5, 2. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 66, p. 278, bans the doctrine as Manichaean.

in that place whereon the Lord rests. Cf. Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 64) δένδρον παρμεγέθη ώραϊον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπαναπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, and Apoc. Mosis xxii. 4 καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐνετρεπίετο.

5. between corruptibility and incorruptibility, i.e. at the earth's end. Cf. 'the ends of the earth,' 1 En. xxxiii. 1, to which Enoch proceeds from the garden of righteousness.

four rivers (B). These are taken over into the Apoc. Pauli (ed. Tisch., p. 52), and also into the Koran xlvii, where, however, a river of incorruptible water replaces the river of oil. The writer seems to be bringing into one organic conception what were originally two different conceptions—the earthly and the heavenly Paradise. The former was the older idea: Gen. ii. 8–17; 1 En. xxxii. 3–6; lxxvii. 3. The latter occurs in 1 En. lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3.

another olive tree (B). Cf. xxii. 8; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3.

IX. 1. prepared for the righteous. Cf. Matt. xxv. 34; also 1 En. lx. 8 (note).

avert their eyes from iniquity. Ps. cxix. 37.

make righteous judgement. Ezek. xviii. 8.

give bread, &c. Ezek. xviii. 7; cf. Tob. iv. 16; 4 Ezra ii. 20; Or. Sibyll. ii. 83; viii. 404–5 and esp. Matt. xxv. 35–9.

help injured orphans. Cf. Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16.

walk without fault. Luke i. 6.

A

alone, and for them is prepared this place for eternal inheritance.

Here they showed Enoch the terrible place and various tortures.

10 ¹ And those two men led me up on to the Northern side, and showed me there a very ² terrible place, and *there were* all manner of tortures in that place: cruel darkness and unilluminated gloom, and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and *there is* a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere *there is* frost ³ and ice, thirst and shivering, while the bonds are very cruel, and the angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture, and I ⁴ said: 'Woe, woe, how very terrible is this place,' and those men said to me: This place, O Enoch, is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise sin against nature, which is child-corruption after the sodomitic fashion, magic-making, enchantments and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, ⁵ stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder, and who, accursed, steal the souls of men, who, seeing the poor take away their goods and themselves wax rich, injuring them for other men's goods; who being able to satisfy the empty, made the hungry to die; being ⁶ able to clothe, stripped the naked; and who knew not their creator, and bowed down to soulless (*sc.* lifeless) Gods, who cannot see nor hear, vain gods, *who also* built hewn images and bow down to unclean handiwork, for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance.

B

for these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

And the two men lifted me up thence, and ¹⁰ ¹ carried me up to the north of the heaven, and showed me there a very terrible place, all torture and torment; at that place *there was* darkness ² and gloom, and there is no light there, but fire and flame, and obscurity comes down at that place and *there is* cold and ice and dungeons, and ³ cruel relentless angels carrying arms and tormenting without mercy.

And I said: 'How very terrible is this place.' ⁴ And the two men answered me: 'This place, Enoch, is prepared for the dishonest, that work godless things on earth, who make witchcraft and sorcery and boast of their works, who steal ⁵ men's souls secretly, who sever a binding yoke, who grow rich by doing violence, from the property of the others, who being able to feed, kill the hungry through famine, and being able to clothe the naked, took away their clothes, who recognized not their creator, but bowed down to ⁶ vain gods: for all these is this place prepared for an eternal inheritance.'

eternal inheritance. Cf. Heb. ix. 15.

X. 1-6. The idea of evil in heaven is foreign to modern thought, but we find Satan presenting himself in heaven in Job i. 7, 8, while Eph. vi. 12 speaks of 'the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places'. Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9 represents the end of this state of things. Satan is cast down and henceforth limited to the earth, xii. 12. The older view is found in Test. Isaac 146, 147; Test. Jacob 153, but was later banished from both Christian and Jewish thought.

2. **darkness, &c.** Cf. Apoc. Petri 12; Apoc. Pauli, pp. 57 and 62.

gloom (B). *m'gla* can also mean fog.

fiery river. In 1 En. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10 this idea is connected with God's holiness, but here it connotes punishment, like the Greek Pyriphlegethon. Cf. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10, 14, 15; xxi. 8; Or. Sibyll. ii. 196-200, 252-3, 286; iii. 84; viii. 411; Apoc. Petri 8; Apoc. Pauli, p. 57. Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 38 combines the two ideas.

fire . . . and frost and ice. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 13, where God's dwelling is described.

3. For angels of destruction, cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xix. 35; 1 Chron. xxi. 15; and probably Sirach xxxix. 28. In 1 En. liii. 3, 4; lvi. 1; lxii. 11; lxiii. 1, a class of evil angels whose sole function is to punish first appears, and the idea seems already a familiar one. Cf. Rev. ix. 11, 15 (Apollyon); xvi. In Matt. xiii. 49, however, good angels cast the wicked into the furnace of fire. For later occurrences of the view cf. Test. Levi iii. 3; Apoc. Petri 6, 8. Test. Abraham A. xii follows our text closely.

4. **prepared, &c.** Contrast Matt. xxv. 41.

4, 5. For the sins cf. Rev. xxi. 8; Apoc. Petri 17; Test. Isaac (ed. James, p. 148). One is too gross to appear in the text.

5. **souls of men.** Cf. Rev. xviii. 13.

6. Cf. Lev. xix. 4; xxvi. 1; Or. Sibyll. v. 77-85; viii. 378-81; 395-8; *Fragm.* i. 20-2; iii. 21-45.

A

Here they took Enoch up on to the fourth heaven where is the course of sun and moon.

11 ¹ Those men took me, and led me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the successive goings, and all the rays of the light of sun and moon. And I measured their goings, and compared their light, and saw that the sun's light is greater than the moon's. Its circle and the wheels on which it goes always, like a wind going past with very marvellous speed, and day and night it has no rest. Its passage and return ³ *are accompanied by* four great stars, and each star has under it a thousand stars, to the right of the sun's wheel, and *by* four to the left, each having under it a thousand stars, altogether eight ⁴ thousand, issuing with the sun continually. And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it, and by night a thousand. And six-winged ones issue with the angels before the sun's wheel into ⁵ the fiery flames, and a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight.

Of the very marvellous elements of the sun.

12 ¹ And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names *are* Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head, their appearance *is* empurpled, like the rainbow; their size *is* nine hundred measures, ² their wings *are like* those of angels, each has twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from ³ God. Thus *the sun* revolves and goes, and rises under the heaven, and its course goes under the earth with the light of its rays incessantly.

XI. 1. **fourth heaven.** This, according to *Chagiga* 12^b, contained the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple, the altar, and Michael who offered daily sacrifice.

the successive goings . . . of sun and moon. Cf. 1 En. lxxii-lxxviii.

2. **The sun has sevenfold more light, &c. (B).** Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 37.

the wheels ('the chariots', B). Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8.

day and night it has no rest. 1 En. xli. 7, lxxii. 37.

3, 4. Not in 1 En. cf. Bousset 567: *Persian mfl.*

5. Cf. 1 En. lxxv. 4.

XII. 1. **Phoenixes and Chalkydri.** This is the only reference to these creatures in literature. The phoenix was always solitary, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28. Jewish authorities find a reference to the phoenix in Job xxix. 18, where they render כחול 'as the phoenix' and not 'as the sand'. The fable was believed in by 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv; Tertullian, *de Res. Carn.* xiii, &c. The poem *De Phoenixe* of the pseudo-Lactantius has many apparent references to our text. The phoenix is, e.g. a 'satelles Phoebi' (33, cf. xii. 2 here), it greets the sun at rising (43-50) and claps its wings (51-4). Cf. xv. 1. For the two different legends in the Talmud about the phoenix's origin see Hamburger, *R.-E. für den Talmud*, 908-9, and on the question generally, Lightfoot, &c., on 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxv.

Chalkydri, seemingly a transliteration of Χαλκύδραι, brazen hydras or serpents. These are classed with the Cherubim in 1 En. xx. 7, and so = the Seraphim of Isa. vi. 2, 6. These then were perhaps conceived as winged dragons, as the analogy of the animal-like forms of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. 5-11 would lead us to suppose. The Serpent as an object of reverence or a symbol of healing occurs in Num. xxi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Matt. x. 16; John iii. 14; in a physically bad sense in Num. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and morally as a designation of Satan in Rev. xii. 9. It is significant that neither Cherubim nor Seraphim occur in the N.T.; their characteristics are fused in the four living creatures of Rev. iv. 6-8.

feet and tails . . . of a lion. The Cherubim's feet in Ezek. i. 7 are like calves' feet.

2. **each has twelve, i. e. twice as many wings as the angel of xi. 4.**

bearing heat and dew. Contrast 1 En. lx. 20.

3. **goes under the earth.** This seems to conflict with xxx. 3, where the sun's goings would appear to be in the fourth heaven. See xiv. 2 (note).

incessantly. Cf. 'always', xi. 2.

B

Enoch's ascent on to the fourth heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence, and 11 ¹ carried me up on to the fourth heaven, and showed me all the courses and goings and all the rays of the light both of the sun and of the moon, their measurements and their goings, and I saw their goings.

The sun has sevenfold more light than the ² moon and their circles are the chariots on which each of them rides just as the wind goes, and ever going and returning they have rest neither by day nor by night.

And *I saw* four great stars on the right of ³ the sun's chariot and four on the left going with ⁴ the sun always, and angels going before the sun's chariot.

Flying spirits, *each having* twelve wings, and 12 ¹ each of the angels that rolls the chariot has twelve wings, carrying dew and heat, when the Lord commands them to descend on to the earth with the sun's rays.

A

The angels took Enoch and placed him in the east at the sun's gates.

- 13 ¹ Those men bore me away to the east, and placed me at the sun's gates, where the sun goes forth according to the regulation of the seasons and the circuit of the months of the whole year, and the number of the †hours† day and night.
² And I saw six gates open, each gate having sixty-one stadia and a quarter of one stadium, and I measured *them* truly, and understood their size *to be* so much, through which the sun goes forth, and goes to the west, and is made even,
⁴ and rises throughout all the months, and turns back again from the six gates according to the
⁵ succession of the seasons; thus *the period* of the whole year is finished after the returns of the four seasons.

They took Enoch to the West.

- 14 ¹ And again those men led me away to the western parts, and showed me six great gates open corresponding to the Eastern gates, opposite to where the sun sets, according to the number of the days three hundred and sixty-five and a
² quarter. Thus again it goes down to the western gates, *and* draws away its light, the greatness of its brightness, under the earth; for since the crown of its shining is in heaven with the Lord,
³ and guarded by four hundred angels, while the sun goes round on wheel under the earth, and stands seven great hours in night, and spends half *its course* under the earth, when it comes to the eastern approach in the eighth hour of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire.

The elements of the sun, the Phoenixes and Chalkydri broke into song.

- 15 ¹ Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord.

- ² The giver of light comes to give brightness to

B

And the two men carried me to the East of 13 ¹ the heaven and showed me the gates through which the sun goes up at the appointed seasons and after the completion of every month and after the shortening to the lengthening of the days and nights, six great gates, and the greatness of ² the proportions of those gates, and I could not comprehend their greatness; and of those through which the sun goes up and goes over to the West ³ through the first gates it goes out forty-two days, through the second gates thirty-five, through the fourth gates thirty-five days, through the fifth thirty-five, through the sixth gates . . . at the going out of the season the years finish at ⁵ the returns of the seasons.

And the two men carried me up to the West 14 ¹ of the heaven and showed me six great open gates after the Eastern entrance and opposite it, through which (*sc.* gates) the sun goes down there after the going up from the Eastern gates and according to the number of days, thus it goes down ² through the Western gates. When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its ³ chariot and goes out without light, and they put the crown on it again *at* the Eastern gates.

XIII. 1. **the sun's gates**, i.e. the six of the next verse. Cf. 1 En. lxxii. 2-37, which is no doubt the original of this chapter.

2-5. Corrupt.

5. **four seasons**. Cf. xl. 6. Two of the four are dealt with in 1 En. lxxxii. 15-20.

XIV. 1. **three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter**. The writer of 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii knew of the solar year, but refused to recognize it from national prejudice.

2. In 1 En. lxxii. 5 the sun returns after sunset through the north to the east to rise again. In our text, however, during the night the sun, which revolves through the fourth heaven xi, xxx. 3, goes under the earth. It is without light at night, as its crown is taken from it, and its own light is under the earth. The sun cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, Apoc. Mosis xxxvi. 3. The crown is the added light bestowed by God.

3. **stands**. We should expect 'ceases from shining'; B has 'goes without light'.
spends half its course, i.e. apparently the seven hours, which are not hours of fixed duration. But it is hard to see why there should be *seven* hours.

XV. 1. See xii. 1 (note).

therefore every bird . . . light. A parenthetic reference to the songs of birds at sunrise.

A

the whole world, and the morning guard takes shape, which is the rays of the sun, and the sun of the earth goes out, and receives its brightness
 3 to light up the whole face of the earth, and they showed me this calculation of the sun's going. And the gates which it enters, these are the great gates of the †computation of the hours†
 4 of the year; for this reason the sun is a great creation, whose circuit *lasts* twenty-eight years, and begins again from the beginning.

They took Enoch and again placed him in the east at the course of the moon.

16 ¹ Those men showed me the other course, that of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out
 2 of the customary times. It goes in at the first gate to the western places of the sun, by the first gates with *thirty-one days* exactly, by the second gates with thirty-one days exactly, by the third with thirty days exactly, by the fourth with thirty days exactly, by the fifth with thirty-one days exactly, by the sixth with thirty-one days exactly, by the seventh with thirty days exactly, by the eighth with thirty-one days perfectly, by the ninth with thirty-one days exactly, by the tenth with thirty days perfectly, by the eleventh with thirty-one days exactly, by the twelfth with
 3 twenty-eight days exactly. And it goes through the western gates in the order and number of the
 4 eastern, and accomplishes the three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days of the solar year,
 5 while the lunar year has three hundred and fifty-four, and there are wanting *to it* twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year. [Thus, too, the great circle con-
 6 tains five hundred and thirty-two years.] The quarter of a day is omitted for three years, the fourth fulfils *it* exactly. Therefore they are taken outside of heaven for three years and are not added to the number of days, because they

B

The two angels showed me this disposition of 15 ³ the gates by which it goes up and goes out. These gates the Lord made for the taking of time and counting of the years for the sun.

And they showed me the other lunar disposi- 16 ¹ tion, all its courses, and the two men pointed out to me all its circuits, and they pointed out to me its gates, twelve eternal gates to the East, through which the moon enters at the usual seasons, thus also through the Western gates ² after going round and according to the number of the Eastern gates.

Thus it goes down also through the Western ³ gates, and completes the year; therefore it goes ⁵ in the year with three hundred and sixty-four days complete, and therefore it is called outside heaven, and the years are not reckoned in the ⁶ number of the days, because the seasons of the year change.

XVI. 1. **Twelve great gates.** These are the same as the gates of the sun in xiii, xiv.

2. This account cannot possibly apply to the moon, but applies perfectly to the sun, which must therefore be understood as the subject. The numbers when added together = 365, which accords with the statement in verse 4 that a solar year = $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, while in verse 5 we proceed to the lunar year which amounts to 354 days.

5. **364 days complete** (B). This seems to be an error for 354 (A).
 twelve days. More exactly $11\frac{1}{4}$.

[Thus, too, the great cycle contains five hundred and thirty-two years]. I have bracketed these words as they have no real connexion with the context. They arose obviously from a marginal gloss. The writer in this chapter does not get beyond the Metonic cycle, whereas the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of 19 years and the Solar cycle of 28 years. This great cycle is called the Dionysian or Great Paschal Period. As it includes all the variations in respect of the new moons and the dominical letters, it is consequently a period in which Easter and all the movable and immovable feasts would occur on the same day of the week and month as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, c. A. D. 457. It is obvious that any reference to such a cycle here is an intrusion.

6. **the quarter, &c.** Explanation of leap year.

because they† change the time, &c. Hopelessly corrupt.

7. **with its light** (B). This seems to imply that her light is not borrowed from the sun as is taught in 1 En. lxxiii; 'to the lights' (A) seems meaningless.

A

†change the time of the years to two new months towards completion, to two others towards 7 diminution†. And when the western gates are finished, it returns and goes to the eastern to the lights, and goes thus day and night about the heavenly circles, lower than all circles, swifter than the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements 8 and angels flying; each angel has six wings. It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years.

Of the singings of the angels, which it is impossible to describe.

17 ¹ In the midst of the heavens I saw armed soldiers, serving the Lord, with tympana and organs, with incessant voice, with sweet voice, with sweet and incessant *voice* and various singing, which it is impossible to describe, and *which* astonishes every mind, so wonderful and marvelous is the singing of those angels, and I was delighted listening to it.

Of the taking of Enoch on to the fifth heaven.

18 ¹ The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size *was* greater than that of great giants

B

And when they †finish the Western 7 gates and it goes towards the Eastern with its light.

Thus their circle goes around like the heaven, and their chariot, on to which the wind mounts in its course, and flying spirits draw along their chariot, six wings to each angel.

This is the lunar disposition.

And in the midst of the heaven I saw armed 17 ¹ troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice. And I was delighted listening to them.

Enoch's ascent on to the fifth heaven.

And the men carried me up on to the fifth 18 ¹ heaven, and I saw there many troops, Egoroi, and their appearance was like the human appearance and their size greater than that of great giants

A

2 and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: 'Wherefore are these very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and *wherefore* is there no service on this heaven?' 3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of

each angel has six wings. The moon's attendant angels have *six* wings, as the sun's attendant creatures had *twelve* (xii. 2).

8. The reference is to the Metonic cycle, which consists of a period of nineteen solar years, after which the new moons happen on the same days of the year once more. As nineteen solar years = 6,939.186 days = 235 lunar months = nineteen lunar years and seven months, the solar and lunar years can be reconciled by intercalating seven lunar months at the close of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years of the cycle.

XVII. **armed soldiers.** The purpose for which they are armed is given in Test. Levi iii. 3, where, however, they are in the third heaven, not the fourth. They are ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ.

serving the Lord . . . various singing. This is the function assigned by Test. Levi iii. 8 to the inhabitants of the fourth heaven . . . ἐν ᾧ αἱ ὕμνοι τῷ θεῷ προσφέρονται. Note the dittography 'with sweet and incessant (voice)'.

XVIII. 1. **fifth heaven.** Our text and Test. Levi iii. 7 differ absolutely as to the inhabitants of the fifth heaven. According to the latter the inhabitants are οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ φέροντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου. This view, however, seems limited to the Test. Levi, whereas we find in *Chag.* 12^b the same view expressed as here: i.e. in מַעֲנֵן the fifth heaven are to be found 'hosts of angels praising God by night, but keeping silent by day that God may hear the praises of Israel.' The latter clause is a late Rabbinic idea. Again, in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11. 77, we find a fragment of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah which supports, and in all probability is based on, our text: ἄρ' οὐχ ὁμοῖα ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπὸ σοφονία λεχθείσι τοῦ προφήτου; καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνέγειρόν με εἰς οὐρανὸν πέμπτον καὶ ἐθεώρουν ἀγγέλους καλουμένους κυρίου . . . ὑμνοῦντας θεὸν ἄρρητον ὕψιστον. This Apocalypse is extant in Thebaic in a fragmentary condition, but these fragments do not contain the passage just quoted.

Grigori. These are the Watchers, the Ἐγγήγοροι, or עֲרִירִי, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi-xvi, xix, lxxvii.

3. **The Grigori.** These are the angels whose brethren rebelled and were confined in the second heaven. See vi. 3 (note). These Watchers rebelled against God before the angels were tempted to sin with the daughters of men. In other words, we have here the agents of the original revolt in heaven, the Satans; and their leader is naturally named Satanail. These existed as evil agencies before the fall of the angels; for in 1 En. liv. 6 the guilt of the latter consisted in becoming subject to Satan. See 1 En. xl. 7 (note). The myth here, however, varies somewhat from that in 1 En. vi-xvi. The leaders in 1 En. vi-xvi are not Satans, but 'Watchers', like their followers. In 1 En. lxix, however, we have an account which harmonizes with our text. There we see that the superior angels had

A

4 light, and after them are those who are held in great darkness on the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon, and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took 5 to themselves wives, and befouled the earth with their deeds, who in all times of their age made 6 lawlessness and mixing, and giants are born and marvellous big men and great enmity. And therefore God judged them with great judgement, and they weep for their brethren and they will be 7 punished on the Lord's great day. And I said to the Grigori: 'I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them *to be* 8 under earth till heaven and earth shall end for ever.' And I said: 'Wherefore do you wait, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face, lest you anger your Lord utterly?' 9 And they listened to my admonition, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven, and lo! as I stood with those two men four trumpets trumpeted together with great voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and affectingly.

A

Of the taking of Enoch on to the sixth heaven.

19 ¹ And thence those men took me and bore me up on to the sixth heaven, and there I saw seven bands of angels, very bright and very glorious, and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening, and there is no difference in 2 their faces, or behaviour, or manner of dress; and these make the orders, and learn the goings of the stars, and the alteration of the moon, or revolution of the sun, and the good government 3 of the world. And when they see evil-doing

B

And the two men took me from thence, they 19 ¹ carried me up on to the sixth heaven, and I saw there seven ranks of angels very bright and glorious, their faces shining like the sun, and there is no difference in *their* faces, nor in *their* extent, nor in the composition of *their* clothes.

These organize and learn the good ordering of 2 the world and the goings of the stars, of the sun and of the moon.

Angels, angels, these heavenly angels harmo- 3

rebelled before the creation of Adam; that they had tempted Eve and brought about the fall of the angels in the days of Jared. Thus, in 1 En. lxix and here, the leaders of the angels who fell in Jared's days are Satans. This is practically the view of portions of the Talmud. See Weber, pp. 211, 243, 244.

who with their prince Satanail. Quoted in Test. Dan v. 5, 6 . . . τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. 'Ανέγνω γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ τοῦ δικαίου . . . ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν (ὑμῶν is corrupt for αὐτῶν). Our text can hardly mean that all the Watchers rebelled, but only that it was from the class of the Watchers that the rebels proceeded. It is indeed possible that the writer's scheme may differ from the conception we have given above, and be as follows. The rebellious Watchers, with their prince Satanail, are confined to the fifth heaven. The subordinate angels ('after them') who followed them (? = 'the order that was under him,' xxix. 4) are imprisoned in the second heaven, whereas the Watchers who went further and descended to earth and sinned with women are imprisoned under the earth. This view is very attractive, but raises more difficulties than the one we have followed. The MSS. reading *fifth* in vii. 3 does indeed favour it, but for 'prince who' in that verse we must read 'prince and leaders who'. The main objections, however, lie in xviii. 8, 9, and in vii. 3 where the prisoners of the second heaven are clearly identified with the fallen Watchers. In xxix. 4, 5 Satanail with his angels is cast down from heaven, to the air, above the abyss.

4. **after them** (A), i.e. of the same sort as they.

three. According to 1 En. ix. 6 the leader was Azazel, or vi. 3, ix. 7 Semjaza; Jalkut Schim, *Beresch.* 44 gives Assael and Semjaza.

Ermon. See 1 En. vi. 2-6.

broke through their vows. Hermon means a place of cursing or vowing. We should expect 'bound themselves by mutual vows' as in 1 En. vi. 5.

5. 1 En. x. 8, vii. 2.

6. 1 En. x. 4-15.

they will be punished. Not those who weep, but the lustful Watchers are punished.

7. There is some confusion in this verse. Enoch has seen in vii the rebellious Watchers in torment in the second heaven, but here he proceeds to refer to the lustful Watchers punished under the earth. We have not had an account of his journey thither.

I prayed for them. See vii. 5 (note).

8, 9. The Watchers are silent out of sympathy for their fallen brethren, and at Enoch's rebuke they resume their worship, but with sadness.

XIX. 1. This account of the sixth heaven disagrees more or less with that of Test. Levi iii. 5, 6, with that of *Chag.* 12^b, and with the colourless account in Asc. Is.

there is no difference in their faces, &c. Asc. viii. 16 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis' seems to be derived from our text, as it emphasizes the differences in glory between the angelic orders in each of the first five heavens, and emphasizes no less the equality in glory of all the angels of the sixth heaven. (Cf. Asc. Is. viii. 5-7.)

2. The heavenly bodies are under Uriel in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii.

A

they make commandments and instruction, and sweet and loud singing, and all *songs* of praise. These are the archangels who are above angels, 4 measure all life in heaven and on earth, and the angels who are *appointed* over seasons and years, the angels who are over rivers and sea, and who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels who are over every grass, giving food to all, to 5 every living thing, and the angels who write all the souls of men, and all their deeds, and their 6 lives before the Lord's face; in their midst are six Phoenixes and six Cherubim and six six-winged *ones* continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice †before the Lord† at his footstool.

20 Hence they took Enoch into the seventh Heaven. 1 And those two men lifted me up thence on to the seventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones, nine regiments, the Ioanit stations of light, and I became afraid, and began 2 to tremble with great terror, and those men took me, and led me after them, and said to me: 3 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear,' and showed me the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne. For what is there on the tenth heaven, since the Lord dwells here? On the tenth heaven is God, in the Hebrew tongue he is called Aravat. And all the heavenly troops would

B

nize all the heavenly life, organize the commands, teachings and euphony, and singing and every glorious praise.

And those angels *that rule* over the seasons 4 and the years, and the angels that are over rivers and seas, and the angels that are over the fruit and grass and everything bubbling (*sic*), and 5 angels *who* organize all the life of all people and write before the Lord's face.

In their midst seven phoenixes, seven cherubim, 6 and seven six-winged ones, voicing and singing to each other as one, and it is impossible to describe their singing, and the Lord rejoices in his footstool.

Enoch's ascent on to the Seventh Heaven.

And the two men lifted me up thence and 20 I carried me up on to the seventh heaven. And I saw there a great light and all the fiery troops of incorporeal archangels and the shining station of the Ostanim, and I became afraid and began to tremble.

And the two men put me in the midst of them, 2 saying to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not.'

They showed me from afar the Lord sitting on 3 his throne, and all the heavenly troops in companies stepping on to the steps and they kept bowing down to the Lord, and would then walk 4 away and go to their places in joy and happiness and in immeasurable light;

4. Subordinate spirits are over these natural objects in 1 En. lx. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 13; Rev. ix. 14, xvi. 5. bubbling (B.), lit. 'boiling', i.e. 'gushing forth', 'abundant'.

5. Raphael's function in 1 En. xx. 3.

6. six six-winged ones. i.e. Seraphim, cf. xii. 1 (notes). Note that Cherubim and Seraphim are also in the seventh heaven. Chag. 12^b places Seraphim, Ophanim, and Chajjoth, and other angels of service in the seventh heaven. Test. Levi iii. 5 agrees with this verse, and places in the sixth heaven ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργοῦντες. one voice. A dittography.

XX. 1. With this description of the heavenly hosts, cf. Isa. vi; Ezek. i; 1 En. xiv. 9-17, lxxi. 7-9; Rev. iv. For Chag. 12^b see xix. 6 (note). But this account can well compare for grandeur with any of the above.

dominions, orders, and governments . . . thrones. So exactly Col. i. 16 εἶτε θρόνοι εἶτε κυριότητες εἶτε ἀρχαὶ εἶτε ἐξουσίαι. Cf. Eph. i. 21 ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ κυριότητος: also Rom. viii. 38; Eph. iii. 10, 15; 1 Pet. iii. 22; 1 En. lxi. 10.

many-eyed. Seems to be derived from Ezek. x. 12. These are the Ophanim. Cf. 1 En. lxi. 10, and B here.

nine regiments. We must read 'ten', to agree with ver. 3, where there are ten grades corresponding to the ten steps.

Ioanit stations of light. Apparently some reference to the Apocalypse of John.

I became afraid, &c. 1 En. xiv. 14.

2. Have courage, &c. Cf. i. 8.

3. the Lord . . . on His very high throne. Isa. vi. 1; 1 En. xiv. 20; Rev. xix. 4.

tenth heaven. Cf. xxi. 6 (note), xxii. 1.

Aravat. See xxii. 1.

all the heavenly troops . . . on the ten steps according to their rank. These hosts consist of the ten troops mentioned in ver. 1, arranged in the order of their rank. According to Maimonides in the *Mishne Thora* S. 1; *Jesode Thora* C. 2, they are: Chajjoth, Ophanim, Arellim, Chashmallim, Seraphim, Mal'achim, Elohim, Bene Elohim, Kerubim, Ishim (Weber, p. 163). In the *Berith menucha* the list is different: Arellim, Ishim, Bene Elohim, Mal'achim, Chashmallim, Tarshishim, Shina'nim, Kerubim, Ophanim, Seraphim (Eisenmenger, ii. 374). But the nearest parallel is to be found in the nine orders of Dionysius the Areopagite, i.e. Σεραφίμ, Χερουβίμ, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Δυνάμεις, Ἐξουσίαι, Ἀρχαί, Ἀρχάγγελοι, Ἄγγελοι. These are reproduced in Dante, *Par.* c. xxviii, where the slightly differing arrangement of Gregory the Great (*Hom.* xxxiv. 7) is censured.

A

come and stand on the ten steps according to their rank, and would bow down to the Lord, and would again go to their places in joy and felicity, singing songs in the boundless light with small and tender voices, gloriously serving him.

Of how the angels here left Enoch, at the end of the seventh Heaven, and went away from him unseen.

21¹ And the cherubim and seraphim standing about the throne, the six-winged and many-eyed ones do not depart, standing before the Lord's face doing his will, and cover his whole throne, singing with gentle voice before the Lord's face: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Ruler of Sabaoth, heavens and earth are full of Thy glory.' When I saw all these things, those men said to me: 'Enoch, thus far is it commanded us to journey with thee,' and those men went away from me, and thereupon I saw them not. And I remained alone at the end of the seventh heaven and became afraid, and fell on my face and said to myself: 'Woe is me, what has befallen me?' And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise before the Lord's face into eternity, arise, come with me,' and I answered him, and said in myself: 'My Lord, my soul is departed from me, from terror and trembling,' and I called to the men who led me up to this place, on them I relied, and it is with them I go before the Lord's face. And Gabriel caught me up, as a leaf caught up by the wind, and placed me before the Lord's face.

B

and the glorious ones serving him do not leave him by night nor go away by day, standing before the Lord's face, and working his will, and all the troops of cherubim and seraphim about his throne never leaving him, and the six-winged ones cover his throne, singing before the Lord's face.

And when I saw all, the two men went away from me and thenceforward I saw them not. And they left me alone at the end of heaven, and I grew afraid and fell on my face.

And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones Gabriel to me, and he said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, fear not the troops, come after me, and stand before the Lord's face into eternity.'

And I said to him: 'Woe is me, my Lord, my soul is gone out of me for terror, call up to me the two men who brought me to the place, because I trusted them and with them I go before the Lord's face.'

And Gabriel seized me, just as a leaf seized by the wind, and took me, and put me before the Lord's face.

A

6 And I saw the eighth Heaven, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Muzaloth, changer of the seasons, of drought, and of wet. and of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are above the seventh Heaven. And I saw the ninth Heaven, which is called in Hebrew Kuchavim, where are the heavenly homes of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

In the tenth Heaven the archangel Michael led Enoch to before the Lord's face.

22¹ On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns. Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible. And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? and I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great

XXI. 1. do not depart. Cf. 1 En. xiv. 23.
six-winged . . . Thy glory. Isa. vi. 2, 3.

3. Have courage. See i. 8, xx. 2, xxi. 5; 1 En. xv. 1.

5. Cf. ver. 3.

6. This verse is clearly an interpolation. It is not found either in B or Sok. Furthermore, throughout the rest of the book only seven heavens are mentioned or implied. The term Muzaloth is the Hebrew name for the twelve signs of the Zodiac מְזָלוֹת. Kuchavim is merely a transliteration of כּוֹכָבִים. Some ground for this conception may be found in 1 En. xiv. 17, where the path of the stars is above the throne of God, and as the throne of God according to this book is in the seventh heaven, the signs and stars might be regarded as in the eighth or ninth.

XXII. 1-3. Aravoth a transliteration of עֲרָבוֹת, which according to Chagig. 12^b was really the seventh heaven. The rest of ver. 1, and verses 2, 3, may in some form have belonged to the text. I have with some hesitation rejected them.

A

and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and
3 seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable
greatness of his glory?

A

4 And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord,
5 and the Lord with his lips said to me: 'Have
courage, Enoch, do not fear, arise and stand
before my face into eternity.'

6 And the archistrategē Michael lifted me up,
and led me to before the Lord's face.

And the Lord said to his servants tempting
them: 'Let Enoch stand before my face into
7 eternity,' and the glorious ones bowed down to
the Lord, and said: 'Let Enoch go according to
Thy word.'

8 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go and take
Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint
him with my sweet ointment, and put him into
the garments of My glory.'

9 And Michael did thus, as the Lord told him.
He anointed me, and dressed me, and the appear-
ance of that ointment is more than the great
light, and his ointment is like sweet dew, and its
10 smell mild, shining like the sun's ray, and I looked
at myself, and was like one of his glorious ones.

11 And the Lord summoned one of his arch-
angels by name Pravuil, whose knowledge was
quicker in wisdom than the other archangels,
who wrote all the deeds of the Lord; and the
12 Lord said to Pravuil: 'Bring out the books from
my store-houses, and a reed of quick-writing,
and give it to Enoch, and deliver to him the
choice and †comforting† books out of thy hand.'

Of Enoch's writing, how he wrote his wonderful
journeyings and the heavenly apparitions
and himself wrote three hundred and sixty-
six books.

23 1 And he was telling me all the works of heaven,
earth and sea, and all the elements, their passages
and goings, and the thunderings of the thunders,
the sun and moon, the goings and changes of
the stars, the seasons, years, days, and hours,
the risings of the wind, the numbers of the angels,

B

and I fell prone, and could not see the Lord God, 22 4
and I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord 8
God spake to Michael: 'Take Enoch, and take
him out from his earthly (*sc.* garments), and anoint
him with sweet oil, and clothe him in garments
of glory.' And Michael took me out from my 9
garments, and anointed me with sweet oil; and
the appearance of that oil is better than great
light, and its ointment like sweet dew, and its
smell like myrrh, and shining like the rays of the
sun.

And I looked down looking at myself, and 10
I was as one of the glorious ones, and there was
no difference. And the terror and trembling
went away from me, and the Lord with his mouth 4
summoned me and said: 'Have courage, Enoch,
fear not, stand before my face into eternity.'

And the Lord's archistrategē Michael brought 6
me before the face of God. The Lord tempted
his servants, and said to them: 'Let Enoch step
up to stand before my face into eternity.' And 7
the Lord's glorious ones bowed down, and said:
'Let him step up.'

And the Lord summoned Vretil, one of his 11
archangels, who is wise and writes down all the
Lord's works.

And the Lord said to Vretil: 'Take the books 12
from the safe places, and give Enoch a reed, and
tell him the books.' And Vretil hastened and
brought me the books all made sharp with myrrh,
and gave me the reed out of his hand.

And he began to tell me all things in heaven 23 1
and earth and sea, the courses and dwellings of
all the elements, the seasons of the years, the
courses and mutations of the days, and the com-
mandments and teachings.

4. and could not see the Lord God (B). Contrast xxii. 1 (A).

6. Michael. Cf. 1 En. lxxi. 13, 14, where Michael takes charge of Enoch. He is the chief of the archangels in 1 En. xl. 9 also. As the angel set over Israel, 1 En. xx. 5 he is naturally the chief captain.

8. sweet ointment. This is τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου of Apoc. Mosis ix. 3, xiii. 1. See also viii. 7; Evang. Nicod. ii. 3. In verse 9 here this oil is described and in verse 10 its effects.

garments of My glory. These are the raiment of the blessed. Cf. 1 En. lxii. 15, cviii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18; iv. 4; vi. 11; vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2; Asc. Is. ix. 9.

11. Pravuil. I cannot find this name anywhere else. B has Vretil.

12. safe places (B), lit. 'store-rooms'.

a reed . . . give it to Enoch. These words are drawn upon in Liber S. Iohannis Apocryphus (Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* N.T. vol. i, p. 890): 'Elevavit Henoc super firmamentum . . . et praecepit ei dari calamus . . . et sedens scripsit sexaginta septem libros'.

†comforting†. Read as B suggests 'fragrant with myrrh'.

XXIII. 1. This verse might well describe the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii.

A

2 and the formation of their songs, and all human things, the tongue of every human song and life, the commandments, instructions, and sweet-voiced singings, and all things that it is fitting to learn. And Pravuil told me: 'All the things
4 that I have told thee, we have written. Sit and write all the souls of mankind, however many of them are born, and the places prepared for them
5 to eternity; for all souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world.' And all
6 double thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote out all things exactly, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books.

Of the great secrets of God, which God revealed and told to Enoch, and spoke with him face to face.

24 ¹ And the Lord summoned me, and said to me: 'Enoch, sit down on my left with Gabriel.' And I bowed down to the Lord, and the Lord spoke
2 to me: Enoch, beloved, all thou seest, all things that are standing finished I tell to thee even before the very beginning, all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.
3 Hear, Enoch, and take in these my words, for not to My angels have I told my secret, and I

B

And Vretil was telling me thirty days and thirty nights, his lips talking unintermittently. And I did not rest thirty days and thirty nights writing all the signs, and when I finished, I had written three hundred and sixty books.

And the Lord summoned me, and put me on 24 ¹ his left near Gabriel. And I bowed down to the Lord.

And he spake to me: All the things thou hast 2 seen, Enoch, standing and walking and completed by me, I will tell thee, before they took shape.

First all the things I created from non-existence into existence, and from invisible to visible.

And to my angels I have not made known my 3

formation of their songs. Possibly we should read 'songs of the armed hosts', see xvii.

* 5. all souls are prepared . . . before the formation of the world. The Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is here taught. We find that it had already made its way into Jewish thought in Egypt; cf. Wisdom of Solomon viii. 19, 20 *παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφύης, ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον*. This doctrine was accepted and further developed by Philo. According to him the whole atmosphere is filled with souls. Among these, those who are nearer the earth and are attracted by the body descend into mortal bodies (*τούτων τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰσιν ἐνδεησόμεναι σώμασι θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγείονται καὶ φιλοσώματοι, De Somn. i. 22*). When they have entered the body they are swept off by it as by a river and swallowed up in its eddies (*ἐκείναι δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς ποταμὸν τὸ σῶμα καταβάσαι τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ συρμοῦ δίνης βιαιοτάτης ἀρπασθεῖσαι κατεπόθησαν, De Gigant. 3*). Only a few escape by obedience to a spiritual philosophy and come to share in the incorporeal and imperishable life that is with God (*De Somn. i. 22*). But there were other souls, called demons in philosophy and angels in Scripture, who dwelling in the higher parts were never entangled by love of the earthly (*μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν, De Somn. i. 22*), and who reported the commands of the Father to the children, and the needs of the children to the Father (*τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι, De Somn. i. 22*; cf. *De Gigant. 4*). This doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was according to Josephus, *Bell. Jud. ii. 8. 11*, held by the Essenes: *καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν, καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν, ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτήσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν ὕγγι τινι φυσικῇ κατασπώμενας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρὰς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετέωρους φέρεσθαι*. It became a prevailing dogma in later Judaism. All souls which were to enter human bodies existed before the creation of the world in the Garden of Eden (*Tanchuma*, Pikkude 3) or in the seventh heaven (*Chagig. 12b*) or in a certain chamber (*מִצְדֵּי*) (*Sifre 143b*) whence God called them forth to enter human bodies. These souls were conceived of as actually living beings. According to *Bereshith rabba* c. 8, God takes counsel with the souls of the righteous before He creates the earth (cf. Weber, pp. 204, 205, 217–20). See xxx. 16 (note).

6. double thirty days. Cf. lxviii. 1, 'sixty days.'

XXIV. 2. took shape (B). lit. 'became'.

from non-being. Here creation *ex nihilo* seems to be taught. In Philo, on the other hand, the world was not created, but only formed from pre-existent chaotic elements. In one passage, however, where the absolute creation of the world is taught, we have an actual and almost verbal agreement with our text—*ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὢν (De Somn. i. 13)*. Probably, however, from non-being is a rendering of *ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων*. This will harmonize with xxv. 1.

visible things from invisible. Cf. the passage just quoted from Philo; also Heb. xi. 3 'the world has been formed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear'. These words from *Hebrews* do not necessarily imply creation, but can naturally be interpreted after Philo's conceptions. In Gen. i. 2 we find the idea of invisible elements introduced by the LXX as it gives *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος* as a rendering of what we translate by 'the earth was waste'.

3. not to My angels. Cf. xl. 3; 1 Pet. i. 12.

* cf. Hughes p. 201 (contra)

A

have not told them their rise, nor my endless realm, nor have they understood my creating, 4 which I tell thee to-day. For before all things were visible, I alone used to go about in the invisible things, like the sun from east to west, and 5 from west to east. But even the sun has peace in itself, while I found no peace, because I was creating all things, and I conceived the thought of placing foundations, and of creating visible creation.

God relates to Enoch, how out of the very lowest darkness comes down the visible and invisible.

25 1 I commanded in the very lowest *parts*, that visible things should come down from invisible, and Adoil came down very great, and I beheld 2 him, and lo! he had a belly of great light. And I said to him: 'Become undone, Adoil, and let 3 the visible *come* out of thee.' And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I *was* in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation, which I had thought to 4 create. And I saw that *it was* good. And I placed for myself a throne, and took my seat on it, and said to the light: 'Go thou up higher and fix thyself high above the throne, and be 5 a foundation to the highest things.' And above the light there is nothing else, and then I bent up and looked up from my throne.

God summons from the very lowest a second time that Archas, heavy and very red, should come forth.

26 1 And I summoned the very lowest a second time, and said: 'Let Archas come forth hard,' and he came forth hard from the invisible. And Archas came forth, hard, heavy, and very red. 2 And I said: 'Be opened, Archas, and let there be born from thee,' and he came undone, an age

B

secrets, nor told them the secrets, nor their establishments, nor my endless and incomprehensible thinking out of creation. And I opened 4 up the light. And I rode through the midst of the light, just as one of the invisible, just as the sun rides from east to west; and I conceived the 5 thought to place foundations and to create visible creation.

I commanded in the very lowest that the very 25 1 great Idoil should come forth, having in his belly a very great stone.

And I spoke to him: 'Burst asunder Idoil, 2 and let there be the visible born out of thee.'

And he burst asunder. There came out of 3 him a great stone, and thither bearing (or 'carrying,' *sic*) all creation, which I had wished to create, and I saw that *it was* good.

And I put a throne also for myself, and sat 4 down on it. I said to the light: 'Go up higher and make thyself firm and be a foundation for the highest.'

And there is nothing higher than the light, 5 only nothing; and I saw, having bent myself up from my throne.

I summoned a second time in the very lowest, 26 1 and said that there should come out from the invisible into the firm one thing visible. And Archas came out firm and heavy and very black. And I saw that *it was* well. 3

their establishments (B). lit. 'the manner in which they were established'.

XXV. 1. Here the formation of the world from pre-existing elements is taught, as in the Book of Wisdom xi. 17 *ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης*. Cf. also Philo, *De Iustitia* 7 *Μηνύει δὲ ἡ τοῦ Κόσμου γένεσις* . . . τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This is in the main the teaching of the Talmud. See Weber, 193-6.

Adoil. Is this from *אל יד* = 'the hand of God'? The word does not occur elsewhere that I am aware of. In this and the two subsequent verses we have an adaptation of an Egyptian myth.

2. We have here a modification of the egg theory of the universe. See Clem. *Recog.* x. 17, 30. In Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. d. alten Aegypten*, p. 101, we find a very close parallel. According to the monuments: 'der erste Schöpfungsact begann mit der Bildung eines Eies aus dem Urgewässer, aus dem das Tageslicht, die unmittelbare Ursache des Lebens in dem Bereiche der irdischen Welt, herausbrach.'

3. a great light came out. This exactly agrees with the ancient Egyptian myth as described in preceding note. Cf. also Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.* pp. 160, 161 on 'Die Geburt des Lichtes'.

there came forth a great age. This should refer to the world of the heavens, as the earth is dealt with in the next chapter.

4. I placed for myself a throne. This throne was created before the world according to *Bereshith rabba* c. 1 as here. This idea may have found support in the LXX of Prov. viii. 27, where wisdom declares that she was with God at the creation when He established His throne upon the winds.

XXVI. 1. Formation, but not creation, of the earth. Archas may be from *אַרְחָשׁ*, or possibly from *ἀρχή*.

very red. So A, but B reads 'very black'; cf. next verse 'very dark'.

the firm (B) = 'the hard', 'fixed'.

A

came forth, very great and very dark, bearing
 3 the creation of all lower things, and I saw that *it*
was good and said to him: 'Go thou down
 below, and make thyself firm, and be for a
 foundation for the lower things,' and it happened
 and he went down and fixed himself, and became
 the foundation for the lower things, and below
 the darkness there is nothing else.

Of how God founded the water, and surrounded
 it with light, and established on it seven
 islands.

27 ¹ And I commanded that there should be taken
 2 from light and darkness, and I said: 'Be thick,'
 and it became thus, and I spread it out with the
 light, and it became water, and I spread it out
 over the darkness,

A

3 below the light, and then I made firm the waters, that is to say the bottomless, and I made founda-
 tion of light around the water, and created seven circles from inside, and imaged it (*sc.* the water)
 like crystal wet and dry, that is to say like glass, *and* the circumcession of the waters and the other
 elements, and I showed each one of them its road, and the seven stars each one of them in its
 4 heaven, that they go thus, and I saw that it was good. And I separated between light and between
 darkness, that is to say in the midst of the water hither and thither, and I said to the light, that it
 should be the day, and to the darkness, that it should be the night, and there was evening and there
 was morning the first day.

A

The week in which God showed Enoch all his
 wisdom and power, throughout all the seven
 days, how he created all the heavenly and
 earthly forces and all moving things even
 down to man.

28 ¹ And then I made firm the heavenly circle, and
made that the lower water which is under heaven
 collect itself together, into one whole, and that
 the chaos become dry, and it became so.
 2 Out of the waves I created rock hard and big,
 and from the rock I piled up the dry, and the dry
 3 I called earth, and the midst of the earth I called
 4 abyss, that is to say the bottomless, I collected
 the sea in one place and bound it together with
 a yoke. And I said to the sea: 'Behold I give
 thee *thy* eternal limits, and thou shalt not break
 loose from thy component parts.' Thus I made
 5 fast the firmament. This day I called me the
 first-created.

B

And I said to him:

'Go below and make thyself firm.' And it
 became the foundation for the lowest. And
 under the darkness there is nothing.

Having surrounded some things with light, 27 ¹
 I made thick and stretched forth a road of water ²
 over the darkness,

B

And I made firm great rocks, and commanded 28 ¹, ²
 the bottomless waves to dry up on the dry
 (*sc.* land), and on the rivers having collected into ⁴
 one place the falling into (*sc.* the waters that fall
 into) the bottomless sea and binding *them* with
 a yoke, I gave an eternal boundary in the midst
 of (*sc.* between) sea and earth, that shall not be
 broken through by the water. And I made fast
 the firm, and founded the water over it.

XXVII. The title is very corrupt.

1. **there should be taken from light and darkness.** Contrast Gen. i. 4. I do not pretend to understand what follows.

3. **the seven stars.** See xxx. 5.

4. Gen. i. 4, 5.

XXVIII. 1. Gen. i. 9.

2. **the dry I called earth**, an exact rendering of Gen. i. 10.

3. This may be Sheol, or Tartarus (cf. xxix. 5), or it may be the abysses of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2; En. lxxxix. 7, 8; Jub. ii. 2.

4. Cf. Job xxvi. 10; Ps. civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22.

firmament. Gen. i. 7, 8.

5. This verse should be read immediately after xxix; and together with that chapter should be restored before xxviii. This is clear from the analogy of xxx. 1, 2, 7, 8. It is impossible in its present position.

A

29 1 Then it became evening, and then again morning, and it was the second day.

[Monday is the *first* day.] *The fiery Essence.*

And for all the heavenly troops I imaged the image and essence of fire, and my eye looked at the very hard, firm rock, and from the gleam of my eye the lightning received its wonderful
2 nature, *which* is both fire in water and water in fire, and one does not put out the other, nor does the one dry up the other, therefore the lightning is brighter than the sun, softer than water and
3 firmer than hard rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels, and their weapons are fiery and their raiment a burning flame, and I commanded that each one should stand in his order.

A

Here Satanail with his angels was thrown down from the height.

4 And one from out the order of angels, having turned away with the order that was under him, conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to my power.

5 And I threw him out from the height with his angels, and he was flying in the air continuously above the bottomless.

A

30 1 And then I created all the heavens, and the third day was.

[Tuesday]. On the third day I commanded the earth to make grow great and fruitful trees,

B

And for all the heavenly troops I formed the 29 1 sun out of the great light, *and* put it in the heavens that it should shine over the earth.

From the stone I cut a great fire and from the 3 stone I created the incorporeal troops, and all the troops of stars, of Cherubim, Seraphim and Ophannim I cut from the fire.

B

And the earth I commanded to bring forth all 30 1 kinds of tree and high hills, all kinds of grass and

XXIX. 1. [Monday is the first day] bracketed as a Christian interpolation as 'Tuesday', 'Wednesday', &c., in xxx. 1, 2, &c. In Jub. ii. 2, and occasionally in patristic tradition, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7—but according to Shemoth Rabba 15 and the Targ. Jer. on Gen. i. 26 the angels were created on the second day as in our text.

3. from the fire I created the . . . angels. So Pesikta 3^a: see Weber, *L. d. J.* 161.

4. one . . . with the order that was under him. This is clearly Satan. The rank below him is probably the Watchers. But however we interpret the text we are beset with difficulties. There are conflicting elements in the text. See xii and xviii with notes; vii; xix; xxxi. 3-7 (notes).

place his throne higher than the clouds. If this is genuine we must take *clouds* in the sense of heavens. Satan was one of the highest angels before his fall: cf. xviii. 4. Satan and Sammael can not be distinguished in Rabbinic writings. On the attempt of Sammael to found a kingdom see Weber, 244. The following passage from the *Book of Adam and Eve* I. vi is evidently derived from our text: 'The wicked Satan . . . set me at naught and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.'

5. he was flying in the air continuously. This view seems to have been generally received amongst the Jews. Cf. Eph. ii. 2 'The prince of the power of the air'; vi. 12; Test. Benj. iii. 4 τοῦ ἀερίου (β-α) πνεύματος τοῦ βελίαρ: Asc. Is. iv. 2 'Berial angelus magnus res huius mundi . . . descendet e firmamento suo'; vii. 9 'Et ascendimus in firmamentum, ego et ille, et ibi vidi Sammaelem eiusque potestates'; x. 29 'descendit in firmamentum ubi princeps huius mundi habitat'. Tuf. haarez, f. 9. 2 'Under the sphere of the moon, which is the last under all, is a firmament . . . and there the souls of the demons are'. Cf. Eisenmenger, ii. 411. According to the Stoics, on the other hand, the abode of the blessed was under the moon. Cf. Tertull. *De An.* 54; Lucan, ix. 5 sq. For other authorities see Meyer on Eph. ii. 2; Eisenmenger, ii. 456. It is hard to get a consistent view of the demonology of this book; it seems to be as follows: Satan, one of the archangels (xviii. 4; xxix. 4), seduced the Watchers of the fifth heaven into revolt, in order to establish a counter kingdom to God, xxix. 4. Therefore Satan, or the Satans (for it is the name of a class) (Weber, 244), were cast down from heaven, xxix. 5; xxxi. 4, and given the air for their habitation, xxix. 5. As for his followers, the Watchers of the fifth heaven, they were cast down to the second and there kept imprisoned and tortured, vii. 3; xviii. 4. Some, however, of the Satans or Watchers went down to earth and married the daughters of men, xviii. 4. From these were born giants, xviii. 5. Thereupon these Watchers were imprisoned under the earth, xviii. 6, 7, and the souls of the giants, their children, became subjects of Satan. To return to the Satans, however—when man was created, Satan envied him and wished to make another world, xxxi. 3. Out of envy he tempted Eve to her fall, xxxi. 6.

XXX. 1. Cf. Gen. i. 10, 11.

A

and hills, and seed to sow, and I planted Paradise, and enclosed it, and placed as armed *guardians* flaming angels, and thus I created renewal.

B

all kinds of seed that are sown, before I created living souls, and prepared food for them.

A

2 Then came evening, and came morning the fourth day.

[Wednesday]. On the fourth day I commanded that there should be great lights on the heavenly circles. On the first uppermost circle I placed the stars, Kruno, and on the second Aphrodit, on the third Aris, on the fifth Zeus, on the sixth Ermis, on the seventh lesser the moon, and adorned it with the lesser stars.

5 And on the lower I placed the sun for the illumination of day, and the moon and stars for the illumination of night. The sun that it should go according to each animal (*sc.* signs of the zodiac), twelve, and I appointed the succession of the months and their names and lives, their thunderings, and their hour-markings, how they should succeed. Then evening came and morning came the fifth day.

A

[Thursday]. On the fifth day I commanded the sea, that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life.

8 And there came evening, and there came morning the sixth day.

B

And the sea I commanded to bring forth and give birth to its fishes, all kinds of reptiles that creep over the earth, and wild beasts and cattle, and all kinds of feathered birds.

And when I had finished all, I told my wisdom 8 to create me man.

A

[Friday]. On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man from seven consistencies: one,

hills. This is corrupt. We should have a reference here probably to non-fruit-bearing trees, as in Jub. ii. 7 *ἐξ ὧν τὰ κάρπυιά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα*.

seed to sow (A): 'all kinds of seed that are sown' (B). This phrase is found in Jub. ii. 7, as one of the third day creations.

Paradise. Also in Jub. ii. 7, among the creations of the third day.

2. heavenly circles. In Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 38, we find seven circles as here, though with a different meaning: *τὸν οὐρανὸν φασιν ἑπτὰ διεζῶσθαι κύκλοις*.

3. Gen. i. 14-19. In the *Chronography of Joel*, circ. A.D. 1200, p. 34 (ed. Bekker, 1836), the discovery of the signs of the zodiac, the solstices and the seasons, and the naming of the planets, are assigned to Seth; but as such discoveries were anciently assigned to Enoch, and were only in later tradition ascribed to Seth, we may not unreasonably regard the mention in Joel of the five planets, Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, as ultimately derived from the Enoch literature. The statement in Joel is, *ὁ δὲ Σὴθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν . . . καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον πλανήτην ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον Δία, τὸν τρίτον Ἄρεα, τὸν τέταρτον Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν πέμπτον Ἑρμῆν*. In the mysteries of Mithras (see Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 22) the five planets and the sun and moon are said to be connected by a heavenly ladder. The previous chapter seems to connect these heavenly bodies with the seven heavens, as in our text. Their order in Origen is Kronos, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hermes, Ares, Selene, Helios. Archimedes' order (Macrob. *in Somn. Scip.* i. 19. 2) is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and this is the one generally followed, e.g. Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 43. Plato refers to the five planets in his *Timaeus*, but the *Epinomis*, by a disciple of his, is the first to assign each planet to a god. The five planets were known to Israel in O.T. times: Kronos as כִּיּוֹן, Amos v. 26; Aphrodite as הִילל, Isa. xiv. 12; Ares as נִרְגַּל, 2 Kings xvii. 30; Zeus as גַּד, Isa. lxv. 11; Hermes as נְבוֹ, Isa. xlv. 1.

5. the sun . . . according to each animal. See xiii-xiv and 1 En. lxxii for the periods corresponding to the signs of the zodiac.

6. the months, &c. See lvi and 1 En. lxxiii-lxxiv.

7. Cf. Gen. i. 20-26. Note that most of the sixth day creations are here assigned to the fifth day.

8. commanded my wisdom. Wisdom is here hypostatized as in Prov. viii. 30 'Then I was by him as a master workman'. In the *Book of Wisdom*, Wisdom is the assessor on God's throne, ix. 4; was with Him when He made the world, ix. 9; was the instrument by which all things were created, viii. 5; is the ruler and renewer of all things, viii. 1; vii. 27. Cf. Philo's Logos, the instrument by which God created the world. Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 31 *σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὃ καθάπερ ὄργανον προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίη: also de Cherubim 35.*

from seven consistencies. This list of substances seems to have some connexion with Stoic speculation (G. Sext. *Math.* ix. 81) and Philonic views. Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51; man's body is derived from the earth; his bones have something in common with stones, *Leg. All.* ii. 7 (*ἡ μὲν ἑξίς κοινὴ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, ἥς*

A

his flesh from the earth; two, his blood from the dew; three, his eyes from the sun; four, his bones from stone; five, his intelligence from the swiftness of the angels and from cloud; six, his veins and his hair from the grass of the earth; seven, his soul from my breath and from the wind.

9 And I gave him seven natures: to the flesh hearing, the eyes for sight, to the soul smell, the veins for touch, the blood for taste, the bones for endurance, to the intelligence sweetness (*sc.* enjoyment).

10 I conceived a cunning saying to say, I created man from invisible and from visible nature, of both are his death and life and image, †he knows speech like some created thing, small in greatness and again great in smallness†, and I placed him on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler to rule on earth and to have my wisdom, and there was none like him of earth of all my existing creatures.

13 And I appointed him a name, from the four component parts, from east, from west, from south, 14, 15 from north, and I appointed for him four special stars, and I called his name Adam, and showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness, and I told him: 'This is good, and that bad,' that

μετέχει καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκότα λίθοις ὁστέα) and on a higher level again man is allied to plant nature (ἡ δὲ φύσις διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτά. καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ εἰσιν εἰκότα φυτοῖς, ζυγές τε καὶ τρίχες), e.g. in respect to his nails and hair. Perhaps for 'veins' we should read 'nails' accordingly in our text. Finally, for the seventh element we may compare *De Mundi Op.* 46.

Philo's view of man's nature is well summed up in *De Mundi Op.* 51 πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ὥκειώται θεῷ λόγῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως . . . ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευὴν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ· συγκέκριται γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἐκάστου τῶν στοιχείων εἰσενεγκόντος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης, ἣν ἔδει λαβεῖν τὸν δημιουργόν, ἵνα τεχνιτεύσῃται τὴν ὁρατὴν ταύτην εἰκόνα. For the later Talmudic views cf. Weber, 202-4; Malan's *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 209-15. In the Anglo-Saxon Ritual (circ. 950), to which Dr. Murray has called my attention, man is said to be made out of eight substances: 'Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam. Pondus limi, inde factus est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubeus est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, inde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhelata frigida; pondus gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.'

9. seven natures. Cf. Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος ἑπταχῇ σχίζεται, πρὸς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητήριον ὄργανον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ γόνιμον. Thus Philo has the vocal organ and the generative power in place of the bones and the intelligence. Plutarch, *Plac.* iv. 4 agrees with Philo, but adds an eighth, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or directive power. See especially Test. Naph. 2 (notes).

10. saying. We should expect a reference to a creative word. This verse is very corrupt, but obviously man's spiritual and material nature is meant.

11. a second angel. According to the *Beresh. Rab.* fol. 17, Adam, when first created, reached from the earth to the firmament. In the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. x, Adam is called a 'bright angel'.

12. Gen. i. 26, 28.

13. This verse may either be the source of or else derived from the *Sibyll. Or.* iii. 24-6:

αὐτὸς δὲ θεὸς ἔσθ' ὁ πλάσας τετραγράμματον Ἀδάμ
τὸν πρῶτον πλασθέντα καὶ οὐνομα πληρώσαντα
ἀντολήν τε δύσιν τε μεσημβρίην τε καὶ ἄρκτον.

The third line frequently occurs, e.g. in ii. 195, viii. 321, xi. 3, and the order of letters is wrong. In the anonymous treatise *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, formerly ascribed to Cyprian, we have a long account: 'Nomen accepit a Deo. Hebraicum Adam in Latino interpretat "terra caro facta", eo quod ex quattuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: "palmo mensus sum caelum et pugno comprehendi terram et confinxi hominem ex omni limo terrae; ad imaginem Dei feci illum." Oportuit illum ex his quattuor cardinibus orbis terrae nomen in se portare Adam.' At each of the four quarters four stars were set by the Creator, called anatoles, dysis, arctus, mesembrion. Take from these stars the first letter of each, and you have the name Ἀδάμ. Bede, in *Genesis Expositio* iv. approves, and adds that 'haec proprietates significat dominaturam Adam in quattuor partibus mundi'. Cf. too the *Chronicon* of Glycas (circ. 1150) p. 143, and see Jub. iii. 28 (note).

14. four special stars. Cf. *De Montibus Sina et Sion* quoted under verse 13. 'Stars' may here mean 'angels'. Certain ministering angels were appointed to wait on Adam, *Jalkut Rub.* fol. 13; *Jalkut Schim.* fol. 4 (see *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 215).

15. The strongest statement of free-will is that in Tanchuma Pikkude 3 (quoted by Weber, p. 208) 'God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man only'. In the text free-will is presupposed in man, but this is prejudicially affected by his ignorance (verse 16): cf. Sirach xv. 14, 15 αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς, καὶ πίστιν ποιῇσαι εὐδοκίας. On the question generally see Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* ii. 8, 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; xviii. 1, 3; *Psalms of Solomon*, ed. by Ryle and James, pp. 95, 96.

the two ways, the light and the darkness. This popular figure of the Two Ways was suggested by Jer. xxi. 8 'Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death'; by Deut. xxx. 15 'I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil'; Sirach xv. 17 ἐναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ: xvii. 6 καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς. For parallel N.T. expressions cf. Matt. vii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. ii. 2. Of the two great post-apostolic descriptions of the Two Ways, in the *Didachè* and in the *Ep. of Barnabas*, that of the latter presents the nearest parallel to our text: chap. xvii ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. In the *Didachè* i. 1 we have ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου: cf. Test. Asher i. 3, 4 δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁδοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ: *Sibyll. Or.* viii. 399, 400 αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε καὶ γνώμην προέθηκα ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προελῆσθαι: cf. also Herm. *Mand.* vi. 1, 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 5; *Apost. Church Order*, iv; *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 1; Clem. *Homilies* v. 7.

I told him: 'This is good and that bad,' &c. This does not harmonize with the account in Gen., where the knowledge of good and evil follows on eating the forbidden fruit.

G g

A

I should learn whether he has love towards me, or hatred, that it be clear which in his race love me.

16 For I have seen his nature, but he has not seen his own nature, therefore *through* not seeing he will sin worse, and I said: 'After sin *what is there* but death?'

17 And I put sleep into him and he fell asleep. And I took from him a rib, and created him

18 a wife, that death should come to him by his wife, and I took his last word and called her name mother, that is to say, Eva.

God gives over paradise to Adam, and gives him a command to see the heavens opened, and that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.

31 1 Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command.

2 I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory, and the gloomless light.

3 And he was continuously in paradise, and the devil understood that I want to create another world, because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it.

4 The devil is the evil spirit of the lower places, †as a fugitive he made, he made Sotona from 5 the heavens† as his name was Satomail, thus he became different from the angels, *but his* nature did not change *his* intelligence as far as *his* understanding of righteous and sinful *things*.

that I should learn whether he has love towards me or hatred. Deut. xiii. 3 'Your God proveth you to know whether ye love the Lord your God'.

16. *through not seeing he will sin worse*. This ignorance, as we see from the preceding verse, is not first and directly an ignorance of moral distinctions, but of his nature with its good and evil impulses (יצר הטוב and יצר הרע). Ignorance is thus regarded here as an evil in itself. This is probably the result of Platonic thought, which had gained great influence over Hellenistic Judaism, and the idea of the text seems related, however distantly, to that ethical system which may be summed up in the words πᾶς δ' ἄδικος οὐχ ἐκὼν ἄδικος (Plato, *Legg.* 731 C): οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἐκόντα ἑξαμαρτάνειν (*Prot.* 345 D): κακὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς (*Tim.* 86 D). See also *Legg.* 734 B; *Rep.* ix. 589 C; *Hipp. Mai.* 296 C. Herein it is taught that no man wilfully chooses evil in preference to good; but in every act of moral judgement the determining motive is to be found in the real or seeming preponderance of good in the course adopted; and that, should this course be the worse one, the error of judgement is due either to physical incapacities or faulty education, or to a combination of both. This view of sin as an involuntary affection of the soul follows logically from another Platonic principle already enunciated by our author (see xxiii. 5, note). This principle is the pre-existence of the soul. The soul, as such, according to Platonic teaching, is wholly good. Evil, therefore, cannot arise from its voluntary preferences, but from its limitations, i.e. from its physical and moral environment, from its relation to the body and from wrong education. In the *Book of Wisdom* this view is widely diverged from. There the body is not held to be irredeemably evil, but souls are already good and bad on their entrance into this life (viii. 19, 20). In Philo, on the other hand, there is in the main a return to the Platonic and Stoic doctrine. The body is irredeemably evil; it is in fact the tomb of the soul (σῶμα = σῆμα); and only the sensuously-inclined souls are incorporated with bodies (see above, xxiii. 5, note). The views adopted by our author on these and kindred points stand in some degree in a closer relation to the Platonic principles than do those of Philo or the author of the *Book of Wisdom*. Thus he held: (1) That the soul was created originally good. (2) That it was not predetermined either to good or ill by God, but left to mould its own destiny (see xxx. 15). (3) That its incorporation in a body, however, with its necessary limitations served to bias its preferences in the direction of evil. (4) That faithful souls will hereafter live as blessed incorporeal spirits, or at all events clothed only in God's glory (xxii. 7); for there is no resurrection of the body.

after sin . . . death. So Sirach xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκουσιν πάντες, for 'men were created exactly like the angels', 1 En. lxix. 11, righteous and immortal, but death came through sin, *Book of Wisdom*, ii. 23, 24; 1 En. xcvi. 4. The same teaching is found in the Talmud: see Weber, 208, 214, 239. This doctrine of man's conditional immortality and of death entering the world through sin does not belong to O.T. literature; for Gen. ii. 17, when studied in its context, implies nothing more than a premature death; for the law of man's being is enunciated in Gen. iii. 19 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return', and his expulsion from Eden was due first and principally to the need of guarding against his eating of the tree of life and living for ever. Furthermore, even in Sirach, where the idea of death as brought about by sin is first enunciated, the doctrine appears in complete isolation and in open contradiction to the main statements and tendencies of the book; for it elsewhere teaches that man's mortality is the law from everlasting (ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Sirach xiv. 17): and that being formed from earth unto earth must he return, xvii. 1, 2, xl. 11. Nor again is this doctrine a controlling principle in the system of the writers of *Wisdom*. In N.T. times, however, we find it the current view in the Pauline Epistles, e.g. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 2 Cor. xi. 3. On various views on sin and death and their causes see 1 En. vi-viii; x. 8; xxxii. 6; lxix. 6, 11; xcvi. 4, with notes.

18. death . . . by his wife. Cf. Sirach xxv. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 14. See note on verse 16.

I took his last word. Corrupt.

XXXI. 2. Cf. *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii. According to Ephrem, i. 139, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision on their fall. For this power of vision cf. Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii in Gen.

gloomless light. The light in Paradise was continual, *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. xii, xiii, xiv.

3. On Satan's envy see *Wisdom*, ii. 24; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

4. See xviii. 3; xxix. 4 (notes).

A

- 6 And he understood his condemnation and the sin which he had sinned before, therefore he conceived thought against Adam, in such form he entered and seduced Eva, but did not touch Adam.
7 But I cursed ignorance, but what I had blessed previously, those I did not curse, I cursed not man,
8 nor the earth, nor other creatures, but man's evil fruit, and his works.

After Adam's sin God sends *him* away into the earth 'whence I took thee', but does not wish to ruin him for all years to come.

- 32 ¹ I said to him: 'Earth thou art, and into the earth whence I took thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee.

Then I can again take thee at My second coming.'

- And I blessed all my creatures visible and invisible. And Adam was five and half hours in
2 paradise. And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he rested from all his works.

God shows Enoch the age of this world, *its* existence of seven thousand years, and the eighth thousand is the end, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days.

- 33 ¹ And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my
2 work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours.

A

- 3 And now, Enoch, all that I have told thee, all that thou hast understood, all that thou hast seen of heavenly things, all that thou hast seen on earth, and all that I have written in books by my great wisdom, all these things I have devised and created from the uppermost foundation to
4 the lower and to the end, and there is no counsellor nor inheritor to my creations. I am self-

B

And now, Enoch, all the things I have told ^{33 3} thee and all the things thou hast seen on earth and all the things thou hast written in these books, I invented the creation of all *this*, having created from the highest to the lowest.

There is no counsellor here. I am eternal and ⁴ not made with hands, and my thought is counsellor, and my word is deed, and my eyes behold

6. See xxx. 18 (note). Weber, 211, 244.

7. The curse is not on man himself, but on his ignorance and sin.

XXXII. 1. **My second coming.** God's coming to judge the earth is called the *καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς* and *ἡμέρα διαγνώσεως* in Wisdom iii. 7, 18. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 5. The first coming was for Adam's sake and to bless all that God had made, lviii. 1.

XXXIII. 1, 2. From the fact that Adam did not live to be 1,000 years old, the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, iv. 30, concludes that the words of Gen. ii. 17 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' were actually fulfilled. It is hence obvious that already before the Christian era 1,000 years had come to be regarded as one world-day. To arrive at the conception of a world-week of 7,000 years—6,000 years from the creation to the judgement, followed by 1,000 years, or a millennium of blessedness and rest—it was necessary to proceed but one step further, and this step we find was taken by the author of our text. In Irenaeus, moreover, *Contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 this reasoning is given explicitly: *οὖτος . . . ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελείται. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φησιν ἡ γραφή. Καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 5' τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ζ' ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία' ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα κυρίου ὡς α' ἔτη. ἐν ἑξ ὧν ἡμέραις συντελεσται τὰ γεγονότα. φανερόν οὖν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ 5' ἔτος ἐστὶ.* Clemens Alex. *Strom.* iv. 25 refers to this conception—possibly to our text. It is not improbable that the statements of Cedrenus on this head are drawn from our text. Thus on p. 9 he writes: *τοῦτου χάριν ἡλολογήθη καὶ αὕτη (ἡ ἡμέρα) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡγιάσθη καὶ σάββατον ὡς καταπαύσιμος προσηγορεύθη, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἐβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν συντελείας, ὡς Ἰωσήπος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* It is, we repeat, not improbable that our text is the original source of Cedrenus's statements, inasmuch as nothing of the kind is found either in Josephus or the *Book of Jubilees*, from which he professes to derive them. Syncellus, on whom Cedrenus is largely dependent, is frequently wrong in his references in the case of Apocalyptic literature. A most interesting expansion and an adaptation of the text to Christian conceptions are to be found in Augustine, *De Civ.* xxii. 30. 5 'Ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis computetur qui in Scripturis videntur expressi, iste Sabbatismus evidentiis apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur: ut prima aetas tanquam dies primus sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham . . . ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur . . . post hanc tanquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem septimum diem, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere. . . . Haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum, cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus. . . . Ecce quod erit in fine sine fine.' For other speculations in reference to the world-week see *Evang. Nicodemi*, ii. 12; *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. iii.

2. **a time of not-counting . . . neither years nor months, &c.** Sibyll. Or. viii. 424-7 may have been influenced by our text where it speaks of the eternity of blessedness.

3. **the creation (B), lit. 'to create'.**

A

eternal, not made with hands, and without change. My thought is my counsellor, my wisdom and my word are †made†, and my eyes observe all things how they stand here and tremble with terror. If I turn away my face, then all things will be destroyed.

- 5 And apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who is speaking to thee, and take thou the books which thou thyself hast written.
- 6 And I give thee Samuil and Raguil, who led thee up, and the books, and go down to earth, and tell thy sons all that I have told thee, and all that thou hast seen, from the lower heaven up to my throne, and all the troops.
- 7 For I created all forces, and there is none that resisteth me or that does not subject himself to me. For all subject themselves to my monarchy, and labour for my sole rule.
- 8 Give them the books of the handwriting, and they will read *them* and will know me for the creator of all things, and will understand how there is no other God but me.
- 9 And let them distribute the books of thy handwriting—children to children, generation to generation, nations to nations.
- 10 And I will give thee, Enoch, my intercessor, the archistratège Michael, for the handwritings of thy fathers Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahaleleel, and Jared thy father.

God convicts the idolaters and sodomitic fornicators, and therefore brings down a deluge upon them.

- 34 1 They have rejected my commandments and my yoke, worthless seed has come up, not fearing God, and they would not bow down to me, but have begun to bow down to vain gods, and 2 denied my unity, and have laden the whole earth with untruths, offences, abominable lecheries,

B

all. If I look on all, then it stands (*sc. exists*), but if I shall turn away, then will all be destroyed.

Apply thy mind, Enoch, and know him who 5 speaketh to thee, and take the books that thou hast written.

And I give thee the angel Semil and Rasuil 6 and him who brought *thee* up to me. And go down on to earth and tell thy sons all the things I have spoken to thee and all the things thou hast seen from the lowest heaven even up to my throne.

All the troops I have created; there is none 7 that opposes me or that submits not to me. All submit to my monarchy and serve my power.

And give them the books of thy handwriting, 8 children to children, kinsmen to kinsmen, race to 10 race, as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers Adam and Seth shall not be destroyed 11 till the end of time, as I have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch, how that I have put a chart on earth, and ordered the ages that it be preserved, and that the handwriting of thy fathers 12 be preserved, that it perish not in the deluge which I shall make in thy race.

For I know the wickedness of men, that they 34 1 will not carry the yoke which I have laid upon them, nor sow the seeds which I have given them, but having cast off my yoke, they will take another yoke, and will sow empty seeds and will bow down to vain gods and will reject my oneness,

4. without change. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Ezek. xxiv. 14.

my thought is my counsellor. Cf. xxx. 8 (note). Cf. Sir. xlii. 22.

my wisdom and my word are †made†, i.e. are reality. Cf. B and 1 En. xiv. 22 (Greek) πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9; Sir. xlii. 15.

my eyes observe all things. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 19.

If I turn, &c. Ps. civ. 29.

6. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 5, 6. Raguil, i.e. Raguel. See 1 En. xx. 4.

9. Cf. xlvii. 2, 3; xlviii. 7-9; liv; lv. 5; 1 En. lxxxii. 1, 2, where, as here, the books are to be transmitted immediately to the generations of the world, whereas in i. 2; xciii. 10; civ. 12 of 1 En. the method and times of the disclosure of the books are different. Though the writings are committed to the keeping of men, they are under the guardianship of special angels until the time for their complete disclosure and understanding has come. Compare verses 11 and 12 (B only).

10. Michael. Cf. xxii. 6 (note).

11. till the end of time (B), lit. 'till the last age'. At last the time for the due understanding of these books will arrive. See verse 9 (note); xxxv. 2, 3; (liv); 1 En. xciii. 10; civ. 12.

Orioch (B), a name found in Gen. xiv. 1, 9; Dan. ii. 14.

ages (B), lit. 'times'.

XXXIV. 1. rejected . . . my yoke. Cf. xlviii. 9; Sir. xxviii. 19, 20; Matt. xi. 29.

sow empty seeds (B), or worthless seeds. Apparently metaphorical, as A shows, and not a reference to Deut. xii. 9. empty (B), i.e. 'worthless'.

denied my unity. Cf. Deut. vi. 4 together with Joshua xxiv. 27.

2. It is this verse that is referred to in Test. Naph. iv. 1, though there differently applied.

A

namely one with another, and all manner of other unclean wickednesses, which are disgusting to relate.

- 3 And therefore I will bring down a deluge upon the earth and will destroy all men, and the whole earth will crumble together into great darkness.

God leaves one righteous man of Enoch's tribe with his whole house, who did God's pleasure according to his will.

- 35 1 Behold from their seed shall arise another generation, much afterwards, but of them many 2 will be very insatiate. He who raises that generation, *shall* reveal to them the books of thy handwriting, of thy fathers, *to them* to whom he must point out the guardianship of the world, to the faithful men and workers of my pleasure, who do not acknowledge my name in vain.
- 3 And they shall tell another generation, and those *others* having read shall be glorified thereafter, more than the first.

God commanded Enoch to live on earth thirty days, to give instruction to his sons and to his children's children. After thirty days he was again taken on to heaven.

- 36 1 Now, Enoch, I give thee the term of thirty days to spend in thy house, and tell thy sons and all thy household, that all may hear from my face what is told them by thee, that they may read and understand, how there is no other God but me. And that they may always keep my commandments, and begin to read and take in the books of thy handwriting.
- 2 And after thirty days I shall send my angel for thee, and he will take thee from earth and from thy sons to me.

Here God summons an angel.

- 37 1 And the Lord called up one of the older angels, terrible and menacing, and placed him by me, in appearance white as snow, and his hands like ice, having the appearance of great frost, and he froze my face, because I could not endure the terror of the Lord, just as it is not possible to endure a stove's fire and the sun's heat, and the frost of the air.

quake (B), lit. 'be shaken' (as though in fever).

3. This verse too is adapted in Test. Naph. iv. 2, which e.g. alters 'deluge' into 'captivity'.

XXXV. 1. **just man** (B), i.e. Noah.

2. Revelation of these disclosures to the faithful in due time.

3. These disclosures will then usher in a more glorified generation.

XXXVI. 1. The period is one year in 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

of waiting (B), or 'of sojourn'.

contains (B), lit. 'preserves'.

read and understand. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 1-3.

2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxi. 6.

XXXVII. This chapter is read after XXXIX in B.

1. **Tartarus** (B), horror (grozá).

B

and the whole earth will quake with injustice, 2 wrongs, and fornication and idolatry.

Then also I shall bring a deluge on to the 3 earth, and the earth will crumble together in great chaos.

And I shall leave over *one* just man with all 35 1 his house, who shall work according to my will (*sc.* who shall be found to have been working, &c.), and from their seed shall rise another race afterwards, very numerous and insatiable.

Then he who has brought up (*sc.* founded and 2 formed) that race shall reveal the books of thy handwriting and of thy fathers, through whom the guardians of the earth shall show *them* to the 3 faithful men and shall tell *them* to that race, and it shall be glorified thereafter more than before.

And now, Enoch, I give thee a term of waiting 36 1 of thirty days to do (*sc.* all) in thy house; tell thy sons all that thy heart contains, that they may read and understand, how that there is no God but me, and after thirty days I shall send 2 my angels for thee, and they will take thee from the earth and from thy sons, whatever may be according to my will.

But the Lord summoned one of the angels, 37 1 the eldest (*sc.* commander) of Tartarus, and put him by me, and the appearance of that angel *was as snow*, and his hands *were as of ice*, and he chilled my face, because I could not suffer the great heat (*sic*) and that terror.

A

2 And the Lord said to me: 'Enoch, if thy face be not frozen here, no man will be able to behold thy face.'

B

And thus spake the Lord to me.

A

Mathusal continued to have hope and to await his father Enoch at his couch day and night.

- 38 ¹ And the Lord said to those men who first led me up: 'Let Enoch go down on to earth with you, ² and await him till the determined day.' And they placed me by night on my couch. ³ And Mathusal expecting my coming, keeping watch by day and by night at my couch, was filled with awe when he heard my coming, and I told him, 'Let all my household come together, that I tell them everything.'

A

Enoch's pitiful admonition to his sons with weeping and great lamentation, as he spoke to them.

B

Enoch's instruction of his sons.

- 39 ¹ Oh my children, my beloved ones, hear the admonition of your father, as much as is according to the Lord's will.

² I have been let come to you to-day, and announce to you, not from my lips, but from the Lord's lips, all that is and was and all that is now, and all that will be till judgement-day. ³ For the Lord has let me come to you, you hear therefore the words of my lips, of a man made big for you, but I am one who has seen the Lord's face, like iron made to glow from fire it sends forth sparks and burns.

⁴ You look now upon my eyes, *the eyes* of a man big with meaning for you, but I have seen the Lord's eyes, shining like the sun's rays and filling the eyes of man with awe.

⁵ You see now, my children, the right hand of a man that helps you, but I have seen the Lord's right hand filling heaven as he helped me.

⁶ You see the compass of my work like your own, but I have seen the Lord's limitless and perfect compass, which has no end.

⁷ You hear the words of my lips, as I heard the words of the Lord, like great thunder incessantly with hurling of clouds.

⁸ And now, my children, hear the discourses of the father of the earth, how fearful and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of the earth, how much more terrible and awful it is to come before the face of the ruler of heaven, the controller of quick and dead, and of the heavenly troops. Who can endure that endless pain?

For I am sent forth to you to-day from the ^{39 2} Lord's mouth to speak to you all things that are and all that will be till judgement-day, and now, my children, not from my own mouth am I to-day informing you, but from the Lord's mouth,

for you have heard my words from my ⁷ mouth, but I have heard the Lord's words like great thunder with incessant hurling of clouds, I have seen the Lord's raiment infinite and ⁶ incomparable, which has no end.

Now hear my words, telling of an earthly ⁸ ruler *how* it is fearful and miserable to stand before the face of an earthly ruler; it is terrible and miserable, because the ruler's will is death, and the ruler's will is life or great heat (*sic*).

XXXVIII. 1. Cf. xxxvi.

2. Cf. i. 2-4.

3. Cf. 1 En. xci. 1.

XXXIX. 2. **the Lord's lips.** Cf. xxii. 5; xxxiii. 6-12.

3. **the Lord's face.** Cf. xxii. 1.

the Lord's eyes. Cf. xxix. 1.

8. **the father of the earth.** B gives a better sense—'an earthly ruler.' Perhaps we should put a stop after 'discourses' and read as B from 'telling' up to 'the ruler's will is life', and then return to A 'how much more', &c.

A

Enoch admonishes his children truly of all things from the Lord's lips, how he saw and heard and wrote down.

B

For, my children, I know all things from the 40 Lord's mouth.

A

- 2 I know all things, and have written all things into books, the heavens and their end, and their plenitude, and all the armies and their marchings. I have measured and described the stars, the great countless multitude *of them*.
- 3 What man has seen their revolutions, and their entrances? For not even the angels see their number, while I have written all their names.
- 4, 6, 7 And I measured the sun's circle, and measured its rays, counted the hours, I wrote down too all things that go over the earth, I have written the things that are nourished, and all seed sown and unsown, which the earth produces and all plants, and every grass and every flower, and their sweet smells, and their names,

A

- 8 and the dwelling-places of the clouds, and their composition, and their wings, and how they bear rain and rain-drops.
- 9 And I investigated all things, and wrote the road of the thunder and of the lightning, and they showed me the keys and their guardians, their rise, the way they go; it is let out in measure (*sc. gently*) by a chain, lest by a heavy chain and violence it hurl down the angry clouds and destroy all things on earth.
- 10 I wrote the treasure-houses of the snow, and the store-houses of the cold and the frosty airs, and I observed their season's key-holder, he fills the clouds with them, and does not exhaust their treasure-houses.
- 11 And I wrote the resting-places of the winds and observed and saw how their key-holders bear weighing-scales and measures; first, they put them in *one* weighing-scale, then in the other the weights and let them out according to measure cunningly over the whole earth, lest by heavy breathing they make the earth to rock.
- 12 And I measured out the whole earth, its mountains, and all hills, fields, trees, stones, rivers, all existing things I wrote down, the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and

B

This have my eyes seen from the beginning even to the end, and the dwelling-places of the 8 clouds, both rain-bearing and thunderous. And 9 they showed me the angels that guard them and their keys.

I saw the treasure-houses of snow and of ice, 10 and the going-up, whence they go up in measure. 9 they are carried up by a chain and let down by a chain, lest by heavy violence they tear asunder the clouds and destroy what is on earth, both air 10 and frost. I beheld for a time how those who hold fast the keys do fill the clouds full, and the treasure-houses are never exhausted.

I saw the lairs of the winds, how those who 11 keep their keys do carry weighing-scales and measures, and first put them (*sc. the winds*) in the weighing-scales and then in the measure, and let them out in measure over the whole earth, lest by *their* heavy breath they make the earth to rock.

Thence I was led to the judgement-place, and 12

XL. 1. I know all things . . . my eyes have seen, &c. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) ὁ Δανὴλ λέγει ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνὼχ τῷ εἰρηκότῃ 'καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας', and Origen, *de Princ.* iv. 35 'dicente Enoch universas materias perspexi'. Cf. too Sibyll. Or. viii. 375.

2. the stars, &c. Cf. 1 En. xliii. 1, 2; xciii. 14.

3. not even the angels. Cf. xxiv. 3.

4. See xiii. xiv (notes).

4-6. There is an addition in Sokolov's text between 'rays' and 'counted'. It deals with the moon and the seasons (see 1 En. lxxii. 11-20, notes).

8. Cf. 1 En. lx. 19-22.

9. road of the thunder. Cf. 1 En. lix; lx. 13-15.

10. Cf. vi. 1, 2; 1 En. lx. 17, 18.

11. See 1 En. xli. 4.

A

downwards to the very lowest hell, and the judgement-place, and the very great, open and weeping hell. And I saw how the prisoners are
 13 in pain, expecting the limitless judgement. And I wrote down all those being judged by the judge, and all their judgements (*sc.* sentences) and all their works.

Of how Enoch lamented Adam's sin.

41 1 And I saw all forefathers from *all* time with Adam and Eva, and I sighed and broke into tears and said of the ruin of their dishonour: 'Woe is me for my infirmity and *for that* of my forefathers,' and thought in my heart and said:
 2 'Blessed *is* the man who has not been born or who has been born and shall not sin before the Lord's face, that he come not into this place, nor bring the yoke of this place.

Of how Enoch saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing.

42 1 I saw the key-holders and guards of the gates of hell standing, like great serpents, and their faces like extinguished lamps, and their eyes of fire, their sharp teeth,

B

I saw hell all open and the prisoners and infinite judgement,

And having seen I sighed and wept for the 41 1 destruction of the impious, and I said in my heart:

'Blessed is he who has not been born, or 2 who having been born has not sinned before God, that he may not be come to this place, nor have borne this yoke.'

and I saw the guardians of the keys 42 1 of hell standing over against the gates like great serpents, their faces like lamps that are gone out, their eyes like darkened flames, and their teeth naked down to their breasts.

And I spake to their faces: 'I had better not 2 have seen you, and may none of my tribe come to you.'

Enoch's ascent into the paradise of the righteous.

And I saw there a blessed place, and all blessed 3 creatures and all there living in joy and in infinite happiness in eternal life.

12. **the very lowest hell.** The old Jewish beliefs of an underworld of punishment are too strong to be excluded, and intrude even into our author's scheme which in x locates hell in the third heaven. But see xviii. 7 (note). It is possible further that the author may have had some idea of a series of seven hells, hence the phrase 'lowest hell' here. See Eisenmenger, ii. 302, 328–33 for later Rabbinic tradition.

13. **expecting the limitless judgement.** These words seem to imply an intermediate place of punishment, i. e. Sheol or Hades. They are used too in vii. 1, of the fallen Watchers.

An ancient Jewish belief; cf. liii. 2; lxiv; Jub. iv. 23; x. 17. From the idea of Enoch as scribe of God's works, as in 1 and 2 Enoch, the transition was easy to the idea of Enoch as scribe of the deeds of men. For later tradition cf. Test. Abraham (ed. James, p. 115) ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης 'Ενώχ' ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα ἀπογράψωσιν τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἐκάστου.

XLI. In B this chapter occurs after xlii. 1.

XLI. 1. Enoch's forefathers, including Adam and Eve, appear to be in the place of punishment. Contrast 1 En. ix. 8, 23; lxi. 12; lxx. 3, 4 where Paradise is already peopled with the righteous, though in lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8 Enoch and Elijah seem to be its only inhabitants. In 1 En. xxii. 7, however, Abel seems to remain in Hades till the judgement on Cain and his seed is consummated. Cf. the early Christian belief e. g. in *Descensus ad Inferos* viii–ix.

2. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 12; 1 En. xxxviii. 2; 2 Bar. x. 6.

XLII. 1. **the key-holders.** We have a strange application of this idea in Sibyll. Or. viii. 121–2 where the αἰών is κλειδοφύλαξ. For 'keys' cf. Rev. ix. 1; xx. 1.

guards of the gates of hell. Emek hammelech, fol. 144, col. 2, says that each division of hell is under the control of a certain angel (Eisenmenger, ii. 332). Cf. the word *τημελοῦχος* in Apoc. Pauli.

extinguished lamps. Contrast the heavenly angels' face and eyes, i. 5.

teeth naked down to their breasts (B), i. e. either the teeth reached down to the breasts, or the description of the teeth is incomplete, and the creatures themselves are referred to as naked down to their breasts.

2–13. These verses are omitted by A.

2. Cf. xli. 2.

A

¹⁴ and I saw all the Lord's works, how they are right, while the works of man are some *good*, and others bad, and in their works are known those who lie evilly.

Enoch shows his children how he measured and wrote out God's judgements.

43 ¹ I, my children, measured and wrote out every work and every measure and every righteous judgement.

² As *one* year is more honourable than another, so is *one* man more honourable than another, some for great possessions, some for wisdom of heart, some for particular intellect, some for cunning, one for silence of lip, another for cleanliness, one for strength, another for comeliness, one for youth, another for sharp wit, ³ one for shape of body, another for sensibility, let it be heard everywhere, but there is none better than he who fears God, he shall be more glorious in time to come.

Enoch instructs his sons, that they revile not the face of man, small or great.

44 ¹ The Lord with his hands having created man, in the likeness of his own face, the Lord made

B

Then I spake: 'My children, and now I speak 6 to you: Blessed is he who fears God and serves him. And you, my children, learn to bring gifts to the Lord, that you may enjoy life. Blessed is 7 he who judges a judgement justly to the widow 9 and orphan, and helps every one that is wronged, clothing the naked with garments, and to the 8 hungry giving bread.

Blessed is he who turns back from the change- 10 able path and walks along the straight path.

Blessed is he who sows the seeds of righteous- 11 ness, for he shall reap sevenfold.

Blessed is he in whom is truth, that he may 12 speak truth to his neighbour.

Blessed is he in whose mouth is mercy and 13 gentleness.

Blessed is he who understands the Lord's 14 works and glorifies the Lord God.

Behold, my children (*sc.* all) the things that **43** ¹ can be used on earth and the things that have been planned I have written down from the Lord God.

Winter and summer, all have I put together, and of the years I have counted out the hours, and the hours have I all measured out and written down, and found out all the difference (*sc.* understood all their variety).

One year is more honourable than another, ² and one day than another, and one hour is more honourable than another.

Likewise one man is more honourable than another, this one for much property, that for mercy of heart, that again for understanding and cunning and for silence of tongue and mouth.

For there is none greater than he who fears ³ God; they shall be glorious into eternity.

The Lord with his hands created man, and **44** ¹ likened *him* to his own face.

6-14. Nine rather colourless beatitudes.

7. **judges a judgement justly.** Cf. ix; Ezek. xviii. 8.

8, 9. Cf. ix: also for 9 cf. Ps. x. 18; Isa. i. 17; Jer. xxii. 3, 16; Zech. vii. 9, 10.

10. **straight path.** Cf. Prov. iv. 11; Sibyll. Or. iii. 9-10; Sib. Or. Fragn. i. 23 sq.

11. Cf. Sirach vii. 3; Job. iv. 8; Prov. xxii. 8; Hos. x. 13.

12. Cf. Lev. xix. 11; Eph. iv. 25; Sibyll. Or. ii. 58, 64.

13. Cf. Prov. xxxi. 26.

14. **in their works . . . known, &c. (A).** Matt. vii. 16, 20.

XLIII. 2, 3. **As one year, &c.** We might expect 'as one day', cf. Sir. xxiii. 7. The main thought of this passage is derived from Sir. x. 20, 22, 24, 30: cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 125.

A

him small and great. Whoever reviles the ruler's face, and abhors the Lord's face, has despised
 2 the Lord's face, and he who vents anger on any man without injury, the Lord's great anger will
 3 cut him down, he who spits on the face of man reproachfully, will be cut down at the Lord's great judgement.

4 Blessed is the man who does not direct his heart with malice against any man, and helps the injured and condemned, and raises the broken
 5 down, and shall do charity to the needy, because on the day of the great judgement every weight, every measure and every makeweight *will be as* in the market, that is to say *they are hung on* scales and stand in the market, *and every one* shall learn his own measure, and according to his measure shall take his reward.

God shows how he does not want from men sacrifices, nor burnt-offerings, but pure and contrite hearts.

45 1 Whoever hastens to make offering before the Lord's face, the Lord for his part will hasten that offering by granting of his work.

2 But whoever increases his lamp before the Lord's face and make not true judgement, the Lord will *not* increase his treasure in the realm of the highest.

3 When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man.

B

The Lord God created *all things* great and small.

He that brings into contempt the face of man, brings the Lord's face into contempt.

The Lord's anger and great judgement *are on* 2 *him* who spits in the face of man.

Blessed is he who turns his heart towards such 4 a man, so as to help the condemned and raise the broken.

He who multiplies lights before the Lord's 45 2 face, the Lord will multiply their storehouses.

The Lord God wants not bread nor candles, 3 meal nor cattle, but by this *means* tempts the heart of man.

A

Of how an earthly ruler does not accept from man abominable and unclean gifts, then how much more does God abominate unclean gifts, but sends *them* away with wrath and does not accept his gifts.

46 1 Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.

If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his gifts, and not give him over to
 2 judgement? Or *if* one man make himself appear good to another by deceit of tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the other* understand the treachery of his heart, and himself be
 3 condemned, since his untruth was plain to all? And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there will be judgement for the just and the unjust, and there no one shall escape notice.

XLIV. 1. Whoever reviles, &c. Cf. James iii. 9.

2. Cf. Matt. v. 22.

4. This beatitude, out of place here, would come in fittingly at the end of xlii.

XLV. 3. Cf. Ps. xl. 6, li. 16; Isa. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-8; Sir. xxxv. 1-3; Sibyll. Or. viii. 390, 391, also ii. 82; Athenag. *Supplic. pro Christo*, 13. This is not Essenism. See lix. 1-3. We find the same spiritual appreciation of sacrifices in Sir. xxxv. 1-3, side by side with injunctions to offer them.

candles. Cf. 'lamp' in verse 2.

pure hearts. Ps. li. 10.

tests the heart of man. Deut. viii. 2; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; Ps. xxvi. 2. tempts (B), or 'proves'.

XLVI. 3. a great light. The reference is not clear, but cf. Isa. ix. 2 or John i. 9, v. 35, viii. 12, and esp. John iii. 19-21.

A

Enoch instructs his sons from God's lips, and hands them the handwriting of this book.

- 47 ¹ And now, my children, lay thought on your hearts, mark well the words of your father, which are all *come* to you from the Lord's lips.
² Take these books of your father's handwriting and read them.
 For the books are many, and in them you will learn all the Lord's works, all that has been from the beginning of creation, and will be till the end of time.
³ And if you will observe my handwriting, you will not sin against the Lord; because there is no other except the Lord, neither in heaven, nor in earth, nor in the very lowest *places*, nor in the *one* foundation.
⁴ The Lord has placed the foundations in the unknown, and has spread forth heavens visible and
⁵ invisible; he fixed the earth on the waters, and created countless creatures, and who has counted the water and the foundation of the unfixed, or the dust of the earth, or the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain, or the morning dew, or the wind's breathings? Who has filled earth and sea, and the indissoluble winter?
 I cut the stars out of fire, and decorated heaven, and put it in their midst.

Of the sun's passage along the seven circles.

- 48 ¹ That the sun go along the seven heavenly circles, which are the appointment of one hundred and
² eighty-two thrones, that it go down on a short day, and again one hundred and eighty-two, that it go down on a big day, and he has two thrones on which he rests, revolving hither and thither above the thrones of the months, from the seventeenth day of the month Tsivan it goes down to the month Thevan, from the seventeenth of Thevad it goes up.
³ And thus it goes close to the earth, then the earth is glad and makes grow its fruit, and when it goes away, then the earth is sad, and trees and all fruits have no florescence.
⁴ All this he measured, with good measurement of hours, and fixed a measure by his wisdom, of the visible and the invisible.
⁵ From the invisible he made all things visible, himself being invisible.
⁶ Thus I make known to you, my children, and distribute the books to your children, into all your
⁷ generations, and amongst the nations who shall have the sense to fear God, let them receive them, and may they come to love them more than any food or earthly sweets, and read them and apply themselves to them.
⁸ And those who understand not the Lord, who fear not God, who accept not, but reject, who do not receive them (*sc.* the books), a terrible judgement awaits these.
⁹ Blessed is the man who shall bear their yoke and shall drag them along, for he shall be released on the day of the great judgement.

XLVII. 1. Cf. xxxix. 2.

2. Cf. 1 En. xciii. 10 for this high estimate of the Enochic works.

3. **you will not sin.** Cf. xxxiii. 9; xlviii. 7-9. For a like claim cf. 1 En. xxxvii. 4; xcii. 1; xciii. 10; c. 6; civ. 12, 13, and contrast Sir. xviii. 3.

no other except the Lord. Cf. Isa. xlv. 5, &c.; Sibyll. Or. iii. 69, 760; viii. 377; Sib. Or. Fragm. i. 7, 15; iii. 3; v. 1.

4. **spread forth heavens.** Ps. civ. 2; Isa. xl. 22; xlii. 5.

fixed the earth on the waters. 2 Pet. iii. 5.

5. **who has counted . . . the sand of the sea, or the drops of the rain.** Drawn from Sir. i. 2. Cf. Isa. xl. 12; Job xxxvi. 27 (LXX).

decorated heaven. Cf. Sir. xvi. 27.

XLVIII. 1. The text is faulty and unintelligible. The sun is in the fourth circle of the heavens in xi. 1; xxx. 3, and does not revolve through the seven circles. The twice-mentioned 182 thrones, too, are really, when added, the 364 world-stations of 1 En. lxxv. 2, i.e. the 364 different positions occupied by the sun on the 364 days of the year. As in 1 En. lxxii-lxxxii and Jub. iv the number is not exact (contrast 2 En. xiv. 1). This older Enochic reckoning may be partly due to opposition to heathen systems, and partly to the fact that 364 = 52 weeks of 7 days exactly.

2. Corrupt. Read either 'Sivan . . . Kislev' or 'Tamuz . . . Tebet'. Thevan and Thevad seem to be the same.

5. Cf. xxiv. 2 (note); xlvii. 2 (note).

6. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

7. **love them more than any food.** Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 3. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2 (note).

8. No such terrible judgement is threatened on the rejecters of Enoch's disclosures in 1 En., but cf. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

9. No such blessing is offered to the obedient in 1 En. There the righteous elect, or the righteous and the wise, receive Enoch's revelations. Cf. lxxxii. 3; xciii. 10; civ. 12.

A

Enoch instructs his sons not to swear either by heaven or earth, and shows God's promise, even in the mother's womb.

49¹ I swear to you, my children, but I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.

The Lord said: 'There is no oath in me, nor injustice, but truth.' If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words 'yea, yea', or else, 'nay, nay.'

2 And I swear to you, yea, yea, that there has been no man in his mother's womb, *but that* already before, even to each one there is a place prepared for the repose of that soul, and a measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world.

Yea, children, deceive not yourselves, for there has been previously prepared a place for every soul of man.

Of how none born on earth can remain hidden nor his work remain concealed, but he (*sc.* God) bids *us* be meek, to endure attack and insult, and not to offend widows and orphans.

50¹ I have put every man's work in writing and none born on earth can remain hidden nor his works remain concealed. I see all things. Now therefore, my children, in patience and meekness spend the number of your days, that you inherit endless life.

3 Endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack.

4 If ill-requitals befall you, return *them* not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return *them* for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men.

5 Whoever of you spends gold or silver for his brother's sake, he will receive ample treasure in the world to come.

Injure not widows nor orphans nor strangers, lest God's wrath come upon you.

B

For I swear to you, my children, that before 49² man was, a judgement-place was prepared for him, and a measure and a weighing-scale, in which man will be proved, and *they* are there already prepared.

And I shall put the work of every man in 50¹ writing.

And now, my children, spend the number of 2 your days in patience and gentleness, that you inherit the endless age that is to come.

Every wound, every hurt and heat (*sic*) and 3 wicked word (*sc.* which) shall befall you, suffer them for the Lord God's sake;

and if you are able to requite (*sc.* ill), do not 4 requite your neighbour (*sc.* with ill) because the Lord is your requiter, and he (*lit.* who) will be the avenger on the day of the great judgement.

Lose gold or silver for a brother's sake, that 5 you receive inexhaustible treasure on the judgement-day.

XLIX. 1. **I swear not**, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 34, 35. See also Philo, *De Special. Leg.* ii. 1; *Leg. All.* iii. 72; *De Decem Orac.* 17; *De Sac. Abelis et Caini*, 28; *De Plant. Noe*, 19; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 12. This appears to be a Jewish commonplace (Conybeare). For Jewish forms of swearing see Eisenmenger, ii. 490 sqq.

2. **to each . . . a place prepared for the repose**, &c. So *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, where it is said a place is prepared for every man either in paradise or hell. Cf. the number of souls, lviii. 5; 2 Bar. xxi. 23, xxiii. 4, 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36, vii. 85, 95.

L. 1. **nor his works remain concealed**. 1 En. ix. 5.

2. **in patience**. Cf. Luke xxi. 19 'in your patience ye shall win your souls'. This book teaches a blessed immortality but not, it seems, the resurrection of the dead.

3. Cf. Sir. ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Heb. x. 32; 1 Pet. ii. 19; James i. 12. See 2 En. li. 3.

4. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 1, 2.

avenger . . . day of great judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 35 (LXX). Cf. too Prov. xx. 22; xxiv. 29. Rom. xii. 19; Heb. x. 30 agree partly with Mass. and partly with LXX.

5. **Whoever**, &c. Cf. Prov. xix. 17; Sir. xxix. 10. See 2 En. li. 2 (note).

Injure not. We expect 'stretch out your hands to' as in ix. Cf. Sibyll. Or. ii. 75.

A

Enoch instructs his sons, that they hide not treasures in the earth, but bids *them* give alms to the poor.

- 51 ¹ Stretch out your hands to the poor according
² to your strength. Hide not your silver in the earth. Help the faithful man in affliction, and affliction will not find you in the time of your trouble.
³ And every grievous and cruel yoke that come upon you bear all for the sake of the Lord, and thus you will find your reward in the day of judgement.
⁴ It is good to go morning, midday, and evening into the Lord's dwelling, for the glory of your creator.
⁵ Because every breathing *thing* glorifies him, and every creature visible and invisible returns him praise.

God instructs his faithful, how they are to praise his name.

- 52 ¹ Blessed is the man who opens his lips in praise of God of Sabaoth and praises the Lord with his heart.
² Cursed every man who opens his lips for the bringing into contempt and calumny of his neighbour, because he brings God into contempt.
³ Blessed is he who opens his lips blessing and praising God.
⁴ Cursed is he before the Lord all the days of his life, who opens his lips to curse and abuse.
⁵ Blessed is he who blesses all the Lord's works.
⁶ Cursed is he who brings the Lord's creation into contempt.
⁷ Blessed is he who looks down and raises the fallen.
⁸ Cursed is he who looks to and is eager for the destruction of what is not his.
⁹ Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his fathers made firm from the beginning.
¹⁰ Cursed is he who perverts the decrees of his forefathers.
¹¹ Blessed is he who implants peace and love.

B

Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to 51 the widow, and according to your power help the poor, and thus you shall find your reward on the 3 judgement-day.

In the morning, at midday and in the evening 4 and by day (*sic*) it is good to go into God's house and to glorify the creator of all.

Blessed is he who opens his heart and mouth 52 ¹ for the Lord's praise.

Cursed is he who opens his mouth for the 2 humbling of his neighbour.

Blessed is he who glorifies all the Lord's works. 5
 Cursed is he who brings a creature of the Lord 6 into contempt.

Blessed is he who beholds the labour of his 7 hands.

Cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of 8 others.

Blessed is he who keeps the foundations of his 9 fathers.

Cursed is he who distorts the decrees and 10 limits of his fathers.

Blessed is he who goes (*sc.* with others) and 11 brings (*sc.* others) together in peace.

LI. 1. Sir. vii. 32; Prov. xxxi. 20. Cf. Job vii. 9; Sibyll. Or. ii. 88.
 according to your strength. Cf. Sir. xiv. 13; xxix. 20.

2. Hide not, &c. Cf. Sir. xxix. 10.

Help . . . in affliction. Cf. Sir. iv. 4.

3. Sir. ii. 4. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 19; iii. 14. Cf. 2 En. l. 3.

4. Ps. lv. 17. Cf. Dan. vi. 10. For these three Jewish hours of prayer—the third, sixth, and ninth—cf. Acts ii. 15; iii. 1; x. 9.

the Lord's dwelling, i.e. the temple. Although the writer is a Jew living in Egypt, he writes for Judaism as a whole, and gives here the ideal conduct of a dweller at Jerusalem. In lix. 2, 3 he prescribes the right method of sacrifice, and sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem.

5. Cf. Ps. cl. 6.

LII. For these beatitudes cf. xlii. 6–14. They are derived mainly from Sirach.

2. Cf. Wisdom i. 11 ἀπὸ καταλαλιᾶς φείσασθε γλώσσης.

4. curse and abuse. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 9–12.

5. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 14 εὐλογήσατε κύριον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.

10. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2, 14; Sir. xvii. 11.

11. Cf. Matt. v. 9.

A

- 12 Cursed is he who disturbs those that love their neighbours.
 13 Blessed is he who speaks with humble tongue and heart to all.
 14 Cursed is he who speaks peace with his tongue, while in his heart there is no peace but a sword.
 15 For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing-scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgement.

[Let us not say: 'Our father is before God, he will stand forward for us on the day of judgement,' for there father cannot help son, nor yet son father.]

- 53 1 And now, my children, do not say: 'Our father is standing before God, and is praying for our sins,' for there is there no helper of any man who has sinned.
 2 You see how I wrote all works of every man, before his creation, *all* that is done amongst all
 3 men for all time, and none can tell or relate my handwriting, because the Lord sees all the imaginings of man, how they are vain, where they lie in the treasure-houses of the heart.
 4 And now, my children, mark well all the words of your father, that I tell you, lest you regret, saying: 'Why did our father not tell us?'

Enoch instructs his sons, that they should hand the books to others also.

- 54 [At that time, not understanding this] let these books which I have given you be for an inheri-

B

Cursed is he who disturbs what is in peace. 12

Blessed is he who speaks peace, and he has 13 peace.

All this will be laid bare in the weighing- 15 scales and on the books on the day of the great judgement.

And now, children, keep your hearts from all 16 unrighteousness, that you may inherit the weighing-scale of the light into eternity.

Say not, my children, that our father is with 53 1 God, and will pray for us (*sc.* and obtain absolution) from our sins.

You see, how that I write down all the works 2 of every man.

And none can distort my handwriting, because 3 the Lord seeth all.

And now, my children, mark well all the 4 words of your father's mouth,

that they may be 54 for you for an inheritance of peace, and the books

12. Cf. Sir. xxviii. 9, 13.

14. Cf. Ps. xxviii. 3; lv. 21; lxii. 4; Sibyll. Or. ii. 120, 122.

16. unrighteousness (B). See lxi. 1 (note).

LIII. 1. This verse has a duplicate reading in A. The idea that departed saints interceded on behalf of the living has been attributed by some scholars to Isa. lxiii. 16 (see Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, i. 296; Cheyne, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 107-8; 299-300). If, however, the doctrine of a blessed immortality or of the resurrection was a late development among the Jews, this idea must necessarily have been later still, and accordingly unless we are prepared to bring down considerably the date of Isa. lxiii, we shall have some difficulty in justifying such an interpretation. It seems indeed that this idea among the Jews was comparatively late in origin. The first indubitable evidence in its favour is to be found in 1 En. xxii. 12; xcvi. 3, 5; xcix. 16; and thus we find that it was an accepted Pharisaic belief early in the second century B.C. The next mention of this belief is to be met with in 2 Macc. xv. 14 where Jeremiah, who appears in a vision to Judas Maccabaeus, is described as follows: ὁ φιλάδελφος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἰερουσαλὴμ. This was also the teaching of Philo, *de Exsecrat* 9: τρισὶ χρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν. . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἀπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετίας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰδῶσι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκουον ἐν εὐχαῖς. The same view was obviously held by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 13. 3, where he describes Abraham as saying to Isaac when on the point of sacrificing him: μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεχομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσθ' μοι εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον. And also in Sibyll. Or. 330-3 τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει εὐσεβέσσ', ὅπότ' ἂν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται' ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρός τε καὶ ἀκαμάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν ἀνθρώπων σώσαι δώσει' καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει. Finally this doctrine is recognized and apparently accepted in certain parts of the N. T.: Matt. xxvii. 47, 49; Luke xvi. 24-31; John viii. 56 (?); Heb. xii. 1?; Rev. vi. 9-11. For the prevalence of this belief in later Judaism, see Eisenmenger ii. 357-9; 361. The idea of intercession may be derived from ancestor-worship, and not from the doctrine of a future life as I have implied above; cf. Cheyne's *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, 352, 353.

2. Enoch is the universal scribe.

3. tell or relate. B has 'distort'. Perhaps read 'tell or gainsay'. Cf. Ps. civ. 11; Sir. xvii. 15, 20. relate = *raṣkazati*—possibly a mistake for *raskaziti* = 'to distort'. Cf. B.

LIV. See xxxiii. 9 (note).

A

tance of your peace. Hand them to all who want them, and instruct them, that they may see the Lord's very great and marvellous works.

Here Enoch shows his sons, telling them with tears: 'My children, the hour has approached for me to go up on to heaven; behold, the angels are standing before me.'

55¹ 'My children, behold, the day of my term and the time have approached.

For the angels who shall go with me are standing before me and urge me to my departure from you; they are standing here on earth, awaiting what has been told them.

2 For to-morrow I shall go up on to heaven, to the uppermost Jerusalem to my eternal inheritance.

3 Therefore I bid you do before the Lord's face all *his* good pleasure.

Methosalam asks of his father blessing, that he (*sc.* Methosalam) may make him (*sc.* Enoch) food to eat.

56¹ Methosalam having answered his father Enoch, said: 'What is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that I may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings, and thy sons, and that thy people may be made glorious through thee, and then *that* thou mayst depart thus, as the Lord said?'

2 Enoch answered to his son Methosalam *and* said: 'Hear, child, from the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, *there has been no* food in me, and my soul remembers not earthly enjoyment, neither do I want anything earthly.'

Enoch bade his son Methosalam to summon all his brethren.

57¹ 'My child Methosalam, summon all thy brethren and all your household and the elders of the people, that I may talk to them and depart, as is planned for me.'

2 And Methosalam made haste, and summoned his brethren, Regim, Riman, Uchan, Chermion, Gaidad, and all the elders of the people before the face of his father Enoch; and he blessed them, *and* said to them:

B

which I have given you from God, hide them not, tell them to all that want, that by word they learn of God's works.

For behold, my children, the day of my term 55¹ has approached, the angels coming from the Lord God urge the appointed time, and stand with me before my face.

And I shall go up to-morrow on to the highest 2 heaven into my eternal inheritance.

Therefore I command you, my children, that 3 you do *his* good pleasure before the Lord's face.

Mefusailom answered his father Enoch: 'What 56¹ food (*sc.* meal) is agreeable to thy eyes, father, that we may make before thy face, that thou mayst bless our dwellings and thy sons, and all thy household, and glorify thy people, and thus after that depart?'

Enoch said to his son: 'Hear, my child, from 2 that day when the Lord anointed me with the oil of his glory, from that time there has been no food in me. I do not desire earthly food,

but 57¹ summon thy brethren and all our household, and the elders of the people, that I may speak with them and depart.'

And Mefusailom made haste and summoned 2 his brethren Regim and Rim and Azuchan and Chermion, and the elders of the people, and brought all before the face of his father Enoch. And he blessed them, and said to them:

the Lord's . . . marvellous works. Job xxxvii. 14, 16; Ps. lxxi. 17, &c.

LV. See xxxvi.

2. the highest heaven (B). Cf. lxvii. 2. A's reading, 'to the uppermost Jerusalem,' seems inferior.

LVI. 2. Cf. xxii. 7, 8.

LVII. 1. Cf. xxxvi. 1; 1 En. xci. 1.

2. Riman, Uchan, and Chermion are not mentioned in i. 10.

A

Enoch's instruction to his sons.

58 1 'Listen to me, my children, to-day.

In those days when the Lord came down on to earth for Adam's sake, and visited all his creatures, which he created himself, after all these he created Adam, and the Lord called all the beasts of the earth, all the reptiles, and all the birds that soar in the air, and brought them all before the face of our father Adam.

And Adam gave the names to all things living on earth. And the Lord appointed him ruler over all, and subjected to him all things under his hands, and made them dumb and made them dull (lit. deaf) that they be commanded of man, and be in subjection and obedience to him.

Thus also the Lord created every man lord over all his possessions.

4 The Lord will not judge a single soul of beast for man's sake, but adjudges the souls of men to 5 their beasts in this world; for men have a special place.

And as every soul of man is according to 6 number, similarly beasts will not perish, nor all

B

'Listen, children, in the days of our father 58 1 Adam, the Lord God came down (sc. to earth) and visited it and all his creatures, which he 2 created himself, and the Lord God called all the beasts of the earth and all the wild animals and all the quadrupeds, and all the reptiles of the earth, and all the birds that soar, and brought them before the face of our father Adam, and called the names to all things that move over the earth. And God subjected to Adam all things 3 existing into subservience (lit. lessness) and secondly made them all dull (lit. deaf) that they might be in subjection and obedience to man.

For the Lord created man ruler over all his possessions.

In this there will be no judgement of every 4 living soul, but only of man's.

But for the souls of beasts there is in the great 5 age one place and one fold.

For no soul of any animal which the Lord 6 created will be shut up till the great judgement,

LVIII. 1. the Lord came down, &c. See xxxii. 1 (note).

5. men have a special place. See xlix. 2 (note).

similarly beasts will not perish. As the Jews believed about the opening of the Christian era that all animals had spoken one language before the fall, and so were rational to some extent (Jub. iii. 28; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 1. 4) it was natural they should infer a future existence of the animal world. Yet nowhere else except here do we find it, either in O.T. or pre-Christian Jewish works. Their future life is limited and has an ethical motive, not for the brute's own sake, but to accuse man at the final judgement. The Greek view of metempsychosis, and the deification of animals in Egypt show that the idea of animals' future life was conceivable in the ancient world. Plutarch, *Plac.* v. 20. 4 holds that brutes' souls are rational, but incapable of acting rationally on account of their bodies; according to Xenocrates they possessed a consciousness of God, καθόλου γοῦν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔννοιαν Ξενοκράτης . . . οὐκ ἀπελπίζει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῷοις (Clem. *Strom.* v. 590). Chrysippus ascribed reason to brutes (Chalkid in *Tim.* p. 148b); while Sextus Medicus (ix. 127) maintained that the souls of brutes and of men were alike. Hence it was generally believed that the souls of men could pass into brutes, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθάνατον εἶναι φησι τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτα μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς ἄλλα γένη ζῴων (Porph. *V. P.* 19): while Plato indeed went further and derived the souls of all brutes ultimately from those of men, through a process of deterioration, ὥς γὰρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τὰλλα θηρία γενήσονται, ἡπίστατο οἱ συνιστάντες ἡμᾶς (*Tim.* 76D). With regard to individual animals, some thinkers believed that bees contained a divine element (Virg. *Georg.* iv. 219-21), while Democritus and Pliny placed religion among the moral virtues of elephants (*H. N.* viii. 1). But the closest parallels are to be found in Zoroastrianism, to which indeed we should probably trace in some measure the ideas of the text. Thus in the Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13 (Darmesteter) we find an entire chapter dealing with the sacredness of the life of the domesticated dog and the crime of attempting its life—its murderer was to lose his soul to the ninth generation (1-4): with the food that was to be given to it and the penalties entailed by feeding it badly (20-28), which were to range from fifty to two hundred blows with the horse-goad. Nay more, the land, its pastures and crops were to suffer for the unatoned death of the dog, and these plagues were not to be removed till the man who had slain it was slain in turn or had offered sacrifices three days and three nights to the pious soul of the departed dog (54, 55). Finally, the soul of the dog went after death to the source of the waters (51). In the *Midrash Koheleth*, fol. 329, col. 1, we find the following quaint and slightly analogous thought: 'Rabbi Chama, the son of Gorion, said that wolves and unfruitful trees must give account: just as man must give account, so also must unfruitful trees.' Eisenmenger i. 468. It is noteworthy that the ideas of the text have passed over into the creed of the Mohammedans. Thus, according to Sale's note on the sixth chapter of the Koran, irrational animals will be restored to life at the resurrection that they may be brought to judgement and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they had inflicted on each other in this life. Then after they have duly retaliated their several wrongs, God will turn them again to dust (Sale's Koran, Prelim. Discourse, Sect. iv), with the exception of Ezra's ass and the dog of the Seven Sleepers which will enjoy eternal life in Paradise (Koran iii; xviii). Are we to interpret in this manner Orac. Sibyll. viii. 415-18?—

καὶ ὕστερον ἐς κρίσιν ἤξω
κρίνων εὐσεβέων καὶ δυσσεβέων βίον ἀνδρῶν
καὶ κρίων κριῶ καὶ ποιμένι ποιμένα θήσω
καὶ μόσχον μόσχῳ πέλας ἀλλήλων ἐς ἔλεγχον.

Even in Christian times animals were credited with intelligence, conscience, responsibility, as well as with the passions, vices, and virtues of mankind (see *Bestie delinquenti*, D'Addosio, 1892, from which the following facts are taken). They were accordingly solemnly tried, and advocates were assigned at the public expense to them to plead their cause. Thus moles (A. D. 824), a sow (1324), a cock (1474), snails (1487) were duly tried and condemned. They were

A

souls of beasts which the Lord created, till the great judgement, and they will accuse man, if he feed them ill.

Enoch instructs his sons wherefore they may not touch beef because of what comes from it.

59 ¹ Whoever defiles the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

² For man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul.

B

and all souls will accuse the man,

whoever feeds 59 ¹ ill the soul of beast, defiles his own soul.

But he who brings sacrifice of clean beasts, ² cures his own soul, and he who brings an offering of clean birds, cures his own soul.

A

And if they bring for sacrifice clean animals, and birds, man has cure, he cures his soul.

3 All is given you for food, bind it by the four feet, that is to make good the cure, he cures his soul.

4 But whoever kills beast without wound, kills his own soul and defiles his own flesh.

5 And he who does any beast any injury whatsoever, in secret, it is evil practice, and he defiles his own soul.

A

60 ¹ He who does injury to soul of man, does injury to his own soul, and there is no cure for his flesh, nor pardon for all time.

How it is not fitting to kill man neither by weapon nor by tongue.

² He who works the killing of a man's soul, kills his own soul, and kills his own body, and there is no cure for him for all time.

3 He who puts a man in any snare, shall stick in it himself, and there is no cure for him for all time.

4 He who puts a man in any vessel, his retribution will not be wanting at the great judgement for all time.

5 He who works crookedly or speaks evil against any soul, will not make justice for himself for all time.

Enoch instructs his sons to keep themselves from injustice and often to stretch forth hands to the poor, to give a share of their labours.

61 ¹ And now, my children, keep your hearts from every injustice, which the Lord hates. Just as a man asks (*sc.* something) for his own

B

He who does injury to the soul of man, in- 60 ¹ jures his own soul, and there is no cure for him into eternity.

He who puts a man into †paradise†—his 3 judgement shall not be exhausted into eternity.

Now, my children, keep yourselves from every 61 ¹ thing unrighteous, which the Lord hateth, still more from every living soul.

also occasionally subjected to torture, and their cries were regarded as a confession of guilt (*l.c.* p. 46). Even as late as 1531 a book was written by Chassauée to discuss the lawfulness of trying animals judicially, and the legitimate methods of procedure (*l.c.* p. 75).

LIX. 1. Whoever defiles the soul of beast. This refers not to the sin of bestiality, but, as B and 2-4 show, to some unlawful way of sacrificing or slaughtering animals.

2, 3. These verses suggest a date earlier than the destruction of the Temple, A.D. 70.

4. Against strangling beasts.

5. Here bestiality may be meant.

LX. 1. The sin referred to in 1 Thess. iv. 6.

3. Cf. Ps. ix. 15; xxxv. 8; lvii. 6. There is an utter want of proportion between sin and penalty here. †paradise† (B). The text is corrupt but easily emended to give the sense ' (crooked) dealing '.

4. vessel = *sosud*, perhaps a mistake for *sud* = 'judgement', 'lawsuit'.

5. Cf. Ps. ci. 5.

LXI. 1. injustice which the Lord hates. Cf. Jud. v. 17; Sir. xv. 11, 13; 2 En. lxvi. 1. injustice. The same word, *nepravda*, means injustice, untruth, and unrighteousness. Cf. lxvi. 1.

H h

*

A

- 2 soul from God, so let him do to every living soul, because I know all things, how in the great time (*sc.* to come) are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many.
- 3 Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them).

B

Just as man asks (*sc.* something) for his own soul from the Lord, so let him do to every living soul, lest in the great age . . . He has prepared many mansions, very good dwellings, and bad dwellings without number.

Blessed is he who departs into the sweet houses.

A

- 4 Hear, my children, small and great! When man puts a good thought in his heart, brings gifts from his labours before the Lord's face and his hands made them not, then the Lord will turn away his face from the labour of his hand, and he (*sc.* man) cannot find the labour of his hands.
- 5 And if his hands made it, but his heart murmur, and his heart cease not making murmur incessantly, he has not any advantage.

A

Of how it is fitting to bring one's gift with faith, because there is no repentance after death.

- 62 1 Blessed is the man who in his patience brings his gifts with faith before the Lord's face, because he will find forgiveness of sins.

2 But if he take back his words before the time, there is no repentance for him; and if the time pass and he do not of his own will what is promised, there is no repentance after death.

3 Because every work which man does before the time, is all deceit before men, and sin before God.

Of how not to despise the poor, but to share with them equally, lest thou be murmured against before God.

- 63 1 When man clothes the naked and fills the hungry, he will find reward from God.

2 But if his heart murmur, he commits a double evil: ruin of himself and of that which he gives; and for him there will be no finding of reward on account of that.

3 And if his own heart is filled with his food and his own flesh (*sc.* clothed) with his clothing, he commits contempt, and will forfeit all his endurance of poverty, and will not find reward of his good deeds.

4 Every proud and magniloquent man is hateful to the Lord, and every false speech, clothed in untruth; it will be cut with the blade of the sword of death, and thrown into the fire, and shall burn for all time.

B

Blessed is he who in his patience brings a gift before the Lord's face, for he shall find forgiveness of *his* sins.

When a man gives from his mouth terms of time to bring gifts before the Lord's face, doing thus (*sc.* fulfilling his promise) he will find repentance of forgiveness (*sic*). But if the appointed time pass by and he go back on his word he shall receive repentance.

When he covers the naked and gives bread to the hungry, he shall find forgiveness.

But if his heart murmurs, then he makes ruin of his giving of alms.

And if, when he has had his fill, he is contemptuous, then he shall lose all his good deeds, and shall not find (*sc.* forgiveness), for every contemptuous man is hateful to the Lord.

2. many mansions. Cf. 1 En. xxxix. 4, 7, 8; xli. 2; John xiv. 2. good for the good, &c. Sir. xxxix. 25; Sibyll. Or. Fragm. iii. 18-19.

4. The text seems corrupt, and the idea is: it is good to offer gifts to God; but if a man sacrifices to God what is another man's or ill-gotten, God turns away His face from him. Cf. lxvi. 2, and esp. Sir. xxxi. 21-4, 28.

his hands made them not. Cf. Sibyll. Or. viii. 403, 406.

5. Only willing offerers are blessed. Cf. Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5; Prov. xi. 25.

his heart murmur. Cf. lxiii. 2; Deut. xv. 10; Sir. xxxii. 10.

LXII. 1, 2. There is forgiveness if men keep strictly to their vows. B has quite missed the point in ver. 2.

3. before the time. We might expect also 'or after the time'.

LXIII. 1. See ix (notes).

2. See lxi. 5 (note).

4. proud . . . hateful to the Lord. Ps. xviii. 27; ci. 5; Prov. vi. 16, 17.

* cf Golden Rule & Ariseas § 207

A

Of how the Lord calls up Enoch, and people took counsel to go and kiss him at the place called Achuzan.

- 64 1 When Enoch had spoken these words to his sons, all people far and near heard how the Lord was calling Enoch. They took counsel together :
 2 'Let us go and kiss Enoch,' and two thousand men came together and came to the place Achuzan where Enoch was, and his sons.
 3 And the elders of the people, the whole assembly, came and bowed down and began to kiss Enoch and said to him : 'Our father Enoch, be
 4 thou blessed of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy sons and all the people, that we may be glorified to-day before thy face.
 5 For thou shalt be glorified before the Lord's face for all time, since the Lord chose thee, rather than all men on earth, and designated thee writer of all his creation, visible and invisible, and redeemer of the sins of man, and helper of thy household.'

And Enoch answered all his people, saying :

Of Enoch's instruction of his sons.

- 65 1 'Hear, my children, before that all creatures were created, the Lord created the visible and invisible things.
 2 And as much time as there was and went past, understand that after all that he created man in the likeness of his own form, and put into him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to reflect, and intellect wherewith to deliberate.
 3 And the Lord saw all man's works, and created all his creatures, and divided time, from time he fixed the years, and from the years he appointed the months, and from the months he appointed the days, and of days he appointed seven.
 4 And in those he appointed the hours, measured them out exactly, that man might reflect on time and count years, months, and hours, *their* alteration, beginning, and end, and that he might count his own life, from the beginning until death, and reflect on his sin and write his work bad and
 5 good; because no work is hidden before the Lord, that every man might know his works and never transgress all his commandments, and keep my handwriting from generation to generation.
 6 When all creation visible and invisible, as the Lord created it, shall end, then every man goes

B

And it happened, when Enoch had spoken to 64 1 his sons and to the princes of the people, all the people and all those near him heard how the Lord God was calling Enoch. All took counsel together, saying : 'Come, let us kiss Enoch.'

And these came together up to four thousand 2 men, and they came to the place Achuzan, where Enoch was and his sons.

And the elders of the people began to kiss 3 Enoch, saying : 'Blessed art thou of the Lord, the eternal ruler, and now bless thy people, and 4 glorify us before the Lord's face, for the Lord 5 hath chosen thee, and appointed thee the taker away of our sins.' And Enoch said to all the people :

'Hear, my children, before all creation took 65 1 shape, the Lord appointed the age of things created.

Then he created all his creatures visible and invisible.

And then he put together man in his own 2 image, and put into him eyes to see and ears to hear, the heart to reflect and the mind to deliberate.

Then the Lord resolved the age for the sake 3 of man, and divided up the various seasons and years and months and hours, that man might 4 reflect on the changes and end of the seasons, and the beginning and end of the years and the days and the hours, that he might reckon the death of his life.

And when the creation, which the Lord created, 6 shall end, and every man shall go to the Lord's 7 great judgement, then the seasons shall perish, and thenceforward there will be no more years, nor months, nor days, and there will be no more hours thenceforward, nor will they be reckoned, but there shall begin one endless age. 8

And all the righteous shall be collected together in the great age, and age and age of the

LXIV. 5. **writer of all his creation.** See xl. 13 (note) ; liii. 2. **redeemer.** For Enoch as intercessor cf. 1 En. xiii. 4. Contrast 2 En. liii. 1.

LXV. 1. For creation cf. xxiv. 2 (note).

2. **created man . . . heart to reflect.** Cf. Sir. xvii. 3, 5.

4. **count years, &c.** Cf. Wisdom vii. 17-18.

5. Cf. xxxiii. 9 (note).

6. The judgement is to close man's existence on earth. At this judgement all men must appear, but there is nothing here to show that there is a resurrection of the body.

A

- 7 to the great judgement, and then all time shall perish, and the years, and thenceforward there will be neither months nor days nor hours, they will be stuck together and will not be counted.
- 8 There will be one aeon, and all the righteous who shall escape the Lord's great judgement, shall be collected in the great aeon, for the righteous the great aeon will begin, and they will
- 9 live eternally, and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, nor sickness, nor humiliation, nor anxiety, nor need, nor violence, nor night, nor darkness, but great light.
- 10 And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away, and there will be eternal life.

Enoch instructs his sons and all the elders of the people, how they are to walk with terror and trembling before the Lord, and serve him alone and not bow down to idols, but to God, who created heaven and earth and every creature, and †to† his image.

- 66 1 And now, my children, keep your souls from all injustice, such as the Lord hates.

B

righteous shall be collected together, and they shall be eternal and incorruptible.

And thenceforward there shall be no labour 9 amongst them, nor sickness nor humiliation, nor anxiety *nor* need, nor night nor darkness, but great, endless, and indestructible light.

And the great paradise will be their shelter 10 and eternal dwelling-place, and they shall no more bear the injuries (lit. lawlessnesses) of those on earth.

The Lord will send down great destruction on to earth and the earth's whole composition shall perish.

For I know, that this will end in tumult and 11 will perish, only my brother will be preserved on that day, placed in . . . and those of his tribe and the sun.

And now, my children, keep your souls from 66 1 all unrighteousness, such as the Lord hates.

A

- 2 Walk before his face with terror and trembling and serve him alone. Bow down to the true God, not to dumb idols, [but bow down to his picture], and bring all just offerings before the Lord's face. The Lord hates what is unjust.
- 3 For the Lord sees all things; when man takes thought in his heart, then he counsels the intellects, and every thought is always before the Lord, who made firm the earth and put all creatures on it.
- 4 If you look to heaven, the Lord is there; if you take thought of the sea's deep and all the under-earth, the Lord is there.
- 5 For the Lord created all things. Bow not down to things made by man, leaving the Lord of all creation, because no work can remain hidden before the Lord's face.
- 6 Walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty, in provocation, in grief, in faith and in truth, in *reliance on* promises, in illness, in abuse, in wounds, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another, till you go out from this age of ills, that you become inheritors of endless time.
- 7 Blessed are the just who shall escape the great judgement, for they shall shine forth more than
- 8 the sun sevenfold, for in this world the seventh part is taken off from all, light, darkness, food, enjoyment, sorrow, paradise, torture, fire, frost, and other things; he put all down in writing, that you might read and understand.'

7. See xxxiii. 2.

8-9. A blessed immortality.

10. wall. Perhaps the wall that divides Paradise (see ix) from the place of punishment (see x).

11. Sir. xiv. 19.

LXVI. 1. **injustice . . . the Lord hates.** Cf. lxi. 1; Deut. xii. 31; Wisdom xiv. 9.

injustice. Cf. lxvi. 1 (note).

Walk . . . terror and trembling. Cf. Phil. ii. 12; also 2 Cor. vii. 13; Eph. vi. 5.

2. all just offerings. See lxi. 4 (note).

3. sees all things . . . thought in his heart, &c. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Chron. vi. 30; Ps. xciv. 11; Prov. xv. 11; Dan. ii. 30.

4. Partly drawn from Ps. cxxxix. 8-12. Mention of Sheol is omitted here, as it is included in the author's conception of the heavens.

5. no work . . . hidden. Cf. Jer. xvi. 17; Sir. xvii. 15.

6. Cf. Rom. viii. 35; 2 Cor. xi. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4.

7. Cf. lxx. 8.

8. enjoyment, &c. 1 En. lxix. 8.

A

The Lord let out darkness on to earth and covered the people and Enoch, and he was taken up on high, and light came again *in the* heaven.

B

When Enoch had talked to the people, the Lord sent down murk on to the earth, and there was darkness, it covered all the men standing with Enoch.

And the angels hastened and having taken Enoch, they carried him up on to the highest heaven. And he received him, and put him before his face into eternity. And the darkness went off from the earth, and light came again, and all the people saw, and understood not how Enoch had been taken, and glorified God.

And they came to their homes, those who had seen such things. Glory be to our God into eternity. Amen.

A

68 1 Enoch was born on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, and lived three hundred and sixty-five years.

He was taken up to heaven on the first day of the month Tsivan and remained in heaven sixty days. He wrote all these signs of all creation, which the Lord created, and wrote three hundred and sixty-six books, and handed them over to his sons and remained on earth thirty days, and was again taken up to heaven on the sixth day of the month Tsivan, on the very day and hour when he was born. As every man's nature in this life is dark, so are also his conception, birth, and departure from this life. At what hour he was conceived, at that hour he was born, and at that hour too he died.

Methosalam and his brethren, all the sons of Enoch, made haste, and erected an altar at the place called Achuzan, whence and where Enoch had been taken up to heaven.

And they took sacrificial oxen and summoned all people and sacrificed the sacrifice before the Lord's face.

All people, the elders of the people and the whole assembly came to the feast and brought gifts to the sons of Enoch.

And they made a great feast, rejoicing and making merry three days, praising God, who had given them such a sign through Enoch, who had found favour with him, and that they should hand it on to their sons from generation to generation, from age to age. Amen.

LXVII. 2. **highest heaven.** Cf. lxxv. 2 (B). This is an exceptional privilege, as Paradise in the third heaven is the eternal abode of the righteous, lv. 2. In Asc. Is. ix. 7 the future habitation of the righteous is the *seventh* heaven.

LXVIII. A short *résumé* of Enoch's life. Cf. xxiii.

1. **sixty days.** Cf. xxiii. 6 and xxxvi. 1.

5-7. Cf. the fragment of Melchizedekian literature (appended to my Commentary on 2 Enoch) for Methusalem's sacrifice. The place of sacrifice, and here of Enoch's assumption, is called Achuzan in i. 3, but Aruzan in ii. 17.

7. **hand it on, &c.** Cf. xxxiii. 10.

(Charles.)

II BARUCH

I. THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Apocalypse of Baruch, which for the sake of convenience will be designated 2 Baruch in this edition, is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. Its authors were orthodox Jews and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, or to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

This beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close, which under the title 'the Epistle of Baruch' or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible, was lost sight of for quite 1,200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek version, a small fragment has been recovered from the papyri, while many phrases and sentences have been preserved in the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (i. e. 3 Baruch in this edition) and in the Rest of the Words of Baruch (i. e. 4 Baruch). Happily the Syriac has come down to us in its entirety in a sixth-century MS., the discovery of which is due to Ceriani. Of this MS. Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

This Apocalypse is, as has already been stated, composite. The editor has made use of a number of independent writings, belonging to various dates between 50 and 90 A. D. They are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings, and furnish records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs of that period, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work 4 Ezra. This latter work, which forms in fact an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers, and thus, in due course, our Apocalypse was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

§ 2. THE VARIOUS BOOKS OF BARUCH.

1° The Book of Baruch in the LXX (i. e. 1 Baruch). On the probability that i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, i. e. 'the Letter to the Two and a Half Tribes', see § 8. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and 1 Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both:

INTRODUCTION

2 BARUCH.

- i. 1.
- x. 16.
- lix. 7.
- lxxvii. 10.
- lxxviii. 7.
- lxxix. 2.
- lxxx. 5.
- lxxxiv. 2-5.
- lxxxvi. 1, 2.

1 BARUCH.

- i. 3.
- iv. 10, 14.
- iii. 12.
- ii. 26.
- iv. 36, 37 (v. 6, 7).
- i. 17, 18.
- ii. 13.
- i. 19; ii. 2.
- i. 14.

2° 2 Baruch or the present Apocalypse.

3° 3 Baruch or the Greek Apocalypse—a work of the second century, which is dealt with fully in its proper place in this volume. On some points of connexion between this and the preceding work see my Commentary on *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. xxi. sq.

4° 4 Baruch or the Rest of the Words of Baruch. The book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It is in part a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title 'Paralipomena Jeremiae' in his *Mon. Sacr.* v. 11-18, and has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible, and was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1886. But as these MSS. are inferior, a new edition is needed, which will take account of the Greek MSS. as well as of the Ethiopic—there are eight still uncollated of the latter in the British Museum—and also of the Jewish matter underlying the book.

5° A Gnostic Book of Baruch is drawn upon in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena*, v. 24-7.

6° A Latin Book of Baruch is quoted in an MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29, which is clearly based on our Apocalypse.

7° Another Book of Baruch is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*, published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. I, Heft 3, 1883), but so far as the quotation goes, this book has no connexion with our Apocalypse.

§ 3. THE SYRIAC MSS.

For chapters i-lxxvii we have only one MS. This MS.—designated *c* in my edition—was found in the library in Milan. It belongs to the sixth century. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from the MS. in his *Mon. Sacr. et Prof.* V. ii. 113-80. Of chapters lxxviii-lxxxvi, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and three of them, *a*, *b*, *d*, were collated by Ceriani. In 1871 Fritzsche attempted to form a text on the basis of these four MSS. through the medium of an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation in his *Libri Apocryphi V. T. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690-9.

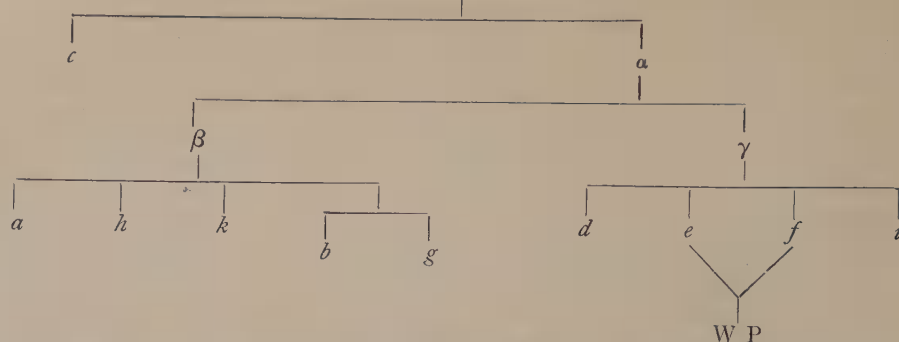
The present writer edited the Syriac text of these chapters in his edition of the Apocalypse of Baruch, 1896, in which he made use of the following MSS.

- a* Called A in Ceriani. See p. 167 note.
- b* Add. 17105 Brit. Mus., ff. 116^a-121^a. Sixth century.
- c* Milan MS., ff. 265^b-267^b. Sixth century.
- d* Cod. Ambrosianus A 145.
- e* No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 430-432. A. D. 1627.
- f* Egerton 705, Brit. Mus., ff. 373^a-374^a. Seventeenth century.
- g* Add. 12172 Brit. Mus., ff. 192^b-195^b. Tenth or Twelfth century.
- h* Add. 18715 Brit. Mus., ff. 242^b-244^a. Twelfth century.
- i* No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 492-493. A. D. 1614.
- k* No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, ff. 37-38.

Of these ten *befghik* were collated directly by the present writer. In addition to these he found excerpts from the Epistle in *l* = Add. 12178, Brit. Mus., f. 111^b (ninth or tenth century), in *m* = 14482 Brit. Mus., ff. 47^b-48^a (eleventh or twelfth century), and in *n*, 14684 Brit. Mus., f. 24 (twelfth century). Finally the readings of the Walton and Paris Polyglots were taken account of. As a result of a critical study of these authorities I arrived at certain definite results. Thus while *c* represents one type of text, *abdefghiklmn* represent another—say *a*. The latter again fall into two classes *abghk* (=β) being more trustworthy than *defi* (=γ). The originals of these three classes, *a*, β, γ, have been lost, but they are helpful in showing the interrelations of our authorities. The results finally arrived at (see my edition, pp. xxii-xxx) can best be represented in the following table:

II BARUCH

Original Syriac Translation



Here W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the two great polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars had hitherto been in the dark in this respect.

§ 4. DATE OF THE SYRIAC VERSION.

Since the MSS. *c* and *b* referred to in the preceding section both belong to the sixth century, we find that at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c*, or even than *a h*. In fact *a h* represent the text at an earlier stage than *b*. The common parent *a b h* therefore, i.e. *β*, could not be later than the fifth century. Since, therefore, *β* belongs at latest to the fifth century, the common progenitor of *c* and *a* (= the parent of *β* and *γ*) can hardly be sought later than the fourth century. It may be as early as the third.

§ 5. THE SYRIAC—A TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK.—*The Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment*, xii-xiv. 3.

The Syriac Version is a translation from the Greek. The conclusion was already arrived at before the discovery of the Greek fragment of Grenfell and Hunt. 1° For it is so stated in *c*. 2° There are certain corruptions in the text which are only explicable on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or found the corruption already existing there. The corrupt readings in iii. 7, xxi. 9, II, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle. 3° There are frequent transliterations of Greek words as in vi. 4; x. 17; xvii. 4, &c. 4° The Rest of the Words of Baruch preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

All the above facts and more (see my edition, p. xlii sq.) were known when Grenfell and Hunt discovered an actual fragment of the Greek Version, which they published in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. 3-7. The papyrus is part of a leaf from a book, and is written in a large slightly sloping uncial hand—possibly as early as the fourth century, and probably not later than the fifth.

This fragment embraces xii. 1-5, xiii. 1-2, II-12, xiv. 1-3. I have printed this fragment and an English translation of it in parallel columns with the Syriac. The text is *poor and defective*. In xiv. 2 it read *μαρτυρήσαντες*, but this was by a later hand rightly corrected into *ἀμαρτήσαντες* as we find in the Syriac. Again in xiv. 1 'shall be endured by the Gentiles' is corrupt for 'shall come upon the Gentiles'. Here the papyrus reads *ὑπενεχθήσεται* which seems corrupt for *ἐπενεχθήσεται*. At all events the phrase in the Syriac is exactly the same in xiii. 5, 'retribution which is coming upon' and in xiv. 1 'the retribution . . . shall come upon'. In xii. 3 the parallelism which is preserved in the Syriac is wholly lost. 'Condemn' cannot be right, if originally there was any parallelism. The fact that the parallelism is preserved in both Greek and Syriac in xii. 2 is in favour that the Syriac has rightly preserved it in xii. 3.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

Previous to my edition of Baruch in 1896 an unbroken unanimity prevailed among scholars on the question of a Greek original. Since the discovery of the book by Ceriani not a single serious attempt had been made to grapple with this problem, and yet in nearly every instance scholars spoke with an assurance on the subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could have justified. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance

INTRODUCTION

during the years in which I was engaged in the preparation of the work which was published in 1896. The necessity for postulating a Hebrew original which was first shown in this work was subsequently maintained by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234), Ryssel (*Apok. und Pseudepigr. A. T.*, 1900, ii. 411), and Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* ii. 555). As regards the grounds for this conclusion, I will here be as brief as possible, and adduce only the following. 1°. What is true of 4 Ezra the sister work, which was written in Hebrew, is true also of our Apocalypse. 2°. The quotations from the Old Testament agree with the Massoretic text except in one case. 3°. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 4°. Many passages in the book have been preserved in Talmudic and Rabbinic writings. 5°. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.

1°. It is now an accepted view that 4 Ezra was written in Hebrew. Since the two books show in nearly every respect the closest affinities it may provisionally be accepted that as the former is derived from a Hebrew original so also is the latter. In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896 I pointed out (p. lxxii) the necessity of assuming a Hebrew original for 4 Ezra. In the same year Wellhausen (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, pp. 12-13) insisted on the same necessity, and demonstrated this necessity in his *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. 234-40, 1899.

2°. See my edition, pp. xlv sq., 169.

3°. In xv. 8 there are two paronomasiae. Thus 'Labour with much trouble' = עמל באון and 'crown with great glory' = עטרה בתפארה (see notes *in loc.*).

But these need not necessarily postulate a Hebrew original; the following cases undoubtedly do. Thus in xxi. 14 (see note for the Hebrew) we have a stanza of three lines, each line of which contains a rhyme within it. The writer is so fond of the last of these that he repeats it exactly in xlviii. 35 and partially in lxxxiii. 12. In xlviii. 35 we have another and still more remarkable instance of paronomasia. In this stanza there are three lines, the first, second, and fourth of which respectively contain this rhyming or alliterative character, but not the third. But even a cursory examination makes it clear that the third line is corrupt. It is against the parallelism and structure of the adjoining three lines. In the notes on the passage the reader will find an attempt to restore the original text, in which a paronomasia is recovered and also a parallelism in sense and structure with the adjoining lines. Again, in lxiii. 3, 4 there were undoubtedly plays in the Hebrew on the names of Hezekiah and Sennacherib. There is probably another instance of this play on words in lxxxiii. 10, certainly in lxxxiii. 14, and possibly in lxxxiv. 2.

The above evidence is of a very convincing character.

4°. Many sections of our book have exact parallels in the Talmudic and Rabbinic writings. Thus in ii. 1-2 Jeremiah is bidden to leave Jerusalem (implicitly) on the ground that it could not be destroyed so long as Jeremiah was in it. This is explicitly stated in Pesikta r. c. 26 (131a ed. Friedmann). On the interpolated passage on the heavenly Temple cf. Sakka 41a, Taanith 5a. The account of the destruction of Jerusalem, vi-viii, is substantiated at times verbally by Pesikta r. (*loc. cit.*). The poetical incident in x. 18 is recounted as a literal fact in Taanith 29a, Lev. r. xix. 6; Pesikta v. 26. See note *in loc.* With the marvel of the burning of the bodies of the host of Sennacherib, lxiii. 8, cf. Sanh. 94a, while the legend of the brazen horse, lxiv. 8, is found in Pesikta Rab Kahana, xxv. 162. See Ginzberg in *Jew. Encyc.* ii. 553.

5°. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. We have here the clinching evidence of a Hebrew original. First of all in the following five passages xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7 I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιούσθαι, and this in turn of צדק. Now צדק can mean either δικαιούσθαι or δίκαιος εἶναι. In the five passages above cited the context can admit only of the latter meaning; but the translator, who was probably a Christian and therefore influenced by the Christian doctrine of justification, wrongly adopted the former rendering. Ryssel has accepted without acknowledgement my restoration of these five passages.

Next in vi. 7 'ephod' is undoubtedly corrupt for 'ark' (see note). The corruption can have arisen either in the Hebrew or even in the Syriac, i.e. אֲרֹן corrupt for אֶפֶד, but the former is more likely.

In xxi. 22 the text can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew. See note. In xlv. 12 we arrive at a very interesting restoration, which Ryssel adopts without acknowledgement. In the Syriac the phrase 'on its beginning' is set over against 'to torment' as its antithesis. Here the context requires 'to its blessedness'. Now the Syriac = בְּרָאשׁוֹ, which is obviously a corruption of בְּאַשְׁרֵה = 'to its blessedness'. In lvi. 6 'boasting' is out of place, enumerated as it is along with

II BARUCH

'untimely death', 'grief and anguish', 'pain', 'trouble', and 'Sheol'. The word = *καύχημα* = תהלה, which seems corrupt for מחלה, 'disease'. In lxx. 6 the text reads: 'some . . . shall be hindered.' But the parallelism requires a strong expression. Now 'shall be hindered' = *κωλυθήσονται* = יכלאו, corrupt for יכלו — 'shall be consumed'. These two verbs are often confused in Hebrew.

Finally, in lxxx. 2, it is said that the sacred vessels of the Temple were hidden 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy'. But this clause can hardly be right; for lxxx is simply a concise reproduction of vi-viii. Now in vi. 8 the real reason for the concealment of these vessels is given, i. e. 'that strangers may not get possession of them'. Furthermore, the vessels were put away with a view to their use in the restored Temple, vi. 7-10. Now if we retranslate the words, 'lest any should be polluted by the enemy', we have *פן יחלו מאויבים* פן, which is an easy corruption of *פן ינחלום אויבים* 'lest the enemy get possession of them'.

§ 7. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN 2 BARUCH.

The composite nature of this book was first recognized by Kabisch in 1891 and the following year by De Faye, and subsequently by the present writer in 1896 and by Beer in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*³ art. 'Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments', p. 250. A short summary of the grounds on which it seems necessary to postulate a diversity of authorship may here be given. If we disregard the letter to the tribes in captivity (lxxviii-lxxxvi), the book falls naturally into seven sections separated by fasts, save in one case (after xxxv) where the text is probably defective. These sections, which are of unequal length, are (1) i-v. 6; (2) v. 7-viii; (3) ix-xii. 4; (4) xii. 5-xx; (5) xxi-xxxv; (6) xxxvi-xlvi; (7) xlvii-lxxvii. These treat of the Messiah and of the Messianic kingdom, the woes of Israel in the past and the destruction of Jerusalem in the present, as well as of theological questions which were debated in the schools, relating to original sin, free-will, works, the number of the saved, the nature of the resurrection body, &c. The views expressed on these subjects are often conflicting. In one class of passages there is everywhere a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix; xxxix-xl; lxxiii-lxxiv), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish flee away: when strife and hatred shall vanish and gladness march throughout the earth, when childbirth shall entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely, when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix-xl; lxx. 7-lxxii) and God's own people enjoy a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii-lxxiv). Over against these passages stand others of a hopelessly pessimistic character, wherein, alike as to Israel's present and future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save 'lamentation and mourning and woe'. The world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its strength exhausted; the ship is already come to the port and life to its consummation (lxxxv). The advent of the new and spiritual world is at hand (xxi. 19; xlv. 9-15; lxxxv). The first to draw attention to the conflicting elements in our book was, as I have already remarked, Kabisch in the *Fahrbücher für protest. Theol.*, 1891, pp. 66-107. Kabisch shows that we have in Baruch a measureless pessimism and world despair on the one hand, and on the other a vigorous optimism and world-joy. He further points out that the same subjects are treated several times and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold and the Messianic woes as often depicted. On these and other grounds he derives the book from three or four authors. He distinguishes as the groundwork i-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-xxxiv; xli-lii; lxxv-lxxxvii written subsequently to A. D. 70 and saturated throughout by the pessimistic temper already referred to. But in this groundwork the order of the text was according to Kabisch originally different; i. e. i-xx, xxxi. 1-xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5-xxxiv, xxi. 1-xxiv. 2, xxx. 2-5, xli-lii. 7, lxxv, lxxvii-lxxxvii. In the remaining sections of the book there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism that looks for a Messianic kingdom of sensuous delights. These sections which are prior to A. D. 70 are the work of three writers, i. e. the Vine and Cedar Vision xxxvi-xl, the Cloud Vision liii-lxxiv, which are preserved unutilated, and the third a fragmentary Apocalypse xxiv. 3-xxix. Finally these different writings were incorporated into one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5, xxx. 1, xxxii. 2-4, xxxv, lxxvi. 1. This analysis of Kabisch is good in regard to the separate visions, but his so-called groundwork is as composite as the whole work is composite. The problem is far more complex than Kabisch conceived it.

¹ See my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. liii-lxv.

INTRODUCTION

It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached independently at about the same date by a French scholar, De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-8, 76-103, 192-204. De Faye like Kabisch distinguishes xxxvi-xl and liii-lxxv as distinct works written before A. D. 70. The rest of his conclusions are less satisfactory. i-xxxii. 6 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after A. D. 70; i-v and vi-xxxii. 6, however, being originally derived from two different authors. Another distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, i. e. xlviii-lii, xliii. 1-2, lxxvi. 1-4, written after A. D. 70, xxxii. 7-xxxv, xli-xlvii. 2, lxxvi. 5-lxxxvii are for the most part the work of the final editor, but xlv. 9-15, xlvii. 7 was due to a Christian reviser. On the whole this analysis is less convincing than that of Kabisch.

Since the above solutions of the complex problems before us are inadequate, the present writer addressed himself afresh to the task in 1895-6. From the conclusions then arrived at he has seen no good ground for departing save in a few minor points.

With Kabisch and De Faye I recognize the fact that two distinct types of documents are present in our book, the one of an optimistic character as to Israel's future on Earth and the other of a pessimistic character in this respect. To the former type I assign the three Messianic Apocalypses xxvii-xxx. 1; xxxvi-xl; liii-lxxiv, which for convenience' sake I designate A¹, A², A³, and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch B¹. In the remaining sections are B², B³, the contents of which we shall determine presently, the doctrine of a Messianic kingdom is absolutely relinquished.

Different documents behind the Text. Thus A¹, A², A³, B¹ agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future and inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom: whereas in B², B³ the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world. (For details see my edition pp. 49, 61, 87, 68-69, 119, 140.)

But at this point a difference between A¹, A², A³ and B¹ emerges. The former look for a Messiah at the head of the kingdom, but B¹ for a kingdom without the Messiah.

Their relative dates. As we pursue our study we discover further that: 1° In A¹, A², A³ Jerusalem is still standing—hence they were written before A. D. 70; whereas in B¹, B², B³ it is already destroyed (though in B¹ it is to be restored): 2° In A¹, A², A³, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B¹, B², B³, they are already in exile. In B¹ they are ultimately to be restored.

Facts confirming the above conclusions. A cursory examination of the books reveals the scheme of the final editor. According to this scheme the book was divided into seven sections separated by six fasts. Each of the last six of these sections thus opens with or is preceded by a fast: cp. v. 7, ix. 2, xii. 5, xxi. 1, (mention of fifth fast which should occur after xxxv is lost), xlvii. 2. In each section a definite movement or order of events is observed. This order briefly is: *first a fast, then a divine command or revelation and finally the publication of the command or matter revealed unless accompanied by a prohibition to do so as in xx. 3.* In some cases a prayer follows the fast xxi. 3, xlviii. 1, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure x. 6 (see the notes in my edition pp. 1, 9, 13, 36, 61). This being so, it is significant that in the addresses on xxxi. 2-xxxiv, xlv. 4-6, lxxvii. 1-17 there is not a single reference to the Messianic Apocalypses A¹, A², A³. From this it follows that A¹, A², A³ have no real organic connexion with the rest of the book B¹, B², B³. Their removal serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see my edition xxx. 2 note, xli note, lxxv-lxxvi note).

The relations of A¹, A², A³ to each other. A¹ is of distinct authorship from A² and A³; for whereas in A¹ the Messiah pursues a passive rôle and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established, in A², A³ it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the kingdom. A² and A³ though differing in some respects may come from the same author. All three Apocalypses were written before A. D. 70.

The relations of B¹, B², B³ to each other. Since B³ consists of a single chapter we shall deal with it first.

B³ = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B¹, B² in being written after A. D. 70; but differs from B¹ and agrees with B² in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But again it differs from B² also, in that B² was written in Jerusalem or Judaea, whereas B³ was written in Babylon or some other land of the dispersion, lxxxv. 3—in the former most probably; for it was written in Hebrew. Again whereas, according to B², Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them, lxxx. 1, 2. Thus B³ is a fragment written in Hebrew after A. D. 70 by an exile probably in Babylon.

B¹ B²—*their extent and characteristics.* Even the elimination of the preceding sections does not leave a coherent whole as we have already seen. Thus i-ix. 1, xxxii. 2-4, xliii-xlv. 7, xlv-xlvii,

II BARUCH

lxxvii-lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi sq. (= B¹) are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas x-xxv, xxx. 2-xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5-xxxv, xli sq., xlv. 8-15, xlvii-lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii (= B²) are decidedly of an opposite character. But the differences are not only of a general but of a detailed character. Thus in B¹ the dispersion is to return, lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, but in B² no such restoration is expected. In B¹ the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, i. 4, vi. 9, xxxii. 2-4, lxxviii. 7 (see notes in my edition), but not in B²: cf. x. 10, xx. 2. In B¹ Baruch is to die an ordinary death, xlv. 2, xlviii. 30, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, but to be translated in B² xiii. 3, xxv. 1, lxxvi. 2. In B¹ Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, lxxvii. 12, but in B² he is sent, x. 2, xxxiii. 2. In B¹ Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast, vii. 1, lxxx. 3, but this idea is foreign to A³: cf. lxvii. 6-7, and appears to be so to B² as it was to 4 Ezra iv. 30 and the Ass. Mosis iii. 2. Finally though the Law is valued in B¹, it is extravagantly glorified in B². See note on xv. 5 in my edition.

The final editor's use of B¹ and B². From B¹ the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, as will be seen by referring to the preceding paragraph. But this is not the case with B². This source the editor mutilated and transposed in a fashion that appears quite incredible to the ordinary reader. But the serious student cannot ignore the present hopeless order of xiii-xxv. In these chapters the original text has been frequently transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions are frequently recorded after their specific answers have already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they have no conceivable meaning. On the note on xiii-xxv the question is treated with sufficient fullness for our present contention, and as a result of the facts and deductions there given we might restore provisionally the order of x-xxv as follows: x-xiii. 1-3^a, xx, xxiv. 2-4, xiii. 3^b-12, xxv, xiv-xix, xxi-xxiv. 1.

As regards the remaining sections of B², they appear to have received the same drastic treatment from the editor as the earlier chapters. Thus the gist of xxxi-xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, consists of three themes. These should of course have been dealt with in a preceding revelation, since the subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation: cf. v. 5, x. 4. But the themes on which Baruch discourses in xxxi-xxxii. 6 are not made the subject of revelation till later. See note on xxxi-xxxv, where it is shown that xlii. 6-8, xlviii. 22-24, 38-41, 49, lii. 3, 8-9, 16 are presupposed by xxxi-xxxii. 6. Again, liv. 16-18 is clearly in its wrong context and likewise xlviii. 48-50, lii. 5-7. These passages seem to belong to an address of Baruch to the people: they form a direct address to the wicked and could not therefore occur in a prayer of Baruch to God. In every case, too, they break the sense of the context. We cannot enter here into the many other dislocations which the original document B² underwent at the hands of the final editor. The reader will find some of these treated in the notes that follow. For a full treatment of the question he can consult my edition pp. lxi sqq. and the notes referred to there.

As a result of the above criticism we may provisionally restore the original order of the source B² as follows: x-xiii. 3^a, xx, xxiv. 2-4, xiii. 3^b-12, xxv, xiv-xix, xxi-xxiv. 1, xxx. 2-5, xli. sq., xlviii. 1-47, xlix-lii. 3, lxxv, xxxi-xxxii. 1, 5-6, liv. 17, 18, xlviii. 48-50, lii. 5-7, liv. 16, xlv. 8-15, lxxxiii, xxxii. 7-xxxv, lxxvi.

The solution here offered seems extremely complex, but since the problem is almost incredibly complex, the solution cannot be a simple or obvious one. Further investigation will no doubt modify some of the above conclusions, but I know of no study since my edition in 1896 that gives adequate grounds for any serious departure from the above analysis.

§ 8. THE LOST EPISTLE TO THE TWO AND A HALF TRIBES.

In my edition of 2 Baruch in 1896, pp. lxxv-lxxvii, I advanced the hypothesis, which is now steadily gaining acceptance, that a portion of the lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes, which is referred to in lxxvii. 12, 17, 19, has been preserved in 1 Baruch i. 1-3, iii. 9-iv. 29. The lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). So was 1 Bar. iii. 9-iv. 29. The lost Epistle was 'an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings' (lxxvi. 12). So, too, is 1 Bar. iii. 9-iv. 29. The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return and was written by Baruch to Babylon. So, too, was 1 Bar. iii. 9-iv. 29. For the enforcement of these and other grounds for the identification of the lost Epistle, see my edition as referred to above.

§ 9. THE RELATIONS OF 2 BARUCH AND 4 EZRA.

The affinities of our Apocrypha and 4 Ezra are so numerous (see my edition of the former, pp. 170-1, for some sixty-six passages with such affinities) that Ewald and Ryle assumed identity of authorship. But their points of divergence are so weighty (*op. cit.* pp. lxi-lxxi) that this view

INTRODUCTION

cannot be sustained. Three conclusions remain open according as we assume the integrity or compositeness of these books. If on the one hand we assume unity of authorship, either 2 Baruch is earlier or later than 4 Ezra. According to Schürer, Bissell, Thomson, Deane, Kabisch, De Faye, Clemen, Wellhausen, 2 Baruch is the earlier, while Langen, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Dillmann, Rosenthal, Gunkel are just as strongly convinced that it is the later. Moreover, the arguments of the one side are just as weighty as the counter arguments of the other, and beyond this *impasse* it is impossible, in my opinion, for criticism to advance, until it recognizes the composite nature of both books. The subject cannot be discussed here. The reader can consult an attempt to deal with the chronological relations of the various constituents of the two books in my edition of 2 Baruch, pp. lxxii-lxxvi. See also Box's edition of 4 Ezra, which is about to be published, as well as his Introduction to 4 Ezra in the present volume.

§ 10. THEOLOGY.

This book presents a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years A.D. 50-100. As it was written at different dates and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems.

Original Sin and Free-will. Sin in 2 Baruch is the conscious and deliberate breach of the law, xv. 5-9, xix. 1-2. Man does not fall inevitably into it; for he does not possess a *cor malignum* as in 4 Ezra. Jeremiah is 'pure from sin', ix. 1.

Sin, then, being a conscious breach of law, it began with Adam's transgression. Adam is the starting-point as in 2 Enoch, whereas in 1 Enoch and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned. When Adam fell, his name became symbolical for the power of darkness opposing the power of light, which is the law, xviii. 1-2.

On the fall of Adam certain consequences followed. (a) First of all, *physical death*. In B², i.e. xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. This conditional immortality of man appears also in 1 Enoch lxix. 11, Wisdom i. 13, 14, 2 Enoch xxx. 16, 17, 4 Ezra iii. 7. But in A³, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death. (b) *Psychical and physical declension*. This consequence appears in many passages but most clearly in lvi. 6, where trouble and anguish, disease and death, sensual passion and the begetting of children are traced to it.

'For when he transgressed
Untimely deaths came into being :
Grief was named,
And anguish prepared :
And pain was created,
And trouble consummated :
And disease began to be established,
And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood :
And the begetting of children was brought about,
And the passion of parents produced :
And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
And goodness languished.'

(c) *Spiritual evil* in that man became a danger to himself, lvi. 10, and to the angels, lvi. 10. In the former passage the text states shortly that man 'became a danger to his own soul'. This fact, therefore, that man henceforth became his own worst enemy, implies that by the Fall a hereditary tendency to evil was established in man. In one passage only does spiritual death appear to be traced to Adam, i.e. in xlviii. 42 sq., but even there it does not follow as an inevitable consequence.

Notwithstanding the above penalties that followed on the Fall, man according to 2 Baruch preserves his free-will, his moral nature remains unimpaired, and the spiritual consequences of Adam's Fall are in the main limited to Adam himself, liv. 15, 19.

'For though Adam first sinned
And brought untimely death upon all,
Yet of those who were born from him
Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
Adam is, therefore, not the cause, save only of his own soul,
But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.'

II BARUCH

Thus man remained the captain of his own soul and therefore of his destiny. The issues of right and wrong are placed before him and the power of choice remains in his keeping, xix. 1, 3.

“Behold I have placed before you life and death,”
And he called heaven and earth to witness against them . . .
But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
Though they knew they had the Law reproving (them),
And the light in which nothing could err,
Also the spheres which testify, and Me.’

‘The lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness’, lix. 2: even from the Gentiles the needful knowledge was not withheld and their conscience testified to their guilt: only their pride withheld from them a knowledge of the law. Hence the choice of evil on man’s part is deliberate, li. 16.

‘For then they chose <not> for themselves this time,
Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away:
But they chose for themselves that time,
Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils . . .
So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.’

Thus in 2 Baruch there is no doctrine of inherited guilt or of total depravity. This differs wholly from the Pauline doctrine. In the latter owing to the Fall man is henceforth dominated by original sin, which makes his fulfilment of the law and therefore his realization of righteousness impossible. He is not, indeed, thereby robbed wholly of free-will, but retains it in a degree just sufficient to justify his condemnation.

The Law. This book is of a strongly Pharisaic character. The writers are assured of their power to fulfil the law, and the self-complacency of Baruch xiii. 3, xxv. 1, xliii. 1 stands out in strong contrast with the self-depreciation that marks 4 Ezra. The importance of the law is emphasized iii. 6, xv. 5. It was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre, and, in proportion the more one is emphasized, the more the other falls into the background. Thus in B¹ *where the restoration of Ferusalem is looked for but no Messiah*, the law is spoken of as follows: God gave the law to Israel, lxxvii. 3; for transgressing it they were sent into exile, lxxxiv. 2; but let not Israel withdraw from the law, xlv. 23, but obey it, xlv. 5; let them remember it, lxxxiv. 8; for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion, xlv. 7, and a son of the law shall never be wanting, xlv. 4, nor a lamp nor a shepherd, lxxvii. 16. In B² *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Ferusalem*, the law is still further glorified. It will protect those who receive it in their hearts, xxxii. 1, xlviii. 24; by it they will be justified, li. 3; in it will be the hope of the righteous, li. 7; the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall, xlviii. 22, 24. They have received one law from One, xlviii. 24. For further treatment of this question see my edition of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. lxix, 26–31, 63–4.

Here we have decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra on the other hand man trembles before the law: he needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned, viii. 35: it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works, vii. 77, or the divine compassion, vii. 139.

Works and justification. In our apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works, li. 7, and their righteousness is of the law, lxvii. 6. In the consciousness of their justification by the law, li. 3, they can with confidence approach God, and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust, lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2, and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope, xiv. 12. But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving effects. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people, ii. 2, and after death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit, xiv. 7, lxxxiv. 10.

The Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom. The hope of a Messiah is entertained only in A¹, A², A³, the hope of the Kingdom without a Messiah in B¹, which sections were written before A.D. 70. Since the chief characteristics of these sections have been dealt with in this respect in § 7, we shall touch only briefly upon them. The kingdom of the Messiah is not like that of the centuries preceding 100 B.C., which was to last for ever. According to this Apocalypse the whole present world belongs to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom. It forms the end of the world of corruption, xl. 3, and the beginning of the world of incorruption, lxxiv. 2. Although of temporary duration it is the Golden Age, lxxiii. 1, 2, 7.

INTRODUCTION

1. 'And it shall come to pass when he has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed
And rest shall appear.
 2. And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth . . .
 7. And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.
- lxxiv. 1. And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build toiled,
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.'

At the close of this temporary kingdom the Messiah will return to heaven and the righteous shall rise to a blessed life, xxx. 1. Then shall the righteous receive their promised reward, lix. 2, and enjoy the glories to come, liv. 15, but the unrighteous shall be cast into the torment of fire, liv. 14, lv. 7, lix. 2, 10.

In the other sections, B², B³ written after A.D. 70, no period of earthly blessedness is looked for; the hope of a kingdom of righteousness on earth is abandoned wholly. An extreme note of despair as to this world marks both these sections but especially B³ (i.e. lxxxv), which was written in exile: cp. lxxxv. 2. According to this latter writer (lxxxv. 10):

'The youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted . . .
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port:
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.'

Resurrection. In xlix. 2–li a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my edition of this book, pp. 83–4, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35–50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism. In Judaism the same physical body was resuscitated and transformed; in the Pauline teaching, the two bodies were wholly unconnected except in so far as they were the successive organs of the spirit in the material and spiritual worlds. They were so far from being identical in any respect that it was not till the physical body was destroyed that the spiritual body could be assumed. There is no transformation of dead or resuscitated bodies in the Pauline teaching: only of bodies of the faithful who should be alive at the Parousia.

§ II. RELATION OF THE APOCALYPSE WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

NEW TESTAMENT.	PARALLELS IN OUR APOCALYPSE.	PROBABLE SOURCE OF BOTH.
Matt. iii. 16: Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1: Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Matt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5; John xii. 28): A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1; xxii. 1: A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Matt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1–4.
Matt. xxiv. 7 (Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11): Famines and . . . earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 11, 24: Many false prophets.	xlvi. 34 (see note).	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Matt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Matt. xxvi. 24: It had been good for that man, &c.	x. 6: Blessed is he who was not born, &c.	A Jewish commonplace.

II BARUCH

NEW TESTAMENT.	PARALLELS IN OUR APOCALYPSE.	PROBABLE SOURCE OF BOTH.
Matt. xxiv. 27: For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man.	liii. 9: Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolizes the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36: Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	i Enoch civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7): Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7: My redemption has drawn nigh.	i Enoch li. 2.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a 'yoke'; cp. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3: The yoke of Thy law.	A current expression.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlvi. 40 (see note).	A Jewish commonplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17): The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory, &c.	xv. 8: This world is to them . . . a labour with much trouble . . . and that . . . which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish commonplace.
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxiii. 3.	i Enoch ix. 5.
2 Cor. iii. 18: Reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.	li. 10: And they shall be made like unto the angels, . . . and they shall be changed . . . from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory.	
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish commonplace
1 Tim. i. 2: Mercy and peace.	lxxviii. 2: Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Pet. iii. 13 (Matt. xix. 28; Rev. xxi. 1): New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6: Renew His creation.	Isa. lxxv. 17.
Rev. xx. 12: The books were opened.	xxiv. 1: The books shall be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source:—

NEW TESTAMENT.	PARALLELS IN OUR APOCALYPSE.
Matt. xvi. 26: For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?	li. 15: For what then have men lost their life and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?
Luke i. 43: Blessed art thou among women, &c.	liv. 10: Blessed be my mother among those that bear, &c. (probably interpolated).
1 Cor. xv. 19: If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.	xxi. 13: For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.
1 Cor. xv. 35: How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?	xlx. 2: In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
James i. 2: Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.	lii. 6: Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.
Rev. iv. 6: In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.	li. 11: The living creatures that are beneath the throne.

§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For a full bibliography see Charles' *Apocalypse of Baruch* with short criticisms of the various works, and Schürer, *in loc.*

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THE SYRIAC VERSION. The entire version in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, V. ii. 113-80, from one MS. c; chapters lxxviii-lxxxvi. 1-2, the Epistle of Baruch, in the London and Paris Polyglots; Lagarde's *Libri Vet. Test. Syriace*, 88-93, 1861, from one MS.; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 125-67, from ten MSS.

(b) MODERN TRANSLATIONS. Into Latin by Ceriani, *op. cit.*, I. ii. 73-98, 1866; into English by Charles, *op. cit.*; in German by Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 413-46.

(c) CRITICAL INQUIRIES. Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch*, 1867; Hilgenfeld, *Messias Iudaeorum*, 63-4, 1869; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 190-6, 1879; Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher*, 72-103, 1885; Kabisch, 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs,' *Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.*, 66-107, 1891; De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 25-8, 76-103, 192-204, 1892; Ryle, *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, i. 361-2; Ginzberg in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ii. 554-6, 1902, a very valuable article.

(d) Edition of the book. Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896.

THE BOOK OF THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH

[Translated from the Greek into Syriac.]

I—IV. 1. *Announcement of the coming Destruction of Jerusalem to Baruch.*

- 1¹ And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, king of Judah, that the word of the Lord ^{i-ix. 1}
 2 came to Baruch, the son of Neriah, and said to him: 'Hast thou seen all that this people are doing = B¹
 to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of)
 3 the ten tribes which were carried away captive? For the former tribes were forced by their kings
 to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit
 4 sin. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it shall be
 removed from before Me for a time, and I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they
 may do good to the Gentiles. And My people shall be chastened, and the time shall come when
 they will seek for the prosperity of their times.
- 2¹ For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst bid Jeremiah, and all those that are like
 you, to retire from this city.
 2 For your works are to this city as a firm pillar,
 And your prayers as a strong wall.'

THE FIRST SECTION. I-V. 6. The first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts, generally lasting seven days. See v. 7, note; ix, note.

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem (i); Baruch is to bid Jeremiah to withdraw (ii); Baruch then asks, Will this destruction be final? will chaos return? (iii); God answers that the punishment is temporary (iv. 1). Yet even so, Baruch rejoins, The enemy will boast before their idols over God's own nation (v. 1). Not so, God replies, the heathen will have no cause to glory, as it is not they who will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch assembles the people, and delivers the message (v. 5).

I. [Translated from the Greek into Syriac.] These words occur in the Syriac MS., and the statement is supported by (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah. The reckoning is by the years of Jeconiah's life, and not of his reign. He was eighteen years old when he began to reign in 599, and thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before Nebuchadrezzar's approach. In vi. 1 only one day, and not two years, elapses between the prediction and its fulfilment. So, too, the siege of Jerusalem is there represented as lasting but one day, whereas it lasted two years. Moreover, Jeconiah was in captivity when the city fell, and Zedekiah was king, as the author was aware (viii. 5). Accuracy of detail is sacrificed to general dramatic effect.

the Lord. This title of God is found in all sections of the book alike.

Baruch, the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; 1 Baruch i. 1.

2. the ten tribes. Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called 'the nine and a half tribes'. See lxxviii. 1 note.

3. forced by their kings, e.g. Jeroboam, and other kings of Israel.

these two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was the princes of Judah rather than Zedekiah that resisted Jeremiah's teaching and prophecy.

4. for a time. This phrase recurs in iv. 1, vi. 9; xxxii. 3. It is thus peculiar to B¹. Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, but the writer of these chapters believes its desolation will be but 'for a time'. Its future restoration is implied also in lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B², and B³ i.e. lxxxv, no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*) in order to usher in the judgement more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xlii. 5.

My people shall be chastened. Cf. xiii. 10, &c. Pss. Sol. vii. 3, &c.

the prosperity of their times, a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28 Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

those that are like you. This phrase recurs in three of the sections of this book. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36, &c.

retire from this city. Cf. 4 Baruch ('The Rest of the Words of Baruch') i. 1. 'Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city'. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. In Taanith 19 we are told a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it. In Pesikta 115^b (Buber's edition, 1868) it is said 'So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed'.

2. your works are to this city as a firm pillar, &c. Here Jer. vi. 27 is illegitimately applied, 'I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people.' Cf., however, Gen. xviii. 23-33.

your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7. 4 Baruch omits the reference to 'works', as it is of Christian authorship.

3¹ And I said: 'O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the
 2 evils of my mother? Not (so) my Lord. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit
 3 that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. For two things
 4 vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul, moreover, cannot behold the evils
 5 of my mother. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. What, therefore, will there be
 6 after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate
 7 us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? Or how shall one speak of Thy praises?
 8 or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? Or shall the world return to its nature (of
 9 aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? And shall the multitude of souls be **taken away**,
 10 and the nature of man not again be named? And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses
 11 regarding us?'

4¹ And the Lord said unto me:
 'This city shall be delivered up for a time,
 And the people shall be chastened during a time,
 And the world will not be given over to oblivion.

IV. 2-7. *The heavenly Jerusalem.*

2 ['Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: "On the palms of My hands have I graven
 3 thee"? This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which was
 prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to
 Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment it was removed from him, as
 4 also Paradise. And after these things I showed it to My servant Abraham by night among the
 5 portions of the victims. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him
 6 the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also
 7 Paradise. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee.']

III. 1. **O LORD, my Lord.** This title of God is confined, except in one instance (xxxviii. 1), to B² and B¹. It recurs in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5. While used only of God in this work, in 4 Ezra it is applied to an angel six times (see 4 Ezra iv. 38, &c.), as also אֲדֹנָי in Dan. x. 17, 19. The words אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ are to be rendered 'O LORD, my Lord', as above, and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani. The suffix is not moribund. The Syriac is a translation either of δέσποτα κύριε μου or κύριε κύριέ μου; and these in turn would point either to אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה or אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ.

my mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3, x. 16; 1 Baruch iv. 9-16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem, as Isa. xlix. 21. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 37. The writer here (B¹) uses it as an earthly Jerusalem, as St. Paul in Gal. iv. 26 of the heavenly.

2. **take my spirit.** Cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15.

4-IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivering up of Jerusalem; will Israel's name be lost, and students of the law fail? Will chaos return and men die? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored, the chastening of its people soon be accomplished, and chaos will not return.

6. **to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?** Answered by Baruch, xlii. 4.

7. The Syriac word here translated 'world' really means 'ornament'. Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of κόσμος.

revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 30 for the doctrine of a thousand years' Sabbath, which may be referred to here and in xlv. 9 (B²) and denied in iv. 1.

8. **shall . . . be taken away.** The MS. reads אֲבֵלָה, which Ceriani emends into אֲבֵלָה, which I have rendered. Ryssel proposes אֲבֵלָה = 'shall be destroyed'.

IV. 2-7. Apparently an interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem is here derided, and contrasted with the one to be revealed. In vi. 9, Jerusalem, though to be delivered up for a time, as in iv. 1, will be again restored, and that for ever. Further in vi. 7-8, the actual vessels of the earthly temple are committed to the earth to be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem.

2. **'On the palms of My hands.'** Quoted from Isa. xlix. 16, Syriac Version, which alone has 'palms'. This fuller phrase is usual, e.g. 1 Sam. v. 4.

3. **This building . . . is not that which is revealed.** The growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, led to the evolution of the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts. Of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told as early as the Priests' Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40; cf. Heb. viii. 5). The purification or even total renewal of the earthly copies is postulated in Isa. lx; Ezek. xl-xlviii. The first full emergence of the idea of the heavenly city seems to be in 1 En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed, and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there no prior existence is assigned to the latter. This would be about 166 B.C. But the purification of Jerusalem seems sufficient in Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 (70-40 B.C.); 1 En. x. 16-19, xxv. 1 (180 B.C.), to prepare for the Messianic kingdom. See my Commentary.

took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? It may be, like the heavenly Jerusalem, the Paradise kept in heaven, or it may be the earthly counterpart in which Adam was placed at the first.

4. **I showed it to My servant Abraham.** We are not told so in Gen. xv. 9-21. But in 4 Ezra iii. 13, 14 Abraham is said to have been shown 'the end of the times', while the Beresh. rabba on Gen. xxviii. 17 tells us that the above vision was accorded to Jacob sleeping at Bethel.

V. *Baruch's Complaint and God's Reassurance.*

- 5 1 And I answered and said :
 ' So then I am destined to grieve for Zion,
 For Thine enemies will come to this place and pollute Thy sanctuary,
 And lead Thine inheritance into captivity,
 And make themselves masters of those whom Thou hast loved,
 And they will depart again to the place of their idols,
 And will boast before them :
 And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name ? '
 2 And the Lord said unto me :
 ' My name and My glory are unto all eternity ;
 And My judgement shall maintain its right in its own time.
 3 And thou shalt see with thine eyes
 That the enemy will not overthrow Zion,
 Nor shall they burn Jerusalem,
 But be the ministers of the Judge for the time.
 4 But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee. '
 5 And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish, and Gedaliah, and all the
 honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all
 6, 7 that had been said to me. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. And we sat there
 and fasted until the evening.

VI—VIII. *Invasion of the Chaldeans and their Entrance into the City after the Sacred Vessels
 were hidden and the City's Walls overthrown by Angels.*

- 6 1 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo ! the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city,
 and at the time of the evening, I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the
 2 oak. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon
 3 the people. And lo ! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of
 4 Jerusalem. And I beheld, and lo ! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of
 5 them holding a torch of fire in his hands. And another angel began to descend from heaven,
 6 and said unto them : ' Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. For I am first sent
 to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded

- V. 1. **grieve.** MS. reads **سوء** (= 'guilty') which I have emended into **غلب** = 'grieve'.
 whom Thou hast loved, lxxviii. 3, xxi. 20, 21 ; 4 Ezra iv. 23.
 what wilt Thou do. Joshua vii. 9. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25.
 2. **My judgement . . . shall maintain its right.** Recurs in a slightly different form in xlvi. 27 and lxxxv. 9.
 3. This is carried out in vi. 5 ; vii.
 5. **Adu.** A priest of this name went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). The Mass. gives Iddo, but the Syriac and
 Vulgate Addo.
Seriah, brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah with whom he went to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).
Gedaliah, son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14).
narrated to them, &c. Baruch usually makes known his revelations to his friends and the elders. He is for-
 bidden to do so in the fourth section, i. e. xii. 5—xx.
 7. **fasted until the evening.** The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (ix. 2 ; xii. 5 ;
 xxi. 1 ; xlvii. 2). The scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or
 revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual (e.g. v. 5) or to the people (e.g. xxxi. 2—xxxiv),
 followed occasionally by a lamentation. This scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, i. e. in xxi—xlvi, where
 another fast is required after xxxv. In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days.
 THE SECOND SECTION. VI—VIII. This is a short section. After a day's fast Baruch, while lamenting alone,
 sees in a vision the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels lest the enemy
 should triumph (vi. 3—vii). The realization of this vision follows.
 VI. 1. **on the morrow**, &c. 4 Baruch (iv. 1) reproduces these words.
by the oak. This oak is outside the city, probably near or in the valley of the Cedron, where Baruch and the
 others had fasted. It cannot be the oak at Hebron.
 It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak occurs in B². In B¹ it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii. 18). A tree is
 referred to in A³ in lv. 1.
 4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 'I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth'; 4 Baruch iii. 2.
 5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2 ; 4 Baruch iii. 4.
 6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in 4 Baruch iii. 8.
the Lord the Most High. This full title occurs here only in this book ; the 'Most High' is found in xvii. 1,
 &c., lxxxiii. 1, and 4 Ezra.

7 me.' And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil, and the holy ark, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice:

'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God,
And receive what I commit to thee,
And guard them until the last times,
So that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them,
So that strangers may not get possession of them.

9 For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered for a time,
Until it is said, that it is again restored for ever.'

10 And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.

7 1 And after these things I heard that angel saying unto those angels who held the lamps:

'Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its wall to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say:

"We have overthrown the wall of Zion,
And we have burnt the place of the mighty God."

2 And ye have seized the place where I had been standing before.

8 1 Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the corners of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying:

2 'Enter, ye enemies,
And come, ye adversaries;
For he who kept the house has forsaken (it).'

3, 4 And I, Baruch, departed. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

IX—XII. 4. *First Fast of seven Days: Baruch to remain amid the Ruins of Jerusalem and Jeremiah to accompany the Exiles to Babylon. Baruch's Dirge over Jerusalem.*

9 1 And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been

7. take from thence, &c. In 2 Macc. ii. 4–8 there is a very similar tradition. Jeremiah is warned of God to hide in the mountain where Moses climbed up 'the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense'. This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together.

ark. MS. = אפוד corrupt for ארון. The converse corruption of אפוד into ארון is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18. In 2 Macc. ii. 5 the things hidden are these—*τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*.

According to Bammidbar rabba 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the Cherubim.

the altar of incense. The Syriac implies *θυμιατήριον*. In the LXX this word = 'censer', but in Philo and Josephus it means not 'censer' but 'altar of incense'. Cf. Heb. ix. 1–5 (?), and 2 Macc. as above (*τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*) which mention the altar but not a censer. See Appendix to my Commentary, p. 168.

forty-eight precious stones. Why forty-eight? There were twelve on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15–21) and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

8. Earth . . . of the mighty God, drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. 'Earth' is repeated three times also in Mass., Syr., Vulg. of that passage; in LXX only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. Not in 4 Ezra.

guard them until the last times. Cf. 4 Baruch iii. 8, 'Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved.'

9. restored for ever. A Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

VII. 2. ye have seized the place. The text is impossible here. Possibly *לְבָרְכִי לְבָרְכִי* is corrupt for *לְבָרְכִי לְבָרְכִי* or *לְבָרְכִי לְבָרְכִי*, 'the spirit brought me to the place.' In vi. 3 a strong spirit carried Baruch aloft over the walls for the vision: now he carries him back to the place beside the oak.

VIII. 2. 4 Baruch iv. 1.

He who kept the house has forsaken it. Cf. Tacitus *Hist.* v. 13 'Apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana vox excedere deos'.

5. The writer knows of Zedekiah and his captivity. See note on i. 1.

IX. 1. heart . . . pure from sins. In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41 the Messiah is said to be *καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας*.

THE THIRD SECTION. IX. 2–XII. 4. After a seven days' fast amid the ruins of Zion, the word of the Lord bids Baruch to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon, and promises a revelation of what should be in the end. Baruch tells Jeremiah the message, and laments before the temple gates for Zion.

- 2 captured in the seizure of the city. And we rent our garments, we wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days. ix. 2-xxv. = B²
- 10 1, 2 And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of God came to me, and said unto me: 'Tell 3 Jeremiah to go and support the captivity of the people unto Babylon. But do thou remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of 4, 5) days.' And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion and said:
- 6 'Blessed is he who was not born,
Or he, who having been born, has died.
7 But as for us who live, woe unto us,
Because we see the afflictions of Zion,
And what has befallen Jerusalem.
8 I will call the Sirens from the sea,
And ye Lilin, come ye from the desert,
And ye Shedim and dragons from the forests:
Awake and gird up your loins unto mourning,
And take up with me the dirges,
And make lamentation with me.
9 Ye husbandmen, sow not again;
And, O earth, wherefore givest thou thy harvest fruits?
Keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance.
10 And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine;
For an offering will not again be made therefrom in Zion,
Nor will first-fruits again be offered.

IX. 2. The first fast of seven days.

Fasting was the usual preparation for supernatural communications. Cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20-21; and see note on v. 7.

X. 1. God. This word is found only twice again, i.e. liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra.

2. We have here a violation of the true historical tradition. According to Jer. xliii. 4-7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In 1 Baruch i. 1, Baruch appears in Babylon five years after Jerusalem was taken. In 4 Baruch, too, Jeremiah is taken to Babylon, but by force. The references to Jeremiah in connexion with Babylon probably belong to B². In lxxvii. 17-19, &c., Baruch writes to the brethren in Babylon, never to Jeremiah; while in 4 Baruch he directs his letter to Jeremiah. But later Judaism, according to Pesik. R. 26 (131^b ed. Friedmann) held that Jeremiah accompanied the exiles part of the way to Babylon.

support. So I render according to a recognized meaning of the Syriac verb *ܡܡܡ*. Ryssel thinks that this verb goes back to *ܡܡܡ*, and that *ܡܡܡ* was to be understood with it. Thus he arrives at his rendering 'care for'. But this is most unlikely; for in xliii. 1 we have the actual Syriac phrase in full which corresponds to the Hebrew *לִבְּךָ*, i.e. *ܡܡܡ ܠܡܡܢܐ*. There we should render as in Hebrew, 'direct thy heart,' &c. Now it is noteworthy that the clause in our text 'go and support' recurs practically in xxxiii. 2, but there *ܡܡܡ* is used instead of *ܡܡܡ*. *ܡܡܡ* is a Syriac equivalent of *הכין*. Hence there we render 'make ready'. In lxxvii. 12 yet another verb, *ܡܡܡ*, is used in nearly the same sense as *ܡܡܡ* in x. 2. Returning now to xxxiii. 2 we recognize at once that there is a slight corruption in the text: 'make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity.' Here the brethren are first of all said to be already 'in Babylon', and then in the next clause to be sentenced to exile to Babylon. Thus 'in Babylon' may be corrupt for 'for Babylon'. It must be confessed, however, that the original standing behind these words is very uncertain.

5. This lament of Baruch prepares for the third fast of xii. 5.

before the gates of the temple. This is the scene of the following lamentation, and also that in xxxv. 1. A passage in the beginning of 3 Baruch seems to be derived from our text: *οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὀράιας πόλεως ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄγια*. Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (xiii. 1, &c.).

6. Blessed is he who was not born, &c. Cf. Eccles. iv. 2-3, from which the text may ultimately have been derived. Cf. 4 Ezra: it is said that it were better man had not been born at all than be born to have to face future torment and judgement (e.g. vii. 66, 116, 117). But it is the present woes of Jerusalem that here are said to make the unborn blessed, and those in Sheol (xi. 7) happy in comparison with the living.

8. Sirens. These are said in 1 En. xix. 2 (Greek version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. Here they are sea-nymphs, as in Greek legend. The Greek translators of the O.T. used the term for ostriches and jackals.

Lilin, night-demons. Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. The Lilith (*לילית*) are mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr *שָׁעִיר*.

Shedim. Male demons, to which various origins were assigned. See my Commentary, *in loc.*

dragons. So, too, Pesh. renders *ܕܢܝܢ* in Isa. xlii. 22. But the word may mean 'jackals'.

10. The writer of x. 6-xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem, as B² does throughout.

- 11 And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew,
And open not the treasures of rain :
- 12 And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays.
And do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light ;
For why should light rise again
Where the light of Zion is darkened ?
- 13 And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in,
And let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands ;
And, ye women, pray not that ye may bear.
- 14 For the barren shall above all rejoice,
And those who have no sons shall be glad,
And those who have sons shall have anguish.
- 15 For why should they bear in pain,
Only to bury in grief ?
- 16 Or why, again, should mankind have sons ?
Or why should the seed of their kind again be named,
Where this mother is desolate,
And her sons are led into captivity ?
- 17 From this time forward speak not of beauty,
And discourse not of gracefulness.
- 18 Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary,
And cast them into the height of heaven,
And give them to the Lord and say :
"Guard Thy house Thyself,
For lo ! we are found false stewards."
- 19 And you, ye virgins ; who weave fine linen
And silk with gold of Ophir,
Take with haste all (these) things
And cast (them) into the fire,
That it may bear them to Him who made them,
And the flame send them to Him who created them,
Lest the enemy get possession of them.'
- 11 1 Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon :
'If thou hadst prospered,
And Zion had dwelt in her glory,
Yet the grief to us had been great
That thou shouldst be equal to Zion,
- 2 But now, lo ! the grief is infinite,
And the lamentation measureless,
For lo ! thou art prospered
And Zion desolate.
- 3 Who will be judge regarding these things ?
Or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us ?
O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it) ?

13. **brides**. Syriac gives virgins, who first rightly occur in verse 19. The references here are to marriage. The text = בתולות, corrupt for כלות in the Hebrew original.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19 ; Luke xxiii. 29, 'Blessed are the barren, &c.'

16. **this mother**, Jerusalem. See iii. 1 note.

18. The priesthood are found false stewards and resign charge of the temple. Cf. 4 Baruch iv. 3, 4, where Jeremiah casts up the keys 'before the sun', and the *Jalkut Shim.* on Isa. xxi, where the flower of the priests cast them up aloft. The same incident is recounted in Taanith 29^a ; Lev. R. xix. 6, in connexion with the destruction of the first temple. In Ab. R. N. vii the incident is recorded in connexion with the destruction of the second temple.

XI. 1. Babylon stands here for Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8, &c.

3. **how hast Thou borne (it)**. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30, 'how Thou dost bear with them that sin.' Also Pss. Sol. ii. 1, and 4 Ezra iii. 8 ; Isa. xiv. 6.

- 4 Our fathers went to rest without grief,
And lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity ;
5 For they knew not this anguish,
Nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us.
6 Would that thou hadst ears, O earth,
And that thou hadst a heart, O dust :
That ye might go and announce in Sheol,
And say to the dead :
7 " Blessed are ye more than we who live."

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT, from Grenfell and Hunt's
Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. iii. 3-7, 1903.

Verso.

Verso.

- | | | | |
|---|--------------|--|---|
| <p>12 1 But I will say this as I think.
And I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering.
2 The noonday does not always burn.
Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.
3 Do not expect [and hope] that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing.
And be not greatly uplifted and boastful.
4 For assuredly in its own season shall the (divine) wrath awake against thee.
Which now in long-suffering is held in as it were by reins.</p> | <p>(2-5)</p> | <p>12. 1. But I will say this as I think,
And speak against thee, the land that is prospering.

2. Not always does the noon-day burn,
Nor do the rays of the sun constantly give light.
(6-8) 3. And do not thou expect to rejoice,

Nor †condemn† greatly.
(8-10) 4. For assuredly in its season shall the (divine) wrath be awakened against thee,
Which is now restrained by long-suffering as it were by a rein.</p> | <p>⟨ 17 letters αλλα τ>ρντο 12 1
οιο(ν)
(οιομαι ερω και λαλη)σω
προς σε την

(γην την ευοδοουσαν ο)υ 2
παντοτε μεσεμ
5 (βρια αποκαιει ουδ)ε το
διηνεκες αι ακτι
(νες του ηλιου λα)μπουσιν 3
και συ μη προς

(δοκα χαιρησειν) μηδε
επ(ι)πολυ καταδικα
(ξε αληθως γαρ εν) καιρω 4
εξυπνισθησεται

(προς σε η οργη η νυν υπο
τ)ης μακροθυμ(ι)</p> |
|---|--------------|--|---|

XII. 5-XIII. *Second Fast. Revelation as to the coming Judgement on the Heathen.*

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|--|
| <p>5 And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.</p> | <p>(10-16)</p> | <p>5. And having said these things I fasted seven days.</p> | <p>10 (as ως χαλινω κατεχεται 5
και) ειπων ταυτα</p> |
|---|----------------|---|--|

4. went to rest . . . sleep in the earth. Cf. xxi. 24. Dan. xii. 2, 'sleep in the dust of the earth.'
5-6. In Berakh 18^b there is a long legend narrated, the object of which is to teach that the departed know nothing of what is going on in this world.

6. That ye might go. The Syriac = 'and go ye', a Hebrew idiom, i.e. an imperative used for a jussive : see Driver, *Moods and Tenses*,³ p. 82.

XII. 3. [and hope]. A duplicate rendering.

be . . . uplifted = תנשׂא. The Greek 'condemn' = καταδικα, is against the parallelism.

boastful. I have emended *מגדל* = 'do (not) oppress', into *מגדל*.

THE FOURTH SECTION. XII. 5-XX. After a fast of seven days follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2-xx. 2). The text is very confused. See next note.

XIII-XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though this exists, but to a recasting of the original text. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. It appears impossible to restore the original order; for not only were the chapters broken up and rearranged, but also mutilated and interpolated. It is only occasionally possible to explain the grounds for such dislocations of the text. But that they occur not infrequently is indubitable. We have it on a large scale in 2 Corinthians which is composed of two letters, and where the later in date is placed before the earlier. Other instances which can be consulted by the reader occur in this volume : see 1 Enoch xii-xvi ; where the dislocation and consequent confusion are almost as great as in our text : lxxviii-lxxxii ; xci-xciii.

But let us return and state the chief grounds for regarding this section as disarranged and confused. 1^o. In xiii. 4 'those prosperous cities' are represented as speaking without a single note of introduction. Before xiii. 4 probably some reference was made to these cities. 2^o. The retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been

13¹ And it came to pass after these things, that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said unto me: 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

13. 1. And it came to pass after these things that I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came forth from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God.'

⟨ἐνηστεύσα ἡμέ⟩ρας ζ̄ και 13¹ ἔγενετο με
⟨τα ταυτα οτι ἐγω⟩ Βαρουχ
ἵστηκει' ἐπι το
⟨ορος Σιων και ἰδου φων⟩η
ἐξηλθεν ἐξ ὧ
⟨ψους και εἶπε μοι ἀνα⟩στα²
ἐπι τοὺς πο
1,5 ⟨δὰς σου Βαρουχ και ἀκουε⟩
τον λογον ἰσχυ
ρου θεου
· · · · ·

3 Because thou hast been astonished at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly
4 preserved to the consummation of the times, that thou mayst be for a testimony. So that, if ever
5 those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' Say

mentioned before, though the text presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befall the enemies of Israel. 3^o. In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him 'the method of the times', whereas in xx. 6 this is not yet done; for the promise is there given that Baruch shall receive directions with regard to them. 4^o. In xiv. 1 it is said that God has shown to Baruch the retribution that shall befall the Gentiles. But this is not done by God till xxv. 3. The Gentile cities in xiii. 4 sq. complain of it after it has come upon them. Hence xxv. should precede xiii. 4-xiv. 5^o. In xxiv. 4^b Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel and when would the judgement be. Now the answer to the first question has already been given in xiii. 4-12; and the answer to the second question follows in xxv. Hence xxiv. 4 should precede xiii. 3^b-12, xxv. 6^o. In xiii. 5 the words 'thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil' are unexplained in their present context and are in fact inexplicable, unless xxiv. 2 precedes, in which God tells Baruch that he and many with him should see the judgement of God. But if xxiv. 2 'thou shalt see—and the many that are with thee' originally preceded xiii. 3^b-5, then everything is clear. Hence xxiv. 2-4 should precede xiii. 3^b-12. 7^o. Again, there is no adequate explanation of the 'therefore' in xx. 1. But if xx is read immediately after xiii. 1-3^a the text would at once become clear.

Thus, provisionally, the text might be restored as follows:—xiii. 1-3^a; xx; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3^b-12; xxv. Now we have to remark regarding these sections that their interest is at once *theological and national*. To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3^a), God declares (xx. 1-2) that the days and years will speed more quickly in order to usher in the judgement, which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem has been removed with this end in view. Baruch is then promised that disclosures shall be made on 'the method of the times' (xx. 6) and that 'he and the many that are with him' (xxiv. 2) shall witness God's dealings. Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (a) What will befall Israel's enemies? (b) when will this judgement be of which God has already spoken (xx. 2)? The answer to (a) is given in xiii. 3^b-12. But the first words of this answer are lost, somewhat to the effect that 'retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies'. Baruch, moreover, will be preserved until those last days (xiii. 3) in order to testify together with the surviving righteous (xiii. 5, xxiv. 2) the reason of the retribution that had befallen those cities, and to answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. In answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1-2) that he shall be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign shall be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges that God has shown him 'the method of the times', and told him of the retribution coming upon the Gentiles (xiv. 1). This verse closes the questions of theological and national interest in xiii-xxv. In xiv. 2-xix, which follows, we have a section that is of a purely *theological and individual* interest, as will be seen from the summary at the beginning of these chapters (p. 489).

xxi-xxiv. 1 is mainly of the same theological cast. Their substance, in a word, is that the end cannot come till all souls are born.

Thus the original order of xiii-xxv appears to have been: xiii. 1-3^a, xx, xxiv. 2-4, xiii. 3^b-12, xxv, xiv-xix, xxi-xxiv. 1.

XIII. 1. Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation here; of the prayer in xxi. 4-25; of the revelation in xxii-xxx; of the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation following in xlviii-lii.

3. **thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved**, &c. This promise recurs twice again in B², i.e. in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Thus the assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgement is the teaching of B². Cf. also xlviii. 30 and xlvii. 7. In B¹, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1), and go the way of all the earth (xlv. 2). This conflict of accounts is due to the transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch in B². For in Jub. iv. 24 it is said: 'Enoch was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should testify against all the children of men' (Cf. also x. 17). Enoch's acceptance among Christians was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. Though he was second only to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to A.D. 40 his functions and achievements were in subsequent Jewish literature assigned to others, e.g. Moses, Ezra, or Baruch. By observing this tendency of Jewish thought we are enabled in lix. 4-11 to conclude that a document, seen to be on other grounds prior to A.D. 70, is later than the rise of Christianity.

be assuredly preserved. The Syriac reveals a Hebraism; lit. = σωσθῆις σωσθήσει.

4. **those prosperous cities.** The text preceding these words seems to have been lost; or preferably (see note on xiii-xxv on p. 487) we should read xiii. 3^b-12 after xxiv. 2-4. In any case, xiii. 3^b-12 gives an answer to xxiv. 4. The cities here mentioned are Gentile cities. 'A land' is referred to as prospering in xii. 1, 3.

brought upon us this retribution. Cf. the phrase in regard to Israel in lxxvii. 4. Here the Gentile cities suffer as there Israel does.

- thou to them, thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil: '⟨This is the evil⟩ and retribution which is coming upon you and upon your people in its (destined) time that the nations
 6, 7 may be thoroughly smitten. And then they shall be in anguish. And if they say at that time:
 8 For how long? Thou wilt say to them:
 "Ye who have drunk the strained wine,
 Drink ye also of its dregs,
 The judgement of the Lofty One
 Who has no respect of persons."
 9 On this account he had aforetime no mercy on His own sons,
 But afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned,
 10 Then therefore were they chastened
 That they might be sanctified.

OXYRHYNCHUS GREEK FRAGMENT.

Recto.

Recto.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------|--|---|----|
| 11 | But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are guilty | (19-20) | 11. (Ye) peoples and . . . | οπη< | 11 |
| | Because ye have always trodden down the earth, | | (Ye) have trodden down the earth | τα εθνη κα< 14 letters | |
| | And used the creation unrighteously. | | And misused the created things in it. | καταπα 20 τησαντες την <γην και καταχρησασμενοι | |
| 12 | For I have always benefited you. | (21-22) | 12. For ye were always being benefited | τους εν αυτη κτισμ<ασι 12 υμεις γαρ ευερ | |
| | And ye have always been ungrateful for the beneficence. | | But ye were always ungrateful. | γετουμενοι αει ηχα<ριστε-ιτε αει | |

XIV-XIX. *The Righteousness of the Righteous has profited neither them nor their City; God's Judgements are incomprehensible; the World was made for the Righteous, yet they pass and the World remains (XIV). Answer—Man knows God's Judgements and has sinned willingly. This World is a Weariness to the Righteous but the next is theirs (XV), to be won through Character whether a Man's Time here be long or short (XVI-XVII). Final Weal or Woe—the supreme Question (XVIII-XIX).*

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---------|--|--|
| 14 1 | And I answered and said: 'Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which | (23-25) | 14. 1. And I answered and said: 'Behold, thou hast shown me the methods of the times, and that which shall be. | και απεκριθην και ειπο> 14 1 ιδου απεδει ξας μοι καιρων ταξεις' κ<αι το μελλον |
|------|--|---------|--|--|

5. thou and those like thee who shall have seen this evil. 'those like thee', i. e. לְהַרְמִים, are the same as 'the many' (= הרבים corrupt for הרמים) who are with thee' in xxiv. 2. All previous translations have wrongly rendered מַלְאִכִּי as 'have seen', whereas the context requires that it should be rendered 'shall have seen'. The time referred to is in the future—the end of the world: the evil referred to is not the destruction of Jerusalem in the past, but the retribution which should befall the Gentiles in the last days. To this time of the end Baruch was to be preserved (xiii. 3) to testify to the Gentiles that full retribution had at last come upon them.

those like thee. These are the righteous who shall be surviving in the last days, and who shall join with Baruch in his testimony.

5-7. This ⟨is the evil⟩ and retribution, &c. The text in this verse and the next is defective. First of all I have restored with Ryssel 'this is the evil', which fell out through hmt., and read 'retribution' in the singular, as in v. 4. Next the text reads 'chastened'. But v. 8 shows that the punishment is not corrective, but vindictive. Text = παιδευθῶσιν, which I take to be corrupt, as in 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, for παυσθῶσιν = יָבִי. Next, in v. 6, the text reads 'shall expect', 'shall hope' = ἐλπίσουσι = יוֹחִילִי, corrupt for יִתִּילִי = 'shall be in anguish'. The same confusion is found in Jer. iv. 19, in the Hebrew MSS. Finally, in v. 7, the text reads 'when' where we require 'for how long', i. e. עַד־מָתַי—not מָתַי alone.

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8.

the Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

XIV. 1. Baruch has not been shown 'the method of the times'. Chapter xiii has only told us why the retribution has come on the Gentile cities, and when their punishment will be consummated. Disclosures about the method of the times are promised in xx. 6, and would seem to be given in xxiv. 2-xxv, taken together with xiii, or else in xxvii-xxx.

shall be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, shall come upon the nations. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst say. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see?

(25-27) And thou hast said unto me that the retribution which was spoken of by thee shall be [†]endured by the nations.

(27-32) 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived . . . , and departed from the world, but that few nations will be left in those times to whom . . . the words (which) thou didst say.

(32-33) 3. And what advantage (is there) in this or what worse than (these?) . . .

25 (εσ)εσθαι και ειπες μ(ο)ι
(οτι υπ εθνων
υπενεχθησεται η υπο σου
λεχθεισα
πραξις και νυν (οιδα οτι 2
πολλοι
εισιν οι μαρτυρησαντες
και
εζησαν και επορευθησαν
εκ κοσμου
30 ολιγα δε περι(εσται εθνη
εν εκεινους
τοις καιροις ο(ς)
. . . ους ειπες
λογους και τι π(λεον εν 3
τουτω η τινα χει
ρονα τ(ο)υ τ(ω)ν
.

- 4, 5 But again I will speak in Thy presence : What have they profited who had knowledge before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead : " Give me life," but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? And lo! they have been carried off, nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. And if others did evil, it was due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgement, Or who will search out the profoundness of Thy way? Or who will think out the [†]weight[†] of Thy path? 9 Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel? Or who of those that are born has ever found The beginning or end of Thy wisdom? 10, 11 For we have all been made like a breath. For as the breath ascends involuntarily, and again dies, so it is with the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not 12 what will befall them in the end. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear

come upon the nations. This could also be rendered : ' be of service to the nations.' But xiii. 8 is against this rendering.

2. few nations . . . in those times, to whom, &c. Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 8-11 are to be addressed.

4-19. What has the righteousness of the righteous profited them or their city, though the latter should have profited by it? (4-7). Man cannot understand Thy judgement (8, 9), for he is but a breath, his end is a mystery (10, 11); though for that end the righteous may hope for they have treasures of works in heaven, but for us there is only woe here and hereafter (12-14). What Thou hast done on behalf of Thy servants, Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. Can the world be made for man? We pass away and the world abides (15-19).

5. have not said to the dead. Cf. Isa. viii. 19^b : ' on behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead? '

6. nor on their account hast thou had mercy on Zion. A great difficulty for a Jew. Ten righteous men would have saved Sodom; why did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 208) depends on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23-33. Here, however, the *works* not the *persons* of the righteous avail for their city. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, i. e. between A. D. 50 and 80 is : (a) the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and justified by the law (li. 3; lxvii. 6). (b) They trust in them, and are heard of God, as Hezekiah (lxiii. 3, 5), and the prophets (lxxxv. 2). (c) These works avail as a defence for their unrighteous fellow citizens (ii. 2), and after their death give merit to Zion (xiv. 7, lxxxv. 10). (d) These works go before them to the next world, and are there guarded in God's treasure-chambers, till the final judgement (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end, and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). In 4 Ezra we have no parallels to (b) and (c), and only seeming parallels to (a), as ix. 7, and xiii. 23, where faith is included with works. But to (d) we have good parallels in vii. 77 (Ezra's ' treasury of works laid up with the Most High ') and in viii. 33. For the doctrine of justification see note on xxi. 9.

8. weight (or ' burdensomeness '). There is some corruption here. I see no obvious explanation. The text seems in some form to go back to חקר אין רבך = ' Thy unsearchable paths '. In this case we should have to suppose that חקר was corrupted into יקר = ' weight ', which led to the omission of אין.

10. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39 ' a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again '.

11. involuntarily. Literally ' not from the heart '. Cf. Peshitto on Num. xvi. 28 (Schulthess).

depart not according to their own will. Cf. xlvi. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5.

12. the righteous justly hope, 1 En. cii. 4.

depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries.

13 On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to
14 receive the world which Thou hast promised them. But as for us—woe to us, who also are
15 now shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward (only) to evils. But Thou knowest
16 accurately what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand
17 that which is good as Thou art, our Creator. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD,
18 my Lord. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak
19 with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. And Thou didst say that
Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be
known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.
20 And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we,
on account of whom it was made, depart.

15 1 And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'Thou art rightly astonished regarding the departure of
2 man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. And as regards
3 what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious prosper, And as
4 regards what thou hast said: "Man knows not Thy judgement"—On this account hear, and I will
5 speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words. Man would not rightly have
6 understood My judgement, unless he had accepted the law, and I had instructed him in understand-
7 ing. But now, because he transgressed wittingly, yea, just on this ground that he wot (thereof),
he shall be tormented.

7 And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this
8 world come, so also again shall that, which is to come, come on their account. For this world
is to them a strife and a labour with much trouble; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown
with great glory.'

16 1 And I answered and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and
who is able in his little time to acquire that which is measureless?'

a store of works, or lit. a 'supply'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 77 ('a treasure of works'); Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9.

13. the world which Thou hast promised. Clearly the spiritual world, 'which does not die' (li. 3); cf. xlv.
13, 15, xv. 7, 8. B² promises no earthly felicity, but only spiritual blessedness.

14. evils. What these are is given in xlv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. what Thou hast done by means of Thy servants, or the Syriac may = 'What Thou hast made out of Thy
servants', or, without the diacritic point, 'What Thou hast wrought out of Thy works.' With the rendering in the text,
verse 16 comes better before 15, which then runs on naturally to 17 and 18.

17. speak with a word. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. Thou wouldst make for Thy world man, &c. Cf. Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

the world on account of him. This view of man's dignity seems to occur first in the first century of the
Christian era. Why was the world created? (1) Here and in 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44 we are told 'for man'; (2) 4 Ezra vi,
55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mosis i. 12 say 'for Israel'; (3) here in xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24 'for the righteous in Israel'.
The real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards is (2) or (3). 'On Israel stands the world', Shemoth rabba,
xxviii.

19. The 'us' and the 'we' are the righteous in Israel, as xv. 7, xxi. 24. In Pesikta 200^b God is said to have created
the world on account of Abraham's merit.

XV. 2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. the law. The law and the Messianic expectation were the two centres round which Jewish thought and life
revolved. The law predominated at all times, and in B¹ where there is no Messiah, but Jerusalem's restoration is
expected, it is supremely exalted (e.g. lxxvii. 15, 16). In B², which does not look forward to restoration or Messiah,
the law is further glorified (e.g. xlviii. 24, 27, li. 3, 7), as also in B³ (e.g. lxxxv. 3, 14). On the other hand, in the
Messiah Apocalypses A¹ and S we find no mention of the law at all, and only once in A² (xxxviii. 2), though in A³ it
rises again into prominence (esp. lxvii. 6, righteousness by the law). Thus the Messianic expectation tends to eclipse
the supremacy of the law, and after the Messiah's advent there is no allusion to it (lxx-lxxiv). For fuller treatment
and comparison with 4 Ezra see my Commentary.

6. transgressed wittingly. Cf. xix. 3, xlviii. 40 (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 72; cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. as regards . . . has this world come. See note on xiv. 18. On the parallel in the short hexameron in
4 Ezra vi. 55, see xxix. 4, note.

shall . . . come. Emended according to Ryssel by reading לל instead of לל.

8. this world is to them . . . trouble, &c. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3-14; Ps. xc. 10 'yet is their pride
labour and sorrow'; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. B² regards this world as a place of trial, discipline, and sorrow,
unlike B¹. There is a still more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra, and above all in 1 Enoch cviii. 7, 'the spirits of the humble
and of those who have afflicted their bodies.'

crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. In Hebrew we have here a paronomasia, as in Isa. lxii. 3,
עטרה בתפארה רבה.

XVI. 1. years . . . few and evil. Gen. xlvii. 9.

in his . . . time. For לל (= 'this') read לל = 'his time'. Cf. xix. 2. There is no need to add 'time', and
render 'this his little time,' with Ryssel. Text = 'in this little'.

- 17¹ And the Lord answered and said unto me: 'With the Most High account is not taken of much
² time nor of a few years. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years,
³ and transgressed that which he was commanded? Therefore the multitude of time that he lived
⁴ did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. Or
 wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as
 he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp
 for the nation of Israel?'
- 18¹ And I answered and said: 'He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that
² have imitated him. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam
 and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp.'
- 19¹ And He answered and said unto me: 'Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant
 and said:
 "Behold I have placed before you life and death,"
 And he called heaven and earth to witness against them.
² For he knew that his time was but short,
 But that heaven and earth endure always.
³ But after his death they sinned and transgressed,
 Though they knew that they had the law reproving (them),
 And the light in which nothing could err,
 Also the spheres which testify, and Me.
⁴ Now regarding everything that is, it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul
⁵ regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. For now it is the
 consummation of time that should be considered, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame,
⁶ and not the beginning thereof. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully
⁷ entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. And again, if a man is shame-
 fully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil
⁸ entreatment. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time
 from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and in his end was
 destroyed, in vain would have been everything.'

XX. *Zion has been taken away to hasten the Advent of the Judgement.*

- 20¹ 'Therefore, behold! the days come,
 And the times shall hasten more than the former,
 And the seasons shall speed on more than those that are past,
 And the years shall pass more quickly than the present (years).
² Therefore have I now taken away Zion,
 That I may the more speedily visit the world in its season.

XVII. 3. **brought death**, &c. See xxiii. 4 (note).

4. **brought the law**. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19.

lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2 'lamp of the eternal law'; Ps. cxix. 105 'Thy word is a lamp', &c.

XVIII. 1. **has taken from the light**, i. e. has chosen the light, and not Adam's darkness.

2. The law is light, and Adam is darkness, the primary source of human transgression. This passage agrees with
 2 Enoch, and like it does not teach the doctrine of original sin, any more than A³ (i. e. liv. 15, 16). In 1 Enoch and
 Jubilees human depravity is traced to the angels who sinned with the daughters of men.

XIX. 1, 2. The choice of light or darkness was the choice of life or death. Later times concluded from Deut. xxx. 19,
 that the law was to last while heaven and earth should be. Cf. verse 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17;
 Mark xiii. 31.

3. **the spheres which testify**, i. e. heaven, and its unfailing lights. The law is part of the heavenly order.
 Cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1-v. 4.

5. Here the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.

6-8. We must consider the end of a man or a matter. Cf. Solon's saying in Herodotus i. 32.

8. **on which death was decreed**. See xxiii. 4 (note).

XX. 1. **Therefore**. It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It might follow on xviii, but better
 on xiii. 3^a. Jerusalem has fallen, and the years intervening before the judgement will therefore be shortened. Cf.
 liv. 1; Matt. xxiv. 22.

the times shall hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6.

2. The fall of Jerusalem prepares the way for final judgement: there is no hope here of its restoration. See
 i. 4 (note).

speedily visit, lit. 'speed and visit', a Hebraism.

visit, in Baruch in a bad sense, of God's penal visitation. Contrast the N. T. associations of joy, Luke i. 68, &c.,
 and usually in O.T.

- 3 Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee,
And seal it in the recesses of thy mind.
- 4 And then I will show thee the judgement of My might,
And My ways which are unsearchable.
- 5 Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to
6 anyone. And afterwards come to that place and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things
with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they are
coming and tarry not.

XXI. 1-11. *Fast of seven Days: Baruch's Prayer: God's Answer.*

The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah.

- 21 1 And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my
soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and
2 I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. And afterwards I came to that place
3 where He had spoken with me. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought,
4 and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 'O Thou that hast made the
earth, hear me, that hast fixed the firmament by the word, and hast made firm the height of the
heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and
5 they obey Thee. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which
6 are to be as those things which Thou art doing. Thou that rulest with great thought the hosts that
stand before Thee: also the countless holy beings, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of
7 flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne Thou rulest with indignation†. To Thee only
8 does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. Who causeth the
drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times
9 before they come; have respect unto my prayer. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are,
and those who have passed away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are
10 righteous [as living (and) being past finding out]. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past

4. the judgement of My might. Cf. lxxxiii. 7.

6. that place. See xiii. 1 (note).

method of the times. See xiv. 1 note.

are coming and tarry not. Heb. ii. 3. Cf. xlvi. 39.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH SECTIONS. XXI-XLVI. The words 'The prayer of Baruch the son of Neriah' are found in the MS. The fifth Section ends with xxxv.

XXI. 1. Cedron. See v. 5.

2. that place. Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6; or else the temple, x. 5.

3. the Mighty One. This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B¹, B², B³, but not in A¹, A².

4. by the word = *בדבר*, emended by Ryssel from *בכח* (= 'in its fullness'). This emendation is justified and necessitated owing to the parallel 'by the spirit.' The text, as I pointed out in my Commentary, is dependent on Ps. xxxiii. 6 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth. hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlvi. 8. We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. Cf. Philo, *de Iustitia*; which contradicts his usual doctrine. For creation by the word, cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; 2 Pet. iii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain*.

6. hosts that stand before Thee. Cf. xlvi. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21^a.

countless holy beings. Cf. lix. 11; lvi. 14.

which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2 the angels are created on the first day (so Job xxxviii. 7 is interpreted). 2 En. xxix. 1 says the second day. And so Targ. Jer I. on Gen. i. 26.

†with indignation†. Cf. xlvi. 8. *באף* = 'indignation' seems corrupt for *באשמה* = 'reproof'.

7. Ps. cxv. 3, &c.

8. the drops of rain . . . by number. Cf. lix. 5; Sirach i. 2; 2 En. xlvii. 5 (note).

9. have passed away. Reading with Ryssel *באשמה* instead of *באף* = 'pass away'.

those who sin, and those who are righteous. The Syriac here and in xxiv. 2; xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7 follows a Greek mistranslation of the original Hebrew verb *צדק*, which in this context meant 'to be righteous', i. e. *δικαιος* *εἶναι*, and not 'to be justified', *δικαιοῦσθαι*, though the LXX rendering is usually the latter. The antithesis in our text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. Hence in all these passages I have emended the text. Ryssel has accepted this emendation in these five passages, but without acknowledgement.

The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra. (1) In Baruch the law justifies (li. 3; lxvii. 6; lxxxi. 7). In Ezra salvation is by works and faith (ix. 7; xiii. 23). (2) Baruch is absolutely sure of salvation (xiii. 3, &c.). Ezra assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47-9, 51-4.

For further treatment see Commentary.

[as living . . . out], bracketed as a dittography of the opening clause of the next verse.

11 finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous.

XXI. 12-18. *Baruch's Depreciation of this Life.*

12 Thou knowest where Thou preservest the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of
13 those who have been righteous. For if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this.

14 For of what profit is strength that turns to sickness,
Or fullness of food that turns to famine,
Or beauty that turns to ugliness.

15, 16 For the nature of man is always changeable. For what we were formerly now we no longer are,
17 and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. For if a consummation had not been prepared
18 for all, in vain would have been their beginning. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me.

XXI. 19-25. *Baruch prays to God to hasten the Judgement and fulfil His Promise.*

19 How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much
20 wickedness? Command therefore in mercy and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst
21 bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. And show to those who know not, that everything that has befallen us and our city until now **has been** according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called
22, 23 us a beloved people. Bring to an end therefore henceforth mortality. And reprove accordingly the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasures of

10. knowest the number of mankind. Gen. xxiii. 4, 5.

11. not a few have been righteous. This optimism contrasts strongly with 4 Ezra's pessimism, e. g. viii. 3 'multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur'. Cf. too viii. 2.

12-13. The balance of this life needs re-adjustment in another life.

13. Quoted from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both come from a common source. Life ever changes for the worse (verses 14, 15) and is mortal (16, 17, 22).

14. We have here a stanza of three lines, in each of which there is either a paronomasia or a rhyme. In the second line the text reads 'food of fullness'. On two grounds I have changed this into 'fullness of food'. First we have שבעת לחם in Ezek. xvi. 49, and next the rhyme requires it. The stanza runs thus:

מה יואיל חיל נהפך לחלי

או שבע מזון נהפך לחסרון

או יופי נהפך לדופי

Instead of לחסרון in the second line we might read לרזון with Ginzberg. As I have shown in my edition of this book, the third line of this stanza recurs in xlvi. 35. See lxxiii. 11, 12.

19. How long will that which is corruptible remain? The final editors answer this question in xl. 3; B² answers it in xxiii. 7-xxiv. 1. The writers of this book (esp. the writer of B²) are impressed with the corruptibility of this present world, the *olam hazzeah*. It all belongs to the sphere of corruption. So too does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeah*, as in A¹, A², and A³. In A² it ends corruption, in A³ it ends corruption and begins incorruption (lxxiv. 2). See my Commentary, *in loc.*

transgress, or 'pass away', as in verse 9.

20. A prayer for the hastening of the final judgement.

21. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in God's mercy to hasten the judgement.

that... has been. So I have emended שסס (= 'and they have seen') into וסס. If the text is correct then it represents a Hebraism, the perfect with strong waw as a continuation of the imperative, and so = 'and let them see'.

22. Bring to an end. Text reads 'everything' = כל which I take to be a corruption of פלה. Schulthess and Ryssel, on the other hand, emend the Syriac פלה into פלה = 'restrain', but the next verse supports the emendation in the text.

23. To hasten the final judgement the writer prays to God to end death, to let his glory appear, and the dead rise. the angel of death. Cf. Rev. vi. 8. Prominent in later Jewish writings. See Testament of Abraham (ed. James).

be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

treasures of souls. To these chambers only the righteous were admitted. After his death a righteous man's soul was permitted for seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous, and a wicked man's the seven ways of the wicked. Then his soul entered these chambers, in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 35, 41; vii. 101). They were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (1 En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95). At the judgement they were to restore the souls (2 Bar. xxi. 2, 3, xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32). There were also treasures of righteous works (see xxiv. 1). Note that the souls of the wicked are not mentioned here.

24 souls restore those which are enclosed in them. For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who
25 sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. And now
26 quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer what has been promised by Thee.' And (when) I had completed the words of this prayer I was greatly weakened.

XXII–XXIII. *God's Reply to Baruch's Prayer: He will fulfil His Promise: Time needed for its Accomplishment: Things must be judged in the Light of their Consummation (XXII). Till all Souls are born the End cannot come (XXIII).*

22¹ And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and
2 power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 'Baruch, Baruch,
3 why art thou troubled? He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or who departs by sea
4 but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? Or he who promises to give a present to
5 another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its
6 fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? Or he who plants a plant unless it grows till the
7 time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? Or a woman who has
8 conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant? Or he who builds
a house, if he does not roof it and complete it, can it be called a house? Tell Me that first.'

23^{1, 2} And I answered and said: 'Not so, O LORD, my Lord.' And He answered and said unto me:
3 'Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease
4 about things in which thou art ignorant? For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are
5 and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are appointed to come. Because when
Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those
6 who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might
7 dwell and the dead might be guarded. Before therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the
creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead.
6, 7 And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. For truly My
redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforesaid.

24. Read probably after verse 19.

25. what has been promised by Thee, i.e. 'the world which Thou hast promised them' (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5).

26. (when). Inserted with Ryssel.

greatly weakened. Cf. xlviii. 25; Dan. x. 17, &c.

XXII. 1. the heavens were opened and I saw. Ezek. i. 1; Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1, &c.
a voice was heard, i.e. the *bath-qôl*. Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; Rev. iv. 1.

3–8. In xxii. 3, 5 God replies, 'What is work without the result, and how can it be judged? So this life requires the consummation for its explanation (xxii. 3, 8 answer xxi. 13–17). Again, God replies 'all in due time' to Baruch's plea for haste (xxii. 6, 7 answer xxi. 19, &c.). Moreover, God is bound by His promise (xxii. 4 answers xxi. 25).

7. does . . . assuredly slay. A Hebraism.

XXIII. 1, 2. The future and the end are known only to God, and they alone explain the present. All time is alike to God, and he keeps the due proportion. A reply to xxi.

3. Text reads *وَمَنْ يَذْكُرُهُمْ*, 'who are remembered, and those who are to come', which I have emended into *وَمَنْ يَذْكُرُهُمْ* = 'who are appointed to come.'

4. when Adam sinned and death was decreed. There are two different views in this work regarding the physical effect of Adam's sin on mankind. (1) In B², i.e. in xvii. 3, xix. 8, xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. Cf. St. Paul. (2) In A³, i.e. liv. 15, lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only premature death.

See my Commentary *in loc.*

the multitude of those who should be born was numbered. God alone knew this secret (xxi. 10, xlviii. 46).

The number was unalterable, and had to be completed before the judgement could come (xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 33–43).
for that number a place was prepared. Cf. 2 Enoch xlix. 2, lviii. 5. In the Tractate Chagiga, fol. 15, col. 1,

it is said a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell.
the dead might be guarded, i.e. the righteous by angels (1 En. c. 5, &c.; the wicked by the guardians of the gates of Hades (2 En. xlii. 1).

5. The resurrection cannot come till mankind's secret number is fulfilled. In Rev. vi. 11; 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation comes with the fulfilling of the number of the saints, not of mankind. According to Jebam. 62^a the Messiah is not to come till 'all the souls have gone forth which are in the chambers' of souls. This chamber is here called *גִּבְעוֹן*.

Before. I emend *לֹא* (= 'unless' or 'but') into *حَتَّى*.

7. Cf. lxxxii. 2; Luke xxi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. *The coming Judgement.*

- 24¹ 'For behold! the days come and the books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasures in which the righteousness of all those who have
² been righteous in creation is gathered. For it shall come to pass at that time that thou shalt see—and †the many that are with† thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all who are born, (alike) those
³ who sin and (those who) are righteous.' And I answered and said: 'But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come.
⁴ For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when Thou wilt visit Thy works.'

XXV–XXVI. 1. *Sign of the coming Judgement.*

- 25¹ And He answered and said unto me: 'Thou too shalt be preserved till that time till that
² sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. This
³ therefore shall be the sign. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they
⁴ shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. And it will come to pass when they say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: "The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth"—yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake.'
 26¹ And I answered and said: 'Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will xxvi = E that necessity embrace many years?'

XXVII–XXX. 1. *The Twelve Woes that are to come upon the Earth: the Messiah and the temporary Messianic Kingdom.*

- 27¹ And He answered and said unto me: 'Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of xxvii–xxx.
² them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. In the first part there shall be the begin-¹ = A¹
³ ning of commotions. And in the second part (there shall be) slayings of the great ones. And in
⁴ the third part the fall of many by death. And in the fourth part the sending of the sword. And

XXIV. 1. **the books shall be opened.** Dan. vii. 10; 1 En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. Here the books record the sins of sinners only, as in 1 En. xc and probably Rev. (as cited). 4 Ezra vi. 10 has also 'another book of life'.

the treasures in which. Divine storehouses are a familiar idea in the O.T., e.g. of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12). Again, the idea of laying up spiritual things in store is found in the LXX, Prov. i. 18 *θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά* (cf. Pss. Sol. ix. 9). One may lay up treasures of works or faith (4 Ezra vii. 77, vi. 5); treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20); stores of wrath (Rom. ii. 5). *אוצר* and *θησαυρός* may mean the treasure itself, and the place where it is stored.

the righteousness of all, &c. The standard of righteousness was the Law. The legalistic wing of the Pharisees held it consisted first and mainly in fulfilling ceremonial observances. See, e.g. the Book of Jubilees. The prophetic wing, from whom emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, understood it primarily as the fulfilling of moral duties.

XXIV. 2–4. Probably followed originally on xx. See note on xiii–xxv.

†the many that are with† thee. See xiii. 5 (note). Read 'those like thee', i.e. the surviving righteous.

3–4. Baruch objects that no man knows when the end may come, and he knows only that Israel is in distress. What will the Gentiles suffer as the penalty (answered xiii. 3^b–12). When will they suffer it? (answered xxv).

4. **us.** Text reads 'me'.

XXV. Answers the question 'When wilt Thou visit Thy works'.

1. **the inhabitants of the earth,** always in a bad ethical sense in Baruch. See note on 1 Enoch xxxvii. 5 (also note in my Commentary on 2 Baruch).

3. **stupor.** Cf. lxxx. 2, and *excessus mentis* 4 Ezra xiii. 30.

4. At the end of the tribulation and torments the time of the judgement has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no room for the Messianic kingdom in xxix, which precedes the judgement.

XXVI. Added by the final editor in order to introduce xxvii–xxx. 1; xxv was originally followed by xiv–xix.

XXVII–XXX. 1. A fragment of a Messiah Apocalypse, A¹. (1) After terrible tribulation over all the earth, imperilling even the elect, a glorious kingdom of joy and plenty was to be established under the Messiah, who afterwards was to return in glory to heaven. The resurrection was to follow. The outlook is thoroughly optimistic. (2) Palestine was to escape the prevailing woes, and since there is no mention of a restoration of Jerusalem or of the setting up of the New Jerusalem, Jerusalem must still have been standing (Contrast B¹ and 4 Ezra xiii. 36). Thus the events of A. D. 70 could not have happened as yet. (3) In B¹ and B² Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile. The law, too, is the centre of interest and expectation in B¹ and B², but the Messiah in A¹, which has no allusion to the law, as B¹ and B² have no allusion to the Messiah.

XXVII. 1. We have twelvefold divisions in A³ (i.e. liii–lxxiv) and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, but there of world-history, here only of the tribulations preceding Messiah's coming. These travail-pains (*ᾠδίνες* Matt. xxiv. 8) in the Gospels precede Christ's second coming, and not His first appearance.

5. **the sword.** Cf. Jer. xxv. 16, 27.

- 7 in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. And in the sixth part earthquakes and
 8, 9 terrors. [Wanting.] And in the eighth part a multitude of spectres and attacks of the Shedim.
 10, 11, 12 And in the ninth part the fall of fire. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. And in
 13 the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling
 14 together of all those things aforesaid. For †these parts of that time are reserved, and† shall be
 15 mingled one with another and minister one to another. For some shall **leave out** some of their own,
 and receive (in its stead) from others, and some complete their own and that of others, so that those
 may not understand who are upon the earth in those days that this is the consummation of the times.
 28 1, 2 'Nevertheless, whosoever understandeth shall then be wise. For the measure and reckoning of
 3 that time are two parts a week of seven weeks.' And I answered and said: 'It is good for a man to
 4 come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. [But I will say this also : xxviii. 4-5
 5 Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the = E
 case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not
 6 corruptible?] But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold
 7 to me, so do Thou show this also unto me if indeed I have found grace in Thy sight. Is it in one
 place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are come to pass, or will the whole earth
 experience (them)?'
 29 1 And He answered and said unto me: 'Whatever will then befall (will befall) the whole earth;
 2 therefore all who live will experience (them). For at that time I will protect only those who are
 3 found in those self-same days in this land. And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that
 4 was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And Behemoth
 shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters
 which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall
 5 be for food for all that are left. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold and on each (?)

6, 7. **famine . . . earthquakes**, as signs of the end. Cf. lxx, 8; Matt. xxiv. 7, &c.

9. **spectres**. Or 'portents'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21.

10. **the fall of fire**. Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8.

14. As Ryssel has observed, this is corrupt. By reading **וְהָיָה**, instead of **וְהָיָה**, and omitting the following **וְהָיָה** we arrive at the following: 'these parts which till that time had been reserved (?) shall (then) be mingled', &c.

15. **leave out**. Text reads **וְהָיָה** = 'leave over'. But the context requires the sense of 'omitting', 'leaving out'. The error can be explained, if we suppose that *παρλείψουσι*, which has both the above meanings, stood before the translator and that he followed the wrong one here.

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Dan. xii. 10: 'the wise shall understand'.

2. Interpretation seems impossible.

3. The difficulty of faithfulness during the woes (cf. xli. 1, lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra xiii. 16-20; Matt. xxiv. 22) and the blessings which await those who endure.

4-5. These verses break the connexion of thought, and no account is taken of them in the context. An answer is given to the question in xliii. 2.

XXIX. 2. **I will protect**, &c. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A² the Messiah does so (xl. 2), and in A³ the Holy Land itself (lxx. 1). In B² it is the law that protects the faithful, wherever they dwell (xxxii. 1).

found . . . in this land. Cf. last note, and 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to A. D. 70. It first appears in Joel ii. 32 in Apocalyptic literature, though it was before for a time, in the eighth century B. C., the belief of the Jews. For the privileges attached to residence in Palestine see my Commentary *in loc.*

3. The Messiah's rôle here is passive. Cf. 1 En. xc. 37, 38; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. Contrast A² and A³ (e.g. xl) where the Messiah fights, destroys His enemies, and sets up His kingdom.

The phrase 'begin to be revealed' may be corrected to 'the principate of the Messiah will be revealed' (xxxix. 7) or 'Messiah the prince shall be revealed' (Dan. ix. 25).

Whence will Messiah be revealed? Here, and in xxx. 1, it seems from heaven; elsewhere, perhaps, from some place on earth. Cf. John vii. 27: 'When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.' Cf., too, 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The Messiah may be already born and yet not know his calling till Elijah comes and anoints him, in Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8.

The Talmud states that the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (Jer. Berachoth, p. 5).

4. **And Behemoth shall be revealed**, &c. For the full form of this myth see 4 Ezra vi. 49-52. The diction is so similar that both must quote from the same source—a lost short hexaemeron, like that in 4 Ezra vi. 38-54. See my Commentary *in loc.*

Behemoth . . . and Leviathan. See 1 En. lx. 7-9, 24 notes; Targ. Jon. on Gen. i. 21 'And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation'. Also Targum on Ps. l. 10.

all that are left. An indefinite statement; *quibus vis* in 4 Ezra vi. 52.

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a version in Irenaeus, v. 33. Papias is there said to ascribe it to our Lord. Irenaeus preserves a longer and fuller form than our text, and all seeds and fruit-trees share in the miraculous fruitfulness in his quotation. 1 En. x. 19 gives a still more fragmentary quotation.

We have, curiously, three diets provided in our syncretistic text for the members of the Messianic kingdom. In

K k

vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine. And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

30 1 'And it shall come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He shall return in glory.

XXX. 2-5. *The Resurrection.*

2 Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. And it shall come to pass at that time that the treasures will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved. For they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times. 4 But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more. 5 For they shall know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived.

XXXI-XXXIII. *Baruch exhorts the People to prepare themselves for worse Evils.*

31 1 And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: 'Assemble unto me all your elders and I will speak words unto them.' And they all assembled in the valley of the Cedron. And I answered and said unto them:

'Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee,
And give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee.

xxix. 4 flesh, in verse 5 vegetable, in verse 8 heavenly food, i. e. manna. The second is a return to Adam's food in Paradise.

As to the ten thousand-fold yield of corn and wine Dr. Rendel Harris gives a probable explanation in a misreading of 31 = 'plenty' in the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28) as 31 = 10,000.

each branch, &c. For 'each' the Syriac gives 'one' three times over, following the idiom in the Hebrew original. a cor, about 120 gallons.

6. rejoice. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xii. 34.

behold marvels. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27, xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4-6; John vii. 31.

8. the treasury of manna shall again descend. In Sibyll. Or. vii. 149 manna is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Rev. ii. 17 'hidden manna'.

consummation of time, i. e. the Messianic age. Cf. xxvii. 15. In xxx. 3 the phrase has a different meaning, but there we have the work of B².

XXX. 1. when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled. This seems to mean that after His reign the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. 'Advent' may be rendered 'presence', i. e. visible reign on earth.

return in glory, back to heaven, where He was before His revealing on earth. For His pre-existence see 1 Enoch xlvii. 1, 2, xlviii. 3 (note), &c. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30 the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep . . . shall rise again. The resurrection here follows immediately on the Messiah's return to heaven: but on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words 'of Him' spoil the sense, and the parallelism to LXX of Ps. xvi. 9 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

fallen asleep. We are not told the fate of the living, as A¹ is fragmentary.

2. Here we return to B², and resume the text that ended at xxiv. 1.

3. they know. Text reads 'he knows'.

the consummation of the times. Here = the final judgement. Contrast xxix. 8.

4. waste away. Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

XXXI-XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people. He exhorts them not to forget Zion and its anguish; the end of all that is corruptible is coming; the law, if they hold fast to it, will protect them when the whole creation is shaken; they are to grieve for the coming woe more than for the past, when the creation shall be renewed. Thereupon Baruch sends away the people, and when they remonstrate against his forsaking them, he rejoins that he is only going to the Holy Place to seek light from God. There he laments over Zion. (A fast of seven days should follow here.)

The subject of Baruch's address is to be found in each instance in the preceding revelation (as in v. 5, x. 4), but it will be observed that this address, xxxi. 3-xxxii. 6, is out of relation to all that has gone before. The gist of the address is (a) the end of corruption is at hand; (b) the law will save in the coming crisis; (c) the present creation must give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between Baruch and God. Thus, for (a) see xlii. 6-8; for (b) see xlviii. 22-4, 38-41; for (c) see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8-9, 16. Thus originally xxxi-xxxv followed lii. Moreover, xlv. 8-15 really concludes Baruch's address in xxxi, xxxii; i. e. it follows xxxii. 6. Thus xlviii-lii originally preceded xxxi-xxxv.

XXXI. 1. all your elders. See xlv. 1, note.

- 4 Forget not Zion,
But hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem.
- 5 For lo! the days come,
When everything that is shall become the prey of corruption
And be as though it had not been.
- 32¹ 'But as for you, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it shall protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it may be built again. But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until the time. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and perfected for evermore.] Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you.' And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said: 'Whither departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?'
- 33¹ 'Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and said unto thee: "Look to this people till I go and make ready the rest of the brethren †in† Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity"? And now if thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw from us.'

XXXIV-XXXV. *Lament of Baruch.*

- 34 And I answered and said unto the people: 'Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you.'
- 35¹ And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said:
- 2 'O that mine eyes were springs,
And mine eyelids a fount of tears.
- 3 For how shall I lament for Zion,
And how shall I mourn for Jerusalem?

5. shall become the prey of, lit. 'shall be taken to'. See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. prepare your hearts. An O.T. phrase, and a favourite expression in B¹ and B²; cf. xlv. 5, lii. 7, &c. the fruits of the law, i.e. good works. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20, ix. 32.

it shall protect. Cf. xlviii. 22-4, xlv. 13, 14.

shake the whole creation, i.e. to prepare for new heavens and a new earth. The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2-4. Here it is said that *after a little time* Zion will be destroyed. But according to xx. 1-2, xxxi. 4, xxxii. 5, xxxiii. 2-3, xxxv. 1 Jerusalem is already overthrown. These verses also break the connexion of thought between xxxii. 1 and xxxii. 5. The people are to prepare themselves by obedience to the law for the end of all things, xxxii. 1. Compared with this the evils attendant on the fall of Jerusalem are slight. These three verses are closely akin to Tobit xiv. 4-5. Cf. Ber. R. 2 and Pesikta 145 for a similar hope. These verses are an intrusion here.

2. Zion will be shaken. Apparently 'after a little time' = by Nebuchadnezzar in 588 B.C.

be built again, i.e. by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. again . . . be rooted out, i.e. by the Romans in A.D. 70.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem, see iv. 3, note.

5. be distressed. I have here followed Bensly's emendation of the Syriac, which has the active form instead of passive.

the evil which has now come = Jerusalem's fall.

6. two tribulations, i.e. those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. Perhaps 'than these two tribulations' is an addition; the text without them would run 'For the trial will be great when', &c.

renew His creation, i.e. replace the corruptible by the incorruptible world. See further li and lii. It was a current expectation after the captivity (cf. Isa. lxi. 17; 1 En. xlv. 4, note; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1).

7. This verse was originally preceded by xlv. 8-15.

for a few days, i.e. for the seven days' fast, omitted in xxxv. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18, 19.

XXXIII. 1. 2. See x. 2, note. According to B¹ Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon. On 'make ready' see note on x. 2. Here the 'in' is decidedly corrupt. See note on x. 2.

3. Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44, 48.

XXXIV. Holy of Holies. Cf. x. 5, xxxv. 1; the holy place, xxxv. 4, where the altar stood.

XXXV. 2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. 1 En. xcvi. 1.

- 4 Because in that place where I am now prostrate,
Of old the high priest offered holy sacrifices,
And placed thereon an incense of fragrant odours.
- 5 But now our glorying has been made into dust,
And the desire of our soul into sand.'

XXXVI-XXXVII. *The Vision of the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar.*

- 36^{1, 2} And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. And lo! ^{xxxvi.-xl} a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty and rugged rocky mountains surrounded it, and that = A².
3 forest occupied much space. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth
4 a fountain peacefully. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and
those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the greater part of that forest, and
5 overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. And the height of the forest began to be
made low, and the top of the mountains was made low and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it
6 left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. Also when it had cast it down and had
destroyed and rooted out the greater part of that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its
place be recognized, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity,
and it came to a place which was not far from that cedar, and they brought the cedar which had
7 been cast down to it. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that
cedar: 'Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means
8 wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. And thou didst keep
conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion,
and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew
nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as
9, 10 one that could not be rooted out! But now thy time has sped and thine hour is come. Do thou
also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it,
11 and let your ashes be mingled together. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy
last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more.'
- 37 And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the
plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII-XL. *Interpretation of the Vision.*

- 38¹ And I prayed and said: 'O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by
2, 3 understanding. Thy law is life, and Thy wisdom is right guidance. Make known to me therefore
4 the interpretation of this vision. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law,
and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom.'

THE SIXTH SECTION. XXXVI-XLVI. We must insert a seven days' fast after xxxv to keep the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor. The structure of this section is then as follows: first, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi-xl) with disclosures as to apostates and proselytes (xli. 2-xlii. 8), and an announcement as to Baruch's coming death (xliii), and finally Baruch's address to the people (xliv-xlvi). This section is very composite. xxxvi-xl is a Messiah Apocalypse earlier than A.D. 70; xliii-xliv. 7, xlv-xlvi. 6 belongs to B¹; the rest mainly to B².

XXXVI-XL. The Second Messiah Apocalypse, A².

(a) Date of A²—before A. D. 70. Unlike B¹ and B² it has no mention of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem; nor has it a restoration of the city for the Messiah's rule, or a return of the dispersion. A² is optimistic as regards this world, unlike B²; and centres its hope on the Messiah, not the law, unlike B¹ and B².

(b) Relation of A² to A¹. In A¹ the Messiah has a passive rôle; here an active one, destroying the wicked and vindicating Israel.

XXXVI. 1. These visions are only found in A² and A³. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.

2. This vision is obviously founded in some respects on Ezek. xvii.

8. rooted out. This word עקר is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome.

11. in anguish. See xxx. 5, where the intermediate state involves some degree of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. unfading flowers. Cf. Apoc. Pet.

XXXVIII. 1. God Himself interprets this vision for Baruch: but Ramiel the vision in A² (see lv. 3).

2. Thy law is life. Cf. xlv. 2; Sir. xlv. 5. Hillel (Aboth. ii. 7): 'The more law the more life . . . he who gains knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come.' Also see John vii. 49.

Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based on the Massoretic text of Eccles. x. 10, where the versions vary.

4. from my (earliest) days. This is the Hebrew idiom מִיָּמַי, as in 1 Kings i. 6.

39₁ And He answered and said unto me: 'Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which thou
₂ hast seen. As thou hast seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is
₃ the word. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion,
₄ and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. Moreover, that also again after a time will be
₅ destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be
₆ far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it
₇ will hold fast for times, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. And by it the truth
₈ will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and
₉ creep into the forest. And it will come to pass when the time of its consummation that it should
₁₀ fall has approached, then the **princiate** of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain
₁₁ and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host. And as touching
₁₂ that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and the fact, that the vine
₁₃ spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

40₁ 'The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the
₂ sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict
₃ him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. And afterwards
₄ he will put him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which
₅ I have chosen. And his princiate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end,
₆ and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation.'

XLI-XLII. *The Destiny of the Apostates and of the Proselytes.*

41₁ And I answered and said: 'For whom and for how many shall these things be? or who will be ^{xli-xlii}
₂ worthy to live at that time? For I will speak before thee everything that I think, and I will ask of ^{= B²}
₃ Thee regarding those things which I meditate. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have with-
₄ drawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. But others again I have seen
₅ who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. What therefore will be to
₆ them? or how will the last time receive them? Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be
₇ weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?'

42_{1, 2} And He answered and said unto me: 'These things also will I show unto thee. As for what
₃ thou didst say—"To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?"—to those who have
₄ believed there shall be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there shall
₅ be the contrary of these things. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn

XXXIX. 3-5. Of the four world-empires here mentioned undoubtedly the first is Babylon (ver. 3), and the fourth Rome (5-7; xxxvi. 5-10). The second and third are probably Persia and the Diadochi. The fourfold division of world-empires is due to Dan. vii, where the fourth kingdom is decidedly different, as 4 Ezra xii. 11-12 admits.

6. the truth will be hidden. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where the same statement is made about Rome.

7. the princiate of My Messiah. For אֲרִמְלִיּוּת = 'beginning', read אֲרִמְלִיּוּת = 'princiate', as in xl. 3, lxxv. 8. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who is this last leader? Probably Pompey, as 'his impieties' suggests (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24-35).

The Talmud says a single leader, called Armilus, was to unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. See Weber, 365, 366.

My Messiah. In A¹ (i. e. xxvii-xxx. 1) God Himself protects Israel and destroys their enemies, and the Messiah only appears after this (xxix. 3). Here the Messiah takes the active part.

convict of . . . impieties. So Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

2. protect the rest, &c. See xxix. 2, note.

3. for ever, until . . . , or 'for the age'. Cf. lxxiii. 1. The Messianic kingdom belongs to the *olam hazzeh* (see xxi. 19, note).

XLI, XLII. These two chapters belong to B², and originally followed xxx. As in xx, the times are hastened (xlii. 6) in order to usher in the end, the resurrection, and the life of incorruption. The chief topics in these chapters are: (1) the ultimate destiny of the apostates; (2) that of the proselytes.

XLI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2-5; which it originally preceded in B². For the question cf. lxxv. 5.

3. These apostates may be Christians.

yoke of Thy law. 'Yoke' means 'obligation'. Cf. Sirach li. 26. Cf. for this phrase Pss. Sol. vii. 8, xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1. Contrast Matt. vi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, i. e. the גֵּרִים . Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133.

their vanity, i. e. idols (Deut. xxxii. 21).

fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. The writer follows the Hebrew text of Ps. xxxvi. 8, as against the LXX and Syriac. The phrase is used of a proselyte in Ruth ii. 12. Cf. Shabbath 31^a.

5. the last time, described in xxx. 2-5.

XLII. 2. those who have believed. See liv. 5, note; also xxi. 9, note.

- 4 near and those who have withdrawn this is the word. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples, the time of these was
 5 the former, and was accounted as something exalted. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the
 6 time of these (is) the latter, and is accounted as something exalted. And time shall succeed to time and season to season, and one shall receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation shall everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons.
 7, 8 For corruption shall take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. And the dust shall be called, and there shall be said to it: "Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time".

XLIII. *Baruch told of his Death and bidden to give his last Commands to the People.*

- 43 1 'But, do thou, Baruch, direct thy heart to that which has been said to thee,
 And understand those things which have been shown to thee;
 For there are many eternal consolations for thee.
 2 For thou shalt depart from this place,
 And thou shalt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee,
 And thou shalt forget whatever is corruptible,
 And shalt not again recall those things which happen among mortals.
 3 Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days,
 and then I will come to thee and speak with thee.'

xlili-xliv.
7 = B¹

XLIV. 1-8, XLV-XLVI. *Baruch tells the Elders of his impending Death, but encourages them to expect the Consolation of Zion.*

- 44 1 And I, Baruch, went from thence, and came to my people, and I called my first-born son and [the Gedaliahs] my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them:
 2 'Behold, I go unto my fathers
 According to the way of all the earth.

4. The apostates have only this world.
 mingled peoples. Jer. xxv. 20, 24.
 5. of the people. The Syriac reads 'peoples', which does not suit Israel, though it does suit the proselytes.
 separated itself, i.e. the legalistic Israel by the 'fence' of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The 'separatists' are the Pharisees.
 the latter. So Kabisch emends. The text reads 'the former'. Thus the proselytes inherit the world to come.
 6. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.
 8. Give back, &c. Cf. I. 2. The earth gives back the body; Sheol the soul, in virtue of its relation to which the body is conceived as persisting, and even sensitive. Job xiv. 22.

XLIII-XLVI. These chapters belong to B¹, with the exception of xlv. 8-15. They do not belong to B², for in xliii. 2, xlv. 2, lxxviii. 5, lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death and forget all the concerns of mortals, whereas in B² he is to be preserved till the last day to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel, xlii. 3, xxv. 1, xlviii. 30. Again the people are assured of good tidings in store for them xlv. 6, as in lxxvii. 12, and bidden to look for the restoration of Zion (lxxxi. 1, 4 taken with i. 4, vi. 9), whereas in B² there is no consolation of any kind for them in this world.

XLIV. 8-15 belongs to B²; for the present world is hopeless—defiled with evil xlv. 9, and with its corruption about to pass away xlv. 8; it is, moreover, to be given over to oblivion xlv. 9—a statement in flat contradiction with iv. 1. Accordingly all hope is to be directed to the world to come xlv. 15, the promised inheritance xlv. 13, the world of incorruption xlv. 12. The original position of xlv. 8-15 was after xxxii. 6. These verses presuppose xlviii-liv, just as xxxi-xxxv presuppose them; see note on xxxi-xxxv.

- XLIII. 1. Refers probably to some lost passage of B¹.
 2. thou shalt depart. The word and the context indicate ordinary death here. Cf. xlv. 2.
 whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.
 3. command thy people, i.e. impart to them the disclosures just made to Baruch. As Baruch has just been told of his coming death, the word 'command' (צִוִּיתִי) is here used in the technical Hebrew sense of giving one's last command.
 this place. This conflicts with xlvii. 1—to Hebron.

XLIV. 1. son. Elsewhere only in xlv. 1.
 [the Gedaliahs]. Possibly this phrase belongs to the text, but has originated in a corrupt transliteration of גִּדְיָהוּ 'the great men'.
 seven of the elders. Seven only, as the city is now destroyed. In v. 5, before its fall, he summons them all.
 2. Contrast xlii. 3 (see note).

- 3 But withdraw ye not from the way of the law,
But guard and admonish the people which remain,
Lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One.
- 4 For ye see that He whom we serve is just,
And our Creator is no respecter of persons.
- 5 And see ye what hath befallen Zion,
And what hath happened to Jerusalem.
- 6 For the judgement of the Mighty One shall (thereby) be made known,
And His ways, which, though past finding out, are right.
- 7 For if ye endure and persevere in His fear,
And do not forget His law,
The times shall change over you for good,
And ye shall see the consolation of Zion.
- 8, 9 Because whatever is now is nothing,
But that which shall be is very great.
For everything that is corruptible shall pass away,
And everything that dies shall depart,
And all the present time shall be forgotten,
Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils.
- 10 For that which runs now runs unto vanity,
And that which prospers shall quickly fall and be humiliated.
- 11 For that which is to be shall be the object of desire,
And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope;
For it is a time that passes not away,
- 12 And the hour comes which abides for ever.
And the new world (comes) which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness,
And has no mercy on those who depart to torment,
And leads not to perdition those who live in it.
- 13 For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of,
And theirs is the inheritance of the promised time.
- 14 These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom,
And with them are found stores of understanding,
And from mercy have they not withdrawn,
And the truth of the law have they preserved.
- 15 For to them shall be given the world to come,
But the dwelling of the rest who are many shall be in the fire.'
- 45 2 'Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. For if ye ^{xliv-xlvi.6}
teach them, ye will quicken them.' = B¹
- 46 1 And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: 'Has the Mighty One
humiliated us to such a degree
As to take thee from us quickly?

xliv. 8-15
= B²

3. **commandments of the Mighty One.** Cf. xlviii. 38.
5. These words vividly recall vi-viii. See note on xliii-xlvi above.
6. **which, though . . . right.** The text = 'which are past finding out and right'.
7. **the consolation of Zion**, i.e. its restoration. Cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt, according to B¹.
(Cf. vi. 9.)
8-15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6. See note on xliii-xlvi above.
9. **corruptible.** Cf. xxi. 19, note.
12. **the new world.** Cf. the new creation (xxxii. 6), and li. 3; lii. 9, 16.
who depart to its blessedness. The text here has 'on its beginning', which gives no parallel to 'to torment' in the next clause, and no sense in itself. A corruption in the original Hebrew easily explains the difficulty and restores the sense, בראשו for באשרו. Ryssel reproduces this emendation without acknowledgement.
14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The treasures in xxiv. 1 are those of righteousness.
15. **in the fire.** Cf. xlviii. 39, 43, lix. 2, lxiv. 7, lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B¹ reappears here, and the connexion broken at xlv. 7 is resumed.
2. **if ye teach**, &c. Cf. Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the true scribe's work. Cf. xxxviii. 2, xlv. 7.

- 2 And truly we shall be in darkness,
And there shall be no light to the people who are left.
- 3 For where again shall we seek the law,
Or who will distinguish for us between death and life?’
- 4 And I said unto them: ‘The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist;
Nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel a wise man
Nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.
- 5 But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may obey the law,
And be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding;
And prepare your souls that ye may not depart from them.
- 6 For if ye do these things,
Good tidings shall come unto you.

[Which I before told you of; nor shall ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before.] xlv. 6^c-7

7 But with regard to the word that I was to be taken I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.] = E

- 47¹ And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: ‘Behold! xlvii-lii.]
I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me.’ And I came to that place where the = B²
word had been spoken unto me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

XLVIII. 1-47. PRAYER OF BARUCH.

- 48¹ And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said
- 2 ‘O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times,
And they stand before Thee;
Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away,
And they do not resist Thee;
Thou arrangeest the method of the seasons,
And they obey Thee.
- 3 Thou alone knowest the duration of the generations,
And Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many.
- 4 Thou makest known the multitude of the fire,
And Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.
- 5 Thou explorest the limit of the heights,
And Thou scrutinizest the depths of the darkness.

XLVI. 4. **a son of the law** = בן מצוה, i. e. one bound to observe the Law. An answer to the question put in iii. 6^b. The expression seems to occur here first in existing literature. The verse means: There never should be lacking wise teachers and obedient servants of the Law. The expression has nothing to do with בר מכלאן as Ryssel suggests.

5. **be subject**. Obedience to the Rabbis is here enforced.

6^c-7. This addition was made by the final editor to adapt the fragment of B¹ just given to its new context. Contrast xlv. 1.

6^c. **the torment**. This refers to xlv. 12, 15.

7. **I was to be taken**. Cf. xlii. 3, note, xlviii. 30. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. See Commentary *in loc.* Also N.T. (Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16).

THE SEVENTH SECTION. XLVII-LXXVII. First we have Baruch's fast of seven days, followed by his prayer (xlvii. 2-xlviii. 24). Then in the dialogue ensuing various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgement (xlviii. 26-41), and the resurrection (1-lii). There follows a Messiah Apocalypse (lii-lxxiv = A³). In lxxvi Baruch is told of his coming translation, and in lxxvii he addresses the people.

This section is composite; xlviii-lii is derived from B²; liii-lxxiv from A³; lxxv-lxxvi from B²; and lxxvii from B¹.

XLVII. 1. Why this journey to Hebron? Baruch has received no such command in our text. This verse is probably original to B¹ or B²; it seems, moreover, corrupt. After dismissing the people, Baruch addresses them! The ‘gone forth’ and ‘went thence’ possibly refer to ‘the cavern in the earth’ in xxi. 1. As chapters xxi-xxiv. 1, xxx. 2-5, xli, xlii belong to B², and in some sense form a whole, they may be connected with the cavern as their scene. If so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B².

2. Conflicts with verse 1, and is due, like xliii. 3, to the final editor.

- 6 Thou **carest for** the number which pass away **that** they may be preserved,
And Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be.
- 7 Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made,
And the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not.
- 8 With nods of fear and †indignation† Thou commandest the flames,
And they change into spirits,
And with a word Thou quickenest that which was not,
And with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come.
- 9 Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee,
And Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders.
- 10 Armies innumerable stand before Thee
And minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod.
- 11 Hear Thy servant
And give ear to my petition.
- 12 For in a little time are we born,
And in a little time do we return.
- 13 But with Thee hours are as a time,
And days as generations.
- 14 Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing
15 And take not account of our works; For what are we?
For lo! by Thy gift do we come into the world,
And we depart not of our own will.
- 16 For we said not to our parents, "Beget us,"
Nor did we send to Sheol and say, "Receive us."
- 17 What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath,
Or what are we that we should endure Thy judgement?
- 18 Protect us in Thy compassions,
And in Thy mercy help us.
- 19 Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee,
And save all that draw nigh unto Thee:
And destroy not the hope of our people,
And cut not short the times of our aid.
- 20 For this is the **nation** which Thou hast chosen,
And these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal.
- 21 But I will speak now before Thee,
And I will say as my heart thinketh.
- 22 In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us,
And we know that we shall not fall so long as we keep Thy statutes.

XLVIII. 6. See xxiii. 4, note.

Thou carest for. The text here follows a wrong sense of פקד in the Hebrew original, and so gives 'commandest'. **that they may.** Text reads 'and they are'. The Greek translator appears to have rendered וְיִשְׁמְרֵם wrongly.

8. †indignation†. See note on xxi. 6.

flames . . . spirits. Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

9. **the spheres . . . in their orders.** Cf. 1 En. ii. 1; 2 En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.

10. **in their orders.** Jews held there were ten orders; Christians nine.

13. We should expect 'time is as hours', &c.

15. **depart not.** In xiv. 11 men 'come not of their own will'. In 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.

18. See lxxv. 6.

19. **subject unto Thee.** Cf. xlii. 4 = Jews.

that draw nigh. Cf. xli. 4, xlii. 3 = proselytes.

20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27.

the nation, a necessary emendation (אֶלְהֵם) for the unmeaning (חַבְּמָה). Ceriani proposes 'the servant'.

22. See xv. 5, note.

- 23 [To all time are we blessed at all events in this that we have not mingled with the Gentiles.]
 24 For we are all one celebrated people,
 Who have received one law from One:
 And the law which is amongst us will aid us,
 And the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us.'
- 25, 26 And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. And He answered and said unto me:
 'Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch,
 And all thy words have been heard.
- 27 But My judgement exacts its own
 And My law exacts its rights.
- 28 For from thy words I will answer thee,
 And from thy prayer I will speak to thee.
- 29 For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he
 30 could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor accepted My long-suffering. There-
 31 fore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee. For that time shall arise which brings
 affliction; for it shall come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it shall be turbulent coming in
 32 the heat of indignation. And it shall come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the
 earth shall be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgement has drawn nigh.
- 33 For there shall not be found many wise at that time,
 And the intelligent shall be but a few:
 Moreover, even those who know shall most of all be silent.
- 34 And there shall be many rumours and tidings not a few,
 And the doings of phantasmata shall be manifest,
 And promises not a few be recounted,
 Some of them (shall prove) idle,
 And some of them shall be confirmed.
- 35 And honour shall be turned into shame,
 And strength humiliated into contempt,
 †And probity destroyed,†
 And beauty shall become ugliness.
- 36 And many shall say to many at that time:
 "Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself,
 And whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?"

23. This verse is bracketed as a prosaic intrusion.

24. one law from One. lxxv. 14. This is directed against Christians.

the law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; and xxxii. 1. Cf., too, *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel ii, 190) 'sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adiutorium dedit.'

29. The Syriac text is unintelligible.

31-41. The last woes and the final judgement. Cf. xxvii-xxix. 1; lxx. 2-10.

32. shall be moved. Text reads *ܠܡܬܪܝܬܐ* (= 'shall rest') which I emended in 1896 into *ܠܡܬܠܚܝܬܐ* 'shall be moved'.

33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse resembles what Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: 'Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis.'

34. Cyprian again seems to quote 'alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta'. For the many impostors cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24.

35. Of the four lines in this stanza three give a series of paronomasiae when retranslated into Hebrew, as in xxi. 14. Thus the first, second, and fourth run:

כבוד יהפך לקלון
 עו יורד אל בוז
 יופי יהיה לדופי

As regards the third it is certainly corrupt. The analogy of the other three leads us to expect a paronomasia here also. The Syriac is *ܠܡܬܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܠܚܝܬܐ*, where the first word may be corrupt for *ܠܡܬܠܚܝܬܐ*. The text would then = 'and understanding would become foolishness.' This at once gives a good sense and a paronomasia on the Hebrew, i.e. *שכל יהיה לכסל*.

On the last line cf. xxi. 14; lxxxiii. 12.

36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9-11. Does Cyprian refer to this in his quotation (*Testim.* iii. 29)?—'Quaeritis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non inuenietis.'

- 37 And whilst they are meditating these things,
Then envy shall arise in those who had not thought aught of themselves (?)
And passion shall seize him that is peaceful,
And many shall be stirred up in anger to injure many,
And they shall rouse up armies in order to shed blood,
And in the end they shall perish together with them.
- 38 And it shall come to pass at the self-same time,
That a change of times shall manifestly appear to every man,
Because in all those times they polluted themselves
And they practised oppression,
And walked every man in his own works,
And remembered not the law of the Mighty One.
- 39 Therefore a fire shall consume their thoughts,
And in flame shall the meditations of their reins be tried ;
For the Judge shall come and will not tarry.
- 40 Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was transgressing.
But My Law they knew not by reason of their pride.
- 41 But many shall then assuredly weep,
Yea, over the living more than over the dead.'
- 42 And I answered and said :
'O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?
And what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent ?
- 43 For all this multitude are going to corruption,
Nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours.
- 44, 45 But again I will speak in Thy presence. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy
46 creature. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the
number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have
47 existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. And as regards all these their end shall convict
them, and Thy law which they have transgressed shall requite them on Thy day.'

XLVIII. 48-50. *Fragment of an Address of Baruch to the People.*

- 48 ['But now let us dismiss the wicked and inquire about the righteous.
49 And I will recount their blessedness
And not be silent in celebrating their glory, which is reserved for them.
50 For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which ye live, ye have endured much
labour,
So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light.']

37. Cf. lxx. 6.

38. walked every man, &c. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.

the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xlv. 3, 7.

40. knew when he was transgressing. Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4, and see xv. 6 note, where Israel is referred to as knowing the law. Here all men know when they do wrong. Cf. Rom. ii. 14, 15.

My Law they knew not by reason of their pride. The Talmud says the Gentiles rejected the law, which was designed for all nations. See, too, 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73.

41. The load of sin increases with time, and so will its penalty.

42-50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments they brought upon their posterity ! Yet God, as Creator, knows what is in man ; the number of men that are to be, and their sins (42-6). The law and the judgement will give all their due, so let us inquire rather about the blessedness to come for the righteous who now awhile endure labour.

42. The mention of fire shows that spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, whereas in xvii. 3, &c., it is only physical death that is so traced. In 4 Ezra both are always traced to Adam (e.g. iii. 21, 22). But this spiritual death is not due to the incapacity of man for righteousness after the fall, but to his following of his own choice in the steps of Adam.

46. command the dust to produce Adam. 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5 ; vii. 116.

the number . . . born. See xxiii. 5, note.

48-50. A fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people, as verse 50 shows, and not to God. Another fragment of this same address, originally preceding 48-50 here, is given in liv. 16-18, and yet another, following 48-50, in lii. 5-7.

49. be silent in celebrating. A Hebrew idiom.

50. Cf. xv. 8.

XLIX-LII. *The Nature of the Resurrection Body: the final Destinies of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

- 49¹ 'Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things.
² "In what shape will those live who live in Thy day?
 Or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue?
³ Will they then resume this form of the present,
 And put on these entrammelling members,
 Which are now involved in evils,
 And in which evils are consummated,
 Or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world
 As also the world?"'
 50¹ And He answered and said unto me: 'Hear, Baruch, this word,
 And write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn.
² For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead,
 [Which it now receives, in order to preserve them].
 It shall make no change in their form,
 But as it has received, so shall it restore them,
 And as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them.
³ For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that
⁴ those who had departed have returned (again). And it shall come to pass, when they have severally
 recognized those whom they now know, then judgement shall grow strong, and those things which
 before were spoken of shall come.
 51¹ 'And it shall come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those
² who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. For the
 aspect of those who now act wickedly shall become worse than it is, as they shall suffer torment.
³ Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding
 in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour shall be
 glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that
 they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to
⁴ them. For over this above all shall those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped
⁵ their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. When therefore they see those,
 over whom they are now exalted, (but) who shall then be exalted and glorified more than they, they
 shall respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former shall yet
⁶ more waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. For they shall first
 behold and afterwards depart to be tormented.

XLIX. 2. *In what shape, &c.* Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35 'How are the dead raised up? and with what manner of body do they come?'

splendour, or perhaps 'appearance'; also in li. 3, 5.

3. *entrammelling members*, lit. 'members of bonds'.

L-LI. The nature of the resurrection body. The world in its renewal becomes undying (li. 3), incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible to mortal vision (li. 8). This conception of transformation, which is as old as Isa. lxxv. 17-lxxvi, was applied in due course to those who were to live in the renewed world. This is done partially in Isa. lxxv. 17-25, but fully in Dan. xii. 2. Also in 1 Enoch civ. 4, 6, &c. Thus the spiritual transformation was a familiar idea to the Pharisees before the writers of Baruch lived; while 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. liv. 17. Paul was not altogether an innovator, but an able and advanced expositor of some current Jewish views.

Opposed to this spiritual view of the future life lay the materialistic one prevalent among people and Rabbis alike, which said the blessed should beget children, and eat the flesh of Leviathan. (Weber 383, 384.)

L. 2. See notes on xi. 4; xlii. 8; 1 Enoch li. 1. The resurrection united soul (from Sheol, its abode, xxi. 23) and body (resting in the earth, xlii. 8). Note that here the earth preserves the body intact, as committed to it.

4. The object for which the dead are raised is for common recognition. So also *Beresh. rab.* 95 and the later Judaism. Contrast the silence of the N.T.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living also is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.
aspect. So Ceriani emends the text.

3. *justified in My law.* See xv. 5, note.

root of wisdom. lix. 7; Sir. i. 6, 20; Wisdom iii. 15.

their splendour. Their bodies gradually are assimilated to their new environment.

4. *rejected*, i. e. wicked Gentiles as well as Israelites.

stopped their ears, follows Hebrew of Zech. vii. 11; not LXX.

5. *waste away*, not 'be annihilated'. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 87.

- 7 But those who have been saved by their works,
And to whom the law has been now a hope,
And understanding an expectation,
And wisdom a confidence,
Shall wonders appear in their time.
- 8 For they shall behold the world which is now invisible to them,
And they shall behold the time which is now hidden from them :
- 9 And time shall no longer age them.
- 10 For in the heights of that world shall they dwell,
And they shall be made like unto the angels,
And be made equal to the stars,
And they shall be changed into every form they desire,
From beauty into loveliness,
And from light into the splendour of glory.
- 11 For there shall be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there shall be shown to them the
beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of
the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a
12 command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. Moreover, there shall then be
13 excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. For the first shall receive the last, those
whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away.
- 14 For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation,
And laid down the burthen of anguish.
- 15 For what then have men lost their life,
And for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul ?
- 16 For then they chose (not) for themselves this time,
Which, beyond the reach of anguish, could not pass away :
But they chose for themselves that time,
Whose issues are full of lamentations and evils,
And they denied the world which ages not those who come to it,
And they rejected the time of glory,
So that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before.'
- 52 1 And I answered and said :
'How can we forget those for whom woe is then reserved ?
2 And why therefore do we again mourn for those who die ?
Or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol ?
3 Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment,
And let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time.
4 [But even in the face of these things will I speak.
5 And as for the righteous, what will they do now ?
6 Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer :
For why do ye look for the decline of your enemies ?
7 Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you,
And prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you.']

9. After this verse read probably verses 13 and 14, then 10, 11, and 12 as climax.
10. Note spiritual conception. The risen righteous live in the heights of the invisible world (8, 10), and their glory is more than that of the angels (12).
equal to the stars. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
11. living creatures . . . beneath the throne. Rev. iv. 6.
armies of the angels. Cf. 2 Enoch xvii; Test. Lev. iii. 3. The brackets indicate a gloss or dittograph.
13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42; also Matt. xix. 30.
15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.
16. I have added a negative in the first clause, as the sense requires it—an addition accepted by Ryssel. So too in lvi. 14, where Ceriani also inserts it.
of glory. So Ryssel has emended text which reads 'and glory'.
LII. 1. we. Text reads 'I' which Ryssel has emended.
2, 3. We should weep rather for those destined to torments than those who depart to Sheol.
5-7. See note on xlvi. 48-50.
6. Cf. lxxxviii. 6; James i. 2. The sentiment looks Christian.

LIII-LXXIV. THE MESSIAH APOCALYPSE.

LIII. *The Vision of the Cloud with black and white Waters.*

53¹ And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit. And I saw the cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it covered all the earth. And it came to pass after these things that that cloud began to pour upon the earth the waters that were in it. And I saw that there was not one and the same likeness in the waters which descended from it. For in the first beginning they were black and many for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. And after these things I saw how that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, seized hold of it and hurled it to the earth. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought devastation. And it took hold of the whole earth, and had dominion over it. And I saw after these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

LIV-LV. *Baruch's Prayer for an Interpretation of the Vision: Ramiel's advent for this Purpose.*

54¹ And I besought the Mighty One, and said:
 'Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world,
 And the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word,
 And against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times,
 And the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest.
² <Thou> for whom nothing is too hard,
 But who dost everything easily by a nod:
³ <Thou> to whom the depths †come† as the heights,
 And whose word the beginnings of the ages serve:

LIII-LXXIV. The third Messiah Apocalypse, or A³. In date it seems to be prior to A.D. 70 (lxviii. 5-6), and subsequent to A.D. 50. If this is the date of this section, it is distinct from B¹ and B², which were composed subsequently to the fall of the Temple. In B¹ and B² there is no expectation of the Messiah, whereas in A³ the Messiah is the centre of interest. Again, it appears to be distinct from A¹; for in A¹ the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed, whereas in A³ the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. The relations of A³ to A² are doubtful. They could come from the same hand. The warlike character of the Messiah in this section is noteworthy.

LIII. In this vision a cloud rises from the sea with its summit crowned with lightning. After six successions of black and bright waters, comes the blackest shower of all. Then the lightning flashes forth and heals the earth.

1. **a very great sea.** Cf. Dan. vii. 2.

5. **and many.** Here, as the words in the next line 'not many' show, we expect 'and many'. Hence with Ryssel I emend  into .

6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12.

7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix, lxx. They symbolize the travail pains of the Messiah.

8. The lightning on the cloud symbolizes the Messiah. The imagery is derived from Dan. vii. 13.

9. **lightning shone . . . whole earth.** Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27 'as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of man'.

12. Are these twelve rivers the Gentiles submitting to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. Before this chapter the MS. inserts the words 'The Prayer of Baruch'.

2. I have with Ryssel restored 'Thou' at the beginning of verses 2, 3, 4. The context requires this restoration. **for whom nothing is too hard.** This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27.

- 4 <Thou> who revealest to those who fear Thee what is prepared for them,
That thenceforth they may be comforted.
- 5 Thou showest great acts to those who know not ;
Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant,
And lightest up what is dark,
And revealest what is hidden to the pure,
[Who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law.]
- 6 Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision ;
Reveal to me also its interpretation.
- 7 For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response,
And as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me with what voice I should praise Thee,
And from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee.
- 8 For if my members were mouths,
And the hairs of my head voices,
Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise,
Nor laud thee as is befitting,
Nor could I recount Thy praise,
Nor tell the glory of Thy beauty.
- 9 For what am I amongst men,
Or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I,
That I have heard all these marvellous things from the Most High,
And numberless promises from Him who created me?
- 10 Blessed be my mother among those that bear,
And praised among women be she that bare me.
- 11 For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One,
And with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds.
- 12 For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God,
Or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought †of life†.
- 13 For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created,
And Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee,
And the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared.
- 14 And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law,
And the torment of judgement shall await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power.
- 15 For though Adam first sinned
And brought untimely death upon all,
Yet of those who were born from him
Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
- 16 [For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward.
- 17 But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye shall speedily
be visited, in that formerly ye rejected the understanding of the Most High.
- 18 For His works have not taught you,
Nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.]

4. **Thee.** So I emend text = 'Him'.

5. **in faith.** See note on liv. 21. I have bracketed this line as a later addition.

10. An interpolation? it breaks the connexion. Cf. Luke xi. 27.

14. Cf. xlviii. 40.

15-19. The two doctrines of fate and free-will, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. St. Paul alone develops them into naked antagonism. The general tendency was to insist on free-will as here, and in the Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 224 sq.). See my Commentary, *in loc.*

15. The effect of Adam's sin is limited to physical results—the premature death of his descendants. Contrast the pessimism of 4 Ezra.

untimely. See xxiii. 4, note.

16-18. See xlviii. 48-50, note. These verses break the context and are out of place here. They properly precede xlviii. 48-50. A direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.

18. God's law can be learnt in nature. Cf. Rom. i. 20. This argument is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (e.g. Ps. xix. 1).

- 19 Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul,
But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul.
- 20 But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding those things which Thou hast revealed to me,
And inform me regarding that which I besought Thee.
- 21 For at the consummation of the world vengeance shall be taken upon those who have done
wickedness according to their wickedness,
And Thou wilt glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness.
- 22 For those who are amongst Thine own Thou rulest,
And those who sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own.'

- 55 1 And it came to pass when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there under
2 a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the branches. And I wondered and was astonished, and
pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth
have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that
3 they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. And when I was pondering on
these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and
he said unto me:
- 4 'Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee?
- 5 For if **owing** to the report **which** thou hast only heard of judgement thou art so moved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes?
- 6 And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so
overcome,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent?
- 7 And, if at the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou
art so wholly distraught,
How much more when the event will reveal marvellous things?
- 8 And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art
grieved,
What (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal,
Which shall convict these and cause those to rejoice.'

LVI-LXXIV. *Interpretation of the Vision. The black and bright Waters symbolize the World's
History from Adam to the Advent of the Messiah.*

- 56 1 'Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation
2 of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to tell thee. And the Mighty One hath
assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that
are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creation even unto its consummation,
3 of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. For as thou didst see a
great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration
of the world (= αἰών) which the Mighty One made when he took counsel to make the world.
4 And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the
world had come into being in a small degree, and **was established** according to the multitude of
5 the intelligence of Him who sent it. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the
cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith
Adam the first man transgressed.

19. See verse 15, note. Man's guilt and sin are due to his own action, and are not derived from Adam. The evil impulse is not sin unless obeyed. It is placed in man, say the Talmudists, to be overcome (Weber, 217 sq.).

21. **the faithful according to their faithfulness.** Here 'faithfulness' is contrasted with 'wickedness', so it is 'righteousness' or 'fidelity to the law'; but elsewhere in this work 'faith' = 'belief'. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 5 for the former sense.

LV. 3. **Ramiel.** Cf. lxiii. 6; 1 En. xx. 7 (Greek); 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Syriac); 'Sibyll. Or. ii. 215-17. In 4 Ezra Ramiel answers a question, as here. Elsewhere he has charge of souls for judgement.

5. **owing . . . which.** The text is defective. I have added  after  and ? before . Ceriani adds  after . With the latter reading we should render 'if when thou hast only heard a rumour of His judgement'.

LVI. 3. **a great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.** The twelve alternate black and bright waters, and the last black water, symbolize the thirteen periods of the world's history prior to the Messiah's kingdom, which is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the cloud's summit.

4. **was established.** So Ceriani has emended.

- 6 For [since] when he transgressed
Untimely death came into being,
Grief was named
And anguish was prepared,
And pain was created,
And trouble consummated,
And disease began to be established,
And Sheol kept demanding that it should be renewed in blood,
And the begetting of children was brought about,
And the passion of parents produced,
And the greatness of humanity was humiliated,
And goodness languished.
- 7, 8 What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? This is the beginning of the black
9 waters which thou hast seen. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the
10 darkness of darkness was produced. For he became a danger to his own soul: even to the angels
11, 12 became he a danger. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. And
13 some of them descended, and mingled with the women. And then those who did so were tormented
14 in chains. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is (no) number, restrained
15 themselves. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters
16 of the deluge. These are the black first waters.
- 57 1 'And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his
2 generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. Because at that
time the unwritten law was named amongst them,
And the works of the commandments were then fulfilled,
And belief in the coming judgement was then generated,
And hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up,
And the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.
- 3 These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.
- 58 1 'And the black third waters which thou hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the
nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of
2 Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. Never-
theless, these also perished at last.
- 59 1 'And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and
2 Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. For at that time the lamp
of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the
3 promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. But
also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of
4 the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. For He showed him
many admonitions together with the principles of the law and the consummation of the times, as
also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, in the pattern of which the

6. disease. Text = 'boasting' = תהלה, corrupt for מחלה = 'disease', or בוססה = 'boasting' is corrupt for בוססה = 'disease', as in lxxiii. 2. 'Disease' comes with the Fall, but it disappears on the advent of the kingdom, lxxiii. 2.

Sheol . . . demanding. For Sheol's hunger, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14.

10. Man's physical nature became a danger to his spiritual; because of it the angels fell through lust, and in it resided the evil impulse.

11. they enjoyed liberty, i.e. the angels. Cf. I En. vi. 2, note.

14. (no) number. Ceriani restored the negative.

LVII. The first bright period is from Abraham to Jacob.

2. This tendency to trace the observance of the law to the patriarchs had already reached its most extreme expression in the Book of Jubilees.

the world . . . to be renewed. In A¹ and A² at the close of the Messianic kingdom, which in A³ ends this world and begins the next (lxxiv. 2).

LVIII. 1. the service . . . serve. The text follows the Hebrew of Exod. i. 4, not the LXX.

LIX. 2. the lamp . . . darkness. A Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2.

the eternal law. Cf. xvii. 6; xv. 5, note.

torment of fire, i.e. a material fire to torment the wicked after the resurrection. Cf. xlv. 15, &c.

4. law . . . times. Text reads 'laws . . . time'.

the pattern of Zion. Cf. Exod. xxv. 40, &c.

in the pattern of which . . . made. So by a change of a single letter I have emended the text, which read 'which was to be made in the pattern of the sanctuary', &c. This emendation is followed by Ryssel.

- 5 sanctuary of the present time was to be made. But then also He showed to him the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain: And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgement: 6 And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge: And the height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgement: And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come: 7 And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of hope: And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the flaming hosts, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasures of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the law. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen. 8
- 60 1 'And the black fifth waters which thou hast seen raining are the works which the Amorites wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them. 2
- 61 1 'And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon were born. 2

- 2 And there was at that time the building of Zion,
And the dedication of the sanctuary,
And the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then,
And many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary.
- 3 And peace and tranquillity existed at that time,
4 And wisdom was heard in the assembly:
And the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations,
5 And the holy festivals were fulfilled in blessedness and in much joy.
6 And the judgement of the rulers was then seen to be without guile,
And the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth.
7 And the land [which] was then beloved by the Lord,
And because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands,
And the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions.
- 8 These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

- 62 1 'And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold: And all the iniquities which kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practised at that time. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women eat the fruit of their wombs. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led

5-11. Here one of Enoch's functions is for the first time transferred to Moses. Cf. another such transference to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. Enoch, like the LXX, was much appealed to by Christians, and like it, therefore, fell into disuse by the Jews. This aggressive attitude of Judaism cannot be earlier than 50 A.D., and therefore places this writing (A³) after that date. It is prior to A.D. 70 (lxviii. 5).

5. the depths of the abyss. 1 Enoch xviii. 11; xxi. 7-10, &c.; 2 Enoch xxviii. 3.

the weight of the winds. 2 Enoch xl. 11. Cf. 1 Enoch xli. 4.

8. the greatness of Paradise. The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. 1 Enoch lxi. 1-4; lxx. 3, 4.

the beginning of the day of judgement. A definite reckoning is given in 2 Enoch xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2; lxxv. 7-10; and indefinite measures in 1 Enoch lxxxiii-xc; xci-civ.

10. the mouth of Gehenna. Cf. lxxxv. 13; 1 Enoch xxvii. 2, 3, &c.

the station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: 1 Enoch xviii. 12-16; xix; xxi; xxii. 10-13; liv. 1-6; xc. 24-7; 2 Enoch x; xl. 2.

the place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. 1 Enoch xxii. 5-9.

11. the likeness of future torment. 2 Enoch xl. 12.

lightnings . . . thunders. 1 Enoch xli. 3, &c.

the orders of the chiefs of the angels. The Syriac has 'chief' (sing.). Cf. xlvi. 10; 2 Enoch xx. 1, 3.

LX. 1. mingling of their pollution. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 15 *ἐν φυρμῶ ἀναμίξεως*.

2. of the judges. The Syriac has 'judgement'.

LXI. 7. by the Lord. The text = *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*, where I take *καιρῷ* to be corrupt for *Κυρίῳ*, and *ἐκείνῳ* to be a later addition. I have bracketed the 'which'.

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.

6. i.e. Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

7 them away captive. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought
8 impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. These are the black seventh waters
which thou hast seen.

63 1 'And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of
2 Hezekiah king of Judah and the **grace** (of God) which came upon him. †For when Sennacherib was
stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby
3 perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him.† When, moreover, Hezekiah the
king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (i.e.) to come and seize him and
destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow
Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with
4 the Mighty One and said: "Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be
boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion."

5 And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise,
And He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous.

6, 7 And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. And I
went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and
8 eighty-five thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). And at that
time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that
the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might
9 be spoken of throughout the whole earth. And Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also
10 was freed from tribulation. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the
11 Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. These are the bright waters which thou hast
seen.

64 1 'And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days
2 of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and
he wrested judgement, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently
polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drove forth their priests
3 lest they should minister in the sanctuary. And he made an image with five faces: four of them
looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the
4 Mighty One. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that
5 Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. But also against the two tribes and a half
6 went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. And to such
a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from
7 the sanctuary. On this account Manasseh was at that time named "the impious", and finally his
8 abode was in the fire. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was
cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him for the
9 hour. For he had not lived perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might
10 know by whom finally he should be tormented. For he who is able to benefit is also able to
torment.

65 1 'Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would
2 not inquire into these things. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. 1. **the grace.** The MS. originally read 'bounty'. I have with Ryssel added 'of God'. Ryssel emends
and reads 'the benignity of God'.

2. This verse is very corrupt.

3. **Hezekiah trusted in his works.** See xiv. 7, note. There is a play on Hezekiah's name in the words when
retranslated into Hebrew על חזקת התחזק. Cf. Sirach xlviii. 22, and 17.

4. There is a play again on 'Sennacherib' and 'destroy' in Hebrew סנחריב עתיד להחרב.

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the
slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. The text combines the two accounts.

8. Cf. Sanh. 94^a, where it is said that the souls were burnt up but the bodies preserved.

LXIV. 3. **he made an image with five faces: four of, &c.** 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7 says 'he set the graven image
of the idol'. The Syriac version, however, gives 'and he set the four-fronted image'. Cf. the Arabic, and also the
Talmud, *Sanh.* 103^b 'at first he made for it one face, and in the end he made for it four faces that the Shechinah
might see and be provoked'.

6. **removed the praise.** *Sanh.* 103^b says Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-19, on the other hand, implies that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance.

8. **his prayer.** 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; The Prayer of Manasseh in the Apocrypha.

the brazen horse. Cf. the Targum of Chronicles on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Also Apost. Const. ii. 22; Anastasius
on Ps. vi; Suidas (under Μανασσης).

9. Text corrupt.

LXV. The writer holds thus that Manasseh, though he prayed, did not really repent. Cf. *Sanh.* 101, and *Sanh.* 10,
and contrast *Debarim rabba* 2, where Manasseh is to be saved at the last.

66 ¹ And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at the time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and honoured all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and necromancers from the land. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the sepulchres the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. [And the festivals and the sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. And he was zealous with zeal for the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life. **Therefore** he shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the honourable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

67 ¹ And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling Zion.

² Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One,
That Zion was so delivered up,
And that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts,
And **assemble** before their idols and say,

"She is trodden down who oftentimes trod down,
And she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)"?

³ Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices,
Or that His name is glorified?

⁴ [But how will it serve towards His righteous judgement?]

⁵ Yet after these things shall the dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation,
And in shame shall they dwell in every place.

⁶ Because so far as Zion is delivered up
And Jerusalem laid waste,
Shall idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles,
And the vapour of the smoke of the incense of the righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion,
And in the region of Zion in every place lo! there is the smoke of impiety.

⁷ But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion,
And he will boast over the people,
And he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High.

⁸ But he also shall fall at last. These are the black waters.

68 ^{1, 2} And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. For after these things a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of perishing together. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence.

LXVI. 2. **necromancers**, i.e. נְצִימִים. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 6.

4. The words bracketed might come after 'to their ministry' in verse 2.

6. **Therefore**. Here I have emended ? עַתָּה (= 'now', to wit, 'he who') into עַתָּה = 'therefore'. But the original is doubtful.

7. Cf. xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. **assemble**. The Syriac reads قِطَم (='crowds') corrupt for حِطَم (='assemble').

6-7. With Jerusalem's destruction godlessness is everywhere triumphant. A³ is unaware of the divine interposition to save the sacred vessels and destroy Zion by angels which B¹ narrates (vi. 4-10; lxxx. 1-3). Here in A³, too, the Gentiles (lxvii. 2) and the King of Babylon (lxvii. 7) boast over the fall of Zion. Contrast the ideas of B¹ in vii. 1 and lxxx. 3, where such boasting is provided against.

6. **righteousness which is by the law**. See xv. 5, note.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger of the Jews according to the book of Esther and their deliverance. This is the second earliest allusion to this O.T. book. The first is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

- 4, 5 And they will have in (due) time much joy. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and
6, 7 also the Gentiles will come to glorify it. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. But it will
8 come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.
- 69 1 'For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those
2 which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. For
3 the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. For as
to the enormities and the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of
4 them. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He
foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age.
5 On his account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.
- 70 1 'Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this
2 is the word. Behold! the days come, and it shall be when the time of the age has ripened,
And the **harvest** of its evil and good seeds has come,
That the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers
Perturbation of **spirit** and stupor of heart.
- 3 And they shall hate one another,
And provoke one another to fight,
And the mean shall rule over the honourable,
And those of low degree shall be extolled above the famous.
- 4 And the many shall be delivered into the hands of the few,
And those who were nothing shall rule over the strong,
And the poor shall have abundance beyond the rich,
And the impious shall exalt themselves above the heroic.
- 5 And the wise shall be silent,
And the foolish shall speak,
Neither shall the thought of men be then confirmed,
Nor the counsel of the **mighty**,
Nor shall the hope of those who hope be confirmed.
- 6 And when those things which were predicted have come to pass,
Then shall confusion fall upon all men,
And some of them shall fall in battle,
And some of them shall perish in anguish,
- 7 And some of them shall be **destroyed** by their own. Then the Most High will reveal those
peoples whom He has prepared before,
And they shall come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left.
- 8 And it shall come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war shall die in the earthquake,
And whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake shall be burned by the fire,
And whosoever gets safe out of the fire **shall be destroyed** by famine.

6. The second temple was less esteemed. See Mal. i-ii; 1 En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Ass. Mos. iv. 8. This temple then was standing when liii-lxxiv was written.

LXIX. 1. **last**. Syriac = 'other'.

the last waters, &c. See liii. 7.

2-4. This division recalls Sirach xlii. 24.

3. **and**. So I emend the Syriac (= 'of') with Ryssel.

kinds: or 'methods'.

4. **beyond those which**. The travail-pains of the Messiah are developed in lxx-lxxii.

LXX. 1. The words bracketed spoil the scheme of the writer. In lxxviii the last black waters come after the bright twelfth waters.

2. **harvest** . . . **spirit**. In both cases in the plural in the MS.

3-10. For these last woes cf. xxv. 2-4; xxvii; xlvi. 31-9; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 20-4; ix. 1-9; xiii. 29-31.

3, 5. Cf. xlvi. 37, 36.

5. **the mighty**. I have here changed the singular into the plural; in lxx. 2 the plural into the singular.

6. **destroyed by their own**. Cf. Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 35, 36. The Syriac 'hindered' is due to a corruption in the original Hebrew, יִפְּסֵם for יִפְּלֵם.

7. **whom He has prepared before**. Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog?

8. **the earthquake** . . . **fire**. Cf. xxvii. 7, 10; 4 Ezra ix. 3 and v. 8.

shall be destroyed. So Ceriani emends text, which = 'shall add'.

famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9 [And it shall come to pass that whosoever of the victors and the vanquished gets safe out of and
10 escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] For all
the earth shall devour its inhabitants.

71 ¹ 'And the holy land shall have mercy on its own,
And it shall protect its inhabitants at that time.

2, 3 This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. For I have come to tell
thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

72 ¹ 'Hear now also regarding the bright **lightning** which is to come at the consummation after these
2 black (waters): this is the word. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when
the nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he shall both summon all the
3 nations, and some of them he shall spare, and some of them he shall slay. These things therefore
4 shall come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. Every nation, which knows not Israel
5 and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. And this because some out of
6 every nation shall be subjected to thy people. But all those who have ruled over you, or have
known you, shall be given up to the sword.

73 ¹ 'And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom,
That joy shall then be revealed,
And rest shall appear.

2 And then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

3 And no one shall again die untimely,
Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall.

4 And judgements, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges,
And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred,
And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed.

5 For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils,
And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled.

6 And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men,
And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.

7 And women shall no longer then have pain when they bear,
Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

74 ¹ 'And it shall come to pass in those days that the reapers shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build be toilworn;
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.

2 For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible,
And the beginning of that which is not corruptible.

3 Therefore those things which were predicted shall belong to it:
Therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not.

4 This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters.'

9. An interpolation? Verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. The appearance of the Messiah and the extermination of the Gentiles are at least anticipated if not premature here.

LXXI. See xxix. 2, note.

3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. the **bright lightning**. The Syriac has 'the bright waters', which contradicts the vision in liii. 7-11. The same emendation is necessary in lxxiv. 4. The verb must be read in the sing. to agree with its subject.

4-6. The Messiah was to extend his dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21; Zech. xiv; 1 En. xc. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32). A harsher view grew up in the first century B.C. In 1 Enoch xxxvii-lxx and Assumpt. Mos. x the Gentiles are to be annihilated; so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and later Judaism. The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7-xl; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who slays Israel's enemies with his own hand. Cf. Isa. xi. 4. Contrast His passive rôle in xxix. 2 of this book.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.

6. Cf. Isa. xi. 6-9; lxxv. 25; Sibyll. Or. iii. 620-3, 743-50.

LXXV. *Baruch's Hymn on the Unsearchableness of God's Ways and on His Mercies through which the Faithful shall attain to a blessed Consummation.*

lxxv-
lxxvi =
B².

- 75¹ And I answered and said :
- ' Who can **understand**, O Lord, Thy goodness ?
For it is incomprehensible.
- 2 Or who can search into thy compassions,
Which are infinite ?
- 3 Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence ?
- 4 Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind ?
- 5 Or who of those who are born can hope to come to those things,
Unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious ?
- 6 Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man,
Those who are under Thy right hand,
They could not come to those things,
But those who are in the numbers named can be called.
- 7 But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come,
And submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt,
We shall come again and remember those things which have passed,
And shall rejoice regarding that which has been.
- 8 But if now we know not wherefore we have come,
And recognize not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt,
We shall come again and seek after those things which have been now,
And be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen.'

LXXVI. *Baruch bidden to instruct the People for forty days and then to hold himself ready for his Assumption on the Advent of the Messiah.*

- 76¹ And He answered and said unto me : [' Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayst know what is to befall thee after these things. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not
- 2 unto death, but **thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation** of the times. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there shall pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top(s) of the mountains, and the depth(s) of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayst see what thou art leaving, and
- 3 whither thou art going. Now this shall befall after forty days. Go now therefore during these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times.'

LXXV-LXXVI. Here B² returns. Baruch addresses God and not Ramiel, who in lv. 4-lxxiv. has been explaining the vision in liii.

LXXV. 1. **understand**. Syriac reads ܠܫܠܝܢ = 'be likened to', which I have emended into ܠܫܠܝܢ = 'understand', omitting the following ܕ.

2. The mercies of God are not much dwelt on in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their own merit (cf. xiv. 7). But cf. lxxxi. 4; lxxv. 5, 6.

6. **who are under Thy right hand**. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7, 8. **We shall come again**, i.e. we shall rise and meet with our fate according as we are obedient and righteous or not.

LXXVI. 1. The words bracketed are inserted by the final editor.

hear the word of the Most High. Cf. xiii. 2; xxv. 1.

2. **thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times**. The Syriac here has 'unto the preservation of the times'. From xxv. 1 we see we must read 'thou shalt be preserved unto the times', or rather the fuller form we find in xiii. 3 'thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times'. Ryssel has adopted this suggestion.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1-3; Matt. iv. 8.

4. **forty days**. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, and 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42-5.

LXXVII. *Baruch's Admonition to the People and his writing of two Letters—one to the nine and a half tribes in Assyria and the other to the two and a half in Babylon.*

- 77¹ And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the
 2 greatest to the least, and said unto them: 'Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who
 3 remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law more
 4 excellent than to all peoples. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the
 Most High,
 He brought vengeance upon you and upon them,
 And He spared not the former,
 And the latter also He gave into captivity:
 And He left not a residue of them,
 5 But behold! ye are here with me.
 6 If, therefore, ye direct your ways aright,
 Ye also shall not depart as your brethren departed,
 But they shall come to you.
 7 For He is merciful whom ye worship,
 And He is gracious in whom ye hope,
 And He is true, so that He shall do good and not evil.
 8 Have ye not seen here what has befallen Zion?
 9 Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned,
 And that on this account it was overthrown?
 Or that the land had wrought foolishness,
 And that therefore it was delivered up?
 10 And know ye not that on account of you who did sin,
 That which sinned not was overthrown,
 And, on account of those who wrought wickedly,
 That which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies?'
 11 And the whole people answered and said unto me: 'So far as we can recall the good things which
 the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember
 12 He in His mercy knows. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in
 Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of hope, that thou mayst confirm them also before thou
 dost depart from us.
 13 For the shepherds of Israel have perished,
 And the lamps which gave light are extinguished,
 And the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink.

LXXVII-LXXXVI. These chapters belong to B¹ with the exception of lxxxiii and lxxxv. The chief differences between B¹ and B² are: in B¹ an earthly felicity is looked for, the dispersion is to return, and the earthly Jerusalem to be rebuilt; in B² none of these things are expected. In B¹ Baruch is to die, in B² to be translated; in B¹ Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in B² he is.

LXXVII. 1. **from the greatest to the least.** This order belongs to the later books; cf. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30; Esther i. 5, 20. Contrast Gen. xix. 11; 1 Sam. v. 9; Jer. vi. 13, &c.

4. **upon you**, i.e. the two and a half tribes = 'the former' in the next line.

upon them, i.e. the nine and a half tribes = 'the latter'.

left not a residue. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. **here with me.** Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 33. Ryssel misunderstands and tries to emend.

6. **they shall come to you.** Seems to include the nine and a half tribes. Cf. lxxviii. 7.

7. **do good and not evil.** Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

9. The place itself had not sinned, therefore the angels, instead of the king of Babylon, had destroyed it. Cf. v-viii; lxxx.

10. Note that Jerusalem's fall is attributed here not only to the sins of the two and a half tribes, but also of the nine and a half. Cf. Jer. xi. 17; 1 Bar. ii. 26; Ass. Mos. iii. 5.

12. **to our brethren in Babylon**, i.e. the two and a half tribes. Cf. verse 19. In 4 Baruch the letter is addressed to Jeremiah; not so here. See x. 2, note. This letter is lost.
depart, i.e. die (xlili. 2, note).

- 14 And we are left in the darkness,
And amid the †trees of the forest†,
And the thirst of the wilderness.'
- 15 And I answered and said unto them :
'Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law :
And though we depart, yet the law abideth.
- 16 If therefore ye have respect to the law,
And are intent upon wisdom,
A lamp will not be wanting,
And a shepherd will not fail,
And a fountain will not dry up.
- 17 Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon, and I will send
by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of
18 a bird.' And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch,
came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but
19 I was alone. And I wrote these two epistles : one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes;
20 and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. And I called the eagle
21 and spake these words unto it : 'The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than
22 all birds. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till
thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the
23 people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. Remember, moreover, that, at the time
of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark.
24, 25 Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. Solo-
mon also, in the time of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything,
26 commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. And now let it not
weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou
mayst preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee.'

LXXVIII-LXXXVI. THE EPISTLE OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH WHICH HE
WROTE TO THE NINE AND A HALF TRIBES.

- 78¹ These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half
2 tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. Thus saith Baruch
3 the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity : 'Mercy and peace.' I bear in mind, my
brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved us from of old, and never hated us, but above
4 all educated us. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one bond,
5 inasmuch as we are born from one father. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the
words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come
upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren; and
again, also, that ye may justify His judgement which He has decreed against you that ye should be

14. left in the darkness: xlvi. 2; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

†trees = 'עץ, possibly corrupt for 'עצב = 'toils'. But whether this is so or not, the general sense is clear. In verse 13 three things have been lost: shepherds to guide the people, lamps to give light to them, and fountains to satisfy their thirst. Now, owing to the loss of the lamps, the people are 'left in darkness', owing to the loss of the fountains they suffer from the 'thirst of the wilderness'. Hence the second line must deal with the evils that followed on the loss of the shepherds, and its restoration must satisfy this requirement. Accordingly I offer the following suggestion: that *חבל* *דב* *דב* is corrupt for *חבל* *דב* *דב* = 'without pasture', or 'without a shepherd'.

16. shepherd. So Ceriani emends *חבל* = 'mind', into *דב*.

17. by means of men. In 4 Baruch an eagle carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah at Babylon.

21. Cf. 4 Baruch vii. 3: 'Elect above all the birds of heaven.'

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; 4 Baruch vii. 10.

LXXVIII. 1. The nine and a half tribes. In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are always so designated, except in i. 2. Cf. John Malalas 158. In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called 'the ten tribes' in the Latin version, 'the nine and a half tribes' in the Syriac and Arabic versions, and 'the nine tribes' in the Ethiopic version.

2. Mercy and peace + 'unto you' c. Cf. 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. In the genuine parts of B¹ Baruch speaks frequently in the first person singular, but not in the interpolated portions.

5. justify. See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4.

carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order that, at the last times, ye may be found worthy of your fathers. Therefore, if ye consider that ye have now suffered those things for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented, then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of which ye departed hence. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who always promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

79¹ Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against us. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which he commanded us, yet he hath not chastened us as we deserved. For what befell you we also suffer in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

80¹ And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and they destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out. Nevertheless, they hid **all** the vessels of the sanctuary, lest the enemy should get possession of them. And when they had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest the enemy should boast and say: 'Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the Most High in war.' Your brethren also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused them to dwell there. But we have been left here, being very few. This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you. For assuredly I know that (the consolation of) the inhabitants of Zion consoleth you: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the tribulation which ye endured in having to depart from it.

81^{1,2} But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

3 'How long will these things endure for us?

And will these evils come upon us always?'

4 And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies,
And the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion,
And He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation,
And He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish,
And He made known to me the mystery of the times.

And the advent of the hours he showed me.

82¹ Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of your tribulations. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that the consummation which the Most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgement, is by no means far off.

5. the last times, i.e. the Return, verse 7.

7. those who were more excellent. The patriarchs. with much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35, after death the righteous obtain mercy. Here Israel obtains it in their Return.

gather together . . . dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxiv. 2, 8, 1c. For the Return spoken of in the O.T. and elsewhere, see my Commentary, *in loc.* The return in B¹ accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem expected in B¹. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

LXXIX. 2. chastened. Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.

LXXX. This chapter resembles and implies vi-viii, but conflicts with lxxvii.

2. all the vessels. Syr. 'the vessels of the vessels' = כלים מכל, corrupt for כלי כלי.

lest the enemy should get possession of them. Syr. reads 'lest they should be polluted by the enemy' = פן יחלו מאויבים, corrupt for פן יחלו אויבים, as in vi. 8.

4. Jeremiah not mentioned. See x. 2, note.

5. Jer. xlii. 2.

7. (the consolation of) the inhabitants of Zion consoleth, &c. **חבב** requires a subject. In lxxvii. 12 the people ask Baruch to send to their brethren in Babylon 'a scroll of hope'. Hence some such word is needed here, i.e. **חבב** = 'consolation' as in lxxxi. 1, 4. Ryssel proposes most extraordinarily to insert 'tribulation' where I have added 'consolation'. The tribulation of the Jews in Zion is to comfort the exiles in Babylon!

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the nine and a half tribes were consoled when Jerusalem prospered and were grieved at its downfall, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion; for God has comforted him by a revelation regarding it.

1. consolation, i.e. Zion's restoration. Cf. xlv. 7.

4. mystery. ch read 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. I am doubtful whether lxxxii. 2-9 belongs to B¹ or B²; perhaps the latter.

- 3 For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles,
Though they act impiously,
But they shall be like a vapour:
- 4 And we behold the multitude of their power,
Though they do wickedly,
But they shall be made like unto a drop:
- 5 And we see the firmness of their might,
Though they resist the Mighty One every hour,
But they shall be accounted as spittle.
- 6 And we consider the glory of their greatness,
Though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High,
But as smoke shall they pass away.
- 7 And we meditate on the beauty of their gracefulness,
Though they have to do with pollutions,
But as grass that withers shall they fade away.
- 8 And we consider the strength of their cruelty,
Though they remember not the end (thereof),
But as a wave that passes shall they be broken.
- 9 And we remark the boastfulness of their might,
Though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them,
But they shall pass away as a passing cloud.

83¹ [For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times,
And He will assuredly bring on His hours.

lxxxiii =
B²

- 2 And He will assuredly judge those who are in His world,
And will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works.
- 3 And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts,
And that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of man.
And will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof.
- 4 Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us shall come. And let us not now look unto the delights of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is with them shall assuredly pass by together. The consummation, moreover, of the age shall then show the great might of its ruler, when all things come to judgement. Do ye therefore prepare your hearts for that which before ye believed, lest ye come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that ye be led away captive here and be tormented there. For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come, in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good.
- 10 For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases,
11 And all might of this time is turning into weakness,
And all the force of this time is turning into impotence,
12 And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation.

3, 4. a vapour . . . a drop. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 61, vi. 56 (Isa. xl. 15).¹

5. accounted as spittle. The text here and in 4 Ezra vi. 56 agrees with LXX against the Hebrew.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B². The times are to be hastened (lxxxiii. 1, 6) and everything brought to judgement (2, 3, 7); let them attend not to the present but to the end and its joys (4, 5), and hold to their old faith, to avoid torment in the world to come (8), for this world is passing away with its strength, its virtues and its lusts (9-23). There is a close connexion between lxxxiii and xx. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people, and to have followed on xlv. 8-15.

3. See 4 Ezra xvi. 65. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5; also Heb. iv. 12.

4. Let none therefore, &c. Cf. Col. iii. 2 τὰ ἄνω προεβίτε.
promised. See xiv. 13, note.

8. prepare your hearts. See xxxii. 1, note.

that which before ye believed, refers to apostates, i.e. Christians who had left Judaism. Cf. xli. 3.

10. Probably we have here a play on words מַעֲתָה הַפֶּךְ לַמִּדָּה.

11, 12, 13. might . . . beauty . . . dominion. xxi. 14; xlviii. 35.

- And every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful,
 13 And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame,
 14 And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence,
 And every vain splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin.
 15 And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption,
 16 And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness.
 17 And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone,
 18 And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death,
 And every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgement of torment.
 19 And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth,
 20 And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgement and condemnation,
 21 And every love of lying is turning to contumely through truth.
 22 Since therefore all these things are done now, does anyone think that they will not be avenged?
 But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

- 84 1 Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live; for I have said (it) ^{lxxxiv = B¹}
 that ye should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to
 instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgement before I die.
 2 Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you and said;
 3 'If ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept.' And other
 4 things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. And after
 his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came upon you what had been
 5 predicted. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you:
 6 for ye have forsaken the law. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those
 things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid
 7 up and reserved for you. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye
 may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence
 8 in the presence of Him who sent me. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy land and
 9 your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. And
 deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers
 10 delivered (them) to you. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with
 your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the
 11 multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. For if He judge us not accord-
 ing to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

- 85 1 [Know ye, moreover, that
 In former times and in the generations of old our fathers had helpers,
 Righteous men and holy prophets:
 2 Nay more, we were in our own land
 [And they helped us when we sinned],

lxxxv = B³

12. beauty . . . hateful. Cf. xlviii. 35.

14. glory . . . shame. Again a play on words in the Hebrew כבוד . . . קלון.

LXXXIV. 1. learn . . . instruct you. So bdghilWP. c reads 'above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I should instruct you'.

2. See xix. 2, note. In this verse we get several traces of the Hebrew original: the idiom העד העיר; the play on 'keep' and 'kept'; and perhaps a paronomasia in 'transgress' and 'be dispersed' תוורו and תסורו.

be kept. So all MSS. but c which reads 'be planted'.

6. The nine and a half tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain to the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2), and was intended to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5).

10. that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you. Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24. The return to Palestine is to follow the reconciliation (lxxviii. 7).

the rectitude of your fathers. For their merit see xiv. 7, note; and contrast this next verse.

LXXXV. An interpolation, B³. The restored Jerusalem and the return expected in B¹ is here implicitly denied, as in B². This world is lost, and only spiritual blessedness is looked for in the world of incorruption. B³ is more individualistic than B², and moreover was written outside Palestine (lxxxv. 2, 3), whereas B² seems to have been written in Jerusalem. B³ is the most pessimistic part of this book.

1-3. In these verses we have a strophe of five lines and an antistrophe. I have bracketed two clauses in verse 2 as interpolations.

1. Jeremiah's generation seems far in the past.

2. The writer is among the Dispersion.

they helped us. Cf. 4 Baruch ii. 3.

- And they interceded for us with Him who made us,
 [Because they trusted in their works],
 And the Mighty One heard their prayer and forgave us.
- 3 But now the righteous have been gathered
 And the prophets have fallen asleep,
 And we also have gone forth from the land,
 And Zion has been taken from us,
 And we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law.
- 4 If therefore we direct and dispose our hearts,
 We shall receive everything that we lost,
 And much better things than we lost by many times.
- 5 For what we have lost was subject to corruption,
 And what we shall receive shall not be corruptible.
- 6 [Moreover, also, I have written thus to our brethren to Babylon, that to them also I may attest these very things.]
- 7 And let all those things aforesaid be always before your eyes,
 Because we are still in the spirit and the power of our liberty.
- 8 Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here,
 And He hath shown to us that which is to be,
 And hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end.
- 9 Before therefore judgement exact its own,
 And truth that which is its due,
 Let us prepare our soul
 That we may possess, and not be taken possession of,
 And that we may hope and not be put to shame,
 And that we may rest with our fathers, and not be tormented with our enemies.
- 10 For the youth of the world is past,
 And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
 And the advent of the times is very short,
 Yea, they have passed by;
 And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
 And the ship to the port,
 And the course of the journey to the city,
 And life to (its) consummation.
- 11 And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest
 12 and not be condemned when ye depart. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things,
 There shall not there be again [a place of repentance, nor] a limit to the times,
 Nor a duration for the hours,
 Nor a change of ways,
 Nor place for prayer,
 Nor sending of petitions,
 Nor receiving of knowledge,
 Nor giving of love,

trusted in their works. The dead righteous avail not, only the living. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3.
 3. we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law. The law was Israel's everlasting and unconditional possession. Cf. Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 38. The land, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of David were conditional (Mekilta, 68^b). Cf. xlviii. 22. With the law Israel could not fall.
 6. This verse is due to the final editor.
 7. the power of our liberty, i. e. enjoy free-will. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 37; Acts i. 7; v. 4; Pss. Sol. ix. 7. On the doctrine see liv. 15, note.
 8. hath shown to us. In B¹ Baruch does not use the plural 'we' and 'us' in this connexion. See lxxviii. 3 note.
 9. that we may possess, &c. Probably corrupt.
 rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4.
 10. the youth of the world is past. Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10, 16; v. 50-66.
 12. [a place of repentance nor]. This phrase is a dittograph of what follows later. The idea is here in its wrong context, whereas it is in its right context later. Finally it is against the parallelism.

Nor place of repentance for the soul,
Nor supplication for offences,
Nor intercession of the fathers,
Nor prayer of the prophets,
Nor help of the righteous.

¹³ There there is the sentence of corruption,
The way of fire,
And the path which bringeth to Gehenna.

¹⁴ On this account there is one law by one,
One age and an end for all who are in it.

¹⁵ Then He will preserve those whom He can forgive,
And at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

86 ^{1, 2} When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. And meditate
³ thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as
I also bear you in mind in it, and always. Fare ye well.

LXXXVII. *The Dispatch of the Letter to the Nine and a Half Tribes.*

87 ¹ And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously
to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dis-
missed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

nor place of repentance. 4 Ezra ix. 12. This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.

intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102-15; 2 Enoch liii. 1.

14. one law by one. Moses is meant; in the Ass. Mos. iii. 12, he is called the mediator of the law. Thus this
verse is directed against Christians. It seems out of place.

LXXXVI. 3. **Fare ye well** (a b d e f g h i W P). > c.

LXXXVII. This chapter is found only in c, but it belongs to the book. Cf. lxxvii. 17, 20-6.
bound it to the neck of the eagle. 4 Baruch vii. 8.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

OR III BARUCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

UNTIL the end of the last century this apocalypse was unknown. Its existence was surmised from a passage in Origen (*de Princip.* ii. 3. 6), 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur.' About 1896 the Rev. E. C. Butler, O.S.B., drew the attention of Dr. M. R. James to a manuscript in the British Museum of a Greek apocalypse which answered in part to Origen's description. It contains an account not of seven heavens but of five, but the conclusion is evidently incomplete, and the existence of other heavens is implied. This text was edited and published by Dr. James in 1897. A Slavonic version of the book had been known previously, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205-9, by Novakovic in 1886. This version, however, is less complete than the Greek, and mentions only two heavens.

Neither the Greek nor the Slavonic represents more than a condensation of the original.

In its present form the work is a composite production, belonging to the second century A. D. The Jewish original has been worked over by a Christian redactor, whose purpose it is to sound a note of stern warning to the unconverted Jews, and also to instil into the minds of Christians the need of patience and forbearance in dealing with them (see § 8 below).

§ 2. THE TITLE.

There are two superscriptions to the book. The first begins Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ.; the second Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ. Dr. James names it *Apocalypsis Baruchi Tertia Graece*, and it is referred to as 3 Baruch in this edition.

§ 3. THE MSS.

The only known Greek manuscript of this apocalypse is that numbered Add. 10073 in the British Museum, which contains in addition several other works and fragments. It is a minuscule MS. on Italian paper, of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Slavonic text published by Novakovic was found in a manuscript which possibly dates from the sixteenth century. This version is more abridged than the Greek. The main points of contact and difference between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

§ 4. RELATION TO OTHER BARUCH LITERATURE.

1. *The apocryphal book of Baruch* (1 Baruch). There is no point of contact between this book and 3 Baruch save that both raise the problem of the sufferings of Israel (cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1-8 and 3 Bar. i).

2. *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Baruch). There are several similarities of expression in this apocalypse and our text. They are indicated in the notes. The parallelisms are not so close as to imply the necessary dependence of our apocalypse upon the Syriac. In 2 Baruch lxxvi. 3, Baruch is promised certain cosmical revelations, but the book contains no record that the promise was fulfilled. It has been contended that 3 Baruch was written to supply the deficiency in 2 Baruch. Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*) holds it to be questionable whether the author of 3 Baruch used 2 Baruch, and thinks that 2 Bar. lxxvi. 3 makes against rather than for such a supposition. 'The assumption is untenable that the Gk. apoc. was written to show the actual fulfilment of the promise. The critical point in the Syr. apoc. lies in this chapter, when Baruch before leaving the earth obtains a full survey of it, that he may see what he is leaving, and whither he is going. This idea is based upon an opinion held by Akiba b. Joseph (*Sifre Num.* 136) and others, that God allowed not only

Moses, but other favoured pious men, to behold before their death the whole world and all the mysteries of nature. Now if the Gk. apoc. was complementary to the Syriac, the author of the former would not have failed to join his story of Baruch's passage through the heavens to that of his last act on earth.'

3. *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (4 Baruch). In the Christian interpolation as to the vine in 3 Bar. iv occurs τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ, which recalls τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἀλμυρὰ γενήσονται in 4 Bar. ix. 16. But this cannot be held to be a very close parallelism. In ch. xi of our apocalypse Michael is called ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν and in 4 Bar. ix. 5 (Aeth.) he is described as the archangel who holds open the gates of righteousness until the righteous enter in. The closest references to 4 Baruch in 3 Baruch are in the superscription, in which mention is made of the long sleep of Abimelech in the Garden of Agrippa (cf. 4 Bar. iii. 9-v. 30). But it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the superscription is a later addition, especially as it is in the third person, whereas ch. i is in the first.

§ 5. RELATION TO OTHER APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

1. *Slavonic Enoch*. There is a very close connexion between 2 Enoch xi-xv and 3 Bar. vi-ix. In each case there is a reference to the chariot of the sun and of the moon, the attendant angels, the renewing of the sun's crown. 2 En. contains the only reference in literature to the existence of more than one phoenix at a time, and associates with them other birds called chalkydri. In 3 Baruch there is only one phoenix, and it, in language like that of the birds in 2 En. xv. 1 f., sings 'Light-giver, give to the world radiance.'

2. *Apoc. Pauli*. The reference to the defilement of the sun by the unrighteousness of men (3 Bar. viii) finds a parallel in *Apoc. Pauli* 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellavit dominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permitte me et faciam eis (quae) sunt virtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidit et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos, dum ad usque conuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo.'

Chs. xii and xiii of our apoc. find a close parallel in chs. 7-10 of *Apoc. Pauli* (see note below under ch. xii). James thinks it likely that *Apoc. Pauli* is a *pasticcio* of a rather late date. The relation of the two books to each other is not clear. It is not likely that 3 Baruch has been altered to bring it into conformity with *Apoc. Pauli*, for as we shall endeavour to show (see § 8 below), the three classes of angels with their respectively full, half-full, and empty baskets were essential to the purpose of the Christian redactor. It is not improbable that the motive which induced him to work over this apocalypse to give it a Christian form is to be found in the didactic use he could make of this incident. Either then the passage in *Apoc. Pauli* is derived from 3 Baruch, or both are taken from a common source.

3. A few points of contact with the *Story of Zosimas* (*Apoc. Anecdota* 1) are indicated in the notes. They are not such as to imply necessary dependence.

§ 6. COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE TEXT.

The framework of this apocalypse is characteristically Jewish. The story that the vine was the forbidden tree, the cosmic revelations, showing kinship with the Enoch literature, and the angelology—all mark it out as a work of Jewish origin. The hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations. In ch. iv a long passage is introduced to reconcile the story that the vine was the forbidden tree with the use of wine in the Eucharist. This section is full of Christian phrases (see notes). The Editor's influence is most evident in the concluding chapters (xi-xvii). The original conclusion is missing from our text, and these chapters probably represent a somewhat drastic treatment of the groundwork. It is probable that we have to deal here not merely with interpolations, but with a partial reconstruction of the text. So far as possible the influence of the redactor is indicated in the notes.

James attributes the lists of sins in chs. iv, viii, xiii to Christian influence, and compares them with Matt. xv. 19 and Gal. v. 21 (cf. also Rom. i. 29-31). It may of course be so, but it is not a necessary assumption. The lists are by no means the same. Our apocalypse does not reproduce the order of either Matt. or Paul, and it omits some of the sins enumerated by them. It must be admitted, however, that all included in the lists of 3 Baruch occur in some form in the Pauline Epistles (except *μανρεία*). But on the other hand it must be remembered that such lists were part of the stock-in-trade of the Jewish, and indeed of other ancient writers. *The Tests of the Twelve Patri-*

INTRODUCTION

archs speak of spirits of πορνείας, ἀπληστείας γαστρος, μάχης, ἀρεσκείας καὶ μαγγανείας, ὑπερηφανείας, ψεύδους, ἀδικίας (T. Reub. iii. 3-6); τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας (T. Dan. i. 6); τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ φθόνου (T. Sim. iii. 1); τοῦ θυμοῦ (T. Dan. ii. 4); ἐπιθυμίας, πυρώσεως, ἀσωτίας, αἰσχροκερδίας (T. Jud. xvi. 1). There are also similar lists in Wisd. xiv. 25 f. αἷμα καὶ φόνος, κλοπή καὶ δόλος, φθορά, ἀπιστία, τάραχος, ἐπιορκία . . . μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια; and in 2 En. x. 4, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic, stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder.

Deissman (*Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 320 ff.) contends that the Primitive Christian lists of virtues and vices were based on Jewish and pagan series. He refers to counters used in an ancient game, which have been discovered, upon which are inscribed a large number of popular names of vices and virtues. 'Although we have not yet recovered all the counters necessary for the game . . . the parallels with St. Paul strike us immediately. Take for instance the list of vices in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. With the exception of "covetous", which is rather colourless, and "idolaters", which is not to be expected in a pagan list, all these will be found substantially word for word on the counters.' He also points to some striking parallels between the lists in St. Paul and Plautus.

§ 7. THE AUTHOR.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.*) is of opinion that the author was a Jewish Gnostic of the beginning of the second century, 'when gnosis was at its height both among Jews and Christians'. He bases his view upon the mediatorial functions ascribed to Michael and his angels, and upon the traces of Greek and Oriental mythology found in the Apocalypse. But it is difficult to discern Gnostic influences in the teaching as to mediation, since it shows little advance on Tobit and T. Levi (see § 10 below, and note on ch. xii). But if there is not sufficient evidence to show that the author was a Gnostic, it is clear that his Judaism was tempered by a Hellenic-Oriental syncretism.

§ 8. THE CHRISTIAN REDACTOR.

Apart from the interpolation as to the vine, the hand of the Christian redactor is most evident in the concluding chapters. It is said of the men committed to the charge of the angels who bring empty baskets, that they will not enter the Church, nor among spiritual fathers (ch. xiii); they are to be 'provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding'; they are 'despisers of God's commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaim God's words to them' (ch. xvi). The Slavonic says: 'They do not gather together in the church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings.' It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that in each case the reference is to the Jews. Their provocation 'against a people that is no people' when read in the light of Rom. x. 19 can only refer to the anger of the Jews against the Gentile Christians. To whom is the phrase 'instead of prayer they bring cursings' so applicable as to the Jews?

4 Baruch like 3 Baruch seems to be in part at any rate a Jewish work recast by a Christian editor. According to Dr. Rendel Harris the former was issued in its present form soon after A.D. 136 as an eirenicon to the synagogue after Hadrian's edict banishing the Jews from Jerusalem. It was in effect an invitation to the Jews to evade that edict by submitting to baptism and joining the church, since the edict did not apply to Christians. According to Dr. Harris the book reflects a conflict between the old school of Jews and the Gentile Christians for the possession of the intermediate party, the Judaeo-Christians of various types. 'What makes one a little more confident in this interpretation that it was an appeal on the part of the Gentile Christians, or at least of the Gentilizing Christians to the more conservative, half-convinced among their Jewish brethren, is that we find from the account that some undecided people in the middle ground came part way to Jerusalem, and then returned; and that on their returning to Babylon they were received with an intimation that as they had secretly departed from them, they would not be received again: Babylon would have none of them. This, according to the story, leads to the formation of a new colony which is derisively called Samaria. Now this is not difficult of interpretation, if we imagine that there were those who had gone so far from Judaism as to provoke an edict against their being received again into ecclesiastical fellowship, and yet had not come so near to Christianity as to be able to pass the baptismal standards. In this case, then, one result of the Hadrian edict is the formation of a new Ebionite movement in Palestine. This exactly agrees with the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome as to the origin of Ebionism; they attempted to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither' (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 15).

There were therefore three parties in the writer's mind, the Jews who stubbornly resisted the Gospel, the middle party of waverers, and the Christians. It seems to me that the same parties are reflected in 3 Baruch. The angels with the full baskets represent the Christians (ch. xii); those with

III BARUCH

the half-full baskets the half-converted Jews (ch. xii); and those with the empty baskets the Jews who stubbornly resisted and opposed the Gospel (chs. xiii, xvi). Ch. xvi (especially in the Slavonic) exhorts the angels to be patient with Israel, and at the same time announces terrible judgements against the people if they continue unrepentant. The purpose of the Christian redactor was therefore to appeal to the church for patience and long-suffering in their endeavour to convert the Jews, and also to utter a note of stern warning to the Jews themselves.

§ 9. THE DATE.

The limits within which our Apocalypse must have been written are, on the one hand, 2 Enoch (A.D. 1-50), of whose influence it bears traces, and, on the other hand, Origen, who describes it. If the reference to Abimelech's long sleep, in the superscription, occurred in the original, then it must be dated subsequent to 4 Baruch (A.D. 136). But as we have seen, it is possible that the superscription is a later addition. We shall probably not err in dating the original 3 Baruch near the beginning of the second century, especially as its syncretism harmonizes with the tendency of that age.

The data for determining the date of the Christian redaction are even fewer, for as the Apocalypse which Origen saw contained an account of seven heavens, the passage in *de Princip.* does not fix a *terminus ad quem* for our form of the text. But since (as shown in § 7 above), like 4 Baruch, its motive seems to be the conversion of Jews and Ebionites, it is probable that the same circumstances called it forth, and that it was written soon after A.D. 136. The suggestion may be hazarded that the superscription referring to Abimelech was added by the Christian redactor as a result of his acquaintance with 4 Baruch.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that πνευματικούς πατέρας and ἱερεῖς, as applied to a Christian minister, are undoubtedly later expressions, but it is possible that a later editor or scribe is responsible for them.

§ 10. THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK.

1. *The Seven Heavens.* Traces of the belief in a plurality of heavens are to be found in the O.T. (Deut. x. 14, 1 Kings viii. 27, Ps. cxlviii. 4), and more clearly in the N.T. (2 Cor. xii. 2, Eph. i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Heb. iv. 14, vii. 26). The conception is found in Babylonian, Parsee, and Greek thought, as well as in apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature. It also appears in early Christian writings. The subject is treated at length in its relation to Greek, Oriental, Jewish, and Christian literature in Charles's *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (pp. xxx-xlvi), and by Salmond in Hastings' *D. B.* (ii. 321-3). It will suffice here to indicate the teaching of apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature on the subject.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The account is found in T. Levi ii. 7-iii. 8, which contains several redactions of the original text. Charles is of opinion that the original description of three heavens has been transformed into a description of the seven.

The First Heaven. The waters above the firmament, and the treasures of fire, ice, and snow. It is a gloomy place and contains the instruments for the punishment of wicked men (a).

The Second Heaven. Characterized by brightness. Abode of the angels who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (a). Treasuries of fire, snow, and ice (A a, β, A β, S¹).

The Third Heaven. Angelic armies who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (β, A β, S¹).

The Fourth Heaven. 'Thrones and dominions' who sing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Angels who carry up men's prayers to the angels of the presence.

The Sixth Heaven. Archangels who make propitiation to God for the sins of men.

The Seventh Heaven. The abode of God.

2 *Enoch.*

The First Heaven. Great sea. Rulers of the stars. Treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew and their guardians (iii-vi).

The Second Heaven. Darkness. Imprisoned angels awaiting judgement (vii).

The Third Heaven. Paradise prepared for the righteous; and, on the north, Hell for the wicked (viii-x). Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

The Fourth Heaven. Sun, moon, and attendant angels; phoenixes and chalkidri. An armed host of angels praising God (xi-xvii).

The Fifth Heaven. The Watchers whose brethren are imprisoned in the Second Heaven (A). Great hosts (B).

The Sixth Heaven. Seven bands of angels, set over the works of creation, and the souls of men (xix).

INTRODUCTION

The Seventh Heaven. Abode of God and the archangels (xx).

Ascension of Isaiah. Sammael and his angels are located in the firmament. Then follow six heavens, each with a throne and angels increasing in glory with each successive heaven. Isaiah is transfigured as he ascends from heaven to heaven. The seventh heaven is the abode of God and all the righteous. Here too are stored the garments of the saints (vii-xi; cf. iv. 14 ff.).

3 *Baruch.*

The First Heaven. A plain. The builders of the Tower of Babel.

The Second Heaven. A plain. The designers of the Tower of Babel.

The Third Heaven. A great serpent. Hades. Sun, moon, and attendant angels. The Phoenix.

The Fourth Heaven. Plain. A pool. Birds (= souls of the righteous) singing praise to God.

The Fifth Heaven. Michael receives men's prayers from the angels. There is a suggestion of other heavens beyond.

Chagigah 12. The Seven Heavens are enumerated according to name.

Vilon serves no purpose whatever, save that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening, and renews every day the work of creation.

Rakia is that in which are set sun and moon, stars and constellations.

Shechakim is that in which the millstones stand, which grind manna for the righteous.

Zbul contains the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple. The altar is built there, and Michael offers sacrifice upon it.

Makhon contains the treasuries of hail, the high dwelling-place of harmful dews, the chamber of the whirlwind and of the storm, and the retreat of noisome vapour. And their doors are made of fire.

Araboth is that in which are righteousness, judgement, and grace; the treasuries of life and peace and blessing; the souls of the righteous; the spirits and souls which are about to be created; and the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals. There are also celestials and seraphs, and holy beings and ministering angels, and the throne of glory and the King, the Living God.

2. *Doctrine of the Mediation of Angels.* Perhaps the most characteristic doctrinal feature of this Apoc. is its teaching as to the mediation of Angels (xi-xvii). There are traces of this doctrine in the O.T. (Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xxi. 17 ff., xxviii. 12). There was a great development in Israel's angelology in post-exilic days (Is. lxiii. 9, Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1). This was due to three causes: (a) Advancing ideas of the Divine transcendence, and a growing feeling against anthropomorphic conceptions of God. (b) 'A tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the "spirit" of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men' (Davidson). (c) The stimulus of contact with Persian thought. The seven archangels, e.g., are connected with the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas. It is important to notice, however, that there is only one clear instance in the O.T. of angels interceding on behalf of men (Zech. i. 12). They are the messengers of God to man, not of man to God.

But the belief in the mediation of angels was not by any means universally accepted in post-exilic times. P never mentions angels, nor do they play a prominent part in the Apocrypha. Tobit, a book which bears evident marks of Persian influence, refers to the intercession of Raphael (iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15). The mediation of a supernatural being is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 12-15, but he is not called an angel. There is a marked dearth of references to angels in the other apocryphal books. In 4 Ezra (vii. 102 ff.) mediation of any kind is explicitly denied. It is only when we turn to the Pseudepigrapha that we find a highly developed doctrine of angels. Among the passages which explicitly teach angelic mediation are Eth. En. ix. 3 ff., xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 2, 16, civ. 1; T. Levi iii. 5; Test. Abraham xiv. The subject is treated at length in Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, pp. 37-44. See, too, notes below on chs. i, ii, xi, xii.

According to A. xxxiii. 8 the Sadducees denied the existence of angels. It is difficult to know how this is to be interpreted, since they received the written Scriptures. It may be, as Davidson suggests, that 'they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rational way as personified natural forces.' The Essenes held exaggerated doctrines on the subject. The Pharisees appear to have held a middle position, but it must be remembered that Pharisaism is a wide term, and that in all probability Eth. En. (in part), and the *Tests. of the Twelve Patriarchs* emanated from Pharisaic circles.

The N.T. reflects the current angelology, but its whole tendency is opposed to the conception of the mediation of angels. This idea occurs, however, in Rev. viii. 3. Swete is of opinion that the reference is the same in Heb. i. 14.

The only advance in our Apocalypse is in the introduction of the three classes of angels, who

III BARUCH

intercede for three classes of men. In other respects its doctrine does not differ from that of 1 Enoch, Tobit, and Test. Levi, and it cannot therefore be said that it marks an advance in the direction of Gnosticism. It is true that underlying 3 Baruch there is an advanced conception of the divine transcendence. At no point in the narrative is the veil that hides God lifted, and we are not permitted to behold even Michael's communion with Him. In 1 Macc. God is even more remote, for His transcendence is modified by no angelic mediation. Doctrines of the mediation of angels owed their origin in part to a feeling that such teaching was one-sided, and closed the door to communion with God. Gnosticism was an elaborate attempt to bring a transcendent God into some sort of touch with the world, through a hierarchy of mediators. But such teaching as appears in 3 Baruch does not go beyond beliefs that were current in some Jewish circles.

3. *The Fall.* The forbidden tree was the vine, which the angel Sammael planted (see notes below on ch. iv). As in Wisd. (ii. 24) and 2 En. (xxxi. 3) Adam's disobedience is due to the Devil, who is prompted by envy. Too much must not be deduced from a writer's silence, but it may be noted that 3 Baruch does not enumerate inherited depravity and death among the consequences of the Fall. Adam 'obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God'. His descendants suffer in so far as they are participators in the same sin, and those which spring from it, 'the men who now drink insatiably . . . transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.' This is not unlike the teaching of 2 Baruch, 'Adam is therefore not the cause save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19).

§ II. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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The article of Ginzberg on this Apocalypse in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and that of Zenos in Hastings' *D. C. and G.* (i. 86 f.), should be read.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

OR III BARUCH

Prologue.

- 1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.
- 2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river † Gel † weeping over the captivity of
- 3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.
- 1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people, and that
- 2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they
- 3 reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God,
- 4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all (the things)
- 5, 6 of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke
- 7 God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer.
- 8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

PROLOGUE. 2. *Gel*. James suggests that Kedron is meant. 'Part of the word has gone and KEA- has passed into ΓΕΑ-.' Cf. 2 Bar. v. 5; xxi. 1; xxxi. 2.

Abimelech was preserved. See 4 Bar. iii. 9-v. 30, where it is recorded that Abimelech fell asleep in the garden of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not awake for sixty-six years.

the farm of Agrippa. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 12) identifies this with the fertile valley below Solomon's Pools, known as Solomon's Gardens. See Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 7. 3, 'There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he (Solomon) use to go out in the morning.' Cf. Eccles. ii. 5 f.

3. *the beautiful gates*. Cf. 2 Bar. x. 5; also Josephus, *B. J.* v. 5. 3, 'There was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered with silver and gold.' Cf. Acts iii. 2.

where the Holy of holies lay. James holds that the words ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels (2 Macc. ii. 1-8; 2 Bar. vi. 7-10; 4 Bar. iii. 7 f.). It is better, however, to translate it as above. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxiv 'I will . . . go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you, and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination.'

1. *sorrowing*. Ryssel (in Kautzsch) reads πενθῶν for ἔχων. Cf. 2 Bar. vi. 2; x. 5; xxxv. 1.

2. *Thy vineyard*. Cf. Isa. v. 1; 4 Ezra v. 23.

For similar laments cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1-8; Pss. Sol. vii. 1-3; 2 Bar. iii. 5 f.; v. 1; xiv. 5 f.; 4 Ezra iii. 28 f.; v. 28 f.

3. *O man, greatly beloved*, ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμῶν. The phrase occurs in Dan. x. 11 f. (Theodot.).

6. *other mysteries*. Either some previous revelations have dropped out, or, as James suggests, the phrase is an assimilation to the words of the angel in chapters ii and v.

7. *I will not continue to speak*. The Slavonic forbids Baruch to add a word to the revelation, but the context makes it clear that προσθήσω is here to be translated as above.

the day of judgement. ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως is not necessarily a Christian phrase. It occurs in T. Levi iii. 3; Pss. Sol. xv. 13; 1 Enoch (Giz. Gk.) x. 6; xxii. 11. See too Jub. iv. 19; 2 Enoch xxxix. 1; 4 Ezra vii. 102, 113; xii. 34 (*dies iudicii*). Ginzberg (*JE*) says that יוֹם הַדִּין is an expression which occurs more frequently in Rabbinic literature than in the N.T.

8. *angel of the powers*. This phrase occurs in 1 En. (Gst) xx. 1; cf. 1 En. lxi. 10. Michael is called ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων in Test. Abraham xiv. In 2 Thess. i. 7 we find ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως, which is taken by some to refer to the angels set over the cosmic forces. There is a striking passage in Philo which seems to throw light on the subject. 'There is only one God, but this one God has about Him innumerable powers as helpers and saviours of all created existences. Among them are punitive powers. . . . By these powers the incorporeal intelligible world was built. . . . There is, moreover, in the air a high and holy choir of incorporeal souls in attendance upon the heavenly powers—angels as the prophetic Scriptures are accustomed to call them. . . . The King communes with His powers, and uses them as His servants, for the performance of such duties as are not appropriate to God Himself' (*De Confus. ling.* xxxiv). The six highest powers are Divine Logos, Creative Power, Sovereign Power, Mercy, Legislation, and Punitive Power (*De profugis*, xviii. See Pfeiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, iii. 41 f.). As Philo identifies

The First Heaven.

- 2¹ And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river
 2 which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. And he took me
 and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter
 3 through it, and we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey. And
 he showed me within the heaven a plain; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of
 4 oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I Baruch asked
 the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed,
 5 or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the
 angel whose name is †Phamael† said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and
 as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as
 is the distance (from North to South, so great) is the length of the plain which thou didst see.
 And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But
 6, 7 I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built
 the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

The Second Heaven.

- 3¹ And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there
 2 also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings
 3 a distance of about sixty days' journey. And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of
 4 men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags. And I asked
 5 the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave

Michael and the Logos (*Quis rer. div. haeres*, xlii), it is probable that the Philonic powers correspond with the archangels.

Pfleiderer (*op. cit.*, p. 43) thinks that the six Philonic powers are ultimately derived from 'the six Amesha Spentas which surround the throne of Ahura Mazda, among whom the three chief are Vohu Mano, the Divine Logos; Asha Vahista, the Highest Righteousness; and Kshathra Vairya, the kingdom of Good-will—representatives, that is, of creative intelligence, power, and goodness, just as the highest Powers of Philo are.'

II. 1. where the firmament has been set fast. Cf. 1 En. xviii. 5; xxxiii. 2.

a river. According to James this river is the Ocean (Apoc. Pauli xxi; xxxi; Test. Abr. B viii; 1 En. xvii. 5 f.). But Ginzberg (*JE*) holds that it is מִיִּם הַעֲלִיִּיִם (the upper waters), and quotes in support Gen. R. iv. 3 and Chag. 15 a.

no one can cross. Cf. Zos. ii οὐ δύνασαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὕδατά μου διακόψαι . . . καὶ εἶπεν ἡ νεφέλη· Ζώσιμε . . . δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δύναται διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ.

breeze. The above passage from Zos. makes it likely that πνοή is to be translated 'breeze' here, and not 'living creature' as in ch. viii, and in Ps. cl. 6 (LXX).

2. the first heaven. See Introd. § 10 (1).

a door. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23; Rev. iv. 1. In 2 En. xiii. 8 the gates through which the sun goes forth are mentioned.

as though borne on wings. Cf. Zos. ii; 1 En. xiv. 8.

3. a plain. Cf. Zos. iii.

men . . . lambs. Ginzberg (*JE*) says this means they were transformed into demons (Sanh. 109a). For this reason they are not in the place of torment, which is in the third heaven, but at the entrance to heaven (Chag. 16a).

5. Phamael. This is corrupt. The Slavonic preserves the true reading 'Phanuel'. According to 1 En. xl, he is one of the four angels of the presence who stand on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel. He is 'set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life'. But in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) ix. 1 Uriel is mentioned in place of Phanuel. James thinks there is the bare possibility that he is to be identified with Ramiel, who appears in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) xx. 7, and in 2 Bar. lv. 3 is described as presiding over true visions, which agrees with the description of Baruch's angel in 3 Bar. xi, as 'the interpreter of the revelations, to those who pass through life virtuously'. Ramiel is also mentioned in 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Lat. *Hieremihel*); and in Sib. Or. ii. 215–17 he is said to be one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have wrought, and 'shall from dark gloom then lead to judgement all the souls of men, before the judgement-seat of the great God immortal'. Ryssel points out that the form Eremiel appears in the Apoc. of Sophonias.

the distance from earth to heaven. Cf. Chag. 'And is not from the earth to the firmament a journey of five hundred years, and so too the interspace of the firmaments?'

(from . . . great). James supplies ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου, τοσοῦτον.

length of the plain. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 32.

7. James points out a parallel to this story in the *Book of Jashar* (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1107 f.). There were three classes of builders. One said, 'Let us ascend and fight against heaven'; these were dispersed. The second said, 'Let us go up and set our gods in heaven'; these were changed into monkeys and baboons. The third said, 'Let us go up and smite heaven with our bows and arrows'; these slew each other.

III. 1. a second heaven. See Introd. § 10 (1).

5. gave counsel. Cf. Mark iii. 6, where συμβούλιον διδόναι = 'to take counsel'.

counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they had built the tower to the height of four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see (whether) the heaven is made of clay, or of brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

The Third Heaven.

4¹ And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. (And I proceeded) with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days' journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said, Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him? And the angel said, The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how (does this happen)? And the angel said, Harken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore

a woman . . . child-birth. Ginzberg (*JE*) refers to a similar Rabbinic legend about a woman in Egypt (Pirke R. El. xlviii).

IV. 2. let us proceed. There is no mention here of entry into a third heaven, and when the next heaven is entered in ch. x, the scribe has changed its number from fourth to third, as is evident from the fact that in ch. xi the fifth heaven is mentioned. At what point in the narrative is the entry made into the third heaven? In ch. vii the angel says to Baruch, 'All that I showed thee is in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through, and gives light to the world.' It would harmonize with this to place the entry into the third heaven at the commencement of ch. vi. But against this is the fact that Hades (ch. iv) is usually located in the third heaven (cf. 2 En.). It seems best therefore to follow James in placing the transition here. It should be noted that the Slavonic account of the third heaven shows fewer signs of mutilation than the Greek.

3. a serpent. The relation of the dragon to Hades is not clear. Here they seem to be separate, but in ch. v they are united. The closest parallel is to be found in the *Pistis Sophia*, p. 319, which says 'caligo externa magnus δράκων est, cuius cauda in suo ore est extra κόσμον totum, et circumdat κόσμον totum'. There are said to be within this dragon twelve places of chastisement, where souls are tormented (James, p. lxi). The Slavonic reads 'So the angel took me to the light, a journey of thirty-two days, and showed me a great field; the mind of man could not comprehend it; and in that field there was a very great mountain, and on it lay a serpent as from the East to the West, and it bent down, drinking from the sea every day a cubit, and ate the earth like grass. And I Baruch said to the angel: My Lord, why does this serpent drink from the sea a cubit during the day, and how is it that the sea does not become scanty? And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, God made three hundred three and thirty great rivers . . . There are many other great rivers, and they all go into the sea, and the sea is filled. On account of this God made this serpent, and ordered it to drink of the sea a cubit a day, so that the sea should not increase nor diminish'.

4. this monster around him. τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής; James thinks this may be corrupt and that the dragon encircled Hades, and not vice versa.

5. Cf. Greek goblin Eurynomus.

6. which does not sink at all. Lit. 'and nothing is lacking from it'.

7. the Gericus. James suggests that Gericus = γυρικός = the Ocean; but this is hardly likely in view of the fact that it is mentioned as one of the rivers which supply the sea. The Slavonic speaks of three hundred and thirty-three rivers, and mentions Aphia, Avaria, Agorenik, Dunav, Ephrat, Asavat, Zietnust, Ineus, Tigris.

8. the tree which led Adam astray. The transition is sudden, but there may be a hiatus in the narrative. Baruch is still in the third heaven where Paradise was placed, and by now the angel may have shown him it. In the Slavonic the story of the vine does not break into the description of the dragon, but comes after it.

the vine. For the conception of the vine as the forbidden tree cf. Sanh. 70a; Gen. Rabb. xix. 8. (See art. 'Vine', *JE*.) It is related of Shamdon (Asmodeus) that at the planting of the first vine by Noah, he helped with the work and said to Noah: 'I want to join in your labour and share with you; but take heed that I take not of your portion, lest I do you harm' (Gen. R. xxxvi. 3; see art. 'Demonology', *JE*). The story does not occur elsewhere in the exact form of that of the text.

the angel Sammael (i.e. שָׁמַאֵל). Greek Σαμουήλ. Slavonic reads 'Satanil' (cf. 2 En. xviii. 3, xxix. 4f., xxxi. 4). For Sammael cf. Asc. of Isa. i. 8 *et passim*. He was originally one of the chief archangels, but tempted Eve with a view to making the earth his kingdom. Thenceforth he is the chief of the Satans, the angel of death, and Israel's special foe (*v.* Charles' *Asc. of Isa.* p. 6. Cf. also Deut. Rabb. xi and Pirk. R. El. xiii, quoted in *JE*).

whereat. For δῖναι in text read φῖναι.

9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgement of the curse of God, and *was* the
10 destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright. When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest *mountains*, *then* the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot
11 of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out
12 of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to
13 him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what *shall I do*? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying
14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And when he had completed the prayer *which lasted* forty days, and having besought many things and wept,
15 he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God sent his angel Sarasaël, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord: Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing, and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human race obtained condemnation, *so* again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the
16 upward calling, and the entry into paradise]. Know therefore, O Baruch, that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now
17 drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For (no) good comes through it. For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity *his* brother, nor a father *his* son, nor children *their* parents, but from the *drinking* of wine come all *evils*, such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established by it.

- 5 1, 2 And I Baruch said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me
3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown (by) three hundred men, so great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.
6 1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four,
2 under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, (and) the chariot (was) drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, *about nine*
3 cubits away. And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the

the devil being envious. Cf. Wisd. ii. 24; 2 En. xxxi. 3.

9-15. The passage in brackets is clearly an interpolation by the Christian redactor, who felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist.

15. Sarasaël. Perhaps to be identified with Saraqaël, 'one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits who sin in the spirit' (1 En. xx. 6).

bitterness . . . sweetness. Cf. 4 Bar. ix. 16 τὰ γλυκεία ὕδατα ἀλμυρὰ γενήσονται.

the blood of God. Cf. Acts xx. 28.

the upward calling. Cf. Phil. iii. 14.

16. drink. Text reads δρῶντες. The emendation χρῶντες will not do, as χρώμενοι is required. It is perhaps best (with Ryssel) to read πίνοντες.

are surrendering themselves. προξενούσιν.

17. (no). οὐ, which the sense clearly requires, has dropped out of the text.

drinking. For πώσεως in text read πόσεως (James).

murders, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6. See Matt. xv. 19; Gal. v. 21; Apoc. Pauli 6; Did. iii and v.

V. 3. His belly is Hades. Slavonic reads 'As great as is the bottom of hell, so great is his belly'.

(by). James translates 'a plummet of 300 men', but it seems best, with Ryssel, to insert ὑπό. The meaning is then, as far as a plummet can be thrown by the strength of 300 men.

VI. 1. where the sun goes forth. The courses of the sun and moon are placed in the fourth heaven in 2 En.

a chariot and four. Slavonic says that the horses were winged angels.

a crown of fire. This conception prevailed among the Greeks, as may be seen from the monuments. It occurs in Rabbinic lit. Cf. Pirk. R. El. vi; Num. R. xii. 4 (Ginzberg, *JE*).

drawn by forty angels. Cf. 2 En. xi. 4 f.

2. about nine cubits away. Text reads ὡς ὅρει ἐννέα. James reads ὅρη for ὅρει, but that leaves the meaning obscure. It is possible that the original reading was ὡς ὀρεῦον, where ὀρεῦω is to be translated 'guard'. But there is very little support for the use of the word in this sense; LS only mentions Hesychius. Dr. J. H. Moulton has drawn my attention to the fact that in Petrie Papyri i, p. 78 ἐκαστος τῶν ὀρῶν is taken to be 'each of the watchers' by Mahaffy on Bury's suggestion, with the admission that the word exists nowhere else, except in its compounds. Perhaps it is best to adopt ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα from the Disputation of the Panagioté, a very late document which is clearly based on our text (James, p. lxxv). I am indebted to Dr. Moulton for this suggestion.

4. 5 guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery 6 rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other 7 living creature. But God appointed this bird *thereto*. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters, *as large* as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four 8 thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read, 9 and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And 10 I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called 11 Phoenix. (And I said), And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and 12 the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt 13 see the glory of God. And while he was conversing *with me*, there was as a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound? And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates 14 of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light- 15 giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this 16 noise? And he said, This is *the bird* who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as **men do through the mouth**, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

7 ^{1, 2} And I said, And where does the sun begin its labours, after the cock crows? And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou 3 shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared

4. **this bird.** Cf. 2 En. xii, xv, which speaks of several phoenixes. According to Jewish authorities, the Phoenix is referred to in Job xxix. 18. Charles (2 En. p. 12) mentions the following references to this bird among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. There are also several references in patristic writers. According to Pliny (*N. H.* x. 2) there is only one phoenix at a time, who, at the close of his long life, builds himself a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense on which he dies. From his corpse is generated a worm, which grows into a young phoenix. Pliny says that the young bird buries his father on the altar in the City of the Sun, but Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) has it that he burns him there. There are traces of a similar tradition both in Egyptian and in Indian literature. A writer in the *Encyc. Brit.* thinks that the prototype of the phoenix is a bird called bennu, mentioned in the 'Book of the Dead', and other Egyptian texts. This bird was one of the sacred symbols of the worship of Heliopolis, and according to Wiedemann (*Ztsch. f. Aeg. Sprache*, xvi, p. 89f.) was a symbol of the rising sun, and is called 'self-generating', 'the soul of Ra', and 'the heart of the renewed sun'. Further, this writer points out that it is significant that both 'bennu' and *phoenix* mean 'palm-tree'. James mentions a parallel in Indian literature—the bird Gadura, who carried Aruna on his back, and placed him in front of the sun, where he acted as charioteer and screened the world from the sun's consuming rays (*Mahabharata Adi Parva* xvi-xxiv, especially xxiv). In none of these references is the phoenix represented as the sun's daily companion. That tradition appears only in 2 En. text A (there is no reference to the phoenix in B), in 3 Bar., and in the Disputation of the Panagiotie.

7. **modii.** A modius = 200 *δρυναι* (*δρυνα* = the length of the outstretched arms, usually estimated at about 6 ft.).

8. **wings of fire.** Slavonic reads 'son of the Father', which is evidently due to Christian influence.

12. **a worm, &c.** In other accounts the worm develops into a new phoenix.

13. **the place was shaken.** Cf. Acts iv. 31; 4 Ezra vi. 29.

the three hundred and sixty-five gates. This is evidently intended to correspond with the number of days in the year. 2 En. speaks of twelve gates, six on the east and six on the west (chs. xiii, xiv). 1 En. says that there are twelve portals with twelve windows each to the right and left of each of them (ch. lxxii. 3, 7).

14. **Light-giver . . . radiance.** Cf. 2 En. xv. 1f. 'Then the elements of the sun called Phoenixes and Chalkidri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

15. **the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth.** It is doubtful whether there is not here a confusion between the tradition of the phoenix and that of the heavenly cock. As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo. According to an Armenian tradition the heavenly cock first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Hastings, *Dic. R. & E.* iii. 694 ff.). Dr. J. H. Moulton has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in the Vendidad, *Farg.* xviii (*S. B. E.* iv, p. 193), where Sraosha, the angel who sets the world in motion, is likened to 'the bird named Parôdas [fore-seer] which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, the bird that lifts up his voice against the holy dawn', and calls men to worship and firelighting, lest Bûshyasta, the long-handed demon of procrastination, come upon them.

16. **as men do through the mouth.** *ὡς γὰρ τὰ διότρομα* is difficult and probably corrupt. James conjectures that the meaning is 'For as articulate-speaking beings do, &c.', but admits there is no such usage of *διότρομος* elsewhere. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation *τὰ διὰ στόματος*, the *τά* being taken to represent *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* or something similar.

the cock. Cf. Ber. 60 b. 'Blessed be He Who has given the cock intelligence [to distinguish between day and night]. In the Fragments of the Apoc. of Adam (*Apoc. Anec.* i. 144) it is said that the cock crows when the seraphim clap their wings.

VII. 1. **begin its labours.** ἀποσχολεῖται.

4 in front, and grew less and less, and *at length* returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head, the sight of which we were not able to gaze upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.

8 ¹ And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming before *it*, and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day—four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and wherefore are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed. But *thou askest* concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

9 ¹ And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time *came the chariot* of the moon, along with the stars. And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait and thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot. And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me, They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another time decreases? And (he said to me), Listen, O Baruch: This which thou seest had been written by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

3. *grew less and less.* The bird Gadura in *Mahabharata Adi Parva* (xxiv) diminishes its size.

4. *which draw it.* Lit. 'bearing along with it'.

6. *their setting.* i.e. of the sun and the Phoenix.

VIII. 1. *before it.* i.e. the sun.

2. *exhausted.* This is the meaning which the context demands for *τεταπεινωμένον*.

4. Cf. 2 En. xiv. 2 (B) 'When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its chariot, and goes out without light. And they put the crown on it again at the Eastern gates.' See also Eliyahu R. ii (Ginzberg, *JE*).

5. *because it beholds.* T. Levi iii. 1 says that the lowest heaven is dark because it beholds 'all the unrighteous deeds of men'. Cf. Lat. Apoc. Pauli 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellavit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum'.

fornications, &c. Cf. *Intro.* § 6.

7. *unless . . . no living creature would be preserved.* The language is similar to that of Matt. xxiv. 22 and Mark xiii. 20, but that does not necessarily imply dependence. The writer has chosen the most natural form of words to express his idea.

IX. 1. *they.* The sun and the phoenix.

along with the stars. Text reads *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀστέρων*. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ, τὸ ἄρμα* (or *ἡ ἄμαξα*) *τῆς σελήνης κτλ.*

3. Slavonic reads 'the moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot, and [like] oxen drawing her chariot are forty angels'. The idea of the chariot drawn by oxen and lambs is Greek.

7. *shortened its days.* The Slavonic attributes the fall of the moon to the fact that it laughed at the fall of Adam and Eve. R. Simeon b. Pazzi declared that at the time of the creation the moon was of the same size as the sun. The moon then objected that it would not be decorous for two kings to use one crown, whereupon God diminished her size (Hul. 60b; see art. 'Moon', *JE*). For other versions of the story see Shebuot 9a, and Gen. R. vi. 3 (Ginzberg *JE*).

8. *shine . . . only in the night.* Cf. Apoc. Mosis xxxvi.

The Fourth Heaven.

10¹ And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a **fourth**
² ³ heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were
in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here *on earth*. But I saw a crane *as great as*
⁴ great oxen; and all *the birds* were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What
⁵ is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said,
Listen, Baruch: The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is *the place* where the
⁶ souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is
⁷ that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to
the angel of the Lord, But (what) *are* these birds? And he said to me, They are those which
⁸ continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which
⁹ descends in rain is from the sea? And the angel said, *The water* which descends in rain—this also
is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is (only) from
¹⁰ the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this *source* is what is called the dew of
heaven.

The Fifth Heaven.

11^{1, 2} And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And
I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter? And the angel said to me, We cannot
enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see
³ the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound?
⁴ And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander *of the angels*, comes down to receive the
⁵ prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened *them*, and
⁶ there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to
⁷ face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and *that* of all our order. And the commander Michael
said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life
⁸ virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander

X. 1. a **fourth heaven**. Text reads *τρίτον*. See note on ch. iv.

2. a **pool of water**. As James indicates, this is probably the *Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη* referred to in Apoc. Mosis xxxvii and Apoc. Pauli 22.

3-5. For the idea that the souls of the righteous are transformed into birds, see Sanh. 92 b, 'And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird.'

7. **said again to**. *λέγω* is used here and in ch. xv with an acc. without a prep., in the sense of the dative of the person addressed.

8. **how do men say**, &c. Slavonic reads: 'How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth.' The meaning of the Greek seems to be that while the rain is derived in part from the sea, those elements which are responsible for the dew and for the growth of fruit are derived from the other waters upon earth.

XI. 2. **Michael**. Michael, one of the archangels, was commonly regarded as Israel's special protector. See Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. In Ass. Moses x. 2, it is said that he will avenge Israel on its enemies at the end of the world. In T. Levi v. 6 f., he is the angel 'who intercedeth for the nation of Israel, and for all the righteous', and in T. Dan vi. 2 he is 'a mediator between God and man', specially concerned for 'the peace of Israel'. He is mentioned in N. T. in Jude 9, Rev. xii. 7-9, and according to Charles (Hastings *D. B.* iii. 362 b) he is referred to in Acts vii. 38. In Targ. *Cant.* viii. 9, he is called 'Israel's chief'. In Yalkut Shimeoni, *Bereshith* 132, he is described as the prince over all the angels, and as Israel's representative and portion in the presence of God. In Chag. 12 b, he is called 'the Advocate of the Jews' (Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, p. 84). In Test. Abraham xiv, Michael appears as intercessor on behalf of Abraham, and the combined intercession of Michael and Abraham wins a sinner's entry into paradise.

who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In 4 Bar. ix. 5, Michael is called the archangel of righteousness who leads the righteous to heaven; and in the Ethiopic version it is added that he holds open the gates of righteousness, until the righteous enter in.

the Kingdom of Heaven. This phrase is not necessarily a Christian interpolation. Cf. Ps. ciii. 19; Dan. iv. 34; Test. Ben. ix. 1 (*ἡ βασιλεία κυρίου*), Ass. Moses x. 1 ('And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation'), Sib. Or. iii. 47 f. (*τότε δὲ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις φανείται*).

4. **Michael comes down**. According to Chag. 12 b the altar upon which Michael offers up sacrifice stands in the fourth heaven.

5. **the gates**. Slavonic says that the names of those men who may enter the gates are written on them (cf. Apoc. Pauli 19).

opened. The idea that the gates of heaven are opened at a fixed time to receive the prayers of men is found in the fragments of the Apoc. of Adam, where it is stated that at the tenth hour 'the gate of heaven opens in order to let in the prayers of every living thing. . . . At this hour all that a man asks of God is granted him' (*Apoc. Anecdota*, i. 143).

Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel; its depth *was* as great as the *distance* from heaven to earth, and its breadth as great as the *distance* from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

12 ¹ And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And ² they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things ³ brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels (who) are over the ⁴ righteous. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel ⁵ said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets ⁶ which were (neither) empty nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near, ⁷ because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye ⁸ angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

13 ¹ And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold how we are overclouded, O Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from ² them. And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to ³ the end; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander, transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good ⁴ in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like, ⁵ then are they *workers* of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

14 ¹ And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as ² thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

15 ^{1, 2} And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened; and he brought oil. And as for the angels which brought the baskets *which were* full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take

8. an exceedingly great vessel. Cf. Rev. v. 8, 'Golden bowls of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (cf. viii. 3). The cabalistic work Zohar (thirteenth century A.D.) says that the angel Sundelfon forms of the prayers a crown for the Almighty.

XII. 1. angels. The function of presenting the prayers of men to God is not limited to Michael in Jewish literature. Tob. xii. 5 reads 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One'. T. Levi iii. 5 ff. reads 'In [the heaven next to] it, are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord, for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous: offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering'. Then follows a reference to the subordinate angels mentioned in our text, 'And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence.' Apoc. Pauli in the Greek mentions the coming of three classes of angels, two joyful and the third dejected. The first are the guardians of the godly, the second of the ascetics, and the third of the worldly. The last class desire to be relieved of their charge, but their request is not granted. The first of these classes is omitted in Latin and Syriac. For the significance of the three classes of angels in our text, see Introd. § 8.

baskets, τὰ κανίσκια. This form, which occurs three times in our Apoc., is regular. But ὁ κάνισκος and ἡ κάνισκος (xv) do not appear to occur elsewhere.

flowers. The Spanish text of 4 Ezra adds to a list of names in i. 40 'et angelos duodecim cum floribus' (Cambridge Texts and Studies, iii. 2, p. 85).

3. who are over the righteous. Text reads οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν, which hardly harmonizes with the context. As Slavonic reads 'These are they who wait upon righteous men', it is perhaps best to follow Ryssel and read δικαίων for ἐξουσιῶν.

6. (neither) empty nor full. Text reads κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα. From the context it is evident that the baskets were partly filled. It is therefore necessary to read (οὔτε) κενὰ οὐ(τε) γέμοντα.

the prizes. Cf. Phil. iii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 24.

XIII. 4. entering [into Church . . . nor], εἰσελθεῖν [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ, οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικούς πατέρας οὐδέ] εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἔν. The clause in brackets is a Christian interpolation. The construction εἰσελθεῖν ἐν is clumsy, the original sequence being evidently εἰς. The expression πνευματικοὶ πατέρες is distinctively Christian. It is possible that εἰς πατέρας stood in the original, as the official title 'father' was in use among the Scribes (Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.). If the whole phrase is an interpolation it is later than the Christian redactor. At the martyrdom of Polycarp the mob shouted, 'This is the Christians' father' (Mart. Polyc. 12), but there is no evidence that at this time Christians themselves applied the term to their bishops. In the West, in Cyprian's time, the bishop was known as *papa*. It is not till the fourth century that we find teachers of a past generation described as 'fathers' (Ath. Ep. ad Afros 6). See Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 5.

fornications, &c. See Introd. § 6.

XV. 2. which were full, πλήρης. Ryssel reads πλήρη, but it is more probable that πλήρης is used indeclinably (cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 50).

filled them. i.e. the baskets.

it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works.
 3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the
half-empty baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and
 4 deliver *it* to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those *who*
brought the **half-empty** baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the
 Lord, Ye are faithful over **a few things**, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your
 Lord.]

16 1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of
 2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their
 works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against *a people that is* no people, a
 3 people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the
 unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust (and) hail with lightnings and anger, and
 4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they
 did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do *them*, but were
 despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to
 them.

17 1, 2 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. And the angel took me and
 3 restored me to the *place where I was* at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory
 4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honour. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained
 such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to
 all eternity. Amen.

3. **he said also to.** λέγω is used with the simple accusative of the person addressed.
half-empty. Text reads ἀποκένους. The context makes it clear that the angels referred to are those bearing the
 baskets which were neither full nor empty. We must therefore read ὑποκένους, somewhat empty.
 4. The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident not only from the quotation from Matt., but
 also from the fact that the re-enumeration of the first two classes of angels destroys the symmetry of the passage.
half-empty. For ἀπόκενα read ὑπόκενα.
over a few things. Text reads ἐπὶ ὀλίγη. It should probably read ἐπὶ ὀλίγα. Cf. Matt. xxv. 20.
I will set you. For καταστήσει in text read καταστήσω (Ryssel).

XVI. 1. Slavonic reads 'But Michael said: Listen, ye angels of God; it is not ordered that you should depart from
 sinful men, but you are ordered to labour for them till they repent and return. I will judge them, saith the Lord. And
 again there was a voice from the heavens: Attend upon the sinners till they repent; for if they do not repent, then ye
 shall inflict upon them a cruel disease and sudden death, and locusts and caterpillars, frost and thunder and hail and
 demons and the destruction of cities; and ye shall strangle their children, because God is not feared [among them]
 and they do not gather together in the Church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings'.
 Cf. Apoc. Pauli 10.

2. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21; Rom. x. 19.
 3. **punish them severely,** διχοτομήσατε. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 51.
 4. The Greek text has nothing to say as to the future destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, but the Slavonic
 reads 'The angel said to me: Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous, and their glory and
 joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked, their tears and sobs and worms that never sleep. The
 sinners call to heaven: O just judge, have pity upon us. And I Baruch said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord?
 And he said to me: These are the sinners. And I said to the angel: Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them
 so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them. A voice came from heaven saying: Take Baruch to the earth,
 that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God, which he has seen and heard.' The absence of any parallel
 to this passage is further evidence of the free treatment of the concluding sections of the original by the editor of the
 Greek text in its present form.

the priests who proclaimed my words to them. The term ἱερεὺς does not seem to have been applied to the
 Christian ministry till the end of the second century.

- XVII. 2. **restored . . . beginning.** See 2 Bar. vii. 2 (note).
 3. Cf. 2 Bar. liv. 8 f.

IV EZRA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Fourth Book of Ezra (or 2 Esdras) is extant in a number of translations, all of which have been made, apparently, from a lost Greek version; and this, there is reason to believe, was itself made in the first instance from a Hebrew original. The extant translations are in the following languages: Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two independent versions), and Armenian. The most important of the versions is the Latin; and it is through this version, incorporated in many important Latin Biblical MSS., that the book has passed first into the Latin Bible (the Vulgate), as an appendix; and thence into our Bibles as one of the Deutero-canonical books, or official *Apocrypha*. The Ezra-Apocalypse proper corresponds to chapters 3-14 of the 2 Esdras of our Apocrypha (or the Fourth Book of Ezra of the Vulgate). Chapters 1 and 2 and 15 and 16 belong only to the Latin form of the book: the Oriental versions recognize only chapters 3-14. The chief conclusions reached by the present Editor regarding the Ezra-Apocalypse are the following: (a) The work is of composite character. In its present form it is a compilation made by an Editor or Redactor (R), and was published by him about the year A. D. 120, in the early part of the reign of Hadrian. The sources utilized by R were—

(1) a Salathiel-Apocalypse (S) which was originally published in Hebrew in the year A. D. 100, and is almost wholly embodied in our book. It is contained in chapters 3-10 mainly (= the first four visions), together with a certain amount of interpolated material.

(2) To this have been appended three independent pieces, extracts from other apocalypses, viz. the Eagle-Vision (= ch. 11-12), denominated A (= Adlergesicht), the Son of Man Vision (= ch. 13), denominated M (= Menschensohn), and the Ezra-legend (= ch. 14 mainly), denominated E².

(3) Extracts from another source have also been utilized by R and interpolated in S. These are from an old Ezra-Apocalypse (denominated E), and detail the signs which precede the End of the world (iv. 52-v. 13 a and vi. 11-29). This source may also have been utilized by R in his compilation of the passages vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

The whole has been compiled in its present form by R, the different material being welded together by redactional links and adjustments. But the distinctive features of the sources have not been seriously affected. The purpose of the compilation appears to have been to commend the apocalyptic literature to certain Rabbinical circles which were hostile, and to secure for it a permanent place within orthodox Judaism. With this end in view the Redactor invested the whole composite work with the name of Ezra—a name specially honoured in the Rabbinical Schools—and took care to select material in which the cruder elements of the older apocalyptic had been largely refined away. The compilation thus represents a fusion, to some extent, of the Rabbinical and Apocalyptic types of thought of a novel kind. Its importance for the history of Rabbinical doctrine and for the elucidation of the earlier (pre-Talmudic) phases of Judaism is very great. Together with the twin-Apocalypse 2 Baruch, which may have been edited in its final form somewhat later, it may be regarded as the product of a school of writers; in the one case—4 Ezra—we have a writing which reflects the influence of the School of Shammai; in the other—2 Baruch—one that reflects the work of a school of writers under the influence of Aqiba.

§ 2. TITLE OF THE BOOK.

In most of the Latin MSS. the additional chapters (1-2 and 15-16) are distinguished from the Apocalypse proper by a separate enumeration, and are marked off as separate books. A common arrangement is the following:

- 1 Esdras = Ezra-Nehemiah of the Canon.
- 2 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 1-2 (2 Esdras i-ii of our Apocrypha).
- 3 Esdras = 1 Esdras of our Apocrypha (3 Esdras of the Vulgate).
- 4 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 3-14 (our Apocalypse).

5 Esdras = 4 Ezra, chapters 15-16 (2 Esdras xv-xvi of our Apocrypha).

According to this enumeration:

2 Esdras = chapters 1-2.

4 Esdras = „ 3-14 (our Apocalypse).

and 5 Esdras = „ 15-16.

This is adopted by James (*BJ*, p. xxvii).¹

The prevailing usage of the Latin MSS. (including the important codices SA) is to designate chapters 3-14 (= our Apocalypse) as the Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra). (See also Vol. I, pp. 2-3 of this work on this question.—*Gen. Edit.*)

The Oriental versions are also inconsistent in the titles they employ. In Ar.¹ and Ethiop. the Apocalypse (= chapters 3-14) is called *The First Book of Ezra*. The Syr. and Ar.² attach no number to the title. It seems probable that the title prefixed to the lost Greek version was Ἑσδρας ὁ προφήτης, as Clement of Alexandria quotes from our Apocalypse as from Ἑσδρας ὁ προφήτης (cf. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis*, iii. 16), while St. Ambrose also uses the name *propheta Ezra* (cf. also the opening words of 4 Ezra i *liber Esrae prophetae secundus*). Another possible form (suggested by Westcott) is Ἀποκάλυψις Ἑσδρα.

§ 3. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

(a) THE LATIN. The text of the Old Latin version reproduced in the Vulgate rests upon late MS. authority, and is full of corruptions and inaccuracies. The first serious contribution towards the formation of a critical text was made by Sabatier in the eighteenth century, who noted the variants of the *Codex Sangermanensis* (Codex S) in his great corpus of the Latin texts of the Bible.² A further advance was made by Volkmar in 1863, who published a Latin text, adding the variants of a Zürich MS. (*Codex Turicensis*, thirteenth century), in his edition of our Apocalypse.³ A few years later Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Iudaeorum* (Leipzig, 1869), and Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. pseudepigraphi selecti*, Leipzig, 1871) published critical editions of the Latin text embodying readings from other MSS. But all previous work in this direction was dwarfed into insignificance when Bensly in 1875 published his epoch-making contribution to the critical study of 4 Ezra—*The missing fragment of the Latin translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra* (Cambridge). Up to this time all known MSS. of the Latin text yielded a defective text of chapter 7: a long passage (some 70 verses) was missing between verses 35 and 36 of this chapter, as was shown clearly by the Oriental versions which attest the missing verses. In 1875 Bensly had the good fortune to discover the Latin text of the missing fragment in a ninth-century MS. which was then in the possession of the communal library of Amiens. The discovery was without delay communicated to the world in a splendid edition of the text of the fragment, enriched with a valuable introduction and commentary. Bensly's *Missing Fragment* (*MF*) is valuable not only for the text of the fragment itself, but for the textual study of the whole book. It abounds with notes, remarks, and accurate information which make it indispensable for the serious student of the Latin Bible. The curious lacuna in chapter 7 which characterizes all known Latin MSS. (except the few enumerated below) is due to the mutilation of the great Codex S (preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris).⁴ In 1856 Prof. Gildermeister, in collating this MS., discovered that a leaf (which had originally contained the missing fragment) had been (no doubt purposely) cut out in early times. 'From this and other indications he drew the indisputable and highly important conclusion that all MSS. of 4 Esdras which do not contain that passage were ultimately derived from the Codex Sangermanensis. . . . Codex S is the oldest known manuscript of 4 Esdras and is the parent of the vast majority of extant copies.'⁵

Besides (1) Codex S the following are among the most important MSS. for text-critical purposes:

(2) Codex A (i. e. *Codex Ambianensis*). This is the MS. in which Prof. Bensly discovered the missing fragment. It was apparently written in the ninth century, and, though closely related to S, has an independent value by the side of it.

(3) Codex C (*Codex Complutensis*, formerly at Complutum) known as the Bible of Alcalá. It is now in the Library of the Central University at Madrid. The text is independent of S and A; date ninth to tenth century. This MS. contains the missing fragment, and curiously enough the text of the latter had been transcribed by Prof. Palmer in 1826, but never published by him. After the publication of *MF* in 1875 this transcript was found among Prof. Palmer's papers, and was printed in the *Journal of Philology* in 1877 (vii. 264).

¹ The Latin MSS. vary considerably in the enumeration: see for further details the present writer's *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. iv; Bensly, *MF*, pp. 85-86; and *BJ*, pp. xxvi foll.

² *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, tom. iii (Rheims, 1749). The date of Codex S is 822.

³ *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Tübingen, 1863), pp. 3-213.

⁴ *Fonds latins*, 11505.

⁵ *BJ*, p. xiii.

INTRODUCTION

(4) Codex M (*Codex Mazarinacus*): in the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris. The existence of this MS. was made known by M. Berger in 1885. Its text (which includes the missing fragment) is of the same type as that of C (eleventh century).

To these—the principal MS. authorities—must now be added:

(5) Codex V (= *Codex Abulensis*) now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It is known as the Bible of Avila. Its text is unmutilated, and appears to be a copy of Codex C (early thirteenth century). It was discovered by M. Berger.

(6) Codex L (*Codex Legionensis*) in the Library of San Isidro de Leon at Leon. This Codex (in 3 vols.) contains a remarkable text of 4 Ezra, which diverges from that of all other authorities. According to Violet these peculiarities are largely due to deliberate revision by a late transcriber. Its date, according to the same scholar, is probably about 1300. See further Violet, pp. xxii–xxiv.

(7) The latest discovered unmutilated text is a MS. which is denoted N (Codex N) by Violet. It is preserved at Brussels, and its existence was first made known in October, 1906 (by D. Donatien de Bryne, O.S.B.). It is part of a Bible in 4 vols.; the writing is of the twelfth century. According to Violet its text is closely related to that of M (hence the choice of the symbol N).

For the special MS. evidence that exists for chap. viii. 20–36 (the so-called *Confessio Esdrae*) see the introductory section to that passage in the present writer's edition of the book (*EA*, p. 176); and cf. further the introductions of *BJ* and Violet for this point, and for the MS. evidence generally: also Bensly *MF*.

The critical edition of the text of the whole book, which Bensly was prevented from completing by death, was finally edited and published, with a valuable introduction, by Dr. M. R. James, in 1895.¹ A splendid critical edition of the Latin text, with a full apparatus criticus, and with German translations of the Oriental versions (also provided with an apparatus criticus) in parallel columns has been edited by Dr. Bruno Violet for the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, and recently published.²

Both Bensly (with James) and Violet agree in the conclusion that broadly the MSS. yield two types of text: the one, represented by the group SA, may be styled the French recension (= Violet's ϕ); the other, the Spanish recension, represented by the group CMNVL (= Violet's ψ). On the whole the former group (ϕ) yields a decidedly superior text to that of the latter (ψ).

See further on this point Violet, § 12. Violet also (p. xxvi) calls attention to the existence of a number of Latin MSS. containing the unmutilated text of our book, which are in existence at various libraries, but have not as yet been utilized for the criticism of the text.

The Latin translation of the book, which, like the Oriental versions, was made from the lost Greek version, is undoubtedly very early. It was well known to Ambrose of Milan, who cites freely from it (see *BJ*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv). Possible but doubtful citations are made by Tertullian (4 Ezra viii. 20) and Cyprian (4 Ezra v. 54, 55). It has also been supposed that Commodian the Christian poet of the third century, cites 4 Ezra xiii. 40 f. It is interesting to note in this connexion that it seems fairly probable that in the time of Ambrose the Latin text of the additional chapters 15–16 was already current 'in the version in which we possess them and . . . that they were also attached to chapters 3–14'.³ The Latin version as a whole is singularly faithful and literal, and it is not difficult to arrive at the Greek text underlying it. It has itself suffered a certain amount of internal corruption in transmission; but this, with the aid partly of new MS. evidence, and partly of the other versions, can often be corrected successfully. From every point of view it is the most valuable of the versions that have come down to us.

Of the Oriental versions the most valuable is (δ) THE SYRIAC. This is far more faithful and less paraphrastic than the other Oriental versions. The Syriac text of the book is unfortunately only known to us in a single MS. authority—the great Ambrosian (sixth century) Bible-Codex at Milan, which has been made available for scholars by the Italian scholar A. Ceriani. In this Codex 4 Ezra follows the Baruch-Apocalypse, and precedes the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah (here reckoned as one book; viz. *the second Book of Ezra*): 4 Ezra has no number attached to it. A printed edition of the Syriac text has been published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana* (vol. v, fasc. i, 1868); and it is also included in the photo-lithographic reproduction of the Ambrosian Codex. Ceriani's Latin translation of the Syriac text of 4 Ezra is reprinted, with some improve-

¹ *The Fourth Book of Ezra in Texts and Studies* (vol. iii, no. 2): Cambridge.

² *Die Esra-Apokalypse* (4 Ezra): Erster Teil: *Die Ueberlieferung*. Leipzig, 1910. (A second volume is to follow.)

³ *BJ*, p. xliii. For the whole subject of the ancient quotations of 4 Ezra cf. the full discussion (with the passages set out in full) in *BJ*, pp. xxvii f.

ments, in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum*, pp. 212 ff. Like all the Oriental versions the Apocalypse in the Syriac text consists of chapters 3–14 of the Latin only. A translation (in German) with critical notes is printed in Violet, vol. i.

(c) THE ETHIOPIC. This version was first published in 1820 by the famous Orientalist Richard Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel; editor of *1 Enoch* and of *The Ascension of Isaiah*). Laurence's Latin translation of the Ethiopic text, revised by Praetorius, is printed in Hilgenfeld's *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 262 ff.). A critical text of this version, based upon the collation of several MSS., was prepared by Dillmann and published after his death.¹ A French translation, based upon Dillmann's critical text, was published by Basset in 1899. The Ethiopic version is not so valuable as the Syriac. It is much more paraphrastic and free in its handling of the text, but it sometimes attests interesting and important readings, and is important for the criticism of the Greek text underlying it. A German translation, based upon Dillmann, is printed in Violet, vol. i (with critical notes).

(d) THE ARABIC VERSIONS. Two independent Arabic versions of the book are in existence which (following Gunkel) we may designate Ar.¹ and Ar.². Of the first Arabic version (Ar.¹) two MSS. are known to be in existence—the original MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (part of the Laudian collection), and a transcript of this preserved at the Vatican. An English translation was made by Simon Ockley from the Oxford MS., and appeared in William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* (vol. iv, 1711), and a Latin version, made from Ockley's English, and corrected by Steiner from the Arabic text, is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 323 ff.). The Arabic text was first published by Ewald in *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.²

In this MS. our book appears as 1 Ezra; then follows Ezra-Nehemiah as 2 Ezra, succeeded by the Book of Tobit. A curious fact concerning the Oxford MS. is that there is a lacuna in the text of one page, which is supplied by the Vatican transcript. There are two other lacunae common to both MSS. In 1898 Violet, however, found in the Oxford MS. itself (but displaced) the missing page, which is given in the Vatican transcript in its right place (see further Violet, pp. xxxi–xxxvi). This version, which is exceedingly free, was also made from a Greek text; whether it—or the Greek text underlying it—has been revised is uncertain. A German translation, with critical notes, is given in Violet.

The *Second Arabic Version* (Ar.²) is an independent version made directly from the Greek. It exists in a complete form in a Vatican MS. (Arab. 462) which has been edited and published, with a Latin translation, by Gildemeister (*Esdrae liber quartus arabice e cod. Vat.*, Bonn 1877). Extracts from this version are contained in an Oxford (Bodleian) MS. 260; and a fragment containing ch. vii. 75–91 has been found in a Paris MS. by Violet.

This version contains some interesting and valuable readings which have led Gunkel to postulate the existence of a second Greek version, made from the Hebrew original, which he supposes to have been the basis of this version.

Gunkel supports this view by citing chap. viii. 23 where Ar.², alone among the versions, renders *ceaseless* (*eternal*) = Heb. לְעֹלָם: the other versions imply *for a witness* (= לְעֵד). Evidently there were two Greek readings, representing two renderings of a single Hebrew text. One has been followed by Ar.²; the other by the other versions. Again, in xiv. 3 Ar.² has *Sinai* (= סִינַי) where the other versions have *bush* (= סִנְה)—phenomena which point to different readings in the Greek, due to a difference of reading the Hebrew. But it is not necessary to infer from such instances (which, in any case, are few) that two different recensions of the Greek existed. The readings more probably represent marginal variants or corrections in the Greek exemplar used. In any case, as Violet has shown, both Ar.¹ and Ar.² go back to one recension of the Greek, which is characterized by a lacuna in the text, viii. 50–ix. 1 being omitted. It is probable that different MSS. of this Greek recension (if it may be so called) were used by the translators of Ar.¹ and Ar.².

Thus Ar.², though it is very free and paraphrastic on the whole, is often an important textual witness, and must never be neglected.

It is interesting to notice that Ar.² agrees with the Syr. in omitting the first half of xi. 30 (= *et videtur quomodo complexa est*), and again with the Syr. in attesting (in xi. 43) a clause which has fallen out in all the other versions (= *that thou shouldst forsake us also*).

Two further fragments of an Arabic version independent of Ar.¹ and Ar.² are also known; but these seem to be of secondary importance, depending, as they not improbably do, on the Latin

¹ *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici* tomus v (Berlin, 1894, pp. 152–93).

² 1863, vol. xi (also reprinted separately).

INTRODUCTION

version. [See further Violet, xxxi-xxxix: Violet gives a German translation of both Ar.¹ and Ar.² with critical notes.]

(e) THE ARMENIAN. This version was first printed in the Armenian Bible of 1805 (Venice), and again in the Armenian edition of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament (Venice, 1896). A Latin translation (by J. H. Petermann) is given in Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.* pp. 378 ff.), and a German one by Violet. The version is exceedingly free, and possesses little or no value for the criticism of the text. It may have been made from the Syriac.

(f) FRAGMENTS AND TRACES OF OTHER VERSIONS. An important discovery of some fragments of a Sahidic version of our book was made known in 1904.¹ The fragment in question covers chap. xiii. 29-46; but the leaf containing it is unfortunately much damaged. The recovery of other parts of this version, which is not impossible, would probably afford valuable help in reconstructing the underlying Greek text, if, as is likely, the Sahidic was made directly from the Greek. The Sahidic translation would certainly embody many of the original Greek words as loan-words.

Traces also exist of an old Georgian version of our book. [See further Violet, pp. xl ff.]

§ 4. THE LOST GREEK VERSION.

The dependence of all the versions (with the possible exception of the Armenian) upon a lost Greek version hardly needs any detailed proof. The differences between the versions can constantly be explained by corruptions of a Greek text underlying them.

To select a few instances out of many: in v. 28 the Latin has *praeparasti* (= *ητοιμασας*) *unam radicem super alias*; but the Oriental versions rightly render 'thou hast dishonoured (= *ητιμασας*) the one root', &c. Again in vii. 26 the Latin has *et apparebit sponsa* [*et*] *apparescens civitas* = 'and the bride shall appear even the city appearing' (so Syr. substantially); but the true text, represented by the Ethiopic and Armenian runs: *then shall the city that now is invisible appear* = *και φανησεται η νυν μη φαινομενη πολις* which was misread by the Latin *και φανησεται η νυμφη φαινομενη πολις*. In x. 28, again, the true text represented by the Latin and the Oriental versions, with the exception of the Ethiopic, runs: *for he it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment* (*εκστασις*); but the Ethiopic has *search* for *bewilderment*, misreading *εκστασιν* as *εξετασιν*.

Further, the internal evidence of the versions singly often clearly demonstrates dependence upon a Greek underlying text. Thus the Latin sometimes reproduces Greek constructions (e.g. the genitive absolute, v. 55), and Greek genders unknown to Latin (e.g. x. 23 *signaculum Sion . . . resignata est*: 'seal' being treated as fem. as in Greek = *η σφραγίς*). See further on these points *MF*, pp. 17 f.; *EA*, pp. xi, xviii (see also Index V of the latter work under *Greek constructions* and *Greek words*).

Positive evidence of the existence of such a Greek version as is desiderated by the evidence of the secondary versions is afforded by actual citations in the early patristic literature, as well as by the existence of Greek works which have been based upon, or imitated from, the lost Greek version. The most certain of the citations are the citation of v. 35 in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, iii. 16; and of viii. 23 in *Const. Apost.* viii. 7; while *Const. Apost.* ii. 14 contains a passage, the language of which is strongly reminiscent of vii. 103 (*fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kinsfolk for their nearest, friends for their dearest*). The passage in question runs as follows:—

Εἰ δὲ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐ τιμωροῦνται, οὔτε υἱοὶ ὑπὲρ πατέρων, δῆλον ὡς οὔτε γυναῖκες ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, οὔτε οἰκέται ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, οὔτε συγγενεῖς ὑπὲρ συγγενῶν, οὔτε φίλοι ὑπὲρ φίλων, οὔτε δίκαιοι (v. l. δίκαιος) ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου ἔργου τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτηθήσεται.

A knowledge of the Greek 4 Ezra appears to be presupposed, also in the Hippolytean fragment *περὶ τοῦ παντός*.² The alleged citations in our book of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are, however, more than doubtful (see the notes on v. 9 below). For a full discussion of these points reference must be made to *BZ*, pp. xxvii-xxx; cf. also *EA*, p. xii. For later Greek works which have imitated the Greek 4 Ezra (viz. the Apocalypses of Esdras and Sedrach), see Violet, pp. l-lxx.

The reconstruction of the lost Greek text from the Latin version of our book has been carried out with a considerable amount of success by Hilgenfeld (with the assistance of Lagarde and Hermann Rönisch). It is printed in *Messias Iudaeorum* (pp. 36-113), and is a most valuable piece of work. Volkmar, also, in his edition of our book (*Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1863) has constantly suggested Greek renderings which are often important for this purpose; while in Gunkel's commentary some

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Band 41, Heft 2, pp. 138-40).

² Also cited sometimes as 'Hippolytus Against Plato'.

useful notes of a similar character by Wilamowitz are occasionally cited. An elaborate reconstruction is promised by Violet.

A specimen of the Greek translation of part of the additional chapters, which do not strictly belong to the Ezra-Apocalypse, viz. 4 Ezra xv. 57-59, has been discovered (1909) among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and been published with other papyri in the collection of Grenfell and Hunt. This important find encourages the hope that parts, or even the whole, of the lost Greek version of the Apocalypse proper may yet come to light.

Gunkel (*ap.* Kautzsch) has propounded a theory that two independent Greek translations of a Hebrew original were made; while the Lat., Syr., Ethiop., Ar.¹ (and possibly the Armenian) rest upon one of these, Ar.², he thinks, rests upon a mixed Greek text, made up of the edition used by the other versions, and a second made independently and later. The evidence adduced for this view is, however, very slight, and has already been dealt with above in § 3*d* (in connexion with Ar.²). The textual phenomena are susceptible of an alternative and simpler explanation, viz. that Ar.² has embodied marginal variants occasionally; while, in other respects, it has handled its Greek text rather freely, omitting considerable portions. [For Volkmar's theory of a second Greek recension see *EA*, p. xiii.]

§ 5. THE ORIGINAL HEBREW TEXT.

The most recent investigators of the textual problems of our book are agreed in postulating a Hebrew text as the original form in which 4 Ezra was composed. These scholars include Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Violet.¹ The opposite view (of a Greek original) has been championed by Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld.

The fullest discussion of the grounds for assuming a Hebrew original is that of Wellhausen.² It may be said, without qualification, that judged by any of the properly applicable tests, the phenomena point to a Semitic original. THE SYNTAX REFLECTS CHARACTERISTICALLY HEBREW FEATURES. Thus the sentences are co-ordinated with rather than subordinated to each other, and in consequence it is sometimes difficult to determine exactly where the protasis of a hypothetical sentence ends, and the apodosis begins.

Cp. e.g. iii. 12 (*et factum est cum coepissent multiplicari . . . et multiplicaverunt filios . . . et coeperunt . . . impietatem facere, &c.*); iii. 17 f. (*et factum est cum educeres semen eius ex Aegypto et adduxisti eos . . . Et transiit gloria tua, &c.*); iii. 29 f.; v. 4 ff.; v. 31; vi. 18 f. In some of these cases the punctuation of the editors is not certainly correct—the sentences should, perhaps, be run on.

Note also turns of expression as *et factum est et* and *et erit et*, which are essentially Hebrew modes of expression, as also are *et ecce* (very frequent in chapters 10 and 11), and *et vidi et ecce* (iv. 48, xi. 1 f.) or *et audivi et ecce* (vi. 18). All these, as Wellhausen points out, are characteristically Hebrew, and not Greek.

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXAMPLES OF STRONGLY MARKED HEBRAISMS: the complement of the relative by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *de quibus si mihi renunciaveris ex his* (iv. 4), *de quo me interrogas de eo* (iv. 28), *in quo stas super eum* (vi. 14), *super quem stabam super eum* (vi. 29), *qui per semet ipsum liberabit creaturam suam* (xiii. 26).

The last instance cited is an excellent example of the ambiguity which may arise from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew relative and its complement (the Heb. relative particle *אשר* does not distinctly express either number or case). Similar instances of misunderstanding also occur in ix. 20 (*propter cogitationes quae in eo advenerunt* should be *p. c. eorum qui in eo, &c.*); and in xiii. 40 (*quem captivum duxit Salmanassar* should be *quas or quos captivos duxit, &c.*).

The construction of the Hebrew infinitive absolute with the finite verb is of extraordinarily frequent occurrence. It is usually rendered by a particle or by an abstract substantive.

The following are illustrative of numerous examples: *excedens excessit cor tuum* (iv. 2); *festinans festinat saeculum pertransire* (iv. 26); *mensura mensuravit tempora et numero numeravit tempora* (iv. 37); *odiens odisti populum tuum* (v. 30). The number of these examples might be somewhat increased if the instances could be added where the Syr. attests the same construction without the support of the Latin.

One of the characteristic features of Hebrew, which it shares with other old Semitic languages, is the paucity of its adverbs. The language, consequently, is forced to adopt other modes of speech in order to express the adverbial idea. The infinitive absolute often does duty in this way (expressing intensity or iteration: = *surely, much, often, &c.*). But sometimes other methods are resorted to. Thus repeated action (= *again*) is expressed in Hebrew by such phrases as *to add to do* (*והוסיף + another verb*). This usage is reflected in our text by such un-Greek expressions as *adiciam* (*dicere*)

¹ Among earlier scholars Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. 7) held this view; earlier still Jo. Morinus.

² *Skizzen*, vi, pp. 234-9 (1899).

INTRODUCTION

coram te (v. 32); *superdixerunt* (vii. 23); *noli ergo adicere inquirendo* (viii. 55); *adiciam dolorem* (ix. 41); *adposui adhuc loqui* (x. 19).

The usage of prepositions is often Hebrew rather than Greek (see the examples cited in *EA*, p. xv f.). The characteristic features of Hebrew style are marked throughout all sections of the book. Thus in the dialogue between the seer and the angel the expression *he answered* (*I answered*) and *said* constantly recurs; cf. also *ask . . . and say*, v. 46, 50. Before the *oratio recta saying* (= לאמר) is constantly prefixed, *dixit dicens* even occurring (xi. 37, xii. 40). Such diffuseness is a well-known feature in Hebrew composition. Another characteristic feature in the dialogue is the self-designation of the human speaker as *thy servant*, while the angel is addressed as *domine* (cf. v. 45–56, vi. 12, vii. 75, 102, viii. 6, 24, x. 37, xii. 8, xiii. 14); in the case of a woman *thine handmaid* (ix. 43, 45).

The title of address *O dominator domine* (*O Lord that bearest rule*, R.V.) which occurs several times is properly applicable only to God = Δέσποτα κύριέ μου (Heb. יהוה ארני or ארני יהוה).

Characteristically Hebrew, again, is the artless simplicity with which sentences (esp. imperative forms of speech) are constantly expanded by the use of redundant expressions.

The following examples are cited by Wellhausen: *vade pondera mihi* (iv. 5); *venite et eamus* (iv. 14); *venite ascendentes debellemus* (iv. 15); *vade et interroga* (iv. 40), &c. The materializing of the action is detailed by the side of the description of the action itself: e.g. *Respexi oculis meis et vidi* (ix. 38); *apertum est os meum et inchoavi dicere* (ix. 28). Especially frequent is the somewhat similar use of *incipere* (= Heb. הווייל): cf. vi. 8, 19, 32; vii. 75, 88, 97, 122, 126, &c. (cf. the similar use of ἀρχεσθαι in the Gospels). The following are also examples of expanded descriptions of simple actions, which are characteristically Hebrew: *surge super pedes tuos* (v. 15; vi. 13, 17; x. 30; xi. 7); *capax est tibi visus oculorum videre* (x. 55); *torquent me renes mei* (v. 31); *cogitationes meae ascenderunt super cor meum* (iii. 1); *conturbatus est sensus cordis tui* (x. 31); *ne expavescat cor tuum* (x. 55); *vultus tuus tristis* (v. 16); *amara animo* (ix. 41); *figmentum manuum tuarum* (iii. 5; viii. 7); *plantavit dextera tua* (iii. 6). The bare mention of the person who is the instrument or object of an action is not sufficient; the organ through which the action is performed must also be mentioned. Thus the writer says *thy right hand has planted* for *thou hast planted*, *thy countenance is sad* for *thou art sad*, &c.

Further examples of genuine Hebraisms are the following: *dixi in corde meo* (iii. 28); *accepisti in corde tuo* (vii. 16); *reddere animam suam* (vii. 75); *non dirigentur viae eorum* (ἐξοδωσθαι v. 12); *dare vocem suam* (= נתן קולו v. 5, 7); *nomen uni vocasti* (vi. 49); *nomen tuum invocatum est super nos* (iv. 25, x. 22); *fiebat species coruscus* (x. 25); *factus est in uno casus eorum* (iii. 10); *factus est Iacob in multitudine magna* (iii. 16); *factus est in vano* (iv. 16); *concupiscentia gustus multifformis* (vi. 44).

A number of words are used also in a sense that can only be explained by Hebrew usage: cf. e.g. *confractio* (vii. 108 and note), *cor maris* (iv. 7), *flumen* (= the River sc. Euphrates, xiii. 40), *lignum* = tree (iv. 13; v. 5 = Heb. עץ = both wood and tree), *multus* for *magnus* (Heb. רב, x. 38, &c.), *nationes* (= דורות or תולדות iii. 7 and note), *nomina* (names = individuals, persons, iii. 36), *opus* (= Heb. פעלה reward vii. 35, cf. iii. 33 note n), *proximus* = ? Heb. קרוב (v. 11 *interrogabit regio proximam suam*), *radix* used in a technical sense (v. 28, in another technical sense viii. 53 note t), *a saeculo* (= מעולם ix. 7, 18), *sermo* = דבר (vii. 101 *ut videant qui predicti sunt sermones*), cf. also x. 5, *spiritus intellectus* (v. 22), *unicus* (= יחיד v. 28), *vas bellicosum* (= כלי מלחמה xiii. 9, 28), *via* (= Heb. דרך mode or kind; cf. vii. 80, iv. 3 and often: see note v, p. 145); among verbs the following, which reflect Hebrew usage, may be noted: *vincere* and *vinci* (= Heb. זכה and חוב, iii. 21, vi. 28, vii. 115, 128), *confortare* (= חזק v. 15, &c.), *congregari* (= נאסף vii. 33), *inquirere iustitiam* *ab* (= דרש מן vi. 19 and note), *spernere* used absolutely, like καταφρονεῖν (= בגד vii. 76, 79, &c.).

It would, no doubt, be possible to explain isolated examples in the lists given above without recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original; but the cumulative effect of the whole evidence creates a presumption which amounts to a certainty that the Greek text which underlies the extant versions was itself a translation from a Hebrew original. The whole book is coloured by Hebrew diction, Hebrew modes of thought and characteristic modes of expression.

This conclusion is in no way weakened by the fact that Graecisms are of not infrequent occurrence. As Wellhausen remarks, Graecisms occur in the LXX. Attention has already been called to the fact of the occurrence of Greek usages and constructions in the Latin text.¹ These merely reflect the Greek text on which the Latin translator worked. Of Graecisms proper in the Greek translation itself a good instance is *in eo quod misereatur* (vii. 132) = ἐν τῷ οἰκτεῖρειν, several examples of which occur (ἐν τῷ + infin.). Occasional word-plays in the Greek may also be explained as due to the translator.²

¹ For a full and detailed list see Volkmar, pp. 313 ff.

² A good example of this occurs in xii. 24–5.

IV EZRA

One other criterion exists by which the hypothesis of a Hebrew original may be tested: viz. whether the hypothesis will explain, or is compatible with, the variations that exist in the versions. A certain number of these are due to internal corruptions in the versions themselves.¹ But a large number of cases remains where divergent readings of the Greek can best be explained by the hypothesis of corruption in the original Hebrew text (for examples see the notes in the following commentary).

Again *ex hypothesi* it ought to be possible throughout to arrive at an approximation to the underlying Hebrew text. This has been constantly borne in mind by the present editor, and it can confidently be asserted that, all through, the textual phenomena are compatible with a Hebrew original.

An apparent exception to this rule occurs in vi. 56 where the LXX of Isa. xl. 15 (*like unto spittle*) is followed against the Masoretic Hebrew text. But this can be explained without violence to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The word-play in the Greek of xii. 24-25 has already been referred to.

In the previous discussion it has been assumed throughout that a *Hebrew* original is postulated. The textual phenomena certainly point to this rather than Aramaic. The constant use of such expressions as *et factum est*, *et erit*, *et ecce*, and, above all, the recurring use of the infinitive absolute, point to a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original.

It remains to add a word on the relation of the Hebrew original to the versions. The extant versions are, as has already been pointed out, translations directly from the lost Greek version (with the possible exception of the Armenian, which may have been made from the Syriac). The original Greek version was itself a translation of the Hebrew text which embraced the Apocalypse proper (i.e. chapters iii-xiv of 2 Esdras in the Vulgate form). To this original Greek version were appended (in the third century) the additional chapters (i-ii and xv-xvi of the Vulgate and our own official Apocrypha). They were composed in Greek and are of Christian origin. In the time of Ambrose apparently the Latin version of chapters xv-xvi was already current, and it is probable that these chapters were already attached to chapters iii-xiv (see further *BZ*, p. xliii; and for the whole subject of this section *EA*, pp. xiii-xix).

§ 6. THE COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE TEXT.

Is the present form of 4 Ezra a compilation, made by an editor from different sources? Or is it, on the whole, a uniform composition which in a real sense goes back to a single author? The latter alternative is accepted by (among modern scholars) Gunkel² and F. C. Porter³; the former is upheld by Kabisch and Dr. Charles.

At the outset we are confronted with a *datum* that strongly suggests the use by an editor of an independent source. In the very first verse we read: *I Salathiel who am also Ezra* (iii. 1). This strange identification of Salathiel with Ezra cannot be justified historically, nor can it be explained as due to defective historical knowledge on the part of the original writer of this section of the book. The only adequate explanation is that an editor or compiler is using an independent writing in which the seer who is the recipient of the revelations that follow, spoke in the name of Salathiel, and that the compiler who utilized this written source was anxious, for some reason, to connect it with the name of Ezra; accordingly he inserted the words *who am also Ezra*.

What other explanation is possible? If it be assumed that the author wrote the words, then we must suppose that he thought of himself sometimes as Ezra, sometimes as Salathiel. But such an assumption is surely far-fetched, and in the highest degree unnatural. If the author had wished to speak throughout in the name of Ezra it would have been perfectly easy for him to do so. The importation of Salathiel would in that case be perfectly gratuitous. On the other hand, if the identification be due to a compiler who is using sources, all is explained.

We may assume, then, that the present form of our book reveals unmistakably the hand of a Compiler or Redactor (R) who has used as a source an originally independent Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It remains to determine what are the limits of S, so far as it is embodied in our own book, and what are its relations to other parts of the book.⁴

§ 7. THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

No question arises in connexion with regard to chapters 3-10 which, apart from the eschatological passages, may be assigned as a whole to S. The Redactor (R) will, of course, be in evidence

¹ A good example of internal corruption in the Latin is vii. 4 (*altum* for *latum*).

² In Kautzsch.

³ *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers* (1909), p. 336.

⁴ See further the discussion of this point in *EA*, p. xxi f.

INTRODUCTION

occasionally ; but there will be little difficulty in assigning limits to his work after the more important question as to what other main sources, if any, are embodied in our own book has been discussed.

This resolves itself into the question whether the author of S can have embodied in his work the 5th, 6th and 7th visions of the book (chapters xi–xiv), or whether these are to be regarded in the light of appendices, drawn from independent sources, and inserted in their present position by R.

The famous Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii) has all the appearance of an independent writing. It has a style and form of its own. But the all-important fact about it is that it reveals eschatological conceptions which are radically opposed to those of S. The latter holds strongly to a dualistic and transcendental view. There are two ages ; one the present corruptible age, and the other the glorious incorruptible age that is to succeed the present one, after the Final Judgement. The hopes of S are fixed on the latter ; he gives up the present as hopeless (see further § 10 (1)). On the other hand, in the Eagle-vision a strongly political view is held. The writer's hopes are fixed on the annihilation of the Eagle (i. e. the Roman Empire). It is this that will mark the decisive moment ; the Day of Judgement will dawn, according to this writer's conception, when the Roman Empire is annihilated by the Messiah, and the Rule of God becomes a reality upon the earth. The two conceptions are difficult to harmonize. Doubtless the compiler (R) did try to harmonize them by combining them in thought ; he doubtless anticipated that the world, even after the victory of the Messiah over Rome, would still come to its predestined end which would usher in the final Day of Judgement. But can such a conception be attributed to S ? If anything is certain about this writer it is that he wrestles with real difficulties, and strives to reach a real solution. He is not a mere collector of opposed opinions. The conviction that dominates the whole thought of S is that the evil which reigns in the present order is so deep-rooted that nothing less than the dissolution of the present world and the ushering in of the future and better world (or age) will suffice to eliminate the wrongs and unrighteousness that now exist.¹ Is it conceivable that S can at the same time have held the view that the annihilation of the oppressive world-power by the Messiah will usher in a new age in the present world, which will bring felicity to those who live on into it, and justify the ways of God by making the divine rule a reality upon the earth ? No. This older view was doubtless well known to S, and had failed to satisfy him. In his agonizing struggle for fresh light he implicitly repudiates the older eschatology, with its political hopes and somewhat materialistic aspirations, and takes refuge in a transcendental view. Consequently we are justified in treating the Eagle-vision (A) as an independent source which owes its position in the book to R.² The general theme of the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii)—viz. the annihilation of hostile powers and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom—is identical with that of the Eagle-vision. For the reasons already advanced it cannot, therefore, belong to S. Its eschatology also is different from that of the Eagle-vision, as will be shown later. Consequently it must be regarded as an independent writing. Though in tone and in some of its characteristic conceptions the final chapter (xiv) of our Apocalypse is much more akin to S than the two independent sources already referred to, it yet cannot be regarded as belonging to the Salathiel-apocalypse. The situation presupposed throughout this chapter (with the exception of some interpolations due to R) is that of the historical Ezra, living in the fifth century B.C. ; it cannot, therefore, be brought into accordance with the situation of Salathiel (who lived a century earlier) as this is implied in S.³

Thus, as a result of our discussion, so far, we have reached the conclusion that the Salathiel-apocalypse (S) is contained within chapters iii–x of our book ; while outside of and independent of this at least three other independent sources have been used, viz. the Eagle-vision (chapters xi–xii = A), the Son of Man vision (ch. xiii = M), and an Ezra-piece (ch. xiv = E²).

The combination of these elements into the present whole of the Ezra-apocalypse will have been the work of the compiler (R). In the process of redaction the hand of R will naturally be evident especially in fitting together the diverse material, and in the work of harmonization. It becomes important, therefore, to determine the extent and limits of R's work.

But before this is attempted the question of the possible existence of another source within our book remains to be discussed. Within the chapters which contain S there are four eschatological passages, marked by special features, the relation of which to S it is important to determine. These passages are the following : (1) iv. 52–v. 13 a, (2) vi. 11–29, (3) vii. 26–44, and (4) viii. 63–ix. 12. In general they contain eschatological descriptions, of a well-known traditional type, which set forth the 'signs' that are to precede the end of the world, and usher in the Final Judgement.

Thus (1) describes the 'signs' that precede the End as follows : it will be a time of commotions, and the general break up of moral and religious forces (v. 1–2) ; the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed

¹ Cf. especially iv. 26–43 (which should be carefully read).

² See further the discussion in *EA*, pp. 246 ff.

³ Cf. further *EA*, pp. 306–7.

(v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (v. 4-8, cf. vi. 21-22), and wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (v. 10-12). In (2) the description of the signs that precede the End is taken up again and interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. It also contains a description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' (vi. 13-28). In (3) a description is given of the sudden revelation of the Messiah, his 400 years' reign on the earth and death, and finally a vivid delineation of the dissolution of the world interwoven with a description of the Judgement itself (vii. 26-44). In (4) the signs of the End are again reviewed (viii. 63-ix. 12).

Are these passages integral parts of S? Or can S have been responsible for their insertion in their present contexts? The traditional character of the passages as a whole is generally conceded; they belong to a type which has many parallels elsewhere. Is it conceivable, then, that S took up this widely current traditional material, and embodied it in his own work? An examination of the first of the passages (iv. 56-v. 12) mentioned discloses unmistakable marks of interpolation. Its awkward insertion in its present context cannot be due to S; it was doubtless interpolated by R. The second passage is parallel to and depends upon the first. If (1) is an interpolation, it follows that (2) must be also. The source from which R excerpted them was, Kabisch thinks, an old Ezra-apocalypse, containing eschatological descriptions of the 'signs' preceding the End, and of the End itself. It may be denominated E (= Ezra-apocalypse; so Kabisch). For similar reasons the third and fourth passages (vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12) cannot belong to S or have been inserted in their present contexts by S. Kabisch believes that both these passages have been drawn from E. The present writer, however, thinks that in their extant form both are the work of R, who may have drawn upon E, but has also utilized other material. They are in fact a compilation of diverse elements (cf. the discussion in *EA*, pp. 108 ff. and 199 ff.).

The results thus reached may be stated as follows: the present form of our apocalypse is due to a Redactor (R) who used the following sources:

(1) S, A SALATHIEL-APOCALYPSE which (so far as it has been utilized) is embodied in iii. 1-31, iv. 1-51, v. 13 b-vi. 10, vi. 30-vii. 25, vii. 45-viii. 62, and ix. 15-x. 57; in addition the two sections xii. 40-48 and xiv. 28-35 are probably misplaced pieces which belong to S (see the introductory sections *ad loc.*).

(2) E, AN EZRA-APOCALYPSE, from which iv. 52-v. 13 a and vi. 13-29 are extracts. Their present position is due to R, who has also drawn upon this source in vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

(3) A, THE EAGLE-VISION, contained (with revision by R) in chapters xi-xii.

(4) M, A SON OF MAN VISION, contained (with much revision and insertions by R) in chapter xiii.

(5) E², AN EZRA-PIECE, contained in xiv. 1-17 a, 18-27, 36-47.

(6) R is responsible for the compilation of the book as a whole. By means of redactional links and adjustments he has fitted the different elements of the book together; the following passages (redactional links) are due to his hand: iv. 52 (*as for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part but*) introducing the extract from E which follows: (v. 1-13 a), vi. 11-12 (introducing the second extract from E which follows in vi. 13-28), vi. 29, x. 58-9 (transition to the Fifth vision), xii. 49-51 (transition to the Sixth vision), xiv. 49-50 (conclusion of the book). In the process of adjustment R has also, apparently, misplaced certain sections of S. Besides the two sections already mentioned (xii. 40-8 and xiv. 28-35) the following also fall under this category: v. 14-15 and xiii. 57-8. The following are the longer insertions which were probably compiled in their present form, as well as inserted by R: iii. 32-6, vii. 26-44, viii. 63-ix. 12, and xiii. 13 b-24: R is also responsible for a certain amount of revision in the fourth and following visions (especially in the interpretation): x. 45 (*in eo* altered in the original Heb. to *in ea*) and x. 46 (*David* altered into *Solomon*), xi. 12 (*on the right side*), xi. 20 (*upon the right side*), xii. 8 (*completely*), xii. 9, xii. 14, xii. 15 (*the twelve*), xii. 26 b-28, xii. 32 (partly), xii. 34, xii. 39, xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29-32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48, xiii. 52 (*or those that are with him*). For minor adjustments made by R reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxvii.

The above analysis agrees, in the main, with the results of Kabisch's masterly discussion in his essay on our book.¹ The present editor, however, differs from Kabisch in assigning rather more to R—in particular the sections vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12 which appear to be compilations by him.

Thus the book as a whole is a compilation from different sources. In the case of *EA* and *M* we have only extracts from larger works (see further *EA*, p. 244 f., 285 f.). In the case of *E*² we have also a piece which was extracted from a larger source (cf. *EA*, pp. 301). Only

¹ *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (1889).

INTRODUCTION

in the case of S, which forms the groundwork of the whole book, have we a source which is substantially preserved in its entirety—though even here there are some curtailments. With S the compiler interwove extracts from other (Ezra) apocalypses, and then invested the whole with the name of Ezra (cf. the case of 1 Enoch, which is a compilation of extracts from a number of Enochic apocalypses interwoven with fragments of a Noah-apocalypse).¹

§ 8. THE DATE OF THE SOURCES AND OF THE FINAL REDACTION.

Fortunately in the opening verse of the book we have a precise statement which points definitely to an exact date for the original appearance of the Salathiel-apocalypse (S). It is stated in iii. 1 that it was in *the thirtieth year of the downfall of the city* that Salathiel was in Babylon and underwent the experiences detailed in the visions that follow; and this statement is confirmed in iii. 29 (*these thirty years*). This date, which probably is intended to refer to the original publication of S, points to the year A. D. 100 (i. e. thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70) as the time when S originally appeared or was completed as an independent work. For reasons supporting this view reference must be made to *EA*, p. xxviii f. The place of composition of S was probably Palestine, and not Rome as Kabisch supposes (*ibid.*).

With regard to the dates of the other sources embodied in our book, E is marked by traditional features which suggest that it was current long before it was utilized by R, who has handled it with considerable freedom.² From the absence of any clear indication that the horrors of the struggle which culminated in A. D. 70 have coloured the delineation of the Messianic 'woes' in these passages it may be inferred that E had assumed literary form some time before A. D. 70.³ Kabisch suggests as a possible date about 30 B.C.

The date of the original composition of the Eagle-vision (A) may be more definitely determined. The one usually favoured is some time in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96); but a date in the reign of Vespasian (A. D. 69-79) is quite possible, and not improbable (see the point fully discussed *EA*, p. 249).

In the case of the Son of Man vision (M) the interpretation of the vision presupposes a time for its composition before A. D. 70 (cf. *EA*, p. 286). As the Christology of M is more advanced than that of E it is probable that it was reduced to written form at a later date than the latter, though it must be remembered that the actual vision in M (4 Ezra xiii. 1-13 a) embodies traditional elements that are much older.

On the other hand, E² (ch. xiv) clearly implies a date subsequent to A. D. 70. The emphasis laid upon the representation of Ezra as the restorer of the Law that has been burnt (xiv. 21) points unmistakably to this. Kabisch regards this source as of contemporaneous origin with S, and this is quite possible; in tone it occasionally resembles S. But all that can be said with certainty is that it must have been composed some time between A. D. 70 and the time of the Redactor (? c. A. D. 120); it is probable that some considerable time elapsed between the Fall of Jerusalem and the time of its composition; consequently a date at or about A. D. 100 is not improbable.

The limits within which the final redaction of our book must have taken place may be fixed as A. D. 100-135. It is clear that the book cannot have been published in its present form before the former date in view of the explicit reference in iii. 1 to *the thirtieth year after the downfall of the city*; and on the other hand, it would have been impossible for a Jewish book of this kind to have found its way into Christian circles after the Bar-Kokba revolt, when Church and Synagogue had become hopelessly alienated. Sufficient time must be allowed before A. D. 132-135 for the Hebrew original to have been translated into Greek, and for the Greek version to have won its way into Christian circles. The date of the original publication cannot, therefore, be placed much after A. D. 120. Can it be placed any earlier?

We have already seen reason to believe that the explicit time-determination given in iii. 1 marks the date of the publication of S—not that of the whole book. If that be so, sufficient time must be allowed for S to have become well known in the circles to which R belonged, and for the work of compilation to have taken place. A number of indications suggest that at the time when the Redactor compiled the work feeling towards Rome on the part of Jewish circles in Palestine had become embittered.⁴ This was the case after the suppression of the Jewish rebellions in A. D. 116-117;

¹ For later apocalyptic literature circulating under Ezra's name cf. pp. 470 seq. of this vol.; *BJ*, pp. lxxvi ff.

² We have extracts from E, probably in v. 1-12, vi. 12-28; while it has, apparently, been utilized by R in vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

³ The reference to *the humiliation of Zion* in vi. 19^b is probably a later interpolation; see *EA*, p. xxx.

⁴ The insertion of the Eagle-vision by R is evidence of this.

IV EZRA

and though with the accession of Hadrian a better feeling manifested itself, this was of short duration, and the old spirit of hostility soon re-asserted itself. These various indications point to a date about A. D. 120 as the time when the Redactor wrote and completed his work. It may have been somewhat later.

A similar date (between A. D. 120-130) is suggested by Charles as the time when 2 Baruch was edited in its final form (in Hebrew and then translated into Greek).

§ 9. THE RELATION OF 4 EZRA TO 2 BARUCH.

It is evident from a comparison of parallel passages¹ that a relation exists between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch of the closest and most intimate description. To determine the exact details of this relationship is not possible here in view of the complex critical problems involved by the composite character of the text of each book. All that can be attempted is to set forth some of the *data* that will serve to indicate the lines of a solution.

The composite character of 4 Ezra has already been indicated in the former part of this Introduction (see above §§ 6 and 7). In the case of 2 Baruch also the editor (Dr. Charles) finds it necessary to analyse the book into a number of sources, which are denominated A¹, A², A³ (i. e. the three Messianic apocalypses, which look for a personal Messiah, being chapters xxvii-xxx, xxxvi-xl, and liii-lxxiv); as in these sections Jerusalem is represented, according to Dr. Charles, as still standing it may be concluded that they assumed literary form before A. D. 70: another set of passages, denominated B¹ (= i-ix. 1, xxxii. 2-4, xliii-xliv. 7, xlv-xlvi, lxxvii-lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvi f.), which are optimistic as to the future of the present world-order, but do not expect the advent of a personal Messiah, may be grouped partly with A¹, A², A³; but the date of composition of B¹ must be subsequent to A. D. 70 as the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile are presupposed. Dr. Charles also distinguishes two other sources, viz. B² (= x-xxv, xxx. 2-xxxii. 1, xxxii. 5-xxxv, xli-xlii, xlv. 8-15, xlvii-lii, lxxv sq., lxxxiii) and B³ (= lxxxv): both B² and B³ are pessimistic in their view of the present world-order, and do not look for a Messianic kingdom; their hopes are fixed on the advent of the final judgement and the spiritual world; they also presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, and therefore assumed literary form subsequent to A. D. 70.

The broad results of this critical analysis suggest that 2 Baruch is a compilation from diverse elements similar, in many respects, to 4 Ezra. In both cases older documents, containing the national eschatology, have been combined with later elements which reveal a fundamentally different outlook. The elements B², B³ in 2 Baruch are comparable with S in 4 Ezra, while A¹ has affinities with the E source of 4 Ezra, and the date of its composition may be much the same. As to the date of composition of A² and A³ the present writer must confess to some doubts. The former of these, A², i. e. the fountain and cedar vision, is a vision of the fall of the Roman power, and may be compared with the Eagle-vision (A) of 4 Ezra. Like the latter it is a dream-vision, and may very well be of much the same date (some time in the reign of Vespasian or Domitian). May it not have formed one of the collection of dream-visions from which the Eagle-vision of 4 Ezra was excerpted? The possibility must of course always be allowed for that the actual material of the vision is older than its interpretation. In A² (the cloud and water vision) there is apparently a fusion of early and later elements. It has several points of contact with E² of 4 Ezra, and in its present form may well be of much the same date as regards literary composition (some time between A. D. 70 and 100, or even later); its reflective and theological tone harmonizes with this view. The material of the vision is probably one of the older elements, as also is the eschatological scheme of the Messianic 'woes' in ch. lxx.

The numerous points of contact between B¹, B² in 2 Baruch and S in 4 Ezra may be seen from the list of parallel passages in Dr. Charles's edition of 2 Baruch (pp. 170-1; cf. also pp. lxix-lxx in *EA*). It looks sometimes as if one were actually citing the other.

In each book we apparently have the work of a school of apocalyptists. The schools are, it would seem, rival schools. One is answering the other. The present writer believes that 4 Ezra represents the work of a somewhat earlier school of apocalyptists who were under the influence of Shammaite teachers (such as Eliezer b. Hyrkanos); while 2 Baruch embodies the work of a rather younger school, who were under the influence of Akiba. The latter work answers the former; and, on the whole, it gives answers decidedly more in accordance with what later became orthodox Judaism. Thus whereas in 4 Ezra vii. 119 (*O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, the fall was not thine alone, but ours also who are thy descendants!* a passage belonging to S) Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the whole race, this teaching

¹ See the list printed in Charles's edition of 2 Baruch, pp. 170-1.

INTRODUCTION

is expressly refuted in 2 Baruch (cf. liv. 19: *Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul*, a passage which belongs to A³ according to Dr. Charles's analysis).

It seems probable that 2 Baruch in its final form was edited and put forth soon after the appearance of 4 Ezra in its present form; i. e. some time between A. D. 120 and 135, perhaps very soon after A. D. 120. Like 4 Ezra it was originally written in Hebrew, and soon after its appearance in this language was translated into Greek.

§ 10. THE THEOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY OF THE BOOK.¹

The book as a whole presents, as Gunkel has pointed out, two kinds of material: '(1) properly apocalyptical and especially eschatological mysteries; this material is to be compared with Dan. vii. ff. or Revelation iv ff.; (2) religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology and find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline letters. The author put these problems in general before the mysteries, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation.'² In the light of the critical analysis given in §§ 6 and 7 above by 'author' here we must understand, for the purposes of our discussion, Redactor. The latter, in compiling our book, must have placed the discussion of the religious problems, which is embodied in S, first, because this discussion was felt to be concerned with one of the burning subjects of the day—the religious significance of the Fall of Jerusalem. The appendices to S (chapters xi–xiv) were intended to supplement the Salathiel-apocalypse by setting forth some classical expressions of the older eschatology. As will be seen, the eschatology of S, both explicit and implicit, is in many respects of a fundamentally different character.

(1) *The theology and eschatology of S.* The author of S appears to have been in close touch with the circles of the Teachers of the Law, and may have actually been a member of the scribal class (cf. viii. 29). Like many Pharisees of the time he valued and practised an ascetic mode of life (cf. vi. 32, and the frequent references to fasting in the first four visions). As a Jew he postulates the fundamental beliefs of Judaism. He insists on God's unity and uniqueness; God and God alone, without the intervention of any mediatorial agency, is responsible for creation, and God alone will exercise the functions of Judge at the final judgement (vi. 1–6). Israel is God's elect people (v. 27; cf. the whole passage v. 23–30; vi. 58; viii. 16, &c.), with whom God entered into a special covenant-relation (iii. 14 f.), and for whose sake the world was made (vi. 55, vii. 11). The Law is a special divine gift to Israel (iii. 19 f., ix. 31 f.). It had indeed been offered to the other nations of the world but deliberately rejected by them (cf. vii. 23, 24, vii. 72); Israel, on the other hand, had accepted it, and had thereby acknowledged the divine sovereignty. In consequence Israel is the true representative of humanity before God—the other nations are 'nothing'; by rejecting the divine gift they have put themselves outside the pale (vi. 56, vii. 23 f.). The apocalyptist glorifies the Law (cf. esp. ix. 29–37), but is perplexed by the problems presented by it in its relation to Israel. These problems are debated in the first part of the book. Why is the chosen people given up as a prey to the heathen? Because of its sins? But the sins of the godless heathen far outweigh those of Israel; why, then, should the former be allowed to lord it over and oppress the latter? (cf. v. 29, iii. 28). To these questions no satisfactory answer can be found in the Law alone. The Law is impotent to redeem and save the sinner (ix. 36; cf. Rom. iii. 20). To a race doomed to sin the promises of the Law are a mockery (vii. 116–31). The utmost that the seer can hope from the Law is that while the many are born to perish, but few shall be saved. The answers to the problem of the nation to which the apocalyptist struggles in the debate are the following:

(a) *God's ways are inscrutable.* Man cannot understand or fathom the most ordinary elements of the material world: how, then, can he hope to comprehend the things of the incorruptible world? (iv. 7–11; cf. v. 35 f.).

(b) *Human intelligence is finite and limited.* The angel enforces the point that the human intelligence must keep within its own prescribed bounds by a parable taken from the sea and the forest (iv. 12–21). The seer protests that he has no desire to explore heavenly secrets, but that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth, and is told that the New Age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (iv. 22–32).

(c) *The course and duration of the present world has been pre-determined.* Evil must run its course; the harvest of evil must first be gathered before the good can take its place (iv. 28–31); but everything has been pre-determined—the number of the righteous elect, and the duration of the present

¹ For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. xxxiv–lvii.

² Cited by F. C. Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

age—and things as they are will not be moved nor stirred *till the measure appointed be fulfilled*. But when the predestined moment shall have come nothing will be able to delay its consummation (iv. 33–43). That moment, it is hinted, will soon arrive (iv. 44–50).

(d) *In spite of all appearances to the contrary God loves Israel now and always*. The apocalypticist never wavers in his conviction that God's love for Israel exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation (v. 31–40; cf. viii. 47).

The one positive result reached in the discussion so far is an eschatological one. The future age will solve all difficulties. This is a fundamental conviction of our apocalypticist. The present age, in his view, is hopelessly involved in evil: it is *full of impotence and sorrow*. The contrast between the two ages—the present and the future—is emphasized in the strongest possible manner throughout. The corruptible world, and all that is mortal, will dissolve and be succeeded by the incorruptible world and immortality. It will thus be seen that the apocalypticist's view of the present world-order is extremely pessimistic. He gives up the old hope of a renovation and purification of the present world, and fixes his gaze and his hopes on the future world or age—the age of true life and immortality wherein

*corruption is passed away,
weakness is abolished,
infidelity is cut off,
while righteousness is grown,
and faithfulness is sprung up* (vii. 114).

But having won his way to this position the apocalypticist still finds himself baffled and perplexed with sore difficulties.

In answer to the difficulty that *the coming age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto many* (vii. 47) the angel can only say that the few are precious and the many worthless (vii. 49–61). This naturally fails to satisfy the seer, who protests that man had better not have been created at all (cf. vii. 62–9) or at least been restrained from sinning (vii. 116–26). Against the logical result of pure legalism the seer confidently appeals to the divine compassion (vii. 132–40). Moreover, he is answered by the angel that his love for creation comes far short of the divine love.

It will have become apparent from the previous discussion that the author of S realizes the inherent weakness of the Law as a redemptive power. He thus approaches to the attitude of mind of St. Paul (cf. Rom. viii. 3 f.); and it is clear that this attitude of mind was by no means so rare and isolated a phenomenon in contemporary Judaism as is sometimes supposed. This becomes even more apparent when we examine the doctrine of sin as it emerges in our Apocalypse together with the related doctrine of salvation by faith and works.

It is important to remember that in the theology of S it is *the acceptance of the Law that is the standard by which men must be judged at the last, not the observance of it*. True, the Law, once given, ought to have been observed. But so far is this from being the case that very few, if any, even in Israel have lived up to the divine requirements as set forth in the Law:

*For in truth
There is none of the earth-born that has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 35).

So conscious is the apocalypticist of this that he reckons himself among the sinners (cf. vii. 48, vii. 64, vii. 118, 126, viii. 17, viii. 31). Thus, according to S, sin is conceived as consisting essentially in unfaithfulness to the Law (cf. ix. 36: *we who have received the Law and sinned must perish*). The result has been alienation and estrangement from God (vii. 48); and this result is due, in some way, to the sin of Adam which has involved the fall of the entire human race (cf. vii. 118). Man's infirmity is to be traced to the *evil heart* (*cor malignum*) which was developed in Adam and transmitted to his descendants (cf. iii. 20–2 and iii. 25–6). The effect of the Law was nullified because of the *evil germ* (root iii. 22) or *grain of evil seed* (*granum seminis mali*) which was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning (iv. 30). This *evil root* or *grain of evil seed* doubtless corresponds to the *evil impulse* (*yeṣer hā-ra'*) of Rabbinic theology. Adam clothed himself with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of the *evil impulse*. The *evil heart*, thus developed, inevitably led to sin and death. The evil seed sown in the heart of Adam was transmitted to his descendants (iv. 30) with the result that *the infirmity became inveterate* (iii. 22). All men have fallen into sin (viii. 35), and, as a consequence, *this age* [the present world-order] *is full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27); the *ways of this world* have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12). The *evil heart* has *estranged from God and brought into destruction . . . not a few only, but wellnigh all that have been created* (vii. 48); for *all the earth-born are defiled with iniquities*,

INTRODUCTION

full of sins, laden with offences. At the most, judged by the standard of the Law, only a few can hope to be saved (vii. 45).

Exactly how the fall of Adam and the universal state of sin are connected is nowhere explicitly stated. That the two things are connected is certainly implied in vii. 118. It is true Adam's descendants share his responsibility for what has happened in that they have deliberately followed his example in clothing themselves with the *evil heart* (iii. 26); the moral responsibility of each individual member of the race is not denied. Probably at the back of the apocalypticist's thought lies the idea that Adam by his transgression lost much of his power of resisting the *evil impulse* or *thought*, and transmitted this weakness to his descendants. It is noteworthy that the fall of man is nowhere in our apocalypse attributed to external agency (demonic incitement).

The corruption of the human race is regarded as due to a development of something inherent in man's nature (*yeşer hā-raʿ* of Rabbinic theology); but by representing the Law as powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery (iii. 22), our apocalypticist directly contradicts the orthodox Rabbinic view, according to which the *evil yeşer* could be—and as a matter of fact has been by the pious in Israel generally—successfully resisted by the study of the Law and the practice of good works. In S also the entry of physical death into the world is directly connected with the Fall. Thus, according to this teaching, both physical and spiritual death are a legacy from Adam. For a comparison of these positions with that of St. Paul see *EA*, p. xlii.

In fact the doctrine of our apocalypticist ultimately resolves itself into a pure and lofty individualism. His view of sin as universal, owing to its root in the evil heart which is also universal, leads him to manifest a certain compassion for and sympathy with the perishing masses of mankind:

*But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?
For in truth
There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
And among those that exist who has not sinned* (viii. 34, 35).

Where all are involved in a state of unrighteousness before God there is little room for self-gratulation. One of the most striking features in S is the absence of the note of self-confidence, based upon Israel's possession of the Law, which is so prominent in 2 Baruch.¹ The Law in S rather brings terror by its condemnation than hope of salvation. The universal need is mercy rather than the award of the Law; and so the apocalypticist is driven to appeal, against the Law, to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness (cf. vii. 132–viii. 3, viii. 36).

Nowhere is the individual note more clearly sounded than in what may be described as our apocalypticist's *eschatology of the individual*. This is set forth, with great wealth of detail, in vii. 75–101, which gives a long description of the state of the soul after death and before the judgement. It is further stated (vii. 102–15) that no intercession will be allowed on the Day of Judgement:

The Day of Judgement is decisive, and displays unto all the seal of truth . . . none shall pray for another on that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on another; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness (vii. 104–5).

While the theology of S recognizes the Day of Judgement and an intermediate state for the soul between death and judgement, it knows of no resurrection of the body. In the description of the state of the soul after death it is made clear that the soul enters at once into a state of blessedness or the reverse, according as it is righteous or wicked. The souls of the righteous are guarded in *chambers*, and there, in great tranquillity and happiness, await the final judgement; the souls of the wicked, on the other hand, move about restlessly in torment. These conditions—though they will be intensified—are not to be essentially altered on the Day of Judgement itself. This practically means that judgement sets in immediately after death, and that a man's fate is virtually determined by the present life—which is the doctrine of the Book of Wisdom and of Hellenistic Judaism.²

It has already been pointed out that the writer of S discards, implicitly, the older eschatology of the nation. He does not look forward to a restoration of the Jewish State, or a rebuilding of Jerusalem; nor to a renewed and purified earth under the conditions of the present world-order. His hopes are fixed on the advent of the new and better world which is to follow the collapse of the

¹ In this book (especially in the section written after A.D. 70) 'the Law is everything; it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24)'. (Charles's note on *Ap. Bar.* xv. 5, p. 31.)

² For a fuller discussion of the position of S regarding the resurrection-belief see *EA*, p. xlviii f.

present world. Consequently he anticipates merely the catastrophic end of the present world-order—his theology does not allow of any intermediate Messianic Age. The new Jerusalem which is to come will be the Heavenly City, which is shown to Salathiel in his final vision (x. 25 f.), and which belongs to the future incorruptible age. As to the precise time when the end of the present order is to come the apocalyptist has no definite knowledge; but he is made to understand that the decisive moment is not far distant (cf. iv. 41, iv. 44–50); the appointed time has been pre-determined by God (iv. 36 f.), as well as the number of the righteous elect, and till this number shall have been completed the promised salvation cannot come (iv. 36). God's purpose is fixed, but it is beyond the power of the human mind to fathom it (cf. v. 34–40, vi. 6, vii. 11, vii. 20). There is thus a strong element of determinism in S; but the freedom of the human will is also emphatically asserted—the two truths are set side by side.

The theology of S is essentially other-worldly. The writer's dualism is emphatic and pronounced. The present age and the future, above and below, are in fundamental opposition. The same violent contrast characterizes the material and the spiritual (cf. iv. 11). The body, regarded as the prison-house of the soul, is described as *this corruptible vessel* (vii. 88). It is significant that in S there is no resurrection of the body; what is anticipated is practically a pure immortality of the soul. According to S the human heart, which has received the Law, is essentially a *corruptible vessel*, which belongs to the present order and will perish (ix. 36). In contrast to the present world-order, which is *full of sorrow and impotence* (iv. 27), and the ways of which, owing to man's sin, have become *narrow and sorrowful and painful* (vii. 12), *the ways of the future world are broad and safe, and yield the fruit of immortality* (vii. 13). In the future age, which is already prepared:

*The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
Infirmity from your path extinguished;
And Death is hidden,
Hades fled away;
Corruption forgotten,
Sorrows passed away;*

And in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest (viii. 53, 54).

The pessimistic view of the present world-order which is characteristic of S naturally harmonizes with the ascetic tendencies to which reference has already been made. Taken together all these various tendencies—which are also marked in other apocalyptic literature—suggest, perhaps, the influence of Alexandrine rather than specifically Palestinian thought. But it must not be forgotten that Palestine was saturated with Hellenistic influence at this period, and that Palestinian Judaism was profoundly affected by it. The partial elimination of Greek elements, and the hardening and crystallization of the Rabbinic type of thought, was only effected later. The religious significance of S has been well set forth by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes in a sentence. Our apocalyptist, he says, 'despairs of a life of absolute obedience to the Law, even by Israel, not to speak of the world. The unconscious and unexpressed cry of the book is for a moral dynamic, which legalism could not supply.'¹

(2) *The theology and eschatology of the other original sources.* Of the remaining original sources of our Apocalypse apparently the oldest is E. The contents of this source, so far as it is embodied in our book, are purely eschatological in character. The themes with which it deals are (1) the Messianic 'woes', i. e. the signs and portents that are to usher in the End of the world (iv. 56–v. 13 a, vi. 21–2); (2) the End of the world (this is announced by the Voice of God, but not actually described: vi. 13–20, 23–4); (3) the felicity of those who survive the Messianic 'woes' and live on into the Messianic Age (vi. 25–8). It seems probable that E in its original form regarded the age of felicity, that was to follow the judgement, as a Messianic kingdom, of indefinite duration, set up on a purified earth; but, apparently, there was no Messiah, though certain heralds of the Messianic Age were to appear—the *men who have not tasted death from their birth*—whose task it was to convert the surviving members of the human race to a *different spirit* (vi. 26–8). This eschatological scheme is of the older type, common in the prophetic books of the Old Testament and in the older apocalypses (e. g. 1 Enoch i–xxxvi). As has been pointed out in a former chapter, E has probably been utilized by R in vii. 26–44 and viii. 63–ix. 12, and, in any case, only appears in our book in fragments. This fact makes it difficult to determine its theological positions precisely. It is possible that one of the missing portions contained an account of the resurrection, the place of which has been taken in R's compilation by vii. 31. The description of the Messianic 'woes' has many traditional features which find close parallels in similar descriptions elsewhere (cf. EA, p. 41).

¹ *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, p. 240.

INTRODUCTION

In the case of the Eagle-vision (ch. xi-xii) the dominating eschatological conception is a political one. Wickedness is concentrated in godless imperial Rome¹ and the judgement will be effected when Rome is destroyed by the Lion of Judah, i. e. *the Messiah . . . who shall spring from the seed of David* (xii. 32). The overthrow of the Roman Empire is to be followed by the setting up *on earth* of the theocratic kingdom under the direct rule of God. The author was apparently a zealot (see these points fully discussed in *EA*, pp. 246 f.). The Messiah appears in a very active rôle here as the instrument for overthrowing the Roman Empire.

Very different eschatological conceptions emerge in the Son of Man vision (M=ch. xiii). These have been fully discussed in *EA* (pp. 282-6), to which the reader must be referred. One feature, however, that comes out in the interpretation of the vision calls for special mention here. This is the emphasis that is laid on *the Law*. The heavenly Messiah destroys his enemies *without labour by the Law* (xiii. 38). Further, in the legend of the Ten Tribes, which is given in the same context, their deliverance and ultimate return are represented as due to a return on their part to the observance of the Law. In order to do this they leave their heathen surroundings and migrate to *a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep the statutes which they had not kept in their own land* (xiii. 41 f.). In other words, to the author of this apocalyptic piece the Law is the standard of piety, and he can only conceive of the restoration of the lost Tribes as due to a whole-hearted acceptance of the 'yoke of the Law'.

In the last of the original sources embodied in our book, viz. E² (i. e. the Ezra-legend given in ch. xiv) the most outstanding doctrinal feature is the conception of the Messiah (God's Son) as pre-existing in heaven, surrounded by a community of elect ones. This agrees with the representation of the heavenly Son of Man of the Parables of 1 Enoch (xxxvii-lxxi). Just as in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 Enoch lxx. 1 f.), so here Ezra's assumption to remain henceforth with God's Son, in company with other elect ones, *until the times be ended*, is described (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 9). So too, as in the Parables, the heavenly Messiah is not to appear until the End and the coming of the Judgement (cf. xiv. 9, 10 and notes). The world history is divided into twelve parts, nine and a half of which have already passed in the time of the historical Ezra (i. e. the middle of the fifth century B. C.). This suggests that the apocalyptist conceives the world to have already entered upon the last period of tribulation (the last three and a half years of woe of Dan. ix. 27), and regards the approach of the final consummation as imminent (cf. xiv. 11, 12 and notes). Another feature of E² is its pessimistic outlook on the present world-order. It also assigns a high place to the Law and the other Scriptures, but by the side of the apocalyptic books (cf. *EA*, pp. 304-7).

(3) *The theology and eschatology of the Redactor (R)*. The Redactor who is responsible for the present form of our Apocalypse has impressed a certain unity on the book, which, though it involves the combination of conceptions essentially disparate, yet serves to reveal a whole which he contrived to combine (by the insertion of connecting links and supplementary matter at different points) into one system in his own thought.

The groundwork of his compilation is the Salathiel-apocalypse. But evidently he felt it necessary to supplement this with extracts from other apocalypses which represent very different points of view. From the position and bulk of S in R's compilation it may be inferred that he was specially interested in its main theme—a discussion of the religious problems involved in the fall and destruction of Jerusalem. The element in S which is concerned with the eschatology of the individual, involving, as it does, the discussion of the problem of the origin and prevalence of sin, to which the misery of the world is due, would doubtless have appealed to R with special force. On the other hand, R was not prepared to discard the older hope of the coming of Messianic redemption for the nation, and so found it necessary to append the Eagle and Son of Man visions (ch. xi-xiii). The combination of these elements results in the following eschatological scheme, which was adopted by R:

(1) The period of 'woes' preceding the advent of the Messiah (iv. 56-v. 13 a, vi. 11-28) will first occur.

(2) The Messiah and his immortal companions (Enoch, Elijah, &c.) will then suddenly be 'revealed', the new Jerusalem will appear and a temporary Messianic kingdom, lasting 400 years, set up in which those who have survived the Messianic 'woes' are destined to enjoy a period of felicity (vii. 26-8 R). In ch. xii. (M) the active work of the Messiah is described more fully. There, a principal part of his mission is to destroy the assembled enemies of the divine rule (= 'the wars of Gog and Magog'), and gather together the lost Ten Tribes who are to be brought back to the Holy Land. Apparently the destruction of the hostile forces is conceived as closing the period of 'woes'.

¹ Cf. the 'Beast' of the Johannine Apocalypse.

After the annihilation of the last enemies has been effected, the 'survivors', who are defined as *those that are found within my holy border* (xiii. 48) shall be defended by the Messiah (xiii. 49, cf. xiii. 26 b), and see *very many wonders*. Presumably the rule of the Messiah here indicated was conceived by R to synchronize with the 400 years' reign referred to in vii. 28, though this was not its significance in the original vision.

(3) The temporary Messianic kingdom and the rule of the Messiah will terminate in his death and that of all human beings, and creation will revert to *primaeval* silence for seven days (vii. 29-30).

(4) This will be followed by the Resurrection and the Final Judgement (vii. 31-44).

It should be noted that the Eagle-vision (ch. xi-xii), which depicts the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Lion of Judah (i.e. the Messiah), has no logical place in this scheme. The eschatological drama, as outlined above, was inherited by R from tradition, which was too firmly rooted to be ignored. But in the Eagle-vision we ought probably to see an expression of the real hopes which animated our compiler. Living at a time when Israel had suffered—and was still suffering—so much at the hands of Rome his hopes for the Messianic deliverance were naturally concentrated on the prospect of the annihilation of the oppressive world-power, and the incarnation of all wickedness.

Such is the scheme of the national eschatology as it was combined in the mind of R. How essentially incompatible the diverse elements of which it is composed really are needs no further demonstration.

In combination with and supplementing this our compiler accepted the eschatology of the individual as set forth in S. In contrast with S, R has much greater confidence in the Law as such as a protective power to the Jew (cf. iii. 26-36, and see further *EA*, pp. lv-lvii).

§ II. RELATION OF THE APOCALYPSE WITH THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹

A number of resemblances in thought, and (occasionally) of diction, with the New Testament occur in 4 Ezra; but nothing which suggests direct dependence.

Gunkel, it is true, thinks that 4 Ezra xii. 42 (*For of all the prophets thou alone art left to us . . . as a lamp in a dark place*) is cited in 2 Pet. i. 19 (*And we have the word of prophecy more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place*). But the common use of such a figure may be explained as due to its currency, possibly in apocalyptic circles, before the writing of 4 Ezra and 2 Peter.

In 4 Ezra iv. 28 the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest is applied metaphorically to evil, and it is stated that the harvest of evil must first be reaped before the good can take its place; the thought here is parallel with that of the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii); cf. in particular Matt. xiii. 39: *the enemy that sowed . . . is the devil, and the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the angels*.

In 4 Ezra iv. 36 the seer is reminded by the angel that he cannot know the duration of the time that must elapse before the End (though elsewhere it has been revealed to him that the End is imminent); in other words the exact moment cannot be fixed—it is known to God alone. The passage runs:

Number me the days that are not yet come (the implication being—you cannot); cf. Mark xiii. 32 and parallels: *But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*.

There is a certain amount of literary contact between the Johannine Apocalypse and 4 Ezra, which, however, does not amount to direct literary dependence, but, probably, points to a common source or sources; thus 4 Ezra ix. 35 and Rev. vi. 9-11 seem to be related in this way²; so in 4 Ezra iv. 41 *the underworld* (*infernium*=*Sheol*) is used as in Rev. i. 18, &c., as the place where the wicked dead remain in the intermediate state.

An abundance of resemblances in thought or diction has been pointed out in the notes on the text.³ One or two examples may be given here: in 4 Ezra vii. 88 the body is called *this corruptible vessel*; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53 *this corruptible*; in 4 Ezra ix. 37 *the Law*, it is said, *perishes not but abides in its glory* (i.e. the Law is heavenly and divine); cf. Rom. vii. 14 (*the Law is spiritual*), 2 Cor. iii. 7 f., &c., &c.

The close parallels in thought as to the origin and prevalence of sin between S and St. Paul have already been pointed out in § 10 (1).

¹ For the affinities of the Book with other early literature cf. *EA*, pp. lxx-lxxiv.

² Cf. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, pp. 272 f.

³ The passages cited in this connexion in the writer's larger work are registered in Index IV of *EA*, pp. 375-8.

INTRODUCTION

§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Besides the works already referred to in this Introduction, the following are also important for the study of 4 Ezra:—

(a) EDITIONS OF TEXT.

Syr. (Cer.) = The Syriac Text of 4 Ezra, printed in Ceriani's *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Tom. v (pp. 41–111).

(b) TRANSLATIONS WITH NOTES, ETC.

Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra*; edited by Prof. Gunkel in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900), (contains a valuable introduction, critical translation, and notes).
Ball = critical notes on 2 Esdras in *The Variorum Apocrypha*, by C. J. Ball.

(c) ESSAYS, DISCUSSIONS, ETC.

Rosenthal = *Vier Apokryphische Bücher, aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, von Dr. F. Rosenthal (Leipzig, 1885).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht*, von Richard Kabisch (Göttingen, 1889).
Vaganay = *Le Problème eschatologique dans le IV^e livre d'Esdras*, par Léon Vaganay (Paris, 1906).
Wellhausen = *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, von J. Wellhausen; sechstes Heft (Berlin, 1899).
F. C. Porter = *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, by F. C. Porter (London, 1909).
[Cf. also Charles's discussion in the introduction to his edition of *The (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch*; also articles in the Bible Dictionaries (*DB* and *EB*) and in *JE*.]

(d) OTHER WORKS REFERRED TO.

Bousset, *RJ*² = *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (2nd ed.), von D. Wilhelm Bousset (Berlin, 1906).
Charles, *Eschatology* = *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, by R. H. Charles (London, 1899).
Derenbourg = *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, par J. Derenbourg (Paris, 1867).
Drummond, *JM* = *The Jewish Messiah*, by James Drummond (London, 1877).
Köhler = *Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Leipzig, 1910).
Köberle = *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum* (München, 1905).
RWS = *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (2nd ed., 1911).
Schechter, *Aspects* = *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, by S. Schechter (London, 1909).
Volz = *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, von Paul Volz (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903).
Weber = *Jüdische Theologie*, von F. Weber; 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1897).

Also the following editions of ancient works:—

Ps. Sol. = *The Psalms of the Pharisees (or Psalms of Solomon)*, edited and translated by Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891).
Mekilta = the early Jewish Midrash so called (on Exodus); Hebrew text edited by Friedmann.
Sifra, Sifre = the early Jewish Midrashim so called (on Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy).

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

EB = *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols.).
DB = *Dictionary of the Bible*.
DCG = *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (ed. Hastings, 2 vols.).
JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (12 vols.).
JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vols. i–xx).
TB = Talmud of Babylon.
TJ = Talmud of Jerusalem.
OL = Old Latin.
PBH = Post Biblical Hebrew.
Bensly, MF = *The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra, discovered and Edited with an Introduction and Notes*, by Robert L. Bensly, M.A. (Cambridge, 1875).
BJ (= Bensly and James) = *The fourth Book of Ezra: the Latin version edited from the MSS.* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., with an introduction by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. iii, no. 2, Cambridge, 1895).
Hilg. = *Messias Iudaeorum* (containing the Latin text and Latin translations of the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian texts, and a reconstruction of the lost Greek text underlying them, with critical notes), Leipzig, 1869.
Violet = *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra), Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung*, herausg. von Lic. Dr. Bruno Violet (contains a critical edition of the Latin text, and carefully edited German translations of the Oriental Versions and valuable critical notes), Leipzig, 1910.
Volkmar = *Das vierte Buch Esra* (being Part II of the *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*), herausg. von Dr. Gustav Volkmar (contains Latin text, commentary, German translation and elaborate Introduction; the critical notes are often useful), Tübingen, 1863.
Gunkel = *Das vierte Buch Esra* in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, vol. ii (Tübingen, 1900).
Kabisch = *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen, 1889).
EA = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (critical translation with Commentary and Introduction), edited by G. H. Box (London, 1912).

IV EZRA

THE FIRST VISION.

(iii. 1-v. 19.)

(I. iii. 1-3) INTRODUCTION (S).

S 31 In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I, Salathiel—[who am also Ezra]—was in Babylon,

THE FIRST VISION (iii. 1-v. 19).

(1) CONTENTS. In the person of Salathiel (Ezra) the writer, bewailing, some thirty years after the event, the desolation of Sion and the continued prosperity of Babylon, gives vent to his grief and despair on account of the ruin which has befallen Jerusalem at the hands of her Roman conquerors in A.D. 70. He finds it difficult to understand the meaning of this appalling catastrophe. How can it be reconciled with God's providence and justice? It is true the human race is corrupt and steeped in sin; but the reason why all men have sinned is that sin goes back to Adam, and Adam sinned because the root of sin was inherent in his nature (cf. iii. 20 f.). God had chosen Israel and given them His Law, but so long as the evil germ remained in man's nature, the Law was powerless to produce righteousness (cf. iii. 19, 20). Hence perfect righteousness could not justly be expected even from Israel. On the other hand, nations far more godless and faithless than Israel are allowed to remain in prosperity, and trample underfoot the chosen people.

The seer's protests are answered by the angel Uriel. The most serious part of the charge levelled by the seer against the justice of God's providence had been the implication that God, as Creator, was ultimately responsible for the inherent evil of man's nature, and hence cannot justly punish men for sin. To this indictment the angel replies (cf. Job xxviii) that the seer cannot understand the simplest things that are bound up with his daily life; how, then, can he hope to understand the ways of the Most High? God's ways are inscrutable (iv. 1-11). The seer rejoins despairingly: 'It would have been better that we had never been created, than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not know why we suffer.' The angel replies that it is foolish and senseless to seek to know what is beyond nature. Man belongs to the earth; his vision is bounded by the finite; therefore it is vain for him to seek to comprehend what is heavenly and infinite (iv. 12-21). The seer, disclaiming any desire to be curious about the ways above, protests that what perplexes him most of all is a fact of daily experience, viz. that Israel, God's chosen people, should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen. This is answered as follows: the present age is hastening fast to its close; the new age that is about to dawn will solve all difficulties. God's remedy for the present state of things will not be consummated within the present order, but will be realized in the future world. The present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (iv. 22-32). If the solution lies in the future the question naturally arises at this point, how soon will it come? This question is asked impatiently by the seer. The answer is: till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come; but when the moment has arrived nothing (not even men's sins) can delay its consummation (iv. 33-43). The seer again inquires more particularly as to the time of the End. Is the present age more than half gone? He is shown, by a vision, that by far the greater part of the present age has run its course (iv. 44-50). In reply to a further question the angel states that he cannot tell whether the End will come within the seer's own lifetime (iv. 51-52). An interpolated passage (from E) narrates the signs of the near approach of the End (v. 1-13). The first vision thus falls into the following divisions:

- i. *Introduction* (iii. 1-3) (S).
- ii. *The first questions* (the seer's difficulties stated) (iii. 4-36) (mainly S).
- iii. *The divine reply* (iv. 1-v. 13):
 - (a) iv. 1-11; (b) iv. 12-21; (c) iv. 22-32; (d) iv. 33-43; (e) iv. 44-50; (f) iv. 51-v. 13 (S) (E).
- iv. *Conclusion of the Vision* (v. 14-19) (S).

(2) THE MISSING INTRODUCTION TO THE VISION. As Kabisch has pointed out, a number of indications suggest that in the original form of S the present vision was preceded by an introductory piece, explaining the preparation of the seer for what follows. It is probable that a command to fast seven days preceded the first vision in its original form (cf. vi. 35, where the 'three weeks' of fasting mentioned implies this). It may, therefore, be concluded that before the prayer of Salathiel (iii. 4 f.) there stood originally an introductory section detailing the appearance of the angel Uriel, the command to the seer to fast seven days, and the fulfilment of this command. Then followed a dream-vision the conclusion of which has been misplaced by R, and now stands in v. 14-15. This again was probably followed by some such statement as: 'So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping as the angel commanded me. And it came to pass after seven days' (cf. v. 20). Here followed the words 'my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts', &c. (iii. 1 ff.). The whole of this introductory section has been cut out by R, apparently, as unimportant (see further *EA*, pp. 4-6).

1. **In the thirtieth year.** The thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is primarily meant, i.e. 556 B.C. But typically this was designed, doubtless, to suggest the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, i.e. A.D. 100; this probably fixes the date of the publication of S (see Introduction, § 8). For the opening of the book in this way cf. Ezek. i. 1.

Salathiel. The Hebrew form of the name is *Shē'alti'el*. Shealtiel is mentioned as the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra iii. 2, v. 2; Neh. xii. 1; but in 1 Chron. iii. 17 as his uncle.

[who am also Ezra]. The identification of Ezra and Salathiel is, of course, impossible chronologically. Ezra appears first in history a century later (459-458 B.C.) than the date here presupposed (556 B.C.). The words are doubtless a gloss due to R (see Introduction, §§ 6 and 7).

S and as I lay upon my bed I was disquieted. ^a ^a and my mind was preoccupied with my thoughts; because I saw Sion's desolation on the one hand (matched) with the abundant wealth of Babylon's inhabitants on the other. And my spirit was stirred profoundly, and in my agitation I began to address the Most High.

II. iii. 4-36. THE FIRST QUESTIONS: WHENCE ARISE THE SIN AND MISERY OF THE WORLD? HOW CAN ISRAEL'S CONTINUED AFFLICTION BE RECONCILED WITH THE DIVINE JUSTICE?

4 And I said: ^bO Lord my Lord,^b was it not thou who in the beginning, when ^cthou didst form the earth—and that thyself alone—didst speak and commandedst the dust, so that it gave thee Adam ^c, a lifeless body? But yet it was both itself the formation of thy hands and thou breathedst into him the breath of life, so that he was made living before thee. And thou leddest him into Paradise, 7 which thy right hand did plant before ever the earth came forward; and to him thou commandedst ^done only observance of thine ^d, but he transgressed it. Forthwith thou appointedst death for him ^eand for his generations ^e, and from him were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable. 8 And every nation walked after their own will, and behaved wickedly before thee, and were ungodly 9—but thou didst not hinder them. Nevertheless again in (due) time thou broughtest the Flood 10 ^fupon the earth and ^fupon the inhabitants of the world, and destroyedst them. And ^gtheir fate ^g was one and the same; as death (overtook) Adam, so the Flood (overwhelmed) these. Nevertheless one of them thou didst spare—Noah with his household (and with him) all the righteous his 12 descendants. And it came to pass that when the inhabitants upon the earth began to multiply, and ^hthere were born ^hchildren also and peoples and nations many, that they began to practise 13 ungodliness more than former (generations). And it came to pass that when they practised 14 ungodliness before thee, thou didst choose thee one from among them whose name was Abraham: him 15 thou didst love, and unto him only didst thou reveal ⁱthe end of the times ⁱsecretly by night; and with him thou didst make an everlasting covenant, and didst promise him that thou wouldst never 16 forsake his seed. And thou gavest him Isaac, and to Isaac thou gavest Jacob and Esau. And thou 17 didst set apart Jacob for thyself, but Esau thou didst hate; and Jacob became a great host. And it came to pass that when thou leddest forth his seed out of Egypt, and didst bring them to the Mount Sinai,

18 Thou didst bow down the heavens, didst make the earth quake

^{a-a} For the lacuna here see the discussion on the previous page. ^{b-b} $\mathfrak{L}$: O dominator Domine (R.V. O Lord that bearest rule) = Δεσποτα κυριε (Hilg.): = ארני יהוה $\mathfrak{L}$: ^{c-c} reading plasmasti terram . . . et imperasti pulveri et dedit tibi Adam with BJ and Violet: so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹): Lat. MSS. plantasti terram . . . et imperasti populo (so SA: orbi CM) tuo et dedisti Adam (so SA: cf. the rendering of A.V.) ^{d-d} $\mathfrak{L}$ diligentiam unam tuam: the Oriental Versions render commandment (for this sense of diligentia cf. Bensly, 'Missing Fragment', p. 56) ^{e-e} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. other Oriental Versions): $\mathfrak{L}$ et in nationibus eius ^{f-f} so $\mathfrak{S}$ and Ethiop.; $\mathfrak{L}$ Ar.¹ > ^{g-g} $\mathfrak{L}$ casus eorum: $\mathfrak{S}$ their destruction (cf. Ethiop.) ^{h-h} so Ethiop.: $\mathfrak{L}$ multiplicaverunt (so $\mathfrak{S}$) ⁱ⁻ⁱ reading temporum finem with C

4. in the beginning. Cf. Gen. ii. 7 f. In accordance with the wide philosophic outlook of the apocalyptists the writer begins his survey with Creation. On the other hand, the prophets characteristically begin with the Exodus from Egypt, which marked the birthday of Israel as a nation. Cf. Jer. ii. 2; Hos. xi. 1.

6. before ever the earth came forward. According to one view current in later Jewish circles Paradise (= the Garden of Eden) was one of seven things created before the world (viz. Torah, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the Messiah; cf. Pesah 54 a, Nedar. 39 b, Ber. rab. xx). For this view, as regards Paradise, our text here is the earliest literary evidence. It was deduced from Gen. ii. 8 (where the Hebr. word *miggedem*, understood as = 'from the beginning' [not 'eastward'] was interpreted to mean 'before' the creation of the world¹). According to the earlier view the Garden of Eden was one of the things created on the third day: cf. Book of Jubilees, ii. 7, and Charles's note on the passage. Paradise has varying meanings in apocalyptic literature. The conception of an earthly and heavenly paradise is also to be noted. Here Eden as man's primitive home of blessedness is meant. See further the discussion in EA, pp. 195 ff.

10. And their fate was one and the same. A like fate overtook both Adam and the generation of the deluge. Note that the survey begins with Adam; contrast 2 Pet. ii. 4.

13. thou didst choose thee one, &c. Cf. Gen. xii. 1.

14. unto him only didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly by night. The vision described in Gen. xv. 9 f. was later invested with an extended significance; it was supposed to give an intimation of Israel's later captivity and subjection to the four oppressive world-powers of the Book of Daniel, which are interpreted to be Babylon, Media, Greece, and Rome (cf. Targums ad loc.).

16. Jacob became a great host. Cf. Gen. xxxii. 10 f.

18. Thou didst bow down the heavens, &c. The whole description is of a theophany, and may be compared with Ps. lxxviii. 7 ff. The particular theophany referred to is described in Exod. xix. 16 f.

¹ So the Targums (cf. also the Syriac and Latin versions, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion). According to another view, however, the expression means 'before the creation of man': cf. Gen. rab. xv.

S

and convulsdst the world—
Thou didst cause the deeps to tremble
and didst alarm the spheres.

19 And thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold,
To give Law to Jacob's seed
and Commandment to the generation of Israel.

20 And yet thou didst not take away from them the evil heart, that thy Law might bring forth fruit
21 in them. For the first Adam, clothing himself with the evil heart, transgressed and was overcome;
22 and likewise also all who were born of him. Thus the infirmity became inveterate; the Law indeed
was in the heart of the people, but (in conjunction) with the evil germ; so what was good departed,
23 and the evil remained. So the times passed away and the years came to an end; and (then) thou
24 didst raise up for thyself a servant whose name was David; and thou commandedst him to build the
25 City (which is called) after thy name^j, and to offer thee ^k oblations therein of thine own ^k. And after
26 this had been done many years, the inhabitants of the City committed sin, in all things doing even
as Adam and all his generations had done: for they also ^l had clothed themselves with ^l the evil
27, 28 heart: and so thou gavest thy city over into the hands of thine enemies. Then I said in my heart:
29 Are their deeds any better^m that inhabit Babylon? Has he for this ⁿ rejectedⁿ Sion? It came to
pass when I came hither and saw ungodly deeds innumerable, and myself saw many sinners ^o these
30 thirty years ^o, that my heart ^p was perturbed^p: for I have seen

how thou dost suffer the sinners
and dost spare the ungodly,
how thou hast destroyed thy people
and preserved thine enemies;

R (vii. 31 and hast not made known at all unto any how this course of thine shall be abandoned. Have the
32-6) 32 deeds of Babylon been better than those of Sion? [Has any other nation known thee beside Israel?
33 Or what tribes have so believed thy covenants as those of Jacob?—whose reward (nevertheless) hath
not appeared nor their labour borne fruit! For I have gone hither and thither through the nations
34 and seen them in prosperity, although unmindful of thy commandments. Now, therefore, weigh
thou our iniquities, and those of the inhabitants of the world, in the balance and so shall be found

(SA >): cf. § Ethiop. ^j §+ and a house ^{k-k} reading in ea de tuis oblationes so CM = §: cf. Ar.^{1,2} (thus
et oblationes, cf. A.V. and Vulg., is a corruption) ^{l-l} so § Ethiop.: ^l utebantur (emend to induebantur with
Hilg.) ^m Ethiop. + than ours (cf. Ar.¹) ⁿ⁻ⁿ so § Ar.¹: ^l corrupt: dominabit SA (? read damnavit with Violet,
or abominavit with Gunkel) ^{o-o} so Ar.¹ (Ethiop.): ^l hoc tricesimo anno (a misrendering of original Hebrew)
^{p-p} ^l excessit (= ἐξέστη)

19. thy glory went through the four gates of fire, earthquake, wind, and cold. The writer, in accordance with the developed Jewish conceptions of Jahveh's majesty and transcendence, pictures God as appearing in theophany on earth (at Sinai) in a gradual descent from His throne in the highest of the heavens through the lower heavens by their successive 'gates'. The idea of a plurality of heavens is implied. In the earlier form of this doctrine there were three, in the later form (which was already current in the first century A.D.; cf. 2 Enoch) there were seven heavens. The 'gates' alluded to in our text are apparently those of the four lowest heavens. See further EA, p. 14.

20. the evil heart, Lat. *cor malignum*. In this and the following verses (21-22, 25-26) the subject of Adam's transgression and the hereditary tendency to sin (created by his lapse) in all his descendants is introduced. It is pursued in iv. 30-31, and in vii. 118 Adam is charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race ('O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the fall was not thine alone but ours also who are thy descendants'). The inherent infirmity of human nature is a dominating idea in the apocalyptic writer's mind, and a characteristic note of his pessimism. In the stress he lays on Adam's sin he reminds us of St. Paul (cf. Rom. v. 12 f.). The *cor malignum* is regarded as the result of Adam's yielding to the evil impulse (the *yēser ha-ra'* of Rabbinic theology, called the 'grain of evil seed' [*granum seminis mali*] in iv. 30. In vii. 92 it is called 'the evil thought' (*cogitamentum malum*) which was fashioned with them').

that thy Law might bring forth fruit in them. Cf. Rom. vii. 5; v. 20.

21. clothing himself with the evil heart. Adam 'clothed himself' with the *cor malignum* by yielding to the suggestions of 'the evil impulse'. The 'evil heart' thus developed inevitably led to sin and death.

22. the Law indeed was in the heart of the people. Cf. the conflict described in Rom. vii. 7 f., and especially vii. 20 f.

what was good departed. i.e. the good tendency (the *yēser ha-tob*) was entirely overcome. The Law was powerless to prevent the evil element in man's nature from gaining the entire mastery. This is clean contrary to Rabbinic theology, which emphasizes the power of the Law to keep the evil tendency in check and overcome it: cf. the dictum: 'The Law wears away the evil *yēser* as water wears away stone' (T. B. Suk. 52 b).

24. thou commandedst him to build. David is regarded as the founder of the Holy City; cf. x. 46.

oblations therein of thine own. The supreme glory and unique distinction of the divine city consists in its being the place where sacrifice and oblation were properly and regularly offered to God.

31. how this course of thine (lit. this way) shall be abandoned. God's course of action is meant. § renders: 'how thy way may be comprehended.'

32-36. For the reasons for assigning these verses to R see EA, p. 6 f.

R 35^a which way the turn of the scale inclines^a. Or when was it that the inhabitants of the earth did
 36 not sin before thee? Or what nation hath so kept thy precepts? *Individual men of note* indeed
 thou mayst find to have kept thy precepts; but nations thou shalt not find.]

III. THE DIVINE REPLY; GOD'S WAYS ARE INSCRUTABLE.

(iv. 1–v. 19.)

(a) iv. 1–11. *The human spirit can only hope to understand dimly and in part* (S).

S 4^{1,2} Thereupon the angel answered me who had been sent to me, [and whose name was Uriel]; and
 he said to me: Thy heart hath utterly failed thee regarding this world; and thinkest thou to
 comprehend the way of the Most High?

3 Then said I: Yes, my Lord.

And he answered me, and said: Three ways have I been sent to show thee, and three similitudes
 4 to set before thee: if thou canst declare me one of these I also will show thee the way thou desirest
 to see, and teach thee *whence comes* the evil heart.

5 And I said: Speak on, my Lord.

Then he said unto me:

Come, weigh me the weight of the fire;
 Or measure me^t the measure^t of the wind,
 Or recall me the day that is past.

6 Then answered I and said: Who of the^u earth-born^u could^v do so^v that thou shouldst ask me
 about such matters?

7 And he said to me: Had I asked thee

How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea?
 Or^w how many springs^w in the source of the deep?
 Or how many^x ways^x above the firmament?
^yOr where are the portals of Hades^y?
 Or where the paths of Paradise?

^{a-a} $\mathbb{L}$ momentum (*inferior MSS.* nomen tuum) puncti ubi declinet ^{r-r} $\mathbb{L}$ homines per nomina ^{s-s} *reading*
ing unde sit (with one Codex); quare sit S A C M = S Ethiop. Ar.¹ ^{t-t} *reading* satum = S (*cf. Ethiop.*
Ar.¹ for flatum S C M ^{u-u} $\mathbb{L}$ natorum ^v *reading* hoc facere (A* *); *cf. S Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.;*
other Latin MSS. > hoc ^{w-w} *so Ar.¹ Ethiop. L* quantae venae ^{x-x} *emending* venae of $\mathbb{L}$ to viae (*cf. S*
Ethiop. Arm.) ^{y-y} *so S and other Oriental VSS. L > (by homoioteleuton; cf. next clause)* ^{z-z} *so Oriental*

36. **Individual men of note.** Such as Job, regarded as a non-Israelite of conspicuous piety: cf. St. Paul's treatment of the theme of the law-abiding Gentile in Rom. ii. 26 f.

(a) iv. 1–11. The angel (or rather archangel; cf. iv. 36) Uriel is sent to the seer, and propounds three problems to him which he is unable to answer. If these are beyond his capacity, how can he presume to challenge the inscrutable ways of God? The general character of the passage is similar to parts of Job (cf. especially Job xxviii). For the dialogue between the angel and Salathiel cf. e.g. Zech. i–vi, Dan. x, &c.

1. **Uriel.** Uriel (= 'the fire of God', Heb. *'ur-ēl*) is mentioned again in verse 36, v. 20, and x. 38 (not again in the Bible). He was one of the four chief angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel), of whom Michael was the highest (cf. Lueken, *Michael*, p. 32 f.). According to 1 En. xx. 2 Uriel was 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'.¹ In 1 En. x. 1 (Greek) he is the divine messenger who is sent to warn the son of Lamech. So here. The problems he propounds to Ezra accord with the character assigned to him and his name. The first ('weigh me the weight of the fire') is suggested by the meaning of the name Uriel—'Fire of God'. The others are concerned with the waters of the deep (*tēhôm*), and with the underworld. Uriel is thus designated, therefore, as being 'the archangel of fire and of Gehenna, where flame is the chief element' (cf. *JE*, xii. 383). Later he became (mistakenly) associated with light (Heb. *'ōr*), and was regarded as the enlightener ('he who brings light to Israel', *Num. rabb.* ii. 10). In 1 En. xl, Fanuel, one of the four 'presences' (Michael, Rufael, Gabriel, Fanuel), is, apparently, Uriel under another aspect. For Uriel as propounder and answerer of questions as here, cf. 1 En. xxi. 5, 9; xxvii. 2; xxxiii. 3, 4.

2. **Thy heart hath utterly failed thee, &c.** For the sentiment cf. John iii. 12.

5. **fire . . . wind.** For the conjunction of 'fire' and 'wind' cf. iii. 19, viii. 22, Wisd. xiii. 2. The four winds were regarded as having their dwelling-places in the four corners of the earth. Here they were detained in 'treasuries' and issued forth from time to time through 'portals' (cf. 1 En. xxxv f., where the portals which open into heaven from the ends of the earth are spoken of; cf. also 4 Ezra vi. 1). According to Rev. vii. 1 the four storehouses of the winds are guarded by four angels. As their dwelling-place was fixed at the extremities of the earth the winds would be under the supreme rule of Uriel, 'the angel over the world and over Tartarus'. To the ancients the wind was a supremely mysterious agent (cf. Eccles. xi. 5, 'as thou knowest not the way of the wind', and John iii. 8).

measure me the measure of the wind. Cf. Job xxviii. 22 for the similar idea of 'weighing' the wind; and for the whole verse, 2 Bar. lix. 5 (cf. also 1 En. xli. 4, 2 En. xl. 11).

7. **How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea.** Cf. Job xxviii. 16–17.

paths of Paradise, i.e. leading to Paradise; the heavenly Paradise is meant.

¹ 'Over thunder and earthquake', according to the Eth. text; the Greek gives as above. [Probably the clause 'and whose name was Uriel' was added by R.]

- 8 Perchance thou wouldst have said to me:
 Into the deep I have not descended,
 nor as yet ^z gone down ^z into Hades;
 Neither to heaven have I ever ascended,
^a nor entered Paradise ^a.
- 9 But now I have only asked thee of the fire, the wind, and the day ^b that is past ^b,—things without which thou canst not be; and yet thou hast vouchsafed me no answer about them!
- 10 He said moreover unto me: ^c What belongs to thee ^c—the things that have intermingled with thy
 11 growth—thou art incapable of understanding; how then should thy vessel be able to comprehend the way of the Most High? ^d For the way of the Most High has been formed without measure ^d, ^e how, then, should it be possible for a mortal in a corruptible world to understand the ways of the Incorruptible ^e?

(b) iv. 12-21. *The dialogue continued: it is foolish and senseless to demand what is against nature (S).*

- 12 ^f [And when I heard these things I fell upon my face] ^f and said unto him: It would have been better ^g that we had never been created ^g than having come [into the world] to live in sins and suffer, and not ^h to know ^h why we suffer.
- 13 And he answered me and said: ⁱ Once upon a time the woods of the trees of the field went forth, ⁱ
 14 and took counsel, and said: Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may retire before
 15 us, and we will make us ^j more woods ^j. In like manner also the waves of the sea took counsel, and
 said: Come, let us go up and wage war against the wood of the field, that there also we may win us
 16, 17 more territory. The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it; likewise,
 18 also, the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand ^k stood up ^k and stopped them. If thou, now,
 19 hadst been judge between them whom wouldst thou have justified or whom condemned? I answered
 and said: Both have taken a foolish counsel; for to the wood the land has been assigned, and ^l to the
 sea a place ^l to bear its waves.
- 20 Then he answered me and said: Thou hast judged aright; but why hast thou not given judgement
 21 in thine own case? For just as the earth has been assigned to the wood, and ^m the place of the sea
 to bear its waves ^m; even so the dwellers upon earth can understand only what is upon the earth,
ⁿ and they who are above the heavens ⁿ that which is above the heavenly height.

(c) iv. 22-32. *The dialogue continued: The seer protests that his perplexities are occasioned by the daily experiences of earth. He is told that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (S).*

- 22 Then answered I and said: I beseech thee, O Lord, wherefore have I been endowed with an

VSS. $\mathbb{L} >$ ^{a-a} so Ethiop. Arm. (cf. Ar.²); $\mathbb{L} \mathbb{S} >$ ^{b-b} so Ethiop. (cf. Ar.¹): $\mathbb{L}$ per quae (= $\mathbb{S}$; v. l. quem) transisti ^{c-c} $\mathbb{L}$ quae tua sunt: $\mathbb{S}$ Ethiop. (one reading) Arm. $>$ ^{d-d} so $\mathbb{S}$ Ethiop. (cf. Ar. Arm.): $\mathbb{L} >$ (by homoioteleuton) ^{e-e} so $\mathbb{S}$ substantially (nor is it possible, &c.): cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹: $\mathbb{L}$ et iam exteritus corrupto saeculo intellegere incorruptionem? ^{f-f} so Oriental Versions: $\mathbb{L}$ corrupt ^{g-g} so Ethiop.: $\mathbb{L}$ nos non adesse ^{h-h} reading intellegere (= $\mathbb{S}$ Ar.¹ Arm.): for intellexi (S A C) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. Ethiop.): $\mathbb{L}$ is corrupt ^{j-j} $\mathbb{L}$ alias silvas: $\mathbb{S}$ Ethiop. a new wood ^{k-k} so $\mathbb{L}$ stetit (= $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$) = $\mathbb{S}$ Ar.¹; but Ethiop. and Arm. stayed (= $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon$) ^{l-l} reading mari locus (C, &c.); but S A maris locus = $\mathbb{S}$ ^{m-m} so $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ et mare fluctibus suis ⁿ⁻ⁿ $\mathbb{L}$ qui super coelos: Ar.² Arm. interpret as plural (they who are above the heavens): $\mathbb{S}$ as sing. (he who is above, &c.)

9. things without which thou canst not be. Man cannot live apart from wind, warmth, and the passing day; cf. for the thought Wisd. ix. 16.

10. What belongs to thee—the things . . . thy growth. The 'things' referred to include fire and wind, two of the four primal elements (fire, wind, earth, and water); for these cf. Wisd. vii. 17, xiii. 1, xix. 18 ($\tau\alpha \sigma\tau\alpha\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$). There may be an allusion, as Gunkel suggests, to man's living organism (the microcosm) being compounded of the elements (cf. viii. 8). This view is of Oriental origin.

thy vessel. The body is the 'vessel' of the soul or understanding.

(b) iv. 12-21. In answer to Salathiel's despairing interjection the archangel further enforces the point of the preceding paragraph by a parable, taken from the sea and the forest. The idea of the sea being held in check and kept within prescribed bounds by the divine power is an ancient one, and forms the motive of some early mythological Creation myths (cf. Job. vii. 12, xxxviii. 8 f.). The application of the idea to the wood seems to be original to the apocalypticist (so Gunkel).

12. It would have been better that we had never been created, &c. The seer here takes the pessimistic view of the school of Shammai on the question whether it would have been better for man never to have been created. According to T. B. Erub. 13 b the controversy lasted two and a half years.

17. the sand stood up and stopped them. Cf. Jer. v. 22.

(c) iv. 22-32. Disclaiming any desire 'to be curious about the ways above', the seer protests that his difficulties are very real and rooted in daily experience. He is above measure perplexed because the chosen race—the people that bear God's sacred name of Israel—should be given up as a prey to the godless heathen (vv. 22-25). He is assured in

- S 23 understanding to discern? For I meant not to ask ° about the ways above ° but of those things we daily experience;
 Why is Israel to the heathen given over for reproach,
 thy beloved people to godless tribes given up?
 The Law of our fathers ^p has been brought to destruction ^p,
 the written covenants exist no more;
 24 We vanish from the world as locusts,
 our life is ^a as a breath ^a.
 25 We indeed are not worthy to obtain mercy; but what will he do for his own name whereby we are called? It is about these things that I have asked.

The Answer.

- 26 Then he answered me and said: ^x If thou survive ^x thou shalt see, and if thou livest long thou shalt marvel; for the age is hastening fast to its end.
 27 Because it is unable to bear the things promised ^s in their season ^s to the righteous; for this age is full of sorrow and impotence.
 28 For the evil ^t concerning which ^t thou askest me is sown, but ^u the ingathering of it ^u is not yet
 29 come. Unless, therefore, that which is sown be reaped, and unless the place where the evil is sown
 30 shall have passed away, the field where the good is sown cannot come. For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much fruit of ungodliness has it produced unto this time, and shall yet produce until the threshing-floor come!
 31 Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: ^v if ^v a grain of evil seed has produced so much fruit of
 32 ungodliness, when once the ears ^w of the good seed ^w shall have been sown without number, how great a floor shall they be destined to fill?

(d) iv. 33-43. *The dialogue continued. In reply to his question, When shall these things be? the seer receives the answer—When the number of the righteous is complete (S).*

- 33 Then I answered and said: ^x How long and when ^x shall these things (be coming to pass)? ^y For ^y our years are few and evil.
 34 And he answered me and said: Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High; for thou art hastening ^z for thine own self ^z, but the Exalted One on behalf of many.

°-° *reading* de superioribus viis (C) = § *Ethiop. Ar.*²: de superioribus tuis S A ^{p-p} *reading* in interitum (S A); C M in iritum (so Bf) ^{q-q} *reading* ut vapor = § *Ethiop.*: ut pavor S A M ^{r-r} *so* *Ethiop.* (= εαυ μεν ης): § si fueris (= εαυ μεν ης) ^{s-s} § in temporibus: § *Ethiop.* > ^{t-t} *reading* de quo . . . de eo (cf. § *Ethiop.*): de quibus S A ^{u-u} *reading* restrictio ipsius (S A*) : v. l. destructio ^{v-v} *so* *Ethiop.*: § > ^{w-w} *so* § *Ethiop.*: § > ^{x-x} *reading* usquequo et quando (= § *Ethiop. Arm.*): quo (for usquequo) S A ^{y-y} *so* § *Ethiop.*: § quare ^{z-z} *reading* propter temetipsum = § *Ethiop.* § *corrupt.* ^{a-a} *so* § *Ethiop.*: § usquequo spero sic

reply that the present age is hastening to its close, and that the new age which is about to dawn will solve all difficulties (v. 26). It is further explained to him why the present state of things must go on for a time. The harvest of evil must first be reaped before something better can take its place (vv. 27-32). Cf. the reference in a similar connexion to the harvest of good and bad seed in 2 Baruch lxx. 2.

23. **the written covenants.** The expression is a synonym for the Law (Scriptures). In *T. B. Berak* 48 b the Law (*Torah*) is said to have been given 'by three covenants', viz. those with Israel at Sinai, at Gerizim, and in the plains of Moab; cf. Rom. ix. 4, and Sir. xlv. 11, Wisd. xviii. 22. For the destruction of the Law cf. xiv. 21 f.

25. **what will he do for his own name.** Cf. Isa. lxiii. 19; 2 Baruch v. 1; also 4 Ezra x. 22. **whereby we are called.** lit. 'which is called upon us'. The expression implies ownership. Cf. Isa. xliii. 7; 2 Chron. vii. 14; James ii. 7. Israel's election is appealed to.

27. **this age is full of sorrow and impotence.** It is characteristic of the apocalyptic writer's pessimism that he gives up the present age entirely. It must be destroyed absolutely, and an entirely new order take its place. The older view that the present world should be renewed in a purified form is abandoned.

28. **the ingathering of it.** For the idea of sowing, reaping, and harvest applied metaphorically to evil, cf. the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii), and in particular Matt. xiii. 39.

32. **be destined to fill.** The harvest of good, when once it has been sown (immediately after the end of the present evil age), will in the golden future far surpass the previous harvest of evil. The argument *a minori ad maius* is characteristically Jewish.

(d) iv. 33-43. The seer's impatient question—'How long? when shall these good things come to pass?'—is rebuked. Everything has been predetermined. Till the predestined number of the righteous has been completed the judgement cannot come. But when the moment has arrived nothing can delay its consummation. The point is further enforced by a similitude. On the whole passage cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 293 f.

34. **Thy haste may not exceed that of the Most High.** The seer is rebuked for selfish impatience. The Most High is no less ready to 'haste' than himself, but determines His action in accordance with the interests of all (many); cf. v. 33. As Gunkel remarks, such admonitions to be patient are a standing feature of apocalyptic writings. Acquiescence in the divine will was the highest virtue in a time when even the most pious sighed for the end of the present world.

- 35 Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls of the righteous in their chambers?
^a How long are we (to remain) here? ^a When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?¹
- 36 And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply, and said: Even when the number ^b of those like yourself ^b is fulfilled!
- 37 For he has weighed the age in the balance,
 And with measure has measured the ^c times ^c,
 And by number has numbered the ^c seasons ^c:
 Neither will he move nor stir things,
 till the measure ^d appointed ^d be fulfilled.
- 38, 39 Then I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, ^e but behold ^e we are all full of ungodliness. ^f Is it, perchance, ^f on our account that ^g the threshing-floor of the righteous is kept back ^g—on account of the sins of the dwellers upon earth?
- 40 So he answered me and said: Go and ask the woman who is pregnant, when she has completed her nine months, if her womb can keep the birth any longer within her?
- 41 Then said I: No, Lord, it cannot. And he said to me: ^h The underworld and the chambers of

^{b-b} reading *similium vobis* = S Ethiop. Ar.²: *seminum* S A C M (*corrupt*) ^{c-c} (o o) L *tempora . . . tempora*: S times . . . hours (*changing expression, prob. rightly*) ^{d-d} L *praedicta* ^{e-e} so Ethiop. (and S *by an easy emendation*): L *sed et* (? *read ecce for et*) ^{f-f} so Ethiop.: L *et ne forte* (? *read num forte*) ^{g-g} reading *prohibeatur iustorum area* (C M) = Ethiop. (*cf.* S): *v. l. impleatur* (S A), *non impleantur* (iustorum areae) ^{h-h} so S Ethiop. (*hence Violet emends* L *infernum et promptuaria animarum*): L (MSS.) in *inferno promptuaria animarum*

35. by . . . the righteous. i.e. the righteous dead.
 in their chambers. Lat. *in promptuariis suis* = ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις αὐτῶν. The word *promptuaria* recurs in iv. 41, vii. 32, 95 (cf. v. 9, 27, vi. 22); also in Ps. cxliv. 13, and apparently not again in the Vulgate. These 'chambers' are the 'treasuries of souls' referred to sometimes in apocalyptic books (cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 23, 'And let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them'; 1 En. xxii. 3 f.). These 'treasuries' or 'habitations' (*habitacula*, 4 Ezra vii. 80) were reserved for the righteous only (vii. 80), who entered them at death, and there enjoying 'great quietness' and 'guarded by angels', they awaited the final judgement (vii. 95). Then the 'chambers' were to restore the souls committed to them (vii. 32, cf. iv. 42; 2 Bar. xxi. 3, xxx. 2). According to the Talmud (*T. B. Shabbath* 152b) the souls of the righteous dead are beneath the throne of God (cf. Rev. vi. 9 f., where the souls of the righteous who have suffered martyrdom are represented as being 'beneath the [heavenly] altar'). In a few passages in the Rabbinical literature the word *treasury* (Heb. 'ōsār) is used in this connexion: cf. e.g. *Midr. rab.* on Qoheleth (iii. 21), where the souls of the righteous are said to be 'placed in the treasury', which is located in the heavenly 'height'. According to 4 Ezra vii. 41, however, these 'treasuries' or 'chambers' are placed in Sheol (the lower world). But the alternative reading is better (see *ad loc.*).

36. Jeremiel. Gk. Ἰερεμὴλ (= Heb. יֵרֵמְיָהוּ). This archangel may confidently be identified with Ῥεμειήλ (note that the Syr. of our verse actually reads *Ramiel*), who appears in the Greek (Gizeh) text of 1 En. xx. as the seventh of the seven archangels (1, Uriel; 2, Raphael; 3, Raguel; 4, Michael; 5, Sariel [= Eth. Saraqâël]; 6, Gabriel; 7, Remiel [= Jeremiel]). In the Ethiop. text the first six only are mentioned; but, doubtless, the Greek is right in enumerating seven. The last (= Jeremiel) is described as 'one of the holy angels whom God appointed to be over those who rise [from the dead]' (ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων). This agrees admirably with the rôle assigned to him here as the archangel who has charge of the souls of the righteous who are guarded in the 'treasuries', and await the final judgement and resurrection. [Only two of the seven archangels are mentioned in 4 Ezra, viz. Uriel and Jeremiel.]

those like yourself is fulfilled. The end of the age and the 'regeneration' can only take place when the number of the saints has been completed. This is also the view represented in Rev. vi. 11 ('until their fellow-servants . . . should be fulfilled'); Swete, *ad loc.*, aptly cites from the Anglican Burial Service, 'that it may please thee . . . shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom.' According to Rev. vii. 4 the number of the 'sealed', i.e. the elect, is 144,000. In 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 the number that is to be fulfilled is of mankind as a whole (all who should be born)—a view which is referred to in Rabbinical literature (see the references cited by Charles on *Ap. Bar.*, *loc. cit.*). This number was a secret known only to God Himself (2 Bar. xxi. 10, xlviii. 46).

36-37. weighed . . . measured . . . numbered. The times and periods of the course of the world's history have been predetermined by God. The numbers of the years have been exactly fixed. This was a fundamental postulate of the apocalyptists, who devoted much of their energy to calculations, based upon a close study of prophecy, as to the exact period when history should reach its consummation. One scheme especially favoured divided history into a world-week of seven millenniums, corresponding to the week of Creation (cf. vii. 30, 43; according to 2 Pet. iii. 8 [cf. Ps. xc. 4] a day = 1,000 years). Here, however, as in the case of the number of the righteous (elect), no definite number is mentioned. The categories of 'weight', 'measure', and 'rule' (or 'number') are also applied to Creation generally; cf. *Test. Twelve Patr.* Naph. ii. 3; *Wisd.* xi. 20 ('by measure, number, and weight thou didst order all things') *Philo, Somn.* ii. 29 ('God . . . measures, weighs, and numbers all things, and circumscribes them with bounds and limits'). In the O.T. similar expressions are occasionally met with; thus in Job xxviii. 25 the winds are said to be 'weighed' and the waters 'measured'; in Isa. xl. 12 the mountains and hills; cf. 1 En. xliii. 2 (the stars); also 4 Ezra iv. 5. The underlying idea is predestinarian (cf. Charles on 1 En. xlvii. 3).

41. the underworld and the chambers of souls. For the text cf. *crit. note*. The treasury of the souls of the righteous dead is, no doubt, meant. Gunkel, indeed, and some other scholars take the 'chambers of souls' here to refer to unborn souls, not to those of the righteous dead. In this case an antithesis is intended between *promptuaria animarum* and *infernum*; the latter (= Sheol) is the place where all the dead are received, the abode of all departed souls; the former the abode of souls yet unborn (cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 [same antithesis between abode of unborn and

S 42 souls^h are like the womb: for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the
 43 travail; even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the
 beginning. Then to thee it shall be showed concerning those things that thou desirest to see.

(e) iv. 44-50. *The dialogue continued. In reply to a further question, the seer is shown by a similitude that the End will come soon (S).*

44 Then I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be
 45 sufficient, show me this also: whether there be more to come than is past, or whether the more part
 46 is already gone by us? For what is gone by I know, but what is to come I know not.

47 And he said to me: Stand to the right, and I will explain the meaning of a similitude unto thee.
 48 So I stood, and saw, and lo! a blazing furnace passed by before me; and it happened that when
 the flame had gone by I looked and lo! the smoke remained still.

49 Thereupon there passed by before me a cloud full of water, and sent down much rain with
 a storm; and when the rain-storm was past the drops remained therein still.

50 Then said he unto me: Consider for thyself; for as the rain is more than the drops, and as the
 fire is greater than the smoke, so has the measure of what is past exceeded by far; but there are
 still left over—the drops and the smoke!

(f) iv. 51-v. 13. *The signs which precede the End (E) (R).*

51 Then I made supplication, and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? ⁱWhoⁱ
 shall be (live) in those days?

52 He answered me, and said: [As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee

(so BJ) ¹⁻¹ $\mathfrak{L}$ vel quis; so $\mathfrak{S}$: but *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ *Ar.*² What [shall happen in those days] ^{j-j} reading in excessu

departed spirits]; xlviii. 16, lii. 6, lvi. 6). But in v. 35 the *promptuaria* are undoubtedly the chambers containing the souls of the righteous dead. It would be strange if a few verses later the same expression were used, without any limiting phrase, to denote something else. In this case the *infernium* (underworld, Sheol) will be a general term for the abode of the souls of the wicked dead, where they await the final judgement. This is the meaning of Sheol (Hades), apparently, in the Johannine Apocalypse, where Hades and Death are always combined, and (like the wicked) are consigned to the lake of fire (cf. Rev. i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13, 14; and see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 352).

(e) iv. 44-50. The seer now asks, but in a more subdued and less impatient manner, whether more of the drama remains to be enacted than what is already past. He is shown a vision of fire and storm, of which nothing remains, after they have gone by, but the smoke and the rain-drops, and is told that in a like manner the greater part of the world's history that precedes the End is already past.

47. **Stand to the right.** The Arabic renders: 'Turn thyself towards the right side and look'; but the expression may mean upon the right side of the speaker. The seer is bidden to stand upon the right side of the angel in order that both (now facing one way) may watch the spectacle as it passes; presumably before this they had been standing face to face.

(f) iv. 51-v. 13. In reply to a further question as to whether he shall live to see 'those days' and as to what will then happen, the seer is given a description of the signs of the End. These are set forth in detail (v. 1-12). It will be a time of commotions and the general break up of moral and religious forces (vv. 1-2); the heathen world-power (= Rome) will be destroyed (v. 3); there will be portents in nature, general chaos in society, monstrous and untimely births, the failure of the means of subsistence, and internecine strife (vv. 4-9, vi. 21-22); wisdom and understanding will have perished from the earth (vv. 10-12). There is a further reference to these 'signs' in ix. 3 f.

A close examination of the passage makes it clear that the section detailing the 'signs' (v. 1-12) cannot belong to S. In iv. 51 the seer asks: 'Thinkest thou that I shall live in those days? Or who (v. 1. what) shall be in those days?'—the 'days' = the time of the End. The answer that follows (in the present form of the text) is: ['As for the signs concerning which thou askest me, I may tell thee of them in part, but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof.' Only the latter part of this verse (the words outside the brackets) is an answer to Salathiel's question. He had not said a word about the 'signs'. The attempt to evade this difficulty in some of the versions (*Ethiop.* and *Arab.*, cf. *Vulg.*) by substituting 'what' for 'who' (against the Latin and Syriac) in the second half of the question only complicates matters by introducing another (and totally different) question. It is no answer to Salathiel to tell him some of the signs that shall precede the End. He desires to know whether he himself shall live to see the End. Moreover, the description of the 'signs' that follows (v. 1-12) is in tone and style alien to S. It is in any case much older, and bears marks of being traditional. Of course it is conceivable that S may have used such older material; but if he had done so he would have invested it with some of the marks of his own style. He cannot have been responsible for its awkward introduction here. No doubt the passage has been inserted by R from E. The original sequence of S here (the inserted passage being ignored) will have been as follows: 'Then I made supplication and said: Thinkest thou that I shall live until those days? Or who shall be in those days? He answered me, and said: Concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge thereof. If, however, thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and fast [again] seven days, thou shalt hear yet greater things than these' (iv. 51, 52, v. 13 δ).

The passage is really a descriptive list of the Messianic 'woes', and bears a general likeness to other eschatological descriptions of the signs that precede the End. See further *EA*, p. 41, and the literature there cited.

52. **the signs concerning which thou askest me.** To the instructed the events which were to precede and herald the End were a 'sign'; cf. ix. 1 f. (*Matt.* xxiv. 15; *Mark* xiii. 14).

(R) S of them in part; but] concerning thy life I have not been sent to speak to thee, nor have I any knowledge (thereof).

E 5¹ Concerning the signs, however:

Behold, the days come when the inhabitants of earth shall be seized^j with great panic^j,

And the way of truth shall be hidden,
and the land be barren of faith.

2 And iniquity shall be increased above that which thou thyself now seest or that thou hast heard of
3 long ago. And the land that thou seest now to bear rule^k shall be a pathless waste^k; and men
4 shall see it forsaken: if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see it after^l the third (period)
in confusion^l.

Then shall the sun suddenly shine forth by night
and the moon by day:

5 And blood shall trickle forth from wood,
and the stone utter its voice:

The peoples shall be in commotion,
^mthe outgoings (?) (of the stars)^m shall change.

6 And one whom the dwellers upon earth do not look for shall wield sovereignty, and the birds
shall take to general flight,

7 andⁿ the seaⁿ shall cast forth its fish.

And one^o whom^o the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear
his voice.

multo = S (cf. *Ethiop.*); *Lat. MSS.* incensu multo ^{k-k} reading erit incomposita [et sine] vestigio with *BJ*
(bracketed words not in *Lat. MSS.*): *Violet* reads et erit incomposito vestigio, 'in unordentlichen Trümmern':
S unstable and untrodden ^{l-1} reading post tertiam turbatam (C) [tubam A] ^{m-m} L gressus (egressos S):
S = ἀέρες (so *Ar.*¹ *Ar.*²): *Ethiop.* = ἀσρέες ⁿ⁻ⁿ L mare Sodomiticum (corrected text): so *Oriental VSS.*; but
Sodomiticum prob. to be deleted ^{o-o} reading quem for quam

in part. The description here is supplemented in vi. 11-28.

v. 3. the land, &c. The Roman Empire is, of course, meant.

shall be a pathless waste. Lit. 'shall be disordered and pathless' (corrected text; see crit. note).

4. after the third (period) in confusion. For the text cf. crit. note (probably ἡμέραν has fallen out). Some noun of time must be supplied (*Ethiop.*, 'after the third month'; but *Arm.*, 'after the third vision'). Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, pp. 268, 269, notes) has shown how significant a rôle the number 3½ plays in the eschatological tradition. The mystic number has been applied to periods, years, months, and days (in Daniel the 3½ years are variously reckoned as 1150, 1290, and 1335 days; cf. *Dan.* viii. 14, xii. 11, and xii. 12; in *Rev.* xi. 3, xii. 6 as 1260 days). In 4 Ezra xiv. 11 f. according to one form of the text 2½ world-periods remain (9½ of the 12 parts having passed already); and there, as in our passage, the number (2½) denotes part of the period that is to elapse before the final destruction of the evil and oppressive world-power, i.e. Rome. So here 'after the third [day, i.e. period]' means more exactly towards the end of the 3½ 'days' which remain before Rome's dominion comes to an end. [Hilg. and others understand the land after the third (cf. *Syr.*), i.e. the fourth kingdom of Daniel (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 11, where 'the fourth kingdom that appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel' is identified with Rome). The Arab. interprets: 'thou shalt afterwards see these three signs,' i.e. those of the sun and moon, the blood, and the stones that follow.]

sun . . . shine forth by night, &c. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 4, 5 for emended text.

5. blood shall trickle forth from wood, and the stone utter its voice. Cited in *Ep. Barnabas* xii. 1 as from a prophetic writing (probably not 4 Ezra): see further *EA*, p. 44.

the outgoings (?) (of the stars) shall change. For text see crit. note. The textual evidence suggests that the Oriental Versions read 'stars', or something like it, in their Greek text (ἀήρ, ἀέρες, confused with ἀσθήρ, ἀσρέες), while the *Lat.* simply represents some word like ἔξοδος. Possibly a combination of these readings may produce an approximation to the original text; such as, 'the outgoings of the stars are changed' or 'the stars change their outgoings' [יִמְרֵי מוֹצָאֵי הַכּוֹכָבִים]. Cf. *Ps.* lxxv. 8 (9): 'Thou makest the "outgoings" of the morning and evening to rejoice.' These 'outgoings' or 'exits' (cf. *exitus*, vi. 1) were the portals through which the stars proceeded and the winds blew; cf. 1 En. xxxiv-xxxvi. See further *EA*, p. 45.

6. one whom . . . shall wield sovereignty. i.e. the Antichrist (the wicked tyrant of the last days).

and the birds . . . flight. Birds, possibly as creatures which soar aloft, were regarded in antiquity as possessing supernatural knowledge. They could foresee impending events.

7. and the sea shall cast forth its fish. So Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vii. 246) and Charles. The *Lat.* and all the versions have 'sea of Sodom'. If this be right the portent will consist in the Dead Sea casting out fish, as no fish can live there; cf. *Ezek.* xlvii. 8 f., where the bitter waters of the Dead Sea are pictured as sweetened and made full of life by the stream issuing from the Temple. Local features are, however, out of harmony with the context, which depicts a convulsion of nature on the largest scale. Hence 'of Sodom' is probably to be deleted as an incorrect gloss, which was already present in the original *Heb.* text (suggested by 'salt waters . . . in the sweet' in v. 9?). ['Sea of Sodom' is one of the names given to the Dead Sea in the Talmud.] For the general conception cf. *Isa.* l. 3.

And one whom the many do not know will make his voice heard by night; and all shall hear his voice: *et dabit vocem noctu quem* [emended from *quam*] *non noverunt multi, omnes autem audient vocem eius*: so Wellhausen, Charles. The Latin erroneously refers the relative (אשר) to *voice*, thereby depriving the sentence of a subject. With this emendation the clause *non noverunt multi* becomes more intelligible. A mysterious personage is indicated by a voice which all can hear: cf. Josephus' account of the mysterious voice heard in the Temple saying 'Let us

- E 8 ^p And the earth o'er wide regions shall open,^p
and fire burst forth for a long period:
The wild beasts shall desert their haunts, ^q and women bear monsters ^q.
vi. 21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and ^r dance^r. And suddenly shall the
sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty.)
v. 9 Salt waters shall be found in the sweet; friends shall attack one another ^s suddenly^s.
10 Then shall intelligence hide itself,
and wisdom withdraw to its chamber—
by many shall be sought and not found.
11 And unrighteousness and incontinency shall be multiplied upon the earth. One land shall also
ask another and say: Is Righteousness—that doeth the right—passed through thee? And it shall
answer, No.
12 And it shall be
In that time men shall hope and not obtain,
shall labour and not prosper.
13 Such are the signs I am permitted to tell thee; but if thou wilt pray again, and weep as now, and
fast seven days, thou shalt hear again greater things than these.

IV. v. 14-19. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

- S 14 [Then I awoke, and my body trembled greatly; my soul also was wearied even unto fainting.
15 But the angel who came and spake with me took hold of me, strengthened me, and set me
up upon my feet.]
16 And in the second night Phaltiel, the captain of the people, came unto me, and said: Where hast
17 thou been? And why is thy countenance sad? Or knowest thou not that Israel has been entrusted
18 unto thee in the land of their exile? Rouse thyself, then, and eat a morsel of bread, and do not
desert us as a shepherd does (who leaves) his flock in the power of noxious wolves!
19 Then said I unto him: Depart from me, and come not nigh me for seven days; then thou mayst
come unto me ^t and I will explain matters unto thee ^t. And when he heard what I said he left me.

^{p-p} = § (χασμα or χασματα for χάος): $\mathbb{L}$ et chaus fiet per loca multa
^{s-s} so § *Ethiop.*; $\mathbb{L}$ omnes
^{t-t} so § (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathbb{L}$ >

^{q-q} so § (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathbb{L}$ et mulieres
^{r-r} reading scirtiabuntur (C)

depart hence', which he relates as a portent (*Jewish War*, vi. 5. 3 [299]; in the same context he relates other similar 'portents').

8. The earth o'er wide regions shall open, lit. 'a fissure (reading χασμα for χάος: see crit. note) shall arise over wide regions'; cf. Zech. xiv. 4. The Armenian also supports this reading. The fissure starts and spreads over a widening area (*per loca multa*).

vi. 21-22. And one-year-old children, &c. These verses, which are obviously out of harmony with their present context in chapter vi, find an appropriate place here. For the feature referred to cf. Matt. xxiv. 19.

v. 9. friends shall attack one another suddenly. Cf. vi. 24.

13. fast seven days. Cf. 2 Bar. xx. 5, 6; and Charles's note on 2 Bar. v. 2. In 4 Ezra four fasts of seven days' duration, followed by a revelation, are referred to (v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51), and probably one preceded the first (cf. iii. 1 and notes).

v. 14-19. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION. In their present position the opening verses of this section (v. 14-15)—which clearly form the conclusion of a dream-vision—are misplaced. They have, presumably, been transferred from their proper position (at the conclusion of the lacuna in iii. 1) to their present place by R, so as to form the conclusion of the first vision.

The following verses (v. 16-19) in narrative form belong to the original framework of S, and imply an earlier passage (in the missing introduction after iii. 1), giving the command to the seer to repair to a certain spot in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and there by a seven days' fast prepare for the reception of further direct revelations. The section should be compared with the parallel passage, xii. 30-48 (also from the framework of S).

14. I awoke, viz. from sleep. Clearly this is the sequel of a dream-vision.

16. Phaltiel. Lat. *Phaltiel*, Gk. Φαλτιήλ = Heb. פלטיאל. [This name occurs in 2 Sam. iii. 15 as that of Michal's husband; in Numb. xxxiv. 26 of a prince of Issachar; cf. *Piltai* in the list Neh. xii. 17 (a representative of a priestly house in the time of Zerubbabel). Violet suggests that the Phaltiel of our text may originally have been the *Pelatah* (= פלטיה) who is mentioned as one of the 'heads of the people' in the time of Nehemiah, in the list Neh. x. 22 (= the *Pelatah* of 1 Chron. vi. 21). This would suit the time of Ezra but not Salathiel. The historical reference must remain uncertain.] The variants in the Lat. Codd. include *Salathiel* (so Vulg., A. V.), *Psaltiel*, *Spaltiel*; the *Ethiop.* has *Pheltyāl*; Syr. *Psaltiel*; Arm. *Phanuel*.

17. that Israel has been entrusted unto thee. Salathiel is the last of the prophets left to the exiles in Babylon, cf. xii. 42.

18. as a shepherd, &c. For the image cf. Matt. x. 15.

THE SECOND VISION.

(v. 20-vi. 34.)

I. v. 20-22. INTRODUCTION.

S 20, 21 So I fasted seven days, mourning and weeping, even as the angel Uriel commanded me. And
 22 after the seven days the thoughts of my heart began to oppress me again grievously; then my soul
 recovered the spirit of understanding, and I began once more to address the Most High.

II. v. 23-40. THE PRAYER AND ITS ANSWER.

(a) *The prayer* (v. 23-30.)

23 And I said: O Lord my Lord, "out of all the woods" of the earth and all the trees thereof thou
 24 hast chosen "thee" one "vine"; out of all the lands of the world thou hast chosen thee one
 25 planting-ground; out of all the flowers of the world thou hast chosen thee one lily; out of all the
 depths of the sea thou hast replenished for thyself one river; out of all the cities that have been built
 26 thou hast sanctified Sion unto thyself; out of all birds that have been created thou hast called for
 thyself one dove; out of all the cattle that have been formed thou hast provided thee one sheep;
 27 and out of all the peoples who have become so numerous thou hast gotten thee one people: and the
 law^x which thou didst approve out of all (laws)^x thou hast bestowed upon the people whom thou
 didst desire.

28 And now, O Lord, why hast thou delivered up the one unto the many, and dishonoured the one
 root above the rest, and scattered thine only one among the multitude?

29 And (why) have^y they who denied thy promises been allowed to tread under foot those that have
 30 believed thy covenants^y? If thou didst so much hate thy people they ought to have been punished
 with thine own hands.

^{u-u} so S (cf. Ar.¹): ^ℓ ex omni silva (= *Ethiop.*) ^{v-v} so *Oriental VSS.*: ^ℓ > ^{w-w} so *Oriental VSS.*: ^ℓ vineam
 (*vineyard*) ^{x-x} so *Ethiop.*: ^ℓ ab omnibus probatam legem ^{y-y} reading *conculcaverunt qui contradicebant*
^{sponsionibus} tuis eos qui tuis testamentis credebant (*Lat. MSS. have quique for eos qui*): so *Oriental VSS.* (see *BJ*)

THE SECOND VISION (v. 20-vi. 34). After a further fast of seven days the seer (Salathiel) again makes complaint to God. Why has God's chosen and beloved people Israel been given up to oppressors? (v. 20-30). The angel answers, as before, by showing that man is unable to comprehend the things nearest to himself; how then can he hope to fathom the judgements of God, or compass God's love? (v. 31-40). The dialogue is continued by the seer asking what the lot of those shall be who have died before the End comes, and is told that their lot will not be worse or better than that of those who survive. The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world is set forth in a series of striking analogies. The feebleness of age is, the angel declares, manifested in Mother Earth (v. 41-55). In the section that follows (v. 56-vi. 6) the prophet is assured that the End of the present age and the inauguration of the new order shall come by the agency of God alone. The present age of heathen (Roman) oppressors shall be succeeded by the glorious incorruptible age (vi. 7-10). A long passage detailing the signs of the last time and the End follows (vi. 11-28) and the vision concludes (vi. 30-34).

The vision thus falls into the following divisions—

- i. *Introduction* (v. 20-22) (S).
- ii. *The seer's prayer and its answer* (v. 23-40), viz. (a) *The prayer* (v. 23-30) and (b) *the answer* (v. 31-40) (S).
- iii. *The place of successive generations in the divine plan of the world* (v. 41-55).
- iv. *The End of the age shall come by God alone* (v. 56-vi. 6).
- v. *The parting asunder of the times* (vi. 7-10) (S).
- vi. *The signs of the last time and the coming of the End* (vi. 11-28 (29)) (E).
- vii. *Conclusion of the vision* (vi. 30-34).

v. 23-40. This section falls into two parts, viz. (a) the prayer of Salathiel (Ezra) (v. 23-30); and (b) the answer conveyed in a dialogue by the archangel Uriel (v. 31-40).

(a) v. 23-30. THE PRAYER OF SALATHIEL (Ezra). Following on a carefully constructed exordium, which emphasizes in a variety of well-chosen figures Israel's unique position as the chosen people of God, Salathiel (Ezra) appeals to God once more with the question, Why has the beloved people been given up to heathen oppressors? Why has it been allowed to go into exile and be scattered?

23. **out of all the woods, &c.** The figures illustrating Israel's choice that follow have largely been drawn from the Old Testament. For the vine cf. Isa. v. 7, Ps. lxxx. 9 (10); for the lily cf. Canticles ii. 2 (interpreted allegorically of Israel), and Hos. xiv. 5; for the stream, Isa. viii. 6, Canticles iv. 15; for the dove, Ps. lxxiv. 19, Canticles ii. 14; for the sheep, Isa. liii. 7, Ps. lxxix. 13 ('sheep of thy pasture'), cf. Ps. xxiii and lxxx. 1 (2); and for the root, 1 En. xciii. 8 ('race of the elect root'); cf. also Rom. xi. 17 f. It is well known that the allegorical interpretation of Canticles is very old; in fact the book was only admitted into the Canon on this interpretation. Gunkel aptly notes that our passage already implies such an interpretation of the book.

25. **thou hast sanctified Sion.** Cf. e.g. Ps. cxxxii. 13.

26. **one dove.** The dove is a favourite emblem of Israel, especially of Israel unjustly persecuted (cf. *Midrash rabba* to Canticles i. 15, iv. 1); so here.

27. **out of all (laws).** For the idea of the superiority of the Mosaic Law above the laws of other nations cf. Deut. iv. 8 (cf. also Rom. i. 32, ii. 16).

30. **with thine own hands**, i.e. by famine, pestilence, or earthquake (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13), but not by the hand of foreign foes.

(b) *The answer: in spite of all God loves Israel now and always* (v. 31-40).

- S 31 Now when I had spoken these words the angel who had before come to me on the previous night
 32 was sent unto me: and he said to me:
 Hear me, and I will instruct thee:
 Attend unto me, and I will speak again before thee.
 33 And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said: Art thou in sore perplexity of mind touching
 Israel? Lovest thou him better than he that made him?
 34 And I said: No, lord: but of very grief have I spoken; for every hour I suffer agonies of soul in
 striving to comprehend the way of the Most High, and to seek out ² the decree of his judgement.
 35 And he said unto me: Thou canst not. And I said: Wherefore, Lord? Why then was I born?
 Wherefore did not my mother's womb become my grave
 that I might have been spared the sight of Jacob's misery,
 and the distressful toil of the stock of Israel?
 36 And he said unto me:
 Number me ^a the days that are not yet come ^a,
 gather me the rain-drops that are scattered,
 make me the withered flowers bloom again;
 37 Open me the chambers that are closed
 and bring me forth ^b the spirits ^b shut up in them;
 [^c Show me the image of faces thou hast never seen ^c]
 or show me the image of a voice;
 and then I will display to thee ^d the
 objective ^d thou askest to see.
 38 And I said: O Lord my Lord, why who is able to understand such matters save he who has not
 his dwelling among men?
 39 As for me, I am unwise ^e and powerless ^e: how then should I essay to speak of these things of
 which thou questionest me?
 40 Then said he unto me: Just as thou art unable to do even one of these things that have been
 mentioned, even so thou art powerless to discover my judgement or the goal of the love that I have
 declared unto my people.

III. THE PLACE OF SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS IN THE DIVINE PLAN OF THE WORLD (v. 41-55).

(a) v. 41-49. *The succession of generations accords with the Divine plan;
 God's judgement reaches all alike.*

- 41 And I said: But lo, O Lord, ^f thou art ready to meet (with blessing) ^f those who survive in the
 end; but what shall our predecessors do, or we ourselves or our posterity?

Ethiop. Ar.: 𐤀 > ^{f-f} reading praees = προφθαweis (𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤍): 𐤀 thou hast promised (cf. *Ethiop.*): *Violet emends*
²⁻² 𐤀 partem iudicii eius: cf. viii. 18. ^{a-a} so *Ethiop. Ar.*: 𐤀 qui necdum venerunt (*those who are not yet come*) (cf. 𐤀):
prob. τας ημερας had fallen out of the text rendered by 𐤀 ^{b-b} so *Ethiop. Ar.*: 𐤀 flatos (= 𐤀) ^{c-o} so 𐤀 (*supported by*
Ethiop. Ar.): 𐤀 > ^{d-d} 𐤀 laborem (= κοπον: *prob. a mistake for σκοπον*: cf. *Ar.*: so *Hilg.*) ^{e-e} so 𐤀 (cf.

(b) v. 31-40. THE ANSWER TO THE PRAYER. The archangel Uriel is again sent to reason with him in answer to his complaint. As in iv. 1-11, Uriel, by a series of hard questions, demonstrates to the seer his inability to fathom God's judgements or comprehend the 'goal' of the divine love for the chosen people. The dialogue form is here resumed.

33. **Lovest thou him better**, &c. The apocalypticist never doubts that God's love for His people exceeds all other, and finds in this thought a source of supreme consolation; cf. viii. 47.

35. **Wherefore did not my mother's womb**, &c. Cited in Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, iii. 16; cf. Job iii. 11; x. 18, 19; Jer. xiv. 17.

36. **the days that are not yet come**. For text see crit. note. The apocalypticist is reminded that he cannot know whether the days that remain to the present order shall be few or many.

37. **the spirits shut up in them**. Or 'winds' (see crit. note). If winds are meant the reference will be to store-houses where the winds are shut up, and only let loose by angelic agency; cf. 1 En. xli. 4, lxxvii, and Rev. vii. 1.

v. 41-55. The dialogue is continued. The seer suggests that it would be better to be alive with the final generation when the End comes. Or why could not God have made all generations of men to live at once upon the earth, so that all might share under equal conditions in the great vindication? In answer he is shown by some striking analogies drawn from life that the succession of generations is according to the divine plan: 'So have I disposed the world which I created' (v. 41-49). The seer proceeds to ask whether our Mother Earth is still young. Are the last-born

- S 42 And he said unto me: I will liken my judgement to a ring; just as there is no retardation of them that are last, even so there is no hastening of those that are first.
- 43 Thereupon I answered and said: Couldst thou not have created them all at once—those who have been, those who (now) exist, and those who are to be—that thou mightst display thy judgement the sooner?
- 44 He answered me and said: The creation may not proceed faster than the Creator; nor could the world hold all at once those created in it.
- 45 And I said: How then is it that thou hast (just now) said to thy servant that ^gthou wilt verily quicken ^gall at once the creation created by thee? ^hIf, then, they (i.e. all of the created) shall indeed be alive all at once, ^hand ⁱcreation ⁱshall be able to sustain them, it might even now support them (all) present at once.
- 46 And he said unto me: Ask the womb of a woman, and say unto it: If thou bringest forth ten children, why (dost thou bring them forth) each in its own time? Demand, therefore, that it produce ten all at once.
- 47 And I said: It cannot possibly, but (only each) in its own time.
- 48 Then said he unto me: ^jThus have I also made the earth the womb for those ^j^k who, in their own
- 49 time, are conceived by it^k. For just as the young child does not bring forth, nor she that is aged any more, so have ^lI also ^ldisposed the world which I have created ^mby defined periods of time^m.

(b) v. 50-55. *The Earth has grown old and its offspring degenerate.*

- 50 Thereupon I asked ⁿhim ⁿand said: Seeing thou hast now showed me the way, I would fain speak (further) before thee. ^oIs our mother, ^oof whom thou hast told me, still young? Or does she now approach old age?
- 51, 52 He answered me and said: Ask a woman who has borne (children), and let her tell thee; say to her: Why are (the children) whom thou hast lately brought forth not like the first, but inferior ^pin
- 53 stature^p? And she also shall answer thee: Those that are born in vigorous youth are of one
- 54 fashion, and those born in old age, when the womb fails, are otherwise. Consider, therefore, thou
- 55 also that ye are inferior in stature in comparison with your predecessors; and so, also, (will be) your posterity than yourselves: even as creation is already grown old, and is already past the strength of youth.

to promittis ^{g-g} reading vivificans vivificabis (so *§ Ethiop.* Ar.¹): vivificans vivificabit S A ^{h-h} restoring si ergo viventes vivent in unum = *§*: > S A C M (by homoioteleuton) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so *§*: *§* Ethiop. the world ^{j-j} so *§*: *§* et ego dedi matricem terrae his ^{k-k} *§* qui seminati sunt super eam per tempus ^{l-l} so *§* *§* Ethiop. (= *καὶ*): *§* ego ^{m-m} so *§* *§* Ethiop. (Ar.¹): *§* *§* > ⁿ⁻ⁿ so *§* *§* Oriental VSS.: *§* > ^{o-o} reading num mater nostra (num for nam) = *§* ^{p-p} so *§*: *§* *§* Ethiop. in strength: Ar.¹ in stature and strength (so v. 54): *§* = *§*

generations inferior to those who were born in their mother's youth? In reply he is told that the Earth is now grown old—'past the strength of youth'—and that there is a corresponding degeneracy in the latest-born generations (v. 49-55). The eagerness of the seer that the End of the present world should be hastened is a striking feature.

41. **thou art ready to meet**, viz. with blessing and salvation.
those who survive in the end. Cf. Ps. Sol. xviii. 7; Luke ii. 29 f. The old view, which is reflected in the older literature of the Bible, that the 'community' as a whole was to be the subject of salvation would naturally give rise to such questions as this. With the rise of the doctrine of a future life, and the growing recognition of the religious claims and position of the individual, this view was modified. Not merely the generation that happened to live on into the Messianic (or, as here, the future) Age, but all the pious individuals of previous generations who had died should (by means of a resurrection) participate in the blessedness of the final age. A similar problem (viz. how the righteous dead could share in the felicity that comes to the final generation of the living) is dealt with in 1 Thess. iv. 13 f. It is not clear, however, that the writer of S believed in a resurrection of dead bodies. See further *EA*, p. 121, and p. xlviii f.

42. **just as there is no retardation**, &c., i.e. just as in the case of a ring or circle there is neither beginning nor end, so God's judgement will reach all generations at one and the same time; cf. 2 Bar. li. 13.

45. **How then is it that thou hast (just now) said**, i.e. how is the statement in the previous verse (44) to be reconciled with that made earlier (in v. 42) to the effect that all generations will be quickened simultaneously to receive the judgement? Lat. *quomodo dixisti* = πῶς εἶπες;

46. **unto it**, sc. the womb.

49. **disposed the world . . . by defined periods of time.** The earth in its earliest stage (as a child) brought forth no human inhabitants, neither will it do so in extreme old age; but only in the vigour and decline of youth.

55. **even as creation is already grown old.** The thought of the world's growing old is not uncommon in literature; cf. in this book, iv. 44 f., xiv. 10, 16; also 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; Lucretius ii. 1150 f. The representation of the latest generation as inferior in 'stature and strength' to the ancients (cf. Gen. vi. 4) comes to expression in Philo (cf. *de Mund. Opif.*, § 49). The feeling that they were standing at the end of the age is characteristic of the apocalyptists.

IV. THE END OF THE AGE SHALL COME BY THE AGENCY OF GOD ALONE.

(v. 56—vi. 6).

- S 56 Then said I: O Lord, I beseech thee, if I have found favour in thy sight, show thy servant ^a by whom ^a thou wilt visit thy creation.
- 6 1 And he said unto me: ^rIn the beginning of the terrestrial world^r
 before ever ^sthe heavenward portals ^s^twere standing^t, or ever the ^uwind-blasts ^ublew;
 2 before the rumblings of thunderings did sound,
 or ever the lightning-flashes did shine;
 When
 the foundations of paradise were not yet laid,
 3 nor ^vthe beauty of its flowers^v yet seen;
 Before ever ^wthe motive powers (of heaven)^w were established,
 or the numberless armies of angels were gathered;
 4 Before ever the heights of the air were uplifted,
 ere the spaces of the firmaments were named;
 ere the footstool of Sion ^xwas appointed^x.
 5 Before the years of the present ^ywere reckoned^y,
^zere the counsels of present-day sinners were spurned^z,
 or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed—

^{a-a} so $\mathbb{L}$ (per quem) = $\mathbb{S}$ and *Ethiop.* (one reading): but *Ethiop.* (one reading) *Ar.*¹ on account of whom ^{r-r} $\mathbb{L}$ initium (v. l. initio) terreni orbis: *Oriental VSS.* vary: $\mathbb{S}$ the beginning by the Son of Man, but the end by myself alone (for as before, &c.); cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ ^{s-s} $\mathbb{L}$ exitus saeculi ^{t-t} $\mathbb{L}$ (S A C) starent = *Oriental VSS.*; v. l. statue-
 rentur (M) ^{u-u} $\mathbb{L}$ conventiones (*Gunkel emends to convectiones*) ventorum ^{v-v} so $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.*: $\mathbb{L}$ decoret flores
^{w-w} $\mathbb{L}$ motus virtutes (so *BJ* read); or motuum virtutes = $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.* (so *Violet*) ^{x-x} $\mathbb{L}$ (S A) aestimaretur
 (corrupt): $\mathbb{S}$ was established (= firmaretur): *Hilg.* suggests aedificaretur, *Gunkel* destinaretur ^{y-y} $\mathbb{L}$ investiga-
 rentur ^{z-z} $\mathbb{L}$ et antequam abalienarentur eorum qui nunc peccant adinventiones: $\mathbb{S}$ before the follies of sinners

v. 56—vi. 6. In this section God is directly addressed, and God is the speaker. In response to the prophet's question, Through whom shall the End come? the answer is given, Through the God of Israel alone. A polemical aim is clearly to be detected in the passage. The apocalyptist will not allow any of the essentially divine attributes or functions to be assumed by any intermediate agency, therein agreeing with the view of orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. The polemic is directed against views which were held by early Christians, but which were probably not confined to Christian circles. At the same time it is possible that what the apocalyptic writer has in mind here is the Christian doctrine of the return of Christ in glory to judge the world. The burden of the passage is that just as Creation was brought into being at the beginning by God alone (without any intermediate agency), so the End of Creation will be brought about by God alone. It may be described as a splendid development of the theme expressed in Ps. xc. 2. The description of the works of Creation is one of great power and imaginative force. The conceptions of Creation underlying it are traditional and of great antiquity (cf. especially the Babylonian Creation-myths and see *Gunkel, Schöpfung*, p. 401 n. and especially p. 419). It should be compared with the parallel passage in Prov. viii. 24—9. [Cf. also the description of the Day of Judgement in vii. 39 ff.]

vi. 1. In the beginning of the terrestrial world. For the alterations introduced into the text of the Oriental Versions here under Christian influence see crit. note.

the heavenward portals, i. e. the portals open to heaven; cf. 1 En. xxxiv.

3. the beauty of its flowers. The flowers are those of the heavenly Paradise (originally the stars).

the motive powers (of heaven). The powers meant are probably the same as 'the powers of heaven' of Matt. xxiv. 29, i. e. angelic powers who move the heavens and the stars. Others, however, prefer to adopt the reading *motuum virtutes* (see crit. note) = 'powers of movements', i. e. earthquakes.

4. the spaces of the firmaments, lit. 'the measures (i. e. measured or defined spaces) of the firmaments': the divisions into which the heavens were separated (cf. 2 En. iii f. for a description of the different heavens).

were named. The names of the seven heavens are enumerated in *T. B. Hag.* 12 b.

5. or the gatherers of the treasures of faith were sealed. It should be noted that it is the persons of the faithful that are here 'sealed', exactly as in Rev. vii. 4 (the 144,000 'who were sealed'); cf. Rev. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4. (In Rev. xiii. 16, xiv. 9, xx. 4 a mark of the opposite kind is mentioned.) [Some of the best Lat. codices make the 'sealing' in our text apply to 'the merits' of those 'who have gathered faith for a treasure'; thus CM have *consignarentur eorum merita qui* (with partial support from S and A but against the versions). Thus 'merits' here would balance 'abominations' (or 'machinations') in the preceding clause.] 'Faith' in this passage seems to mean the righteousness which comes from fidelity to the Law (or 'fidelity to the O. T. religion'). So in v. 1, vi. 28. It plays a conspicuous rôle in eschatological doctrine, and in such passages it will mean (as here prob.) the righteousness which results from fidelity to the Law (cf. 2 Bar. liv. 21). In vii. 34 it = fidelity to the Law, just as its opposite *incredulitas* = disloyalty in vii. 114. In ix. 7, 8, xiii. 23 'faith' and 'works' are combined (as complementary). But the Law as such is not always necessarily the object of 'faith' (cf. 2 Bar. lvii. 2, faith is prophecy of coming judgement). (Cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 31—4.)

6 Even then had I these things in mind ; and through me alone and none other were they created ; as also the End (shall come) through me alone and none other.

V. THE PARTING ASUNDER OF THE TIMES.

(vi. 7-10) (S).

7 Then answered I and said: What shall mark the parting asunder of the times? When shall the End of the first (age) and the beginning of the second be?

8 And he said unto me: ^aFrom Abraham to Abraham. ^bFor from him sprang Jacob and Esau, ^b ^cbut Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning. ^dThe heel of the first age is Esau ; ^d ^ethe hand of the second is Jacob. ^eThe beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel. ^e Between heel and hand seek naught else, Ezra !

VI. THE SIGNS OF THE LAST TIME AND THE END.

(vi. 11-28) (E) (R).

(a) vi. 11-12. *Redactional Introduction.*

R 11, 12 [I answered and said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, ^f(I beseech thee) that thou show ^fthy servant the last of thy signs of which thou didst show me a part in the night that is past.]

(b) *Description of the End* (vi. 13-20, 23, 24) *together with some misplaced verses describing the signs that precede the End* (vi. 21-22).

E 13 And he answered and said unto me: Stand up upon thy feet, and thou shalt hear a voice exceeding

were yet invented ^{a-a} *reading* ab Abraham usque ad Abraham (SA) = $\mathfrak{S}$ *Ethiop.* (Ar.¹): v. l. usque ad Isaac (CM) = Ar.² (also v. l. in *Ethiop.*) ^{b-b} so $\mathfrak{L}$ = *Ethiop.* (cf. Ar.²): $\mathfrak{S}$ from Abraham was born Isaac and from Isaac was born Jacob and Esau (= Ar.¹) ^{c-c} so $\mathfrak{L}$ = $\mathfrak{S}$: *but Ethiop. Ar.¹* > ^{d-d} so $\mathfrak{S}$: $\mathfrak{L}$ finis enim huius saeculi Esau, et principium sequentis Iacob (= Ar.¹ cf. *Ethiop.*) ^{e-e} so $\mathfrak{S}$ = Ar.¹ (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathfrak{L}$ defective f-f $\mathfrak{L}$ ut demonstrat

6. **had I these things in mind.** Creation, Gunkel remarks, regarded as predetermined by and the outcome of thought, is a loftier conception than that of creation through the Word. The truth of this statement depends upon the conceptual content of the Word.

as also the End . . . through me alone, &c. This clause is omitted by the Oriental Versions for dogmatic reasons.

vi. 7-10. In allegorical language, probably derived from current tradition, the apocalyptist indicates that the present corrupt age (symbolized by Esau) will be succeeded immediately, without a break, by the glorious future age of incorruption (symbolized by Jacob). The connexion in thought with what precedes seems to be: just as there is no room in the divine acts of creation and judgement for a mediatorial Messiah, so in the transition from the present to the future age, there is no room for a Messianic interim—the temporary Messianic kingdom which precedes the dissolution of the present world. This interpretation harmonizes with the thought of S. See further *EA*, p. 68.

8. **From Abraham to Abraham.** For text see crit. note. The meaning is, the interval between the old age and the new is no longer than that between Abraham and his immediate descendants: i.e. 'it will be a case of immediate succession' (Ball). The new age will follow the old without a break. This answers the first question in v. 7; the answer to the second is given in vv. 8 b-10.

10. **Between heel and hand,** &c., i.e. do not look for any interval between the two ages.

vi. 11-28. The passage as a whole is parallel to iv. 56-v. 13 a, and embodies material taken from the same older source (E). The theme of the earlier passage is the signs that precede the End. Here, however, the description of these signs is interwoven with another which has for its subject the End of the world itself. The text appears to be in some confusion. The subject of vv. 13-20 and 23 is the End of the world; in vv. 21, 22 the description of the signs that precede the End is continued from iv. 56-v. 13 a, and probably belongs to that passage in its original form, while vv. 25-28 describe the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes; vv. 11-12 and 29 appear to be redactional additions, designed to adapt the older material here embodied to its present context (so Kabisch).

The section will thus fall into the following divisions:—

(a) Redactional introduction (vv. 11-12);

(b) Announcement of the End of the world, the speaker being the Divine Voice [of God] (vv. 13-20, 23, 24), together with some inserted [misplaced] verses describing the signs preceding the End (vv. 21, 22);

(c) Description of the felicity of those who survive the Messianic woes (vv. 25-28).

See further *EA*, p. 71.

(a) vi. 11-12. The redactional character of these introductory verses is evident. They show clearly that R intended all that follows (vv. 13-29) to be understood as descriptive of the signs preliminary to the End; v. 11 seems to have been imitated from v. 56 a.

(b) vi. 13-20, 23-24 (vv. 20-21 belong to ch. v, between vv. 8 and 9; see *ad loc.*). In its present form the eschatological material embodied in this passage is in a fragmentary condition. But it is all probably derived from one source (E).

13. **And he answered.** 'He', i.e. the angel.

Stand up upon thy feet. Cf. Ezek. ii. 1; Dan. vii. 4, viii. 18.

E 14, 15 loud; and it shall be if the place whereon thou standest, ^g be greatly shaken ^h when it (i. e. the voice) speaks ^h ⁱ with thee ⁱ be not thou terrified; for the word is of the End, and the foundations of the earth ^j shall understand ^j that the speech is concerning themselves. They shall tremble and be shaken, for they know that their end is to be changed.

17 And it happened that when I had heard it I stood up upon my feet, and hearkened: and lo! a voice spake, and the sound of it was as the sound of mighty waters.

18 And it said:

Behold the days come, and it shall be,

When I am about to draw nigh

to visit the dwellers upon earth,

19 And when I require from the doers of iniquity

(^k the penalty of) their iniquity ^k;

R [And when the humiliation of Sion

shall be complete,^l]

E 20 And when the Age which is about to pass away

shall be sealed

then [*will I show these signs*]: the books shall be opened before the face of the firmament, and all see ^m together.

vv. 21-22 misplaced.

21 (And one-year-old children shall speak with their voices; pregnant women shall bring forth
22 untimely births at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. And suddenly shall the
23 sown places appear unsown, and the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty;) And the
(E) R trumpet shall sound aloud, at which all men, when they hear it, shall be struck with sudden fear.
24 And at that time [*friends shall war against friends like enemies*], the earth shall be stricken with
fear [*together with the dwellers thereon*], and the springs of the fountains shall stand still so that for
three ⁿ hours ⁿ they shall not run.

(c) vi. 25-28 (29). *The felicity of those who survive the Messianic Woes.*

25 And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he
26 shall be saved and shall see my salvation and the end of my world. And the men who have been
taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth, shall appear. Then shall the heart of the
inhabitants ^o (of the world) ^o be changed, and be converted to a different spirit.

^{g-g} reading commotione commovebitur (C M) ^{h-h} ^h in eo cum loquitur (= εν τω λαλειν) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so Oriental
VSS.: ^h > ^{j-j} so ^h (cf. Ar.¹): ^h intellegitur ^{k-k} so Ethiop. (= την αδικιαν αυτων): ^h iniustitia sua
(= την αδικιαν αυτων) ^{l-l} this clause is prob. due to R; cf. EA, p. xxx. ^m ^h + my judgement ⁿ⁻ⁿ so ^h &c.
Ar.² years ^{o-o} so ^h (cf. other Oriental VSS.): ^h > ^{p-p} so ^h, &c.: Ar.¹ the evil heart ^{q-q} so ^h (tantis

17. the sound of it . . . mighty waters. Cf. Ezek. i. 24; Rev. i. 15, xiv. 2, xix. 6. The divine voice is meant.

18. Behold the days come. A common O.T. phrase, especially in the prophetic literature; cf. Amos viii. 11, ix. 12; often in Jeremiah.

19. [And when the humiliation of Sion shall be complete]. The fall of Jerusalem is regarded as marking a definite step towards the speedy advent of the divine judgement; cf. 2 Bar. xx. 2. The clause is probably due to R (see EA, p. xxx).

20. [will I show these signs]. These words are probably due to R, who desired to invest the substance of the section (which is concerned with the final judgement) with the character of a description of the signs preceding the End.

the books shall be opened, i.e. the celestial books in which are recorded the deeds of the righteous and wicked. See 1 En. xlvii. 3 and notes.

23. the trumpet, i.e. the trumpet, the blowing of which ushers in the last Judgement. See further EA, p. 75.

24. [friends shall war against friends like enemies]. This clause, which belongs logically to a description of the signs preceding the End (cf. v. 9), has probably been added by R.

and the springs of the fountains . . . not run. Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6.

for three hours. The number 'three' in such connexions seems to be a favourite one in apocalyptic tradition.

(c) vi. 25-28 (29).

26. the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth. Men who were removed from the earth without dying are meant. In this connexion figure especially Enoch and Elijah (cf. Wisd. iv. 10 f. [? Enoch], Jub. iv. 23, 1 En. xxxix. 3 f., lxx. 1-3, 2 En. xxxvi. 2, all of Enoch; 1 En. lxxxix. 52 of Elijah). Such men were expected to return with the Messiah in order to inaugurate a period of felicity and salvation (cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 52). Elijah is especially prominent in this connexion in Rabbinic literature (his rôle was, as high priest, to anoint the Messiah, to promote Israel's repentance and reunion, and to bring about the resurrection of the dead) (cf. Volz, p. 192 f.). Moses and Elijah sometimes appear together in their capacity of forerunners of the Messiah (cf. Midr. Deb. rab. x. 1; and in the Gospels the account of the Transfiguration, Mark ix. 2 f., Matt. xvii. 1-8, Luke ix. 28-36). The mysterious two witnesses of Rev. xi are also perhaps Elijah and Moses, though in the antichrist tradition they are Elijah and Enoch; cf. Bousset, *Antichrist*, ch. xiv. In 4 Ezra xiv. 9 ('thou shalt be taken away from men, and from

- E) R 27 For ^pevil^p shall be blotted out,
and deceit extinguished;
28 Faithfulness shall flourish,
and corruption be vanquished;
And truth, which ^afor so long a time^a has been without fruit, shall be made manifest.
29 [And it came to pass while he spake to me, ^rbehold, by little and little (?) the place whereon
I stood rocked to and fro^r.]

VII. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION.

(vi. 30-34) (S).

- 30, 31 And he said unto me: These things came I to show thee ^sthis night^s/ If therefore thou wilt
petition yet again, and fast seven days more, I will tell thee yet again greater things than these^t.
32 For thy voice has surely been heard before the Most High; for the Mighty One has seen thy
rectitude, and marked also thy chastity which thou hast had ever since thy youth.
33 Therefore has he sent me to show thee all these things, and to say unto thee: Be of good cheer,
and fear not!
34 ^uBe not over-solicitous^u in the case of former times to indulge idle thoughts, ^vlest solicitude
overtake thee^v in the last times.

THE THIRD VISION.

(vi. 35-ix. 25.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

(vi. 35-37) (S).

- 35 And it came to pass after this that I wept again, and fasted seven days in like manner, that

temporibus): $\mathfrak{S}$ for many years (so *Ethiop.* [some MSS.]; cf. *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*) ^{r-r} reading ecce paulatim movebatur
locus super quem stabam super eum = $\mathfrak{S}$ *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar. Arm.*); *Lat. MSS. corrupt* ^{s-s} so $\mathfrak{S}$: $\mathfrak{L}$ et ventura
nocte (see further *EA*, p. 80) ^t $\mathfrak{L}$ +per diem: other *VSS.* (with possible exception of *Ar.*¹) > ^{u-u} $\mathfrak{L}$ et noli
festinare ^{v-v} $\mathfrak{L}$ ut non properes

henceforth thou shalt remain with my Son'), Ezra is assigned a place among the immortal companions, as also is the case with Baruch (cf. 2 Bar. lxxvi. 2). Jeremiah also appears in this rôle in 2 Macc. ii. 1 f., xv. 13; cf. Matt. xvi. 14, and see further *EA*, p. 78.

Then shall the heart . . . be changed, viz. by the preaching of the witnesses. This function was particularly associated with Elijah; cf. Mal. iv. 6 (= iii. 24 Hebr.).

29. And it came to pass, &c. On this verse see *EA*, p. 79.

vi. 30-34 (S). Here the speaker is again the archangel Uriel, and vi. 30 forms the immediate continuation of vi. 10. The usual direction to fast seven days is given, together with a promise of yet greater disclosures. The seer is assured that his prayer for fuller revelation has been heard especially because of his 'righteous dealing' and 'chastity' practised since youth.

31. greater things than these. *Lat.* adds here *per diem*. This is not represented in the Oriental Versions with the possible exception of the Arab.¹ Hilg. emends to *pridem* and takes with the following verse (*pridem iam auditu audita est vox tua*; cf. with this Arab.¹ *nam nunc precatio tua audita est*, &c.). In any case *per diem* probably represents something which belongs to the opening words of v. 32.

32. thy chastity. *Lat.* *prudiciam* = *την σεμνότητα*. Heb. צניעות (post-Biblical). Notice this ascetic touch. Chastity, like fasting (cf. 1 Macc. iii. 47, 2 Macc. xiii. 12), is here apparently regarded as intensifying the power of prayer: like fasting also a state of chastity was regarded in certain circles (especially Essene) as a necessary preliminary for the reception of higher revelation.

34. Be not over-solicitous, &c. The general sense is: 'Do not by your over-curious questioning and speculation trifle with your chances of eternal happiness at the last.'

vi. 35-ix. 25. THE THIRD VISION. The long vision that follows forms the climax of the three visions with which the Apocalypse opens, and is preceded by a seven days' fast (in preparation for the revelation) which completes a cycle of three weeks' fasting. The general sequence of the thought will appear from the headings of the following divisions, into which the vision naturally falls. For a more detailed account of the argument reference must be made to the introductions to the several sections that follow:—

- i. Introduction (vi. 35-37).
- ii. The problem propounded in its final form: *If the world was created for Israel's sake, why is Israel deprived of its inheritance?* (vi. 38-59) (S).
- iii. The debate renewed: *The corruption of the present world makes the path to the future world of felicity narrow and difficult* (vii. 1-25) (S).
- iv. The temporary Messianic Kingdom and the End of the world (vii. 26-44) (R).
- v. The debate continued (from vii. 25): *Israel's election and the problem of righteousness* (vii. 45-ix. 22) (with the exception of viii. 63-ix. 12, which belongs to R, all this section is to be assigned to S).
- vi. Conclusion of the vision (ix. 23-25) (S).

S 36 I might fulfil the three weeks that had been commanded me. And in the eighth night my heart
37 was troubled within me again, and I began to address the Most High. For my spirit was greatly
inflamed, and my soul was in distress.

II. THE PROBLEM PROPOUNDED IN ITS FINAL FORM: IF THE WORLD WAS CREATED FOR ISRAEL'S SAKE WHY IS ISRAEL DEPRIVED OF ITS INHERITANCE?

(vi. 38-59) (S).

38 And I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak at the beginning of the creation upon the first
39 day, saying: Let heaven and earth be made! and thy word perfected the work. Then was the
spirit hovering; darkness and ^w silence ^w were on every side; the sound of man's voice was not yet
40 before thee. Then thou didst command ^x a ray of light ^x to be brought forth out of thy treasures,
that then thy works might become visible.

41 Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament, and didst command it
^{xx} to make a division between (the waters and) the waters ^{xx} that the one part might go up, the
other remain beneath.

42 On the third day thou didst command the waters to be gathered together in the seventh part of
the earth; six parts thou didst dry up and preserve, ^v in order that (issuing) from them there might
serve before thee those who both plough and sow ^v.

43 But as soon as thy word went forth the work was done.

w-w so $\mathbb{L}$: $\mathbb{S}$ = silentium soni
 $\mathbb{S}$ radiance of light
partly $\mathbb{S}$: see further EA, p. 86

^{x-x} $\mathbb{L}$ (*best reading*) lumen aliquod luminis: v. l. lumen luminosum:
^{xx-xx} so $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ = ut divideret et divisionem faceret inter aquas ^{v-v} so
^{z-z} following $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ et concupiscentia gustus multiformis ^{a-a} so $\mathbb{S}$

vi. 35-37.

35. the three weeks that had been commanded me. So far only two fasts of seven days have been mentioned, viz. one before the second vision and another here before the third. The author evidently is thinking of another before Vision I, which in the present form of the text is not mentioned, but doubtless was there originally. The three successive weeks of fasting culminate in the most important and the longest of the three visions. Cf. Dan. x. 2, which has served as a model for this passage: 'In those days I, Daniel, was mourning three weeks' (then follows a description of the fasting). This long fast preceded the vision which was highest in the scale of importance (Dan. x. 4f.).

vi. 38-59. Salathiel first enumerates the works of Creation in their order, and then proceeds to ask how it is that the chosen race, for whose sake the world has been created, are dispossessed of their inheritance. The problem, which has already formed the theme of the first and second visions, is here propounded in its final form. In the first vision the question assumed the form: How will the Divine Name be vindicated when the only people that bears it (viz. Israel) is prostrate before the heathen? In the second vision the seer asks: Why, if the people that has been chosen above all others must be punished, has it been handed over to be oppressed and down-trodden by those who scorn the divine covenants? Why did not God Himself undertake the task of disciplining His elect? Here, in the third vision, the question is: If the present world is in such evil case (cf. iv. 26f.) why is it not subjected to Israel, for whose sake the world has been created? The discussion of the question is taken up at the point reached in the previous vision (vi. 8-10). Why is this world Esau's, and only the future world Israel's, if it is indeed the case that this world was created for Israel's sake? In the account of Creation which is here given the original writer betrays his acquaintance with the haggadic exegesis of the Rabbis. See further EA, p. 83. For the various works of Creation that follow on different days cf. Gen. i, Jub. ii, &c.

38. thy word perfected the work. Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 17; also Ps. xxxiii. 6, 2 Pet. iii. 5, Heb. xi. 3.

40. that . . . thy works might become visible. According to Rabbinic tradition (cf. T. B. Hag. 12a), though the luminaries did not shine till the fourth day (cf. v. 45 of this chapter) light was created on the first day: 'the light which the Holy One, blessed be he, created on the first day, Adam observed, and saw by its means from one end of the world to the other.' This light was afterwards withdrawn and reserved by God for the righteous in the world to come (ibid.). The heavenly light from which the light that shone on the first day emanated was older than Creation, and belonged to God's essence. The luminaries receive their light from the spark of this heavenly light, which is immeasurably more intense than the light visible on earth. This is the light which the righteous shall enjoy in the future world (cf. Hag. ibid.; Isa. lx. 19; Rev. xxi. 23). In 2 En. xxv. 1-3 there is a mystical account of the emergence of the heavenly light above God's throne.

41. Upon the second day again thou didst create the spirit of the firmament. This passage is cited by Ambrose (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ii. 7): 'Esdras nos docuit dicens in tertio (vulgo quarto) libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum coelorum.' As Gunkel remarks, 'spirit' here = 'angel' (as often in the Book of Enoch). This is apparently a midrashic amplification of the Biblical text in Gen. i. 6. The divine command, 'Let there be a firmament,' must, it was assumed, have been addressed to an animated being, here = 'the spirit of the firmament' (cf. the pagan 'God of heaven' = *Anu*, *Baal shamayim*, &c.).

42. seventh part of the earth; six parts. This is clearly the reflex of old tradition: see the note *ad loc.* in EA, p. 86.

in order that . . . there might serve before thee those who both plough and sow. The sentiment that the Creator produced the land with the essential purpose of seeing its cultivation associated with the sanctions of religion is a natural one from the agricultural point of view, and is often implied or expressed in Jewish literature. See further EA, p. 86. Gunkel discovers a reference to the creation of Paradise here: see *op. cit.* ibid.

44 For immediately there came forth
Fruits in endless abundance,
 ^z in pleasure of taste exquisitely varied ^z,
Flowers of inimitable colour
 ^a (trees infinitely varied in form) ^a,
 and odours of scent ^b indefinable ^b.

This was done the third day.

45 But on the fourth day thou didst command that there should come into being the brightness of
46 the sun, the light of the moon and the order of the stars; and didst command them that they should
47 do service unto man, ^o who was about to be formed ^o. Upon the fifth day thou didst bid the seventh
part, where the water was gathered together, to bring forth living creatures, birds, and fishes; and
48 so it came to pass. The dumb and lifeless water produced living creatures that for this the nations
49 might declare thy wondrous works ^d. Then didst thou preserve ^e two living creatures ^e; the name of
50 the one thou didst call ^f Behemoth ^f and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan. And
thou didst separate the one from the other; for the seventh part ^g, where the water was gathered
51 together, was unable to hold them (both). And thou didst give Behemoth one of the parts which
52 had been dried up on the third day to dwell in, (that namely) where are a thousand hills: but unto
Leviathan thou gavest the seventh part, namely the moist: and thou hast reserved them to be
devoured by whom thou wilt and when.

53 But upon the sixth day thou didst command the earth that it should bring forth before thee cattle,
54 beasts, and creeping things; and over these Adam, whom thou didst ordain lord over all the works,
that ^h thou didst create before him ^h: of him we are all sprung, whom thou hast chosen (to be)
(thy) people.

55 All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast
56 created ⁱ this world ⁱ. But as for the other nations, which are descended from Adam, thou hast said
that they are nothing, and that they are like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of
57 them to a drop on a bucket. And now, O Lord, behold these nations which are reputed as nothing
58 ^j lord it over us ^j and ^k crush ^k us. But we, thy people whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy
59 only-begotten, ^l thy beloved [most dear] ^l, are given up into their hands. If the world has indeed
been created for our sakes ^m why do we not enter into possession of our world ^m? How long shall
this endure?

(cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.¹): *ℒ* Arm. > ^{b-b} *ℒ* investigabiles ^{c-o} *ℒ* futuro plasmato ^d *ℒ* + quod ei iubebatur: but
all other VSS. > ^{e-o} reading duo animalia (= *ℒ*, &c.): *Lat. MSS.* duo animas (S A C M) ^{f-i} reading
Behemoth (so *ℒ* *Ethiop.*): Enoch (SA) ^g *ℒ* + the moist ^{h-h} so *ℒ* *Ethiop.*: *ℒ* fecisti ⁱ⁻ⁱ so *ℒ*:
ℒ primogenitum saeculum ^{j-j} reading dominantur nostri (S dominari: A quaerunt dominari) ^{k-k} so
Oriental VSS.: *ℒ* devorant ^{l-1} *ℒ* aemulatorem carissimum (? a double rendering of τὸν ἀγαπητὸν σου): see
further *EA*, p. 96 ^{m-m} reading quare non haereditatem possidemus nostrum saeculum

46. . . . do service unto man. The apocalyptic writer here especially emphasizes the thought that the stars are
man's servants, because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods.

49. two living creatures, i.e. the two primaeval monsters, Behemoth and Leviathan. For the myth see *EA*,
pp. 90-92, and cf. 1 En. lxix. 7 f., and notes.

51. where are a thousand hills. The haggadic interpretation of Ps. l. 10 made *Behemoth* (there rendered
'cattle' in *PBV*) identical with the primaeval monster of our text—*Behemoth* being pictured as lying 'upon a thousand
hills' and feeding upon them.

52. to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when. By whom they are to be devoured is only vaguely indicated
in our text. In the parallel passage in 2 Bar. xxix. 4 it is explicitly stated that the monsters will provide food for all
who survive into the Messianic time (the Messianic banquet). This is, doubtless, the original form of the haggada,
which has been purposely modified here by S because the Messianic hope was to him no longer clear.

55. for our sakes thou hast created this world. For the doctrine that the world was created for the sake of
Israel cf. vii. 11, Ass. Mos. i. 12, 2 Bar. xv. 7, xxi. 24, xiv. 18 (and notes); and see further *EA*, p. 94.

56. the other nations . . . are nothing. Cf. Isa. xl. 17.

like unto spittle. Cf. Isa. xl. 15 (LXX), ὡς σίελος λόγισθήσονται. The Hebrew text has פֶּלֶא, 'small dust', which
LXX misread פֶּלֶא, *sputum*. Apparently the Greek translator here made a similar mistake (perhaps under the influence
of the LXX). The Syriac has 'thou hast likened' here for 'they are like'.

58. thy first-born, thy only-begotten. The only direct parallel where the epithet 'only-begotten' is applied to
Israel appears to be Ps. Sol. xviii. 4 (cf. xiii. 8); but, as Volkmar points out, the application of μονογενής to God's Son
in Christian writings (cf. John i. 18; Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Trypho.* c. cv) confirms the inference that Jewish exegesis
had already deduced this epithet as applicable to the people of Israel. See further *EA*, p. 96. For the general idea
of vv. 57-58, cf. 2 Bar. v. 1, 4 Ezra iv. 23.

III. THE DEBATE RENEWED: THE CORRUPTION OF THE PRESENT WORLD MAKES THE PATH TO THE FUTURE WORLD OF FELICITY NARROW AND DIFFICULT

(vii. 1-25) (S).

(a) vv. 1-16.

S 7¹ And when I had finished speaking these words, there was sent unto me the angel who had been
 2 sent unto me ⁿon the former nightsⁿ. And he said unto me: Up, *Ezra*, and hear the words that
 3 I have come to speak unto thee. And I said: Speak on, my lord. And he said unto me: There
 4 is a sea lying in a wide expanse so that it is ^obroad^o and vast; but the entrance thereto ^plies^p
 5 in a narrow space so as to be like a river. He, then, that really desireth to go upon the sea to
 behold it or to ^qnavigate it^q, if he pass not through the narrow part, how shall he be able to come into
 6 the broad? Again, ^ranother (illustration)^r. There is a builded city which lies on level ground,
 7 and it is full of all good things; but its entrance is narrow and lies ^son a steep^s, having fire on the
 8 right hand and deep water on the left; and there is one only path lying between them both, that
 is between the fire and the water, (and so small) is this path, that it can contain only one man's
 9 footstep at once. If, now, this city be given to a man for an inheritance, unless the heir pass
 10 through the danger set before him, how shall he receive his inheritance? And I said: It is so, lord!
 11 Then said he unto me: Even so, also, is Israel's portion; for it was for their sakes I made the
 world; but when Adam transgressed my statutes, ^tthen that which had been made was judged^t,
 12 and then ^uthe ways^u of this world became narrow and sorrowful and painful ^v[few and evil],^v

ⁿ⁻ⁿ $\mathfrak{L}$ primis noctibus = $\mathfrak{S}$: Ethiop. before on the night that was past: Ar.¹ > ^{o-o} reading latum for altum
^{p-p} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop.*) $\mathfrak{L}$ erit . . . positus (= εσται [for εστι] . . . κειμενη) ^{q-q} $\mathfrak{L}$ dominari eius = $\mathfrak{S}$: (*Ethiop.* to
 attain it): *prob.*, as Gunkel suggests, the original *Hebr.* לָרֶדֶת = to go down on, i.e. to navigate, was misread לָרִיֶּת
^{r-r} $\mathfrak{L}$ aliud (cf. *Hebr. phrase* אֶתֶר דָּבָר) ^{s-s} $\mathfrak{L}$ in praecipiti: $\mathfrak{S}$ in the height ^{t-t} $\mathfrak{L}$ indicatum est quod factum
 est ^{u-u} so *Ethiop.* (also in v. 13) = αὐ οδοί: $\mathfrak{L}$ introitus (so $\mathfrak{S}$) = αὐ εισοδοί ^{v-v} *prob. a gloss* (see *EA*, p. 102)

vii. 1-25. The archangel Uriel now intervenes for the third time, and in this and the following sections of the third vision, which belong to S, sets forth the definitive solution of the problem, the answer to which had only been given in a partial and incomplete form in the earlier part of the Apocalypse (cf. iv. 1-21, iv. 26 f., v. 31 f.).

Uriel begins by comparing the present world to the narrow entrance which leads to a wide and open sea. Only through the narrow is it possible to come into the broad. Or, again, to a narrow and dangerous road, flanked by fire on one side and deep water on the other, which is the only means of entrance to a splendid city 'full of good things' and set in a spacious plain.

The present world is the narrow and difficult way along which the righteous must pass in order to gain the spacious freedom of the future world of happiness (cf. v. 14). The present world was originally created for Israel, but through Adam's transgression has become the vale of misery and suffering for the righteous which they now endure. It will be seen that the following results are implicit in this answer: (1) Israel has no part or lot in the present world; its inheritance of light and felicity will only be attained after the thornful path of the present world has been traversed; (2) the heathen enjoy and possess the present fleeting and corruptible world (so far as they actually do so) in accordance with God's will; they at the same time are being used by God as instruments for the discipline of the chosen people (cf. v. 30); this will continue till the present world comes to its predestined end, and meanwhile Israel has necessarily to endure the present evil with its consequences of mortality and death; (3) the future world is for Israel alone. The promises made to God's people can only be fulfilled by the extinction of the present evil, i.e. by the destruction of the present world. When this has been accomplished the future world will *ipso facto* have come into view.

In v. 17 f. a new question is propounded by the apocalypticist. Are 'these things' (i.e. the felicity of the future world) destined for Israel as such, or only for the righteous members of the nation? Salathiel's question can only refer to Israel. And since, even in the case of Israel, the *cor malignum* militated against any personal claim to justifying righteousness, the answer to the question should be that Israel, the people which owes its choice by God purely to an act of divine grace, and not to any merit of its own, is destined to participate in the future blessings. This, in fact, seems to be the significance of the answer given in v. 19 f. Here the angel, it would appear, replies to Salathiel's question only indirectly. He ignores the distinction between righteous and transgressors within Israel—all Israel, judged by the strict requirements of the divine Law, are transgressors—and proceeds to emphasize the heinous sin of the heathen world in openly despising and scorning the divine Law (v. 20 f.). Israel, however imperfect in obedience and performance, had at least recognized the obligation of accepting the divine Law, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Divine giver of the Law; it had not been guilty of open blasphemy.

There is a well-defined break at v. 16, where the author, having demonstrated the reality and significance of the future world, turns to consider the theme: Who will be found worthy of inheriting it? To mark this division the section is divided into (a) vv. 1-16 and (b) vv. 17-25.

5. to navigate it, lit. 'to go down upon it' (see crit. note); for the phrase cf. Ps. cvii. 23.

7. having fire, &c. The simile of the city with one entrance occurs in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Simil. ix. 12. 5; cf. also, for the figure of the difficult way, Matt. vii. 13, 14.

10. Even so . . . is Israel's portion. It is clear from this verse that Israel's portion is identified with the future world.

11. then that which had been made was judged. The thought of the apocalypticist is that the world, after Adam's sin, was no longer the good world as it had been originally created by the hand of God.

12. the ways (so also v. 13). So the Ethiop. (rightly). The Latin and Syriac have 'entrances'; but this confuses the representation. It is not so much the entrances of this world that are narrow and difficult, as this world itself considered as the way that has to be traversed in order to enter the next world.

- S 13 and full of perils coupled with great toils. But the ways ^w of the future world ^w are broad and safe,
 14 and yield the fruit of immortality. If, then, the living shall not have surely entered into these
 15 narrow and vain things, they will not be able to receive what has been reserved for them. But now
 Why disquietest thou thyself that thou art corruptible?
 Why art thou moved because thou art mortal?
 16 Why hast thou not considered what is to come, rather than what is now present?

(b) vv. 17-25.

- 17 Then answered I and said: O Lord my Lord, lo, thou hast ordained in thy Law that the righteous
 18 shall inherit these things, but that the ungodly shall perish. The righteous, therefore, can endure
 the narrow things because they hope for the wide; those, however, who have done wickedly endure
 19 the narrow things, but yet ^x shall not see ^x the wide. And he said unto me:
^y Thou art not ^y a judge above God
 Nor wise above the Most High.
 20 Yea, rather, ^z let the many that now are perish ^z than that the law of God which is set before them
 21 be despised! For God did surely command them that came (into the world), when they came, what
 22 they should do to live, and what they should observe to avoid punishment. Nevertheless they were
 disobedient, and spake against him;
 They devised for themselves vain thoughts,
 they proposed to themselves ^a wicked treacheries ^a;
 23 They even affirmed the Most High exists not,
 and ^b ignored ^b his ways!
 24 His law they did despise,
 and his covenants they denied;
 In his statutes they have put no faith,
^c and have set at naught his commandments ^c:
 25 Therefore, *O Ezra*,
 For the empty, empty things,
 And for the full, full things!

^{w-w} so S (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathfrak{L}$ maioris saeculi ^{x-x} reading non videbunt (M) = S *Ethiop.*: non viderunt (S A C)
^{y-y} reading non es (C*) = *Oriental VSS.*: non est (A C** M) ^{z-z} reading pereant . . . neglegatur (so S C): S
 shall perish ^{a-a} $\mathfrak{L}$ circumventiones delictorum ^{b-b} $\mathfrak{L}$ non cognoverunt ^{c-c} so *Ar.*¹: S have set at naught
 his works = *Ethiop.*: $\mathfrak{L}$ et opera eius non perfecerunt

15. **that thou art corruptible? . . . because thou art mortal?** The seer is bidden not to brood over death and mortality, because, though inevitable, they but mark a necessary stage in the transition to something higher and better. For different views regarding the connexion between death and sin see 2 Bar. xxiii. 4, notes.

16. **what is to come, rather than what is now present.** With these words, as Gunkel points out, the author passes from the consideration of the present age and its difficulties to a new problem. It has been made clear that a new age is destined to come, when a great transformation will be effected. Then present sorrow will be turned to joy, all riddles be solved, all sin wiped out. But the question arises: Who shall be found worthy to participate in the new age? With the discussion of this question, and the problems that arise in connexion with it, the book is now mainly concerned.

17. **in thy law.** Cf. Deut. viii. 1.

20. **Yea, rather, let the many that now are perish, &c.** The angelic reply seems to contemplate, in its reference to sinners, the heathen world, or world outside the chosen people, exclusively (see introduction to the section above). The idea that the Tôrâh was not originally designed to be the exclusive possession of Israel, but was offered by God to the Gentiles and deliberately refused by them, is insisted upon in Rabbinic literature (cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 131 f., and see *EA*, p. 105 f.).

23. **They even affirmed the Most High exists not.** Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 59; Ps. xiv. 1, liii. 2.

24. **His law they did despise . . . set at naught his commandments.** The heathen in these verses are charged with open and deliberate defiance of the divine requirements. This is expressed in unbelief and contempt of fundamental moral laws, which are openly spurned. It is a favourite theme in Rabbinical literature that Israel's election was primarily due to faith in God and God's Law; while the heathen spurned the Tôrâh as unfit. (Cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 59 f.)

25. **For the empty, empty things, &c.** Those who are destitute of the elements of goodness shall lack the good things of eternity, &c.; cf. Matt. xiii. 12.

IV. THE TEMPORARY MESSIANIC KINGDOM AND THE END OF THE WORLD.

(vii. 26-44) (R) (E).

(a) vii. 26-30. *The sudden revelation of the Messiah: his 400 years' reign and death: the End of the Age* (R).

R 26 For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto thee shall come to pass,

[^d Then shall the city that now is invisible appear^d, and the land ^e which is now concealed^e be seen;]

27, 28 And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For ^f my Son the Messiah^f shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and ^g shall rejoice^g the survivors ^h four hundred years^h. And it shall be, after these years, that ⁱ my Sonⁱ the Messiah shall die, and all ^j in whom there is human breath^j. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.

(b) vii. 31-44. *The General Resurrection and Final Judgement; the Day of Judgement described* (R).

31 And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and ^k that which is corruptible^k shall perish.

^{d-d} so Arm.: Ar.¹ and the city which was not shall appear: *Ethiop.* (*misplacing negative*) and the city which now appears shall be hidden: $\aleph$ (*misreading* $\eta \nu \nu \mu \eta \phi \alpha \nu \omicron \mu \epsilon \nu \eta \pi \omicron \lambda \iota \varsigma$ as $\eta \nu \nu \mu \eta \phi \alpha \nu \omicron \mu \epsilon \nu \eta \pi \omicron \lambda \iota \varsigma$) et apparebit sponsa [et] apparens (so C M; S apparens) civitas = $\aleph$ ^{e-e} $\aleph$ quae nunc subducitur ^{f-f} so $\aleph$ Ar.¹: *Ethiop.* my Messiah: Ar.² the Messiah; Arm. the Messiah of God; $\aleph$ filius meus Iesus ^{g-g} reading iocundabit (S) = *Oriental VSS.*; iocundabuntur (A C M N) ^{h-h} so $\aleph$ Ar.¹; $\aleph$ thirty; Ar.² one thousand; *Ethiop.* Arm. > ⁱ⁻ⁱ so $\aleph$ $\aleph$; *Ethiop.* my servant ^{j-j} reading qui spiramentum habent hominis (S homines) ^{k-k} $\aleph$ corruptum (sc. saeculum) ^{l-l} so $\aleph$: $\aleph$ and other VSS. > ^{m-m} so $\aleph$ (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\aleph$ >

vii. 26-44. The eschatological description which was broken off at vi. 28 is here resumed. The present section, however, seems to be partly the work of R, who has utilized older material. For a full discussion of the reasons for this view reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 108-112. The section falls into two subdivisions, (a) vii. 26-30 and (b) vii. 31-44.

(a) vii. 26-30. This subsection, as we have seen, may be assigned to R, who, however, depends upon an independent Rabbinical tradition, which he here summarizes. But in v. 26 *b* R has introduced a feature which is here incongruous—the appearance of the ‘heavenly’ Jerusalem and Paradise. These belong to the future age; whereas the temporary Messianic kingdom belongs to the present age and terminates with it. A similar confusion—probably also due to an interpolation by R—occurs in ch. xiii, where v. 36 does not harmonize with the context. The confusion might easily arise at a time when the earthly Jerusalem lay in ruins and when it would be natural to seek consolation in directing the thoughts to the more glorious city in heaven. The purification of the ‘earthly’ city would be the natural preparation for a ‘temporary’ Messianic age; but as the city had been destroyed this had been made impossible. Hence the necessity of introducing the heavenly Jerusalem—for a Messianic age without Jerusalem as a centre would have been inconceivable. In face of conflicting views as to whether Jerusalem was to be restored or no, R takes a mediating view. The End is not yet—a temporary Messianic age is to dawn; but the earthly city is not to be restored; instead, the heavenly city is to appear. Primaeval chaos and the End will only follow after this interlude.

The redactor has thus woven together two sets of mutually irreconcilable ideas. This is equally true of his representation of the Messiah himself. The Messiah is to be ‘revealed’—suddenly, as it seems—‘together with those who are with him’. As the latter must be the immortal companions ‘who have never tasted death’ it is clear that a heavenly pre-existence for the Messiah himself is implied, as in fact appears in other passages (cf. 4 Ezra xii. 32, xiv. 9; 2 Bar. xxx, &c.). At the close of his reign, therefore, the Messiah ought to return in glory to heaven, as he is made to do in 2 Bar. xxx. But according to R he and his immortal companions share the common fate with the righteous, and die with all men! See further *EA*, pp. 112-13.

26. the city that now is invisible, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem (for text see crit. note).

the land which is now concealed, i.e. the heavenly Paradise. For the juxtaposition cf. viii. 52.

28. those who are with him, i.e. the Messiah's immortal companions; cf. vi. 28 note.

the survivors. Only the surviving righteous share in the joys of the Messianic reign; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 50.

four hundred years. The versions are not consistent as to this number (see crit. note). In Rabbinic tradition various numbers were deduced for the length of the temporary Messianic kingdom (see the passages cited in *EA*, p. 115 f.); the number 400 is associated in one passage with R. Dosa, but elsewhere with the name of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos. The number was deduced by combining Gen. xv. 13 and Ps. xc. 15. It should be noted that the conception of a temporary Messianic kingdom which belongs to the present age, and terminates with it, is also met with in 2 Baruch (cf. xl. 3); cf. also Rev. xx. 3. It is a compromise between the older prophetic view which looked for a final consummation of felicity on the present earth, and the later transcendental view which transferred it to a future age, after the destruction of the present order.

30. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days. *Urzeit* = *Endzeit* (Gunkel).

(b) vii. 31-44. Here again R is summarizing different traditions. These are not always easy to reconcile; thus, e.g., it is difficult to harmonize the ‘week’ of years (seven years) in v. 43 with the seven ‘days’ of primaeval silence mentioned in v. 30. An important point to note is that the judgement, which is final and universal, and which, therefore, is preceded by a ‘general’ resurrection, is depicted as forensic in character. This is implied by the

- R 32 And
the earth shall restore those that sleep in her,
and the dust those that are at rest therein,
[and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them].
33 And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement:
¹(and then cometh the End)¹
and compassion shall pass away,
^m(and pity be far off,) ^m
and longsuffering ⁿwithdrawn ⁿ;
34 But ^ojudgement ^oalone shall remain,
truth shall stand,
and faithfulness triumph.
35 And ^precompense ^pshall follow,
and the reward be made manifest;
^aDeeds of righteousness ^ashall awake,
and deeds of iniquity shall not sleep.
36 And then shall ^rthe pit of torment ^rappear,
^sand over against it the place of refreshment ^s;
The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest,
and over against it the Paradise of delight.
37 And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised [from the dead]:
Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments
ye have despised.
38 ^tLook, now, before [you] ^t:
here delight and refreshment,
here fire and torments!
Thus ^ushall he speak ^uunto them in the Day of Judgement,
39 ^vFor thus shall the Day of Judgement be ^v:
^w[A day] whereon is neither sun ^w, nor moon, nor stars;
40 neither clouds, ^xnor thunder, nor lightning ^x;
neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor ^ycloud-rack ^y;
neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning;

ⁿ⁻ⁿ $\mathbb{L}$ congregabitur ^{o-o} so $\mathbb{L}$ Ethiop.: $\mathbb{S}$ my judgement ^{p-p} $\mathbb{L}$ opus (= $\mathbb{S}$; cf. *Ethiop.*) = Heb. מַעֲשֵׂה
^{q-q} $\mathbb{L}$ iustitiae ^{r-r} reading lacus tormenti = $\mathbb{S}$ (emended) *Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*) ^{s-s} reading et contra illum erit
locus requitionis (for requisitionis) = $\mathbb{S}$ *Ar.* ^{t-t} = βλέπετε οὖν κατεναντίον (so *Oriental VSS.* + you): $\mathbb{L}$ videte
contra et in contra (dittography) ^{u-u} so *Oriental VSS.*: $\mathbb{L}$ shalt thou speak ^{v-v} reading dies enim iudicii talis
qui [neque solem habet]; cf. $\mathbb{S}$ (for that day of Judgement is thus; cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathbb{L}$ haec talis quae (this is such a day
as) ^{w-w} cf. $\mathbb{S}$ there is no sun in it: $\mathbb{L}$ quae neque solem habet (? pointing to a text η ουκ ηλιος εσται εν αυτη =
בֹּא אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִהְיֶה שֶׁמֶשׁ בּו) ^{x-x} so $\mathbb{L}$ (cf. *Ar.*): but $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.* invert the order ^{y-y} $\mathbb{L}$ aerem = *anp* = אֵר

representation in *v.* 33, according to which the Most High is revealed 'upon (i.e. seated upon) the throne of judgement'; cf. *Dan.* vii. 9, *i En.* xc. 20, xxv. 3; and in the similitudes (of the Elect One), *i En.* xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxi. 27. In all these passages the Divine Judge is spoken of as seated on the judgement throne (*sedes iudicii*, *4 Ezra* vii. 33), i.e. to judge in a forensic sense. When, on the other hand, the Heavenly One is said to 'arise from his royal throne' (*Ass. Mos.* x. 3), this is the formula for the execution of retributive judgement (cf. *Volz*, p. 261). According to *T. B. Pesah.* 54 a and *Ned.* 39 b, this throne was one of the seven things created before the world.

Both in this section and the preceding, clauses which R seems to have derived directly from S have been enclosed in square brackets. The long fragment which is missing from most of the Latin codices, and which was recovered by Bensly, begins after *v.* 35; it finds its place between *vv.* 35 and 36 of the ordinary Vulgate text. These additional verses are numbered consecutively in the following translation (as in R.V.), and form *vv.* 36-105. The remaining verses (*Vulg.* 36-70) now appear as 106-140.

31. that which is corruptible, i.e. the present corruptible and mortal world; with the appearance of the new order this vanishes. Cf. *i Cor.* xv. 26.

32. the earth shall restore . . . and the chambers the souls, &c., i.e. the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the chambers their souls. At the resurrection the soul would return to and revive the body. This is the orthodox Rabbinic doctrine. See further *EA*, p. 119 f.

33. (and then cometh the End). See *crit. note.* Cf. *i Cor.* xv. 24.
compassion . . . (pity) . . . longsuffering, viz. of the Divine Judge (*Ethiop.* renders 'his compassion', &c.). The final judgement is pictured as conducted in accordance with the strict requirements of perfect equity and justice.

35. Deeds of righteousness. In Rabbinic language this term would denote definite acts of charity such as those enumerated in *Matt.* xxv. 35-46 (cf. *James* ii. 14 f.), and more particularly almsgiving. Such acts, and the performance of religious duties generally, constituted 'the treasure of good works laid up with the Most High' (cf. vii. 77).

36. the pit of torment. Cf. *Rev.* ix. 2.

37. the nations . . . raised [from the dead]. Cf. *Matt.* xxv. 31 f. For the idea cf. *EA*, p. 124.

- R 41 ^z neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter;
 neither heat, nor frost, nor cold ^z;
 neither hail, nor rain, nor dew;
 42 neither noon, nor night, nor ^a dawn ^a;
 neither shining, nor brightness, nor light,
 save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see
 43, 44 what has been determined (for them). And its duration shall be as it were a week of years. Such
 is my Judgement and ^b its prescribed order ^b: to thee only have I showed these things.

V. THE DEBATE CONTINUED (from vii. 25): ISRAEL'S ELECTION AND THE PROBLEM
 OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

(vii. 45-ix. 22.)

(1) vii. 45-74. THE FEWNESS OF THE SAVED JUSTIFIED: THIS FOLLOWED BY A LAMENT
 OVER MAN'S EVIL CASE (S).

(a) vii. 45-61. *The fewness of the saved.*

- S 45 And I answered and said: O Lord, I said even then and say now: Blessed are ^e they who come
 (into the world) ^e and keep ^d thy commandments ^d.

^{z-z} so substantially S; L neque aestatem neque verem neque aestum neque hiemem neque gelum neque frigus
^{a-a} L ante lucem (? for an original antelucium: so Bensly) ^{b-b} L constitutio eius (= ? η συνταξις αυτου = חקתו):
 S its law ^{c-c} cf. S (all they who come): L qui praesentes ^{d-d} L quae a te constituta sunt (? τα σου διατε-

41. **neither summer . . . cold.** The order adopted in the text is substantially that of S; the first line contains the names of three seasons, the second those of three temperatures. The verse is an expansion of Gen. viii. 22 *b c*. For the equivalents (Latin, Greek, Hebrew) of the terms used cf. *EA*, p. 126.

42. **whereby all shall be destined to see, &c.** The meaning is that the uncreated light of the Divine Presence will serve to reveal what is prepared for the judgement. For the representation cf. Is. lx. 19 f., Rev. xxi. 23. Gunkel remarks that the verses breathe the spirit of the mystic before which all that hides the vision of God disappears.

43. **a week of years.** Cf. the seven days of silence in *v*. 30; but here each day = one year. For a week (or weeks) of years cf. Dan. ix. 24 f. (the seventy weeks = seventy weeks of years).

vii. 45-ix. 22. The rest of this long vision, which, with the exception of one section (viii. 63-ix. 12), belongs to S, is mainly occupied with the problem which has already been touched upon in vii. 17 f.: if, as the Law itself proclaims, piety—that is, the pious fulfilment of the duties and obligations entailed by the observance of the Law—is the necessary condition for enjoying the future blessedness, what of the godless who do not fulfil these conditions? The heathen, it is true, have not fulfilled the obligations of the divine Law, but who has? Who among mortals has not transgressed the divine precepts (vii. 46 f., cf. viii. 35)? This feeling of human unworthiness, which leads the apocalypticist sometimes almost to doubt whether any can be saved at all, and, in the conviction of his own personal unworthiness, to identify himself with the transgressors, and even to give noble expression to pity for the fate of the multitudes of mankind who are doomed to final perdition, is only set at rest with the assurance that a real difference exists between Israel and the heathen world. The election of the chosen people is not for nothing. They at least are the guardians of the divine Law, and as a whole strive to observe it, whereas the other nations of the world have deliberately rejected and spurned it (cf. vii. 72 and vii. 23 f.). The sin that dooms is rejection of the Law—salvation consists in accepting it. Judged by this standard Israel, on the one side, is accepted, and the heathen world, on the other, is condemned. Individual doubts as to personal unworthiness are resolved by a feeling for the solidarity of the nation. From this point of view the merits of the righteous in Israel may be pleaded on behalf of those members of the chosen race who have not kept the Law and are sinners (cf. the prayer in viii. 26 f., but note the answer, viii. 37-40). The whole of this part of the book forms a vivid and profoundly moving picture of the doubts and questions that must have agitated the minds of many pious Jews at the end of the first century. These doubts are calmed, perhaps, but hardly removed by the solution. The only consolation the apocalypticist receives is to be bidden to avert his gaze from the awful results of human frailty and sin, and contemplate rather the joys reserved for the righteous. The world to come is reserved for few. The whole section may be subdivided as follows:—

- (1) vii. 45-74. *The fewness of the saved justified: this followed by a lament over man's evil case* (S).
 - (2) vii. 75-101. *The state of the soul after death and before the judgement* (S).
 - (3) vii. 102-115. *No intercession on the day of judgement* (S).
 - (4) vii. 116-131. *What avails the promise to man who is born to sin? Yet, though tragic, the sinner's doom is deserved* (S).
 - (5) vii. 132-viii. 62. *Doubts as to how the perdition of so many can be justified from the point of view of God's character and attributes: the divine reply* (S).
 - (6) viii. 63-ix. 12. *The signs of the End reviewed and applied to the author's own times* (R).
 - (7) ix. 13-22. *The divine reply concluded: final justification of the fewness of the saved* (S).
- (1) vii. 45-74. The apocalypticist resumes the debate which was broken off at vii. 25. He had raised the question (vii. 17 f.) regarding the justice of the punishment meted out to the ungodly. To this subject he now returns. The righteous indeed are to be blessed, but what is to be said of those who have transgressed the divine covenant? The doom of disobedience lies not upon a few only, but upon well nigh all who have been created! True, the angel replies: the just are comparatively few, and for them the future felicity is reserved. But this is only in accordance with the

- S 46 But concerning those for whom my prayer (was offered): who is there of those who have come
 (into the world) that has not sinned? Or who of the earth-born is there that has not transgressed
 47 ^ethy covenant^e? And now I see that the coming Age shall bring delight to few, but torment unto
 48 many. For the evil heart has grown up in us
 which has estranged us ^ffrom God^f,
 and brought us into destruction;
 And ^{ff}has made known to us ^{ff}the ways of death,
 and showed us the paths of perdition,
 and removed us far from life;
 and that not a few only, but well nigh all that have been created!
 49 And he answered me and said:
 Hear me,^g and I will instruct thee,
 and a second time will admonish thee:
 50, 51 For this cause the Most High has made not one Age but two. And whereas thou hast said that
 the righteous are not many but few, ^hwhile the ungodly abound ^{h-i}hear (the answer) to thisⁱ:
 52 Suppose thou have choice stones, in number exceeding few; ^jwilt thou set (place) with them lead
 and clay^j?
 53 And I said: Lord, how should it be possible?
 54 And he said unto me: Not only so, but
 Ask the earth, and she shall tell thee;
^kSpeak to her^k, and she shall declare it unto thee.
 55, 56 Say to her: Thou bringest forth gold and silver and brass—and also iron and lead and clay: but
 silver is more abundant than gold, and brass than silver, and iron than brass, lead than iron, and
 57 clay than lead. Do thou, then, consider which things are precious and to be desired: that which is
 abundant or that which is rare?
 58 And I said: O Lord my Lord, that which is plentiful is of less worth, but that which is more rare
 is precious.
 59 And he answered me and said: ^lWeigh within thyself^l what thou hast thought! For he that has
^mwhat is rare^m rejoices beyond him that has what is plentiful.
 60 ⁿSo also shall be my promised judgement; ⁿI will rejoice over the few that shall be saved, inas-
 much as they it is ^othat make my glory prevail now already^o and through them my name is now
 already named (with praise).
 61 And I will not grieve over the multitude of them that perish: for they it is who now
 are made like vapour,

ταγμενα) ^{o-o} so $\mathbb{L}$ Ar.¹: $\mathbb{S}$ commandment; *Ethiop.* statute (? different readings in Greek, διαθηκην, διαταγην)
^{f-f} $\mathbb{L}$ ab his (sc commandments) = $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.*: perhaps, as Violet suggests, in original Hebrew "מִן־הַצִּוְוֹת (i. e.
 מִן־הַצִּוְוֹת) was misunderstood ^{ff-ff} so $\mathbb{S}$ Ar.¹: $\mathbb{L}$ > ^g $\mathbb{S}$ + Ezra ^{h-h} so $\mathbb{L}$ (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.): $\mathbb{S}$ > ⁱ⁻ⁱ $\mathbb{L}$ audi
 ad haec = $\mathbb{S}$ ^{j-j} so Ar.¹ (cf. $\mathbb{S}$): $\mathbb{L}$ si habueris paucos valde, ad numerum compones eos tibi . . . plumbum autem
 et fictile habundat (*prob.* plumbum et fictile have fallen out in dotted space: then the last clause will be a gloss; see
 further EA, p. 123) ^{k-k} so $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.*: $\mathbb{L}$ adulare ei ^{l-l} so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.¹): $\mathbb{L}$ corrupt ^{m-m} so $\mathbb{S}$ Ar.¹ (cf.
Ethiop. Ar.²): $\mathbb{L}$ quod difficile est ⁿ⁻ⁿ so substantially *Oriental VSS.*; $\mathbb{L}$ sic et a me repromissa creatura
 (*confusion of κρισις with κρισις*) ^{o-o} so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop.* Ar.²): $\mathbb{L}$ qui gloriam meam nunc dominationem (*l. domina-*
tionem) fecerunt

rule that the most precious things are the rarest. Therefore the few that are to be saved, inasmuch as they have
 made the divine glory to prevail, shall be a cause for rejoicing, and the multitude of the lost is not a subject for grief
 (vv. 45-61). If so, the apocalypticist replies, man's lot is indeed a terrible one: it had been better for him to have
 been like the beasts that perish. 'For it is far better with them than with us; they look not for judgement, neither do
 they know of torments or of salvation promised to them after death.' We perish conscious of the doom awaiting us!
 The angel answers: Man brings the doom upon himself—he has deliberately transgressed the divine commandments;
 and, moreover, the Most High has been very long suffering (vv. 62-74).

The section falls into two subdivisions, (a) vii. 45-61 and (b) vii. 62-74.

52. Suppose thou have choice stones . . . wilt thou set (place) with them lead and clay. 'The comparison
 implies that the number of the elect (to borrow the epithet used in the Latin) cannot be increased by the addition of
 baser elements' (Bensly).

54. Not only so, but. The connexion is: one does not add inferior things to precious, in order to increase the
 number of the latter. There is a real distinction, which one recognizes between them. But further, the earth also
 teaches the same lesson that what is rare is precious. It would appear, as Gunkel remarks, that the author, from the
 emphasis he lays on the statement that what is rare is precious, is conscious that there is something novel in the idea
 to his readers.

55. Say to her. For the representation (asking the earth) cf. viii. 2, Job xvi. 18, &c.

56. but silver . . . lead. This, according to Ewald, is to be regarded as the answer of the earth.

61. are made like vapour. For the figure cf. Ps. cxliv. 4, James iv. 14; also 2 Bar. lxxxii. 3 f.

- S ^p counted as smoke,
 are comparable unto the flame ^p :
 They are fired, burn hotly, are extinguished !

(b) vii. 62-74. *The apocalypticist's lament over man's evil case.*

- 62 And I answered and said : O thou Earth, what hast thou brought forth, if the mind is sprung
 63 from the dust as every other created thing ! It had been better if the dust itself had even been
 unborn, that the mind might not have come into being from it.
 64 But, as it is, the mind grows with us, and on this account we are tormented, because we perish
 and know it.
 65 Let the human race ^a lament ^a,
 but the beasts of the field be glad !
 Let all the earth-born ^a mourn ^a,
 but let the cattle and flocks rejoice !
 66 For it is far better with them than with us ; for they have no judgement to look for, neither do
 they know of any torture or of any salvation promised to them after death.
 67 For what doth it profit us that ^r we shall be preserved alive^r, but yet suffer great torment ?
 68 For all the earth-born
 ^s are defiled with iniquities ^s,
 full of sins,
 laden with offences.
 69 And if after death we were not to come into judgement, it might, perchance, ^t have been ^t far better
 for us !
 70 And he answered me and said : When the Most High made the world, and Adam, and all that
 came ^u of him ^u, he first prepared the Judgement, and the things that pertain unto the Judgement.
 71 But, now, from thine own words understand : for thou hast said that the mind grows with us.
 72 For this reason, therefore, shall the sojourners in the earth suffer torture, because having under-
 standing they yet wrought iniquity, and receiving precepts they yet kept them not, and having
 obtained the Law ^v they set at naught ^v that which they received.
 73 What, then, will they have to say in the Judgement, or how shall they answer in the last times ?
 74 For how long a time hath the Most High been long-suffering with the inhabitants of the world—
 not for their sakes, indeed, but for the sake of the times which he has ordained !

^{p-p} so S: $\mathbb{L}$ et flammae ac fumo adaequati sunt (= *Ethiop.*) ^{q-q} (q-q) so S (using two different verbs):
 $\mathbb{L}$ lugeat . . . lugeant ^{r-r} $\mathbb{L}$ salvati salvabimur: S = viventes vivimus (= *Hebr.* נחיה נחיה: see EA, p. 138)
^{s-s} so S: $\mathbb{L}$ commixti sunt iniquitatibus (= *συμπεφυρμένοι εισιν ανομαϊς*) ^{t-t} so Oriental VSS. (= *fuisset*):
 $\mathbb{L}$ venisset ^{u-u} so Oriental VSS. and CMV (= *ex eo*): A cum eo ^{v-v} so S: $\mathbb{L}$ fraudaverunt (A) fraudati sunt

are comparable unto the flame. The flame which, as it were, consumes itself, is here a figure, apparently for evanescence.

62. **if the mind is sprung from the dust.** This materialistic view, though evidently familiar to S, is not shared by him; it is contrary to his theology, according to which the soul (with the mind) is the higher immortal element which enters into the body (regarded as the lower element) at birth.

64. **we perish and know it.** The possession of mind and reasoning powers only intensifies human sufferings at the last, because they must be endured with full knowledge and consciousness of their terrible nature; inevitable and unceasing.

65. **the cattle and flocks.** As Gunkel remarks, the statement expressed in this verse is, from the point of view of the ancients, startling and revolutionary. It represents a phase of doubt which threatened to subvert the whole outlook of the ancient world, which regarded man as lord of creation, and as raised to a pinnacle of superiority over all below him. Cf. Gen. i, Ps. viii.

70. **he first prepared the Judgement, &c.** It is a fundamental dogma of S that the whole course of the world's history has been predestinated by God: the End, which includes the Day of Judgement, comes when the predetermined number of the elect shall have been fulfilled (cf. iv. 35 f.). Paradise and Gehenna, the places essentially associated with the Judgement, were among the seven things created before the world, according to Rabbinic theology (cf. *T. B. Pesah.* 54 a, &c.); cf. also viii. 52, and *Pirge Aboth* iii. 16 (ed. Taylor).

72. **because having understanding they yet wrought iniquity.** Cf. 2 Bar. xv. 5, 6, and xix. 3, xlviii. 40; cf. also *Ep. Barn.* v. 4: 'A man shall utterly perish, who, having the knowledge of the way of righteousness, forceth himself into the way of darkness.' For the idea that the Gentiles had been offered and had rejected the Law, cf. Weber, pp. 57 ff.

73. **What, then, will they have to say, &c.** The representation is forensic. The questions addressed by God to those who appear at the bar of judgement at the last great assize are referred to in several passages both in apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature (cf. *T. B. Yoma* 35 b; and see further Volz, p. 246 f., EA, p. 140).

S (2) vii. 75-101. THE STATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH AND BEFORE THE JUDGEMENT (S).

- 75 And I answered and said : If I have found favour in thy sight, ^w O Lord ^w, show this also to thy servant : whether after death, even now when every one of us must give back his soul, we shall be kept in rest until those times come in which thou shalt renew the creation, or shall we suffer torture ^x forthwith ^x ?
- 76 And he answered me, and said : I will show this also unto thee ; but do not thou mingle thyself with them that have scorned, nor number thyself with those that suffer torment.
- 77 For thou hast a treasure of works laid up with the Most High, but it shall not be showed thee until the last times.
- 78 And concerning death the teaching is : When ^y the decisive decree ^y has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die,
as ^z the soul ^z from the body departs
^a that it may return ^a to him who gave it,
- 79 to adore the glory of the Most High, first of all : if it be one of those that have scorned

(C M V) : *l. ? frustra verunt* ^{w-w} so *l.*, &c. : *l.* O Lord my Lord ^{x-x} *l.* amodo = *an' aprt* ^{y-y} *l.* terminus sententiae (= חק המשפט) ^{z-z} *l.* inspiratione ^{a-a} so *Ethiop. Ar.* : *l.* ut dimittatur (cf. *l.*)

(2) vii. 75-101. The following section describes the state of the soul immediately after death. It is introduced between parts of the Apocalypse which have for their theme different aspects of the last Judgement. It is, therefore, in the nature of a digression : but the subject is one that logically arises from previous allusions, and comes in at this point quite naturally.

In answer to the apocalypticist's inquiry he is told that the spirit, after leaving the body, first of all adores the glory of the Most High and then enters into a state of misery or bliss, corresponding to its ultimate destiny, according as it belongs to the ungodly or righteous. The spirits of the wicked are destined to a wandering existence in torment, in seven degrees : (a) They shall be consumed with remorse ; (b) they will recognize that the past is irrevocable ; (c) they shall see the reward laid up for the righteous ; (d) they shall catch a glimpse of the torment reserved for them after the last Judgement ; (e) 'they shall see the dwelling-places of the others guarded by angels with great quietness' ; (f) they shall see the torment henceforth reserved for them ; (g) in the light of the vision of God they shall be consumed with agonizing remorse, confusion, and shame (vii. 78-87).

On the other hand, the spirits of the righteous 'shall be filled with joy (a) because they have striven to overcome the *cogitamentum malum* ; (b) because they see the perplexity and punishment of the ungodly ; (c) because they see the divine witness to their righteousness ; (d) because they understand the rest and quiet of their intermediate state, and the glory that awaits them in the final Judgement ; (e) because they realize the painful corruption from which they have been delivered, and cherish the hope of immortality ; (f) because of the incorruptible radiance and glory that await them ; (g) "because they shall rejoice with confidence, and be bold without confusion, and shall be glad without fear, for they hasten to behold the face of him whom in their lifetime they served, and from whom they shall receive their reward in glory" (vii. 88-98).¹

These descriptions, which are psychological in character, apparently portray the emotional experiences of the soul, through which it passes during the entire period of the intermediate state. In its subtle delineation of the soul-life the whole section is remarkable, and by the elevation and refinement of its conceptions affords a striking contrast to similar descriptions in other parts of the apocalyptic literature (e.g. 1 En. xxii). No such detailed description of the state of the soul occurs in the Baruch-Apocalypse.

At the end of the section (vii. 100-101) one other detail is added. The souls shall be free for seven days immediately after death that they may realize the things which have been described, after which they enter into their habitations. Apparently this only applies to the souls of the righteous, as it is explicitly stated in v. 80 that the souls of the wicked do not enter into habitations at all, but wander to and fro in torment. How the souls pass from the states here described to the final Judgement is not told. In 2 Bar. xxx this is accomplished by means of the resurrection, which is there described in detail. See further Volz, p. 135 f. ; Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 294 f.

75. **thou shalt renew the creation.** For the expression cf. *καὶνὴ κτίσις* (= *בריה חדשה*), Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. vi. 17, and for the idea of the renovation of the world, Matt. xix. 28, 'in the regeneration' (*ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ*) ; 2 Pet. ii. 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1. The same phrase occurs in 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, 'when the Mighty One shall renew his creation' (cf. xiv. 12, lvii. 2). The incorruptible world which is to succeed the present order at the final Judgement is meant. Cf. v. 45.

77. **a treasure of works.** The idea of works being stored up in treasures (in heaven) occurs also in 2 Bar. xiv. 12. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 33 (contrast viii. 36). But much greater stress is laid on good works in 2 Baruch than in 4 Ezra. According to the latter very few indeed have, by their strict performance of the requirements of the Law, been able to claim any such accumulation of merit. It is faith in the Law (i.e. open acknowledgement of its divine character and obligation) which will save most of those who are destined to be saved : cf. ix. 7, 'every one that shall be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his faith', xiii. 23 and vi. 5 ('treasuries of faith'). The most esteemed way in which such treasure in heaven could be gathered, according to the accepted Jewish standard of ethics, was by the practice of benevolence (Hebr. *gemiluth ḥasādīm*), especially by almsgiving (cf. in the N.T. Matt. vi. 20, Luke xii. 33, 1 Tim. vi. 17 f., and illustrate from *Pe'a* i. 1, where it is said that *gemiluth ḥasādīm*, the promotion of peace between man and man, and the study of the Law, are 'the things whose fruits are enjoyed in this life, while their capital remains [invested] for the life to come').

it shall not be showed thee until the last times. The treasures would not be opened till the last Judgement. Cf. 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

78. **that it may return to him who gave it.** Cf. Eccles. xii. 7.

to adore the glory of the Most High, &c. This sentence, as Gunkel points out, is expegetical to the previous line ('that it may return to him who gave it'). The citation from Eccles. xii. 7 is understood by the author in the

¹ The above excellent summary is derived from Maldwyn Hughes's *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit.*, p. 305 f.

- S and have not kept ^b the ways ^b of the Most High,
^c that have despised his law,^c
 and that hate those who fear God—
- 80 Such souls shall not enter into habitations, but shall wander about henceforth in torture, ever
 grieving and sad, in seven ways.
- 81, 82 The first way (is) that ^d they have scorned ^d the Law of the Most High; the second way, that they
 83 are now unable ^e to make a good repentance for life ^e; the third way (is): they shall see the
 84 reward laid up for those who have believed ^f the covenants of the Most High ^f; the fourth way,
 85 that they shall regard the torture laid up for themselves in the last days ^g; the fifth way, that they
 86 shall see how the habitations ^h of the other souls ^h are guarded by angels in profound quietness; the
 87 sixth way, that they shall see ⁱ how from now henceforth they must pass over into torture ⁱ. The
 seventh way, which exceeds all the aforesaid ways, (is):
 that they shall pine away for shame,
 and be consumed ^j with confusion ^j,
 and withered ^k with fear ^k,
 in that they see the glory of the Most High, before whom they have sinned in life, and before whom
 they are destined to be judged in the last times.
- 88 Of those, however, who have kept the ways of the Most High this is ^l the order ^l, when they shall
 be separated from this vessel of mortality.
- 89 ^m What time they dwelt therein ^m they painfully served the Most High, and were in jeopardy
 every hour, that they might observe the Law of the lawgiver perfectly.
- 90, 91 Wherefore the matter as it relates to them is as follows: First of all they shall see with great joy
 92 the glory of him who receives them; and they shall rest ⁿ in seven orders ⁿ. The first order (is):
 that they have striven much and painfully to overcome ^o the innate evil thought ^o, that it might not
 93 lead them astray ^p from life ^p unto death. The second order (is): that they see ^q the round ^q in
 94 which the souls of the ungodly wander, and ^r the punishment that awaits them ^r. The third order
 (is): they see the witness which their Fashioner attests concerning them, that while they were alive
 95 ^s they faithfully observed the Law which was given to them ^s. The fourth order (is): they under-
 stand the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness

^{b-b} so *S Ethiop. Ar.*¹: *U* viam ^{c-c} so *U Ethiop.*: *S* > ^{d-d} so *U* (= *ηθετησαν*): *S* they have resisted (= *ηπειθησαν*):
 see *EA*, p. 145 ^{e-e} *U* reversionem bonam facere ut vivant: *S* = *επιστρεφειν και αγαθοποιειν* (Bensly adopts) ^{f-f} so *U*
 (*Ethiop. Ar.*): *S* > ^g here *S* adds a verse which is not original: see *EA*, p. 146 ^{h-h} so *S Ar.*¹ (cf. *Ethiop.*):
U aliorum ⁱ⁻ⁱ reading quam amodo pertransient in cruciamentum (see *EA*, p. 146) ^{j-j} so *S Ethiop. Ar.*¹: *U* in
 honoribus (= *εν τιμαιοις* [*for τιμαιοις*]) ^{k-k} so *S Ethiop.*: *U* in timoribus ^{l-l} *U* ordo (= *η ταξις*):
S way ^{m-m} so *S*: *U* in eo tempore commemoratae ⁿ⁻ⁿ *U* per septem ordines: *U* here and in following verses
 uses ordo consistently; so *Ethiop. Ar.*¹: but *S Ar.*² *Arm.* use way (= *odos*) throughout ^{o-o} *U* cum eis plasmatum
 cogitamentum ^{p-p} so *U Ar.*¹: but *Ethiop.* in their present life ^{q-q} *U* complicationem (= *συμπλοκην*: *Hebr.*
 הצפירה; see *EA*, p. 149) ^{r-r} reading quae eis (for in eis) manet punitio ^{s-s} *U* servaverunt quae per fidem

sense that the soul of man after death appears before God for a certain limited time only, and for a certain purpose.
 This follows from his belief as to the intermediate state.

80. **Such souls.** For *inspirations* = here disembodied souls, cf. v. 78 above (*recedente inspiratione*). נשמה is used
 of the disembodied soul in Rabbinic Hebrew: cf. e.g. *T. B. Shabb.* 152 b צדיקים של נפשות, 'the souls of the righteous'
 (in reference to the souls being deposited beneath the throne of glory). For the theological controversies regarding
inspiratio in this connexion cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 64.

but shall wander about henceforth in torture. In *T. B. Shabb.* 152 b the souls of the wicked are said to be
 given no place of rest until the Judgement, while the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place (מנוח) soon
 after death.

in seven ways, i.e. seven modes or kinds (= *Hebr. derek*). The arrangement of the sufferings and joys in seven
 kinds would appear somewhat artificial to us. According to Gunkel, it is derived from the old Babylonian tradition
 (which passed over to Judaism) of the existence of seven heavens and seven hells (this tradition appears in late
 Jewish literature; cf. Eisenmenger, ii, p. 328, for a description of the seven היכלות of Hell). Our passage may be
 a refinement of this idea. See further *EA*, p. 145.

81. **The first way**, i.e. the first kind (of torture); a Hebraism (*derek*, 'way' = kind, manner): this meaning, rare in
 Biblical Hebrew, is common in *PBH*.

88. **from this vessel of mortality**, lit. 'from this corruptible vessel'; Lat. *a vaso corruptibili*. The Greek
 equivalent for 'corruptible vessel' would be τὸ φθαρτὸν σκεῦος = *Hebr.* (??) כלי פליון. Cf. τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, 'this
 corruptible' (that which is liable to corruption), 1 Cor. xv. 53. Notice in our passage the implied view of the body as
 the prison-house of the soul. [On the form *vaso* cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 66 f.]

91. **in seven orders**, i.e. orders or dispositions of mind (or emotion)—here of joys; for text see crit. note. A good
 Hebrew equivalent for *τάξις* would be מערכה or תכונה, which is used (in late Hebrew) in the same way of a disposition
 of the mind.

92. **The first order.** Gunkel correctly interprets this as = 'the first joy'.

93. **the round** (or circuit). The word might well be used of wild erratic motion (of the ungodly souls).

S 96 guarded by angels, and the glory which awaits them ^tat their latter end^t. The fifth order (is): they rejoice that they have now escaped what is corruptible, and that they shall inherit that which is to come; and moreover that they see the straitness and ^upainfulness^u ^vfrom which^v they have been delivered, and the spacious liberty which they are destined ^wto receive with enjoyment and im-

97 mortality^w. The sixth order: ^xthat^x it is shown unto them how their face is destined to shine as the sun, and how they are destined to be made like the light of the stars, ^yhenceforth^y incorruptible.

98 The seventh order, which exceeds all the aforesaid, (is): that

They shall rejoice with boldness,

be confident without confusion,

be glad ^zwithout fear^z,

for they are hastening to behold the face of him whom in life they served, and from whom they are destined to receive their reward in glory.

99 This is the order of the souls of the righteous as from now henceforward ^ais announced^a, (^band) the aforesaid ways of torture (are) those which they suffer henceforth who ^bo would not give heed^c.

100 And I answered and said: Shall time, therefore, be given unto the souls, after they are separated from the bodies, that they may see what thou hast described to me?

101 And he said to me: Seven days they have freedom, that during these seven days they may see^d the things aforesaid^d, afterwards they shall be gathered together in their habitations.

(3) vii. 102-115. NO INTERCESSION ON THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT (S).

102 And I answered and said: If I have found favour in thy sight, show me, thy servant, this also: whether in the Day of Judgement the righteous shall be able to intercede for the ungodly, or to

data est lex (per fidem *may have been intended to qualify* observed in original) ^{t-t} *in novissimis eorum*
^{u-u} *reading labore plenum* (MSS. *plenum only*); cf. *S* (the much toil) *Ethiop.* ^{v-v} *reading a quo* (M) = *S*:
 quoniam (A C V) ^{w-w} *recipere fruniscetes et immortales* ^{x-x} *so Ethiop.* (= ori): *S* quando (= ore); so *S*
^{y-y} *reading amodo* (for quomodo); cf. *S* *Ethiop.* ^{z-z} *reading non reverentes* (for revertentes): *Oriental VSS.*
either omit or obscure the clause ^{a-a} *reading adnuntiatur* (for annuntientur) ^{b-b} *reading* (et) praedictae viae
 (sunt) cruciatus quas (so A) patiuntur amodo qui (the bracketed words being supplied) ^{c-c} *neglexerint*
^{d-d} *qui praedicti sunt sermones*

96. escaped what is corruptible. Gunkel points out that the implied idea is that what is mortal and corruptible is an alien element in man's essential being.

97. their face . . . as the sun . . . like the light of the stars. The language is based on Dan. xii. 3, and is similarly applied to the righteous (in an eschatological connexion) in Matt. xiii. 43; cf. also 2 Bar. li. 3 (of the transformation of the righteous at the resurrection), li. 10; cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7 ('resplendent as lights of fire' = 'shine as the stars' [Charles]), li. 5, civ. 2 ('soon ye shall shine as the stars of heaven'); cf. also 4 Ezra vii. 125. In 1 Cor. xv. 41 the spiritual body of the resurrection is compared to the stars ('one star differeth from another star in glory'); the righteous in the resurrection are compared with the angels in Matt. xxii. 30; cf. 1 En. li. 4 ('they shall become angels in heaven'), civ. 6, and 2 Bar. li. 10 (cited above). Gunkel points out that in the earlier circle of religious ideas from which the higher religion received the first impulse towards the development of the doctrine of the resurrection stars and angels are equivalent conceptions. In this earlier religion the stars were regarded as gods. 'To be made like the stars,' therefore, survived as a figure for immortality in the phraseology of spiritual religion.

98. with boldness. Cf. Wisd. v. 1, and see Volz, p. 264.

to behold the face, &c. Cf. Matt. v. 8.

100. the souls. Here and in the following verse the souls of the righteous only are, apparently, meant. These souls enter into the chambers reserved for them; the souls of the wicked do not (cf. v. 80).

101. Seven days . . . freedom. According to the dictum of R. Hsida, cited in *T. B. Shabb.* 152 a, the soul of a man mourns for him the first seven days after death. It is also said in the same context (152 b) that the souls of the righteous are given their resting-place soon. The origin of the idea of seven days' freedom being given to the soul immediately after death is obscure. It probably depends upon some primitive tradition. See further *EA*, p. 153.

habitations, i.e. in the intermediate state.

(3) vii. 102-115. The previous section (vii. 75-101) opened with the question whether after death the soul was permitted to rest until the Judgement, or whether it entered immediately into torment. The seer was evidently thinking of the souls of the unrighteous, with whom he identified himself. The question was answered in the negative—no peace is allowed for the souls of the lost. Still full of pity for the awful fate that awaits lost souls, Ezra-Salathiel asks whether there is any possibility of escape for the wicked in the Day of Judgement. Will intercession by the righteous for the ungodly be permitted? Again the answer is, No. Father will not be permitted to intercede for son, or son for father, or brother for brother, or friend for friend. This will be just as impossible as for one to take the place of another in illness, or in sleeping or eating: 'every one' in that day 'must bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness'.

The seer again pleads the many examples of intercession that are recorded in the Scriptures (Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, &c.), and is told that while the present (temporary) order endures such intercession is possible, But the Day of Judgement means the closing of all accounts. 'So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor overwhelm him who is victorious.'

The view, met with in Rabbinical literature, that the merits of sons will avail to save the fathers in the Day of Judgement (cf. e.g. *Eccles. rabb.* on Qoh. iv. 1) is thus implicitly condemned: indeed, the whole doctrine of imputed righteousness seems to be emphatically repudiated.

The apocalyptic writer thus here reaches the height of a pure and strenuous individualism. National limitations,

- S 103 intreat the Most High in their behalf: fathers for sons, sons for parents, brothers for brothers, kins-
 104 folk for their nearest, friends for their dearest. And he answered me and said: Since thou hast
 found favour in my sight, I will show this also unto thee. The Day of Judgement is ^{dd}decisive^{dd}, and
 displays unto all the seal of truth. Even as now a father may not send a son, or a son his father, or
 a master his slave, or a friend his dearest, that in his stead ^ehe may be ill^e, or sleep, or eat, or be
 105 healed; so shall ^fnone then^f pray for another ^gon that Day, neither shall one lay a burden on
 106 another^g; for then every one shall bear his own righteousness or unrighteousness. And I answered
 and said: How is it that we now find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and
 107 Moses for our fathers who sinned in the wilderness; and Joshua after him for Israel in the days ^hof
 108 Achar^h; and Samuel ⁱin the days of Saulⁱ, and David ^jfor the plague^j, and Solomon ^kfor those
 109 that (should worship) in the sanctuary^k; and Elijah for those who received the rain, and for the
 110 dead, that he might live; and Hezekiah for the people in the days of Sennacherib, and (others) many
 111 for many? If, therefore, now when corruption is grown up, and unrighteousness increased, the
 righteous have prayed for the ungodly, why shall it not be so then also?
 112 And he answered me and said: The present age ^lis not the End^l; ^mthe glory of God abides not
 113 therein continuously^m: therefore have the strong prayed for the weak. But the Day of Judgement
 shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein
 114 corruption is passed away,
 ⁿweaknessⁿ is abolished,
 infidelity is cut off;
 while righteousness is grown,
 and faithfulness is sprung up.
 115 So shall no man then be able to have mercy on him who is condemned in the Judgement, nor
 ^ooverwhelm^o him who is victorious.

dd-dd so S (= ? συντομος): *Ethioph.* suddenly (= ? συντομως): *ℒ* audax (= ? ευτολμος a corruption of συντομος)
 e-e so S *Ethioph. Arm.* (= ινα νοση): *ℒ* intellegat (= ινα νοη)
 (= ουδεποτε) g-g so S (cf. *Ethioph.*): *ℒ* > h-h so *ℒ* (M N A) = S: Achaz (S) i-i so S
Ethioph. Ar.: *ℒ* (S A C M) > i-j *ℒ* pro confractioe k-k *ℒ* pro eis qui in sanctificationem (= υπερ
 των εν τω ιερω): S *Ethioph.* for the sanctuary (= υπερ του ιερου) l-l so *ℒ* (non est finis): cf. *Ethioph.*; S has an end
 m-m so S *Ethioph.*: *ℒ* gloria in eo (*supply* non) frequens manet n-n so *Ethioph.* (= η ασθενεια): *ℒ* intemperantia
 (= ? η ασθενεια: cf. S) o-o *ℒ* demergere (= καταποντιζειν) p-p *ℒ* coercere (= κατεχειν): S instructed (= κατη-

distinctions between race and race, are left behind: the individual soul comes to view, and the personal responsibility of each individual soul is asserted with the utmost emphasis. Between God and the departing soul no mediatorial or mitigating agency is allowed to stand. Here we may detect the influence of Alexandrine theology which tended to lay all stress upon the present life as determining the eternal fate of every man (cf. Bousset, *RJ*², p. 337 f.).

It is apparently against some such conceptions as have been described above that our passage is directed. It definitely excludes the entire cycle of such ideas. Probably at the time when our Apocalypse was written these ideas had assumed an exaggerated form in certain circles. It is curious to note that this passage of 4 Ezra gave offence to Christian theologians. Its citation as scriptural proof against the efficacy of intercessions for the dead evoked a severe reproof from Jerome (*Tu . . . proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdrae a te et similibus tuis legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi: [contra Vigilant. c. vii.]*). This objection doubtless accounts for the disappearance of the section from the Latin Cod. S, and nearly all later copies—the lacuna only being made good by the discovery of the missing Fragment by Bensly.

[See, on the section, Volz, pp. 92, 136; Köberle, p. 662 f.; Bousset, p. 339 f.; and cf. *EA*, pp. 153-6.]

104. the seal of truth, i.e. the seal of the Judge which attests the truth and justice of the sentence (Gunkel). The representation is again forensic; the sealing of the document recording the sentence being the final act of the Judge.

105. neither shall one lay a burden, &c. The whole passage is a development of Ezek. xviii. 20.

106. first. Of the following series.

Abraham. The reference is to Gen. xviii. 23.

Moses . . . in the wilderness. See Exod. xxxii. 11.

107. Achar. See Joshua vii.

108. in the days of Saul. See 1 Sam. vii. 9, 12, 23.

for the plague. The reference is to 2 Sam. xxiv. 15 f.

for those that (should worship) in the sanctuary. See 1 Kings viii. 22 f., 30 f.

109. Elijah . . . the rain. See 1 Kings xviii. 42.

for the dead . . . live. See 1 Kings xvii. 20 f.

110. Hezekiah . . . Sennacherib. See 2 Kings xix. 15 f.

112. the glory of God abides not therein continuously. For the various causes (idolatry, blasphemy, pride) which cause the removal of the Shekinah (= the divine presence and glory) from the earth, according to Rabbinic theology, see Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223 et al. Here the idea is that the divine glory cannot permanently remain with what is essentially transitory.

- (4) vii. 116-131. WHAT AVAILS THE PROMISE TO MAN WHO IS BORN TO SIN?
YET, THOUGH TRAGIC, THE SINNER'S DOOM IS DESERVED (S).

S 116 And I answered and said: This is my first and last word; better had it been that the earth had not produced Adam, or else, having once produced him, (for thee) ^p to have restrained ^p him from 117 sinning. For how does it profit us all that in the present we must live in grief and after death look 118 for punishment? O thou Adam, what hast thou done! For though it was thou that sinned, ^q the 119 fall was not thine alone, but ours also ^q who are thy descendants! For how does it profit us that 120 the eternal age is promised to us, whereas we have done the works that bring death? And that there is foretold to us ^r an imperishable hope^r, whereas we so miserably are brought to futility? 121, 122 And that there are reserved habitations of health and safety, whereas we have lived wickedly? And that the glory of the Most High is to defend them who have led a pure life, whereas we have walked 123 in ways most wicked? And that Paradise whose fruit endures incorruptible, wherein is delight and 124 healing, shall be made manifest, but we cannot enter it because we have passed our lives ^s in unseemly 125 manners^s? And that the faces of such as have practised abstinence shall shine above the stars, 126 whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness? For, while we lived and committed iniquity we considered not what we were destined to suffer after death!

127 And he answered me and said: This is ^t the condition^t of the contest which (every) man who is 128 born upon earth must wage; that, if he be overcome, he shall suffer as thou hast said: but if he be 129 victorious, he shall receive what I have said. For this is the way of which Moses, while he was 130 alive, spoke unto the people, saying: Choose thee life, that thou mayst live! Nevertheless they 131 believed not him, nor the prophets after him, no nor yet me who have spoken unto them. ^u Therefore ^u shall there not be such grief at their perdition, as there shall be joy over the salvation of those who have believed.

- (5) DOUBTS AS TO HOW THE PERDITION OF SO MANY CAN BE JUSTIFIED FROM THE
POINT OF VIEW OF GOD'S CHARACTER AND ATTRIBUTES: THE DIVINE REPLY (S).

(vii. 132—viii. 62.)

- (a) vii. 132—viii. 3. *Will God—so merciful and compassionate—suffer so many to perish?* (S.)

132 And I answered and said: I know, Lord, that the Most High is now called compassionate in that

^{χew} (= *Ethiop.*) ^{q-q} reading non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum (cf. *S*) ^{r-r} *perennis spes*
^{s-s} cf. *Ethiop.*: *ἡ ingratissimis locis* (*confusing τροπος and τοπος*): so *S* ^{t-t} *cogitamentum* = ο *διαλογισμος* = *πν*
(law, condition) ^{u-u} so *S*: *ἡ quoniam*

(4) vii. 116-131. It thus having been demonstrated that no possibility of escape from eternal punishment exists for the doomed race of sinners, the seer now bursts forth into a passionate lamentation over the fate of the mass of humanity. It would have been better if Adam had not been created with freedom of will to sin, than that his descendants should be born only to be doomed. To promise them happiness and immortality on conditions which they must almost inevitably fail to keep is but to mock their misery. To this the archangel can only reply that such are the conditions of the fight; there will be more joy in heaven over those who attain salvation than sorrow over the many who perish.

116. that the earth had not produced. Cf. iii. 5.

or else . . . to have restrained him from sinning. Cf., for the thought, vii. 63.

118. the fall was not thine alone, but ours also. Adam is here charged with being the cause of the perdition of the human race; cf. vii. 20f., iv. 30-31, and contrast 2 Bar. liv. 19.

122. is to defend. For the idea of the divine glory (= the Shekinah) being a protection to the righteous, cf. the Rabbinic phrase 'to take refuge under the wings of the Shekinah' (*T. B. Shabb. 31 a*, &c., of one acknowledging God). Moses when dead lay in its pinions (*Sifre*, 355).

123. Paradise, i.e. the heavenly Paradise.

wherein (i.e. in which fruit) is delight and healing. For the representation cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12 (Rev. xxii. 2).

125. of such as have practised abstinence. The ascetic note here is discernible. For ascetic tendencies in Rabbinic theology cf. Schechter, *Aspects*, pp. 277-8.

shall shine above the stars. Cf. Dan. xii. 3 and Matt. xii. 43.

whereas our faces shall be blacker than darkness. The conception at the background of the clause is that of sinners being banished to night and darkness (cf. the phrase in the Gospels, 'to be cast forth into the outer darkness,' Matt. viii. 12, &c.). The conception of hell as a place of fire is a distinct and more developed one.

129. Choose thee life, that thou mayst live. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19. Such words are interpreted in later Judaism in a deeper sense: 'life' = eternal life, the blessed life in heaven. In the original context 'life' = natural life (regarded as the highest of boons). Cf. Gunkel, *ad loc.*

(5) vii. 132-viii. 62. The seer's doubts still remain. In a fine passage he acknowledges (and implicitly appeals to) the divine mercy and compassion, which are displayed in manifold ways in the present order. This suggests a question which is not directly expressed: Is it possible to reconcile the final perdition of so many with the divine mercy? In reply he is told that the present world is for the many, the future world for the few (vii. 132-viii. 3). Again he asks: Is it possible that God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite care and skill, can have been created only to perish? With this question the seer gives up the problem of the race, and turns to his own people (viii. 4-19). For

S 133 he compassionates those who have not yet come into the world; and gracious, in that he is gracious
 134 towards those ^v who return to his law ^v: and longsuffering, because he shows longsuffering to sinners
 135, 136 ^w as his creatures ^w; and ^x bountiful ^x, since he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact; and of
 great mercy, because he multiplies mercies so greatly to those who are in existence, and who have
 137 passed away, and who are to come:—for if he did not multiply ^y mercy ^y the world with its
 138 inhabitants could not attain unto life—^z and good (?), for if in his goodness he were not gracious ^z, so
 that evil-doers might be eased of their iniquities, the ten thousandth part of mankind could not attain
 139 unto life; and ^a forgiving, for if he did not pardon ^a those that were created by his word, and blot
 140 out the multitude ^b of their iniquities ^b, there would, perchance, be very few left of an innumerable
 multitude.

8 1 And he answered me and said: This age the Most High has made for many, but the age to come
 2 for few. I will tell thee, now, a similitude, *Ezra*: as, when thou askest the earth, it shall say unto
 thee that it produces much more mould from which earthen vessels are made, but little dust from
 3 which gold comes; so also is ^c the course ^c of the present age. Many have been created, but few
 shall be saved!

^{v-v} so *§ Ethiop.* *ℒ* [illis] qui faciunt conversionem in lege eius

^{x-x} reading munificus: *§* (cf. *Ethiop.*) giver

quoniam si non donaverit (see *EA*, p. 167 f.)

and the righteous judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon (see *EA*, p. 169)

^{b-b} *ℒ* contemptum = τῶν ἀθετημάτων: *§* of their sins (= τῶν ἀδικημάτων)

^{w-w} *ℒ* quasi suis operibus

^{z-z} reading et donator

^{a-a} *ℒ* et iudex (quoniam) si non ignoverit: *Simonsen* reads:

^{c-c} *ℒ* actus (= πραξίς:

them and for himself he utters a beautiful prayer, appealing to God to have compassion on those who are destitute of good works (viii. 20–36). The angel briefly replies (viii. 37–40), and proceeds to compare man on the earth to seed. As the husbandman sows much seed, but only part comes up, so out of the multitude of created men only a part shall be saved. The seer answers that much seed perishes for lack or because of excess of rain, and once again appeals to the divine compassion (viii. 41–45). The divine reply that follows (viii. 46–62) constitutes a general answer to what precedes. The seer is told that his love falls far below God's for God's creature; his (the seer's) humility is, however, commended, and he is assured of felicity with the righteous. He is bidden to ask no more questions regarding the fate of the lost, who have brought their doom upon themselves.

(a) vii. 132–viii. 3. The seer, in his fine appeal to the divine attributes of compassion and forgiveness, obviously has in mind the passage of Scripture which has become classical in this connexion, Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 ('Jahveh . . . a God compassionate and gracious, longsuffering and of great mercy and faithfulness; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). This had already become a stereotyped formula of address to or description of God when the later books of the O. T. were written, and many reminiscences of the language used occur (cf. e.g. Neh. ix. 17, Joel ii. 13, Jonah iv. 2, Ps. lxxxvi. 15, &c.; also Sirach ii. 11 and Wisd. xv. 1). The passage is doubtless based upon, or interweaves, a Midrash on Exod. xxxiv. 6–7, as Prof. Simonsen holds; see further *EA*, pp. 164–165.

132. **those who have not yet come into the world.** God, in spite of His foreknowledge which enables Him to foresee man's future sins before he is born, is yet tender and compassionate towards him, treating him as righteous and free from sin until he actually commits sin; cf. *Midr. rabb.* to Gen. xxi. 17, where God says 'I judge man' (as to whether he is righteous or wicked) 'according to his time' (i.e. as he is at the time, without taking into account his future sins). In the passage Ishmael (not yet having sinned) is counted as pious.

133. **who return to his law.** God compassionates man both before he sins (v. 132), and also after he has sinned and made his repentance.

135. **he is ready to bestow favour rather than exact.** Cf. the following (from *Seder Eliahu*, p. 135): 'God bestows gifts on those who know him and on those who know him not and do not deserve his gifts.' Simonsen understands the clause to mean: God is ready to forgive guilt rather than exact punishment.

137. **could not attain unto life**, i.e. the future (eternal) 'life'. This agrees with the doctrine of the school of Shammai, according to which the truly pious passed at once, after death, to bliss; the very wicked went at once to Gehenna; while the intermediate class (which comprised the vast majority) were only consigned to Gehenna for a time, God's goodness and kindness being shown in allowing their release therefrom, so that they ultimately passed to eternal life (so Simonsen).

138. **and good (?)**, for if in his goodness, &c. On the textual phenomena of this verse cf. *EA*, p. 167.

139. **forgiving.** The Lat. has *iudex*, judge; so the other versions. This has usually been supposed to be based on an erroneous reading in the original Hebrew text (שופט for שומט). For a brilliant alternative solution (by Simonsen) see crit. note.

140. **very few.** Simonsen's suggestion is to read the text of vv. 139–140: 'and the righteous Judge who hath no respect of persons, but who, if he did not pardon,' &c. (Heb. וְיֵשׁ פְּנִים וְנָוָה). This affords a fine paraphrase of Exod. xxxiv. 7 ('forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin'). God's attributes of mercy are pleaded all through the passage, and the conclusion reached is that if God did not possess these attributes nearly all created would be involved in perdition. This accords with one of the traditional interpretations of the words which follow the second clause of Exod. xxxiv. 7 cited above, viz. וְנָקָה לֹא יִנָּקֶה; i.e. (according to the interpretation referred to) 'He will not utterly extinguish'.

The seer thus, as Moses himself (Num. xiv. 17–18), pleads the revelation of God's attributes made in Exod. xxxiv. 6–7 in mitigation of the severity of the divine judgement. He does so, however, in a paraphrastic form which suggests a midrashic influence.

viii. 3. **Many . . . created . . . few . . . saved.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 14. The illustration in vv. 1–3 is parallel both in thought and expression with vii. 49–61.

(b) viii. 4-19. *Can God's creature, who has been fashioned with such infinite skill and labour, perish finally? (S.)*

S 4 And I answered and said :

^dO my soul, drink thy fill of understanding^d,
And, ^eO heart^e, ^ffeed on wisdom^f!

5 ^gInvoluntarily thou camest (into the world),
and when thou wilt not departest^g:

6 for ^hpermission^h has been given to thee only to live a brief time. ⁱO Lord above usⁱ, if thou
wouldst but suffer thy servant to pray before thee; and wouldst give unto us the seed of a new
heart and culture to our understanding, whence fruit may come, whereby every corruptible one may
7 be able to live, who bears ^jthe form of man^j! For one art thou ^kand we are all one fashioning,
8 the work of thine hands^k, as thou hast said. ^lAnd when^l thou quickenest ^mthe body which thou
fashionest in the womb^m, and endowest it with members, thy creature is preserved in fire and water,
and nine months does that which thou hast fashioned (i. e. the womb) bear thy creature ⁿwhich thou
9 hast created within itⁿ. But ^othat which keeps and that which is kept^o are both kept ^pby thy
10 keeping^p. And when the womb gives up again ^qwhat has been created in it^q, thou hast commanded
that out of the members themselves, ^rthat is out of the breasts^r, milk, the fruit of the breasts, should
11 be provided, that what has been fashioned may be nourished for a time.

12 And afterwards thou sustainest it in thy mercy
and nourishest it in thy righteousness;
Thou disciplinest it through thy law,
and reprovest it in thy wisdom.

13 Thou wilt kill it—as (it is) thy creature,
and quicken it—as (it is) thy work!

14 If, then, ^swith a light word^s thou shalt destroy him who with such infinite labour has been
15 fashioned by thy command, ^tto what purpose was he made^t? But now I will say: Concerning
man in general, ^uthou knowest best^u, but concerning

Heb. דָּרַךְ ^{d-d} so S = absorbe anima mea sensum: Lat. MSS. absolve ^{e-o} cf. S my heart: Ethiop. = το οὖν
(? for του νου): L > ^{f-f} L devoret quod sapit (Greek? καταφαγε το φρονουν) ^{g-s} so S: L (misreading ακουσα
as ακουσαι) convenisti enim obaudire et profecta es nolens ^{h-h} L spatium (= συγχωρησις (cf. S power) ⁱ⁻ⁱ L O
Domine super nos (so v. 45): S O Lord my Lord (so v. 45) ^{j-j} so S: L locum hominis (confusing τοπον and τυπον)
^{k-k} so S: L et una plasmatio nos sumus manuum tuarum ^{l-l} L et quoniam (= και οτι: for οτε) ^{m-m} L nunc
in matrice plasmatum corpus (= prob. שאתה יוצר בבטן—the two middle words being misread יצור
ⁿ⁻ⁿ so S: L quae in eo creata est ^{o-o} reading ipsum [quod servat et] quod servatur (C) = S A C > words in
brackets ^{p-p} reading servatione tua = S Ethiop. ^{q-q} reading quae in ea creata fuerint ^{r-r} L [membris]
hoc est mamillis: S > [clause may be a gloss] ^{s-s} L facili ordine (= κομφη ταχει: Heb. ברבר קל [Gunkel]):
S suddenly and quickly ^{t-t} L et ut quid (= ινα τι και: Heb. ולמה): so Oriental VSS. ^{u-u} L tu magis scis
(= συ μαλλον οιδας)

(b) viii. 4-19.

4. **O my soul . . . feed on wisdom.** The sentiment expressed in this verse serves to reveal the seer's despair of being able to solve the problem by intellectual means. As the discussion proceeds it seems to become ever more unfathomable.

5. **Involuntarily thou camest . . . departest.** Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 14 f.; also xiv. 11.
only to live a brief time. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 12.

6. **The seed of a new heart and culture to our understanding.** S renders: 'the seed and culture of a new heart.' Possibly 'seed of a new heart' is right. In this case the seer asks for that 'transformation by the renewing of the mind' (τη ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός), of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. xii. 2; cf. Eph. iv. 23), and which amounts to ἀναγεννήσις. The *cor malignum* is to be replaced by a *cor novum*, and the *granum seminis mali* (iv. 30) by the *semen cordis novi*. The epithet 'new' is only found in the Syr.

whereby . . . may . . . live, who bears the form of man. The meaning of the whole verse is well paraphrased by Volkmar: 'O that thou wouldst grant unto thy human children not merely physical life, but also the seed of spiritual life and understanding to be cultivated (by them), so that thereby they might attain true life!'

7. **as thou hast said.** Isa. xlv. 11, lx. 21; cf. lxx. 14 f. The combination of the assertion of God's uniqueness and unity (*solus enim es*) and of His Fatherhood as the one Creator of all is notable; cf. vi. 1-6.

8. **thy creature is preserved in fire and water.** There is here a clear allusion to the Oriental doctrine that man's living organism is compounded of the primal elements ('the things that have intermingled with thy growth', iv. 10, cf. note there). Cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 51, where the human body is spoken of as compounded from earth, water, air, and fire: for Rabbinic views on the same subject cf. Weber, p. 210 f.

and nine months . . . bear thy creature which thou hast created within it, i. e. within the womb.

13. **Thou wilt kill it . . . quicken it . . . thy work.** Volkmar paraphrases: 'Thou wilt indeed bring man to death, as he is a creature of thine: but thou wilt—such is my hope—summon him also to renewed life, because thou hast once given him (physical) life.' Cf. for a somewhat similar sentiment 1 Sam. ii. 6 ('J. kills and makes alive: he brings down to Sheol and brings up'). The reference will then be to the future life: 'quicken' may, however, mean only 'to preserve alive' (God kills, or allows 'His creature' to live, as He will, viz. in this life). Cf. also 2 Kings v. 7; Deut. xxxii. 39.

14. **him who with such infinite labour has been fashioned.** Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 14 f.

- S 16 Thy people, on whose account I grieve,
and thine inheritance for which I mourn,
And Israel for whom I am sad,
and Jacob's seed for whom I am dismayed—
17 ^v Therefore I would fain pray before thee for myself and for them! For I see ^w the falls ^w of us
18 that dwell in the land, ^x and now also ^x have heard ^y the decree of judgement ^y that is to come!
19 Therefore hear my voice,
and ^z consider my words ^z,
and let me speak before thee!

(c) viii. (19 *b*) 20-40. *The seer's prayer for compassion on his people, and the divine reply* (S).

(i.)

The Prayer.

- 19 ^a [*The beginning* ^b of the words of the Prayer ^b of Ezra before he was taken up. And he said:] ^a
20 O Lord ^c that dwellest eternally ^c,
^d whose are the highest heavens ^d,
whose chambers are in the air,
21 Whose throne is beyond imagination,
whose glory inconceivable;
^v ^S for behold ^{w-w} ^L lapsos (= lapsus: ? τα πτωματα) ^{x-x} so ^S: ^L sed ^{y-y} so ^S: ^L celeritatem
iudicii (= αποτομην κρισεως: Heb. יוֹרֵר לֵךְ: cf. partem iudicii, v. 34) ^{z-z} ^L intellege sermonum meorum
(Greek construction): ^S accept the words of my prayer ^{a-a} This superscription is no part of the original
text of the book; but it must have come into the text very early, as it is attested by ^S and Ethiop. Its presence shows
clearly that the passage was early singled out for separate use for liturgical or devotional purposes ^{b-b} so ^S
(cf. Ethiop.): ^L (*b*) verbi orationis (*a*) verborum ^{c-c} so ^S: ^L qui inhabitas (*b* habitas) saeculum ^{d-d} so ^L
(*b*) cuius altissimi celi (= caeli) sunt: cf. ^S whose heights (= heavens) are exalted: ^L (*a*) cuius oculi elati

16. *thine inheritance.* Cf. v. 45; Ps. xxviii. 9.
Jacob's seed. Cf. iii. 19.

(c) viii. (19 *b*) 20-40. The beautiful prayer which follows (viii. 20-36) opens with an invocation to God as the eternal, exalted, and omnipotent One, who is appealed to as the Creator to listen to the petition of one who is His creature (vv. 20-25); a prayer that God will have compassion on His people and regard those who have been loyal to His Law rather than its transgressors follows (vv. 26-30); finally an appeal is made to the fact that God has in the past been so longsuffering towards the sinners of His people (here the intermingling of appeal and confession is noticeable, vv. 31-36). Here as elsewhere in the Apocalypse the seer identifies himself with the sinners (cf. v. 32). The first part of the divine reply that follows (vv. 37-40), while apparently favourable to the seer's petition, really ignores or even negatives it. God will indeed, says the angel, have regard rather to the righteous than to the sinners. He will rejoice over the salvation of the former rather than grieve over, or even think of, the destruction of the latter! The issue is not squarely faced. For a similar indirect reply to the same issue expressed in another form cf. vii. 17 f.; cf. also vii. 64 compared with vii. 71 f.

The apocalyptic writer is still baffled by the problem of the lost. He is still struggling to arrive at a satisfactory solution from the point of view of the Law. One motive of the prayer seems to be to suggest the possibility that the merits of the righteous might avail for the salvation of sinners in Israel—the sinners intended being, it would seem, those mainly who repudiate the divine Law with a high hand and live as the very heathen (cf. vv. 27-30). But the divine reply makes it clear that no such hope can be entertained. Thus the problem of the lost, even when restricted to Israel, remains unsolved. The beauty of the prayer itself has led to its being excerpted and used for liturgical and devotional purposes. As a consequence the Latin manuscript authorities for this particular passage are more numerous than for the text of the rest of the book. It occurs in a separate form in a number of MSS. of the Latin Bible, and also in MSS. of the Mozarabic Liturgy, some of which are earlier than Codices A and S (cf. Bensly, *MF*, p. 34). The title often prefixed to the passage is *Confessio Esdrae*.

Another curious and important fact to notice is that the Latin authorities yield two distinct recensions of the text: i. e. two distinct and more or less independent Latin translations of the Greek text of the passage appear to have been made at different times: but, strangely enough, neither recension seems to be represented in a pure form in any extant MS. The two recensions have been reconstructed (with the aid of fresh manuscript evidence) by Violet; and these are referred to below as text *a* (= the normal text of the liturgical MSS. and of S A C) and text *b* (= the divergent text especially represented in M). Both recensions attest good Greek readings, and it is impossible to say which is the older. See further the detailed discussion in *BJ* ('The Two Texts of the Confessio Esdrae'), pp. lxxx-lxxxvi; also Violet, Introduction, § 13 (pp. xxvi-xxix). There is a prayer in 2 Baruch which similarly has a separate title ('Prayer of Baruch'), ch. xlviii. The prayer in *Constit. Apost.* viii. 7 should also be compared.

20. *whose are the highest heavens.* For the general thought cf. Ps. ciii. 11; Deut. x. 14.
whose chambers are in the air. The figure is derived from an older conception according to which the world was thought of as a house consisting of two stories, in the upper of which God had His dwelling, while the lower formed the world as we see it (Gunkel). Here, however, transcendental ideas are dominant. Perhaps the heavenly Paradise was in the writer's mind.

21. *throne is beyond imagination.* The mystery of God's throne is the theme of Ezek. i ('the chariot').
whose glory inconceivable. God's glory would suggest to the Jewish mind the ineffable light of the divine presence which pervades heaven; cf. Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

- S ° before whom (heaven's) hosts stand trembling °,
 ^f and at thy word change to wind and fire ^f;
 22 whose word is sure,
 and behest constant,
 23 whose commandment is strong
 and enactment terrible;
 whose look drieth up the depths,
 whose indignation melteth the mountains;
 whose faithfulness ^g standeth eternal ^g—
 24 Hear ^h the voice ^h of thy servant,
 give ear to ⁱ thy creature's petition ⁱ,
 and attend to my words!
 25 For so long as I live must I speak,
 and while I possess understanding, answer—
 26 O look not on the sins of thy people,
 but on them that have served thee in truth;
 27 Regard not the deeds of the godless,
 but (rather) them that have kept thy covenants in tortures;
 28 ^j Think not ^j upon those that have walked in devious ways before thee,
 but remember them that have willingly recognized thy fear;
 29 Will not to destroy those that have lived like cattle,
 but regard them that have gloriously taught thy Law;
 30 Be not wroth with those that are deemed worse than the beasts,
 but love them that have always put their trust in thy glory—

°-° $\mathbb{L}$ (a) cui adstat exercitus angelorum cum tremore: (b) cui adsunt (v. l. assistunt) milicie (militiae) cum pavore
 f-f $\mathbb{L}$ (b) et dicto tuo in ventum et ignem convertuntur (= $\mathbb{S}$; cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathbb{L}$ (a) quorum servatio in vento et igni
 convertitur ^{g-g} so *Ar.*² (rightly): $\mathbb{L}$ testificatur = $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop.*): The Greek translator wrongly rendered the
Heb. עומדת לעד (which = standeth for ever) as standeth as a witness (misreading לעד as לעד?); apparently the
 mistake was corrected in the Codex used by *Ar.*² ^{b-h} so $\mathbb{L}$ (b) = $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop. Ar.*¹: $\mathbb{L}$ (a) and *Ar.*² prayer ⁱ⁻ⁱ so
 $\mathbb{L}$ (a): $\mathbb{L}$ (b) deprecationi meae tui plasmati = other *VSS.* ^{j-j} $\mathbb{L}$ neque cogites (= μηδε λογισου): so $\mathbb{S}$: *Ethiop.*
 be not angry (= μη οργιζου): so *Ar.*¹

and at thy word change to wind and fire. The meaning is that the angelic watchers serve before God by changing at His word into wind and fire. Cf. for the representation Ps. ciii. (Heb. civ.) 4 in the LXX, which renders: 'who makes his angels winds (πνεύματα) and his ministers a flaming fire'. The Heb. text of the passage can be rendered in this way, though it is not usually so rendered (cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses*², p. 262 f.); our passage, therefore, is an interesting addition to the ancient authorities (LXX, Targ. substantially) for so understanding it. The reference here to angelic agency must not, however, be unduly pressed. One of the most remarkable features of 4 Ezra (and especially of S) is its practical ignoring of angelic and demonic agencies. Our present passage is in a poetical context and implies little more than that behind physical phenomena there is to be seen the activity of agents in the service of God. Of the crude popular angelology, with its distinct orders and personal names, there is here no trace.

22. constant. Lat. text *a*, *perseverantia*; text *b*, *permanens* = (?) διαμένων. The Heb. equivalent would be וַיָּצִיב: cf. Ps. cxix. (LXX, cxviii.) 89, where *permanet* (Vulg.) = διαμένει (LXX) = Heb. וַיָּצִיב and the subject is God's 'word' ('thy word is fixed in heaven'). There seems to be a clear allusion here to one of the oldest prayers in the synagogue liturgy, the benediction which follows the *Shēma* and is known as *gē'ulla* (Redemption). This piece begins with the two words used in our passage, viz. 'sure (or 'true') and constant' (Heb. וַיָּצִיב וְאֵמֶת), and is so referred to in the oldest Rabbinical sources (cf. e.g. Mishna, *Tamid* v. 1); and the subject of the opening part of the benediction is God's word: 'True and constant, established and enduring . . . is this thy word (i.e. the preceding *Shēma*) unto us for ever,' &c. (cf. Singer, *Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (Heb.-English), p. 42 f.).

23. whose look drieth up . . . eternal. The whole of this clause appears in the *Const. Apost.* viii. 7 οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἄβυσσον καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The seer here appeals to the wonders of creation (according to an older tradition) as attesting God's power. Cf. in Deutero-Isaiah a similar passage (l. 2) introduced with a similar motive and reference ('Behold with my rebuke I parch the sea'); cf. also li. 10 and the introductions to the sections in the present writer's *Isaiah*.

melteth the mountains. An eschatological feature derived from the representation of the destruction of the world by fire; cf. Mic. i. 4; Sir. xvi. 18 f.

27. them that have kept thy covenants in tortures. Such witnesses for the faith as the famous seven Maccabean martyrs are probably referred to.

28. thy fear, i.e. the fear of Thee. 'The fear of Jahveh' is a well-known term for religion, or the Law as revered (cf. Ps. xix. 10).

29. those that have lived like cattle. Probably Jews who live like heathen are in the author's mind. See *EA*, p. 181.

that have gloriously taught thy Law, i.e. the orthodox scribes. For the expression cf. Dan. xii. 3, Matt. v. 14-15.

30. those that are deemed worse than the beasts, i.e. live worse than the heathen (a class of Jews even worse than those described in the previous verse). Is there an allusion here to Jewish informers who betray their own countrymen to heathen officials?

- S 31 For we and our fathers ^k have passed our lives in ways that bring death ^k: but thou, because of
 32 us sinners, art called compassionate. For if thou hast a desire to compassionate us who have no
 33 works of righteousness, then shalt thou be called 'the gracious One'. For the righteous, who have
 many works laid up with thee, shall out of their own deeds receive their reward—
 34 But what is man that thou shouldst be wroth with him?
 Or what is a corruptible race that thou canst be so bitter towards it?
 35 For in truth
 There is none of the earth-born who has not dealt wickedly,
 and ¹ among those that exist ¹ who has not sinned.
 36 For in this, O Lord, shall thy righteousness and goodness be declared, if thou wilt compassionate
 them that have no wealth of good works.

(ii.)

The Divine Reply.

- 37 Then he answered me and said: Some things thou hast spoken aright, and according to thy
 38 words so shall it come to pass. For indeed I will not concern myself about the creation of those
 39 who have sinned, or their death, judgement, or perdition; but I will rejoice (rather) ^m over the creation
 40 of the righteous, (over) their pilgrimage also and their salvation and their recompense ^m. ⁿ As thou
 hast spoken ⁿ, then, so shall it be!

(d) viii. 41-45. *Mankind is like the seed sown by the husbandman* (S).

[The speaker here is still the angel.]

- 41 For just as the husbandman sows much seed ^o upon the ground ^o and plants a multitude of plants,
 and yet not all which were sown shall be saved in due season, nor shall all that were planted take
 42 root; so also they that are sown in the world shall not all be saved. And I answered and said: If
 43 I have found favour before thee, let me speak ^p. ^q The husbandman's seed, if it come not up—
 because it has not received thy rain in due season ^r—or if it be ruined by too much rain, ^s perishes;
 44 but the son of man ^s who has been fashioned with thine own hands, ^t and is made like thine own
 image ^t, for whose sake thou hast fashioned all things—^u hast thou likened him to the seed of the
 husbandman ^u?
 45 ^v Nay, Lord God! ^v but
 spare thy people,
 compassionate thine inheritance,
 for thou compassionatest thine own creation!

^{k-k} reading (L text a) mortalibus moribus egimus (L (b) corruptum locum egimus = φθαρτον τοπον [for τροπον] διηχθημεν): see further EA, p. 182 ^{l-l} L (a) de confitentibus (read confitentibus = συνεστηκοτων): see further EA, p. 184) ^{m-m} L super iustorum figmentum peregrinationis quoque et salvationis et mercedis receptionis (for explanation of wrong construction see EA, p. 185) ⁿ⁻ⁿ so Ethiop.: L and other VSS. as I have said ^{o-o} so L = Ar.; S Ethiop. > ^p S + before thee (cf. Ethiop.) ^q L pr. quoniam (= οτι introducing direct speech, and therefore not to be translated: R.V. wrongly forasmuch) ^{r-r} so L: S will then the husbandman's seed, if it does not receive thy rain in its season, live? ^{s-s} reading (with Gunkel) sic patitur; et filius homo (L corrupt: M sic pat et filius: S A C hic pater et filius: see further EA, p. 187) ^{t-t} L et tuae imagini [nominatus quoniam] similatus est: the bracketed words are to be omitted with S (cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹): see further EA, p. 187 ^{u-u} to be taken as a question: so Oriental VSS. ^{v-v} reading non Domine super nos

33. shall . . . receive their reward. Cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 12.

34. that thou canst be so bitter towards it. The whole verse recalls the bitter parody in Job vii. 17 f.; cf. Ps. viii. 4.

37. according to thy words . . . shall it come to pass. The angel refers to the form the seer's petition had taken: that God would regard not the sinners but the righteous. This part of the petition shall be granted, but in a totally different sense from that intended in the prayer. God will ignore the destruction of the godless, and think only of the achievements of the righteous! For a similar turning of expressions in the dialogue cf. vii. 64, 71 f.

39. over the creation . . . recompense. The three words, 'pilgrimage', 'salvation', 'recompense', form contrasted expressions to 'death', 'judgement', and 'perdition' in the previous verse: so 'pilgrimage' (= ἀποδημία) must mean departure from this life to a better, a return home to God; cf. 2 Cor. v. 6 f. for the idea. 'Salvation' here may mean the state of safety, security, and peace of the righteous dead in the intermediate state.

(d) viii. 41-45.

44. hast thou likened him . . . husbandman? To be taken as a question (against R.V.); so the Oriental Versions rightly. The seer warmly protests against the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields; contrast the parable of the Sower in the Gospels. For the image cf. also 4 Ezra iv. 28 f.

45. for thou compassionatest thine own creation, i.e. for (in doing so) thou compassionatest (or wilt compassionate); the creature appeals to the Creator. Note the passionate, almost despairing note of entreaty. The seer is all but overwhelmed with anguish in the face of the problem that confronts him.

(e) viii. 46-62. *The final divine reply: The seer is assured that his lot is with the blessed, and is bidden to contemplate their felicity, and not to think of the fate of sinners (S).*

- S 46 And he answered me and said:
 Things present (match) them of the present,
 Things future them of the future!
- 47 For thou comest far short of being able to love my creation more than I!
 Thou, however, hast many times ^w ranged thyself with ^w the ungodly. ^x This must not be! ^x
- 48, 49 But even on this account thou shalt be honourable before the Most High; because thou hast humbled thyself, as it becomes thee, ^y and hast not assigned thyself a place ^y among the righteous; ⁵⁰ and so thou shalt receive the greater glory. ^z For ^z with many afflictions shall they be afflicted that ⁵¹ inhabit the world in the last times, because they have walked in great pride. But do thou (rather) ^a think of thine own case ^a, and of them who are like thyself search out the glory.
- 52 For for you
 is opened Paradise,
 planted the Tree of life;
 the future Age prepared,
 plenteousness made ready;

^{w-w} Σ te et ipsum proximasti [iniustus] ^{x-x} Σ (= $\mu\eta$ ουτως): Σ numquam (= $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$) ^{y-y} Σ et non indicasti te ^{z-z} Σ (= $\sigma\tau\iota$): Σ propter quod (= $\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota$) ^{a-a} Σ pro te intellege

(e) viii. 46-62. In the reply that follows the angel lightly brushes aside the seer's objection to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the field, by reminding him that the simile suits the present corruptible order; with the future it will be different. Moreover, God's love of His creatures far exceeds that of any other being. A remarkable passage follows in which the seer's self-identification with sinners is partly rebuked and partly commended. He is told not to range himself with the ungodly, but his humility in doing so is commended. Many shall be brought to ruin in the last times by the sin of pride. But let the seer contemplate the glory that awaits him with other righteous—the delights of Paradise, and the abolition of evil, death, and corruption. Let no more questions be asked as to the lost, who have deserved their fate, because they have defied the Most High, and scorned the benefits prepared for them. The conclusion of this section, which follows in ix. 13-22, sets forth the almost total corruption of the world as due to man's sin. Only a remnant of the sinful mass has been rescued with difficulty and by the grace of God.

Here we have the apologia of orthodox Judaism as S conceived it. It is the best answer that can be furnished, from the orthodox standpoint, to meet the objections and difficulties that have been raised; and with it the seer has, perforce to be content. But, at the best, his doubts and perplexities can only have been stilled, they cannot have been really satisfied, by such a reply.

46. **Things present . . . future.** Gunkel renders crisply: 'Heute den heutigen, einst den Einstigen!' For the form of the sentence cf. vii. 25 (*vacua vacuis et plena plenis*). Hilg. renders: $\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$; i.e. present things are like present people, &c. The angel brushes aside the seer's objection (raised in v. 44) to the comparison of mankind to seed sown in the fields, by reminding him that both the comparison and the thing compared belonged to the present order; the future (and all that belongs to it) has standards of its own. Here, again, the dualism of present and future is marked. Cf. vii. 16.

47. **to love my creation.** Cf. v. 33, note.

50. **in the last times.** It should be remembered, however, that the conceptions of S and E regarding 'the last times' are very different. While S thinks of this period as an evil time, when a generation lives that is distinguished by overweening arrogance and pride, and upon which judgement will descend suddenly, according to E the last period is to be a time of felicity for a righteous generation (cf. vi. 26-28), while according to R the final period is the (temporary) Messianic one of 400 years (vii. 28-29).

because they have walked in great pride. The emphasis laid by the author on the virtue of humility and the sin of pride is remarkable. The latter was a conspicuous and besetting fault of a section of the Pharisaic party in the first half of the first century (cf. Mark xii. 38 f., Matt. xxiii. 5 f.; cf. also for a more general reference Luke xiv. 7-11); and the present passage seems to be directed by the author against some of his contemporaries (end of first century A.D.).

51. **of them who are like thyself**, i.e. those whose destiny is like thine own—the righteous dead who in the intermediate state enjoy righteousness and peace, and who are to enjoy even greater glory after the Judgement. Here Salathiel is the subject. Contrast xiv. 9, where Ezra is the subject.

52. **for you is opened Paradise.** In vv. 52-54 the 'glory' spoken of in v. 51 is unfolded in a series of explicit references detailing the happy accompaniments of the future life of the righteous in heaven. In accordance with a mode of representation common in apocalyptic literature these various sources of happiness and delight are declared to be already in existence, prepared beforehand and held in reserve for the future delectation of the righteous. The contemplation of these future joys is regarded as a source of perennial consolation to the faithful in their trials and tribulations on earth: cf. in the N.T. such passages as 1 Pet. i. 4 ('an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you,' &c.); Heb. xi. 16, &c. See further Volz, p. 124 f.

By 'Paradise' here is meant the heavenly Paradise, which was shut up on account of Adam's sin, and which will be opened after the last Judgement to receive the righteous and elect. See, further, the additional note in EA, p. 195.

planted the Tree of life. The idealized 'Tree of Life' is one of the striking features of the heavenly Paradise on which the apocalypists love to dwell. Cf. vii. 123; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2; 1 En. xxiv f.

- S a City builded,
 a Rest appointed;
^b Good works established ^b,
^c wisdom preconstituted ^c;
 53 The (evil) root is sealed up from you,
 infirmity from your path extinguished;
 And Death is hidden,
^d Hades fled away ^d;
^e Corruption forgotten ^e,
 sorrows passed away;
 54 and in the end ^f the treasures of immortality ^f are made manifest.
 55, 56 Therefore ask no more concerning the multitude of them that perish; for having received liberty
 they despised the Most High;
 scorned his Law,
 and ^g forsook ^g his ways:
 57, 58 Moreover ^h his saints ^h they have trodden under foot; and have said in their heart that there
 59 is no God—yea, though knowing full well that they must die. ⁱ Therefore as ⁱ the things aforesaid
^j abide for you ^j, so thirst and anguish ^k await them ^k. For the Most High willed not that men
 60 should come to destruction; but they—his creatures—have themselves defiled the Name of him
 that made them, and have proved themselves ungrateful to him who prepared ^l life for them ^l.
 61, 62 Therefore my judgement is now nigh at hand; and this I have not made known unto all men,
 but only unto thee and to a few like thee.

(6) THE SIGNS OF THE END REVIEWED AND APPLIED TO THE AUTHOR'S
 OWN TIMES (R) (E).

(viii. 63-ix. 12.)

- R 63 Then I answered and said: Behold, O Lord, thou hast already shown me a great number of the
 signs which thou art about to do in the last times, but at what time thou hast not shown me.

^{b-b} perfecta est bonitas ^{c-c} $\mathbb{L}$ ante perfecta sapientia ^{d-d} $\mathbb{L}$ infernum fugit ^{e-e} so $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ et corruptio in oblivionem,
which joined with the previous clause infernum fugit has led to the rendering 'hell and corruption are fled into forgetful-
ness' (R. V.) ^{f-f} so $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ thesaurus immortalitatis ^{g-g} so $\mathbb{L}$ *Ethiop.* (= κατελιπον): $\mathbb{S}$ they made to cease (= κατελυνον)
^{h-h} so $\mathbb{S}$ (= τους οσιους αυτου): $\mathbb{L}$ iustos eius (= τους δικαιους αυτου): so *Ethiop.* ⁱ⁻ⁱ so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop.*): $\mathbb{L}$ sicut
 enim ^{j-j} so $\mathbb{S}$: $\mathbb{L}$ vos suscipiet ^{k-k} $\mathbb{L}$ quae parata sunt *which prob. disguises a verb* (= ? μελλει Heb. עתיד)

a City builded, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem which will more than compensate for the loss of the earthly city.
 Apparently S did not contemplate a restoration or rebuilding of the earthly Jerusalem. See further, *EA*, p. 198f.
 a Rest appointed. The 'rest of God' is the final sabbath-rest (σαββατισμός, Heb. iv. 9) which awaits the people
 of God.

Good works established (founded). Cf. Eph. ii. 10.

wisdom preconstituted. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

53. The (evil) root is sealed up from you. Cf. iii. 22.

Death is hidden. For the abolition of death cf. Isa. xxv. 8; 2 En. lxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 14.

Hades fled away. Cf. 2 Bar. xxi. 3; notice the personification of Hades, as in Rev. vi. 8. For the juxtaposition
 of Death and Hades cf. Isa. xxviii. 15; Rev. i. 18, xx. 12, 14.

54. and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest. The sequence of thought in vv. 53-54 is
 noticeable; first the sources of sin are abolished, then its consequences (death, Hades, corruption, sorrows), and lastly
 the positive boons of the future life are revealed (the treasures of immortality).

59. thirst and anguish. For the representation cf. Luke xvi. 24.

62. to a few like thee, i.e. prophets (apocalyptists) like Salathiel or Ezra.

(6) viii. 63-ix. 12. At this point the divine reply in the dialogue (of S) is interrupted by a section which has obvious
 affinities with the eschatological sections describing the signs of the approaching End, derived from the older source E
 (iv. 56-v. 13a, vi. 11-28). It has been inserted in its present position by R, who, as in vii. 26-44, has embodied
 other material summarized partly from S. The composite character of the section as thus described will appear from
 an examination of its contents.

The seer begins by asking to be informed something as to the time of the End. He is told in reply to note care-
 fully that when a certain number of the predicted signs are past, that is the very time when the Most High will visit
 the world (ix. 2). A short enumeration of the Messianic 'woes' follows—describing a time of physical, social, and
 political convulsions (ix. 3). This is particularly interesting here as it seems clear that R intends this description to
 apply to the times in which he himself is living (ix. 4-6). All who are able to escape by works or by faith shall see
 God's salvation (i.e. the Messianic Age that precedes the End of the world) within the borders of the Holy Land,
 which has been sanctified from the beginning (ix. 7, 8). The verses that follow (ix. 9-12) recall the tone of S, and
 have probably been derived in some way from that source by R. They describe the punishment and pains of those
 who have defied the Law and been unbelieving. Their punishment comes immediately after death, in accordance

R 9¹ And he answered me and said: Measure (the matter) carefully in thy mind, and when thou seest
 2 that ^ma certain part ^mof the predicted signs are past, then shalt thou understand that it is the very
 3 time when the Most High is about to visit the world which he has made. When in the world there
 shall appear

E ⁿ quakings of places ⁿ,
 tumult of peoples,
^o schemings of nations ^o,
^p confusion of leaders ^p,
 disquietude of princes,

R (E) 4 then shalt thou understand that it is of these things the Most High has spoken since the days that
 5 were aforetime from the beginning. For just as ^awith respect to all that has happened in the world ^a
 6 ^rthe beginning is obscure (?), but the end (issue) manifest ^r, so also are the times of the Most High:
 the beginnings ^aare [visible] ^s^t in portents and secret signs ^t, and the end ^uin effects and marvels ^u.
 7 And every one that shall (then) be saved, and shall be able to escape on account of his works or his
 8 faith ^vby which he has believed ^v, ^wsuch shall survive ^w from the perils aforesaid, and shall see my
 9 salvation in my land, and within my borders which I have sanctified for myself eternally. Then
 shall they be amazed that now have abused my ways; they shall abide in the torments which they
 10 have spurned and despised. For ^xall who ^xfailed to recognize me in their lifetime, ^yalthough
 11 I dealt bountifully with them ^y; and all who have defied my Law, while they yet had liberty, and,
 12 while place of repentance was still open to them, gave no heed but scorned (it); these must be
 brought to know after death by torment.

1-1 ^ℓ eis nunc vitam ^{m-m} reading pars quaedam (so ^ℒ Ethiop.) ⁿ⁻ⁿ ^ℓ motio locorum (= κίνησις τόπων)
^{o-o} ^ℓ gentium cogitationes (? read cogitationes) ^{p-p} ^ℓ ducum inconstantia (= ηγεμονων ακαταστασια) ^{a-a} ^ℓ
 omne quod factum est in saeculo (casus pendens) ^{r-r} ^ℓ corrupt: ^ℒ the beginning is known and the end manifest:
 perhaps Greek had εν αφανει . . . εν εμφανει: see further EA, p. 202 ^{s-s} ^ℓ manifesta: so ^ℒ ^{t-t} ^ℓ in prodigiis
 et virtutibus = εν τερασι και δυναμει (δυναμις = תעלומה Job xi. 6 LXX: see further EA, p. 203) ^{u-u} so Ethiop.:
^ℓ in actu et in signis (reading σηματοισ for θαναματοισ) ^{v-v} reading in qua credidit ^{w-w} reading is relinquetur
^{x-x} ^ℓ quotquot (= οσοι) ^{y-y} so ^ℒ: ^ℓ beneficia consecuti

with the theology of S, whereas the older view is that punishment only comes completely after the resurrection; while it is partly effected by the destruction of the ungodly in the wars and tumults which precede the Messianic Age, and which the righteous survive.

The inconsistency of the section, as a whole, with S can easily be shown (see EA, p. 200). The whole section is a compilation from the hand of R, who has drawn partly upon E (ix. 3, 7, 8), and partly upon S (ix. 9, 12). It thus exhibits phenomena essentially the same as vii. 26-44.

63. at what time. Contrast Acts i. 7.

ix. 3. tumult of peoples. Cf. Isa. xvii. 13.

4. then shalt thou understand . . . these things . . . from the beginning. The author is conscious that the tradition he is citing is extremely old. The antiquity of one element in the eschatological tradition will, perhaps, account for its association with such names as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah—the heroic figures of the primaeval age. See RWS (ed. 2), p. 36.

5-6. For just as . . . marvels. For text see crit. notes. The point of the saying seems to be that the portents of the last times can be detected and read beforehand by the initiated, though their true significance is missed by the world at large; just as the real significance of the obscure beginnings of things that develop into great events or issues in human life and history generally is only grasped at first by the discerning.

6. in effects and marvels. Gunkel renders v. 6: 'so also are the times of the Most High: their beginning is in word (i. e. the prophetic word revealed to the apocalyptists referred to in v. 4) and portents, but their end in deeds and marvels' (αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐν φωναῖς καὶ ἐν σημείοις, καὶ ἡ συντέλεια ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει). He compares Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 12, where it is remarked that it is God's property to announce beforehand what is to occur, and then to bring it to pass. For the text adopted by Gunkel cf. EA, p. 203.

7. on account of his works or his faith, &c. R here combines the statements of S regarding faith and works. Cf. vi. 5, vii. 77.

8. my salvation, i. e. the Messianic salvation.
 which I have sanctified for myself eternally. The Holy Land as sacrosanct—chosen by God—will be the scene of the Messianic salvation. Cf. xii. 13, 34, xiii. 48, 49; 2 Bar. xxix. 2, xl. 2. The idea of the specially privileged and sacrosanct character of the Holy Land lived on in various forms, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. Cf. Volz, p. 308 f., and see Charles's note on 2 Bar. xxix. 2.

12. while place of repentance was still open to them. For the phrase 'place of repentance' cf. Wisd. vii. 10, 20; Heb. xii. 17.

after death by torment. Verses 9-12 represent the point of view of S, and refer to the state of the wicked immediately after death; this representation is essentially inconsistent with the previous verses, which refer to Messianic blessedness.

(7) THE DIVINE REPLY CONCLUDED: FINAL JUSTIFICATION OF THE FEWNESS OF THE SAVED (S).

(ix. 13-22.)

- S 13 So, then, be thou no longer curious as to how the ungodly shall be punished, but inquire (rather) how the righteous^z shall be saved^z—they to whom the world (belongs) and for whose sakes, also, the
 14, 15 world has come into existence^a. And I answered and said: I have already said, and say now, and
 16 shall say (it) again: There are more who perish than shall be saved, even as the flood is greater than a drop!
 17 And he answered me and said:
 As is the ground, so the sowings;
 as are the flowers, so are the colours;
 As is^b the workman^b, so is the work;
 as is the husbandman, so is the threshing-floor—
 18 °For there was (a time) in the eternal ages when I prepared for those who now exist—before they had come into being—a world wherein they might dwell^c; and then none gainsaid me—for none
 19 existed. But now they that have been created in this world—(a world) made ready with both an unfailling table and an enexplorable pasture—have become corrupt in their manners.
 20 Then I considered my world, and lo! it was destroyed;
 and my earth, and lo! ^dit was in peril^d—
 on account of ^ethe tumults^e ^fof those who are (living) in it^f.
 21 And I saw, and spared (some) ^gwith very great difficulty^g, and saved me a grape out of a cluster,
 22 and a plant ^hout of a great forest^h. Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected!

^{z-z} so *Ar.*¹: but *§ Ethiop.* live (as often elsewhere) ^a *¶* et quando: but other *VSS.* > ^{b-b} *¶* opera (= *εργασία*: *Heb.* עֲמָלָה: the latter = workman or work) ^{c-c} so *§*; cf. *Ethiop.*: *¶* quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent ^{d-d} *¶* erat periculi ^{e-e} reading cogitationes (for cogitationes); cf. *§* ^{f-f} cf. *Ethiop.*: *¶* quae in eo advenerunt ^{g-g} *¶* vix valde (= *πανυ μογος*) ^{h-h} so *§ Ethiop.* (cf. *Ar.*¹) = αφ' ὧν πολλὰς: *¶* de tribu multa (*φύλης* for ἀφύλης)

(7) ix. 13-22. The first verse of this section forms the immediate continuation of viii. 62. The seer had been assured that the judgement was near at hand, and had been revealed only to him and a few like him. Now he is once again told not to concern himself with the fate of the ungodly, but to fix his attention, rather, on the salvation which the righteous attain (cf. viii. 55). This declaration is not, as Volkmar and, later, Gunkel have supposed, the enunciation of a new subject for discussion in the visions that follow, but merely a recapitulation of what has already been discussed in the former part of the present vision. The seer's reply is also a repetition of former complaints about the large number of those who perish (ix. 15-16). The final form of the divine reply follows (*vv.* 17-22). The evil of the present world is due to man's sin. There was a time—before the generation of men had been created—when none defied the Most High; but now those who have been placed in the world, which has been provided and furnished for their needs, have degenerated and become corrupt. In order that the purpose of Creation shall not be entirely frustrated a few have been spared—'a grape out of a cluster, a plant out of a great forest': 'Perish, then, the multitude which has been born in vain; but let my grape be preserved, and my plant, which with much labour I have perfected.'

It should be noted that the preservation of a small remnant from the corrupt mass is due entirely to special efforts on God's part. In other words, it must be attributed entirely to the divine grace.

13. be thou no longer curious . . . the righteous shall be saved. Cf. 2 Bar. xlviii. 48.
 15. more who perish than shall be saved. Cf. vii. 47.
 16. as the flood is greater than a drop. Cf. iv. 48-50.
 17. as are the flowers, so are the colours. Brilliant colouring betokens a beautiful flower.
 18. For there was (a time) in the eternal ages . . . they might dwell. So *§* (cf. crit. note). The Latin (apparently misreading the Greek, see *EA*, p. 207) renders: *quoniam tempus erat saeculi et tunc cum essem parans eis qui nunc, antequam fieret illis saeculum in quo inhabitarent* = 'For there was a time in the world, even then when I was preparing for them that now live, before the world was made for them to dwell in; [and then, &c.]; R.V. The Latin misses and obscures the point. To say that there was a time in the history of the world—which had been created for man's sake—when sin and rebellion did not exist, viz. before man had appeared on the scene, adds point to the divine indictment of the human race that follows: but to say (as the Latin text says) that before the world was made man did not exist, and therefore could not sin, is banal. The *Ethiop.* agrees essentially with the *Syr.* (cf. Violet); but the original Greek text appears to have been in some disorder in the MSS. used by the Latin and *Ethiop.*

19. (a world) made ready with both an unfailling table and an unexplorable pasture. The reference is to Paradise and its marvellous fruits ('an unfailling table') which its trees bear without cessation. The banquet which the righteous are to enjoy in the future world is often referred to (sometimes also in Messianic passages): cf. Rev. ii. 7 ('hidden manna') and see Bousset, *R²*, p. 327: the Greek of the phrase 'an unexplorable (= mysterious) pasture' = (εἰς) νομόν ἀνεξιχνύετον (Volk.). The Versions read νόμον, 'law', for νομόν, 'pasture' (or? νομήν): hence 'unsearchable law' (R. V.).

VI. ix. 23-25. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

S 23 But if ⁱthou wilt separate thyselfⁱ yet seven more days—thou shalt not, however, fast in them,
 24 but shalt go into a field of flowers, where no house has been built, and eat only ^jof the fruit of the
 25 field^j; and thou shalt taste no flesh and drink no wine, but (eat) only the fruit—and pray unto the
 Most High continually, then I will come and talk with thee.

THE FOURTH VISION.

(ix. 26-x. 59.)

I. ix. 26-28. INTRODUCTION (S).

26 So I went, as he commanded me, into the field which is called ^kArdat^k, and there I sat among
 27 the flowers, and did eat of the herbs of the field; ^land the eating thereof satisfied me^l. And it

ⁱ⁻ⁱ so S: **U** [si] intermittas ^{j-j} so *Ethiop.* **U** de floribus campi ^{k-k} so **U** (S**); = Ar.² (?); v. *l.* Adar, Ardad, Ardas, Ardaf: **S** *Ethiop.* Arpad (cf. 2 *Kings* xviii. 34); Ar.¹ Araab or Araat; *Arm.* Ardab ^{l-l} **U** et facta est esca earum mihi in saturitatem

ix. 23-25. This short section forms the conclusion of the long third vision and the transition to the fourth. The seer is bidden to wait another seven days, when a further revelation shall be vouchsafed to him. He is, however, expressly told not to fast—as he had done in preparation for former visions—but to go into a field of flowers, and eat only flowers (?) or herbs of the field; he is, moreover, to abstain from tasting flesh and wine, and is bidden to pray continually. The field is to be destitute of any building. As the following vision makes clear, this locality is to be the scene of a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The direction as to eating only of the produce of the field is remarkable. What is its significance? It is clearly not to be regarded as on a par with the strict fast, from which it is expressly distinguished. Moreover, in the introduction to the third vision (vi. 35) the seer says that he fasted seven days in order to complete the three weeks of fasting that had been commanded him (i.e. a week of fasting before each of the first three visions). Thus this form of preparation had reached its climax at the beginning of the third vision, and it is curious to note that no further direct mention of fasting is met with in the remaining chapters of the book (x-xiv), though contexts occur in which such might have been expected (cf. xi. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1).¹

Is, then, the direction as to eating herbs or flowers here to be regarded as a substitute for fasting proper—as a form of half-fasting? This is possible, as abstinence from flesh and wine is decidedly in the direction of a mild asceticism. But it may be argued that more probably what is intended is rather in the nature of an antithesis to strict fasting. It should be remembered that the destruction of the Holy City—and, above all, of the Temple—in A.D. 70 gave rise to a widespread ascetic movement among the Jewish people who survived, especially in Palestine. Many gave expression to their grief in severe and regular forms of fasting. It is this situation which is contemplated here. The seer is about to receive a vision in which grief at the desolation—bitter as it is—of the earthly Sion is to be transcended by a vision of the heavenly City. He is bidden, therefore, not to fast, but, in solitude, and far from human habitation and proximity, to prepare himself by partaking of the simplest food of nature, and by prayer, for the coming revelation. The food most appropriate in the circumstances would be that of the primæval age and the age of man's innocence. See further *EA*, p. 209 f.

24. **thou shalt taste no flesh . . . no wine, but (eat) only the fruit**, i.e. eat only what grows in the field. So Daniel and his companions ate only vegetable food, and drank water rather than suffer defilement; cf. 2 *Macc.* v. 27.

ix. 26-x. 59. THE FOURTH VISION. The following vision seems to have been preserved largely without interpolation, and as it was composed by the author of S, the pen of the Redactor (R) only coming into evidence in one or two places and in the transitional verses at the end (x. 58-59). The composition is even and flowing, and moves in an easy logical sequence. The seer proceeds, as he has been commanded, to a field which bears the mysterious name of 'Ardat', and there lives on herbs for seven days (ix. 26-28). Then he addresses God, giving utterance to the thoughts that have arisen within him. Israel had been entrusted with the divine Law—it had been sown in their hearts—but they had failed to keep it. The vessel that received it was doomed to perish because of sin, while the Law remained 'in its honour', imperishable (ix. 29-37). This speech is interrupted by a vision of a woman in distress, who is mourning the death of an only son—a son who, born after thirty years of sterility, had died on the very morning of his wedding. The seer, therefore, by way of consolation, admonishes her that her loss is small compared with the disasters that have befallen the chosen people as a whole, and more especially the crowning disaster of the destruction of Sion (ix. 38-x. 24). Then suddenly the scene changes: the woman vanishes, and in her place appears a great and splendid city—the heavenly Sion (x. 25-28). The section closes with an account of the intervention of the angel (Uriel) and the explanation of the vision given by him to the seer (x. 29-57, followed by the conclusion x. 58-59).

The whole section thus falls into the following divisions:—

- i. *Introduction* (ix. 26-28);
- ii. *The abiding glory of the Law and Israel: a contrast* (ix. 29-37);
- iii. *The vision of the Disconsolate Woman* (ix. 38-x. 24).

With this vision, which transports him into the heavenly world, the Apocalypse of Salathiel doubtless ended. The visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources. Some fragments of the work of S are embedded in these later visions (xii. 40-48 and xiv. 28-35); these will be discussed later in connexion with their present contexts.

ix. 26-28. The mysterious locality which is described as 'the field which is called Ardat', whither the seer went, in accordance with the divine command, and meditated for seven days, living on 'the herbs of the field,' has been the subject of much debate. The view that the name means 'the wilderness of Judah' (Lücke) or (as *Arbah* = ערבה,

¹ This fact affords a strong confirmation of the correctness of the critical analysis which separates these chapters from the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

S 28 came to pass after seven days, as I lay upon the grass, that my heart was again troubled as before. Then ^m I opened my mouth ^m, and began to address the Most High.

II. ix. 29-37. THE ABIDING GLORY OF THE LAW, AND ISRAEL: A CONTRAST (S).

29 And I said: ⁿ O Lord ⁿ, thou didst verily reveal thyself unto our fathers ^o in the wilderness ^p when they went forth out of Egypt, and when they walked through the untrodden and unfruitful wilderness; and thou didst say:

O Israel, hear thou me;

O seed of Jacob, attend unto my words!

31 For, behold, I sow my Law in you, and it shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever.

32 But our fathers, who received the Law, observed it not, and the statutes they did not keep, and yet the fruit of the Law did not perish, nor could it—because it was thine; but they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them. ^a Now, it is a general rule ^a that, when the ground has received seed, or the sea a ship, or any other vessel food or drink, ^r and when it happens that what is sown ^r, or ^s what is launched ^s, or the things that have been taken in come to an end,—these come to an end, while the receptacles remain: but with us it has not been so. 36 We who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken 37 it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory.

^{m-m} so *Ethiop. Ar.*: $\mathfrak{L}$ apertum est os meum: so *S Ar.* ⁿ⁻ⁿ so $\mathfrak{L}$: but *S Ethiop.* O Lord my Lord (= Δεσποτα κυριε)
^o $\mathfrak{L}$ + in nobis (*prob. a gloss*): other VSS. > ^p $\mathfrak{S}$ + of Sinai ^{a-a} = $\mathfrak{S}$ and this is the rule (*Heb. וזה הכלל*): $\mathfrak{L}$ et ecce consuetudo ^{r-r} so $\mathfrak{L}$: $\mathfrak{S}$ > ^{s-s} $\mathfrak{L}$ quod missum est ^{t-t} so *S Ar.* *Arm.* $\mathfrak{L}$ et respexi oculis meis ^{u-u} reading adii-

'desert') is a symbolical name for the Holy Land generally, which might have been represented at the end of the first century A.D. as a veritable wilderness to the Jews (Volkmar), may be at once dismissed. More plausible is the suggestion put forward by Mr. Rendel Harris (*The Rest of the Words of Baruch* [Cambridge, 1889], pp. 35-39) that the locality intended is the neighbourhood of Abraham's oak, near Hebron. This would be a highly suitable place for a divine revelation; and, moreover, Hebron is mentioned in 2 Baruch as one of the seats of prophetic inspiration (xlvi. 1). Prof. Harris concludes that the scene of the fifth vision in 4 Ezra (ch. xi) is Hebron, and that this is identical with the scene of the fourth vision, i. e. 'the field of Ardat'. But in this view no account has been taken of the different sources which appear in these chapters; the connexion of the scene of the two visions is a purely artificial one, and is due to the compiler. Nor is it at all certain that the 'oak' mentioned in 4 Ezra xiv. 1 as the place where Ezra received the revelation is 'Abraham's oak', as Prof. Harris supposes. It may have been some well-known tree in Jerusalem (see notes *ad loc.*).

Thus the attempt to locate 'the field of Ardat' at Hebron cannot be regarded as successful. Whatever may be the true explanation of the name 'Ardat', it seems clear that its significance must be mainly of a symbolical character. The repeated statement that the mysterious place was one 'where no house has been built' (ix. 24, x. 51) not only excludes the actual site of the ruined earthly Jerusalem, but also points to a place which was still untouched by human hand, and so fit to be the spot where the heavenly city could (temporarily) rest. Presumably the reader was expected to think of this locality as in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, where Salathiel is represented as residing at the beginning of the Apocalypse (4 Ezra iii. 1).

One slight indication (cf. x. 58) suggests that the time when this revelation took place was during the day, and not by night, as is the case with the dream-visions. See further *EA*, p. 212 f.

ix. 29-37. After seven days' meditation in 'Ardat' the seer gives characteristic expression once again to the thoughts which have agitated his heart. This takes the form of a soliloquy on the relation of Israel to the Law. At the Exodus from Egypt—when Israel became a nation—God had sown the Law in the heart of His people, with the promise: 'It shall bring forth fruit in you, and ye shall be glorified in it for ever' (ix. 31). But the fathers observed it not; yet 'the fruit of the Law did not perish'—it could not—because it was essentially divine. But 'they who received it perished, because they kept not that which had been sown in them'. The law that obtains in the natural world is that the receptacles remain after that which they have received has passed away—for instance, the ground remains after the seed that has been sown in it has sprung up and been gathered, the sea remains after the ship that has been launched in it has come to an end, and so on. But with Israel it is different. For 'we who have received the Law and sinned must perish, together with our heart, which has taken it in: the Law, however, perishes not, but abides in its glory'.

The application of the moral remains. The divine element is eternal—the corruptible vessel that receives it perishes. Even so the eternal reality which was partially and imperfectly expressed by the earthly Jerusalem remains; but the vessel that mediated it has perished. The earthly vessel (i. e. the earthly Jerusalem) has been destroyed—it has perished: how foolish and perverse to look for its revival! Hope should rather be fixed on the eternal City which exists—and has always existed—in the incorruptible world, and which is to be enjoyed by those who pass into the blessed immortal life of the age that is to come. The confirmation of the truth of these hopes—and the answer to any lingering doubts that may remain—is the burden of the vision that follows (ix. 38 f.).

29. **thoudidst verily reveal thyself.** The reference is to such passages as Ex. xix. 9, xxiv. 10, &c.

when they went forth out of Egypt. Cf. Judges xi. 16.

31. **For, behold, I sow my Law in you . . . in it for ever.** This is the author's paraphrase of the O.T. description of the relation set up between God and Israel by Israel's acceptance of the Law, and entry into the covenant-relation with God. He reads into the naïve O.T. promises of temporal reward his own transcendental views, and understands the glory promised to Israel to mean the unfading glory of the eternal and incorruptible heavenly world. For a similar heightening of O.T. language cf. vii. 129, where Deut. xxx. 19 is cited ('Choose thee life', &c., i. e. eternal life).

37. **the Law, however, &c.** The Law does not perish because it comes from heaven: it is spiritual (πνευματικός,

III. ix. 38-x. 24. THE VISION OF THE DISCONSOLATE WOMAN (S).

S 38 And when I spake thus in my heart ^tI lifted up my eyes^t, and saw a woman upon the right; and
 lo! she was mourning and weeping with a loud voice, and was much grieved in mind, and her clothes
 39 were rent and there were ashes upon her head. Then I dismissed my thoughts in which I had been
 40 preoccupied, and turned to her and said: Wherefore weepest thou? And why art thou grieved in
 41 thy mind? And she said unto me: Suffer me, my lord, to indulge my sorrow and "continue my
 grief", for I am embittered in soul and deeply afflicted.
 42 And I said unto her: What has befallen thee? tell me.
 43 She said unto me: I, thy servant, was barren, and bore no child, though I had a husband thirty
 44 years. Both hourly and daily during these thirty years I besought the Most High night and day.
 45 And it came to pass after thirty years

God heard thy handmaid
 and looked upon my affliction;
 He considered my distress,
 and gave me a son.

And I rejoiced in him greatly, I and my husband and ^vall my fellow townsfolk^v, and we gave great
 46, 47 glory unto ^wthe Mighty One^w. And I reared him with great travail. So when he was grown up,
 I came to take ^xhim^x a wife, and made ^ya feast day^y.

10 1 And it came to pass when my son entered into his wedding chamber, he fell down and died.
 2 Then ^zI removed the lights^z, and all my fellow townsfolk rose up to comfort me; but I remained
 3 quiet ^auntil the night of the next day^a. ^bAnd it came to pass when they were all quiet (and
 desisted) from consoling, as I remained quiet^b, I rose up by night, and fled, and came to this field,
 4 as thou seest. And I purpose ^cnever again^c to return to the city, but here to stay and neither eat
 5 nor drink, but continually to mourn and to fast till I die. Then I left the thoughts in which I was
 6 still occupied, and answered her in anger, and said: O thou above all other women most foolish!
 7 Seest thou not our mourning, and what has befallen us? How Sion, the mother of us all, is in great
 8 grief and deep affliction? ^dIt is right now to mourn^d, seeing that we all mourn, and to grieve, seeing
 9 that we are all grief-stricken; thou, however, art grief-stricken for one son^e. But ask the earth, and

ciam dolere ^{v-v} so *S* (*lit.* all the sons of my town) *Ethiop.* *Ar.*¹ *Ar.*²: *ℒ* omnes cives mei ^{w-w} *ℒ* Fortem (= *rov*
ισχυρον = *החלל* in LXX) ^{x-x} reading ei ^{y-y} *ℒ* diem epuli: *S*+and great rejoicing ^{z-z} cf. *S* (*1st pers.*
sing.): *ℒ* evertimus omnes lumina (everti = ? *καθελον* = *Heb.* *הסיר*) ^{a-a} so *Ethiop.* *ℒ* usque in alium diem usque
 in noctem ^{b-b} *ℒ* et factum est cum omnes quievissent ut me consolarentur ut quiescerem (*original Heb. text*
perhaps was: *ויהי בהיותם מחרישים כחם מנחם לפי שאני מחריש* see *EA*, p. 221) ^{c-c} so *S* (= *μηκερι*); cf. *Ar.*¹
*Ar.*²: *ℒ* iam non (= ? *μη aprt*) ^{d-d} so *S* *Ar.*¹ = *ℒ* (*Violet*): lugere validissimum est nunc (*BJ* lugete validissime
 [end of v. 7]. Et nunc) ^{e-e} *S*+but we the whole world for our mother

Rom. vii. 14): cf. also 2 Cor. iii. 7 f. [With vv. 36, 37 cf. 2 Bar. xiv. 19: 'And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart.']

ix. 38-x. 24. We now reach the final sections of the Salathiel-Apocalypse. It is altogether fitting that the close of the (Salathiel) book should contain a revelation of the realities of the future world where, according to the theology of S, the felicity and blessedness of the righteous can alone be consummated; and it accords with what would be expected that this revelation should be concerned with that part of the heavenly realities (viz. the heavenly City) whose earthly counterpart (viz. Jerusalem), in its humiliation and ruin, had formed the starting-point of the debates of the Apocalypse (cf. iii. 27). It has already been declared (cf. viii. 52) that the heavenly Sion is one of the things which belong to the eternal order, and which should be made freely available for the enjoyment of the righteous after the final Judgement. It is this heavenly reality which is now manifested to the seer. An examination of this section and the following makes it clear that the disconsolate woman who appears to the seer, mourning the death of her only son, must be the heavenly Sion: she cannot be identified with the earthly Jerusalem, as Kabisch justly points out, without making the story meaningless. See further *EA*, p. 216 f.

38. **ashes upon her head.** A sign of grief and humiliation. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. lxi. 3.

45. **we gave great glory.** To 'give God the glory' (cf. Luke xvii. 18) for boons bestowed was an all-important religious duty. The fact that this duty was religiously performed seems to be emphasized here in order to exclude the possibility of a suggestion that the calamity which followed was a judgement of God (so Gunkel).

47. **a feast day.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 2; Luke xiv. 16.

x. 1. **and died.** With the death of the bridegroom here cp. the story in Tobit (esp. ch. viii). Kabisch thinks this points to a knowledge of the Book of Tobit by S; but this does not necessarily follow.

2. **I removed the lights.** For the wedding lights cf. Matt. xxv. 7. Note the violent contrast between the brilliant illumination of the wedding-feast and the sudden darkness following on the death of the bridegroom.

to comfort me. To condole with mourners as well as to assist in the burial of the dead is a part of the practice of benevolence.

I remained quiet. A mother's grief would normally show itself in loud lamentation; but here she remains dumb.

7. **Sion, the mother of us all.** Cf. Gal. iv. 26 (but there of the heavenly Jerusalem).

8. **It is right now to mourn, &c.** The point of the passage is that the nation is now plunged into calamities, and therefore all may now properly mourn.

- S she shall tell thee, that it is she who ought to mourn ^f the fall of so many ^f that have sprung into
 10 being upon her. ^g Yea, from the beginning all who have been born, and others who are to come—
 11 lo! they go ^g almost all into perdition, and the multitude of them comes to destruction. Who, then,
 should mourn the more? Ought not she that has lost so great a multitude? or thou who grievest
 12 but for one? But if thou sayest to me: My lamentation is not like the earth's, for I have lost the
 fruit of my womb
 which I bare with pains
 and brought forth with sorrows—
 13 ^h but as regards the earth, (it is) according to the course of nature ^h; the multitude present in it is
 14 gone as it came: then I say to thee: Just as thou hast borne (offspring) with sorrow, even so also
 the earth has borne (given) her fruit, namely man, from the beginning unto him that made her.
 15 Now, therefore, keep thy sorrow within,
 and bear gallantly the misfortunes that have befallen thee.
 16 For if thou wilt acknowledge God's decree to be just, thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time,
 17, 18 and shalt be praised among women. Therefore go into the city to thy husband. And she said unto
 19 me: ⁱ I will not do so ⁱ: I will not enter the city, but here will I die. So I proceeded to speak further
 20 unto her, and said: ^j No, woman! no, woman! ^j do not do so;
 but ^k suffer thyself to be prevailed upon by reason of Sion's misfortunes ^k,
 be consoled by reason of Jerusalem's sorrow.
 21 For thou seest how
 our sanctuary is laid waste,
^l our altar ^l thrown down;
 our Temple destroyed,
 our harp laid low;
 22 our song is silenced,
 our rejoicing ceased;
 the light of our lamp is extinguished,
 the ark of our covenant spoiled;
 our holy things are defiled,
 the name that is called upon us ^m is profaned ^m;

^{f-f} reading tantorum casum (MSS. > casum): so *Ethiop. Ar.*¹ ^{g-g} *ℒ* (Violet) et ex ipso initio omnes nati et
 alii venientes, ecce, &c.; cf. *ℒ* ^{h-h} *ℒ* terra autem secundum viam terrae ⁱ⁻ⁱ so *ℒ* (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹):
^ℒ non faciam ^{j-j} so *ℒ*: other VSS. > ^{k-k} so *ℒ* *Arm.*: *ℒ* consenti persuaderi quid enim casus Sion
 1-1 *ℒ* > ^{m-m} so *ℒ* (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.*¹): *ℒ* paene profanatum est

14. **even so also the earth.** The idea is peculiar and the parallel intended not quite clear. Man is earth's highest production; but this her choicest fruit is produced only to be gathered in by the Creator (i.e. ? by the death of man); and the constant loss of her best, in this way, involves the earth in ceaseless anguish. Such seems to be the general meaning intended.

16. **thou wilt acknowledge . . . to be just.** Cf. Ps. of Sol. viii. 7, 27, 31; ii. 16; Luke vii. 29, 35. To acknowledge the justice of God's decree is equivalent to pious submission to His will.

thou shalt receive thy son again in (due) time, i.e. either the dead son shall be restored to life, or another son shall be given to her in his stead, and so she shall win honour among women. It is possible that, as Gunkel suggests, the sequel of the original story set forth the restoration of the dead son to life; but it is significant that the writer here says nothing of this. He stops short at relating the son's death.

21. **our Temple,** i.e. the Temple-building proper, exclusive of the outer court.

our harp laid low: 'harp' here probably symbolizes the service of praise which has ceased in the ruined sanctuary.

22. **our rejoicing ceased.** Cf. Isa. xxiv. 8, 9.

the light of our lamp . . . extinguished. The extinction of the continual lamp marked the cessation of the functions of the Temple-services and sacrifices; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 36-59.

the ark of our covenant spoiled. This detail, of course, fits the position of the historical Salathiel (in the Exile), and can only be referred in strictness to the first Temple. The ark of the Covenant disappeared at the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and nothing took its place in the later Temples. Two divergent traditions are met with as to its fate; according to the one (which our text follows) the ark was carried off with the other holy vessels into Babylonia (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10); according to the other, the ark was concealed within the Temple; cf. 2 Macc. ii. 5-8 and 2 Bar. vi. What is the significance of the mention of the spoiling of the ark in our passage? Perhaps the writer intended to suggest that it was vain to look for the restoration of the ark and other holy things in the Messianic Age in the last times. In other words, there would be no Messianic Age, and no restoration of the Temple on earth. The other form of the legend which makes the ark to be concealed within the Temple precincts seems to be governed by the idea that it would be brought to light again in the Messianic Age. It is significant that these two contradictory ideas are represented in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch respectively.

our holy things are defiled, i.e. the holy vessels which fell into the hands of the heathen. The writer, though the reference is directly to the first Temple, is thinking of the similar events connected with the destruction in A.D. 70 (e.g. the great candelabrum fell into the hands of Titus).

the name that is called upon us, i.e. the sacred name that has been bestowed upon us by God, the name of Israel; cf. Gen. xxxii. 28.

- our nobles are dishonoured,
 our priests burnt,
 our Levites gone into captivity;
 our virgins are defiled,
 our wives ravished;
ⁿ our righteous are seized,
 [our saints scattered,]
 our children are cast out ⁿ,
 our youths are enslaved,
 our heroes made powerless:
 23 and, what is more than all—
 Sion's seal ^o is now sealed up dishonoured ^o,
 and given up into the hands of them that hate us.
 24 Do thou, then, shake off thy great grief,
 abandon thy much sorrow,
 That the Mighty One may again forgive thee,
 and the Most High give thee rest,
 a respite from thy troubles!

IV. x. 25-28. SION'S GLORY: THE VISION OF THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM (S).

- 25 And it came to pass, while I was talking to her, lo!
 her countenance on a sudden shone exceedingly,
 and ^p her aspect became brilliant as lightning ^p,
 so that I was too much afraid ^a (to approach her, and my heart was terrified exceedingly) ^a: and
 26 while I was debating what this might mean, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the
 27 earth shook at the noise. And when I looked, lo! the woman was no longer visible to me, ^r but
 there was a City builded ^r, and a place showed itself of large foundations. Then I was afraid, and
 28 cried with a loud voice, and said: Where is Uriel, the angel who came unto me at the first? For he
 it is who has caused me to fall into this great bewilderment;
 and so ^s my prayer ^s is made futile,
 and my request disappointed!

V. x. 29-57. INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (S).

- 29 And while I was speaking thus, lo! the angel came to me, who had come to me at the first; and
ⁿ⁻ⁿ All VSS. give only two clauses here, except Ar.² which has three; clauses 1 and 3 are attested by $\mathfrak{L}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹:
 $\mathfrak{L}$ (in an emended form) supports clause 2 and omits clause 3; see for details EA, p. 228 f. ^{o-o} $\mathfrak{L}$ resignata
 est de gloria sua nunc ^{p-p} $\mathfrak{L}$ species coruscus fiebat vultus eius ^{a-a} so $\mathfrak{L}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹: but $\mathfrak{L}$ ad eam
^{r-r} so Oriental VSS.: $\mathfrak{L}$ sed civitas aedificabatur ^{s-s} $\mathfrak{L}$ finis meus = $\mathfrak{L}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹ (cf. R.V. mine end):
 prob., as Violet suggests, there was a corruption in the Hebr. text here, חפלה being misread חבלה

our priests burnt. An allusion to the destruction of the Temple by fire. Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 5. 1) specially mentions two priests of eminence, who threw themselves into the fire 'and were burnt together with the holy house'.

23. Sion's seal is now sealed up dishonoured, lit. 'is sealed up away from its honour', i.e. is robbed of its honour. The 'seal of Sion' is doubtless a symbolical representation of Sion's independence. A more specific allusion to the issue of a national coinage may be intended; see EA, p. 229. In vv. 22-23 the utter ruin of Israel is set forth in detail.

24. may again forgive thee. The death of the son manifested God's wrath; therefore divine forgiveness was necessary.

x. 25-28.

25. her aspect became brilliant as lightning. This recalls the representation of the heavenly bride (= the heavenly Jerusalem) of Rev. xxi. 9; cf. Rev. xii. 1.

27. of large foundations. Cf. Rev. xxi. 19 f.

28. my prayer is made futile, &c. The seer hastily concludes that the revelation regarding Israel's future glory—how it was to be attained (cf. ix. 29-37)—which he had been expecting and for which he was longing so ardently, has been denied him, because the vision he has seen has simply left him in a state of bewilderment and terror, while in fact it is but the prelude to a revelation all the more complete. This, as Gunkel remarks, is a fine touch.

The state of terror into which the seer falls at the marvellous transfiguration of the woman is a feature derived, doubtless, from the actual experience of such ecstasies; cf. similar features in *Hermas*.

x. 29-57. The interpretation of the vision by the angel follows. The seer is told that the transfigured woman is Sion. Which Sion? the heavenly or the earthly? The most natural interpretation is that the heavenly Sion is represented by the woman. In this case her son must stand for the earthly Jerusalem, and the son's death for the downfall and ruin of the earthly city. It is difficult on any other interpretation to understand the significance of the son in the allegorical interpretation. If the woman stands for the earthly Sion, whom does her son represent? According to Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, vi, p. 219 n.), the Messiah! But how can the Messiah have been pictured as being born when the Temple was founded by Solomon, and dying when the Temple was destroyed? The true explanation seems to be

- S 30 when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead, ^tmy understanding being confused^t, he grasped my right hand and strengthened me, and set me on my feet, and said to me:
- 31 What aileth thee?
Why art thou so disquieted?
Wherefore is thy understanding confused,
and the thoughts of thy heart?
- 32 And I said: Because thou hast forsaken me! Yet I did as thou commandedst, and went into the field, and lo! I have seen—^uand yet see^u—that which I am unable to express.
- 33, 34 And he said unto me: Stand up like a man, and I will advise thee. Then said I: Speak on, my lord; only forsake me not, lest I die to no purpose.
- 35 For I have seen what I did not know ^vand heard ^vwhat I do not understand.
- 36 Or is my mind deceived,
and my soul in a dream?
- 37 Now, therefore, I beseech thee to show thy servant concerning this perplexity!
- 38 And he answered me, and said:
Hear me, and I will teach thee,
and tell thee concerning the things thou art afraid of;
for the Most High hath revealed many secrets unto thee.
- 39 For he hath seen ^wthy righteous conduct^w,
how thou hast sorrowed continually for thy people,
and mourned greatly on account of Sion—
- 40, 41 ^xThe matter, therefore, is as follows.^x The woman who appeared to thee a little while ago, whom
42 ^ythou sawest^y mourning and beganest to comfort: whereas now thou seest no likeness of a woman
43 any more, but ^za builded City^z hath appeared unto thee: and whereas she told thee of the misfortune
44 of her son—this is the interpretation: This woman, whom thou sawest, is Sion, whom thou now
45 beholdest as a builded City; And whereas she said unto thee that she was barren thirty years: the reason is that there were ^athree thousand years^a in the world before any offering was offered ^bin (it)

^{t-t} *U* et intellectus meus alienatus erat (= ? και ο νους μου ηλλοτριωθη) ^{u-u} *U* et video; so *S*: but *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.²* >
^{v-v} reading audiui (C M) = *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.²*: *S* I hear = audio (S A) ^{w-w} *U* rectam viam tuam: *S* (cf. *Ethiop.*) = την ευθυτητα σου ^{x-x} so *S* (= ουτος ουν εστιν ο λογος: וזה הדבר): cf. *Ethiop. Arm.*: *U* hic ergo intellectus visionis ^{y-y} *S* > ^{z-z} so *Oriental VSS.*: *U* civitas aedificari (*R.V.* a city in building) ^{a-a} so all the Versions except the *Arm.* (which has many years) and *U* (best *MSS.*) anni . . . tres ^{b-b} reading in eo (for in

that the mother represents the heavenly, and the son the earthly Sion. For a full discussion of alternative views see *EA*, p. 233 f.

The original meaning of the vision has been obscured by two slight alterations in the text from the pen of R; in *v.* 45, 'in it' (= ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e. in the world) has been changed to 'in her' (= ἐν αὐτῇ, i.e. in Sion), thus producing the meaning that for 3,000 years no oblation was offered in Sion, i.e. the earthly Sion; and in *v.* 46 'David' has been altered into 'Solomon'. In this way R secures the interpretation that the woman = the earthly Sion; the son = the Temple (the son's birth = the founding of the Temple by Solomon), &c.; while the transfiguration of the woman is a prophecy of the future glory of the earthly Sion. But this destroys the original significance of the vision, and cannot be harmonized with the theology of S. See further *EA*, loc. cit.

29-30. and when he saw that I lay on the ground as one dead. For the representation cf. Dan. viii. 17, 18; x. 9, 10, 15; Rev. i. 17, &c.

and set me on my feet. Cf. *v.* 15; vi. 13, 17.

32. and yet see. The vision of the City is still before the seer's eyes.

that which I am unable to express. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4 (also of an ecstatic experience).

33. Stand up like a man. Cf. *v.* 15; vi. 13, 17.

45. three thousand years. For text see crit. note. Gunkel adopts the Latin 'three years', and (with Wellhausen) explains thus: the three years = the three years that elapsed after Solomon became king and before he began to build the Temple (cf. 1 Kings vi. 1 with vi. 38); and these three years mystically = three millennial years, i.e. 3,000 years. But according to *v.* 45 in the Latin the three years = thirty years, i.e. thirty generations (?); thus it would have a mystical meaning (3,000), a literal (three), and again a literal (= thirty generations) meaning, all in juxtaposition. It is better to adopt the reading of the Versions (3,000), and to regard this as an actual reckoning (see next verse).

before any offering was offered in it (i.e. in the world). The Lat. has *quando non erat in ea adhuc oblatio oblata* = 'when as yet there was no offering offered in her' (i.e. in Sion; so all the other Versions). By the slight emendation suggested by Kabisch (viz. to read *in eo* [ἐν αὐτῷ] for *in ea*) the difficulty of the text-reading can be removed. *In her* can only mean in the *civitas aedificata*, which for 3,000 years was without a son, i.e. the heavenly Sion; but the statement that no offering was as yet offered in the heavenly Sion is meaningless. The unfruitfulness of the heavenly Sion consisted rather in the fact that for 3,000 years there was on the earth—in this aeon—no corresponding reality, no *aedificata civitas* where the cultus of the sacrificial worship was established. (So Kabisch.)

It is true altars had been erected and sacrifices offered before the time of David (e.g. by Abraham, Gen. xxii. 9, and others); but no 'regular system of sacrifice' had been established in one spot which was sufficient to make this the earthly dwelling-place of Jahveh. At any rate such seems to have been the view of S, who in his survey of the

- 46 (*i.e.* in the world)^b. And it came to pass after ^ethree thousand years that ^c^d (David)^d built the City,
 47 and offered offerings: then it was that the barren bare a son. And whereas she told thee that she
 48 reared him with travail: ^ethat was the (divine) dwelling in Jerusalem^e. And whereas she said unto
 thee: 'My son entering into his marriage-chamber died,'^f and that misfortune befell her^f—this was
 49 the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. And lo! thou hast seen ^gthe (heavenly) pattern of her^g,
 how she mourned her son, and thou didst begin to comfort her for what had befallen^h.
 50 Now, the Most High seeing
 that thou art grievedⁱ deeplyⁱ
 and art distressed whole-heartedly on account of her;
 hath showed thee the brilliance of her glory,
 and ^jher majestic beauty^j.
 51, 52 Therefore I bade thee remain in the field where no house has been builded; for I knew that the
 53 Most High was about to reveal all these things unto thee. ^k[Therefore I bade thee come into the
 54 field where no foundation of any building is, for in the place where the City of the Most High was
 about to be revealed no building-work of man could endure^k.]
 55 Therefore be not thou afraid, and let not thy heart be terrified; but go in and see the brightness
^land ^lvastness of the building, as far as it is possible for thee with the sight of thine eyes to see!

ea) ^{c-c} see note a above ^{d-d} all the VSS. read Solomon; see exegetical note ^{e-e} $\mathbb{L}$ haec erat habitatio
 Hierusalem ^{f-f} so $\mathbb{L}$ Ar.¹: Ethiop. has direct speech (this grief befell me): $\mathbb{S}$ > ^{g-g} $\mathbb{L}$ similitudinem eius
^h $\mathbb{L}$ + haec erant tibi aperienda = Ar.²: other VSS. > (doubtless a gloss) ⁱ⁻ⁱ $\mathbb{L}$ ex animo ^{j-j} $\mathbb{L}$ pulchritudinem
 decoris eius (Hebr. תפארת הדרה) ^{k-k} vv. 51-52 and 53-54 are doublets: perhaps 53-54 are more original
^{l-l} so all VSS. except $\mathbb{L}$ which has vel

world's history in ch. iii ignores all previous sacrifices and offerings till he reaches the name of David. The earthly Jerusalem became the holy city—the *civitas Dei*—when David offered sacrifices in it. Cf. iii. 24.

46. after three thousand years. According to the LXX at least 4,227 years elapsed from the Creation to the founding of the Temple; thus S here follows the Hebrew text against the LXX. The period between the Creation of the world and the foundation of the Temple is estimated by Gutschmidt to be 3,043 years. Allowing 430 years for the oppression which ended in the Exodus (cf. Exod. xii. 40), and deducting from this the first three years of Solomon's reign and the forty years of David's, we reach 3,000 as the sum of the years from Creation to the beginning of David's reign, which may be the point of time fixed on by the apocalyptic writer as that of the founding of the earthly Sion, though, as a matter of fact, it was seven years later. This presupposes the emendation of 'Solomon' in the next clause to 'David' (see following note).

[It is true that in vii. 28 the reckoning 400 for the years of the oppression, in accordance with Gen. xv. 13, is implied; but that passage belongs to a different source.]

David built the City. All the Versions read 'Solomon'; but this is inconsistent with iii. 24 ('David; and thou commandedst him to build the City (which is called) after thy name, and to offer thee oblations therein of thine own'). There is, therefore, a strong presumption that the emendation adopted above (proposed by Kabisch) is right. If the reading of the Versions is retained 'City' must be understood to mean 'Temple'; so Ar. and Arm. add 'Temple' here ('the City and the Temple'). Volkmar is obliged to explain that in the apocalyptic writer's thought Temple and City are identical, so that he can speak indifferently now of one, now of the other, and similarly interchange David and Solomon. From the language of S, however, it seems clear that it was the inauguration of the regular 'offering of oblations' to God in the earthly Sion that constituted it as the *civitas Dei*. The altar erected to the Lord (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 f.; 1 Chron. xxi. 28, xxii. 1) by David marked the turning-point; this was the most sacred spot in the Holy City—the Temple, erected later, being regarded merely as the shelter or covering which contained it. To the apocalyptic writer (S) David was the founder and builder of Jerusalem, regarded as the one holy city of God (cf. iii. 24).

a son, i.e. the earthly Jerusalem (the heavenly Jerusalem being the mother). The representation of Jerusalem as a son, and not as a daughter, is certainly peculiar. It is probably due to the fact that the writer is adapting a popular tale to the purposes of his allegory; see further EA, p. 239.

47. reared him with travail. The difficulty referred to ('with travail') lay in the fact that during the existence of the first Temple the sins of the people (especially lapses into idolatrous worship) constantly threatened to interrupt the continuance of the divine dwelling (see next note) in the Holy City.

that was the divine dwelling in Jerusalem. The (divine) dwelling = the 'Shekinah' or visible manifestation of the divine presence in Jerusalem. It was the presence of the Shekinah in Jerusalem and the Temple, which sanctified the Holy City. According to one current view the visible Shekinah was one of the five things lacking in the second Temple (cf. Targ. to Hag. i. 8 and parallels in Talmud)—its throne being between the cherubim on the ark, which was absent after the destruction of the First Temple. But so long as a Temple existed in Jerusalem, and the sacrificial cultus was maintained, these, in a sense, were pledges and symbols of the divine presence. With these all visible tokens of the divine presence disappeared (in A.D. 70).

48. the fall of Jerusalem that has come to pass. The death of the son, according to this verse = the fall of the earthly Jerusalem, which confirms the interpretation that the son = the earthly Jerusalem.

49. the (heavenly) pattern (or 'model') of her. The 'heavenly pattern' or model of the earthly city is the heavenly Sion. The conception is similar to that which is met with in the Ep. to the Hebrews (xi. 10, 16 ['The City which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God'], xii. 22, xiii. 14), according to which the heavenly Sion is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly City, 'the eternal reality of which the literal City is but a shadow.' For the idea of the heavenly counterpart or model cf. Heb. viii. 5; Exod. xxv. 9 and 40. The vision of the heavenly reality is the culminating point in the disclosures made to the seer.

how she mourned her son, i.e. how she (the heavenly City) mourned her son (the ruined earthly Jerusalem).

55. as far as it is possible for thee... to see. The permission given to the seer implies that he saw and heard

S 56 Then shalt thou hear as much as the hearing of thine ears can hear.

57 For thou art blessed above many,

and art named before the Most High as but few!

(The true sequel should be xii. 39 b, xiii. 57-58, and xii. 40-48 (xiv. 29-35); see introductions to the two latter sections. The sequence is shown by the following verses:)

[(xii. 39 b) And he departed from me. (xiii. 57) And I went forth and walked in the field greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; (xiii. 58) and because he governs the times, and the things which come to pass in due time. (xii. 40 f.) And it came to pass when all the people heard, &c.]

VI. x. 58-59. REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE FIFTH VISION (R).

R 58, 59 But ^mon the night of to-morrow^m thou shalt remain here; so will the Most High reveal to thee
59 ⁿin dream-visionsⁿ what the Most High will do unto the dwellers upon earth in the last days.

THE FIFTH (EAGLE) VISION.

(x. 60-xii. 35) (A).

I. THE VISION.

(x. 60-xii. 3a) (A) (R).

A 60 So I slept that night and the following as he had commanded me.

^{m-m} nocte . . . quae in crastinum futura est
? ταυτα a corruption of κατα: so Volk.)

ⁿ⁻ⁿ ελ eas visiones somniorum (= ταυτα τα οραματα των ενυπνιων:

(see next verse) much more than is told in the vision. As Gunkel remarks, this statement (obviously natural and unforced) makes it clear that the vision is the record of an actual experience. In the end what the seer saw and heard was so overpowering and marvellous that his powers of describing it all failed. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4. With vv. 55-56 cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Isa. lxiv. 9. It should be noted that the City is conceived as still standing before the seer's eyes.

58-59. The seer is bidden to remain where he is (i.e. in the field of Ardat) for another two nights, in order that he may receive in dream-visions a revelation of what shall happen to the dwellers upon earth in the last days. It is obvious that these verses, which form the transition to the visions that follow, are the work of R. The situation presupposed is hardly a possible one for S. The seer had been bidden to resort to Ardat—the field untouched by any work of human hand—in order to receive a vision of the heavenly City. This has been accomplished, and to represent him as still remaining there in order to receive further revelations in dream-visions is in the nature of an anti-climax. Moreover the burden of the dream-visions, the revelation of what is to happen in the last days, has already formed the subject of long debates in the former visions of S. The dream-visions that follow, as we shall see, belong to other sources; and the transitional verses have been inserted by R in order to fit in and link together these other elements with the Salathiel-Apocalypse.

58. on the night of to-morrow, i.e. the night that follows to-morrow. Thus the words would be spoken during the day. The vision in the field of Ardat, accordingly, was not a night- but a day-vision.

The chapters that follow are drawn from three main independent sources, viz.:

A (= Adlgeresicht), the Eagle-Vision, ch. xi-xii;

M (= Menschensohn), the Son of Man Vision, ch. xiii;

E² = the Ezra-legend, ch. xiv.

x. 60-xii. 35. THE EAGLE-VISION. The famous Eagle-Vision—the last, apparently, of a series of dream-visions—follows. The seer in his dream sees an eagle, furnished with twelve wings and three heads, ascending out of the sea. It stretched its wings over all the earth, and all the winds of heaven blew upon it. From its wings eight other smaller wings developed; the three heads, of which the middle one was larger than the others, remained at rest. The Eagle flew with its wings, and reigned with undisputed sway over the whole earth. It stood up upon its claws, and told its wings that they should not all waken together, but each should sleep in its place, and awaken and keep watch in its own proper time; the heads were to be kept to the End. The voice announcing this proceeded not from the Eagle's head, but from the midst of his body. Presently a wing arose on the right side, reigned over the earth, and disappeared. The second arose and reigned a long time—a voice announced that none after it should reign even half as long—and this also disappeared. So it happened to the third and following wings. The seer now saw that the little wings were set up, on the right side, in order to rule; and of these some held it, but disappeared at once, while others rose up, but did not exercise rule. After this it was seen that the twelve wings had disappeared, and also two of the little wings—nothing remained in the Eagle's body but the three heads at rest and six little wings. Two of these latter were seen to detach themselves, and remained under the head at the right-hand side, while four remained in their place. These thought to set themselves up and reign. One did so and forthwith disappeared; and the second to reign the middle head awoke and, uniting with itself the other two heads, devoured them. This head exercised rule over the earth with much oppression; but it, too, suddenly disappeared even as the wings. The two remaining heads reigned over the earth; but that on the right side devoured the one on the left. At this point the seer hears a voice telling him to look carefully and note what he should see. He saw a roaring lion come out from the wood,

11 1 And it came to pass the second night that I saw a dream : and lo ! there came up from the sea
 2 an eagle which had twelve (?) feathered wings, and three heads. And I beheld, and lo ! he spread
 his wings ° over ° the whole earth, and all the winds of heaven blew on him, and ^p (the clouds) were
 3 gathered together (unto him) ^p. And I beheld, (and lo !) out of his wings there grew ^a anti-wings ^a ;
 4 and they became wings petty and small. But his heads were at rest ; the middle head was greater
 5 than the other heads, yet it rested with them. And I beheld, and lo ! the eagle flew with his wings

0-0 so *Ar.² Arm.* : $\mathbb{L}$ in = $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.*

^{p-p} so *Oriental VSS.* (except *Arm.*) $\mathbb{L}$ colligebantur (> nubes ad eum)

^{q-q} $\mathbb{L}$ contrariae pennae (= ? ἀντιπτερυγία) : other *VSS.* = πτερύγια

which, with a man's voice, upbraided the Eagle for his tyranny and cruel oppression, and announces his coming destruction :

‘ Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle,
 and thy horrible wings,
 and thy little wings most evil,
 thy harm-dealing heads,
 thy hurtful talons,
 and all thy worthless body !

And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her’ (xi. 45-6).

While the Lion spoke, the last head disappeared ; the two little wings which had detached themselves and gone over to it rose up to reign, but their reign was short and full of uproar. Then they, too, vanished, the whole body of the Eagle was consumed in flames, and the earth was greatly terrified.

On awaking from his dream-vision the seer, much perturbed by what he has seen, prays that the interpretation of it may be granted him. He is told that the Eagle is the fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel. The twelve wings represent twelve kings who shall reign in it one after the other. The second reign shall be longer than any of the other twelve. The voice proceeding from the midst of the body signifies that in the middle period (xii. 18, ‘ in the midst of the time of that kingdom,’ according to the true text) great commotions shall arise, and it shall stand in peril of falling ; but it shall recover, and regain its stability. The interpretation of the eight under (little) wings is : there shall arise in this kingdom eight kings ‘ whose times shall be transient and years swift’ ; two of these shall perish when the middle time of the kingdom approaches ; four are to be kept for the time ‘ when its time for dissolution shall approach’ ; but two are to be reserved for the End. The interpretation of the three heads is : in the last days of the kingdom the Most High will raise up three kings who shall renew many things in the kingdom, and shall rule over the earth with much oppression above all that were before them. They are called the heads of the Eagle, because they shall bring its wickedness to a head and consummate its end. The disappearance of the largest (i. e. the middle) head signifies that the first of these three kings shall die upon his bed, but yet with torment. The other two are destined for the sword—one is to fall by the sword of the other, and the latter shall perish himself by the sword in the last days. The two wings that passed over to the right-hand head are reserved for the End. They shall reign for a brief time after the disappearance of the last head ; but their reign shall be full of trouble and uproar. The Lion is the Messiah whom the Most High has reserved for the End.

Such is the vision and its interpretation as they lie before us in our present text. At first sight all seems clear ; but a closer examination of the details reveals, as will appear, many grave difficulties. For a discussion of these see the introduction to the interpretation of the vision (xii. 3-39) below.

The vision must thus be regarded as an independent writing. It apparently belongs to a series of dream-visions, of which it forms the last, and which already existed in written form in a book when our vision was excerpted by R (cf. xii. 37). As in similar cases elsewhere R has inserted harmonistic additions designed to bring the matter into accord with other elements in our Apocalypse. Such are clearly xii. 9 and 34. But further, there seems to have been a revision of a more far-reaching character, as will appear when the details of the interpretation come to be examined.

The whole vision is clearly much influenced by, if it is not actually based upon, Dan. vii. The identification of the Eagle with the fourth kingdom of Dan. vii is an interesting case of the reinterpretation of prophecy.

With the Eagle-Vision should be compared the fountain and forest vision of 2 Baruch (xxxvi-xl), which remarkably enough is a dream-vision of the fall of the Roman power. As in our vision, this is effected by the Messiah ; the last leader of the hostile host is taken captive to Mount Sion, where the Messiah, after upbraiding him with his wickedness, destroys him.

For a fuller discussion cf. *EA*, pp. 244-9. The vision in its original form appears to have been composed some time in the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) or possibly later (A.D. 96-97).

xi. 1. **I saw a dream.** Cf. Dan. vii. 1. A dream-vision (not merely a dream) is meant.

from the sea. Cf. Dan. vii. 3 ; Rev. xiii. 1. In the latter passage, as here, the monster that ascends out of the sea = the Roman Empire. The latter, for the Orientals, came up, as a matter of historical fact, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean), and it is this fact that is doubtless present in the apocalypticist's thought here. [It is clear that the (perhaps contemporary) apocalyptic writers of Rev. xiii and our chapter both identified the fourth beast of Dan. vii with Rome : cf. esp. 4 Ezra xii. 10 f.]

an eagle. The eagle of the following vision undoubtedly represents the Roman Empire. The symbolism was particularly appropriate to Rome, whose military emblem was the eagle.

three heads, i. e. according to the probable original meaning of the vision the three Flavian Emperors (Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian). Cf. the four wings and four heads of the leopard in Dan. vii. 6.

2. **all the winds of heaven blew on him.** Cf. xiii. 2, and Dan. vii. 2.

3. **out of his wings there grew anti-wings.** As πτέρυξ = βασιλεύς, so ἀντιπτερύγιον would = ἀντιβασιλεύς (so Volk.). Usurpers or military commanders who might prove to be dangerous rivals to the Emperors are apparently meant.

- A 6 to reign over the earth and over them that dwell therein. And I beheld how all things under heaven were subject unto him, and no one spake against him—not even one of the creatures upon
 7 earth. And I beheld, and lo! the eagle rose upon his talons, and uttered his voice to his wings,
 8, 9 saying^r, Watch not all at once: sleep every one in his place, and watch by course: but let the heads
 10 be preserved for the last. And I beheld, and lo! the voice proceeded not from his heads, but from
 11 the midst of his body. And I numbered his anti-wings, and lo! there were eight.
 12 And I beheld, and lo! [*on the right side*] there arose one wing, and reigned over the whole earth.
 13 And it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it came to its end and ^sdisappeared^s, so that the place
 14 of it was not visible. Then arose the second and reigned, and this bare rule for a long time. And
 it came to pass that, after it had reigned, it also came to its end, so that it disappeared even as the
 15, 16 first. And lo! a voice sounded which said to it: Hear, thou that hast borne rule over the earth so
 17 long a time: ^tthis I proclaim^t unto thee before thou shalt disappear—After thee shall none bear
 18 rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it! Then the third lifted itself up and held
 19 the rule even as the former, and it also disappeared. And so it fell to all the wings [^uin turn^u] to
 20 rule and then disappear. And I beheld, and lo! in process of time ^vthe little wings^v also were set up
 [^wupon the right side^w] that they also might hold the rule; and some of them bare rule but
 21, 22 disappeared suddenly: and some of them were set up but did not hold the rule. After this I beheld,
 23 and lo! the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings; and nothing was left in the eagle's body
 24 save only the three heads that were at rest, and six little wings. And I beheld, and lo! from the
 six little wings two detached themselves, and remained under the head that was upon the right side:
 25 but four remained in their place. And I beheld, and lo! these under-wings thought to set themselves
 26 up and to hold the rule. And I beheld, and lo! one was set up, but immediately disappeared;
 27, 28 a second also, and this disappeared more quickly than the first. And I beheld, and lo! the two
 29 that remained thought also in themselves to reign; and ^xwhile they were thinking thus^x, lo! ^yone

^r S (against all the other VSS.) + Go, rule over the whole earth: but remain quiet now (? an explan. gloss)
^{s-s} L non apparuit ^{t-t} reading hoc (v. l. haec) adnuntio ^{u-u} L singulatim ^{v-v} so S Ar.²: L sequentes
 pennae ^{w-w} so L S Ethiop. Arm.: but Ar.¹ Ar.² > ^{x-x} L in eo cum cogitarent (= εν τφ λογιζεσθαι αυτα)
^{y-y} L unum de quiescentium capitum (imitating Greek construction)

8. Watch not all at once: . . . watch by course. Each wing (or pair of wings) is to be awake and watch (i.e. reign) for a certain season, its allotted time (*per tempus* = κατὰ καιρόν) and in succession; all are not to be awake at once.

12. [*on the right side*]. This certainly looks like an addition. If it were an original feature in the vision there would be a corresponding mention of the wings 'on the left side', and we should expect some comment upon the symbolical significance of right and left in the interpretation. But nothing of the kind occurs there. Consequently we are justified in regarding the words here as an interpolation: if by R, or some other reviser, then it would seem he is dividing the wings into two sets, right and left, and this might imply that previously they had been reckoned by pairs. But the words may be a gloss.

one wing. Lat. *una penna* = ἐν πτερών: if pairs of wings were in the original writer's thought here we should expect 'the first wing' (Hebr. ? מִן־הַכַּנְפִּים (הָאֵחָדָה). Possibly something like this originally stood here, and has been modified by R; in this case 'the first of the wings' would have meant the first pair of wings.

17. shall none bear rule (the length of) thy time, nay not even the half of it. The reference is clearly to the long reign of Augustus (over fifty years).

19. it fell to all the wings. The expression 'all the wings' is noticeable; it refers, apparently, to all the twelve wings: therefore what follows in v. 20 must refer to the other set of 'little' wings.

20. the little wings. The verse describes the general character and fate of the eight little wings. Some such introductory statement is required before v. 22, where it is said that the twelve great wings and two of the little wings had disappeared (so Drummond, *JM*, p. 102 f.).

[upon the right side]. If the wings referred to were the twelve greater wings this clause could have no meaning; the left side would be required by the context (and so Hilg. renders here ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς: but against all the textual evidence, though five MSS. of the Ethiopic have 'on the left side'). In reference to the little wings it may be meant to suggest their elevation to actual power. The clause may possibly be an incorrect gloss.

22. the twelve wings disappeared, and two little wings, i.e. (according to the original significance of the vision) the six Julian Emperors came to an end, and, about the end of the reign of the last emperor, Nero, 'two little wings' rose and disappeared: perhaps the fate of the conspirators Vindex (March, A. D. 68) and Nymphidius (a few months later) is referred to. Both were active in the last months of Nero's reign.

24. under the head that was upon the right side. This, according to the original meaning of the vision, must mean Domitian. Who the two 'little wings' represent in this case it is difficult to say—two Roman governors or generals probably who were expected to claim the imperial throne. Gunkel suggests Mucianus, proconsul of Syria, and Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt (A. D. 69). But these leaders attached themselves to the cause of Vespasian (the middle head); it does not appear that either played any prominent part in the reign of Domitian ('the head on the right side'). Gfrörer suggests Agrippa II and Berenice, who went over to the Romans and were in favour with the Flavian family.

27. a second . . . disappeared more quickly than the first. Perhaps Galba's colleague (for a short time) is meant, viz. Piso. But more probably Galba and Otho are intended.

28. the two that remained. Perhaps Civilis (died June, 69) and Vitellius (died December, 69).

of the heads that were at rest^y—it, namely, that was in the midst—awoke; for this one was greater than the two [other] heads. And I beheld how it allied with itself the two other heads; and lo! the head was turned with them that were with it, and did eat up the two under-wings that thought to have reigned. This head^z bare rule over the whole earth^z, and exercised lordship over the dwellers therein with much oppression; [and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than all the wings that had been.] And after this I beheld, and lo! the middle head^a suddenly^a disappeared,^b even as the wings^b. But there remained the two heads which also reigned over the earth, and over the inhabitants therein. And I beheld, and lo! the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left. Then I heard a voice, which said unto me: Look before thee, and consider what thou seest. And I beheld, and lo! as it were a lion, roused out of the wood, roaring; and I heard how he uttered a man's voice against the eagle; and he spake, saying: Hear, ^o thou Eagle^c—I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: Art thou not it that remainest of the four beasts which I made to reign in my world, that the end of^d my times^d might come through them? ^e Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome^e all the beasts that are past;

^f Thou hast wielded power over the world^f with great terror, and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression;
^g Thou hast dwelt^g so long in the civilized world with fraud, and hast judged the earth, (but) not with faithfulness:
 41 For thou hast afflicted the meek, and oppressed the peaceable;
 42 Thou hast hated^h the upright^h, and loved liars;
 Thou hast destroyedⁱ the strongholdsⁱ of the fruitful^j, and laid low the walls of such as did thee no harm—
 43 And so thine insolence hath ascended to the Most High, and thy pride to the Mighty One.
 44 Then the Most High regarded his times— And lo! they were ended;
 And his ages— (and) they were fulfilled.
 45 Therefore^k shalt thou disappear^k, O thou Eagle, and thy horrible wings, and thy little wings most evil,
^l thy harm-dealing heads^l,
^m thy hurtful talons^m, and all thy worthless body!

^{z-z} reading percontenuit omnem terram ^{a-a} so $\mathfrak{L}$ $\mathfrak{S}$: other VSS. > ^{b-b} $\mathfrak{L}$ et hoc sicut alae (= και τουτο καθως αι πτερυγες) ^{c-c} so $\mathfrak{S}$: but other VSS. (including $\mathfrak{L}$) > ^{d-d} so $\mathfrak{L}$: other VSS. of the (Ar.² all) times
^{e-e} reading et quartus veniens devicisti: cf. $\mathfrak{S}$ Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.: Ethiop. Lat. MSS. have 3rd person ^{f-f} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.) ^{g-g} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.): $\mathfrak{L}$ inhabitabant to be emended to inhabitabas (Violet) ^{h-h} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. Ar.¹: Ar.² the pious): $\mathfrak{L}$ verum dicentes (cf. Ethiop. Arm.) ⁱ⁻ⁱ so Oriental VSS. (= τα οχυρωματα): $\mathfrak{L}$ habitationes (? dependent upon variant Hebr. readings: מעוני and מעוני) ^{j-j} $\mathfrak{L}$ qui fructificabant: $\mathfrak{S}$ of the prosperous (= των ευθηνουντων: ευθηνουσαι = פוריות Ps. cxxviii. [cxxvii] 3) ^{k-k} $\mathfrak{L}$ non apparens non appareas (= αφανισθεις αφανισθησθ) ^{l-l} et capita tua maligna ^{m-m} $\mathfrak{L}$ unguis tui pessimi

32. [and it wielded . . . that had been]. This clause is somewhat tautologous after the two preceding, and is probably an addition of R, who identified the middle head with Trajan. The statement, as applied to Trajan, would have special point in view of his conquests and vast additions to the Roman empire. Volkmar supposes that in the first clause *omnem terram* ('over the whole earth') should be rendered 'over all the land', i. e. the land of Palestine, and that *orbem terrarum* in the last clause stands in contrast with this.

35. the head upon the right side devoured that which was upon the left. In the original form of the vision this doubtless referred to Domitian (the right head) and Titus (the left head), whose death was at the time supposed to have been brought about by Domitian. But R probably identified the right head with Hadrian, who recalled and executed Lusius Quietus (the left head). See introduction to the next chapter.

39. the four beasts. Cf. Dan. vii. 3. The eagle is here identified with the fourth beast of Dan. vii, as in the interpretation below (xii. 11).

44. And his ages—(and) they were fulfilled. The meaning is: the predetermined time is fulfilled. The conviction was common to all the apocalyptists that they were standing at the end of the age. It should be remembered, however, that in the eschatology of A the end of the present age coincides with the downfall of Rome; the future age is the Rule of God that is to succeed the heathen empire on the present earth.

45. thy hurtful talons. It should be noted that this detail receives no explanation in the interpretation that follows in chap. xii. Probably the Roman armies are meant.

- A 46 And so the whole earth, freed from thy violence, "shall be refreshed again", and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.
- 12 1, 2 And it came to pass, while the lion spake these words unto the eagle, I beheld, and lo! the head
3 that remained disappeared. And the two wings, which went over unto it, set themselves up to reign; and their rule was short and full of uproar. And I beheld, and lo! these also disappeared, and the whole body of the eagle was burnt; and the earth was terrified greatly.

II. xii. 3 b-39. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (A) (R).

A (R) Then I awoke °by reason of great perplexity of mind° and from great fear, and said unto
4 my spirit: Lo! this hast thou brought unto me because thou searchest out the ways of the Most High.

n-n *Il refrigeret et revertetur* (Hebr. תשוב תנפש)

o-o *reading a multo (for tumultu) excessu mentis*

46. and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her, i.e. after the world-empire has been destroyed the Rule (or Sovereignty) of God follows. 'Judgement' here cannot have the same sense as in S, where it means the judgement of the last day: it here = the Hebr. *mishpat* and means the judicial process by which the Roman Empire is condemned and destroyed.

xii. 3 b-39. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. It has already been pointed out that a close examination of the details of the vision and its interpretation reveals many grave difficulties, and it has been suggested that these are probably due to later revision and readjustment. No solution known to the present writer has so far been proposed that entirely meets these difficulties. A most illuminating review and critical discussion of the more important of the suggestions and hypotheses that have been made is given in Dr. Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, pp. 99-114. For a full discussion of later views reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 262 ff.

A NEW SOLUTION.

Is it possible to frame a hypothesis which will meet the objections that have been adduced and satisfy the data of the text? The following seems to the present writer to be a possible solution. It may be taken for granted that whatever revision or readjustment has taken place in the text of the chapters must have been the work either of the editor who compiled our book, or of some redaction previous to his use of the special source. As there is no trace of specifically Christian influence in the text of the vision the possibility of later redaction is ruled out. It becomes important, therefore, to fix approximately the date of the editor (R), and to determine the meaning of the vision for him. Kabisch fixes the date of R at about A.D. 120, and this—or possibly even a later year—may be accepted as correct. It may be assumed that in the original form of the vision the three heads represent the three Flavian Emperors; the twelve wings represent the six Julian Emperors from Caesar to Nero, reckoning the wings by pairs. The present writer suggests that the reckoning by pairs in the original vision was intended only to apply to the twelve wings, and had a symbolical significance. The pairs served to emphasize the greater dignity and power of the real Emperors as contrasted with the ephemeral rulers symbolized by the little wings. In order to exaggerate the contrast the latter were intended to be reckoned singly. The eight little wings represent, in the original form of the vision, Vindex (March, 68), Nymphidius (a few months later)—these disappeared about the same time as the last of the twelve wings (end of Nero's reign), as represented in our text (xi. 22). The middle four represent Galba, Otho, Civilis (died June, 69), and Vitellius (died Dec., 69).

The two little wings that were to survive the last head probably signify Roman governors or generals who were expected to claim the imperial throne at the last, or possibly the two last members of the Herodian family, Agrippa II and Berenice. In its original form, then, the vision may date from the closing years of Domitian's reign (*circa* A.D. 95).¹ But if the editor did not incorporate it into his book—our Ezra-Apocalypse—till A.D. 120 or later (some time certainly in the reign of Hadrian), what, it may well be asked, was the significance he himself attached to the vision? He can no longer have identified the three heads with the Flavian Emperors, seeing that the reigns of these had already long ended and the predicted deliverance had not yet come.

It seems to the present writer that the requirements of the situation will be met by the hypothesis that R identified the three heads with Trajan, Hadrian, and Lusius Quietus. The last mentioned was a favourite of Trajan, of princely birth, who was generally expected to succeed to the Empire. His memory is deeply impressed upon the Jews owing to the stern part he took in suppressing Jewish rebellions first in Mesopotamia, and later in Palestine (A.D. 116-117). In the Rabbinical sources he is sometimes spoken of as if he were actual emperor. As a matter of fact he was recalled by Hadrian, soon after the latter's accession to the throne, and executed.

Having identified the three heads in this way, the editor reinterpreted the twelve wings to be the 'twelve Caesars'—a numeration which is found in Suetonius—i.e. the six Julian Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and the three Flavian Emperors. In accordance with this view the present text of the vision has been redacted. Thus in xi. 12 the words 'on the right side', if not a gloss, are probably due to R, so also in xi. 19 'in turn' (*singulatin*). In xi. 20 the words 'on the right side' (they are omitted in the Arabic Version) may be a gloss; and in xi. 32 the clause 'and it wielded more power over the inhabited world than all the wings that had been' would apply with special force to Trajan, whose conquests were remarkable, though the possibility of their application to Vespasian is not excluded. They may be due to later revision.

In the interpretation of the vision in ch. xii the marks of revision are naturally more in evidence. Thus v. 14 ('In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other') we have the later interpretation clearly expressed. Coming to the

¹ Or possibly in some part of Vespasian's reign.

- (R) 5 Lo! I am yet weary in my soul,
and very weak in my spirit,
nor is there (left) the least strength in me on account of the great fear wherewith I have been
6 affrighted this night. Therefore will I now beseech the Most High, that he will strengthen me unto
7 the end. And I said: O Lord my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, if I am justified with
8 thee above many, if my supplication in truth be come up before thy countenance—Strengthen me,
and show me, thy servant, the interpretation and ^p distinct explanation^p of this fearful vision, that
9 thou mayst *completely* comfort my soul! [*For thou hast judged me worthy to show me^a the end of the times and the last of the periods^a.*]
- 10, 11 And he said unto me: This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. The eagle
which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy
12, 13 brother Daniel; [but it was not interpreted unto him as I now interpret it unto thee or have interpreted
it]. Behold, the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be ^r more
14, 15 terrible^r than all the kingdoms that were before it. [*In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other;*]
16 And the second that shall reign, he shall bear rule a longer time ^s than (any of) [*the twelve*]^s. This is the
17 interpretation of the twelve wings which thou didst see. And whereas ^t thou didst hear ^t a voice which
18 spake, going out not from his heads, but from the midst of his body, ^u this is the interpretation^u. ^v In
the midst^v of the time of that kingdom there shall arise no small contentions, and it shall stand in peril
19 of falling; nevertheless it shall not then fall, but shall be restored again ^w to rule^w. And whereas thou
20 didst see eight under-wings grow up with his wings, this is the interpretation: In it there shall arise eight
21 kings, whose times shall be transient and years swift: and two of them shall perish when the middle
time (of the kingdom) approaches; and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution

P-P $\mathbb{L}$ distinctionem (= την σαφηνειαν) ^{a-a} $\mathbb{L}$ temporum finem et temporum novissima: *other VSS.* = των χρονων
το τελος και των καιρων τα εσχιστα ^{r-r} reading timorator ^{s-s} $\mathbb{L}$ prae xii (prae = υπερ) ^{t-t} so $\mathbb{L}$ Arm.: *but*
 $\mathbb{S}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹ thou didst see ^{u-u} $\mathbb{L}$ haec est interpretatio: *but* $\mathbb{S}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹ = ουτος εστιν ο λογος (Hebr.
זה הדרך) ^{v-v} so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. Ethiop.) and Arm. (= μεταξυ): $\mathbb{L}$ post (= μετα: a mistake) ^{w-w} so Ethiop. (cf.
Ar.¹) Arm.: $\mathbb{L}$ in suum initium (*misunderstanding eis αρχην αυτης*)

heads we read: 'And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—[one of them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also shall fall by the sword in the last days']'.

This description would suit admirably the circumstances of Trajan's end. He died in Cilicia in the year 117, upon his bed, it is true, but mortified by his half-successes and by the unrest in the East. It need hardly be added that 'the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him' suits the identification of right and left heads with Hadrian and Lusius Quietus admirably. Further, if, as is suggested in the note on xii. 21, the four wings (or anti-wings) that are kept for the time when the dissolution of the Empire approaches can be identified with the four senators who were executed by Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, we have a further confirmation of the correctness of the hypothesis of reinterpretation already set forth.

7. if I am justified with thee above many. Cf. vi. 32, vii. 26, ix. 49, x. 39, xviii. 14.

8. completely. This implies that the seer had already been partially consoled (by the vision of the heavenly Sion)—a mark of R's hand.

9. the end of the times, &c. The whole verse reveals the hand of R. The Eagle Vision is not concerned with, and is not a revelation of, the 'last things'—these are treated in the preceding work of S and E—A is concerned only with the downfall of the Roman Empire. The reference here, therefore, to the end of the world is out of place, and is due to R (so Kabisch).

11. is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. Cf. Dan. vii. 7 f. This is a particularly clear and interesting case of the way in which apocalyptic prediction was reinterpreted and reapplied. It is interesting to note that in the Talmud (*T. B. Abodā Zārā* 1 b), Dan. vii. 23 (i.e. the fourth kingdom) is interpreted of Rome. cf. Rev. 13

14. In it twelve kings shall reign, one after the other. This sentence is evidently the work of R, who understood the twelve kings to be the 'twelve Caesars'. It cannot be explained as an interpretation of the original form of the vision, as it is impossible to enumerate twelve rulers, beginning with Julius Caesar and excluding the three heads (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), who ruled consecutively. R may have altered a number merely, or may have recast the entire sentence.

15. than (any of) [the twelve]. The number 'twelve' here reflects *ex hypothesi* the later interpretation.

18. In the midst of the time of that kingdom. The time referred to is the period of anarchy that ensued at the close of Nero's reign, and was put an end to by Vespasian (A. D. 68-70).

21. and four shall be kept for the time when its time for dissolution shall approach. Apparently four usurpers or possible candidates for the imperial dignity are meant, who are to rise and fall as the time for the dissolution of the Empire approaches, i.e. presumably in the reign of one of the three heads (probably either Trajan or Hadrian). Now it is worth noting that at the beginning of his reign Hadrian found it necessary to put to death four 'consular senators, his personal enemies, and men who had been judged worthy of empire' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i, ch. iii). If the rise and fall of these four anti-wings is to be placed in the reign of Hadrian, unless the revision of the interpretation be credited to R at this point, it must already have reached an advanced stage before he incorporated A into our present book. In the original vision these four anti-wings apparently represent Galba, Otho, Civilis, and Vitellius (cf. xi. 27). In the reinterpretation Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are included in the twelve large wings (Civilis could be omitted as unimportant), thus involving the reinterpretation of the four anti-wings.

A(R) 22 shall approach: but two shall be kept for the end. And whereas thou didst see three heads resting,
 23 this is the interpretation: In the last days thereof the Most High will raise up ^γ three kings^x; and
^γ they shall renew^γ many things therein, and shall exercise lordship over the earth and over the
 24 dwellers therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them. Therefore are they
 25 called the heads of the eagle: for these are they that shall bring to a head his wickedness, ^z and
 26 consummate his last end^z. And whereas thou didst see that the great head disappeared—one of
 27 them shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. But as for the two who remain the sword shall devour
 28 them. For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him; nevertheless this one also
 29 shall fall by the sword in the last days. And whereas thou didst see two under-wings^a passing over
 30 to the head^a that is upon the right side; this is the interpretation: These are they whom the Most
 High hath kept for his (i.e. the eagle's) end; and their rule shall be short and full of uproar, as thou
 31 hast seen. And as for the lion whom thou didst see roused from the wood and roaring, and speaking
 32 to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness and all his deeds, as thou hast heard: This
 is the Messiah whom the Most High hath kept unto the end (^b of the days, who shall spring from the
 seed of David, and shall come and speak^b) unto them;
 he shall reprove them for their ungodliness,
^c rebuke them^c for their unrighteousness,
^d reproach them to their faces with their treacheries^d.
 33 For at the first he shall set them alive for judgement; and when he hath rebuked them^e he shall
 34 destroy them^e. [*But my people who survive he shall deliver with mercy, even those who have been
 saved throughout my borders, and he shall make them joyful until the End come, even the Day of
 35 Judgement, of which I have spoken unto thee from the beginning.*] This is the dream that thou
 36 didst see, and this is its interpretation. Thou alone hast been found worthy to learn^f this mystery^f
 37 of the Most High—Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book, and put them in

^{x-x} = τρεις βασιλεις: so all the VSS. except $\mathfrak{L}$, which has tria regna (= τρεις βασιλειαι) ^{γ-γ} so $\mathfrak{S}$ Ethiop.
 Arm.: $\mathfrak{L}$ renovabit ^{z-z} $\mathfrak{L}$ et qui perficient novissima eius ^{a-a} so $\mathfrak{S}$: (= μεταβαλτα εις την κεφαλην):
 $\mathfrak{L}$ traicientes super caput ^{b-b} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (and the other Oriental VSS. substantially): $\mathfrak{L}$ > ^{o-o} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. Arm.):
 $\mathfrak{L}$ > ^{d-d} $\mathfrak{L}$ et infulciat coram ipsis spretones eorum (= ? και επιπληξει ενωπιον αυτων τα καταφρονηματα αυτων):
 $\mathfrak{S}$ set in order (= ? επιταξει) before them, &c.: Ethiop. heap up (= ? επιπλησει) before them, &c. ^{o-o} so $\mathfrak{S}$ reading
 ing corruptet eos: so $\mathfrak{S}$ Ethiop. Arm. (inferior reading corripet eos = A.V. correct them) ^{f-f} $\mathfrak{L}$ secretum hoc

two shall be kept for the end, i.e. till after the disappearance of the third head; cf. xi. 24.

23. in the last days thereof, i.e. of the kingdom.

they shall renew many things therein. The statement would apply equally well to the new period inaugurated by Vespasian or Trajan; in both cases the new régime consolidated and strengthened the Empire generally.

with much oppression. This would apply with special point to Trajan and Lusius Quietus, who suppressed with great severity the Jewish rebellions of A. D. 116 and later; and also to Hadrian later.

26. shall die upon his bed, but yet with pain. This description would certainly better suit the circumstances of Trajan's end than Vespasian's (see introduction to this section).

28. the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him, i.e. the sword of Hadrian shall devour Lusius Quietus; the latter was deposed and executed by Hadrian. On the other hand, the terms do not suit the case of Domitian and Titus.

32. This is the Messiah. Cf. Rev. v. 5, where 'the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah' is identified with the 'Root of David' and = the Messiah.

whom the Most High hath kept unto the end (<of the days>), i.e. the Messiah is already pre-existent in heaven. This representation suits the idea of the heavenly Messiah, but is inconsistent with the next clause, which applies to the earthly Messiah: probably the clause is due to R, and is a harmonizing interpolation.

reproach them, &c. Cf. xiii. 37.

33. For at the first, &c. One of the principal tasks of the Messiah is to overthrow hostile wicked powers. Here it is the power of Rome that is first rebuked and then destroyed; cf. xiii. 37 f.; 2 Bar. xl. 1 f.

34. [But my people who survive, &c.] This whole verse is an insertion of R, according with his view that before the End of the world a temporary Messianic kingdom was to be set up (cf. vii. 25 f. and notes). In its present context the verse is out of harmony with the representation. The End of the age in ch. xii = the end of the heathen domination of the world, and is followed by the rule of the righteous embodied in Israel.

[even those who have been saved throughout my borders], i.e. those who shall have survived the Messianic woes in Palestine; but the writer of the Eagle Vision contemplated a world-wide deliverance in which all earth's inhabitants should participate, after the overthrow of the Roman Empire; cf. xi. 46. The clause is meaningless in its present connexion (cf. xii. 48).

[he shall make them joyful]. Cf. vii. 28.

37. Therefore write all these things that thou hast seen in a book. The secret revelation is to be written down in a book and preserved in a secret place for the future till the time for publishing it arrives. This representation is common in apocalyptic literature. It partly serves to reflect the originally esoteric character of the teaching which was treasured in apocalyptic circles—'apocrypha' in its original connotation (ἀπόκρυφος) = 'esoteric', 'secret', and carried with it no disparaging meaning—and partly serves to explain why, when the books were made known, their existence for so long a time previously had been unsuspected. Cf. Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4 (cp. xii. 9); 1 En. lxxxii. 1, civ. 11-13; Ass. Mos. i. 16, x. 11, xi. 1; cf. also 4 Ezra xiv. 26, 47.

A (R) 38 a secret place ; and thou shalt teach them to the wise of the people, whose hearts thou knowest are
 39 able to comprehend and keep these mysteries. [*But do thou remain here yet seven days more, that
 there may be shown unto thee whatsoever it may please the Most High to show thee.*]

III. xii. 39b-48. CONCLUSION OF THE VISION (S).

- S 39 And he departed from me.
 40 And it came to pass when all the people heard that the seven days were past and I not returned
 to the city, they assembled themselves together, ^gall^g from the least unto the greatest; and they
 came unto me and said :
 41 How have we sinned against thee,
 or how have we dealt iniquitously with thee
 that thou hast forsaken us and sittest in this place ?
 42 For of all the prophets thou ^halone^h art left to us,
 as a cluster out of the vintage,
 as a lamp in a dark place,
ⁱas a haven of safety for a ship in a stormⁱ.
 43, 44 Are not the evils that have befallen us sufficient ^j(that thou shouldst forsake us also)^j? If thou
 shalt forsake us, how much better had it been for us if we also had been consumed in the burning of
 45 Sion ! For we are not better than they who died there. And ^kthey wept^k with a loud voice.
 46 And I answered them and said :
 Take courage, O Israel ;
 be not sorrowful, O House of Jacob !
 47 For you are remembered before the Most High,
 the Mighty One hath not forgotten you ^lfor ever^l.
 48 But as for me, I have not forsaken you, neither will I depart from you ; but I have come to this
 place
 to pray for the desolation of Sion
 and to supplicate mercy for ^mour^m sanctuary's humiliation.

[*Originally it is probable that xiv. 29-35 immediately followed xii. 48 (see introductory section to
 xiv. 27-36).*]

IV. xii. 49-51. REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SIXTH VISION (R).

- R 49, 50 And now go every one of you to his own house, and after these days I will come unto you. So
 51 the people went into the city as I had told them. But I sat in the field seven days, as he had
 commanded me: and I did eat only ⁿof the flowers of the fieldⁿ; my food was of the herbs in
 those days.

g-g so $\mathfrak{L}$ (omnis) : $\mathfrak{S}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm. all the people ^{h-h} so Ethiop. Arm. : $\mathfrak{L}$ (best MSS.) > ⁱ⁻ⁱ $\mathfrak{S}$ Ar.¹
 which = καθως λιμνη σωτηρίας νηι εν χειμωνι (cf. Arm.) : $\mathfrak{S}$ as a haven of life to a ship that is set in the tempest : $\mathfrak{L}$ sicut
 portus navis (v. l. navi) salvatae a tempestate ^{j-j} cf. $\mathfrak{S}$ (Ar.²) : $\mathfrak{L}$ Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm. > ^{k-k} so $\mathfrak{L}$ Ethiop. Ar.²
 Arm. : but $\mathfrak{S}$ Ar.¹ I wept ^{l-l} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (= εις αιωνα) : $\mathfrak{L}$ in contentione (= εις αγωνα) ^{m-m} so $\mathfrak{S}$ Ethiop. (cf. Arm.) :
 $\mathfrak{L}$ vestrae ⁿ⁻ⁿ so $\mathfrak{L}$: Ethiop. of the fruit of the field

[*vv. 36-38 clearly form the conclusion of the original vision.*]

xii. 39b-48. The section that now forms the conclusion of the fifth vision is plainly a fragment of S, and has been
 transposed to its present position by R. It forms the true conclusion to the former vision, that of the heavenly Sion.
 For a discussion of the reasons for this analysis reference must be made to *EA*, p. 276 f. The passage is parallel to
 v. 14-16, which is also a misplaced fragment of S.

39. And he departed from me. 'He', sc. the angel Uriel : the verse forms the immediate continuation of x. 57.

40. the seven days, i. e. the seven days mentioned in ix. 23 f.

42. a cluster out of the vintage. For the figure cf. ix. 21, Isa. x. 6.

a lamp in a dark place. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19.

45. they wept. For the representation cf. 2 Bar. xxxii. 8.

xii. 49-51. The verses that follow are clearly the work of R. The latter has introduced another seven days' stay in
 the field of Ardat as a preparation for the vision that follows (ch. xiii), which, however, is a dream-vision. We have
 already seen that the seven days' preparation in Ardat was for the final and crowning vision of the heavenly Sion,
 which concluded the Salathiel-Apocalypse (S). It cannot, therefore, have been repeated. In v. 49 (see note below)
 the expression 'after these days' must be due to R.

49. after these days, viz. those mentioned in xii. 39: but R has forgotten that this command to the seer had not
 been communicated to the people; to the latter 'these days' would be unintelligible.

THE SIXTH VISION.

(THE MAN FROM THE SEA.)

(xiii. 1-58) (M) (R).

I. xiii. 1-13 a. THE VISION (M).

M 13 ^{1, 2} And it came to pass after seven days that I dreamed a dream by night: °(and I beheld,)° and lo! ³ there arose ^p a violent wind ^p from the sea, and stirred all its waves. And I beheld, and lo! ^a (the wind caused to come up out of the heart of the seas as it were the form of a man. And I beheld, and lo!) ^a this Man ^r flew ^r with the clouds of heaven. And wherever he turned his countenance to ⁴ look everything seen by him trembled; and whithersoever the voice went out of his mouth, all ^s that ⁵ heard his voice ^s melted away ^t, as the wax melts when it feels the fire. And after this I beheld, and lo! there was gathered together from the four winds of heaven an innumerable multitude of men

⁰⁻⁰ so $\mathfrak{L}$ (cf. *Arm.*): but $\mathfrak{S}$ *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.²* > ^{p-p} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (= *μεγας ανεμος*) *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.*: $\mathfrak{L}$ a wind
^{q-q} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. *Ethiop. Ar.¹ Ar.² Arm.*): $\mathfrak{L}$ > (by *homoioteleuton*) ^{r-r} reading *convolabat* (for *convalescebat*):
 so *Oriental VSS.* ^{s-s} reading *qui audiebant vocis* (*MSS. voces, vocem*) eius = *οι ηκουσαν της φωνης αυτου*
^{t-t} so $\mathfrak{S}$ (cf. *Ar.¹ Arm.*) = *ετακησαν*: $\mathfrak{L}$ *ardescabant* = *εκαησαν*

xiii. 1-58. THE SIXTH [SON OF MAN] VISION. A fresh dream-vision reveals a storm-tossed sea, a violent wind having arisen. The wind brings up from the midst of the sea the figure of a Man, who flies with the clouds of heaven. Everything trembles at his look; whoever hears his voice is consumed with fire. From the four quarters of the world a multitude of men presently gather to wage war against him. He carves out—whence, it is not stated—an immense rock, which he mounts and from which he annihilates the hostile host with a stream of fire and tempest which proceeds out of his mouth. His weapons, it is to be noticed, are not sword and spear, but fire and storm. When the hostile multitude has been consumed the Man descends from the mountain, and summons to his side a peaceable host, all who—whether from friendliness or fear—had not attacked him.

The seer, awaking from his dream, prays that the vision may be interpreted to him. The interpretation follows. The Man from the Sea is the Messiah; his enemies are the nations of the world; the graven rock, whose origin was so mysterious, is the heavenly Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven. The annihilation of the hostile powers is effected by the fire of the Law. Then the Messiah gathers the ten tribes out of alien lands, and with the joint aid of these and of the others who are already in Palestine, he establishes a kingdom of peace and glory.

A careful examination of the vision proper and the interpretation that follows it reveals certain incongruities between what is explained and the explanation. This is a common phenomenon in apocalyptic, and shows that the apocalyptic writers were handling traditional material which was already extremely old when they wrote. Thus the first point to be noted is that when the vision first assumed a written form (i.e. probably some considerable time before the redactor (R) compiled our present book) the real significance of many features in the original vision was already lost, and was obscured by a more or less artificially adjusted interpretation. In other words religious thought and outlook had long outgrown those of the fixed tradition. It had become necessary to reinterpret the latter to suit later conditions.

For a full discussion of 'the original significance' of the vision reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 282-4. Here it can only be noted that the term 'the Man' (or 'one like unto a son of Man' in Dan. vii) apparently denoted, in the earlier stages of the tradition, an angelic being who was invested with attributes, proper only to Jahveh Himself, and ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah. In the earliest stage of all this 'Man' was the Cosmic Man—the 'Urmensch'—who, endowed with supernatural gifts, fights and overcomes the monster of chaos (see further, Volz, pp. 214 f., 216 f.).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION. As has already been pointed out, the written source used by R included not only the Vision proper (*vv.* 1-13 a), but also its interpretation (*vv.* 25-53). Here the details of the Vision have been forced to adjust themselves to a later eschatological scheme. The Man from the Sea = the pre-existent Messiah, who shall deliver creation (*vv.* 25-26); he will first of all destroy with wind, fire, and storm the hostile powers that assemble against him (*vv.* 27-28 and 33-35 [*vv.* 29-32 may be an interpolation by R]), after rebuking them for their offences (*vv.* 37-38); the fire with which he destroys them is the fire of the Law (*v.* 38). The assembly of the hostile nations and their destruction thus described correspond to the 'wars of Gog and Magog', which is a regular feature in the eschatological scheme. After the destruction of his enemies the Messiah gathers his subjects—the peaceable multitude of *v.* 12. These, it is significant to notice, are identified (*v.* 40 f.) with the Ten Tribes (= Israel's exiles), who now are led back and, together with the two tribes already in Palestine (*v.* 48), enjoy the Messianic kingdom of peace. Nothing is said in the interpretation of the vision of any heathen nations being included in the peaceable multitude, though such were certainly included in the representation of the vision itself (*v.* 12). Possibly, however, proselytes were intended to be included.

A number of considerations, which cannot be discussed here, show that the vision and its interpretation (i.e. M) form an independent source; and the historical situation presupposed clearly points to a date anterior to A.D. 70 (see further *EA*, p. 285 f.).

THE REDACTION OF M. The redactional readjustments made by R are mainly by way of supplement from the other sources of the book. The most considerable of his additions is in the section xiii. 13 b-24 (see introduction to this); his hand is also apparent in xiii. 26 b, xiii. 29-32, xiii. 36, xiii. 48 (see notes on these passages). The vision and its interpretation fall naturally into the following divisions: i. *The Vision* (xiii. 1-13 a); ii. *The Apocalypticist's reflections on the Vision* (xiii. 13 b-24); iii. *The interpretation of the Vision* (xiii. 25-53 a).

2. from the sea. Cf. xi. 1.

4. as the wax melts when it feels the fire. A standing figure in the O. T., especially in theophanic descriptions; cf. Ps. xcvi. 5, Micah i. 4; also Judith xvi. 15, 1 En. i. 6, &c.

6 to make war against the Man that came up out of the sea. And I beheld, and lo! he cut out for
 7 himself a great mountain and flew up upon it. But I sought to see the region or place from whence the
 8 mountain had been cut out; and I could not. And after this I beheld, and lo! all who were gathered
 together against him to wage war with him were seized with great fear; yet they dared to fight.
 9 And lo! when he saw the assault of the multitude as they came he neither lifted his hand, nor held
 10 spear nor any warlike weapon; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it were ^ua fiery
 stream ^u, and out of his lips ^va flaming breath ^v, and out of his tongue he shot forth ^wa storm of
 11 sparks ^w. And these were all mingled together—the fiery stream, the flaming breath, and ^xthe
 . . . storm ^x, and fell upon ^ythe assault of the multitude ^y ^zwhich ^z was prepared to fight, and burned
 them all up, so that suddenly nothing more was to be seen of the innumerable multitude save only
 12 dust of ashes and smell of smoke. When I saw this I was amazed. Afterwards I beheld the same
 Man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.
 13 Then drew nigh unto him the faces of many men, ^asome of whom were glad, some sorrowful ^a; while
 some were in bonds, some brought others who should be offered.

II. xiii. 13^b-24. THE APOCALYPTIST'S REFLECTIONS ON THE VISION (mainly R).

Then through great fear I awoke. And I supplicated the Most High and said:

14 Thou from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders, and hast counted me worthy to
 15, 16 receive my prayer: oh show me now moreover the interpretation of this dream! For as I conceive
 in my mind, woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that
 17, 18 do not survive! For they that do not survive must be sorrowful, knowing as they do what things are
 19 reserved in the last days, but not attaining unto them. But woe unto them also that survive, for
 20 this reason—they must see great perils, and many distresses, even as these dreams do show. Yet
^bit is better ^b to come into ^cthese things ^c incurring peril, than to pass away as a cloud out of the
 21 world and not to see what shall happen in the last time. And he answered me, and said: The
 interpretation of the Vision I will tell thee, and I will also explain unto thee the things of which

^{u-u} fluctum (*v. l. flatum*) ignis ^{v-v} spiritum flammae ^{w-w} reading scintillas tempestatis ^{x-x} multitudo
 tempestatis (*we should expect scintillae tempestatis to be repeated*) ^{y-y} reading multitudinis impetum ^{z-z}
 quod (*sc. multitudo = πληθος—retaining the Greek gender*) ^{a-a} quorundam gaudentium quorundam tristantium
 = *ων μεν ηδομενων, ων δε λυπουμενων* ^{b-b} so *§ Ethiop.* (*cf. Arm.*): *§ facilius* (? *read felicius: so Hilg.*) ^{c-c} reading
 haec = *§ Ethiop.*

6. he cut out for himself a great mountain. Cf. Dan. ii. 45 ('the stone cut out without hands').

10. a storm of sparks. The whole representation is based on Isa. xi. 4; cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 27, 1 En. lxii. 2. It is a striking feature that the Messiah, without the aid of weapons or allies, destroys the opposed nations by supernatural means. See further Volz, p. 224 f.

11. the . . . storm. The description is a threefold delineation of the fiery stormy emission from the Messiah's mouth—fire like a stream, flame like wind, a sea of sparks like a snowstorm, all forming a mingled mass (Volkmar).

12. and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable. The Messiah first destroys his enemies and then gathers his subjects, as in Ps. of Sol. xvii (cf. especially verses 27, 28); cf. Isa. xi. 12.

13. the faces of many men. The faces betray the moods (joy, sorrow, &c.) described in the following clause.

some . . . glad, some sorrowful. Jews and heathen, pious and godless, are meant (Gunkel).

some were in bonds, i.e. Jews in captivity.

some brought others who should be offered, i.e. the heathen bring in Jews as an oblation to the Messiah; cf. Isa. lxvi. 20 (Ps. Sol. xvii. 34).

xiii. 13^b-24. As would be expected, R has not allowed the old source (M) from which he excerpted this vision to remain without revision and interpolation. In the section that follows (*vv.* 13^b-24) his hand is much in evidence; practically the whole of it is his work. Thus *vv.* 16-20, beginning, 'Woe unto them that shall survive in those days! but much more woe unto them that do not survive!' is plainly out of place in the midst of a prayer for enlightenment as to the meaning of the vision. Such language is the work of one who knows that the vision describes the advent of the Messiah, though this has yet to be explained in the interpretation (*vv.* 25-52). R, in fact, has borrowed the language and ideas of this passage from the interpretation that follows, which begins with *v.* 25, as the form of that verse clearly indicates. The whole passage exhibits essentially similar features to those of viii. 63-ix. 12. It is a compilation made by R. Its reflective tone also accords with this view of its general character.

Possibly some of the language of the earlier source lies behind *vv.* 13^b-14, but if so it has apparently been revised by R. See further *EA*, p. 290.

13. And I supplicated the Most High. The prayer is addressed directly to God. [What here followed originally has, it seems, been worked over by R.]

14. from the beginning hast shown thy servant these wonders. Cf. viii. 63. R here alludes to the disclosures which have been made in the former Visions.

hast counted me worthy to receive my prayer. Cf. ix. 24, 25.

18. what things are reserved in the last days. 'The last days' here = the temporary Messianic kingdom that precedes the End. This view harmonizes with the eschatology of E and R. Cf. vii. 26-44 and viii. 63-ix. 12.

19. even as these dreams do show. By 'these dreams' R here means the whole series of preceding visions.

R 22 thou hast spoken. Whereas thou hast spoken of those who survive ^d(and of those who do not
 23 survive) ^d—this is the interpretation: He that shall bring the peril in that time ^ewill himself keep ^e
 them that fall into the peril, even such as have works and faith toward ^f(the Most High and) ^f the
 24 Mighty One. Know, therefore, that those who survive (to that time) are more blessed than those
 that have died.

III. xiii. 25-52, 53 a. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VISION (M) (R).

M 25 These are the interpretations of the vision: Whereas thou didst see a Man coming up from
 26 the heart of the Sea: this is he whom the Most High is keeping ^g many ages ^g [(and) ^h through whom
 27 he will deliver his creation ^h.] and the same shall order the survivors. And whereas thou didst see
 28 that out of his mouth there came wind, and fire, and storm; and whereas he held neither spear, nor
 any warlike weapon, but destroyed the assault of that multitude which had come ⁱ to fight against
 R 29 him ⁱ—this is the interpretation: [Behold, the days come when the Most High is about to deliver them
 30, 31 that are upon earth. And there shall come astonishment of mind upon the dwellers on earth: and
 they shall plan to war one against another, ^j city against city ^j, place against place, people against
 32 people, and kingdom against kingdom. And it shall be when these things shall come to pass, and the
 signs shall happen which I showed thee before, then shall my Son be revealed whom thou didst see as
 M 33 a Man ascending.] It shall be, when all the nations hear his voice, every man shall leave his own
 34 land and the warfare which they have one against another; and an innumerable multitude shall be
 35 gathered together, as thou didst see, desiring to come and to fight against him. But he shall stand
 R 36 upon the summit of Mount Sion. [And Sion shall come and shall be made manifest to all men,
 M 37 prepared and builded, even as thou didst see the mountain cut out without hands.] But he, my Son,
 shall reprove the nations that are come for their ungodliness—which things (i.e., the rebukes) are
 38 like unto a storm—; and shall reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts and with the
 tortures with which they are destined to be tortured—which are compared unto a flame—; and then
 39 shall he destroy them without labour ^k by the Law ^k which is compared unto fire. And whereas
 thou didst see ^l that he summoned and gathered to himself ^l another multitude which was peaceable—

^{d-d} so $\S$ Ar.¹) (cf. Ethiop.): $\mathbb{L}$ >

^{e-e} reading ipse custodibit

^{f-f} so $\S$ (cf. Ethiop. Ar.¹): $\mathbb{L}$ >

^{g-g} $\mathbb{L}$ multis temporibus (= πολλοῖς χρόνοις)

^{h-h} $\mathbb{L}$ qui per semetipsum

(a misunderstanding of אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ = os dei autou):

the correct translation is given by Ar.¹ (cf. $\S$ Ethiop. Arm.)

ⁱ⁻ⁱ $\mathbb{L}$ ad (so $\S$, &c.)

expugnare eum (= πρὸς τὸ ἐκπολεμεῖν αὐτον)

^{j-j} $\mathbb{L}$ civitatis (a false nom. = civitas)

civitatem

^{k-k} so $\S$: $\mathbb{L}$ et legem

^{l-l} so $\S$ (cf. Ar.¹): $\mathbb{L}$ eum colli-

23. even such as have works and faith. A reminiscence of the theology of S; so in a similar composite passage, ix. 7 (cf. viii. 33 S).

xiii. 25-52, 53 a.

26. many ages. The pre-existent heavenly Messiah (= 'the Son of Man' of I En. xxxvii-lxx) is meant. His being hidden with God is referred to in v. 52 below. This heavenly pre-existence must be carefully distinguished from the earthly pre-existence which is attributed in various forms to the earthly Messiah in Rabbinic literature.

[through whom he will deliver his creation]. This clause does not accord with the rest of the interpretation; it has probably been interpolated by R from the former vision (A); cf. xi. 46. So, again, v. 29 in this chapter (the deliverance of creation).

and the same shall order the survivors. This is probably due to R (cf. v. 48).

29-32. [Behold, the days come, &c.] These verses appear to be an interpolation by R intended to explain how the nations had previously been engaged in internecine strife. The contents are in the style of E; cf. iv. 52-v. 12. The verses really interrupt the sequence of the interpretation, which is restored by their elimination.

29. [Behold, the days come]. Cf. v. 1, vi. 18.

31. [people against people, and kingdom against kingdom]. Cf. Isa. xix. 2, Matt. xxiv. 7.

34. [and an innumerable multitude shall be gathered together]. An important point in the eschatological drama is assigned to the final conflict of the assembled heathen nations against the people of God (the 'wars of Gog and Magog'). The annihilation of these hosts forms an indispensable preliminary to the inauguration of the Messianic era. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii-xxxix; Joel iii (Hebr. iv) 12; Zech. xiv. 2; Isa. xxv. 2; and see further EA, p. 294 f.

35. But he shall stand upon the summit of Mount Sion. The identification of the mysterious mountain (which the Man cut out for himself and upon which he flew) with Mount Sion is implied. This is natural from a later point of view; cf. Ps. ii. 6. For the original significance of this feature cf. EA, p. 295.

36. [And Sion shall come, &c.] Another interpolation by R. Here Sion = the heavenly City which descends from heaven at the end of the Messianic age (cf. vii. 26). Cf. also Rev. xxi. 2, 9 f.

[without hands]. Cf. Dan. ii. 34, 35.

37. shall reprove the nations. Cf. xii. 32.

shall reproach them, &c. Cf. xii. 32.

38. shall he destroy them. Apparently the hostile multitude here destroyed includes all the heathen nations, as 'the peaceable' multitude which is preserved is identified with the Ten Tribes. Contrast the original vision (v. 13 a), which contemplates the submission of some of the heathen to the triumphant Messiah (so 2 Bar. lxxii. 2, 3; Ps. of Sol. xvii. 32). For the older view see Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. lxvi; Zech. xiv; Dan. vii. 14. Possibly in our passage, however, proselytes are intended to be included in the 'peaceable' multitude. For the conflict of opinion on the ultimate fate of the heathen see Volz, p. 322-325; RWS², ch. xi. 2 b.

M 40 These are ^mthe ten tribes^m which were led away captive out of their own land in the days ⁿof
 Josiah ⁿthe king, ^owhich (tribes)^o Salmanassar the king of the Assyrians led away captive; he
 41 carried them across the River, and (thus) they were transported into another land. ^pBut they took
 this counsel among themselves ^p, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth
 42 into a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt, there at least to keep their
 43 statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they entered by the narrow passages
 44 of the river Euphrates. For the Most High then wrought ^awonders^a for them, and stayed the
 M(R) 45 springs of the River until they were passed over. And through that country there was a great way
 46 to go, (a journey) of a year and a half; and that region was called Arzareth. There they have dwelt
 47 until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will again stay
 the springs of the River, that they may be able to pass over. Therefore thou didst see a multitude
 48 gathered together in peace. [*But the survivors of thy people, even those who are found within my holy*
 49 *border, ^r(shall be saved)^r.] It shall be, therefore, when he shall destroy the multitude of the nations
 50 that are gathered together, he shall defend the people that remain. And then shall he show them
 51 ^svery many wonders^s. And I said: O Lord my Lord, show me this: wherefore I have seen the
 52 Man coming up from the heart of the sea. And he said unto me: Just as one can neither seek out
 nor know what is in the deep of the sea, even so can no one upon earth see my Son [*or those that*
 53 *are with him*], but in the time ^tof his day^t. Such is the interpretation of the dream which thou
 hast seen.*

IV. xiii. 53 b-58. EPILOGUE AND TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION
 (partly E², partly S R).

E² 53 b ... Therefore ^uhas this been revealed to thee^u, and to thee alone,
 54 because thou hast forsaken ^vthe things of thyself^v,
 and hast applied thy diligence unto mine
 and searched out my Law;

gentem ad se ^{m-m} so $\mathbb{L}$: $\mathbb{S}$ the nine and a half tribes = *Ethiop.* (some MSS.: but others nine) *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*: *Ar.*² the rem-
 nant of the nine tribes ⁿ⁻ⁿ $\mathbb{L}$ (best MSS.) Josiae; so $\mathbb{S}$ *Ar.*²: $\mathbb{L}$ (M) Oseae ^{o-o} so $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop.* *Ar.*¹: $\mathbb{L}$ quem (due to
 misunderstanding the reference of אשר) ^{p-p} $\mathbb{L}$ ipsi autem sibi dederunt consilium hoc ^{q-q} so *Oriental VSS.*:
 $\mathbb{L}$ signa ^{r-r} so $\mathbb{S}$: other VSS. (including $\mathbb{L}$) > ^{s-s} $\mathbb{L}$ multa plurima portenta (= ? נפלאות רבות גדולות): $\mathbb{S}$
 many wonders (*Violet regards multa in $\mathbb{L}$ as an uncorrected mistake for plurima*) ^{t-t} so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. other *Oriental*
VSS.): $\mathbb{L}$ diei only ^{u-u} $\mathbb{L}$ inluminatus es haec = εφωτισθης ταυτα ^{v-v} $\mathbb{L}$ tua = τα σα

40. the ten tribes. This is a purely ideal designation of the Northern Kingdom here. For the legends concerning the Ten Tribes cf. *EA*, p. 300 f.; and for the explanation of the variant 'nine and a half' cf. *EA*, p. 296.

in the days of Josiah the King. This is the true reading of $\mathbb{L}$ and the other versions. An historical error is involved, Hosea being the name of the king in whose reign the Captivity took place (cf. 2 Kings xvii). The error may be due to the original writer (cf. Dan. i. 1, 2 Bar. i. 1), or to textual corruption in the original Hebrew.

the River, i. e. the Euphrates.

41. where the human race had never dwelt. As Gunkel remarks, the fact that the Ten Tribes were not known to exist in any definite land made it necessary to suppose that they had removed to a locality not otherwise accessible, and out of contact with the rest of the world.

44. and stayed the springs of the River until they were passed over. Cf. Josh. iii. 15 f. This will explain why it is that the country in which the Ten Tribes are supposed to be dwelling is inaccessible (Gunkel).

45. Arzareth, i. e. as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (*Journal of Philology*, iii [1871], p. 114) correctly pointed out, the 'eres 'achereth (= 'another land') of Deut. xxix. 25-28 (Hebr. 24-27). The words of this passage are applied to the Ten Tribes in the Mishnah (*Sanh.* x. 3). See further *EA*, p. 298.

48. [But the survivors . . . who are found within my holy border, &c.] This verse must be an interpolation of R; it represents the point of view of E (cf. vi. 25), which R is fond of insisting upon (cf. vii. 28). The logical connexion is much improved by its omission. For the idea that Palestine is, in a special sense, the land of salvation (cf. ix. 8), and that to dwell there is in itself a source of protection and happiness, cf. 2 Bar. xl. 2 (also xxxix. 2) and notes there. See also Volz, p. 308.

49. defend the people that remain, i. e. those, presumably, who do not come under the destructive fire that proceeds out of the Messiah's mouth, viz. Israel, which includes the people in Palestine and the Ten Tribes. The latter may be intended to embrace the Dispersion generally, together with proselytes.

51. show me this. The meaning of the coming up of the Man from the Sea was already obscure to the apocalyptist. The explanation that follows is clearly an artificial one, the product of later reflection.

52. [or those that are with him]. There is no hint in the vision itself, or elsewhere in the interpretation, that the Messiah is accompanied by other beings; probably the words are an insertion by R (cf. vii. 28—also R). The Messiah's immortal companions may be meant (cf. vi. 26), or, possibly, angels.

xiii. 53 b-58. The verses that follow form, in their present position, a short epilogue to the sixth, and a transition to the seventh vision. Probably vv. 53 b-55 (which are vigorous and distinctive both in thought and diction) were derived by R from E², while vv. 57-58 are a misplaced fragment of S, which should follow x. 57. See *EA*, p. 301 f. In order to adjust these verses to their present context R has added the redactional link 'and there I sat three days'. This finds its explanation in the opening words of the next vision.

- E² 55 Thy life thou hast ordered unto wisdom
and hast called understanding thy mother.
56 Therefore have I showed thee this; for there is a reward (laid up) with the Most High. And it
shall be after three more days I will speak other things unto thee, and will declare to thee things
difficult and marvellous.

REDACTIONAL TRANSITION TO THE SEVENTH VISION

[vv. 57-58 (S) misplaced: proper position after x. 57].

- S(R) 57 [vv Then I went forth and walked in the field vv, greatly magnifying and praising the Most High on
58 account of the marvellous acts which he performs in due season; and because he governs the times
and the things which come to pass in due season.] *And there I abode three days.*

THE SEVENTH VISION.

(THE EZRA-LEGEND.)

(Chap. xiv) (E²) (S) (R).I. xiv. 1-17. EZRA'S COMMISSION (E²) (R).

- E² 14 1, 2 And it came to pass w after the third day w, while I sat under the oak, lo! there came a voice out
vv-vv so *Ṣ Ethioṡ. (cf. Arm. Ar.²):* 𐤀 et profectus sum et transii in campum w-w so *Ar.² Arm. (cf. Ṣ after*
this): 𐤀 tertio die

55. hast called understanding thy mother. Cf. Prov. vii. 4.

57. Then I went forth and walked in the field, i.e. the field of Ardat, the scene of the Vision of the heavenly City. The proper position of this and the following verse is, therefore, after x. 57. In its original context the clause means that the seer avails himself of the permission given him in x. 55 to go in and look more carefully at the wonders of the heavenly City, still conceived as being visible to his eyes in the field. So he passes from the spot, where he has received the revelation, further into the field to gaze upon the City.

xiv. THE SEVENTH VISION. The so-called 'Seventh Vision' begins with a narrative description of Ezra sitting 'under the oak', and 'on the third day' (i.e. at the end of the three-day period prescribed in xiii. 56) hearing a voice from a bush (as to Moses), which commanded him to recall carefully the things (of Scripture and tradition) that he had learnt, because his departure from the world is at hand—he is assured that he is to be translated to the heavenly regions to be with the Messiah and his companions. The age is hastening to its close. Of the twelve periods which the world had to run nine and a half have elapsed already, and only two and a half remain. Therefore the prophet is bidden to prepare to take his departure. On his asking who is to take his place after he himself has gone, and praying that he may be inspired, while he remains on earth, to write down again all the Scriptures that have been burnt, he is told to withdraw from the people forty days: during this interval, with the aid of five specially equipped scribes, he is to write down all that he has seen and heard. Part of the writings is to be published openly; part to be kept secret. The seer, after delivering a farewell address to the people (vv. 27-36), does as he is commanded. A cup is given him 'which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire', after drinking which he is specially inspired and strengthened to remember all the sacred writings. For forty days he dictates to the five scribes, with the result that in all ninety-four books are written down, twenty-four of which (= the Old Testament Books) are to be published, while seventy are to be treasured in secret among the wise of the people. In the Oriental Versions a short postscript gives the year, according to the Era of Creation, when these events took place, and ends with the announcement of Ezra's assumption.

For a full discussion of the significance of the Ezra-legend for the interpretation of the book reference must be made to *EA*, pp. 304 ff. It should be noted that the legend represents Ezra as the restorer not only of the lost canonical but also of the dispersed apocalyptic books.

This amounts to a claim that the apocalyptic tradition occupies an essential place in genuine Judaism. It claims for itself the great names of Moses and Ezra, 'the second Moses.' When the date of the formation of our book is taken into consideration (? A.D. 120 or somewhat later) it seems impossible to dissociate its appearance with the controversies regarding the Canon. The motive of R in compiling his Apocalypse and associating with it the name of Ezra seems to have been a desire to reassert the claim of apocalyptic tradition to secure (or maintain) for itself an officially recognized place within Judaism as part of the oral tradition.

While there was, at this time, a party among the Rabbis more or less favourable to apocalyptic, a larger number took up a hostile attitude. Our book seems to be due to an attempt to win over opponents by publishing one of the secret books (or a collection of selections from them) associated with the great name of Ezra, in which the cruder elements of apocalyptic are refined away.

A number of considerations go to show that E² is an independent source. For a full discussion of these reference must be made to *EA*, p. 306 f. The fitting in of ch. xiv to its present context by R was not accomplished without some adjustment and adaptation. This can be seen clearly in vv. 8b, 17b, 28, and v. 37 ('into the field'): in vv. 29-35 we have, apparently, a misplaced section of S; while vv. 49-50 are obviously the work of R. The chapter falls naturally into the following divisions: (i) vv. 1-17; (ii) vv. 18-26; (iii) vv. 27-36; (iv) vv. 37-48; (v) vv. 49-50.

xiv. 1-17.

1. under the oak. Evidently some well-known oak is meant which had been fixed upon by tradition as a place where revelations were given. Such an oak is mentioned in several passages in 2 Baruch (vi. 1, lxxvii. 18, cf. lv. 1), and is there located in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Doubtless the same oak (in or near Jerusalem) is meant here; it cannot be identical with 'Abraham's oak' at Hebron.

2. there came a voice out of a bush. Cf. Exod. iii. 8.

- of a bush over against me; and it said, Ezra, Ezra! And I said: Here am I, Lord. And I rose
 3 upon my feet. Then said he unto me: I did manifestly reveal myself ^x in the bush ^x, and talked with
 4 Moses when my people were in bondage in Egypt: and I sent him, ^y and led ^y my people out of
 Egypt, and brought them to Mount Sinai; and I held him by me for many days.
 5 I told him many wondrous things,
 showed him the secrets of the times,
^z declared to him ^z the end of the seasons:
 Then I commanded him saying:
 6, 7 These words shalt thou publish openly, but these keep secret. And now I do say to thee:
 8 The signs which I have shewed ^a thee ^a,
The dreams which thou hast seen,
and the interpretations which thou hast heard—
 9 lay them up in thy heart! For thou shalt be taken up from (among) men, and henceforth thou shalt
 remain with my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.
 10 For the world has lost its youth,
 The times begin to wax old.
 11 For the world-age is divided into ^b twelve ^b parts; ^c nine (parts) of it are passed already ^c, and the
 12 half of the tenth part; and there remain of it two (parts), besides ^d the half ^d of the tenth part.
 13 Now, therefore, set in order thy house,
 and reprove thy people;
 Comfort the lowly among them,
^e and instruct those that are wise ^e.
 Now do thou renounce the life that is corruptible,
 14 let go from thee ^f the cares of mortality ^f;
 cast from thee the burdens of man,
 put off now the weak nature;
 lay aside thy burdensome cares,
 and hasten to remove from these times!
 15, 16 For still worse evils than those which thou hast seen happen ^g shall yet take place ^g. For the
 weaker the world grows through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon the dwellers on earth.
 17 Truth shall withdraw further off,
 and falsehood be nigh at hand:
for already the Eagle is hastening to come whom thou sawest in vision.

^{x-x} $\mathbb{L}$ super rubum (= $\epsilon\pi\iota$ της βαρου): *Ar.*² in Mount Sinai (*confusion of* סנה [Aram. סניא] bush and סיני ^{y-y} reading eduxi (SA): *the v. l. eduxit is supported by* $\mathbb{S}$ *Ar.*¹ *Ar.*² ^{a-a} so $\mathbb{S}$ (cf. other Oriental VSS.): $\mathbb{L}$ > ^{a-a} so $\mathbb{S}$ *Ethiop. Ar.*¹: but $\mathbb{L}$ (best MSS.) > ^{b-b} so $\mathbb{L}$ *Ar.*²: *Ethiop.* ten [vv. 11-12 are not attested in $\mathbb{S}$ and *Arm.*] ^{c-c} reading et transierunt eius ix iam (MSS. of $\mathbb{L}$ have x [decem] = *Ar.*²) ^{d-d} reading dimidium ^{e-e} so Oriental VSS.: $\mathbb{L}$ > ^{f-f} $\mathbb{L}$ mortales cogitationes (= $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ θανασιμους λογισμους) ^{g-g} reading iterum . . . facientur (MSS. facient)

4. I held him by me, i. e. 'I held' Moses (viz. on Mount Sinai); cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28.
 5. the secrets of the times . . . the end of the seasons, i. e. the secret tradition regarding the crises of the world's history (measured by certain periods of time) which was associated with the name of Moses: a specimen of this exists in the *Assumption of Moses*; see i. 16 f., x. 12, xi. 1. There are traces of a larger apocryphal literature which circulated under the name of Moses, but which is no longer extant.
 6. These words . . . publish openly, but these keep secret. Cf. the narrative in Deut. v. What was published openly by Moses was the Torah; what was kept secret was, according to our author, the apocalyptic tradition. So Gunkel. The terms of v. 5 certainly suggest an apocalyptic rather than an oral legal tradition, such as the oral Law which was treasured in Rabbinic circles, and which was largely traced back (in theory, at any rate) to Moses.
 8. The dreams . . . interpretations . . . heard. These lines have probably been added by R to connect what follows with the contents of the previous visions.
 9. with my Son, and with such as are like thee. The Messiah is here conceived as pre-existing in heaven, and (as in the Parables of 1 Enoch) as surrounded by a community of elect ones (cf. 1 En. xxxix. 7). So, too, in the Parables Enoch is removed to heaven to dwell with the Son of Man (1 En. lxx. 1 f.), just as Ezra is here. See further *EA*, p. 309.
 until the times be ended. The heavenly Messiah does not appear till the End; cf. 1 En. xlv. 3 f.
 10. the world has lost its youth, the times begin to wax old. Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxv. 10; see the idea worked out in 4 Ezra v. 50-55.
 12. the half. For vv. 11-12 the *Ethiop.* has: 'For the world is divided into ten parts and is come to the tenth; and there remains the half of the tenth' (cf. the half-week in Dan. ix. 27 = the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of tribulation). So in *Sibyll. Oracles*, iv. 47 f., and in the apocalypse of ten weeks, 1 En. xciii (xci). The twelve-period division appears in 2 Bar. liii f. In our passage it is probable that the time-definition is intended to apply to the historical Ezra. See further *EA*, p. 310.
 13. thy house, i. e. the house of Israel.
 14. cast from thee the burdens of man. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 4.
 17. for already the Eagle, &c. This is obviously a redactional link to bring in ch. xi.

II. xiv. 18-26. EZRA'S PRAYER FOR INSPIRATION TO RESTORE THE SCRIPTURES (E²).

E² 18, 19 And I answered and said: ^hLet me speak ^hbefore thee, O Lord! Lo, I will depart, as thou hast commanded me, and will warn the people who (now) exist: but they that shall be born later, who shall admonish them?

20 For the world lies in darkness,
and the dwellers therein are without light.

21 For thy Law is burnt; and so no man knows the things which have been done by thee, or the
22 works that shall be done. If, then, I have found favour before thee, send into me the Holy Spirit, that I may write all that has happened in the world since the beginning, even the things which were written in thy Law, in order that men may be able to find ⁱthe path ⁱ, and that they who would live at the last, may live.

23 And he answered me and said: Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee
24 for forty days. But do thou prepare for thyself many ^jwriting-tablets^j; and take with thee Saraia, Dabria, Selemia, ^kElkanah^k, and Osiel, these five, because they are equipped for writings wiftly; 25 and (then) come hither, and I will light the lamp of understanding in thy heart, which shall not be
26 extinguished until what thou art about to write shall be completed. And when thou shalt have finished, some things thou shalt publish, and some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise. To-morrow, at this hour, thou shalt begin to write.

III. xiv. 27-36. EZRA'S LAST WORDS (E²) (S) (R).

E² 27 Then I went forth as he commanded me, and assembled all the people and said:
R 28 [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*]
S 29 [Our fathers were at the beginning strangers in Egypt, and they were delivered from thence.
30 And (then) they received the Law of life, which they kept not, ¹even as ¹you also after them have
31 transgressed (it). Then was a land given you for an inheritance ^min the land of Sion^m, but ye and

^{h-h} reading loquar (Lat. MSS. mostly >) = Oriental VSS.

buxos (= πύξια: Hebr. לִחוֹת)

^{k-k} so S and Arm. (cf. Ethiop.): Ἰ Ethanus

ⁱ⁻ⁱ so Ἰ S: Ethiop. + of life

^{j-j} Ἰ

prob. an original Hebr. כֹּאשֶׁר was misread אֶשֶׁר (so Violet)

^{m-m} so Ἰ S (cf. Ethiop.): Ar.¹ >: Ar.² on Mount

xiv. 18-26.

20. the dwellers therein are without light, i.e. without the light of God's Law. For the idea of the Law = light of divine revelation cf. Ps. xix, especially v. 8 b. Often, in apocalyptic, light and darkness correspond to piety and godlessness.

21. thy Law is burnt. The reference here is primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar when, with other things, the Law is presumed to have been burnt.

the things which have been done by thee, i.e. the narrative of the sacred (historical) books of the Old Testament.

the works that shall be done, i.e. according to Gunkel, the eschatological passages of the Old Testament. The Old Testament thus consists primarily of sacred history and eschatology.

22. Law. 'Law' here, apparently, has the wide sense of Scriptures of the Old Testament generally; cf. John x. 24, xv. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

that they who would live at the last, may live. Cf. 2 Bar. xli. 1 and notes, and lxxvi. 5.

23. for forty days. As at the first giving of the Law (to Moses) and its writing down; cf. Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. The precedent is followed in the case of the second Moses here.

24. these five. In Ezra and his five companions there may be a covert allusion to Johanan b. Zakkai—the re-founder of Judaism in A.D. 66-70—and his five famous disciples, Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, Joshua b. Hananya, Jose the Priest, Simeon b. Nathanael, and Eleazar b. Araq. (so Rosenthal).

26. some thou shalt deliver in secret to the wise. Just as Moses, according to Rabbinic tradition, had delivered the substance of the oral law to the teachers and wise of his people to be handed down to future ages.

xiv. 27-36. The section that follows is apparently of composite origin. In v. 23 God had said to Ezra: 'Go thy way, assemble the people and tell them not to seek thee for forty days.' Instead of simply carrying out this command Ezra, according to the present form of the section, assembles the people and delivers an address in which he reminds them that their fathers, though they were delivered from Egypt and received the Law of life, were unfaithful to their trust, and had not kept the behest of the Most High. In this unfaithfulness the assembled people had themselves shared. Therefore their land had been taken from them. If they will rule their understanding and instruct their hearts they shall be preserved alive, and after death obtain mercy. For after death there is the judgement, when the names of the righteous shall be made manifest, and the works of the ungodly declared. Ezra concludes by requesting that no one shall seek after him for forty days.

It seems probable that the passage as a whole formed no original part of E², and has been compiled by R, who has detached the original conclusion of S, and placed it here (it forms the true sequel to xii. 48). See further EA, p. 315. In its original form E² here simply had, it is probable, vv. 27 and 36.

28. [*Hear, O Israel, these words!*] This clause may have been added by R.

30. the Law of life, i.e. the Law which, if it was observed, would confer life and immortality—a characteristic thought of S.

- S your fathers have done unrighteousness, and have not kept the ways which ^athe Most High ^acommanded you. ° And ° forasmuch as he is a righteous judge he took from you in due time that which he had bestowed. And now ye are here [^pand your brethren are . . .^p].
- 34 If ye, then, will rule over your own understanding
and will discipline your heart,
Ye shall be preserved alive
and after death obtain mercy.
- 35 For after death shall the Judgement come,
[when we shall once more live again:]
And then shall the names of the righteous be made manifest,
and the works of the godless declared.]
- E² 36 Let no man, then, come unto me now, nor seek me for forty days.

IV. xiv. 37-48. THE RESTORATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES (E²).

- 37 So I took the five men as he had commanded me, and we went forth [*into the field*] and remained there.
- 38 And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo! a voice called me, saying:
Ezra, open thy mouth
and drink what I give thee to drink!
- 39 Then I opened my mouth, and lo! there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire.
- 40 And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk
My heart poured forth understanding
wisdom grew in my breast,
and my spirit retained its memory:
- 41 and my mouth opened, and was no more shut.
- 42 And the Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote what was dictated ^ain order ^a, ^rin characters which they knew not ^r.
- 43 ^sAnd so they sat ^sforty days:
They wrote in the day-time
and at night did eat bread;

Sinai ⁿ⁻ⁿ so *ℒ* *Arm.* (cf. *Ethiop.*): *℟* Moses the servant of the Lord: *Ar.*¹ > ^{o-o} so *Oriental VSS.*: *ℒ* > *p-p* *ℒ* et fratres vestri introrsus vestrum sunt (cf. *Ar.*¹): *℟* and your brethren are further inland than you in another land (cf. *Ethiop. Arm.*): *Ar.*² your brethren are in the furthest East ^{q-q} *ℒ* ex successione (= καθεξής; cf. *Luke* i. 3) ^{r-r} reading [ex successione] notis (*MSS.* noctis) quae non sciebant (so *℟*: cf. *Ethiop.*) (corrupt text is [quae dicebantur] ex sessionibus noctis: the wonderful visions of the night that were told *A.V.*) ^{s-s} so *ℒ* *Ethiop.*: but *℟* (cf. *Ar.*¹ *Arm.*) I sat

33. ye are here, i.e. in Babylon (if the passage belongs to S). In its present context 'here' ought to mean in Jerusalem.

[and your brethren are . . .] The text is very uncertain (see crit. notes). If 'your brethren' = the Ten Tribes the verse is clearly a harmonistic addition based on xiii. 41.

34. Ye shall be preserved alive, i.e. spiritually alive.

35. [when we shall once more live again]. This clause seems certainly to refer to the bodily resurrection (preceding the last Judgement). But such a reference would not harmonize with the theology of S. Kabisch thinks the clause may have been originally a marginal gloss, which was added by a pious reader who believed in a general resurrection, and which afterwards got into the text.

37. [into the field]. This is probably due to R, who identified the spot to which Ezra and his five companions retired with the field of Ardat. Some other expression may have stood in the text originally.

39. was full as it were with water . . . fire. The cup is the cup of inspiration full of the holy spirit, which, clear as water, is like fire. Ezra after drinking it is inspired. The representation that is given in our passage of the inspired state is very interesting. It may be compared with Philo's conception which was influenced by the Platonic idea of the ecstatic or God-intoxicated seer. For an extended reference to this cf. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, §§ 51-52.

The representation of the cup here as being the medium by which the prophet receives inspiration is peculiar. It certainly suggests Essene affinities; the idea of divine power being sacramentally mediated was familiar to the members of this sect. See further *EA*, p. 318 f.

40. and my spirit retained its memory. The effect of ecstasy was often such that the subject of it lost consciousness and memory. In Ezra's case, however, the natural faculties are immensely strengthened and intensified. This is inspiration, so our passage seems to imply, in its highest form. The apocalyptic writer here is obviously well acquainted with the experiences and phenomena of the ecstatic state.

42. in characters which they knew not, i.e. in a new Hebrew script, the square or 'Assyrian' character used in our printed Hebrew Bibles. Ezra was traditionally regarded as the inventor of this form of Hebrew writing; cf. Jerome in his Preface to the Books of Kings (the so-called *prologus galeatus*): *certum est Esdram scribam legisque doctorem post captam Hierosolimam et instaurationem templi sub Zorobabel alias litteras repperisse quibus nunc utimur, cum ad illud usque tempus iidem Samaritanorum et Ebraeorum characteres fuerint.*

- E² but as for me, I spake in the day,
and at night was not silent.
- 44, 45 So in forty days were written ^tninety-four books^t. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake unto me saying: "The twenty-four books^u that thou hast
46 written publish, that the worthy and unworthy may read (therein): but the seventy last thou shalt keep, to deliver them to the wise among thy people.
- 47 For in them is the spring of understanding,
the fountain of wisdom,
and the stream of knowledge.
- R 48 ^v And I did so^v, ^win the seventh year, of the sixth week, after five thousand years of the creation and three months and twelve days^w.

V. xiv. 49-50. CONCLUSION OF THE BOOK (R).

- 49 And then was Ezra caught away, and taken up^x into the place of such as were like him,^x after
50 having written all these things. And ^yhe is called the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever and ever^y.

^{t-t} so § Ethiop. Ar.¹ Arm.: the number given in the Lat. MSS. varies between 904, 970, and 974 ^{u-u} so §
(Ar.¹): ^lpriora (cf. Ethiop. Arm.)—omitting the number ^{v-v} here the Latin text breaks off
(= 5,042 years) see exeget. notes ^{w-w} so §
like him ^{x-x} so § Ethiop. (cf. Arm.): Ar.¹ to the land of the living of such as were
^{y-y} so §

43. but as for me, &c. Cf. 2 En. xxiii. 3 f.

45. The twenty-four books. The twenty-four books are, of course, the books of the O.T., which were read openly in the synagogue, and were open for all to read. The number 24 is the ordinary reckoning of the O.T. books (5+8+11). In the Talmud and Midrash the O.T. is regularly termed 'the twenty-four holy Scriptures'. Another reckoning was 22 (cf. Joseph. c. *Apion*, i. 8) in accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (so also Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome). This total seems to have been obtained by combining Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah.

46. the seventy last, i.e. the apocalypses which were secret books.

47. the spring of understanding. The high estimation in which the apocalyptic literature was held within certain circles in Judaism comes here to clear expression.

48. And I did so. Here the Latin text breaks off. The last verses of the Apocalypse are preserved in the Oriental Versions. They were eliminated from the Latin text when the additional chapters that conclude the book in its Latin form (15 and 16) were appended by a Christian editor.

in the seventh year, &c. So Syr. = 5,042 years after the creation of the world (Ethiop. and Arm., 5,004; Ar.¹, 5,025). The Versions also vary as to the month: Syr., 3 months 12 days; Ethiop., 3 months 22 days; so Ar.¹; Arm., 2 months. Kabisch has shown that it is impossible to bring this date into chronological relation with any known system of reckoning the years of Creation. The verse is probably the work of R, and may possibly refer, as Kabisch suggests, to the time at which R himself wrote. But the minute specification of 3 months 12 (or 22) days is strange. Gunkel remarks that it recalls the 3½ months of the Book of Revelation.

xiv. 49-50. CONCLUSION OF THE BOOK. These verses, which are in the third person, are obviously the work of R.

49. such as were like him, i.e. the Messiah and his immortal companions; cf. vi. 26, vii. 28, xiii. 52, xiv. 9.

50. the Scribe of the knowledge of the Most High. This is otherwise the title of Enoch; cf. 1 En. xii. 3 f., xv. 1; also (?) of the archangel Vretil, 2 En. xxii. 11.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Psalms of Solomon are a collection of eighteen Psalms which were written, according to the theory (see below) now generally accepted, in the middle of the first century B. C.

These Psalms passed with many other Jewish writings into Christian use, being classed sometimes with the 'apocrypha', sometimes with the 'antilegomena';¹ but their influence on Christian literature was neither very extensive nor intense, and they had passed out of sight and almost out of memory when at the beginning of the seventeenth century they again received attention. The *editio princeps* was published in 1626 by John Louis de la Cerda. This edition was based, as subsequent investigation and discovery have proved,² on a faulty copy of one (H) of the eight now known Greek MSS. which contain, together with other canonical and apocryphal books, the Psalms of Solomon. Before proceeding to the question of the origin and character of these Psalms it will be convenient to consider the material available for determining the text.

It may be regarded as practically certain (see below, § 4) that the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew: but this Hebrew original has perished and no testimony to it even survives. Till recently only Greek MSS. were known: now a Syriac text of the Psalms is known: but the Syriac is not the Semitic original itself, nor a direct version of the original: it is a translation from the Greek. The hypothetical Hebrew original will be denominated $\mathfrak{H}$, the Greek text $\mathfrak{G}$, and the Syriac $\mathfrak{S}$.

§ 2. THE GREEK ($\mathfrak{G}$) MSS.

The determination of the relation of the existing Greek MSS. to one another is due to Oscar von Gebhardt,³ on whose discussion the following account is based. All editions previous to von Gebhardt's rest on inadequate textual material.

The following is a list of the MSS. of $\mathfrak{G}$, with the symbols by which they are cited, the century in which they were written, and brief description:

Symbol.	Century.	Description.
C	12-13	Codex Casanatensis 1908 (Rome). Ps. i. i-ii. 26 and xvi. 8 to the end of the Psalter is missing or illegible.
H (= K, Ryle and James)	10-11	Codex Havnensis 6: purchased at Venice in 1699, but since 1732 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.
J	14	Codex Iberiticus: in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos.
L	12	A Codex of the Laura Monastery on Mount Athos.
M	12-13	Codex Mosquensis 147: in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow: formerly in the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, whence it was removed to Moscow in 1653.
P	15 (dated 1419)	Codex Parisinus Gr. 2991 A: in the National Library, Paris.
R	11-12	Codex (Romanus) Vaticanus Gr. 336: in the Vatican Library at Rome.
V	11	Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Gr. 11: now in the Royal Imperial Library in Vienna.

The authority cited by Ryle and James ($\Psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\iota$ $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omega\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, Cambridge, 1891) as A is the faulty seventeenth-century copy of H, which was used for the *editio princeps*.

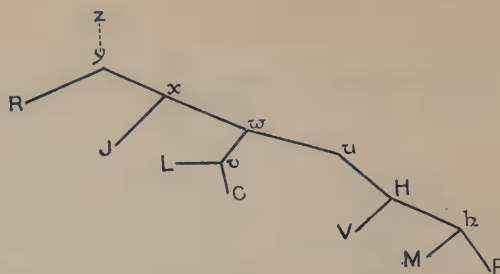
¹ Swete, *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, p. 282; O. von Gebhardt (as cited below), pp. 14 ff.

² Von Gebhardt, pp. 1 ff.

³ O. von Gebhardt, $\Psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\iota$ $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omega\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$: *die Psalmen Salomo's zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften u. des Codex Casanatensis herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1895.

INTRODUCTION

The genealogy of these MSS., as established by von Gebhardt's investigations, is as follows :



where the small letters represent lost MSS. and capitals the existing MSS.: in particular *z* is the archetype of the Greek MSS., *y* is an (uncial) MS. from which *R* and *x* an (uncial) MS. were copied. MS. *w* was also probably uncial; *v* and *u*, on the other hand, probably minuscule. As between *R* and *x* (i. e. practically J L C H in agreement) von Gebhardt finds it difficult to determine which is the better MS. The variations between them amount to over 200 (von Gebhardt, p. 71), though by no means all of these affect the sense even of the Greek, and still less that of the Hebrew text lying behind the Greek. For some of the more important of these variations see ii. 6, 24.

§ 3. THE SYRIAC (S): A VERSION FROM THE GREEK.

The Syriac Version is incompletely preserved: the MS., which also contained the really distinct work known as the Odes of Solomon, first published by Rendel Harris¹ in 1909, is defective at the close; xvii. 38 *b* to the end of xviii (the last Psalm) is missing. A small fragment of another MS. (containing xvi. 6–13) was subsequently discovered by Dr. Barnes in the Cambridge University MS. Add. 2012 (see Harris, p. 16), and Dr. Burkitt has still more recently drawn attention to yet another MS². Harris (pp. 38 ff.) has argued (1) that the Syriac is a version of the *Greek*, not of the Semitic original of the Psalms: (2) that the place of the Greek text lying behind *S* is with R J L, perhaps being intermediate between J and L: (3) that in some passages *S* implies a reading of *℣* preferable to that of all existing MSS. of *℣* (e.g. in ii. 41 ὑπὸ τῶν *S*, ἐνώπιον *℣*).³ From these conclusions the present writer sees no sufficient reasons for dissenting: there are, here and there, renderings of *S* which might well rest on a Hebrew original rather than on *℣*, or which are not entirely explained by the text of any of the existing MSS. of *℣*; but these renderings could scarcely establish a Hebrew original, and certainly should not outweigh the substantial evidence that *S* is a version of *℣*. For this evidence see Harris, pp. 38 ff.: he rightly declines to allow this evidence to be outweighed by the curious paronomasia in xi. 6 f., where *℣* might more readily have been suggested by an original Hebrew than by the ἀνέτειλεν of *℣*. So again we might more readily explain *℣* of ii. 1 as a rendering of *℣* (cp. Ps. ix. 23 (x. 2)) than of ἐν τῷ ὑπερῷ φανεύεσθαι (= בְּנִיחוֹת), for *S* commonly has *℣* where *℣* has ἐν with the infin. (see e.g. i. 1, 3, v. 3, vi. 2, ix. 1, xvi. 1, 3); yet see v. 7, xv. 1. For another example of passages which might in themselves be well explained as resting on *℣* rather than *℣*, see xvii. 21. Apart from the general agreement of *S* with *℣*, even where there is ground for suspecting that the latter rests on corruption in the transmission of *℣*, or is the result of original faulty translation from *℣*, there is evidence which may be illustrated by two or three examples: (1) in v. 16 *℣* must be due to a confusion of *℣* and *℣*; (2) in ii. 24 (vi. 7) ἐδεήθη τοῦ προσώπου *℣*, a euphemistic rendering of *℣* (cp. 2 Kings xiii. 4), is literally rendered from the Greek *℣*; ct. 2 Kings xiii. 4, where *℣* is, indeed, paraphrased, but differently, *℣*; (3) in xiii. 3 the ambiguous clause ἐν ταῖς μύλαις is rendered by *S*, not as the context requires *with molar teeth* (= במחלעות), but *with millstones* (which in *℣* would have been entirely dissimilar—ברחים). See further notes on passages where *S* agrees with *℣* though *℣* appears to have misunderstood *℣*; e.g. ii. 12; iii. 2, 4; viii. 3 ('*us*'), 12, 17 (xvii. 14).

¹ *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon published from the Syriac Version*, by J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1909; ed. 2, 1911.

² This MS., now in the British Museum (B. M. Add. 14538), was described in Wright's Catalogue, pp. 1003–1008, and assigned by him to the tenth century A. D. For a description of that part of the MS. which contains the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, and for a collation of the variants as compared with Harris's MS., see Dr. Burkitt's note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1912, pp. 372–378.

³ See also ii. 20, where all MSS. of *℣* read κατέσπασε(ν), but *S* = κατεσπάσθη; xvi. 9 ἐν τόπῳ (so all MSS. but J), a scribal emendation of ἐν τόπῳ (so J), which is itself a corruption of ἐνώπιον (so *S*).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

§ 4. THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE PSALMS: HEBREW (11).

The Hebrew the basis of the following translation.

That the Psalms were originally written in Hebrew is now generally admitted: this conclusion was indeed disputed by Hilgenfeld (*Messias Iudaeorum*, Prolegg. xvi, xvii), but his arguments are criticized by Wellhausen (*Die Pharisäer u. die Sadducäer* (1874) and Ryle and James (p. lxxxiv. f.).

Briefly stated, the argument that the Greek is not the original work, but a translation from an original, and now lost, Hebrew text, is this: Not only (1) does the Greek throughout show many features in common with Greek versions of existing Hebrew originals, but (2) it contains a certain number of strange expressions which are more or less obviously due to blunders in translating from Hebrew. As to (1), which might, if necessary, be largely, though not easily altogether, explained as not due to translation, but as a Hellenistic style specially influenced by the LXX, it must suffice to refer to the illustrations collected by Ryle and James (pp. lxxx ff.) of peculiar uses of the infin. and the aorist, of prepositions, of the negative οὐ . . . πᾶς = כֹּל . . . אֵל, of nouns anarthrous because equivalent to Hebrew nouns in the *status constructus*, of substantives in the genitive used in lieu of adjectives, and many other phenomena. For illustrations of (2) reference may be made to the notes below on ii. 12, 13, 19, 29, iii. 2, 4, v. 15, vii. 4, viii. 3, ix. 5, xv. 8, xvii. 14, 36.

A third line of argument might be urged: in not a few places the Hebrew rhythm can be still heard through the Greek version; as for example the so-called *kinah* rhythm (3:2) in Ps. viii.

But if the conclusion is right that behind the Greek lies a Hebrew original, the task of translation and interpretation must be constantly governed by it. Passages which might only be translated in one way, and so translated might receive *some* explanation, if the Greek were original, must often be translated otherwise, if the Hebrew, lying behind the Greek, would admit, or demands, an alternative translation that can receive a more satisfactory explanation. And in every case in which the Greek can only be explained in a strained and artificial manner, it is important to bear in mind the probability that the meaning of the Hebrew may have been different and simpler, even though the exact form and meaning of the Hebrew can no longer be discerned. In the notes that accompany the following translation it has been impossible to draw attention to all such alternatives; and in particular the tenses of the verbs have been represented by an equivalent in English which seemed most likely to express the force of the term in the original Hebrew, but only comparatively seldom have alternative possibilities been suggested. For a future tense the reader can always, if the context seems to him to render it more suitable, substitute a present and often a past.

§ 5. DATE, CHARACTER, AND ORIGIN OF THE PSALMS.

The earliest direct testimony to the Psalms of Solomon is in the catalogue at the beginning of the Codex Alexandrinus (A: fifth century A.D.). Here it stands after the final summary of the books of the Old and New Testaments.

Other references to the Psalms by name are later: the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* (? sixth century A.D.) (§ 74) places ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος among the antilegomena after Maccabees (four books) and Ptolemaica, and before Susanna; Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 806-814), places them between Eccles. and Esther. In the text attached to the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius Sinaita (c. 640-700) Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος are classed among twenty-five apocryphal books between the Assumption of Moses and the Apocalypse of Elijah.

The provision of the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea (c. 360 A.D.), ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, may be directed against church use of the Psalms of Solomon; but neither this reference nor a similar one in Ambrose, *Praef. in Lib. Psalmorum*, is free from ambiguity. So also the references in the *Pistis Sophia* (c. 250 A.D.) and Lactantius (fourth century A.D.) to the *Odes* of Solomon have a bearing on the date and history of the *Psalms* of Solomon only in so far as it can be shown that these two entirely distinct works were accustomed at an early date to be united as they are in the newly-recovered Syriac MS. On this see Harris, pp. 9 ff.

These references are of more importance as casting light on the circulation and position of the Psalms in the early Church than for closely determining the date at which the Psalms were written. For this we must turn to the internal evidence.

No argument can be based on language of the lost original, for though the Hebrew text can be to a large extent recovered, it cannot be so re-established in its minutiae as to admit of a linguistic argument of any weight.

It is different with the language of the Greek version, and attempts have been made to determine the date of that version, and consequently a *terminus ad quem* for the original work, by

INTRODUCTION

means of the style and affinities of the Greek in which it is written. From the Greek style and the relation of Pss. of Sol. xi to the Greek of Baruch iv. 36-v. 9 Ryle and James (pp. lxxii ff.) have argued that the Psalms of Solomon had been turned into Greek before A.D. 70. In so far as this argument turns on the assumption that Baruch iv. 36-v. 9 was originally written in Greek and is not a translation from the Hebrew, it may require reconsideration: for, to mention but a single point, in Baruch v. 6 *αἰρομένους . . . ὡς θρόνον* seems to be due to a thoughtless disregard of a well-known use of the Hebrew particle כ¹ (*BDB.* 458 a): the sense requires *borne as on a throne*; this the Hebrew כסא would admit, but the Greek yields only the unsuitable meaning *borne as a throne*. However, the affinities of the Greek have convinced Viteau (pp. 140 ff.) who rejects, as well as Ryle and James who accept, the dependence of Baruch iv. 36-v. 9 on Pss. of Sol. xi, that the translation was made prior to A.D. 70.

But the main argument for the date of the Psalms must be based on the subject-matter of these. Now the state of society reflected in these Psalms and the ideas that dominate them are entirely compatible with all that is known of the middle of the first century B.C., while the definite historical allusions, if these are rightly explained of Pompey's actions in Palestine and his death in Egypt (48 B.C.), show that it is the middle of the first century B.C., and not any other period at which the state of society and the ruling ideas may have been similar, that is the actual age in which the Psalms of Solomon were written.

Not all the Psalms taken separately, it is true, point with equal clearness to the circumstances under, or the age in, which they arose: but there is a general similarity of tone and character about them which, failing direct evidence to the contrary, justifies the generally accepted theory that they are the work, if not of a single hand, yet of a single generation.

These Psalms are the work of a writer or writers who, in common with the authors of many of the canonical Psalms, held firmly by the belief in the relative righteousness of Israel as compared with the nations of the world; alien nations are as such 'sinners' (i. 1, ii. 1 f., 24 ff.)

Yet actually Israel is not righteous as it should be, and as it had thought itself (e.g. i. 2 f.). On the other hand, there is within Israel a class, a dominating class so influential and powerful as to give in some measure its character to the entire people (cp. e.g. i. 4, xvii. 22), of 'sinners'. Thus throughout the Psalms Israel appears divided into sections or parties; the one section, or party, consists of the righteous,² or pious,³ or those that fear the Lord,⁴ or the poor,⁵ or the guileless;⁶ the other section consists of the unrighteous,⁷ or sinners,⁸ or transgressors,⁹ or profane,¹⁰ or, as they are termed in the fourth Psalm, the men-pleasers (*ἀνθρώπων ἁρεσκοί*).

In this division of the people into two different parties, regarded as morally or religiously opposed, and even in the use of the terms employed to describe them, the Psalms of Solomon do not differ essentially from a large group of the canonical Psalms. As in those so in these, the writers naturally identify themselves with the section of the righteous or the pious. The more closely we can determine the actual character of the two parties thus described, the more closely shall we be able to determine the nature of the circles from which the Psalms sprang and the conditions under which they were written. In attempting to gather from the Psalms this closer determination of the characteristics of each party it must of course be remembered, and allowed for, that we are dealing with a strongly partisan work. Neither the righteousness of the righteous, nor the sinfulness of the sinful, must be accepted too literally.

The 'sinners' had recently passed through a period of prosperity, and they had acquired wealth; but to ease and prosperity had succeeded the distress of war, which, of course, affected the whole nation, 'sinners' and 'righteous' alike (i), though in some ways more particularly the 'sinners'; it was members of that party, if not exclusively yet predominantly, who were led away captive by the invaders (ii. 3-15, ix. 3 ff., viii. 24).

Prosperity had produced in the 'sinners' insolence and self-reliance (i) and disregard of God (iv. 14, 24). They are charged, in particular, (1) with gross sensual sins (ii. 13-15, iv. 4 ff., viii. 9 ff., 24), (2) with profanation of the sanctuary, or the sacred objects (i. 8, ii. 3 a, viii. 12, 26), and of the sacrificial

¹ Cf. Judges xx. 39, where כמלחמה, 'as in the war', is rendered in the LXX καθὼς ὁ πόλεμος. See also my note at end of § 6 in *Introd. to 1 Baruch*, vol. i.—Gen. Editor.

² δίκαιοι, i.e. צדיקים; see ii. 38, iii. 3-8, 14, iv. 9, x. 3, xiii. 5-8, xiv. 6, xv. 8, xvi. 15.

³ ὅσιοι, i.e. חסידים; see iii. 10, iv. 1, 7, 9, viii. 28, 40, ix. 6, x. 7, xii. 5, 8, xiii. 9, 11, xiv. 2, 7, xv. 9, xvii. 18.

⁴ (οἱ) φοβούμενοι (τὸν) κύριον, i.e. יראי'; see ii. 37, iii. 16, iv. 26 (ct. v. 24), v. 21, xii. 4, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

⁵ πτωχοί (עניים?); see v. 2, 13 (also πένης), x. 7, xv. 2, xviii. 3.

⁶ ἄκακος; see iv. 25, xii. 4.

⁷ ἄδικοι, i.e. רשעים; see xii. 6, xv. 6.

⁸ ἀμαρτωλός, i.e. חטאים; see ii. 38 f., iii. 11, 13, iv. 9, 27, xii. 8, xv. 9-14, xvii. 6, and elsewhere (cp. xiii).

⁹ παράνομοι, i.e. פושעים (?); see iv. 21, xii. 1, 4, xiv. 6.

¹⁰ βέβηλος, i.e. חנף; see iv. 1.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

offerings (ii. 3 *b*, viii. 12 ff.). More than once they are said to have exceeded the nations in transgression (i. 8, ii. 11, viii. 14). Yet they are, or at least attempt to be, outwardly extremely respectable (iv. 2, 11, 25); they are hypocrites—*ὑποκρινόμενοι* (iv. 22), *οἱ ἐν ὑποκρίσει ζῶντες* (iv. 7). As a class they are, especially as contrasted with the righteous poor, wealthy (cf. xii. 4, xv. 7); as a set-off against this they will, in the judgement of their opponents, have no portion in the life of blessedness to come: all that awaits them after death is destruction in Sheol (xiv. 4 ff., xv. 11–14). The charges of profanation of the sacred offerings seem to imply that the wicked, or the nucleus of the party, were intimately connected with the Temple-service: another charge, viz. that they had set up a non-Davidic monarchy (xvii. 7, 8), points to their being the adherents of the later Hasmoneans who from Aristobulus I (104 B. C.) and onwards claimed the title of king till the time (63 B. C.) when Pompey deposed Aristobulus II, and, while leaving Hyrcanus high-priest, deprived him of the title of king.

Over against this wealthy governmental party of 'sinners' stand the 'righteous', who are also called *ῥεῖοι*, a term which doubtless here, as in the LXX version of the canonical Psalms, represents the Hebrew *hasîdîm*, *godly* or *pious*. In x. 7 *the poor* stands in parallelism, and probably in synonymous parallelism, with *the pious*: and there are other indications, besides the further occurrence of the term 'poor', that the party of the righteous consisted largely of persons of restricted means (cp. xv. 1, xvi. 12 ff.). The 'righteous', moreover, were political quietists (xii. 6), accepting the present distress as a discipline from God, which it was their duty to endure patiently (xiv. 1, xvi. 11), and assured that such patience would find its reward, if not in this age or life, yet in the life to come (xiii. 9–11, xiv. 3, xv. 15, xvi. 1–3). They waited for the fulfilment of the promises (xii. 7), especially for the coming of the promised Messianic king (xvii. 23 ff., xviii. 6 ff.), who would fulfil the prophetic ideal of rule based, not on material resources, but on the power of God (xvii. 37).

Conspicuous elements in the righteousness of the righteous were abstention (xvi. 7 *f*) from the sexual sins which so offended them in their opponents, and scrupulous anxiety about sins done in ignorance (xiii. 4 ff.): their righteousness was pre-eminently 'a righteousness according to the Law' (xiv. 2). Here, again, we are face to face with a circle not remote, in character at least, and probably not very remote in time, from circles whence some of the canonical Psalms proceeded (e. g. xix, cxix).

Thus apart from xvii. 7, 8, which if it is to be interpreted strictly must point to a date after 104 B. C., none of the passages so far cited are decisive as between the two periods *c.* 165 and *c.* 63 B. C., which have chiefly been claimed as the period of origin of these Psalms. More decisive, in the opinion of the majority of recent scholars, are the allusions to external events. These Psalms bring before us not only Jewish society divided into two parties, but also a foreign conqueror. The references to this conqueror are, again, in part general and applicable to almost any foreign foe: for example, we may compare ii. 25–28 with what is said in Isa. x. 5–15, and even the striking use of the term 'dragon' in ii. 29 has its parallel in the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar to a *δράκων* = *תנין* in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 34. But others are more specific; this conqueror comes from the West, for thence he carries his captives (xvii. 14): though at first welcomed by (a party of) the nation, who left the way open for him to approach Jerusalem (viii. 18 *f*.), he later found resistance and was compelled to use battering-rams to destroy the fortifications of Zion (ii. 1 *f*.); having captured Zion he defiled the altar by letting his soldiers contemptuously trample it (ii. 2, cp. vii. 2): ultimately he is slain dishonourably in Egypt and his body lay exposed for lack of burial (ii. 30 *f*.). Now all these somewhat particular characteristics of the conqueror agree pretty closely with what is known of Pompey, and in their entirety they do not agree with any other known historical character: as a Roman, Pompey came from the West, and thither he carried back captive Aristobulus and his children; at first he was not merely not resisted by the princes Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, but on his way from Damascus southwards ambassadors met him bearing a rich present, and the fortresses on the way to Jerusalem were delivered up to Pompey; later, however, the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in Zion, and then Pompey brought up battering-rams and therewith demolished the walls that protected the Temple area; it is true the profanation of the altar to which allusion is made in ii. 2 is not *directly* mentioned in the accounts of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, while his intrusion into the Holy of Holies is not alluded to in the Psalms; yet the alternative identification with Antiochus Epiphanes is in this respect not preferable, for the 'abomination of desolation' is just as little covered by the terms used in these Psalms. Finally, like the conqueror in the Psalms, Pompey is slain in Egypt, and his body, after being exposed on the beach, was hastily burned on an improvised pyre.¹

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these similarities between the conqueror of the Psalms and Pompey can only be due to the fact that the conqueror in the Psalms and Pompey are one and

¹ For references to the sources for these or other details see notes on the passages cited above and others (ii. 1, 2, 30, 31, viii. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, xvii. 6, 14).

INTRODUCTION

the same person. Frankenberg, who has most elaborately in recent times argued for identification with Antiochus Epiphanes, is compelled, not very satisfactorily, to treat the description of the death of the conqueror in ii. 30 ff., not as reference to fact, but as *unrealized prophecy*.¹ So also, on his interpretation, xvii. 7-10 is prophetic not historic, and 'the man alien to our race' (*ἄνθρωπος ἀλλότριος γένους ἡμῶν*) is not Pompey, nor even Antiochus, but the Messiah!

If we are right in identifying the person slain in ii. 30 f. with Pompey, that Psalm in particular was written after, and probably soon after, 48 B. C., the date of Pompey's death. None of the other Psalms refer to Pompey's death, and the majority of them may well be somewhat earlier than the second, and have been written soon after Pompey's invasion of Palestine (63 B. C.). Wellhausen suggested that iv might refer to, and also have been written in, the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-78), but this is uncertain. On the other hand, Ryle and James argue with some probability that Psalms iv and xii, in which the 'sinners' are denounced but not yet punished, and the intervention of the Gentiles was apparently as yet unforeseen, may be the earliest of the collection. These may have been written before Pompey's invasion.

If, now, the date of these Psalms is correctly determined, we need not hesitate to see in the 'righteous' of the Psalms the Pharisees, and in the 'sinners' the Sadducees (cf. iv. 2 ff.); and in the Psalms themselves the work of one or more of the Pharisees. It is the Pharisaic piety that breathes through the Psalms; it is their opposition to the worldly, non-Davidic monarchy, and to the illegitimate high-priesthood, of the ruling Hasmonaean king, Aristobulus, that finds expression here; the Messianic hope (esp. xvii. 23 ff.), the firm belief in a future life which characterizes them later (N. T., Jos.), and renders them naturally political quietists and indifferent to political schemes, are already conspicuous here. And, again, the later attitude of the Pharisees in the matter of free-will as described by Josephus (*B. I.* ii. 8. 14)—these ascribe all to fate and to God, and yet allow that to act as is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men: although fate does co-operate in every action—is almost exactly paralleled by two passages in these Psalms, v. 4, ix. 6.

A considerable literature has grown up around the Psalms: an account of what had appeared down to 1891 is given by Ryle and James, and the more recent, as well as the earlier literature, will be found in the extensive bibliography in J. Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon* (Paris, 1911), pp. 240-251. The most important works are: for the Greek text, von Gebhardt's edition (cited above, p. 658); for the Syriac versions, Harris's edition, cited above (p. 659), in the second edition (pp. ix-xii) of which a full bibliography of discussions of the Syriac are given; for interpretation and the consideration of the original Hebrew, Wellhausen (cited above, p. 659), and Ryle and James (cited above, p. 658). See also Viteau, *op. cit.*; Kittel, in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen zum A. T.* ii. 127-48 (a German translation arranged in distichs and strophes, with brief introduction and notes); R. H. Charles in *E. Bi.* i. 241-245.

¹ Note also Cheyne's rejection of the identification of Pompey with the dragon of ii (*Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1910, p. 207 f.).

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

I.

- 1 I cried unto the Lord when I was in distress [],
Unto God when sinners assailed.
- 2 Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me ;
(I said), He will hearken to me, for I **am** full of righteousness.
- 3 I thought in my heart that I was full of righteousness,
Because I was well off and had become rich in children.
- 4 Their wealth spread to the whole earth,
And their glory unto the end of the earth.
- 5 They were exalted unto the stars ;
They said they would never fall.
- 6 But they became insolent in their prosperity,
And . . .
- 7 Their sins were in secret,
And even I had no knowledge (of them).
- 8 Their transgressions (went) beyond those of the heathen before them ;
They utterly polluted the holy things of the Lord.

II. A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning Jerusalem.

- 2 1 When the sinner waxed proud, with a battering-ram he cast down fortified walls,
And Thou didst not restrain (him).
- 2 Alien nations ascended Thine altar,
They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals ;
- 3 Because the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of the Lord,
Had profaned with iniquities the offerings of God.

1. 1. **when I was in distress.** So perhaps **℥** (cf. e.g. Ps. lxvi. 14). **℥** adds *εἰς τέλος*, which may be (1) a mis-translated and misplaced title = 'To the chief musician' (cf. Ps. liv (lv)) ; the rhythm of **℥** (3 : 3) would have been complete without anything corresponding to this clause ; or (2) an intensification : 'When I was in sore distress' ; cf. 2 Chron. xii. 12, xxxi. 1 ; 1 Thess. ii. 16. **℥** 'at my end'.

2. **the alarm.** **℥** 'the voice'.
(I said). Not expressed in the MSS. of **℥**, nor in **℥**, but possibly lost in the course of the transmission of **℥**.
full of righteousness. Cf. Isa. i. 21. 'Am full' ; **℥** 'was full'.

4. The fame of the wealth and glory of the Jews, the children (*v.* 3) of Zion, passed from mouth to mouth till it filled the whole world. For *διεδόθη* (cf. 2 Macc. iv. 39), the reading of R J L **℥**, H has, erroneously, *διέλθοι*, 'may their wealth go forth'. The exact force of **℥** cannot be inferred.

5. **they would . . . fall.** *πέσωσι* (R H), *πέσωσι* (J), *πέσωσι μὲν* (L). Perhaps, originally, *πέσωμεν*, 'we shall never fall'. Cp. Ps. xxx. 7 (6).

6. **And . . .** **℥** *οὐκ ἤνεγκαν*, 'they brought not'. Fabricius suggested that 'sacrifices' was to be understood as the object of the verb : very improbable. Ryle and James, relying on Jer. xx. 9, Job. xxxi. 23, Jer. ii. 13, x. 10, Joel ii. 11, suggest that the meaning may be that they did not keep their ambition under control. **℥** *οὐκ ἔγνωσαν* may point to an original Greek reading *καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν*, 'and they are without knowledge' (cp. Isa. i. 2). Von Gebhardt suggests that *ἤνεγκαν* arose from misreading as *לֹא הֵבִינוּ* an original *לֹא הֵבִינוּ*, 'and they were without understanding'.

8. **the holy things.** **℥** may also, and **℥** can only, mean 'the sanctuary', i. e. the Temple.

II. 1. Addressed to God. The 3rd pers. sing. in this verse and below may refer in particular to Pompey, or, being used collectively, to the Roman army (cp. *v.* 2).

When the sinner waxed proud (*בְּגִאוֹת*) . . . **he cast down**, or, 'proudly (*בְּגִאוֹת*) the sinner . . . cast down.'

Cp. Ps. x. 2.

a battering-ram. Pompey brought up battering-rams from Tyre and therewith broke down the fortified wall that enclosed the Temple. See Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2 ; *B. I.* i. 7. 3.

2. The writer singles out for mention not Pompey's personal intrusion into the Holy of Holies (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4, *B. I.* i. 7. 6), but the irreverent treatment of the altar in front of the Temple by the Roman soldiers. To this Josephus does not specifically refer ; though cp., 'Many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with their swords in their hands . . . went on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense' (*B. I.* i. 7. 5).

with their sandals. They not only trampled the altar, but that even without removing their sandals (cp. Exod. iii. 5).

3. **the holy things.** See i. 8 n.

- 4 Therefore He said: Cast them far from Me ;
 5 It was set at naught before God,
 It was utterly dishonoured ;
 6 The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity,
 Sealed (?) (was) their neck, branded (?) (was it) among the nations.
 7 According to their sins hath He done unto them,
 For He hath left them in the hands of them that prevailed.
 8 He hath turned away His face from pitying them,
 Young and old and their children together ;
 9 For they had done evil one and all, in not hearkening.
 10 (9) And the heavens were angry,
 And the earth abhorred them ;
 11 For no man upon it had done what they did,
 12 (10) And the earth **recognized** all Thy righteous judgements, O God.
 13 (11) They set the sons of Jerusalem to be mocked at in return for (the) harlots in her ;
 Every wayfarer entered in in the full light of day.
 14 (12) They made mock with their transgressions, as they themselves were wont to do ;
 In the full light of day they revealed their iniquities.
 (13) And the daughters of Jerusalem were defiled in accordance with Thy judgement,
 15 Because they had defiled themselves with unnatural intercourse.
 (14) I am pained in my bowels and my inward parts for these things.

4. **Cast them**, viz. the offerings (and holy things) of *v.* 3. This is clearly the meaning of the unambiguous neuter pronoun in *℣*, but in *℔* the pronoun may have been masculine, and therefore ambiguous; in that case the real antecedent of the pronoun may have been 'the sons of Jerusalem'.

4, 5. The sense of the original in *vv.* 4 *b*, 5 *a*, cannot be determined; it may have differed considerably from that of the MSS. of *℣* and *℔*, or of the conjectural emendations of *℣*. Following the MSS. of *℣*, and the punctuation found in them, we may render 4 *b* :—

His (i. e. God's) glorious beauty prospered them not.

Of this *℔* is perhaps merely a loose rendering :—

And He did not establish with them His glorious beauty.

Hilgenfeld conjectured *ἐνδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς* for *ἐνδόδακυν* (R J L : *ἐνδόδακυν* H) *αὐτοῖς*; and this is adopted by von Gebhardt, who also adopts *αὐτῆς* (M) for *αὐτοῦ* (R J L H *℔*). Then 4 *b*, 5 may be rendered :—

I have no pleasure in them (cp. Jer. xiv. 12).

Her (Jerusalem's, cp. *vv.* 20, 22, 23) glorious beauty was set at naught before God.

The conjecture gives a rather more attractive phraseology than the text of *℣*, but *v.* 4 *b* would in that case have balanced *v.* 4 *a* very badly in the original Hebrew; and the position of *τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτ.* more naturally corresponds to that of the obj. of the verb in 4 *b* than to that of the subj. of the verb in *v.* 5.

5. **utterly**. Cp. i. 1 n.

6. **The sons and the daughters** of Jerusalem (cp. *v.* 3). So J L H; but R 'sons and daughters', *℔* 'her sons and her daughters'.

6 *b*. The line in some way, doubtless, expressed the ignominy of the captive (*v.* 6 *a*) Jews; but the meaning of *℣* (of which *℔* 'and on their neck is set the sealed yoke of the peoples', is probably a free rendering), and still more that of *℔*, is far from clear. Most probably the allusion is to the branding of slaves with the tokens of their masters. It is true that the branding of the *neck* in particular is not elsewhere mentioned, but 'many slave collars have been found in Roman cities, inscribed with the master's name and some such addition as *Tene me, quia fugio*' (Ryle and James). Kit. thinks the allusion may be to the custom of sealing or stamping the collar or clothing of a slave (Talmud Babil. *Shabb.* 28 *a*). For more or less different explanations see Viteau's n. *ad loc.*, and Büchler in *JQR*, xv (1903), pp. 115 ff.

Sealed. Gk. 'with (in) a seal'. This can scarcely mean '(surrounded) with a fetter' (Wellh.).

branded. Gk. 'with a slave-brand' (cp. Hesychius, *s. v.* *ἐπίσημον*). But another meaning is possible, viz. 'in the sight of' (Kit. ? = נכח לגוים). But *ἐν ἐπισημῳ* scarcely means 'in a public place' (cp. xvii. 32), viz. Rome.

7 *a*. Ct. Ps. cii. 10.—7 *b*. Ct. Ps. xxxvii. 33.

12. **recognized**. *℣* *℔* 'will recognize' (וְיִדְעוּ for וְיִדְעוּ). Cp. viii. 8.

13. Difficult and uncertain, but cp. viii. 9-14.

They, viz. the heathen; so R J L *℔*. 'He' (viz. God) H.

in return for (the) harlots in her. *πορνῶν ἐν αὐτῇ* should correspond to *בה (ה) זנות*, or *זנותיה*. In either case *℔* probably intended 'in return for her whoredoms' (Ezek. xxiii. 14, 18) (abstract *זנות*, *זנותיה* rather than *זנותיה*, 'her harlots').

13 *a*, 14 *a*. 'According as the Jews were wont to do, even so, by way of retribution, the Gentiles exposed to the world the iniquities of the Jews.' This may correctly interpret the passage, but the punctuation of the MSS. of *℣* and parallelism favour the above division into lines rather than taking 'as they themselves were wont to do' with what follows.

14 *b*. **In the full light of day**, lit. 'before the sun'. Cp. 2 Sam. xii. 11 f.

15. **with unnatural intercourse**, lit. 'with confusion of mingling' (*ἐν φυρμῶ ἀναμίξεως*). The reference is probably to incest (viii. 10) and other foul unions.

- 16 (15) (And yet) I will justify Thee, O God, in uprightness of heart,
 For in Thy judgements is Thy righteousness (displayed), O God.
- 17 (16) For Thou hast rendered to the sinners according to their deeds,
 Yea according to their sins, which were very wicked.
- 18 (17) Thou hast uncovered their sins, that Thy judgement might be manifest;
 19 Thou hast wiped out their memorial from the earth.
- (18) God is a righteous judge,
 And He is no respecter of persons.
- 20 (19) For the nations reproached Jerusalem, trampling it down;
 Her beauty was dragged down from the throne of glory.
- 21 (20) She girded on sackcloth instead of comely raiment,
 A rope (was) about her head instead of a crown.
- 22 (21) She put off the glorious diadem which God had set upon her,
 23 In dishonour was her beauty cast upon the ground.
- 24 (22) And I saw and **entreated** the Lord and said,
 Long enough, O Lord, has Thine hand been heavy on Israel, in bringing the nations upon (them).
- 25 (23) For they have made sport unsparingly in wrath and fierce anger;
 26 And they will **make** an utter end, unless Thou, O Lord, rebuke them in Thy wrath.
- 27 (24) For they have done it not in zeal, but in lust of soul,
 28 Pouring out their wrath upon us with a view to rapine.
- 29 (25) Delay not, O God, to recompense them on (their) heads,
 To turn the pride of the dragon into dishonour.
- 30 (26) And I had not long to wait before God showed me **the insolent one**
 Slain on the mountains of Egypt,

16. I: emphatic.

19. **is no respecter of.** $\mathfrak{E}$ 'will be no respecter of', treating the Hebr. impf. as fut. instead of frequentative. For the phrase see e.g. Deut. x. 17.

20 *a b*. These lines are incorrectly given in the order *ba* in the *ed. princeps* and subsequent editions, including that of Ryle and James.

For. The $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, perhaps, as often in parts of the O. T. (e.g. Isaiah), had nothing corresponding to it in $\mathfrak{H}$.
was dragged down. MSS. of $\mathfrak{E}$ 'he dragged down'; but $\mathfrak{S}$ has a passive verb and, so far, supports as the true

Greek reading von Gebhardt's conjecture, $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta$ for $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (R), $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ (J L H).

24. **entreated.** $\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ 'entreated the face of', which is probably the same half-euphemistic, half-literal rendering of $\mathfrak{H}$ ('made sweet, or pleasant, the face of') that occurs in 2 Kings xiii. 4, Jer. xxvi. 19; cf. Exod. xxxii. 11 ($\epsilon\delta\epsilon\eta\theta\eta$ $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota$).

Long enough . . . has Thine hand been. $\mathfrak{E}$ lit. 'makes sufficient that Thy hand should be': but the idiom in $\mathfrak{H}$ was probably the same as in Deut. i. 6, ii. 3.

O Lord. J. om.

Israel. So R (יִשְׂרָאֵל) $\mathfrak{S}$: other MSS. of $\mathfrak{E}$ 'Jerusalem'.

in bringing the nations upon (them), or, as in Eccus. iii. 28 (cp. x. 13, xxv. 13 f.), $\epsilon\nu$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$ (H erroneously $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$) may = מִכִּבְּת , 'with smiting of the nations', i.e. God has smitten Israel by means of the nations; cp. Isa. x. 5, 20, 24.

25. **they.** The nations.

fierce anger: $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$.

26. **And they, i.e. the nations, will make an utter end of Israel.** So probably $\mathfrak{H}$ (יִכְלִי); $\mathfrak{E}$ 'And they', i.e. Israel, 'will be made an utter end of' ($\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ = יִכְלִי).

27. **they.** The nations.

not in zeal to fulfil God's punitive purposes concerning Israel; cp. Isa. x. 7.

28. **with a view to rapine.** Against Pompey personally this particular charge would be unfair; when he entered he refrained from plundering the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4); but against the nations, i.e. the Romans, it might well lie (see Ryle and James *ad loc.*).

29. **To turn.** $\mathfrak{S}$ 'To cast down', $\mathfrak{E}$ 'To say'. The $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ of $\mathfrak{E}$ is unintelligible and probably due to a translator's misunderstanding; probably לָמַר , meant to be read לִמְר (= לְהִמְר) and construed as in Hos. iv. 7, was mistakenly read לָמַר = לְאֹמַר (Wellh.); for another suggestion, see Ryle and James. If לְהִמְר is the original text of $\mathfrak{S}$ and not a subsequent correction of a literal rendering (لَهْمَر) of $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\mathfrak{S}$ cannot be explained either by $\mathfrak{E}$ or by such emendations as ιδείν (Fabricius), or $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ or $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Hilgenfeld); but Viteau proposes $\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$.

the dragon. Seems clearly to be 'the insolent one slain on the mountains of Egypt' (v. 30), i.e. Pompey; cp. the comparison of Nebuchadnezzar with a dragon in Jer. li. 34, yet see above (p. 630, n. 2).

30. **I had not long to wait before.** Lit. 'I delayed not until God': $\mathfrak{S}$ 'the Lord'.

the insolent one. $\mathfrak{E}$ 'his insolence' ($\tau\eta\nu$ $\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = נָאוֹנו or נְאוֹתו , which was perhaps a corruption in $\mathfrak{H}$ of an original reading הִנָּאוֹה).

on the mountains of Egypt. According to Dio Cassius xlii. 3-5 Pompey was slain $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\tau\hat{\omega}$ Κασσίῳ ὄρει ; Mons Cassius was near Pelusium. Possibly $\mathfrak{H}$ had יָאֲרִי (not יָרִי), 'beside the streams of Egypt' (Ryle and James).

- Esteemed of less account than the least, on land and sea ;
 31 (27) His body (, too,) borne hither and thither on the billows with much insolence,
 With none to bury (him), because He had rejected him with dishonour.
 (28) He reflected not that he was man,
 32 And reflected not on the latter end ;
 33 (29) He said : I will be lord of land and sea ;
 And he recognized not that it is God who is great,
 Mighty in His great strength.
 34 (30) He is king over the heavens,
 And judgeth kings and kingdoms.
 35 (31) (It is He) who setteth me up in glory,
 And bringeth down the proud to eternal destruction in dishonour,
 Because they knew Him not.
 36 (32) And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgement of the Lord,
 For a great king and righteous (is He), judging (all) that is under heaven.
 37 (33) Bless God, ye that fear the Lord with wisdom,
 For the mercy of the Lord will be upon them that fear Him, **in the Judgement** ;
 38 (34) So that He will distinguish between the righteous and the sinner,
 (And) recompense the sinners for ever according to their deeds ;
 39 (35) And have mercy on the righteous, (delivering him) from the affliction of the sinner,
 And recompensing the sinner for what he hath done to the righteous.
 40 (36) For the Lord is good to them that call upon Him in patience,
 Doing according to His mercy to His pious ones,
 Establishing (them) at all times before Him in strength.
 41 (37) Blessed be the Lord for ever before His servants.

III. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Concerning the righteous.*

- 31 Why sleepest thou, O my soul,
 And blessest not the Lord ?
 2 Sing a new song,
 Unto God who is worthy to be praised.

Esteemed of less account than the least. Held in less account than a person of the least position : so clearly $\mathfrak{S}$; on $\mathfrak{E}$ *ὑπὲρ ἐλαχίστου* (or conjecturally *ἐλάχιστος*), see Ryle and James.

31. **borne hither and thither**, *διαφερόμενον*. So R J L ($\mathfrak{S}$) ; H 'destroyed' (*διεφθαρμένον*). The correct text of R J L ($\mathfrak{S}$) is further from the literal truth of Pompey's end, as described by Plutarch (see Ryle and James), than the reading of H.

31 *b*. After lying for some time decapitated and unburied on the shore, Pompey's body was burnt on a pile of spars gathered from the beach (Plutarch).

33. **it is God who is great.** God, not Pompey, is 'Magnus'. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'the Lord is God'.

34. **heavens.** $\mathfrak{S}$ + 'and over the earth'.

kings and kingdoms. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'kingdoms and princes'.

35. **bringeth down.** Unless $\mathfrak{E}$ *κοιμίζων* translated מוריד (the verb which would have been the simplest antithesis to *v. 35 a* ; cp. 1 Sam. ii. 6-8), the sense is : God causes the proud to lie down and sleep the sleep eternal (Ps. lxxvi. 6 (5) ; Job xiv. 12) of dishonour and destruction.

destruction. $\mathfrak{H}$ perhaps (cp. Ezek. xxviii. 7 f.) had שחת, in which case the rendering should be 'the pit'.

37. **in the Judgement.** On the day of judgement and discrimination those that fear God will, unlike the wicked (Ps. i. 5), stand through the mercy of God. Such was probably the meaning of $\mathfrak{H}$, and perhaps of $\mathfrak{S}$ (כַּמֶּלֶךְ here as in Ps. i. 5, Pesch.). $\mathfrak{E}$ 'with judgement' (בְּמִשְׁפָּט for בְּמִשְׁפָּט) : the mercy of God will be shown by introducing a principle of judgement or discrimination between the righteous and the unrighteous.

40. **to His pious ones.** So R J L C $\mathfrak{S}$ τοῖς ὁσίοις ; H 'to them that are His' (τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ).

41. **before.** $\mathfrak{S}$ 'by'.

III. *vv. 1-2*, Exordium ; *3-10*, the character and conduct of the righteous ; *11-15*, the conduct and fate of the sinner ; *16*, the contrasted fate of the righteous—resurrection and life eternal.

1. **O my soul.** So $\mathfrak{S}$; $\mathfrak{E}$ om. 'my'.

2. $\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ probably fail to preserve the exact form and sense of $\mathfrak{H}$. Note in *2 a* that ψάλατε, 'sing', is not the normal rendering of the verb שׂר, stands abnormally after its object and is *plural* (ct. sing. in *v. 1, 2 c*) ; in *2 c*, 'be wakeful against his awaking', a safer rendering of $\mathfrak{E}$ than 'keep watch at his watch', is not very obviously in place between *2 b* and *2 d*. Ryle and James, assuming a confusion between the Hebrew roots שׂר and שׂר, render *2 c* 'shout unto Him with a joyful noise'. Another possibility, suggested by the General Editor, may be considered : γρηγορεῖν in the LXX = עמד ; so here γρηγορήσον ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγορήσιν (cp. xvi. 4) αὐτοῦ may represent a clause used by the translator as containing עמד and a derivative from the same root ; but עמד might easily arise (through the familiar confusion of

Sing and †be wakeful against His awaking†,
For good is a psalm (sung) to God from a glad heart.

- 3 The righteous remember the Lord at all times,
With thanksgiving and declaration of the righteousness of the Lord's judgements.
4 The righteous despiseth not **the chastening of the Lord**;
His will is always before the Lord.
5 The righteous stumbleth and holdeth the Lord righteous:
He falleth and looketh out for what God will do to him;
6 He seeketh out whence his deliverance will come.
7 (6) The steadfastness of the righteous is from God their deliverer;
There lodgeth not in the house of the righteous sin upon sin.
8 (7) The righteous continually searcheth his house,
To remove utterly (all) iniquity (done) by him in error.
9 (8) He maketh atonement for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and afflicting his soul,
10 And the Lord counteth guiltless every pious man and his house.
11 (9) The sinner stumbleth and curseth his life,
The day when he was begotten, and his mother's travail.
12 (10) He addeth sins to sins, while he liveth (?);
13 He falleth—verily grievous is his fall—and riseth no more.
(11) The destruction of the sinner is for ever,
14 And he shall not be remembered, when the righteous is visited.
(12) 15 This is the portion of sinners for ever.
16 But they that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal,
And their life (shall be) in the light of the Lord, and shall come to an end no more.

IV. *A Conversation of Solomon with the Men-pleasers.*

- 4 1 Wherefore sittest thou, O profane (man), in the council of the pious,
Seeing that thy heart is far removed from the Lord,

מ and ב) from עבר; the original text of H may, therefore, have meant 'and perform His service'. Perchance 'good' in v. 2 d was accidentally repeated in H from the end of the line, and 2 d originally ran, 'For a psalm (is due) to God from a glad heart.'

a new song. So J H S; R L C (erroneously) 'song and praise'.

a glad heart. So, rather than 'a pious heart', should ἀγαθὴς (R J S) καρδίας be rendered; H לב טוב means the glad or merry heart; see e.g. Isa. lxx. 14, Judges xvi. 25, Ruth iii. 7, Eccles. ix. 7; and cp. 'Is any merry? Let him sing psalms', James v. 13. The less well-supported reading, 'the whole heart' (L C H), is not to be preferred.

3. remember. So, and probably rightly, S; H (זכרו) might also mean 'make mention of'.

3 b. Cp. iv. 9. S is difficult; but the translation above may represent, at least approximately, the meaning of H. By means of bold conjecture Ryle and James obtain better parallelism:

The righteous ever make mention of the Lord with praise,
And justify the judgements of the Lord (with thanksgiving).

4. the chastening of. So (מוסר) probably H; S (= מִיָּסָר) 'being chastened by'.

His will. Apparently the meaning is: the righteous places his will at the service of God.

5. the Lord . . . God. S transposes. The first three verbs in the verse are aorists in S.

7. steadfastness. Lit. 'truth'.

lodgeth. H doubtless יל: the house of the righteous is not a khan open to all passing sins; on the contrary (v. 8), sins, that in spite of all his care, and unknown to him, have gained entrance, are discovered by means of constant and diligent search and turned out.

8. The righteous . . . searcheth his house. S 'He (i.e. God) searcheth the house of the righteous'.

8-9. iniquity (done) by him in error. He maketh atonement. Less probably 'Iniquity. With his trespass-offering he maketh atonement' (Ryle and James).

9. MSS. read ταπεινώσει ψυχῇ, which von Gebhardt emends into ταπ. ψυχῇ.

10. pious. H doubtless חסיד.

11. begotten, or 'born'. 'Stumbleth'; S aor.

12. sins to sins. So Isa. xxx. 1 (S); in H perhaps 'sin to sin', as in v. 7 (cp. Isa. xxx. 1, H). In other respects v. 12 was perhaps a more exact antithesis to v. 7: 'while he liveth' (τῇ ὥρῃ αὐτοῦ) is doubtful.

12-13. addeth . . . falleth. S aor., but 'riseth' in S is fut. In H probably all were imperfects.

13. verily. S 'for'; S 'and because'.

14. H probably as above; S 'And He' (i.e. God) 'will not remember (him', viz. the sinner), 'when He visits the righteous', with His favour.

IV. TITLE. Conversation, R J L C; 'psalm', H.

1. O profane (man). Here and throughout the Psalm the sing. may refer collectively to the party opposed to

- Provoking with transgressions the God of Israel?
- 2 Extravagant in speech, extravagant in outward seeming beyond all (men),
Is he that is severe of speech in condemning sinners in judgement.
- 3 And his hand is first upon him as (though he acted) in zeal,
And (yet) he is himself guilty in respect of manifold sins and of wantonness.
- 4 His eyes are upon every woman without distinction;
His tongue lieth when he maketh contract with an oath.
- 5 By night and in secret he sinneth as though unseen,
With his eyes he talketh to every woman of evil compacts.
- 6 He is swift to enter every house with cheerfulness as though guileless.
- 7 (6) Let God remove those that live in hypocrisy in the company of the pious,
(Even) the life of such an one with corruption of his flesh and penury.
- 8 (7) Let God reveal the deeds of the men-pleasers,
The deeds of such an one with laughter and derision;
- 9 (8) That the pious may count righteous the judgement of their God,
When sinners are removed from before the righteous,
- 10 (Even the) man-pleaser who uttereth law guilefully.
- 11 (9) And their eyes (are fixed) upon any man's house that is (still) secure,
That they may, like (the) Serpent, destroy the wisdom of . . . with words of transgressors.
- 12 (10) His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.
- 13 He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,
- (11) Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.
- 14 He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth, or judgeth.
- 15 (12) He fills one (house) with lawlessness,
And (then) his eyes (are fixed) upon the next house,

the psalmist, or to the leader of that party; adopting the latter view some have identified the profane man with Alexander Jannaeus (Wellh.), others with Aristobulus (Ryle and James).

the council of the pious. So J §; 'the pious council' R L C; 'in council' H. The fuller and correcter phrase need not necessarily refer to the Sanhedrin; *συνέδριον* may also stand for סֵדֶר; cp. e.g. Jer. xv. 17. 'Pious' = הַסְדִּירִים; cp. iii. 10.

1 *δ*. Cp. Isa. xxix. 13 (also Matt. xv. 8) 'seeing that'; & 'and'.

2 *δ*. Cp. 'the Sadducees . . . savage in judging (offenders) beyond all the Jews', Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1.

3. **upon him.** In carrying out the sentence on the condemned sinner; cp. Deut. xiii. 10.
wantonness. Cp. Matt. xxiii. 25 (R. V. 'excess').

4. **without distinction.** § 'immodestly'.

5. **of evil compacts.** Or, perhaps (℥), 'of assignations for evil'.

7. **the life of such an one.** Lit. 'his life'; & is difficult in this verse and scarcely represents ℥ exactly; § 'God shall remove those who judge with respect of persons; but He lives with the upright in the corruption of his body and in the poverty (read מְשַׁכְּחִים for מְשַׁכְּחִים) of his life'.

8. **The deeds of such an one.** Lit. 'his deeds'; cp. v. 7, also the sing. in v. 3 a (him) after the plur. 'sinners' in v. 2.

8 *δ*. May mean either that God will deride the wicked (cp. Ps. ii. 4), or expose them to the derision of men (cp. Ps. xlv. (xliii) 14).

10. **uttereth.** ℥, perhaps, עָבַר 'transgresseth' (von Gebh.).

11. The meaning seems to be: if any house still survives secure against their licentious conduct, their set purpose is, like the Serpent (Gen. iii), to gain their way by working on the wife with seductive speech. But the text is uncertain. Wellh. differently: their eyes are directed to the house of a man (= Alexander Jannaeus) who understands how to pervert the wisdom of God (reading ἀγγέλων = אֱלֹהִים for ἀλλήλων).

the wisdom of . . . The genitive in & is 'one another', but this yields no sense. For ἀλλήλων Ryle and James conjecture λαῶν, 'to pervert wisdom, speaking with words,' &c.; the sing. part. in v. 11 *δ* then resumes the plur. ('their') of v. 11 a; cp. vv. 7, 8. Von Gebhardt conjectures λαῶν = עַמִּים, a corruption in ℥ for תַּיִם, 'the wisdom of the lawless'. For other suggestions see preceding note and Ryle and James.

13. **He never ceaseth from.** So probably ℥; & has 'He ceased not, till he prevailed (in)'.

13 *δ*-14. The aorists of & are rendered by English present tenses.

14. Possibly once followed by v. 12, to which it would form a parallel. Verse 15 (if correctly interpreted) would follow v. 13 better than v. 14. Rearranged the passage would read thus:—

14 He deceiveth with words, (saying,) There is none that seeth or judgeth;

12 His words are deceitful that (he) may accomplish (his) wicked desire.

13 He never ceaseth from scattering (families) as though (they were) orphans,

Yea, he layeth waste a house on account of (his) lawless desire.

15 He is sated with lawlessness therewith:

And (then) his eyes are directed to the next house.

15 *f*. Obscure; but the general idea probably is that he has no sooner ruined one house than he turns his attention to the next, seducing its inmates to become the victims of his insatiable lust.

15 *a*. & 'he is filled with (ἐν) lawlessness in this' (ἐν ταύτῃ).

To destroy it with words that give wing to (desire).

(13) (Yet) with all these his soul, like Sheol, is not sated.

16 Let his portion, O Lord, be dishonoured before thee ;

Let him go forth groaning, and come home cursed.

17 (15) Let his life be (spent) in anguish, and penury, and want, O Lord ;

Let his sleep be (beset) with pains and his awaking with perplexities.

18 (16) Let sleep be withdrawn from his eyelids at night ;

Let him fail dishonourably in every work of his hands.

19 (17) Let him come home empty-handed to his house,

And his house be void of everything wherewith he **could** sate his appetite.

20 (18) (Let) his old age (be spent) in childless loneliness until his removal (by death).

21 (19) Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be rent by wild beasts,

And (let) the bones of the lawless (lie) dishonoured in the sight of the sun.

22 (20) Let ravens peck out the eyes of the hypocrites.

23 For they have laid waste many houses of men, in dishonour,

And scattered (them) in (their) lust ;

24 (21) And they have not remembered God,

Nor feared God in all these things ;

25 But they have provoked God's anger and vexed Him.

(22) May He remove them from off the earth,

Because with deceit they beguiled the souls of the flawless.

26 (23) Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their flawlessness ;

27 The Lord shall deliver them from guileful men and sinners,

And deliver us from every stumbling-block of the lawless (men).

28 (24) Let God destroy them that insolently work all unrighteousness,

For a great and mighty judge is the Lord our God in righteousness.

29 (28) Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love Thee.

V. *A Psalm. Of Solomon.*

5 1 O Lord God, I will praise Thy name with joy,

In the midst of them that know Thy righteous judgements.

2 For Thou art good and merciful, the refuge of the poor ;

3 When I cry to Thee, do not silently disregard me.

4 (3) For no man taketh spoil from a mighty man ;

5 Who, **then, can** take aught of all that Thou hast made, except Thou Thyself givest ?

6 (4) For man and his portion (lie) before Thee in the balance ;

He cannot add to, so as to enlarge, what has been prescribed by Thee.

O God, 7 (5) when we are in distress we **call** upon Thee for help,

And Thou **dost** not turn back our petition, for Thou art our God.

8 (6) Cause not Thy hand to be heavy upon us,

Lest through necessity we sin.

15 *a.* like Sheol. So R L J C S ; H om. Cp. Prov. xxvii. 20, Isa. v. 14.

16 *b.* Cp. Deut. xxviii. 19, Ps. civ. 23, cxxi. 8.

19. **could.** $\mathfrak{E}$ 'shall'.

20. **until his removal.** Or, perhaps, 'that (his family) may be taken away (from the earth)', i.e. let his old age be at once lonely and hopeless. S renders the entire verse by what is a free and inaccurate paraphrase of $\mathfrak{E}$, 'And of his children let not one draw near him.'

21. **rent.** Lit. 'be scattered'; $\mathfrak{H}$ different ?

23. **many houses of men.** So R J H S ; 'houses of many men', L C. The latter rendering may more correctly represent $\mathfrak{H}$. Yet perhaps the original text of $\mathfrak{H}$ ran rather as follows :

For they have laid waste houses in dishonour,

And by their lust scattered (i.e. made homeless) many men.

V. 4. Cp. Isa. xlix. 24 ($\mathfrak{E}$).

taketh. $\mathfrak{E}$ 'shall take'.

5. **Who, then, can take.** $\mathfrak{E}$ 'And who shall take'.

6. **what has been prescribed by Thee.** $\mathfrak{E}$ τὸ κρίμα σου, where κρίμα is probably = $\pi\tau$, intended in the sense which it has in Gen. xlvii. 22, Prov. xxx. 8, xxxi. 15. For the thought of the verse cp. Matt. vi. 27 ; for the phraseology, Wisd. xi. 21.

7. **O God.** In $\mathfrak{E}$ this goes with v. 6 ; in $\mathfrak{H}$ it probably opened v. 7.

call . . . dost not turn back. In $\mathfrak{E}$ the tenses are future.

- 9 (7) Even though Thou restore us not, we will not keep away ;
But unto Thee will we come.
10 (8) For if I hunger, unto Thee will I cry, O God ;
And *Thou* wilt give to me.
11 (9) Birds and fish dost Thou nourish,
In that Thou givest rain to the steppes that green grass may spring up,
12 (10) (So) to prepare fodder in the steppe for every living thing ;
And if they hunger, unto Thee do they lift up their face.
13 (11) Kings and rulers and peoples *Thou* dost nourish, O God ;
And who is the help of the poor and needy, if not Thou, O Lord ?
14 (12) And Thou wilt hearken—for who is good and gentle but Thou ?—
Making glad the soul of the humble by opening Thine hand in mercy.
15 (13) Man's goodness is (bestowed) grudgingly and . . . ;
And if he repeat (it) without murmuring, even that is marvellous.
16 (14) But Thy gift is great in goodness and wealth,
And he whose hope is (set) on Thee **shall have no lack of gifts**.
17 (15) Upon the whole earth is Thy mercy, O Lord, in goodness.
18 (16) Happy is he whom God remembereth in (granting to him) a due sufficiency ;
19 If a man abound overmuch, he sinneth.
20 (17) Sufficient are moderate means with righteousness,
And hereby the blessing of the Lord (becomes) abundance with righteousness.
21 (18) They that fear the Lord rejoice in good (gifts),
And Thy goodness is upon Israel in Thy kingdom.
Blessed is the glory of the Lord, for He is our king.

VI. *In Hope. Of Solomon.*

- 6 1 Happy is the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the Lord ;
2 When he remembereth the name of the Lord, he will be saved.
3 (2) His ways are made even by the Lord,
And the works of his hands are preserved by the Lord his God.
4 (3) At what he sees in his bad dreams, his soul shall not be troubled ;

9 a. Cp. Ps. lxxx. 7. § 'And turn not Thy face from us, lest we go far from Thee'.

11. To relieve the present awkwardness, von Gebhardt conjectured *ἡτοίμασας*, 'thou preparest', in place of *ἐτοίμασαι* (Cf. §), 'so to prepare'; perhaps rightly. *ἡ* possibly suffered some misplacement and contamination, and read originally somewhat as follows:

When Thou givest rain, the green grass springs up ;
Thou preparest provender in the steppe for every beast.
Birds and fish *Thou* dost nourish,
And if they hunger, they lift up their face to Thee.

At present the fresh grass of the steppes, which is not the food of fish and birds, is brought into unnaturally close relation to them.

12. The tenses, in C future, were doubtless in *ἡ* imperfects with frequentative force; cp. *vv.* 11 a, 13 a.

14. **Making glad the soul of the humble**, or 'make glad', &c. § 'And his soul shall be satisfied'.

15. **grudgingly**. So J (*ἐν φειδοῖ*; R L C *ἐν φειδῶ*) §; the reading of H, *ἐν φίλῳ*, 'on a friend', arose from this by error. A synonymous clause followed, but has been obscured by the mistranslation of C, and subsequent mutilation (?). C reads, ungrammatically, *καὶ ἡ αὔριον*, which is expanded by §, and, independently, by Ryle and James, into 'to-day and to-morrow'. Possibly *ἡ* read *וּבְמָחָר* (whence, by confusion with *מָחָר*, C's *αὔριον*), 'and for a price' (cp. Frankenberg).

16. **is great**, &c. Lit. 'great, with (*μετά*) kindness, and rich'. God's gift is given with a free, ungrudging (cp. 15 a) kindness, and is also in itself rich and costly.

shall have no lack of gifts. So, probably, the original text of *ἡ*; but, if so, *יחסר* was miscopied *יחוס* (Frankenberg). C (cp. §) may be best rendered 'will not be sparing with his gifts'. See Ryle and James.

18. **God**. § 'the Lord'.

in (granting to him) a due sufficiency. Cp. e.g. Prov. xxx. 8. § 'in poverty', perhaps a paraphrase of C, for note 'poverty' also renders *τὸ μέτριον* in *v.* 20.

20 b. Not very clear. Perhaps the meaning is: the moderate means given by God is equivalent to abundance, but an abundance that does not lead to sin (*v.* 19). Ryle and James render: 'and herein is the blessing of the Lord, that (a man) be satisfied in righteousness.'

VI. 3. **made even**. Cp. Ps. v. 8; or, 'established', cp. Ps. xxxvii. 23.

3 b. **the Lord**. § om.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON 6. 5—7. 9

- 5 When he passes through rivers and the tossing of the seas, he shall not be dismayed.
 6 (4) He ariseth from his sleep, and blesseth the name of the Lord :
 7 When his heart is at peace, he singeth to the name of his God,
 (5) And he entreateth the Lord for all his house.
 8 And the Lord heareth the prayer of every one that feareth God,
 (6) And every request of the soul that hopes for Him doth the Lord accomplish.
 9 Blessed is the Lord, who showeth mercy to those who love Him in sincerity.

VII. *Of Solomon. Of turning.*

- 7 1 Make not Thy dwelling afar from us, O God ;
 Lest they assail us that hate us without cause.
 2 For Thou hast rejected them, O God ;
 Let not their foot trample upon Thy holy inheritance.
 3 Chasten us Thyself in Thy good pleasure ;
 But give (us) not up to the nations ;
 4 For, if Thou sendest **pestilence**,
 Thou Thyself givest it charge concerning us ;
 (5) For Thou art merciful,
 And wilt not be angry to the point of consuming us.
 5 (6) While Thy name dwelleth in our midst, we shall find mercy ;
 6 And the nations shall not prevail against us.
 (7) For Thou art our shield,
 7 And when we call upon Thee, Thou hearkenest to us ;
 8 For Thou wilt pity the seed of Israel for ever
 And Thou wilt not reject (them) :
 (9) But we (shall be) under Thy yoke for ever,
 And (under) the rod of Thy chastening.
 9 (10) Thou wilt establish us in the time that Thou helpst us,
 Showing mercy to the house of Jacob on the day wherein Thou didst promise (to help them).

7. **When his heart is at peace**, lit. 'in the stability (or 'prosperity', cp. iv. 17) of his heart'. **℥**, perhaps, **לבו** his God. **℥** 'the Lord'.

7 *b*. This line was perhaps originally preceded by a parallel line.
he entreateth. Cp. ii. 24.

8. **God**. **℥** 'him'.

8, 9. The lines of *v.* 8 are obvious parallels, and should not be placed in separate distichs (as by Kit.). Verse 9 is an isolated stichos, such as occurs at the end of other Psalms ; see ii. 41, iv. 29, v. 22, ix. 20, x. 9, xi. 9 *c*, xvii. 51 *c*. Cp. the rather different conclusions in the canonical Psalms, xli. 13, lxxxix. 52, cxxv. 5 *c*, cxxviii. 6 *b*, and the **הלל־יה** that concludes several Psalms.

VII. TITLE. **Of turning**. The title may indicate that the subject of the Psalm is the restoration of the people by God to prosperity (cp. *v.* 9). Less probably the word expresses the turning of the people in repentance to God.

1 *a*. Cf. *v.* 6.

1 *b*. **they . . . that hate us without cause**. In view of line *a*, and *vv.* 3 *b*, 6 *b*, it is probable that foreigners are intended (cp. Lam. iii. 52). In another connexion the words might denote a Jewish party, as they perhaps do in Ps. xxxv. 19, lxix. 5.

2. **For**. The force of **℥** was, perhaps 'nay, but'.

Let not their foot. **℥** 'in order that their foot might not'.

trample upon. Used of the profane intrusion of foreign soldiery in ii. 2 ; of the irreverent approach of Jewish worshippers in Isa. i. 12.

3, 4. The argument is: We have sinned and deserve chastisement (cp. *v.* 8 *d*) ; but let us be chastised directly by God, who even in wrath remembers mercy (*v.* 5, cp. ii. 24-7), not by pitiless men. Cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13-15, also 4 Esdras v. 30, Eccles. ii. 18.

4. **pestilence**. **℥** **℥** 'death' ; but **θάνατος** here, as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13-15, probably rendered **דבר**, 'pestilence'.

6. **the nations**. So **℥** ; **℥** 'nation'.

our shield. **℥** lit. 'he who holds a shield over us' ; but in O.T. **ὑπερασπιστής** is generally = **מגן** 'shield', or **מִעוֹן** 'refuge'. **℥** here 'our strength' (cp. Ps. xxvii. 1, Pesch.).

7. **And when we call . . . Thou hearkenest**. **℥** 'And we shall call . . . and Thou wilt hearken'.

8 *c*, *d*. The prayer of *v.* 3 will have been granted.

VIII. *Of Solomon. Of the chief Musician.*

- 8 1 Distress and the sound of war hath my ear heard,
 The sound of a trumpet announcing slaughter and calamity,
 2 The sound of much people as of an exceeding high wind,
 As a tempest with mighty fire sweeping through the Negeb.
 3 And I said in my heart, Surely (?) God judgeth us;
 4 A sound I hear (moving) towards Jerusalem, the holy city.
 5 My loins were broken at what I heard, (5) my knees tottered;
 6 My heart was afraid, my bones were dismayed like flax.
 7 (6) I said: They establish their ways in righteousness.
 (7) I thought upon the judgements of God since the creation of heaven and earth;
 I held God righteous in His judgements which have been from of old.
 8 God laid bare their sins in the full light of day;
 All the earth came to know the righteous judgements of God.
 9 In secret places underground their iniquities (were committed) to provoke (Him) to anger;
 10 They wrought confusion, son with mother and father with daughter;
 11 (10) They committed adultery, every man with his neighbour's wife.
 They concluded covenants with one another with an oath touching these things;
 12 (11) They plundered the sanctuary of God, as though there was no avenger.
 13 (12) They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness;
 And with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices, as (though these were) common flesh.
 14 (13) They left no sin undone, wherein they surpassed not the heathen.

VIII. TITLE. *Of the chief Musician.* $\mathfrak{C}$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, 'unto victory'; but in Theodotion's version of Ps. xii. 1, xiii. 1, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ is the rendering of לַמְנַצֵּחַ , 'Of (or to) the chief Musician.'

1. *a.* Cp. i. 2.

1 *b.* **announcing.** $\eta\chi\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma = \text{מְשִׁיב}$. Cp. Sir. xlv. 9.

2. **the Negeb**, i. e. the wilderness to the south of Judah. So probably $\mathfrak{H}$ here, as in Isa. xxi. 1; $\mathfrak{C}$ in both passages has the more general '(the) wilderness'.

3. **in my heart.** $\mathfrak{C}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ 'to my heart'.

Surely. $\mathfrak{C}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ 'where, then' (will God, &c.); $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ should imply in $\mathfrak{H}$ אִי־נָה or אִנָּה , but neither of these words in such a context would mean 'surely'. Possibly $\mathfrak{H}$ was already corrupt. An assertive particle would be suitable; but, since the dominant rhythm of the Hebrew poem seems to have been 3 : 2, $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ should rather correspond to the corruption of some word that belonged to the first half of the verse, perchance to אִי לָנוּ כִי , 'Woe to us! for.'

Cp. e. g. Jer. vi. 4.

judgeth. $\mathfrak{C}$ 'will judge'.

us. $\mathfrak{C}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ 'him'. $\mathfrak{H}$ would have been ambiguous, permitting the different vocalizations, יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי and יִשְׁפֹּטֵנִי .

4. **hear.** $\mathfrak{C}$ 'heard'.

(moving) towards. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (' Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόνον '), R L C; $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (' Ἱερουσαλὴμ πόνον ') H; $\mathfrak{S}$ 'in (Jerusalem)'.

If the text of $\mathfrak{C}$ in *v.* 3 f. represents the meaning of the original, the point of the verse is that the poet is convinced that God will judge the hostile people (*v.* 1 f.), but is at first uncertain where: 'I said in my heart, Where then will God judge him?' (*v.* 3). He then hears the sound of judgement upon 'him', i. e. the enemy, in Jerusalem. But in this case the distress at the news described in *v.* 4 is difficult to account for, though it is natural enough, if the poet sees in the hosts (*v.* 1 f.) advancing on (*v.* 4) Jerusalem the instruments of God's judgement on 'us', i. e. Jerusalem.

a sound, or 'a voice' (and so in *v.* 1 f.).

5. **at what I heard**, lit. 'at hearing'; but cp. Ezek. xxi. 11 (6), Isa. xxi. 3.

tottered. Isa. xxxv. 3.

6. Rhythm suggests that the simile may have stood in the first part of the verse; perchance $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\beta\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$ is paraphrastic, and the verse originally ran somewhat as follows: 'My heart trembled (cp. Isa. vii. 2) like flax, my bones were dismayed' (Ps. vi. 3).

7. The psalmist's first thought that Jerusalem is righteous (cp. i. 3), which created his astonishment and distress (*vv.* 5, 6) at the approach of disaster (*v.* 1 f.), is corrected by God's laying bare the secret sins of the people (*vv.* 8 ff.). Perhaps the thought has been obscured by the loss of more than half a distich. According to the punctuation and accentuation of the MSS. of $\mathfrak{C}$, we should render: 'And I said to those that establish,' &c. $\mathfrak{S}$ as above.

8. **in the full light of day.** ii. 13 n.

10. **They wrought confusion.** Cp. ii. 15 n.

12. **the sanctuary.** i. 8 n.

as though there was no avenger. $\mathfrak{C}$ lit. 'there not being an inheritor delivering'. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'as if there were none to inherit and deliver'. $\mathfrak{H}$ probably as above. The apparent dominance of the 3 : 2 rhythm favours Ryle and James' conjecture that $\mathfrak{H}$ read נִחַן וְנִחַן .

13. **altar.** $\mathfrak{S}$ 'temple'.

13 *b.* Having come in contact with women at a time when they are ritually unclean, and thereby themselves contracted uncleanness, they do not wait to undergo the necessary purification, but eat the sacrificial flesh as though it were not sacred, but mere common flesh that could be eaten whether one was clean or unclean. See Lev. xii. 1-8, xv. 19-33; Ezek. xviii. 6; Lev. xv. 31; Deut. xii. 15.

- 15 (14) Therefore God mingled for them a spirit of wandering ;
 And gave them to drink a cup of undiluted wine, that they might become drunken.
- 16 (15) He brought him that is from the end of the earth, that smiteth mightily ;
 17 He decreed (?) war against Jerusalem, and against her land.
- 18 (16) The princes of the land went to meet him with joy : they said unto him :
 Blessed be thy way ! Come ye, enter ye in with peace.
- 19 (17) They made the rough ways even, before his entering in ;
 They opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned its walls.
- 20 (18) As a father (entereth) the house of his sons, (so) he entered (Jerusalem) in peace ;
 He established his feet (there) in great safety.
- 21 (19) He captured her fortresses and the wall of Jerusalem ;
 22 For God Himself led him in safety, while they wandered.
- 23 (20) He destroyed their princes and every one wise in counsel ;
 He poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, like the water of uncleanness.
- 24 (21) He led away their sons and daughters, whom they had begotten in defilement.
- 25 (22) They did according to their uncleanness, even as their fathers (had done) :
 26 They defiled Jerusalem and the things that had been hallowed to the name of God.
- 27 (23) (But) God hath shown Himself righteous in His judgements upon the nations of the earth ;
 28 And the pious (servants) of God are like innocent lambs in their midst.
- 29 (24) Worthy to be praised is the Lord that judgeth the whole earth in His righteousness.
- 30 (25) Behold, now, O God, Thou hast shown us Thy judgement in Thy righteousness ;
 31 Our eyes have seen Thy judgements, O God.
- (26) We have justified Thy name that is honoured for ever ;
 32 For Thou art the God of righteousness, judging Israel with chastening.
- 33 (27) Turn, O God, Thy mercy upon us, and have pity upon us ;
- 34 (28) Gather together the dispersed of Israel, with mercy and goodness ;
 35 For Thy faithfulness is with us.
- (29) And (though) we have stiffened our neck, yet Thou art our chastener ;
- 36 (30) Overlook us not, O our God, lest the nations swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver.
- 37 (31) But Thou art our God from the beginning,
 And upon Thee is our hope (set), O Lord ;

15. God, by way of punishment, deprived the people of all sense and capability. Cp. Isa. xix. 14.

16. Cp. Isa. xli. 25, xli. 11 ; Jer. vi. 23 ; Isa. xiv. 19.

17. decreed. $\mathfrak{H}$, perhaps, 'he prepared' (יָרָא) ; $\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ = יָרָא . See Ryle and James.
 and against. So $\mathfrak{S}$; $\mathfrak{E}$ omits 'against'.

18 ff. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 (Pompey on his way from Damascus met by ambassadors of Aristobulus, bearing a rich present). Others have compared *Ant.* xii. 5. 3 (Antiochus Epiphanes captures Jerusalem without fighting, his party within the city opening the gates to him).

18. **blessed**, lit. 'desired' ; Jer. xx. 14, $\mathfrak{H}$ and $\mathfrak{E}$.

19. The rough tracks of Judah are made easy before Jewish territory is entered by the great foreigner ; so, too, 'the gates to ($\epsilon\pi\iota$) Jerusalem', i. e. the passes, &c., commanding the approaches to the capital, rather than the city gates of Jerusalem, are flung open to give him an unimpeded approach. This may be a poetical account of the circumstances described by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3. 4 : Pompey came to Coreae, which is the first place in Judaea ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Ιουδαίας}$), on the journey from the north to Jerusalem ; subsequently Aristobulus complied with Pompey's demand that the fortresses (on the way to Jerusalem) should be delivered up to him.

his entering in. So R J L $\mathfrak{S}$; H 'their entering in'.

21. **her**, i. e. Jerusalem's. This may have been a mere anticipative suffix in $\mathfrak{H}$ (cp. $\mathfrak{S}$), in which case substitute 'the' in English. Or the line may have suffered some corruption.

22. **while they wandered** incapable of planning or achieving anything for their safety ; cp. *v.* 15. The allusion in *v.* 21 seems to be to Pompey's forcible occupation of the Temple (cp. ii. 1) ; the 'wandering' may include a reference to the divided counsels of the Jews. The party opposed to Aristobulus admitted Pompey to the city and the king's palace, but the party of Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the Temple, from which they had to be expelled by force (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2).

23. After the capture of the Temple Pompey executed the ringleaders ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$). Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 4.

23 b. Twelve thousand Jews fell during the assault on and capture of the city (*ib.*), many, however, not at the hands of the Romans, but of their fellow countrymen (Jos. *B. I.* i. 7. 5).

water of uncleanness. Cp. Num. xix.

24. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4. 5) alludes in particular to the sons and daughters of Aristobulus being taken captive to Rome.

30. **Behold, now.** So probably $\mathfrak{H}$; see 2 Sam. vii. 2, $\mathfrak{H}$ and $\mathfrak{E}$.

Our : R J L C $\mathfrak{S}$; H 'their'.

- 38 (32) And we will not depart from Thee,
 For good are Thy judgements upon us.
 39 (33) Ours and our children's be Thy good pleasure for ever;
 O Lord our Saviour, we shall never more be moved.
 40 (34) The Lord is worthy to be praised for His judgements with the mouth of His pious ones;
 And blessed be Israel of the Lord for ever.

IX. *Of Solomon. For rebuke.*

- 9₁ When Israel was led away captive into a strange land,
 When they fell away from the Lord who redeemed them,
 2 They were cast away from the inheritance, which the Lord had given them.
 (2) Among every nation (were) the dispersed of Israel according to the word of God,
 3 That Thou mightest be justified, O God, in Thy righteousness by reason of our transgressions:
 4 For Thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth.
 5 (3) For from Thy knowledge none that doeth unjustly is hidden,
 6 And the righteous deeds of Thy pious ones (are) before Thee, O Lord;
 Where, then, **can** a man hide himself from Thy knowledge, O God?
 7 (4) Our works are subject to our own choice and power
 To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
 8 And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.
 9 (5) He that doeth righteousness layeth up life for himself with the Lord;
 And he that doeth wrongly forfeits his life to destruction;
 10 For the judgements of the Lord are (given) in righteousness to (every) man and (his) house.
 11 (6) Unto whom **art** Thou good, O God, except to them that call upon the Lord?
 12 He cleanseth **from** sins a soul when it maketh confession, when it maketh acknowledgement;
 13 For shame is upon us and upon our faces on account of all these things.
 14 (7) And to whom **doth** He forgive sins, except to them that have sinned?
 15 Thou blessest the righteous, and dost not reprove them for the sins that they have committed;
 And Thy goodness is upon them that sin, when they repent.
 16 (8) And, now, Thou art our God, and we the people whom Thou hast loved:
 Behold and show pity, O God of Israel, for we are Thine;
 And remove not Thy mercy from us, lest they assail us.
 17 (9) For Thou didst choose the seed of Abraham before all the nations,

IX. 1. **Israel.** J 'Jerusalem'.

2. **the Lord.** S 'God'.

Among every nation. Taken by Ryle and James with 'they were cast away' in the previous line. Cp. Deut. iv. 27.

the dispersed. G 'the dispersion'; cp. viii. 34.

5. **is.** G 'shall be'. The tenses of vv. 4-6 must be the same. God is a just judge because He knows and takes account of all.

6. **(are) before Thee.** A synonym for 'Thou knowest'. Cp. Ps. li. 5 (3).
can. G 'shall'.

7. **subject to our own choice and power,** lit. 'in the choice and power of our soul'. Ryle and James (p. 96) discuss at length an alternative rendering and interpretation: Our deeds are by the choice (of God), and (at the same time) we have power to do rightly or wrongly; but apparently the rhythmical structure of the original would not have admitted this alternative.

8. God impartially judges the way in which men exercise their free-will (v. 7), and by His law of life (v. 9) rewards them accordingly.

10. **(every), (his).** These words are expressed in S, but not in G.

11, 12. The exact line of thought and some of the details are uncertain. God is kind only to those who call upon Him; to those who call upon Him in prayer for forgiveness He shows His kindness (cp. Ps. li. 3 f. (1 f.)) by forgiving their sins; those who here speak may rely on forgiveness, for the shame of which they speak is a form of confession (so Kit., but ?).

11. **art Thou** (G 'wilt Thou be') **good, O God.** S 'is God good' (مهلل). Originally, it is probable, vv. 10-15 were either in their entirety addressed to God, or a statement about Him. Von Gebhardt conjecturally restores the 2nd person in vv. 12 and 14.

12. **cleanseth.** G 'will cleanse'.

from sins. Cp. x. 1; G 'in sins'; perhaps in consequence of reading a Hebr. נ as כ (a frequent error). S 'the sins of'.

when it maketh acknowledgement. S omit; perhaps a doublet in G.

14. **doth.** G 'will'.

15. **reprove.** So S certainly, and apparently the εὐθύνεις of G must be interpreted similarly. See Ryle and James.

16. **they.** S 'the peoples'.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON 9. 17—11. 3

- And didst set Thy name upon us, O Lord,
 18 And Thou wilt not **reject** (us) for ever.
 Thou madest a covenant with our fathers concerning us;
 19 (10) And we hope in Thee, when our soul turneth (unto Thee).
 The mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for ever and ever.

X. A Hymn. Of Solomon.

- 10 1 Happy is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproofing,
 And whom He restraineth from the way of evil with strokes,
 That he may be cleansed from sin, that it may not be multiplied.
 2 He that maketh ready his back for strokes shall be cleansed,
 For the Lord is good to them that endure chastening.
 3 For He maketh straight the ways of the righteous,
 And doth not pervert (them) by His chastening.
 4 And the mercy of the Lord (is) upon them that love Him in truth,
 (4) And the Lord remembereth His servants in mercy.
 5 For the testimony (is) in the law of the eternal covenant,
 The testimony of the Lord (is) on the ways of men in (His) visitation.
 6 (5) Just and kind is our Lord in His judgements for ever,
 And Israel shall praise the name of the Lord in gladness.
 7 (6) And the pious shall give thanks in the assembly of the people;
 And on the poor shall God have mercy in the gladness (?) of Israel;
 8 (7) For good and merciful is God for ever,
 And the assemblies of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord.
 The salvation of the Lord be upon the house of Israel unto everlasting gladness!

XI. Of Solomon. Unto expectation.

- 11 1 Blow ye in Zion on the trumpet to summon (the) saints,
 2 Cause ye to be heard in Jerusalem the voice of him that bringeth good tidings;
 For God hath had pity on Israel in visiting them.
 3 (2) Stand on the height, O Jerusalem, and behold thy children,
 From the East and the West, gathered together by the Lord;

18. **Thou wilt not reject.** So, by conjecture, von Gebhardt; cp. vii. 8. Ryle and James, by conjecture, 'Thou wilt abide (among us) for ever.' $\mathfrak{C}$ 'Thou wilt not cease'.

X. TITLE. A Hymn J L C H; 'In hymns' R.

1. **whom He restraineth.** So $\mathfrak{S}$, and so, perhaps, $\mathfrak{H}$, though $\mathfrak{S}$ may be merely a free rendering of ἐκωλύθη, which Fritzsche tentatively suggested was the original text of $\mathfrak{C}$; all codices of $\mathfrak{C}$ read ἐκυκλώθη, which Ryle and James render, on the authority of Exod. xiii. 18, Deut. xxxii. 12. $\mathfrak{C}$ 'and he is fenced about'.

That he may be cleansed. $\mathfrak{H}$, perhaps, 'and whom He cleanseth'; cp. ix. 12.

3. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'For the way of the righteous is straight, and His chastening doth not pervert it'.
maketh. $\mathfrak{C}$ 'will make'.

doth not pervert. $\mathfrak{C}$ 'will not pervert'.

4. **remembereth.** $\mathfrak{C}$ 'will remember'.

5. The witness to God's mercy is to be found written in the Law, and constantly in His visitations of men in their daily lives (or, ways); such may be the meaning of the verse.

6. **kind.** $\mathfrak{C}$ ὁσιος; but this probably rendered יָדִין, as in Ps. cxlv. (cxliv.) 17. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'upright'.

our Lord. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'our God'.

in His judgements. $\mathfrak{S}$ 'in all His judgements'.

for ever. $\mathfrak{S}$ omits.

the Lord. J + 'for ever'.

7. **God.** $\mathfrak{S}$ 'the Lord'.

the gladness (?) of Israel. A term for the Messianic age? Cp. Ryle and James. Or does 'gladness' conceal some term more parallel to 'assembly' in the previous line? and was 'the poor' originally the subject, and 'God' the object of a verb concealed by ἐλεήσει? Kit. renders the line, 'Because God has pity on the poor, to the joy of Israel.'

8. **The salvation of the Lord be upon,** or, rather, in view of the position of τοῦ κυρίου, 'Unto the Lord belongeth the salvation (to be wrought for).'

XI. For the relation of this Psalm to Baruch iv. 36-v. 9, and of both passages to Isa. xl-lxvi, see Ryle and James, pp. lxxii ff.; but also above, p. 628.

1. Based on Joel ii. 1. The exact form of $\mathfrak{H}$ here cannot be determined; possibly the last half of the line ran, 'the holy trumpet of Jubilee' (Ryle and James).

2. **Cause ye to be heard.** $\mathfrak{C}$ $\mathfrak{S}$ 'proclaim'.

- 4 (3) From the North they come in the gladness of their God,
From the isles afar off God hath gathered them.
5 (4) High mountains hath He abased into a plain for them ;
6 The hills fled at their entrance.
(5) The woods gave them shelter as they passed by ;
7 Every sweet-smelling tree God caused to spring up for them,
(6) That Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God.
8 (7) Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments ;
Make ready thy holy robe ;
For God hath spoken good concerning Israel, for ever and ever.
9 (8) Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel and Jerusalem ;
Let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name.
(9) The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever.

XII. *Of Solomon. Against the tongue of transgressors.*

- 12 1 O Lord, deliver my soul from (the) lawless and wicked man,
From the tongue that is lawless and slanderous, and speaketh lies and deceit.
2 Manifoldly twisted (?) are the words of the tongue of the wicked man,
Even as . . . a fire that burneth up . . .
3 . . . to fill houses with a lying tongue,
To cut down the trees of gladness . . .
4 To involve households in warfare by means of slanderous lips.
(4) May God remove far from the innocent the lips of transgressors by (bringing them to) want
And may the bones of slanderers be scattered (far) away from them that fear the Lord !
5 In flaming fire perish the slanderous tongue (far) away from the pious !
6 (5) May the Lord preserve the quiet soul that hateth the unrighteous ;
And may the Lord establish the man that followeth peace at home.
7 (6) The salvation of the Lord be upon Israel His servant for ever ;

6. **The woods.** Σ 'the cedar'.

XII. TITLE. **Against:** Ε εν. Perchance we have here another case of the Gk. εν representing an original 2, misread 3; in that case the title of this psalm was doubtless taken from the opening words of the second line.

2. Text and meaning of Ε are uncertain and obscure, and it is impossible to determine the original form of 2. **Manifoldly twisted** (?), lit. 'in manifoldness (cf. iv. 3) of turning', or 'twisting'. So R J (εν ποικιλία στροφής) and virtually L C (εν π. τροφής). H εν ποιήσει διαστροφής ('for the accomplishment of frowardness') is obviously a corruption of this.

Even as . . . a fire. In so far at least as the words omitted in the translation above are concerned, it is very questionable whether any of the readings or conjectures preserve or recover the sense of the original. The text of R J L C, which is substantially supported by Σ, reads, *ὥσπερ ἐν λαῶ πῦρ ἀνάπτει καλλοῦν αὐτοῦ*. This may be literally rendered, 'Even as among a people a fire that burneth up its beauty.' H reads *ὥσπερ ἐν ἅλῳ πῦρ ἀνάπτει καλάμην αὐτοῦ*, 'Even as on a threshing-floor a fire that burneth up its stubble.' See, further, von Gebhardt's discussion and suggestions, pp. 78 ff. If the 'twisting' of v. 2 a can be relied on, the point of the comparison should be that the guileful speech of the wicked is as full of twists and incalculable turns (cf. Isa. ix. 17 (18), with n. in *Int. Crit. Comm.*) as the volume of smoke with which fire ascends when it is blown about by the wind.

3. This verse also must have suffered from corruption of the Greek text or of the Hebrew text, or mistranslation, or both; but, in general, cf. iv. 11-15. The verbs in the three lines are ambiguous in Ε; apart from the accentuation they may be either optatives or infinitives; the position of the verb in the first line rather suggests that in 2 they were infinitives. In that case the opening clause of the verse should lead up to an infinitive; in the original text these may have stood something like 'His (or, 'the transgressor's') delight is', or 'His heart is set'. Ε, literally rendered, is, 'His dwelling-place' or 'sojourning' (is, &c.), which yields no sense. It is a clever suggestion that ἡ παροιμία αὐτοῦ is an unfortunate rendering, in itself perfectly possible, but in this passage impossible, of מנורו; yet it is questionable whether 'His terror (consists in filling)', &c., would be very naturally expressed in 2 by מנורו. Ryle and James connect the first clause of v. 3 with v. 2, and render the last part of v. 2, 'Even as fire in a threshing-floor that burneth up the straw thereof, (so is) his sojourning (among men) that he may set fire to houses, &c.; but this rests on the improbable text of H in v. 2, and implies an improbable rhythmical structure of 2.

to fill. So Ε Σ. Hilgenfeld al., by conjecture, 'to set fire to'.
the trees of gladness. Figurative for the saints? Cf. xiv. 2. The clause omitted above is very obscure; the entire line may be literally rendered, 'to cut off the trees of gladness which setteth on fire transgressors' (R L C), or 'the trees of wicked inflammatory joy' (J H). Σ renders, 'For He hath cut down the trees of His delight with the flame of the transgressor'. By conjectural emendation of Ε Ryle and James obtain for the last clause (omitted in the translation above), 'with the flame of (his) wicked tongue'.

4. **households.** Ε Σ 'lawless households'; but the position of the adjective differs in different MSS., and it is probably a dittograph from the previous line. If the adjective belongs to the original text the meaning is that 'the slanderer will not scruple to set those of his own party by the ears'.

And let the sinners perish together at the presence of the Lord ;
But let the Lord's pious ones inherit the promises of the Lord.

XIII. *Of Solomon. A Psalm. Comfort for the righteous.*

- 13 1 The right hand of the Lord hath covered me ;
The right hand of the Lord hath spared us.
2 The arm of the Lord hath saved us from the sword that passed through,
From famine and the death of sinners.
3 Noisome beasts ran upon them :
With their teeth they tore their flesh,
And with their molars crushed their bones.
(4) But from all these things the Lord delivered us.
4 (5) The **righteous** was troubled on account of his errors,
Lest he should be taken away along with the sinners ;
5 (6) For terrible is the overthrow of the sinner ;
But not one of all these things toucheth the righteous.
(7) For not alike are the chastening of the righteous (for sins done) in ignorance,
And the overthrow of the sinners.
7 (8) Secretly (?) is the righteous chastened,
Lest the sinner rejoice over the righteous.
8 (9) For He correcteth the righteous as a beloved son,
And his chastisement is as that of a firstborn.
9 10) For the Lord spareth His pious ones,
And blotteth out their errors by His chastening.
(11) For the life of the righteous shall be for ever ;
10 But sinners shall be taken away into destruction,
And their memorial shall be found no more.
11 (12) But upon the pious is the mercy of the Lord,
And upon them that fear Him His mercy.

XIV. *A Hymn. Of Solomon.*

- 14 1 Faithful is the Lord to them that love Him in truth,
To them that endure His chastening,
(2) To them that walk in the righteousness of His commandments,
In the law which He commanded us that we might live.
2 (5) The pious of the Lord shall live by it for ever ;
The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.
3 (4) Their planting is rooted for ever ;
They shall not be plucked up all the days of heaven :
(5) For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel.

XIII. 1. me. S 'us'.

2. us. S 'me'.

that passed through : sc. the land. Cp. Ezek. xiv. 17, Lev. xxvi. 6.

the death of sinners. From premature (Ps. lv. 24 (23) or violent death, or death beyond which lies no eternal life (cf. ix), i. e. from such deaths as sinners die. Cp. 'the death of the righteous', Num. xxiii. 10. Or, possibly, & is due to a wrong division of H, which may have run, 'from famine and pestilence (see vii. 4 n.) ; as for sinners, noisome beasts', &c. In that case the passage refers to the four plagues of Ezek. xiv. 21.

4. The righteous. A conjectural substitute, which the context demands (Wellh., von Gebh., Kit.) for 'the impious', which is the reading of all MSS. of & and S. For a defence of the text of & see Ryle and James.

errors. Cf. v. 9 ; iii. 8 ; Ps. xix. 13 (12).

5. toucheth. & 'shall touch'.

7. Secretly, or 'Sparingly'. The meaning is uncertain ; see Ryle and James.

8. correcteth. & 'will correct'. God corrects the righteous as a father corrects his beloved and first-born son.

9. The tenses in & are future.

11. upon them . . . His mercy. S 'He will cherish'.

XIV. 1 d. which J L C ; 'as' H ; omit R. Cp. S 'He has given us the law for our life'.

that we might live, lit. 'unto our life'.

2. by it, viz. the law ; or, 'in Him'.

3. all the days of heaven. A synonym for 'for ever'. Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 30, Job xiv. 12.

- 4 (6) But not so are the sinners and transgressors,
 Who love (the brief) day (spent) in companionship with their sin;
 (7) Their delight is in fleeting corruption,
 5 And they remember not God.
 (8) For the ways of men are known before Him at all times,
 And He knoweth the secrets of the heart before they come to pass.
 6 (9) Therefore their inheritance is Sheol and darkness and destruction,
 And they shall not be found in the day when the righteous obtain mercy;
 7 10) But the pious of the Lord shall inherit life in gladness.

XV. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With a Song.*

- 15 1 When I was in distress I called upon the name of the Lord,
 I hoped for the help of the God of Jacob and was saved;
 2 For the hope and refuge of the poor art Thou, O God.
 3 (2) For who, O God, is strong except to give thanks unto Thee in truth?
 4 And wherein is a man powerful except in giving thanks to Thy name?
 5 (3) A new psalm with song in gladness of heart,
 The fruit of the lips with the well-tuned instrument of the tongue,
 The firstfruits of the lips from a pious and righteous heart—
 6 (4) He that offereth these things shall never be shaken by evil;
 The flame of fire and the wrath against the unrighteous shall not touch him,
 7 (5) When it goeth forth from the face of the Lord against sinners,
 To destroy all the substance of sinners,
 8 (6) For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved.
 (7) Famine and sword and pestilence (shall be) far from the righteous,
 9 For they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in war;
 (8) But they shall pursue sinners and overtake (them),
 And they that do lawlessness shall not escape the judgement of God;
 (9) As by enemies experienced (in war) shall they be overtaken,
 10 For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead.
 11 (10) And the inheritance of sinners is destruction and darkness,
 And their iniquities shall pursue them unto Sheol beneath.
 12 (11) Their inheritance shall not be found of their children,
 13 For sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners.
 (12) And sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement,
 14 When God visiteth the earth with His judgement.
 15 (13) But they that fear the Lord shall find mercy therein,
 And shall live by the compassion of their God;
 But sinners shall perish for ever.

XVI. *A Hymn. Of Solomon. For Help to the Pious.*

- 16 1 When my soul slumbered (being afar) from the Lord, I had all but slipped down to the pit,
 When (I was) far from God, 2 my soul had been wellnigh poured out unto death,

4. *fleeting*, lit. 'littleness of'.

XV. TITLE. *With a Song*. Cp. v. 3, and see xii, title.

1 *δ*. *Σ* 'And for my help I called to the God of Jacob'.

5. A new psalm. So J R L *Σ*; H 'a psalm and praise'. Cp. iii. 1 n.

6. *offereth*, lit. 'doeth'.

these things. Resumptive of v. 5.

8. *pestilence*. *Θ* 'death'; see vii. 4 note.

9 *a*. *they*. The plagues of v. 8 *δ*; and so in v. 9 *δ*.

as men pursued in war. Such (cp. 9 *d*) was probably the meaning of the original. The actual readings of *Θ* are *διωκόμενοι* (J; -ον R L C H) *ἀπὸ λιμοῦ* (R J; *λιμοῦ* L C H); but they yield no tolerable sense. For different forms of the conjecture here adopted see Ryle and James and von Gebhardt. *Σ*, curiously, 'as death flees from life.'

9 *δ*. *they*, i.e. the plagues mentioned in v. 8 *δ*; so R *Σ*; but in J L C H 'it', anticipating the summarizing singular sense of the next line.

13. *sins*. *Σ* 'their sins'.

14. H + 'to recompense sinners unto everlasting'; cp. ii. 38.

15 *a*. H omits.

XVI. TITLE. *to the Pious*. H omit.

1-3. The text is not improbably over-full, and the punctuation is uncertain.

to the pit. The translation rests on the supposition that (1) *καταφθορά* J C H *Σ* was the original text of *Θ*;

(I had been) nigh unto the gates of Sheol with the sinner, 3 when my soul departed from the Lord God of Israel—

Had not the Lord helped me with His everlasting mercy.

- 4 He pricked me, as a horse is pricked, that I might serve Him,
My saviour and helper at all times saved me.
- 5 I will give thanks unto Thee, O God, for Thou hast helped me to (my) salvation;
And hast not counted me with sinners to (my) destruction.
- 6 Remove not Thy mercy from me, O God,
Nor Thy memorial from my heart until I die.
- 7 Rule me, O God, (keeping me back) from wicked sin,
And from every wicked woman that causeth the simple to stumble.
- 8 And let not the beauty of a lawless woman beguile me,
Nor any one that is subject to (?) unprofitable sin.
- 9 Establish the works of my hands before Thee,
And preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee.
- 10 Protect my tongue and my lips with words of truth;
Anger and unreasoning wrath put far from me.
- 11 Murmuring, and impatience in affliction, remove far from me,
When, if I sin, Thou chastenest me that I may return (unto Thee).
- 12 But with goodwill and cheerfulness support my soul;
When Thou strengthenest my soul, what is given (to me) will be sufficient for me.
- 13 For if *Thou* givest not strength,
Who can endure chastisement with poverty?
- 14 When a man is rebuked by means of his corruption,
Thy testing (of him) is in his flesh and in the affliction of poverty.
- 15 If the righteous endureth in all these (trials), he shall receive mercy from the Lord.

XVII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. With Song. Of the King.*

- 17 ¹ O Lord, Thou art our King for ever and ever,
For in Thee, O God, doth our soul glory.
- 2 How long are the days of man's life upon the earth?
As are his days, so is the hope (set) upon him.
- 3 But we hope in God, our deliverer;

(2) that ὕπνου is due to a misplaced gloss or a corrupt dittograph in ℣ (בשנת שחת for בשחת); and (3) that καταφθορά, as in Ps. xlix. 9, and as more frequently διαφθορά, was a misrendering of שחת, 'pit'. The actual readings of the MSS. are 'in corruption of sleep' (J C H), (in) 'sleep of corruption' (S, which perchance represents the order of the two words in the original text of ℣), and 'in heaviness (καταφορά) of sleep' (R L).

When (I was) far, τῷ μακράν. ℣ lacks the ἐν and the pronoun which should normally be present, if the sense implied by the translation was intended. S ܕܥܝܬܐ; but this is inconclusive as to the reading of ℣. Von Gebhardt for ὕπνου τῷ conjectures ὑπνοῦτῳ = ὑπνούντων; then render ' (sunk) in the heaviness of them that sleep afar from God'.

3. Lord God. S om. 'Lord'.

4. as a horse is pricked. Lit. 'like the goad of a horse'; ὡς κέντρον ἵππου, perhaps in ℣ simply פִּרְרָן 'as with a goad'.

that I might serve Him. ℣ ἐπὶ τὴν γρηγόρησιν αὐτοῦ, which Ryle and James render 'that I might watch unto him'. ℣ perhaps לעבֹר; cp. iii. 2 note.

8. Nor any one. ℣ 'nor of any thing' (or 'of any one'). The translation 'subject to' presupposes a very questionable construction in ℣. Ryle and James conjecture πᾶν τὸ συγκείμενον for παντὸς ὑποκειμένου, and render 'Nor aught that consisteth in sinful vanity'. S 'Nor any sin that is', which seems to be a paraphrase of ℣.

9. before Thee. S = ἐνώπιον σου, which is probably the original whence the readings ἐν τῷ πῶ σου (J) and ἐν τόπῳ σου (all other MSS. of ℣) arose. Renderings of conjectural emendations that have been suggested are, 'in thy fear', 'in thy word'.

14. The sense is obscure. 'A man'; ℣ 'a soul'. 'Corruption'; cp. xiv. 4.

15. Or, 'If the righteous endureth, in the midst of these trials he shall receive,' &c.

XVII. TITLE. Cp. xv. 1.

1. and ever, For in Thee . . . doth. Or, perhaps, reading καὶ ἔτι for καὶ ἔτι ὅτι, 'And yet (cp. Ps. xlii. 6, 11) in Thee . . . shall.'

2. How long are the days. ℣ 'and what is the time'.
the hope. ℣ 'his hope'. Transitory as is man's life, so transitory is the hope which one man places in another; but (v. 3) the hope placed in God is eternal.

3. Mercy for Israel; judgement for the nations.

hope. So J; al. 'will hope'.

- For the might of our God is for ever with mercy,
 4 And the kingdom of our God is for ever over the nations in judgement.
- 5 (4) Thou, O Lord, didst choose David (to be) king over Israel,
 And swarest to him touching his seed that never should his kingdom fail before Thee.
- 6 (5) But, for our sins, sinners rose up against us;
 They assailed us and thrust us out;
 What Thou hadst not promised to them, they took away (from us) with violence.
- 7 They in no wise glorified Thy honourable name;
 (6) They set a (worldly) monarchy in place of (that which was) their excellency;
 8 They laid waste the throne of David in tumultuous arrogance.
- (7) But Thou, O God, didst cast them down, and remove their seed from the earth,
 9 In that there rose up against them a man that was alien to our race.
- 10 (8) According to their sins didst Thou recompense them, O God;
 So that it befell them according to their deeds.
- 11 (9) God showed them no pity;
 He sought out their seed and let not one of them go free.
- 12 (10) Faithful is the Lord in all His judgements
 Which He doeth upon the earth.
- 13 (11) The lawless one laid waste our land so that none inhabited it,
 They destroyed young and old and their children together.
- 14 (12) In the heat of His anger He sent them away even unto the west,
 And (He exposed) the rulers of the land unsparingly to derision.
- 15 (13) Being an alien the enemy acted proudly,
 And his heart was alien from our God.
- 16 (14) And all . . . Jerusalem,
 As also the nations . . .

6. **sinners.** Jews, not foreigners (cp. *v.* 9). The Hasmonaeans are probably intended; the first pers. plur. then refers to the Pharisees, or (Ryle and James) the priests. Frankenberg explains the verse of the Babylonian assault on Jerusalem, &c., treating 'us' as equivalent to 'our fathers'.

What . . . to them. לָהֶם 'to whom'. $\text{אֲשֶׁר . . . לָהֶם}$ would admit of either rendering. The allusion appears to be to the assumption of the royal dignity by the non-Davidic Aristobulus I and later Hasmonaeans, and of the high-priestly dignity by these same persons, though they did not belong to the high-priestly lines.

7. **in no wise glorified.** Lit. 'they glorified not with ($\epsilon\nu$) glory'; for the construction representing probably the Hebrew infin. abs., cp. i. 8. In spite of the punctuation of the Greek MSS., 'in glory' is better taken with *v.* 7*a* (so clearly §) than with *v.* 7*b*.

7*b*. They preferred to use the title, and enjoy the position, of kings, than to recognize the sovereignty of God which was the true 'excellency' of the Jews. But this meaning is by no means certain; assuming that ἀντί may = ב or בִּין , others render 'they set up a monarchy', i.e. made themselves kings, 'in their pride.'

8*b*-12. In *vv.* 8*b*, 10*a*, 11*a*, the verbs in Greek are in the future tense; they represent Hebrew imperfects referring to the past.

8. **in tumultuous arrogance.** So H and perhaps H . R J L (cp. §) 'in pride of price', which seems senseless.

8*b*. **from the earth**, or, אֶרֶץ being ambiguous, 'from the land' (cp. *v.* 30), a specific allusion to Pompey's carrying captive to Rome Aristobulus and his children (see *v.* 14, note).

9. **a man that was alien.** Pompey.

10. **So that.** וְ ? 'And'.

11. Obviously through dittography, there stand in J L H at the beginning of this verse, as well as at the end of *v.* 10, the words 'according to their deeds'. In § R the words are absent from *v.* 11.

The verbs throughout the verse are in § 2nd pers. sing. imperative (or imperfect with imperative force). In H the negative in *v.* 11*a* has been lost.

13. **The lawless one.** So R J L § ; H 'the tempest'. The sing. (ct. *v.* 20) throughout *vv.* 13-16 (except in 13*b*) is used collectively of the enemy (cp. *v.* 15) or specifically of their leader (Pompey). Whether the change to the plur. (of the enemies distributively) in *v.* 13*b* (§ and all MSS. of §) is original may be doubted.

14. **the heat of His anger.** § 'the wrath of His beauty'; § 'the beauty of His wrath'. An original אִפְּו , or (Ryle and James) יִפְּו , was probably misread יִפְּו . The pronouns probably refer to God.

unto the west. Pompey carried Aristobulus and his children captive to Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 5, 5. 4, 6. 1; B.I. i. 7. 7, 8. 6).

15. **Being an alien,** $\epsilon\nu \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\iota\omicron\tau\eta\tau\iota$ perhaps = בְּנִכְרִי , which might be an error for בְּנִכְרִי 'like an alien'.

acted proudly. Cp. Ps. xxxi. 24 (23).

And his heart, or, rather, 'seeing that his heart', if, as Ryle and James suggest, *v.* 15*b* is not a simple parallel to 15*a*, but an explanation that proud doing was due to the excusable ignorance (in a foreigner) of the true God.

16. Very uncertain. According to the text of § the verse continues the description of what the enemy did ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$) in Jerusalem: 'all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, (he did) as also the nations (do).' According to § it rather opens the description continued in *v.* 17 of the evil conduct of the Jews: 'And every thing did Jerusalem, as also the peoples do

- 17 (15) And the children of the covenant in the midst of the mingled peoples . . .
 There was not among them one that wrought in the midst of Jerusalem mercy and truth.
 18 (16) They that loved the synagogues of the pious fled from them,
 As sparrows **that fly** from their nest.
 19 (17) They wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm,
 And precious in the eyes of them that lived abroad was any that escaped alive from them.
 20 (18) Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless (men).
 21 (19) For the heavens withheld the rain from dropping upon the earth,
 Springs were stopped (that sprang) perennial(ly) out of the deeps, (that ran down) from lofty mountains.
 For there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice;
 (20) From the chief of them **to the least (of them)** all were sinful;
 22 The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful.
 23 (21) Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David,
 At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
 24 (22) And gird him with strength, that he may shatter unrighteous rulers,
 25 And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that trample (her) down to destruction.
 (23) Wisely, righteously 26 he shall thrust out sinners from (the) inheritance,
 He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel.
 (24) With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance,
 27 He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth;
 (25) At his rebuke nations shall flee before him,
 And he shall reprove sinners for the thoughts of their heart.
 28 (26) And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness,
 And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.
 29 (27) And he shall not suffer unrighteousness to lodge any more in their midst,
 Nor shall there dwell with them any man that knoweth wickedness,
 30 For he shall know them, that they are all sons of their God.

in their cities to their gods.' Literally rendered the text of J L H runs, 'And all things whatsoever he did in Jerusalem, as also the nations in the cities to their gods'; from this S seems to be derived through haplography of *ἐν* (*ἐποίησεν* for *ἐποίησεν ἐν*). The alternative that S represents the original text of *Ⲭ* and that J L H is due to dittography of *ἐν* might be considered, if it was not probable that the *τοῖς θεοῖς* of J L H S was a mere substitute for the unintelligible, but probably earlier, reading of R—*τοὺς θεούς*. Similarly, 'their cities' (S) is probably a mere amplification of 'the cities' (*Ⲭ*). For *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς θεοῖς* von Gebhardt conjectures as the original reading of *Ⲭ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦ σθένους*, understanding 'in the cities of their might' to mean in the other cities besides Jerusalem which they had conquered. But this, if it were in other respects more acceptable, would still leave *v. 16 b* suspiciously elliptical. This ellipsis, and the probability that the reading 'the cities' (*Ⲭ*) is prior to 'their cities' (S), and *τοὺς θεούς* to *τοῖς θεοῖς*, deprives Frankenberg's argument that the allusion is not to Pompey but to Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 44 ff., 54 ff.; 2 Macc. vi. 102) of much of its plausibility. What may have been meant, or alluded to, by *Ⲭ* remains very uncertain.

17 *a. the children of the covenant*, i.e. the Jews (cp. Ezek. xxx. 5, Acts iii. 25). 'The mingled peoples,' apparently here the Gentiles; for *Ⲫⲉⲣ* implied by *συμμίκτων* see Neh. xiii. 3, Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37, Ezek. xxx. 5. What was meant by *ἐπεκρατοῦσαν αὐτῶν* (not translated above), or the Hebrew underlying it, is uncertain; is it that the Jews 'surpassed' (*חזיקו*) the heathen in wickedness (cp. i. 8), or 'attached themselves (*ב החזיקו*) to them'? *Ⲭ* would most naturally mean 'ruled them' (cp. xvi. 7), or 'gained the mastery over them'.

18. **that fly.** *Ⲭ* 'fled'.

19. To the sympathetic eyes of the Jews of the Dispersion, who are here termed *παροικία* as temporary residents (abroad), it seemed a rare thing for one of *hasidim* to escape alive from the faithless and merciless Jews of Jerusalem.

21. **For.** If the conjunction is correct—we might rather expect 'therefore' (S)—the argument implied rather than expressed is: The disloyal sons of the covenant by their sins brought about a drought (cp. ii. 10), and this in turn caused the pious to wander far and wide.

21 *b.* Probably enough, the exact form of the original is not preserved here.

21 *d.* **to the least of them.** So S; *Ⲭ* 'and of the least people' (*ⲱⲉⲣ* misread *ⲱⲉⲙ*).

all were sinful. *Ⲭ* 'in every sin' (*ⲕⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲙⲁ*) (cp. Ps. xiv. 3) misread *ⲕⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲙⲁ*.

23. **seest.** So R J L S; 'knowest', H V. Von Gebhardt conjectures 'chosest'.

25. **And that he may purge.** So S; cp. *v. 33.* *Ⲭ* 'purge', as though addressed to God.

trample (her) down. Cp. ii. 2.

Wisely, righteously. According to the punctuation of J these words should go with *v. 25.* S omits them.

26, 27. In *Ⲭ* the verbs are either certainly infinitive (*v. 27 b*) or ambiguous, i.e. optative or infinitive (according to the accentuation). It is possible that in *Ⲭ* these verses were entirely dependent on *v. 24*: 'Gird him . . . that he may thrust out . . . destroy . . . break in pieces,' &c. More probably the tenses of *Ⲭ* were, as in *vv. 29 ff.* (cp. *Ⲭ*), imperfects intended in a simple indicative future sense. S continues the subordination of the tenses into *v. 28*, though, on the other hand, 'shall flee', clearly infinitive in *Ⲭ*, is clearly imperfect in S.

28. **whom he shall lead in.** S 'who shall make their boast of'.

30. **their.** S om. In J L H *αὐτῶν* precedes, in R it follows *εἰσιν*.

- (28) And he shall divide them according to their tribes upon the land,
 31 And neither sojourner nor alien shall sojourn with them any more.
 (29) He shall judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. *Selah.*
- 32 (30) And he shall have the heathen nations to serve him under his yoke;
 And he shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of (?) all the earth;
 33 And he shall purge Jerusalem, making it holy as of old:
 34 (31) So that nations shall come from the ends of the earth to see his glory,
 Bringing as gifts her sons who had fainted,
 35 And to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith God hath glorified her.
 (32) And he (shall be) a righteous king, taught of God, over them,
 36 And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst,
 For all shall be holy and their king the anointed of the Lord.
- 37 (33) For he shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
 Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
 Nor shall he gather confidence from (?) a multitude (?) for the day of battle.
- 38 (34) The Lord Himself is his king, the hope of him that is mighty through (his) hope in God.
- 〈 〉 All nations (shall be) in fear before him,
 39 (35) For he will smite the earth with the word of his mouth for ever.
 40 He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness,
 41 (36) And he himself (will be) pure from sin, so that he may rule a great people.
 He will rebuke rulers, and remove sinners by the might of his word;
 42 (37) And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not **stumble**;
 For God **will make** him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit,
 And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness.
- 43 (38) And the blessing of the Lord (will be) with him: **he will be strong** and **stumble** not;
 44 (39) His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him?
 (40) (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God,
 45 (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously,
 And will suffer none among them to **stumble** in their pasture.
- 46 (41) He will lead them all aright,
 And there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed.

32 *b*. in a place to be seen of. So Ryle and James render *ἐν ἐπισήμῳ* (cp. ii. 6 n.), seeing in the lines an allusion to the miraculously exalted and consequently conspicuous Zion of the Messianic age (Isa. ii. 2). Kit. here, as in ii. 6, takes *ἐν ἐπι.* to be a rendering of נִכְח, and renders 'openly before'. In *§ v.* 32 *b* reads 'and they (i.e. the nations) shall praise (= glorify) the Lord openly in all the earth'.

34, 35 *a*. Very probably the original form of this tristich (originally a distich?) is not correctly preserved. 'His glory', i.e. the glory of the Messianic king; 'her sons', i.e. the exiled inhabitants of Jerusalem.

34. So that nations shall come. So R H *§*; J L 'Come, ye nations'; *ח*? 'nations shall come'.
 fainted. *§* 'been scattered from her'.

35. Perhaps *ח* read simply, 'And he (shall be) a righteous king taught of God', אֱלֹהִים being dittographed and then read incorrectly אֱלֹהִים = עֲלֵיהֶם, 'over them.'

36. the anointed of the Lord (cp. xviii. 6). *§* *ח* 'the anointed, the Lord' (= Christ the Lord, Luke ii. 11). *ח* Χριστὸς κύριος = *ח* מִשִּׁיחַ יְהוָה (or מִשִּׁיחַ אֲדֹנָי), the normal rendering of which would be Χριστὸς κυρίου; for the X. κύριος of *ח* (*§*) see Lam. iv. 20.

37 *c*. Obscure. *§* employs the same verbal phrase here as in 37 *a*; if by accident *§* so far returns to the original, it is difficult to account for the variation in *ח*. Further, if πολλοῖς is the objective of the verbal phrase, we might expect it to be preceded by a preposition, and if instrumental by ἐν. Ryle and James conjecture πλοίοις for πολλοῖς, and render 'nor by ships shall he gather confidence', &c.

38 *a*. Doubtless this line, together perhaps with *v.* 37 *c* in an earlier uncorrupted form, contained the antithesis to *v.* 37 *a, b*: Not in weapons and material resources, but in God does he put his trust. Whether the strangely expressed Greek text at all closely reproduces the original, or whether the Lord was here described as the king's King, must remain very doubtful.

38 *b*. The words καὶ ἐλεήσει, left untranslated above, are probably due to some corruption, whether in *ח* or *ח*. 'He shall have mercy upon all the nations (that come) before him in fear' (Ryle and James) is a bad introduction to *v.* 39. καὶ ἐλεήσει . . . ἐν φόβῳ may represent some such phrase as 'he shall set trembling'; or καὶ ἐλεήσει may belong to the preceding corrupt line, and ἐν φόβῳ = יִרְאוּ.

39. Cp. Isa. xi. 4. Note also the influence of Isa. xi. 3 f. on the following lines.

41. He will rebuke . . . and remove. *ח* 'that he may', &c.

42. stumble, or 'totter'. Cp. e.g. Ps. ix. 3, or Ps. xxvi. (xxv.) 1. *ח* 'be weak' (ἀσθενήσει = יִבְשַׁל); so *v.* 43, 45.
 will make. *ח* 'made'.

42 *b, c*. by means of, or 'in'.

43. he will be strong. *ח* ἐν ἰσχύι, 'in strength' (= בְּעֹז erroneously read for עֹז).

46. aright. Lit. 'in equalness'; so R J L marg.; 'in holiness', L (text) H.

- 47 (42) This (will be) the majesty of the king of Israel **whom** God **knoweth** ;
He will raise him up over the house of Israel to correct him.
 48 (43) His words (shall be) more refined than costly gold, the choicest ;
 In the assemblies he will judge the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified.
 49 His words (shall be) like the words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples.
 50 Blessed be they that shall be in those days,
 In that they shall see the good fortune of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering
 together of the tribes.
 51 May the Lord hasten His mercy upon Israel !
 May He deliver us from the uncleanness of unholy enemies !
 The Lord Himself is our king for ever and ever.

XVIII. *A Psalm. Of Solomon. Again of the Anointed of the Lord.*

- 18 1 Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever ;
 Thy goodness is over Israel with a rich gift.
 2 Thine eyes look upon them, **so that** none of them suffers want ;
 3 Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor.
 (3) Thy judgements (are executed) upon the whole earth in mercy ;
 4 And Thy love (is) toward the seed of Abraham, the children of Israel.
 (4) Thy chastisement is upon us as (upon) a first-born, only-begotten son,
 5 To turn back the obedient soul from folly (that is wrought) in ignorance.
 6 (5) May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing,
 Against the day of choice when He bringeth back His anointed.
 7 (6) Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days,
 In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is
 to come,
 8 (7) Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed in the fear of his God,
 In the spirit of wisdom and righteousness and strength ;
 9 (8) That he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God,
 That he may establish them all before the Lord,
 10 (9) A good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy. *Selah*.
 11 (10) Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest.

47. **whom**. & 'which', wrongly referring the relative (אשר) to 'majesty' and not to 'king'.
knoweth. & 'knew'.

He will. & 'to'.

48. **costly gold, the choicest**. & probably read 'fine gold' simply.

In the assemblies. 'Εν συναγωγαῖς, possibly an error (בְּעֵדוּת for בְּעֵדוּת) for 'by means of the Testimony', i.e. the

Law.

49. **the holy ones**. The angels; cp. Ps. lxxxix. 6, Job v. 1.

50. Cp. xviii. 6. 'The good fortune of Israel,' cp. Ps. cxxviii. 5. Instead of 'Israel' J reads 'Jerusalem'.

51. **May He deliver**. & 'He will deliver'; but in & the tenses in the parallel lines doubtless had the same force.

XVIII. TITLE. **Again of**. So R J; L H read 'upon'.

2. **upon them**, i.e. 'the works of Thy hands'.

so that . . . suffers. & 'and . . . will suffer'.

suffers want, or 'is lacking'.

the hopeful prayer of the poor, or 'the prayer of the poor who hopeth (in Thee)'.

6. **the day of mercy and** (lit. 'in') **blessing** is the day when God shows mercy to and blesses Israel; it is also the day of His choosing or determining upon the appearance of the Messiah (cp. xvii. 23). The term *ἀναγίς* here used, if we might press the force of the Greek, would imply a 'bringing again' or 'bringing up' of a pre-existing Messiah (cp. Ryle and James); yet it must remain very doubtful whether the original really expressed this idea here.

8. Loose and awkward; but apparently the meaning is the generation that is to come and will live under the discipline (cp. vii. 8) of the Messiah. We., assuming that *ὑπό* is a rendering of a misunderstood תחת which should have been rendered *ἀντί*, understands the line to mean 'Instead of the rod of chastening (there shall be) the Lord's Anointed'.

the spirit of wisdom and. & 'wisdom of spirit and of'.

11-14. A marked change of subject, and perhaps originally a distinct Psalm (Ryle and James). The abruptness of the conclusion, the incompleteness of the treatment, and the absence of any doxology suggest that the conclusion of the Psalm has been lost.

12 (It is He) who hath established in (their) courses the lights (of heaven) for determining seasons from year to year,

And they have not turned aside from the way which He appointed them.

13 (11) In the fear of God (they pursue) their path every day,

From the day God created them and for evermore.

14 (12) And they have erred not since the day He created them.

Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their path,

Unless God commanded them (so to do) by the command of His servants.

12. for determining seasons, &c. Lit. 'for times of hours from days to days'.

14. by the command of His servants. Cp. Jer. x. 12-14, Isa. xxxviii. 1-10.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Fourth Book of Maccabees is couched in the form of a discourse or treatise, taking for its subject the power of *ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμός*, the Inspired Reason, to control the passions. It has been suggested by Freudenthal that the work may be a specimen of synagogue preaching, and Ewald appears to agree with him in this, but other commentators reply that in the Diaspora the regular synagogue practice was always to take a passage from the Bible as a text for the sermon. Now Fourth Maccabees has no text, and the rules of Jewish services are seldom departed from, so it is probable that this work was given as a lecture rather than a sermon. But the best authorities doubt whether we know enough about Judæo-Hellenistic practice nearly two thousand years ago to justify a positive conclusion about the matter. At all events the author of this work, be it lecture or sermon, is unquestionably an orthodox Jew, and his object is to fire the hearts of his co-religionists with such an enthusiastic devotion to their faith that they will be ready to face the last extremity of suffering in its behalf. A student of Greek philosophy himself, speaking to people who were evidently familiar with its terminology, he enlists the Stoic virtues in the cause of Jewish orthodoxy. Adopting the Stoic definition of the four cardinal virtues, judgement and justice, and courage and temperance, he insists that these are best attained by men being born and brought up under the Law of Moses. He leaves on one side the discussion of the methods by which Greek philosophy proposed to attain virtue. He has naturally no inspired anticipation of the Christian doctrine of God's grace whereby sinners may be led into the way of truth; for we shall find reason to think that he wrote before any such thing as a Christian document had even come into existence. But he not only adopts the Stoic virtues, he also takes the Stoic view of sin, that to offend in one point is to be guilty of all, when he makes his protomartyr, Eleazar, say, 'Think it not then a small sin for us to eat the unclean thing; for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous.' Yet his acceptance of the Stoic position is not indiscriminating, as, although he uses their philosophical definition of the virtues, he refrains from specifically adopting their classification of the primary passions under the four heads of delight, grief, pain, and fear. The Stoics held that the passions were not grounded in nature but were due to wrong thinking, and could and should be extirpated. The author, on the contrary, holds that the passions were implanted in man by God and are not to be extirpated but controlled. 'Reason', he says, 'is not the extirpator of the passions, but their antagonist.' And this power of Reason he illustrates, not, as his Stoic friends would have done, from Greek sources, but from the Jews' own Bible story, from the lives of Joseph and Jacob, of Moses and David. Then he passes to the subject of the terrible tyrant of Syria, Antiochus, whom some styled Epiphanes, The Brilliant, and some Epimanes, The Madman, and describes his odious oppressions: and so comes presently to the martyrs, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren, and the Mother. He relates their defiance of the tyrant and enlarges on their sufferings with an even greater wealth of dreadful detail than the writer of Second Maccabees, whether the additions are due to his own invention or are drawn from a common original, the lost work of Jason of Cyrene. He recounts insistently the martyrs' triumphant victory over their sufferings, won by the aid of their Reason, their unconquerable fidelity to the Law of Moses, and their assured hope of a blessed immortality in the company of the patriarchs. That immortality is their reward in heaven, while they enjoy on earth the honour of being held the saviours of their country, which noble title he would inscribe as their epitaph. His impassioned eulogy is intended to rouse the patriotic and religious feelings of his audience to the highest pitch and harden them to the point of following so glorious an example. If I were asked to suggest the most probable reason why this book was written I should incline to the opinion that it was in consequence of the deification of the Roman Emperors. It is true that that deification (which involved nothing particularly startling to the pagan world) was not taken very seriously by Augustus and Tiberius, and in consequence did not become a really crucial question with the Jews until the accession of Caligula, whom we might well call the Second Brilliant Madman. Mad he was and did verily take himself for a god and demand to be

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

worshipped as such, and then all the horrors of the persecution of Epiphanes were repeated in Egypt on the bodies of the wretched Jews, the defiling and torture of their persons, the plunder of their holy things, and the erection of statues of the deified Emperor in their desecrated Synagogues. But though this persecution did not take place till A. D. 38–39, the future instrument through which Caligula's madness was to work, namely the base passions of the dregs of the Egyptian, and especially the Alexandrian, populace, had become plainly visible long before. Every far-sighted man, such as the author of this book must have been, could not but recognize, even during the more clement days of Augustus and Tiberius, that as soon as ever Jews were required to offer public sacrifice at the imperial altars an impossible test would be imposed. Every true Jew knew that he must refuse, and it was not hard to foresee what would happen then, when once the passions of the vilest mob in the world were let loose. To meet and endure the coming persecution the sons of Israel would need all their courage, and how better could the Jewish-Hellenic philosopher steel the hearts of his brethren than by holding up to them the self-abnegating virtues of Stoicism and the sublime heroism of the Maccabean martyrs?

§ 2. TITLE.

The oldest form of title is simply *Μακκαβαίων δ'*, under which it is found in three of the great uncial MSS., the Alexandrinus, the Sinaiticus, and the Venetus. But the book having been attributed to the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, it also appears among his works with a title derived from the subject-matter, *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*, On the Supremacy of Reason, and it is thus cited by Eusebius and Jerome. Another form of this title is *περὶ σώφρονος λόγου*, which appears in some editions of Josephus; and the former of the two is generally rendered in the Latin versions by *de imperatrice ratione*, or else by *de dominatu* or *de imperio rationis*. Lastly, there is a third form of title, *Ἰωσίππου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον*, or *εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους λόγος*.

§§ 3–4. THE MSS. AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

The book is found, as already mentioned, in three great uncials, A, **Σ**, and V, but is unfortunately absent from the Codex Vaticanus. It was early translated into Syriac, and in 1895 Dr. Barnes brought out through the Cambridge Press a Syriac text prepared by the late Professor R. L. Bensly from a collation of nine MSS., of which he gives a description. The Syriac version was faithful enough to be of value for textual criticism, and Bensly found that as a rule it supports **Σ** rather than A. Dr. Barnes, who edited Bensly's notes, gives a list of some two hundred passages where the readings in the Syriac and the Greek MSS. are compared. As regards other ancient versions, 'Nothing is known', says Dr. Torrey, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 'of any old Latin version of Fourth Maccabees, or even of the sources used by Erasmus in making his Latin "paraphrase" which differs so widely from the Greek text.' The book is not in the Vulgate, and accordingly is absent from the Apocrypha of the Roman Bible and from our own.

§ 5. DATE.

The date of the original text is uncertain, but the author could never have spoken as he does of the Temple service had he been writing after the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. Also, if the date of the book had been as late as the close of the first century A. D., its orthodox Judaism would probably have interfered with its acceptance among Christians, an acceptance which nevertheless it obtained. And if it was addressed, as it probably was, to an Alexandrian audience we must look at least thirty years further back than A. D. 70, for the author could not have spoken as he does to Alexandrian Jews after the occurrence of the Caligulan persecution, which took place in A. D. 38–39. This last date then becomes the inferior limit. Perhaps the superior limit may be taken as 63 B. C., when the High Priesthood passed from the Hasmonean House. For the author is at pains to explain that in the days of King Seleucus IV (175 B. C.) the High Priest, Onias, held that office for life, a tenure which ceased after the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty* (Grimm). The date then probably falls between B. C. 63 and A. D. 38 or, roughly speaking, within two generations before or one generation after the Christian era.

§ 6. INTEGRITY.

The book is of the nature of a sermon, whether actually delivered in a synagogue or not, and as a moral discourse it is thoroughly homogeneous. It opens with the philosophical discussion of the supremacy of Reason, and then illustrates the subject with a series of examples drawn from the constancy of the nine martyrs under their tortures. The point sought to be proved is repeated with an insistence that becomes rather tedious to modern ears, a matter in which, perhaps, we are less

INTRODUCTION

tolerant than the ancients. The details, too, of the successive tortures are elaborated in a way that shocks modern taste. We must consider, however, that very few among us to-day have either seen torture inflicted with our own eyes or dreaded to feel it in our own persons. We only know of it by reading of such horrors in other parts of the globe or in the history of the past. The author of Fourth Maccabees was addressing an audience to whom the sight of tortured men was as much a matter of course as the butcher's shambles to us, and accordingly his treatment of this part of the subject is quite in keeping with his time and place. Though a Jew, and a highly orthodox Jew, he is completely master of the Greek language, which he writes with ease; his vocabulary is large, and he handles the idioms with variety and flexibility; his style is so ornate and copious that I am tempted to call it over-decorated. There is no sign of the Midrash method of treatment in his work, no reciting of scattered texts with disconnected expositions attached thereto. He keeps his main point before him, in good Greek form, illustrating it freely and well not only from the story of the martyrs but also from the heroes of old. The nearest he comes to writing in a Hebrew style is at the end, where he puts into the mouth of the Mother what may be described as a roll-call of Old Testament worthies. But as a Jew speaking to Jews nothing could be more natural or more effective than this Hebraic finale. Accordingly I see no reason why we should look in this last chapter for traces of another hand, though certain commentators have thought that the book originally ended at xviii. 2 with the words 'O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways, recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions'. It is true that this close makes a neat Euclidean Q.E.D. to the demonstration of his proposition as enunciated at the beginning, namely that the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions. But considered as a peroration, from the rhetorical point of view, it is nothing less than an absolute bathos after the striking passage just before where he gives the epitaph that he would like to write for the martyrs. The main argument for the conjectural placing of the original conclusion at this point is that the Mother's account of her early life, which occupies fourteen verses immediately after it, is of the nature of a digression. So it is, but the reason is not far to seek. The author, through the main part of the book, has dealt chiefly with men and the manly virtues, courage in particular. He gives the heroine of his story, the Mother, due praise for this virtue, but he also desires to insert in his work a fit encomium on the domestic virtues which as a Jew he considers to be most important for the women of his race. Courage he has already praised; now he lays stress on the woman's more commonplace duty of stopping at home and attending to the house, of her father first and later of her husband. Above all, she must be very careful to run no risk of contamination by any deceiver, be he man or be he devil, inside or outside the house. So he makes the Mother say with pride in this last chapter, 'I kept guard over the rib that was builded into Eve.' Like Eve she was to be a helpmeet for man, but she was not, like Eve, to dally with the false beguiling serpent. Clearly the writer was determined to get in his point about female virtue, and he does it. Of course it is a digression even here, but if we look back to where he has the Mother in the front of the scene during the previous chapters there is no place where these verses would not have been ten times more out of keeping. He had far too much literary skill to spoil his effect by putting the passage in the wrong place, and he reserved this piece about her early days till he could use it as a relief to the tension of the tortures, and so lead up to the final roll-call of the heroes. He throws a true and honourable light on the religious influence of the Jewess in her home when he depicts her as recalling to her sons' minds the words of their dead father and his manner of holding up the great men of old to their admiration. His setting of the passage in her mouth is far more effective than if the author himself called the roll in his own person. For myself I am inclined to distrust those confident critics who on the evidence of style say dogmatically 'the author wrote this, the author did not write that'. Even the great Bentley himself, a critic whose shield (were he alive) few knights of the pen would dare to touch by way of challenge, succeeded in persuading himself that Milton never closed the last book of *Paradise Lost* with such a distich as:

'They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.'

No, these lines had been corrupted by the 'editor' whom Bentley's own imagination invented to account for the faults he discovered in Milton. And this is what he offered as a substitute:

'Then, hand in hand, with social steps their way
Through Eden took with heavenly comfort cheer'd.'

Where Bentley could so stumble which of us shall stand upright? The style of Fourth Maccabees shows no more variation than naturally follows on the changes from one branch of the subject to another. All through the author writes the vigorous, free, idiomatic Greek of one to whom it was a native language, so that we might say of him, as of the Jew whom Aristotle is represented as meeting in Asia, that he was 'Ἑλληνικὸς οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ'. He likes to coin

new words of the right Greek stamp. For instance, in the first sentence of his treatise he states that the question he will discuss is whether Inspired Reason is really *αὐτοδέσποτος τῶν παθῶν*, autocratic over the passions, where the word *αὐτοδέσποτος* is apparently a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* of his own minting. Later on he uses in the same sense the much commoner word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, and we can even find his very phrase *αὐτοκράτωρ λογισμός* in Thucydides, though the historian uses it in quite another sense, to mean 'an arbitrary decision'. The author of Fourth Maccabees chooses *αὐτοδέσποτος* not in order to avoid confusion with Thucydides' phrase but to strike the key-note of originality and intensity: he would have you note from the outset that he is an undoubted autocrat of language. So Ruskin in the first sentence of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* uses the rare Miltonic 'resplendence' where another man would have chosen some more ordinary term. But Ruskin meant his work to be resplendent, and strikes the note of brilliancy at once. Not a few more of these vigorous compounds does the author coin: *ἐθνόπληθος* = 'the nation-mass', *ἐπταμήτωρ* = 'the mother of seven children', *κοσμοπληθής* = 'world-whelming', *κοσμοφορῶν* = 'world-freighted', *μαλακοψυχεῖν* = 'to be weak-spirited', *παθοκρατέεσθαι* = 'to be mastered by the passions'. These words are neither obscure nor far-fetched; their meaning is obvious enough, but they are fresh. We have but to turn over a few pages of Carlyle's *French Revolution* at haphazard to find parallels; Danton is 'the Minister of Moloch-Justice', the while 'France is dancing its desert-waltz'; 'Louis Capet was only called Inviolable by a figure of rhetoric; but at bottom was perfectly violable, triable'; or again, when the King's sentence is being settled, constitution-monger Sieyes votes '*La mort sans phrase*, Death without phrases, and fares onward and downward. Most spectral, pandemonial'. A good word 'pandemonial' (which I have not found in Dr. Murray's dictionary) for horrors whether of the French Revolution or of torture under the Brilliant Madman. Some of the author's new coinage passed into circulation; he speaks of Eleazar's Reason as a pilot, *πηδαλιουχῶν*, 'rudder-handling' or 'rudder-ruling' the ship of godliness, where the common expression would have been *ολακίζων*, 'steering'; and we find this new word of his, *πηδαλιουχεῖν*, used by later writers, not of handling the helm of a real ship, but in the very same metaphorical sense we have here. We may note the author's love of double-barrelled prepositional compounds, as where he speaks of parents as *ἐναποσφραγίζοντες*, stamping their seal on the child; and of prepositions used intensively in composition, as in *ἐπιρρωλογολογούμενος*, another of his coinages, to express the skinflint's extra-gleaning of his grapes. Indeed his love of the ornate is such that he will invent a three-barrelled prepositional compound, if the fancy strikes him; as when, in the case of the torture of the first of the seven brethren, in order to describe the horrid ingenuity of the torturers, he says, *τὸν τροχὸν προσεπικατέτεινον*, 'they extra-overstrained against him the wheel', or as the Syriac version has it, 'they made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' I find no cause to suspect that this book is not the work of a single hand.

§ 7. AUTHORSHIP.

The authorship of Fourth Maccabees must be considered doubtful. It was attributed to Flavius Josephus by Eusebius, the learned bishop of Caesarea, who lived more than two centuries later than Josephus, or between A.D. 270 and 340. The words of Eusebius are (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 10, see page 76 in E. Burton's Oxford Ed., 1856): *πεπνήηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὃ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐνέγραψαν, τῷ τοῖς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλουμένοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχειν.* 'The man (Josephus) has also produced another work of a lofty character on the Supremacy of Reason, to which some have given the title of Maccabean, because it includes the struggles of the Hebrews who in the books known as Maccabean strove valiantly for the sake of righteousness before God.' Jerome, writing in A.D. 492, follows Eusebius in naming Josephus as the author, and in consequence of this attribution, which was generally accepted in ancient times, we find the book frequently printed among Josephus's works. Internal evidence, however, points strongly the other way. For example, the statement made in Fourth Maccabees xvii. 24, that Antiochus publicly held up the example of the martyrs to his men to inspire them with courage, 'so that he conquered all his enemies and laid waste their cities,' is a singular one to have been made by Josephus, who himself has chronicled the notorious failure of Antiochus before Elymais and discusses the question whether that failure was not the immediate cause of his death. Again, Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4) correctly states that Antiochus Epiphanes was the brother of Seleucus IV. But in Fourth Maccabees iv. 15 the writer makes the blunder of calling him his son. Also the writer says in Fourth Maccabees xiv. 7, 'we now shudder when we hear of the sufferings of those youths,' thus presupposing that his hearers enjoy peace and safety. Such words would be hardly natural in the mouth of Josephus, who was actually present at the fall of Jerusalem and wrote the history of the fatal Jewish War. It is also worth noting that Josephus in his historical works uses the Greek equivalents of Biblical names,

INTRODUCTION

whereas the author of Fourth Maccabees uses the Hebrew indeclinable forms except in the cases of 'Ἱεροσόλυμα and 'Ελεάζαρος. Indeed the whole form and style of Fourth Maccabees are so unlike any of Josephus's other works that, if he did write it, he must have done so when very young, and then have completely changed his style later. He would seem to have changed his views also, for the ideal purpose of Fourth Maccabees is to glorify the heroes who sacrifice everything for the sake of religion. But the personal ideals of Josephus were of a very different nature, for we learn from his own pen that his heroism took quite another shape. After fighting against Rome on behalf of his country till victory declared for Rome, he then surrendered and fought against his brethren; he took the Roman name of Flavius in compliment to the Flavian Caesar, and married a Gentile wife, contrary to Moses' Law, to oblige Vespasian. As every single one of these acts would have been anathema to the author of Fourth Maccabees, we may fairly conclude that the writer was not Flavius Josephus. It has indeed been suggested, by Ewald among others, that the ascription may have arisen from the author's actual name having been Josephus, and that he thus became confused later on with the more famous historian, which of course is possible but does seem somewhat futile. Whatever his name was, it is more likely that he lived in Alexandria than in Palestine. The implication, noticed above, that he and his hearers are living in the enjoyment of peace and safety suits Jerusalem less well than Alexandria, at least for any period prior to the Caligulan persecution. And not only is the writer's style but his sentiment more Alexandrian than Palestinian. He shows indeed a proper orthodox horror of the Hellenizing Jason's action in setting up a gymnasium on the Holy Mount, but so far from condemning the Greek games in themselves, he does not shrink from comparing the struggle between the martyrs and the tyrant to an athletic contest. Indeed, he elaborates the likeness; the competitors are Antiochus and the martyrs; the spectators are the whole world; and the prize of victory is immortality. He shows a similar tolerance towards Greek art, when he suggests that 'if it were allowable for us' the art of painting would best bring before the mind the idea of the martyrdoms. Surely some Niobe or Medea or other heroine of Greek tragedy was familiar to the sight of his hearers and of himself when he said this; and when he added 'as might some artist' (if that be the correct reading) he was alluding to some painter whom they all knew. In cosmopolitan Alexandria such an allusion could hardly hurt his reputation for orthodoxy, but it would have been a hazardous thing to publish such a phrase in Jerusalem, where the very sight of Pilate's eagles raised a fury that was only quenched in blood. Moreover, the main object of his discourse, which is to show how Greek philosophy can help an orthodox Jew to keep the Law, is one more likely to be addressed to Jews living in the great Greek city of Alexandria than to those at the sacred centre of Judaism itself. The general conclusion is that the author was not Flavius Josephus, and that there is evidence to show that he was a Jew, living in Egypt, most probably in Alexandria, within a few years of the Christian era.

§ 8. INFLUENCE.

The direct influence of this book on Jewish literature does not seem to have been great; there is, however, a mediaeval work, written in Biblical Hebrew, by Joseph ben Gorion, commonly known as Yosippon, which shows traces of Fourth Maccabees. Yosippon's work is a history of his people from the destruction of Babylon to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. He is sometimes called the 'Hebrew' Josephus to distinguish him from his namesake, the well-known historian of the Antiquities and the Jewish War, who wrote in Greek. Yosippon, indeed, in the text of his book now current, claims to be the great historian himself, but this is certainly false. It is now generally held that his writings have absolutely no historical value, and that, so far from being the real Flavius Josephus, he was a Jew of Southern Italy who lived as late as the ninth or tenth century. But his work became exceedingly popular among the Jews of the Middle Ages and it was translated into many languages and widely circulated. One modern authority, Trieber, would assign him a date as early as the fourth century, and thinks he had the original work of Jason of Cyrene before him, but this question is still debated. At any rate Yosippon recounts the story of the martyrdoms much as we have it in Fourth Maccabees, but with additions and variations of his own. The first martyr, Eleazar, is represented as having formerly been the guest of Ptolemy in Egypt, where he acted as one of the LXX, and as having won at Jerusalem the favour of Philippus, by which name is intended the general to whom Antiochus entrusted the business of persecuting the Jews. This Philip takes Eleazar apart and begs him to eat, before all the people, some of the meat of a Jewish sacrifice, but to do so in such a way that he may be supposed to be eating meat sacrificed to the king's image. For the rest of the story of Eleazar the author does little more than expand Maccabees. He then brings the Mother, whom he calls Hannah, with her seven sons, before Antiochus himself, 'who had not gone far from Jerusalem'; and their several martyrdoms follow. I note a few points differing from Maccabees. While the first martyr is suffering the others quote the Song of Moses, 'The Lord will judge his people and have mercy on his servants,' &c. The fifth brother tells the king that it is vain

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THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

for him to hope to establish the worship of his own image by their torture. The Mother makes a long speech to the youngest son, who promises her that 'he will keep the Law which Moses our teacher, may he rest in peace! gave to the Holy People of Israel'. And the boy calls Antiochus an insane dotard of seventy, and tells him 'it had been better for thee never to have been born from the impure womb of the foolish mother who bore thee, thou fatuous fool that hast brought woe upon thyself'. There is no mention either of the seventh son or the Mother casting themselves into the fire; but Hannah begins her dying speech, 'My heart has rejoiced in the Lord and my horn is exalted in my God.' After the martyrdoms Antiochus goes off to Macedonia (?) and the Maccabean rising follows. As we might expect, the Stoic philosophy of Fourth Maccabees finds no place here.

Neither can I discover any trace of this Stoicism surviving in the Chanukah services which to this day commemorate the Maccabean purification. If one may imitate St. Paul's simile of the wild olive tree, Stoicism was a graft that thrived but ill when set in the stem of the 'good' olive of Judaism. The Chanukah festival lasts for eight days, beginning on the famous twenty-fifth of Chisleu (December), when it was instituted by Judas Maccabaeus, his brothers, and the elders, to be celebrated annually in memory of the dedication of the restored altar on the occasion of the purification of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. The popular name, according to Josephus (the true Josephus, not Yosippon), was *φῶτα*, 'Lights', because it was and is still celebrated by a grand general illumination. The eight-day continuance of it is said to come from the story that the priests found one single cruse of holy oil that had remained unpolluted all through the desecration under Antiochus, and by a miracle this was made to last for eight days until the priests could prepare new oil for the lamps of the holy candlestick.

In later times the Pharisaic party haggled over the legitimacy of the claims of the family of Mattathias to the hereditary High-priesthood which was assumed by the Maccabees in 153 B.C. Strict Jews held that the Maccabeans, though they had proved themselves national heroes, were in a sense irregular as occupants of the sacred office. As an explanation of this it is stated by Morris J. Raphall, Rabbi-preacher of the Greene Street synagogue, New York, who published in 1854 a *Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, that the Chasidim condemned Judas Maccabaeus because he allied himself with the Parthians and sent an embassy to Rome. He quotes from a Midrash Chanukah, which he describes as an ancient Codex in the City Library of Leipzig, these words as personally directed against Judas by the leader of the Chasidim: 'Cursed be the man who placeth his dependence on flesh while from the Lord his heart departeth.' But Rabbi Raphall thinks that Mattathias was probably regarded as High-Priest, or Cohen-Gadol, by his own followers, and describes him as a priest of the order of Joarib, the first of the twenty-four appointed by David by lot, and descended from the elder branch of the family of Aaron. The father of Mattathias was Johanan, and his father Asmoneus. In the service for Chanukah, in the official Jewish prayer-book, there is a special prayer set out in the morning service for the day which runs thus: 'In the days of the Hasmonean, Mattathias, son of Johanan the High-Priest, and his sons, when the iniquitous power of Greece rose up against thy people Israel, to make them forgetful of thy Law and to force them to transgress the statutes of thy will, then didst thou in thine abundant mercy rise up for them in the time of their trouble . . . and for thy people Israel thou didst work a great deliverance and redemption as at this day. And thereupon thy children came into the oracle of thy house, cleansed thy temple, purified thy Sanctuary, kindled light in thy holy courts, and appointed these eight days of Chanukah in order to give thanks and praises unto thy great name.' But I can find nothing that specially recalls Fourth Maccabees in the whole service.

If the Jews themselves have somewhat neglected the book, the Christian Fathers have not done so. The Maccabeans are lauded by the Western as well as by the Eastern Church; they are commemorated in panegyrics by St. Augustine and Leo the Great, and they find a place in the calendars of Carthage as well as in those of the Syrians and Arabians. But the Eastern Church naturally glorified them first, and I can find no better specimen of the influence of Fourth Maccabees on Christian literature than the oration of Gregory Nazianzen on the Martyrs. 'What of the Maccabeans?' he begins, 'for to-day (Aug. 1) is their anniversary; though by many they be not honoured because their ἀθλησις, their "contest", was not after Christ, yet are they worthy to be honoured by all, in that their endurance was in behalf of the Law of their fathers. And what would men who were martyred before Christ's passion have achieved if they had been persecuted after Christ and had His death on our behalf to imitate? For would not they who without His great example showed such virtue have appeared nobler still in hazarding themselves after that example? Mystical and ineffable is the saying, and one very persuasive to me and to all that love God, that none of those who were made perfect¹ before Christ reached that point outside of the Christian

¹ Compare Heb. xi. 40.

INTRODUCTION

faith.' We are reminded of that noble benediction 'abi in pacem anima naturaliter Christiana'. It has been finely said that if Judaism as a religion had perished under Antiochus, the seed-bed of Christianity would have been lacking; and thus the blood of the Maccabean martyrs, who saved Judaism, ultimately became the seed of the Church. Therefore as not only Christendom but also Islam derive their monotheism from a Jewish source, it may well be that the world to-day owes the very existence of monotheism both in the East and in the West to the Maccabees.

This then is the key-note of Gregory's paeon in their honour, delivered in the latter half of the fourth century, and he strikes the note again further on where he repeats that 'the Maccabeans are not to be despised because they were before the Cross, but they are to be praised and held in honour for having lived according to the Cross'. His oration is really a paraphrase of Fourth Maccabees, to which he clearly alludes in the following sentence: 'For who they were and whence, these men, and from what fount of education and training they advanced to such a pitch of virtue and glory that they are honoured by these yearly feasts and celebrations, and beyond these visible things have enshrined themselves in the hearts of all men, all this those who love labour and learning will find made clear in the book, which philosophizes about the Reason being supreme over the passions and holding the balance between two, that is to say, between virtue and vice.' A great sentence in more senses than one. Gregory, then, describes Eleazar as the first-fruits of those who suffered before Christ, as Stephen was the first-fruits of those after him. He takes not a few phrases straight from Eleazar's mouth, as where the martyr prays that he and his fellow martyrs may be accepted as a purification for the whole people; but when Gregory makes Eleazar speak of the youths as his sons, he clearly must do so in a spiritual sense, for in Fourth Maccabees it is very distinctly stated that Eleazar was not their father, and what they owed him was not their birth but their teaching; and Gregory knows his original perfectly. Gregory, however, likes playing such variations on his theme. Thus he makes the youths boldly demand the torture for themselves, their only fear being lest any should be denied the crown of martyrdom; but when he comes to describe the sufferings of the Mother, the Christian introduces a touch unknown to the Jewish writer. Like him he dwells at length on her agony over her sons' agonies, but the Christian recognizes there a true foretype of the Mother of Sorrows at the crucifixion of Christ, and he gives her the palm for courage and devotion. Like the author of Fourth Maccabees he delights in his own eloquence. If, as some think, two chapters of Second Maccabees have been expanded into the Fourth, Gregory in his turn now expands the Fourth by introducing numerous variations of his own, as where he makes the youths whet one another's spirits, *ὡς σὺν ὁδόντες ἀλλήλους θήξαντες*, 'like boar's tusks whetting each other.' He takes the Maccabean author's simile of the mother-bird fluttering round her young ones, threatened by the snake, and applying it more directly to the Mother represents her as gathering up their broken bodies and—a curious touch this—adoring their relics; *προσεκύνει τὰ λείψανα* he says; unless indeed we simply render *προσεκύνει* 'she kissed them'. He fills her mouth with phrases clearly befitting the Mother of God. 'Yet a little while,' she proclaims, 'and blessed shall I be among women.' When she has done speaking he makes her run to the pyre as to her bride-bed, *ὡς ἐπὶ νυμφῶνα τὴν πυρκαϊάν δραμοῦσα*, not waiting for her executioners 'in order that no impure person should touch her pure and honourable body'. Gregory makes the tyrant rejoice within himself that she had not borne more sons, for then he must have come off even more defeated and worse disgraced. Antiochus plays the part of the devil in this drama, and the fate of the Hebrew race is *ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ*, on a razor's edge, and the martyrs are the conquerors. 'So,' says Gregory to his flock, 'imitate these noble sufferers and do battle bravely with our daily Antiochus,' *πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν Ἀντίοχον γενναίως ἀνδριζόμενοι*; and so dismisses them with his blessing in the name of Christ, 'to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.'

Commenting on this oration, Nicetas declares that Gregory opens by maintaining that the Maccabeans were truly pre-Christian martyrs 'because some averred that these martyrs suffered not for Christ but in defence of the Law and of abstinence from swine's flesh', and quotes other Fathers in defence of Gregory's position. Further on there is a highly exalted passage where Gregory makes the youths say to Antiochus, 'Our country is the heavenly Jerusalem which no Antiochus can besiege, and our kinship is the spirit with which we are inspired by having been born unto virtue.' Gregory's word for 'the spirit with which we are inspired' is *ἐμπνευσις*, and Nicetas finely illustrates this from the passage in Genesis where God breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life.

In a strain of equal exaltation Gregory's great contemporary, Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed, begins his panegyric on the Holy Maccabeans and their Mother. 'How bright and joyous is our city, and sunnier this day than all the year! Not that to-day the sun pours his beams more splendid than of wont upon the earth, but that the light of the holy martyrs flashes brighter than lightning over all our city.' He follows the author of Fourth Maccabees in choosing to compare the martyrs' struggle to the athletic contests of the games, and the martyr's crown to that of the victor

in the contest. He appeals to Christ in the character of one who 'produces the games', as the phrase went. τί ποτε τοῦτο ἄρα, δέσποτα; 'What in the world is this, Master? Bringest thou feeble age into the contests on the arena? Who ever heard of a woman being entered for a contest at such an age? None ever heard of it.' And Christ answers that it is not bodily strength on which they rely, but that He lends His strength to His athletes. Further on Chrysostom sets forth eloquently the force of maternal devotion, quite in the vein of Fourth Maccabees but with instances of his own. 'Often,' he says, 'a mother seeing her child burning with fever—πάντα ἂν ἐλοιτο παθεῖν—would choose to take all the pain to herself so as to transfer the fire of the distemper from the child's body to hers.' It is interesting to observe how Chrysostom can always find something new to say. Fourth Maccabees has a beautiful simile of birds defending their young. He alters it by introducing the idea of their love of offspring being turned into a snare for themselves. 'Many wild animals hard to catch are thus taken, when, disregarding their own safety in their affection for their young, they fall into the hands of the hunters.' He is very ingenious in these variations, and doubtless intended them to remind those among his hearers who, in Gregory's words, loved labour and learning, of a book so well worth knowing, and he contrives to freshen their interest by novel applications. Finally, in his stirring close he, like Gregory, lends his powerful support to the claim that these were true martyrs before Christ. 'Who is there, man or woman, old or young, who would not contend for the martyr's crown, when a woman did so—πρὸ τῆς χάριτος ἀγωνισαμένη—contending before the days of grace?' And, lastly, we find him using a phrase that seems to me a probable allusion to Fourth Maccabees xvii. 7, where the author suggests the art of painting as well fitted to commemorate the martyrdoms. 'You should all,' says Chrysostom to his hearers, 'engrave their contests and their struggles on your hearts as it were on a tablet,' τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράψαντες. This may primarily refer to St. Paul's 'not on tables of stone but on fleshly tables of the heart', but it also seems distinctly to point to the conjectural reading ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακός τινος in the passage in Maccabees. In this connexion we have to consider that the early Church by no means favoured the representation of the agonies of martyrdom by the graphic arts. On the contrary, the Church then desired to see the martyrs depicted only as blessed and glorified. The physical details of their cruel sufferings were not a popular subject until the Dark Ages, and it is quite possible that Chrysostom may be deprecating here the outward representation of such sufferings when he tells his hearers to engrave them on their hearts.

There is yet another speech of his, lauding the Maccabean martyrs, in which he selects the last and youngest of the sons for his special panegyric. Here, too, he introduces quaint touches of his own, as that the tyrant was looking at the braziers, but the youth was looking at the hell into which the tyrant was going to cast himself. Also that the youth leapt into the braziers 'as they had been fountains of cool waters, reckoning them a divine font and baptism'. Then the preacher once more lauds the Mother, recounting her many sorrows, and borrowing from Fourth Maccabees the comparison of her to the Three Children in the burning fiery furnace, which he embellishes thus: 'The fuel of their furnace was naphtha and pitch, tow and brushwood; the fuel of hers was nature and birth-pangs and maternal love and the sweet voice of her children.' The words φύσις καὶ ὠδίνες καὶ φιλοστοργία καὶ παίδων συμφωνία seem to flow from his mouth as fresh as if he had just prepared himself by reading over the story. He borrows direct the simile of the brave Eleazar, like a beetling sea-cliff standing fast against the tempest of the passions, and applies it to the Mother, who, like a sea-cliff taking the assaults of the waves, remains unmoved while they spend themselves in spume. And lastly, 'She saw in the flames not a form of torment but a nuptial torch, γαμήλιον λαμπάδα,' a fancy which he shares with Gregory.

There is yet a third discourse on the subject by Chrysostom, but space forbids me to enlarge further. The orations are all well worth looking at. They may be found in T. B. Prunaeus's *Gregory Nazianzen*, Paris, 1609, page 397, and in Fronto Ducaeus's *John Chrysostom*, Paris, 1609, pages 581 and 622 ff., as well as in later editions.

To come down to more modern times, I can find nothing so interesting as the book of Erasmus on the Maccabean martyrs. He felt a personal interest in the matter, for in the early sixteenth century which saw the beginnings of the Reformation a man who had the courage of his opinions had also a right good chance of martyrdom. It was in 1517 that Luther nailed his denunciation of Indulgences to the doors of the church at Wittenberg, and in that same year Erasmus seems to have compiled his little work for the benefit of his friend Elias Marcaeus, 'moderator of the most honourable college of the Maccabeans' at Cologne. Martyrdom was a thing of which the great leader of the humanists had a very real dread. 'We have not all strength for martyrdom, and I fear if trouble comes I shall do like Peter,' he wrote in 1521, and he had reason to quake when his works were actually submitted to the Spanish Inquisition six years later. Martyrdoms have a cruel interest for a man who dreads the torture, and it is no wonder that he made a book for his friends at Cologne

INTRODUCTION

out of all that antiquity had said about their martyr-saints. The earliest edition of his work that I can hear of was printed by E. Cervicornus at Cologne, Feb. 1, 1524, fol., with the title—'Opera Iosephi interprete Ruffino presbytero. De insigni machabaeorum martyrio, castigatus ab Erasmo: nunquam ante praedictis additus,' &c., &c. The book was several times reprinted in the sixteenth century, e.g. at Basle, 1524, 1534, and 1540, and the Bodleian has a copy of another edition from the Cologne press, which is undated but was probably printed in 1534 or later, and has the title really preferred by Erasmus, 'περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, de imperatrice ratione.' In his prefatory letter Erasmus says that he has worked from a Latin text, not having a Greek MS. at hand (the Greek text appears not to have been printed till 1526); and that, conjecturing the Greek original from the Latin, he has changed some things, but not very much. He shows his literary art in the way in which he compliments both the college and the city of Cologne, alluding elegantly to the eleven thousand virgins martyred there, and so proceeds to his translation. After the translation he gives selections from antiquity, including the following from Jerome: 'The seven Maccabean brothers were born of one mother, by name Maccabea; they kept the Law of their own tradition; they did not eat the flesh of swine. For this cause they by the most cruel king Antiochus were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, in Antioch, together with their pious mother, and there they remain buried with great veneration.'

'So far St. Jerome,' says Erasmus; 'but', he continues, 'it is certain that the relics of these Maccabean brothers were by the blessed Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, brought to Byzantium, and thence by the president Eustorgius to Mediolanum (Milan), and lastly by the act of Reginold bishop of Cologne transferred from Mediolanum to Cologne in the year 1164, where now they are held in great veneration in the college of the glorious name of the Maccabeans themselves.' Their removal to Cologne in 1164 was celebrated by a special feast, 'which', observes Erasmus, 'is now marked off by our very reverend father and lord in Christ, Hermann de Hassia, archbishop of Cologne, in the year 1506, as having been transferred to the feast of St. Cuthbert, archbishop and confessor.' However, to return to his translation of Fourth Maccabees, or rather to his paraphrase, for such it is. He completely rewrites the argument about Reason and the passions, nor do I find any allusion to the Stoic classification of the passions, though he agrees with the author of Fourth Maccabees that Reason does not extirpate passion but checks it, and he quotes the cases there cited of Joseph, Moses, Jacob, and David. In David's case he has a curious variant. David would not quench his thirst with the water which ran by his tent because he had sworn not to drink till the enemy's camp was taken, thinking thus to stimulate the valour of his troops. When we come to the Hellenizing campaign of Antiochus and the tyrant's persecutions, Erasmus follows his author more closely, but I note various changes. Jason builds baths, not a gymnasium, near the temple. The women who circumcise their sons fling themselves off the rocks voluntarily, 'quippe quae vitantes longiora tormenta celerem halitum ingestae mortis optarent.' When Antiochus counsels Eleazar to eat the swine's flesh, he says, 'It is a mark of superstition and cowardice to make a law for oneself and call one's choice Reason'; and Eleazar replies, 'Our law condemns your philosophy, wherein the less a man understands the more he thinks he understands.' Erasmus was thinking of some theologians more distinguished for bigotry than learning when he wrote these words. Nor is he at any pains to keep a Jewish atmosphere: on the contrary, he puts into the mouth of Eleazar, when he is asking God to accept him as an atonement, such a characteristically Christian phrase as 'Receive me for them all, and give them all to me'.

The martyrdom of Eleazar appears to take place in Jerusalem, but the seven brethren and the Mother are brought to Antioch, 'atrociter de eorum castello Sufandro.' The Mother is called Solomona. The eldest son is Maccabeus, the others are Aber, Machir, Judas, Achas, Areth, Jacob. Erasmus describes their tortures at length, and the curious may compare his long Latin list of devilish engines with the Greek. When he comes to xii. 7 he transfers thither the speech of the Mother which the author had reserved for a later place, and in the same connexion he largely expands both the tortures and the speeches of the seventh son. Finally he describes the Mother as herself being stripped, scourged, and grievously tormented by Antiochus, until at last she is brought to the brazier, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'. There he introduces a very mediaeval touch, as also when he shows Antiochus terror-stricken at the very moment of her death by a flash of lightning. Again, later on, he makes the tyrant become so impressed by the martyrs' courage that he enlists whole legions of Hebrew soldiers in his service and wins battles with them. Yet death is not to be staved off; for he shows the king at last dying miserably of a disgusting disease, as told in the Second but not in the Fourth Book of Maccabees.

It will be seen that Erasmus gave himself a perfectly free hand. A century and a half later Combeffin fell upon him with severity for it. The French scholar calls him such unkind names as

'ineptus Paraphrastes (veriusque temerator) Erasmus'. He says that Erasmus put the kingdom of heaven for τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθλα, and eternal fire for eternal death,—'est hoc παραχαράττειν non παραφράζειν,' 'this is to adulterate a monument of antiquity. If a monk had taken such liberties with the work of Josephus and the words of the Maccabees, how the man would have laughed at him.' Then he ridicules Erasmus for giving to the martyrs names drawn either from some apocryphal writings or invented out of his own head. And again Combefin calls an expression of the Paraphrastes 'inanis mihi verborum pompa et phalerae', and casts scorn upon him for expending so many rhetorical exaggerations over the tortured Mother, to which the critic would prefer the simplicity of the Greek account. I do not know if it was *odium theologicum* or *odium scholasticum* which prompted this assault, but if Erasmus could have awaked from his long century's sleep we might have had a literary quarrel, the echoes of which would be ringing yet in our ears. The French scholar would have had a backer on this side of the Channel in Dr. Wm. Cave of Oxford, who wrote that he would like to know why Erasmus put a quantity of stuff into his work of which there is no trace in the Greek. 'Others may solve the question,' says Cave, 'Quin id pro ingenii sui pruritu fecerit Erasmus dubitari nequit.'

But if one could picture such a ghostly battle of the books as taking place, I am not sure that Erasmus might not find on his side the shade of another Oxford scholar, John Lloyd, who translated Fourth Maccabees just two years after the defeat of the Great Armada, and decidedly did not love Rome. He does indeed criticize Erasmus's work, though he avoids, intentionally it may be, the mention of his name, but he keeps the vials of his wrath for certain Roman theologians, who endeavoured to make out that Fourth Maccabees was to be received as canonical, on evidence which they claimed to be that of Josephus, and cited Gregory in support of their thesis. Whom our Lloyd laughs to scorn, winding up with 'O dignos Romana meretrice mangones!'

Tantaene animis scholasticis irae?

Lloyd's text, based on the Strassburg edition of 1526, like those of Hudson and all the other printed texts I have seen (except Swete's), has the reading ὡς περ ἐπὶ τινος πίνακος in xvii. 7 where the MSS. give ὡς περ τινός or ὡς ἐπὶ τινός, and this conjectural emendation of πίνακος is reproduced in the Latin of Erasmus and others. The conjecture, though unsupported, is natural enough, as the author of Fourth Maccabees undoubtedly is referring here to a picture. Erasmus, however, tacks on to it quite a new idea, and turns this suggested figure of the martyred Mother from an ideal work of art into a sort of charm or amulet: 'if a sculptor were to put this piteous figure on a tomb or set it up on a house, he would be free from every dreadful plague and would surely enjoy eternal bliss.' The idea of the picture appears to have commended itself to the printer of a later edition of the book, for the Bodleian copy has fourteen rude woodcuts of the martyrdoms where no dreadful detail is spared. In their crude horror they remind one of the grim ghastliness of the Macabre pictures, so popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whose very name shows how the word Maccabean ultimately came to indicate death in its most detested forms. And this survives to-day in the argot of Paris, where the body of a murdered victim is still mockingly termed a 'macabé'.

§ 9. THEOLOGY.

When Paul was brought before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem, in order to divide his opponents he exclaimed: 'I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.' And we read that the two parties in the Council proceeded to fall out on the instant, 'for the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both.' This account exhibits very clearly the strongly contrasted beliefs of the two great parties among the Jews, as they existed (or were believed to exist) in Palestine about the middle of the first century A. D. In Alexandria, however, there was a third form of belief, approaching that of the Pharisees indeed, but with a difference; and this third form is the standpoint of the author of Fourth Maccabees. Briefly stated it is this. At death men meet with the reward or punishment due for their deeds. The righteous are received into bliss (see x. 15; xiii. 17; xvii. 4, 18; xviii. 23). The wicked are punished with eternal torture (see ix. 8, 32; x. 11, 15; xii. 19; xiii. 15; xviii. 5, 22). Apparently there is no resurrection of the body. Also, like the Pharisees, the author believes in angels (see iv. 10, and perhaps vii. 11), and in devils (see xviii. 8). For Jewish views of immortality see Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 224, and R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, &c., passim*. How the Alexandrian school came to adopt the doctrine of the immortality of the soul but not of the resurrection of the body is too large a subject to enter upon here, but it is usually attributed to their having come under the influence of the philosophy of Plato and the neo-Pythagoreans. That the author was saturated with Greek philosophy is proved by his systematic adoption of its terminology, including the fourfold classi-

INTRODUCTION

fication of the cardinal virtues which the Stoics copied from Plato. In his general thesis on the Supremacy of Reason, he follows exactly the Platonic classification of *φρόνησις*, judgement or self-control, *ἀνδρεία*, courage, *δικαιοσύνη*, justice, and *σωφροσύνη*, temperance. But when he comes to tell of the martyr facing the tortures he adds something new. 'You scoff at our philosophy,' says Eleazar to the king, 'but the Law teaches us temperance, and courage, and justice,'—so far the author goes with Plato; then comes the new word—'and *εὐσέβεια*, righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the God who is.' This is the key-note of his whole book. The Stoic ideal is right, and the Stoic path to it may be well enough, but the driving force is to be sought elsewhere, namely in the Law of Moses. It is the same thought that he puts into the mouth of the first to suffer of the seven Brethren. 'Through all the torments I will show you . . . that the Sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable,' the secret of the youth's courage being that he has been trained in the Law of Moses. Similarly Philo, who accepted the Platonic idea of the soul as a divine emanation, chose the Stoic ethics for the groundwork of his system, and made Greek philosophy 'a means of defending and justifying Jewish religious truths. These he regarded as fixed and determinate, and philosophy was merely an aid to truth and a means of arriving at it' (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. Philo). No better description could be given of the position of the author of Fourth Maccabees. But the position was one that the Pharisaic party, which was ultimately successful, could never bring themselves to accept, and the school of Philo and of our author, after exerting considerable authority for a time, died away in the end.

Of direct Christian influence on the book there is naturally no trace, but I. Abrahams, writing in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, thinks that as it stands there may possibly be some Christian interpolation in such passages as vii. 14, xiii. 17, and xvi. 25, which declare that the patriarchs are not dead, but live unto God. In the second of these, where we read, 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall receive us,' Swete's text omits the phrase *εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῶν*, which is not in the uncials and appears only in MSS. of secondary importance; these particular words may perhaps be a later insertion made by some one familiar with the New Testament who wished to allude to Luke xvi. 23, but it is difficult to see why the general statement that the Jewish patriarchs live with God should be due to a Christian hand. Christian phraseology, however, does certainly find a remarkable echo, or rather anticipation, in the prayer of Eleazar, vi. 28, 'Be merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.' This idea is repeated in xvii. 21, 22, where the author says that the martyrs 'became a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated'. The phrases fall with a familiar sound on our ears, but nevertheless the idea of an atonement is not more distinctively Christian than it is Jewish. The whole Jewish system of sacrifices was based on the idea of the death of an animal being substituted for that of a man as an atonement for sin. Under the ancient law the scape-goat upon whom the lot for the Lord fell, in the service for the Day of Atonement, was sacrificed, and his blood was taken within the Holy Place, while the one for Azazel was turned out in the wilderness. The substitution of the goat for the people in the greatest ceremony of the year was thoroughly typical of the sacrificial principle. In later times the idea of the propitiatory sacrifice was extended from earth to heaven. In the Testament of Levi (*circa* 107 B.C.) we have 'In [the sixth heaven] are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the righteous; offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering'. Charles's note on this (*Test. Twelve Patr. Levi*, iii. 5) gives the explanation that since the earthly altar and tabernacle of Exodus and Numbers were made after heavenly patterns the idea of a sacrificial service in heaven must long have been familiar to Jews. Michael 'the merciful and longsuffering' is one of these archangels who pray and offer sacrifice for Israel. So we see that there is nothing specifically Christian in the suggestion of the sufferings of the righteous making atonement for the people.

To go back to ancient times, the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (though not an atonement) is by no means the only instance in the history of Judaism showing that the idea that a human being might be accepted as a sacrifice was quite conceivable. Did not Moses thus offer himself (Exod. xxxii. 32) when he found the people worshipping the golden calf, and prayed to the Lord, 'Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book'? David also, when Israel was smitten because of his having numbered the people, cried to the Lord, 'It is I that have sinned and done evil indeed; but as for these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O Lord God, be upon me and on my father's house; but not on thy people that they should be plagued' (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 17). Indeed the whole Jewish theory of national religion was based on redemption by substitution. The first-born son of every family was due to Yahveh and had to be redeemed, just as every first-born of any unclean animal, such as an ass, had to be

redeemed by the substitution of a calf or a lamb. The author recurs again as he approaches his peroration to this thought of the martyrs' deaths being an atonement, in xvii. 21-22, where he says, 'they having as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin (apostasy); and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated.' As for the pagan world, we find the idea everywhere: to take a single instance, I may quote the self-sacrifice of Curtius's leap into the chasm to appease the gods of Rome. In the New Testament, of course, we have numerous parallels; to take one only, we read in Hebrews ix. 28, 'So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'

It is not only in the idea of atonement that we find thoughts familiar to Christians suggested in Fourth Maccabees. The word 'faith' also occurs, in a distinctively religious sense. For example, in xvi. 22 the Mother, after having spoken of Abraham and Isaac and Daniel and the Three Children, says to her sons, 'And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled.' Here *πίστις* must mean religious faith, and in the very next verse the Mother speaks of the young men as 'knowing religion'. In xv. 24 the author speaks of the Mother's own faith: 'she willingly surrendered them through faith in God'; and again in xvii. 2 he describes her as giving 'an example of the nobleness of faith'. In this religious sense *πίστις* belongs not to Stoic, nor even to Greek thought, but to that devotional side of the Hebrew mind which was to be more fully expressed in Christianity. Here, however, as Maldwyn Hughes says (*Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* p. 112), 'It is rather trust in an external Providence than an inner dependence arising from an inward relationship. Faith is not a renewing and life-giving power, but confidence in the providential order.'

On the ethical question the author of Fourth Maccabees relies absolutely on the Mosaic Law. The Inspired Reason, i.e. the Reason guided by the Law, is autocratic over the passions, while depending on the Law for knowledge as to what to do and what to avoid. The author does not want the passions extirpated; he upholds the Stoic virtues, though not the Stoic *ἀπαθελία*; but he wants the passions to be brought under rigid control, and he shows how this has been and can be done by many examples from the Old Testament, giving as instances Joseph, David, and the rest. He does accept the Stoic doctrine about sin, that all sins are alike in being breaches of the law, when he makes Eleazar say (v. 20), 'for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised.' He never doubts that the Law is supreme (v. 16): 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe that any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law.' He is a Jew to the core, and his conclusion is peremptory; for him the Law is the last word.

I will close this section with another quotation from Maldwyn Hughes (*op. cit.*, p. 111): 'The great purpose of the book is to stimulate faithfulness to the Law, and to show that the Greek ideal of virtue can be realized only by Judaism. The writer's heroes are not the Maccabean patriots, to whom he makes no reference, but the martyrs of Maccabean times. His silence as to the former is a significant hint that he did not sympathize with the political ideals which expressed themselves in active resistance to the Gentile powers, but that he preferred the Quietistic method of vindicating the Law, by absolute and unswerving faithfulness to it, at whatever pain and cost. The emergence of political ideals had resulted in the secularization of Judaism.'

§ 10. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

So far as I can learn the text of Fourth Maccabees was first printed in 1526 in the Greek Bible published at Strassburg by Vuolphius (Wolfgang) Cephalaëus, of which there is a good copy in the Bodleian Library. In this edition it appears as *Ἰωσήφου εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους βιβλίον*. Professor Torrey, whose bibliographical account of the book in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is the fullest I have seen and to whom I am indebted for some of the following information, quotes Freudenthal's statement that this text was based on a very poor MS. Once it was in type, however, it found general acceptance and was frequently reprinted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only in Greek Bibles but also in various editions of Josephus; of the latter we may name the Basle text of 1544, and that of John Lloyd (Luidus), Oxford, 1590. Lloyd says that he collated the Strassburg text with an ancient MS. at New College. This text was also used for the Greek Bible printed at Frankfort in 1597, with the same title of the Book of Josippus on the Maccabees, and it was likewise used by Hudson, Oxford, 1720, and by others who followed him, e.g. Dindorf, 1845-7, and Bekker, 1856, the latter work being a decided advance on its precursors. In 1709, however, a different text, based on the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum and edited by J. E. Grabe, was printed at Oxford, and after his death it was printed there again in 1719. It was also used by Apel, *Apocr. V. T.*, 1837. Still later another text, based on Codex A, was edited by F. Field, Oxford, 1859, in beautiful type. Dr. Field, who was of Trinity College, Cambridge, a Tyrrhitt's Hebrew scholar, and one of the O.T. Revisers, pillories the anonymous editor of a certain text which appeared at Oxford in 1817. The culprit had thought to get a neat transcript of the original MS. by rejecting every small-type reading in Grabe and putting back the marginal one. Whereby he not only restored many obvious errors in the Codex, but also repeated, in his ignorance, whatever misprints occurred in Grabe's text; these numbered six in the first chapter alone, 'cetera per totum libellum innumera!' says Dr. Field with crushing severity. Since then the book has appeared in Bagster's *Apocrypha, Greek and English*, 1882, and in

INTRODUCTION

Fritzsche's *Libri Apocr. V. T.*, in which the commentary is excellent but the text differs considerably from that in Swete's *LXX*, Cambridge, 1894-9, which gives Codex A with variants of $\aleph$ and V. The present translation is made from Swete's text, the cases where different readings are used being noted at the foot of the page. There is a florid paraphrase in English by that prolific seventeenth-century writer Sir Roger L'Estrange, and there are modern English translations in Cotton, *Five Books of the Maccabees*, 1832, in Bagster's *Apocrypha* already mentioned, and in Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884. The ancient Syriac version of which I have spoken was published in 1895 by the Cambridge Press from the text of R. L. Bensly; and there is a modern Hebrew translation in Fraenkel, *Kethubim acharonim, sive Hagiographa posteriora*, Leipzig, 1830. Of Latin translations there are several. Erasmus made a very free paraphrase, as already described in § 8, in the early sixteenth century, which was reprinted by Peter de la Roubière at Geneva in 1611 with the Greek text. The Bodleian Library has two copies of this edition, in one of which there is a marginal collation of the New College MS. of Fourth Maccabees. This copy is catalogued *C. 9. 5. Art.*, and has opposite the title a marginal note written 'Ἰωσήπου περὶ σώφρονος λογισμοῦ. MS. in Collegio Novo', while the printed title has 'a Des. Erasmo Rot. in sermonem Latinum παραφραστικῶς translatus'. Lloyd in 1590 brought out at Oxford an edition of the Greek text (in wretched print alas!) collated with the New College MS. and accompanied by a Latin version that seems to be well done; this last may be said also of the Latin version by Fr. Combefin, Paris, 1672, whose work is praised by W. Cave in his *Scriptores Eccl.*, Oxford, 1688-1740, where he attacks Erasmus so severely. The best German translation is that of Deissmann in Kautzsch's *Apocr. u. Pseudepigr.*, Leipzig, 1899, and there are good German commentaries by Grimm, *Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, 1857, by Freudenthal, *Die Fl. Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, 1869, by Fritzsche in *Libri apocr. V. T.*, 1871, and by Deissmann (in Kautzsch) as mentioned above. The two last named have been those chiefly used in preparing the present translation. Other German works that may be consulted, according to Professor Torrey, are Zöckler's *Apocryphen*, 396-402; Gfrörer, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie*, 2. 172-200 (1831); Dähne, *Die jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie*, 2. 190-9 (1834); Ewald, *GVI* (3), 4, 632 ff.; Grätz, *MGWJ* (1877), pp. 454 ff.; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (3), 3. 2 (1881), pp. 275-7. Also in English translations we have Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, iii. 244 ff., and Ewald's *History of Israel*, 5. 484 ff. For the ethical and theological side of the book I know nothing so good as Maldwyn Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocr. Lit.* (date not given). Last but not least I would name Edwyn Bevan's *House of Seleucus*, 1902, as giving the best account of Antiochus Epiphanes and his attempts forcibly to Hellenize the Jews, and the reader may wisely consult his *Jerusalem under the High Priests*.

Appended is a comparison of the historical statements of 2 and 4 Macc. abridged from Bensly.

- 2 MACC. iii. 1—vii. 41.
1. Deep peace. iii. 1.
 2. Seleucus, king of Asia, acts as patron of the Temple. iii. 3.
 3. Simon at variance with Onias. iii. 4.
 4. Tells Apollonius of the Temple treasures. iii. 6.
 5. *Heliodorus* enters the Temple. iii. 14.
 6. Under the new king Antiochus, Jason buys the priesthood. iv. 7.
 7. Jason builds a gymnasium. iv. 12.
 8. Menelaus outbids Jason. iv. 24.
 9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt Jason surprises Jerusalem. v. 5.
 10. Antiochus storms Jerusalem and massacres. v. 11.
 11. King sends an Athenian to change the Jewish customs. vi. 1.
 12. Philip the Phrygian persecutes in Jerusalem. v. 22.
 13. Eleazar, a scribe of ninety, is beaten to death. vi. 23-31.
 - 14-19. The brothers are variously tortured. vii.
 20. *Antiochus* touched with compassion for Brother VII promises him riches and friendship in exchange for obedience. vii. 24.
 21. The Mother implores Brother VII to have compassion on her pains and care as a mother and to resist. vii. 27-29.
 22. The Mother died last. vii. 41.

- 4 MACC. iii. 20—xvii. 1.
1. Do. iii. 20.
 2. Do. iii. 20.
 3. Do. iv. 1.
 4. Do. iv. 3.
 5. *Apollonius*, do. iv. 8.
 6. Do. iv. 17.
 7. Do. iv. 20.
 8. Not mentioned.
 9. On report of Antiochus's death in Egypt the Jews rejoice. iv. 22.
 10. Antiochus returns and lays the Jews waste. iv. 23.
 11. King decrees death to those who follow their fathers' religion. iv. 23.
 12. Antiochus himself orders the Hebrews to be brought before him. v. 2.
 13. Eleazar, priest and lawyer, an old man, is beaten and tortured to death with hot irons after a speech addressed to *Antiochus*. v. 16-vi. 30.
 - 14-19. Do. do. (different order). viii to xiv.
 20. Do. xii. 2-6.
 21. The Mother advises VII in Hebrew in words *not given at once*. xii. 7.
 22. The Mother, certain guards say, flung herself into the frying-pan. xvii. 1.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES

1. Philosophical in the highest degree is the question I propose to discuss, namely whether the Inspired Reason is supreme ruler over the passions; and to the philosophy of it I would seriously

1. 1. **Inspired Reason.** Philosophy is the power-house of the soul. It covers the motive-power by which our higher nature rules or tries to rule our worse self. Man's first want is meat and drink, and how to supply the want his first problem. The physical side of the problem solves itself; he either finds food, or he starves. But there is also a spiritual side to the problem, and to it Philosophy contains the answer—or answers. Will a man starve rather than sin, sin by stealing food from his brother man, or even by killing and eating him? The hungry wolf solves it one way; he will verily eat his brother wolf. But man, as soon as he rises above the wolf level, and developing a conscience becomes man, finds himself faced with this most serious problem. It may seem remote to us now living in comfort and protected by the police; but it is still quite close up with every exploring expedition, polar or tropical, that takes its chances in the unknown. Will the individual man, when tempted, yield to temptation or resist it? From the time of the flint-weaponed hunters down to the present day the question has been answered—both in the way of the man with a conscience, the higher man, and the way of the man with the heart of a wolf, the lower man. But what is the power that enables the higher type to abstain not only from cannibalism but also, as life grows more complex, from all kinds of wrong? The answer to that question is duty, the one short word that has a hundred names in a hundred lands. Where a man feels the call of duty and can also trust that his fellows feel it, religion, the essence of religion at any rate, the binding of soul to soul, exists, and there in truth is the beginning of human society. Where the call of duty is not felt, life becomes inhuman; we revert to the conditions of the wolf-pack. Fourth Maccabees is the attempt of an orthodox Jew, one well skilled in Greek philosophy, to show how men may rise above the wolf-pack level and be true to their duty even under the last extremity of torture. For even though a man may recognize his duty, yet through weakness of will he may fail to respond. The driving power, that which out of weakness makes him strong to respond, is the mainspring of the higher life, and that is why philosophy, which covers all man's attempts to find and to explain the source of the driving power, may be called the power-house of the soul.

The name which the author of the book here takes to express the working action of duty in the human mind is λογισμός. In its ordinary acceptance λογισμός was the word used for common arithmetic, but here it stands for the human reason, or rather the rational will, which according to Epicurus disposes of all the greatest and most important matters of life (Diog. Laert. 10. 44), and here may be suitably expressed as the personified Reason with a capital R. It was a conveniently definite term for the author of Fourth Maccabees to adopt, seeing that λόγος both in Greek and in Jewish philosophy had been already consecrated to a different use. Λόγος was the Word. According to Lactantius (*de Vera. Sup.* c. 9) 'Zeno rerum naturae dispositorem atque artificem universitatis λόγον praedicat, quem et fatum et necessitatem rerum et deum et animum Iovis nuncupat'. So in Ps. xxxiii. 6 we have 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made'. In hundreds of passages Jew and Greek alike declare the power of the Word, the λόγος, the 'memra'. To come down from the Psalmist and Zeno to the first century A. D., in Alexandria, the probable date and place of origin of Fourth Maccabees, we find the Jewish philosopher Philo actually taking over from the Stoics the doctrine that the λόγος is the power of God or the active Divine intelligence in general. With such powerful associations clinging to λόγος it was natural for the author to choose λογισμός for Reason, and the more so that the Stoics had already used it in that sense. There is extant an interesting little dialogue of Cleanthes, given by Pearson, *Fragm. Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 306, in which the two speakers are Λογισμός and Θυμός.

Λογισμός. τί ποτ' ἐστ' ὅτι βούλει, θυμέ; τοῦτο μοι φράσον.

Θυμός. ἔχειν, λογισμέ, πᾶν ὃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν.

Λογισμός. ναὶ βασιλικόν γε· πλὴν ὅμως εἴπον πάλιν.

Θυμός. ὃν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶ ταῦθ' ὅπως γενήσεται.

Reason. What on earth do you want, my good animal? Tell me that.

Animal Nature. I want, O Reason, to be able to do everything I want.

Reason. A royal appetite indeed; but would you say that again.

Animal Nature. I want whatever I desire to come to pass.

The contrast between our higher and our lower self could hardly be better put.

It has happened to some young men entering the study of philosophy to feel a sudden qualm lest they were being made fools of by a set of bookworms calling themselves philosophers, weaklings constitutionally unable to enter into the feelings of a healthy natural man. Such may take comfort in the recollection that the writer of this little dialogue, Cleanthes, who after Zeno was the great prophet of the Stoics, in his unconverted days had been a pugilist, and that no man ever stood up in the ring but had a working knowledge of our animal nature and the need of keeping one's head in spite of its promptings. But though the Stoic ex-pugilist well knew the need for the λογισμός to dominate the θυμός we must remember that the λογισμός of Fourth Maccabees is not precisely the same thing as the Reason of Greek philosophy, Epicurean or Stoic. For the λογισμός of the Jewish writer is qualified by the adjective εὐσεβής, a word which in the mouth of a Hellenistic Jew signifies a strict adherence to the Law of Moses, that is to say the Law of God. εὐσεβής, in short, was the technical word used in the Diaspora to describe the Chasidim, the 'pious' or 'godly' party among the Jews, rigorous precisians whose pride it was to follow the Law in all things. With us 'orthodox' has something of the same implication, though it applies in our own days to faith rather than to works. The 'Saints' of Cromwell 'doing the work of the Lord faithfully' perhaps come nearer the idea; and indeed their inspiration was largely drawn from the Old Testament. Thus the word εὐσεβής means directly inspired by God as He

2 entreat your earnest attention. For not only is the subject generally necessary as a branch of
3 knowledge, but it includes the praise of the greatest of virtues, whereby I mean self-control. That
4 is to say, if Reason is proved to control the passions adverse to temperance, gluttony and lust, it is
also clearly shown to be lord over the passions, like malevolence, opposed to justice, and over those
opposed to manliness, namely rage and pain and fear.

5 But, some may ask, if the Reason is master of the passions, why does it not control forgetfulness
6 and ignorance? their object being to cast ridicule. The answer is that Reason is not master over
defects inhering in the mind itself, but over the passions *or moral defects* that are adverse to justice
and manliness and temperance and judgement; and its action in their case is not to extirpate the
passions, but to enable us to resist them successfully.

7 I could bring before you many examples, drawn from various sources, where Reason has proved
8 itself master over the passions, but the best instance by far that I can give is the noble conduct of
9 those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar, and the Seven Brethren and the Mother. For these
all by their contempt of pains, yea, even unto death, proved that Reason rises superior to the
10 passions. I might enlarge here in praise of their virtues, they, the men with the Mother, dying on
this day we celebrate for the love of moral beauty and goodness, but rather would I felicitate them
11 on the honours they have attained. For the admiration felt for their courage and endurance, not
only by the world at large but by their very executioners, made them the authors of the downfall
of the tyranny under which our nation lay, they defeating the tyrant by their endurance, so that
12 through them was their country purified. But I shall presently take opportunity to discuss this,
after we have begun with the general theory, as I am in the habit of doing, and I will then proceed
to their story, giving glory to the all-wise God.

13, 14 Our enquiry, then, is whether the Reason is supreme master over the passions. But we must
define just what the Reason is and what passion is, and how many forms of passion there are, and
15 whether the Reason is supreme over all of them. Reason I take to be the mind preferring with

is revealed to the soul of the 'righteous man' in the Book of Moses, and I therefore translate *εὐσεβὴς λογισμός* by 'The Inspired Reason', that is to say the Reason or Rational Will obeying the guidance of the Law. When so guided, the *λογισμός* becomes our higher self, and includes not only reason, but the moral sense and that noblest form of courage which consists in perfect self-sacrifice for the sake of our ideal. With regard to *εὐσεβής* I have only used 'Inspired' for it when thus connected with *λογισμός*. Elsewhere it is generally represented by 'righteous', which must be taken in the meaning it usually bears in the Old Testament of 'following the Law' in the Jewish sense. Similarly *εὐσέβεια* is either 'righteousness' or 'religion', according to the context, with the same definitely limited connotation of orthodox Judaism.

2. the ... virtues. The author takes his classification of the four cardinal virtues from the Stoics, who got them from Plato. The four are *φρόνησις*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σωφροσύνη*, and the greatest of these is *φρόνησις*, a puzzling word to render adequately. Diogenes Laertius tells us that Apollonphanes held *φρόνησις* to include the whole of virtue, and Plutarch says (*Sto. Rep.* vii. 2) that Zeno defined the cardinal virtues as follows: *φρόνησις*, he held, as a general term included the other three; in things demanding endurance or vigorous action, it was courage; in things demanding fairness, it was justice; in things demanding a choice, it was temperance. It is not easy to find English words that will correspond exactly to these terms, though courage and justice may pass, and so indeed may temperance, even if the idea it brings to our minds is somewhat limited by its modern use for abstinence from alcohol. But *φρόνησις*, which can sometimes be expressed by self-control, covers more than that. It is prudence, but that hardly expresses the active side of it enough; it is wisdom, but more in its practical than in its intellectual aspect; it is glorified common sense, but that, though expressive, hardly suggests a sufficiently lofty ideal. Judgement is nearer to it, judgement in the sense in which we have it in the collect where we ask to be given 'a right judgement in all things'. But the selected word for *φρόνησις* must be varied to suit the context.

3. the passions, *πάθη*. The word includes the emotions and affections as well as what we call the lower self. For the Stoic philosophers' division of the *πάθη* see i. 20.

5. ignorance. Zeno, according to Stobaeus, classed some vices as *ἄγνοιαί*, and there was a Stoic dogma, *πάντα ἄγνοεὶ ὁ φαῦλος*. The Stoics used the terms *σπουδαῖος* and *φαῦλος* to distinguish between two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated in philosophy; much as we might talk of saints and sinners, converted and unconverted, 'elect' and 'worldly'. I doubt, however, if the Stoic *ἄγνοιαί* were quite what is meant by *ἄγνοια* here. Deissmann thinks that this and the following verse have been bodily transposed here from ii. 24, iii. 1, where their connexion is clearer. But the mere fact that the sentences are repeated in almost the same words need hardly trouble us: the author of Fourth Maccabees does not mind repeating himself, as will be abundantly evident before the reader reaches the end of the book; and the author does get a sort of antithesis between the two passages. Here he shows us sceptics laughing at Stoicism (compare 'Coxcombs vanquish Berkeley by a grin'), but in iii. 1 it is he who laughs at the sceptics.

10. this day we celebrate, *τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν*. Apparently the Chanukah festival, for which see § 7 *ad finem*. Even if this treatise is not a synagogue sermon (see § 1) it may very well have been given as a lecture on the anniversary of the martyrs. The words *ὅπερ εἴωθα ποιεῖν*, two verses lower down, clearly imply that the author is speaking to an audience that he had often addressed before.

11. their country purified. The spirit roused by the martyrs led to the rising headed by Judas Maccabaeus and his brethren, and so was the effectual cause of the Temple being purified and its service re-established. *καθαρισθῆναι* refers not only to the cleansing of the Jews from the national sin of apostasy, but to the cleansing of the Temple itself after Zeus Olympius had been worshipped there and swine offered upon the altar.

12. giving glory, *δόξαν διδοῦς*. Perhaps the one Hebraism in the whole book.

16 clear deliberation the life of wisdom. Wisdom I take to be the knowledge of things, divine and
17 human, and of their causes. This I take to be the culture acquired under the Law, through which
we learn with due reverence the things of God and for our worldly profit the things of man.

18 Now wisdom is manifested under the forms of judgement and justice, and courage, and temper-
19 ance. But judgement *or self-control* is the one that dominates them all, for through it, in truth,
20 Reason asserts its authority over the passions. But of the passions there are two comprehensive
sources, namely, pleasure and pain, and either belongs essentially also to the soul as well as to the
21 body. And with respect both to pleasure and pain there are many cases where the passions have
22, 23 certain sequences. Thus while desire goes before pleasure, satisfaction follows after, and while fear
24 goes before pain, after pain comes sorrow. Anger, again, if a man will retrace the course of his
25 feelings, is a passion in which are blended both pleasure and pain. Under pleasure, also, comes
26 that moral debasement which exhibits the widest variety of the passions. It manifests itself in
27 the soul as ostentation, and covetousness, and vain-glory, and contentiousness, and backbiting,
and in the body as eating of strange meat, and gluttony, and gormandizing in secret.
28 Now pleasure and pain being as it were two trees, growing from body and soul, many offshoots of
29 these passions sprout up; and each man's Reason as master-gardener, weeding and pruning and
binding up, and turning on the water and directing it hither and thither, brings the thicket of
30 dispositions and passions under domestication. For while Reason is the guide of the virtues it is
master of the passions.

Observe, now, in the first place, that Reason becomes supreme over the passions in virtue of the
31, 32 inhibitory action of temperance. Temperance, I take it, is the repression of the desires; but of the
33 desires some are mental and some physical, and both kinds are clearly controlled by Reason; when
we are tempted towards forbidden meats, how do we come to relinquish the pleasures to be derived
from them? Is it not that Reason has power to repress the appetites? In my opinion it is so.
34 Accordingly when we feel a desire to eat water-animals and birds and beasts and meats of every
35 description forbidden to us under the Law, we abstain through the predominance of Reason. For
the propensions of our appetites are checked and inhibited by the temperate mind, and all the
movements of the body obey the bridle of Reason.

15. ορθου λογου Ν V

σοφιας βιον Ν σοφον βιον V

35. φιμονται Ν V

15. **clear deliberation.** Ὀρθός λόγος, which here I render by 'clear deliberation', is a regular philosophic term. Stobaeus (*Ecl.* ii. 192) gives as the Stoic dogma the statement that ὁ νόμος was σπουδαίος, i. e. on the side of the 'elect', seeing that it is λόγος ὀρθός, 'right reason', enjoining what should be done and forbidding what should not be done; but here the Jew parts company. For him νόμος means neither the man-made law of any Greek state, nor the κοινός νόμος, the Universal Law of the philosophers; but the Law of Moses which is the Law of his God. The Jewish moralist may rejoice in the acute intellectual analysis of the Greek mind; but no Greek standard of religious duty for him! He will traffic willingly with the Greek for intellectual wares, but when it comes to the moral sense he will pray in another temple.

16. **the knowledge of things.** Plutarch in *Plac. Phil.* i. 1 has this, οἱ μὲν οὖν Στωικοὶ ἔφασαν τὴν μὲν σοφίαν εἶναι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμην, the exact phrase we have here with the exception of γνώσις for ἐπιστήμη.

20. **the passions.** With this analysis of the πάθη compare Stobaeus, *Eth.* ii. [166], where he explains the Stoic position:—πρῶτα δ' εἶναι τῷ γένει ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα, ἐπιθυμίαν φόβον λύπην ἡδονήν. ἐπιθυμίαν μὲν οὖν καὶ φόβον προηγέσθαι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον κακόν. ἐπιγιγνέσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ, ἡδονὴν μὲν ὅταν τυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ ἐκφύγωμεν ἃ ἐφοβούμεθα, λύπην δὲ ὅταν ἀποτυγχάνωμεν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἢ περιπέσωμεν οἷς ἐφοβούμεθα. Similarly Diogenes Laertius says (vii. 110) τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἐκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν.

With regard to ἀκολουθία compare this passage from Huxley, which will be found in the peroration of his work on Hume and Berkeley, *Collected Essays*, vi. 318: 'Our sensations, our pleasures, our pains, and the relations of these, make up the sum total of the elements of positive unquestionable knowledge. We call a large section of these and their relations matter and motion; the rest we term mind and thinking; and experience shows that there is a certain constant order of succession between some of the former and some of the latter.' The words underlined exactly express ἀκολουθία. Our author makes the πάθη cover the whole range of the emotions and affections, and includes under this head our weaknesses and moral defects generally. Among us the word passion generally has a more limited connotation. Grimm says that the Stoic view was that the πάθη are bad in themselves and belong to the λόγος πονηρός, but that the author of Fourth Maccabees holds that the πάθη are part of human nature implanted by the Creator, and as such require to be controlled but not extirpated.

27. **gormandizing.** Compare with this Job xxxi. 17 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν ψωμόν μου ἔφαγον μόνος καὶ οὐχὶ ὀρφανῷ μετέδωκα. Aristophanes in the *Wasps*, 923, has the comic superlative μονοφαγίστατος—'the very greedydoggest chap of all.' By the transposition of μ and ν the scribe in some MSS. has made the word into νομόφαγος, which should mean an eater of laws (swallower of formulae!) if it means anything—a nonsensical error which was corrected by Grabe only to be foolishly restored to the text of the 1817 edition by a certain careless man whom Dr. Field holds up to scorn.

29. **turning on the water.** ἐπάρδων is leading the water on from the *acequia madre* or main irrigating ditch; the work is well described in the *First Georgic*, 108 'Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam Elicit', &c. μεταχέων is turning the water from one water-furrow to another so as to irrigate the separate squares or plots. I can find no authority for the meaning 'transplanting' which has been given to it, though it makes good enough sense.

2 ¹ And what is there to be surprised at if the natural desire of the soul to enjoy the fruition of beauty
² is quenched? This, certainly, is why we praise the virtuous Joseph, because by his Reason, with a
³ mental effort, he checked the carnal impulse. For he, a young man at the age when physical desire
⁴ is strong, by his Reason quenched the impulse of his passions. And Reason is proved to subdue the
⁵ impulse not only of sexual desire, but of all sorts of covetings. For the Law says, 'Thou shalt not
⁶ covet thy neighbour's wife, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.' Verily, when the Law orders us
 not to covet, it should, I think, confirm strongly the argument that the Reason is capable of
 controlling covetous desires, even as it does the passions that militate against justice.

7 How else can a man, naturally gormandizing and greedy and drunken, be taught to change his
 8 nature, if the Reason be not manifestly the master of the passions? Certainly, as soon as a man
 orders his life according to the Law, if he is miserly he acts contrary to his nature, and lends money
 9 to the needy without interest, and at the seventh-year periods cancels the debt. And if he is par-
 simonious, he is overruled by the Law through the action of Reason, and refrains from gleaning his
 stubbles or picking the last grapes from his vineyards.

And with regard to all the rest we can recognize that Reason is in the position of master over
 10 the passions or *affections*. For the Law ranks above affection for parents, so that a man may not
 11 for their sakes surrender his virtue, and it overrides love for a wife, so that if she transgress a man
 12 should rebuke her, and it governs love for children, so that if they are naughty a man should punish
 them, and it controls the claims of friendship, so that a man should reprove his friends if they do
 13 evil. And do not think it a paradoxical thing when Reason through the Law is able to overcome
 14 even hatred, so that a man refrains from cutting down the enemy's orchards, and protects the
 property of the enemy from the spoilers, and gathers up their goods that have been scattered.

15 And the rule of Reason is likewise proved to extend through the more aggressive passions or
 16 *vices*, ambition, vanity, ostentation, pride, and backbiting. For the temperate mind repels all these
 17 debased passions, even as it does anger, for it conquers even this. Yea, Moses when he was angered
 against Dathan and Abiram did not give free course to his wrath, but governed his anger by his
 18 Reason. For the temperate mind is able, as I said, to win the victory over the passions, modifying
 19 some, while crushing others absolutely. Why else did our wise father Jacob blame the houses of
 Simeon and Levi for their unreasoning slaughter of the tribe of the Shechemites, saying, 'Ac-
 20 cursed be their anger!' For had not Reason possessed the power to restrain their anger he would
 21 not have spoken thus. For in the day when God created man, he implanted in him his passions
 22 and inclinations, and also, at the very same time, set the mind on a throne amidst the senses to be
 23 his sacred guide in all things; and to the mind he gave the Law, by the which if a man order himself,
 he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate, and just, and virtuous, and brave.

24 Well then, some one may ask, if Reason is master of the passions why is it not master of forget-
 3 ¹ fulness and ignorance? But the argument is supremely ridiculous. For Reason is not shown to be
 2 master over passions or *defects* in itself, but over those of the body. For example, none of you is
 able to extirpate our natural desire, but the Reason can enable him to escape being made a slave by
 3 desire. None of you is able to extirpate anger from the soul, but it is possible for the Reason to
 4 come to his aid against anger. None of you can extirpate a malevolent disposition, but Reason can
 5 be his powerful ally against being swayed by malevolence. Reason is not the extirpator of the
 passions, but their antagonist.

II. 8. ἐνστάσων N V

III. 3. + τον λογισμον N V

II. 8. at the seventh-year periods. The reading ἐντάσσω, which is that of A, and accordingly is retained by Swete, is supported by the Syriac version, which Bensly renders as follows: 'So he reckoneth by the weeks and forgiveth part of that which is due to him.' But there is no MS. authority in the Greek for the insertion of the words 'part of', without which ἐντάσσω yields very poor sense. And even if we admit 'part of', how can reckoning by the weeks be supposed to reduce the debt? The Strassburg Bible of 1526 has the more intelligible reading ἐνστασῶν, which must mean the seventh-year period of release. This reading is followed by Lloyd (1590) and many others. Lloyd translated the passage thus: 'Cum primum igitur quis (? quisquis) ad Legis praescriptum vivit, si avaro fuerit ac sordido ingenio, suis vim adhibere moribus cogitur, ut tenuioribus sine foenore mutuet; atque imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat.' And Lloyd is followed by Hudson (1720), who also reads ἐνστασῶν and translates 'ut imminentibus iam septimanis mutuum amittat'. The version of Deissmann, who likewise reads ἐνστασῶν, runs, 'He lends to the needy without interest, although (in the future) when the seventh year comes he even loses the capital he has lent.' This reading ἐνστασῶν is also supported by the fact that it does certainly correspond very closely with the Law as stated in Deut. xv. 9: Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought.'

22. his sacred guide. As an instance of the Stoic terminology of this book I give the following passage from A. C. Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 142, where he quotes from *Nemes. de Nat. Hom.*, p. 96 Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Στωικός ὀκταμερῇ φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, διαρῶν αὐτὴν εἰς τε τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ εἰς τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ σπερματικόν. And Diog. Laert. vii. 52 has this: αἰσθηταὶ δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ' ἀφ' ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διήκον . . . καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή.

6. 7 The case of the thirst of King David may serve at least to make this clearer. For when David had fought the live-long day against the Philistines, and by the help of our country's warriors had slain many of them, he came at eventide, all fordone with sweat and toil, to the royal tent, around which was encamped the whole army of our ancestors. So all the host fell to their evening meal; but the king, being consumed with an intense thirst, though he had abundance of water, was unable to slake it. Instead, an irrational desire for the water that was in the possession of the enemy with growing intensity burned him up and unmanned and consumed him. Then when his body-guard murmured against the craving of the king, two youths, mighty warriors, ashamed that their king should lack his desire, put on all their armour, and took a water-vessel, and scaled the enemy's ramparts; and stealing undetected past the guards at the gate, they searched through all the enemy's camp. And they bravely found the spring, and drew from it a draught for the king. But David, though still burning with the thirst, considered that such a draught, reckoned as equivalent to blood, was a grievous danger to his soul. Therefore, opposing his Reason to his desire, he poured out the water as an offering to God. For the temperate mind is able to conquer the dictates of the passions, and to quench the fires of desire, and to wrestle victoriously with the pangs of our bodies though they be exceeding strong, and by the moral beauty and goodness of Reason to defy with scorn all the domination of the passions. And now the occasion calls us to set forth the story of the self-controlled Reason.
- 20 At a time when our fathers enjoyed great peace through the due observance of the Law, and were in happy case, so that Seleucus Nicanor, the king of Asia, sanctioned the tax for the temple-service, and recognized our polity, precisely then, certain men, acting factiously against the general concord, 4 1 involved us in many and various calamities. Onias, a man of the highest character, being then high priest and having the office for his life, a certain Simon raised a faction against him, but since despite every kind of slander he failed to injure him on account of the people, he fled abroad with intent to betray his country.
- 2, 3 So he came to Apollonius, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia and Cilicia, and said, 'Being loyal to the king, I am here to inform you that in the treasuries of Jerusalem are stored many thousands of private deposits, not belonging to the temple account, and rightfully the property of King Seleucus.'
- 4 Apollonius, having made inquiry into the details of the matter, praised Simon for his loyal service to the king, and hastening to the court of Seleucus, disclosed to him the valuable treasure; 5 then, after receiving authority to deal with the matter, he promptly marched into our country, 6 accompanied by the accursed Simon and a very powerful army, and announced that he was there 7 by the king's command to take possession of the private deposits in the treasury. Our people were deeply angered by this announcement, and protested strongly, considering it an outrageous thing for those who had entrusted their deposits to the temple treasury to be robbed of them, and 8 they threw all possible obstacles in his way. Apollonius, however, with threats, made his way into 9 the temple. Then the priests in the temple and the women and children besought God to come to 10 the rescue of his Holy Place that was being violated; and when Apollonius with his armed host marched in to seize the moneys, there appeared from heaven angels, riding upon horses, with lightning

14. ἐγεμισαν is supported by the Syriac

18. τη καλοκαγαθία NV

IV. 8. απειλων N

9. του ιερου NV

12. two youths. The author's story of David's thirst and the water that he poured out like blood upon the ground differs materially from that told in 2 Sam. xxiii. 16 ff. and 1 Chron. xi. 11. Here the feat is performed by two young soldiers who scour the whole Philistine camp (which lies in a place whose name is not given) in order to find the spring. In the O.T. the heroes are three chiefs of David's mighty men, apparently Jashobeam, Eleazar, and Shammah, though there is some uncertainty about the names. The action takes place at Bethlehem and the well is close to the gate, neither have they any special difficulty in finding it. The author does not use, perhaps he even avoids, the actual phraseology of the LXX, except only that in reference to David's action he employs the words ἐπιθυμία and ἔσπεισεν. Either his Bible differed materially from ours, or else he allowed himself considerable latitude in handling the incident. The latter seems probable, and this should be borne in mind when considering the various points on which he differs from the writer of 2 Maccabees.

20. Seleucus Nicanor. τὸν Νικάνορα. Perhaps we should here read with V τὸν Νικάνορος, 'the descendant of Nicanor', he being the one of Alexander's generals who founded the Seleucid dynasty. The king who is here meant was his sixth successor, Seleucus IV (Philopator), son of Antiochus III (the Great), and elder brother of his own successor Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). He reigned first as associated with his father and shared his defeat by Rome, and after 187 B.C. he reigned as sole king till he was murdered by Heliodorus in 176-5. Seleucus IV wasted little money in wars and left a full treasury. The words χρήματα κτλ. may mean that he assigned part of the state revenues to the Temple service, or that he sanctioned the exaction of the regular Temple tax, the annual half-shekel which the Jews, not in Palestine only but in all parts, were expected to pay to the priests. The authority for this tax was derived from Moses' Law, Exod. xxx. 12, 2 Chron. xxiv. 6. After the Captivity it was reduced to a third, in consequence of the rise in values and the poverty of the people; but it was raised again to half a shekel by Simon the Maccabee. The expression τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδέχεσθαι indicates that the king recognized the Jewish form of government which prevailed after the Return, that is to say, a theocracy under which the high-priest was also the chief ruler of the state.

11 flashing from their arms, and cast great fear and trembling upon them. And Apollonius fell down
 12 half-dead in the Court of the Gentiles, and stretched out his hands to heaven, and with tears he
 13 entreated the Hebrews that they would make intercession for him and stay the wrath of the heavenly
 14 host. For he said that he had sinned and was worthy even of death, and that if he were given his
 15 life he would laud to all men the blessedness of the Holy Place. Moved by these words, Onias, the
 16 high-priest, although most scrupulous in other cases, made intercession for him lest King Seleucus
 17 should possibly think that Apollonius had been overthrown by a human device and not by divine
 18 justice. Apollonius, accordingly, after his astonishing deliverance departed to report to the king the
 19 things that had befallen him. But Seleucus dying, his successor on the throne was his son Antiochus
 20 Epiphanes, an overweening terrible man; who dismissed Onias from his sacred office, and made his
 21 brother Jason high-priest instead, the condition being that in return for the appointment Jason should
 22 pay him three thousand six hundred and sixty talents yearly. So he appointed Jason high-priest and
 23 made him chief ruler over the people. And he (*Jason*) introduced to our people a new way of life
 24 and a new constitution in utter defiance of the Law; so that not only did he lay out a gymnasium
 25 on the Mount of our fathers, but he actually abolished the service of the temple. Wherefore the
 26 divine justice was kindled to anger and brought Antiochus himself as an enemy against us. For
 when he was carrying on war with Ptolemy in Egypt and heard that the people of Jerusalem had
 rejoiced exceedingly over a report of his death, he immediately marched back against them. And
 when he had plundered *the city* he made a decree denouncing the penalty of death upon any who
 should be seen to live after the Law of our fathers. But he found all his decrees of no avail to
 break down the constancy of our people to the Law, and he beheld all his threats and penalties
 utterly despised, so that even women for circumcising their sons, though they knew beforehand
 what would be their fate, were flung, together with their offspring, headlong from the rocks. When
 therefore his decrees continued to be contemned by the mass of the people, he personally tried to
 force by tortures each man separately to eat unclean meats and thus abjure the Jewish religion.

5 1 Accordingly, the tyrant Antiochus, accompanied by his councillors, sat in judgement on a certain
 2 high place with his troops drawn up around him in full armour, and he ordered his guards to drag

19. ἐξεδιήτησεν N V Syr.

21. ἐπολεμώσεν

24. εὐνομίαν N V Syr.

IV. 13. **most scrupulous.** I have followed Grimm's rendering, but it here may be noted that *εὐλάβεια*, caution, is the regular philosophical term for the useful side of the passion which in excess becomes fear. If we take it in the latter sense, *ἄλλως εὐλαβηθείς* would mean that Onias was so much alarmed as to the possible effect on King Seleucus that on this occasion he swallowed his repugnance and offered the prayer. In 2 Macc., where the story is told at much greater length, and where the offender is called Heliodorus not Apollonius, Onias not only prays but also offers sacrifice 'as an atonement for the man'. Poor Onias seems to have been a lover of peace, nevertheless he was, after his retirement, murdered at Antioch by Menelaus, the usurping high-priest who outbid and ousted Jason.

15. **his son, υἱός.** An extraordinary mistake for brother, but the MSS. leave no doubt that the author made it. Antiochus Epiphanes was a curious mixture. Like the rest of the Seleucid House he was of mixed Persian and Macedonian blood, and his education, half Greek, half Roman, was no less mixed, for he spent his childhood at the Graeco-Syrian court, and his boyhood at Rome, where he became a hostage for his father on his defeat. Released after his father's death, he played as a young man at being a citizen and an elected official of Athens, keeping his eye all the time on the Syrian throne. Then came the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, and Antiochus presently made his bid for the kingdom and won. Thenceforth he reigned with a sort of insane energy, acting as the militant missionary of Hellenism in the East, and backing up his mission with wayward freakishness. While planting gorgeous new temples and new Antiochs everywhere, he took advantage of his audacious title of Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, the Manifest God, to assert his right to plunder remorselessly the already existing temples in order that their treasures might support his extravagances. His looting of the Temple at Jerusalem was but one instance out of many, and it was the failure of his attempt on the shrine of Ishtar at Elymais that brought about his doom.

22. **war with Ptolemy.** Antiochus made several campaigns against Ptolemy and succeeded in conquering the whole of Egypt with the single exception of Alexandria, to which he actually laid siege. But he had reckoned without Rome, who disapproved of his ambitions, and having finished the Macedonian war had got her hands free at last. Antiochus was watching the siege when he saw a small party of Romans who had just landed approaching him. He recognized their leader, a consular, Pompilius Laenas, whom he had known as a boy in Rome, and held out his hand in greeting. Pompilius took no notice of the offered hand, but presented a note from the senate desiring Antiochus to quit Egypt. The Syrian king looked at it, and said lightly, 'I will consider it with my friends.' Pompilius held in his hand a vine-stick, a thing as characteristic of a Roman officer as the sjambok was of a Boer commander. He drew a circle in the sand with it round the king. 'Consider there,' he said. Antiochus paused, hesitated, and then, still inside the circle, said, 'The senate shall be obeyed.' His hand was instantly grasped by Pompilius, and they were the best of friends. Having accepted the situation Antiochus withdrew his armies from Egypt, but being enraged with the Jews, as related in the text, he relieved his feelings by the sack of Jerusalem and the persecution of the Jews.

V. 1. **a certain high place.** Tradition varies as to the scene of the martyrdoms. In Maccabees there is nothing to indicate that they took place anywhere except at Jerusalem. The early Church, however, held the place to have been Antioch, and a basilica was erected there in the martyrs' honour. For the transfer of the relics from Antioch to Milan and Cologne, see § 8. The relics are said now to be in Rome.

there every single man of the Hebrews and compel them to eat swine's flesh and things offered to 3 idols; but if any should refuse to defile themselves with the unclean things, they were to be tortured 4 and put to death. And when many had been taken by force, one man first from among the company was brought before Antiochus, a Hebrew whose name was Eleazar, a priest by birth, trained in knowledge of the law, a man advanced in years and well known to many of the tyrant's court for his philosophy.

5 And Antiochus, looking on him, said:

6 'Before I allow the tortures to begin for you, O venerable man, I would give you this counsel, that you should eat of the flesh of the swine and save your life; for I respect your age and your grey hairs, although to have worn them so long a time, and still to cling to the Jewish religion, makes me 7 think you no philosopher. For most excellent is the meat of this animal which Nature has graciously 8 bestowed upon us, and why should you abominate it? Truly it is folly not to enjoy innocent 9 pleasures, and it is wrong to reject Nature's favours. But it will be still greater folly, I think, on your part if with idle vapouring about truth you shall proceed to defy even me to your own punish- 10, 11 ment. Will you not awake from your preposterous philosophy? Will you not fling aside the non-sense of your calculations and, adopting another frame of mind befitting your mature years, learn the 12 true philosophy of expediency, and bow to my charitable counsel, and have pity on your own 13 venerable age? For consider this, too, that even if there be some Power whose eye is upon this religion of yours, he will always pardon you for a transgression done under compulsion.'

14 Thus urged by the tyrant to the unlawful eating of unclean meat, Eleazar asked permission to 15 speak; and receiving it, he began his speech before the court as follows:

16 'We, O Antiochus, having accepted the Divine Law as the Law of our country, do not believe any stronger necessity is laid upon us than that of our obedience to the Law. 17, 18 'Therefore we do surely deem it right not in any way whatsoever to transgress the Law. And yet, were our Law, as you suggest, not truly divine, while we vainly believed it to be divine, not even so 19 would it be right for us to destroy our reputation for piety. Think it not, then, a small sin for us 20 to eat the unclean thing, for the transgression of the Law, be it in small things or in great, is equally 21, 22 heinous; for in either case equally the Law is despised. And you scoff at our philosophy, as 23 if under it we were living in a manner contrary to reason. Not so, for the Law teaches us self-control, so that we are masters of all our pleasures and desires and are thoroughly trained in manli- 24 ness so as to endure all pain with readiness; and it teaches justice, so that with all our *various* dis- positions we act fairly, and it teaches righteousness, so that with due reverence we worship only the 25 God who is. Therefore do we eat no unclean meat; for believing our Law to be given by God, we know

V. 4. φιλοσοφίαν V

II. των λογισμων N

24. εκδιδασκει N

4. **advanced in years.** According to 2 Macc. he was ninety. Prof. Kraus in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* has this interesting note on him: 'Cardinal Rampolla's investigations have proved the historical character of the account despite the fact that while the seven martyrs are mentioned in rabbinical legend, Eleazar seems to be unknown to the Rabbis (*Martyre et Sépulture des Macchabées*, Bruges, 1900). Grätz had already declared it to be substantially true (*Geschichte*, 2nd ed., ii. 317). Hertzfeld's supposition (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 75) that Eleazar is identical with Eleazar ben Harsom is untenable.'

5. **And Antiochus... said.** The author adopts the usual ancient practice of making up speeches for his characters, a practice too common to call for comment. In some cases the speeches must have been invented from beginning to end; in others they doubtless contain actual phrases worked into their text which had been used by the speaker in whose mouth they are put. Such interweavings of truth and fiction are well known as occurring, to take the most obvious case, in Shakespeare's historical plays; and, to come down to our own day, I have seen in America a popular biography of so great a man as Abraham Lincoln which purported to report verbatim long conversations of his, suitable indeed to the circumstances but unquestionably invented. It is hard to be sure that even the shortest phrase is truly recorded in history. I think I have seen four or five different accounts both in Greek and Latin of the scene outside Alexandria between Antiochus and Pompilius Laenas (see on iv. 22, note), where scarcely a dozen words were spoken between the two men, but I cannot remember that any two of the reports can be said to coincide, or even to approach it. So at Waterloo; what was the word that Cambronne used? or did the Duke ever say, 'Up, guards, and at them,' or anything of the sort? We must make the best of our history as we have it.

20. **equally heinous.** This is a well-known doctrine of the Stoics. Stobaeus (*Eth.* ii. 218) says ἵσα τε πάντα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, οὐκ ἔτι δ' ὅμοια. And he goes on to explain how a lie is always a lie καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον οὐκ ἔστι, πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀμαρτίαν κατὰ διάφυσιν πράττεσθαι. Horace in the *Satires* makes fun of the idea (I. iii. 115):

'It never can be an equivalent crime

To crib the cheap cabbage and plunder the shrine.'

Zeno himself is quoted as the original authority for it by Diog. Laert. vii. 120 ἀρέσκει τε αὐτοῖς ἵσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καθά φησι Ζήνων. With these pronouncements of the Stoics we may compare James ii. 10: 'For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.' St. James was the most Jewish of the apostles, and the idea which to us seems so strained was not less familiar to the Jew than to the Greek.

26 also that the Creator of the world, as a Lawgiver, feels for us according to our nature. He has
 27 commanded us to eat the things that will be convenient for our souls, and he has forbidden us to
 28 eat meats that would be the contrary. But it is the act of a tyrant that you should compel us not
 29 only to transgress the Law, but should also make us eat in such manner that you may mock at this
 30 defilement so utterly abominable to us. But you shall not mock at me thus, neither will I break the
 31 sacred oaths of my ancestors to keep the Law, not even though you tear out mine eyes and burn out
 32 mine entrails. I am not so unmanned by old age but that when righteousness is at stake the strength
 33 of youth returns to my Reason. So twist hard your racks and blow your furnace hotter. I do not so
 34 pity mine old age as to break the Law of my fathers in mine own person. I will not belie thee, O Law
 35 that wast my teacher; I will not desert thee, O beloved self-control; I will not put thee to shame,
 36 O wisdom-loving Reason, nor will I deny ye, O venerated priesthood and knowledge of the Law.
 37 Neither shalt thou sully the pure mouth of mine old age and my lifelong constancy to the Law.
 38 Clean shall my fathers receive me, unafraid of thy torments even to the death. For thou indeed
 mayest be tyrant over unrighteous men, but thou shalt not lord it over my resolution in the matter
 of righteousness either by thy words or through thy deeds.'

6 1 But when Eleazar replied thus eloquently to the exhortations of the tyrant, the guards around
 2 him dragged him roughly to the torturing place. And first they unclothed the old man, who was
 3 adorned with the beauty of holiness. Then binding his arms on either side they scourged him,
 4 a herald standing and shouting out over against him, 'Obey the orders of the king!' But the
 5 great-souled and noble man, an Eleazar in very truth, was no more moved in his mind than if he
 6 were being tormented in a dream; yea, the old man keeping his eyes steadfastly raised to heaven
 7 suffered his flesh to be torn by the scourges till he was bathed in blood and his sides became a mass
 8 of wounds; and even when he fell to the ground because his body could no longer support the
 9 pain he still kept his Reason erect and inflexible. With his foot then one of the cruel guards as
 10 he fell kicked him savagely in the side to make him get up. But he endured the anguish, and
 11 despised the compulsion, and bore up under the torments, and like a brave athlete taking punishment,
 12 the old man outwore his tormentors. The sweat stood on his brow, and he drew his breath in hard
 13 gasps, till his nobility of soul extorted the admiration of his tormentors themselves. Hereupon,
 14 partly in pity for his old age, partly in sympathy for their friend, partly in admiration of his courage,
 15 some of the courtiers of the king went up to him and said: 'Why, O Eleazar, dost thou madly
 destroy thyself in this misery? We will bring to thee of the seethed meats, but do thou feign
 only to partake of the swine's flesh, and so save thyself.'

16, 17 And Eleazar, as if their counsel did but add to his tortures, cried loudly: 'No. May we sons of
 Abraham never have so evil a thought as with faint heart to counterfeit a part unseemly to us.'

II. εὐψυχία ❧

26. according to our nature. The Rabbis explained these commands to abstain from unclean food in the following way: 'These commands were given with the highest of all objects—for the sake of the purity which obedience to them imparts to the moral life.' And again: 'The ideal Jew does not say, "I have no desire to eat swine's flesh, no desire to indulge in any sensual cravings; I desire, but I will conquer the desire for the sake of my Father which is in Heaven"' (Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 412). Of course anthropologists explain such matters as taboos, probably based on a primitive totemism.

38. through thy deeds. Before we begin the dreadful story of the martyrdoms I would like to recall the words of Heine, the emancipated Jew, who from his mattress-grave tilted against Destiny with a sardonic humour that often mocked both himself and his race. 'If suffering ennobles,' he says, 'then has Israel attained the highest rank.' And if the Jewish refusal to eat swine's flesh seems a trivial cause for which to endure death in torments, let me also quote here these words of a yet more recent writer: 'There is no idea so ridiculous and outlandish but that some one has gone to the stake for it. Thousands have died for the Crescent as for the Cross, for the Synagogue as for the Church, for heresy as for orthodoxy, for undistinguishable shades of opinion about beliefs which were wholly false, for tyranny as for liberty, for anarchy as for order—faithful unto death for the truth that was no truth, doing loyal service to detestable masters, wasting heroism in the service of poltroons. Yet by such have the great human virtues of constancy and loyalty been established; and if not martyrs for the truth, they are witnesses to the best in man—his fantastic chivalry and contempt for death, when once an idea has laid hold of his imagination.'

VI. 5. Eleazar. This name means 'God help'. As to his defiance of torture let me quote the following passage from Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 214: 'The Indian philosophers are said to have used these words to Alexander: σώματα μὲν μετάξεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δ' ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα. πῦρ ἀνθρώποις μέγιστον κολαστήριον, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς καταφρονοῦμεν. Similarly Philo, in telling the same story (*Quod omnis probus sit liber*, p. 879), has this: πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται, τοῦτον ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καίόμεθα. Other historians attest the custom of burning themselves alive, which is said to have been practised by the Brahmans. Strabo, xv. 1.65, says αἰσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικὴν τὸν δ' ὑπονόησαντα καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐξάγειν καθίσαντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑφάψαι κελεύειν, ἀκίνητον δὲ καίεσθαι.'

15. We will bring. In 2 Macc. vi. 21 they beseech him 'to bring flesh of his own provision, such as was lawful for him to use, and make as if he did eat of the flesh taken from the sacrifice commanded by the king'.

18 Contrary to Reason, indeed, were it for us, after living unto the truth till old age, and guarding in
19 lawful guise the repute of so living, now to change and become in our own persons a pattern to
20 the young of impiety, to the end that we should encourage them to eat unclean meat. Shame were
21 it if we should live on a little longer, during that little being mocked of all men for cowardice, and
22 while despised by the tyrant as unmanly should fail to defend the Divine Law unto the death. There-
23 fore, O sons of Abraham, do ye die nobly for righteousness' sake ; but as for you, O minions of the
tyrant, why pause ye in your work ?

24 So they, seeing him thus triumphant over the tortures and unmoved even by the pity of his
25 executioners, dragged him to the fire. There they cast him on it, burning him with cruelly cunning
26 devices, and they poured broth of evil odour into his nostrils. But when the fire already reached
27 to his bones and he was about to give up the ghost, he lifted up his eyes to God and said, 'Thou,
28 O God, knowest that though I might save myself I am dying by fiery torments for thy Law. Be
29 merciful unto thy people, and let our punishment be a satisfaction in their behalf. Make my blood
their purification, and take my soul to ransom their souls.'

30 And with these words the holy man nobly yielded up his spirit under the torture, and for the
sake of the Law held out by his Reason even against the torments unto death.

31, 32 Beyond question, then, the Inspired Reason is master over the passions ; for if his passions *or*
sufferings had prevailed over his Reason we should have credited them with this evidence of their
33 superior power. But now his Reason having conquered his passions, we properly attribute to it
34 the power of commanding them. And it is right that we should admit that the mastery lies with
35 Reason, in cases at least where it conquers pains that come from outside ourselves ; for it were
ridiculous to *deny it*. And my proof covers not only the superiority of Reason to pains, but its
superiority to pleasures also ; neither does it surrender to them.

7 1 For the Reason of our father Eleazar, like a fine steersman steering the ship of sanctity on the
2 sea of the passions, though buffeted by the threats of the tyrant and swept by the swelling waves
3 of the tortures, never shifted for one moment the helm of sanctity until he sailed into the haven of
4 victory over death. No city besieged with many and cunning engines ever defended itself so well
as did that holy man when his sacred soul was attacked with scourge and rack and flame, and he
moved them who were laying siege to *his soul* through his Reason that was the shield of sanctity.
5 For our father Eleazar, setting his mind firm as a beetling sea-cliff, broke the mad onset of the
6 surges of the passions. O priest worthy of thy priesthood, thou didst not defile thy holy teeth,
7 nor didst thou befoul with unclean meat thy belly that had room only for piety and purity. O
8 confessor of the Law and philosopher of the Divine life ! Such should those be whose office is to
serve the Law and defend it with their own blood and honourable sweat in the face of sufferings to
9 the death. Thou, O father, didst fortify our fidelity to the Law through thy steadfastness unto
glory ; and having spoken in honour of holiness thou didst not belie thy speech, and didst confirm
10 the words of divine philosophy by thy deeds, O aged man that wast more forceful than the tortures,
O reverend elder that wast tenser-strung than the flame, thou great king over the passions, Eleazar.
11 For as our father Aaron, armed with the censer, ran through the massed congregation against the
12 fiery angel and overcame him, so the son of Aaron, Eleazar, being consumed by the melting heat of
13 the fire, remained unshaken in his Reason. And yet most wonderful of all, he, being an old man,
with the sinews of his body unstrung and his muscles relaxed and his nerves weakened, grew a young
14 man again in the spirit of his Reason and with Isaac-like Reason turned the hydra-headed torture
15 to impotence. O blessed age, O reverend grey head, O life faithful to the Law and perfected by
the seal of death !

16 Assuredly, then, if an old man despised the torments unto death for righteousness' sake it must
17 be admitted that the Inspired Reason is able to guide the passions. But some perhaps may answer
that not all men are masters of the passions because not all men have their Reason enlightened.

18. ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ν

24. μεταβαλλομενον Ν

VII. 13. τωνων Ν Syr

20. a little longer. There is a curiously close correspondence between these words and the counsel attributed by
Stobaeus to Eusebius : 'We ought not therefore for the sake of brief, uncertain, and transitory pleasure to choose
great evils which endure for all time, and, in a life which is of the briefest, injure the after-life which is immensely long,
nor yet, fearing a short pain, should we loose hold on great blessings which endure for all time and on the happiness
of the immensely long life which comes after this world.' *Ethica* ii. 420.

29. to ransom their souls. These remarkable words on the martyr's death being taken as an atonement for the
whole people are discussed in § 9.

35. for it were ridiculous, ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖον. Bensly translates the Syriac thus : 'It is therefore ridiculous that
a man should say, Reason does not rule, where we have shown that it overcame not only passions (sufferings) but also
threats.' Lloyd, whose reading is the same as that in our text, translates 'nisi ridiculi esse velimus'. οἱ ἔξωθεν
ἀληθόνης are the physical tortures as distinguished from οἱ ἐνδοθεν πόνοι of xv. 29 and xviii. 2.

18 But as many as with their whole heart make righteousness their first thought, these alone are able
 19 to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, Abra-
 20 ham and Isaac and Jacob, died not, but that they live unto God. Therefore there is nothing
 contradictory in certain persons appearing to be slaves to passion in consequence of the weakness of
 21 their Reason. For who is there that being a philosopher following righteously the whole rule of
 22 philosophy, and having put his trust in God, and knowing that it is a blessed thing to endure all
 23 hardness for the sake of virtue, would not conquer his passions for the sake of righteousness? For the
 wise and self-controlled man alone is the brave ruler of the passions. Yea, by this means even young
 boys, being philosophers by virtue of the Reason which is according to righteousness, have triumphed
 over yet more grievous tortures.

8 1 For when the tyrant found himself notably defeated in his first attempt, and impotent to compel
 2 an old man to eat unclean meat, then truly in violent rage he ordered the guards to bring others of
 the young men of the Hebrews, and if they would eat unclean meat to release them after eating it,
 3 but if they refused, to torture them yet more savagely. And under these orders of the tyrant
 seven brethren together with their aged mother were brought prisoners before him, all handsome,
 4 and modest, and well-born, and generally attractive. And when the tyrant saw them there, standing
 as if they were a festal choir with their mother in the midst, he took notice of them, and struck by
 their noble and distinguished bearing he smiled at them, and calling them nearer said :

5 'O young men, I wish well to each one of you, and admire your beauty, and honour highly so
 large a band of brothers; so not only do I advise you not to persist in the madness of that old
 6 man who has already suffered, but I even entreat of you to yield to me and become partakers
 in my friendship. For, as I am able to punish those who disobey my orders, so am I able to
 7 advance those who do obey me. Be assured then that you shall be given positions of importance
 and authority in my service if you will reject the ancestral law of your polity. Share in the
 8 Hellenic life, and walk in a new way, and take some pleasure in your youth; for if you drive
 me to anger with your disobedience you will compel me to resort to terrible penalties and put
 10 every single one of you to death by torture. Have pity then on yourselves, whom even I, your
 11 opponent, pity for your youth and your beauty. Will you not consider with yourselves this
 thing, that if you disobey me there is nothing before you but death in torments?'

12 With these words he ordered the instruments of torture to be brought forward in order to per-
 13 suade them by fear to eat unclean meat. But when the guards had produced wheels, and joint-
 dislocators, and racks, and bone-crushers, and catapults, and chaldrons, and braziers, and thumb-
 14 screws, and iron claws, and wedges, and branding irons, the tyrant spoke again and said, 'You
 15 had better feel fear, my lads, and the Justice you worship will pardon your unwilling transgression'.

But they, hearing his persuasions, and seeing his dreadful engines, not only showed no fear
 but actually arrayed their philosophy in opposition to the tyrant, and by their right Reason did
 abase his tyranny.

16 And yet consider; supposing some amongst them to have been faint-hearted and cowardly, what
 sort of language would they have used? would it not have been to this effect?

17 'Alas! miserable creatures that we are and foolish above measure! When the king invites us
 18 and appeals to us on terms of kind treatment shall we not obey him? Why do we encourage our-
 19 selves with vain desires and dare a disobedience that is to cost us our lives? Shall we not, O men my
 brothers, fear the dread instruments and weigh well his threats of the tortures, and abandon these
 20 empty vaunts and this fatal bragging? Let us take pity on our own youth and have compassion on
 21 our mother's age; and let us lay to heart that if we disobey we shall die. And even the divine
 22 justice will have mercy on us, if compelled by necessity we yield to the king in fear. Why should
 23 we cast away from us this dear life and rob ourselves of this sweet world? Let us not strive against
 24

VII. 19. *they live unto God.* These words on immortality are repeated in xvi. 25. The closest parallel is
 Mark xii. 26: 'And as touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God
 spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God
 of the dead, but the God of the living.'

See also § 9.

VIII. 13. *wheels, &c.* Erasmus gives the horrid list in Latin thus: 'Exhibentur itaque rotae, radii, ungulae,
 rotabula, catapultae, lebetes, catastae, frixoria, digitaria, pugillaria, manus ferreae, subulae, succensoria, ollae aeneae,
 sartago. Haec enim illis nomina esse reperimus. Succensorium ad excitandam flammam quoddam tenue esse ferri
 telum accepimus. Exhibentur id genus reliqua nimis profecto abhorrenda, quae sigillatim enarrantem dies sit defe-
 cturus.' Lloyd's list is 'rotae, eculeus, fidiculae, unci, catapultae, lebetes, sartagine, digitalia, manicae ferreae, cunei, et
 folles'. For myself I agree with the poet that artists in torture should be hoist with their own petard.

'... neque enim lex aequior ulla est
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.'

- 25 necessity nor with vain confidence invite our torture. Even the Law itself does not willingly con-
 26 demn us to death, we being in terror of the instruments of torture. Why does such contentiousness
 27 inflame us and a fatal obstinacy find favour with us, when we might have a peaceful life by obeying
 28 the king? But no such words escaped these young men at the prospect of the torture, nor did
 29 such thoughts enter into their minds. For they were despisers of the passions and masters over pain.
 30 And thus no sooner did the tyrant conclude his urging of them to eat unclean meat than all with
 one voice together, and as with one soul, said to him:
- 9 'Why dost thou delay, O tyrant? We are ready to die rather than transgress the command-
 2 ments of our fathers. For we should be putting our ancestors also to shame, if we did not walk in
 3 obedience to the Law and take Moses as our counsellor. O tyrant that counsellest us to transgress
 4 the Law, do not, hating us, pity us beyond ourselves. For we esteem thy mercy, giving us our life
 5 in return for a breach of the Law, a thing harder to bear than death itself. Thou wouldst terrify us
 6 with thy threats of death under torture, as if a little while ago thou hadst learned nothing from
 Eleazar. But if the old men of the Hebrews endured the tortures for righteousness' sake, yea, until
 they died, more befittingly will we young men die despising the torments of thy compulsion, over
 7 which he our aged teacher also triumphed. Make trial therefore, O tyrant. And if thou takest our
 8 lives for the sake of righteousness, think not that thou hurtest us with thy tortures. For we through
 9 this our evil entreatment and our endurance of it shall win the prize of virtue; but thou for our
 cruel murder shalt suffer at the hands of divine justice sufficient torment by fire for ever.'
- 10 These words of the youths redoubled the wrath of the tyrant, not at their disobedience only but
 11 at what he considered their ingratitude. So by his orders the scourgers brought forward the eldest
 12 of them and stripped him of his garment and bound his hands and arms on either side with thongs.
 13 But when they had scourged him till they were weary, and gained nothing thereby, they cast him
 14 upon the wheel. And on it the noble youth was racked till his bones were out of joint. And as
 joint after joint gave way, he denounced *the tyrant* in these words:
- 15 'O thou most abominable tyrant, thou enemy of the justice of heaven and bloody-minded, thou dost
 torment me in this fashion not for manslaying nor for impiety but for defending the Law of God.'
- 16 And when the guards said to him, 'Consent to eat, that so you may be released from your
 17 tortures,' he said to them, 'Your method, O miserable minions, is not strong enough to lead captive
 18 my Reason. Cut off my limbs, and burn my flesh, and twist my joints; through all the torments I
 19 will show you that in behalf of virtue the sons of the Hebrews alone are unconquerable.' As he thus
 spake they set hot coals upon him besides, and intensifying the torture strained him yet tighter on
 20 the wheel. And all the wheel was besmeared with his blood, and the heaped coals were quenched
 by the humours of his body dropping down, and the *rent* flesh ran round the axles of the machine.
 21 And with his bodily frame already in dissolution this great-souled youth, like a true son of Abraham,
 22 groaned not at all; but as if he were suffering a change by fire to incorruption, he nobly endured
 23 the torment, saying, 'Follow my example, O brothers. Do not for ever desert me, and forswear

IX. 2. מוֹשֵׁי N Syr.

19. λεγοντι M

IX. 9. **torment by fire for ever.** For the eschatology of this passage see § 9. There is here no trace of the spirit of the Crucified: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

18. **alone are unconquerable.** Some commentators think that the words put into the mouths of the martyrs are unreal and impossible. Dramatic inventions they doubtless are, like most other speeches that have come down to us from antiquity, but for a commentator to reject them *a priori* as impossible is to assume to himself the power to plumb the depths of human nature. That is an assumption that does not commend itself to one who has heard with his own ears the strange things even a ruffian can say with the hangman's rope round his neck. And when it comes to martyrdom for a principle, we have good evidence that men dying for what they hold truth can play the man in the tenth or twentieth century as well as in the first. Did not Latimer, here in Oxford three and a half centuries ago, say at the stake, 'Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out'? And did not Cranmer—Cranmer who so feared the fire—thrust the hand which had signed his recantation into the flames that it might be burned first? The nature of man is strangely compounded, and it is best not to dogmatize too rashly about what it can or cannot rise to.

19. **tighter on the wheel.** Bensly translates the Syriac here: 'They made the wheel more cruel by artifice against him.' Erasmus translates: 'Haec eo loquente praeparatur incendium, et ut erat affixus rotae, igni in catasta obicitur, atque ita tendentibus corpus radiis et contrahentibus flammis, costis deinde patentibus lateribus vitalia rumpuntur.' In this he adds to the original narrative certain explanatory details as to the exact workings of the torment; probably some fifteenth-century expert in torture told him all about how it was done, if indeed he had not seen it for himself. But it is better not to go more closely into the horrors of torture. The writer happened once to be in company with some frontiersmen who were pursuing a white renegade, said to be guilty of having betrayed the whites to the Indians. He learned that if they caught the renegade they proposed to burn him alive, and they treated with some scorn the suggestion that death was penalty enough, as they grimly jested over the various particulars of what they intended for him. The wretch was not caught, but it is as true to-day as ever it was that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.

24 not our brotherhood in nobility of soul. War a holy and honourable warfare on behalf of righteousness, through which may the just Providence that watched over our fathers become merciful unto his
25 people and take vengeance on the accursed tyrant.' And with these words the holy youth yielded up the ghost.

26 But while all were wondering at his constancy of soul, the guards brought forward the second in age of the sons, and grappling him with sharp-clawed hands of iron they fastened him to the
27 engines and the catapult. But when they heard his noble resolve in answer to their question, 'Would
28 he eat rather than be tortured?' these panther-like beasts tore at his sinews with claws of iron, and rent away all the flesh from his cheeks, and tore off the skin from his head. But he steadfastly
29 enduring this agony said, 'How sweet is every form of death for the sake of the righteousness of
30 our fathers!' And to the tyrant he said, 'O most ruthless of tyrants, doth not it seem to thee that at this moment thou thyself sufferest tortures worse than mine in seeing thy tyranny's arrogant
31 intention overcome by my endurance for righteousness' sake? For I am supported under pain
32 by the joys that come through virtue, whereas thou art in torment whilst glorying in thy impiety; neither shalt thou escape, O most abominable tyrant, the penalties of the divine wrath.'

10 1 And when he had bravely met his glorious death, the third son was brought forward and was
2 earnestly entreated by many to taste and so to save himself. But he answered in a loud voice, 'Are ye ignorant that the same father begat me and my brothers that are dead, and the same
3 mother gave us birth, and in the same doctrines was I brought up? I do not forswear the noble
4 bond of brotherhood. Therefore if ye have any engine of torment, apply it to this body of mine; for
5 my soul ye cannot reach, not if ye would.' But they were greatly angered at the bold speech of the
6 man, and they dislocated his hands and his feet with their dislocating engines, and wrenched his limbs out of their sockets, and unstrung them; and they twisted round his fingers, and his arms,
7 and his legs, and his elbow-joints. And in no wise being able to strangle *his spirit* they stripped off his skin, taking the points of the fingers with it, and tore in Scythian fashion the scalp from his head,
8 and straightway brought him to the wheel. And on this they twisted his spine till he saw his own
9 flesh hanging in strips and great gouts of blood pouring down from his entrails. And at the point
10 of death he said, 'We, O most abominable tyrant, suffer thus for our upbringing and our virtue that
11, 12 are of God; but thou for thy impiety and thy cruelty shalt endure torments without end.' And
13 when this man had died worthily of his brothers, they brought up the fourth, and said to him, 'Be not thou also mad with the same madness as thy brethren, but obey the king and save thyself.'
14, 15 But he said unto them, 'For me ye have no fire so exceeding hot as to make me a coward. By the blessed death of my brethren, by the eternal doom of the tyrant, and by the glorious life of the
16 righteous, I will not deny my noble brotherhood. Invent tortures, O tyrant, in order that thou
17 mayest learn thereby that I am brother of those who have been already tortured.' When he heard this the bloodthirsty, murderous, and utterly abominable Antiochus bade them cut out his tongue.
18 But he said, 'Even if thou dost remove my organ of speech, God is a hearer also of the speechless.'
19, 20 Lo, I put out my tongue ready: cut it out, for thou shalt not thereby silence my Reason. Gladly
21 do we give our bodily members to be mutilated for the cause of God. But God will speedily pursue after thee; for thou cuttest out the tongue that sang songs of praise unto him.'

11 1 But when this man also was put to a death of agony with the tortures, the fifth sprang forward
2, 3 saying, 'I shrink not, O tyrant, from demanding the torture for virtue's sake. Yea, of myself I come forward, in order that, slaying me also, thou mayest by yet more misdeeds increase the penalty thou
4 owest to the justice of Heaven. O enemy of virtue and enemy of man, for what crime dost thou
5 destroy us in this way? Doth it seem evil to thee that we worship the Creator of all and live
6, 7 according to his virtuous Law? But these things are worthy of honours not of tortures, if thou
8 didst understand human aspirations and hadst hope of salvation before God. Lo, now thou art
9 God's enemy and makest war on those that worship God.' As he spake thus the guards bound
10 him and brought him before the catapult; and they tied him thereto on his knees, and, fastening them there with iron cramps, they wrenched his loins over the rolling 'wedge' so that he was
11 completely curled back like a scorpion and every joint was disjoined. And thus in grievous strait
12 for breath and anguish of body he exclaimed, 'Glorious, O tyrant, glorious against thy will are

XI. 7. ἀνθρώπου ποθῶν

XI. 3. **increase the penalty.** Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Reum te gehennae effusus quattuor innocentum sanguis effecit, me quinto gradatim numerus ipse ampliandus est, ut tibi tandem poenae ex multitudine peremptorum accrescant.'

7. **if thou didst understand.** εἴπερ ἡσθάνου ἀνθρώπου ποθῶν. Lloyd's text omits 7 and 8 entirely, following the Strassburg Bible. What Erasmus had before him is hard to guess: what he prints is '... honor nobis est et salus non poena: mirificum accipiemus a deo beneficium, si in nulla nobis laterum parte parcatur'.

the boons that thou bestowest on me, enabling me to show my fidelity to the Law through yet more honourable tortures.

13 And when this man also was dead, the sixth was brought, a mere boy, who in answer to the
14 tyrant's inquiry whether he was willing to eat and be released, said: 'I am not so old in years as
15 my brethren, but I am as old in mind. For we were born and reared for the same purpose and are
16 equally bound also to die for the same cause; so if thou chooseth to torture us for not eating unclean
meat, torture.'

17, 18 As he spake these words they brought him to the wheel, and with care they stretched him out and
19 dislocated the bones of his back and set fire under him. And they made sharp skewers red-hot
20 and ran them into his back, and piercing through his sides they burned away his entrails also. But he
in the midst of his tortures exclaimed, 'O contest worthy of saints, wherein so many of us brethren,
in the cause of righteousness, have been entered for a competition in torments, and have not been
21, 22 conquered! For the righteous understanding, O tyrant, is unconquerable. In the armour of virtue
23 I go to join my brothers in death, and to add in myself one strong avenger more to punish thee, O
24 deviser of the tortures and enemy of the truly righteous. We six youths have overthrown thy tyranny.
25 For is not thine impotence to alter our Reason or force us to eat unclean meat an overthrow for thee?
26, 27 Thy fire is cool for us, thy engines of torture torment not, and thy violence is impotent. For the
guards have been officers for us, not of a tyrant, but of the Divine Law; and therefore have we our
Reason yet unconquered.'

12 1 And when this one also died a blessed death, being cast into the cauldron, the seventh son, the
2 youngest of them all, came forward. But the tyrant, although fiercely exasperated by his brethren,
felt pity for the boy, and seeing him there already bound he had him brought near, and sought to
3 persuade him, saying, 'Thou seest the end of the folly of thy brethren; for through their dis-
4 obedience they have been racked to death. Thou, too, if thou dost not obey, wilt thyself also be
5 miserably tortured and put to death before thy time; but if thou dost obey thou shalt be my friend,
6 and thou shalt be advanced to high office in the business of the kingdom.' And while thus appealing
to him he sent for the boy's mother, in order that in her sorrow for the loss of so many sons she
7 might urge the survivor to obey and be saved. But the mother, speaking in the Hebrew tongue, as
8 I shall tell later on, encouraged the boy, and he said *to the guards*, 'Loose me, that I may speak to
9 the king and to all his friends with him.' And they, rejoicing at the boy's request, made haste to
10, 11 loose him. And running up to the red-hot brazier, 'O impious tyrant,' he cried, 'and most ungodly
of all sinners, art thou not ashamed to take thy blessings and thy kingship at the hands of God,
12 and to slay his servants and torture the followers of righteousness? For which things the divine
justice delivers thee unto a more rapid and an eternal fire and torments which shall not leave hold
13 on thee to all eternity. Art thou not ashamed, being a man, O wretch with the heart of a wild
beast, to take men of like feelings with thyself, made from the same elements, and tear out their
14 tongues, and scourge and torture them in this manner? But while they have fulfilled their righteous-
15 ness towards God in their noble deaths, thou shalt miserably cry "Woe is me!" for thy unjust slaying of
16, 17 the champions of virtue.' And then standing on the brink of death he said, 'I am no renegade to
18 the witness borne by my brethren. And I call upon the God of my fathers to be merciful unto my
19, 20 nation. And thee will he punish both in this present life and after that thou art dead.' And with
this prayer he cast himself into the red-hot brazier, and so gave up the ghost.

13 1 If therefore the seven brethren despised the tortures even to the death, it is universally proved
2 that the Inspired Reason is supreme lord over the passions. For if they had yielded to their passions
or sufferings and eaten unclean meat, we should have said that they had been conquered thereby.
3 But in this case it was not so; on the contrary by their Reason, which was commended in the sight
4 of God, they rose superior to their passions. And it is impossible to deny the supremacy of the
5 mind; for they won the victory over their passions and their pains. How can we do otherwise than
admit right Reason's mastery over passion with these men who shrank not before the agonies of

18. επιμελως 19. αυτου και N 20. αγωνος N Syr. XII. 6. εαυτην ελεησασα επι την σωτηριον ευπειθειαν N
Syr. XIII. 2. ει N av N

19. sharp skewers. Erasmus has 'Subulis etiam ferire pendentis latera ad viscera iubet, ut per eas (quae his ductae erant in longum tramitem) rimas ad intimas fibras flamma perveniret'.

XII. 7. speaking in the Hebrew tongue. Erasmus chooses to insert her speech at this point instead of keeping it back as the author had done. He also adds, borrowing from I know not where, or else inventing, a long torture scene with the seventh son; and in the son's speech he introduces (apparently after verse 12) 'Sit enim inter te et reliquos discretio potestatis. Numquid alterius tu operis, tuve alterius naturae homo es? Una nascendi et moriendi omnibus ratio est. Quisquis hominem interficit, interfici se posse confirmat. Tu effigiem tuam laceras, tu in torquendo nihil proficis.'

6 burning? For even as towers on harbour-moles repulse the assaults of the waves and offer a calm
 7 entrance to those entering the haven, so the seven-towered right Reason of the youths defended the
 8 haven of righteousness and repulsed the tempestuousness of the passions. They formed a holy choir
 9 of righteousness as they cheered one another on, saying: 'Let us die like brothers, O brethren, for
 the Law. Let us imitate the Three Children at the Assyrian court who despised this same ordeal of
 10, 11 the furnace. Let us not turn cravens before the proof of righteousness.' And one said, 'Brother, be
 12 of good cheer,' and another, 'Bear it out nobly'; and another, recalling the past, 'Remember of what
 13 stock ye are, and at whose fatherly hand Isaac for righteousness' sake yielded himself to be a sacri-
 14 fice.' And each and all of them together, looking at each other brightly and very boldly, said, 'With
 a whole heart will we consecrate ourselves unto God who gave us our souls, and let us lend our bodies
 15 to the keeping of the Law. Let us not fear him who thinketh he kills; for a great struggle and
 16 peril of the soul awaits in eternal torment those who transgress the ordinance of God. Let us then
 17 arm ourselves with divine Reason's mastery of the passions. After this our passion, Abraham, Isaac,
 and Jacob shall receive us, and all our forefathers shall praise us.'
 18 And to each separate one of the brothers, as they were dragged off, those whose turn was yet to
 come said, 'Do not disgrace us, brother, nor be false to our brethren already dead.'
 19 You are not ignorant of the love of brethren, whereof the divine and all-wise Providence has given
 an inheritance to those who are begotten though their fathers, implanting it in them even through
 20 the mother's womb; wherein brethren do dwell the like period, and take their form during the same
 21 time, and are nourished from the same blood, and are quickened with the same soul, and are brought
 into the world after the same space, and they draw milk from the same founts, whereby their frater-
 22 nal souls are nursed together in arms at the breast; and they are knit yet closer through a common
 nurture and daily companionship and other education, and through our discipline under the Law
 of God.
 23 The feeling of brotherly love being thus naturally strong, the seven brethren had their mutual
 24 concord made yet stronger. For trained in the same Law, and disciplined in the same virtues, and
 25 brought up together in the upright life, they loved one another the more abundantly. Their
 26 common zeal for moral beauty and goodness heightened their mutual concord, for in conjunction
 with their piety it rendered their brotherly love more fervent.
 27 But though nature, companionship, and their virtuous disposition increased the ardour of their
 brotherly love, nevertheless the surviving sons through their religion supported the sight of their
 14 1 brethren, who were on the rack, being tortured to death; nay more, they even encouraged them to
 face the agony, so as not only to despise their own tortures, but also to conquer their passion of
 2 brotherly affection for their brethren. O Reasoning minds, more kingly than kings, than freemen
 3 more free, of the harmony of the seven brethren, holy and well attuned to the keynote of piety!
 4 5 None of the seven youths turned coward, none shrunk in the face of death, but all hastened to
 6 the death by torture as if running the road to immortality. For as hands and feet move in har-
 mony with the promptings of the soul, so those holy youths, as if prompted by the immortal soul
 7 of religion, went in harmony to death for its sake. O all-holy sevenfold companionship of brethren
 8 in harmony! For as the seven days of the creation of the world do enring religion, so did the youths

9. Ασσυρίας (ασ superscrip.). 12. καταμνησθεις M V Syr. 19. ἀδελφοτητος N 24. εαντους ηγαπων N V Syr.
 XIV. 2. βασιλεων NV 3. ευαρμωστων X

XIV. 2. **more kingly than kings**, βασιλέων βασιλικότεροι. The Stoics held that the wise man alone was a king: *μόνον εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα καὶ βασιλικόν* (Stob. *Eth.* ii. [222] of Heeren's ed.). Also we have in Diog. Laert. vii. 122 *οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὐσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου*.

8. **the seven days of the creation**, ὡς πὼς περὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα χορεύοντες κτλ. Erasmus paraphrases thus: 'Quos (credo) propterea in eo numero esse voluit in quo mundum ipse construxit, ut septem fratres septem dierum, quibus perfecta sunt omnia, aemuli redderentur.' The general sense of the passage in the Greek is clear enough, though a word for word translation does not yield very intelligible English, and Deissman accordingly transposes *ἑβδομάδα* and *εὐσέβειαν*, and renders it 'For as the seven days of creation around the (sacred) number seven, so circled the youths in chorus round piety'. Grimm describes the passage as a forced comparison in the style of the Alexandrian mystics; the seven days of the week were meant by God to recall to His people's minds the sacred seven days of creation; and the figure seven being thus a means of grace, this sacred number stands in the text as a visible expression of the piety which was the centre of these young men's lives. Doubtless the above explains well the Jewish feeling of reverence for the mystical nature of seven. This feeling of reverence was, however, common to other ancient peoples besides the Jews, and most students of early man now incline to the belief that the sacred number seven derived its mystic significance from astrology. Astrology, indeed, was forbidden to the Jews, but that need not prevent their having assimilated ideas to which it had given birth elsewhere. When first men began to observe the stars attentively, it presently appeared that in the heavens, visible to the naked eye, there were certain bodies that were always changing their position among the fixed stars; and ultimately men succeeded in tracing out, more or less correctly, their motions and calculating their periodic times. These times ran from the Moon's one month to the thirty years of Saturn, and

choir-like enring their sevenfold companionship, and made the terror of the tortures of no account.

9 We now shudder when we hear of the suffering of those youths; but they, not only seeing it with their eyes, nor merely hearing the spoken, imminent threat, but actually feeling the pang, endured it through; and that in the torture by fire, than which what greater agony can be found? For sharp and stringent is the power of fire, and swiftly did it bring their bodies to dissolution.

11 And think it not wonderful if with those men Reason triumphed over the tortures, when even 12 a woman's soul despised a yet greater diversity of pains; for the mother of the seven youths endured the torments inflicted on each several one of her children.

13 But consider how manifold are the yearnings of a mother's heart, so that her feeling for her 14 offspring becomes the centre of her whole world; and indeed, here, even the irrational animals have 15 for their young an affection and love similar to men's. For example, among the birds, the tame 16 ones sheltering under our roofs defend their nestlings; and those that nest upon the mountain tops, and in the rock clefts, and in the holes of trees, and in the branches, and hatch their young 17 there, do also drive away the intruder. And then, if they be unable to drive him away, they flutter around the nestlings in a passion of love, calling to them in their own speech, and they give suc- 18 cour to their young ones in whatever fashion they can. And what need have we of examples of the 19 love of offspring among irrational animals, when even the bees, about the season of the making of the comb, fend off intruders, and stab with their sting, as with a sword, those who approach their 20 brood, and do battle against them even to the death? But she, the mother of those young men, with a soul like Abraham, was not moved from her purpose by her affection for her children.

15 1 O Reason of the sons, lord over the passions! O religion, that wast dearer to the mother than 2 her children! The mother, having two choices before her, religion and the present saving alive of 3 her seven sons according to the tyrant's promise, loved rather religion, which saveth unto eternal 4 life according to God. O how may I express the passionate love of parents for children? We stamp a marvellous likeness of our soul and of our shape on the tender nature of the child, and most of all 5 through the mother's sympathy with her children being deeper than the father's. For women are softer of soul *than men*, and the more children they bear the more do they abound in love for them. 6 But, of all mothers, she of the seven sons abounded in love beyond the rest, seeing that, having in 7 seven child-bearings felt maternal tenderness for the fruit of her womb, and having been constrained 8 because of the many pangs in which she bore each to a close affection, she nevertheless through the 9 fear of God rejected the present safety of her children. Ay, and more than that, through the moral beauty and goodness of her sons and their obedience to the Law, her maternal love for them was 10 made stronger. For they were just, and temperate, and brave, and great-souled, and lovers of each other and of their mother in such manner that they obeyed her in the keeping of the Law even unto

XV. 4. (;) after παθη

εναποσφραγιζομεν N*

το των πατερων V

7. ηναγκασμενη N V

their proper motions were seen to be confined within the broad belt of the heavens known to us as the Zodiac. Seven was found to be the number of these πλάνητες or Wanderers, who did indeed appear to go like the fixed stars round the earth from east to west once in every twenty-four hours, but, as was well known to Chaldaean, Egyptian, and Greek star-gazers, had likewise another exceedingly complicated set of movements peculiar to themselves. The direction of these movements was retrograde or from west to east: ἀπὸ γὰρ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς ἀντιφέρεσθαι says Plutarch (*Plac. Phil.* ii. 16), describing the astronomical knowledge possessed by Alcmaeon and the mathematicians. And the early star-gazers, who by painful labour had obtained this difficult knowledge, took these movements of the mysterious Seven, their journeyings and their standings still, their oppositions and their conjunctions, to be the visible hand of Fate writing the scroll of man's destiny upon the sky. Thus the sacred Seven, the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, to whom in the course of time were assigned the different hours of the day and after whom were named the days of the week, came to be honoured as the lords of heaven and earth, and the very number of them, seven, was nothing less than a power to conjure with.

9. We now shudder. An important inference can be drawn from this phrase. It is true that νῦν may mean no more than that the discourse is being delivered on the anniversary of the martyrs. But it has also been taken to indicate something further, namely, that the audience shudder at the past as contrasted with the present state of things in which they find themselves. If this be so, it certainly points to a time when the Jews in Alexandria had little or no personal experience of persecution, and necessarily indicates for the discourse a date previous to the awful persecution under Caligula in A.D. 38. See § 5.

XV. 4. a marvellous likeness, ψυχῆς τε καὶ μορφῆς ὁμοιότητα. There is a whole literature, ancient as well as modern, on heredity and the mysterious relation of parent to child in mind as well as body. I will only quote here a fragment of Cleanthes from Nemesis, *Nat. Hom.*, p. 32 (see Pearson, *Fragm. Cleanthes*, 36) Ὁ Κλεάνθης τοιόνδε πλέκει συλλογισμόν· οὐ μόνον φησὶν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσι γινόμεθα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, τοῖς πάθεσι, τοῖς ἡθέσι, ταῖς διαθέσεσι: and also this from Plut. *Plac. Phil.* lib. 5, cap. 11 οἱ Στωικοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὅλου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φέρεσθαι τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀναπλάττεσθαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γενῶν τοὺς τύπους καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, ὥσπερα νεὶ ζωγράφον ἀπὸ ὁμοίων χρωμάτων εἰκόνα τοῦ βλεπομένου. And yet one more from cap. 12, where he makes the curious statement that certain women have admired statues so passionately as to produce children like them: πολλὰκις γὰρ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἠράσθησαν γυναῖκες, καὶ ὅμοια τοῦτοις ἀπέτεκον. οἱ Στωικοί, συμπαθεῖα τῆς διανοίας, κατὰ ῥευμάτων εἰσκρίσεις καὶ ἀκτίνων, οὐκ εἰδῶλων, γίνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλήλων ὁμοιότητας.

11 death. But nevertheless, though she had so many temptations to yield to her maternal instincts, in no single instance did the dreadful variety of tortures have power to alter her Reason ;
 12, 13 but the mother urged each son separately, and all together, to die for their religion. O holy nature, and parental love, and yearning of parents for offspring, and wages of nursing, and unconquerable
 14 affection of mothers! The mother, seeing them one by one racked and burned, remained unshaken
 15 in soul for religion's sake. She saw the flesh of her sons being consumed in the fire, and the extremities of their hands and feet scattered on the ground, and the flesh-coverings, torn off from
 16 their heads right to their cheeks, strewn about like masks. O mother, who now knew sharper
 17 pangs than the pangs of labour! O woman, alone among women, the fruit of whose womb was
 18 perfect religion! Thy firstborn, giving up the ghost, did not alter thy resolution, nor thy second,
 19 looking with eyes of pity on thee under his tortures, nor thy third, breathing out his spirit. Neither
 didst thou weep when thou beheldest the eyes of each amid the torments looking boldly on the same
 20 anguish, and sawest in their *quivering* nostrils the signs of approaching death. When thou sawest the flesh of one son being severed after the flesh of another, and hand after hand being cut off, and head after head being flayed, and corpse cast upon corpse, and the place crowded with spectators
 21 on account of the tortures of thy children, thou sheddest not a tear. Not the melodies of the sirens nor the songs of swans with sweet sound do so charm the hearers' ears, as sounded the voices of the
 22 sons, speaking to the mother from amid the torments. How many and how great were the tortures with which the mother was tormented while her sons were being tortured with torments of rack and
 23 fire! But Inspired Reason lent her heart a man's strength under her passion of suffering, and exalted her to make no account of the present yearnings of mother-love.

24 And although she saw the destruction of her seven children and the many and varied forms of
 25 their torments, the noble mother willingly surrendered them through faith in God. For she beheld in her own mind, even as it had been cunning advocates in a council-chamber, nature, and parenthood,
 26 and mother-love, and her children on the rack, and it was as if she, the mother, having the choice
 27 between two votes in the case of her children, one for their death and one to save them alive, thereupon
 28 regarded not the saving of her seven sons for a little time, but, as a true daughter of Abraham, called
 29 to mind his God-fearing courage. O mother of the race, vindicator of our Law, defender of our religion,
 30 and winner of the prize in the struggle within thyself! O woman, nobler to resist than men, and braver
 31 than warriors to endure! For as the Ark of Noah, with the *whole living* world for her burden in
 32 the world-whelming Deluge, did withstand the mighty surges, so thou, the keeper of the Law, beaten upon every side by the surging waves of the passions, and strained as with strong blasts by the tortures of thy sons, didst nobly weather the storms that assailed thee for religion's sake.

16 1 Thus then, if one both a woman and advanced in years, and the mother of seven sons, endured the sight of her children being tortured to death, the Inspired Reason must confessedly be supreme
 2 ruler over the passions. I have proved, accordingly, that not only have men triumphed over their
 3 sufferings, but that a woman also has despised the most dreadful tortures. And not so fierce were the lions around Daniel, not so hot was the burning fiery furnace of Mishael, as burned in her the
 4 instinct of motherhood at the sight of her seven sons being tortured. But by her religion-guided
 5 Reason the mother quenched her passions, many and strong as they were. For there is this also to

11. +βασανοι 13. γενεσει V: γενεσις Syr. 18. εις]+σε NV 21. ως NV Syr. 32. υπερ NV Syr.
 XVI. 3. εκεινην ορωσαν V Syr. ουτως ποικιλως NV Syr.

13. **wages of nursing.** Deissmann would read *γένεσις φιλόστοργε καὶ τροφέ*, and objects to Grimm who upholds *τροφέα*. The MS. authority for *γένεσις* is weak, but V reads *γενέσει*; and *γένεσις*, according to Bensly, has the support of the Syriac, and it makes good sense with or without Deissmann's emendation of *τροφέ*. The Strassburg text has *ὁ φύσις ἱερὰ καὶ φίλτρα γονέων, καὶ σύνεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφέα, καὶ μητέρων ἀδάμαστα πάθη*, which Lloyd keeps, rendering, 'O sanctissimam naturam, amorisque parentum illecebras; et intelligentiam indulgentissimam, et nutricia, matrumque motus indomitos.' The marginal collation in the Bodleian copy of the Geneva edition of 1611 has the curious variation *γοναὶ φιλόστοργοι καὶ τροφέαι*. I have attempted to render *γένεσις φιλόστοργε, καὶ τροφέα*.

20. **the place crowded.** The text here is very corrupt: *χωριον* (A) gives good sense and has the support of V, but there is another reading *χοριον* (N*) or *χοριδιον* (N^{c.2}) which appears as *χορείον*, a dancing-place, in the Strassburg LXX; *χορείον* would undoubtedly be quite in the author's rhetorical style, as it would artfully recall his comparison in viii. 4 of the band of youths to a *χορός* or festal choir with the mother in their midst, and also allude to *χορεύοντες* above in xiv. 8. The Syriac has the strange rendering, 'when she saw the servants of the tyrant falling like a storm upon her sons,' which does not seem reconcilable with any Greek text known to us.

29. **the struggle within thyself.** These are the *οἱ ἐνδοθεν πόνοι* as distinguished in xviii. 2 from *οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι*, the physical tortures. We may note again in *ἀθλοφόρε* how the author recurs to the comparison with the Greek games.

31. **her burden in the world-whelming Deluge.** *κοσμοπληθής* and *κοσμοφορεῖν* are vigorous compounds coined by the author, and good specimens of their sort, just as the whole passage is typical of his rhetoric. The three alliterative quadrisyllables, rolling in like waves one after the other, aim at something like the Homeric *πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*. I have attempted a slight imitation of his effect with 'world-whelming' and 'whole living world'.

consider, that had the woman been weak of spirit, despite her motherhood, she might have wept
 6 over them, and perchance spoken thus: 'Ah, thrice wretched me, and more than thrice wretched!
 7 Seven children have I borne and am left childless! In vain was I seven times with child, and to no
 8 profit was my ten months' burden seven times borne, and fruitless have been my nursings, and
 9 sorrowful my sucklings. In vain for you, O my sons, did I endure the many pangs of labour, and
 10 the more difficult cares of your upbringing. Alas, for my sons, that some were yet unwed, and those
 11 that were wedded had begotten no children; I shall never see children of yours, nor shall I be called
 12 by the name of grandparent. Ah me, that had many beautiful children, and am a widow and
 13 desolate in my woe! Neither will there be any son to bury me when I am dead!'

14 But the holy and God-fearing mother wailed not with this lamentation over any one of them, neither
 15 besought she any to escape death, nor lamented over them as dying men; but, as though she had a
 16 soul of adamant and were bringing forth the number of her sons, for a second time, into immortal life,
 17 she besought rather and entreated of them that they should die for religion's sake. O mother, warrior
 18 of God in the cause of religion, old and a woman, thou didst both defeat the tyrant by thy endurance,
 19 and wast found stronger than a man, in deeds as well as words. For verily when thou wast put in
 20 bonds with thy sons, thou stoodest there seeing Eleazar being tortured, and thou spakest to thy
 21 sons in the Hebrew tongue: 'My sons, noble is the fight; and do ye, being called thereto to bear
 22 witness for our nation, fight therein zealously on behalf of the Law of our fathers. For it would be
 23 shameful if, while this aged man endured the agony for religion's sake, you that are young men shrank
 24 before the pain. Remember that for the sake of God ye have come into the world, and have enjoyed
 25 life, and that therefore ye owe it to God to endure all pain for his sake; for whom also our father
 26 Abraham made haste to sacrifice his son Isaac, the ancestor of our nation; and Isaac, seeing his
 27 father's hand lifting the knife against him, did not shrink. And Daniel, the just man, was cast to
 28 the lions, and Ananias, Azarias, and Mishaël were flung into the furnace of fire, and they endured
 29 for God's sake. And ye also, having the same faith unto God, be not troubled; for it were against
 30 Reason that ye, knowing righteousness, should not withstand the pains.'

31 With these words the mother of the seven encouraged every single one of her sons to die rather
 32 than transgress the ordinance of God; they themselves also knowing well that men dying for God
 33 live unto God, as live Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs.

17 1 Some of the guards declared that when she also was about to be seized and put to death, she
 2 cast herself on the pyre in order that no man might touch her body. O mother, that together

20. ὁρῶν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ Syr.

24. ἀποθανεῖν N Syr.

25. εἰδότες NV

XVII. 1. τις NV Syr.

XVI. 14. **old and a woman.** The Syriac has 'who didst go a warfare in old age'.

20. **ancestor of our nation.** ἔθνοπάτωρ is another of the author's coinages like ἔθνοπληθος in vii. 11. He has an affection for the word ἔθνος, much as some English writers like to speak of 'our people', by way of heightening the sense of union between author and reader as belonging to a nation set apart for great ends.

25. **knowing well.** I have accepted the reading of N, εἰδότες, but it really seems to me that I have translated εἰδότες, which Grimm adopts apparently without MS. authority. In this I rely upon Deissmann, whose note I translate verbatim: 'Read with Sin. Ven. εἰδότες. Freudenthal, S. 123 f., is unjust in his complaints of the "ungrammatical sequence". For this formal and rigid εἰδότες is found elsewhere: 2 Cor. i. 7, Rom. xiii. 11. Egyptian report of the Berlin Museum No. 246, Z. 11 f. Private letter, Fayoum, 2-3 century A.D.: ἡ οὐκ ἰδότες (sic) ὅτι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνω (sic) τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. The nominative plural of a participle in other instances readily becomes an anacolouthon.'

XVII. 1. **she cast herself**, ἐαυτὴν ἔρριψεν κατὰ τῆς πυρᾶς. It is curious in what a sidelong fashion the author does but hint at the suicide of the woman. The writer of Second Maccabees never alludes to it at all, though he can hardly have considered it wrong, for the act is nowhere forbidden in the Old Testament and he himself celebrates (xv. 42) the self-inflicted death of Razis, who 'fell upon his sword, choosing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the wicked, to be abused otherwise than becomed his noble birth'. It is well known that the Stoics habitually advocated suicide, ἐξαγωγή, when life became a burden, but the author of Fourth Maccabees makes no allusion to this, neither does he quote the various Old Testament instances of it. There is, indeed, only one case in the O.T. that can really be considered analogous to the Mother's, for Samson's deed in pulling down the house on himself and his enemies must be classed as an act of war, and was no more suicide than the self-devotion of Arnold von Winkelried embracing the spears at Sempach, or of Salkeld and Burgess blowing in the Cashmere Gate at Delhi. There is, however, an exact parallel in the case of Saul, when he killed himself (or had himself killed) 'lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through, and abuse me'. Erasmus does not mention the mother's suicide, unless indeed 'ultro' is intended to suggest it, but (as already mentioned in § 8) he pictures the woman as being in the first instance most horribly tortured by Antiochus, and then, 'being brought to the fire-vomiting brazier,' she of her own accord (ultro) joins her sons who had been already burnt, in their pains, 'ac oratione protensis surrectisque manibus pro gravidis matribus fusa coelibem effudit spiritum'; where coelibem is quite un-Jewish and mediaeval. As to the morality of such an act opinions differ and will differ to the end of time. During the Indian Mutiny, near sixty years ago, a bishop of the Irish Church gave it as his opinion that it was morally justifiable for white women there to choose death before outrage, and those who know anything of savage warfare, be it in India, or Africa, or America, or even in Europe (for we still have savages in Europe), will agree with him. As to such a deed being cowardly, I can only

with thy seven sons didst break the tyrant's force, and bring to nought his evil devices, and gavest an example of the nobleness of faith. Thou wert nobly set as a roof upon thy sons as pillars, and the earthquake of the torments shook thee not at all. Rejoice therefore, pure-souled mother, having the hope of thy endurance certain at the hand of God. Not so majestic stands the moon amid the stars in heaven as thou, having lit the path of thy seven starlike sons unto righteousness, standest in honour with God; and thou art set in heaven with them. For thy child-bearing was from the son of Abraham. And had it been lawful for us to paint, as might some *artist*, the tale of thy piety, would not the spectators have shuddered at the mother of seven sons suffering for righteousness' sake multitudinous tortures even unto death? And indeed it were fitting to inscribe these words over their resting-place, speaking for a memorial to future generations of our people:

HERE LIE AN AGED PRIEST
AND A WOMAN FULL OF YEARS
AND HER SEVEN SONS

THROUGH THE VIOLENCE OF A TYRANT
DESIRING TO DESTROY THE HEBREW NATION.
THEY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF OUR PEOPLE
LOOKING UNTO GOD AND ENDURING
THE TORMENTS EVEN UNTO DEATH.

11, 12 For truly it was a holy war which was fought by them. For on that day virtue, proving them
13 through endurance, set before them the prize of victory in incorruption in everlasting life. But the
first in the fight was Eleazar, and the mother of the seven sons played her part, and the brethren
14 fought. The tyrant was their adversary and the world and the life of man were the spectators.
15, 16 And righteousness won the victory, and gave the crown to her athletes. Who but wondered at the
17 athletes of the true Law? Who were not amazed at them? The tyrant himself and his whole
18 council admired their endurance, whereby they now do both stand beside the throne of God and
19 live the blessed age. For Moses says, 'All also who have sanctified themselves are under thy
20 hands.' And these men, therefore, having sanctified themselves for God's sake, not only have
received this honour, but also *the honour* that through them the enemy had no more power
21, 22 over our people, and the tyrant suffered punishment, and our country was purified, they having
as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men
and the propitiation of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel that before was evil
23 entreated. For when the tyrant Antiochus saw the heroism of their virtue, and their endurance
24 under the tortures, he publicly held up their endurance to his soldiers as an example; and he thus

ευτεβίας σου ιστοριαν & V

say that a few years ago, when the Red Indian tortures still awaited captives, many frontiersmen, men whom it would hardly have been safe to call cowards, made no secret that they intended to keep their last bullet (if need be) for themselves. As to whether a woman could 'harden her heart to the act, let me borrow the words of the author of this book, *πολλαχόθεν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἔχοιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι*, and say that many a woman in every age and every land has chosen death rather than that polluted hands should touch her body.

7. **some artist**, ὡς ἐπὶ τινος. The conjecture *πίνακος* is highly plausible, but lacks MS. authority; and if we may take ἐπὶ as 'after', i.e. 'in the style of', *πίνακος* is not really needed, for the word *ζωγραφῆσαι* itself must imply an artist to paint the picture. In § 8 I have discussed the very striking allusion to this passage in Chrysostom's *τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πίνακος τινος τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἀπογράφαντες*, and also the curious turn given to it by Erasmus when he suggests that the figure of the martyr might be made into an amulet. The latter quite excels himself in his paraphrase of the first part of the passage: 'Si possit in picturam aliquam manus humana describere et victorum omnium poenarum genus in posteris ceris, ut gestum constitit, explicare, sine lachrymis nemo transiret, omnis utique multitudo conflueret, suffragarentur plurimi, et multa videretur donasse qui in gloriam summi dei stratagemata depinxisset.' The author may well have been thinking of the great

8. **for a memorial.** τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς μνείαν λεγόμενα. The author may well have been thinking of the great monument of polished white stone, rising above a cloister with monolithic columns of the same, which Simon Maccabeus set up in memory of his parents and his brethren at Modin near Joppa. Neither Josephus in his *Antiquities* nor the author of 1 Macc. speaks of any inscription on the monument, though the latter mentions the armour of the heroes being set on the pillars, 'and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea.' But some fitting inscription there must have been of a tenor not unlike that proposed here. Of course to employ sculpture to represent Jewish heroes and martyrs was out of the question, but our author in the verses which follow uses the imagery of the Greek games, making the tyrant and the martyrs, as it were, competitors, in a way to give the idea of a frieze—may one say?—like that of a Greek temple, commemorating their exploits.

22. **having as it were become a ransom.** ὥσπερ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας. The idea of the deaths of the martyrs becoming a ransom for the sin of Israel has been noticed in § 9, and the deliverance of Israel through them in the note on i. 11.

24. as an example. One would like further evidence before giving credence to the story that Antiochus publicly

inspired his men with a sense of honour and heroism on the field of battle and in the labours of besieging, so that he plundered and overthrew all his enemies.

- 18 ¹ O Israelites, children born of the seed of Abraham, obey this Law, and be righteous in all ways, ² recognizing that Inspired Reason is lord over the passions, and over pains, not only from within, ³ but from without ourselves; by which means those men, delivering up their bodies to the torture for righteousness' sake, not only won the admiration of mankind, but were deemed worthy of ⁴ a divine inheritance. And through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country hath captured the city from the enemy.
- ⁵ And vengeance hath pursued the tyrant Antiochus upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment. For when he failed utterly to constrain the people of Jerusalem to live like Gentiles and abandon the customs of our fathers, he thereupon left Jerusalem and marched away against the Persians.
- ⁶ Now these are the words that the mother of the seven sons, the righteous woman, spake to her ⁷ children: 'I was a pure maiden, and I strayed not from my father's house, and I kept guard over ⁸ the rib that was builded into Eve. No seducer of the desert, no deceiver in the field, corrupted me; ⁹ nor did the false, beguiling Serpent sully the purity of my maidenhood; I lived with my husband all the days of my youth; but when these *my sons* were grown up, their father died. Happy was ¹⁰ he; for he lived a life blessed with children, and he never knew the pain of their loss. Who, ¹¹ while he was yet with us, taught you the Law and the prophets. He read to us of Abel who was slain by Cain, and of Isaac who was offered as a burnt-offering, and of Joseph in the prison. ¹² And he spake to us of Phineas, the zealous priest, and he taught you *the song of* Ananias, Azarias, ¹³ and Mishaël in the fire. And he glorified also Daniel in the den of lions, and blessed him; and ¹⁴ he called to your minds the saying of Isaiah, "Yea even though thou pass through the fire, the

XVIII. 5. εθων V Syr. 9. επιζητας N c-a V

extolled them to his troops. The text here is practically the same as that of the Strasburg LXX, and also as that of Lloyd, but Erasmus, followed by Lloyd, takes the latter part of the sentence in a way that is hard to reconcile with the original: 'videns namque Antiochus magnitudinem fidei mortisque contemptum peditum sibi legiones ex Hebraeorum numero congregat, per quas hostem perculit, et laudis plurimum cepit.' If this be so the Syrian king would have understood William III's feeling, when he met in battle the brave exiles whom the penal laws had driven from Ireland, and cried, 'Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such soldiers.' But history knows nothing of these Hebrew legions, and Antiochus, like William, had to do without the soldiers whose religion he could not shake.

all his enemies. καὶ ἐκπορθήσας ἐνίκησεν πάντας τοὺς πολεμίους. This is one way of drawing a moral from history. Whether Antiochus fired his soldiers by the martyrs' example or not, he did certainly after leaving Jerusalem conquer Armenia and no small part of Persia. And as it would rather spoil the moral to say that in the full tide of success he failed miserably in an attack on an obscure Persian temple and died almost immediately after, the fatal ending is quietly dropped just for the moment. But of course the audience knew perfectly well the story of Antiochus' death, so the author covers himself by deftly alluding to it five verses later, where he says that vengeance pursued the tyrant upon earth, and in death he suffers punishment still. It is a neat rhetorical turn.

XVIII. 2. **from within.** οἱ ἐνδοθεν πόνοι are mental sufferings, οἱ ἔξωθεν πόνοι are physical: see on xv. 29 and vi. 35.

4. restoring the observance, ἀνανεωσάμενος. If we keep this reading we must take it that some masculine word like Israel equivalent to τὸ ἔθνος is the subject understood. The alternative is to read the plural forms given in N and V both for the participle and the verb, and make the subject simply 'they', or even 'the Maccabees' understood. Historically the statement is correct; for the Maccabees truly did recapture Jerusalem and restore the Law and win Jewish independence.

7. I strayed not, οὐχ ὑπερέβην πατρικὸν οἶκον. Erasmus translates word for word, 'domum patriam non reliqui'. This home-keeping habit was of course a virtue highly extolled in a Jewess, and certainly the race seems to have found a certain profit in the strictness with which it has been practised.

the rib that was builded, τὴν ᾠκοδομημένην πλευράν. In the translation I have added *into Eve* to make the sense clear. Grimm at one time held the idea that the phrase might mean 'the woman's side of the house', but he gave it up. The allusion to the Garden of Eden and the creation of Eve is infinitely more in keeping with Jewish style and taste. The actual words in Genesis are καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ. The moral of the passage is that a woman gets her body, as it were, direct from God, and should therefore keep it worthy of Him.

8. No seducer of the desert, λυμεὼν τῆς ἐρημίας φθορεὺς ἐν πεδίῳ. This is a curious instance of the Jewish belief that evil spirits haunted the waste, to which we have references in the New Testament. It seems hardly credible to us, but the Jews did actually believe that out in the desert there were demons who would lie in wait for women and lead them astray. The Australian Arunta similarly hold that certain rocky places in their deserts are the habitation of wanton spirits, and that women venturing near them may become mothers, apparently without knowing it. And for the Jew the Prince of the demons was Satan, the λυμεὼν ἀπάτης ὅφης who had started his campaign against mankind by corrupting Eve. The authors of *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, already quoted, say, 'Jewish traditions vary, however, as to the reason of Satan's tempting Eve; in several passages it is stated that Satan's lust towards her brought about her fall; see *Bereshith rabbah*, c. 18, 19; *Sanhedrin* 59^b; *Sotah* 9^b; *Yebamoth* 103^b; *Abodah zarah* 22^b.' Philo has some curious remarks about the woman and the serpent in *Sacr. Leg. All.* iii. 20, 21. He calls ἡδονή snake-like, and declares that ἡ ἡδονὴ ἐξ ἐαυτῆς ἐστι μοχθηρὰ.

9. these my sons. It looks as though some phrase such as 'and bore him seven sons' were omitted between 8 and 9. It is therefore necessary to insert '*my sons*' in 9 to explain τούτων.

15 flame shall not hurt thee." He sang to us the words of David the psalmist, "Many are the afflictions
 16 of the just." He quoted to us the proverb of Solomon, "He is a tree of life to all them that do his
 17, 18 will." He confirmed the words of Ezekiel, "Shall these dry bones live?" For he forgot not the
 19 song that Moses taught, which teaches, "I will slay and I will make alive. This is your life and the
 blessedness of your days."
 20 Ah, cruel was the day, and yet not cruel, when the cruel tyrant of the Greeks set the fire blazing
 for his barbarous braziers, and with his passions boiling brought to the catapult and back again to his
 21 tortures the seven sons of the daughter of Abraham, and blinded the eyeballs of their eyes, and cut
 22 out their tongues, and slew them with many kinds of torment. For which cause the judgement of
 23 God pursued, and shall pursue, the accursed wretch. But the sons of Abraham, with their victorious
 mother, are gathered together unto the place of their ancestors, having received pure and immortal
 24 souls from God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

21. ἐπηρώσεν N¹

23. **having received**, &c. These words point to an original difference between good and bad souls before their incorporation in the body. Cp. Wisd. viii. 19.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

Herford.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE treatise called 'Pirkē Aboth', or 'Sayings of the Fathers', is a collection of maxims, mostly ethical and religious, uttered by Jewish teachers within a period extending from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. 'Pirkē Aboth' is not its original title, neither is 'Sayings of the Fathers' a correct rendering of that title; but the former is very ancient, and the latter is so far sanctioned by custom that it would be inconvenient to correct it to 'Chapters of Fathers', though that is what it ought to be. The book was not the production of one author. It was one of the sixty-three treatises of the Mishnah, the great *corpus juris* in which the Tradition of the Elders was reduced to order. The compiler or editor of the Mishnah was Rabbi Judah the Holy, commonly called 'Rabbi', who died A.D. 219; and to that extent he may be regarded as the author of the Pirkē Aboth. But this treatise, like the Mishnah itself, is mainly composed of material older than the time of 'Rabbi'; and both give clear evidence of later additions. From this it will be seen that Pirkē Aboth can hardly be treated as a book in the ordinary sense of the word, and that no definite date can be given for its composition or even for its completion. While still a portion of the Tradition of the Elders, it differs in character and form from the main body of the Tradition, and is thus capable of separate treatment and study. As a collection of moral and religious sayings it was included in the liturgy of the synagogue at least as early as the eleventh century; and many commentaries upon it were written in and after the Middle Ages. Since the invention of printing, it has been published in innumerable editions, mostly Hebrew, but recently in other languages.

The contents of the book are not arranged in any obvious order, and it is evidently made up of several collections differing in aim and method. Chronological sequence is observed in ch. i, and to some extent in ch. ii. It is wholly disregarded in the remaining chapters. The maxims in ch. i-iv are the utterance of named teachers, while those in ch. v are mostly anonymous. Ch. vi is no part of the original book, and only attempts to catch the manner of it. But in all six chapters there is no attempt at a completely representative list of names. Sixty-five teachers are named, out of the hundreds who belonged to the period of the Mishnah; and while it was not to be expected that all these should be included, it is hard to account for some of the omissions. It is remarkable that Gamaliel II, one of the most important of all, is not mentioned, though all the line of Hillel, with that one exception, is represented, down to the beginning of the third century. So, too, in regard to the substance of the maxims, while these touch upon some of the main heads of Rabbinical theology and ethics, they by no means cover the whole field; and in what they do give there is no appearance of systematic arrangement. The whole collection, indeed, might well have been taken from the editor's note-book. But, while thus 'formless', it is by no means 'void'; and the reader who will persevere will find much that is valuable and instructive for the right understanding of the religion and ethics of the Pharisees; much, also, which, without being either very profound or very sublime, is yet well and wisely said.

For the explanation of the origin and nature of the book, several things need to be said which cannot well be given under the separate heads of title, date, integrity of composition, and authorship. In place of these sections there will here be given—

§ 2. HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF PIRKĒ ABOTH.

1. *Origin and growth of the Mishnah as a whole.* The characteristic feature of the reformation of Ezra in the fifth century B.C. was the stress laid upon the idea of Torah as the complete divine revelation given to Israel. 'Torah' should never be translated 'Law'; it is much more than Law. The written record, the Pentateuch, contained divine instruction in other forms besides that of precept. The interpretation of the Pentateuch was the unfolding of

INTRODUCTION

the contents of revelation in every direction, not in that of practical conduct alone. The truth thus rendered explicit through valid interpretation was part of the contents of the original revelation; hence the written word and the unwritten interpretation were each Torah, and together made up the whole Torah. What was sought in the divine revelation was either truth to be known or directions for conduct to be obeyed. In order to carry out the fundamental command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' &c., it was needful that the Jew should know exactly what the divine will was on every occasion of choice. Therefore one main line on which the idea of Torah was developed was that of a Rule of right conduct. This was obtained first of all from the written word, and thence extended by successive definitions and the application of recognized methods of interpretation. The results of this process were carefully handed on from one teacher to another, being regarded as ascertained portions of Torah, no longer to be disputed and of binding authority. The body of judicial interpretations thus accumulated is the Tradition of the Elders; and the name given to the Rule of right conduct embodied in the tradition is Halachah. The tradition probably began with Ezra, but no names are preserved of the earliest teachers. In the centuries after his time, the mass of halachah increased in amount and complexity, since in each generation the more eminent teachers made their own contributions to it. The teachers whose names are given in the Pirkē Aboth are those who were chiefly instrumental in developing the Tradition on the line of halachah. R. Akiba (see notes) made the first attempt to classify the unwieldy mass of halachah, but left the work unfinished. His pupil, R. Meir, carried it further; but it was left to R. Judah (Rabbi) to undertake and accomplish the orderly arrangement of the whole, in the Mishnah. In form, the Mishnah is a series of definitions of halachah upon various subjects, extending over the whole range of practical life, regarded from the point of view of the Pharisee. In addition to the definitions of halachah, the Mishnah contains many rejected opinions, together with the reasons for rejecting them; also the names of the teachers on whose authority the tradition rested, as well as occasional historical and biographical notes. It is divided into six orders (*sedarim*) and sixty-three treatises or books (*massichtoth*). Each treatise is divided into chapters (*perakim*), and each chapter into paragraphs (each called a *halachah* or a *mishnah*). One of these treatises, in the fourth order, is that now known as Pirkē Aboth. In the editions of the Mishnah and the Talmud it is always called 'Aboth'.

2. *The treatise Aboth.* While the rest of the Mishnah consists mainly of halachah, Aboth contains no halachah at all; and the only reason for its inclusion in the Mishnah would seem to be the fact that its list of 'Fathers' is made up of those teachers who mainly produced the Mishnah. But why it was placed where it now stands, in the main division dealing with 'Injuries', has not been satisfactorily explained. That it was incorporated in the Mishnah, and was not left an isolated book as might well be supposed, is shown by the fact that in the Gemara (the later comment on the Mishnah, in the third to the fifth centuries) there are at least seventeen references to passages in Aboth, introduced by one or other of the formulae regularly used in quoting from the Mishnah. Several of these references are on the authority of R. Johanan, who had been a pupil of 'Rabbi' and must have known the Mishnah as Rabbi left it. But it was incorporated in the Mishnah, as an extraneous element, not forming part of the halachic tradition. The motive for the collection of the contents of Aboth was originally the desire to indicate the links in the chain of tradition from the time of Moses to the time of the compiler, whoever he was. This earliest nucleus of Aboth is contained in ch. i, and, as I believe, ends there. It will be seen from the notes that the last teacher mentioned in ch. i died in the war of A.D. 68-70, a date which is one of the fixed points of Rabbinical chronology. Who it was that drew up this list of 'Fathers' there is no evidence to show; it might well have been R. Zadok (iv. 7), an old man who just survived the fall of Jerusalem. But it is clear that the title 'Fathers' belongs to this earliest list, and, strictly speaking, only to that. The ancient, not the contemporary, teachers were the Fathers of Israel. In ch. ii is found another list, probably suggested by, but not continuous with, the earlier one. It deals mainly with R. Johanan b. Zaccai, his teacher, and his chief pupils; in other words, with the men who re-established the tradition after the war. A connexion with the older series is made by the statement that R. Johanan b. Zaccai 'received from' Hillel. But there is no further attempt to carry on the successive stages of the tradition. The mention in ii. 1, 2 of Rabbi and his son is clearly a later addition, and the same may perhaps be the case with R. Tarphon ii. 19, 20. Chapters iii and iv (which are continuous) abandon chronology altogether, and seem to be due to a desire to enrich the former collections of ancient wisdom with specimens from later times. Ch. v in its turn abandons the form of personal reference, and consists mainly of a series of groups based on numbers. All these different elements are clearly distinguishable; but it is impossible to allot them to their respective authors. I can only suggest that Rabbi found ch. i and ii already in existence, possibly also iii and iv (if he did not compile them himself), and that he added ch. v as a conclusion to the whole collection. Ch. vi was

not added till long after. The Mishnah, as left by Rabbi, contained then the treatise Aboth substantially complete; but interpolations were made in the one as in the other. Those in Aboth will be pointed out in the notes. The Mishnah became the subject of study in the Rabbinical schools both of Palestine and Babylonia, and the resulting commentary is called the Gemara. The Mishnah and the Gemara together form the Talmud, and there are thus two Talmuds, known respectively as the Jerusalem and the Babylonian. But there is no Gemara on Aboth, since it did not deal with halachah. At some period, probably after the closing of the Talmud, there was compiled a sort of expansion of Aboth, the work known as the Aboth of R. Nathan, though he was certainly not the compiler of the whole of it (see the preface in Schechter's edition of the *ARN*, 1887). The older Aboth was not displaced by the later expansion; it gradually came to be used as a book of edification for Sabbath reading by students in the colleges. The earliest trace of such use is in the college at Sura, towards the middle of the ninth century. At some later period, but before the end of the eleventh century, its use was extended from the colleges to the synagogues, and it was appointed to be read in the service on certain Sabbaths. Already in the college at Sura, the sixth chapter had been added to Aboth; and, if the reading was intended to last over six Sabbaths (as is the case in many Jewish communities), here would be the reason for compiling an additional chapter to the original five. Since the eleventh century, Aboth has been included in all the Jewish liturgies, though the days on which it is to be read vary in different localities. The most usual practice is to read it on the six Sabbath afternoons after Passover.

§ 3. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

These are either of the whole Talmud, or of the Mishnah, or of Aboth separately. The Munich MS. of the Babylonian Talmud, written in 1369, and collated by Rabbinowicz for his *variae lectiones*, contains Aboth; but it has never been published, and the great work of Rabbinowicz was left unfinished at his death, the collation of Aboth being amongst the unprinted remainder. The most important Mishnah MS. is that in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 470. 1), fully described in Taylor's edition of Aboth (Appendix, 1900). In that Appendix, Taylor gives a classified list of 170 MSS. of Aboth contained in the libraries of London (B. Museum), Oxford (Bodleian), Cambridge, Paris, Hamburg, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Parma. The reader is referred to Taylor's list, also to the section on MSS. in Strack's article 'Thalmud' in Hauck's *Encyklopädie*. The present translation and notes have been made (so far as manuscript authority is concerned) with the help of Taylor's critical material; it may be sufficient therefore to describe briefly the chief MSS. used by him. For convenience of printing, ordinary capitals have been substituted for his Old English letters.

- A. The Cambridge MS. mentioned above, containing the whole Mishnah according to the Palestinian recension, date fourteenth century. It has been published in full by W. H. Lowe, 1883. Taylor uses this as the basis of his translation. Aboth contains only five chapters.
- B. Cambridge, St. John's College, K. 7. A copy (1517) of the commentary on Aboth (six chapters) by R. Isaac Israeli (1368), which was based upon an older commentary by R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth-thirteenth centuries).
- C. Cambridge University, Add. 667, date 1220. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth (six chapters), also a commentary upon it.
- D. Br. Museum, Add. 27200-1, date not later than 1242. Contains an unpointed text of Aboth, together with commentary. Six chapters are given; but it is expressly stated that Aboth ends with v. 23.
- S. London, Jews' College, date about 1610. Contains pointed text of Aboth, six chapters, with a grammatical commentary.

§ 4. INFLUENCE OF ABOTH ON LATER LITERATURE.

Very little can be said under this head, although Pirkē Aboth has been more widely read amongst Jews than almost any other book. Its influence upon life and character has been very great, because it has kept before the minds of its readers a certain type of piety. But it does so only by expressing the ethical, and to some extent the religious, ideas common to the whole of the literature coeval with the Talmud. It strikes out no new line, presents no new thought whose influence might be traced in later writings. The object of its compilation was to collect the treasures of ancient wisdom, not to invite a search for the new. There was progressive thought in Talmudic and mediaeval Judaism; but it received no stimulus from Pirkē Aboth. When Maimonides wrote his commentary on Aboth, he got his ethics mainly from Aristotle and interpreted the Jewish wisdom in terms of the Greek. Aboth served him as a basis for his exposition, not as the source of his ideas. The same is more or less true of all the many commentaries on Aboth; the object of them is to unfold the meaning of an ancient manual of piety, according to the moral judgement of the

INTRODUCTION

interpreter, and not to go beyond it. The value of Aboth consisted largely in its presentation of the past, its reflection of the wisdom and piety which had stood the test of long experience, and was consecrated by the memory of revered sages and saints of the olden time. As a factor in training character it has played a great part in Jewish history; but as a source of new developments in literature, what influence it may have had is merged in that of the Talmud and the Midrash as a whole.

Outside the domain of Jewish literature and life Aboth has had practically no effect at all. It was known only to scholars, and by them used for the illustration of Jewish thought; it did not, so far as I know, lead to any fresh literary creation by non-Jewish writers.

§ 5. THEOLOGY OF ABOTH.

As will have appeared already, the main character of the book is ethical rather than theological. A theology is certainly implied in it, but it is the theology which underlies the whole of Rabbinical Judaism, and is in no way peculiar to Aboth. A full account of this theology would be out of place in an introduction to a book which is not specially theological, and would moreover occupy far more space than could be given to it. All that will here be attempted is to remark on those features of Aboth which may be regarded as theological. The distinction here drawn between ethical and theological would be hardly felt by those for whom Aboth was intended or by whom it was compiled. To be virtuous was to do the will of God; and the way to become virtuous was to learn what He had revealed and to take it to heart. A Talmudic Rabbi would not deny that there were virtuous Gentiles; but for those to whom the Torah, the complete divine revelation, had been given, there could be no moral excellence apart from Torah. The sanction of ethics was the revealed will of God; and there was no moral worth in obeying the precepts, in doing the things prescribed, unless there were the conscious intention of serving God in so doing. Hence, for all that the maxims in Aboth are in form mostly ethical, they are in substance religious, and, to the Jew, inseparable from religion. The character formed in accordance with them is the character of the *hasid*, the saint, the type of what the Jew ought to be as one of the children of God. To bear this in mind is constantly necessary in reading Aboth, else the non-Jewish reader will be likely to be little impressed by a series of moral counsels which do not appear to be very profound or very interesting. Behind them all (or nearly all) is, for the Jew, the thought of his personal relation to God, to whose perfect service those counsels are the guides. In this sense, the whole of Aboth is religious, though not specifically theological.

Of theology proper, the chief concept in Aboth is Torah, as it is the chief concept in all Rabbinical theology. What Torah means has been to some extent explained in § 2. A large proportion of the maxims in Aboth refer to the study of Torah; and by that is to be understood not merely the reading of the Pentateuch but the study of the divine thought, revealed implicitly in the written word (directly in the Pentateuch, indirectly in the rest of Scripture), and rendered explicit in the oral interpretation. Torah virtually means the whole of divine truth, so far as it was accessible to human minds. The characteristic terms of Talmudic Judaism are those of teaching and learning; the names Talmud, Mishnah, Midrash express the giving or receiving of knowledge, the thing known being Torah. Hence the keynote of Rabbinism is wisdom, and its saints are its sages; and here is to be found the clue to the remarkable difference in tone and character between the Talmudic literature and the N. Testament.

When the real significance of Torah is understood, it will not seem surprising that in Aboth there is no very frequent mention of God. Wherever Torah is referred to God is implied. He is not actually named by the use of the word 'God' all through the book, except in Scriptural citations. The term most often used is 'Makom', lit. 'place', as we should say 'the All-present'.¹ But it must not be inferred from this that the Talmudic idea of God was of a remote and abstract being. This was not so; although the evidence for denying this frequent misrepresentation cannot be given here. God is once referred to, in the concluding verse of the original book, v. 23, as 'thy Father which is in heaven', a term which is quite as characteristic of Talmudic religion as 'Makom', and which belongs of right to Judaism no less than to Christianity.

In regard to God's dealings with man, His foreknowledge is asserted, but most stress is laid upon His justice which shows itself in retribution; reward and punishment are apportioned for good deeds and bad respectively, and, though sometimes described in figures of speech commercial rather than religious, reward and punishment signify the divine approval and disapproval not limited to particular forms of expression. God must be served not for the sake of the reward, but for His own sake; 'for the sake of Heaven' is only another way of saying 'for the sake of God'. The love of God to man

¹ Other terms are 'Holy One, blessed be He', 'Heaven', 'Shechinah', 'King of the kings of the kings'.

is also mentioned, and is not confined to Israel (iii. 19). God hears prayer; and prayer is not to be restricted to fixed forms, but is to be the spontaneous utterance of the soul to Him. It may be inferred, though it is not expressly said, that as man was made in the image of God, the characteristics of the saint (see especially vi. 6) are likewise (so far as they are applicable) attributes of God.

There is no theological doctrine which is taught in Aboth and not found elsewhere; while there is much that is found elsewhere and only unmentioned in Aboth because there was no occasion for it. The object of the compiler was not to produce a handbook of theology, but to illustrate from famous examples the character of the saint. For Rabbinical theology as a whole the reader is referred to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and is warned that Weber's *System of Synagogue Theology* is a most unsafe guide, as it presents the results of great learning from a standpoint entirely mistaken and by a method fundamentally wrong.¹ (See the present writer's *Pharisaism*, pp. 235-7.)

§ 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

There is no need to distinguish here between editions of the text and editions of the book; and the critical problems presented by the text are of comparatively small importance, relating only to various readings and interpolations. There is nothing in the criticism of Aboth comparable to the problems presented by the Hexateuch, or Isaiah, or the Synoptic Gospels.

Apart from the editions of the Mishnah and of the whole Talmud, there is, so far as I know, no *editio princeps* of Aboth. The separate text appeared first in the prayer-books, or less probably in the commentaries. It was never, till quite recently, printed as a book on its own account. The text in Hebrew, for private edification, has been published in many editions, but without any pretence of textual criticism.

Of critical editions, prepared with all the resources of modern scholarship, there are only two. The first is that by C. Taylor (reprinted as second edition with appendix, in two volumes, 1900). This gives text, translation, critical and general notes, and a full critical apparatus. It is quite indispensable to the student of Aboth, though the notes are somewhat overloaded and not always strictly relevant. The chief omission is an account of the origin and history of the book, a few lines in the preface being all that is given to that branch of the subject. With that exception, Taylor's edition leaves little to be said by any future editor of the text. The other critical edition is that by Strack, published in 1882. It is much shorter than that of Taylor, the notes being mainly grammatical and literary. But, so far as it goes, the work could hardly be improved; the scholarship and minute accuracy for which Strack is so well known appear on every page. The introduction, though short, includes almost everything that is necessary, except an account of the MSS. Strack does not say what text he has used, nor what is the authority for the various readings which he rejects. For further details upon editions of Aboth, see the article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Strack's Introduction just mentioned.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

In the following translation I have used the text as given in Taylor, in Strack, in the Wilna edition of the Talmud Babli (1880-1884), and in the Amsterdam edition of the Mishnah, 1675 (a copy that belonged to R. Moses of Rothenburg). I have not followed any one of them exclusively. I have also got useful help from the edition, with commentary, called 'Minhah ḥadashah', 1722 (written by Michael Moravczyk and published in 1576). I have throughout consulted the commentaries of Rashi, R. Obadiah of Sforno (Bartenora), Maimonides, and Jom-tob-Heller. I have followed the usual division of chapters; but, as there is no recognized division of paragraphs, I have used my own judgement in dividing them.

¹ The student, however, should bear in mind that Rabbinic Pharisaism after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. differs largely from Pharisaism before that date. See the Introduction to this Vol.—Gen. Editor.

PIRKĒ ABOTH

SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS

1¹ Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgement; and raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah.

2 Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: On three things the world standeth: on the Torah, and on the Service, and on the doing of kindnesses.

3 Antigonus of Socho received from Simeon the Just. He used to say: Be not like slaves who serve the master with a view to receiving a present; but be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present: and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

4 Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem received from them. Jose b. Joezer of Zeredah said: Let thy house be a house of meeting for the Wise, and bedust thyself with the dust of their feet, and drink with thirst their words.

I. 1. **Torah.** A technical term not identical with 'Law'. *Torah* (= teaching) denotes the revelation which God gave to Israel by Moses, supposed to be complete and final. The Pentateuch is the written record of that teaching; hence the name Torah is often applied to the Pentateuch. But Torah included also the unwritten tradition whereby the implicit contents of the revelation were made explicit by successive interpretations. No English word is equivalent to Torah, which is therefore retained untranslated in the text and the notes.

the Elders. Probably the 'able men' chosen by Moses to assist him (Exod. xviii. 25), and regarded as a permanent body.

Great Synagogue. In the rabbinical tradition a council founded by Ezra which lasted for many years. The scanty references to it indicate the assembly mentioned in Neh. ix, x. No such permanent council can be shown to have existed; but the tradition is not wholly worthless. The term 'Great Synagogue' may be taken to denote the early Scribes (Sopherim), who developed the religion of Torah on the lines and in the spirit of Ezra, for several generations after his time. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 18-22.

They said, i.e. the men of the Great Synagogue said. Tradition represented as decrees of a council what were probably only the rules agreed on by the Scribes for their own guidance. The three sayings are certainly very ancient. It was the duty of the Scribes to judge, also to teach Torah.

a fence for the Torah, סני לתורה. This does not mean that the Torah was to be made into a stiff hedge, but refers merely to precautions by which a man might be guarded from transgression before it was too late.

2. **Simeon the Just,** or the Righteous. It is impossible to be sure who is meant, whether Simeon, grandson of Jaddua, who was High Priest from 310 to 291 B.C. (or 300-270), or his grandson, who was High Priest from 219 to 199. Josephus mentions both (*Ant.* xii. 2. 5 and 4. 10), but he only applies the epithet 'the Just' to the older man. The Simon of Sirach i is probably the younger, and he is not there called 'the Just'. The rabbinical references confuse the two, and possibly allude to other men also.

the world standeth. Meaning that the three things are the fundamentals of human (or perhaps national) life.

Torah. See above.

the Service, העבודה. The Temple service. The three things represent revelation, worship, and sympathy, i.e. God's word to man, man's response to God, and man's love to his fellow men.

3. **Antigonus of Socho.** Note the Greek name. His date, being dependent on that of Simeon the Just, is uncertain. Later tradition said that he had two disciples, one of whom, Zadok, became the founder of the Sadducees.

a present. The Hebr. word פרוס represents the Gk. *phoros*, and is distinguished from 'reward', שכר, that which the servant has a right to expect.

fear of Heaven, i.e. the fear of God. Heaven, for God, a frequent substitute in Jewish speech; the most familiar instance is 'kingdom of heaven' = kingdom of God. The two dicta of Antigonus are unconnected with each other.

4. From here to v. 12, the successive teachers are arranged in pairs. They are so grouped elsewhere in the Talmud, and are called Zügöth (Pairs). They are represented in tradition as having been, in each case, the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin, the great council of the state. This is incorrect, as Kuenen has conclusively shown (see his essay 'Over de samenstelling van het Sanhedrin'). If, however, there were some assembly of Scribes, as suggested above, v. 1, then the Zügöth may have been presidents and vice-presidents of that body.

Jose b. Joezer was probably among the sixty who were killed by Alcimus (1 Macc. vii. 16), 162 B.C. Alcimus is said to have been his nephew.

from them, מהם. The MSS. and printed texts are divided between this reading and an alternative 'from him' ממי. For the former ABCD, for the latter S. Taylor, Baer, and Strack adopt the former. The latter is perhaps due to a desire to obviate the difficulty of the reading 'from them', since only Antigonus is mentioned in the preceding verse. The reading 'from them' implies that a name or names are missing between Antigonus and the first Pair. This favours the authenticity of the list; if it had been fictitious, names would have been supplied.

the Wise. The recognized teachers, whether the early Scribes or the later Rabbis.

bedust thyself. The disciple should sit at the feet of his teacher; cp. Acts xxii. 3.

- 5 Jose b. Joḥanan of Jerusalem said: Let thy house be opened wide; and let poor folk be thy household; and talk not much with the wife.
- 5 *a* [He said it concerning his own wife; much more concerning the wife of his associate. Hence the Wise have said: So long as a man talks much with the wife he causes evil to himself, and desists from words of Torah, and his end is that he inherits Gehenna.]
- 6 Joshua b. Peraḥiah and Nittai the Arbelite received from them. Joshua b. Peraḥiah said: Make to thyself a teacher; and get thee an associate; and judge every man with a leaning to *his* merit.
- 7 Nittai the Arbelite said: Keep far from an evil neighbour, and consort not with the wicked, and be not heedless of retribution.
- 8 Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ received from them. Judah b. Tabbai said: Make not thyself as those that prepare the judges; and when the suitors are standing before thee let them be in thine eyes as wicked men; and when they have been dismissed from before thee let them be in thine eyes as just *men* who have received their sentence.
- 9 Simeon b. Shetaḥ said: Do much in examining the witnesses; and be careful in thy words; perchance by means of them they may learn to lie.
- 10 Shemaiah and Abtalion received from them. Shemaiah said: Love work, and hate mastery, and make not thyself known to the government.

5. **the wife**, or 'woman' in general; cp. John iv. 27. But the former is more likely, because the whole verse refers to the one household; also in the following verse, which interprets this saying, the meaning is clearly 'wife'.

5 *a*. This verse is a later comment on the preceding, though it is included in all the MSS. Ch. i is the oldest part of the treatise (v. Introduction); this verse may have been added by the compiler.

He said it. The Hebr. is אָמַר, which, being unpointed, may be translated 'he said it', or 'they said'. The former suits the context, while the latter can only be made intelligible by supplying 'the Wise' from the next clause. Taylor and Strack render 'they said', and do not notice the alternative. Schoettgen has 'he said it', *dixit*. The meaning of the prohibition to talk with the wife is variously explained: (*a*) it distracts the man's attention from words of Torah; (*b*) she may put him to shame by gossiping of what he says to her; (*c*) it may lead to his talking with other women, thence to suspicion, thence to sin.

inherits, יָרַשׁ. So most MSS. S has יוֹרֵד 'descends into'. 'Inherit' is frequently used of Paradise, the bliss after death; v. *infra*, v. 22, 'Garden of Eden', and cp. Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

Gehenna, גֵּהֶנְנָא, the abode of the wicked after death.

6. The second Pair, v. *supra*, i. 4. Their approximate date is 110 B.C. J. b. Peraḥiah, according to one set of traditions in the Talmud, was the teacher of Jesus.

Nittai the Arbelite. From Arbela (mod. Irbid) in Galilee, a few miles west-north-west of Tiberias. Nittai is the usual reading, and is a contracted form of Nethaniah. A reads Mattai, here and Hag. ii. 2, the only other place where this teacher is mentioned; the difference is only between נִתַּי and מַתַּי.

associate, *haber*, חֶבֶר, the name applied to members of a society, *ḥabūrah*, pledged to strict observance of the rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The term is possibly derived from Ps. cxix. 63, and was used by Pharisees to designate each other.

leaning to his merit, לִכְף נֹכַח. Metaphor of a balance with two pans, one to hold the merit, the other the demerit. That which holds the merit is to be helped to descend. The maxim simply means 'believe the best of every man'.

7. **evil neighbour.** Probably general.

heedless, perhaps 'hopeless'. It has been suggested (*J. Enc.* s.v. Nittai) that this third saying was uttered in reference to the persecution of the Pharisees by John Hyrcanus after he had gone over to the Sadducees (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6), and that it was meant to encourage the Pharisees to hope that Hyrcanus would yet be punished for his apostasy. This is possible; but the commentators interpret the saying of retribution in general.

8. The third Pair. **S. b. Shetaḥ**, brother-in-law of King Jannaeus (126-76 B.C.), whom he survived. He was successful in restoring the influence of the Pharisees which had been lost under Hyrcanus (see above). In the tradition, though **J. b. Tabbai** is here placed first, S. b. Sh. is by far the more important. (See *Rev. d. Études Juives*, 1912, pp. 216-32.)

prepare the judges, עוֹרְכֵי הַדִּיּוּן, i. e. influence them before the trial. As the maxim is addressed to judges the meaning seems to be 'do not listen to those who prepare the judges', in any case 'be impartial'. This clause is repeated below, iv. 7. [If we read הַרִינִין we have an excellent sense: 'Make not thyself like those who prepare the suits,' i. e. do not play the part of a counsel but of a judge.—Gen. Editor.]

wicked: not, however, guilty (Taylor). The judge must not assume that the accused has done what he is accused of, but must merely show no favour to either party; he must not say 'this man is respectable' (Rashi).

just: as they have received the sentence, there is no further ground of imputing evil to them; they have satisfied the law.

9. Again addressed to judges. **careful in thy words**, זָהִיר בְּדַבְּרֶיךָ: the judge is not to indicate what his own opinion is, lest the witnesses should adapt their evidence to his views and swear falsely for the sake of a verdict in their favour.

10. The fourth Pair. **Shemaiah** and **Abtalion** are probably the Σαμέας and Πολλίων of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 1. 1). Both are said to have been proselytes of heathen origin; but Grätz (*G. d. Jud.* iii. 481) disproves this, and suggests that they were Alexandrian Jews. Date, 60 B.C., *circa*. Shemaiah is the more prominent figure; but it is said by Josephus that he was a disciple of Abtalion.

mastery, רִבְנוּת, the word used in later literature to describe the status of a Rabbi. It cannot have that meaning here, for Shemaiah himself was a Rabbi, and magnified his office. The Talmud (b. Sotah. 13^b) says that 'Joseph died before his brethren because he behaved with *rabbānuth*', i. e. he domineered over them. Shemaiah warns against arrogance.

- 11 Abtalion said: Ye Wise, be careful in your words; lest ye become guilty with the guilt *that involves exile*, and be exiled to a place of evil waters, and the disciples that come after you drink and die, and the Name of Heaven be found profaned.
- 12 Hillel and Shammai received from them. Hillel said: Be of the disciples of Aaron, one that loves peace, that pursues peace, that loves mankind and brings them nigh to Torah.
- 13 He used to say: *Whoso* makes great his name destroys his name; whoso adds not makes to cease; and he who will not learn is guilty *so as to deserve* killing. And whoso serves himself with the crown passes away.
- 14 He used to say: If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?
- 15 Shammai said: Make thy Torah a fixed *duty*; say little and do much; and receive every man with the look of a cheerful face.
- 16 Rabban Gamaliel said: Make to thyself a teacher; and remove thyself from what is doubtful; and do not often tithe by *mental* valuation.

government, רשות. The authorities (so ii. 3 below). It is dangerous to become known to the authorities, or it is corrupting. Probably here the latter is meant; as Shemaiah was very well known to the authorities.

11. **Wise**. The teachers, Rabbis; see above, i. 4. To expound Torah wrongly is to promote the transgression of its precepts. If, as the divine retribution for doing so, a teacher is exiled to a place of *evil waters*, i. e. a place where there is no sound teaching of Torah, he may perpetuate his error, so that those who **come after**, i. e. learn from him, may **drink**, i. e. receive his teaching, and **die**, i. e. fall into sin for which death is the divine punishment. In that case, it will be **found**, i. e. it will result, that the name of God has been **profaned**.

12. **Hillel and Shammai**, the fifth and last Pair (date 30 B. C. and after). Hillel is said to have lived 120 years, but this is only a way of comparing him with Moses. The same is said of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. The disciples of H. and S. were divided in opinion upon many questions, and their controversies lasted for nearly a century. It was perhaps owing to this that no further Pairs are mentioned. The authorized tradition was that of the school of H.; and, with the one exception of R. Joh. b. Zaccai, descendants of H. successively held the leading position (later, with the title of 'Nasi', 'prince') down to A. D. 415. Seven sayings of H. are given in this book, i. 12-14, ii. 5-8. The originals are part in Hebrew, part in Aramaic.

disciples of Aaron. The association of Aaron with peace is frequent in the Rabbinical literature, and is possibly due to H. himself.

mankind, בריית, lit. 'creatures', but the commentators agree that it refers to the human race as a whole; and thus it often denotes the Gentiles as distinguished from the Jews. Taylor compares Mark xvi. 15 and Rom. viii. 19. The sense is probably the same; but in these and similar passages *κτίσις* is in the singular (R. V. 'creation').

brings . . . nigh to Torah, מִקְרֵב לְתוֹרָה. As the Torah was the divine revelation, the 'creatures', i. e. all mankind, should be invited to come and share in it. This is the motive of 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte', Matt. xxiii. 15.

13. The original is in Aramaic. **name**, reputation. For the sense of the maxim cp. 'vaulting ambition doth o'erleap itself' (Shaks.).

adds not, i. e. to what he learns from his teacher; he must contribute something from his own intelligence.

makes to cease. The reading varies between the trans. and the intrans. יִסַּף and יִסֹּף. In the first case the learner loses what he has learned; in the second he comes to an end, is good for nothing.

guilty . . . killing, קָטְלָה חַיִּיב. For the form of the phrase cp. (A. V.) Matt. xxvi. 66. 'Guilty of death' gives the wrong sense in English; but it exactly represents the Hebrew, of which *ἐνοχὸς θανάτου* is the rendering in the Gospel. To refuse to learn Torah at all is to despise the divine revelation, and is, as it were, spiritual suicide. One who does so 'deserves death', but is not 'guilty of killing' himself.

serves himself, makes his own profit out of.

crown: any position of authority or privilege, here his knowledge of Torah. The teacher of Torah must not be paid for teaching. The Rabbis either worked for their living or had private means. See below, iv. 7, where this maxim is paraphrased by R. Zadok, and Hillel's own words added, perhaps by the editor.

14. Original in Hebrew. The general sense is of self-reliance and readiness. The contrast between 'now' and 'when?' refers either to 'this world' and 'the world to come', or else merely to the present and some future time. The opportunity may never come again.

15. **Shammai** (see above, v. 12) was much less prominent in the tradition. He had the character of being harsh and severe, as contrasted with Hillel.

fixed, קָבַע: 'duty' is added to complete the sense. Torah is to be the foundation of all, the one essential in life, and the study of it is to take precedence over everything else. Another interpretation is that fixed times are to be kept for the study of Torah lest it be omitted. Another is, that Torah (precept) is to be applied uniformly, not in favour of one and against another, but equally to both.

16. **Rabban Gamaliel**. In Hebrew גַּמְלִיאֵל. Grandson of Hillel; this is the teacher of Paul, and the Gamaliel of Acts v. 34. Rabban is a title, first used in his case, to denote the head of the house of Hillel. According to the Rabbinical view, this carried with it the presidency of the Sanhedrin; but the passage in Acts shows that Gamaliel did not hold that position. After the fall of Jerusalem, when the Sanhedrin ceased to be the great council under the presidency of the High Priest, and became merely the assembly of the Rabbis, the chief of the house of Hillel was its president; except that for some years, A. D. 70-80, R. Johanan b. Zaccai held the office. The title Rabban is not indicated in the passage in Acts; but if it were the retrospective compliment of a later age, it would almost certainly have been given also to Hillel. Perhaps it is the expression of the fact that Gamaliel was 'held in honour of all the people'.

remove . . . doubtful, הִסְתַּלַּךְ מִן הַדַּפֵּק. Taylor renders 'Be quit of doubt', but does not explain the saying. The commentators connect it with the previous saying, and take it to mean, 'In doubtful cases consult some one else,

- 17 Simeon his son said: All my days I have grown up among the Wise, and I have not found anything better than silence; and not study is the chief thing but action; and whoso makes many words occasions sin.
- 18 Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel said: On three things the world stands: on judgement, on truth, and on peace. [As it is said: 'Truth and judgement of peace judge ye in your gates.'] Zech. viii
- 21 Rabbi said: What is that right way which a man should choose for himself? Whatever is an honour to him that does it and an honour to him *in the sight of men*. And be careful over a light precept as over a weighty, for thou knowest not the giving of the rewards of the precepts. And reckon the loss *involved in a precept* against its reward, and the reward of a sin against its loss. And

and do not depend on your own judgement alone'; the reference is to the functions of a judge, and not to the difficulties of a searcher after truth. The third saying is mere practical advice not to rely on guesswork in estimating the amount to be separated (from corn, &c.) as tithe.

17. **Simeon his son.** This would be the son of the preceding, and is so understood by nearly all the commentators. But a much more probable explanation is that *vv.* 16, 17 have been transposed, and that the Simeon of *v.* 17 is the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel. In favour of this view is the fact that this Simeon is not called Rabban, as he would have been if he had succeeded Gamaliel. Also, that Simeon the son of Hillel was so unimportant that he is only once mentioned in the Talmud; this is in keeping with the saying mentioned in *v.* 17, which is the utterance of a shy, retiring man. Also, in *v.* 18, there is Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, i. e. the man to whom *v.* 17 is commonly supposed to refer, viz. the Simeon who was one of the leading men during the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. Wars, iv. 3. 9). The commentators, however, having already assigned *v.* 17 to him, are obliged to assign *v.* 18 to a younger S. b. Gamaliel, in the middle of the second century, who is here quite out of place. The identification I propose makes the arrangement simple and natural; it brings the line of Hillel down to the year of the siege and stops there, in accordance with the remark in the Talmud (b. Shabb. 15^a) that the order of succession was: Hillel, Simeon, Gamaliel, Simeon; of whom it is said that the four held office for a hundred years prior to the destruction of the Temple. The whole line of descent for the period included in this book is as follows: Hillel, Simeon I, Gamaliel I, Simeon II, Gamaliel II, Simeon III, Judah the Prince, Gamaliel III, each being son of his predecessor. For the bearing of this conjecture on the compilation of the book, see the Introduction. The saying recited in *v.* 17 scarcely needs explanation; it is in keeping with the character of a man who had no head for study, and found it safest to remain silent. It was natural that he should lay more stress on the practice than on the theory of Torah. On the danger of much speaking cp. iii. 17 below, 'Silence is a fence for wisdom.'

18. For the identification of this teacher, see preceding note. This is the Simeon of the siege, in the course of or soon after which he was apparently killed. His maxim is a variant on *v.* 2 above, where three fundamentals are laid down in a saying ascribed to Simeon the Just. The text, Zech. viii. 16, cited in support of the maxim, is probably an editorial addition. The citations of Scripture become more frequent in the later parts of the book, but it is seldom possible to be sure whether any of them were included in the original text.

II. 1. For the division of chapters in this book see the Introduction.

Rabbi. This is R. Judah the Prince (Nasi), son of Simeon III, see above on i. 17; also called Judah the Holy (ha-ḳadosh). The title Rabbi was given to every accredited teacher in Palestine, but always with the addition of his own name, thus—Rabbi Zadok. In the case of Judah the Holy, the name was omitted and the title alone given, as if to indicate that he was *the Rabbi par excellence*. Rabbi died A.D. 219. He is said to have been born A.D. 135, but this is probably too early. He was the last and chief compiler of the Mishnah, though additions were made to it after his time. This is evident from the mention of him in this verse, and still more from *v.* 2. See the Introduction.

way, path, or course, used as in English of the manner of life, course of action. The 'way of the earth', דרך ארץ, means general intercourse with one's fellow men. It was the aim of the Rabbis to deduce from Torah directions for the practical service of God in daily life, guidance in the right 'way'; and the rules which they formulated were called (singly and collectively) 'halachah', הלכה, i. e. 'going', in other words 'rule of right conduct'. The Mishnah is, mainly, a collection of 'halachah', and the Gemara the commentary on it. Mishnah and Gemara together make up the Talmud. For the use of the term 'way', in its ethical meaning, cp. Acts xviii. 26; xix. 9, 23; xxiv. 14; also the title of the early Jewish treatise, adapted to Christian use, 'The Two Ways.'

a man, האדם, not especially a Jew.

him that does it. The almost universal reading is לעשה, which is pointed either לעשה or לעשה. I do not venture to depart from this in the translation. But עשה is not the verb which would naturally be used in reference to דרך 'way'; and, further, some commentators have felt that the maxim of Rabbi requires a different antithesis. R. Israel of Toledo (twelfth to thirteenth century) suggests that לעשה ought to be read לעשה (or, more simply, לעשה, as the first letter of the next word is ו), and translated 'to his Maker'. The maxim would then mean that a man's actions should be honourable in the sight of God, as well as in the sight of men. This is certainly a brilliant conjecture, but there is no manuscript authority for it. According to the usual reading, the meaning is merely that a man should do what is a credit to himself and meets with the approval of his fellow men.

light . . . weighty, חמורה . . . קלה, i. e. in appearance. In theory, all precepts of the Torah were of equal obligation, because all were expressions of the divine will.

rewards, שכר. The Rabbis meant by 'reward' the sign (whatever form it might take) of God's approval of what was done in obedience to His will; they did not mean a payment for service rendered, a claim for which could be set up against God. The precepts were to be obeyed 'with a perfect heart', not for the sake of the reward. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 267–76.) The saying of Rabbi is commented on in this sense (though he is not named) in Midrash Rabbah, *Deut.*, p. 112^a, a fine passage too long to quote.

loss . . . reward, הפסד מזה . . . שכר, Whatever sacrifice a duty entails there is the divine approval for it,

keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin; know what is above thee, an eye that sees and an ear that hears, and all thy deeds written in a book.

2 Rabban Gamaliel the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince said: Comely is study of Torah with worldly occupation, for toil in both makes sin forgotten. And all Torah without work ends in failure and brings *with it* sin. And let all who labour with the congregation labour with them for the Name of Heaven, for the merit of their fathers upholds them, and their righteousness standeth for ever. And ye—I confer upon you, *saith God*, [plenteous] reward, as if ye had wrought.

3 Be careful with the government, for they do not come near to a man except for their own need; and they appear like friends in the hour of their advantage, and they stand not by a man in the hour of his need.

4 He used to say: Make His will as thy will that He may make thy will as His will; efface thy will before His will that He may efface the will of others before thy will.

5 Hillel said: Separate thyself not from the congregation, and be not sure of thyself till the day of thy death; and judge not thine associate until thou comest to his place. And say not *of* a word which cannot be understood that it will be understood in the end. And say not 'when I am at leisure I will study'; perchance thou wilt not be at leisure.

6 He used to say: A rude man fears not sin; and no vulgar person is pious; and the shy man does

and whatever be the advantage or profit gained by sin, there is the divine disapproval, retribution, behind it. Cp. Matt. xvi. 26.

three things. It is not quite clear what the 'three things' are, as 'know what is above thee' may be reckoned as one of them. But probably this is only a variation on 'consider', and the three things are the seeing eye, the listening ear, and the book of record. C reads 'know that above thee *are*', &c. For the book of record cp. Rev. xx. 12.

2. **Rabban Gamaliel.** This is Gamaliel III, son of Rabbi. His date may be put at A.D. 250; hardly anything is known of him. The heads of the house of Hillel continued to hold the position of Nasi, and were the representatives of their people in dealing with the Roman government; but they ceased to take the lead in the teaching of Torah in the Rabbinical schools. Of this Gamaliel's contemporaries, the chief teachers were R. Johanan in Palestine and Rab in Babylonia.

worldly occupation, דרך ארץ. See above, note on v. 1, on 'way of the earth'; Rabbinical opinion was divided on the amount of דרך ארץ to be allowed in conjunction with Torah; see below, iii. 20, vi. 7.

failure . . . sin, בטלה . . . עון. The consequences, not of Torah, but of Torah without practice; cp. Jas. ii. 26, iv. 17.

congregation, צבור. The community of Israel as a whole, or any local community; the reference is to synagogue officials, and more particularly to the 'parnas' or steward who dispensed the charity and administered the funds of the congregation. The steward must do his work as a service of God, and not take credit to himself for what he does. The congregation do their charity through him, but the 'righteousness' is theirs, not his. The merit of their fathers upholds them, not the merit of the steward. But, if the steward acts thus piously and disinterestedly, there is reward, divine approval, for him also. God reckons it to him as if he had done from himself what the congregation have done through his agency.

saith God, or, the Scripture, not in the text but implied in the singular of the verb מעלה. A has the plural מעלין 'they confer', 'they' being the angels, the 'family above', as they are called in the Rabbinical literature. The phrase is often used as equivalent to Providence. There is no thought of beings independent of God. ABC omit **plenteous.**

3. This is apparently said by the same R. Gamaliel III as the preceding. It is not clear to whom the advice is addressed. Gamaliel himself, as Nasi, was the official representative of the Jews to the Roman authorities; but the synagogue stewards may have been brought into contact with government officials. But it is possible that the saying, being anonymous, does not belong to Gamaliel at all, and may be addressed to others than the stewards of the preceding verse. The saying is based on bitter experience of the ways of the Roman government, but expresses a cynical opinion about all governments, that they only act from self-interest.

4. **He.** The speaker of the preceding verse, presumably Gamaliel III.

His will, i.e. God's will. The thought is clear, but falls short of the unconditional submission of 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt. Thy will be done.' There is no exact parallel to that saying of Jesus in the Rabbinical literature.

5. **Hillel.** See above, i. 12. There was a much later Hillel, but there is no ground for supposing that the speaker here is any but the early and famous Hillel. For the want of chronological order in the book see the Introduction.

Separate . . . congregation. Probably intended as a warning against taking up strange and heretical opinions and practices. The saying is ascribed to R. Zadok, see below, iv. 7, but perhaps only because he there repeats another saying of Hillel.

say not . . . understood. The reading varies between אפשר 'can be', and אי אפשר 'cannot be'. Also some commentators supply על 'of', to make sense. Two interpretations are possible: (a) the teacher shall not teach what cannot be understood and excuse himself by saying that it will be understood in time, after reflection by the learner; he ought to express his meaning clearly at the first; (b) the learner ought not to say 'of' anything which is taught and which seems to him unintelligible, that he will learn what it means later on; he ought to apply himself to it at once till he masters it. The difference between 'can be' and 'cannot be' understood is in appearance, not in reality. The interpretation (b) is that of Rashi (or the commentary ascribed to him). It is confirmed by the final clause, 'say not when I am at leisure,' &c.

6. **rude, בור,** 'empty of everything, even the knowledge of business' (Bartenora). He has no Torah to keep him from sin.

vulgar, in the sense of 'one of the common herd'. Hebr. הארץ, a famous term much discussed. It denotes all who for whatever reason did not seek to conform their lives and actions to the Torah. Cp. John vii. 49.

shy, בישן. One who is afraid to ask his teacher to explain what he does not understand.

not learn nor the passionate teach, nor he that hath much business become wise. And in a place where there are no men strive to be a man.

- 7 Moreover, he saw a skull which floated on the face of the water, and he said to it: Because thou drownedst they drowned thee; and at the last they who drowned thee shall be drowned.
- 8 He used to say: More flesh more worms; more wealth more care; more maidservants more lewdness; more menservants more thieving; more women more witchcraft; more Torah more life; more classroom more wisdom; more counsel more discernment; more righteousness more peace. Whoso has gained a good name has gained *it* for himself; who has gained for himself words of Torah has gained for himself the life of the world to come.
- 9 Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai received from Hillel and from Shammai. He used to say: If thou hast practised much Torah, take not credit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created.
- 10 Five disciples there were to Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai, and these are they: Rabbi Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, Rabbi Joshua b. Hananiah, Rabbi Jose the priest, Rabbi Simeon b. Nathaniel, and Rabbi Eleazar b. Arach. He used to sum up their praise—Eliezer b. Hyrcanus is a plastered cistern which loseth not a drop; Joshua b. Hananiah, happy is she who bore him; Jose the priest is pious; Simeon b. Nathaniel feareth sin; Eleazar b. Arach is a full-flowing spring.
- 11 He used to say: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other scale, he would weigh down them all. Abba Saul said, in his name: If all the Wise of Israel were in one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus with them, and Eleazar b. Arach in the other scale, he would weigh them all down.
- 12 He said to them: Go and see what is that good way to which a man should cleave. R. Eliezer said: A good eye. R. Joshua said: A good associate. R. Jose said: A good neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that regards the result of an action. R. Eleazar said: A good heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words, for your words are included in his.
- 13 He said to them: Go and see what is that evil way from which a man should keep himself.

passionate, קפדן. The teacher who loses his temper when his pupils do ask him questions. become wise. Cp. Sirach xxxviii. 24.

7. An epigram of retribution. The original is in Aramaic.

8. A series of epigrams. For the sake of brevity the original מרבה 'one that increases' is rendered by 'more'. There is more of cynicism in these sayings than of the gentle and lovable nature for which Hillel was traditionally famous.

9. Rabban Johanan b. Zaccai. One of the disciples of Hillel; he died about A.D. 80, and is said to have been 120 years old; probably he was born about the beginning of our era. He saved Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, by gathering the surviving Rabbis in Jabneh, and re-establishing the broken fabric of the study of Torah. The surviving heir of the House of Hillel, Gamaliel II, son of Simeon II (see above, i. 17, 18), was probably too young to take the lead. He succeeded to the presidency on the death (or retirement?) of R. Johanan. Note that the title 'Rabban' is given to Johanan; also that he is said to have 'received from' Hillel, the same phrase as that used in the earlier verses of ch. i. This is the last occasion on which the phrase is used in the book.

practised, עשית. So ABCD, supported by Abarbanel and many commentators. The printed editions have 'learned', למדת, possibly influenced by a similar phrase in ii. 20. Since the verb עשה does not go well with 'Torah', some MSS. read טובה 'good', instead of תורה, with the meaning 'done much good'; but the authority for this is very slight. It may have been suggested by טובה after תחוק.

10. The five disciples of R. Johanan. All are known in the Rabbinical tradition, but the first two far outshone the others. R. Eliezer died shortly before A.D. 116, and was then an old man. R. Joshua had been a singer in the Temple. He was living in A.D. 130, for he met the emperor Hadrian in Alexandria; but he was dead before the rebellion of Bar Cocheba broke out in A.D. 135. Of the other three Rabbis, no chronological details can be given. ACD omit 'Rabbi' before their names when their master refers to them; the printed texts add it. Note the reference to the mother of R. Joshua; tradition says that she used to bring him in his cradle to the Synagogue that he might thus early be accustomed to hear words of Torah (Jer. Jeb. 3a). This is reported by Dosa b. Harchinas (see below, iii. 14), who knew him as a child.

11. He, i.e. R. Johanan. The two clauses contradict each other. R. Eliezer and R. Eleazar b. Arak cannot both have been supreme. The remark of Abba Saul (a contemporary) seems intended to replace a misquoted opinion of R. Johanan by a correct version. This is confirmed by R. Johanan's approval of R. Eleazar in *vv.* 12, 13.

12. He. Again R. Johanan.

Go and see. Merely an opening formula, 'Come now.'

good way. See above on ii. 1. The answers give not a 'way' but the clue to finding the way.

good eye. Cp. Matt. vi. 22, 23. In general it means an unselfish disposition.

associate. See above on i. 6.

neighbour. See above, i. 7.

result of an action. The meaning is that the 'good way' is found by learning from experience.

good heart, as being the source of all feeling and all action. This is the ground why R. Johanan approved R. Eleazar's answer before all the rest.

13. The negatives to the preceding answers. R. Simeon, however, varies the form of his reply. The man who borrows and does not pay is one who acts without considering the consequences. The clause, 'He that borrows from man,' &c., although it is included in the MSS., is probably a later gloss, because it is out of keeping with the brevity of all the other replies. The proof-text shows that the author of the gloss interpreted R. S.'s saying of literal borrowing.

- R. Eliezer said: An evil eye. R. Joshua said: An evil associate. R. Jose said: An evil neighbour. R. Simeon said: He that borrows and does not pay. [He that borrows from man is as he that borrows from God, blessed be He; as it is said, 'The wicked borroweth and payeth not, but the righteous showeth favour and giveth.'] R. Eleazar said: An evil heart. He said to them: I regard the words of Eleazar b. Arach more than your words; for your words are included in his.
- 14 They said *each* three things. R. Eliezer said: Let the honour of thine associate be dear to thee as thine own. And be not easily wroth; and repent one day before thy death. And warm thyself at the fire of the Wise, and be careful of their glowing coal lest thou be singed. For their bite is the bite of a jackal, and their sting the sting of a scorpion, and their hiss the hiss of a serpent, and all their words like coals of fire.
- 15 R. Joshua said: An evil eye and the evil principle and hatred of mankind drive a man out of the world.
- 16 R. Jose said: Let the wealth of thy associate be dear to thee as thine own. And set thyself to learn Torah, for it is not a legacy to thee. And let all thy actions be to the Name of Heaven.
- 17 R. Simeon said: Be careful in reading the 'Shema' and in prayer. And when thou prayest make not thy prayer a fixed form, but [mercies and] entreaties before God. [As it is said: 'For he is gracious and merciful, longsuffering and full of compassion, and repenteth him of the evil.'] And be not wicked in thine own sight.
- 18 R. Eleazar said: Be alert to learn Torah, [and know] what thou shalt answer to an Epicurean;

14. **They.** The five Rabbis of the preceding verses.

three things. It will be noticed that most of the teachers in i, ii are credited with a group of three sayings; this arrangement is not maintained in the case of later teachers. The three sayings of R. Eliezer are variously distinguished, according as the remark about 'the fire of the Wise', &c., is included or excluded. Maimonides excludes it, and this seems right, although a connexion can be made out between the other three clauses so as to group two of them as one. R. Eliezer was excommunicated in his old age by his colleagues; and the caustic criticism of the Wise probably expresses his sentiments upon the subject. It may well have been remembered as an epigram, but hardly as an expression of habitual wisdom.

honour, good name, credit. For a variant of the saying see below, iv. 15.

repent . . . death. R. Eliezer explained his meaning thus:—Repent every day, since thou knowest not the day of thy death (b. Shabb. 153^a).

fire of the Wise, as being dangerous to play with. The vivid similes which follow are easily intelligible under the circumstances of R. Eliezer's closing years, and need no comment.

15. **evil eye.** See on v. 12, above.

evil principle, יצר הרע. According to the Rabbinical psychology, there were in every man two opposing principles or impulses, one towards good, the other towards evil. The evil principle corresponds to the *σάπξ* of Paul.

mankind. See above on i. 12. In place of *בריות* C reads *הנם* 'without cause', possibly influenced by a similar phrase in b. Joma 9^b. Cp. Matt. v. 22, where, however, *αἰσῆ* is omitted in R. V.

drive . . . out of the world, מן העולם. מוציאין. Taylor compares 1 John iii. 15; but the exclusion referred to in R. Joshua's saying is exclusion from this world, not from that to come. The meaning is that the selfish man is solitary; he cuts himself off from all human fellowship.

16. **wealth.** For the form of the saying cp. ii. 14, and note the contrast.

legacy, ירשה. Torah has to be learned, acquired, by a man's own effort, even though God gave Torah to Israel as a permanent possession.

to the name of Heaven, for the sake of. Cp. Col. iii. 17.

17. **'Shema'.** The first word of Deut. vi. 4, 'Hear, O Israel,' &c. The term 'Shema' denotes the first of a group of three texts, Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, Num. xv. 37-41, which may be called the heart of the Jewish liturgy. The Shema had to be recited in the morning and evening of every day. Cp. Mark xii. 29.

fixed form, קבע. If this refers to the public prayers, the meaning is that the spiritual intention of prayer is to be kept in mind during the recital of prescribed formulae. If it refers to private prayer, then the meaning is that this should not be a matter of prescribed formulae at all, but the spontaneous utterance of the soul. (See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 305-6.)

[**mercies**]. ABCD omit. It was perhaps suggested by the proof-text, which itself was probably an editorial addition.

God. The word used here is *מקום* 'place', a frequent designation of the Deity. It might be paraphrased in English by 'the Omnipresent'; but it is often used of God without special reference to that one attribute.

wicked . . . sight, רשע בפני עצמך. The meaning is doubtful. I translate according to the interpretation of Maimonides. Taylor translates 'wicked against thyself'; Geiger (quoted by Strack), 'wicked when thou art by thyself.' The difficulty, however, is to understand why such counsel should be needed. Bartenora quotes an interpretation which he had heard, 'wicked in standing by thyself,' i.e. in severing thyself from the congregation (see above on ii. 5). If this had been the meaning, a repetition of Hillel's saying would have been simpler. I suggest that the meaning is: 'Though others call thee wicked, no matter so long as thine own conscience reproach thee not.'

18. [**and know**]. ACD omit. BS contain it, and S expressly defends the reading. It has probably crept in from the beginning of the following clause; possibly *תורה* was also added to supply an object for *ללמוד*, and the original clause may have run: 'to learn what to answer,' &c., *מה שתשיב*.

Epicurean, i. e. אפיקורוס, a free-thinker, from *פקר*, but with a play on the name of the philosopher. An Epicurean might be of any nation, but it is said that a Jewish Epicurean is more dangerous than a Gentile one (see b. Sanh. 38^a, where R. Johanan, third century, comments on this saying of R. Eleazar).

and know before whom thou toilest, and who is master of thy work, [who will pay the hire of thy labour].

19 R. Tarphon said: The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are slow, and the hire is much, and the master of the house is urgent.

20 He used to say: It is not incumbent on thee to finish the work, and thou art not free to desist from it. If thou hast learned much Torah, they will give thee much hire; and the master of thy work is faithful who will pay thee the hire of thy labour; and know that the giving of the reward of the righteous is for the time to come.

3¹ Akabia b. Mahalalel said: Keep in view three things, and thou wilt not come into the clutches of sin;—know whence thou comest, and whither thou goest, and before whom thou art to give strict account. *Know* whence thou comest,—from a fetid drop; and whither thou goest,—to the place of dust, worm, and maggot; and before whom thou art to give strict account,—before the King of the kings of the kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

2 R. Hanina, the deputy of the priests, said: Pray for the peace of the kingdom; for except for the fear of that we should have swallowed up each his neighbour alive.

3 R. Hanina b. Teradion said: When two sit and there are not between them words of Torah, lo, this is 'the seat of the scornful', as it is said: 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful'. But when two sit and there are between them words of Torah, the Shechinah rests between them, as it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another, [and the Lord hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon His name']'. Ps. i. 1
Mal. iii. 1

who will pay. The phrase is repeated in the next verse, and may be an interpolation here. A omits it; BS contain it.

19. **R. Tarphon** had been a priest in the Temple; probably put to death A.D. 117. He is not to be identified with the *Τρύφων* of Justin Martyr; the latter probably used his name and perhaps knew it as that of a bitter opponent of Christianity. If the two ever met, which is not likely, Justin would be only a boy. There is no resemblance, except in name, between Justin's Tryphon and the real Tarphon. The latter form of the name is the usual one in the Rabbinical literature. The form *תרפון* is found, Jer. Bikk. iii. 1; but the person so named was not the same as the subject of this note. His two sayings turn on the same comparison of life to work in a field, cp. Matt. ix. 37, 38; John ix. 4.

20. **learned.** See above, *v.* 9; 'learned' is the right reading here.

time to come. Usually, but not always, *לְבוֹא עוֹתִיד* refers to the future life. It does so here.

III. 1. **Akabia b. Mahalalel.** As to his date opinions differ; some scholars place him near the time of Hillel and Shammai (see on i. 12), others bring him down to the beginning of the second century. Strack holds him to have been a contemporary of Gamaliel I. I believe this to be the most probable date. Observe that he is not called 'Rabbi'. He was excommunicated by his colleagues, and died while under the ban. The first clause of his saying is identical with that of Rabbi, ii. 1.

strict account, lit. 'judgement and reckoning'; but 'judgement', in English, is what is done upon the accused, not pleaded by him.

place of dust. A omits.

worm, and maggot. Cp. Job xxv. 6. English does not supply a synonym for 'worm'.

King . . . kings. An extension of the usual phrase, in order to exalt the majesty of God.

the Holy One, blessed be He. One of the most frequent modes of referring to God in the Rabbinical literature.

2. **R. Hanina, the deputy of the priests.** As his title shows, he had served in the Temple; but his date cannot be further defined. He does not appear to have survived the destruction of Jerusalem. Testimony of his was cited in the Assembly at Jabneh (end of the first century A.D.), but apparently only as tradition (Edu. ii. 1–3). The name is often written Hananiah.

peace of the kingdom, literally, of the political, not the spiritual kingdom. It seems natural to connect H.'s saying with the rising hostility against the Romans, which broke out in the war of A.D. 68. If so, it would be a warning to his countrymen against rebellion. But, in any case, it is quite different in character from the rest of the maxims in the book.

we . . . swallowed. So ABC, *בלעו*; ES 'they . . . swallowed', *בלעו*. Founded on Ps. cxxiv. 3. The factions which split up the nation were, according to H., only prevented from destroying each other by the fear of Rome.

If the reading *בלענו* be adopted, H. regarded himself as a participant; if the alternative reading, as an onlooker. The maxim goes to show that H. did not witness the outbreak of the war, since that would have confuted his assertion.

3. **R. Hanina b. Teradion.** Date, end of first century and beginning of second; executed A.D. 135. His daughter, Beruria, was the wife of R. Meir. The name Teradion is Greek, but what it represents is uncertain. Krauss suggests Theodorion. R. Hanina taught in Sichnin.

Torah. See on i. 1.

'seat of the scornful'. Reference to Ps. i. 1. The relevancy of the quotation only appears when *v.* 2 is added: 'But his delight is in the Torah of the Lord,' &c. Talmudic citations of Scripture are very often confined to the opening words of a text, the rest being left to be supplied by the reader from memory. So, in the second proof-text applied by Hanina, probably only the words, 'Then they . . . one another,' were originally written in the text of the book, the remainder being added later.

Shechinah, lit. 'dwelling' (not the place but the act of dwelling), one of the many modes of reference to God. The word is not found in the O. T., but is clearly based on the thought expressed, e.g. in Num. xxxv. 34. Cp. Matt. 698

- 4 [I find here only two. Whence *it is proved* that when even one sits and is occupied with Torah the Holy One, blessed be He, fixes for him a reward? As it is said: 'Let him sit alone and be silent, for he hath taken it upon him.'] Lam.iii.28
- 5 R. Simeon said: Three who have eaten at one table and have not said over it words of Torah, lo, they are as if they had eaten sacrifices of the dead, as it is said: 'For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness without God.' But three who have eaten at one table and have said over it words of Torah are as if they had eaten from the table of God, blessed be He, as it is said: 'And he said to me, This is the table that is before the Lord.' Isa.xxviii.8 Ezek.xli.22
- 6 R. Hanina b. Hachinai said: He who wakes in the night, and he who walks alone by the way and turns his heart to idle thoughts, lo, he makes himself guilty against his soul.
- 7 R. Nehunia b. ha-Kanah said: Every one who receives upon him the yoke of Torah, they remove from him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation. And every one who breaks off from him the yoke of Torah, they lay upon him the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly occupation.
- 8 R. Halaphta [b. Dosa] of Chephar Hanania said: When ten sit and are occupied with Torah, the Shechinah is among them, as it is said: 'God stands in the congregation of God.' [And whence *is it proved* for even five? As it is said: 'He hath founded His troop upon the earth.'] Ps.lxxviii.1 And Amos ix. 6

xviii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 3. In the latter passage the Greek is: 'Ἰδοὺ, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ σκηνώσει μετὰ αὐτοῦ.' *σκηνή* looks very much like an allusion to 'Shechinah'.

4. This clause is certainly not due to R. Hanina. It is found, substantially, in BCDS. A omits 'I find . . . even'. But the formula 'I find . . . Whence . . .?' shows that the passage is later than the Mishnah. It represents an addition made in the Amoraic period, third to fifth century. Thus it is found in many MSS., but with variations; and some mediaeval commentators are doubtful about it. See Taylor's critical note. Probably there is some confusion with iii. 7 (last clause). R. Hanina had spoken of the Shechinah resting between two who study Torah. The addition does not refer to the Shechinah, but to the fixing of a reward for studying Torah. The proof-text, Lam. iii. 28, is only relevant if 'hath taken' be interpreted 'hath received (reward)'.

5. **R. Simeon.** This is the famous R. Simeon b. Johai; approximate date A.D. 100-170. He was a disciple of R. Akiba; he escaped the persecution of A.D. 135, and lay hid for thirteen years. Afterwards he taught in Galilee, and amongst his disciples was the future 'Rabbi', ii. 1.

sacrifices of the dead. This is explained by Bartenora as equivalent to idolatry, on the ground of Ps. cvi. 28. **without God**, lit. without place, בלי מקום. Whatever may be the meaning in the passage Isa. xxviii. 8 (or the true reading of the text), R. Simeon makes a play upon the word מקום, by taking it as one of the frequent designations of God. See on ii. 17, where it occurs in a saying by this same Simeon.

table of God. The word is again מקום. The combination הוּא הַמְקוֹם בְּרוּךְ is unusual. CS omit 'ב'ה'. 6. **R. Hanina b. Hachinai**, contemporary of Simeon b. Johai, but somewhat older. He was a disciple of R. Joshua b. Hananiah (ii. 10), as well as of R. Akiba. He lived in Sidon, and thus escaped the persecution in A.D. 135.

turns . . . thoughts, ומפנה. So ABS; והמפנה CD. The difference in meaning is considerable. According to the first reading, a man endangers his soul if he gives way to idle thoughts either on waking in the night or when walking by himself. According to the second reading, a man endangers his soul when he either (a) wakes in the night, or (b) walks by himself, or (c) gives way to idle thoughts. The latter interpretation may have been due to a desire to find a threefold division in H.'s maxim, as in so many of the other sayings. Bartenora, who adopts the second interpretation, explains that waking in the night is dangerous because of demons, and solitary walking because of robbers. The first interpretation commends itself as superior, and has good manuscript authority.

guilty . . . soul, מתחייב בנפשו. Hardly more than 'does a wrong to himself'. There is no thought of being eternally lost.

7. **R. Nehunia b. ha-Kanah.** Contemporary with R. Johanan b. Zaccai, but not among his disciples. He lived to a great age. His life covers the greater part of the first century A.D., and probably extended into the second. The epithet ha-Kanah (or Kana) is the same as that which is rendered Ζηλωτής, Luke vi. 15, and disguised as Καναῖος, Matt. x. 4. N.'s father had been of the party of the Zealots.

yoke of Torah, על תורה. This does not imply that the service of God according to Torah was a burden. The yoke is the symbol of obedience; and 'to take the yoke upon' oneself means to devote oneself to the service of the authority whose yoke it is. Cp. Matt. xi. 30, where the meaning of the symbol is exactly the same.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2, end. **kingdom**, the actual political kingdom. Its 'yoke' took the form of taxes. The meaning is that devotion to Torah frees a man from oppression and care by setting his mind on things above; while if he despises Torah he feels all the weight of political oppression and the struggle for existence.

8. **R. Halaphta [b. Dosa]**: second half of second century, disciple of R. Meir. Possibly the son of R. Jose b. Halaphta, the R. Jose of the Mishnah (see below, iv. 8), who had a son of this name. The name **Dosa** is omitted in the printed texts, and has no important manuscript support. It might easily be confused with 'Jose'. H.'s saying is a series of Scripture proofs of the presence of the Shechinah. See above, v. 3.

ten is the usual number requisite for the worship of a congregation. H. assumes this number, as an axiom, and seeks to prove the conclusion for a series of smaller numbers. The clause relating to **five** is probably a late addition. The MSS. and commentaries show much uncertainty about it. AB connect the number five with the proof-text of the number three; BCS allot the proof-texts as in the translation. If the 'five' clause were not in the original series, it would be natural for some later hand to supply it. The proofs from the texts quoted are as follows: For five, אָנְהָ (translated 'troop') is lit. a handful, and the hand has five fingers; for three, the **gods** are taken to mean judges, and the smallest tribunal consisted of three judges; for two, because one man talks to another man; for one, because it is said 'to thee', not 'to you'.

whence even three? As it is said: 'He judgeth among gods.' And whence even two? As it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another.' And whence even one? As it is said: 'In every place where I record My name I will come to thee and will bless thee.'

Ps. lxxxii. 1

Mal. iii. 16

Exod. xx. 24

1 Chron.

xxix. 14

9 R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha said: Give Him of what is His, for thou and thine are His. And thus *the Scripture* saith, in the place concerning David, 'For all things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee.'

10 R. Jacob said: He who walks by the way and *studies* and breaks off his study and says, 'How beautiful is that tree,' and 'how beautiful is that fallow', the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul.

11 R. Dosthai b. Jannai, in the name of R. Meir, said: A disciple of the Wise who sits and studies and forgets a word of his study, the Scripture reckons it to him as if he had made himself guilty against his soul; as it is said: 'Only take heed to thyself and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.' It may be that his study has been hard to him. Learn to say, 'Lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life.' Lo! he makes not himself guilty until he sits and turns them away from his heart.

Deut. iv. 9

ibid.

12 R. Hanina b. Dosa said: Every one whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom endures; and every one whose wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure.

13 He used to say: Every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, his wisdom endures. And every one whose wisdom is more than his deeds, his wisdom does not endure.

14 He used to say: Every one with whom the spirit of mankind is pleased, the Spirit of God is pleased with him. And every one with whom the spirit of mankind is not pleased, the Spirit of God is not pleased with him.

9. R. Eleazar b. Judah of Bartotha. A contemporary of Akiba, end of first and beginning of second century. Some MSS. omit 'b. Judah'. The name of his place of abode is variously given, and its situation unknown, except that it was probably in Upper Galilee.

Give Him, i. e. God. Eleazar was famous for his charitable gifts.

in . . . David, בדרור. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark xii. 26.

10. R. Jacob (see also iv. 21, 22 below). Probably the same as R. Jacob b. Korshai, latter half of the second century, contemporary of Simeon III, b. Gamaliel II, and teacher of Judah I, 'Rabbi'. He was a grandson, on the mother's side, of Elisha b. Abuiah (see iv. 25 below). The name of R. Simeon, or R. Akiba, is sometimes given in place of R. Jacob in this passage, but with slight authority.

study. His mind is to be fixed on Torah.

How beautiful . . . tree. A repeats this exclamation.

Scripture reckons. No proof-text is given. The commentators have been rather troubled by J.'s maxim. The Mishnah itself provides a formula of praise, to be said on beholding beautiful or wonderful objects of nature (Ber.

ix. 3). The Scripture proof intended may have been the text quoted in v. 11, Deut. iv. 9. The reading מעלה ('reckons') is supported by all the MSS.; otherwise מעלין ('they reckon') would make the meaning somewhat less objectionable.

11. R. Dosthai b. Jannai: end of the second century, contemporary of 'Rabbi'. The name Dosthai (= Δοσθαίος) was borne by several teachers, and represents either Mattaniah or Nathaniel. Why a Greek form should have been preferred is not clear.

forgets. It should be borne in mind that the teaching in the Rabbinical schools was oral and transmitted from memory. The Mishnah, even if written down by 'Rabbi', was a *corpus* of decisions whose accuracy of form depended on memory alone. To forget was a loss to the learner and possibly a loss to posterity.

Scripture reckons. Here the proof-text is given (see on preceding verse).

guilty . . . soul (see on v. 6 above). The idea is that since Torah is the means of spiritual life, to forget what it imparts is an injury to the soul. R. Dosthai seems to have uttered his maxim for the sake of putting in a plea on behalf of the man who only forgets because his task is hard. The first clause may be a general maxim already accepted, which D. wishes to qualify. He contends that only wilful neglect to remember, or even positive rejection, incurs the censure of Scripture.

12. R. Hanina b. Dosa; date, first century A. D.; disciple of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. Chiefly famous as a saint and miracle-worker.

precedes, קודמת, either in order of time or in order of importance. Fear of sin is the supreme object to be aimed at. If wisdom is sought for the sake of becoming a fearer of sin, then wisdom is of enduring worth; otherwise not. Taylor conjectures that the negative clause in this verse, and also those in vv. 13, 14, are later interpolations. But there is no manuscript support for this conjecture. Aboth di Rabbi Nathan, § 22, has the negative clauses of vv. 12, 13.

13. He. R. Hanina b. Dosa.

deeds. Not especially good deeds, but the practical application of Torah.

14. He. R. Hanina b. Dosa.

spirit of mankind . . . pleased, רוח הבריות נוחה. This is literal, but too concrete; all that is meant is a general opinion held by men, upon any subject or in regard of any person. When it is said that Jesus 'grew in favour with God and men', Luke ii. 52, the phrase expresses what is meant in 'the spirit of mankind . . . of God is pleased'. The truth of H.'s maxim, as a fact of experience, is open to question; and it appears to make human favour the criterion and condition of divine approval. H. was a mystic, and probably he is teaching here the doctrine of a correspondence between the things in heaven and the things on earth.

- 15 R. Dosa b. Harchinas said: Morning sleep, and midday wine, and children's talk, and sitting in the meeting-houses of the vulgar, drive a man out from the world.
- 16 R. Eleazar, the Modiite, said: He who profanes holy things and despises the set feasts [and shames his associate in public], and makes void the covenant of Abraham our father, and discloses meanings in the Torah which are not according to the Rule, yea, even if he have [Torah and] good works, he has no portion in the world to come.
- 17 R. Ishmael said: Be light-minded and yielding to forced service, and receive every man with gladness.
- 18 R. Akiba said: Laughter and light-mindedness accustom a man to shame. Tradition is a fence for Torah. Vows are a fence for separation. A fence for wisdom is silence.
- 19 He used to say: Beloved is man in that he was created in the image of God. [Greater love was

15. **R. Dosa b. Harchinas**: born about A.D. 10, died not later than A.D. 90. A teacher of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. There was another D. b. H. in the middle of the second century, perhaps grandson of the earlier. The name Harchinas (הרכינס) must not be confused with Hyrcanus (הורקנוס).

Morning . . . wine. D. was a rich man, and knew the temptations of idle luxury.

children, הילדים. Perhaps, rather 'youths', who should be silent in presence of their elders.

meeting-houses, בתי כנסיות, synagogues.

vulgar. The class known as *am-ha-aretz*; see above, on ii. 6. D.'s objection is probably that in these synagogues Torah was not properly taught or duly observed.

drive . . . world. See above, on ii. 15. It is not likely that D., or any other strict Pharisee, would attend a synagogue of the *am-ha-aretz*; the saying is a general condemnation of them.

16. **R. Eleazar, the Modiite**, i.e. of Modiin, where he lived; the former home of the Maccabees. R. Eleazar was a chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in the rebellion which ended A.D. 135. Bar Cocheba is said to have been his nephew, also to have killed him in a fit of anger. R. E. was a disciple of Tarphon. His dates may be given A.D. 50-A.D. 135.

E.'s maxim is directed against sectaries and false brethren. The formula against the Minim, i.e. Jewish Christians, had been ordained at Jabneh, under Gamaliel II, about A.D. 80. See my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 126-136. The Minim were open to all the charges in E.'s list, except that of effacing the covenant of Abraham. The MSS. vary the order in which the several charges are given. A omits 'and shames his associate in public', also 'which are not according to rule', שלא כהלכה, also 'Torah' before 'good works.' The latter omission is supported by BD. The most important of these omissions is the second, because it affects the sense of what is left in. מנלה פנים בתורה means, as Taylor says, 'to act impudently against the Torah.' But that in itself needs explanation. The phrase occurs in Jer. Peah i. 1, where it is explained as the act of one who denies that the Torah is from heaven. מנלה פנים בתורה שלא כהלכה means to reveal meanings in the Torah which are not authorized, to interpret Torah in ways not sanctioned by approved teachers. This is a definite charge, especially applicable to sectaries. שלא כהלכה is, no doubt, a gloss, but one added to bring out the right meaning, and to guard against the other and more vague interpretation.

the Rule, halachah. See above, on ii. 1. The addition of 'Torah' before 'good works' is, perhaps, due to the frequent mention of these in conjunction elsewhere. But a man who acts in the ways described by R. Eleazar would not naturally be credited with having 'Torah'.

portion . . . world to come. His fate would be to go down to Gehenna, and be destroyed there. On Gehenna, see above, i. 5 a.

17. **R. Ishmael.** This is R. Ishmael b. Elisha, a disciple of R. Joshua and contemporary of R. Akiba: born about A.D. 60; usually said to have been executed A.D. 135, but there is evidence that he lived some years longer.

light-minded, in the good sense, 'cheerful.' The meaning is, however, uncertain. The Hebr. קל ראש, and by many this is interpreted as 'courteous to a superior'. This would require קל לראש (so CS); and while the ל may easily have slipped out, ראש is not the usual word for a superior. D has קל ראשך, but interprets it of a man who is pliant before ראש העיר, thus seeking to combine the two meanings of ראש. The phrase קלות ראש occurs in the next verse, a fact which tends to show that the meaning here is somewhat the same.

forced service, תשחורת, a rare word whose meaning is uncertain. It is variously translated 'youth', 'age', and 'forced service'. It occurs Eccles. xi. 10, where the R. V. has 'prime of life'. The meaning 'forced service' is well supported, and has the authority of Levy, *NHW*, s. v. See Taylor's note; he translates 'impressment'. For the last clause, cp. the saying of Shammai, i. 15.

18. **R. Akiba**: b. about A.D. 50; executed in or after A.D. 135. The chief supporter of Bar Cocheba in his rebellion, and the most famous teacher of his time.

light-mindedness. In the bad sense, 'frivolity'; see note on v. 17.

Tradition, מסורת, the παράδοσις (τῶν προσηγουμένων), Mark vii. 3. The principle of tradition was the giving of adequate sanction to what was taught. The 'Torah' was the divine revelation (see on i. 1), and tradition was a fence for it, by defending it from wrong interpretation.

separation, פרישות. The Pharisees gained their name from their פרישות into societies, חבורות, pledged to the observance of rules of 'clean' and 'unclean', &c. The Talmud is the detailed exposition of the Pharisaic conception of religion. See my *Pharisaism*, p. 107. The last clause explains itself. Cp. i. 17 above.

19. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The clause in brackets, 'Greater . . . image,' omitted by A, is found in BCDS. It seems to be required both to give point to the saying, and also by analogy with the similar sayings which immediately follow. Its omission, however, may be justified by the consideration that the proof-text merely states that man was made in the image of God, not that man was made aware of the fact. This additional knowledge is the additional

it that it was known to him that he was made in the image.] As it is said: 'In the image of God Gen. ix. 6 he made man.'

Beloved are Israel, that they are called sons of God. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that they were called sons of God. As it is said: 'Sons are ye to the Lord your God.' Deut. xiv.

Beloved are Israel, in that to them was given the precious instrument wherewith the world was created. Greater love *was it that it was* known to them that there was given to them the precious instrument wherewith the world was created, as it is said: 'For a good doctrine I have given you; Prov. iv. 2 forsake not my Torah.' All is foreseen, and free-will is given, and the world is judged by goodness, and all is according to the amount of work.

20 He used to say: All is given on pledge, and the net is spread over all the living; and the shop is open and the shopman gives credit, and the account-book is open and the hand writes, and every one who will borrow comes and borrows, and the collectors go round continually every day, and exact payment from man whether with his knowledge or without it; and they have whereon to lean, and the judgement is a judgement of truth; and everything is prepared for the banquet.

21 R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: If there is no Torah there is no worldly occupation; if there is no worldly occupation there is no Torah. If there is no wisdom there is no fear; if there is no fear there is no wisdom. If there is no knowledge there is no discernment; if there is no discernment there is no knowledge. If there is no meal there is no Torah; if there is no Torah there is no meal.

22 He used to say: Every one whose wisdom is greater than his deeds, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are many and its roots few; and the wind comes and roots it up and turns it over on its face. [As it is said: 'For he shall be like a tamarisk in the desert, and he shall not see when Jer. xvii. 6 good cometh, but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land undwelt in.'] But every one whose deeds are more than his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are few and its roots many, which, if all the winds that are in the world come and blow upon it, they move it not from its place; [as it is said: 'For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and ib. v. 8

blessing, the 'greater love' of the two following clauses. In clause 2 God is מְקוּם, see on ii. 17 above. The proof text is a declaration to Israel of their sonship to God.

wherewith . . . created. The 'precious instrument' is the 'Torah'; not the written record or the oral interpretation of it, but the divine thought enshrined in it. This is shown by the proof-text.

All is foreseen, הַכֹּל נֶעֱמָד. Lit. 'seen'; but 'all' includes future things and actions as well as present and past ones.

free-will, הִרְשִׁיט. Lit. 'authority', which is explained to mean man's responsibility for his own actions. The Talmudic Rabbis attempted no solution of the philosophical problem; they were content to affirm the two truths and left the reconciliation of them a divine mystery.

judged by goodness. Either by one who is good, viz. God, or according to the goodness found in it. The former is probably meant, because the latter would be hardly more than a variant of the following clause.

amount of work. So BDS. A omits 'amount', רֶוֶחַ. But CD have 'not according to the amount', and B knows of this reading. The difference is that between quality and quantity of human action. The former meaning is preferable, but the reading 'amount' is the better supported; and the omission of the word in A, and the addition of 'not' in CD, may be due to the desire to modify the sense.

20. **He.** Again R. Akiba. The whole passage is a rather undignified metaphor to illustrate God's dealings with man. The reader should be careful not to assume that the Jews were, or are, required to believe this or any other fanciful exposition of doctrine as an article of faith. The thought conveyed in the passage is mainly that of retribution, which follows surely, if slowly, on human actions.

pledge. A man's act binds him to accept its consequences.

net. No one can act apart from or outside the range of God's knowledge and control.

account-book, פְּנִיקָה, πῆναξ. Cp. ii. 1 above.

borrow, in freedom of action, what he will have to repay in consequences.

collectors, trials and chastisements which God sends upon him. Man does not always know why they are sent.

they . . . to lean. 'They' probably refers to the 'collectors'; their warrant is the account written in the book.

prepared . . . banquet, מִתְּחַן לְסְעוּדָה. The metaphor does not really change. The 'banquet' is the symbol of the world to come, cp. Rev. xix. 9; and the idea is that the debtor, having paid his debt and submitted to just judgement, is welcomed into Paradise.

21. **R. Eleazar b. Azariah:** b. about A. D. 50, d. after A. D. 116, and before A. D. 135. One of the chief men of the Assembly in Jabneh; when Gamaliel II was deposed from the presidency, R. Eleazar was elected in his place, and was still associated with Gamaliel in that office on the latter's restoration. The MSS. differ in the order of the series of contrasted terms, but not in the substance of them. The terms, so far as they need explanation, have mostly been dealt with in previous notes.

no meal . . . no Torah, i. e. if a man have nothing to eat he cannot learn Torah; and *vice versa*, if he have no Torah, his food is worthless. If he have not heavenly things, what profit in earthly things?

22. **He.** R. Eleazar b. Azariah.

wisdom . . . deeds. For the thought, cp. *vv.* 12, 13 above.

to what is he like? לָמָּה הוּא דְּוִמָּה The regular formula for introducing a comparison or parable. Cp. Luke xiii. 18. The proof-text may be a later insertion, though it is found in the MSS. Proof-texts in this book are always open to suspicion, because they impair the conciseness of the sayings which they illustrate. The figure of the tree may be suggested by Ps. i. 3, though the word for 'tree' is not the same.

that sendeth out its roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; and in the year of drouth he shall not be anxious, neither shall cease from yielding fruit’].

23 R. Eleazar Hisma said: Offerings of birds and purifications, these are the main Rules. Astronomy and geometry are mere fringes to wisdom.

4 1 Ben Zoma said: Who is wise? He who learns from every man; as it is said: ‘From all my teachers I get understanding, for thy testimonies are my conversation.’

Who is mighty? He who controlleth his *evil* disposition; as it is said: ‘Better is the long-suffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.’

Who is rich? He that rejoiceth in his portion; as it is said: ‘When thou eatest of the labour of thy hands, happy art thou and it shall be well with thee.’ ‘Happy art thou’ in this world, and ‘it shall be well with thee’ in the world to come.

Who is honoured? He who honoureth mankind; as it is said: ‘For them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed.’

2 Ben Azai said: Be swift towards a light precept [as towards a weighty one] and flee from sin; for precept leads to precept and sin leads to sin. For the reward of a precept is a precept, and the reward of a sin is a sin.

3 He used to say: Despise not any man, and be not captious at any thing; for you find no man that has not his hour, and no thing that has not its place.

4 R. Levitas of Jabneh said: Be exceedingly humble, for the hope of man is *only* the worm.

5 R. Johanan b. Berokah said: ‘Every one who profanes the Name of Heaven in secret, they exact

23. R. Eleazar Hisma. Date, about the end of the first century and the beginning of the second. He was a disciple of R. Joshua (see on ii. 10 above). He was a great mathematician, and was said to have been able to calculate the number of drops in the sea.

Offerings of birds, קנינים. Lit. ‘nests’, i.e. the offerings brought in accordance with Lev. v. 1–10. Cp. Luke ii. 24. purifications, פתחי נדה. This relates to the periods of women.

Rules, halachōth. See on ii. 1 above.

Astronomy, חקופות. Lit. ‘turnings’, meaning the four points in the ecliptic which divide the seasons.

geometry, גמטריאות. The word is commonly used of a method of interpretation by giving to the letters of a word their numerical value. But here, considering the mathematical reputation of the speaker, it may be rendered ‘geometry’. R. El. means that his mathematics are only pastime in comparison with the study of *halachah*. Even minor portions of the latter are worth more than whole sciences.

fringes. The word is פריאות, which represents περιφορά or περιφέρεια. The comparison is to dishes carried round after the main meal is finished. Taylor is not afraid to translate by ‘after-courses’. I have rendered by ‘fringes’ so as to keep the thought though not the literal form of it, and also to suggest (in keeping with the derivation from περιφέρεια, ‘circumference’) that the sciences stand around at a distance while *halachah* is at the centre. R. El. perhaps wished to excuse his favourite studies in the eyes of his less scientific brethren.

IV. 1. Ben Zoma (Simeon b. Z.). Note that he is not called Rabbi. He was a disciple and associate of R. Akiba, but was not ordained. His date may be given as the end of the first century. He is one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise, i.e. studied theosophy. He died young.

From . . . teachers. In the Ps. ‘more than . . . teachers’; the second clause of the proof-text is not needed.

evil disposition. See on ii. 15 above; the word ‘spirit’ in the proof-text represents a different Hebrew word. The clause explaining the reference to this world and the world to come has the appearance of a later comment on B. Z.’s maxim. In the parallel passage in Aboth di Rabbi Nathan (Schechter), A, § 23, omits it; B, p. 36^b, has it.

honoured. The proof-text does not establish B. Z.’s point. The meaning may be that he who honours mankind is really honouring God who made them, and *vice versa*. Cp. iv. 8 below.

mankind. Lit. ‘creatures’; see on i. 12 above.

2. Ben Azai (Simeon b. A.). Like Ben Zoma not called Rabbi, and for the same reason. What is said above of the one applies to the other. The two are said to have been judges in Jabneh. Azai = Azariah.

as . . . weighty one. Omitted in all the chief MSS., probably inserted from ii. 1; see note on that verse for the distinction between ‘light’ and ‘weighty’ precepts.

reward . . . precept. In the Rabbinical view, a precept (*mitzvah*) was simply an opportunity offered of doing the will of God; there could be no greater reward than a further opportunity. A *mitzvah* was never regarded as a burden. On ‘reward’ see on ii. 1 above.

reward . . . sin. The just retribution for sin is a further temptation. This is one of the great sayings of the book.

3. He. Again B. Azai.

captious, מפלי. Lit. ‘a causer of division’, especially in argument.

you find. Lit. ‘there is not to thee’. For the thought cp. Eccles. iii. 1–8.

4. R. Levitas of Jabneh. Probably a contemporary of B. Azai. He is not mentioned elsewhere in the Talmud. The name represents the Greek Λευίτης.

His maxim is given by BCDS. By an error A omits it and also the name of the next teacher, thus ascribing the saying of the latter to R. Levitas.

hope . . . worm. Cp. iii. 1 above; and, for the phrase, Job xi. 20.

5. R. Johanan b. Berokah. A disciple of R. Joshua b. Hananiah, ii. 10, and companion of R. Eleazar Hisma, iii. 23; date, about the end of the first century and beginning of the second.

profanes . . . Heaven. To profane the Name is to be guilty of ‘actions which, if they become known, bring shame on the Jew and his religion’ (Levy, *NHW*, s. v. חלול). Heaven, i.e. God.

in secret . . . openly. Cp. Eccles. xii. 14.

punishment of him openly; the ignorant and the wilful are alike *sinner*s in regard to the profaning of the Name.

- 6 R. Ishmael his son said: He who learns with a view to teaching, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach; he who learns with a view to doing, they give him the opportunity to learn and to teach and to do.
- 7 R. Zadok said: [Separate not thyself from the congregation, and be not as they who prepare the judges]. Make not them a crown wherewith to magnify thyself, nor a dish to eat from. And thus Hillel used to say: He who serves himself with the crown passes away. Behold, [thou hast learned,] 'Every one that makes a profit from words of Torah removes his life from the world.'
- 8 R. Jose said: Every one who honours the Torah is himself honoured of men. And every one who dishonours the Torah is himself dishonoured of men.
- 9 R. Ishmael *his son* said: He who withdraws from judgement gets rid of enmity, theft and perjury; and he who is haughty in his teaching is foolish, wicked and arrogant.
- 10 He used to say: Judge not alone; for there is none save One that judgeth alone. And say not to thy colleagues, Receive my opinion; for they are entitled and thou art not.
- 11 R. Jonathan said: Every one who fulfils the Torah when poor will in the end fulfil it when rich; and every one who makes it vain when rich will in the end make it vain when poor.

ignorant . . . wilful. The meaning is that the guilt of profaning the Name is so great that no account is taken of whether it was done in ignorance or intentionally; both are punished alike.

6. **R. Ishmael his son.** Date, middle and end of second century; he is not to be confused with the R. Ishmael of iii. 17, nor with the R. Ishmael of *v.* 9, below.

learns, i. e. Torah.

they, the *familia caelestis*; see on ii. 2 above; here, in the meaning of 'Providence'.

7. **R. Zadok**: date, first century; contemporary of R. Johanan b. Zaccai, and possibly, like him, disciple of Hillel; he was at Jabneh with R. Joh. b. Z. after the fall of Jerusalem. There was another R. Zadok, grandson of the foregoing, and a third later still.

[**Separate . . . congregation, &c.**] Does not belong to this context. See on ii. 5 above.

[**prepare . . . judges**]. Also out of place here. See the maxim of Judah b. Tabbai, i. 8 above. R. Zadok's own saying has a close likeness to that of Hillel in i. 13.

Make . . . them. So ABCDS. Strack and Baer read 'make . . . it'. The reference is to 'words of Torah' or 'Torah'. But the first words of the maxim are evidently lost, and the two interpolations mentioned above are perhaps attempts to fill the gap.

dish . . . eat from. ACD have 'an axe to eat with (or from)'; BS 'an axe to cut with'. In order to keep the better reading 'eat with', and because an axe is not commonly used for that purpose, I render קרדום 'dish'. The meaning is clear. The teacher must not make a profit out of the teaching of Torah.

thus Hillel. May be an editorial note. For a possible interpretation, if it belongs to R. Zadok himself, see Introduction, § 2. 2.

Every . . . makes profit. Lit. 'eats advantages'. The MSS. nearly all have הנאות 'profits' (noun, not verb). This makes no sense, without a verb. S has כל האוכל ה', ACD כל ה' הא, B והאכל ה'. This gives the clue to the other readings. האכל was by error divided into כל הא, the verb was lost and had to be supplied as in S, or by reading נחנה in place of הנאות. After the interjection הא (as it was taken to be), some MSS. and printed texts insert למדת 'thou hast learned'.

removes . . . world. Cp. ii. 15 above. R. Joshua may have founded his maxim on that of R. Zadok, whom he must often have heard.

8. **R. Jose** (b. Halaphta): born about A.D. 110, died about A.D. 180; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the 'Terror' A.D. 135. Rabbi was one of his disciples.

honours . . . Torah. Cp. on iv. 1 above. The commentators explain that to 'honour Torah' is to honour everything connected with it, down to the letters in which it is written.

himself. Lit. 'his body', גופו.

men. Lit. 'creatures', as explained before.

9. **R. Ishmael his son** (so BD, om. A. C has R. Simeon). Son of the preceding, and presumably brother of iii. 8; date, end of second century and beginning of third.

withdraws . . . judgement. Excuses himself from acting as a judge.

fear, theft and perjury. Because, if he judges, he displeases the losing party; he may decide wrongly as to the ownership of property, and he may lead the witnesses to commit perjury. Cp. i. 9 above.

teaching. Here the decisions he gives as a judge. On humility see above, iv. 4.

10. **He.** Again R. Ishmael b. Jose.

Note that the maxim turns again on the function of a judge.

One . . . judgeth alone, i. e. God. For the form of the phrase cp. Mark x. 18. R. I. only means, however, that a human judge should share the responsibility with others.

entitled. They are in the majority and have a right to enforce their opinion.

11. **R. Jonathan** (so BDS, Johanan A, Nathan C). There is no R. Johanan in the Mishnah without some descriptive epithet. 'R. Johanan' would mean the R. J. of the Gemara, third century. R. Jonathan was a disciple of R. Ishmael (iii. 17) and contemporary of Ben Azai; middle of second century. There was another R. Jonathan, a disciple of 'Rabbi'.

The meaning of his maxim is that a man who learns Torah when poor gives his mind to it so earnestly that he will not forget or forsake it when he becomes rich; a rich man is tempted to neglect Torah, and if he should become poor would be without the knowledge of it.

- 12 R. Meir said: Do little in business and be busy with the Torah; and be humble of spirit before all men; and if thou hast been idle *in respect of* the Torah, there will be many idle things in thy way; and if thou hast laboured at the Torah, there will be for Him much reward to give thee.
- 13 R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: He who does one precept gains for himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression gains for himself one accuser; repentance and good works are as a shield in face of punishment.
- 14 R. Johanan, the sandal-maker, said: Every assembly which is for the sake of Heaven will in the end be established; and *one* that is not for the sake of Heaven will in the end not be established.
- 15 R. Eleazar b. Shammua said: Let the honour of thy disciple be dear to thee as the honour of thy associate, and the honour of thy associate as the fear of thy teacher, and the fear of thy teacher as the fear of Heaven.
- 16 R. Judah said: Be careful in teaching; for error in teaching amounts to sin.
- 17 R. Simeon said: There are three crowns; the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name mounts above them.
- 18 R. Nehorai said: Betake thyself to a place of Torah, and say not it shall come after thee; for thine associates will fulfil it through thee. And 'Lean not upon thine own understanding'. Prov. iii. 5
- 19 R. Jannai said: It is not in our hands *to explain* either the prosperity of the wicked or the chastisements of the righteous.

12. **R. Meir.** The most famous disciple of R. Akiba, one of the six ordained A.D. 135; married the daughter of R. Hanina b. Teradion, iii. 3. His origin is unknown, and it is not certain whether 'Meir' was his real name. His work formed the basis of Rabbi's Mishnah.

business, עסק. Any occupation other than study of Torah.

idle things. Trifles that hinder. For the thought cp. iv. 2, the retribution of like for like.

Him. God.

reward. See on ii. 1, and cp. ii. 18.

13. **R. Eliezer b. Jacob.** There were two teachers of this name, the elder a contemporary of R. Johanan b. Zaccai, and the younger a disciple of R. Akiba. The younger is probably intended here. Date, middle to end of second century.

precept, *mitzvah*, any one of the precepts of the Torah; the doing of a *mitzvah* was a service of God.

advocate . . . accuser. The two Hebrew words קטנור, פרקליט, represent *παράκλητος* and *κατήγορος*.

shield, תריס, Again = a Greek word, *θυρεός*.

punishment, פורענות, divine retribution. Cp. Dan. iv. 24.

14. **R. Johanan, the sandal-maker.** A disciple of R. Akiba; date, middle to end of second century.

assembly. Society, company, or association of persons, for any purpose. For the thought cp. Acts v. 38, 39, and even Matt. xviii. 19.

15. **R. Eleazar b. Shammua.** So S; ACD omit 'b. Shammua'. Disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135; one of the teachers of 'Rabbi'; lived to a great age. Date, the greater part of the second century.

honour . . . associate, חביר, So ABCD; S reads כשלק 'thine own honour'. The latter is probably due to a confusion with the maxim of R. Eliezer (note the similarity of name), ii. 14. In the present passage the reading 'thy associate', besides being better supported, is more suitable to the context.

fear, in the sense of reverence; on the ground that the teacher was the medium by which Torah, the divine revelation, is imparted to the disciple.

16. **R. Judah** (b. Illai). Contemporary of the preceding; a disciple of R. Akiba; one of the six ordained in the Terror, A.D. 135. Date, most of the second century.

teaching. The MSS. vary between תלמוד and למוד. The sense is the same, for תלמוד had not yet acquired the special meaning of Mishnah *plus* Gemara.

amounts to, עולה, rises to such a height of seriousness that it becomes sin. There is a contrast between 'error' and 'sin' similar to that in iv. 5. The teacher may err through ignorance; but the consequence of his error may be wilful sin on his own part or that of others afterwards.

17. **R. Simeon.** Probably R. Simeon b. Joḥai; see on iii. 5.

crowns. Symbol of supreme excellence.

crown . . . Torah. Cp. Prov. iv. 9.

crown . . . priesthood. Lev. viii. 9, and cp. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

good name. Cp. Prov. xxii. 1, Eccles. vii. 1.

18. **R. Nehorai.** Probably among the disciples of R. Akiba; but hardly anything is known of him. His name Nehorai is said to be merely an epithet applied to him. Some have identified him with R. Meir or with R. Nehemiah. Yet, if so, why a separate name?

Betake thyself, נוֹלָה, generally used of exile. The meaning would seem to be, 'if you are forced to leave your native place, go to a place where Torah is to be found.' Cp. i. 10 above.

fulfil . . . thee. By going to such a place he will add his share to the fulfilling of Torah by those who are there already. [Rather render: 'establish thee in the possession of it.' It is the collective not the individual judgement that is to be trusted, as the following words show.—Gen. Editor.]

19. **R. Jannai;** date, beginning and middle of third century; a disciple of 'Rabbi'. His maxim is one of the post-Mishnaic additions, like ii. 2. ABS give the name; CD have 'He used to say', ascribing this verse to the preceding teacher.

in . . . hands, 'אין בדינו . . . משלות ונו', it is not for us. The lit. translation would be, 'there is not in our hands any of the prosperity of the wicked,' &c.

- 20 R. Matthia b. Harash said: Be first in greeting every man; and be a tail to lions and not a head to foxes.
- 21 R. Jacob said: This world is like a porch before the world to come. Make thyself ready in the porch, that thou mayst enter into the banqueting-hall.
- 22 He used to say: Fairer is one hour of repentance and good works in this world than all the life of the world to come; and fairer is one hour of calmness of spirit in the world to come than all the life of this world.
- 23 R. Simeon b. Eleazar said: Pacify not thy associate in the hour of his anger, and console him not in the hour when his dead is stretched out before him; and question him not in the hour of his vow, and seek not to behold him in the hour of his degradation.
- 24 Samuel, the small, said: 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad Prov. xxi when he is overthrown, [lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath ib. 18 from him'].
- 25 Elisha b. Abuiah said: He who learns when a youth, to what is he like? To ink written on new paper. And he who learns when an old man, to what is he like? To ink written on erased paper.
- 26 R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli, said: He who learns from the young, to what is he like? To one that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his winepress. He that learns from the old, to what is he like? To one that eats ripe grapes and drinks old wine.
- 27 Rabbi said: Look not at the pitcher but at what is in it. There is a new pitcher that is full of old wine, and an old pitcher in which there is not even new wine.
- 28 R. Eleazar ha-Kappar said: Jealousy and desire and ambition drive a man out of the world.
- 29 He used to say: Those that are born are for death, and the dead for making alive, and the living

20. R. Matthia b. Harash; date, second century; a disciple of R. Ishmael, iii. 17; settled in Rome, where he spent the rest of his life. The name is sometimes written 'Heresh', after 1 Chron. ix. 15.

tail . . . lions. The meaning is clear; perhaps the maxim is an ironical comment on R. M.'s own situation, head of an exiled community in Rome, instead of 'least among the saints' in Palestine.

21. R. Jacob. The same as in iii. 10 above. Date, latter half of second century.

porch. The MSS. vary between פרוורר and פרוורר, of which neither reproduces the Greek, πρόθυρον.

banqueting-hall, טרקלין, *triclinium*, the world to come; cp. iii. 20.

22. He. R. Jacob.

With the general thought of this maxim cp. Luke xv. 7.

23. R. Simeon b. Eleazar; date, end of second century; son of R. Eleazar b. Shammua, iv. 15 above; disciple of R. Meir.

Pacify . . . anger. Give him time to cool down.

console . . . not. Cp. *In Memoriam*, vi: 'One writes that other friends remain,' &c.

hour . . . vow. When he has made a vow, do not discuss it with him and so perhaps make him regret it.

degradation. Either brought on himself or by others.

24. Samuel, the small; date, first century. He died somewhere about A.D. 80, and is usually said to have died young. I believe, on the contrary, that he died in extreme old age. For the reasons on which this view is based, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 127-35. The fact that Samuel is not called Rabbi can be explained on either theory. The epithet 'small' is supposed to indicate his humility.

His maxim is merely a Scripture text without comment. The second half of the proof-text is given by BCDS, but omitted by A.

25. Elisha b. Abuiah; date, end of first century and up to the middle of the second, say A.D. 90-160. R. Meir was his friend, though much younger. El. is not called Rabbi, either because he was never ordained or because he fell under the censure of the Rabbis on account of his heretical views. He was one of the four who were said to have entered Paradise; and his theosophy may have been the cause of his going astray. The references to him in Rabbinic literature are numerous and mostly hostile; yet a certain respect is shown towards him as a teacher. He is the most interesting figure in the Talmud and Midrash.

to . . . like? For the phrase cp. iii. 22.

ink . . . paper, ניר . . . די. The comparison is not with the ink but with the writing. The paper is papyrus.

erased paper, ניר מחוק, palimpsest. The thought needs no explanation.

26. R. Jose b. Judah, of Chephar ha-Babli; date, end of second century and beginning of third; son of R. Judah, iv. 16 above; disciple of R. Eleazar b. Shammua; contemporary of Rabbi. Chephar ha-Babli was probably in Galilee. His maxim turns on the same thought as the preceding, with a change of simile.

wine . . . winepress, wine newly made. Nothing turns on the fact that the winepress is his own.

27. Rabbi. See on ii. 1 above.

Taylor points out that this maxim serves to correct the preceding one. Not the age of the teacher but the worth of what he teaches is to be regarded. Did Rabbi perhaps regard himself as the 'new pitcher full of old wine', and R. Jose as the old empty pitcher?

28. R. Eleazar ha-Kappar; date, end of second century and beginning of third; contemporary of Rabbi.

drive . . . world. See on ii. 15.

29. He. R. Eleazar ha-Kappar.

This long utterance seems intended as the close of the book, or of the collection of dicta incorporated in it. Was R. Eleazar perhaps the collector?

for making alive, להחיות, i. e. for God to make them live again.

to be judged; to know and to make known and to be known that He is the maker and He the creator, and He the discerner, and He the Judge, and He the witness, and He the adversary, and He will judge in whose presence there is neither obliquity nor forgetfulness nor respect of persons nor taking a bribe; for all is His; and know that all is according to reckoning. Let not thy nature make thee believe that the grave is a place of refuge. For not of thy will wast thou formed, and not of thy will dost thou live, and not of thy will dost thou die, and not of thy will art thou to give *just* account and reckoning before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

- 5 ¹ By ten Sayings the world was created. And why does *the Scripture* teach this? Could not the world have been created by one Saying? But *it was in order* to exact penalty from the wicked who destroy the world that was created by ten Sayings, and to give good reward to the righteous who establish the world that was created by ten Sayings.
- 2 Ten generations from Adam to Noah, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until He brought the flood upon them.
- 3 Ten generations from Noah to Abraham, to make known how much long-suffering is with Him; for all the generations provoked Him, until Abraham our father came, and received the reward of them all.
- 4 Ten trials Abraham our father was tried with, and he bore them all, to make known how great was the love of Abraham our father.
- 5 Ten wonders were done for our fathers in Egypt, and ten by the sea.
- 6 [Ten plagues did the Holy One, blessed be He, bring upon the Egyptians in Egypt, and ten by the sea.]
- 7 Ten trials did our fathers try God with in the wilderness, as it is said: 'And they tempted Me Num. xiv. 22 these ten times, and did not hearken to My voice.'
- 8 Ten wonders were done in the Sanctuary, [for our fathers]. No woman miscarried through the smell of the sacred flesh; and the sacred flesh did not ever stink; and no uncleanness befell the High Priest on the day of Atonement; and no fly was seen in the slaughter-house; and no defect was found in the sheaf, or in the two loaves, or in the shewbread; and rain never quenched the fire; and wind never overcame the pillar of smoke; *the people* stood close together yet had room to bow themselves; no serpent nor scorpion did harm in Jerusalem; and none said to his companion, The place is too narrow for me that I should lodge in Jerusalem.

to know . . . known . . . be known, לִירַע וְלִהְיוֹרֵעַ וְלִהְיוֹרֵעַ. Men are to know their relation to God, and learn it from others, and impart it to others (so Bartenora).

adversary, בַּעַל דֵּין. In the final judgement, God will be not only judge and witness but the other party in the suit.

reckoning. Cp. the saying of R. Akiba, iii. 20.

nature. The נִצַּר, and probably the הִרַע, the evil impulse (see on ii. 15 above); the idea is that a man's lower nature will lead him to think that there is no judgement after death, so that he should need to fear.

grave. Sheol, the underworld.

refuge, a place where the soul can escape from divine justice.

just account . . . reckoning. See on iii. 1, where the whole of the concluding phrase, down to 'blessed be He', occurs. This may indicate that cc. iii-iv formed a separate collection. See Introduction.

V. This chapter is mainly taken up with groups of related things based respectively on the numbers ten, seven, four, and three. A few sayings of teachers are added at the end.

1. First group of ten. **world . . . created**. The ten 'Sayings' are the divine utterances in Gen. i, 'And God said,' &c.

why . . . teach. This is the meaning of the phrase מַה תְּלַמֵּד לְאוֹר, which occurs numberless times in the Talmud. The explanation is that of Bacher (*Terminologie*, i, p. 200).

But . . . penalty . . . reward. The meaning is that though God could have created the world by one 'Saying', He chose to protract His creative work, to linger over it, and thereby enhanced its worth; so much the greater is the guilt of those who destroy it by sin, or the merit of those who maintain it by righteousness.

2. Second group of ten. **Him**, God. For the thought cp. 2 Pet. iii. 5-9.

3. Third group of ten. It would seem that Noah is included amongst those who provoked God. **reward . . . all**. The meaning is not clearly expressed; the sinners did not deserve a reward, and Abraham was not punished for their sins. Probably the meaning is that God put up with the sinners till Abraham, and that he by his righteousness made up for the sins of his ancestors.

4. Fourth group of ten. The ten trials of Abraham are not all scriptural. The list is variously reckoned by different commentators. **love**, i. e. Abraham's love to God, since he 'bore them all' for His sake.

5. Fifth and sixth group of ten.

6. This clause is noted as doubtful in DS. It is evidently intended as a parallel to No. 5. Possibly the sixth group was linked with the fifth, in order to introduce the two sets of plagues.

7. Seventh (ninth) group of ten. A mere deduction from Num. xiv. 22.

8. Eighth group of ten. The separate members being specified.

sacred flesh. The carcasses of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice.

uncleanness. As in Deut. xxiii. 10, which would prevent the High Priest from officiating.

sheaf, Lev. xxiii. 10-14.

loaves, *ibid.* 17.

shewbread, Exod. xxv. 30.

wind . . . smoke. It was considered a bad sign if the smoke rising from the great altar was blown aside instead of rising straight up.

place . . . narrow. Josephus says (*B.I.* vi. 9. 3) that on one occasion, just before the war, 2,565,000 persons were present at the Passover sacrifice in Jerusalem. The reader can believe that, if he will.

- 9 Ten things were created 'between the suns'. And these are they: The mouth of the earth; the mouth of the well; the mouth of the ass of *Balaam*; the bow; and the manna, and the rod of *Moses*; and the shamir-worm; and writing; and the writing; and the Tables. Some say, also the evil spirits, and the grave of Moses, and the ram of Abraham our father; and some say also the tongs that are made with tongs.
- 10 Seven things concerning a rude man, and seven concerning a wise man. A wise man does not speak in the presence of one who is greater than he in wisdom; and he does not break in upon the words of his associate; and he does not hasten to reply; he asks according to the Rule, and answers according to the subject; and he speaks on the first thing first, and on the last last; concerning what he has not heard he says, I have not heard; and he acknowledges the truth. The opposites of these are *found* in the rude man.
- 11 Seven kinds of punishment come upon the world for seven main transgressions. When some men tithe and some do not tithe, famine from drought comes; some go hungry and some are full. When they have resolved that they will not tithe *at all*, famine from tumult and from drought comes. And *when they have resolved* that they will not offer the cake of dough a famine of extermination comes. Pestilence comes upon the world for the capital crimes mentioned in the Torah which are not within the jurisdiction of the court of justice. Also, for fruits of the seventh year. The sword comes upon the world for suppression of justice and for perversion of justice, and for those that teach in the Torah not according to Rule. The wild beast comes on the world for false swearing, and for profaning of the Name. Exile comes upon the world for false worship, for incest, for bloodshed, and for *not* giving release to the earth.
- 12 At four seasons pestilence increases; in the fourth *year*, in the seventh, at the end of the seventh, and at the end of the Feast in each year. In the fourth, because of the tithe for the poor in the third; in the seventh, because of the tithe for the poor in the sixth; at the end of the seventh, because of the fruits of the seventh; and at the end of the Feast, because of the robbery of the gifts *assigned* to the poor.
- 13 Four types of men: He that says, What is mine is mine and what is thine is thine; this is the average type, some say it is the type of Sodom. *He that says*, What is mine is thine and what is thine is mine, is one of the vulgar; *He that says*, What is mine and what is thine are thine, is pious. *He who says*, What is thine and what is mine are mine, is wicked.
- 14 Four types of character: Easy to provoke and easy to pacify, his gain is cancelled by his loss.

9. Ninth group of ten. The things here mentioned became of special importance in the later history, but they are not specially mentioned in the account of the Creation; since, it was held, God had created nothing more after He 'rested from His labour', the things here mentioned must have been created last of all.

'between the suns,' בין השמשות, i.e. between sunset and sunrise. So all the MSS. C adds 'at nightfall', and DS 'on the eve of Sabbath'.

mouth . . . earth, that swallowed Korah. Num. xvi. 32.

mouth . . . well. Probably that in Num. xxi. 16-18.

mouth . . . ass, i.e. the speaking of Balaam's ass was provided for at the Creation.

bow, the rainbow.

shamir, a worm supposed to have the power of gnawing the hardest substances. Moses and Solomon are said to have made use of it.

writing, the forms of the letters; the writing, either the art of combining letters into words, or the writing on the Tables, or the writing instrument, stylus or pen.

tongs . . . tongs. The meaning is, that if the smith uses tongs in order to make tongs, who made the first tongs? Answer, they were made among the last things at the Creation. Presumably meaning that God is the author of all unexplained beginnings.

10. First group of seven. rude man, גולם. Lit. *foetus*, the unformed human being.

Rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

11. Second group of seven. A deduction from Lev. xxvi. 14-22.

fruits . . . seventh year, Exod. xxiii. 11. So also, release . . . earth.

12. First group of four. seasons, פירות. Not in each year, but regularly recurring periods within the cycle of seven years. The idea is that pestilence comes by reason of the sins committed in regard to the tithe for the poor, &c.

the Feast, i.e. of Tabernacles.

robbery . . . poor. After the harvest has been reaped, the gleaning and the corner of the field and any part forgotten were to be left for the poor. Any one who did not so leave them robbed the poor.

13. Second group of four. types, מדות. Lit. 'measures', the same word as in 'with what measure ye mete', &c., Matt. vii. 2; here the means by which the character of a man is estimated or measured; 'type' conveys the same meaning through a different metaphor.

Sodom. The reference is to Ezek. xvi. 49.

vulgar, *am-ha-arets*. See on ii. 6 above. The meaning is that he who does not know the Scripture does not know that he ought only to give and not to receive, Prov. xv. 27. Hence the definition of the pious.

14. Third group of four. gain . . . loss, הפסדו בשכרו. The two men described lose by their anger and gain by their being pacified; but the second is of a firmer character than the first, and therefore in his case gain is mentioned before loss, and *vice versa*.

Hard to provoke and hard to pacify, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Hard to provoke and easy to pacify, he is pious. Easy to provoke and hard to pacify, he is wicked.

15 Four types of disciples: Quick to hear and quick to lose, his gain is cancelled by his loss. Slow to learn and slow to lose, his loss is cancelled by his gain. Quick to hear and slow to lose, he is wise. Slow to hear and quick to lose, this is an evil lot.

16 Four types of almsgivers: He who is willing to give but not that others should give, his eye is evil towards what is theirs; *he who is willing* that others should give but does not give himself, his eye is evil towards what is his; *he who is willing* to give and that others should give, is pious; *he who is not willing* that he should give or that others should give, is wicked.

17 Four types of them that go to the house of learning: He that goes and does nothing, has the reward of *his* going; he that goes not but does *something*, has the reward of doing; he that goes and does *something*, is pious; he that neither goes nor does *anything*, is wicked.

18 Four types of them that sit before the Wise: A sponge, a funnel, a strainer and a sieve. A sponge, because it sucks up everything; a funnel, because it receives at one end and lets out at the other; a strainer, because it lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs; a sieve, because it lets out the coarse meal and keeps the fine flour.

19 All love which depends on something—if the thing ceases, the love ceases. If it does not depend on something it ceases not for ever. What love is that which depends on something? This is the love of Amnon and Tamar. And that which does not depend on something? This is the love of David and Jonathan.

20 Every controversy which is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established; and that which is not for the name of Heaven will not in the end be established. What controversy is that which is for the name of Heaven? The controversy of Shammai and Hillel. And that which is not for the name of Heaven? This is the controversy of Korah.

21 Every one that makes the many virtuous, sin comes not by his means; and every one that maketh the many to sin, they give him not the opportunity to repent. Moses was virtuous and made the many virtuous, and the virtue of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'He executed the righteousness of the Lord, and His judgements with Israel.' Deut. xxxiii. 21

Jeroboam sinned and made the many to sin, the sin of the many depended on him; as it is said: 'For the sin of Jeroboam who sinned and made Israel to sin.'

1 Kings xiv. 16

22 Every one who has three things is one of the disciples of Abraham our father. And *every one who* has three other things is one of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. *If he has* a good eye, and a lowly soul and a humble spirit, he is of the disciples of Abraham our father. *If he has* an evil eye, and a boastful soul and a haughty spirit, he is of the disciples of Balaam the wicked. What is *the difference* between the disciples of Abraham our father and the disciples of Balaam the wicked? The disciples of Balaam the wicked inherit Gehenna and go down to the pit of destruction, as it is said: 'But Thou, O God, wilt bring them down to the pit of destruction. Men of blood and deceit shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in Thee.' But the disciples of Abraham our father inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come; as it is said: 'That I may cause them that love me to inherit substance, and that I may fill their treasures.' Ps. lv. 24 Prov. viii. 21

15. Fourth group of four. Types of students, of course of Torah.

16. Fifth group of four. Almsgivers. *eye . . . evil*. See above on ii. 12.

17. Sixth group of four. Types of students, as in 15, here considered in reference to their going to the School and what they do there.

has . . . reward. Cp. Matt. vi. 2.

does something, practises some of the Torah which he learns.

18. Seventh group of four. Similes of students. The four objects described are explained, and it is clear what ought to be the effect of the sieve; but no commentator has explained what kind of a sieve lets the coarse go through and keeps the fine. The word is rightly rendered 'sieve'.

19. No longer groups but general principles. The contrast between selfish and unselfish love.

20. Controversy justifiable and unjustifiable. *be established*, סופה להתקיים. It will not establish the contentions of both opponents, but it will show that it was right for them to have argued against each other.

Shammai . . . Hillel. See on i. 12. It was said in regard to them, 'The words of each are the words of the living God, but the halachah is according to Hillel' (Eruv. 13^b).

21. A omits the clause about Jeroboam, probably only by a scribal error.

the many, οἱ πολλοί.

sin. Taylor compares Rom. v. 19.

22. *disciples . . . Abraham*. Taken as a model, like Aaron, i. 12 above.

Balaam. Perhaps a covert reverence to Jesus is intended.

blood . . . deceit. This text is elsewhere used to show that Balaam (Jesus?) was about thirty-three years old.

(For the Rabbinical comparison of Balaam with Jesus, see my *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, pp. 64-70.)
[inherit the Garden of Eden and inherit the world to come. This is clearly a conflate text. One of these clauses should be excised.—Gen. Editor.]

- 23 R. Judah b. Tema said: Be bold as a leopard, and light as an eagle, and swift as a gazelle, and strong as a lion to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.
- 24 [He used to say: The bold-faced man is for Gehenna, and the shame-faced man is for the Garden of Eden. May it be Thy will, O Lord our God and the God of our fathers, that Thy city may be built speedily in our days; and grant our portion *to be* in Thy Torah.]
- 25 [Ben Bag-Bag said: Turn it, and turn it again, for the whole is in it, and the whole of thee is in it; and from it swerve not, for there is to thee no greater good than it.]
- 26 [Ben He-He said: According to the toil is the pay.]
- 27 [He said: At five years old *one is fit* for the Scripture, at ten years for Mishnah, at thirteen for the commandments, at fifteen for Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for retribution, at thirty for power, at forty for discernment, at fifty for counsel, at sixty for elderhood, at seventy for grey hairs, at eighty for strength, at ninety for decrepitude, and at a hundred he is as if he were dead and had passed away and vanished from the world.] Ps. xc. 10

END OF THE TREATISE 'FATHERS'.

THE CHAPTER OF R. MEIR, OR, THE ACQUISITION OF TORAH.

61 *The Wise* have taught in the language of the Mishnah; blessed is He that made choice of them and of their Mishnah.

R. Meir said: Every one who is occupied with the Torah for its own sake is worthy *to have* many things; and not only so, but the whole world, all of it, is his equivalent. He is called friend,

23. Note the return to maxims of named teachers.

R. Judah b. Tema; date uncertain; he is once mentioned with R. Meir, middle of second century.

Father . . . in heaven. This term is common in the Rabbinical literature, and is pre-Christian. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 120-4. The use of it here tends to show that this verse was originally the conclusion of the book. D says this expressly. The verses which follow are later additions, and the order of them is variously given.

24. **He.** Probably not R. Judah b. Tema. The author is unknown. Whoever added it did so as a further conclusion to the book, for the second clause is a kind of doxology common in the Jewish liturgy.

25. **Ben Bag-Bag.** This is not a real name, but an epithet formed from the initials of the words 'Ben Ben Ger Bath Gerah'; and one explanation is that his father and mother were each the offspring of converts to Judaism. The vowels are only supplied to enable the word to be sounded. He is supposed to have been a disciple of Hillel.

His maxim refers to Torah, as the full and complete divine revelation.

26. **Ben He-He.** A name formed like the preceding, and possibly the same person is referred to. The maxim is in Aramaic, as are some of those of Hillel.

27. **He.** Sometimes is introduced here the saying of Samuel the small, iv. 24, in order to make him the author of the saying about the ages of man. But this connexion is quite uncertain. The passage is only placed here as having been either added later than the body of the book, or else, as Strack suggests, having been excluded from the book on account of its melancholy conclusion. It is a series of descriptive phrases which need little comment.

twenty . . . retribution. Although he is considered to be old enough at thirteen to be able to obey the precepts (he is called then a *bar-mitzvah*), he is not held fully responsible, and therefore liable to divine punishment for sin, (לדורו), until he is twenty. [Better 'twenty . . . pursuing a calling'.—Gen. Editor.]

VI. It is admitted by all that the sixth chapter formed no part of the treatise incorporated in the Mishnah. See Introduction. It is only given here because, by long custom, it is read with the rest of the book. Nevertheless the material contained, the maxims of particular Rabbis, may be as authentic as what is included in the earlier chapters. It is usually called the 'Chapter of R. Meir', or the 'Acquisition of Torah', the former title being merely a reference to the first teacher mentioned in it. The latter title fairly describes the contents. Taylor, in his edition, merely gives a translation from the text contained in a modern prayer-book; he adds no comment and no critical apparatus. The text here translated is that of Strack's edition.

1. **The Wise**, the Talmudic teachers.

taught, שנו, the special word applied to the authoritative teaching of Torah; the name Mishnah, from the same root, denotes the *corpus* of such teaching, as it was collected and edited by 'Rabbi'. The intention of this sentence, which forms a sort of motto for the chapter, is to connect the chapter with the preceding ones as forming with them virtually a part of the Mishnah.

blessed . . . He, i.e. God.

choice. Implying, as it would seem, some degree of divine guidance in the development of the Mishnah. The Talmud says (B. B. 12^a) that prophecy was taken from the prophets and given to the Wise, meaning the Rabbis.

R. Meir. See on iv. 12. Date, middle of second century.

occupied . . . Torah. This phrase occurs in R. M.'s maxim, iv. 12, and may have been taken thence to serve as the theme for the present exposition.

worthy to have, וזכה; the corresponding noun is זכות, merit. The term denotes a condition of mind and character such as to meet with the divine approval; it does not imply a claim against God for reward. See my *Pharisaism*, pp. 276-80. For the phrase cp. Rev. v. 9, 12.

equivalent, כרי הוא לו, and not more; he is worth the whole world. Strack wrongly, as I think, compares I Cor. iii. 21, 'for all are yours.'

beloved, one that loves God and loves mankind, makes glad both God and mankind. And it clothes him with humbleness and fear, and purifies him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful; keeps him far from sin and brings him to virtue. *Men* enjoy from him counsel and sound knowledge, discernment and might; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound knowledge; I am discernment; I have might.' And it gives him sovereignty and dominion and searching out of justice; and they disclose for him secrets of Torah. And he is made like a spring which ceases not, and like a stream that goes on getting stronger. And he is modest and longsuffering and forgiving of insult. And it makes him great and lifts him above all the things that are done. Prov. viii. 14

2 R. Joshua b. Levi has said: Every day a Bath-Qol goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims and says 'Woe to mankind because of *their* insulting of the Torah'; for every one that is not occupied with the Torah is called reprobate; as it is said: 'As a jewel of gold in the snout of a swine, so is a fair woman without sense.' And *Scripture* says: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing writing of God, graven on the tables.' Read not 'haruth' (*graven*) but 'heruth' (*freedom*); for none is your freeman, but he who is occupied with the study of Torah. And every one who is occupied in the study of Torah, lo, he exalts himself, as it is said: 'And from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.' Exod. xxxii. 16
Num. xxi. 19

3 He who learns from his associate one chapter, one rule, one verse, one saying, even one letter, must show honour to him; for thus we find in the case of David, king of Israel, that he learned

loves God . . . mankind. Observe the unlimited range of the love inspired by the religion of Torah. makes glad. Cp. Zeph. iii. 17, but with a finer meaning here.

it clothes him. 'It' is Torah, personified. Cp. 1 Pet. v. 5 for humility as a virtue put on, given from above.

purifies, makes him כָּשֶׁר, *kāsher*, in a fit condition to perform his religious duties. The same word, pronounced 'kosher', is used in Jewish shops to denote food ritually fit for use.

from him, i.e. from the man who is occupied with Torah. The proof-text, Prov. viii. 14, makes Wisdom say 'Counsel is mine', &c. Torah is identified with wisdom; therefore the man who has Torah is enabled to give what is inherent in wisdom.

it gives, i.e. Torah gives.

sovereignty, מַלְכוּת, moral not political supremacy.

searching . . . justice. Solomon, the wise king, was able to find out what true justice required, 1 Kings iii. 16-28.

they disclose. 'They' are the *familia caelestis*, the angels.

stream, &c. For the phrase cp. ii. 10; the simile used there is expanded here.

And . . . is. Strack reads הָיָה (participle) for the common reading הָיָה, imperative, which, as he says, makes no sense. But הָיָה is very unusual, and it would be simpler to read הָיָה 'he (is)'. The structure of the whole passage is very clumsy, with its frequent changes of subject; it may be a cento of phrases from different sources.

things . . . done, meaning that he is not the slave of circumstance but spiritually free.

2. R. Joshua b. Levi: date, middle of third century, A.D., a famous haggadist (see note below) and mystic. The Mishnah was closed before his time, and with it the series of Rabbis known as Tannaim. Their successors, who commented on the Mishnah, and whose teaching forms the Gemara, were called Amoraim; R. Joshua was an Amora, and his mention here is one of the indications that this chapter did not form part of the original book.

Bath-Qol. Lit. 'daughter of a voice'. The term denotes a sound interpreted as a voice from heaven, delivering some special message to men. It was said to have been a 'Bath-Qol' which decided on the rivalry between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. See on v. 20 above. In John xii. 28, 29, what is referred to is evidently meant for a 'Bath-Qol'. The Rabbis held that since the extinction of prophecy, the 'Bath-Qol' took the place of the 'word of the Lord' which came to the prophet, but was an inferior mode of inspiration.

Horeb. Not that R. J. believed that God dwelt on Horeb, but merely as a scriptural phrase for the seat of divine authority.

reprobate, נִזְוֶה, one who is reprov'd by God. The word does not occur in the O.T. The proof-text, which seems to be wholly irrelevant, is applied after the methods of haggadah (non-literal interpretation of Scripture for edification). The text says נִזְוֶה בְּאִתּוֹ חַיִּים. R. J. takes נִזְוֶה and associates it with נִזְוֶה, by mere similarity of letters, and then argues, in effect, that as 'a fair woman without sense' is נִזְוֶה, so a man without Torah is נִזְוֶה. This is haggadah; and the haggadist did not imply that the words of Scripture really gave that meaning, but that the lesson he wished to teach could be linked on to Scripture in that way.

Read not 'haruth' but 'heruth'. This also is haggadah. For the sake of edification, the text of Scripture might be read otherwise than as written; but this implied no actual criticism of the text, nor any question of 'various readings'. R. J. reads 'heruth' 'freedom', for the sake of making his point about the freeman; but he was quite aware that 'heruth' would make no sense in the original text, Exod. xxxii. 16.

exalts himself. In the previous verse it is Torah which exalts. The proof-text, Num. xxi. 19, is again applied in the manner of haggadah. The place-names are taken according to their literal meaning, Mattanah = gift; Nahaliel, God leads; Bamoth = heights. Thus Torah was *given*; God *leads* the man who studies it to the *heights*, i.e. exalts him. This exposition is given in the Talmud (Erub. 54^a) but not in the name of R. J., although he is quoted on the same page.

3. This saying is anonymous. learns, i.e. learns Torah.

rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above.

show honour, as to a teacher of Torah, cp. iv. 15 above.

David . . . Ahithophel. The reference is to a story, not found in the O.T., intended to explain how David came to compose the fifteen 'Psalms of degrees'. The story, too long to quote, occurs in Succ. 53^b, Macc. 11^a, and the authority for it is said to be R. Johanan (A.D. 199-279). The present passage is thus later than the Gemara.

from Ahithophel only two things, *but* he called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend; as it is said: 'But thou, a man mine equal, my teacher and my familiar friend'. And are not these things an argument *a fortiori*? If David, king of Israel, who learned from Ahithophel only two things, called him his master, his teacher, his familiar friend, how much more one who learns from his associate one chapter or one rule, or one verse, or one saying, or even one letter, ought to show honour to him: and 'honour' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'The wise shall inherit honour'; and 'The perfect shall inherit good': and 'good' simply means Torah; as it is said: 'For I have given thee good doctrine, forsake not my Torah.'

- 4 This is the way of Torah: A morsel with salt thou shalt eat, 'and thou shalt drink water by measure'; and thou shalt sleep on the ground, and thou shalt live a life of hardship, and thou shalt labour in the Torah. If thou doest thus 'happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee'; 'happy' in this world, and 'well with thee' in the world to come.
- 5 Seek not greatness for thyself, neither covet honour. Perform more than thou hast learned. And crave not for the tables of kings; for thy table is greater than their table, and thy crown greater than their crown; and faithful is He, the master of thy work, to pay thee the reward of thy labour.
- 6 Greater is Torah than priesthood and than sovereignty. For sovereignty is acquired through thirty qualifications, and priesthood by twenty-four; but the Torah is acquired by forty-eight things. And these are they:—'By learning, the listening of the ear, the ordering of the lips, the discernment of the heart, fear, dread, humility, cheerfulness, purity, attendance on the Wise, discussion with associates, argument with disciples, sedateness, Scripture, Mishnah; by little business, little intercourse *with the world*, little sleep, little conversation, little luxury, little merriment; by forbearance, a good heart, faith in the Wise, acceptance of chastisements; *by being* one that knows his place, and rejoices in his portion, and makes a fence for his words, and claims not goodness for himself, that is loved, that loves God, that loves mankind, that loves deeds of charity, that loves uprightness, that loves reproofs, and keeps himself far from honour, and puffs not up his heart with his learning, and delights not in giving decisions, that bears the yoke along with his associate, and judges him with a leaning to merit, and establishes him upon truth, and establishes him upon peace, and settles his heart in his study, that asks and answers, that hears and adds thereto, that learns with a view to teaching, and that learns with a view to action, that makes his teacher wise, that makes sure what he hears, and that repeats a word in the name of him who said it. See, thou hast learned: Every one that says a word in the name of him who said it brings redemption into the world; as it is said: 'And Esther said to the king in the name of Mordecai.'
- 7 Great is Torah, for it gives to them that practise it life in this world and in the world to come; as it is said: 'For they are life to them that find them, and health to all their flesh.'

called . . . master. This is not in the Talmudic story, but merely an inference from Ps. lv. 13, taken as referring to Ahithophel.

a fortiori, קל וחומר, lit. 'light and heavy'. The form of the argument is: 'if *A* is *B*, how much more *C* is *B*?' This is one of the seven rules which Hillel introduced for the interpretation of Scripture.

'honour' . . . means Torah. There is a confusion of thought here, for the disciple is to show honour to his Master because of Torah; he does not show Torah to him.

good doctrine. The same proof-text is quoted in iii. 19 above.

4. Anonymous. way. Cp. on ii. 1 above. The proof-text, Ps. cxxviii. 2, is quoted in iv. 1 above, and even there it is probably a later insertion.

5. Anonymous. Perform . . . learned. Cp. i. 17, iii. 12 above.

tables of kings, court favour.

thy table, the table at which thou sittest, the table of God, see on iii. 5 above.

thy crown, of Torah. See on iv. 17 above.

faithful . . . labour. Verbatim from ii. 19.

6. Anonymous. Torah . . . priesthood . . . sovereignty. Classed together, iv. 17 above.

acquired, נקנית; but a different word is needed. The dignities referred to are not acquired by the things specified, but these are, in the case of kings and priests, privileges enjoyed by the holder of the dignity; in the case of the man of Torah they are characteristic features. The privileges of kings and high-priests are given in the Mishnah, Sanh. ii. The list of forty-eight 'things' shows variations in the style which point to an origin from different sources. Nos. 1-25 are nouns, the remainder verbs describing what the man of Torah does. The total number is fifty, and there seems to be little attempt at orderly sequence in the list. The whole passage may be taken as the summary of the Pharisaic ideal; see my *Pharisaism*, pp. 327-30. Various parallels with phrases in the earlier part of the book occur. Detailed comment is unnecessary, as nearly all the ideas have been mentioned before. After the list is closed, follows a comment upon the last item, 'that says a word in the name of him who said it.' The Rabbis attached great importance to this, the idea being that he who brought to the knowledge of his fellows some new meaning of Torah and rendered explicit part of the divine meaning till then implicit in it, should be held in remembrance for having done so.

See, thou hast learned. The words which follow are a quotation from the Talmud, Chull. 104^b, another proof of the late date of this chapter. The proof-text is less cogent than the reason given above.

7. Anonymous. The life-giving power of Torah. Chiefly a series of Scripture texts.

And *Scripture* says: 'It shall be health to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones.' And it says: Prov. iii. 8 'She shall be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy are they that retain her.' ib. iii. 18 And it says: 'For they shall be a chaplet of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck.' ib. i. 9 And it says: 'She shall give to thine head a chaplet of grace; a crown of beauty shall she deliver thee.' ib. iv. 9 And it says: 'For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and they shall increase to thee years of life.' ib. ix. 11 And it says: 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour.' ib. iii. 16 And it says: 'For length of days, and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee.' ib. iii. 2

8 R. Simeon b. Judah, in the name of R. Simeon b. Johai, said: Beauty, strength, riches, honour, wisdom, old age, grey hairs, children, are comely for the righteous and comely for the world; as it is said: 'The hoary head is a crown of glory; it shall be found in the way of righteousness.' Prov. xvi. 31 And it says: 'Children's children are the crown of old men; and the glory of children are their fathers.' ib. xvii. 6 And it says: 'The glory of young men is their strength; and the beauty of old men is the hoary head.' ib. xx. 29 And it says: 'Then the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed; for the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before His ancients gloriously.' Isa. xxiv. 23

9 R. Simeon b. Menasia said: These seven attributes, which the Wise have assigned to the righteous, were all exemplified in Rabbi and in his sons.

10 R. Jose b. Kisma has said: Once I was walking by the way and there met me a man, and he greeted me, and I greeted him again. He said to me, Rabbi, whence comest thou? I said to him, I am from a great city of wise men and scribes. He said to me, Rabbi, wilt thou dwell with us in our place, and I will give thee a thousand thousand gold pieces and precious stones and pearls? I said to him, If thou gavest me all the silver and gold and precious stones and pearls which are in the world I would not dwell except in a place of Torah. For thus it is written in the book of Psalms, by the hands of David, king of Israel: 'The Torah of Thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver.' Ps. cxix. 72 And not only so, but in the hour of a man's death it is not silver or gold or precious stones or pearls which accompany him, but Torah and good works alone; as it is said: 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee, when thou liest down it shall watch over thee, and when thou wakest it shall talk with thee.' Prov. vi. 22 'When thou walkest it shall lead thee'—in this world. 'When thou liest down it shall watch over thee'—in the grave. 'When thou wakest it shall talk with thee'—in the world to come. And it says: 'The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine, saith the Lord of Hosts.' Hag. ii. 8

11 Five possessions hath the Holy One, blessed be He, acquired in His world, and these are they: Torah is one possession; heaven and earth are one possession; Abraham is one possession; Israel is one possession; the house of the sanctuary is one possession. Whence *is this proved concerning* Torah? That which is written: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old.' Prov. viii. 22 Whence *concerning* heaven and earth? That which is written: 'Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Heaven is My throne and the earth the footstool of My feet: what is this house that ye build for Me, and what is the place of My rest?' Isa. lxvi. 1 And it says: 'How manifold are Thy works, O Lord! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of Thy possessions.' Ps. civ. 24 Whence *concerning*

8. R. Simeon b. Judah. A contemporary, probably older, of Rabbi; date, middle of second century. He was a disciple of R. Simeon b. Johai (see iii. 5); his father was probably (R.) Judah of Chephar Ikos, mentioned in connexion with Gamaliel II. This verse is sometimes, wrongly, assigned to R. S. b. Menasia, *v.* 9.

in the name of, מִשּׁוֹם. The regular formula by which one teacher cites the dictum of another, but it does not necessarily imply that the later had actually heard it from the earlier teacher. The series of graces, together with all the proof-texts except the last, is taken verbatim from Tosephta, Sanh. xi. 8. The relevancy of the text from Isa. xxiv. 23 is not obvious.

9. R. Simeon b. Menasia. Also, like the preceding, an older contemporary of Rabbi; date, middle of second century.

His remark, which only gives the personal application of the saying in *v.* 8, is likewise taken from Tosephta, where it follows immediately after the saying of R. Simeon.

10. R. Jose b. Kisma. Friend of R. Hanina b. Teradion (iii. 3 above); date, end of first century and beginning of second.

has said. Note the change of form. The maxims of the various Sages are what they were in the habit of saying; here we have an anecdote which R. Jose once told.

great city. R. Jose lived in Caesarea Philippi, but that city was not specially remarkable for its 'wise men and scribes'. Jerusalem cannot be meant; for though, after the siege, Jews were not forbidden to live there, it was no longer a place of learning. The seat of authority had been transferred to Jabneh, and in R. Jose's time was at Usha. Possibly this is the city referred to.

gold pieces, דִּנָּר, *denarii*.

11. Anonymous. This passage has its sources in the Talmud and the older Midrash. In Siphri 134^a, three 'possessions' are mentioned: Torah, Israel, and the Sanctuary. In Mechilta, Beshallah 9, p. 43^{a, b}, four are given: Israel, heaven and earth, the Sanctuary, and Torah. In the Talmud, Pes. 87^b, the same four are given. Abraham is thus a later addition; the proof-text does not support his inclusion, because it says that God is the possessor, not of Abraham, but of heaven and earth.

Abraham? That which is written: 'And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abraham of God Gen. xiv. Most High, possessor of heaven and earth.' Whence *concerning* Israel? That which is written: 'Till Thy people pass over, O Lord, till the people pass over which Thou hast possessed.' And it Exod. xv. says: 'As for the saints that are in the earth, they are the excellent in whom is all my delight.' Ps. xvi. Whence *concerning* the house of the Sanctuary? That which is written: 'The place, O Lord, Exod. xv. which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have founded.' And it says: 'And He brought them to the border of His Sanctuary, to this mountain which His Ps. lxxvii. right hand hath possessed.' All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in His world, He created it only for His glory; as it is said: 'Every one that is called by My name, and whom I have Isa. xliii. created for My glory, I have formed him, I have made him.' And it says: 'The Lord shall reign Exod. xv. for ever and ever.'

12. Anonymous. Probably continuous with the preceding, the idea being to supplement the statement that God has five possessions in the world by the declaration that all which it contains is His because He created it. The passage itself is older, being taken verbatim from the Talmud, Joma 38^a, and there it is assigned to a date before A.D. 70. The compiler of this chapter included it as a well-known ancient saying in praise of God, and added it here both to qualify the preceding statement about the possessions, and also to serve as a sort of concluding doxology to the whole book.

The Wilna edition of the Talmud gives, after *v.* 12, a saying ascribed to R. Hanania b. Akashia (date unknown) and taken from Macc. 23^b, 'Be pleased, O God, to purify Israel; wherefore increase to them Torah and precepts, as it is said (Isa xlii. 21): "It pleased the Lord, for His righteousness' sake, to magnify the Torah and make it honourable."' Rashi mentions this verse, but says it does not belong to the treatise of the Fathers.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

IN the story of Ahiḳar we are probably, as in the parallel case of Tobit, in the region of folk-lore pure and simple. It is a tale of Ingratitude and its Just Judgement, much in the same ethical manner as Tobit is a tale of a Grateful Ghost, and how he made recompense to his benefactor, who had cared for his dead body. We make the acquaintance of the story, first of all, in the supplementary pages of the *Arabian Nights*; we then trace it through the legends of a variety of peoples, with a growing sense of the antiquity of the common nucleus which underlies the traditions, and finally, as an interesting combination of good luck with good learning, the original story turns up in an Aramaic papyrus of the fifth century B.C. among the ruins of Elephantiné; in a language, that is, which had been conjectured as its original, and of an antiquity even greater than had been assigned to it by any of its investigators. The discovery followed from first suspicions to last achievement is itself almost a romance.

Ahiḳar, who is the hero of the tale, was Grand-Vizier to Sennacherib, King of Assyria; he was a sage, as well as a politician, high in honour, abundant in wealth, and only poor by the curse of childlessness which left him without a son whom he might make the heir of his wealth and his wisdom. Repeated prayers brought him at last an injunction to take his sister's son, Nadan, and bring him up as his own offspring. The story-teller relates the education of the youth, and how, after being deluged with proverbial philosophy, he turned out ill, intrigued against his adopted father, and betrayed him, by forged documents of a treasonable character, to the Government. Ahiḳar is condemned to death and Nadan steps into his place; but, on the way to execution, the swordsman is reminded by Ahiḳar of a previous occasion on which he had saved him from a similar danger. A plan is devised by the two friends for the saving of Ahiḳar's life, a criminal is substituted for him at the place of execution, and Ahiḳar is hidden away in his own cellarage to wait for the evolution of events. At last political circumstances bring the necessary turn to the wheel of his fortune. The King of Assyria is unable, without his aid, to meet the intrigues and satisfy the demands of the King of Egypt; he sighs over Ahiḳar dead, and is informed, to his delight, that the sage is really living. Ahiḳar is brought out of his hiding-place, a very spectacle, with unkempt locks and overgrown nails, and reinstated in his ancient honour. After an interval spent, in the typical folk-lore manner, in satisfying the requirements of the King of Egypt, Ahiḳar returns to claim the boon of a due revenge on his adopted son, whom he imprisons, beats, and starves, and to whom he talks parables, till the young man dies,—after the manner recorded of another traitor in the Acts of the Apostles.

The story is divided internally into four parts, which need not, all of them, be of equal antiquity. There is (1) the narrative itself: (2) the imbedded proverbial philosophy or, as we may call it, the Teaching of Ahiḳar: (3) the journey to Egypt, which may be the expansion of a later folklorist and can easily be detached from the main narration; and (4) the similitudes, with which Ahiḳar completes the education of his nephew; or as we may call them, the Parables of Ahiḳar.

§ 2. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE BOOK.

The antiquity of the book is demonstrated by the following considerations:

(a) That Democritus, the Greek proverbial philosopher, is alleged by Clement of Alexandria to have incorporated with his writings matter which he had appropriated from the Pillar of Ahiḳar: if this be the real Democritus, and the monument actually contained the Sayings of Ahiḳar, the latter must have been extant in the early part of the fifth century B.C.

(b) That the story of Ahiḳar has been made the foundation for the account of the adventures of the Greek Aesop at the Court of Lykeros, King of Babylon.

(c) That the Book of Tobit makes definite allusion to the story of Ahiḳar and Nadan, the deliverance of the former, and the just doom of the latter, in a way that assumes the story to be well known to the author of Tobit and to his readers.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

(d) That Theophrastus is said to have composed a book called *Ahikar*, which suggests some account of the hero of our tale.

(e) That Strabo enumerates amongst persons who had mantic gifts a man named Ahaikar amongst the people of the Bosphorus, where it has been acutely suggested that we should read 'the people of Borsippa'.¹

(f) The names of the leading characters in the story are Assyrian in form, a peculiarity which is often conserved in the very latest versions.

(g) *Ahikar* appears to be included amongst the wise men of the world in a mosaic found at Trèves.

(h) And lastly, the story of *Ahikar* is found in a fragmentary papyrus recently recovered from the ruins of Elephantiné, and without doubt belonging to the fifth century before Christ.

A further confirmation, if confirmation were needed, would lie in the occurrence of definite quotations from the recovered story in other early works. The investigation of such quotations is, however, complicated by the uncertainty as to whether all parts of the *Ahikar*-tradition are substantially of the same age. If we could assume that they were, then, in view of the great age of the Elephantiné-papyrus and the still greater age of the original from which it is derived, we could at once infer that the *Ahikar* story was an influencing factor in a number of Biblical Psalms and in certain of the Sapiential books, such as Proverbs and Sirach, as well as in Daniel and in Tobit, in the Book of Jubilees and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. We shall also have a number of significant parallels in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the second Epistle of Peter. It will, probably, be best to present all these coincidences as parallels in the first instance, and postpone the decision as to whether they are actual quotations until we have further light on the development of the story itself. Over and above these Biblical parallels, we have a number of quotations made by Shahrastani, probably through the medium of Democritus, a series of adaptations of the proverbs of *Ahikar* by Mohammed, an incorporation of part of the opening sentences in the story of Syntipas, a versification in Old French of one of the Parables of *Ahikar*, and a number of quotations in early Armenian writers. Few books have so wide an attestation as the story of *Ahikar*. For convenience we tabulate the above parallels and quotations as follows:—

Democritus.	Matthew.
Tobit.	Luke.
Psalms.	Acts.
Proverbs.	1 Corinthians.
Sirach.	2 Peter.
Daniel.	2 Timothy.
Jubilees.	Koran.
Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs.	Syntipas, and an
	Old French Parable.

§ 3. QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES.

a. Democritus.

Now that the antiquity of *Ahikar* is so firmly established, there is very little ground for questioning the references made to him or his teaching by Democritus or other writers depending on Democritus. Here are the principal passages that come under discussion:

Shahrastani, as from Democrates (ed. Cureton, p. 306):

'The tail of a dog gives him meat, his voice gets him blows.'

Cf. Aeth. 2: 'My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog's tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.'

Syr. ii. 38: 'My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, but his mouth gets him blows.'

It is also found in the Copenhagen Arabic in this form:

'The tail of a dog gives him bread to eat, and his mouth gives him a beating with stones to eat.'

In Cod. Syr. S₃ it recurs in this form:

'For the tail of the dog gives him bread, but his mouth gives him blows and stones.'

In the Armenian sayings it has got into the second group in the form:

'(God passes judgement between me and thee). For the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth a cudgel.'

¹ Th. Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives*, xxxviii, pp. 1-13, and Fränkel in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Ahikaros.

INTRODUCTION

In the Aesop story it comes in this form :

‘My child . . . be accessible to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even to the dog his tail supplies bread.’

Here then, in every version except the Slavonic, we have the traces of the special proverb. There can be no doubt that it formed part of the primitive collection.

A second example from the same source runs as follows :

‘Do not allow any one to tread on your heel to-day, lest he tread on your neck to-morrow.’

This is almost exactly the Syriac proverb (ii. 39):

‘My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.’

The proverb is also found in the Armenian, Arabic, and Slavonic versions.

A third example which follows in Shahrastani is as follows :

‘Be not over-sweet, lest thou be swallowed down : nor over-bitter, lest thou be spit out.’

The proverb is found in the Slavonic and Armenian versions (c. ii. 8) : it is no doubt to be referred to both Democritus and Aḥikar.

The next instance from Shahrastani is as follows :

‘(Solon) saw a man who stumbled, and said to him : It is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue.’

The proverb is found in the Ethiopic, in the Syriac (ii. 53), and in the Slavonic. In the proverbs of Maximus it is referred to Socrates : for which I propose to read Democrates (= Democritus).

The last, and perhaps the most interesting of the maxims of Democritus, will be found in Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 75 :

‘For swine delight in mud more than in clean water, and wallow in a drain, according to Democritus.’

The latter half of the sentence is quoted by Plutarch, *De tuenda sanitate* 14, again with reference to Democritus. There seems to be little room for doubt that Democritus is quoting from the same proverb of Aḥikar which we find quoted in 2 Peter ii. 22, and which is current in the Syriac (viii. 18), Armenian, and Karshuni versions : e.g. in the Karshuni (viii. 15) :

‘My son, thou hast been to me like the pig, who went to the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath it saw a filthy hole, and it went down and wallowed in it.’

These examples will show conclusively the correctness of the tradition that Democritus copied from Aḥikar, and issued the proverbs of the latter under his own name.

b. The Tobit Parallels.

The parallel passages in the Book of Tobit, and the supposed references to Aḥikar, have occupied the leading place in the criticism of the text, partly because it was by their means that the antiquity of Aḥikar was, in the first instance, established, and partly because around these parallels the question of relative priority was, in the first instance, debated. Now that the antiquity of Aḥikar has been vindicated in an extraordinary manner, we need not hesitate to mark quotations in Tobit, only reserving such cases as may properly be referred to a more recent manipulation of the text of Aḥikar.

The following are the principal parallels, as given in the Vatican Codex, with which, however, the Sinaitic text should be carefully compared :

Tob. i. 21 seq. : ‘And Esarhaddon¹ his son reigned in his stead, and he appointed Achiachar the son of Anael my brother over all the fisc of this Kingdom, and over all the administration. And Achiachar asked on my behalf, and I came to Nineveh. And Achiachar was Cupbearer and Great Seal, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Esarhaddon appointed him a second time :² and he was my cousin.’

Tob. ii. 10 : ‘And I (Tobit) went to the physicians, and they could not help me. And Achiachar maintained him until the time that he went to Elymais’ (where an acute conjecture suggests to read ‘his hiding-place’ for ‘Elymais’).

Tob. xi. 17, 18 : ‘And there was great joy to all the brethren in Nineveh, and Achiachar and Nasbas his cousin (?) came (to the wedding festival).’

¹ It is difficult to say if this is the original form ; it looks as if Σαχερδονός were a misplaced genitive, and the original reading ‘the son of Esarhaddon’, which would mean that Tobit had repeated the blunder of the versions of Aḥikar, by making Sennacherib later than Esarhaddon.

² Exactly, but unintelligibly, ‘Sacherdonos, a son ἐκ δευτέρως’, which again looks like an original ‘Son of Sacherdon’.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

For 'Nasbas' the Sinaitic text has 'Nabad', which can hardly be right, and it makes Achiachar and Nabad to be both of them cousins of Tobit. Perhaps the obscure Nasbas covers the name of Nadan's younger brother.

Tob. xiv. 10: 'My child, consider what Nadab did to Achiachar that brought him up, how from the light he led him to the dark and what recompense he made him: and Achiachar (God) saved, but to the other the just reward was made, and he went down to the dark. Manasses (*read Ahiḳar*) did alms, and he was saved from the snare of death which he laid for him, but Nadab fell into the snare and perished.'

I have corrected some obvious transcriptional blunders, and made one bold but necessary emendation. For the almsgiving of Ahiḳar, see also Tob. iv. 10, 'Alms doth deliver from death, and will not suffer thee to come into darkness'. See also Ahiḳar (viii. 2, viii. 37 Syr.).

Tob. xiv. 15: 'And he heard before his death of the destruction of Nineveh, which Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus took captive;'

where the Sinaitic text expands, and explains that Nineveh was taken captive by Achiakar, the King of Media.

Ahasuerus is a mere blunder for 'Nineveh and *Athur*' in the Ahiḳar story: the Sinaitic expansions have made the confusion worse confounded. Tobit's history and his geography are out of the reach of justification.

Tob. iv. 17: 'Pour out thy bread on the graves of the righteous and do not give it to sinners: ' with which cf. Ahiḳar

(Arab. ii. 13): 'O my son, pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.'

(Syr. ii. 10): 'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.'

[On this question see I. 189-192.—Gen. Editor.]

c. Parallels in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

See p. 291 of this volume.¹

d. Some Old Testament Parallels.

The parallels with the O.T., especially with the Sapiential books, are constant, and it is not always easy to say certainly on which side antiquity lies. As a general principle the Ahiḳar sentences are older than their parallels in Sirach. A few places may be noted:

Ahiḳar (c. ii. 45 Syr.): 'My son, I have carried salt and have removed lead; but I have not seen anything heavier than that a man should pay a debt that he did not borrow,' &c.

Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15: 'What is heavier than lead, and what is the name thereof, but a fool? Sand and salt and a mass of iron are easier to bear than a man without understanding.'

Some traces of a similar proverb will be found in the papyrus:

Ahiḳar (c. ii. 65 Syr.): 'My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.'

Cf. Sirach iv. 26: 'Do not stand up against a river' (cf. the Syriac version).

Ahiḳar (c. ii. 2 Syr.): 'My son, if thou hast heard a word let it die in thy heart.'

Cf. Sirach xix. 10 (Syr.).

Ahiḳar (c. ii. 19 Arab.): 'O my son, be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him.'

Cf. Ps. cxli. 4.

Ahiḳar (c. ii. 61 Arab.): 'O my son, let the wise man beat thee with a rod: but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve.'

Cf. Ps. xli. 5 (LXX).

Ahiḳar (c. viii. 38 Arab.; cf. viii. 41 Syr.): 'For he who digs a pit for his brother, falls into it; and he who sets traps shall be caught in them.'

Cf. Ps. cxli. 10.

For coincidences with Daniel we may take:

Ahiḳar c. i. 3 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 2, ii. 27, v. 7.

Ahiḳar c. i. 7 (Arm.) with Dan. v. 16.

Ahiḳar c. v. 4 (Arab.) with Dan. ii. 11.

Ahiḳar c. v. 11 with Dan. iv. 33.

¹ In Jub. xxxvii. 23 the words 'When the raven becomes white as the rāzâ (i.e. a large white bird), then know that I have loved thee' may be an echo of Syriac A 62 'And the raven become white as snow'.—[Gen. Editor.]

INTRODUCTION

e. Coincidences and Parallels with the New Testament.

Aḥiḳar, c. iv. 14, has the account of Nadan's revelry, after he has got rid of his uncle, and of his beating the menservants and the women-servants, &c. We have to compare carefully Matt. xxiv. 48-51, and Luke xii. 43, 46, and it will be seen that the language of Aḥiḳar has coloured one of our Lord's parables.

Perhaps the same thing is true of the parable of the Prodigal Son; for we have in the Syriac (viii. 34):

'Forgive me this my folly; and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house.'

and in the Armenian (viii. 24):

'Father, I have sinned against thee. Forgive me, and I will be a slave unto thee henceforth and for ever.'

Cf. Luke xv. 19.

Nor should we neglect to compare the story of the unfruitful fig-tree in the Gospel with:

Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 35 (Syr.): 'My son, thou hast been to me like the palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river; and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"'

for which we compare Luke xiii. 6-9.

For Aḥiḳar, c. viii (death of Nadan), cf. the death of Judas in Matt. xxvii. 5, in Acts i. 18, 19, and in the traditions of Papias.

For the rest of the N.T. compare

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 16 (Syr.): 'My son, it is not proper even to eat with a shameless person.'

with 1 Cor. v. 11;

Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 59 (Syr.): 'Visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the presence of the ruler, and do one's diligence to save him from the lion.'

with 2 Tim. iv. 17;

and Aḥiḳar, c. viii. 18 (Syr.), viii. 15 (Arab.), viii. 24 (Arm.) (the pig that went to the bath), with the 'true proverb' in 2 Peter ii. 22, noting that the proverb in Aḥiḳar can be traced back to him through Democritus.

f. Parallels in the Koran.

The Koran knows Aḥiḳar by the name of Loqman, and makes allusion to him and his gnomic sayings.

The 31st Sura of the Koran is, in fact, named after him, and we may compare:

'O my son . . . be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of all voices surely is the voice of asses.'

The passage becomes intelligible when we put by the side of it Aḥiḳar, c. ii. 45 (Arm.), ii. 8 (Syr.), ii. 11 (Arab.):

'My son, cast down thy eyes and lower thy voice . . . for if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day.'

§ 4. MATERIALS FOR THE DETERMINATION OF THE TEXT.

a. The Aramaic Papyrus.

The first and only authority for the original text of Aḥiḳar is the Aramaic papyrus, discovered at Elephantiné by Dr. Rubensohn in the excavations of 1906-1908, and published by Sachau in 1911 as part of his *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantiné*. The MS. is unfortunately imperfect, but it is clear, from comparison with a number of dated documents with which it was found, that it was written somewhere between 420 B.C. and 400 B.C. It is thus the earliest example of either Biblical or Apocryphal literature. The book itself cannot have been composed very much earlier than its copy, and Sachau suggests that it was produced somewhere between 550 and 450 B.C. We should say that the upper limit is more likely, for even if the book were at once popular (as it almost certainly was) it would take time for it to be carried from Mesopotamia to the outlying Jewish colony at the first cataract of the Nile. Suppose we say that it was written about 500 B.C., or a little earlier. It should be somewhat later than the Aramaic inscriptions from Zinjerli, for in these the name of Assyria is still written Asshur, whereas the Aḥiḳar book has Athur. The

Aramaic, then, is the original language: there is no sign of Hebraism anywhere in the book. We are as near to the first form of an ancient book as we are ever likely to be.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the papyrus is so incomplete. There is nothing preserved of the narrative portion after the condemnation of Ahiḱar, and not very much of what leads up to the condemnation; while the fragments of the proverbs and parables are so difficult to reconstruct, that we are hardly able to read a single unbroken sentence. It appears as if the proverbial philosophy and the parabolic admonitions were mixed up together, and that there was little agreement between what is contained of them in the papyrus and the two collections which are exhibited in our extant versions.

Moreover, as the latter part of the narrative is not extant, which must at least have contained the account of Ahiḱar's recovery, we cannot be certain whether the Egyptian episode is a part of the missing matter or whether it is the addition of a later folklorist. We can, however, make certain things quite clear.

First of all, the papyrus makes the story fall under Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, his son; and it does not make the mistake which occurs in most of the later versions, of calling Sennacherib the son of Esarhaddon, and putting all the story in his reign. It is nearer to history even if it is not exactly history. We understand, too, what used to be a difficulty, why Tobit, which certainly follows Ahiḱar, does not make the mistake of inversion with regard to the kings which we find in Ahiḱar, according to the later versions (though there are suspicions that Tobit has corrected an original mistake).

If, however, the papyrus in certain points discredits the later versions, there are other points in which it accredits even the youngest of them. Thus the Arabic version has the correct Assyrian form, Nabuṣumiṣkun, for the executioner of Ahiḱar; and M. l'Abbé Nau, in his valuable book on Ahiḱar, has pointed out that one of the youngest copies of the Syriac text is free from the historical blunder over Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. Further, amongst the few proverbial sentences that can be reconstructed from the papyrus fragments there is one which is preserved in the Armenian version, and apparently nowhere else. So that even late versions are not to be despised in the reconstruction of the original legend.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the story has been treated very freely by many generations of transcribers. Even if it should be maintained that there was an original historical nucleus (which seems very unlikely in view of the manner in which the story is told) there can be no doubt that it was handled as a folk-tale from the earliest times. For example, in the opening of the story, Ahiḱar explains his unsuccessful wedlock with sixty wives, for whom he built sixty castles or palaces. That is genuine folk-lore. When he adopts his sister's son, Nadan, he hands him over to eight wet-nurses that they may bring him up; and the boy grows up like a cedar under their assiduous fostering. If any one doubts whether this is folk-lore or not, he may consult the following openings of Tibetan tales from the collection of von Schiefner and Ralston:

Story of Sudhana Avadana, p. 52.

The boy Sudhana was handed over to eight nurses, two to carry him, two to suckle him, two to cleanse him, and two to play with him. As those eight nurses fed him and brought him up on milk, &c.: . . . he shot up like a lotus in a tank, &c.

An exactly similar story concerning the rearing of Visvantara on p. 257; again, on p. 273, *The Story of the Fulfilled Prophecy*, the same description is given of the rearing of Sūryanemi; and on p. 279, *The Story of the Two Brothers*, the same description will be found for the early years of Kohemankara.

In the same way, whether the Egyptian episodes of the story are a part of the original document or not, they are neither more nor less than folk-lore. For instance, the demand of the Pharaoh that Ahiḱar should make some ropes out of sand is one of the themes in the Tibetan tale of Mahausadha and Vasakha, which will be found, in the collection from which we have just quoted, on p. 138: 'King Janaka sent a messenger to Pūrṇa, the head-man of the village Pūrṇakatshtshha, with an order to send a rope made of sand one hundred ells long,' &c.

These examples, taken from a single collection of Eastern folk-tales, will be sufficient to show, to any one who is unfamiliar with Eastern story-telling, that the Ahiḱar legend is not meant to be taken for history. It is an ethical folk-tale, with Ingratitude for its theme of reprehension. To try to turn it into history is to do the original composer a literary injustice. We now turn to the description of the leading versions.

INTRODUCTION

b. The Syriac Version (S).

There are not many copies of this version, and those that do exist are late. The following are the chief texts:

- S₁: a single leaf of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the British Museum (Cod. Add. 7200).
- S₂: a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, formerly in the possession of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated A. D. 1697 (Univ. Cant. Add. 2020).
- S₃: a MS. in the Sachau Collection at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 336), written in 1883. This is the MS. to which M. Nau attaches so great importance, that he has made it the basis of his text. The main thing in its favour is that it has escaped the inversion of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.
- S₄, S₅, S₆ are three transcripts in the American Mission Library at Ooroomiah, none of them of any importance.
- S₇ is a fragment of the fifteenth century at Berlin (Cod. Sach. 162).
- S₈ in the British Museum (sixteenth or seventeenth century) = Cod. Or. 2213, contains the latter part of the story of Aḥikar.
- S₉ is a MS. in the Chaldean convent which Nau describes as 'Notre-Dame des Semences, à neuf heures au nord de Mossoul', written in 1883.

Of these S₁, S₂, S₃, S₈ are the only ones that require attention.

There is also a translation into modern Syriac (dialect of the Jebel Tûr) in the Berlin MS., Cod. Sach. 339; it is accompanied by an Arabic text, of which it appears to be a direct translation.

c. The Arabic and Karshuni Versions (A and K).

We have the text of Aḥikar in Arabic, printed by Salhani in his *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout), and there are also a number of MSS. either in Arabic script, or in Karshuni (Arabic in Syriac characters): of these the principal are:—

- K₁: a Cambridge MS. (Cod. Add. 2886) dated 1783.
- K₂: a British Museum MS. (Cod. Add. 7209).

The former of these MSS., with the latter as an occasional supplement, is the base of Mrs. Lewis's translation of Aḥikar in the Cambridge volume.

- K₃: a Gotha MS. (no. 2652), which was employed by Cornill in editing an Arabic counterpart to his Ethiopic text of the Sayings of Aḥikar.
- K₄: a Vatican MS. from Aleppo, referred to by Assemani.
- K₅: the Arabic half of the Berlin MS. (Cod. Sach. 339) described above as containing a modern Syriac version and a Karshuni original.

The Arabic MSS. proper must be fairly numerous. There are examples in Copenhagen and in the Vatican and at Paris.

- A₁: Copenhagen (Cod. Arab. 236), written in 1670.
- A₂: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 11), from the collection of Pope Innocent XIII, written in 1766.
- A₃: Vatican (Cod. Arab. 55).
- A₄: Paris (Cod. Arab. 3637), from which Caussin de Perceval made his translation.

d. The Ethiopic Version (Aeth.).

A complete Ethiopic version has not yet been found; but in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers* fifteen maxims of Aḥikar are extant, translated from an Arabic original. They were published by Cornill in 1875.

e. The Armenian Version (Arm.).

This version is of peculiar importance. It is at least as early as 450 A.D., and is extant in numerous copies, most of which are unfortunately late. It was also frequently printed in Constantinople in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mr. Conybeare has noted the following MSS.:—

- Arm.₁ in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.
- Arm.₂ at Venice, no. 482 in the Library of San Lazaro: fifteenth or sixteenth century.
- Arm.₃ at Paris (Cod. Arm. no. 92), in the National Library: dated A. D. 1619.
- Arm.₄ at Paris (Cod. Supp. 58), seventeenth century.
- Arm.₅ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 131), late seventeenth century.
- Arm.₆ at Paris (Cod. Arm. 69), seventeenth century.
- Arm.₇ at Oxford (Bodl. Can. Or. 131), A. D. 1697.
- Arm.₈ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 2048), about A. D. 1600.
- Arm.₉ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1633) in A. D. 1604.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Arm.₁₀ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1995) in A. D. 1605.

Arm.₁₁ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1986) in A. D. 1623.

Arm.₁₂ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 51) in A. D. 1642.

As we have said, this version is early, its text inspires confidence. For example, the saying 'Son, rejoice not thou in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not thou distressed' is found only in the Armenian and in the newly-found papyrus.

The translation of the Armenian version is made from Mr. Conybeare's Armenian text which is published in *The Story of Ahikar*, Cambridge, 1898, and is based on the above MSS.

f. The Greek Version (Aes.).

All that we at present know of the Greek version is contained in the Greek lives of Aesop, which are modelled upon the story of Ahikar, and which may conveniently be studied in Eberhard's *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, in which the part that corresponds to Ahikar runs from p. 285 to p. 297.

g. The Slavonic Version (Sl.).

This version is made from the lost Greek, and is translated by Jagić in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, pp. 107-126. We have not thought it worth while to give a translation of this version.

It is probable that other versions will come to light before long: in particular we consider it very unlikely that there should be no traces of the story in Latin.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS, VERSIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXT OF AHIKAR.

1. The original text will be found in Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine* (Berlin, 1911), and in Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911).
2. The Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic versions in *The Story of Ahikar*, edited by Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis (Cambridge, 1898).
3. The Slavonic version translated into German by Jagić, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, pp. 107-26 (1892). This translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
4. The Ethiopic fragment was published by Cornill in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers*, and Cornill's translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
5. The Arabic version was published by Salhani in *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout) and in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
6. The Arabic version was translated in not a few editions of the *Arabian Nights*, beginning with Chavis et Cazotte (Cabinet des Fées), t. xxxix.
7. A neo-Syriac version, accompanied by an Arabic text, was published by Lidzbarski in 1894 (*Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibl. zu Berlin*), Weimar. A German translation accompanies this work.
8. English translations of the chief texts are found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*; and the Syriac version was translated by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1898.
9. A French translation of the Syriac versions is given by M. Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar* (Paris, 1909).
10. The Greek version, so far as it is involved in the text of Aesop, may be consulted in Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*; the principal parts of the parallel story being reproduced in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
11. The Armenian version has often been printed. The first attempt at a critical edition is found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*, accompanied by a translation; the earlier editions have been chronicled for the following dates: 1708, 1731, 1807, 1834, 1850, 1861 (see Nau, p. 15). The book appears to have been very popular in the Armenian community.

COMPARATIVE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SAYINGS OF AHIKAR IN DIFFERENT VERSIONS.

I. Proverbs of Ahikar.

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter II.

Syriac.		Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.		Syriac.		Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.
A	B					A	B			
1	1	1	1		Cf. Arm. c. ii at end.			11 a		45 a
2	2	2	1 b	1 a		8	9	11 b	4	45 b
3	3	3, 5		1 c				11 c		
4	4	6		1 b	Cf. Syr. A 19, 72.	9	10	12	5	4
5	7	9		2		10		13		7
6				39		11	11			5
7		10		3		12	12	14		6
						13	13	16	6	9
						14	14	17	7	10 a

INTRODUCTION

Syriac.	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.		Syriac.	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.
A	B				A	B		
15	15	18	10 <i>b</i>	Cf. Arm. 27.	45			69 <i>b</i>
16	16	19 <i>a</i>	10 <i>c</i> ?		46			69 <i>c</i>
17	18	58	11, 97		47	41		15
18	19	8	13					Cf. Syr. A 42, Arm. 66.
19	7 <i>a</i> , 20			Cf. Syr. A 5, 72.	48	44		51
					49 <i>a</i>	46		73 <i>c</i>
20	21	19 <i>b</i> , 58 <i>b</i>			49 <i>b</i>	7, 47	12	50
21		21	9		50 <i>a</i>	48 <i>a</i>		
		22	8		50 <i>b</i>	48 <i>b</i>		25
22		23	10		51	49		52
23		24	11		52	53		
24		25			53	45	13	
25			17		54			56
26		26	18, 78		55	8	54 <i>b</i>	3
27		27	19		56			91
28		28, 29	20, 21		57	56		77
29		31 <i>a</i>	22 <i>a</i>		58			
30			22 <i>b</i>		59			60
31		31 <i>b</i>	23		60	58 <i>a</i>		
32					61	22	38, 55	28
33			41		62		59	14
34		33	42		63			83
35			85		64	20		80 <i>a</i>
36		30	43		65	38, 62		28, 81 <i>a</i>
37			44 <i>a</i>	Cf. Syr. A 56.	66	6		81 <i>b</i>
38	5	35 <i>a</i>	2	Parab. 26 <i>c</i> Greek 11.	67		60	15
39		35 <i>b</i>	47		68		63	
40		36	64?		69		64	82
41		37	65		70		65	
42		39	66	Cf. Syr. A 47 and Arm. 15.	71		66	
					72			Cf. Syr. A 5, 19.
43			67		73	61 <i>a</i>		
44			68		74			84
			69 <i>a</i>		75			26, 27

II. Parables of Ahikar.

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter VIII.

Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.		Syriac.	Arabic.	Arm.
I	I	I		21		
2 <i>a</i>	2 <i>a</i>	2		22		
				23		Cf. Syr. 2, 30-2.
2 <i>b</i>	2 <i>b</i>	3, 5, 7	Cf. Syr. 23, 30-2.	24	20	12 <i>a</i>
3	3	8		25		13
4	4	9		26	21	20
5	6	10		27	22	21
6	5	18		28		
7	8	12 <i>b c</i>		29	23	
8	7, 9			30		
9		17		31	26	
10	10	15		32	27	4
11	11			33		22
12	12 <i>a</i>	12 <i>d</i>		34	29	24 <i>b</i>
13				35	30	25
14	12 <i>b</i>	11		36 <i>a</i>	32	16
15	13			36 <i>b</i>	33	23
16						26
17	14	19		37		Cf. Arm. 7.
18	15	24 <i>a</i>		38	34	
19		6		39	35	
20 <i>a</i>	17	14 <i>a</i>		40		
20 <i>b</i>	18	14 <i>c</i>		41	38	26 <i>c</i> , 27
20 <i>c</i>	19	14 <i>b</i>				

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

SYRIAC VERSION A.

from MS. Syr.₂

1 **1** AGAIN, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥikar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh.

In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarḥadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥikar, was the king's secretary.

2 And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee¹: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded: and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son.

3 Thereupon I, Aḥikar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon, and thus I spake:

4 'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥikar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits.
5 But I ask of Thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes.'

6 and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥikar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.'

¹ Presumably, this was said by the astrologers.

SYRIAC VERSION B.

from MS. Syr.₈

... And it was said to me, '[There will be no **1** **2** son to thee].' And I had much wealth; I wedded me sixty wives, and built me sixty castles: and from none of these women had I a son.

Then **1** **3** I built me a great altar of incense and vowed a vow, and said,

'O Lord God, give me a male **5** child, that when I shall die he may cast dust on my eyes.'

Thereupon there was heard by me **6** this voice, saying, 'O Aḥikar, vex not thyself overmuch; there is no son for thee; but behold Nadan thy sister's son; make him thy son; so that as he grows up, thou mayst be able to **8**, **15** teach him everything.' Then when I heard this, I took Nadan my sister's son, and he became my son.

ARABIC VERSION

1. IN the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God¹ and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was
2 Vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women,
3 who might be his heir. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.'
4 And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at
5 his heart. And he returned, and implored the Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me.'

Then
6 there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.'

¹ Literally 'God, may He be exalted!' *passim*.

ARMENIAN VERSION

THE maxims and wisdom of Khikar, which 1. the children of men learn.

In the times and in the reign of Seneqerim King of Nineveh and of Asorestan, I, Khikar Notary of Seneqerim the King, took¹ sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I, Khikar, was sixty years of age,² and I had not a son.

Then I went in to the 3 gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods and cast incense² upon it, and presented my offerings and sacrificed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my prayer.

O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and 4 Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed. For lo, Khikar dieth alive. And what say men? That Khikar though alive and wise and clever is dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my riches. But (I ask merely) that he may cast 5 dust with his hands upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

Then there was a voice from the gods and 6 they said:

Khikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt take Nathan³, thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him⁴.

¹ Can. thus: 'acquired me slaves and handmaids and many possessions. I builded,' &c.

² Add 'of sweet odour' 58 and Edjm.

³ So the better Arm. MSS. The inferior read 'Nadan'.

⁴ So Canon. Others have 'pay thee back thy name'. See note on Arm. text.

SYR. A

SYR. B

7 And when I heard these things, I
 was grieved again, and said, 'O Lord God! is
 it that Thou wilt give me as a son Nadan my
 sister's son, so that when I die, he may throw
 dust on my eyes?' And no further answer was
 8 returned to me. And I obeyed the command
 and took to me for a son Nadan, my sister's son:
 and because he was yet young, I furnished him
 with eight wet-nurses: and I brought up my son
 on honey, and made him lie on choice carpets,
 9 and clothed him in fine linen and purple; and
 my son grew and shot up like a cedar, and when
 my son was grown big, I taught him book-lore
 10 and wisdom; and when the king came from the
 place to which he had gone, he called me and
 said to me, 'O Ahiḱar, the wise scribe and master
 of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and
 die, who is there to come after thee and to serve
 me like thyself?'

11 And I answered and said to
 him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have
 a son, wise like myself, and book-learned like
 myself, and educated.'

12 And the king said to me,
 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to
 stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and
 thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until
 13 thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son
 Nadan and set him before the king, and when my
 lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall
 be a blessed day before God, so that like as
 Ahiḱar walked¹ before my father Sarḥadum, and
 before me also, he shall be rewarded² and I will
 set his son in my gate in his lifetime, and he shall
 depart his life [in peace].'

14 Thereupon I, Ahiḱar,
 bowed down before the king and said, 'My lord
 the king, live for ever! And like as I walked
 before thy father and before thyself even until
 now, so do thou also extend thy forbearance to
 the youthfulness of this my son, that thy grace
 which was toward me may be found multiplied
 15 towards him.' Then when the king heard this,
 he gave me his right hand, and I, Ahiḱar, bowed
 down before the king.

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son,
 until I had filled him with instruction as with
 bread and water. And on this wise was I dis-
 couraging to him:

¹ Lit. 'ran'.

² Reading ܕܝܕܝܢ.

ARABIC

7 Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him and bring him up. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy.

10 And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor¹ and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service

11 after thee.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my

12 wisdom and my knowledge.' And the king said to him, 'O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy

13 life in sweet repose.' Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make

14 him powerful for thy sake.' And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.' Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all

15 honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

¹ Literally 'the sealer of my secrets', *passim*.

ARMENIAN

And when I heard this from the gods, I took 7 Nathan my sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments. And I gave him to drink milk and honey, and 8 laid him to sleep on my eagles and doves, until he was seven years of age. Then I began to 9 teach him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches. And by day and by night I ceased not to instruct him; and I sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

Then saith the king unto me: Khikar, my 10 Notary and wise one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom? And I am very grieved at this thought.

And I said to him: O King, live for 11 ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and is more clever.

And the king says: Bring 12 him unto me, that I may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him before the king, he beheld him and said: In his days may Khikar be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

I bowed my head to my lord, and taking 13 Nathan I led him into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching¹.

¹ Canon adds: 'give ear to my conversation and precept. Write it on thy seal, and forget it not; that the years of thy life may be plentiful, and that in glory and wealth thou mayst reach old age.' No other Arm. source

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 1-8

The Proverbs of Ahikar

SYR. A

2¹ 'Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God¹:

2 My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God.

3 My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest.

4 My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed.

5 My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not lust after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.

6 My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife.

7 My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond-tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry-tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten.

8 My son, cast down thine eyes, and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for

¹ Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, c. iv, 'Him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord'.

SYR. B

And on this wise I was saying to him¹:

'Hear my teaching, my son Nadan; and come 2¹ to my understanding, and be mindful of my words, according to the following sayings:' and thereupon Ahikar² began to teach Nadan his sister's son, and answered and said to him:

'My son, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in 2 thy heart; and reveal it to no man; lest it should become a hot coal in thy mouth, and burn thee; and thou shalt lay blemish on thy soul, and shalt be hated on earth, and be angered against God³.

My son, do not tell all that thou seest, and do 3 not disclose all that thou hearest.

My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, 4 and do not seal one which is loosed.

My son, sweeten thy tongue, and make savoury 5 the opening of thy mouth; because the tail of the dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.

My son, the eye of man is a fountain, and is 6 not satisfied with riches until [filled with dust].

(My son), lift (not) up thine eyes (and look 7 upon a woman bedizened) and beautified, lust not after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all [that thou hast, advantage]⁴ in her thou wilt not find; and thou wilt be guilty of sin before God.

My son, stand not in the house of those that 8 are at strife: because from a word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation; and from vexedness springs murder⁵.

My son, if a house were built by loudness of 9 voice, the ass would build two houses in a single

¹ The account of the earlier years of Nadan's bringing up is omitted; if indeed it existed in the first form of the story.

² The text is double; a copy which had the primitive 'I, Ahikar, took my son' having been compounded with one that had 'Thereupon Ahikar'. A comparison with the Tobit-parallels shows that the second clause is a modification of the first.

³ We expect 'And God shall be angry with thee'.

⁴ A slight correction has been made in the Syriac text.

⁵ Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 'My child, be not angry, for anger leads to murder,' which is a simpler and more archaic form of the same precept.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. I-II

The Proverbs of Ahikar

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

Thus he taught him, saying:

2¹ 'O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2 O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3 O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4 O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5 O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6 O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7 O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8 O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9 O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

10 O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11 O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass

Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, 2¹ make it to die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which thou hearest, reveal it not.

Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a 2 lovely woman, rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if thou shouldst give her all thy riches, thou¹ dost get nothing the more out of her; but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulchre which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first 3 to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

has such an addition, which however distantly resembles the Slavonic and Syriac.

¹ Bodl. = 'thou art not in any way benefited by her more than to be condemned by the God of just judgments and by mankind'. Canon = 'thou wilt not get anything more than thy own sin and shame from men and judgement from God', omitting the rest.

SYR. A

if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel.

9 My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool.

10 My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.

11 My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise.

12 My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him; and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him.

13 My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons.

14 My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "He ate it for medicine." And the poor man eats it, and they say, "For his hunger he ate it."

15 My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours.

16 My son, it is not becoming even to eat with a shameless man.¹

17 My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy; and rejoice not at his adversity.²

18 My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one whose voice is high.

19 My son, go not after the beauty of a woman, and lust not after her in thy heart because the beauty of a woman is her good sense, and her adornment is the word of her mouth.

20 My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom.³

21 My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him.

¹ Cf. I Cor. v. 11 *ἐάν τις . . . ἢ πόρνος . . . τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ δὲ συνεσθίειν*.

² Cf. Prov. xxiv. 17 *ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, μὴ ἐπιχαρῆς αὐτῷ*.

³ He does not mean 'overcome evil with good', which would be a sentiment foreign to the action of the story, but 'get the better of him'.

SYR. B

day: and if by sheer force the plough was directed, the ploughshare would never be worn away under¹ the shoulder of the camel.

Better to remove stones with the wise man 10 than to drink wine with the fool.

My son, in the company of the wise thou wilt 11 not be depraved; and in the company of the depraved thou wilt not become wise.

My son, make companion of the wise person, 12 and thou wilt become wise like him; and make not a companion of the foolish person, lest thou be reckoned like him.

While there are shoes on thy feet, tread down 13 the thorns and make a path for thy sons and thy sons' sons.

My son, the rich man eats a snake, and 14 they say, "For his medicine he ate it": the poor man eats it, and they say, "Because of his hunger he ate it."

My son, eat thy portion, and stretch not out 15 thy hand over that of thy neighbour.

My son, do not eat bread with a man that is 16 shameless.

My son, if thou seest thine enemy fallen, do 17 not mock at him; lest he should rise up and repay thee.

My son, be not envious at the good fortune of 18 thine enemy; and do not rejoice at his misfortune.

My son, do not approach a woman who is 19 hateful and talkative, and one whose voice is high.

For the beauty of a woman is her good sense 20 and the word of her mouth is her adornment.

My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, 21 meet thou him with good.

My son, if thou seest a man who is stronger 22 than thyself, rise up before him. . . .

End of Fragment.

J. R. HARRIS.

¹ This difficult expression is replaced in S₂ by the easier term 'would never be loosed from'. In either case the meaning is obscure. Quaere, 'if brute force were sufficient, the camel might go on ploughing by himself'?

ARABIC

would build many houses every day ; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

- 12 O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.
- 13 O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.
- 14 O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways.
- 15 O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend ; and do not praise him without a trial ; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.
- 16 O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.
- 17 [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say "It is by his wisdom", and if a poor man eat it, the people say "From his hunger".]
- 18 O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.
- 19 O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness.
- 20 O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.
- 21 O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.
- 22 O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

ARMENIAN

Son, it is better with a wise man to carry 4 stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with 5 fools be not thou wise.

Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, 6 so that thou become wise as he is ; but do not become the companion of a senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool.

Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with 7 the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them¹.

Son, be thou not over-sweet, so that they 8 swallow thee down, nor over-bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words.

Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down 9 the thorns and make a path for thy sons².

Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and 10 they say it is medicine for him. A poor man hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace³, and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion ; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey ; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread.

Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not 11 make a scoff at him ; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil⁴.

Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, 12 but the just man is raised by his good deeds.

Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting 13 woman, that thou be not despised by her⁵ ; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee.

¹ Canon and Edjm. = 'despised like them'.

² So Canon, *ordotz*: the other MSS. have *otitz*, 'for thy feet'.

³ Ven. and Canon add 'in peace': Bodl. and 58 omit.

⁴ Ven. adds: 'and there is continual ill-will.'

⁵ The Arm. = 'by them'. If that be read we should turn 'woman' into the plural.

SYR. A

22 My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast],¹ and like tether on the foot of an ass.

23 My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.

24 My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish; lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten.

25 My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them.

26 My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children.

27 My son, walk not in the way

¹ The bracketed words are a gloss.

ARABIC

23 O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.

24 O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.

25 O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.

26 O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."

27 O my son! walk not on

ARMENIAN

Son, spare not the rod to thy son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the feet of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered clever quietly, he does not die¹. But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart².

Son, train thy son in hunger and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life.

Son, receive not any who shall repeat to thee the (word) of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word.

Son³, at first thou art fond of a false man⁴, but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down.

Son, love the father who begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons.

Son, without a weapon go

¹ Bodl. = 'once or twice, he is quieted, but does not die'. I render the Venice text which is attested by Canon.

² Canon here adds in agreement with the Syriac and Slavonic these two precepts: 'Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee, and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong-hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. And desire not a runaway slave, or one petulant of tongue, or a quarrelsome thief.'

³ Paris 58 omits this adage.

⁴ So Bodl., 58: Ven. = 'at first (one) loves a false man'.

SYR. A

unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee.

28 My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage.¹

29 My son, say not, "My lord is a fool, and I am wise"; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy.

30 My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise.

31 My son, lie not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted, and he shall say to thee, "Away from my sight!"

32 My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, "Draw near me," and thou shalt live.

33 My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee.

34 My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last.

35 My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.

¹ Cf. Ps. cxxvii. 5.

ARABIC

the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him.

28 O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.

29 O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.

30 O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.

31 O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.

32 O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us."

33 (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.)

34 O my son! be not afraid

ARMENIAN

not on a journey by night¹, lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.

Son, as a tree is enjoyable to see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to see man and wife² and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.

Son, one who hath not wife²¹ or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the crossways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.

Son³, say not thus: My lord²² is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.

Son, say ill to no one; and²³ be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not contemned by him.

Son, turn not aside at the day²⁴ of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice⁴.

Son, quit not the scene of²⁵ mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.

Son, put not on thy finger a²⁶ gold⁵ ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee⁶.

¹ Canon adds 'by night' with the Slavonic. The other sources omit with the Syriac.

² Ven. omits 'and wife'. The other sources with Canon add it.

³ Paris 58 omits this adage.

⁴ Paris 58 adds 'which thou offerest'.

⁵ Paris 58 adds 'or silver'.

⁶ Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'when they recognize it'.

SYR. A

- 36 My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves.
- 37 My son, judge upright judgement in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayst have honour.
- 38 My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.
- 39 My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.
- 40 My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand.
- 41 My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not.
- 42 My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.
- 43 My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for lickerish draughts¹: lest there be to thee wounds in thy head.
- 44 My son, he whose hand is full is called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject.
- 45 My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than

¹ Lit. 'heats'. But perhaps we should change the reading slightly (cf. the 73rd proverb), and translate 'tarry not for sweet unguents'.

ARABIC

- of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.
- 35 O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.
- 36 O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.
- 37 O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest; and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.
- 38 O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure¹, and his revenge on thee.
- 39 O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.
- 40 O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes², and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.

¹ Literally 'he will weigh thee'.

² Or 'myrrh'.

ARMENIAN

Son, eat not bread that is not²⁷ thine own, even though thou be very hungry.

Son, if a man be stronger²⁸ than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.

Son, crush and consume the²⁹ evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.

Son, if thy doorposts be loftily³⁰ built to heaven as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.

Son, take not from others³¹ with a big weight and give back to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.

Son, swear not false, that of³² thy days there be no fail¹.

Son, give ear unto the laws³³ of God, and be not afraid of the evil (one), for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.

Son, rejoice thou not in the³⁴ number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.

Son, children and possessions³⁵ are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.

Son, if lofty be the lintels of³⁶ thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.

Son, in reward for evil-speak-³⁷ ing receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed

¹ Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'upon the earth'.

SYR. A

that a man should pay back a debt when he did not borrow.¹

46 My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.

47 My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house.

48 My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.

49 My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away; and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye, but beauty wanes and wastes away.

50 My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy.²

51 My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand

¹ Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15; Prov. xxvii. 3.

² Cf. Eccles. vii. 1, 2. Apparently the sentiments of Ecclesiastes are contradicted.

ARABIC

41 O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.

42 O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.

43 O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.

44 O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.

45 O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.

46 O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.

47 O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.

48 O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.

49 O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which

ARMENIAN

and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.

Son, keep thy tongue from 38 evil-speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thy hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying is one and the same.

Son, commit not adultery with 39 thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.

Son, take not a widow to wife, 40 for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.

Son, if retribution overtake 41 thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with other harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.

Son, love not thy son better 42 than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.

Son, the sheep that stray 43 from the flock become the portion of the wolves.

Son, pass a just judgement 44 in thy mind, and honour the aged; to the end that thou mayst receive honour from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.

Son, incline thine eyes and 45 soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes; that thou mayst not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by halloosings, an ass would build seven palaces¹ every day and . . .

¹ So Ven. which has *aparan*s. The other MSS. with Canon have *darbas*, a word not given in lexicons, but which must have the same sense. The meaning of the word 'tchardakhs' is unknown and I leave it blank [? cottages]. Canon omits it, perhaps rightly. Canon has this precept 45 after no. 2 of our series and adds to it in that context this: 'Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not diminish from the neck of the camel.'

SYR. A

than a heifer that is far off: and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

- 52 My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend.
- 53 My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue.
- 54 My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground.
- 55 My son, tarry not where there is contention: for from strife arises murder.¹
- 56 My son, every one who does not judge right judgement angers God.
- 57 My son, remove² not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee.
- 58 My son, go not down into princes' gardens, and draw not near to princes' daughters.
- 59 My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayst find

¹ Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, 'Be not angry: for anger leads to murder: nor contentious'.

² A slight textual correction.

ARABIC

gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

- 50 O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.
- 51 O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.
- 52 O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.
- 53 O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend.
- 54 O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.
- 55 O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.
- 56 O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last.
- 57 O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

ARMENIAN

Son, boast not in the day of 46 thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

Son, suffer not thy companion 47 to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck¹ as well.

Son, speak not in wrath with 48 thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless² and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgement on his head.

Son, if thou petitionest God 49 for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

Son, a good name is better 50 than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed³, but a good name endureth for ever.

Son, it is better to be blind 51 of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

Son, a side-bone in thy own 52 hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for a feast⁴ in thy own house is better than a steer in the house of others.

Son, it is better to garner with 53 poverty⁵ than to squander with riches.

Son, curse not thy son, until 54 thou seest his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and earnings.

Son, examine the word in thy 55 heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

¹ Bodl. add 'and head'.

² Bodl.: 'lest thou appear senseless and unprofitable.'

³ Bodl. 'passes'.

⁴ So Bodl. and Canon: Ven. has 'a fat kid in', &c., where *parart* 'fat' is a corruption of *patarag*, which is the *potior lectio* and better attested.

⁵ Canon: 'Better is poverty with repose than . . .'

SYR. A

out how thou mayst help him from the lion.

60 My son, rejoice not over thy enemy when he dieth.

61 My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.

62 My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as honey, then may the fool become wise.

63 My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou ware of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not.

64 My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour.

65 My son, strive not¹ with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.²

66 My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust.

67 My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.

68 My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee.

69 My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is con-

ARABIC

58 O my son! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.

59 O my son! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.

60 O my son! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil; then thou wilt be called wise.

61 O my son! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.

62 O my son! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.

63 O my son! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me'; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.

64 (O my son! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech; and he

ARMENIAN

Son, if thou hearest an evil⁵⁶ word about any one, hide it in thy heart seven fathoms deep; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled.

Son, do thou not scoff frivolously; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death.

Son, the false word and the⁵⁸ false conversation is heavy as lead; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree.

Son, reveal thy lesser counsel⁵⁹ to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And¹ if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keep-est him a trusty friend.

Son, in the presence of kings⁶⁰ and judges, be helpful to thy comrade; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory.

Son, if thy enemy come to⁶¹ thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honour.

Son, where thou art not in-⁶²vited, go not unto a festival; and where they ask thee not, give no answer.

Son, over a river frozen and⁶³ swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death.

Son, ask of a wise man words⁶⁴ of advice², and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise.

Son, if thou sendest a wise⁶⁵ man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him.

Son, test thy son in hunger⁶⁶ and thirst; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands.

¹ Lit. 'judge not'.

² Cf. Sirach iv. 26.

¹ Bodl. 'and see, if' and below 'and keep him', &c.

² Bodl. 'words of wisdom'.

SYRIAC

temptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech.

70 My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it.¹

71 My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied.

72 My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth.

73 My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve.²

74 My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee.

75 My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth]³, lest fools make mock of thee.'

This is the teaching which Ahikar taught to Nadan his sister's son.

¹ This sentence cannot be of Christian or Moslem origin.

² Cf. Ps. cxli. 5, 'Let the righteous smite me,' &c.

³ Or 'when it is not thine'.

ARABIC

who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.)

65 O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.

66 O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.

67 There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor.'

ARMENIAN

Son, from the house of invitation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again¹; that thou mayst get thy boon fragrant² and mayst get no wounds on the head.

Son, a man who has many possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoureth him.

Son, I have eaten endive and I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest³. I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me, than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.

Son, if thou be poor among thy fellows, reveal it not; lest thou be despised by them, and they hearken not unto thy words.

¹ Perhaps the sense is 'and stay not till the last'.

² Canon: 'that thou mayst be anointed with fragrant oil,' &c. Compare the Syriac. Other texts read: 'that thou mayst get a good name.'

³ Canon adds: 'until I repaid the debt.'

ARMENIAN

71 Son⁴, love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labour she nurtures thy son.⁵

72 Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a dunged grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.

73 Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober.⁶ Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.

74 Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.

75 Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from much speaking, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.

76 Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.

77 Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend.⁷

78 Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

⁴ This precept, no. 41 in the series of Paris 58, is not in Ven.

⁵ Paris 58 here repeats precept 15.

⁷ Nos. 77 and 79 are only given in Paris 58.

⁶ The Armenian text must be faulty here.

ARMENIAN

- 79 Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.
- 80 Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honour him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.
- 81 Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled¹ except with dust².
- 82 Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person³.
- 83 Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.
- 84 Son, go not on foot⁴ too often to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.
- 85 Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones⁵.
- 86 Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.
- 87 Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev*⁶; and endurance is the foundation of deeds and the rampart of faith.
- 88 Son, that which seems evil unto thee do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.
- 89 Son, love the truth and hate lawlessness and⁷ falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.
- 90 Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.
- 91 Son, love not judgement⁸; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgement of God.
- 92 Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness, and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.
- 93 Son⁹, into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.
- 94 Son, malign not thy fellow whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrels¹⁰.
- 95 Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine¹¹.
- 96 Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say, I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.
- 97 (Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayst make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil¹².)
- 98 Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils; it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.
- 99 Son, flee from guaranteeing; but if thou become a guarantor, make up thy mind that thou must give away out of thy purse; and not thy purse only, but the hair off thy chin¹³.
- 100 Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth, they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee¹⁴.
- 101 And I say to Nadan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

¹ Paris 69 adds 'with treasure'.

² Paris 58 om. 81. Paris 69 has 'are not filled with treasure, but are filled with dust'.

³ The Armenian is obscure here.

⁴ Canon adds 'on foot'.

⁵ Bodl., Ven. add: 'which is not.' Canon omits.

⁶ Or to the *dev*, a Persian word which in Old Armenian usually means a demon.

⁷ Ven. om. 'lawlessness and'.

⁸ Nos. 93-100 are only given in Codex Paris 58 and Venet.

⁹ Codex Paris 58 gives this precept in late and obscure Armenian, and its text is clearly faulty.

¹⁰ Ven. adds this: 'A drunken man is like an arrow in the hollow (lit. "palate") of a bow, which strikes no one

else, but bruises its own head.'

¹¹ This precept has already come as no. 11, in almost identical language.

¹² This precept is in bad late Armenian and I give the sense of the last clause conjecturally.

¹³ This precept also is in late Armenian.

ARMENIAN

The questions¹ of the king's sons and the answer of Khikar.

Houday and Baliayn asked questions of Khikar, and Khikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes,—to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk upon the water, and to see one's friend.

102 Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy,—to wear linen and to hear such things as seem to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit, and to see one's remote (friend) well off.

103 And four things are there which improve a man's banquet,—at all times to converse well, not to give answer to every word, to be humble, to talk little, modesty in small matters and big ones.

104 And four things are there which bring shame to one's face—domination of love, to talk too much and to boast that one knows what one does not know, (to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it)², and false-speaking.

105 They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

¹ The passage which follows until the resumption of the narrative is written in vulgar Armenian. Ven. gives the names thus: Shoutay and Bayilan.

² Ven. omits the words in brackets.

SYRIAC

3 1 But I, Ahiḱar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were to the wind, and returned and said that 'my father Ahiḱar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished';

ARABIC

3 1 Thus spake Haiḳâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

Thereafter Haiḳâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the hand-maidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiḳâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiḳâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiḳâr and scoffed at him, and set about blam-

ARMENIAN

And^a this was the advice which 3 1 I taught to Nathan my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, I, Khikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the king. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and advice which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Khikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind (he said) is distraught and his thoughts are deficient and he knows nothing.

^a What follows is in MS. Canon given in a form which often more nearly resembles the Syriac than do the better Armenian copies, as below:

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live in the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words, and scattered them like dust before the wind. Forthwith he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants nor even my darlings and my friends, but bound and ill-treated them; wounded with violent blows and destroyed my steeds continually.

SYRIAC

2 and my son
Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he hamstrung.

3 So when I beheld me that my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, 'My son Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, "What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare."' "

4 Moreover
I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters; and my lord spake on this wise: 'As long as Ahiqar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.'
5 Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise: 'My father Ahiqar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them]¹; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?'

6 When I, Ahiqar, heard these things, I said, 'Alas for thee, my wisdom, that my son Nadan has made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.'

¹ Probably a repetition from three lines lower down.

ARABIC

ing him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and he knows nothing now'; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.

3 And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.

4 And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his possessions.' And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.

6 Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzârdân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to dissipate² my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.

And when I saw Nathan my sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs and dissipating my property, I began to speak with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not laboured, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and told Seneqerim my lord. And he called Nathan and said: As long as Khikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property.

In that season Nathan saw⁵ Boudan¹ his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Khikar my father is grown old and his words have lost their savour.

And when I heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings.

¹ In Bodleian MS. *Baudan*.

When I saw that Nathan counterfeited (*or* metamorphosed) my affairs, then I spared my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I said to Nathan: Come not near my chattels, for it is said in the wise ones, that hands which have not been hard worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Seneqerim. And the king ordered Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions, but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

I, Khikar, when I saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas! How hath Nathan despised my sweet advice, and all my wisdom hath he set at naught and quite despised.

SYRIAC

7 Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Hamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows:

8 'From Ahikar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.'

9 And he wrote another letter, as follows: 'To Pharaoh,

ARABIC

him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.

7 Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqâr, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune¹ of being killed.' And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus:

8 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrîn², and to Assyria and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'

9 And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr

¹ Lit. 'cast him into the misfortune'.

² *Nisrîn* may either mean 'the eagles' or 'the wild rose'. I prefer the latter, because the usual plural of *nasr* is *nusâr* or *ansur*.

ARMENIAN

But Nathan 7 formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter¹ to the enemy of Seneqerim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:

I, Khikar, chief Notary of 8 Seneqerim the king, have sent to the King of the Egyptians to this effect: When this writing 9 reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqerim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.

And he had made his hand- 10 writing to resemble my hand-

¹ There is evidently a lacuna here to be filled up from the Bodley MS. as follows: 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.'

Then Nathan went into the house of the king and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, since he was an enemy of my lord Seneqerim, and it was written as follows:

I, Khikar, notary of Seneqerim king of Asorestan and Nineveh, to Pharaoh king of Egypt write. Be it in thy cognizance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the plain of Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will lead and make thee king over these without trouble.

And again a letter which had this form:

From Seneqerim, king, health (*or* peace) to Khikar, notary of my tribunal. When there shall come to

SYRIAC

king of Egypt, from Ahiḳar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou
 10 shalt seize the kingdom.' And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king's palace, and went his way.

And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:

11 'From Sennacherib the King, to Ahiḳar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Šiṣ: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab.

12 And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are

ARABIC

to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.'
 10 And the writing of Nadan was like to the writing of his uncle Haiqâr.

Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace.

11 Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr. O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of
 12 Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me

ARMENIAN

writing, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the king asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the king, and said: O King, live for ever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Khikar my father, who was in honour and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting therein, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the king.

And when the king heard it, 11 he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:

When thou readest this 12 writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou

thee this dispatch, thou shalt prepare my forces which are under thy hand; exactly on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz thou shalt come to meet me on the plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw up face to face against my forces, as if it were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaoh are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. And he himself, Nathan, stood before the king and said: King, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house. God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of your kingship, but hath played false to God and your kingship. And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king, and they gave it to the sovereign; and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read. And Nathan read it before the king; and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave into your hands this letter? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when we asked them: Whence are ye? they answered, We are native slaves of Khikar.

And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm then have I done to Khikar, that he hath devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch, and let us see if it is so; then let thy behests be done.

SYRIAC

come to me, that they may see what forces I have.'

13 And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king's servants.

And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Ahiḳar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?'

14 And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.'

15 So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale: and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid.

ARABIC

the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'

13 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my

14 benefits to him?' And Nadan said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrin and see if the tale be true or not.'

15 Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrin. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and the army were set in array. And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth

ARMENIAN

shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaoh are come to me to see my hosts.

He brought the letter to me, 13 and he himself went to the king. He stood before the king and said:

Grieve not, O ruler; but 14 come, let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.

And Seneqerim took his army 15 and came to the plain of the Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the king saw this, he was very grieved.

And Nathan took the king and went to the plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I learned of the setting out of the king, prepared my forces and set them over against him, as had been written in the dispatch by behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces, he was sore troubled. The king said: If thou bringest Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be discharged by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

SYRIAC

16 Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber¹ in peace: and I will bring Ahiḱar before thee.'

Then my lord the king returned to his house.

17 And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'

4 1 Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Ahiḱar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.'

¹ Taking the word as equivalent of the Greek *κουτώνα*.

ARABIC

16 with a great wrath. And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiḱâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.'

And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiḱâr, and did nothing concerning him. And Nadan went to Haiḱâr and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties¹ and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.' Then answered Haiḱâr and said, 'To hear is to obey.' And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and

4 1 chained his feet. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiḱâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, 'O Haiḱâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil

¹ Lit. 'to the way of their path'.

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to speak and 16 said: Grieve not, O king, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Khikar before thee. The king said to Nathan: If thou bringest Khikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability.

And the king returned to his 17 palace, and Nathan my sister's son came to me and said: Seneqerim the king hath sent me to thee and says, Come to me and let us be joyful together.

And when I went, the king said 4 1 to me:

Khikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counsellor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very honourable and pleasing hath seemed to the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee and saith, All thou hast done thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to their place, and do thou come and let us make merry together.

SYRIAC

² And he gave me those letters that were written in my name and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none.

³ And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.'

Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh¹ . . . and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Ahiḱar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'

⁴ Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But ⁵ command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: and let them give my body to burial.'

⁶ And the king said to Nabusemakh² . . . , 'Go, kill Ahiḱar at the door of his house, and

¹ 'Yabusemakh Meskin Kanti', which I do not understand; the correction of the first part of the name is obvious. Possibly it should be 'Nabušumuškin, my colleague'. Compare the form as given in the papyrus, and in the Arabic.

² *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this ² ugly deed.' Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiḳâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiḳâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.

³ Then Nadan screamed and said, 'O Haiḳâr, O black-face! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?'

⁴ Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samîk. And the king said to him, 'O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiḳâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body ⁵ a hundred cubits.' Then Haiḳâr knelt before the king, and said, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.'

⁶ The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his

ARMENIAN

And that letter, which Nathan ² had written in my¹ words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the king gave unto me and said: Take and read.

And when I read it, all my limbs were ² dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of wisdom and found no answer to give.

Nathan began to speak, ³ and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy king, grey-haired one, perverted and inane³. Give thy hand for the iron and thy foot for the fetter.

And the ⁴ king turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his *nayip*: Lead away and slay yon godless Khikar, and remove his head afar, about one hundred ells.

And I fell on my face and ⁵ kissed the earth and said: O King, live for ever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not hearkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.

And the king ordered Abus- ⁶maq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when

¹ Ven. omits 'my'.

² Bodl. = 'all the flesh of my limbs was'.

³ The Arm. word is obscure.

SYRIAC

give his body to burial.' Thereupon I, Ahiḱar, sent to Eshfagni my wife that she should bring forth from the daughters of my tribe maids a thousand and one: 'and let them put on raiment of mourning, and let them wail and lament and weep over me. And let them come to meet me, and let them make a funeral feast¹ over me before I die. And prepare thou bread and a table and a banquet for Nabusemakh² . . . and his Parthians that are with him, and come to meet them, and receive them and bring them into my house. And I too will come into the house as a guest.'

8 And Eshfagni my wife, for that she was exceeding wise, understood all my message, and did whatsoever I had sent to her to do; and she came forth to meet them, and she brought them into my house: and they did eat bread, and with her own hand she served them, until they fell asleep from drunkenness, every man in his place.

9 Thereat I, Ahiḱar, entered and said to Nabusemakh³, 'Look towards God, and remember the love that there was between us, brother: and grieve not over my death: and remember that thee also did Sarḥadum the father of Sennacherib deliver to me that I should slay thee, yet I slew thee not, because I was aware that there was in thee no ground of offence; and I kept thee alive until the king desired thee, and when I brought thee before him,

¹ Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

² Yabusemakh.

³ *Ut supra*.

ARABIC

desire. And he straightway commanded his servants to take Haiḳâr and the swordsman and to go with him naked that they might slay him. And when Haiḳâr knew for certain that he was to be slain he sent to his wife and said to her, 'Come out and meet me, and let there be with thee a thousand young virgins, and dress them in gowns of purple and silk that they may weep for me before my death. And prepare a table for the swordsman and for his servants. And mingle plenty of wine, that they may drink.'

8 And she did all that he commanded her. And she was very wise, clever, and prudent. And she united all possible courtesy and learning.

And when the army of the king and the swordsman arrived they found the table set in order, and the wine and the luxurious viands, and they began eating and drinking till they were gorged and drunken.

9 Then Haiḳâr took the swordsman aside apart from the company and said, 'O Abu Samîk, dost thou not know that when Sarḥadum the king, the father of Sennacherib, wanted to kill thee. I took thee and hid thee in a certain place till the king's anger subsided and he asked for thee? And when I brought thee into his presence he rejoiced in thee: and now remember the kindness I did

ARMENIAN

I went forth from the king, I wrote a letter lamenting to Abestan my wife and said: When this letter reaches thee, do thou send out to meet me a thousand virgins; and let them put on apparel of mourning and let them mourn for me and bewail me, that I may see with my own eyes even the wailers who bewail me in my lifetime. But^a thou shalt make large loaves, to give to my executioners, and dainty viands for them to eat and drink.

And Abestan my wife was⁸ very wise and¹ fulfilled my orders. She went out to meet me, and led them into the house, and set before them a table; and fed them, and gave them to drink old wine and unmixed, till they were fuddled and were drunk and fell asleep.

Then I⁹ and my wife fell at the feet of Abusmaq weeping, and I said to him: Abusmaq, my comrade, look up to heaven and behold God with thy eyes; and remember the bread and salt which we have eaten together, and remember how that they betrayed thee to Seneqerim the king's father; and I took and kept thee until the king asked for thee, and how, when I led thee before him, he gave me

¹ Paris 92 and 58 alone add the words 'was . . . and'.

^a The narrative that follows is given in MS. Canon in a form more closely resembling the Syriac as below: And they shall make and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abusmaq and the Parthians who are with me. Thou shalt go out to meet these and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife did immediately what I had commanded; and we set out to my house. And Abusmaq and the Parthians reclined, and my wife set before them a table, and waited on them. And I entered with them to eat bread; and they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abusmaq my comrade, Look up to heaven and discern God with thy eyes and remember the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But

SYRIAC

he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off
 10 from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong.'

11 And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh¹ . . . also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes² of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial.

12 Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Ahiḱar the Secretary is killed.

And Nabusemakh³ . . . rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place underground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the

13 door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and showed to Sennacherib the king that Ahiḱar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the women disfigured⁴ their

¹ *Ut supra.*

² Lit. 'taste'.

³ *Ut supra.*

⁴ Lit. 'scratched'.

ARABIC

10 thee. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and

11 no one knows of it. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing.

12 And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me.' And then the swordsman did as Haiḱâr had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'

13 Then Haiḱâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad

ARMENIAN

mighty gifts. Now therefore 10 keep me and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requital, good for good¹. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name is Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in them and slay him; and so thou fulfillest the king's command.

And when I said this, Abus- 11 maq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep² at midnight, and slew Seniqar my slave, and removed his head from him one hundred ells.

And the news 12 went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Khikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.

Then Abusmaq my comrade and Abestan my wife made me a house dug out underground, its³ length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house. And they shut me in and placed 13 beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the king and told him that 'Khikar the wise is slain'. And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret

¹ Bodl. has 'will be a requital from God': Paris 92, 'will be mighty gifts'. I render the Ven. MS.

² So Ven. and Paris 92: the rest = 'fuddled with wine, woke up at'.

³ Canon = 'its height three ells and its length seven ells, equal to (or level with) the door-posts of my house'.

remember also this, that the sire of Seneqerim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before the king, and the king gave me mighty gifts. This do thou likewise and slay me not. There is my slave whose name is Sêniphar, and very like is he unto me. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison and dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him. . . .

SYRIAC

faces and said : 'Alas for thee, Aḥīkar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country : for like thee there will never be any one to us.'

¹⁴ Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, 'Go make a funeral feast¹ for thy father Aḥīkar, and then return to me.'

¹⁵ And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all ; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy ; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy.

¹⁶ Nor had he any reverence for my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman.

¹⁷ And I, Aḥīkar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks, and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house.

¹ Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

ARABIC

in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said : 'Alas for thee, O Haiqâr ! and for thy learning and thy courtesy ! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge ! Where can another like thee be found ? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place ?'

But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him naught.

¹⁴ Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to his memory.' But when Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.

¹⁶ And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall into sin with him. But ¹⁷ Haiqâr had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One,

ARMENIAN

and said : Alas for thee, O Notary ! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability ?

Then the king called Nathan ¹⁴ and said to him : Go, make lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.

Na- ¹⁵ than^a came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and made great cheer ; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids.

And even for Abestan my wife ¹⁶ he had no respect, but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the plaints of my servants. And ¹⁷ I moreover wept and my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels.

^a MS. Canon has the narrative which follows in a form nearer to the Syriac. It is given below :

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his dear ones to drink wine and made great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the dear ones of Khikar he tortured them and had no respect for Arphestan wife of Khikar, nay rather desired to fornicate with her.

And I, Khikar, was hearing the voice of my stewards whom Nathan tortured and ill-treated. And I was tortured in the darkness. My soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat.

SYRIAC

- 18 And after a few days came Nabusemakh¹. . . and opened [my prison] over me² and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, 'When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of Thy servant Ahiḱar,³ and remember that he sacrificed to Thee fatted oxen like sucking
19 lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost Thou not save him that crieth unto Thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague,⁴ [I pray Thee.]'
5 1 Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Ahiḱar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise:
- 2 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all
3 that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three

¹ *Ut supra.*² Lit. 'on my eyes'.³ Cf. Apoc. vi. 10, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true,' &c.⁴ This trifling but necessary emendation confirms our interpretation (*vide supra*) of the corrupt name.

ARABIC

- and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God.
- 18 And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiḳâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiḳâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.
- 19 And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiḳâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiḳâr the solver of riddles.

- 5 1 And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiḳâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved
2 brother, king Sennacherib. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes¹ and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.' Then he sealed

¹ i.e. taxes in kind, agricultural produce. For this rendering of the Arabic word, see Dozy, vol. ii, p. 345.

ARMENIAN

And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.

- When the king of Egypt^{5 1} heard this, of how Khikar the Notary was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land (that) they were fled, he was very glad. And the king of Egypt, Pharaoh, wrote a letter as follows:

To Seneqerim, king of the² Asores. Health be to thy Lordship and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If however thou shalt neglect³ this request, then I will come

And when Pharaoh heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a dispatch to the king Seneqerim, riddles.

And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter.

And Nathan said: Difficult is this matter. Who is able to give answer thereto?

And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man!

And when Pharaoh learned that they could not give an answer to his writing, he sent puissant forces and they took tribute from Seneqerim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison, the burden of Pharaoh was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who were under the hand of Seneqerim also were much impoverished and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were emptied.

SYRIAC

years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.'

4 And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: 'Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years' tribute of Egypt and come hither.'

5 And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king: 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarhadum, Ahiḱar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving
6 questions like these. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's booklore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said: 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men'¹

7 And when the king heard

¹ Cf. Dan. ii. 11.

ARABIC

the letter and sent it to Sen-
3 nacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about

4 how he should act. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his
5 questions?' And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and
6 secretary. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.' Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'

7 And when the king heard

ARMENIAN

and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste thy land.

When
4 the king heard this he was very grieved, and sent and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we do?

The¹ satraps say: O King, who 5 else can answer this question except Nathan, who hath learned of Khikar and knoweth his lore and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give an answer to this demand which the king of Egypt hath written. Then the king called Nathan and showed him the counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it. When he had read aloud 6 the letter, he cried out with a loud voice and said: This² is a matter which even the gods³ cannot settle or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?

When the king heard, he rose 7

¹ Canon: 'And they perplexed said: To such a matter Khikar would give an answer, and now Nathan who is in his place.'

² Canon: 'Such a matter the gods cannot answer, much less men. When the king heard, he was sorely troubled; he rose . . .'

³ The Arm. word used is *dign*, i. e. the *devs*.

And the king said: Alas for Khikar, secretary and wise man! One who should give thee to me alive, many chattels would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom.

And Abusmaq revealed it not to the king, that he might be in stress and know the value to him of Khikar.

And Pharaon sent a dispatch to king Seneqerim which had this tenor: From Pharaon to Seneqerim, health. I desire to build a palace. . . .

This when Nathan heard, he cried with a loud voice and said: King, live for ever. Such a matter as that the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?

When the king heard this he was very distressed. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, beat his

SYRIAC

these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus:¹ 'Alas for thee, Ahiḱar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy! Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.'

- 8 And when Nabusemakh² . . . heard these words, he fell down before the king and said to him: 'He who has contemned the commandment of his lord, is guilty of death; and I, my lord, have contemned the command of thy kingship. Command, therefore, that they crucify me.

¹ Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16 καὶ καταβήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . ἐπὶ γῆν καθεδούνται . . . καὶ στενάξουσιν ἐπὶ σέ καὶ λήψονται ἐπὶ σέ θρῆνον καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι. . . .

² *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr, saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.' And the king went on weeping night and day.

- 8 Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said to him: 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then

¹ B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.

ARMENIAN

from his golden throne and sat in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and plucked out his beard and said: Alas for thee, Khikar, Notary and wise, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee! For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if any one gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of gold and silver.

When Abusmaq my comrade heard this, he stood before the king and said: O King, live for ever. He that doeth not the king's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of 8 God and of the king are one. Thou didst bid slay Khikar, and he is still living.

person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise! On the words of a lying man I slew^o him. There is none like thee. And there is no successor like thee in the royal gate. If any one gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abusmaq learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that contemns the behests of his lord and fulfils them not is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I fulfilled not the behest of my lord. Thou didst make behest to slay Khikar, and now he is still alive.

SYRIAC

For Ahiḱar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'

9 And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh¹; speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Ahiḱar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value.'²

10 And Nabusemakh³ answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, this sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter.

¹ Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.

² Dan. v. 16.

³ Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.

ARABIC

said the king to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Samik, what is thy fault?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed¹, and I have acted contrary to thy command.' Then the king said unto him, 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samik, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?' And the swordsman said unto him,

9 'O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiḱâr, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.' And the king said unto him. 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samik! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.' And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiḱâr is safe and alive.' And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam², and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring

10 [Haiḱâr]³. And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.' And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiḱâr's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiḱâr sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted

¹ B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.

² Lit. 'his reason flew'.

³ Cod. 'him'.

ARMENIAN

The king 9 said: Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and trusty one. If thou canst show me Khikar alive, I will give thee¹ byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents.

And Abusmaq, when 10 he heard this from the king, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth.

¹ Bodl. 'will array thee in'.

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned. But of many good things hast thou become worthy. If thou showest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and one hundred thousand talents of gold.

SYRIAC

11 And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'.¹

12 And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Ahiḱar; but thy son whom thou broughtest up, he it was that sinned against thee.'

13 Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Ahiḱar, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength² forty days; and after that come to me.'

¹ Dan. iv. 33.

² Lit. 'let thy soul come into thee'.

ARABIC

to him, saying, 'O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!' And Haiqâr said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samîk?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and 11 went to the king. And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.

12 And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.' Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.

13 Then said Haiqâr to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not

14 care oppress thee.' And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God, who showed thee

ARMENIAN

And the colour of 11 my face was changed and my head¹ was matted and my nails were grown like an eagle's.

When the king beheld me², 12 he bent his head and was ashamed to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and^a he said to me: O my loved and honourable brother Khikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for forty days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the king, and the king said: I have sinned against thee, father Khikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.

And I fell on my face and 13 kissed the earth before the king and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the king, I am alive; and all evils are turned for me into wellbeing, forasmuch as thy servant Khikar has found grace.

The king said: Hast thou heard this, O honourable good Khikar, to wit, what the Egypt-

¹ Canon: 'the hair of my head.'

² Bodl. adds 'in such plight'.

^a For the text of MS. Canon see below:

And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with fragrant oil (omitting the direct speech of the king on this point). And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And the king brought and set me close to him. And all that he had promised to Abusmaq he fulfilled amply.

SYRIAC

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back
 15 to thee.' Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

6 1 And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.' Then

tian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the king: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the 14 gate of thy palace, that Khikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place.

And the king commanded a herald to cry, saying: Khikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan returned, each man to his place.

6 1 Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I was recovered¹, I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Ahikar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?'

¹ Lit. 'my soul was in order upon me'.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaoh and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

SYRIAC

2 And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.'

3 And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh¹ . . . he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife, as follows:

4 'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger.

5 And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."

¹ *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood all its contents. Then he said to the king, 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom.'

3 And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour. And Haiqâr said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this.

4 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this.

5 Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the

ARMENIAN

And I said to the king Sene-6
qerim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will 2
go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from Egypt.

When the king 3
heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan my wife and said as follows:

When thou readest this 4
writing, do thou have caught two nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall say: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle. And have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and the thickness thereof one ell.

And cause a 5
carpenter to fit together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles, every day two lambs. And cause the children to be bound upon the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit. And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred ells.

And I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to go to their place. And I will later set out and fulfil the behests of Pharaoh.

And when they were gone, I, Khikar, Secretary, sent and had brought two eaglets. . . .

SYRIAC

6 And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went.

7 And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again.

8 And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and inquired after his health¹.

¹ Lit. 'asked after his peace'.

ARABIC

boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.

6 And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.' And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the wonder.' So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and Haiqâr tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, 'Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.'

8 Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh,

ARMENIAN

And Abestan my wife was 6 very wise and did everything at once which I told her. Then the king commanded me to depart to Egypt.

And when I 7 reached the gate of Egypt, I brought the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and the children cried out and said: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle.

And I, Khikar, took a rod, and 8 I went after all whom I met and struck them blows (and said): Hurry up, give what the artisans ask for. The king of Egypt came up and was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make (the birds) come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labours. Eat, drink, and be merry, and on the morrow come to me.

SYRIAC

9 And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abikam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he has sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abikam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.'

10 Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.'

11 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.'

ARABIC

and he sent a party of his Privy Councillors to bring him before him¹. And he came and entered into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do to kings. And he said to him: 'O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.'

10 And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.'

11 And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech.

¹ Lit. 'betwixt his hands'.

ARMENIAN

And when it was dawn the king⁹ called me and said: What is thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf of Seneqerim the king.

And when the king heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and said: Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqerim the king of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me answer? And he said to me: Go unto thy house and to-morrow come to me.

And when on the morrow I¹⁰ went, the king gave command to his forces to dress themselves in scarlet *chlamid*; and the king himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne, and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, Thou art like to the *dig*¹ and thy satraps to their priests. He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and to-morrow come unto me.

When I had gone to my¹¹ house and came the next day to him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: Thou art like the sun and thy satraps are like its rays.

¹ i.e. 'to God'. The plural *dig* literally = 'demons', but is used like the Hebrew Elohim as a singular. The same use is found in the Arm. version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Bk. 1. In the Arm. O. T. it is used as a plural.

SYRIAC

- 12 And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.'
- 13 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace¹ be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework.² And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then
- 14 the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abikam, to what is *thy* lord like?'
- 15 And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated.'
- 16 My lord Sennacherib is like³

ARABIC

- 12 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O man! what is thy name?' And he said, 'Thy servant is Abiqâm, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?'
- 15 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He may confound the strong.'
- 14 Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqâm and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqâm, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front
- 16 of him¹. And king Pharaoh

ARMENIAN

And again he 12 said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on the morrow come to me.

And when I went on the 13 morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like? I said: Thou art like to the 14 green grass¹ and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.

Then the king was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Seneqerim the king, to whom is he like? I said: God forbid that 15 thou shouldst mention Seneqerim the king, since thou art sitting down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he had risen up, I said: Seneqerim 16

¹ Lit. 'temple': but as in Daniel, it means palace; cf. Dan. iv. 4, 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace' *בהיכלי*; Dan. vi. 18, 'Then the king went to his palace *היכלה*.' Cf. also 1 Reg. xxi. 1; 2 Reg. xx. 18, &c.

² 'Dressed in tapestry.'

³ An erasure has been made of two words, and these are now illegible.

¹ Lit. 'between his hands'.

¹ Venice MS. = 'to the plain'.

SYRIAC

[the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.'

Perhaps the original text was 'the God of Heaven', which was erased to make way for 'the idol Bel', but this correction was a stupid one, seeing that Pharaoh has himself been compared to the great god Bel; hence perhaps a final erasure. The Arabic has 'my lord is the God of Heaven', which is sufficiently audacious to invite correction. Mrs. Lewis by the use of a reagent has brought up the word Bel, and perhaps the whole expression 'our god Bel'.

ARABIC

said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.' He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

ARMENIAN

the king is like unto Bêlshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willet, he weaveth the rain¹; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willet, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and he makes the dawn break and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

¹ Bodl. = 'the material of rain'.

ARABIC

- 17 And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before
 18 the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants are like [its] beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.'
- 19 Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white¹, and Pharaoh was dressed like them and sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before
 20 him. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'
- 21 Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and
 22 did obeisance before him. And he said, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like
 23 its flowers.' And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, 'O Abiqâm! the first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams. And the third time thou didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and the stars. And the fourth time thou
 24 didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm! tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the king is like and to whom his nobles are like.'
- 25 And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that
 26 I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.' And Haiqâr said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder, and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and they circle not. And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.'

¹ Or a dress completely white.

SYRIAC

17 And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?'

18 And I answered and said to him, 'I am Ahiḱar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.'

19 And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.'

20 And the king said to me, 'Go, Ahiḱar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'

ARABIC

27 And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.'

28 And he told him the truth. 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.'

29 And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'

30 And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'

ARMENIAN

The king said: Tell me, what 17 is thy name? I said: Khikar is my name. He said: Wretch, 18 hast thou come to life? And I said: Since I have seen thy face, O king, I am alive. The king 19 said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Khikar with my own eyes alive, with my own eyes.

And I fell on my face and 20 did homage to him and kissed him. The king said: Expound this saying.

There stands a pillar, and 21 upon that pillar twelve cedars, and upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers¹, the one black and the other white. And I said: O king, this the cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest is the year and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty wheels are the days of the months. The two couriers, the one black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall².

The king said, What is this 22 story, that from Egypt as far as Nineveh there are 500 leagues—how did our mares hear the neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I, Khikar, went out from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then they told the king, saying: Khikar flouts the *diq* and tortures the cats. The king called me and said: Khikar, wherefore dost thou flout our *diq* and torture the cats? And I said: 23 Yon cat has done harm enough to me. Aforetime the king gave to me a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to go to the king's palace. This very night (the cat) went off and bit off the head of the cock and came back here. And the king said to me 24 as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the same

¹ The Arm. word has this meaning.

² After the explanation of the pillar MS. Canon passes direct to the rope of sand incident, as does the Syriac.

SYRIAC

7¹ Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows:

'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting.

² 'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.'

³ This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him, 'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.'

⁴ Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled.

⁵ Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.'

ARABIC

7¹ And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise:

'From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

² 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and [my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.' Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh.

³ And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language from any one.' Then Haiqâr said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.'

⁴ And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philosophy and knowledge. And now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build us a castle between heaven and earth.'

ARMENIAN

measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From Egypt to Nineveh there are 500¹ leagues. How then in a single night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing and miscarry?

The king said: Leave this.²⁵ Come and weave me a rope of sand. When I had gone out from him, the king said to all those with him: Whatever Khikar says, ye shall say, 'We know and have heard this saying.'

And I took and wrote a letter 7¹ thus: From Seneqerim king, all hail to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

Brethren have need of brethren² to behold them and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then give orders and have brought to me by dispatch a hundred talents of silver. And I fastened up³ the letter and went in to the king and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city² nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written. The king said³:⁴ If a rope of sand thou weavest not for me, thou shalt not carry

¹ MS. Canon has 360.

² 92 adds 'nor your king'.

³ Canon = 'and Pharaoh said: Weave me a rope of sand, in length nine ells. And I said: My lord king, order them to bring forth from your treasury a model that I may see and according to the model make it, that it be not too thick or too thin. And Pharaoh said: In my treasury is none. But unless thou weave it, thou carriest not off the silver, which by thy wisdom thou hast sought and I promised.'

SYRIAC

6 Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded.

7 Then I, Ahiḱar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Ahiḱar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?'

8 And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Ahiḱar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.'

ARABIC

Then said Haiqâr, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as 6 thou desirest'. And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs¹, and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

7 And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.' And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to 8 that distance?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up² building

¹ Lit. 'on the eagles' backs'.

² Lit. 'we have passed away from'.

ARMENIAN

away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O king, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

When the king saw this he⁵ laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *dig*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

SYRIAC

9 And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Ahiqâr, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.'

10 Then I went forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that 'Ahiqâr has acted contemptuously of our people and makes mock of us. For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.'

11 And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence.

12 And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and
13 returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Ahiqâr, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?'

14 Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?'

ARABIC

the castle, and to-morrow come to me'.

9 Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they
10 cast their young.' And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

11 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said to him, 'O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat
12 that dumb beast?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to
13 this drubbing.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

14 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young?'

SYRIAC

- 15 And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Ahiḱar, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one 16 white and one black.' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year; the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'
- 17 Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian 18 tribute.' Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace¹ and bored five holes in the eastern 19 wall of the palace. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path² began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.
- 20 And again the king commanded to bring me an upper millstone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Ahiḱar, sew up for us this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether³ millstone, and cast it down before the king and said

¹ Lit. 'temple', *ut supra*.

² Lit. 'furrow'.

³ Lit. 'the mortar of a millstone'.

ARABIC

and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?'

- 15 And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions.

And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make 16 one like it.' Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqâr said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them.'

- 17 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.' Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone.
- 18 And he said to Pharaoh, 'O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoe-

SYRIAC

to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips (?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith

21 I will sew it together.' And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Ahiḳar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great and appropriate day.'

22 Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me.

ARABIC

makers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.'

19 Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.'

20 And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to

21 Haiqâr. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to¹ thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'

22 Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen

23 may remain in Egypt.' And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr. Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

¹ Lit. 'my peace upon'.

SYRIAC

23 And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Ahiḱar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou wilt to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh . . .¹; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.'

ARABIC

24 And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said to him, 'Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm. Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.' Then said Haiqâr unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samîk in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

25 Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samîk the swordsman higher than all my Privy Councillors and my favourites.' Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the

26 presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqâr, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.' And Haiqâr said: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like¹? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

¹ غير here = *dergleichen*.

ARMENIAN

When the king Seneqerim 6 heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Khikar, ask of me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And 7 I bowed to the earth to him and said: O king, live for ever. Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq my comrade, who gave life to thy servant.

But to me thou shalt give Nathan my sister's son whom I taught¹. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

¹ Canon = 'sister's son, that I may teach him another teaching'.

SYRIAC

- 24 And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Ahiqâr, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins¹; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure.
- 26 And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:

ARABIC

- 27 And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:

ARMENIAN

And the king gave Nathan 8 my sister's son into my hands, and I^a bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Bêliar my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a 9 little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows:

The Parables of Ahikar, VIII. 1-41

- 8 1 'My son, he who does not hear with his ears, they make him hear with the nape of his neck.'

- 2 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Wherefore art thou so angry against thy son?'

I answered and said to him, 'My son, I set thee on the throne of honour; and thou hast cast me down from my throne. And

¹ Cf. the punishment of the disobedient servant in the Gospel, *δαρίζεται πολλάς*.

- 1 'O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind, and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.

'O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck.'

- 2 And Nadan said, 'For what cause art thou wroth with me?'

And Haiqâr said to him, 'Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and

Son, him that with his ears 8 1 heareth not they make to hear through his back.

Nathan began to speak and 2 said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have¹ sinned against thee, my father Khikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.

And I said to him:

Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my throne thou didst hurl me to ruin.

Son, I in byssus and purples 3 clad thee, and thou with earth wouldst have destroyed my body.

Son, I raised thee on high 4

¹ Canon, with Syriac, omits the words 'I have . . . of my life'.

^a For the text of MS. Canon, see below:

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound (him to) my pillar of iron, of which the weight was seven hundred utres; and I placed a rope round his neck. And I smote a thousand blows (lit. trees) on his chest and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure; and entrusted him to Beliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write it in thy book.

SYRIAC

as for me, my righteousness¹
has saved me.

3 Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, "Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart." And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, "Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own."

4 My son, thou hast been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, "Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?" And the gazelle said, "I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots."²

5 My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.

6 My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.

¹ In the primitive sense of 'alms-giving'?

² Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle: 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.'

ARABIC

thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty.

3 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it.

4 O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me to-day and take thy fill, and to-morrow they will tan thy hide in my roots."

5 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him.

6 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.

ARMENIAN

like a tower, so that if the enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house.

Son, I gave thee to glory⁵ and honour; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death.

Son, I nurtured¹ thee like⁶ the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole and my finger smooth was on thy mouth and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes.

Son, my righteousness and⁷ innocency saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not.

Son, thou wast to me as a⁸ scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said²: Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul were under my feet?

Son, thou hast been to me⁹ like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin³? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (*lit.* build) my skin.

Son, thou hast been to me¹⁰ like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head.

¹ I render *snoutzi* of MS. Canon instead of *ousoutzi* = 'taught' of the other MSS. MS. Canon has the rest of the saying thus: 'like the young of the eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes. For thine eye was evil to look upon me.'

² I supply the words 'The needle said' from MS. Canon. The other copies omit it through *homoioteleuton*.

³ So MS. Canon; the other MSS. less well: 'with me they work thy skin.'

SYRIAC

- 7 My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man.¹
- 8 My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.
- 9 My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, "Welcome, my lord Kyrios." But the ass said to him, "May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night, and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face."
- 10 My son, a snare was set² upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, "What doest thou here?" And the snare said, "I am praying to God." The sparrow said, "And what is that in thy mouth?" The snare said, "Bread for guests." Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, "If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice."
- 11 My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him.

¹ We should expect 'the free man would never ride on his back'.

² A Syriac play of words between *ܠܐܬܐ* = *disposuit laqueos* and *ܠܐܬܐ* which follows.

ARABIC

- 7 O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions.
- 8 O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk.
- 9 O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning.
- 10 O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God."
- And the lark¹ asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer." Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap: "That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me." Said the lark: "Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?" And the trap said to him, 'Come forward.' And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, "If that is thy bread for the hungry

¹ For this rendering of *قَفْشِي* see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* col. 3555, sub *ܠܐܬܐ*.

SYRIAC

12 My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account.

13 My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles¹, but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness.

14 My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures. And he said to it: "What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel²: and I, [how] am I to live?"

15 My son, thou hast been to me like the . . . bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions.³

16 My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughter-house; and yet he did not save his own life.

17 My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.

ARABIC

God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee."

11 O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up.

12^a O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it.

12^b O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: "O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk."¹

13 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her(self) into the net.

14 O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.

¹ Lit. 'ears'.

² Cf. Matt. xxv. 24-7.

³ Reading ܡܕܒܬܐ.

¹ This meaning of ضرر will be found in Lane, p. 1776, col. 3.

SYRIAC

- 18 My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash."
- 19 My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples?
- 20 My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.
- 21 What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee?¹
- 22 My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them to swear? And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it?
- 23 My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil.
- 24 My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, "If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me."

¹ We should have expected, 'that I might remember thee and that my soul might have comfort in thee'.

ARABIC

- 15 O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole¹ and it went down and wallowed in it.
- 16 O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself.
- 17 O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies.
- 18 O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.
- 19 O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out.
- 20 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, "If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me."

¹ *Gûre* means a hollow place, *siân* is presumably from the Hebrew נֶחֱם to be soft or sticky and the Syriac ܠܝܡܝܡ *limus, coenum*. I can find no justification for *siâg*, the reading of the MSS. used by Salhani and Lidzbarski.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert¹ thou not from me, thou couldst not overcome me. Thus² didst thou imagine saying: I will fill his place. But if the pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece^{12b} were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king³.

¹ MS. Canon, better: 'Were not what is in thy hand from me, thou wert not able to overcome me.'

² MS. Canon, better: 'My son, thou didst imagine thus, saying: I fill the place of Khikar, but were the pig's tail nine ells long,' &c.

³ MS. Canon like the Syriac adds here this saying: 'Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God hath not prospered thee.'

SYRIAC

25 My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, "If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you." They answered and said to her, "Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?"

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

The maggot of the bread ate ^{12d} the body of a king, but was itself of no use to any one nor profitable, but vile.

Son, thou hast been to me ¹³ like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it and said: If it had not been for me¹, then a great evil would have befallen you. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head.

¹ Lit. 'if it had been apart from me'.

ARMENIAN

Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me ¹⁴ no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off.

Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and ¹⁵ said: What doest thou? ² And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow: And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow darted in to take the bread and was caught by the neck and said: If this was a little loaf for the hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer.

Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am ¹⁶ blinded; for the dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them.

Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. ¹⁷ The young ass said: Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet, and let me behold thy face evil and bloodthirsty.³

Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water he threw ¹⁸ it over him.

Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he ¹⁹ was warm, he began to bark at the potter.

² So Paris 69: the rest = 'What art thou?'

³ Canon omits 'evil and bloodthirsty'.

SYRIAC

26 My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, "Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish." And she answered and said, "If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving."

27 My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thorn-bush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: "Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off." The serpent said to him, "If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for the she-goats and their young ones."

28 My son, I have seen a she-

ARABIC

21 O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds." And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."

22 O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them." And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy

ARMENIAN

Son, they said to the cat, ²⁰ Give up thy habitual affair⁴, and the privilege⁴ is extended to thee to enter the palace and quit it. The cat said: If my eyes were gold and my paw of silver, I would yet not give up the habitual thing⁵.

Son, thou hast been to me as ²¹ a snake that wound itself round a bramble and fell into a river. A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the evil is mounted on the evil, and evil is that which drives them along.

⁴ Lit. 'word'.

⁵ Canon here has 'habit', *bars* for *ban* = 'word', and this should probably be read all through.

SYRIAC

goat brought into the slaughter-house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children's children.

My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.

29 My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes¹, and I was not satisfied therewith.

30 My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust.

31 My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness.

32 My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, "If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee": and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him.

33 My son, thou hast been to me like the mole that came up out of the earth that he might get possession² of the sun, because he had no eyes; and an eagle saw him and struck him and carried him off.

¹ Lit. 'dust'.

² Lit. 'receive'. But perhaps the original was 'that he might see the sun, though he had no eyes'.

ARABIC

life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?" Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us."

23 O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread.¹

24 O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink.

25 O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.

26 O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me.

27 O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning.

28 O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me (with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.

¹ For this meaning of حاف cf. Lane, Book I, part 2, p. 598, and Badger, p. 272.

ARMENIAN

Son, thou hast been to me as ²² a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.

Son, they gave teaching to ²³ the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, *ayb*, *ben*, *gim*¹; and he said *ayts*, *bouts*, *garhn* (i.e. goat, kid, lamb).

Son, they took the swine to ²⁴ the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.

¹ i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

SYRIAC

34 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'My father Ahiḱar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of men: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.'

35 I answered and said to him, 'My son, thou hast been to me like that palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"'

36 My son, they say to the wolf, "Why dost thou follow after the sheep?" He said to them, "Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes." Again they brought him into the school-house¹: the master said to him, "Aleph, Beth"; the wolf said, "Kid, Lamb."

37 My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness² so hath He destroyed thee for thy works.

38 My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, "He spites

ARABIC

29 And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiḱâr, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'

30 And Haiḱâr said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down." And its mastersaid to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?"'

31 O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow.

32 O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk¹ are good for my eyes."

33 O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat² in my belly."

34 O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it

¹ This is evidently a pun, *ghabar* meaning dust, and *ghubr* the last milk in the udder.

² The animals mentioned by the wolf had names which doubtless began with A, B. In the Arabic and English this is lost.

ARMENIAN

Nathan began to speak and ²⁴^b said: My father Khikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth for ever.¹

And I spake to Nathan thus:

Son, thou hast been to me ²⁵ like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place², that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful.

Son, God hath rescued me ²⁶^a because of my innocence, but hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgement between me and thee. For the tail of the dog gives ²⁶^b bread and his mouth a cudgel.³

¹ Canon adds: 'like one of the sinners'.

² Canon = 'Leave me for this year'.

³ Canon adds this precept about the dog after no. 16. It comes as the fourth in the first series of the Syriac.

¹ Lit. 'house of the scribe'.

² Query, 'almsgiving'? *ut supra*.

SYRIAC

himself; he does not receive honour."

39 My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: "Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave."

40 My son, the proverb is true that is current: "Take thy sister's son under thy arm and dash him against a stone."

But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.'

41 Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded.¹ And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen.

The proverbs of Ahiḱar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.

J. R. HARRIS.

¹ Lit. 'He shall be rewarded evil'.

ARABIC

is his nature, he will not change."

35 O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave."

36 O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work.

37 O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.'

38 And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.

A. S. LEWIS.

ARMENIAN

In the same hour Nathan ²⁶ swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said:

Son,^a he that doeth good, ²⁷ winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.

Here endeth Khikar.¹

F. C. CONYBEARE.

¹ The last three words in Codex Ven. alone.

^a The text of MS. Canon is as follows:

Said Khikar: He that doeth well to the good will meet with good. And he who diggeth a pit for his fellow, with his own person filleth it. He who loves evil is hateful to many, and he who pursues the good inherits it.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

AETHIOPIC FRAGMENTS OF THE SAYINGS OF AHIKAR.

The following is the translation of the fifteen sayings of Aḥikar, published by Cornill in his *Maṣḥafa Falāsfā Tabībān*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*. These sayings are taken from two MSS., one at Frankfort and the other at Tübingen. They apparently come from an Arabic collection of ethical maxims, and not from a complete story of Aḥikar. We should have inferred that the precepts were in separate circulation in Arabic, from the title of a MS. in the Vatican described by Assemani which is said to contain *Hicari philosophi Mosulani praecepta*.

Instruction of Ḥaiḳar the Wise.

1 He spake as follows:

‘Hear, my son, and keep in remembrance my discourse, so that thou rememberest God the High and the Mighty.

My son, if thou hearest a discourse, hide it in thy heart and disclose it not to thy neighbour, that it become not to thee as a coal and burn thy tongue, and bring derision upon thee and make thee hateful to God.

2 My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog’s tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.

3 My son, do not tarry with him, in whom there is strife: for strife brings controversy: and strife gives for an inheritance revengefulness and murder.

4 My son, if a house could be built by talk without action, an ass would build two houses a day.

5 My son, it is better to haul stones with a wise and understanding man, than to drink wine with a fool.

6 My son, so long as there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns, and level the way for thy children and thy children’s children.

7 My son, if the rich man eats a snake, they say of him, “He seeks a medicine therein”; if, however, the poor man eats it, they say of him, “It was from hunger.”

8 My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to receive him.

9 My son, the wicked falls and rises not again; but the good man falls and rises immediately and remains in his condition.

10 My son, cease not to beat thy son; for the chastisement of a child is good for it, even as dung makes the land good; and as the land which is not rugged and on which there is grass delights the cattle, so doth a well-brought up son delight his father.

11 My son, keep thy son in curb, as long as he is small, that he may not grow up and thou have no more control over him, and be fain to blush over his corrupt behaviour.

12 A fair repute is better than a fair appearance; for the fair repute abides for ever, but the fair appearance and form pass away.

13 My son, it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue; and bring no discourse out of thy mouth, before thou hast entered into counsel with thine own self.

14 My son, if the course of water should turn backwards, and if birds should fly without wings, and if the raven should become white as snow, then may a fool become wise.

15 My son, if thou wilt be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying and thy hands from stealing.’

J. R. HARRIS.

THE ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS FROM ELEPHANTINÉ.

The following represents roughly the narrative portion of the Aḥikar-legend, and the most important of the Parables and Proverbs of Aḥikar preserved in the papyrus:

1 Aḥikar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son He said: The son will be for me before Aḥikar the Great Seal of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and there was no son to me and Sennacherib, king of Assyria, had fulfilled (his days) and Sennacherib died his son, named Esarhaddon, and he was king of Assyria in the place of his father (Sennacherib) Assyria. Thereupon I (took) my son and I instructed him and virtue in the Palace along with I presented him before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria. And wisdom what he had asked him. And thereon Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, loved him and said, (Long) life the wise scribe, the counsellor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son and I bowed down and worshipped, I, Aḥikar, before Esarhaddon (the king) of Assyria. Aḥikar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, favourably, I rose up (as I was before) Sennacherib thy father, who was king (before thee)

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

I shall not be able to serve (the king) in the gate of this palace whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary (and Great) Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom and the king of Assyria. And he said to me, (like thyself) and in thy stead he shall do thy work. I went to my house and I set him in the gate of the palace and I said, he will seek after what is good (my son Nadin) whom I have brought up, think on the king Sennacherib, thy father he is wise and according to his counsel and advice will much disquiet the king. Listen as a son, who is not my son; as a son

- 4 I (Answered) Esarhaddon the king and said: whom my father hath made great, who (ate) the bread of my father thou wilt seek, where thou canst find that old man Ahiḱar. He is a wise secretary whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see that officer (?) Nabuṣumiṣkun, riding upon a swift horse with him after yet three days and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, rent his garment, and lamented the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed (Nadin, thy son) whom thou hast appointed in the gate of the Palace, hath undone thee.
- 9 Then was I much afeard, even I Ahiḱar; and I answered and said to Nabuṣumiṣkun I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death the father of the present king, Esarhaddon, (was angry) with thee I brought thee to my house, thither was I bringing thee

(I treated thee) as a man treats his brother, and I hid thee from the presence of (king Sennacherib). I said, I have killed him, until at another time and after yet many days I presented thee before king Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him: and no evil did he to thee. And with me also king Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one towards another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabuṣumiṣkun and said to me, Fear not. Thou shalt live, Ahiḱar, the father of all Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him, (Listen) and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabuṣumiṣkun answered and said to them, Listen to me. Yonder is Ahiḱar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch whom I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Ahiḱar other people (may come and) see the body of yonder Ahiḱar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch, whom I have

- until our brother Esarhaddon (shall have regret) over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon I will give you much treasure and the soul (of the officer) was content with his two companions.
- 11 (And they said,) Do as thou counselest Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch in the stead of Ahiḱar At that time report was made in the king's palace, (and they said) to the king, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabuṣumiṣkun (brought me to his house, and he caused to be supplied to me there (meat and drink) and said, Let these things be furnished to my lord (Ahiḱar). Likewise he brought much treasure Thereupon Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon the king (of Assyria), and informed him, saying, I went my way, (as directed) and I found Ahiḱar (walking in his vineyards), and I have put him to death. And do thou, O king, inquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he until that Esarhaddon (believed his words).

(This is all of the narrative which has been preserved: the extant portions of the proverbial and allegorical parts of the book are very fragmentary in character, and uncertain as to their restoration, to order, and sense. The most important are as follows:—

What is stronger than a braying ass?
 The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet
 Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou
 My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Smite the boy, like even so to all thy servants

The lion will be the stag in the secret of his den (?)

And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh

The ass has left and does not carry it. He takes up from his companions,
. which was not his.

Watch carefully over thy mouth and make thy heart slow (?), for the word spoken is
like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without the craft of the mouth is mightier
than the craft

Do not conceal (?) the word of a king

They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man

Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children and over their fewness (be not thou dis-
couraged).

(Cf. Armenian sayings, No. 34.)

A king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him . . .

The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is
costly . . .

(My son,) I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than

I have lifted straw and handled (?) the plough and there was nothing lighter than the
man who dwells in

The panther met the goat, and it was naked. And the panther answered and said to the goat,
Come and I will cover thee with my skin.

The goat answered and said to the panther, Why my skin? Take it not from me . . .

The wolf came to the lambs (?) and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said to
him, Take what thou wantest from us

Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down

(Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should and cause it
to return upon thyself.

(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is
a sin against our God.

A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man and if thou contractest a loan, give
thy soul no peace until

. in thine ears, for the charm of a man is his trustiness, and his hatred is lying with his
lips (?).

The son of my body has spied out my house he has told strangers

He has become a false witness against me:

And who will now declare my righteousness?

With him that is higher than thyself do not

With him that is stronger than thyself, do not

. and be not insolent to thy father

The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate (and said):

The thorn-bush to the pomegranate. How numerous are thy thorns for him who handles thee!

The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush,

Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.

GREEK VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF AHIKAR.

The following is the portion of the story of Aesop which shows coincidence with Ahiḱar.

Fabulae Romanenses Graece Conscriptae (ed. Eberhard).

c. xxiii Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς νήσου ἀπάρας, περιῆει τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγόμενος· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, μέγας παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκῆρῳ ἐγένετο. κατ' ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἔχοντες καὶ τέρψεως χάριν προβλήματα τῶν σοφιστικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γράφοντες ἔπεμπον. ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλυόμενοι φόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πρὸς τῶν πεμπόντων ἐλάμβανον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἴσους παρείχον. ὁ τοίνυν Αἰσώπος τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν προβλημάτων Λυκῆρῳ συνὼν ἐπέλυε, καὶ εὐδοκίμειν ἔποiei τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Λυκῆρῳ ἕτερα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀντέπεμπεν, ὧν ἀλύτων μεόντων, φόρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πλείστους εἰσέπραττεν.

c. xxiv Αἰσώπος δὲ μὴ παιδοποιησάμενος, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν, Ἐννον τὴν κλήσιν, εἰσεποιήσατό τε καὶ ὡς γνήσιον παῖδα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενέγκας συνέστησε. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ Ἐννου τῇ τοῦ θεμένου παλλακῇ συμφθαρέντος, Αἰσώπος τοῦτο γνούς, ἀπελαύνειν ἔμελλε τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ, τῇ κατ' ἐκείνου ὀργῇ ληθθεὶς, ἐπιστολὴν τε πλασάμενος παρ' Αἰσώπου δῆθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφισζομένους Λυκῆρῳ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἑτοιμός ἐστι προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Λυκῆρῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταύτην σφραγισάμενος δακτυλίῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε σφραγίδι πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτῳ ὀργῇ χρησάμενος, παραχρῆμα τῷ Ἑρμιππῳ κελεύει, μηδὲν ἐξετάσαντα οἷα δὴ προδότην διαχειρίσασθαι Αἰσώπον. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἕν τιμι γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότης κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν. Ἐννος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν Αἰσώπου παρέλαβε.

c. xxv Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον Νεκτεναβὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενος Αἰσώπον τεθυηκέναι, πέμπει Λυκῆρῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπιστολήν, οἰκοδόμους αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύουσιν, οἱ πύργον οἰκοδομήσουσι μήτ' οὐρανοῦ μήτε γῆς ἀπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον δεῖ πρὸς πάντ' ὅσα αὐν ἐρωτῶν καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, φόρους εἰσπράττειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατατίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τῷ Λυκῆρῳ ἀναγνωσθέντα εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε, μηδενὸς τῶν φίλων δυναμένου τὸ πρόβλημα τὸ περὶ τοῦ πύργου συνεῖναι.

After this he set sail from the island, and went c. xxiii about the world, in discourse everywhere with the philosophic; and having reached Babylon, he then also exhibited his wisdom and acquired renown with Lykeros the king. In those days the kings were at peace with one another, and used to amuse themselves by sending one another sophistical questions to answer; and those who could resolve them used to get for their answers tribute from those who proposed them; if, however, they failed, they paid in turn the like amount. So Aesop, who was associated with Lykeros, used to solve the problems which were sent to him, and caused the king to become famous. And he himself sent through Lykeros counter-challenges to the kings, the non-solution of which brought an abundance of revenues to the king.

Now as Aesop himself had no children, he c. xxiv annexed a certain young man of noble birth named Ennus, and brought him to the king, with commendation as his proper son. And when, not long after, Ennus played false with the concubine of his adoptive father, Aesop, becoming aware of it, would have banished him the house. But he, seized with rage against him, and having forged a letter, to wit, from Aesop to the kings who were in contest with Lykeros, to the effect that he was prepared to take their side rather than that of Lykeros, went and put the letter into the king's hands, having first sealed it with Aesop's signet.

So he, being persuaded thereby, and under the influence of implacable anger, forthwith directs Hermippus to make away with Aesop without a trial, on the ground that he was a traitor. Hermippus, however, was a friend of Aesop, and showed himself so at the time. Without any one knowing it, he concealed Aesop in one of the tombs, and secretly maintained him. Meanwhile Ennus, by the king's orders, took over all Aesop's affairs.

Some time after, Nectenabo, the king of the c. xxv Egyptians, having ascertained that Aesop was dead, forthwith sends to Lykeros a letter, commanding him to send builders to construct him a tower that should not touch either heaven or earth, and a man withal who should make him continual answer to all his questions; if thus he would do, he should revenues acquire; but if the contrary, he should pay them over. When these

ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς καὶ κίονα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔλεγεν ἀπολωλέκεναι τὸν Αἰσωπον. Ἑρμιππος δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' Αἰσωπον λύπην μαθὼν, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἐκείνουν εὐηγγέλισατο, προσθεὶς ὡς τοῦδε χάριν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, εἰδὼς ὡς μεταμελήσει ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποφάσεως. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθέντος, Αἰσωπος ῥυπῶν καὶ αὐχμῶν ὅλος προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, δακρύσαντος καὶ λούσασθαι τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιώθῃναι κελεύσαντος, Αἰσωπος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήθη τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεσκενάσατο. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἑννον ἀναιρεῖν μέλλοντος, Αἰσωπος αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ῥήτησατο. ἐπομένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπέδωκεν ἀναγνῶναι. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν λύσιν συνεῖς τοῦ προβλήματος, ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἐπειδὴν χειμῶν παρέλθῃ, πεμφθῆναι τοὺς τε τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσοντας καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινομένον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, Αἰσώπῳ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισεν ἅπασαν, ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παραδοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἑννον. ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπος παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἑννον, οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ὡς νύφ' ἄλλους τε καὶ τούτους ὑπετίθει τοὺς λόγους.

things were read to Lykeros, they put him in a sad muse, seeing that none of his friends could understand the riddle about the tower. Whereupon the king was saying that he had lost in Aesop the very pillar of the kingdom. Hermippus, however, when he learned the king's grief over Aesop, came to the king, and gave him the good news that he was yet alive, adding that it was for this very reason that he had not done him to death, because he knew that the king would some time repent him of the sentence. And when the king was mightily pleased thereat, Aesop was brought in to him, all filthy and begrimed, and the king, when he saw him, wept, and bid him to the bath and to be attended with all care, and after this Aesop cleared himself of all the accusations that had been made against him. Whereupon the king would in turn have slain Ennus, but Aesop asked that he would pardon him. Thereafter the king put into Aesop's hand the letter of the Egyptian to read. And he, promptly divining the solution of the riddle, laughed and bid them dispatch a reply to the effect that, on the approach of winter, he would send him both the builders of the tower, and the person who should answer his questions. So the king sent ambassadors to Egypt, and to Aesop he entrusted all his ancient affairs, handing over to him Ennus, to boot. So Aesop took to him Ennus, nor wrought he him any unpleasantness, but dealing with him again as with a son, he imparted to him the following and kindred instructions.

c. xxvi. 1 'Τέκνον, πρὸ πάντων σέβον τὸ θεῖον; τὸν βασιλέα
2 δὲ τίμα· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς σου δεινὸν σεαυτὸν
3 παρασκεύαζε, ἵνα μὴ καταφρονῶσί σου· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις
4 πρᾶον καὶ εὐμετάδοτον, ὡς εὐνουστέρους σοι μᾶλλον
5 γίνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς νοσεῖν εὐχου καὶ
6 πένεσθαι, ὡς μὴ οἴους τε εἶναι λυπεῖν σε· τοὺς δὲ
7 φίλους σου χρηστῶς ὁμίλει, ὅπως ἐτέρου ἀνδρὸς πειρᾶν
8 μὴ ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν. κοῦφον γὰρ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι
9 φῦλον καὶ κολακευόμενον ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά. ὀξεῖαν
10 μὲν πρὸς λόγον κτῆσαι τὴν ἀκοήν, τῆς δὲ γλώττης
11 ἐγκρατὴς ἔσο. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ
12 σύγχαيره· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις.
13 τῶν οἰκετῶν σου ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς δεσπότην
14 σε φοβῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην αἰδῶνται. μὴ
15 αἰσχύνου μανθάνειν αἰεὶ τὰ κρείττω. τῇ γυναικὶ μηδέ-
ποτε πιστεύσῃς ἀπόρητα, αἰεὶ γὰρ ὀπλίζεται πῶς σου
κυριεύσει. καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀποταμιεύου·
βέλτιον γὰρ τελευτᾶντα ἐχθροῖς καταλείψαι, ἢ ζῶντα
τῶν φίλων ἐπιδείσθαι. εὐπροσήγορος ἔσο τοῖς συναν-
τῶσιν, εἰδὼς ὡς καὶ τῷ κυναρίῳ ἄρτον ἢ οὐρὰ προσ-
πορίζει. ἀγαθὸς γεγόμενος μὴ μετανόει. ψίθυρον
ἄνδρα ἐκβαλε σῆς οἰκίας, τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα
καὶ πραττόμενα ἐτέροις φέρων ἀναθήσει. πρᾶττε μὲν
τὰ μὴ λυπήσουντά σε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι μὴ
λυποῦ. μήτε πονηρὰ βουλευσῇ ποτὲ μήτε τρόπους
κακῶν μιμήσῃ.

'My child,' said he, 'first of all revere the divine, c. xxvi. 1
and honour the king; to thine enemies make 2
thyself dread that they despise thee not: but to
thy friends be gentle and generous, that they in
turn may be better affected to thyself.

Further, let it be thy prayer that poverty and 3
sickness may be the lot of thy enemies, that they
may not have it in their power to annoy thee; but for thy friends desire good fortune in every-
thing. Ever talk kindly to thy wife, that she 4
may not seek to make experiment of another
man. For the female sex is a slight thing, and
when flattered makes little of mishap. Keep 5
thyne ear attentive to discourse, but be retentive
of thy speech. Envy not the prosperous, but be 6
glad with them: for by envying thou wilt rather
damage thyself. Have such care of thy servants 7
that they not merely fear thee as lord, but revere
thee, too, as benefactor. Take no scorn to be 8
always learning better. Never entrust secrets 9
to the wife, for she ever sets her camp to have
mastery over thee. Every day, and for the 10
morrow, do thou store up: for it is better to die
and leave one's estate to enemies than to live and 11
be dependent on friends. Be affable to those
whom thou meetest, knowing that even for the 12
dog his tail provides him bread. When thou

τούτοις τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸν ἔννον νουθετήσαντος, ἐκείνους τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἷά τινι βέλει πληγείς τὴν ψυχὴν, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

c. xxvii Αἰσωπος δὲ τοὺς ἰξευτὰς πάντας προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀετῶν νεοττοὺς τέτταρας συλληφθῆναι κελεύει. συλληφθέντας οὖν οὕτως ἔθρεψεν, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ὅπερ οὐ πᾶν τί με πειθόμενον ἔχει, ὥς παῖδας διὰ θυλάκων αὐτοῖς προσηρτημένων βαστάζοντας εἰς ὕψος αἶρεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπηκόους τοῖς παισὶν εἶναι, ὥς ὅποιπερ ἂν ἐκείνοι βούλονται ἵπτασθαι ἂν τε εἰς ὕψος ἂν τε εἰς γῆν χαμαζέ. τῆς δὲ χειμερινῆς ὥρας παραδραμούσης καὶ ἡρος διαγελάσαντος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευασάμενος Αἰσωπος, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς, ἀπήρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ κεκρημένων. Νεκτεναβὼ δ' ἀκούσας παραγεγονέναι τὸν Αἰσωπον, 'ἐνῆδρενμαι,' φησὶ τοῖς φίλοις, 'μεμαθηκὼς Αἰσωπον τεθυγκέναι.'

c. xxviii τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει λευκάς περιβαλέσθαι στολάς, αὐτοὺς δὲ κίρραν ἐνεδύσασθαι καὶ διάδημα καὶ διάλιθον κίταριν. καὶ κατεστῆς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δίφρου, καὶ τὸν Αἰσωπον εἰσαχθῆναι κελεύσας, 'τίμι με εἰκάσεις,' εἰσελθόντι φησὶν, 'Αἰσωπε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί;' καὶ ὅς, 'σὲ μὲν ἡλίφ' ἔαρινῳ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ σε τούτοις ὠραίοις στάχυσι.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας αὐτὸν καὶ δώροις ἐδεξιώσατο. τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς στολὴν λευκοτάτην ἐνσκευασάμενος τοῖς δὲ φίλοις φοινικὰς κελεύσας λαβεῖν, εἰσελθόντα τὸν Αἰσωπον τὴν προτέραν αὐθις πεύσω ἐπέθετο. καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος, 'σὲ μὲν,' εἶπεν, 'εἰκάξω ἡλίφ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ σε τούτοις ἀκτίσι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ, 'οἶμαι μηδὲν εἶναι Λυκήρον πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος μειδιάσας ἔφη, 'μὴ εὐχερῶς οὕτω περὶ ἐκείνου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λογίζου. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἡ ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένη βασιλεία δίκην ἡλίου σελαγεῖ· εἰ δὲ Λυκήρῳ παραβληθείη, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι μὴ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο ζόφον ἀποδειχθῆναι.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐστοχίαν ἐκπλαγείς, 'ἤνεγκας ἡμῖν,' ἔφη, 'τοὺς μέλλοντας τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖν' καὶ ὅς· 'ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν, εἰ μόνον ὑποδείξεις τὸν τόπον.'

c. xxix μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὑπέδειξε διαμετρήσας τὸν χώρον. ἀγαθὸν τοῖνυν Αἰσωπος ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποδειχθείσας τοῦ τόπου γωνίας τέτταρας τοὺς τέτταρας τῶν ἀετῶν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τῶν θυλάκων ἀπηρτημένοις, καὶ οἰκοδόμων τοῖς παισὶ

hast been kindly do not regret it. Turn the 13
whisperer out of thy house, for he will carry off
and deposit with others whatever thou sayest or
dost. Do such things as will grieve thee not 14
afterwards, but over things that happen grieve
thou not. Devise thou not evil, nor ever imitate 15
the ways of bad men.'

When thus Aesop had admonished Ennus, the latter was compunct in soul as with an arrow at his words, and by his own conscience, and not many days after he departed this life.

Aesop then called to him all the hunters, and c. xxvii directed the capture of four eaglets. When these were caught he reared them (so it is said) and trained them (a thing which does not altogether convince me) to carry boys, attached to them by bags, up into the air, and to be so under the boys' direction as to fly wherever they willed, whether to the heaven above or the earth beneath. Winter being now past and smiling spring arrived, Aesop made all things ready for his journey, and taking with him the boys and the eagles, he hied him to Egypt, employing much splendour and great array for the astonishment of the people in that country. Now when Nectenabo heard of the arrival of Aesop, he said to his friends, 'I have been entrapped by the information of Aesop's death.'

On the next day, then, the king bid all his c. xxviii officials to robe them in white raiment, whereas he clad him in a suit of orange, with a diadem and a jewelled turban. He took his seat on a lofty throne and bid Aesop to be summoned. To whom entering said he, 'To whom dost thou compare me, Aesop, and those who are with me?' Whereat he, 'Thee to the sun in spring, and them that are around thee to its beauteous ears of corn.' The king marvelled at him, and honoured him, too, with gifts. On the next day the king arrayed him in purest white, and bid his friends be clad in purple, and upon Aesop's entrance he asked him again his former question. Whereat Aesop, 'Thee,' said he, 'I compare to the sun, and them that are about thee to his rays.' Whereat Nectenabo, 'I think,' said he, 'that Lykeros has nothing to compare with this kingdom of mine.' Aesop smiled, and said, 'Reckon not so readily, O king, concerning him. To your people your vaunted kingdom hath indeed the splendour of the sun: but if it should be compared with Lykeros, it would take nothing to convert that light into mirk.' Nectenabo, amazed at his witty words, inquired, 'Hast thou brought us those who are to build the tower?' Said he, 'They are ready, if only you show us the place.'

After that the king went out into the plain, c. xxix and pointed out and measured the spot. Thereupon Aesop, bringing to the four corners of the place indicated the four eaglets with the boys fastened to them by bags, and giving to the

μετὰ χεῖρας δούς ἐργαλεῖα, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπτῆναι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕψος γενόμενοι, 'δότε ἡμῖν,' ἐφώνουν, 'λίθους, δότε κονίαν, δότε ξύλα, καὶ τὰλλα τῶν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τοὺς παῖδας θεασάμενος εἰς ὕψος ὑπὸ τῶν αἰτῶν ἀναφερομένους ἔφη· 'πόθεν ἐμοὶ πτηνοὶ ἄνθρωποι;' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος· 'ἀλλὰ Λυκῆρος ἔχει· σὺ δὲ θέλεις ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἰσοθέῳ ἐρίξῃν βασιλεῖ;' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ· 'Αἰσωπε, ἤτημαι.'

c. xxx ἐρήσομαι δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίναι· καὶ φησὶν· 'εἰσὶ μοι θήλειαι ὧδε ἵπποι, αἵπερ ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσι τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων, εὐθὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν. εἴ σοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι σοφία, ἐπίδειξαι.' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος· 'αὔριον ἀποκρινοῦμαί σοι, βασιλεῦ.' ἔλθων δὲ οὐ κατήγετο, αἵλουρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκέλευσε συλλαβεῖν, καὶ συλληφθέντα δημοσίᾳ περιάγεσθαι μαστιζόμενον. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ζῶον σεβόμενοι, οὕτω κακῶς πάσχον αὐτὸ θεασάμενοι, συνέδραμον, καὶ τὸν αἴλουρον τῆς χειρὸς τῶν μαστιγούντων ἐκσπασαντες, ἀναγγέλλουσιν ὡς τάχος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πάθος· ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὸν Αἰσωπον, 'οὐκ ἤδεις,' φησὶν, 'Αἰσωπε, ὡς θεὸς σεβόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἴλουρος; ἵνα τί γοῦν τοῦτο πεποίηκας;' καὶ ὅς· 'Λυκῆρον τὸν βασιλέα ἠδίκησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς οὗτος ὁ αἴλουρος· ἀλεκτρύονα γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεφόνευκε μάχιμον καὶ γενναῖον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὥρας αὐτῷ τῆς νυκτὸς σημαίνοντα.' καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· 'οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ψευδόμενος, Αἰσωπε; πῶς γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ αἴλουρος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα;' κακεῖνος μειδιάσας φησὶ· 'καὶ πῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῶν ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων αἱ ἐνθάδε θήλειαι ἵπποι συλλαμβάνουσιν;' ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν ἐμακάρισε.

c. xxxi μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου πόλεως ἄνδρας ζητημάτων σοφιστικῶν ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς, ἐκάλεσεν ἅμα τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπ' εὐωχίαν. ἀνακλιθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν, τῶν Ἡλίου πολιτῶν τίς φησι πρὸς τὸν Αἰσωπον· 'ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου πεῦσίν τινα πυθέσθαι σου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπιλύσῃς.' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος· 'ψεύδη· θεὸς γὰρ παρ' ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν δεῖται μαθεῖν. σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον σαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σου.' ἕτερος πάλιν εἶπεν· 'ἔστι ναὸς μέγας καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στῦλος, δώδεκα πόλεις¹ ἔχων, ὧν ἐκάστη τριάκοντα δοκοὶς ἐστέγασται, τούτους δὲ περιάσι δύο γυναῖκες.' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος ἔφη· 'τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιλύσονται παῖδες· ναὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, στῦλος δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, αἱ δὲ πόλεις, οἱ μήνες, καὶ δοκοὶ αἱ τούτων ἡμέραι, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ νύξ· αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, αἱ παραλλὰς ἀλλήλαις διαδέχονται.'

c. xxxii τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ φησι· 'διὰ τὸν Αἰσωπον τοῦτον ὀφλήσομεν φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκῆρῳ.' εἰς δὲ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· 'κελεύσωμεν αὐτῷ προβλήματα φράσαι ἡμῖν,

hands of the boys the builders' tools, bid them fly away. But they, mounted on high, kept crying out, 'Give us stones, give mud, give timber, whatever else is proper for building.' Nectenabo, regarding the lads high borne in the air of the eagles, said, 'Whence shall I get me winged men?' But Aesop said, 'Yea! but Lykeros hath such: and wilt thou, a man, strive with a king, the mate of gods?' Whereat Nectenabo: 'I am beaten, Aesop,' quoth he.

'I will, however, ask thee somewhat, and c. xxx answer thou me.' Says he, 'I have mares here, which, when they hear the horses in Babylon neighing, straightway conceive offspring. If thou hast aught of wisdom for that matter, show it.' Said Aesop, 'To-morrow, O king, I will answer thee.' When he came to his lodging, he bid his boys to catch a cat, and when caught to drag it about in public and whip it. But the Egyptians who reverence that beast, seeing it suffer thus, ran together, and pulling the cat out of the hands of those that were whipping it, report immediately to the king its sufferings. He, then, called Aesop, and said, 'Knowest thou not, Aesop, that the cat is worshipped amongst us as a god? Wherefore hast thou done thus?' Said he, 'This cat, O king, in the past night, did wrong to King Lykeros, for he killed his cock, a game bird and well bred, which, further, used to tell him the hour of the night.' To whom the king: 'Dost thou not blush, Aesop, thus to lie? How came a cat in one night from Egypt to Babylon?' He, smiling, made reply: 'And how, O king, do thy mares here conceive when the horses neigh in Babylon?' When the king heard this, he commended his understanding.

After this he sent for men from Heliopolis, expert c. xxxxi in sophist questions, and having discoursed with them about Aesop, he invited them and him to a banquet. When they were set at meat, one of the citizens of Heliopolis says to Aesop: 'I have been sent by my god with an inquiry for thee to resolve.'

'Liar!' said Aesop. 'God needeth not lore from man. Thou accusest not thyself only, but thy god!'

Another again said: 'There is a great temple, and in it is a pillar, it has twelve gates, whereof each is roofed with thirty beams, and round these go two women.' And Aesop replied: 'Even boys in our country can solve that riddle; For the temple is this world, and the pillar is the year, the gates are the months, and their beams are the days: moreover night and day are the two women who succeed one another alternately.'

On the following day, Nectenabo called to c. xxxiii him all his friends and said: 'Through this Aesop we shall incur revenue debts to King Lykeros.' But one of them said, 'Let us bid him

¹ Sic! lege πύλας.

περὶ ὧν οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' ἀρεστὸν οὖν τοῦτο τῷ Νεκτεναβῷ δόξαν, καλέσας τὸν Αἰσωπον ἔφη· 'φράσον ἡμῖν, Αἰσωπε, πρόβλημα περὶ οὗ οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὅς· 'αὔριον περὶ τούτου ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι.' ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ συνταξάμενος γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο Νεκτεναβὸς ὁμολογῶν χίλια τάλαντα τῷ Λυκῆρῳ ὀφείλειν, πρωίας ἐπανελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι, πρὶν ἀνοιχθῆναι τὸ γραμματεῖον, πάντες ἔλεγον· 'καὶ εἶδομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα.' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος· 'χάριν ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἔνεκεν.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀναγνούς εἶπεν· 'ἐμοῦ Λυκῆρῳ μὴδὲν ὀφείλοντος πάντες ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε;' κακῆνοι μεταβαλόντες εἶπον· 'οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος· 'καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λέλυται τὸ ζητούμενον.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὸς πρὸς ταῦτα· 'μακάριός ἐστι Λυκῆρος τοιαύτην σοφίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κεκτημένος.' τοὺς οὖν συμφωνηθέντας φόρους παραδούς τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέστειλεν. Αἰσωπος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα παραγενόμενος, διεξῆλθέ τε Λυκῆρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πραχθέντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπέδωκε. Λυκῆρος δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἀνατεθῆναι.

enounce riddles, of things we never heard nor saw.' This seemed agreeable to Nectenabo, so he called Aesop and said: 'Enounce us, Aesop, a riddle of somewhat we nor heard nor saw.' Said he, 'I will answer thee of this to-morrow.' So he went away and composed a letter in which it was contained that Nectenabo admits that he owes a thousand talents to Lykeros, and on the morrow he returned to the king and gave him the document. But the friends of the king, before the paper was opened, cried out together, 'We both know this and have heard it, and we truly understand it.' Said Aesop, 'Thank you for your answer.' But Nectenabo took and read the admission of the debt. Said he: 'You all bear witness that I owe nothing to Lykeros.' And they took him up and said, 'We neither saw nor heard of it.' Whereat Aesop: 'And if the thing is really so, your inquiry is answered.' To which Nectenabo said, 'Happy is Lykeros who has such wisdom in his kingdom.' So he handed over to Aesop the tribute as agreed, and sent him away in peace.

And Aesop, when he reached Babylon, discoursed to Lykeros of all that had taken place, and delivered to him the tribute. And Lykeros bid that a statue of gold should be set up to Aesop.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ZADOKITE PARTY AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE BOOK.

WRITTEN towards the close of the first century B.C. in good Hebrew,¹ our book represents the beliefs and expectations of a body of reformers who sprang up in the second century B.C. within the priesthood, as the Pharisees had within the laity, and called themselves, at all events in the first century, 'the Sons of Zadok'.² The reformation, in which they were the chief movers, was the result of a slow but steady religious revival, which took place between the years 196 and 176 B.C. or thereabouts (i. 6), and which culminated at the close of this period in the formation of a Party within the priesthood. This Party—'the penitents of Israel'—appears to have attempted the reform of irregularities connected with the Temple (§ 10. i), but having failed in the attempt they left Jerusalem and the cities of Israel, either voluntarily or under compulsion, and withdrew to Damascus under the leadership of 'the Star', otherwise designated as 'the Lawgiver' (§ 10. i), where they established the 'New Covenant'—'the Covenant of Repentance'. Thus the first breach of the Party was with their brethren the Sadducean priesthood. After the institution of the New Covenant, the Party appears to have returned from Damascus and made the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary efforts. For an unspecified period of years till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness, they were to obey faithfully the interpretation of the Law laid down by the Lawgiver above referred to. It was probably during this period that they first came into open antagonism with the Pharisees—an antagonism which grew in bitterness with the growing years. The most virulent attacks in our book are directed against the Pharisees (§ 10. ii). The ground for these attacks can be best understood from the knowledge of the origin of the Party. The movement that gave them birth was of an intensely ethical and religious character, and naturally tended to lead them to recognize the Prophets as of great worth, even if not of equal worth with the Law, and therein to differentiate themselves from both Pharisee and Sadducee. This was one cause of the breach with the Pharisees. Another arose from the fact that whereas the Pharisees were upholding and developing a vast body of oral tradition, the reformed Sadducees (i.e. our Party) absolutely opposed its acceptance except in a few particulars. They clung fast to the written Law and would have none of the oral. While the Pharisees called their school or college 'the House of Midrash', our Party designated theirs as 'the House of the Law'. Furthermore, since they claimed to represent the true Israel, especially on the priestly side, to them belonged the covenants and the priestly functions, and the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter functions had been usurped by the Pharisees; to them also belonged the Temple at Jerusalem as their Sanctuary, to them belonged Jerusalem, 'the holy city' (§ 10. iii).

The precepts of the Law as expounded by the Lawgiver were to be obeyed till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness. This Teacher was to come 'in the end of the days'. It was probably during this time that the Party assumed the name 'the Sons of Zadok' (§ 10. iv).

After the death of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', whose teaching and activities are not recounted—a fact which points to the defectiveness of our MSS.—a considerable period elapses, much more than forty years. We have now arrived at the date of our author. He is living 'in the end of the days', and the advent of the Messiah 'from Aaron and Israel' is momentarily looked for. If I am right in my interpretation of this phrase, the Messiah was to be a son of Mariamne and Herod (i.e. from Aaron and Israel), and the book was therefore written between 18 and 8 B.C. Herod put his two sons to death in 8 B.C., since they were the popular idols of the nation, and so this hope, like so many that preceded it, failed to reach fulfilment (§ 12).

¹ There are some Aramaisms and Rabbinic expressions in the text, but the Hebrew is good on the whole.

² The Party, though originating apparently with the priests and Levites, came to embrace a strong lay element, just as the Pharisaic party, though in the main a lay movement, came ultimately to embrace a section of the priests.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

The later history of the Sons of Zadok is buried in all but impenetrable gloom. It is, however, not at all improbable that many of their members joined the Christian Church (§ 10. vi). For their appreciation of the Prophets—unparalleled in legalistic Judaism; their insistent preaching on the need of repentance; their constant proclamation of God's readiness to forgive the repentant; their expectation of a Messiah (and just at this period) and of a future life—all these beliefs and hopes prepared them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

§ 2. THE TITLE.

Our book, which in its present form is only fragmentary, was most probably called 'The Book of Zadok' or some such designation. We draw this inference from the statements of Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, who wrote in the tenth century A.D. and appears to have had our book or one closely resembling it before him. In his *Kitab al-Anwar* ('Book of Lights') he states (1) that Zadok was the first to attack the Rabbinites. This is true of our author, who attacks fiercely the Pharisees of his time. Kirkisani further states (2) that Zadok absolutely forbade divorce: so our author in vii. 1; (3) that Zadok did not support by proofs the laws he laid down save in case of his forbidding a man to marry his niece—the daughter of his brother or sister—on the ground that these connexions were already prohibited in Lev. xviii. 13, being analogous to the forbidden connexion of a man with his aunt on the father or mother's side: so in our author, vii. 9–10.

It is worth observing also that in i. 1*a* there is a play on the name Zadok, also that the Zadokites ascribed to a Zadok the merit of having rediscovered the Law, vii. 6. Who this Zadok was can hardly be determined. In v. 7 'the Priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok' are mentioned. From the explanation of these words in vi. 1–2 it is clear that the Priests and Levites represent the original priestly founders of the Party, and that the expression 'Sons of Zadok' designates their spiritual successors 'at the end of the days'.

§ 3. THE MSS.

The text is preserved in two MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, which are designated respectively as T.-S. 10 K. 6 and T.-S. 16. 311. After the precedent of Schechter, who presented them to the Library and issued the *editio princeps*, they will hereafter be called A and B.

A, which embraces the entire work so far as it exists except ix. 28–54, consists of eight leaves $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. The first eight pages have twenty-one lines on each page, pages 9–12 have twenty-three lines on each page. As regards 13–16 the number of lines is uncertain owing to the mutilation of the bottom of the pages, but was probably twenty-three—there were at least twenty-two lines on pages 13 and 14. This mutilation extends in a slight degree to the edges of the leaves.

This MS. belongs according to Schechter to the tenth century, but the writing is of a decidedly careless description. ' and ı are frequently confused, and ı is occasionally so large as to resemble ı. ı and ı are likewise confused.

B consists of a single leaf, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., of the eleventh or twelfth century and is a more careful reproduction than A. There are thirty-four lines on each page. These two pages contain viii. 20–ix. 3, 10–54, thus preserving ix. 28–54, which has been lost in A, as well as ix. 11. That the MSS. were freely dealt with will be manifest from a comparison of ix. 3, where A gives a quotation from Isa. vii. 17, whereas instead of it B gives a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7.

§ 4. THE HEBREW TEXT AND ITS PHRASEOLOGY.

The text is on the whole fairly preserved, though there are many corruptions. Most of these can be emended with tolerable certainty. The rest can only be tentatively restored.

The language is in itself a witness to an ancient epoch. It is good Hebrew enriched by a few Aramaisms like the Book of Daniel and Sirach, though in a less degree. It contains also a few Mishnaic and Talmudic expressions, but in certain cases the phrases in question bear a different meaning in post-Biblical Jewish literature. The language, as has been generally recognized, is not that of the Mishnah, the Midrashim, or the Talmud.

Like Sirach, our author makes constant use of O. T. diction, but, unlike him, he quotes its text frequently in the name of the writer. At times our text is of the nature of a mosaic of O. T. phrases.

The language is, as we have said, pure Biblical Hebrew, but interspersed with a few phrases which are not Biblical and are not attested save in Mishnaic or Talmudic Hebrew. Those of a Talmudic character may be due to the substitutions of later scribes. Some of these can be

INTRODUCTION

supported from Jewish pre-Christian literature. Thus גלגל השמש 'the sun's orb', xiii. 1, is clearly the Hebrew implied by 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4: חבור ישראל 'the community of Israel', xiv. 8, is supported by the inscription on the Maccabean coins; see note *in loc.*: להרשותו 'allowing', xiv. 1; cf. Sirach iii. 22, הורשית 'thou art allowed': המוכן 'that which has been prepared', xiii. 8, implied in Jub. ii. 29, l. 9.

Others which have not such ancient support are פרוש ii. 8 (note), הבריאה 'the creation' vii. 3—a Talmudic word; העריות 'sexual intercourse' vii. 11; למשכים 'on the following morning' xiii. 5 (note); מובה 'entrance' xiii. 16 (see note); ממון 'wealth' xviii. 9 (note); מדוקדק xix. 14 (see note).¹

All the preceding words are authenticated in their use in our text by parallels in earlier or later Jewish literature; but there are some expressions, as might be expected, which are more or less unique in the meaning that must be attached to them in this book. Thus סרך ix. 1, &c., which means 'order', 'arrangement', &c., is unexampled in Hebrew in this sense, but it is found in Aramaic (see note on ix. 1). Again, בית השתחוח 'the house of worship', xiv. 2, is as a name of the Temple or a Synagogue ἀπ. λεγ. Again, the word המבקר 'the censor', x. 10 (note), xvi. 1 (note), is used in Jewish literature, but not in the sense attributed to it in our text. Again, the term מעמד = 'office' (ii. 8 note), has in our text a nuance of its own, but Jewish literature furnishes fairly good analogies.

Finally, the term עֶזְרָא (see i. 5 note) must, I think with Lévi, Bacher, and Lagrange, be rendered 'period' or 'division of time'. No true parallel for this use of the word appears to occur elsewhere, though it is easy to see how it could mean 'a final period'.

§ 5. THE ZADOKITES WERE A PARTY AND NOT A SECT.

Since there is no question as to the genuineness of the orders of the Zadokite Priests and Levites, and since further their Sanctuary, which is so often referred to (see note on i. 3), is, as Lévi has recognized, the Temple in Jerusalem, it follows that the Zadokites were not a heterodox Sect but a Party within Judaism. They were no more a Sect than the Pharisees. It is true that even the Pharisees are described as a Sect (*αἵρεσις*) in Acts xv. 5, xxvi. 5, Joseph. *Vita* 38; the Sadducees in Acts v. 17, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and the Christians in Acts xxiv. 5, 14, xxviii. 22; but its application to the two former is a misuse of the term. If, however, we use this term of the Pharisees and Sadducees, there can be no objection to its application in the same sense to the Zadokites. But since the term is in itself misleading we shall only speak of the Party of the Zadokites.

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§ 6. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL.

The limits of time between which our book appears to have been written seem clear. Since the Book of Jubilees is referred to (xx. 1) it must have been written after 106 B.C. This forms the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* is no less obvious; for the Temple is still standing (see note on i. 3, where it is shown that the Sanctuary so often referred to is the Temple).² Thus our book was written between 106 B.C. and 70 A.D.

But it may be possible to define these limits more closely, and fix on one or other of two periods within these limits.

(i) If the nation was free from foreign control, as might be inferred from our entire text, with the exception of the doubtful passage in x. 1, then it was written before Pompey seized Jerusalem in 63 B.C., or before Judaea was made a Roman province by Gabinius in 57 B.C. This would bring the composition of the book within the years 106–57 B.C.

¹ Schechter treats חבו 'incurred guilt', iv. 9, as a Rabbinic term. But it is found in the Piel in Dan. i. 10, and critics read יהבתי for סבתי in 1 Sam. xxii. 22, in accordance with the LXX, Vulg. and Pesh. Again, דם זובה 'the blood of her issue', vii. 8, is a Biblical expression (cf. Lev. xv. 19 זובה בבשרה (דם) יהיה זובה), and not merely a Rabbinic one.

² In addition to the grounds given in i. 3 as proofs that the Temple was still standing when our book was written, is to be mentioned the fact that nowhere is the destruction of the Second Temple so much as hinted at. Had it already occurred our author could not have omitted such an argument in support of his attack on the Pharisees. For it is characteristic of his method to trace the great national calamities of the Jews to their unfaithfulness to God. This, he declares, was the ground of the Captivity in 586 B.C., and the destruction of the First Temple, i. 3 sqq. The same unfaithfulness (ix. 17–19) led to the desolation of Judaea and Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (ix. 20). And yet, notwithstanding such judgements in the past, 'the builders of the wall' (i.e. the Pharisees), our author complains, persist in their evil ways (ix. 21). Now, if the Second Temple had been already destroyed, this latest and overwhelming judgement could not have been passed over. Our author would have pressed it home as an irresistible proof of their guilt. That he did not do so is no accident. It was an event still in the future.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

Some statements partially support this date. (a) The expectation of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel, ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. This expectation arose, as we know, in connexion with the Maccabean family, and probably persisted only in connexion with that family. But for the peculiar statement 'from Aaron *and Israel*', we could with some reason infer that the Maccabees were still ruling. (b) The halacha are severer than those in the Talmud and are closely related in some respects to those in the Book of Jubilees. (c) ix. 39, which speaks of 'the men of war' who marched with 'the man of lies' during forty years, would apply tolerably to Jannaeus, who was rightly an object of unmixed hatred to all the faithful of his time. He was a great warrior and his troops were ever on the march. It may, however, be objected that this king reigned not forty but twenty-six years. But to surmount this difficulty it is only necessary to suppose that the book was written during his lifetime, and that the writer expected an evil period of forty years like that in the wilderness. We have a good parallel in the 'Assumption of Moses', where the author predicts that the sons of Herod would reign for a shorter period than their father. This prediction was falsified.

If the above reasoning were valid, our book was probably written between 106 and 58 B.C. But there are stronger grounds for a later date.

(ii) Our book was most probably written between 18 B.C. and A.D. 70, or possibly between 18 B.C. and 8 B.C. The grounds for these dates are as follows: (a) x. 1 does seem to imply political subjection on the part of the Jews. Hence our author wrote after 63 or 57 B.C. (b) The phrase 'man of lies' receives its most easy explanation as applied to Herod the Great, who reigned forty-one years. The phrase 'man of lies' is eminently fitting for a prince who was wholly devoid of principle and religion. The 'men of war' who went with him were his fierce soldiery—all mercenaries, Galatians, Thracians, Germans—who on the slightest uprising struck down relentlessly on every side.¹ Now, if these identifications are valid, our book was written either during Herod's life, 37 B.C.—A.D. 4, or after Herod's death, accordingly as we take the forty years in our text as a prediction or as recording a fact already past. The next piece of evidence—the peculiar form of the Messianic expectation—favours the former alternative. (c) The Messiah was to arise from Aaron and from Israel. See § 12. This implies that he was not to be purely of Levitic or priestly descent, but to be sprung from Levi (i.e. the Maccabees) and some other tribe of Israel. Now when all the direct male descendants of the Maccabees were put to death directly or indirectly by Herod—Antigonus II in B.C. 37, Antigonus III, the brother of Mariamne, in 35 B.C., Hyrcanus II in 30 B.C.—there remained only Mariamne, the wife of Herod, who represented the royal Maccabean house both on her father's and her mother's side and all its claims, and the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, Alexander and Aristobulus. In 29 B.C. Mariamne was executed on a false charge by Herod, and so her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus might reasonably be described as descended *from Aaron and Israel*, seeing that Mariamne was of Aaronic descent alike on her father's and her mother's side, and Herod was said to be a Jew (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 7; cf. xiv. 1. 3), and the Herodian family regarded themselves as Jews, though they were at times reminded that they were only half Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 15. 2). These two young men were held in high esteem by the nation owing to their descent on their mother's side and their own brilliant qualities (*Ant.* xvi. 1. 2), and it is quite possible that the Zadokite Party may have cherished the hope that one of them might become the Messiah, just as similar hopes had arisen in connexion with the earlier Maccabees in the second century B.C. If this be so, our book was probably written between 18 B.C. (when these youths returned to Jerusalem after finishing their education in Rome) and 8 B.C., when they were put to death by their father. With their death the hope of a Messiah arising from the Maccabean family must have finally perished.² Hence it is not improbable that our book was written during the lifetime of these young princes.

§ 7. INTEGRITY OF THE TEXT.

(i) Our text is *incomplete*. This is obvious even on the most cursory examination. Its end is missing, and probably large portions of the rest of the text as at the close of ix. In the case of the

¹ Herod treated the Sadducees with the utmost rigour. He executed forty-five of the ablest and wealthiest of their party, and confiscated their estates (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1. 2; xiv. 9. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 18. 4). The hatred of the priesthood for Herod is therefore very intelligible.

² Both Alexander and Aristobulus left sons, the former having married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the latter Bernice, the daughter of Salome. But the descendants of Alexander abandoned Judaism, and the descendants of Aristobulus, being three-fourths Herodian in blood, could not represent the priestly and royal house of the Maccabees, while their infamous character in itself was enough to alienate the few, if any, surviving hopes that attached to this great family.

INTRODUCTION

A text we see that after ix. 28 there is a loss of twenty-six verses, which have happily been preserved in the B text.

(ii) Our text is in great *disorder*. The question of vows is introduced in ix. 1, and then ignored till xx. 2-12. The enumeration of the laws of the Sabbath is given in xiii. 1-11, broken off in xiii. 12 and resumed in xiii. 13, broken off in xiii. 27 and resumed in xiv. 6. The duties of the Censor are dealt with in xvi. 1-12, and again in xvii. 6-7. The laws as to Uncleanliness are scattered here and there throughout chapters xii-xv, i.e. in xii. 1-2, xiii. 12, xiv. 1-3, 7-16, xv. 1-3.

(iii) Our text may be based on an earlier document or documents. This appears to be so in i. 5, where there is a prose insertion in the midst of verse. A still more obvious prose addition is to be found in ii. 8. Yet these prose additions are in character with the later chapters of the book.

§ 8. ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY TO THE O. T. AND OTHER ANCIENT JEWISH BOOKS.

We have here a very interesting question. We have to inquire into the attitude of the Party towards the various sections of the O. T., i.e. the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. In this inquiry we shall, for the present, take account only of those passages which are introduced by such significant expressions as **כִּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר**, **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר**, &c. Afterwards we shall deal with those passages which are actually quotations, but which are not introduced as such. By a study of these two classes of passages, we shall be able to determine the respective values our author set on the three divisions of the O. T.

(i) *Quotations from the O. T. introduced as such (a) but without mention of the speaker or writer.*

(a) **כִּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר** (= *καθὼς εἶπεν* John i. 23, vii. 38: cf. *καθὼς ἐλάλησε* Luke i. 55, 70). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Num. xxx. 16 in ix. 1, and three times of the Prophets, i.e. Amos v. 26-7 in ix. 5, Amos ix. 11 in ix. 6, and Hosea iii. 4 in ix. 40. This usage, as we have seen above, is found in the N. T. also.

(b) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר** (cf. *προφήται . . . ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν* Acts iii. 24, and *ὁ λόγος Ἰησοῦ . . . ὃν εἶπε* John xii. 38). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Lev. xix. 18 in x. 2, and Deut. xxiii. 24 in xx. 4: and twice of the Prophets, i.e. Hos. v. 11 in vii. 1 and Mic. vii. 2 in xx. 11. This usage also belongs to the N. T.

(c) **כְּתוּב** (= *γέγραπται* Matt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xxi. 13, &c.). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Deut. xvii. 17 in vii. 4, once of the Prophets, i.e. Nahum i. 2 in x. 3, once of the Hagiographa, i.e. Prov. xv. 8 in xiv. 1. It occurs also in xiii. 27, but the quotation is lost. This is the most usual of the N. T. usages.

(d) **כִּאֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב** (= *καθὼς γέγραπται* Mark i. 2; Luke ii. 23; Rom. i. 17, iii. 10, &c.; *ὡς γέγραπται* Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4; *καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον* John vi. 31). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Num. xxiv. 17 in ix. 8.

(e) **כֵּן** (= כְּכָתוּב—practically the same as the preceding = *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον* 2 Cor. iv. 13 (cf. *καθάπερ γέγραπται* Rom. iii. 4, ix. 13, &c.—Westcott and Hort)). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. vii. 9 in viii. 21 (B).

(β) *With mention of the speaker or writer.*

(a) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵל** (cf. *ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τ. ἁγίων . . . προφητῶν* Acts iii. 21). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Deut. xxxii. 33 in ix. 19 and Lev. xix. 17 in x. 5 (**אֵל אֲשֶׁר אָמַר**), and once of the Prophets, i.e. Mal. i. 10 in viii. 11.

(b) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר מֹשֶׁה**. This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. ix. 5 and vii. 8 in ix. 23 (A B). In vii. 10 we have **וּמֹשֶׁה אָמַר** (= *Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν* Mark vii. 10; Acts iii. 22) used of Lev. xviii. 13.

(c) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יֵשׁעִיָּה** in viii. 8 from Isa. liv. 16.

(d) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר בִּיד יְחֻזְקִיָּאל** in ix. 11 (B) from Ezek. ix. 4.

(e) **אֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב בִּיד זְכַרְיָה** in ix. 2 (B) from Zech. xiii. 7.

(f) **כְּתוּב בְּדִבְרֵי יֵשׁעִיָּה** in ix. 2 (A) from Isa. vii. 17.

If we summarize the above facts, we find that, while the Hagiographa is expressly quoted once, the Law is quoted ten times and the Prophets eleven times. Thus in the eyes of the Zadokite Party the Prophets were at all events not less important than the Law, though theoretically the Law was held in the highest honour: cf. xix. 2, 11, xx. 2, 7. In this respect this Party are at variance with the practice of Judaism as a whole after the year A.D. 70, but not with the Apocalyptic or more spiritual side of Pharisaism before the Christian era. The chief studies of Apocalyptic Pharisaism were devoted to Prophecy, and hence to them the Law and the Prophets were *practically* of equal worth, however differently they might view this question *theoretically*. At all events, in the Apocalyptic School of Pharisaism this practical equating of the Law and the Prophets was current, and in this respect the Zadokites approximated to this School, being no doubt influenced by it. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the N. T. the actual phrase 'the Law and the Prophets' is used frequently: cf. Matt. v. 17, vii. 12, xxii. 40; Luke xvi. 16 (xxiv. 44); John i. 45; Acts xiii. 15,

xxiv. 14, xxviii. 23; Rom. iii. 21, and in the inverse order in Matt. xi. 13. The N. T. usage represents the culmination of this tendency which was at work in the preceding two centuries and more.

But in addition to the O. T. books our Party assigned to other writings a canonical or a deuterocanonical value¹. For in vi. 10 we have the expression 'concerning which Levi the Son of Jacob spake' (אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב), the source being probably the Test. Lev. ix. 9, xiv. 5-6, xvi. 1. In xi. 4 there is a quotation drawn apparently from Jub. xxiii. 11, and the title of this book is given in full in xx. 1. Possibly to both these books a quasi-canonical authority was accorded. Another book—hitherto wholly unknown—is 'the Book of the Hagu' in xi. 2, xv. 5, xvii. 5. From the contexts in which it is mentioned it seems to have contained traditional decisions. The ten judges of each congregation (xi. 1-2) were to be thoroughly versed in it (cf. xv. 5). These judges were both clerical and lay. Associated with this book is another entitled the 'Ordinances (or 'Foundations') of the Covenant' (xi. 2). This work probably contained the statutes of the New Covenant which was drawn up at Damascus. Again, in vii. 19 we have mention of the apocryph entitled 'Jannes and Jambres'. Finally, in ix. 28 A there may be an allusion to two Pseudepigraphs—'This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi'.

In these two respects: 1° in the recognition of the Prophets as pretty much on the same level as the Law; 2° in the use and even the quasi-canonical recognition of a body of Pseudepigraphs, the Zadokite Party is like most of the intensely religious parties in Palestine before the Christian era; for all these parties edited Pseudepigraphs.

§ 9. *The Zadokite Party had its Origin in the Priesthood (i.e. the Sadducees) but was closely related to the Pharisees.*

The Zadokite Party represents an attempt at reform beginning within the ranks of the priesthood and extending outwards so as to embrace a strong lay element (xi. 2, xvii. 1-3), just as the Pharisaic movement was an attempt at reform initiated on the side of the laity but ultimately embracing a large section of the priesthood.

We have already come to the conclusion (§ 5) that the Zadokites formed a Party and not a Sect in Judaism. We have now to determine, so far as we may, the position and affinities of this Party in relation to the Samaritans, Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees. In the course of this comparison many of the distinctive teachings of this party will come to light.

1° *The Zadokites were not Samaritans.* The Zadokites were not Samaritans; for not only did they acknowledge the canonicity of the Prophets and Hagiographa, which the Samaritans denied, but they set on these two divisions of the O. T. a higher value than the legalistic side of Pharisaism.

2° *The Zadokites were not Essenes.* The Zadokites were not Essenes, since they inculcated the duty of animal sacrifice, xiii. 27; xiv. 1.

3° *The Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense but a reformed Sadduceeism.* The two names are the same in Hebrew, צדוקים. The Zadokites called themselves 'sons of Zadok' בני צדוק, vi. 2, and this was also the name of the priests: cf. Sir. li. 12⁹ (Hebrew) הוּרִי לְבוּרִי בְנֵי צִדְקָה לְהַלֵּל 'Praise Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests'. With this designation in Sirach cf. Ezek. xl. 46, xlv. 15, xlviii. 11; 1 Chron. xxix. 22. Thus the Party did not choose a new name but retained the name to which they had a right as priests and Levites. By so doing they no doubt claimed to be the true 'sons of Zadok' as opposed to the Sadducean priesthood. For, though they belonged in point of origin to the Sadducean priesthood, they came to differ essentially from them through internal reform and the adoption of new tenets. Theirs was a reformed Sadduceeism.

(a) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6. So also the priestly author of the Book of Jubilees believed.

(b) They believed in the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10 (B), &c.

(c) They cultivated an ascetic form of life, viii. 12-20, as opposed to the self-indulgent life of the Sadducees: and shunned the wealth of the Temple, viii. 12, but the meaning of this passage is doubtful.

(d) They set a value on the Prophets and Hagiographa which the Sadducees would wholly have repudiated.²

¹ In Test. Lev. x. 5 there is an express quotation from 1 Enoch lxxxix. 54. This recognition of Pseudepigraphs was very general before A.D. 70. Whatever the Law was in theory, these books formed the living literature of the most ardent spirits of the time. The Book of Daniel is simply the most prominent member of this class.

² That in our Lord's time the main body of the Sadducees accepted only the Pentateuch as *normative* is clear from the fact that the only argument He used in favour of a future life in His debate with them was drawn from the Pentateuch. The same argument was used by the Samaritans for the same purpose. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4240.

INTRODUCTION

(e) They attacked the Hellenizing priesthood, ix. 19–20. ‘Their wine is the poison of dragons’: i.e. they adopt the ways of the Greeks.

(f) They recognized a certain amount of tradition, whereas the Sadducees rejected all but the written Law. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6. In the middle of the first century B. C. there was a great strife between the Pharisees and Sadducees, in which the former won the day under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach and Judas ben Tabbai. So overjoyed were the Pharisees over this victory, i.e. of oral tradition over the letter of the written Law, that they instituted a festival to commemorate it (Meg. Taan. iv).

(g) They accused Israel of ‘despising the prophets’, ix. 7. This charge could not have been brought by a purely Sadducean priest but only by a reformed Sadducean priest.

4° *The Zadokites were related in many respects to the Pharisees but were not Pharisees.* They were related in many respects; for

(a) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6.

(b) „ „ angels and spirits, vi. 9, ix. 12 (ii. 4).

(c) „ „ the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10, &c.

(d) „ „ a certain body of tradition.

(e) „ „ the divine predestination, ii. 6, 10 c, and yet in free-will, iii. 1–2, 7, iv. 2, 10.

(f) They required separation from the people of the land, ix. 18.

But in many respects they were opposed to the Pharisees.

(a) The attack on ‘the builders of the wall’, vii. 1, ix. 21, 26, can be best explained in reference to the Pharisees and the abnormal growth of oral tradition (see note on ix. 21). The Pharisees ‘removed the landmark’, viii. 1, and they made the written Law of none effect by their tradition.

(b) The Zadokites forbade divorce, vii. 1–3, which was permitted freely by the Pharisees. Hence the charge of fornication brought against the Pharisees in vii. 1.

(c) The charges of robbing the Temple offerings may have been directed against them. Simon ben Shetach, the chief Pharisee of the reign of Jannaeus, was charged with this offence: see viii. 12 note. But the text may be interpreted differently (see (g) below).

(d) While it was the practice of the Rabbis to derive halacha from the Pentateuch almost universally, the Zadokites, owing to the higher estimation in which they held the Prophets, founded halacha on their writings. Thus halacha are derived, x. 4, from Nahum i. 2; in x. 6 from 1 Sam. 26, 31; in xiii. 16 from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27 (cf. Neh. xiii. 19)—a regulation adopted also in the Mishna; in xiv 1 from Prov. xv. 8.

(e) The Zadokites, like the Sadducees (‘Erub vi. 2), were opposed to the Pharisaic principle of the ‘Erub, i.e. the combination of several private precincts in order to justify the carrying of food and vessels from one house to another on the Sabbath day: see our text xiii. 16.

(f) Our text in xiv. 15 (see note *ad fin.*) seems to extend the power of contamination from direct to indirect contact. This legislation was due to the Sadducees, Yad. iv. 7.

(g) Possibly the difficult words ‘to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary’ (viii. 12) may be interpreted as referring to the Sadducean contention that the daily burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4) should be offered at the personal cost of the High Priest: whereas the Pharisees maintained that it should be provided as national sacrifice by the Temple treasury.

(h) The Zadokites charged the Pharisees with profaning the Temple through sexual pollution, vii. 8: with allowing a man to marry his niece, vii. 9—an act in which some of the Rabbis actually gloried: with disturbing the Sabbaths and festivals through their revolutionary reforms of the Calendar, v. 2 (see note). Though the details are not given they can be discovered by means of Jubilees and the Talmud. The Pharisees further were charged with usurping (i. 11) the judicial functions of the priesthood, vi. 4. Hence their judgements could not be right.

From the first of these two lists it appears that the Zadokite party were closely related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines (a, b, c), in their acceptance of a limited measure of tradition, (d) in their views on predestination and free-will, and in their insistence on separation from the people of the land (e, f). On the other hand, from the second list it is clear that on several important questions as tradition, divorce, and the source of halacha they were opposed to the legalistic Pharisees, and in certain others mentioned under e, f, (g?), h, they held fast to the positions maintained by the Sadducean priesthood. From these two facts, combined with the facts stated under 3°, the natural conclusion is that *the Zadokites had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as is shown by the extreme importance attached to O. T. prophecy and the advanced views on Eschatology.*¹ The

¹ The Zadokites, owing to the right estimation they placed on O.T. prophecy, would naturally have been predisposed to accept Christianity, even in a greater degree possibly than the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism. They may have formed part, at all events, of the ‘great company of the priests’ that became ‘obedient to the faith’ (Acts vi. 7).

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

fact that they used the literature that supported the claims of the Maccabees (i.e. Test. Twelve Patr. and Jubilees) would in part account for their looking forward to a Messiah sprung from the Maccabees, but see § 12.

§ 10. THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ZADOKITE PARTY.

About 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e. 196 B.C. God had mercy on His people and 'visited them,

And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land' (i. 5).

The order in this statement is remarkable, i.e. not 'from Aaron and Israel', but 'from Israel and Aaron'. If this order is original it seems to indicate that the religious revival referred to in i. 5-6 originated on the side of the laity. In other words, it was the same great lay movement that gave birth to the Pharisaic Party and likewise to the Zadokite, but, whereas in the case of the former the lay element always remained paramount, in the case of the latter the priestly element held unquestioned sway.¹

I will now place under separate heads the chief stages in the actual as well as the expected developments of the Zadokite Party.

(i) *Rise of the Party and its breach with the Sadducean Priesthood.* When God visited His people about 196 B.C. there ensued a period of spiritual unrest which lasted for twenty years, during which Israel 'groped after the way', and came to know that 'they were guilty men', i. 6. What followed immediately on this religious revival we can gather by reading between the lines. For from their vigorous action later we are justified first of all in inferring that this religious revival led to action, and in the next place, from their subsequent protest, which runs through several chapters, against the profanation of the Temple by the (Hellenizing) priests and others, we may reasonably conclude that the first public act of the Zadokite Party was the denunciation of the irregularities connected with the Temple worship in more scathing and irreconcilable terms than had been used by Malachi the prophet and 1 Enoch. But when in this attempt at reform they failed to gain the support of the people (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 6-7), they migrated either voluntarily or under compulsion to Damascus, vi. 1, possibly soon after 176 B.C., under the leadership of 'the Star', ix. 8, whose advent had been foretold in Num. xxiv. 17.

(ii) *The establishment of the New Covenant of Repentance and the subsequent breach of the Party with the Pharisees.* 'The Star' just referred to is likewise called 'the Lawgiver' (מחקק), viii. 5, 8, 9. He was not a lawgiver in the sense of Moses, but rather an interpreter of the Law. Of the Star, as of the Lawgiver, the outstanding characteristic is that 'he studied the Law', viii. 8, ix. 8. Under this Lawgiver the religious side of the movement culminated at Damascus in the establishment of 'the new Covenant' (הברית החדשה), viii. 15, ix. 28, 37—the covenant foretold by Jeremiah xxxi. 30 sqq., though this claim is not advanced by our author. This covenant was fittingly called 'the covenant of repentance' (ברית השובה), ix. 15 (B)), seeing that the Party as a whole originated in a conviction of their sinfulness before God, i. 6, and that they designated themselves as 'the penitents of Israel' (שבי ישראל), vi. 1, viii. 6, ix. 24; for they 'repented of their transgression', ii. 3, ix. 41; and dwelt frequently on the fact and the marvellousness of the divine forgiveness, ii. 3, v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8. To them the words of Ezekiel xlv. 15 were addressed, v. 7, and thus they alone formed the true priesthood of Israel, vi. 1-2.

Under the leadership of the Lawgiver the Party established itself resolutely on the lines of the *written* Law. In this task he was assisted by the other members of the Party, viii. 5.

'A well the princes digged,
The nobles of the people delved it
By the order of the Lawgiver.'

'The well' here, as our author explains, is 'the Law', and 'they who digged it are the penitents of Israel', viii. 6. But 'the Law' is not to be understood in the narrow sense of the Pentateuch. It embraces the Prophets and the Hagiographa. From the standpoint of the latter can be explained their adoption of certain tenets of the higher theology, which, from the standpoint of unreformed Sadduceism, would have been impossible (see §§ 8 and 9. 3^o).

It was most probably the intensely ethical and religious character of the revival in which the

¹ But it is to be observed that in viii. 3, where the same movement is referred to, its leaders are described as being raised by God 'from Aaron . . . and from Israel'. These words would represent the religious reformation as due to the joint efforts of the priests and the laity.

INTRODUCTION

Zadokite Party originated that led to their recognition of the Prophets as of equal value with the Law. It is this equal recognition of the Law and the Prophets that differentiates the Zadokite Party alike from the legalistic Pharisee and the unreformed Sadducee.

Taking their stand, therefore, on the written word, they charged the Pharisees with raising such a body of tradition (i. e. 'the wall' referred to in vii. 1, ix. 21, 26) round the written Law that it was made void (see § 9. 3°, 4°) : with speaking rebellion against the Law and leading Israel astray, viii. 1, and despising the words of the Prophets, ix. 7. As the true representatives of the Law, they designated their Party as 'the House of the Law', ix. 35, 37, though it is possible that this phrase may mean the School or College belonging to their Party in which the Law was taught.¹

(iii) *The Party claims to be the true Israel: hence the Temple was their Sanctuary, Jerusalem their holy city, and the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary effort.* The New Covenant was established by the leaders of the Party in Damascus, but from thence they returned to the land of Israel. There is not a hint that Damascus continued to be even one permanent place of sojourn of the Party among others, much less their head-quarters. Cf. viii. 6 with viii. 15, ix. 28, 37. For the true Israel as they claimed to be, heirs of all the divine promises, to whom belonged the Covenants, the priestly functions, the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter privileges had been usurped by the Pharisees—the Temple at Jerusalem (i. 3 note), in whose sacrifices they took part,² xiii. 27, and none other could be their Sanctuary, and Jerusalem and none other their Holy City, ix. 46, the city of their Sanctuary, ix. 46, xiv. 4, and all the cities of Israel were theirs to be instructed by them in the Law of God, xv. 1-3.

In all these cities the Zadokites organized themselves in congregations and assemblies, of which there are no less than five distinct Hebrew words used (see note on i. 17). Only the faithful members of the Party were allowed to share in their worship or take part in their counsels. To these a candidate for membership could be admitted only by the Censor, xvi. 6. Should a member of the Party profane the Sabbath or the Feasts he was to be excluded, and not to be restored for a period of seven years after his repentance, xiv. 6.

(iv) *Period of obedience to the precepts of 'the Lawgiver' (or 'the Star') till the coming of the 'Teacher of Righteousness'.* The Party henceforth called the 'Sons of Zadok'. 'Throughout the full period of the wickedness,' viii. 9 (cf. i. 5 note), the Zadokites were to walk according to the precepts laid down by the Lawgiver in accordance with the Law, viii. 9. All such as disobeyed these precepts were to be expelled from the congregation, ix. 31, and not reinstated until they returned to the degree of holy perfection, ix. 32. But in case they persisted in their apostasy, they and theirs should no longer have a share in the House of the Law, ix. 34-5. Besides these precepts they were to receive no fresh revelation or instruction till the 'Teacher of Righteousness' arose 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, i. 7 note. This last phrase is eschatological and indefinite, and does not help towards fixing the date of this Teacher. At all events, a probably considerable period elapsed between the founding of the New Covenant and his advent. From the fact that we are told nothing about the teaching of this Teacher of Righteousness, we may conclude the defectiveness of our MSS. The task of this Teacher, who was also designated the Unique Teacher, ix. 29, 39, 53, was apparently to prepare the way for the Messiah. Not improbably it was during the time of this Teacher that the Zadokites came to be known as, or assumed the name of, 'Sons of Zadok', for his time synchronizes with that of their assumption of this title—being both 'in the end of the days' (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), vi. 2, compared with viii. 10.

(v) *Period from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the expected advent of the Messiah.* After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness a fresh interval elapsed before we come to any definite date. In ix. 39-41 a period of 'about forty years' is spoken of. These may count from the death of the Teacher, or they may begin at some year subsequent to his death. In any case we have arrived at a new epoch which is at least forty years after the death of the Teacher, and may be more. Since the Teacher came 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, and at least forty years have already run their course since his removal, it follows that we have now come to our author's own time. During these forty years those 'who repented of transgression in Jacob' had 'observed the Covenant of God', ix. 41, exhorting each other to 'hold fast to the way of God', ix. 42. But as for those who had been faithless, they were to be handed over to the sword when the Messiah³

¹ With this expression we might contrast the expression 'The House of Midrash' (בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ), which meant the (Pharisaic) School or College in which the Law and its problems were studied. In the earlier days it designated the seat of the High Court of Justice, or of the Sanhedrin in the Temple and in Jabne. See Levy, *Lex.* iii. 34. In opposition to this phrase the Zadokites may have chosen deliberately the above expression 'the House of the Law'.

² On the other hand the Zadokite priests were not allowed to share in the Temple ritual unless under certain conditions, viii. 12-20.

³ The Messiah was apparently called also 'the Sceptre', ix. 9.

'from Aaron and Israel' comes, ix. 10, 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. This event is still in the future. Now if I have been right in my interpretation of the peculiar phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' (see § 12), then the author wrote between the years 18 and 8 B.C. It is remarkable that, whereas a Pharisaic work—the Assumption of Moses—written shortly after this date abandoned wholly the hope of a Messiah, the present work, written by a priest, should just on the eve of the Christian era look forward earnestly to a militant Messiah, who should avenge his people, ix. 10, take upon himself the ruling of God's people and the settlement of all disputed questions, xv. 4.

(vi) The later history of the Zadokites can only be surmised. It is not at all improbable that some, if not many, of them joined the Christian Church. Their appreciation—unparalleled in Judaism—of the Prophets, their insistence on the need of repentance, their constant proclamation of the readiness of God to pardon the repentant, their expectation of the Messiah and of a blessed future life—all these beliefs and hopes would prepare them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

(vii) Into the possible influence of the Zadokites on the Karaites, a Jewish Sect of the eighth century of the Christian era, we cannot enter here. The whole question is too doubtful to be discussed in the present connexion. Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar and exegete who flourished in the tenth century of our era, was, as we have already pointed out (§ 2), acquainted with our present text or with something very similar to it. That the Zadokites had any direct connexion with the Dosithean Sect is improbable in every way. According to the Ps. Tertullian (*Adv. omnes Haereses*, i) Dositheus was the first to deny the Prophets. If this statement is trustworthy, it is enough to prove that the Zadokites, who regarded the Prophets as of equal worth with the Law, had nothing whatever to do with the Dositheans. Rabbinical sources make Dositheus the founder of a Samaritan Sect (see *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643). If this has any element of truth in it, the Dositheans could claim no affinity with the Zadokites. In fact Zadokites and Dositheans, from whatever source we derive our knowledge of the latter, are widely sundered on characteristic and essential doctrines. Agreement on minor points may be established, but these points of agreement were not peculiar to the two bodies with which we are concerned.¹

§ II. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY—THE FOUR ORDERS.

The Zadokite Party consisted of four Orders—Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes, xvii. 3. The governing body in each congregation (i. 17 note) was to consist of ten men chosen from the first three Orders, xi. 2, whose age was to be not less than twenty-five years and not more than sixty. These were to be called 'judges of the congregation', and were to be selected from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and from Israel, four from the former and six from Israel. This body was to be presided over by two men, who belonged to this number or were independent of it. The first of these was to be a priest from thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of the Hagu and in the judgements of the Law, xvii. 5, xv. 5. His duty was to number the members of the settlement according to their rank in the Four Orders, xvii. 1–5, to decide in regard to cases of leprosy, xv. 7–8, and generally to bear rule, xv. 5–6.

The second joint authority was the Censor (=מבקר). On Jewish officials bearing this title, but with different functions, the reader should consult the notes on x. 10, xvi. 1. In our text this official, whose age was to be between thirty and fifty, xvii. 6, had very extensive duties. It was his task to give instruction to the many in the works of God, xvi. 1; to admit new members into the Party, xvi. 6 (xix. 10 sq.), assigning to each his proper place according to his personal powers and qualifications, xvi. 4; to examine and receive back the lapsed on their repentance, xix. 7–10; to administer the monthly alms of the congregation to those in need, xviii. 2 sqq.; to regulate suits and controversies, xvii. 8, xix. 12; to exercise control over all business with the Gentiles, xvi. 7–8; and to fulfil the functions of supreme judge in the case of capital and other offences, x. 10–13.

This organization was spread over the cities of Israel, xv. 1. Congregations or communities on the above model were formed in these cities, which met together in 'houses of worship', xiv. 2, for divine service. These buildings were secured against ceremonial uncleanness on the part of the worshippers, xiv. 2.

But the centre of the Party was Jerusalem—'the city of the Sanctuary', where the usual burnt sacrifices were offered, xiii. 27. The entire city, as the holy city, ix. 46, was to be kept pure from Levitical impurity, xiv. 4.

¹ On the Dositheans, see 'Dositheus' in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, i. 902–4; in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encycl.*; in the *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643–4; and the literature cited in these articles; also Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, pp. xxi–xxvi.

INTRODUCTION

§ 12. THE MESSIAH—EXPECTED TO ARISE FROM AARON AND ISRAEL.

The Zadokite Party expected a Messiah not from Levi simply as in the *Test. xii Patriarchs* but 'from Aaron and from Israel', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. It must be confessed that the form of the expectation is peculiar and needs explanation. Since our author was acquainted with the *Test. xii Patr.*, the fact that he does not simply repeat the expectation there entertained, but differentiates that of his Party from it, leads us to conclude that the difference of phraseology points to a real difference in the nature of the expectation. Since the Messiah was to be descended, not from Aaron simply, but 'from Aaron and from Israel', the additional words 'and from Israel' are surely significant. The priesthood was, of course, an hereditary privilege, and could only be passed on through the male line. As long as the succession from father to son was preserved the descent through the mother was *immaterial*; for the priests were not confined in their choice of wives to the Tribe of Levi. Not only could they marry any Israelite, but they could marry the daughter of a proselyte.¹ These facts make the phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' all the more strange. In the case of unbroken descent *in the male line*, the words 'and from Israel' would be wholly superfluous. Hence they cannot point to the maternal ancestry of the expected Messiah. If not to the maternal ancestry, then they can only refer to his paternal ancestry. If this reasoning is valid, it follows that the expected Messiah was to spring from Israel, i.e. from a non-priestly source, on his father's side, and from Aaron, i.e. from a priestly source, on his mother's. Such an expectation could only be explained, so far as I am aware, in reference to the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, i.e. Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod was an Israelite—see § 6. ii—while Mariamne combined in her own person all the royal claims of the Maccabean house. Since Alexander and Aristobulus were descended from Aaron on the spindle side, they could not legitimately inherit the priesthood. But the technically non-priestly character of Mariamne's sons could not stand in the way of the Messianic hopes attached to them by the Zadokite Party, since the all but universal expectation of Israel was directed to a Messiah sprung not from Levi but from Judah. But since the Zadokite Party rejected the expectation of a Messiah from Judah they described their expected Messiah as sprung from Aaron (i.e. from the Maccabees through Mariamne) and from Israel (i.e. from Herod).

But we can go a step further in defining the comprehension of the words 'and from Israel'. Since throughout our text there is a decided *animus* against Judah and the dynasty of David, we may fairly conclude that the Messiah was not expected to spring from Levi and Judah—which would have been a natural fusion of the two conflicting hopes—but from Aaron and an Israelite, who was not descended from Judah.

This hostility to the Davidic stock and to Judah is not an unmediated and unlooked-for phenomenon. The way had already been prepared for it in the struggles of the Jewish hierarchy to preserve its ancient prerogatives against the encroachments of the Pharisees and their followers. The hostility to the Davidic stock is already apparent in Sirach—the work of a priest or at all events an upholder of the high sacerdotal claims of that period. Lévi (*L'Ecclésiastique*, I. xxxvi) has drawn attention to Sirach's glorification of the priesthood at the expense of the kings. While only a few verses are assigned to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (xliv. 19–23), and even to Moses (xlv. 1–5), Aaron and his descendants are the subjects of long and glowing eulogiums (xlv. 6–24). To Aaron God gave the priesthood by 'an everlasting covenant' (xlv. 7, 15), which was to last 'as long as the heaven endureth' (xlv. 15); to the priesthood God had entrusted the charge of His commandments, the power to deal with statutes and judgements, and the right of teaching His people (xlv. 17); and the book practically closes with a lofty panegyric on Simon the High Priest, the son of Onias (l). On the other hand, Sirach depreciates the kingly dynasty. He admits that God had, indeed, made a covenant with David touching the kingdom, but he points out that that was only an ordinary and limited heritage passing from father to son, whereas that of Aaron was an everlasting heritage transmitted to all his posterity (xlv. 25). He is careful, moreover, to point out that the dynasty of David had proved itself unworthy of the divine favour; for that only three of them, including David (xlix. 4), had been faithful to God, and that accordingly they were stripped of the kingship and the government of the nation re-entrusted to the priesthood. Nor could the Messiah arise from such a stock: if a Messiah was to be expected he was to be Elijah reappearing in the flesh (xlviii. 10–11).

¹ The greatest care was taken in regard to the character of the wives chosen by the priests. Their pedigrees, unless known to be unimpeachable, were examined for four generations on both sides in the case of priestly lineage, for five if they were of non-priestly origin. Cf. Qid. iv. 4, 5, 77ab: Joseph. *Contra Ap.* i. 7. Though a priest might not marry a proselyte, he could marry the daughter of a proselyte. If both parents of a woman were proselytes, a priest was not allowed to marry her; but if he did so, the marriage was considered legitimate. See *Jewish Encyc.*, x. 195.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

This glorification of Levi over Judah is repeated in Jubilees, which, like Sirach, was written by a priest, but by a priest who had assimilated some of the higher theology such as the doctrine of a blessed future life (xxiii. 31).¹ In Jubilees Levi receives the first blessing (xxxi. 15-17), and Judah the second (xxxi. 18-20). Levi was to be at once the supreme teacher, the sole priest, and the civil ruler of the nation. Judah's blessing dwells on his great military power, which the Gentiles should fear and at which the nations should quake. Thereby he should prove the help of Jacob and the royal dynasty should bring peace to Israel. There is a clause of two or three words in xxxi. 18*d* referring to a Messiah from Judah, but it is most probably an interpolation, since throughout the rest of this long work there is not even the barest hint of such a hope.

The glorification of Levi reaches its climax in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Not only is Levi the supreme authority in Church and State: from Levi also is to spring the coming Messiah. In fact the Messiah had already come in the person of John Hyrcanus according to the author of the Testaments, just as according to the earlier writing, the CX Psalm, he had already come in the person of Simon the Maccabee.

The development actually realized and the tendencies in the process of evolution in these books find a not unnatural culmination in our author. The steady glorification of Levi in Sirach, Jubilees, and the Testaments had only served to reduce Judah to the second place of authority and honour in the nation, but not otherwise to depreciate that great tribe. In no case had this process degenerated into a hostile attack on Judah. And yet this and naught else could be the inevitable outcome of the tendencies which were actively at work in the second century before the Christian era.

These tendencies came to a head in the Zadokite Fragments. Therein the glorification of the Zadokite priests is carried out *pari passu* with the disparagement of the Davidic family and claims and an attack on Judah. David is accused of ignorance of the Law (vii. 5). The title 'king' (מלך) is replaced by that of 'prince' (נשיא vii. 4). In ix. 7 the passage from Amos ix. 11, which promises the setting up of 'the tabernacle of David that is fallen', is explained in such a way that all reference to David is got rid of; for 'the king' is said to denote 'the Congregation', and 'the tabernacle of the king' to denote 'the books of the Law'. Having thus explained away the Davidic expectation, a prophecy of the Zadokite Messiah (see ix. 8) is discovered in Num. xxiii. 17.

The princes of Judah are attacked in ix. 13 as being 'like them that remove the landmark' (ix. 13), i.e. the Pharisees. When the time of the end was approaching the Zadokites were to break off all relations with Judah, vi. 7.

§ 13. SOME OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE BOOK.

I shall content myself in the main with referring to my notes on the theological views of the Zadokites.

The Messiah. See § 12.

Doctrine of a future life. See note on v. 6. Some scholars have doubted the reference of this verse to a future life. But even if it were absent it would not affect the question. The Zadokites are the disciples of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and in these the doctrine of a future life is taught. The Party that regarded the Book of Daniel, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as authoritative could not have questioned the belief in a blessed future life.

Repentance. See note on vi. 1 and references: also Introd., § 10. ii. In this respect they prepare the way for the preaching of John the Baptist.

Predestination and free-will. See ii. 6 note, iii. 7*a*, iv. 2*c*, 10, § 9. 4°.

Divorce. Divorce is absolutely forbidden in our text. See vii. 1.

The Law and the Prophets. It will be sufficient here to refer to § 8 and Index I, to show how profoundly the Zadokites valued the Prophets. The fact to which we have drawn attention elsewhere (see § 9. 4°), that they based halacha on the Prophets, is proof that they regarded the Prophets as of equal authority with the Law. Their attitude in this respect is nearer to that of the Sermon on the Mount than that of any other Party in Judaism.

§ 14. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(*a*) *Text.* As yet there is only one text, since owing to Dr. Schechter's arrangement with the University Library, Cambridge, no scholar is to be allowed to see the MSS. for five years after the publication of

¹ In the time of Josephus apparently only the Sadducees of the highest rank still denied the doctrine of a blessed future life (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 4). Thus this doctrine seemed gradually to have permeated the main body of the Sadducees by the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Schechter's edition. Even if Dr. Schechter's edition were thoroughly satisfactory this extraordinary action on his part could hardly fail to call forth the reprobation of scholars generally. We shall now proceed to pass a few criticisms on his text.

Fragments of a Zadokite Work edited from *Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, by S. Schechter, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

Scholars are indeed grateful to Dr. Schechter for the discovery of these valuable MSS., but they cannot be expected to feel it in such measure for the way in which the text has been edited. It is carelessly done. Thus on eighteen pages of text there are two and a quarter pages of corrigenda and suggestions (pp. lvii-lix). A second list of corrigenda is to be found in the notes on the translation. In a third list (lix-lx) embodying corrections of and additions to the translation and notes a very important correction not included in the former two lists is given. But the above series of corrigenda are not exhaustive. This will be obvious to any student who carefully compares the text of p. 20 with the *facsimile* of this page. Let us take a few lines beginning with l. 17. In l. 17 if we read אנ there is room only for one letter and not two after it. In l. 18 before אחיו and after אחיו a gap is left for seven letters, four of which Dr. Schechter supplies. There is room only for four. In l. 19 after זכרן Dr. Schechter leaves a space for two letters: it should be for four or five. Before לחושבני in the same line ו should be supplied or a gap left for one letter. In l. 21 after הסדר a gap is left for two letters: it should be for four or five. In l. 33 the first word is את not אל .

If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a *facsimile* of the entire MSS.—only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Lévi, who first expressed the need of a *facsimile*, to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a *facsimile* without delay.

(b) *Translations*.¹ Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. The translation of a text for the first time is obviously a piece of pioneer work, and should therefore be treated with all consideration. It betrays, as might be expected, frequent failures to apprehend the meaning of the writer, but on the other hand in many passages Dr. Schechter has shown great insight and his encyclopaedic knowledge of Rabbinic literature has helped to clear up many a difficulty from the outset.

Lévi, 'Un Écrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxi. 161-205, 1911. This masterly translation, accompanied with a few notes, forms a vast advance on the preceding. My obligations to it are mentioned not unfrequently in my notes. Unfortunately I had completed both my translation and notes before I saw either this translation or that which follows, else my notes might have taken a different form.

Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, Avril, 1912, pp. 213-40. While Lévi's translation is racy and idiomatic, Lagrange's translation aims at being a literal reproduction of the text. It shows the influence of Lévi, but in certain passages makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of the text.

(c) *Critical Studies*. Bacher, *Zeitschrift f. hebr. Bibliographie*, No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1911. Leszynski, 'Observations sur les "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" édités par Schechter' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxii. 190-6, with Lévi's rejoinder in pp. 197-200.

Margoliouth (G.) in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 26, 1911; 'The Sadducean Christians of Damascus' in the *Expositor*, Dec., 1911, pp. 499-517; March, 1912, pp. 212-35. In these studies Mr. Margoliouth has shown great learning and acuteness in criticizing the views of his predecessors. His own view is that the Zadokites were a type of Christians who regarded John the Baptist as the Messiah and Jesus as the Teacher of Righteousness. I have found myself unable to agree with this thesis.²

¹ A Dutch translation has been published in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, but I have not seen it. ✕

² Reviews of the *Zadokite Fragments* have appeared in *The American Journal of Theology*, by Dr. Kohler; in the *Harvard Theological Review*, by Dr. Moore; in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, by Landauer, &c.

✕ July 1911 " 1931 p 268+

† July 1911

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

1. *Israel sent into Captivity, 3-4. A Root of God's Planting made to spring forth after 200 B.C. and a Teacher of Righteousness raised up, 5-8. Description of Israel's Wickedness in the First Century B.C. or at an earlier date, 9-17.*

- 1 Now, therefore, hearken (unto me) all ye who know righteousness,
 2 And have understanding in the works of God.
 For He hath a controversy with all flesh,
 And will execute judgement upon all who despise Him.
 3 For because of the trespass of those who forsook Him,
 He hid His face from Israel and from His Sanctuary,
 And gave them over to the sword.

1. 1. **hearken . . . righteousness.** i. e. שָׁמְעוּ כָל יוֹדְעֵי צֶדֶק. From Isa. li. 7. The mention of צֶדֶק may with tolerable certainty be regarded as a play on the name of the Zadokites—הַצְדֻקִּים. Cf. v. 7 for the מוֹרֵה צֶדֶק 'teacher of righteousness'.

have understanding in the works of God. Same diction in Ps. xxviii. 5 אֵל מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו יְבִינֵנוּ . . .

2. **hath a controversy . . . with all flesh.** i. e. רִיב לוֹ עִם כָּל בָּשָׂר. Based almost verbally on Jer. xxv. 31: 'The Lord hath a controversy . . . He will plead with all flesh.' Cf. Hos. iv. 1.

all who despise Him. Num. xiv. 11, 23.

3. **hid His face.** Ps. xxii. 24, liv. 8 and *passim*.

from His Sanctuary. These words are of extreme importance in dealing with our document; for before we can make any real advance in the interpretation of the book we must know whether this sanctuary is the Temple in Jerusalem or a heterodox temple in one of the provinces. That it was the former is clear, I think, from the following evidence. The term 'sanctuary' is used nine times, i. 3, v. 7, vi. 11, vii. 8, viii. 11, 12, ix. 47, xiv. 4 (*dis*). In xiv. 4 we have the phrase 'the city of the Sanctuary' used twice. Now since in every case only one sanctuary is mentioned, as 'the Sanctuary', or 'His Sanctuary', we must conclude that it is one and the same sanctuary that is referred to in all cases. Is there any evidence to determine what sanctuary this was? Clearly there is in this very verse i. 3, where it is said that God 'hid His face from His Sanctuary'. Now there can be no doubt as to the identity of this sanctuary: it is the Temple in Jerusalem; for the context refers to the time of the Captivity. Nor can there be any doubt as to the identity of 'His Sanctuary' in v. 7; for the phrase occurs in a quotation from Ezek. xlv. 15. Next in viii. 12 it is said that the priests of the Party are 'to hold aloof from the wealth of the Sanctuary'. This could not be said of a small, sectarian provincial and wholly unknown temple. For in the first place such a temple would not have had wealth; and in the next its priesthood could have incurred no blame in accepting support from their own exclusive sanctuary. But an ascetic and puritan Party could most reasonably from their standpoint object to many things in the Temple in Jerusalem, as did Mal. i. 7; 1 Enoch lxxxix. 73; Ass. Moses v. 4, and yet share officially in its worship. Again in viii. 11 the Sanctuary can be none other than the Temple; for Mal. i. 10 is quoted as referring to it. This sanctuary, i. e. the Temple, is still standing vii. 8. Finally 'the city of the Sanctuary' which is twice mentioned in xiv. 4 and in ix. 46 can only be Jerusalem. The very phrase postulates this interpretation when we reflect that the Zadokites accepted not only the Law as binding upon them but also the rest of the scriptures, to which they attributed a higher degree of authority, than the Rabbis of subsequent times. It was the Prophets who made Jerusalem the sacred city, and the altar in Jerusalem the sole altar. Possessing genuine orders also as Priests and Levites they would naturally officiate in the Temple at Jerusalem. They were spread throughout the cities of Israel, xv. 1, just as the Priests and Levites were generally. In these they had their congregations: but they had only one sanctuary and that in Jerusalem. The severe conditions on which they were allowed to discharge their priestly functions in the Temple are given in viii. 11-20. Had the Zadokites disowned the Temple in Jerusalem, it is hardly possible that this matter would have been wholly passed over in silence in a document which criticizes the accepted Jewish authorities so freely—the Hellenizing priests, the Pharisees, and even the historical books of the O.T. (see vii. 7).

From the above conclusion it follows that the present work was written when the Temple was still standing. In other words, we have here the *terminus ad quem*.

gave them over to the sword (וַיִּתֵּנָם לַחֶרֶב). From Jer. xxi. 31. See preceding verse. Cf. i. 12 ("לְהַסְגִּירָם לָח"), iv. 9 ("יִסְגְּרוּ לָח"), and so also in ix. 4 (A) ("הַסְגְּרוּ לָח"), ix. 11 (A and B), but "יִמְסְרוּ לָח" in ix. 10 (B).

- 4 But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers,
He left a remnant to Israel
And gave them not over to destruction.
- 5 [And in the period of the wrath three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the
hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon He visited them],
And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land,
And to grow fat through the goodness of His earth.
- 6 And they had understanding of their iniquity,
And they knew that they were guilty men,
And had like the blind been groping after the way twenty years.
- 7 And God considered their works ; for they sought Him with a perfect heart
And He raised them up a Teacher of righteousness
To lead them in the way of His heart.

4. remembered the covenant of the forefathers. i.e. וּבִכְרוּ בְרִית רִאשִׁימִם. Cf. viii. 3, ix. 25. From Lev xxvi. 45. Cf. Exod. ii. 24.

left a remnant to Israel (הַשְׁאִיר שְׁאֵרִית). Cf. ii. 9 (הַתִּיר פְּלִיטָה); Isa. i. 9; Jer. xxxi. 7; Ezek. xiv. 22.

5. in the period of the wrath. (i.e. בִּקְצֵי חֲרוֹן). I have with some hesitation adopted Lévi's rendering of קֵץ as 'period' and not as 'end', as in Sirach xliii. 6. In Job vi. 11 the LXX renders קֵץ by μου ὁ χρόνος (Smend). See our text ii. 8, vi. 1, 7, viii. 1, 9, 12, ix. 10, 11, 47, xv. 4, xix. 7. It is difficult to understand the chronology in this work. 'In the period of the wrath' appears to be the period beginning or else in the course of realization in the year 196 B.C. The phrase 'period of the destruction of the land' apparently refers to the same period. Probably by the phrase 'in the end of the days' (viii. 10) when the teacher of righteousness is to come, a portion of the same period is designed. On the other hand the phrases 'the period of wickedness' (viii. 12, xv. 4), 'the full period of wickedness' (viii. 9, xix. 7), 'the period of the treason of Israel' (ix. 47) appear to refer to the close of the period of the Messianic woes: cf. xv. 4.

three hundred and ninety years, &c. This number appears to be borrowed from Ezek. iv. 5, where the Massoretic text speaks of 390 days, i.e. years. Since in Ezekiel these years refer to the Exile, the Massoretic text is at variance with Ezekiel's real expectation, which is given in iv. 6, according to which it was to last forty years. The right text is preserved in the majority of the LXX MSS., i.e. 190 years. Israel had already been in exile about 150 years: Judah's exile was to last forty: thus the exile of the entire nation was to be about 190 years. But it is clear that our author found 390 in his Hebrew text—a reading that appears, therefore, to be later—possibly considerably later than 200 B.C. If we deduct 390 from 586, the year of the capture of Jerusalem, we arrive at the year 196 B.C. This date in our text would refer to the rise of the Chasidim. For 'twenty years' already the faithful in Israel had been groping after the way (i. 6). It is noteworthy that 1 Enoch xc. 6 assigns the origin of the Chasidim to the same period: see note in my edition *in loc.* The Chasidim in 1 Enoch spring from the righteous remnant, just as here they are symbolized by a root of God's planting.

wrath. See note on i. 14.

Nebuchadnezzar. This is the later and corrupt spelling for Nebuchadrezzar.

spring forth. Cf. Isa. xlv. 4, xli. 11 where צִמַּח also is used.

A root of His planting. The text here reads שֹׁרֵשׁ מִטַּעַת, which I take to be corrupt for שֹׁרֵשׁ מִטַּעַת. Cf. Isa. ix. 12 נֶצֶר מִטַּעַת. With the idea, cf. 1 Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5 'the plant of righteousness': also xxvi. 1. The root of God's planting is the company of the Chasidim; see note on 'three hundred and ninety years' above.

6. had understanding . . . and they knew. Cf. i. 1.

had like the blind been groping. The text reads וּכִימוֹשְׁשִׁים which Schechter, on the basis of Isa. lix. 10 and Deut. xxviii. 29, has rightly emended into מוֹשְׁשִׁים.

twenty years. The 'twenty years', i.e. 196-176 B.C., may refer to the period during which the Hellenizing high priests were in league with Antiochus IV and the Syrian empire. Then came the great act of repentance often referred to in the text and probably the migration to Damascus: vi. 1, viii. 6.

7. considered their works (וּבִינּוּ אֵל אֶל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם). From Ps. xxxiii. 15. Cf. text, vii. 16.

sought Him with a perfect heart. Cf. for the thought and diction Ps. cxix. 10, 1 Chron. xxix. 9, Jub. i. 15.

raised them up. Cf. ii. 9, viii. 4, Judges ii. 18.

a Teacher of righteousness. i.e. מוֹרֵה צֶדֶק. See different form of the Hebrew in viii. 10. Cf. Hos. x. 12 יוֹרֵה צֶדֶק. Who is this teacher of righteousness? We know something as to his date; for he is raised up during 'the period of the wrath' (i. 5) which began about 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. About this date, i.e. 196 B.C., God made 'a root of His planting to spring forth from Israel and Aaron', i.e. the Chasidim. This teacher may be referred to as 'the teacher' or 'teacher' in ix. 50, and is referred to as 'the teacher of righteousness' in ix. 53, and in viii. 10, according to which passage he is to arise 'in the end of the days'. So far, things are fairly certain. But there are two other titles, 'the unique teacher', ix. 29, 39, and

- 8 And He made known to later generations
What He had done [to a later generation] to a congregation of treacherous men :
Those who turned aside out of the way.
- 9 This was the time concerning which it was written :
As a stubborn heifer
So hath Israel behaved himself stubbornly :
- 10 When there arose the scornful man,
Who talked to Israel lying words,
And made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way,
[to bring low the pride of the world].
- 11 So that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness,
And remove the landmark which the forefathers had set in their inheritance :

'the Messiah', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B); 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. There is no ground against identifying 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the unique teacher'. If this identification is right, then 'the teacher of righteousness' and 'the Messiah' are two different personages, ix. 29. The former prepares the way for the latter, but does not immediately precede him; for an undetermined interval elapses between them, which is longer than forty years at all events, ix. 40, but in reality nearer one hundred and forty.

lead them in the way of His heart. Cf. Isa. xlii. 16.

8-17. A difficult and important question of interpretation arises here as to the time with which these verses deal. First of all, it seems clear that the phrase 'later generations' refers to the generations subsequent to the coming of 'a teacher of righteousness' in v. 7. But there appears to be no way of determining the incident so vaguely described in v. 8, 'What He had done . . . to a congregation of treacherous men.' In any case this incident belongs to some earlier date. It is mentioned here apparently only in the way of admonition and warning against apostasy or unfaithfulness on the part of the Zadokites. We now come to v. 9. To which of the two periods implied in the preceding verse, i.e. the 'later generations' or the earlier time of judgement on the 'treacherous congregation', do the words 'this was the time concerning which', &c. apply? If we take v. 9 as referring to the period of the 'later generations', the time implied by the 'later generations' can hardly refer to any period earlier than the first century B.C., since the 'Teacher of righteousness' came after 176 B.C., and the 'later generations' must be two or more generations later than his time. If this interpretation is right, then vv. 9-17 would refer to the events of the first century B.C., and the persons attacked would probably be the Pharisees. Against them, at any rate, our author could bring the charge of removing 'the landmark which the forefathers had set', i.e. of introducing innovations in the ritual of the Temple and the interpretation of the Law. It is to be remembered in this connexion that although in the earlier years of Jannaeus the Pharisees were persecuted, in the later years of this king they were on friendly terms with him, whereas the Sadducean priesthood was mercilessly dealt with by him.

8. The fate of former apostates is a warning to those that come after.

[to a later generation], i.e. בדור אחרון. I have bracketed these words as a dittograph of דורות אחרונים congregation. See note on v. 17.

a congregation of treacherous men, i.e. בעדת בוגדים. Cf. עצרת בוגדים in Jer. ix. 2.

turned aside out of the way (סרי דרך). Cf. ii. 4, ix. 14; Exod. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 16.

9-17. These verses appear to refer to the sins of Israel after the Captivity: cf. viii. 1, 2 where the phraseology in 9-11 recurs. They deal with the judgements meted out to an earlier generation which were to be a warning to later generations, i. 8.

As a stubborn, &c. From Hos. iv. 16. The 'so' in our text is not in the original. Our author can easily apply these words to post-Exilic times.

10. the scornful man. i.e. איש הלצון. Cf. ix. 36 'the scornful men', i.e. אנשי הלצון. The latter phrase is from Isa. xxviii. 14.

talked . . . lying words. Cf. viii. 2.

talked, i.e. הטיף. Cf. vii. 1, ix. 22; Amos vii. 16; Mic. ii. 6.

lying words. The text reads מימי כזב 'waters of lying', which I have emended into מאמרי כזב and so translated. Cf. ix. 22 (A.) מטיף כזב, and ix. 39 איש הכזב. Is this 'scornful man, who talked to Israel lying words' a collective expression for the wicked leaders who are subsequently referred to in viii. 1?

made them go astray . . . no way. Cf. viii. 1. A quotation from Ps. cvii. 40. Cf. ii. 10 of our text, where the same action is ascribed to God.

[to bring low the pride of the world] = להשח נברות עולם. Cf. Isa. ii. 11, 17. But these words seem to be interpolated.

11. remove the landmark. Cf. viii. 1, ix. 13, 49. These words may refer to the revolutionary action of the Pharisees as regards law and ritual.

remove the landmark which . . . in their inheritance. From Deut. xix. 14 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance'.

- 12 So as to make cleave unto them
The curses of His covenant,
To deliver them to the sword
That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant.
- 13 Because they sought after smooth things,
And they chose deceits,
And kept watch with a view to lawless deeds.
- 14 And they †chose the best of the neck,†
And justified the wicked,
And condemned the righteous :
- 15 And transgressed the covenant,
And violated the statute,
And attacked the soul of the righteous.
- 16 And all that walked uprightly their soul abhorred,
And they pursued them with the sword,
And rejoiced in the strife of the people.
- 17 And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation,
So that He laid waste all their multitude,
And their deeds were uncleanness before Him.

12. So as to make cleave unto them. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 21.

The curses of His covenant. From Deut. xxix. 21.

deliver them to the sword That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant. Repeated in ix. 11 (B). We have here a quotation from Lev. xxvi. 25 חרב נקמת נקם ברית. In the same verse the words 'and ye shall be delivered' occur, ונתתם.

13. smooth things . . . deceits (i.e. מהחלות . . . חלקות). These two words—the latter a ἀπ. λεγ. in the O.T.—are drawn from Isa. xxx. 10.

kept watch, i.e. יצפו. Lagrange thinks that the verb here means 'concealed', Schechter proposes ויפרצו which gives a good sense 'brought about breaches' (or 'divisions').

14. †chose the best of the neck†. In the text יבחרו בטוב הצואר—it seems clear that הצואר is corrupt—most probably for הצאון. Cf. xi. 10 (B), where we have 'the poor of the flock'. We should then have 'they chose the best of the flock', i.e. for themselves. This may be right. But possibly the corruption lies deeper, and for the first two words we should read יחרבו מיטב. We should then have: 'they laid waste the best of the flock.'

justified . . . the righteous. From Prov. xvii. 15. The words recur in vi. 4 of our text. Lévi thinks these words refer to the usurpation of judicial powers by the Pharisees in the time of Alexandra the widow of Jannaeus.

15. transgressed the covenant, i.e. יעברו ברית. I have here emended יעבירו into יעברו. Schechter emends the text into יעברו בברית and translates 'transgressed the covenant'. But this means 'entered into a covenant' (cf. Deut. xxix. 11). This clause is practically equivalent to the next.

attacked the soul of the righteous. From Ps. xciv. 21.

16. walked uprightly. Cf. iii. 2. From Ps. xv. 2 : cf. ci. 6 ; Gen. xvii. 1.

their soul abhorred. From Ps. cvii. 18.

pursued them with the sword (וירדפום לחרב). These words refer to the persecution of the Sadducees by Jannaeus or the Pharisees.

rejoiced. I follow Schechter in taking ישישן as יסיסו.

17. the wrath of God was kindled (ויחר אף אל). Cf. Exod. iv. 14, xxxii. 10, &c. This clause recurs frequently in our text : iii. 7, iv. 7, vii. 16, ix. (13), 22, 26, 40. Here the reference is doubtful. In iii. 7 it is directed against the Antediluvians : in iv. 7 against Israel in the wilderness : against Judah after the exile in vii. 16, ix. 13, 22.

their congregation (i.e. ערתם). This term קִעָרָה 'the congregation' occurs frequently—thirteen times—in our author : cf. i. 8, iv. 7, ix. 22, 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7. In ix. 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7 it is used strictly of the congregation of the Zadokites in each city or village. In i. 17, iv. 7, ix. 22 it is used of Israel at large, and in i. 8 in a bad sense of faithless Israelites. Our text is particularly rich in terms applying to the Zadokites in their sacred capacity as a community or congregation. Thus we have 'assembly' (סור) in ix. 29, 'congregation' (קהל) in xiv. 3, 'community' (חבור) in xiv. 8. Another designation of their community, and rather a peculiar one, is 'camp' (מחנה), which appears to have simply the meaning of settlement : cf. x. 7, xv. 6, xvi. 1, 6 (bis), 8 (bis), 9, xvii. 1, 6.

their deeds . . . uncleanness before Him (מעשיהם לנדה לפניו). Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.

II. *Wisdom is with God and Forgiveness of the repentant, but Wrath for the unrepentant, who are predestined to Destruction on the Ground of the Divine Foreknowledge, 1-7. But there is a Remnant whom He shall teach by the Messiah, 9-10.*

2

- 1 And now, hearken unto me all ye who have entered into the covenant,
And I will disclose to you the ways of the wicked.
- 2 God loveth [knowledge] wisdom :
And counsel He hath set before Him :
Prudence and knowledge minister unto Him.
- 3 Longsuffering is with Him
And plenteousness of forgivenesses
To pardon those who repent of transgression.
- 4 And power and might and great fury with flames of fire [therein are all the angels of destruction]
For them who turned aside out of the way,
And abhorred the statute,
- 5 So that there should be no remnant,
Nor any to escape of them.
- 6 For God chose them not from the beginning of the world,
And ere they were **formed** He knew their works.
- 7 And He abhorred **their** generations **from of old**,
And hid His face from **their** land till they were consumed.
- 8 [And He knew the years of (their) office and the number and exact statement of their periods for all the things that belong to the ages and have been, moreover whatsoever shall come to pass in their periods for all the years of eternity.]

II. 1. **ye who have entered into the covenant.** Cf. iv. 8, viii. 11, 15, ix. 12, 15, 49, x. 2; Jer. xxxiv. 10, באו בברית. This is the New Covenant that is spoken of in viii. 15, ix. 28, 37.

I will disclose. The text reads **אנלה אונכם** as in 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 8. Schechter thinks **אונכם** a corruption of **עיניכם** and compares iii. 1.

2. **knowledge.** Bracketed as an interpolation. It occurs in the third line.

3. **Longsuffering . . . forgivenesses**, i.e. **עפר אפם עמו ורוב סליחות**. The text is based on a combination of Exod. xxxiv. 6. **ארח אפם ורב חסד** and Ps. cxxx. 4. **עמך הסליחה**. For the plural **סליחות** cf. Dan. ix. 9; Neh. ix. 17. The last passage contains all the elements of *v.* 3 *ab* save 'with Him'.

forgiveness. Cf. *v.* 5 *b*, xvi. 2.

To pardon. See *v.* 5 *a* note.

who repent of transgression, i.e. **שָׁבִי פֶשַׁע** from Isa. lix. 20. See ix. 41 and note on vi. 1.

4. **fury with flames of fire**, i.e. **חמה . . . בלהבי אש**. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15 **אש וגערתו בלהבי אש** which is probably the source.

therein . . . destruction. Bracketed as an interpolation.

angels of destruction (**מלאכי חבל**). Cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 1, &c.

abhorred the statute (**מתעבי חק**). Cf. Mic. iii. 9.

5. **So that there should be no remnant, &c.** Contrast i. 4. The words 'no remnant, nor any to escape' are from Ezra ix. 14.

6. We have here the doctrine of divine election. Cf. *v.* 10 *c*.

formed, i.e. **נוצר** emended by Bacher from **נוסדו**. Cf. Jer. i. 5.

7. **their generations from of old.** So I emend **דורות מדם** into **מקדם דורות**. Schechter retains **דורות** and would change **מדם** into **מקדם**. Landauer suggests **מרים** 'rebellious' for **מדם**.

their land. The text reads **ארץ מי**, which I take to be a corruption of **ארצם**, and have translated accordingly. Schechter takes the **מי** to be a remainder of **להשמירם**. But in the present MS. there is not space for a single additional letter, and the emendation I have made explains the MS. and satisfies the context.

till they were consumed (**עד תומם**). Phrase in Deut. ii. 15, xxxi. 24, 30; Joshua viii. 24, &c. But the words make the line too long and may be an interpolation.

8. This verse appears to be an addition of the editor of the whole. The subject-matter belongs to the teaching of the sect, but it is an intrusion in its present context. Verse 9 follows naturally and immediately on *v.* 7. The Hebrew of this verse is very abnormal.

years of (their) office. With this obscure phrase compare vi. 3 'duration of their office'. The word 'office' (or 'service' or 'function', i.e. **מעמד**) appears to mean that of the members of the inner council of the sect who in ix. 32 are spoken of as 'men of the perfection of holiness'. We should, perhaps, read **מעמדם** here as in vi. 3. We find in later Judaism the existence of a body of men called **אנשי מעמד** (Taanith 15 *b*) composed of priests, Levites,

- 9 Yet in all of them He raised Him up men called by name,
In order to leave a remnant to the earth,
And to fill the face of the earth with their seed.
- 10 And through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit,
And he is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names :
But them He hated He made to go astray.

III-IV. 1. *Exhortation to choose God's Will and to shun the evil Inclination, 1-2; through it fell the mighty Men of old, the Watchers and their Children, 3-5; and all Flesh and also the Sons of Noah, 6-iv. 1.*

- 3 1 Now therefore, children, hearken unto me,
And I will open your eyes to see,
And to understand the works of God.
And to choose what He approveth,
And to reject what He hateth :
- 2 To walk uprightly in all His ways,
And not to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination
And (with) eyes (full) of fornication.

and Israelites exactly as in our text. According to Taanith 15 *b* these men had to arrange the proper prayers for the various days in order that the sacrifices might be favourably received. The head of this body was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6). In Taanith 27 *b* it is said that if these duties were not fulfilled heaven and earth would cease to exist (אלמלי מעמדות לא נתקיימו שמים וארץ). Again, in Bikk. iii. 2, these אנשי מעמד, whose chief was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6), are described as having to gather in the firstfruits from the districts under their charge. The country was divided into twenty-four districts, corresponding to the twenty-four orders of the Priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18). The chief city of each such division was called עיר של מעמד. This office existed among the Essenes, amongst whom the *ma'amad* constituted the district authority: see *Jewish Encyc.* v. 230. The *ma'amad* in our text was composed of Priests, Levites and Israelites, as we may fairly assume from the constitution of the party as a whole: cf. xvii. 2, 3, v. 7: it would thus consist of the same elements as the *ma'amad* in Taanith.

the number and exact statement of their periods, i.e. מספר ופרוש קציהם. This is very irregular Hebrew. It is found, however, three times in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. xi. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 16; Dan. i. 4. Perhaps the suffix in קציהם refers, as in Aramaic, to what follows לכל שני עולם. This construction may recur at the end of the verse: cf. also v. 1 *c* note.

exact statement, i.e. פרוש. Cf. פרשה in Esther iv. 7, x. 2. I have rendered the word פרוש variously as 'statement' (vi. 3), 'true interpretation' (ii. 10): פשרו (vi. 10) 'this means' &c.

that . . . have been, i.e. נהיות—referring to the past as in Sir. xlii. 19: so also Lagrange.

moreover whatsoever, i.e. עוד קה. So I punctuate the text ער מה. Lévi takes it to be the equivalent of the Syriac ערמא.

9. raised Him up. See i. 7.

called by name. Cf. vi. 2 note.

to leave a remnant. See i. 4 note.

fill the face of the earth (למלא פני תבל). From Isa. xxvii. 6.

10. And . . . He shall make them know. So we must render יודיעם i.e. יודיעם; for according to ix. 10 (B) the Messiah had not come when our author was writing. But the word משיחו may simply = 'His anointed one', in this case Zadok.

His Messiah. Cf. viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4; xviii. 8. See note on i. 7, where it is shown that the Messiah is distinct from 'the teacher of righteousness'.

His holy spirit. Contrast use of the phrase 'holy spirit' in vii. 12, viii. 20. Bacher here proposes to read 'by His holy spirit'.

in the true interpretation of his name. Possibly here the name of the Messiah hinted at may be הצדיק 'the Righteous One'. Cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6. As He is הצדיק, they are the הצדיקים as in 1 Enoch xxxviii. 3, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, &c.

their names. Cf. vi. 3.

them He hated He made to go astray. Cf. i. 10.

III. 1. open your eyes. Cf. ii. 1.

2. walk uprightly. Cf. i. 16 note.

to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה. If we take this line with the next, it would suggest that the writer had Num. xv. 39 in his mind לא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם אשמה. But our author has changed the construction.

the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. מחשבות יצר אשמה. The יצר אשמה is here equivalent to the

- 3 For many were led astray by them,
And mighty men of valour stumbled by them from of old [and until this day].
- 4 Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the **watchers** of heaven fell.
By **them** were they caught because they kept not the commandment of God.
- 5 And their children whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars
And whose bodies were like the mountains fell **thereby**.
- 6 All flesh that was on dry land perished **thereby**,
And they were as though they had not been.
- 7 Because they did their own will,
And kept not the commandment of their Maker,
Until His wrath was kindled against them.
- 4 1 By **them** went astray the sons of Noah and their families:
Because of **them** they were cut off.

יצר הרע alone has this meaning in Sir. xv. 14 ויתנהו ביד יצרו . . . ברא האדם = 'God created man . . . and put him into the hand of his inclination'. On the two inclinations see T. Asher i. 3 (note on my edition): 2 Baruch, pp. 92–3 (in my edition) and the literature referred to there.

eyes (full) of fornication. Reading עיני for עני with Schechter, who compares Sifre 35 a זונה עיניכם. We might compare Sir. xxvi. 9 πορνεία γυναῖκός ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν . . . γνωσθήσεται, and xxiii. 4; also T. Issach. vii. 2 'I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my eyes' and T. Benj. vi. 3; Prov. vi. 25; 2 Pet. ii. 14 ὀφθαλμοῦς . . . μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος. Lévi retains עני and compares Sir. xlii. 8 עינה בזנות and Eccles. i. 13. He renders 'l'attrait de la luxure'.

3. **many were led astray by them.** The 'them' refers apparently to the 'thoughts of the imagination'. We have close parallels to, if not the actual antecedents of, the text in Sir. ix. 8 ἐν κάλλει γυναῖκός πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν and T. Reub. iv. 7 'Many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be . . . noble . . . he bringeth reproach upon himself': T. Jud. xv. 2 'though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication'.

by them. The MS. reads בם, but both 'thoughts' and 'eyes' are feminine in Hebrew. Hence here and in the next line I emend בם into בהן. On the other hand, as not infrequently in the O.T., the masc. suffix may refer to these feminine substantives: see note on vii. 2, and Gesenius *Heb. Gram.*² § 135 o. In iii. 4 b, iv. 1 a b בה should be emended into בהן, or else into בו in all cases. If the latter, the suffix would refer to the evil inclination (i.e. the יצר).

4. The example of the fall of the Watchers through fornication is cited also in the T. Reub. v. 6–7.

walked in the stubbornness of their heart (בלכתם בשרירות לבם). Cf. Jer. xiii. 10, xxiii. 17. Our author is fond of this phrase in various forms. Thus here and in iv. 5, ix. 35 we have the phrase הלך בש" 'to walk in the stubbornness': in iv. 9 תור אחרי ש" 'to go about after the stubbornness': in ix. 18 בחר בש" 'to choose the stubbornness': and in ix. 27 פנה בש" 'to turn away in the stubbornness'.

watchers: i.e. עיירי emended by Schechter from עירי. See 1 Enoch vi–xvi and references.

By them: i.e. בהן (i.e. the thoughts of the evil inclination) emended from בה: or we may emend בה into בו and refer it to יצר. Cf. iv. 8.

kept not the commandment of God. Cf. iii. 7 b; iv. 2 b.

5. See 1 Enoch x. 9–10; xii–xvi; Jub. v. 9–11.

whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars (אשר כרום ארזים גבהם). From Amos ii. 9, save that our author reads 'loftiness' רים instead of 'height' גבה. On their height see 1 Enoch vii. 2.

thereby. Text reads כי which I have emended into בהן or בו. See v. 4.

6. **thereby.** Emended as in last line. Cf. Gen. vii. 22, 23.

they were as though, &c. From Obad. 16: cf. Job x. 19.

7. **did their own will** (or 'pleasure'). (Cf. iv. 10 a, c, v. 2 c), that is, they followed the evil inclination, or the thoughts of the evil inclination. See iii. 2, note.

did their own will, And kept not the commandment, &c. Cf. iv. 9 a, b, and contrast the conduct of Abraham iv. 2 b, c.

His wrath was kindled. See i. 17, note.

IV. 1. **By them.** MS. reads בם as in iii. 4 b, which I have emended into בהן. In both cases 'the thoughts of the imagination' are referred to. The same emendation is made in the next line. Of course it is possible that for בה we should read בו as in iv. 8, and thus refer directly to the *yēser* and not to the 'thoughts' of the *yēser* (or 'evil inclination'). Schechter thinks that for בה we should read ברם, and that the sin referred to is the eating of blood, but the whole context is against this.

went astray. Schechter has rightly emended תעי into תעו.

sons of Noah and their families. Cf. Gen. x. 32.

cut off. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 14.

IV. 2-9. *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob walked not after the evil Inclination of the Heart, 2-3; but the Sons of Israel did in Egypt and in the Wilderness and were punished accordingly, 4-9.*

- 2 Abraham did not walk in **them**,
And he was (recorded) friend because he kept the commandments of God,
And chose not the will of his own spirit.
- 3 And he delivered (the commandment) to Isaac and Jacob,
And they observed (it) and were recorded as friends of God,
And members of the covenant for ever.
- 4 The sons of Jacob went astray through them,
And they were punished **according to** their error.
- 5 And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart,
So that they took counsel against the commandments of God,
And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.
- 6 [And they eat blood], and He cut off their males in the desert (when He said) to them in Kadesh:
Go up and possess (the land, but they hardened) their spirit:
- 7 And they hearkened not unto the voice of their Maker
[The commandments of their **Teacher**] but murmured in their tents,
And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation:
- 8 And their children [perished by it
And their kings] were cut off by it,
And their mighty men perished by it,
And their land was made desolate by it.
- 9 By it the first that entered into the covenant incurred guilt,
And they were delivered unto the sword,

2. in **them**. MS. reads **בה** which I have emended into **בהן**. It could be emended into **בו** (i.e. 'the evil inclination') as proposed in note on iii. 3.

was (recorded) friend. Cf. Isa. xli. 8; Jub. xix. 9 'friend of God' (note): xxx. 21 'That they should fulfil (the covenant) and be recorded as friends': James ii. 23 *φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλήθη*. The MS. is defective here, reading according to Schechter **יע...הב**, which he reads as **יעשה אהב**; but comparing 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34, for the use of **עלה** in the sense of 'to be recorded', we should here, I think, restore the text as follows **יע(לה)הב**. If the *y* is uncertain, then we might read **יכתב** as in *v.* 3 *δ*, or **יקרא** as is implied in James ii. 23.

chose not the will of his own spirit. Contrast *v.* 9 *δ*.

3. recorded as friends. This phrase occurs in Jub. xxx. 21, where the text implies exactly the same Hebrew as here **יכתבו אהבים**.

members of the covenant. For the phrase **בעלי ברית** see Gen. xiv. 13.

4. through them. Read **בהן** or **בו** instead of **בם**. See *v.* 2 note.

according to. Reading **לפי** with Schechter for **לפני**.

5. stubbornness of their heart. See note on iii. 4.

did that which was right, &c. From Judges xvii. 6: cf. Deut. xii. 8: cf. ix. 17 *a*, *v.* 2 *c*, and contrast *v.* 2 *δ*, *c*.

6. The original form of this verse seems wholly lost.

[And they eat blood]. I have bracketed this as an interpolation.

eat blood. Cf. 1 Enoch vii. 5; Jub. vi. 9, 12, 13; vii. 28, 29, &c.

(when He said) to them... (the land, but they hardened) their spirit. I have with Lévi supplied the words in brackets. **את הארץ ויקשו** from a comparison of Deut. i. 21, 46; Ps. cvi. 33.

7. and they hearkened... Maker (**לשמוע לקול עשיהם**). From Ps. cvi. 25 save for the change of **יהוה** into **עשיהם**. It is possible that the choice of the latter divine name is due to the fact that it rhymes with **באהליהם** in the next line.

the commandments of their Teacher. For **יוריהם** I read with Lévi **מוריהם**.

murmured in their tents. From Ps. cvi. 25.

wrath of God was kindled against their congregation. Cf. Ps. cvi. 40.

8. The tristich can be restored by excising 'perished by it and their kings' as an interpolation, or a dittograph of line 3. The reference to 'kings' at this period would be an anachronism.

their land was made desolate by it. From Jer. xii. 11. A strange statement in regard to this period.

9. By it, i.e. **בו**. This must mean the evil inclination as in iii. 4 *δ*, iv. 1, &c.

the first that entered into the covenant. The Israelites at Sinai.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

Because they forsook the covenant of God :

- 10 And they chose their own will,
And went about after the stubbornness of their heart,
Every man doing his own will.

V. *God confirms the Covenant with the faithful through fresh Revelations, 1-3; when Israel transgressed again God forgave them, 4-6; and confirmed His Covenant with them through Ezekiel, 6-7.*

- 5 1 But with them that held fast by the commandments of God,
[Who were left of them],
God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever,
Revealing unto them the hidden things
Wherein all Israel had erred :
- 2 His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals,
His righteous testimonies and His true ways,
And the desires of His will [the which if a man do, he shall live by them] He opened before them.
- 3 And they digged a well of many waters :
And he that despises them shall not live.
- 4 But they wallowed in the transgression of man,
And in the ways of the unclean woman,
And they said that †it belongs to us†.
- 5 But God wondrously pardoned their sins,
And forgave their transgression,

forsook the covenant of God : And they chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *ab*.

10. chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 5 *c*, 10 *c*.

went about after. The rare construction תור אחרי which occurs here is found in Num. xv. 39, which we know was in the mind of the author when writing iii. 2 *bc*. See iii. 4 note.

stubbornness of their heart. Cf. iii. 4 note.

Every man doing, &c. See iv. 10 *a* note. Cf. Esther i. 8 'to do according to each man's pleasure'.

V. 1. that held fast by, &c., i.e. מְחֻיָּקִים בּ. Cf. ix. 4, 12, 50; Prov. iii. 18; Isa. lvi. 4; T. Naph. iii. 1.

[Who were left of them]: i.e. The Remnant. Cf. i. 4 *b*, note. But it appears to be an interpolation.

the covenant of Israel. I have, with some hesitation, so rendered בְּרִיתוֹ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל—an Aramaism, such as we find in ii. 8. But לְיִשְׂרָאֵל may be a gloss. In that case we should render 'His covenant'. Schechter gives the natural rendering 'His covenant with Israel', but this does not go properly with the preceding line.

the hidden things: i.e. those in the next verse.

2. His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals, &c. It is not improbable that the writer refers here to the Book of Jubilees: cf. i. 14 'they shall go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances'. In vi. 33, 34 it is said that, if Israel neglects to observe the right reckoning of the years, 'they will disturb all their seasons . . . and they will neglect their ordinances . . . and . . . the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths'; in vi. 38 'they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons, and sabbaths, and festivals': and in xxiii. 19 'they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months (? 'new moons', i.e. חֲרָשִׁים), and sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgements'.

the which if a man do, &c. Bracketed as an interpolation from Lev. xviii. 5.

opened before them: i.e. פָּתַח לְפָנֵיהֶם. Cf. Luke xxiv. 32 διηγοῦμεν . . . τὰς γραφάς.

3. digged a well, studied or rather restudied the Law. See viii. 4-6; ix. 28.

4. wallowed . . . in the ways of the unclean woman. Cf. ix. 15 *b*.

transgression of man. Cf. Prov. xxix. 6.

†it belongs to us†, i.e. לָנוּ הֵיא.

5. wondrously. The MS. reads בְּרוֹי פֶּלְאוּ. Schechter emends the first word into בְּרוּב and renders 'in the abundance of His wonder'. But this gives no sense. I emend the phrase into נִפְלְאוֹת, which gives a possible sense. Or comparing xvi. 1 (גְּבוּרוֹת פֶּלְאוּ) it is not improbable that the text read בְּרַחְמֵי פֶּלְאוּ 'by His wondrous mercy'. See text xvi. 2.

pardoned, i.e. כִּפֶּר בְּעַר. This phrase with God as the subject is derived from 2 Chron. xxx. 18. This subject recurs frequently: cf. ii. 3, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8.

forgave (וַיִּשַׁח לַפְשָׁעִים). Cf. ii. 3, xvi. 2.

transgression: cf. ii. 3.

And He built them a sure house in Israel [the like of which never arose from of old nor until this day].

- 6 They who hold fast to Him are for the life of eternity,
And all the glory of man is for them;
As God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel the prophet, saying:
- 7 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of **My** Sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from them, they shall bring near unto Me fat and blood.'

VI. *Migration of the Penitents to Damascus. Sons of Zadok hold office in the end of the Days*, 1-3.
Law to be obeyed and relations with Judah broken off in the Period in which Belial is let loose, 4-12.

- 6 1 The priests are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah: and (the
2 Levites are) they who joined them. And the sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel called by
3 the name, that are holding office in the end of the days. Behold the statement of their names
according to their generations, and the period of their office, and the number of their afflictions,
and the years of their sojournings, and the statement of their works.

- 4 The first saints whom God pardoned,
Both justified the righteous,
And condemned the wicked.

- 5 And all they who come after them must do according to the interpretation of the Law,
In which the forefathers were instructed
Until the consummation of the period of these years.

- 6 In accordance with the covenant which God established with the forefathers

built them a sure house (ויבן להם בית נאמן). The phrase is found in 1 Sam. ii. 35, 1 Kings xi. 38. The sure house is the pontifical dynasty of Zadok.
[the like of which . . . this day]. An interpolation.

6. They who hold fast. For phrase, cf. v. 1 a. This line shows that the author believes in a blessed immortality.

7. This verse, which is in prose, is a quotation from Ezek. xlv. 15: והכהנים והלויים אשר שמו את משמרתם . . . להקריב לי חלב ודם מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל מעלי המה יקרבו אלי. The most important divergence in our text from the Massoretic is the insertion of an 'and' before 'the Levites' and an 'and' after them. But the first 'and' our author probably found in his text; for it is attested in the Syriac and Vulgate Versions, though it is absent (and rightly) from the LXX. The second 'and' may be due to our author. Our author reproduces the above quotation as follows: והכהנים והלויים ובני צדוק אשר שמו את משמרת מקדשו בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם. Here מקדשו is clearly a clerical error for מקדשי and so I have translated.

VI. 1. the penitents. We should here punctuate שבי as שְׁבִי 'penitents': cf. ii. 3; viii. 6; ix. 24 (A & B). Cf. Isa. i. 27 שביה and lix. 20 שבי פשע ביעקב. It could also be punctuated שְׁבִי 'captivity' with Schechter. But the former seems right. The New Covenant was one of repentance: cf. ix. 15 (B).

Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah. Cf. viii. 6. This migration to Damascus possibly took place somewhere about 170 B. C. See notes on i. 6, viii. 1-10.

and they who joined them; i. e. והנלוים עמהם. These words denote the Levites; for our author carefully distinguishes the Priests and the Levites, xv. 5, 6. The word הנלוים 'who joined' seems to be a play on the words 'the Levites' in v. 7. I have restored the words in brackets.

2. The Zadokites are the spiritual successors of the 'penitents', but they were not to be known by this name apparently till 'the end of the days'—long after 176 B. C. in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness. See *Intro.* § 10. iv.

called by the name. קריאי השם. Cf. ii. 9 'called by name'.

that are holding office (i. e. העמדים). We have elsewhere in our text מעמד = 'office'.

in the end of the days, i. e. באחרית הימים. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Dan. xii. 13.

3. This verse appears to refer to some record or apocalypse no longer existing in the text.

statement of their names (פרוש שמותיהם). See ii. 10 b. On this meaning of פרוש see ii. 8.

the period of their office (קץ מעמדם). Cf. ii. 8, where the corresponding phrase is 'years of (their) office'.

4. The first saints, i. e. הקדושים הראשונים. This seems the simplest restoration. Lagrange reads הקדושים and renders: 'they sanctified the years when God pardoned them', and takes the words as referring to the first period of the sect—the reign of the Saints. Schechter emends הקדוש שונים into הראשונים.

justified, &c. Contrast i. 14.

5-6. They were to act according to a certain interpretation of the law to a certain time limit. God will forgive the followers of Zadok as He forgave the forefathers.

5. must do, i. e. לעשות.

In order to pardon their sins,
So shall God make atonement for them.

7 And on the consummation of the period [of the number] of these years
They shall no more join themselves to the house of Judah,
But shall every one stand up against his net.

8 The wall shall have been built,
The boundary been far removed.

9 And during all these years Belial shall be let loose against Israel, as God spake through Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amos, saying: 'Fear and the pit and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant of the land.' This means the three nets of Belial, concerning which Levi the son of Jacob spake, by which he caught Israel and directed their faces to three kinds of †righteousness†. The first is fornication, the second is the wealth (of wickedness), the third is the pollution of the Sanctuary.

6. In order to pardon, &c. Cf. v. 5 note.

7. When the limit of time referred to in v. 5 was reached, they should break off relations with Judah and withstand its overtures. I have bracketed 'of the number' as an explanatory gloss on 'of the period' (הקין). See v. 5 c.

They shall no more join themselves (אין עוד להשתפח). Cf. Isa. xiv. 1.

8. The wall shall have been built, The boundary been far removed (i.e. נבנתה הגדר רחוק החוק). These words are derived from Mic. vii. 11 'In one day thy walls shall be built, in that day thy boundary shall be far removed' (יום לבנות גדרך יום ההוא ירחק חק). I have here, as in Micah, rendered חוק by 'boundary', but it may mean 'statute' or 'decree'. If the above rendering is right, then the sense is that the community will at the end of these years of trouble be securely established and its boundaries extended afar.

9. during all these years. The words refer apparently to the time of the Antichrist.

Belial shall be let loose. Cf. Jubilees i. 20 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people... and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them... to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness': xv. 33: T. Reub. ii. 2 (β). This name for Satan has disappeared from Talmudic literature.

Fear and the pit, &c. Quoted from Isa. xxiv. 17.

10. This means. Literally, 'its explanation is'.

the three nets of Belial. According to our author (v. 11) these three are: fornication, wealth, and pollution of the Sanctuary. This enumeration is not found elsewhere, so far as I know, but a list of three deadly sins is found several times in Jewish literature. In Jubilees vii. 20 they are fornication, uncleanness and iniquity. 'Owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth' (vii. 21). These words of Jubilees may have been in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote: 'No fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man... hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God... for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience' (Eph. v. 5-6). According to the Ber. rabba 31, the three causes of the flood were idolatry, incest and murder.

Levi the son of Jacob spake. The words attributed to Levi are not found in the Test. Levi. In ix. 9, however, of that Testament the priests are charged with fornication and pollution of the holy place—two of the deadly sins mentioned here. Further, in v. 16 of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an original source of this Testament Isaac warns Levi and his sons against fornication and uncleanness (see my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 229). Finally, in Test. Lev. xiv. 5-6, the priests are accused of stealing the sacrifices, of covetousness, fornication, and profaning the priesthood and polluting the sacrifices, xvi. 1. Cf. also T. Reub. iv. 7, 11, vi. 3; T. Sim. v. 3; T. Jos. vii. 1; Jub. vii. 21, xx. 3, 5, 6, xxiii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, l. 5.

by which he caught Israel and directed their faces (אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם). The agent is here Belial. The phraseology, on the other hand, is in part borrowed, as Schechter observes, from Ezek. xiv. 4, 5, where it is said that God 'catches' Israel. This change of agent is typical in later Judaism. The Hebrew of Ezekiel is: ומכשול עונו ישים נכח פניו... למען תפש את בית ישראל.

†righteousness†. The text undoubtedly reads צדק here, but it seems to me to be a slip of a scribe for עולה. Hence read 'wickedness'.

11. The first sin, i.e. fornication, is dealt with in vii. 1-7; in vii. 8-17 the third—the pollution of the Sanctuary. The second is referred to in viii. 12; ix. 14.

wealth (הון). In Test. Lev. xiv. 6 the Sadducean priests are charged with 'covetousness,' i.e. πλεονεξία, which in the LXX is the rendering for בצע. If the text is original, our author, like a fanatic, makes, not the sinful desire, but the object of the desire a sinful thing in itself. In Jubilees xxiii. 21, where the writer is speaking of the Hellenizing priesthood in the time of the early Maccabees, he states that 'they will exalt themselves to deceit and wealth (i.e. wealth won by wrong)... and they will defile the holy of holies... with... the corruption of their pollution'. Here unrighteous gain is said to be the object of the priesthood. And so it appears to be in our text. For in viii. 12 we have 'the polluted wealth of wickedness' (הון הרשעה הטמא) and in ix. 14 'the wealth of wickedness'; also in 1 Enoch ciii. 5 'your sinfully acquired wealth', lxiii. 10 'our unrighteous gains', and see Luke xvi. 9 μαμωνά τῆς ἀδικίας. Hence I have restored 'of wickedness' (הרשעה) to the text. Cf. Targ. on Isa. v. 23 ממוֹן דשקר.

- 12 He that cometh up from this shall be caught by that, and he that escapeth from this shall be caught by that.

VII. 1-7. *The Sin of Fornication. Divorce forbidden.*

- 7 1 The builders of the wall who walk after law—the law it is which talks, of which He said: Assuredly they shall talk—are caught [by two] by fornication in taking two wives during their life-
2, 3 time. But the fundamental principle of the creation is 'Male and Female created He them.' And
4 they who went into the Ark, 'Two and two went into the Ark.' And as to the prince it is written,
5 'He shall not multiply wives unto himself.' But David read not in the Book of the Law that was
sealed, which was in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar and
6 Joshua, and the Elders who served Ashtaroth. And it was hidden (and was not) discovered until
7 Zadok arose. Now they glorified the deeds of David save only the blood of Uriah, and God
†abandoned them to him†.

VII. 8-18. *The Sin of polluting the Sanctuary.*

- 8 And they also pollute the Sanctuary since they separate not according to the Law, and lie with
9 her who sees the blood of her issue. And they take (to wife) each his brother's daughter or his

the pollution of the Sanctuary. I have here, of course, followed Schechter's emendation of טמא into טמאת. The profanation of the sanctuary by the priesthood is a very frequent accusation in the O.T. Cf. Zeph. iii. 4 'her priests have polluted the sanctuary': also 1 Sam. ii. 12, 17, 22; Ezek. xxii. 26, xlv. 7, 8, &c.

12. He that cometh up from this shall be caught (יתפש) by that, &c. Our author returns to Isa. xxiv. 17 from which he had drawn the quotation in v. 9. The present words are not a quotation but are based on Isa. xxiv. 18 'He who fleeth (הִפָּס) from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he who cometh up (העולה) out of the midst of the pit shall be taken (יִלְכָּד) in the snare'. These words are reproduced in Jer. xlviii. 44. It will be observed that whereas the participle 'he that cometh up' (העולה) has a fitness in Isaiah as applying to 'the pit' it has lost this fitness in our context.

VII. 1. This verse seems to be directed against the Pharisees and their exposition of the Law. The text seems hopeless בוני החוץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הוה הוא מטיפ אמר הטף יטיפו. בוני החוץ is to be emended into החיץ as in ix. 21, 26 (B). The phrase בוני החיץ 'builders of the wall', is borrowed from Ezek. xiii. 10. It recurs in ix. 21, 26. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ix. 21. Possibly צו is corrupt for שוא in both cases. If so, we might translate: 'the builders of the wall who walk after vanity (cf. Hos. v. 11, LXX, Syr.)—the vanity it is which talks of which it is said: &c.' Lévi retains the text and translates: 'Les bâtisseurs de murailles, qui poursuivent çaw (les lois)—et çaw, c'est le bavardage à propos duquel il est dit: "ils ne font que bavarder"—ont été pris dans deux.' [by two], i.e. בשתיים a dittograph from the שתי following.

two wives during their lifetime. Schechter is of opinion that the text is 'not only directed against polygamy but also against divorce which certain Jewish sects forbade'. This is probably right though the suffix, i.e. 'their', is masc.—בהייהם—and if taken strictly would refer to the men. But not infrequently in the O.T. the masc. suffix is used in reference to feminine nouns: cf. Ruth iv. 11 שתייהם referring to Rachel and Leah: see Gesenius *Gram.* § 135 o. But the reference to David in v. 7 would imply that we have here to do with polygamy only.

2. fundamental principle, i.e. יסוד.

Male and Female, &c. From Gen. i. 27. Cf. Matt. xix. 4; Mark x. 7. As Schechter points out, Aboth d' R. Nathan, p. 5 a, uses the same argument against polygamy but does not give the verse.

4. The word for prince here is נשיא, which is used by Ezekiel. Lévi thinks that it is chosen instead of 'king' to belittle the Davidic dynasty.

He shall not multiply, &c. From Deut. xvii. 17.

5. The explanation of David's polygamy.

Joshua. The text has here a dittograph ויושע ויושע.

served Ashtaroth. Judges ii. 13.

6. And it was hidden (and was not) discovered. Here I follow Schechter's emendation of ויטמון נגלה into ויטמון (ולא) נגלה.

Zadok. Some ancient worthy, but who he was cannot be determined.

7. Our author clearly disapproves of the praise of David in 1 Kings xv. 5, which seems to have been in his thoughts.

glorified (or extolled), i.e. יעלו. Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6 for this use of the verb. It is a Talmudic use also. Schechter emends יעלו into יעלימו, i.e. 'concealed'.

abandoned them to him. Does this mean: abandoned Israel to the sway and example of David?

8. separate. Here מבריל must of necessity be changed into מברלים.

blood of her issue (דם זובה). Cf. Lev. xv. 19. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with similarly profaning the altar and temple, ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ ἐν ἀφ᾽ ἑδρα αἵματος ἐμίανον τὰς θυσίας. But the charge here is brought against the Pharisees.

9. brother's. For אחיהם read אחיהו. There is no need for the two changes made by Schechter.

- 10 sister's daughter. But Moses said 'Thou shalt not approach thy mother's sister: she is thy
 11 mother's near kin'. So the law of intercourse for males is written, and the same law holds for
 females; and let **not** the daughter of the brother uncover the nakedness of the brother of her
 father: he is near of kin.
 12 They also polluted their holy spirit and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened the mouth
 13 against the statutes of the covenant of God, saying: They are not established. But abominations
 they speak regarding them.
 14 They are all 'kindlers of fire
 And setters aflame of firebrands':
 15 'The webs of spiders' are their weavings
 And 'the eggs of cockatrices' are their eggs:
 16 He who comes near them shall not be innocent:
He that chooseth them shall be held guilty [unless he was forced].
 17 Aforetime God visited their works,
 And His wrath was kindled because of their devices.
 18 For 'it is a people of no understanding':
 'They are a nation void of counsel,'
 [Because there is no understanding in them].
 19 For aforetime arose Moses and Aaron through the prince of the Lights. But Belial raised
 Jochanneh and his brother with his evil device when **the former** delivered Israel.

10. Thou shalt not . . . kin (i.e. אל אחות אמן לא תקרב שאר אמן היא). This is a free reproduction of Lev. xviii. 13 ערות אחות אמן לא תגלה כי שאר אמן הוא cf. Jebam. 55 *ab*.

11. intercourse, i.e. הערייה—a Rabbinic term.

let **not** the daughter of the brother, &c. The text reads ואם 'and if' which I have emended into ואל 'and let not'. This argument that, if a man must not marry his aunt, a woman must not marry her uncle is found among the Caraites, but it is earlier. Similar reasoning is attributed to the Sadducees in Baba Bathra 115 *b*, Megillat Taanith 5.

12. their holy spirit, i.e. רוח קדשיהם. Cf. viii. 2 note. Late Hebrew Test. Naph. x. 9 (in my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* p. 227), 'Blessed is he who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it to him.' Schechter compares Wertheimer, ii. 14 בתי מדרשות אשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו.

They are not established (לא נכונים). This passage is directed against the Pharisees, who by their casuistry set at naught the Law.

14. all kindlers of fire . . . firebrands (כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות). These words are drawn from Isa. l. 11 כלכם קדחי אש מאורי זיקות לכו . . . בזיקות בערתם. though with a change.

15. The webs of spiders. From Isa. lix. 4.

the eggs of cockatrices. From Isa. lix. 4.

16. **He that chooseth them**. The text reads the unintelligible כהר ביתו יאשם. Schechter emends the first word into כחרם. Thus we have: 'like a thing accursed shall his house be guilty.' But the parallelism points in a different direction. יאשם 'shall be held guilty' is right; for it corresponds to 'shall not be innocent' in the previous line. We require now a parallel to 'he that cometh near them'—in other words, we expect a participle behind כהר, i.e. בחר. בחר is there corrupt for בהם. Thus we arrive at the above. Lévi suggests the change of כהר into מהר = 'speedily', and renders 'bientôt sa maison est vouée à la destruction' and is herein followed by Lagrange, but neither this clause nor yet the clause which follows admits readily of the meaning they attach to them.

unless he was forced (כי אם נלחץ). An obvious gloss. The words כי אם that follow are with Schechter to be rejected as a dittograph. Lévi and Lagrange: 'assuredly it will be destroyed' (referring to the 'house').

18. The first line is verbally drawn from Isa. xxvii. 11. The second and third lines are from Deut. xxxii. 28, but the last line, which I have bracketed as a gloss, diverges slightly, i.e. ואין בהם תבונה whereas Deut. xxxii. 28 has ואין בהם תבונה.

19. This verse seems to have no connexion either with what precedes or what follows.

prince of the Lights, i.e. שר האורים. This may be the angel Uriel who, according to 1 Enoch, was set over the lights of heaven. Schechter suggests that we should read פנים for אורים. We should then have 'the prince of the Presence' who succoured Moses, against Mastema (i.e. Belial) Jub. xlvi. 2, 9.

Belial, i.e. Satan: cf. ix. 12.

Jochanneh and his brother. These are the two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, mentioned in 2 Tim. iii. 8, who withstood Moses, Exod. vii. 11 sq. In Menachoth 85 *a* they are called יוחני וממרה. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2327 sqq.

when the former delivered Israel. The text reads בהושע ישראל את הראשונה. Schechter emends את

VIII. *When the Land was laid desolate God would raise up wise men who would restudy the Law and go in Exile to Damascus, 1-5; and according to its Precepts the repentant ones should walk till the Teacher of Righteousness arose (i.e. after 176 B.C.), 7-10.*

- 8 ¹ And during the period of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the landmark
² and led Israel astray. And the land became desolate because they spake rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses [and also through His holy anointed one], and they prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from God.
- 3 But God remembered the covenant with the forefathers :
 And He raised up from Aaron men of understanding,
 And from Israel wise men :
- 4 And He made them to hearken,
 And they digged the well.
- 5 'A well the princes digged,
 The nobles of the people delved it
 By the order of the Lawgiver.'
- 6 The well is the Law, and they who digged it are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes.
- 7, 8 For they sought Him and His glory was not turned back in the mouth of one (of them). And the Lawgiver is he who studies the Law, in regard to whom Isaiah said, 'He bringeth forth an instrument

into עת and renders 'when I. was delivered for the first time'. But this would require העת. I emend as follows: בְּהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל הָרְאשׁוֹנִים. On this order of object and subject, cf. Gen. iv. 15; Joshua xiv. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 29; Isa. xx. 1, &c. The error arose through the transposition of the אֶת. 'The former' are of course 'Moses and Aaron'. Here Lévi and Lagrange render אֶת הָרְאשׁוֹנִים 'pour la première fois'!

VIII. 1-10. The period here referred to seems to be the same as 'the period of wrath' in i. 5 when evil men arose who rebelled against the commandments of God (v. 2). But God raised up men of understanding, who studied the law (4-5) and went forth out of the land of Judah to Damascus (6). In this law and its precepts they should walk till the Teacher of righteousness arose (10). We have already seen (see i. 7 note) that this teacher was raised up 'in the period of the wrath' (i. 5), which began or prevailed about 196 B. C. In v. 10 this period is called 'the end of the days'.

1. the period of the destruction of the land. See i. 5 and preceding note.

who removed the landmark. Cf. i. 11 note; ix. 13, 49. These wicked leaders may be the Hellenizers if the date is early, or the Pharisees if it is late. Perhaps the same as 'the scornful man' spoken of in i. 10; for he 'talked to Israel lying words and made them go astray' (i. 10; cf. viii. 2, 1) so that they 'should remove the landmark' (i. 11; cf. viii. 1).

2. the land became desolate, i. e. through the Syrians.

spake rebellion. Cf. xiv. 5 (i.e. דִּבְרוּ סִרָּה). From Deut. xiii. 6.

and also through His holy anointed one. If these words are genuine they may refer, as Lévi suggests, to Aaron. Moses and Aaron would in this case be conceived as the revealers of God's commands. But since the text reads וְגַם בְּמִשְׁחֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ it would be more natural to translate 'and also through His holy Messiah': cf. ix. 10 (B), 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. See note on i. 7. There is a difficulty with regard to this phrase in ii. 10.

3. remembered the covenant, &c. Cf. i. 4 note.

Aaron . . . and Israel. Cf. ix. 10 (B); xv. 4; xviii. 8. Schechter may be right in deducing from this verse (viii. 3) the conclusion that the Zadokite Party 'insisted that the lay element should be represented in all important functions'.

made . . . to hearken. The text reads יִשְׁמְעוּ, which with Schechter I have emended into יִשְׁמִיעֵם. Bacher retains the text and translates 'assembled them' (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 4).

the well. Cf. v. 3. The well is the Law (v. 6).

5. From Num. xxi. 18.

the Lawgiver (i.e. הַמְּחַוֵּק). A very narrow definition is given to the Lawgiver in v. 8. He is 'a student of the Law'. It is quite in keeping with the absolute autocracy of the Law. The Lawgiver (viii. 8, 9) is in ix. 8 called 'the Star', whose duties are described in the same terms.

6. the penitents of Israel . . . land of Judah. Cf. vi. 1.

land of Damascus. Cf. v. 15; ix. 5, 28, 37.

7. His glory. The text reads הוֹשִׁבָּה פִּאֲרֵתָם (= 'their bough was . . . turned back') which I take to be corrupt for הוֹשִׁבָּה תִּפְאִרְתּוֹ = 'His glory was . . . turned back'. This term is used frequently of God in the O.T.

8. the Lawgiver, i.e. הַמְּחַוֵּק. He appears to have been the founder of the Party at Damascus.

studies the Law, i.e. דֹּרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה.

He bringeth forth, &c. From Isa. liv. 16.

9 for his work.' And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well by the precepts in the which the Lawgiver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the wickedness.
10 And save them they shall get nothing until there arises the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of the days.

VIII. 11-20. *Conditions under which they can act as Priests in the Sanctuary.*

- 11 And none who have entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar but they shall shut the doors concerning whom God said,
'O that there was one among you to shut the doors,
So that ye might not vainly kindle the fire upon My altar,'
12 Unless they observe to do according to the true meaning of the Law until the period of the wickedness, and to sever themselves from the children of the pit, and to hold aloof from the polluted wealth of wickedness under a vow and a curse, and from the wealth of the Sanctuary:

9. in the which. The text reads *במה* . . . *אשר* an obvious corruption for *א" בהם*.
period of the wickedness. Cf. *v. 12*. In Ezek. xxi. 30 we have 'the time of the wickedness of the end' (*עת עון קץ*).

wickedness. The text reads *רשעי* which I have emended into *רשעה*. This phrase refers to the kingdom of wickedness (*מלכות הרשעה*) as opposed to the coming Messianic kingdom.

10. From the founding of the Party till the teacher of righteousness arose, i. e. after 196 B. C., no new teaching or light should be given. See note on viii. 1-10.

until there arises, &c. Cf. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65 for a like idea.

the Teacher of Righteousness, i. e. *יורה הצדק*. See i. 7 note.

11-20. These verses form one sentence, in which the conditions are given, on the fulfilment of which the priests can administer their office in the Temple.

11. And none who have entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary, i. e. *וכל אשר הובאו* I have here, as Schechter suggests, emended *הובאו* into *באו*. As regards the translation, there are two possible ways. I have, with Schechter, given the above rendering, but Lévi, citing Jer. xxxiv. 10 *לבלתי עבר בם* . . . *אשר באו בברית לשלח איש את עברו* . . . *כל השרים* and 2 Chron. xv. 12, insists that we must connect the words as in these passages. If this is necessary the translation would run: 'And all those who had entered the covenant not to enter the Sanctuary to kindle His altar, and had shut the doors.' But, if we accept Lévi's rendering, the connexion and grammar of the entire passage are destroyed. In order to carry it out, Lévi is obliged to render *לא אם* as 'because . . . not' (!) in *v. 12*, and to make *vv. 11-20* a *nominativus pendens*, which does not find a predicate to *v. 21*, and which, when it is resumed in *v. 21*, has quite changed its meaning! Lagrange accepts Lévi's suggestion but avoids rendering *לא אם* as Lévi has done. He rightly takes these words as meaning 'unless'. But the passage then becomes no more intelligible in his hands. *v. 11* is a *nom. pendens* which is apparently explained in *v. 12*, which forms the beginning of a long protasis extending from *v. 12* to *v. 20*, and then ends without an apodosis. He tries to get over these difficulties by suggesting that *לא אם* forms the beginning of an oath. But there is nothing in the text to suggest such an idea.

Hence I conclude that if the passage is to be construed intelligibly, it is to be taken as I have given it. The apodosis of the sentence comes first in *v. 11*, and the protasis follows in 12-20. For another long sentence where the protasis consists of four verses, see ix. 50-54. No priest of the Zadokite party is to take part in the Temple services (*v. 11*), unless he fulfils the conditions laid down in 12-20. In case the Zadokite priests fulfil these conditions, they are in *v. 21* given the assurance of an everlasting covenant.

none . . . shall enter, i. e. *לבלתי בוא* . . . *כל*. This construction recurs in vi. 5, 7 (*bis*), ix. 2, 12, x. 1, xx. 7.

none . . . shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar. These words refer to the Temple in Jerusalem: cf. *v. 12* where the wealth of the Sanctuary is spoken of, and i. 3 note.

have entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

doors. Text reads *דלתו* corrupt for *דלתים* as also in the quotation that follows.

O that . . . upon My altar. From Mal. i. 10, save that our text omits *גם* and by a slip puts *דלתו* for *דלתים*. That it is the Temple in Jerusalem that our text refers to follows inevitably from this quotation.

12. observe to do. Cf. Deut. xii. 1.

until the period of the wickedness, i. e. *לקץ הרשע*. Perhaps *קץ* should here have its ordinary meaning of 'end'. Cf. *v. 9*.

children of the pit, *בני השחת*. Cf. Jub. x. 3, xv. 26, where the phrase denotes those who refuse circumcision. In xvi. 7 it undoubtedly means the uncircumcised. In Ezek. xxx. 24, &c. 'Sheol' or 'the pit' (*בור*) xxxii. 29 or שחת xxviii. 8) is spoken of as the final habitation of the uncircumcised.

to hold aloof . . . under a vow and a curse, i. e. to take a vow to separate themselves and invoke a curse on themselves in case they failed.

to hold aloof, i. e. *להזנר*. Cf. Num. vi. 2, 5, 12. The form *להזנר* is found in viii. 18.

the polluted wealth of wickedness. See note on vi. 11.

- 13 And in respect to robbing the poor of His people,
So that widows may be their spoil,
And they may murder the fatherless:
- 14 And to make a difference between the clean and the unclean and to make men discern between
15 the holy and the profane: And to observe the Sabbath according to its true meaning and the
feasts and the day of the Fast according to the utterances of them who entered into the New
16 Covenant in the land of Damascus: To contribute their holy things according to the true inter-
17 pretation: To love every one his brother as himself, and to strengthen the hand of the poor
18 and the needy and the stranger, and to seek every one the peace of his brother: To hold aloof
from harlots according to the law: and that no man should commit a trespass against his next
19 of kin: To rebuke every one his brother according to the commandment, and not to bear a grudge
20 from day to day, and to separate from all the pollutions according to their judgements. And no man

to hold aloof... from the wealth of the Sanctuary. Can this be a pregnant expression for 'to hold aloof... from robbing the wealth, &c.'? If so, we might compare Test. Lev. xiv. 5 'The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion ye shall steal choice portions'. The chief Pharisee of the time of Jannaeus, i. e. Simon ben Shetach, is said to have appropriated to his own use half the offerings of 300 Nazarites. See Schürer³, i. 279 sq. But the text may mean that the priests of the Party are not to avail themselves of the wealth of the Temple.

from the wealth, &c. Reading מהון instead of בהון. In vi. 11 (see note) evilly-acquired wealth is spoken of. The same charge appears here to be brought against the wealth of the Sanctuary. If this is so, the Sanctuary in question cannot be the sanctuary of the Party; for they would not in any case admit that its (small) wealth was of this nature. Hence the text can only refer to the Temple in Jerusalem.

13. in respect to robbing... the fatherless. This verse is a quotation from Isa. x. 2 ולגזול משפט עניי but our author omits משפט and changes יבזו into ירצחו, which, as Lévi observes, is drawn from Ps. xciv. 6 ויתומים ירצחו.

in respect to robbing. The text reads לגזול and I have translated accordingly, but this may be corrupt for מגזול = 'from robbing'.

14. This verse is a quotation from Ezek. xxii. 26, save that our author has transposed the two verbs and read: ולהבריל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול. In connecting הבריל with the first clause he may have been influenced by Lev. xi. 47 which does so.

15. the day of the Fast, i. e. the Day of Atonement.

utterances. The text reads מצא which I take to be corrupt for מוצא. But Schechter is possibly right in emending it into מצות = 'command'.

the New Covenant. Cf. ix. 28, 37. See note on ii. 1. The phrase appears to be derived from Jer. xxxi. 31. It was called 'new' because it was a covenant based on repentance, ix. 15 (B) (ברית תשובה). This involved a spiritual transformation, and corresponds to the words in Jer. xxxi. 33 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it'.

the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

16. contribute, i. e. להרים.

their holy things (הקדשים). These words may refer to the tithes of the oxen and the sheep. These are mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6 only, but were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, &c.). The literal tithing of the oxen and sheep is maintained in Jub. xxxii. 15 (see my note in loc.), but Rabbinic tradition sought to make it out as merely a tithe of the yearly increase.

17. To love... as himself, i. e. לאהוב איש את אחיו כמו. In Lev. xix. 18 we have 'neighbour' instead of 'brother'. The question arises here, who is 'the brother'? In Judaism it was always limited to fellow countrymen, and the context here favours this idea. See the Test. Twelve Patr. for the noblest pre-Christian enforcement of this duty: T. Sim. iv. 7; T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6; T. Gad iv. 2, vi. 1, 3, vii. 7; T. Benj. ii. 3, iii. 3, 4.

to strengthen... needy (להחזיק ביד עני ואביון). From Ezek. xvi. 49.

seek... the peace (לדרוש את שלום). Cf. Deut. xxiii. 6, 7; Jer. xxix. 7.

18. I have transposed the two clauses of this verse.

harlots. For זנות we should perhaps read זנות 'fornication' with Schechter. Cf. iii. 2, vii. 2.

his next of kin (i. e. שאר בשרו). Cf. ix. 17; Lev. xviii. 6, xxv. 49.

19. rebuke... his brother (לחוכיח את אחיו). The commandment is in Lev. xix. 17 תכיח את אחיתך. Cf. x. 2, 5 of our text.

not to bear a grudge. Cf. ix. 16, x. 1 note.

to separate from all the pollutions. Cf. Ezra vi. 21.

20. no man shall make abominable his holy spirit, i. e. לא ישקן איש את רוח קדשו. This is clearly a reproduction of Lev. xx. 25 with a change of phrase: 'Ye shall not make your souls abominable'. See our text xiv. 12. Thus the 'spirit' (רוח=πνεῦμα) is for our author identical with the soul (נפש=ψυχή) alike in essence and function as in 1 Enoch xxii. 3, 5 &c. See my Eschatology, 195, sq. See vii. 12 note.

shall make abominable (with these) his holy spirit, according as God separated (these) from them.
 21 As for all those who walk in these things in the perfection of holiness according to all the ordinances, the covenant of God

Text A.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them to a thousand generations.

Text B.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them for thousands of generations. As it is written, 'Who keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations.'

IX. 1. *The Law as to binding and loosing.*

9 1 And if they settle in camps according to the order of the land and take wives and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law, and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son'.

And if they settle in camps according to the 9 1 statutes of the land which were from of old and take wives according to the custom of the Law and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son.'

IX. 2-3. *Threatened Judgement on those who rejected the Statutes.*

2 But as for all them that reject . . . when God will bring a visitation upon the land they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when there shall come to pass the word which is written in the words of Isaiah the son of Amos 3 the prophet, who said: 'He will bring upon thee and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days that have (not) come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.'

But as for all them that reject the command- 2 ments and the statutes they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when God will bring a visitation upon the land, when there shall come to pass the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah the prophet: 'O sword, awake 3 against My shepherd and against the man that is My fellow, saith God; smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered, and I will turn Mine hand against the little ones.'

separated (these) from them (להם, להבדיל), i. e. separated the unclean things from them. From Lev. xx. 25.

21. As for all those who walk in these things . . . the covenant of God standeth fast unto them. These clauses recur in xvi. 12.

perfection of holiness or 'holy perfection' (תמים קדש). Cf. ix. 30, 33.

ordinances. The text reads יסורי or יסורים (= 'disciplinings'), which must be emended as in ix. 1 (A? and B) into יסורים. Cf. xi. 2.

the covenant . . . standeth fast unto them. Cf. xvi. 12. From Ps. lxxxix. 28 בְּרִיתִי נֶאֱמָנָה לִּי. I have changed נֶאֱמָנָה into נֶאֱמָנָה as in the Psalms.

21. B. Who keepeth covenant . . . generations. From Deut. vii. 9. The מצותי and לאהב are to be read as מצותיו and לאהביו.

IX. 1. camps. According to Lévi the name of the Jewish quarter even at the present day in Persia is 'camp', referring to Elkan Adler גְּנוּי פֶּרֶס, p. 3.

order (or 'regulation' or 'arrangement'), i. e. סֶרֶךְ a Rabbinic word. It recurs in x. 1, xv. 1, 4, xvi. 1, xvii. 1. Observe that in B we have חוקי, but later in this verse it is found both in A and B. סֶרֶךְ is found in vv. 29, 30 of the Aramaic Fragments of an original source of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* In the Greek, which is here happily preserved, τάξις appears as the equivalent of סֶרֶךְ. Both the Aramaic and Greek Fragments go back to a Hebrew original. See my *Greek Versions of the Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 250. Cf. סֶרְכִין = 'administrators' in Dan. vi. 3, 4, &c.

ordinances, i. e. יסורים in B and A (?), which latter could also be read יסורים.

between a man and his wife . . . son. From Num. xxx. 16 save that for 'son' (בֶּן) the O.T. reads 'daughter' (בַּת). We have here a summary reference to the law of binding and loosing, which is more fully treated in xx. 2-12.

2. will bring a visitation. This is the visitation through the Messiah: cf. vv. 9-10, 12-13.

they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked. I am doubtful as to the rendering here. The text reads להשיב גְּמוּלָה רָשָׁעִים עֲלֵיהֶם. This use of the infinitive is frequent in our text. For the phrase cf. Joel iii. 4, 7.

3. The great difference of the two recensions here is to be observed.

3. A. This verse is quoted from Isa. vii. 17. It recurs in part in xvi. 11—a fact which may support the A recension. For יבוא we must read יבין, and לא must be restored before באו as in xvi. 11 and in the O.T.

that have (not) come . . . Ephraim. These words recur in xvi. 11.

3. B. This verse is quoted from Zech. xiii. 7. Our author has changed צִבְאוֹת into אל.

A

IX. 4-9. *Foundation of the Zadokite Party and its Expectations: the Law, the Prophets, and the Messiah.*

4 When the two houses of Israel separated, [Ephraim departed from Judah, and] all who proved faithless were delivered to the sword, and those who held fast escaped into the land of the North.
 5 As He said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth your King and Chiun your images, 6 (the star of your god which ye made for yourselves) beyond Damascus.' The books of the Law are the tabernacle of the King, as He said, 'And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is 7 fallen.' The King is the congregation and Chiun the images are the books of the Prophets, whose 8 words Israel has despised. And the Star is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' The 9 sceptre is the prince of all the congregation.

IX. 10-20. *The Messiah will destroy those who were faithless to the New Covenant: their moral Derelictions through Hellenizing Influences.*

A

10 And when he arises 'he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din' . . . These shall escape during the period of the [first] visitation, but those who proved faithless shall be delivered to the sword.

B

And 'they that give heed unto Him are the 10 poor of the flock'. These shall escape during the period of the visitation, but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when the Messiah comes from

4. [Ephraim . . . and]. Bracketed as a dittograph from the preceding sentence. So Landauer.
 all who proved faithless. Cf. v. 10.
 those who held fast. See v. 1 note.
 land of the North, i.e. Damascus.

5-9. The extraordinary piece of exegesis which we find in these verses has for its object the removal from the Messianic hopes of the expectation of a Messiah descended from David. No kingly but a priestly Messiah is to be looked for.

5. This verse is quoted from Amos v. 26-27, but with a few changes. Two are accidental and owing to copyists. The first of these is the omission of the clause 'the star of your God which ye made for yourselves'. The second is the corruption of ל מהלאה = 'beyond' into מאהלי 'from the tents of'. The entire context of our author requires the former. The words 'beyond Damascus' denote the destination of the captivity—called 'the land of Damascus' in viii. 6, ix. 28, 38. If our author deliberately changed ל מהלאה into מאהלי he would not have done so unless it was of importance to him. That it was not is patent from the fact that no allusion to 'tents' occurs in what follows.

There is, however, one deliberate change of the text of Amos, namely, the substitution of והגלית 'and I will cause . . . to go into captivity' from v. 27 for ונשאתם 'and ye shall carry' in v. 26.

6. tabernacle. Here סכות 'Siccuth' or 'Saccuth' is read as סכת = 'tabernacle'.

And I will raise up . . . fallen. From Amos ix. 11, save that for אקים our text reads והקימותי.

7. whose words Israel has despised. Cf. Test. Lev. xvi. 2 'Ye shall set at naught the words of the prophets'. The meaning may be, as Lévi suggests, that Israel had treated the books of the Prophets as worthless idols.

8. The Star does not symbolize the Messiah, but the religious leader of the party of penitents that went to the land of Damascus. Hence there is no connexion between the idea in our text and in Test. Lev. xviii. 3; Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, where the Star does symbolize the Messiah, and where both passages are based on Num. xxiv. 17. Since the Star is said to 'study the Law' (דרש התורה) and likewise to have gone forth at the head of the penitents to Damascus, he is the same as the Lawgiver in viii. 5, 8, 9.

There shall come forth a star, &c. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17.

9. The sceptre appears to denote the Messiah: cf. v. 10 (B). He is a militant Messiah. This reference to the Messiah is proleptic.

10. he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17. I have here given one of the most likely renderings of שנת.

The two recensions must be used here to supplement each other. A is wanting in a clause at the beginning, which B preserves.

10 A. shall escape: reading ימלטו for מלטו, as in 10 B.

the period of the [first] visitation. I have bracketed 'first' (הראשון) which should, if correct, be הראשונה (הראשונה) as an interpolation. It is not the first but the second or final visitation that is referred to, as is clear from B.

those who proved faithless. Cf. v. 4. Here B has הנשארים 'the rest'.

shall be delivered. Here I emend הסנירו into יסגרו (cf. יסגרו in B). The Hophal הסגרו is found in this sense in v. 11 (B).

10 B. they that give heed . . . flock. This is a quotation from Zech. xi. 11, save that our author has changed אותי = 'Me' into אותו = 'Him'.

A

11 [Lost.]

12 And this also shall be the judgement of all them who have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these (statutes): they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day on which God shall visit (as He hath spoken):

'The princes of Judah were (like them that removed the landmark):
Upon them **will I** pour out (My) wrath (like water).'

14 For they are too sick to be healed,
And they have been at the head of all the rebels.

15 Because they have not turned from the way of traitors,
But have wallowed in the ways of harlots,
And in the wealth of wickedness and (in) revenge.

16 And every man beareth a grudge against his brother,
And every man hateth his neighbour.

17 And they **committed trespass** every man against his next of kin,
And drew near to unchastity:

from Aaron and Israel. I have here preferred **ו** before both these words in accordance with ix. 29. See note on i. 7.

11. **spake**. By a slip a scribe inserts 'Ezekiel' as the subject of 'spake'.

set a mark . . . cry (i.e. להחיות תיו על מצחות נאנחים ונאנקים). From Ezek. ix. 4 מצחות על מצחות והנאנקים והנאנחים.

that avengeth . . . covenant. Cf. i. 12 d.

12. entered into His covenant. See ii. 1 note.

will not hold fast. Cf. v. 1 note.

they shall be visited, i.e. לפקדם. This idiomatic construction with the infinitive is frequent in our text.

See note on viii. 11.

through the hand of Belial. Belial in later pre-Christian Judaism is simply another name for Satan. One of the three functions assigned to satanic spirits in 1 Enoch is that of the punishment of sinners.

13. God shall visit. See v. 2 note.

The princes of Judah, &c. From Hos. v. 10. The text of A is defective and corrupt. For עליהם אשפך it reads כמים עברתי אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה. B agrees exactly with the Massoretic Hebrew, save that it reads עברה for עברתי. For the meaning of 'princes of Judah' in our text see viii. 6.

14. In A only and very corrupt. The text runs כי יחלו למרפא וידקמום כל מורדים, where I propose to read וינקם and emend the *vox nulla* into יקדמו. But the text remains a problem. Lévi suggests מ וינקם 'and He will take vengeance on all the rebels'.

15-19. Breaches by the Princes of Judah of the moral conditions laid down in viii. 11 a-19 c. Thus contrast ix. 15 a with viii. 11 a: ix. 15 c with viii. 18 a: ix. 15 d with viii. 12 c: ix. 16 a with viii. 19 b: ix. 16 b with viii. 17 a: ix. 17 a with viii. 18 b: ix. 17 b with viii. 19 c: ix. 18 b with viii. 19 c.

15 B. entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

covenant of repentance, i.e. ברית תשובה. This is the covenant mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 30, 32.

15 A. wallowed, i.e. יתגוללו (A). But B reads יתעללו. Either verb does very well. But v. 4 (A) supports the former. harlots, i.e. זונות (A). B reads זנות which punctuated זנות = 'fornication', and punctuated זנות = 'harlots'. Since we have abstract expressions following, probably we should read 'fornication' here.

wealth of wickedness. See note on this phrase in vi. 11.

16. beareth a grudge. Lev. xix. 18. See x. 1 note.

hateth his neighbour. Lev. xix. 17.

17. committed trespass. So with Schechter I emend יתעלמו (A, B) into ימעלו as in viii. 18, where this

B

Aaron and Israel: Just as it was during the period 11 of the first visitation, concerning which He spake through Ezekiel 'to set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry', but the rest were delivered to 'the sword that avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant'. And this also 12 shall be the judgement of all them that have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these statutes: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day 13 on which God shall visit, as He hath spoken:

'The princes of Judah were like them that remove the landmark:
Upon them will I pour out (My) wrath like water.'

Because they entered into the covenant of 15 repentance

And yet have not turned from the way of traitors:
But have dealt wantonly in the ways of fornication,
In the wealth of wickedness and in revenge.

And every man beareth a grudge against his 16 brother,

And every man hateth his neighbour.

And they **committed trespass** every man against 17 his next of kin,

And drew near to unchastity:

A

- And **exalted themselves** with a view to wealth
and unjust gain,
And every man did that which was right in his
own eyes.
- 18 And they chose every man the stubbornness of
his heart,
And they separated not from the people.
- 19 And they cast off restraint with a high hand
To walk in the way of the wicked, concerning
whom God said:
'Their wine is the poison of dragons
And the cruel venom of asps.'
- 20 The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles and
their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps
is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to
execute vengeance upon them.

B

- And they made themselves strong with a view
to wealth and unjust gain,
And every man did that which was right in his
own eyes.
- And they chose every man the stubbornness of 18
his heart,
And they separated not from the people and their
sins.
- And they cast off restraint with a high hand 19
To walk in the ways of the wicked; concerning
whom God said:
'Their wine is the poison of dragons
And the cruel venom of asps.'
- The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles 20
and their wine is their ways, and the venom of
asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came
to execute vengeance upon them.

IX. 21-23. *Neither to these things nor to Moses did the Builders of the Wall give heed.*

- 21 But despite all these things they who builded | But despite all these things they who builded 21
the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar | the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar

line recurs. But we might retain **יתעלמו** and change **בשאר** into **משאר** and derive the text from Isa. lviii. 7 and translate 'hid themselves every man from his own flesh'.

exalted themselves with a view to wealth and unjust gain. The text reads **יתנכרו להם ולבצע** where I have emended **יתנכרו** into **יתנבה** or **ינבהו** (cf. B **יתנכרו**) on the strength of Jub. xxiii. 21, 'They will all exalt themselves with a view to deceit and wealth.' Here the Ethiopic word for 'deceit' is a rendering of *πλεονεξία*, which in turn is a rendering of **בצע** in Judges v. 19: or of *ἀδικία*, which is similarly a rendering of the same Hebrew word in Prov. xxviii. 16: cf. Ps. ix. 24. **בצע** is also rendered by *ἀνομία*. Thus our text is clearly dependent on Jub. xxiii. 19, which latter would be better rendered 'they will all exalt themselves with a view to unjust gain and wealth'. In B the verb **יתנכרו**, 'made themselves strong', which may be right, though it is not the word implied by Jub. xxiii. 21. Its appearance here may be due to v. 54 c in our text, where it occurs in a good sense.

every man did that which was right, &c. See iv. 5 c. Here B reads **איש את הישר** an obvious transposition of **איש את הישר**.

18. **chose . . . the stubbornness, &c.** See iii. 4 note. Possibly we should render here 'chose in the stubbornness', but the translation adopted is more likely.

separated not (לא נזרו). This separatist character relates the party so far to the Pharisees. See v. 24.

19-20. The degradation of Israel through Hellenizing influences and their punishment at the hand of Javan, i. e. the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria.

19. **cast off restraint, i. e. יפרעו.** Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

Their wine . . . asps. Quoted from Deut. xxxii. 33

חמת תנינים יינם

וראש פתנים אכור

20. This verse refers to the invasions of Palestine by the successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria. This equation of Greece and Syria points to the early date of our author.

head, i. e. ראש. Our author, as Lagrange recognizes, plays here on the two different meanings of **ראש**.

Javan. Cf. Daniel viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2.

21. **builded the wall.** Cf. 26; vii. 1.

the wall (היין μεσότητος Eph. ii. 14). What is meant by 'the wall'? Does it mean 'the fence' (i. e. סיג) which the Pharisees, especially the legalistic side, raised about the Law. In Pirke Aboth i. 1 we have the command: **עשו סייג לתורה** 'make a fence to the Torah'. As Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 134) writes: 'in theory and practice the law required a fence, as a written Torah needs a margin to safeguard the edges of the text.'

But could the Zadokite party object *absolutely* to 'the fence', seeing they adopted it in principle in reference to the Sabbath, xiii. 1, where it is required that in order to avoid profaning it some of the time preceding it should be kept holy? Besides, this party must have adopted, and in fact did adopt, as we know from this work, a number of the traditional halacha. Hence we conclude that it is not to the principle of 'the fence' in itself, but to its abnormal growth in the form of oral tradition, that they objected. That there were

A

B

22 perceived not— For one who was †perturbed† of spirit and talked lies talked to them— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation :

23 Nor that Moses said, 'Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

perceived not— For one who †walked in wind 22 and weighed storms†, and talked lies to man (talked)— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation :

Nor that Moses said to Israel, 'Not for thy 23 righteousness nor for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

IX. 24-27. *The Penitents like the Forefathers were loved of God for their Faithfulness to the Covenant, but as He judged the Builders of the Wall, so shall those faithless to the New Covenant be judged.*

24 And such is the case of the penitents of Israel (who) turned aside from the way of the people.

25 Owing to the love of God for the forefathers who stirred up (the people to follow) after Him, He loved them that came after them ; for theirs is

Such is the case of the penitents of Israel (who) 24 turned aside from the way of the people. Owing

25 to the love of God for the forefathers who admonished the people (to follow) after God, He loved them that came after them, for theirs

ample grounds for their opposition we learn from the words of Shammai, who lived in the first century B.C. This Rabbi said: 'We have two Torah, the written Torah (תורה שבכתב) and the oral Torah (תורה שבעל פה).' According to the Jer. Peah ii. 6 the latter are the 'more precious', while Rabbi Jochanan in Jer. Berakoth i. 7 declares that 'the words of the Sopherim are . . . more beloved than words of Torah' (see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 14). In Berakh. 8a, 13, B. Mez. 33a, Chag 10a the comparative values of the Torah and the Mishna and Talmud are dealt with, much to the disadvantage of the Torah. In the Aboda Zara 35a R. Dimi explained Canticles i. 2 as meaning: 'the words of thy loved ones (i.e. the scholars) are better than the wine of the Law' (דברי דודיק יותר מיינה של תורה). In the late work Aboth R. N., Book i, p. 3, the consciousness of this evil is present to the writer, since it is urged that the fence (גדר) was not to be made excessive lest it should overpower the root or plant it was intended to protect (יותר מן העיקר).

Another fact, i.e. our author's use of חין instead of סיג, may point in the same direction. The latter means a fence round something and סיג is 'to fence about', but the former is a partition-wall. Now it is quite possible that our author may have deliberately used חין instead of סיג. Thus by naming the fence חין the Zadokites implied that the Pharisees did not by this means so much protect the Law against profanation from without as create division among the ranks of the faithful within. We might compare St. Paul's designation of 'circumcision' (περιτομή) as mere 'mutilation' (κατατομή) in Phil. iii. 2. It is worth noting in this connexion that whereas our author brands the abnormal growth of the oral law with the name 'partition-wall', St. Paul, in Eph. ii. 14, brands the entire Law—written and oral—with the same designation.

daubed it with untempered mortar (מחי תפל). From Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 15, xxii. 28.

22. Owing to a false prophet the builders of the party-wall did not perceive that God's wrath was stirred up against all the congregation. For the phrase, 'wrath of God,' &c., cf. i. 17.

†perturbed† of spirit, i.e. מבוהל רוח (A). B reads הולך רוח, and adds ושקל סופות (sic). See Appendix on p. 834 for restored text and rendering.

talked lies (מטיף כזב). So A. In i. 10 we have הטיף מאמרי כזב and in ix. 40 איש הכזב. The text, therefore, is probably sound. B reads מטיף אדם לכזב, where apparently we have a transposition of the preposition as in v. 17 above, and also of the nouns. That is, we should read כזב לאדם. Hence my rendering. It is hard to say whether the להם or the לאדם is the original. See App. on p. 834.

the wrath of God was kindled. See note on i. 17.

23. Nor that Moses said (ואשר אמר משה). These words are the object of לא הבינו in v. 21. See last lines of Appendix on p. 834.

Not for thy righteousness . . . to inherit these nations. Quoted from Deut. ix. 5, save that our author has changed 'their land' into 'these nations' (הגוים האלה).

but because . . . the oath. From Deut. vii. 8, save that our author has replaced the sacred name יי by the pronoun and changed 'you' into 'your fathers'.

24. See v. 18 b.

the case, i.e. המשפט. God loves 'the penitents of Israel' as He loved the forefathers because they kept the covenant. The 'builders of the wall' had forsaken the covenant by introducing illegitimate changes of the Law.

penitents of Israel. See vi. 1 note.

25. stirred up. A reads היעירו (i.e. העירי) and B העידו. The latter reading also gives a good sense 'admonished' or 'exhorted solemnly'. After the verb A is defective and B corrupt. Where A gives merely היעירו אחריו B reads אל העם אחרי אל. B supplies part of the missing text but the Hebrew is impossible.

A

- 26 the covenant of the fathers. But since He hated the builders of the wall His wrath was kindled.
- 27 And such (will be) the case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

B

is the covenant of the fathers. But God hates 26 and abhors the builders of the wall and His wrath was kindled against them and against all who follow after them. And such (will be) the 27 case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

IX. 28-39. *Excommunication of those who fall away from the New Covenant.*

- 28 This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi. All the men who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus.

So are all the men who entered into the New 28 Covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and acted treacherously and departed from the spring of living waters.

B

- 29 They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people, and in its register they shall not be written, from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until there shall arise the 30 Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. And such is the case for all that enter into the congregation 31 of the men of the perfection of holiness. And as for him who abhors doing precepts of upright men [he is the man who is melted in the furnace], when his deeds become known he shall be expelled from the congregation, as though his lot had not fallen among them that are taught of God.

First of all על cannot stand. Next we might emend העם into בעם and add להלך from a comparison of the last clause in the next verse in B. There God's wrath is kindled against 'all who follow after them' (i.e. the builders of the party-wall). In contrast to these the people are exhorted to follow after God in the present verse.

theirs is the covenant of the fathers. Cf. Rom. ix. 3-4 'Israelites whose . . . are the covenants'.

26. God's wrath against and judgement (cf. v. 27) on the builders of the party-wall.

since He hated. We must here change בשונאי into בשונאו.

the builders of the wall. See vii. 1 note.

His wrath was kindled, &c. See i. 17 note.

27-28. As was the judgement on those who built the party-wall, so shall be the judgement on those who fall away from the New Covenant.

27. in the stubbornness, &c. See iii. 4 note.

28 a (A). I do not know what our author refers to.

B. the New Covenant. See viii. 15.

in the land of Damascus. Cf. viii. 6, 15, ix. 5, 38.

B. The spring of living waters, i.e. the Law. See v. 3 a, viii. 6-8.

29. They shall not be reckoned . . . written. Quoted from Ezek. xiii. 9 but with some slight changes.

לא יחשבו בסוד עם ובכתבו לא יכתבו

the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 39, where again the death of this teacher is referred to. See i. 7 note.

the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. See i. 7 note.

30. congregation, i.e. עדת.

the men of the perfection of holiness, i.e. אנשי תמים הקדש. So also in v. 33.

perfection of holiness. See v. 33, viii. 21.

31. And as for him who abhors. The text reads ויקין, which I have emended into והקין. We have here a *nominativus pendens*.

precepts of upright men, i.e. פקודי ישרים. This is probably a corruption of פקודים ישרים 'upright precepts'.

he is the man . . . furnace, i.e. הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור. These words are in substance an interpolation from Ezek. xxii. 20. They are wholly foreign to the text. There is no question here of divine and final punishments, but of ecclesiastical.

when . . . become known. The text reads בהופע, which = 'when . . . shine forth', as in v. 49. But this meaning is impossible here and in v. 33. The word is apparently a corruption of בהורע = 'when . . . become known'. Schechter proposes בהורע = 'deteriorate'. But this is not the point here. The man abhors in thought the precepts, but it is not till his actions become known that judgement can be taken. The clause recurs in v. 33.

as though . . . not, i.e. כמו שלא. This is the only instance where we have ש for אשר in our text.

taught of God. In Isa. liv. 13 we have the phrase למורי.

B

32 According to his trespass they shall record him as a perverted man until he come back to stand in
 33 the office of the men of the perfection of holiness. And when his deeds **become known**, in accordance with the midrash of the Law in which walk the men of the perfection of holiness, no man shall consent (to be) with him in wealth and labour; for all the saints of the Most High have
 34 cursed him. And such shall be the case of every one who rejects the first and the last, who have
 35 placed idols upon their hearts and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts. They have no share
 36 in the House of the Law. With a judgement like unto that of their neighbours who turned away
 37 with the scornful men, they shall be judged. For they spake error against the statutes of righteousness, and rejected the covenant and the pledge of faith, which they had affirmed in the land
 38 of Damascus; and this is the New Covenant. And there shall not be unto them nor unto their
 39 families a share in the House of the Law. And from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until all the men of war were consumed who walked with the man of lies about forty years,
 40 [And during this period there shall be kindled the wrath of God against Israel as He said, 'there
 41 is no king and no prince' and no judge, and none that rebuketh in righteousness,] Those who
 42 repented of transgression (in Jacob) observed the covenant of God. Then they spake each man
 43 with his neighbour (to strengthen one) another: 'Let our steps hold fast to the way of God.' And God hearkened to their words and heard, and a book of remembrance was written (before Him) for them that feared God (and) that thought upon His name until salvation and righteousness be revealed

32. record him as a perverted man, i.e. זוכירוהו אנש מעוט. The text reads אנשי, which is obviously a slip. Schechter, however, retains it and inserting עם after the verb renders 'record him (with) the men of perversion'. How he can explain this Hebrew construction in אנשי מעות I cannot see.

33. become known. Emended as in v. 31.

midrash, i.e. מדרש. With the expression cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 22 'Midrash of the prophet Iddo', xxiv. 27 'midrash of the Book of Kings'. Midrash in our text means 'right interpretation' probably.

men of the perfection of holiness. See viii. 21 note.

consent, i.e. יאות. I supply להיות.

34. rejects. See v. 27.

the first and the last, i.e. בראשונים ובאחרונים. These appear to be the first recipients of the two covenants—the Law and the New Covenant.

placed idols, &c. In a symbolic sense. Cf. Ezek. xiv. 3, 1 Enoch xcvi. 7.

stubbornness of their hearts. See iii. 4 note.

35. the House of the Law, i.e. בית התורה. This clause, which recurs in v. 38, appears to be a designation of the Party. The Zadokites are *par excellence* the representatives of the Law. Bacher thinks it designates a school or a place for teaching the Law.

36. the scornful men. Cf. i. 10.

37. spake error (דברו תועה). The phrase is found in Isa. xxxii. 6.

in the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

the New Covenant. See ii. 1 note.

39. when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 29.

the Unique Teacher, i.e. יוריה היחיד. See i. 7 note.

man of lies. See i. 10 note.

40. I have bracketed this verse as an interpolation. Verse 39 is only the protasis of a sentence: the apodosis is to be found in v. 41.

the wrath of God, &c. See i. 17 note.

there is no king and no prince (אין מלך ואין שר). From Hos. iii. 4.

no judge . . . in righteousness, i.e. אין שופט ואין מוכיח בעדק—a reminiscence, as Lévi observes, of Isa. xi. 4

ושפט בעדק דלים והוכיח.

41. Those who repented of transgression, i.e. שבי פשע. The phrase is from Isa. lix. 20. If we retain v. 40, we should translate 'But those who', &c.

in Jacob. So Schechter supplies the lacuna.

42. Then they spake . . . neighbour (אז נדברו איש אל רעהו). From Mal. iii. 16. The letters with dots underneath are uncertain.

(to strengthen one) another. So Lévi restores the text, which reads as follows: ל(החזיק) איש אל אחיו. Schechter's transcription of the facsimile here is inaccurate.

our steps hold fast (יתמך צעדנו בדרך אל). For the phrase see Prov. v. 5. I have taken צעדם 'their steps' as corrupt for צעדנו 'our steps'.

43. And God hearkened . . . name. From Mal. iii. 16. The words 'before Him' are obliterated in the MS., but there is room for לפניו in the facsimile but not in Schechter's transcript.

be revealed. The MS. reads יגלה and not יעלה as Schechter deciphers.

B

- 44 for <them that fear God. Then shall ye return and discern> between the righteous and wicked,
 45 between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. And He showeth mercy <unto
 thousands> of them that **love Him** and keep <His commandments> for a thousand generations.
 46, 47 †From the house of Peleg† that have gone out from the holy city. And they trusted in God
 throughout the period that Israel trespassed and polluted the Sanctuary and returned again to
 48 molten images. The people with **few** words shall **all** be judged, each according to his spirit in
 49 the counsel of holiness. And as for all those who have broken down the landmark of the Law
 amongst those who entered into the covenant, when there shall shine forth the glory of God to
 Israel, they shall be cut off from the midst of the camp, and with all those who do wickedly of Judah
 in the days of its testing.

IX. 50-54. *The faithful shall confess their sins and be forgiven and blessed.*

- 50 But all they who hold fast by these judgements in going out and coming in according to the Law,
 and listen to the voice of the Teacher and confess before God <saying>
 51 'We have done wickedly, we and our fathers,
 Because **we** have walked contrary to the statutes of the covenant,
 And true is thy judgement against us:'
 52 And (who) lift not the hand against His holy statutes, His righteous judgement, and the testimony
 53 of His truth; and are chastised by the first judgements with which the children of men were judged:
 and give ear to the voice of the Unique Teacher of Righteousness: and reject not the statutes
 of righteousness when they hear them:

44. From Mal. iii. 18. The words in brackets are obliterated, but **בין וראיתם וישבתם אל יראי אל** may be regarded as having stood in the original.

45. **לאלף דור** (מעותיו) **לאהבו ולשמרין** **ועשה חסד**. This verse is a combination of Exod. xx. 6 and Deut. vii. 9. The words 'Showeth mercy unto thousands' are from the former and the rest of the verse from the latter. Cf. Dan. ix. 4. After **חסד** there is a space for six letters, i.e. for **לאלפים** = 'unto thousands'.

His commandments. Omitted by the scribe by mistake.

46. Two words have been hopelessly obliterated at the beginning of this verse, which is as a whole unintelligible.

47. The Hebrew of this difficult verse is apparently to be read as follows: **וישענו על אל בקין מעל ישראל** ויטמאו את המקדש וישבו עד אל נסך. If the above rendering is right, the period may be that of Antiochus IV and of the Hellenizing priests before him. Lagrange has seen that **נסך** is the reading, not **נסיד**.

48. **with few words** . . . **all**. The text reads **לם ברברים מעט** . . . I restore the last two words as follows: **מעטים כלם**.

49. **the landmark**. The text refers, apparently, to those who had adopted the views of the Pharisees. Cf. i. 11 note.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

who do wickedly of Judah, i.e. **מרשעי יהודה**. This phrase might also be rendered 'who dealt wickedly by Judah'. Cf. Dan. xi. 32.

50-53. These four verses form the protasis of the sentence: the apodosis begins with v. 54.

51. **Because we have walked**. The text reads **בלכתם** (= 'because they have walked'), but this is clearly corrupt for **בלכתנו**, since the verse refers to the first person.

53. **the first judgements**. Temporal judgements.

with which the children of men. The text reads **בני אנשי היחיד אשר** . . . **אשר**, where **אנשי היחיד** may be corrupt for **אנשים בהם**. The **אשר** goes, of course, with the **בהם**. The corruption could easily arise from the presence of **מורה צדק** in the next clause. But rather **היחיד** has been wrongly transposed from the following clause, where, as in ix. 29, 39, we should read, not 'the Teacher of Righteousness', but 'the Unique Teacher of Righteousness'. In that case **אשר** can be taken as 'as to which', or we may emend **בני** into **בהם**, but the latter is unnecessary.

Unique. This epithet has been restored from the preceding clause, into which it was wrongly transposed. See the preceding note.

reject. The facsimile reads, so far as I can make it out, **אח ישיבו אל** not **אח ישיבו אל** as Schechter deciphers it. Hence my rendering. The other construction would be difficult to explain.

the statutes of righteousness, i.e. as set forth by the Unique Teacher.

- 54 They shall rejoice and be glad,
And their heart shall **exult**,
And they shall make themselves strong against all the children of the world,

And God will pardon them
And they shall see His salvation;
For they trust in His holy name.

A

X. 1-6. *A man is not to avenge himself or bear a Grudge.*

- 10 1 Every man who puts under the ban a man [amongst men] according to the ordinances of the Gentiles is to be put to death:
2 And as for that which He hath said: 'Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear a grudge against the children of thy people,' every man of those who have entered into the covenant, who brings a charge against his neighbour whom he had not **rebuked** before witnesses, and yet brings it in his fierce wrath or recounts (it) to his elders in order to bring him into contempt, 3 is taking vengeance and bearing a grudge. But naught is written save that, 'He taketh vengeance 4 on His adversaries, and He beareth a grudge against His enemies.' If he held his peace with regard to him from day to day, but in his fierce wrath spake against him in a matter of death, he hath testified against himself because he did not give effect to the commandment of God, Who said to him, 5, 6 'Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour and not bear sin because of him.' As regards the oath, touching that which He said 'Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand', the man who makes (another man) swear in the open field—that is, not in the presence of the judges, or owing to their commands—hath avenged himself with his own hand.

54. **exult**, i.e. the text reads ויעלו which Schechter has rightly emended into ויעלו.
make themselves strong. This verb has already occurred in ix. 17 (B).
God will pardon them. See v. 5 a note.

X. 1. **Every man**, &c. (כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם . . . להמית הוא). The construction להמית 'is to be put to death' is found several times in our text. See note on viii. 11. I have bracketed מאדם, i.e. 'amongst men'. But cf. Lev. xxvii. 29 מות יומת . . . מן האדם. כל חרם אשר יחרם מן האדם. This suggests that for יחרים אדם we should read יחרם and translate 'No man who is put under the ban by man', &c.

Schechter thinks that the text contains 'a prohibition against acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Gentiles (ערכאות של גוים), which is also forbidden by Rabbinic law'. But this is very doubtful.

2. **Thou shalt not . . . of thy people**. From Lev. xix. 18. See viii. 19, ix. 16 of our text.

entered into the covenant. Here מביאי is to be read instead of מביאי. See note on ii. 1.

neighbour. The text reads דעהו corrupt for רעהו.
whom he had not rebuked. The text reads לא בהוכח אשר, where the last word is corrupt for הוכח. Or possibly for הוכח or נוכח = 'which was not proved'. The text would then refer to slanders.

brings it, i.e. הביאו. Schechter supposes this to be a corruption for הכיתו 'smites him'. But this brings in an idea alien to the context, which deals with a charge brought hastily in anger and unsustained by evidence.

3. From Nahum i. 2, save that the divine name יי is omitted. The implication here is that no consideration is due to an enemy.

4. If a man knew of his neighbour committing a capital offence and yet did not mention it till overtaken by a burst of passion, he should be accounted guilty.

If he held his peace . . . from day to day, i.e. אם החריש לו מיום ליום. The diction here is from Num. xxx. 15.

testified against himself, i.e. ענה בו. Cf. i Sam. xii. 3 for this construction: there is no need to emend ענה into עוני with Schechter.

5. **Thou shalt surely . . . because of him**. From Lev. xix. 17, save that our author has changed עמיתך into רעך.

6. **Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand**, i.e. תושיעך ירך לך. The phrase is borrowed from i Sam. xxv. 26, 31. This verse in Samuel does not give a command, but this is a small matter in Jewish exegesis.
in the open field (על פני השדה). Cf. Lev. xiv. 7.

in the presence of. The text reads לפני corruptly for לפני.

owing to their commands. The text reads מאמרים, which can be punctuated as מֵאמָרָם = 'owing to their having (so) commanded', or 'owing to their command', but hardly as מֵאמָרָם 'their word' (Schechter); for this would give no sense here.

X. 7-9. *The law as to lost property.*

7 And as for anything that is lost, should it not be known who has stolen it from the property of the camp in which the thing has been stolen, its owner shall **proclaim** (it) by the oath of cursing, and
 8 whoso hears, if he knows and declares it not, shall be held guilty. As for any restitution made by
 9 **him who returns** that which has [not] an owner, **he who returns** (it) shall confess to the priest, and
 (that which was lost) shall be **given back** to him, besides the ram of the guilt-offering **to the priest**.
 And so everything (that was) lost (and) found and has no owner shall be **given** to the priests; for
 he who found it knows not its law. If its owner is not found they shall take charge (of it).

X. 10-17. *The Number of Witnesses necessary in the case of Capital and other Offences.
The Character of the Witnesses.*

10 If a man in any matter trespasses against the Law and his neighbour and none but he sees
 it, if it be a matter of death, he shall make it known to the Censor in the presence of the
 accused in discharging the duty of reproof: and the Censor shall write it down with his own
 11 hand: If he do it again before **another**, he shall return and make it known to the Censor.

7-9. These verses refer to lost property. *vv.* 7-8 refer to lost property, the owner of which is known: *v.* 9 to lost property, the owner of which is unknown. This is clearly the meaning, though the text is corrupt and needs to be emended.

7. According to Deut. xxii. 1-3 restoration of a lost article was to be made to its owner, if a 'brother' or 'neighbour'. According to the Baba Kamma 113b (where there is a long discussion on this and kindred questions) such restoration was not to be made to a Gentile. According to the Rabbis there was in Jerusalem a 'stone of decision' (אבן טוען?) to which the losers and finders of property came, and had its ownership settled (Baba Mez. 28b).

And as for anything that is lost, i.e. **ובל האובד**. According to later Hebrew this could be translated 'and as for any one who loses (anything)'. But the context is in favour of the classical meaning of **אבד** here. The question first and foremost is that of lost property, not of the losers of it. The latter question necessarily follows. When property is lost, the loser is either known or unknown.

from the property of the camp, i.e. **ממאד המחנה**. This extraordinary use of this word recurs in xiv. 10. Else I would propose **מאדם** = 'of the people of the camp'. Lévi feels dissatisfied and suggests **מתוך** 'from the midst of the camp'.

proclaim, i.e. **ישמיע** emended from **ישביע** by Schechter. If we retain the text, render 'shall adjure (the people concerned) by the oath of cursing'.

8. **restitution made by him who returns**, i.e. **אשם משיב**. I have here emended **מושב** into **משיב**, just as a few words later **המושב** must be changed into **המשיב**. The phrase **להשיב האשם** 'to return the compensation' is found in Num. v. 7, 8.

which has [not] an owner. The negative is here an intrusion. The Hebrew is **אשר אין בעלים**. The **אין** was inserted by an unintelligent scribe, in the place of a lost **לו** or **לה**. Schechter, Lévi, and Lagrange have failed to observe this intrusion and therefore to see the meaning of the text.

(that which was lost) . . . to the priest. The MS. reads **והיה לו לבר מאיל האשם הכל**, which Schechter accepts and translates 'and it shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt-offering'. But this is manifestly wrong. The priest in neither case became the owner of the lost property. Where the owner was unknown they were to take charge of it till he was discovered: where the owner was known it was, of course, to be restored to him. The priest's share in such a case was the ram of the guilt-offering. Now in the text it is clear, first of all, that **הכל** is corrupt for **לכהן**. Thus we get 'besides the ram of the guilt-offering to the priest'. The preceding words then must refer to the owner of the lost property, but the restoration of the original is doubtful. Possibly we might retain the text **והיה לו** and translate 'and it (i.e. the lost property) shall become his', i.e. that of the man who lost it. But the property could not well *become* his, since it was his already. Accordingly in my translation I have supposed that **האובד** has fallen out before **לבר** and emended **והיה** into **ונתן** or **ושוב**. It is also possible that the text ran **ונתן לאובד לבר** 'and it shall be given back to him that lost it', &c. Lévi emends **הכל** into **הכפורים** and Lagrange excises it. But the emendation I have suggested appears to satisfy every requirement.

9. **shall be given**. The text reads **והיתה** 'shall belong', which I have emended into **ונתנה**.

10-12. Three witnesses required in the case of a capital offence.

10. **the Censor** (המבקר). This official corresponded to the *ἐπιμελητής* of the Essenes and to the *ἐπίσκοπος* of the Early Christians. See note on xvi. 1.

in the presence of the accused in discharging the duty of reproof, i.e. **לעיני בהוכיח**. But the words may be corrupt for **לעיני הנוכה** 'in the presence of the impeached'.

11. **If he do it**. The text reads **ער עשותו**, which I have emended into **אם יעשהו** as at the beginning of the next verse.

another. The text reads **אחר**, which I have emended into **אחר**. Cf. *v.* 12.

- 12, 13 If he shall be caught again before **another**, his judgement shall be executed. And if they are two and they witness against him (each) on a different thing the man shall be only excluded from the Purity, provided that they are trustworthy, and that on the day on which they have seen the
14 man they make it known to the Censor. And according to the statute (they shall) accept two
15 trustworthy witnesses, and **not** one to exclude the Purity†. And there shall arise no **witness** before the judges to cause a man to be put to death at his mouth, whose days have not been fulfilled so as
16 to pass over unto those that are numbered (and who is not) a man who fears God. None shall be believed as a witness against his neighbour who transgresses a word of the commandment with a high hand until they are cleansed through repentance.

XI. Regulations as to the Judges of the Zadokite Party.

- 11 1, 2 And this is the order in reference to the judges of the congregation. (They shall amount) to ten men selected from the congregation according to the time (defined); four of the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six of Israel learned in the Book of †the Hagu† and in the Ordinances of the Covenant,
3 from five and twenty years old even unto sixty years old. But none shall be appointed when he is

13. If only two witnesses appear and their testimony relates to different charges, the man is to undergo a form of excommunication. Yet see *v.* 15.

14. <they shall> accept. Only the letters בלו or בלו survive. But probably Schechter is right in restoring יקבלו.

and not one. So Lagrange well emends the text אחד ועל אחד into ואל אחד. Cf. Deut. xix. 15.

15. The meaning of this verse is somewhat doubtful. If it refers to a witness it means that a certain age and character were required in a witness.

there shall arise no witness (אל יקום עד). The words are from Deut. xix. 15. For עד the text corruptly reads עוד. But it is possible that עוד should be retained, and the verse understood of the qualification of a judge. 'None, moreover, shall become (יקום) which is possibly the real reading of the MS.) judges to put a man to death at his word whose . . . and who do not fear (ולא יראים) instead of (ירא) God.' The other rendering is more probable.

at his mouth (על פיהו). Cf. Deut. xvii. 6.

to pass over unto those that are numbered (לעבור על הפקודים). The phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13, 14. It seems here to denote the age at which a man attained his political majority—in other words, was reckoned in the census of the males of the nation.

<and who is not> (ולא). Supplied with Schechter.

16. with a high hand (ביר רמה). Num. xv. 30.

XI. 1. order. See ix. 1.

2. according to the time (defined), i.e. לפי העת. This may mean the period of office or the date of election. Or, again, the phrase might be translated 'according to the circumstances' (Lévi), the number 'ten' not being always necessary.

tribe of Levi and Aaron. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 19 sq. for a like terminology.

the Book of †the Hagu†, i.e. ספר ההגו. Cf. xv. 5, xvii. 5. I have, with some hesitation, marked this phrase as corrupt. It was possibly a secret book of halachic decisions or, at all events, a book the knowledge of which was necessary for the rulers of the Party. Nothing is known of Hagu. It is possible that we have in ההגו a corruption of חגי, i.e. Haggai. Now we know that a number of halachoth are attributed in the Talmud to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as the last three prophets, Naz. 53 a, Chull. 137 a, just as certain legal decisions were assigned to Moses; nay, more, we know that at times the name of Haggai alone was put forward as the source of certain traditions, Kidd. 43 a, and that it was claimed by teachers of later generations that they sat in his actual chair, Jeb. 16 a. Certain decisions are traced to him: that it was permissible to bring sacrifices independently of the existence or presence of the Temple, Mid. iii. 1; Zeb. 62 a (?) מקריבין אף על פי (שאין בית), Jer. Naz. ii. 7: that the month Adar should be intercalated, Rosh ha-Shanah 19 b. Besides these several others are attributed to him. See *Jew. Encyc.* vi. 146.

It is possible, therefore, that a book may have circulated under Haggai's name, which contained traditional lore, seeing that in after times many traditions were said to be derived from Haggai. If there was such a book it is not improbable that it is that referred to in our text. That the book in our text was not the prophetic book of Haggai is clear; for the books of the prophets are freely quoted, whereas the knowledge of this book is committed to the leaders of the Party, and it is probably, therefore, a secret book containing traditional decisions: cf. xvii. 5.

Lévi suggests that the book in question was a treatise commencing with the word הגו 'mediate'.

Ordinances (or 'Foundations'), i.e. יסודי. Cf. viii. 21.

from five and twenty years old, &c. This was the age at which the Levites began to serve: cf. Num. viii. 24.

4 sixty years old and upward to judge the congregation. For through the trespasses of man his days were minished, and when the wrath of God was kindled against the inhabitants of the earth, He commanded their intelligence to depart from them before they completed their days.

XII. *Levitical Law as to Bathing.*

12 1 As to being cleansed in water. No man shall wash in water (that is) filthy or insufficient for a
2 man's bath. None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in
which there is not sufficient (water) for a bath, which an unclean person has touched, its waters shall
be unclean like the waters of the vessel.

XIII. I—II. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

13 1 As to the Sabbath, to observe it according to its law, no man shall do work on the sixth day from
the time when the sun's orb in its fullness is still without the gate, for it is He who has said, 'Observe
the Sabbath day to keep it holy.'

2, 3 And on the Sabbath day no man shall utter a word of folly and vanity. No man shall lend aught
4, 5 to his neighbour. None shall dispute on matters of wealth and gain. None shall speak on matters
6 of work and labour to be done on the following morning. No man shall walk in the field to do the
7 work of his business. On the Sabbath none shall walk outside his city more than †a thousand†

4. trespasses, i.e. מעל.

his days. ימיו is to be read instead of ימו.

his days were minished. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 9 'After the Flood (the days of the forefathers) began to grow
less . . . by reason of the wickedness of their ways'.

commanded their intelligence to depart from them, &c. אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 11. 'Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age' (? or 'their godlessness').

XII. 1. insufficient for a man's bath. The text reads מעוטם מדי דמרעיל איש. I have emended the
impossible מרחץ into מרחץ. Schechter emends into מטביל, and translates מעוטם מדי מטביל איש 'not sufficient
for the immersion of a man'. But is this rendering possible?

waters. MS. reads במה corrupt for במי.

2. every pool . . . in which there is not sufficient water. According to Yoma 31 a the cubical contents of
such a pool should be one cubit wide, three cubits long, and one cubit deep—the size of an average human
body—שכל גופו עולה בהן. Cf. Lev. xv. 13. See also Erub. 4 b, Pes. 109 a, Suk. 6 a.

for a bath. The text reads מרעיל, which I have emended into מרחץ.

like. כ of the MS. is to be changed into ב.

XIII. 1. This verse deals with the time before and after the Sabbath that should be observed as the Sabbath.
Technically it was called the הוספה 'addition'. This view is practically enforced in Shabb. 150 a, where it is
forbidden to carry on work to the very beginning of the Sabbath or renew it at its very close. In Yoma 81 a the
addition before and after the Day of Atonement is treated of. The object is given in the words מוסיפין מחול על
הקדש.

sun's orb, i.e. גלגל השמש. In Talmud חמה. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4 (= κύκλος τοῦ ἡλίου), which
postulates this very phrase.

in its fullness . . . gate. That is, the gate where it sets. On the various gates where the sun sets, see
1 Enoch lxxii. The text reads מן השער מלואו. And the literal translation is: 'is distant from the gate
as to its fullness.' This means just before the sun touches the horizon.

Observe the Sabbath . . . holy. From Deut. v. 12.

2. a word of folly and vanity, i.e. דבר נבל ורק, where רק, as Lévi has pointed out, is corrupt for ריק. Schechter
compares דברי חול, i.e. matters of a secular nature, and refers to Shabb. 150 a. The source of the regulation
is found in Isa. lviii. 13 'Call the Sabbath a delight . . . not speaking (thine own) words'. Perhaps we should,
with Bacher, read וריק as in Isa. xxx. 7.

3. No man shall lend aught to his neighbour. אל ישה ברעהו כל. The phraseology is from Deut. xv. 2,
but not the sense. According to Shabbath 148 a a man might ask wine or oil from his neighbour on the
Sabbath, provided he did not say 'lend them to me'. Lévi rightly observes that this prescript is not in place
here, and proposes ישה instead of ישה = 'let no man complain aught of his neighbour'. It is strange that
both Schechter and he mistranslate ישה as 'exact a debt'.

5. on the following morning, i.e. למשכים. This use of the words is Mishnaic: it occurs in Bikk. iii. 2.

6. to do. לעשות. Perhaps we might render 'to prepare' or 'to provide for'. Cf. Oxf. Heb. Lex. 794 b.

of his business. The text reads חפצי, which with Lagrange (cf. xiii. 11) I have changed into חפצו.

7. †a thousand†. Here אלף is corrupt for אלפים. Cf. v. 14. 2,000 cubits was the limit of a Sabbath
day's journey: cf. Erubin iv. 3, v. 7. See Jub. l. 8 note.

8 cubits. No man shall eat on the Sabbath day aught save that which is prepared or perishing (in the
9, 10 field). Nor shall one eat or drink unless in the camp. (If he was) on the way and went down to
11 wash he may drink where he stands, but he shall not draw into any vessel. No man shall send the
son of a stranger to do his business on the Sabbath day.

XIII. 12. *Laws as to unclean Garments.*

12 No man shall put on garments that are filthy or were brought by a Gentile unless they were washed
in water or rubbed with frankincense.

XIII. 13-27. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

13, 14 No man shall **fast** of his own will on the Sabbath. No man shall walk after the animal to pasture
15 it outside his city more than two thousand cubits. None shall lift his hand to smite it with (his) fist.
16 If it be stubborn he shall not remove it out of his house. No man shall carry anything from the
house to the outside or from the outside into the house, and if he be in the vestibule he shall not
17 **carry** anything out of it or **bring** in anything into it. None shall **open** the cover of a vessel that
18 is pasted on the Sabbath. No man shall carry on him spices to go out or come in on the Sabbath.
19, 20 None shall lift up in his **dwelling** house rock or earth. Let not the nursing father take the sucking
21 child to go out or to come in on the Sabbath. No man shall provoke his manservant or his maid-
22 servant or his hireling on the Sabbath. No man shall help an animal in its delivery on the Sabbath
23, 24 day. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath. No man shall

8. **save that which is prepared.** See Jub. ii. 29, l. 9 note; Beza i. 2.

(in the field) (i. e. בשרה). Only two out of the four letters are to be made out.

10. (If he was). We must with Lévi understand אם היה. What follows is at the beginning of a new page
in the MS. and there may be a gap here.

he shall not draw into any vessel. The same command is given in Jub. l. 8.

11. Cf. Shabbath 150a, where a man is not allowed to commission his neighbour to do what he might not do
himself on the Sabbath. Here of course it is a non-Jew that is referred to.

12. **Gentile.** The text reads גוי, which Schechter emends into גוי.

13. **fast.** The text reads ויתערב, to which Leszynsky proposes to attach the meaning 'to set an 'erub'.
I propose יתענה 'shall afflict himself by fasting', 'shall fast'. It was forbidden to go without food till noon on
the Sabbath, Jer. Taan. iii. 11; Judith viii. 6. In Jub. l. 12 fasting is strictly forbidden on the Sabbath and feasting
enjoined, l. 9-10. It was the duty of every good Israelite to take three or four meals on the Sabbath, Shabb. 117b,
and these of the best food procurable, *op. cit.* 118b. Lévi, Bacher, and Kohler propose יתערב.

14. See v. 7.

16. Cf. Jub. ii. 29.

No man shall carry anything, &c. This law is derived from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19.
It is enforced in Jub. ii. 29, l. 8. It is also a Rabbinic law: cf. Shabbath vii. 2.

carry . . . bring. Read יביא and יוציא instead of יוצא and יבא respectively. The natural difficulties brought
about by this law were got over by the Pharisees by the principle of 'Erub or the merging of several private
precincts into one in order to transfer food or vessels to any distance desirable beyond the 2,000 paces, which
was called the Sabbath limit (תחום השבת). This regulation is worked out in the Mishnah Tractate Erubin.

the vestibule (or 'entrance'), i. e. מוכה, which may be corrupt for the Hebrew מבוה or the late Hebrew מבו.

17. **open.** For פתח we must read יפתח.

18. This law is found in Shabbath vi. 3 (? 3).

19. **his dwelling house.** The MS. reads מושבת. The second word is corrupt for מושבו. The phrase is
found in Lev. xxv. 29. Schechter emends מושבת into שבת. If this were the idea then it would be best to
restore בשבת as in the next verse.

20. **the nursing father . . . child,** i. e. ישא האומן את הילד. From Num. xi. 12. According to Shabbath xviii. 2,
a woman might lead a child out on the Sabbath only on the condition that the child makes certain movements
with its feet.

21. **his hireling.** We must change שוכרי into שכירי.

22. This regulation is found in Shabbath xviii. 3 in reference to a feast day—ביום טוב. The phrase is
but it is added that notwithstanding 'they give help' (אבל מסעדין), and then the various kinds of help are
enumerated.

23. This regulation has a close parallel in Shabb. 128b, where Rabba Jehuda in the name of Rab says
that if an animal falls into a well it is lawful to provide it with food if possible; but, if not, mattresses and
cushions are to be placed under it that it might get out by its own exertions. The implication here is that
it might not be raised by human agency from the pit as in our text. Yet other views are advanced. Cf. Beza
iii. 4, where it is said that, 'if a firstling fall into a pit . . . a wise man will descend and . . . raise it up.'

25 rest in a place near to the Gentiles on the Sabbath. No man shall suffer himself to be polluted [the
26 Sabbath] for the sake of wealth or gain on the Sabbath. And if any person falls into a place of
27 water or into a place of . . . he shall not bring him up by a ladder or a cord or instrument. No man
shall offer anything on the altar on the Sabbath, save the burnt-offering of the Sabbath, for so it is
written † 'Excepting your Sabbaths'.†

XIV. 1-4. *Levitical Laws as to Uncleaness.*

- 14 1 No man shall send to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense or wood through
the hand of a man (that is) unclean through any of the uncleannesses allowing him to defile the
altar, for it is written: 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous
2 is like an offering of delight.' And none of those who enter into the house of worship shall enter
3 when he is unclean even though washed. And when the trumpets of the Congregation sound, it shall
be (done) before or after, and they shall not put an end to the whole service: (the Sabbath) is holy.
4 No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary to defile the city of the Sanctuary by
their impurity.

XIV. 5. *Law as to Necromancy.*

- 5 Any man who is ruled by the spirits of Belial and speaks rebellion shall be judged by the judge-
ment of the necromancer and wizard.

Cf. Yoma viii. 6, 7, where it is said that the question of life takes precedence of other questions. The teaching
in our text conflicts strongly with Luke xiv. 5.

24. rest. ישיבית must be changed into ישובות. Schechter notes: that a similar law prevailed among the
Samaritans and Karaites, comparing Wreschner, p. 14 sq.

25. suffer himself to be polluted, i. e. יחל—that is, ritually by contact with the dead (Lev. xxi. 4). In
Lev. xxi. 1-4 the exceptions are enumerated in which a man might submit to such defilement. What our text
seems to demand is that even in these cases defilement should not be incurred on the Sabbath.

[the Sabbath]. A scribe's slip. Schechter would emend יחל into יחלל in order to explain this phrase.
But the sense would then be unsatisfactory.

26. If the text is complete as it stands, then its teaching is in conflict with Yoma 84 b, where it is distinctly
taught that life should be saved on the Sabbath תנו רבנן מפקחין פקוח נפש בשבת. The following instances are
given: if a child fall into the sea, it may be saved by means of a net; if into a pit, by a ladder. Apparently the
person might be saved if he could be saved without resort to the means just mentioned.

27. This verse is corrupt.

†Excepting your Sabbaths†. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 38. The meaning here given to מלכר is found in the LXX
and Vulg. Our author attaches quite a different meaning to Lev. xxiii. 38 in his interpretation of it.

XIV. 1. allowing him, i. e. להרשותו. Lévi compares Sir. iii. 21 הורשית.

The sacrifice . . . but the prayer. These words are from Prov. xv. 8. The words 'of the righteous . . .
of delight' (צדק(ים) כמנחת רצון) are a partial paraphrase of the words that follow in Prov. xv. 8 'of the upright
is His delight'.

2. the house of worship, i. e. אל בית השתחוות. Though this phrase is, so far as is known, never applied to
a Jewish place of worship, there is no inherent reason why it should not. In Shek. vi. 1 it is stated that thirteen
bows or prostrations were made (generally) in the Temple במקדש היו בשתחוות and fourteen by the
houses of Gamaliel and Hananiah. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15. Lévi defends it as applied to the Temple, but sug-
gests that possibly the text may be corrupt for להשתחוות אל בית אל 'into the house of God to worship'.
Bacher takes it as referring to a synagogue. We might compare Zech. xiv. 16, where it is said that all that
remain of the Gentiles shall go up to Jerusalem to worship (להשתחוות).

though washed (כבוס). Cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. Schechter inserts בלי before this word and so obtains
'without washing'. Cf. Lev. xv. 10. Probably the latter is right.

3. Congregation, i. e. קהל, as in v. 6.

4. This verse is not directed against lawful cohabitation, but against carnal union that was accompanied by
some ceremonial impurity; for the word for 'impurity' here is נִדָּה. This impurity was due to the menstruation
of the woman. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with approaching the altar when
stained with this defilement. See note on vii. 8. There is no ground for proposing the violent emendation of
it into ביום השבת. We might compare Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1 עיר הקדש.

5. Cf. Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11.

ruled by the spirits of Belial. For the idea and expression cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 3.
speaks rebellion, i. e. דבר סרה, from Deut. xiii. 6. Cf. our text, viii. 2.
necromancer and wizard, i. e. האוב והידעוני.

XIV. 6. *Law as to the Sabbath.*

6 And he whom he leads astray into profaning the Sabbath and the Feasts shall not be put to death ; but it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him ; and should he be healed of it, they shall watch him seven years and then he shall come into the Congregation.

XIV. 7-11. *Laws as to Intercourse with the Gentiles.*

7 None shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of any man from among the Gentiles for the sake of wealth or gain. Nor shall he take aught of their wealth lest they blaspheme, unless by the counsel of the Community of Israel. No man shall sell an animal or bird that is clean to the Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them. Nor shall he sell them aught from his threshing-floor or his winepress for all his property. Nor shall he sell them his manservant or maidservant who entered with him into the covenant of Abraham.

XIV. 12-16. *Laws as to unclean Foods and Causes of Uncleanness.*

12 No man shall make himself abominable with any living creature or creeping thing, by eating of them : or of the defilements of bees or of any living creature that moveth in the waters. Nor shall fish be eaten unless they were split alive and their blood was shed. But all the locusts after their kind shall come into fire or into water whilst they are still living, for this is the manner of their creation. And all wood and stones and dust which are polluted by the uncleanness of man are

6. he whom he (i.e. Belial) leads astray into profaning, i.e. כל אשר יתעה לחלל. We have here the case of all but involuntary sins through demonic influence. With the text cf. Isa. xxix. 24 חעי רוח ; xxviii. 7. We may also translate : 'he who goes astray so as to profane.'

it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him, i.e. על בני האדם משמרו. For the construction cf. 1 Chron. ix. 27, where we have משמרת.

8. Community, i.e. חבור. Cf. the phrase on the coins of the Maccabees חבר היהודים.

9. The Jews were forbidden to sell large cattle or calves, provided they were 'undamaged' (שלמים), to the Gentiles, Abod. Zarah i. 6, on the ground that they might be made to work on the Sabbath, *op. cit.* 15 a. It was forbidden to sell hens to Gentiles when it was suspected that they were required for idolatrous worship, 14 ab.

10. for all his property, i.e. בכל מאדו. That is, when the Gentile would give all that he had for it. See note on x. 7.

11. The Gentile who had become a Jew could not be sold to a Gentile.

12. No man shall make himself abominable with any... creeping thing. From Lev. xi. 43. See our text, viii. 20.

by eating of them (לאכל מהם). Cf. Lev. xi. 42.

or of the defilements of bees. The text reads מענלי הדבורים. Since ער follows, it would seem that we have here the idiom ער... מן, i.e. 'both... and', or in this context 'or... or'. Besides, מענלי is meaningless. Nor is ענלי better. Accordingly, I have emended מענלי into מנעלי or rather מנאלי. Hence the above rendering. Schechter simply takes "מענלי הד" in the sense of "כוורות הד" 'beehives'. But there seems to be no ground for this identification, and even if it were just, it would be of no service; for one does not eat a beehive. Schechter himself suggests here that as the bee was an unclean insect, Bechoroth 7 b, the text may refer 'to particles of the bees which are mixed up with the honey', and that 'though Rabbinic Judaism had no scruples in this respect and allowed the honey as it came from the beehives (see Shulchan Aruch, Joreh Deah, § 81) ... the Karaites ... insisted on a preparation of the honey (through filtering)'. This suggestion supports the above emendation.

or of any living... waters. From Lev. xi. 46 with the change of הרמשת into הרמוש.

13. Schechter thinks that this regulation is 'directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of the fish. See Sifra 39 a, and Kerithoth 20 b.' The Samaritans 'forbade the eating of fish that died in the water or were found dead on the shore'. Lévi points out that in the Pirke R. Eliezer ix the blood of fish must be shed.

14. In the Pirke R. Eliezer ix (Lévi) it is said that locusts are not created from water. Schechter compares Chullin 27 b and deduces from it the conclusion that the mode of killing should be connected with the element out of which the animal was created.

15-16. Our text declares unconditionally that the wood, stones, dust, nails, and pegs in a house are made unclean by the uncleanness of the man. Schechter says that this regulation is in contradiction to the Rabbinic law. But this is only partially true. For according to Kelim xii. 7, unfinished wooden vessels, unless the wood was box, were capable of pollution, and likewise tent-pegs (יתדות המשוחות), *op. cit.* xiv. 3. According to Kelim vi. 1, if three stones were secured together with lime to support a pot on the floor, they were subject to pollution. Similarly with regard to two stones. But if one stone was secured with lime and the other not, it was not subject to pollution. As to whether a nail (מסמר) under certain conditions, Kelim xii. 5, was capable of pollution or not, Rabbi Aqiba and the wise were at variance. But all were agreed that, if a nail was driven in with a view to fastening an object, it was capable of pollution. In short, in place of all this hair-splitting and

16 **polluted like them.** According to their uncleanness shall be unclean he who toucheth them. And every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall which is with the dead in the house shall be unclean, **like** the uncleanness of an instrument of work.

XV. 1-3. *Summary Reference to Laws of Uncleanness.*

- 15 1 The regulation of the dwellers in the cities of Israel, according to these judgements, that a difference may be made between the unclean and the clean, and to make known (the difference) between the 2 holy and the common. And these statutes are to give instruction so that the whole nation may 3 walk in them according to the Law always. And according to this law shall walk the seed of Israel, and they shall not be cursed.

XV. 4-6. *The Ruler to be a Priest or a Levite.*

- 4 And this is the regulation of the dwellers (according to which they should) act during the period of the wickedness until there arises the Messiah (from) Aaron and Israel, up to ten men at least, 5 to thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. And when there arise ten, the man who is a priest learned in the Book of †the Hagu† shall not depart. According to his word shall they all be ruled. 6 And if he is not expert in all these, but a man of the Levites is expert in these, the lot shall be that all those that enter into the camp shall go out and come in according to his word.

XV. 7-8. *Law as to Leprosy.*

- 7 And if there be a judgement regarding the law of leprosy which is in a man, then the priest shall 8 come and stand in the camp, and the Censor shall instruct him in the true meaning of the law. And (even) if he is lacking in understanding he shall shut him up; for unto them (i.e. the priests) is the judgement.

XVI. *The Duties of the Censor.*

- 16 1 And this is the regulation of the Censor of the camp. He shall instruct the many in the works of

endless casuistry, our text simply declares that the uncleanness of a man affects the uncleanness of the objects he touches or is near. It is not certain, however, whether our text implies direct or indirect contact. It is probably the latter. If so, its teaching would agree with that of the Sadducees (as against the Pharisees), who extended the power of pollution from direct to indirect contact, Yad. iv. 7.

15. **are polluted like them.** The text reads **לְנִאֻלֵּי שְׂמוּ בָהֶם**, which Schechter has emended into **יִנְאֻלוּ כַּמֹּהֶם**.

16. **like.** For **ב** we must read **כ**.

XV. 1. This verse is of the nature of a title and a fresh statement.

regulation. See note on ix. 1.

dwellers in the cities, i.e. מוֹשְׁבֵי עִירֵי. I have here taken the first word in a collective sense: cf. 2 Sam. ix. 12; 1 Kings x. 5, &c. But see v. 4, xvi. 9.

according to. **פִּי** is to be supplied after **עַל** with Schechter.

that a difference . . . between the unclean and the clean. Quoted from Lev. xi. 47.

between the holy and the common. From Lev. x. 10.

2. **to give instruction.** **לְמַשְׁכִּיל** is to be emended into **לְהַשְׁכִּיל** with Schechter.

always, i.e. (עַתָּה וְעַתָּה). So Schechter restores the text.

4. **dwellers (מוֹשְׁבֵי)** or 'settlement' as Schechter renders it. Cf. xv. 1, xvi. 9.

(according to which . . .) act. According to Schechter the text runs: . . . תִּהְיֶה . . . , which may, with Lévi and Lagrange, be restored **(אֲשֶׁר יִתְהַלֵּךְ בּוֹ)**.

the period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.

the Messiah. See on i. 7.

up to . . . thousands. For **עַד** Lagrange suggests **מִן** and **עַד** in place of **לְ** before **אֲלָפִים**, and so arrives at the rendering, 'from ten at least to a thousand'.

5. **Book of †the Hagu†.** See xi. 2 note.

According to his word shall they all be ruled, i.e. עַל פִּיהוּ יִשְׁקוּ כֹלָם. This doubtful Hebrew is modelled on the equally doubtful Hebrew in Gen. xli. 40.

6. **shall go out and come in according to his word.** From Num. xxvii. 21.

8. The priest was to act in any case.

A similar law, Schechter points out, is to be found in Neg. iii. 1.

lacking in understanding, i.e. בְּתִי.

XVI. 1. **the Censor, i.e. הַמְבַקֵּר.** See x. 10. In Judaism there were officials who went under this name. Their duty was to examine the bodies of the animals brought for sacrifice in order to guard against blemishes. See Keth. 106 a; Jer. Bez. ii. 61 c.

God, and shall make them understand His wondrous mighty acts, and shall narrate before them the things of the world **since its creation**. And he shall have mercy upon them as a father upon his children, and shall for(give) all **that have incurred guilt**. As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation. And every one who joins his congregation, he shall reckon him according to his works, his understanding, his might, his strength, and his wealth. And they shall record him in his place in accordance with his **position** in a lot of the (camp). No man of the children of the camp shall have power to bring a man into the congregation (without) the word of the Censor of the camp. Nor shall any man of them who have entered into the covenant of God do business (with) the children of **the pit** (un)less hand to hand. No man shall do (a thing as buy)ing and sell(ing) un(less he has spoken) to the Censor of the camp, and he shall do (it in the ca)mp and not . . . and so to him who casts forth . . . they, and he who is not connected with . . . And this is the settlement of the camps. All . . . shall not succeed to settle in the land. . . . that have not come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah. And as for all who walk in these the covenant of God standeth fast unto them to save them from all the snares of the pit, for suddenly. . . .

XVII. 1-5. *The four Orders of the Community.*

1, 2 And the regulation of the dwellers of all the camps is: They shall be numbered all by their names, 3 the Priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And they shall be recorded by their names one after another, the Priests first, the Levites second, the 4 children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And so they shall be seated and so they shall 5 ask with regard to every matter. And the Priest who numbers the many (shall be) from thirty years old even unto sixty years old, learned in the Book (of the Hagu and) in all the judgements of the Law to direct them according to their judgements.

His wondrous mighty acts, i.e. גבורות פלאי. The text reads the second word as פלאי. On the phrase cf. v. 5. things, i.e. נהיות. Cf. ii. 7.

since its creation. The text reads בפרתיה 'in detail', which I have emended into מבריותיו.

2. **forgive**. The text is imperfect, i.e. . . . ויש, which I complete as ישלח, i.e. יסלח: cf. ii. 3, where the noun (סליחות) derived from this verb occurs. See also v. 3. This forms a good parallel to 'have mercy' (ירחם) in the preceding clause.

all that have incurred guilt, i.e. כל המחבים. So I emend כל מרחובם. Perhaps the original was simply כל חובם 'all their guilt'.

3. **As a shepherd does his flock**. From Isa. xl. 11.

loose . . . their knots (חרצובות קשריהם). Cf. 1 Enoch v. 10; Dan. v. 12 משרא קטרין. Also Isa. lviii. 6 (Lévi) חרצובות רשע החר.

oppressed and crushed. Deut. xxviii. 33. These words are in the masc. sing.

5. **position**. The text reads כפי יהותו which I take to be a corruption of כפי היותו, which I find Lévi has already proposed.

of the (camp), i.e. ה(מחנה). So also Lévi.

6. **shall have power**, i.e. ימשול.

without. There is a gap here. Supply בלא.

7. **entered into the covenant of God**. See ii. 1 note.

Nor . . . do business, i.e. the Rabbinic phrase אל ישא ואל יתן. Cf. Shabb. 31 a, B. Mezia 48 a.

children of the pit. So Laszynsky emends בני השחר 'sons of the morning' into בני השחת. Cf. viii. 12. Schechter proposes בני הנכר as in xiii. 11.

8. **a thing as buying or selling**. So Schechter restores the text רבך למקח ולמכר.

him who casts forth, i.e. קַרְשׁ, which could mean also 'common land' if differently pointed.

9. **settlement**. See xv. 4 note.

11. This fragment of Isa. vii. 17 has already been quoted in ix. 3 and with the same divergence from the Massoretic text, i.e. למיזם for מיזם.

12. **And as for all . . . standeth fast unto them**. These words have already occurred in viii. 21.

suddenly. The following letters ונענו are legible, which Lévi would complete as ונענו 'shall be wounded'.

XVII. 5. **the many**. The Hebrew reads אש before these words corruptly for את.

from thirty years . . . sixty years old. These words could be connected with 'the many', i.e. the congregation as a whole, but the next verse is in favour of making them refer to the priest.

learned in the Book (of the Hagu). See note on xi. 2.

learned, i.e. מבוגר as in xi. 2.

to direct them, &c. לדרבנם כמשפטם.

XVII. 6–8. *Duties of the Censor.*

6 And the Censor who is over all the camps shall be from thirty years old even unto fifty years
7 old, a **master** in every counsel of men, and in every tongue . . . According to his word shall come
8 in those who enter the congregation every man in his due order. And as regards any matter on
which it shall be incumbent for any man to speak, he shall speak to the Censor in regard to any
suit or cause.

XVIII. 1–5. *Almsgiving.*

18 1, 2 And this is the regulation for the many in order to provide for all their needs. The wages of
two days every month is the rule. And they shall give it into the hands of the Censor and the
3 judges. From it they shall give . . . and (from) it they shall strengthen the hand of the poor and
4 the needy. And to the aged man who . . . to the vagrant and him (who) was taken captive of
5 a strange people. And to the virgin who has (no dot) (and to him whom) no man careth for: every
6, 7 work . . . and not . . . And this is the explanation of the settlement . . . And this is the
8 explanation of the judgements which . . . (The Messiah from) Aaron and Israel. And He will
9 pardon our sins . . . in money and he shall know . . . punishment six days and who shall
10 speak . . . against Mos(es) . . .

XIX. *Laws as to Oaths.*

19 1 . . . (Shall not swe)ar either by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, but by the oath (written) in

6. from thirty years old, &c. The Levites were to enter on office the thirtieth year according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30; 1 Chron. xxiii. 3: the twenty-fifth according to Num. viii. 23–26: the twentieth according to Ezra iii. 8; 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.

a master in every counsel, i.e. בעל בכל סוד. Here I have changed the MS. reading בעל בעול into בעל. Lagrange has here anticipated me. Lévi emends into בהון 'expert'.

7. Cf. xvi. 4, 6.

in his due order, i.e. בְּתָרוֹ. Cf. Esther ii. 12 for the idiom.

8. suit or cause. 2 Sam. xv. 4.

XVIII. 1. the regulation for the many. סֵדֶר הָרַבִּים.

to provide for, &c., i.e. להכין כל הפציהם.

2. two days, i.e. שְׁנֵי יָמִים. This is one possible way of reading the MS. according to Schechter. The other, he says, is תְּרוּמָתָם הֵם. But this, though he translates it, is not possible in itself, nor does it, even if corrected, give any fitting sense.

the rule, i.e. הַמִּשְׁפָּט.

3. give . . . The MS. is torn and faded here. Schechter thinks that עם . . . בעד can be made out, and suggests בעד עניים 'for the poor'. But as the phrase עני ואביון occurs immediately after, this is unlikely. Possibly the original was בעד לויים 'on behalf of the Levites'. But the matter is wholly uncertain.

and from it. The text reads מִנִּי וּמִמֶּנּוּ.

strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy, i.e. מִמֶּנּוּ יִחַזְקוּ בִיד עֲנִי וְאֲבִיּוֹן. From Ezek. xvi. 49.

4. the vagrant, i.e. אֲשֶׁר יָנוּעַ. But the reading is doubtful.

to him who. Text reads . . . לֹא, i.e. לְאִישׁ.

5. and to him whom. (וְלֹאִשׁ) is to be read here; for after the preceding words there is room for four letters. For the clause, see Jer. xxx. 17.

7. (The Messiah from). See note on i. 7.

8. And He will make atonement. Since in the other four passages where atonement is mentioned God is the agent, we conclude that it is so here. See v. 5 note.

9. money, i.e. מָמוֹן. Cf. Aboth ii. 12 יהי ממון חברך חביב עליך כשֶׁלֶךְ for the earliest use of this term.

10. Mos(es). Doubtful. The next line, which is the last of the page in the MS., is lost.

XIX. It is quite uncertain whether this chapter, which begins with the top of the next page, follows immediately on what precedes. One or more folios may be lost.

1. swear. There is room for יִשָּׁבַע at the beginning of the line, but only ע remains.

by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, i.e. בְּאֵלֶּף וְלָמֶד וְגַם בְּאֵלֶּף וְדָלֶת. That is, the first two letters respectively of the divine names, אֱלֹהִים of אֱלֹהִים and אֲדֹנָי (Adonai). The divine names were used freely in oaths by the Jews. In Shebuoth iv. 13 it is said that if a man adjures another by the divine names, Aleph Daleth, Jod-He Shaddai, &c., he is under obligation; but not if he adjures by the terms 'by heaven and earth'.

משביע אני עליהם . . . הרי אלו חייבין: בשמים ובארץ הרי אלו פטורין: באלף דלת בוד הי בשדי . . . בכלל חייב. They were allowed to swear by the Temple, Jerusalem, or their own heads. See Lightfoot on Matt. v. 33–36. The Samaritans, according to Jer. Sanh. 28b (Schechter), were accustomed to use the sacred name of Yahweh in their oaths.

but by the oath. This restrictive clause shows that no form of the divine name was to be used in taking

- 2, 3 the curses of the covenant. But the Law of Moses he shall not mention, for . . . And if he swears
 4 and transgresses he profanes the Name. And if by the curses of the covenant . . . the Judges.
 5 And if he transgress he shall be held guilty: but if he confess and make restitution he shall
 6 not bear (the penalty) of death. And whosoever in all Israel shall enter into the covenant by a statute
 7 for ever, together with their children who are (not of an age) to pass over into the number of those
 8 who are enrolled by the oath of the covenant, shall confirm it on their behalf. And this is also
 9 the law throughout the entire period of the wickedness for every one who returns from his corrupt
 10 way. On the day when he speaks with the Censor of the many they shall enrol him by the oath
 11 of the covenant that Moses established with Israel—the covenant to re(turn to the Law of
 12 M)oses . . . with all (his) heart . . . (and with all his) soul: as regards that which there is found
 13, 14 to be done †by them† . . . And no man shall make known to him the laws until he stand before the
 15 Censor (who) shall **search out** concerning him when he examines him. And when he imposes it
 16 upon him to return to the Law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul . . . of him if . . .
 17 And every thing that was revealed of the Law with regard to a suit . . . in him . . . the Censor
 18 him and shall command him . . . until . . . killed him . . . and the madman and all . . . (loss of
 19 *five lines*) covenant with you and with the whole of Israel. Therefore the man shall impose it
 20 upon himself to return to the Law of Moses; for in it everything is accurately treated.

XX. 1. *Reference to the Book of Jubilees.*

- 20 1 And as for the exact statement of their periods to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all
 these, behold, it is treated accurately in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to
 their Jubilees and their Weeks.

an oath. Only the oath of the covenant was allowed. In 2 Enoch xlix. 1–2 swearing by heaven or earth or any
 other 'created thing' was forbidden. The Essenes forbade all swearing: cf. Jos. B. I. ii. 8. 6; Philo ii. 458.

written. So Lévi supplies the lacuna.

2. This seems to mean that a man is not to swear by the Law.
 for. There is a loss of ten to twelve letters here.

3. ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם. This verse is a paraphrase of Lev. xix. 12. A false oath is a profanation
 of the divine name.

4. covenant. Schechter proposes to fill up the lacuna by יובא לפני 'shall be brought before'.

5. he shall be held guilty. Cf. the concluding words of Lev. v. 2, 3, 4.
 confess. Cf. Lev. v. 5.

the penalty. I restore the lost word by עניש. Cf. Prov. xix. 19.

6. This verse is difficult. The rendering I have given is purely tentative. The text seems to be corrupt.

The lacuna is possibly to be supplied as follows: אשר לא.

together with their children, i.e. בניהם. We have only הבא before = 'he who enters', but this is taken
 as the plural.

pass over into the number of those who are enrolled, i.e. לעבור על הפקודים. This phrase is from Exod.

xxx. 13 or 14. With these words we should perhaps connect 'by the oath of the covenant' as in v. 8.

shall confirm it. The text reads יקומו, which is to be emended to יקמו 'shall confirm'.

7. period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.

8. enrol. See note on v. 6.

—the covenant. The text is grammatically impossible.

9. to return to the Law of Moses. The text is to be restored as in v. 11 ושה (חורת מ)שה.

10. search out. The MS. is torn in the middle of the word, which, according to Schechter, looks like יחפוד,
 and which he emends into יחפוש. So I have rendered. It is worth noting that the two verbs חפש and דרש are
 combined in Lam. iii. 40.

11. imposes it upon him, i.e. יקים אותו עליו. Cf. Esther ix. 21, 31. It could also be reflexive: i.e. 'imposes
 it upon himself'. Cf. Esther ix. 27, 31.

to return to the Law of Moses. Cf. v. 14, xx. 2.

12. a suit. Cf. xvii. 8. Of the next two lines only odd words survive, and the remaining eight (?) lines
 are wholly lost.

14. impose it upon himself. Here I emend יקום into יקים and נפשו into נפשך. See v. 11 note.

to return to the Law, &c. See v. 11.

accurately treated. i.e. מדויק. A Talmudic term.

XX. the exact statement of their periods. This phrase has already occurred in ii. 8.

to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all these. The text reads מכל אלה יש" לעורן which I have
 emended into בכל אלה יחזכר יש" לחזכר יש" בכל אלה.

the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks. This
 appears to be the Book of Jubilees, though, among the many titles under which this book was known, this title
 nowhere appears. (See my edition, p. xiv sq.) It recalls the Prologue to this book, which runs: 'This is the

XX. 2-12. *Laws as to Oaths and Vows.*

- 2 And on the day on which the man imposes it upon himself to return to the law of Moses the
 3 angel of Mastema will depart from him if he make good his word. Therefore Abraham was
 4 circumcised on the day of his knowing it. As to what he said, 'That which is gone forth from
 5 thy lips thou shalt keep' to make it good—No binding oath, which a man imposes upon himself
 6 with a view to perform a commandment of the law, shall he **cancel** even at the risk of death.
 7 Nothing which a man (imposes) upon himself with a view to (frustrate the la)w shall he make
 8 good even at the risk of death. (As for) the oath of the woman, whose oath Mos(es sa)id should
 9 be disallowed, no man shall disallow an oath which no man knew. It is to be confirmed. And
 10 whether it be to disallow or to transgress the covenant, he shall disallow it and not confirm it.
 11 And so is also the law for her father. As to the law of the of(fer)ings no man shall vow anything
 12 for the altar under compulsion. Nor shall the (pr)iests take anything from the Israelites . . .
 13 (Nor) shall a man dedicate the food . . . this is what he said, 'They hunt every man his brother
 14 with a net.' Nor shall de(vote) . . . of all . . . his possession . . . holy . . . shall be punished
 15 he . . . who takes a vow . . . to the judge . . .

history of the division of the days . . . of the events of the years, of their weeks, of their jubilees.' Here, as in our text, 'the weeks' are 'weeks of years'.

2. imposes it upon, &c. See xix. 11, 14. The text reads יקום here, which may be right, i.e. 'stand upon himself to return to'. But it may be best to read יקים.

angel of Mastema. Cf. Jubilees x. 8, xi. 5, 11, xviii. 9, &c.

4. That which is gone forth, &c. Quoted from Deut. xxiii. 24.

5. binding oath, i.e. שבועת אסר. This phrase is from Num. xxx. 13.

cancel. The text reads יפרהו 'redeem' is emended into יפרהו as Schechter suggests.

risk of death, i.e. מחיר מות.

6. imposeth, i.e. יקים of which only the מ survives.

to frustrate the law, i.e. להפר התורה.

7. (As for). We may supply על here as in v. 9 and xiii. 1.

Moses said, i.e. אמר משה.

should be disallowed. Cf. Num. xxx. 6-9.

which no man knew, i.e. אשר לא ידע(נה אדם).

It is to be confirmed. i.e. להקים הוא. Cf. viii. 12 on this construction.

8. The same rule holds with regard to the law and the covenant.

9. offerings, i.e. הנדבחות.

under compulsion. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 'Not grudgingly nor of necessity'.

10. the priests, i.e. הכהנים.

11. They hunt every . . . net. The text reads איש את ע. דו . . . דו הרם, which is to be restored in accordance with Micah vii. 2 איש את אחיהו יצודו הרם.

12. The fragments here translated are all that survive of eight (?) lines of the MS.

APPENDIX ON IX. 22 a.

THIS clause is clearly derived from Mic. ii. 11 והיה מטיף העם הזה כוב . . . והיה מטיף כוב. Our author says that the Pharisees heed neither the facts of the present as to God's wrath against the nation nor the words of Moses in the past owing to a false prophet. The clause referring to this false prophet is corrupt both in A and B, but by a comparison of the two we can in some measure recover the original. A and B are as follows—the words dependent on Micah, whether corrupt or not, being underlined—

A מבוהל רוח ומטיף כוב הטיף להם

B הולך רוח ושקל [מזפת סופות] ומטיף אדם לכוב

Here מבוהל in A is a wrong emendation of הולך which B has preserved. Next, שקל in B is corrupt for שקר as in Mic. ii. 11. But the corruption שקל led to the addition of סופות in order to give some meaning to שקל. שקל is a dittograph of סופות. Again, כוב as object of מטיף in A seems right and not לכוב. Further, אדם cannot be right, whereas להם can stand. Hence we would restore as follows:

הולך רוח ושקר ומטיף כוב הטיף להם

and translate: 'For one who walked in the spirit of falsehood and talked lies talked to them.'

Of course, it would be possible to translate בכל אלה, which I have rendered 'despite all these things', as meaning 'all these things', and render thus: 'But all these things they . . . perceived not . . . (i.e.) that the wrath of God . . . Nor that Moses said . . .'

INDEX TO VOLS. I AND II

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THE INDEX

THE references are to chapter and verse in the case of references to the Text, to the chapter and verse under which the note is given in the case of references to the notes, and to sections in the case of references to the Introductions to the various books.

§ prefixed to a number indicates that the reference is to a section in the Introduction to the Book in question.

† prefixed to a word or name indicates a corrupt reading.

		VOL.	PAGES
A. & E.	Books of Adam and Eve	II	123-154
Add. Esth.	Additions to Esther	I	665-684
Ah.	Ahikar	II	715-784
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses (text given in Books of Adam and Eve)	II	138-154
Arist.	Letter of Aristeas	II	83-122
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses	II	407-424
Azar.	Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Children	I	625-637
1 Bar.	First Book of Baruch, Apocryphal Baruch	I	599-595
2 Bar.	Second Book of Baruch, Apocalypse (Syriac) of Baruch	II	470-526
3 Bar.	Third Book of Baruch	II	527-541
Bel	Bel and the Dragon	I	652-664
1 En.	First Book of Enoch, Ethiopian Enoch	II	163-281
2 En.	Second Book of Enoch, Slavonic Enoch	II	425-469
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy	I	596-611
1 Esd.	First Book of Esdras	I	1-58
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra	II	542-624
Jub.	Book of Jubilees	II	1-82
Judith	Judith	I	242-267
1 Macc.	First Book of Maccabees	I	59-124
2 Macc.	Second " "	I	125-154
3 Macc.	Third " "	I	155-173
4 Macc.	Fourth " "	II	653-685
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah	II	155-162
P. A.	Pirkê Aboth, or Sayings of the Fathers	II	686-714
P. Man.	Prayer of Manasses	I	612-624
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon	II	625-652
S. A. & E.	Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae. See A. & E.	II	134-136
Sib.	Sibylline Oracles (Jewish)	II	368-406
Sir.	Sirach or Ecclesiasticus	I	268-517
Sus.	Susanna	I	638-651
Test.	Testaments	II	282-360
T. A.	Testament of Asher	II	342-345
T. B.	" " Benjamin	II	354-360
T. D.	" " Dan	II	332-335
T. G.	" " Gad	II	339-342
T. Iss.	" " Issachar	II	325-328
T. Jos.	" " Joseph	II	346-354
T. Jud.	" " Judah	II	315-325
T. L.	" " Levi	II	304-315
T. N.	" " Naphtali	II	335-339
T. R.	" " Reuben	II	296-300
T. S.	" " Simeon	II	300-303
T. Z.	" " Zebulun	II	328-332
Test. App. I	First Appendix to the Testaments, i.e. Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, containing Fragments of the Original Testament	II	361-363
Test. App. II	Second Appendix to the Testaments, i.e. Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an Original Source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees	II	364-367
Tob.	Tobit	I	174-241
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom	I	518-568
Zad.	Zadokite Fragments	II	785-834

INDEX

Aaron, 1Esd. 8² Sir. 45^{6-22,25}
Wisd. 18²¹ 1En. 80^{18,31,37} 2Bar.
50¹ 4Macc. 7¹² P.A. 1¹² Zad.
8³; glory of, Sir. 45²⁰; seed
of, 1Macc. 7¹⁴; son of, 4Macc.
7¹²; sons of, 1Esd. 1^{13,14} 5⁵
Tob. 17⁽⁶⁾ Sir. 50^{18,16}.
— and Israel, judges from, Zad.
11^{1,2}; Messiah from, 9¹⁰ (B)
29(B) 15⁴ 18⁸; religious re-
vival from, 1¹⁵ 8³. See Mes-
siah, Zadokite Party.
— Levi and, Zad. 11²; cf. 15⁶.
See Levi.
— Moses and, arose through
Prince of Lights, Zad. 7¹⁹.
Ab, the month, Ah. 3^{9,11} (Syr.).
Abadias, 1Esd. 8³⁵.
Abal, Bel. 2.
Abba Shaul, P.A. 2¹¹.
Abdera, Arist. 31.
Abel, Jub. 4^{1,2,4,7,31} A. & E.
22^{3,4,5} 23^{1,2} 48^{4,6} Apoc. Mos.
1³ 2² 3^{1,3} 40³ 43¹ 1En. 22^{6,7}
85^{3,4,6} T.Iss. 5⁴ T.B. 7⁴ 4Macc.
18¹¹.
Abel-Maul, T.L. 2^{8,5(p)}.
Abelsjail, 1En. 13⁹.
Abestan, wife of Ahikar, Ah.
4^{6,8,12,16} 63⁶ (Arm.). See Esh-
fagni.
Abhorred. See Nations.
Abietes, Arist. 50.
Abikam, feigned name of Ahi-
kar, Ah. 6^{9,10} (Arm.) 6^{9,10,11,12,13}
(Syr.) 61^{2,14,15-24} (Arab.).
Abila, T.L. 6¹.
Abimelech, Jub. 24^{8,13,17,26}.
Abimelech, 3Bar. *Prof.* 2.
Abiram, 4Macc. 2¹⁷. See Dathan.
Abisue, 1Esd. 8².
Abodes, God's four on earth,
= Garden of East; Mount of
East; Mount Sinai; Mount
Zion, Jub. 4²⁶.
Abomination, Sir. 13²⁰ 15¹⁸ 19²³;
of desolation set up on the
altar, 1Macc. 1⁶⁴*n.*; pulled
down, 6⁷.
Abominations, Sir. 27³⁰ 49³ P.
Man. 10.
Abraeus, Arist. 48.
Abraham, 1Macc. 2⁵² 12²¹
2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² 14⁷ Judith
8²⁶ Sir. 44¹⁹⁻²¹ 51¹² Wisd.
10⁵ 1Bar. 2⁸⁴ Azar. 12, Add.
Esth. C^{8,30} Jub. 17^{618,10} 15^{7,11},
15^{17,18,22-24,26,30} 16^{1,2,7,10,13-15},
30 17^{1,2,4-6,8,15-17} 18^{1,10,12-14,17}
19^{1,3,8,10,11,15,16} 20¹ 21¹ 22^{1,4,5},
16^{23,26} 23^{2-7,9,10} 24^{1,2,10,18,22,23}
25^{5,7,17} 26²⁴ 27^{11,22} 29^{4,16,17,19}
31^{6,7,25,32} 32^{22,23} 33²¹ 35¹⁴ 36¹⁻³,
6^{12,20} 39⁶ 41²⁸ 44⁴ 45¹⁵ 48⁸
1En. 89¹⁰ 93⁵ T.L. 6⁹ 81⁵ 91²
15⁴ 18^{6,14} 19⁶ T.Jud. 17^{6(a)} 25¹
T.D. 7² T.N. 1¹⁰ T.A. 7⁷ T.
Jos. 6⁷ T.B. 1² 10⁴ 6⁸ Test.
App. 18^{8,9} 9⁶ 10² II 11, 17, 22,

57 Ass. Mos. 3⁹ 2Bar. 4⁴ 57¹
4Ez. 6⁸ 7¹⁰⁶ Ps.Sol. 9¹⁷ 18⁴
4Macc. 7¹⁹ 9²¹ 13¹⁷ 14²⁰ 15²⁸
16^{20,25} 17⁶ 18^{1,21,23} P.A. 3¹⁶
5^{3,4,9,22} 61¹ Zad. 4^{2,3} 20³; be-
loved of God, Azar. 12; burns
idols, Jub. 12¹²; chose not his
own will, Zad. 4²; chose the
Lord for his God, and kept
holy Hebrew language, Test.
App. I 8^{3,6}; circumcised on
day he knew the Law, Zad.
20³; death of, Jub. 23¹⁻⁸;
delivered the commandment
to Isaac and Jacob, Zad. 4³;
dying commands of, Jub. 21ⁿ.
T.L. 9¹² Test. *App.* II. 16,
17; faithful in temptation,
1Macc. 2⁵²; great exploits of,
Jub. 11¹⁹⁻²³; house of, Jub.
22²⁴; judgement of, Jub. 41²⁸;
last words to, and blessing of,
Jacob, Jub. 22¹⁰⁻³⁰; learns
Hebrew, Jub. 12²⁵⁻²⁷; loves
Jacob more than Esau, Jub.
10¹⁵⁻³⁰; = plant of righteous
judgement, 1En. 93⁵; prayers
of, Jub. 11¹⁷ 12¹⁹⁻²¹ 22⁶⁻⁹;
recorded friend (of God), Zad.
4²; resisted the evil inclination,
Zad. 4²⁻³; seed of, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁷
18⁴; Shield of, i.e. God, Sir.
51^{12x}; sons of, 4Macc. 61^{7,22}
18²³; Spartans of stock of,
1Macc. 12²¹; tower of, Jub.
20^{16,17,19} 36²⁰; trials of, Jub.
17^{17,18}—ten, 19⁸ P.A. 5⁴; =
white bull, 1En. 89¹⁰; words
of, Jub. 25⁵ 39⁶. See Abram.
Abraham, an elder, Arist. 49.
Abram, Terah's uncle, Jub. 11¹⁴.
Abram = Abraham, Terah's son,
Jub. 11^{15,18-20,23,24} 12^{1,9,12,15,16}
13^{1,11,18-15,19,21,23-25,28,29} 14^{1,12},
15^{18,20-24} 15^{1,3,7}, name changed
to Abraham, 15⁷.
Absalom. See Jonathan.
— See Mattathias.
— envoy of Maccabaeans,
2Macc. 11¹⁷ ? cf. 1Macc. 13¹¹.
'Absolution' pronounced by
priest, Sir. 50²¹*n.*
Abstinence from wine and flesh,
T. Jud. 15⁴ T.Iss. 7³.
Abtalion, P.A. 1^{10,11}.
Abu Samik, the executioner,
Ah. 4⁸ 5⁸⁻¹⁰ 7^{24,25} (Arab.). See
Ibn Samik, Nabusemakh, &c.
Abubus. See Ptolemy, son of A.
Abusmag, the executioner, Ah.
4^{6,9,11,12} 5^{8,9,10} 7⁷ (Arm.).
See Nabusemakh, Nabu-
miškun.
Abydos, Riv. 5⁸⁶.
Abyrus, river, 3Bar. 4⁷.
Abyss, the, Sir. 24⁵*n.* 2En. 28³
2Bar. 59⁵.
— or depths, dried by the look
of God, 4Ez. 8²³*n.*

Abyss, in 1En. — 21⁷; of com-
plete condemnation, 1En. 54⁶;
of fire, 1En. 10¹³ 18¹¹ 21⁷ 54⁵
90²⁸⁻²⁶; of the earth, 1En. 88³;
a great, = place of destruction
for the earth, 1En. 83^{4,7};
a narrow, deep, horrible, and
dark, 88¹; in the midst of the
earth, 90²⁸, cf. 26¹; place of
punishment, see Gehenna.
Abysses, 1En. 77³ T.L. 3⁹; of
the earth, 1En. 89⁷; of the
ocean, 60⁷; of the sea, 60⁹.
See also Chasm, Deep, Depth,
Ravine, Valley.
Accaba, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Accepting person, Sir. 4²⁷.
Accos. See Eupolemus.
Accursed, the, 1En. 22¹¹ 27².
See Valley.
Accusation, false, Sir. 26⁶.
Achar, 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁷.
Achbor, Jub. 38^{22,23}.
Acheron, 1En. 17⁶*n.* Sib. 5⁴⁸⁵.
Acherusian lake, Apoc. Mos.
37³.
Achilles, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
Achior, leader of Ammonites,
Judith 5²² 61^{2,5,10,13,16,20} 11³
14^{5,6,10}.
Achipha, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Achish, king of Persia, Ah. 3⁷
(Arab.). See Akhi, Shah.
†Achor, T. Jud. 3^{8,4(β)}.
Achuzan, 2En. 64² 68⁵.
Acting presumptuously. See
Presumptuously.
Acub, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Acud, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Ada, Reuben's wife, Jub. 34²⁰.
Adaeus, Arist. 47.
Adam, Tob. 8⁶ Sir. 33¹⁰ Wisd.
7¹ 10¹ Jub. 23³ 31^{3-6,8,9,15,21,25},
27^{30,32} 47^{10,29} (death) 16⁸
19^{24,27} 22¹³ A. & E. 2³ 3¹⁻³ 4²
5¹ 6¹ 7^{1,2} 8¹ 9² 10³ 12^{1,2} 13^{1,2}
14³ 17^{1,3} 18¹ 19³ 20^{4,8} 21² 22¹,
24⁵ 23^{2,3} 24^{1,2} 25¹ 30^{1,4} 31²
32¹ 35^{1,3} 36¹ 40^{1,2} 41⁸ 42^{2,5} 43¹
44¹ 45^{1,2} 46² 48^{1,4,5,6} 49¹ S.A.
& E. 28^{1,2} 32^{1,2} 33^{1,3} 34²⁻⁴
35^{1,2} 36^{1,3,4} 37¹ 39¹ 40¹ Apoc.
Mos. 11² 21^{2,4} 32³ 41² 51⁴ 68³
71⁸ 81⁹⁻¹³ 132³ 15³ 21^{1,3} 22²
23^{1,4} 24^{1,2,7,24} 28¹⁻⁵ 29^{2,4,5} 31¹,
32³ 33³ 34² 35⁴ 36¹ 37^{2,3} 39¹
1En. 32⁶ 37¹ 85³⁻⁷ Sib. 3²⁴
5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶*n.* 2En. 30¹⁰⁻¹³ 31^{1,3,6}
32¹⁰ 41¹ 58¹⁻³ 2Bar. § 10, 4³ 17²,
18² 23⁴ 48⁴² 54^{15,19} 56⁶ 3Bar.
4^{8,16} 9⁷ 4Ez. 3^{10,21,26} 4³⁰ 66^{4,56}
71^{17,70,116,118}; = angel, a second,
2En. 30¹¹*n.*; animals subjected
to, 2En. 58³; buried by angels,
A. & E. 48⁴⁻⁶; created alone,
Wisd. 10<sup>n., of earth, Sir. 33¹⁰;
creation of, 2En. 30¹⁰⁻¹²; fall
of, Jub. 31¹ Sib. 5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶*n.*; four
letters of, 2En. 30¹³*n.* Sib. 3²⁴;</sup>

God came to earth for his sake
at creation, 2En. 58^{1,2,3}; hand-
writing of, 33¹⁰; in Eden, 31¹
—five and a half hours in Para-
dise, 32¹; lord on earth, 31³;
named from the four quarters
of the world, 30¹³*n.*; pre-emi-
nence of, Sir. 49¹⁶*n.*; Satan's
designs against, 2En. 31⁶;
source of death, physical, 2Bar.
23⁴*n.*; premature, 54¹⁶*n.* 56⁶;
spiritual, 48⁴²*n.*; transgression
of, brought death, physical and
psychical declension, spiritual
evil, 2Bar. § 10, 4Ez. § 10 (1).
Adam of own soul, each is,
2Bar. 54¹⁹.
Adam, Apocalypse of. See
Adam, Testament of.
Adam, Second, the, doctrine of,
Sir. 49¹⁶*n.*
Adam, Testament or Apoca-
lypse of, A. & E. § 4.
Adam and Eve, in place of
punishment, 2En. 41¹; penance
of, A. & E. 11¹⁻¹³.
Adam and Eve, Books of, ac-
count, § 1; author, a Jew of
Diaspora, § 7; bibliography,
§ 10; composite text, § 6; date
of original text, § 5, of ver-
sions, § 5^a; influence on later
literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; re-
lation of to 2Enoch, 2En.
§ 4; theology of Apoc. Mosis,
A. & E. § 9; titles, § 2; Ver-
sions, ancient, § 4.
Adam and Eve, Conflict of, A. &
E. § 4, 8; Life of, Slavonic,
A. & E. § 4²⁰.
Adam, city, Jub. 13²³.
Adar, month, 1Esd. 7⁵ 1Macc.
7^{43,49}; twelfth month, 2Macc.
15³⁶; Add. Esth. B⁸ E²⁰ F¹⁰.
Adar-Sheni, intercalary month,
1Macc. 9⁹*n.*
Adasa, 1Macc. 7^{40,45}.
Adataneses, city, Jub. 7^{15,17}.
Adath, son of Barad, Jub. 38^{19,20}.
Adath, Jub. 38²³.
Addi, 1Esd. 9³¹.
†Addition, a feast, Jub. 32^{27,29}.
Addo, i.e. Iddo, 1Esd. 6¹.
Addus, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Adiaphotos = Cain, Apoc. Mos.
1³.
Adibaa, Jub. 34²⁰.
Adida, city, 1Macc. 12³⁸ 13¹³.
Adin, 1Esd. 8³².
Adinu, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
Adnarel, 1En. 82¹⁴.
Adoil, 2En. 25^{1,2} (A) Idoil (B).
Adonikam, 1Esd. 5¹⁴ 8³⁹.
Adora, 1Macc. 13²⁰. See Adu-
ram.
Adoran the Aramaean, Jub. 38³.
See Aduram.
Adu, 2Bar. 5⁵.
Aduel, Tob. 1¹.

- Adullam, own, 2Macc. 12⁸⁸
T.Jud. 8².
Adullamite, Jub. 41¹⁴.
Adultery, Sir. 23²³; danger of,
9⁹; death penalty for, Sus. 22;
procedure in case of, 32, 34²².
Aduram, place = Adora, Jub. 38⁸.
Aduram, of Aram, Jub. 37⁹.
See Adoran.
Adversity, Sir. 12⁸ 20⁹ 40²⁴;
advantageous, 20⁹.
Advocate for Israel = Moses,
Ass. Mos. 11¹⁷.
Aedias, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
Aeneas, descendants of, Sib. 3⁴¹².
Aeon, the mighty, a Stoic concep-
tion, Sib. 3⁹².
Aesop, Ah. §§ 2, 3. See vol. II,
780 sqq.
Aesora, Judith 4⁴.
Aetolia, Sib. 3⁴³⁵.
Aferag = Phrygia (?), Jub. 8²⁷.
Afflicted, the, Sir. 4^{3,4,8}.
Affliction, day of, Sir. 3¹⁵ 6¹⁰;
time of, 21¹ 22²³. See Day.
Afra = Africa, Jub. 81⁵.
Agagite, Add. Esth. A17²².
Agar, sons of, 1Bar. 3²³.
Agathocles section of Polybius'
history, 3Macc. § 5, 15²⁵⁻³³.
Age, coming, 4Ez. 7⁴⁷ 81⁵²,
delight to few but torment to
many, 7⁴⁷, hope of, in divine
compassion ultimately, 7¹⁸²⁻²
140, not yet awake, 7⁸¹, solu-
tion of all difficulties, 4²²⁻³²,
symbolized by Jacob, 6⁸; con-
summated, 1En. 16¹, see Con-
summation; first, 4Ez. 6⁷;
passing, 6²⁰; present, 7¹¹² 81²,
hastening to its end, 4²⁶, hope-
less, 4²⁷, symbolized by Esau,
6⁹; world-age, divided into
twelve parts, 14¹¹.
Aged, the, Sir. 8²², 9²⁵ 32 (G
35)⁸, cf. 6⁸⁴; advice to learn
from, 8⁹; respect for, 8⁶; wis-
dom of, 25³⁻⁶.
Ages, two, 4Ez. 7⁵⁰.
Aggaba, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Aggaeus, i.e. Haggai, 1Esd. 6¹
7³.
Agia, 1Esd. 5⁸⁴.
Agrippa, farm of, 3Bar. *Prolog.*
2².
Aguaron = Gomorrha, Mart. Is.
21²². Read Samari.
Ahab, Mart. Is. 21^{22,13,15}.
Ahaziah, son of Ahab, Mart. Is.
21¹³⁻¹⁵.
Ahikar, Tob. 121²² 210¹¹⁸ 1410¹⁰
§ 8 iii; dependence of Tobit
upon, § 8 iii; parallels of,
with Sirach, Sir. § 7 (b); refer-
ences to in Tobit, originality
of, Tob. § 9.
Ahikar, story of, account of,
Ah. § 1; antiquity of, § 2;
materials for critical determi-
nation of text, § 4; (a) Ara-
maic papyrus, Story of Su-
dhana Avadana; (b-g) Ver-
sions, Arabic, Armenian,
Ethiopic, Greek, Slavonic,
Syriac; quotations and refer-
ences, § 3; (a) Democritus;
(b) Tobit parallels; (c) Testa-
ments of Twelve Patriarchs;
(d) O.T.; (e) N.T.; (f) Koran.
Ahitob, 1Esd. 8².
Ahitophel, P.A. 6³.
Ahitub, Judith 8¹.
Ahuzzath, Jub. 24²⁶.
Ai, Jub. 13^{5,16}.
Air, Satanail's place in, 2En.
20⁶.
Akabia ben Mahalalel, P.A. 31.
Akac, 1En. 69¹⁵.
Akatan, 1Esd. 8³⁸.
Akhi, king of Persia and Elam,
Ah. 3⁷ (Syr.). See Achish,
Shah.
Akiba, Rabbi, 1Bar. § 9 ii P.A.
318-20.
Akkos, 1Esd. 5⁸⁸.
Akrabbatine, 1Macc. 5³.
Akrabbim, †forest of, Jub. 29¹⁴.
Alagar Zagar = Salmanassar,
Mart. Is. 3².
Alcimus, 1Macc. 7^{5,9,12,20,21,23,25}
91⁵⁴⁻⁵⁷; desires to be high
priest, 7⁵, gets high-priest-
hood, 7⁵⁻⁹ 2Macc. 14^{8,13,26};
dies, 1Macc. 9⁸⁶; pulls down
wall of sanctuary's inner court,
9⁸⁴.
Alema, 1Macc. 5²⁸.
Alexander and Aristobulus, sons
of Herod, Zad. §§ 1, 6, 12.
See Messiah.
Alexander Balas, Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰,
'a side-shoot', 3³⁹⁷; Alexander
Epiphanes, i.e. Balas, 1Macc.
10¹, 4, 15, 18, 23, 47, 48, 49, 51, 59, 68, 88 11
1, 2, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 39; killed, 11¹⁷.
Alexander the Great, 1Macc.
11^{1,7} 6² 1En. 89⁸⁹, 90¹ Sib.
4⁸⁷⁻⁹⁶ 5⁴⁻⁷; divides his em-
pire, 1Macc. 1⁶.
Alexander Jannaeus, 1En. 38²².
103^{14,15}, T.L. 14⁵, dispute
of, with Pharisees, Sus. § 7.
Alexandra, 1En. § 7.
Alexandria, 3Macc. 3¹ Arist. 22,
109, 173 Sib. 5⁸⁸; Jewish com-
munity at, Arist. 308, 310;
Jews at, rulers of, of Sadducean
type, Wisd. 1¹². See Temple.
Alexandrian citizenship, 3Macc.
2³⁰ 3²¹.
Alexandrine Canon included
Sirach, Sir. § 8; doctrine ab-
sent from Add. Esth. § 7;
ideas in 2 Enoch § 3; litera-
ture, 3Macc. § 7; theology,
4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁶, views of im-
mortality, Wisd. § 9 4Macc.
§ 9. See Immortality.
All Flesh. See Flesh.
All-king, i.e. God, Sir. 50¹⁵.
Allar, 1Esd. 5³⁶.
Allegorizing tendency, Arist.
150²²; in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.
Allon, 1Esd. 5⁸⁴.
Alms, Tob. § 10 B (2), 13¹⁶ 214
4⁷⁵, 16 12⁹⁵, 14¹⁰ Sir. § 4, 3³⁰
4⁴ 7¹⁰². 12⁷ 29⁸ P.A. 12 Zad.
181-5.
Almsgiving, atones for sin, Sir.
3³⁰ Tob. 12⁸, see Atonement;
a duty, Sir. 4⁴; is bestowal of
kindnesses, P.A. 1²; is right-
eousness, Sir. 7¹⁰²; to evil not
meritorious, 12⁷. See Giving,
Pharisees, Poor.
Alphabet, Jewish, Arist. 11, cf.
3, 30. See Characters.
Alphas, 3Bar. 4⁷.
Altar rebuilt, 1Esd. 5⁴⁸; of burnt
offering, polluted, 1Macc. 1⁶⁴;
pulled down, 4^{45,46}; new built,
4⁴⁷. See Altar of sacrifice.
Altar of incense, 2Bar. 6⁷; pre-
served and hidden by Jeremiah,
2Macc. 2⁵.
— of sacrifice, new, and fresh
fire, for rededicated Temple,
2Macc. 10⁸.
Amada = Imlah, Mart. Is. 21²².
Amalek, T.S. 6³.
Amana, mountains of, Jub. 82¹
9⁴.
†Amanisakir. See Maanisakir.
Amarias, 1Esd. 8².
Amaseqa, Jub. 38²⁰.
Amram, T.L. 12^{2,4}. See Am-
ram.
Ambri, children of, 1Macc.
9³⁶, 37.
Amen, liturgical use of, P.Man.
15²² Tob. 8⁸ Judith 13²⁰.
Amilabes = Abel, Apoc. Mos.
1⁸ 2².
Amman, Ass. Mos. 14.
Ammidioi, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
Ammon, Judith 11² 5^{2,5} 6⁵ 7^{17,18}
Jub. 38⁶; children of, 1Macc.
5⁶ Jub. 29¹⁰ 37¹⁰.
Ammon. See Zeus.
Ammonite(s), 2Macc. 4²⁶ 5⁷
Judith 14⁵; = 'foxes' in 1En.
89^{22,55}.
Amnon, P.A. 51⁹.
Amorite kings, defeat of, Jub.
34²⁻⁹ T.Jud. 3-7.
Amorites, Judith 5¹⁵ Jub. 14¹⁸
29¹¹ 34^{2,5} T.Jud. 7² 12² Ass.
Mos. 11¹⁶.
Amos, Tob. 2⁸.
Amram, Jub. 46¹⁰ 47⁹ Test.
App. II 74-76, see Amram;
stays in Palestine, Jub. 46¹⁰.
Amraphel, Jub. 13²².
Amulets, 2Macc. 12⁴⁰.
Anael, Tob. 12¹.
Anan, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Ananel, 1En. 6⁷.
Ananias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 9²⁹.
Ananias, son of Emmer, 1Esd.
9²¹.
Ananias, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
Ananias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Ananias, Tob. 51^{13(12),14(13)}.
Ananias, Judith 8¹.
Ananias, an elder, Arist. 48.
Ananias, Mart. Is. 2⁹.
Ananias, Azar. 66 4Macc. 13⁹
162¹ 181². See Children, Three.
Anathema, 1En. 9⁵⁴.
Anathoth, 1Esd. 5¹⁸. See John
of A.
Andreas, Arist. 12, 18, 40, 43,
123, 173.
Andronicus, deputy of Antio-
chus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 4³¹;
murderer of Onias, 4³⁴; death,
4³⁸.
Andronicus, governor at Geri-
zim, 2Macc. 5²³.
Aner, Jub. 13²⁹.
Angel, Tob. 5^{4,17,22} 6^{4,5} 9² 12¹⁵,
see Raphael; brings seven
tablets from heaven in Levi's
vision, Jub. 32²¹; destroying,
Wisd. 18²⁶; fiery, smites con-
gregation, 4Macc. 7¹¹; good,
to save Israel, prayer for, an-
swered, 2Macc. 11⁶, cf. 10^{29,30}
15²³ 4Macc. 4¹⁰; of Abraham,
T. Jos. 6⁷; of death, 2Bar.
21²³, of God, A. & E. 31¹ 36²
Apoc. Mos. 31³ T.R. 31⁵ 5³
T.S. 2⁸ T.L. 2⁶ T.Jud. 10³ 15⁵
21⁵ T.Iss. 21¹ T.D. 5⁴; of God,
with Israel, Ep. Jer. 7; of God,
once referred to in Add. Esth.
D13; of humanity, Apoc. Mos.
32³; of the Lord cast fire on
false witnesses, Sus. § 9, 60-62,
brings Habakkuk miraculously
to feed Daniel, Bel 36-39; of
Mastema, Zad. 20², cf. Jub.
49²; of might, T.Jud. 31⁰; of
peace, T.D. 6⁵ T.A. 6⁸ T.B. 6¹,
meets soul of righteous at
death, T.B. 6¹²; of the pow-
ers, 3Bar. 1⁸, of the presence,
the, Jub. § 15, 17^{27,29}, 21¹, cf.
T.Jud. 25², 1En. 40² (probably
Michael, Israel's guardian
angel, 1En. 20⁶ 2En. 22⁶);
who intercedeth for Israel and
the righteous, T.L. 5⁶, 7¹ T.D. 6².
See Archangels.
Angelic mediation, Tob. § 10.
Angelic patrons of nations (ex-
cept Israel), Sir. 17¹⁷. See
Angels, guardian.
Angiology of Jubilees, parallels
of, with N.T., Jub. § 15.
Angels, Sir. 16⁷ (see Princes)
4Macc. 4¹⁰; anguish of, over
fall of Zion, 2Bar. 67²; armies
of, 2Bar. 48¹⁰ 51¹¹, 59¹⁰;
created on first day, Jub. 2²
2Bar. 21⁶, Cherubim, Sera-
phim, and Ophannim, created
from fire on second, 2En.
29^{1,3}, fall of, Sir. 16⁷ 1En.
61⁶, 12³ 69^{4,5} 86^{4,3} 106¹³
2En. 18^{3,7} 2Bar. 56¹¹⁻¹⁸, see
Demonology; fallen, ask Enoch
to intercede, 2En. 71⁵; food
of, Wisd. 16²⁰ A. & E. 4²;
frighten Apollonius, 4Macc.
41⁰, guardian, Jub. 35¹⁷ A. & E.
33¹; guardian, of the nations,
seventy, Test. *App.* I. 84⁻⁶;
help Eve, A. & E. 21¹; =
hosts of heaven, P.Man. 15;
intercession of, for Adam, A.
& E. 9³ Apoc. Mos. 35²; me-
diation of, Tob. § 10 3Bar.
§ 10, 2—three classes of me-
diating angels, § 10, 2; only
reference to in 3Macc., 61⁸,
orders of, ten, 2En. 20^{1,3},
powers of, A. & E. 48⁶; sym-
bolized by shepherds, 1En.
89⁶⁹⁻⁹⁰, stars, 86^{4,3} 88¹,
white men, 87², cf. 90^{21,22};
titles of—children or sons of
heaven; children of (the)
heaven, 1En. 62 14³; elect and
holy children... from the high
heaven, 39¹; sons of heaven,
13⁸; holy ones (or 'the holy'),
9³ 12² 14²³ 39⁵ 47² 57² 60⁴
61^{8,10,12} 65¹² 69¹³ 71⁸ 81⁶ 106¹⁹,
holy ones of heaven, 9³, cf. 57²,
61¹²; holy angels, 201⁻⁸ 215⁹,
22³ 24⁶ 27² 32⁶ 71⁸ 93²; host
of heaven, host of the heavens,
powers of the heavens, see
Heaven, Heavens; sons of
God, 1En. 61¹⁰ 104⁶, cf. 1⁹ 60¹
69^{4,5}, of the God of heaven,
106⁵; holy sons of God, 71¹;
spiritual ones of the heaven,
1En. 15⁷; spirits of the heaven,

INDEX

15¹⁰—of the glory of the presence, T.L. 18⁵, *see* Angels of the presence; of God, Sir. 122 *crit. note*, marry daughters of men, Jub. 5¹, punishment of them and their children, 5⁵⁻⁹, final judgement, 5¹⁰⁻¹⁶; of the moon, 3Bar. 9⁵; of natural phenomena, Jub. 2² 4Ez. 821ⁿ, do not observe Sabbath, Jub. 218⁷; of the presence, Jub. § 15 127, (one writes history for Moses), who went before the camp of Israel, 120, spoke to Moses, 21, observe Sabbath, 218, *see* 3114 T.L. 3⁵⁽⁹⁾7: of punishment, 1En. 407ⁿ. 53³ 561 6211 631 2En. 103ⁿ: of sanctification, Jub. 2218, observe Sabbath, 218; of the spirit of the clouds and darkness, 22; of the spirits of cold and heat, creatures in the heavens, 22; of the spirit of fire, of the voices, of thunder and lightning, of the winds, of winter and the seasons, 22; of sun, 2En. 114⁵ 3Bar. 613 84; vision of, 3Macc. 618.

Angels. *See* Gabriel, Michael, Phamael, Phanuel, Raguel, Raphael, Remiel, Sammael, Saraqael, Sarasael, Uriel, Zotiel, Powers, Spirits, Virtues.

Anger, T.D. 21-44. *See* Wrath.

Anguish. *See* Day.

Animal worship, Wisd. 1224 1518.

Animals, treatment of, *see* Man, Strangling; in delivery on Sabbath, 1322; fallen into pit on Sabbath, 1328; kindness to, T.Z. 51; under man's dominion, 2En. 588; will not perish till great judgement, when they will accuse their oppressors, 588ⁿ.

Anna, Tob. 120 21, 11 104 116 1412.

Annas, 1Esd. 932.

Annis, 1Esd. 516.

Anniversary of martyrdoms, 4Macc. 110 149.

Annus, 1Esd. 948.

Annuus, 1Esd. 848.

[Anointed one, holy (= Aaron?), Zad. 82.]

Anointed One = Messiah. *See* Christ, Messiah.

Anoniram, T.Jud. 98.

Anos, 1Esd. 984.

Anthropology of 2 Enoch, 2En. § 6.

Antichrist, Test. § 16, T.D. 56ⁿ. *See* Beliar, Dan.

Antigone, city, Sib. 3347.

Antigonos of Socho, P.A. 13.

Antigonus, 1En. 1002ⁿ.

Antigonus Gonatas, naval victory over, Arist. § 1, 180.

Antilibanus, Judith 17.

Antioch, 1Macc. 337ⁿ. 435 663 1068 1144, 56 Sib. 3344 4140; citizenship of, 2Macc. 49ⁿ.

Antiochenes, 2Macc. 49.

Antiochis, mistress of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 430.

Antiochus III, the Great, 1Macc. 110 86 3Macc. 11; victories of, Sir. 108ⁿ.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 1Macc. 110, 16, 20 327 61, 16, 55 2Macc. 114ⁿ. 220 47, 21, 37 51, 5, 17, 21 91-1013.

Azar. 9ⁿ. 1En. 466ⁿ. 1007ⁿ. Sib. 3388-400ⁿ. 4Macc. § 1, 4, 15, 21 51, 4, 5, 16 1017 1723 185; attacks Egypt a second time, 2Macc. 51; conquers Egypt, 1Macc. 116-19; death of, 1Macc. 61-17 2Macc. 928 109; defeated at Persepolis, 2Macc. 912; desecrates Temple, 1Macc. 121-23 2Macc. 515, 21; disease, loathsome of, 2Macc. 95-18; largesses of, 1Macc. 330ⁿ; letter to Jews, 2Macc. 919-27; not the foreign conqueror of Ps.Sol. § 5 (*see* Pompey); persecution of, = a second visitation, Ass. Mos. 81 91; promise to restore sacred vessels, 2Macc. 916, and to become a Jew, 917; repentance of, 2Macc. 912-18; = a sinful shoot, 1Macc. 110, cf. Sir. 4015; supplication of, 2Macc. 915-27.

Antiochus V, Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 333 615, 17, 55 72 2Macc. 220 925, 29 1010, 13 1123, 28 131, 3, 4 142; accession, 1Macc. 61-17 2Macc. 925; death, 142.

Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas, 1Macc. 1130, 54, 57 1289 1331; killed 1331ⁿ. (date?).

Antiochus VII, Sidetes, son of Demetrius I, 1Macc. 1512, 2, 16, 11, 13, 26 Bel § 5.

Antiochus. *See* Numenius.

Antipater, son of Jason, 1Macc. 1216 1422.

Anti-Semitism, 3Macc. §§ 5, 6.

Anxieties of poverty and riches, Sir. 311-4.

Apame, 1Esd. 429.

Aphaerema, i.e. Ephraim or Ephron, 1Macc. 1134ⁿ.

Apherra, 1Esd. 534.

Aphphus. *See* Jonathan.

Aphrodite, Sib. 3122.

Aphrodite, the planet, 2En. 303ⁿ.

Apocalypse of Moses, older than Vita Adae et Evae, A. & E. §§ 6, 7, 9.

Apocalypse of Paul, Sir. 410ⁿ.

Apocalypse of Peter, Sir. 410ⁿ. 1En. 10(c).

Apocalyptic, a Party at one time among Rabbis favourable to, 4Ez. 14ⁿ. *See* Pharisaism, Reveal, Revelations.

Apocryphists, begin survey with creation, 4Ez. 34ⁿ; calculations of, 436-37; imply predestination, 436-37ⁿ.

Apocryph. *See* Jannes and Jambres.

Apocrypha, original connotation of, a secret revelation, Jub. 126ⁿ. 4Ez. 1237ⁿ. 149, cf. 1En. 1073.

Apollonius, 'a chief collector of tribute' (= son of Menestheus?), 1Macc. 129ⁿ. 310, 12; killed, 312.

Apollonius, general of Demetrius II, 1Macc. 1069, 74, 75, 77, 79.

Apollonius of Tarsus, 2Macc. 367; governor of Syria, 4Macc. 42, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14.

Apollonius, son of Gennaues, 2Macc. 122.

Apollonius, son of Menestheus, 2Macc. 44, 21; Mysian commander, 524; massacres Jews, 524.

Apollophanes, 2Macc. 1037.

Apostasy, 1Macc. 152 215 724 658 Wisd. 212 1En. 917 Zad. 82 936.

Apostate deeds, 1En. 933; generation, 939; nation, Sir. 166.

Apostates, 3Macc. 231 323 710.

Azar. 9, 2Bar. 413ⁿ.

Apostolical Constitutions, Sir. § 8; contain P. Man., P. Man. § 3.

Apparitions, 2Macc. § 3, 324^{sq}. 523^{sq}. 118 1511^{sq}.

Appearances often deceitful, Sir. 209-17.

Appendices to Testament of Twelve Patriarchs. *See* Levi, Naphtali.

Appendix to Sirach, Sir. 511-30; a Prayer, 511-12; a Poem, 5113-30; a Thanksgiving, 5112 1-xvi.

Appetites, 4Macc. 135 32.

Apples of Sodom, Wisd. 107.

Aquarius, Sib. 527.

Aquilo, A. & E. 322.

Ara, city (of Chaldees), Jub. 113. *See* Ur.

Arabia, 1Macc. 1116 Judith 225.

Arist. 119.

Arabian Nights, Ah. § 1.

Arabian(s), 1Macc. 589 1117, 39 1231 Sib. 3517.

Arabs, Jub. 2018; defeat of, 2Macc. 1210-12.

Aradus, 1Macc. 1523.

Arakiba, 1En. 67.

Aram, Jub. 718 96 3420 376, 9 411.

Aramaean, Jub. 383.

Aramaic original of 1En. 6-36, 1En. §§ 1, 9.

Aramaic version of Tobit, Tob. § 4 a.

Araquel, 1En. 88.

Arara, land of, Jub. 95.

Ararat, Tob. 121 Jub. 528 71 821 1045, 19.

Aravat, 2En. 203.

Aravoth, the tenth (? seventh) heaven, 2En. 212ⁿ.

Arbatta, place, 1Macc. 523.

Arbela, 1Macc. 92. *See also* Rabael, Robel.

Arbelite, P.A. 167. *See* Nittai.

Arbonai, river, Judith 24.

Archangel, A. & E. 252 Apoc. Mos. 32 221 381.

Archangels, 1En. 20, 40, 2En. 193 201 213 2211; as intercessors on behalf of mankind, T.L. 35(a)ⁿ. *See* Angels, Intercession, Mediation.

Archas, 2En. 2612 (A. 'Aruchas' B).

Ard, Jub. 4425.

Ardat, field of, 4Ez. 926-28ⁿ. 1249-51ⁿ. 1357ⁿ. 1437ⁿ.

Areios, King of Sparta, 1Macc. 127ⁿ. 20.

Arel, Jub. 4420.

Ares, 1Esd. 510.

Ares, Sib. 3437 5334; the planet, 2En. 303.

†Aresa, Jub. 344, 7 (= Asser, Tob. 12) (= Hazor, 1Macc. 1167).

Aretan, T.Jud. 51.

Aretas, Arabian prince, 2Macc. 58.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 1Macc. 1522.

Aries, Sib. 521.

Arioch, king of Elymaeans, plain of, Judith 16.

Arioch, king of Sellasar, Jub. 1322.

Aristeas, Arist. 19, 40, 43.

Aristeas, Letter of, author, a Jew of Alexandria with Pharisaic tendencies, § 4; character, § 1; contents and purpose, § 2; date, § 3; editions, § 8; influence on later literature, § 9; MSS., § 7; relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 4; sources, Arist. § 5; theology and ethical teaching, § 6.

Aristobulus I, 1En. 385ⁿ. 1002ⁿ.

Aristobulus II, Ps. Sol. § 6. *See* Alexander.

Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's teacher, 2Macc. 110.

Ariukh. *See* Orioch.

Ark, the, in the Deluge, 4Macc. 1531 Wisd. 146.

Ark, the, of covenant, preserved and hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 23, *see* 2Bar. 67ⁿ; spoiled, 4Ez. 1022ⁿ.

Armaros, 1En. 67 83 692.

Armen, 1En. 692.

Armenia, Sib. 4114.

Armies ordained for day of judgement, T.L. 33.

Arodi, Jub. 4420.

Arom, 1Esd. 516.

Arpachshad, Jub. 718 81 94, 13 1035.

Arphaxad, Judith § 6, 12, 5, 13, 15. *See* Arpachshad.

Arsaces, king of Persia, 1Macc. 142ⁿ. 3 1522.

Arsamos, Arist. 49.

Arsamos, Arist. 50.

Arsinoe, 3Macc. 114.

Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Arist. 41.

Arsiphurith, 1Esd. 516.

Artagifa, 1En. 692.

Artaxerxes, 1Esd. 216, 17, 50 74 81, 6, 8, 9, 19, 28; decree of, § 1 88-24.

Artaxerxes Ochus, Judith § 1.

Artaxerxes = Xerxes I, Add. Esth. A1, 13 B1 E1; letter of, directing destruction of Jews, B1-7; decree of, revoking previous edict, E1-24.

Artemis, Sib. 5293.

Artisan inferior to Scribe, Sir. 3824-30. *See* Craftsman.

Aruchas. *See* Archas.

Arzareth, 4Ez. 1345ⁿ.

Asadias, 1Bar. 11.

Asael, 1En. 67.

Asam, Jub. 3818, 19.

Asana, 1Esd. 531.

Asaph, sons of, 1Esd. 115 527, 53.

Asara, 1Esd. 531.

Asbasareth, i.e. Esarhaddon, 1Esd. 569.

Asbeel, 1En. 695.

Ascalon, Judith 228. *See* Askalon.

Ascension, Tob. 1220^{sq}; of Baruch, 2Bar. 467; of Isaiah, *see* Isaiah, Martyrdom of; of

- Raphael, compared with Christ's, Tob. 12⁶⁻²².
- Asceticism, as preparation for visions, Mart. Is. 2¹⁴n. 4Ez. 5¹⁴⁻¹⁹. See Chastity, Eating herbs, Fasting.
- Aseas, 1Esd. 9³².
- Asebebias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁷.
- Asebias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.
- Asenath, Jub. 34²⁰ 44²⁴ T.Jos. 20^{3(a)}.
- Aser. See Aresa.
- Asfael, 1En. 82²⁰.
- Ashbel, Jub. 44²⁵.
- Asher, Jub. 28²¹ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁶ 44^{19,20} T.R. 1⁴ T.Jud. 25² T.A. 1^{1,2}.
- Ashdod, Arist. 117. See Azotus.
- Ashtaroth, Zad. 7⁵.
- Ashtaroth, city, Jub. 29¹⁰.
- Asia, 1Macc. 8⁶ 11¹³ⁿ. 12³⁹ 13³¹ 2Macc. 3⁸ Sib. 3^{168,942,360,351,363,364,387,381,388,391,450,599,611} 4^{1,71,76,79,145,148} 9^{9,118,287,292,443,449,461,466} 4Macc. 3²⁰.
- Asibias, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
- Asiel, Tob. 1¹.
- Asipha, 1Esd. 5²⁹.
- Asitho. See Asteho.
- Askalon, 1Macc. 10⁸⁶ 11⁶⁰ 12⁸³ Judith 2³ Arist. 115.
- Asmodens, Tob. 3^{8,17}.
- Asmonean, 1Macc. 2¹ⁿ.
- Asom, 1Esd. 9³³.
- Asonja, 1En. 78².
- Asores = Assyrians, Ah. 4² (Arm.).
- Asorestan = Assyria, Ah. 4¹² &c. (Arm.).
- Asphar, pool, 1Macc. 9³³.
- Aspharatus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Aspis, mountain, i. e. Sirion or Hermon, T.L. 6¹ⁿ.
- Ass, wild = Ishmael, 1En. 89¹¹.
- Assamias, 1Esd. 8⁶⁴.
- Assaphioth, 1Esd. 5³³.
- Assaracus, Sib. 5⁸.
- Assemblies of Jacob, Sir. 24²⁸.
- Assembly, the, Sir. 1³⁰ 4⁷ 7¹⁵ 21¹⁷ 23²⁴ 41¹⁸ 42¹¹ Zad. 9^{29(B)}; of the elders, Sir. 6³⁴ 7¹⁴; in the gate, Sir. 7⁴²; of the Most High, 24²; of the people, . . . of Israel, Ps.Sol. 10^{7,8} 17⁴⁸; of the wicked, Sir. 16⁶ 21⁹; precedence in, Sir. 38⁸³.
- Asser = Hazor, Tob. 1². See Aresa.
- Asses, = a species of giants, 1En. 86⁴; wild = Midianites, 1En. 89^{11,13,16}.
- Asshur, Judith 2¹⁴ 5¹ 7^{17,20,21} 8¹³ 13¹⁵ 14^{2,3,12,19} 15⁶ Jub. 7¹⁸ 9^{3,6} 10^{28,36}; land of, 82¹ 9³; mountains of, 82¹ 9^{6,8}.
- †Asshur, Jub. 13¹.
- Associate = *haber*, P.A. 1⁶ⁿ. 4^{16,23}. See Friend.
- Associating, danger of, with rich, Sir. 13²⁻⁸; with rulers, 13⁹⁻¹³; with one's opposites, 13¹⁵⁻²⁰; with women, see Women.
- Associating with wise, Sir. 9¹⁴; with ungodly, 81⁴⁻¹³ 11⁹ 12¹³ 13¹⁷.
- Assumption of Moses, 2Macc. § 6; relation to 2Bar., Ass. Mos. 3¹⁰⁻¹³ⁿ. See Moses, Assumption of.
- Assyria, Tob. 1¹⁰ 14^{4,15} Sir. 48²¹ Jub. 46⁶ Mart.Is. 3²; in Ahikar *passim*, usually as 'Assyria and Nineveh', cf. Tobit.
- Assyrian, Sib. 3^{160,303,809}.
- Assyrian court, 4Macc. 13⁹.
- Assyrians, 1Esd. 5⁶⁹ 3Macc. 6⁶ Tob. 12³ 14⁴ Judith 1^{1,7,11} 2^{1,4} 4¹ 8⁹ 10¹¹ 1En. 89^{65,66} T.N. 5⁸ Sib. 3^{207,268} 4⁴⁹ 5³³⁶ 4Ez. 13⁴⁰; = tigers in 1En. 89^{65,66}.
- Astad, 1Esd. 5¹³.
- Astath, 1Esd. 8³⁸.
- Asteho, T.Jos. 7⁵.
- Astrology, Sib. 3²²⁷⁻²²⁸ 4Macc. 14²ⁿ.
- Astronomy, Wisd. 7¹⁸ P.A. 3²³.
- Astyages, Bel 1.
- Astypalaea, Sib. 3³⁴⁵.
- Asur, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Asudi, Jub. 44²⁸.
- Atar, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Atel, Jub. 82².
- Ater, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Atergatis, temple of, 2Macc. 12²⁶.
- Ateta, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Athanasius, Sir. 8.
- Athenagoras, 1En. § 10(c).
- Athenian, 2Macc. 6^{18,24}.
- Athenobius, 1Macc. 15^{28,32}.
- Athens, Jews to be equal to citizens of, 2Macc. 9¹⁵.
- Athletic contest, the martyrdom of the seven brothers compared to, 4Macc. § 7.
- Athur = Assyria, Ah. *passim* (Syr.). See Nineveh.
- Atipha, 1Esd. 5³².
- Atonement, Sir. 3³ⁿ 5⁶ⁿ; almsgiving atones for sin, 3³⁰ⁿ; by fasting, for sins of ignorance, Ps. Sol. 3⁹; false doctrine of, warning against, Sir. 7⁸⁻¹⁰; to man, 20²⁸ (gifts do not atone to God, they do to man); impossible for unforgiving, 28⁶; made by martyrs, 4Macc. 6²⁸ 9²⁴ 12¹⁸ 17^{20,59}; man makes by honouring his father, Sir. 3^{3,14}; no, Jub. 33¹⁷; through suffering, sickness, and death, Sir. 18²⁰ⁿ.
- Atonement, Day of, Jub. 5¹⁷⁻¹⁸; instituted on tidings of Joseph's loss, Jub. 34^{18,19}.
- Attalus, king of Pergamos, 1Macc. 15²²ⁿ.
- Attharates, i. e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 9⁴⁹.
- Attharias, i. e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰. See Attharates.
- Attus, 1Esd. 8²⁹.
- Auaran. See Eleazar.
- Augia, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
- Augustine, Sir. 8.
- Aulis, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁸.
- Auranus, 2Macc. 4⁴⁰ⁿ.
- Ausonians, Sib. 5²⁷.
- Auteas, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Avaran. See Eleazar.
- Avith, city, Jub. 38¹⁹.
- Awan, Jub. 41⁹.
- Axis, Sib. 5²⁰⁷.
- Azael, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
- Azaelus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Azai, ben, P.A. 4^{2,3}.
- Azaraias, 1Esd. 8¹.
- Azariah, Prayer of, and Song of Three Children: account, § 1; bibliography, § 9; composition, § 6; date, § 6; influence on later literature, § 7; MSS., § 3; original language, Hebrew, § 5; theology, § 8; title, § 2; versions, § 4.
- Azariah, the writer of Prayer of Azariah, Azar. § 6.
- Azariah, Azar. 2, 26, 66. See Hananiah.
- Azarias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Azarias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Azarias, a Maccabean leader, 1Macc. 5^{18,56,60}.
- Azarias, Tob. 5¹³ 6^{7,14} 7^{1,10} 9² 16²¹ 18¹². See Children, Three.
- Azaru, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Azazel, 1En. 6⁶ⁿ. 8^{1,2} 8³ (G.) 9⁶ 10^{4,8} 13¹ 54⁵ 55⁴ 69² 86¹ⁿ. 88¹ⁿ; all sin ascribed to, 10⁸; bound in desert of Dudael, 10⁴; hosts of, judged, 54⁵ 55⁴.
- †Azazel, 1En. 69².
- Azetas, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
- Azotus, city, 1Macc. 4¹⁵ 5⁶⁸ 10^{77,78,83,84} 11⁴ 14³⁴ 16¹⁰ Judith 2²⁸; burned by Jonathan, 1Macc. 10⁸⁴. See Ashdod.
- †Azotus, mount, 1Macc. 9¹⁵.
- Azrial, Jub. 4²⁷.
- Azuchan. See Uchan.
- Azura, Jub. 4^{8,11}.
- Azurad, Jub. 8⁷.
- Baal, Mart. Is. 2¹².
- Baalsamus, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
- Baana, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Babel, Wisd. 10⁵; Jub. 82¹ 10²⁵; confusion of tongues at, Jub. 10¹⁸⁻²⁷; builders of, in second heaven, 3Bar. 3⁵⁻⁸. See Overthrow.
- Babi, 1Esd. 8⁸⁷.
- Babylon, 1Esd. 140^{41,45,54,56} 215^{44,57,61} 57⁶ 15^{16,17,21,23,26} 83^{6,28}; 1Macc. 6⁴; Tob. 14⁴; 1Bar. 12^{4,9,11,12} 22²⁴; Ep. Jer. 1, 2, 3, 4; Sus. 1, 5; Bel 2, 23, 28, 34, 35, 36; Add. Esth. A³; Jub. 10²⁶ 20¹²; Sib. 3^{104,160,301,303,307,384,809} 4⁹³ 5^{6,23,148,159,434}; 2Bar. 8⁵ 10² 77^{12,17,19} 79¹; 4Ez. 3^{1,2,31}; Zad. 15; captivity of Jews in, for seventy generations, Ep. Jer. § 2; idolatry of, Ep. Jer. § 1; name of, intruded into text of Susanna, Sus. § 6; = Rome, Sib. 5¹⁴³ⁿ 2Bar. 11¹.
- Babylonia, 1Esd. 4⁵³ 618⁸¹³ 2Macc. 8²⁰ 3Macc. 6⁶.
- Babylonian Sibyl, Sib. 3¹⁶²⁻²⁹⁴ⁿ.
- Babylonians, Ep. Jer. 1, 2, Bel 3, 23; = lions in 1En. 89⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶.
- Bacchides, 1Macc. 7^{8,12,19,20} 9^{1,12,14,20,26,29,32,34,43,47,49,57,58,63,68} 10¹² 2Macc. 8³⁰; and Alcimus sent against Jews, 1Macc. 7⁸⁻²⁰.
- Bacchurus, 1Esd. 9²⁴.
- Bacchus, worship of, 3Macc. 2²⁹ⁿ.
- Bactra, Sib. 4⁹⁵.
- Baeen, children of, 1Macc. 5⁴ⁿ.
- Baelunan, Jub. 38^{22,23}.
- Bag-Bag, ben, P.A. 5²⁵.
- Bago, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰.
- Bagoas, Judith 12^{11,13,15} 13^{1,3} 14¹⁴ Add. Esth. A¹⁷ⁿ.
- Bagoi, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
- Baiteus, 1Esd. 5¹⁷.
- Balaam, P.A. 5^{9,22}.
- Balak, son of Beor, Jub. 38^{16,17}.
- Balamon, Judith 8².
- Balchira, Mart. Is. 5^{2,3,5,8,12}. See Belchira.
- Baliayn, one of the king's sons who question Ahikar, Ah. 2¹⁰¹ (Arm.). See Houday.
- Balnuus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
- Baltasar, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, 1Bar. § 4 1¹¹ⁿ. 12.
- Ban, Zad. 10¹. See Devote.
- Ban, 1Esd. 5³⁷.
- Banaias, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9³⁶.
- Baneas, an elder, Arist. 50.
- Bani, 1Esd. 5¹³.
- Banias, 1Esd. 8³⁶.
- Bannas, 1Esd. 5²⁶.
- Banneas, 1Esd. 9²⁰.
- Bannus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Banquet. See Messianic.
- Banquet, behaviour at, Sir. 32 (35)¹⁻¹³; hall, P.A. 4²¹; master, rules for, Sir. 32¹⁻³; symbol of world to come, P.A. 3²⁰.
- Bar Cocheba, revolt of, 1Bar. § 9 ii.
- Barad, Jub. 38¹⁹.
- Baraka, Jub. 4¹⁶.
- Barakiel, Jub. 4¹⁵.
- Barakiil, Jub. 4²⁸.
- Baraqel, 1En. 69².
- Baraqijal, 1En. 67⁸.
- Barca, Sib. 5¹⁸⁷.
- Barchus, 1Esd. 5³².
- Baris, Sib. 4⁹⁹.
- Barnabas, Epistle of, relation of to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4.
- Barodis, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
- Barrenness, Wisd. 3¹³.
- Barsaba, T. Jud. 82.
- Bartacus, 1Esd. 4²⁹.
- Baruch, 1Bar. 1^{1,3} 2Bar. *passim* 3Bar. *Prolog.* 1² 11⁷ 41^{9,16} 51^{7,8} 84⁹ 92⁶ 105⁶ Zad. 9²⁸, see Pseudepigrapha; to be preserved till consummation, 2Bar. 13³ 25¹ 76²; to die natural death, 44² 78⁶ 84¹; various books of, 2Bar. § 2; relation of 2Baruch to 3Bar., 3Bar. § 4; of Rest of Words of Baruch (= 4Bar.), 3Bar. §§ 4, 8.
- Baruch, 1 Book of, account, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 12; composite character, § 3; contents, § 2; critical investigation, § 4; date, § 7; documents—A & B, Hebrew original, § 5; C. Greek original (Hebrew, *Gen. Ed.*), § 6; their redaction, § 8; influence on Christian and Jewish literature, § 10; MSS., § 9; theology, § 11; versions, § 9.
- Baruch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; books of Baruch, various, § 2; different elements in 2Bar., § 7; lost epistle to two and a half tribes, § 8; MSS., Syriac, § 3; relation to 4Ezra, § 9; to N.T., § 11; theology, § 10; Version, Syriac, date of, § 4; translated from Greek, Greek from Hebrew, §§ 5, 6.
- Baruch, 3 Book of, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 11; composite nature

INDEX

of text, § 6; Christian redactor, § 8; date, § 9; MSS., § 3; relation to other Baruch literature, § 4; to other apocalyptic literature, § 5; theology, § 10; title, § 2.

Basaloth, 1Esd. 5³².

Bascama, place, 1Macc. 13²³.

Baseas, Arist. 47.

Bashan, Sir. 47³ Sib. 8²¹.

Bassai, 1Esd. 5¹⁶.

Basthai, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Batarel, 1En. 6⁷.

Bath-qôl, the, 2Bar. 22¹ⁿ. P.A. 6²; to John Hyrcanus, T.L. 18⁶ T.Jud. 24².

Bathing, law of, Zad. 12^{1,2}.

Bathshua, T.Jud. 8^{2(β)} 10^{6(β)} 13^{3(β)} 16^{4(β)} 17^{1(β)}. See Betasuel.

Bealoth, Jud. 13¹⁰.

Beasts, wild = Gentiles, 1En. 85-90n.

Beautiful, three things, Sir. 25¹; wisdom of aged, 25³⁻⁶.

Beauty, God the author of, Wisd. 13³.

Bebai, 1Esd. 8⁸⁷.

Bebai, sons of, 1Esd. 5¹³ 9²⁹.

Bebai, city, Judith 15⁴.

Becher, Jub. 44²⁰.

Bectileth, Judith 2²¹.

Bedsuel, Jub. 41⁷. See Betasuel.

Beelesath, T.Jud. 3⁷.

Beelsarus, 1Esd. 5⁸.

Beelthumus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2^{16,25}.

Beersheba, Jub. 19⁹ 18¹⁷ 22². See Well of the Oath.

Beggar, his life no life, Sir. 40²⁸⁻³⁰.

Beginning, the, meaning of in Sirach, Sir. 14¹ⁿ.

Behaviour. See Banquet, Table.

Behemoth and Leviathan, 1En. 60^{7,8,24} 2Bar. 29⁴ⁿ. 4Ez. 6^{49,51}; reserved for Messianic banquet, 4Ez. 6⁸².

Bel, Ep. Jer. 41 Bel 3-4, 6, 8-11, 14, 18, 21, 22, 28; the Assyrian god, Ah. 6¹⁶ (Syr.) Ah. 6^{16,28} (Arab.). See Belshim.

Bel and the Dragon, account, short, § 1; author, § 5; contents, § 2; date, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; original language, § 4; place of origin Alexandria, § 5; theology, § 7; title, § 1; versions, § 3.

Bela, Jub. 44²⁵.

Belachira, Mart. Is. 2⁵.

Belchira, Mart. Is. 22¹ⁿ. 3^{1,6,12} 5⁴. See Balchira.

Belemus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2¹⁶.

Belial, destruction through hand of, Zad. 9¹²; let loose against Israel, 6⁹; three nets of, 6¹⁰; raised Jochanneh (against Moses), 7¹⁹; spirits of, man ruled by, 14⁵. See Beliar.

Beliar, Jub. 120 15³³ Mart. Is. 1^{2,9} 2⁴ 3¹¹ T.R. 2^{2(β)} 4^{7,11} 6³ T.S. 5³ T.L. 3³ 18¹² 19¹ T.Jud. 25³ T.Iss. 6¹ 7⁷ T.Z. 9⁸ (bdq) T.D. 1⁷ 4⁷ 5^{1,10,11} T.N. 2⁶ 3¹ T.A. 1⁸ 2⁶⁴ T.Jos. 7⁴ 20² T.B. 3^{3,4,8} 6^{1,7} 7^{1,2} Sib. 3^{63,73}, see Belial; angel of lawlessness, ruler of this world, Mart.

Is. 2⁴; chief of evil spirits, Mart. Is. 1⁸; coming and destruction of, Sib. § 6 6³⁻⁹² (? = Antichrist, Simon Magus) 3^{68n,67n}; has no power over the pure, T.R. 4¹¹; men to be delivered from, T.Z. 9^{8(bdq)}, cf. T.D. 5^{10,11}; to be bound by Messiah, T.L. 18¹²; to be cast into the fire, T.Jud. 25³; sons of, Jub. 15³³; spirit(s) of, T.L. 3³ T.Jud. 25³ T.Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 1⁷; spirit of, rules, accuses, ensnares, Jub. 120; will of, T.N. 3¹; works of, T.L. 19¹ T.N. 2⁶.

Beliar, servant of Ahikar, Ah. 7⁸ (Arm.). See Nebuhah.

Belmain, Judith 4⁴ 7³.

Beloved of the Lord, the, Mart. Is. 1^{1n,13}.

Belshazzar. See Baltasar.

Belshim, a god appealed to by Ahikar, Ah. 14⁶¹⁶ (Arm.).

Belt, the constellation, Sib. 5⁵²².

Ben Sira, Sir. 51³⁰; his right to give instruction, Sir. 33¹⁶⁻¹⁸ (36^{16a} 35²⁵⁻²⁷); how he acquired Wisdom, 51¹³⁻³⁰.

Benase, 1En. 78².

Benedicite, the, Azar. § 1, 35-65.

Benefactor, title of, Add. Esth. E2, 13ⁿ.

Benevolence, danger of indiscriminate, Sir. 12¹⁻⁷.

Benjamin, 1Esd. 2⁸ 5⁶⁶ 9⁵ Add. Esth. A1 Jub. 32^{3,33} 33²² 34^{3,20} 38⁸ 42^{4,9,10,21,23} 43^{1,7,16} 44^{23,25} Mart. Is. 3^{6,11} T.Jud. 25^{1,2} T.B. 1^{1,6} 2^{7(A)} 12^{2(β)} Test. App. I. 3^{2,11,12}; sees Joseph in vision, T.B. 10¹; as a ravening wolf, T.B. 11¹.

Benjamite, 2Macc. 3⁴.

Benuzardan, Nadan's younger brother, Ah. 3⁶ (Arab.).

Beon, Jub. 29¹⁰ (1Macc. 5^{4,5}). See Baean.

Beor, Jub. 38¹⁶.

Berachel, son of = Jacob, Test. App. I 4⁸.

Berea, a place, 1Macc. 9⁴.

Beriah, Jub. 44²¹.

Berkael, 1En. 82¹⁷.

Beroea, custom of execution at, 2Macc. 13^{4,5}.

Beroth, i.e. Beeroth, 1Esd. 5¹⁹.

Betane, Judith 1⁹.

Betasuel, wife of Judah, Jub. 34²⁰, cf. Bathshua, Bedsuel.

Betenos, Jub. 4²⁸.

Beth ha-Midrash, (Jelinek) book quoted, T.Jud. 3-7 n.

Bethha-Midrash, i.e. house of instruction, Sir. 51^{23n,29n}. See Veshibah.

Bethamoth, 1Esd. 5¹⁸.

Bethbasi, 1Macc. 9^{62n,64}.

Bethdagon, idol's temple at Azotus, 1Macc. 10⁸³ⁿ.

Bethel, 1Macc. 9⁶⁰ Tob. 2⁶ Jub. 13^{5,16} 27^{19,26} 31^{1,3,30} 32^{1,9} 44² 45⁴ T.L. 7⁴ 9^{2,3} Test. App. II 10.

Bethhoron, 1Macc. 3^{16,24} 7³⁹ 9⁵⁰ Judith 4⁴ Jub. 34⁴; battle at, 1Macc. 3^{16,24}.

Bethlehem = Ephrath, Jub. 32³⁴ Mart. Is. 2^{7,8,12} 3¹ T.R. 3¹³.

Bethlomon, 1Esd. 5¹⁷.

Bethshan, 1Macc. 5⁵²ⁿ. 12⁴⁰; = Scythopolis, Jub. 29¹⁴ⁿ. 2Macc. 12²⁹.

Bethsura, 1Macc. 4^{29,61} 6^{7,26,31}, 49,50 9⁵² 10¹⁴ 11⁶⁵ 14^{7,33} 2Macc. 13^{19,22}; (or) Bethsaron, siege of, 2Macc. 11⁶ⁿ.

Bethuel, Jub. 19¹⁰ 27^{10,12} Test. App. II 62.

Bethulia, Judith, § 6 4⁶ⁿ. 6^{10,11} 7^{1,3,6,13,20} 8^{3,11} 10⁶ 11⁹ 12⁷ 13¹⁰ 15^{3,6} 16^{21,23}.

Bethzacharias, 1Macc. 6³³.

Betolion, 1Esd. 5²¹.

Betomesthaim, Judith 4⁶ 15⁴.

Bezeth, 1Macc. 7¹⁹.

Bilbah, Jub. 28^{9,17,18,19} 33^{2,3,8,22} 34^{16,18} 44²⁷ T.R. 3^{11,13} T.Jud. 13³ T.N. 1^{6,9,12} T.G. 1⁶ T.Jos. 20^{3(β)} T.B. 1³ Test. App. I. 1¹.

Biga, 1En. 69¹³.

Birthday, king's, 2Macc. 6⁷.

Bithynians, Sib. 5¹²⁴.

Blasphemy, 1En. 91^{7,11} 94⁹ 96⁷ Zad. 7¹² 14⁸.

Blessed, ten types of men who are, Sir. 25⁷⁻¹¹.

Blessing, 1En. 10^{16,18} 41⁸ 45^{4,5} 59^{1,2,3} 76^{4,13}.

Blessing of the Lord, Sir. 50²⁰ⁿ.

Blind of eye better than blind of heart, Ah. 24⁸ (Syr. A.).

Blindness, Tob. 2¹⁰ 3¹⁷ 5¹⁰ 6⁹ 14².

Blood, 1En. 9^{1,9} 15⁴ 100¹; of flesh, 15⁴; righteous, 47^{2,4}; sinners, 100³; drink, 15⁴; eating of forbidden, Jub. 6^{7,11-13} 7²⁸⁻³³ 11² 1En. 98¹¹ [Zad. 4⁶], to Isaac by Abraham, Jub. 21⁷; shedding of, a sin, Jub. 6⁷⁻¹³ 7²⁸⁻³³ 11² 1En. 9¹ 99⁶ (of Gentiles, Zad. 14⁷); proper use of in sacrifice, Jub. 61¹⁴.

Boar, black wild = Esau, 1En. 89¹².

Boars, wild = Edomites, 1En. 89^{12n,42-49,60}; = Samaritans, 89⁷² 90¹³ⁿ.

Boccas, 1Esd. 8².

Body, the, an encumbrance, Wisd. 9⁴⁵; no resurrection of in 2Enoch, 2En. § 3 50² 65⁶; to be restored by the earth, 2Bar. 42⁸ⁿ; resurrection of, 2Bar. 49²⁻⁵¹; resurrection of, not believed in by Alexandrian Jews, 4Macc. § 9. See Resurrection.

Bones flourish, Sir. 49¹⁰ⁿ.

Book, deeds written in, P.A. 2¹ 3^{3,20}.

Book, the = Scriptures, Arist. 316.

Book, the holy = Scriptures, read by Eleazar before battle, 2Macc. 8²³.

Book of discipline of children of men, Jub. 36¹⁰; of the Division of the Seasons (= Book of Jubilees), Zad. 20¹; of the †Hagut, Zad. 11²ⁿ. 15⁵ 17⁵; of the histories of the kings of Judaea, 1Esd. 1³³; of the kings of Israel and Judah, 1Esd. 1³³; of life, 1En. 108³ Jub. 36¹⁰, cf. Books of the living; of the memorial of

life, Test. App. II 59; of remembrance, Zad. 9⁴³; of the seventy shepherds, 1En. 89⁶⁸⁻⁷⁷ 90^{17,20}; of unrighteousness, 81⁴, cf. 98^{7,8} 104⁷; of the words of righteousness, 14¹; of zeal and wrath, disquiet and expulsion, 39¹.

Book, sealed, 1En. 89^{70,71}. See Books, opened.

Books, the holy, 1En. 103² 108³. See Tablets, heavenly, and cf. 108⁷.

Books of deeds of righteous and wicked, opened, 4Ez. 6²⁰ 1En. 47³ⁿ; of Enoch's revelations, to be transmitted to generations of world, 2En. 33^{3,10}, see Apocrypha, Revelations; of fathers, Abraham learns Hebrew from, Jub. 12²⁷; of heathen writers, 1En. 104¹⁰; of Jacob and his fathers given to Levi, Jub. 45¹⁶ⁿ; of the Law, Zad. 9⁶; of the living, 1En. 47³ⁿ, cf. 104¹ and Book of life; of the Prophets, Zad. 9⁷; recording sins, opened, 1En. 90²⁰ 2Bar. 24¹ 4Ez. 6²⁰.

Borrowing. See Lending.

Boser, Jub. 38¹⁷.

Bosor, place, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.

Bosora, i.e. Bozrah, 1Macc. 5^{26,28}.

Botany, Wisd. 7²⁰ Jub. 10¹²⁻¹⁴ 1En. 7¹ 8².

Boudan, Nadan's brother in Ah. 3⁵ (Arm.).

Branding, 3Macc. 2²⁰.

Brazen serpent, Wisd. 16⁶.

Bread of dead, Tob. 4¹⁷.

Breastplate of High Priest, Wisd. 18²⁴.

Breastplate of understanding, T.L. 8².

Britains, Sib. 5²⁰⁰.

Brother = Jew, Tob. § 9.

Brotherly love, Tob. 4¹³.

†Bugaeon, Add. Esth. A17ⁿ. (read Agagite).

Builders of the wall (= Phari-sees), Zad. 7¹ 9^{21,26}.

Bull, symbolically used, 1En. 85³⁻⁹ 86³ 89^{1,9-12}; white = Messiah, 90³⁷.

Bundle of life, Sir. 61⁶ⁿ.

Burial, 1Macc. 2⁷⁰ 13²⁵ Tob. 1^{17sg}. 4^{3sg}. 6¹⁶ 12^{12sg}. A. & E. 48⁴⁻⁷ Apoc. Mos. 40¹⁻⁴³.

Burnt-offering alone to be offered on Sabbath, Zad. 13²⁷; to be sent by the clean only, 14¹.

†Busasejal, 1En. 69².

Byzantium, Sib. 3⁴³⁷.

Caeserin, Tob. 11¹.

Cain, Wisd. 10³ Jub. 4^{1,2,4,7,9,31} A. & E. 21³ 22³⁻⁵ 23^{1,2} Apoc. Mos. 1³ 2² 3^{1,2} 4² 40⁴ 1En. 22⁷ 85³⁻⁵ T.B. 7^{3,5} 4Macc. 18¹¹; death, by a stone, Jub. § 15 4³¹; spiritual death of Cain on Abel's murder, Wisd. 10³ⁿ; vengeance on, sevenfold, T.B. 7^{3,4}. Cainan, 1En. 37¹ 2En. 33¹⁰.

Calamolalus, 1Esd. 5²².

Caleb, 1Macc. 2⁵⁶ Sir. 46^{7,9} 2Bar. 59¹.

Calebites, 1Esd. § 5(c)(g).

INDEX

- Calendar, Jewish, Jub. § 15, 62²⁰⁻³⁰, 32 15¹ notes.
- Calf, golden, Tob. 15.
- Caligula, 4Macc. § 1.
- Calitas, 1Esd. 9⁸. See also Colius.
- Callisthenes, 2Macc. 8³³.
- Camarina, in Greece, Sib. 3⁷⁶.
- Camarina = Ur, Sib. 3²¹⁸.
- Camels = a class of giants, 1En. 86⁴.
- Camp, Censor of the, Zad. 16^{1,6,8} 17^{8,9} 18²; children of the, Zad. 16⁶; cut off from (see Excommunication), Zad. 9⁴⁹; eat and drink in, on Sabbath, 13⁹; enter into the, 15⁶.
- Campanians, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁵.
- Camps, dwellers of, Zad. 17¹; settle in, 9¹ 16⁹.
- Canaan, 1Macc. 9³⁷ Judith 5³, 9¹⁰ 1Bar. 3²² Sus. 56 Jub. 7^{10-12,13} 9¹ 10²⁹ 22²¹ 29² 46^{9,11} T.S. 6³ T.L. 12⁵ T.Jud. 10^{2,6} 11³ T.Z. 5⁶ T.Jos. 12² 13^{1,8} 15² T.B. 12^{3(β),4(β)}; daughter(s) of, Jub. 20⁴ 25^{1,4,5} 27^{8,10} 41²; king of, 46^{9,11}; land of, Judith 5^{9,10} Jub. 10³⁴ 12^{16,28} 13¹ 15¹⁰ 29² 34⁴ 39¹ 42^{4,9,13} 43⁴ 44^{3,4} 45¹⁶ 46^{3,6,7,13} 47¹ 49¹⁸ 50⁴ Test. App. II 78; seed of, Sus. 56 Jub. 20⁴ 25⁹ T.S. 6³; son of Ham, 7¹³.
- Canaanite, Judith 5¹⁶ Jub. 34²⁰ Mart. Is. 2⁶.
- Canaanite marriages forbidden, Jub. 20⁴ 25^{1-3,6}.
- Canaanites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Wisd. 12³ Jub. 14^{7,18} 30²⁵ T.L. 7¹ T.Jud. 3¹ 7¹⁰ 11¹. See Amorites.
- Canaanitish war, T.B. 12^{3(β)}.
- Cancer, constellation, Sib. 5²⁴.
- Canon, Hebrew, threefold division implied in Sirach, Sir. Prologue 11.
- Canon, no fixed idea of, in Sirach, Sir. 24³³.
- Capharsalama, 1Macc. 7⁸¹.
- Caphira, i.e. Chephirah, 1Esd. 5¹⁹.
- Capthorim = Philistines, Jub. 24³⁰.
- Cappadocians, T.S. 6³ Sib. 3⁵¹⁷.
- Capricorn, Sib. 5^{207,518,519}.
- Captain, chief, T.Jos. 2¹ 16²⁽⁸⁾.
- Captivity of Israel due to forsaking God's ordinances, festivals, Sabbaths, holy place, Jub. 1¹⁰. See Israel.
- Carabasion, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Carchemish, war at, 1Esd. 12⁵.
- Cardinal virtues, Wisd. 8⁷.
- Caria, 1Macc. 1²³.
- Carians, Sib. 3^{170,209,472} 4^{90,149} 5²⁸⁸.
- Carmel, Judith, 1⁸.
- Carmi, Jub. 44¹².
- Carnaim, 1Macc. 5^{26,43,44} 2Macc. 12²¹ 26.
- Carthage, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁴ 4¹⁰⁶.
- Casphor, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.
- Caspian, siege of, 2Macc. 1¹³⁻¹⁶.
- Catena on Pentateuch, an old, quoted, Ass. Mos. § 22¹.
- Cathua, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
- Cattle, duty to, Sir. 7²².
- Cebren, Sib. 3³⁴³.
- Cedron, valley of, 2Bar. 5⁵ 21¹ 31². See Kedron.
- Celtic mountaineer = Trajan, Sib. 5⁴³.
- Celts. See Qelt.
- Cendebeaus, 1Macc. 15^{38,40} 16^{1,4,8}.
- Censor, Zad. 10¹⁰ 16¹; see Camp; duties of, 16¹⁻¹² 17⁶⁻⁸; of the many, 19⁶; to command, 19¹²; to examine, 19¹⁰; to instruct priest in law of leprosy, 15⁷; to receive alms, 18²; to receive accusations, 10¹⁰⁻¹³ 17⁸.
- Chabrias, Arist. 48.
- Chabris, son of Gothoniell, Judith 6¹⁵ 8¹¹ 10⁶.
- Chabu, Arist. 50.
- Chadasiar, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Chaereas, brother of Timotheus, 2Macc. 10^{32,37}.
- Chalcedon, Sib. 3⁴³⁴.
- Chaldaean astrology, Sib. 3²²⁷.
- Chaldaeans, 1Esd. 16² 4⁴⁵ 6¹⁵ Judith 5^{6,7} 1Bar. 1² Ep. Jer. 40 Azar. 25.
- Chaldees, Jub. 9^{4,5} 11^{3,7,9,21} Sib. 3²¹⁸; army of, 2Bar. 8⁴; race of, Sib. 5⁴⁴⁰.
- Chalkydri, 2En. 12¹ 15¹.
- Chalphi. See Judas, son of.
- Chambers in heaven, Sir. 48¹²; of souls of righteous, 4Ez. 4³⁵ 7⁷⁵—in intermediate state, not before birth, 4¹² 12¹, cf. habitations of spirits (or 'winds') 5³⁷ 12¹; of sun and moon, 1En. 41⁶; of winds, hail, mist, and clouds, 41⁴; of winds, 60¹²; cf. 'places of rest' of thunder, 60¹⁴.
- Chanukka, feast of, 2Macc. § 1 § 4 Judith § 8a, 16²⁵ 4Macc. § 8. See Dedication.
- Chanuneus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.
- Chaos, 1En. 18¹² 20⁶ 21^{1,2} 108³.
- Chaphenatha, 1Macc. 12³⁷.
- Charaathalan, 1Esd. 5⁸⁶.
- Characters, new = new Hebrew script, square or 'Assyrian characters', 4Ez. 14⁴² 14⁴² 14⁴².
- Charax, 2Macc. 12¹⁷. See Tubieni.
- Charea, 1Esd. 5³².
- Chariot of God, Sir. 49⁸ 11.
- Charity. See Alms.
- Charme, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Charmis, son of Melchiel, Judith 6¹⁵ 8¹¹ 10⁶.
- Chaseba, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Chasid policy,—passive resistance, Ass. Mos. 9ⁿ; alliance with Maccabees temporary, 9ⁿ.
- Chasidim, 1Macc. 2⁴² 11ⁿ. Sir. § 311 1En. § 1 Test. §§ 1, 16 Ass. Mos. 9¹ Zad. 1ⁿ; a company of, support Mattathias, 1Macc. 2³⁹⁻⁴⁸ 2⁴² 11ⁿ; warlike, 3^{43,44} 2Macc. 14⁶; peaceful, 1Macc. 7¹²⁻¹⁴; = saints, 7¹⁷ 11ⁿ; welcome Alcimus, 7¹³; existed as a party before the Maccabean rising, 1En. 90⁶⁻¹⁷ 11ⁿ; symbolized by 'lambs' in 90⁶⁻⁹. See Hasidians.
- Chasm of the abyss of the valley, 1En. 56^{3,4}.
- Chasms of the earth levelled up, 1En. 89⁷. See Abyss, Ravine, Valley.
- Chastening for sin, Ps. Sol. 10¹⁻³ 13⁵⁻⁹ 16¹¹; endurance of, Ps. Sol. 10² 14¹ 16^{13,15}; of Israel, 2Bar. 15¹, as son, Ps. Sol. 18⁴; of Jewish nation, through martyrs, 2Macc. 7³³⁻³⁸.
- Chastisement, great, 1En. 91^{5,7}; day of, 10²⁵; visions of, 13⁸.
- Chastity, T.Jos. 4^{1,2} 6⁷ 9^{2,3} 10^{2,5}; an aid to prayer, 4Ez. 6³² 11ⁿ.
- Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Jub. 13²².
- Chelod, son of, Judith 1⁶.
- Chellians, Judith 2²³.
- Chellus, Judith 1⁹.
- Chermion, 2En. 5⁷ 2².
- Cherubim, Sir. 49⁸ 11ⁿ. Azar. 3² Apoc. Mos. 10² 22³ 32² 38³ 1En. 14^{11,18} 20⁷ 61¹⁰ 71⁷ Sib. 3¹ 2En. 12¹ 11ⁿ. 19⁶ 20¹ 21¹ 22² 26^{3(B)}. See Angels, Chalkydri.
- Chian, Sib. 3⁴²².
- Childbirth, Tob. 4⁴.
- Children of the camp, Zad. 16⁶; of the covenant = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17¹⁷; of destitute, 1En. 99⁵; of earth = men, 12⁴ 15³ 80⁶ 105¹; = sinners, 100⁶ 102³; of fornication, 10⁹; of heaven = watchers, 6² 14³; = righteous, 101¹ 11ⁿ; of men, 61² 10^{7,21} 12¹ 15^{4,12} 22^{3,5} 30¹ 40⁹ 42² 64² 69⁶⁻¹⁴ Sir. 17³⁰ Judith 8¹² Zad. 9²; of people (= Israel), 10²; of the pit (= uncircumcised), 81² 16⁷; of righteousness, 1En. 91³ 93²; unlawfully begotten, Wisd. 4⁶; of uprightness, 1En. 105²; of Watchers, 10⁹⁻¹² 12⁶, cf. 14⁶ Zad. 3⁵; of the world, 9⁵. See Sons.
- Children, curse of sinful, Sir. 16¹⁻⁵ 22³⁻⁶; duty to, 7²³⁻²⁵; elect and holy = watchers, 1En. 30³; training of, Sir. 30¹⁻¹³. See Daughters.
- Children, Israel will be God's, Jub. 1²⁴. See Father.
- Children, the Three, 1Macc. 2⁶⁰ 3Macc. 6⁶ Azar. 28, 66, 4Macc. 13⁹ 16²¹.
- Chislew, month, 1Macc. 15⁴ 42^{5,9}, month, 2Macc. 1¹⁸ 10⁵.
- Chittim = the islands and coastlands of Greece, 1Macc. 1¹ 11ⁿ. See Kittim.
- Chinn your images (= the books of the Prophets), Zad. 9^{5,7}.
- Choba, Judith 4⁴.
- Chobai, Judith 15^{4,5}.
- Choice of guardian angels and intercessors given to nations, Test. App. I 9¹⁻⁵.
- Choice, moral, 2Bar. 19^{1,2}.
- Choir, martyrs as a, 4Macc. 8⁴ 13⁸ 14⁷.
- Chola, Judith 15⁴.
- Chorbe, 1Esd. 5¹².
- [Christ, A. & E. 42^{2,5}]
- Christ, or Anointed One, title of Messiah, 1En. § 11 48¹⁰ 52⁴. See Anointed.
- Christian additions to Martyrdom of Isaiah, Mart. Is. 17; to Testaments, Test. § 13; doctrine of Return of Christ to judge the world, denied in, 4Ez. 5⁵⁶⁻⁶⁶ 11ⁿ, cf. 7³³⁻⁴⁴; influence in Syriac version of Sirach, Sir. § 5; interpolations, A. & E. 29^{2,7} 42²⁻⁵; interpolation concerning vine, 3Bar. 4⁹⁻¹⁵ 13⁴ 15⁴; redactor of 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 8.
- Chronicles. See Book.
- Chronicles of the Kings, 1Esd. 1⁴².
- Chronology, Jub. 46⁹⁻⁹ T.G. 8⁵ Ass. Mos. 1^{2,3} 11ⁿ. See Seleucid era.
- Chrysostom, Sir. § 8, 4Macc. § 8.
- Chusi, Judith 7¹⁸.
- Cibyra, Sib. 5³¹⁷.
- Cilicia, 1Macc. 11¹⁴ 2Macc. 4³⁶ Judith 17¹² 21²⁵ 4Macc. 4².
- Circe, Sib. 3⁸¹⁴.
- Circumcision, Jub. § 15, 15^{14,26,29} 16¹⁴; by force, 1Macc. 2⁴⁶; enjoined on Abraham's sons, Jub. 20³; forbidden, 1Macc. 1⁴⁸; punished, 1Macc. 1⁶⁰ 2Macc. 6^{10,11} 4Macc. 4²⁵; severer and later rules concerning, Jub. 15¹⁴ 11ⁿ; token of an eternal covenant, 15⁹⁻¹¹. See Uncircumcision.
- Cisterns at Jerusalem, Arist. 89.
- Citadel at Jerusalem, Arist. 100ⁿ. 100-104.
- Cities of the plain, Wisd. 10⁶.
- Citizenship, offered to Jews, 3Macc. 2³⁰ 32¹. See Alexandria, Antioch, Athens.
- City = Jerusalem, 4Ez. 3^{24,25} 10⁴⁶ = New Jerusalem, 86² 10^{7,27,42}, 44⁵⁴; Holy = Jerusalem, Sir. 2⁴ 11³ 36¹¹ 49⁶ Azar. 5 Ps. Sol. 8⁴ Zad. 9⁴⁶; of the sanctuary, 14⁴.
- Clean, see Heart; and unclean, Zad. 81⁴ 15¹; meats, see Forbidden.
- Cleanse Israel, God will, Jub. 1²³.
- Cleansed, from sin, by confession, Ps. Sol. 9¹²; by God's chastening, 10¹ 18⁶; in water, Zad. 12¹; through repentance, 10¹⁶.
- Clement of Alexandria, Sir. § 8.
- Cleopatra, married to Alexander Balas, 1Macc. 10^{67,68}; given to Demetrius II, 11¹².
- Cleopatra, Add. Esth. F11¹ 11ⁿ.
- Cloud, pillar of, Wisd. 19⁷; with black and white waters, vision of, 2Bar. 53.
- Clouds, angel or spirit of. See Angels.
- Cnidus, 1Macc. 15²³.
- Cock, heavenly, 3Bar. 61⁵.
- Cocytus, 1En. 17⁶ 11ⁿ.
- Coelesyria, 1Esd. 21⁷ 24²⁷ 4⁴⁸ 62⁹ 71⁸⁶⁷ 1Macc. 10⁶⁹ 2Macc. 3^{5,8} 4⁸ 8⁸ 10¹¹ 3Macc. 3¹⁵. See also Phoenicia.
- Cohabitation, instrument of, Tob. 7¹³.
- Cohortatio ad Graecos, relation of to Aristes's Letter, Arist. § 9.
- Cold and heat, angel or spirit of. See Angel.
- Colius, called Calitas, 1Esd. 9²³.
- Colophon, Sib. 3³⁴³.
- Commandment, Sir. 15¹⁵ 11ⁿ.
- Commandments, the two great, Test. § 16.
- Community, of Israel, Zad. 14⁸;

INDEX

- four orders of Zadokite, 17¹⁻⁵.
See Congregation.
- Companions of Messiah. *See* Messiah.
- Competitors in games, martyrs like, 4Macc. 11²⁰ 15²⁹ 17^{12sg}.
- Confess before God, Zad. 9^{60(B)}; to priest, 10⁸.
- Confessio Esdrae, two texts of, 4Ez. 8²⁰⁻⁴⁰ⁿ.
- Confession, brings cleansing from sin, Ps.Sol. 6¹²ⁿ; of exiles in 'Babylon', 1Bar. 1¹⁵⁻³¹⁸; of Israel's sins, Azar. 1-15 Add. Esth. C17; of sin, Jub. 122 P.Man. 8-13; and forgiveness, for sick, Sir. 7³⁵ⁿ; = turning from sins, Sir. 4²⁶ⁿ.
See Repentance.
- Conflict of Adam and Eve. *See* Adam and Eve.
- Congregation (= Israel or synagogue, P.A. 2²ⁿ); the, P.A. 2²⁵ 4⁷ Zad. 1^{8,17n} 4⁷ 9^{9,22} 11¹⁻³ 16⁶; come into the, 14⁶; enter the, 9³⁰ 17⁷; his (censor's), 16^{3,4}; judges of, 11¹; of the elect and holy, 1En. 62⁸; of the righteous, 38¹; of the Righteous and Elect One, 53⁶; of men of perfection of holiness, Zad. 9³⁰; of treacherous men, Zad. 1⁸; prince of all the, 9⁹; trumpets of, 14³; the, smitten by the fiery angel, 4Macc. 7¹¹. *See* Community.
- Conscience, T.R. 4³ⁿ. T.Jud. 20⁵; = the higher self, Wisd. 17¹¹ⁿ.
- Consciousness, man's, of his perishing nature, contrasted with brutes' ignorance, 4Ez. 7⁶²⁻⁷²; man's, of law, condemns him, 7⁷²; of right and wrong in all men, 2Bar. 48⁴⁰ⁿ.
- Consummation, 1En. 10¹² 16¹, *see* Day and cf. 19¹ Zad. 6^{6,7}; = final judgement, 2Bar. 30³ⁿ 76², *see* End; = time of kingdom, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸ 2Bar. 27¹⁵ 26⁸; of the age, 2Bar. 69⁴ 83⁷; of all things, 83²²; of God's judgement, 82²; of the times, T.R. 6⁸ⁿ.
- Contentment, advantage of, Sir. 29²¹⁻²³.
- Corinth, Sib. 4⁴⁸⁷ 4¹⁰⁵ 5²¹⁴.
- Corruption, the present world the sphere of, 2Bar. 21¹⁹ⁿ 40³. Cos, 1Macc. 15²³.
- Council of nation, later developed into Sanhedrin, 1Macc. 12⁶ⁿ; of the pious, Ps. Sol. 4¹. *See* Synagogues.
- Counselor, God needs no, Sir. 42²¹ 2En. 30⁴.
- Counsellors, true and false, Sir. 37⁷⁻¹⁵.
- Counterparts, all things have, T.A. 5^{1,2}.
- Covenant, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁸; children of = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17¹⁷; eternal, Ps. Sol. 10⁶; the holy, repudiated, 1Macc. 1¹⁵; in Zad. — 1^{4,12,15} 2¹ 4⁹ 6⁶ 7¹² 8^{3,21}; and mercy, 82^{1(B)}; of the forefathers, 1⁴ 9²⁵, cf. 6⁶; of God, 4¹⁰ 7¹² 82¹ 9⁴¹ 16^{7,12}, cf. God established with the forefathers, 6⁶; God remembered, 8³; of Israel, 5¹, cf. that Moses established with Israel, 19^{8,13}; of repentance, 9¹⁵ (B); curses of, 1¹² 19^{1,4}; oath of, 19^{6,8}; ordinances of, 11², *see* Ordinances; members of, for ever, 4³; rules for, § 10 iv.; statutes of, 7¹² 9⁵¹; vengeance of, 1¹² 9¹¹; enter into, 2¹ 4⁹ 8¹¹ 9^{12,15} (B) 9^{28,49} 10² 16⁷ 19⁶; reject, 9³⁷; stand fast, 82¹ 16¹²; transgress, 1¹⁵ 20⁸; new, drawn up in the land of Damascus, §§ 1, 8, 10, 8¹⁵ 9^{28,37}; those who were faithless to, to be destroyed by Messiah, 9¹⁰⁻²⁰; to be judged, 9²⁶⁻²⁷; excommunicated, 9²⁸⁻³⁹. *See* Faithful.
- Craftiness, how different from wisdom, Sir. 19²⁰⁻³⁰.
- Craftsman, indispensable but not fit for highest office, Sir. 38³¹⁻³⁴. *See* Artisan.
- Crates, viceroy of Cyprus, 2Macc. 4²⁹.
- Created, definite number of the, 2Bar. 23⁴⁻⁵ⁿ.
- Creation, P.A. 5¹ 6¹² Zad. 7² 16¹; all corrupted, Jub. 5²⁻³; apocalyptists begin survey with, 4Ez. 3⁴ⁿ; ex nihilo, 2Bar. 21⁴ⁿ; fashioned anew at Exodus, Wisd. 19⁶; God and Wisdom in, Wisd. § 9; hymn in praise of, Sir. 39¹²⁻³⁵; new (when heavens and earth renewed), Jub. 1²⁹ 1En. 45^{4,5n} 51^{4,5} 72¹ 91^{15,16} 2Bar. 32⁶ⁿ 44¹² 57² 4Ez. 5⁴⁶ 7⁷⁶; out of (pre-existing) matter, Wisd. 11¹⁷; teaching of 2Enoch on, 2En. § 6; transformed, 2Bar. 32⁶ 51⁵ 52, *see* Transformation; twenty-two acts of, Jub. 2¹⁻¹⁶; wisdom as seen in, Sir. 16²⁴⁻³⁰, cf. 42¹⁵⁻⁴³ 26; works of, 4Ez. 68⁸⁻⁵⁹. *See* Nature, Seven Days, World.
- Creatures in heavens, spirits of. *See* Angels.
- Cretan, Sib. 3¹⁴⁰.
- Crete, 1Macc. 10⁶⁷ Sib. 3⁵⁰⁴ 5⁴⁵⁰. Crobuzi, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
- Cronos, Sib. 3^{110,121,127,129,131,148,150,152,157,200,201,383}.
- Croton, Sib. 4⁸².
- Crown, P.A. 1¹³ 4^{7,17} 6⁵; of righteousness, Arist. 280 T.L. 8².
- Crowns of glory, T.B. 4¹.
- Cud, chewing the, symbolizes memory, Arist. 153.
- Cup of Inspiration. *See* Inspiration.
- Curse, power of a, Sir. 4⁵ⁿ.
- Curses of God's covenant, Zad. 1¹² 19^{1,4}.
- Cush, Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ 10⁵⁰.
- Cutha, 1Esd. 5³².
- Cyagra, Sib. 3³⁴⁴.
- Cyamon, Judith 7³.
- Cycle, metonic, 2En. 16^{5,8n}, cf. 1En. 74¹³.
- Cymaeans, Sib. 5³¹⁴.
- Cyme, Sib. 5³⁰⁸.
- Cyprus, 1Macc. 15²³ 2Macc. 4²⁹ 10¹³ 12² Sib. 3⁴⁵⁷ 4^{129,148} 5^{460,464}.
- Cyrene, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 5¹⁹⁸.
- Cyrnos, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷.
- Cyrrhus, Sib. 4¹⁴².
- Cyrus, 1Esd. 2^{1,2,3,10,11} 4^{44,57} 5^{55,71,73} 6^{17,18,22,24} 7⁴ Bel 1 1En. 89⁵⁹ⁿ. Sib. 3²⁸⁶; decree of, permitting Temple to be rebuilt, 1Esd. § 1, § 6(a) 2¹⁻⁷. Cyzius, Sib. 3^{436,442} 4⁹⁹.
- Dacians, Sib. 3⁵¹³.
- Dacubi, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Daisan, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Dakis, Arist. 47.
- Dalan, 1Esd. 5³⁷.
- Damascus, Judith 17¹² 22⁷ 15⁵ Zad. §§ 1, 8, 10, *see* Covenant, Migration, North, Penitents; not permanent headquarters of Zadokites, § 10iii; beyond, Zad. 9⁵; land of, 8^{6,15} 9^{28,37}; the Star came to, 9⁸.
- Dammasek, Jub. 14².
- Dan, Tob. 1⁶ Jub. 28¹⁸ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁶ 44²⁷⁻²⁹ T.R. 6⁷ T.Jud. 7^{2(p)} 6²⁵ 2² T.Z. 2^{1(a)} 3² 4^{2(w)} 7¹³ T.D. 1² 7³ T.A. 7⁶ Test. App. II 3; and Antichrist, T.D. 5⁶ⁿ.
- Dan, city, Jub. 13²³.
- Dan, land of, 1En. 13⁷; waters of, 13⁷.
- Danaba, Jub. 38¹⁶.
- Danel, Jub. 4²⁰.
- Danel, 1En. 6⁷.
- Daniel, 1Macc. 2⁶⁰ 3Macc. 6⁷ Sus. § 1, § 2, 45, 48, 51, 52, 55, 59, 61, 64 Bel 2, 4, 5, 7, 9-12, 14, 16, 17-19, 21, 22, 24-27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37-42 4Ez. 12¹¹ 4Macc. 16^{3,21} 18¹³; semi-angelic figure still in time of Alexander Jannaeus, Sus. § 6 Bel. §§ 1, 2; son of Abal, a priest, Bel 2 (LXX).
- Daniel, Arist. 49.
- Daniel, Additions to. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Bel and the Dragon; Susanna.
- Danjah, 1En. 69².
- Daphne, sanctuary near Antioch, 2Macc. 4³.
- Dardanus, sons of, Sib. 3⁵⁰⁹.
- Darius, King, 1Esd. 2³⁰ 3^{1,3,5,7,9} 4⁴⁷ 5^{2,6} 6^{1,6,7,8,23,34} 7^{1,4,5}. *See* Temple, Zerubbabel, Sources of 1Esdas.
- Darius, Codomannus, king of the Persians and Medes, 1Macc. 1¹.
- Darkening the mind, T.R. 3⁸ T.L. 14⁴ T.D. 2⁴ T.G. 6². *See* Light.
- Darkness, curse of sinners, as light the blessing of righteous. 1En. 41⁸ⁿ. 10^{4,5} 11^{6,7} 41⁸ 46⁶ 58⁶ 60¹⁹ 62¹⁰ 63^{6,11} 74⁸ 77⁸ 89^{4,8} 92⁵ 94⁹ 102⁷ 103⁸ 104⁸ 108^{11,14}.
- Darkness, plague of, Wisd. 17².
- Date in Prologue of Sirach, Sir. § 6ii(b).
- Dathaeus, Arist. 50.
- Dathan and Abiram, Sir. 45¹⁸ 4Macc. 2¹⁷.
- Dathema, a stronghold, 1Macc. 5⁹.
- Daughters, care of, Sir. 42⁹⁻¹⁴, cf. 7²⁴⁻²⁵ 26¹⁰⁻¹².
- David, 1Esd. 1^{3,5,15} 5^{5,60} 8^{29,49} Tob. 1⁴ Sir. 45²⁵ 47^{1,2,22} 48¹⁵ 49⁴ 51^{12viii} 2Bar. 61¹ 4Ez. 2²³ 7¹⁰⁸ (10⁴⁶) 12³² Ps. Sol. 17^{5,8,23}.
- 4Macc. 3⁵⁹. 18¹⁵ P.A. 5¹⁹ 6³; = a lamb, raised to being a ram, 1En. 89⁴⁰⁻⁴⁶; books of, 2Macc. 2¹³; city of, made into a citadel (by Apollonius), 1Macc. 1³³ 2³¹ 7³² 13³⁶; deeds of, 1Macc. 2⁶⁷ 4³⁰; glorified, Zad. 7⁷; Psalmist, 4Macc. 18¹⁵; read not in the sealed Book of the Law, Zad. 7⁵; son of = Messiah, Ps.Sol. 17²³; thirst of, 4Macc. 3^{6,7,15}.
- Davidic line, animus against, Zad. § 12, cf. Judah; Messiah, expected in Ps.Sol. § 7, 17²³ⁿ. Sir. § 3iii, 51¹². Contrast Sir. 36, 44-48.
- Day of affliction, 1En. 48^{8,10} 50²; of consummation, 1En. 10¹² 16¹; of cursing and chastisement, 102⁵; of darkness, 94⁹; of death of giants, 16¹; of decision = of judgement, Wisd. 3¹⁸; of destruction, 1En. 16¹ 98¹⁰; of judgement, 22^{4,13} 97³ 100⁴, great, 54⁵; of judgement and consummation, 102²; of the great judgement, 10⁶ 19¹ 94⁹ 98¹⁰ 99¹⁵ 104⁴; of great shame, 98¹⁰; of judgement, the great, 22¹¹ 84⁴, *see* judgement; of judgement, 4Ez. 7^{38,39,102,104,105,113} 12³⁴, no prayer or atonement on, 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁵, souls of righteous guarded in chambers till, *see* Intermediate state; of slaughter, 1En. 16¹ 94⁹; of unceasing bloodshed, 99⁶; of suffering and tribulation, 45² 63⁸; of tribulation, 1¹ 96²; and pain, 55³; unrighteousness, 97¹; of wrath, Sir. 5⁸.
- De montibus Sina et Sion, cited under 2En. 30¹³.
- Dead, the, Tob. 5¹⁰, *see* Sacrifice, Sheol; burial of, Tob. § 6 § 8ii § 10B(4); duty to, Sir. 7³³; Fable of the Grateful, Tob. § 8ii; guarded, 2Bar. 23⁴ⁿ 4Ez. 7^{95,121}, *see* Chambers; mourning for, Sir. 38¹⁶⁻²³; pollution by, Zad. 14¹⁶; prayers for, 2Macc. 12⁴⁴; respect for, Sir. 8⁷; sacrifices for, 2Macc. 12^{43,45}; sacrifices of the, P.A. 3⁵ⁿ; sacrifices to, Jub. 22¹⁷ Tob. 4¹⁷ⁿ; sin offerings for, 2Macc. 12⁴³.
- Death, Tob. 4¹⁰ 12⁹ sq. (*see* Sheol) 1En. 94^{2,3} 98¹⁶ 102¹⁰ 4Ez. 8⁵³; abolished, for righteous, 2En. 6^{5,10} 4Ez. 8⁵³, *see* Hades; came through Eve, 2En. 30¹⁸ⁿ; certain, Sir. 14¹⁷; day of, P.A. 2^{5,14} 3¹ 4²⁹; due to the devil, Wisd. 2²⁴; to sin, 2En. 30¹⁶ⁿ; to sin or rather to sinful unrighteous knowledge, 1En. 69¹⁴; = eternal rest, Sir. 30¹⁷ⁿ; = long sleep (for the righteous), 1En. 100⁵; physical and spiritual, Wisd. § 9; pronounce no man happy before, Sir. 11²⁸; traced to Adam, 2Bar. 23⁴, *see* Adam; views on, two, Sir. § 1, 41¹⁻⁴.
See End.
- Deborah, Tob. 1⁸.
- Deborah, Jub. 31³⁰ 32³⁰.

- Deceit, 1En. 91⁸ 93⁴ 94⁶ 104¹⁰.
See Spirits.
- Dedication, Feast of, 1Macc. 4⁶²sq.n. 2Macc. 1⁹n.; instituted, 2Macc. 10¹⁻⁸.
- Deep, the, = subterranean waters, Sir. 1⁸n. 16¹⁸; or abyss, God's look dries up, 4Ez. 8²³; mouth of, 1En. 17⁸; *see* Abyss, Depth; shut up and sealed by Name of God, P. Man. 4.
- Deification of kings, 2Macc. 11²³ Wisd. 14¹⁷.
- Deliberation, clear, 4Macc. 1¹⁵n. Delos, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3³⁶³ 4⁹².
- Deluge, Jub. 5¹⁹⁻³² 1En. 10² 54⁷⁻¹⁰ 65¹ 89³⁻⁵ 91⁵ 106¹⁵ 2Bar. 56¹⁵ 4Macc. 1³¹; foretold to Noah, 1En. 65¹; held in check, 1En. 66².
- Demeter, Sib. 3¹²³.
- Demetrius I, Soter, son of Seleucus, 1Macc. 7¹⁴ 88¹ 91^{102,3,15} 22,26,48-50,52 2Macc. 14^{1,4,5,11,26} Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰n.; accession, 1Macc. 7¹⁻²⁰; death, 10⁶⁰n.; privileges alleged to be granted to Jews by, 1Macc. § 7ii (b) 10²⁵⁻⁴⁵—Jerusalem to be holy and free; feast days to be observed; immunity and release for Jews during feasts; Jews to have own laws; taxation largely remitted; Temple to receive large gifts.
- Demetrius II, Nicator, 1Macc. 10⁶⁷n. 69 11^{9,12,30,32,38-42,52,55,63} 12^{24,34} 13^{34,35} 14^{1-3,38} 15²² 2Macc. 1⁷; king, 1Macc. 11¹⁹.
- Demetrius of Phalerum, Arist. § 1 9n., 11, 28, 29, 301, 308, 309, 312, 317.
- Democritus, Greek proverbial philosopher, Ah. § 2; references by, to Ahikar, Ah. § 3a.
- Demon, Tob. 3¹⁷ 6¹⁸ 8³.
- Demonology of 1Enoch, 1En. § 11 (d); fallen watchers, 6 69^{2,3} 86 106^{13,14}; demons proper, 15^{8,9,11} 16¹ 19 69¹² 99⁷; of Jubilees reappears largely in N.T., Jub. § 15; demons attack men and rule over them, Jub. § 15, 10^{3,6}; corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked, 10⁸; subject to prince Mastema or Satan, 10⁸; sacrificed to, as gods, 22¹⁷; their activities cease on the judgement of Mastema, 10⁸, or setting up of Messianic Kingdom, when Satan is no longer able to hurt mankind, 23^{3,9}.
- Demons, *see* Demonology, Spirits; children sacrificed to, Jub. 1¹¹; destroy without incurring judgement until consummation, 16¹; = evil spirits, *see* Angels of punishment, Satans; impure spirits, 99⁷; lead astray Noah's sons, Jub. 10^{1,2}; men sacrifice to, as gods, 1En. 19¹ 99⁷; restrained on Noah's prayer, Jub. 10^{9,13}; sacrificing to, 1Bar. 4⁷; = spirits of the giants, 1En. 15^{8,9,11} 16¹; to punish men, 3Bar. 16³.
- Demophon, 2Macc. 12².
- Deny. *See* Name.
- Depth, 1En. 60¹¹; uttermost, 17³; depths made fast, 69¹⁹.
See Abyss, Deep.
- Desert, demons of, 4Macc. 18⁸n.
- Desire. *See* Will.
- Desolation. *See* Abomination.
- Destiny, Wisd. 19⁴; of righteous, § 9.
- Destroyer = Demetrius I, Sib. 3³⁹⁶; = destroying angel, Wisd. 18²⁶.
- Destruction, Sir. 20²⁵ Ps.Sol. 9⁹ 16⁵; (or pit), eternal, Ps.Sol. 2³⁵; for ever, 3¹³; Sheol, darkness and, 14⁹; mark of, *see* Mark.
- Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1⁵.
- Devil, Wisd. 2²⁴; A. & E. 10² 11^{1,2} 12¹ 13¹ 17² 33² S.A. & E. 33¹ 34¹⁻⁴ 35¹ 38¹ 39¹ Apoc. Mos. 15³ 16^{1,2,5} 17⁴ 21³; envy of, for Adam, Wisd. 2²⁴ 2En. 31³ 3Bar. 4⁸, *see* Death; fall of, A. & E. 12¹⁻¹⁷ 3.
- Devils, 4Macc. 18⁸n.
- Devote, Zad. 20¹². *See* Ban.
- Diadem of priesthood, T.L. 8¹⁰.
- Diaspora, Add. Esth. § 1; addressed in 1Bar. 3⁹⁻⁴⁴, 1Bar. § 4, § 7; duty of, to Law and Temple, Tob. § 7, *see* Dispersion; gathering of, 1Bar. 5⁵.
- Didache, cites Sirach, Sir. § 8; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7 (a).
- Didactic sections in Tobit, Tob. § 9.
- Didascalia, Sir. § 8; contains P.Man., §§ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
- Dinah, Jub. 28²³ 30^{2,3,4,12,24} 33²² 34^{18,16} 44¹³; ravishing and avenging of, Judith 9² T.L. 2² 5³ 6⁸.
- Dinah, daughter of Barakiel, Jub. 4¹⁵.
- Dione, Sib. 3¹²³.
- Dionysia, festival of, 2Macc. 6⁷.
- Dionysus, 2Macc. 6⁷, 14³⁸; and Hades, Wisd. 1¹⁶n.; feast of, 3Macc. § 6; worship of, 3Macc. 2²⁹.
- Diocurus, month, 2Macc. 11²⁴n.
- Dis, Arist. 15.
- Discernment attained by experience, Sir. 36¹⁸⁻²⁰(23-25).
- Discretion, Tob. 4¹⁴.
- Dispensation from heaven to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26¹⁸.
- Dispersed of Israel, gathering together of, Ps.Sol. 83⁴ 11³ 17^{19,28,50}; by Messiah, 17²⁸.
See Ten Tribes.
- Dispersion, the return from, 2Bar. 77⁶ 78⁷n.; restoration of, Sir. 48¹⁰. *See* Diaspora.
- Disputes with evil men, danger of, Sir. 81⁴⁻¹⁹. *See* Quarrels.
- Divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 (31)¹⁻⁸.
- Divinities, heathen. *See* Gods.
- Division of earth among Noah's sons, Jub. 810,11 Sib. 3¹¹⁴n.
- Divorce forbidden in Zad. §§ 2, 9⁴⁰ 13. *See* 7¹n.
- Djemchid, king, and the Devas, Persian story of, Mart.Is. § 8.
- Dodona, Sib. 3¹⁴⁴.
- Dog, Tob. § 9, 6² 11⁵.
- Dog-star, the, Sib. 5²⁶.
- Dogs = Philistines, 1En. 89⁴²⁻⁴⁹.
- Dok, a stronghold, 1Macc. 16¹⁶n.
- Dominion. *See* Power.
- Domitian, 4Ez. 11²⁴n.
- Dor, 1Macc. 15^{11,13,25}.
- Dorotheus, Arist. 182, 183, 186.
- Dorylaeum, Sib. 3⁴⁰⁶n.
- Dosa ben Harchinas, P.A. 3¹⁵.
- Dositheans. *See* Zadokite Party.
- Dositheus, Maccabaeen leader, 2Macc. 12^{19,24}.
- Dositheus, man of Tubieni, 2Macc. 12³⁵.
- Dositheus, priest, Add. Esth. 11¹.
- Dositheus, son of Drimylus, 3Macc. § 5, 1³.
- Dositheus, an elder, Arist. 50.
- Dosthai ben Jannai, P.A. 3¹¹.
- Dotaea = Dothan, Judith 3⁹.
See Dothaim.
- Dothaim = Dothan, Judith 4⁶ 7^{3,18} 8³. *See* Dotaea.
- Dothan, Jub. 29¹⁴ 34¹⁰ T.S. 2⁹.
- Double-faced men, T.A. 3² 4¹⁻⁴, guilty of double sin, T.A. 6²; — heart, Sir. 1²⁸ 1En. 91⁴; — tongued, Sir. 5¹⁴ 6¹.
- Doxologies, Enochic, 1En. 22¹⁴ 25⁷ 27⁶ 36⁴ 39⁹⁻¹³ 48¹⁰ 81⁸ 83¹¹ 84 90⁴⁰.
- Doxology, Tob. 13¹⁸ Sir. 51³⁰; (Thine is the glory), P. Man. 15².
- Drachma, Tob. 5¹⁵.
- Dragon, Bel. § 2, 23 sqq.
- Dragon, the, constellation, Sib. 5²².
- Dragon, the = Pompey, Ps. Sol. 2²⁹n.
- Dragons, 2Bar. 10⁸n.; = Kings of the Gentiles, Zad. 9^{19,20}; vision of, Add. Esth. A. 5-11.
- Dream of Mordecai. *See* Mordecai.
- Dream-Visions, of Enoch, 1En. 83-90; first, 83²; second, 85¹; of Ezra, 4Ez. 10⁵⁹.
- Dreams and divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 (31)¹⁻⁸.
- Dress, importance of, Sir. 11⁴n. 19³⁰.
- Drimylus, 3Macc. 1³.
- Drunkards, sin and doom of, 3Bar. 4^{16,17}.
- Drunkness, Tob. 4¹⁵; evils of, T.Jud. 16; warnings against, T.Jud. 14.
- Dudael, 1En. 10⁴.
- Dues remitted by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10²²⁻³⁰.
- Duidain, 1En. 60⁸.
- Dumb, brutes struck, when Adam was driven from Eden, Jub. 3²⁸n.
- Duty, filial, Sir. 3¹⁻¹⁶; of reproving a friend, 19¹³⁻¹⁷; of wealthy, 14³⁻¹⁹; to cattle, 7²²; to children, 7²⁸⁻²⁵; to dead, 7³⁵; to friend, 7¹⁸ 22¹⁹⁻²⁶, *see* Friend; to God and His ministers, 7²⁹⁻³¹; to mourners, 7³⁴; to parents, 7^{27,28}; to poor, 7^{32,33}; to servant and slave, 7²⁰⁻²¹; to sick, 7³⁵, *see* Visiting; to wife, 7^{19,26}.
- Dwell on the earth, those that, 1En. 37⁵n.; in good sense, 37² 40^{6,7} 48⁵ (in genuine passages); in interpolations of parables, 37-71—in bad sense, 54⁹ 55¹ 60⁵ 65^{6,12} 66¹ 67⁸; merely geographical, 43⁴ 46⁷ 53¹ 54⁶ 55² 67⁷ 69^{1,7} 70¹. *See* Inhabitants.
- Dwelling-place, of the Elect One, 1En. 39⁷; of God (= temple), 1Esd. 1⁶⁰; of the holy, 1En. 39⁷n. 7⁸ 71¹⁶. *See* Abodes, Chambers, Mansions.
- Dystrus, Tob. 2¹².
- Eagle, 4Ez. 11 14¹⁷; = fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel, 4Ez. 10⁶⁰ 12³⁵n.; = Rome, Israel to overcome, Ass. Mos. 10⁸; -vision, 4Ez. 10⁶⁰⁻¹²³⁰; interpretation of, 4Ez. 12³⁻³⁹.
- Eagles = Greeks or Macedonians, 1En. 90²⁻¹⁶.
- Eagles' Dale, Ah. 3^{9,14,15} (Syr.).
See Nisrin, plain of.
- Earth, ends of, *see* Ends; middle of = Jerusalem, 1En. 26¹; midst of, abyss in = Gehenna, 1En. 90²⁶; pillars of, 1En. 57²; cleansed, 1En. 10^{20,22}; healed, 1En. 10⁷; shall rejoice, 1En. 51³; renewed, Jub. 1²⁰, *see* Creation, Heavens; elect shall inherit, 1En. 5⁷, walk thereon, 51⁵; righteous shall dwell upon, 51⁵; transformed by God, 45⁵.
- Earth-born, Test. App. I 1⁴ 4Ez. 4⁶.
- East, help from, i.e. Jews of Babylon, 1Bar. 4³⁶ 5⁵.
- Eating and drinking, *see* Table; herbs, 4Ez. 9²³⁻²⁰.
- Eber, Jub. 8⁷ Test. App. I 8⁶.
- Ebionism, half-way between Christianity and Judaism, 3Bar. § 8.
- Ebla, 1En. 78².
- Eblaen, T.L. 6⁹.
- Ecbatana, 1Esd. 6²³ 2Macc. 9³ Tob. 3⁷ 5⁶ 6¹⁰ 7¹ 14¹²sq. Judith 12¹⁴.
- Ecclesiastes, relation of Wisdom to, Wisd. § 8.
- Ecclesiasticus. *See* Sirach.
- Eddinus, a singer, 1Esd. 1¹⁵.
- Eden, garden of, Jub. 3^{9,12,15,26,29,32,35} 4^{23,26} 816^{19,23} T.Jud. 25² T.D. 5¹² 2En. 31¹ P.A. 5^{22,24}; land of, Jub. 4²⁴ 816, is holy of holies, 810. *See* Garden, Paradise.
- Eden of blessing, Sir. 40²⁷.
- Eder, T.R. 3¹³.
- Edna, Tob. 7^{2,3,8} 10¹².
- Edna, daughter of Azrial, Jub. 4²⁷.
- Edna, wife of Enoch, 1En. 85³, cf. 83². *See* Edni.
- Edna, Terah's wife, Jub. 11¹⁴.
- Edni, wife of Enoch, daughter of Daniel, Jub. 4²⁰. *See* Edna.
- Edom = Esau, Jub. 24⁶ 38^{8,14}.
- Edom, land, Jub. 36¹⁹ 37¹⁰ 38^{15,16,24}; to sin a complete sin unto death and be rooted out, Jub. 26³⁴; subdued, T.Jud. 9⁷⁻⁸.
- Edomites, 1Esd. 4⁴⁵ 869; = semi-Edomite population among the

Jews of the Return, 1Esd. § 5 (c); breach with Edomites, § 5 (f); = wild boars in 1En. 89¹²ⁿ. 42-72 90¹³ⁿ; ? = kites, 90¹¹.
 Edos, 1Esd. 9³⁵.
 Effulgence, Wisd. 7²⁶ⁿ.
 Eglā, Jub. 34²⁰.
 Ego, the, Wisd. 8²⁰ⁿ.
 Egypt, 1Esd. 1^{25,26,35,37,38} 1Macc. 2⁵³ 3³² 10^{51,57} 11^{1,13,59} 2Macc. 1^{1,10} 4²¹ 5^{1,8,12} 6²⁹ 3Macc. 2²⁵ 3¹² 7¹ Judith 1^{9,10,12} 6⁵ Sir. *Prologue* 15, 1Bar. 1^{19,20} Add.Esth. C⁹ F¹¹ Jub. 1¹ 9⁴ 10³⁸ 13^{11,12,15} 17¹³ 24^{8,9} 32²³ 34^{9,11} 38¹³ 39^{2,14} 40^{1,3,4,6,8,9,12} 42^{2,4,9,13,14,20} 43¹⁹ 44^{2,5,6,8,10,18,20,24,29,31,33} 45^{6,8,9} 46^{1,3,5-11,12,14,16} 47² 48^{1,2} 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 35 T.R. 7² T.S. 4³ 9^{2(β)} T.L. 11⁸ 12⁵ T.Jud. 9⁸ 12^{11,12} T.Z. 3⁶ 6³ 8⁴ T.D. 5⁸ T.Jos. 11^{4,5} 17⁴ 20^{5,6(γ)} T.B. 2¹ 10¹ 12^{1(β),3(β),4} Test. *App.* I 1¹⁰ II 72-73, 80 Sib. 3^{46,161,193,208,249,255,314,348,608,614} 4⁷² 5^{3,57,60,73,112,179,279,458,460,488} 489,501,505,507 Ass.Mos. 3¹¹ 4Ez. 9²⁹ 14^{3,29} Ps.Sol. 2³⁰ 4Macc. 4²² Zad. 4⁵; conversion of, Sib. 5⁴⁸⁴⁻⁶⁰³; exodus from, 1En. 89²¹⁻²⁷; Jewish garrisons in, see Jewish; Jews in, Arist. 12, 310; King of, see Pharaoh; plagues of, 1En. 89²⁰ Wisd. 16-19; river of, Judith 1⁹ Jub. 10²⁹ 14¹⁸; subdued by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 11¹⁶⁻²⁰ temple to God built in (Onias'), Sib. 5⁵⁰¹⁻⁵⁰³, destroyed, 5⁵⁰⁷; Tobit written in, Tob. § 7; upper parts of, Tob. 8³.
 Egyptian, Jub. 17² 34²⁰ 39^{3,4,11} Sib. 3¹⁸⁹ 5³³⁸ T.Jos. 4^{5(β)} 5^{1(β)} 7^{2(β)} 8^{1(β)}; maid, Jub. 14^{22,23}; priests, Arist. 140; sea, Jub. 8¹⁴; woman, T.R. 4⁹ T.Jos. 3⁶ 4^{3(β)} 8^{1(β)} 5¹⁶.
 Egyptians, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Judith 5^{10,11} Jub. 1²¹ 42^{3,13} 45¹⁰ 46^{2,6} 47^{12,11} 48^{3,9,12,13,16-18} Arist. 11, 36, 138 T.S. 8²⁻⁴ Sib. 3⁵⁹⁷ Ass. Mos. 6⁹; and Canaanites, war between, Jub. 46⁹⁻¹²; chastened lightly first for reformation, then severely for punishment, Wisd. 12¹²; punishment of fits sin, Jub. § 15, 48¹⁴; = woves in 1En. 89^{13-27,55}.
 Ehi, Jub. 44²⁵.
 Ekrebel, Judith 7¹⁸.
 Ekron, 1Macc. 10⁸⁹.
 El El wa Abirer, Jub. 40⁷ⁿ.
 Ela, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
 Ela, mountains of, Jub. 9².
 Elam, Jub. 7¹⁸ 8^{1,21} 9² 10⁵⁵ 13²² Ah. 3⁷ (Syr.). See Persia.
 Elam, a returning exile, 1Esd. 5¹² 8³³.
 Elamites, T.N. 5^{8(β)}.
 Elasa, a place, 1Macc. 9⁵.
 Elda, land of, Jub. 3³².
 Elder, Sir. 6³⁴ 8^{6,19} 25⁴ 32³. See Aged.
 Elders, the, P.A. 1¹; the rulers of the stars, 2En. 4¹; who served Ashtaroth, Jub. 7⁵.
 Eleazar, son of Levi, 1Esd. 8²; and Joshua, Zad. 7⁵.
 Eleazar, 1Esd. 8⁴³.

Eleazar, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
 Eleazar, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.
 Eleazar, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
 Eleazar, a scribe, 2Macc. 6¹⁸ (martyred, 6¹⁸⁻³¹) 3Macc. 6¹ 4Macc. 1⁸ 5^{4,14} 6^{1,5n,14,16} 7^{1,5,12} 9⁵ 10¹⁵ 17¹³; = Taxo, Ass.Mos. 9¹ⁿ; Eleazar, not Judas, the true hero in Ass.Mos. § 1.
 Eleazar, an elder, Arist. 50.
 Eleazar, 1Macc. 8¹⁷.
 Eleazar, the High Priest of the Jews, Arist. 1, 33, 35, 41, 50, 83, 96, 112, 123, 125, 172, 173, 320.
 Eleazar, oldest of Jewish priests, present, Arist. 184.
 Eleazar Avaran, a Maccabee, 1Macc. 2⁵ 6⁴⁸; death, 6⁴⁸; play on name 'God's Help', 2Macc. 8²³.
 Eleazar ben Arach, P.A. 2^{10-13,18}.
 Eleazar ben Azariah, P.A. 3^{21,22}.
 Eleazar ben Judah, P.A. 3⁹.
 Eleazar ben Shammua, P.A. 4¹⁵.
 Eleazar ha-Kappar, P.A. 4^{28,29}.
 Eleazar Hisma, P.A. 3²³.
 Eleazar the Modiite, P.A. 3¹⁶.
 Eleazar. See Jeshua, son of Eleazar; Phinehas, son of Eleazar.
 Elect, blessings of covenant for, 1En. 60⁶; dwell in garden of life, 61¹², with elect, 61⁴; God will protect, 1⁸; in light of eternal life, 58³; inherit the earth, 1En. 5⁷; light, grace, and peace shall be to, 5^{7a}; live and never again sin, 5⁸; mansions of, 41²; Son of Man revealed to, 62⁷; stand before Son of Man, 62⁸; tree of life, fruit for, 25⁶; wisdom bestowed on, 5⁸; walk on renewed earth, 1En. 51⁶; of Israel, Zad. 6², share in Messianic Kingdom, Jub. 1²⁹; titles and attributes of: Elect, 1En. 1^{3,8} 5⁷ 25⁶ 40⁵ 41² 48¹ 51⁶ 56⁸ 58¹⁻³ 61^{4,12,62,7,8} 93²; Elect ones, His, 1En. 56⁶ 62^{11,12}, Mine, 45^{3,6} 48⁹; The Elect One (title of Messiah peculiar to part of parables, 40⁵ⁿ.) 1En. 40⁵ⁿ. 49⁴ 51^{3,5} 52^{6,9} 53⁶ 61^{6,8,10} 62¹; of righteousness and faith, 39⁶; Mine Elect One, 45^{3,4} 55⁴; and holy, 62⁸; and righteous, 1¹ 60⁸; of the world, 93¹; who hang upon the Lord of Spirits, 40⁵, see Holy, Righteous; see too Messiah; (of children of Watchers) and beloved ones, 56^{3,4}; (of Watchers) and holy children, 39¹; works, (of righteous), 38².
 Election, the Divine, Zad. 2⁶. See Foreknowledge, Predestination.
 Elements, four primal, 4Ez. 4¹⁰ⁿ. 8⁸ⁿ; interchanged (metabolism), Wisd. § 9, 19¹⁸; worshipped, 13².
 Elephants = a class of giants, 1En. 86⁴; in war, 1Macc. 3³⁴ⁿ. 6³⁴ⁿ. 2Macc. 11⁴ 13²ⁿ. 15²⁰ 3Macc. 5¹ &c.
 Eleutherus, river, 1Macc. 11⁷ⁿ. 12³⁰.
 Elew, city, Jub. 34¹¹.

Eliab, Judith 8¹.
 Eliadas, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
 Eliahi, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Eliaonias, 1Esd. 8⁵¹.
 Eliasib, 1Esd. 9¹.
 Eliasibus, 1Esd. 9²⁴.
 Eliasimus, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
 Eliasis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Eliezer, Jub. 14².
 Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, P.A. 2¹⁰⁻¹⁴.
 Eliezer ben Jacob, P.A. 4¹³.
 Elihu, Judith 8¹.
 Elijah, 1Macc. 2⁵⁸ Sir. 48¹⁻¹² Mart. Is. 2¹⁴ 1En. 89⁵²ⁿ. 93⁸ 2Bar. 77²⁴ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁹.
 Elijah, greatness of, in Jewish legend, Sir. 48¹¹ⁿ; to turn fathers' heart to children and to restore the tribes of Israel, 48¹⁰.
 Elim, Jub. 50¹.
 Elionas, 1Esd. 9²².
 Elionas, 1Esd. 9³².
 Eliphalat, 1Esd. 8³⁹.
 Eliphalat, 1Esd. 9³³.
 Elisha, Sir. 48¹²⁻¹⁶ Zad. 9^{28(A)}.
 Elisha, an elder, Arist. 47.
 Elisha, an elder, Arist. 48.
 Elisha, an elder, Arist. 50.
 Elisha ben Abuiab, P.A. 4²⁵.
 Eljo, Jub. 7²².
 Elkiab, Judith 8¹.
 Enathan, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
 Elomeel, 1En. 82¹⁴.
 Elon, Jub. 44¹⁷.
 Elul, month, 1Macc. 14²⁷.
 Elymaeans. See Arioch.
 Elymais, 1Macc. 6¹ⁿ. 2Macc. 1^{13,14} Tob. 2¹⁰.
 Emadabun, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸.
 Ematheis, 1Esd. 9²⁹.
 Emmaus, 1Macc. 3^{40,57} 4⁹ 9⁵⁰.
 Emmer, 1Esd. 9²¹.
 Emmeruth, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
 Emzara, Jub. 4³³.
 Enaim, T.Jud. 12¹.
 Enasibus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Enchantments, 1En. 7¹ 8³, cf. 65⁹.
 End, 4Ez. 6^{9,7,15} 7^{33,112} 12^{32,34}, see Consummation; of all generations, 1En. 10¹⁵; description of, 4Ez. 6^{13-20,23-24}; = destruction of world, 1En. 10² 65⁶, first, 93⁴; 'eqeb, Sir. 16³; latter, of men manifests their character, T.A. 6⁴⁻⁷ Sir. 3²⁰; man known by latter end, 11²⁸; remember last end, 7³⁶; of the age, 4Ez. 12³⁴ⁿ; of the days, 4Ez. 13³² Zad. § 10. iv, 6² 8¹⁰ (see Times); sons of Zadok hold office in, 6², Teacher of Righteousness to arise in, 8¹⁰; of heaven and earth, 1En. 18¹⁴, see Ends; of heavens, 1En. 39⁸; of man = death, is evil, Sir. 18¹²; of the righteous, 1En. 102¹⁰; of time, 2En. 33¹¹; of ungodly contrasted with honoured name of righteous, Sir. 41⁵⁻¹³; signs of the, Sib. 3⁷⁹⁶⁻⁸⁰⁸ 4Ez. 4⁵¹⁻⁵³ 61¹¹⁻²⁸ 86³⁻⁹ 91²; to come through God alone, 6²ⁿ; visions of, vouchsafed to Abraham, 4Ez. 3¹⁴.
 Endemias, Arist. 49.
 Ends, of all, 1En. 19³; of earth, 1En. 1⁵ 18⁵ 23¹ 33^{1,2} 34¹ 35¹

36¹ 65² 76¹ 106⁸; of heaven, 36² 54⁹ 57² 60^{11,20} 71⁴ 93¹²; of the seasons, 4Ez. 14⁵.
 Endurance, Sir. 2¹⁴ⁿ. See Chastening.
 Eneneus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
 Ennatan, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
 Enoch, Sir. 44¹⁶ 49^{14,16} Wisd. 4¹⁰ Jub. 4^{16,22} 7^{38,39} 10⁴⁷ 19^{24,27} 21¹⁰ 1En. 1¹² 12^{1,3} 13¹ 14²⁴ 15¹ 19⁸ 21^{5,9} 25¹ 37¹ 39² 63¹ 65^{2,5,9} 66³ 67⁴ 68¹ 69²³ 80¹ 81¹ 85² 91⁸ 92¹ 93^{1,2,3} 106^{7,13} 107³ 108¹ T.S. 5⁴ T.L. 10⁶ⁿ. 14^{1(β)} 16^{1(β)} T.Jud. 18^{1(β)} T.Z. 3^{4(β)} T.D. 5⁶ T.N. 4¹ T.B. 9¹ 10⁶.
 Enoch, 1 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; canonicity, § 3; different elements in, and their dates, § 6, 7; influence on (a) Jewish, (b) N.T., (c) Patristic literature, § 10, on N.T. doctrine, § 11; MSS., Ethiopic, § 4; original language of 6-36 Aramaic, of 1-5, 37-104 Hebrew, § 9; poetical element in, § 8; title, § 2; Versions, Ancient—Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, § 5; Sections—I, 1-36; II, 37-71; III, 72-82; IV, 83-90; V, 91-104; additional fragments, 105-8; appendix, 108.
 Enoch, Hebrew Book of, 2En. § 1, 4.
 Enoch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; date, § 5; language, § 3; place of writing, § 3; relation to Jewish and Christian literature, § 4; value for religious thought, § 7; Versions, two Slavonic, § 2; views on creation, anthropology, and ethics, § 6; 2 Book of cites Sirach, Sir. § 7 (b); relation of 3Baruch to, 3Bar. § 5.
 Enoch, admonition of, to his children, 2En. 39¹-51⁶ 54-63⁴ 65¹-66⁸; ascent of, into heavens, 2En. 3¹-21⁶ 68¹; conducted to Garden of Eden, Jub. 4²³; early removal from the world, a blessing, Wisd. 4¹⁰, figure of, in apocalyptic, Sir. 44¹⁶ⁿ; foretold the future, Jub. 4¹⁹; functions of, transferred to Moses, 2Bar. 13³ⁿ. 59⁶⁻¹¹ⁿ; heavenly scribe, Jub. 4²³; knows wisdom, Jub. 4¹⁷; led by Michael before the Lord's face, 2En. 22¹; lives on earth thirty days to give instruction, 2En. 36^{1,2}; miracle of knowledge (or an example of repentance) to all generations, Sir. 44¹⁶ⁿ; recounted weeks of jubilees and Sabbaths of years, Jub. 4¹⁸; the scribe, 1En. 12³, of God's works, 2En. 23¹⁻⁴ 68², of men's deeds, 2En. 40¹³ⁿ. 53² 64⁵; scribe of righteousness, 1En. 12⁴ 15¹; testified to sons of men, Jub. 4¹⁸, to Watchers, Jub. 4²²; translation of, in a vision, 1En. 14^{8,9}, in sleep, 1En. 13^{7,10} 14², in reality, 1En. 39³ 52¹ (cf. 'hidden', 12¹), final ('name raised aloft'), 70¹ 2En. 67² 68³, in

- spirit, 1En. 71^{1,5,6}; was with angels of God six jubilees of years, Jub. 4²¹; words of, Jub. 21¹⁰ 1En. § 2; writes signs of heaven, Jub. 4¹⁷.
- Enoch, Cain's son, Jub. 4⁹.
- Enoch, Reuben's son, Jub. 38⁸ 44¹².
- Enos, Jub. 41^{11,13} 19²⁴ 1En. 37¹ 2En. 33¹⁰.
- Envy, warning against, T.S. 3¹ 6² T.G. 7^{1,2,7}; cure of, T.S. 3^{4,6} 4⁷ T.G. 5³; evils of, T.S. 5²⁻³ 4⁸⁻⁹; not to, another's prosperity, T.G. 7¹⁻². *See* Eye.
- Ephesus, Sib. 3^{343,459} 5^{293,296}.
- Ephraim, Judith 6² Sir. 47^{21,23} Zad. 9³; departed from Judah, 9³ [9⁴] 16¹¹.
- Ephrath = Bethlehem, Jub. 32³⁴ T.R. 13¹.
- Ephron, city, taken by Judas M., 1Macc. 5⁴⁶; siege of, 2Macc. 12²⁷ 5⁹.
- Ephron the Hittite, Jub. 36².
- Epicurean, P.A. 2¹⁸; tenets, Wisd. 2²².
- Epicureanism, Sir. § 1.
- Epiphanius, relation of his account of LXX Translation to Aristeas's Letter, Arist. § 9(B).
- Epiphany of God, 3Macc. 5^{8,51}. *See* Theophanies.
- Epiphi(s), month, 3Macc. 6³⁸.
- Epistle to Two and a Half Tribes. *See* Tribes.
- Epitaph suggested for martyrs, 4Macc. 17⁹.
- Er, Jub. 41^{1,3} 44³⁴ T. Jud. 1c1².
- Erae, 1En. 78².
- Erasmus, 4Macc. § 8.
- Eretria, Arist. 201.
- Eri, Jub. 44²⁰.
- Eridanus, Sib. 5³¹⁶.
- Ermis. *See* Hermes.
- Ermon, 2En. 18⁴. *See* Hermon.
- Ermon = Heroonpolis, Jub. 46⁶.
- Erub, Pharisaic principle of, Zad. § 9⁴⁰.
- Erythraean Sea, 1En. 32².
- Erythraean Sibyl, Sib. § 6, 3⁹⁷⁻²⁹⁴.
- Esarhaddon, Tob. 121²² 21. *See* Sarhadum, Asbasareth.
- Esau, Jub. 15³⁰ 1c12-16, 19, 31 24⁹, 4, 8, 7 25¹ 26^{1,3-5,8,11,16,18,19,25,27}, 29, 31-33, 35 27^{1,2,8} 26^{13,17,18} 31¹ 35^{9,13,17,18,26-27} 36^{1,14,18,19} 37¹, 15, 17, 18 38² T. Jud. 61⁴ T.G. 7⁴ T.B. 1c10 4Ez. 3¹⁶ 68⁹, *see* Edom; and Jacob to love one another, Jub. 35²⁰⁻²⁴ 36³⁻⁴; wars between, 37¹⁻³⁸ 24; = black wild boar, 1En. 89¹²; children of, 1Macc. 5^{3,65} Judith 7^{8,18}; slain by Jacob, Jub. 38² T. Jud. 9³; sons of, their sins foreseen by Isaac, Jub. 35¹³⁻¹⁶; symbolizes present corrupt age, 4Ez. 67⁻¹⁰ 22.
- Esau (one of Nethinim), 1Esd. 5²⁹.
- Eschatological pictures, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁹⁻⁸⁰⁸.
- Eschatology of Tobit, Tob. § 10A(3), of Wisd. § 1, 1-6⁸, of Zad. 9⁴⁰.
- Eschlemias, Arist. 47.
- Eschol, Jub. 13²⁹.
- Esdrae, Confessio. *See* Confessio.
- Esdraelon, plain of, Judith 1⁹ 3⁹ 4⁶ 7³.
- Esdrae, i.e. Ezra, 1Esd. 8^{1,3,7,8}, 9, 19, 23, 25, 91, 92, 96 61^{7,16}, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 49; priest and reader of the law of the Lord, 1Esd. 8^{8,9,19}.
- Esdrae, 1 Book of—sources, 1Esd. § 6: (a) Sheshbazzar—Cyrus Tradition, (b) Zerubbabel—Darius Tradition, (c) (a) and (b) combined, (d) Ezra story; title, 1Esd. § 2: (1) 1 Esdrae, (2) 2 Esdrae, (3) 3 Esdrae, (4) 3 Paraleipomenon, (5) Tertius Neemiae; an independent version older than LXX of Canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, § 2; value of, 1Esd. § 7: (1) light on contemporary thought, (2) help to criticism of canonical books.
- Esdrae, 2Macc. 12^{30,22}.
- Eserebias, 1Esd. 8⁵⁴.
- Eshfagni, Ahikar's wife, Ah. 4^{6,8} 6^{3,6} (Syr.). *See* Abestan.
- Essenes, 1En. 108²² Ass. Mos. § 8. *See* Zadokite Party.
- Essenism, Sib. 4²⁷ 4Ez. 14^{39,22}.
- Esther, Add. Esth. C12 D⁹ E13 F4; additions to: author, § 5, F11; bibliography, § 8; character of, § 1; date of, § 4, F11; influence on later literature, § 6; MSS., § 2; theology, § 7; versions, § 3; appearance before king, Add. Esth. D1-15; Canonical, discrepancies between Add. Esth. and, Add. Esth. § 1; deliverance of Jews in time of, 2Bar. 68^{2,3}; Fast of, 1Macc. 7^{49,22}; mourning and fasting of, Add. Esth. C13; prayer of, C12-30.
- Esyelus, ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 18¹.
- Eternal, destruction, 1En. 84⁵; goodness and grace, 92³; hope, Jub. 31³²; house = tomb, 36¹; judgement, 1En. 91¹⁵, cf. 91¹⁹; King, *see* God; land = Palestine, Sib. 5⁴¹¹; law, 1En. 99²; life, 1c10 15^{4,6} 37⁴ 49³ 58³, cf. 51, *see* Life; in light of the Lord, Ps. Sol. 3¹⁶; according to God, 4Macc. 15³; for martyrs, 5³⁷ 17¹⁸ 18²³, *see* Patriarchs; light, 1En. 92⁴; place (= heaven), 12⁴; plant, 93¹⁰, *see* Plant; punishment, 2En. 10⁶ 4Macc. 9^{9,32} 10^{11,15} 11²³ 12¹² 13¹⁵ 15^{6,22} (fire and worms, Judith 16¹⁷); rest = death, Sir. 36¹⁷; sanctuary, not at Bethel, Jub. 32²²; seed, 1En. 84⁶; sleep, Jub. 36¹⁸; uprightness, 1En. 92⁴.
- Eternity, life of, Zad. 5⁶ [years of, 2⁸].
- Ethical teaching of 2Enoch, 2En. § 6.
- Ethiopia, Judith 1¹⁰ Add. Esth. B1 E1 Sib. 3³²⁰.
- Ethiopian, Sib. 5¹⁹⁴.
- Ethiopians, Arist. 13 Sib. 3¹⁶⁰, 208, 516 5^{206,213,605}; = hyenas in 1En. 89⁶⁵.
- Etna, Sib. 4⁸¹.
- Euergetes II, Physcon, Sir. § 6 ii (b).
- Euergetes, king of Egypt, Sir., *Prologue* 15.
- Euhemerism, Arist. § 6.
- Eumenes II of Pergamos, 1Macc. 8⁸.
- Euna, T.N. 1¹¹.
- Eunuch, Wisd. 3¹⁴.
- Eupator. *See* Antiochus V.
- Euphrates, 1Esd. 125²⁷ 1Macc. 3^{32,37} Judith 16²⁴ Sir. 24²⁰; = the River, Sir. 39²² 44²¹ Jub. 9^{4,5} 1En. 77⁶² Sib. 4⁶¹, 120, 139 5^{115,437}, 2Bar. 77²² 78¹.
- Eupolemus, son of John, son of Accos, 1Macc. 8¹⁷; envoy to Romans, 2Macc. 4¹¹.
- Europe, Sib. 3^{346,368,382,450} 4¹.
- Europus, river, Sib. 3¹⁴⁰.
- Eusebius, Sir. § 8.
- Eve, Tob. 8⁶ Jub. 5³³ 4¹⁰ A. & E. 2² 3^{2,3} 4² 5¹ 6¹ 7¹ 9¹ 10^{1,3} 11¹ 18¹ 20¹⁻³ 21^{1,2} 22^{1,3,4} 24¹ 35^{2,3} 36¹ 37^{2,3} 38^{1,2} 43⁴ 44⁵ 46¹ 49¹ 5c3 S.A. & E. 28² 35^{1,2} 38² 40¹ Apoc. Mos. 1¹⁻³ 2¹ 3³ 4^{1,2} 9^{2,3} 10^{1,2} 11¹ 13¹ 14^{1,2} 15¹ 17² 31¹ 32^{1,3,4} 33¹ 34¹ 36² 42^{3,4} 43¹ 2En. 30¹⁸ 4Macc. 18^{7,8}; created and brought to Adam, Jub. 3⁴⁻¹⁴, *see* Adam; history of, 1En. 85³⁻⁷; led astray by a Satan, 1En. 69⁶; originated sin and death, Sir. 25²⁴; seduced by Satan, 2En. 31⁶, *see* Adam; sins, Jub. 3¹⁷⁻²⁹.
- Eve, Gospel of, A. & E. § 5^a.
- Eves of Sabbaths, observed, Judith 8⁶.
- Evil, 1En. 10¹⁶ 15^{8,9} 16³ 69²⁹ 94⁵ 99¹¹ 101¹ 103⁹ 108²; germ, 4Ez. 3²²; heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3²¹; of descendants, 3^{20,26}; in heaven, 2En. 10¹⁻⁶ 22; principle, P.A. 2¹⁵ 4^{1,29,22}; seed, grain of, 4Ez. 4³⁰; thought innate in man, 7⁹², *see* Inclination, Yetzer; spirits and idols, Jub. 22^{17,22}; spirits flee from good men, T. Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 5¹ T.B. 5², *see* Beliar; to be overcome with good, T. Jos. 18² T.B. 4³; to perish, Sir. 40¹⁰⁻¹⁷; worst forms of, Sir. 25¹³⁻¹⁵; of wicked woman, 25¹⁶⁻²⁶.
- Evils of men, P. Man. 7²².
- Exalted, abased, Sir. 11⁶.
- Example of the martyrs, effect of, 4Macc. 1¹¹ 17^{23,29}.
- Excommunication, Zad. 9²⁸⁻³⁸; = 'exclude from the Purity', 10¹³; = 'be watched seven years', 14⁶.
- Exile's prayer, Tob. 13¹⁻¹⁸.
- Existent created from non-existent, 2En. 24² 25¹.
- Exodus, Jub. 1¹ Ass. Mos. 14. *See* Egypt.
- Explanation, of the Zadokite settlement, Zad. 18⁶; of the judgements, Zad. 18⁷. *See* Interpretation, Meaning, Midrash.
- External soul. *See* Soul.
- Eye, cause of sin, Sir. 31^{14,22}; envious, Sir. 14⁸⁻¹⁰; good, Sir. 14¹⁰; lustful glance of, T.R. 5³ T. Iss. 7² T.B. 6³; singleness of, T. Iss. 3⁴.
- Ezbon, Jub. 44²¹.
- Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
- Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
- Ezekias, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Ezekias, son of Thocanus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
- Ezekias, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
- Ezekiel, Sir. 49^{8,9} 4Macc. 18¹⁷ Zad. 5⁶ 9¹¹⁽⁸⁾. *See* Faithful.
- Ezekiel, an elder, Arist. 50.
- Ezeqel, 1En. 67⁸³.
- Ezora, 1Esd. 6³⁴.
- Ezra, 1En. 89^{72,22} 4Ez. [3¹] 6¹⁰ 7^{2,25} 8² 14^{2,38,49}, *see* Esdras; omitted from Sirach's list of worthies in Sir. 44-48, Sir. § 4. — in 1 Esdras, companions of, 8²⁸⁻⁴⁰; reading of Law by, § 1 9³⁷⁻⁵⁵, *see* 1 Esdras, sources of; return of, §§ 1, 4, 6, 8¹; work of, 8¹⁻⁹ 46⁶. — in 4Ezra, assumption of, to be with God's Son, till times be ended, 4Ez. 14²² 14⁹; five companions of, 4Ez. 14²⁴; = scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever, 4Ez. 14^{50,22}; translation of, to Messiah, 4Ez. 14²²; writings of, twenty-four published books, = O.T. 4Ez. 14^{45,22}; seventy secret = Apocrypha, 4Ez. 14^{46,22} 14²².
- Ezra, 4 Book of, abbreviations employed, § 12; account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; composite nature of text, § 6; date, § 8, 14^{48,22}; Eschatology, § 10; Greek text of, lost, § 4; Hebrew original, § 5; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); to 2Baruch—each the work of a rival school, using similar sources, 4Ez. § 9 2Bar. § 1; to N.T.—no direct dependence, but resemblances in thought and diction, § 11; sources, §§ 1, 7, 8; Salathiel-Apocalypse; Eagle Vision; Son of Man Vision; Ezra Legend; Ezra Apocalypse (signs); text, Hebrew original, § 5, composite character of, § 6; theology of, § 10; title, § 2; versions, Arabic (two), Armenian, Ethiopic, Syriac, Latin, § 3, Greek lost, § 4.
- Ezra-Apocalypse. *See* Ezra, 4 Book of.
- Ezriel, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Face, of Elect One, 1En. 61⁹ 62²; of God, 14²¹ 52⁹ 53² 63⁹ 84⁶ 89^{22,26,30} 103⁴, cf. Appearance 89³⁰; Presence, 84³ 90³⁴.
- Faces of Angels, 1En. 51⁴ 71¹.
- Factions. *See* Jewish.
- Faith, 1En. 39²² 43⁴ 58⁶ 61^{4,11} 2Bar. 54^{21,22} Zad. 9^{37,47,54}; = religious faith, 4Macc. 15²⁴ 17²; and works combined as complementary, 4Ez. 9^{7,8} 13²³; = faithfulness to law, 5¹ 6^{3,28} 7^{34,77,22}; Elect One of, 39⁶; heritage of, 58⁶; measures given to, 61⁴; spirit of, 61¹¹. *See* Messiah, Works.
- Faithful, 1En. 46⁸; confess sins, are forgiven and blessed, Zad. 9⁵⁰⁻⁵⁴; God confirms covenant

INDEX

with, through fresh revelations, *Zad.* 5¹⁻³; through Ezekiel, 5⁶⁻⁷. Faithfulness to God, *Sir.* 2¹⁻³. Faithless, delivered to the sword, *Zad.* 9^{4,10} woes against, *Sir.* 2¹²⁻¹⁴. Fall, teaching concerning, 3*Bar.* §10, 3. Fara, *Jub.* 8²⁷. Fast, the, *Zad.* 8¹⁵. Fasting, *Tob.* § 10*B* T.R. 1¹⁰ T.S. 3⁴ T.Jud. 15⁴ 19². T.Iss. 7⁸ T.Jos. 3⁴, see Prayer; and adultery, T.A. 2⁸ 4³; and chastity, T.Jos. 9²; and prayer and obedience bring answers to petitions, Ah. 2⁴⁰ (Arm.); atonement by, see Atonement; forbidden on Sabbath, *Zad.* 13¹⁵. Fasts, 2*Bar.* 5⁷ⁿ. 9²ⁿ; of seven days, 4*Ez.* 3¹ *Intro.* n. 5¹³; four fasts followed by revelation in 4*Ez.* 5²⁰ 6³⁵ 9^{26,27} 12⁵¹. Fates, the three, *Sib.* 5^{215,230,245}. Father, God will be, of Israel, *Jub.* 1²⁴ⁿ, see Children (cf. P.A. 3¹⁰ *Wisd.* 18¹³; of righteous individual, *Sir.* 23¹, cf. *Wisd.* 2¹⁰); in heaven, P.A. 5²³. See God, titles of. Fatherhood of God, *Sir.* § 9*i*. Fathers of old, praise of, *Sir.* 44¹⁻¹⁵; of Enoch and Noah, 44¹⁶⁻¹⁸; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, 44¹⁹⁻²³; Moses, 44²³⁻⁴⁵ 1⁵; Aaron, 45⁶⁻²²; Phinehas, 45²³⁻²⁶; Joshua and Caleb, 46¹⁻¹⁰ Judges, the, 46^{11,12}; Samuel, 46¹³⁻²⁰; David, 47¹⁻¹¹; Solomon, 47¹²⁻²²; Elijah, 48¹⁻¹²; Elisha, 48¹²⁻¹⁶; Hezekiah and Isaiah, 48¹⁷⁻²⁵; Josiah, 49¹⁻⁵; Jeremiah, 49⁷; Ezekiel, Job, and Twelve Prophets, *Sir.* 49⁸⁻¹⁰; Zerubbabel, Joshua son of Josedech, and Nehemiah, 49¹¹⁻¹³; Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enoch, and Adam, 49¹⁴⁻¹⁶. Fear, defined, *Wisd.* 17¹²; of God, *Arist.* 159, 189 T.B. 3^{5,4}, see Love to God, Wisdom; of the Lord, greatest good of all, *Sir.* 40¹⁸⁻²⁷; is life, 50²⁰; is true wisdom, 11¹⁻²⁰ 21¹; the Lord, those who, are blessed, 27⁻¹¹, characteristics of, 21⁵⁻¹⁸, none greater than, 10²⁴; of sin, P.A. 2⁶ 3¹². Feast, a, ordained by Simon the Maccabee, 1*Macc.* 13⁵², see Tabernacles; of Tabernacles, *Jub.* § 15, 16²⁰; of Weeks, *Jub.* § 15, 6¹⁷. Feasts, *Zad.* 8¹⁵; profane the, 14⁶; and covenant, despising of, P.A. 3¹⁶, see Minim; and eves kept by Judith, see Pharisaic teaching; the four great, *Jub.* 6^{23,24}. Fence for Torah, P.A. 1¹; for words, 6⁶; for separation, wisdom, 3¹⁸. Festivals, and Sabbaths recognized by Demetrius I, 1*Macc.* 10³⁴; to be kept, 2*Bar.* 84⁸; commemorative, of Jews, Add. *Esth.* E^{21,22}; of God's covenant, *Jub.* 1^{10,14}; God's glorious, *Zad.* 5²; Maccabean, bond of

union between Jews of Palestine and Egypt, 2*Macc.* § 3; institution of, 3*Macc.* 6³⁶ 7¹⁹; cf. 2*Macc.* § 3 and see Feast; true order of, *Jub.* 6³⁴. Fewness of saved, 4*Ez.* 7⁴⁵⁻⁷⁴ 8³ 9¹³⁻²². Fig-tree, unfruitful, parable of. parallel idea to, in Ah. 8³⁵ (Syr.). Filial duty and its reward, *Sir.* 3¹⁻¹⁶. Fire, 1*En.* 10⁶ 14^{12,17,19,22} 17^{1,5} 21⁷ 39⁷ 54¹ 71²⁻⁶ 72⁴ 90^{24,26} 91⁹ 100³ 105³; Angel or Spirit of, see Angel; abyss of, 1*En.* 10¹³ &c., see Abyss, Gehenna; columns of, 1*En.* 18¹¹ 21⁷ 90²⁴; flames of, 71¹ 72⁷ 103⁸ 108^{4,5}; furnace of, 98³; mountain range of, 24¹; pillar of, *Wisd.* 18⁵; river of, 1*En.* 17⁵; streams of, 14¹⁹ 17⁵ 67⁷ 71^{2,6}; eternal, for drunkards, 3*Bar.* 4¹⁶; ever-burning, 1*En.* 67¹³; grievous, 102¹; of West, 17⁴ 23²; and worms for ever, *Judith* 16¹⁷; and the worm, *Sir.* 7¹⁷ⁿ; Beliar cast into, T.Jud. 25³; the final abode of the wicked, 2*Bar.* 44¹⁵ⁿ. 48^{39,43} 59²ⁿ; of the altar, hidden till Nehemiah came, 2*Macc.* 11¹⁸⁻³⁹; Jeremiah, prophet, bids the captivity take some of fire, 2¹; snow and ice, T.L. 3²; ungodly punished in, *Sib.* 4⁴³ 2*En.* 101⁻⁶ 4*Macc.* 9⁹ 12¹². Firmament, 1*En.* 18^{2,12}. Firstborn, death of, *Wisd.* 18¹⁰. First-fruits, feast of, celebrated by Abraham, *Jub.* 15^{1,2}; by Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob, *Jub.* 22¹; by Jacob before going to Egypt, *Jub.* 44⁴; and tithes, *Judith* 11¹³. Five possessions of God, P.A. 6¹¹. Flavian Emperors, 4*Ez.* 11¹ⁿ. 12³⁻³⁹ⁿ. Flesh, 1*En.* 9⁹ 5¹ 14²¹ 15⁸ 16¹ 17⁶ 61¹² 84⁶ 106¹⁷ 108¹¹ *Zad.* 3⁶, see Inclination; and blood, *Sir.* 14¹⁸ⁿ. 17³¹ 1*En.* 15⁴; of man, 84^{4,5}; of righteousness, 84⁶. Flint, use of, 2*Macc.* 10³. Flood, the, 3*Macc.* 2⁴ *Sir.* 44¹⁷ *Wisd.* 10⁴ *Jub.* 5¹⁹⁻³² 23⁹ 4*Ez.* 3¹⁹. Fool = guileless, is without sins, *Sir.* 19²³. Foolish, wisdom harsh to, *Sir.* 62²⁰⁻²²; warning against associating with, 8⁴; how differs from wise, 21^{12-17,18-28}; futility of, 20¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 22⁷⁻¹⁸ 33³ (36)^{5,6}; speech of, 20²⁰ 27¹¹⁻¹³. Forbidden meats, 4*Macc.* 13³ 5^{3,14,59}. See Clean. Forced service, P.A. 3¹⁷. Forehead, See Mark. Foreknowledge of God, 4*Ez.* 7¹³² *Zad.* 2⁶. See Election. Foresight, need of, in men, *Sir.* 16¹⁹⁻²⁶. Forethought, need of, *Sir.* 32 (35)¹⁸⁻²⁴ 33³ (36)⁴. Forgetfulness, P.A. 3¹¹. Forgive, *Zad.* 5⁵. See Pardon.

Forgiveness, P.Man. 7 1*En.* 5⁶ 12⁵ 13^{4,6}; count not upon, *Sir.* 5⁵, see Atonement, Confession; duty of, *Sir.* 27³⁰⁻²⁸⁷; of God, 16¹¹ 17²⁹ 18^{11-14,20n}; for the repentant, *Zad.* 2³, see Pardon; of God, a reason for forgiveness of man, Ah. 8³⁴ (Syr.) 82⁴ (Arm.); of thy neighbour, *Sir.* 28²ⁿ; essential, includes restoration to communion, in Test. and N.T., Test. § 11, § 13, T.G. 6³⁻⁷; God's, of man, T.G. 7⁵. Fornication, *Zad.* 3² 6¹¹ 7¹ 9¹⁵, cf. 8¹⁸ T.R. 1⁶ 6⁴ T.S. 5³; danger of, *Sir.* 9⁶ 19²; evils of, T.R. 4⁶⁻⁷ T.S. 5^{3,4} T.Jud. 14² 15¹⁻² 18²⁻⁶; in taking two wives, *Zad.* 7¹, see Polygamy; punishment of fire for, *Jub.* 20⁴; warnings against, T.R. 5⁵ 6¹. Forty days of instruction, 2*Bar.* 76⁴, cf. 4*Ez.* 14²³. Foundations of the Covenant. See Ordinances. Fountain, figurative, of life, 1*En.* 96⁶; of the righteous and holy, 65¹²; of righteousness, 48¹; of wisdom, 48¹. — literal, beneath the earth, 1*En.* 54⁷; opened, 89³; produces lead and tin, 65⁸. See Spring. Four types of men, P.A. 5¹³⁻¹⁸. Foxes = Ammonites in 1*En.* 89^{42,65}. Free-will, *Sir.* 15¹¹⁻²⁰ 20²¹⁻²³ 2*Bar.* § 10, 15⁵⁻⁸ 19¹⁻² P.A. 3¹⁹; and fate, 2*Bar.* 54¹⁵⁻¹⁹; co-ordinated with foreknowledge of God, P.A. 3¹⁹ⁿ; doctrine of, in Sirach, *Sir.* § 9*iv*; in 2*Bar.* § 10 18²ⁿ. 54¹⁵ⁿ; implied, *Zad.* §§ 9⁴⁰ 13, 3¹ 2¹⁰, see Will; man's, 2*En.* 30¹⁵ⁿ. Ps. Sol. 9⁷. Freedom offered to informers, 3*Macc.* 3²⁸. Friend, *chaber*, *Sir.* 61¹⁰ⁿ; (court title), 1*Macc.* 2¹⁸ 10^{16,19,20,60,65} 11^{26,57} 12⁴³ 13³⁶ 14³⁸ 15²⁸ 2*Macc.* 7²⁴ 8⁹ 10¹³ 14¹¹ Add. *Esth.* E⁵ⁿ. *Arist.* 45ⁿ; bosom friend, 9²⁹; chief friends, 1*Macc.* 10⁶⁵ 11²⁷; duty to, *Sir.* 7¹⁸ 9¹⁰ 22¹⁹⁻²⁶; of God, used of Abraham, *Jub.* 19⁹. See Abraham, Isaac. Friends of God, *Wisd.* 7²⁷ⁿ. Friendship, true and false, *Sir.* 65⁻¹⁷ 12⁸; rules as to making, 9¹⁰⁻¹⁶ 11²⁹⁻³⁴ 12⁹⁻¹³; how dissolved, 22¹⁹⁻²⁶; good and bad, 37¹⁻⁶. Fruit, laws about, *Jub.* 7^{36,37}. [Furnace, the man who is melted in the, *Zad.* 9³¹.] Future life, *Wisd.* 3¹; belief in a blessed, *Zad.* §§ 9³⁰ 13, 5⁶ⁿ; conception of, developing in Sirach, *Sir.* 7¹⁷ⁿ; idea of, absent in, 11²⁸ⁿ. 17^{27,28}; life continues in name, 39⁹ 41¹¹⁻¹³; see Spirit; no reference to in Add. *Esth.* § 7; of righteous, inconsistent views of in *Wisd.* *Wisd.* § 9. See Life. Future punishment, *Sir.* 5⁸ 7¹⁷ⁿ.

11²⁶ 28¹; eternal, *Judith* 16¹⁷; for ungodly, decay, *Sir.* 7¹⁷ (later 'fire and worm', 7¹⁷ⁿ). See Eternal punishment. Gaas or Gaash, *Jub.* 34^{4,7} T. Jud. 7¹. Gabadaeans, Arabians, 1*Macc.* 12³¹. Gabael, *Tob.* 1^{1,14} 4^{1,20} 5⁶ 9^{2,5} 10². Gabbatha, eunuch, Add. *Esth.* A¹². Gabbe, 1*Esd.* 5²⁰. Gabri, *Tob.* 1¹⁴ 4²⁰. Gabriel, *Apoc. Mos.* 40¹ 1*En.* 9¹ 10⁹ 20⁷ 40⁹ 54⁶, see Angels, Archangels; sent to Enoch, 2*En.* 21^{3,5}; seated on left of God, 2*En.* 24¹. Gad, *Jub.* 28²⁰ 33²² 38⁵ 44^{19,20} T.R. 1⁴ T.Jud. 5² 7^{2(a)} 6⁶ 25² T.Iss. 5⁸ T.Z. 2¹ 3² 4² T.G. 1¹ T.A. 7⁶; exploits of, T.G. 1³. Gaddis. See John. Gadir, *Jub.* 8^{23,26} 9¹². Gadreel, a Satan, 1*En.* 69⁶. Gaia, *Sib.* 5^{111,122}. Gaidad, 2*En.* 1¹⁰ⁿ. 57². Gains, unrighteous, *Sir.* 5⁸, cf. 1*En.* 63¹⁰. Gait shows the man, *Sir.* 19³⁰. Galatians, 1*Macc.* 8² *Sib.* 3⁴⁸⁵, 509, 599 5³⁴⁰; battle of, in Babylonia, 2*Macc.* 8²⁰ⁿ. Galilee, 1*Macc.* 5^{14,15,17,20,21,23,55} 10³⁰ 1⁶³ 12^{47,49} *Tob.* 1⁵ *Judith* 1⁹ 15⁵; of Gentiles, 1*Macc.* 5¹⁵; upper, *Tob.* 1². Gall, *Tob.* 6⁶; the, T.N. 2⁸. Gamael, 1*Esd.* 8²⁹. Gamaliel I, P.A. 1¹⁶. Gamaliel III, P.A. 2². Garden (i.e. Eden), *Jub.* 8²² 1*En.* 61¹²; of Eden, 2*En.* 8⁶. 31^{1,3}, see Eden; of Righteousness, 1*En.* 32³ 77³; of the Righteous, 1*En.* 60²³; where the elect and righteous dwell, 1*En.* 60⁸ 61¹², cf. 65² 70³ 89⁵². See also Paradise. Garment of truth, T.L. 8². Garments, *Tob.* 4¹⁶; cleansing of, *Zad.* 13¹²; law of, *Jub.* 3³⁰⁻³¹; of God's glory, 2*En.* 2²⁸, cf. 1*En.* 62¹⁵; of life, 62¹⁶, cf. 108¹²; white, 71¹. Gas, name, 1*Esd.* 5³⁴. Gathering of Israel, 4*Ez.* 13¹²ⁿ. 40-48. See Dispersed. Gauls, *Sib.* 5²⁰⁰. Gaza, 1*Macc.* 11^{61,62} *Sib.* 3³⁴⁵ *Arist.* 115, 117. Gazara, near Azotus, 1*Macc.* 7⁴⁰ 9⁵² 13^{43,53} 14^{7,34} 15^{28,33} 16¹, 19, 21; a stronghold (= Gezer or Jazer?), 2*Macc.* 10³²ⁿ. Gazera, 1*Esd.* 5³¹ 1*Macc.* 4¹⁵. See Gazara. Geba, *Judith* 3¹⁰. Gebal, T.L. 6¹. Gedaliah, 2*Bar.* 5⁷ⁿ. 44¹. Geddur, 1*Esd.* 5³⁰. Gehazi, *Zad.* 9²⁸. Gehenna, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ 2*Bar.* 59¹⁰ P.A. 1⁵ 5^{22,24}; furnace of, 4*Ez.* 7³⁰; in view of righteous in heaven, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ⁿ; inherit, P.A. 1⁵; (1) place of

corporal and spiritual punishment in the presence of the righteous (a) for ever, 1En. 27^{2,3} 90^{26,27}; (b) for a time only, 1En. 48⁹ 62^{12,13}, i.e. in 37-70 (Parables); (2) place of spiritual punishment only, 1En. 98³, cf. 103⁸, i.e. in 91-104 (Section V). *See also* Abyss, Fire, Punishment, Sheol, Valley.

Gel, 3Bar. *Proh.* 2.

Gemarias of Mount + Joel, Mart. 1s. 215.

Genizah fragments of Sirach, Sir. § 3(a).

Gennaeus. *See* Apollonius.

Gennesar, waters of, 1Macc. 11⁶⁷n.

Gentile nations, seventy, Jub. 44³⁴ Test. *App.* I 85.

Gentiles, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ 1Macc. 1¹³, 14, 15 24¹⁰, 44, 48, 68 31¹⁰, 45, 48, 52, 58 4⁷, 11, 14, 26, 45, 54, 58, 60 51⁹, 10, 19, 21, 22, 38, 43, 57, 63 61¹⁸, 53 23 11³⁸ 12⁵³ 13⁶ 14³⁶ Tob. 13⁸ 2Macc. 14^{3,38} Judith 8²² Jub. 19¹³, 15, 19 31⁶³ 63⁵ 15³⁴ 16¹⁷ 23^{23,24} 24²⁸ 30^{11,13,14} 31¹⁸ 44³⁴ T.S. 7² T.L. 4⁴ 8¹⁴ 9¹⁰ 10⁴ 14^{1,3(a),4,6} 15¹ 16⁵ 18⁹ T.Jud. 22² 23²⁵ 24⁶ T.Iss. 6² T.Z. 9^{6,8(bad)} T.D. 5^{5,8} 6^{7,9} T.N. 3³ 4¹ 8^{3,4,6} T.A. 7³ T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 3⁹ 9^{2,4} 10^{5,9,10} Ass. Mos. 4⁹ 8³ 10⁷ 4Macc. 4¹¹ 18⁹; boasting of, 2Bar. 5¹ 7¹ 67^{2,6-7n} 80³; bread of, Tob. 11^{10,11}; conversion of, 1En. 50²⁻⁵ 90³⁰n. 91¹⁴; customs of, 1Macc. 1¹³; destiny of, 2Bar. 72⁴⁻⁶ⁿ; feasts of, Jub. 6³⁵; hope for, no, in final judgement, Jub. § 15; inter-marriage forbidden, = fornication or giving to Moloch, Jub. 30ⁿ; Israel will walk after, Jub. 1⁹, be scattered amongst, 1¹³, will turn to God from amongst, 1¹⁵, God will gather from, 1¹⁵; kings of, Zad. 9²⁰; no clean animal or bird to be sold to, Zad. 14⁹; no Israelite to be sold to, 14¹¹; no man to rest near, on Sabbath, 13²⁴; ordinances of, Zad. 10¹; to be saved, T.L. 4⁴ (814?) 18⁹ T.Jud. 22² 24⁶ T.Z. 9^{8(bad)} T.D. 6⁷ [T.N. 8^{3,4}] T.A. 7³ [T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 3⁸] 9² [9⁴] 10^{6,10} [11^{2,3}]; shedding blood of, Zad. 14⁷; the Son of Man, the light of, 1En. 48⁴, spirits placed in authority over, to lead astray, Jub. 15⁵¹ (contrast Israel); = wild beasts, 1En. 85-90n.

Geometry, P.A. 3²³.

Gera, Jub. 44²⁰.

Gerar, 2Macc. 13²⁴n. Jub. 16²⁰ 24^{8,12,17,19}.

Gericus, 3Bar. 4⁷.

Gerizim, 2Macc. 5²³ 6².

Gersam, T.L. 11² 12¹.

Gershon, Jub. 44¹⁴ Test. *App.* II 63, 74. *See* Gersam.

Gerson, 1Esd. 8²⁹.

Giants, 3Macc. 2⁴n. 36 *sqg.*

Judith 16⁷ Sir. 16⁷n. Wisd. 14⁶ 1Bar. 3²⁶ Jub. 5¹ 7²², *see* Eljo: 1En. 7^{2,4} 9⁹ 15^{8,11} 16¹, cf. 86⁴ 88⁷; judgement of the, Jub. 20⁶.

Gidaial, 1En. 82²⁰.

Gideon, Judith 8¹.

Gifts blind the eyes of wise, Sir. 20²⁹.

Gihon, Sir. 24²⁷ (= Nile 24²⁷n.) Jub. 8^{15,22,23}.

Gilead, 1Macc. 5^{9,17,20,25,27,36}, 45, 55 13²² Judith 18 15⁶ Jub. 20^{4,5,7,9,12}, *see* Witness, heap of; Mart. Is. 2¹⁴.

Gilgal, 1Macc. 9²n.

Gilgamesh epic, quoted, Sir. § 1.

Girdle, T.L. 8⁷ T.Jud. 12⁴ 15³.

Girgashites, Judith 5¹⁶ Jub. 14¹⁸.

Giving, right spirit in, Sir. 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸; to evil, to be avoided, 12³⁻⁷. *See* Almsgiving.

Glaphyra, Zad. § 6 ii.(c)n.

Glory, garments of. *See* Garments: of God, Tob. 3¹⁶ Zad. 8⁷ 9⁴⁹; of the Great One, 1En. 104¹; of the Lord, Tob. 12^{12,15}; of man, Zad. 5⁶; the Great, 1En. 14²⁰, 102³ T.L. 3⁴. *See* God, titles of.

Gnostic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(c).

Gnostos, father of Sibyl, Sib. 3⁸¹⁵.

God, acknowledged by heathen, Wisd. 12²⁷; all things in hand of, Sir. 11¹⁴⁻²⁸; alone brings in End, 4Ez. 5⁵⁶⁻⁶⁶n., judges, 7^{33,37,38}; and His ministers, duty to, Sir. 7²⁹⁻³¹; author of beauty, Wisd. 13³; cause of sin, Sir. 15¹¹n.; covenant of, Zad. 4⁹ 7¹² 8²¹ 9⁴¹ 16^{7,12}; doctrine of, Sir. § 9i—one, Creator, eternal, holy, God of Israel, of world, Father; Father of Israel, loves them, Jub. 124²⁶; scatters them among Gentiles, Jub. 1¹³; gathers from amongst, 1¹⁵; will descend and dwell with them for ever, 11^{27,26}, will appear to eyes of all, 1²⁸; Father of all children of Jacob, Jub. 1²⁸; first coming of, to earth, 2En. 58¹, second, 32ⁿ; friends of, Zad. 4³, *see* Friend; giver of souls, 4Macc. 13¹³ 18²³; glory of, Zad. 9⁴⁹, *see* Glory of God; greatness of, Sir. 16¹⁷⁻²³ 181-14, help of, *see* Eleazar; Himself as Judge, Sib. § 8; holy spirit of, Wisd. 9¹⁷; knowledge of, is immortality, 15³; love of, 11²⁴ Zad. 9²⁶, to His creatures transcends man's, 4Ez. 5³³n. 84⁷; mercy of, Sir. 181-14; name of, not mentioned in 1 Macc., *see* § 5; rules the world, Sir. 10⁴, the individual, 10⁶; search for, Wisd. 13⁶; praise of, as Nature's Lord, Sir. 42¹⁵⁻⁴³ 38, His might, 43¹⁻²⁶; transcendence of, in Tobit, § 10; will dwell with men, 1En. 25³ 77¹ 1En. 91-104; wrath of, Ass. Mos. 10³ Zad. 11⁷ 4⁷ 9^{22,40-4} 11⁴, *see* Wrath; of peace, T.D. 5²; of the righteous, P.Man. 8.

God, names and titles of: Adversary, the, P.A. 4²⁹; All might and all power, who has, 3Macc. 6¹²; All-King, Sir. 50¹⁵; All-seeing God, 2Macc. 9⁵; and Saviour, Add. Esth. D³; All-surveying God, E⁴, *see* Beholds; All-powerful Lord, 2Macc. 3^{22,30}; and merciful God, A. & E. 27¹; All-wise God, the, 4Macc. 1¹²; Almighty, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶ 2Macc. 5²⁰ 7³⁸ 8^{11,24} 15^{8,32} 3Macc. 2^{2,8} 6¹⁸ Sib. Frag. 1⁸ 3Bar. 1³; Almighty God, 2Macc. 7³⁵ 8¹⁸ 3Macc. 6² Arist. 18, 19, 45, 139, 168, 184 Sib. 3⁷¹; living God of heaven, 3Macc. 6²⁸; Lord, 5⁷ Judith 15¹⁰ 16⁶; Alone exists from age to age, Sib. Frag. 1¹⁶; Arrays Himself against a king, 2Macc. 1¹¹; Artificer, the, Wisd. 13¹; Author of all good things, Arist. 205. Beauty, first Author of, Wisd. 13³; Beginnings of the ages serve, whose word, 2Bar. 54³; Beholds all things, who, 2Macc. 12²² 3Macc. 2²¹, *see* All-seeing; Beholds the depths, Azar. 32; Benefactor of the whole world, Arist. 210, cf. 281; Blessed for ever, He who is, 1En. 77¹; Blessed Heavenly One, Sib. 3¹; Bountiful, 4Ez. 7¹³⁶; Breathed into man a vital spirit, that, Wisd. 15¹¹; Brought you (Israel) up, that, 1Bar. 4⁸; Brought us (Israel) up out of Egypt, who, 2Bar. 75^{7,8}; Brought these plagues upon you (Israel), that, 1Bar. 4^{18,27,29}; Buildeth His city and His sanctuary, Sir. 51^{12v}l.

Called thee (Jerusalem) by name, that, 1Bar. 4³⁰; Called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, that has, 2Bar. 21⁴; Careth for all, Wisd. 12¹³; Causes the rain and dew to descend, who, Jub. 12⁴; Causes the drops of rain to rain by number on the earth, who, 2Bar. 21⁸; Chambers are in the air, whose, 4Ez. 8²⁰; Champion (of Jews), 2Macc. 8⁸⁶, *see* Fighteth; Cherubim, that sits upon, Azar. 32, who has, as throne, Sib. 3¹; Chief of all, 5^{277,499}; Chose sons of Zadok for the priesthood, that, Sir. 51^{12ix}; Chose Zion, that, 51^{12xi}l; Commanded the air by Thy nod, that has, 2Bar. 21⁶; Commandment is strong and enactment terrible, whose, 4Ez. 8²³; Compassionate, 7¹³²; Created, who, 2Bar. 10¹⁹; all things, 3Macc. 2³; everything by His word, Jub. 12⁴; heaven and earth, the God who, Bel 5; and all things, who, Jub. 7³⁶ 36⁷ 2En. 66 *Preface*; me, 2Bar. 54⁹; us (Israel) 7³⁸; the world out of formless matter, Wisd. 11¹⁷; the world was, who said and, Test. *App.* I 9⁶; Creator, Sir. 3¹⁶ Jub. 7²⁰ 10⁸ 16²⁶ 22⁶ 1En. 81⁵ 94¹⁰ Test. *App.* I 8⁶ 102^{8,9} Sib. 3⁷⁰⁴ Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ 2En. 10⁶ 51⁴ 2Bar. 14¹⁵ 44⁴ 48⁴⁶ 4Ez. 5⁴⁴ P.A. 4²⁹; Creator of all things, 2Macc. 1²⁴ Sir. 24⁸ Jub. 231³² 11¹⁷ 17⁸ 22^{4,27}

45⁵ 2En. 51⁴(B) 4Macc. 11⁵; of all created things, Ah. 1⁵ (Arab.); of great Temple, Sib. 5⁴³³; of heavens and earth, 3⁷⁸⁸ Ah. 1⁵ (Arab.); of waters, Judith 10¹²; of world, 2Macc. 7²³ 13¹⁴ 4Macc. 5²⁵; who has planted His sweet Spirit in us all, Sib. Frag. 1⁵. Deep, who hast shut up, and sealed it, P.Man. 4; Deliverer of Israel, 3Macc. 7²³; our, Ps.Sol. 17³, *see* Saviour of Israel; Delivered them (Israel, Lord who, Wisd. 19⁹; Delivereth them that trust in Him, Sir. 51⁸; Delivereth out of every evil, that, Wisd. 16⁸; Depths come as the heights, to whom the, 2Bar. 54⁹; Discerner, the, P.A. 4²⁹; Divine, the (II, page 781, c. xxvi. 1); Does everything upon the earth, who, Jub. 12⁴; Does everything easily by a nod, 2Bar. 54²; Dread, whom all things, P.Man. 5. Educated us, He who, 2Bar. 78³; Eternal, the, 3Macc. 6¹² Sib. Frag. 3¹⁷ Sib. 3¹⁵, 101, 301, 328, 594, 601, 616, 631, 672, 676, 679, 708, 711, 721, 733, 768, 769; and supreme God, A. & E. 28¹; Creator, Sib. 3¹⁰; Father of all men, 3⁶⁰⁴; God, Sir. 36¹⁷ Jub. 12²⁹ 13⁸ 1En. 1⁴ Sib. 3^{56,742} Ass. Mos. 10⁷ 2En. 1⁸; Immortal God, Sib. 5⁶⁶; King, Apoc. Mos. 20⁴ 1En. 25^{5,7} 27³ Sib. 3⁷¹⁷; Lord, 1En. 58⁴ 2En. 1⁸(p); Ruler, 64⁸; Saviour, of Israel, 3Macc. 7¹⁶; who created heaven and earth, Sib. 3⁸⁵; Ever, God whose Being is for, 5¹⁷⁴; Everlasting, the, 1Bar. 4^{10,14,20,22,24,35} 5² Sib. 5³⁶⁹; your Saviour, 1Bar. 4²²; God, Tob. 14⁷ 1Bar. 4⁸ Sur. 42; King, Tob. 13^{6,10}; Lord, 13¹³; Exalted One, the, 4Ez. 4³⁴; Existence, the One, Sib. Frag. 1³⁵; Exists from age to age, who alone, 1¹⁶. *See* God who is, God whose Being is for ever, One who is. Fashioner, the, of men, 4Ez. 7⁹⁴; Faithfulness standeth eternal, whose, 82³; Father, 3Macc. 5⁷ 6⁸ Sir. 23¹ Wisd. 2¹⁶ 14³ Jub. 124²⁵ T.L. 18⁶ Sib. 5^{360,500}; as a, 3Macc. 7⁶; Holy, the, T.Jud. 24²; invisible, Apoc. Mos. 35⁸; of all, 35² 37⁴ Sib. 3⁵⁵⁰ 5³²³; of all the children of Jacob, Jub. 12⁸; of all holy, among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2²¹; of all within whom is the breath of God, the Great, Sib. 5⁴⁰⁶; of light, the, Apoc. Mos. 36³; our, Tob. 13⁴ Sib. 3⁷²⁶; my, Sir. 51¹⁰; which is in heaven, P.A. 5²³; who alone is excellent, Sib. 5²⁸⁴; who is from everlasting, Sib. 5⁴⁹⁸; Fighteth for our nation, He who ever, 2Macc. 14³⁴, *see* Champion; Firmament, Thou that hast fixed, by thy

INDEX

word, 2Bar. 21⁴; Forgiving, 4Ez. 7¹³; Formed him (Moses), He who, 2Bar. 17⁴; man by . . . wisdom, Wisd. 9²; man in womb, who, Test. App. I 9⁵; them (works), Wisd. 13⁴; Formeth all, He that, Sir. 51^{12iv}. See Creator.

Gathereth the outcasts of Israel, He that, Sir. 51^{12vi}; Glorious, greatly, 3Macc. 6¹⁸; Glorious One, 6¹³; Glory, great, the, 1En. 14²⁰ 102³ T.L. 3⁴; Glory is inconceivable, whose, 4Ez. 8²¹; Glory of God, the, Tob. 3¹⁶ 12^{12,15} 3Bar. 4¹⁶ 7² 11²; God (my, thy, &c.), Tob. 11¹⁸ 13^{4,7} Judith 5^{9,12,18,19,21} 6³ 7²⁸ 9⁴ 11^{10,11,13,23} 12^{11,17} 16^{2,13} Jub. 1¹⁷ 7³⁴ 10⁵ 12^{19,20,21,24} 13^{8,16} 15¹⁰ 19²⁸ 22⁹ 27²⁷ 33^{11,13} 41²⁵ Arist. 42 Apoc. Mos. 35³ T.S. 2⁸ T.Jos. 1⁶ 8^{5a} 2En. 6⁷³ (B) Ps.Sol. 5⁶ 6⁷ 8³⁶ 9¹⁶ 15¹⁵ 17^{3,4,15}, 30,42 18^{8,11} (II, page 779, line 23 from bottom); my and thy God, Jub. 21²⁵; God, a, to thee and to thy seed, 22¹⁵; Almighty, 15⁴ 27¹¹ 2En. Prol.; and King, Add. Esth. C8; Himself, Sib. 4^{181,183} 5³⁵²; our Father, 3⁷²⁰; God Most High, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶ Sir. 22²³ 39⁶ 47^{5,8} 48²⁰ Jub. 12¹⁹ 22¹¹ [T.Jud. 24⁴] P.A. 6¹¹ Ah. 6¹⁵ (Arab.); of Abraham, Add.Esth. C8 Jub. 22^{22,23} 31²⁵ 35¹⁴ Ass.Mos. 3⁹; and of Isaac, Jub. 29⁴ 31³¹ 44⁵ 45³; and Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, P.Man. 1; of afflicted, Judith 9¹¹; of ages, Jub. 25¹⁵ 1En. 9⁴; of all, Sir. 36¹ 45²³ 50²² Jub. 22^{10,27} 30¹⁹ 31^{13,32} Apoc.Mos. 32² 42⁸; of all power and might, Judith 9¹⁴; all rule, Apoc.Mos. 42⁵; of Daniel, Bel 41; of . . . father, Judith 9¹² Mart.Is. 2² T.Jos. 6⁶; of father Isaac, Jub. 44¹; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 1⁵⁰ 4⁶⁰ 8^{26,58} 9⁸ 3Macc. 7¹⁶ Tob. 8⁶ Judith 10⁸ Wisd. 6¹ P.Man. 1 Azar. 3, 29 Jub. 31³¹ 44⁵ T.R. 4¹⁰ T.S. 2⁸ T.Jud. 19³ T.D. 1^{9a} T.G. 2⁶ T.Jos. 1⁴ 6⁷ Test. App. I 10⁸ 8³ Ass. Mos. 9⁶ 4Macc. 12¹⁸ P.A. 5²⁴; of gods, Azar. 68 Jub. 8²⁰ 23¹ 1En. 9⁴; of glory, 1En. 25⁷; of heaven, 3Macc. 7⁶ Tob. 7¹² 8¹⁶ Judith 5⁸ 11¹⁷ Jub. 12⁴ 20⁷ 22¹⁹ 1En. 106⁵ T.R. 1⁶ 6⁹ Sib. 3^{174,286} 4¹³⁵ 5⁷⁶ Ass. Mos. 2⁴ Ah. 6¹⁶ (Syr.) Ah. 6²⁸ (Arab.); and earth, T.Iss. 7⁷, see Almighty living God of heaven; of Hebrews, T.Jos. 12³; of hosts, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶; of inheritance of Israel, Judith 9¹²; of Isaac, Jub. 27²² 29⁴ Ass. Mos. 3⁹, see God of Abraham; of Israel, 1Esd. 1⁴⁸ 2^{48,67} 6¹ 7^{4,9,15} 8^{55,65,72} 9³⁹ 2Macc. 9⁵ Tob. 13¹⁸ Judith 4¹² 6²¹ 10¹ 14¹⁰ 1Bar. 21¹¹ 3¹ Jub. 1²⁸ T.Jos. 2² Ps.Sol. 4¹ 9¹⁶; of Jacob, Ass. Mos. 3⁹ Ps.Sol. 15¹; of Jacob our father, T.D.

1⁹ (β AS¹); or justice, Sir. 35¹²; of my life, 23¹; of my salvation, 51¹; of peace, T.D. 5²; of praises, Sir. 51^{12iv}; of requital, 35¹¹; of righteous, P.Man. 8; of righteousness, Jub. 25²¹ T.Jud. 22²; judging Israel with chastening, Ps.Sol. 8³²; of Sabaoth, 2En. 5²¹; of spirits of all flesh, Jub. 10⁸; of the whole world, 1En. 84²; of them that repent, P.Man. 13; of truth, 1Esd. 4⁴⁰; the Creator, Ah. 1¹ (Arab.); the Father, Apoc. Mos. 43⁵ Sib. 3³⁶⁰; the Great King, 3^{499,616}; the High and the Mighty, Ah. Aeth. Frag. 1; the just judge, A. & E. 29¹⁰; the Lord, 3² 13² 14² 16¹ 33¹; the merciful, 2Macc. 11⁹; their King, A. & E. 29⁸; who bestows on all kings glory &c., Arist. 224; ever is, Sib. 3³⁸; fulfils all your desires, Arist. 283; gave them (Israel) their law, 15; has endowed you with these qualities, 290; is, 4Macc. 5²⁴; made us (Adam and Eve), A. & E. 4³; makes you care for these things, Arist. 282; maintains your kingdom, 15; overlooks you, Sib. Frag. 1⁸; who oversees all things, 34²; rules and preserves us, Arist. 157; whom they knew, Judith 5⁸; Godhead, the, T.L. 3⁷ (A⁹); Good, 4Ez. 7¹³⁸; Governest all creation, who, 3Macc. 6²; whole world, 2³; Grace, that showest, upon the earth, Ah. 4¹⁸ (Syr.); Gracious, 4Ez. 7¹³³; Gracious One, 8³²; Great Eternal God, Sib. 3⁶⁹⁸ 5⁶⁰⁰; Great Father, 3²⁹⁶ 5⁴⁰⁶; Great God, the, 3Macc. 7^{2,22} Arist. 05 Sib. 3^{162,297,556,557,702,773,776} 4¹⁶³; Great Holy One, the, 1En. 9⁷; Great Lord, the, 8¹⁸; Great One, the, 14⁵ 103^{1,4} 104¹; Great Sovereign, the, 2Macc. 5²⁰; of the world, 12¹⁶; Guards all, who, Sib. 3³⁸.

Hater of insolence, 3Macc. 6⁹; Hateth iniquity, that, Judith 5¹⁷; He (Him), 1Macc. 2⁶¹; He above, Sib. 3⁷⁶⁰, cf. Lord above us; He that hath kept me alive, Ah. 84⁰ (Syr.); He that is, Wisd. 13¹, see Exists; Head of days, One who had a, 1En. 46¹; Head of days, the, 46² 47⁵ 48² 55¹ 60² 71¹⁰, 12,13,14; Heaven, 1Macc. 2^{21,37} 3^{18,19,60} 4^{24,55} 16³ 2Macc. 2¹⁸ 3Macc. 6³ (Tob. 9⁶) Sus. 9, 35 (θ) Jub. 26¹⁸ (30¹?) (T.B. 3⁸) Ass. Mos. 3⁸ P.A. 1^{3,11} 2¹⁶ 4^{14,15} 5²⁰; Heaven, abode is the, whose, Sib. Frag. 1¹¹; dwelling in in, whose, Sib. 3^{11,807}; dwells in, God who, 5²⁹⁸; Heaven, dwells in, who, 2Macc. 3³⁹; is in, God which, Tob. 5¹⁷; Heaven, that has made firm the height of the, by the spirit, 2Bar. 21⁴;

Heavenly and true God, the, Sib. Frag. 1¹⁰; God, the, Sib. 4⁵¹ 3Bar. 11⁹; King, T.B. 10⁷ (A); One, the, Ass. Mos. 10³; Sovereign, 2Macc. 15²³; Heavens, whose are the highest, 4Ez. 8²⁰; Helper of the oppressed, Judith 9¹¹; Highest, the, A. & E., 15³; Holdeth all things together, that which, Wisd. 17; Holy among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2²; and faithful, Jub. 21⁴; and Righteous One, A. & E. 27¹; God, 3Macc. 6¹ 7¹⁰ Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷; (and) Great One, 1En. 1³ 10¹ 14¹ 25³ 84¹ 92² 95⁶ 104²; Holy King, 3Macc. 2¹³; Holy Lord, 2Macc. 14³⁶ [Apoc. Mos. 43⁵]; One, Sir. 4¹³ 23⁹ 39³⁵ 43¹⁰ 1Bar. 4^{22,38} 5⁵ Apoc. Mos. 33⁵ Sib. 3⁶⁸⁸; of Israel, Sir. 50¹⁷ 1En. 1² 37² 93¹¹ T.D. 5¹³ Sib. 3⁷⁰⁹ P.A. 3^{1,4} 4²⁹ 5⁶ 6^{11,12}; One of the holy ones, T.L. 3⁴ (A⁹); Honoured One, the, 1En. 103¹, see Name; Hope and refuge of the poor, Ps.Sol. 15²; Hope, in whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77⁷; Hosts stand trembling, before whom, 4Ez. 8²¹.

Immortal, the, Sib. Frag. 1¹¹ Sib. 5¹¹⁰; and eternal, 5²⁷⁷; Father of gods and of all men, 3²⁷⁸; God, 3^{276,283,600,628,693} 5^{298,360,400,497}; loud-thundering God of heaven, 5⁷⁶; One, 3⁵⁸²; Incorruptible Creator, Sib. Frag. 3¹⁷; Incorruptible, the, 4Ez. 3¹¹; Indignation melteth the mountains, whose, 4Ez. 8²³; Ineffable, Sib. 3¹¹; Inspired into man an active soul, He that, Wisd. 15¹¹, see Spirit; Invisible God, the, Sib. 5⁴²⁷ 2En. 6⁷³; Invisible yet seeing all Himself, Sib. Frag. 1⁸.

Jael, Apoc. Mos. 29⁴ 33⁵; Jealousy, an ear of, Wisd. 1¹⁰; Judge, the, 2Bar. 5³ 48³⁹ P.A. 4²⁹; holy, Jub. 10³²; Judge, righteous, 2Macc. 12⁵ Sir. 35¹⁷; a righteous, Ps.Sol. 2¹⁸; the sovereign righteous, Sib. 3⁷⁰⁴; Just and righteous, Ah. 4¹⁸ (Syr.); Justice, Wisd. 1⁸ 11²⁰ 14³¹ 4Macc. 8¹⁵; divine, Sib. 3²⁶⁰ 4Macc. 12¹²; lover of, Arist. 209.

Keepeth Israel, He that, Sir. 51¹²ⁱⁱ; King, 51¹ 1En. 84²; great, 1En. 84⁵ 91¹³ Ps.Sol. 2³⁶; of ages, 1En. 12⁸; of all, Tob. 10¹³; of every creature, Judith 9¹²; glory for ever, 1En. 81³; of gods, Add.Esth. C23; of great power, 3Macc. 6²; of heaven, 1Esd. 4^{46,58} Tob. 13^{7,11,16} T.B. 10⁷ (cβ S¹); of heavens, 3Macc. 2²; of kings, 2Macc. 13⁴ 3Macc. 5³⁵ 1En. 9⁴ 84², cf. 63⁴; of kings of kings, Sir. 51^{12iv} P.A. 4²⁹; of world, 2Macc. 7⁹; on Mount Zion for all eternity, Jub. 1²⁸; on the lofty throne, Ass. Mos. 4²; our, Add. Esth. C14 Sib. Frag. 3⁴² Sib. 5^{352,499};

Ps.Sol. 5²¹ 17¹; that rulest over all, Add.Esth. C2; Knew that thou wast wronged, Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.); (?) Know, One whom the many do not, 4Ez. 5⁷; Knows all, who, Sib. Frag. 1⁴ 1Bar. 3³²; all things before they come into being, who, Sus. 35², 42; the consummation of the times before they come, who, 2Bar. 21⁸; the secrets, Sus. 42; what is hidden, God who, Ah. 6²⁹ (Arab.).

Lawgiver, 4Macc. 5²⁸; Life, all, is from before His face, Jub. 12⁴; Life, all things are endowed with, through whom, Arist. 16; Life and deathless endless light, He who is, Sib. Frag. 3³⁴; Life and Spirit, Lord of, 2Macc. 14⁴⁶; Life for them (men), He who prepared, 4Ez. 5⁶⁰; Life, living, the, A. & E. 28²; Light, everlasting, Wisd. 7²⁶; of righteousness, T.Z. 9⁸; of the Universe, the, Apoc. Mos. 36³; the True, A. & E. 28²; Liveth for ever, God that, Tob. 13¹; He that, Sir. 18¹ 1En. 5¹ 106^{8,11} (Lat. Frag.); Living God, Bel 5, 25, Add.Esth. E1⁶ Jub. 12²¹ Sib. 3⁷⁶³, see Almighty living God; Lord, 2Macc. 7³² 15⁴; One, the, Ah. 1¹ (Arab.); Lofty One, who has no respect of persons, 2Bar. 13⁸; Longsuffering, 4Ez. 7¹³⁴.

Lord, Almighty, Judith 4¹³ 8¹³ 16¹⁷ 1Bar. 3¹⁴ P.Man. 1, in heaven, P.Man. 1; above us, 4Ez. 8⁶; and Creator of the Universe, Arist. 15; Creator, Jub. 10⁸ S. A. & E. 30²; my Creator, 28²; for evermore, Jub. 8²⁰; Lord God, 1Esd. 8⁹² 2Macc. 12⁴ 7⁶ 3Macc. 5³⁵ Tob. 14¹⁵ Judith 7²⁹ 8³⁵ 9² 13¹⁸ Bel 39, 47 Jub. 2¹ 6¹⁰ 9¹⁵ 12²⁵ 19²⁹ 25¹² A. & E. 2² 6² 9² 14¹ 15² 20² 22² 28¹ 30² 34¹ 30⁴ 40² 46³ T.S. 2⁸³ 6⁶ T.L. 8¹⁰ 9¹⁴ 2En. 22^{4,8} (B) 42¹⁴ (B) 43¹ (B) 44¹ (B) 45³ (B) 53^{1,2} (B) 64⁴ (B) 3Bar. 1^{5,5,7} 4^{7,8} 4Ez. 84⁶ Ps. Sol. 5¹; God Most High, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶; of Abraham, Add. Esth. C30 Jub. 36⁶, and the God of Isaac, 27²²; of all power, Judith 13⁴; of . . . father, 9²; of . . . fathers, Jub. 40⁹; of heaven, Judith 6¹⁹; and earth, T.B. 3¹; of Israel, Judith 12⁹ 13⁷ Add.Esth. C14 Jub. 45⁸ Ps.Sol. 16³; of Shem, Jub. 8¹⁸; sole and glorious over the whole world, Azar. 22; who forsakes not those who love him, Bel 38; Lord Himself, the, Ps.Sol. 17^{38,51}; Lord, Lord, Jub. 14²; Lord . . . God, 1Esd. 1⁴ 5⁷⁰ 814,15,27,79 Tob. 4^{19,21} Judith 4² 7^{19,29} 814,16,25 1Bar. 110,13,15,18,19,21,22 25^{6,12,15,19,27,30} 3^{6,8} Sus. 3⁵ Bel 25 Jub. 1^{18,19} 3⁵ 4⁶ 6¹⁸ 7⁵ 10^{3,7,22} 13¹⁵ 15²⁶ 19²⁸ 26¹⁶ 33^{18,20} 45⁴ 48^{14,17} 50^{7,9,11}

INDEX

A. & E. 17¹ 29⁵ 35² T.S. 6⁵
 T.L. 13¹ T.Z. 10⁵ T.N. 4³
 Test. *App.* I 8³ Ps.Sol. 4²⁸ 6³
 P.A. 3¹⁹ 5²⁴ Ah. 1⁴ (Syn. A.);
 Lord Most High, P.Man. 7
 1En. 98¹¹ Test. *App.* II 51, 58
 2Bar. 6⁶; Lord (my. thy, his.
 &c.), 1Esd. 2⁵ 8^{46,47,50,52,53}
 Tob. 8⁴ 13⁴ Judith 5²¹ 16^{2,12}
 Add. Esth. C¹⁴ A. & E. 27¹
 49⁸ 1En. 22¹⁴ 84⁶; LORD my
 Lord, 2Bar. 3¹² 14^{8,16} 16¹
 23¹ 38¹ 48⁴⁵ 4Ez. 3⁴ 5^{23,38} 7^{17,58}
 12⁷ 13⁵¹ (of angel) 4Ez. 4³⁸
 61¹; Lord of ages, 1En. 9¹; of
 all, Ass.Mos. 4²; of all the
 ages, Jub. 31¹³; of all reputation,
 Arist. 269; of... fathers,
 1Esd. 4⁶² Judith 7²⁸; of glory,
 1En. 22¹⁴ 25³ 27⁵ 36⁴ 40³ 63²
 75³ 83⁸; of heaven, Tob. 7^{11,17}
 1En. 106¹¹ Test. *App.* II 13
 Sib.Frag. 135 Ass.Mos. 4⁴; and
 earth, Tob. 10¹³ Judith 9¹²; of
 hosts, Apoc.Mos. 38⁵ [43⁵]
 P.A. 68¹¹; of Israel, 1Esd. 2^{3,5}
 5⁷¹ 6¹⁵ 8^{13,89}; of judgement,
 1En. 83¹¹; of kings, 63^{2,4}; of
 light, 2En. 18³; of lords, 1En.
 9⁴ Ass.Mos. 9⁶; of majesty,
 1En. 12³; of mercy, 2Macc.
 82⁹; of might, 1En. 63²; of
 rich, 63²; of righteousness,
 Tob. 13⁶ Jub. 25¹⁵ 1En. 22¹⁴
 90⁴⁰ 106⁹; Lord of sheep.
 89^{16,22,26,29,33}, 36, 42, 45, 50, 51, 52, 54,
 57, 70, 71, 75, 76 90¹⁴ 20, 29, 33; Lord
 of Spirits, 37²² 43^{2,4} 39^{2,7,8},
 9¹² 40^{1,2,4,5,6,7,10} 41^{2,6,7} 43⁴
 45^{1,2} 46^{3,6,7,8} 47^{1,2,4} 48^{3,5,7,10}
 49^{2,4} 50^{3,5} 51³ 52^{5,9} 53⁶ 54^{5,7}
 55^{3,4} 57³ 58^{4,6} 59^{1,2} 60^{6,8,24,25}
 61^{3,5,8,9,11,13} 62^{2,10,12,14,16} 63^{1,2},
 7¹² 65^{9,11} 66² 67^{8,9} 68⁴ 69^{24,29}
 70¹ 71^{2,17}; of universe, Arist.
 195; of whole creation of the
 world, 1En. 84²; of wisdom,
 63²; of world, Jub. 25²³ 1En.
 81¹⁰ Ass.Mos. 1¹¹; our Saviour,
 Ps.Sol. 83⁹; over all dominion,
 Add. Esth. C²³; Ruler of
 Sabaoth, 2En. 21²; that dwells
 eternally, 4Ez. 82⁶; that dwells
 in Jerusalem, 1Esd. 2⁵; that
 brought thee (Abraham) out
 of Ur of Chaldees, Jub. 14⁷,
 cf. 22²⁷; that wrought in thee
 those great and wonderful
 things, Arist. 155; the eternal
 God, Sus. 35⁰; the God of
 gods, Bel 7; the Great King,
 Tob. 13⁷; the Most High
 God, Jub. 21²⁰; which made
 heaven and earth, 1Esd. 6¹³;
 who created the heaven and
 the earth, Jub. 32¹⁸; who
 hath holy knowledge, 2Macc.
 6⁸⁰; whose name has not been
 sent into this world, Mart.Is.
 17; Look drieth up the depths,
 whose, 4Ez. 82³; Looks on all,
 who, Sib.Frag. 1⁴; Loved us
 (Israel) from of old and never
 hated us, who, 2Bar. 78³;
 Lover of souls, Wisd. 11²⁶.
 Made, who, 2Bar. 10¹⁹; all
 things, Jub. 31²⁹; all things
 by... word, Wisd. 9¹; (all)
 from the beginning, Sib.Frag.
 3¹⁶; earth, 2Bar. 21⁴; heaven

and earth, P.Man. 1² Sib.Frag.
 3³⁻⁵, ct. 2En. 2²; Israel, 1Bar.
 4⁷ 2Bar. 60²; them (men) 4Ez.
 8⁶⁰; them (stars), 1Bar. 3⁸⁴;
 us, 2Bar. 79²; Maker, man's,
 Sir. 10¹² 32¹³ 46¹³ 47⁸ Wisd.
 16²⁴ Apoc.Mos. 31⁴ 32⁴ 2Bar.
 82² P.A. 4²⁹; nature's first,
 Wisd. 13⁵; Maketh a horn to
 sprout for the house of David,
 He that, Sir. 51^{127,111}; Master,
 Tob. 3¹⁴ Azar. 13 Apoc.Mos.
 19² 23² 42⁵; Merciful, Sir.
 50¹⁹; One, Ah. 4¹⁷ (Arab.);
 God, 3Macc. 5⁷ Tob. 3¹² 1Bar.
 31¹; Lord, 2Macc. 13¹²; Mercy,
 who keeps, Wisd. 9¹; who
 shows, Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.);
 Mighty, Sib. 73⁵; God, the,
 391, 97, 194, 240, 274, 284, 306, 489, 549, 565,
 784, 818 46²⁵ 51⁸⁶ 2Bar. 6⁸ 7^{13,24};
 Heavenly God, 31⁹; King,
 356, 560, 808; One, the, Sir.
 35¹⁸ 2Bar. 21³ 25⁴ 32^{1,6} 34¹
 44⁶ 46^{1,4} 47¹ 48^{1,38} 49¹ 54^{1,11}
 55⁶ 56³ 59³ 61⁶ 62^{3,5,6,8,10}
 64^{3,4} 65¹ 66^{1,5,6} 67² 70² 71^{11,26}
 81⁴ 82⁵ 84^{1,6,7,10} 85^{2,3} 4Ez.
 63² 94⁸ 102⁴ 114³ 127¹⁷ 133³;
 in dominion, the, 1En. 103¹;
 of Israel, T.S. 6⁸; of Jacob,
 Sir. 51^{123,11}; works for sal-
 vation of Israel, who has,
 3Macc. 6¹³; Most exalted
 of all, Sib. Frag. 3³, see
 Exalted; Most High, 2Macc.
 33¹ 3Macc. 6² Tob. 1¹³ 4¹¹
 Sir. 63⁷ 9¹⁵ 17²⁶ 19¹⁷ 23^{16,23}
 24^{2,3} 28⁷ 34^{6,19} 35⁶ 39^{1,5} 41⁴
 42² 44^{2,20} 49⁴ 50^{7,14,15,16,17}
 Wisd. 5¹⁵ 6³ Add.Esth. E¹⁶
 Jub. 16¹⁸ 22²⁷ 1En. 9³ 10¹ 46⁷
 60^{1,22} 62⁷ 77¹ 94⁸ 97² 98^{7,11}
 99^{3,10} 100⁴ 101^{1,6,9} T.S. 5⁶ 6⁷
 T.L. 3¹⁰ 4^{1,2} 5^{1,7} 8¹⁵ [16⁸] 18⁷
 T.Iss. 2⁵ T.G. 3¹ T.A. 2⁶ 5⁴ 7³
 T.Jos. 1⁴ 3¹⁰ 9³ 10³ T.B. 4⁶ 9²
 (c8S¹) Test. *App.* I 10¹ Sib.
 Frag. 1⁴ Sib. 3^{519,574,580} Ass.
 Mos. 10⁷ 2Bar. 17¹ 24² 25¹
 54^{9,17} 56¹ 64^{6,8} 67^{3,7} 69² 70⁷
 71³ 76¹ 77^{4,21} 80^{1,3} 81⁴ 82^{2,6}
 83¹ 85^{8,12} 4Ez. 3⁴ 2^{11,34} 5^{4,22,34}
 63^{2,37} 7^{19,23,33}, 37, 42, 50, 70, 77, 78, 79,
 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 102, 122, 132 81, 48, 56, 59
 92^{4,6,25,28,44} 102⁴, 38, 49, 52, 54, 57, 58,
 59 11^{38,43,44} 12⁴, 6, 23, 30, 32, 36, 39, 47
 13^{13,23,26,29,44}, 47, 56, 57 14⁴², 45, 46
 Most High God, 1Esd. 6³¹
 81^{9,21} 3Macc. 1^{9,16} 3¹¹ 4¹⁶ 5²⁵
 7⁹ Judith 13¹⁸ Sir. 7⁹ 41⁸ 46^{5,6}
 Jub. 7³⁶ 13^{16,29} 16²⁷ 20³ 21^{20,22},
 23, 25 22^{6,13,19,23,27} 25^{3,11,21} 27¹⁵
 32¹ 36¹⁶ 39⁶ Test. *App.* II
 13, 30 Sib. 3⁷¹⁹ Ass.Mos. 6¹
 Ah. 1^{4,5} 3⁷ 4¹⁷ 5¹⁵ 6^{2,7,10} 7¹⁹
 (all Arab.), see God Most
 High; Most High Lord, 1Esd.
 2³; Most Mighty, Add.Esth.
 E¹⁶; Moulded (man), that,
 Wisd. 15¹¹.
 Name, the, P.A. 4⁵ 5¹¹;
 (?) called upon us (Israel), 4Ez.
 10²²; glorious and honoured,
 &c., which created heavens
 and earth and all things, Jub.
 36⁷; His, 2Bar. 67³ P.A. 3³;
 holy, the, Jub. 25¹²; My, 2Bar.
 5²; of Heaven, P.A. 1¹¹ 2^{2,16}

4⁵ 5²⁰; of Him that made
 them, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰; of his God,
 Ps.Sol. 6⁷; of the Lord, Test.
App. I 9⁴ Ps.Sol. 6²; Thy, 7⁵;
 Thy Great, 2Bar. 5¹; Nourishes
 all, who, Sib.Frag. 1⁶; No-
 thing is too hard, Thou for
 whom, 2Bar. 54².
 One, Sib.Frag. 3³ 2Bar. 48²⁴;
 Almighty God, the, Arist. 139;
 God, Arist. 132 Sib.Frag. 1^{7,32}
 Sib. 3⁵⁷¹ 4³⁰ 5²⁸⁴; Sovereign
 God, 3¹¹; that judgeth alone,
 P.A. 4¹⁰; who is and was...
 and shall be, Sib. 3¹⁶; Only
 Ruler, 3Macc. 2². See Sole.
 Possessor of heaven and earth,
 P.A. 6¹¹; Power, divine, the,
 Arist. 236, 252 Ah. 1¹ (Syn. A.)
 excellent in, Sib.Frag. 1⁷; In-
 finite, Mighty, A. & E. 82²;
 (supreme), the, Wisd. 1³;
 some, 4Macc. 5¹³; Pours forth
 upon men gladness, who, Sib.
 Frag. 3⁵⁵; Praise of all His
 pious ones, Sir. 51¹²³; Pre-
 pared the earth, that, 1Bar.
 3³²; Prince of the world, Sib.
 Frag. 1¹⁵; Promised, on our
 behalf... that He will never
 forget or forsake us, who al-
 ways, 2Bar. 78⁷; Protector of
 all, 3Macc. 6⁹; of the forlorn,
 Judith 9¹¹; Providence, Wisd.
 14⁸ Arist. 201 Sib. 5²²⁷; divine,
 4Macc. 1²²; divine and all-
 wise, 13¹⁹; eternal, the, Wisd.
 17²; God's, Sib. 5³²³; just,
 that watched over our fathers,
 4Macc. 9²⁴.
 Reason, Source of, Ah. 1¹
 (Arab.); Receives not gifts,
 who, Jub. 33¹⁸; Redeemer of
 Israel, Sir. 51¹²³; Redeemed
 them (Israel), the Lord who,
 Ps.Sol. 9¹; Redeemeth and
 saveth Israel, One who, 1Macc.
 4¹¹, see Saviour of Israel;
 Redeemeth from all evil, Sir.
 51⁸; Reigns for ever, who,
 Sib. 3⁵⁹³; Respects not persons,
 who, Jub. 33¹⁸ Ps.Sol. 2¹⁸, cf.
 P.A. 4²⁹; Revealest to those
 who fear Thee what is pre-
 pared for them, 2Bar. 54⁴;
 Rich in mercy, 3Macc. 6⁹;
 Righteous beyond all, Jub. 21⁴;
 Righteous Ruler, 3Macc. 3³;
 Rock of Isaac, Sir. 51¹² xi;
 Ruler and Lord of the universe,
 Arist. 16; Ruler of all, 3Macc.
 5²⁸ 6³⁹, cf. Sib.Frag. 1¹⁷, see
 King, Only Ruler, Righteous
 Ruler; of all creation, 3Macc.
 2⁷; of all power, 5^{7,51} 7⁹;
 Rules for ever, who, 1En. 22¹⁴
 (E); over all, Add.Esth. E^{18,21};
 over the world, 1En. 22¹⁴ (G⁸);
 the world, Ass.Mos. 4²; with
 great thought the hosts which
 stand before Thee, 2Bar. 21⁶.
 Saved all His people, who,
 2Macc. 2¹⁷; thee (Ahikar),
 Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.); Saves them
 that hope in Him, who, Sus.
 60; Saviour of all, Wisd. 16⁷;
 of Israel, 1Macc. 4³⁰ 3Macc.
 6³², eternal, 7¹⁶; of them that
 are without hope, Judith 9¹¹;
 Sea, who has bound thee, by

the word, P.Man. 3; See, One
 whom none can, from earth,
 Sib. 4¹⁰; Seen those things
 which are to be, Thou that
 hast, 2Bar. 21⁵; Seeth all,
 who, 2Macc. 7³⁵, see All-
 seeing; Self-sprung, Sib.Frag.
 1¹⁷ Sib. 3¹²; Sends forth the
 light, that, 1Bar. 3³⁸; rain,
 winds, famines, &c., Sib.Frag.
 132-34; Sent it (the word),
 who, 2Bar. 56⁴; me (Baruch),
 who, 84⁷; Shechinah, P.A. 3⁸,
 see Shechinah; Shield of
 Abraham, Sir. 51¹² x; Sky,
 dwelling in the, Sib.Frag. 3¹⁷;
 whose dwelling is in the, Sib.
 3⁸¹; Sole Potentate, 3⁷¹⁸;
 Souls, God who gave us our,
 4Macc. 13¹³; Souls, Sustainer
 of, Sib. 5⁵⁰⁶; Sovereign, 2Macc.
 12²⁸; Sole, Sib.Frag. 1⁷;
 Sovereign in heaven, 2Macc.
 15^{3,4}; Sovereign Lord, 5¹⁷ 6¹⁴
 12^{22,29} Wisd. 11²⁶ 13^{3,9}; of all,
 Wisd. 6⁷ 8³; of all creation,
 3Macc. 2², see Ruler; of
 earth, Sib.Frag. 1³⁵; of spirits,
 2Macc. 3²⁴; of the world, sole,
 Sib. 5¹⁸⁶; Sovereignty over all
 flesh, who has, Bel 5; Spirit
 and soul, who placed in man,
 Test. *App.* I 9⁵; Strength of
 my life, Sir. 51¹; Supreme
 God, 2Macc. 3³⁶ Arist. 19,
 37.
 Teacher, Sir. 51¹⁷; Throne is
 beyond imagination, whose,
 4Ez. 82¹; Thunder, delight is
 in the, whose, 5⁶², cf. 5⁷⁶;
 Sender of, 5⁴³³; Thunders from
 on high, He who, Sib. 3¹
 5³⁰²; True, the, 5⁴⁹⁹;
 and eternal God, Sib.Frag.
 1²⁰; and everlasting God,
 3⁴⁶; God, the, 3Macc. 6¹⁸
 Wisd. 12²⁷ Arist. 140, Sib. 5⁴⁹³
 2En. 66²; Truth, lover of the,
 Arist. 206.
 Unbegotten, Sib.Frag. 1^{7,17};
 Upholder of the weak, Judith
 9¹¹; Unseen yet seeing all
 Himself alone, Sib. 3¹², see
 Invisible.
 Watcher of all from heaven,
 Sib. 5³⁰²; Wisdom, guideth,
 that, Wisd. 7¹⁵; Who hath
 made... perfect in, Ah. 7⁴
 (Arab.); Wise, Sib. 3³⁶⁰; Wise,
 correcteth, One that, Wisd.
 7¹⁵; Witness, the, P.A. 4²⁹; Wit-
 nesses all, who, Sib.Frag. 1⁴;
 Wonders, doer of, 3Macc. 6³²;
 worker of, 2Macc. 15²¹; Word
 is sure and behest constant,
 4Ez. 82²; World-Ruler, the,
 Sib. 3¹⁹; Worship, whom ye
 (Israel), 2Bar. 77⁷.
 Godless, 1En. 1¹ 5⁷ 16¹ 38⁸ 81⁹
 91¹⁴ 94¹¹ 98¹⁵ 99^{8,10}.
 Godlessness, 1En. 10²⁰ 104⁹.
 Godly man is wise, Sir. 21¹¹,
 18-28; receives discipline, and
 is blessed, 32(35)¹⁴⁻¹⁷.
 Gods of heathen, dead, Sib.
 Frag. 1²² 3⁵⁴⁵ *sgg.*; impossi-
 bility of, Frag. 2¹⁻³ Frag.
 3¹⁻³²; = demons, see Demono-
 logy; strange, Israel turns to,
 Jub. 1⁸.

INDEX

- See Ashtaroth, Bel, Belshim, Dis, Zeus.
- Gog, Jub. 8²⁵; and Magog, land of = Ethiopia, Sib. 3³¹⁹, 512.
- Gold, lay up, Tob. 12⁹; proved in fire, Sir. 2⁵ Wisd. 3⁶.
- 'Golden Rule,' Tob. 4¹⁵.
- Goliath, Sir. 47⁴.
- Gomer, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9⁸.
- Gomorrhah, Jub. 16⁵ 20⁶ Mart. Is. 3¹⁰. See Aguaron.
- Good man, the, T.B. 4²⁻⁵.
- Goodness abides for ever, Sir. 40^{12,17}.
- Gorgias, 1Macc. 3³⁸ 4^{1,5,18} 5⁵⁹ 2Macc. 8⁹ 10¹⁴ 12^{32,35,37}; Judas' victory over, 1Macc. 4¹⁻²⁵.
- Gortyna, 1Macc. 1²⁸.
- Goshen, land of, Judith 1¹⁰; land of, Jub. 44⁹ 45^{1,2,6}.
- Gotholias, 1Esd. 8⁸⁹.
- Government, attitude to, P.A. 1¹⁰ 2³.
- Grace alone accounts for election and salvation of Israel, Ass. Mos. § 9.
- Graeco-Egyptians = 'vultures' and 'kites' in 1En. 90². Cf. 90^{11,13}.
- Grape-gatherer, Ben-Sira claims to be only a, Sir. 1, 3¹⁰⁻¹⁸.
- Grateful dead. See Dead.
- Grave, Tob. 8^{10,18}.
- Greece, 1Macc. 8⁹ Sib. 3⁶¹³ 4⁹⁶. See Hellas.
- Greek, 2Macc. 13² Sib. 3¹⁰³; cities compel Jews to hellenize, 2Macc. 6⁹, cf. 11³; fashions, 4¹³; influences in Tobit, 2¹² 5¹⁵; kingdom, i.e. the Seleucid era, 1Macc. 1¹⁰ 11¹; language, Arist. 38; speculation condemned, Sir. 3²⁴ 11¹; text of Ecclesiastical, divergence in order from Old Latin version, Sir. § 4, 30-36; ways of life, 2Macc. 4¹⁰ 6⁹. See Hellenizing.
- Greeks, 1Macc. 6² 8¹⁸ 2Macc. 4³⁶ 11³ Arist. 121, 137 Sib. 3^{171,202,520,536,553,609} 5²⁶⁴ 4Macc. 18²⁰; favour Jews, 3Macc. 3⁸; or Macedonians = 'eagles' in 1En. 90²⁻¹⁶.
- Greetings in letters, 3Macc. 3¹³ 7¹.
- Gregory Nazianzen praises Maccabean martyrs, 4Macc. § 8.
- Grigori (i.e. 'the Watchers'), 2En. 18^{1,3,7,9}.
- Grosseteste, Test. § 1.
- Guardian angels, A. & E. 33¹, see Virtues; belief in, Jub. 35¹⁷; of Esau, Jub. 35¹⁷; of Jacob, 35¹⁷. See Angelic patrons.
- Guardians of the gates of hell, 2En. 42¹.
- Guilt, incur, Zad. § 4, 4⁹ 16².
- Guilt-offering, Zad. 10⁹.
- Guilty, against the soul, P.A. 3^{6,10,11}; held, Zad. 10⁷ 19⁵.
- Guni, Jub. 44³⁰.
- Gymnasium built in Jerusalem, 1Macc. 1¹⁴ 2Macc. 4^{9,12}.
- Habakkuk, prophecy of, Bel 1(G), 33-37, 39; Mart. Is. 2⁹.
- Habitations of souls, 4Ez. 7⁸⁰, 85, 101, 121.
- Hades, 2Macc. 6²³ Sir. 17²⁷ 21¹⁰ 28²¹ Wisd. 1¹⁴ 16¹³ Azar. 66 Add. Esth. B⁷ (i.e. Sheol). T.R. 4⁶ T.L. 4¹ T.B. 9⁵ Sib. Frag. 1²² 3^{393,458} 5¹⁷⁸ 3Bar. 4^{4,6} 5³ 4Ez. 4^{7,8} 8⁸³; abolished for righteous, 4Ez. 8⁸³, cf. 2Bar. 21³, see Death; deities in, Sib. Frag. 1²²; gates of, Wisd. 16¹³; god of death, Wisd. 1¹⁶ 11¹; perish in, Sir. 17²⁷ 11¹; pit of, Sir. 21¹⁰, see Pit, Sheol; relation to Dragon, 3Bar. 4³⁹. Haemus, mountains, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
- Hagar, Jub. 14^{22,23} 17^{2,5,11,17} 19¹¹.
- Haggai. See Aggaeus.
- Haggi, Jub. 44²⁰.
- Hagiographa, Sir. Prologue 111; once quoted in Zad. § 8.
- +Hagu. See Book, References.
- Haïkar, Arabic name of Ahiqar, *passim*.
- Halacha, earlier than those in the Mishnah, enunciated in Jubilees, Jub. § 15; none in Pirkē Aboth, P.A. § 2, 2, see Rule; severer in Zad. than in Talmud, Zad. § 6. See 7¹¹ 11¹.
- Halachoth of Zadokites based on Prophets, Zad. § 9⁴⁰.
- Halaphta ben Dosa, P.A. 3⁸.
- Halicarnassus, 1Macc. 15²⁸.
- Hallel, the, Wisd. 18⁹.
- Ham, Jub. 4³³ 7^{8,13} 8^{10,22,24,30} 9^{1,13} 10^{28,30} 22²¹ T.S. 6⁴; lot of, Jub. 8²². See Canaan.
- Hamadathus, Add. Esth. A¹⁷ E^{10,17}.
- Haman, Add. Esth. A¹⁷ B^{3,6} C^{5,28} E^{10,17} F⁴.
- Hamath, 1Macc. 12²⁴ Jub. 10³³ 13².
- Hamor, Jub. 30² T.L. 2² 5⁴ 6^{8,4}.
- Hanselim, father of the king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 3⁷ (Syr.). See Achish, Akhi.
- Hananei, 1En. 69².
- Hananiah, Azariah and Mishaël, 1Macc. 2⁵⁹. See Three Children.
- Hananiël, Tob. 14⁸.
- Hanina, deputy of the priests, P.A. 3².
- Hanina ben Dosa, P.A. 3¹²⁻¹⁴.
- Hanina ben Hachinai, P.A. 3⁶.
- Hanina ben Teradion, P.A. 3³.
- Hanukka. See Chanukka.
- Haran, brother of Abraham, Jub. 12^{10,14,30} 13¹; land of, 12^{10,28} 12¹ 27^{3,19} 35^{10,12} (44¹ read Hebron) T.L. 2¹ T.S. 1⁵.
- Hares symbolize double livers, T.A. 2⁹.
- Harvest of evil, 4Ez. 4^{28,29,30}; of good will be greater, 4Ez. 4²⁹⁻³¹.
- Hasidaeans led by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 14⁶. See Chasidim.
- Hasmonaeen monarchy attacked, Ps. Sol. § 6, 17⁸ 11¹.
- Hastening of times, 2Bar. 20¹ 83¹.
- Hateful, three things, Sir. 25².
- Hatred, cure of, T.G. 5^{3,4}; evils of, 3²⁻⁵ 6².
- Hazor, T.Jud. 3¹ 4³; plain of, 1Macc. 11⁶⁷ 11¹. See Aresa.
- Head, and not tail, Israel to be, Jub. 1¹⁶ 1En. 103¹¹.
- Head of days. See God.
- Healing, 1En. 95⁴; of body, 67³; of earth, 10⁷.
- Health, good, a blessing, Sir. 30¹⁴⁻²⁰.
- Heap. See Sea, Witness.
- Heart, 1En. 14² 47⁴ 48⁴ 68³ 93⁶ 94⁵ 95¹ 96⁴ 98⁷ 99^{8,16} 104⁹; T.N. 2^{8,8}; clean, Jub. 1²¹; double, 1En. 91⁴; perfect, Zad. 17; place idols upon, 9³⁴; stubbornness of, 3⁴ 4^{5,10} 9¹⁸, 27³⁴; uprightness of, 9²³; way of God's, 1⁷.
- Heathen, conversion of, Tob. § 10 A (3), 13⁷⁻¹⁸ 14⁴⁻⁶; Conversion of, 2Bar. 72⁴⁻⁶ 4Ez. 13¹³ Ps. Sol. 17³²; lost because they openly spurn Law, 4Ez. 7²⁴; marriages, Tob. § 9, Wisd. 1¹¹ 11¹, detested, Add. Esth. C²⁷; none saved, 4Ez. 13³⁸ 11¹; wives put away, 1Esd. 9⁹⁻³⁶. See Orgies, Uncleanliness.
- Heaven, 1En. 6² 14^{3,11} 18³ 21^{2,3} 33² 45⁴ 47³ 55² 57² 61^{8,12} 66¹⁶ 78¹⁷ 79¹ 80^{1,2} 83^{3,11} 86^{1,3} 93^{12,14} 101^{1,8} 104^{2,6} 108^{6,10} T.R. 1⁶ 5^{7,6} T.S. 6⁴ T.L. 2⁶⁻⁹ 3¹⁻⁹ 5¹ 13⁵ 14³ 18³⁻⁶ T.Jud. 21^{3,4} 24² 25² T.Iss. 7⁷ T.Jos. 12³ 19^{6(A)} T.B. 3^{1,8} 9⁵ 10⁷; children of = angels, 6² 14³; = righteous, 101¹; end of, 18¹⁴, see Ends; first, 91¹⁶, contrast New; five men from, appear to help Judas in battle, 2Macc. 10^{29,30}, cf. 11⁶; = God, P.A. 1^{3,11} 4^{14,15}, cf. name of, 2^{2,16} 4⁵ 5²⁰; high, 12⁴ 39¹; high, holy, and eternal, 15²; host of, 104⁵, see Host; new, 1En. 91¹⁶, see Creation; of heavens, 1⁴ 60¹ 71⁵; old Semitic conception of, 2En. 10¹ 11¹; second, contains fallen Watchers *ib.*, builders of Babel, 3Bar. 3⁵⁻⁸; sins prevent looking up to, P.Man. 9; third, Paradise in, Apoc. Mos. 40². See Angels, God, Prophecy, Sacrifices, Sea, Temple.
- Heavenly archetypes of things on earth, Wisd. 9⁵ 11¹; bodies, observe their order, Sir. 16²⁷⁻²⁸, cf. 1En. 2¹, Ep. Jer. 60 Ps. Sol. 18¹²⁻¹⁴; dispensation, to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26¹⁸; hosts, ten orders of, 2En. 20³ 11¹; Jerusalem, vision of, 4Ez. 9²⁶⁻¹⁰ 10⁵⁹, ? = great mountain (or rock), 13^{3,7,33}, belongs to eternal order, available for righteous after Final Judgement, 8⁵², see Zion, revealed as a builded city, 10^{27,42,44}; ordinance to slay Shechemites, Jub. 30⁶; pattern of Holy City, 4Ez. 10⁴⁰. See Luminaries, Tablets, Vision.
- Heavens, 1En. 1² 18¹⁰ 39³ 41¹ 42¹ 47² 61¹⁰ 71^{1,8} 84⁴ 91¹⁶ 98⁶; and earth renewed, Jub. 1²⁹, see Creation; host of, 1En. 61¹⁰; opened, T.L. 18⁶ T.Jud. 24²; plurality of, implied, 4Ez. 3¹⁹ 11¹; powers
- of, 1En. 91¹⁶, see Angels; seven, belief in, in Test. XII Patr. 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, 3 Baruch, Chagigah 12, 3Bar. § 10; seven, 2En. 3-21; first, 3-6; second, 7; third, 8-10; fourth, 11-17; fifth, 18; sixth, 19; seventh, 20, 21; (eighth to tenth, 21¹-22¹); seven, T.L. 2⁷⁻³ (BA⁸); three, 2⁷⁻³ (AA^a).
- Hebrew, Abraham learns, Jub. 12^{26,27}; characters, Arist. 30, see Jewish; language, holy, Test. App. I 8⁸; Testament of Naphtali, see Naphtali; Text of Zadokite Frag., Zad. § 4; tongue, Arist. 38 4Macc. 12⁷ 16¹⁵ Jub. 43¹⁵; the tongue of the creation, learnt by Abraham, see Abraham, Books of the fathers; translation from, difficulties of, Sir. Prologue 111. See *Intros. to Books*.
- Hebrew(s), 2Macc. 7³¹ 11¹³ 15⁸⁷ Judith 10¹² 12¹¹ 14¹⁸ Jub. 39¹⁰ 47⁷ T.Jos. 12² 13³ Sib. 3⁵⁹ 5^{161,258} 4Macc. 4¹¹ 5^{2,4} 8² 9^{6,18} 17⁹.
- Hebron, 1Macc. 5⁶⁵ Jub. 13¹⁰, 12²¹ 14¹⁰ 16¹⁰ 19^{1,2,5} 22³ 24¹ 29¹⁹ 36²⁰ 37¹⁵ 45¹⁴ 46¹⁰ (see Haran) T.R. 7² T.S. 8² T.L. 9⁵ 19⁵ T.Jud. 26^{4,3} 26^{3,4} T.Iss. 7⁸ T.Z. 10⁷ T.N. 9¹ T.G. 15⁵ 8⁵ T.A. 81² T.Jos. 20⁶⁽²⁾ T.B. 12¹⁽⁸⁾ 3² Bar. 47¹; as a seat of prophetic inspiration, 2Bar. 47¹ 4Ez. 9²⁶⁻²⁸ 11¹.
- Hebron, son of Kohath, T.L. 12² Test. App. II 7⁴.
- Hecataeus of Abdera, relation of Aristaeus's Letter to, Arist. § 5, 31¹¹.
- Hector, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
- Heel, 1En. 82²⁰.
- Hegemonides, 2Macc. 13²⁴.
- He-He, ben, P.A. § 26, 27.
- Helemmelek, 1En. 82^{13,16}.
- Helen and Paris, Sib. 4⁴¹³ 11¹.
- Heliodorus, 2Macc. 3^{7,8,13,22,25}, 26, 31-33, 35, 37, 40 4¹ 5¹⁸.
- Heliopolis, priest of, Jub. 40¹⁰ 44²⁴ T.Jos. 18⁹.
- Helkias, i.e. Hilkiah, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1⁸.
- Helkias, 1Esd. 8¹.
- Helkias, ancestor of Baruch, 1Bar. 1¹.
- Helkias, father of high priest Joakim, 1Bar. 1⁷.
- Helkias, Sus. 2, 7, 29, 63.
- Hell, 1En. 51¹ 11¹ Sib. 4¹⁸⁸; and destruction, Ah. 8³⁸ (Arab.); or Hades, 2En. 40¹³ 11¹ 41¹ 42¹; the very lowest, 40¹² 11¹. See Abyss, Gehenna, Sheol.
- Hellas, Sib. 3^{510,537,545,564,598,639}, 732, 810 4^{70,83} 5¹³⁷. See Greece.
- Hellenic tracts in Sirach, Sir. § 1.
- Hellenism, pioneer of evils to mankind, Sib. 3⁵⁵³.
- Hellenization of Jews enforced, 2Macc. 6¹⁻³¹ 3Macc. 2²⁸ 11¹ Ass. Mos. 8⁸⁻⁵, cf. 1Macc. 1¹⁰⁻¹³, 41-53; given up, 2Macc. 11²⁸⁻²⁹; under Jason, 4Macc. 4¹⁸⁻²⁰.
- Hellenizing, details of in 1Macc.

- gymnasium built, ¹⁴; uncircumcision, ¹⁵; circumcision forbidden, ^{160,61}; covenant repudiated, ¹⁵; sacrificing to idols, ¹⁴³; sacrificing swine, &c., ¹⁴⁷; unclean things eaten; profaning Sabbaths and feasts, ^{143,45}; Law—books burned, ¹⁵⁶, practices forbidden, ^{149,57}; abomination of desolation set up, ¹⁵⁴; influences, *Zad.* ⁹¹⁰⁻²⁰; priesthood attacked, §§ ⁹³⁰ *roi*. Hellespont, *Sib.* ⁴⁷⁰ ⁵³⁸⁶. Hera, *Sib.* ³¹³⁶ ⁵¹⁴⁰. Heracles, *Sib.* ⁵⁸⁷; festival of at Tyre (high priest Jason sends money for sacrifice to), *2Macc.* ⁴¹⁹. Heraclitus' views, *Wisd.* ^{116n.22n}. Hereditary taint of character, *Wisd.* ³¹² ⁴³⁻⁶ⁿ. Heredity, *4Macc.* ¹⁵⁴ⁿ. Hermes, *Sib.* ^{587,356}; the planet, *2En.* ³⁰³ⁿ. Hermon, man, *3Macc.* ⁵¹ &c. Hermon, mountain, *Jub.* ²⁹¹⁰ *1En.* ^{6n.137}; where the angels who fell descended, *2En.* ¹⁸⁴ (*Ermon*), cf. *1En.* ⁶²⁻⁶. See *Aspis*. Herod, *1En.* ⁶⁷⁸ⁿ. *Ass. Mos.* § 7; = an insolent king, *Ass. Mos.* ⁶²; =? Man of lies, *Zad.* § *6ii*(*b*); sons of, § 6, see Alexander; successors of, *Ass. Mos.* ⁶⁷ⁿ; suppresses priesthood and Sadducees, *Ass. Mos.* ⁶²ⁿ. Heshbon, *Judith* ⁵¹⁵. Hestia, *Sib.* ³¹²³. Heth, children of, *Jub.* ^{194,5} ²⁷⁸. See *Hittite*. Hexaemeron, fragment of an, *2Bar.* ²⁹⁴ⁿ. Hexapla. See *Origen*. Hezaqa, *Jub.* ³⁴²⁰. Hezekiah, king of Judah, *2Macc.* ¹⁵²² *Sir.* ^{4817,22} ⁴⁹⁴ *2Bar.* ^{631,3,5} *Mart. Is.* ^{147,10,12,13} ^{21,3} ^{33,4,5} (*In* ¹² read *Zedekiah*) *4Ez.* ⁷¹¹⁰; Testament of, *Mart. Is.* §§ ¹, ⁵. Hezron, *Jub.* ⁴⁴¹². Hierapolis, *Sib.* ³³⁴⁵ ⁵³¹⁸. Hiercel, *1Esd.* ⁹²¹. Hieremoth, *1Esd.* ⁹²⁷. Hieremoth, *1Esd.* ⁹³⁰. Hiermas, *1Esd.* ⁹²⁶. Hieronymus, *2Macc.* ¹²². High, the Most. See *God*, titles of. High places, *Jub.* ¹¹¹. High priest, *Sir.* ⁴⁹¹⁶⁻⁵⁰²⁴ *1Bar.* ¹⁷ⁿ. *Arist.* ^{1,11,32,35,41,121}; political power of, *Sir.* ⁴⁵²⁴ⁿ; succession, hereditary ⁴⁵²⁵ⁿ. High-priesthood, hereditary, conferred on Simon Macabaeus, *1Macc.* ¹⁴¹; confirmed by Demetrius II, ¹⁴³⁸. High priests, Macabaeans, adopt title of Melchizedek, 'priest of the Most High God', *Jub.* ³²²ⁿ. *T.L.* ⁸¹⁴ *Ass. Mos.* ⁶¹. Hilkiah. See *Helkias*. Hillel, line of, *P.A.* § ¹. Hiliuaseph, *1En.* ⁸²¹⁷. Hinnom, valley of, *1En.* ^{264,5}. See *Gehenna*. Hippodrome at Alexandria, *3Macc.* ⁴¹¹ &c. Hippodrome, the, *T. Jos.* ²⁰⁸⁽⁸⁾. Histories. See *Book*. History, earlier and later. See *Moses*. Hittite, *Jub.* ³⁶². See *Heth*. Hittites, *1Esd.* ⁸⁶⁹ *T.S.* ⁶³. Hivite, *Jub.* ³⁰². Hivites, *Jub.* ¹⁴¹⁸. Holiness, counsel of, *Zad.* ⁹⁴⁸; perfection of, see *Perfection*. Hollow places (= Sheol), *1En.* ^{222,3,5}. Holofernes, *Judith* § ⁶ ²⁴ ¹⁴ ³⁵ ⁴¹ ^{51,22,24} ^{61,10,17} ^{71,6,16,26} ^{1017,18,20,21} ^{111,20,22} ^{123,5,6,7,10,13,16,16,17,20} ^{132,6,9,15} ^{143,6,11,13,19} ¹⁵¹¹ ¹⁶¹⁹; slain by *Judith*, ¹³⁹. Holy, *1En.* ¹⁹ ⁹⁵ ¹²² ³⁸⁵ ^{304,4,5} ⁴¹² ⁴³⁴ ⁴⁵¹ ^{472,4} ^{481,9} ⁵⁰¹ ⁵¹² ⁵⁷² ^{583,5} ⁶⁰⁴ ^{618,10,12} ⁶²⁸ ⁶⁵¹² ¹⁰³² ¹⁰⁶¹⁹; and common, *Zad.* ¹⁵¹; and profane, ⁸¹⁴; Holy City = Jerusalem, *Sir.* ²⁴¹¹ ³⁶¹³ *Ps. Sol.* ⁸⁴, see *City*; Land protects those who dwell in it, *2Bar.* ²⁹²ⁿ, sanctified by God—the scene of Messianic salvation, *4Ez.* ⁹⁸ⁿ. ¹²³⁴ ^{1348,49} *2Bar.* ²⁰² ⁴⁰²; One, *Sir.* ⁴¹⁴ⁿ. ²³⁹ ⁴³¹⁰ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁸²⁰ *1Bar.* ⁴²² ⁵⁵—blessed be He, *P.A.* ⁴²⁰ ⁵⁶ ^{611,12}, see *God*, titles of; one = Jacob, *Azar.* ¹²; ones of God = angels, *Sir.* ⁴²¹⁶ *T.L.* ³³ *Ps. Sol.* ¹⁷⁴⁰; = angels of sanctification, *Jub.* ³¹¹⁴; of the Lord = Israel, *Jub.* ³³¹² *T.S.* ⁶²; Place (= Jerusalem or Temple?), *Jub.* ¹¹⁰ *Sib.* ³³⁰⁸, see *Sanctuary*; Spirit, *Mart. Is.* ⁵¹⁴; of God bestowed on man, to be returned as pure as when received, *Test. App.* ¹ ¹⁰⁸, see *Spirit*; things (= tithes), *Zad.* ⁸¹⁶, see *Anointed One*, *City*, *Name*, *Sabbath*, *Spirit*; *in 1En.*: used of angels, see *Angels*; Watchers, *1En.* ^{154,9}; of God: Holy, holy, holy, *1En.* ³⁰¹², Lord, ⁹¹⁷, name (of God), ⁹⁴ ¹⁰⁸¹², One, see *God*; of heaven: heaven, *1En.* ¹⁵³, eternal place, *1En.* ¹²⁴; of men: and elect, *1En.* ⁵⁰¹, righteous and elect, *1En.* ³⁸⁴; of Temple: holy place, *1En.* ²⁵⁵. (Contrast 'holy eternal place' = 'heaven'.) Homer, borrowed from *Sibyl*, *Sib.* ³⁴¹⁹ⁿ, ⁴¹⁹⁻⁴³¹. Honour, *1En.* ⁵⁰¹ ¹⁰³⁶ ^{10811,12}; to whom due, *Sir.* ¹⁰¹⁰⁻²⁶; paid to wisdom, not wealth, *1C30-111. Hoof, divided, symbol of discrimination, *Arist.* ¹⁵⁰. Horeb, *Sir.* ⁴⁸⁷. Horites, *Jub.* ³⁷¹⁰ ³⁸⁸. Horn, the great = Judas Macabaeus, *1En.* ⁹⁰⁹ⁿ. Host (array) of heaven, *P.Man.* ^{2n.}; = angels, *P.Man.* ¹⁵ⁿ; of the heavens, *1En.* ⁶¹¹⁰ ¹⁰⁴⁸, cf. ¹⁹ ⁶⁰¹. See *Angels*. Hosts of Azazel punished, *1En.* ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁵⁴; of God = angels, *Sir.* ²⁴² ⁴²¹⁶; of heaven, ¹⁷³². Houday, one of the king's sons who question Ahikar, *Ah.* ²¹⁰¹ (*Arm.*). See *Baliayn*. Hours, *1En.* ⁸⁹⁷²ⁿ, cf. 'periods', *1En.* ⁹⁰¹; 'times', ⁹⁰⁵. See *Times*. House, build a sure, in Israel, *Zad.* ⁵⁵; of God = universe, *1Bar.* ^{324,25}; of instruction, *Sir.* ⁵¹²³ⁿ; of Israel, the two houses of, *Zad.* ⁹⁴; of the Law = school or college, *Zad.* § ¹⁰ ⁱⁱ. ^{936,38}; = Temple: of the Eternal, *Sib.* ³²²⁸; of the Great God, ^{3772,776}, see *Temple*; for the Great King, *1En.* ⁹¹¹³, Lord of the Sheep, *1En.* ^{8936,40}; of dominion, *1En.* ⁹³⁸; glory and dominion, ⁹³⁷; of the sheep, *1En.* ⁸⁹⁵⁰⁻⁵⁶ ⁹⁰²⁰; a new, *1En.* ⁹⁰²⁹; of worship = Temple or synagogue, *Zad.* § ⁴, ¹⁴². Hrotitz, Armenian month, *Ah.* ^{93,12} (*Arm.*). See *Ab*, *Nisan*. Human flesh eaten, *Wisd.* ¹²⁵. Humble, *Ps. Sol.* ⁵¹⁴. Humility, *P.A.* ^{434,12} ⁵²²; need of, *Sir.* ¹⁷⁻²⁵; exhortation to, ⁷⁴⁻⁷. Huphim, *Jub.* ⁴⁴²⁵. Hushim, *Jub.* ^{4428,29}. Hydaspes, *Judith* ¹⁶. Hyenas = Ethiopians or (?) Syrians, *1En.* ⁸⁹⁵⁶ⁿ. Hymn in praise of Creation, *Sir.* ³⁹¹²⁻³⁵. Hypocrite, *Sir.* ¹²⁹ ³²⁽³⁵⁾¹⁵ⁿ. See *Double-heart*. Hyrcanus, John, *1En.* ³⁸⁵ⁿ. ^{10314,15n}; king, establisher of new priesthood, and prophet, *T.R.* ^{68,12n}. *T.L.* ⁸¹⁴⁻¹⁵ notes; new priesthood of, *T.L.* ^{182sgg.}, see *Bath-qol*, *Messianic*; regarded as Messiah in *T.L.* ¹⁸. See *T.R.* ⁶ *T.L.* ⁸. Hyrcanus II, *Zad.* § ⁶ⁱⁱ(*c*). Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, *2Macc.* ³¹¹ⁿ. Iadinus, *1Esd.* ⁹⁴⁸. Iapetus, *Sib.* ³¹¹⁰. Iassus, *Sib.* ³³⁴². Iberians, *Sib.* ⁵¹¹⁶. Ibn Samik, executioner, *Ah.* ⁴⁴ (*Arab*). See *Abu Samik*, *Nabusemakh*, &c. Idleness, *Tob.* ⁴¹³. Idol. See *Adoil*. Idol, command to offer to, *Ah.* ²⁷⁰ (*Syr.*); *Bel*, *Ah.* ⁶¹⁶ (*Arab.*). Idol temple, *Bel* ¹⁰ⁿ. Idolatry, *3Macc.* ⁴¹⁶ ⁶¹¹ *Wisd.* ¹³⁻¹⁵; attacked, *Arist.* § ⁶, ¹³⁴⁻⁷; commanded by Antiochus, *1Macc.* ¹⁴³; denounced, *Wisd.* § ¹ *Bel* ⁵ *Sib.* ¹, ³; by Abraham, *Jub.* ¹²¹⁻⁸ ²¹¹⁻⁶ ²²¹⁷⁻²²; by Isaac, ³⁶⁶; of Babylon, denounced in *Ep. Jer.* § ¹; of Israel, *Jub.* ¹¹¹; punished eternally, *2En.* ¹⁰⁶; rise of, *Jub.* ¹¹⁴⁻⁷; vanity of, *Ep. Jer.* ⁴⁻⁷³. Idols, *Zad.* ⁹³⁴. Iduei, *1Esd.* ⁸⁴³. Idumaea, *1Macc.* ^{415,61} ⁵³ ⁶³¹. Idumaeans, *Arist.* ¹⁰⁷ ^{2Macc.}* ^{1016,17}. Ieddias, *1Esd.* ⁹²⁶. Ignorance, *4Macc.* ¹⁵ⁿ; and sin, *2En.* ¹³⁰¹⁶; an evil in itself, ³⁰¹⁶ⁿ. Ijaka, *Jub.* ⁴⁴²⁸. Ijasaka, Benjamin's wife, *Jub.* ³⁴²⁰. Ijaska, *Jub.* ¹¹⁹. Ijona, *Jub.* ³⁴²⁰. Ijusasaal, *1En.* ⁸²¹⁴. Iliadun, *1Esd.* ⁵⁵⁸. Ilium, *Sib.* ^{3423,432}. Images, *1En.* ⁶⁵⁶ ⁹⁹⁷, see *Chiun*; molten, *Zad.* ⁹⁴⁸. See *Idolatry*. Imagination, evil, *Zad.* ³². See *Inclination*, *Yetzer*. Imalkue the Arabian, *1Macc.* ¹¹³⁹ⁿ. [Immanuel. See *Jesus Christ*.] Immortality, *Wisd.* ³⁴ ⁴¹ ¹⁵³; denial of, ²²; of animals, *2En.* ⁵⁸⁵ⁿ; of soul, Alexandrian Jews' doctrine of, *4Macc.* § ⁹—righteous enter bliss at death, ¹⁰¹⁵ ¹³¹⁷ ¹⁶¹³ ^{174,18} ¹⁸²³; wicked enter on eternal torture, ^{9,32} ^{1011,15} ¹²¹⁹ ¹³¹⁵ ^{185,22}; subjective, *Wisd.* ³¹⁵ⁿ. See *Eternal*, *Future Life*, *Intermediate State*, *Treasures*. Innah, *Jub.* ⁴⁴²¹. Impurity, wickedness of, *Sir.* ²³¹⁶⁻²⁷. Imputed Righteousness. See *Merits*, *Righteousness*. Incense, *Tob.* ⁶¹⁷ ⁸² *Sir.* ²⁴¹⁵ⁿ. Incest, *Zad.* ⁷⁹⁻¹¹ ⁹¹⁷; laws concerning, *Jub.* ³³¹⁰⁻²⁰; punished by burning, ^{4125,26,28}. Inclination, the, *T. Jud.* ¹⁸ *T.N.* ²⁵ *T.G.* ⁵⁸ *T.A.* ³² *T. Jos.* ²⁶ *T.B.* ⁶¹⁴; of flesh and blood, *Sir.* ¹⁷⁵¹, see *Tendency*, *Yetzer*; the evil, to be shunned, *Zad.* ³¹⁻²; Watchers, all flesh, and Noah's sons fell through it, ³³⁻⁴; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob walked not after, ⁴²⁻³; but sons of Jacob did, ⁴⁴⁻¹⁰. Inclinations, the two, good and evil, *T.A.* ¹³ⁿ, ¹⁵⁻⁹. See *Yetzer*. Independence, advantage of, *Sir.* ²⁹²⁴⁻²⁸; not to be surrendered, ³³¹⁹⁻²³ (³⁰²⁸⁻³²). India, *1Macc.* ⁸⁸ *Add. Esth.* ^{B1} *E1* *Jub.* ⁸²¹ ^{9,3}. Indian, *1Macc.* ⁶³⁸. Indians, *Sib.* ^{5195,206}. Individual responsibility. See *Soul*. Indocolpitae, *T. Jos.* ¹¹². Indus, *1En.* ⁷⁷⁷ⁿ. Infanticide, *Wisd.* ¹²⁶; condemned, *Sib.* ³⁷⁶⁵. Informers, reward of, *3Macc.* ³²⁸. Inhabitants of the earth, *Zad.* ¹¹⁴ ^{2Bar. ²⁵¹ⁿ. See *Dwell*. Inscription relating to sun and stars, discovered by Kainam, *Jub.* ⁸⁸. Insincerity hateful, *Sir.* ²⁷²²⁻²⁴. Inspiratio = disembodied soul. See *Souls*. Inspiration, cup of, *4Ez.* ¹⁴³⁹; intensifies natural faculties, ¹⁴⁴⁰. Intercession by departed, Onias and Jeremiah, *2Macc.* ¹⁵¹²⁻¹⁶;}

by departed saints for the living denied, 2En. 53¹²; by Moses, for Israel, Ass. Mos. 12²⁶; no, on Day of Judgement, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵; of fathers, prophets, or righteous, 2Bar. 85¹². See Angels, Archangels, Prayer.

Intercourse, danger of, with evil men, Sir. 9¹¹⁻¹³ 11²⁹⁻³³ 12¹³⁻¹³; with strangers, 11³⁴, see Associating; unnatural, Ass. Mos. 3^{185,596} 4³⁴ 5¹⁵⁶, Israel guilty of, Ps. Sol. 2¹⁵ 8¹⁰.

Intermediate agencies, not employed in bringing in the End, 4Ez. 5⁵⁶⁻⁶⁶; not allowed between departing soul and God, 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵. See Mediation, Transcendence.

Intermediate place, of happiness, 2Bar. 21²³ 59¹⁰; of torment, 30⁵ 36¹¹ 52¹². See Chambers, Immortality, Paradise.

Intermediate state, of righteous, souls in peace and joy, guarded in chambers, 4Ez. 7⁸⁸⁻⁸⁹ 8⁸⁹; of wicked, souls in torment await Judgement, 4Ez. 7⁸¹⁻⁸⁷. Interpretation, Zad. 2¹⁰ 6⁵ 8¹⁰. See Law, Meaning, Messiah, Midrash.

Involuntary birth and death, 2Bar. 14¹⁰ 48¹³ 4Ez. 8⁵.

Ioanit, stations of light, 2En. 20²⁰ (A). See Ostanim.

Ionians, Sib. 5²⁸⁸.

Iram, T. Jud. 8¹.

Isaac, 2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² Judith 8²⁶ Sir. 44²² 51¹²¹ Azar. 12 Jub. 17⁶ 19¹⁹ 15¹⁹ 16¹³ 16¹⁷ 17¹⁴ 18¹⁶ 18¹³ 19¹⁰ 10¹² 15¹⁹ 31²⁰ 11²¹ 21¹ 22^{1,2,3,5} 23^{4,5,7} 24^{1,14} 15¹⁹ 20²⁵ 27²⁸ 26^{1,8,5,14} 16⁻¹⁸ 21²⁵ 27⁻²⁹ 31⁻³³ 27^{8,9,12,14} 18²² 28²⁵ 29^{4,15,17} 31^{3-5,8,9} 22²⁵⁻²⁷ 31³² 32²² 33^{1,21-23} 34³ 35^{9,13} 36^{1,15,18} 37⁴⁰ 44⁵ 45³; death of, 40¹²; T.R. 3¹³ T.L. 9¹⁶ 15⁴ 18¹⁴ 19⁵ T. Jud. 17⁵ (d) 25¹ T.D. 7² T.N. 5² T.A. 7⁷ T.B. 1² 10^{4,6} Test. App. I 10² II 11, 12, Ass. Mos. 3⁹ 4Ez. 3¹⁶ 4Macc. 7^{14,19} 13^{12,17} 16^{20,28} 18¹¹; and Jacob, recorded as friends of God, members of the covenant for ever, Zad. 4⁹; sacrifice of, Wisd. 10⁵ 4Macc. 13² 16²⁰ 18¹¹; = 'a white bull', 1En. 89¹¹.

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 48.

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 49.

Isaelus, Arist. 50.

Isaiah, Sir. 48^{20,22} Mart. Is. 1^{2,6,7,11,13} 2^{7,10} 3^{1,6,8,12} 5^{2-4,7-9} 11¹⁴ 4Macc. 18¹³ Zad. 5⁸ 6⁹ 8⁹ 9² A. Contrast 9² (B), which quotes Zechariah.

Isaiah, Martyrdom of: account, short, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, § 9; date, § 6; extent, § 5; in Jewish and Christian literature, § 8; oriental influences in § 8; original language, Hebrew, § 7; title, § 2; versions, § 3: their relations, § 4.

Isaiah, Vision of, Mart. Is. §§ 1, 5. Isdael, 1Esd. 5³³.

Ishbak, Jub. 19¹¹. Ishmael, Jub. 14²⁴ 15^{18,20,23,30} 17^{2,4,17} 20^{1,11,12} 22^{1,3,4} 23^{6,7} 29¹⁸; children of, Judith 2²³; = wild ass in 1En. 89¹¹.

Ishmael ben Elisha, P.A. 3¹⁷. Ishmael ben Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 4⁶.

Ishmael ben Jose, P.A. 4^{9,10}. Ishmaelites, Jub. 20¹³ 34¹¹ T.S. 2⁹ T.Z. 2⁸ 4^{3(a)} T.G. 2³ T.Jos. 10⁶ 11² 13^{3,7} 15¹ 16² T.B. 2³.

Ishvah, Jub. 44²¹. Ishvi, Jub. 44²¹. Isis, Sib. 5^{53,484}.

Islands, the Seven Great, 1En. 77³. Isles = Gentiles, Sib. 3⁷¹⁰.

Ismael, 1Esd. 9²². Ismaerus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.

Israel, ancestor of Judith, Judith 8¹.

Israel = Jacob, 1Esd. 8⁴⁷ Jub. 32¹⁷ 34¹⁶ 42^{15,17} 44^{1,8,9,12} 45^{1,3,6} 13¹⁴ T.L. 14² Test. App. I 10¹⁰.

Israel = people, 1Esd. 1^{30,21,24} 32^{33,48} 2³ 57⁴¹ 46^{48,60} 61⁷¹ 61¹⁴ 15^{7,8,9,15} 18^{3,7,13,59,65,69,72,89,92,96} 97^{37,39} 1Macc. 1^{11,20,25,30,36,43} 62⁶⁴ 215^{42,46,55,70} 3^{1,8,10,35} 4¹¹ 25^{26,30,31} 5^{3,45,59,63} 61^{8,21} 7^{5,22} 26²⁷ 8¹⁸ 9^{20,21,23,27,51,73} 10^{46,61} 11^{23,41} 12⁵² 13^{41,42,51} 14^{11,26} 16² 1Macc. 1^{25,26} 4⁴⁸ 6⁵ Tob. 14^{4,5,8} 5⁵ 14^{4,5,7} Judith 4^{9,11,12,15} 6^{2,17} 21^{81,34} 9^{12,14} 12⁸ 13^{7,11,14} 14^{4,5} 10^{15,4,9,10,12,13} 16^{1,8,24} Sir. Prologue 2, 17¹⁷ 24⁸ 36¹² 44²³ 45^{5,11} 46¹ 47^{5,11,23} 48¹⁰ 50¹³ 51^{1211,17} 1Bar. 2^{11,16,26} 3^{1,4,9,10,24,37} 4^{4,5} 5^{7,9} Add. Esth. C. 2^{6,11,14,16} F. 6¹⁰ 7² 12⁹ 3¹⁴ 15^{27,30,32} 16^{29,30} 18¹⁹ 23³ 30⁵ 10^{13,14} 16⁻¹⁸ 31^{15,19} 33¹⁴ 41¹⁷ (45³) 48^{5,7,8,13,14} 49⁶ 50^{5,9} 11¹ Mart. Is. 2^{6,10,12} 3⁷ T.R. 1¹⁰ 6^{8,11} T.S. 6^{2,5} 7² T.L. 2¹⁰ 3⁴ 5^{2,6,7} 6³ (8) 7⁸ 8¹⁶ 10^{2,3} 14^{8,6} (8) 17⁵ 18⁹ T. Jud. 12⁸ 17⁵ 21⁶ 22^{1,2} 25^{1,5} [T. Iss. 5⁸] T.Z. 4¹² 9⁵ T.D. 1⁹ 5⁴ 18^{6,4-7} 7³ T.N. 5⁸ 7¹⁸ 13² T.G. 2⁵ 8¹ T.A. 7³ T.Jos. 12² (3-ad) 18⁴ 19¹¹ 20^{5,6} (c) T.B. 10^{8,10,11} 11² (3) 12² (3) Test. App. II. 67, 72 Ass. Mos. 3¹⁰ 4Ez. 3¹⁹ 4²³ 5^{17,35} 7^{11,107} 8¹⁶ 30⁸ 12⁴⁶ 14²⁸ Ps. Sol. 2²⁴ 4¹ 5²¹ 7⁸ 832^{34,40} 9^{1,2,16,19} 10⁸ 11^{2,7,8,9} 14³ 16³ 17^{5,23,47,50,51} 18^{1,4,6} 4Macc. 17²² (cf. 15²⁹) Zad. 1³⁻¹⁰ 5^{1,5,7} 6¹⁻¹⁰ 8¹⁻⁶ 9^{4,7,8,23-29} 40-49 11¹ 14⁸ 15^{1,3} 17³ 19^{8,13} 20¹. See Jacob.

Israel, a holy people and a blameless seed, Wisd. 10¹⁵; assemblies of, Ps. Sol. 10⁸; chastened as firstborn, only-begotten son, Ps. Sol. 18⁴; children of, 1Esd. 1^{5,19} 5⁴⁷ 7⁶ 10¹³ 13⁸ 1Macc. 3^{15,41} 1Bar. 2²⁸ Judith 4¹⁸ 5²³ 6¹⁰ 7^{14,6,10,17,19} 10⁸ 15^{3,5,7,8} 16²⁵ Sir. 4^{15,17} 22²³ 51¹²¹ 121¹ Jub. 11^{28,27,29,33} 51⁷ 61^{13,19} 20^{22,32,34} 15^{29,34} 28⁷ 30^{11,21} 32¹³ 34¹⁸ 38¹⁵ 41²⁶ 44²⁴ 46^{1,2,5,9,12,13} 47^{1,10,11} 48¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 18¹⁹ 49^{8,10,13-15,18,22} 50¹³; cities of, Zad. 15¹; congregation of, Jub. 49¹⁶; covenant with whole of, Zad. 19³; daughter(s) of, Sus. 48, 57 Jub. 30⁵; dispersed of

Ps. Sol. 8³⁴ 9²; elect of, Jub. 1²⁹; glorious history of, Wisd. 11²⁻¹⁸; God forgave, Zad. 5⁴⁻⁶; God the sole ruler of, Jub. 15³²; contrast Gentiles; God's Firstborn, Sir. 36¹² Jub. 2²⁰ 4Ez. 6⁸ Ps. Sol. 18⁴, own people, Ass. Mos. 1¹², portion, therefore under His direct rule, Sir. 17¹⁷, servant, Ps. Sol. 12⁷; history of, in Test. xii Patr.: to be redeemed, T.D. 6⁶; restored to own land, T.Z. 9⁸ T.A. 7⁷; cast away a second time, T.L. 15 T. Jud. 22² T.Z. 9⁹ T.N. 4⁵ T.G. 8², and again restored, T.L. 16⁵ T. Jud. 23⁵ T.N. 4⁵ T.A. 7⁴⁻⁷; all in Palestine under John Hyrcanus, T.R. 6⁸; captivity among Gentiles, T.L. 15¹ T. Jud. 23³ T.Z. 9⁶ T.D. 5⁸; dispersed among Gentiles, T.L. 10⁴ 16⁵ T. Iss. 6² T.A. 7^{2,6} T.Jos. 19²; go after abominations of Gentiles, T.D. 5⁵ T.N. 4¹ T.G. 8²; scorn of Gentiles, T.L. 10⁴ 14¹; rebellion of, foreseen, Jub. 1⁷, does not frustrate God's love, or nullify His covenant, 1⁵; turn to strange gods, 1⁸; walk after the Gentiles, and their uncleanness, 1⁹, see Captivity; house of, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁰ 10⁸; Jerusalem and Moses predestined for, Ass. Mos. 1^{14,17,18}; parties within, i. the righteous, poor, humble, god-fearing, &c., Ps. Sol. § 5; ii. the menpleasers, profane, sinners, transgressors, unrighteous, § 5 notes; prayer for, Sir. 36¹⁻¹⁷ (33^{1-13a} 36¹⁶⁰⁻²²); righteous compared with heathen, Ps. Sol. 1² 2³⁷⁻⁴⁰; sceptre shall rise out of, Zad. 9⁸; seed of, Jub. 30⁹ Ps. Sol. 7⁶, solidarity of, in merit before God, Sir. 47¹²; sons of, Sus. 48; titles: a nation of righteous men, Add. Esth. A⁶; an evilly disposed people, B⁴; children of God, Sib. 5²⁰²; chosen people, Add. Esth. E²¹; God's firstborn, only-begotten, beloved, Sir. 36¹² Jub. 2²⁰ 4Ez. 6⁸ Ps. Sol. 18⁴; people whom God made, Sib. 5⁵⁰²; sons of the Great God, Sib. 3⁷⁰²; sons of the Most High, Add. Esth. E¹⁶; unique,—elect of God 4Ez. § 10, 5²³⁻²⁷ 6⁵⁸ 8¹⁶; have covenant with God, 3¹⁴; Law given to, 3¹⁹ 9³¹; Law accepted by, alone, 7^{23,24,72}; love of God for, 5³¹⁻⁴⁰; world created for sake of, 4Ez. 6⁵⁵ 9³⁹ 7¹¹ Ass. Mos. 1¹² 2Bar. 14¹⁸ 15⁷ 21²⁴.

Israel and Aaron. See Aaron, Messiah.

Israelites, 1Macc. 1⁵⁸ Sus. 7, 28 4Macc. 18¹ Zad. 20¹⁰.

Issachar, Jub. 28²² 32²² 34²⁰ 38⁷ 44¹⁶ T. Jud. 25^{1,2} T. Iss. 1^{1,15}; single-hearted husbandman, T. Iss. 3-6m.

Issachar, son of Kohath, T.L. 12². Issues, the two, of action, T.A. 1³⁻²⁸.

Istalcurus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰. Isthmus, Sib. 5²¹⁰. Italian, Sib. 3³⁵³ 4^{103,141}. Italians, Sib. 3³⁵⁴. Italy, 3^{464,470} 4^{104,116,119,130} 5¹³⁸, 160,342,448. See Latin, Rome.

Ithamar, 1Esd. 8²⁹. Iv, Jub. 44^{30,31}. Izhar, Test. App. II 74.

Jabbok, Jub. 29¹³. Jabish, 2Bar. 5⁵.

Jachin, Jub. 44¹³. Jacob, 2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² Judith 8²⁶ Sir. 23¹² 24^{8,23} 36^{11a} 45⁵ 46^{10,14} 47²² 49¹⁰ 51¹²¹ Wisd. 10¹⁰ 1Bar. 2³⁴ 3³⁷ 4³ Sus. 62 Jub. 17²⁸ 20²³ 32⁶ 19¹²⁻¹⁶ 17¹⁹ 19^{21,23,26,27,31} 22^{4,5,10} 11^{16,19} 20^{23,26,28} 23¹⁻⁴ 24³⁻⁸ 25¹ 4^{12,14} 26^{5,7,10-13} 15^{17,18} 25^{30,35} 27^{1,4,6-9,12,13,18,19} 22²⁵⁻²⁷ 28²⁻⁶ 8⁹ 11¹³⁻¹⁶ 17¹⁹ 20^{22,23,25} 26²⁸⁻³⁰ 29^{2,4-7,12,13,18,20} 30^{1,3,6,12,17,24} 31^{1,2,4-6,8,15,19,23,26,27,30,31} 32^{2,3} 9^{16,17,20} 21^{26,31,34} 33^{1,7-9,15,21-23} 34^{1,3,4,12,18} 35^{1,2,7-10,12,13,15-17} 20^{22,23,26,27} 36^{14,18,20,23} 37^{1,2} 12^{-16,24} 38^{1,2,9,12,14} 39^{1,2,6} 42^{4,10} 44^{2,5,18,19,23,27,33} 45^{2,3,5,15} 46^{1,2} T.R. 1⁶ T.S. 1²⁷ 6² T.L. 7¹ 9¹ &c. Test. App. I 1²⁷ 3^{2,13} 4^{2,4,5} 7^{9,13} 6² 10² II 1-9 Ass. Mos. 3⁹ 4Ez. 3^{16,19,32} 5⁵⁵ 6^{8,9} 8¹⁶ 9³⁰ 12⁴⁶ Ps. Sol. 7⁹ 15¹ 4Macc. 2¹⁹ 7¹⁹ 13¹⁷ 16²⁵ Zad. 4^{3,4} 6¹⁰ 9⁴¹, see Isaac, Israel; a star out of, Zad. 9⁸; = 'a white sheep' in 1En. 89¹²; death of, Jub. 45¹³; descendants, number of, Jub. 44¹²⁻³³; house of, 1Macc. 1²⁸; i.e. people of Israel, 1Macc. 3^{7,45} 5²; seed of, 2Bar. 17⁴ 31³; sons of, Jub. 30^{6,12,23,26} 31^{9,15,18,18} 21²² 32^{22,23} 34^{12,20} 38^{9,10,13} 42⁴ 44^{11,18} 46⁹; symbolizes future age of incorruption, 4Ez. 6⁷⁻¹⁰.

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 48.

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jacob, Rabbi, P.A. 3¹⁰ 4^{21,22}.

Jacobus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.

Jaddus, 1Esd. 5³⁸.

Jahleel, Jub. 44¹⁷.

Jahziel, Jub. 44³⁰.

Jairus, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Jairus, Add. Esth. A¹.

Jambri. See Ambri.

James, Epistle of Saint, relation of to Sirach, Sir. § 7(a).

Jamin, Jub. 44¹³.

Jannia, 1Macc. 4¹⁵ 5⁵⁸ 10⁶⁹ 15⁴⁰ 2Macc. 12^{8,32,40}; idols of, 12⁴⁰; sea of, T.N. 6¹. See Jemnaan.

Jannaeus. See Alexander.

Jannai, P.A. 4¹⁹.

'Jannes and Jambres,' quoted, Zad. § 8. See Jochanneh.

Japheth, Jub. 43³ 7^{9,12,15} 8^{5,10} 12^{25,29} 9⁷ 10³⁵; lot of, 8²⁵.

Japheth, borders of, Judith 2²⁵.

Jared, Jub. 4⁴ 15¹⁶ 1En. 6⁶ 37¹ 106¹³ 2En. 33¹⁰.

Jarimoth, 1Esd. 9²⁸.

Jasaelus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.

Jashar, Book of, quoted, T. Jud. 3-9 notes.

Jason, son of Eleazar, 1Macc. 8¹⁷.

Jason, 2Macc. 1^{7,8} 10^{13,18} 22⁻²⁴ 26

- 5⁶; brother of Onias, sup-
plants him in priesthood, 4⁸;
attacks Jerusalem, 17⁵, 18;
high priest, 4Macc. 4¹⁶, 17, 18;
builds gymnasium, 4¹⁸.
- Jason of Cyrene, Maccabaeon
history of in five books, 2Macc.
an abridgement of, 2Macc. § 1
2²⁸.
- Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.
- Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.
- Jason. *See* Antipater.
- Jasub, Jub. 44¹⁶.
- Jasubus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
- Javan, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9¹⁰ Test. *App.* 1
9⁴; kings of = asps, Zad. 9²⁰.
- Jaxartes, 1En. 77⁷.
- Jazer, 1Macc. 5⁸.
- Jebusite, Judith 5¹⁶.
- Jebusites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Jub. 14¹⁸.
- Jechonias, king, Add. Esth. A³
1Bar. 13⁹. *See* Jeconiah.
- Jechonias, son of Jeelus, 1Esd.
8⁹².
- Jeconiah, king, 2Bar. 1¹. *See*
Jechonias.
- Jecoonias, captain over a thou-
sand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
- Jeddu, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
- Jedeus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
- Jeeli, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
- Jeelus, 1Esd. 8⁹².
- Jehoahaz (Joachaz), king of
Judah, 1Esd. 1³⁴.
- Jehoiachin, king of Judah, 1Esd.
1⁴³ (Joakim).
- Jehoiakim (Joakim), king of
Judah, 1Esd. 1³⁷, 38, 39.
- Jehoshaphat, valley of, 1En.
26³ 53¹. *See* Valley.
- Jemnaan = Jamnia, Judith 2²⁸.
See Jamnia.
- Jemuel, Jub. 44¹³.
- Jephunneh. *See* Caleb.
- Jegon, 1En. 69⁴.
- Jerahmeel, Chronicles of, Bel § 4;
quoted, T. Jud. 3-9 notes.
- Jerchu, 1Esd. 5²³.
- Jeremiah, Sir. 49⁷ 2Bar. 2¹ 5⁵ 9¹
10⁴ 33¹ Zad. 9²⁸; accompanies
captivity to Babylon in B²,
10². 33²; does not accom-
pany captivity in B¹, 10².
77¹²; good works and prayers
of, support Jerusalem, 2Bar. 2²;
hides ark, tabernacle, and altar
of incense, 2Macc. 2¹⁻¹²; lover
of brethren, prayeth fervently
for people and holy city,
15¹⁴ *sqq.* *See* Jeremy.
- Jeremiah, an elder, Arist. 50.
- Jeremias, son of Baani, 1Esd.
9³⁴.
- Jeremiel, i.e. Remiel, arch-
angel, 4Ez. 4³⁶.
- Jeremy, i.e. Jeremiah, 1Esd. 1²⁸,
32, 47, 57 2¹ Ep. Jer. 1.
- Jeremy, Epistle of, account, § 1;
date, § 2; original language,
Hebrew, § 3.
- Jericho, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰ 16¹¹, 14
2Macc. 12¹⁵ Judith 4⁴ Sir. 24¹⁴.
- Jeroboam, Tob. 1⁵ 2Bar. 62¹
P.A. 5²¹; curse on, Sir. 47²³.
- Jerome, Sir. § 8; condemns
apocryphal books of Esdras,
1Esd. § 2.
- Jerusalem, 1Esd. 12¹, 31, 35, 37, 39, 44,
46, 49, 55 24⁵, 7, 8, 10, 15, 16, 18, 27 43, 47,
48, 50, 57, 58, 59 53 54, 44, 46, 56, 57 61, 2, 8, 18,
19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 30, 53 55, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14,
15, 17, 25, 61, 81, 91 93, 5, 37 1Macc.
14, 20, 35, 44 21, 6, 18, 31 34, 35, 45 67, 12,
26, 48 71, 19, 27, 39, 47 820 93, 50, 53
107, 10, 31, 32, 39, 43, 45, 66, 74, 87 117, 20,
34, 41, 51, 62, 74 124, 35 132, 10, 39, 49
141, 36, 37 152, 32 1620 2Macc.
11, 10 36, 9, 37 41, 22, 25 52, 26 62 831
94 1015 115, 8 129, 29, 43 143 1550
Tob. 14, 6, 7 514 138 *sq.* 1659.
144, 5, 7 (*see* New) Judith 1⁹
42, 6, 8 519 108 113, 14, 19 134 155,
8, 9, 18 Sir. 24¹¹ 3613 4723 1Bar.
12, 7, 9, 15 22, 23 48, 30 51, 5 Add.
Esth. A³ F¹¹ Jub. 128, 29 Arist.
32, 35, 52 (cf. 'city'), 105 Mart.
Is. 1⁹ 24, 7 31, 3, 4, 6, 10 58 T.L. 103, 5
T.Z. 98 T.D. 512, 13 T.N. 51
3Bar. *Prolog.* 2, 13 4Ez. 1020, 48
Ps. Sol. 23, 13, 14, 20 84, 17, 19, 21, 23, 26,
112, 3, 8, 9 1716, 17, 24, 33 4Macc. 43, 22
185; attacked by Antiochus,
1Macc. 120; by Apollonius,
120; centre of earth, Jub. 319
1En. 264 Sib. 5250; citadel of,
1Macc. 1348 1528; description
of, Arist. 83-107; destruction
of, a problem to the pious,
2Bar. and 4Ezra *passim*;
earthly, removed for a time,
2Bar. 14n. 69 324 Ez. 938-1024n.,
to be restored in B¹, 2Bar. 14n.
787n., not to be restored in B²,
14n., symbolized by son of Dis-
consolate Woman, 4Ez. 1020-
57n.; Fall of, in A.D. 70, pro-
blem in 4Ezra, § 10(3), due to
sins of both Judah and Israel,
2Bar. 7710n.; heavenly, 2Bar.
42-7, called 'mother', 3n.,
= pattern of Zion, 594, shown
to Abraham and Moses, 445,
see New; holy, to be, Jub. 128;
invaded, 4Macc. 45-23; lament
over desecration of, 1Macc.
26-14; New, Tob. 137-18 145
T.D. 512; = a new house,
1En. 9029; to be the Heavenly
City, 4Ez. § 10, 726 1025 *sqq.*;
is builded for the righteous, 882;
offerings at, after destruction of
Temple, 1Bar. §§ 4, 8; Philo-
pator's visit to, 3Macc. 159.
310 *sq.* 548; predestined as the
place of worship to God, Ass.
Mos. 117, 18; sanctity of, 3Macc.
29 65; sanctity of, recognized
by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 1031;
sons of, Ps. Sol. 23; titles of =
the city of my righteous, 1En.
567; the holy city, Ps. Sol. 84;
= the holy place, 1En. 255n.;
= the house (of the sheep),
8950, 51, 56 9026, the uppermost,
? = the heavenly, Enoch's
eternal inheritance, 2En. 552.
See City, David, Solyma.
- Jerusalemite, 2Macc. 1437.
- Jerusalemites, 2Macc. 49 836.
- Jeshua Ben-Sira, the author of
Sirach, Sir. § 6; a scribe and
teacher of wisdom, had trav-
elled, § 6i.
- Jeshua, son of Eleazar, son of
Sira, Sir. 5027n., cf. 5130. *See*
also Simeon, son of Jeshua.
- Jeshua (Jesus), son of Josedek,
Sir. 4912.
- Jeshurun, i.e. Israel, Sir.
3720n.
- Jesias, 1Esd. 833.
- Jesias, Arist. 49.
- Jesse, Sir. 4525.
- Jesus, grandson of Sira, Sir.
Prologue. *See* Jeshua.
- Jesus = Jeshua, son of Josedek,
1Esd. 548, 56, 58, 68, 70 62 919.
- Jesus, 1Esd. 58.
- Jesus, 1Esd. 511.
- Jesus, 1Esd. 524.
- Jesus, 1Esd. 526.
- Jesus, a priest, 1Esd. 863.
- Jesus, 1Esd. 948.
- Jesus, father of Habakkuk,
Bel i.
- Jesus, an elder, Arist. 48.
- Jesus, an elder, Arist. 49.
- [Jesus Christ . . . Immanuel,
3Bar. 415.]
- Jetrel, 1En. 692.
- Jew, 1Macc. 223 2Macc. 66 916
Bel 28 Add. Esth. A2.
- Jewish additions to Testaments,
Test. § 12; books, Arist. 28;
captives, 4, 22, 33; characters,
3, 30, *see* Hebrew; com-
munity, 310; envoys, guests,
182, 183; factions, 4Macc. 41;
garrisons in Egypt, 3Macc.
321n.; high priest, Arist. 11;
literature, 121, post-Biblical
and pre-Christian, Zad. § 4; mar-
riages, Tob. 412; nation, 2Macc.
108; people, 2Macc. 522; popu-
lation of Alexandria, Arist.
308; priests, 184; race, 6, 15;
religion, 4Macc. 56; residents,
123; slaves, 2Macc. 811;
soldiers, 1Macc. 1147; subjects,
2Macc. 1124.
- Jewry, i.e. Judaea, 1Esd. 132 49
57, 57, 61 831 93 Bel 33.
- Jews, 1Esd. 121 218, 28 40, 50 61, 5,
8, 27 72 810 1Macc. 41 320, 23, 24, 27,
29, 31 1023, 25, 33, 34, 36 1130, 33, 47, 49,
50, 51 123, 6, 21 1336 1420, 33, 34, 36, 37,
40, 41, 47 151, 17 2Macc. 11, 7, 10 221
330, 32 41, 35, 36 24, 25 61, 8 810, 35, 36
9, 7, 13 1012, 14, 15, 24, 30 112, 15, 16, 17,
30, 34 121, 4, 8, 17, 28, 30, 34 133, 18, 21, 23, 25
145, 6, 14, 15, 37, 39 152, 12 Tob. 1118
Sus. 4 Add. Esth. E15, 19 F5
Arist. 1, 3, 11, 12, 22-24, 30,
35, 38, 53, 83, 182, 305 Sib.
4120 528; Antiochus promises
to make equal to citizens of
Athens, 2Macc. 915, 18, 19; apo-
state, 3Macc. 231 323 710;
charges against, 339; Egyp-
tian, persecution of, 228 &c.;
deliverance of, 616 *sq.*; embassy
of, to Philopator, 18; fidelity
of, to Ptolemies, 33, 21 531 625 *sq.*
77 *sq.*; numbers of, in Egypt,
417; of Joppa, massacred,
2Macc. 1214; of Jamnia, 128,
see Tubieni, 1217; political
subjection of, Zad. § 6ii;
prevent Philopator entering
the Temple, 3Macc. 111 *sq.*
- Jezebel, 2Bar. 623.
- Jezebus, 1Esd. 832.
- Jezer, Jub. 4430.
- Jezielus, 1Esd. 927.
- Joab, 1Esd. 511.
- Joab, 1Esd. 835.
- Joachaz, i.e. Jehoahaz, son of
Josiah, 1Esd. 134. *See* Jeho-
haz.
- Joadanus, 1Esd. 919.
- Joakim, i.e. Jehoiachin, 1Esd.
143 1Bar. 13.
- Joakim, i.e. Jehoiakim, king,
1Esd. 138, 39.
- Joakim, son of Zorobabel,
1Esd. 55.
- Joakim, Sus. 1, 4, 7, 8, 28,
29, 63.
- Joakim, high priest, 1Bar. 17.
- Joakim the high priest, Judith
§ 6, 4, 6, 8, 14 158.
- Joannes, 1Esd. 838.
- Joarib, sons of, 1Macc. 21 1429.
- Job, Sir. 499n.
- Jobab, son of Zara, Jub. 3817, 18.
- Jobel, T. Jud. 61.
- Jochanan, Sir. 50n.
- Jochanan ben Zaccai, 1Bar. § 7.
See Johanan.
- Jochanneh and his brother,
raised by Belial (to oppose
Moses), Zad. 719. *See* Jannes.
- Jochebed, Jub. 478 T.L. 118 124
Test. *App.* II 72, 75, 77.
- Joda, 1Esd. 558.
- Joel, archangel, S. A. & E.
31 3212 Apoc. Mos. 435.
- Joel, mount, Mart. Is. 215n.
- Joel, prophet, Mart. Is. 29.
- Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 45.
- Johanan ben Zaccai, P.A. 29-13.
See Jochanan.
- Johanan the sandal-maker, P.A.
414.
- John, surnamed Gaddis, a Mac-
cabee, 1Macc. 22 936, 38.
- John, father of Eupolemus,
2Macc. 411.
- John Hyrcanus I, son of Simon,
1Macc. § 4, 1363 161, 2, 9, 19, 21, 23;
breach with Pharisees, Test.
§§ 1, 10; escapes massacre,
1Macc. 1622; a History of,
mentioned by Sixtus Senensis,
1624n.; Messianic hymns to,
Test. § 1. *See* Hyrcanus.
- John, the Maccabee. *See*
Joseph.
- John, envoy, 2Macc. 1117.
- John, an elder, Arist. 47.
- John, an elder, Arist. 49.
- John, an elder, Arist. 50.
- John of Anathoth, Mart. Is. 25.
- Jokshan, Jub. 1011.
- Jomjael, 1En. 67.
- Jonab, 3Macc. 68.
- Jonas, 1Esd. 91.
- Jonas, 1Esd. 923.
- Jonathan, 1Esd. 832.
- Jonathan, son of Azazel, 1Esd. 914.
- Jonathan, son of Saul, 1Macc. 430
P.A. 519.
- Jonathan, son of Absalom,
1Macc. 1311.
- Jonathan Maccabaeus, called
Aphphus, 1Macc. 26 517, 24, 55
919, 28, 33, 37, 43, 58, 60, 62, 65, 70, 73 108,
79, 10, 15, 18, 21, 29, 46, 59, 62, 66, 69, 74, 76,
79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 88 115, 6, 7, 20-23, 28-30,
37, 41, 42, 44, 53, 57, 60, 62, 63, 67, 69, 71, 74 12
1, 3, 5, 6, 24, 27, 28, 30, 36, 40, 44, 49, 52 1314,
15, 23, 25 1416, 18, 30 (killed, 1323)
2Macc. 822 1En. 908n.; succeeds
Judas as leader, 1Macc. 923-31;
struggle of, with Bacchides,
922-73; has centre of govern-
ment at Michmash, 973n.;
victory of, over Apollonius of
Coelesyria, 1067-89; secures
favour of Demetrius II, 1126-37;

assists him against Tryphon, 1³⁸⁻⁵³; makes friends with Antiochus VI, 1⁵⁴⁻⁷⁴; renews alliance with Rome, allies himself with Sparta, defeats Demetrius's men, 1Macc. 12¹⁻³⁸; captured by treachery, 12⁵⁹⁻⁵³; buried at Modin, 13²⁵⁻³⁰.
Jonathan, a high-priest, 2Macc. 1²³.
Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 48.
Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 49.
Jonathan, P.A. 4¹¹.
Jonathes, Arist. 50.
Joppa, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ 1Macc. 10^{75,76} 11⁶ 12⁸⁴ 13¹¹ 14^{5,34} 15^{28,35} 2Macc. 4²² 12^{3,4,7} Arist. 115 Sib. 5²⁵¹.
Joram, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Jordan, 1Macc. 5^{24,52} 9^{34,42,43} 45,48,49 Judith 1^{9,15} Sir. 24²⁶ Jub. 10²⁹ 16⁵ 29¹⁴ 50⁴ Arist. 116 A. & E. 6² 7² 8¹ [42³] S.A. & E. 36⁴ 39¹ Ass. Mos. 1⁴; = 'a stream of water', 1En. 8^{9,37n}.
Joribus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
Joribus, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.
Josab, son of Isaiah, Mart. Is. 12⁶ 2⁹.
Josabdnus, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Josaphias, 1Esd. 8⁸⁶.
Jose ben Halaphta, P.A. 4⁸.
Jose ben Joezer, P.A. 1⁴.
Jose ben Johanan, P.A. 1^{4,5}.
Jose ben Judah, P.A. 4²⁶.
Jose ben Kisma, P.A. 6¹⁰.
Jose the Priest, P.A. 2^{10,12,13,16}.
Josedek. See Jesus, Jeshua.
Joseph, patriarch, 1Macc. 2⁵³ Sir. 49¹⁵ Wisd. 10¹³ Jub. 28²⁴ 29¹ 33²² 34³ 10,12,13,15,17,18,20,39^{2-6,7,11-18} 40^{2,5,8-13} 41²² 42^{5,10,13} 21,25 43^{1,2,8-10,14,23,24} 44^{3,6,9,23} 24,32 45^{2,3,6-9,12,14} 46^{1,2,3,8,9} (death of, 46³) 1En. 8^{9,13n} T.R. 12⁴ 8⁶⁷ T.S. 1¹ 2^{6,13,14} 2^{9,45} 1^{83,4} T.L. 12⁷ 13⁹ T.Jud. 12¹¹ 25^{1,2,5(c)} T.Z. 1^{1,5,6} 2^{1,5,6,8} 3^{1,2,8,5,6} 4^{2,9,11} 5⁴ 8⁴ T.D. 1^{4,7,8} T.N. 1⁸ 5⁷ 6⁶ 7²⁻⁴ T.G. 1^{4,6,8,9} 3³ 5^{6,11} 6² T.Jos. 1^{1,2} 20^{6(c)} T.B. 1⁴ 2¹ 21^{3,5,6} 5⁵ 10¹ Test. App. 1^{8,10} 2^{7,3} 4^{1-4,7,9,11-13} 43¹³⁻¹⁵ 5²⁻⁵ 6^{4,8} 7⁴ II 82, 90 4Macc. 2² 18¹¹; bias against, in Late Hebrew Test. of Naphtali, Test. App. 1¹⁸ 4¹⁴ 5^{6,4,8} 7^{4,6}; cause of bondage in Egypt, Test. App. 1¹ 1⁰; death of, T.R. 1² T.S. 1¹ T.L. 12⁷; example, held up as, or praised, T.R. 4⁸ T.S. 4^{4,6} 5¹ T.L. 13⁹ T.Z. 8⁴ T.D. 1⁴ T.N. 1⁵ T.B. 3^{1,6-7} 5⁵; rides on bull, and demands ten staves (= tribes) from Judah, Test. App. 1³⁻⁸, shuns shaming his brethren, T.Jos. 10⁶ 11² 15³ 17¹; sons of, cause Israel to sin, Test. App. 1¹⁰; steers ship of Jacob and wrecks it, Test. App. 1⁵⁻⁶; suppresses truth to save eunuch, T.Jos. 16⁶; three days and three nights in the pit, T.Z. 4⁴(BAS¹); virtue of, 4Macc. 2² 18¹¹.
Joseph, son of Zacharias, a

Maccabean leader, 1Macc. 5^{18,56,60}.
Joseph, i.e. John the Maccabee, 2Macc. 8²²ⁿ, 10¹⁹.
Joseph, son of Oziel, Judith 8¹.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 49.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 50.
Josephus, son of Ezora, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Josephus, 1Macc. § 7iii(c); relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5; 4Maccabees attributed to, 4Macc. § 7.
Josephus, 'the Hebrew', 4Macc. § 8.
Joshua, Moses' successor, 1Macc. 2⁵⁵ 2Macc. 12¹⁵ Sir. 46¹ Ass. Mos. 1^{6,9} 10^{11,15} 11^{1,3} 12^{1,3,8} 2Bar. 59¹ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁷ P.A. 1¹ Zad. 7⁵; and the Judges, the time of, 1En. 8^{9,37n}.
Joshua, the high priest, 1En. 8^{9,72n}.
Joshua ben Hananiah, P.A. 2^{10,12,13,15}.
Joshua ben Levi, P.A. 6².
Joshua ben Perahiah, P.A. 1⁶.
Josiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1^{1,7,18,21,22,23,24,25,28,32,33,34} Sir. 49^{1-3,4} 1Bar. 1⁹ 2Bar. 66¹ 4Ez. 13⁴⁰; Passover of, 1Esd. 1¹⁻²².
Josias. See Josiah.
Joy, 1En. 10¹⁶ 47⁴ 51⁵ 69²⁶ 103³ 104⁴.
Jozabdnus, 1Esd. 9²³.
Jozabdnus, 1Esd. 9²⁹.
Jozabdnus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Jubilees, Book of, 1En. 7^{2,5n}. 16¹ⁿ. 98¹¹ⁿ. Testaments, Appendix II notes Zad. §§ 6, 8, 12, 20ⁿ; abbreviations and symbols in, Jub. § 18; account, § 1; author and his object, § 2; bibliography, § 16; date, § 9; influence on N.T., § 15; MSS., § 3; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); relation of to Massoretic text of Genesis, § 8; textual affinities, § 7; theology, § 16; title, § 2; versions, § 4. Eth. and Latin from Greek, § 5; Greek from Hebrew, § 6.
Jubilees, Jub. Prologue, 1¹⁴ and *passim*.
Jubilees, laws regarding, Jub. 50¹⁻⁵.
Judaea (see also Jewry), 1Esd. 1^{26,33,37,39,46} 2^{4,5,16} 4⁴⁵ 5⁷² 6^{8,27,28} 8¹² 1Macc. 3³⁴ 4^{29,35} 5^{8,18,28,59} 6^{48,53} 7^{24,46} 9^{50,60,68} 10^{58,45} 11²⁰, 28,34 12³⁵ 13³³ 14³³ 15^{30,39,40} 16¹⁰ 2Macc. 1^{1,10} 5¹¹ 8⁹ 10²⁴ 11⁵ 13^{1,13} 14^{12,14} Tob. 1¹⁸ Judith 12³ 9⁴ 13⁷ 82¹ 11¹⁹ Add. Esth. A³ Arist. 4, 12, 83, 107, 318 Mart. Is. 1⁹ Sib. 5^{263,329}.
Judah, land of, 1Esd. 13³⁵ Judith 14⁷ Sir. 48¹⁵ 49⁴; Zad. 6^{1,7} 8⁶ 9³ [9⁴] 9⁴⁹; animus against in Zad. Frag. § 12, cf. 9¹³; Ephraim departed from, 9³ 16¹¹; house of, no more join, 67; land of, go forth out of, 61⁸; princes of, 9¹³; daughter of, Sus. 22, 56, 57 1Bar. 1^{3,8,9,15} 2^{1,23,26} Mart. Is. 1¹ 2^{6,7} 3^{3,6,7,10,11} 5⁸; 1Macc.

1²⁹ 2^{6,18} 3^{8,39} 5^{45,53,68} 6^{5,12} 7^{10,22,49} 9^{1,57,72} 10^{80,33,37} 12^{4,46,52} 13^{1,12}; son of Jacob, T.R. 1⁴ 67¹¹ T.S. 2^{9,11} 5⁶ 7^{1,2} T.L. 2¹¹ 8¹⁴ 9¹ T.Jud. 1^{1,3} 13¹ 17³ 18² 26^{4(β)} T.Iss. 5⁷ T.Z. 4² T.D. 5^{4,7,10} T.N. 5³⁻⁵ 6⁶ 8² T.G. 1^{6,9} 2^{6(a)} 8¹ T.Jos. 19^{8,11} T.B. 11^{2(c)} Test. App. 1¹⁸ 2⁴ 3⁴⁻⁹ 4^{8,12} 5³⁻⁵ 6^{2,4} II 3 Jub. 28^{15,17} 31^{5,9,12,18,31} 33²² 34^{3,20} 38^{1,5} 41^{1-4,6-9,13,14,16,19,23,27,28} 42¹⁹ 43¹¹ 44^{9,15,34}; blessing of, Jub. 31¹⁸⁻²⁰; exploits of, T.Jud. 2-7; forgiven for sin of ignorance, Jub. 41²⁵; sins with Tamar, T.Jud. 12; to be king, T.S. 7² T.Jud. 1⁶ 17⁵⁻⁶ 22³.
Judah, tribe of, 1Esd. 2⁸ 5^{5,66} 9⁵ Sir. 42²⁵; Levi and, see Levi.
Judah ben Illai, P.A. 4¹⁰.
Judah ben Tabbai, P.A. 1⁸. Zad. § 9³⁰.
Judah ben Tema, P.A. 5^{23,34}.
Judah the Holy. See Rabbi.
Judaism, 2Macc. 8¹ 14³⁸; and apocalyptic, 1En. § 1.
Judas, 1Esd. 9²³.
Judas, 2Macc. 1¹⁰.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 47.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 49.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 50.
Judas ben Tabbai. See Judah.
Judas, son of Chalphi, 1Macc. 11⁷⁰.
Judas Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 2^{4,66} 3^{1,10,12-14,16-18,26,26,42,55,58} 4^{3,5} 5^{6,8,11,16,19,21,23,29,35,36,41,50} 6^{3,10} 16^{17,19,24,27,31,38,40,42,44,45,48,49,53} 55,62,63,65,68 69^{32,42} 70^{6,10,23,25,28} 29,30,31,35,40 81¹⁷ 9^{5,7,10,12,14,16,18} 19,22,23,26,28,29,31 13⁹ 14¹⁸ 2Macc. 2¹⁹ 5²⁷ 8^{1,12} 12^{5,11,12,14,15,21-23} 26,36,38,39,42 13^{1,10,12,20,23} 14^{1,6,10} 11,13,14,17,18,24-26,30,33 15^{1,6,15} 17,26 1En. 90⁹ⁿ 10-12. Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 8²⁰ 2Macc. 5^{5,16} 10^{1,16,18,21,25,29,33} 11^{6,7,15} 12^{19,20} 13²⁴ 14^{27,30} 15^{7,21}; campaigns of, 10⁹⁻³⁸ 12¹⁻⁴⁵; collects books, 21⁴; death of, 1Macc. 9¹⁸, result of, 9²²; regarded as Messiah in 1En. 83-90; revolt and early successes of, 2Macc. 81-36; song in praise of, 1Macc. 31⁹; victories over Apollonius and Seron, 3¹⁰⁻²⁶ Gorgias, 4¹⁻²⁸ Lysias, 4²⁶⁻³⁵ Edomites and Ammonites, 5¹⁻⁸, in Gilead, 5⁹⁻⁶⁸.
Judas, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 16^{2,9,14}.
Jude, Saint, Epistle of, Ass. Mos. §§ 2, 10 1En. § 10(δ), 1⁹.
Judgement, judgement, P.A. 1^{1,6,8,18} 3²⁰ 4^{9,10,23}.
Judge, no, Zad. 9⁴⁰; the, 20¹².
Judgement, according to works, Sir. 16¹⁴; at end of Messianic kingdom, before spiritual bliss of righteous, Jub. 23³⁰ⁿ; by sword at beginning of Messianic age, Wisd. 4¹⁸ⁿ; conceptions of in 1Enoch: (1) First World Judgement:—over men = Deluge, 1En. 54⁷⁻¹⁰; 'a great chastisement', 91⁵; 'the first end', 93⁴; earth and dwellers thereon destroyed,

10² 106¹⁵;—over fallen angels and giants, 104^{5,12,15}; (2) Judgement of the sword at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom when righteous destroy the wicked, 50² 90¹⁹ 91¹² 95⁷ 96¹ 98¹²; (3) Final World Judgement at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom;—over Azazel and his hosts, 54⁶ 55⁴;—over their elect and beloved children, 56³;—over the fallen stars, the seventy shepherds, and the blinded sheep, 90²⁰⁻²⁷; 'the great day', 22¹¹ 54⁶; 'the great judgement', 106¹ 161¹ 191²²; 'the judgement that is for ever and ever', 101²⁰; (4) Final World Judgement at the close of the Messianic kingdom:—'great judgement', 94⁹ 98¹⁰ 100⁴ 103³ 104⁵; (2) and (3) are combined in 48⁸⁻¹⁰; (2) and (4) are combined in 99^{3,13}, see also Day, Messianic Kingdom, Punishment; conceptions of, in 4Ez.; according to works, 83³; by God Himself, 73³; day of, no intercession on, 7102-115, Final, 73³-44 618 888; predestined by God, 770; sets in at once after death, 775-101, see Intermediate State; conceptions of, in Jubilees:—final, at close of Messianic kingdom, Jub. § 15, 23³⁰; embracing human and superhuman worlds, 510¹⁴; impartial, according to opportunities, 515; Lex talionis observed by God in this world, 431 (Cain), 4814 (Egyptians); punishment to follow at once on transgression in some cases, 3717; retribution, individual and national in this world and next, § 15; day of, Judith 1617; Wisd. 318 420 (by righteous, 37; by God Himself, 517) Jub. 22²¹ 23¹¹ 36¹⁰ T.L. 3³ 3Bar. 1⁷ⁿ Ps. Sol. 15¹³; definite reckoning for, 2Bar. 271-282 2En. 322-332 677-10; eternal, 1En. 91¹⁵ 104⁵, cf. 1012; final, 2Bar. 4839 598 T.L. 4¹ T.B. 108-10; great, 1En. 161 224 254 91¹⁵ 94⁹ 98¹⁰ 100⁴ 103³ 104⁵; grievous, 91⁹; of angels, 682; of fire, 91⁹; of God, 17⁹ 14⁴ 2210,11,13 45⁶ 47² 50⁴ 60^{6,25} 63^{8,12} 65¹⁰ 66¹ 67¹⁰, 12,13 682,3,5 691,27 81⁴ 83¹¹ 84⁴ 90^{24,31} 91⁷ 93^{3,5} 94^{14,15} 95^{2,3} 96⁸ 97^{3,5} 98^{8,10} 99¹⁵ 100¹⁰ 103^{6,8} 104³ 108¹³ 4Ez. 7^{44,70,73,115} 818 14³⁵ Ps.Sol. 216,18,36,37 87,38 910 1513,14 Ah. 2⁹¹ Zad. 12⁹ 12,36, 48,51,52 1012 A. & E. 267¹⁰, certain, Sir. 35^{17,18}, denounced on Antiochus, 2Macc. 7³⁵, on Nicanor, 811 15²⁸⁻³⁵, forms of, Sib. § 8; of Mighty God, 3⁶⁸⁷; = assizes of the world, 4⁴¹, follows on destruction of world, 4179-192; of secrets, 1En. 682; righteous, 27⁸ 60⁶ 61⁹ 91¹⁴; true, 27³. See Reckoning.
Judgements, two, one by water, and one by fire, A. & E. 49³.
Judges, duty of, P.A. 1⁸; of the earth = rulers of Jewish

- community at Alexandria, Wisd. 1ⁿ. 6ⁿ.; of the congregation, Zad. 11¹², cf. 15^{4,5}. Judges, the, Sir. 46¹¹. See Joshua.
- Judging, hasty, Sir. 11²⁻¹³.
- Judith, Book of, account of, short, § 1; author, a Pharisee, § 7; date of original and versions, *circa* 150 B.C., § 5; historical framework of text, § 6; integrity of text, § 6; later use of, § 8; MSS. of, § 3; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, of, § 4; Greek, Syriac, Vulgate, 'Chaldee', see Pharisaeic teaching.
- Judith, daughter of Merari, Judith 8^{1,4,9}, 9¹ 10^{10,23} 11⁵ 12⁴, 14, 16, 18 13^{2,3,4,11} 14^{1,7,8,14,17} 15^{8,11} 16^{1,2,7,15,20,21,25}, a Simeonite, 9²; (?) festival of, Judith 16^{20,21}.; prayer of, 9²⁻¹⁴.; slays Holofernes, 13⁹.; song of, 16²⁻¹⁷.
- Juel, son of Baani, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Juel, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9³⁵.
- Julian emperors, 4Ez. 11^{62,23}.
- Julius Africanus, Sus. § 5, 54-59ⁿ. 1En. 10(c).
- Justice, Wisd. 1⁸ 11²⁰ 14⁸¹.
- Justification, by the Law, 2Bar. 51⁸ 67⁶ 75⁷.; by works and faith, 4Ez. 9⁷ 13²³ Sir. 16^{14,21}.; doctrine of in 2Baruch and 4Ezra, 2Bar. 21^{9,20}. See Faith.
- Justify, various meanings of, 2Bar. 21^{9,20}.
- Justin Martyr, 1En. 8^{8,9,20}. 15^{8,20}.; quoted, 2Bar. 29^{3,20}.
- Kaber, Jub. 11⁷.
- Kabratan, land of, Jub. 32³².
- Kadesh, Zad. 4⁶. Jub. 16¹⁰ Judith 1⁹.; -Barnea, 5¹⁴.
- Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5²⁶.
- Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸.
- Kadmonites, Jub. 14¹⁸.
- Kafur, Jub. 8²¹.
- Kainam, Jub. 8¹.
- Kamatari, islands of, Jub. 9¹³.
- Karaites. See Zadokite Party.
- Karaso, Jub. 8¹³.
- Kariathiarus, i.e. Kiriath-jearim, 1Esd. 5¹⁹.
- Karnaim, Jub. 29¹⁰. See Carnaim.
- Kasbeel, 1En. 69¹³.
- Kasdeja, 1En. 69¹².
- Kedesh, in Galilee, 1Macc. 11^{63,73}.; Naphtali, Tob. 1².
- Kedron, 1En. 26^{3,20}. 1Macc. 12^{37,28}. 15^{38,41} 16⁹. See Cedron.
- Keel, 1En. 82²⁰.
- Kenan, Jub. 4¹³.
- Kenites, Jub. 14¹⁸.
- Kenizzites, Jub. 14¹⁸.
- Keras, 1Esd. 5²⁹.
- Kesed, Jub. 8⁶ 11^{1,3}.
- Ketab, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
- Keturah, Jub. 19¹¹ 20^{1,11,12} 23⁷. Keys of Kingdom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11².
- Khikar, Armenian name for Ahikar, Ah. *passim*.
- Khons, Tractate of, Tob. §§ 7, 8.
- Kilan, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Kin. See Marriage.
- King of king of kings, P.A. 3¹. See God, titles of.
- King = the congregation, Zad. 9⁷.; no king, Zad. 9⁴⁰.
- Kingly dignity depreciated, Zad. § 12.
- Kingdom, kingship, P.A. 3^{2,7} 4¹⁷ 6⁶.; and priests, Israel to be, Jub. 16^{18,21}.; future, eternal, on this earth in Testaments, Test. § 16; of Heaven, 3Bar. 11².; righteous to receive, Wisd. 5¹⁶.; theocratic, under Angel first, then under God alone, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁻¹⁰. See Messianic Kingdom.
- Kings, Zad. 4⁸.; after Solomon, wickedness of, Sir. 47²³⁻²⁵.; and the mighty, 1En. 38⁵ 62¹⁻⁹ 63¹⁻¹² 67^{8,12}.; of Gentiles = dragons, 9²⁰.; of Javan = asps, 9²⁰.; twelve = twelve Caesars, 4Ez. 12^{14,21}.; four, 12^{21,22}.
- Kinsman, like 'father', 'friend', a title of honour, 1Macc. 11^{31,21}.
- 'Kinsmen', a court title at Philopator's court, 3Macc. 5^{39,44}.
- Kirama, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Kirjath-Arba, Jub. 19¹.
- Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, Zad. § 2.
- Kisens = Kish, Add. Esth. A¹.
- Kites, = Egyptians under the Ptolemies, 1En. 90^{2,21}.; = (?) Edomites, 1En. 90^{13,21}.
- Kittim, Jub. 24^{28,29} 37¹⁰. See Chittim.
- Knowledge, limit to human, Sir. 32^{1,2}. 23 4Ez. 4¹⁻¹¹.
- Kothath, Jub. 44¹⁴ T.L. 11^{3,6} 12².
- Kokabel, 1En. 8³ 69².
- Kokabel, 1En. 67.
- Konae, Judith 4⁴.
- Koran, parallels in with Ahikar, Ah. § 3 f.
- Kozeba, T.Jud. 6¹.
- Krasos, Sib. 3⁴³⁹.
- Kronos, the planet, 2En. 30^{3,20}.
- Kruno. See Kronos.
- Kuchavim, the ninth heaven, 2En. 21^{6,20}.
- Kush, Test. App. I 9³.
- Laban, Jub. 19¹⁰ 25⁶ 27^{3,10,12} 28^{1-4,6,8,9,25,26,28,30} 29^{1,2,4,6,7,12} 31² T.Jud. 9¹ T.N. 1¹¹ Test. App. II 62.
- Labana, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
- Labourer inferior to scribe, Sir. 38²⁴⁻³⁰.
- Laccunus, 1Esd. 6³¹.
- Lacedaemonians, 2Macc. 5⁹.
- Ladder of Tyre. See Tyre.
- Lagus. See Ptolemy.
- Lamb = Samuel, David, 1En. 89⁴⁵.
- Lambs = Chasids, 1En. 90^{6-17,20}.
- Lamech, Jub. 4^{27,28} 73⁸ 1En. 10¹ 106^{1,4,10,12,18} T.B. 7⁴.
- Lamp, Tob. 8¹³.; of Temple service extinguished, 4Ez. 10⁸².
- Land (= Palestine), blessed, 1En. 27¹.; of His elect ones, 56⁶.; pleasant and glorious, 89⁴⁰.; special sanctity of, 2Bar. 29^{2,20}.
- Landmark, remove the, Zad. 1¹¹ 8¹ 9¹³.; of the Law, break down, Zad. 9⁴⁹.
- Laodicea, on Lycus, Sib. 3⁴⁷¹ 4¹⁰⁷ 5²⁹⁰.
- Lapithae, Sib. 5¹³³.
- Last, days, 4Ez. 13¹⁸.; time, 13²⁰.; times, varying conceptions of in 4 Ezra, 4Ez. 8^{50,51}.; they who live at the, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰ 14²². See Times.
- Lasthenes, 1Macc. 11^{31,21}. 32.
- Latin, Sib. 3⁶¹ 5¹⁶⁸.; Version, Old, of Sirach, variation of order from LXX, in chaps. 30-6, Sir. §§ 4, 5ii.
- Latins, Sib. 3⁶⁹⁷.
- Latium, Sib. 3³⁶⁶ 5¹.
- Law, the, 1Macc. 1^{49,53,56,57} 2²¹, 26, 27, 42, 48, 50, 58, 64, 67, 68 3^{48,56} 4^{42,45}, 47, 52 10^{14,61} 11²¹ 13⁴⁸ 14^{14,20} 2Macc. 13¹⁰ 4Macc. 1^{17,34} 2^{8,9}, 10, 13, 23 3²⁰ 4^{19,23,24} 5^{16-21,25,30,34} 6^{22,28} 7^{7,8,15} 8²⁵ 9^{2-4,15} 11^{5,12,27} 13^{13,22,24} 15^{10,20} 16¹⁶ 17¹⁶ 18^{1,10} Sir. Prologue 9, 20, 11¹⁵ 15¹ 19²⁴ 24²³ 26²³ 32^{15,17,24} 33³ 34⁸ 39¹⁸ 41⁸ 42² 45⁵ 49⁴ Sus. 3, 62 Jub. 30¹² Arist. 17¹, 31³ 1En. 93⁶ 106¹⁴ 108¹, cf. 5⁴ 99¹⁴ T.L. 13³ 14¹ 16^{2,3} T.N. 8⁷ T.A. 2⁶ 4Ez. 3^{19,20,22} 7^{17,20,72,81,84} 8^{29,56} 9^{11,31,32,36,37} 13^{38,54} 14^{21,22}.; and books of Law, attacked, 1Macc. 1^{49,53,56,57} defended, 2^{21,26,27}, 48, 50, 58, 64, 67, 68 3⁴⁸ 13³.; and Messianic expectation two centres of Jewish thought, alternately one or other becomes more prominent, 2Bar. § 10, 15^{2,21}.; and Prophets, Sir. Prologue 1, 5, 13 Zad. §§ 8, 10, 13, see 9⁴⁻⁹, read before battle, 2Macc. 15⁹, cf. Book, holy; and Temple, duty of Diaspora to, Tob. § 7; books of, Arist. 30; devotion to the, 3Macc. 3⁴ 7¹¹ Ass. Mos. 9⁶.; disobedience to, Wisd. 2¹².; eternal, Sir. § gii 1En. 99², lamp of, 2Bar. 59², cf. 19³.; everlasting, no atonement for, Jub. 33¹⁷.; filled with, Sir. 2¹⁰.; for sinners, 1En. 93⁴.; he that taketh hold of, i.e. Scribe, Sir. 15^{1,2}.; holy, Sib. 3^{276,284}.; Israel will forget, Jub. 1¹⁴.; Israel's eternal and inalienable glory, 1Bar. § 7, 4¹⁻³.; Jewish, to be universal, Wisd. 18⁴.; loyalty to, brings own reward, Sir. 33 (36) 1³⁻³.; not mentioned in Add. Esth. § 7; of eternal covenant, Ps.Sol. 10^{6,21}.; of God, T.R. 3⁸ T.L. 13^{2,3(8-4)} T.Jud. 18⁸ T.Iss. 5¹ T.D. 6^{9,10(8)} T.N. 3² T.G. 4⁷ T.A. 7⁵.; of the Lord, T.R. 6⁸ T.L. 9⁶ 13¹ 19^{1,2} T.Jud. 26¹ T.Z. 10² T.D. 5¹ T.N. 2⁶ T.G. 3² T.A. 6⁸ T.Jos. 4⁵⁽⁸⁾ 11¹ T.B. 10³.; of the Most High, T.G. 3¹.; of lawgiver, 4Ez. 7⁸⁹.; of life, Sir. 17^{11,21}.; 4Ez. 14³⁰.; of Lord, 1Esd. 1^{33,48} &c.; of luminaries, 1En. 72^{1,2}.; moon, 73¹ 74¹.; stars, 79¹.; sun, 72³⁰.; twelve portals, 76¹⁴.; of Moses, T.Z. 3⁴ (or scriptures) of our fathers = written covenants, 4Ez. 4²³.; reading of, by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1, 9⁸⁷⁻⁸⁵.; renewed study of, and
- renewal of mankind, Jub. 23²⁶⁻³¹.; retaliation, Jub. 4³¹.; see Lex talionis; seek, those who, persecuted, Jub. 1¹².; son of, 2Bar. 46⁴.; supremacy of, Sir. § gii; teaching concerning, in *Aristaeas*, Jewish, purpose and function of, Arist. § 2, 128-171; called Scripture, § 3; divine, 3, 313, holy, 5, of Jewish race, 15; oracles of God, 158, 177; reasonableness of, 128; sacred, 313; value of, § 6, see Lawgiver; teaching concerning, in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, 2Bar. 15^{5,20} 38^{2,21}.; in 2 Baruch: abideth, 77¹⁵.; accepted by man, 15⁵.; alone left to Israel, 85³.; a more excellent, given to Israel than to all peoples, 77³.; and Zion to be remembered, 84⁸.; exacts its rights, 48²⁷.; glorified in proportion as Messianic and national hopes fail, 15^{5,20}.; importance of, in 2Bar., esp. in B¹, but most in B², 2Bar. § 10; is light, 181².; is life, 38².; Israel's unconditional possession, 85^{2,21}.; one, from One, 48²⁴.; by one (Moses), 85^{14,21}.; rejected by Gentiles, 48^{40,21}.; will aid Israel, 48²⁴.; will requite sinners on God's Day, 48⁴⁷.; with Israel, 48²².; in 4 Ezra: = i, written scriptures of O.T., 4Ez. 14²², burnt, 14²¹.; ii, oral, transmitted by Moses to the wise, 14^{26,27}.; brings terror by its condemnation, and drives to appeal to God's mercy and forgiveness, 132^{2-83,86}.; fidelity to = 'faith', see Faith; gift of God to Israel, 3¹⁰ 93^{1,2}.; imperishable, 98^{2,21}.; offered to all nations, accepted by Israel, 7^{23,24,72}.; refused by heathen, 7²⁴.; Son of Man destroys enemies by, 13³⁸.; teachers of = Scribes, 82⁹.; Ten Tribes restored on seeking again, 134^{1,2}.; unique, 5²⁷.; weakness of, as redemptive power, § 10; teaching concerning, in *Jubilees*: a revelation in time of what was timeless and eternal, Jub. §§ 12, 15; the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth—this precluded any further revelation by prophecy—spiritual interpretation of, § 15; teaching concerning, in *Sirach*: eternal; identified with wisdom Sir. § gii; teaching concerning, in *Zad.*: Book of, hidden till Zadok arose, 7⁵.; custom of, 9¹.; House of, 9^{35,38}.; interpretation of, 6⁵.; midrash, 9³⁵.; order of, 9¹.; study of, 8⁸ 9⁸.; true meaning of, 8¹².; = well, 8⁸.; to be kept, 2Macc. 1⁴ 2³ 4¹⁷ 6^{1,23,28} 7^{23,30}.; unwritten, the, 2Bar. 57².; wisdom identified with, Sir. § 1; witnesses to God's mercy, Ps.Sol. 10^{6,21}.
- Lawgiver, see Leader, Star; = Moses, Arist. 131, 139, 148, 153.

Laws about fruit, Jub. 7³⁷.
 Lawyers. *See* Scribes.
 Leader, 1En. 82²⁰; of day and night, 75³; of sheep, 89⁴⁶; of stars, 72³ 74² 80¹ 82^{10,11}; of Zadokites, first = Star or Law-giver; second = Teacher of Righteousness, Zad. § 10ii,iv.
 Leah, Jub. 28^{3-5,9-14,16,17,20-22} 29² 33^{1,22} 36^{21,22} T.S. 2² T.Jud. 1³ T.Iss. 14^{7,9,15} 2²; death of, Jub. 36²¹.
 Leba Nasr = Salmanassar, Mart. Is. 2¹⁴.
 Lebanon, Sir. 39¹⁴ 50^{8,12} (*see* Libanus) Jub. 82¹ 94^{10,29,33} 12¹⁵ 1En. 13⁹.
 Leisure needed for study, P.A. 2⁶.
 Lending and suretyship, Sir. 812-13; and borrowing, 29¹⁻¹³.
 Length of days, 1En. 10⁹ 71¹⁷, cf. 13⁶. *See* Life.
 Leo, Sib. 516,523,525.
 Leprosy, law of, Zad. 15⁷⁻⁸.
 Lesbos, Sib. 5121,316.
 Lessau, village, 2Macc. 14¹⁶.
 Letters, in 1 Maccabees, 1Macc. § 7: i. (a) from Jews in Gilead to Judas, 510-13; (b) from Jonathan to Spartans, 126-18; (c) from Areios of Sparta to Onias, 120-23; ii. (a) from Alexander Balas to Jonathan, 1018-20; (b) from Demetrius I to Jewish nation, 1025-45; (c) from Demetrius II to Jonathan, 1130-37; (d) from Antiochus VI to Jonathan, 1157; (e) from Demetrius II to Simon, 1336-40; (f) Antiochus VII to Simon, 152-9; iii. (a) from Romans, 823-32; (b) from Spartans to Simon, 1420-22; (c) from Lucius, Roman consul, to Euergetes II of Egypt, 1516-21.
 Letters of Philopator, 3 Macc. 312sq. 71sq.
 Levi, 1Esd. 84⁷ Tob. 1⁷ Bel 1 Jub. 2814,17 304,18 315,9,12,13,16,31 321,3,8,9 332 343,20 386 44¹⁴ 45¹⁶ T.R. 65,7,8,10 T.S. 5⁴⁻⁶ 71,2 T.L. 1¹ 21,6 52 811 104 T.Jud. 52 21¹ 251,2 T.Iss. 57 T.D. 54,6,7,10 T.N. 53-5 66,8 82 T.G. 81 T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 112(c) Test. App. I 24 38-10 45,8,11,12 53 61,4 II 61, 83 Ass. Mos. 91 4Macc. 219; blamed for slaughter of Shechemites, 219; in *Jubilees*, Levi blessed by Isaac, given the primacy, Jub. 3113-17; chosen for priesthood because of slaughter of Shechemites, Jub. 3018-23; dream of, at Bethel, 321; chosen to priesthood as tenth son, 322⁵; receives books of Jacob, 4518; receives tithes from Jacob, 324-9; vision of, sees future on seven tablets from heaven, 3221; in Test. XII Patr. (in original Testaments) as high priest, T.R. 68,10-12 T.S. 72 T.L. 210; as king, T.R. 67-12 T.L. 814 183; as law-giver, T.R. 68; as prophet, T.L. 210 815 T.B. 92; as son of God, T.L. 42; as warrior of God, T.R. 612 T.S. 55;

destroys Shechem, T.L. 53,4 64; ordained by God Himself, 210; to new priesthood, 814 182; with a new name, 814; pre-eminence above Judah, T.R. 65-12n. T.S. 56 71,2 T.L. 811-17 182sqg. T.D. 510n. T.N. 54 82n. T.G. 81 T.Jos. 19¹¹; Reuben, Simeon, Dan, will attack, T.R. 65 T.S. 54,5 T.D. 54; visions of, T.L. 25sqg. 81sqg.; shield given to, 53 67, *see* Priesthood, Maccabees; (in first century B.C. additions to Testaments), T.L. 1014-16 T.D. 56-7; Messiah expected from, Zad. § 12, *see* Aaron, Messiah; priest and king—reflects Maccabean priest-kings, Test. § 10; recognized as priest by Jacob, Test. App. II 9; recognized as priest by Isaac, 13.
 Levi, Testament of, original source of, Aramaic and Greek Fragments of, Test. App. II; Test. Levi quoted, Zad. 610.
 Levi, tribe of, Sir. 45⁶ Bel 1; and Aaron, Zad. 112, *see* Aaron; and Judah, Naphtali bids his sons follow, Test. App. I 18; salvation to arise from, T.S. 71 T.L. 211 T.N. 82 T.G. 81 T.Jos. 19¹¹.
 Levi, an elder, Arist. 48.
 Leviathan, 1En. 60⁷ 2Bar. 29⁴ n. 4Ez. 649,52; reserved for Messianic banquet, 692.
 Levis, 1Esd. 914.
 Levitas of Jabneh, P.A. 4⁴.
 Levite, Add. Esth. F11.
 Levites, 1Esd. 13,7,9,10,14,16,21 28 455 526,46,58,59,63 76,8,10,12 85,10, 22,42,49,59 860,63,69,96 623,37,48,49,53 Jub. 3018 Zad. 57 61 156; are they who joined the penitents (= priests), 61.
 Levitical laws of purification, Jub. 38-11; priests = servers of the Holy One, Sir. 414n.
 Lex talionis, *see* Judgement, Retribution in kind: exemplified in Cain, Jub. 431.
 Liar to be destroyed, Sir. 2024-26.
 Libanus, 1Esd. 448 555 Judith 17 Sir. 2413 (*see* Lebanon) T.S. 62.
 Libations on tombs, Ah. 210 (Syr. A).
 Libnai, Test. App. II 74.
 Libya, Sib. 3208,323 5197.
 Lies, man of (= Herod?), Zad. § 6, 939.
 Life, book of memorial of, Test. App. II 59, *see* Book; bundle of, *see* Bundle of; = eternal life in heaven, 4Ez. 7129,137 813n., *see* Eternal; everlasting, 2 Macc. 7³; overflowing, 736; future, in 1 Enoch, 1En. 55,9 1413 2210 386 487 564 583 617,12 6216 672 966 9814 1039,10 10810; elect, 944; eternal (= everlasting), 154,6 374 409 583; eternal (= 500 years), 1010; long, 256; = a blessed immortality of the soul (not body) after death, Jub. 2331; first found in Jubilees in last

two centuries B.C.; next in 1En. 91-104, Jub. § 15; law of, *see* Law; lay up with the Lord, Ps. Sol. 9⁹; of eternity (not in Sadducean sense), Zad. 56; of individual continued in children, Sir. 304n.; of world to come, P.A. 28, cf. portion in world to come, 316; perpetual, Ah. 41 (Arab.); rope of, Sib. 345; pious inherit, Ps. Sol. 147; tree of, *see* Tree; trees of = pious, Ps. Sol. 142. *See* Garments.
 Light, creation of, 4Ez. 640; generation of, 1En. 10811; of endless world, 2Bar. 4850; of Gentiles, 1En. 484; of the Law, Wisd. 184n. T.L. 144; of Righteousness, T.Z. 98.
 Lightning, 1En. 1411,17 173 413 431-2 44 591,3 6013-15; symbolizes the Messiah, 2Bar. 538n.
 Lights, 1En. 5913; feast of, 1 Macc. 462n.; of heaven, righteous shine as, 1En. 1042; prince of (i.e. Uriel?), Zad. 719.
 Like consorts with like, Sir. 1316-17.
 Like thee, those, 2Bar. 135 242 = righteous surviving in last days, 133n. 4Ez. 438 851n. 62 14,49.
 Lili, 2Bar. 108n.
 Linen, wearing of, urged, Ah. 2102.
 Lion, which came out of wood, = Messiah whom God has reserved for the End, 4Ez. 1060-1235n.
 Lions, = Babylonians, 1En. 8955 n.; den of, Bel 31.
 Lists of sins, in 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 6; in Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs, T.R. 33-6 T.Jud. 161; in Wisdom, 1425 sqq.
 Live, 1En. 1017 9810; unto God, 4Macc. 718, cf. Divine life, 77. *See* Eternal life.
 Liver, the, T.N. 28.
 Living, 1En. 473, *see* Waters; creatures . . . beneath throne, 2Bar. 5111.
 Locros, Sib. 3433.
 Locusts, law of preparing as food, Zad. 1414.
 Loddeus, 1Esd. 845,46.
 Logos doctrine, Wisd. § 5, 91 1612 1815.
 Lomna, Jub. 1015.
 Lomni, T.L. 121.
 Longsuffering, T.D. 21 68 T.G. 47 T.Jos. 172 183 1En. 606 6113 P.A. 41 52,3 61,6 Zad. 23.
 Lord. *See* God.
 Lord of the word = Moses, Ass. Mos. 1116.
 Lost. *See* Property.
 Lot, Wisd. 106 Jub. 1210,30 131, 14,17,19,23 167 178; wife of, Wisd. 107.
 Lothasubus, 1Esd. 944.
 Love, P.A. 319 54,19 61; God, Zad. 945; God, those that = Jewish people, Sir. 110; the Lord, 215,16; of God for His creatures, 4Ez. 846-52n.; to man, Wisd. 1124; to the brethren enjoined, T.R. 69 T.S. 47 T.G. 61,3 77 T.Jos. 172 T.B. 33,4 Zad. 877;

to God and one's neighbour, T.Iss. 52 76 T.D. 53; to neighbour, T.B. 33,4. *See* Fear of God.
 Lowly exalted, Sir. 115,12-13.
 Lozon, 1Esd. 533.
 Lubar, Jub. 528 71,17 1015.
 Lucifer, Sib. 516,527.
 Lucius, consul, 1Macc. 1516.
 Lucas, Sib. 3472.
 Lud, Judith 222 Jub. 718 96,10,11.
 Luminaries, 1En. 173; heavenly, 234 721,2 796 827; objects of worship, Wisd. 132; renewed for healing, peace, and blessing, Jub. 129; world of the, 1En. 204.
 Luminary, the great, the sun, 1En. 724,35,36; the smaller, the moon, 731.
 Lunar year, Sir. 436-8n. Jub. 636 1En. 74; disturbs true order of feasts, Jub. 636-38.
 Lust, sin of, Ah. 25 (Syr. A).
 Lustful passions, warning against, Sir. 62-4.
 Luz = Bethel, Jub. 2719,26.
 Lycia, 1Macc. 1523 Sib. 3433,429 5126,129.
 Lycian, Sib. 4109.
 Lycians, 3614 5461.
 Lydda, 1Macc. 1134n.
 Lydia, 1Macc. 88.
 Lydian, Sib. 3449.
 Lydians, Sib. 3170,515 5288,292,340.
 Lysias, 1Macc. 332,38 426,34,35 68,17,55 72; sent to war against Jews, in absence of Antiochus, 327-37; sends army into Judah under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias, 338-60; defeated by Judas, 426-35; governor of Coelestria and Phoenicia, 2Macc. 1011 11,12, 13,15-17,23,35 121,27 132,4,26 142; death of, 142; and Eupator make terms with Jews, 131-26.
 Lying condemned, T.Iss. 74 T.D. 214 47 51 68.
 Lysimachus, brother of Mene-laos the high priest, 2Macc. 429,39,40,41.
 Lysimachus, son of Ptolemaeus, Add. Esth. F11.
 Maani, 1Esd. 531.
 †Maanisakir (or Amanisakir) i.e. Camps of Shakir, Jub. 344,7. *See* Makir.
 Maaseas, 1Bar. 11.
 Maasmas, 1Esd. 843.
 Macalon, 1Esd. 521.
 Maccabaeen army, 2Macc. 1036; family, Zad. § 6; high priests not referred to in Ass. Mos. 53,4, but in 61; kings, Jub. 3115n.; denunciation of, Test. § 1; praise of, § 1; policy, change of after Judas' death, 1Macc. 922n.; priesthood to be called by new name, T.L. 814, *see* High priests, Levi; revolt, commencement of, 1Macc. 215-28; rising, censured by implication in Ass. Mos. 91-7; times, Azar. § 6; victories, Jub. 29sqg.; victories reflected in account of Jacob's wars, 342-8n. 379-10n.; wars, 2428-32n.

- Maccabaeans, at zenith of power, Test. § 1; and Pharisees, 4 Macc. § 8; later, attacked, T.L. 10n. 14-16n. T. Jud. 21⁹-23; rise of, 1 En. 90⁹ⁿ.
- Maccabaeus, 1 Macc. 5³⁴ &c. See Judas.
- Maccabees, 1 Book of, author, a Sadducee, § 3; contents, § 2; date, § 4; Greek MSS., § 8; original language, Hebrew, § 6; sources, § 7; (i) letters of Jewish origin; (ii) letters from Syrian kings to Jewish leaders; (iii) letters from rulers of foreign states, see Letters; style, § 5; theology, § 5; title, § 1; versions, Syriac and Latin, § 9. 2 Book of: authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; contents and characteristics, § 1; date, § 3; influence on later literature, § 6, MSS. § 2; text, integrity and composite nature of, § 4; theology, § 7; versions, § 2, Greek, Latin, and Syriac; discrepancies in, § 4; less primitive than 1 Macc., 2 Macc. § 1; letters in, do not belong to Jason source, § 4; parallelisms with 1 Macc., 2 Macc. § 1; relation of 3 Macc. to, 3 Macc. § 4, see Jason of Cyrene. 3 Book of: bibliography of, § 10; contents of, § 1; date and origin, § 4; historical basis of, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; relation of, to Aristaeus's Letter, § 4, Josephus, § 5, 2 Maccabees, § 4, Philo, § 4, Polybius, § 5, Ptolemy of Megalopolis, § 5; style, § 7; theology, § 8; title, § 2; use of, by later writers, § 9; versions, § 3. 4 Book of: account, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, § 10; comparison with 2 Macc., § 10 *app.*; date, § 5; influence, § 8; integrity, § 6; MSS., §§ 3-4; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, §§ 3-4.
- Macedonia, Sib. 3^{172,190,381} 4¹⁰² 5^{358,373,461}.
- Macedonian, 1 Macc. 6² Add. Esth. E¹⁰.
- Macedonians, Sib. 3^{161,610} 4^{88,95} Add. Esth. E¹⁴; battle at Babylon with Galatians, 2 Macc. 8⁵⁰. See Greeks.
- Macron. See Ptolemy Macron.
- Madai, Jub. 7¹⁹ 8⁵ 9⁹ 10^{35,36}. See Media.
- Maeander, Sib. 4^{149,151} 5³²¹.
- Maedai, Jub. 8²¹.
- Maelus, 1 Esd. 9²⁶.
- Maotic sea, Sib. 3³⁸⁸.
- Magdaladraef, Jub. 33¹.
- Magian influences in Tobit, non-Zoroastrian, in Egyptian form, Tob. § 8v.
- Magic art, Wisd. 17⁷.
- Magnesia, Sib. 3³⁴⁷.
- Magnesians, Sib. 3³⁴⁹.
- Magog, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9⁸. See Gog.
- Mahalelel, Jub. 4^{14,15} 10²⁴ 1 En. 37¹ 83^{3,6}. See Mahalelel.
- Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael, Jub. 29¹⁸.
- Mahalelel = Mahalalel, 2 En. 33¹⁰.
- Mahli, Test. *App.* II 74.
- Maiannas, 1 Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Maitabith, Jub. 38²³.
- Maka, Jub. 34²⁰.
- Makamaron, king of Canaan, Jub. 46⁶.
- Maked, 1 Macc. 5^{26,36}.
- Maker. See God.
- † Makir, T. Jud. 6³. See Maaniasakir.
- Makom = God, P.A. § 5. See Maqom.
- Malchira, Mart. Is. 1⁸ⁿ. See Sammael.
- Mallus, city, 2 Macc. 4⁸⁰.
- Maltanneus, 1 Esd. 9³³.
- Mam dai, 1 Esd. 9³⁴.
- Mammon, Sir. 31⁸ⁿ; worship, perils of, 31(34)⁵⁻¹¹. See Gains.
- Mamnitanemus, 1 Esd. 9³⁴.
- Mamre, man, Jub. 13²⁰; oak of, 14¹⁰.
- Mamre, i.e. Hebron, Jub. 19⁵.
- Mamuchus, 1 Esd. 9³⁰.
- Man, a danger to angels, and to own soul, 2 Bar. 56¹⁰; = angelic being, later heavenly Messiah, 4 Ez. 13¹⁻⁵⁸ⁿ, see Son of Man, Whitemen; creation of, Sir. 17¹; from seven substances, 2 En. 30⁸ⁿ; with seven natures, 30⁹ⁿ; with freewill and knowledge of good and evil, 30^{15,16n}; Creator of, is God, Test. *App.* I 10⁵⁻⁹; final abode of, prepared, 2 En. 49² 58⁵; foolish by nature, Wisd. 13¹; free-will of, Sir. 15¹⁴; God's gifts to, 17¹⁻¹⁴; insignificance of, before God, 16¹⁷⁻²³ 18¹⁻¹⁴; senses and powers of, Test. *App.* I 10⁶; Son of, see Son; taught good and evil, Sir. 17⁷; time in this world pre-ordained, 2 En. 49²; to be judged for his treatment of animals, 58^{5,9n}; works ordained before his creation, 53². See Predestination.
- Man from the Sea = Messiah, vision of, 4 Ez. 13¹⁻⁵⁸.
- Man of lies = Jannaues or Herod, Zad. § 6.
- Manasseas, 1 Esd. 9³¹.
- Manasseh, Mart. Is. 1^{17,9,11,12} 2^{1,2,4,5} 3^{1,11} 5^{4,8,12} 2 Bar. 64^{1,6,7} 65¹; idolatry, prayer and repentance of, P. Man. § 2; repentance of, unreal, and finally unavailing, 2 Bar. 64⁷⁻¹⁰ 65¹. See Prayer of Manasses.
- Manasses, husband of Judith, Judith 8² 10³ 16²²⁻²⁴.
- Manasses, son of Asom, 1 Esd. 9³³.
- Mandrakes, T. Iss. 1^{2,3,8} 2^{4,4}.
- Manes, 1 Esd. 9²¹.
- Mani, 1 Esd. 9³⁰.
- Manifestation of God. See Epiphany, Theophanies.
- Mankind, lit. 'creatures', P.A. 1¹²ⁿ. 3¹⁴ 4¹ 6²; woes of, Sir. 40¹⁻⁹.
- Manlius, Titus, Roman ambassador, 2 Macc. 11³⁴.
- Manna, Wisd. 16²⁰ 3 Bar. 6¹¹; substance remained, but 'accidents' transformed, Wisd. 16²¹ⁿ; to be restored again, Sib. Frag. 3⁴⁹ⁿ. 3⁷⁴⁶ 2 Bar. 29⁸.
- Man-pleaser = Sadducee, Ps. Sol. 4^{10,21}; lays waste houses, 4^{13,23}.
- Mansions, 1 En. 41². See Dwelling-places.
- Many created, few saved, 4 Ez. 8³; lost, 7^{47,51,61,132-862n}, see Fewness; to be saved, 2 Bar. 21¹¹ⁿ. Contrast 4 Ezra.
- Maqom (rendered by God), P.A. § 5, 2¹⁷ 3^{5,14} 6^{1,6}.
- Mardocheus, 1 Esd. 5⁸.
- Mardocheus = Mordecai, Add. Esth. A^{1,11,12,15-17} C¹ E¹³ F¹. See Mordecai.
- Mariamne, Zad. § 6ii(c).
- Marioch, 2 En. 33^{11(B)}.
- Marisa, 1 Macc. 5⁶⁶ⁿ. 2 Macc. 12³⁵.
- Mark, on forehead, Zad. 9^{11(β)} — of sinners, of destruction, Ps. Sol. 15¹⁰.
- Market-place, Tob. 2³.
- Marmoth, 1 Esd. 8⁶².
- Marriage, agnatic, Tob. §§ 6, 9; document, § 6; feast, Tob. 8²⁰ 9^{2,5g}. 10⁷ 12¹⁽¹¹¹⁹⁾; no bar to vision, 1 En. 83²ⁿ; of daughters, a duty, Sir. 7²⁵ⁿ; of elder daughter first, a heavenly ordinance, Jub. 28⁶; restrictions — forbidden with near of kin, uncle or aunt, Zad. 7⁹⁻¹¹; with niece, §§ 2, 9⁴⁰. See 7¹¹ⁿ.
- Marriages, Jewish, Tob. 4¹²; inculcated as opposed to pagan, § 9, see Heathen; mixed absolutely prohibited, Jub. § 15, 20⁴ 22²⁰ 25¹⁻¹⁰.
- Marsians, Sib. 3⁵¹³.
- Martyr stories of 2 Macc., §§ 5, 6, 7.
- Martyrdom of seven Sons and Mother. See Seven Sons.
- Martyrs, Maccabean, 4 Ez. 8²⁷ 2 Macc. §§ 1, 6, 6^{10sg.18sg.} 7^{1sg.} 4 Macc. 1⁸ 5^{1sg.} 8³. See Anniversary, Atonement, Competitors, Epitaph, Eternal life, Example, Mother, Painting.
- Marvels and portents—signs of Messiah's coming, 2 Bar. 29⁶ⁿ.
- Marzifan, slave substituted for Ahikar at the execution, Ah. 4¹⁰ (Syr.). See Seniqar.
- Maseq, son of, Jub. 14².
- Masias, 1 Esd. 5³⁴.
- Massagetae, Sib. 5¹¹⁷.
- Massias, 1 Esd. 9²².
- Mastema, Jub. 10⁸ 11^{5,11}; angel of, will depart from penitent, Zad. 20²; chief of demons, see Demonology; powers of, Jub. 49²; prince, 11^{5,11} 17¹⁶ 18^{9,12} 48^{2,9,12,15}; put to shame, 18¹²; seeks to slay Moses 48¹⁻³; spirits of, 19²⁸; suggests the sacrifice of Isaac, 17¹⁶.
- Mastick tree and holm tree, Sus. 54-59ⁿ.
- Matanbuchus, Mart. Is. 2⁴.
- Matarat, Jub. 38²³.
- Mathelas, 1 Esd. 9¹⁹.
- Mathusal. See Methuselah.
- Mattathias, son of Asom, 1 Esd. 9³³.
- Mattathias, 1 Esd. 9⁴³.
- Mattathias, 1 Macc. 2^{1,14,16,17,19}, 24, 27, 30, 45, 49; the real leader of Maccabean revolt, 2 Macc. § 1.
- Mattathias, son of Absalom, 1 Macc. 11⁷⁰.
- Mattathias, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1 Macc. 16¹⁴.
- Mattathias, envoy of Nicanor, 2 Macc. 14¹⁹.
- Mattathias, an elder, Arist. 47.
- Matter, formless, Wisd. 11¹⁷ⁿ; creation out of, 11¹⁷, see Creation; inherently evil (?), weighs down soul, § 9.
- Matthanias, 1 Esd. 9²⁷.
- Matthanias, 1 Esd. 9³¹.
- Matthia ben Harash, P.A. 4²⁰.
- Mauk, sea of, Jub. 8^{22,26}.
- Mazitias, 1 Esd. 9³⁵.
- Meaning, Zad. 8^{12,15} 15⁷.
- Meat, sea, Jub. 8^{12,27} 9³.
- Mebri, mountains, Jub. 9².
- Mechembechus, Mart. Is. 5³.
- Medaba, city, 1 Macc. 9³⁶.
- Medan, Jub. 19¹¹.
- Medes, Judith 1² 16¹⁰ Mart. Is. 3² T.N. 5⁸ Sib. 3¹⁶⁰ 4^{54,62,63} 5^{23,147,441}.
- Media, 1 Esd. 3^{1,14} 1 Macc. 8⁸ 14¹ Tob. 1^{14,15} 3⁷ 4^{1,20} 5^{2,4}, 5^{6,7,10,11} 6¹⁰ 14^{14sg.15} Jub. 10³⁶. See Madai, Persia.
- Mediation of angels, Jub. 12⁷ⁿ.
- 3 Bar. § 10, 2.
- Mediator between God and man, T.D. 6², see Intercession; Moses as, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁴ⁿ.
- Medicament, Tob. 2¹⁰ 6⁵ 11^{12,13}.
- Medicines, a gift of God, Sir. 38⁴.
- Meedda, 1 Esd. 5³².
- Mefusailom. See Methuselah.
- Megiddo, battle of, 1 Esd. 1²⁰.
- Meir, Rabbi, P.A. 3¹¹ 4¹² 6¹.
- Melca, Jub. 19¹⁰.
- Melcha, T.L. 11¹. See Melka, wife of Levi.
- Melchias, 1 Esd. 9²⁶.
- Melchias, 1 Esd. 9³².
- Melchias, 1 Esd. 9⁴⁴.
- Melchizedek, priesthood of, § 15, 13²⁰ⁿ.
- Melejal, 1 En. 82¹³.
- Melka, Jub. 8⁹.
- Melka, daughter of Kaber, Jub. 11⁷.
- Melka, wife of Levi, Jub. 34²⁰.
- See Melcha, Milcah.
- Melkejal, 1 En. 82¹⁵.
- Memeroth, 1 Esd. 8².
- Memmius, Quintus, Roman ambassador, 2 Macc. 11³⁴.
- Memorial, 1 En. 103⁴, see Testimony; = name, 1 Bar. 4⁶ⁿ; of God in heart, Ps. Sol. 16⁶; stone, 4 Macc. 17⁸ⁿ.
- Memphian woman, T. Jos. 12¹ 14^{1,6(β)} 16¹.
- Memphis, Judith 1¹⁰ T. Jos. 3⁶ Sib. 5^{16,17,60,63,180}.
- Men, children of, Sir. 17³⁰ Judith 8¹² &c.; of war, Zad. § 6, ii; white, = angels, 1 En. 8².
- Menedemus of Eretria, Arist. § 1, 201.
- Menelaus, high priest, 2 Macc. 4^{23,24}, 27, 29, 32, 34, 38, 43, 45, 46, 50 5^{6,15}, 33 11^{29,32} 13^{3,7} Ass. Mos. 5^{3,4n}; intrigues of, 2 Macc. 4²³⁻⁵⁰; put to death at Beroea, 13⁷.

Menestheus. *See* Apollonius.
Merari, Judith 8¹ 167.
Merari, Jub. 44¹⁴ T.L. 11⁷ 12³
Test. *App.* II 69, 74.
Merchant, liable to sin, Sir.
26²⁹.
Mercy, 1En. 61¹³; and fraud,
T.A. 2⁵; and perjury, 2⁶;
enjoined, T.L. 5^{1,3} 7^{2,3} 8¹,
to both man and beast, 5¹; no,
1En. 5⁶ 50⁵; of God, P.Man.
6-7, 14; -seat, the, 2Bar. 67.
Merit, P.A. 1⁶ 2² 6⁶; doctrine
of, Sir. 3^{3n,15}; of the fathers,
Sir. 47¹²ⁿ. P.A. 2² 2Bar. 14⁷ⁿ.
84¹⁰; doctrine of, repudiated,
1Bar. 2¹⁰ⁿ; of good works,
even of dead, avails for nation,
2Bar. 14⁷ 84¹⁰.
Merits of righteous, 3Bar. 11⁹
12⁵; of no avail for sinners in
Israel, 4Ez. 8²⁰⁻⁴⁰; presented
by Michael to God, 3Bar. 14²;
= treasures of faith, won by
righteous, 4Ez. 6⁵.
Meropea, Sib. 3³⁴⁶.
Merran, 1Bar. 3²³.
Mesalech, place, 1Macc. 9²ⁿ.
Mesech = Meshech, Test. *App.* I
9⁴.
Meshech, Jub. 7¹⁰ 9¹².
Mesopotamia, Judith 2²⁴ 5^{7,8}
8²⁶ Jub. 9⁵ 27^{10,12,13} 29^{12,18} 44¹⁸
T.Jud. 9¹ 10¹.
Messenger of God, 1Esd. 1^{50,51}.
Messiah, coming of, signs of,
Jub. 31¹⁸⁻¹⁹ⁿ. *In* 2Baruch:
29³ 30¹ 41¹; and the Law,
15⁶ⁿ; in A¹ has passive rôle,
29³ⁿ; in A² and A³ has active
rôle, 29³ⁿ. 40¹ⁿ. 72⁴⁻⁶ⁿ; prin-
cipate of, revealed, 39ⁿ; re-
turn of, to heaven, 30¹; whence
revealed, 29ⁿ; will summon
all nations, and slay some and
spare some, 72². *In* 1 Enoch:
doctrine of, § 11^(b) 38ⁿ. 46²ⁿ.
48¹⁰ⁿ. 90²ⁿ; titles of, § 11;
Anointed (God's), 52⁴; Elect
One, 45^{3,4} 49^{2,4} 51^{5,13} 52^{6,9} 55⁴
61^{5,8,10} 62¹; of righteousness
and faith, 39⁶; Righteous One,
38²; and Elect One, 53⁶; Son
of Man, 46^{2,3,4} 48² 62^{5,7,9,14}
63¹¹ 69^{28,27,29} 70¹ 71^{14,17}, *see*
Son; Son, My (God's), 105².
In 4 Ezra: death of, in common
with all men, 7³⁰; earthly,
12²²ⁿ; gathers together peace-
able multitude, 13¹²ⁿ; God's
Son, 7^{28,29} 13⁵² 14⁹ⁿ; hea-
venly, 12²²ⁿ; heavenly pre-
existence of, 7²⁶⁻³⁰ⁿ; immortal
companions of, 6²⁶ⁿ. 72⁸ 13⁵²
14⁴⁹; = Baruch, Elijah, Enoch,
Ezra, Jeremiah, 6²⁶ⁿ; = Lion,
12²²; = Man from the Sea,
13²⁵; not meant by son of Dis-
consolate Woman, 10²⁹⁻⁵⁷ⁿ; pre-
existence of, in heaven,
12²²ⁿ. 14⁹ⁿ. 2Bar. 30¹; rule of
400 years, 7²⁸. *In* Jubilees:
no rôle of importance assigned
to, 31¹⁸; expected from Judah,
§ 15, *see* Hyrcanus, Judas
Maccabaeus, Simon. *In* P.
Sol.: anointed of the Lord,
17³⁶; conceived as in Psalm 2,
17²³⁻²⁷; gathers dispersed of
Israel, 17²⁸⁻³¹; judges tribes,

17⁴⁸; pure from sin, 17⁴¹;
purges Jerusalem, 17^{82,84}; rules
heathen, 17³³; wise, 17⁴². *In*
Sib. Or.: a holy prince, 3⁴⁰;
advent of, 3^{652sq.}; comes from
heaven to assume kingdom,
5⁴¹⁴⁻⁴³³; intervenes to save
Jerusalem from Nero redivivus,
5¹⁰⁸. *In* Test. XII Patr.:
from Judah, Test. § 16 T.Jud.
24⁵⁻⁶ T.L. 8^{14(a)}; from Levi,
Test. § 16, T.R. 6⁷⁻¹² T.L. 8¹⁴
18 T.Jud. 24¹⁻³ T.D. 5¹⁰ T.Jos.
19⁵⁻⁹ⁿ; delivers Beliar's cap-
tives, T.Z. 9⁸ T.D. 5¹¹; free
from sin, T.Jud. 24¹; opens
Paradise to righteous, T.L.
18¹⁰ T.D. 5¹²; walks in meek-
ness and righteousness, T.Jud.
24¹; wars against Beliar, T.L.
18¹² T.D. 5¹⁰; prerogatives
and powers of, in Testaments,
full summary of, Test. § 16;
to be free from sin; a priest,
T.L. 8; prophet, T.L. 8¹⁵;
king, T.R. 6^{11,12} T.L. 8¹⁴; to
war against Israel's foes, T.R.
6¹². *In* Zad. Frag.: 2¹⁰ⁿ, *see*
17n.; from Aaron and Israel,
expectation of, §§ 6, 9^{4,5} 12,
9¹⁰⁽⁸⁾ 9²⁰⁽⁸⁾ 15⁴ 18⁸, so not of
pure Levitic or priestly de-
scendant, but partly from Levi
and partly from another tribe,
i.e. the sons of Herod and
Mariamne, Alexander and Aris-
tobulus, §§ 6ii(c), 12; hope
of, abandoned in Ass. Mos.,
Zad. § 10v; militant Messiah
expected, § 10v; = prince of
all the congregation, Zad. 9⁸;
= sceptre, 9^{8,9}; through him
God will make the 'remnant'
know His Holy Spirit, 2¹⁰; to
destroy faithless, 9¹⁰⁻²⁰; true in-
terpretation of name (Zadok?),
2¹⁰; will know punishment,
Zad. 18⁹; will teach Remnant,
2^{9,10}.
Messianic banquet, Behemoth
and Leviathan reserved for,
4Ez. 6⁵²; bliss, 2Bar. 73¹⁻⁷⁴;
element absent in 1 Baruch,
1 Bar. § 11; hymns to John
Hyrcanus, Test. § 1 T.L. 18²⁻¹⁴
T.Jud. 24¹⁻⁶ T.D. 5¹⁰⁻¹³;
kingdom, -in Ass. Mos. § 9;
ushered in by day of repen-
tance—to include Ten Tribes
as well as Two—Israel finally
exalted to heaven, § 9. *In*
2Baruch: hope of with Messiah,
A¹ A² A³; without Messiah
in B¹; no hope of either
in B² B³. § 10; temporary,
2Bar. 73^{1,2,7} 74¹; at close
Messiah returns to heaven, 30¹;
righteous rise to blessed life,
30² 54¹⁵ 59²; unrighteous cast
into fire, 54¹⁴ 55⁷ 59^{2,10}. *In*
1 Enoch: 5⁶⁻⁹ 10¹⁶⁻¹¹² 27⁴⁻⁶
38¹⁻³⁹ 45³⁻⁶ 46⁴⁻⁵² 53^{6,7} 58,
61, 62, 66²⁶⁻²⁹ 71¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 90³⁸ 91
12-15; doctrine of, 1En. § 11^(a);
eternal, on earth, after final
judgement, 1-36; temporary
on earth, followed by final
judgement, 91-104; eternal,
on earth and in heaven, ini-
tiated by final judgement, 37-

71. *In* 4 Ezra: ends in death
of all for seven days, 4Ez.
7²⁹⁻³¹; initiated by overthrow
of Rome, 12³⁴; initiated by
revealing of Messiah and his
immortal companions, 7²⁶⁻²⁸;
lasts 400 years, 7²⁸; no room for
in 4Ez. 6⁷⁻¹⁰; placed in Pales-
tine, 9⁸ⁿ. *In* Jubilees: im-
mediately expected in Jub. §§ 1,
15, 1²⁹ 23^{30,31}; limited to elect
of Israel, 1²⁹; ruled by a Levite,
see Messiah; to be gradually
realized on earth by an ethical
and physical transformation,
see Heaven, New. Then all
sin and pain disappear. Men
have long life—1,000 years,
and after death, *spiritual* im-
mortality; regarded as already
set in, § 15, cf. 1En. 83-90;
when set up, Satan no longer
able to injure mankind, Jub.
§ 15, 23²⁹; when at close, final
judgement to be held, *see*
Judgement. *In* Sib. Or.: § 8,
3⁷⁶⁷⁻⁷⁸⁴ 5⁴¹⁴; coming of, 3⁴⁶⁻⁶²;
peace and plenty in, § 8,
5²⁶⁰⁻²⁸⁵; prophets take away
sword in, 3⁷⁶⁷⁻⁷⁸⁴. *In* Sirach:
hope of, Sir. 44²¹ 45²⁵ 47^{11,22}
48^{10,24,25} 49¹² 50²⁴ 51¹² 1-xvi.
In Tobit: on earth of pious,
Tob. 14⁷. *In* Wisdom: view
of, Wisd. § 9; saints rule in,
Wisd. 3⁸ 5¹⁶, -teaching of O.T.
absent from 2 Enoch, 2En. § 3;
woes, 2Bar. 27¹ⁿ. Jub. 23¹¹⁻²³
4Ez. § 10, 4⁵² 5¹³ 6¹⁸⁻²⁴; and
bless, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁹⁻⁸⁰⁸.
Metabedzaab, Jub. 38²³.
Methosalam, 2En. 56¹ &c. *See*
Methuselah.
Methuselah, Jub. 4^{20,27} 7³⁸ 1En.
76¹⁴ 81⁵ 82¹ 83^{1,9} 85² 91^{1,2}
106^{1,4,8} 107³ 2En. 1^{1,10}; awaits
return of Enoch, 38¹⁻³; wishes
to prepare food for Enoch,
56¹²; is bidden to summon
his brethren, 57¹⁻³; erects
altar, 68⁵.
Metonic cycle. *See* Cycle.
Micaiah the prophet, Mart. Is.
2⁹; son of Amada, 2^{12,13,16}.
Michael, A. & E. 13² 14^{1,2} 15²
21² 22² 25¹ 28^{3,4} 29¹ 41¹ 43²
45¹ 46² 48^{1,4,6,7} 51¹ S.A. & E.
31¹ Apoc. Mos. 3² 13² 22¹ 37^{4,6}
40¹ 43^{1,2} 1En. 9¹ 10¹¹ 20⁵ 24⁶
40⁹ 54⁶ 60^{4,5} 67¹² 68^{2,3,4} 69^{14,15}
71^{3,8,9,13} T.L. 5⁶ⁿ. T.D. 6²
Test. *App.* I 8⁴ 9^{1,5} En. 22^{6,8,9}
33¹⁰ 3Bar. 11^{2,4,6,7,8,9} 12^{1,7,8}
13^{2,5,5} 14^{1,2} 15¹; functions of,
3Bar. 11²ⁿ; guardian of Israel,
'advocate of the Jews', Sir.
17¹⁷ⁿ; holds keys of King-
dom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11²;
leads Israel against foes, Ass.
Mos. 10²; presents merits of
righteous to God, 3Bar. 14²;
receives prayers of men, 11⁴.
See Angels, Archangels.
Michael, priest, 1Esd. 8³⁴.
Michmash, rival centre of
government under Jonathan,
1Macc. 9⁷³ⁿ.
Middle of earth = Jerusalem
or Palestine, Test. *App.* I 8¹.
See Jerusalem, centre of earth.

Midian, Jub. 19¹¹ 38¹⁹ 46¹;
children of, Judith 2²⁶.
Midianites, T.B. 10¹⁰; = asses,
1En. 86^{13,16}.
Midrash of the Law, Zad. 9⁵³.
Midrash Wajjissau, T.Jud. 3-9
notes.
Mighty, avoid quarrels with,
Sir. 8¹. *See* Rulers.
Migraim, Test. *App.* I 9⁴.
Migration of the penitents (= *Zadokites*) from Judah to
Damascus, Zad. 6¹ 8⁶; from
Jerusalem, 9⁴⁰.
Milcah, wife of Levi, Test.
App. II 62. *See* Melka.
Miletus, Sib. 5³²⁵.
Milkiel, 1En. 89¹³.
Millenarianism, 2Bar. 29⁵.
Millennial day, Millennium,
2En. 33^{1,2n}.
Minim = Christians, formula
against, P.A. 3¹⁰ⁿ.
Miracle, Jews saved by, 3Macc.
2²¹ 6¹⁸.
Miriam, Jub. 47⁴ 2Bar. 59¹.
Misael, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
Misael, Azar. 66. *See* Mishael.
Mishael, 4Macc. 13⁹ 16^{3,21} 18¹².
See Hananiah, Three Children.
Mishnah, the, P.A. § 1; origin
and growth of, P.A. § 2.
Misur, Jub. 29¹⁰.
Mithradates, treasurer of King
Cyrus, 1Esd. 2¹¹.
Mithradates, a Samaritan, 1Esd.
2¹⁶.
Mitzvah, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ. *See* also
Commandment.
Mizpeh in Gilead, 1Macc. 5³⁵.
Mizpeh, near Jerusalem, 1Macc.
3⁴⁰.
Mizraim, Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ 10³⁰.
Moab, Judith 1¹² 5^{2,22} 7⁸ Jub.
37^{6,10} 38⁶; field of, 38¹⁹.
Moabites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹.
Mochmur, Judith 7¹⁸.
Modin, 1Macc. 2^{1,15,23,70} 9¹⁹
13^{25,80} 16⁴ 2Macc. 13¹⁴; Maccabean
sepulchre at, 1Macc. § 4.
Moeth, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Moloch, Jub. 30¹⁰.
Mondis, 1Esd. 6³⁴.
Money, Tob. 4¹ 5^{1,19}; love of,
warnings against, T.Jud. 17¹
18² 19^{1,2}.
Monotheism, Sib. Frag. 11-35;
Frag. 3³⁻⁴⁶ Sib. 3¹¹⁻¹⁶. *See*
God, titles of.
Month, 1En. 74^{4,5}; first =
Nisan (?), 1Macc. 9³.
Months. *See* Ab, Adar, Dystrus,
Epiphi, Pachon, Xanthicus, &c.
Mooli, 1Esd. 84⁷ T.L. 12³.
Moon, Sir. 43⁶⁻⁸ 1En. 83⁴ 41^{5,7}
60¹² 69²⁰ 72³ 72³⁷⁻⁷⁴ 75^{3,6}
78²⁻⁶ 80^{4,4} 82⁸ 83¹¹ 100¹⁰;
course of the, 2En. 16⁵⁻⁷ 3Bar.
91-8; Feasts determined by,
Sir. 43⁷; names of, 1En. 78²;
punished, 3Bar. 9⁷; signs in,
at last day, Ass. Mos. 10⁵.
Moors, Sib. 3⁵¹⁶.
Moossias, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Mordecai, day of, 2Macc. 15³⁶;
discovers eunuchs' plot, Add.
Esth. A12-17; dream of, A1-11,
interpreted, F1-8; prayer of,
C1-10. *See* Mardocheus.
Moses, 1Esd. 1^{6,11} 5⁴⁹ 7^{6,9} 8⁵ 9³⁹

- 2Macc. 1²³ 2^{4,10,11} 7^{3,30} Tob.
1⁸ 6¹³ 7^{11,12,26} Sir. 24²³ 45¹⁻⁵
46^{1,7} Wisd. 10¹⁶ 1Bar. 1²⁰ 2^{2,28}
Jub. *Prologue*, 1^{1-4,19,22,27} 2¹
23³² 30¹¹ 33^{13,18} 49²² Arist.
144 (*see* Lawgiver) Mart. Is.
3^{8,9} 1En. 89^{16-18,29-38} T.S. 9²
T.Z. 3⁴ Sib. 3²⁵³ Ass. Mos.
1^{4,5} 3¹¹ 11^{1,2,4,14,17,19} 12^{1,2}
2Bar. 3⁹ 4⁵ 17⁴ 59¹ 84^{2,5} 4Ez.
7^{106,129} 14³ 4Macc. 2¹⁷ 9² 17¹⁹
18¹⁸ P.A. 1¹ Zad. 7¹⁹ 9²³ 20⁷;
burial of, opposed by Satan,
performed by Michael, Ass.
Mos. § 2*m.*, twofold presenta-
tion of, after, § 2*m.*; 'Greatness
of', relation of, to 2Enoch, 2En.
§ 4. *In Ass. Mos.*: intercessor
for Israel in spiritual world,
12⁶; mediator, 1¹⁴ 3¹²; pre-
existent, 1¹⁴; unique relation
of, to Judaism, § 9. *In 2 Bar.*:
revelations made to Moses,
2Bar. 59⁴⁻¹¹; functions of
Enoch transferred to, 2Bar.
59^{5-11*n.*} *In Jubilees*: receives
tables of Law, and also a
special revelation = Jubilees,
on Mount Sinai, Jub. 1^{4*sqq.*},
and a revelation of Messianic
bliss at the end of time, 1²⁶;
regarded as taught by God
the later as well as the earlier
history, 1¹⁴. *In Zad.*: and
Aaron, 7¹⁹; commandments of
God through, 8²; covenant
that M. established with Israel,
19⁸; delivered Israel, 7¹⁹; Law
of, 19^{2,9,11,14} 20²; speak against
M., 18¹⁰;—law of, 2Macc. 7³⁰
Sus. 3, 62, &c.; other books
of, Ass. Mos. § 3; song of,
2Macc. 7⁶ 4Macc. 18¹⁹; Testa-
ment of, Ass. Mos. § 2.
Moses, Assumption of, account,
§ 1; author, a Pharisaic Quiet-
ist, § 8; bibliography, § 11;
date, § 7; influence on N.T.,
§ 10; not really Assumption,
but Testament, of Moses, § 2;
other books of Moses, § 3;
theology, § 9; version, Latin
from Greek, Greek from He-
brew, §§ 4, 5, 6; relation of, to
1Enoch, § 10(a).
Mosollamus, 1Esd. 84⁴.
Mosollamus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
Mother of the Maccabaeans mar-
tyrs, 4Macc. 8³ 15^{14*sq.*}; speeches
of, 12⁷ 16^{6,16} 18⁶; death, 17¹.
Mount (Sinai), Jub. 1^{1,2,4}; the,
Jub. 4²⁶; of the East, Jub. 4²⁶;
of the fathers, 4Macc. 4²⁰.
Mourners, duty to, Sir. 7³⁴.
Mourning for dead, Sir. 38¹⁶⁻²³.
Moses, T.L. 12³.
Mozarabic Psalter contains P.
Man. § 13*n.* (text given).
Muak, Jub. 8⁶.
Mualeth, Jub. 4¹⁴.
Muppim, Jub. 44²⁵.
Muratorian Fragment, Wisd.
§ 7; ? refers to Sirach, Sir. § 8.
Murine, Sib. 3³⁴⁴.
Mushai, Test. *App.* II 74.
Muzaloth, the eighth heaven,
2En. 21^{6*n.*}.
Mycenae, Sib. 3³⁴⁷.
Myndos, 1Macc. 15²³.
Myra in Lycia, Sib. 4¹⁰⁹.
Mysian commander, 2Macc. 5^{24*n.*}.
Mysian(s), 3^{170,483,514}.
Mysteries, Wisd. 2²² 6²² 14²³
1En. 7¹ 8^{1,5} 16³ 106¹⁹; syn-
cretism of Greek philosophy
and Hebrew religion among
Alexandrian Jews, Wisd. 6^{22*n.*}.
Mystery, 1En. 103² 104¹⁰; cult
= secret sins, Wisd. 17^{3*n.*}.
Naaman, son of Benjamin, Jub.
44²⁶.
Naathus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Nabarias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
Nabataeans, 1Macc. 5²⁵ 9³⁵.
Nabuchodonosor, i. e. Nebu-
chadnezzar, 1Esd. 1^{40,41,46,48}
2¹⁰ 5⁷ 6^{15,18,26} 1Bar. 1^{9,11,12} Ep.
Jer. 2 Add. Esth. A³. *In 1Bar.*
= Vespasian, 1Bar. § 7.
Nabusemakh, executioner, Ah.
4^{6,7&c.} 5^{8,9,10} 7²³ (Syr.).
Nabušumiskun, name of execu-
tioner in Papyrus of Ahikar,
Ah. 4¹ *et passim* (II, p. 778).
Nadab, Tob. 1¹⁸ 14¹⁰.
Nadabath, city, 1Macc. 9³⁷.
Nadan, adopted son of Ahikar
(Syr. and Arab.), Ah. 1⁶ *et*
passim.
Nadin, adopted son of Ahikar
in Papyrus of Ahikar, 1¹⁶ *et*
passim.
Nahor, Jub. 11⁸ 12^{11,31} (II,
p. 778) 19¹⁰.
Nahum, prophet, Tob. 14⁴.
Naidus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Name, called by the, Zad. 6²;
good name, P.A. 2⁸ 4¹⁷; men,
called by, Zad. 2^{9,10}, numbered
by their names, 17², recorded
by, 17⁸; of God, profaning of,
Jub. 30¹⁵ P.A. 1¹¹ 4⁵ 5¹¹,
supernatural efficacy ascribed
to, P.Man. § 8, 3; to profane,
Zad. 19⁸; to think upon, 9⁴³;
to trust in, 9⁵⁴; of Heaven,
P.A. 2^{2,16} 4^{5,14} 5²⁰; of the
Lord, deny, 1En. 41² 45² 46⁷;
saved in, 48⁷; swear by, 1Esd.
14⁸; Holy, Sir. 50^{20*n.*} Wisd.
10²⁰; incommunicable, 14²¹;
of Messiah, Zad. 2¹⁰, = person
(of Enoch), 1En. 65¹² 70^{4,2}.
See Righteous.
Names, 1En. 5⁶; blotted out of
book of life, 108³; call by, 43¹
69²¹; play on, T.S. 2² T.L. 6¹
11^{2,5-6,7,8} T.Jud. 1³ T.Iss. 1¹⁶
5⁸ T.Z. 1⁸ T.N. 1^{6,12} T.A. 1²
T.B. 1⁶; written, 1En. 104¹.
Nanaea, temple of, 1Macc. 6^{2*n.*},
2Macc. 1^{13*n.*} 14¹.
Naphidim, sons of Watchers,
Jub. 7²².
Naphil, Jub. 7²².
Naphisi, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Naphthali, Tob. 1¹⁴ 7³ Jub. 28¹⁹
33²² 38⁵ 44^{27,30} T.Jud. 2⁵
T.N. 1^{1,5,6} 9⁸ Test. *App.* I
1¹ 10¹⁰; Testament of, late
Hebrew, *see* Appendix I to
Testaments of Twelve Patri-
archs.
Naphtha, Azar. 23. *See* Neph-
thai.
Narel, 1En. 82¹³.
Nasi, 1Esd. 5³².
Nathan, 1Esd. 84⁴.
Nathan, Tob. 5¹⁴.
Nathan, Sir. 47¹.
Nathan, adopted son of Ahikar,
Ah. 1⁶ *et passim* (Arm.).
Nathanael, captain over a thou-
sand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Nathanael, 1Esd. 9²².
Nathanael, Judith 8¹.
Nathanias, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Natthaeus, Arist. 49.
Nations have angelic patrons,
Sir. 17^{17*n.*}; three abhorred,—
Seir, Philistia, and Sichem, Sir.
50^{26,20}.
Natives, rank of (*λαογραφία*),
3Macc. 2^{28*n.*}.
Natural phenomena, angels of,
see Angels; obedience of, Ep.
Jer. 61-63; personified under
names of gods, Wisd. 13².
Nature, changes not, T.N. 3²,
cf. 1En. 2; God as Lord of,
see Praise; on the side of the
righteous, Wisd. 5¹⁷ 16¹⁷⁻²⁴
(18²⁴) 19⁶; worshipped, 13².
Nazarites, 1Macc. 3⁵⁰.
Nebaioth, Jub. 17¹⁴.
Nebrod, Jub. 8⁷.
Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. 1^{40,41,46,48}
Tob. 14¹⁵ Judith § 6, 1^{1,5,7,11,12}
2^{1,4,19} 3^{2,8} 4¹ 6^{3,4} 11^{1,4,7,23} 12¹³
14¹⁸ 2Bar. 79¹ 3Bar. 1¹ Zad. 15¹;
wild condition of, parallel to,
in Ah. 5¹¹. *See also* Nabu-
chodonosor.
Nebuhai, servant of Ahikar,
Ah. 7²⁷ (Arab.).
Nebuzardan, Nadan's younger
brother, Ah. 3⁵ (Syr.). *See*
Benzuzardan, Boudan.
Neck, branding of, Ps.Sol. 2^{6*n.*}.
Necromancy, Zad. 14⁵.
Neelatamauk, city of Ham,
Jub. 7^{14,17}.
Nebe, the, Ps.Sol. 8².
Nehemiah, 1Esd. §§ 1, 4 iii., 5⁸
(*see* Nehemias) 2Macc. 1¹⁸,
20^{21,23,31,33,35} 2¹³ Sir. 49¹³ 1En.
80^{72*n.*}; memoirs of, 2Macc.
2¹³; overshadowed by Ezra,
1Esd. § 1; praised, but no
mention of Ezra, Sir. 49^{13*n.*}.
Nehemiah, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰. *See*
Atharias.
Nehemiah, an elder, Arist. 47.
Nehemias, 1Esd. 5⁸. *See* Nehe-
miah.
Nehorai, P.A. 4¹⁸.
Nehunia ben ha Kanah, P.A. 3⁷.
Nekodan, 1Esd. 5³⁷.
Nemean flower, Sib. 5⁴⁵.
Nemesis, Sir. 27²⁵⁻²⁹. *See* Re-
ward.
Nephtalim, Tob. 1⁵.
Nephthai or Nephthar =
Naphtha, 2Macc. 1^{36*n.*}.
†Neqael, 1En. 69².
Neria, 1Bar. 1¹ 2Bar. 1¹ 78¹.
Nero, deeds and impieties of,
Sib. 5^{28-34,137-152,203,218}; redi-
vividus, 3^{62*n.*} 4^{119-122,139} 5⁹³⁻¹⁰⁷,
363-377, destroyed at gates of
Jerusalem, 5¹⁰⁸.
Nestaj, Jub. 119.
Net, Zad. 67¹⁰ 20¹¹; three nets
of Belial, Zad. 6¹⁰.
Netophas, 1Esd. 5¹⁸.
New Covenant, Zad. 8¹⁵. *See*
Covenant.
New Creation, Wisd. 19⁶. *See*
Creation, Heaven, House.
New Jerusalem, Tob. 13^{7-18*a.*}.
New Testament, influence of
1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(b),
§ 11; parallels with Ahikar,
Ah. § 3 *e.*; relation of, to
2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.
New world, 2Bar. 44¹².
Next of kin, Zad. 5¹⁸ 9¹⁷.
Nicaea, Sib. 3³⁴³.
Nicanor, 1Macc. 3³⁸ 7^{26*n.*} 31^{32,33},
39^{43,44,47}, 9² 2Macc. 8^{9,10,12,14,23},
24³⁴ 9³ 14^{12,14,15,17,18,23,26-28}, 30,
37³⁹ 15^{1,6,26,28,30,32,33,35,37}; son
of Patroclus, 2Macc. 8⁹;
governor of Cyprus, 12²;
threatens Temple, 14³³; in-
trigues and threats of, 2Macc.
14¹⁻⁴⁶; death of, 1Macc. 7⁴³
2Macc. 15²⁸.
Nicanor's day, 2Macc. § 1,
1Macc. 7^{49*n.*}.
Nicanor, an Egyptian, Arist.
182.
Nicanor, = Seleucus N., 4Macc.
3²⁰.
Niiman, Jub. 34²⁰.
Nile, Sir. 24²⁷ 39²² 47¹⁴ Arist.
116 Sib. 4⁷⁴ 5^{60,92,484}.
Nimrod the wicked, Test. *App.*
I 9³.
Nineveh, Tob. 1^{3,10,17,19,22} 7³
11^{1,15,57,18} 14^{1,4,8,15} Judith 1^{1,16}
2²¹ Jub. 9³ Ah. 1¹ 3^{8,9} &c. *See*
Asorestan, Assyria, Athur.
Niphis, 1Esd. 5²¹.
Nisan (month), 1Esd. 5⁶ Add.
Esth. A¹ (Nisa) Ah. 6^{13,14} (Syr.)
6^{22,26} (= April) &c. (Arab.).
Nisrin, a plain near Nineveh,
Ah. 3^{8,9,11,14,15} (Arab.). *See*
Eagles' Dale, Sis.
Nittai the Arbelite, P.A. 1^{6,7}.
Noah, Tob. 4¹⁴ Sir. 44¹⁷ Wisd.
10⁴ Jub. 4^{28,33} 5^{5,19,21,22} 6^{2,10,15},
18^{24,27} 7^{1,8}, 10^{16,19,20} 8^{4,8,9,11,18}
9¹⁴ 10^{1,2,10,12,13,15,32} 11² 14²⁰
19^{24,27} 22¹³ 1En. 10² 65^{1,2} 67¹
106¹³ 107³ T.B. 10⁶ Sib. 3⁸²⁴
2En. 35^{7*n.*} 3Bar. 4¹⁵ 4Ez. 3¹¹
4Macc. 15³¹; prays against
demons, Jub. 10³⁻⁶; sons of,
Zad. 4¹; words of, Jub. 21¹⁰.
Noah, book of, Test. *App.* II
57; Book of, = 1En. 6-11,
54⁷⁻⁵⁵ 60, 65-69²⁶ 106-107
1En. §§ 1, 6; date of frag-
ments in 1En. § 7.
Noam, Jub. 4¹³.
Nobles of the people, Zad. 8^{9,9}.
Noeba, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Nooma, 1Esd. 6³⁵.
Note of hand, Tob. 5³.
North, land of the = Damascus,
Zad. 9⁴.
Number, definite, of created,
2Bar. 23^{4-5*n.*}; of Kasbeel,
1En. 69¹³; of mankind, 2Bar.
21¹⁰ 23^{4,6}; of righteous, 1En.
47⁴ 4Ez. 4^{36*n.*}, cf. 2Bar. 21¹⁰
48⁴⁶; of stars, 1En. 93¹⁴; of
those who pass away, cared for,
2Bar. 48⁶; without number—
angels, 1En. 71⁹, cf. 71⁸; days
of holy, 5³³; fountain of
righteous, 65¹²; times, 108¹³;
weeks, 91¹⁷.
Numbers used for names
(number = value of initial
letter of name), Sib. 5¹² &c.
Numenius, son of Antiochus,

- 104⁶; insertions in Sirach, Sir. § 4; Quietist, early type of = Chasid, Ass. Mos. § 1; recension of Sirach, Sir. § 4; teaching of Judith, Judith § 9; —Law, strict observance, Sabbath and new moon and eves kept, fasting (8^{5,6}), tithings, future life, § 9.
- Pharisaism, Apocalyptic or spiritual side of, directed its studies to the Prophets, Zad. §§ 8, 9.
- Pharisees, attacked in *Zad. Frag.* §§ 2, 9, 10, 12; as a party, § 5; see Zadokite Party; = builders of the wall, § 9⁴⁰, see Wall; = they that remove the landmark, § 12, see Landmark; breach of with John Hyrcanus, Test. §§ 1, 10; = 'children of heaven', 1En. 101¹; positive work of, Sir. § 4; referred to, 2Bar. 42⁹ⁿ; religious and literary strife with the Sadducees or Hellenistic party, 1En. 98¹⁵ⁿ, 102⁴–104¹³; = righteous in Ps. Sol. § 5; struggle of against Jannaeus, Sus. § 7; varying relations with the Maccabees, see Chasidim; views of, are reflected in Test. § 11; watchwords of almsgiving, repentance and prayer, Sir. § 4 (I, p. 283).
- Pharnak, Jub. 9².
- (Pharos, Arist. 301.)
- Phaselis, 1Macc. 15²³.
- Phasiron, children of, 1Macc. 9⁰⁶.
- Phassurus, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Pherezites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹. See Perizzites.
- Phicol, Jub. 24²⁶.
- Philadelphus II, Arist. 115ⁿ.
- Philip, bosom friend of Antiochus, 2Macc. 9²⁹; chancellor in Antioch, 13²³ (? 1Macc. 6⁵⁵); courtier ('Friend') of Antiochus, 1Macc. 6^{14,55,63}.
- Philip the Macedonian, 1Macc. 1¹.
- Philip V of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8⁵.
- Philip, a Phrygian, 2Macc. 5²²; governor of Jerusalem, 6¹ 8⁸.
- Philip, Sib. 5⁶.
- Philistia, Jub. 37^{6,10}; abhorred, Sir. 50²⁶.
- Philistines, 1Macc. 3^{24,41} 4^{22,30} 5^{66,68} Sir. 46¹⁸ 47⁷ Jub. 24^{8,14} 15^{16,18,28,28} 38⁷ (see Caphtorim) 4Macc. 3⁷; = dogs in, 1En. 89⁴²⁻⁴⁹; fierce hatred of, in Maccabean wars, Jub. 24²⁸⁻³²ⁿ; final rooting out, and punishment in Sheol of, 24²⁸⁻³².
- Philo, and 3 Macc., 3Macc. § 4; quoted, Wisd. 19¹⁸ⁿ. 2Bar. 21⁴ⁿ; relation of, to Letter of Aristeas, Arist. § 9; to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 7; views of, 2En. 23⁵ⁿ 24²ⁿ 30⁸ⁿ.
- Philocrates, Arist. I, 120, 171, 295, 322.
- Philopator. See Ptolemy IV.
- Philosophy, 4Macc. 1¹ 5^{4,59} 7²¹.
- Phineas, the zealous priest, 4Macc. 18¹². See Phinehas, Phinees.
- Phinees, i. e. Phinehas, 1Esd. 5⁵ 8^{2,28}.
- Phinees, a priest, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
- Phinehas, son of Eleazar, Sir. 45²³ 50²⁴ 1Macc. 2^{26,54}; obtained covenant of everlasting priesthood, Sir. 50²⁴ 1Macc. 2⁵⁴. See Phineas.
- Phinoe, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Phoebe, Sib. 4⁴ 5^{324,326}.
- Phoenix, Sib. 5¹²⁵.
- Phoenicia, 1Esd. 2^{17,24,25,27} 4⁴⁸ 6^{3,7,27,29} 7¹ 8^{19,23,67} 2Macc. 3^{5,8} 4^{4,22} 8⁸ 10¹¹ 3Macc. 3¹⁵ Arist. 12, 22 Ass. Mos. 1³ Sib. 5⁴⁵⁶ 4Macc. 4². See Coelestria, Syria.
- Phoenicians, Sib. 3^{168,492,597}.
- Phoenix, belief in, 3Bar. 6⁴ⁿ 10⁷⁵.
- Phoenixes, 2En. 12¹ⁿ 15¹ 19⁶.
- Phogor, Tob. 1².
- Phoros, 1Esd. 5⁹ 8³⁰ 9²⁶.
- Phurai, i. e. Purim (?), Add. Esth. F¹¹.
- Phrygia, Sib. 3^{140,401,407}.
- Phrygians, Sib. 3^{169,205,514} 4⁷¹ 5¹³⁰.
- Phua, Jub. 44¹⁶.
- Phylarches, 2Macc. 8⁸².
- Physcon stories, 3Macc. § 5.
- Physician, Sir. 10¹⁰ 18¹⁹; ordained by God to be resorted to in sickness, Sir. 38¹⁻¹⁰.
- Physicians, Tob. 2¹⁰.
- Pious, Ps. Sol. 3¹⁰ 4^{1,7,9} 8^{28,40} 9⁶ 10⁷ 12^{5,8} 13^{9,11} 14^{2,7} 15⁹ 17¹⁸.
- Pirkē Aboth, account, short, P.A. § 1; bibliography, § 6; historical and critical account, § 2; influence on later literature, § 4; MSS., § 3; theology, § 5; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7(6).
- Pisces, Sib. 5²³.
- Pisidians, Sib. 5³⁴⁰.
- Pison, Sir. 24²⁶.
- Pit, Ps. Sol. 16¹ⁿ. (see Destruction) Sir. 4¹⁰ 9⁹ 48⁸ 51², see Hades, Sheol; children of, see Children; snares of, Zad. 16¹²; of destruction, P.A. 5²²; of Hades, Sir. 21¹⁰; of torment, 4Ez. 7³⁶. See Gehenna.
- Pitane, Sib. 5¹²⁰.
- Pithom, Jub. 46¹⁴. See also Python.
- Place. See High, Holy.
- Place prepared for repose of each soul, 2En. 49². See Chambers.
- Planets, 2En. 27⁸ 30³ⁿ.
- Plant (= Israel or the righteous), of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10¹³ⁿ; of righteousness, 93⁵ = Israel, Jub. 16²⁶ⁿ 36⁶; of righteousness, the eternal, 1En. 93¹⁰; of righteous judgement, 93⁵; of uprightness, 93² = Israel, Jub. 1¹⁶; of the eternal seed, 1En. 84⁶.
- Planting of pious, rooted for ever, Ps. Sol. 14³; root of God's (= Zadokites), Zad. 1⁶.
- Platonism, influence of, in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.
- Pleiad, Sib. 5⁶²².
- Pluto, Sib. 5¹⁴³.
- Political problems, Arist. § 6, 5.
- Pollute, one's holy spirit, Zad. 7¹², cf. 8²⁰; sanctuary, 7⁸ 9⁴⁸, cf. 6¹¹; wealth, 8¹².
- Pollution, of holy things, i. e. Temple, Ps. Sol. 1⁸ 2³ 8¹³; of the nations, 1Esd. 1⁴⁹; of the sacrifices, T.L. 16¹ⁿ.
- Polybius, relation of 3 Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5.
- Polygamy denounced, Zad. 7¹⁻⁴.
- Pompey, Zad. § 6; invades Judaea, 1Bar. § 7; the foreign conqueror in Ps. Sol. § 5; alien, 17⁹; boasting of, 2³³⁻³⁵; comes from West, 17¹⁴; desecrates Temple, 2⁷²; enters Jerusalem in peace, 8¹⁸⁻²⁰; lawless one, 17¹³; slain dishonourably in Egypt, 2^{30,59}; the insolent one, 2³⁰; = the dragon, 2²⁹.
- Poor and oppressed, right conduct towards, Sir. 4¹⁻¹⁰; anxieties of, 31 (34)¹⁻⁴; cannot associate with rich, 13¹⁸⁻²⁰; duty to, Sir. 7^{32,33}; how treated by world, 13²¹⁻²³; of the flock = they that give heed to God, Zad. 9¹⁰⁽⁹⁾; robbery of, Zad. 8¹³, brings pestilence, P.A. 5¹²; strengthen hand of (almsgiving), Zad. 8¹⁷ 18³.
- Portents in Nature, signs of the end, 4Ez. 5⁴⁻⁹ 6^{21,22}.
- Porters at temple-gates, 1Esd. 1¹⁶.
- Poseidon, Sib. 3¹⁴² 5¹⁵⁷. See Thunderer.
- Posidonius, 2Macc. 14¹⁹.
- Potiphar, Jub. 34¹¹ 39² 40¹⁰ 44²⁴.
- Potter and clay, T.N. 2-4.
- Power, angels of. See Angels.
- Powers, of heaven, 1En. 82⁸; on earth, 61¹⁰; over water, 61¹⁰.
- Powers = angels, 3Bar. 1⁸ⁿ; of the Lord, Azar. 39.
- Praise of Fathers of old, see Fathers; of God, see God; of Simeon, high priest, son of Jochanan, Sir. 49^{15b}–50²⁴; of wisdom, Sir. 24¹⁻³⁴, see Wisdom.
- Pravuil, an archangel, 2En. 22^{11,12} (A) 23². See Vretil.
- Prayer, Tob. § 10 B (2) 3¹⁶ 12⁶ Sir. 51¹⁻¹² Arist. 196–197 P.A. 2¹⁷; almsgiving and fasting, Tob. § 10 B (2); and fasting, T.Jos. 3⁴ 4⁸ 10^{1,2} T.B. 1⁴; at dawn, Wisd. 16²⁸; for deliverance, 3Macc. 5^{6,59} 6^{1,59}; for Israel, a, Sir. 36¹⁻¹⁷ (33^{1-13a} 36^{16b-22}); for sanctity of Temple, 3Macc. 2⁵⁹; for sins, Sir. 21¹; hours of, 2En. 51⁴; memorial of, Tob. 12¹²; need of, in all things, Sir. 37¹³; of Ezra, see Confessio Esdrae; of the poor, efficacy of, Sir. 3¹⁴⁻¹⁷; of righteous, 1En. 47^{1,2,4} 97^{3,5} 99³ Zad. 14¹, heard by God, Ps. Sol. 6⁸; prominence of, in Test. XII Patr.; Jacob's, for Reuben, T.R. 1⁷ 4⁴; Judah, T.Jud. 19²; Gad, T.G. 5⁹; Benjamin, T.B. 10¹; ten eldest sons, T.B. 3⁶; Levi's, T.N. 6⁸; Rachel's, T.B. 1⁴; Simeon's, T.S. 2¹³; Simeon's mother's, T.S. 2²; Joseph's, T.Jos. 3³ 6⁷ 7⁴ 8¹.
- Prayer of Manasses, date of composition, § 6; description, § 1; history, literary, of, § 3; language, original, of, § 7; MSS., Latin, of, § 13ⁿ; origin of, § 2; preservation, § 4; summary, § 13; text, § 12; theology, § 8; title, § 5; versions of, §§ 9, 10, 11, 13—English, § 13; Greek and Latin, § 9; other, § 11, Syriac, § 10.
- Prayers, for dead, 2Macc. 12⁴², 43ⁿ; of Judith, Judith 9²⁻¹⁴ 13⁷; of men, received by Michael, 3Bar. 11⁴.
- Precept, P.A. 2¹ 4^{2,13}; reward of, P.A. 2^{1,2,18,20} 3⁴ 4².
- Precepts, on right-doing, Sir. 4²⁰⁻²⁸; for everyday life, 4²⁹⁻⁵³, see Duty; for conduct, 7¹¹⁻¹⁷.
- Predestination, Sir. 33 (36)⁷⁻¹⁵ Ass. Mos. 1^{13,14} 12¹³ (see Pre-existence) 2En. 49² 50¹ (see Man, works of) Zad. §§ 9⁴⁰ 13, 2^{6,10}, see Election; and Free-will in Judaism, 2Bar. 54¹⁵, 1¹ⁿ; in 4 Ezra, of duration of age and time of end, 4³³⁻⁴³ 61⁶; of harvest of evil, 4²⁸⁻³¹; of number of righteous, see Number; Judgement, 7⁷⁰.
- Pre-existence, Wisd. 8¹⁹ⁿ; heavenly, of Messiah, 4Ez. 13²⁶ⁿ. 1En. 48², see Messiah; of Moses, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁴ⁿ; of souls, 2En. 23⁵ⁿ, see Souls.
- Preferences, God's, in Man and Nature, Sir. 37¹⁻¹⁵. See Predestination.
- Pre-Maccabaeen elements in 1 Enoch, 1En. § 1; high priests, Ass. Mos. 5³⁴ⁿ.
- Preparedness, need of, Sir. 18¹⁹⁻²². See Foresight, Forethought.
- Presence, angels of, see Angels; presences, the four, 1En. 40¹⁻⁸, see Angels.
- Present, enjoy the, Sir. 14¹⁴⁻¹⁶.
- Presumptuously, acting, Sir. 3¹⁶.
- Priam, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
- Pride, ruinous in rulers, Sir. 10⁶⁻¹⁸.
- Priest, Zad. 15^{5,7} 17⁵; confess to, 10⁸; duty to, Sir. 7²⁹⁻³¹; of God, purity required in, Ah. 2⁶⁸ (Syr. A); of Most High God, title claimed by Maccabaeen high priests, Jub. 32¹ Ass. Mos. 6¹.
- Priesthood, above the kingdom, T.Jud. 21^{3,4}; robes, staff, diadem, anointing, &c. of, T.L. 82⁻¹⁰; rules of, Test. App. II 15–57—purity, 16–22, 53–55; wood for sacrifice, 23–25; sacrifice, method of, 25–47; salt, 26, 29, 37, 52. See Melchizedek.
- Priests, Jewish, in Egypt, 3Macc. 6¹ 7¹³.
- Prince, Zad. 7⁴; no prince, 9⁴⁰; of all the congregation = the sceptre, 9⁹; of lights, see Lights.
- Princes = the penitents of Israel, Zad. 8⁵; dug a well, 8⁵; of Judah, 9¹³ⁿ, see 8⁶; of old,

i. e. angels, who fell, Sir. 16⁷.
See Giants.
 Prodigal Son, parable of, parallel phrasing in Ah. 8²⁴ (Arm.).
 Profane. *See* Holy, Name, Sabbath, Sanctuary.
 Profane man, Ps.Sol. 4¹ⁿ. *See* Pollution.
 Property, lost, law as to, Zad. 10⁷⁻⁹; of camp, 10⁷.
 Prophecy, Sir. 24³³ⁿ; of heaven, T.B. 3⁸; of Moses in Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1⁵.
 Prophecy a lie, Zad. 8².
 Prophet, Zad. 5⁶ 9², *see* Ezekiel, Isaiah, Zechariah; expected, to decide on polluted altar, 1 Macc. 4⁴⁶; Messianic, T.B. 9²; no longer any, implied in 1 Macc. 9²⁷ⁿ; of God, the, = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁶; of the Most High, i. e. John Hyrcanus, T.L. 8¹⁵.
 Prophets, 1 En. 108⁶ P.A. 1¹; books of = Chiun your images, Zad. 9⁷, ten times quoted in Zad. §§ 8, 9³⁵, 10, *see* Halachoth, Law and Prophets; Job among, Sir. 49⁹ⁿ; made by Wisdom, Wisd. 7²⁷ⁿ; shall take away sword, be judges, Sib. 3⁷⁸¹; the Twelve, Sir. 49¹⁰. *See* Law and Prophets.
 Prophets, works of, pulled down, 1 Macc. 9⁵⁴.
 Propitiation = forgiveness, Sir. 18²⁰ⁿ.
 Propontis, Sib. 3⁴⁴².
 Proselyte, Zad. 17³.
 Proselytes, Tob. 1⁸ 2 Bar. 41⁴ⁿ. 42⁵ 48¹⁹.
 Proselytizing, 2 Bar. 1⁴.
 Proseuche, place of prayer, in Egypt, 3 Macc. 7²⁰.
 Prosperity of wicked, Sir. 11¹⁸⁻²².
 Proverbs, the Book of, relation of to Wisdom, Wisd. § 5; of Ahikar, Ah. 2¹⁻¹⁰⁰; various, Sir. 8⁸ 13²⁴⁻¹⁴ 18²⁹.
 Providence, Arist. 201. *See* God, titles of.
 Provinces, one hundred and twenty-seven, Add.Esth. B¹ⁿ.
 Prudence, evil sort of, Sir. 19²³.
 Psalms of Solomon, account, short, § 1; character, § 5; date, § 5; MSS., Greek, § 2; origin, § 5; original language, Hebrew, § 4; references to, § 5; relation of Ps. Sol. 11 to 1 Bar. 4³⁶⁻⁵⁰, 1 Bar. § 6; Syriac version, from Greek, § 3.
 Psalter, Canticles appended to contain P.Man., P. Man. § 4.
 Psammetichus, Arist. 13.
 Pseudepigrapha, 1 En. § 1; implied in Zad. Frag. 9²⁸ (A), (Jeremiah's word to Baruch, Elisha's to Gehazi); recognized largely until A.D. 70, Zad. § 8.
 Pseudo-Cyprian, 1 En. 1⁹ⁿ.
 Pseudonymous publication, 1 En. § 1.
 Psychology, Arist. § 4 (6), 155-156, 160, 213-216, *see* Heart, Inclination, Senses; heart be changed and converted to a different spirit, 4 Ez. 6²⁶; of

mind, sprung from dust, 7⁶²; mind grows with us, 7⁶⁴; heart and understanding, 8⁶.
 Ptolemaeus, Add.Esth. F¹¹. *See* Lysimachus.
 Ptolemais, 1 Macc. 5^{15,21,55} 10¹, 39, 56-58, 60 11^{22,24} 12^{45,48} 13¹².
 2 Macc. 13^{24,25} Arist. 116; 'at the harbour', 3 Macc. 7¹⁷.
 Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, Arist. 13, 14.
 Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, Arist. 35, 41 Arist. § 1.
 Ptolemy IV, Sir. 10⁹⁻¹¹ⁿ. 3 Macc. §§ 1, 5, 1¹ⁿ, *et passim*.
 Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 1 Macc. 1¹⁸ 10⁶¹ⁿ, 55, 57 (11¹) 11^{3,8,13,15-18} 2 Macc. 4²¹ 9²⁹ 10¹³ Sib. 3¹⁰²ⁿ, 316, 388-400, 608ⁿ. 4 Macc. 4²².
 Ptolemy VII, Evergetes II Physcon, 1 Macc. 15¹⁶.
 Ptolemy, king. *See* Aristobulus.
 Ptolemy VIII (Lathyrus) and Cleopatra, Add.Esth. F¹¹ⁿ.
 Ptolemy Macron, son of Dorymenes, 1 Macc. 3³⁸ⁿ. 2 Macc. 4^{45,46} 6⁸ 8⁸; governor of Coele-syria and Phoenicia, 8^{10,12}; suicide, 10¹³.
 Ptolemy of Megalopolis, history of, 3 Macc. § 5.
 Ptolemy, son of Abubus, son-in-law of Simon, murders Simon, 1 Macc. 16¹¹ⁿ, 15, 16, 18.
 Punishment, P.A. 5¹¹; after death, no mention of in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, *see* Future; appropriate, Wisd. 11¹⁶; differentiated, 6⁶ 11¹⁰; eternal, *see* Destruction. In 1 En., 4¹²ⁿ. 6⁶ 8⁶ 10⁶ 17¹⁷; earth cleansed from all, 10²²; of kings, 1 En. 5⁶⁷; on the earth, great, 10⁶⁷; of (from) Lord of Spirits, 54⁷ 60²⁵; (?) Messiah shall know, Zad. 18⁹; mild recommended, Arist. § 6, 188, 208; of Jerusalem, 4 Macc. 4^{21sq.}; place of, Adam and Eve in, 2 En. 41¹ⁿ; remedial, Wisd. § 9; temporal, Sir. 9^{8,12,13}. *See* Angels, Chastisement, Eternal, Future, Judgement, Wrath.
 Pupils, class of, i. e. Yeshibah, Sir. 5²⁹ⁿ; rules for by schools of Shammai and Hillel, Sir. 5²⁹ⁿ.
 Purgatory, belief in, 4 Ez. 7¹³⁷ⁿ.
 Purification, Levitical laws of, Jub. 3⁴⁻¹⁴; of Jerusalem, by martyrs, 4 Macc. 1¹¹ 18¹¹.
 Purim, feast of, Add.Esth. F¹¹ⁿ.
 Purity, exclude from Zad. 10¹³, 14. *See* Excommunication.
 Put, Judith 2²³ Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ Test. App. 1 9⁴.
 Pyramus, Sib. 4⁹⁷.
 Python = Pithom, Sib. 5¹⁸²ⁿ.
 †Qafrafe, Jub. 34¹⁵.
 Qelt, Jub. 8²⁶.
 Quarrels, warnings against, Sir. 28⁸⁻¹²; with powerful, rich, and boastful, warnings against, 81³. *See* Disputes.
 Quarters, the Four, 1 En. 77¹⁻³.
 Quietism, Ass. Mos. § 9.
 Quotations from O.T., how introduced in Zad. Frag., Zad. § 8; include Law, Prophets, and

Hagiographa, § 8; from an apocryph, 'Jannes and Jambres,' § 8.
 Raaboth, Jub. 38²¹.
 Raameses, Jub. 46¹⁴.
 Rabel, i. e. Arbela, T.Jud. 7⁹.
See Robel.
 Rabbi = Judah the Prince, or the Holy, P.A. 2¹ⁿ. 4²⁷ 6⁹.
 Rabbinic citations of Sirach, Sir. § 3 ii.
 Rabbinites attacked in Zad. Frag. § 2.
 Rabbis, party among, favourable to apocalyptic, 4 Ez. 14ⁿ.
 Rabshakeh, Sir. 48¹⁸.
 Rachel, Jub. 28^{1,3-5,8-10,12,16,17,19,20,24} 29^{1,2} 31² 32^{3,33,34} 33^{2,22} 34¹⁶ 36²³ 44^{23,26,27,32} T. Iss. 1⁸, 6-8, 10, 14 (3-4) 2^{1,2,4} T.N. 1⁶⁻⁹.
 T. Jos. 20³ T.B. 1³⁻⁵ Test. App. I 1¹; death of, Jub. 32³⁴.
 Rafa, mountain range, Jub. 81^{2,16,28}.
 Ragau, Judith 1^{5,15}.
 Rages, Tob. 4^{1,20} 5⁶ 6¹³ 9².
 Raguel, Tob. 1¹.
 Raguel, Tob. 3^{7,17} 6^{11,13} 7^{1,6}.
 Raguel, an angel, 1 En. 20⁴ 23⁴.
 Raguil, an angel, 2 En. 33⁶ (A, 'Rasuil' B), cf. Raguel, 1 En. 20⁴.
 Rahab, monsters of, Sir. 43²⁵.
 Rakeel, Jub. 4³³.
 Ram = Chasidim, 1 En. 90^{10,11}; David, 89⁴⁵⁻⁴⁹; Elijah, 90⁸¹; Judas Maccabaeus, 90¹³⁻¹⁶; Saul, 89⁴³⁻⁴⁷.
 Ramathaim, 1 Macc. 11³⁴ⁿ.
 Ramesses, Judith 1¹⁰ Jub. 45⁶.
 Rameel, 1 En. 6⁷.
 Ramiel, 1 En. 6⁷.
 Ramiel = Remiel, 2 Bar. 55⁸ⁿ. 63⁶.
 Ransom for sin, martyrs' death as, 4 Macc. 17²².
 Raphael, Tob. 3¹⁷ 5⁴ 6^{10,14,18} 9⁵ 12¹⁶ 1 En. 9¹ 10⁴ 20³ 22^{3,6} 32⁶ 40⁹ 54⁶ 68^{2,3,4} 71^{8,9,13}, *see* Angels, Archangels; functions of, in Tobit, later attributed to Michael, Tob. § 10.
 Raphael, Tob. 1¹.
 Raphaim, Judith 8¹.
 Raphia, battle, 3 Macc. 1¹⁻⁶.
 Raphon, city, 1 Macc. 5³⁷.
 Rasses, children of, Judith 2²³.
 Rasueja, Jub. 8¹.
 Rasuil. *See* Raguil.
 Rasujal, Jub. 4¹⁶.
 Rasut, Jub. 34²⁰.
 Rathamus, the story-writer, a Samaritan, 1 Esd. 2^{16,17,25,30}.
 Ravenna, Sib. 5²⁰⁵.
 Ravens = Syrians, 1 En. 90⁸⁻¹².
 Ravine, deep and dry (= valley of Hinnom), 1 En. 26⁴; deep and narrow (= Kedron or valley of Jehoshaphat), 1 En. 26³. *See* Abyss, Chasm, Valley.
 Razis, an elder at Jerusalem, commits suicide, 2 Macc. 14³⁷.
 Reason (Inspired), in 4 Macc. 1^{1sq.} 2^{2sq.} 3^{1sq.} 5³¹ 6^{31sq.} 13^{1sq.} 16^{1sq.}; definition of, 4 Macc. 1¹ⁿ. 1¹⁵; as master-gardener of the mind, 1²⁰; compared to a harbour-mole, 13⁶; guide of the virtues, 13¹⁰; not extirpator, but antagonist of the

passions, § 1, 1⁶ 3⁵; not master over forgetfulness, &c., 1⁵ 2²⁴ 3¹; is a spark, Wisd. 2²ⁿ.
 Rebecca, Jub. 19^{10,12,16,26,31} 22⁴ 23⁴ 25^{1,4} 26^{3,5,7,9,10,11} 27^{1,6,7,8,12,13,18} 28¹ 29¹⁶ 31^{3,5,6,30} 32^{30,31} 33²¹ 35^{1,18} 36²¹ T.L. 6⁸.
 Rebellion. *See* Israel.
 Rebuke, in righteousness, Zad. 9⁴⁰; one's brother, 8¹⁹; neighbour, 10^{2,5}. *See* Reproof.
 Recensions, two—of Daniel—of Hebrew Psalm, Ps.Sol. 11 and 1 Bar. 4⁵⁻⁹—of Zadokite Fragments (A and B), 1 Bar. § 6n. 6⁰.
 Reckoning up of sins, Wisd. 4²⁰.
 Recompense, of God to those who serve Him, Sir. 17¹⁵⁻²⁴; of the wicked, Zad. 9².
 Record, Zad. 4², 16⁵ 17³.
 Rectitude (ἀπλότης), T.R. 4¹ T.S. 3²ⁿ. 4⁵ &c. *See* Single-ness.
 Red Sea, 1 Macc. 4⁹ Judith 5¹³ Jub. 82¹ 94⁴ Ass. Mos. 3¹¹.
 Reelias, 1 Esd. 5⁸.
 Reem, the, Test. App. I 3¹.
 References, in Zad. Frag. to 'Book of the Hagu', Zad. 11² &c., *see* Hagu; 'Jannes and Jambres,' 7¹⁹; Jubilees, 20¹; 'Ordinances of the Covenant,' 11²; Testaments of XII Patriarchs, 6¹⁰. *See* § 8.
 Refreshment, place of, 4 Ez. 7^{36,38}. *See* Paradise.
 Regim, 2 En. 110⁵ 5².
 Register, Zad. 9²⁹ (B).
 Registration of Egyptian Jews, 3 Macc. 2³² 4^{14sq.} 7²².
 Regulation, in Zad. Frag.: as to almsgiving, Zad. 18¹⁻⁵; as to judges, 11¹⁻⁴; for the many, 18¹; of Censor of camp, 16¹; of dwellers in cities of Israel, 15^{1,4}; of dwellers of all the camps, 17¹.
 Reins, the, T.N. 2⁸.
 Remembrance. *See* Book.
 Remiel, 1 En. 20⁸ 2 Bar. 55³ 3 Bar. 2⁵ⁿ, *see* Ramiel; = Jeremiah, angel, 4 Ez. 4³⁸ⁿ.
 Remnant, Zad. 1⁴ 2^{9,9}; to be taught by Messiah, 2^{9,10}.
 Remorse of ungodly, Wisd. 4²⁰⁻⁵¹⁴.
 Renew. *See* Creation, Earth, Heaven, Luminaries.
 Repay evil with good, Ah. 2²¹ (Syr. B).
 Repent, 1 En. 50² 55¹; of transgression, Zad. 2⁹ 94¹, cf. 9¹⁵. *See* Penitents, Return.
 Repentance, Sir. § 4 Wisd. 12¹⁹ P.A. 4^{13,22} 5²¹; and confession, Sir. 4²⁶ⁿ. 17²⁸⁻³² 18²¹; appointed by God for some (as Manasseh), P.Man. 7, and not for others (as Abraham), § 8; call to, Wisd. 11²³ 12^{10,19}; cleansed through, Zad. 10¹⁶; covenant of, Zad. 9¹⁵ (B); day of, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸; example of, Sir. 44¹⁶ⁿ; exhortation to, Sir. 17²⁵⁻³²; God's mercy leads to, Wisd. 11²³; meritorious, Sir. 17²⁴ⁿ. 18²¹ⁿ; of individual, T.R. 1⁹ 2¹ T.S. 2¹³ T.Jud. 15⁴ T.G. 5⁶⁻⁸ T. Jos. 6⁶ T.B. 5⁴; of nation, T.Jud. 23⁵ⁿ. T.Z. 9⁷

- T.D. 6⁴; necessary to coming of kingdom, Ass.Mos. 1¹⁸; one day before death, i.e. at once, P.A. 2¹⁴; place of, Wisd. 12^{10,20} 4Ez. 9¹²; place of, no, 2Bar. 85¹²; = return to Law, 4Ez. 7¹³³, cf. Zad. 19^{9,11,14} 20²; unto hope, 1En. 40⁸. Contrast 'No place of repentance', 1En. 65¹¹, and 63¹⁻¹¹.
- Rephaim, Jub. 1¹⁸ 29⁹.
- Reproof of friend, duty of, Sir. 19¹⁸⁻¹⁷ Zad. 10¹⁰.
- Resaias, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Resignation to God's Will, Sir. 2⁴⁻⁶.
- Rest, a, 4Ez. 85²; for souls of righteous, not of wicked, 4Ez. 7^{80,91,95}.
- Restitution, Zad. 10⁸ 19⁵.
- Resurrection, 2Macc. 12⁴³ 1En. § 11(c), 5¹ 22¹³ 51¹ 61⁶ 90³³ 91¹⁰ 100⁶ T.Jud. 25^{1,4} T.Z. 10² T.B. 10²⁻⁸ 2En. 50² 65⁶; at close of temporary Messianic kingdom, 2Bar. 30²; belief in, 2Macc. 7^{9,9} 12⁴⁴; for judgement, 2Bar. 50⁴; in 1Enoch, differing conceptions of: (a) to earthly Messianic kingdom of eternal duration of soul (spirit) and body, 1En. 6-36, 83-90; (b) to spiritual kingdom, in which the righteous have a spiritual body, 37-71; (c) resurrection of spirit only, 91-104, cf. 91¹⁰ 100⁶; not referred to in 1Bar. § 11; of body, 2En. 65⁶ 2Bar. 50-51; not expected in Jubilees, Jub. § 15, nor in 4 Ezra, § 9; of godly, Sib. 4¹⁸⁷⁻¹⁹¹; of good and evil deeds, 4Ez. 7³⁵; of life and spirit, 2Macc. 14⁶; of martyrs to life everlasting, 7^{9,11,14}, see Life; of patriarchs, then of righteous, Test. § 16 T.B. 10⁶⁻⁸; postulated for participation of pious dead in blessedness of final age, 4Ez. 54¹; of righteous only with bodies, 2Macc. 7^{11,23} 14⁶; to life eternal, i.e. participation in Messianic kingdom on earth, 2Macc. § 7; spiritual, of righteous, Jub. 23³¹.
- Retribution, P.A. 17²¹⁸⁻²⁰ 12^{13,19} 51^{2,11,26} 65⁶; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, 21¹⁰; confined to this life, 41^{3,4}; individual, 28¹¹ 61² 112⁶ 12²; continued in fortunes of descendants, 112²⁸ 23²⁴⁻²⁶ 40¹⁵ 41⁶ 44¹¹⁻¹³, see Sheol; future, Wisd. 19¹⁵; in kind, § 1, 11^{5,16}; national and individual, 1 En. § 11; on the sinner, Sir. 32²⁶⁻²⁸ 16⁸⁻¹⁴, see Punishment, Wrath; theory of, 2Macc. 61²⁻¹⁶. See Judgement.
- Return, from corrupt way, Zad. 19⁷; to law of Moses, 19^{9,11,14} 20².
- Return to Jerusalem, first, under Cyrus, 1Esd. 2⁸⁻¹⁶ (Sheshbazzar); second under Darius, 5¹⁻⁴³ (Zerubbabel), register of, 5⁷⁻⁴⁶; under Artaxerxes, 8¹⁻⁴⁰ (Ezra).
- Reu, Jub. 10¹⁸ 11¹.
- Reuben, Jub. 28^{1,17} 33^{2,4,7,8,9,15,22} 34²⁰ 38^{7,8} 42¹⁸ 44¹² T.R. 11²⁵ 3⁹ 7¹ T.S. 2^{9,10} T.L. 6³ T.Jud. 5² 9⁷ 13³ 25² T.Iss. 13⁴ T.Z. 27^{4,5,7} T.G. 1⁶ Test. App. II 3; defiles Jacob's bed, T.K. 1⁶ 34¹; punished, T.R. 17.
- Reveal, hidden things wherein all Israel had erred, Zad. 5¹; salvation and righteousness, 9⁴³.
- Revealed, everything that was of the law, Zad. 19¹².
- Revelation. See Apocalyptic, Apocrypha.
- Revelations, gained by Adam after eating of tree, A. & E. 29²⁻¹⁰; of Enoch, to be handed down, 2En. 33⁹; and kept till the end of time, 33¹¹; revealed to faithful in due time, 35²; preceded by fasting, see Fasts; to be kept secret = Apocrypha, 1En. 82¹ 104¹¹⁻¹³ Ass. Mos. 1¹⁶ 10¹¹ 11¹ 4Ez. 12³⁷ 14^{26,46,47}. See Faithful.
- Revenge forbidden, Ah. 2^{17,18,21} (Syr. B). See Forgiveness.
- Reward, P.A. 2^{1,2,19,20} 3⁴ 4¹ 5¹ 6⁵; for faithful, 4Ez. 7⁸³; laid up with Most High, 13⁶⁶; of filial duty, Sir. 31¹⁶; of loyalty to the law, 33(36)¹⁻³; of righteousness and sin, 27⁸⁻¹⁰; of righteous, 32⁹⁻³¹ 112² 161^{3,14}; of those who seek Wisdom, 41¹⁻¹⁹, of wise, 20^{27,28}. See Nemesis, Recompense, Retribution.
- Rewards of precepts, P.A. 2¹².
- Rhea, Sib. 3^{127,132,135,138,143,148,150,402} 5¹³¹.
- Rhodes, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3⁴⁴⁴.
- Rhodian, Sib. 4¹⁰¹.
- Rhodocus, a traitor, 2Macc. 13²¹.
- Rhodophorus, title of Ptolemais, 3Macc. 7¹⁷.
- Rhondacus, Sib. 3⁴⁴³.
- Rich, avoid quarrels with, Sir. 8²; avoid associating with, 13²⁻⁸; and poor cannot associate, 13¹⁸⁻²⁰; how treated by world, 13²¹⁻²³; anxieties of, 31(34)¹⁻⁴; fool, parable of, 11¹⁹; Lord of. See God, titles of.
- Riches, Tob. 12⁸ 1En. 46⁷ 94⁸ 96⁴ 97¹⁰ 100⁶, cf. 98³ 103⁵. See Mammon, Wealth.
- Right-doing, precepts on, Sir. 42²⁰⁻²⁸.
- Righteous, 1En. 1⁸ 5⁶ 10^{17,21} 25⁴ 38⁸⁻⁵ 39⁴ 43⁴ 45⁶ 47^{1,2,4} 48^{1,7,9} 50² 53⁷ 56⁷ 58^{3,5} 60² 61³ 62³ 82⁴ 91¹⁰ 94^{8,11} 95⁷ 96^{1,8} 97^{1,3,5} 98¹²⁻¹⁴ 99³ 100^{6,7,10} 102^{4,10} 103¹ 104^{1,9,12,13} Ps. Sol. 2³⁸ 3⁸⁻¹⁴ 4⁹ 10³ 12⁵⁻⁸ 14⁶ 15⁸ 16¹⁵; good name of, lasts for ever, Sir. 41¹¹⁻¹³, see Reward; observed faithfully the law, 4Ez. 7^{89,94}; One, see Messiah; only seem to die, Wisd. 3²; = Pharisees or Chasidim in Ps. Sol. § 5, hope in future life, 13⁹⁻¹¹ 14³ 15¹⁵ 17¹⁻³, Messianic expectation, spiritual, 17²³ 18⁶, oppose non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaeon monarchy, 17^{7,8}; pious, § 5, 3¹⁰ &c.;
- political Quietists, 12⁶; poor, 10⁷ 15² 18³; prayer of, 1En. 47^{1,2,4} 97^{3,5} 99³ Zad. 14¹; risen, the, 2Bar. 51¹⁰; soul of, attacked, Zad. 11⁵; to shine as light of stars, 2Bar. 51¹⁰ 4Ez. 7⁹⁷.
- Righteousness, Tob. 4^{5,6} 12⁸; = almsgiving, Sir. 7¹⁰; by the Law, 2Bar. 67⁶; imputed, denied, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵, see 82²⁻⁴⁰; Messiah and, 1En. 39⁶ 46³ 53⁷ 61⁴ 62³ 71^{14,16}; various conceptions of, 2Bar. 24¹; week of, 1En. 91¹². See Paths, Statutes, Teacher.
- Rim. See Rimman.
- Rimman, 2En. 57² (A, 'Rim' B).
- River = Euphrates, 4Ez. 13⁴³, 44⁴⁷.
- River, fiery, 2En. 10², cf. 1En. 14¹⁹.
- Rivers, the seven, 1En. 77⁶⁻⁷.
- Robe, of priesthood, T.L. 8²; of righteousness from God, 1Bar. 5².
- Robel, i.e. Arbela, Jub. 34⁸.
- Rock of Isaac, i.e. God, Sir. 51^{12,1}.
- Roimus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Roman, Sib. 4¹²⁶; conquest of Judaea, 1Bar. § 1; destruction of Jerusalem, Jews suffer terribly in, 1Bar. § 7; emperors, history of, Sib. 5¹²⁻⁵⁰; Empire = eagle of 4Ez. 10⁶⁰⁻¹²³; doom of, 11⁴¹⁻⁴⁵.
- Romans, 1Macc. § 7iii (a)(c) (letters to, 81¹⁻³², see Letters) 81^{23,27,29} 12¹⁶ 14⁴⁰ 15¹⁶ 2Macc. 4¹¹ 81^{10,36} 11³⁴; letter of, 11³⁴, historicity of, § 1. See Gabinius, Judaea, Pompey.
- Rome, 1Macc. 10¹⁷ 18^{17,19,24,26,28} 121³ 14^{16,24} 15¹⁵ Sib. 3^{46,52,161,350,352,356,364} 4^{123,138,145} 5^{139,445,463}; already feared in Sib. 3¹⁷⁵⁻¹⁹³; conquest of Greece by, 3⁶²⁰ sqq.; doom of, 5³⁸⁶⁻⁴⁰²; great disaster to, in Asia, 3³⁵⁰⁻³⁶²; wickedness concentrated in, in Eagle Vision, 4Ez. 11-12, § 10; will fall under Messiah, 12³².
- Root. See Planting.
- Rosh, Jub. 44²⁶.
- Rothens, T.N. 1¹⁰.
- Royal treasury, Tob. 12²⁰.
- Rude man, i.e. *bör*, P.A. 2⁹ 5¹⁰.
- Rufinus, Sir. § 8.
- Rule, i.e. halachah, P.A. 3^{16,23} 5^{10,11}.
- Ruler of Zadokites, to be Priest or Levite, Zad. 15⁴⁻⁶. See Judges.
- Rulers, need of wisdom in, Sir. 91⁷⁻¹⁰; pride in, ruins nations, 10⁶⁻¹⁸; avoid associating with, 13⁹⁻¹³. See Mighty.
- †Rumael, 1En. 69².
- Rumjal, 1En. 69².
- Rust, of wickedness, Sir. 12^{10,11}; treasures not to, 29¹⁰.
- Sabanneus, 1Esd. 4³³.
- Sabannus, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
- Sabateus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Sabathus, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
- Sabbateus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
- Sabbataeus, an elder, Arist. 49.
- Sabbatarianism, 2 Macc. 8²⁶ sq. 12³⁸ 15⁴.
- Sabbath, 2Macc. 5²⁵ 6^{5,11} 8²⁸ 15^{1,3} Jub. 21^{17-21,24,28-31} 4¹⁸ 2En. 32²; carefully observed by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 8²⁶⁻²⁹; day, 1Macc. 2^{32,35,38}; massacre of faithful Jews on, 23³³⁻³⁸ 93^{4,43} 103⁴; by Apollonius, 2Macc. 5²⁴⁻²¹. In Jubilees: § 15, 21¹⁷⁻³¹; appointed as a sign for all God's works, not observed by lower orders of angels, as by higher, § 15, 21^{17,32}; observed by highest angels, 21³; by Israel also later, 22^{20-24,27-33}; fasting on, 50¹²; journey on, 50⁸; laws regarding, 50⁶⁻¹³; strict observance of, 50⁸; war on, 50¹², see 1 Macc. 23³¹⁻³⁸ 2Macc. 61¹ 15¹. In Zad. Frag.: holy, Zad. 13¹ 14³; journey, limit to, 13^{7,14}; laws regarding, 13^{1-11,13-27}; observe, 81⁵ 13¹; profane, 14⁶; keeping of, permitted by Demetrius I, 1 Macc. 10³⁴; meaning of, in Lev. 23^{15,16}, (i) = feast day, (ii) = seventh day of unleavened bread, (iii) = weekly Sabbath, Jub. 15¹; mourning on, forbidden, Apoc. Mos. 43³; not to be kept, 2 Macc. 6⁵; profaning of, 1Macc. 14^{3,45} 23⁴; profaning of, tolerated, 1Macc. § 3, 24¹; sign of resurrection and rest of age to come, A. & E. 51²; strict observance of, leads to massacre of Jewish fugitives, 1Macc. 22⁹⁻³⁸.
- Sabbaths, Jub. 110¹⁴ 23¹⁹ 50^{1-3,6,7,9,10-13}; and festivals, God's holy, Zad. § 9⁴, 5².
- Sabbatical year, 1 Macc. 64⁹.
- Sabbes, 1Esd. 9³².
- Sabi, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Sabias, 1Esd. 1⁹.
- Sabie, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
- Sacrifice, acceptable, Sir. 35¹⁻¹¹ (32¹⁻¹³), and unacceptable, 34¹⁸⁻²⁶ (31²¹⁻³¹); animal, abhorred, Sib. 4^{29,30}; Jews compelled to, 3Macc. 2²⁸; penitence as to, Azar. 17; to the dead, Tob. 4¹⁷.
- Sacrifices, animal, T.L. 9^{7,13}; ceased, 1Macc. 14⁵ Azar. 15; depreciated, 2En. 45¹⁻³; directions as to, 45³ 59^{2,3} 61^{4,5} 66²; in heaven, T.L. 3⁶; of righteousness, Sir. 7³¹; polluted, 1En. 89³⁷; to idol, vain, 30^{18,19}; unclean, offered, 1Macc. 14⁷. See Pollution.
- Sacrificial system. See Offering.
- Sadducee, Ass. Mos. § 8. See Sceptic.
- Sadducees, Wisd. 1¹ 1En. 38⁶ 94⁵ 95⁸ 98¹⁵ 103^{14,15}; accepted O.T. but not tradition and scribe law, Sir. § 4; = 'children of earth', 1En. 100⁶; devourers of goods of poor, Ass. Mos. 7⁶, cf. Ps. Sol. 4¹¹ &c.; had set up non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaeon monarchy, Ps. Sol. 17^{7,8} § 5; in control of law-courts, Sus. § 7; referred to, in Ass. Mos.

7³⁻¹⁰; severity of, in judgment, Ps.Sol. 4¹ⁿ; Sirach expresses standpoint of, Sir. § 4; support O.T. view of Sheol and of retribution in this life, 1En. 102⁴⁻¹⁰. See Sceptic.
Sadduceism, unreformed, Zad. §§ 9⁵⁰ 101. See Zadokite Party.
Sadduk, 1Esd. 8².
Saints and meek-hearted, Azar. 6⁵; of the Most High, 6³³; whom God pardoned, Zad. 6⁴.
Salamiel, Judith 8¹.
Salamis in Cyprus, Sib. 4¹²⁸ 5⁴⁶².
Salasada, Judith 8¹.
Salathiel, 1Esd. 5^{5,48,56} 6².
Salathiel, 4Ez. § 6; [= Ezra, 4Ez. 3¹].
Salathiel-Apocalypse. See Ezra, 4 Book of.
Salem, 1Esd. 8².
Salem, Jub. 30¹; valley of, Judith 4⁴.
Salimoth, 1Esd. 8³⁶.
Sallumus, 1Esd. 9²⁵.
Salman, Jub. 38^{20,21}.
Salmanasar, 2Bar. 62⁶, 4Ez. 13⁴⁰. See Alagar Zagar, Leba Nasr.
Saloas, 1Esd. 9²².
Salom, 1Bar. 1⁷.
Salt of the covenant, Jub. 21¹¹.
Salt Sea, Jub. 13²². See Siddim, Vale of.
Salum, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
Salvation, Zad. 9^{43,54}; in temporal sense, Sir. 3¹; security of righteous dead in intermediate state, 4Ez. 8³⁹ⁿ; to arise from Levi and Judah, see Levi and Judah, Works.
Samaia, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Samaia, 1Esd. 8³⁹.
Samaia, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
Samaria, 1Esd. 2^{16,25} 1Macc. 7¹⁰ 10^{30,38} 11⁸⁴ (added to Judaea 10^{30,38}) 2Macc. 15¹ Tob. 14⁴ Judith 1⁹ 4⁴ Arist. 107 Mart. Is. 12^{13,14,16n} 3^{2,3}. See Sebaste.
Samaritan, Mart. Is. 3¹.
Samaritans, 1En. 90⁷ⁿ; hospitality of, 2Macc. 6²; oppose rebuilding of temple, 2¹⁸⁻²⁴ 5⁶⁶; relations with returning Jews, 1Esd. § 5(a). See Zadokite Party.
Samatuz, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Samellius, 1Esd. 2^{16,17,25,30}.
Sameus, 1Esd. 9²¹.
Samians, Sib. 3⁴⁵².
Samjaza, 1En. 69². See also Semjaza.
Sammuel, Angel of Death, Sir. 25²⁴ⁿ.
Sammael, angel, 3Bar. 4⁸ 9⁷; led Adam astray, 4⁸; planted vine, 4⁸; used serpent as disguise, 9⁷.
Sammael Malchira, Mart. Is. 1^{8n,11} 2¹.
Sammus, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
Samon, Jub. 44²⁸.
Samos, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3³⁶³ 4⁹¹.
Sampsames, 1Macc. 15²².
Samsapeel, 1En. 6⁷. See also Shamsiel and Simapesiel.
Samuel, the prophet, 1Esd. 1²⁰

Sir. 46¹³⁻²⁰ 1En. 82^{41,44n} 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 47.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 49.
Samuel, an elder, Arist. 50.
Samuel, the Small, P.A. 4²⁴.
Samuil, an angel, 2En. 33⁶ (A, 'Semil' B).
Sanaas, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
Sanabassar, Sanabassar, governor of Judaea. See Sheshbazzar.
Sanasib, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
Sanctification, angels of. See Angels.
Sanctified, see Holy Land: peoples, tribes, Ps. Sol. 17^{48,49}.
Sanctuary, Sir. 50⁵ 51¹² vii.; the, P.A. 5⁸ 6¹¹, see Temple; built by God, will be, Jub. 1¹⁷; built unto all ages, 1²⁷ 2^{5,21}; burnt, rebuilt, A. & E. 20^{9,6}; desecrated by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1²¹, by Apollonius, 1³⁷; idols in, Ass. Mos. 2⁸. In Zad. Frag.: 1³ⁿ 5⁷ 6¹¹ 7⁸ 8^{11,12} 9⁴⁷ 14⁴; city of the, 14⁴; entering, conditions of, 8¹¹; of God, 1³ 5¹; of Zadokites, § 5; pollution of, 6¹¹ 7⁸ 9⁴⁷; wealth of, 8¹²; keys of, cast up to the Lord, 2Bar. 10¹⁸; of the Lord, in world to come, Wisd. 3¹⁴; pollution of, 1Macc. 1⁴⁶ 3^{45,51,58}, see Pollution; profaning of, Jub. 30¹⁶; tower of, Ass. Mos. 2⁴, see Tower.
Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1^{10b} (see Senate) Judith 11¹⁴ⁿ. See Council.
Sanherib. See Sennacherib.
Sanir mountains, Jub. 82¹ 9⁴.
Saphat, 1Esd. 5⁹.
Saphat, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Saphatias, 1Esd. 8³⁴.
Sapphuthi, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Sarabias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Sarah, Tob. 3^{7,17} 6¹¹ 5⁹.
Sarah, Jub. 15^{16,17,19,21} 16^{1,2,12} 15^{16,19} 17^{4,6} 19^{2,7,11} 23⁷ 35^{20,21,27} 36²¹ T.L. 6⁸.
Sarai, Jub. 12⁹ 13^{1,13,15} 14²¹⁻²³; name changed to Sarah, 15¹⁵.
Saraia, i.e. Seraiah, 1Esd. 5⁵.
Sarapis, Sib. 5⁴⁸⁷.
Saraqael, 1En. 20⁶.
Sarasael, angel, 3Bar. 4¹⁵.
Sardis, Sib. 5²⁸⁹.
Sardo, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷.
Saregan or Seragan, Jub. 34^{4,7}.
Sarhadum, Ah. 1^{1,13} (Syr. Arab.); father of Sennacherib in Syr. Arab. Versions for most part; but rightly son of Sennacherib in Papyrus 1⁸ (= Esaraddon), *passim*.
Sariel, 1En. 6⁷ 8³.
Sarotheic, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Satan, Mart. Is. 2^{4,7} A. & E. 9¹ Apoc. Mos. 17¹ 1En. 54⁶ T.D. 3⁶ 5⁶ 6¹ T.G. 4⁷ T.A. 6^{4(β)} Ass. Mos. 10¹ (= Satomail, Sotona, 2En. 20^{4,5n} 31⁴⁻⁷); (= the Serpent), 4Macc. 18⁸; and the Satans, 1En. § 11(d); appears as angel, Apoc. Mos. 17¹, as serpent, 17⁴; chief of demons, Jub. § 15, see Demonology; no Satan, or evil one, 23²⁹ 40⁹ 46² 50⁶ Ass. Mos. 10¹.

Satanail, 2En. 18³ⁿ 29^{4,5n} 31⁴.
Satans, 1En. 6⁵; accuse as in O.T., 40⁷; punish, 53³ 56¹ 62¹¹ 63¹; tempt, 69^{4,9}.
Satarel, 1En. 6⁷.
Sathrabuzanes, i.e. Shetharbozenai, 1Esd. 6²⁷ 7¹.
Satomail. See Satan.
Saul, 1En. 89⁴³ⁿ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸.
Saul of Raaboth, Jub. 38^{21,22}.
Saved, many to be, 2Bar. 21¹¹. See Fewness, Many.
Savias, 1Esd. 8².
Scales, the, constellation, Sib. 5⁶²⁰.
Scalping, 2Macc. 7⁴.
Sceptic denies God's intervention, Sir. 16²⁰⁻²³, cf. 1En. 98⁷; disbelieves in angels, 16²²ⁿ.
Sceptre = Messiah, prince of all the congregation, Zad. 9⁹; to rise out of Israel, 9⁸.
Schatzhöhle, Die, A. & E. §§ 4, 8.
Schedia, 3Macc. 4¹¹.
Scornfulness, Tob. 4¹³.
Scorpio, Sib. 5⁶²⁵.
Scribe, ideal, described, Sir. 39¹⁻¹¹; = reader, *Prologue*, 3ⁿ; superior to labourer and artisan, 38²⁴⁻³⁰, of the knowledge of the Most High, 4Ez. 14⁶⁰, cf. Enoch. See 1Esd. 8⁸.
Scribes, activity of, Sir. *Prologue* 4, 9 notes; degeneracy of, § 4; 'handlers of the Law', 15¹ⁿ; position and character of, in time of Sirach, Sir. 38²⁴⁻³⁹ 11ⁿ; = teachers of Law, 4Ez. 8²⁹.
Scriptures, Arist. 56, 154, 168.
Scythed chariots, 2Macc. 13².
Scythian cruelty, 3Macc. 7⁵; fashion, 4Macc. 10⁷.
Scythians, 2Macc. 4⁴⁷ 4Macc. 10⁷.
Scythopolis = Bethshan, Judith 3¹⁰ 2Macc. 12^{29n,30}.
Sea, a great, in heaven, T.L. 2⁷; Great, = the Mediterranean, Jub. 9⁶; 1En. 77^{6,7,8} Test. App. 1⁴; man from the, see Man; 'of the heap, Jub. 29¹⁴; power which came up from, = Rome, 4Ez. 11¹ⁿ.
Seal of Sion, reference to coinage (?), 4Ez. 10²³; of truth, 7¹⁰⁴ⁿ.
Sealing, of righteous, 4Ez. 6⁵ⁿ; = closing, of the age, 6²⁰.
Seasons, Angels or Spirits of, Jub. 2². See Angels.
Sebaste = Samaria, Sib. 3⁶³; or = Augustus' family, 3⁶³ⁿ.
Sebat, month, 16¹⁴ⁿ.
Sechenias, 1Esd. 8²⁹.
Sechenias, 1Esd. 8³².
Secret revelation, 4E z. 12³⁷ⁿ, see Apocrypha; sins = mystery cults, Wisd. 17³ⁿ.
Secrets, betrayal of, Sir. 27¹⁶⁻²¹ 4E. 41⁸ 65¹¹ 68^{1,2} 71³, cf. 40² 46² (evil) 60⁸; eternal... in heaven, 9⁸, cf. 10⁷ 16³; of angels, 6^{5,11}; clouds, 41⁸; depths, 61⁵; of God, 63⁸; the heavens, 41¹; ends of heaven, 71⁴; the holy, 106¹⁹, see Mysteries; lightning, 50³, see Thunder; the righteous, 38³; righteous-

ness, 49² 58⁵ 71³; of sin, 83⁷; thunder and lightning, 41³ 59¹⁻³; winds, 41⁸; wisdom, 51⁹ 69⁸.
Secularization of Pharisaism, Ass. Mos. § 1.
Sedekias, king, 1Bar. 1⁹ 1Esd. 1⁴⁶. See Zedekiah.
Sedekias, 1Bar. 1⁴.
Sedeqetelebab, city, Jub. 7^{16,17}.
Seir, abhorred, Sir. 50²⁶ T. Jud. 9³; land of, Jub. 29¹³; mount, 29¹⁸; mountains of, 36¹⁹ 38^{9,10}.
Selemias, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Selemias, an elder, Arist. 49.
Seleucia, port of Antioch, 1Macc. 11⁸.
Seleucid era. See Greek kingdom.
Seleucus. See Demetrius I.
Seleucus IV, king of Asia, 2Macc. 3³ 4⁷ 5¹⁸; Nicanor, 4Macc. 3²⁰ⁿ 4^{3,4,13,15}.
Self-control, need of, Sir. 18³⁰⁻¹⁹ 22²⁷⁻²³. See Tongue.
Self-esteem, right and wrong kind of, Sir. 10²⁶⁻²⁹.
Sellasar, Jub. 13²².
Selo = Shiloh, Jub. 34^{4,7}.
Semei, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9³³.
Semei, T.L. 12¹.
Semeias, Add. Esth. A¹.
Semeis, 1Esd. 9²³.
Semelias, Tob. 5¹⁴.
Semiazaz, 1En. 6⁷.
Semil. See Samuil.
Semitic original of 1 Esdras, 1Esd. § 2.
Semjaza, 1En. 6³ 8³ 9⁷ 10¹¹. See also 6⁷ 69² and Samjaza, Semiazaz.
Senate = Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1^{10b}, Judith 11¹⁴; of Rome, description of, 1Macc. 8^{15,19}.
Senegereim = Sanherib in Ah. 1¹ et *passim* (Arm.).
Seneser, 1En. 13⁹.
Seniqar, criminal substituted for Ahikar, Ah. 4^{10,11} (Arm.). See Marzifan.
Sennacherib, 2Macc. 8¹⁹ 15²²; 3Macc. 6⁵ Tob. 15^{15,18,22} Sir. 48¹⁸ 2Bar. 63^{2,4} 4Ez. 7¹¹⁰; or Sanherib, king of Assyria, Ah. 1¹ et *passim*.
Senses, seven, T.R. 2³⁻⁹ Sir. 17⁴ *crit. n.*; five, T.N. 2⁸ Sir. 17⁵ⁿ. Cf. 2En. 30⁹.
Separate according to the Law, Zad. 7⁸.
Sephantiphans = Zaphnath-paaneah, Jub. 40¹⁰.
Seragan or Saregan, Jub. 34^{4,7}.
Serah, Jub. 44²¹.
Seraphim, Apoc. Mos. 33³ 1En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷ 2En. 12¹ⁿ 19⁶ 29³ (B). See Angels.
Serar, 1Esd. 5³².
Sered, Jub. 44¹⁷.
Seriah, 2Bar. 5⁵.
Sermon, in synagogue (?), 4Macc. = a, 4Macc. § 6.
Seroh, Jub. 11^{1,5}.
Seron, 1Macc. 3^{13,23}.
Serpent, Ps. Sol. 4¹¹; bites Seth, A. & E. 37¹; tempts Eve, Jub. 3¹⁷ 4Macc. 18⁸; punished, 3²³. See Satan.

- Serpent worship, Wisd. 11¹⁵
15¹⁸ Bel. § 2.
Serpents, the, 1En. 20⁷.
Serug, Jub. 11⁶.
Servant and slave, duty to, Sir.
7²⁰⁻²¹; how to treat, 4³⁰ 33²⁴⁻³¹
(30³³⁻⁴⁰).
Servants of the Lord = Levites(?),
Azar. 63.
Serve the Holy One, used of
Levitical priests, Sir. 4¹⁴ⁿ.
Service, the, P.A. 1².
Sesis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Sesthel, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Seth, Sir. 49¹⁶ Jub. 4^{7,11} 19²⁴
1En. 37¹ A. & E. 23³ 24² 25¹ 26²
31^{1,3} 36¹ 37¹ 39^{1,2} 40¹ 41³ 43¹⁻³
44¹ 46^{1,2} 48^{1,6} 49¹ 51^{1,3} Apoc.
Mos. 4¹ 5³ 6^{1,3} 6³ 10¹ 12^{1,2}
13^{1,2} 14^{1,2} 34^{1,2} 35^{1,3} 36^{1,3} 37¹
38^{4,6} 42³ 43^{1,2} 2En. 33¹⁰; =
'a great white bull', 1En. 85⁹;
seed of Seth (or Sheth?),
Jub. 22¹²ⁿ.
Seven, 1En. 18⁶ⁿ 61¹¹ⁿ 77⁸ⁿ.
&c.; brethren and mother
martyred, 2Macc. 7¹⁻⁴²; days
of creation, 4Macc. 14²ⁿ, see
Heavens; men, i.e. angels, or-
dain Levi, T.L. 8^{25qq}; natures,
2En. 30⁹ⁿ; powers of man,
30³; senses, see Senses; sons
and mother, martyrdom of,
4Macc. 8³⁻¹⁸²³; spirits of de-
ceit, see Spirits; substances,
man formed from, 2En. 30⁸ⁿ;
ways of souls of righteous and
wicked, 4Ez. 7⁸¹⁻⁹⁹; orders,
i.e. emotions, 7⁹¹ⁿ.
Seventh-year periods, 4Macc.
2⁸ⁿ.
Seventy—and seven years' cap-
tivity, Ass.Mos. 3¹⁴ⁿ; nations,
have seventy languages and
seventy ministering angels,
Test. App. I 85⁶; weeks, T.L.
16¹; years' captivity, reinter-
preted as seven generations,
cf. Ep. Jer. § 2, 3n. See Gen-
tile.
Shah, father of king of Persia,
Ah. 3⁷ (Arab.).
Shallum, son of Naphtali, Jub.
44³⁰.
Shalmaneser, Tob. 1^{2,12,15,16}.
Shame, moral duties inculcated
under category of, Sir. 4¹⁴⁻
42⁸; right and wrong, 4²¹.
Shamin, a god, Ah. 1⁴ (Arm.).
See Bel.
Shammai, P.A. 1^{12,15} 2⁹ 5²⁰;
school of, views on after-life,
4 Ez. 7¹³⁷ⁿ.
Shamsiel, 1En. 8³. See Sam-
sapeel.
Shaul, son of Simeon, Jub.
44¹³.
Shebet. See Sebat.
Shechem, city, Jub. 13¹ 30^{1,3-}
5^{24,26} 31² 34^{1,7,10} T.S. 2⁹ T.L.
2¹ 6^{8(β)} 7² T.Jud. 4¹ Test.
App. II 3.
Shechem, person, Jub. 30^{1,2,3,24}
Test. App. II 78.
Shechemite, Judith 5¹⁶.
Shechemites, Jub. 30^{5,12,17} Test.
App. II 1-3, 4Macc. 2¹⁹; slaugh-
ter of, Judith 9³, ordained in
heaven, Jub. 30⁶, reckoned for
righteousness to Simeon and
Levi, 30¹⁷; circumcision of,
not referred to, 30²⁻⁶ⁿ.
Shechinah, the, 4Ez. 7¹¹²ⁿ.
P.A. 3^{3,8}; a mode of referring
to God, P.A. 3³ⁿ; 'the divine
dwelling', 4Ez. 10⁴⁷.
Shedim, 2Bar. 10⁸ⁿ.
Sheep, blinded, 1En. 90²⁶;
white (= Jacob), 89¹²; Lord
of, see God, titles of.
Shem, Sir. 49¹⁶ Jub. 4³³ 7^{9,11,12,16}
8^{10,12,17,18,21,30} 9² 10^{13,31} 19^{24,27}
T.B. 10⁶ Test. App. I 8⁶, lot of,
Jub. 8¹²; seed of, Jub. 19¹⁷.
Shema, the, P.A. 2¹⁷ⁿ.
Shemaiah, P.A. 1¹⁰.
Shemoneh Esreh, relation of, to
Sirach, Sir. § 7 iv.
Sheol, Tob. 3^{6,10} 4¹⁹ 13² Sir.
14¹⁶ 4¹⁴ 48⁵ 51^{2,5,6,19} Jub. 5¹⁴
7²⁹ 22²² 24³¹ 2Bar. 11⁶ⁿ 52²ⁿ.
56⁶ⁿ 83¹⁷ Ps.Sol. 4¹⁵ 14⁶ 15¹¹
16², see Hades, Pit; abode of
souls of wicked dead, 4Ez.
4⁴¹ⁿ; and darkness and de-
struction, Ps.Sol. 14⁸; concep-
tion of, in 1 Enoch: 1En. 22⁽ⁿ⁾.
51 56⁸ 63¹⁰ⁿ 99¹¹ⁿ 102⁴ⁿ.
104⁶ⁿ; (i) O.T. conception—
the goal of all, involving
social, not moral distinctions,
63¹⁰ⁿ 102¹¹; (ii) the inter-
mediate state of the righteous
and the wicked involving moral
distinctions, 22 51¹ 63¹⁰ⁿ.
102⁵, cf. 100⁵; three hollow
places in, 22; (iii) the inter-
mediate state of the wicked,
63¹⁰ⁿ; (iv) the final abode of
the wicked = hell, 63¹⁰ⁿ 99¹¹ⁿ.
103⁷ⁿ, see Gehenna. In
Sirach: Sir. 21¹⁰ⁿ; eternal
rest, 31¹⁷; life in, no organic
connexion with life on earth—
no account of past life on earth
—no reproaches in, 41⁴; no de-
light of life, 14¹⁶; no light for
those who dwell there, 22¹¹;
no recognition of God, 17²⁸,
see Hades; gates of, Ps.Sol.
16²; life in, O.T. teaching of
reproduced in 1 Bar. 2^{16,17};
New Testament meaning of,
first found in 1En. § 11(c);
Old Testament doctrine of,
opposed in 102⁴—104⁹.
Shepherd, censor as, Zad. 16³;
smite the . . . &c., 9(B).
Shepherds of Israel perished,
2Bar. 77¹³; to be found in the
Law, 77¹⁵; the Seventy, 1En.
82⁵⁹ⁿ—90¹ 90^{13,17,25}.
Sheshbazzar, governor of Judaea,
1Esd. 2^{12,15} (Sanabassar) 6^{18,20};
return of, § 1, § 6(a) 2¹⁵ⁿ.
Shelah, Jub. 8^{5,6}.
Shelah, Jub. 41^{6,7,20} 44¹⁵ T.Jud.
10⁶ 11⁸.
Sheth. See Seth.
Shetharbozenai. See Sathra-
buzanes.
Shield of Abraham, i.e. God,
Sir. 51¹²ⁿ.
Shiloh. See Selo.
Shimei, Test. App. II 74.
Shimil, a god, Ah. 1⁴ (Arm.).
See Bel.
Shimron, Jub. 44¹⁶.
Shinar, Jub. 9³ 10^{18-20,25-27}
13²².
Ships, Jews to help Romans
with, 1Macc. 7²⁶.
Shuah, Jub. 19¹¹.
Shuni, Jub. 44²⁰.
Shur, Jub. 16¹⁰; wilderness of,
49²⁵.
Sibyl, the, Sib. § 2, 3⁸¹⁵ 4²²;
daughter of Gnostos, 3⁸¹⁵;
daughter-in-law of Noah, 3⁸²⁷;
prophetess of the Mighty God,
3⁸¹⁸ 4⁶.
Sibylline Oracles, the (Jewish),
account of, § 6; bibliography,
§ 9; MSS., § 7; Sibyl, the,
§ 2; Sibylline verses, earliest,
§ 3, general character of, § 1;
Jewish, § 4, in later history,
§ 5; Roman collection of, §§ 3,
5; theology of, § 8.
Siccuth = the tabernacle, Zad. 9⁶.
Sichem, foolish nation that
dwelleth in, Sir. 50²⁶; abhorred,
50²⁶.
Sicily, Sib. 4⁸⁰ 5¹⁶.
Sick, duty to, Sir. 7³⁵. See
Visiting.
Sickness. See Physician.
Sicyon, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3⁴⁸⁷.
Siddim, Vale of, Jub. 13²².
Side, 1Macc. 15²³.
Sidon, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ 1Macc. 5¹⁵
Judith 2²⁸ Sus. 56 Mart.Is. 5¹³.
Sidonians, Sib. 3⁴⁵¹ 5²⁰³.
Sign, 1En. 55².
Signs of Zodiac, 1En. 48³ 72^{13,19}
75³; of the days, 82^{16,19}.
Signs of the End, 4Ez. 4⁵¹⁻⁵¹³
60²⁴—82³—9¹².
Silence, P.A. 1¹⁷ 3¹⁸; primeval,
2Bar. 3⁷, return to, for seven
days, 4Ez. 7³⁰; times for, Sir.
20¹⁻⁸.
Siloah, 1En. 26².
Simapiesiel, 1En. 69². See
Samsapeel.
Simeon ben Eleazar, P.A. 4²³.
Simeon ben Gamaliel, P.A. 1¹⁸.
Simeon ben Hillel (?), P.A. 1¹⁷.
Simeon ben Johai, P.A. 3⁵ 4¹⁷
6⁸.
Simeon ben Judah, P.A. 6⁸.
Simeon ben Menasia, P.A. 6⁹.
Simeon ben Nathaniel, P.A.
2^{10,12,13,17}.
Simeon ben Shetach, P.A. 1^{8,9}.
See Simeon ben Shetach.
Simeon the Just, P.A. 1².
Simeon, Jub. 28^{13,17} 30⁴ 33²²
34²⁰ 38⁸ 42^{6,9,10,22} 44¹³ 4Macc.
2¹⁹ T.S. 1^{1,2} 2^{1,2} 8¹ 9¹ T.L. 2²
6⁴ T.Jud. 6⁵ 25^{1,2} T.Z. 2¹ 3²
4^{2,11} T.G. 2^{3(β)}; jealous of
Joseph, T.S. 2^{6,14}; tribe of, to
be dispersed, 5⁶; and Levi,
see Shechemites, slaughter of.
Simeon, 1Macc. 2¹.
Simeon, 1Macc. 2⁶⁴. See Simon
Maccabaeus.
Simeon, son of Jeshua, called
Ben Sira—son of Jeshua, son
of Eleazar, son of Sira, Sir.
51³⁰.
Simeon, son of Jochanan, the
priest, Sir. 49¹⁵ⁿ—50²⁴; whether
Simon I or II, Sir. § 6 ii.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 47.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 48.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 49.
Simon II (?), high priest, 3Macc.
2¹ⁿ.
Simon ben Shetach, Sus. §§ 6, 7
Zad. § 9^{39,40}. See Simeon ben
Shetach.
Simon, a Benjamite, 2Macc.
3^{4,11} 4^{1,2,4,6,23} 4Macc. 4^{1,5};
and Jason, intrigues of, over
high-priesthood, 2Macc. 3⁴⁰⁻
4²².
Simon Chosameus, 1Esd. 9³².
Simon Maccabaeus, called Thas-
sis, 1Macc. 6 4, 2³ 5^{17,20,21} 5⁵⁵
9^{19,33,37,62,65,68} 10^{74,82} 11^{59,64,65}
12^{33,38} 13^{1,13,14,17,20,27,33-35,42,}
45,47,50,53 14⁴ 17,20,23-25,28¹ⁿ, 29,32,
35,40,41,48,49 15^{1,17,21,24,26,32,33,36}
16^{1,2,13,14,16} 2Macc. 8²² 10^{19,20}
14¹⁷; = heaven-sent king, Sib.
3⁶⁵⁵ⁿ; panegyric on, 1Macc.
3^{71(d)}; prosperity of Jews
under, Sib. 3⁵⁷³ⁿ; regarded
as Messiah, Jub. § 15, see
Messiah; history of, elected
leader, 1Macc. 13³; defeats
Tryphon, 13¹²⁻²⁴; treaty of,
with Demetrius II, 13³¹⁻⁴²;
captures Gazara and the citadel
of Jerusalem, 13⁴³⁻⁵³; ode in
praise of, 14⁴⁻¹⁵; renews alliance
with Rome, 14¹⁶⁻²⁴; hereditary
high-priesthood conferred on,
14²⁵⁻⁴⁹; three titles of, 14⁴²ⁿ;
asked to help Antiochus VII,
15¹⁻⁹; alliance of, with Rome
renewed, 15¹⁵⁻²⁴; covenant
with, broken by Antiochus
VII, 15²⁰⁻⁴¹; sons of, defeat
Cendebaeus, 16¹⁻¹⁰; murder
of, by Ptolemy, son of Abubus,
16¹¹⁻²⁴; threefold title bestowed
on: prince of people of God,
14²⁸ⁿ; leader and high-priest
for ever, 14⁴¹; captain and
governor, 14⁴⁷; victory of, in
Galilee, 5⁹⁻²³.
Simon Magus, Sib. 5²¹⁷. See
Beliar.
Sin, Tob. 4⁵ P.A. 1¹⁷ 2^{1,2,6} 3¹ 4²
5²¹ 6¹; author of 4Ez. conscious
of, 7^{48,64,118,126} 8^{17,31}; bear,
Zad. 10⁵; confession of, 3Macc.
2¹³ 6¹⁰, see Cleansed, Con-
fession; consists in alienation
from God, 4Ez. 7⁴⁸, unfaith-
fulness to Law, 9⁸⁶; doctrine
of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9 iv; due
to demons, 1En. 15^{8,9,11} 16¹;
to fall of angels, and the know-
ledge they imparted to man-
kind, 1En. § 11, 7⁵ 9^{1,6,8} 10⁸ⁿ.
16³, cf. 69¹¹; to man, 98⁴; to
Satan, 40⁷ 69⁶; God the
cause of, 15¹¹ⁿ; man of him-
self has created, 1En. 98⁴;
nature of, Sir. 21¹⁻¹⁰; no
doctrine of, in Arist. § 6, 3;
of Adam, 1En. 32⁶; of Eve,
69⁶; of fornication, Zad. 7¹⁻⁴;
of polluting Sanctuary, 7⁸⁻¹⁸;
original, 2Bar. § 10, see Ori-
ginal; originated with Eve,
Sir. 25²⁴; Stoic doctrine of,
4Macc. 5²⁰; to come to an
end, T.L. 18⁹; traced to evil
heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3²⁰⁻²²
4³⁰ 7¹¹⁶⁻¹²⁰; transmitted to
descendants, 3²⁵⁻²⁶, see Yetzer;
unconsciousness of, T.Iss. 7¹
T.Z. 1^{4,5}; universal, 4Ez. 3^{35,36}
7¹¹⁶⁻¹³¹ 83⁵, cause of ills of this
age, 4^{27,28} 7⁴⁸ 83¹.

INDEX

- Sina, Mount, Sib. 3²⁵⁶. See Sinai.
- Sinaar, Jub. 10¹⁸.
- Sinai, Judith 5¹⁴ Sir. 48⁷ Jub. Prologue 1⁵ 4²⁶ 8¹⁹ 48² 50^{1,2} 1En. 14^{89,29,32,33n} 4Ez. 3¹⁷ 14⁴; centre of desert, Jub. 8¹⁹; desert of, 50¹.
- Singers. See Asaph, sons of.
- Single-minded man, T.Iss. 4²⁻⁵.
- Singleness, T.Iss. 3¹ⁿ, see Rectitude; of heart, Wisd. 1¹ T.R. 4¹ⁿ T.Iss. 3¹ⁿ.
- Sinners, danger of associating with, Sir. 8¹⁰⁻¹¹. In 1En.: 5⁶ 2^{10,13} 38¹⁻³ 41² 45^{2,5,6} 50² 53⁷ 62^{2,13} 69²⁷; caused to pass away, 69²⁷; destroyed by sword, 91¹¹; judged for sins, 38¹; judgement impending for, 45⁶; shall not set foot on new earth, 45⁶; tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom, 94⁵. In Ps.Sol. = Sadducees, Ps.Sol. § 5; charged with sensual sins, Ps.Sol. 2¹³⁻¹⁵ 4⁴ 8^{9,24}; profanation of sanctuary and sacrifices, 1⁸ 2⁸ 8^{12,26}, so connected with the Temple services; hypocrites, Ps.Sol. 4^{7,22}; wealthy, 12⁴ 15⁷. See Righteous, Poor.
- Sinope, Sib. 3⁹⁴⁴.
- Sins, great and small, equally heinous, Stoic view, 4Macc. 5²⁰ⁿ; of ignorance, T.L. 3⁵; chastening of, Ps.Sol. 13⁶ 18⁶; cleansed by confession, 9¹²; fasting atones for, 3⁹; lists of, see Lists; three cardinal, fornication, uncleanness, iniquity, Jub. 7²¹ 1En. 7¹.
- Sion, i.e. Zion, 1Esd. 8³¹ 1Macc. 4^{37,60} 5⁵⁴ 6^{48,61} 7³³ 10¹¹ Sir. 36¹⁴ 1Bar. 4^{9,14,24} Jub. 18¹³ 4Ez. 3^{28,31} 5²⁵ 64¹ [61⁹] 10^{7,20,23,44} 12^{44,48} 13^{35,36} 14³¹; footstool of, 64¹; mother of us all, 10⁷ⁿ; new, 10⁴⁴; seal of, i.e. independence of, 10²³ⁿ. See Zion.
- Sira. See Ben Sira, Jeshua.
- Sirach, Zad. §§ 4, 9³⁰; Book of, abbreviations, Sir. § 10; account, short, § 1; authorship, § 61; canonicity and use in Early Church, § 8; date, § 61i; influence on later literature, § 7: (a) on N.T., (b) Tobit, (c) Jewish non-Rabbinic literature, (d) Rabbinic literature; original Hebrew text, § 3: (a) recovery of lost Hebrew original, (b) value and authenticity of fragments, relation to each other and to versions, (c) secondary Hebrew recension, (d) reconstruction of original Hebrew text; symbols used in notes, § 10; theology, § 9: (i) doctrine of God, (& § 4), (ii) the Law, (& § 4), (iii) Wisdom, (iv) Sin, (v) Future Life; title, § 2; versions, Greek, and secondary Greek text, Philaenic recension, § 4; versions, other ancient, § 5: (i) Syriac, (ii) Old Latin, (iii) Syro-Hexaplaric, (iv) Sahidic, (v) Ethiopic, (vi) Aramaic, (vii) Slavonic, (viii) Arabic; relation of Tobit to, Tob. § 8iv.
- Sirens, 1En. 19² 2Bar. 10⁸ⁿ. 4Macc. 15²¹; as spirits of lamentation, Sib. 5⁴³⁷ 2Bar. 10⁸.
- Sirion. See Aspis.
- Sirocco, Sir. 34¹⁶.
- Sis, a rock near the plain of Nisrin, Ah. 3¹¹ (Syr.). See Nisrin.
- Sisinnus, i.e. Tattenai, 1Esd. 6^{3,7,27} 7¹.
- Sivan, month, 1Bar. 1⁸ 2En. 48² 68^{4,5}.
- Slave-trade, 2Macc. 8¹¹.
- Slay, 1En. 60²⁵ 62² 98¹² 99¹⁵; slain in Sheol, 99¹¹; spirits not slain, 22¹³; spirits slain, 108³.
- Sleep, meaning of, Sir. 47²³ⁿ; not, those who, see Watchers.
- Sloth despicable, Sir. 22¹⁻².
- Smyrna, Sib. 3^{344,365} 5^{122,306}.
- Social problems, Arist. § 6, 5.
- Sodom, Jub. 13^{17,23,28} 16^{5,6,9} 20⁶ 22²² 36¹⁰ Mart.Is. 3¹⁰ T.L. 14⁶ T.N. 3⁴ 4¹ T.A. 7¹ T.B. 9¹ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁶; destruction of, 3Macc. 2⁵; fruit of, Wisd. 10⁷; = Jerusalem, Mart.Is. 3¹⁰; men of, punished in the judgement, Wisd. 19¹⁵ⁿ; punished, Sir. 16⁸.
- Sodomites, Jub. 16⁶ 20⁶.
- Solar year, Jub. 6^{29,30} 1En. 74; necessary to right observance of feasts, Jub. 6³²⁻³⁴. See Year.
- Solomon, 1Esd. 13⁵ 5^{33,35} 2Macc. 2^{8,12} Sir. 47¹³⁻²³ A. & E. 51⁸ Appendix Sib. 3^{167,214} 2Bar. 61¹ 77²⁵ 4Macc. 18¹⁶ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸ 10⁴⁶ⁿ. (read David). See Psalms of.
- Solyma = Jerusalem, Sib. 4^{115,125}.
- Someis, 1Esd. 6³⁴.
- Son, Ahikar's prayer for a, Ah. 1^{4,5}; [of Man], in Son of Man Vision, 4Ez. 13 — destroys enemies without labour by the Law, 13³⁸; restoration of lost Ten Tribes under, 13⁴¹ seqq.; of Man, in 1Enoch: — 1En. 46² 48²; all judgement committed to, 69²⁷; pre-existence of, 48²ⁿ; to sit on God's throne, 51³; universal dominion of, 62¹; various phrases for, 1En. §§ 9(b), 11(b), see Messiah; of man = Enoch, 1En. 60¹⁰.
- Son of God [A. & E. 42^{2,3,5}]; Messiah as, 1En. 105² (contrast 'Sons of God'); 4Ez. 7^{28,29} 13^{92,97,52} 14⁹.
- Son of the Law, 2Bar. 46⁴ⁿ.
- Sons of (battle) din, Zad. 9¹⁰ (A). See Seth, seed of.
- Sons of God, 1En. 69^{4,5} 71¹, see Angels; of the God of heaven, 1En. 106⁶; of heaven, 13⁸; Jacob, Zad. 4⁴; man, 14⁶; Noah, 4¹; of Watchers, 1En. 10¹² 14⁶, see Children; Zadok, Zad. 5⁷.
- Sorites, Wisd. 6¹⁷.
- Sorrow, and care, to be dismissed, Sir. 30²¹⁻²⁵; three things that cause, 26²⁸.
- Sosibius of Tarentum, Arist. 12, 19.
- Sospater, Maccabaeon leader, 2Macc. 12^{19,24}.
- Sostratus, 2Macc. 4^{27,29}.
- Sotona, 2En. 31⁴. See Satan.
- Soul, active, Wisd. 15¹¹, see Spirit; a good, fell to lot, Wisd. 8¹⁹; external, belief in, Sir. 6¹⁶ⁿ; greatly vexed, 1Bar. 21⁹; hungry, 21⁸; in anguish, 31¹; lent to man, Wisd. 15⁸, cf. 15¹⁶; individual, personal responsibility of, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵ⁿ; = influence, Sir. 47¹⁶ⁿ; invisible, 1En. 93¹²; living, and pure spirit given by God to man, Test. App. I 10⁸; of man 'a transient individualization of the one primitive substance or force', Wisd. 2²ⁿ.
- Souls, created before the foundation of the world, 2En. 23⁶ⁿ; God the giver of, 4Macc. 13¹³ 18²³; disembodied (= inspirations), state of, 4Ez. 7⁸⁰⁻¹⁰¹; holy, Wisd. 7²⁷; of dead, 1En. 9¹⁰ 22³; of flesh, 16¹; of men, 9³; of righteous, 102⁴, cf. 102¹¹, in chambers, see Chambers, in fourth heaven, 3Bar. 10⁶; pure and immortal, received from God, 4Macc. 18²³; pre-existence of, Wisd. § 9, 81^{9,20} 2En. 23⁶ⁿ 4Ez. 4⁴¹ⁿ 4Macc. 18²³; treasures of, 2Bar. 21²³, see Chambers; unborn, 4Ez. 4⁴¹ⁿ.
- Spain, 1Macc. 8³.
- Spartans, 1Macc. 12^{2,5,6,20,21n} 14^{16,20,23} 15²³; league with, 12²; letter of, to Onias, 12²¹ⁿ; Jews brethren of, stock of Abraham, 12²¹. See Letters.
- Speculations, Greek, Sir. 3²⁴ⁿ.
- Speech, need of straightforwardness in, Sir. 5⁶⁻⁶¹; times for, and silence, 20¹⁻⁸; unseasonable, 20¹⁸⁻²⁰; varieties of, 27¹¹⁻¹⁵; of wise and foolish, 27¹¹⁻¹³.
- Speeches composed to suit characters, 4Macc. 5⁶ⁿ.
- Spheres, orderly ministration of, 1En. 21 2En. 30^{2,3} 2Bar. 48⁹ Ps.Sol. 18¹²⁻¹⁴; a witness to men, 2Bar. 19³. See Heavenly Bodies.
- Spirit, and soul, 1En. 22³; each judged according to his, Zad. 9⁴⁸; evil, see Demons; God's — His sweet, Sib.Frag. 1⁵; Holy, Wisd. 9¹⁷ [A. & E. 42⁴] Mart.Is. 5¹⁴ 4Ez. 14²² Ps.Sol. 17⁴², of God, Test. App. I 10⁹ Zad. 21⁰, (of man, Jub. 121²³ Zad. 71² 82⁰); My, Jub. 5⁸; of God, T.S. 4⁴ T.B. 8² (c8S1) [9⁴] Sib. 3⁷⁰¹ P.A. 3¹⁴; of the Lord, Wisd. 1⁷ 1En. 67¹⁰; which speaketh in me, Mart.Is. 17. In 1Enoch: 1En. 13⁶ 15¹⁰ 22^{6,7,9-13} 39^{3,12} 60^{4,14,16,17} 67^{8,9} 68² 70² 71^{1,5,11} 91¹ 92² 93¹² 98^{3,7,10} 102¹¹ 103^{8,9} 106¹⁷ 108^{3,7}; evil, 15^{8,9,12} 16¹ 20⁶ 69¹²; of Abel, 22⁷; angels, 10¹; dead, 22^{5,9}; dew, 62⁰ 75⁵; earth, 15¹⁰; faith, 61¹¹; giants, 15^{11,12} 16¹; good, 108¹¹; good-ness, 61¹¹; of hail, 60¹⁷; heaven 15¹⁰; hoar-frost, 60¹⁷; insight, 49³; judgement, 61¹¹; life, 61⁷; light, 61¹²; lightning and thunder, 60^{14,15}; man, 98⁷; men, 20³ 22⁵ 41⁸; mercy, 61¹¹; mist, 60¹⁹; patience, 61¹¹; peace, 61¹¹; power, 71¹¹; rain, 60²¹; reprobate, 10¹⁵; righteous, 22³ 41⁸; righteousness, 62²; sea, 60¹⁶; sinners, 22¹⁸ 108⁶; snow, 60¹⁷; souls of dead, 22³; those who died in righteousness, 49³ 103^{3,4}; thunder, 60¹⁴; understanding and might, 49³; water, 69²²; winds and zephyrus, 69²²; wisdom, 49³ 61¹¹. In Test. XII Patr.: of deceit (to be trodden under foot), T.S. 6⁶ T.L. 18¹² T.Z. 9⁸; desire, T.Jud. 16¹; envy, T.S. 3¹ 4⁷; fighting, T.R. 3⁴; filthy lucre, T.Jud. 16¹; fornication, T.R. 3³; hatred, T.G. 1⁹ 3¹; injustice, T.R. 3⁶; insatiableness, 3³; jealousy, T.Jud. 13³ T.S. 2⁷ T.D. 1⁶; lust, T.Jud. 16¹; lying, T.R. 3⁵; obsequiousness, 3⁴; pride, 3⁵; profligacy, T.Jud. 16¹; sleep, T.R. 3¹⁷; truth, T.Jud. 20^{1,5}; understanding, T.L. 2³ 18⁷ T.Jud. 20²; vain-glory, T.D. 1⁶; wickedness, T.D. 5⁶, see T.S. 5¹ T.N. 2²; (= angel) of firmament, 4Ez. 6⁴¹; of man, borrowed, Wisd. 15¹⁶; vital, 15¹¹, see Soul; of wisdom, a, 7⁷ Ps.Sol. 18⁸; + perturbed of, Zad. 9²²; = principle of life, Sir. 34¹⁸ⁿ; punishment of, 1En. 67⁸; sacred, = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁶; slaying of, 1En. 22¹⁸ 108³; troubled, 1Bar. 3¹; upright, Jub. 1²⁰.
- Spirit(s) of Beliar, T.Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 1⁷ T.Jos. 7⁴ T.B. 3^{3,4}. See Beliar, Mastema, Satans.
- Spirits, and souls of the righteous, i.e. the living, Azar. 64; evil, haunt desert, 4Macc. 18⁸ⁿ; four evil, T.Jud. 16¹; invisible, T.L. 4¹; of the retributions (i.e. plagues), 3²; over natural phenomena, 1En. 60¹²ⁿ, see Angels, Powers; seven, of deceit, T.R. 21¹⁻²ⁿ. 3³⁻⁶ T.L. 3³; which serve before God (= angels), created on first day, Jub. 2².
- Spleen, T.N. 2⁸.
- Spring, bright, of water, for righteous, 1En. 22⁶. See Water.
- Star, a, out of Jacob, Zad. 9⁸; is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, 9⁸; = leader and lawgiver of Zadokites, § 10ii. See Leader.
- Stars, Sir. 43⁹⁻¹⁰; = angels (?), 2En. 30¹⁴ⁿ; battle of, Sib. 5⁵¹²⁻⁵³¹; conscious existence of, 1En. 41⁵ⁿ; obedience of, 1Bar. 3³⁴, see Spheres; punished (the seven), 18¹³⁻¹⁶ 21¹⁻⁶; shooting, 44ⁿ; symbolize angels, 86¹³; men, 43⁴ 46⁷.
- Statute, Zad. 1¹⁵ 2⁴ 7¹² 9² (B), 12^{37,51,52} 10¹⁴ 15².

- Statutes of righteousness, *Zad.* 9^{37,68}.
- Stoic doctrine taught, *T.R.* 2³⁻⁹; ideas in *Wisdom*, *Wisd.* 1⁷ⁿ. 2²ⁿ. 7²⁷ⁿ. 18¹⁹ⁿ; philosophy, influence of, in *Wisdom*, § 9; teaching of five senses, *Sir.* 17ⁿ.
- Stoicism, 4 *Macc.* §§ 8, 9; doctrine of sin, 5²⁰.
- Strangers, intercourse with, danger of, *Sir.* 11³⁴.
- Strangling of animals forbidden, 2 *En.* 59⁴.
- Stubbornness of heart, *Zad.* 3⁴ⁿ. 4^{5,10} 9^{18,27,34}.
- Study, *P.A.* 1¹⁷ 3^{10,11} 6^{2,6}.
- Stygian stream, *Sib.* 3¹⁴⁶.
- Styx, 1 *En.* 17ⁿ.
- Sua, 1 *Esd.* 5²⁹.
- Subai, 1 *Esd.* 5³⁰.
- Subas, 1 *Esd.* 5³⁴.
- Submission to foreign conqueror inculcated in 1 *Bar.* 1-3⁸, 1 *Bar.* § 7.
- Subscription to *Sirach*, by *Jeshua*, *Sir.* 50²⁷⁻²⁹.
- Substance, *Wisd.* 16²¹ⁿ.
- Substitute for sins, *Sir.* 3¹⁴. *See* Merit.
- Sud, river, 1 *Bar.* 14.
- Sudhana Avadana, story of, *Ah.* § 4.
- Sudias, 1 *Esd.* 5²⁶.
- Suffering, undeserved, problem of, *Wisd.* § 9; deserved, remedial and chastening, § 9.
- Suicide, morality of, 4 *Macc.* 17ⁿ; of *Ptolemy Macron*, 2 *Macc.* 10¹³; of the elder *Razis*, 14⁴².
- Sun, the, *Sir.* 43²⁻⁵.
- Sun's course, 1 *En.* 72²-73⁴ 2 *En.* 13ⁿ. 14ⁿ. 16² 3 *Bar.* 61-87; crown of fire, 61⁸⁴; defilement by beholding earth's sins, 8⁵; orb, *Zad.* 13¹.
- Sur, *Judith* 2²⁸.
- Suretyship, *Sir.* 81²⁻¹³ 20¹⁴⁻²⁰.
- Susa, Add. *Esth.* A² E¹⁸ *Sib.* 4⁹⁶.
- Susan, *Jub.* 81.
- Susan, land of, *Jub.* 82¹ 9².
- Susanna, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 10; composite nature or integrity of text, § 6; date, § 7; influence on later literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; original text, § 5; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, § 4.
- Susanna, *Sus.* 2 *n.*, 7, 22, 24, 27-31, 42, 63.
- Swearing condemned, 2 *En.* 49¹ⁿ.
- Sword, *Zad.* 13^{1,12,16} 4⁹³(B). 4^{10,11}, given to sheep, 1 *En.* 90¹⁹ 91¹²; period of, 38⁵ 98¹² 99^{4,6}; used figuratively, 62¹² 63¹¹.
- Syene, *Sib.* 51⁹⁴.
- Synagogue, the Great, *P.A.* 1¹ⁿ.
- Synagogues of the pious, *Ps.Sol.* 17¹⁸. *See* Congregation, Council.
- Syncellus, 1 *En.* 62ⁿ.
- Syria, 1 *Esd.* 2²⁵ 6^{3,7,27} 81^{9,23} 1 *Macc.* 3^{13,41} 7³⁹ 3 *Macc.* 3¹⁵ *Judith* 12⁸²⁶ *Arist.* 22 *Sib.* 4¹²⁵ 5^{125,204} 4 *Macc.* 4². *See* Coelestria.
- Syriac, 2 *Macc.* 15³⁶.
- Syrian, *Jub.* 27¹².
- Syrians, T.N. 5⁸; = ravens, 1 *En.* 90⁸⁻¹².
- Tabaet, 1 *En.* 60¹².
- Tabaoth, 1 *Esd.* 5²⁹.
- Tabellius, a Samaritan, 1 *Esd.* 2¹⁶.
- Tabernacle, *Sir.* 24¹⁵, *see* Tent; of the King = books of Law, *Zad.* 9⁶; of David, 9⁶.
- Tabernacles, feast of, 1 *Macc.* 10²¹ⁿ. 2 *Macc.* 1¹⁸ⁿ. *Jub.* 32²⁷⁻²⁹; instituted, *Jub.* 16²⁰⁻³¹.
- Table, behaviour at, *Sir.* 31 (34)¹²⁻²⁴. *See* Banquet.
- Tablets of brass, treaties preserved on, 1 *Macc.* 8²²; heavenly, 1 *En.* 81^{1,2} 93² 103² 106¹⁹, cf. 47³ⁿ. T.L. 5⁴ T.A. 7^{5(B)}; *in Jubilees*, record laws Levitical and criminal, 3⁸⁻¹⁴ 4⁵ 6¹⁷⁻¹⁸, 80³⁵ 15²⁵ 16^{9,10-29} 18¹⁸⁻¹⁹ 24³³ 28⁶ 30³ 32²⁻¹⁵ 33¹⁰ 49⁵⁰⁻⁶³; a contemporary event, 18¹⁸⁻¹⁹ 19⁹ 30^{9,20} 31³² 32²²; predictions, 5¹³ 23³⁰⁻³² 30²¹⁻²². *See* 1 *En.* 47³ⁿ.
- Tabshelem, one of the flying boys, *Ah.* 6⁶ (Syr.). *See* Ubacl.
- Tahpanhes, *Judith* 1¹⁰.
- Talking, avoid overmuch, *Sir.* 19⁴⁻¹².
- Talmudic citations of *Sirach*, *Sir.* § 3.
- †Tamaini, 1 *En.* 82¹⁵.
- Tamar, *Jub.* 41^{1,6,9,16,19} T. *Jud.* 10^{1,2} 12¹ 13³ 14⁵.
- Tamar, *P.A.* 5¹⁹.
- Tamiel, 1 *En.* 67.
- Tamnatares = Timnath, *Jub.* 34⁸.
- Tanagra, *Sib.* 3⁸⁴⁶.
- Tanais, *Jub.* 13¹².
- Tanis, *Judith* 1¹⁰.
- Taphu (= Tephon, 1 *Macc.* 9⁵⁰), king of, *Jub.* 34⁴⁷. *See* Tephon.
- Tappuah, T. *Jud.* 3² 5⁶.
- Tarentum, *Arist.* 12.
- Targum *Ps. Jonathan*, borrows from Testaments, T.Z. 3²ⁿ. 4⁶ⁿ.
- Tarphon, *P.A.* 21⁹⁻²⁰.
- Tarsus, 2 *Macc.* 3⁵ 4³⁰. *See* Apollonius.
- Tartarus, 1 *En.* 20² *Sib.* 4¹⁸⁶. *See* Hell.
- Tattenai. *See* Sisinnus.
- Tauri, *Sib.* 5¹³².
- Taurus, *Sib.* 5^{208,518,519}.
- Taxo = Elcazar the scribe, *Ass. Mos.* 9¹ⁿ.
- Tazon = Gozan, *Mart.Is.* 3²ⁿ.
- Teacher, i.e. God, *Sir.* 51¹⁷; of Righteousness, *Zad.* § 10iv, 1⁷ 81⁰, relation to Messiah, 1⁷ⁿ; Unique, 9⁵³, gathered in, 9²⁹(B) 39^(B); voice of, 9⁵⁰. *See also* 47.
- Tebon in Gilead, *Mart. Is.* 21⁴.
- Tekoah, wilderness of, 1 *Macc.* 9³³ⁿ.
- Teman, *Jub.* 38¹⁸; wisdom of, 1 *Bar.* 3²².
- Temperance, a gift of God, *Arist.* 237, 248.
- Temple, *Tob.* 1⁴ 14⁵ *Sir.* 36¹⁴ 49¹² 50^{1,7} *Wisd.* 9⁸ *Arist.* 53, 88 *Sib.* 3^{294,302,703,719} 4^{116,118,125} 5¹⁵⁰, *see* Holy Place, House, Tower; altar and vessels lately sanctified after profanation, *Judith* 4³ⁿ; and altar, Add. *Esth.* § 7; beauty of, 3 *Macc.* 1¹⁰; cleansing of, 2 *Macc.* 10^{6sq.}; deposits in, 3^{6sq.}; description of, *Arist.* 84-99; desecration by Antiochus, 1 *Macc.* 1²⁰⁻²⁴ (*see* Vessels) *Sib.* 3³²⁷; by Pompey, due to Israel's sin, *P.Sol.* 2¹⁻¹⁵; destroyed by fire, 1 *Bar.* § 7; destruction of, *Sib.* 5^{398,401n}. 4^{116,119,125} 5¹⁵⁰; earthly, to be restored, and so sacred vessels preserved, 4 *Ez.* 10²²ⁿ; furniture hidden by Jeremiah, 2 *Macc.* 2⁴⁻¹²; honoured by heathen kings, e.g. Seleucus, 2 *Macc.* 3¹⁻⁴, till Heliodorus attempted to plunder treasury, 3⁷⁻²⁵; = Lord's dwelling, 2 *En.* 51⁴; miraculous intervention to protect, 2 *Macc.* 3²⁴⁻³⁰; music and services, *Sir.* 50¹⁸; of God, T.B. 9²; Philopator's attempt to enter, 3 *Macc.* 1^{9sq.} 3¹⁷; profanation of, 2 *Macc.* 5^{16sq.} 6⁴; by Antiochus Epiphanes, 2 *Macc.* 5¹⁻²⁷; allowed by God owing to sin of Jews, 5¹⁷⁻²⁰; profaning of, *Zad.* §§ 9⁴⁰ 10, *see* Sanctuary; purified and rededicated, 1 *Macc.* 4³⁶⁻⁶¹ 2 *Macc.* 10¹⁻⁸; rebuilding of: Cyrus' decree for, § 1, 2¹⁻¹⁵, in 538 B.C. 5⁴⁶, forbidden by Artaxerxes, 2²⁵⁻²⁸, completed by Darius's intervention, § 1, 6-7, in 520-516 B.C., Samaritans hinder, § 1, 2¹⁶⁻³⁰, whether done by Ezra or Nehemiah, § 5(e); restoration of, but 'not like the first', *Tob.* 14⁵; low esteem of worship of, *Ass. Mos.* 4⁸ⁿ. 1 *En.* 89^{73,74} 2 *Bar.* 68⁶; sanctity of, 3 *Macc.* 11^{1sq.} 2^{9sq.}; second, destruction of, *Zad.* § 6in.; second, low reputation of, 2 *Bar.* 68⁶ⁿ; still standing, *Zad.* § 6i, 1³ⁿ; treasures, 4 *Macc.* 4³, an object of attack to Epiphanes, 1 *Macc.* 3³¹ⁿ; veil of, *see* Veil; Warden of, 2 *Macc.* 3⁴ⁿ; worship, importance of, in *Sir.* 44-49ⁿ. *See* Sanctuary.
- Temple, Heavenly, *Azar.* 31; = the holy, T.L. 5¹; of glory, 18⁶.
- Temple, heathen, *Bel.* 8.
- Temple, Messianic, *Sib.* 5⁴²³.
- Temple of Onias at Alexandria, 1 *Esd.* § 1.
- Temples, use of, disowned, *Sib.* 4²⁷.
- Temptations, the, T. *Jos.* 27; of trade, *Sir.* 26²⁹⁻²⁷³; power of, *Wisd.* 4¹².
- Tempting God, wickedness of, *Sir.* 5⁴⁻⁸.
- Ten, series of: generations, *P.A.* 5^{2,3}; sayings, world created by, 5¹; things created between the suns, 5⁹; trials of Abraham, 5⁴; wonders in Egypt, 5⁵; in Sanctuary, 5⁸.
- Ten tribes, *Ass. Mos.* § 6 4 *Ez.* 13⁴⁰; Return of, 13⁴⁰⁻⁴⁸.
- Tendency, the natural, *Sir.* 21¹¹ⁿ. *See* Inclination, Yetzer.
- Tent, *Sir.* 50⁶. *See* Tabernacle.
- Tenth, first and second, *Tob.* 1^{6,7}. *See* Tithes.
- Tephon, city, 1 *Macc.* 9⁵⁰. *See* Taphu.
- Terah, *Jub.* 11^{10,12,14} 12^{1,14,15,20} 34²⁰.
- Tergal, king of nations, *Jub.* 13²².
- Territory added to Judaea by Demetrius I, 1 *Macc.* 10^{80,88}.
- Tertullian, 1 *En.* 8¹ 15^{8,9} 19¹ 99^{6,7} (notes).
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, account of, § 1; additions, Jewish, § 12, Christian, § 13; author, § 11; bibliography, § 17; brackets, symbols, and abbreviations, § 18; date of original Hebrew, § 10; integrity of, § 11; influence on Jewish and Patristic literature, § 14, on N.T., § 15; MSS., Armenian, § 4, Greek, § 3; original language Hebrew, § 8; recensions of, two, in Armenian, § 6, Greek, §§ 7, 9, Hebrew, § 9, Slavonic, § 5; relation to 1 *Enoch*, 1 *En.* 10(a); 2 *Enoch*, 2 *En.* § 4; sources, § 11; theology of, § 16; title, § 2; versions of, Armenian, § 6; Greek, § 7, translated from Hebrew, § 8; Slavonic, § 5. *See* *Zad.* §§ 8, 12, *Levi*, References.
- Testament of Moses, *Ass. Mos.* 1¹. *See* Moses.
- Testament, title of, *Test.* § 2.
- Testimony, 1 *En.* 67¹² 89^{63,76} 96⁴ 97⁴ 99⁸, cf. 80⁵³ 103⁴.
- Testing of character, *Sir.* 21¹⁻⁶ 4^{17,18}; of friends, *Sir.* 67.
- Teuchira, *Sib.* 5¹⁹⁶.
- Thamna, T. *Jud.* 74⁹ (Timnath, 1 *Macc.* 9⁵⁰).
- Thanksgiving, a, *Sir.* 51^{121-xv1}.
- Tharmuth, daughter of Pharaoh, *Jub.* 47⁵.
- Tharra, eunuch, Add. *Esth.* A¹².
- Thassius. *See* Simon.
- Thebes, *Sib.* 4⁸⁹ 5¹⁸⁹.
- Thelephas, 1 *Esd.* 5⁸⁶.
- Theodectes, tragic poet, *Arist.* 316ⁿ.
- Theodosius, *Arist.* 47.
- Theodosius, an elder, *Arist.* 49.
- Theodosius, an elder, *Arist.* 50.
- Theodotus, 2 *Macc.* 14¹⁹.
- Theodotus, a deserter from Ptolemy, 3 *Macc.* 1²ⁿ.
- Theophanies referred to, T.S. 6⁵ T.L. 2¹¹ 5² 8¹ T. *Jud.* 22² T.Z. 9⁸ T.D. 5¹³ T.N. 8³ T.A. 7³.
- Theophilus ad Autolycum, *Sib.* § 1.
- Theophilus, an elder, *Arist.* 49.
- Theophrastus, *Ah.* § 2.
- Theopompus of Chios, *Arist.* 314ⁿ.
- Therapeutae, *Wisd.* 4⁸.
- Theras, river, 1 *Esd.* 8^{41,61}.
- Thermeleth, 1 *Esd.* 5⁸⁶.
- Thermodon, *Sib.* 5³²⁰.
- Thessalian land, *Sib.* 5¹³⁴.
- Thevan or Thevad, month, 2 *En.* 48².

- Third period or kingdom. *See* 4Ez. 5⁴ⁿ.
- Thisbe, Tob. 1².
- Thmouis, Sib. 5⁸⁶.
- Thocanus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
- Thomei, 1Esd. 5³².
- Thrace, Sib. 3⁵⁰⁸ 5¹⁶.
- Thracian, 2Macc. 12³⁵ Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
- Thracians, Sib. 5^{333,337,467}.
- Three Children, Song of, 4Macc. 13⁹. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Hananiah, Mishael.
- Throne, of God, 1En. 25³; of glory, T.L. 5¹; Elect One sits on, 1En. 45³ 55⁴ 62^{3,5}.
- Thrones, T.L. 3⁸; of the elect, 1En. 108¹².
- Thummim. *See* Urim.
- Thunder, 1En. 59²; *see* Lightning; and lightning, angel or spirit of, *see* Angels.
- Thunderer, Sib. 3⁴⁰⁵. *See* Poseidon.
- Tiber, Sib. 5¹⁷⁰.
- Tigers = Assyrians, 1En. 89⁵⁵ⁿ.
- Tigris, Tob. 6² Judith 1⁶ Sir. 24²⁵ Jub. 9^{2,5} A. & E. 6¹ 7¹ 9¹ S.A. & E. 36¹ 1En. 77⁶ⁿ Sib. 4⁶⁴.
- Time, observe the, Sir. 4²⁰ⁿ; watch closely, 27¹².
- Times and seasons, 4Ez. 14⁵ⁿ; ended, Ass. Mos. 7¹; end of, 11³⁹ 12⁹ 14⁹; of Most High, ended, 4Ez. 11⁴⁴ⁿ, *see* Last time; the last, T.Iss. 6¹. *See* Hours.
- Timnath, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰ Jub. 41⁸⁹. *See* Tamnatares.
- Timotheus, an Ammonite, 1Macc. 5^{6,11,34,37,40}.
- Timotheus, general, 2Macc. 830,32 9³ 10^{24,32,37}; death, 10³⁷.
- Timotheus, governor, 2Macc. 12^{2,10,18,19,20,21,24}.
- Tina, river, Jub. 8^{12,16,25,28} 9^{2,7}.
- Tiras, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9¹³ Test. *App.* I 9².
- Tirshatha, the. *See* Atharhathas.
- Titan, Sib. 3^{110,121,129,149}.
- Titans. Judith 16¹ Sib. 3^{132,138,147,156,157,190}.
- Tithes and tolls, on Temple revenues, 1Macc. 10³¹; law of, 13²⁵⁻²⁷ 32¹⁰⁻¹⁵; of oxen and sheep, 32¹⁵, *see* Holy Things, Tenth; paid by Jacob to Levi, Jub. 32⁴⁻⁹.
- Tithing, Jub. § 15, 32¹⁰.
- Titus, Sib. 5^{408,411}.
- Tobia the Canaanite, Mart. Is. 2⁵.
- Tobiadae, the, Sir. 45²⁵ⁿ.
- Tobias. *See* Hyrcanus.
- Tobiell, Tob. 1¹.
- Tobit, Book of, abbreviations used, § 13; account of, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; date of, pre-Maccabean, § 6; influence on later literature, § 11; integrity of, § 9; MSS. and Papyrus, Greek, § 3 (for non-Greek, *see* Versions of); original language, Greek or Semitic, § 5; place of composition, Egypt, § 7; purpose, § 7; religious and moral teaching, § 10; sources, § 8: (i) Tractate of Khons; (ii) Fable of Grateful Dead; (iii) Story of Ahikar; (iv) O.T. and Apocrypha, esp. Sirach; (v) Magian influences; title, § 2; versions, non-Greek, § 4; (A) Aramaic; (B) Latin—Old Latin and Quotations, Vulgate; (C) Hebrew Versions, Münster, Fagius, London, Gaster; (D) Syriac, two; (E) Ethiopic; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7(b), with Ahikar, Ah. § 3(b).
- Tola, Jub. 44¹⁶.
- Tolbanes, 1Esd. 9²⁵.
- Tolman, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Thomas, 1En. 78¹.
- Tongue, control of, Sir. 23⁷⁻¹⁵; mischief wrought by wicked, 28¹³⁻²⁶. *See* Double-tongued.
- Tongues, two, T.B. 6⁵.
- Torah, P.A. 1, 2, 5, 6, 12, 15 2, 8, 9, 16, 18, 20 3^{3-7,8,16,18,21} 4, 11, 12, 17, 18 5^{11,24} 6^{1-4,6,7,10,11}; the chief concept of Aboth, P.A. § 5.
- Torah and Mitzvah, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ.
- Torture, 2Macc. 6^{19sg.} 7^{4sg.} 13^{5sg.}; instruments of, 4Macc. 8¹³ⁿ 10^{6sg.} 11^{9sg.}.
- Tower of sanctuary, Ass. Mos. 24ⁿ.
- Tower = Temple, 1En. 89⁵⁰ⁿ. 54, 56, 67, 73.
- Trade, temptations of, Sir. 26²⁹⁻²⁷.
- Tradition, P.A. 3¹⁸ⁿ; of the elders = Halachah, P.A. § 2; oral, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ; recognized only to small extent by Zadokites, Zad. § 9^{30,40}.
- Trajan, 4Ez. 11³²ⁿ 12³⁻³⁹ⁿ.
- Trallis, Sib. 3⁴⁵⁹ 5²⁸⁹.
- Transcendence of God, 1Macc. § 5.
- Transformation of nature, Sib. 3⁷⁷⁷; of world, moral and physical, *gradual*, Jub. 1²⁹ⁿ. T.L. 18 (*contrast* 1En. 45⁴ 91¹⁶ 2Bar. 32⁶ 67² 4Ez. 7¹⁵); of world, spiritual—it becomes undying, 2Bar. 51³; incorruptible, 74², *see* World; of righteous at resurrection, 51^{1-3,7}; and of condemned, 51⁴⁻⁶. *See* Creation.
- Translations of Enoch and Elijah, 4Ez. 6²⁶, *see* Messiah, companions of; of Ezra, 4Ez. 14⁹, *see* Enoch.
- Translators of Septuagint, Arist. 47-50.
- Treasure of works. *See* Works.
- Treasure-house of natural forces, Sir. 43¹⁴.
- Treasure-houses of snow, dew, &c., 2En. 5¹ 6¹.
- Treasures of immortality, 4Ez. 8⁶⁴.
- Treasures of good deeds, 2Bar. 24¹ⁿ; of righteousness, 24¹ⁿ, *see* Works, good; of souls, 21²³ⁿ. 23⁴, *see* Chambers; of the stars, 1En. 17¹; of the winds, 18¹ 4Ez. 4⁵ⁿ. 5³⁷ⁿ.
- Treasury of manna, 2Bar. 20⁸.
- Tree, dismembered = Israel, 1En. 26¹; of life, 24⁴ 25⁴⁻⁶ Apoc. Mos. 19² 22³ 28^{2,4} T.L. 18¹¹ 2En. 8³ⁿ. 4Ez. 7¹²³ 8⁵²ⁿ; of mercy, i.e. of life, A. & E. 36² 40² 2En. 85^(B), cf. 22^(B); of wisdom, 1En. 32³⁻⁶ⁿ.
- Trees, desirable, 1En. 10¹⁹; fourteen evergreen, 3; fragrant, 24³ 29⁴ 30³ 32¹; with branches abiding and blooming, 26¹.
- Trees of gladness = saints, as in Ps.Sol. 14² (?), 12³, but cf. 11⁷.
- Trees of life = God's pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14². *See* Planting.
- Trespass, Zad. 1⁸ 8¹⁸ 9^{17,32,48} 10¹⁰ 11⁴; against next of kin, 9¹⁷; against Law, 10¹⁰.
- Trials, P.A. 5^{4,7}. *See* Abraham, Testing.
- Triballi, Sib. 5⁵⁰⁴.
- Tribes, the nine and a half, 2Bar. 62⁵ 77¹⁹ 78¹; the ten, 1², *see* Ten; the Twelve, T.B. 9².
- Tribes, two and a half, lost Epistle to, 2Bar. § 8, 77^{12,17,19}.
- Tripolis, 2Macc. 14¹.
- Tripolis by Macander, Sib. 5³²¹.
- Troglodytes, T.Z. 4⁶.
- Troy, Sib. 3^{206,405} 5⁹.
- True, he is, Zad. 2¹⁰. *See* Interpretation, Judgement, Messiah.
- Trumpet, announces coming woe, Ps.Sol. 8¹; proclaims Final Judgement, 4Ez. 6²³, cf. 5⁴ⁿ. *See* Voice of God.
- Truth, Tob. 4⁶ 12⁸; praise of, 1Esd. § 1, 3¹⁻⁴ 4⁶ 3¹ⁿ.
- Truthfulness enjoined, T.R. 6⁹ T.D. 2¹ 5² 6⁸ T.A. 6¹ T.B. 10³; as a virtue, T.Iss. 7^{4,5} T.D. 1³.
- Tryphon, 1Macc. 11^{39n,54,56} 12^{39,42,49} 13^{1,12,14,20-24,31,34} 14¹ 15^{10,25,37,39} Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰ⁿ.
- Tsivan. *See* Sivan.
- Tubal, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9¹¹ Test. *App.* I 9⁴.
- Tubias, place, 1Macc. 5¹³ⁿ.
- Tubieni, Jews so styled at Charax, 2Macc. 12^{17,35}.
- Tumael, 1En. 69².
- +Turael, 1En. 69².
- Turel, 1En. 67 69².
- +Turel, 1En. 69².
- Turn away. *See* Apostasy.
- Twenty-two acts of creation, Jub. 2¹⁵; heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, 2²³.
- Twins, the, Sib. 5^{208,521}.
- Tyrannus. *See* Auranus.
- Tyre, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ Judith 2²⁸ Mart. Is. 5¹³ Sib. 4⁹⁰ 5⁴⁵⁵ 2Macc. 4^{18,32,44}; games at, 2Macc. 4¹⁸; Ladder of, 1Macc. 11⁵⁹.
- Tyrians, Sib. 4⁹⁰.
- Ubael, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6⁵ (Syr.). *See* Tabshelim.
- Uchan, 2En. 57² (A, 'Azuchan' B).
- Unchastity, Zad. 9¹⁷.
- Uncircumcised (= children of the pit), Zad. 8¹³ 16⁷; marriage with, Add. Esth. C²⁶.
- Uncircumcision, an eternal error, no forgiveness for, Jub. 15³⁴; submitted to, 1Macc. 1¹⁵ⁿ. *See* Hellenizing.
- Unclean, Zad. 5⁴ 8¹⁴ 12² 14^{1,2,6} 15¹, *see* Clean; foods, abstinence from, 4Macc. 5²⁶ⁿ; woman, Zad. 5⁴.
- Uncleanness, 1En. 10^{11,20} 91⁷, cf. 106¹⁷, *see* Sin; Zad. 1¹⁷ 14^{15,16}, *see* Impurity; heathen, Wisd. 14²⁴; laws of, Zad. § 7.
- Underworld, i.e. *infernum* = abode of souls of wicked dead, 4Ez. 4⁴¹ⁿ.
- Unfaithful steward, parable of, parallel to, in, Ah. 3¹⁻².
- Unforgiving, no atonement for, Sir. 28⁵.
- Ungodly, end of, Sir. 41⁵⁻¹³.
- Unique. *See* Teacher.
- Unity of God, Sir. § 9i Sib. Frags. i & iii 2Bar. 48²⁴ 4Ez. § 10i.
- Universal salvation, T.S. 6⁵ T.L. 2¹¹ Test. § 16.
- Unleavened bread, Feast of, Jub. 49²².
- Unrighteous, 1En. 62^{2,13} 96² 103¹¹, *see* Sinners, Wicked; gains, 1En. 63¹⁰, *see* Wealth.
- Upper chamber, Tob. 3¹⁷.
- Upper Galilee, Tob. 1².
- Upright, *see* Spirit.
- Uprightness, *see* Plant; of heart, T.Iss. 3¹ⁿ. 4⁶ T.G. 7⁷.
- Ur, son of Kesed, Jub. 11^{1,3}.
- Ur of Chaldees, city, Jub. 11^{7,8} 12^{14,15,21} 13⁷ 14⁷ 22²⁷ Sib. 3²¹⁸.
- Urias, 1Esd. 8⁶² 9⁴³.
- Uriel, A. & E. 48^{4,6,7} Apoc. Mos. 40¹ 1En. 9¹ 10¹ 19¹ 20² (over Tartarus) 21^{5,9} 27² 33⁴ 72¹ 74² 75^{3,4} 78¹⁰ 79⁶ 80¹ 82⁷ (*see* Angels, Archangels) 4Ez. [4¹] 5²⁰ 10²⁷; archangel of fire and of Gehenna, 4¹ⁿ; sent as messenger to Salathiel, 4¹.
- Urim, Law faithful as, Sir. 33³.
- Urim and Thummim, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰.
- Usury, Sir. 29²ⁿ.
- Uta, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
- Uthi, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰.
- Uzziel, Test. *App.* II 74.
- Valley, accursed (= Gehenna), 1En. 27²; burning, among metal mountains, 67³, cf. 67⁷, *see* 54⁷⁻⁵⁵ⁿ; deep with burning fire, 54^{1,2}; deep with open mouths, 53¹; full of water, 30⁴.
- Valleys, cinnamon, 1En. 30³; of the earth, 10¹². *See* Abyss, Chasm, Deep, Depth, Gehenna, Ravine.
- Value, true of a man, how tested, Sir. 27⁴⁻⁷.
- Varus, quelled Jewish rebellion in 4 B. C., Ass. Mos. 6⁸.
- Veil of Temple, T.L. 10⁸ T.B. 9⁴.
- Vengeance, 4Macc. 9^{24,32} 10²¹ 11²³ 12¹⁹ Zad. 9²⁰ 10^{2,3,6}; belongs to God alone, Sir. 27³⁰⁻²⁸⁷; of the covenant, Zad. 1¹² 9¹¹.
- Venom = head, Zad. 9²⁰.
- Versions. *See under each Book.*
- Vespasian and Titus = Nabuchodonosor and Baltasar, 1Bar. § 7.
- Vessel = body, 4Ez. 4¹⁰ⁿ. 7⁸⁸ⁿ.
- Vessels of Temple, *see* Temple; holy, hidden by angel till last times of Messianic restoration, 2Bar. 64⁻¹⁰ new ones made for rededicated Temple,

INDEX

- 1 Macc. 4⁴⁰; of the Lord, removed by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, Ass. Mos. 3², first some, 1 Esd. 1⁴¹; again others, 1⁴⁵; all taken, 1⁵⁴; restored (?) by Cyrus, 2¹⁰ⁿ. 6¹⁸; by Darius, 4^{44,57} 6²⁸; by Artaxerxes, 8¹⁷; of Temple, restored to Jerusalem by captives at Babylon, 1 Bar. 1⁸ⁿ; removed from Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. 1²¹⁻²³.
- Vesuvius, 1 Bar. 4³⁵ⁿ.
- Vicarious suffering of martyrs, 2 Macc. 7³³⁻³⁸ 4 Macc. 6²⁰.
- Vine, planted by angel Samael, the forbidden tree, 3 Bar. 4⁸ⁿ.
- Violence, 1 En. 6⁵⁶ 9¹ 5^{6,8,11,18,19} 94² 102¹⁰ 104⁶; denunciation of, Sib. 5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶. See Oppressed.
- Virgo, Sib. 5^{209,521}.
- Virtues, cardinal, Wisd. 8⁷; = guardian angels, A. & E. 2¹, cf. 33¹; philosophical, 4 Macc. 1^{25q}. 5^{23sq}.—forms of wisdom, 1¹⁸; obtained by training under the Law, 5²³.
- Vision, Tob. 12¹⁹; of angels, Jews saved by, 3 Macc. 6¹⁸; of the cedar and the vine, i.e. A², 2 Bar. 36-40; of the cloud and the lightning, i.e. A³, 2 Bar. 53-74; heavenly, 1 En. 93²; of the Holy One, 1²; of chastisement, 1³⁸; of cherubim, 14¹⁸; of wisdom, 37¹; of Levi, T.L. 2^{5sq}. 8^{1sq}.; Jacob, T.Jud. 3¹⁰; Naphtali, T.N. 5, 6; Joseph, T.Jos. 19, cf. T.B. 10¹.
- Visions, 1 En. 13⁸ 14^{4,8,14} 10³ 37¹ 83¹⁻⁷ 85^{2,3} 87² 88³ 89^{7,70} 90^{2,8,40,42} 93² 106¹⁸, see Dream Visions; of Naphtali, Test. App. I 2¹⁻³ 13¹⁻⁶.
- Visit (of God), Zad. 1⁶ 7¹⁷ 9^{12,18}.
- Visitation, Zad. 9^{2,10,11} (period of, 9¹⁰; of first, 9¹¹) = deliverance, Wisd. 3⁷; in good sense, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸; = judgement, Wisd. 14¹¹ⁿ. 19¹⁵; of the earth, by God, 2 Bar. 20²ⁿ.
- Visiting the sick, duty of, Sir. 7³⁵ⁿ.
- Voice, mysterious voice, a sign of the End, 4 Ez. 5⁷; of God proclaims the End, 6¹³⁻¹⁷. See Trumpet.
- Vows, P.A. 3¹⁸ 4²³. See Laws.
- Vretil, 2 En. 22^{11,12} 23(B).
- Vulgar, i.e. am-ha-aretz, P.A. 2⁶ 3¹⁵ 5¹⁸.
- Vultures = Graeco-Egyptians, 1 En. 90², cf. 90^{11,18n}.
- Wages, Tob. 4¹⁴ 5^{15sq}. 12³ Arist. 258, 259.
- Wajjissau. See Midrash.
- Walk, according to Law, Zad. 7¹ 9¹; in midrash of Law, 9³³; in perfection of holiness, 82¹; uprightly, 1¹⁶ 3².
- Wall, built the, Zad. 6⁸ 9²¹; builders of, 7¹⁹ 26. See Pharisees.
- War of Egyptians against Canaan, Jub. 46⁶⁻⁹ⁿ. T.S. 8² T.G. 8⁸ⁿ. T.B. 12³⁸(8).
- Wars, civil, T.Jud. 22¹ T.Z. 9²⁻⁵.
- Watchers = (i) archangels, 1 En. 12^{2,3}, cf. 20¹ ('who watch'), also 39^{12,13} 40² 61¹² 71⁷ ('who sleep not'); = (ii) fallen angels, 1 En. 1⁶ 10^{9,13} 12⁴ 13¹⁰ 14^{4,3} 15² 16^{1,2} 91¹⁵ Jub. 4^{15,22} 7²¹ 8³ 10⁶; the, T.R. 5^{6,7} T.N. 3⁶; of heaven fell, Zad. 3⁴, see Inclination; punished, rebellious in second heaven, 2 En. 7¹⁻⁵, lustful beneath the earth, 2 En. 18⁷. See Children of, Grigori, Princes.
- Water, Zad. 5⁸ 9¹³ 12^{1,2} 13¹² 14¹⁴, see Cleansed; of judgement, 1 En. 67¹³, see Spring.
- Waters, above the heavens, 1 En. 54^{1,7}; beneath the earth, 54⁸ 66¹; earth upon, 69¹⁷, see Fountain, Spring; living, 1 En. 17⁴, cf. 22⁹; spring of, Zad. 9²⁸, see Well; of knowledge, i.e. of Torah, Sir. 15³ⁿ.
- Way = course of action, P.A. 2¹; good, right, evil, &c., 2^{12,13} 6⁴; of God, Zad. 9⁴²; of righteousness, 1 En. 82⁴; The Way, Zad. 16⁻⁸ 24⁴.
- Ways, in 4 Ezra: of this world, narrow and sorrowful, 4 Ez. 7^{11,12}; of future world, broad and safe, 7¹³, see Path; of souls, seven, see Seven. In Zad. Frag.: of God, Zad. 5², 9⁴²; of kings of Gentiles, 9²⁰; of the people, 9²⁴; of traitors, 9¹⁵; of unclean woman, 5⁴; of wicked, 2¹ 9¹⁰;—the Two, 1 En. 91⁴ⁿ. 18ⁿ. 2 En. 30¹⁵ⁿ. T.A. 1^{5,6}.
- Wealth, Zad. 6¹¹ 9³⁸ 14⁸ 16⁴; and unjust gain, 9¹⁷ 13⁴, or gain, 13²⁵ 14⁷; duties of, 14³⁻¹⁹; less honoured than wisdom, Sir. 10³⁰⁻¹¹; of Sanctuary, Zad. 8¹²; of sins, 1 En. 103⁵, see Unrighteous; of wickedness, Zad. 6¹¹ 8¹² 9¹⁵; trust not in, Sir. 5¹², cf. 1 En. 94⁸; without sin, is good, Sir. 13²⁴. See Gains.
- Week, of world, 1 En. 93 91¹²⁻¹⁷; = seven millenniums, 4 Ez. 4³⁶⁻³⁷ⁿ. 7^{30,43}.
- Weeks, Zad. 20¹; feast of, 2 Macc. 12²¹ Tob. 2¹ Jub. 15¹ⁿ, connected with Noah's covenant, Jub. 6^{17,18}, see Pentecost; (= year-weeks), Jub. Prologue, 126, 29.
- Weighing, 1 En. 41¹ 43² 60¹² 61⁸; of sins of Israel and the nations, 4 Ez. 3³⁴.
- Well, is the Law, Zad. 8⁶; dug by nobles of people, 8⁹, penitents of Israel, 8⁶; of many waters, dig a (= restudy Law), Zad. 5⁸ 84⁻⁶; of the Oath, Jub. 16^{11,18,20} 18¹⁷ 22¹ 24²⁶ 29^{17,18,19} 36¹² 44^{1,8}; of Vision, Jub. 24¹.
- West, 1 En. 67⁴ 70³. See Fire.
- White, symbolizes righteousness, 1 En. 83³ⁿ; men = angels. See Angels, Men.
- Whoredom, Tob. 4¹².
- Wicked, God's wrath against, Sir. 16⁶⁻¹⁴ 32(35)¹⁵; recompense of, 9²; sacrifice of, Zad. 14¹; snared by Law, Sir. 32(35)¹⁵; ways of, Zad. 2¹ 9¹⁹.
- Wickedness, of impurity, Sir. 23¹⁶⁻²⁷; of kings after Solomon, 47²³⁻²⁶; of people in Elisha's time, 48¹²⁻¹⁶; of tempting God, see Tempting; period of, Zad. 8^{9,12} 15⁴, see Israel; wealth of, see Wealth.
- Widows, Tob. 1⁸; care of, Sir. 4¹⁰.
- Wife, P.A. 1^{5,52}; avoid being jealous of, Sir. 9¹; blessing of a good, 26^{1-4,13-22}; curse of wicked, 26^{6-12,23-27}; duty to, Sir. 7^{19,26} 9¹; need of a good, 26¹⁹⁻²⁷; value of, 36²⁴⁻²⁶ (29-31).
- Will of God, T.Iss. 4³ T.D. 6⁶ T.N. 3¹ T.B. 11²(8¹) P.A. 2⁴ 5²⁴ Zad. 3¹⁻² 5²; of man, of own spirit, 4²; own, 3⁷ 4¹⁰. see Free-will.
- Windows, 1 En. 72^{3,7} 75⁷ 83¹¹ 101².
- Windpipe, T.N. 2⁸.
- Winds, 1 En. 18¹⁻⁵ 34-36 41⁴ 66¹² 76; angels or spirits of, see Angels; portals of, 76¹; the twelve, 76¹. See Chambers, Treasures.
- Wine, 2 Macc. 15³⁹ Tob. 4^{15,17}; makes heart lustful, Sir. 9¹⁹ 2²; new, a new friend is, 9¹⁰, use and abuse of, Sir. 31(34)²⁵⁻³¹; = ways of kins of Gentiles, Zad. 9¹⁹. See Dragons.
- Wisdom, Tob. 4^{18,19} 4 Macc. 1^{18sq}. P.A. 2⁸ 3^{12,13,21-23} 4¹ 5^{10,13} 6^{6,8}; and fear of God, 3^{24,22}; and Word, 2 En. 33⁴; assessor of God, 2 En. 30⁸ⁿ; awaits righteous in heaven, 4 Ez. 8⁵²; embodied in Law, praise of, 1 Bar. § 11, 3⁹⁻⁴; God loveth, Zad. 2²; hidden at last times, 2 Bar. 48⁵⁶; hypostatized, 2 En. 30⁸ⁿ. 33³, cf. 1 En. 42^{1,2}. In Book of Wisdom: conceptions of—a breath of the power of God, a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty... from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets, 7²⁶⁻²⁷; God's intermediary, sent into world, 9¹⁰; immortal, 8¹⁷ⁿ; not a person, but personified, § 9; omnipotent, 7^{21,27} 5⁸; omnipresent, 1⁷; omniscient, 8⁹ 9¹¹; spirit, 7²²; spouse of God, 8³; synonymous with Word, 9¹ⁿ. In Sirach: Sir. 1^{4,6,14,16,18,20,26,28,27} 4^{11,23,24} 6¹⁸ 7⁵ 10³⁰ 11¹⁵ 13²² 14²⁰ 15¹⁸ 16²⁴ 18²⁸ 19^{20,22} 20^{30,31} 21^{11,18,21} 22⁶ 23¹⁵ 24^{1,25} 25^{5,10} 27¹¹ 32⁴ 33^{8,11,17} 38^{24,34} 39¹ 40¹⁹ 41^{14,15} 42²¹ 51¹³⁻³⁰; applied to eating, 37²⁷⁻³¹; as seen in creation, 16²⁴⁻³⁰; blessedness of those who seek, 14²⁰⁻²⁷; comes from the Lord, 1¹ 11¹⁵; conception of in Sirach, § 9 iii;—divine, created before creation, eternal: = the fear of the Lord: the free gift of God; differs from craftiness, 19²⁰⁻³⁰; fear of Lord is true wisdom, 11¹⁻²⁰; how acquired by Ben-
- Sira, 51¹³⁻³⁰; how attained, 15¹⁻¹⁰; joy and crown of beauty to those who seek, 6¹⁸, 19, 23-31, but harsh to foolish, 6²⁰⁻²²; must not be hidden, 4²³ 20^{50,31} 4^{14,15}; need of in rulers, 9¹⁷⁻¹⁰; not wealth, brings honour, 10³⁰⁻¹¹; of aged, beautiful, 25⁸⁻⁶; origin of, 1¹⁻¹⁰, from the Lord, 1¹ 11¹⁵; poured out on all God's works, 1⁹, on all flesh in measure, on to Israel without measure, 1¹⁰; practical value of true, 34⁹⁻¹⁷ (31⁹⁻²⁰); praise of, 24¹⁻³⁴; reward of those who seek, 4¹¹⁻¹⁹ 63²⁻³⁷; shown in conduct, 18²⁶⁻²⁹, by patience, self-control, and humility, 1²²⁻³⁰; true and false, 37¹⁶⁻²⁶;—literature, § 1; praise of, Wisd. 6⁹⁻¹¹ T.L. 13 Test. App. II 88-95; soul so constituted as to receive, Arist. 236.
- Wisdom, Book of, Add. Esth. §§ 1, 5, F¹¹ⁿ.; account of, short, Wisd. § 1; author, § 7, an Alexandrian Jew; bibliography, § 10; composite nature, § 6; date, § 5; language of, § 7; MSS., § 3; relation to O.T. and N.T. books, § 8; theology and philosophy, § 9; title, § 2; versions, § 4; vocabulary, § 6.
- Wisdom literature, Wisd. § 1 1 Bar. § 2 iii.
- Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira, § 2. See Wisdom, Book of.
- Wise, P.A. 1^{4,50,11,17} 2^{11,14} 5¹⁸ 6^{1,8,9,10}; advice to learn from, Sir. 8⁸; class of, § 1; gifts blind the eyes of, 20²⁹; godly man is, 21¹¹; how differs from fool, 21^{12-17,18-28}; of the people to be taught the secret revelations of Ezra, 4 Ez. 12³⁸ 14²⁶ⁿ; reward of, Sir. 20^{27,28}; speech of, 20^{13,27} 27¹¹⁻¹³; = teachers, Rabbis, P.A. 1¹¹.
- Witchcraft, 1 En. 6⁵⁶.
- Witness, heap of, Jub. 29⁸.
- Witnesses, P.A. 4²⁹; examination of, Sus. §§ 7, 8, 44-59, P.A. 1⁹, see Simon ben Shetach; false, law regarding, Pharisees and Sadducees differ in, Sus. 60-62n; law of, Zad. 10¹⁰⁻¹⁷.
- Witnesses (= prophets), Jub. 1¹².
- Wolves = Egyptians, 1 En. 89^{13-27,55}.
- Woman, Disconsolate, vision of, 4 Ez. 9³⁸⁻¹⁰ 24⁴; wicked, 25¹⁶⁻²⁶.
- Women, conduct to, Sir. 9¹⁻⁹ 19²; inferiority of, Arist. 250; to be shunned by men, T.R. 3¹⁰ 4¹ 6¹ T.Jud. 17¹ T.Iss. 4⁴; not to associate with men, T.R. 6²; value of, to man, Sir. 36²¹⁻²⁸ (26-31).
- Wonders, P.A. 5^{5,8}.
- Woods, to be used in sacrifices, Jub. 21¹²⁻¹⁴ Test. App. II 23, 24.
- Word, the, of God, Sir. 33³; all-powerful, Wisd. 18¹⁵ⁿ, see

⁹1¹⁶; and wisdom, 2En. 33⁴; creation by, 2Bar. 21⁴; interpreter of God's powers, a seventh sense, Sir. 17⁵ *crit. n.*; = 'person' of God, Ass. Mos. 8⁵ⁿ; (= prophecy), 2Bar. 10¹ Zad. 9²⁸(A); written, 9².
 Words, careful in, P.A. 1^{9,11,17}, cf. 4¹⁶, see Fence; lying, Zad. 1¹⁰; of the holy angels, 1En. 93²; Holy One, 37² 104⁹; righteousness, 13¹⁰ 14¹ 104¹⁰; wisdom, 14³ 37² 99¹⁰.
 Work, P.A. 1¹⁰ 2^{18,20}; honourableness of, Sir. 7¹⁵.
 Works, doctrine of, 2Bar. 2^{1,2n}. 14⁷ⁿ; faith and, see Faith; good, T.R. 4¹ 2Bar. 14^{7n,12} 4Ez. 7⁷⁷ Zad. 1⁷ P.A. 3¹⁶ 4^{13,22} 6¹⁰, no doctrine of in Ass. Mos. § 9, justification by, Sir. 16¹⁴ⁿ, of righteous should have saved Zion, 2Bar. 14⁷ⁿ, prepared for man by God, Test. App. I 10⁸, cf. 4Ez. 8⁵², store of preserved in treasures, 2Bar. 14¹² 4Ez. 7⁷⁷; judgement by, Sir. 16¹⁴ (cf. 3^{14,31} 11²⁷ 17²² 29⁹ 31^{9,10}, contrast 5^{5,6} 34²⁶) 4Ez. 8⁸³ P.A. 3¹⁹; justification by, 2Bar. § 10, 10¹² 14¹² 51^{3,7} 63^{3,5} 67⁶ 85²; of Beliar, T.B. 6⁷; of deceit, T.Jud. 20³; of God, Zad. 1¹ 3¹ 16¹, of Israel, evil, 2⁶; of man preordained, see Man, works of; of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10¹⁶; of truth, T.Jud. 20³; salvation by, 4Ez. 8⁸³; treasure of, laid up with Most High, 7⁷⁷ⁿ; wealth of, 8⁸⁶.
 World-age, stages in, revealed to chosen men, e.g. Enoch, Moses, Jub. 1²⁸ 4Ez. 14⁵ⁿ Ass. Mos. 1¹⁶ 3^{9q} 10¹² 11¹; beauty of, Wisd. 13⁵; beginning of, Zad. 2⁶; children of, 9⁵⁴; created on behalf of Israel, Ass. Mos. 1¹² 4Ez. 6^{55,69} 7¹¹ 2Bar. 14¹⁸ⁿ; for righteous in Israel, 2Bar. 14¹⁹ 15⁷ 21²⁴; for mankind, 2Bar. 14¹⁸ 4Ez. 8^{1,44}; empires, 2Bar. 39³⁻⁵; fights for the righteous, Wisd. 5¹⁷ 16¹⁷⁻²⁴ 18²⁴ 19⁶; new, 2Bar. 44¹², which does not die, 51³, which ages not those who come to it, 51¹⁶ 44¹²; now invisible, 51⁸; of corruption, 21¹⁹ⁿ; end of, 4c³;—plan, place of successive generations in, 4Ez. 5⁴¹⁻⁵⁵; (future) promised to righteous after death, 2Bar. 14¹³; of incorruption, 21¹⁹ⁿ. 57²ⁿ;—soul, Wisd. 1⁷ⁿ; this, P.A. 1^{2,18} 2¹⁵ 3^{15,19,22} 4^{1,7,21,22,28} 5^{1,11,27} 6^{1,4,6,7,11,12}, Beliar ruler of, Mart. Is. 2⁴, life of, P.A. 4²²; to come, 1En. 7¹⁵ P.A. 2⁸ 3¹⁶ 4^{1,21,22} 6^{4,7,10}, inherit, 5²², life of, 2⁸, calmness of spirit in, 4²², portion in, 3¹⁶; whole, represented in high-priest's robe, Wisd. 18²⁴ⁿ.
 Worldly occupation, P.A. 2² 3^{7,21}.
 Worship of animals, Wisd. 16¹; nature, 13²; serpents,

11¹⁵ 15¹⁸. See House of worship.
 Wrath of God, P.Man. 10, 13 1En. 55³ 62¹² 84⁴ 90¹⁸ 91^{7,9}; (= anger, 5⁹ 101³, cf. 18¹⁶ 99¹⁸) Zad. 1¹⁷ 3⁷ 4⁷ 7¹⁷ 9^{13,22,26} 40¹ 11⁴, see 2⁴⁻⁷; against wicked, Sir. 16⁶⁻¹⁴; came upon Israel, 1Macc. 1⁶⁴; certain though long delayed, Sir. 5^{6,7} 7¹⁶ 16⁶⁻¹³ 21¹⁰ 40¹⁰⁻¹⁷, see Retribution; day of, see Day; prayer that it may be stayed with the martyrs' sufferings, 2Macc. 7³⁸; turned away, 1Macc. 3⁸.
 Write down, censor to, a capital charge, Zad. 10¹⁰; to write in register of people, 9²⁹, see Written; (sins recorded in heaven), 1En. 89⁷⁰ 98⁸ 104⁷; for destruction, 1En. 91¹⁴, cf. 'Record', 1En. 89^{62,64}. See Names.
 Writing. See Characters.
 Written, it is, Zad. 13²⁷ 14¹; Law is, 7¹¹. See 9² 10³.
 Xanthicus, month, 2Macc. 11⁸⁰, 33,38.
 Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, relation to, of Wisdom, Wisd. § 9, 82⁻¹⁸ⁿ.
 Xouis, Sib. 5⁸⁶.
 Year, 1En. 74¹⁰ 82⁸, see Lunar, Solar; four parts of, 1En. 82⁴⁻¹³.
 Years, during which Beliar is let loose, Zad. 6⁵⁻⁹; forty, 9³⁹; seven, of excommunication, 14⁶.
 Yeshibah, i.e. circle of hearers, Sir. 51²⁹ⁿ.
 Yetzer, Sir. 15¹⁴ 27⁶ 37³; God placed man at first in hand of his Yetzer, 15¹⁴, see Inclination, Tendency; good, Sir. 14¹ⁿ; evil, P.A. 2¹⁵ 4¹, counteracts the Law, 4Ez. 3²², inherent in man's nature, 3²⁰⁻²², not created by God, Sir. 15¹¹ⁿ. See Evil—germ, heart, principle, seed, thought.
 Yoke, of the Law, 2Bar. 41³ⁿ. P.A. 3⁷ 6⁶; wisdom compared to, Sir. 62^{5n,30}. *Rs. Sol.* 7³
 Yosippon. See Josephus 'the Hebrew'.
 Zabadeas, 1Esd. 9³⁵.
 Zabdeus, 1Esd. 9²¹.
 Zabdil the Arab, 1Macc. 11¹⁷.
 Zabolon. See Zebulon.
 Zachaeus, a Maccabaeen leader, 2Macc. 10¹⁹.
 Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 47.
 Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 49.
 Zacharias, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1⁸.
 Zacharias, a singer, 1Esd. 1¹⁵.
 Zacharias, son of Phoros, 1Esd. 8³⁰.
 Zacharias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 8³⁷.
 Zacharias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
 Zacharias, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
 Zacharias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
 Zacharias, i.e. Zechariah, the prophet, 1Esd. 6¹ 7³.

Zadok, chief of works, Mart. Is. 2⁹.
 Zadok, Rabbi, P.A. 4⁷.
 Zadok, play on name, Zad. § 2; Book of Law hidden till Z. arose, 7⁶; sons of, Zad. 5⁷; are elect of Israel, 6²; chosen for priesthood, Sir. 51¹²ⁿ, cf. 50²⁴; pre-Maccabaeen high-priests, Sir. § 3iii, 51¹².
 Zadokite Fragments, bibliography, § 14; date of original, § 6; MSS., § 3; integrity of, § 7: (i) incomplete; (ii) in great disorder; (iii) based on earlier documents; sources of teaching of, § 7iii; teachings of, § 13; text, see Hebrew; title of work, Zad. § 2. See Zadokite Party.
 Zadokite Party (*refs. to Zad. Frag.*): belief in future life and angels, Zad. 9⁴⁰; connexion with Christian Church, § 10vi, Dositheans, § 10 end, Karaites, § 10vii; constitution, § 11, see Censor, Judges, Priest; depreciate David and Kings, and Judah, § 12, 7^{6,7}; expect Messiah from Aaron and Israel, not Judah, see Messiah; expectations of, 9⁴⁻⁹; foundation of, 9⁴⁻⁹; glorify Aaron, and priests, and Levites, § 12; head-quarters, Jerusalem, not Damascus permanently, § 10iii; history, principal phases in, § 10:—(i) breach with Sadducean priesthood; (ii) establishment of new covenant of repentance; subsequent breach with Pharisaic party; (iii) claim to be the true Israel; hence term Temple their holy city, &c.; (iv) period of obedience to precepts of 'Lawgiver' ('Star') till coming of Teacher of Righteousness, thereafter called 'Sons of Zadok'; (v) period from death of Teacher till expected advent of Messiah—judges of, see Regulation; leader, see Leader; members of, in four orders, § 11, see Levites; migration to Damascus, temporary, § 10; name, play on, 1¹ 2¹⁰, see Zadok; nature and origin of—a party, not a sect, § 5; within Judaism, within priesthood, possessed genuine orders, § 5; had origin in priesthood (i.e. Sadducees), but was closely related to Pharisees, § 9; an attempt at reform from within the priesthood, § 9; included laity and priests = 'from Israel and Aaron', § 10; not Essenes, § 9²⁵; not Pharisees, yet related to in many respects, § 9⁴⁰; not Sadducees, but a reformed Sadduceism, § 9³⁰; not Samaritans, § 9¹⁰—; relation to Pharisees and Sadducees, § 9^{30,40}; sanctuary = Temple, § 10iii; rules for membership—faithfulness to New Covenant; penalty excommunica-

tion and exclusion for seven years, 9²⁸⁻³⁰—; observance of Levitical and moral laws, 7⁹⁻¹¹ 9¹ 10⁷⁻¹⁷ 12-15 19-20; use of Old Testament, Prophets as well as Law, §§ 8, 9³⁰, 10.
 Zambri, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Zamothe, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
 Zaqiel, 1En. 6⁷.
 Zera, Jub. 38¹⁷.
 Zeraias, 1Esd. 5⁸.
 Zeraias, 1Esd. 8².
 Zeraias, 1Esd. 8³¹.
 Zeraias, 1Esd. 8³⁴.
 Zarakas, brother of Joakim, 1Esd. 1³⁸.
 Zardeus, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
 Zathoes, 1Esd. 8³².
 Zathui, 1Esd. 5¹².
 Zealot, Ass. Mos. § 8.
 Zeboim, Jub. 13²³ 16⁵.
 Zebulon, or Zabulon, Jub. 28²³ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁷ 44¹⁷ T.Jud. 25² T.Z. 1⁻³ 10².
 Zechariah, the prophet, Zad. § 3, 9²(B). See Isaiah, Zacharias.
 Zechrias, 1Esd. 8¹.
 Zedekiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1⁴⁶ (see Sedekias) 2Bar. 8⁵.
 Zedekiah, an elder, Arist. 49.
 Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, Mart. Is. 2^{12,13,15}.
 Zelebsel, 1En. 82¹⁷.
 Zephathite woman, Jub. 44¹³.
 Zerah, Jub. 41²¹ 44¹⁵.
 Zeredah, P.A. 1⁴.
 Zerubbabel, Sir. 49¹¹ 1En. 90⁷²ⁿ; wins in contest of oratory, 1Esd. § 1, 3¹⁻⁵; overshadowed by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1; a Zerubbabel source of 1 Esdras, § 6(6). See Zorobabel.
 Zeus, Sib. 3¹⁴¹ 5^{7,87,131,140}; of Ammon, 5⁷; or Dis, Arist. 15; the planet, 2En. 30³ⁿ; Olympus, sanctuary at Jerusalem called after, 2Macc. 6², see Hellenizing; Xenius, sanctuary at Gerizim called after, 2Macc. 6².
 Zilpah, Jub. 28^{3,9,20} 33²² 44¹⁹ T.N. 1¹¹ T.G. 1⁶ T.Jos. 20³⁽⁶⁾.
 Zimram, Jub. 19¹¹.
 Zimri, son of Salom, slain by Phinehas, 1Macc. 2²⁶.
 Zion, Jub. 1^{28,29} 4²⁶ 8¹⁹ Sir. 24^{10,13} 48^{18,24} 51^{12x111} 1En. 26²ⁿ 2Bar. 5^{1,3} 7¹ 10^{7,10,12} 11¹ &c. Ps.Sol. 11¹; centre of earth, Jub. 8¹⁹; consolation of, 2Bar. 44⁷ 81²; God King on, Jub. 1²⁸; shall be holy, 1²⁸; Mount, scene of revelations in 2Bar. 13¹ 22-30 48-52. See Sion.
 Ziphion, Jub. 44²⁰.
 Zodiac, 2En. 30⁶; twelve signs of, 21⁶ 30³ⁿ. See Signs.
 Zohar, son of Simeon, Jub. 44¹³.
 Zoma, ben, P.A. 4¹.
 Zoroastrianism, not in Tobit, Tob. § 8 v.
 Zorobabel, 1Esd. 4¹³ 5^{5,48,56}, 68,70 62^{18,27,29}. See Zerubabel.
 Zorzelleus, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
 Zotiel (the angel), 1En. 32².
 Zugoth, i.e. pairs, P.A. 1⁴ⁿ.

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ENOCH 3

THE

BOOK OF ENOCH

BY R. ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA
THE HIGH PRIEST

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
HUGO ODEBERG
PH.D. (LOND.)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : R. Ishmael ascends to heaven to behold the vision of the Merkaba and is given in charge to Metatron

**AND ENOCH WALKED WITH GOD : AND HE WAS NOT ; FOR GOD TOOK HIM
(Gen. v. 24)**

Rabbi Ishmael said :

(1) When I ascended on high to behold the vision of the Merkaba and had entered the six Halls, one within the other:

(2) as soon as I reached the door of the seventh Hall I stood still in prayer before the Holy One, blessed be He, and, lifting up my eyes on high (i.e. towards the Divine Majesty), I said :

(3) " Lord of the Universe, I pray thee, that the merit of Aaron, the son of Amram, the lover of peace and pursuer of peace, who received the crown of priesthood from Thy Glory on the mount of Sinai, be valid for me in this hour, so that Qafsiel*, the prince, and the angels with him may not get power over me nor throw me down from the heavens ".

(4) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, sent to me Metatron, his Servant ('Ebed) the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and he, spreading his wings, with great joy came to meet me so as to save me from their hand.

(5) And he took me by his hand in their sight, saying to me: "Enter in peace before the high and exalted King³ and behold the picture of the Merkaba".

(6) Then I entered the seventh Hall, and he led me to the camp(s) of Shekina and placed me before the Holy One, blessed be He, to behold the Merkaba.

(7) As soon as the princes of the Merkaba and the flaming Seraphim perceived me, they fixed their eyes upon me. Instantly trembling and shuddering seized me and I fell down and was benumbed by the radiant image of their eyes and the splendid appearance of their faces; until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them, saying:

(8) "My servants, my Seraphim, my Kerubim and my 'Ophannim! Cover ye your eyes before Ishmael, my son, my friend, my beloved one and my glory, that he tremble not nor shudder !"

(9) Forthwith Metatron the Prince of the Presence, came and restored my spirit and put me upon my feet.

(10) After that (moment) there was not in me strength enough to say a song before the Throne of Glory of the glorious King, the mightiest of all kings, the most excellent of all princes, until after the hour had passed.

(11) After one hour (had passed) the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me the gates of Shekina, the gates of Peace, the gates of Wisdom, the gates of Strength, the gates of Power, the gates of Speech (Dibbur), the gates of Song, the gates of Qedushsha, the gates of Chant.

(12) And he enlightened my eyes and my heart by words of psalm, song, praise, exaltation, thanksgiving, extolment, glorification, hymn and eulogy. And as I opened my mouth, uttering a song before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Holy Chayyoth beneath and above the Throne of Glory answered and said : "HOLY " and "BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF YHWH FROM HIS PLACE !" (i.e. chanted the Qedushsha).

CHAPTER II

The highest classes of angels make inquiries about

R. Ishmael which are answered by Metatron

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour the eagles of the Merkaba, the flaming 'Ophannim and the Seraphim of consuming fire asked Metatron, saying to him:

(2) "Youth ! Why sufferest thou one born of woman to enter and behold the Merkaba? From which nation, from which tribe is this one? What is his character?"

(3) Metatron answered and said to them : "From the nation of Israel whom the Holy One, blessed be He, chose for his people from among seventy tongues (nations), from the tribe of Levi, whom he set aside as a contribution to his name and from the seed of Aaron whom the Holy One, blessed be He, did choose for his servant and put upon him the crown of priesthood on Sinai".

(4) Forthwith they spake and said : "Indeed, this one is worthy to behold the Merkaba ". And they said: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!".

CHAPTER III

Metatron has 70 names, but God calls him ' Youth '

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour I asked Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence: "What is thy name?"

(2) He answered me: "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world and all of them are based upon the name Metatron, angel of the Presence; but my King calls me 'Youth' (Na'ar)"

CHAPTER IV

Metatron is identical with Enoch who was translated to
heaven at the time of the Deluge

R. Ishmael said :

(1) I asked Metatron and said to him: "Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the

servants, honoured above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness and glory : why do they call thee ' Youth ' in the high heavens ?"

(2) He answered and said to me: " Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared.

(3) For when the generation of the flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways' (Job xxi. 14), then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel'.

(4) What sinned all those multitudes, their wives, their sons and their, daughters, their horses, their mules and their cattle and their property, and all the birds of the world, all of which the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed from the world together with them in the waters of the flood?

(5) Hence the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up in their lifetime before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, assigned me for a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.

(6) In that hour three of the ministering angels, 'UZZA, 'AZZA and 'AZZAEL came forth and brought charges against me in the high heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He:

"Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: < Do not create man! ' " The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto them: "I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will deliver". (Is. xlv. 4.)

(7) As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe ! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is not he one from among the sons of [the sons of] those who perished in the days of the Flood? "What doeth he in the Raqia'?"

(8) Again, the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in my presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens."

(9) Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father for thy Creator doth favour thee".

(10) And because I am small and a youth among them in days, months and years, therefore they call me "Youth" (Na'ar).

CHAPTER V

The idolatry of the generation of Enosh causes God to remove
the Shekina from earth. The idolatry inspired by 'Azza,
'Uzza and 'Azziel

R.Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) From the day when the Holy One, blessed be He, expelled the first Adam from the Garden of Eden (and onwards), Shekina was dwelling upon a Kerub under the Tree of Life.

(2) And the ministering angels were gathering together and going down from heaven in parties, from the Raqia in companies and from the heavens in camps to do His will in the whole world.

(3) And the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the Shekina.

(4) For the splendour of the Shekina traversed the world from one end to the other (with a splendour) 365,000 times (that) of the globe of the sun. And everyone who made use of the splendour of the Shekina, on him no flies and no gnats did rest, neither was he ill nor suffered he any pain. No demons got power over him, neither were they able to injure him.

(5) When the Holy One, blessed be He, went out and went in: from the Garden to Eden, from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to Raqia and from Raqia to the Garden of Eden then all and everyone beheld the splendour of His Shekina and they were not injured;

- (6) until the time of the generation of Enosh who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world.
- (7) And what did the generation of Enosh do? They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in heaps like unto mountains and hills making idols out of them throughout all the world. And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs.
- (8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations, and placed them before the idols on their right hand and on their left, to attend them even as they attend the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written (1 Kings xxii. 19): "And all the host of heaven was standing by him on his right hand and on his left".
- (9) What power was in them that they were able to bring them down? They would not have been able to bring them down but for 'Uzza, 'Azza and 'Azziel who taught them sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them
- (10) In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying before him: "Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men? As it is written (Ps. viii. 4) 'What is man (Enosh) that thou art mindful of him?' 'Mah Adam' is not written here, but 'Mah Enosh', for he (Enosh) is the head of the idol worshippers.
- (11) Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens, the abode of thy glorious Name, and the high and exalted Throne in 'Araboth Raqia' in the highest and art gone and dwellest with the children of men who worship idols and equal thee to the idols.
- (12) Now thou art on earth and the idols likewise. What hast thou to do with the inhabitants of the earth who worship idols?"
- (13) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted up His Shekina from the earth, from their midst.
- (14) In that moment came the ministering angels, the troops of hosts and the armies of 'Araboth in thousand camps and ten thousand hosts : they fetched trumpets and took the horns in their hands and surrounded the Shekina with all kinds of songs. And He ascended to the high heavens, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

CHAPTER VI

Enoch lifted up to heaven together with the Shekina. Angels protests answered by God

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to lift me up on high, He first sent 'Anaphiel H (H = Tetragrammaton) the Prince, and he took me from their midst in their sight and carried me in great glory upon a fiery chariot with fiery horses, servants of glory. And he lifted me up to the high heavens together with the Shekina.
- (2) As soon as I reached the high heavens, the Holy Chayyoth, the 'Ophannim, the Seraphim, the Kerubim, the Wheels of the Merkaba (the Galgallim), and the ministers of the consuming fire, perceiving my smell from a distance of 365,000 myriads of parasangs, said: "What smell of one born of woman and what taste of a white drop (is this) that ascends on high, and (lo, he is merely) a gnat among those who 'divide flames (of fire)?"
- (3) The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and spake unto them: "My servants, my hosts, my Kerubim, my 'Ophannim, my Seraphim! Be ye not displeased on account of this! Since all the children of men have denied me and my great Kingdom and are gone worshipping idols, I have removed my Shekina from among them and have lifted it up on high. But this one whom I have

taken from among them is an ELECT ONE among (the inhabitants of) the world and he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness and perfection of deed and I have taken him for (as) a tribute from my world under all the heavens".

CHAPTER VII

Enoch raised upon the wings of the Shekina to the place
of the Throne, the Merkaba and the angelic hosts

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, took me away from the generation of the Flood, he lifted me on the wings of the wind of Shekina to the highest heaven and brought me into the great palaces of the 'Araboth Raqia' on high, where are the glorious Throne of Shekina, the Merkaba, the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the fiery Shin'anim', the flaming Kerubim, and the burning 'Ophannim, the flaming servants, the flashing Chashmattim and the lightening Seraphim. And he placed me (there) to attend the Throne of Glory day after day.

CHAPTER VIII

The gates (of the treasures of heaven)
opened to Metatron

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Before He appointed me to attend the Throne of Glory, the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me

three hundred thousand gates of Understanding
three hundred thousand gates of Subtlety
three hundred thousand gates of Life
three hundred thousand gates of grace and loving-kindness
three hundred thousand gates of love
three hundred thousand gates of Tora
three hundred thousand gates of meekness
three hundred thousand gates of maintenance
three hundred thousand gates' of mercy
three hundred thousand gates of fear of heaven

(2) In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, added in me wisdom unto wisdom, understanding unto understanding, subtlety unto subtlety, knowledge unto knowledge, mercy unto mercy, instruction unto instruction, love unto love, loving-kindness unto loving-kindness, goodness unto goodness, meekness unto meekness, power unto power, strength unto strength, might unto might, brilliance unto brilliance, beauty unto beauty, splendour unto splendour, and I was honoured and adorned with all these good and praiseworthy things more than all the children of heaven.

CHAPTER IX

Enoch receives blessings from the Most High and
is adorned with angelic attributes

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) After all these things the Holy One, blessed be He, put His hand upon me and blessed me with 5360 blessings.
- (2) And I was raised and enlarged to the size of the length and width of the world.
- (3) And He caused 72 wings to grow on me, 36 on each side. And each wing was as the whole world.
- (4) And He fixed on me 365 eyes : each eye was as the great luminary.
- (5) And He left no kind of splendour, brilliance, radiance, beauty in (of) all the lights of the universe that He did not fix on me.

CHAPTER X

God places Metatron on a throne at the door of the seventh Hall and announces through the Herald, that Metatron henceforth is God's representative and ruler over all the princes of kingdoms and all the children of heaven, save the eight high princes called YHWH by the name of their King

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me: He made me a Throne, similar to the Throne of Glory. And He spread over me a curtain of splendour and brilliant appearance, of beauty, grace and mercy, similar to the curtain of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all kinds of lights in the universe.
- (2) And He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it.
- (3) And the herald went forth into every heaven, saying: This is Metatron, my servant. I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms and over all the children of heaven, except the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called YHWH, by the name of their King.
- (4) And every angel and every prince who has a word to speak in my presence (before me) shall go into his presence (before him) and shall speak to him (instead).
- (5) And every command that he utters to you in my name do ye observe and fulfil. For the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding have I committed to him to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly things, in the wisdom of this world and of the world to come.
- (6) Moreover, I have set him over all the treasures of the palaces of Araboim and over all the stores of life that I have in the high heavens.

CHAPTER XI

God reveals all mysteries and secrets to Metatron

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

- (1) Henceforth the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me all the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom and all the depths of the Perfect Law; and all living beings' thoughts of heart and all the secrets of the universe and all the secrets of Creation were revealed unto me even as they are revealed unto the Maker of Creation.
- (2) And I watched intently to behold the secrets of the depth and the wonderful mystery. Before a man did think in secret, I saw (it) and before a man made a thing I beheld it.

(3) And there was no thing on high nor in the deep hidden from me.

CHAPTER XII

God clothes Metatron in a garment of glory, puts a royal crown on his head and calls him "the Lesser YHWH"

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) By reason of the love with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved me more than all the children of heaven, He made me a garment of glory on which were fixed all kinds of lights, and He clad me in it.

(2) And He made me a robe of honour on which were fixed all kinds of beauty, splendour, brilliance and majesty.

(3) And he made me a royal crown in which were fixed forty-nine costly stones like unto the light of the globe of the sun.

(4) For its splendour went forth in the four quarters of the 'Araboth Raqia', and in (through) the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world. And he put it on my head.

(5) And He called me THE LESSER YHWH in the presence of all His heavenly household; as it is written (Ex. xxiii. 21): "For my name is in him".

CHAPTER XIII

God writes with a flaming style on Metatron's crown the cosmic letters by which heaven and earth were created

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me :

(1) Because of the great love and mercy with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved and cherished me more than all the children of heaven, He wrote with his ringer with a flaming style upon the crown on my head the letters by which were created heaven and earth, the seas and rivers, the mountains and hills, the planets and constellations, the lightnings, winds, earthquakes and voices (thunders), the snow and hail, the storm-wind and the tempest ; the letters by which were created all the needs of the world and all the orders of Creation.

(2) And every single letter sent forth time after time as it were lightnings, time after time as it were torches, time after time as it were flames of fire, time after time (rays) like [as] the rising of the sun and the moon and the planets.

CHAPTER XIV

All the highest princes, the elementary angels and the planetary and sideric angels fear and tremble at the sight of Metatron crowned

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, put this crown on my head, (then) trembled before me all the Princes of Kingdoms who are in the height of 'Araboth Raqiaf and all the hosts of every heaven; and even the princes (of) the 'Elim, the princes (of) the 'Er'ellim and the princes (of) the Tafsarim, who are greater than all the ministering angels who minister before the Throne of Glory, shook, feared and trembled before me when they beheld me.

(2) Even Sammael, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms on high; feared and trembled before me.

(3) And even the angel of fire, and the angel of hail, and the angel of the wind, and the angel of the lightning, and the angel of anger, and the angel of the thunder, and the angel of the snow, and the angel of the rain ; and the angel of the day, and the angel of the night, and the angel of the sun and the angel of the moon, and the angel of the planets and the angel of the constellations who rule the world under their hands, feared and trembled and were affrighted before me, when they beheld me.

(4) These are the names of the rulers of the world: Gabriel, the angel of the fire, Baradiel, the angel of the hail, Ruchiel who is appointed over the wind, Baraqiel who is appointed over the lightnings, Za'amiel who is appointed over the vehemence, Ziqiel who is appointed over the sparks, Zi'iel who is appointed over the commotion, Zdaphiel who is appointed over the storm-wind, Ra'amiel who is appointed over the thunders, Rctashiel who is appointed over the earthquake, Shalgiel who is appointed over the snow, Matariel who is appointed over the rain, Shimshiel who is appointed over the day, Lailiel who is appointed over the night, Galgalliel who is appointed over the globe of the sun, 'Ophanniel who is appointed over the globe of the moon, Kokbiel who is appointed over the planets, Rahatiel who is appointed over the constellations.

(5) And they all fell prostrate, when they saw me. And they were not able to behold me because of the majestic glory and beauty of the appearance of the shining light of the crown of glory upon my head.

CHAPTER XV

Metatron transformed into fire

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me :

(1) As soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, took me in (His) service to attend the Throne of Glory and the Wheels (Galgallim) of the Merkaba and the needs of Shekina, forthwith my flesh was changed into flames, my sinews into flaming fire, my bones into coals of burning juniper, the light of my eye-lids into splendour of lightnings, my eye-balls into fire-brands, the hair of my head into dot flames, all my limbs into wings of burning fire and the whole of my body into glowing fire.

(2) And on my right were divisions 6 of fiery flames, on my left fire-brands were burning, round about me stormwind and tempest were blowing and in front of me and behind me was roaring of thunder with earthquake.

FRAGMENT OF 'ASCENSION OF MOSES'

(1) R. Ishmael said: Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence and the prince over all the princes and he stands before Him who is greater than all the Elohim. And he goes in under the Throne of Glory. And he has a great tabernacle of light on high. And he brings forth the fire of deafness and puts (it) into the ears of the Holy Chayyoth, that they may not hear the voice of the Word (Dibbur) that goes forth from the mouth of the Divine Majesty.

(2) And when Moses ascended on high, he fasted 121 fasts, till the habitations of the chashmal were opened to him; and he saw the heart within the heart of the Lion and he saw the innumerable companies of the hosts Around about him. And they desired to burn him. But Moses prayed for mercy, first for Israel and after that for himself: and He who sitteth on the Merkaba opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. And a host of 1800 advocates and the Prince of

the Presence, Metatron, with them went forth to meet Moses. And they took the prayers of Israel and put them as a crown on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) And they said (Deut. vi. 4): "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord" and their face shone and rejoiced over Shekina and they said to Metatron: "What are these? And to whom do they give all this honour and glory?" And they answered: "To the Glorious Lord of Israel". And they spake: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord, our God, is one Lord. To whom shall be given abundance of honour and majesty but to Thee YHWH, the Divine Majesty, the King, living and eternal".

(4) In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth and said to Metatron, the Prince of the Presence: "Let no prayer that he prayeth before me return (to him) void. Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire whether (it be) great or small".

(5) Forthwith Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to Moses:

"Son of Amram! Fear not, for now God delights in thee. And ask thou thy desire of the Glory and Majesty. For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other". But Moses answered him: "(I fear) lest I bring guiltiness upon myself". Metatron said to him: "Receive the letters of the oath, in (by) which there is no breaking the covenant" (which precludes any breach of the covenant).

CHAPTER XVI 1

Probably additional

Metatron divested of his privilege of presiding on a
Throne of his own on account of Acher's misapprehension
in taking him for a second Divine Power

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) At first I was sitting upon a great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall ; and I was judging the children of heaven, the household on high by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. And I divided Greatness, Kingship, Dignity, Rulership, Honour and Praise, and Diadem and Crown of Glory unto all the princes of kingdoms, while I was presiding (lit. sitting) in the Celestial Court (Yeshiba), and the princes of kingdoms were standing before me, on my right and on my left by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) But when Acher came to behold the vision of the Merkaba and fixed his eyes on me, he feared and trembled before me and his soul was affrighted even unto departing from him, because of fear, horror and dread of me, when he beheld me sitting upon a throne like a king with all the ministering angels standing by me as my servants and all the princes of kingdoms adorned with crowns surrounding me:

(3) in that moment he opened his mouth and said: "Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven!"

(4) Forthwith Bath Qol (the Divine Voice) went forth from heaven from before the Shekina and said: "Return, ye backsliding children (Jer. iii. 22), except Acher!"

(5) Then came 'Aniyel, the Prince, the honoured, glorified, beloved, wonderful, revered and fearful one, in commission from the Holy One, blessed be He and gave me sixty strokes with lashes of fire and made me stand on my feet.

CHAPTER XVII

The princes of the seven heavens, of the sun, moon,
planets and constellations and their suites of angels

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) Seven (are the) princes, the great, beautiful, revered, wonderful and honoured ones who are appointed over the seven heavens. And these are they : MIKAEL, GABRIEL, SHATQIEL, SHACHAQIEL, BAKARIEL, BADARIEL, PACHRIEL.

(2) And every one of them is the prince of the host of (one) heaven. And each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels.

(3) MIKAEL, the great prince, is appointed over the seventh heaven, the highest one, which is in the 'Araboth. GABRIEL, the prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven which is in Makon.

SHATAQIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fifth heaven which is in Ma'on.

SHAHAQI'EL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fourth heaven which is in Zebul.

BADARIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the third heaven which is in Shehaqim.

BARAKIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the second heaven which is in the height of (Merom) Raqia.

PAZRIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the first heaven which is in Wilon, which is in Shamayim.

(4) Under them is GALGALLIEL, the prince who is appointed over the globe (galgal) of the sun, and with him are 96 great and honoured angels who move the sun in Raqia'.

(5) Under them is 'OPHANNIEL, the prince who is set over the globe ('ophari) of the moon. And with him are 88 angels who move the globe of the moon 354 thousand parasangs every night at the time when the moon stands in the East at its turning point. And when is the moon sitting in the East at its turning point? Answer: in the fifteenth day of every month.

(6) Under them is RAHATIEL, the prince who is appointed over the constellations. And he is accompanied by 72 great and honoured angels. And why is he called RAHATIEL? Because he makes the stars run (marhit) in their orbits and courses 339 thousand parasangs every night from the East to the West, and from the West to the East. For the Holy One, blessed be He, has made a tent for all of them, for the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars in which they travel at night from the West to the East.

(7) Under them is KOKBIEL, the prince who is appointed over all the planets. And with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honoured ones who move the planets from city to city and from province to province in the Raqia' of heavens.

(8) And over them are SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS on high corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world. And all of them are crowned with royal crowns and clad in royal garments and wrapped in royal cloaks. And all of them are riding on royal horses and they are holding royal sceptres in their hands. And before each one of them when he is travelling in Raqia' , royal servants are running with great glory and majesty even as on earth they (princes) are travelling in chariot(s) with horsemen and great armies and in glory and greatness with praise, song and honour.

CHAPTER XVIII

The order of ranks of the angels and the homage received by the higher ranks from the lower ones

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) THE ANGELS OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when(ever) they see their prince, they dismount from their horses and fall on their faces.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the second heaven, he dismounts, removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SECOND HEAVEN, when he sees the Prince of the third heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE THIRD HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fourth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FOURTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fifth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

xAnd THE PRINCE OF THE FIFTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the sixth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SIXTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the seventh heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(2) And THE PRINCE OF THE SEVENTH HEAVEN, when he sees THE SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

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(3) And the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, when they see THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL IN THE ARABOTH RAQIA in the highest, they remove the royal crown from their head and fall on their faces.

3And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL, when they see the door keepers of the second Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SECOND HALL, when they see the door keepers of the third Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE THIRD HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fourth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FOURTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fifth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIFTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the sixth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SIXTH HALL, when they see the DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SEVENTH HALL, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(4) And the door keepers of the seventh Hall, when they see THE FOUR GREAT PRINCES, the honoured ones, WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER THE FOUR CAMPS OF SHEKINA, they remove the crown(s) of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(5) And the four great princes, when they see TAG'AS, the prince, great and honoured with song (and) praise, at the head of all the children of heaven, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(6) And Tag' as, the great and honoured prince, when he sees BARATTIEL, the great prince of three fingers in the height of 'Araboth, the highest heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(7) And Barattiel, the great prince, when he sees HAMON, the great prince, the fearful and honoured, pleasant and terrible one who maketh all the children of heaven to tremble, when the time draweth nigh (that is set) for the saying of the '(Thrice) Holy', as it is written (Isa. xxxiii. 3): "At the noise of the tumult (hamon) the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered" he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(8) And Hamon, the great prince, when he sees TUTRESIEL, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(9) And Tutresiel H', the great prince, when he sees ATRUGIEL, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(10) And Atrugiel the great prince, when he sees NA'ARIRIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(n) And Na'aririel H', the great prince, when he sees SASNIGIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(12) And Sasnigiel H', when he sees ZAZRIEL H', the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(13) And Zazriel H', the prince, when he sees GEBURATIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(14) And Geburatiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ARAPHIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(15) And 'Araphiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ASHRUYLU, the prince, who presides in all the sessions of the children of heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(16) And Ashruylu H, the prince, when he sees GALLISUR H', THE PRINCE, WHO REVEALS ALL THE SECRETS OF THE LAW (Tora), he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(17) And Gallisur H', the prince, when he sees ZAKZAKIEL H', the prince who is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(18) And Zakzakiel H', the great prince, when he sees 'ANAPHIEL H', the prince who keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called by the name of 'Anaphiel ? Because the bough of his honour and majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows) all the chambers of 'Araboth Raqia on high even as the Maker of the World (doth overshadow them). Just as it is written with regard to the Maker of the World (Hab. iii. 3): "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise", even so do the honour and majesty of 'Anaphiel cover all the glories of 'Araboth the highest.

(19) And when he sees SOTHER 'ASHIEL H', the prince, the great, fearful and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Sother Ashiel? Because he is appointed over the four heads of the fiery river over against the Throne of Glory; and every single prince who goes out or enters before the Shekina, goes out or enters only by his permission.

For the seals of the fiery river are entrusted to him. And furthermore, his height is 7000 myriads of parasangs. And he stirs up the fire of the river ; and he goes out and enters before the Shekina to expound what is written (recorded) concerning the inhabitants of the world. According as it is written (Dan. vii. 10) : "the judgement was set, and the books were opened".

(20) And Sother 'Ashiel the prince, when he sees SHOQED CHOZI, the great prince, the mighty, terrible and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls upon his face.

And why is he called Shoqed Chozi? Because he weighs all the merits (of man) in a balance in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(21) Andwhen he sees ZEHANPURYU H',the great prince, the mighty and terrible one, honoured, glorified and feared in all the heavenly household, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Zehanpuryu? Because he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place.

(22) Andwhen he sees 'AZBUGA H', the great prince, glorified, revered, honoured, adorned, wonderful, exalted, beloved and feared among allthe great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called 'Azbuga? Because in the future he will gird (clothe) the righteous and pious of the world with the garments of life and wrap them in the cloak of life, that they may live in them an eternal life.

(23) And when he sees the two great princes, the strong and glorified ones who are standing above him, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And these are the names of the two princes:

SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) KILLETH, (Sopheriel H' the Killer), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, venerable, ancient and mighty one; (and) SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) MAKETH ALIVE (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, ancient and mighty one.

(24) Why is he called Sopheriel H' who killeth (Sopheriel H' the Killer)? Because he is appointed over the books of the dead : [so that] everyone, when the day of his death draws nigh, he writes him in the books of the dead.

Why is he called Sopheriel H' who maketh alive (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver)? Because he is appointed over the books of the living (of life), so that every one whom the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring into life, he writes him in the book of the living (of life), by authority of MAQOM. Thou might perhaps say: "Since the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on a throne, they also are sitting when writing". (Answer): The Scripture teaches us (1 Kings xxii. 19, 2 Chron. xviii. 18) : "And all the host of heaven are standing by him ".

"The host of heaven " (it is said) in order to show us, that even the Great Princes, none like whom there is in the high heavens, do not fulfil the requests of the Shekina otherwise than standing. But how is it (possible that) they (are able to) write, when they are standing?

It is like this :

(25) One is standing on the wheels of the tempest and the other is standing on the wheels of the storm-wind.

The one is clad in kingly garments, the other is clad in kingly garments.

The one is wrapped in a mantle of majesty and the other is wrapped in a mantle of majesty.

The one is crowned with a royal crown, and the other is crowned with a royal crown.

The one's body is full of eyes, and the other's body is full of eyes.

The appearance of one is like unto the appearance of lightnings, and the appearance of the other is like unto the appearance of lightnings.

The eyes of the one are like the sun in its might, and the eyes of the other are like the sun in its might.

The one's height is like the height of the seven heavens, and the other's height is like the height of the seven heavens.

The wings of the one are as (many as) the days of the year, and the wings of the other are as (many as) the days of the year.

The wings of the one extend over the breadth of Raqia', and the wings of the other extend over the breadth of Raqia'.

The lips of the one, are as the gates of the East, and the lips of the other are as the gates of the East.

The tongue of the one is as high as the waves of the sea, and the tongue of the other is as high as the waves of the sea.

From the mouth of the one a flame goes forth, and from the mouth of the other a flame goes forth.

From the mouth of the one there go forth lightnings and from the mouth of the other there go forth lightnings.

From the sweat of the one fire is kindled, and from the perspiration of the other fire is kindled.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning, and from the tongue of the other a torch is burning.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone, and upon the head of the other there is a sapphire stone.

On the shoulders of the one there is a wheel of a swift cherub, and on the shoulders of the other there is a wheel of a swift cherub.

One has in his hand a burning scroll, the other has in his hand a burning scroll.

The one has in his hand a flaming style, the other has in his hand a flaming style.

The length of the scroll is 3000 myriads of parasangs ; the size of the style is 3000 myriads of parasangs; the size of every single letter that they write is 365 parasangs.

CHAPTER XIX

Rikbiel, the prince of the wheels of the Merkaba. The surroundings of the Merkaba. The commotion among the angelic hosts at the time of the Qedushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above 2 these three angels, these great princes there is one Prince, distinguished, honoured, noble, glorified, adorned, fearful, valiant, strong, great, magnified, glorious, crowned, wonderful, exalted, blameless, beloved, lordly, high and lofty, ancient and mighty, like unto whom there is none among the princes. His name is RIKBIEL H', the great and revered Prince who is standing by the Merkaba.

(2) And why is he called RIKBIEL? Because he is appointed over the wheels of the Merkaba, and they are given in his charge.

(3) And how many are the wheels? Eight; two in each direction. And there are four winds compassing them round about. And these are their names: "the Storm-Wind", "the Tempest", "the Strong Wind", and "the Wind of Earthquake".

(4) And under them four fiery rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side. And round about them, between the rivers, four clouds are planted (placed), and these they are: "clouds of fire", "clouds of lamps", "clouds of coal", "clouds of brimstone" and they are standing over against [their] wheels.

(5) And the feet of the Chayyoth are resting upon the wheels. And between one wheel and the other earthquake is roaring and thunder is thundering.

(6) And when the time draws nigh for the recital of the Song, (then) the multitudes of wheels are moved, the multitude of clouds tremble, all the chieftains (shallishim) are made afraid, all the horsemen (parashim) do rage, all the mighty ones (gibborim) are excited, all the hosts (seba'im) are afrighted, all the troops (gedudim) are in fear, all the appointed ones (memunnim) haste away, all the princes (sarim) and armies (chayyelim) are dismayed, all the servants (mesharetim) do faint and all the angels (mal'akim) and divisions (degalm) travail with pain.

(7) And one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other and one Kerub to another, one Chayya. to another, one Seraph to another (saying) (Ps. Ixviii. 5) "Extol to him that rideth in 'Araboth, by his name Jah and rejoice before him!"

CHAPTER XX

CHAYYLIEL, the prince of the Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one great and mighty prince. His name is CHAYYLIEL H', a noble and revered prince, a glorious and mighty prince, a great and revered prince, a prince before whom all the children of heaven do tremble, a prince who is able to swallow up the whole earth in one moment (at a mouthful).

(2) And why is he called CHAYYLIEL H'? Because he is appointed over the Holy Chayyoth and smites the Chayyoth with lashes of fire: and glorifies them, when they give praise and glory and rejoicing and he causes them to make haste to say "Holy" and "Blessed be the Glory of H' from his place!" (i.e. the Qedushshd).

CHAPTER XXI

The Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) Four (are) the Chayyoth corresponding to the four winds. Each Chayya is as the space of the whole world. And each one has four faces ; and each face is as the face of the East.
- (2) Each one has four wings and each wing is like the cover (roof) of the universe.
- (3) And each one has faces in the middle of faces and wings in the middle of wings. The size of the faces is (as the size of) 248 faces, and the size of the wings is (as the size of) 365 wings.
- (4) And every one is crowned with 2000 crowns on his head. And each crown is like unto the bow in the cloud. And its splendour is like unto the splendour of the globe of the sun. And the sparks that go forth from every one are like the splendour of the morning star (planet Venus) in the East.

CHAPTER XXII 1

KERUBIEL, the Prince of the Kerubim.

Description of the Kerubim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) Above these la there is one prince, noble, wonderful, strong, and praised with all kinds of praise. His name is KERUBIEL H', a mighty prince, full of power and strength a prince of highness, and Highness (is) with him, a righteous prince, and righteousness (is) with him, a holy prince, and holiness (is) with him, a prince glorified in (by) thousand hosts, exalted by ten thousand armies.
- (2) At his wrath the earth trembles, at his anger the camps are moved, from fear of him the foundations are shaken, at his rebuke the 'Araboth do tremble.
- (3) His stature is full of (burning) coals. The height of his stature is as the height of the seven heavens the breadth of his stature is as the wideness of the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the seven heavens.
- (4) The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire. His tongue is a consuming fire. His eyebrows are like unto the splendour of the lightning. His eyes are like sparks of brilliance. His countenance is like a burning fire.
- (5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head on which (crown) the Explicit Name is graven, and lightnings go forth from it. And the bow of Shekina is between his shoulders.
- (6) And his sword is like unto a lightning; and upon his loins there are arrows like unto a flame, and upon his armour and shield there is a consuming fire, and upon his neck there are coals of burning juniper and (also) round about him (there are coals of burning juniper).
- (7) And the splendour of Shekina is on his face ; and the horns of majesty on his wheels; and a royal diadem upon his skull.
- (8) And his body is full of eyes. And wings are covering the whole of his high stature (lit. the height of his stature is all wings).
- (9) On his right hand a flame is burning, and on his left a fire is glowing; and coals are burning from it. And firebrands go forth from his body. And lightnings are cast forth from his face. With him there is alway thunder upon (in) thunder, by his side there is ever earthquake upon (in) earthquake.
- (10) And the two princes of the Merkaba are together with him.
- (11) Why is he called KERUBIEL H', the Prince. Because he is appointed over the chariot of the Kerubim. And the mighty Kerubim are given in his charge. And he adorns the crowns on their heads and polishes the diadem upon their skull.

(12) He magnifies the glory of their appearance. And he glorifies the beauty of their majesty. And he increases the greatness of their honour. He causes the song of their praise to be sung. He intensifies their beautiful strength. He causes the brilliance of their glory to shine forth. He beautifies their goodly mercy and lovingkindness. He frames the fairness of their radiance. He makes their merciful beauty even more beautiful. He glorifies their upright majesty. He extols the order of their praise, to stablish the dwellingplace of him "who dwelleth on the Kerubim".

(13) And the Kerubim are standing by the Holy Chayyoth, and their wings are raised up to their heads (lit. are as the height of their heads)

and Shekina is (resting) upon them

and the brilliance of the Glory is upon their faces

and song and praise in their mouth

and their hands are under their wings

and their feet are covered by their wings

and horns of glory are upon their heads

and the splendour of Shekina on their face

and Shekina is (resting) upon them

and sapphire stones are round about them

and columns of fire on their four sides

and columns of firebrands beside them.

(14) There is one sapphire on one side and another sapphire on another side and under the sapphires there are coals of burning juniper.

(15) And one Kerub is standing in each direction but the wings of the Kerubim compass each other above their skulls in glory; and they spread them to sing with them a song to him that inhabiteth the clouds and to praise with them the fearful majesty of the king of kings.

(16) And KERUBIEL H', the prince who is appointed over them, he arrays them in comely, beautiful and pleasant orders and he exalts them in all manner of exaltation, dignity and glory. And he hastens them in glory and might to do the will of their Creator every moment. For above their lofty heads abides continually the glory of the high king "who dwelleth on the Kerubim".

CHAPTER XXII b (ADDITIONAL)

(1) And there is a court before the Throne of Glory,

(2) which no seraph nor angel can enter, and it is 36,000 myriads of parasangs, as it is written (Is.vi.2): "and the Seraphim are standing above him" (the last word of the scriptural passage being 'Lamech-Vav' [numerical value: 36]).

(3) As the numerical value Lamech-Vav (36) the number of the bridges there.

(4) And there are 24 myriads of wheels of fire. And the ministering angels are 12,000 myriads. And there are 12,000 rivers of hail, and 12,000 treasuries of snow. And in the seven Halls are chariots of fire and flames, without reckoning, or end or searching.

R. Ishmael said to me: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) How are the angels standing on high? Pie said: Like a bridge that is placed over a river so that every one can pass over it, likewise a bridge is placed from the beginning of the entry to the end.

(2) And three ministering angels surround it and utter a song before YHWH, the God of Israel. And there are standing before it lords of dread and captains of fear, thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand in number and they sing praise and hymns before YHWH, the God of Israel.

(3) Numerous bridges are there: bridges of fire and numerous bridges of hail. Also numerous rivers of hail, numerous treasures of snow and numerous wheels of fire.

(4) And how many are the ministering angels? 12,000 myriads: six (thousand myriads) above and six (thousand myriads) below. And 12,000 are the treasures of snow, six above and six below. And 24 myriads of wheels of fire, 12 (myriads) above and 12 (myriads) below. And they surround the bridges and the rivers of fire and the rivers of hail. And there are numerous ministering angels, forming entries, for all the creatures that are standing in the midst thereof, corresponding to (over against) the paths of Raqia Shamayim.

(5) What doeth YHWH, the God of Israel, the King of Glory? The Great and Fearful God, mighty in strength, doth cover his face.

(6) In Araboth are 660,000 myriads of angels of glory standing over against the Throne of Glory and the divisions of flaming fire. And the King of Glory doth cover His face; for else the (Araboth Raqia) would be rent asunder in its midst because of the majesty, splendour, beauty, radiance, loveliness, brilliancy, brightness and excellency of the appearance of (the Holy One,) blessed be He.

(7) There are numerous ministering angels performing his will, numerous kings, numerous princes in the 'Araboth of his delight, angels who are revered among the rulers in heaven, distinguished, adorned with song and bringing love to remembrance: (who) are affrighted by the splendour of the Shekina, and their eyes are dazzled by the shining beauty of their King, their faces grow black and their strength doth fail.

(8) There go forth rivers of joy, streams of gladness, rivers of rejoicing, streams of triumph, rivers of love, streams of friendship (another reading:) of commotion and they flow over and go forth before the Throne of Glory and wax great and go through the gates of the paths of 'Araboth Raqia at the voice of the shouting and musick of the CHAYYOTH, at the voice of the rejoicing of the timbrels of his 'OPHANNIM and at the melody of the cymbals of His Kerubim. And they wax great and go forth with commotion with the sound of the hymn: "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, IS THE LORD OF HOSTS; THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY!"

CHAPTER XXII c

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence said to me:

(1) What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs. Their ascent is 12 myriads of parasangs, and their descent 12 myriads of parasangs.

(2) (The distance) between the rivers of dread and the rivers of fear is 22 myriads of parasangs; between the rivers of hail and the rivers of darkness 36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers of lightnings and the clouds of compassion 42 myriads of parasangs; between the clouds of compassion and the Merkaba 84 myriads of parasangs; between the Merkaba and the Kerubim 148 myriads of parasangs; between the Kerubim and the 'Ophannim 24 myriads of parasangs; between the Ophannim and the chambers of chambers 24 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers of chambers and the Holy Chayyoth 40,000 myriads of parasangs; between one wing (of the Chayyoth) and another 12 myriads of parasangs; and the breadth of each one wing is of that same measure; and the distance between the Holy Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory is 30,000 myriads of parasangs.

(3) And from the foot of the Throne to the seat there are 40,000 myriads of parasangs. And the name of Him that sitteth on it: let the name be sanctified!

(4) And the arches of the Bow are set above the 'Araboth, and they are 1000 thousands and 10,000 times ten thousands (of parasangs) high. Their measure is after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin (Watchers and Holy Ones). As it is written (Gen. ix. 13) "My bow I have set in the cloud". It is not written here "I will set" but "I have set", (i.e.) already; clouds that surround the Throne of Glory. As His clouds pass by, the angels of hail (turn into) burning coal.

(5) And a fire of the voice goes down from by the Holy Chayyoth. And because of the breath of that voice they "run" (Ezek. i. 14) to another place, fearing lest it command them to go; and they "return" lest it injure them from the other side. Therefore "they run and return" (Ezek. i. 14).

(6) And these arches of the Bow are more beautiful and radiant than the radiance of the sun during the summer solstice. And they are whiter than a flaming fire and they are great and beautiful.

(7) Above the arches of the Bow are the wheels of the 'Ophannim. Their height is 1000 thousand and 10,000 times 10,000 units of measure after the measure of the Seraphim and the Troops (Gedudim).

CHAPTER XXIII

The winds blowing under the wings of the Kerubim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) There are numerous winds blowing under the wings of the Kerubim.

There blows "the Brooding Wind", as it is written (Gen. i. 2): "and the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters".

(2) There blows "the Strong Wind", as it is said (Ex. xiv. 21): "and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night".

(3) There blows "the East Wind" as it is written (Ex. x. 13): "the east wind brought the locusts".

(4) There blows "the Wind of Quails" as it is written (Num. xi. 31): "And there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails".

(5) There blows "the Wind of Jealousy" as it is written (Num.v.14): "And the wind of jealousy came upon him".

(6) There blows the "Wind of Earthquake" as it is written (i Kings .xix. 1 1): "and after that the wind of the earthquake ; but the Lord was not in the earthquake".

(7) There blows the "Wind of H' " as it is written (Ex. xxxvii. i) : "and he carried me out by the wind of H' and set me down".

(8) There blows the "Evil Wind " as it is written (i Sam. xvi. 23): "and the evil wind departed from him".

(9) There blow the "Wind of Wisdom" and the "Wind of Understanding" and the "Wind of Knowledge" and the "Wind of the Fear of H'" as it is written (Is. xi. 2): "And the wind of H'shall rest upon him; the wind of wisdom and understanding, the wind of counsel and might, the wind of knowledge and of the fear.

(10) There blows the "Wind of Rain", as it is written (Prov. xxv. 23): "the north wind bringeth forth rain".

(11) There blows the "Wind of Lightnings ", as it is written (Jer.x.13, li. 16): "he maketh lightnings for the rain and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures".

(12) There blows the "Wind, Breaking the Rocks", as it is written (i Kings xix. n): "the Lord passed by and a great and strong wind (rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord)".

(13) There blows the "Wind of Assuagement of the Sea", as it is written (Gen. viii. i): "and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged".

(14) There blows the "Wind of Wrath", as it is written (Job i. 19) : "and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house and it fell".

(15) There blows the " Storm-Wind ", as it is written (Ps. cxlviii. 8) : "Storm-wind, fulfilling his word".

(16) And Satan is standing among these winds, for "storm-wind " is nothing else but "Satan", and all these winds do not blow but under the wings of the Kerubim, as it is written (Ps. xviii. n) : "and he rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea, and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(17) And whither go all these winds? The Scripture teaches us, that they go out from under the wings of the Kerubim and descend on the globe of the sun, as it is written (Eccl. i. 6) : " The wind goeth toward the south and turneth about unto the north ; it turneth about continually in its course and the wind 14 returneth again to its circuits ". And from the globe of the sun they return and descend upon the rivers and the seas, upon] the mountains and upon the hills, as it is written (Am.iv.13): "For lo, he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind".

(18) And from the mountains and the hills they return and descend to the seas and the rivers ; and from the seas and the rivers they return and descend upon (the) cities and provinces ; and from the cities and provinces they return and descend into the Garden, and from the Garden they return and descend to Eden, as it is written (Gen.iii. 8): "walking in the Garden in the wind of day". And in the midst of the Garden they join together and blow from one side to the other and are perfumed with the spices of the Garden even from \ts remotest parts, until they separate from each other, and, filled with the scent of the pure spices, they bring the odour from the remotest parts of Eden and the spices of the Garden to the righteous and godly who in the time to come shall inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, as it is written (Cant. iv. 16) : "Awake, O north wind; and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his precious fruits".

CHAPTER XXIV

The different chariots of the Holy One, blessed be He

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me :

(1) Numerous chariots has the Holy One, blessed be He:

He has the "Chariots of (the) Kerubim", as it is written (Ps.xviii.11, 2 Sam.xxii.11): "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly".

(2) He has the "Chariots of Wind", as it is written (ib.) : "and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind ".

(3) He has the "Chariots of (the) Swift Cloud", as it is written (Is. xix. i): "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud".

(4) He has "the Chariots of Clouds", as it is written (Ex. xix. 9): "Lo, I come unto thee in a cloud".

(5) He has the "Chariots of the Altar", as it is written (Am. ix. i) : "I saw the Lord standing upon the Altar".

(6) He has the "Chariots of Ribbotaim", as it is written (Ps.Ixviii. 18) : "The chariots of God are Ribbotaim ; thousands of angels ".

(7) He has the "Chariots of the Tent", as it is written (Deut.xxxi. 15) : "And the Lord appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud ".

(8) He has the "Chariots of the Tabernacle", as it is written (Lev. i. 1): "And the Lord spake unto him out of the tabernacle".

(9) He has the "Chariots of the Mercy-Seat", as it is written (Num. vii. 89): "then he heard the Voice speaking unto him from upon the mercy-seat".

(10) He has the "Chariots of Sapphire Stone", as it is written (Ex. xxiv. 10) : "and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone".

(11) He has the "Chariots of Eagles ", as it is written (Ex. xix. 4) : "I bare you on eagles' wings". Eagles literally are not meant here but "they that fly swiftly as eagles".

(12) He has the "chariots of Shout", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6) : "God is gone up with a shout".

(13) He has the "Chariots of 'Araboth", as it is written (Ps.Ixviii. 5): "Extol Him that rideth upon the 'Araboth".

(14) He has the "Chariots of Thick Clouds", as it is written (Ps. civ. 3): "who maketh the thick clouds His chariot".

(15) He has the "Chariots of the Chayyoth", as it is written (Ezek. i. 14) : "and the Chayyoth

ran and returned". They run by permission and return by permission, for Shekina is above their heads.

(16) He has the "Chariots of Wheels (Galgallim)", as it is written (Ezek. x. 2): "And he said: Go in between the whirling wheels".

(17) He has the "Chariots of a Swift Kerub", as it is written (Ps.xviii.10 & Is.xix.1): "riding on a swift cherub".

And at the time when He rides on a swift kerub, as he sets one of His feet upon him, before he sets the other foot upon his back, he looks through eighteen thousand worlds at one glance. And he discerns and sees into them all and knows what is in all of them and then he sets down the other foot upon him, according as it is written (Ezek. xlviii. 35): "Round about eighteen thousand".

Whence do we know that He looks through every one of them every day? It is written (Ps. xiv. 2): "He looked down from heaven upon the children of men to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God".

(18) He has the "Chariots of the 'Ophannim", as it is written

(Ezek. x. 12): "and the 'Ophannim were full of eyes round about". 12

(19) He has the "Chariots of His Holy Throne", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 8) : "God sitteth upon his holy throne".

(20) He has the "chariots of the Throne of Yah", as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16) : "Because a hand is lifted up upon the Throne of Jah".

(21) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Judgement", as it is written (Is. v. 16): "but the Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgment".

(22) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Glory ", as it is written (Jer. xvii. 12) : "The Throne of Glory, set on high from the beginning, is the place of our sanctuary".

(23) He has the "Chariots of the High and Exalted Throne", as it is written (Is. vi. i): "I saw the Lord sitting upon the high and exalted throne".

CHAPTER XXV

'Ophphanniel, the prince of the 'Ophannim.

Description of the 'Ophannim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one great prince, revered, high, lordly, fearful, ancient and strong. 'OPHPHANNIEL H is his name.

(2) He has sixteen faces, four faces on each side,(also) hundred wings on each side. And he has 8466 eyes, corresponding to the days of the year. [2190 –and some say 2116- on each side.] [2191 /2196 and sixteen on each side.]

(3) And those two eyes of his face, in each one of them lightnings are flashing, and from each one of them firebrands are burning ; and no creature is able to behold them : for anyone who looks at them is burnt instantly.

(4) His height is (as) the distance of 2500 years' journey. No eye can behold and no mouth can tell the mighty power of his strength save the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, alone.

(5) Why is he called 'OPHPHANNIEL ?

Because he is appointed over the 'Ophannim and the 'Ophannim are given in his charge. He stands every day and attends and beautifies them. And he exalts and orders their apartment and polishes their standing-place and makes bright their dwellings, makes their corners even and cleanses their seats. And he waits upon them early and late, by day and by night, to increase their beauty, to make great their dignity and to make them "diligent in praise of their Creator.

(6) And all the 'Ophannim are full of eyes, and they are all full of brightness; seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their right side and seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their left side.

(7) And four carbuncle stones are fixed on the crown of every single one, the splendour of which proceeds in the four directions of 'Araboth even as the splendour of the globe of the sun proceeds in all the directions of the universe. And why is it called Carbuncle (Bareqet)? Because its splendour is like the appearance of a lightning (Baraq). And tents of splendour, tents of brilliance, tents of brightness as of sapphire and carbuncle inclose them because of the shining appearance of their eyes.

CHAPTER XXVI

SERAPHIEL, the Prince of the Seraphim.

Description of the Seraphim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Above these there is one prince, wonderful, noble, great, honourable, mighty, terrible, a chief and leader 1 and a swift scribe, glorified, honoured and beloved.

(2) He is altogether filled with splendour, full of praise and shining; and he is wholly full of brilliance, of light and of beauty; and the whole of him is filled with goodness and greatness.

(3) His countenance is altogether like (that of) angels, but his body is like an eagle's body.

(4) His splendour is like unto lightnings, his appearance like fire brands, his beauty like unto sparks, his honour like fiery coals, his majesty like chashmals, his radiance like the light of the planet Venus.

The image of him is like unto the Greater Light. His height is as the seven heavens. The light from his eyebrows is like the sevenfold light.

(5) The sapphire stone upon his head is as great as the whole universe and like unto the splendour of the very heavens in radiance.

(6) His body is full of eyes like the stars of the sky, innumerable and unsearchable. Every eye is like the planet Venus. Yet, there are some of them like the Lesser Light and some of them like unto the Greater Light. From his ankles to his knees (they are) like unto stars of lightning, from his knees to his thighs like unto the planet Venus, from his thighs to his loins like unto the moon, from his loins to his neck like the sun, from his neck to his skull like unto the Light Imperishable. (Cf. Zeph. iii. 5.)

(7) The crown on his head is like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory. The measure of the crown is the distance of 502 years' journey. There is no kind of splendour, no kind of brilliance, no kind of radiance, no kind of light in the universe but is fixed on that crown.

(8) The name of that prince is SERAPHIEL H". And the crown on his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace". And why is he called by the name of SERAPHIEL '? Because he is appointed over the Seraphim. And the flaming Seraphim are given in his charge. And he presides over them by day and by night and teaches them song, praise, proclamation of beauty, might and majesty; that they may proclaim the beauty of their King in all manner of Praise and Sanctification (Qedushsha).

(9) How many are the Seraphim? Four, corresponding to the four winds of the world. And how many wings have they each one of them? Six, corresponding to the six days of Creation. And how many faces have they? Each one of them four faces.

(10) The measure of the Seraphim and the height of each one of them correspond to the height of the seven heavens. The size of each wing is like the measure of all Raqia' . The size of each face is like that of the face of the East.

(11) And each one of them gives forth light like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory: so that not even the Holy Chayyoth, the honoured 'Ophannim, nor the majestic KeruUm are able to behold it. For everyone who beholds it, his eyes are darkened because of its great splendour.

(12) Why are they called Seraphim? Because they burn (saraph) the writing tables of Satan : Every day Satan is sitting, together with SAMMAEL, the Prince of Rome, and with DUBBIEL, the Prince of Persia, and they write the iniquities of Israel on writing tables which they hand over to the Seraphim, in order that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He, so that He may

destroy Israel from the world. But the Seraphim know from the secrets of the Holy One, blessed be He, that he desires not, that this people Israel should perish. What do the Seraphim? Every day do they receive (accept) them from the hand of Satan and burn them in the burning fire over against the high and exalted Throne in order that they may not come before the Holy One, blessed be He, at the time when he is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth.

CHAPTER XXVII

RADWERIEL, the keeper of the Book of Records

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel of H', the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) Above the Seraphim there is one prince, exalted above all the princes, wondrous more than all the servants. His name is RADWERIEL H' who is appointed over the treasures of the books.
- (2) He fetches forth the Case of Writings (with) the Book of Records in it, and brings it before the Holy One, blessed be He. And he breaks the seals of the case, opens it, takes out the books and delivers them before the Holy One, blessed be He. And the Holy One, blessed be He, receives them of his hand and gives them in his sight to the Scribes, that they may read them in the Great Beth Din (The court of justice) in the height of 'Araboth Raqia', before the heavenly household.
- (3) And why is he called RADWERIEL? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created : and he stands in the songs (in the singing company) of the ministering angels and utters a song before the Holy One, blessed be He when the time draws nigh for the recitation of the (Thrice) Holy.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The 'Irin and Qaddishin

R. Ishmael said : Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

- (1) Above all these there are four great princes, Irin and Qaddishin by name: high, honoured, revered, beloved, wonderful and glorious ones, greater than all the children of heaven. There is none like unto them among all the celestial princes and none their equal among all the Servants. For each one of them is equal to all the rest together.
- (2) And their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory, and their standing place over against the Holy One, blessed be He, so that the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of the brilliance of the Throne of Glory. And the splendour of their countenance is a reflection of the splendour of Shekina.
- (3) And they are glorified by the glory of 4th Divine Majesty (Gebura) and praised by (through) the praise of Shekina.
- (4) And not only that, but the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing in his world without first consulting them, but after that he doeth it. As it is written (Dan. iv. 17) : "The sentence is by the decree of the 'Irin and the demand by the word of the Qaddishin."
- (5) The Irin are two and the Qaddishin are two. And how are they standing before the Holy One, blessed be He? It is to be understood, that one 'Ir is standing on one side and the other 'Ir on the other side, and one Qaddish is standing on one side and the other on the other side.
- (6) And ever do they exalt the humble, and they abase to the ground those that are proud, and they exalt to the height those that are humble.
- (7) And every day, as the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement and judges the whole world, and the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead are opened before Him, then all the children of heaven are standing before him in fear, dread, awe and trembling. At that time, (when) the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement to execute

judgement, his garment is white as snow, the hair on his head as pure wool and the whole of his cloak is like the shining light. And he is covered with righteousness all over as with a coat of mail.

(8) And those 'Irm and Qaddishin are standing before him like court officers before the judge. And they raise and argue every case and close the case that comes before the Holy One, blessed be He, in judgement, according as it is written (Dan. iv. 17) : "The sentence is by the decree of the 'Irm and the demand by the word of the Qaddishin"

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence in the Great Beth Din in 'Araboth. Some of them make the requests from before the Divine Majesty and some close the cases before the Most High. Others finish by going down and (confirming) executing the sentences on earth below. According as it is written (Dan. iv. 13 , 14) : " Behold an 'Ir and a Qaddish came down from heaven and cried aloud and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches "

(10) Why are they called 'Irin and Qaddishin? By reason that they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire on the third day of the judgement, as it is written (Hos. vi. 2): "After two days will he revive us : on the third he will raise us up, and we shall live before him."

CHAPTER XXIX

Description of a class of angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Each one of them has seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world. And all of them are (based) upon the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. And every several name is written with a flaming style upon the Fearful Crown (Keiher Nora) which is on the head of the high and exalted King.

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings. And each one of them is beset with horns of splendour round about. From each one lights are shining forth, and each one is surrounded by tents of brilliance so that not even the Seraphim and the Chayyoth who are greater than all the children of heaven are able to behold them.

CHAPTER XXX

The 72 princes of Kingdoms and the Prince of the World officiating at the Great Sanhedrin in heaven

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Whenever the Great Beth Din is seated in the 'Araboth Raqia' on high there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world save those great princes who are called H' by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) How many are those princes? Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms of the world besides the Prince of the World who speaks (pleads) in favour of the world before the Holy One, blessed be He, every day, at the hour when the book is opened in which are recorded all the doings of the world, according as it is written (Dan.vii.10) : "The judgement was set and the books were opened."

CHAPTER XXXI

(The attributes of) Justice, Mercy and Truth by the Throne of Judgement

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne, of Judgement, (then) Justice is standing on His right and Mercy on His left and Truth before His face.

(2) And when man enters before Him to judgement,(then) there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff and stands in front of him. Forthwith man falls upon his face, (and) all the angels of destruction fear and tremble before him, according as it is written (Is.xvi. 5): "And with mercy shall the throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth."

CHAPTER XXXII

The execution of judgement on the wicked. God's sword

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, opens the Book half of which is fire and half flame, (then) they go out from before Him in every moment to execute the judgement on the wicked by His sword (that is) drawn forth out of its sheath and the splendour of which shines like a lightning and pervades the world from one end to the other, as it is written (Is. lxvi. 16): "For by fire will the Lord plead (and by his sword with all flesh)."

(2) And all the inhabitants of the world (lit. those who come into the world) fear and tremble before Him, when they behold His sharpened sword like unto a lightning from one end of the world to the other, and sparks and flashes of the size of the stars of Raqia' going out from it; according as it is written (Deut. xxxii. 41): "If I whet the lightning of my sword".

CHAPTER XXXIII

The angels of Mercy, of Peace and of Destruction by the Throne of Judgement. The scribes, (vss. i, 2) The angels by the Throne of Glory and the fiery rivers under it. (vss. 3-5)

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, (then) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right, the angels of Peace are standing on His left and the angels of Destruction are standing in front of Him.

(2) And one scribe is standing beneath Him, and another scribe above Him.

(3) And the glorious Seraphim surround the Throne on its four sides with walls of lightnings, and the 'Ophannim. surround them with fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory. And clouds of fire and clouds of flames compass them to the right and to the left; and the Holy Chayyoth carry the Throne of Glory from below: each one with three fingers. The measure of the fingers of each one is 800,000 and 700 times hundred, (and) 66,000 parasangs.

(4) And underneath the feet of the Chayyoth seven fiery rivers are running and flowing. And the breadth of each river is 365 thousand parasangs and its depth is 248 thousand myriads of parasangs. Its length is unsearchable and immeasurable.

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of 'Araboth Raqict , and (from there) it falls down to Ma'on and is stayed, and from Ma' on to Zebul, from Zebul to Shechaqim, from Shechaqim to Raqia' , from Raqia' to Shamayim and from Shamayim upon the heads of the wicked who are in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): "Behold a whirlwind of the Lord, even his fury, is gone, yea, a whirling tempest; it shall burst upon the head of the wicked".

CHAPTER XXXIV

The different concentric circles round the Chayyoth, consisting offire, water, hailstones etc. and of the angels uttering the Qedushsha responsorium

R. Ishmael said: Metatron; the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) The hoofs of the Chayyoth are surrounded by seven clouds of burning coals. The clouds of burning coals are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of flame(s). The seven walls of flame(s) are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of hailstones (stones of 'Et-gabish, Ezek. xiii. 11,13, xxviii. 22). The hailstones are surrounded on the outside by xstones of hail (stone of Barad). The stones of hail are surrounded on the outside by stones of "the wings of the tempest ".

The stones of "the wings of the tempest" are surrounded on the outside by flames of fire. The flames of fire are surrounded by the chambers of the whirlwind. The chambers of the whirlwind are surrounded on the outside by the fire and the water.

(2) Round about the fire and the water are those who utter the "Holy". Round about those who utter the "Holy" are those who utter the "Blessed". Round about those who utter the "Blessed" are the bright clouds. The bright clouds are surrounded on the outside by coals of burning juniper ; and on the outside surrounding the coals of burning juniper there are thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). And between every several camp and every several host there is a cloud, so that they may not be burnt by the fire.

CHAPTER XXXV

The camps of angels in 'Araboth Raqia: angels, performing the Qedushsha

1 R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) 506 thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One, blessed be He, in the height of 'Araboth Raqia. And each camp is (composed of) 496 thousand angels.

(2) And every single angel, the height of his stature is as the great sea; and the appearance of their countenance as the appearance of the lightning, and their eyes as lamps of fire, and their arms and their feet like in colour to polished brass and the roaring voice of their words like the voice of a multitude.

(3) And they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows. And the princes of the army are standing at the head of each row.

(4) And some of them utter the "Holy" and others utter the "Blessed", some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him : the judgment was set and the books were opened ".

(5) And in the hour, when the time draws nigh for to say the "Holy", (then) first there goes forth a whirlwind from before the Holy One, blessed be He, and bursts upon the camp of Shekina and there arises a great commotion among them, as it is written (Jer.xxx. 23): "Behold, the whirlwind of the Lord goeth forth with fury, a continuing commotion".

(6) At that moment 4thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks, thousand thousands of them into firebrands, thousand thousands into flashes, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into males, thousand thousands into females, thousand thousands into winds, thousand thousands into burning fires, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into sparks, thousand thousands into chashmals of light; until they take upon themselves the yoke of the

kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator of them all with fear, dread, awe and trembling, with commotion, anguish, terror and trepidation. Then they are changed again into their former shape to have the fear of their King before them alway, as they have set their hearts on saying the Song continually, as it is written (Is. vi. 3): "And one cried unto another and said (Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.)".

CHAPTER XXXVI

The angels bathe in the fiery river before reciting the 'Song'

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time when the ministering angels desire to say (the) Song, (then) Nehar di-Nur (the fiery stream) rises with many thousand thousands and myriads of myriads" (of angels) of power and strength of fire and it runs and passes under the Throne of Glory, between the camps of the ministering angels and the troops of 'Araboth.

(2) And all the ministering angels first go down into Nehar di-Nur, and they dip themselves in the fire and dip their tongue and their mouth seven times ; and after that they go up and put on the garment of 'Machaqe Samal' and cover themselves with cloaks of chashmal and stand in four rows over against the Throne of Glory, in all the heavens.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The four camps of Shekina and their surroundings

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) In the seven Halls there are standing four chariots of Shekina, and before each one are standing the four camps of Shekina. Between each camp a river of fire is continually flowing.

(2) Between each river there are bright clouds [surrounding them], and between each cloud there are put up pillars of brimstone. Between one pillar and another there are standing flaming wheels, surrounding them. And between one wheel and another there are flames of fire round about. Between one flame and another there are treasuries of lightnings; behind the treasuries of lightnings are the wings of the stormwind. Behind the wings of the storm-wind are the chambers of the tempest; behind the chambers of the tempest there are winds, voices, thunders, sparks [upon] sparks and earthquakes [upon] earthquakes.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The fear that befalls all the heavens at the sound of the 'Holy? esp. the heavenly bodies. These appeased by the Prince of the World

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) At the time, when the ministering angels utter (the Thrice) Holy, then all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets do tremble, and the gates of the Halls of Araboth Raqia' are shaken and the foundations of Shechaqim and the Universe (Tebel) are moved, and the orders of Ma'on and the chambers of Makon quiver, and all the orders of Raqia and the constellations and the planets are

dismayed, and the globes of the sun and the moon haste away and flee out of their courses and run 12,000 parasangs and seek to throw themselves down from heaven,

(2) by reason of the roaring voice of their chant, and the noise of their praise and the sparks and lightnings that go forth from their faces; as it is written (Ps. Ixxvii. 18): "The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven (the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook) ".

(3) Until the prince of the world calls them, saying: "Be ye quiet in your place ! Fear not because of the ministering angels who sing the Song before the Holy One, blessed be He". As it is written (Job.xxxviii. 7): "When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy".

CHAPTER XXXIX

The explicit names fly off from the Throne and all the various angelic hosts prostrate themselves before it at the time of the Qedushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the ministering angels utter the "Holy" then all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory fly off like eagles, with sixteen wings. And they surround and compass the Holy One, blessed be He, on the four sides of the place of His Shekina¹.

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants, and the mighty 'Ophannim, and the Kerubim of the Shekina, and the Holy Chayyoth, and the Seraphim, and the 'Er'ellim, and the Taphsarim and the troops of consuming fire, and the fiery armies, and the flaming hosts, and the holy princes, adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty, wrapped in glory, girt with loftiness, 4 fall upon their faces three times, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XL

The ministering angels rewarded with crowns, when uttering
the '
Holy
' ' in its right order, and punished by consuming fire
if not. New ones created in the stead of the consumed angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) When the ministering angels say "Holy" before the Holy One, blessed be He, in the proper way, then the servants of His Throne, the attendants of His Glory, go forth with great mirth from under the Throne of Glory.

(2) And they all carry in their hands, each one of them thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand crowns of stars, similar in appearance to the planet Venus, and put them on the ministering angels and the great princes who utter the "Holy". Three crowns they put on each one of them: one crown because they say "Holy", another crown, because they say "Holy, Holy", and a third crown because they say "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts" .

(3) And in the moment that they do not utter the "Holy" in the right order, a consuming fire goes forth from the little finger of the Holy One, blessed be He, and falls down in the midst of their ranks and is divided into 496 thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering

angels, and consumes them in one moment, as it is written (Ps. xcvi. 3): "A fire goeth before him and burneth up his adversaries round about".

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates others in their stead, new ones like them. And each one stands before His Throne of Glory, uttering the "Holy", as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness".

CHAPTER XLI

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the letters engraved on
the Throne of Glory by which letters everything in
heaven and earth has been created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and behold the letters by which the heaven and the earth were created, the letters by which were created the mountains and hills, the letters by which were created the seas and rivers, the letters by which were created the trees and herbs, the letters by which were created the planets and the constellations, the letters by which were created the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun, Orion, the Pleiades and all the different luminaries of Raqia' .

(2) the letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the Merkaba, the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds,

(3) the letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained.

(4) And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me those letters, all of them, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory : and sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of 'Araboth.

CHAPTER XLII

Instances of polar opposites kept in balance by several
Divine Names and other similar wonders

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and I will show thee, where the waters are suspended in the highest, where fire is burning in the midst of hail, where lightnings lighten out of the midst of snowy mountains, where thunders are roaring in the celestial heights, where a flame is burning in the midst of the burning fire and where voices make themselves heard in the midst of thunder and earthquake.

(2) Then I went by his side and he took me by his hand and lifted me up on his wings and showed me all those things. I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia' by (force of) the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE (Jah, I am that I am),

And their fruits going down from heaven and watering the face of the world, as it is written (Ps.civ.13): "(He watereth the mountains from his chambers :) the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work".

(3) And I saw fire and snow and hailstone that were mingled together within each other and yet were undamaged, by (force of) the name 'ESH 'OKELA (consuming fire), as it is written (Deut. iv. 24) : "For the Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire".

(4) And I saw lightnings that were lightening out of mountains of snow and yet were not damaged (quenched), by (force of) the name YAH SUR 'OLAMIM (Jah, the everlasting rock), as it is written (Is. xxvi. 4): "For in Jah, YHWH, the everlasting rock".

(5) And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of fiery flames and were not damaged (silenced), by (force of) the name 'EL-SHADDAI RABBA (the Great God Almighty) as it is written (Gen. xvii. i): "I am God Almighty".

(6) And I beheld a flame (and) a glow (glowing flames) that were flaming and glowing in the midst of burning fire, and yet were not damaged (devoured), by (force of) the name YAD 'AL KES YAH (the hand upon the Throne of the Lord) as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16) : " And he said: for the hand is upon the Throne of the Lord ".

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water and they were not damaged (quenched) by (force of) the name 'OSE SHALOM (Maker of Peace) as it is written (Job xxv. 2): "He maketh peace in his high places". For he makes peace between the fire and the water, between the hail and the fire, between the wind and the cloud, between the earthquake and the sparks.

CHAPTER XLIII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the unborn spirits and of the spirits of the righteous dead

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee 1where are1 the spirits of the righteous that have been created and have returned, and the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created.

(2) And he lifted me up to his side, took me by his hand and lifted me up near the Throne of Glory by the place of the Shekina ; and he revealed the Throne of Glory to me, and he showed me the spirits that have been created and had returned : and they were flying above the Throne of Glory before the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) After that I went to interpret the following verse of Scripture and I found in what is written (Isa. Ivii. 16): "for the spirit clothed itself before me, and the souls I have made" that ("for the spirit was clothed before me") means the spirits that have been created in the chamber of creation of the righteous and that have returned before the Holy One, blessed be He; (and the words:) "and the souls I have made" refer to the spirits 4 of the righteous that have not yet been created in the chamber (GUPH).

CHAPTER XLIV

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the wicked and the intermediate in Sheol. (vss. 1-6) The Patriarchs pray for the deliverance of Israel (vss. 7-10)

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, x the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me :

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the wicked and the spirits of the intermediate where they are standing, and the spirits of the intermediate, whither they go down, 3and the spirits of the wicked, where they go down.

(2) And he said to me : The spirits of the wicked go down to She'ol by the hands of two angels of destruction: ZA'APHIEL and SIMKIEL are their names.

(3) SIMKIEL is appointed over the intermediate to support them and purify them because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place (Maqom). ZA'APHIEL is appointed over the spirits of the wicked in order to cast them down from the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, and from the splendour of the Shekina to She'ol, to be punished in the fire of Gehenna with staves of burning coal.

- (4) And I went by his side, and he took me by his hand and showed me all of them with his fingers.
- (5) And I beheld the appearance of their faces (and, lo, it was) as the appearance of children of men, and their bodies like eagles. And not only that but (furthermore) the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey on account of their deeds, for there are stains upon them until they have become cleaned from their iniquity in the fire.
- (6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of the wickedness of their doings.
- (7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs Abraham Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous whom they have brought up out of their graves and who have ascended to the Heaven (Raqif). And they were praying before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying in their prayer: "Lord of the Universe! How long wilt thou sit upon (thy) Throne like a mourner in the days of his mourning with thy right hand behind thee and not deliver thy children and reveal thy Kingdom in the world? And for how long wilt thou have no pity upon thy children who are made slaves among the nations of the world? Nor upon thy right hand that is behind thee wherewith thou didst stretch out the heavens and the earth and the heavens of heavens? When wilt thou have compassion?"
- (8) Then the Holy One, blessed be He, answered every one of them, saying: "Since these wicked do sin so and so, and transgress with such and such transgressions against me, how could I deliver my great Right Hand in the downfall by their hands (caused by them)."
- (9) In that moment Metatron called me and spake to me: "My servant! Take the books, and read their evil doings!" Forthwith I took the books and read their doings and there were to be found 36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one and besides, that they have transgressed all the letters in the Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. u) : "Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy Law". It is not written 'al torateka but 'et (JIN) torateka, for they have transgressed from 'Aleph to Taw, 40 statutes have they transgressed for each letter.
- (10) Forthwith Abraham, Isaac and Jacob wept. Then said to them the Holy One, blessed be He: "Abraham, my beloved, Isaac, my Elect one, Jacob, my firstborn! How can I now deliver them from among the nations of the world?" And forthwith MIKAEL, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice and said (Ps. x. i) : "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?".

CHAPTER XLV

Metatron shows R. Ishmael past and future events recorded on the Curtain of the Throne

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

- (1) Come, and I will show thee the Curtain of MAQOM (the Divine Majesty) which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be He, (and) whereon are graven all the generations of the world and all their doings, both what they have done and what they will do until the end of all generations.
- (2) And I went, and he showed it to me pointing it out with his fingers Mike a father who teaches his children the letters of Tora. And I saw each generation,
the rulers of each generation,
and the heads of each generation,
the shepherds of each generation,
the oppressors (drivers) of each generation,
the keepers of each generation,
the scourgers of each generation,
the overseers of each generation,
the judges of each generation,
the court officers of each generation ,

the teachers of each generation,
the supporters of each generation,
the chiefs of each generation,
the presidents of academies of each generation,
the magistrates of each generation,
the princes of each generation,
the counsellors of each generation,
the nobles of each generation,
and the men of might of each generation,
the elders of each generation,
and the guides of each generation.

(3) And I saw Adam, his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Noah and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, and the generation of the flood, their doings and their thoughts, Shem and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Nimrod and the generation of the confusion of tongues, and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Abraham and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Isaac and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Ishmael and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Jacob and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Joseph and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, the tribes and their generation, their doings and their thoughts, Amram and his generation, their doings and their thoughts, Moses and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

(4) Aaron and Mirjam their works and their doings, the princes and the elders, their works and doings, Joshua and his generation, their works and doings, the judges and their generation, their works and doings, Eli and his generation, their works and doings, "Phinehas, their works and doings, Elkanah and his generation, their works and their doings, Samuel and his generation, their works and doings, the kings of Judah with their generations, their works and their doings, the kings of Israel and their generations, their works and their doings, the princes of Israel, their works and their doings; the princes of the nations of the world, their works and their doings, the heads of the councils of Israel, their works and their doings ; the heads of (the councils in) the nations of the world, their generations, their works and their doings; the rulers of Israel and their generation, their works and their doings ; the nobles of Israel and their generation, their works and their doings ; the nobles of the nations of the world and their generation(s), their works and their doings; the men of reputation in Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the judges of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the judges of the nations of the world and their generation, their works and their doings ; the teachers of children in Israel, their generations, their works and their doings ; the teachers of children in the nations of the world, their generations, their works and their doings; the counsellors (interpreters) of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; the counsellors (interpreters) of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings ; all the prophets of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings ; all the prophets of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings ;

(5) and all the fights and wars that the nations 16 of the world wrought against the people of Israel in the time of their kingdom. And I saw Messiah, son of Joseph, and his generation "and their" works and their doings that they will do against the nations of the world. And I saw Messiah, son of David, and his generation, and all the fights and wars, and their works and their doings that they will do with Israel both for good and evil. And I saw all the fights and wars that Gog and Magog will fight in the days of Messiah, and all that the Holy One, blessed be He, will do with them in the time to come.

(6) And all the rest of all the leaders of the generations and all the works of the generations both in Israel and in the nations of the world, both what is done and what will be done hereafter to all

generations until the end of time, (all) were graven on the Curtain of MAQOM. And I saw all these things with my eyes; and after I had seen it, I opened my mouth in praise of MAQOM (the Divine Majesty) (saying thus, Eccl. viii. 4, 5): "For the King's word hath power (and who may say unto him: What doest thou?) Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing". And I said: (Ps. civ. 24) "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!".

CHAPTER XLVI

The place of the stars shown to R. Ishmael

R. Ishmael said : Metatron said to me :

- (1) (Come and I will show thee) the space of the stars that are standing in Raqia' night by night in fear of the Almighty (MAQOM) and (I will show thee) where they go and where they stand.
- (2) I walked by his side, and he took me by his hand and pointed out all to me with his fingers. And they were standing on sparks of flames round the Merkaba of the Almighty (MAQOM). What did Metatron do? At that moment he clapped his hands and chased them off from their place. Forthwith they flew off on flaming wings, rose and fled from the four sides of the Throne of the Merkaba, and (as they flew) he told me the names of every single one. As it is written (Ps. cxlvii. 4) : "He telleth the number of the stars ; he giveth them all their names", teaching, that the Holy One, blessed be He, has given a name to each one of them.
- (3) And they all enter in counted order under the guidance of (lit. through, by the hands of) RAHATIEL to Raqia' ha-shSHamayim to serve the world. And they go out in counted order to praise the Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns, according as it is written (Ps. xix. i): "The heavens declare the glory of God".
- (4) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will create them anew, as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning". And they open their mouth and utter a song. Which is the song that they utter? (Ps. viii. 3): "When I consider thy heavens".

CHAPTER XLVII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the spirits of the punished angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

- (1) Come and I will show thee the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants whose bodies have been burnt in the fire of MAQOM (the Almighty) that goes forth from his little finger. And they have been made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river (Nehar di-Nur). But their spirits and their souls are standing behind the Shekina.
- (2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time or as not appointed to be sung they are burnt and consumed by the fire of their Creator and by a flame from their Maker, in the places (chambers) of the whirlwind, for it blows upon them and drives them into the Nehar di-Nur; and there they are made into numerous mountains of burning coal. But their spirit and their soul return to their Creator, and all are standing behind their Master.
- (3) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand ; and he showed me all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants who were standing behind the Shekina upon wings of the whirlwind and walls of fire surrounding them.

(4) At that moment Metatron opened to me the gates of the walls within which they were standing behind the Shekina, And I lifted up my eyes and saw them, and behold, the likeness of every one was as (that of) angels and their wings like birds' (wings), made out of flames, the work of burning fire. In that moment I opened my mouth in praise of MAQOM and said (Ps. xcii. 5): "How great are thy works, O Lord".

CHAPTER XLVIII (A)

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the Right Hand of the Most High, now inactive behind Him, but in the future destined to work the deliverance of Israel

R. Ishmael said : Metatron said to me :

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Right Hand of MAQOM, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple ; from which all kinds of splendour and light shine forth and by which the 955 heavens were created ; and whom not even the Seraphim and the 'Ophannim are permitted (to behold), until the day of salvation shall arrive.

(2) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand and showed me (the Right Hand of MAQOM), with all manner of praise, rejoicing and song: and no mouth can tell its praise, and no eye can behold it, because of its greatness, dignity, majesty, glory and beauty.

(3) And not only that, but all the souls of the righteous who are counted worthy to behold the joy of Jerusalem, they are standing by it, praising and praying before it three times every day, saying (Is.li.9): "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord" according as it is written (Is. Ixiii. 12): "He caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses".

(4) In that moment the Right Hand of MAQOM was weeping. And there went forth from its five fingers five rivers of tears and fell down into the great sea and shook the whole world, according as it is written (Is. xxiv. 19, 20): "The earth is utterly broken (1), the earth is clean dissolved (2), the earth is moved exceedingly (3), the earth shall stagger like a drunken man (4) and shall be moved to and fro like a hut (5)", five times corresponding to the fingers of his Great Right Hand.

(5) But when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, and no pious man (Chasid] on earth, and no justice in the hands of men ; and (that there is) no man like unto Moses, and no intercessor as Samuel who could pray before MAQOM for the salvation and for the deliverance, and for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand that He put it before Himself again to work great salvation by it for Israel,

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, favour, mercy and grace : and He will deliver His great Arm by himself, and His righteousness will support Him. According as it is written (Is. lix. 16): "And he saw, that there was no man" (that is:) like unto Moses who prayed countless times for Israel in the desert and averted the (Divine) decrees from them" and he wondered, that there was no intercessor" like unto Samuel who intreated the Holy One, blessed be He, and called unto Him and he answered him and fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit (in accordance with the Divine plan), according as it is written (i Sam. xii. 17) : "Is it not wheat-harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord".

(7) And not only that, but He joined fellowship with Moses in every place, as it is written (Ps.xcix.6): "Moses and Aaron among His priests." And again it is written (Jer. xv. i): "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Is. Ixiii. 5): "Mine own arm brought salvation unto me".

(8) Said the Holy One, blessed be He in that hour: " How long shall I wait for the children of men to work salvation according to their righteousness for my arm? For my own sake and for the sake of

my merit and righteousness will I deliver my arm and by it redeem my children from among the nations of the world.

As it is written (Is. xlviii. n): "For my own sake will I do it. For how should my name be profaned".

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world: for its length is as the length of the world and its breadth is as the width of the world. And the appearance of its splendour is like unto the splendour of the sunshine in its might, in the summer solstice.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among the nations of the world. And Messiah will appear unto them and He will bring them up to Jerusalem with great joy. And not only that but Israel will come from the four quarters of the World and eat with Messiah. But the nations of the world shall not eat with them, as it is written (Is. Hi. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations ; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God". And again (Deut. xxxii. 12): "The Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him". (Zech. xiv. 9) : "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth".

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (B)

The Divine Names that go forth from the Throne of Glory,
crowned and escorted by numerous angelic hosts through the
heavens and back again to the Throne the angels sing the
'Holy' and the 'Blessed'

These are the seventy-two names written on the heart of the Holy One, blessed be He: SS, SeDeQ {righteousness}, SaHPeL SUR {Is. xxvi. 4}, SBI, SaDdlQ{righteous}, S'Ph, SHN, SeBa'oTh {Lord of Hosts}, ShaDdaY {God Almighty}, 'eLoHIM {God}, YHWH, SH, DGUL, W'DOM, SSS", 'YW, 'F, 'HW, HB, YaH, HW, WWW, SSS, PPP, NN, HH, HaY {living}, HaY, ROKeB 'aRaBOTh {riding upon the 'Araboth', Ps. Ixviii. 5}, YH, HH, WH, MMM, NNN, HWW, YH, YHH, HPhS, H'S, 'I, W, S", Z', "", QQQ {Holy, Holy, Holy}, QShR, BW, ZK, GINUR, GINURYa', Y', YOD, 'aLePh, H'N, P'P, R'W, YYWy YYW, BBS, DDD, TTT, KKK, KLL, SYS, 'XT', BShKMLW {= blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever}, completed for MeLeK HalOLaM {the King of the Universe}, JBRH LB' {the beginning of Wisdom for the children of men}, BNlK W" Y {blessed be He who gives strength to the weary and increaseth strength to them that have no might, Is. xl. 29} that go forth (adorned) with numerous crowns of fire with numerous crowns of flame, with numerous crowns of chashmal, with numerous crowns of lightning from before the Throne of Glory. And with them (there are) thousand hundreds of power (i.e. powerful angels) who escort them like a king with trembling and dread, with awe and shivering, with honour and majesty and fear, with terror, with greatness and dignity, with glory and strength, with understanding and knowledge and with a pillar of fire and a pillar of flame and lightning and their light is as lightnings of light and with the likeness of the chashmal.

(2) And they give glory unto them and they answer and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy.

And they roll (convoy) them through every heaven as mighty and honoured princes. And when they bring them all back to the place of the Throne of Glory, then all the Chayyoth by the Merkaba open their mouth in praise of His glorious name, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (c) An Enoch-Metatron piece

ALT 1

- (1) "I seized him, and I took him and I appointed him" that is Enoch, the son of Jared, whose name is Metatron
(2) and I took him from among the children of men
(5) and made him a Throne over against my Throne. Which is the size of that Throne? Seventy thousand parasangs (all) of fire.
(9) I committed unto him 70 angels corresponding to the nations (of the world) and I gave into his charge all the household above and below.
(7) And I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence more than (to) all the angels. And I called his name "the LESSER YAH", whose name is by Gematria 71. And I arranged for him all the works of Creation. And I made his power to transcend (lit. I made for him power more than) all the ministering angels.

ALT 2

- (3) He committed unto Metatron that is Enoch, the son of Jared all treasures. And I appointed him over all the stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hands the keys of each heavenly store.
(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes, and I made (of) him a minister of my Throne of Glory, to provide for and arrange the Holy Chayyoth, to wreath crowns for them (to crown them with crowns), to clothe them with honour and majesty to prepare for them a seat when he is sitting on his throne to magnify his glory in the height.
(5) The height of his stature among all those (that are) of high stature (is) seventy thousand parasangs. And I made his glory great as the majesty of my glory.
(6) and the brilliance of his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory.
(7) his garment honour and majesty, his royal crown 500 by 500 parasangs.

ALT 3

- (1) Aleph1 I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him: (namely) Metatron, my servant who is one (unique) among all the children of heaven. I made him strong in the generation of the first Adam. But when I beheld the men of the generation of the flood, that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my Shekina from among them. And I lifted it up on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout, as it is written (Ps.xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".
(2) "And I took him": (that is) Enoch, the son of Jared, from among them. And I lifted him up with the sound of a trumpet and with a tera'a (shout) to the high heavens, to be my witness together with the Chayyoth by the Merkaba in the world to come.
(3) I appointed him over all the treasures and stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hand the keys of every several one.
(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes and a minister of the Throne of Glory (and) the Halls of 'Araboth: to open their doors to me, and (of) the Throne of Glory, to exalt and arrange it; (and I appointed him over) the Holy Chayyot to wreath crowns upon their heads; the majestic 'Ophannim, to crown them with strength and glory; the; honoured Kerubim, to clothe: them in majesty; over the radiant sparks, to make them to shine with splendour and brilliance; over the

flaming Seraphim, to cover them with highness; the Chashmallim of light, to make them radiant with Light and to prepare the seat for me every morning as I sit upon the Throne of Glory. And to extol and magnify my glory in the height of my power; (and I have committed unto him) the secrets of above and the secrets of below (heavenly secrets and earthly secrets).

(5) I made him higher than all. The height of his stature, in the midst of all (who are) high of stature (I made) seventy thousand parasangs. I made his Throne great by the majesty of my Throne. And I increased its glory by the honour of my glory.

(6) I transformed his flesh into torches of fire, and all the bones of his body into fiery coals; and I made the appearance of his eyes as the lightning, and the light of his eyebrows as the imperishable light. I made his face bright as the splendour of the sun, and his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory.

(7) I made honour and majesty his clothing, beauty and highness his covering cloak and a royal crown of 500 by (times) 500 parasangs (his) diadem. And I put upon him of my honour, my majesty and the splendour of my glory that is upon my Throne of Glory. I called him the LESSER YHWH, the Prince of the Presence, the Knower of Secrets: for every secret did I reveal to him as a father and all mysteries declared I unto him in uprightness.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my Hall that he may sit and judge the heavenly household on high. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him, to perform his will.

(9) Seventy names did I take from (my) names and called him by them to enhance his glory.

Seventy princes gave I into his hand, to command unto them my precepts and my words in every language:

to abase by his word the proud to the ground, and to exalt by the utterance of his lips the humble to the height ; to smite kings by his speech, to turn kings away from their paths, to set up(the) rulers over their dominion as it is written (Dan.ii. 21): "and he changeth the times and the seasons, and to give wisdom unto all the setwise of the world and understanding (and) knowledge to all who understand knowledge, as it is griten (Dan. ii. 21): " and knowledge to them that know understanding", to reveal to them the secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement,

(10) as it is written (Is.Iv. n): "so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void but shall accomplish (that which I please)". 'E'eseh' (I shall accomplish) is not written here, but "asdh' (he shall accomplish), meaning, that whatever word and whatever utterance goes forth from before the Holy One, blessed be He, Metatron stands and carries it out. And he establishes the decrees of the Holy One, blessed be He.

CHAPTER XLVIII (D)

The names of Metatron. The treasures of Wisdom opened to Moses on mount Sinai. The angels protest against Metatron for revealing the secrets to Moses and are answered and rebuked by God. The chain of tradition and the power of the transmitted mysteries to heal diseases

(1) Seventy names has Metatron which the Holy One, blessed be He, took from his own name and put upon him. And these they are:

YeHOEL, YaH, YeHOEL, YOPHIEL and Yophphiel, and 'APHPHIEL and MaRGeZIEL, GIPpUYEL, Pa'aZIEL, 'A'aH, PeRIEL, TaTRIEL, TaBKIEL,'W, YHWH, DH, WHYH, 'eBeD, DiBbURIEL, 'aPh'aPIEL, SPPIEL, PaSPaSIEL, SeNeGRON, MeTaTRON, SOGDIN, 'ADRIGON, ASUM, SaQPAM, SaQTaM, MIGON MITTON, MOTTRON, ROSPHIM, QINOTh, ChaTaTYaH,

DeGaZYaH, PSPYaH, BSKNYH, MZRG, BaRaD., MKRKK, MSPRD, ChShG, ChShB, MNRTTT, BSYRYM, MITMON, TITMON, PiSQON, SaPhSaPhYaH, ZRCh, ZRChYaH, B', BeYaH, HBH BeYaH, PeLeT, PLTYaH, RaBRaBYaH, ChaS, ChaSYaH, TaPhTaPhYaH, TaMTaMYaH, SeHaSYaH, IRURYaH, 'aL'aLYaH, BaZRIDYaH, SaTSaTKYaH, SaSDYaH, RaZRaZYAH, BaZRaZYaH, 'aRIMYaH, SBHYaH, SBIBKHYH, SiMKaM, YaHSeYaH, SSBIBYaH, SaBKaSBeYaH, QeLILQaLYaH, fKIHHH, HHYH, WH, WHYH, ZaKklKYaH, TUTRISYaH, SURYaH, ZeH, PeNIRHYaH, Z1Z'H, GaL RaZaYYa, MaMLIKYaH, TTYaH, eMeQ, QaMYaH, MeKaPpeRYaH, PeRISHYaH, SePhaM, GBIR, GiBbORYaH, GOR, GORYaH, ZIW, 'OKBaR, the LESSER YHWH, after the name of his Master, (Ex. xxiii. 21) "for my name is in him", RaBIBIEL, TUMIEL, Segansakkiel ('Sagnezagiel' / 'Neganzegael), the Prince of Wisdom.

(2) And why is he called by the name Sagnesakiel? Because all the treasures of wisdom are committed in his hand.

(3) And all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai, so that he learnt them during the forty days, while he was standing (remaining): the Torah in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Prophets in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Writings in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, "the Halakas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Traditions in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Haggadas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues and the Toseftas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues'.

(4) But as soon as the forty days were ended, he forgot all of them in one moment. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, called Yephiphyah, the Prince of the Law, and (through him) they were given to Moses as a gift. As it is written (Deut. x. 4): "and the Lord gave them unto me". And after that it remained with him. And whence do we know, that it remained (in his memory) ? Because it is written (Mai. iv. 4): " Remember ye the Law of Moses my servant which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even my statutes and judgements". The Law of Moses': that is the Tora, the Prophets and the Writings, 'statutes': that is the Halakas and Traditions, 'judgements'; that is the Haggadas and the Toseftas. And all of them were given to Moses on high on Sinai.

(5) These seventy names (are) a reflection of the Explicit Name(s) on the Merkaba which are graven upon the Throne of Glory. For the Holy One, blessed be He, took from His Explicit Name(s) and put upon the name of Metatron: Seventy Names of His by which the ministering angels call the King of the kings of kings, blessed be He, in the high heavens, and twenty-two letters that are on the ring upon his finger with which are sealed the destinies of the princes of kingdoms on high in greatness and power and with which are sealed the lots of the Angel of Death, and the destinies of every nation and tongue.

(6) Said Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence; the Angel, the Prince of the Wisdom; the Angel, the Prince of the Understanding; the Angel, the Prince of the Kings; the Angel, the Prince of the Rulers; the angel, the Prince of the Glory; the angel, the Prince of the high ones, and of the princes, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth:

(7) "H, the God of Israel, is my witness in this thing, (that] when I revealed this secret to Moses, then all the hosts in every heaven on high raged against me and said to me:

(8) Why dost thou reveal this secret to son of man, born of woman, tainted and unclean, a man of a putrefying drop, the secret by which were created heaven and earth, the sea and the dry land, the mountains and hills, the rivers and springs, Gehenna of fire and hail, the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; and by which were formed Adam and Eve, and the cattle, and the wild beasts, and the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and Behemoth and Leviathan, and the creeping things, the worms, the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority, And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth with lightnings of fire and flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away with rebuke from before him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all the children of heaven.

(10) And Metatron brought them out from his house of treasures and committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra and Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the elder, and Hillel the elder to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera, and R. Zera to the men of faith, and the men of faith (committed them) to give warning and to heal by them all diseases that rage in the world, as it is written (Ex. xv. 26): "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord, thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians : for I am the Lord, that healeth thee".

(Ended and finished. Praise be unto the Creator of the World.)

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OR

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THE
BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR
THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM
THE EDITOR'S ETHIOPIC TEXT

AND
EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL GREEK, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

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TO

The Reverend George Salmon, D.D.

D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH AN OLD PUPIL'S ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE

PREFACE

I HAD hoped to issue this Commentary on the Book of Jubilees quite six years ago, as a sequel to my edition of the Ethiopic and other fragmentary versions of this work; but after writing a large portion of it, I was obliged to abandon the task, as I felt that somehow I had failed to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text, though at the time I could not understand wherein my disability lay. A year or two later when making a special study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, I came to discover that the source of my failure lay in my acceptance of the traditional view that Jubilees was written in the first century of the Christian era. So long as I wrote from this standpoint, my notes became more and more a laboured apologetic for the composition of this work in the first century. The earliest approximation to the right date appeared in my article on the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 241, 1899, where, after giving grounds for the view that the main bulk of that work was written before 100 B.C., I concluded that we should "regard both works (*i.e.* the Testaments and Jubilees) as almost contemporary, and as emanating from the same school of thought." This

view was advocated in the following year by Bohn and by Bousset on various grounds, and it is from this standpoint that the present Commentary is written. The difficulties that beset almost every page of Jubilees vanish for the most part when once we understand that it was written by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, who was also probably a priest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Jubilees. The fact that it is the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, is in itself a distinction. But it is not on this ground that we value it, but rather for the insight it gives us into the religious beliefs of Judaism in the second century B.C. Its interests are many sided. It appeals to the textual critic, as it attests the form of the Hebrew text, which was current in that century. It appeals to the Old Testament scholar, as exhibiting further developments of ideas and tendencies which are only in their incipient stages in the Old Testament. It appeals to the New Testament scholar, as furnishing the first literary embodiment of beliefs which subsequently obtained an entrance into the New Testament, and as having in all probability formed part of the library of some of the apostolic writers. It appeals to the student of theological doctrine, as providing certain indispensable links in the process of development. Finally, to the Jewish scholar, a Pharisaic work of the second century B.C. cannot fail to be of transcendent interest, as it gives the earlier forms of certain legislative enactments that appear in the Mishna, and of legends which in later Judaism have undergone much transformation.

Although half a century has elapsed since the discovery

of Jubilees in its complete form in the Ethiopic Version, no scholar has hitherto attempted a commentary on the entire work. Some thirty years ago Rönsch edited a very learned and laborious work on the Latin Fragments, which constitute slightly more than one-fourth of the original writing, but since his time scholars have contented themselves with short studies on various views of our author.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Cowley for his help in verifying references in the Talmud.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
May, 1902.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xiii-lxxxix
§ 1. Short Account of the Book (pp. xiii, xiv)—§ 2. The Various Titles of the Book (pp. xiv-xx)—§ 3. The Ethiopic Manuscripts (p. xx)—§ 4. Editions of the Ethiopic Version (pp. xx, xxi)—§ 5. Translations (pp. xxi, xxii)—§ 6. Critical inquiries (pp. xxii-xxvi)—§ 7. The Versions of Jubilees—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, Syriac (pp. xxvi-xxix)—§ 8. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek (pp. xxx, xxxi)—§ 9. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew (pp. xxx-xxxiii)—§ 10. Textual Affinities of the Text of the Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii-xxxix)—§ 11. Lacunae, Dittographies and Dislocations in our Text (pp. xxxix-xlii)—§ 12. Poetical Element in Jubilees (pp. xlii-xliii)—§ 13. Jubilees from one author but based on earlier books and traditions (pp. xlii-xlvii)—§ 14. Jubilees—a Product of the midrashic tendency at work in the Old Testament Chronicler, but represented by its author as an Esoteric Tradition (pp. xlvii-li)—§ 15. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic standpoint of the second century B.C. (pp. li-lvi)—§ 16. Angelology and Demonology of Jubilees (pp. lvi-lviii)—§ 17. The Date of Jubilees (pp. lviii-lxvi)—§ 18. The Jubilees and Years used by our author (pp. lxvii-lxviii)—§ 19. Value of Jubilees in determining the Dates of the various Sections of the Ethiopic Enoch and the Book of Noah (pp. lxviii-lxxii)—§ 20. The relation of Jubilees to the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs (p. lxxii)—§ 21. The author—a Pharisee who recognised the Maccabean Pontificate and	

was probably a priest (p. lxxiii)—§ 22. Jubilees in Jewish, Samaritan and Christian non-canonical literature (pp. lxxiii-lxxxiii)—§ 23. Influence of Jubilees on the New Testament (pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi)—§ 24. Views of the author on the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Priesthood of Melchizedek, the Law, Circumcision and the Sabbath, the Future Life, the Jewish Calendar (pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix).

SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION . . .	xc
TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES	1
INDEX I.	263
INDEX II.	267

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which had already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication, of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments, that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity.

From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realised on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.

§ 2. THE VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew. These were :

- (a) "Jubilees" = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = כְּבִר הַיּוֹבִלִים;¹ and
 (b) "The Little Genesis" = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = בְּרֵאשִׁית זוּטָא.²
 (c) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of our book.

(a) *Jubilees*.—According to the citation of Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6), ἐν τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει, the name Jubilees would seem to have been its more usual designation, and "the little Genesis" its less usual. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra*, ii. Fasc. i. 9-10; also my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, p. 183).

This name is admirably adapted to our book as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. By his peculiar redaction of the biblical history down to this period, our author has shown that the law was already in force before its republication as a whole on Sinai. Moreover, his chronological heptadic system has received a perfectly symmetrical development. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, *i.e.* 2450. In the Assumption of Moses, where a jubilee period of fifty years is used, Israel enters Canaan in the year 2500 (see p. lxviii).

(b) *The Little*³ *Genesis*.—The fact that our book was

¹ In the Hebrew book Josippon xxxii. 3, "The Book of Jubilees" is mentioned כְּבִר הַיּוֹבִלִים (see Eppstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

² Cf. Treuenfels, "Die kleine Genesis" in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 6, p. 81.

³ The epithet "little" does not refer to the extent, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but rather to the character of Jubilees. It deals more fully with the details and minutiae (*i.e.* τὰ λεπτά) than the biblical work. Severus of Antioch, *ob.* 542 A.D., after an account of the death of Moses and the strife between Michael and the evil angels for Moses' body, adds that these matters were said to be described in a book which gave a more detailed account of the

known in Greek, not only as ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις but also ἡ Μικρογένεσις, points quite clearly to an authoritative Hebrew title, בְּרֵאשִׁית וְנֹטָא, which was variously rendered in Greek. There were, indeed, four renderings of the Hebrew :

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις).
2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.
3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.
4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις.—This title is found sixteen times : in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (twice); Syncellus i. 7, 183, 192; Cedrenus i. 6, 9, 16, 48, 53, 85, 87; Zonaras, p. 18 (twice); Glycas, 206 (twice). As Λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Syncellus i. 5, 185, 203 and Cedrenus i. 7. As ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις in Glycas, pp. 198, 392. For the above passages see pp. lxxvii-lxxx.

2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.—This form of the title is found in Didymus of Alexandria (see p. lxxvii) and in one of the MSS of Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (τῇ καὶ Λεπτογενέσει), where the Cod. Venet. has τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. On the other hand, it follows from the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxxviii) that this form was current among Latin writers.

3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.—This form is found in Syncellus i. 13 (see p. lxxix).

4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.—This designation is found only in Jerome, *Epist.* 78 *ad Fab.* See my note on p. 83, where, instead of Λεπτὴ (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις), we should read simply Μικρογένεσις. This is Jerome's independent rendering of the Hebrew title, for Jerome was acquainted with the original of Jubilees.

creation : Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

- (c) 1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*
 2. *The Testament of Moses.*
 3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*
 4. *The Life of Adam.*

1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*—This title is found in Syncellus i. 5 and repeated from him in Cedrenus i. 7: λεπτῇ . . . Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκαλύψιν: and in Syncellus i. 49: ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει. From the words φασί τινες and λεγομένη we conclude that this title had some currency in Syncellus' time. It was undoubtedly a very appropriate designation, since our author makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in his work (see the Greek scholion in my note on ii. 1). Cedrenus i. 16 speaks of Jubilees as ἡ λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις. The Apocalypse of Moses mentioned in Syncellus i. 48, from which he says Gal. vi. 15 (οὔτε περιτομή τι ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις) was derived, can have nothing to do with Jubilees, the main aim of which is the glorification of circumcision.

2. *The Testament of Moses* = ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως.—This was an older title than the preceding. Thus it is found in the Catena of Nicephorus i. 175, where the words ἡ διαθήκη precede a quotation from Jubilees x. 21 (see note *in loc.*). Here ἡ διαθήκη, as Rönsch (p. 275) has rightly argued, stands for ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. It is impossible to determine whether the Testament of Moses which is here to be identified with Jubilees has anything to do with the διαθήκη Μωϋσέως mentioned in four catalogues of the canonical and uncanonical writings. Rönsch (pp. 480-481) argues for their identification on the ground that the Assumption of Moses forms a suitable close to the Book of Jubilees; that they are found together in this order in the Latin MS which was edited by Ceriani; that the Testament of Moses and the Assumption are enumerated together and

in this order in the Catalogues of Nicephorus, the Ps. Athanasius and of the Sixty Canonical Books. If, however, the number of stichoi—1100—assigned to this Testament of Moses by the first catalogue is right, then this Testament cannot be the same as Jubilees; for Jubilees is longer than Genesis which, according to the same catalogue, has 4300 stichoi.

On the other hand, there may have been in circulation a Testament of Moses which was an expansion of Jubilees ii.-iii. To such a work—one-fourth the size of Genesis—the quotation given in my note on ii. 1 may possibly point, and probably the statement made by Severus of Antioch (see footnote on p. xv), and the quotation from a Catena on the Pentateuch in Fabricius ii. 121-122: *Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque inorientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur.* Here we have a combination of the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses (see my *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xlv. sqq.).

3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*—This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxxviii): *Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, Apocryphus.* The designation is far from inappropriate for our book, as it aims at giving the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam onwards. On the other hand, it may not have been applied to the entire Book of Jubilees but to a short work based on Jubilees, and consisting mainly or solely of the names (and histories) of the women mentioned in Jubilees. Such a collection we find in the Syriac with the title: "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see p. xxix). The glosses in the LXX MS used by Holmes and Parsons, and later by

Lagarde (see p. lxxxii), may point to such a collection; for these glosses relate to the wives of the patriarchs and go back ultimately to Jubilees. It is possibly worth while to call attention to the fact that some of these names are found in the Annals of the Arabic writer Tabari (see Lidzbarski, *De propheticiis, quae dicuntur, Legendis Arabicis*, 1893, pp. 11-12).

4. *The Life of Adam*.—This designation is found only three times, so far as I am aware, in Syncellus i. 7, and always as *ὁ λεγόμενος Βίος Ἀδάμ*. According to Syncellus this life of Adam recounted the number of days it took Adam to number the various creatures, the making of Eve, the entrance of Adam into Paradise, and the subsequent admission of Eve, etc. (i. 7-9): *κεῖται γοῦν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Βίῳ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς τῆς τε ὀνομασίας τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς πλάσεως τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς βρώσεως ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τούτου εἰσόδου Εὕα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τὰ τε τῆς παραβάσεως καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν, ὡς ὑποτέτακται . . . ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχειώσαμεν*. If Syncellus is right here as to the contents of the Life of Adam, it treated of the same subjects as Jubilees ii. 1-29. It may, therefore, have been an excerpt from or a section of Jubilees, as Röscher suggests (475-477). Accordingly, he accepts Treuenfels' proposal that the words in Syncellus occurring just before the above extract—*ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Βίου Ἀδάμ*—should be rendered: "from the Leptogenesis, that is, from the so-called Life of Adam." Since the statements in the Life of Adam are fuller than in Jubilees, the former would be an enlarged edition of a portion of the latter. Both may have been before Syncellus. From the Life of Adam—the fuller account—he quotes on pp. 7-9, and continues his narrative on

pp. 13-15 from Jubilees. Rönsch quotes in support of this view the statement of Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 7, anm. 3: "Ein Theil derselben (der Kleinen Genesis), der von Adam handelt, wurde das Leben Adam's genannt und war den Alten als ספרא דאדם הראשון (Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 128; J. Fürst im *Lbl. des Orients*, 1848, p. 589) bekannt."

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC MSS

There are four MSS of this book in Europe, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, which belong respectively to the National Library in Paris, the British Museum, the University Library of Tübingen, and to the collection of M. d'Abbadie. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth cent. respectively) are the most valuable, but in not a few readings the true text is preserved by *c d* (both of recent date). *d* is more nearly allied to *a* and *c* to *b*. *b* is the most trustworthy of the four. For a full description of these MSS the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii sqq.

§ 4. EDITIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

DILLMANN, *Maṣḥafa kâfûlê sive Liber Jubilaeorum*, qui idem a Gracis Ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις inscribitur, aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dillmann, 1859.

This edition is based on MSS *c d*.

CHARLES, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*—otherwise known among the Greeks as Ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις—edited from four MSS and critically revised through a continuous comparison of the Massoretic and Samaritan Texts, and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate and Ethiopic

Versions of the Pentateuch, and further emended and restored in accordance with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin fragments of this book, which are here published in full, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

This edition is based on the only four MSS hitherto known. It is from this text that my translation is made. In some dozen or more passages, however, to which attention is called in the notes, I have withdrawn emendations which I had introduced into the text—some in deference to criticisms of Drs. Praetorius and Littmann and others as a result of further study of the text and subject-matter. On the other hand, I have been enabled, from the much larger knowledge I now have of the literature than I had in 1893-1895, to discover the true text underlying corruptions that had defied detection, and likewise to recognise the occurrence of many dittographies and not a few lacunae (see § 11). The criticism of the text has been further greatly advanced by my discovery of a large poetical element in the book (see § 12).

§ 5. TRANSLATIONS

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1850-51, Band ii. 230-256; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS.

SCHODDE, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* (Bibliotheca Sacra, 1885-1887).

CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, vol. v. 703-708; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-745; 1895, vii. 297-328).

The above translation agrees for the most part with the text which I published subsequently. It is, however,

untrustworthy in some passages, and is now superseded by the very much improved edition of it which appears in the present volume.

LITTMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-119).

This admirable translation is based mainly on my Ethiopic text of Jubilees, but occasionally Dr. Littmann prefers to follow the readings of *cd* in Dillmann's text, and in some cases the grounds for this preference are so good that I have followed his lead. His translation is on the whole very accurate, though there are of course some passages where corrections will be introduced on the occasion of a second edition. To Dr. Littmann I owe many corrections of my English translation in the *Jewish Quarterly*.

§ 6. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

FABRICIUS, J. A., *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, i. 849-864. Fabricius here collects under the head of Parva Genesis, passages in Jerome and Greek writers which are expressly assigned to our book. At the close of this collection he adds: "Non dubito tum apud Hieronymum Quaest. et tradit. Hebraeicis in Genesin, tum apud Georgium Syncellum et Cedrenum plura legi ex parva Genesi repetita: quoniam tamen diserte illa non indicant, haec satis esse volui."

TREUENFELS, *Die kleine Genesis* בראשית זוטא (Fürst's *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 1-6; 1851, Nr. 15). Treuenfels ascribes our book to a Jewish author, who wrote most probably before the Christian era.

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1851, iii. 72-96). These pages consist of a series of learned and masterly notes which throw great

light on the text and its interpretation. Dillmann was of opinion that Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic in the first cent. A.D. before the fall of Jerusalem.

—— *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1857, xi. 161-163.

—— “Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments” (Herzog’s *Real-Encyc.*⁽²⁾ xii. 364-365). Here Dillmann sets the composition of Jubilees at the beginning of the Christian era and regards a still earlier date as possible.

—— “Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes” (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323-340). With this contribution to the criticism of the Ethiopic text and its value in determining the criticism of the Pentateuch I have already dealt (*Ethiopic Vers. of Heb. Bk. of Jubilees*, pp. xviii-xix).

JELLINEK, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch*, Leipzig, 1855 (a reprint from the third volume of his *Bet ha-Midrash*). Although the main contention of this treatise, that Jubilees is of Essene origin, cannot be sustained, Jellinek’s observations on its relations to Jewish Midrashim (*i.e.* Wajissau and Tadshe) and legends generally are most illuminating and helpful. Jellinek justly recognises that Jubilees was written when the essential character of the Jewish calendar was not definitely fixed.

BEER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1856; *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1857. The former work is the ablest contribution from the Jewish side that has yet been made towards the interpretation of Jubilees. On pp. 25-39 he deals with the points of similarity existing between Jubilees and Jewish tradition, and on pp. 39-56 the points of divergence. Beer ascribes our book to a Samaritan, who made use of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and

Jewish tradition, and wrote in Africa. This Samaritan authorship was shown to be impossible by Ewald (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissensch.* 1856, viii. 184 sq.), in a short review of Beer's work, and Dillmann (*ZDMG*, 1857, xi. 161-163). In the *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65 and his *Leben Abrahams*, 1859; *Leben Moses*, 1863, Beer has made many valuable indirect contributions to the exegesis of Jubilees.

FRANKEL, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400. Frankel sought to prove that Jubilees was of Egyptian origin and representative of the cult at the Onias Temple at Leontopolis. To this view of Frankel, Beer rejoined in the treatise cited above under his name: *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*.

KRÜGER, "Die Chronologie im Buche d. Jubiläen" (*ZDMG*, 1858, xii. 279-299. Krüger ascribes the composition of Jubilees to the year 320 B.C., but such a view has rightly failed to obtain a single suffrage.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 84-102. Jubilees according to this writer is to be assigned to the years 30-60 A.D. (p. 100).

SINKER, *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, 1869, pp. 42-43, 81-85.

RUBIN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis in's Hebräische übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und mit Noten versehen*, Wien, 1870.

GINSBURG, Art. "Jubilees, Book of" in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*.

RÖNSCH, *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1871, pp. 60-98; *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig, 1874. Rönsch assigned our book to the years 50-60 A.D. It was directed against the rising Christianity, and was an attempt to draw together all the opposing parties in Judaism against the new religion.

HILGENFELD, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie*, 1874, pp. 435-441.

DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 143-147.

EPPSTEIN, "Midrasch Tadsche," in *Beiträge zur Jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887.

—— "Le Livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrasch Tadsché" (*Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

SACK, *Die altjüdische Religion*, 1889, pp. 350-368.

BACON, "Calendar of Enoch and Jubilees" (*Hebraica*, 1891-1892, viii. 79-88; 124-131).

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 193-236. We have here an excellent account of the book from the older standpoint.

THOMSON, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, pp. 297-320, 433-439.

BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,⁽²⁾ 1892, pp. 20-24.

KUENEN, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894, pp. 113 sqq.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*,⁽³⁾ 1898, iii. 274-280. Schürer follows the ordinary view as to the date of Jubilees: "It may with considerable probability be assigned to the first cent. of the Christian era." Notwithstanding its many divergencies from Pharisaic usage and doctrine at that period he holds that in its essential aspects it represents the prevailing Pharisaic standpoint. A good bibliography closes the article.

SINGER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis*, I. Theil; Tendenz und Ursprung, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte, Stuhlweissenburg (Ungarn), 1898. Rönsch, as we have seen above, was of opinion that Jubilees was directed against Christianity, but Singer thinks that he can establish that it was the work of a Jewish Christian, written (about 58-60 A.D.) with a polemic purpose against

the teaching of St. Paul—especially against his doctrine of the abrogation of the law. This work exhibits much learning both in the field of Judaism and Christianity. But the main thesis is not in any sense proved by him nor is it possible of proof.

HEADLAM, Art. "Jubilees," in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, 1899, ii. 791.

CHARLES, Art. "Book of Jubilees," in *Encyc. Biblica*, 1899, i. 230-233.

BOHN, "Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen (*Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1900, pp. 167-184). This article shows admirable insight. Its writer recognises rightly that the book belongs to the second cent. B.C. He ascribes its composition to 150 B.C. or thereabouts.

LITTMANN, Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-38. We have here as good an introduction to our author as was possible from the stage of criticism at the time, and one that is meritorious alike for its learning and judgment. In 1899 Littmann reviewed Singer's book (see above) in the *ZDMG*, pp. 368 sqq.

§ 7. THE VERSIONS OF JUBILEES—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC

1. *The Greek Version*.—Numerous fragments of this version have come down to us in J. Martyr (? see note on p. 41), Origen (see notes on pp. 194, 227), Diodorus of Antioch (see p. 85), Isidore of Alexandria (see p. lxxxi), Epiphanius (see notes on pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 86), John Malala (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66), Anastasius Sinaita (flor. seventh cent.—preserved only in Latin; see note on p. 23), Syncellus (see notes on pp. 41, 59, 66, 68, 69, 71,

73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 191, 192. It is remarkable that Syncellus attributed to Genesis what comes from our text—see note on p. 164, and similarly to Josephus—see notes on pp. 157, 186, 208), Cedrenus (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66, 67, 86, 87, 88, 93, 94, 116, 191, 252), Suidas (see note on p. 91), Zonaras (see p. 35), Glycas (see notes on pp. 37, 84, 85, 164), Joel (see notes on pp. 37, 67).

For probable mistranslations in this version see notes on xxx. 25, xliii. 11, xlvii. 9; for corruptions in the MSS before the Ethiopic and Latin translators, see notes on i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxxii. 27, 29.

This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and the Latin, as we shall prove below.

2. *The Ethiopic Version.*—This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence (see § 11), but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: “my wife” in iii. 6 instead of “wife”; xv. 12 (see note); xvii. 12 (“her bottle” instead of “the bottle”); xxiv. 19 (where the words “a well” are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, etc., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* I can discover only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see my Text, pp. xii. sqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see notes on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

3. *The Latin Version*.—This version, of which about one fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b-21; xv. 20^b-31^a; xvi. 5^b-xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b-xix. 25; xx. 5^b-xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2-19^a; xxiii. 8^b-23^a; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b-23^a; xxvii. 11^b-24^a; xxviii. 16^b-27^a; xxix. 8^b-xxx. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b-18, 29^b-32; xxxii. 1-8^a, 18^b-xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b-xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b-12^a; xxxvi. 20^b-xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b-16^a; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b-18; xlii. 2^b-14^a; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b-22. This version was next edited by Rönisch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente*. This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgment and critical acumen. Rönisch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth cent. (pp. 459-460). In 1895 I edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rönisch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlvi. 14 where it adds "et Oon" against all other authorities. The Eth. version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin

version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (canos meos where our Ethiopic text = *μου τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12 where it reads in tota terra for in terra. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version "et creverunt et juvenes facti sunt" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause "eorum quae fiebant in carcere" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, etc. (see my Text, p. xvi.).

4. *The Syriac Version.*—The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS (Add. 12,154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees." It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by me as Appendix III. to my Text of Jubilees (p. 183).

§ 8. THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK

Like all the biblical literature Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from Greek. We have seen above (p. xxvi) that the Greek version had a very wide currency. To show that our text is a translation from the Greek version it will be sufficient to point out that in xxxiv. 11 we have a transliteration of ἡλίου ("of the sun"); that in i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxviii. 27, xxxii. 4, 27, 29, xlvii. 5 (see notes *in loc.*) we must retranslate into Greek before we can discover the source of the various corruptions. Further, Greek words such as δρύς, βάλανος, λίψ, σχῖνος, φάραγξ, etc. are transliterated in the Ethiopic. The Greek article is rendered by the demonstrative ii. 2, iii. 25, xxiv. 19, 29. Finally, proper names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew: viii. 5, x. 18, etc.

It is no less obvious that the Latin is also a translation from the Greek. Thus in xxxix. 12, timoris = δειλίας, a corruption of δουλείας; in xxxviii. 13, honorem = τιμήν, which should have been rendered by tributum (so Eth.); in xxxii. 26, celavit = ἔκρυψε, corrupt for ἔγραψε (so Eth.). Again, in xxxi. 30, orasti orationem is a mistranslation of ἡύξω εὐχήν, which here = novisti votum; in xxxii. 30, sub glande = ὑπὸ τῆς βαλάνου, which here = sub quercu. The Greek article is often rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in the Ethiopic version: hujus Abrahæ, xxix. 16; huic Jacob . . . huic Istraël, xxxi. 15. Greek constructions are reproduced: memor fuit sermones, xvii. 3 = ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους: consummavit loquens, xv. 22 = συνετέλεσε λαλῶν: in omnibus quibus (for quæ) dedisti, xxii. 8 = ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας. We should observe also the extraordinary mistranslation of μήποτε = (ne forte) by ne quando in xlii. 11. (See Rönsch, pp. 439 sqq.)

We have seen above (pp. xxviii-xxix) that the Ethiopic and Latin versions presuppose in some cases different forms of the Greek version.

§ 9. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW

The early date and place of composition speak for a Semitic original, and the following evidence for such an original is irresistible.

But the question at once arises: was this original Aramaic or Hebrew? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic, as Cettin, xxiv. 28; Adurin, xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin, xxiv. 14-16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Moreover, it is most dangerous to conclude from Aramaic *proper names* to an Aramaic original; for Aramaic forms occur not infrequently in the Greek versions of the Old Testament. Thus this very word Cettim (כְּתִים) appears as *Χεττάιν* in Symmachus (Gen. x. 4), *Χεττείν* in the LXX (B) and Lucian of Judg. i. 26, *Χεττείν* in the LXX (B) of 1 Kings x. 33. As regards Adurin (which in the Eth. version = 'Adûrâm), we should observe that this word appears as 'Ανουράμ, *i.e.* 'Αδουράμ, in the sister work Test. Iud. 9. Thus we may here again conclude to an original Hebrew form. It is noteworthy also that whereas in xxxviii. 3 of the Latin we have Adoram, in the Ethiopic we have 'Adôrân. Another Aramaic form is Mastêmâ (מַסְתֵּמָא) [*Μαστιφάμ* in Syncellus, *Μαστιφάτ* in Cedrenus, and *Mastima* in the Latin version, xviii. 12, xlviii. 2], from the hiphel participle, מַסְתֵּם). But the presence of such a proper name in a Semitic document is inconclusive as we have shown above. Cf. Littmann, in Kautzsch's *Apok. u. Pseud.* ii. 34.

The grounds, on the other hand, for a Hebrew original are weighty and numerous :

1. *A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew.*—Hebrew, our author teaches, was the sacred and national language (see notes on xii. 25-26 ; xliii. 15).

2. *The revival of the national spirit of the nation is universally, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language.*—Thus the Psalms of Solomon (70-40 B.C.) were written in Hebrew, and the Similitudes in the Ethiopic Enoch (xxxvii.-lxx.), as I hope to prove later. As regards the sections of Enoch which were written before the revival of the national spirit under the Maccabees other grounds must decide.

3. *The text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text.*—Thus in xliii. 11 $\text{lâ'elêja} = \epsilon\nu \epsilon\mu\acute{o}\iota$, which is a mistranslation of בִּי בִּי in this context = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, “pray,” as in Gen. xlv. 18, which our text reproduces almost word for word. In xvi. 31 lebba dabart (Lat. Vers. *corde palmarum*) = לבב התמר , where ב is corrupt for לולב . In xlvii. 9 the text = *domum Faraonis*, but the context demands *filiam Faraonis*. Hence the Greek translator here misread בֵּת-פ as בֵּית-פ or בֵּת-פ . The true Aramaic word for daughter is בֵּית . See also notes on ii. 29, iii. 15, vi. 35, xlviii. 12.

Under this head also we might draw attention to the presence of dittographies already existing in the Hebrew text. See notes on iii. 16, xviii. 15, xxx. 1.

4. *Hebraisms survive in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.*—Thus in ii. 9, 25 the Ethiopic *wahaba* = “gave” goes back to נתן , which must here be translated “appointed.” In xxii. 10 *eligere in te* is a reproduction of בחר ב ; in xxiv. 25 *sermo hic* = “this thing” = הדבר הזה , a purely Hebrew expression; in xix. 8 *in qua . . . in ipsa* (so also Eth.)

= ἐν ἡ̃ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ̃ = אֲשֶׁר בָּהּ; in xl. 7 (see note) we have a transliteration of a Hebrew phrase 'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrër where we should read 'Abîrêl. Again in iv. 4 nûha is a corrupt transliteration of נֹחַ. See also vi. 35, xxxiii. 1, xl. 10.

5. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew.*—Thus in iv. 9 there is a play on Enoch the son of Cain; on Jared in iv. 15, on Noah in iv. 28, on Peleg in viii. 8, on Reu in x. 18, on Serug in xi. 6, on Terah in xi. 12 (see notes *in loc.*).

6. *Many passages of this book are preserved in rabbinic writings,* such as the Hebrew Book of Noah, the Midrash Wajjissau, the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, the Book of Jashar, and the Midrash Tadshe. It has also much matter in common with the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs which was also originally written in Hebrew.

§ 10. TEXTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In order to understand the position which the Hebrew text of Jubilees occupied in relation to the texts and versions of the Pentateuch, it will be necessary to summarise briefly its affinities with them. We shall now discover that our text agrees in turn with the Samaritan (twice?), LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and with Onkelos.

In the following list, where the corresponding passages in Jubilees and the Pentateuch are given without further comment, the details will be found in the notes accompanying the translation. Thus in the first sub-heading i. (a), where xxvi. 34 of our text is equated with Gen. xxvii. 40, the needful information is given in the notes on xxvi. 34. On the other hand, where the notes do not supply such details the read-

ing given by our text and its supporters and the opposing text and its authorities are supplied in brackets. Thus we are to interpret the statement "xli. 14 ('his shepherd')—Gen. xxviii. 40 ('his friend')," which occurs under the sub-heading ii. (η), "It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr.," as meaning that our text, supported by the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxviii. 40, reads "his shepherd," whereas the Mass., Sam., and Syr. read "his friend." For fuller information the reader can refer to my Ethiopic Text.

i. First as to its agreement with individual authorities in opposition to the rest:

(α) It agrees with the Sam. against the Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk. in iv. 7 ("he called")—Gen. iv. 25 ("she called"); xxvi. 34 (?)—Gen. xxvii. 40.

(β) It agrees with the LXX against the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. in iii. 24 ("thy pains")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy conception"); v. 1—Gen. vi. 2; vii. 8—Gen. ix. 22; viii. 1—Gen. xi. 13; xiii. 2—Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 2, 12—Gen. xv. 2, 11; xv. 15 ("her name will be called")—Gen. xvii. 15 ("thou shalt call her name"); xviii. 2—Gen. xxii. 2; xxiv. 25—Gen. xxvi. 32; xxvi. 25 (+ "his son")—Gen. xxvii. 30 (see my Text, p. 97, note 20); xxviii. 11 (+ Jacob)—Gen. xxix. 32; xxviii. 29—Gen. xxx. 43; xxix. 4—Gen. xxxi. 20; xlvi. 14 ("he set over")—Exod. i. 11 ("they set over").

(γ) It agrees with the Syriac version against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Vulg. in xii. 15 ("went forth" in sing.)—Gen. xi. 31 (Mass. = "went forth" in pl., Sam., LXX, Vulg. = "led forth"); xviii. 11 ("I have shown")—Gen. xxii. 12 ("I know"); xliii. 21 ("by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh")—Gen. xlv. 21 ("by the mouth of Pharaoh"); xlvii. 7—Exod. ii. 7; xlix. 9 ("the guilt")—Num. ix. 13 ("his guilt").

(δ) It agrees with the Vulg. against Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr. in vii. 9 ("their shoulders")—Gen. ix. 23 ("both their shoulders"); xiv. 1 ("and thy reward")—Gen. xv. 1 ("thy reward"); xiv. 22 ("shall build up")—Gen. xvi. 2 ("shall be builded up"); xxiv. 3 ("give me")—Gen. xxv. 30 ("feed me"); xxiv. 19 ("living water")—Gen. xxvi. 19 ("well of water"); xxvi. 31 ("Isaac")—Gen. xxvii. 39 ("Isaac his father").

(ε) It agrees with the Targum of Onkelos against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg. in xiii. 20 ("not be numbered")—Gen. xiii. 16 ("be numbered"); xiii. 24—Gen. xiv. 14; xv. 17 ("rejoiced")—Gen. xvii. 17 ("laughed").

ii. We shall next give its affinities with two or more of the above authorities in opposition to the rest.

(α) Its agreement with the Mass. and Sam.:

It agrees with the Mass. and Sam. against the LXX, Syr., Vulg. in iii. 3—Gen. ii. 20; vi. 7 ("with the life thereof with the blood")—Gen. ix. 4 (LXX *ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς*).

It agrees with the Mass. and Onk. against the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. in iii. 7—Gen. ii. 24.

(β) Its agreement with the Mass., Sam., Syr., or with these + Vulg. or + Vulg. and Onk.:

It agrees with Mass., Sam., and Syr. against the LXX and Vulg. in iii. 25 ("for thy sake," *בְּעֵבְרֶךָ*)—Gen. iii. 17 (LXX (and Vulg.) *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου* = *בְּעֵבְרֶךָ*); vi. 8 ("by man")—Gen. ix. 6 (LXX *ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ*); xxvi. 27 ("thy firstborn")—Gen. xxvii. 32 (LXX + Vulg. om. "thy"); xxvi. 29 ("unto his father")—Gen. xxvii. 34 (LXX + Vulg. om.); xxvii. 21 ("behold")—Gen. xxviii. 13 (LXX + Vulg. om.).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. against the LXX in v. 27 ("prevailed")—Gen. vii. 24 (LXX *ὑψώθη*);

xii. 15 ("from Ur")—Gen. xi. 31 (LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας); xiv. 3 ("out of thine own bowels")—Gen. xv. 4 (LXX ἐκ σοῦ = 𐤓𐤕𐤍 instead of 𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤓); xiv. 12—Gen. xv. 11; xv. 3 ("Almighty")—Gen. xvii. 1 (LXX σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against the LXX in xv. 20—Gen. xvii. 22; xxvi. 23 ("peoples")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX ἄρχοντες = 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤓𐤕𐤍 corrupt for 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤓); xxvi. 24 ("brethren")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Aq., Symm., Vulg., and Onk. against the LXX in xiii. 10 ("towards the south")—Gen. xii. 9 (LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ).

(γ) Its agreement with the Sam. and LXX or with these + Syr. or + Onk. or + Vulg. or + Syr. and Vulg.:

It agrees with the Sam. and LXX against the Mass., Syr., Vulg. in xiv. 18—Gen. xv. 20; xv. 14—Gen. xvii. 14; xvii. 1 ("his son")—Gen. xxi. 8 (om.); xxvii. 11 ("my father")—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Syr. against the Mass., Vulg., and Onk. in ii. 16—Gen. ii. 2.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. in xii. 23 ("them that curse")—Gen. xii. 3 ("him that curses"); xvii. 7—Gen. xxi. 13; xxviii. 8 ("I shall give")—Gen. xxix. 27 ("we will give"); xliii. 12 ("with us")—Gen. xlv. 31 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xv. 19 ("and for his seed")—Gen. xvii. 19 ("for his seed").

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Onk. against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in iii. 6—Gen. ii. 23.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Vulg. against the Mass. and Syr. in xiv. 13 ("it was said")—Gen. xv. 13 ("He said").

(δ) Its agreement with the Sam. and Syr. + the Vulg. or others:

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven. against the Mass., Vulg., and Itala in xviii. 12 ("a single (= רם) ram")—Gen. xxii. 23 ("behind (רם) him a ram"). Onk. combines both readings.

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Vulg., Onk. against Mass. and LXX in xliv. 16 ("Phûa")—Gen. xlv. 13 ("Puvvah").

(ε) Its agreement with the Sam. version + LXX or with the Sam. version + Syr. and others :

It agrees with the Sam. vers., LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. against Mass., Sam., Vulg. in xviii. 15—Gen. xxii. 17.

It agrees with the Sam. Vers., Syr., Vulg. (and possibly Sam.) against Mass. and LXX in xviii. 13 ("hath seen" or "seeth")—Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass. "will be seen" or "provided") (LXX $\acute{\omega}\phi\theta\eta$).

(ζ) Its agreement with the LXX and Syr. and with these + others :

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. against Mass., Sam. in iii. 24 ("thy return")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy desire"); xiv. 2 ("son of my handmaid")—Gen. xv. 2 ("of my house"?); xli. 9—Gen. xxxviii. 14.

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. and, in the main, with the Sam. and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in vi. 32 ("beasts and cattle and birds and every moving thing"; LXX $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$. So Syr. save that it omits $\kappa\alpha\iota$ after $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$; Sam. and Vulg. agree with LXX save that Vulg. omits $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ and Sam. omits $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$)—Gen. viii. 19 ("every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever creepeth").

It agrees with the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Sam. in v. 8 ("will . . . abide")—Gen. vi. 3 ("will . . . strive"); xiv. 4 ("said unto him")—Gen. xv. 5 ("said"); xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xxiv. 3 ("said to him")

—Gen. xxv. 31 (“said”); xliii. 12 (“our father”)—Gen. xliv. 30 (Mass. “my father”).

(η) Its agreement with the LXX and Vulg.:

It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr. (+ “and dancing”) xvii. 4—Gen. xxi. 9 ; xxvii. 8—Gen. xxvii. 46 (+ “of the daughters of Heth”); xxvii. 11 (“after thee”)—Gen. xxviii. 4 (“with thee”); xxviii. 1 (“land of the east”)—Gen. xxix. 1 (“land of the sons of the east”); xli. 14 (“his shepherd” = רֹעֵהוּ)—Gen. xxviii. 20 (“his friend” = רֵעֵהוּ).

It agrees with the LXX, Vulg., and Onk. in xv. 14 (“for he has broken”)—Gen. xvii. 14 (“he has broken”).

(θ) It agrees with the LXX (*αἰε*, πατρός μου, but other MSS give πατρός σου as in the Sam. and Eth. vers.) against the Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in xxvii. 11—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

Though the above list is not exhaustive it is sufficiently so for our purposes. It follows from it that our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. Thus it agrees at times with the Sam. or LXX or Syr. or Vulg. or even with Onk. against all the rest. Similarly it agrees with various combinations of these against the rest.

In the next place we infer from the following phenomena that *our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac*. For it agrees more frequently with the LXX, see i. (β), or with combinations into which the LXX enters, see ii. (γ), (ε), (η), (θ), than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac, see i. (γ), or with combinations into which the Syriac enters, see ii. (β), (δ). On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown by such passages as i. (α), (γ), (δ), (ε), and its actual superiority in a large array of readings, ii. (α), (β),

where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg. and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of Pentateuch) and 100 A.D., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 11. LACUNAE, DITTOGRAPHIES AND DISLOCATIONS IN OUR TEXT

Lacunae.—In addition to the occasional small lacunae which are supplied from the Latin version or other independent sources, there are four larger lacunae in ii. 22, iii. 23, vii. 37, xiii. 25. The first consists of two clauses according to the Greek authorities: "As there were two and twenty letters, and two and twenty books," but, according to the Midrash Tadshe, only of one: "As there were two and twenty letters" (see ii. 23 notes). Since the earliest testimony elsewhere to this reckoning of the books of the Old Testament as twenty-two is that of Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8), it is possible that the clause in question in Epiphanius and Syncellus may be an addition to the text of Jubilees. This reckoning is mentioned also by Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, in the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, Jerome, etc. (see Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892, p. 221). On the other hand, it is

not improbable that the disputed clause belongs to the original text: for its omission by the Midrash Tadshe is far from conclusive. We have already seen in the notes on ii. 2-3 that this Midrash (written *circ.* 1000 A.D.) has deliberately altered the text of Jubilees, where it is rightly transmitted by Epiphanius and Syncellus, in order to accommodate it to Talmudic Judaism. And in the present instance the motive for this omission was not wanting; for the usual reckoning of the books of the Old Testament in Talmudic writings (Taanith 8*a*; Shem. rabba 41, etc.) and later Jewish scholars, such as Isaac Abarbanel, was twenty-four (see Strack, Herzog's *Real - Encyc.*⁽²⁾ vii. 434-436). Moreover, a passage in Isidore of Seville, which is clearly based on Jub. ii., supports the evidence of Epiphanius and Syncellus. It runs: Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester et xxii literarum sunt elementa (see p. lxxxix for the rest of the quotation). Accordingly, since the negative evidence of the Midrash is thus largely discounted and since on the other hand we have the positive evidence of Epiphanius, Isidore, and Syncellus, and artificial analogies of this nature are characteristic of our author, I am inclined to accept the clause as original.¹

¹ Since writing the above I have come across the following excerpt from the Greek version of Jubilees in Lambros' *Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos*, vol. i., pp. 292, which confirms my view. It is: Ἰωάννου ἀναγνώστου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Λεπτής Γενέσεως. Ἐν τῇ ψα' [Α]π' ὧδε διαλαμβάνει βιβλίον τὸ καλούμενον λεπτὴ γένεσις. Ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ. Ἔργα ὡς λέγει ἔκτησεν (read ἔκτισεν) ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις, δι' ὃ καὶ κβ' γράμματα παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ κβ' βιβλία καὶ κη' γενεαρχίαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ. Κάϊν, ὡς λέγει, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέθανεν. Lambros wrongly prints κβ' as κη' twice in the above passage. I owe the corrections to Mr. Lake, who has just collated it afresh for me on Mt. Athos. The excerpt is from a thirteenth-cent. MS. The last sentence regarding Cain is from Jub. iv. 31.

The third lacuna in vii. 37 appears to have extended to two or more verses, which dealt with the right of eating the fruit of trees in the fifth year after they were planted, and of sowing and reaping the land during six years and the duty of letting it lie fallow on the seventh (see notes *in loc.*). The greatest loss which our book has sustained is that which occurs in xiii. 25. Here the text still stands in a mutilated condition. The subject of the lost verses was undoubtedly Abram's pursuit of the kings, his recovery of the captives, and his meeting with Melchizedek. Since on other grounds it appears that the Maccabean princes claimed in some respects to represent the priesthood of Melchizedek, this loss is most deplorable (see notes on xiii. 25, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16).

Dittographies.—We have already drawn attention to three passages where dittographies most probably existed already in the Hebrew text. These are far from infrequent in the Ethiopic version. Thus in i. 29, vi. 33, viii. 6, 16, ix. 1, xv. 34, xix. 10, xxii. 24, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 13, the dittographies are verbal repetitions of clauses in immediate or mediate juxtaposition. Some of these repetitions may, of course, have already occurred in the Greek. But there is another class of dittographies present in our version which are due to incorporation in the text of duplicate renderings. Thus in xxx. 16 the clause "and no consideration of persons" follows immediately on "And there will be no respect of persons," and both are alternative renderings of *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται προσωποληψία* or some such phrase. This conclusion is confirmed by the Latin version which shows no such dittography. We have the evidence of the same version for excising the dittography in xxiii. 11. Other duplicate renderings, which have found their way into the Ethiopic version, our text exhibits in xx. 3, xxi. 10, 13, xxiv. 3. Possibly in xxxii. 21 "read and

read," which I have emended with the Latin *legit et cognovit* into "read and knew," should be regarded as a simple dittography within the Ethiopic; and *legit et cognovit* as due to two alternative renderings of ἀνέγνω, where the first is right.

Dislocations.—A most probable instance of this nature occurs in xxxvii. 20^{ef}. These two prose lines intervene in the midst of a poem. They are corrupt in all the MSS, but by an easy emendation could be adapted to follow after the first clause of the preceding verse. See note *in loc*.

Another passage is v. 17-18 which deals with the Day of Atonement. I have treated it as interpolated or else as transposed from after xxxiv. 18-19, which treats of the first institution of this festival. It is possible, however, that these verses did belong to the original. Thus 10^b-12 refer to the final judgment and the renewal of the world. The subject of the final judgment is there further dealt with in its general character in 13-16, and in 17-18 the writer turns aside to show the special grace accorded to Israel on that day if they observe the Day of Atonement. But I still incline to the view that 17-18 are foreign to their present context.

Again, i. 28 should probably be read before i. 26, and xxiii. 16 after xxiii. 19.

§ 12. POETICAL ELEMENT IN JUBILEES

Just before completing my commentary on Jubilees, I was so fortunate as to discover that no small proportion of it was originally written in verse. Accordingly the reader will find the following passages arranged as verse: x. 3; xii. 2-5, 18-20, 23, 29; xv. 6-8; xviii. 15-16; xix. 17, 20-22, 25; xx. 6-10; xxi. 21-25; xxii. 11-23; xxiii. 23-31; xxiv. 30-32; xxv. 15-23; xxvi. 23-24, 31-34;

xxxi. 15-20 ; xxxvii. 20-23. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connections of wrongly separated clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Thus, if the reader turns to xxxvii. 20-23 he will find a poem—probably an old one—consisting of five stanzas of three lines each. Our recognition of this fact enables us to excise as an interpolation the unintelligible words occurring in the MSS at the close of the first stanza. Even if we emended these words we should only have a distich, which would be suspicious in the midst of a poem consisting of tristichs. But not only is the form against their genuineness here, but also their subject matter (see notes *in loc.*). Again, in xxxi. 18 we reject a line both on the ground of the parallelism and of its being a dittography, and in xxi. 22 a line on the ground of the parallelism. The most important of these poems is the apocalypse in xxiii. 23-31 which consists of ten stanzas, the first nine of which are tristichs and the last a tetrastich. Of the rest some are composed in distichs, as xii. 23, 29 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xx. 6-10 ; xxii. 11-23 ; xxv. 15-23, xxvi. 23-24, 31-34 ; xxxi. 15-20 ; some in tristichs xix. 17, 25 ; xxi. 21-25 ; xxxvii. 20-23 ; and the rest partly in distichs and partly in tristichs in xii. 18-20 (consisting of a tristich + distich + tristich + 2 distichs) ; xv. 6-8 (distich + 2 tristichs) ; xix. 20-22 (2 tristichs + 2 distichs). While on the one hand it must be confessed that in xv. 6-8 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xxxi. 20, and in one or more other passages, it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement ; on the other it seems most probable that much of the first chapter was originally written in verse ; also vii. 10^b-12 ; xxvii. 23-24 ; xxxii. 18-19, and many passages elsewhere.

§ 13. JUBILEES FROM ONE AUTHOR, BUT BASED ON EARLIER BOOKS AND TRADITIONS

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms, of course, the bulk of the book, but every page of it contains materials characteristic of the age of our author. By referring to Index I. the reader will see at a glance the books of the Old Testament laid under contribution.

But our present chief interest is the relation of our author to non-canonical Jewish literature. Thus he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15 from the Book of Noah. Of this book happily the greater part of x. 1-2, 9-14 is still preserved in the Hebrew Book of Noah (see Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 155, and my Text of Jubilees, p. 179). Our author had before him also the greater part of the Book of Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc.

Besides these he also made use of current traditions and legends, which were already reduced to writing, and have come down to us in Hebrew and Greek in other independent works. Thus the war of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings, xxxiv. 1-9, is found in the Test. Judah 3-7, a contemporary work, in the Midrash Wajjissau, which contains if not the original legend, at all events a very early recast of it, and in the Book of Jashar—a late work. Again, our author drew on existing writings for his description of the fratricidal war between Jacob and Esau in xxxvii.-xxxviii. Here the only contemporary authority that still exists for our text is Test. Jud. 9. But with a few reservations the same statement may be made of the Hebrew document preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (see my notes on pp. 214-215).

Other incidents in our text, which are attested also in the contemporary Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, are the story of Bilhah's dishonour at the hands of Reuben during Jacob's absence (Jub. xxxiii. 1-9—Test. Reuben 3); Levi's dream as to the priesthood (xxxii. 1—Test. Levi 2, 4, 5, 8, 9), and his consecration to it by Isaac (xxxi. 13-17—Test. Levi 9); the names of the wives of Levi and Judah (xxxiv. 20—Test. Levi 11; Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16); the story of Tamar, Er and Onan, and Judah's repentance (xli. —Test. Jud. 10, 12, 14, 19); the burial of Jacob's sons in Hebron (xlvi. 9—Test. Reub. 7, Levi 19, Jud. 26 Zeb. 10, Dan. 7, Naph. 9, Gad 8, Asher 8; cf. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2) during a war between Egypt and Canaan (xlvi. 9—Test. Sim. 8, Benj. 12 [Arm. Vers.]). Also the insertion of Kâinâm in vii. 1 is supported by the LXX of Gen. xi. 13.

Other legendary matter in Jubilees, for which contemporary or earlier documents are, as a rule, not at hand, though most probably belonging to ancient tradition, furnishes us with *a large number of proper names*—particularly the names of women—'Âwân, wife of Cain (iv. 9), 'Azûra, wife of Seth (iv. 11), Mûalêlêth, the wife of Kenan (iv. 14), and the wives of the various patriarchs down to Terah (see iv. 15, 16, 20, 27, 28, 33; vii. 14, 15, 16; viii. 1, 5, 6, 7; xi. 9, 14, etc.), and of the twelve sons of Jacob (xxxiv. 20), and the daughter of Pharaoh (xlvii. 5). As other proper names of persons we might observe: Barâki'êl (iv. 15), Râsûjâl (iv. 16), Dânel (iv. 20), and so on for the fathers of the wives mentioned above (iv. 27, 28, 33; viii. 1, 5, 6, etc.); also Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan (xlvi. 6), and the Êljô¹ (vii. 22). Again, as names of places: 'Êldâ (iii. 32), the mount of the East (iv. 26), the three

¹ This name is found in the Greek Version (Syncellus) of the Eth. Enoch vii. 2 as 'Ελιούδ.

cities built by Noah's sons (vii. 14, 15, 16), the various mountains, islands, towns, rivers, and seas mentioned in viii. 12-ix. 13 (most of which can, however, be identified with actual places), 'Ermôn (= Heroonpolis, xlv. 6).

Other legendary matter was in many instances (see notes *in loc.*), and possibly in all, the source of the following statements and incidents: the period of five days spent by Adam in naming the creatures (iii. 1-3), the common language of all animals before the Fall (iii. 28), the number of Adam's sons, *i.e.* twelve (iv. 10), his burial—the first that was made in the earth (iv. 29), the manner of Cain's death (iv. 31), Kâinâm's discovery of writings of the Watchers (viii. 1-4), the detailed account of the tower of Babel and its destruction by a mighty wind (x. 21-26), the beginning of wars and idolatry in Serug's time (xi. 2-4), the history of Abraham's early days and exploits (xi. 16-24), his campaign against idolatry and burning of a heathen temple, death of Haran, Abraham's astronomical knowledge and miraculous acquisition of Hebrew (xii. 1-8, 12-14, 16-21, 25-27), Abraham's ten temptations (xvii. 17), the fact of Zilpah and Bilhah being sisters (xxviii. 9), and of Zebulon and Dinah being twins (xxviii. 23), rape of Dinah at the age of twelve (xxx. 1-3), Jacob's presents to his parents four times a year (xxix. 14-17, 19-20), Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (xxxi. 13-20), appointment of Levi to the priesthood as the tenth son (xxxii. 2-3), the deaths of Bilhah and Dinah after news of Joseph's death (xxxiv. 15-16), Simeon's marriage to a woman of Mesopotamia on his repentance (xxxiv. 21), after having first married a woman from Zephath (xliv. 13), the years of famine traced to the failure of the Nile (xlv. 9), the temporary stay of many Israelites in Canaan after burial of the patriarchs (xlvi. 10), the number of months during which the Hebrew children were cast into the river (xlvii. 2), the burning of

the Egyptian gods (xlvi. 5), destruction of 1000 Egyptians in the Red Sea for every Hebrew child that was cast into the river (xlvi. 14).

§ 14. JUBILEES—A PRODUCT OF THE MIDRASHIC TENDENCY
AT WORK IN THE OLD TESTAMENT CHRONICLER, BUT
REPRESENTED BY ITS AUTHOR AS AN ESOTERIC TRADI-
TION

Our book represents an extreme product of the midrashic process which is apparent on most pages of the Old Testament Chronicler. (*a*) The Chronicler, as we know, to a certain extent rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and the history of Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. In his hands the history of the nation is so recast as to make it a history of the church, the temple and its cultus, and to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. (*b*) In the course of this process facts that will not square with the writer's presuppositions are omitted or transformed in character. This applies particularly to breaches of the Priests' Code; also to statements such as that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, which ascribes David's temptation to Yahweh. This temptation the Chronicler attributes to Satan (1 Chron. xxi. 1).

(*a*) Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis¹ what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings (observe especially his recasting of 2 Kings xi. in 2 Chron. xxii. 10-xxiii. 21), and so he rewrote it in such a way as to

¹ The procedure of our author is, of course, in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis. Thus according to it "Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready" (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124).

show that the law had been rigorously observed, even by the patriarchs.

(b) Like the Chronicler our author found many statements in Genesis that did not square with his presuppositions, and accordingly we find that in many instances he alters the text before him,¹ and in others he simply omits. Thus he omits² the sending out of the raven (Gen. viii. 7) possibly on the ground of its being an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 15), and of the doves, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 2-8), his intercession for Sodom (xviii. 22-33), the mention of Lot's wife and many details regarding the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1-24), Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (xii. 11-14, 18), and of Abimelech in regard to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2-3), Isaac's prayer that Rebecca may have offspring, etc. (Gen. xxv. 21-26), his deception of Abimelech in regard to Rebecca (Gen. xxvi. 7-10), Jacob's meeting with Rachel and his welcome by Laban (Gen. xxix. 2-15), the story of the mandrakes (Gen. xxx. 14-16), Jacob's devices to increase his flocks at the expense of Laban (Gen. xxx. 37-42), the mutual recriminations of Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 26-32, 36-42), Jacob's meeting with the angels (Gen. xxxii. 1-2), his wrestling with the angel (xxxii. 24-32), his fear of Esau and efforts to propitiate him (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.), the circumcision of the Shechemites and their covenant with Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 14-24). The omissions in the history of Joseph are numerous, but they can be explained almost wholly on the ground of the author's desire for brevity. But as regards Gen. xlix. the case is different. It is

¹ See pp. xlix, liv.

² The narrative about Melchizedek is lost in the course of transmission, but was not omitted by our author (see xiii. 25 note). Nor yet was the reference to fasting on the Day of Atonement (see xxxiv. 18 note).

purposely suppressed because of its severity on Levi and its giving the pre-eminence to Judah. Our author throughout reverses this relation, and everywhere sets Levi before Judah.

Again, like the Chronicler he takes offence at the frequent mention of men being tempted or slain by God in Genesis and Exodus, and after the example of the Chronicler he represents the temptation of Abraham to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii.) as due to Mastêmâ (Jub. xvii. 16), the attempt on Moses's life (Exod. iv. 24) as made by the same evil agent; likewise the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 17—Exod. xiv. 8), and the slaying of the first-born (xlix. 2—Exod. xii. 29), he ascribes to the activities of Mastêmâ and his angels.

Again, just as we must not suppose that the peculiar impress which the Chronicler gave to his historical materials was the result of his individual activity but rather the outcome of a process, which in the course of successive generations had in many respects been transforming history into legend, so we must be careful to recognise in our author's book only a more advanced stage of the process above referred to. Possibly this process would not, in the natural course of things, have thrust the completed law further back than the time of Moses, but the exigencies of our author's time and the corroding influences of Hellenism seemed to him to demand the recognition of the law as superior to time, though revealed in time, and valid not only unto eternity but from eternity. The materials which suggested such a view were already at hand. If the earthly tabernacle was only a copy of a heavenly original (Exod. xxv. 9-40, xxvi. 30), it was but natural to infer that the various elements of the law, which were established in the course of tradition, were likewise copies of divine originals engraven on the heavenly tables. Such a view seemed to

be called for by the necessities of the time. Hellenism had for many a decade been undermining circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath,¹ which were the bulwarks of Judaism, before these destructive tendencies came to a head in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (see note on xv. 14). Our author is a late representative of the strong reactionary movement which asserted the everlasting validity and sanctity of these elements of the law. Thus he teaches that, though circumcision was first ordained in Abraham's time, it had been ordained in heaven from the beginning, for the two highest orders of the angels had been created circumcised, and that Israel was through circumcision sanctified together with them (xv. 27 note). Similarly the Sabbath, though first ordained in Jacob's time (see ii. 23, 31 notes), was originally celebrated in heaven by God and by the same two chief orders of angels. Israel was to unite with these angels in observing it. It was to be a sign like circumcision marking off Israel from all the other nations of the earth (ii. 19-21), and making them one with the two chief orders of angels in heaven.

Jubilees—an Esoteric Tradition according to its Author.
 ---The Book of Jubilees claims as a whole to be a revelation of God to Moses, and thus to form a supplement to, and an interpretation of, the Pentateuch, which it calls "the first law" (vi. 22). According to 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses was to reveal the latter but not the former. This second appears from our author to have embraced in a final authenticated form various revelations which had been made to the patriarchs, and constituted in their hands an esoteric tradition. This secret tradition had been handed down from father to son. Thus Enoch committed it to Methuselah, and Methuselah to Lamech, and Lamech to Noah (vii. 38, xxi. 10). Noah in turn entrusted all his

¹ See 1 Macc. i. 39, 43.

books to his eldest son, Shem (x. 14). Between Shem and Abram the knowledge of the sacred language was lost. But the latter was taught this language by an angel, and he thereupon studied "the books of his fathers" (xii. 27). From these books of his forefathers embracing the writings of Enoch and Noah, Abraham instructed Isaac (xxi. 10). These books contained regulations regarding sacrifices as well as other matters (vii. 38, xxi. 10; cf. Test. Zeb. 3). To Jacob also Abraham transmitted the traditions directly (xxv. 7, xxxix. 6). Again, Jacob educated Joseph from the writings of Abraham (xxxix. 6-7), and finally handed over "all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day" (xlv. 16). Thus this secret tradition was to be preserved in the hands of the priesthood till the time should come for its publication. From this last statement it would not be unreasonable to infer that our author was a member of the priestly caste.

§ 15. OBJECT OF JUBILEES—THE DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF JUDAISM FROM THE PHARISAIC STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The object of our author is to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism.

Our author defends Judaism (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.

(*a*) *Our author glorifies the law.*—We have already (p. 1) drawn attention to our author's glorification of circumcision and the Sabbath, the bulwarks of Judaism, as

heavenly ordinances, the sphere of which was so far extended as to embrace Israel on earth. The law, as a whole, was to our author the realisation in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. He is careful to set forth the historical occasions when the various elements of the law were first celebrated on earth, and herein he followed a tendency already well established in post-exilic Judaism. We shall now enumerate these briefly. The levitical law of purification after childbirth was enacted after the creation of Adam and Eve (iii. 8-14). On the expulsion of Adam from Eden the law of covering one's shame was enacted (iii. 30-32). This law does not belong to the Mishna or later Jewish legislation. It was manifestly levelled against the custom of baring the person in the Greek games, and is not explicable of any other than the early Maccabean period. The daily incense-offering began after Adam's expulsion from Eden (iii. 27). The law relating to the jubilees was first set forth by Enoch (iv. 18). The law of retribution in kind—"an eye for an eye"—was first carried out in the case of Cain (iv. 31-32). Noah instituted the feast of weeks, which had been observed in heaven since the creation (vi. 17-22), also the feasts on the new moons (vi. 23-27); he offered sacrifices, which anticipate later ritual (vi. 1-4, vii. 3-5), and enunciated the laws regarding fruit-trees and the land keeping Sabbath (vii. 2, 35-37), though he ascribed these laws to Enoch (vii. 38). Abram enacted the law of tithes (xiii. 25-29); celebrated the feast of first-fruits of the grain harvest on the 15th of the third month (xv. 1-2) and instituted the feast of tabernacles (xvi. 20-31), ordained peace-offerings and the regulations relating to the use of salt, wood for sacrifices, washing before sacrifices, and the duty of covering blood (xxi. 7-17), and forbade all intermarrying with the Canaanites (xxii. 20, xxv. 5), and adultery (xxxix. 6). Laban set forth the law—unknown to

Jewish tradition—that the younger sister should not be given in marriage before the elder (xxviii. 6). The penalty of death was ordained for intermarriage with the heathen in connection with the destruction of Shechem (xxx. 7-17). Levi was ordained priest by Jacob at the feast of tabernacles (xxx. 18-23, xxxii. 2-3), and blessed by Isaac as such (xxxi. 13-17). Jacob offered tithes through Levi at the feast of tabernacles—also the second tithe (xxxii. 4-9), and re-enacted the law of tithes (xxxii. 10-15; see xiii. 25-29); added the eighth day to the feast of tabernacles as a permanent institution (xxxii. 27-29). The law regarding incest was published in connection with Reuben's outrage (xxxiii. 10-20). The day of Atonement was instituted as a day of fasting and mourning in commemoration of the day when the news of Joseph's death arrived (xxxiv. 18-19; cf. v. 18). The law of incest was re-enacted and extended in connection with Judah's sin with Tamar (xli. 25-26). Jacob celebrated the feast of the first-fruits (xliv. 1, 4).¹

Glorification of the patriarchs.—This glorification of the patriarchs was also characteristic of the Priests' Code (see Carpenter, *Hexateuch*, i. 123). They are transformed into saints by our author. It is for this reason that Gen. xii. 11-13 (which tells of Abram's representing Sarai as his sister) is omitted, and likewise Isaac's lie about Rebecca, Gen. xxvi. 7. Abram, according to our author, knew the true God from his youth (xi. 16, 17, xii. 1 sqq.). Jacob is

¹ In the course of rewriting Genesis from the standpoint of the law our author explains certain difficulties. According to Gen. ii. 17 Adam was to die on the day that he eat of the tree of knowledge. This was fulfilled: for one day is a thousand years in the testimony of the heavens, and Adam died at 930 (iv. 29-30). Esau gave up his birth-right because he was suffering from the famine in the land (xxiv. 2 sqq.). This explanation our author arrives at by transposing Gen. xxvi. 1 before Gen. xxv. 29 sqq. Isaac's failure to recognise Jacob was due to a dispensation from heaven (xxvi. 18).

represented as a model of filial affection and obedience¹ (xxv. 4 sqq., xxxv. 9-12). The passages relating to Jacob's devices for increasing his flocks (Gen. xxx. 35-38) and his fear of and measures for propitiating Esau (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.) are omitted. Indeed our author represents Jacob as declaring that he was not afraid (xxvii. 4) and as ultimately killing Esau (xxxviii. 2). The text in Gen. xlv. 15 is changed in order to clear Joseph from the charge of divination, and the word "Esau" omitted in Gen. xxvii. 24 in order to cover Jacob's lie, and the words "his brother is dead" (Gen. xlv. 20) are changed into "one went away and was lost" (xliii. 11) in order to avoid making Joseph's brethren tell a deliberate lie.²

(b) *Glorification of Israel and its separation from the Gentiles.*—Whereas the various nations of the Gentiles were subject to angels, Israel was subject to God alone (xv. 32). Not Japheth (Gen. ix. 27) but God was to dwell in the tents of Shem (vii. 12). Israel, moreover, was God's son; and not only did the nation stand in this relation to God, but also

¹ Our author is careful to show that Abram did not leave Terah (xii. 28-31) unless with the full approval of the latter. Jacob did not leave Isaac till the latter approved and sent him off with a blessing (xxvii. 9 sqq.). Esau stole the possessions of his father, but Jacob supplied all his parents' need four times a year (xxix. 15 sqq.).

² To the above class we might add the long addition in chaps. viii. and ix. regarding the division of the earth under Noah. According to this division Palestine fell to the descendants of Shem, and thus our writer justifies the subsequent annihilation of the Canaanites by Israel. Again, Abraham's marriage with Keturah is defended on the ground that Hagar was already dead (xix. 11). Reuben was not so guilty because the law against which he offended had not yet been revealed (xxxiii. 16). Levi's destruction of Shechem is declared to be the ground of his election to the priesthood (xxx. 18); his deed was righteous, for marriage with a Gentile is equivalent to idolatry (xxx. 10). As our author took up this standpoint he had to omit the league that was formed between Jacob and Shechem and the reception of circumcision by the latter (Gen. xxx.).

its individual members (i. 24, 25, 28, xix. 29). Israel was to receive circumcision as a sign that they were the Lord's (xv. 26), a privilege which they were to enjoy in common with the two chief orders of angels (xv. 27). They were also to unite with God and these two orders in the observance of the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). Finally, the destinies of the world were bound up with Israel. The world was to be renewed in the creation of the true man Jacob (xix. 24-25, ii. 22), and its final renewal to synchronize with the setting up of God's sanctuary on Zion and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom (i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12).

Israel to be separate from the Gentiles.—Israel was not in any way to imitate the conduct of the Gentiles (xv. 34, xxii. 16); not to eat with them (xxii. 16), nor to form leagues with them (xxiv. 25, 27), nor to intermarry with them; for he that gave his daughter to a Gentile, gave her to Moloch (xxii. 20, xxv. 9, xxx. 7, 10, 11, 13).

(c) *The Gentiles denounced generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.*—With the immeasurable arrogance of Judaism there went necessarily, hand in hand, an immeasurable hatred and contempt of the Gentiles. Tacitus, more than two centuries later, called attention to this characteristic of the Jews ("adversus omnes alios hostile odium," *Hist.* v. 5). Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was but a reflection of the divine. God had placed the nations under the authority of spirits or angelic guardians with the object of compassing their destruction (xv. 31). Here, most probably, the *ultimate result* of an action is declared to be the *immediate object* of it. Our author denounces particularly the national enemies of Israel, and these, as we shall have more than once occasion to observe, were the very nations with whom Israel was frequently

at war in the second century B.C. First of all our author's maledictions are fulminated against the Philistines both in this world and in the next. The chief cities of this nation were either subjected or destroyed by the Maccabean princes (see xxiv. 28-32 notes). Next they are directed against Edom. Thus Isaac is represented as declaring in the blessing of Esau, that, if Esau's seed rebelled against Israel, they should be "rooted out from under heaven" (xxvi. 34). A war between Jacob and Esau is described in xxxviii. 1-14, in which Edom was reduced to servitude "until this day." Edom was thoroughly subdued by John Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (xxxviii. 8 note). Again, in a description of a war between Jacob and seven kings of the Amorites, the writer forecasts the Maccabean victories of later times (xxxiv. 1-9). In an earlier passage he enumerates the chief seats of the Amorites. These were associated with Maccabean victories, in which the Amorites were all but annihilated (xxix. 10-11). Of the Amorites who were "wicked and sinful" and had "wrought to the full all their sins," our author grimly remarks "they have no longer length of life on earth" (xxix. 11). This was practically the result of the Maccabean wars.

§ 16. ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY OF JUBILEES

Angelology.—The angelology of the author, like that of the Ethiopic Enoch, is in an advanced stage. There are two supreme classes, the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification (ii. 2, 18), and a very large order of inferior angels who presided over natural phenomena (ii. 2 note). The two first classes joined with Israel in observing the Sabbath and circumcision (see p. 1) and other elements of the law, as the feast of weeks (vi. 18). In addition to the above there were the (seventy) angels who formed the angelic

patrons of the nations (xv. 31), and the angels who were the guardians of individuals (xxxv. 17).

The duties assigned to the angels in connection with mankind are numerous. They brought Adam into the Garden of Eden and afterwards Eve (iii. 9, 12), and instructed Adam in tillage in the Garden (iii. 15). They report to God all the sin committed on the earth (iv. 6). The order called "Watchers" descended in the days of Jared to instruct the children of men (iv. 15), and afterwards sinned with the daughters of men (iv. 22). The angels showed to Enoch all that was "on earth and in the heavens" during 294 years (iv. 21), and conducted him into the Garden of Eden (iv. 23). They bound the fallen Watchers in the depths of the earth (v. 6); took to Noah the animals that were to enter the ark (v. 23). In the presence of an angel the earth was divided among Noah's sons (viii. 10). Angels bound nine-tenths of the demons in the place of condemnation (x. 9-11), and instructed Noah in the remedies against all diseases (x. 12); they accompanied the Lord in visiting the tower of Babel (x. 23). An angel bade Abram to go to the land of promise (xii. 22), and instructed him in the knowledge of Hebrew, and explained to him what he found unintelligible (xii. 26, 27). Angels announced to Abraham the birth of Isaac and admonished Sarah for laughing (xvi. 1-4); saved Lot from Sodom (xvi. 7); blessed Abraham and disclosed to him what had been decreed about him (xvi. 16). An angel comforted Hagar (xvii. 11), and withheld Abraham's hand from sacrificing Isaac (xviii. 10). Angels tested Abraham's patience after the death of Sarah (xix. 3). The angels will remember unto a thousand generations Levi's righteous judgment on Shechem (xxx. 20). An angel showed Jacob in a vision of the night seven tablets which recorded all that would befall him and his posterity, and bade him copy them (xxxii. 21, 24-25). Angels disclosed to Judah that

he was forgiven for his sin with Tamar (xli. 24). An angel delivered Moses out of the hands of Mastêmâ (xlvi. 2-4). Angels prevented the magicians from furnishing any remedies to the Egyptians (xlvi. 10), and delivered the Israelites out of the hands of the Egyptians (xlvi. 13), and bound Mastêmâ from the 14th to the 18th and let him loose on the 19th, when they led Israel forth (xlvi. 15-19). An angel made known to Moses the Sabbaths, year-weeks, and jubilees, etc. (l. 1-4).

Demonology.—Over against the angelic kingdom stands a well-organised demonic or satanic kingdom. This kingdom is governed by "the prince of the Mastêmâ,"¹ where Mastêmâ is in point of derivation and meaning the equivalent of Satan. His subjects comprise both satans and demons. The demons are the spirits which went forth from the bodies of the slain children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (x. 5; Eth. En. xvi.). According to Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the Watchers originated in their becoming subject to Satan. By means of these demons the prince of the satans is able to compass his evils, which are the seduction and destruction of men. But these have no power over the righteous and over Israel (see note on x. 8).

§ 17. THE DATE OF JUBILEES

The date of our book can only be established by a series of indirect evidence. But this evidence is so plentiful and powerful, when apprehended, that no room is left for reasonable doubt.

i. *First of all the book was written during the pontificate*

¹ In all the Ethiopic MSS the phrase is wrongly given as "prince Mastêmâ" in xvii. 16, xlvi. 2, but *ab* rightly attest "prince of the Mastêmâ" in xviii. 9, 12, xlvi. 9, 12, 15.

of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 135 B.C.— Thus in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a “priest of the Most High God.” Now, the only Jewish high-priests who ever bore this title were the Maccabean (see note on xxxii. 1). They appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Jewish tradition ascribes the assumption of this title to John Hyrcanus, but it seems to have been already assumed by Simon; cf. Ps. cx. 4: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,” and 1 Macc. xiv. 41. If, however, we follow the Jewish tradition in this matter, we must fix on 135 B.C., when Hyrcanus became high-priest, as the earliest possible date for the composition of Jubilees. Notwithstanding the objections of the Pharisees to this title, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to the time of Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2).

ii. *Next, it was written before 96 B.C., or some years earlier in the reign of Hyrcanus.*—Since our author is of the strictest sect a Pharisee, and at the same time approves of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96 B.C., when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus came to open strife. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of its composition after the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees which is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 5-6), and in the Talmud (*Kiddush.* 66a) with some variations in names and details. After that event—unfortunately the year is not given by any authority—Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party, and forbade, under penalties, the observance of Pharisaic ordinances. Hence we may conclude that *our book was written between 135 and the year of Hyrcanus’ breach with the Pharisees.*

The above conclusions are confirmed by a large mass of evidence, which may be arranged under seven heads. Of these the first four point definitely to the latter half of the

second century B.C. as the date of the composition of Jubilees; the remaining three give various grounds for postulating a pre-Christian date at any rate.

i. *Our book points to the period—already past—of stress and persecution that preceded the recovery of national independence under the Maccabees.*—Thus, it is impossible to ascribe to any other period the causes which led to the enactment or accentuation of the following laws:

(a) The Jews (“those who know . . . the law”) were forbidden to expose their persons by a law “prescribed on the heavenly tables.” This law was devised to forbid Jews taking part in the Greek games established by Jason the high-priest (see iii. 30-31, notes). It was not unnaturally derived from Gen. iii. 21, and was probably current for a generation before embodied by our author in his book.

(b) The law of circumcision is affirmed under the severest penalties (xv. 11-14, 26, 28). This law was observed in the creation of the highest angels (xv. 27). Yet Israel will, our author says, neglect it and “treat their members like the Gentiles” (xv. 33-34). Antiochus forbade circumcision under the penalty of death (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10). There may be a reference also in our text to the Jews uncircumcising themselves, a practice which they resorted to under Antiochus Epiphanes in order to escape the scoffs of the heathen in the palaestra (1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1).

(c) The Sabbath is re-enacted and its profanation is to be followed by the death penalty (ii. 17-32, l. 6-13). Non-observance of the Sabbath had been prevalent according to our author (xxiii. 19). Antiochus had forbidden the Jews to keep it (1 Macc. i. 39, 45; 2 Macc. vi. 6). Our text lays down the strictest sabbatical laws, such as were not in force at any time save in the second century B.C. or earlier. Thus war is absolutely forbidden (l. 12),

and this prohibition was carried out, as we know, in the early Maccabean wars (see l. 12, note). But it was soon found impossible in practice (see note just referred to), and warfare on the Sabbath was subsequently permitted under a variety of circumstances (Bab. Shabb. i. 8; Shabb. 19^a; Erub. 45^a).

Again, a man is forbidden to cohabit with his wife (l. 8). This was the practice of the early Chasids; but this ascetic attitude to marriage is abandoned in the Mishna (see l. 8, note).

Again, riding on any beast is forbidden (l. 12). The enforcement of the law during the Syro-Grecian suzerainty is mentioned in the Talmud.

(*d*) Intermarriage with the heathen is absolutely prohibited by the penalty of death (xxx. 7-17). To give one's daughter to a Gentile was to give her to Moloch (xxx. 10, note). This question had for a long time before our author's date been of vital importance to Israel. But at no time could the danger from this source have been greater than during 200-160 B.C., when the destructive tendencies of Hellenism on Jewish character and religion had come to a head.

ii. *Our book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony.*

(*a*) Only such a period could explain the assured spirit of triumph which led our author to anticipate a world-wide dominion and introduce that expectation into God's promise to Jacob in Gen. xxxv. 11-12: "I shall . . . multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden.¹ And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven . . . and they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever" (Jub. xxxii. 18-19).

¹ See note on p. lxx note.

(b) Only such a period could explain the pre-eminence assigned by our book to Levi over Judah. We have seen above (p. xlvi) that our author omitted Gen. xlix. because of the absolute pre-eminence above his brethren which is there assigned to Judah and the denunciation of Levi. But he goes further. Thus he ascribes to Levi's descendants the supreme offices of high-priest and civil ruler (xxxi. 14-17), but in regard to Judah, only Judah himself and one of his descendants (*i.e.* the Messiah) are mentioned as holding civil authority (xxxi. 18-20). Our author seems to imply that the royal descendants of David are no more, and that till the Messiah comes the Maccabees would hold the offices of high-priest and king. In later days when the Maccabees became a name of reproach, they were charged with usurping the throne of David (Pss. of Solomon xvii. 5, 6, 8) and the high-priesthood (Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1).

(c) The legend of the conquests of Esau's sons by the sons of Jacob in xxxvii.-xxxviii., points very clearly to the complete conquest of Edom by Judah in the Maccabean wars. In these wars the Edomites had sided with the Syrians till they were made tributary by John Hyrcanus. This subjection of Edom is referred to in xxxviii. 14, "The sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude . . . until this day" (*i.e.* the author's time). See notes on xxxvii. 9-10, xxxviii. 4-9, where the fuller account in the Jalkut refers to 'Aqrabbim (1 Macc. v. 3), which as well as Adora were memorable as scenes connected with the Maccabean struggle.

This period also best explains the hatred which transformed Isaac's blessing of Esau into a curse (xxvi. 34).

(d) Again the Maccabean wars are adumbrated in the struggle of Jacob's sons with the Amorite kings in xxxiv. 1-9. This is clearer in the completer narrative in

Test. Judah 3-7. The cities, Tappuah, Hazor, and Bethoron, which are mentioned here, are associated with notable victories and incidents in the Maccabean war. See notes on xxxiv. 4. So also Bousset, *Zeitschrift f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, pp. 202-205. But the reference to the Amorites is much more obvious in xxix. 10-11, where our author enumerates their chief cities and then grimly adds: "They have no longer length of life on the earth" (xxix. 10-11). Their practical annihilation, which is here referred to, was effected by Judas (see notes on xxix. 10).

(c) Our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second cent. B.C. It declares that they will be put to the sword by the Kittim, *i.e.* the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and subsequently fall into the hands of "the righteous nation" (xxiv. 28-29), and be exterminated, as they practically were by the Maccabees (see xxiv. 28-32, notes).

iii. Our author gives in an apocalypse a history of the Maccabean times (xxiii. 12-31), from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Messianic kingdom, the advent of which is just at hand. In this section we have the rise of the Chasids, who rebuke their elders for forsaking the law and the covenant (xxiii. 16), the general corruption which entails judgment on man and beast and leads to civil strife (xxiii. 17-20), the warlike efforts of the Maccabees to reclaim the Hellenisers to Judaism (xxiii. 20-22), the sufferings of the nation through the repeated attacks of Syria (xxiii. 23-25), Israel's return to the law, and its gradual ethical and physical transformation in the Messianic kingdom and its triumph over its national foes (xxiii. 26-30). Our author stands already on the threshold of this happy time. It is, therefore, in the most prosperous days of the Maccabean dynasty, *i.e.*, in the days of Simon or John Hyrcanus.

iv. Our book was used by the author of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., and must, therefore, have been written at latest at the beginning of the first cent. B.C. (see § 19).

v. The textual affinities of our text connect it more closely with the form of Hebrew text, which is presupposed by the LXX (250 B.C.) and found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, than with that which lay behind the Syriac and later versions or Targums. From this evidence we may conclude at all events to a pre-Christian date (see § 10).

vi. Our text preserves older forms of the Haggada and Halacha than are found in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. The details will be found on referring to the notes on the various passages.

Haggada.—In i. 27 (see note) an angel reveals the law to Moses: according to later Judaism Moses receives it from God Himself. In ii. 2-3 angels are said to have been created on the first day: in later Judaism on the second or fifth. According to ii. 7 the Garden of Eden was created on the third day: according to later Judaism before the world. In xi. 2-6 the corruption of mankind is ascribed to the time of Serug: in later Judaism to that of Enos. In xii. 1-14 we have the primitive form of the saga so much developed in later Judaism about Ur of the Chaldees. In xix. 11 Abraham's marriage to Keturah is justified on the ground that Hagar was already dead, whereas later Judaism identifies Hagar and Keturah. In xxx. 2-6 the praise given to Levi and Simeon accords with Jewish views of the first and second cent. B.C. Later Judaism on the whole accepts the judgment pronounced on them in Genesis. Again our author records honestly the marriages of Simeon, Judah, and Joseph, to Gentile women, though such marriages must have in his eyes been full of offence. But later Judaism felt the offence to be too grave for toleration, and sought to establish the Hebrew descent of the women in

question (see xxxiv. 20, xl. 10 notes). In xxxvii.-xxxviii. we have the oldest form of the legend of the war between Jacob's sons and the sons of Esau, and similarly in the case of the war between Egypt and Canaan in xlvi. 6-11. Later developments of these legends are found in rabbinic literature. Again, our text retains the original form of the traditions in Genesis, where later Judaism explained them away as offensive. Thus in iv. 15 the sons of God are rightly taken to be angels: in xxxiii. 2 the story of Reuben and Bilhah is accepted, but later Judaism manages to remove all that is objectionable in it. See also notes on iv. 12, xl. 10.

Halacha.—The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second cent. B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishna and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second cent. B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishna. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly probable that such a halacha did exist in the second cent. B.C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes, and xx. 4 note.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44a) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former.

vii. The following facts postulate a pre-Christian date for the composition of our book:—

(a) The calendar was in an unsettled state when our author wrote. No strict Pharisee, such as our author, could have advanced such a system as is laid down in vi. 28-33, unless at a period when no uniform calendar system was established. With it we may compare an allied system in *Eth. Enoch* lxxii.-lxxxii. There are good grounds for believing that our author grounded his system on the chronological statements regarding the flood in Genesis (see notes on p. 56).

(b) The divine title "Most High God." The use of this title is frequent in our author. This frequency, as appears in the note on xxxvi. 16, is characteristic of writings before the Maccabean era in the second cent. B.C. When once, however, the Maccabeans had assumed the title "priests of the Most High God," the divine title would naturally remain popular amongst those who, like our author, recognised the validity of the Maccabean pontificate. On the other hand, we should expect a decline in its use to set in with the rising unpopularity of the Maccabean dynasty. This disuse, indeed, is not apparent in the oldest anti-Maccabean work, *Eth. Enoch* xci.-civ., where the hostility to the Maccabeans is in an incipient stage. There the title "Most High" occurs nine times. But in the *Pss. of Solomon* and *Eth. Enoch* xxxvii.-lxx., where the hatred is open and unconcealed, this title is not found in the former and only twice in the latter. In the latter half of the first cent. A.D. there was a revival in its use as its Maccabean associations were forgotten.

(c) The phrase "feast of Pentecost," as a description of the feast of weeks, seems to have been unknown to our author (see note on vi. 17), though it was in use in the first cent. B.C.

§ 18. THE JUBILEES AND YEARS USED BY OUR AUTHOR

Our author claims that his chronological system is derived from the heavenly tables. From these tables it was made known to Moses directly by the angel of the presence, who assured Moses with regard to his disclosures on the solar year of 364 days: "It is not of my own devising, for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained" (vi. 35). For the convenience of the reader I have reduced the jubilee reckonings to years and placed them in the margin.

The Jubilees.—The chronology is essentially heptadic. Each jubilee consists of seven year-weeks, and each year-week of seven years. It is probably on the ground of the sacred character of the number seven, and possibly also for the sake of symmetry, that our author makes his jubilee consist of forty-nine years instead of fifty, which was the usual reckoning among the Jews. R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61a—quoted by Beer), however, set down the jubilee at forty-nine years; and in the Samaritan Chronicle (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) a system closely analogous to that of our author is found. Here the jubilee is reckoned at forty-nine and a fraction, which varies unintelligibly in extent, if the text is correct. Thus five jubilees = 246 years, forty jubilees = 1968 years, but sixty jubilees = 2951 years.

It is noteworthy also that, whereas our author applies the jubilee reckoning from the creation to the date of Israel's entering into Palestine, the Talmudic treatise Erachin 12-13a and the Samaritan Chronicle make the jubilee to begin with the settlement of Israel in Palestine, and while the former carries it down to the destruction of the first temple, the latter carries it down to many centuries after the Christian era.

In the Assumption of Moses the jubilee is also used in the chronological system of its author. Thus (i. 2) he reckons 2500 years to have elapsed from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, that is, fifty jubilees of fifty years each. Again, in x. 12 it is stated that from the death of Moses to the Messianic kingdom there will be 250 times (*i.e.* year-weeks) that is thirty-five jubilees of fifty years each. Thus from the creation to the Messianic kingdom there would be eighty-five jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97*b*.

In one other work, the Seder Olam 23, 25, the jubilee period is occasionally used in the history of Israel and Judah contemporary with the reigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

The Years.—Our author seems to have used a civil year and an ecclesiastical year, both of 364 days. The civil year consisted of twelve months (iv. 17, v. 27, vi. 29-30 note) of thirty days each and four intercalary days (vi. 23 note), one at the beginning of each quarter. The ecclesiastical year consisted of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and in accordance with it were regulated the great festivals, the Sabbaths, Passover, and Feast of Weeks (see notes on vi. 29-30, 32). Furthermore, this impossible solar year of 364 days was undoubtedly put forward in Pharisaic circles in the second cent. B.C., and its currency may date from a much earlier period. See note on vi. 32.

§ 19. VALUE OF JUBILEES IN DETERMINING the DATES OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC ENOCH AND THE BOOK OF NOAH.

In my edition of the Ethiopic Enoch in 1893 I was the first to point out (pp. 25-29, 221-222, 263-264) that chaps. i.-xxxvi., lxxxiii.-xc., and xci.-civ. were from different authors. To the two former sections I assigned a date

anterior to 161 B.C., and to the third a date subsequent to 95 B.C. We shall now find that the above critical results are confirmed in the main by the evidence of our text. Thus in my note on iv. 17-23 I have shown that our author had *Eth. Enoch* vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. before him. In confirmation of the conclusions in that note we should observe also that v. 1, 2, vii. 21, 22, 23, 24 of our text (see notes) presuppose vii. 1, 2, 5, ix. 1, 9 of the *Eth. Enoch* (see also Index I.).

Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. later than *Jubilees*.—Next as regards xci.-civ. we shall prove that it was subsequent to *Jubilees* and made use of that work. To begin with, these two writings exhibit certain resemblances. In both there is a temporary Messianic kingdom and an immortality of the soul implied or taught. On the other hand, the tone of *Jubilees* is optimistic and was written before the breach between the Pharisees and the Maccabean rulers, whereas *Eth. Enoch* xci.-civ. is pessimistic in tone and was written after the breach had led to the persecution of the Pharisees. We shall now adduce a variety of passages from both books which will establish the dependent relation of this section of the *Eth. Enoch* on *Jubilees*.

(a) From a comparison of vii. 29 (see note) and xxii. 22 of our text with *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 7, 8 it follows that the latter is based on the former. In our text Sheol is not yet associated with fire and burning; but this stage, which combines the characteristics of Sheol and Gehenna, is already attained in the latter work.

(b) In *Jub.* i. 16 it is promised to Israel that "they will be the head and not the tail." In *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 11 we have: "they hoped to be the head and have become the tail."

(c) In *Jub.* i. 29 a new heavens and a new earth were promised. In the despondent *Eth. Enoch* xci. 16 only a new heaven.

(*d*) According to Jub. xxxii. 18 Israel is to "judge all the nations according to their desires."¹ In Eth. Enoch xcv. 3 righteous Israel is to "execute judgment on them (the sinners) according to their desires," and in xcvi. 1 is to "have lordship over them according to their desires."

(*e*) With Jub. xxiii. 31, "their spirits will have much joy," compare Eth. Enoch civ. 4, "ye will have great joy as the angels," where both expressions are applied to the spirits of the blessed after death. Also ciii. 4, "And your spirits—the spirits of you who have died in righteousness—will live and rejoice."

(*f*) In Jub. xxii. 16 it is said with regard to the wicked "become not their associate," and in Eth. Enoch civ. 6, "have no companionship with them," and in xci. 4, "associate not with those of a double heart." In xcvi. 4, the wicked are said to be the "companions of sinners."

(*g*) With Jub. xii. 2, "What help and profit have we from those idols," cf. Eth. Enoch xcix. 7, "No help will be found in them" (*i.e.* idols).

(*h*) Eating blood is condemned in Jub. vii. 28, 29, etc. cf. Eth. Enoch xcviii. 11.

(*i*) The law is spoken of as "the eternal law" Eth. Enoch xcix. 2, "the law for all future generations" xciii. 6, (cf. xcix. 14), as we might expect in a writer influenced by Jubilees. Throughout all the older sections of Enoch the law is not mentioned.

(*k*) The references to "the plant of righteousness" (Eth. Enoch xciii. 10), or "of righteous judgment" (xciii. 5), or "of uprightness" (xciii. 2), may be due in part to Jub. i. 16 "plant of uprightness," or "a plant of righteousness" (xvi.

¹ In xxxii. 18 for "judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men have trodden," read with Latin "judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden." Based partly on Deut. xi. 24.

26, xxi. 24). The phrase, however, occurs already in *Eth. Enoch* x. 16.

(*l*) *Eth. Enoch* ci. 2: "when he . . . withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth" (cf. c. 12), is found almost verbally in *Jub. xii. 4*, "who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth" (cf. *xii. 18, xx. 9*).

Eth. Enoch, i.-v. *later than Jubilees*.—The evidence in respect to the relative dates of this section and *Jubilees* is not conclusive, but so far as it exists it implies the priority of the latter.

Thus, in *Eth. Enoch* iii. the words "all the trees . . . shed all their leaves except fourteen trees," most probably go back to *Jub. xxi. 12-13* where fourteen evergreen trees are enumerated which were to be used on the altar, cp. *Test. Levi 9*.

Again, *Eth. Enoch* v. 9, "They will complete the number of the days of their life, and their lives will grow old in peace and the years of their joy will be many," seems to be an expansion of *Jub. xxiii. 29*, "All their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy."

Finally, *Eth. Enoch* i.-v. appears to be later than the *Test. XII. Patriarchs*, a sister work of *Jubilees*, but this subject cannot be pursued further here.

The Book of Noah.—This book is referred to twice in our text, *i.e.* in x. 13, xxi. 10. Our author, moreover, has taken over bodily two considerable sections from it and incorporated them in vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. Thus the *Book of Noah* was written before 135-105 B.C. But its composition goes back to a much earlier date. Chapters vi.-xi. of the *Ethiopic Enoch* are clearly from the same source; for they make no reference to *Enoch* but bring forward *Noah* (x. 1), and treat of the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is compounded of the *Semjaza* and *Azazel*

myths, and in its present composite form is already presupposed by Eth. Enoch lxxxviii.-lxxxix. 1. Hence in its present form it is earlier than 166 B.C. Chapters lx., lxv.-lxix. 25, cvi.-cvii. of the same work are also derived from the Book of Noah and probably xxxix. 1, 2^a, xli. 3-8, xliii.-xliv., liv. 7-lv. 2, lix., but not in their present form. There appears to be no adequate ground for assigning these sections of that ancient work to a later date than those above discussed.

The above facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up in part on the debris of the former. And just as the Noah saga made way for the Enoch, so the Enoch saga in turn made way for the Seth, as I have shown at some length in the notes on pp. 33-36.

§ 20. THE RELATION OF JUBILEES TO THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS

From a comparison of the passages in our author and the Testaments which treat of the same subjects, it is clear that neither of the two works is dependent on the other, but that both draw independently from the same sources. See notes on xxviii. 9, xxx. 2-6, 18, 25, xxxi. 3-4, 13, 15, 16, xxxii. 1, 8, xxxiii. 1, 2, 4, xxxiv. 1-9, xxxvii.-xxxviii., xli. 8-14, 24-25, xlvi. 6-9.

I hope to treat this question exhaustively in my edition of the Testaments.

§ 21. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISEE WHO RECOGNISED THE MACCABEAN PONTIFICATE AND WAS PROBABLY A PRIEST

From §§ 15, 17 it follows without further need of proof that our author was a pharisee of the straitest sect. He was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, he held the strictest views on circumcision, the sabbath and on the duty of shunning all intercourse with the Gentiles: he believed in angels and demons § 16, and in a blessed immortality. In § 14 we have shown that he was an extreme representative of the midrashic tendency which had been already at work for centuries.

In the next place our author was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers (xxxi. 13-17), and applies to them the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thorough-going an admirer as the authors of the Test. Levi 18, or Psalm cx. who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family (see notes on xxxi. 18-19, xxxii. 1).

That our author was a priest might be reasonably inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxi.-xxxii.) and from the statement in xlv. 16, that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 22. JUBILEES IN JEWISH, SAMARITAN, AND CHRISTIAN NON-CANONICAL LITERATURE

In Jewish Literature.

In Jewish and Samaritan Literature.—Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?), xci.-civ.; Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jashar, Samaritan Chronicle.

On Eth. Enoch i.-v., xci.-civ. see pp. lxix-lxxi above.

Wisdom.—It is not possible to establish conclusively that our book was used by the author of *Wisdom*. There are, however, amid great differences, strong affinities between them. Thus both teach a temporary Messianic kingdom and a blessed immortality of the soul. In *Jubilees* apparently for the first time God is called the Father of the righteous individual Israelite (i. 24 note): in *Wisdom* this view is frequently and emphatically taught (ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21). Again in *Jubilees* the law of retaliation is enunciated in its most literal form (iv. 31, xlviii. 14, notes), and the same phenomenon meets us in *Wisdom*, xi. 16: δι' ὧν τις ἁμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται, Cf. also xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5. Finally either xlviii. 14 of our text or some authority of a like nature seems to have been before the writer of *Wisdom* xviii. 5:

βουλευσαμένους αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἀποκτείνει νήπια
καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκτεθέντος τέκνον [καὶ σωθέντος]
εἰς ἔλεγχον τὸ αὐτῶν ἀφείλω πλῆθος [τέκνων],
καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶ.

In both passages the destruction of the Egyptians in retaliation for the casting of the Hebrew children into the river is dealt with, though this is obscured by the glosses καὶ σωθέντος and τέκνων,¹ which I have bracketed as additions of an early scribe who misinterpreted the passage of Moses. In Jub. xlviii. 14 it is said that 1000 Egyptians were destroyed on account of every Hebrew child that was cast into the river. This sense we recover from the Greek on omitting the gloss: "In retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away the multitude of them." But the passage is still unsatisfactory, for πλῆθος in the text which = רב was corrupt in the original source (? *Jubilees*) as in Hosea viii. 12 for רב = 10,000. Thus we have: "In

¹ Observe independently the awkwardness of τέκνων after αὐτῶν.

retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away 10,000 of them," *i.e.* of those who had taken counsel to destroy the Hebrew children. 10,000 may be more accurate than the 1000 which stands in Jub. xlviii. 14. I have found the same corruption in Ethiopic MSS.

4 *Ezra*.—There can be little doubt that our book is referred to in 4 *Ezra* xiv. 4-6, where it is said of Moses: Et misi eum et eduxit populum meum de Aegypto, et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei *mirabilia multa*, et ostendi ei *temporum secreta et temporum finem*, et praecepi ei dicens: Haec in palam facies verba et *haec abscondes*. The *haec* here refers to Jubilees (see i. 26 notes), which was handed down in the tribe of Levi (xlv. 16) till its publication by our author.

In 4 *Ezra* vi. 20 the words, libri aperientur ante faciem firmamenti et omnes videbunt simul, refer to the books in which the deeds of men are recorded. These books were kept by Enoch according to our text iv. 23, x. 17.

In x. 46, the date in the words: factum est post annorum tria millia (Syr., Eth., Arab., but Lat. = annos tres) aedificavit Salomon civitatem et obtulit oblationes, appears to be based on that given in Jubilees. If with Joseph. (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1.) we reckon 592 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple or 588 years with Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* i. 40, 4 sq.) and take, as our author, 2410 to be the year of the Exodus, then we arrive at 3002 or 2998 (see for these and other reckonings Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judeorum*, p. 83). Again on p. 109 of the work just mentioned Hilgenfeld gives good grounds for assuming that in 4 *Ezra* xiv. 48 (Syr. Eth.,) the text originally contained a computation in jubilees. See also Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 412-414.

Chronicles of Jerahmeel.—This Hebrew work, which has

been translated by Gaster, contains a great deal of subject-matter in common with our book. At times it reproduces the actual words of our text. I have no doubt that our text was used by some of the authors of this compilation. See Index II. for references to the parallel passages.

Midrash Tadshe.—This Midrash was written about the beginning of the eleventh cent. A.D. by Moses ha-Darshan, but was based on an early work by Rabbi Pinchas ben Jair who in turn drew his materials from our text (see Eppstein, *Revue des Étude juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 499). By consulting Index II. the reader will find the passages which are common to this Midrash and our text.

The Book of Jashar.—This late Hebrew work contains much matter in common with our text, and there is every probability that some of it is derived from it ultimately as its source. See Index II. for a list of parallels. The Hebrew text of this book which I have quoted occasionally, is that which was published at Venice in 1629. Generally, however, I have referred to the French translation of it in Migne's series.

The Samaritan Chronicle.—This book, to which we have already drawn attention (see p. lxxvii), belongs for the most part to the twelfth cent. A.D. It appears to contain a deliberate polemic (see vi. 36 note) against the view of our author that calculations should be made according to the sun only. In keeping with the fact that our author gives his calendar in connection with the flood (vi. 29-38), this Chronicle says that the Samaritan system was known to Noah in the Ark. For a remarkable point of agreement between this Chronicle and our text see note v. 22. Also it cannot be an accident that in the case of the antediluvian patriarchs, their respective ages on the birth of their eldest sons agree in both books in every instance except in that of

Seth. Rönsch (p. 362) has tabulated the numbers as follows :

	Jub.	Sam. Chron.
Adam on the birth of his eldest son was aged	130	130
Seth " " "	130	60-66
Enoch " " "	90	90
Kenan " " "	70	70
Mahalalel " " "	65	66
Jared " " "	62	61
Henoch " " "	65	65
Methuselah " " "	67	67
Lamech " " "	53	53

Hence it is not strange that in some cases we are able to determine missing dates in our text from this Chronicle (see iv. 28 note). On the other hand these two works hardly ever harmonise on the ages of the post-diluvian patriarchs till Terah's time, and the Chronicle, as we should expect, omits Kainam which our text (viii. 1) along with the LXX puts forward as the son of Arpachshad.

In Christian literature.—The Christian literature in which Jubilees is reproduced either by name or anonymously will be treated under the following heads :

- i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name.*
- ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce its text or matter anonymously.*¹

- i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name :*

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA (309 or 314 to 394 or 399 A.D.) *in epist. canonicas enarrationes, ad I. Joan.* iii. 12 (Gallandi, *Biblioth. patr.* vi. 300): Nam et in libro qui leptogenesis (MS leprogenesis) appellatur, ita legitur, quia Cain lapide aut ligno percusserit Abel. See Jub. iv. 31.

EPIPHANIUS (*ob.* 404 A.D.), *Haer.* xxxix. 6: ὡς δὲ ἐν

¹ Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 849-864, ii. 120-121 ; Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 250-382.

τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει καλουμένη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ τε Κάϊν καὶ τοῦ Σήθ ἡ βίβλος περιέχει· . . . οἳ τε τούτου υἱοὶ συνήφθησαν ὁ μὲν Κάϊν τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ μείζονι Σαυή, οὕτω καλουμένη, ὁ δὲ Σήθ . . . τῇ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ Ἀζουρά. See Jub. iv. 9, 11 and the continuation of the quotation in my note on iv. 10. For passages where Epiphanius has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

JEROME (*ob.* 420).—See quotations in notes on x. 21, xi. 11-13. For other quotations see Index II.

Decretum Gelasii.—In this decree (*de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*), the date of which is doubtful (see Zahn, *Gesch. des Kanons*, II. i. 259-267), our book is included among the writings to be rejected: *Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, apocryphus*.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 542).—In an exposition of Deut. xxxiv. 6 this author has (see Nicephorus, *Catena*, i. 1672-1673) described the destinies that await the good and the evil souls on their separation from the body, and various incidents relating to the contest between Michael and Satan for the soul of Moses. He adds that his statements are drawn from our author: ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κείσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἢτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν. On this question see above, p. xv note.

NICEPHORUS, *Catena*, i. 175.—(This *catena*, published over 120 years ago, contains extracts from writers from the beginning of the Christian era to the seventh cent.) Before the words quoted from this work in the note on x. 21 we find the title of the source given as ἡ διαθήκη. It is most probable that we should add here τοῦ Μωϋσέως (see p. xvii).

SYNCELLUS (*flor.* 800 A.D.), *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf), i. 5: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 7: ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ

τοῦ λεγομένου βίου Ἀδάμ. i. 13: ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως. i. 14: (see quotation in note on p. 28). i. 49 (see quotation in note on x. 1). i. 183: τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε. i. 185 (see quotation in note on xii. 26). i. 192: Μαστιφὰμ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, ὡς φησιν ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, προσελθὼν τῷ θεῷ εἶπεν, εἰ ἀγαπᾷ σε Ἀβραάμ, θυσάτω σοι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (see our text, xvii. 16). i. 203: βιασθεὶς Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα ἐνέτεινε τόξον καὶ πλήξας κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μαζοῦ τὸν Ἡσαῦ κατέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ θανόντος ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ ἀνείλυνον τοὺς πλείστους. ταῦτα ἐν λεπτῇ Γενέσει φέρεται (see our text, xxxviii. 1 sqq.). For passages where Syncellus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

CEDRENUS (ed. Bekker), i. 6: ἀπὸ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. i. 9: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἰναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 16 (see quotation in note on iv. 31-32). i. 48: ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλῶσσαν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγγελος τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. i. 53: ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται, ὅτι Μαστιφὰτ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων (and so on as in Syncellus, i. 192, above). i. 85 (see quotation in note on xlvii. 3). i. 87: νόμους δὲ πρῶτον Μωϋσῆς γράφει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις . . . διδασκόμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου . . . καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄστρον θέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται. For some of the passages where Cedrenus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ZONARAS (1081-1118, ed. Pinder), i. 18: οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αἱ οὐρανῖαι δυνάμεις πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέστησαν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ. Cf. our text, ii. 2.

GLYCAS (*circa* 1150, ed. Bekker), p. 198: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς πόδας κεκτημένου τὸ πρότερον καθὰ Ἰωσηππὸς τέ φησι καὶ ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις νῦν ἀποφαίνεται τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ περίπατον. See also p. 206. P. 392 (see quotation in note on iii. 8-14). On p. 206 Glycas wrongly attributes to Josephus what is found in Jub. xxxii. 2-3. For some of the passages where Glycas has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce the text or matter of Jubilees anonymously:*

HIPPOLYTUS.—The Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς which is assigned to this writer is based on Jub. viii.-ix. See Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 239, 587-597, 613 sqq. (quoted by Schürer).

PS.-CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Recognitiones* (*circa* 200 A.D.).—This work contains many echoes of Jubilees, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* 322-325.

ORIGEN (185-254) in *Genesis* in Eusebius' *Præp. Evang.* vi. 292 (Migne, xxi. 500). The passage which is quoted from Origen in the note on xxxii. 21 seems to refer to that passage. Another quotation will be found in the note on xlv. 14. The Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ, from which this quotation is taken, is cited in the third place in the Synopsis of the Ps.-Athanasius and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and in the fifth place of the catalogue in the Cod. Coislinianus used by Montfaucon, and in each catalogue immediately after the Πατριάρχαι (cf. Rönsch, p. 332). According to Nicephorus it consisted of 1100 stichoi—the same number as the Testament of Moses, which was identified by some writers with Jubilees. Both Origen (tom. v. in *Johannen*, p. 77) and Glycas (see *Fabric. Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 765, 768) state that it was current among the Hebrews.

Another fragment of Origen preserved in the *Catena* of Nicephorus, i. 463, is quoted in the note on xl. 10.

DIODORUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 392 ?).—See quotation in note on x. 35.

ISIDORE PELUSIOTA of Alexandria, who lived in the fifth cent., gives the following exposition on Deut. xxxiii. 9 (Nicephorus, *Cat.* i. 1660): ἐπειδὴ ἐπελύτησε τῇ πατρῷᾳ εὐνῇ ὁ Ῥουβείμ, διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε βασιλείας οὔτε ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη, καίτοι πρωτότοκος ὢν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Λευὶ τρίτος ὢν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὸν πατέρα δεκάτην ἀφιερῶ-
σειν· κάτωθεν γὰρ ἀριθμούμενος δέκατος ἦν, ἄνωθεν δὲ εἰ ἡριθμήθη, εἰς τῶν παιδισκῶν ἡύρίσκετο· ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὁσιότητα, καὶ τὸ συγγενικῶν αἱμάτων διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐμπλήσαι, ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη. . . . ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας τέταρτος ὢν, διὰ τὴν ἀδέκαστον κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ψῆφον, βασιλείας ἤξιώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα κρύπτοντες πλημμελήματα ἑτέρους καταδικάζουσιν, οὗτος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψηφίσατο, . . . διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως τῆς βασιλείας ἤξιούτο. ἱερῶντο γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Λευῖ, ἐβασίλευον δὲ οἱ ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐ κατὰ κατακλήρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς γέρας εἰληφότες. This exposition regarding Levi is based on Jub. xxxii. 2-3, and regarding Judah on xxxi. 18-20, xli. 23-28.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*ob.* 636), *Origines*, xvi. 26. 10: In principio Deus xxii opera fecit. Nam prima die vii opera fecit, id est: materiam informem, angelos, lucem, coelos superiores, terram, aquam atque aërem. Secunda die firmamentum solum. Tertia die quattuor: maria, semina, sationes atque plantaria. Quarta die tria: solem et lunam et stellas. Quinta die tria: pisces et reptilia aquarum et volatilia. Sexta die quattuor: bestias, pecudes, reptilia terrae et hominem. Et facta sunt omnia xxii genera in diebus sex. Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester, et xxii literarum sunt elementa.

The above is clearly based on our text, although in its

enumeration of the works of the first day it deviates considerably (see Jub. ii. 2 sqq.). Observe that it confirms our view of a lacuna after ii. 22.

EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of Alexandria 933-939, *Annales* translated from Arabic into Latin by Pococke, 1658 (also in Migne, tom. 111, 909-1155).

P. 15. Eva . . . peperit puerum et puellam: puerum appellavit Kain, puellam Azrun. Tum rursus . . . puerum et puellam enixa, puero nomen imposuit Abel, puellae Owain . . . Cumque proveciores facti essent pueri, dixit Adam Evae: Ducat Kain Owain . . . Abel autem Azrun. Cf. Jub. iv. 1, 8, 9, 11.

P. 16. Kain invidit fratri suo . . . ac, lapide caput ejus feriens, ipsum interfecit. Cf. Jub. iv. 31.

P. 56. Natus et Sharna, cujus temporibus coluerunt homines idola, unoquoque quod sibi alliberet colente. Sharna is corrupt for Serug. Cf. Jub. xi. 4.

P. 64-65. Accepit ergo Abraham uxorem suam Saram, quae et ipsi ex patre soror erat. Cf. Jub. xii. 9. For other parallels see notes on pp. 35, 83.

STIDAS, a Greek grammarian of the tenth or eleventh cent. (Fabricius, i. 336). καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γὰρ ἐπαιδεύετο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Jub. xii. 16. See also note on xii. 2.

JOEL, *Chronographia* (ed. Bekker, 1836), extending to the year 1206 A.D. This writer, whom I have referred to occasionally in my notes, is generally dependent on Syncellus, Cedrenus or Glycas for any matter which he has in common with our text. It is possible, as Rönsch (p. 367) urges, that the phrase καὶ ἐξολοθρεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντος (Joel, p. 10 (cf. Jub. xxxvii. 23)) testifies to an independent knowledge of Jubilees, as it is not found in those earlier chronographers.

LXX MS (thirteenth cent.), cited as no. 135 in Holmes

and Parsons' edition, and as *r* in Lagarde's *Genesis Graece*, 1868. The scholia in this MS attest many of the personal names which are found in Jubilees. I have cited all of these in their appropriate places in my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, and many of them in the notes to my translation. See Index II.

LXX MS $\approx$ in Lagarde's edition contains two readings which come from our text. See notes on v. 31 and vi. 1.

GREGORIUS BARHEBRAEUS (1226-1286).—See note on xi. 11-13.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF JUBILEES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The points of connection between the gospels and our author are very slight, except in the beliefs respecting angels and demons—a subject to which we shall return later. We shall now place the passages side by side where the New Testament is dependent on our text, or presupposes it, or presents a close parallel.

Mark iii. 22 (Matt. xii. 24).—ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων.

Jub. x. 8.—“Chief of the spirits”; xlviii. 9, 12, “Prince of the Mastêmâ.”

Luke xi. 49.—“Therefore also said the wisdom of God: I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute.

i. 12.—“And *I shall send witnesses unto them*, that I may witness against them, but they *will . . . slay the witnesses also and persecute* those who seek the law.”

John xiv. 26.—“The Holy Spirit . . . will bring to your remembrance all things, etc.”

xxxii. 25.—“I will bring all things to thy remembrance.” Here God is to cause Jacob to remember all that he had seen in a vision.

Acts vii. 15-16.—“And he (Jacob) died, himself and our fathers, and they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought, etc.”

xlvi. 9.—“And the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave” (*i.e.* Machpelah). This is the oldest source of the tradition in Acts.

Acts vii. 23.—Moses when “well nigh forty years old” smote the Egyptian.

Acts vii. 30.—Moses spent forty years in Midian.

Acts vii. 53.—“Who received the law as it was ordained by angels and kept it not.” Cf. Gal. iii. 19.

Acts ix. 2.—“If he found any that were of *the way*.”

Rom. iv. 15.—“Where there is no law, neither is there transgression.”

2 Cor. v. 17.—“A new creation” (Gal. vi. 15).

2 Cor. vi. 18.—“I will be to you a Father and ye shall be to me sons and daughters.”

Gal. ii. 15.—“Sinners of the Gentiles.”

Gal. iii. 17.—“A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law which came 430 years later, etc.” Does the confirmation here spoken of mean the birth of Isaac? In that case 430 years exactly elapse between this confirmation of the covenant and the law according to Jubilees.

Gal. v. 12.—“I would that they which unsettle you (*i.e.* Judaisers) would cut off the member” (*ἀποκόψονταί*).

xlvi. 10-12.—Moses forty-two years old.¹

xlviii. 1.—Moses spent thirty-eight years.¹

i. 27.—“And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses, etc.” i. 14: “They will forget . . . thy law.” Our text is the earliest authority for the statement that the law was given through angels.

xxiii. 20.—“Turn them back into *the way*.”

xxxiii. 15-16.—Anticipates this Pauline doctrine.

v. 12.—“A new and righteous nature.”

i. 24.—“I shall be their Father and they will be My children.”²

xxiii. 23.—“Sinners of the Gentiles” (cf. xxiii. 24).

xv. 4 sqq. contains the covenant made in 1979 A.M. with Abraham on his circumcision. The law was given in 2410. Hence 2410 - 1979 = 431. Isaac was born in 1980, or exactly 430 years before the legislation on Sinai according to Jubilees.

Contrast xv. 27, according to which the angels were created circumcised.

¹ Jubilees gives here the oldest dates on this subject. The Midrash Tanchuma on Exod. ii. 6, which was many centuries later, gives a tradition practically the same as that in Acts. “Moses was in the palace of Pharaoh twenty years, but some say forty years, and forty years in Midian and forty years in the wilderness.” Observe that our author makes Moses stay twenty-one years with his own people and twenty-one years at Pharaoh’s court.

² The righteous *individual* is called “a son of God” first in Jubilees, so far as I am aware. See note on i. 24.

2 Thess. ii. 3.—“Son of perdition.”

1 Tim. i. 4.—“Fables and endless genealogies.” iv. 7: “old wives’ fables.” Titus iii. 9: “Genealogies and strifes and fightings about the law.”

James i. 13.—“Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God tempteth no man.”

James ii. 23.—“Abraham believed God and it was counted to him for righteousness and he was called the friend of God.”

2 Peter ii. 5.—“Noah, a preacher of righteousness.”

2 Peter iii. 13.—“New heavens and a new earth.”

2 Peter iii. 8.—“One day is with the Lord as a thousand years.”

Rev. i. 6.—“A kingdom, priests.” v. 10: “A kingdom and priests.”

Rev. iv. 5 (xi. 19, xvi. 18; cf. viii. 5).—“Lightnings and voices and thunderings.”

x. 3.—“Sons of perdition.”

The Pauline phrases form a just description of a large portion of Jubilees. The “old wives’ fables” may be an allusion to the large rôle played by women in it.

The author of Jubilees enforces the same view by representing Mastêmâ as suggesting the temptation of Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (xvii. 16), as hardening the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 12, 17), etc.

xiv. 6.—“And he believed on the Lord and it was counted to him for righteousness” (Gen. xv. 6). xix. 9: “He was found faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God.”

vii. 20-39 contains Noah’s sermon.

i. 29.—“The heavens and the earth shall be renewed, etc.”

iv. 30 contains the oldest dogmatic statement of this fact.

xvi. 18.—“A kingdom and priests.” Our text alone gives this form of Exod. xix. 6 antecedently to Revelation.

ii. 2.—“Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightnings.”

Angelology.—We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are

generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time, in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see § 16.

Demonology.—The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(b) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince of the Mastêmâ¹ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgment of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-45; Luke xi. 24-26). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgment (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

¹ See note on x. 8.

§ 24. VIEWS OF THE AUTHOR ON THE MESSIAH, THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM, THE PRIESTHOOD OF MELCHIZEDEK, THE LAW, CIRCUMCISION AND THE SABBATH, THE FUTURE LIFE, THE JEWISH CALENDAR

The Messiah.—Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see xxxi. 18 note). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic Kingdom.—In the notes on i. 29, xxiii. 30 I have dealt at some length with the character of this kingdom. We have there seen that it was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgment was apparently to take place at its close (see note on xxiii. 30). On the probable derivation of this view from Mazdeism see note on i. 29.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for

introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx., or the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C., and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realise the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (see note on xxxi. 15), while, according to the Test. Reuben 6, he was to "die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen." In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.¹

Priesthood of Melchizedek.—That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note xiii. 25, and that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv., we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood, of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii. as applied to our Lord.

The Law.—On our author's conception of the law as the ideal and eternal realised under time relations see pp. li sqq.

¹ The belief that the Messianic era had set in appears to have arisen again under Alexander, 78-69 B.C. "Under Simon ben Shetach (and Queen Salome) rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, etc." (Taanith 23a, quoted by Schürer, *Gesch. jud. Volkes*,³ i. 290).

Circumcision and the Sabbath.—On our author's exalted conceptions of these two bulwarks of Judaism, see p. 1.

The Future Life.—In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

The Jewish Calendar.—For our author's peculiar views see § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

a, b, c, d denote the Ethiopic MSS on which our text is based.

Mass. = Massoretic text.

Sam. = Samaritan version, and Hebrew text in Samaritan characters when both agree.

Syr. = the Syriac version of the Old Testament.

Vulg. = Vulgate.

Onk. = Targum of Onkelos.

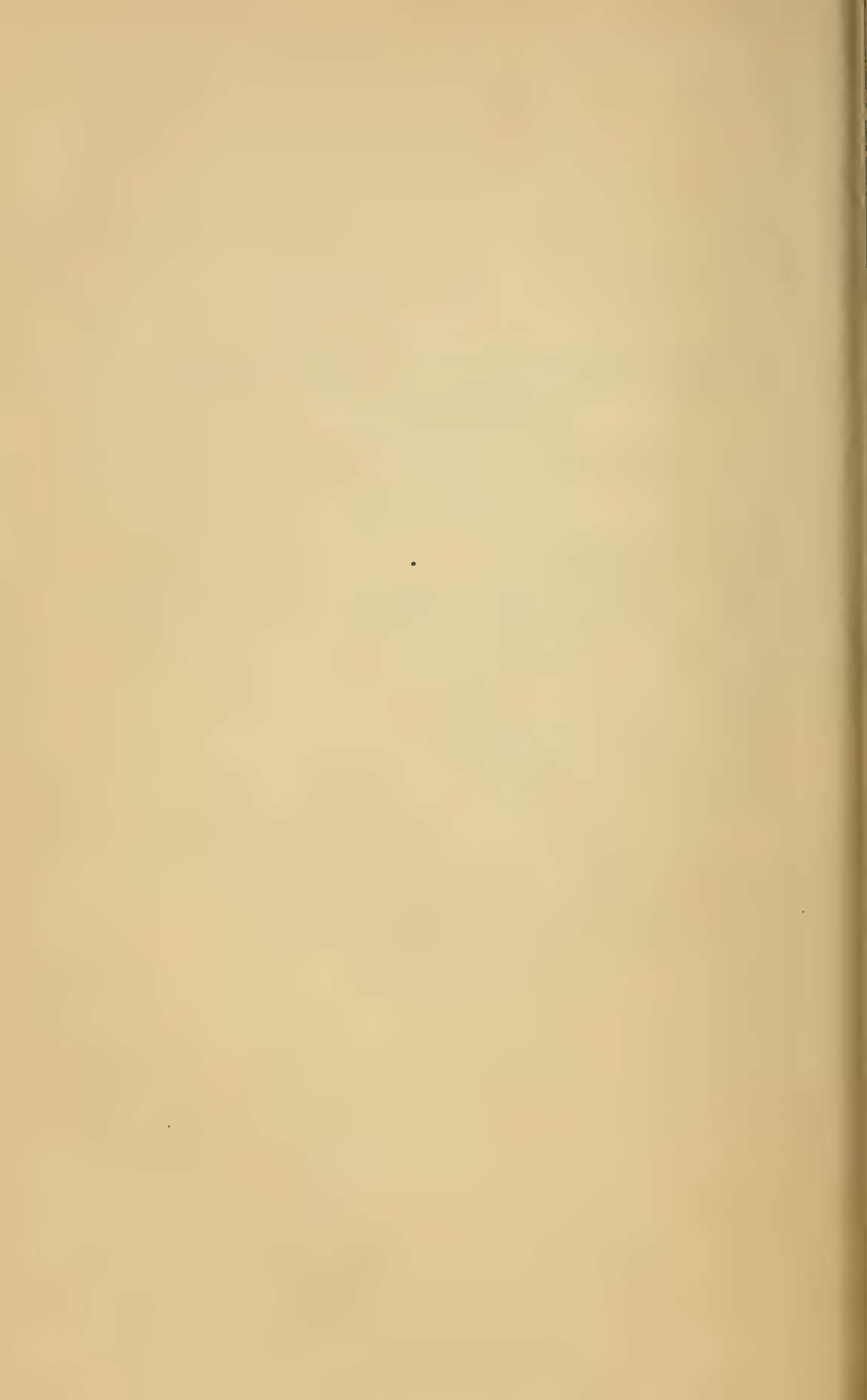
Ps.-Jon. = Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.

Jub. = Book of Jubilees.

() Words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor from some source mentioned in the notes.

[] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt.



THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. Apostasy of Israel, 5-9. Captivity of Israel and Judah, 10-13. Return of Judah and rebuilding of temple, 15-18. Moses' prayer for Israel, 19-21. God's promise to redeem and dwell with them, 22-25, 28. Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?), 26. And an angel to write down the law, 27. This angel takes the heavenly chronological tables to dictate therefrom to Moses, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai

PROLOGUE. This short introduction gives an admirable account of the contents of this book. It is at once a history and a chronological system dominated by the sacred number seven. The history extends from the Creation to the legislation on Sinai, and thus embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. But the writer does not merely reproduce the portions of these books which serve his purpose; he rewrites from the standpoint of the strictest Judaism. See Introduction, §§ 15, 21.

According to their sevenfold division (a c) or "according to their year-weeks" (b d).

Throughout all the years of the world. These words are difficult; for they imply that it was the author's intention to write a history from the Creation till the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom or Theocracy. See i. 26 note.

The Lord ḤḤḤḤḤḤ: (a). *d* reads ḤḤḤḤ: "God." *b c* omit. ḤḤḤḤḤḤ (which generally = κύριος, but often θεός) is generally rendered "Lord" in my translation, but occasionally as "God" when external evidence so requires.

when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of GOD as he said unto him, "Go up to the top of the Mount."

2450 ANNO
MUNDI.

I. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that GOD spake to Moses, saying: "Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them." 2. And Moses went up into the mount of GOD, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. 4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and GOD taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the

Tables. *cd* read "tables of stone."

Of the law, etc. See note on i. 1.

Go up, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

I. 1. *In the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.* It will be observed that our author supplies a date to the defective text of Exod. xix. 1 "In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth . . . the same day came they." Ps.-Jon. inserts "on the first day of the month" (בְּהַר יְרֵחָא). It will be observed that on the same date on which Moses went up to receive the Law, the sixteenth of the third month, GOD appears to Jacob on his way down into Egypt (xliv. 5).

On the other hand, we must carefully distinguish this date and the events connected with it from the fifteenth of the third month and the events connected with it. On the fifteenth Abraham celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest (xv. 1, xlv. 4); Isaac was born (xvi. 13) (so also in Seder Olam); Abraham died (xxii. 1); Judah was born (xxviii. 15); and Jacob and

Laban bound themselves by mutual vows (xxix. 7).

We shall see later (vi. 17-18 notes) that the feast of weeks was first observed on earth in connection with the covenant of Noah, and was according to our author designed to celebrate the institution of that covenant. It is important to recognise this fact, since later Judaism held that the feast of weeks celebrated the legislation on Sinai (see notes on vi. 17).

Come up to Me, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

Two tables. The "two" is not in Exod. xxiv. 12, but is drawn from xxxi. 18.

Of the law and of the commandment. Exod. xxiv. 12, on which the text is based, has "And the law and the commandment." But compare Exod. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29; Deut. ix. 11.

2-4^a. Based on Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. *Flaming.* A change of one vowel would give "devouring" as in Exod. xxiv. 17. Cf. xxxvi. 10.

4. *God taught him the earlier and the later history.* Cf. i. 26. Cf.

law and of the testimony. 5. And He said: "Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. 6. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them. 7. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I swear to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: "Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. 8. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. 9. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness,

Megilla 19b "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law . . . and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times." Also Schem. rabba 40 (Wünsche, p. 282): "God brought the book of Adam and showed him (Moses) therein all the generations which should arise from the beginning of Creation till the day of the resurrection." Beer compares Menachoth 29b and Wajikra rabba 26.

5. *Write them, etc.* Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27. See note on i. 27.

How I have not forsaken them for all the evil. Cf. Ezra ix. 9 "Yet in our bondage God hath not forsaken us."

Transgressing = *šəhētō* emended from *'ashētō* of *b c d*. Cf. vi. 37, 38.

6. *And thus it will come to pass . . . upon them.* Deut. xxx. 1.

7. *Write for thyself all these words.* See note on i. 27.

I know their rebellion and their stiff neck. Deut. xxxi. 27.

The land of which I swear to their fathers, etc. Deut. xxx. 20, Exod. xxxiii. 1.

Unto your seed . . . a land flowing with milk and honey. Exod. xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxxi. 20.

8. *And they will eat . . . to strange gods.* Deut. xxxi. 20.

This witness shall be heard (c d: "witness" a b) for a witness against them. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 20; 2 Kings xvii. 15 "The testimonies which he testified against them." Cf. Deut. xxxi. 19, 26.

9. *Forget all My commandments, etc.* Ezra ix. 10, 11.

Walk after the Gentiles. 2 Kings xvii. 2.

and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. 10. And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set My name upon it, and that it should dwell (there). 11. And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. 12. And I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes. 13. And I shall hide My face from them, and I shall deliver them

Serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence . . . and a snare. Exod. xxiii. 33; Deut. vii. 16; Jos. xxiii. 13.

10-13. These verses depict the two great catastrophies which befell Israel (10) and Judah (11-13).

10. Partial destruction and captivity of Israel. The northern tribes had forsaken the Law and the Festivals observed by Judah: also the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. for diction Deut. xxviii. 63, 41; Lev. xxvi. 14, 15, etc.

And My tabernacle, . . . in the midst of the land. If these words belong to the text, the author must have believed in the existence of the Tabernacle in Jerusalem during the divided monarchies.

11-13. Idolatries and wickedness of Judah. Their captivity.

11. *Make to themselves high places and groves.* Cf. Ezek. xi. 28; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

Sacrifice their children to demons. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xx. 31. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Eth. Enoch xcix. 7. See notes on xxii. 17.

12. *I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 "He sent prophets to them . . . and they testified against them; but they would not give ear." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16; Jer. xxv. 4. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

Will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26 "Slew thy prophets which testified against them."

Change: read jewêlētū (a) in Ethiopic text and jewêtēnū (b c d) in the notes.

To work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. *Hide My face.* Cf. xxi. 22; Is. i. 15.

Deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles, etc. 2 Kings xxi. 14.

into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them amongst the Gentiles.

14. And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. 15. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek Me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek Me with all their heart and with all their soul. 16. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I shall †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they will be for a blessing and not for a curse, and they will be the head and not the tail. 17. And I shall build My sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God and

For a prey=lahabl emended from lahebl.

14. Judah will forget the service of God in captivity. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15-17. Repentance of Judah, their return from the captivity and the erection of the temple.

15. *They will turn to Me . . . with all their soul.* Cf. Deut. iv. 30, 29.

I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles. Jer. xxix. 14.

They will seek me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart. Jer. xxix. 13-14^a.

When they seek (b c d). *a* reads "and when they seek."

16. *And I shall disclose (b d).* *a c* read "I will disclose."

†Remove them the plant of uprightness.† I have obelized these words as corrupt. Littmann's rendering, "sie umändern zu einer Pflanze der Gerechtigkeit," is hardly possible linguistically. Moreover, it is against the use of this phrase. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Israel was "the plant of upright-

ness" from the outset. The original of the words and of those that follow appears to be Jer. xxxii. 41 "I will plant them in this land assuredly with all my heart and with all my soul." These words are used in the very same connection as those in the text. It is not improbable, therefore, that the words "in this land" have been lost after the verb. Next "And I will remove them"=*καὶ μεταθήσω αὐτοὺς*=*והסעתים*. This last may be corrupt for *ונטעתם*. Thus we should have "And I will plant them the plant of uprightness in the land." This reverses the judgment in verse 13 "I will remove them from the midst of the land."

They will be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

They will be the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13.

17. The second Temple. *I shall build . . . and I shall dwell with them.* Exod. xxv. 8. *I will dwell with them and I will be their (c d, a b om. "their") God.* Exod. xxix. 45.

And I shall be their God and they

they will be My people in truth and righteousness. 18. And I shall not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God." 19. And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee. 20. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. 21. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which Thou hast delivered with Thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity." 22. And the Lord said unto Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. 23. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they

will be My people. Lev. xxvi. 12; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22; Ezek. xiv. 11.

18. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. *Do not forsake . . . Thy inheritance, . . . and do not deliver them into the hands . . . lest they should rule over them.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

Their enemies, the Gentiles (a c). b d omit "their enemies."

20. *Create . . . spirit.* Ps. li. 10. See next ver.

Beliar. See note on xv. 33.

21. *They are Thy people . . . from the hands of the Egyptians.* Deut. ix. 26, 29.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 23. See note on xxv. 14.

22. *I know their contrariness . . . and their stiffneckedness.* Deut. xxxi. 27.

Confess their own sin and the sin, etc. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. *Turn to Me . . . with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul.* 2 Chron. vi. 38.

Circumcise the foreskin of their heart. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 21.

I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. These words imply that

shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. 24. And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children. 25. And they will all be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit will know, yea, they will know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them. 26. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them

Israel shall never again be driven from their own land.

24. *I shall be their Father and they will be My children* (or "sons"). These words are used in 2 Sam. vii. 14 in reference to Solomon; elsewhere in the OT only in reference to the nation or sections of it. God is the Father of Israel, Deut. xxxii. 6; Is. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9; or of the righteous in Israel, even of the righteous individual, Wisdom ii. 16. See also i. 25, 28, xix. 29 of our text. Israel is God's son: Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Is. xliii. 6; Wisdom xviii. 13; Jud. ix. 4; or the righteous in Israel are God's children, even the individuals, Wisdom ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21. For Talmudic references see *Sayings of the Fathers* (ed. Taylor) iii. 22; B. Bathra 10 a, Kiddushin 36 a, Berachoth 3 a. In 2 Cor. vi. 18 St. Paul takes directly these words of 2 Sam. vii. 14 and applies them to all the Christians. In the text they embrace all Israelites. Israelites are God's children according to our author by virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. i. 28.

25. *Children* (or "sons") of the living God. Hos. i. 10.

26. *And do thou write down for thyself* (b c). *ad* read "And I will write down for thee." These words appear to refer to the present work (as Singer p. 15 has recognised), *i.e.*, Jubilees (cf. i. 7). Moses is to write it down at the

dictation of the angel (vi. 1). It constitutes, so to say, the book of the second law. The Pentateuch, on the other hand, is "the book of the first law" (vi. 22), which was written by the angel himself (i. 27). The latter is referred to again in xxx. 12, 21, l. 6. In 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses is bidden to reveal the one, *i.e.*, the Pentateuch, and conceal the other, the apocalyptic tradition. *Haec in palam facies verba et haec abscondes*. In Exod. xxxiv. 27 Moses is bidden to write down certain commands, but the decalogue is engraved on the tables of stone by God Himself: Exod. xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 2, 4.

All these words, the first and the last, which shall come to pass . . . until eternity. Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 4, 5: *Et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud Me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei mirabilia multa, et ostendi ei temporum secreta et temporum finem*.

Until I descend and dwell . . . throughout eternity. Here as in the Prologue the implication is that the author intended to write a history of the world from the Creation to the setting up of the Theocracy. (Cf. Prologue; also i. 27, 29.) In a certain sense he has done so; for references occur to events as late as the early Maccabean times when the author lived. He was of opinion that the Messianic Kingdom would be introduced through the labours of the Maccabees. For God's dwelling

throughout eternity." 27. And He said to the angel of the presence: "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. 28. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all

with man see Eth. Enoch xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. This was the perfected theocracy which was looked for by those who did not expect a personal Messiah, such as the authors of Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi., xci.-civ.; Ass. Moses x. Our author, however, looked for a Messiah sprung from Judah. See note on xxxi. 18.

27. *And He said to the angel of the presence.* See note on i. 29. Our text forms apparently the earliest testimony to the idea that the law was given through the ministry of angels. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 we have the first mention of angels in connection with the giving of the law, but according to that passage they merely accompany Yahwe. But the way was prepared for the conception in Jubilees by the development which angelology underwent in exilic and post-exilic times. Thus from the exile onwards God communicated no longer directly with His servants. In the case of Ezekiel, who was in the period of transition, the revelation is sometimes made directly to him (xliv. 2), sometimes indirectly through an angel (xl. 3). By the time of Zechariah the development is complete. This prophet receives all his communications through angels. Naturally when we come down to the century in which our book was written, this usage is universal. Daniel receives even the interpretation of his visions through angels (vii. 16 sqq.; viii. 15 sqq. etc.), and in a later work of the same century, Test. XII. Patriarch., Dan. 6, the angel that intercedes for Israel is called "the mediator between God and man" (*μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων*). See also Levi 5. I am not aware of any other references to this conception till the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Philo, *De Somnis*, i. 22 (p. 642 M.), commenting on Exod. xix. 19, writes that we cannot receive God's benefits save through the agency of His ministers. (οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας . . .

εὐεργεσίας χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπερέταις ἄλλοις.) In the first cent. A.D. we have frequent references to this view. Thus in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5. 3: *ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων.* From Judaism this verse passed over into the NT. Cf. Gal. iii. 19 *νόμος . . . διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων.* See also Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2. The Samaritans also believed in the ministry of angels in connection with the law. Cf. Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* p. 15 and de Sacy, *Not. et extraits de la Bibl.* xii. 16. Later Judaism rejected this view probably on polemical grounds, and always represented Moses as receiving the law directly from God. In Sabbath 88 b and Shen. rabba 28 Moses is represented as ascending into heaven to receive the law.

Write for Moses, etc. If the interpretation of this verse adopted on i. 26 (note) is right, the angel is to write out the Pentateuch for Moses. There is, however, this difficulty attaching to this interpretation, that the history embraced in the Pentateuch is to extend from the Creation to the time when God's "sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity." It is possible that this means nothing more than such broad and apparently prophetic descriptions of the apostasies of Israel and Judah under their kings, of the Exile and the Return from captivity, and of the restored theocracy as are found in Deut. xxviii.-xxx. It must be confessed that this explanation does not appear adequate.

28. This verse spoils the sequence of thought. We should probably read it after ver. 25.

Appear to the eyes of all. Cf. Rev. i. 7.

God of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 10, etc.

Father of all the children of Jacob.

Cf. Jer. xxxi. 1. See note on i. 24.

the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." 29. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Is. xxiv. 23. On Mount Zion see i. 29.

29. *Angel of the presence.* The phrase is derived from Is. lxiii. 9 and found also in Test. XII. Patriarch., Jud. 25. This angel is probably Michael who was the guardian angel of Israel: cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Eth. Enoch xx. 5; Slav. Enoch xxii. 6; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 168. Four of these angels are mentioned in Eth. Enoch xl. (where see note on ver. 2 in my edition).

Who went before the camp of Israel. Exod. xiv. 19.

Took the tables of the divisions of the years. From these the angel dictates to Moses.

Divisions of the years—from the time of the creation (c)—of the law (a), etc. This seems to be the best way of taking the text. My text which follows *b* = "divisions of the years from the creation of the law."

According to the individual years. Bracketed as an interpolation. *b* omits.

From the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed. The text is clearly corrupt. It should furnish us with the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*. The history of the "tables of the divisions" obviously embraces everything from the creation to the Messianic Kingdom. Hence "new" (*haddas*) is to be regarded as an Ethiopic interpolation. In *ab* it follows the word "creation" but in the inferior MSS (*cd*) it precedes them. Next in place of "†when†" (*ama*) we should expect "till." We can recover "till" by taking *ws* (= "when") in the Greek to be a corruption of *ēs*

= "till." In any case we should read "From the day of the creation, till the heavens."

The heavens and the earth shall be renewed. We should observe carefully the nature of the "renewal" as it appears in Jubilees. This renewal of the creation is not to be instantaneous and catastrophic, but gradual, and its progress to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel. This will be seen most clearly in iv. 26 and xxiii. 26-28 (see notes *in loc.*). Similar expressions are found in Is. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22. In my *Eschatology* (pp. 122-123) I took these passages in Isaiah to denote a sudden and actual re-creation of the world, and as I conceived they were at variance with their contexts, I marked them as later interpolations. I now see that they should be taken to express a gradual transformation of the world, moral and physical, and, that thus the argument against their originality falls to the ground. This view was probably adopted from Mazdeism, which according to Söderblom (*La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 254, Paris, 1901) teaches that le monde deviendra peu à peu meilleur et se spiritualisera pendant les derniers temps. This fifth-century view of the writer in Isaiah lxxv. lxxvi. is reproduced by our author. Heaven and earth and the physical nature of man will be transformed *pari passu* with man's spiritual transformation (xxiii. 26-28, l. 5). According to Jubilees xxiii. 27 the righteous should attain to a thousand years, and according to Is. lxxv. 20 the sinner should be prematurely cut off when a hundred years old. So far as I am aware, Is.

all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1-16. Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated, 17-32. (Cf. Gen. i.-ii. 3.)

II. And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the com-

lxv.-lxvi., Jubilees and Test. Levi 18 are the only Jewish writings which attest this view. But from 100 B.C. Jewish, and subsequently Christian, writers took these expressions in a literal and catastrophic sense. Thus it is an actual re-creation of heaven and earth that is foretold in Eth. Enoch xci. 16, lxxii. 1, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

But again to return to our author we find the following novelty. He teaches that God is to renew His creation at three distinct periods. The first was on the occasion of the Deluge when He destroyed all that was corrupt (v. 11) and "*made for all His works a new and righteous nature*" (v. 12). The next renewal was to synchronise with the foundation of the Jewish community in Jacob, which should "serve to lay the foundations of the heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament" (xix. 25). The idea that a renewal of the world began with Jacob follows also from ii. 22 sqq. According to this passage the twenty-two generations that precede Jacob correspond to the twenty-two works of God at the Creation. A new

era of renewal begins with Jacob. Finally when God's sanctuary and the Messianic Kingdom are established amongst men, the final renewal will set in, "when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed" and "all the luminaries shall be renewed" i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. According to the present text of v. 11, 12, the renewal of creation after the Deluge is taught; but the text is corrupt. In its original form it could only refer to the renewal of the world on the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom. There are thus three great eras in this book: the creation of the world, its renewal on the creation of the true man, Jacob, and its final renewal on the establishment of the sanctuary. On the symbolic values of man and the temple see Eppstein, "*Le Livre des Jubilés*," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 92-97.

Sanctuary of the Lord be made in Jerusalem, i.e., the Sanctuary in the Messianic Kingdom. Cf. i. 27, iv. 26.

Renewed for healing. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2 "for the healing of the nations."

II. 1. *Angel of the presence. See i. 29 (note).*

Write the complete history of the

plete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign for all His works. 2. For on

creation. We find the following Scholion in a MS Coislin. (Fabric. ii. 120) on Exod. xxiv. 15, which refers to Jubilees: *ἐνταῦθα ἡξιώθη ὁ μέγας Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν δι' ὀπτασιῶν, πῶς ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάξιν μιᾶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ συγγράψαι παρεκελεύσθη.*

2-3. These verses record the creations of the first day. They were seven in all: heaven, earth, the waters, spirits, the abysses, darkness, light. We have happily the Greek version preserved in Epiphanius, *περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν*, xxii. (see my critical edition of the Ethiopic text pp. 5, 7): *τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους (καὶ) τὴν γῆν (καὶ) τὰ ὕδατα . . . τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἅτινά ἐστι τάδε ἄγγελοι πρὸ προσώπου, καὶ ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης, καὶ ἄγγελοι πνευμάτων πνεύοντων, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι νεφελῶν καὶ γυόφων (καὶ) χιόνος καὶ χαλάξης καὶ πάγου, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι φωνῶν (καὶ) βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι ψυχῶν καὶ καύματος καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ φθινοπώρου καὶ ἔαρος καὶ θέρους, καὶ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, (καὶ) τὰς ἀβύσσους τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους, (καὶ) τὸ σκότος, ἐσπέραν καὶ νύκτα, (καὶ) τὸ φῶς, ἡμέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον.* An imperfect enumeration of the seven works is given by Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 4), in which *τὰς ἀβύσσους* is omitted and *νυχθήμερον* is substituted. Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, p. 7) reproduces Syncellus' summary, but with an additional corruption. He omits *τὰ ὕδατα* and reckons *νυχθήμερον* as two works. The Hebrew work, *Midrash Tadshe* vi. lines 11-16 (ed. by Eppstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, 1887) is clearly based on our text. It runs: "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe in seven days: the first day seven; heaven, earth, waters, darkness, the wind (רוח), the abysses (מחלוקות), light. The second

day: one only, the firmament. The third day, four. He reunited the waters in one place, brought up the sweet waters from the earth, likewise herbs and trees. The fourth day, three: the sun, moon and stars. The fifth day, three: the moving creatures, birds and sea monsters. The sixth day, four: beasts, and cattle, and creeping things, and man. This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob (כנגד כב אותיות שבאב וכנגד כב נגד כב אותיות שבאב וכן ער שבא יעקב הורוה מאדם עד שבא יעקב).

In the enumeration of the works of the first day, we observe a divergency between Jubilees (Epiphanius and Syncellus) and the *Midrash Tadshe*. Where Jubilees gives "angels," the *Midrash* gives "the wind." The ground for this divergency is manifest. If we examine Gen. i. 1-4 we find that the list of seven works is drawn from these verses, and that the idea of the creation of the angels is simply a development of the word "spirit" (רוח), ver. 2. But the *Midrash Tadshe* shuns such an inference from Gen. i. 2; for Talmudic Judaism held that the angels were created on the second or the fifth day. In *Ber. rabba* 1 according to R. Jochanan it was on the second day (Ps. cxv. 4, 5—see also Jerusalem Targum on Gen. i. 26; Chron. of Jerahmeel i. 8), but according to R. Chanina on the fifth (see Gen. i. 20; Is. vi. 6), and R. Luliani bar Tabrai says that they were not created on the first day lest it should be said that they had assisted God in the creation. Philo, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 2, represents the creation of the angels as accomplished on the seventh day.

Philo (*de Mundi opificio*, i. 7) mentions seven objects of creation: οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος, τὸ ἄβυσσον, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, φῶς. Here the πνεῦμα retains for the most part its original force; for in the next chapter Philo says with regard to it: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα. On the other hand he idealises all seven objects of creation

the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of

of the first day. It is not the actual but the ideal world that is created on the first day. Thus he speaks of the heaven as *ἀσώματος*, the earth as *ἀόρατος*, the darkness and the abyss as the *ἀέρος ἰδέα καὶ κενού*, wind and water as having an *ἀσώματος οὐσία*, and the light as being *νοητός*. Notwithstanding, it is obvious that Philo was acquainted with a cosmology such as is given in our text. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, i. 3, enumerate eight works. It duplicates "the spirit" by taking it first as "the spirit of God" and next as "air." Its dependence on the Jubilee tradition is possible.

According to later Judaism, Ber. rabba 3 sqq. four things were created on the first day, mountains (here *הרים* is corrupt for *ההום*, "abyss"), heaven, earth, light. On the second—the firmament, hell and the angels. On the third—trees, green things, and Paradise. On the fourth—sun, moon and stars. On the fifth—birds, fishes and the Leviathan. On the sixth—Adam, Eve and worms. In all nineteen works. But according to R. Pinchas, six things were created on the sixth: Adam, Eve, worms, tame beasts, wild beasts, demons.

2. *On the first day he created . . . the angels.* In addition to the remarks made under this head on ii. 2-3 above we should further observe that grounds are furnished for such a conception by Job xxxviii. 7 (cf. i. 6) "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Here the sons of God are regarded as admiring spectators of the creation. It is probable that earlier Judaism so understood this verse. At all events, this interpretation appears in patristic literature; cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxv. chap. 4: *Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἅμα οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ ἄγγελοι ἐκτίσθησαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰῶβ ὅτι, "Ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσάν με πάντες ἄγγελοί μου φωνῇ.* See also the quotation from Rufinus in the next note. Nearly two centuries earlier this idea is attested in

Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4: *Ὅδοι εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὖξιν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης.*

All the spirits which serve before him. This phrase is found in the Jerusalem Targum I. on Gen. i. 26, but there the creation of the angels is assigned to the second day. See further details in preceding note. With our text compare Rufinus, *Expositio in Symbol.* p. 21 (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 57), *Ut breviter aliqua etiam de secretionibus perstringamus, ab initio Deus cum fecisset mundum, praecepit ei et praeposuit quasdam virtutum caelestium potestates, quibus regeatur et dispensetur mortalium genus . . . Sed et horum nonnulli, sicut et ipse qui princeps appellatus est mundi, datam sibi a Deo potestatem non his quibus acceperant legibus temperarunt nec humanum genus divinis obedire praeceptis, sed suis parere praevaricationibus docuerunt.*

The angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. Cf. ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14. These are the two chief orders of angels. On the former see i. 29 note. Both classes are mentioned in ii. 18: these observe the Sabbath together with God and Israel (ii. 18 sqq.), and like them Levi and his seed are to serve in the sanctuary, xxxi. 14. The lower orders who are set over the works of nature do not keep the Sabbath. These angels are, according to the Talmud and no doubt to their author, inferior to righteous Israelites: *Sanh.* 93a, *צדיקים יותר ממלאכי השרה*. See also Ber. rabba 8; Tanchuma 14, *חביבין ישראל לפני הקב"ה יותר ממלאכי השרה* (Singer, p. 98). "The angels of sanctification" are those who sing praises to God (possibly the trisagion as in *Eth. En.* lxi. 12). As Epiphanius has *ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης* (= *ἄγγελοι δοξάζοντες*), Praetorius proposes that we should read *weddāsē* instead of *qeddāsē*. But the text can be defended; for in xv. 27 where the phrase recurs, the Latin has *sanctificationis*.

sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart. 3. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. 4. And on the second

Angels . . . of fire . . . of the winds, . . . of the clouds, etc. The third or lowest order of angels presides over the natural phenomena. See Eth. Enoch lx. 12-21, lxxv., lxxx.; Slav. Enoch xix. 1-4.

Angels . . . of fire. Cf. Rev. xiv. 18.

Of the spirit of fire and the angels. So *b c d*. *a* and *G* of Epiphanius omit.

Angels . . . of the winds. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, 2. See Eth. Enoch xviii. 1-5, xxxiv.-xxxvi., lxxvi. on the various functions of the wind.

Of snow. So *Gk.* of Epiphanius, *χιόνος*, which was probably corrupted into *παντός*: hence text of *a b*. *c d* om.

Of snow and of hail and of hoar frost. Eth. Enoch lx. 17, 18.

Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning. This is an obscure phrase. It would be easy if we could omit the first "and." Then we should have the familiar expression "voices of the thunder." Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; Rev. vi. 1, x. 4, xix. 6. On the other hand we have in Rev. iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18, *ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ*, and in viii. 5, *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ*. The phrase in Rev. may be derived from our text. The "voices" may mean the mutterings of the thunder. "Voice" (ἡ) in itself means thunder in Job xxxvii. 4.

Thunder and lightning. Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 13-15.

Of winter . . . and summer. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 13-20.

(He created) the abysses. *a b c d* read "in all the abysses," connecting the phrase wrongly with the preceding words. "The abysses" are one of the seven things created on the first day and must be in the accusative as in *G* of Epiphanius. The *Kuallû* = "all" may be a corruption of *'ellû* = "these" (a frequent corruption), and the latter a translation of the Greek article in *τὰς ἀβύσσους*. *G* reads *τὰς ἀβύσσους τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους*. In my Ethiopic text, omit the three words after *qalâyât*, which are an attempt partly to restore and partly to emend *a* into conformity with the *G*.

Eventide (and night) and the light, dawn and day. "And night" is supplied from *G*. *a* wrongly transposes "eventide" after "day." *b c d* omit "and day" and transpose "eventide" after "light."

3. *Seven great works.* See note above, p. 11 on ii. 2-3.

4. *Works of the second day.* Gen. i. 6-7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxvi.-xxvii. *G* in Epiphanius runs: *ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερέωματος (καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ κατέβη ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερέωματος) τοῦ ἐμμέσῳ ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.*

day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. 5. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. 6. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 7. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all

The clause in brackets, lost by homoio-teleuton, I have supplied.

Waters were divided on that day. According to this view as also of Gen. i. 6 there was a sea in heaven resting on the firmament, which through seven flood-gates (v. 24) let down its waters on the earth. See the curious speculation on these waters in Eth. Enoch liv. 7-8.

5-7. Works of the third day. Cf. Gen. i. 9-13; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρα . . . τὰς θαλάσσας . . . τοὺς ποταμούς, τὰς πηγὰς . . . καὶ λίμνας, τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ σπόρου, καὶ τὰ βλαστήματα, τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ τοὺς ὀρυμούς . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ γένος. ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα ἔργα τὰ μέγιστα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* It is better in Syncellus i. 4: *φανέρωσις γῆς καὶ ἀναξήρανσις, παράδεισος, δένδρα παντοῖα, βοτάναι καὶ σπέρματα.*

5. *The third day.* MSS add "He made as."

7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 1.

Sprouting things=zajebaquel emend-

ed from zajetbalá'ē according to G *βλαστήματα.*

Garden of Eden, in Eden. MSS add "for pleasure." This phrase is due either to a corrupt ditto-graphy: *i.e.*—latadlâ is corrupt for batadlâ=ἐν τρυφῇ, a duplicate rendering of גן: or else tadlâ is corrupt for taklât=φυτὰ and should be transposed after kuellû. The "in Eden" is also superfluous. *c* omits it.

Garden of Eden. Eden is likewise a creation of the third day in Ber. rabba 15; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1; Book of Adam and Eve i. 1. This is the earliest view so far as our evidence goes. As early, however, as the latter half of the first century A.D., the garden of Eden was said to have been created before the world. Thus 4 Ezra iii. 6 In paradisum, quem plantavit dextera tua antequam terra adventaret. This view arose from taking מֵרֵאשִׁית in Gen. ii. 8 to mean "from the beginning" instead of "on the east." This new interpretation was adopted by the Targums and the Syriac and Latin Versions, as well as by Aquila, Sym-

(plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. 8. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. 9. And GOD appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 10. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by His hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that

machus and Theodotion; also by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8) (Migne, *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* tom. 23, col. 940): Necnon quod sequitur, contra orientem, in Hebraeo Mecedem (מֶעֶדֶם) scribitur, quod Aquila posuit ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς: et nos, ab exordio, possumus dicere. Symmachus vero, ἐκ πρώτης, et Theodotion, ἐν πρώτοις, quod et ipsum non orientem sed principium significat. Ex quo manifestissime comprobatur, quod priusquam coelum et terram Deus faceret, paradysum ante considerat, sicut et legitur in Hebraeo: *Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradysum in Eden a principio*. For later Jewish authorities see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 198.

On the peculiar conception of two Paradises, the heavenly and the earthly, and their connection see Slav. Enoch vi.; Weber, 162 sq., 341. For a history of the various meanings of Paradise in Apocalyptic literature, see my *Eschatology*, pp. 197, 234 sq., 262 sqq.

(Plants after their kind.) Supplied from G in Epiphanius. It is possible, however, that "plants" already exists in the text in a corrupt form. See note on beginning of verse.

8-10. Gen. i. 14-19. Cf. Slav. Enoch. xxx. 2-6. G in Epiphanius very defective: τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τὸν ἥλιον τὴν σελήνην τοὺς ἀστέρας . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

9. *Appointed the sun.* It will be observed here that though the writer is basing the text on Gen. i. 16-18 he makes no reference to the moon. The omission is intentional. The writer holds that Israel should not be guided by the moon but by the sun in the calculations of all their festivals. See vi. 36-38.

Appointed the sun . . . for jubilees. The period from the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan to the destruction of the first temple is measured by jubilees in Erachin 12-13 a.

10. *These three kinds, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars.* Cf. Syncellus, i. 5.

11-12. Works of the fifth day. Gen. i. 20-23. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 7. G in Epiphanius: τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα . . . τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐρπετὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πτερωτὰ . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

flies, the birds and all their kind. 12. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. 14. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. 15. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. 16. And He finished all His work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. 17. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. 18. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctifi-

13-14. Works of the sixth day. Gen. i. 24-28. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 8 sqq. G in Epiphanius is defective: τῇ δὲ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ θηρία . . . τὰ κτήνη, τὰ ἔρπετὰ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα μεγάλα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

14. *A man and a woman*—instead of the usual "male and female."

15. See note on ii. 23. The Greek of this verse and the next is found in Epiphanius, *loc. cit.*: καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα εἰκοσι δύο γένη ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις. καὶ συνετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ἐν πᾶσι.

16. *On the sixth day.* Our text is supported by the Samaritan text and the LXX and Syriac Versions of Gen.

ii. 2^a. Cf. Exod. xx. 11. Budde and Ball accept this (= וַיַּבְרֵךְ) as the original reading of Gen. ii. 2^a over against the Massoretic (= וַיְבָרֶכֶת). The severer observance of the Sabbath belongs certainly to the pre-Christian centuries as we shall see later.

17-21. The two chief orders of angels observe the Sabbath together with God. Israel alone will be chosen to join in this observance. Like the third order of angels (see note on ii. 2), *i.e.* those that preside over natural phenomena, the Gentiles do not share in this privilege (ii. 31).

17. *He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day.* Cf. Exod. xxxi. 13. This sign, first appointed between God and the two chief orders of angels, was to be established subsequently between God and Israel, ii. 21. See ii. 31 note.

cation, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. 19. And He said unto us: “Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these will keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so shall I bless them, and they will be My people and I shall be their God. 20. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.” 21. And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. 22. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . . 23. There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam

19. *Separate unto Myself a people.* 1 Kings viii. 53.

These will keep the Sabbath . . . sanctify them. Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12. See note on ii. 31.

They will be My people, etc. See i. 17.
20. *I have chosen the seed of Jacob.* Is. xli. 8, xliv. 1, 2. G in Epiphanius = *I will choose, etc.*

From amongst all. This is based on a slight change of a corrupt text.

My first-born son. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; cf. Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. *A sign.* According to Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12, the Sabbath was to be a sign between God and Israel. See ii. 17 note, 31 note.

Keep Sabbath with us. Israel is to unite with the angels (cf. verses 17, 18) in observing the Sabbath.

To eat and to drink, etc. This joyful aspect of the Sabbath is enforced

again in ii. 31, l. 9, 10. In l. 12 fasting on the Sabbath is forbidden. See l. 6 sqq. (notes) for a discussion of the entire question.

A peculiar people above all peoples. Deut. vii. 6; cf. Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 2. The Sabbaths are signs that God has given to His people to distinguish them from other peoples. Cf. verse 31; Ezek. xx. 12, 20. “Peculiar” here = *zajâtari* emended from *zajâstarēi*.

And that they . . . with us. This seems a dittography of the second clause of this verse.

22. *His commands, etc.* Corrupt.

A sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

Acceptable before Him. Ezek. xx. 41; Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. It is clear from Epiphanius, Syncellus and Cedrenus that there is a

to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. 24. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always

lacuna in the text after ver. 22. Thus in Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, ch. xxii. (ed. Dind. vol. iv. 28) after an account of the six days' creation, drawn word for word from Jubilees, he continues *καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ ὅτι* (Jub. ii. 23) *καὶ εἴκοσι δύο κεφάλαια ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ Ἰακώβ. . . . καὶ* (Jub. ii. 21) *ἐκλέξομαι ἑμαντῶ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ . . . λαὸν περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν . . . διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βιβλους αὐτῶν κβ' ἡριθμήσαν εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ οὐσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βιβλους κς' οὐσας κβ' πεποιήκασιν.* Also in i. 1 p. 59 ('Επικουρ.) we find *αὐταὶ εἰσι ἐν εἴκοσι-επτὰ βιβλοὶ αἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦνται, διὰ τὸ διπλοῦσθαι δέκα βιβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας.* Again Anastasius, who elsewhere quotes Jubilees (see iii. 9 note), seems to refer to our text here in his work on the Hexaemeron (Migne's *Biblioth. Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 940): *Viginti enim duo opera fecisse Deum dicunt, et Judaeorum et Christianorum interpretes . . . propterea viginti quoque duobus libris enumerat omne Vetus suum Testamentum.* In Isidore of Seville (ob. 636), *Etymolog.* xvi. 26. 10 (Migne *Bibl. Patr. Lat.* tom. 82, col. 595), we have an account of the creation agreeing with Jubilees save in one small particular. It is there shown that there were twenty-two kinds of work just as there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, twenty-two books in the OT and twenty-two letters. This account is dependent on Epiphanius. Thus it is most probable that originally mention was made in the text of the twenty-two Hebrew letters and the twenty-two books of the Bible, and so we find it actually stated by Syncellus

Chronogr. i. 5 (ed. Dind.) *ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔργα εἴκοσι δύο ἰσάριθμα τοῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκαῖς βιβλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ εἴκοσι δύο γενάρ-χαις, ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* This statement is reproduced verbally by Cedrenus, *Compendium Histor.* vol. i. 9 (ed. Bekker). Next we have the evidence of the Hebrew tradition preserved in the Midrash Tadshe vi. (quoted above, p. 11): "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe. . . This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob." Thus we should probably restore the lacuna as follows:—*As there were two and twenty letters and two and twenty (sacred) books and two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made two and twenty kinds of work, etc.* The thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are equalised to the number of letters by the following device. The twelve minor prophets count as one book, similarly Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations are taken together, and the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are reckoned respectively as one each. Thus the thirty-nine are reduced to twenty-two. See *Introduct.* § 11.

This is blessed and holy, i.e., the Sabbath.

The former also is blessed and holy, i.e., Jacob. These two, the Sabbath and Jacob, are intimately related. As the Sabbath comes at the close of the twenty-two works, so Jacob comes at the close of the twenty-second generation. Not till Jacob's time, therefore, could the Sabbath be rightly observed on earth. Moreover, the Sabbath was given to Israel alone (ii. 31).

24. *They should always, etc.* So *bcd.* *a* reads "he should always," etc.

be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. 25. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. 26. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days. 27. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 28. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us. 29. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything

He had sanctified. So *cd.* *ab* read "it had been sanctified."

And blessed. So *acd.* *b* "and had been blessed."

The Sabbath day. *cd.* *ab* omit.

25. *Whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles, etc.* Exod. xxxi. 14, 15. Cf. Exod. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32-36. See also verses 26, 27.

26. *Command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy.* Exod. xx. 8, xxxi. 1.

Holier than all other days. Cf. ii. 30 where it is said to be holier than the jubilee of the jubilees; also ii. 33.

27. *Whoever profanes it . . . whoever does thereon any work.* See two preceding verses.

Rooted out of the land. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. *It is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure.* In the rendering "which is unseemly" I have followed Barth and Littmann in taking *za'ijekawen za'ijâstar'i* as representing *יִהְיֶה רָאוּי*. See also on iii. 15. It might be better to connect the following infinitive with "unseemly" and translate "which is unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure." It is usual for *רָאוּי* to be followed by an infinitive in this sense. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83b; Nid. vi. 4.

To do thereon their own pleasure. Cf. Is. lviii. 13.

Not prepare thereon anything to be

to be eaten or drunk, †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,† which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. 30. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees: on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 31. And the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples and

eaten or drunk. This law could be derived from Exod. xvi. 23, 25. Baking and boiling are forbidden in Exod. xvi. 23, and the making of a fire in Exod. xxxv. 3.

And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk . . . which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. It will be observed that by omitting "and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" an excellent sense is restored to the text. Besides, the words in question constitute a break in the grammatical construction. The words "or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" look like a dittography of the first clause in ver. 30. They may, however, be genuine, and we can restore at once the sense and grammar by reading these clauses immediately after the words "their own pleasure." Thus we have: "That it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure or to draw water or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden. And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings."

Or bring in or take out . . . any burden. The law is found in ii. 30, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19; John v. 10; Shabb. vii. 2.

Which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. This

should follow immediately on the clause "anything to be eaten or drunk." Thus we have the provision enforced in Bez. 2b, that on the Sabbath day nothing should be eaten which had not been expressly prepared on a week day with a view to the Sabbath.

On the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. This phrase can equally well be rendered in both passages "on the six days."

30. *Bring in nor take out from house to house.* Cf. ii. 29, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 22. Also Shabb. vii. 2, המצוא מרשות לרשות. See note on ver. 29.

On this we kept Sabbath in the heavens. Similarly it is said in vi. 18 that the feast of weeks was celebrated by the angels in heaven till the days of Noah. The writer most probably held that the other feasts were likewise observed in heaven. The sabbath and the feast of weeks, however, are the two chief feasts in the eyes of the writer. According to Ber. rabba 11 even the godless in Gehenna had rest on the Sabbath.

31. *Blessed it, i.e., Israel.* MSS omit "it" but we have only (with Barth and Littmann) to emend bāraka into bārakā to restore it.

He did not sanctify all . . . nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone. Cf. ii. 19. The Sabbath was the special privilege and distinction of Israel. Hence it could not be rightly observed on earth till Jacob's time (see ii. 23 note). It was to be a special sign between God and Israel (ii. 21), as it was already a sign in heaven between

nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone He permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 32. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 33. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification, 4-14. Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion, 15-29. Law of covering one's shame enacted, 30, 31. Adam and Eve live in Êldâ, 32-35. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.).

III. And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name. 3. And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. 4. And the Lord said unto us: "It is not good that the

God and the two chief orders of angels (ii. 17). As no such sign existed between God and the inferior angels (who are inferior to Israel, see ii. 2 note), so none existed between God and the Gen-tililes.

33. *A law for ever unto their generations* = חקק עולם לדורותם, Exod. xxvii. 21; Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14, etc.

III. 1-2. Cf. Gen. ii. 19. G is found

in Syncellus, pp. 7-8: τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν Ἀδὰμ τὰ ἀγρία θηρία θείῳ τιλὶ χαρίσματος, τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ κτήνη, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν τὰ πετεινά· τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ ἔρπετά· τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ νηκτά.

3. Cf. Gen. ii. 20. *Found.* So Mass., Sam.; but LXX, Syr. and Vulg. = "was found."

man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him." 5. And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. 6. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she will be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband." 7. Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 8. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their

4. Gen. ii. 18. *Let us make.* So also LXX and Vulg. Mass., Sam., Syr. = "I will make."

5-6. Creation of woman on the 13th day of the creation. Cf. Gen. ii. 21-23. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21 the rib is said to have been the 13th on the right side. On the Talmudic theories as to the hermaphroditic character of Adam before the creation of Eve see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² p. 211.

5. *One rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib . . . from amongst his ribs.* Text literally = "one bone from amongst his bones and this rib (or side) . . . from amongst his bones."

6. [*My*] *wife.* The "my" I have bracketed as an interpolation. It is found also in the Eth. vers. of Gen. ii. 23, but in no other important version.

Her husband (= חַתָּן). So also Sam., LXX, and Onkelos against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. which omit the pronoun.

7. Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

They shall be one flesh. So also Mass. and Onkelos, but Sam. (וְהָיוּ כְּשֶׁנֶּפֶשׁ); LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. = "they twain shall be one flesh." This latter

is followed in Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7; Eph. v. 31, and seems to have the older attestation.

8. *First week . . . second week.* MSS read "seventh" instead of "week" in both cases. We obtain the right sense by simply emending sâb'et into sab'at.

8-14. *Commandment was given to keep in their defilement*, etc. In this passage our author either invents historical grounds or else adopts an already existing legend to account for the commands given in Lev. xii. 2-5. According to Lev. xii. 2, 5 a mother was to be unclean seven days if she bore a man child, and was not to enter the sanctuary till thirty-three days later, in all forty days; and she was to be unclean fourteen days if she bore a maid child, and was not to enter the sanctuary for sixty-six days later, in all eighty days. This law, our author says, was based on the fact that Adam was created at the close of the first week and did not enter the Garden till forty days after his creation, and Eve was created at the close of the second week and did not enter the Garden till eighty days after her creation. This peculiar idea reappears

defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. 9. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered

in various works. Thus in Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 21 (translated by Aucher from the Armenian), where Philo is dealing with the creation of woman from the rib of the man, the text appears to recall the views of our author: Siquidem ut perfectior et (si liceat dici) duplicior est viri formatio formatione mulieris: sic etiam dimidio tempore opus habuit, diebus videlicet xl, ubi imperfectae atque, ut ita dicam, dimidia viri sectioni, scilicet mulieri, (opus esset) duplici mensura, nempe diebus lxxx. Our text was certainly before Syncellus, i. 8-9, εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κτίσεως . . . εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ βοηθὸς Εὐὰ, ἐν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτῆς . . . διὰ τοῦτο προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ, ἥτοι διὰ τὰς μετὰ τὴν πλάσιν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἡμέρας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐπὶ μὲν ἀρρενογονίας ἀκάθαρτον αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ θηλυτοκίας ἕως ἡμερῶν π'. ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἀδὰμ τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰσήχθη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὗ χάριν καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσφέρουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐπὶ δὲ θήλεος ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα, διὰ τε τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς εἰσοδὸν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τοῦ θήλεος πρὸς τὸ ἄρσεν. ἄφεδρος γὰρ πάλιν οὖσα οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον. ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχείωσα, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς πλάσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.

In the Book of Adam and Eve translated by Malan in 1882 from the Ethiopic we find an undoubted reminiscence of our text. Thus in i. 74 and 75 it is recounted that Adam made

an offering for Cain when he was forty days old and an offering for Cain's twin sister Luluwa when she was eighty days old, when Eve and her daughter approached the altar. Anastasius Sinaita (flor. 7th cent.) in his *Anagoge. contemplat. in Hexaem.* (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 83; Migne's *Bibliotheca Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 967) is the first to refer directly to our text: Unde Hebraei ex libro qui non est redactus in canonem qui quidem dicitur Testamentum Protoplastorum, dicunt quadragesima die ingressum esse Adam in Paradisum; sicut etiam videtur cuidam historico chronographo Pyrrhoni, et quibusdam expositoribus. The Pyrrho here mentioned by Anastasius is likewise referred to by Glycas as the source of this statement. Syncellus (p. 8) is the next to use our text: εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. Subsequently Glycas (circ. 1150), in his *Βιβλος Χρονική* (pp. 392-393, ed. Bekker), quotes our text with disapproval: ἡ δὲ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις, οὐκ οἶδ', ὅθεν συγγραφείσα καὶ ὅπως, φησὶν ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέρας μ' εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἡ δὲ Εὐὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας π', καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐν ἡμέραις τοσαύταις προσάγονται τῷ νάφ τό τε ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ἀναλόγως τάχα τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὐᾷ. On p. 156 Glycas tells us that Pyrrho in his history writes that Adam did not enter the Garden of Eden till the 40th day after his creation, and then adds ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ διέτριβε πρότερον ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου τεσσαράκοντα διάγων ἡμέρας.

On the other hand Beer (*Das Buch des Jubiläen*, p. 40) points out that there is not a trace of such a legend in Rabbinic literature, and that on the contrary it is declared in Shabbath 135a (דורות הראשונים יוכיחו שאין אמו במאה לידה ונימול לשבנה) that the regulations in Lev. xii. 2-5 had no currency before

into the garden of Eden. 10. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables in regard to her that gives birth: "if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. 11. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days." 12. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. 13. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute

the legislation of Moses. Yet, notwithstanding Beer's statement, the tradition in our text is not without attestation in Judaism. Thus in the Midrash Tadshe xv. (see Jellinek's edition in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 164-193 or Eppstein in *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887), "Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain seven days of purification for a woman who had borne a male child and fourteen days for her who had borne a female? This is to recall the creation of the first Adam who was created in seven days [†]in the first† of the first week, (and) the creation of Eve, who was taken from one of his ribs in the second week. So Pinchas ben Jair (פנחס בן יאיר). The sages however say that both were created on the eve of the Sabbath, the sixth day. Wherefore did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain that she who had borne a male should enter the temple after forty days, and that she who had borne a female after eighty days? To recall that which God did regarding the first Adam who was created outside the Garden of Eden and did not enter till later."

We observe here that the above statements are attributed to Pinchas. They go back ultimately to our text. As references to Pinchas, Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxi. 92, 1890) mentions Chullin 7b, Kethuboth 46a, Sota 49a, Ber. rabba 60.

10. *The heavenly tables*: In my note on xlvii. 3 of the Eth. Enoch I have touched on the origin and development of the idea underlying this expression, and to this I must refer the reader. The phrase is found in the Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3, lxxx. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2, Test. XII. Patriarch. Levi v.; Asher. ii., vii. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in Enoch and Test. XII. Patriarch. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple: whereas in our text, in addition to these significations, it implies at times little more than a contemporary heavenly record of events. In fact, in our author, the heavenly tables are the divine statute book of the Theocracy of which the Mosaic law is the reproduction on earth, or a mere contemporary record of events, or finally they recount the

of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. 14. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. 15. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the ^{1-7 A.M.} garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage. 16. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being

future history of the world either predictively or else determinatively. One meaning, moreover, passes imperceptibly into another. Thus those tables record: (1) Laws levitical, criminal, and chronological, in some instances predetermined and previously observed in heaven, in others established for the first time on earth: purification after childbirth, iii. 8-14; law as to covering one's nakedness, iii. 31; as to murder and those who witness it, iv. 5; as to retribution, iv. 32; as to the judgment of sinners, v. 13; as to the feast of weeks, vi. 17 and the divisions and length of the year, vi. 29-35; as to circumcision, xv. 25-26; as to the seed of Lot, xvi. 9 and the feast of tabernacles, xvi. 29; as to the feast of the lord, xviii. 19; as to the Philistines, xxiv. 33; as to the marriage of the elder daughter, xxviii. 6; as to the man who gives his daughter to a Gentile, xxx. 9; as to tithes, xxxii. 15; as to the incestuous person, xxxiii. 10; as to the Sabbath, l. 13. (2) Merely a contemporary event: the naming of Abraham as a friend of God, xiv. 9, and of Levi, xxx. 20; Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah, xxxi. 32. (3) Predictions and predeterminations: as to the judgment, v. 13; as to the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 32.

15. *Seven years.* According to Ber. rabba 18, Sanh. 38*b*, and *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7 (translated by Bezold),

Adam was only six hours in the Garden. MS *a* of the Slavonic Enoch xxxii. 2 states that Adam was only five and a half hours in Paradise. This last clause looks like a Christian interpolation, and may point to the 5500 years which were to elapse before the coming of Christ according to the early Fathers.

Instructed him . . . for tillage. In Is. xxviii. 26-29 this instruction is attributed to God; but in Ber. rabba 24 it is assigned, as in our text, to the angels: also in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, 22 (Kautzsch, *Apoc. und Pseud.* ii. 515) it is stated that God sent Michael with certain seeds to Adam, and with orders to instruct him in husbandry.

Is suitable. So Barth and Littmann take *zajâstar'i* as representing זאך in the Hebrew. See on ii. 29. But the ordinary sense of the word, "is revealed," may be right here. See preceding note.

16. *Naked . . . and was not ashamed.* Gen. ii. 25.

Protected the garden from the birds, etc. The Greek is found in Glycas (p. 206, ed. Bekker): ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεσόβει τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ ἐρπετά, συνῆγε τὸν καρπὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ καὶ σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσθιεν αὐτόν.

[*And put aside . . . kept*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Here "which was being kept" = τὸ φυλασσόμενον = תְּשׁוּבָה הַפְּשׁוּתָה, a corrupt dittography of תְּשׁוּבָה הַפְּשׁוּתָה = τὸ καταλειφθέν, "the residue" (or תְּשׁוּבָה הַפְּשׁוּתָה).

kept]. 17. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in 8 A.M. the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, "Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" 18. And she said to it, "Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." 19. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil." 20. And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. 21. And when she had first covered her shame with fig-leaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. 22. And he took fig-leaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and covered his shame. 23. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . 24. And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

19. See on ver. 32. Cf. Syncellus i. 13: 'Εκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως: τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει παρέβη καὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐξερρίφησαν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως, . . .

23. Cf. Gen. iii. 14. At the close of this verse I have marked a lacuna in the text; for Glycas (p. 206) affirms that according to Jubilees the serpent had originally four feet: ὁ ὄφις ἀπὸ κτήνους ἐρπετὸν ἐγένετο, χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας ἐέκτητο. ἀφηρέθη δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τολμηρῶς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσελθεῖν. Syncellus (i. 14) states that the serpent had originally four feet. The text,

therefore, most probably contained some statement relative to the cutting off of the serpent's feet. Such a statement would follow naturally on Gen. iii. 14 "upon thy belly thou shalt go." Indeed in the Targ., Ps.-Jon., Gen. iii. 14 we find this very statement וְגָלַי יִקָּצֵר, "and thy feet will be cut off." According to the Midrash Koheleth "the ministering angels came down and and cut off its hands and feet." Finally Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1. 4) writes that the serpent was deprived both of language and feet, ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνήν . . . ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε.

voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: "I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." 25. And to Adam also He said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 26. And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. 27. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. 28. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue. 29. And He

24. *I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains*, etc. Gen. iii. 16.

Thy pains. So also LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., and Vulg. = "thy conception" (הריון).

Thy return = ἡ ἀποστροφή σου. So also LXX and Syr. = חשבותך instead of Mass. and Sam. חשוקתך = "they desire."

25-26. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. *Of the tree* = ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. The text is "of that tree," but the demonstrative is a rendering of the Greek art. as frequently.

Thy bread. So LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit "thy."

To the earth . . . for earth . . . unto earth. As LXX uses γῆ to render the two Hebrew words ארמה and עפר, so did the Greek version of Jubilees.

27. Here the writer antedates the incense-offering mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34. According to Aboda zara 8a Adam offered an ox whose horns were of earlier growth than its hoof (Beer, *Buch der Jub.* p. 40).

From the day when he covered his shame. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42, where the priests are bidden to cover their nakedness with breeches when at the altar, may have been in the mind of the writer, as Beer (*op. cit.* p. 41) suggests.

28. This was undoubtedly a current belief among certain sections of the Jews. Thus it is stated without question in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4 ὁμοφωγούντων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τῶν ζώων ἀπάντων. It appears also in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 18 and in

sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them. 30. And to Adam alone did

some form is implied in Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32 (Armen.). Both our text and Josephus are quoted as teaching this view in Syncellus, i. 14, τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἔρπετα φησὶν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις ὁμόφωνα εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις. This statement is repeated in Cedrenus, i. pp. 9-10; Zonaras, i. p. 23. It seems implied in the text that the common original language of men and animals was Hebrew. That Hebrew was the primitive language of man, at any rate, was universally believed among the Jews. Thus according to the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xi. 1 all men originally spoke Hebrew, which was the language by means of which the world was created: בְּלִשָּׁן קִירְשָׁא הָיוּ מְסַלְלִין קִירְשָׁא בִּיהַּ עֲלָמָא. (Cf. also Ber. rabba 18, 31.) In xii. 25, 26 of our text it is called "the tongue of the creation," which "had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel)" till the days of Abraham. In Cedrenus, i. 22, however, the legend is differently preserved. Because Eber refused to join in building Babel he did not lose his original language—the language that Adam spoke—like the rest of his contemporaries—τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχέσεως ἢ τοῦ "Εβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἣ καὶ Ἀδὰμ ἐλάλει. Hence his descendants called themselves Hebrews and their language Hebrew, and the names of the patriarchs are a proof that Hebrew was the pre-Babel language—καὶ ταύτην οἱ τοῦτον διαδεξάμενοι ἀπόγονοι πατρωνυμικῶς ἐαυτοὺς Ἑβραίους προσηγόρευσαν καὶ Ἑβραῖδα τὴν φωνὴν ἐκάλεσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πρὸ τῆς συγχύσεως φωνὴν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα. This view is likewise Jewish: it is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11. But while some Syriac writers such as John bar Madani and Jacob of Serugh admitted this claim, others like Theodoret, *Quaest. in*

Gen. ix.-xi., St. Ephraem, and Barhebraeus (see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 313, 314) were just as confident of the absolute priority of their own language, while Solomon Baisorensis reconciled both views by declaring that originally Syriac and Hebrew were one and the same.

In *Die Schatzhöhle* (transl. by Bezold), p. 29, the priority of Syriac is polemically maintained: "Von Adam bis damals redeten sie alle in dieser Sprache, nämlich in der syrischen Sprache . . . denn diese Sprache ist die Königin aller Sprachen. Die früheren Schriftsteller aber irren, indem sie sagen, das Hebräische sei die erste gewesen."

Other writers again asserted that Greek was the primitive speech of mankind. To this last view Eutychius (Nazam, al-j. pp. 53, 54, quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 245, 6) assents in these words. "This approves itself to me. For the Greek language is wiser, clearer and broader than either the Hebrew or the Syriac." The same view must have been held by the writer who first derived the name Adam from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters of the world—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. See Slav. En. xxx. 13 (note); Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-26. As for later Jewish ideas on this subject we find, Sanh. 38^b, that Adam spoke Aramaic, אַרַם, הראשון בלשון ארמי, because Ps. cxxxix., which was supposed to be written by him, contained an Aramaic (?) word. In Shabb. 12^b on the other hand one is bidden not to pray in Aramaic, שאין שואין בלשון ארמי, because the angels of Service do not understand Aramaic (quoted in Levi's *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 168). According to Abarbanel, in his exposition of Zephaniah, fol. 276, col. 1 (see Eisenmenger, ii. 778), Hebrew was the language spoken before the building of Babel and should ultimately be that of all Israelites.

He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle. 31. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tables as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves. 32. And on the new moon of the fourth ^{8 A.M.} month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. 33. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 34. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he knew her. 35. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

31. This verse is of great importance from the historical standpoint. It constitutes an emphatic protest on the part of the writer against the adoption by his countrymen ("those who know the judgment of the law") of the customs of the Greeks. The custom, which he here protests against, is the exposure of the person in the Greek palaestra, which was established under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12). Here many of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves and joined in the public sports as Greek athletes. Even the priests of the Temple forsook their duties to join in these heathen games. On the institution of these and other Greek customs see 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 9-14; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. It is hardly possible to conceive the shock that such conduct must have given to the religiously disposed amongst the nation, and especially to such a Pharisee of the Pharisees as our author. In order to emphasise his protest against it he did not turn to the laws in Exod. xx. 26, xxx. 34, for these had only to do with the dress of the officiating priest, but to Gen. iii. 21 where he found ample justification for extending the law of covering one's shame to all men. This law, he asserts, was enacted im-

mediately after the expulsion of Adam from Eden, *i.e.*, immediately after the discovery of his nakedness. Subsequently (vii. 20) he represents Noah as enjoining the observance of this ordinance on his children.

32. *On the new moon of the fourth month* (see note on vi. 23). Syncellus (i. p. 13) says that Adam spent forty-five days in the garden after his transgression. This agrees with our text; for, according to iii. 17, Adam sinned on the 17th of the 2nd month and the expulsion followed on the 1st of the 4th.

In the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. Can 'Êldâ be a corruption of מְלֵרָה? In that case "land of 'Êldâ" would mean "land of nativity." The phrase "land of their creation" is an interpretation of the words in Gen. iii. 23 "whence he was taken," which are reproduced in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. as "whence he was created" (אֲחֵרִי), as in our text.

34. Thus Eve was a virgin till after the expulsion from Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 1883), p. 7: Als Adam und Heva aus dem Paradies herausgegangen . . . sie waren jungfräulich.

35. Cf. iii. 15.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, 13-15: Enoch and his history, 16-25. Four sacred places, 26. Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, 27, 28. Death of Adam and Cain, 29-32. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, 33. (Cf. Gen. iv.-v.).

4-70 A.M. IV. And in the third week in the second jubilee she
 1-77 A.M. gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to
 8-84 A.M. Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter 'Âwân.
 9-105 A.M. 2. And in the first (year) of the third jubilee, Cain slew
 Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did
 not accept the offering of Cain. 3. And he slew him in
 the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven,
 complaining because he had slain him. 4. And the Lord
 reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him,

IV. 1. 'Âwân. A second daughter named 'Azûrâ (iv. 8) was born later. Cain married the elder 'Âwân, *i.e.* אָוָן, "wickedness," and Seth the younger, 'Azûrâ. The derivation of the latter is doubtful. Frankel (*Monatsschrift f. Gesch. des Judenthums*, 1856, 311-316) thinks that it is from עֲזוּרָה = "chaste" (?). Probably it is from אֲזוּרָה, "well guarded" (cf. Syriac Fragment **ܐܘܪܐ**). No two of later writers agree as to the forms of these names. According to the Syriac Fragment they were Aswa and Azura: in Epiphanius, Σαμή and 'Αζουρά: in Syncellus, 'Ασωννᾶν ('Ασωννά, 'Ασωνπᾶν, 'Ασωνπά, 'Ασωνάμ) and 'Αζουρά. In Glycas and Joel 'Αζουρά ('Αζουρᾶν) is made the elder and 'Ασωνάμ the younger. Quite different names are given in the Pseudo-Methodius, *i.e.*, Καλημέρα and Λεβόρα. Again the elder appears as Qalmana in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel and Pseudo-Methodius (Lat. vers.), as Luva in the Book of Adam and Eve, as Azrun in Eutychius, while the younger is Lebuda in Barhebraeus, Aklejâm in the Book of Adam and Eve, and Owain or Laphura in Eutychius. (See Rönsch,

pp. 373-374, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 109 sqq.)

According to Syncellus (i. 14) Cain was born in the year 70 A.M., Abel in 77, and Asouam (*i.e.* 'Âwân) in 85. Though the dates are left indefinite in our text they are no doubt derived from it. Thus Cain married Âwân in the year 135 according to Syncellus, between 134-140 according to our text. 'Âwân was then fifty years old (Syncellus).

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

2. *The sacrifice of Abel.* So *a. b c d* read "the sacrifice at his hand."

Offering. *a c*, but *b d* omit.

Of Cain. So *a. b c d* "at the hand of Cain."

3. *Complaining* or "making suit." Cf. Gen. iv. 10; Eth. Enoch xxii. 5, 6. According to Syncellus (i. 14) Abel was twenty-two years old when he offered his sacrifice on the new moon of the seventh month. Thus the words "in the first of the third jubilee" are to be taken as the first year of the jubilee = 99 A.M. For the later traditions as to the instrument with which Cain slew Abel, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 113.

and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth.

5. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, "Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other." 6. And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week (99-127) they became joyful, and Adam knew his wife again, and she 130 A.M. bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said "God has raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him." 8. And in the sixth week he begat his daughter 'Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took 134-140 A.M. 'Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the 190-196 A.M. first week of the fifth jubilee, houses were built on the earth, 197 A.M. and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of

4. Cf. Gen. iv. 11, 12. *A fugitive.* Text nûha is a corrupt transliteration of נִי, Gen. iv. 12.

5. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 24.

Treacherously = δόλῳ, the LXX rendering of בְּסֵתֶר in Deut. xxvii. 24. The phrase ba'ekûj bears the same meaning in xxix. 7, xxx. 3. In viii. 9 it = "secretly."

6. *Sin . . . committed in heaven.* On this old Semitic idea of the possibility of sin in heaven, see my Slavonic Enoch pp. xxxiv. sqq.

7. *Mourned for Abel four weeks of years.* As Abel was born in 77, and was twenty-two years old according to Syncellus and our text (see verse 3, note) when killed by Cain, the twenty-eight years of mourning extend from 99 to 127. The Greek is found in Syncellus (i. 15): ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἐβδομαδικούς τέσσαρας, ἡγουν ἔτη εἰκοσι ὀκτώ.

Became joyful. The sense may be the same as in Gen. xviii. 12, "After I am waxed old, shall I have pleasure?"

He called. So Sam. ויקרא, but Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk., of Gen. iv. 25 read "she called." In Jubilees it is generally the father that names the child; whereas in J of Genesis it is the mother, except in iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26; Exod. ii. 22.

For he said. So LXX and Vulg. but wanting in Mass. and Sam.

8. 'Azûrâ. See note on iv. 1. 'Azûrâ was born in the sixth week of the third jubilee (134-140) or of the fourth (183-189).

9. *Bare him Enoch, etc.* Cf. Gen. iv. 17. Syncellus (i. 16) ascribes to this Enoch the invention of the plough.

Cain built a city, and called its name . . . Enoch. Cain therefore ceased to be a wanderer. The Book of Jashar, 96, plays on the name Enoch and gives

his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of the fifth jubilee Seth took 'Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth week) she bare him Enos. 12. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. 13. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos

25-231 A.M.

235 A.M.

09-315 A.M.

it the sense of rest in this connection.
 ויקרא את שם העיר חנוך בשם בנו כי הנח לו
 בארץ בימים ההם.

10. *Yet nine sons.* Reproduced in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (vol. I. i. 528: ed. Oehler): Γεγονάσι δὲ τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἄλλοι υἱοί, ὡς ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις περιέχει, ἐννέα μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τούτους· ὡς εἶναι αὐτῷ δύο μὲν θυγατέρας, ἄρρενας δὲ δεκαδύο. The Book of Jashar speaks of three sons and three daughters of Adam. Syncellus (i. 18) assigns to him thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, gives the names of these sons: Acliseel, Suris, Aelamiel, Brabal, Naalt, Harama, Zasam, Maathal, Anath.

11. Cf. Gen. iv. 26. *Fourth (year of the sixth week).* The lacuna here is supplied from Syncellus. According to Syncellus (i. 17) Seth marries in the year υκέ (=425), and Enos was born in the year υλέ (=435). Thus there was an interval of ten years between the marriage of Seth and the birth of Enos. It will be observed that there is a difference of 200 years between the dates assigned by Jubilees and those by Syncellus, and that in the following ten dates relating to the same events respectively both books agree in the tens and units but differ in the hundreds.

	According to Jubilees.	According to Syncellus.
Seth born .	130	230
Azûrâ born .	134	234
Seth marries		
Azûrâ .	225	425
Enos born .	235	435
Cainan born .	325	625
Cain marries		
Mûalêlêt .	390	790
Mahalalel born	395	795
Jared born .	461	960
Enoch born .	522	1122

This addition of centuries to the dates in Jubilees rising progressively

from one to six Syncellus carried out in the service of his chronological system (see Rönisch, 285 sq.).

12. *He began.* So LXX and Vulg. implying לָקַח.

Began to call, etc. The two great versions, the LXX and Syr., agree rightly with Jubilees in giving this sense to Gen. iv. 26. It was also so understood by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1, but when we come down to Jerome's time, most Jewish scholars held that the verse recounted the rise of idolatry (*Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 26: Tunc initium fuit invocandi nomen Domini, licet plerique Hebraeorum aliud arbitrentur, quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine ejus fabricata sint idola). This latter interpretation may have arisen as early as the first cent. A.D.; for it is found in Onkelos ("the children of men ceased praying"—אֲנָשִׁים . . . לֹא יָרָאוּ). By Ps.-Jon. the commencement of idolatry is derived from Gen. iv. 26 by taking קָח as = profanari. Ber. rabba 23 recounts that men were exposed to demons in the days of Enos, and that then for the first time they made for themselves idols. Shabbath 118b speaks of man committing idolatry like Enos. The same idea recurs in the Book of Jashar and a closely related one in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20. Yet even in this book traces of the older view survive; for astrology, divination and idolatry are assigned to Serug's days, though Serug and his sons are said to have had no part in these things (xxvii. 9). Indeed, in the Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1090), it is said that Seth called his son Enos because "men began to corrupt themselves and forsake God for idols."

13-15. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared.

13, 14. Cf. Gen. v. 9, 12.

took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name 325 A.M. Kenan. 14. And at the close of the eighth jubilee Kenan 386-392 A.M. took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week in the third year 395 A.M. of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. 15. And 449-455 A.M. in the second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared; for 461 A.M. in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth,

13. *Nôâm*. Cf. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl.* Lib. p. 41, Noaba.

Kenan. Eth. Kâinân.

14. *Mûalêlêth* (so also Syr.) is a feminine form of Malâlêl (= מלללל) = "she who praises God."

Mahalalel. Eth. Malâlêl.

15. Cf. Gen. v. 15. Barâkî'êl (= ברכיא).

Took unto him to wife . . . the daughter of his father's brother. It will be observed that from the descent of the angels onwards men cease to marry their sisters. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 7) remarks: πλατυνθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . λοιπὸν οὐκέτι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς πρὸς γάμον ἤγοντο, ἀλλὰ εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. The last clause appears, as Röscher (p. 254) has already remarked, to be taken from Jubilees. This book is cited by Epiphanius in the preceding chapter under its twofold name of Ἰωβηλαῖα and Λεπτογένεσις.

Father's brother. MSS read 'êhta 'abûhû = "father's sister"; but I have emended this into 'êhwa 'abûhû, since we find the latter in the Syriac Fragment and in the Greek MS *r* on Gen. v. 15 (πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ) and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 7: εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. In similar cases in the sequel the same emenda-

tion is made on the authority of the Syriac and Greek, save in viii. 6 and xi. 7 where the Ethiopic preserves the true text.

Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended. We have here a play on Jared's name in the original, ירד . . . כי במי מלאכי אלהים ירדו.

The angels of the Lord descended on the earth. The later Jewish form of the myth relating to the fall of the angels and their intercourse with the daughters of men is constructed on Gen. vi. 1-4 and Is. xxiv. 21. The true interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is undoubtedly that given in our text, the Enoch literature, Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Philo, Jude, Peter, Josephus, Justin Martyr, and most of the early Christian writers (see my Eth. Enoch vi. 2, note). But probably at the close of the first cent. A.D., or earlier, Jewish scholars protested against this interpretation. Thus (Ber. rabba 26) R. ben Jochai (early in second cent.) cursed any one who translated Gen. vi. 2 by the phrase "sons of God," and not "sons of the judges." Similarly, the Jew Trypho condemns this interpretation, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 79. In the Samaritan Version (בני שלמניה), and the Targum of Onkelos (בני רבבניא), and Symmachus (υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων) we have it rendered as = "sons of the mighty." In the Book of Jasher (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1097) the sons of God were "judges and magistrates." In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. vi. 2 we have both interpretations side by side, and also in the

those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do

Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 11-xxv. 8. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 42, gives simply the biblical words. Similarly, on the Christian side the traditional interpretation came in due time to be denounced, and "the sons of God" were taken to be the good amongst mankind, the descendants of Seth, and the daughters of men to be the descendants of Cain. So Julius Africanus: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ δίκαιοι (see below). Next, while Hilary (ob. 368), *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., contents himself with discrediting the old myth, Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1, says that it is necessary to examine this passage carefully in order to subvert the fables of thoughtless praters—ἀναγκαῖον τούτου τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν τὴν ἐρευναν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀναστρέψαι τὰς μυθολογίας τῶν ἀπερискέπτως πάντα φθεγγομένων. These fables rest on a false exegesis; for, as he proceeds to show, the sons of God were the posterity of Seth and Enos—οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ καὶ τοῦ Ἐνώς. Jerome, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., and Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23. 4, pour discredit and contempt on the old myth. Now concurrently with the increasing acceptance of the new interpretation, there necessarily set in the growing importance of Seth, the ancestor of the righteous generations described in Gen. vi. 1-4 as "the sons of God." In this process of glorification the superhuman achievements and characteristics originally connected with other names were gradually transferred to Seth, and this notably in the case of Enoch. Thus in consequence of this new exegesis the star of Enoch paled before that of Seth. In dealing with such literature this is an important fact, since we are thus frequently justified in applying to Enoch the statements of later Christian writers regarding Seth. We shall now show how subordinate the figure of Enoch becomes in later writers, while the glorification of Seth proceeds apace. First of all in Africanus, who lived about the beginning of the third cent., we have, so far as I am aware, the first occurrence amongst Christians of the new exegesis of Gen. vi. 1-4. He adds, it is true, the old view, but he does not approve of it.

His exposition is given in Syncellus (i. 34 sq.): πλῆθους ἀνθρώπων γενομένου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. μυθεύεται δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται, διὰ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενεαλογουμένους δικαίους τε καὶ πατριάρχας ἀχρὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Καὶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλεῖ σποράν, ὡς οὐδέ τι θείον ἐσχηκότας διὰ πονηρίαν γένους . . . εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τῶν περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας . . . ταῖς γυναῖξιν τὴν γνώσιν παραδιδωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαντο παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας. (Cf. also i. 16 sq.) When we pass from this writer to the sixth cent. Book of Adam and Eve, we find that the new interpretation has ousted the old from the field. Thus the Watchers are throughout described as the sons of Seth, and in Book III. chap. iv. the question is discussed at length: the wise men who said that angels had come down from heaven and mingled with the daughters of men had erred: such actions, moreover, were impossible for spiritual beings. These "angels of God" were the children of Seth who were thus designated so long as they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory. But they transgressed and mingled with the daughters of Cain. It is observable that whereas Seth is an extraordinary and superhuman personage in this work, there is nothing notable said of Enoch save that "he wrote a celebrated book" and that "many wonders happened to him . . . but those wonders may not be told in this place." For the same view as to the Watchers, see *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 8-10. Our next illustration consists of an anonymous extract prefixed to the works of Malala (*circa* 600), quoted by Fabricius, i. 151: ὁ δὲ Ἀδὰμ σὺν ἑτῶν ἦν ὅτε ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σῆθ· οὗτος ὁ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἐβδομάδας καὶ τοὺς ἀστροὺς ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

judgment and uprightness on the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, and her name 512-518 A.M.

καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν μὲν α' πλανήτην ἀστέρα ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ β' Δία, τὸν δὲ γ' Ἄρεα, τὸν δὲ δ' Ἀφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ ε' Ἑρμῆν. τοὺς γὰρ δύο φωστῆρας ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε. These words form on the whole a reasonable description of the achievements assigned to Enoch in the two books of Enoch, in Jubilees, and the early Christian writers. They are found verbatim in the *Chronography of Joel*, p. 3 (ed. Bekker, 1836). Next, in the *Annals* of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (933-939 A.D.), written in Arabic and translated by Pococke (Migne, tom. 111 col. 913), a vigorous protest is made against the old myth: qui autem errant neque sciunt quid dicant aiunt angelos descendisse ad filias hominum, cum intelligendi sint filii Sethi qui a monte sancto ad filias Caini maledicti descenderunt: Sethiadae enim ob sanctitatem suam et quod montem sanctum incolerent, appellati sunt Bani Elohim, i.e., filii Dei. Similar statements are made in the *Chronikon Paschale*, i. pp. 38, 39 (ed. Dindorf, 1832). In Syncellus (circa 800 A.D.), i. 17, 19 the now prevailing interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is repeated. The descendants of Seth were pious and beautiful, and they lived in the heights over against Paradise according to the command of Adam, but were later seduced through love of the daughters of men (p. 17). Thereupon Syncellus cites Gen. vi. 1. Again, on p. 19 he writes that two hundred Watchers of the posterity of Seth were seduced and descended and took them wives, etc.—οἱ δὲ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ (Σήθ) διακόσιοι ἐγρήγοροι . . . πλανηθέντες κατέβησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, κ.τ.λ. These statements, first made in Eth. En. vi. 4-6, regarding the two hundred angels are here transferred to Seth, though Syncellus was perfectly aware of their original bearing; for in the next paragraph he actually cites this chapter of the Eth. En. Again, on pp. 16-17 Seth, just as formerly Enoch, is said to have been carried off by the angels and to have received a revelation regarding the future fall of the Watchers and the Deluge—ὁ Σήθ ἀρπαγείσιν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων

ἐμνήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐγρηγόρων καὶ τὰ περὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐσομένου . . . καὶ γενόμενος ἀφαντος ἡμέρας μ' ἐλθὼν ἐξηγήσατο τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ὅσα ἐμνήθη δι' ἀγγέλων. This is an exact account of what was originally attributed to Enoch. In the *Synopsis* of Cedrenus (eleventh cent.) we meet with the same phenomena, but carried one stage further; for, whereas Syncellus first gave his own version of the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of men, and then with remarkable candour the original account from the Book of Enoch, in Cedrenus, on the other hand, the two accounts given by Syncellus are worked up into one, and every incident told of the fallen angels is circumstantially recounted of the posterity of Seth (i. 16-20). In Zonaras (twelfth cent.), i. 26 (ed. Pinder 1841), the current view is given and the older mentioned only to be rejected. When we pass from this author we come to the semi-apotheosis of Seth in the writings of Glycas who lived some thirty or forty years later. Thus in the *Annals* of Glycas (ed. Bekker, 1836), p. 223, Seth is almost regarded as a divine being:—οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ καταγόμενοι—ἐκέλευον γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἔλεγον: and likewise on p. 228, Σήθ . . . θεὸς εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενος. This idea, indeed, had already appeared in Cedrenus, i. 16, ὠνομάσθη δὲ θεὸς διὰ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐν ὄλῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ. Thus Seth has at last become incomparably the chief personage among the early Patriarchs. In Glycas, p. 228, however, the persistency of the original Enoch myth is shown in the words: λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀστράσι τεταγμένος ἀγγελος, ὁ θειότατος δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρὸς γε τὸν Σήθ καὶ τὸν Ἐνώχ κατιῶν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὥρων μηνῶν τροπῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν διαφοράς. Just as these Christian writers transferred Enoch's functions to Seth, so Jewish writers after the Christian era, though on different grounds, transferred them variously to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, etc. See my

was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she
 522 A.M. bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. And he was

Apocalypse of Baruch, xiii. 3 note, lix. 5-11 notes.

Watchers. The עֲרִיִם of Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23, in Greek ἐγρήγοροι. See Eth. En. i. 5 (note), xx. 1, etc.; Slav. En. vii. (notes), xviii. (notes); Test. Reub. v. Thus anciently the watchers were always regarded as an angelic class, but later, owing to a new interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4, they were said to be the descendants of Seth. We have seen in the immediately preceding note how this came about.

Watchers instruct the children of men. In v. 6 it is said that God sent the angels to the earth. The object with which the angels here descended to the earth (see v. 6, viii. 10 note) seems at first sight to clash with that which is seemingly implied in the Eth. Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch (see Eth. Enoch vi. notes). But it is quite possible that our text provides us with the object originally assigned in the myth. In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxv. 2-3 this view is preserved where Shemchazai and 'Azael are represented as receiving permission from God to descend on earth in order to sanctify the divine name among men. When these angels descended they could not resist the attractions of the daughters of men (xxv. 4). Such a view most probably underlies Eth. Enoch vi., lxxxvi. 1. At all events the idea was a familiar one in the Judaism of the second cent. B.C. According to Ethiopic Enoch vi.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-lxxxii. Enoch owed all his supernatural knowledge to the instruction of angels, and according to x. 9-10 of our text Raphael taught Noah the secrets of medicinal herbs, and an angel of the presence instructs Moses throughout our book. The way for such beliefs was prepared by the statements in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, bearing on such offices of the angels. For Talmudic ideas on this subject see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 592-593.

16. Râsûjâl (Gk. MS *ῥάσουήλ* corrupt for *ῥάσουήλ*), i.e. רָצוּיָא = "acceptable to God."

Father's brother. Emended from "father's sister," as in ver. 15.

17-23. These verses relating to Enoch are of great importance as they help to determine the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch which were known to the author of our text. The words "the first . . . who learnt writing" may point to the phrase in Eth. Enoch xii. 3, "Enoch the scribe"; xii. 4, xv. 1, "Scribe of righteousness," but there is no certainty. On the other hand the clause "who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book that men might know the seasons of the years, etc." may be accepted as a partial description of Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. To ver. 18 we shall return presently. As regards ver. 19 we can attain to practical certainty. The words "what was and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep as it will happen to the children of men . . . until the day of judgment," form an exact description of the Dream-Visions in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc., which give a history of the world from the creation till the final judgment. Moreover, the next verse is no doubt indebted to Eth. Enoch lxxxv. 3 for the name of Enoch's wife. It will be observed also that the Dream-Visions referred to in ver. 19 are rightly placed before Enoch's marriage recounted in ver. 20. It is twice emphatically stated in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii. 2 and lxxxv. 3 that Enoch had these Visions before his marriage. We need, therefore, entertain no doubt as to our author having been acquainted with Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. Now on other critical grounds we know that Eth. Enoch vi.-xi. are earlier than lxxxiii.-xc. Next, the first clause in ver. 21, "he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years," offers an explanation of Eth. Enoch xii. 1-2, "Before all these events Enoch was translated and no one of the children of men knew whither he was translated, and where he abode, and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the

the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. 18. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and

Watchers and his days were with the holy ones." Since in ver. 22 the clause "testified to the watchers" presupposes such statements as are in Eth. En. xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-2, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq., we may conclude, therefore, that our author had also chapters xii.-xvi. of Eth. Enoch before him. To return to ver. 21 the clause "they showed him everything which is on earth" appears to refer to Enoch's journeys to the four quarters of the earth as well as to its centre under the guidance of various angels in Eth. Enoch xxiii.-xxxvi. The next words "(everything which is) . . . in the heavens" are less clear. They may point to Enoch's translation to heaven in Eth. Enoch xiv. or possibly to the celestial phenomena described in lxxii.-lxxxii. Moreover, the next words, "and the rule of the sun," seem clearly to indicate such a passage as lxxxii. 13-20. We have already seen that the first clause of ver. 22 manifestly implies such a background as Eth. Enoch xii.-xvi. Its second clause, "who had transgressed with the daughters of men," expresses the thought that recurs frequently in these chapters. As regards its third, "unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men," the matter of it is found in xv. 3, 4, but the actual clause word for word is taken from Eth. En. x. 11. Finally ver. 23 points to some tradition like that at the base of Eth. En. lxx., which in its present form is late. From the above, therefore, we conclude that our author refers only to chapters vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. of the Eth. Enoch.

17. *First . . . who learnt writing . . . and . . . wrote down the signs of heaven*, etc. Quoted in the *Σειρά* of Nicephorus, i. 123, on Gen. v. 21: Ἐνὼχ πρῶτος ἔμαθε γράμματα καὶ

ἔγραψε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας and in Cedrenus (i. 17) οὗτος πρῶτος γράμματα μαθήσκει. In Eth. Enoch lxix. 8, however, the first instruction of mankind in writing is ascribed to a Satan. On the other hand, just as we should expect (see note on p. 34), John Malala, p. 5 (ed. Dindorf), attributes Enoch's achievements to Seth: οὗτος ὁ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ . . . καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Similarly Cedrenus (i. 16): ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων κινήσεων σοφίαν ἐπενόησε . . . καὶ τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα συνεγράψατο, and Glycas (p. 228) transfers to the latter the achievements assigned in the *Σειρά* above to Enoch: πρῶτος ἐξεύρεν ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Cf. Joel, *Chron.* p. 3.

Wrote down. On Enoch the Scribe, see Eth. Enoch xii. 3, 4, and on the later developments of this legend consult the Slavonic Enoch xxiii. 1-3. The rest of the verse refers mainly to Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii.

Signs of heaven according to the order of their months. The twelve solar months correspond to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

18. There is nothing in the Eth. or Slav. Enoch about the "weeks of the jubilees" or "the sabbaths of the years." Our author is here at his beloved practice of antedating an event or usage he wishes to commend to his countrymen. We shall find (vii. 37, 38, xxi. 10 note) that he similarly ascribes legalistic elements to Enoch, though there is no ground for regarding the books of Enoch as having ever contained such matter.

recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), known to him. 19. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations. 20. And 582-588 A.M. in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of 587 A.M. Dânnêl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah. 21. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything. 22. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all. 23. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold

19. *Saw in a vision*, etc. This verse describes the contents of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.

The day of judgment, i.e. the final judgment. Cf. iv. 24, v. 10.

He . . . placed the testimony on earth. For references to the books of Enoch cf. Eth. En. i. 2, xxxvii. 2-4, lxxii. 1, xcii. 1, xciii. 10, civ. 11-13, Test. XII. Patriarchs (see my *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, etc.).

20. Cf. Gen. v. 21. Ednî is mentioned in Eth. En. lxxxv. 3 where the name is written Edna, as Methuselah's wife is named in iv. 27 of our text where it has the independent support of the Syriac and the Greek. Edna = עֵדְנָה = "delight."

Father's brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

21. *Was with the angels.* See note above on 17-23.

These six jubilees of years. So d. A slight change of vocalisation in *b* gives the same meaning. *ac* = "six jubilees in years." This means 294 years.

Everything . . . in the heavens. These words may refer to a fuller tradition than is found in the Eth. Enoch—perhaps to something which subsequently became the groundwork of the Slav. Enoch, as is the case in regard to the tradition in ver. 23.

23. *Conducted him into the Garden of Eden.* Eth. En. lxx. 1-3; Slav. Enoch lxvii. 2.

there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men.

24. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. 25. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices, acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. 26. For the

There he writes down . . . the wickedness of the children of men. Enoch is here the Scribe of God. See iv. 23, x. 17. This idea may be referred to in the Eth. En. xii. 3, 4; it is clearly expressed in the Slavonic Enoch. See my edition xl. 13 note, liii. 2, lxiv. 5.

24. *And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood, etc.* Cf. Slav. Enoch xxxiv. 3: "And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth"; also Test. Naph. 4.

Testify against all the children of men, etc. See x. 17.

Until the day of condemnation. Cf. iv. 19.

25. *Incense of the sanctuary, or "incense in the sanctuary."*

Sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. *bcd* = "acceptable before the Lord on the mountains of the South" (*qatr*). But this use of the word *qatr* is unexampled elsewhere. *a* omits it and writes the preceding word *badabr*. I have taken it as a corruption of *qētârê* = "sweet spices." The words would point back to Exod. xxx. 7, קטרת סמים.

On the Mount. So *a. bcd* read "on the mount of the mid-day (or South)." This mountain may be the mountain of the East. See next note.

26. Three of these places are connected with three decisive turning-points or periods in the history of mankind: the Garden of Eden as the first abode of man; Mount Sinai as the place whence the Law was promulgated, and Zion as the centre of the Theocracy. These three are again mentioned in viii. 19. What the Mount of the East is, I cannot determine. In the *ZDMG*, xi. pp. 730-733 Rapoport is of opinion that the

mountain in question is Mount Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 15 sqq.). He argues that this is the most easterly of the mountains of Palestine; that it contains all the localities of special sanctity among the Samaritans, Gerizim, Sichem, Samaria; that Abraham and Jacob had sacrificed thereon (Gen. xii. 7, xxxiii. 20) just as sacrifices had been offered by Adam in Eden, according to iii. 27 of our text and the Talmud, on Sinai by Moses and on Zion by Israel. But as such an interpretation would imply a Samaritan authorship it is thereby made impossible; for the textual evidence is itself decisive against such authorship. The mention, moreover, of Zion tells in the same direction. There is some probability in the suggestion of Rönsch, pp. 505-6, that by the Mount of the East we are to understand Lubar, one of the summits of Ararat, on which the Ark rested and Noah sacrificed, as this lay to the NE. of Palestine and as there would thus be connected with these four places the notable names of Adam, Noah, Moses, David. See viii. 19 (note). On the other hand it is possible that we have here the Mount mentioned in the preceding verse as that on which Enoch offered incense. Now if we may cite the evidence of *Die Schatzhöhle* and the Book of Adam and Eve, Seth and his posterity were commanded by Adam to live on the Mount close to Eden and not to descend to the plain and mingle with the descendants of Cain. Adam's command was observed till the days of Jared. This Mount could rightly be described as the *Mount of the East*. Or again the Mount of the East may be the mountain which is described as the

Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the

652 A.M. world. 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. 28. And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâk'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, "This one will comfort me

throne of God in Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiii. 1-3, on which God will sit when He comes to visit the earth. It is the highest of the seven mountains which are in the neighbourhood of the Garden of Eden. Cf. Eth. Enoch xxxii. 1-2, lxxvii. 3-4. In Enoch, it is true, the Garden of Eden appears to be in the NW., but it is in the east in Jubilees: see viii. 16.

Sanctified in the new creation. See note on i. 29.

27. Cf. Gen. v. 25. *Edna.* See iv. 20 note. According to the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married.

Father's brother. Emended as in 15.

Lamech. The year of Lamech's birth is not mentioned, but it can be determined from the date of Methuselah's marriage furnished by the Samaritan Chronicle. According to it Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married, and as he was born according to our text (iv. 20) in the year 587, Lamech was probably born in the year 654.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. *In the fifteenth jubilee in the third week . . . she bare him a son . . . Noah.* This assigns some year in the period 701-707 as the

birthday of Noah, and 707 is no doubt the year intended. For in the Samaritan Chronicle (see preceding note) it is distinctly stated that 707 years elapsed from Adam to the birth of Noah. We can arrive at this date independently also. With the help of the Samaritan Chronicle we saw in the notes on iv. 27 that Lamech was born in 654. Now according to the same Chronicle Lamech was fifty-three when Noah was born: hence Noah was born in the year 707. On the other hand there is a discrepancy between this date of Noah's birth and that which follows from vi. 18 and x. 16. In the former it is said that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated 1309 years, from the day of creation till the days of Noah, and that Noah observed it 350 years. Hence Noah died in 1659. But since in x. 16 Noah is said to have lived 950 years, this would fix 709 as the year of his birth.

Bêtênôs = בֵּתְאֲנוֹשׁ. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. v. 29 gives *βεθενως*: the Syriac = Enoshi.

This one will comfort me. "This one" (ze emended from *za* = which). Our text follows Gen. v. 29 in attributing to the name Noah (נֹחַ) the meaning belonging to Menachem (מְנַחֵם). The Book of Jashar 136 says that Methuselah

for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed." 29. And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year 930 A.M. thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he was the first to be buried in the earth. 30. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." For this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. 31. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst

called the child Noah because the earth would have rest (נח) in his days, but Lamech called him Menachem because "he would comfort us" (נחמנו). The same ideas are found in Ber. rabba 25. These results of learned reflection on Gen. v. 29 appear to be later than Jubilees.

And for the ground. All authorities save the LXX and our text omit "and."

29. *Land of his creation.* See iii. 32 note.

First to be buried in the earth. This shows that the legend, which is attested in the later Life of Adam and Eve (Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 21), that the body of Abel was not buried till that of Adam was, already existed.

30. Cf. Gen. ii. 17. This interpretation of a day as a thousand years was current among the Jews. Cf. Ber. rabba 19, 22. 2 Pet. iii. 8 *μία ημέρα παρά Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη*. Barnab. *Ep.* xv. *ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη*. See also Slav. En. xxxiii. 1, 2 (note) where the application of this principle of interpretation to the six days creation and the seventh of rest issues in the doctrine of the Millenium. Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* lxxx.) apparently quotes from the text: *ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἶρητο, ὅτι ἡ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθανεῖται,*

ἐγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. *Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρήμενον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν*. See also Lactantius, *Institution*, vii. 14.

31-32. *Cain was killed . . . in the same year, etc.* In Syncellus, i. 19, the text is partly reproduced: *τῷ αὐτῷ πάλ' ἔτει καὶ Κάιν ἀπέθανεν, ἐμπεσόντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ οἴκου· λίθοις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀβελ ἀνείλε*. In Cedrenus, i. 16, more fully: *οὗτος ὁ Κάιν, ὡς ἡ Λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις φησὶν, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ· λίθοις γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀβελ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λίθοις ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκτάνθη*. In the *Excerpta Chronologica* prefixed to the works of John Malala we have this and the later legend given: *κατὰ (? μετὰ) δὲ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεσοῦσης ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν· ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι Λαμέχ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν*. This latter account is found also in Glycas 223, in the Book of Adam and Eve, ii. 13, in Jarchi's *Comm.* on Gen. iv. 23, Tanchuma 6, the Book of Jashar (section Beresheth). For other authorities where the later legend is given see Eisenmenger, i. 470-471. On the other hand, according to Ber. rabba 22, the Rabbis said that he was killed by a stone, but Simeon the son of Gamaliel stated that he was killed by a reed. The latter idea seems to have been suggested by the likeness between יר and נר.

of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment. 32. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him." 33. And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ĕmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year thereof she bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare him Japheth.

31. *With a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment, etc.* We have here the primitive human law of retaliation (eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, etc., Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19) described as a law of the divine procedure. This law of exact retribution is not merely an enactment of human justice, our author declares; it is observed by God in his government of the world.

It is noteworthy that the same principle of retribution is enforced by historical examples in 2 Macc. v. 10, where speaking of Jason the author writes: ὁ πλῆθος ἀτάφρων ἐκρίψας ἀπένθητος ἐγενήθη, καὶ κηδίας οὐδ' ἦστινος . . . μετέσχευ. Similarly, it is recounted of Nicanor (xv. 32, 33) that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. Cf. also xiii. 8. In this respect 2 Macc. therefore represents truly this second-cent. B.C. doctrine of retribution. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation; but spiritually conceived it represents the profound truth enunciated repeatedly in the N.T. Thus in Gal. vi. 7 "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"; Col. iii. 25 "he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done"; 2 Cor. v. 10 in the judgment men shall "receive the things done in the body." In the Parables this kinship of the

penalty to the sin is repeatedly dwelt on: the unforgiving debtor is refused forgiveness, the slothful servant loses what he had, he who will not use his affluence to succour a brother's need will lose it for himself, and the man who refuses to part with an offending eye or hand will finally lose his whole body in Gehenna. See note on xlviii. 14.

According to Beer this halachic interpretation of Exod. xxi. 24 is unknown to traditional Judaism, which enacts that the murderer is to be slain with the sword.

33. 'Ĕmzârâ. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment and Lagarde's LXX MS γ. Frankel derives it from אִם שָׂרָה or אִם שָׂרָה because she lived in the days of the Flood.

Brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

Shem . . . Ham . . . Japhet. Cf. x. 14, where again Shem is represented as the eldest. We should observe here that our author thus understood aright אִם יֶפֶת הַגִּדּוּל in Gen. x. 21 as "(Shem) . . . the elder brother of Japhet" (so also Vulg.) over against the Massoretes, Symmachus, and Rashi who wrongly understood it as "brother of Japheth the elder." The LXX is similarly wrong: ἀδελφῶ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μελίζονος, Ber. rabba 26, 37, and the Book of Jashar (*in loc.*). On the other hand in Sanhedrin 69b Shem is said to be two years older than Japhet.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. Corruption of all creation, 2-3. Punishment of the fallen angels and their children, 4-9a. Final judgment announced, 9b-16. Day of Atonement, 17-18. The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi.-viii. 19.)

V. And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. 2. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually. 3. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes. 4. And He said: "I shall destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the

V. 1. Gen. vi. 1, 2, 4. On this myth of the intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men see iv. 15 (note): also my *Eth. Enoch* vi. 1, 2, vii. 1, 2 with notes *in loc.*

Angels of God. This is the LXX rendering of Gen. vi. 2. It is also found in Philo, *De Gigant.* 2 (i. 263 Mangey), Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine and Ambrose. It is the *older* Jewish view, but was condemned probably as early as the first cent. A.D. See note on iv. 15.

To look upon. Correct printer's error *reš'i*j into *re'i*j in my text.

2. *All flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts.* Gen. vi. 12. From the Book of Jasher 13b this seems to mean that different kinds of animals coupled with each other: and that man was guilty of bestiality.

Began to devour each other. *Eth. Enoch* vii. 5.

Lawlessness increased, etc. Cf. Gen. vi. 11.

Every imagination, etc. Gen. vi. 5.

3. Gen. vi. 12.

4, 5. Gen. vi. 7, 8.

4. *I shall destroy.* So *a d. b c* = "He would destroy."

earth which I have created." 5. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. 7. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven. 8. And He said "My spirit will not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." 9. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 10. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed

4. *Which I have created.* Emended from *ab* which="He had created." Corruption could have arisen from confusion of *ἐκτίσα* and *ἐκτίσε*, as Littmann has pointed out. *cd* = "was created." Possibly we should keep to *b* throughout, and translate "He would destroy . . . which He had created." Cf. vi. 20.

10. *Until the day of the great condemnation, i.e., the day of the final judgment.* See iv. 19, 24. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 13. The intervening period, according to Eth. Enoch x. 12, is seventy generations.

10^b-12. Verses 11-12 if the text is correct teach that God recreated the human race and all His other works at the time of the Flood "so that they should not sin in their whole nature forever, but should be all righteous . . . alway." In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 2 there is a slight approximation to this idea: *ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡγάπησε, κατεδίκασε δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ*

διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθάρων. See also Philo, *De Vita Moses*, ii. 12. But with the subsequent corruption of all the descendants of Noah till the time of Abraham and the universal apostasy of the Gentiles according to our author, such a statement is practically inconceivable. Moreover, it is not difficult to discover the origin of the error in our text. Verses 10^b-16 are descriptive of the final judgment, and simply amplify the last clause of ver. 10. Thus the time of the verbs "destroyed," "was," "made" in 11-12 is wrong and we should have "shall destroy," "shall be" and "shall make." "Judged" must also be rendered "shall have judged," but this last does not necessitate a change in the text of either the Ethiopic or Hebrew. The text therefore should be translated: "Until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment shall be executed on all who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord, 11. And He shall destroy (them) all from their places, and there shall not be left one of them

on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 11. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness. 12. And He †made† for all His works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway. 13. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind. 14. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved. 15. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. 16. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [17. And of the children of Israel it has

whom He shall not have judged according to all their wickedness, 12. And He shall make for all His works, etc." This corruption of the tenses may possibly have arisen in the Ethiopic, or in the Greek, but this is very improbable, as it involves so many changes. On the other hand it is easy to explain the false text as having originated in a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The above passage = ער יום הרין הגדול בהעשות משפט בכול אשר השחית דרכו ומעשהו לכניי והאביר כלם . . . ולא יותר מהם אחר אשר לא . . . עשה. Here we have to suppose that the Greek translator failed to grasp the sense of the passage and see that והאביר and the other verbs followed

closely on בהעשות, and accordingly rendered them merely as ordinary perfects. See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*,² p. 165.

12. *New and righteous nature.* See note on i. 29.

13. *Heavenly tables.* See note on iii. 10.

From the path. So *d*, where I take the singular suffix to express the article. Otherwise *abc*, "from their path."

16. Cf. xl. 8; Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated or else transposed here from xxxiv. 18-19 where the historical occasion of this feast is given.

17. Probably based on Jer. xxxvi. 3. Cf. Jer. xviii. 8; Jonah iii. 8.

been written and ordained : If they turn to Him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. 18. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] 19. And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone ; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account ; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. 20. And the Lord said that He would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. 21. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. 22. And Noah made the ark in

18. The time referred to here is obviously the tenth day of the seventh month, *i.e.*, the Day of Atonement. In Lev. xvi. in spite of the terms in verses 16, 21, the sin-offering atoned only for sins committed in error (בשגגה, *akousiws*), *i.e.* accidentally or involuntarily (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, etc.—these are the ἀγνοήματα in Heb. ix. 7), not for those committed deliberately and defiantly (ביר רמה, Num. xv. 30). This is the view enforced in the Mishnic treatise *Yoma* viii. 9: "If a man says I will sin, and then repent . . . Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance ; and if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement,' the Day of Atonement will bring no atonement." On the other hand both in our text and in the treatise *Shebu'oth* i. 6 it is taught that on the Day of Atonement sins of every description are forgiven "both the light and the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, the conscious and the unconscious, those relating to the positive and the negative commands, and even those that were to be visited

with the death penalty by God or human judgment." And yet we must discriminate between the teaching of our text and of the treatise *Shebu'oth* in favour of the former. In the latter the ceremonial was of the nature of an *opus operatum*. In our text, on the other hand, repentance is insisted on : God's mercy is not to be won on the Day of Atonement save by those who turn (ישובו) from their sins. Thus though our text stands midway between the doctrine prescribed in Lev. xvi. (also in the treatise *Yoma*) and the treatise *Shebu'oth*, with the former it prescribes as necessary to atonement the temper of true repentance : with the latter it maintains the efficacy of the atonement for sins of every description.

Once each year = ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (Heb. ix. 7).

19. That the wicked are spared for the sake of the righteous is the idea underlying Gen. xviii. 23-32.

20. Gen. vi. 7 ; cf. ver. 4.

21. Gen. vi. 14. According to vi. 25 of our text this command was given on the new moon of the first month.

all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh 1307 A.M. jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). 23. And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, in the second month, on the new 1308 A.M. moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth evening.

24. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep,
seven mouths in number.

25. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from
the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until
the whole world was full of water.

26. And the waters increased upon the earth :
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high
mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.

27. And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five
months — one hundred and fifty days. 28. And the
ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the

22. *Twenty-seventh jubilee.* So we should emend the reading of all the MSS "twenty-second jubilee." In my text I have by a slip emended the reading into "twenty-sixth jubilee." The fifth year of the fifth week of the twenty-seventh jubilee = 1307 A.M. This agrees exactly with the chronology in the Samaritan Chronicle: "From Adam to the birth of Noah was a period of 707 years, and from Adam to the Flood 1307 years" (Samaritan Chronicle translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 421-469).

23. *Closed it, etc.* Gen. vii. 16.

Seventeenth, etc. Gen. vii. 11.

24. *Seven flood-gates.* Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 2.

Floodgates . . . fountains. Gen. vii. 11. See note on ii. 4.

The great deep. The תהום of Gen. i. 2. See note on ii. 2.

25, 26. Gen. vii. 12, 18, 20. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 3.

27. Gen. vii. 24, viii. 3.

28. Gen. viii. 4. This name Lûbâr recurs in vii. 1 (see note), 17. It is mentioned also in the Midrashic *Book of Noah* (see Appendix I. to my Text) as follows: בלובר הבר מהררי אררט. This verse is reproduced freely by Epiphianus, *Adv. Haer.* I. tom. i. 4: μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπιστάσης τῆς λάρνακος τοῦ Νῶε ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυνέων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ. As Nicolaus of Damascus reports (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3.

mountains of Ararat. 29. And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 30. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the
 1309 A.M. mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 31. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry. 32. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-22). God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden, 4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood, 11-14. Bow set in the clouds for a sign, 15-16. Feast of weeks instituted, history of its

6) that according to local tradition the Ark rested on a great mountain in Armenia called Baris above Minyas, Professor Sayce (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.* xiv. p. 389 note) conjectures that this is the mountain named Lubar in our text, seeing that both are said by Epiphanius and Syncellus (see note on vii. 1) to be on the borders of Armenia. I am indebted to him also for the following note in which he seeks to account for the syllable Lu in Lubar. "In the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions Lulu is the country which is called Urartu (Ararat) in Assyria, on the borders of Armenia and Kurdistan, and is almost certainly the Lulubi or Luluwi of the Assyrian inscriptions in which was Mount Nizir

on the top of which the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. *On the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.* In Gen. viii. 14 it is on the seven-and-twentieth day that the earth was dry. Part of this verse and the next is quoted in Lagarde's LXX MS z on Gen. viii. 14: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς ἀνέωξε τὴν κιβωτόν. It will be observed that the earth became dry exactly a year after Noah entered the ark (ver. 23).

32. Cf. Gen. viii. 17, 19.

*observance, 17-22. Feasts of the new moons, 23-28.
Division of the year into 364 days, 29-38.*

VI. And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain. 2. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah. 3. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord. 4. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night

VI. 1. *New moon of the third month.* This date is reproduced in Lagarde's MS z on Gen. viii. 19: *ἐν μὲν τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου*. See ver. 11 on the parallel between the covenants on Sinai and Ararat. On this date also the covenant was made with Abraham, xiv. 1 sqq.; and Jacob started to go down into Egypt, xlv. 1.

Built an altar on that mountain. Cf. Gen. viii. 20. The mountain is Lubar. According to Ber. rabba 34 Noah offered this sacrifice in Jerusalem. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. viii. 20 the place is not mentioned, but the altar is identified with that which Adam built.

2. *Made atonement for the earth.* Though Jewish Haggada knows nothing of this particular act of atonement, it is easy to justify such a conception from Lev. xviii. 26-28; Num. xxxv. 33, 34. The earth itself as being defiled needed expiation. Unnatural vices and murder pollute it.

3. *Ox, and a goat, and a sheep, etc.* In Gen. viii. 20 it is said that Noah "took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt-offerings, etc."

Mingled with oil, and . . . wine. These elements are also additions to the statement in Gen. viii. 20 in conformity with later ritual. Cf. Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 2-5.

Frankincense. Lev. ii. 2, 15.

4-7. God makes a covenant with Noah, in which He promises not again to destroy the earth with a flood, makes man ruler over everything that is on the earth, and forbids the eating of blood and murder.

4. *The Lord smelt the goodly savour.* Gen. viii. 21.

Made a covenant . . . not . . . to destroy the earth. Gen. ix. 11.

All the days of the earth, etc. Gen. viii. 22.

should not change their order, nor cease for ever. 5. "And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I shall inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. 6. And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. 7. But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast), shall I require the blood of man. 8. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man. 9. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth." 10. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout

5. Gen. ix. 7. It is noteworthy that the clause *be a blessing* (וּבְרִכָּה) corresponds to "multiply" (וּרְבִי) in the parallel in Gen. The latter appears to be corrupt for וּרְבִי = LXX καὶ κατακυριεύσατε.

The fear of you, etc. Cf. Gen. ix. 2.

6. Gen. ix. 2, 3.

As the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. From Gen. ix. 3 save the verb "to eat" which, however, is only a repetition of the phrase "for food" in the preceding clause. Of the argument that concluded from those words that only certain herbs were allowed for food, our text knows nothing. This view appears in Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 20 βουλομένου αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν ὡς λάχανα χόρτου . . . ἐπεὶ τινα τῶν χόρτων οὐκ ἐσθλομεν οὕτω καὶ διαστολῆν ἔκτοτε τῷ Νῶε διεστάλθαι φατέ. According to Goldfahn (*Monats-schrift für Gesch. d. Jud.* 1873, 57 sq.) the interpretation here attributed to

Trypho is not found in existing Jewish sources. See Singer, 295 sq.

7. Gen. ix. 4, 5. *Of your lives.* Text = "in your lives" which is a wrong rendering of לִנְפְשֵׁיכֶם.

(*Beast.*) I have here supplied 'ēnsēsâ (=beast) which could easily have fallen out before 'ahšēš = I will require.

8. Gen. ix. 6.

10-14. Noah and his sons swear to the covenant as of perpetual obligation as regards the non-eating of blood (ver. 10). Because this ordinance was of perpetual obligation, it was re-enacted on Mount Sinai; but, whereas in Noah's covenant it had been brought forward only on its negative side, in the Mosaic legislation it was enforced in its positive side, that is, according to the former, blood was not to be eaten, whereas according to the latter its true use was to sprinkle the worshipper (ver. 11) and to make atonement before God (ver. 14). Moreover, as Noah's covenant was instituted in the third

all the generations of the earth in this month. 11. On this account He spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. 12. And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 13. And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually. 14. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out. 15. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. 16. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth

month, so also the Law was given on Sinai in the same month (ver. 11). [In no passage is it said that the covenants of Noah and of Moses were established on the same day in the third month. Such a connection appears to exist between the date of the covenant of Noah and that of the first celebration on earth of the feast of weeks (see notes on verses 17-18).]

11. *A covenant . . . in this month upon the mountain.* The law was given on Sinai in the third month according to Exod. xix. 1.

12, 13. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

14. *Supplicating on their (bc) behalf with blood.* Cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

Morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8.

Forgiveness on your (d. bc "their," a "its") behalf. The reading of *d* is to be preferred on the ground of the parallelism (Littmann).

15-16. Cf. Gen. ix. 13-15. The text after touching on the Mosaic development of the covenant of Noah here returns to the latter (cf. ver. 4), which God confirmed with the sign of the bow in the clouds.

to destroy it all the days of the earth. 17. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. 18. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they eat blood. 19. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain. 20. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. 21. For it is the feast of weeks and the feast

1309-1659

A.M.

17-18. In connection with the covenant Noah is bidden to observe the feast of weeks. Since it follows from xv. 1 (see note) and xlv. 4, 5 that this feast was celebrated on the 15th of the third month (see note on i. 1) we may reasonably assign the promulgation of the Noachic covenant to the same date. Later Judaism (Maimonides, *More Neb.* 41) held Pentecost to celebrate the giving of the Law on Sinai, and designated this day as "the day of the giving of the Law" (יום מתן תורה). So our author (cf. i. 1). This idea is not found in Philo and Josephus; but it appears in Jerome, *Ep. ad Fab.* mansio 12; August. *Contra Faust.* xxxii. 12. Observe that our author ascribes the covenant with Abram to the same date (see note on xiv. 20).

17. *Feast of weeks.* This title is found in Exod. xxxiv. 22 (תַּבְּעֻת, *éortē éβδομάδων*). Our text is not acquainted with the more familiar designation of this feast, i.e. Pentecost. This designation, which is a Greek rendering, ἡ πεντηκοστή (ἡμέρα), of the rabbinic יום השמיים, is found in 2 Macc. xii. 32 μετὰ τὴν λεγομένην

πεντηκοστήν. Tob. ii. 1 contains another early instance of its use, and Philo, *De Septenar.* 21, a near approach to it. For later instances see 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6.

18. *Twenty-six jubilees and five weeks=1309 years.* On the slight discrepancy in our author's dates see notes on iv. 28 and v. 22.

Seven jubilees and one week=350 years.

Did away with (it) . . . and they eat blood. Here again the close connection of the feast of weeks and of the covenant with Noah is emphasised.

19. *But Abraham.* For "but (*a d*) Abraham" (*b c d*), *b c* read "and Abraham alone."

Observed it. *a b* omit "it."

Ye celebrated it anew [= *haddaskemwô (a)*]. *b c d* read "I have renewed them" or "I have renewed (it) unto them" [= *haddaskewômû (b c d)*].

20. *One day in the year.* This should perhaps be: "the first day (of the week) in every year." See note on ver. 22.

21. *The feast of weeks* was likewise known as the feast of the harvest

of first-fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature: according to what is written and engraven concerning it celebrate it. 22. For I have written in the book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year. 23. And on the

Exod. xxiii. 16, תָּנָה הַקִּצִּיר. In the latter respect it was a *feast of first-fruits* as in the text, or the day of first-fruits, Num. xxviii. 26, יוֹם הַקִּצִּיר, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων. Why this festival should be said to be "of a double nature" I do not see.

Celebrate it=gēbrâ emended from gēbrâ="its celebration."

22. *Book of the first law, i.e., the Pentateuch.* See note on i. 26.

One day in the year. Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 7-8) suggests that "one day" here=ἡμέρα μία=יוֹם אֶחָד, which in its original context meant "the first day," i.e. of the week, Sunday. Thus Pentecost was to fall on the same day every year, a Sunday, the first of the week. If this is right it follows that if we count back seven weeks we arrive at Nisan 22, "the morrow after the Sabbath," which is also the first day of the week, and that the author of our book interpreted the term Sabbath in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath (see note on xv. 1). For somewhat similar directions regarding the Passover see xlix. 7, 8.

Its sacrifices, or "the sacrifices."

One day in every year. This should perhaps be "the first day (of the week) in every year" as Eppstein suggests (see note above).

23. According to Lev. xxiii. 24 only the 1st day of the 7th month was a day of remembrance. Nevertheless the special significance assigned to these four days was a not unfamiliar idea in the second cent. as appears from the Eth. Enoch and our text, both of which we shall discuss presently in this relation. Even the Mishna appears to preserve some echoes of the early con-

troversies that circled round them; for we can hardly interpret otherwise the passage in the Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1: "On 1st Nisan—beginning of year, of government and of festivals. On 1st Ellul, the year of tithing of beasts according to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon. On 1st Tisri, the calendar year, the Sabbatical year and jubilee year, and (year) of plants and vegetables. On 1st Sebat, year of blooming of trees according to school of Shammai but on 15th according to school of Hillel." That different usages prevailed at different times follows clearly from the sacrifices enjoined on the new moons in Ezekiel xvi. 6 and Num. xxviii. 11-15. The Rabbis could give no satisfactory explanation of these differences: some indeed were for removing Ezekiel from the Canon, and others denied its authenticity on account of them. Returning now to our text and the parallel passages in the Eth. Enoch, we observe that these four days have a religious significance in the former, but an astronomical in the latter. In Eth. En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 they are called "leaders," because they lead in the four quarters of the year. They are also called "intercalary days" (Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2) ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι, and correspond respectively to the vernal equinox (1st of 1st month), the summer solstice (1st of 4th month), the autumn equinox (1st of 7th month), and the winter solstice (1st of 10th month). These four days, when added to 360 (i.e., 12 months of 30 days each, Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 11), constitute an invariable year of 364 days (cf. our text v. 32, 38; Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2, lxxxii. 11). On the meaning of this year of 364 days see notes on verses 29-30, 32.

new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another

On the new moon of the first month. On this date Noah was bidden to make an ark, v. 21, vi. 25; the earth first became visible after the flood, v. 30, vi. 25; Noah offered a sacrifice, vii. 2, 3; Abraham erected an altar and sacrificed thereon, xiii. 8; God appeared to Isaac, xxiv., who forthwith offered sacrifice, 22, 23; Jacob went to Bethel, xxvii. 19; Levi was born, xxviii. 14.

On the new moon of the fourth month. The following events are assigned to this date. On it Adam and Eve went forth from the Garden, iii. 32; the mouths of the abysses beneath and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, v. 29, vi. 26; angels appeared to Abraham, xvi. 1; Joseph was born, xxviii. 24; Jacob arrived in Egypt, xlv. 1.

On the new moon of the seventh month. On this date the mouths of the abysses were opened, v. 29, vi. 26;

Abraham observed the stars in order to learn the nature of the coming year, xii. 16.

On the new moon of the tenth month. See ver. 27.

26. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 2; Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

27. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

29. *Placed.* We have here the imperfect; hence literally = "they place" or "they were placing."

On the heavenly tables. Here the festivals ordained by Noah are entered on the heavenly tables. See note on iii. 10.

29-30. *Each had thirteen weeks, etc.* According to verses 23-30 the year consists of four seasons and each season of three months or thirteen weeks. The year has, therefore, on this computation 12 months of 30 days each

(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arrangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days: the month $4 \times 7 = 28$: the year $52 \times 7 = 364$: the year-week 7 years and the jubilee 7×7 years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the

feast of weeks, *i.e.* Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year. Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So *b*, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting*, or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that *ta'adwô* here points back to עָבַר = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

mandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and

against such systems of intercalating days in the lunar year to make it synchronise with the solar, as we find in Eth. Enoch lxxiv.-lxxv., and the later systems of the Pharisees. But seeing that the same word which I render "neglecting" is found twice in ver. 33 and in xv. 25, and that it cannot in two of these instances bear the meaning Beer proposes, I have retained the ordinary meaning of the word. See also on xlix. 14.

32. *Three hundred and sixty-four days.* A solar year of the same length is also taught in Eth. Enoch lxxiv. 10, 12, lxxv. 2; Slav. Enoch xlviii. 1. In Slav. Enoch xiv. 1 the ordinary reckoning of 365½ days is found. It is obvious that we have here to do with an old Jewish reckoning. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. Enoch pp. 189-191 that the advocates of this system were acquainted with the Greek octaeteris and the cycle of Calippus, and in my edition of the Slav. Enoch, that its author in xvi. 8 was familiar with the Metonic cycle. Why then did these writers, notwithstanding their knowledge of the Greek systems, advocate an impossible solar year of 364 days? I think their action in this matter must be attributed to dogmatic prejudice. If they regarded it as vital to the validity of their festivals that they should be celebrated not only on the same day of the month but also on the same day of the week from year to year, it seemed possible to attain this end by enforcing the acceptance of a year of 364 days. If the solar year were of this duration, it would always begin on the same day of the week; for it would consist of 52 weeks exactly. Furthermore if it began on Sunday, the first day of the week, the Sabbath would always constitute the 7th day of each of the 52 weeks, and the great festivals would always fall on the same day of the week and on the same day of the month from year to year. Thus the Passover would take place on Nisan 14, a Sabbath day, the wave-sheaf would be offered on Nisan

22, a Sunday (the morrow after the Sabbath), and the feast of weeks on Sivan 15, a Sunday—that is in case we reckon 13 months of 28 days each, the ecclesiastical year (see note on vi. 29-30). By the assumption, therefore, of an impossible solar year of 12 months of 364 days in all and of an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of the same number of days consisting of an arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the phases of the moon, they seemed to have succeeded in synchronising the civil and ecclesiastical years without resorting to intercalary days. *But this year of 364 days goes back in all probability to the Exile.* It will be observed that our text brings forward this disquisition on the true length of the year in connection with the account of the flood. Now it is just in the same connection in the narrative of P in Genesis that a year of 364 days is presupposed as Bacon (*Hebraica*, viii. 79-88, 124-139 [1891-1892]) points out. Thus, the epochs of the flood are:—

Beginning	.	2nd month	17th day
Climax	.	7th "	17th "
Mountain tops			
appear	.	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up	1st	"	1st "
Earth dry	.	2nd "	27th "

He points out that the flood, which in the Babylonian account lasted one year, lasts here from the 17th of the 2nd month of one year to the 27th of the 2nd of the next. Now he argues that, if one reckoned according to Hebrew lunar months, ten days (cf. Jubilees vi. 36) had to be added at the close of the 12th month in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; for the lunar year was 354 days ($= 12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$: cf. Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15). Now if the solar year was reckoned at 364 days, we can understand why Noah's exit is assigned to the 27th and not to the 17th of the 2nd month; for ten days represent according to Jubilees (vi. 36) and the Eth. Enoch (lxxiv. 10,

sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For

11, 13) the difference between the lunar and solar years. Thus the flood would last one solar year from its beginning to its close.

We presume, therefore, writes Bacon, that the authors of Enoch or Jubilees found their peculiar year of 364 days (=12 sidereal months of 30 days each +4 intercalary days) in the Genesis account of the flood. Considering the advanced stage of astronomical science in the second cent. B.C. among the nations in touch with Judaism, it is not possible to explain their adoption of such a solar year unless it appealed to them on dogmatic grounds and had at its back an inspired authority. Genesis formed the inspired authority, and the dogmatic grounds are obvious (see above). That such a scheme is impracticable is really no objection, if we consider that the author of Jubilees is as thorough-going an idealist as the author of the priestly legislation, and is

still more sublimely defiant of that which is merely practicable. On the other hand, the authors in question, though acquainted with the systems current in Greece, were most probably ignorant of the astronomical data which necessarily determined them; and, as a civil year of 360 days was current both in Babylon and Egypt (in the former country corrected by intercalation), they may not have known any irrefutable grounds against the adoption of the solar year of 364 days, authenticated as it was by the priestly compilation of the Exile.

33, 34. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 4-6.

33. *And they will disturb*, etc. Bracketed as a dittography.

Neglect. This word may also be rendered "omit," "pass by," "transgress" (see note on ver. 31).

35. *Not of my own devising*. Text = לֹא מִלְבִּי, Num. xvi. 28. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. 37. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. 38. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1-5. Becomes drunk and exposes his person, 6-9. The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth, 10-12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20-28). Noah's sons and grandsons and their

36. Our author is decidedly opposed to the use of the moon in determining the seasons and feasts. Thus in ii. 9 it is the sun that is to be man's guide as to days and sabbaths, and feasts, and months and years. Again in iv. 21 the angels instruct Enoch as to the lordship of the sun in such matters. Thus our book seems to be a polemic against the teaching of Eth. Enoch lxxiii.-lxxiv. if we accept the text in lxxiv. 12 where we have a statement in irreconcilable conflict with our text: "And the moon brings in all the years exactly so that their position is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity; but they complete the changing year with perfect justice in 364 days." But this divergence arises only from a corruption of the text. For "And the moon brings in . . . unto eternity; but the moons" read "And they (the sun and stars) bring in all the years so exactly that their posi-

tion is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity, and they." It is true, however, that the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, xiv. no. 55, 1869, pp. 421 sqq.), which was acquainted with our text, adopts a hostile attitude to it on this question. Thus it declares that we should reckon according to the course of the sun and of the moon, and quotes Gen. i. 14: "Le calcul avec l'un d'eux seulement (c'est-à-dire avec le soleil ou avec la lune) ne suffit pas."

Comes in . . . ten days too soon. Lunar year = 354 days.

38. *Will not make. a b c* wrongly omit the negative.

Will go wrong. Because they do not follow the guidance of the sun.

New moons. This could also be translated "beginnings of the months." See last clause of last verse.

cities, 13-19. Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed, 20-39.

VII. And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, 1317 A.M. in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and 1320 A.M. he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month. 2. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first 1321 A.M. day, on the new moon of the first month. 3. And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons. 4. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. 5. And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before

VII. 1. *Labâr*. See v. 28. This verse is partly reproduced in Syncellus, i. 147, Νῶε ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ὄρει Λουβάρ της Ἀρμενίας, and in Cedrenus, i. 21. Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* I. i. 4, follows our text: ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδύων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ, ἐκεῖσε πρῶτον κατοίκησις γίνεταί μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακεῖ φυτεῖται ἀμπελῶνα Νῶε.

Produced fruit in the fourth year.

This is intended to call to mind the command in Lev. xix. 23-25 not to touch the fruit of trees for the first three years after they were planted. See verses 36-37 where the passage from Lev. is in substance reproduced.

3. The ritual is mainly according to Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. *And afterwards . . . which he had previously made . . . and he placed.* So *cd*.

Acceptable. Emended as in vi. 3.

the Lord his God. 6. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy. 7. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. 8. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without. 9. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward. 10. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren." 11. And he blessed Shem, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. 12. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." 13. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. 14. And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. 15. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the

6, 7. Gen. ix. 21.

8, 9. Gen. ix. 22, 23.

8. *And went forth.* Mass., Sam., and all versions save the LXX omit.

10. Gen. ix. 24, 25. *From his sleep.* Gen. ix. 24 has "from his wine."

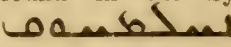
An enslaved servant. So LXX (παῖς οἰκέτης), and Onk.: Mass. has "servant of servants."

11, 12. Gen. ix. 26, 27.

12. *God shall dwell.* It will be observed that the text supplies a subject to the verb "shall dwell." This sense is attached to the ambiguous words of Gen. ix. 27 by Onk. also: יְהוָה שְׂכֵנָתָהּ בְּכִשְׁבִּנָּהּ הָשֵׁם, "and may He cause His

Shekinah to rest in the dwellings of Shem." The Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ix. 27, on the other hand, and Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 139, refer the words to Japheth.

13. Cf. Gen. x. 6. In the text these names are Ques, Mas̄arēm, Phûd and Canaan.

14. *Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as , and in Eutychius of Alex. *Annales*, p. 35, as Nahlat. The first part of the compound may be from נחלה, construct case of נחלה, and the second from נחיק.

name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. 16. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb. 17. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. 18. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and Lud, and Aram. 19. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. 20. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. 21. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely,

1324-1372
A.M.

15. 'Adâtan'êsês. Syriac gives
ܐܕܬܢܐܝܝܐ.

16. Shem dwelt near Noah. This is to show Shem's filial love.

17. Sêdêqâtêlêbâb: Syr. ܣܕܩܬܐܠܒܐܒ, from ܣܕܩܬܐ ܠܒܒ = "righteousness of the heart" as Rubin has recognised.

The mountain, i.e. Lûbâr. See ver. 1.

18. In Ethiopic these names are Êlâm, 'Assâr, Arphâksed. Gen. x. 22.

This (son), etc. Gen. xi. 10. Text emended. See my edition *in loc.*

19. Gen. x. 2. These names in the Ethiopic are Gômêr, Mâgûg, Mâdâi, 'Îjâjâ, Tôbêl, Meskâ, Tôrâs.

20. From this verse to the close of the chapter we have a fragment of the lost book of Noah. From ver. 26 to the end Noah speaks in the first person. Its legalistic character favours the view that its present setting and colouring are due to the author of the book, who

was so careless however as to leave the persons unchanged in verses (26-39).

The substance of this section is referred to in Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii., Dindorf's ed., i. 215), where it is said that Noah, οὐα δίκαιος ὢν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας εὐλαβεῖς καθιστᾶν πειρώμενος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑποπέσωσι κακοῖς ὥς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, οὐ μόνον διὰ λόγων τούτοις τὴν εὐλάβειαν παρτίθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὅρκου ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν ἀπήτησε.

Cover the shame, etc. Cf. iii. 31.

21. These three things, that is "fornication, uncleanness and all iniquity" which are mentioned in the preceding verse (see xx. 5, xxiii. 14). Ber. rabba 31 assigns idolatry, impurity and bloodshed as the three causes of the Flood (חמסוה עון חמסוה גילי עריות, חמסוה שפיכות דמים). Cf. Sanh. 74a: "R. Johanan says in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak . . . If one says

owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. 22. And they begat sons the Nâphîdim, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphil, and the Nâphil slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. 23. And every one sold himself to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. 24. And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually. 25. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything. 26. "And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness; for

to a man, Commit a transgression else thou wilt be slain, he may transgress the commandment in order to escape death save in the case of idolatry, incest and murder."

Went a whoring after. For phrase see Lev. xvii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 34.

Took themselves wives. Gen. vi. 2; Eth. Enoch vii. 1.

22. Cf. v. 9. *Nâphîdîm*, i.e. the Nephilim (נפילים). From Eth. Enoch lxxxvi. 4 and lxxxviii. 2 and the Syncellus Greek version of Enoch vii. 1 we learn that there were three classes of giants: καὶ ἔτεκον αὐτοῖς γένη τρία· πρῶτον γίγαντας μεγάλους (i.e., the נפילים in Gen. vi. 4). οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλείμ (נפילי in Gen. vi. 4), καὶ τοῖς Ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν Ἑλιοὺδ.

†*They were . . . unlike.*† This seems corrupt. We might emend ἱjjetmâsalû into jjetmâshatû="they plundered one another," or into jjet-

bâ'sû (Eth. Enoch xv. 11)="they strove together": cf. xxiii. 19.

23. *Sold himself to work iniquity.* For phrase see 1 Kings xxi. 20.

Shed much blood. Eth. Enoch ix. 1.

The earth was filled, etc. Gen. vi. 11; Eth. Enoch ix. 9.

24. *They sinned against,* etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

Moves and walks=reptiles and cattle.

Every imagination. Gen. vi. 5. Cf. v. 2 above.

25. *Destroyed everything,* etc. Gen. vii. 4, vi. 7. Cf. ver. 27.

26. Observe how the author of the book forgets to adapt this fragment of the Book of Noah to its new context. From this verse to the end of the chapter Noah speaks in the first person. See ver. 20 (note). In x. 1-15 we have another excerpt from this Apocalypse.

in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother. 27. For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, will all be destroyed from the earth.

29. And there will not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor will there be left to him any seed or descendants
living under heaven;

For into Sheol will they go,
And into the place of condemnation will they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep will they all be
removed by a violent death.

30. There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. 31. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may

27. See x. 1 where this subject recurs.

Destroyed from the face, etc. See ver. 25.

28. Gen. ix. 4, 6; Lev. vii. 27.

29. *Into Sheol will they go, And into the place of condemnation will they descend, And into the darkness.* Cf. xxii. 22. This passage seems to have been used by Eth. Enoch ciii. 7, 8, "their souls will be made to descend into Sheol . . . And into darkness . . . and a burning fire where there is grievous condemnation."

30. *Upon you.* By an easy emendation we could read *among you*.

Covering that which has been shed. This prescript of later legislation is here carried back to Noah: cf. Lev. xvii. 13; Ezek. xxiv. 7. We must be careful to render "covering" and not "burying." The Ethiopic word is *dafana* = *καλύπτειν* = *נָסַף* and not *qabara* = *θάπτειν* = *קָבַר*. Singer (p. 200) bases one of his arguments for the Jewish Christian authorship of the book on the wrong rendering "burying." Chullin ii. 9 censures the latter as Jewish Christian.

31. *Eats with blood.* Lev. xix. 26.

eat blood before you: cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. 32. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. 33. For the earth will not be clean from the blood which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified throughout all its generations. 34. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. 35. And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees. 36. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered: and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven

32. Cf. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 14.

33. *The earth will not be clean*, etc. See vi. 2 (note).

(*Only*) *through the blood*, etc. Num. xxxv. 33.

34. *Maybe planted*. This metaphor is frequent in the O.T.: Jer. xi. 17; Amos ix. 15 etc. According to Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5, 10 Israel is "the plant of righteousness"; lxxxiv. 6, "the plant of uprightness."

Saved me from . . . the flood. If we observe that in ver. 39 Enoch is called "the seventh in his generation" and that verses 20-39 are Noah's words, as "a preacher" of righteousness"; if we note further the words *saved me from . . . the flood*, we shall not unreasonably conclude that this book was known to the writer of 2 Peter ii. 5 "saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly."

36. In this verse we ought, if the text were authentic, to have an interpretation of the law enunciated in Lev. xix. 23-24. According to this law of the Priests' Code the fruit of a tree was not to be used for the first three years after it was planted. "In the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord" (פריו קָדֵשׁ הַלּוּלִים לַיהוָה). It will be observed that our text follows Lev. xix. 24 very closely: "in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy" (*b.c.* *a.d.* "will be gathered"). The question now arises, what was to be done with the fruit of the fourth year? (*a*) If we omit the words in brackets, our text directs that all the fruit of the fourth year is to be accounted holy and offered to God. (*b*) If the bracketed words are genuine, the text directs that, while all the fruit is to be accounted holy, only the first-fruits are to be offered to God. In either case the words that follow elucidate

and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). 37. And in the fifth year

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant will prosper. 38. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him. 39. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first

further the same subject, and ordain that of the fruit of the fourth year the first-fruits are to be offered on the altar and the rest of it to be given to the priests. Next the words "offer . . . on the altar" seem to mean "offer as a burnt-offering" as in Lev. ii. 14-16, where the Israelite is bidden to burn the first-fruits of corn and oil on the altar.

But if the above interpretation is right, it does not agree with that of later Judaism. According to the latter it belonged to its owners and was to be consumed *within the walls of Jerusalem*. See Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19. In Sifre on Num. v. 10 it is decided that the priests had no share in the fruits of the fourth year. Something of the same nature may be implied in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xix. 24, where the fruit of the fourth year is said to be קִנְיֵי הַשְּׂבָחָהּ קָרָם. Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52) writes that the Samaritans, the Caraites and Ibn Ezra held the view set forth in the text. In any case, the teaching of our text does not diverge from that of later Judaism as much as the various regulations on this subject in the different codes of the Pentateuch (see Hastings, *Bible Dict.* ii. 10-11).

Let them offer. The construction with Kama is here jussive. It could

be rendered "so that they offer," but the context is against this.

37. *And in the fifth year.* At the close of these words I have marked a lacuna. The text should have proceeded to enunciate the right of eating the fruit of this year as in Lev. xix. 25, whereas it proceeds to speak of the year of release described in Deut. xv. 1, 9, that is, the seventh year; or else of the command in Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7, to let the land lie fallow every seventh year. The verb *hadaga* is used in the translation of שָׁמַח in the above two senses of letting a field lie fallow (Exod. xxiii. 11) and of remitting a debt (Deut. xv. 2). But the context is concerned with the land. Hence we may render "let it (the land) rest so that ye let it rest." But as this is tautologous we may conclude that there is some corruption. Our text = ἀφήσετε αὐτήν ἵνα ἀφήτε αὐτήν. Here I take ἀφήτε to be a corruption of ἀνήτε. We should then have ἀφήσετε αὐτήν ἵνα ἀνήτε αὐτήν. This is a rendering though not an accurate one of הַשְּׂבָחָהּ תִּשְׁמַח in Exod. xxiii. 11. Hence, instead of "make ye the release . . . release it," we should probably read: "(In the seventh year) ye will let it rest and lie fallow."

38. *Thus did Enoch . . . command.* The author attributes halachoth to Enoch. See note on xxi. 10.

jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his sons' sons until the day of his death."

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1-4. His sons, 5-8. Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth, 10-11. Shem's inheritance, 12-21: Ham's, 22-24: Japheth's, 25-30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

1373 A.M.

VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ējâ, [the daughter of Sûsân,] the daughter of Elam, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. 2. And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and

1375 A.M.

39. *Seventh in his generation.* Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14.

VIII. 1. *Râsû'ējâ* = רציה, "the acceptable" (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 24). It appears as **𐤒𐤓𐤕** in the Syriac Fragment.

Kâinâm. This name, which is not found in the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. of Gen. xi. 13 nor yet in the Targums, appears in the LXX version of this verse and also in Luke iii. 36. In the Mass., Sam., etc. Salah is the son of Arphaxad. The same facts are stated in Gen. x. 24 and 1 Chron. i. 24. At the best, therefore, the tradition attested by our text, the LXX and Luke is not an ancient one. The motive for its insertion in the text is obvious from ii. 23 above. Without this name there would only have been twenty-one heads from Adam to Jacob. The same motive may have led to its insertion in the LXX.

3. *He found a writing, etc.* The wisdom

attributed by our author to the Watchers, is in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2. 3) assigned to the children of Seth: *Σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὑβριζόμενα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γυνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι . . . στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέρας ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὐρημένα.* J. Malala, *Anon. Chron.* p. 6, reproduces the matter contained in the above statement and adds: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καῖνᾶν, ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδ, συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν, εὐρηκὼς τὴν τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακὶ λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένην.* In Syncellus, i. 150, this event is recounted as follows: *τῷ β' φ' π' ἔτει Καῖνᾶν διοδεύων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ εὗρε τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ἔκρυσεν παρ' ἐαυτῷ.* The words of Syncellus are reproduced in Cedrenus, i. 27, but with the following important addition which further illustrates our

he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. 4. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. 5. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year 1429 A.M. thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Mēlkā, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and called his name Shelah; for 1432 A.M. he said: "Truly I have been sent." 6. [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth 1499 A.M. week, in the first year thereof. 7. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the 1503 A.M.

text: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν αὐτὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐξεπαίδευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Σάλα φασὶ ταύτην εὐρηκέναι. In Joel's *Chronography*, pp. 3-4, we find additional details borrowed probably from John Malala (see above): μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξᾶδ συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν εὐρηκὼς τὴν τοῦ Σήθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακί λιθίνῃ γεγλυμμένην. Similarly in the Book of Jashar 10 a Cainan the son of Seth, and not the son of Arphaxad, as in our text and the above chronographies, is described as possessing great wisdom and a knowledge of future events, especially of the deluge. This wisdom he inscribed on tables of stone (על לוחות אבן) and placed them among his treasures. See the quotation from Josephus above. Just as the revelations of the Watchers are transferred to Seth, so likewise the revelations of the Slavonic Enoch are assigned to him by the Greek chronographers. These words will be found in the note on iv. 15.

He transcribed it. So MSS. By

reading a'ēlawô instead of a'ēlawâ we should have: "it led him astray."

Sinned owing to it. Cedrenus (see above) preserves this clause: ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε.

Used to observe = jērê'ējû. In my text I emended this into jērêšējû = "were founding."

In all the signs, etc. Cf. xi. 8.

5. *Mēlkā* from מלכה = "queen" or "counsel."

Madai. Emended with Syr. مَدَاي and Lagarde's Greek MS *r*: μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι.

Called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' Here obviously there was a paronomasia in the original שְׁלָה. For Shelah, Eth. has Sâlâ = LXX Σαλά.

6. Bracketed words a dittography from preceding verse.

Mû'ak. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: μωαχα θυγατηρ χεεδαμ: Syr. مَوَاخَا from מוֹכָח, a frequent O.T. name.

7. *'Azûrâd.* Should be 'Azûrâ. Syr. اَزْرَاد; Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: اَزْرَادَا from אֲצוּרָה, "the treasured one."

- 1564 A.M. daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 8. And in the
- 1567 A.M. sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. 9. And they divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. 10. And it came to pass in the beginning of the
- 1569 A.M. thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us, who had been sent, was with them. 11. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his

8. *Divide the earth . . . for this reason he called his name Peleg.* As in ver. 5 we have here again a paronomasia. פלג את הארץ . . . לכן קרא את שמו. Cf. Gen. x. 25. For Peleg, Eth. has Phâlêk.

9, 10. This secret and unauthorized division of the earth is followed by a formal and authoritative one made by Noah in the presence of an angel, and subscribed to by his sons with an oath binding on their descendants. On this subject Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 33) quotes Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 24. This device of the author in some respects anticipates the Social Contract of Rousseau, but the objects are different. The theory in our text makes it clear that there must have been current in the second cent. B.C. religious and moral objections to the Hebrew invasion of Palestine and the slaughter of the Canaanites which accompanied it. This scheme of an ancestral compact approved by God and accepted as obligatory for succeeding generations is an attempt to obviate such objections, and to show that in reality the true transgressors were not Israel but the Canaanites, and that Israel in seizing Palestine were but resuming possession of what was their own; for the Canaanites had settled in Palestine, although this country had fallen by lot to Shem and

his descendants (see ix. 14, 15, x. 29-34 and notes in loc.). By mutual consent, moreover, a curse had been invoked on any one who should break this covenant as well as destruction on him and on his seed. Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. 84 (II. ii. p. 542, Oehler): οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ἰδιώτης ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν ἀπέληφان διηρπασμένην ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεδικήθη τὰ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων γινόμενα ἐν ὄρφ ἀληθείας καὶ ὀρκῳ. Νῶε γὰρ . . . μόνος διαιρῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, τῷ Σὴμ καὶ Χάμ καὶ Ἰάφεθ, διεῖλε βαλὼν τοὺς κλήρους ἐν Ἑνωκορούροις. Hence when Israel invaded Palestine and drove out the Canaanites they were simply recovering their own possessions. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐκεῖ παραβὰς τὴν ἐντολὴν Νῶε σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἔθνεσιν ἐπτά, Ἀμορραῖοις, Σετταῖοις, Φερεζαῖοις, Εὐαῖοις, Γεργεσαῖοις, Ἰεβουσαῖοις καὶ Χανααῖοις, οὓς διὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ τινὰς καιροὺς διὰ τῶν κριτῶν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὴν πατρίαν γῆν . . .

9. *Secretly.* See note on iv. 5.

10. *One of us, who [had been sent.]* This angel is one of the angels of the presence whom God had sent down to bind the fallen watchers, v. 6. See notes on iv. 15, v. 6.

three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father. 12. And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river

12-21. *Shem's lot.* It is impossible to define exactly the limits of Shem's portion. The text is at times indefinite and no doubt corrupt; but even if we had the original before us many obscurities would still remain, owing to the vague and inaccurate geographical ideas of the time. The boundaries of Shem's portion are defined in verses 12-16 and the countries embraced within them in ver. 21, and ix. 2-6, 13^b. Since there is some hope of understanding our author's ideas as to the countries allotted to Shem, we shall confine our attention in the main to this question, and supplement the evidence of the text by citations from Epiphanius and Syncellus which are based upon it. We shall also make occasional use of the statements of Josephus on this head as well as of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel.

First of all Shem's portion is said to include (ver. 21) the countries of Eden, and of the Red Sea, of Bashan, Lebanon, Elam, Asshur, Babel, Susa, Media, India, the mountains of Sanir and Amana, and the islands of Kaftur. To this list ix. 2-6 adds the waters of Dedan, the mountains of Mebrî and Elâ and the land of Arârâ (? Ararat). Finally in ix. 13^b there are the islands of Kamâturi. Now, if we turn to Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxii. (Dindorf's ed. i. 215), we find that he defines Shem's portion as extending from Persia and Bactria to India, to Rhinocurura which is between Egypt and Palestine (τῷ μὲν Σῆμ . . . ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς χώρας Πινोकουρούρων). The same statement is made in the Chronicon Paschale (i. 53) and in Syncellus (i. 82), though in fuller form in the latter (Σῆμ . . . ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς

ἕως Πινोकουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἥτοι τὰ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἕως μέρους τῆς μεσημβρίας, τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Μῆδειαν καὶ ποταμὸν διορίζοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρια τὸν Εὐφράτην). Cedrenus (i. 23) reproduces this passage. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 give practically the same delimitations: "Shem, the eldest, chose his portion in the land of 'Asya, that is, the land of Persia from Bactris to Endiana, from the Persian river to the Ocean in the west and the whole Rînôs." These definitions include for the most part the countries enumerated in our text above as well as in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, but they hardly explain the statement in viii. 12 that Shem's portion extended to the river Don and the Rhipaeen mountains. Now a list of countries filling up this larger area is given in Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. p. 544 [*Haer.* lxxv. 83], ed. Oehler): τῷ δὲ Σῆμ ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος πρὸς πλάτος, ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Κοίλη, Κομμαγήνη, Κιλικία, Καππαδοκία, Γαλατία, Παφλαγονία, Θράκη, Εὐρώπη, Ῥοδόπη, Λαζία, Ἰβηρία, Κασπία, Καρδυνία, ἄχρι τῆς Μηδίας πρὸς βορρᾶν. ἐντεῦθεν οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν. But Thrace, Rhodope and probably Europa are here wrongly assigned to Shem.

12. *The middle of the earth.* Palestine according to Ezek. xxxviii. 12 (cf. also v. 5; Eth. Enoch xxvi. 1) was the navel (נוֹב, ὀμφαλός) of the earth. Cf. viii. 19 of our text. The idea reappears in Rabbinic Hebrew. Singer (p. 68) quotes Joma 54^b; Sanhedrin 37^a; Pesikta Rabb. x. in Tanch. on Lev. xix. 23, כֵּן אֵרָץ יִשְׂרָאֵל טְבוּר שֶׁל עוֹלָם וְיוֹשְׁלִים בְּאֶזְעָא.

Râfâ. This range is no doubt the Rhipaeen mountains which ancient geographers placed in the northern parts of Europe and Asia or in other

Tinâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. 13. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. 14. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. 15. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of

cases appear to have identified with the Ural mountains. The Tanais or Don is placed by our author in their neighbourhood. A son of Peleg is so named in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxvii. 5.

Tinâ. The Tanais or Don. This river is said to spring from "the waters of the abysses."

Mê'at. The Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13-14. These two verses should describe the western boundary.

13. *Kârâsô.* Dillmann identifies this place with the Chersonese. But if it is connected, as it seems to be, with "the tongue (*i.e.* gulf) which looks towards the south," which in ver. 14 is defined as "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," this identification cannot be right. I am inclined to believe that in Kârâsô we have the latter part of the word *Ῥινωκοροῦρα*, which lies on the western boundary of Shem. For if we turn to the quotations from Epiphanius and Syncellus in the note on 12-21 we find that the portion of Shem is said to extend "from India to Rhinocurura in Egypt." This place furthermore is situated on the frontier of Ham's portion according to Epiphanius and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel. Thus in *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 84 of the former, Ham's African dominions extend ἀπὸ Ῥινωκοροῦρων ἄχρι Γαδελρων: and in xxxi. 2 of the latter, "from Rinôs as far as Gadaira." In this last quotation

we have another abbreviation of the long name Rhinocurura. It will be observed, indeed, that our text makes Shem's portion extend westward as far as the mouths of the Gihon (Nile), so that later writers have diverged somewhat from their primal authority. *Ῥινωκοροῦρα* is used by the LXX in translating מַצְרַיִם, *i.e.*, "the torrent of Egypt," a town on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, in Is. xxvii. 12.

This is in the bosom of. These words cannot be right if either of the above interpretations of Kârâsô is sound.

Tongue. The word *lesân* may be rendered indifferently "promontory" (of the land) or "bay" or "gulf" (of the sea).

Tongue which looks towards the south. This phrase is repeated and defined in the next verse.

14. *Tongue which looks towards the south.* This may mean the promontory which runs out into the Red Sea on which Mt. Sinai is situated.

The tongue of the Egyptian Sea. This is the Gulf of Aqaba at the north of the Red Sea. Our text is the literal equivalent of Is. xi. 15, לַשָּׁן יָם מִצְרַיִם, as Littmann has observed.

15-16. These two verses should describe mainly the southern, eastern, and northern-eastern boundaries.

15. The word Samên which is rendered "south" can also be rendered "north"—a later meaning of the word.

(its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. 16. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the †east,† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. 17. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. 18. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

"Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem."

19. And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount

West to 'Afrâ (c d). *b* reads "to the west of 'Afrâ." 'Afrâ seems to be Africa in its early limited sense.

Gihon. Eth. has Gijôn, *i.e.*, the Gihon, one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). According to our text (viii. 23) it flows to the south of the Garden of Eden. This river compassed "the whole land of Cush." Whether the Cushites are the Kassî of the cuneiform inscriptions or the Ethiopians does not concern us here, though the identification of the Gihon and Nile may have arisen from a confusion of the two countries. Syncellus, i. 89, speaks of two distinct countries named Ethiopia: *Ἀλθιοπία ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ Ἰνδοῦς πρὸς εὐρόνοτον, ἄλλη Ἀλθιοπία πρὸς νότον, ὅθεν ἐκπορεύεται ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμός.* Our author undoubtedly identifies the Nile with the Gihon. So Syncellus (p. 82) interprets this passage, *τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γειὼν . . . λέγεται.* *Γηὼν* is used as a rendering of גִּיחֹן, *i.e.*, the Nile in Sirach xxiv. 27: see also Jer. ii. 18.

16. *South.* Better translate "north." See note on ver. 15.

[*To the south*]. Bracketed as ditto-graphy.

It turns to the †east†. We should expect "to the west." I have omitted "and" before "it turns." The boundary line now returns to the river Don whence it started in ver. 12.

18. See vii. 11. God dwells in the dwellings of Shem: the three most holy places belong to Shem.

19. In iv. 26 above we have seen that there are four holy places in the earth: from the present verses we learn that three of these are in Shem's portion. The fourth place, therefore, must either have been in Japheth's or Ham's portion. Either therefore the Mount of the East may be regarded as Ararat in Japheth's portion, or as the great mountain in the south-east (cf. Eth. En. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3), which would probably belong to Ham's portion. See also iv. 26 note. The latter mountain is the chief in a range of mountains of fire (Eth. En. xviii. 9, xxiv. 1), and such a range belongs to Ham's portion: see ver. 22.

Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. 20. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. 21. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that

Navel of the earth. See note on ver. 12.

21. *A blessed portion.* Cf. Syncellus, p. 83, (Σήμ) τὰς ἐξαιρέτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογιῶν ἐκκληρώσατο ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει φέρεται. On the countries mentioned in this ver. see note on 12-21.

Bashan. In Eth. Bâsâ.

Islands of Kaftûr. This is Caphtor the proper name of a country in Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7. The plural is used of its inhabitants in Gen. x. 14; Deut. ii. 23. In Gen. x. 14 these are taken to be the Cappadocians in the Syr., Onk., and the Jon. and Jer. Targums; also in Amos ix. 7 in the LXX, Syr., Vulg., Targ.-Jon.; also in Jer. xlvii. 4 in the Syr., Jon. Targ., Vulg.; also in Deut. ii. 23 in the LXX, Syr., Onk., Vulg., Jon.-Targ. There are thus some grounds for regarding Kaftûr as equivalent to Cappadocia in this text, and this view may be confirmed by the passage in Epiphanius which includes Cappadocia in the portion of Shem; see quotation in note on viii. 12-21. On the other hand if we take the words "islands of Kaftûr" as a

correct translation of the original (probably כַּפְתֹּר), the phrase may denote the island of Crete. Kamâtûrî in ix. 13 may be a corruption of Kaftûr. Modern exegesis has taken the scriptural Caphtor to be Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid (see *Encyc. Bib.* on "Caphtor").

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. Cf. ix. 4. These names may be derived from Cant. iv. 8. Sanîr is the Biblical Senir in Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5. In Deut. iii. 9 it is said to be the Amoritish name for Hermon. Sanîru occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Bertholet on Ezekiel xxvii. 5). 'Amânâ may belong to the range of the Antilibanus or be Mt. Amanus in northern Syria. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxx. 3. 5) favour the latter view.

Elam. The name of Shem's eldest son. The country is the Assyrian Elamtu, and is "nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks" (*Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1253). Sûsân, which is mentioned presently, was its capital, or it may stand for Susiana.

Mâ'êdâi, i.e. Media. See x. 35.

is in it is very good. 22. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which †everything which is not destroyed descends†. 23. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. 24. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. 25. And for Japheth

22-24. Ham's portion. This portion embraces all Africa from the mouths of the Nile westward and southward and certain parts of Asia, which are vaguely defined in viii. 23, ix. 1, imperfectly in Epiphan. *Ancorat.* cxii.: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἕως Γαδείρων τὰ πρὸς νότον: and in Syncellus, 82: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ . . . ἔδωκε τὰ πρὸς νότον καὶ Λίβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς δύσεως ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ Λιβύην, Ἀφρικὴν καὶ Μαυριτανίαν ἕως Ἡρακλείων στήλων ἕτοι ἕως τοῦ δυτικοῦ καὶ Λιβυκοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, ποταμὸν διορίζοντα τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γεῖων . . . λέγεται, for both these passages omit the countries belonging to Ham in Asia. In Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 (*Haer.* lxvi. 84), however, these are given very fully: ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἄχρι Γαδείρων, Αἰγυπτίαν ἔχων καὶ Μαρειανὴν καὶ Ἀμμῶνα, Λιβύην τε καὶ Μαρμαρίδα, Πεντάπολιν, Μακάτην, Μακρόνην τε καὶ Λεπτημάγην, Σύρτιν, Μαυριτανίαν, ἄχρι τῶν Ἡρακλεωτικῶν στήλων λεγομένων καὶ τῆς ἕως Γαδείρης ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς νότον ἀπὸ δὲ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τήν τε Ἰδομαίαν καὶ Μαδιανίτιν, τήν τε Ἀλαβαστρίτιν, καὶ Ὀμηρίτιν, καὶ Ἀξωμίτιν, καὶ Βούγειαν, καὶ Λίβαν, ἄχρι τῆς τῶν Βάκτρων χώρας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς

κλῆρος διορίζει ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Σήμ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν. According to the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 "Ham took his portion in the land of Afriquia which comprises Aram, Hamath, and the mountain of Lebanon . . . until the Red Sea and the Sea of Philistia, from Rînôs as far as Gadaira." See also for Josephus' views, *Ant.* i. 6. 2.

22. *Gihon.* Eth. has Gîjôn. See note on viii. 15.

To the right, i.e. to the south.

Mountains of fire. On certain fiery mountains see Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3.

'Atêl. The Atlantic.

Mâ'ûk. This sea or ocean lies in the extreme west: cf. ver. 26. Is the word a distortion of Ὠκεανός, the Great Ocean Stream?

Everything which is not destroyed descends (a b). c d="everything perishable descends." What is required probably is: "if anything descends into it, it perishes."

23. *Gâdîr, i.e. Gades, Cadiz.*

Goes along the river Gihon. I have added 'ba' before Gihon; for the writer could not say that the Nile flowed towards the Garden of Eden.

25-29^a. Japheth's portion—Northern Asia, Europe, and five great islands. This portion, which is further described in ix. 7-13, embraces the countries north

came forth the third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. 26. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. 27. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. 28. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns round towards the north. 29. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands, and a great land in the north. 30. But it is cold,

of Shem and Ham's portions from Media to Rhinocurra in Asia and to Gades in Europe. Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii.) describes it briefly: 'Ιάφεθ τῷ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδελῶν καὶ Πινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν. Cf. *Chronicon* Pasch. i. 46. A fuller account from a later standpoint is given by Syncellus (p. 83): 'Ιάφεθ . . . (ἔδωκεν) ἀπὸ Μηδείας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δυσμὰς ἕως Γαδελῶν καὶ Βρεττανικῶν νήσων, Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, Πόντον, Κόλχους καὶ τὰς κατόπιν χώρας καὶ νήσους ἕως Ἰταλίας καὶ Γαλλικῆς, Σπανικῆς, τε καὶ Κελτιβηρίας καὶ Λυσιτανῶν. Practically the same description of Japheth's province is given by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 [*Haer.* lxvi. 84]): οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος (τοῦ Σῆμ) διορίζει τὸν 'Ιάφεθ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν (i.e., Japheth's province in Asia is bounded by Shem's on the south): πρὸς δὲ τὴν δύσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄχρι τῆς Ἰσπανίας καὶ Βριττανίας, ἐκείθεν τε τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, Ἐντες καὶ Δαύνεις, Ἰάπυγες, Κάλαβροι, Λατῖνοι, Ὀπικοί, Μάγαρδες, ἕως διακατοχῆς τῆς Σπανίας, καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας, τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ

Φράγγων ἄνω χώρας. An elaborate account of Japheth's province appears in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and in the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel xxxi. 4-5. The latter is dependent in some respects on the former.

25. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Asia.

Gog. The country of Gog is in northern Asia. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel (xxx. 4).

26-28. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Europe.

26. *Qêlt.* These are probably the Celts.

Mâ'ûk. See on ver. 22.

27. *Fârâ* (*cd*), *b* Ferâ, *a* Ferêg. Fârâ may be Africa. See ver. 15.

Afêrâg. This may be Phrygia. This country according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel xxxi. 5 belonged to Japheth.

29. *Five great islands.* See note on ix. 13. To these five may belong Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Five islands in the Great Sea are mentioned in *Eth. Enoch* lxxvii. 8.

and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: Shem's 2-6: Japheth's, 7-13. Oath taken by Noah's sons, 14-15.

IX. And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. 2. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. 3. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh

30. *Land of Ham is hot.* Cf. Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxxvi. 85: Χαναάν δὲ πλεονέκτης ὦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ γῇ . . . καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι κανυματινόν.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6.

Cush. Eth. has Ques. The country is no doubt Ethiopia. See also Josephus and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *in loc.*

Mizraim. Eth. has Mêsîrêm. He receives מצרים or Egypt.

Put. Eth. has Phûd. So also in LXX Φούδ, *i.e.* פוט. The country of Phûd is Libya, lying west of Egypt. See Josephus and Jerahmeel.

To the west of him . . . on the sea for Canaan. Thus Canaan's portion extended from Libya to the Atlantic on the west. See x. 28-29. The bracketed words are a dittography.

2. Elam's portion—from the Tigris to the utmost confines of India, the countries bordering on the Red Sea and

running northward to Pontus and the Don.

The east, the whole land of India (cd). *ab* read "to the east of the whole land of India." But India was in Shem's portion. See viii. 21.

Waters of Dêdân. Dedan is a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7) or of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3). The Dedanites are generally taken to be a commercial people dwelling in Arabia, possibly on the north-west. See *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 1053.

Mebrî (b). *a* Mazbâra.

'Êlâ (*bcd*). *a* 'Êlâm.

Pharnâk. Can this be Pharnacia on the coast of Pontus? On the countries falling to Shem's portion in Asia Minor and to the north see quotation from Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*) in note on viii. 12-21.

3. *Nineveh.* Eth. Nînêvî.

and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river. 4. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. 6. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother. 7. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. 8. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of Mê'at. 9. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. 10. And for Javan came forth the fourth

Shinar. Eth. has Sinâar. The Shinar of Scripture, Gen. x. 10, etc.

And skirts the river=wawadafa falaga, emended from wadafâ falag of *abd*, which is untranslatable. If wadafâ were the name of a river we might emend falag into falaga and translate: "to the river Wadafâ."

4. Arpachshad's portion. See further ix. 13 for the islands allotted to him. In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, the descendants of Arpachshad are identified with the Chaldees. Eth. has 'Arphâxed.

Tongue of the sea, etc. I don't know what is meant here.

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. See note on viii. 21.

5. The Syrians.

'Arârâ, *i.e.* Ararat. See viii. 21.

6. Lud's portion extends from the

west coast of Asia Minor to the east of Asshur. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, says the descendants of Lud were the Lydians.

8. *Magog.* Only Gog is spoken of in viii. 25.

9. The north-western portions of Europe fell to Madai's lot, but he was dissatisfied with it (see x. 35) and begged a portion of Shem's lot. Madai's lot would seem to embrace Britain and Ireland. The former is mentioned in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxx. 5), Epiphanius and Syncellus; see notes on viii. 25-29^a.

10. *Javan.* Eth. has 'Îjô'evân. Javan denotes properly Ionia, the Greek colony in Asia Minor, and is used in this limited sense in Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13. This name also de

portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. 11. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. 12. And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it approaches the east of Gâdîr. 13. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. 14. And thus the sons of Noah divided

notes the Graeco-Macedonian empire: Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2. In our text it seems to embrace all the islands of the coast of Asia Minor, while in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, it includes Ionia and all the Greeks.

Every island and the islands. We should expect rather "all the coast-lands and the island."

11. Tubal's (Eth. Tôbêl) portion seems to extend from Thrace to Italy. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies Tubal's descendants with the Iberes who lived in the Caucasus, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 5, identify them with the Iberi and Ispania (?). It is not clear what the three tongues of land are. Italy seems to be the third, Greece the second and possibly Thrace the first. The descendants of Tubal in Gen. x. 2 are identified with Tibareni in Pontus.

12. As Italy seems to be the third tongue, Meshech's portion extends from the north of Italy to Cadiz. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 4, take the descendants of Meshech to be identified with the Cappadocians, but modern scholars with the Moschi who lived between the sources of the Phasis and Cyrus.

13. The descendants of Tiras (Eth. Tîrâs) seem to be the Tyrseni, a branch of the Pelasgians who lived by piracy on the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies them with the Thracians.

Four great islands. See on viii. 29.

[*The islands of Kamâtûrî . . . as his inheritance*]. I have bracketed these words as an interpolation. They are foreign to their present context, for it is dealing with the possessions of the sons of Japheth, and Arpachshad is a son of Shem. Furthermore, the phraseology "came out . . . for the sons of Arpachshad" is unusual. This phrase "the sons of" is used only in the case of Noah's three sons: viii. 17 "for Shem and his sons"; viii. 24 "for Ham . . . and his sons"; viii. 29 "for Japheth and his sons." But in connection with Noah's sixteen grandsons in chap. ix. it is not used. The grandson is mentioned in each case as the person to whom a certain province is allotted. On the other hand, the words may in some form have followed after ix. 4, which defines the possessions of Arpachshad. From viii. 21 we know that "the islands of Kaftûr" were in Shem's portion. Now these "islands of Kamâtûrî" may be the "islands of Kaftûr"; for Kamâtûrî could easily originate from Kaftûr.

14. Following our text Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxiv. (Dind. ed., vol. i. 217), writes τούτων τολυνν τῶν ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἐκ τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε γεγονότων καὶ τριχῇ τοῦ κόσμου τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς διαμερισθέντος, ὥς προεῖπον, ὅρκος ἀπητήθη παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μηδένα ἐπεμβαίνειν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κλήρῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὴν τοῦ ὅρκου διαταγὴν ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ. See also *Adv. Haer.*

unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on everyone that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. 15. And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. Noah's prayer, 3-6. Mastēmā allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits, 7-11. Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons, 12-14. Noah dies, 15-17. Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, 18-27. Canaan seizes on Palestine, 29-34. Madai receives Media, 35-36.

X. And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of† the sons of

II. ii. 544 (*Haer* lxvi. 85). In Syncellus (i. 83) also, it is said of Noah: μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐνετείλατο τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς μηδένα ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁρίοις καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς ἕτερον, ὡς τούτου γεννησόμενον αἰτίου στάσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ πολέμων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

15. *The day of judgment.* See note on iv. 19.

X. 1. We have here another fragment of the lost Apocalypse of Noah. The former fragment we found in vii. 20-39. Of the present fragment a summary is preserved in Syncellus, i. 49, though, of course, as forming a genuine section of Jubilees. This summary gives the contents of verses 1-9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει φέρεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῷ β' φ' β' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου φθόνῳ κινούμενοι μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλά-

νησαν τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε. καὶ εὐξαμένον τοῦ Νῶε ἵνα ἀποστῶσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ κύριος ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ βαλεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄχρι ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως· ὁ δὲ διάβολος ἡτήσατο λαβεῖν μοῖραν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς πειρασμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δέκατον αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσταξιν θείαν, ὥστε πειράζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς ἐκάστου πρὸς θεὸν προαιρέσεως, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐννέα μέρη ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. But what is of still greater interest is the fact that in the Hebrew Book of Noah fragments of verses 1-2, 9-14 have been preserved from the Hebrew original. For this work the reader can consult Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iv. 155-156, or my text of Jubilees, p. 179.

The third week of this jubilee. If this jubilee be the last mentioned, i.e., the thirty-third (viii. 10), then the date

Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. 2. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

"God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,

And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,

And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,

And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,

And let not wicked spirits rule over them

Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4. But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth. 5. And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits,

is 1583-1589, but it may be much earlier.

The unclean demons. These are the spirits which went forth from the Mamzerim or children of the angels and the daughters of men. See vii. 22; Eth. Enoch xiv.-xvi.

The unclean demons began . . . destroy them (so *ab*). *cd* omit "the children of." But Syncellus, i. 49, and the passage from the Hebrew Book of Noah (see my Eth. Text, p. 35, notes 17-19) show that instead of "the children of the sons" we should simply have "the sons." Under the word *daqîqa* (= "the children of") there may lie some corruption of the verb 'adqaqa, "to beat small" = לרכות, a corruption for להכות, "to slay." Now this verb is the last infinitive in the passage of the Hebrew Book of Noah (see below), and as the other three verbs in the Ethiopic text are literal equivalents of the preceding three infinitives in the same passage we may conclude that we have thus re-

covered the true text. The passage in question is: החלו רוחות הממזרים להחננות ולהכות = "And the spirits of the Mamzerim began to stir themselves against the sons of Noah, to lead astray and cause to err and to destroy and to slay." "Unclean demons" in our text is a good equivalent for "the spirits of the Mamzerim," though it is not a literal rendering. The Hebrew original of our text therefore = "The unclean demons began to lead astray and to make to err and to slay and to destroy the sons of Noah" (= החלו להשטות ולטעות ולהכות ולהבל). On the other hand the expression "sons' sons" recurs in verses 2, 3^b, and 5^b, so that the text of *ab* may be right.

3. *God of the spirits of all flesh.* Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

Sons of perdition (= בני האבדון). Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

My sons (*a*). *b* "Thy sons' sons."

5. *Thy Watchers.* Cf. Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi.

acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy. 6. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore." 7. And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. 8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to

The sons (cd). b "the sons' sons."
a "the place."

6. *Canst exercise dominion over them* = tâ'amr kuânnenô lômû emended from tâ'amr kuennanêhômû = "Thou knowest their power" or "judgment."

7. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 4, 12.

8. See the quotation from Syncellus in note on ver. 1.

Mastêmâ. In the Latin version this name appears as Mastima, and in the Midrashic Book of Noah (see my text, p. 179) as שר המשטמה. Hence the form in which it appears in Syncellus and Cedrenus as Μαστιφάμ, ὁ ἀρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, or Μαστιφάτ is less accurate. Outside the Jubilee literature, as Rönsch has remarked (p. 418), this word is not found as a proper noun except in the Acts of Philip (ed. Tischend., p. 98): ὁ δὲ Μανσημάτ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὑπεισέληθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὸν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς. As a common noun it is found twice in Hos. ix. 7, 8 in the sense of "enmity." The word appears to be the hiphil of שָׂטַן (= שָׂטָן), i.e. שָׂטָן, and is therefore the equivalent of ὁ Σατανᾶς in point of meaning and derivation. As in the Eth. Enoch it is the function of the evil spirits to tempt men, Eth. Enoch lxix. 4, 6; accuse them, Eth. Enoch xl. 7; and destroy them, Eth. Enoch xv. 11, 12, xvi., in which

capacity they are designated as "angels of punishment," liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1, so also in our author. Thus the evil spirits under Mastêmâ (1) tempt men, lead them astray and blind them x. 2, 8, xlviii. 12, 16, and harden their hearts xlviii. 17. In xv. 31 it is actually stated that God put spirits in authority over men to lead them astray; see notes on xv. 31-32. Again (2) they accuse men of actual or alleged sins, xvii. 16, xlviii. 15, 18. Finally (3) they destroy those who have sinned, being created for this purpose, x. 2, 5. As angels of destruction they appear, xlviii. 2, in slaying the first-born in Egypt. In xlviii. 2 Mastêmâ seeks to slay Moses for failing to circumcise his son. These spirits seek to rule a man in order to destroy him, x. 3. But they cannot touch the righteous, x. 6; every breach of the law, however, exposes men to their malignant influence, xlviii. 2. Israel as such is God's own portion and is not subject to spirits of any kind, xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28. From this high ethical conception our author falls away, no doubt under the influence of his authorities, in x. 12, 13, where, as in Tobit, magical methods are said to be effective against evil spirits. See further note on xlviii. 2.

Let some of them remain before me. See quotation from Syncellus in note on x. 1.

execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men."

9. And He said: "Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation."

10. And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness.

11. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth.

12. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth.

13. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah.

14. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons.

15. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat.

16. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and 1659 A.M.

two weeks and five years. 17. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the

9. Cf. Hebrew Book of Noah: "And the angel did so and enclosed them in the house of judgment (בית המשפט). Only one-tenth did he permit to go to and fro on the earth before the prince of the Mastema to rule over the godless to smite them and to plague them with all manner of diseases." The angel according to this Hebrew book is Raphael, but according to Eth. Enoch x. 11-13 is Michael. Again, though according to our text only one-tenth of the demons are allowed to act with impunity to the day of judgment, in Eth. Enoch xv.-xvi., all the demons have this privilege.

So it is stated in the Hebrew Book of Noah, where there is a manifest paronomasia between רפואות and רפאל. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 7; Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14, 15.

11. See ver. 9, note.

Satan. Satan and Mastema are thus identical.

12. This verse is found almost wholly in Heb. Book of Noah (see my text of Jubilees, p. 179).

13-14. Shem as the eldest son (see note on iv. 33) or as the priest receives all the sacred writings from Noah. Cf. Syncellus ii. 83. In xlv. 16 Jacob gives all the books into Levi's hands, as Levi was priest.

10. *One of us.* This angel is Raphael.

righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgment. 18. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômânâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: "Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar." 19. For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, "Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven." 20. And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. 21. And they built it: forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the

17. *Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony, etc.* Cf. iv. 24 for a similar statement.

Recount all the deeds, etc. Cf. iv. 23, 24.

Till the day of judgment. Cf. iv. 19, 24, ix. 15, x. 22.

18. *Lômânâ.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as ܠܡܢܐ (Δ), and Lagarde's MS *r* as *δυνα*, and Algazi's Chronicle as לבנה.

Rev. Eth. has Râgaw = 'Paryaw = רעו (Gen. xi. 18). It is obvious that our author thus derived Reu from רעו, "to be evil." There was a paronomasia in the original. "He called his name Râgau (רעו); for . . . the children of men had become evil," רעו. This derivation appears in the *Onomasticon*, p. 197, 27: 'Ραάν (i.e. 'Ραού) κακούμενος.

Shinar. Eth. has Sânnâr, in ver. 25 Sînââr, in 26 Sanâôr.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20. On Babel see *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 410-413.

Made brick. (Emended: see my Eth. Text, p. 34.)

Made brick with fire; and the bricks served, etc. This passage appears to be the source of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix. 2: "Come and let us make bricks . . . and let us burn them and each brick will be to us as a stone and the pitch for mortar." Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3.

21. For the three slight emendations of the text in this verse see my text, pp. 36-37. The passage is found in Greek in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175: ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη ἔμειναν οἰκοδομοῦντες. τὸ ὕψος, εὐλγὴ πῆχεις, καὶ δύο παλεσταί (sic), τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ σγ' πλίνθους. τῆς πλίνθου τὸ ὕψος, τρίτον μίᾱς πλίνθου. τὸ ἔκταμα τοῦ ἐνὸς τοίχου στάδιοι γ' καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου

height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). 22. And the Lord our God said unto us: "Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgment." 23. And the Lord descended, and we descended with Him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built. 24. And He confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. 25. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities, each according to his language

X. Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658, pp. 51, 52) has drawn upon our text in the following passage: Tres ergo annos lateribus conficiendis et coquendis insumpserunt: quorum singuli tredecim cubitos longi, decem lati, ac quinque alti essent; urbemque inter Tyrum et Babelem extruxerunt orgyas longam tercentum et tredecim, latam centum quinquaginta unam: cujus muri alti orgyas quinquies mille quingentas triginta tres; lati triginta tres; turris autem orgyas decies mille alta; quibus extruendis quadraginta annos insumpserunt. Cf. J. Malalas, p. 12; Glycas, p. 240. The clauses in brackets in the translation are derived from the Greek. Rönsch (p. 401) quotes the following passage respecting this tower from Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 77-78: Der Thurm (Nimrod's) ward bis zu einer Höhe von 5000 Ellen gebaut . . . Gott liess ihn mit einem solchen Getöse umstürzen, dass alle Leute vor Schrecken ganz

ausser sich waren und jeder eine andere Sprache redete.

Thirteen stades. In Jerome (*Epist.* (78 in Migne) *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 18) we have the following reference to this passage. Hoc verbum (רָפָה), quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in Scripturis sanctis apud Hebraeos invenisse me novi absque libro apocrypho qui a Graecis Δεπρή (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις) id est, parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in aedificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletae et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. This forms Jerome's note on the name of the place of encampment Rissah (רִסָּה) in Num. xxxiii. 21, 22. In later Hebrew גֵּרִיס and גֵּרִיסָה are used as = stadium or race-course. See Levy's *Wörterbuch*, *in loc.*

22. *Will be withholden from them.* Lit. "will fail from them." Gen. xi. 6.

25. Cf. Gen. xi. 9.

From thence they were dispersed . . . each according to his language. Accord-

and his nation. 26. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name "Overthrow." 27. In the

1688 A.M. fourth week in the first year in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar. 28. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south. 29. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from

ing to the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 8 the number of nations thus created were seventy, under their seventy patron angels. Cf. Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxx. 8; also Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5: διεσκέδασε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο διένειμε κατὰ τὸν τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸν εὐρεθέντα. Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 22.

26. *A mighty wind.* This is a very old tradition. It is found in Sibyll. Or. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5; Syncellus, i. 77; Cedrenus, i. 22.

"Overthrow" = *dēqat* = καταστροφή = הפכה. Observe the play of words not preserved in Eth.): "Overthrew it . . . and they called its name 'Overthrow'" = הפכו את שמו הפכה. This disagrees with its name "Babel" in Gen. xi. 9. According to Sanh. 109a one-third of the tower of Babel was burnt, one-third swallowed up in the earth, and one-third standing.

28. Ham's portion lay in the north of Africa. It is described in the next verse as lying in the west towards the sea, cf. ix. 1. The designation "land of the south" is a loose one. The word rendered "south" rightly means "north," but it is used occasionally in this wrong sense by Ethiopic scribes. See note on viii. 15.

29. This view is, I think, found only

in Jubilees and the books dependent upon it. Palestine fell by lot to Arpachshad and north-west Africa (see ix. 1) to Canaan; but Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine: see Epiphanius, *Anchorat.* cxiv. p. 217 (ed. Dindorf): ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Σῆμ ἡ Παλαιστίνη ὑπέπεσε καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῆς, πλεονέκτης δὲ ὢν ὁ Χαναὰν υἱὸς Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστινίων ὕστερον γῇ, τοῦτέστι τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἀφαρπάξει αὐτήν, ἐμακροθύμει δὲ ὁ θεός, διδοὺς χρόνους μετανοίας, ἵνα μετανοήσῃαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χάμ καὶ ἀποδώσι τοῖς τοῦ Σῆμ τὴν ἰδίαν κληρουχίαν, ἐκείνοι δὲ οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ' ἤθελον τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν πληρῶσαι. τότε ὁ θεὸς μετὰ πολλὰς ὕστερον γενεὰς δίκαιος ὢν ἐκδικεῖ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ ὅρκου. οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὸ Ἀμορραίων μέτρον. Cf. also *Haer.* lxvi. 85 (II. ii. 544); Syncellus, i. 83; Glycas, 242. The words of the last come very near our text: ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἰδὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λίβανον γῆν ὅτι . . . ἐστὶν . . . κρείττων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς, τυραννικῶς καθήρπαξεν αὐτήν. Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Cujus interim senior frater (Shem) habitationis sortem eam, quae est in medio terrae, suscepit, in qua est regio Judaeae, junior vero orientis (should be occidentis) plagam sortitus est, ipse autem occidentis (should be orientis) accepit.

Jordan (ad). *bc* "Lebanon."

the border of the sea. 30. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said unto him : " Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot : do not do so ; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition ; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. 31. Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem ; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. 32. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father." 33. But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 34. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. 35. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day. 36. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

30. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84 : μετὰ διακόσια ἔτη τῆς τελευτῆς Νῶε, νεωπερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατέκρησεν ἐκεῖ. With the word "sedition" in the text compare νεωπερίσας in Syncellus.

32. *By the curse*, etc. Cf. ix. 14, 15. *The holy judge*, i.e. the angel who was present at the drawing of lots, viii. 10.

33. *Hamath*. Eth. has 'Ēmâth (i.e., 'Ημάθ, ἡμῆ) ; see xiii. 2. Hamath was the northern boundary of Israel (Num. xxxiv. 8 ; Judg. iii. 3, etc.). In 2 Chron. vii. 8 we have the phrase : "From the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt."

34. Cf. Glycas, p. 242 : καὶ οὕτω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Χαναὰν προσηγορεύθη.

35. See note on ix. 9. Diodorus, Presbyter of Antioch (*ob.* 392?), appears to have known this passage. He is quoted in *Catena Nicephori*, i. 167 on Gen. ix. 27 : τί δὴ ποτε, καὶ κατοικησάτω ὁ 'Ιάφεθ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι τοῦ Σὴμ εἰρηται ; ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πάντα προφητεία ἦν διὰ προφάσεως τινος, ἥ ἄνευ προφάσεως φανερομένη ; καὶ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδαῖ, τουτέστιν ὁ Μῆδος, τοῦ 'Ιάφεθ ὦν υἱός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν τοῦ Σὴμ οἰκήσεων κατέσχε τὴν Μηδίαν, μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς.

Media. Eth. Mēdqin.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry, 2-7. Nachor and Terah, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds, 15-24.

1681 A.M.

1687 A.M.

XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father.

XI. 1. Cf. Gen. xi. 21.

'Ôrâ. Lagarde's MS *ῥωρα*: Syr. Frag. **ܐܘܪܐ**. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45 gives Melcha.

Sêrôh. See ver. 6. Beer suggests that this is from סָרַח, "to sin," in Talmudic Hebrew. This would suit ver. 2, but ver. 6 implies that our author derived it from סָוּר, "to turn aside." Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6, writes: τὸν Σερούχ τὸν ἐρμηνευόμενον Ἐρεθισμόν.

2-6. The corruption of mankind which our author ascribes to the period of Serug is by later writers assigned to the age of Enos, the son of Seth: see iv. 12 note. Some reflection of our text appears in Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6: Φαλὲκ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Παγοῦ . . . καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρία τε καὶ ὁ Ἑλληγισμός . . . οὕτω δὲ ἐν

ξοάνοις καὶ ἐν τορелаῖς λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων . . . μόνον δὲ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἑαυτῇ ἐφηύρατο τὴν κακίαν: also in Cedrenus, i. 47: ἐπὶ τούτου (Σηροῦχ) οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐξήσαντες τύφον στρατηγούς τε ἑαυτοῖς κατεστήσαντο καὶ βασιλεῖς. καὶ τότε πρῶτως πολεμικὰ κατασκευάσαντες ὅργανα πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐνῆρξαντο. See also Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 24: Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45.

2. *Individuals began to exalt themselves, etc.* So MSS. The emendation in my text is not necessary.

3. 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd. We have here an attempt to explain the phrase Ur of the Chaldees (אֱרֶם כַּשְׁדִּי) through reference to Ur and his father Kêsêd.

'Arâ. Corrupt for Ura or Ur.

4. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness.

5. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth. 6. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. 7. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the

Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. 8. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. 9. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. 10. And she bare him Terah in the seventh

1744 A.M.

1800 A.M.

5. *Mastêmâ*. See note on x. 8.

To corrupt, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch xvi.

6. There seems to be here a play on the name Serug. "He called the name . . . Serug (שֵׁרֻג) for every one turned (סָוָר) to all manner of sin and transgression (סָוָרָה)." See, however, note on ver. 1.

7. *He worshipped idols*. See in note on iv. 12 passage from Chron. of Jerahmeel denying this.

Mêlkâ, daughter of Kâbêr. So also in Syr. and Lagarde's MS r. In Gen. xi. 29 Milcah is the name of Nahor's wife, but this Nahor is Terah's son.

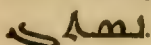
8. Cf. Gen. xi. 23.

His father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, etc. See reference to

Chronicles of Jerahmeel in note on iv. 12. Our text was known directly or indirectly by Cedrenus, i. 47: αὐξηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ναχώρ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων ἐπίλυσιν οἰωνῶν, τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανῷ σημείων διακρίσεις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων καὶ πᾶσαν Χαλδαϊκὴν μαντείαν. On an earlier reference to this art in our text see viii. 3.

9. *Ijâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg*.

Syr. Fragment 

 This name Ijâskâ is found in Gen. xi. 29, i.e. Iscah (יִסְכָּה), but there she is the daughter of Haran.

10. Cf. Gen. xi. 25.

Terah. Eth. has Târâ.

1806 A.M. year of this week. 11. And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. 12. And for this reason he called his name Terah, because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed. 13. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days. 14. And in this

1870 A.M. thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Êdnâ, the

11-13. This legend is traced to our text by Jerome. Two other writers reproduce it, but do not mention the source. Jerome, in commenting on Num. xxxiii. 27 (*Epist.* lxxviii. *ad Fabiolam*, *mansione* 24), writes as follows: *Castra metati sunt in Thare (Num. xxxiii. 27): Hoc eodem vocabulo (תרח) et iisdem litteris scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. I know of only two other references to the incident in our text. The first is in S. Ephraem i. 156 and is quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 248: "Abram when a child, having been sent by Terah to drive away ravens sent to destroy the crops, as a punishment for the idolatry of the land, Abram—unable to drive them away—by a sudden impulse, called upon God to order them off, who answered: 'Here am I,' and ordered the ravens away from Terah's field." The second is found in Bar-hebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 13 (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 422 sq.): Cum Abraam annorum esset quindecim, annuit Deus precibus ejus contra picas quae terram Chaldaeorum vastabant semina terrae ab iis*

mandata per dentes. These last two passages are in the main derived from our text.

11. *Sent.* This can be rendered also "had sent."

12. *Reduced them to destitution.* The Ethiopic here = ἐπρώχισαν αὐτούς, but it could also be a rendering of ἐθλίψαν or ἐκάκωσαν. Hence this verb may go back to the Chaldee verb חרע = to ravage, devastate. This verb would constitute a play on the name Terah (תרח) and the verse would read: ובואת קרא את שמו תרה: חרעו בהם כי העורבים חרעו בהם. For attempts to explain the derivation of Terah from the meaning assigned by Jerome see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 266-267; Beer, *Leben Abraham's*, pp. 95-96.

14. 'Êdnâ, the daughter of Abram. So Syriac Fragment (see my text, p. 40). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47: Θάρρα δὲ . . . ἐγέννησεν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἐδνας, θυγατρὸς Ἀβραάμ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, ὅντινα ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐαυτῆς πατρός. In the later Jewish books the wife of Terah is called Amthelai, the daughter of Karnebo, Baba Bathra 91a; Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103). In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (Eng. transl.) xxvii. 7, Amtalai,

daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's sister. 15. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, 1876 A.M. and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son. 16. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he separated 1890 A.M. himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. 17. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. 18. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. 19. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, "Descend not: return to the place whence ye came," and they proceeded to turn back. 20. And he caused the

the daughter of Karnabo, is said to be the wife of Nahor, but by taking the context rightly we get Amtalai as wife of Terah. Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103) gives Amtela as Terah's wife, but there is no mention of her father's name. According to Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658) Terah had two wives, Yuna and Tohwait. See note on xii. 9.

15. *Abram, by the name, etc.* This statement is referred to by Syncellus, i. 183: Τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι 'Αβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρὶα τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε.

16-17. Syncellus writes (i. 184) on the authority of our text: τῷ ἰδ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Αβραὰμ ἐπύγνους τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν προσεκύνη. Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47:

οὗτος ('Αβραὰμ) μόνος, τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα πλάνην νοσοῦντων, τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπέγνω καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων ἀνεκήρυξε. According to Simon ben Lakish in Ber. rabba 30, 64, 95, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim v. 16 (cf. Midr. on Esther ii. 5), Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106), Abraham knew God when only three years old, according to R. Chanina in his forty-eighth year. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 103-104 for other references.

16. For later forms of the saga in xi. 16-17, xii. 1-14, see Beer, *Leben Abr.* 3, 102.; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106 sqq.); Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix., xxxiii.-xxxiv

18. *Lad of fourteen years.* See quotation from Bar-hebraeus in note on 11-13.

clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. 21. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees. 22. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. 23. And in the first year of the fifth week

1891 A.M. Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. 24. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. Marries Sarai, 9. Haran and Nachor, 9-11. Abram burns the idols: death of Haran, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). Terah and his family go to Haran, 15. Abram observes the stars and prays, 16-21. Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed, 22-24. Power of speaking Hebrew given to him, 25-27. Leaves Haran for Canaan, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the

1904 A.M.

20. *He caused the clouds of ravens to turn back.* Here we must emend gabera (*ab*), gaberû (*c*), gab'a (*d*), into agb'a, or retaining the reading of *ab* understand jetmajatû after sabê'â.

XII. 1-14. Instead of the simple

narrative in these verses we have in later Jewish writings elaborate accounts of the fear inspired in Nimrod by Abram's birth, and the attempts of the former to destroy Abram in a furnace of fire when he refused to commit

seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here am I, my son."

2. And he said,

"What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,

And before which thou dost bow thyself?

idolatry. The idea that Abram was cast into a fiery furnace arose from a literal interpretation of Gen. xv. 7, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur (כְּאַר) of the Chaldees" where אֵשׁ was taken to mean "fire." Probably a comparison of Exod. xx. 2 and Is. xxix. 22 may have contributed to this interpretation. The casting of Abram into the furnace of fire is recorded in Targ.-Jon. on Is. x. 32, in the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 28, xv. 7, and the Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xv. 7; also in Ber. Rabba 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 63; Shem. rabba 18, 23, 44; Wajikra rabba 36; Debarim rabba 9. As to whether it was God Himself or an angel who delivered Abram out of the fire was a question of debate among the Rabbis in the first and second cent. (Ber. rabba 48, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim i. 12). Exaggerated and grotesque forms of the legend will be found in the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1111 sqq.) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxiii.-xxxiv. On the other hand no trace of the legend occurs in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 7) or in the Palestinian Midrashim (the Mechilta, Sifra and Sifre), nor in our text save in xii. 14, where we have perhaps the source of a kindred legend—the death of Haran by fire (see note *in loc.*). Jerome mentions this last legend (see note on xii. 14) and likewise the former about the casting of Abram into the fiery furnace (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xii. 4): Erant autem Abram septuaginta quinque annorum, quando egressus est ex Charra. Indissolubilis nascitur quaestio: si enim Thara pater Abrahæ, cum adhuc esset in regione Chaldaea, septuaginta annorum, genuit Abram, et postea in Charra ducentesimo quinto aetatis suae anno mortuus est: quomodo nunc post mortem Thare, Abram exiens de Charra, septuaginta quinque annorum fuisse memoratur: cum a nativitate Abrae usque ad mortem patris ejus, centum

triginta quinque fuisse anni doceantur. *Vera est igitur illa Hebraeorum traditio, quam supra diximus, quod egressus sit Thara cum filiis suis de igne Chaldaeorum: et quod Abram Babylonio vallatus incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat, Dei sit auxilio liberatus: et ex illo tempore ei dies vitae, et tempus reputetur aetatis, ex quo confessus est Dominum, spernens idola Chaldaeorum. Potest autem fieri ut, quia scriptura reliquit incertum, ante paucos annos Thara de Chaldaea profectus venerit in Charra quam mortem obieret, vel certe statim post persecutionem in Charra venerit et ibi diutius sit moratus. For a full discussion of the subject and references to later Jewish literature see Beer's monograph in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65. Beer is of opinion that Persia was the home of the legend and that it did not make its way into Palestine till the third cent. of the Christian era. This is much too late. A late form of the tradition is found in Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* pp. 48 sqq.*

2. This tradition of Abram admonishing Terah was known to Suidas (*Fabric. Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 336-338): Ἀβραὰμ ὑπάρχων ἐτῶν ἰδ' καὶ θεογνωσίας ἀξιώθεῖς ἐνουθέτει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγων· τί πλανᾷς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ κέρδος ἐπιζημιον, τοῦτέστι, τὰ εἰδῶλα; οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον δημιουργήσας. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. 1, p. 38, Oehler) attributes the invention of image-worship to Terah: Ναχώρ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Θάρρα· ἐντεῦθεν γέγονεν ἀνδριαντοπλασία ἀπὸ πηλοῦργίας καὶ κεραμικῆς ἐπιστήμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θάρρα τούτου τέχνης.

Help and profit . . . from those idols. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21, "Vain things which cannot profit nor deliver."

3. For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not :
4. Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the
earth,
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.
5. Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them ?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who
make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship
them :
Worship them not."
6. And his father said unto him, " I also know it, my
son, but what shall I do with a people who have made
me to serve before them? 7. And if I tell them the
truth, they will slay me ; for their soul cleaves to them to
worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest
they slay thee." 8. And these words he spake to his two
brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent.
- 1925 A.M. 9. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the
seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her
name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became

3. *There is no spirit*, etc. See also ver. 5, xx. 8 ; Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4. *Causes the rain . . . to descend*. See xx. 9. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22, "Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? . . . thou hast made all these things." See also Epistle of Jeremy 53 ; Mt. v. 45 ; Acts xiv. 17.

5. *Work of (men's) hands*. Cf. Jer. x. 3, 9. See xx. 8, xxii. 18 of our text.

On your shoulders do ye carry them. Amos v. 26 ; Is. xlvi. 7 ; Jer. x. 5 ; Epist. Jer. 4, 26 ; Ass. Mos. viii. 4.

9. *Sarai*. Sarai is written Sôrâ in the Ethiopic till xv. 15, when she receives the name Sarah (Eth. Sârâ).

his wife. 10. And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name 1932 A.M. Lot. 11. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife. 12. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, 1936 A.M. in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it. 13. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire. 14. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father,

The same form of the words is found in the Ethiopic version of Gen. xvii. 15 and may go back to the Greek version. In the LXX the words, however, are given as Σάρα and Σάρρα.

The daughter of his father. Our author here follows Gen. xx. 12, where Abraham says that Sarah is the daughter of his father but not of his mother. Syncellus probably follows our text in saying (i. 183): ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ὑπῆρχε. In the Book of Adam and Eve (translated by Malan), iv. 2, the two wives of Terah are mentioned, Tona, the mother of Abraham, and Tahdif, the mother of Sarah (see note on xi. 14). On the other hand Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5; 7 1) describes Sarai as a niece of Abraham and a daughter of Haran—an evasion probably unknown to our author. According to the rabbinic tradition (Jebam. 98 a, Sanh. 58 b, Ber. rabba 18, etc.) marriage with half-sisters on the father's side was permitted to the descendants of Noah (see Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 167 note). Marriage with a sister or half-sister is strictly forbidden in Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17. See note on iv. 15.

10. *Haran.* Eth. has 'Arân.

11. According to Gen. xi. 29 Nahor married Milcah, the daughter of Haran.

12-14. In the note on xii. 1-14 (p. 90 sq.) I have drawn attention to the fact that our book knows nothing of the later legend of the casting of Abram into the furnace. In verses 12-14, however,

we have an old legend—possibly devised by our author, being suggested by the twofold meaning of the Ur (ὕρ), i.e. the name of a country and a fire. Our author is fond of explaining events from the meanings of words. A different form of the legend appears in Jerome, who rejects the legend of Abram's being cast into the fire (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xi. 28): Pro eo, quod legimus, in regione Chaldaeorum, in Hebraeo habetur, in Ur Chesdim, id est in igne Chaldaeorum. Tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione istius modi fabulam: quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldaei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idolatriae igne profugerit . . . Mortuus est Aran ante conspectum Thare . . . in igne Chaldaeorum: quod videlicet ignem nolens adorare igne consumptus sit. Syncellus (i. 185) follows our author: ἐνεπύρισεν Ἀβραάμ τὰ εἰδῶλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκατεκαύθη αὐτοῖς Ἀρρὰν θέλων σβέσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐν νυκτί. Cedrenus (i. 48) seems to have had our text before him: ἤδη δὲ ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδōκει τὸν πατέρα πελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκέλους τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀποσχέσθαι δεισιδαιμονίας, λανθάνει νυκτὸς τῶν εἰδῶλων ἐμπρήσας τὸν οἶκον. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξαναλουμένων οἱ ἀδελφοὶ νοήσαντες ἀναπηδῶσι, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξελεῖσθαι τὰ εἰδῶλα. φιλοτιμότερον δὲ ὁ Ἀρὰμ τῷ πράγματι προσφερόμενος ἐν μέσῳ διαφθείρεται τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Bar-hebraeus, *Historia*

and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees. 15. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. 16. And in

1951 A.M. the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. 17. And a word came into his heart and he said: "All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?"

18. If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in His hand."

19. And he prayed that night and said
"My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.

Dynastiarum, p. 13 (quoted by Fabricius, i. 422): Incenditque ille templum idolorum in urbe Chaldaeorum, at Haran frater ipsius ad extinguendum ignem ingressus combustus est. According to Beer (*Leben Abr.* 110) the same legend is found in Midr. b. Bechaii.

15. *Haran*. Eth. has Kârân, i.e. הרן, Haran, a city in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. Cf. Gen. xi. 31.

16-18. Abram on the first of the seventh month seeks to determine the nature of the weather during the ensuing six rainy months (see note on xii. 27). In Ber. rabba 44, according to the Rabbis, God told Abram that he was a prophet and not a star-gazer. Cedrenus (i. 48-49) reproduces the sub-

stance of our text: ἔνθα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ δεκαπέντε ἔτη τῷ πατρὶ συνοικήσας ἐν-
νοεῖ ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν κινή-
σεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος καιροῦ κατασκέψα-
σθαι τὴν ποιότητα· ἦν γὰρ οὐ μετρίως
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τοιαύτην
ἐξασκηθεὶς ἐπιστήμην. καὶ δὴ μετὰ
τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν ζητουμένων διάγνωσιν,
συνήρῃσι περιττὴν ἅπασαν εἶναι τὴν τοι-
αύτην περιεργίαν· δύνασθαι γὰρ αὐθις
τὸν θεόν, εἰ βούλοιο, μετασκευάσαι πρὸς
τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα τὰ προεγνωσμένα.
Cf. Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106).
Some such idea seems to have been
present to Philo, *De Migr. Abr.* xxxii.-
xxxiii.

19. *And Thee and Thy Dominion*, etc. The MSS put this line at the end of ver. 19.

20. Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have
 sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,
 And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
 And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
 That we go not astray from henceforth and for ever-
 more."

21. And he said, "Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees
 who seek my face that I may return to them, or am I
 to remain here in this place? The right path before
 Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may
 fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness
 of my heart, O my God." 22. And he made an end of
 speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was
 sent to him through me, saying: "Get thee up from thy
 country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy
 father unto a land which I shall show thee, and I shall
 make thee a great and numerous nation.

23. And I shall bless thee
 And I shall make thy name great,
 And thou wilt be blessed in the earth,
 And in Thee will all families of the earth be blessed,
 And I shall bless them that bless thee,
 And curse them that curse thee.

24. And I shall be a God to thee and thy son, and to
 thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I
 am thy God." 25. And the Lord God said: "Open his
 mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with

22-23. Gen. xii. 1-3.

22. *From the house of thy father.*
 This implies separation from Terah (see
 29-31). The phrase is omitted in Acts
 vii. 3, where the quotation is given a
 different context.

25-26. From the overthrow of Babel
 (x. 26) the knowledge of the Hebrew
 language was lost till the 75th year of

Abram's life. Our text was before
 Syncellus, i. 185. Thus, contrary to
 his own system of chronology, he
 assigns the date in this connection as
 the beginning of the 41st jubilee.
 'Ἀρχὴ τοῦ μά' Ἰωβηλαίου παρ' Ἑβραίοις.
 'Ἰωβήλ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πεντηκοντα-
 ετηρίς, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ κατ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐπὶ πέντε' (so Rönsch: MSS με') ἔτος

his mouth, with the language which has been revealed"; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). 26. And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. 27. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them.

1953 A.M. during the six rainy months. 28. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father, and informed him that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. 29. And Terah his father said unto him; "Go in peace:

'Αβραὰμ ἔτη βα' (=2001: so Rönisch: MSS βν'). ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν 'Αβραὰμ ἐγὼ ἐδίδαξα τὴν 'Εβραϊδα γλῶσσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, λαλεῖν τὰ πάτρια πάντα, ὡς ἐν Δεπτῇ κείται Γενέσει. The above reckoning agrees exactly with our text if we take into account the fact that Syncellus wrongly takes a jubilee as 50 years instead of 49 years. Syncellus thus finds that on the 1st year of the 41st jubilee, 2001 years have elapsed from Adam till the 85th year of Abram. According to our text Abram was 75 years old in 1951 and therefore 85 in 1961. Now 40 jubilees + 1 = 1961, but Syncellus, reckoning the jubilee at 50 years, wrongly made the total 2001. A curtailed form of the above statement is reproduced by Cedrenus, i. 48. Again the writer of the *Clementine Recognitions*, i. 30, knew the substance of our text: Quinta decima generatione primo omnium homines idolum statuentes adoraverunt, et usque ad illud tempus divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua tenuit monarchiam.

A different tradition from that in our text appears in the *Catena Nicephori*, i. col. 177, on Gen. xi. 8, where Heber is said to have alone retained the Hebrew language, because he took no part in the building of

Babel. In the next colophon of the same work the same statement is attributed to Diodorus of Antioch (378-394 A.D.). A similar view is set forth in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 11, and in Cedrenus, i. 22: φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Ἐβερ ὁ τοῦ Φάλεκ πατὴρ οὐ συνέθετο τῇ πράξει τῆς πυργοποιίας διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχεθείσης ἢ τοῦ Ἐβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. According to Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 245, this view was propounded by Bar-hebraeus (*Syr.* p. 9).

25. *Language which has been revealed.* Cf. *Clementine Recognitions* i. 30: Divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua (see preceding note).

Day of the overthrow. See note on x. 26.

27. *The books of his fathers.* See note on xxi. 10.

Six rainy months. This means the winter in the East. It is the time for study. The expression is Talmudic: ימות הגשמים (Taan. 3b; Erubin 56a) in opposition to ימות החמה, the days of the Sun, i.e. the summer.

29-31. Singer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 170) is no doubt right in saying that this passage owes its existence to the author's wish to protect Abram against the reproach of leaving his aged father (see Ber. rabba 39).

May the eternal God make thy path straight,
 And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from
 all evil,
 And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before
 those who see thee,
 And may none of the children of men have power over
 thee to harm thee ;
 Go in peace.

30. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother, as thine own son : the Lord be with thee. 31. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together."

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14a. Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron, 14b-21. Chedor-laomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah : Lot taken captive, 22-24. Law of tithes enacted, 25-29. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20, xiii. 11-18, xiv. 8-14, 21-24.)

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak. 2. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak. 3. And the Lord said to him :

Accordingly, Abram is to return and fetch his father. As Terah is still alive at the age of 147 (see xi. 10, 15) it follows that our author accepts 205 years in Gen. xi. 32 (Mass., LXX) as the age of Terah when he died. The Samaritan here has 145, and this is the text presupposed by Acts vii. 4. It is accepted by Budde and Dillmann.

XIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xii. 5-6.

†Asshur.† I have obelised this as corrupt. We should expect "Canaan." *a* has Sûr.

Shechem. Eth. has Sakimôn.

2. *Hamath.* Eth. has 'Êmâth. See note on x. 33.

Lofty oak. So LXX Gen. xii. 6 ; Mass. = "oak of Moreh."

"To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there. 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees,

1954 A.M. and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God." 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land.

1956 A.M. 11. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais in Egypt was at

3-5. Cf. Gen. xii. 7-8.

5. *Unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west, etc.* After "mountain" there is probably a loss of the words: "to the east of Bethel with." This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zaseṁû after Bêtêl in *a* may be a corruption of westa=έν. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl. *bcd* read "unto the mountain of Bethel," etc.

Ai. Eth. 'Aggê, LXX 'Αγγαί.

6. *Date trees*=bīlanôs (=βάλανος), an emendation of *a* bibanôs. *cd* read libânôs, which Dillmann takes to mean "pine trees."

8. *On the new moon of the first month.* So *cd*, which is to be preferred to the reading of *a* *b* as Praetorius and Littmann have pointed out.

Thou, the eternal God, art (bcd). *a*, "And said, the eternal God is." See ver. 16.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xii. 8^b-10.

10. *Hebron.* Eth. Kêbrôn.

Bealoth, Latin Bahalot, LXX Βααλ-ώθ (Mass. בְּעֻז). A town in the south of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, as Littmann has recognised. MSS corruptly Bêa Lôth.

12. *Tanais, i.e.* Zoan, γῆς (LXX

that time built—seven years after Hebron. 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first 1963 A.M. jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever." 17. And in the fourth 1964 A.M. year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children. 19. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I

Tavlv). The statement in this verse is drawn from Num. xiii. 22.

13-15^a. Cf. Gen. xii. 15-20. Our author conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh relative to Sarai, and omits Gen. xii. 18. The Book of Jashar expands all the details of the Biblical account.

15. *Journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent*, etc. Cf. Gen. xiii. 3, 4.

Ai on the east, etc. See on ver. 5.

16. *Thou, the most high God*, etc. Cf. ver. 8.

17. *Lot parted from him*. Cf. Gen. xiii. 11.

18. *It grieved him* = 'akajô. So *b*. Cf. Sir. xi. 22 for this transitive use. *a* has 'ak'ijô, *d* 'a'ëkajû. *c* gives hazana, a conjecture right in sense.

19-21. Cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

19. *This week*. MSS add "and said" against Latin and Gen. xiii.

shall give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I shall make thy seed as the sand of the sea : though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered.

21. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all ; for to thy seed shall I give it." And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there. 22.

And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea. 23. And they took

captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan. 24. And one who had

escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. 25.

. for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the

20. *Sand of the sea.* This expression is borrowed from Gen. xxii. 17. Gen. xiii. 16 has here : "dust of the earth."

Not be numbered. Gen. xiii. 16 omits the negative ; but it is also found in Onkelos.

21. I have added "through the land" from Gen. xiii. 17, since the expression "length of it" presupposes its presence in the text, otherwise we have to go back twenty-three words in the Ethiopic for the antecedent of "it." The Latin is here defective, omitting "through the land in its length and."

22-29. Cf. Gen. xiv.

22. *Chedorlaomer.* Eth. has Kôdôlâ-gômôr.

Amraphel. Eth. has 'Âmârphel. Cf. Gen. xiv. 1 (LXX) 'Αμαρφάλ.

Sêllâsar. Possibly a corruption of Ellâsar, since sê and 'ê are easily confused in Ethiopic ; but the corruption originated in the Greek, since A in Gen. xiv. 1 has Σελλασαρ ; or in the Hebrew, as the Syriac has Dalasar and the Targum of Ps.-Jon. Telassar.

Têrgâl, i.e. Tidal of Mass. Syr. has Tarîl and LXX Θαργάλ.

Gomorrah. Eth. Gômôr.

King of Sodom fled. Our author here corrects the apparent contradiction in Gen. xiv. 10, 17.

Vale of Siddim. An easy emendation of a corrupt text. See my Eth. text (p. 48).

23. *Adam, i.e.* Admah.

They went. Text which has "he went" should be emended.

To Dan. Cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

24. *One who had escaped.* Gen. xiv. 13. This person was named Oni according to the Book of Jashar (Migne's *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125).

And (Abram) armed his household servants. Gen. xiv. 14. For "armed" (*a b d*), *c* corruptly reads "made atonement for." Onkelos (ורין) supports the rendering which our text gives of ירק in Gen. xiv. 14. The LXX ἡρίθμησε and Vulg. numeravit which presuppose ירק the text of the Samaritan.

25. At the beginning of this verse there is obviously a lacuna, for the text

first-fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. 26. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep. 27. And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. 28. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: "Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine." 29. And Abram said unto him: "I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a

is anacolouthic. *c* removes the anacolouthon by changing 'astarasaja = "armed" of *abā* into 'astasēraja = "made atonement for." Thus instead of "(Abram) armed his household servants . . . for Abram" we have "his household servant made atonement for Abram." But this change is against the best MSS, which are likewise supported by Gen. xiv. 14 (see note on ver. 24), and it does not dispense with the necessity of assuming a lacuna at the close of ver. 24. The lacuna, drawn attention to in our text, would naturally contain an account of Abram's pursuit of the kings and recovery of the captives and spoil. It no doubt told also of Melchizedek; for ver. 25 presupposes Gen. xiv. 18^b. 20^c by declaring that the tithes belong to the priests. In Nedar 32^b it is said that the priestly office passed from Melchizedek's successors to those of Abraham because Melchizedek sinned in blessing Abraham before he blessed God (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 74). Since Beer had before him the corrupt reading of *c*, which tries to obviate the anacolouthic nature of the text, he assumed that the text contained no reference to Melchizedek. It is true that this passage has always been a stumbling-block to strict Jews. Thus it was urged against them by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 19: ἀπερίτμητος ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδέκ, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας

προσφοράς ἔδωκεν Ἀβραάμ) that Melchizedek was uncircumcised to whom Abram gave tithes, and also by Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* iii.: Patriarchae incircumcisi fuerunt, ut Melchisedech qui ipsi Abrahae jam circumciso . . . panem et vinum obtulit incircumcisi. To evade such attacks some Jewish writers declared that Melchizedek was born circumcised (Ber. rabba 43; for other references see Singer, p. 122 note); also that Melchizedek was identical with Shem (Targum Jon. and Jerus. on Gen. xiv. 18; Nedar 32^b; Ber. rabba 44: Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125); see Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 142; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 122 note for further references). These evasions were apparently unknown to Philo and Josephus. In connection with the fact that Melchizedek was called "a priest of the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 18) we should remember that the Maccabeans called themselves by this title (see note on xxxii. 1). Now since our author (see Introd. § 21) is an apologist of the Maccabean dynasty, it is not probable that he would omit all reference to Melchizedek who first bore the title they afterwards assumed.

26. From the enigmatical words of Gen. xiv. 20 "he gave him a tenth of all" our author derives the law of universal tithing. See xxxii. 15.

28-29. Cf. Gen. xiv. 21-24.

thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These will take their portion."

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt, 8-17. God's covenant with Abram, 18-20. Hagar bears Ishmael, 21-24. (Cf. Gen. xv., xvi. 1-4, 11.)

XIV. After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great." 2. And he said: "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed." 3. And He said unto him: "This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir." 4. And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them." 5. And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: "So shall thy seed be." 6. And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 7. And He said unto

29. *Aner.* Eth. has 'Aunân.

XIV. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xv. 1-6.

2. *Lord, Lord.* Probably = Δέσποτα Κύριε as in LXX of Gen. xv. 2 = אדוני יהוה.

The son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid. The Greek translator (and also the LXX) wrongly took טַשֶּׁק (= "possession") to be a proper name.

Instead of "the son of Mâsêq" we should have "the possessor." Next, "the son of my handmaid" = ὁ οἰκογενῆς μου. Hence our text = בן־טַשֶּׁק בן־בִּיתִי. Subsequent tradition made much of Eliezer. He was said to be one of the seven righteous men who had not tasted of death (Baba bathra 58a).

7. Cf. Gen. xv. 7.

him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I shall be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee." 8. And he said: "Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?" 9. And He said unto him: "Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. 11. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. 12. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years. 14. And the nation also to whom they will

And I shall be God unto thee (c d). a b read "to be God unto thee."

8-9. Cf. Gen. xv. 8-9.

8. *Lord, Lord.* See note on ver. 2.

9. *An heifer of three years, etc.* The Mass., LXX, Ps.-Jon., Wajikra rabba 14, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10. 3 mention one animal of each kind, as here. On the other hand, Gen. rabba and Onkelos on this verse prescribe three of each kind. So also Rashi, Nachmanides, Kimchi according to Beer (*Leb. Abr.* 20, 121).

10. *In the middle of the month.* Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, and the Seder Olam 5, state that this event took place on Nisan 15.

Dwelt at the oak of Mamre. Cf. Gen. xiv. 13.

11-12. Cf. Gen. xv. 10-11.

12. *The pieces.* The MSS have here "that which was spread out" = *ταθέντα*, which I have taken to be a corruption

of *τμηθέντα*: cf. LXX τὰ διχοτομήματα. This would imply the reading *נורים*. But *ταθέντα* might possibly be a corruption of *καθέντα* = פנרים as in Mass. text. In that case we should render "carcases." Observe that LXX (= ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα ἐπὶ τὰ διχοτομήματα) had clearly *על-הפנרים על-נורים* before it.

And Abram drove them away = καὶ ἀπεσόβησεν (= Mass. *וַיִּשְׁבּ*) αὐτὰ Ἀβράμ (Aquila). LXX = καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβράμ.

13-16. Cf. Gen. xv. 12-16.

13. *They will bring them into bondage.* So LXX and Vulgate. Mass., Sam., and Syr. = "they will be in bondage to them."

Four hundred years. In Gen. xv. 13 the length of the sojourn in Egypt is given as 400 years, but in Exod. xii. 40 as 430. But since neither number agrees with the period calculated from the ages of Kohath, Amram

be in bondage shall I judge, and after that they will come forth thence with much substance. 15. And thou wilt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation they will return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Gergashites, and the Jebusites." 19.

in Exod. vi. 18, 20, and Moses at the time of the Exodus, vii. 7; tradition early assumed that the above periods include the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan before the migration. Thus the LXX in Exod. xii. 40 insert the words *καὶ ἐν γῇ Χανάαν* after *ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ*, and the same addition is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The period of 400 or 430 years was reckoned from the date of its announcement in Gen. xv. 13, according to St. Paul, Gal. iii. 16, 17; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps.-Jon. in Exod. xii. 40, but our text reckons the 430 years from Isaac's birth. On the other hand, Philo (*Quis rer. div. her.* 54) sets down the actual sojourn of Israel in Egypt at 400 years, and likewise Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4). According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, 41 the 430 years are explained as follows: 400 years elapsed between Isaac's birth, which took place when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5), and the Exodus; and 430 between the date of God's promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) and the Exodus; for this promise was given 30 years before Isaac's birth. Thus 430 years = 30 (years between promise in Gen. xv. 13 and birth of Isaac) + 60 (years from birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob) + 130 (being age of Jacob on his arrival in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9) +

210 (years of sojourn in Egypt). According to this chronology it follows that Abram was 70 years old when he witnessed the vision in Gen. xv. 7-21. But according to Gen. xii. 4 Abram was already 75 when he left Haran. This difficulty obliged later Jewish exponents to assume that Abram had paid an earlier visit in his 70th year to Canaan, and that Gen. xv. 7-21 belongs to that earlier visit and that its present context is accordingly wrong. This method of exposition is followed in the Book of Jasher where Gen. xv. 7-21 is first recounted (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1119) and subsequently Gen. xv. 1-6 (ii. 1125-1126). The double journey to Canaan is referred to by R. Nehemiah in *Ber. rabba* 39. For other references to later Jewish literature on this question see Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 118-120.

Of this later form of exposition our book knows nothing.

16. *Fourth generation.* A generation means here 100 years. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5).

17-18. Cf. Gen. xv. 17-21.

17. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

18. *The Hivites.* Found in Sam. and LXX of Gen. xv. 20, but not in Mass., Syr., or Vulg.

And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever. 21. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. 22. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him; "Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her." 23. And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, "Do (so)." And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 24. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth 1965 A.M. year in the life of Abram.

Abram celebrates the feast of first-fruits, 1, 2: his name changed and circumcision instituted, 3-14. Sarai's name changed and Isaac promised, 15-21. Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised, 22-24. Circumcision an eternal ordination, 25, 26. Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised, 27-29. Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels, 30-32. Future faithlessness of Israel, 33, 34. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this 1979 A.M.

19. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

20. *On that day, i.e. the 15th Sivan.* We have already seen (see note on vi. 17-18) that the Covenant with Noah was probably assigned to the same month

and the same day of the month by our author.

21^d-24^{ab}. Cf. Gen. xvi. 1-4.

24. *And he called his name Ishmael.* Cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

XV. 1. †*Fourth*† (a c d). *b* reads "seventh." It should be "third," here

jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain

and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognised. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xlv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

To begin with, it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word "Sabbath" in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved "on the morrow after the Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, *מחרת השבת*). In what sense, then, are we to take the word "Sabbath"? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

(1) First the word "Sabbath" is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day.

(i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by *τη ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* (here *ἡ πρώτη* = *השבת*), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, *מחרת יומא טבא קמא*; in the Targum of Onkelos (*מחרת יומא טבא*) where "the Sabbath"

is simply rendered "the feast day"; in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, *τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ*; in Philo, *De Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: *Ἐορτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα*. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (a) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (b) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A.D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase *מחרת יומא טבא קמא* = "after the second (feast) day," that is Nisan 21. (c) But the usage is as early as the second cent. B.C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term "Sabbath" stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath, are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 a) took "the morrow after the Sabbath" to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened

harvest. 2. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense. 3. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: "I am God Almighty; approve thyself before Me and be thou perfect. 4. And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly." 5. And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6. "Behold My ordinance is with thee,

And thou wilt be the father of many nations.

7. Neither will thy name any more be called Abram,

But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.

For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8. And I shall make thee very great,

And I shall make thee into nations,

And kings will come forth from thee.

9. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an

bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-137) holds that the $\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribē de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connection. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that "the morrow after the Sabbath" was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos.*

Recht,² 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Heb. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (*Herzog's Real Encyc.*² xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*; *Herzog's Real Encyc.*² and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

2. An heifer and a goat, etc. Cf. xiv. 9. These are not the sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

3-4. Cf. Gen. xvii. 1-2.

3. *Approve thyself*. Cf. LXX, $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ and Syr. ܐܡܢܝܢ , which are all free renderings of התהלך .

5-10. Cf. Gen. xvii. 3-8.

eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. 10. (And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee) the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I shall be their God." 11. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "And as for thee, do thou keep My covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it will be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you. 12. And the child on the eighth day ye will circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. 13. He that is born in thy house will surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money will be circumcised, and My covenant will be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. 14. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul will be cut off from his people, for

10. (*And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee*). These words, lost through homoioteleuton, I have restored from Gen. xvii. 8.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xvii. 9-13.

12. *The child (or "children") on the eighth day ye will circumcise*. This form of Gen. xvii. 12 is found only in the Eth. vers. of that passage and in our text. It seems to be a deliberate change of "the child of eight days ye shall circumcise," as in Gen. xvii. 12. See on ver. 14.

14. Cf. Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary in *Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123-124): *Incircumciscus masculus, qui non fuerit circumciscus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa*; and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is

wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV., many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenising attitude towards circumcision our author emphasises what was apparently the current view of his time, *i.e.*, that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for

he has broken My covenant." 15. And God said unto Abraham: "As for Sarai thy wife, her name will no more be called Sarai, but Sarah will be her name. 16. And I shall bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I shall bless him, and he will become a nation, and kings of nations will proceed from him." 17. And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?" 18. And Abraham said unto God: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 19. And God said: "Yea, and Sarah also will bear thee a son, and thou wilt call his name Isaac, and I shall establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after

the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: "A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well." But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: "We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לא נאחריו יום אחד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more." That the severer form of the halacha prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second cent. A.D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): "Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κἀν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?" This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (*Midrash Tillin 10b*, *Soteh 10b*, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba, in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, or "the laying bare." This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

15-22. Cf. Gen. xvii. 15-22.

16. *I shall bless him.* So also the Sam., LXX, Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xvii. 16, whereas the Sam. makes the rest of

him. 20. And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I shall bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he will beget twelve princes, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant shall I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee, in these days, in the next year." 22. And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. 23. And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. 24. And on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him. 25. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. 26. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from

the verse, and the Mass. and Onk. make the entire verse refer to Sarah.

20. *Princes.* So Mass. (אֲנָשִׁים) and Vulg. LXX, $\xi\theta\nu\eta = \alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xvii. 23-27.

24. *On the selfsame day, i.e.,* on the 15th of Sivan; see ver. 1. According to the Yalkut Chadash 121 *a* Abraham was circumcised on the 13th or 15th of Nisan, or on the Day of Atonement, or on the New Moon of January (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 63, 152).

(*And those born in the house*). Restored with Lat.

25. See note on ver. 14.

No omission of one day out of the eight

days. I take this clause to be parallel in meaning to the preceding. In no case is the circumcision to be performed before the eighth day. The word translated "omission" is the same as that translated "neglecting" or "transgressing" in vi. 31.

26. This verse is simply an enlargement of ver. 14, which as we saw is Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. MSS and Latin have "till the eighth day." But since this verse is simply an emphatic and enlarged form of ver. 14, for "till" we should clearly have "on." Besides, "till" gives the wrong sense; for the

the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 27. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. 28. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. 29. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. 30. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. 31. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children

circumcision is to be performed *on* the eighth day. The error can be explained by the corruption of ך into ך or ך into ך in the Hebrew.

And to be rooted out of the earth. *ad* and Latin omit, possibly through homoioteleuton.

27. There are two classes of angels mentioned here: the angels of the presence (see i. 29 note, ii. 2 note, 18, xxxi. 14) and the angels of sanctification (see ii. 2 note, 18 ["holy ones," "sancti," xxxi. 14]), according to the Ethiopic text; but three or four according to the Latin: *angeli vultus*, *archangeli benedictionis*, *angeli sanctificationis*, *angeli sanctorum ipsius*. But the last does not constitute a distinct order. It is simply a comprehensive term for the two (or three) highest orders, since it occurs in the following context: *ut esset simul cum ipso et cum angelis sanctorum ipsius*. Here *ipso* means "God," and the *angelis sancti ipsius* sums up the orders mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence. Since in ii. 18 the Ethiopic speaks so clearly of only two classes, I am inclined to believe that "benedictionis" is

simply an alternative rendering that has ousted the true reading, "sanctificationis," and that the context deals only with two orders of angels. The two orders mentioned here in the Ethiopic text are the same two who are said to unite with God and Israel in observing the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). The inferior angels of service did not enjoy this privilege. Now just as the highest angels shared with Israel in the privilege of the Sabbath, so they shared also in the privilege of circumcision. They were created circumcised, just as, according to later Judaism, many of the patriarchs of Israel were born so. (See note on ver. 14.) Such a belief was not difficult to believers in the loves of the angels for the daughters of men (v. 1 sqq.). In *Debarim rabba* on i. 2 it is said that the angels of service, *i.e.* the inferior orders, sought to know the Law, but it was hidden from them (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² 25).

30. *Chose them.* The Ethiopic reproduces the Hebrew idiom בחר ב. The Latin gives *elegit ex ipsis*.

Israel. See on xvi. 17.

31-32. This idea that Israel was

of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. \ 32. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. 33. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,

God's portion but that the Gentiles were placed under the dominion of angels, goes back to an old (possibly the oldest) form of the text of Deut. xxxii. 8-9, which, reading לֹא instead of לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, is reproduced in the LXX:

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὑψιστος ἔθνη . . .

ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνων

κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.

καὶ ἐγενήθη μέρος Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ
'Ιακώβ.

This view next appears in Sir. xvii. 17:

ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον,
καὶ μέρος Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν :

and in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1, where, however, all the nations including even Israel are understood to be under the patronage of angels, Israel being under Michael. According to Eth. Enoch lxxxix. Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world. The appointment of these seventy angels to be the heads of the nations is recorded in the Ps.-Jon. of Deut. xxxii. 8. They may be referred to as demons in 1 Cor. x. 19, or as τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

31. *To lead them astray.* In x. 3, 8, xix. 28, this is the function assigned

to the demons, who were the spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (see v. 1, 7-9, x. 5, 8, 9). But in the present passage it is said that God gave the hegemony of the nations to angels for this purpose. The condemnation of the seventy angelic patrons for their evil treatment of Israel is described in Eth. Enoch xc. 22, 23, and also in Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22, though in the latter passage the cause is not assigned. I think we may assume that the statement in our text is made on the same principle as many in the Scriptures (cf. Is. vi. 9; Matt. xiii. 14; Mark iv. 12, etc.), in which the ultimate result of an action or a series of actions is declared to have been the immediate object of them.

In later Judaism at all events the seventy angels are described as the rulers of the nations. These angels share in the fortunes, whether favourable or unfavourable, of the nations over which they bear sway. They are likewise the sources of corruption to their subject peoples, introducing idolatry and impurity. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 805-820.

33. This verse shows that the apostasy in Israel in early part of the second cent. B.C. was very widespread.

sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. 34. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron, and Isaac again promised, 1-4. Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance, 5-9. Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God, 10-19. Institution of the feast of tabernacles, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12, xix. 24, 29, 33-37, xx. 1, 4, 8, xxi. 1-4.)

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and

Sons of Beliar. An O.T. expression: cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12, etc. For a full treatment of the Beliar myth, see my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. liv sqq. From i. 20 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Dan. 5 it follows that as early as the second cent. B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.

34. *Have forsaken His covenant . . . inasmuch as they do not observe.* Our author has forgotten his rôle as a

prophet and dropped into that of the annalist.

[*So that . . . pardon*]. A corrupt dittography.

XVI. 1. Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10. Our author omits all reference to Gen. xviii. 2-9. Singer (122 note, 293 note) thinks that the eating of the angels may have given offence as it did to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11. 2, οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῶ πατέσθον ἐσθίουμένων).

2. Cf. Gen. xviii. 10, 12, 15.

written in the heavenly tables (*i.e.*) Isaac, 4. And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. 5. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6. And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tables, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation. 10. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. 12. And in the middle of the sixth month the

4. *Would have conceived.* The text is corrupt, but the corruption is as old as the Greek version, as it seems to have led to the gloss in verses 15-16. We should expect "would conceive." See verses 12 (where this promise is fulfilled), 16.

5. Cf. Gen. xix. 24.

Zeboim, in text *Sôbo'im*. See Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

6. *Like unto the judgment of.* Latin = sicut judicavit.

7-8. Cf. Gen. xix. 29, 31 sqq.

10. *Mountains.* The Eth. could be rendered "territories" or "confines" as in Latin. There may, however, as Rünsch (p. 102) suggests, have been a confusion of *ôpos* and *ôpos*.

11. All mention of Abraham's unseemly treatment of Abimelech is omitted.

Well of the Oath, i.e. Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31.

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4.

Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken, and she conceived. 13. And she bare a son in the third month, 1980 A.M. and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. 14. And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever. 15. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son. 16. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: 17. And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. 18. For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be

13. Birth of Isaac on the 15th of Sivan. According to the Rosh ha-Shanah 10*b*, Isaac was born on the Passover Feast; according to the Midrash Tanchuma on Exodus (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 168), on the first of Nisan.

15. †Fourth†. This should be "third" as in xv. 1. Abram was in his eighty-sixth year when Ishmael was born (xiv. 24), that is, in the fifth year of the first week of the forty-first jubilee. Fifteen years later Isaac was born in the hundredth year of Abraham.

15-16. The words bracketed in these verses contain a gloss that destroys the sense of the context. They proceed from a corrupt reading in ver. 4 and misunderstanding of text generally.

16. *Blessed him*. For "him" Eth.

reads "her." Similarly after "announced to." The Latin is followed here.

Six sons more. Abraham had six sons by Keturah: Gen. xxv. 2. See xx. 1 of our text.

In Isaac should his name, etc. Gen. xxi. 12. See xvii. 6 of our text.

17. All the descendants of Abraham save Jacob and his posterity belong to the Gentiles. See xv. 30. In Sanh. 59*b* there is a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in consequence of Gen. xvii. 9, 10. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held that the obligation did not extend to the descendants of Esau. See above xv. 30.

18. *Portion of the Most High*. See note on xv. 31-32.

unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation. 19. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 20. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath. 21. And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth. 22. And during these seven days he brought

A people for (His) possession = *hezba terit* (cf. xxxiii. 20), emended from *hezba* (*a b c*) *tersit* (*b c tirsita, a*) = "people of magnificence." *d* reads "people of inheritance" (*hezba rest*), cf. Deut. iv. 20; Latin, *populum sanctificatum*. This last = *λαδὸν ὁσίον*, which may be corrupt for *λαδὸν οὐσίαν* (or *περιούσιον*) = *עם סגולה* (Deut. vii. 6), a frequent O.T. phrase; cf. Exod. xix. 5, which was clearly before our author, as the closing clause of our verse shows. See also Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, where the full phrase *עם סגולה* is found. In xix. 18 of our text the same difficulties recur. If *tersit* is right, we might compare Deut. xxvi. 19.

A kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = *βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς*, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = *βασιλεία ἱερατική* = *ממלכת כהנים*. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by *βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα* (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have *βασιλειαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 *βασιλειαν ἱερεῖς*. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in

giving practically the same rendering of *ממלכת כהנים* in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as *מלכין כהנים* (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. *מלכין קטירי כלילא* (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. *מלכין וכהנים*; and the Syr. version *ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܟܗܢܝܢ*; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

20-31. The account of the feast of tabernacles in our text is peculiar. As regards the number of victims it presents some points of agreement and many of disagreement with the account given in Num. xxix. 12-40. I cannot offer any explanation of these phenomena. Verses 20-22 were before Cedrenus i. 50: *μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ Μαβρῆ δρυὸς ἀπαναστὰς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ κατασκευοῖ τοῦ ὄρκου. ἐαυτῷ δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ κατὰ συγγενείας πηξάμενος σκηνάς, τότε πρῶτον Ἀβραὰμ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν εορτήν.*

22. Two different sacrifices are here recorded: a burnt-offering (ἑὸς) and a sin-offering (ἁμαρτίας).

each day to the altar a burnt-offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin-offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. 23. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings; and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. 24. And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure. 25. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house; and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised. 26. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of right-

Two oxen or "bullocks." According to Num. xxix. 13-33 thirteen bullocks were sacrificed on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and soon, the number being diminished by one each day.

Two rams. So in Num. xxix. 13.

Seven sheep. In Num. xxix. 13 fourteen he-lambs.

One he-goat. So in Num. xxix. 16.

23. *Thank-offering* = *θυσία σωτηρίου* = *זבח שלמים*. The victims in this case correspond in kind and number with those offered by Hezekiah in 2 Chron. xxix. 21, but in the latter passage they constitute a sin-offering for the kingdom.

24. *Fragrant substances* = *ἡδύσματα* = *סמים*. Our author is here making use of Exod. xxx. 34, and not of Num. iv. 16; Lev. iv. 7 etc. as the Latin implies, which has incensum compositionis = *θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως* from Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 13; Num. iv. 16 (*קטרת הסמים*). The Ethiopic appears to be right.

Frankincense, galbanum, etc. The

first four of these are mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34, לבנה (= *λίβανος* = libanus, thus), נחלב (= *χαλβάνη* = galbanum), שטף (= *στακτή* = stacte), נלחש (= *δνυξ* = nardus). All seven are enumerated in Sir. xxiv. 15:

ὡς κιννάμωμον καὶ ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων δέδωκα ὁσμὴν,
καὶ ὡς σμύρνα ἐκλεκτὴ δέδωκα εὐωδίαν,

ὡς χαλβάνη καὶ δνυξ καὶ στακτή,
καὶ ὡς λίβανου ἀτμὶς ἐν σκηνῇ.

Here *χαλβάνη*, *δνυξ*, *στακτή*, *λίβανου ἀτμὶς* correspond to the first four in our text but in a different order, and *κιννάμωμον*, *ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων*, *σμύρνα* to the last three. These seven fragrant constituents of the incense offering are mentioned in Jer. Joma iv. 5; Keritot 6a b (Singer, 75 note; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. 248).

26. *Plant of righteousness.* See xxi. 24; Eth. Enoch x. 16; xciii. 5, 10, where the same expression is found. Cf. also lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2 in the same work.

eousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things. 27. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 28. And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tables. 29. For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for ever throughout their generations every year. 30. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. 31. And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in

28. *All his seed.* Latin omits "all."

29. *A statute for ever, etc.* Lev. xxiii. 41.

30. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

Set wreaths upon their heads. This is unknown to tradition in connection with the feast. The custom of wearing chaplets at feasts is referred to in Wisdom ii. 7-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1 (cf. 3 Macc. iv. 8), but it cannot be established as a Jewish one. Bridegrooms, however, were adorned with myrtles and roses, Gittin 7 a, Sota 49 b (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 47). The metaphorical use of "crown" or "wreath"

as ὁ στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς (Rev. ii. 10: cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8) is familiar also in Judaism; cf. Megilla 15 b.

31. *Branches of palm trees.* Text lebba dabart and Latin corde palmarum go back as Dillmann recognised to לולבי (לולב) was wrongly taken as לבב by the Greek translator. We might observe that the Targums on Lev. xxiii. 40 have here simply לולבין.

Every day . . . seven times. According to Sukka iv. 5 it was only on the seventh day that the worshippers went round the altar seven times (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 46; Singer, 75).

order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.)

XVII. And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac 1982 A.M. was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. 3. And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing, and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac." 5. And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son, that he should drive them from him. 6. And God said to Abraham "Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. 7. But as for the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed." 8. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle

XVII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8.

†*Fifth*†. This should be "fourth."
See a similar error in xvi. 15.

2. *Because he had seen his sons*, etc.
Cf. xvi. 16.

3. See xiii. 19 sqq.

4-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

4. *And dancing*. Since the Latin has cum Isaac, wa-yezafen may be corrupt

for ba-yeshaq="with Isaac." These words are found in the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 9 but not in the Mass. or Sam.

7. *A great nation*. The epithet "great" is supported by the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 13, but omitted by the Mass., Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. The last reads instead: "a nation of robbers."

of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 9. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down. 10. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, "Let me not see the death of my child," and as she sat she wept. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, "Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child." 12. And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran. 13. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. 14. And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth; for she said, "The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him."

2003 A.M. 15. And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ came and said

10. *An olive tree.* Instead of ἐλάτας LXX has ἐλάτης.

12. *She opened.* We should with Gen. xxi. 19 expect "he."

14. *Nebaioth.* Eth.=Nâbêwôt. Cf. Gen. xxv. 13.

Was nigh. We should expect the original behind "was nigh" to contain some of the consonants in "Nebaioth."

15. Isaac is thus twenty-three when he was offered up by Abraham (cf.

xvi. 12 and xvii. 15). According to the Seder Olam, Isaac was thirty-seven.

16. Here as elsewhere (cf. xlviii. 2, 17) our author attributes to Mastêmâ the conduct which he deems unworthy of God but which is ascribed to Him by Gen. xxii. 1. Cf. also James i. 13. We might compare with our text the following passage from Sanh. 89b 'Satan spake before the Holy One, blessed be He. 'Lord of the World, Thou hast given fruit of the body to

before God, "Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him. 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. 18. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful,

this old man of 100 years, and yet in all the feasts celebrated by him, he has never offered in sacrifice to Thee a bullock or a young dove.' God answered him: . . . 'If I were to say to him, Sacrifice thy son, he would sacrifice him, etc.'" Cf. also Bk. of Jashar (ii. 1139).

17. According to xix. 8 Abraham was submitted to ten trials. Seven are mentioned in this verse: 1. The going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. The wealth of kings. 4. The seizure of his wife by the king of Egypt. 5. Circumcision. 6, 7. The dismissal of Ishmael and Hagar. In xix. 3, 8 the burial of Sarah is specially mentioned as the tenth. The eighth and ninth though not specifically reckoned as such in our text are the unfruitfulness of Sarah, xiv. 21, and the sacrifice of Isaac, xviii. This enumeration agrees closely with those of Maimonides, Jona Girondi and Simon Duran which are given below. From Beer's *Leben Abr.* 190-192 I draw the account in Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 26 sq.: 1. Nimrod's attempt on his life. 2. Ten years imprisonment in Cutha and Khadr. 3. Departure from his country. 4. Famine. 5. Seizure of his wife. 6. War with the kings. 7. Covenant between the pieces. 8. Circumcision. 9. Rejection of Ishmael. 10. Offering of Isaac. The account given in Fabricius, *Col. Pseud. V.T.* i. 398, differs slightly from the above. According to Pirke R. Nathan, ch. 33, two trials were sustained when he was bidden to leave his home (Gen.

xii. 1) and to go to Mt. Moriah to sacrifice Isaac (xx. 2): two in connection with his sons: two in connection with his wives: one with the kings: one between the sacrificial pieces: one in the furnace of the Chaldees: one in circumcision. According to the reckoning of Maimonides (see Fabricius (*ibid.* 399); Rönsch, 383) the trials were: 1. Going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. Seizure of his wife. 4. War with the kings. 5. Unfruitfulness of Sarah. 6. Circumcision. 7. Second seizure of his wife. 8, 9. Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. 10. Sacrifice of Isaac. It will be remarked that this last list corresponds best with our text; but the correspondence of the following lists is closer: Beer (*Leben Abr.* 191) writes: Die meisten späteren Aboth-Commentatoren schlossen sich den Pirke des R. Elieser an, blos darin variirend, dass Einige (Obadia Bertinoro and Menachem Meiri) anstatt des unterirdischen Aufenthaltes in Abraham's Kindheit den Vorfall mit Abimelech besonders zählen und Andere (R. Jona Girondi, Simon Zemach Duran) den Bund zwischen den Stücken nicht unter die Versuchungen aufnehmen, aber an dessen Stelle gegen alle früheren Referate, welche die Zehnzahl mit der Opferung Isaak's schliessen, die Beer-digung Sara's als zehnte Versuchung hinstellten. Thus Jona Girondi and Simon Duran agree with our text in making the burial of Sarah the tenth trial of Abraham.

and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act ; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Sacrifice of Isaac : Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. Abraham again blessed : returns to Beersheba, 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)

XVIII. And God said to him, " Abraham, Abraham " ; and he said, " Behold, (here) am I." 2. And He said, " Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee." 3. And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt-offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, " Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you." 5. And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father, " Father " ; and he said, " Here am I, my son." And he said unto him, " Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood ; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father ? " 7. And he said, " God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son." And he drew near to the place of the mount of God. 8. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac

XVIII. 1-17. Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

2. *Beloved son.* So LXX τὸν ἀγαπητόν = יְדִיד instead of Mass., Sam., Syr. חֵדִּיר.

The high country (a d. b c = "moun-

tain") = (Gen. xxii. 2) LXX τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν. Mass. = "Land of Moriah."

7. *Of the mount of God.* Gen. xxii. 9 reads : " which God had told him of."

his son. 9. And I stood before him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, "Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord." 10. And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: "Abraham, Abraham"; and he was terrified and said: "Behold, (here) am I." 11. And I said unto him: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me." 12. And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a single ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. 13. And Abraham called that place "The Lord hath seen," so that it is said "(in the mount) the Lord hath seen": that is Mount Sion. 14. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. 15. And He said: "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, Because thou hast done this thing, And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ.* So *ab* here and in ver. 12 and xlviii. 9, 12, 15. *cd* wrongly give "prince Mastêmâ" in these passages and all MSS wrongly in xvii. 6, xlviii. 2. See note on x. 8.

Shown. Or "known," but see note on 11.

11. *I have shown*=Latin version, manifestavi (=יִרְעָתִי). The Eth. could also be rendered "I have known," as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יִרְעָתִי, but the Latin, manifestavi, is unmistakeable and this rendering is supported by both Eth. and Latin in ver. 16. The Syr. has the very same rendering: ܐܕܐܝܢܐ=I have shown. Ps.-Jon. has ܐܕܐܝܢܐ=manifestatum est. "I have shown" is suitable to the context. God proves Abraham's faithfulness to Mastêmâ and to others (ver. 16).

12. *Caught.* All the MSS add "and

he came"=wa-yêmaš'ê, (?) corrupt for ba'êdaw="in a thicket."

13. (*In the mount*). Added from Latin. It is found in Mass. and LXX of Gen. xxii. 14.

Hath seen. Syr. and Vulg.= "will see," "seeth." The verb is passive in the Mass. (יִרְעָתִי) and LXX, and also in the Latin version of Jubilees—visus est.

14. *He caused us to appear* (b). *a* "he caused him (c "me") to appear"; *d* "we appeared." Latin=fuimus is corrupt.

15. *Thy beloved son* (*a d*)=τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου=יִרְיָךְ. Lat., tuo unigenito=τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου=יְחִידְךָ. Hence Hebrew text seems to have had a dittographical text just as LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὐτῇ μονογενῆς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητῇ, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16 postulate similar dittographies of the same Hebrew word in Hebrew text. On the other hand *b c* under influence of ver.

That in blessing I shall bless thee,
 And in multiplying I shall multiply thy seed
 As the stars of heaven,
 And as the sand which is on the seashore.
 And thy seed will inherit the cities of its enemies,
 16. And in thy seed will all nations of the earth be
 blessed ;
 Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
 And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me
 in all that I have said unto thee :
 Go in peace."

17. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose
 and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the
 Well of the Oath. 18. And he celebrated this festival every
 year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of
 the Lord according to the seven days during which he went
 and returned in peace. 19. And accordingly has it been
 ordained and written on the heavenly tables regarding
 Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival
 seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah,
 1-9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham.*
Birth of Esau and Jacob, 10-14. Abraham commends
Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii.
1-4, 11-16, xxiv. 15, xxv. 1-2, 25-27, xiii. 16.)

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the
 2010 A.M. forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt opposite
 Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. 2. And

11 read "thy first-born son," and with
 Latin (quem dilexisti), add "whom thou
 hast loved." This addition may go back
 to אֲשֶׁר-אֶהְבֶּתָּ (Gen. xxii. 2), or to יִדְרִיךְ
 (corruption (?) of יִהְיֶיךָ Gen. xxii. 16 on
 which our text is based).

Cities=πόλεις (so also Sam. vers.,
 LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. of Gen. xxii. 17

where Vulg. has portas=πόλεις=עָרַי of
 Mass. and Sam.).

16. *Go in peace.* 1 Sam. i. 17.

19. *With the joy of festival.* Latin has
 in laetitia gaudentes.

XIX. 1. *Kirjath Arba.* In MSS
 Qarjatârbaq. LXX ἐν πόλει Ἀρβόκ.

in the first year of the †third† week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. 3. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed. 4. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they should give him a place in which to bury his dead. 5. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. 6. And they besought him, saying, "We shall give it to thee for nothing"; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice; and after this he buried his dead in the double cave. 7. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. 8. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit. 9. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God. 10. And in the fourth year 2020 A.M.

2. †Third†. Read "second." Isaac married (xix. 10) at the age of 40 (Gen. xxv. 20) after Sarah's death. Hence he married in the fourth year of the second week.

2, 4. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 3, 4.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 11-16.

5. *Double cave* = τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν (LXX) = מערת המכפלה, "the cave of Machpelah."

Four hundred. So Latin. Eth. wrongly gives "forty."

7. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1.

Of the years. a and Latin omit.

8. *Tenth trial.* In addition to the references on xviii. 17 see also the *Sayings of the Fathers*,² v. 3 (Taylor's edition, p. 80), which speaks of the ten trials of Abraham.

9. *Friend of God.* Cf. xxx. 20, 21. This expression springs from the O.T.:

thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 12. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. 13. And in
2046 A.M. the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn,

cf. Is. xli. 8 "Abraham, My friend"; 2 Chron. xx. 7; LXX of Dan. iii. 35. It is found in Philo, *De Sobrietate*, 11: μή επικαλύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου; (Gen. xviii. 17); also in James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17. In Book of Wisdom vii. 27 the designation φίλοι Θεοῦ is applied to the faithful generally, and likewise in Philo, *Fragment* ii. p. 652: πᾶς σοφὸς θεοῦ φίλος. This application of the phrase may be due to Plato, *Legg.* iv. 8, where the wise man is said to be θεῶ φίλος: cf. also Max. Tyr. xx. 6. For Rabbinical references Singer, p. 151 note.

10. Cf. Gen. xxiv. 15.

Daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel. Emended with help of Latin. See my text, p. 66.

[*The daughter . . . brother of Abraham*]. Bracketed as a dittography, already in the Greek, as it appears in the Latin version.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 1.

Keturah . . . for Hagar had died before Sarah. Our author here explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later tradition—Gen. rabba 61, Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxvii.—got over the difficulty by identifying Hagar and Keturah. This view is men-

tioned by Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* xxv. 1: Cetura Hebraeo sermone copulata interpretatur aut juncta (al. vineta). Quam ob causam suspicantur Hebraei mutato nomine eandem esse Agar, quae Saraa mortua de concubina transierit in uxorem. According to the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1147) Keturah was a Canaanitish woman. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 83, 198; Singer, p. 118.

Daughters. Emended with Latin. Text = "sons."

12. Cf. Gen. xxv. 2. In the Ethiopic the names appear as Zenbar, Jâksen, Mâdâi, Mâdân, 'Ijazbôq, Sêhijâ.

13. Cf. Gen. xxv. 25-27.

Sixth. This date harmonises with that in xxv. 1, 4, according to which Jacob was 63 in 2109 A.M., but disagrees with that in xlv. 13.

Smooth and upright. So *bc.* Two different renderings of חן וישׁא (Gen. xxv. 27) seem to be conjoined here. On the other hand, since the description of Esau is borrowed from Gen. xxv. 27 and xxvii. 11, it is probable that the description of Jacob is drawn from both also, and that we should here read: "Smooth and upright."

14. *Jacob learned to write.* On the phrase cf. John vii. 15; Acts xxvi. 24; Plato, *Apol.* 26 D. According to Onkelos

for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. 15. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 16. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. 17. And he said unto her:

“ My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,

For he shall be in my stead on the earth,

And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,

And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. 19. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20. Add still further to thy kindness to him,

And let thine eyes be upon him in love;

For he will be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21. Let thy hands be strong

And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;

For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.

He will be blessed for ever,

And his seed will fill the whole earth.

22. If a man can number the sand of the earth,

His seed also will be numbered.

on Gen. xxv. 27 Jacob attended a Hebrew school of theology, בית-אולפנא. The Ps.-Jon. and Jerus. Targums represent Heber as the head of this school. Cf. Ber. rabba 63. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* p. 200; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 435-438; Singer, p. 103.

16. Abraham recognises by his conduct the predestined founder of the nation (ii. 20). The promise given in xvi. 16, xvii. 6 is here further defined. According to Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63, Abraham died

before Esau took to evil ways; see also Baba bathra 16 b (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 84).

18. *A people for possession* = λαὸν περιούσιον. See note on xvi. 18; also the note in my text p. 68 where I have shown that the Ethiopic translators of the Bible always mistranslated περιούσιος. This verse is drawn word for word from Deut. vii. 6.

Peoples. Restored from Latin.

22. Gen. xiii. 16. Contrast xiii. 20 of our text.

23. And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway.

24. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. 25. And these shall serve

To lay the foundations of the heaven,

And to strengthen the earth,

And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament."

26. And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said:

27. "Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth. 28. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. 29. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son." 30. And they both went forth together from Abraham. 31. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

24. This list of righteous patriarchs is peculiar for its omissions and its insertions. With regard to Mahalelel nothing special is known. On the other hand, the omission of Methuselah is strange. In later times opinions were divided as to the character of Adam. Some held him to be a saint (חסיד Erub. 18b), others an atheist

(נפח בעיקר Sanh. 38b). See rabbinic references in Singer, pp. 125-126.

25. See note on i. 29. Cf. Is. li. 16.

27. *All the blessings wherewith, etc.* Cf. xxii. 13.

28. See note on xv. 31-32. Evil spirits have dominion over the Gentiles but not over Israel.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. Dismisses them with gifts, 11. Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah, 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)

2052
(? 2045) A.M.

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. 3. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness]. 4. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the

XX. 1. †Seventh†. "Seventh" seems corrupt for "sixth." The present text makes the date 2052 or the year after Abraham's death. If we read "sixth" it would give 2045. See note on xxi. 1. Thus some time would intervene between the dismissal of Ishmael and his sons to their distant homes (xx. 11) and the return of Ishmael and Jacob to celebrate the feast of weeks (xxii. 1).

His twelve sons. See Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *Men*=sab'ë emended from šab'ë, "war."

3. *Circumcise their sons.* Sanh. 59 b contains a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in conformity with Gen. xvii. 9. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held not to extend to Esau's descendants.

[*And renounce . . . uncleanness*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

4. This halacha does not agree exactly with those in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, etc., but with that implied in Gen. xxxviii. 24. According to Deut. xxii. 23 sqq.; Ezek. xvi. 40; Lev. xx. 10 the adulteress was to be put to

land. 5. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6. "And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,

And from all pollution of sin,

Lest ye make our name a curse,

And your whole life a hissing,

And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,

And ye become accursed like Sodom,

And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7. I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,

And cleave ye to all His commandments.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8. And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods ;

For they are vanity,

And there is no spirit in them ;

For they are work of (men's) hands,

And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

Serve them not, nor worship them,

9. But serve ye the Most High God, and worship Him continually :

death by stoning, whereas death by fire was reserved for the priest's daughter who had played the whore, Lev. xxi. 9. On the other hand Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah proposes to burn Tamar, comes under neither of these regulations. Tamar was still, according to custom, the wife of Er—for Shelah was simply to act as Er's representative—and should thereupon have been stoned according to the Levitical law. See notes on xli. 25, 26.

5. *Fornication, and uncleanness, and . . . corruption.* See note on vii. 21.

6. *Make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing.* Based on Is. lxxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18. Cf. Eth. En. v. 6. For "a hissing" (so Latin) *a* gives "a threatening" and *bcd* "a cause of boasting."

8. Cf. xii. 5, xxii. 18.

Molten or graven gods. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15.

Serve them not, nor worship them. Exod. xx. 5.

And hope for His countenance always,
 And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
 That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His
 mercy,

And send rain upon you morning and evening,
 And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon
 the earth,

And bless thy bread and thy water,
 And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
 And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10. And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
 And all nations of the earth will desire you,
 And bless your sons in my name,
 That they may be blessed as I am."

11. And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the
 sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his
 son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. 12. And
 Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their
 sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering
 in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East
 facing the desert. 13. And these mingled with each other,
 and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

*Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating
 of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of
 salt, 1-11. Also regarding the woods to be used in*

9. *Have pleasure in.* Lat. has dirigat, which with Praetorius should be changed into diligit.

Send rain. Cf. xii. 4, 18.

Bless all your works, etc. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 8.

Bless thy bread and thy water. Exod. xxiii. 25.

Fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, And the herds, etc. Deut. vii.

13. The Ethiopic word rendered fruit generally = "seed," but it also means

what springs from the seed as here. Latin has fructum. Greek was prob. καρπόν.

10. *Ye will be for a blessing.* Cf. Gen. xii. 2; and xxi. 25 of our text.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 6.

12. *Paran.* Eth. Phârmôn.

13. *Was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.* So Eth. The Latin = "Clave to the Arabs and (they are) Ishmaelites unto this day."

sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

2057
2050) A. M.

XXI. And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him, saying: "I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my days. 2. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways. 3. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart

XXI. 1. †*Seventh*†. Since Abraham was born in 1876 A.M. and lived 175 years, he must have died in 2051 A.M., whereas our text makes it 2057. Hence read "sixth." We should then have 2050.

Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him. Cf. Test. Levi 9: 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με . . . τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου. The rest of this chapter according to our author deals with Abraham's directions to Isaac regarding the various kinds of sacrifices, the woods to be used on the altar, the ablutions of the priest, the duty of avoiding fornication. Now it is quite clear that the author of Test. Levi 9 had either our text before him or else a source common to both. The converse hypothesis that our author had the Test. Levi before him is not workable. In any case the text of the Test. Levi is less original than that of our author. It represents Isaac as transmitting to Levi the same ritual commands that our text describes Abraham as giving to Isaac. The only point that can be urged in favour of the originality of the Test. Levi is that the words in Jubilees xxi. 1 "I am become old and know not the day of my death" are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2 and not by Abraham. But the two views are compatible. Our text represents Abraham as giving directions as to sacrifices, etc., to Isaac; and the Test. Levi represents Isaac as handing them on

to Levi. The ὡς καὶ 'Αβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε support the view of our author. I will now give the portions of Test. Levi 9 which deal with the same matter as our text and insert after them the references to the parallels in our text. καὶ 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με συνεχῶς τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου (Jub. xxi. 1) . . . καὶ ἐδίδασκέ με νόμον ἱερωσύνης, θυσιῶν, ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, ἀπαρχῶν, ἐκουσίων, σωτηρίων (Jub. xxi. 7-9) . . . καὶ ἔλεγε· Μὴ πρόσεχε, τέκνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας (xxi. 21-23) . . . καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, λούου· καὶ ἐν τῷ θύειν, νίπτου· καὶ ἀπαρτίζων πάλιν τὴν θυσίαν, νίπτου (xxi. 16 almost word for word). Δώδεκα δένδρων αἰεὶ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς καὶ 'Αβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε (xxi. 12-13) . . . καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἅλατι ἀλείεις (xxi. 11).

I am become old, and know not the day of my death. These words are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2.

And am full. For "and" MSS read "for," but Latin rightly gives "et."

Full of my days. The pronoun is peculiar to this book and Eth. vers. and Syr. The Sam., LXX, Vulg. read "full of days" against Mass. and Onkelos of Gen. xxv. 8 which omit "of days." Cf. xxii. 7, xxiii. 8 of our text.

2. Cf. Gen. xxv. 7.

3. (*And I have despised . . . and spirit*). Supplied from Latin: probably lost in Ethiopic through homoioteleuton.

and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. 4. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judgment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. 5. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. 6. And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. 7. And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace-offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour (and the meat-offering) mingled with oil, with its drink-offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt-offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord. 8. And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.

4. *No accepting of (men's) persons and . . . gifts.* Cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. Cf. Lev. vii. 26. See vi. 10, 12 of our text; also xxi. 17 sqq.

7. Cf. Lev. iii. 7-10.

Peace-offering = *θυσία εἰρηνικαί* = *ובח שלמים*, 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15 etc., but the Hebrew phrase is more usually rendered (*ה*) *θυσία (τοῦ) σωτηρίου*, Lev. iii. 3, 6, 9, iv. 26 etc.

(*And the meat-offering*). Latin omits the meat-offering. The phrase is most probably genuine as Littmann urges, though I rejected it in my Ethiopic text.

Mingled with oil. Cf. Lev. ii. 4, *משחים בשמן*.

8. *And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings . . . and the fat.* So Latin. For "and . . . and" in the above the Ethiopic reads "as . . .

as." Lev. iii. 9-10, which our author has before him, supports the Latin: "And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace-offerings an offering made by fire . . . and the fat which covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins . . . with the kidneys shall he take away." On the phrase "thank-offerings" see note on ver. 7.

On the belly, . . . on the inwards = *ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας* . . . *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐντοσθίων (ἐντέρων)*. The Latin has *super ventrum* . . . *super interanea*. This variation is strange, since the Hebrew has *קרב* and the LXX *κοιλία* in both cases in Lev. iii. 10.

And upon the loins. Lev. iii. 10 has "which is by the loins."

9. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord, 10. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah. 11. And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. 12. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood

Thou shalt remove = tēblēl. Emended with Latin separa from tēblāl = rolled up, covered up.

9. *Bread of the offering unto the Lord.* From Lev. iii. 11.

10. [*For it is not approved*]. I have bracketed this clause as a dittography.

Let it no longer be eaten = jētbalā'ē, emended from jētbahal (a b). c d = "thou shalt not eat."

Written in the books of my forefathers. According to x. 14 Noah gave all his secret books to Shem, who may have passed them on to Abraham, as, according to rabbinic tradition, Abraham attended the school of Shem. According to xii. 27, however, Abram is said to have been a "home" student, and 'to have studied the books of his fathers. Singer (p. 126 note) states that according to Pirke R. El. viii., Jalk. Gen. § 41, Abraham received from Shem the knowledge of the calendar which was imparted to Adam from heaven, and which had come down to Shem through Enoch and Noah. The present passage in our text as well as vii. 38 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Zeb. 3 trace back certain halachoth to commands or books of Enoch and Noah. None of the ancient books preserved under these names are of an halachic character. There was probably no

ground for the statement made by our author.

11. *On all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt.* Cf. the parallel passage in Test. Levi 9: καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἄλατι ἀλιεῖς.

Salt of the covenant. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS read "covenant of salt."

12. *Beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these.* By a slight change (see my text, p. 75 note 30) we might read: "Be careful to offer on the altar the following woods (only)." This passage was written possibly to determine the meaning of עֵץ אֲשֶׁר in Exod. xxv. 5, 10 etc. Our text or the subject of it is referred to in Test. Levi 9: δώδεκα δένδρων αἰὲ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς καμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε. The number here is probably corrupt. δώδεκα = 12, corrupt for 14 = 14. The Eth. Enoch iii. speaks of fourteen evergreen trees, and may be in that passage dependent on our text. With the list of fourteen trees in our text, cf. that in the *Geoponica* xi. 1: δένδρα ἀειθαλῆ ἐστὶ . . . ιδ' (1) φοῖνιξ, (2) κίτριον, (3) στρόβιλος, (4) δάφνη, (5) ἐλαία, (6) κυπάρισσος, (7) κερατέα, (8) πίτυς, (9) πρίνος, (10) πύξος, (11) μυρσίνη, (12) κέδρος, (13) ἰτέα καὶ (14) ἄρκευθος. Of these fourteen, ten, i.e. nos.

for the altar in addition to these: cypress, dêfrân, sagâd, pine, fir, cedar, savin, palm, olive, myrrh, laurel, and citron, juniper, and balsam. 13. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. 14. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. 15. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. 16. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. 17. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. 18. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. 19. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be

6, 3, 8, 12, 1 (?), 5, 11, 4, 2 (or 7), 14, appear in our text. See my text, p. 75.

Dêfrân might be a corruption of *πρίνος* but that *daprono* (دبرنو) is found in Syriac, and is a kind of fir.

Sagâd. This has been identified with the שקד, "the almond"; but wrongly, since the trees are all evergreen.

Citron. I have taken *qêdâr* as corrupt for *κίτρινον*. It may be a corruption of *κερατέα*. On wood for the sacrifices see Middoth ii. 5; Tamid 29b; Sifra on Lev. i. 8 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 35).

13. Nothing of this nature is found in the halacha. Tamid ii. 3 allows all kinds of wood but that of the olive and vine.

Clean=*něšûh*, emended from *šênû'a* (b)="firm," *šên'â* (c). *a* omits.

[*For its fragrance is gone*]. I have bracketed this clause as originating in a dittography, or an interpolation from the next verse.

14. *Goes not up*. With Littmann I have inserted the negative.

16. On the duty of washing before approaching the altar, cf. Exod. xxx. 19-21, etc.

Wash again. Text="return and wash," the familiar Hebrew idiom as Littmann has recognised.

17. *Nor upon your clothes*. *ab* omit "nor."

Be on thy guard, my son, against blood, . . . cover it with dust. Cf. Lev. xvii. 13.

18. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14; Deut. xii. 23.

shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. 20. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21. I see, my son,

That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,

And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,

And there is no righteousness with them.

22. Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways

And tread in their paths,

And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,

And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,

And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,

And thy name and thy seed will perish from the whole earth.

23. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,

And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,

19. *Causes the earth to sin.* This goes back to תִּמְאֵל = "pollutes."

The earth cannot be cleansed, etc. Cf. vii. 33; Num. xxxv. 33.

20. *That thou mayest be accepted.* Emended (see my text, p. 76, note 1). *b (d)* = "and it will be accepted"; *a* "it will not be accepted"; *c* "and He will accept you."

21-24. This passage was written originally in Hebrew verse and the parallelism is still well preserved.

22. *Sin unto death* = ἀμαρτίαν θανάτου = תּוֹמָה לְמָוֶת, Num. xviii. 22. Cf. 1 John v. 16. See xxxiii. 18 of our text.

[*Hide His face from thee, And*]. I have bracketed this clause (cf. i. 13) as an interpolation, since it spoils the parallelism.

Give thee back into the hands of thy transgression. Has this vigorous expression been suggested by Gen. iv. 7 "If thou dost not well, sin is a lurker at the door"?

And do His will and be upright in all things.

24. And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,

And will raise up from thee the plant of righteousness
through all the earth, throughout all generations of
the earth,

And my name and thy name will not be forgotten
under heaven for ever.

25. Go, my son, in peace.

May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen
thee to do His will,

And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy
seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous
blessings,

That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth."

26. And he went out from him rejoicing.

*Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first-fruits at
Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. Prayer of Abraham,
6-9. Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob,
10-30.*

XXII. And it came to pass in the †first† week in the
†forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the
year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came
from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks
—that is, the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest—to
Abraham, their father, and Abraham rejoiced because his
two sons had come. 2. For Isaac had many possessions in
Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions

24. *Plant of righteousness.* See xvi. 26.

25. I have with some hesitation arranged this verse as Hebrew poetry.

Mayest be a blessing. Cf. xx. 10.

XXII. 1. All the dates in this verse appear to be wrong. The total=2116.

Dillmann suggests that for "forty-fourth" we should read "forty-third." But this would make the year of Abraham's death 2060, whereas (see on xxi. 1) he died in the year 2051. Hence I propose: "in the sixth week in the forty-second jubilee, in the seventh year"=2051.

and to return to his father. 3. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a burnt-offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank-offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother : and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank-offering, that he might eat and drink. 6. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,

Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,

And given them to the children of men

That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7. " And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day : behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace. 8. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day. 9. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages." 10. And he called Jacob and said : " My son Jacob, may

4. *Creator of all things.* A frequently recurring idea in our author : cf. xxii.

27. Cf. Sir. xxiv. 8 : ὁ κτίστης πάντων ; 2 Macc. i. 24 : ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κτίστης ; vii. 23 : ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης (cf. 4 Macc. v. 25). Cf. " God of all," xxii. 10, 27, xxx. 19, xxxi. 13, 32 ; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 2.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

7. See xxi. 1.

8. *The sword of the adversary.* Cf. Jer. vi. 25 ; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

9. *An inheritance* (= נַחֲלָה). Cf. verses 10, 15, 29 and Deut. iv. 20.

the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me." 11. And he drew near and kissed him, and he said :

"Blessed be my son Jacob

And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages :

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness ;

And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth ;

May nations serve thee,

And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12. Be strong in the presence of men,

And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.

Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,

So that they shall become a holy nation.

13. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings

Wherewith He has blessed me

And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam ;

May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14. And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and impurity,

10. *God of all*, i.e. God of the universe. See verses 4, 27.

11. *The sons of the God Most High* (or "his sons unto the God Most High"). For phraseology cf. Gen. xiv. 19. On Israel as sons of God, see i. 24 note.

May nations serve Thee, And all the nations, etc. From Gen. xxvii. 29—Isaac's blessing of Jacob.

12. *Exercise*. Eth. has "exercising" but Latin = "exercise."

All the seed of Seth, i.e. all mankind. The phrase is found also in Num.

xxiv. 17, כל בני-שם, where, however, שם is not to be taken as the name of the patriarch but as a contraction of שם = "confusion."

13. *Blessings . . . wherewith He blessed Noah*, etc. See xix. 27.

Rest on the sacred head. From Gen. xlix. 26, though with the Syr. it implies נוי instead of נוי. Cf. Num. vi. 9.

14. *Unrighteousness and impurity*. Emended with Latin inquinamento et injustitia. MSS = "impure defilement."

That thou mayest be forgiven all (thy) transgressions ;
(and) thy sins of ignorance.

And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.

And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15. And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance
for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in
truth and righteousness throughout all the days of
the earth.

16. And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :
Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them :
And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate ;
For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination
and uncleanness.

17. They offer their sacrifices to the dead

Thou mayest be forgiven. Lat. = "He may forgive." The "thy" and "and" are supplied from the Latin.

15. *Renew His covenant.* See ver. 30.

Nation for His inheritance. See on ver. 9.

16. The exclusiveness of Judaism is here traced to Abraham. The very existence of Judaism in 200-150 B.C. made such exclusiveness indispensable.

Separate thyself from the nations. Cf. Is. lii. 11.

Eat not with them. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile ; for the animals might not have been slaughtered according to the prescriptions of the Law (Deut. xii. 23, 24) or might have been amongst those that were forbidden to the Jew (Lev. xi. 4-7, 10-12, 13-20) or the meat and wine might have been offered to idols (cf. 1 Cor. x. 20, 27-

29). Antiochus IV. tried to force the Jews to eat of unclean food, 1 Macc. i. 47-48, 62-63 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21, vii. 1. See Driver's Commentary on Daniel i. 8-10 note. Cf. Matt. ix. 11 ; Mk. ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

Their ways are a pollution. Cf. ver. 19. Observe how frequently this conception returns in all accounts of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors : *μιαίνειν* in 1 Macc. i. 46, 63, iv. 45, vii. 34, xiv. 36 ; *μασμός*, 1 Macc. iv. 43 ; *ἀκάθαρτος*, 1 Macc. i. 48, iv. 43 ; *ἀκαθαρσία*, 1 Macc. xiii. 48, xiv. 7 ; *μύσος*, 2 Macc. vi. 19, 25 ; *μολύνω*, 1 Macc. i. 37 ; 2 Macc. vi. 2, xiv. 3 ; *μολυσμός*, 2 Macc. v. 27 ; *βεβήλω*, 1 Macc. i. 43, 45, 48, 63, ii. 12, 34, iii. 51, etc. ; *βεβήλωσις*, 1 Macc. i. 48.

17. *Offer their sacrifices to the dead.* Cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ps. cvi. 28 ; Sir. vii.

And they worship evil spirits,
 And they eat over the graves,
 And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18. They have no heart to understand
 And their eyes do not see what their works are,
 And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou
 art my God,'
 And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my
 deliverer.'
 [And they have no heart.]

19. And as for thee, my son Jacob,
 May the Most High God help thee
 And the God of heaven bless thee
 And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all
 their error.

20. Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any
 seed of the daughters of Canaan;
 For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21. For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
 And all his seed will be destroyed from off the earth
 and all the residue thereof,

33; Tob. iv. 17, which allude to such sacrifices as being offered by Israel. They are derided Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Or. Sibyl. viii. 382-384. The Pirke Aboth iii. 4 speaks of "sacrifices to the dead" (ובתי המתים).

Worship evil spirits. Some of the Jews at the bidding of Antiochus Epiphanes consented to worship idols and offer them sacrifices, 1 Macc. i. 43. For other references to such worship generally see Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; Eth. Enoch xix. 1; Baruch iv. 7; 1 Cor. x. 20: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν τὰ ἔθνη, δαίμονιαις . . . θύουσιν. See note on i. 11-13 of our text.

Eat over the graves. Just as the worshipper of Yahweh partook of the sacrifices offered to Him, so those who

offered sacrifices to the dead partook of such sacrifices. These sacrifices were placed over the grave: see references given under "offer sacrifices to the dead" in earlier part of the verse: also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-24.

18. Cf. xii. 5, xx. 8; Jer. ii. 27.

Their works. Read gebrômû instead of gabrômû in my text.

[*And they have no heart*]. Bracketed as a dittography of the beginning of ver. 18. The parallelism is against it.

20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1. For similar commands see xxv. 5, xxvii. 10, xxx 7 of our text; Test. Levi 9.

For all his seed, etc. This line recurs in ver. 21^b; for the two Ethiopic verbs are not infrequently renderings of the same word in Greek.

And none springing from him will be saved on the day of judgment.

22. And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(b) There will be no hope for them in the land of the living;

(e) And there will be no remembrance of them on the earth;

(c) For they will descend into Sheol,

(d) And into the place of condemnation will they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23. Fear not, my son Jacob,

And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham:

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may He deliver thee.

24. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth: [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever: thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his

21. *Day of judgment.* Cf. xxiii. 11, "day of the great judgment": xxiv. 28, "day of wrath and indignation": also xxxvi. 10.

22. *The profane.* Še'ûlân = βεβηλωμένοι (cf. Lev. xxi. 7, 14), emended from šelû'ân (*a b d*) = "the hated ones." *c* reads, "the perverse." If we emend *a b d* into šalâ-ējân we should have "the adversaries."

(e) *And there will be no remembrance,* etc. It will be observed that I have

transposed this verse on account of the parallelism.

They will descend into Sheol . . . will they go. The same passage with a transposition of the two verbs has already occurred in vii. 29 (see note): cf. Eth. En. ciii. 7, 8.

24. [*It is given, etc.*] A dittography from the second clause following.

25. *Commanding.* Gen. xlix. 33. This word goes back to צוה which is used technically of a man's last will

heart rejoiced over him. 27. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that He might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway. 29. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; 30. And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth."

Abraham's death and burial, 1-8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7-10).

Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind:

Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners

and testament: cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Is. xxxviii. 1; Test. XII. Patriarch., Reuben 1; Baba bathra 147a, 151b.

27. This verse looks like an interpolation. It professes to give Abraham's blessing of Jacob, and yet does not mention him at all. Jacob's blessing begins in ver. 28. This verse follows well upon ver. 26. On the other hand some mention of the sacred name is required in ver. 28 if 27 is omitted.

God of all. See on verses 4, 10.

Creator of all, i.e., of the universe. See on ver. 4. See Neh. ix. 6.

Brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Cf. Gen. xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7. Instead of "brought" 3rd sing. of *a d*, *b c* read "brought" 2nd sing.

Blessed be the Most High for ever, or

"that the Most High may be blessed for ever." The latter is the more natural translation; but if we adopt it, there is no principal verb.

28. *Over whom with all my heart . . . I rejoice (c d).* But *a b* read "rejoice" in 3rd sing. This reading presupposes "heart and affection" as the subject of "rejoice," just as in ver. 26. In that case if instead of *zaba* (twice) we read *baza* (twice) we have as follows: "over whom all my heart and my affection rejoice." In either case we must reject *ba'ella* as corrupt.

Be lift up upon him. Cf. Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.

29. *Thine eyes be opened.* Cf. 1 Kings viii. 29, 52; Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18.

30. *Renew Thy covenant.* Cf. ver.

15.

of the Gentiles, 11-25. Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous, 26-31.

XXIII. And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: "Father, father"; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. 5. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. 6. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. 7. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were

XXIII. 1. *He placed two fingers of Jacob.* Cf. Gen. xlii. 4. The closing of the eyes was generally done by the eldest son, and according to Shabbath 151b it was strictly forbidden till death had ensued (Singer, 107 note).

Stretched out his feet. So Syr. and Eth. vers. of Gen. xlix. 33, but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = "gathered up his feet."

Slept the sleep of eternity. Cf. Jer. li. 39, 57.

To his fathers. This phrase is first

in Judges ii. 10. Gen. xxv. 8 has "to his people."

5. From Gen. i. 1.

7. *Buried him in the double cave.* Gen. xxv. 9.

The days of weeping = יְמֵי בְכֻי (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8; Gen. i. 4). בְּכֻי = "the lamentation of the weeping" = נְהִי בְכֻי (cf. Jer. xxxi. 15) which I take to be a corruption of בְּכֻי. d reads "lamentation and weeping" and ac "weeping."

ended. 8. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. 9. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 10. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. 11. And all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge will vanish away]. 12. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they will say regarding him: "He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace:

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men's years grow less, *pari passu*, with the growing corruption.

Days of the forefathers, of their life. Probably we should read "days of the life of the forefathers."

To decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days. The Latin has *senescere celerius et minui dies vite ipsorum*. The Latin seems right. For a possible explanation of the corruption in the Eth. see my text, pp. 81-82.

10. *When he had grown old.* Both Eth. and Latin give "until" instead of "when." The error, I take it, arose from the corruption of $\omega\varsigma$ = "when" into $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ = "until."

By reason of the wickedness. Abraham grew old early because of the wicked-

ness of others. He was himself "perfect," according to our author.

11. *Generations which will arise . . . until the day of the great judgment.* Here the judgment seems to precede the Messianic kingdom; but see note on ver. 30.

Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age. Lat. = *erunt transeuntes ab ipsis spiritus intellectus ipsorum*, where *spiritus* and *intellectus* may be duplicate renderings of the same word. Otherwise it should correspond to the phrase "by reason of their age." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

[*And all their knowledge will vanish away*]. A dittography. Lat. omits.

12. *The greater part of his days are pain and sorrow.* Ps. xc. 10. Our text gives the same rendering of רַבָּהּ as the LXX, Syr., Chald., and Vulg.

13. For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains." 14. And all these will come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth: their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations. 15. Then they will say: "The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation." 16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate,

13-14. The calamities that befell Judah in the early decades of the second cent. B.C.

13. *Such as these.* So Latin *secundum hoc ipsud* = *הַכֵּן*.

One with another. Wanting in the Latin.

Fever, and chills. So Latin. The Ethiopic words are *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*.

14. *Uncleanness, etc.* See vii. 21 note, xx. 5, xxii. 16 note.

15. *The days of our life . . . are three score years and ten, etc.* Ps. xc. 10.

16. This verse points most probably to the rise of the Chasids. These proceed to challenge the creed and conduct of their fathers and the elders (the spiritual rulers of Judaism). From their ranks (see Eth. Enoch xc. 7) arise the Maccabees. The armed resistance of the latter to the Hellenising party is represented in ver. 20. Finally after years of strife the Messianic era begins to set in and the years of men to grow many, till at last they become a thousand.

We have herein an adumbration of the actual history and the expectations of the Chasids in the second cent. B.C. Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 199) has already recognised that this chapter deals with the Maccabean movement. The conclusiveness of this interpretation will grow stronger as we proceed. It is no little confirmation of our view that we find the same events in Judaism depicted in allegorical language in Eth. Enoch xc. 6-7: "But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry to the sheep. But the sheep did not cry to them and did not hear what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and forcibly blinded." Here "the white sheep" are the faithful adherents of the theocracy; the "lambs" are the Chasids, a new and distinct party among the Jews. The Chasids appeal unavailingly to the nation at large. In the next verse (xc. 8) there is a symbolical description of Syria's attack on Judah.

and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left. 17. For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. 18. Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they will all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments. 20. And they will stand (with bows and) swords and war to

Forsaking the covenant. Cf. Dan. xi. 30 and 1 Macc. i. 15 where the same charge is brought against the Hellenising Jews.

Observe and do . . . without . . . either to the . . . or the left. Cf. Deut. v. 31, 32, xxviii. 13, 14. A similar statement is found in 1 Macc. ii. 21-22: "Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances . . . to go aside from our worship to the right hand or the left" (παρελθεῖν τὴν λατρίαν ἡμῶν δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν). The phrase is most probably historical.

17. *All have done evil.* Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, 53, "And from the people were gathered unto them many, every one that had forsaken the law and they did evil things in the land."

Every mouth speaks iniquity. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 6, "And (Mattathias) saw the blasphemies . . . in Judah and in Jerusalem."

Pollution, etc. See note on xxii. 16. 18-24. The Messianic woes.

18. *Will all perish together, beasts . . . and birds, and all the fish of the sea.* Cf. Hos. iv. 3; also Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7.

On account of the children. Lat. = a malitia filiorum.

19. For other descriptions of the Messianic woes, see Or. Sibyl. iii. 796-807; Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 1-13, xlviii. 31-37, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra v. 1-12, vi. 14-18, 21-24; Matt. xxiv. 6-29 with Synoptic parallels; Sota ix. 15 sq. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*,³ ii. 523 sq.

The poor with the rich, and (b omits) the lowly with the great. Apoc. Bar. lxx. 3-4.

For they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, etc. From a general description of the Messianic woes the writer passes on to a definite description of the Maccabean times, and the Apostate Jews.

Judgments, i.e. determinations, decisions.

20. This verse describes the warlike

turn them back into the way; but they will not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. 21. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they will name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. 23. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor

efforts of Judas the Maccabee to force the apostates to return to Judaism. In the year 162, owing to internal divisions, Syria felt it advisable to make terms with the Jews and allow them "to walk after their own laws as aforetime" (1 Macc. vi. 55-62; 2 Macc. xiii. 23-26; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9. 6-7). This understanding was observed by all the subsequent kings of Syria. Hence from 162 onward the struggle was not so much to preserve Judaism against the attempts of Syria to crush it out of existence, as to determine the question whether the Hellenising faction or the national party should control the nation. Syria henceforth intervened in support now of the one now of the other of the two Jewish parties. (See Schurer, *op. cit.* i. 214; [Eng. transl.], I. i. 224 sq.)

(*With bows and*). Supplied from the Latin.

The way. Cf. Is. xxx. 21, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Cf. the use of ἡ ὁδός in Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22.

21. *Those who have escaped will not return . . . to the way of righteousness.* By the treaty of 162 referred to in the preceding note, the religious liberties of Judaism were secured against Syria;

but the Hellenising party under the high priest Alkimus still pursued its own aims. This party is said in our text to "name the great name" and to "defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness." Though it embraced nearly the entire Sanhedrin, it was opposed by the Maccabees, the Chasids, and the great mass of the Jews.

Great name. Cf. Jos. vii. 9. On the phrase "name the . . . name," cf. LXX of Is. xxvi. 13; Acts xix. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

22-23. These verses describe the sufferings of the nation during the civil wars and internal troubles that took place down to Simon's high priesthood (142-135 B.C.).

23. This verse refers in language borrowed from past prophecy to the frequent invasions of Palestine by the Syrians or possibly by some unknown nation from the north as in Zeph. i. 7; Jer. iii.-vi.; like Gog and Magog in Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix.

Have neither mercy nor compassion. So Jeremiah (vi. 23) describes the nation that was to invade Judah: "they are cruel and have no mercy."

Neither old nor young. Cf. Ezek. ix. 6.

any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,

And much blood will be shed upon the earth,

And there will be none to gather and none to bury.

24. In those days they will cry aloud,

And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles ;

But none will be saved.

25. And the heads of the children will be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks will appear old like a man of one hundred years,

And their stature will be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26. And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,

And to seek the commandments,

And to return to the path of righteousness.

27. And the days will begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men,

None to gather and none to bury, i.e., the fallen. The phrase is from Jer. viii. 2.

24. *Of the sinners, the Gentiles = ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐθνῶν.* The Ethiopic translator took these words to be in apposition. He ought rather to have taken the second as dependent on the first. Hence "sinners of the Gentiles." See verse 23 and Gal. ii. 15 where the phrase is reproduced somewhat differently: ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί. To the writer the terms "Gentiles" and "sinners" were practically synonymous.

25. *Heads of the children will be white, etc.* Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 180-181, tells how in the iron age children will be born with hoary temples :

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων
ἀνθρώπων

Εἶτ' ἀνγινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

This was to be one of the signs (as in our text) which foreshadowed the coming of the kingdom according to Sibyll. Or. ii. 155 :

Ἐκ γενετῆς παῖδες πολιοκρόταφοι
γεγαῶτες.

See also Latin apocalyptic fragment in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 154.

26. It might seem possible that ver. 16 originally followed ver. 26.

26-30. The renewed study of the Law followed by a change for the better and the gradual approach to Messianic blessedness. With this spiritual transformation of Israel (cf. l. 5) there will take place a corresponding transforma-

Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the
number of the days.

28. And there will be no old man

Nor one who is not satisfied with his days,
For all will be (as) children and youths.

29. And all their days they will complete and live in peace
and in joy,

And there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer ;
For all their days will be days of blessing and healing.

30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,

tion of the heaven and the earth. This idea appears also in Is. lxxv. 17 sqq. (See i. 29 note ; iv. 26.) This is their final renewal.

27. *Nigh to one thousand years.* In the Messianic kingdom men will attain to the age originally designed for them by God. Adam did not attain to 1000 years because of his sin ; see iv. 30.

28. The writer appears to have Is. lxxv. 20 before him but avoids making any reference to the presence of the wicked in the consummated kingdom, as is done in Isaiah. Yet apparently they are pre-supposed in ver. 30, though according to ver. 29 there are none such. They are gradually eliminated. Cf. Test. Levi 18.

Who is not satisfied. I have added the negative from a comparison of Is. lxxv. 20.

29. *In joy.* Cf. Is. lxxv. 14.

No Satan. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. x. 1. This statement need not mean very much : cf. xl. 9, xlvi. 2, l. 5.

Blessing and healing. Cf. i. 29.

30. If this verse refers to the resurrection, the righteous are raised to share in this (temporary ?) Messianic kingdom. If ver. 11 is correctly handed down and to be taken literally, it follows that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom. But the nature of this kingdom precludes such a view. It is to be introduced gradually *pari passu* with the spiritual transformation of man. Such a gradual and progressive transformation does not admit of the insertion of the final judgment at any single point of its evolution. Nor is there a hint of such a judgment in

verses 23-27. Hence the final judgment can occur only at the close of this kingdom. The kingdom is therefore of temporary duration—a conclusion which presents some difficulty in the face of i. 17, 18, 29, but which agrees best with all other passages referring to the final judgment in this book. In that case the resurrection of the righteous and the final judgment are disjoined, if this verse asserts that the righteous rise to share in the kingdom. The eschatology of our author would thus differ alike from that of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. (before 161 B.C.), Test. Jud. 25, Sim. 6, Zeb. 10, Benj. 10, where the final judgment precedes the kingdom and the righteous are raised to enjoy it for ever, and from that of Eth. Enoch xc. civ. (104-95 B.C.) where the final judgment comes in at the close of the kingdom and the righteous are not raised to share in it, but in a blessed immortality.

But the teaching of our text agrees rather with that of Eth. Enoch xc. civ. ; for the words "will rise up" have apparently no reference to the resurrection, and mean merely that when God heals His servants (cf. Rev. xxii. 2) they become strong. The clauses in ver. 29, "all their days will be days of blessing and healing" and in i. 29, "for healing . . . for all the elect of Israel" render this view the most probable. In this case there is no resurrection to this temporary Messianic kingdom, and thus the eschatology harmonises perfectly with that of Eth. Enoch xc. civ.

And they will rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous will see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And will see all their judgments and all their curses on
their enemies.

31. And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy,
And they will know that it is the Lord who executes
judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all
that love Him.

32. And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus
are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly
tables for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34). *Isaac goes down to Gerar*, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9-27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2073 A.M.
2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began 2080 A.M.

See great peace, i.e. "enjoy great peace." The word "peace" may go back to שָׁלוֹם: in that case the sense would be "enjoy sound health."

Drive out their adversaries. Such a conception is in keeping with the gradual growth of the kingdom.

31. After death there is no resurrection of the body, but a blessed immortality awaiting the spirit as in Eth. Enoch xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4 (see my *Eschatology*, pp. 203 sqq.).

And to all (a c d). *b* reads "of all."

XXIV. 1. *Well of the Vision*. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11. The full name is Beer Lahai-roi = "the well of the living One that seeth me." Cf. also Gen. xvi. 14, xxiv. 62.

First year of the third week of this jubilee. This is the forty-third jubilee.

2. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1. Observe that our author transposes Gen. xxvi. 1 before xxv. 29 sqq. in order possibly to explain Esau's hunger.

in the land, besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: "Give me of this red pottage." And Jacob said to him: "Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage." 4. And Esau said in his heart: "I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?" And he said to Jacob: "I give it to thee." 5. And Jacob said: "Swear to me, this day," and he sware unto him. 6. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. 7. And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. 8. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. 9. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I shall be with thee and bless thee. 10. For to thee and to thy seed shall I give all this land, and I shall establish My oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father, and I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give unto thy seed all this land. 11. And in thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and

3-6. Cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34.

3. *Red pottage.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 30. Text = "wheaten pottage." Here *zā-šernāj* = *πυροῦ* which is corrupt for *πυρροῦ*.

Sell = *ἀπόδου* (LXX) = Mass. *מִכְרָה*.

Thy [primogeniture, this] birthright. Here we have two renderings of *τὰ πρωτοτόκιά σου*.

And I will give . . . pottage. Not in Gen. xxv. 31.

6. *Esau's name:* literally "Esau, his name" (*ab*). *cd* read "Esau."

Red pottage. Same corruption as in ver. 3.

8. *Famine.* xxvi. 1.

Second year of this week. See note on date in ver. 1.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 2-6.

My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land." 12. And he dwelt in Gerar three 2080-2101 weeks of years. 13. And Abimelech charged concerning A.M. him, and concerning all that was his, saying: "Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die." 14. And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. 15. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. 16. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. 17. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we"; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the 2101 A.M. valleys of Gerar. 18. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. 19. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: "The water is ours"; and Isaac called the name of the well "Perversity," because they had been perverse with us. 20. And they dug a second well, and they strove for

12. Isaac stayed at the Well of the Vision seven years and in Gerar twenty-one.

13. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 11. No reference is made in our text to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca.

14-17. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 13-17.

14. *Household*. So Latin ministerium = עֲבָדָה. Our text renders loosely "possession."

18-20. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 18-22.

19. *The water*. Here Eth. has "this

water" and the Latin merely "aqua," but the ze (=this) is merely a translation of the Greek article as is frequently the case. Hence Eth. and Lat. attest the same text.

The well. Eth. has "that well" but the we'etû is merely a translation of the Greek art. as is frequently the case. Latin has merely "putei."

Perversity. Gen. xxvi. 20 has פְּעִי, LXX, ἀδικία.

that also, and he called its name "Enmity." And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it "Room," and Isaac said: "Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land." 21. And he went up from thence
 2108 A.M. to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. 22. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: "I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant." 23. And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. 24. And they digged a well and they found living water. 25. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us." 26. And he called the name of that place the "Well of the Oath"; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. 27. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. 28. And Isaac on that day cursed the

20. *Enmity* = šēl'ē emended with Latin (*inimicitias*) from šabāb = "narrow." The corruption is native to the text. It most probably arose from a scribe's wishing to make an antithesis between the name of this well and that of the next "Room."

21-26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 23-25, 32-33.

24-25. There is mention of only one well in Gen. xxvi. 25.

25. The implication of our text is that owing to Isaac having made a covenant with Abimelech his servants failed to find water.

They had not found. Our text and

the LXX thus imply שָׁבַב אֵל in Gen. xxvi. 32, but Mass., Sam., Syr. read וַל instead of אֵל and connect it with the preceding verb.

26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 33.

Ahuzzath. Eth. 'Akôzat.

28-32. The hatred expressed in these verses is hardly intelligible save in a contemporary of the wars waged by the Maccabeans against the Philistine cities. This passage is here introduced gratuitously into the narrative (so also Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1890, p. 200). Of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Jos. xiii. 3) four were still in existence

Philistines and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. 29. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30. And no remnant will be left to them,

Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;

For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),

And there will no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

in Maccabean times, Askelon, Ashdod, Gaza and Ekron. Of these Ekron (Ἀκκαρών) was given by Alex. Balas to Jonathan for his services (1 Macc. x. 89; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4), and Askelon submitted to him (1 Macc. x. 60, xi. 60). Ashdod (Ἀζώρος) suffered severely under Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. v. 68) and was captured, put to the sword, and burnt by Jonathan (147 B.C.); the temple of Dagon likewise and all that had taken refuge in it were burnt (1 Macc. x. 84; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4). It was again reduced to ashes by John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 10). As regards Gaza its suburbs were burnt by Jonathan and the city forced to capitulate (1 Macc. xi. 61-62). It was afterwards destroyed by Alex. Jannaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3). Our text reflects correctly the attitude of Judah towards the cities of the Philistines in the second cent. B.C.

28. *Sinners, the Gentiles.* The Latin has here "peccatoris populi." Cf. xxiii. 24. The Philistines suffered severely at the hands of the Assyrians and Egyp-

tians — particularly the latter: see Herodotus i. 105, ii. 157, 159.

Kittim (כִּיִּתִּים, Κίτιες, Κίτιοι, Χετιέλμ, Χετράν). These were descended from Javan according to Gen. x. 4 and, therefore, belonged to the Graeco-Latin races. Their country is usually identified with Cyprus. In Dan. xi. 30 the Kittim are undoubtedly the Romans, whereas in 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5 they are the Macedonians. It is to the Macedonians that our text refers. Gaza was captured by Alexander the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4).

29. *The righteous nation.* Judah under the Maccabees. See note on 28-32 above.

Generations. Emended with Latin. Text = "days."

These Caphtorim. "These" = 'ēllū emend. from kuēllū = "all" with Latin. Text = "all Caphtorim." According to Amos ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines came originally from Caphtor. On the various views as to its locality see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 698-699.

31. For though he ascend unto heaven,
 Thence will he be brought down,
 And though he make himself strong on earth,
 Thence will he be dragged forth,
 And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
 Even from thence will he be rooted out;
 And though he descend into Sheol,
 There also will his condemnation be great,
 And there also he will have no peace.
32. And if he go into captivity,
 By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay
 him on the way,
 And neither name nor seed will be left to him on all
 the earth;
 For into eternal malediction will he depart."

33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him
 on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of
 judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

*Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman,
 1-3. Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban
 despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry
 a Canaanitish woman, 4-10. Rebecca blesses Jacob, 11-
 23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)*

2109 A.M.

XXV. And in the second year of this week in this
 jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto him,
 saying: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters
 of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of
 the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul

31-32. Based on Amos ix. 2-4. Cf.
 Ps. cxxxix. 8 sqq.

31. *Though he make himself strong.*
 Lat. = ubi fugiens erit. The corruption
 seems to have originated in the Hebrew.

XXV. 1-3. Observe that our author
 transposes Gen. xxviii. 1-4 before Gen.
 xxvii., which contains Jacob's inter-
 ception of Esau's blessing.

1. *Second year of this week in this
 jubilee.* See note on ver. 4.

Do not take thee a wife, etc. Cf. Gen.
 xxviii. 1.

*Esau . . . who took him two wives,
 etc.* Cf. Gen. xxvi. 34.

Embittered my soul. Cf. Gen. xxvii.
 46, xxvi. 35.

with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. 3. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou wilt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a righteous generation and a holy seed." 4. And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: "Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 5. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. 6. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them. 7. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. 8. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has

3. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1, 2.

4. *Nine weeks.* If the date in ver. 1 is right, it follows that since Jacob was then sixty-three years old, he was born in 2046. This agrees with MSS reading in xix. 13; but the estimate based on that reading is at variance with that which follows from xlv. 13, which assigns Jacob's birth to the year 2041. With the statement as to Jacob's age cf. Ber. rabba 68: "Our father Jacob was sixty-three years old when he received

the blessing: fourteen years he spent hidden in the house of Eber and seven years he served for Rachael: accordingly he was eighty-four when he married, but Esau was forty." See also Seder Olam ii.

I neither know . . . any woman. Syncellus (i. 197) wrongly attributes this statement to Josephus: 'Ιώσηπος φησιν ὅτι ὁ 'Ιακώβ ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ξγ' οὐκ ἔγνω ὅλως γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξείπε τῇ μητρὶ 'Ρεβέκκα.

7. *With regard to . . . fornication*

striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done. 9. I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 10. Fear not mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever." 11. And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise. 12. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. 13. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him." 14. And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15. "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages;

And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.

May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,

And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16. And may He make thy sons many during thy life,

And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.

Abraham . . . gave me many commands. Cf. xx. 4, xxxix. 6.

8. *These two and twenty years.* This agrees with the statement of Esau's age in Gen. xxvi. 34, where he is said to have been forty when he married. Esau was now sixty-three.

14. *Spirit of righteousness* (or "truth") = τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13. So *abd.* Cf. xxxi. 12. *c* reads "Holy Spirit." The latter is Jewish also: cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 "His holy Spirit" (רוח קדש). With the idea conveyed by

And may their sons become many and great beyond the
stars of heaven,

And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17. And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He
would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him
always—

And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18. And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children
during my life,

And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19. And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during
†my† life,

The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee,

[My affection] and my breasts bless thee

And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20. Increase and spread over the earth,

And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and
earth for ever ;

And may thy seed rejoice,

And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21. And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,

And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,

And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

both phrases cf. Deut. xxxiv. 9 "the spirit of wisdom" (רוח הכמה); Num. xi. 25, 26, 29; Neh. ix. 20; Is. xi. 2.

17. *As He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed . . . always.* Cf. Luke i. 55, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν . . . τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The words in Luke recall both Mic. vii. 20 and our text. Observe that this statement in Luke is added parenthetically or explanatorily as in our text.

Possession for ever. Cf. the Thucydidean phrase κτήμα ἐς αἰ.

19. *Hast refreshed (ab).* *cd* "has given thee rest."

†*My*†. Read "thy," as the sense requires it.

[*My affection*]. I have bracketed this phrase; for it comes in awkwardly between "womb," "breasts," "mouth," and "tongue." We should expect an "and" to precede it. It may be a dittography and have originated as a false alternative rendering of רֶחֶם, "womb."

21. *His sanctuary . . . unto all the ages.* Cf. i. 29.

22. Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely may it be
cursed."
23. And she kissed him, and said to him :
"May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in
thee and bless thee."
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing, 5-9. Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it, 10-24. Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing, 25-34. Threatens Jacob, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

2114 A.M.

XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : "I am old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him : "Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : ' Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go

22. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41.

1. *Are dim in seeing.* An imperfect

rendering of Gen. xxvii. 1 which = "dim so that he could not see (נֶאֱמָר)."

2. *Hunt and catch* = θήρευσον καὶ ἐπιλάβου, a loose rendering of the phrase in Gen. xxvii. 3.

to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed." 7. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. 8. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing." 9. And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: "Upon me be thy curse, my son only obey my voice." 10. And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. 11. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. 12. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 13. And Jacob went in to his father and said: "I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me." 14. And Isaac said to his son: "How hast thou found so quickly, my son?" 15. And Jacob said: "Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find." 16. And

7. First half of verse added by our author in favour of Jacob.

10. (*Savoury meat*). Added from Latin.

12. *Gave*. Here Eth. adds "to

him" against Latin and Gen. xxvii. 17. This addition is found also in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 17.

15. (*The Lord*). Supplied from Latin. *Caused me to find* (= 'arkabanî b'c).

Isaac said unto him: "Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not." 17. And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 18. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. 19. And he said: "Art thou my son Esau?" and he said: "I am thy son": and he said, "Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 20. And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. 21. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Come near and kiss me, my son." And he came near and kissed him. 22. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

23. And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven

And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,

And peoples bow down to thee.

a="helped me"; *d*="caused me to see." Latin gives *direxit*. In my text I emended the phrase into 'artē'anī = *direxit*, comparing xxi. 2 where the Eth. has this verb as the equivalent of *dirigere* in the Latin. But the reading of *b c* may be right as Praetorius thinks.

18. *Because it was a dispensation from heaven.* This clause is borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15; cf. 2 Chron. x. 15.

His power of perception, literally, "his spirit."

(*His brother*). Added from the Latin.

19. *I am thy son.* For an analogous evasion, Beer compares Ber. rabba 65: "I am Esau the first born" (Gen. xxvii. 24). R. Levi said: Jacob meant:

I am he who will receive the ten commandments (which begin with the words "I am"), but Esau is thy first born.

21. *Come near.* Latin adds "to me." So also LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 26.

22. (*Full*). Added from the Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. *Give thee.* *b c d* add "and multiply thee." *a* transposes it before "may the Lord give thee."

Dew of the earth. The same rendering of τῆς πύργου τῆς γῆς is found in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 28.

And plenty. MSS add against parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28 before "plenty" the clause "may He give plentifully to thee."

24. Be lord over thy brethren,
 And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;
 And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath
 blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
 Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:
 Cursed be he that curseth thee,
 And blessed be he that blesseth thee."

25. And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. 26. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: "Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me." 27. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Who art thou?" And he said unto him: "I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me." 28. And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: "Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever." 29. And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: "Bless me, (even) me also, father." 30. And he said unto him: "Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing." And he said: "Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing." 31. And he said: "Hast thou not

24. *The blessings wherewith the Lord . . . blessed Abraham, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 4.

25. †*He hid himself and*†. This looks like an addition to the text. Read "that."

28. *Hunted and caught.* See note on ver. 2.

30. *I know why* (or "how") = *οἶδα ὡς*. This may be a corruption of *δικαίως*. In that case the text would agree with Gen. xxvii. 36.

reserved a blessing for me, father?" and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

"Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I
strengthened him:

And what now shall I do for thee, my son?"

32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

"Hast thou but one blessing, O father?

Bless me, (even) me also, father":

And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 33. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

"Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy
dwelling,

And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34. And by thy sword wilt thou live,

And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest
great,

And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,

Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death,

And thy seed will be rooted out from under heaven."

35. And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his

33. *Dew of the earth.* See note on verse 23.

34. *Becomest great* = 'abaika (so *b*). *ac* = "refusest" ('abaika) which is (?) a corruption of the former. *d* is corrupt but supports *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאריך (Gen. xxvii. 40) which is theniphal orhiphal of אריך. Mass. = חריך as to the meaning of which the versions vary. LXX has κατέλγες = חוריר from ירר.

34. *Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death*, or "every sin unto death." This change is contrary to all tradition. In Onkelos we have: "And it will come to pass when his (Jacob's) sons transgress the words of the law, that thou wilt

remove his yoke from off thy neck." Similarly in the Jerusalem and Ps.-Jon. Targums and in Ber. rabba 67. This passage in our text is attributed to Genesis by Syncellus, i. 202: τῷ Ἰσαὺ ἔφη ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλγες καὶ ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου· πλημμελήσης εἰς θάνατον. Glycas (p. 263) appears to assign it to Josephus: τότε οὖν ἐπληρώθη ἡ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ προφητεία ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλγες τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου σου, πλημμέλειαν πλημμελήσεις θανάτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τοιαῦτα.

Sin unto death. Cf. xxi. 22.

heart: "May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob."

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats, prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob, 13-18. Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel, 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

XXVII. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 2. "Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee. 3. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence." 4. And Jacob said: "I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him." 5. But she said unto him: "Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day." 6. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go;

35. *May the days, etc.* Observe the malicious turn given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-45.

1. *Were told to Rebecca in a dream.* In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 it is said: "And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebecca by the Holy Spirit." In Ber. rabba on the same passage Rebecca is called a prophetess.

6. This verse like xii. 31 owes its existence, as Singer has pointed out, to the author's desire to protect his heroes

Abraham and Jacob from the reproach of leaving their fathers in their old age. Singer (p. 170) writes: In der Haggada wird nämlich Jakob darob getadelt, dass er so lange Zeit von seinen Eltern fernblieb und dadurch die Uebung der Kindespflichten verabsäumte (Megilla 16 b, Sed. Od. rabba 2, Tanch. u. Lek. Tob. Wagescheb in Raschi, Gen. xxxvii. 34), wogegen Esau in dieser Hinsicht sehr gepriesen und als Muster eines guten Kindes dargestellt wird (Ber. rabba 65, 82; Debarim rabba 1, Pesikta rab. xxiv.).

when he sends me, then only will I go." 7. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away." 8. And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: "I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil." 9. And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 10. "Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 11. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace." 12. And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 13. And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. 14. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return. 15. The Most High God will

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

14. *My sister*. This term as applied by Isaac to his wife is used as an expression of tenderness. It is possible that Singer (p. 168 note) is right in stating that it is designed by our author to justify the fact of Isaac's having called her his sister at the Court of Abimelech. As instances of the former use we might quote Tobit's address to his wife (Tobit v. 21): *μή λόγον ἔχε, ἀδελφή*; also vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; also

Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. This usage was common in the old Egyptian songs as Maspero and Spiegelberg have shown (see Budde, *Das Hohenlied*, pp. xvi-xvii). "Brother" was used in these songs also with a similar meaning. *ἀδελφὴ* in 1 Cor. ix. 5 has quite a different meaning. It denotes one who is connected by the tie of the Christian religion. The above usage, is according to Singer (p. 208 note), unknown in Rabbinic literature.

preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days; 16. For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. 17. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not." 18. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. 19. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this week, 2115 A.M. and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. 20. And he took one of the stones of that place and laid it (at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. 21. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 22. And He spake to Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed after thee. 23. And thy seed will be as the dust of the earth, and thou wilt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed will all the families of the nations be blessed. 24. And behold, I shall be with thee,

16. *Will be prospered*=jěšērâḥ (= the Latin *dirigentur*) emended from jěšērēḥ. Text="he will prosper."

17. *On the upright path.* So *b* and Latin, in *via recta*. *a c d* diverge in different directions.

And he is faithful. *a b* and Latin omit "and."

19-20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 10, 11, 19.

19. *Luz.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 19.

20. (*At his head*). Added from the Latin.

Under the tree. This phrase is not found in Gen. xxviii. 11. It seems to be the wooden post or mast (אֵשֶׁרֶת) which stood at Canaanitish places of worship. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 330-332.

21-27. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 12-22.

and shall keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I shall bring thee again into this land in peace; for I shall not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.” 25. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, “Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not.” And he was afraid and said: “Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” 26. And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first. 27. And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: “If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father’s house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord’s house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God.”

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids, 11-24. Jacob seeks to leave Laban, 25: but stays on at a certain wage, 26-28. Jacob becomes rich, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35, xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.)

XXVIII. And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one

2122 A.M. week. 2. And in the first year of the third week he said

25. *Awoke from . . . sleep* = ἐξύπνωσε ἐξ ὕπνου. MSS corrupt = ὑπνωσε ὑπνον = “slept a sleep.”

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1.

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxix. 21-25.

unto him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years"; and Laban said unto Jacob: "I will give thee thy wife." 3. And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an handmaid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. 4. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: "Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me? Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder." And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tables, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord. 7. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. 8. And Laban said to Jacob: "Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou

3. *Zilpah*. Eth. *Zalafâ*. See note on ver. 9.

He thought. For "he" (*a*) *bcd* read Jacob.

5. Cf. Gen. xxix. 17-18^a.

Leah's eyes were weak. Ps.-Jon. in loc. and Ber. rabba 70 attribute this weakness to Leah's weeping.

6. *It is not . . . before the elder*. Cf. Gen. xxix. 26.

And it is not right to do this, etc.

These are the words of the angels enunciating the law as Singer (p. 82) has recognised. There is no hint according to Beer and Singer of this ordinance in tradition.

But the elder (so *b*). *acd* omit through homoioteleuton, as Littmann has pointed out.

8-10. Cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29. Jacob's marriage with two sisters was expressly forbidden by the later law: cf. Lev.

mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week." 9. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah, as a handmaid. 10. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing. 11. And the Lord opened the

xviii. 18. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 134, declares it to be οὐ θεμιτόν.

8. Our author rightly understands Gen. xxix. 27-29, and represents Jacob as receiving Rachel when the seven days of Leah's feast were over. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19. 7) wrongly makes Jacob wait for seven years after his marriage with Leah.

9. *Bilhah.* Eth. Bâlân.

The sister of Zilpah. Bilhah and Zilpah appear as sisters also in Test. XII. Patriarch. Naph. i. Naphtali declares: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μου ἐστὶ Βάλλα, θυγάτηρ 'Ρωθέου, ἀδελφοῦ Δεβόρρας, τῆς τροφοῦ 'Ρεβέκκας. . . ὁ δὲ 'Ρόθεος ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν 'Αβραάμ . . . καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ἠγοράσθη ὑπὸ Λάβαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Αἰνᾶν τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα· ἥτις ἔτεκεν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Ζελφάν . . . καὶ

ἐξῆς ἔτεκεν τὴν Βάλλαν. In later Jewish tradition they are still represented as sisters, but as daughters of Laban by a concubine: cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29; Ber. rabba 74. Singer adds Pirke R. El. 36 on p. 118 note.

11-24. Cf. Gen. xxix. 31-xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24.

11-24. The twelve sons of Jacob. The twelve appear in our text in the same order as in Gen. xxix. 32-34, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. The following tables (taken from Rönsch, p. 330) will serve to make clear the different order of these names. I. In the narrative of Gen. xxix.-xxxv. and Jubilees. II. In Jubilees according to the date of birth. III. In Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth. IV. In Gen. xlix.

	I. Gen. xxix.-xxx., xxxv. and Jubilees.	II. Jubilees according to the date of birth.	III. Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth.	IV. Gen. xlix.
1	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben
2	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi
4	Judah	Dan	Judah	Judah
5	Dan	Judah	Dan	Zebulon
6	Naphtali	Naphtali	Issachar	Issachar
7	Gad	Gad	Naphtali	Dan
8	Asher	Issachar	Gad	Gad
9	Issachar	Asher	Zebulon	Asher
10	Zebulon	Joseph	Asher	Naphtali
11	Joseph	Zebulon	Joseph	Joseph
12	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin

It will be observed that the order in II. diverges from all the others as to Dan, Issachar, and Joseph. The Midrash Tadshe, which is partly based

on our text, shows the same order (see below). Probably the dates are corrupt. Rönsch proposes to read seventh instead of sixth (an easy emendation resting on

womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the 2122 A.M.

confusion of , and) in Jub. xxviii. 24. In that case Joseph would be born in 2135 A.M. and his place in the Jubilees list would agree with those of the other authorities. But this date does not agree with what is required by xxxiv. 10 and xlv. 1 of our text. For these passages when taken together imply that Joseph was born in the year 2132. See note on xxviii. 24.

Rönsch further supposes that the copyist transposed the dates for Judah and Dan, and again a corruption of seventh into sixth; and finally suggests in the case of Asher and Issachar that we should transpose the years of their births, and read fourth year in Asher's case and fifth in Issachar's. Thus we should have the following list:—

Reuben born	14th of 9th month	in 1st year of the 3rd week	= 2122
Simeon	21st of 10th	3rd	= 2124
Levi	1st of 1st	6th	= 2127
Judah	15th of 3rd	7th	= 2128
Dan	9th of 6th	1st	= 2129
Naphtali	5th of 7th	2nd	= 2131
Gad	12th of 8th	3rd	= 2132
Asher	2nd of 11th	4th	= 2133
Issachar	4th of 5th	5th	= 2134
Zebulon	7th of 7th	6th	= 2134
Joseph	1st of 4th	7th	= 2135
Benjamin	11th of 8th	1st	= 2143

This order, corrected as Rönsch proposes above, is found in Syncellus i. 198, though the dates differ from those in our text: *καὶ δουλεύσας ἔτη 5' ἔλαβε τὴν Λείαν καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ρουβὴν τῷ π' ἔτει καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν τῷ πα', τὸν δὲ Λεὺ τῷ πβ', τὸν Ἰούδαν τῷ πγ', τὸν Δάν τῷ πε', τὸν Νεφθαλεὶμ τῷ πς', τὸν Γὰδ τῷ πζ', τὸν Ἀσὴρ τῷ πη', τὸν Ἰσάαχαρ τῷ πθ', τὸν Ζαβουλὼν καὶ τὴν Δείναν ἐκ Λείας τῷ 5', τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς Παχὴλ τῷ 5α'.*

The following imperfect list (derived undoubtedly from our text) of the twelve patriarchs with their ages and the days of the month on which they were born is found in Eppstein's edition of the Midrash Tadshe viii. lines 2-4: "The years of Rebecca were 133, of Rachel 36, of Lea 46. Reuben was born on the 14th of the 9th month and died 125 years old. Simeon was born on the 21st of the 10th month and died at the age of 120 years. Levi was born on the 1st of the 1st month and died at the age of 137. Dan was born on the 6th of the 9th month and

died at the age of 125; Judah on 15th of 3rd and died 119 (?) (text indistinct); Naphtali on the 5th of the 3rd and died aged 133; Gad on the 10th of the 7th and died 125; Issachar on 4th of 5th month and died 122; Asher on 2nd of (corrupt text) and died 123; Joseph on the 1st of the 7th and died 110." It will be observed that more than half the above dates of the month correspond exactly to those in Jubilees, and nearly all the ages to those in Test. XII. Patriarchs (see below). The Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244, 1246, 1248) agrees with the Testament XII. Patriarch. in giving the same ages for Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Gad, Joseph, but disagrees in the cases of Judah, Dan, Asher, Zebulon and Naphtali, to whom it ascribes respectively the following ages: 129, 124, 123, 114, 132.

In the Test. XII. Patriarchs the dates vary also. The facts have been collected by Dodwell and are found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 749-754. See also Rönsch, 327-329. The chief are:—

ninth month, in the first year of the third week. 12. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved. 13. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second
 2124 A.M. son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. 14. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the
 2127 A.M. new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. 15. And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
 2129 A.M. on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. 16. And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: "Give me children"; and Jacob said: "Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?" 17. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: "Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will

Reuben was born in the 76th year of Jacob's life, and died aged 125 in the same year as Zebulon aged 114.

Simeon	„	79th	„	and died aged 120 in the same year as Joseph aged 110.
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Levi	„	81st	„	and died aged 137.
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Judah	„	84th	„	119.
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Dan	„	85th	„	125.
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Issachar, Naphtali, Gad	86th	„	Issachar died aged 122; Naphtali, 130; Gad, 125.
Zebulon and Asher	87th	„	Zebulon died aged 114; Asher, 126.

Dinah	„	88th	„	
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Joseph	„	89th	„	and died aged 110.
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Benjamin	„	101st	„	125.
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We must be content with these dates till a critical edition of this work is issued. For a different set of dates see Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21.

11. *He called.* In Gen. xxix. 32 it is "she called." Perhaps we should so read here and in verses 13, 14, 15, 18. In 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 this form is actually found.

15. From the context (cf. verses 15 and 18) it is obvious that the dates in the text are corrupt. Judah was born before Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob. Yet the text sets the birth of Bilhah's son two years before that of Judah. See note on 11-24.

conceive, and bear a son unto me." 18. (And she gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife.) And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called 2127 A.M. his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. 19. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth 2130 A.M. week. 20. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied (Rachel) and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the 2131 A.M. fourth week. 21. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the 2133 A.M. †fifth† year of the fourth week. 22. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the 2132 A.M. †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 23. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zebulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year 2134 A.M. of the fourth week. 24. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. 2134 A.M.

18. On the date assigned to Dan see note on 11-24.

20. *Become sterile and did not bear.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 9 = "had left bearing." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

Envied (Rachel) and she also gave. So MSS but the text is doubtful. My emendation of the text I here withdraw.

Latin reads *et dedit*. Gen. xxx. 9 has "took and gave."

21-22. On the dates see note on 11-24.

24. According to xxxiv. 10 Joseph was sold into Egypt in 2149 at the age of seventeen (xlv. 3). Hence this would require the date in our text to be 2132. This change is required also by xlv. 1. This would require "fourth" instead of "sixth," but see note on 11-24.

25. And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban? "Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 26. And Laban said to Jacob: "†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages." 27. And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white, (these) were to be his wages. 28. And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked, and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's. 29. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and menservants and maidservants. 30. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

*Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. Laban pursues after him, 5-6.
Covenant of Jacob and Laban, 7-8. Abodes of the*

25-26. Cf. Gen. xxx. 25, 28.

26. †Tarry with me for thy wages.† Latin has: Expecta me in mercede. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has "Appoint (נקבה) me thy wages." Possibly "expecta" goes back to נקב and "tarry" to קים, but neither of these takes us back to the right text.

Take thy wages. Latin: dabo tibi mercedem is better.

27. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32.

Those of. So *b. abd* = "all the sheep of."

Black and spotted = חום וטלוא. See my text for emendation.

White. This is a false rendering of δαλευκα = נקר (same false rendering in Eth. ver. of Gen. xxx. 39), or else it presupposes λευκόν which is itself wrong. We should render "speckled."

28. Cf. Gen. xxx. 39.

Speckled and black, variously marked. This agrees exactly with LXX of Gen. xxx. 39: ποικίλα καὶ σποδοειδῆ πάντα and Vulg. varia et diverso colore respersa. The Mass. has no equivalent of the σποδοειδῆ. See my text on this clause.

All that were spotted were Jacob's, etc. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in loc.*) seems to have had this passage in mind: Si quid igitur ex albis et nigris, quae unius coloris sunt, varium natum erit, meum erit; si quid vero unius coloris, tuum.

29. And sheep. So also LXX of Gen. xxx. 43. Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit.

30. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 1, 2.

Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. Laban departs, 12. Jacob is reconciled to Esau, 13. Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron, 14-17, 19-20. Esau marries again, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19-21, 23, 24, 46, 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 10, 16.)

XXIX. And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan. 3. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: "To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee." 4. And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention from 2135 A.M. Laban and told him not. 5. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. 6. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for He appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob. 7. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made

XXIX. 1. *Laban went to shear his sheep.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 19.

2. *Called Leah, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 4.

3. *Seen everything in a dream* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 10.

Return to his father's house. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 13.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 20, 21.

Hide his intention (lit. "heart"). So LXX of Gen. xxxi. 20 *ἐκρυψε* and Onkelos יִכְסֶה. Mass., Sam., Syr. = *ἐκλεψε*.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 23, 24.

7. *The fifteenth, i.e. of the 3rd month.*

a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob swore to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. 8. And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: "The Heap of Witness," after this heap. 9. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits. 10. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. 11. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very

A Feast. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 46.

8. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 47.

9. *Rephaim.* Eth. Rafâ'êm. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5.

10. It is difficult to understand why our author mentions these seats of the Rephaim unless it is that certain victories of the Maccabees over the Amorites who succeeded the Rephaim are connected with them. To these we shall draw attention as we proceed.

Karnaim and Ashtaroth. Eth. Qarânâ'im and Astarôs. In Gen. xiv. 5 these two appear as one name "Ashtaroth - Karnaim" = "Ashtaroth of the two horns" (?) in the Mass. and Sam. and some MSS of the LXX. On the other hand the Syr. and some MSS of the LXX support our text. Kuenen, Buhl and Siegfried accept this reading. Ashtaroth Karnaim appears simply as Ashtaroth in Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31 along with Edrei as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan. This Og was of the remnant of the Rephaim, Deut. iii. 11. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 335, 336.

Karnaim. Eth. Qarânâ'im. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5; Amos vi. 13. Karnaim a strong city (1 Macc. v. 26) was captured by Judas and its temple of Atargatis burnt and 25000 people put to the sword (1 Macc. v. 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26). The Rephaim were

succeeded by the Amorites (ver. 11), and of these our text grimly declares that "they have no longer length of life on the earth." Judas must have nearly annihilated them.

Edrei. Eth. 'Adrâ'a. This is the biblical Edrei (אֲדַרְעִי, 'Edpal, 'Edpalen), the 'Αδρα of Ptolemy and the 'Αδράα of Eusebius. It was the chief city of Og, king of Bashan, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31. Although this town is not mentioned as attacked by Judas in his eastern campaign (1 Macc. v.) the fact that it is mentioned here as having been destroyed makes it probable that it did suffer at the hands of Judas.

Mîsûr = Μεισώρ = מִישׁוֹר. Cf. Deut. iii. 10, where there is a list of the cities of the plain (מִישׁוֹר) belonging to Og which were captured by Joshua. This may be the same as the valley of Rephaim, Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

Beon = בְּעֹן. Eth. Bêwôn. Cf. Num. xxxii. 3. It is the same as the Baal-meon (see *Encyc. Bib.* and *Bible Dict.* in loc.). It is most probably to be identified with the Maccabean Βαιαν which is described in the *Onomastica* 32. 40; 101. 32 as a πόλις τοῦ Ἀμορραίων. This suits our text exactly. Beon and its inhabitants were utterly destroyed by Judas (1 Macc. v. 4, 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, 1).

malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. 12. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. 13. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the Jordan, 2136 A.M. and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. 15. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley, 16. And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months,

11. *The Amorites dwelt.* Latin: habitare fecit.

13. *Passed over the Jabbok.* Cf. Gen. xxxii. 22.

He passed over the Jabbok . . . on the eleventh thereof. Latin has transivit Jacob et undecim filii ipsius, probably owing to Gen. xxxii. 22.

He was reconciled. Emended with Latin propitiatus (est) from takuânânû = "they were reconciled."

14. †*Of the heap*†. So *a d.* *b c* give fahahat a word of unknown meaning. Latin has salso. Hence Lat. = "from the Salt Sea."

Bethshan = Βαιθσάν (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = בֵּית שָׁן (*i.e.* the Bethshan in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10; 1 Kings iv. 12). This town also is associated with Judas, but in a peaceful way: cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29-31, where it appears under a new name Σκυθῶν πόλις (cf. LXX Judg. i. 27, where B adds after Βαιθσάν the gloss ἡ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις). In the Roman war 65 A.D. the heathen inhabitants of this city slaughtered their Jewish fellow-

citizens to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 3). Eth. has Bêtasan.

Dothan. Eth. Dôthâ'im = Δωθαίμ (Judith iv. 6, vii. 3, etc.) = דּוֹתָן, Gen. xxxvii. 17.

Unto the †forest†. Latin has aggruum which may be corrupt for arborem, seeing that the Eth. has 'oma (*a*) = "forest." *b c d* read simply "unto Akrabbim." We should expect "unto the ascent of Akrabbim" from Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

Akrabbim. Eth. 'Aqrâbêth. This name is found only in the phrase "Ascent of Akrabbim." See preceding note. 'Ακραβαρτήνη, a district in Idumea, where Judas fought against the Edomites, 1 Macc. v. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1.

15-16. Jacob, in contrast to Esau who robs his father (ver. 18), sends presents to him and his mother four times a year. The four times may correspond, as Rönsch (p. 140) conjectures, to the four festivals instituted by Noah (see vi. 23 sqq.): the 1st

between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. 17. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 18. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. 19. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron, 20. And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. Slaughter of the Shechemites, 4-6. Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen, 7-17. Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites, 18-23. Dinah recovered, 24. Jacob's reproof, 25-26. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

2143 A.M. XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth

of the 4th month = "between the times of the months"; the 1st of the 7th = "between ploughing and reaping"; the 1st of the 10th month = "between autumn and the rain (season)"; the 1st of the 1st month = "between winter and spring."

16. *Between autumn and the rain (season).* Latin has: in medio autumni pluviarum. This is the former rain (יורה), which falls from the

middle of October to the middle of December.

Between winter and spring. Latin has: in medio pluviarum veris. Eth. could be rendered "between the rain and spring." This is the latter rain (מלקוש), which falls in March and April.

18. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 6, 8.

Mahalath. Eth. Mâ'êlêth.

XXX. 1. *Went up to Salem . . . in*

month. 2. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. 3. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them. 4. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and

peace. This passage is based on Gen. xxxiii. 18 שָׁלַם יַעֲקֹב יְיָ. The LXX, Syr., Eusebius, and Jerome here take שָׁלַם as a proper name. The Sam. reads שָׁלַם. Our text combines both interpretations.

To the east. Gen. xxxiii. 18 has "city."

2-3. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connection with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi 6: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὤργισθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi 5 where the angel bids Levi: πόλῃσον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνης, κἀγὼ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἑμμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλάξι τῶν οὐρανῶν: and in the Test. Levi 6-7, where Levi says that he saw that "the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem," and still more strongly:

ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου Συμεὼν, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἱ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίasma καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς ἀσχύνην, κ.τ.λ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-1168). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

2. *Child of twelve years.* This agrees with the reckoning in Test. Levi 12. There Levi, who was six years older than Dinah, slew Shechem at the age of eighteen.

3. *His father (ab).* cd "her father." *And beguiled them.* *And Simeon . . . to Shechem.* Latin has: Et posuerunt in corde suo Symeon et Lenui exterminare eos.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-27.

slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah. 5. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. 6. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. 7. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 8. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones. 9. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tables regarding all the seed of Israel: he

5. *Wrought shame in Israel.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7.

7. This statement does not agree quite with any in the O.T. The burning of the woman with fire, it is true, finds a precedent in Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah demands that such a punishment should be executed on Tamar—a punishment at variance with the later law in Lev. xxi. 9. See in note on xli. 17 the distortion of the biblical tradition had recourse to by the Rabbis in order to justify the demand of Judah. It is true that her crime is that of fornication, whereas our text deals merely with the marriage of a Hebrew woman and a Gentile. To

our author, however, such a marriage was illegal and was no better than fornication. In Lev. xxi. 9 it is ordained that a priest's daughter who played the harlot was to be burnt with fire. Our text teaches that to give a daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her to Moloch (cf. ver. 10). Since our author holds the former to be equivalent to the latter, it follows that the man who was guilty of the former offence should justly be visited with the penalty exacted for the latter, and this was, according to Lev. xx. 2, death by stoning; hence our text ordains: "and they shall stone him with stones."

who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones. 10. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. 11. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. 12. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: "We shall not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us." 13. And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those who take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel. 14. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its

10. *Has given of his seed to Moloch.* This interpretation of Lev. xviii. 21: "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech," as being equivalent to giving one's child in marriage to a Gentile, is found in Ps.-Jon. on this verse: "And of thy seed thou shalt not give to lie with a daughter of the Gentiles so as to draw him over to a strange worship." The Latin which gives *alienigenae* instead of Molech is an interpretation of the text but not the text itself. The same idea underlies the statement in Sanh. 82a: R. Chija b. Abija said: "Whoever cohabits with a Gentile woman is to be regarded as though he had made himself the son-in-law of the idol; for it is said: And he cohabited with the daughter of a strange God." In Sanh. ix. 6 it enacts that "the zealous may slay a man taken in fornication with a Gentile or Roman woman (ארמית)." Nearly the same statement as is quoted above from Ps.-Jon. is found

in Megilla 25a. That such an interpretation was prevalent we see from Megil. iv. 9: האומר מורעך לא תתן להעביר למולך ומורעך לא תתן לאעבד בארמיותא = "Whoever translates 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to pass through the fire to Molech' as 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to cohabit with a Gentile woman,' bid him be silent." Singer (p. 200 note) says that this Mishna is directed against the Jewish Christians. However this may be, the interpretation was an ancient Jewish one to begin with. It may not be older than the Maccabean age. The circumstances of that time were such as to justify the extremest measures in order to save Judaism from annihilation.

11. *For their sons.* So Latin. *bcd* om., but *a* = *avrol*.

12. *We shall not give, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14-15. The sin of one man, the man who gives any of his seed to the Gentiles

daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles. 15. For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this (man). 16. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. 17. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. 18. And the seed of Levi was chosen for

or takes to wife a Gentile woman will affect the whole community. These verses are based on Lev. xx. 2-4, which deal with the man who gives his seed unto Moloch.

15. (*Upon him*). Added from the Latin.

Hide his eyes. This is the phrase in Lev. xx. 4, חֶעֱלִים עֵינָיו. The Latin, *praeterierit et despexerit*, seems to be a dittography.

Who commit uncleanness . . . defile the sanctuary of the Lord . . . profane His holy name. Cf. Lev. xx. 3, "Hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary . . . to profane my holy name."

(*Then*) *will the whole nation together*, etc. In Lev. xx. 5 only the man's family is involved in his guilt. Our author's enlargement of the area of the guilt is to justify the action of Simeon and Levi in slaying all the Shechemites. Our text (ver. 2) makes the whole people share in the rape of Dinah. In

Test. Levi 6 a very evil account of them is given: οὕτως ἐδίδωξαν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν ξένον ὄντα, καὶ κατεπάτησαν τὰ πόλμνια ὀγκομένα ὄντα ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ Ἰεβλαε τὸν οἰκογενῆ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἀκλίσαντο. καὶ γε οὕτως ἐπόλουν πάντας τοὺς ξένους, ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἀρπάζοντες τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.

All the uncleanness (a b and Latin). c d "all this uncleanness."

Profanation of this (man). MSS read "this profanation." I have emended in accordance with the Latin.

16. [*And no consideration of persons*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Latin omits.

The fragrance of sweet savour. Latin: odorabitur odore suavitatis.

18. The ground for Levi's appointment to the priesthood is quite different in xxxii. 3. Levi is there consecrated to the work of the priesthood as the tithe or tenth in Jacob's family. Our author has thus made use of two conflicting traditions. Possibly a third is

the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. 19. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tables blessing and righteousness before the God of all: 20. And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tables as a friend and a righteous man. 21. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. 22. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. 23. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and

to be found in Test. Levi 4, where Levi's appointment seems to be in answer to his prayer: εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὑψιστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ . . . λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. Another tradition appears in Shem. rabba 19 to the effect that Levi received the priesthood because it held fast to the rite of circumcision in Egypt when all the other tribes neglected it (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² p. 309). For other reasons cf. Baba bathra 123 a and Bamidbar rabba 7. See Singer (p. 115 note).

19. *God of all.* See note on xxii. 4.

20. *Friend, i.e., of God.* See note on xix. 9.

22. *Transgress.* Latin adds testamentum.

Book of life. See note on this expression in my edition of Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3. It may mean here the register of those who enjoy *temporal* blessings, but, in xxxvi. 10, of those who enjoy *eternal*.

Book of those who will be destroyed and. Latin has libro perditionum.

vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing. 24. And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. 25. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 26. And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4, 7, 14). Isaac blesses Levi, 4-17, and Judah, 18-22. Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him, 24. Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah, 26-30. Jacob blesses the God of his fathers, 31-32.

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because He has been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among

24. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

And all their wealth. *c d* transpose after "flocks" against *a b* and Latin.

25. *Reproached them.* Text = ἐλάλησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς (so Latin, locutus est ad illos) = עָלַם לָהֶם, which, however, in this context the Greek translator should have rendered by ἐλάλησε κατ' αὐτῶν. The same wrong choice of the two possible renderings of this phrase is found also in the LXX of Jer. vi. 10,

xxv. 2, xxvi. 2, etc. I press the above correction of the translation because the context requires עָלַם לָהֶם and not עָלַם לָהֶם as in Gen. xxxiv. 30 in the corresponding passage. With our text "reproached them because they had put the city to the sword," cf. Test. Levi 6: οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπάταξαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1-2. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

you." 2. And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her brother she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem. 3. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 4. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die." 5. And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca. 6. And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: "Behold Jacob thy son has come"; and she kissed him. 7. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: "In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye will prove a blessing on the earth." 8. And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck

2. *They gave up* = *maṭawēwômû*. Emended from (a) *b̄ masawēwômû* = "they melted." *cā* give a bad emendation *masatēwômû* = "they tore away."

And which was †on their necks†. Here *kēsāwdihômû* seems corrupt for *'ēdawihômû* = "their hands," and the whole emended clause "which were in their hands" should be inserted after "strange gods."

Her brother. The MSS corruptly

give *'abûhâ* = "her father" instead of *'ēhûhâ*.

3-4. The same incident is referred to in Test. Levi 9, where it says of Isaac: οὐκ ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς Βεθὴλ.

5. This last meeting of Jacob with Isaac and Rebecca is unknown to later haggada (Beer).

6. *Spirit had revived.* Cf. Gen. xlv. 27 for the phrase.

of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck. 9. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said: "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 10. And he said unto him that they were truly his sons: "And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons." 11. And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. 12. And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. 13. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him: "May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. 14. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, will the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great

9. Part of this verse with the subject matter of ver. 5 and 10 sqq. is attributed by Syncellus (i. 202) to Josephus: Ἰωσήππου. τῷ ρηγ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγέλλεται Ἰακώβ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας. καὶ ἀναβλέψας Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ ἡλόγησε τὸν Λεὺν ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἄρχοντα.

10. *Seen that they are truly my sons.* The Latin has: Vidisti, pater, quoniam filii mei sunt, and is probably right; for 'amân="truly" may be corrupt for 'abâ="O father."

12. *Spirit of prophecy.* See note on xxv. 14.

13. *Turned to Levi first, and began to bless him.* Similarly in Test. Levi 9 it says of Isaac: καὶ εὐλόγησέ με ὁ πατήρ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὁράσεών μου ὧν εἶδον.

God of all. See note on xxii. 4.

14. *To thy seed †greatness and great glory†.* So c. b "to thy seed the

great greatness of glory." *a* is corrupt but points in the direction of *b*. Latin = magno intellegere gloriam ejus. This is decidedly better than the Ethiopic. By a slight change we can arrive at it from *b*. Hence we should probably render: "to thy great seed to understand His glory," or else by another change "to thy seed to have great understanding of His glory."

Serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. On these two classes, see notes ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Here "the holy ones" appear to form a distinct class, whereas in xv. 27 they are used as a comprehensive term for the two (or "three" according to the Latin) highest orders. Levi is to serve in the sanctuary as the two highest orders of angels serve in the highest heaven. One or two such orders are mentioned in Test. Levi 3 (Armenian vers. A) as λειτουργούντες.

May He make them great. Lat. has sanctificabit.

unto all the ages. 15. And they will be princes and judges, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They will speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they will judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they will declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16. Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;

Thou wilt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

15. In this verse a double function is assigned to the descendants of Levi: they are to rule the nation (to be "princes and judges and chiefs") and to be the priests of the nation ("The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths"). This description, combined with other facts peculiar to the Maccabean period, requires us to recognise here the early Maccabean princes. The blessing given to Judah (verses 18, 19) confirms this interpretation.

Princes and judges, and chiefs. The Latin omits "and chiefs." We might compare Test. Levi 8: ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κριταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖς, for the author of that work had either our text or a source common to both before him. In the same chapter of the Test. Levi there is, as Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 165-167) has already pointed out, an undoubted description of Johannes Hyrcanus: Λεβὶ, εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς διαιρεθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου εἰς σημεῖον δόξης κυρίου ἐπέρχομένης (so MS P. Arm. = τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου). These three offices to be administered by Levi's descendants are to be signs of the coming of the Messiah. What these are is described in the words that follow: ὁ πρῶτος κληρὸς ἔσται μέγας· ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ γενήσεται ἕτερος (MS R). ὁ δεῦτερος ἔσται ἐν

ιερωσύνη (Arm. as Bousset remarks prob. = ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἔσται ἱερατεία): ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα κοινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν (so Arm.: Greek ἐκ) Ἰουδα ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατεῖαν νέαν. The first refers to Moses, the greatest of Levi's descendants; the second denotes Aaron and the Aaronitic priesthood; the third the Maccabean ruling priests, and in particular to Johannes Hyrcanus, for the subsequent words ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητῇ, ὡς προφῆτης ὑψίστου point to his prophetic gifts. The three-fold offices of prophet, priest and king were never claimed for any Jewish ruler save this Maccabean prince. See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths. Cf. Sir. 1. 20: δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ, and Test. Reuben 6: πρὸς τὸν Λεβὶ ἐγγίσατε ἐν ταπεινώσει καρδίας, ἵνα δέξησθε εὐλογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

16. *Joined to the Lord . . . the companion,* etc. In the first, if not in the second, there is a play on the name Levi, as in Gen. xxix. 34 "will my husband be joined to me (יָוָה אִשִּׁי)" . . . therefore was his name called Levi" (יָוָה): cf. also Num. xviii. 2, 4. Instead of "joined to the Lord" the Latin has

- Let His table be thine,
 And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;
 And may thy table be full unto all generations,
 And thy food fail not unto all the ages.
17. And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
 And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;
 And blessed be he that blesses thee,
 And cursed be every nation that curses thee.
18. And to Judah he said:
 May the Lord give thee strength and power
 To tread down all that hate thee;
 A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over
 the sons of Jacob;
 May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and
 traverse every land and region.
 Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face,

ad decorem Dei, which seems to refer to Levi as derived from לֵוִי, "a crown" or "garland."

Let His table be thine, etc. Cf. Test. Levi 8:

καὶ ἔδεσθε πᾶν ὥραϊον ὁράσει
 καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κυρίου διανεμήσεται
 τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Also Test. Judah 21: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν (Δεὺλ) ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς (Arm. Gk. σε) ἐξελέξατο Κύριος ἐγγλίζειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐσθλὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ.

18-19. In the note on ver. 15 we saw that according to the Test. Levi 8 the three great offices held in turn by the descendants of Levi were to be signs of the coming Messiah who was to spring from Levi or from Judah or from Judah and Levi combined (?). Thus according to Levi 18, Reuben 6, the Messiah (a Maccabean priest-king?) was to spring from Levi and to be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation. During his reign sin was gradually to come to an end just as our author supposes

(xxiii. 26-30), the gates of Paradise to be opened and the saints to eat of the tree of life, as in Eth. Enoch xxv. 5, in an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, as in Eth. Enoch xc. 29-38. In Judah 24-25 and Dan 5 the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah, as in Eth. Enoch xc. See Art. "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs" (in *Bible Dict.* vol. iv.). It is very probable that this last view underlies our text. The words "a prince . . . thou and one of thy sons" admit most naturally of this interpretation. If this is right, then the Messiah is to spring from Judah. In a kingdom which attains to realisation only gradually (see notes on i. 29, xxiii. 26-30) and not catastrophically no rôle seems to be assigned to him, as is also the case in Eth. Enoch xc. On the other hand this seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a *temporary* Messianic kingdom (see note on xxiii. 30).

18. *May thy name . . . go forth, etc., i.e. that of the Jewish nation.*

And all the nations will quake
[And all the peoples will quake].

19. In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20. And when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of
thy righteousness,

There will be great peace for all the seed of the sons
of the beloved,

And blessed will he be that blesseth thee;

And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and
accursed."

21. And turning he kissed him again and embraced
him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the sons of
Jacob his son in very truth. 22. And he went forth
from between his feet and fell down and worshipped
him. And he blessed them. And (Jacob) rested there with
Isaac his father that night, and they eat and drank with
joy. 23. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the
one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was
counted to him for righteousness. 24. And Jacob told his
father everything during the night, how the Lord had
shown him great mercy, and how He had prospered (him
in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil. 25. And
Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had
not withdrawn His mercy and His righteousness from the
sons of His servant Isaac. 26. And in the morning Jacob
told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to

[And all the peoples will quake].

Bracketed as a dittography.

20. *The throne of the honour of thy
righteousness, There will be great peace.*
So d. b c read "The throne of honour,
Thy righteousness will be great peace."

The beloved, i.e. Abraham, as in ver.

15.

22. *And he blessed them.* This
clause seems out of place here.

26. Jacob asks his father to go with
him to Bethel; but Isaac is unable to go.

the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. 27. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: "I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. 28. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son. 29. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou wilt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow." 30. And he said to Rebecca: "Go with Jacob thy son"; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 31. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. 32. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all"; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tables how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son, 2-3. Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe, 4-9. Law of tithes ordained, 10-15.

27. *am . . . not able to bear the way,* reference to the same event in the Test.
etc. See note on verses 3-4 for the Levi 9.

Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tables his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles, 27-29. Death of Deborah, 30. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel, 33-34. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

XXXII. And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the

XXXII. 1. According also to Test. Levi 8, Levi had this dream at Bethel, in which seven men appeared unto him and bade him: 'Ἀναστὰς ἐνδύσαι τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἱερατείας, καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνου εἰς ἱερέα κυρίου, σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἕως αἰῶνος. Cf. also Test. Levi 5. In ch. 9 of the same Testament Jacob is said to have had this dream also.

Priest of the Most High God. This was the specific title chosen by the Maccabean priest-kings. Thus they are called sacerdotes summi Dei in Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1 (where my emendation is wrong): Hyrcanus II. is designated ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου by Joseph. (Ant. xvi. 6. 2), and the Rosh ha-Shanah 18^b states that it used to be said: "In such a year of Johanan priest of the Most High God." This title, anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the new holders of the high priesthood. Our author has Gen. xiv. 18-20 before him; for in the next verse he adopts a clause from Gen. xiv. 20: "And he gave him a tenth of all." We have seen in the note on xxxi. 18-19 that the Messiah was to spring from this family according to Test. Levi 18. The same expectation

seems to be at the base of Ps. cx. 1-4, which constitutes a Messianic hymn addressed to Simeon or Simon the Maccabee. As Bickell has recognised, this Ps. forms an acrostic on the name Simeon. On the frequency of this divine title "Most High" in the second cent. B.C. see note on xxxvi. 16.

Him and his sons for ever. This phrase in the same connection is found in Test. Levi 8, already quoted above.

2. *Jacob rose early in the morning,* etc. So also Test. Levi 9: καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ, though here the offering is said to be through Levi.

3. *Jacob counted his sons from him (i.e., Benjamin) upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord,* etc. Our text in some form was before Cedrenus, i. 60: καὶ πάντα ἀποδεκατώσας ἃ ἐκέκτητο, τελευταῖον ὑποβάλλει κλήρῳ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὸν Λευὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερῶι, ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα ἡ' καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀναδείκνυσι, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀστρολογίας (λόγον). And still more clearly before his predecessor Syncellus, i. 200: Ἰακώβ ἀποδεκατώσας τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Λευὶ ἡ' ἐτῶν ὄντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ἰ' ὄντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον. And again on p.

Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. 5. This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. 7. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had

207: *ιερωσύνη τῷ Λεὼ ἐδόθη, ὅτι δέκατος ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ Θεῷ ἀπεδοκατώθη, καθὼς προσηύξατο Ἰακώβ λέγων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι ὧς ἀποδοκατώσω αὐτά.* And on p. 211: *Λεὼ γ' υἱὸς Λείας, ἵ' ἀπὸ Ἰωσήφ ἀναστρέφοντι καὶ γ' ἀπὸ Ρουβήν, ἐγεννήθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰακώβ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῷ πβ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρόδηλόν ἐστι. τοῦτον ἀριθμήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὴν ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Ῥαχὴλ ἵ' ὄντα ἐν ἄρρεσιν, ἀφιέρωσε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ὡς Ἰωσήπος, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον, συναποδοκατώσας αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀναθέμενος τῷ Θεῷ, καθὰ προσηύξατο πορευόμενος εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ὅτι καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι ὧς ἀποδοκατώσω αὐτά.* Jacob's dedication of Levi as his tenth son to the priesthood is found also in P. R. Eliez. ch. 37 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 36-37), though the method of reckoning is different. Jacob is said to have separated the first four sons born of his four wives and to have counted his remaining sons from Simeon to Benjamin and then to have

begun again with Simeon. Levi thus came to be the tenth.

Filled his hands. The technical expression for appointment to the priesthood. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. This celebration of the feast of tabernacles is peculiar as regards the number of victims. According to the Levitical law on each of the seven days a kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and two rams and fourteen lambs as a burnt-offering. Throughout the seven days seventy bullocks were offered, beginning with thirteen on the first day, the number being diminished daily till on the seventh day seven were offered. See Num. xxix. 12-40; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-44.

Seven lambs. MSS=60, but since Latin has "septem," and the heptadic system prevails, we may assume with Rönsch (p. 147) that the corruption arose from a confusion of ξ' and ζ'.

One. MSS=9. Emended with Latin "unum." Corruption possibly due to confusion of ἐννέα and ἕνα (Rönsch).

5. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 22.

given him his vow. 8. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men. 9. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. 10. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever. 11. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. 12. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season. 13. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. 14. And thus let them eat it together in the sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. 15. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall

8. *The unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi.* I have supplied the negative. In Test. Levi 9 Levi says that Jacob ἀπεδεκάρωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Our text would limit this to the clean animals.

Gave him all the souls of the men. Levi was to exercise his priestly functions on behalf of these.

9. *Discharged the priestly office, or "was constituted a priest."*

Tithed again the tithe to the Lord. Cf. Num. xviii. 26.

10. *To eat before the Lord, etc.* Our text holds closely to the law in Deut. xiv. 22 sq. Cf. Tobit i. 7.

11. *The second tithe (so a). bcd "the tithe again."*

15. *The tithes of the oxen and sheep.* These tithes are mentioned in the O.T. only in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. They were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, xiii. 5, 12). Our author took this law of tithing literally, but rabbinic tradition (Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1, quoted by Dillmann on Lev. xxvii. 32) sought to weaken the statement, and made it out to be merely a tithe of the yearly increase, but the context offers not the slightest justification for this step (see Bertholet on Lev. *in loc.*). See our text xiii. 26.

belong to His priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tables. 16. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. 17. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' 18. And He said unto him again: "I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I shall increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge everywhere where-ever the foot of the sons of men has trodden. 19. And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they will judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever." 20. And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. 21. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons throughout all the ages. 22. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: "Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou wilt die

17-18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-11.

19. Our author here forsakes Gen. xxxv. 12 and promises to Israel the possession of the whole earth.

All the earth. Latin has: *universas benedictiones*, and perhaps rightly.

20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 13.

21. *Tablets.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

Knew. Emended with Latin "*cognovit.*" Text = "*read.*" But probably for "*read and knew*" we should read "*read,*" see *Introd.* p. xli sq.

in peace, and in this land thou wilt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus will it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read." 25. And Jacob said: "Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?" And he said unto him: "I will bring all things to thy remembrance." 26. And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen. 27. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †"Addition,"† for †this day was added,† and the former days he called "The Feast." 28. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tables: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days

Our text seems to be the source of the words ascribed by Origen (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 761) to the Prayer of Joseph: Διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀνέγνω γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν. Cf. xlv. 14.

25. *Will bring all things*, etc. Cf. John xiv. 26, where the Paraclete ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα.

27. †*Addition*†. This eighth day after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles was called עֲצֵרֶת (2 Chron. vii. 9), in New Hebrew אַתְּרֵת (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6, Ἀσάπτα): likewise the seventh day of the Passover feast. The translation in our text, "addition," points to some corruption in the Greek or Hebrew. The Latin "reten-tatio" is a possible rendering. Rōnsch suggests that ἐπίσχεσις stood in the Greek version but was corrupted into ἐπίθεσις in the copy before the Ethiopic translator. Hence we might render: "Called its name 'a keeping back' for on that day he was kept back." Thus our author connects the origin of this

additional feast-day with Jacob's detention an eighth day in Bethel. In the Talmud (Chag. 18a) the idea of "keeping back" (in עָצַר) is connected with work. For it states that on the seventh day of the Passover "there must be a keeping back from every kind of work" (הַשְׁבִּיעַ עֲצוֹר בְּכָל מְלָאכָה). See Levy's *Neuhebr. Lexicon*, iii. 680. Scholars are now generally agreed that the word עֲצָרָה means "sacred assembly."

†*This day was added*†. Here we must suppose ἐπετέθη as corrupt for ἐπεσχέθη. See rendering proposed in preceding note. The last clause of the next verse may have given rise to the corruption or wrong correction.

The Feast. This agrees exactly with rabbinic usage. The feast of tabernacles was called תֵּנָה = "the Feast." Cf. Sukk. 42b, 48a. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1) designates it as ἑορτὴ ἀγῶνιστη καὶ μεγίστη and Philo ἑορτῶν μεγίστη.

29. A very corrupt verse in the Ethiopic and partially corrupt in the Latin. The restored translation is given below.

of the feast. 29. And its name was called †“Addition,”† because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of the days of the year.

30. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, “The river of Deborah,” and the oak, “The oak of the mourning of Deborah.” 31. And Rebecca went and

returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. 32. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. 33. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name “Son of my sorrow”; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the

2143 A.M. first of the sixth week of this jubilee. 34. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

†*Addition*†. See note on ver. 27.

†*Because that*†. The Ethiopic has a peculiar phrase here 'esma 'enta which usually = nam quod, but since an analogous yet rare phrase kama enta = quasi occurs in xliii. 19, xlvi. 13, we may take it that 'esma 'enta = propter quod as the Latin version has it. But this gives no right sense. The reason of the name is not given here but in ver. 27. Hence I suggest that propter quod = δὲ ὅτι = ἕνεκα, which the Greek translator should have rendered in this context by ὅτι.

It was recorded. Text of MSS ungrammatical, but by a change of vocalisation in one letter we arrive at the above.

Amongst the days = ba 'elâta emended with Latin “in dies” from basēm'a = “for a testimony” (b d). c has basalâm = “in peace.”

†*According to*†. Here we expect “in.” Accordingly I suggest that we have here an original corruption of ב

into ב. Thus the whole verse should run: “And its name was called ‘a keeping back’ (i.e. עֲצָרָה), when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast-days in the number of the days of the year.”

30. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8. Deborah dies on the eighth day of the feast of tabernacles.

Of this place. So d, Latin and Vulg. Gen. xxxv. 8 = “of this place.” b c = “of this river.” a omits.

32-34. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. *Land of Kabrâtân*. This goes back to כְּבֵרָה הָאֵרֶץ = “some distance” in Gen. xxxv. 16, but the translation like that of the LXX (Χαβραθα) took כְּבֵרָה to be a proper name.

34. *Rachel died*. According to Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1172) Rachel was only forty-five years old.

In the land of Ephrath. Gen. xxxv 19, “in the way to Ephrath.”

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22). *Laws regarding incest*, 10-20. *Jacob's children*, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-27.)

XXXIII. And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. 3. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house. 4. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben. 5. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto

XXXIII. 1. *To the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf*. This name is a compression of מגדל עדר, "the tower of Eder of Ephrath," Gen. xxxv. 21. See a probably corrupt form of this name in xxxiv. 15. In Test. Reuben 3, where the same scene is recounted, we have ἐν Γαδέρ πλησίον Ἐφραθά.

And he went to his father Isaac . . . 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, etc. It was during Jacob's absence with Isaac that the outrage was done. So Test. Reuben 3: ἀπόντος γὰρ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γαδέρ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλεέμ, Βάλλα . . . ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι.

2. *Saw Bilhah . . . bathing*, etc. Cf. Test. Reuben 3: εἰ μὴ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ Βάλλαν λουομένην ἐν σκεπινῶ τόπῳ, κ.τ.λ. A very different account of Reuben's conduct appears in later works: Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22, Shabb. 55*b* and the Book of Jashar (op. cit. 1172). In

these passages Reuben's guilt is denied absolutely. These writings state that on Rachel's death Jacob settled in the tent of Bilhah her handmaid, and that Reuben, being indignant on behalf of his mother Leah, went into Bilhah's tent and withdrew his father's couch from it, or threw Bilhah's couch into disorder etc., and that on this ground the Scripture held that he lay with Bilhah. In Shabb. 55*b* it is recounted that the earlier teachers, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer, accepted the narrative in Gen. xxxv. 22.

3. *And he hid himself . . . house of Bilhah [at night]*. Latin is preferable: Et introivit nocte occulte ad Ballan. The second "at night" is a dittography.

4. *He lay with her, and she awoke*. Test. Reuben 3 agrees with this: κάγω εἰσελθὼν . . . ἔπραξα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καί, καταλιπὼν αὐτὴν κοιμωμένην, ἐξῆλθον.

5. *She was ashamed because of him*. Latin: confusus est ab ea.

him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me." 8. And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt. 9. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord. 10. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tables that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth. 11. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. 12. And again, it is written a second time: "Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame"; and all the holy ones of the Lord said "So be it; so be it." 13. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God. 14. For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. 15. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after

7. Test. Reuben 3 represents Jacob receiving this information from an angel.

Uncovered my skirt. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

9. *Did not approach her again.* So Test. Reuben 3: *μηκέτι ἀψάμενος αὐτῆς.*

10. *They shall surely die.* So Lev. xx. 11.

12. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

13. *A punishment of death* = *κρίσις θανάτου* = *חַיַּת-מָוֶת* (Jer 12: 16).

he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive. 16. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. 17. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. 18. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts. 19. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God. 20. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation. 21. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all 2145 A.M. his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. 22. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben,

16. Our author here anticipates the Pauline doctrine: "where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

18. *Sin unto death.* See note on xxi. 22.

Who respects not persons, etc. Cf. v. 16, xl. 8.

20. See note on xvi. 18.

A priestly and royal nation and for

(*His own*) *possession*=*λαὸς ἱερατικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς καὶ περιούσιος* (or *οὐσίας*). Cf. Latin *populus sacerdotalis et regalis et †sanctificationis†*. Here, as in xvi. 18, xix. 18 above, the Latin has mis-translated *περιούσιος* or *οὐσίας* as *ὄσιος*.

Royal nation (a). Literally="nation of a kingdom." Cf. Latin (*populus*) *regalis*. *cd*="of a kingdom."

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-27.

Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 23. And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren, 10. Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-36). Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah, 15. Jacob mourns for Joseph, 13, 14, 17. Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived, 18-19. Wives of Jacob's sons, 20-21.

2148 A.M. XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep, and his servants with them, to the pastures of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take their cattle

“XXXIV. 1. *His servants (bcd). a* reads “their servants.”

2. *Kings of the Amorites assembled . . . to slay them.* This clause is found also in the Midrash Wajjissau in this connection.

Hiding themselves. Latin gives “et sederunt.” This seems right; for there is no hint of their hiding in any of the other versions of this legend.

2-8. In these verses we have a short outline of an ancient legend which, already attested in Gen. xlviii. 22, tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem (see xlv. 14 and notes on p. 201), and is probably

here recast so as to call to mind some of the great victories of the Maccabees (see below). A fuller account of this legend is given in Test. Judah 3-7, and a still fuller in the Midrash Wajjissau which is translated by Gaster in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 1899, pp. 80-87. I have introduced some corrections into this translation from a comparison of the Hebrew MS in the Bodleian, though I have not seen the British Museum MS from which Gaster has drawn occasional phrases. A version almost identical with that of Gaster's has been preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 40 d-41 b, and has been

as a prey. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. 4. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa,† and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr,† and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob saying: "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of

reprinted by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 1-5. A German translation of part of this Midrash by Jellinek will be found in Rönsch, 390-394. From a comparison of the Hebrew text I have observed that this translation has been carelessly edited in one or more points. Thus on p. 393 line 11 instead of "Pasasi von Aram" we should read "Pasusi, König von Sartan, und Laban, König von Aram." A much enlarged and elaborated form of the legend is given in the Book of Jashar (see the French translation: *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-1184). So far as I have compared this translation and the text it is trustworthy. A short but interesting study of this subject has appeared from the pen of Bousset in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 202-204, but in some cases he has been misled by the translations, and in others I have been obliged to disagree with his identifications.

A full treatment of this legend belongs rather to the Test. Judah 3-7, where the order of events corresponds closely with that in the Midrash Wajjissau, and in many cases presupposes details which are found in that Midrash. That some form of this legend is very ancient is attested by the fact that it is referred to in Gen. xlviii. 22 where Jacob declares: "I have given to thee one portion (שָׁכָם

אָחֵר) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." So the Rev. Version following the rendering of Onkelos and the Syriac. But as most scholars are now agreed, שָׁכָם here refers to Shechem. So anciently also the LXX (*Σικιμα*) and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22 (קָרְחָא וְשָׁכָם, the city of Shechem). Thus our verse points to an overthrow of Shechem by all Israel under Jacob's direction, and the fact that Jacob makes it over to one of his sons to the exclusion of the rest can only be justified by the further fact that he was the personal leader of the war and had captured Shechem with his sword and with his bow (see Holzinger's Commentary *in loc.*). Thus this form of the story differs clearly from that in Gen. xxxiv. There Jacob has no part whatever in the onslaught on Shechem and is subsequently hostile to its authors (xxxiv. 30, xlix. 5-7). But the possibly older account has survived in the present work as in Gen. xlviii. 22. Before we pass on, we might observe that later rabbinic tradition changed "sword and bow" into "merits and good deeds" Targ. Jerus. *in loc.*; Gen. rabba 97 (to these Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 3) adds: Baba bathra 123 a), and in a corrupt text of Onkelos we find "prayer and supplication."

his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. 7. And he

Returning now to the legend in our text, I append here a table in which the proper names in the various authorities are compared.

	Jubilees.	Test. Judah chs. 3-7.	Midrash Wajjissau in Bodleian MS used by Gaster, with the forms in Jellinek's text in brackets when these differ.	Book of Jashar.
1	Tâphû	Ταφουέ	(1) Jashub of Tappuach	(1) Jashub of Tappuach
2	'Arêsa	'Ασοῦρ (MS O, corrupt for 'Ασώρ = חצור)	(4) Pir'athaho of Hazor	(4) Parathon of Hazor (wanting on ii. 1173-1174, but Hazor is mentioned on 1176, 1182)
3	Sêrâgân	'Αρετάν	(5) Susi of Sartan [Pasusi of Sartan]	(5) Sartan
4	Sêlô	Σηλώμ	(3) Shilo [Zerori of Shiloh]	(3) Ihuri (אִהוּרִי) of Shiloh
5	Gâ'as	Γαάς (MSS OR)	(2) Gaash [Ilon of Gaash]	(2) Ilon (אִילֹן) of Gaash
6	Bêthôrôn	Αχωρ (? for Χωράν. Χωρα in an Arm. MS)	(6) Laban of Cheldon (so Bodleian Hebrew MS. British Museum MS may have "Horan") [Laban of Aram]	(6) Laban of Bethoron
7	Ma'anisâkir (corrupt for Shakir-Maani)	Μαχιρ [compressed from Μαχανισακιρ. Cf. form in Jubilees]	(7) Shakir of Machnah [Shebir of Machnaim]	(7) Shakir of Machnaim

3. *Sorrowful*. Latin is "pusill-animes."

4. *King[s] of Tâphû*. In this and all the other cases in this verse we should read "king" and not the plural. The Latin has the singular in all the instances but one. Tâphû is to be identified with Τεφών in 1 Macc. and this with Tappuah in Jos. xv. 53, xvi. 8. It was fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

†'Arêsa.† This is corrupt for Aser (cf. Tobit i. 2, 'Ασήρ) or rather Asor, i.e., Hazor (חצור). See above table. At Hazor, according to 1 Macc. xi. 67 sqq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 7, Jonathan won a great victory over the Syrians. Parathon, who was king of Hazor (see table above), is of the same name as

one of the cities fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 50).

Sêrâgân. In the Hebrew authorities this word appears as Sartan. I can discover nothing further about it.

Sêlô. This is Shiloh. See above table.

Gâ'as. This may be the Gaash (גאש) in the hill-country of Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Jos. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9).

Bêthôrôn. The city Bethhoron was closely associated with the victories of the Maccabees. Thus Judas defeated Seron, a Syrian general, in the neighbourhood of Bethhoron and put 800 of his troops to the sword (1 Macc. iii. 13-24; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7. 1). A few years later it was the scene of

slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânîsakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. 8. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl and Tamnâtârês. 9. And

Judas's great victory over Nicanor when 9000 Syrians were slain (1 Macc. vii. 39-47; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10. 5). It was subsequently fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 3).

†*Ma'anîsakîr*.† This is corrupt for *Shakirmaani* or *Shakir*, king of Mahanaim. See table above.

(*And*). Supplied from Latin.

6. *Six thousand* (*abd*). *c* gives 800.

7. According to our text six kings were slain out of the seven. This agrees with Test. Jud. 4.

8-9. With this passage cf. Test. Jud. 7: ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοῖς οὐθέν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ ἀπεδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. καὶ ὑποδόμησα ἐγὼ τὴν Θάμνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου τὴν 'Ραβαήλ (O, 'Ροβαήλ P). It will be observed that whereas in our text Jacob recovers his herds, in the Test. Jud. the sons of Jacob restore to the Amorites the herds which they had taken from them. This divergence in the tradition is seen also in the Hebrew versions. Thus the Yalkut (in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*) supports our text: "All the Amorites . . . came without arms . . . and besought them to make peace, and they made peace with them and gave them Timna (תמנא) and all the land of Hararya (הרריה). And then Jacob made peace with them, and they delivered up to the sons of Jacob all the cattle which they had taken from them, (returning) two for each one, and they gave them tribute, and returned (החזירו) to them all the booty; and Jacob turned to Timnah and Judah to Arbael (ארבאל)." On the other hand Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of*

Jerahmeel (pp. 83-84) supports the view in the Test. Jud.: "All the Amorites came without arms and promised to keep peace (and friendship, and they gave unto Jacob Timna and the whole land of Hararyah). Then Jacob made peace with them, and the sons of Jacob restored them all the sheep they had captured from them, and in returning them gave double, two for one. And Jacob built Timnah (תמנא) and Judah built Zabel (זבאל)." This translation does not represent the Bodleian MS, which (fol. 30 a) runs as follows: "All the Amorites . . . came to them without arms and surrendered themselves to be their hirelings, and they made peace with them, and they gave a present and they restored to them Jacob (sic, here I think the ungrammatical להם יעקב is corrupt rather for בני יעקב: hence "restored to the sons of Jacob" as in the Yalkut and our text; or for בני יעקב: hence "the sons of Jacob restored" as we presume is the text of the British Museum MS occasionally used by Gaster) all the cattle which they had captured twice over, and they restored (reading החזירו instead of the intransitive חזירו) the booty and Jacob built (sic) and also Judah (sic)." The Bodleian MS mentions no towns. The view represented in the Test. Jud. has thus no indubitable support in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. It has such, however, in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1184): Les fils de Jacob . . . leur rendirent tous les hommes qu'ils avaient emmenés prisonniers . . . et autre butin."

8. *Rôbêl*. This is most probably corrupt for *Arbael*, cf. Yalkut (ארבאל) quoted in preceding note. Thus Arbael appears in Test. Jud. 7 as 'Ραβαήλ (O) or 'Ροβαήλ (P), Παμβαήλ (CR); זבאל apparently in the Brit. Museum

he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of 2149 A.M. this week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks, priest of the city of 'Ēlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month. 13. And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: "An evil beast hath devoured Joseph"; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with him all that day. 14. And his sons and

MS used by Gaster but not in the Bodleian (see preceding note). We have here most probably the stronghold Arbela mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2, where it is said that Bacchides and Alcimus "went by the way that leadeth to Galgala and encamped against Mesaloth which is in Arbela (Μεσσαλῶθ τῇ ἐν Ἀρβήλοις) and got possession of it" (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 11. 1). Here it seems best with Tuch and Wellhausen to read Μεσαδῶθ = כַּצְדוֹת = "strongholds" (see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 291). Arbela is mentioned in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1178) as one of the cities put to the sword by the sons of Jacob in this war.

*Tamnâtârê*s = Θαμναθάρες = תַּמְנַת־חָרִים, Judg. ii. 9. This appears as Timna (תַּמְנָה) in the Jalkut: see note on verses 8-9. It was one of the cities fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

9. *Made peace with them, and they*

became his servants. The Hebrew for these words is preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel; see note on verses 8-9.

10-11. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17, 20, 28, 36.

10. *Dothan.* Eth. Dôthâ'im.

11. *Eunuch of Pharaoh.* Here "Eunuch" goes back to כְּרִים. But this word need not be taken literally but simply as meaning "a court official"; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 19.

Chief of the cooks. Cf. xxxix. 2, 14, xl. 10. Our text and the LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 wrongly take שַׂר־הַמִּטְבָּחִים as = ἀρχιμάγειρος. It should be "captain of the body-guard."

City of 'Ēlêw = Ἑλίου πόλεως (cf. LXX Gen. xli. 45, 50, xli. 20), i.e. On (אֵן).

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-35.

13. [*Mourned with him that day, and they*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son. 15. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. 16. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. 17. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said "Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son." 18. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. 19. And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. 20. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the

15. *Qafrâtêf* (*b* and so almost *a*). *c* reads *Qarâftîfâ*. These may be corruptions of "Eder of Ephrath," which was at one time the abode of Jacob. See xxxiii. 1 note. Or more probably *Qafrâtêf* is the same as *Kabrâtân* in xxxii. 32, where see note.

Dinah. According to Gen. rabba 80 Dinah married Simeon; according to Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51, she married Job.

17. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

18-19. Cf. Lev. xvi. 29, 34, 15, 16.—Haggada knows nothing of this institution of the Day of Atonement. See notes on v. 17-18 which possibly belong to this context.

18. *Afflict themselves*. This phrase (= *ταπεινοῦν τὴν ψυχὴν*, טַפַּח נַפְשָׁא) is a technical designation for fasting: see Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 27, 32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12. So used in the Mishna: נִפְּתָא="fasting."

20. For the list of these names in the Syriac Fragment see my text, p. 183. A different list is given in the Book of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1198.

'*Adâ*. So Syriac Fragment. Book of Jashar gives Elioram, daughter of Havi, a Canaanitess.

'*Adîbâ'a*, a *Canaanite*. This is referred to in Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15 where Shaul a son of Levi is said to

name of Levi's wife is Mēlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zebulon's wife, †Nî'imân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Ēglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. 21. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

be the son of a Canaanitish woman. Since such a marriage was an abomination for which death was the penalty, cf. xxx. 7 sqq., it is to our author's credit that he has not sought to explain away the statement in Gen. xlv. 10. 'Adibâa may be corrupt; for the Syriac Fragment has **ܐܕܝܒܐ**, and Book of Jashar "Buna." Later rabbinic tradition sought to explain this away. According to Gen. rabba 80 Shaul the son of the Canaanitish woman is said to be the son of Dinah, who was deflowered by Shechem. The Rabbis say that Simeon married her (so also Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1198). Another evasion is found in Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlv. 10 where Shaul is said to be "Zimri who did the work of the Canaanites in Shittim"; and in Sanh. 82b, Shaul is said to have been called "the son of a Canaanite" "because he had committed an act like that of Canaan" (see Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 51 sq.).

Mēlkâ. So also in Test. Levi 11 and Syriac Fragment. Bk. of Jashar "Adina," daughter of Jobab, son of Joctan, son of Heber.

Terah. Eth. Tārân.

Betasû'êl. Cf. xli. 7. So also in Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16 where the name appears variously as Βησσούς, Βησουέ, Βισσουέ. These are all derived from בִּתְּשׁוּעַ, "the daughter of Shua": see Gen. xxxviii. 2 and Syriac Fragment **ܒܬܝܫܘܥܐ**. The Bk. of Jashar gives her personal name as "Habith." She is here and in Test. Jud. 13, 16

and Bk. of Jashar called a Canaanitess. Here again the rabbinic tradition felt this an offence. Accordingly in some of the MSS of Onkelos on Gen. xxxviii. 2 **אִישׁ כְּנַעֲנִי** is rendered by **בַּכָּר**, "a merchant." Similarly in Ps.-Jon. on the same passage: also in Gen. rabba 85; Pessach. 50a. Simeon ben Lakish (*circ.* 200-250 A.D.) gave this interpretation on the ground of Hosea xii. 7, where he evidently took **כְּנַעֲנִי** in the sense of "trader," "merchant."

Hêzaqâ. Syr. Frag. **ܚܙܩܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Arida."

†Nî'imân†. Since *abd* omit this name it may be the invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Furthermore the Syr. Frag. gives **ܐܕܢܝ**, "Adni." Bk. of Jashar, "Marusa."

'Ēglâ. Syr. Frag. **ܐܓܠܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Aphlalath."

Rasû'û. Syr. Frag. **ܪܫܘܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Merimath."

Mâka. Syr. Frag. **ܡܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Usith," a daughter of Emoram, son of Hus, son of Nachor." The Syr. Frag. makes Ma'aka also to be of the house of Nachor.

'Îjônâ. Syr. Frag. **ܐܝܝܢܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, first "Edon" and next "Hadora."

Asenath. Eth 'Asnêth. Cf. Gen. xli. 45.

'Îjasaka. Syr. Frag. **ܐܝܝܫܐܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Mahalia" and "Harbath."

Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1-8. Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, 9-12. Isaac consents, 13-17. Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob, 18-26. Death of Rebecca, 27.

XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the 2157 A.M. forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life. 2. And Jacob said: "I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them. 3. And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! 5. Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me." 6. And she said unto him: "My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I shall tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live." 7. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment

XXXV. 1. *His life.* MSS add a 5. *Mercy.* Latin has "Misericordia gloss "of Jacob." Domini."

had touched her all the days of her life. 8. And Jacob said unto her: "Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death." 9. And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: "One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 10. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off all thy possessions from before thy face. 11. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. 12. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually at home honouring us." 13. And Isaac said unto her: "I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the first-born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil

9. This passage is referred to Josephus by Syncellus, i. 202 at the beginning of the section, and to Jubilees at the close, but he attributes it wrongly to Josephus. ἡ Ῥεβέκκα ᾗτησε τὸν

Ἰσαὰκ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ παραινέσαι τῷ Ἡσαὺ καὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. καὶ παραινέσας αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ τῷ Ἰακώβ ὁ Ἡσαὺ, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται.

deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him]. 14. And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. 15. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. 16. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.] 17. And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau." 18. And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: "I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son." 19. And he said: "I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition." 20. And she said unto him: "I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing

13. [*And there is no righteousness around him.*] This is either a corruption or, as I take it, a dittography.

16. [*For he will descend into his hands.*] Here *jēwarēd* = "will descend" is corrupt for *jēwadēq* = "will fall." I have bracketed the clause as a gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. *Guardian of Jacob.* We seem here to have the idea of men's guardian angels. In that case it is the earliest distinct reference to this belief. Cf. Mt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Heb. i. 14; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you." 21. And he said: "I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. 22. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 23. And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower. 24. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only." And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. 25. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. 26. And he said: "I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only." 27. And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. Divides his

22. *From thy womb.* So *d* probably "mercy" which goes back to a misby an emendation. *bc* = "from thy translation of רחם (Littmann).

possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him, 21-24.

XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called 2162 A.M. his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them: "My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are. 2. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. 5. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. 6. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever. 7. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater

XXXVI. 1. According to ver. 18 Isaac was 180 years old when he died. Hence he must have been born in 1982 and not in 1980 as in xvi. 12-13. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 22) sets Isaac's age down at 185.

The eternal house. Eccles. xii. 5, *בית עלמו*.

4. *Your brothers.* Seems a gloss.

6. *How*=wakama emended from waemze="and after this."

Plant of righteousness. See notes on i. 16, xvi. 26, xxi. 24.

than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will fear Him and worship Him. 8. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. 9. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth every one that devises evil against his brother will fall into his hand, and will be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed will be destroyed from under heaven. 10. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. 11. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which will come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother.” 12. And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. 13. And he said, “This larger portion I shall give to the first-born.” 14. And Esau said, “I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say

10. *Turbulence and execration and indignation and anger.* It can hardly be accidental that we find in Eth. En. xxxix. 2 “Books of wrath and anger and books of disquiet and turbulence.”

Book of life. See note on xxx. 22. In contrast with the Book of life we have here also a Book of destruction.

13. *I shall give* (=’ēhûb). MSS give “I shall make great” (’a’ābî).

regarding it, for it is his." 15. And Isaac said, "May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. 16. May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever." 17. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept. 18. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him. 19. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there. 20. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as

16. *Most High God.* This divine title is frequently used by our author: see vii. 36, xii. 19, xiii. 29, xvi. 18, 27, xx. 9, xxi. 20, 22, 23, 25, xxii. 6, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27 (twice), xxv. 3, 11, 21, xxvii. 15, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16, xxxix. 6. Cf. Test. Levi 3, 4, 5 (twice), 8, 18. This frequency is characteristic of many writings of the second cent. B.C. Thus it is found forty-eight times in Sirach and thirteen times in Daniel. On the other hand it appears only once in the Prophets, six times in the Pentateuch (and of these four times in Gen. xiv. in connection with Melchizedek), in the Pss. twenty-one times. From the close of the second cent. B.C. till after the Christian era it is rare. Thus in Eth. En. xci.-civ. (before 79 B.C.) it is found nine times, four in xxxvii.-lxx., three times in Tobit, once in Judith, not at all in the Pss. of Solomon, twice in Wisdom, twice in the Assumption of Moses, nine times in the N.T. It is frequent in the Apocalypse of Baruch—twenty-three times, and also in 4 Ezra.

From the above facts it follows that this title of God was most used in the second cent. B.C., though rare in some characteristic writings of that century such as Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi. (twice), lxxii.-xc. (once) and 1 Macc. (not at all). After a long period of comparative disuse it again became prominent in writings of the latter half of the first cent. A.D.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

Slept the eternal sleep. Cf. Test. Dan 7; Issach. 7: ὑπνωσεν ὑπνον αἰώνιον. Test. Jos. 20: ἐκοιμήθη ὑπνον αἰώνιον.

20. *According to the visible commands according as He had divided.* (a d). b c almost wholly wanting. Latin: "secundum praecepta visibilia secundum divisionem temporum generationum ejus." The commands here referred to were made visible to Jacob on the seven tablets which the angel showed him in a vision: see xxxii. 21. All the history of Jacob's descendants was recorded here in their successive time divisions (so also Rönisch, p. 152).

He had divided the days of his generations. 21. And Leah
 2167 A.M. his wife died in the fourth year of the second week of the
 forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near
 Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his
 father's mother. 22. And all her sons and his sons came to
 mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him
 regarding her, for he was lamenting her. 23. For he loved
 her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was
 perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob,
 and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear
 from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peace-
 able and upright and honourable. 24. And he remembered
 all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he
 lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his
 heart and with all his soul.

*Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and
 constrain him to war with the assistance of 4000
 mercenaries against Jacob, 1-15. Jacob reproves Esau,
 16-17. Esau's reply, 18-25.*

2162 A.M. XXXVII. And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob
 and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given

XXXVII.-XXXVIII. These two chapters give in some respects the fullest and in others an abridged form of an ancient legend dealing with the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau. The legend is elsewhere found in the Test. Judah 9, in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 (reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5 and on pp. 180-182 of my Ethiopic text of Jubilees), in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, pp. 80-87, and in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1236-1238). Our text preserves the oldest form. The same form though very abbreviated is presupposed in the Test. Judah 9: yet even this preserves some details on the capture of Adora (?) not found in any of the others. The

account in the Jalkut and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes very close to—at times reproduces verbally—that in our text, though most probably with later amplifications. They show however a deliberate attempt to adapt the legend to later times. Thus Adora or Adoraim (אֲדֹרַיִם) is changed to Arodin (in the Jalkut) or Merodin (אֲרֹדִין, *a.l.* מֵרֹדִין in the Chron. of Jerah.) where the M of the latter is due to a change of א into מ. This Arodin is Herodion built by Herod the Great. Gaster has recognised this fact, and on this ground would assign the origin of the legend to the beginning of the Christian era. He takes this legendary story to be a piece of contemporary

the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. 2. And they strove with their father, saying: "Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?" 3. And he said unto them "Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 4. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt." 5. And they said unto him, "We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also. 6. And now

history, "a reflex of the Jewish wars against Herod" (Chron. of Jerah. p. lxxxiii.). But the legend does not owe its origin to the times of Herod, but only this adaptation of it. We should observe also that there were two places called Herodion: the first was a fort built near Jerusalem by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xv. 9. 6, xvii. 8. 3), in which he was subsequently buried. The second was likewise a fort built in Idumea on the confines of Arabia (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 10). Our legend underwent a further adaptation—indeed a complete recasting—in the Book of Jashar, which has here borrowed its materials from the Midrash in Josippon (see Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft.* 1900, p. 205). The events recorded are placed after Jacob's death, and the story presupposes the struggles of the Idumean house of Antipater, by which through the help of Rome—here called "Aeneas"—it rose to royal power.

Thus the oldest form of the legend is found in our text and in the Test. Jud. 9; the next oldest in the Jalkut and Chronicles of Jerahmeel, and the latest in the Book of Jashar.

XXXVII. 1. *On the day that Isaac . . . died.* The sons of Esau began their opposition to Jacob from the day of Isaac's death (2162 A.M.), but did not attack him till Leah died (2167 A.M.). See ver. 14.

2-8, 11-12. The favourable view presented here of Esau contrasts strongly with that found in Jalkut Shimeoni reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5, or in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxvii. 1. According to our text, it was not Esau but Esau's sons that were primarily to blame for this fraternal war.

5. *Him and his sons.* Emended with Latin from "his sons" (*bcd*). Text of *a*, though ungrammatical, = "him his sons."

hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong." 7. And their father said unto them, "Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him." 8. And they said unto him, "This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words." 9. And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war. 10. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty men of war. 11. And they said unto their father: "Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee." 12. And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. 13. But afterward he remem-

6-10. To these verses the only equivalent in the Test. Jud. 9 is: ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῖν Ἡσαῦ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ. For that in the Jalkut see note on verses 14-16.

6. The names of the nations mentioned here recur in verses 9-10.

9-10. Against nearly all the nations mentioned here the Maccabees waged war. With Aram or Syria they were at strife for many decades. The Ammonites were invaded by Judas (1 Macc. v. 6-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1), and discomfited in several battles. On the complete subjugation of the Philistines by the Maccabees see notes on xxiv. 28-32. As regards the Edomites Judas fought against them and smote them with great slaughter, 1 Macc. v.

3, 65. The Syrians invaded Judah frequently by Edom (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), and were helped by the latter against Israel. Later John Hyrcanus wrested Adora and Mareshah out of the hands of the Edomites and compelled the whole nation to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xv. 7. 9; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). As regards the Kittim, see note on xxiv. 28. These may have been Greek auxiliaries of the Syrians.

9. 'Adûrâm. He was an Aramaean. See xxxviii. 3.

10. *Horites*. Eth. Kôrêwôs (b): a Kôrêws. See *Encyc. Bib.*, in loc.

Kittim. The Eth. might also be rendered "Hittites" but the context is against this meaning in xxiv. 28.

bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. 14. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. 15. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, "Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons"; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. 16. But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower. 17. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, "Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy

14-16. These verses are found in the *Jalkut Shimeoni* (Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3): "It was the year when Leah died and Jacob and his sons were mourning and some of their children had come to comfort them. Then came (Esau) against them with a mighty army of warriors, clad in armour of iron and brass, all armed with shields and bows and swords, 4000 warriors. All these surrounded the tower, in which were Jacob and his sons together with their servants, children and all their possessions; for they had all assembled there in order to comfort Jacob in his mourning for Leah. They were sitting there peacefully, and none imagined that any force had come upon them to contend

with them, nor did they discover it till the whole host had encompassed the tower, in which there were only Jacob and his sons and their 200 servants." Similarly in *Chron. of Jerahmeel*, p. 84.

17-25. Jacob's attempt to bring about peace and Esau's reply are not referred to in the *Test. Jud.* 9, but are shortly summarised in the *Yalkut*: "When therefore Jacob saw that Esau had emboldened himself to come against him in war in order to put those in the tower to the sword, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the tower, and spake to Esau his brother words of peace, friendship and brotherliness (אהבה); but Esau would have none of them." Similarly in *Chron. of Jerah.* p. 84.

father wast thou condemned." 18. And then Esau answered and said unto him, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. 19. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. 20. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles
as soft as wool,

Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head
like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,

Then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.

[And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.]

21. And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not
to devour or do them violence,

And if their hearts are towards them for good,

Then there will be peace in my heart towards thee.

22. And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes
peace with him,

19. *The tie of brotherhood.* See this phrase in quotation in preceding note.

20. *Boar.* In Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 12, 42 sq., 49, 66, the boar is used to denote Esau symbolically. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. There is no doubt some such reference here.

Make . . . soft. Instead of 'adkama we should expect jâdakēm.

It can cause horns to sprout forth. So a. b c d = "horns were to sprout forth."

[And if (ab omit) the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.] So a b c d save that for "thou hast not been a brother to me" d reads "I shall not be a brother to thee." These words do not belong to their present context; for the tristichs before and after deal with ideas taken only from the animal

world. Nor do the words as they stand form a distich. If they belong to the text at all, they are corrupt. It is not improbable that originally they followed immediately after ver. 19^a "thou dost hate me and my children for ever." By transposing the two clauses and by reading 'ēm'ama tafalta atbû'ē 'ēm'ēmômû instead of wa'ēma tafalta 'atbât 'ēm'ēmôn, we should get the following excellent sense in ver. 19 "And thou dost hate me and my children for ever; for thou hast not been a brother to me since the twins were separated from their mother. Yea, there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee."

22. *And makes peace with him.* This clause which c d omit is added by a b after "ploughs with him." With the

And if he is bound under one yoke with him and
ploughs with him,

Then shall I make peace with thee.

23. And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,

Then know that I have loved thee

And shall make peace with thee.

Thou shalt be rooted out,

And thy sons shall be rooted out,

And there shall be no peace for thee."

24. And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; 25. Then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1-10. Edom reduced to servitude "till this day," 11-14. Kings of Edom, 15-24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.)

XXXVIII. And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: let us give him (this) honour." 2. Then

guidance of the parallelism I have transposed it as above.

23. *The râzâ.* The râzâ is according to Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, "a large white bird which eats grasshoppers." Dillmann both in his *Lexicon* and translation took râzâ here to mean "rice," oryza, but there can be no doubt that the above is right. Littmann has followed my rendering.

XXXVIII. 1. In the Jalkut (cf. the Chron. of Jerah. p. 84) Judah says: "How long wilt thou extend words of peace and friendship to him, when he comes against us as an enemy with his mail-clad troops to slay us."

Let us give him = Nahabô (so read in my text instead of Nehabô). Emended with Lat. "demus illi" from bahabêna = "with us."

Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother, (on his right breast) and slew him. 3. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean, on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. 4. And then went forth the sons of Jacob, they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. 5. And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and

2-3. These two verses are found in the reverse order in the Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. pp. 84-85. The former runs: "When Jacob heard this, he seized his bow and slew Adoram the Edomite. And again he seized his bow and smote Esau on the right breast." In the Test. Jud. 9 it is said shortly of Esau: *ἔπαισεν ἐν τῷ ῥέξῳ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἡσαῦ*.

2. (*On his right breast*). Supplied from the Latin and the Yalkut. See preceding note.

Slew him. A later tradition attributed the death of Esau to Chushim, son of Dan. See Ps.-Jon. on Gen. 1. 13; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1235); Sota 13a. Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 6) quotes also Pirke R. Eliezer 39.

3. 'Adôrân, the Aramaean. This is consistent with the statement in xxxvii. 9. The Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. on the other hand make him an Edomite.

4-9. Here the sons of Jacob and their 200 servants (cf. Jalkut translated in note on xxxvii. 14-16) go forth from the four sides of the tower to meet the 4000 soldiers of Esau. So we find it exactly in the Yalkut: "And then Judah went forth first and Naphtali and Gad with him to the south of the

tower, and 50 servants of the servants of Jacob their father with them. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch the son of Reuben went forth on the west of the tower and 50 servants with them." After a long tedious account of the achievements of the various brothers which are not alluded to in our text the Jalkut again comes into touch with it: "400 men that were warriors who had opposed Simeon fell and the remaining 600 fled, and amongst them were the four sons of Esau—Reuel, Jeush, Jolam, Korah . . . And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the city Arodin, and they left their father Esau lying dead in Arodin, and they fled to Mount Seir to the ascent of 'Aqrabbim. And the sons of Jacob entered and rested there that night and they found Esau's dead body and they buried it out of respect for their father." The Test. Jud. 9 says shortly of Esau: *καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν Ἀρονιράμ* (O. Ἀρονιράμ, P) *ἀπέθανεν*. The Armenian version of this Testament = *ἐτάφη ἐν Ἀνανιράμ*.

fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and he returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. 11. And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. 12. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. 13. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. 14. And the sons of Edom have

8. *Horites*. Cf. xxxvii. 10. These are not mentioned in the Yalkut.

Four . . . sons of Esau. These are mentioned in the Yalkut translated in note on 4-9.

'Adûrâm. This appears as Adurin in the Latin, and as 'Ανοριάμ in Test. Jud. 9 (see note on verses 4-9): in the Yalkut as אורין which is corrupt for אורית. This is the 'Αδωρα mentioned by Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4, along with Μάρισα (cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20). These two towns of Edom were captured by Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6).

10-13. The Yalkut is as follows: "In the morning the sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued after them and pressed them hard on Mount Seir on the ascent of Aqrabbim. The

sons of Esau and all the men who had fled with them came forth and fell down before the sons of Jacob and laid themselves prostrate and prayed them till they made peace with them. And they made them servants to tribute." Similarly in the Chron. of Jerah. p. 87. Test. Jud. 9 gives certain details of the siege of Adora, and then proceeds: τότε αἰτουσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· καὶ γενόμενοι βουλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐδέξαμεθα αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους. καὶ ἦσαν δίδοντες ἡμῖν πυροῦ κόρους διακοσίους . . . ἕως ὅτε κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

10. *Pressed hard upon*. Here 'aman-dabēwômû (which is to be retained and not emended as in my text) = צרו אותם in the Yalkut.

11-13. The substance of these verses is found in Test. Jud. 9; see on 10-13 above.

not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day. 15. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. 16. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. 17. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. 18. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead. 19. And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith. 20. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned in his stead. 21. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. 22. And Saul died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 23. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabîth, the daughter of Mâtarat, the daughter of Mêtabêdzâ'ab. 24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. His purity and imprisonment, 5-13. Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief

14. *Until this day.* Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by Hyrcanus.

15-24. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.

16. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 32. Bâlâq = LXX, Bálak = בלע.

Danâbâ. Cf. LXX, Δαννάβα = דנהבה.

17. Zârâ. Cf. LXX, Ζάρα, Mass. זָרָא.

Bôsêr. Cf. LXX, Βοσόρρα; Mass. בֹּסֶרָה.

18. 'Asâm; LXX, 'Ασόμ; Mass. אֶשָּׁם.

19. 'Adât; LXX, 'Αδάδ; Mass. אֶדָּת.

Barad; LXX, Βαράδ; Mass. בָּרָד.

Avith. Eth. 'Aw'ûth; LXX, Γεθ-θάμ; Mass. אַוִּית.

20. Salman; LXX, Σαλαμά; Mass. שַׁלְמָה.

'Amâsêqâ; LXX, Μασέκκα; Mass. אֶמְסַעְקָה.

21. Râ'abôth; LXX, 'Ρωβώθ; Mass. רַחֲבֹת.

22. Ba'êlûnân; LXX, Βαλαεννύν; Mass. בַּעַלְחֲנָן.

23. Achbor. Eth. 'Akbûr. 'Adâth; LXX, 'Απάθ; Mass. אֶדָּת.

Maitabîth; LXX, Μετεβήθ; Mass. מַתִּיבִיָּת.

Mâtarat; LXX, Ματραείθ; Mass. מַתָּרַת.

Mêtabêdzâ'ab; LXX, Μεζοόβ; Mass. מֵתַבְעִזָּאב.

24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2, xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23, xl. 1-5, 21-23, xli. 1.)

XXXIX. And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. 3. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 4. And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 5. And Joseph's appearance was comely and very beautiful was his appearance, and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him, and besought him to lie with her. 6. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. 7. And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her. 8. And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen. 9. But she embraced him and held him

XXXIX. 2. *Seventeen years old.* Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

The chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. *Into the hands* = ba'ədêhû. Emended with Latin "in manus ejus" in ver. 13 and Gen. xxxix. 6. From qədmêhû = "before him."

5. *Joseph's appearance*, etc. There seems to be a dittography.

6. See xx. 4, xxv. 7 where Abraham's commands on this question are mentioned. According to Soteh 36*b* the image of Jacob appeared at the window and exhorted Joseph to be faithful (Hershon, *Genesis with a Talm. Commentary*, p. 428).

fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. 10. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door." 11. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. 12. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper. 13. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the Lord perfected it. 14. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. 15. And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. 16. And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. 17. And

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. *Into his hands.* Emended as in ver. 4 from MSS = "before him." Latin "in manus ejus."

Knew of nothing that was with him. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 8.

Perfected it. Latin "dirigebat ea," i.e. "made it to prosper."

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-23.

14. *Two years.* Cf. Gen. xli. 1.

Chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 18. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. Elevation and marriage of Joseph, 5-13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 sqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-46, 49.)

XL. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them). 2. And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. 3. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: "Seven years will come (in which there will be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land. 4. And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will

XL. 1. Cf. Gen. xli. 1, 5, 7, 8.

2. Cf. Gen. xli. 9, 14 sqq.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 25, 29, 30.

4. Cf. Gen. xli. 34, 36.

Overseers. We should here have makuannēna. Cf. Latin "speculatores,"

and Gen. xli. 34; whereas *cd* read mēkjâda, "threshing floors" or "barns." Perhaps פִּקְקָיִם = "overseers" was corrupted into פִּקְקִיֹן. Rönsch thinks there was a corruption of σιτάρχας into σιταρχίας.

not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe." 5. And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: "We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him." 6. And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. 7. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him "'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrër, and he placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him: "Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou." 8. And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land. 9. And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those

5. Cf. Gen. xli. 38, 39.

6-7. Cf. Gen. xli. 40-43.

7. (*A herald*) *proclaimed*. The Latin has *praeconaverunt*; but the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Aquila, Symm. of Gen. xli. 43 have the singular. Hence I withdraw my change of the Ethiopic sing. into the plural.

Before him. MSS add against Latin "and he said."

'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrër = אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים וְאַבִּירֵר, "God, God, the mighty one of God." The Latin has *Ellel et Habirel*. This is a peculiar expansion of the term אֲבִירֵר in Gen. xli. 43. With the interpretation of that term we have no concern here, but only with its derivation in our text. The phrase "mighty one

of God" clearly designates Joseph, and, indeed seems to be a technical designation for a great magician. Thus in Acts viii. 10 Simon Magus is called ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη (or ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). In a late Christian version of a Jewish legend "The History of Asenath" (see Fabricius, *Codex Pseud. V.T.* i. 774-784, ii. 85-102; Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889), Joseph is twice (chaps. iii. and xv.) spoken of as "the mighty one of God," Ἰωσήφ ὁ δυνατὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. The following apt parallel may be cited from *Pap. Par. Bibl. nat.* 1275 sqq.; Wessely, i. 76 (quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 336 note), ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπὸ κυρίου Θεοῦ τεταγμένην.

who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein). 10. And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântî-phâns, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. 11. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. 12. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. Judah's incest with Tamar, 8-18. Tamar bears twins, 21-22. Judah forgiven because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not

9. *No Satan.* Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. *Sēphântîphâns*, i.e. פִּתְּנָה פִּתְּנָה. Gen. xli. 45. Latin Judaism took this to mean "revealer of secrets." Cf. Onk., גברא דמסמין גלין ליה. So also Ps.-Jon. and Syr.

Daughter of Potiphar . . . priest of Heliopolis. Our author has rightly identified פוֹטִיפָר in Gen. xxxvii. 36 and פוֹטִי פָרַע in xli. 45 as being one and the same name. He takes the two to refer to one and the same person: cf. xxxiv. 11, xliv. 24. Origen (*Cat. Niceph.* i. 463) refers to our book for this view: οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἓξ ἀποκρύφου λέγουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πενθερὸν γενέσθαι. Later Judaism was offended with this marriage of Joseph to the daughter of a heathen priest.

Hence Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 represents Asenath as a daughter of Dinah by Shechem, who was reared by the wife of Potiphar, prince of Tanais. Singer (p. 119 note) states that this view is put forward in the Pirke R. Eliezer 36, 38. This was likewise the view of the Jewish legend which formed the basis of the Greek romance of "History of Asenath" (see Hasting's *Bible Dict.* i. 162; and Issaverden's translation of *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, 1901, Venice, pp. 94-96). In these later writings, however, Asenath is no longer represented as a Jewess by birth except in a single passage in the Syriac version.

11. Cf. Gen. xli. 46. I have bracketed the words "when he stood before Pharaoh" as a dittography.

13. Cf. Gen. xli. 49.

been consummated, 23-28. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-26, 29-30, xli. 13.)

2165 A.M.

XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. 2. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. 3. And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: "Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. 6. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: "Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 8. And

2168 A.M.

XLI. 1. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6.
From the daughters of Aram named Tamar. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: Θάμαρ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας, θυγατέρα Ἀράμ.

2-3. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: καὶ ἀγγελος κυρίου ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ νυκτί, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν κατὰ πανουργίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ᾔθελεν ἔχειν τέκνα ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

3. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 7.

4. Onan. Eth. 'Aunân.

Perform the duty of a husband's brother=*אָרָם אָרָם*. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 5.

5-7. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 9-12: also Test. Jud. 10: ἐπεγάμβρευσα αὐτῇ τὸν Αὐνᾶν. καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν . . . διέφθειρε δὲ τὸ σπέρμα

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ ἀπέθανεν. ᾔθελον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλῶμ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή μου Βῆσσουε οὐκ ἀφήκεν· ἐπονηρεύετο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Θάμαρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἐκ θυγατέρων Χαναάν, ὡς αὐτή.

7. Bêdsû'êl, i.e. Bathshua. See xxxiv. 20.

Shelah. Eth. Sêlôm.

8-12. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-18: also Test. Jud. 12: Θάμαρ, μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ἀνέρχομαι κείραι τὰ πρόβατα, κοσμηθεῖσα κόσμῳ νυμφικῷ, ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν πύλιν . . . μεθυσθεῖς . . . οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου . . . καὶ ἐκκλίνας πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον, Εἰσέλθω πρὸς σε. καὶ εἶπέ μοι,

in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at 2169 A.M. Timnah. And they told Tamar: "Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep." 9. And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah. 10. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: "Let me come in unto thee"; and she said unto him: "Come in," and he went in. 11. And she said unto him: "Give me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand." 12. And she said unto him: "Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I will send unto thee a kid of the goats"; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and she conceived by him. 13. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. 14. And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: "Where is the harlot who was here?" And they said unto him: "There is no harlot here with us." 15. And he returned and informed him, and said unto him that he had not found her; "I

τί μοι δώσεις; καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν ῥάβδον μου καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ συνελθὼν (sic) αὐτῇ συνελήφεν.

8. *Timnah.* Eth. Tēmnâtâ.

9. *Adorned herself.* So Test. Jud. 12: κοσμηθεῖσα; also LXX, Syr. and Onk. on Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass.= "covered herself."

11. *Ring . . . necklace . . . staff.* Corresponding to these Test. Jud. 12 has διάδημα, ζώνη, ῥάβδος, and the LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 18: δακτύλιον, ὀρμίσκος, ῥάβδος. διάδημα supposes עֲזָרָה as in Ps. xlv. 10, or עֲזָרָה as in Esther i. 11, ii. 17, instead of עֲזָרָה. לְפָנַי, to which

necklace, ζώνη and ὀρμίσκος go back, is said to be the cord round the neck, on which the signet ring was hung.

12. *And he went in unto her.* Restored from Latin "et coit (MS fuit) cum ea." Cf. Test. Jud. 12: συνελθὼν αὐτῇ συνελήφεν, and Gen. xxxviii. 18.

14-19. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 20-26.

14. Cf. Test. Jud. 12: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον, μὴ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πόλει τελισκομένην (=a woman being initiated into rites of Aphrodite, i.e. ἡφῆρη).

15. *And said unto him that he had not found her.* I have here transposed the text of *cd* (*ab*) which read "that he had not found her and he said

asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: 'There is no harlot here.'” And he said: “Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision.” 16. And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: “Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.” 17. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: “Bring her forth, and let them burn her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.” 18. And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: “Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.” 19. And Judah acknowledged, and said: “Tamar is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.” 20. And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. 21. And after that

2170 A.M.

she bare two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. 22. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. 23. And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray; for he had uncovered the skirt of his son,

unto him.” Perhaps we should read with Latin “dicens: Non inveni eam,” “And said: I have not found her,” as I have done in my text.

Let her keep = tēššā’ē, emended with Latin “habeat” from tanšē’ē, “arise.”

17. *Let them burn her.* See note on xxx. 7. In Ber. rabba 85 R. Meir of the second cent. states that Tamar was a daughter of the priest-king Shem. Hence her destruction by fire came under the law in Lev. xxi. 9, which prescribes this penalty for the sin of fornication in the daughter of a priest.

In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24 Tamar is called a priest's daughter. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 52) cites Baba Mezia 87 a to the same effect.

20. *Did not again approach her.* Cf. Test. Jud. 12: οὐδὲ ἤγγισα αὐτῇ ἔτι ἕως θανάτου μου.

21. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 29, 30.

Perez . . . Zerah. Eth. Phârês . . . Zârâ.

22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

23. *Had gone astray; for he had uncovered, etc.* Cf. Test. Jud. 14: ἐποίησα ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἀνεκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας υἱῶν μου.

and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression. 24. And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it. 25. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. 26. And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel. 27. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. 28. For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham, which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

24-25^a. Cf. Test. Jud. 19: *εἰ μὴ ἡ μετάνοια σαρκὸς μου, καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις ψυχῆς μου, καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἀτεκνος εἶχον ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.*

25. *Received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance.* Something seems wrong. We ought to have the idea expressed in Test. Jud. 19: *συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.* Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13: *ἡλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα.* *ὁ* transposes "because he turned" after "ignorance." If we transpose the clauses "because . . . sin" and "from his ignorance," we should have an excellent sense: "received forgiveness because of his ignor-

ance and because he turned from his sin"; for the Eth. preposition *emna* means either "from" or "because of."

Every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire. So Lev. xx. 14 enacts.

26. *Lies with his daughter-in-law.* Cf. Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12. The punishment ordained for this offence is death in the passages referred to in Leviticus; but the form of death is not specified. On the other hand, death by fire is the penalty presupposed for this offence in Gen. xxxviii. 24. Our text (xx. 4) enjoins this penalty for adultery or fornication.

28. *According to the judgment of Abraham.* See note on xx. 4.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. Joseph recognises them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned, 5-12. Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph, 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56, xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-25, 29-30, 34-38, xliii. 1-2, 4-5, 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34, xliv. 1-2.)

2171 A.M. XLII. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. 2. And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those that went (there). 5. And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them; "Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land?" And he put them in

XLII. 2. *In . . . Egypt there was food.* Cf. Gen. xli. 54.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

4. (*Now . . . Canaan*). Supplied from Latin. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

And Jacob heard, etc. Cf. Gen. xlii. 1, 2, 4.

(*The ten sons of Jacob*), (*in Egypt*). Supplied from Latin, "in Aegypto decem filii Jacob."

5-7. Cf. Gen. xlii. 7-9, 17, 24, 25.

5. *Spake unto them and questioned them.* Lat. has "appellavit eos dure." Cf. Gen. xlii. 7.

ward. 6. And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. 7. And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. 8. And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. 9. And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. 10. And Jacob said: "Ye have bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your wickedness come." 11. And he said: "My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death." 12. For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him. 13. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine. 14. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine. 15. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and that there was no deliverance,

6. *And after that . . . Simeon alone.*
 Latin differs: "Et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum."

8. Cf. Gen. xlii. 20, 13.

9. Cf. Gen. xlii. 29, 30, 34.

10-12. Cf. Gen. 36, 38.

12. Cf. Gen. xlii. 35.

13. Cf. Gen. xliii. 1.

15-16. Cf. Gen. xliii. 2, 4, 5.

he said unto his sons: "Go again, and procure food for us that we die not." 16. And they said: "We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go." 17. And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine. 18. And Reuben said: "Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul." And he said unto him: "He will not go with thee." 19. And Judah came near and said: "Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life." 20.

2172 A.M. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. 21. And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: "Is this your youngest brother?" And they said unto him: "It is he." And he said: "The Lord be gracious to thee, my son!" 22. And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands. 23. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs. 24. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with their asses. 25. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into

18. Cf. Gen. xlii. 37, 38.

19. Cf. Gen. xliii. 8, 9.

20. Cf. Gen. xliii. 11.

21. Cf. Gen. xliii. 15, 29.

22. Cf. Gen. xliii. 23, 26.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xliii. 34.

25. Cf. Gen. xliv. 1, 2.

their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away."

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. Judah's supplication, 11-13. Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xliv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-28, 30-32, xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-28.)

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 2. And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: "Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, 'For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment." 3. And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. 4. And they said unto him: "God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. 5. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord." 6. And he said unto them: "Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye will return in peace

XLIII. 2. Cf. Gen. xliv. 3, 4.
3-6. Cf. Gen. xliv. 6-10.

5. *Thy lord.* Gen. xlv. 9, "my lord."

unto your house." 7. And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. 8. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. 9. And Joseph said unto them: "Ye have done evil." And they said: "What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also." 10. And Joseph said unto them: "I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me." 11. And Judah said: "O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). 12. And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. 13. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever."

7-8. Cf. Gen. xliv. 12-14.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xliv. 5 ("ye have done evil"), 16, 17. Observe that Gen. xliv. 16 specifies "we and he also in whose hand the cup is found."

10. *Delights in his cup.* So MSS. A change of *jâsta'adēm* into *jâstaqasēm* = "divines" would bring our text into

line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xliv. 18, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32.

11. *I pray thee.* Here the MSS = "on me," a mistranslation of יָצָא = *δέομαι* in Gen. xliv. 18.

14. And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 15. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. 16. And he said unto them: "Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see. 17. For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. 18. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. 19. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. 20. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me." 21. And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. 22. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. 23. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. 24. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which

14-15. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1, 2.

15. *Conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue.* So Ber. rabba 93. According to Gen. Joseph caused all the Egyptians to go out.

16. Cf. Gen. xlv. 5, 9, 12.

Ye see that it is . . . Benjamin see.
Emended: see my text p. 157. MSS=

"Let me see him before I die and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while seeing."

17. Cf. Gen. xlv. 6.

18. Cf. Gen. xlv. 18, 20, 5, 7.

19. Cf. Gen. xlv. 8.

20. Cf. Gen. xlv. 13.

21-24. Cf. Gen. xlv. 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: "It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die."

Jacob celebrates the feast of first-fruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10. Names of his descendants, 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28.)

XLIV. And Israel took his journey from † Haran † from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. 2. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. 3. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. 4. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed (in the land), for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. 5. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, "Jacob, Jacob"; and he said, "Here am I." And He said unto him: "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation.

24. *It is enough for me.* The Ethiopic is here a literal equivalent of the LXX, Gen. xlv. 28, μέγα μοι ἔσται, which is in its turn a literal rendering of לִי רַב. LXX, Syr., Vulg. (sufficit mihi) and Onkelos presuppose the לִי, which however the Mass. and Sam. omit.

XLIV. 1. †Haran†. This seems corrupt for "Hebron." Hebron is pre-

supposed by the statement in ver. 6 and also by Gen. xxxvii. 14.

4. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1. Jacob celebrates the feast of weeks on the 15th of the third month. He has a vision on the next day (see next verse).

(*In the land*). Bracketed as a ditto-graphy.

5-8. Cf. Gen. xlv. 2-6.

6. I shall go down with thee, and I shall bring thee up (again), and in this land wilt thou be buried, and Joseph will put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt." 7. And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. 8. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. 9. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. 10. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. 12. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and

6. *Bring thee up.* Cf. xxvii. 24, xxxii. 23. Here wasada has the very unusual meaning of ἀναβιβάζειν or ἀν-άγειν. Cf. Asc. Isaiah ix. 1. Usually it means "conduct," "lead."

9. Cf. Gen. xlv. 28.

To examine=לְחַוֹּת. So practically Onkelos. Mass. alone has לְחַוֹּת, while Sam., LXX, Syr. =לְחַוֹּת.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlv. 26 and of Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4. On the other hand in Gen. xlv. 15, 18, 21, 25 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlv. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	{	Reuben and 4 sons	5
		Simeon and 6 sons	7
		Levi and 3 sons	4
		Judah, 1 son, 2	
		grandsons	4
		Issachar and 4 sons	5
		Zebulun and 3 sons	4
			29
Zilpah's "	{	Gad and 7 sons	8
		Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	6
			14
Rachel's "	{	Joseph and 2 sons	3
		Benjamin and 10 sons	11
			14
Billah's "	{	Dan and 5 sons	6
		Naphtali and 5 sons	6
			12

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlv. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS give 70 but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. 13. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman—seven. 14. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. 15. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. 16. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. 17. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. 18. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons, whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. 19. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore unto Jacob, Gad and Asher. 20. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri) and Areli, and Arodi—eight. 21. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister—six. 22. All

12. For Pallu, Hezron and Carmi, Eth. has Phállûs, 'Ēsrôm, Karâmî.

13. For Jemuel, etc., Eth. has 'Ījâmû'êl, 'Ījamên, 'Awôt (LXX, Ἀωδ), 'Ījakîm, Sâ'ar (LXX, Σάαρ), Saul.

Zephathite woman. So *b* Sîphnâwât. *a c d* corrupt. Zephathite, as Rönsch p. 499 has recognised, is an adjective formed from Zephath, צפת, a Canaanitish city destroyed by Judah and Simeon: Judg. i. 17. Hence reading of *b* should be restored in my text.

14. For Gershon and Kohath Eth. has Gêdsôn and Qa'âth.

15. For Perez and Zerah Eth. has Phârês and Zârâ.

16. Phâa. So Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Onk. in Gen. xlv. 13 (and also

in 1 Chron. vii. 1, פִּזְיָה, whereas Mass. has פִּזְיָה.

Jâsûb. So Sam. of Gen. xlv. 13, יִשׁוּב, LXX, Ἰασοῦβ. Mass., Vulg., Onk. has יִב.

Shimron. Eth. Sâmarôm.

17. Eth. has Sa'ar, 'Ēlôn, 'Ījâl'êl.

19. *Whom she bore unto Jacob.* So *c d.* *a b* = "who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher."

20. Eth. has Sêphjôn, 'Agâtî, Sûn, 'Asîbôn, 'Arôlî, 'Arêdî.

(*And Eri*). This was originally in the Ethiopic as the number "eight" shows.

21. Eth. has 'Ījômî, Jêsû'a, Barija, Sârâ.

(*And Ishvi*). This was originally in the Eth. as the number "six" shows.

the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. 23. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. 24. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. 25. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. 26. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 27. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 28. And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî, and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. 29. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone. 30. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. 31. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 33. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. 34. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel

25. Eth. has Bâlâ, Bakar, 'Asbîl, Gû'ada, Nê'emên, 'Abdêjô, Râ'ê, San-ânîm, 'Aphîm, Gâ'am. In this list the sixth, eighth and tenth names are corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition.

28. In Gen. xlvî. 23 only one son of Dan is mentioned, though the Mass. reads "sons of Dan." Cf. for similar case Gen. xxxvi. 25. On the other hand Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlvî. 23 states that the sons of Dan were beyond numbering. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* 37)

quotes Baba bathra 143 *b* to the same effect.

Hushim. Eth. has Kûsîm.

30. Eth. has 'Îjâsî'êl, Gâhânî, 'Ësa'ar, Sallûm. Here our text agrees with 1 Chron. vii. 13 rather than with Gen. xlvî. 24 in the case of the names Jahziel and Shallum. Gen. xlvî. 24 has here Jahzeel and Shillem.

And 'Îv. Not in Gen. xlvî. 24.

33. *Before Joseph* (*b c*). *a* gives "before they married"; *d* "who did not marry."

buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh, 8-12. Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron, 13-15. His books given to Levi, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30, xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, l. 13.)

2172 A.M. XLV. And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. 3. And Israel said unto Joseph: "Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob. 4. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses

XLV. 1-4^a. Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30.

4. *It is enough for me.* Here the Ethiopic = μέγα μοι ἐστίν. See note on xliii. 24.

Whilst †I am† yet alive. In Gen. xlv. 30: "that thou art yet alive";

but our text is probably corrupt; for by changing ana into anta it is brought into line with Gen. xlv. 30.

6. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11.

Rameses. Eth. has Râmêsêna = רעמסס.

and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 7. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the seven years of the famine. 8. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. 9. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. 10. For in the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. 11. And this was the first year of the 2178 A.M. fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 12. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt

One hundred and thirty years. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 12.

As much as sufficed them. By reading bakama 'akâlômû instead of bakama ya'aklômû we should get (as in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 12) κατὰ σῶμα αὐτῶν, "according to their persons." The Hebrew is חָפְזָהּ חֵן = "according to their families."

8. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 13, 19, 20.

For Pharaoh. Emended with Latin "Pharaoni" from text of b = "and Pharaoh."

9. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

(The land). Restored from Latin. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

10. *Not.* Restored from Latin.

It bore = farajat, which, since Latin has collegerunt, may be corrupt for 'ararû = "collegerunt" or "harvested."

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

Of the corn of the harvest = 'em'êkl zazar'û. So the text should be translated. Zar'û is not a verb here, but zar'e (which here = seges, γεννήματα) with the suffix, which goes back to medr = "land" in verse 10, just as αὐτῆς after τὰ γεννήματα in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 24 goes back to γῆν in the preceding sentence. But since the Latin has de omnibus quidquid natum est, it is possible that for em'êkl zazar'û we should read 'emkuellû zar'û = "of all the harvest." I hereby withdraw the emendation in my text.

until this day. 13. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died
 2188 A.M. in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee.

14. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in the land. 15. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron. 16. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. Death of Joseph, 3-5.

War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron, 6-11. Egypt oppresses Israel, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. 1. 22, 25-26; Exod. i. 6-14.)

XLVI. And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and
 2242 A.M. multiplied exceedingly, ten weeks of years, all the days

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28.

This date conflicts with that in xix. 13, i.e. 2046, which according to the present passage should be 2041. See also note on xxv. 4.

14. *Told them everything, etc.* Gen. xlix. 1. See xxxii. 21, note.

Blessed them. Cf. Gen. xlix.

Two portions. Gen. xlviii. 22. See notes p. 201.

15. Cf. Gen. 1. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. According to our author these traditions were in the keeping of Levi's descendants. It is reasonable to infer that our author who gave them to the world was a descendant of Levi, and probably a priest.

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

Ten weeks of years. Hence Joseph

of the life of Joseph. 2. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. 3. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. 4. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. 5. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. 6. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for

died seventy years after the arrival of Jacob in Egypt, *i.e.* in 2242. See note on xxviii. 24. Joseph had already been ruling ten years before Jacob's coming (ver. 3).

2. *No Satan*, etc. See xxiii. 29.

3. *Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old.* Cf. Gen. 1. 22, 26; Exod. i. 6.

5-6^a. Cf. Gen. 1. 25.

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the Test. Sim. 8 and Test. Benj. 12 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. 8: *ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσήπτων, τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ*: and Benj. 12: *καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν* (O. Arm. = *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναναῖοι*). If we could trust the date in Test. Gad 8 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών*, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (Test. Gad, 1 (MS O); Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt

(see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. 12 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. 19; Zeb. 10; Dan 7) add that "afterwards" (*ὕστερον*) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: "His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (*κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον*) and buried them in Hebron." St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii. and *Bible Dictionary*, i. 662, 665. But our text,

he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. 7. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph died in the forty-
 2242 A.M. sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. 9. And the king of Egypt went
 2263 A.M. forth to war with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain. 10. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and

which emphasises the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III. when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend, having many details in common with that in Josephus, is given in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate, and still more grotesque, edition is found in the *Book of Jashar* (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-1253). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* comes nearest

to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. 'Êrmôn, *i.e.* Heroônpolis which stood close to the Desert on the canal of Ramses. I cannot identify Mâkamârôn.

8. *All his brethren died after him.* This statement holds even if we accept the birth-dates in our text (see p. 171 note), and the ages assigned to the twelve sons of Jacob by the Test. XII. Patriarchs (see p. 172 note).

9. The date 2263 is not late enough to allow of all the sons of Jacob being dead if we accept the ages assigned to them by the Test. XII. Patriarchs. Thus Benjamin was born in the year 2143 and as he lived 125 years (see note on p. 172) the date of his death would be 2268.

10. According to Beer there is no other mention of this stay of Amram in Canaan. To Josephus (see *Ant.* ii. 8. 2), however, some such legend may have been known.

Amram thy father remained with them. 11. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. 12. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them; and he said unto the people of Egypt: 13. "Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses, and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. 15. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. 16. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 5-9.

Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian), 10-12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-15.)

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh 2303 A.M. year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth 2330 A.M.

Amram, i.e. עֲמְרָם, Eth. 'Abrâm. This last form is found in Philo, *De Cong. Erud. Gratia* 24: also in one of the LXX MSS in Num. xxvi. 59.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10, 11, 14, 12.

13. *Their hearts . . . are towards the land of Canaan.* Rönsch (p. 162) compares for the diction Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. *Strong cities.* This is עָרֵי מְסֻבּוֹת,

usually rendered "treasure" or "store cities," but the LXX renders πόλεις ὀχυρά here and in 2 Chron. viii. 4.

Pithom and Raamses. Eth. Pitô waRamësê. Latin adds "et Oon" probably through influence of LXX of Exod. i. 11.

And all the fortifications. Latin omits.

week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. 2. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. 3. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. 4. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. 5. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. 6. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. 7. And thy sister said unto her: "Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?" And she said (unto her): "Go." 8. And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. 9. And

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. *For seven months.* Cedrenus (i. 85) takes our text as stating that the casting of the children of the Hebrews went on for "ten" months, i.e., until Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses: *ὅτι ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται μόνους δέκα μῆνας ριφῆναι τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἕως οὗ ἀνελήφθη Μωϋσῆς ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης· διὰ τοῦτο δέκα πληγαὶ ἐδόθησαν ἐν δέκα μηνὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τέλος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κατεστράφησαν ὃν τρόπον τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπέπνιγον, χιλιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπονιγόντων ἰσχυρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνθ' ἐνὸς βρέφους Ἰσραηλιτικοῦ.*

5-8. Cf. Exod. ii. 5-9.

5. *Tharmuth.* Syr. This appears in Syr. Frag. as *ܬܪܡܘܬ*; 2, as *Θέρμουθις* in Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5, 7: 10. 2: similarly in Syncellus i. 227: *Θερμουθις ἢ καὶ Φάρη*. This *Φάρη* is identified with Isis; see Tertullian *Ad. Nat.* ii. 8; *Apol.* 16. For other references consult Rönisch, p. 265.

Her maidens. Eth. = "her Hebrew maids," a mistranslation as Dillmann recognised of *ἄβραις*. The plural is also found in the Syr. of Exod. ii. 5, but our Latin version and the Mass., Sam., LXX, and Vulg. = *ἄβραι*.

7. (*Unto her*). Restored from the Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. *Jochebed.* Cf. Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. 10. And thou wast three weeks 2351-2372 A.M. of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. 11. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: "Why dost thou smite thy brother?" 12. And he was angry and indignant, and said: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. The ten plagues, 4-11. Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea, 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15, iv. 19, 24, vii. sqq.)

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week of 2372 A.M. the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell in the land of Midian five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the

9. Cf. Exod. ii. 10.

Daughter. Eth. and Lat. = "house." Here the Greek translator misread בַּת as בֵּית.

Amram. Eth. 'Ėbrân.

Taught thee writing. This is not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 83 (Mangey); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23, 153.

Three weeks. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 6) says that when he was only three years old God gave him *θανμαστόν* . . .

τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας . . . ἀνάστημα. According to the Chron. of Jerahmeel, xliv. 12 and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1265) Moses was only eighteen when he slew the Egyptian.

10-12. Cf. Exod. ii. 11-14.

XLVIII. 1. *In the land of Midian.* Restored from Latin "in terram Med(ian)," and Exod. ii. 15.

One year. Corrupt for three "years."

Return into Egypt. Cf. Exod. iv. 19.

2410 A.M. second year in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. 5. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the

2. We have in this verse another instance (cf. also ver. 17) where our author has followed the example of the Chronicler in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where he assigns to Satan the action that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 is ascribed to Yahweh. The LXX and the Targums replace the divine name by the phrase "an angel of the Lord." We have already called attention to an earlier instance as xvii. 16, where our author has similarly got rid of the offence in the Biblical text. On Mastêmâ see note on x. 8.

On the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. Here the Eth. is hopelessly corrupt. *c* which represents an attempt at emendation="on the feast of tabernacles." *abd* are unintelligible. It is best therefore to follow the Latin: "in via in qua praeteristi eum in refectiōne," and Exod. iv. 24, *ברוך במלון יפגשו*.

3. Our author here quite explains

away the true meaning of the incident in Exod. iv. 24 sqq. This is followed more faithfully by the Ps.-Jon. *in loc.* and the Chron. of Jerah. xlvii. 1, 2 where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son. It is explained, however, that it was owing to Jethro that the child had not been circumcised.

5. We have here an enumeration of the ten plagues of Egypt.

And (by the death) of the first-born. I have supplied the words in brackets. They are wanting both in the Eth. and Lat. The Lat. has simply "primitivorum" and so *ab. cd* have prefixed "and." Hence there was a lacuna here in the Greek version. Only for the concluding words "and burned them with fire" we might connect the clause with the words that follow and merely supply a preposition: "(on) the first-born." But the genitive "primitivorum" is also against this.

Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. 8. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. 9. And the prince of the Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. 10. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. 11. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. 12. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince of the Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt. 13. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his

6. *Declare* = *tenger*, emended from *tegbar* = "shouldst do." The context shows that this is the idea required. In xlix. 22 the same corruption is found in three out of the four MSS.

8. Cf. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ*. So *ab* here and in verses 12 and 15 and in xviii. 9, 12.

11. Cf. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

Was not put to shame because he took courage. The Eth. = "was not put to

shame until he took courage." As this fails to give a good sense, I omitted the negative in my text. Thus we should have: "was put to shame until he took courage." Cf. xviii. 12. I now think that the corruption lies in the "until he took courage" = ער־אשר, where I take ער־אשר to be corrupt for על־אשר = "because." Instead of *hajjala* = "took courage," *a* reads *halaja* = "took thought."

13. I have omitted "between thee and" which *ab* insert before "between

hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the

the Egyptians." *cd* add these words after "between the Egyptians."

14. Another example of the *lex talionis* mentioned in iv. 31 (see note), and enunciated in Wisd. xi. 16: *δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*. See also Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xviii. 11; Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

One thousand . . . men. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 5.

17. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8 for diction. Here again our author attributes to the immediate agency of Mastêmâ the action which Exod. xiv. 8 assigns to Yahweh. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.

18. *The fourteenth.* So we should read with *b*. *ad* = "the seventeenth,"

but *sabû'ē* in *ad* is corrupt for *rabû'ē* in *b*. *c* gives "the fifteenth." Cedrenus (i. 87), who has cited our text but a few sentences before, confirms *b*: *τῇ ιδ' τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐξῆλθον*. This would admit of the Israelites setting out on the 15th of Nisan as in Joseph. (*Ant.* ii. 14. 6; 15. 2), where it states Israel went forth from Egypt on the 15th of Nisan having already received gifts from the Egyptians (ii. 14. 6): so also in Shabb. 87 *b*. Our text then supposes that the Israelites marched from the 15th to the 18th, and that on the 19th Mastema and his powers were let loose. Beer points out that in the Mechilta on Exod. xiv. 3 it is stated that the Egyptians pursued after Israel from the 19th of the first month.

Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-23, 30, 46, xv. 22.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And

XLIX. 1. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

2. *When all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay*, etc. See note on x. 8. According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 29 it was the word (מִסְרָא) of Yahweh which slew the

Egyptians. Here again (cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, 17) our author interprets after his manner the statement in Exod. xii. 29 that "Yahweh smote all the first-born."

3. Cf. Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.

the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will take the guilt upon himself. 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light,

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. *Drinking the wine.* This seems to be the earliest reference to the use of wine at the Passover feast. For later references, see Pesach. x. 2; Baba-bathra 97 b.

7-8. Compare the directions regarding the feast of weeks, vi. 20, 22.

7. *Do not adjourn (it) from day to day (b)* or "do not change a day from

(its) day" (a). The translation is doubtful, and the Latin "praeteribit et erit illud a diebus suis" is corrupt.

9. Cf. Num. ix. 13.

To bring an acceptable offering. According to Pesach. ix. 4 it was the duty of every man within a radius of 15 miles, if not ceremonially impure, to present an offering at this feast.

10. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

and a third part to the evening. 11. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be

12. *Slay it . . . during the period (or "time") bordering on the evening.* According to our text the Passover victim might be slain "during the period bordering on the evening." This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase "between the evenings" (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover "at even, at the going down of the sun." But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—"from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase "between the evenings." The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, *i.e.*, from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, *i.e.*, 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἐνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during "the third part of the day" before sunset; and this harmonises on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jewssupport the usage of the Sadducees in limiting

the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

Eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. *And they shall not cook . . . roast on the fire.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

They shall eat it = jēbl'ēwô, emended with Lat. "comedetis illud" from the unmeaning besûla.

They shall eat it with diligence. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. "With diligence" = σπουδαίως, which in the LXX is a rendering of בְּהִתְפָּחִי. In ver. 23 this Hebrew phrase is rendered more literally.

Its head with the inwards, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

Not break any bone thereof. Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

†*Of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.* The Latin differs and is to be followed: "Non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac." If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of "in die hac" was בעצם היום הזה, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of היום הזה and the change of בעצם into עצם. But the cor-

crushed†. 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed. 15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. 16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of

ruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the "breaking" of a bone, it would most probably have used *sabara* as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses *frangere* and *confringere* respectively. In this clause, therefore, *ʾijēt-qataqat* (= "will not be crushed") is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin "*non erit tribulatio*." This idea, that no evil will befall on the day of the right celebration of the Passover, recurs in ver. 15 in an intensified degree.

15. *Every year, once a year.* Cf. verses 7-8.

No plague will come upon them, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

In every respect according to His command. Latin seems better: "*secundum universa praecepta ejus*."

16. *Before the sanctuary of the Lord.* Cf. ver. 17 and see note on ver. 20.

17. *Your God.* Latin has *Dei nostri*, but the phrase recurs in ver. 22.

From twenty years old, etc. Rabbinic tradition determines fourteen years and upwards as the qualifying age. The determination in our text may be based on such passages as Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32 which prescribe that in numbering the people only the males from twenty years old and upwards should be taken account of. Man was not accountable for the first twenty

their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

years according to some rabbis, and no punishment was to be enacted for them.

20. *Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house*, etc. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." But the Mishna extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. *May not*. Here Eth. and Latin (poterunt)=οὐ δύνησονται, which is a faulty rendering of לא יוכלו, where the phrase denotes moral inability. The text is based on Deut. xvi. 5, where the LXX (οὐ

δυνήσῃ) and the Vulg. (non poteris) render in the same faulty manner לא תוכל.

In any place. Eth. prefixes "and," which I have omitted with the Latin.

Will not go astray from the Lord. Cf. Zeph. i. 6.

22. *Every year*=ʾāmata (c) laʾamatāt (d). So Latin "per singulos . . . annos." *a b*="its year every year."

†*And the day of its days, and†*. Here the Latin "in tempore dierum suorum" is most probably right, and we should render "during its days and during."

(*And*) *that*. "And" supplied from the Latin.

During those. Latin omits "those." Hence it probably represents the Greek article.

23. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6-13.

L. And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai. 2. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3. And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year. 4. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees
2410 A.M. from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit.
2450 A.M. "distant") for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5. And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore.

6. And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—and all the judgments

23. *With haste.* See note on ver. 13. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. For Shur (Eth. Sûr) see Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. *Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.* Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sin[ai] corrupt for Sin.

2. *Jubilee years.* Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, etc.

4. *Year-weeks, i.e., seven years.*

Jubilees. Our author assumes jubilee periods of 49 years each, as R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61 a), whereas the majority of Jewish writers reckoned it at 50 years (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 38).

5. Forecast of the Messianic kingdom. A gradual transformation: cf. i. 29 note; xxiii. 26-28 note.

A Satan or any evil one. See note on xxiii. 29.

of its laws. 7. Six days wilt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. 8. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his) wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared

7. Cf. Exod. xx. 9, 10.

8-12. On the Talmudic laws relating to the Sabbath see Schürer, *History of N.T. Times*, II. ii. 96-105; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 777-787; and the Bible Dictionaries, *in loc.*

8. *The man that does any work on it shall die.* This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.

Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprung probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46*a*, the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38*a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishna on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82*a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should "eat garlic" (*i.e.* cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.*

1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-199 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 sq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (b d). *ac* omit "thereon." This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden "to abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day" and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the "Sabbath limit" (חֹמֶת הַשַּׁבָּת) or simply "limit" (חֹמֶת), or Sabbath-day's journey (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitationes on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's *Lexicons on חֹמֶת*; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, II. ii. 102-103. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν οὐτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὐτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS prefix "and." The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

Whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost,

for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. 9. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival, and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. 10. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. 11. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. 12. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on

Gesch. d. Judenth. ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

Which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against "eating or drinking anything" may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

Takes up any burden to carry it, etc. See note on ii. 29. This is the 39th form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a "burden." Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 782, 784).

9. See note on ii. 29.

10. Cf. ii. 21.

11. Cf. Num. xxviii. 9, 10; Matt. xii. 5.

12. *Goes a journey.* See note on ver. 8.

Tills (his) farm. Ploughing and harvesting are forbidden in Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

Whether in his house or any other place. These words seem to be in their wrong place. They would give good sense if they were read immediately after "every man who does any work thereon."

Lights a fire. Forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Shabb. vii. 2. The man who gathers sticks for this purpose is to be stoned. Num. xv. 32, 33.

the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: 13. The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tables, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

Rides on any beast. This is forbidden in Beza v. 2: also in Sanh. 46 *a*, which states that during the Syro-Grecian domination an offender against this law was arraigned before the judicial court and sentenced to death by stoning: cf. Jebam. 90 *b*.

Strikes or kills anything. Killing any animal is the 26th forbidden Sabbatical offence (Shabb. vii. 2).

Fasts. Israel is to "eat and drink" on the Sabbath (see ver. 9). This law was observed by Judith (Judith viii. 6, a book which in its shorter form probably goes back to the early Maccabean times). The injunction against fasting in our text is not in harmony with the severe ascetic law against the marriage-bed on the Sabbath.

Makes war. This prohibition of all warfare, which is found also in the Mishna, Shabb. vi. 2, 4, was observed literally before and during the outbreak of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. ii. 31-38; 2 Macc. vi. 11; Joseph. *Ant.*

xii. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 1; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xviii. 9. 2 for later occasions). But on the urgent representations of Mattathias this prohibition of warfare, offensive and defensive, was abandoned, and defensive measures were declared legitimate (1 Macc. ii. 41; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2): but offensive warfare was still forbidden (2 Macc. viii. 26). Jonathan's battle against Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 43 sqq.) can be justified from the new standpoint. This emended law was in force when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but as it only allowed of an active resistance against an active assault, it did not permit of the destruction of fortified works raised by the enemy on the Sabbath, and so exposed the Jews to defeat (*op. cit.* xiv. 4. 2). Once during the final war with Rome the Jews broke through this Sabbatical law, and successfully attacked the Romans (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 2).

INDEX I

PASSAGES FROM THE SCRIPTURES AND OTHER ANCIENT BOOKS
DIRECTLY CONNECTED OR CLOSELY PARALLEL WITH THE TEXT ¹

EXODUS	JUBILEES	EXODUS	JUBILEES	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES
i. 5	xliv. 33	xxx. 13	ii. 17	iii. 9, 10	xxi. 8
i. 7	xlvi. 1	xxx. 13, 17	ii. 19	vii. 26	xxi. 6
i. 22	xlvi. 2-4	xxx. 14, 15	ii. 25	xii. 2, 5	iii. 8-14
ii. 2-4	xlvi. 2-4	xxx. 16	ii. 26	xvi. 29, 34,	
ii. 5-9	xlvi. 5-8	xxx. 18	i. 1	15, 16	xxxiv. 18, 19
ii. 8	xlvi. 7	xxxiii. 1, 3	i. 7	xvii. 13	vii. 30
ii. 10	xlvi. 9	xxxiv. 21	l. 12	xvii. 13	xxi. 17
ii. 11-14	xlvi. 10-12	xxxiv. 27	i. 5	xvii. 14	xxi. 18
ii. 15	xlvi. 1	xxxv. 2	l. 8	xviii. 15	xli. 26
iv. 24	xlvi. 2	xxxv. 3	l. 12	xix. 23, 24	vii. 36
vi. 20	xlvi. 8			xix. 23-25	vii. 1
ix. 11	xlvi. 11			xx. 2	xxx. 7
xii. 6	xlvi. 1	NUMBERS	JUBILEES	xx. 2-4	xxx. 14, 15
xii. 9	xlvi. 13	vi. 26	xxii. 28	xx. 12	xli. 26
xii. 11	xlvi. 13	ix. 13	xlvi. 9	xx. 14	xli. 25
xii. 11	xlvi. 23	xiii. 22	xiii. 12	xxi. 7, 14	xxii. 22
xii. 13	xlvi. 15	xv. 32, 33	l. 12	xxi. 9	xx. 4
xii. 46	xlvi. 13	xvi. 22	x. 3	xxi. 9	xli. 17
xiv. 8, 9	xlvi. 12	xviii. 2, 4	xxx. 16	xxiii. 40	xvi. 30
xiv. 8	xlvi. 17	xviii. 26	xxxii. 9	xxiii. 34-36,	
xiv. 19	i. 29	xxvi. 59	xlvi. 8	39-44	xxxii. 4
xvi. 1	l. 1	xxvii. 16	x. 3	xxv. 8	l. 2
xix. 5	xvi. 18	xxviii. 9, 10	l. 11	xxvi. 34, etc.	l. 3
xix. 6	xvi. 18	xxix. 2, 5	vii. 3	xxvi. 40	i. 22
xx. 5	xx. 8	xxix. 12-40	xxxii. 4		
xx. 9, 10	l. 7	xxix. 13	xvi. 22	DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES
xxiii. 25	xx. 9	xxix. 16	xvi. 22	i. 4	xxix. 10
xxiii. 33	i. 9	xxxiv. 4	xxix. 14	iv. 20	xxii. 9
xxiv. 12	i. 1	xxxv. 33	vii. 33	iv. 30, 29	i. 15
xxiv. 15-18	i. 2-4	xxxv. 33	xxi. 19	v. 31, 32	xxiii. 16
xxv. 8	i. 17			vii. 6	ii. 21
xxvii. 21	ii. 33	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES	vii. 6	xvi. 18
xxix. 45	i. 17	ii. 4	xxi. 7	vii. 6	xix. 18
xxx. 7	iv. 25	ii. 13	xxi. 11	vii. 13	xx. 9
xxx. 19-21	xxi. 16	iii. 7-10	xxi. 7	vii. 16	i. 9
xxx. 34	xvi. 24			ix. 26, 29	i. 21

¹ I have not given the passages in Genesis which are reproduced in the text. These are indicated generally in the headings to the chapters and in detail in the notes.

DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES	NEHEMIAH	JUBILEES	DANIEL	JUBILEES
x. 16	i. 23	i. 6	xxii. 29	ix. 18	xxii. 29
x. 17	v. 16	ix. 2	i. 22	x. 13, 20, 21	xv. 31, 32
x. 17	xxi. 4	ix. 7	xxii. 27	xi. 30	xxiii. 16
x. 22	xliv. 12-33	x. 31	l. 8	xii. 1	xv. 31, 32
xiv. 2	xvi. 18	xiii. 16, 17	l. 8		
xiv. 22 sq.	xxxii. 10			HOSEA	JUBILEES
xvi. 5	xliv. 21	PSALMS	JUBILEES	i. 10	i. 25
xvi. 6.	xliv. 12	iv. 6	xxii. 28	iv. 3	xxiii. 18
xlvi. 7	xliv. 20	li. 10	i. 20		
xxii. 23 sqq.	xx. 4	lxxx. 13	xxxvii. 20	AMOS	JUBILEES
xxii. 30	xxxiii. 7	lxxxix. 27	ii. 20	ix. 2-4	xxiv. 31, 32
xxv. 9	xli. 4	xc. 10	xxiii. 12		
xxvi. 14	xxii. 17	xc. 10	xxiii. 15	ZEPHANIAH	JUBILEES
xxvi. 18	xvi. 18	cvi. 28	xxii. 17	i. 3	xxiii. 18
xxvii. 15	xx. 8	cvi. 37	xxii. 17		
xxvii. 24	iv. 5	cxxxix. 8 sqq.	xxiv. 31, 32	ZECHARIAH	JUBILEES
xxviii. 8	xx. 9			viii. 13	i. 16
xxviii. 13	i. 16				
xxviii. 13, 14	xxiii. 16	ISAIAH	JUBILEES	ETHIOPIA ENOCH	JUBILEES
xxix. 28	ii. 27	xli. 8	xix. 9	vi. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 1	i. 6	xli. 8	ii. 20	vii. 1 (Syn-	
xxx. 6	i. 23	xlvi. 7	xii. 5	cellus' Gk.)	vii. 21, 22
xxx. 20	i. 7	lii. 11	xxii. 16	vii. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 6	i. 18	lviii. 13	ii. 29	vii. 5	v. 2, vii. 24
xxx. 20	i. 7	lxv. 15	xx. 6	ix. 1, 9	vii. 23
xxx. 27	i. 7	lxv. 17 sqq.	xxiii. 26-30	x. 4, 12	x. 7
xxx. 27	i. 22			x. 11	iv. 22
xxx. 6	i. 24			xii. 1, 2	iv. 21
xxx. 17	xxii. 17	JEREMIAH	JUBILEES	xii. 3-6 (xiii. 1-2,	
xxx. 8	xxiii. 7	ii. 27	xxii. 18	xiv. 4-7, xv.	
xxx. 9	xxv. 14	vi. 23	xxiii. 23	2 sqq.)	vii. 22
		vi. 25	xxii. 8	xv. 3-4	vii. 22
JOSHUA	JUBILEES	viii. 2	xxiii. 23	xxiii.-xxxvi.	
xxiii. 13	i. 9	x. 3, 9	xii. 5	(implied by)	vii. 21 ¹
		x. 5	xii. 5	liv. 7, 8	ii. 4
1 KINGS	JUBILEES	xiv. 22	xii. 4	lx. 12-21	ii. 2
viii. 29, 52	xxii. 29	xvii. 21, 22,		lxxii.-lxxxii.	
viii. 53	ii. 19	24, 27	ii. 29	(implied by)	iv. 17
xii. 15	xii. 19	xvii. 22	ii. 30	lxxiv. 12	vi. 32
xxi. 20	vii. 23	xxvi. 16	xxxiii. 13	lxxiv. 13-16	
		xxix. 13, 14 ^a	i. 15	(implied by)	vi. 36
2 CHRONICLES	JUBILEES	xxix. 14	i. 15	lxxv. 1, 2	
vi. 38	i. 23	xxix. 18	xx. 6	(lxxxii. 11)	vi. 23
xx. 7	xix. 9	xxxii. 41	i. 16	lxxxiii.-xc.	
xxiv. 19	i. 12	li. 39, 57	xxiii. 1	(implied by)	iv. 19
xxviii. 3	i. 11			lxxxv. 3	iv. 20
xxix. 21	xvi. 23	EZEKIEL	JUBILEES	lxxxix. 7, 8	vi. 26
xxxiii. 6	i. 11	xx. 12	ii. 19	lxxxix.-xc.	
				(implied by)	xv. 31, 32

Wherever there has been a relation of dependence in the preceding list of passages, the dependence has been on the side of Jubilees. When such a relation exists in the list that follows, Jubilees is to be regarded as the original.

¹ See note on iv. 17-23 of the Translation.

ETHIOPIA Enoch¹ JUBILEES

iii.	xxi. 12, 13
v. 9	xxxiii. 29
xxxix. 2	xxxvi. 10
lxx. 1-3	iv. 23
xc. 4	xxii. 16
xc. 16	i. 29
xciii. 2, 5, 10	xvi. 26
xcv. 3	xxxii. 18
xevi. 1	xxxii. 18
xcviii. 11	vii. 28, 29
xcix. 7	xii. 2
ci. 2	xii. 4
ciii. 7, 8,	vii. 29, xxii.
	22
ciii. 11	i. 16
civ. 6	xxii. 16

WISDOM² JUBILEES

ii. 13 (v. 5,	
xii. 7, etc.)	xxi. iv.
xi. 16	iv. 31
xviii. 5	xlvi. 14

4 EZRA² JUBILEES

xiv. 4-6	i. 26 (see note)
----------	------------------

MATTHEW JUBILEES

ix. 11	xxii. 16
xii. 5	i. 11
xviii. 10	xxxv. 17
xxiii. 34	i. 12

MARK JUBILEES

ii. 16	xxii. 16
*iii. 22	x. 8

LUKE JUBILEES

*xi. 49	i. 12
---------	-------

JOHN JUBILEES

*xiv. 26	xxxii. 25
----------	-----------

ACTS JUBILEES

*vii. 15, 16	xlvi. 9
*vii. 23	xlvi. 10-12
vii. 53	i. 27

ROMANS JUBILEES

*iv. 15	xxxiii. 15, 16
---------	----------------

1 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

x. 20	xxii. 17
-------	----------

2 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

*v. 17	v. 12
vi. 18	i. 24

GALATIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 15	*xxiii. 23
*iii. 17	xv. 4 sqq.
*v. 12	xv. 27

2 THESSALONIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 3	x. 3
--------	------

2 PETER JUBILEES

*ii. 5	vii. 20-39
*iii. 8	iv. 30
*iii. 13	i. 29

REVELATION JUBILEES

*i. 6	xvi. 18
*iv. 5	ii. 2
*v. 10	xvi. 18

¹ On the following list of passages from this work, see Introduction, § 19.

² See Introduction, § 22.

* Passages so asterisked are dealt with in the Introduction, § 23.

INDEX II

NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Abel, iv. 1
 Abimelech, xxiv. 13, 17, 26
 Abraham. *See* Abram
 'Abrâm, father-in-law of Terah, xi. 14
 Abram, birth of, xi. 15
 late legend of his being cast into a
 fiery furnace, xii. 1-14 note
 observes the sky, xii. 16-17
 called Abraham, xv. 7
 his ten trials, xvii. 17 note
 death of, xxiii. 1
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Abysses, the, ii. 2, 16; v. 29
 'Adâ, wife of Reuben, xxxiv. 20
 Adam, creation of, ii. 14
 brought into Eden forty days after
 his creation, iii. 9
 names the animals, iii. 1-3
 death of, iv. 29
 Life of, pp. xix-xx
 Adam's Daughters, Book of, pp. xviii-
 93
 Adam = Admah, xiii. 23
 Adam and Eve, Book of, pp. 28, 34, 88,
 93
 'Adâtânêsês, vii. 15, 17
 'Adibâ'a, wife of Simeon, xxxiv. 20
 'Adôrân, xxxviii. 3
 'Adûram, friend of Esau, xxxvii. 9
 'Adûrâm—a place, xxxviii. 8, 9
 Adurin, p. xxxi
 'Afêrâg, viii. 27
 'Afrâ, viii. 15
 Africanus, Julius, p. 34
 Ahuzzath, xxiv. 26
 Ai, xiii. 5
 Akrabbim, xxix. 14
 'Amânâ, viii. 21; ix. 4
 Ammonites, xxix. 10; xxxvii. 6, 10;
 xxxviii. 6
 Amorites, xiv. 18; (destroyed in lifetime
 of the author?) xxix. 9-11
 war of, against Jacob and his sons,
 pp. lvi, lxii; xxxiv. 1-9
 Amram, father of Moses, xlvi. 10
 Amraphel, xiii. 22
 Anastasius Sinaita, pp. 18, 23
 Aner, xiii. 29
 Angelology of Jubilees, pp. lvi sqq.
 and of the New Testament, p.
 lxxxvi
 Angels created on the first day, ii. 2
 note
 created on the second day according
 to later tradition, ii. 2-3 note
 of the presence, i. 27, 29 note; ii.
 1, 2 note, 18; xv. 27; xxxi. 14
 of sanctification, ii. 2, 18; xv. 27;
 xxxi. 14
 over natural phenomena—winds,
 clouds, fire, etc., ii. 2
 two chief orders of, created circum-
 cised, xv. 27 note
 descend in days of Jared to instruct
 mankind, iv. 15 note
 marry the daughters of men, v. 1 note;
 vii. 21; a myth rejected by later
 Jewish and Christian tradition, pp.
 33-35, 43 notes
 their punishment and that of their
 children, v. 6-11; vii. 25
 guardians of individuals, p. lxxxvi;
 xxxv. 17
 Antiochus Epiphanes, pp. lx, lxi, lxiii
 Apocalypse of the last things, xxiii. 11-
 31
 Apocalyptic tradition written down by
 Moses, i. 26 note
 'Arâ (corrupt for Ur, xi. 7), city of, xi. 3
 Arabs, xx. 13

- Aram, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 5
 land of, xxxvii. 6, 9
 Ararat, v. 28 ; viii. 21 ; ix. 5 ; x. 15
 Ard, xlv. 25
 Arelî, xlv. 20
 'Arêsa, corrupt for Hazor, xxxiv. 4, 7
 Arioch, xiii. 22
 Ark, building of the, v. 21-22
 Arodi, xlv. 20
 Arpachshad, vii. 18 ; viii. 1
 Asenath, xxxiv. 20 ; xl. 10 ; xlv. 24
 Ashbel, xlv. 25
 Asher, xxviii. 21
 Ashtaroth, xxix. 10
 Asshur, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 3, 6
 land of (= Assyria), viii. 21 ; ix. 3, 5
 'Asûdî, xlv. 28
 Atonement, Day of, p. xlii ; v. 17-18 ;
 xxxiv. 18-19
 'Âwân, wife of Cain, iv. 1, 9
 'Âzriâl, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 'Azûrâ, wife of Seth, iv. 8, 11
 wife of Eber, viii. 7
- Babel, tower of, x. 19-26
 Bâbêl, viii. 21
 Babylon, xx. 12
 Bacon, pp. xxv, 56-57
 Baldensperger, p. xxv
 Bâraka, wife of Jared, iv. 16
 Barâkî'êl, brother of Kenan, iv. 15
 Baraki'il, brother of Methuselah, iv. 28
 Barhebraeus, pp. lxxxiii, 88, 94
 Barth, pp. 19, 25
 Bashan, viii. 21
 Bealoth, xiii. 10
 Becher, xlv. 25
 Bêdsû'êl, wife of Judah, xli. 7
 Beer, pp. xxiii, 3, 55, 65, 68, 89, 91,
 101, 118, 121, 127, etc.
 Beersheba (*see* Well of the Oath), xvii.
 9 ; xviii. 17 ; xxii. 2
 Bela, xlv. 25
 Beliar, sons of, xv. 33 note
 spirit of, i. 20
 Benjamin, xxxii. 3, 33
 Beon, xxix. 10
 Beriah, xlv. 21
 Bêtasû'êl, wife of Judah, xxxiv. 20
 Bêtênôs, wife of Lamech, iv. 28
 Bethel, xiii. 5 ; xxvii. 19, 26
 Bêthôrôn, xxxiv. 4
 Bethshan, xxix. 14
 Bethuel, xix. 10 ; xxvii. 10, 12
 Billah, sister of Zilpah, xxviii. 9
 Reuben sins with, xxxiii. 1-9
 Blood, eating of, forbidden, vii. 28, 29 ;
 xxi. 6, 18
 Bohn, p. xxvi
- Book of Life, xxx. 22 ; xxxvi. 10
 those who will be destroyed, xxx.
 22
 Bousset, pp. lxii, 146, 201, 215
 Burial of patriarchs in Canaan, xlv. 9
- Cain, iv. 1
 death of, iv. 31
 Calendar, p. lxvi
 Canaan, vii. 10-13 ; ix. 1 ; xxii. 21
 seizes Palestine, x. 29-34
 Canaanites, xiv. 18 ; xxx. 25
 Canaanitish wives of Joseph, Judah,
 Simeon, xl. 10 ; xxxiv. 20
 Caphtorim, xxiv. 30
 Carmi, xlv. 12
 Carpenter, pp. xlvii, liii
 Catena on Pentateuch quoted, p. xviii
 Cedrenus, pp. xvi, xvii, lxxix, 11, 28,
 35, 37, 41, 66, 67, 80, 86-88, 93,
 94, 96, 116, 191, 248, 252
 Ceriani, pp. xv, xxix
 Cettin, p. xxxi
 Chaldees, land of, ix. 4, 5
 Charles, pp. xx, xxi, xxvi, xxviii, xxix
 Chasids, rise of, xxiii. 16
 Chedorlaomer, xiii. 22
 Chrysostom quoted, p. 34
 Circumcision, an everlasting ordinance,
 p. 1 ; xv. 14 note, 25 ; xx. 3
 observed in the creation of the two
 highest orders of angels, pp. 1, lx ;
 xv. 27
 on the eighth day, xv. 14, 25
 neglected by Israel, xv. 33-34
 Clementine *Recognitions*, pp. lxxx, 84,
 96
 Covenant with Noah, vi. 17-18
 with Abram, xiv. 20
 Cush, vii. 13 ; ix. 1
 Creation, the new, i. 29 note ; iv. 26
 note ; xxiii. 26-30 ; l. 5
 twenty-two works of, ii. 1-16
 Creator of all things, xvii. 3 ; xxii. 4,
 27 ; xlv. 5
- Dan, xiii. 23 ; xxviii. 18 ; xlv. 27, 28
 Dânel, iv. 20
 Deane, p. xxv
 Deborah, xxxii. 30
 Dêdân, waters of, ix. 2
 Demonology of Jubilees, p. lviii
 and of the New Testament, pp. lxxxvi
 sq.
 Demons, sons of the Watchers, vii. 22
 note ; vii. 27
 tempt Noah's sons, x. 1-2 notes ; x.
 5, 8 note ; xii. 20

- one-tenth of the, left subject to Mas-têmâ, x. 9
 nine-tenths to be bound in place of temporal punishment, x. 9
 to be punished finally with Satan, x. 8
 worshipped, xxii. 17
 Didymus of Alexandria, p. lxxvii
 Dillmann, pp. xx, xxi, xxiii, 118, 193
 Dinah, daughter of Jacob, xxviii. 23 ; xxx. 1-3 ; xxxiv. 15 ; xlv. 18
 Dînâh, wife of Mahalalel, iv. 15
 Diodorus of Antioch, pp. lxxx, 85, 96
 Dislocations of text, pp. xlii, 45, 218
 Dittographies, pp. xli-xlii
 Dothan, xxix. 14 ; xxxiv. 10
 Driver, p. 140
 Drummond, p. xxv
 Earth divided, viii. 8
 Eating with Gentiles forbidden, xxii. 16
 Eber, viii. 7
 Eden, Garden of. *See* Garden land of, viii. 16, 21
 Edersheim, p. 260
 'Ednâ, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 wife of Terah, xi. 14
 'Ednî, wife of Enoch, iv. 20
 Edom, p. lvi ; xxiv. 6 ; xxxvi. 19 ; xxxviii. 8
 kings of, xxxviii. 16-23
 made tributary to Israel, p. lxii ; xxxviii. 10-14
 Edrei, xxix. 10
 'Eglâ, wife of Dan, xxxiv. 20
 Ehi, xlv. 25
 'Êl 'Êl, xl. 7
 'Êlâ, mountains of, ix. 2
 Elam, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 2
 land of, viii. 21 ; xiii. 22
 'Êlêw, city of=Heliopolis, xxxiv. 11
 Eliezer, xiv. 2
 'Eljô, vii. 22
 Elon, xlv. 17
 'Ëmazârâ, wife of Noah, iv. 33
Encyclopaedia Biblica, pp. 167, 176, 204, 245
 Enoch, son of Cain, iv. 9
 son of Jared, iv. 16-26 ; xix. 24, 27 ; first to learn writing, iv. 17 ; the scribe of judgment in the Garden of Eden, iv. 23-24 ; x. 17
 son of Reuben, xxxviii. 8 ; xlv. 12
 Ethiopic Book of, pp. 13, 36, 37, 53, 62-64, 102, 134, 146, 150, 212, 213
 Slavonic Book of, pp. 13-15, 25, 37, 39, 41
 Enos, son of Seth, iv. 11 ; xix. 24
 Ephraim, xlv. 24
 Ephrath, xxxii. 34
 Ephron, the Hittite, xxxvi. 2
 Epiphanius, pp. xv, xvi, xl, lxxvii, lxxviii, 11-16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 70, 73-74, 75, 77, 84, 86, 91
 Eppstein, pp. xvi, xxv, lxxvi, 11, 53, 55
 Er, xli. 1
 Eri, xlv. 20
 'Ërmôn=Heroopolis, xlvi. 6
 Esau (*see* Edom), p. lvi ; xv. 30 ; xix. 13 ; xxix. 13
 sells his birthright, xxiv. 2-7
 breaks with Jacob, xxxvii. 20-23
 slain by Jacob, xxxviii. 2
 Eschol, xlii. 29
 Euphrates, ix. 5 ; xiv. 18
 Eutychius, pp. lxxxii, 28, 35, 83, 89
 Eve created on the 6th day of the second week, iii. 5-6
 brought into Eden 80 days after her creation, iii. 9
 Exposure of the person condemned, p. lx ; iii. 31 ; vii. 20
 Ezbon, xlv. 20
 Ezra, Fourth, pp. 1, lxxv, 7, 14
 Fabricius, pp. xviii, xxii, 121, 171, 194
 Fârâ (=Africa?), viii. 27
 Feast of tabernacles instituted by Abraham, xvi. 20-31
 celebrated by Jacob, xxxii. 4-9
 Feast of weeks celebrated in heaven and first revealed to Noah, vi. 17-18
 note ; xv. 1 note ; xxii. 1-5
 rules as to its observance, vi. 20-22
 commemorates giving of Law on Sinai, vi. 17-18 note
 its designation "Pentecost" unknown to the author, vi. 17 note
 Feasts on the new moons, vi. 23-29
 Filistin, p. xxxi
 Flood, the, v. 23-32
 Floodgates, the, v. 24
 Fornication, punishment for, xx. 4 ; xxv. 7 ; xxxix. 6
 Four sacred places, iv. 26
 Frankel, pp. xxiv, 30, 42, 107, 259
 Friend of God, xix. 9 ; xxx. 20, 21
 Fruit trees, law as to, vii. 36
 Gâ'as (=Gaash), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Gad, xxviii. 20 ; xlv. 19, 20
 Gâdîr (=Cadiz), viii. 23, 26 ; ix. 12
 Garden of Eden, ii. 7 note ; iv. 26 ; viii. 16, 19, 23
 Gaster, pp. 200, 203, 204, 214

- Gelasius, Decree of, pp. xviii, lxxviii
 Genesis, the Little, pp. xv-xvi
 Gentiles denounced, pp. lv, lvi
Geoponica, the, quoted, p. 134
 Gera, xlv. 25
 Gerar, mountains of, xvi. 10; xxiv. 12, 19
 Gershon, xlv. 14
 Giants, the, vii. 22
 Gihon, the, viii. 15, 22
 Gilead, xxix. 4, 5, 9
 Ginsburg, p. xxiv
 Girgashites, the, xiv. 18
 Glycas, pp. xvi, lxxx, 23, 25, 26, 35, 37, 84, 85, 164
 God dwells with man in the Messianic times, i. 26 note, 27
 the Father of the children of Jacob, i. 24, 28 note
 of all, xxii. 10, 27; xxx. 19; xxxi. 13, 32
 Gog, land of, viii. 25
 Gomer, vii. 19; ix. 8
 Gomorrha, xiii. 22; xvi. 5; xx. 6
 Goshen, xlv. 9; xlv. 1, 2
 Great Sea, the, ix. 6
 Guni, xlv. 30

 Hagar, xiv. 22; xvii. 2; xix. 11
 Haggada, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxiv sq.
 Haggi, xlv. 20
 Halacha, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxv sq.
 Ham, iv. 33; vii. 8, 13; xxii. 21
 portion of, viii. 22-24
 Hamath, x. 33; xiii. 2
 Hamor, xxx. 2
 Haran, brother of Abram, xii. 10, 14
 land of, xiii. 1; xxvii. 3, 19; xxxv. 10, 12
 Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, pp. 107, 188
 Hazor (*see* 'Arêsa), p. lxiii; xxxiv. 4, 7
 Headlam, p. xxvi
 Heap of Witness, xxix. 8
 Heavenly tables, iii. 10 note
 Hebraisms in Ethiopic text, p. xxxii sq.
 Hebrew, the original language of men and animals, iii. 28 note
 forgotten from overthrow of Babel till Abram's time, xii. 25-26 note
 Hebron, xiii. 10, 21; xix. 1; xxxvi. 20
 Heliopolis, xl. 10
 Hellenism, p. 1
 Hermon, xxix. 10
 Hesiod quoted, p. 149
 Heth, children of, xix. 4, 5
 Hêzaqâ, wife of Issachar, xxxiv. 20

 Hezron, xlv. 12
 Hilgenfeld, pp. xxv, lxxv
 Hippolytus, p. lxxx
 Hivites, xiv. 18
 Horites, xxxvii. 10; xxxviii. 8
 Huppim, xlv. 25
 Hushim, xlv. 28
 Hyrcanus, J., pp. lvi, lix, lxii, lxiv, lxxxviii

 Idolatry, rise of, xi. 4
 Abram dissuades Terah against, xii. 1-8
 forbidden, xx. 7-9; xxi. 3-5
 'Îjâka, xlv. 28
 'Îjasaka, wife of Benjamin, xxxiv. 20
 'Îjâskâ, xi. 9
 'Îjônâ, wife of Asher, xxxiv. 20
 Immortality of the soul, pp. xii, lxxxix; xxiii. 31
 Imnah, xlv. 21
 Incest, laws regarding, xxxiii. 10-20; xli. 25-26
 India, viii. 21; ix. 2, 3
 Intercalary days, p. lxviii; vi. 23 note
 Inter-marriage with Canaan forbidden, pp. liii, lxi; xx. 4; xxii. 20; xxv. 1, 5
 with Gentiles = giving to Moloch, xxx. 7-17
 Isaac, xv. 21; xvi. 13
 sacrifice of, xviii. 1-13
 blesses Levi, xxxi. 4-17
 blesses Judah, xxxi. 18-22
 death of, xxxvi. 18
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Ishbak, xix. 12
 Ishmael, xiv. 24; xv. 18, 20, 23, 30; xvii. 2, 4; xx. 1, 11
 Ishmaelites, xx. 13
 Ishvah, xlv. 21
 Ishvi, xlv. 21
 Isidore of Pelusium, p. lxxxii
 of Seville, pp. lxxx, 18
 Israel, apostasy of, i. 5-9; xv. 33-34; xxiii. 14, 17-19
 captivity of, i. 10
 God's inheritance, xxii. 9, 10, 15
 God's portion, xv. 31 note; xvi. 18 note
 to be separate from the Gentiles, p. lv
 glorification of, pp. liv sq.
 Issachar, xxviii. 22
 'Îv, xlv. 30

 Jabbok, xxix. 13, 14
 Jachin, xlv. 13
 Jacob, birth of, xix. 13
 twenty-second from Adam, ii. 23 note

- called Israel, xxxii. 17
 twelve sons of, xxxiii. 22
 sees the future on the heavenly tables,
 xxxii. 21-26
 gives his books to Levi, xlv. 16
 dies, xlv. 14
 glorification of, in Jubilees, pp. liii,
 liv-
 Jahleel, xlv. 17
 Jahziel, xlv. 30
 Jalkut Shimeoni, pp. xliii, 200, 201,
 203, 214, 217, 220, 221
 Jamin, xlv. 13
 Jannaeus, A., p. lix
 Japheth, iv. 33; vii. 9, 12, 15; ix. 7
 portion of, viii. 25-29^a
 Jared, iv. 15
 Jashar, Book of, pp. xlv, lxxvi, 32,
 33, 40, 43, 67, 89, 126, 171, 179,
 196, 197, 201-204, 206, 214
 Jâsûb, xlv. 16
 Javan, vii. 19; ix. 10
 Jebusites, xiv. 18
 Jellinek, pp. xx, xxiii, xlv, 201, 202,
 214, 215, 217
 Jemuel, xlv. 13
 Jerahmeel, Chronicles of (translated by
 Gaster), pp. lxxv, lxxvi, 12, 28,
 32, 36, 69, 70, 73, 77, 82, 89,
 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 214, 215,
 220, 246
 Jerome, pp. xvi, 15, 34, 52, 83, 88, 91,
 93, 126, 174
 Jerusalem, i. 28, 29
 Jezer, xlv. 30
 Jochebed, xlvii. 8
 Joel, Greek chronographer, pp. lxxxii.
 37, 67
 Jokshan, xix. 12
 Jordan, the, xxix. 14
 Joseph, xxviii. 24
 carried down into Egypt, xxxiv. 11-21
 dies, xlv. 3
 Josephus, pp. xxxix, lix, 8, 26, 27, 44,
 65, 66, 69, 106, 113, 187, 191, 195,
 211, 245, 246, 249, 255, 257, 259,
 261
 Jubilee period = 49 years, pp. xv, lxxvii
 = 50 years, pp. xv, lxxviii
 laws regarding, l. 1-5
 Jubilees, Book of, its various titles—
 Jubilees, or the Book of Jubilees,
 p. xv; Little Genesis, pp. xv, xvi;
 Apocalypse of Moses, p. xvii; Tes-
 tament of Moses, pp. xvii-xviii; Book
 of Adam's Daughters, pp. xviii-xix;
 Life of Adam, pp. xix, xx
 written originally in Hebrew, pp.
 xxxi-xxxiii
 textual affinities of, p. xxxiii sqq.
 versions of, pp. xxvi-xxix
 Greek version of, pp. xxvi, xxvii
 Ethiopic version of, pp. xxvii, xxviii
 Latin version of, pp. xxviii, xxix
 Syriac version of, p. xxx
 Ethiopic and Latin, from the Greek,
 pp. xxx, xxxi
 Ethiopic MSS of, p. xx; editions of,
 pp. xx, xxi; translations of, pp.
 xxi, xxii
 poetical element in, pp. xlii sq.
 from one author but based on earlier
 books and traditions, pp. xlv sqq.
 a product of the Midrashic tendency,
 pp. xlvii sqq.
 an esoteric tradition according to its
 author, pp. l, li
 written by Moses at the dictation of
 an angel according to its author,
 i. 26 note; xxiii. 32
 omissions in, of narratives in Genesis,
 pp. xlviii sqq.
 alterations in, of such narratives, pp.
 xlix, liv
 explanations in, pp. liii, liv notes
 object of,—the defence of Judaism,
 pp. li sqq.; and exposition of pre-
 Mosaic elements of the law, pp. li
 sqq.
 glorifies the patriarchs and Israel,
 pp. liii sqq.
 date of, pp. lviii-lxvi
 makes use of Eth. Enoch vi.-xxxvi.,
 lxxii.-xc., pp. lxviii sq.
 makes use of Book of Noah, pp. lxxi
 sq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.,
 pp. lxix sqq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?),
 p. lxxi
 made use of by Wisdom, pp. lxxiv sq.
 made use of by 4 Ezra, p. lxxv
 relation of, to Test. XII. Patriarchs,
 p. lxxii
 author of, a Pharisee and a Priest (?),
 p. lxxiii
 author of, an upholder of the Mac-
 cabean dynasty, p. lxxiii
 in Jewish literature, pp. lxxiv sqq.
 in Christian non-canonical literature,
 pp. lxxvii-lxxxiii
 influence of, on the New Testament,
 pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi
 Judah, tribe of, carried into captivity,
 i. 13
 restored from the captivity, i. 15-16
 Judah born, xxviii. 15
 Judas Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxvii

- Judgment, final, of the fallen angels and their sons, v. 10, 11
 of mankind (?) and Satan precedes the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 11
 at close of Messianic kingdom, pp. lxxxvii sq.; xxxiii. 30 note
 Judith quoted, pp. 179, 205
 Justin Martyr quoted, pp. 33, 41, 50, 101, 109
- Kâbêr, brother of Reu, xi. 7
 Kabrâtân, xxxii. 32
 Kadesh, xvi. 10
 Kadmonites, xiv. 18
 Kaftûr, viii. 21
 Kâinâm, viii. 1-4
 Kamâtûrî, ix. 13
 Kârâsô (= Chersonese or Rhinocorura), viii. 13
 Karnaim, xxix. 10
 Kenan, iv. 13
 Kenites, xiv. 18
 Kenizzites, xiv. 18
 Kêsed, brother of Arpachshad, viii. 6
 grandfather of 'Ôrâ, the wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Keturah, xix. 11; xx. 1, 11, 12
 Kirjath Arba, xix. 1
 Kittim = Macedonians, pp. lxiii; xxiv. 28, 29
 = Hittites (?), xxxvii. 10
 Kohath, xlv. 14
 Krüger, p. xxiv
- Laban, xix. 10; xxvii. 3, 10; xxviii. 1
 Lacunae, pp. xxxix sqq.; ii. 22; iii. 23; vii. 37; xiii. 25
 Lambros' Catalogue of Greek MSS on Mt. Athos, p. xl
 Lamech, iv. 27
 Land to lie fallow every seventh year, vii. 37
 Langen, p. xxiv
 Law, the, of everlasting validity, pp. xiii, 1, lii sq.
 given through angels, i. 27 note
 transmitted through the patriarchs, vii. 38
 Leah, xxviii. 3
 death of, xxxvi. 21
 Lebanon, viii. 21; ix. 4; xii. 15
 Legendary matter in Jubilees, pp. xlv sqq.
 Levi, birth of, xxviii. 14
 ordained to the priesthood for the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 17-23
 ordained to the priesthood because he was the tenth son, xxxii. 2, 3 note
 pre-eminence of, over Judah, p. lxii; xxxi. 14-17
 Levitical elements in Enoch, vii. 37, 38; xxi. 10 notes
 Lidzbarski, p. xix
 Littmann referred to, pp. xxii, xxvi, xxxi; 5, 19, 25, 44, 70, 98, 135, 169, 210
 Lômnâ, wife of Peleg, x. 18
 Lot, xii. 30; xiii. 1; xvi. 7
 Lûbâr, v. 28; vii. 1
 Lud, vii. 18; ix. 6, 10, 11
 Luz, xxvii. 19, 26
- Ma'anisâkir (corrupt for Shakir of Mahanaim), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Maccabean victories, scenes of, alluded to, pp. lvi, lxii, lxiii; xxiii. 21-22
 Maccabees, First, referred to, pp. lxxxviii, 147, 148, 204
 Second, referred to, p. 42
 Madai, vii. 19; viii. 5; ix. 9
 obtains Media, x. 35-36
 Ma'êdâi (= Media), viii. 21
 Magdalâdrâ'êf, xxxiii. 1
 Magog, vii. 19; ix. 8
 Mahalalel, iv. 14, 15; xix. 24
 Mahalath, xxix. 18
 Mâka, wife of Gad, xxxiv. 20
 Mâkamârôn, xlv. 6
 Malala, John, pp. 34, 37, 41, 66, 67
 Mamre (a person), xiii. 29
 (a place), xiv. 10; xvi. 1
 Manasseh, xlv. 24
 Marriage with sisters ceases in Mahalalel's time, iv. 15 note
 Mastêmâ, pp. xxxi, xlix, lviii, lxxxvi; x, 8 note; xi. 5, 11; xix. 28
 = Satan, x. 8, 11
 prince or chief, xvii. 16; xlviii. 2
 prince of the, xviii. 9, 12; xlviii. 9, 12, 15
 Mâ'ûk, sea of, viii. 22, 26
 Mê'at (= Maedis), viii. 12, 27; ix. 8
 Mebri, mountains of, ix. 2
 Medan, xix. 12
 Melchizedek, pp. xlviii, lxxxviii; xiii. 25 note
 Mêlkâ, wife of Levi, xxxiv. 20
 wife of Kâinâm, viii. 5
 wife of Nahor, xix. 10
 wife of Serug, xi. 7
 Merari, xlv. 14
 Meshech, vii. 19; ix. 12
 Mesopotamia, ix. 5; xxvii. 10, 12, 13; xxix. 18
 Messiah from Judah, p. lxxxvii; xxxi. 18 note

- Messianic kingdom, gradual development of the, pp. lxiii, lxxxvii; i. 29 note; v. 12; xxiii. 26-30 notes
 righteous do not rise to share in the, xxiii, 30, 31
 woes, xxiii. 9, 11-15, 17-19, 22-25
 Methuselah, iv. 27
 Midian, xix. 12
 Midrash Bereshith rabba, pp. 12, 25, 33, 41, 49, 61, 89, 94, 96, 109, 127, 157, 162, 165, 169, 179, 206, 230
 Shem. rabba quoted, pp. 3, 183
 Wajjisau, pp. xlv, 200, 201, 202, 203
 Tadshe quoted, pp. xl, lxxvi, 11, 18, 24, 171
 Mishna, pp. 20, 46, 53, 106, 109, 135, 141, 181, 193, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261
 Mîsûr, xxix. 10
 Mizraim, vii. 13; ix. 1
 Moab, xxxvii. 6, 10; xxxviii. 6
 Moloch, xxx. 10
 Moon, polemic against calculations by the, vi. 36
 Moses born, xlvii. 1
 twenty-one years at court of Pharaoh, xlvii. 10
 thirty-six years in Midian, xlviii. 1
 Assumption of, pp. xv, xviii
 Most High, the, p. lxvi; xxxvi. 16 note
 Mount of the East, iv. 26
 MS Coislinianus, p. 11
 r in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 33, 40, 42, 67
 z in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 48, 49
 Mû'ak, wife of Shelah, viii. 6
 Mûalêlêth, wife of Kenan, iv. 14
 Muppm, xlv. 25
 Naaman, xlv. 25
 Nahor, father of Terah, xi. 8
 son of Terah, xii. 11
 Nâphîl, vii. 22
 Naphtali, xxviii. 19; xlv. 30
 Navel of the earth, viii. 19
 Nebaioth, xvii. 14
 Nêbrôd, viii. 7
 Nê'êlâtâmâ'ûk, vii. 14, 17
 Nêstâg, xi. 9
 Nicephorus, Catena of, pp. xviii, lxxviii, 37, 82, 85, 96
 Catalogue of, p. xvii.
 Nicolaus of Damascus, p. 47
 Ni'imân, wife of Zabulon, xxxiv. 20
 Nineveh, ix. 3
 Noah, iv. 28; xix. 24, 27; xxii. 13
 ordinances of, vii. 20-39
 ancient Book of, pp. lxxi sq.
 Hebrew Book of, pp. xlv; 47, 61, 62, 78, 79, 81
 saga of, earlier than that of Enoch, p. lxxii
 Noam, wife of Enos, iv. 13
 Ohad, xlv. 13
 Onan, xlv. 4, 5
 Onkelos, pp. 32, 33, 60, 106, 116, 126, 227
 'Ôrâ, wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Origen, pp. lxxx, 108, 194, 227
 Pallu, xlv. 12
 Paran, wilderness of, xvii. 12; xx. 12
 Paronomasiae, p. xxxiii; iv. 9, 15, 28; viii. 5, 8; x. 18, 26; xi. 6, 12
 Passover, the laws regulating the observance of the, p. 49
 Peleg, viii. 8; x. 18
 Pentateuch, the book of the first Law written by an angel, p. 1; i. 27; vi. 22; xxx. 12, 21
 Pentecost, p. lxvi; vi. 17 note
 Perez, xli. 21; xlv. 15
 Perizzites, xiv. 18; xxx. 25
 Phakorites, xiv. 18
 Pharaoh, contemporary of Abram xiii. 13
 contemporary of Joseph, xl. 1, 3, 5, etc.
 contemporary of Moses, xlvii. 2
 Pharnâk, ix. 2
 Phicol, xxiv. 26
 Philip, Acts of, p. 80
 Philistia, xxxvii. 6, 10
 Philistines, pp. lvi, lxiii; xxiv. 14, 15, etc.
 Philo quoted, pp. 8, 11, 28, 44, 106, 179
 Philo, Pseudo-, *Antiquitatum bibl. Liber*, pp. 32, 205
 Phûa, xlv. 16
 Pithom, xlv. 14
 Plagues, the ten, xlviii. 5-11
 Plant, the, of uprightness, i. 16; xvi. 26 note; xxi. 24; xxxvi. 6
 Plough, the invention of the, xi. 23-24
 Poetical element in Jubilees, pp. xlii sqq.
 Potiphar, chief of the cooks, xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 2
 Priest of the Most High God, p. lix; xxxii. 1

Purification, laws of, iii. 10-12

Put, vii. 13; ix. 1

Qafrâtêf, xxxiv. 15

Qêlt (= Celts) viii. 26

Raamses, xlv. 6; xlv. 14

Rachel, xxviii. 1, 9; xxxii. 34

Râfâ (= Rhipaeen Mountains), viii. 12, 16

Râkê'êl, brother of Lamech, iv. 33

Râsû'êjâ, wife of Arpachshad, viii. 1

Râsûjâl, iv. 16

Rasû'û, wife of Naphtali, xxxiv. 20

Ravens put to flight by Abram, xi. 18-22

Rebecca, xix. 10, 13, 16; xxxv. 27

Red Sea, the, viii. 21; ix. 2, 4

Rephaim, the, xiv. 18; xxix. 9

Resurrection, no, of the body, xxiii. 30

Retaliation, law of literal, iv. 31 note; xlviii. 14 note

Reu, x. 18

Reuben, xxviii. 11

sin of, with Bilhah, xxxiii. 1-9

Rôbêl (corrupt for Arbael), xxxiv. 8

Rönsch, pp. xvii, xix, xxiv, xxviii, xxxi, lxxvii, 33, 39, 80, 83, 96, 121, 170, 171, 177, 192, 195

Rosh, xlv. 25

Rubin, p. xxiv

Rufinus quoted, p. 12

Ryle, p. xxxix

Sabbath, the, to be kept by the highest angels and Israel, p. 1; ii. 17-21 notes; ii. 31 note

not for the inferior angels, nor for the Gentiles, ii. 2 note; ii. 31 note
first celebrated by Jacob, ii. 23 note; ii. 31 note

laws for the observance of the, pp. lx, lxi; ii. 25-30; l. 6-13

various interpretations of the term, in relation to the feast of weeks, xv. 1 note

Sack, p. xxv

Sacrifices to the dead, xxii. 17

to demons, i. 11 note; xxii. 17 note

Sallâm, xlv. 30

Salômôn, xlv. 28

Salt Sea, xiii. 22

Salt to be used in sacrifices, xxi. 11

Samaritan Chronicle, pp. lxxvi sq., 40, 47, 58

Sâmôn, xlv. 28

Sanîr (= Biblical Senir), viii. 21; ix. 4

Sarai, xii. 9

called Sarah, xv. 15

death of, xix. 2, 7

Satan, x. 11

to be punished finally, x. 8

confined at different periods, xxiii. 29; xl. 9; xlv. 2; l. 5

Sayce, p. 48

Schatzhöhle, die, pp. 28, 29, 34

Schodde, p. xxi

Schürer, pp. xxv, lxxx, lxxxviii, 147, 259

Sêdêqêtlêbâb, vii. 16, 17

Seder Olam rabba, p. 103

Seir, xxix. 13, 18

Sêllâsar, xiii. 22

Sêlô (= Shiloh), xxxiv. 4, 7

Sêphântiphâns, xl. 10

Sêrâgân (= Sartan), xxxiv. 4, 7

Serah, xlv. 21

Sered, xlv. 17

Sêrôh, xi. 1, 6

Serug, xi. 6

Seth, iv. 17; xix. 24

saga, pp. lxxii, 33-36

later glorification of, in Jewish and Christian writings, pp. 34, 35 notes

Severus of Antioch, pp. xv, lxxviii

Shaul, xlv. 13

Shechem, city of, xiii. i

destroyed by Levi and Simeon, xxx. 4-6

taken from the Amorites by Jacob and his sons, xxxiv. 2-8 note

Shechem, son of Hamor, xxx. 2

Shelah, son of Arpachshad, viii. 5, 6

son of Judah, xli. 6, 7

Shem, iv. 33; vii. 9, 11, 12, 16; xix. 24, 27

lot of, viii. 12-21

Sheol, a place of punishment but not of fire, vii. 29; xxii. 22; xxiv. 31

Shimron, xlv. 16

Shinar, land of, ix. 3; x. 18, 19, 20; xiii. 22

Shua, xix. 12

Shuni, xlv. 20

Shur, xvi. 10

Siddim, xiii. 22

Simeon, xxviii. 13; xxx. 4; xxxiv. 20 21; xlv. 13

Simon Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxviii

Sinâ'ar, father-in-law of Peleg, x. 18

Sinai, i. 2, 5; viii. 19

Singer, pp. xxvi, 7, 63, 93, 96, 101, 109, 113, 117, 134, 144, 165, 166, 169, 181, 227

Sinker, p. xxiv

Sirach quoted, p. 117

- Six days of creation, ii. 1-14
 Söderblom quoted, p. 9
 Sodom, xiii. 17, 22; xvi. 5; xx. 5, 6; xxii. 22
 Son of God, the individual Israelite a, i. 24 note; i. 25, 28; xix. 29
 Spirit, a holy, i. 21, 23
 of righteousness (or truth), xxv. 14 note
 Suidas, pp. lxxxii, 91
 Sun, the, to regulate the year, ii. 9 note; vi. 36-38 notes
 Syncellus, pp. xvi, xvii, xix, lxxviii, lxxix, 11, 14, 18, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 59, 62, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 157, 164, 171, 186, 191, 192, 208
 Syriac Fragment, the, pp. 30, 60, 61, 66, 67, 86, 87, 206

 Tables, two, of stone, i. 1
 Talmud, pp. lix, lxi, lxxxviii, 3, 12, 23, 27, 28, 32, 42, 61, 89, 96, 101, 102, 118, 120, 121, 128, 144, 181, 191, 195, 197, 206, 220, 223, 252, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261
 Tamar, xli. 1, 6, 8, 16, 19
 Tamnâtârês (=Timnath-heres), xxxiv. 8
 Tanais (=Zaan), xiii. 12
 Tâphû, xxxiv. 4
 Targum, Ps. Jonathan, pp. 2, 22, 26, 32, 33, 103, 116, 201
 Taylor quoted, p. 7, 125
 Temple, the second, i. 17
 Terah, xi. 10
 Tergal, xiii. 22
 Tertullian quoted, p. 101
 Testaments of XII. Patriarchs, pp. xlv, xlv, 8, 9, 24, 132, 134, 170, 171, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 206, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 245, 246
 Tharmuth, xlvii. 5
 Third month, i. 1 note
 Thomson, p. xxv
 Thousand years=one day, iv. 30 note
 years of life for the righteous, xxiii. 27 (iv. 30; xxiii. 15)
 Tigris, ix. 2, 5
 Timnah, xli. 8, 9
 Tinâ (=Tanais=Don), viii. 12, 16, 25, 28; ix. 2, 8
 Tiras, vii. 19; ix. 13
 Tithes, xiii. 25, 26; xxxii. 2, 8, 9, 10-15 double, xxxii. 9-11
 Tobit quoted, p. 166
 Tola, xlv. 16
 Tower of Abraham, xxix. 16, 19
 Treuenfels, p. xxii.
 Tubal, vii. 19; ix. 11
 Twenty-two—a significant number, pp. xxxix-xl; ii. 23 note

 'Ūr, father-in-law of Reu, xi. 1
 Ur, city of, xi. 3, 7, 8; xii. 14, 15

 War forbidden on the Sabbath, l. 12
 Washings obligatory in connection with sacrifices, xxi. 16
 Watchers, the. *See* Angels
 Well of the Oath (*see* Beersheba), xvi. 11, 15; xviii. 17; xxii. 1; xxiv. 21, 26; xxvii. 19; xxix. 17; xlv. 1
 Vision, xxiv. 1
 Wine to be drunk at the Passover, xlix. 6, 9
 Wisdom, Book of, pp. 126, 252
 makes use of Jubilees, pp. lxxiv, sq.
 Woods to be used in sacrificing, xxi. 12-14

 Year, the=364 days, vi. 29-38 notes
 Years, civil and ecclesiastical, implied (?) in Jubilees, p. lxxviii; vi. 29-30 note
 430, from birth of Isaac to The Exodus, xiv. 13 note

 Zabulon, xxviii. 23
 Zeboim, xiii. 23; xvi. 5
 Zephathite, xlv. 13
 Zerah, xli. 21; xlv. 15
 Zilpah, sister of Bilhah, xxviii. 3, 9; xlv. 19
 Zimram, xix. 12
 Zion, i. 28, 29; viii. 19
 Ziphion, xlv. 20
 Zonaras quoted, pp. xvi, lxxix, 35

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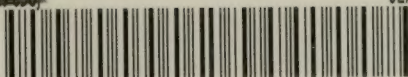
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1888

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

ONE of the most marked features of theological research in our day and decade is the intense interest which characterizes the work in biblical theology, technically so called, and in this department no auxiliary branch has been more productive of good results than has been that discipline called History of New Testament Times, or the study of the times of Christ as to their religious, moral, and social features. The aim of such study is to reproduce, as far as possible, the exact picture of Christ's earthly career in the midst of all the agencies which influenced him and upon which he exerted his influence; in other words, to understand Christ's words and works with their true historical background and surroundings. It is a line of investigation that has produced, indirectly, such masterpieces as Weber's *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie* (Leipzig, 1880), and, directly, such as Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, as also the two *Neu-Testamentliche Zeitgeschichten*, of Schürer and Hausrath, as well as many other works, smaller in dimensions and more closely circumscribed in scope, while the spirit and method of this research is felt in every fibre of the leading exegetical and historical works on biblical subjects. The object of all this study is to produce an accurate and truly historical picture of Christ and Christianity.

In the pursuit of this aim the Book of Jubilees has a not unimportant mission. This importance lies in the fact that it, if carefully studied, will furnish valuable contributions toward the understanding of that problem which lies back and behind all the work and teachings of both

Christ and his disciples, as also of the writings of the latter, namely, the doctrines, beliefs, and spirit of New Testament Judaism. Christ came unto his own, and his own received him not (John i. 11), because Israel had departed from the revelations of God. Instead of a justification by faith, as is taught throughout the whole Old Testament, the cotemporaries of our Lord taught a justification by the law, a legal righteousness. The central principle of Jewish orthodoxy was the nomistic principle, that obedience to the law in all its real and imagined ramifications must be the basis of acceptance before God. Thus there was an impassable gulf fixed between the theological system of the Jews and that of Christ and his disciples. The latter was a further development from Old Testament premises; the former was a radical departure from all pre-Christian revelation. This woful heterodoxy, which constituted the backbone and marrow of the accepted theology of the day, meets Christ and his disciples wherever they work or speak, and has been an all-powerful factor in moulding the shape and form which the New Testament revelation and development has assumed. We need in this connection to cite as examples only the Pauline doctrine of the law, in which he antagonizes, not the law as such, but only the false stand-point of the Jews in regard to the law, and his outspoken and decided championship of the doctrine of justification by faith alone over against a justification by works, suggested, beyond all doubt, by the fundamental error of the Jewish system of his day.

In the study of these problems the book before us finds its mission. The editor of the Ethiopic text and German translator, Professor Dillmann, has proved to the satisfaction of scholars in general, that the book is a production of the first Christian century. In Ewald's *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* for 1850 and 1851, he has published a German translation of the book from a single and defective manuscript, and added a short discussion of the

contents. There (pp. 90-4) he shows that the book presupposes and cites those parts of the Book of Enoch which date up to about the birth of Christ, while it, in turn, has been used and quoted by the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a work similar in spirit and a product of the early part of the second century. This will decide the end of the first century after Christ as the date for the composition of the Book of Jubilees. By Christian authors the work is not quoted until later. Epiphanius, Jerome, and Rufinus are the first to mention it, while Syncellus, Cedrinus, and other Byzantine writers quote from it at length. These citations are collected in Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1722, vol. i. pp. 849-64. But the testimony of the *Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum* is decisive as to the *terminus ad quem*. Rönsch, who has made a most exhaustive study of the book, confidently claims that it was written before the destruction of the temple, pointing to the words in c. 1, 23; 49, 27, and similar passages, which could not have been written after that event. Cf. also Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 146, and Schürer, l. c. 463.

As the book is undoubtedly the work of a Palestinian Jew and written in Hebrew (although the Ethiopic is translated from the Greek—cf. Dillmann, l. c. p. 88 ff.), it can be fairly considered as an outgrowth of that school and spirit of Judaism which we in the New Testament find arrayed in opposition to Christianity and its work. The book can best be described by calling it a haggadic commentary on certain portions of Genesis and the opening chapters of Exodus, and it is thus the oldest of all the Midrashim, and a representative example of the manner in which the learned contemporaries of Christ made use of the biblical books for their own peculiar purpose and object. It is a sample of an exegetical Targum of those days in the spirit of New Testament Judaism. Just to what particular school of Jewish thought it owes its origin would be difficult to decide. Since the publica-

tion of the German translation, a number of Jewish scholars, such as Jellenek (*Beth-ha-Midrash*, 1855, p. x. ff.), Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856), Frankel (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1856), and earlier, Treuenfels (*Literaturblatt des Orients*, p. 1846), have discussed the problem, one advocating a Samaritan origin, another an Essene, another claiming that it arose in the Egyptian Diaspora, but all agreeing as to its thoroughly Jewish origin and, in general, its representative character, while Rönsch even thinks that he detects an anti-Christian tendency (*Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder die kleine Genesis*, pp. 518–20).

What time and source would indicate is amply verified by an examination of the contents. This, of course, can not be the place, nor is it our object, to analyze critically the contents of the book, but by pointing to a few prominent features it will be readily seen how thoroughly the book harmonizes with the leading thoughts of Jewish orthodoxy in Christ's day. The centre of that orthodoxy was the law and its paraphernalia, and all means, lawful and unlawful, were put into requisition to exalt the importance of that law and to increase its authority. The eternity and pre-existence of this law, its festivals and its ceremonies, are accepted beliefs of later Judaism (cf. Weber, l. c. § 4 ff.). To the service of this dogma the writer of the Book of Jubilees has lent his pen. He again and again maintains the thesis that the law existed from eternity, although revealed in full only through Moses; that even in heaven, before the creation, the angels observed the festivals, services, and ceremonies of this law; that throughout their lives the patriarchs all strictly carried out its behests. All these things were written on the "tablets of heaven," and were gradually introduced among the pious fathers as occasion offered an opportunity, and the teachings concerning them were laid down in writing at the very beginning, which books of mystery were handed down from father to son in theo-

cratic succession. This is the leading thought of the whole work, and, in some form or other, is found in nearly every chapter. It is a remarkable example of how willing the Jews in Christ's day were to employ a most remarkable exegesis in order to make the records of revelation accord with their false view of its legal features.

Besides this leading characteristic of the work, there are many others of less importance that are interesting and instructive, and that cast a discerning light on the Jewish world of thought at the New Testament era. Outwardly the leading feature is the chronological system of the book, namely, its division of all ancient history of the Israelites according to the sacred periods of jubilees of forty-nine years, which fact gives it one of its Greek names, *Τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα* (Epiphanius, *adv. Her.*, i, 3, 6), the other being *ἡ λεπτή γένεσις*, *λεπτογένεσις*, or *μικρογένεσις*, so called, not because it is shorter than the canonical Genesis, but because it had less authority. The time between the creation and the entrance of Israel into Canaan is counted as fifty jubilees, or 2,450 years, which in general agrees with the biblical records. In the details of this chronological arrangement there are occasionally slight variations from the Hebrew text, and in these instances there is often a surprising agreement with the Septuagint and the Samaritan versions. Dillmann is probably correct (p. 77) in ascribing these variations from the Hebrew, not to the author, but to the translator, accommodating the numbers to the Septuagint text recognized among the Greeks.

It is remarkable how the writer bridges over all the difficulties of the canonical Genesis. The speaking of the serpent in Paradise is explained by the fact that before the fall all animals could speak; he knows the names of all the wives of the patriarchs, also the day and month when their children were born; he shows how Genesis ii. 17 was literally fulfilled, since before the Lord a thousand years are as one day, and Adam died before he was a thousand years old; a parallel exegesis to this is found in

Justin Martyr c. Tryphone 81. He narrates with whose assistance Noah brought the animals into the ark; how the Hamitic tribes of Palestine unlawfully took possession of Shem's portion; that Rebecca loved Jacob more than Esau because Abraham had told her that the younger son would be the theocratic successor; also why it was that Amnon refused to take Tamar to wife; how Moses was preserved in the bulrushes, etc., and many other biblical narratives are explained and complemented in various manners, usually in an apologetical spirit.

The book is also full of stories and fables concerning the fathers in Israel, some of these being found also in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and other earlier and later works, but many not preserved elsewhere. In this connection we mention the names of the wives of the patriarchs and of the sons of Jacob; the name of the land to which Adam was driven after the expulsion from Eden; the number of the sons of Adam; the four sacred mountains of the earth; the name of the mountain of the Ararat chain where the ark rested; the extensive account of the fall of the angels in the days of Jared, together with the dire consequences of their sins with the daughters of men, which story forms the burden of the earliest portions of the book; the story of the books of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and others; the early days of Abraham, his piety, and fight against the idolatry of his father's house; the ten temptations of Abraham, and many similar stories concerning Jacob and his relations to Esau, and concerning the sons of Jacob and their history. The angelology and demonology of the book are carried out quite extensively, and in the main thoughts agree with the ideas found in other apocalyptic works. The patriarchs are all models of virtue, and especially prominent through their observance of the Levitical ordinances and ceremonies. The rest of the work is in harmony with these statements. Both through what it states and what it omits, the work is instructive in teaching what was the *Zeitgeist* among the Jews in those memorable days.

But, of course, the full contribution of the Book of Jubilees to the New Testament can only be secured through a careful and patient study of every chapter and verse. In order to enable scholars who are not acquainted with the Ethiopic to do this work, the present translation is here offered. It has been made directly from the best Ethiopic text accessible, and with the best aids at the translator's command. As has been stated above, the German translation by Dillmann is from a single defective and poor manuscript. Nine years after its publication, in 1859, Dillmann, the prince of Ethiopic scholars in our century, issued a critical edition* of the Ethiopic text on the basis of two manuscripts, entitled, *Liber Jubilacorum Qui idem a Gracis Ἡ λεπτὴ γένεσις inscribitur, versione Gracca deperdita, nunc nonnisi in Geez lingua conservatus, nuper ex Abyssinia in Europam allatus, Aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dr. August Dillmann*. He had hoped himself to make a new translation of the book from this improved text (cf. Praefatio p. x.), but has never been able to do so. In Rönsch's edition, however, of a Latin fragment of the book found in 1861 by Ceriani, and embracing about one-third of the book, he has given a Latin translation from the Ethiopic of those sections corresponding to the Ceriani fragment. The need of a new translation has frequently been urged (cf., e. g., Drummond, l. c., p. 144). As there is no such version in any modern language, the present translator has attempted to do this, leaving to others to investigate the book in its whole length, depth, and breadth. In order to facilitate the study of the book, the translator has not only adopted the division of Dillmann into chapters, but has also divided these again into verses. The lack of this latter feature in Dillmann makes the use of his version very difficult. The fullest discussion of the book is that of Rönsch, besides whose work those mentioned in this introductory note may be consulted. The English reader will find valuable aid in Drummond, pp. 143-147.



THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

These are the words of the division¹ of days, according to the law and testimony,² according to the events of the years, according to their sevens, according to their Jubilees, to all the years of the world, according to the word of the Lord on Mount Sinai to Moses, when he ascended to receive the stone tablets of the law and the commandments by the voice of the Lord when he said to him: "Ascend to the top of the mountain!"³

CHAP. I. And it happened in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the 3rd month, on the 16th of this month, and the Lord spoke to Moses saying: "Ascend to me here on the mountain, and I will give to thee the two stone tablets of the law and the commandments; as I have written them, thou shalt make them known." 2. And Moses ascended the mountain of the Lord, and the glory of the Lord dwelt on the mountain of Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And the Lord called to Moses on the seventh day in the

¹ Kûfâlê, i. e., division, or rather, "Book of Division," is the name by which this book is known among the Abyssinians. As such it is cited, e. g., in the Apostolic Canons, 55. In Fell's edition, c. 56, we read of "three books of the Kûfâlê." The name is derived from the fact that the author divides the history he records according to the chronological system of jubilee periods.

² Both words used in the original for law and testimony are frequently employed for "covenant," διαθήκη. The two together evidently express the covenant relation between Israel and Jehovah.

³ In claiming divine and Sinaitic authority for the production before us, the author does nothing more than what is claimed for the whole of the oral traditions of the Jews. Cf. especially the opening sentences of the *Pirke Aboth* in the Mishna. The apocalypses of the same period also claim inspiration, prominently the book of Enoch. Such a *pia fraus* was manifestly not considered a moral wrong.

midst of the cloud; and he saw the glory of the Lord like a flaming fire on the top of the mountain.¹ 4. And Moses was there on the mountain forty days and forty nights, and the Lord instructed him in regard to what was past and what would be, the words of the division of days, both in the law and the testimony. 5. And ~~he~~ said to him: "Incline thy heart to every word which I shall speak to thee, and write them into a book, in order that their generations may see how I have left them on account of all the evil which they do, in rebelling and in deserting the covenant which I established between me and thee this day on Mount Sinai for their generations. 6. And it will be and these words shall declare it thus when all the punishments shall come over them, and they will know that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and their desires, and they will know that I was with them. 7. And thou, write for thyself all these words which I make known to thee this day (for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck²) before I shall lead them into the land which I have sworn to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying, "To your seed I will give this land, which flows with milk and honey; and they shall eat and be satisfied. 8. And they will turn themselves to false gods, who did not deliver them from all their oppression; and this testimony will be heard against them for a testimony. 9. For they will forget all my ordinances which I have commanded them, and will walk after the Gentiles and after their impurity and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will become for them an offence unto oppression and misfortune and for a trap. 10. And many will be destroyed and will be taken captive and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have deserted my ordinances and my com-

¹ Cf. Ex. xxiv. 15-17.

² Deut. xxxi. 27. Here, and indeed throughout the opening chapters of the book, there is a marked similarity between the author's ideas and that of the book of Deuteronomy.

mands and the festivals of my covenant, and my sabbaths and that which I have sanctified to myself in their midst, and my tabernacle and my sanctuary which I have sanctified to myself in the midst of the land that I should set my name over it and it should dwell there. 11. And they will make to themselves altars on heights and groves and sculptured idols, and each one will worship his own idol for sin, and they will offer their children to the demons and to all the deeds of the error of their hearts. 12. And I will send witnesses to them that I may testify over them, but they will not hear and will slay my witnesses, and they will cast out those who seek the law, and will abolish the whole [law], and will begin to do evil before my eyes. 13. And I will hide my face from them and I will deliver them over to the gentiles for captivity and for binding and for devouring and for expelling them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them in the midst of the gentiles. 14. And they will forget all my law and all my commandments and all my judgment, and they will err in reference to new moons and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees and ordinances. 15. And then they will turn themselves to me from the midst of the gentiles with all their hearts and all their soul and all their power, and I shall gather them from amongst all the gentiles, and they will seek me that I may be found for them when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, and I will open to them much peace and righteousness. 16. And I will transplant them as a plant of righteousness, with all my heart and with all my soul, and they will be to me for a blessing and not for a curse, a head and not a tail; and I will build up my sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be to them their God, and they shall be to me my people, in truth and in righteousness, and I will not desert them and will not deny them, for I am the Lord their God." 17. And Moses fell down upon his face, and he prayed and said: "My Lord and my God, do not for-

sake thy people and thy inheritance to wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the gentiles, that these may not rule over them, and that they do not make them to sin against thee. 18. O Lord, let thy mercy be raised over thy people, and create for them a righteous mind, and let not the spirit of Beliar¹ rule over them to accuse them before thee, to entrap them away from the path of righteousness, that they be destroyed from before thy face. 19. But they are thy people and thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered from the hands of the Egyptians with thy great power; and create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be entrapped in their sins from now on and to eternity!" 20. And the Lord said to Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiff neck, and they will not obey until they learn their sins and the sins of their fathers. And after this they will turn to me in all righteousness and with their whole heart and with their whole soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their hearts and the foreskin of the hearts of their seed, and I will create for them a holy spirit, and will cleanse them so that they do not turn away from me from this day to eternity. 21. And their souls will cling to me and to all my commandments, and my commandments shall return to them, and I will be to them a father, and they shall be to me children. And they shall all be called the children of the living God, and will know all things of the spirit and all things of service, and it will be known that they are my children and that I am their father in righteousness and in truth, and that I love them. 22. And thou, write down for thyself all these words which I have this day make known to thee on this mountain, the first and the last and what is future, according to all the division of days in the law and in the testimony, and according

¹ Beliar, *βελιαρ*, cf. 2 Cor. vi. 15, a name of Satan frequently found in apocalyptic and early ecclesiastical literature.

to the weeks¹ of the jubilees to eternity, until I descend and dwell with them in all eternity."

23. And he said to the angel of the face:² "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation until my sanctuary shall have been established in their midst for all eternity, and the Lord will have appeared to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all of the children of Jacob and King on Mount Zion from eternity to eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy."

24. And the angel of the face, who went before the tents of Israel, took the tablets of the division of years from the time of the creation, the law and the testimony for the weeks and the jubilees, each year according to all its numbers and the jubilees according to years from the day of the new creation, when heaven and earth were created new, and also all creation according to the powers of heaven and all the creation of the earth, until then when the sanctuary of the Lord will be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries will be renewed for a healing and for peace and for a blessing for all the chosen of Israel, that it may be thus from this day on and to all the days of the world!

CHAP. II. And the angel of the face spoke to Moses by the command of the Lord, saying: "Write all the words

¹ The word "weeks" is used throughout the work in the sense of week of years, i. e., forty-nine years, or one jubilee period.

² The biblical מלאך הפנים, the favorite angels of apocalyptic writers, whose mission is the mediatorship between God and man. Later writers resort to this means of communication between divinity and humanity all the more in order to preserve the former from all contact with the latter, and thus preserve the holiness of God. The idea is born from the same spirit that induced the Septuagint translators to smooth over the anthropomorphism and anthropopathies of the Hebrew text, and helped much to the development of Philo's *logos* idea and allegorical method of interpretation, as also to the popularity of the *Memre* mediatorship in God's dealings with men and the world so generally prevalent in the Targumim. Cf. Zech. i. 9, and similar passages, and also Weber, *System der altsynag. palest. Theologie*, passim.

of creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all the works which he created, and rested on the seventh day and sanctified it for all the years and established it as a sign for all his works." For on the first day he created the heavens above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits that serve before him, and the angels of the face and the angels that cry "holy," and the angels of the spirit of fire,¹ and the angels of the spirit of wind, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds of darkness and of hail and of hoarfrost, and the angels of the abysses and of thunder and of lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, of winter and of spring and of fall and of summer and of all the spirits of the multitude of works which are in the heavens and on the earth and in all the depths, and of darkness and of light and of dawn and of eve which he has prepared in the knowledge of his heart. 2. And at that time we saw his work and praised him and lauded before him on account of all his work, for seven great things did he make on the first day.² 3. And on the second day he made a firmament between the waters, and the waters divided on this day, and half of it ascended upward, and half of it descended beneath the firmament over the face of the earth. And this work alone was made on the second day. 4. And on the third day he did as he said to the waters that they should cross from the face of the whole earth to one place, and that dry land should appear. 5. And he made the waters thus as he said to them, and they gathered from over the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 6. And on that day he created for it

¹ The idea underlying this and similar expressions found so frequently in the Jewish apocalypses is that all objects in nature which can be agencies for good or for evil are under the management of particular angels who direct their use according to the will of the Lord. Especially is this the case in the Noachic fragments of Enoch. Cf. the translator's version of that book (Andover, 1882), chap. 60 sqq. and notes.

² I. e., heaven, earth, water, serving spirits, angels of the face, angels of praise, and angels of the elements. Cf. also verse 17 of this chapter.

[the water] the abysses of the seas, according to their separate gathering places, and all the rivers and the gathering places of the waters in the hills and in all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown according to its kind, and every thing that is eaten, and the trees which bear fruit, and the wild trees, and the garden of Eden for pleasure; and all these four¹ great creations he made on the third day. 7. And on the fourth day he made the sun and moon and stars and placed them in the firmament of heaven that they should shine over the earth and to rule over day and night and to divide between night and day and between darkness and light. 8. And God established the sun as a great sign over the earth and for days and for sabbaths and for months and for festivals and for years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 9. And he shall divide between light and darkness and for prosperity that all things that sprout and grow on earth may prosper. 10. These three kinds God made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day he created the great animals in the abysses of the seas (for these were the first things of flesh created by his hands), and every thing that moves in the waters, and the fishes and every thing that flies, the birds and their whole kind. 12. And the sun arose over them to prosper them, and over all that was on the earth, every thing that sprouts out of the earth and all the trees that bear fruit and all flesh: these three kinds he made on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day he made all the animals of the earth and all the beasts and every thing that moves over the earth. 14. And after all this he made mankind, a single one; male and female he created them, and made him ruler over all things upon the earth and in the seas and over that which flies and over all the animals and beasts and over every thing that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth;

¹ I. e., the terra firma, the gathering places for the water, the plants, and Eden.

and over all this he made him ruler. 15. And these four kinds he made on the sixth day. And there were altogether twenty-two kinds.¹ 16. And he completed all his work on the sixth day,² all that is in the heavens and on the earth and in the seas and in the abyſſes, in the light and in the darkness and in every thing; and he gave us [the angels] a great sign, the day of sabbaths, that we should do work six days, and should rest on the sabbath from all work. 17. And all the angels of the face and all the angels that cry "holy," to us, these two great kinds, he said that we should observe the sabbath with him in heaven and on earth.³ 18. And he said to us: "Behold, I shall separate for myself a people from among all the nations, and these shall celebrate the sabbath, and I shall sanctify them unto myself as a nation, and I will sanctify them unto myself as a people, and will bless them, as I have sanctified the day of sabbaths, and I will sanctify them unto me and thus I will bless them; and they shall be to me my people, but I will be to them a God. 19. And I chose the seed of Jacob from among all that I have seen and have written him down as a first born son, and I have sanctified him unto myself forever and ever; and the day of the sabbaths I will teach them, that they observe sabbath on it from all work." 20. And he made therein a sign that they too should observe the sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink and to bless him who has created all things, as he blessed and sanctified unto himself a

¹ I. e., seven kinds on the first day, one on the second, four on the third, three on the fourth, three on the fifth, and four on the sixth day.

² The writer follows the Septuagint with its ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑκτῇ in Gen. ii. 2. It will be remembered that the Hebrew text here has בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי.

³ Not only the pre-existence of great persons, such as the Messiah, but of sacred objects and ceremonies is a favorite idea of apocalyptic writers. According to the book of Jubilees, the Israelite economy was but a reflex and reproduction of an eternal and more perfect *hierarchia caelestis* among the angels around the throne of grace. Cf. especially the translator's introduction to Enoch p. 48 sq. In *Assumptio Moſis* i. 17 we have the same view we find expressed here concerning the observance of the sabbath in heaven, cf. also verse 27 of this chapter.

people which shall appear from amongst the nations and that they should observe the sabbath together with us. And he caused that before him his commands should ascend like a sweet savor which should be acceptable before him all the days of the twenty-two heads of men from Adam to Jacob. And twenty-two kinds of works were made until this seventh day;¹ this thing is blessed and holy, and the former too is blessed and holy: and this one with that one serves for a sanctification and blessing. 21. And to this one [Jacob and his seed] was given that they should be for all days the blessed and holy ones of the testimony and the first law, just as he had blessed and sanctified the seventh day on the seventh day. 22. He created heaven and earth and every thing that he created in six days, and the Lord established a holy festival day for all his creation; and therefore he commanded on its account that he who does any work on it shall die, and whoever defiles it shall surely die. 23. And thou, command the children of Israel, and they shall observe this day, so that they keep it holy and do not work on it any work, and do not defile it; for it is holier than all the days. 24. All who profane this day shall surely die, and all who do any work on it shall surely die forever; so that the children of Israel observe this day in their generations and be not rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 25. And every man who observes it and keeps the sabbath on it away from all his work, will be blessed and holy for all his days like unto me. 26. And announce and say to the children of Israel the law of this day, and that they shall observe the sabbath on it, and do not desert it in the error of their hearts, and that they be not engaged in doing any thing on it which should not be done, and that they do not prepare on it any thing that

¹ In connection with this observe, that as there had been twenty-two different works of creation before the sanctification of the sabbath by the angels (cf. v. 15 sqq.) thus too there should be twenty-two generations of people before in Israel a nation should arise that would establish the sanctification of the sabbath on earth.

is eaten or drunk, nor draw water, nor on it carry in or bring out of their gates any thing that is carried, which they have not prepared for themselves as a work on the six days in their houses. 27. And they shall not carry out or bring in on that day from one house to another, for this is a holy and blessed day over all the days of jubilees; on it we observed the sabbath in heaven, before it was known to any mortal to observe the sabbath on it on the earth. 28. And the Creator of all blessed it; but he did not sanctify all nations and peoples to observe the sabbath on it, only Israel alone: to them alone he granted to eat and to drink and to observe sabbath on it on the earth. 29. And the Creator of all blessed it, who had created this day for a blessing and a sanctification and for glory above all the days. 30. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law forever to their generations.

CHAP. III. 1. And in the sixth day of the second sabbath we brought, by the command of the Lord, to Adam all the animals and all the beasts and all the birds and every thing that moves on the earth and every thing that moves in the water, each according to their kind, and each according to their similarity: on the first day the animals; the beasts on the second day; the birds on the third day; every thing that moves on the earth the fourth day; whatever moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam gave unto each its name; and as he called them, this was their name. And on these five days Adam saw this: a male and a female in each kind that is on the earth, but that he was alone and could not find a companion who could be an aid to such as he. 3. And God said to me: ¹ "It is not good that man should be alone: let us make for him a helpmeet like unto him." 4. And the Lord our God caused a stupor to fall upon him and he slept, and he took for a wife one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was made into a woman from amongst his ribs, and he built

¹ I. e., to the angel who is narrating these matters to Moses.

flesh there in its place, and built a woman. 5. And he awakened Adam out of his sleep, and awakening he arose on the sixth day and came to her and knew her and said unto her: 'This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh: this one shall be called my wife, for she came and originated from man. 6. For this reason man and wife shall be one, and for this reason a man shall leave his father and his mother and will connect himself with his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 7. And in the first seventh was Adam created, and his wife in his side, and in the second seventh he showed her to him,¹ and on that account the command was given to observe in their defilement seven days for a male and twice seven days for a female.²

8. And when Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden, that he should work it and watch it; but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered the garden; and on this account the commandment is written on the tablets of heaven³ in reference to her that gives birth, that "if she brings forth a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty days shall she abide in the blood of purifying, and she shall touch nothing holy and shall not enter into the sanctuary until these days are completed for her who has a male child. 9. But she who has a female child shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of purifying, and all the days for her shall be eighty."⁴ 10. And she having completed these

¹ I. e., she was created at the same time with Adam, but in and within him, and it was only in the second week that she became a separate creature.

² Cf. Lev. xii.

³ Throughout this and similar works the laws of God and his ordinances are looked upon as taken from the tablets of heaven; especially is this idea and expression found in the Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xv.

eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holy above the whole earth, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. And on this account was ordained concerning her that gives birth to a male or female this law for these days, that they shall touch nothing holy nor enter a sanctuary until these days for a male or a female are completed.¹ 11. This law and testimony was given and written for the children of Israel that they should observe it all the days. 12. And in the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden seven years working and watching it; and we gave them work and taught them to work every thing that offered itself for work. 13. And he labored and was naked and did not know it and was not ashamed, and he watched the garden against the birds and the animals and the beasts,² and gathered its fruits and ate and laid aside the rest for himself and his wife, and laid aside that which he had guarded for himself. 14. And having ended the completion of seven years which he completed there, in the seventh year exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth of the month, the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman: "Has God commanded that you shall not eat of any of the fruit of the tree in the garden?" 15. And she said to it. "He has told us, 'Eat from all the fruit of the trees in the garden, but from the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden ye shall not eat, nor shall ye touch it, that ye die not!'" 16. And the serpent said to the woman: "Ye will surely not die, but because God knows that on which day ye eat of it your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be like gods and will know good and evil." 17. And the woman saw the tree that it was pleasant and it pleased the eye, and that its fruit was good to eat; she

¹ To the present day yet this law is preserved in the Church of Abyssinia. Cf. Thiersch's elaborate articles on Abyssinia in the July and August numbers of the *Allgm. Conservat. Monatschrift* for 1884.

² On this point our book differs from other apocalypses where the animals before the fall are represented as harmless.

took from it and ate. 18. And she first covered her shame with fig leaves, and gave to her husband, and he ate, and his eyes were opened and he saw that he was naked. 19. And he took fig leaves and sewed them together and made for himself an apron and covered his shame. 20. And God cursed the serpent and was enraged at it forever; and he was enraged at the woman also, because she had obeyed the voice of the serpent, and he said to her: "I shall surely increase thy pains and thy trouble; in thy pains bear children, and to thy husband be thy refuge, and he shall be thy lord." 21. And to Adam he said: "Because thou didst obey the voice of thy wife and didst eat from this tree of which I had commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat, let the earth be cursed on account of thy deed; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for thee; and eat thou thy bread in the sweat of thy brow until thou returnest to the earth from which thou hast been taken; for earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt return." 22. And he made for them garments of skin and clothed them, and sent them from the garden. 23. And on that day on which Adam came out of the garden of Eden he offered, as a sweet savour, a burnt offering: frankincense and galbanum and myrrh spices, in the morning with the rising of the sun, on the day when he covered his shame. 24. And on that day was closed the mouth of all the animals and of the beasts and of the birds and of whatever walks and of whatever moves, so that they could not speak; for they all had spoken with each other one lip and one tongue.¹ 25. And he sent out of the garden of Eden all flesh that was in the garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds and according to its natures to the places which had been created for them. 26. And to Adam alone did he give to cover his shame, of all the animals and beasts. 27. On this account it is commanded in the tablets of heaven concerning all who know the judgment of the law, that they

¹ The idea that animals spoke before the fall is not confined to this book.

shall cover their shame and shall not uncover themselves as the gentiles uncover themselves. 28. And at the new moon of the fourth month Adam and his wife came out of the garden of Eden and dwelt in the land of Eldâ, in the land of their creation. 29. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 30. And they did not have a son until the first jubilee year; and after this he knew her. 31. But he cultivated the land, as he had been taught in the garden of Eden.

CHAP. IV. 1. And in the third week of the second jubilee she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter Awân.¹ 2. And in the first [week] of the third jubilee Cain slew Abel, because [God] accepted an offering from his hands, but did not receive a fruit offering from the hands of Cain. 3. And he slew him on the field; and his blood cried aloud from earth to heaven lamenting that he had slain him, and God punished Cain, because he had slain Abel. 4. And he made him a refugee over the earth, on account of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth. 5. And on this account it is written in the tablets of heaven: "Cursed be he who slays his neighbor in wickedness, and all who hear shall say, 'So be it!' and the man who sees it and does not announce it, cursed be he like the other." 6. And on this account we hearing come to announce before the Lord our God all the sins which take place in heaven and earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years; and in the fourth year of the fifth week he became joyful and knew his wife again, and she brought forth for him a son, and

¹ Who invented this and the other non-biblical names that are found in this and the following chapters is not known. As in the whole known literature of that day and kind there is no other book that contains so many of them as does the one before us, it may not be incorrect to think that the author himself invented many. But he is certainly not the originator of the idea of inventing such names. Indications abound that the popular Jewish faith of the day had many such names.

they called his name Seth; for he said: "The Lord has raised up for us a second seed on the earth in the place of Abel; for Cain slew him." 8. In the sixth week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took Awân his sister to himself as wife, and she brought forth for him Enoch at the end of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth jubilee houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called it by the name of his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve, his wife, and she brought forth yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of this jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to himself as wife, and in the fourth [year] she brought forth for him Enos. 12. And he began first to call upon the name of the Lord on the earth. 13. And in the seventh jubilee, in the fifth week, Enos took Nôêm his sister to himself as wife, and she brought forth for him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and called his name Cainan. 14. And at the end of the eighth jubilee Cainan took to himself as wife Mûalêt his sister, and she bore for him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the third year of this week, and he called his name Malâlêl. 15. And in the second week of the tenth jubilee Malâlêl took unto himself as wife Sinâ, the daughter of Barâkhêl, the daughter of the sister of his father, and she bore him a son in the third week, in the sixth year, and he called his name Jârêd; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended upon the earth, those that are called Watchmen,¹ that they should teach the children of men to do judgment and right over the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jârêd took to himself a wife, and her name was Barâkâ, a daughter of Râsûjêl, a daughter of the sister of his father,

¹ The name by which the angels of Gen. vi. 1 sqq. are known in apocalyptic literature. Their evil deeds and the consequences thereof form the burden of the oldest portion of the book of Enoch. All that is here related of them and of Enoch is based upon the account there given, and the whole matter is treated *in extenso* in the writer's translation of that book. Cf. especially the Introduction, p. 32 sqq., and chap. vi. and sqq. of the book itself, together with the notes.

in the fourth week of this jubilee; and she bore for him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year, of this jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. He was the first one from among the children of men that are born on the earth to learn writing and knowledge and wisdom. 18. And he wrote the signs of heaven' according to the order of their months in a book, that the sons of men might know the time of the year according to their separate months. 19. He was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the children of men concerning the generations of the earth, and explained the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and arranged the months and explained the sabbaths of the years as we made them known to him. 20. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of the night in a dream, and as it will happen to the children of men in their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and learned every thing and wrote it as a testimony and laid the testimony on the earth over all the children of men and for their generations. 21. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednâ, the daughter of Daniel, the daughter of the sister of his father; and in the sixth year in this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Methusaleh. 22. And then he was with the angels of God six years of this jubilee, and they showed him all things on earth and in heaven, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down all things. 23. And he testified to the Watchmen, those that sinned with the daughters of men; for they had commenced to mix with the daughters of the earth, so that they were defiled; and Enoch testified against them all. 24. And he was removed from the midst of the children of men, and we conducted him into the garden of Eden for greatness and for honor, and behold here he was

¹ The standard reputation of Enoch among legend-loving Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. Cf. *Enoch* (Introd.) pp. 14-17. The writing here referred to is the book of Enoch.

engaged in writing down the judgment and the eternal condemnation and all the wickedness of the sons of the children of men. 25. And on his account [God] brought the deluge over the whole land of Eden;¹ for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify over all the sons of the children of men, that he should declare all the deeds of the generations until the day of judgment. 26. And he offered a burnt offering on the west side of the sanctuary [?] which was pleasing before the Lord on the hill of the south; for there are four places to the Lord on earth: the garden of Eden and the hill of the east in it,² and this hill on which thou art to-day, the hill of Sinai, and the hill of Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth: through it the earth will be sanctified from all its sin and its uncleanness to the generation of eternity.³ 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methusaleh took unto himself as his wife Ednâ, the daughter of Ezrâêl, the daughter of the sister of his father, in the third week in first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lâmêch. And in the fifteenth jubilee, in the third week, Lâmêch took to himself a wife, and her name was Bilanôs, the daughter of Barâ-kêl, the daughter of the sister of his father; and in this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Noah, saying: "This one will comfort me on account of all my work and on account of the earth which the Lord has

¹ This is a somewhat strange statement, and the text may be corrupt. The term "land of Eden" generally is the same as simply Eden. The connection might lead to the thought that all but Eden was then destroyed, as it was no longer inhabited since Adam's expulsion. A negative particle of some sort may have dropped out.

² Naturally the locality of the first two of these sacred places cannot be ascertained; it may be that the writer himself had no accurate idea on this matter.

³ Referring to the hope of all writers of Jewish apocalypses that God would establish Israel as his ruling people on Zion, and from that centre spread his blessings over all nations. This is one of the most fixed hopes of this and similar works.

cursed." 28. And at the end of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week, in the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all of his sons buried him in the land of the creation of Adam, and he was the first to be buried in the earth, and he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are like one day in the testimony of heaven,¹ and therefore it was written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day on which ye eat thereof ye shall die." 29. And for this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for in it he died. 30. At the end of this jubilee Cain was killed, after him, in the same year; and his house fell upon him, and he died in the midst of the house, and he was killed with his stones, for with a stone he had killed Abel, and with a stone he was killed by a judgment of righteousness. 31. On this account it is ordained in the tablets of heaven: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbor, he shall be killed; as he wounded him, shall thus they do to him."² 32. And in the fifty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was Emzarâh, the daughter of Râkêl the daughter of his sister [sic] in the first year, in the fifth week; and in the third year thereof she bore him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bore him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bore him Japhet.

CHAP. V. 1. And it happened, when the sons of the children of men commenced to increase over the face of the whole earth and daughters were born to them, that the angels of the Lord saw them in one year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took unto themselves wives from all of them whomever they chose, and they bore them sons, and these were giants.³ 2. And injustice increased over the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, from men to animals and to beasts and to birds and to all that walks upon the earth; all corrupted

¹ A somewhat peculiar commentary on Ps. xc. 4.

² The *lex talionis*, based partly on Lev. xxiv. 19, 20.

³ Cf. note on iv. 15.

their ways and their orders¹ and began to devour each other, and unrighteousness increased over the earth, and all the thoughts of the knowledge of all the sons of men were thus wicked all the days. 3. And the Lord looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh corrupted its order and they all did evil before his eyes, all that were on the earth. 4. And he said: "I shall destroy mankind and all flesh that has been created above the face of the earth." And Noah alone found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 5. And concerning the angels whom he had sent upon the earth, he was greatly enraged, that he would root them out of all their power; and he said to us that we should bind them in the depths of the earth; and behold they are bound in the midst of them [depths] and separate. 6. And against their children came a word from before the face of the Lord, that they should be slain with a sword and be removed from under heaven. 7. And he said: "My spirit shall not abide over men forever, for they are flesh; and let their days be one hundred and twenty years." 8. And he sent into their midst his sword that each should slay his neighbor; and they began to slay one the other until they all fell upon the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 9. And their fathers witnessed it; and after this these were bound in the depths of the earth, until the day of the great judgment for the coming of punishment unto eternity over all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 10. And he destroyed all their places, and there was not left a single one of them who was not judged according to all their wickedness. 11. And he made for all of his works a new and righteous nature, so that they did not sin in their entire nature unto eternity and were righteous each in his generation all the days. 12. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the tablets of the heaven and without injustice; and all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in, and

¹ I. e., the spheres to which the Creator had assigned them.

if they do not walk in it, then is written down a judgment for every creature and every generation; and nothing that is in heaven, or on earth, or in the light, or in the darkness, or in Sheol, or in the depth, or in the dark place [can escape]; all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved concerning all. 13. He will judge the small and the great, the great according to his greatness and the small according to his smallness, and each one according to his path. 14. And he is not one who has regard for persons, nor one who receives bribes when he says that he will hold judgment over each one: if one gives him all things on earth, he will have no regard for his person and will not receive any thing from his hands, for he is the judge. 15. And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained, if they shall turn to him in righteousness, he will remove all their guilt and pardon all their sins. 16. It is ordained and written that he will show mercy to all who turn from all their errors, once each year. 17. And concerning all those who corrupted their ways and works before the flood, he had no regard for their persons, with the exception of Noah alone; for he had regard for his person on account of the sons whom he saved from the water of the flood for his sake;¹ for his heart was righteous in all his ways, as had been commanded concerning it, and he had not transgressed any thing that had been ordained for him. 18. And the Lord said: "Every thing that is on the dry land and every thing that is created, from men to animals and to beasts and to birds and to whatever moves upon the earth, shall be destroyed." 19. And he commanded Noah to build an ark for himself that he might save him from the water of the flood. 20. And Noah made an ark in every thing as he had commanded him in the [twenty-seventh] jubilee, in the fifth week, in the fifth year. 21. And he entered on the sixth [year] thereof, in the second month, in the new moon of the second month:

¹ I. e., Noah's sons were not themselves worthy of being saved, but escaped death for their father's sake.

until the sixteenth thereof he entered and all that we brought to him into the ark, and the Lord locked it from without on the seventeenth, at eve. 22. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven and the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number. 23. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from heaven forty days and forty nights, and the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water. 24. And the water increased upon the earth: fifteen ells the waters were raised over all the high mountains, and the ark was lifted above the earth and moved upon the face of the waters. 25. And the water remained standing upon the face of the earth five months, one hundred and fifty days. 26. And the ark proceeded and rested upon the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. 17. And in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed, and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained, and in the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the deep of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 28. And in the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains became visible, and in the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 29. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week, in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth became dry. 30. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark and sent out of it the animals and the beasts and the birds and whatever moves.

CHAP. VI. 1. And at the new moon of the third month he came out of the ark and built an altar on that hill. 2. And he appeared on the earth, and he took a young goat and atoned by its blood for all the guilt of the earth, because every thing that had been on it was destroyed except those that were in the ark with Noah; and he placed the fat on the altar, and he took an ox and a goat and a sheep and young goats and salt and a turtle dove

and the young of a dove and brought a burnt sacrifice upon the altar and scattered over them fruit offerings baked in oil and sprinkled the blood and wine, and placed upon it frankincense, and a sweet savour arose which was acceptable before the Lord. 3. And the Lord smelt the sweet savour, and he made with him a covenant that there should no more be a flood upon the earth which would destroy the earth: all the days of the earth, seed and harvest shall not cease, frost and heat and summer and winter and day and night shall not change their order and shall not cease forever. 4. "And ye, grow and increase on the earth and increase over it, and be for a blessing in its midst: your fear and your terror I will put upon every thing that is on the earth and in the sea. 5. And, behold, I have given you all the animals and all the beasts and every thing that flies and every thing that moves on the earth and the fish in the waters and all things for food; like the herbs of grass, I have given them all to you to eat. 6. Only flesh in which is its life with blood ye shall not eat: for the blood is the soul of all flesh, so that your blood in your souls be not demanded of you. 7. From the hands of each one I will demand the blood of a man; every one that sheddeth the blood of a man, by the hand of a man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God did he create Adam. 8. But ye, grow and increase upon the earth." 9. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that is in any flesh, and they made a covenant before the Lord God for ever, in all the generations of the world, in this month. 10. On this account he spoke to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain, with an oath, and shouldst sprinkle blood over them on account of all the words of the covenant which the Lord has made with them for all days.¹ 11. And this testimony is written concerning you, that you observe it in all days, that ye do not in all days eat any blood of ani-

¹ The covenant of Sinai is regarded as a renewal of the Noachic covenant.

imals and birds and beasts in all the days of the earth ; and the man who eats the blood of an animal or of beasts or of birds in all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 12. And thou command the children of Israel that they shall not eat any blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God all the days. 13. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for eternity ; and they shall observe it to generation and generation, so that they may continue supplicating in their behalf with blood before the Lord on the altar on each day and day ; mornings and evenings they shall supplicate in their behalf perpetually before the Lord, that they may observe this and not be rooted out. 14. And he gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a deluge over the earth ; he placed his bow in the clouds as the sign of the eternal covenant that no water of the deluge should again come over the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. 15. On this account it is ordained and written on the tablets of heaven that the celebration of the festival of weeks should be in this month, once a year, for a renewed covenant in each year and year.¹ 16. And during the time this festival was being celebrated in heaven, from the days of creation to the days of Noah, it was twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years ; and Noah and his sons observed it seven jubilees and one week of years until the time when Noah died. 17. But his children violated it until the days of Abraham, and they ate blood. But Abraham alone observed it, and Isaac and Jacob observed it, for these are his children, up to thy day ; and in thy day the children of Israel forgot it until I renewed it for them on this mountain. 18. And thou command the children of Israel that they should observe this festival in all their generations as a commandment for

¹ It will be observed here and throughout the book that the author connects the religious system and worship in Israel not only with the ordinances of the tablets of heaven, but also with important events in the lines of the patriarchs.

them: one day in the year, in this month, they shall celebrate this festival. 19. For it is the festival of weeks and is a festival of first fruits; for this festival is of a double nature and double kind, as is written and engraved concerning its celebration. 20. For I have written it in the book of the first law in which I wrote to thee that thou shouldst observe it in its time one day a year; and I have explained to thee the offerings on that day, that they should be remembered and that the children of Israel should celebrate it one day in each year. 21. And at the new moon of the first month, and in the new moon of the fourth month, and in the new moon of the seventh month, and in the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance and the days of the festivals in the four divisions of the years: written and ordained they are for a testimony until eternity. 22. And Noah ordained them for himself as festivals for future generations, for on them there was to him a remembrance. 23. At the new moon of the first month it was said to him that he should make for himself an ark, and on it the earth became dry, and he opened [the ark] and saw the earth. And at the new moon of the fourth month the mouth of the flood-gates of the lowest deep was closed. 24. And at the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the flood-gates of the earth were opened and the waters began to descend into the depth beneath. 25. And at the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains appeared, and Noah became glad. 26. And on this account he ordained them as festivals of remembrance unto himself unto eternity, and thus they are ordained. 27. And they were raised into the tablets of heaven: thirteen sabbaths to each, from one to another their remembrance, from the first to the second, from the second to the third, from the third to the fourth. 28. And all the days of this commandment are fifty-two sabbaths of days, and the whole year is completed. 29. Thus it is engraved and ordained in the tablets of heaven, and there is no transgression

from one year to another. And thou command the children of Israel that they should observe the years in this number, three hundred and sixty-four days, and the year shall be complete and the fixed date of their days and their festivals shall not be corrupted, for every thing transpires in them according to their testimony, and they [Israel] shall not miss a day or corrupt a festival. 31. But if they do transgress and do not observe them according to his commandment, then will be corrupted all their fixed dates, and the years will waver in consequence, and also their times and their years, and they will transgress their ordinances. 32. And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the paths of the years, and will forget the new moon and the sabbaths and the festivals, and in all the order of the years they will err. 33. For I know, and from now on I shall make it known to thee, and not from my heart, but thus is written in a book before me and is ordained in the tablets of heaven, the division of the days, that they forget not the festivals of my covenant and walk according to the festivals of the gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance. 34. And there will be those who will make observations of the moon, for this one [the moon] corrupts the stated times and comes out earlier each year by ten days. 35. And in this way they will corrupt the years and will observe a wrong day as the day of testimony and a corrupted festival day, and every one will mix holy days with unclean ones and unclean with holy; for they will err as to months and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees. 36. And on this account I command thee and testify to thee that thou shouldst testify to them, for after thy death thy children will corrupt, so that they make a year only three hundred and sixty-four days,¹ and on this account they will err as to new moons and sabbaths and fixed times and festivals and will ever eat blood with all kinds of flesh.

¹ How this statement is to be reconciled with verse 30 is not clear.

CHAP. VII. 1. And in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on this hill upon which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and he watched their fruit and gathered them in this year in the seventh month, and he made wine of it, and put it into a vessel and kept it until the fifth year, until the first day of the new moon of the first month. 2. And he celebrated this day in rejoicing as a festival,¹ and he made a sacrifice unto the Lord, a young one from among the oxen and a ram and a sheep, each seven years old, and a young goat, that he might thereby obtain pardon for himself and his sons. 3. And he prepared the goat first, and he placed of its blood upon the flesh of the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid upon the altar where he was sacrificing to the Lord, and of the ox and the sheep he also placed the flesh upon the altar. 4. And he made all the fruit offerings thereof mixed with oil upon them, and thereupon he first scattered wine upon the fire on the altar, and placed incense upon the altar, and a sweet savor ascended which was acceptable before the Lord his God. 5. And he and his children rejoiced and drank of this wine in joy.² 6. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and he lay down drunken, and he slept, and he was uncovered in his tent while sleeping. 7. And Ham saw his father naked, and going out he told it to his two brothers without. 8. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they carried the garment upon their shoulders, and their faces backward, and covered the shame of their father. 9. And Noah awoke from his sleep and learned everything that his youngest son had done to him; and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan, a slaving servant shall he be to his brothers." And he blessed Shem: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and

¹ Cf. chap. vi. vs. 21 and 22.

² The writer apologetically describes the wine as having been drunk by Noah on the occasion of a religious festival.

may Canaan be his servant; and may the Lord extend Japheth and may the Lord dwell in the tent of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant!" 11. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his youngest son, and he became displeased with him because he had cursed his son and he separated himself from his father, he and his sons with him, Chush, and Meshrêm, and Pûd, and Canaan. 12. And he built for himself a city, and called its name after the name of his wife Nêêlâta-Mêk.¹ 13. And Japheth saw it and became envious of his brother, and he too built a city, and called its name after the name of his wife Adalênsês. 14. But Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city by the side of his father on the hill, and he too called its name by the name of his wife Sêdûkâtêlbâb. 15. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr: Sêdûkâtêlbâb on the side of the hill on the east; Nêûltêmâûk on the south side; and Adalânêsês toward the west; and these are the sons of Shem: Elâm, and Asûr, and Arpakeed: this is the generation after the second year of the flood (?)² these are the children of Noah. 16. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee he began to command the sons of his sons the ordinances and the commandments all as he had learned them and the judgments, and he testified to his sons that they should observe righteousness, and that they should cover the shame of their flesh, and that they should bless him who created them, and should honor father and mother, and each should love his neighbor, and should preserve their souls from all fornication and from all uncleanness and unrighteousness. 17. For on account of these three things the deluge came over the earth, namely on account of fornication, in which the Watchmen indulged against the commandments of their law, with the daughters of men, and took to themselves wives from all

¹ Very little reliance can be placed upon these names as the MSS. vary, and nearly all trace of the etymology is lost. The copyists naturally made mistakes in writing them.

² Here is a *lacuna* in the Ethiopic text.

whom they chose and made the beginning of uncleanness. 18. And they begat sons, the Naphîdêm, and they were all unlike and they devoured one another: the giant slew the Naphil, and the Naphil slew Eljô, and Eljô the children of men, and all publicly practised every unrighteousness and shed much blood, and the earth was filled with unrighteousness; and after all these the animals, and the beasts, and the birds, and whatever walks and moves on the earth; and much blood was spilt on the earth, and all the thoughts and deeds of men were wicked in all the days. 19. And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth on account of their deeds and on account of the blood which was spilt over the earth. 20. And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I am the first to see your works that ye do not walk in righteousness, for in the path of destruction have you commenced to walk, and are separating yourselves each from his neighbor, and are envious the one of the other, and are not in harmony each with his neighbor and his brother. 21. And yet, my sons, for I see and behold the satans have commenced to lead astray you and your children; and now I fear on your behalf that after my death ye will spill the blood of men over the face of the earth, and that ye too will be destroyed from its face. 22. For every one that sheds the blood of any man, and every one that eats the blood in any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth. 23. And there shall not be left any man who eats blood and who sheds blood upon the earth, and there shall not be left alone for him any seed or children under heaven; for they will go into Sheol, and into the place of judgment they will descend, in the darkness of the deep they will all be cast by a terrible death. 24. With regard to all blood over you which is in all the days that ye sacrifice an animal or a beast or whatever flies over the earth, and do a good deed concerning your souls in your covering of that which has been spilt over the face of the earth. 25. And ye shall not be like him that eats

with blood ; be strong that no one eat blood in your presence : bury the blood in the earth ; for as I have been commanded, I testify to you and your children together with all flesh. 26. And ye shall not eat the soul with the meat, that ye be not those of whom your blood, that is, your soul, be demanded from the hands of every one that sheddeth blood on the earth. 27. For the earth will not be clean of the blood which has been spilt upon it, but only by the blood of him that shed it will the earth be cleansed in all the generations of the earth. 28. And now, my children, obey and practise righteousness and justice so that ye be planted in righteousness upon the whole face of the earth, and that your renown be elevated before my God who has saved me from the water of the deluge. 29. And, behold, ye will proceed and build for yourselves cities and will plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth and every tree that bears fruit ; for three years its fruit shall not be gathered to eat it, and in the fourth year the fruit shall be sanctified, and the first fruits which they gather shall be brought before the Lord our God, the Most High, who created heaven and earth and all things, so that they bring in fatness the first of the wine and oil as first fruits upon the altar of the Lord who receives it ; and what is left the servants of the house of the Lord shall eat before the altar which he has accepted. 30. And in the fifth year make the release, so that ye release them in righteousness and justice, and you shall be just and all your plants shall be right. 31. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father Methusaleh, command his sons, and Methusaleh his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his father commanded him ; but I command it to you, my children, just as Enoch commanded his son in his first jubilee ; while he was alive, in his generation the seventh, he commanded and testified to his son and to the sons of his sons until the day of his death.¹

¹ We notice here the principle of the traditions of the fathers so potent in the theology of New Testament Judaism. Cf. also c. x. 11.

CHAP. VIII. 1. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the first [year] thereof, Arphaksed took to himself a wife, and her name was Râsûjâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elâm, and she bore him a son in the third year of this week, and he called his name Kâinân. 2. And his son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which the forefathers had carved into a rock, and he read what was in it, and he translated it and found that there was within it the science of the Watchmen by which they had seen the astrology of the sun and the moon and the stars and in all the signs of heaven;¹ and he wrote this down and did not say any thing concerning it, for he feared to speak to Noah concerning it, lest he be angry with him on this account. 4. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Milkâ, the daughter of Abâdai, the son of Japhet, and in the fourth year she bore him a son, and he called his name Sâlâ, for he said, "Verily, I have been sent away." 5. And in the fourth year Sâlâ was born, and he grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mûak, the daughter of Kêsêd, the brother of his father, in the thirty-first jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof. And she bore him a son in the fifth year, and he called his name Ebôr; and he took to himself a wife, and her name was Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 6. And in the sixth year thereof she bore him a son, and he called his name Phalêk, for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth among themselves; and on this account he called his name Phalêk. 7. And they divided the earth among themselves in wickedness, and told it to Noah. 8. And it happened in the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee, and they divided the earth into three parts, to Shem and to

¹ Cf. Book of Enoch, c. viii. 1 sqq.

Ham, and to Japhet, each one his inheritance, in the first year of the first week, while an angel, one of us who were sent to them, was there. 9. And he called his sons, and they came to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth by lot what his three sons should take, and they stretched out their hands and took to themselves the writing out of the bosom of their father Noah. 10. And there came out on the writing as the lot for Shem the middle of the earth, which he and his children should have as an inheritance for the generations unto eternity, from the middle of the mountain Râfû, from the exit of the water of the river Tinâ, and his portion goes toward the west through the midst of this river, and they go until they approach to the abyss of the waters out of which comes this river, and this river empties and pours its waters into the sea Mîôt, and this river goes into the great sea: all that is toward the north of this is Japhet's, and all that is to the direction of the south is Shem's. 11. And it reaches until it comes to Karâsô, which is in the bosom of the tongue which looks toward the south. 12. And his portion reaches unto the great sea, and reaches straight until it approaches the west of the tongue which looks toward the south; for the sea is called the tongue of the Egyptian sea. 13. And it turns from there toward the south, toward the mouth of the great sea in the shore of the waters and proceeds toward Arabia and Ophrâ, and it proceeds until it reaches to the water of the river Gejôn and toward the south of the water of Gejôn, along the shore of this same river. 14. And it proceeds toward the north until it approaches the garden of Eden, toward the south thereof to the south, and from the east of the whole land of Eden, and toward the whole east, and it turns to the east, and proceeds until it approaches toward the east of the hills whose name is Râfâ, and it descends toward the border of the outlet of the water of the river Tinâ. 15. This portion came out in the lot for Shem and his sons, and he remembered his word which he had

spoken with his mouth in prophecy, for he had said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem!" 17. And he knew that the garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai, the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion, the centre of the navel of the earth,¹ these three, opposite one another, were created as sanctuaries. 18. And he blessed the God of gods who had put the speech of the Lord into his mouth. 19. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and to the children of his generations forever; the whole land of Edom, and all the land of the Erythrian sea, and all the land of the east, and India and at the Erythrian and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bâsôr, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kuphatûr, and all the land of Elâm and Asûr and Bâbêl and Sûsân and Mâdâr, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the land beyond the sea which is beyond the hills of Asûr toward the north, a blessed and prosperous land, and all that is in it is very good. 20. And for Ham came out as the second portion, beyond the Gijôn, toward the south, to the right of the garden, and it proceeds to all the fire mountains, and goes toward the west to the sea Atil, and goes to the west until it reaches to the sea of Mâûk, of that one into which everything descends that is destroyed. 21. And it proceeds to the north to the shore of Gâdil and goes to the west of the water of the sea until it approaches the river Gejôn, and the river Gejôn goes until it approaches to the right of the garden of Eden: and this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion he shall retain for himself and the children of his generations forever. 22. And for Japhet there came forth a third portion beyond the river Tinâ, toward the north of the exit of its waters, and it goes toward the

¹ That Jerusalem is the centre of the earth is an idea often met with in the later Jewish writers, and it is therefore also the central place of the Messianic rule. Cf., e. g., Enoch, lvi. 7; Dillmann, *Aethiop. Chrest.*, p. 15.

northeast the whole district of Lâg, and all the east thereof. 23. And it goes toward the north to the north, and goes to the mountains of Kilt, toward the north and toward the sea Mâûk, and it goes toward the east of Gadir over toward the coast of the water of the sea. 24. And it proceeds until it approaches the west of Para, and returns toward Aphêrâg, and goes toward the east, towards the waters of the sea Mêat. And it goes toward the shore of the river Tina, toward the east of the north, until it approaches to the shore of the waters thereof, toward the mountain Râfâ, and it bends toward the north. 25. This is the land which came forth for Japhet and his children as the portion of his inheritance which he should hold unto eternity for himself and the children of their generation unto eternity: five great islands and a great land in the north; only it is cold, but the land of Ham it hot, and the land of Shem has neither heat nor frost, for it mixed in coldness and heat.

CHAP. IX. 1. And Ham divided among his sons; and the first portion came out for Ques toward the east, and to the west of him for Phud, and to the west of him for Kainan toward the west of the sea. 2. And Shem also divided among his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons toward the east of the river Tiger, until it approaches the east, the whole land of India and on the Erythrian and its coast, and the waters of Dêdan and all the mountains of Mêbri and Ela, and all the land of Sûsan, and all that is on the side of the Phêrnak to the Erythrian sea and the river Tina. 3. But for Asûr came forth a second portion, all the land of Asûr and Nineva and Sînaôr and to the border of India, and ascends along the river. 4. And for Arphaksed came forth a third portion, all the land of the district of the Chaldees toward the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Erythrian sea, and all the waters of the desert until near to the tongue of the sea which looks toward Egypt, and all the sand of Libanon and Sanêr and Amana to the border of

the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram came forth as a fourth portion all the land of Mesopotamia, between the Tiger and the Euphrates, toward the north of the Chaldees, to the border of the mountains of Asur. 6. And the land of Arara came out as a fifth portion to his son, the mountains of Asur and all belonging to them until it reaches to the east of Asur, his brother. 7. And Japhet, too, divided the land of his inheritance between his sons, and the first portion came forth for Gômêr toward the east, from the north side to the river Tina. And in the north there came out for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches the sea Mêat. 8. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess, to the west of his two brothers, unto the islands and unto the coasts of the islands. And to Egawan came forth as a fourth portion all the islands, and the islands which are toward Edalûd. 9. And for Tôbêl came forth as a fifth portion, between the tongue which approaches toward the side of the portion of Lâd, to the second tongue, unto beyond the second tongue into the third tongue. 10. And for Melek came forth as a sixth portion, all that beyond the third tongue, until it approaches to the east of Gadir. 11. And for Tiras came forth a seventh portion; four great islands in the midst of the sea, which approach to the portion of Ham; and the islands of Kamatûra came out for the sons of Arphaksed in his division of his inheritance by lot. 12. And thus the sons of Noah divided out to their children, in the presence of Noah their father, and he caused them to swear an oath cursing him who endeavored to seize a portion which had not been allotted him. And they all said: "Thus be it! Thus be it!" for themselves and for their descendants to eternity in their generations, until the day of judgment, on which the Lord God will judge them with a sword and with fire for all the wickedness of uncleanness which they have committed in that they filled the earth with transgression, uncleanness, fornication, and sin.

CHAP. X. 1. And in the third week of this jubilee the evil demons began to lead astray the sons of Noah and deceived them and destroyed them. 2. And the sons came to Noah their father and told him concerning the demons which were leading astray, darkening, and slaying the sons of their sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and he said: "Lord of the spirits' of all flesh, thou who hast shown mercy to me and hast delivered me and my children from the waters of the deluge, and hast not suffered me to be destroyed as thou didst the children of destruction, for thy grace was great over men, and great was thy mercy over my soul; may thy grace be exalted over the sons of thy sons, and may the evil spirit not rule over them to destroy them off the earth. And thou hast verily blessed me and my sons that we increase and multiply and fill the earth. 4. And thou knowest how the Watchmen, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day; and these spirits also which are alive, cast them into prison and hold them in the places of judgment, and let them not destroy the sons of thy servant, my God, for they are terrible and created for destroying; and may they not rule over the spirits of the living; for thou alone knowest their judgment. 5. And let them have no sway over the children of the righteous from now on and to eternity. 6. And our God said unto us that we should bind all. 7. And the angel of the spirits, Mastêma,² came and said: "O Lord, Creator, leave some of them before me, and they shall hear my voice and they shall do all things that I tell them; for if thou dost not leave any of them to me I shall not be able to accomplish the power of

¹ A typical name of God in the Parables of Enoch, c. xxxvii. 71.

² The name of the leader of the evil spirits found throughout the book. The role here occupied by him may have been taken from that of Satan in Job, but it is in place to remark that in many apocryphal works, especially in Enoch, demonology has a wide field and the satans are recognized as organized opponents of God, who, however, do their evil deeds only with his permission. The word Mastema is derived from מַסְתֵּמָה = מַסְתֵּמָה, the Greek form being *μαστιμάτ*.

my will among the children of men, for they are here for corrupting, and destroying, and leading astray before the judgment, for great is their wickedness to the children of men." 8. And he said: "The tenth part of them shall be left before him and nine parts shall descend into the place of judgment." 9. And one of us said: "We will teach Noah all their medicines;" for they did not walk in righteousness, and did not contend in uprightness. And we did according to his word; all the wicked ones that were terrible we bound in the place of judgment, but the tenth part of them we left, that they should be judged before Satan on the earth. 10. And the medicines of all their sicknesses we explained to Noah together with all their deceptions how to heal them with the plants of the earth. 11. And Noah wrote all these down in a book as we instructed him, concerning every kind of medicines, and the evil spirits were held away from the sons of Noah. 12. And he gave all the writings which he had written to Shem, his oldest son, for him he loved exceedingly above all his children. 13. And Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on Mount Lûbar, in the land of Ararat. 14. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life; nineteen jubilees and two weeks and five years; he excelled in his life on the earth the children of men on account of his righteousness, in which he was perfect, with the exception of Enoch. 15. For the history of Enoch is made a testimony to the generations of eternity to announce all the deeds of the generation on the day of judgment. 16. In the thirty-third [fourth] jubilee, in the first year of the second week, Phalêk took to himself a wife, whose name was Lâmnâ, the daughter of Sinaar, and she bore him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Ragev, for he said: "Behold, the sons of men have become evil through a plan of wickedness, because they build for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Sinaar;" for they separated from the land of Ararat toward the east to Sinaar, for in his day they were building a city and a

tower, saying : " We will ascend on it into heaven." 17. And they began to build in the fourth week, and they burned with fire, and they used bricks for stones, and the clay with which they joined them was asphalt, which comes out of the sea and out of the fountains of water in the land of Sinaar, and they built forty years, and three years they were making bricks 18. And the Lord our God said to us : " Behold it is one people that has commenced to do it, and now I shall not let go of them ; behold, we will descend and mix their tongues, and one shall not hear the other and they shall be scattered into cities and into nations and one counsel shall no longer abide with them until the day of judgment." 19. And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the city and tower which the children of men were building. 20. And he confounded all the speech of their tongues, and they no longer heard the voice one of the other, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. On this account the whole land of Sinaar is called Babel, because there God confused all the tongues of the children of men, and from there they were scattered to all their cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a great wind against the tower and it overturned it upon the ground, and behold, [it stood] between the land of Assur and Babylon in the land of Sinaar, and they called its name Ruins. 21. And in the fourth week, in the first year of the thirty-fourth jubilee they were scattered out of the land of Sinaar. 22. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he had taken, which fell to him by lot in the land of the north [south]; and Kainaan saw the land of the Libanon to the canal of Egypt that it was very good, and he did not go into the land of his inheritance to the west of the sea, and dwelt in the land of Libanon to the east and to the west of the land of the Jordan and on the coast of the sea. 23. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mêzrêm, his brothers, said to him : " Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine and did not fall to us

by lot, thou shouldst not do thus; for if thou doest thus, then thou and thy children will fall by condemnation in the land, and as cursed ones by sedition, for by sedition ye have settled and by sedition thy children will fall and thou wilt be rooted out to eternity. 24. Do not dwell in the dwelling place of Shem, for to Shem and his children was it given by lot. 25. Cursed art thou and cursed shalt thou be above all the sons of Noah by the curse which we covenanted with an oath between us in the presence of the holy judge and before Noah our father." 26. But he did not listen to them and dwelt in the land of Libanon from Emath to the entrance of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 27. And on this account this land is called Canaan. 28. But Japheth and his sons went toward the east and dwelt in their portions and Madai saw the land of the sea, and it pleased him, and he begged it from Elam, and Assur, and Arphaksed, the brother of his wife, and he dwelt in the land Mêdkîn, near to the brother of his wife until this day. 29. And he called his dwelling place and the dwelling place of his sons Madakia, by the name of their father Madai.

CHAP. XI. 1. In the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Ragev took unto himself a wife, and her name was Orâ, the daughter of Or, the daughter of the son of Kêšêd, and she bore him a son, and he called his name Sêrûg, in the seventh year of this week of this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to fight with each other, to take captive and to slay each one his brother, and to spill the blood of men over the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers (and single men elevated themselves above the people, and first founded kingdoms), and to make war, a nation against a nation, and nations against nations, and city against city, and all things became worse, and they acquired for themselves arms, and taught their sons war, and began to take captive the cities and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And Ur, the son of Kêšêd, built Erâ of

the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and by the name of his father. 4. And he made for himself molten images, and they worshipped each one his own image which they had made for themselves by molding, and they began to make sculptured images and unclean forms, and the terrible spirits assisted them and misled them to commit transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêma gave his power to make all this, and through the angels who had been given under his hand, he sent out his hand to do all wickedness and sin and all transgression, and to destroy and to murder and to shed blood over the earth. 6. On this account his name was called Sêrâch, for Sêrâch turned himself in all things to do all kinds of sin. 7. And he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees near to the father of the mother of his wife, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlka, the daughter of Kêher, the daughter of the brother of his father. And she bore him a son Nakôr, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, divination and astrology according to the signs of the heavens. 8. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ijôsek, the daughter of Nêsteg of the Chaldees. 9. And she bore him Tarah in the seventh year of this week. 10. And the prince Mastema sent ravens and birds that they should eat what was sown on the land, in order to destroy the land, so that they might deprive the children of men of their labor, for before they plowed in the seed the ravens picked it up from the surface of the ground. 11. On that account his father called his name Tarah, because the ravens and the birds robbed them and devoured their seed. 12. And the years began to be barren on account of the birds, and all the fruit of the trees they ate from the trees; with great strength they were able to save a little

from all the fruit of the land in their days. 13. And in the thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year, Tarah took to himself a wife, and her name was Edna, the daughter of Abram, the daughter of the sister of his father. 14. And in the seventh year of this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Abram by the name of the father of his mother, for he had died before his daughter conceived a son. 15. ¹And the child began to understand the errors of the earth, that all went astray after the images and after uncleanness; and his father taught him writing when two weeks of years old; and he separated himself from his father that he might not worship the idols with him. 16. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that he should save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and shame. 17. And the time of seed came to sow it upon the land, and all came out together to watch their seed against the ravens, and Abram came out with those that came out, and he was a boy of fourteen years. 18. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to scatter them before they sat down on the earth to eat the seed, and said: "Do not devour; return to the place whence you came!" and they turned back. 19. And clouds of ravens returned that day seven times, and of all the ravens none sat down upon any of the land where Abram was, and not one was left there. 20. And all those that were with him on the whole land saw him crying, and all the ravens turned back, and great was his name in all the land of the Chaldees. 21. And there came to him in this year all those that had sowed seed, and he would go with them until the time of sowing in the land ceased, and they sowed in their land, and in this year they brought home grain, and ate it and were satisfied. 22. And in the fifth year of the fifth week Abram taught those who make the instruments for oxen, the workmen in wood, and they made utensils over the earth, opposite the crook timber

of the plows in order to put the seed thereon, and to let the seed fall out of it into the seed furrows. 23. And it was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens; and thus they did on all the crook-timber of the plows over the earth, and they sowed and worked the land each one as Abram had commanded them, and no longer feared the ravens.

CHAP. XII. 1. And it happened in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram said unto Tarah, his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here I am, my son!" 2. And he said: "What assistance and what pleasure have we from all the idols which thou dost worship and before which thou dost prostrate thyself? 3. For there is no spirit in them, but they are dumb statues and a deception of the heart: do not worship them. 4. Worship the God of heaven, who sends down dew and rain upon the earth and does everything upon the earth and has created everything through his word and all living things are from before his face. 5. Why do ye worship those who have no heart and spirit in them; for they are the works of hands, and upon your shoulders do ye carry them, and ye have from them no help, but a great disgrace to those who make them and a deception of the heart to those who worship them: do not worship them!" 6. And Tarah said: "I also know it, my son; but what shall I do with this people who command me that I should serve them? 7. If I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul clings to them to worship and to glorify them. 8. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee!" 9. And these words he spoke to his two brothers, and they became angry at him, and he kept silent. 10. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sara, the daughter of his father, and she became to him a wife. 11. And Arân, his brother, took to himself [a wife] in the third year of this week,

and his wife bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. 12. And Nachor also, his brother, took to himself a wife. 13. And in the [sixtieth] year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth year of the fourth week, Abram arose in the night, and burned down the house of his idols, and burned all that was in the house, and there was no man that knew it. 14. And they arose in the night and desired to save their idols from the midst of the flame. 15. And Arân ran in order to save them, and the fire burned over him and he burned in the midst of the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Tarah, his father, and they buried him in Ur. 16. And Tarah went away from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, in order to come into the land of the Lebanon and into the land of Canaan; and he dwelt in Haran, and Abram dwelt with his father Tarah in Haran two weeks of years. 17. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram arose and sat in the night at the new moon of the seventh month, so that he might observe the stars from the evening to the morning, so that he might know what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was sitting alone and observing. 18. And a word came into his heart, and he said: "All the signs of the stars and the signs of the sun and of the moon are all in the hand of the Lord; why do I search them out?" 19. If he desires, he causes it to rain, morning and evening; and if he desires, he causes it to descend, and all things are in his hands." 20. And he prayed in that night, and said: "My God, God Most High, thou alone art a God to me, and thou hast created all things, and all things that are are the works of thy hand, and thee and thy godship have I chosen. 21. Deliver me from the hands of the evil spirits who reign over the thoughts of the hearts of men, and let them not lead me astray from thee, my God, and cause thou me and my seed in eternity not to go astray from now on and to eternity!" 22. And I

say, shall I return to Ur of the Chaldees, who seek my face, that I should return to them; or shall I remain here in this place; the right path before thee prosper in the hands of thy servant, that he may follow it and not walk in the error of my heart, O my God!" 23. He completed his words and prayer, and, behold, the Lord sent a word to him through me, saying: Up, go thou out of thy country, and out of thy kindred, and out of the house of thy father, into a land which I will show to thee, and I will make thee in the land which is great into a great and numerous people. 24. And I will bless thee and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed in the land, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thee; those that bless thee I will bless, and those that curse thee I will curse. 25. And I will be a God to thee and to thy children and to thy children's children and to all thy seed, and behind thee will be thy God. 26. Fear not, from now on to all the generations of the earth I am thy God." 27. And the Lord God said to me: "Open his mouth and his ears that he may hear and speak with the language which has been revealed;" for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men. 28. And I opened his mouth and his lips, and I opened his ears, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew, in the tongue of creation; and he took the books of his father, and these were written in Hebrew, and he copied them, and he began to learn them from then on, and I made known to him every thing he was incapable [of understanding], and he studied them the six months of the rainy period. 29. And it happened in the seventh year of the sixth week, and he spoke with his father, and informed him that he would go from Haran to go to the land of Canaan to see it and to return to him. 30. And Tarah, his father, said to him: "Go in peace! the God of the worlds make straight thy path, and the Lord be with thee and protect thee from all evil, and give to thee good will and mercy and grace before those who see thee; and may none of

the sons of men come over thee to do thee evil; go in peace! 31. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in it, then up, and take me with thee; and take Lot with thee, the son of Arân thy brother, as thy son, and God be with thee. 32. But Nachor thy brother leave with me until thou returnest in peace and we go with thee together."

CHAP. XIII. 1. And Abram went from Haran, and took Sara, his wife, and Lot, the son of his brother Arân, to the land of Canaan, and he came into the land of Asur, and proceeded to Sakimôn, and dwelt near a great oak.¹ And he saw the land, and, behold, it was very beautiful from the entrance of Emêt to the great mountains. 2. And the Lord said to him: "To thee and to thy seed I will give this land." 3. And he built an altar there, and brought upon it a sacrifice to the Lord who had appeared to him. 4. And he arose from there, with the hill Bethel toward the sea [west], and Ai to the east, and fixed his tent there. 5. And he saw, and, behold, the land was pleasant and extended and very wide, and every thing grew on it, vines and figs and pomegranates and terebinths and oil trees and cedars and Lebanon trees and cypresses and all the trees of the field; and water was upon the hills. 6. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees and brought him to this hill. 7. And it happened in the first year, in the seventh week, at the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this hill, and called upon the name of the Lord: "Thou art my God, the God unto eternity." 8. And he placed upon the altar a sacrifice unto the Lord, that he should be with him and should not desert him all the days of his life. 9. And he arose from there and went toward the north,² and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time,³ and he dwelt there two years in the land to the

¹ Cf. Gen. xii. 6.

² It should, of course, be "southward,"—probably a blunder of a translator living in Ethiopia.

³ Cf. Num. xiii. 22.

north of Boa-Lot, and there was a famine in the land, and Abram went into Egypt in the third year of this week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 10. But Tanâi¹ in Egypt was then built in the seventh winter after Hebron. 11. And it happened that when Pharaoh seized Sara, the wife of Abram, the Lord punished Pharaoh and his whole house with large plagues, on account of Sara, the wife of Abram. And Abram was very conspicuous by wealth in sheep and oxen and asses and horses and camels and in man-servants and in maid-servants and in silver and in gold exceedingly, and Lot, also, the son of his brother, was wealthy. 12. And Pharaoh brought back Sara, the wife of Abram, and sent him out of the land of Egypt; and he came to a place where he had first fixed his tent, at the place of the altar at Agê to the east of Bethel, and he went and blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 13. And it happened in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, he returned to this place, and placed upon it a burnt sacrifice, and called upon the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, O Lord, Most High God, art my God to all eternity." 14. And in the fourth year of this week Lot separated from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom; but the men of Sodom were great sinners. And he grieved in his heart that the son of his brother had separated from him, for he had no children. 15. And in that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord also said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, in the fourth year of this week, and said: "Lift up thine eyes from the place here where thou art dwelling toward the north and south and west and east. 16. For the whole land which thou seest I will give to thee and thy seed to eternity, and I will make thy seed like the sand on the sea; and when man is able to count the sand on the sea, then thy seed will be counted. 17. Arise and go through it in its length

¹ I. e., תַּנְאִי, *Tanâiv*. Num. xiii. 22.

and breadth and see it all, for to thy seed I will give it." 18. And Abram went to Hebron and dwelt there. 19. And in that year came Kôlôdôgômôr, the king of Elam, and Emâlphele, the king of Sînâr, and Ariôk, the king of Sêlâsar, and Tirgâl, the king of the Gentiles, and slew the king of Gomorrha, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell by wounds in Sêdêmâv and in the salt-district, and they took captive Sodom and Adam and Shêbôêm, and Lot, also, the son of the brother of Abram, and all his possessions, and went to Dan. 20. And one who had escaped came and told Abram, that the son of the brother of Abram had been taken captive.¹ 21. And the house-servant brought for Abram and his seed the first tenth to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance to eternity, that they should give [this] to the priests who served before him, that they should possess it forever. 22. And to this law is not a limit of days, but it is ordained to the generation of eternity, that they should give the tenth to the Lord, of their seed and of their wine and of their oil and of their oxen and of their sheep. 23. And he gave it to his priests to eat and to drink in joy before him. 24. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed down before him, and said: "Our lord Abram, give us the souls thou hast saved, but let the booty be thine." 25. And Abram said to him: "I lift up my hands to God on high, from a thread to a shoe-latchet I will take nothing from all that is thine, so that thou sayest not, 'I have made Abram rich,' only except what the youths have eaten and the portion for the men who came with me, Avnân, Eskôl, and Mâmre, these shall take their share."

CHAP. XIV. 1. And after these events, in the fourth year of this week, in the new moon of the third month, the voice of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram, for I am thy defender and thy exceeding great reward." 2. And he said: "O Lord, Lord, what

¹ There is certainly a *lacuna* between this and the following verse, although there is nothing in the Ethiopic text to show it.

wilt thou give me, and I have no son; and the son of Mâsêk, the son of my maid-servant,¹ this Eleazer of Damascus, he will be my heir; but to me thou hast not given any seed." 3. And he said to him: "This one will not be thy heir, but he that comes from thy body, he will be thy heir." 4. And he took him without and said to him: "Look upon the heavens and see the stars of heaven, if thou art able to count them." 5. And he looked at the heavens and saw the stars; and he said to him: "Thus shall be thy seed." 6. And he believed the Lord, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. 7. And he said to him: "I am the Lord thy God, who have brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, that I might give thee the land of Canaan for an eternal possession, and I will be to thee and thy children after thee a God." 8. And he said: "O Lord, Lord, by what am I to know that I shall inherit it?" 9. And he said to him: "Take to thyself a heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month, and he dwelt near the oak Mâmre, which is near Hebron, and he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these and poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them into halves and laid them opposite each other; but the birds he did not divide. 12. And birds descended upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away and would not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it happened when the sun had set, a stupor fell upon Abram, and, behold, a great horror of darkness fell upon him, and it was spoken to Abram:² "Know in truth that thy seed will be a stranger in a strange land, and they will make them servants and oppress them four hundred years. 14. But the nation which they serve I will judge, and after that they will go out from there with many possessions. 15. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace and shalt be buried in a good age. 16. And in the fourth generation they shall return hither, for not yet are

¹ Cf. LXX. on Gen. xv. 2.

² Cf. LXX. on Gen. xv. 13.

the sins of the Amorites completed." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set, and there was a flame, and, behold, an oven was smoking, and a flame of fire passed through between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed I will give this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river Euphrates, the Kenites and the Kenizzites and the Kadmonites and the Perizzites and the Rephaimites and the Ewites and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Gîrgashites." 19. And Abram went and took up the pieces and the birds and the fruit and the drink offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram according to the covenant which he had made in this month with Noah; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself unto eternity.¹ 21. And Abram rejoiced and told all these things to Sara, his wife, and he believed that he would have seed; but she did not bring forth. And Sara advised her husband Abram, and said to him: "Go in to Hagar, my Egyptian maid; it is possible that he will raise up for thee seed from her." 22. And Abram obeyed the voice of Sara, his wife, and said to her, "Do it," and Sara took her Egyptian maid Hagar and gave her to Abram, her husband, that she should become his wife. 23. And he went in to her, and she conceived and bore him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week: and this was the eighty-sixth year of the life of Abram.²

CHAP. XV. 1. In the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the beginning of the month, Abram celebrated the festival of the first of the grain harvest; and he brought new offerings beside offering of the first-fruits to the Lord, an ox and a goat and a sheep upon the altar as a sacrifice to the Lord, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he placed upon the altar together with frankincense. 2. And the Lord

¹ Cf. note on Chap. vi. 15.

² Gen. xvi. 16.

appeared to Abram and said to him: "I am the omnipotent God; be pleasing to me and be perfect, and I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and will increase thee exceedingly." 3. And Abram fell down on his face. 4. And the Lord spoke to him and said: "Behold my ordinance is with thee, and I will make thee the father of many nations, and thy name shall no longer be called Abram, and thy name henceforth and to eternity shall be Abraham, for I will make thee a father of many nations, and I will make thee exceedingly great, and will cause nations and kings to proceed from thee. 5. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and between thy seed after thee in their generations, as an ordinance of eternity; that I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee in their generations, [and I will give thee] the land where thou art a stranger, the land of Canaan, that thou shalt be ruler over it to eternity, and I will be their God." 6. And the Lord said to Abraham: "And thou, preserve my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee, and circumcise all your foreskins, and let it be a sign of my ordinance unto eternity between me and thee and for thy descendants. 7. On the eighth day ye shall circumcise all the males in your generation, the members of the household, and him whom ye have bought with gold from all the sons of the strangers whom ye have as your property, who are not of thy seed,—they shall circumcise the children of the household, and whomsoever ye have bought shall be circumcised. 8. And my covenant shall be on your flesh as an eternal ordinance; and whosoever is not circumcised, all of thy males the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, his soul shall be rooted out of his generation, for he has overthrown my covenant." 9. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "Sara, thy wife, shall no longer be called by her name Sara, for Sarah shall be her name;¹ for I will bless

¹ The actual change made, according to the Ethiopic, is from Sôrâ to Sârâ, which is the same as made in the best MSS. of the Ethiopic Bible in

and give to thee a son from her, and I will bless him and he will become a people, and kings and nations shall proceed from him." 10. And Abraham fell upon his face and rejoiced, and he said in his heart: "Should there be born a son to one of a hundred years, and shall Sarah, who is ninety, yet bring forth!" 11. And Abraham said to the Lord: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 12. And the Lord said: "Yea, and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish my eternal covenant with him and with his seed after him. 13. And also in reference to Ishmael have I heard thee, and, behold, I will bless him, and I will make him great and will increase him exceedingly, and twelve princes he will beget, and I will make him a great nation; but I will establish my covenant with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear for thee, in these days, in the second year." 14. And having ended speaking with him, the Lord ascended from over above Abraham. 15. And Abraham did as the Lord had said to him, and took Ishmael his son, and all the members of his household, and those whom he had bought with gold, all the males that were in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their sexual member. 16. And at the time of these days Abraham was circumcised, and all the men of his house and all whom he had bought with gold from among the sons of the strangers were circumcised with him. 17. And this is the law for all the generations of eternity, with no change of days and no deviation of day from the eighth day, for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written in the tablets of heaven. 18. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose member is not circumcised upon the eighth day, is not of the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but is of the children of destruction; and he has no sign upon

Gen. xvii. 15. Really, throughout the text, before this, the Book of Jubilees has been using the word *Sôrâ*, for which now *Sârâ* is employed. In Ethiopic this involves no change in the meaning of the name. The LXX. changes from *Σάρτα* to *Σάρρα*.

him that he is the Lord's, but he is for destruction and slaying from the earth and for rooting out of the earth; for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 19. For all the angels of the face and all the angels of glorification were thus created from the day of their creation;¹ and he looked upon the angels of glorification, and he sanctified Israel that they should be with him and with his holy angels. 20. And thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant, and for their generations as an eternal ordinance that they be not rooted out of the land. 21. For it is ordained as a command of the covenant that they should observe it forever among all the children of Israel. 22. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau the Lord did not permit to approach him and did not choose them, for the sons of Abraham are those he acknowledged, and he chose Israel to be his people. 23. And he sanctified it and collected it from among all the children of men, for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are his, and over all has he appointed spirits to rule, that they should lead them astray from him, but over Israel he did not appoint any ruler, neither an angel nor a spirit, but he alone is their ruler, and he preserves them, and he contends for them against the hands of his angels and his spirits and all; and they shall keep all his commandments, and he will bless them, and they shall be his, and he will be theirs, from now on and to eternity. 24. And from now on I will announce to you that the children of Israel will break faith with this ordinance, and will not circumcise their sons according to this whole law, for they will omit this circumcision of the children on the flesh of their circumcision, and they all, the sons of Belial, will leave their children without circumcision as they were born. 25. And the wrath upon the children of Israel will be great from the Lord, for they have deserted his covenant.

¹ The angels even are circumcised, or rather created in that condition. One of the MSS. upon which D. bases his Ethiopic text omits this sentence.

and have departed from his word, and enrage him and blaspheme him, as they do not observe this ordinance according to this sign, for they make their members like the Gentiles for being torn and rooted out of the land. And no longer is there forgiveness or pardon for them that all their sin may be forgiven and pardoned for this error to eternity.

CHAP. XVI. 1. And at the new moon of the fourth month we appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mâmêrê, and we conversed with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given him from Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we spoke these words with Abraham; and we admonished her, and she became afraid and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son as it is written on the tablets of heaven, namely, Isaac, as his name. 4. And when we returned to her in a fixed time then she was pregnant with a son. 5. And in this month the Lord carried out the judgments of Sodom and Gomorrah and Sebrûêm and all the circuit of the Jordan, and burnt them with fire and brimstone, and demolished them unto the present day, according to what we have made known to thee concerning all their actions, that they were terrible and very sinful and they defiled themselves and committed fornication and uncleanness over the earth. 6. And accordingly the Lord inflicted judgment upon all the places by the hand of his servants, according to the uncleanness of Sodom, according to the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved, for the Lord remembered Abraham, and led him out of the destruction. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin on the earth, such as had not been from the days of Adam until now, for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it is commanded and engraven concerning all his seed on the tablets of heaven, that they should tear them out and root them out and judge them according to the judgment of Sodom, and that no seed should be left this man on the earth in

the day of judgment. 10. And in this month Abraham migrated from Hebron, and dwelt between Kades and Shur in the mountains of Gêrârôn. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he migrated from there and dwelt at the well of the oath.¹ And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited Sarah, and did to her as he had said to her, and she conceived and bore a son. And in the third month, in the middle of the month, in the days which the Lord had said to Abraham, on the festival of the first harvest, Isaac was born; and Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first one circumcised in the covenant as it was ordained forever. 12. And in the sixth year, in this month, of the fourth week, we came to Abraham to the well of the oath, and we appeared to him as we had told Sarah, that we would come to her, but she became pregnant with a son, and we returned in the seventh month and found Sarah pregnant before us, and we blessed her and told her all things that had been commanded us concerning him [Abraham] that he should not die until six sons had been born to him, and that he would see them before he should die; but that in Isaac his name and seed should be called. 13. And all the seed of his [other] sons will become Gentiles and will be numbered with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one shall become a holy seed and shall not be numbered among the Gentiles. 14. For he shall become the portion of the Most High, and among those of whom God is ruler will be his abode and all his seed, that it become a seed of the Lord, a nation of inheritance among all the nations, and that it may be a kingdom and a priesthood and a holy nation. 15. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him; and these two rejoiced with an exceeding great joy. 16. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had saved him and had filled him with joy in the land of his pilgrimage, and he celebrated a festival of great joy in this month, seven days, at the altar

¹ I. e., Beer-Sheba.

which he had built at the fountain of the oath; and he built tents for himself and his servants on this festival, and he was the first one to celebrate the festival of tabernacles on the earth. 17. And in these seven days Abraham would bring every single day upon the altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, seven sheep, one young goat, on account of his sins that thereby these might be forgiven him and his seed, and as an offering of salvation seven rams, seven goats, and their fruit offering and their drink offering; over all the fat thereof he burnt incense upon the altar as a sacrifice chosen to the Lord as a sweet savor. 18. At mornings and evenings he burnt frankincense, galbanum, staklē and wood and myrrh and spice and costum; all these seven he brought, united with each other in equal parts and clean. 19. And thus he celebrated his festival seven days, rejoicing with his whole heart and his whole soul, he and all those that were in his house; and there was not any stranger with him nor any bastard. 20. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for according to his pleasure did he create him; for he knew and observed that from him would come the plant of righteousness for the generations of eternity, and that from him should also come the holy seed, like him who had made all things.¹ 21. And he blessed his Creator, and he was glad, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord with a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 22. And we blessed him forever and all his seed after him in all the generations of the world on this earth, because he celebrated this festival in its house according to the testimony of the tablets of heaven. 23. On this account it is ordained in the tablets of heaven concerning Israel that they shall celebrate the festival of the tabernacles seven days in joy, in the seventh month, that it be accepted before the Lord as an eternal law in the generations of all the years. 24.

¹ This is one of the passages in this book which can be interpreted messianically.

And to this there is no limit of days, but it is ordained over Israel as a festival that they shall observe it, and shall dwell in tents, and shall place wreaths upon their heads, and they shall take a willow branch with foliage from the brook. 25. And Abraham took the heart of the palm and good fruit of trees, and every day and day he would go around the altar with the branches, seven times a day, and in the morning he praised and thanked his God for all things in joy.

CHAP. XVII. 1. And in the first year of the fifth week Isaac was weaned, in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great feast in the third month on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian Hagar, was before the face of his father in this place; and Abraham rejoiced and blessed the Lord, because that he could see sons to himself and had not died without sons. 3. And he remembered the words which he had spoken to him on the day that Lot separated from him; and he rejoiced, because the Lord had given him seed on the earth to inherit the land; and he blessed with his whole mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And when Sarah saw that Ishmael was playing and growing, and that Abraham was rejoicing exceedingly, she became jealous of Ishmael, and she said to Abraham: "Drive away this slave and her son, for the son of this one shall not inherit with my son Isaac." 5. And these words were grievous in the eyes of Abraham, on account of his maid, and on account of his son, that he should drive them away from him. 6. And the Lord said to Abraham: "Let it not be grievous in thy eyes concerning the child, and concerning the slave; all that Sarah says to thee, hear her words and do them, for in Isaac shall thy name and thy seed be called for thee. 7. But the son of this [slave] I will make into a great nation, for he is of thy seed. 8. And Abraham arose early in the morning and took bread and a bag of water and put them upon the shoulders of Hagar and of the boy and sent them away. 9. And she went wandering about in the

desert Beer-Sheba ; and the water was finished from the bag, and the boy was thirsty, and was not able to walk, and he fell down. 10. And his mother took him, and going, threw him under an olive tree, and she went and sat down opposite him, the distance of an arrow shot, saying : " I cannot see the death of my child ; " and she sat weeping. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said to her : " Why dost thou weep, Hagar ? arising, take the boy, and lead him by the hand, for the Lord has heard thy voice." 12. And she looked at the bag and opened her eyes and saw a well of water, and she went and filled the bag with water and gave her boy to drink, and she arose and went toward the desert of Paran. 13. And the boy grew and became a horseman, and the Lord was with him. 14. And his mother took for him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt, and she bore him a son, and he called his name Nâbêmôth, for she said : " The Lord was near to me when I cried out to him." 15. And it happened in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month of this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there was a word in the heavens concerning Abraham, that he was a believer in all that the Lord told him, and that he loved him, because in all temptations he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ approached and said before God : " Behold Abraham loves Isaac his son, and esteems him more than all other things ; say that he should bring him as a burnt offering on the altar and thou wilt see if he will do this word, and thou wilt know if he is a believer in everything with which thou triest him." 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was a believer in all trials which he spoke to him ; for he had tried him in his country, and in the strange land, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again with his wife in that she was torn from him, and with the circumcision, and had tried him with Ishmael and Hagar his maid, when he sent them away, and in all in which he had tried him he was found faithful, and his soul did not become impatient, nor

did he hesitate to do it, for he was faithful and a lover of God.¹

CHAP. XVIII. 1. And the Lord said to Abraham, "Abraham." And he said to him, "Behold, O Lord, here I am." 2. And he said to him: "Take thy son Isaac whom thou lovest, and go into the high land, and take him upon one of the hills which I will show thee." 3. And he arose in the morning from there and saddled his ass, and took two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and split the wood for a sacrifice, and he came to the place on the third day, and saw the place from afar. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to the young men: "Remain here with the ass, and I and the boy will go on and will worship, and after worshipping will return to you." 5. And he took the wood for the sacrifice and put it upon the shoulders of his son Isaac and he took in his hands the fire and the knife, and the two went together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father: "My father." 7. And he said to him: "Behold, here I am, my son." 8. [And he said] "Behold here is the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where, my father, is the sheep for the sacrifice?" 9. And he said: "The Lord will show me the sheep for the sacrifice, my son." 10. And he came to the place of the hill of the Lord, and he built an altar and laid the wood upon the altar, and tied Isaac his son and placed him upon the wood over the altar, and he stretched out his hands to take the knife to sacrifice Isaac. 11. And I stood before him [God] and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said: "Tell him not to lay his hand upon the boy and to do him no harm; for I know that he fears the Lord." 12. And the Lord called to him from heaven and said to him: "Abraham! Abraham!" and he was frightened and said: "Behold, here I am." 13. And he said to him: "Do not lay thy hands upon the boy, and do him no

¹ This list of temptations appears elsewhere, although with variation of figures, in similar writings. The Targum Jerusal. to Gen. xxii. 1 has the same number.

harm, for now I know that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not spared from me thy first-born son." 14 And the prince Mastêmâ was confounded; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold a ram held fast with his horns. 15. And Abraham went and took the ram and brought him as a sacrifice in the place of his son Isaac. 16. And Abraham called this place "The Lord seeth," so that it is said "The Lord saw it" for Mount Zion. 17. And the Lord called Abraham by name a second time from heaven as he had appeared to us that we should speak to him in the name of the Lord. 18. And he said: "By my head, I swear, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing and hast not spared from me thy first-born son whom thou lovest, therefore I will surely bless thee and will surely increase thy head like the stars of heaven and like the sand of the shore of the sea. 19. And thy seed shall inherit the cities of their enemy, and in thy seed shall be blessed all the nations of the earth, for this that thou hast listened to my voice and hast shown unto all that thou art faithful unto me in all that I say to thee; go in peace." 20. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beer-Sheba, and Abraham dwelt near the well of the oath; and he celebrated this festival in all the years, seven days in joy, and called it "the festival of the Lord," according to the seven days in which he had gone and returned in peace. 21. And thus it is, and it is engraven and written in the tablets of heaven concerning Israel and its seed to keep this festival seven days in joy.

CHAP. XIX. 1. And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee Abraham returned and dwelt opposite Hebron, that is, Karjâtârbôk, two weeks of years. 2. And in the first year of the third week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were completed, and she died in Hebron. 5. And Abraham went to mourn over and to bury her; and we tried him if his spirit was patient and if he was impatient in the words of his mouth, and he

was found patient in this, and was not shaken. 4. For in the patience of his soul he conversed with the children of Kêti that they should give him a place that he could bury his body in it; and the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he asked with modesty of heart of the children of Kêti, and they gave him the land of the double cave opposite Mâmre, which is Hebron, for forty pieces of silver. 5. But they begged him, saying: "We will give it to thee;" and he did not take anything from them for nothing, for he gave the price for the place, perfect silver; and he bowed down before them twice, and then he buried the body in the double cave. 6. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, and this is two jubilees and four weeks and one year; those are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. And this was the tenth trial with which Abraham was tempted, and he was found faithful and of patient spirit. 8. And he did not speak a single word concerning that God had said that he would give him and his seed after him this land when he petitioned that he might bury his body there, for he was found faithful and patient and was written down as a friend of the Lord in the tablets of heaven. 9. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for Isaac his son, and her name was Rebecca, the daughter of Betuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 10. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the sons of his household, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 11. And she bore him six sons, Zambari, and Joksan, and Madai, and Ejazbok, and Sachai in the second week of years.¹ 12. And in the sixth week, in the second year, Rebecca bore to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau: but Jacob was pious and righteous and Esau was a rough man, a tiller of the field and hairy, but Jacob dwelt within tents. 13. And the youths grew, and

¹ Only five names are given in the Ethiopic text. The similarity of the names Medan and Midian (Gen. xxv. 2) has manifestly led to the omission of one.

Jacob learned writing ; but Esau did not learn it, for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and learned war and all rough deeds. 14. But Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 15. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that his name and seed should be called for him in Jacob, and he called Rebecca, and commanded her concerning Jacob, for he saw that she too loved Jacob much more than Esau. 16. And he said to her : " My daughter, watch my son Jacob, for he shall be in my stead upon the earth as a blessing among the sons of men and to all the seed of Shem, and for an honor, and I know that the Lord has chosen him for himself as a people secluded from all those upon the face of the earth, and behold, Isaac, my son, loves Esau more than Jacob, and I see that thou lovest righteousness for Jacob ; add yet to do something good for him and let thine eyes be over him as the beloved, for he shall be to me a blessing over the earth, from now on and to all the generations of the earth. 17. Let thy hands be strong, and thou shalt rejoice in thy son Jacob, for him do I love exceedingly above all my children ; for to eternity the Lord will be blessed in him, and his seed shall fill all the land. 18. If a man can number the dust of the earth, then his seed will be numbered. 19. And all the blessings with which the Lord has blessed me and my seed shall be to Jacob and his seed all the days, and in his seed shall my name be blessed and the names of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahaalel, and Seth, and Adam ; and these will serve to a founding of heaven and a strengthening of the earth and for a removal of all the stars upon the firmament." ¹ 20. And he called Jacob before the eyes of his mother Rebecca, and he kissed him, and blessed him, and said to him ; " My beloved son Jacob, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from the firmament above and give thee all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah,

¹ This probably means that a great nation is to come from Jacob, referring either to the Israel of history or to that of the messianic period.

and Shem, and all that he has conversed with me and all that he has said that he would give me, may he fasten these to thee and to thy seed to eternity, according to the days of heaven over the earth. 21. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not become masters over thee and over thy seed to remove thee from the Lord who is thy God, from now on and to eternity. 22. And may the Lord God be thy father, and thou his first-born son, and his people for all days: go, my son, in peace!" 23. And the two went together from Abraham. 24. And Rebecca loved Jacob with all her heart, and with all her soul, exceedingly more than Esau; and Isaac loved Esau exceedingly more than Jacob.

CHAP. XX. 1 And in the thirty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week, Abraham called Ishmael and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should preserve the path of the Lord to do righteousness and should love each his neighbor, and that they should be thus in all the wars that they go into against every one that is against them, and do justice and righteousness over the earth, and that they circumcise their sons according to the covenant which he had made with them, and that they should not transgress neither to the right hand nor to the left from all the paths which the Lord had commanded them, and that they should preserve themselves from all uncleanness, and that we should remove from our midst all uncleanness and fornication. 3. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and do not commit fornication after their eyes and hearts; and that they should not take unto themselves wives from among the daughters of Canaan, for the seed of Canaan shall be rooted out of the land. 4. And he spoke to them concerning the judgment of the giants and the judgment of Sodom, that these had been judged on account of their wickedness, and on account of fornication and uncleanness and destruction

among each other. 5. "But be on your guard against all fornication and uncleanness and contamination of sin, so that ye do not make our name a curse and bring your lives and your sons to destruction by the sword and ye become accursed like Sodom, and all your remnant like the sons of Gomorrah. 6. And I call upon you as witnesses, my sons, love the God of heaven and submit to all his commandments, and do not walk after their idols and after their uncleanness, and do not make molten gods for yourselves nor wooden ones. 7. For they are vanity, and have no spirit, but they are the work of hands, and all who depend upon them Do not worship them nor bow down to them. 8. But worship ye the Most High God and bow down to him ever, and hope upon his face at all times, and do rectitude and righteousness before him, that he may find pleasure in you and give you his mercy, and send down rain to you morning and evening, and bless all your work which ye do on the earth, and bless thy grain and thy water, and bless the seed of thy body, and the seed of thy land, and the herds of thy oxen, and the herds of thy sheep. 9. And thou shalt be for a blessing over the earth, and all the nations of the earth shall desire for you and will bless thy sons in my name that they be blessed as I am." 10. And he gave to Ishmael his son and to the sons of Keturah a gift and sent them away from Isaac his son. 10. And Ishmael and his sons and the sons of Keturah and their sons went together and dwelt from Pharmon (Pharan) to the entrance of Babylon, in all the land which faces toward the east opposite the desert. 12. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs and Ishmaelites.

CHAP. XXI. 1. And in the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and his father commanded him saying: "I am gray and do not know the day of my death, for I am satisfied in my days. 2. And behold, my son, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and in all the days of my life I have ever

remembered the Lord and sought with all my might that I might do the will of my God, and that I might walk aright in all his paths. 3. My soul hated idols so that I could be on my guard to do the will of him that created me, for he is the living God, and he is holy, and he is faithful, and he is just above all, and no evil is with him to have regard for persons and to take presents, for he is a god of righteousness, and a doer of judgment over all who transgress his commandments, and all that violate his covenant. 4. And thou, my son, observe his commandments and his ordinance and his judgment, and walk not after the unclean and after the wooden images and after the molten ones. 5. And do not eat any blood of an animal, or of a beast, or of any bird that flies in the heavens. 6. And if thou slaughterest, slaughter as a pure sacrifice that is acceptable; slaughter it and pour out its blood upon the altar and all the fat of the sacrifice place upon the altar with flour and fruit offering, mixed with oil together with drink offering; place all this together upon the altar as a sacrifice of sweet savor before the Lord. 7. Like the fat of the thank offering lay them upon the fire, like the fat of the belly, and all the fat upon the entrails, and the two kidneys and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the thigh pieces, and the liver, together with the kidneys wrapped up in them; bring this all as a sweet savor which will be acceptable before the Lord together with fruit and drink offerings, thou shalt bring them all together for a sweet savor as the bread of the burnt offering for the Lord. 7. And the meat eat on that day and on the second day, and do not let the sun go down on it on the second day until it is eaten and nothing shall be left over for the third day, for it is not acceptable nor chosen, and it shall no longer be eaten, and all who eat bring sin upon themselves. 8. For thus have I found it written in the books of my forefathers, in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah. 9. And upon all thy sacrifices thou shalt put salt, and thou shalt not violate the covenant of salt in all thy sacrifices before

the Lord. 10. And watch all the wood of the sacrifices, that thou dost not bring sacrificing wood besides the following: cypress, fir, and almond, and pine, and fir, and cedar, and savin, and citron, and olive, and myrrh, and balsam.¹ 11. Of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar, under the sacrifice, having examined its appearance, and do not place any broken or dark wood; hard wood and unbroken, perfect, and nearly grown, and not old, for its savor is gone and there is no more savor in it, as at first. 12. Besides these kinds of wood thou shalt place no other kinds, for its savor has departed, and thou shalt send up the smell of its savor to heaven. 13. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayest be right in all thy actions. 14. And at all times be clean in thy body and wash thyself with water, before thou goest to sacrifice upon the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou approachest the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, return and wash thy hands and thy feet. 16. And let there not appear upon any one of you any blood, nor upon your clothes: be on thy guard, my son, guard thyself exceedingly against blood; bury it in the ground. 16. And do not eat any blood for it is the soul, eat no blood whatever. 17. And do not receive any present for any blood of man that it should be spilt in vain without judgment; for this blood which is spilt causes sin upon the earth, and it cannot be cleansed of the blood except by blood being shed; and do not receive a present or any gift for the blood of man; blood for blood; and ye shall become acceptable before the Lord God Most High, and he will be the protector of good, and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil and be saved from all death. 18. I see, my son, all the deeds of the sons of men, that they are sin and evil, and all their deeds are uncleanness, and rebellious and defiling, and there is no righteousness with them. 19. Guard thyself, do not go on their paths to step into their footprints and do not commit the error of death before

¹ Cf. on these names Dillmann's *Lexicon Ethiopico-Latinum*.

the Most High God, lest he hide his face from thee, and return thee into the hands of thy transgression and root thee out of the land, and thy seed from under heaven, and thy name be destroyed and thy seed from all the earth. 20. Preserve thyself from all their deeds and from all their uncleanness, and observe the observance of the Lord Most High and do his will and do right in all things. 21. And he will bless thee in all thy deeds, and will bring forth from thee a plant of righteousness in all the earth, in all the generations of the earth. And my name shall be known, and thy name, under heaven, in all the days. 22. Go, my son, in peace. May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do his will, and may he bless all thy seed and the descendants of thy seeds to the generations of eternity, with all the blessings of righteousness, that thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth." 23. And he went out from him, rejoicing happy.

CHAP. XXII. 1. And it happened in the first week of the forty-third [fourth] jubilee, in the second year, that is the year in which Abraham died; Isaac and Ishmael came from the fountain of the oath that they might celebrate the festival of the seven days, that is, the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, with Abraham, their father; and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons came to him. 2. For Isaac had much possessions in Beer-Sheba, and Isaac went out to see his possessions and returned to his father. 3. And in these days Ishmael came to see his father, and they all came together, and Isaac offered up a sacrifice as a burnt offering, and brought it upon the altar which his father had made at Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before his brother Ishmael, and Rebecca made new cakes out of new grain, and she gave thereof to Jacob, her best son, that he should bring to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob, who excelled, a thank offering to Abraham, that he

should drink and eat. 6. And he ate and drank and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heavens and the earth, and had made all the fat of the earth and had given it to the children of men to eat and to drink and that they should bless their Creator. 7. "And now I humbly thank thee, my Lord, that thou hast shown to me this day: behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old and full of days, and all the days were peace. 8. The sword of the hater did not overcome me in all that thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until the present day. 9. My God, thy grace be over thy servant and over the seed of his sons, that he may be to thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth, from now on and to all the days of the generations of the earth unto all eternities." 10. And he called Jacob and said to him: "My son Jacob, the Lord of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness and his will before him, and may he choose thee and thy seed that ye may be a people for his inheritance, according to his will in all the days. 11. And thou, my son Jacob, come hither and kiss me." 12. And he approached and kissed him, and he said: "Blessed be Jacob, my son, and all his children to the Lord Most High in all eternities; may the Lord give thee a seed of righteousness from among thy sons, to sanctify him in the midst of all the earth; and may all the nations serve thee and bow down to thy seed. 13. Become powerful before men, as thou rulest over all the seed of the earth and among the seed of Seth, when thy path and the path of thy sons is just for being his holy nation. 14. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings with which he blessed me and with which he blessed Noah and Adam; may they rest upon the sacred head of thy seed to all the generations and to eternity. 15. And may the Lord preserve thee clean from all unclean defilement, that thou mayest be forgiven of all the sins which without knowledge thou hast committed, and may he strengthen thee and bless

thee, and mayest thou inherit the whole earth. 16. And may he renew his covenant with thee, that thou mayest be to him a nation for his inheritance to all eternities, and he may be to thee and to thy seed a God in reality and in truth in all the days of the earth. 17. And thou, my son Jacob, remember my words and observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father; withdraw from among the Gentiles and do not eat with them, and do not according to their actions, and be not their companion; for their actions are unclean and all their ways are defiled and their sacrifices an abomination. 18. They sacrifice to the dead, and the evil spirits they worship, and in the graves they eat, and all their doings are in vain and for naught. 19. They have no heart to think and no eyes to see any of their actions and when they err, saying to a piece of wood, "Thou art my God," and to a stone, "Thou art my Lord and my saviour," and these have no heart. 20. And thou, my son Jacob, may the Most High Lord aid thee, and the God of heaven bless thee and preserve thee from all their uncleanness and from all their error. 21. Be thou on thy guard, my son Jacob, that thou takest not a wife from among all the seed of the daughters of Canaan, for all its seed is to be rooted out of the land; for on account of the sin of Ham and the transgression of Canaan also all his seed will be destroyed from the earth, and none will be left and escape of them on the day of judgment. 22. And all those that worship idols and all haters will have no hope in the land of the living, for they will descend into Sheol and will go unto the place of judgment, and there will not be any remembrance of them on the earth; just as the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth, there will be taken away all those that worship idols. 23. Fear not, my son Jacob, and do not tremble, son of Abraham; the Most High God will protect thee from all destruction, and from all the paths of error he will deliver thee. 24. This house I have built for myself, that I might place my name above it upon the land which is given to

thee and to thy seed forever, and that it should be called the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed forever, since thou wilt build up my house and wilt establish my name before God unto eternity, and thy seed and thy name will stand in all the generations of the earth." 25. And he ceased speaking and commanding and blessing. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, the father of his father, and his thoughts kissed him seven times, and his love and his heart rejoiced over him. 26. And he blessed him with his whole heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, the Creator of all, who has led me out of Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land as an inheritance to eternity and that I should establish a holy seed, may the Most High be blessed to eternity." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, who is in all my heart and in all my thoughts, may I rejoice in him, and may thy grace and thy mercy be extensive over him and over his seed all the days. 29. And do not desert him and do not neglect him from now on and to the eternity of days, and may thy eyes be open over him and over his seed, that thou protectest him and blessest him and sanctifiest him, to be a nation for thy inheritance. 30. And bless him with all thy blessings from now on and to all days to eternity, and renew thy covenant, and be merciful with him and with his seed, in all thy will to all the generations of the earth."

CHAP. XXIII. 1. And he laid two fingers of Jacob upon his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity and was gathered to his father. 2. And during all this, Jacob was lying on his bosom and did not know that Abraham, the father of his father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and, behold, Abraham was cold like ice, and he said, "Father! father!" and no one answered, and he knew that Abraham was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told it to

Rebecca, his mother, and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night and told him, and they went together and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and going they found Abraham as a corpse. 5. And Isaac fell upon the face of his father Abraham, and wept and blessed him and kissed him; and the words were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael, his son, arose and came to his father Abraham, and wept over Abraham, his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept exceedingly. 6. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near to Sarah, his wife, and they mourned over him forty days, all the people of his house, Isaac and Ishmael and all their children and the children of Keturah in their places; and the lamentation and weeping over Abraham was ended. 7. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and the days of his life were completed, and he was old, perfect in days. 8. For the days of the lives of the first fathers were nineteen jubilees, and after the flood they began to decrease from nineteen jubilees, diminishing in the jubilees and becoming speedily old and satisfying their days on account of the many sufferings and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 9. But Abraham was perfect in his deeds with the Lord and well pleasing and in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life until he grew old on account of wickedness, and satisfied with days. 10. And all the generations that arise from then and unto the day of the great judgment age die speedily before completing two jubilees. 11. And it will be since their knowledge leaves them on account of their old age that also all their knowledge ceases. 12. And on that day if a man lives a jubilee and a half jubilee, they say concerning him, "He has lived long;" and the mass of his days are sufferings and pain and trouble and no peace, for punishment follows upon punishment, hostility upon hostility, trouble upon trouble, wickedness upon

wickedness, sickness upon sickness, and all evil judgments of this kind, as sickness and inflammation and hail and ice and snow and fever and suffering and becoming stiff, and sterility and death and sword and captivity and all the punishments and sufferings. 13. All this comes in the evil generation which sins upon the earth with the uncleanness of fornication and defilement and the abomination of their deeds. 14. And then they will say: "The days of the fathers were many, even to one thousand years, and were good, and behold the days of our lives, if a man has lived many, are seventy years, and if he is strong, eighty years, and all were evil and no peace will be in this evil generation." 15. And in that generation the children will be about to upbraid their fathers and their sires concerning the sin, and concerning the injustice, and concerning the words of their mouth, and concerning the great wickedness which they do, and concerning their deserting the ordinances which the Lord had covenanted between them and him, that they should observe and do all his commandments and his ordinances and all his laws and not depart to the right or to the left. 16. For all are wicked, and every mouth speaks transgression, and all their deeds are unclean and an abomination, and all their paths are contamination and uncleanness and destruction. 17. Behold, the earth will be destroyed on account of all their deeds, and there will be no seed of wine and no oil, because all their deeds are unbelief, and they all will be destroyed together, the beasts and the animals and the birds and all the fish of the sea, on account of the sons of men. 18. And they will contend with each other, the young with the old and the old with the young; the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and on account of the covenant, for they have forgotten his commandments and his covenant and the festivals and the months and the sabbaths and the jubilees and all law. 19. And they will arise with swords and murder to bring

them back to the path, but they will not return until the blood of many has been spilt upon the earth, one over the other. 20. And those who escape will not return on the path of righteousness from their wickedness, for they all will arise for a robbery for wealth, that each one may take that which is his neighbors' and be called by a great name, but not in reality and in truth, and the most holy will be defiled in the uncleanness of the destruction of their defilement. 21. And a great punishment will be over the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and he will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity and to robbery and to devouring. 22. And he will awaken over them the sinners of the Gentiles, who will have no mercy or grace for them, and who regard the face of none, neither old nor young nor any one; for they are wicked and powerful that they act more wickedly than all the children of men; and in Israel they practise violence and sin in Jacob, and the blood of many will be spilt on the land; and there will be none to gather and to bury. 23. And in those days they will cry aloud and call and pray that they be saved from the hands of the sinful Gentiles, and there will be none to save them. 24. And the heads of the children will be white with gray hair, and a child of three weeks will appear as old as a man of a hundred years, and their standing will be destroyed by trouble and oppression. 25. And in those days the children will begin to seek the laws and to seek the commandments and to return to the path of righteousness. 26. And the days will begin to increase and grow many, and the children of men generation by generation and day by day, until their days approach to one thousand years and to a multitude of years and days. 27. And no one will be old or satisfied with days, for all will be [like] children and youths. 28. And all their days will be in peace, and in joy they will end them and live, and there will be no satan nor any destroyer, for all their days will be days of peace and healing and blessings. 29. And

at that time the Lord will heal his servants, and they will arise and will see great peace and will cast out their enemies; and the just shall see it and be thankful and rejoice in joy to all eternity, and shall see judgment and curses upon all their enemies. 30. And their bones shall rest in the earth, but their spirits shall increase in joy, and they shall know that the Lord is the doer of judgment, and gives mercy to the hundreds and thousands and to all that love him. 31. And thou, Moses, write down all these words, for thus are they written, and they have raised them upon the tablets of heaven to the generation of eternity.¹

CHAP. XXIV. 1. And it happened after the death of Abraham that the Lord blessed Isaac, his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the fountain of the vision, in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, in addition to the first famine which was in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob cooked a mess of lentils, and Esau came from the field hungry. 4. And he said to Jacob, his brother, "Give me of thy mess of pulse;" and Jacob said to him, "Give up to me thy right of first birth, and I will give thee bread and also from this mess of pulse." 5. And Esau said in his heart, "I shall die; what is it to me to be born first?" 6. And he said to Jacob, "I will give it to you." 7. And Jacob said, "Swear to me this day," and he swore to him. 8. And Jacob gave to his brother Esau bread and the mess, and he ate and was satisfied, and Esau despised his right of first birth; and from this was Esau called Edom,² on account of the mess of grain which Jacob gave him for his right of first birth. 9. And Jacob became the older, but Esau diminished from his greatness. 10. And

¹ These somewhat crass messianic views this book has in common with other and similar works of the same period. Cf. Enoch c. 5 et passim.

² The Ethiopic translator must have read ἐψήματος προπὸν for πρὸν. Cf. LXX. on Gen. xxv. 30.

the famine was over the land, and Isaac went to go down to Egypt in the second year of this week, and he went to the king of the Philistines at Gêrârâ, to Abimelech. 11. And the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "Do not go down to Egypt; dwell in the land which I tell thee of: be a stranger in this land, and I will be with thee and will bless thee. 12. For to thee and to thy seed I will give all this land, and I will confirm my oath which I swore to Abraham, thy father, and I will increase thy seed like the stars of the heavens, and I will give to thy seed all this land. 13. And in thy seed shall be blessed all the nations of the earth, because thy father hearkened unto my voice and observed my words and my commandments and my law and my ordinances and my covenant; and now hear my voice and dwell in this land." 14. And he dwelt at Gerar three weeks of years. 15. And Abimelech commanded on his account and on account of all that was his, saying: "Every man that touches him or any thing that is his, shall surely die." 16. And Isaac increased in Philistia, and he secured many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and many possessions. 17. And he sowed in the land of Philistia and he raised a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines were jealous of him, and all the wells which the young men of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham the Philistines covered after the death of Abraham and filled them with earth. 18. And Abimelech said to Isaac: "Go from me, for thou art exceedingly greater than I;" and Isaac went in the first year of this seventh week from there, and migrated to valleys of Gêrânôn. 19. And they returned and dug open the wells of water, which the servants of Abraham, his father, had dug, and which the Philistines had covered over after the death of Abraham, his father, and he called their names as Abraham, his father, had named them. 20. And the young men of Isaac dug wells in the valley, and found living water; and the shepherds of Gêrânôn quarrelled with the shepherds

of Isaac, saying, "This is our water," and Isaac called the name of this well Contention, "because ye have contended with us." 21. And they dug another well, and quarrelled on its account, and Isaac called its name Narrowness. 22. And he arose from there, and they dug another well, and did not quarrel on its account, and he called its name Extension, and Isaac said, "Now the Lord has extended us;" and he increased in the land. 23. And he ascended from there to the well of the oath in the first year of the first week in the forty-third jubilee. 24. And the Lord appeared to him in this night, at the new moon of the first month, and said to him: "I am the God of Abraham, thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and I will bless thee and increase thy seed like the sand of the sea, on account of Abraham, my servant." 25. And he built an altar there where Abraham, his father, had first built one, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and offered sacrifices to the God of Abraham, his father. And they dug a well and found living water. 26. And the young men of Isaac dug another well, and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines, and this is to us the affair." 27. And Isaac called the name of this place The Well of the Oath, for there had he sworn to Abimelech and Akôsat, his friend, and Phikôl his companion. 28. And Isaac knew on that day that in injustice they had sworn to them to keep the peace with them. 29. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines, and he said: "Cursed be the Philistines to the day of wrath and rage above all the nations: may the Lord make them an ignominy and a curse and anger and rage in the hands of sinful nations, and by the hands of the Hittites let him root them out. 30. And whoever escapes from the sword of the enemy and from the Hittites, may the people of the just root them out in judgment from under heaven, for they will be enemies and haters to my children in their days over the earth. 31. And may no remnant of

them be left nor may any be saved on the day of the judgment of wrath, for to destruction and rooting out and being destroyed from the land are all the seed of the Philistines, and no remnant or name shall be left of *their* seed over the earth. 32. For even if he had ascended to heaven, they would bring him down from there; and if he is fortified upon the earth they will tear him from there; and if he hides himself among the Gentiles, they will destroy him from there; and even if he descends into Sheôl, there too shall his judgment be great, and no peace shall be to him; and if he go into captivity, by the hand of those that seek his soul on the way he shall be killed, and no name or seed shall be left him on the whole earth, for he shall go into the curse of eternity." 33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the tablets of heaven, to do to him on the day of judgment, that he may be rooted out of the earth.

CHAP. XXV. 1. And in the second year of this week in this jubilee Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake to him, saying: "My son, do not take to thyself a wife from among the daughters of Canaan, like Esau, thy brother, who took to himself as wives two from the seed of Canaan, and they embittered my spirit with all their unclean deeds, for all their deeds are fornication and shame, and there is no righteousness in them, but it is evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my mercy, my son, blesses thee at every hour and watch of the night; and now, my son, hear my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take to thyself a wife from among the daughters of this land, except from the house of thy father and except from the family of thy father: take to thyself a wife from the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a generation of righteousness and thy seed holy." 3. And then spake Jacob with his mother Rebecca, and said to her: "Behold, I am now nine weeks of years old and know no woman: I have touched none nor betrothed myself to any, nor do I think

of taking to myself a wife from all the seed of the daughters of Canaan. 4. For I remember, O mother, the words of Abraham, our father, that he commanded me not to take my wife from among all the seed of the house of Canaan, but from the seed of my father's house I should take to myself a wife and from my relationship. 5. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and upon them is my heart set to take a wife of them. 6. On this account I have preserved myself in my spirit not to sin nor defile myself in all my ways all the days of my life, for with reference to lust and fornication my father Abraham gave me many commands. 7. And with all that he has commanded me these twenty-two years my brother contends with me and continually converses, saying: My brother, take to wife one of the sisters of my two wives; but I am not willing to do as my brother has done. 8. I swear before thee, my mother, that all the days of my life I will not take to myself a wife from the seed of all the daughters of Canaan, and will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 9. And do not fear, mother; trust me that I will do thy will, and will walk in rectitude, and my paths will not be destroyed in eternity." 10. And then she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hand toward heaven, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created heaven and earth, and she gave him thanks and praise. 11. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God and blessed be his name for ever and ever, who has given to me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for thine he is and thine shall be his seed unto all the days and in all the generations of the world: 12. Bless him, O Lord, and place the blessing of righteousness in my mouth that I may bless him." 13. And at that hour the Holy Spirit descended into her mouth, and she placed her two hands upon the head of Jacob, and she said: "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the worlds, and thee do all the generations of men praise: may he give thee, my son, the path

of righteousness, and reveal to thy seed righteousness. 14. And may thy sons increase in thy life, and stand to the number of the months of the year, and may thy sons increase and grow more than the stars of the heavens, and more than the sand of the sea increase their numbers. 15. And may he give them this fruitful land, as he said he would give it to Abraham and his seed after him in all the days, and may they possess it to eternity. 16. And may I see for thee, my son, blessed children in this life, and may holy seed be all thy seed. 17. And as the spirit of thy mother in her life caused thee to rest in her womb to give thee birth, thus my affection blesses thee, and my breasts bless thee and my mouth and my tongue praise thee. 18. Increase and be poured over the earth, and thy seed be perfect in all the earth in the joy of heaven and earth, and may thy seed rejoice, and on the great day of peace may the peace of thy name be theirs. 19. And may thy seed abide to all the worlds, and may the Most High God be their God, and may the Most High God dwell with them and his sanctuary be built to all the eternities. 20. He that blesses thee be blessed, and all flesh that curses thee in lies, may it be cursed." 21. And she kissed him and said to him, "May the Lord of the world love thee as the heart of thy mother, and may her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee." 22. And she ceased from blessing him.

CHAP. XXVI. 1. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said to him: "My son, I am old, and behold my eyes are dull of seeing, and I do not know the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapon and thy bow and thy quiver, and go to the field and hunt and catch something for me, my son, and prepare me a meal such as my soul loves, and bring it to me, so that I may eat and my soul bless thee before I die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And Esau went early to the field to hunt and catch something and bring it to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said to him: "Behold, I have heard

thy father Isaac speaking with thy brother Esau, saying, 'Hunt me something and prepare a meal and bring it in to me, and I will bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. But now hear, my son, my words which I command thee: Go to thy flocks and bring me two good young kids, and I will make a meal out of them such as he loves, and thou shalt bring it in to thy father and he shall eat, that he may bless thee before the Lord before he dies, and thou become blessed." 7. And Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: "O mother, I will not hold back any thing that my father may eat and is pleasing to him; only I fear, my mother, that he will know my voice and will desire to touch me; and thou knowest that I am smooth, but my brother Esau is rough, and I may be before his eyes like an evil-doer, and I should do a deed which he has not commanded me, and he might become angry with me and I should bring a curse upon myself and not a blessing." 8. And Rebecca, his mother, said to him: "Upon me, my son, be thy curse; and again listen to my voice." 9. And Jacob obeyed the words of his mother Rebecca, and he went and took two good and fat young kids and brought them in to his mother, and his mother made a meal out of them as he liked it. 10. And Rebecca took the clothing of her elder son Esau, the most precious with her in the house, and clothed Jacob with them, and the skins of the kids she placed over his hands and upon the exposed parts of his body; and she gave the meat and the bread which she had made into the hands of her son Jacob. 11. And he went in to his father and said: "Behold, I am thy son; I have done as thou hast said to me: arise and sit up and eat of what I have hunted, my father, that thy soul may bless me." 12. And Isaac said to his son, "What is this, that thou hast so suddenly found it, my son?" 13. And Jacob said to him: "He who has caused me to find it, thy God, is before me." 14. And Isaac said: "Come hither to me, that I may touch thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau, or if not." 15. And Jacob came near to Isaac his father, and he touched him.

16. And he said: "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hand is the hand of Esau;" and he did not know him, for it was a fate from heaven to remove his spirit; and Isaac did not know him, for his hands were like his [i. e., Esau's] hands, and hairy like the hands of Esau, so that he should bless him. 17. And he said, "Art thou my son Esau?" And he said, "I am thy son." And he said: "Bring hither to me, and I will eat of what thou hast hunted, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 18. And he brought to him the meal, and he ate; and he brought in wine, and he drank. 19. And Isaac, his father, said to him: "Approach and kiss me, my son;" and he approached and kissed him. 20. And he smelt the smell of his clothes, and he blessed him, and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is like the smell of the field which the Lord has blessed; and may the Lord give to thee and increase thee like the dew of the heaven and the dew of earth, and may grain increase and oil be plenty to thee, and may the nations serve thee and the peoples bow down to thee. 21. Be the lord of thy brother, and may the sons of thy mother bow down to thee, and may all the blessings with which the Lord has blessed me and has blessed my father Abraham be thine and thy seed's to eternity: he that curseth thee shall be cursed, and he that blesseth thee shall be blessed." 22. And when Isaac ended blessing his son Jacob, then Jacob went out from Isaac his father to hide himself. 23. But Esau, his brother, came in from hunting, and he too prepared a meal and brought it in to his father, and said to his father, "Arise, my father, and eat of my prey, that thy soul may bless me." 24. And Isaac, his father, said to him, "Who art thou?" 25. And he said to him, "I am thy first-born son Esau; I have done as thou hast commanded me." 26. And Isaac was very much astounded, and said: "Who was he that hunted and caught something for me, and brought it in, and I ate of all before thou camest in, and I blessed him? 27. Blessed shall he be and his seed to eternity." 28. And when Esau

heard the words of his father Isaac he cried with a loud and very bitter voice, and said to his father: "Bless me too, father!" 29. And he said to him, "Thy brother came and took thy blessing." 30. [And Esau said:] "And now I know why his name is called Jacob; behold he has ensnared me twice; the first time he took my birth-right, and now he takes my blessing." 31. And he said, "Hast thou not a blessing left for me, my father?" 32. And Isaac answered and said to Esau: "Behold, I have set him as lord over thee and all his brothers, and have given them to be his servants, and with much grain and oil and wine I have strengthened him, and what shall I do to thee, my son?" 33. And Esau said to his father Isaac: "Hast thou but one blessing, father? Bless also me, father." 34. And Esau raised his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said to him: "Behold, from the fatness of the earth shall be thy substance and from the dew of heaven above; and thou shalt live by thy sword and thou shalt serve thy brother." 35. And it will happen when thou art great and shalt break his yoke off thy neck, thou shalt commit a sin unto death, and all thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven." 36. And Esau was wroth at Jacob on account of the blessing with which his father had blessed him; and he said in his heart, "Now the days of grief may come for my father, that I may kill my brother Jacob."

CHAP. XXVII. 1. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca, sending, called for Jacob, her younger son. 2. And she said to him: "Behold, thy brother Esau is making his plans to kill thee; and now hear my words: arise and flee to my brother Laban and dwell with him a number of days, until the anger of thy brother has turned and his anger has departed from thee and he forget every thing that thou hast done him, and I will send to bring thee from there." 3. And Jacob said: "I have no fear: if he desires to kill me, I will kill him." 4. And she said to him, "Then should I be deprived of both my sons in one day." 5. And

Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: "Behold, thou knowest that my father is old, and I see that his eyes have become dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes that I leave him and go away from thee, and my father will be angry and will curse me. I will not go; only if he sends me will I go from here." 6. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and will speak to him, and he will send thee." 7. And Rebecca went in and spake to Isaac: "I am aggrieved in my life on account of the two daughters of Heth which Esau has taken to himself as wives from among the daughters of Canaan: why should I yet live? for the daughters of the land of Canaan are evil." 8. And Isaac called his son Jacob, and blessed him, and admonished him, and said to him: "Do not take to thee a wife from among all the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of the father of thy mother, to the house of Bethuel, and take to thee from there a wife from among the daughters of Laban, the brother of thy mother. And may the God of heaven bless thee and increase and enlarge thee, and become thou a collection of nations, and may he give the blessings of thy father Abraham to thee and thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy pilgrimage and all the land which the Lord gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace!" 9. And Isaac sent away Jacob, and he went to Mesopotamia to Laban, the son of Bethuel, the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, the mother of Jacob. 10. And it happened when Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia, the spirit of Rebecca was sad after her son had gone, and she wept. 11. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son, for he is going in peace, and in peace he will return. 12. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil and will be with him, for he will not desert him any day of his life, for I perceive that the Lord will prosper his path wherever he goes, until he returns in peace to us and we see him in peace. 13. Do not fear on his account, my sister, for right is his path and he is a

perfect and faithful man and will not be destroyed: do not weep!" 14. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of Jacob her son, and blessed him. 15. And Jacob went from The Well of the Oath that he might come to Haran in the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and came to Lôzâ among the mountains, that is, Bethel, in the beginning of the first month of this week, and he came to the place at eve, and he turned off from the way toward the west from the highway in this night, and slept there, for the sun had set. 16. And he took one from among the stones of that place and laid it under a tree, and he was travelling alone, and he slept. 17. And he dreamed in that night a dream, and behold, a ladder was planted upon the earth, and its head reached to the heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it, and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 18. And the Lord spake unto Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land upon which thou art sleeping I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee, and thy seed shall be like the sand of the sea, and thou shalt increase to the west and east and south and north; and all the countries of the nations shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed. 19. And behold, I will be with thee and still watch over thee in all things wherever thou goest, and will bring thee back into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do all that I have said to thee." 20. And Jacob finished his sleep, and said: "Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I did not know it." 21. And he was afraid, and said: "Dreadful is this place, which is nothing but the house of the Lord, and this is the portal of heaven." 22. And Jacob awoke early in the morning and took the stone from under his head and placed it up as a pillar, as a sign of this place; and he poured oil upon its head, and called the name of this place Bethel; but its first name was Lôzâ, like the land. 23. And Jacob prayed a prayer to the Lord, saying: "If the Lord will be with me and guard me on this path

upon which I walk, and if the Lord give me bread to eat and clothes to clothe myself, and I return in peace to the house of my father, then the Lord shall be my God, and this stone, which I have set up as a pillar, as a sign in this place, shall be a house of the Lord. 24. And all things that thou givest me, of that I will give the tenth to thee, my God."

CHAP. XXVIII. 1. And he lifted up his feet and went to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of his mother Rebecca, and he was with him and served him for Rachel, his daughter one week. And in the first year of the third week he said to him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years. 2. And Laban said to Jacob, "I will give thee thy wife." And Laban made a feast, and took Leah, his older daughter, and gave her to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zolapha as a maid to serve her; and Jacob did not know it, for he thought she was Rachel. 3. And he went in to her, and behold, it was Leah; and Jacob was angry at Laban and said to him: "Why hast thou done thus? 4. Have I not served thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou injured me? Take thy daughter and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah, for the eyes of Leah were dull, but her form was very beautiful; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very attractive form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not the custom in our land to give the younger before the elder." 7. And it is not right to do this, for thus is it ordained and written on the tablets of heaven, that no one shall give his younger daughter before the older, but shall give the younger after her. 8. And the man that does this loads sin upon himself on this account in heaven, and no one who does this is just, for it is an evil deed before the Lord. 9. And thou command the children of Israel that they do not this thing, and neither take nor give the younger before the older has been established, for it is very wicked. 10. And Laban said to Jacob:

“Let the seven days of this feast pass by, and I will give thee Rachel that thou mayest serve me another seven years, that thou mayest herd my sheep, as thou hast done in the first week.” 11. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah were passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him a second seven years, and he gave Rachel Balla, the sister of Zalapha, as a maid to serve her. 12. And he served seven years again for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him. 13. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth of the ninth month of the first year of the third week. 14. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated but Rachel was beloved. 15. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she conceived and bore Jacob a second son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month and the third year of this week. 16. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the beginning of the third month, in the sixth year of this week. 17. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah, on the fifteenth of the third month in the first year of the fourth week. 18. And in all this Rachel was jealous of Leah, for she did not bear; and she said to Jacob, “Give me a son!” 19. And Jacob said to her, “Am I preventing fruit of the womb from thee: have I left thee?” 20. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne Jacob four sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, then she said to him, “Go in to Balla, my maid, and she will conceive and bear a son for me.” 21. And he went in to her, and she became pregnant and bore him a son, and she called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the sixth year of the third week. 22. And again a second time he went in to Balla, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtalim, in the fifth of the seventh

month of the second year of the fourth week. 23. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she became jealous of Rachel, and she gave Zalapha, her maid, to Jacob as a wife, and she became pregnant and bore him a son, and she called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month in the third year of the fourth week. 24. And again he went in to her, and she became pregnant and bore him another son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month in the fifth year of the fourth week. 25. And Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month in the fourth year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 26. And Jacob again went in to her, and she became pregnant and she bore him two [children], a son and a daughter, and she called his name Zebulon and the name of the daughter Dinah, on the seventh of the seventh month in the sixth year of the fourth week. 27. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel and opened her womb, and she became pregnant and bore a son, and she called his name Joseph, in the beginning of the fourth month of the sixth year of this fourth week. 28. And in the days when Joseph was born Jacob said to Laban: "Give me my wives and my children, and I will go to my father Isaac, and I will make for myself a house, for I have completed the years which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 29. And Laban said to Jacob: "Remain with me for wages, and herd my folds again and receive thy wages." 30. And they agreed with each other, that he would give him as wages all the young sheep and goats should be his wages. And the possessions of Jacob increased very much, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels and sons and daughters. 31. And Laban and his sons were jealous of Jacob, and Laban gathered his sheep away from him, and thought out evil.

CHAP. XXIX. 1. And it happened when Rachel had

given birth to Joseph that Laban went out to shear his sheep, for they were distant from him a journey of three days. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and he called Leah and Rachel, and spake unto their hearts, that they should go with him to the land of Canaan, for he told them all that he had seen in the dream, and all that he [God] had spoken to him, that he should return to the house of his father; and they said to him: "We will go everywhere thou goest, with thee we will go." 3. And Jacob blessed the God of his father Isaac, and the God of Abraham, the father of his father, and he arose and prepared his wives and children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his heart from Laban and did not tell him. 4. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob returned to Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first; and Laban followed after him, and found Jacob in the mountains of Gilead, in the third month, on the twelfth thereof. 5. And the Lord did not permit him to injure Jacob, for he appeared to him in a dream by night; and Laban spake to Jacob. 6. And on the fifteenth thereof, on that day, Jacob made a feast to Laban and all who had come with him, and Jacob swore to Laban on this day and Laban to Jacob, that they would not cross for evil to one another the mountains of Gilead. 7. And he made there a large stone heap as a testimony; on this account the name of this place is called "The Stone Heap of Testimony;" such is the heap. 8. But before they had called the land of Gilead the land of Raphaim, for it was the land of the Raphaim, and the Raphaim, or giants, were born there, whose length is ten, nine, eight, and seven ells, and their dwellings were from the land of the sons of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Kôrônâêm and Adrâ and Misûr and Bêôn. 9. And the Lord slew them on account of the wickedness of their deeds, for they were most terrible, and the Amorites inhabit it in their place, evil and sinful, and there

is no nation to-day that has completed all their sin, and therefore they have no length of life upon the earth. 10. And Jacob sent Laban away, and he came into the land of Mesopotamia, the land of the east, but Jacob returned to the land of Gilead and crossed over the Jabbok in the ninth month on the eleventh thereof. 11. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and they settled their troubles; and they went from here into the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 12. And in the first year of the fifth week of this jubilee he crossed the Jordan and lived opposite the Jordan, that he might pasture his sheep from the land of Stone Heap to Betâ-Zôn and to Dôtâêm and to Akrâbil. 13. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his possessions clothing and food and meat and drink and milk and oil and bread of milk and of the palms of the valley; and to his mother Rebecca he also sent four times a year, between the times of the months, between the plowing and the harvest, between the spring and the rain, and between winter and summer, to the tower of Abraham, for Isaac had returned from The Well of the Oath and had gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 14. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself as wife Mâlit, the daughter of Ishmael, and collected all the herds of his father and his wives and went up and dwelt in the mountains of Seir, and left Isaac, his father, at The Well of the Oath alone; and Isaac went up from The Well of the Oath, and dwelt in the tower of Abraham, his father, on the mountains of Hebron. 15. And from here Jacob sent all things which he sent to his father Isaac and to his mother from time to time all their sorrows; and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and all their souls.

CHAP. XXX. 1. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, which is opposite the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth month; and there they brought by force Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the

house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite prince of the land, and he slept with her and defiled her, and she was a small girl twelve years of age. 2. And he begged her father and her brothers for her, that she should be given to him as wife; and Jacob and his sons were angry on account of the men of Shechem, because they had defiled their sister Dinah; and they spoke with them for evil, and intrigued against and deceived them. 3. And Simeon and Levi secretly came to Shechem and inflicted punishment upon all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men they found in it, and did not leave a single one in it. 4. They killed all in torments, because they had dishonored their sister Dinah. 5. And thus ye shall not do from now on and to eternity to defile a daughter of Israel, for in heaven it was ordained over them as a punishment that they should root out all the men of Shechem, because they committed a shame on a daughter of Israel, and the Lord turned them over into the hands of the sons of Jacob, that they should root them out with the sword, and that they should inflict punishment upon them; and never again shall it be thus in Israel, that a daughter of Israel be defiled. 6. And if there is any man in Israel who desires to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles, he shall surely die, and they shall slay him with stones, for he has committed a sin and a shame in Israel; and his wife they shall burn with fire, for she has defiled the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 7. And no fornication or defilement shall be found in Israel all the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy to the Lord, and every man that defiles must surely die, and they shall slay him with stones. 8. For thus is it ordained and written on the tablets of heaven concerning all the seed of Israel, that he who defiles must surely die, and they shall slay him with stones. 9. And to this law there is no limit of days and no ceasing and no forgiveness, but he shall be rooted out who defiles his daughter, among all Israel, be-

cause he has given of his seed to Moloch and has sinned by defiling. 10. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and testify over them that they shall not give any of their daughters to the Gentiles and that they shall not take any of the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is accursed before the Lord. 11. And on this account I have written for thee in the words of the law all the deeds of Shechem which they did against Dinah, and how the children of Jacob conversed saying: "We will not give our daughter to an uncircumcised man, for this is disgraceful to us." 12. And it is disgraceful to Israel to those that give and to those that receive from the Gentiles any daughters, for it is unclean and accursed to Israel; and Israel will not be clean of this uncleanness of him who has of the daughters of the Gentiles for a wife, or who has given of his daughters to a man who is of any of the seed of the Gentiles; for there will be plagues upon plagues, curse upon curse, and all punishment and plagues and curses will come. 13. And if they do this thing, and if they blind their eyes to those that commit uncleanness and to those that defile the sanctuary of the Lord and those that profane his holy name, then shall the whole people together be punished, on account of all this uncleanness and this profaneness, and there will be no respect for persons, and no consideration for persons, and no taking of fruits from his hands and fruit offering and burnt offering and fat and incense offering as a sweet savour, that it may be acceptable. 14. And every man and woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary shall be thus. 15. And on account of this I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony over Israel: see how it happened to the Shechemites and their sons, how they were given into the hands of the two sons of Jacob and they slew them in torments, and it was justice to them, and it is written down for justice concerning them."

CHAP. XXXI. 1. And in the new moon of the month, Jacob spoke to all the men of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your clothes, and arising let us go up

to Bethel, where I made a vow when I was fleeing from the face of Esau, my brother ; because he [God] has been with me, and has brought me into this land in peace. 2. And remove the false gods that are in your midst. 3. And tear away the false gods which are in your ears and on your necks, and the idols which Rachel took from her father Laban, and which she gave all to Jacob." 4. And he burned and broke and destroyed and hid them under an oak, which was in the land of Shechem. 5. And he ascended at the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. 6. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he erected there a monument, and he sent for his father Isaac to come to him to the sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 7. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come and let me see him before I die." 8. And Jacob went to Isaac his father, and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and came to his father Isaac and his mother Rebecca. 9. And Rebecca came out of the tower to the front of the tower, that she might kiss Jacob and to embrace him, for her spirit was alive when she heard, "Behold thy son Jacob has come!" and she kissed him. 10. And she saw the two sons and she knew them, and said to him: 11. "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them and blessed them, saying: "In you may the seed of Abraham be honored, and may ye be a blessing over the earth!" 12. And Jacob went in to his father Isaac to his chamber where he slept, and his two sons with him, and he took the hand of his father, and bending down kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son, and wept on his neck. 13. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said, "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 14. And he said that in truth they were his sons, and "in truth thou seest that they are my sons." 15. And they approached him, and they turned, and he kissed them and embraced them all together. 16. And the spirit of prophecy fell into his mouth,

and he took Levi by the right hand, and Judah by the left hand. 17. And he turned to Levi and began to bless him first, saying, "May the Lord God of all, the Lord of all the worlds, bless thee and thy children in all the worlds. 18. And may the Lord give thee and thy seed greatness and great honor, and cause thee and thy seed to approach to him from among all flesh, that they shall serve him in his sanctuary like the angels of the face, and like the holy ones that shall be the seed of thy sons for honor and greatness and holiness: and may he make them great in all the worlds. 19. And they shall be princes and lords and leaders for all the seed of the sons of Jacob: they shall speak the words of the Lord in truth, and shall judge all his judgments in truth, and speak my ways to Jacob, and they shall appear to Israel: may the blessing of the Lord be given into their mouths, that they may bless all the seed of the beloved. 20. And thy mother has called thy name Levi, and in truth has she thus called thee: thou shalt be very near to the Lord, and shalt have a part with all the sons of Jacob: his table shall be thine, and thou and thy sons shall eat thereof, and to all the generations may thy table be full, and may thy food not decrease to all eternity. 21. And all those that hate thee shall fall before thee, and all thy enemies shall be rooted out and be destroyed, but they that bless thee shall be blessed, and all the nations that curse thee shall be cursed." 22. And to Judah he spoke: "May the Lord give thee strength and power that thou mayest tread down all that hate thee: be thou a prince, thou and one of thy sons over the sons of Jacob. 23. May thy name and the name of thy sons be one that goes and encompasses the whole earth and the cities; then shall the Gentiles fear thy face, and all the nations shall tremble and all the people shake. 24. In thee let there be help to Jacob, and in thee may deliverance be found for Israel. 25. And if thou sittest on the throne of the honor of thy righteousness, there shall be great peace to all the seed of the sons of the beloved. 26. He that blesseth thee shall be blessed, and all that hate

and trouble thee, and those that curse thee, shall be rooted out and be destroyed from the earth, and shall be accursed." 27. And turning around he kissed him again and embraced him and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen sons of Jacob, who was his son in truth. 28. And he came from between his feet, and fell down and prostrated himself, and he blessed them, and he remained with Isaac, his father, on that night, and they ate and drank with joy. 29. And he caused the two sons of Jacob to sleep, the one at his right, the other at his left, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. 30. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had been merciful to him, and how he had prospered him in all his ways and had protected him from all evil. 31. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not ceased his mercy and righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. 32. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac of the vow he had made to the Lord, and of the vision he had seen, and how he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice before the Lord, as he had vowed, and that he had come to place him upon an ass. 33. And Isaac said to his son Jacob: "I am not able to go with thee, for I am old and not able to endure the way: go, my son, in peace, for I am one hundred and sixty-five years old to-day; I am not able to travel. 34. Take thy mother and let her go with thee. 35. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account; and may this day be blessed upon which thou hast seen me alive and I have seen thee, my son. 36. Prosper, and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed, and do not delay thy vow, for thou must seek the vow. 37. And now hasten to fulfil thy vow; and may he be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast made thy vow." 38. And he said to Rebecca: "Go with Jacob, thy son." 39. And Rebecca went with Jacob, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 40. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers,

Abraham and Isaac. 41. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also before the God of all; and thus it is ordained concerning the two, and they have placed it as a testimony for them to eternity, upon the tablets of heaven as Isaac blessed them.

CHAP. XXXII. 1. And he remained in that night in Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had appointed and made him priest, and his sons to eternity, priests of the Most High God; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob started early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and the tenth of all that came with him of men and beasts, and gold, and all possessions and clothing. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin, and Jacob counted his sons from him on and upwards; and the portion of the Lord fell upon Levi, and his father clothed him with the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month he brought to the altar fifteen oxen from among the cattle, twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and sixty lambs, and twenty-nine young goats, as a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and as an acceptable gift for a sweet savor to the Lord God. 5. This was the fulfilment of the vow he had made to give the tenth; together with their fruit and their drink offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed them, he scattered frankincense over them on the fire; and for thank offering two oxen, and four rams, and four sheep, and a sheep of two years, and two young goats: thus he did distributing over seven days. 7. And he remained there eating, and all his sons and his men in joy seven days, and he blessed and thanked the Lord, who had delivered him from all his trouble, and to whom he had fulfilled his vow. 8. And he took the tenth of all the clean animals and made a burnt offering; and the unclean animals he gave to his son, and the men he gave him, and Levi exercised his priestly office in Bethel before Jacob, his father, in preference to his ten brothers, and he was there a priest, and Jacob fulfilled to him his vows: and thus he gave the tenth again to the Lord, and sanctified it, and it was holy for him. 9. And

on this account it is ordained on the tablets of heaven as a law concerning the giving of a second tenth—to eat before the Lord at the place upon which he has chosen his name to dwell year after year, and to this law there is no limit of day to eternity. 10. And this ordinance is written to do it year after year for eating a second tenth before the Lord in the place which he has chosen, and nothing shall be left over from it to the following year. 11. For in its year shall the seed be eaten until the seed of the year and the wine change their days to the days of wine and oil, and to the days of oil in its season. 12. And all that is left thereof and which becomes old, let it be considered contaminated; burn it with fire, for it is unclean. 13. And thus they shall eat together in the sanctuary, and shall not let it become old. 14. And all the tenth of oxen and sheep shall be holy to the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, who will eat it before him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven concerning the tenth on the tablets of heaven. 15. And in the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob planned that he would build this place and erect a wall around it, and that he would sanctify it and make it holy to eternity, for himself and his children after him. 16. And the Lord appeared to him in the night, and blessed him, and said to him: “Thou shalt not call thy name Jacob only, but Israel also shall thy name be called.” 17. And he said to him again: “I am the Lord thy God, who has created heaven and earth; and I will increase and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings shall come from thee, and they shall rule over all, wherever the foot of the sons of man has trod. 18. And I will give to thy seed all the land under heaven, and they shall rule over all the nations as they desire, and after that they will gather to themselves the whole earth, and shall inherit the world.” 19. And he completed conversing with him, and ascended from there, and Jacob looked until he ascended to heaven. 20. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read all that was written on them,

what would happen to himself and his sons in all the years. 21. And he showed him all things that were written on the tablets, and said to him: "Do not build up this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here, for this is not the place. 22. Go to the house of Abraham, thy father, and dwell there with Isaac, thy father, until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried in honor, in the grave of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not; for as thou hast seen and read it, thus shall it all be. 25. But write thou down all as thou hast seen and read." 26. And Jacob said: "How can I remember all as I have seen and read it?" 27. And he said to him: "I will recall it all for thee." 28. And he went up from there: and he awoke from his sleep and remembered all that he had seen and read, and he wrote down all the words that he had read and that he had seen. 29. And he stayed there yet another day, and sacrificed there according to all that had been ordained on former days, and called its name "addition," for this day was added; and the first day he called "the festival." 30. And thus it appeared that it would be, and it is written on the tablets of heaven; and on this account it was revealed to him, that he should celebrate it, and that he should add it to the seven days of the festival, and its name was called "addition," because it comes to the seven days; and thus is the festival by number of days of the year. 31. And in the night of the twenty-third of this month, Deborah, the nurse of Rebecca, died, and he buried her below the city under the oak of the river, and called the name of this river "the river of Deborah," and of the oak, "lamentation oak of Deborah." 32. And Rebecca went and returned to her house, to Isaac, his father; and Jacob sent by her rams and calves and sheep, that she should prepare for his father a meal, as he loved it. 33. And he too went after his mother until he came to the land of Kêbrâtân, and he dwelt there. 34. And Rachel in that night gave birth to a son, and called his name "Son of my sorrow," for she suffered in giving birth; but his father

called him Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month, in the first year of the sixth week of this jubilee. 35. And Rachel died there, and was buried in the land of Ephrathah, that is, Bethlehem ; and Jacob erected upon the grave of Rachel a column, on the road above her grave. .

CHAP. XXXIII. 1. And Jacob went and dwelt toward the north at Mâgdêlrâep. 2. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah, his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 3. And Reuben saw Balla, the maid of Rachel, the concubine of his father, while she was bathing in water at a hidden place, and he loved her. 4. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Balla at night, and found her lying alone on her bed, and sleeping, and he lay down with her. 5. And she awoke, and saw, and behold, Reuben was lying with her on the bed ; and she uncovered the edge and seized him and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben, and she was ashamed on his account, and let go her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented on account of this thing exceedingly, and did not mention it to anybody. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said to him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled for thee, for Reuben has defiled me and lay with me in the night, and I was asleep and did not discover it until he uncovered the edge, and he lay with me." 8. And Jacob was very angry at Reuben that he had lain with Balla, for he had uncovered the covering of his father ; and Jacob did not approach her any more, because Reuben had defiled her, for his deed was very wicked, for it is accursed before the Lord. 9. On this account it is written and ordained on the tablets of heaven, that a man shall not sleep with the wife of his father, and that he shall not uncover the covering of his father, for this is unclean ; they must surely die together, the man that lies with the wife of his father, and the woman, for they do an unclean thing in the land. 10. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation he has chosen for himself as a kingdom. 11. And again it is written: "Cursed be the one that lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered the shame of

his father, and all the holy ones of the Lord shall say : 'Thus be it ! Thus be it !' " 12. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word, for the punishment is death, and it is unclean, and there is no forgiveness to atone for a man that does this wicked deed, except slaying and stoning him to death, or rooting him out from amongst the people of our God. 13. For there shall not remain alive on earth a single day any man that does this in Israel, for it is accursed and unclean. 14. And let them not say that Reuben lived and was forgiven that he had slept with the concubine of his father, and she too, although her husband, Jacob, his father, was yet alive. 15. For he had not yet revealed the ordinance and the punishment and the law in its entire completeness ; for in thy days it is as a law since his days and as a law to eternity, to the generation of eternity ; and there is not any passing of days to this law, nor any forgiveness to him, except that they both be rooted out together from the midst of the people : on the day on which they do it they shall slay them. 16. And thou, Moses, write it down for Israel that they observe it according to these words, and let them not commit a mortal sin, for the Lord our God is a judge who has no regard for persons and receives no presents. 17. And tell them these words of the ordinance, that they obey and preserve them, and watch themselves, and be not destroyed and rooted out of the land ; for unclean and an abomination and contamination and profanation are all they that do this on the earth before our God. 18. And there is no sin on earth greater than fornication, which they commit on the earth, for Israel is a nation holy unto God, and a nation of inheritance for its God, and a nation of priesthood and royalty and a possession, and no one shall appear thus unclean in the midst of the holy people. 19. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac, his father, and Rebecca, his mother. 20. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob : the first bore Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, the sons of Leah ; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin ; and

the sons of Balla, Dan and Naphtali ; and the sons of Zalapha, Gad and Asur ; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 21. And going, they bowed down before Isaac and Rebecca ; and when they saw them, they blessed Jacob and all his sons. 22. And Isaac rejoiced exceedingly that he saw the sons of Jacob, his youngest son, and he blessed them.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1. And in the sixth year of this week of the forty-fourth jubilee, Jacob sent his sons to pasture his sheep, and his servants with them to the pasture of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves against them to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take away their cattle and their wives. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were at the house where Isaac their father was, for his spirit was sad, and they could not leave him ; and Benjamin was the youngest, and on this account remained with his father. 4. And the kings of Tâphô and of Azêsa and Sarâgôn and Sêlô and Gâez, and the king of Bêtôrôn and of Mânîsâkêr came, and all those that dwell in those mountains, who dwell in the woods of the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob, saying : " Behold the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons in order to rob their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and the young men of his father, and went forth and went against them, eight hundred men who carried swords. 7. And they slew them on the fields of Shechem, and pursued those that fled and slew them with the edge of the sword, and slew them at Arêsa and Thapha and Sêrâgen and Selo and Amânîsakêrô and Gâgâas. 8. And he collected his herds ; and he was more powerful than those and ordained a tax over them, that they should give him tribute, fine fruits of their land, and he built Reuben and Tâmnâtârês. 9. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they were his servants until the day he and his sons descended down to the land of Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of this week he sent Joseph to learn about the safety of his brothers, from his house to Shechem, and he

found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they waylaid him and made a plot against him to slay him ; and changing, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the head cook, the one that sacrificed in the city of Êlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob killed a young goat, and dipped the clothes of Joseph in its blood, and sent it to their father Jacob. 13. And it was on the tenth of the seventh month, and they stayed all this day until the evening, and they brought it to him ; and he became fevered in his grief unto death, and said : “ A wild beast has devoured Joseph ; ” and on that day all the men of his house were with him, and mourned and lamented with him all the day. 14. And his sons and his daughter arose to comfort him, but he could not be comforted on account of his son. 15. And on that day Balla heard that Joseph had been killed, and she died in her grief, and she was living at Kertârêtêf ; and Dinah, his daughter, died also after Joseph had been slain. 16. This threefold sorrow came over Israel in one month. 17. And he buried Balla opposite the grave of Rachel, and Dinah, his daughter, he also buried there. 18. And he continued mourning for Joseph one year, and did not cease, saying : “ I will descend into the grave grieving for my son. ” 19. And on this account it is ordained for the children of Israel, that they shall mourn on the tenth of the seventh month, on the day when they brought the sad news concerning Joseph to his father Jacob, that on it pardon should be sought by the death of a young goat, on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins ; for they had grieved the heart of their father on account of his son Joseph. 20. And this day has been ordained that they shall lament on it over their sins, and on account of all their transgressions, and on account of their error, that they shall cleanse themselves on this day once a year. 21. And after the death of Joseph the sons of Jacob took wives to themselves : first, the name of the wife of Reuben is Adâ ; secondly, the name of the wife of Simeon is Adibâ, a Canaanite woman ; third, the name of the wife of

Levi is Mêlkâ, from among the daughters of Arâm, from the seed of the sons of Târâm ; fourth, the name of the wife of Judah is Bêtasûcl, a Canaanite woman ; fifth, the name of the wife of Issachar is Jesâkôr Hêzkâ ; sixth, the name of the wife of Zebulun is Nîmân ; seventh, the name of the wife of Dan, Êglâ ; eighth, the name of the wife of Naphtali is Rasûa, of Mesopotamia ; ninth, the name of the wife of Gad is Mâk ; and tenth, name of the wife of Asur is Ijôn ; eleventh, the name of the wife of Joseph is Asnêth, an Egyptian woman ; twelfth, the name of the wife of Benjamin is Ijôskâ. 22. And Simeon repented and took a second wife from Mesopotamia, like his brothers.

CHAP. XXXV. 1. And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee, Rebecca called her son Jacob and gave him command concerning his father and concerning his brother, that he should honor them all the days of the life of Jacob. 2. And Jacob said : " I will do all thou commandest me, for this thing will be honor and greatness to me and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honor them. 3. And thou, my mother, knowest me from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and everything that is in my heart, that always I think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this which thou hast commanded me, that I should honor my father and my brother ? 5. Tell me, my mother, what perversity thou seest in me ? 6. And I am far removed from him, and gentleness is in me." 7. And she said to him : " My son, all my days I have not seen in thee any perversity, and no depraved actions, but righteousness. 8. But in truth I tell thee, my son, I will die in this year, and will not get beyond this year in my life, for I saw in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond one hundred and fifty-five years. 9. And behold, I have completed all the days of my life which I was to live." 10. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because she said that she would die, and she was sitting opposite him with her strength upon her, without any decrease of strength, for she went in and out, and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment

had touched her all the days of her life. 11. And Jacob said to her: "Happy am I, my mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength abide in me as thy strength; and thou wilt not die, for in vain dost thou speak with me concerning thy death." 12. And she went in to Isaac, and said to him: "One petition I ask of thee: let Esau swear that he will not harm Jacob, and will not persecute him in enmity, for thou knowest the thoughts of Esau, that he was terrible from his youth on, and there is not gentleness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 13. And thou knowest how he has done all the days from the day when Jacob, his brother, went to Haran to this day, that he has left us with his whole heart, and does evil with us. 14. He has collected thy flocks, and all thy possessions he robs from before thy face, and when we entreated and asked for what was ours, he did as a man that practises usury on us. 15. And he is bitter at thee because thou didst bless that perfect and righteous son Jacob; for in him there is no evil, but goodness. 16. And since he came from Haran to this day, he has not deprived us of the least; but he brings us everything in its time and always, and he rejoices in his whole heart when we take anything from his hands, and he blesses us and does not separate from us since he came from Haran to the present day, and he lives with us ever in our house, honoring us." 17. And Isaac said to her: "I know and I see the deeds of Jacob with us, that with all his heart he honors us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, on account of his birth; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, because he has increased in evil doings, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are injustice and violence, and there is no righteousness in him at all. 18. And now my heart trembles concerning all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed shall abide, for they shall be destroyed from the earth, and they shall be rooted out from under heaven; for he has deserted the God of Abraham, and goes after his women after uncleanness and after error, he and his children. 19. And thou dost tell me that I shall make him swear not to kill

Jacob: even if he swears he will not keep to his oath, and will not do good but evil. 20. And if he desires to kill his brother Jacob, he shall be given into the hands of Jacob and shall not escape from his hands, but fall into his hands. 21. And thou fear not concerning Jacob, for the watchman of Jacob is great and powerful, and honored and worshipped above the watchman of Esau." 22. And Rebecca sent for and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said to him, "One prayer I have, my son, which I ask of thee, and grant it, that thou mayest do what I ask of thee, my son." 23. And he said to her: "I will do all that thou tellest me, and will not refuse any thing that thou askest." 24. And she said to him: "I ask of thee that the day I die thou wilt take me and bury me near the grave of Sarah, the mother of thy father, and that thou and thy brother Jacob* will love each other, and that neither will undertake evil against his brother, but love him, so that ye may be prosperous, my son, and be honored in the midst of the land and that an enemy may not rejoice over you, and that ye may be a blessing and mercy before the eyes of all that love you." 25. And he said: "I will do all that thou sayest to me, and I will bury thee on the day of thy death near Sarah, the mother of thy father, as thou lovest her bones, that they shall be near to thy bones. 26. But Jacob, my brother, I will love above all flesh, and I have no other brother in all the world except him alone, and this is not a great thing for me that I shall love him, for he is my brother, and together we were sown in thy womb, and together we came forth from thee, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 27. And I then beg of thee that thou wilt exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my children, for I know that he will rule as king over me and over my children, for on the day when my father blessed him, he made him the higher and me the lower. 28. And I swear to thee that I will love him and will not seek out evil against him all the days of my life, but only good." 29. And he swore to her concerning this whole matter. 30. And

she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and commanded him according to the words she had spoken with Esau. 31. And he said, "I will do thy pleasure, promising that no evil shall proceed from me and from my sons against Esau, my brother, and nothing shall be shown him except love." 32. And they ate and drank, she and her sons, on this day, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, in this night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the cave near Sarah, the mother of their father.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1. In the sixth week of this year, Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said to them: "My sons, I shall go the way of my father into the house of eternity, where my fathers are. 2. Bury me near to Abraham, my father, in the south cave in the field of Êphrôn, the Hittite, which Abraham bought as a burial place; there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and rectitude on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And be ye to each other as loving brothers as a man that loves himself, and each seeking for his brother that which is good for him, and acting together from the heart upon earth, and loving each other as yourselves. 5. And concerning the matter of idols, I command ye, that ye cast them away and hold them in abomination, and hate them, and that ye do not love them, for they are full of deception for those that worship them, and for those that bow down to them. 6. And remember, O my sons, the Lord God of Abraham, your father, and how I too worshipped him and served him in truth, that he may increase you in joy and may enlarge your seed like the stars of the heaven in multitude, and plant you upon the earth as a plant of righteousness, which is not rooted out to all the generations of eternity. 7. And now I will make you swear a great oath, for there is no oath greater than the one by the glorious and honored and great name of him who created the heavens and the earth and all things together, that ye will fear and worship him, and that

each will love his brother in tenderness and in truth, and that neither will wish evil against his brother, from now on and to eternity, all the days of your life, that ye may be prosperous in all your deeds, and be not destroyed. 8. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know from now on, that every one that devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hands, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from under heaven. 9. And on that day of cursing and turbulence he [God] will also burn with devouring fire, as he burned Sodom, thus also will he burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be erased out of the book of the discipline of the sons of men, and shall not ascend into the book of life, for he shall be destroyed and shall depart to the eternal curse, so that for all days their punishments may be renewed in hate and in cursing, and in wrath, and in torments, and in fury, and in plagues, and in sickness to eternity. 10. And I say and testify to you, my sons, how that my judgment will come upon the man who desires to do evil against his brother." 11. And he divided all the possessions he had between the two on that day, and he gave the preference to him that was born first, both the tower and all around it, and everything that Abraham possessed around the well of the oath. 12. And he said: "This preference shall be his who was born first." 13. And Esau said: "I have sold and given my age to Jacob, to him it has been given, and I will not say anything more about it, not one word, for it is passed." 14. And Isaac said: "May blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not sad on account of the birthright, that no strife will take place concerning it. 15. The Most High Lord bless the man that does righteousness, him and his seed to eternity." 16. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they ate and drank before him together; and he rejoiced, for there was a reconciliation between them, and they went out from him and rested on that day and slept. 17. And Isaac slept

on his bed that day rejoicing, and he slept the sleep of eternity, and died one hundred and eighty years old. 18. And he completed twenty-five weeks and five years. 19. And his two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried him. 20. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir and dwelt there. 21. And Jacob dwelt in the land of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the pilgrimage of his father Abraham, and worshipped God with his whole heart, and according to the command of him who appeared to him, who had distinguished him on the day of his birth. 22. And Leah, his wife, died, in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near to Rebecca, his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, the mother of his father. 23. And all of her sons and his sons came to weep over Leah, his wife, with him, and that they might comfort each other on her account, for he mourned over her. 24. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died, for she was perfect and righteous in all her ways and honored Jacob: and in all the days which she lived with him, he did not hear from her mouth a hard word, for she was gentle and upright and peaceful and honorable. 25. And he remembered all her deeds which she had done in her life, and mourned exceedingly, for he loved her very much with all his heart and with all his soul.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1. And on the day of the death of Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau, when the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given the birthright to his younger son Jacob, they were very angry. 2. And they quarrelled with their father, saying: "Why hath thy father, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger, given to Jacob the birthright and left thee behind?" 3. And he said to them: "Because I sold my right of first birth to Jacob for a small mess of lentils. 4. And on the day that my father sent me out to hunt and catch and bring something to him that he should eat it and bless me, he came in deception and brought to my father something to eat and to drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 5. And now our father has

made us swear, me and him, that we will not devise any evil one against his brother, and that each will continue in love and in peace with his brother, and will not destroy our ways."

6. And they said to him: "We will not listen to thee to keep peace with him, for our strength exceeds his strength, and we are more powerful than he. 7. We will go out against him, and will slay him, and destroy his children; and if thou dost not go out with us, we will do thee harm also. 8. Listen now to us: We will send to Aram and to Philistia and to Moab and to Ammon, and we will pick out for ourselves chosen men who are prepared for battle, and we will go against him and will battle with him, and we will root him out of the land, before he has taken root and is strong." 9. And their father said to them: "Ye shall not go and make war upon him, that ye may not fall before him." 10. And they said to him: "This is as thou hast done from thy youth on to the present day, and thou hast brought thy neck under his yoke. 11. We will not listen to these words." And they sent to Aram and to Aduram to the associates of their father, and they hired with themselves one thousand fighting men and chosen warriors. 12. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon those that were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia one thousand chosen warriors, and from Edom and the Horites one thousand chosen fighters, and from the Hittites strong fighting men. 13. And they said to their father: "Go out, lead them, and if not, we will kill thee." 14. And he was filled with anger and wrath at the time when he saw his sons that they were forcing him to go before them to lead them against Jacob, his brother. 15. And then he remembered all the evil which had been hidden in his heart against his brother Jacob, and did not remember the oath which he had sworn to his father and his mother, that he would not devise any evil all his days against his brother Jacob. 16. And in all this time Jacob did not know that they were coming against him for battle, but he was lamenting over Leah, his wife, until they approached him very near to the tower, four thousand

warlike, powerful, and chosen fighters. 17. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying: "Behold thy brother is coming against thee to fight with thee with four thousand heavily girded men, and they carry shields and weapons;" for they loved Jacob more than Esau, and told it to him, for Jacob was a more gracious and mild man than Esau. 18. But Jacob did not believe it until he approached very near the tower. 19. And he fastened the gates of the tower and stood upon the top of the tower, and spoke with his brother Esau and said: "Hast thou come to me bringing me a good consolation on account of my wife who has died? 20. Is this the oath which thou hast sworn to thy father and thy mother twice before they died? 21. Thou hast violated the oath, and on account of what thou hast sworn to thy father, thou shalt be judged." 22. And then Esau answered and said to him: "There is not to the sons of men and to the animals of the earth any oath of trust which they swear to them unto eternity; but on that morning yet they devise evil against each other, so that one may kill his hater and his enemy. 23. And thou too dost hate me and my children to eternity, and there is no brotherly dealing with thee. 24. Hear these my words which I announce to thee: If one can change the bristles of the swine and change them into wool, and if horns will come out of its head like the horns of the deer and rams, then I will maintain brotherly relations with thee. 25. And if the breasts are separated from the mother—for wast not thou to me a brother—and if the wolves make peace with the lambs, so that they do not devour and rob them; and if their hearts incline to doing each other good, then will there be peace in my heart toward thee. 26. And when the lion becomes the friend of the ox, and when he is put into one yoke with him and plows with him, then I will make peace with thee. 27. And when the raven becomes white like the rice bird, then I will know that I love thee and will make peace with thee. Thou shalt be rooted out and thy sons shall be rooted out, and there shall be no peace." 28. And then Jacob saw that his heart was evil against him, and that from his whole soul he would slay

him, and he had come springing like a wild animal which comes against the spear that pierces it through and kills it, and it does not depart from it. 29. And then he said to his sons and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1. And after that Judah spoke to his father Jacob and said to him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrow and cast down thy hater and slay thy enemy: and mayest thou have the power, for we will not slay thy brother, for to thee and with thee and to us it will be an honor." 2. And immediately Jacob bent the bow and sent forth his arrow, and cast down his brother Esau, and slew him. 3. And again he sent forth his arrow and hit Adôrân, the Aramæan, on the left breast, and drove him back and killed him. 4. And then the sons of Jacob and their servants came out breaking forth from the four sides of the tower. 5. Out came completely Judah, and Naphtali and Gad with him, and fifty young men with him out of the north side of the tower, and killed all that they found before them, and none escaped of those, not one. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher came out from the east side of the tower, and fifty with them, and they slew the warriors of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulun came out of the south side of the tower, and fifty with them, and they killed the fighters of Philistia. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, the son of Reuben, came out of the west side of the tower, and fifty with them, and killed of those of Edom and Choran four hundred powerful men, and seven hundred escaped, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father behind dead, as he had fallen on the hill which is [called] Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is [called] Adûrâm, and returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob overcame the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and made them bend their necks, so that they became the servants of the sons of Jacob; and they sent word to their father inquiring if they should make peace with them, or if

they should kill them. 11. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace; and they made peace with them, and they placed the yoke of servitude upon them that they should pay tribute to Jacob and his sons all the days. 12. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day when Jacob descended to the land of Egypt, and the sons of Esau did not cease from the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed upon them, until the present day. 13. And these are the kings which ruled over Edom before a king ruled over the children of Israel, until the present day in the land of Edom; and Bâlâk, the son of Bêôr, was king, and the name of his city was Dînâbâ. 14. And Bâlâk died, and Jôbâb, the son of Zârâ, of Bêzôr, ruled in his stead. 15. And Jôbâb died, and Adat, the son of Barad, who slew the Mediarites on the field of Moab, was king in his place, and the name of his city was Amôt. 16. And Adat died and Salmân, of Amalek, was king in his stead. 17. And Salman died and Sâûl, of the river Rôbâêt, was king in his stead. 18. And Sâûl died, and Beûlûnân, the son of Akbûr, was king in his stead. 19. And Beûlûnân died, and Adat was king in his stead, and the name of his wife was Mâtîlât, the daughter of Mâtrît, the daughter of Mêtbed Zaab. 20. These are the kings who ruled in the land of Edom.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1. And Jacob dwelt in the land of the pilgrimage of his father, the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob: When Joseph was seventeen years old they took him down into Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the head of the cooks. 3. And he set Joseph over his whole house: and the blessing of the Lord was in the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and all that he did the Lord prospered. 4. And the Egyptian left in Joseph's hands all that was before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that everything he did the Lord prospered. 5. But Joseph was beautiful to look at and very attractive in form, and the wife of his master lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph. 6. And she loved him and entreated him to lie with her. 7. But he did not give over his soul,

but remembered the Lord and the words which his father Jacob had read from among the words of Abraham, that no one among men should commit fornication with the wife of another, and with a woman who has a husband, and that as a punishment for this one death has been established in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin on account of it will be inscribed on the books which are in eternity, all the days, before the Lord. 8. And Joseph remembered these words, and was not willing to lie with her. 9. And she entreated him one year, and he refused, and would not listen. 10. But she embraced him and seized him in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and locked the doors of the house; but he tore himself out of her hands and left his garment in her hand, and broke the lock, and fled without away from her presence. 11. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she lied before her lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to do me violence that he might lie with me, and it happened that when I raised my voice, he fled and left his garment in my hand, when I had seized him, and broke the lock." 12. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken lock, and he obeyed the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison, into the place where the prisoners stayed whom the king had caused to be imprisoned. 13. And there he was in the prison, and the Lord gave Joseph grace in the eyes of the head of the prison guards, and good will before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and all that he did the Lord prospered. 14. And he left all things to him, and the head of the prison guards looked to nothing, for all things that Joseph did the Lord perfected. 15. And he remained there two years. 16. And in those days Pharaoh was angry with two of his eunuchs, the chief of the butlers and chief of the bakers, and he cast them into prison, into the house of the chief of the cooks, the prison where Joseph was held. 17. And the chief of the prison guards ordered Joseph to serve them, and he served them before him. 18. And both of them dreamed a dream, the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers, and they

told it to Joseph. 19. And as he explained to them, thus it happened to them; and the chief of the butlers Pharaoh put back into his office, and the chief of the bakers he killed, as Joseph had explained to them. 20. And the chief of the butlers forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would become of him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh as Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

CHAP. XL. 1. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night, concerning the matter of a famine which would come over all the land; and he awoke from his dream and called all the dream interpreters that were in Egypt, and the sorcerers, and told them both his dreams, and they were not able to understand them. 2. And then the chief of the butlers recalled Joseph to memory, and spoke concerning him to the king; and he brought him out of prison and narrated his two dreams before him. 3. And he spoke before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said: "Seven years will come of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that, seven years of famine, such as has not been upon the whole earth. 4. And now, O Pharaoh, establish throughout all the land of Egypt storehouses that grain may be gathered into them from city to city, in the days of the years of plenty, so that there may be grain for the seven years of famine, and that the land be not destroyed on account of the famine, for it will be very severe." 5. And the Lord gave Joseph grace and good will before the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said to his servants: "We shall not be able to find a wise and intelligent man like this man, for the spirit of the Lord is upon him." 6. And he appointed him the second over the whole kingdom, and made him prince over all Egypt; and caused him to ride upon the second chariot of Pharaoh, and clothed him with byssus garments, and put a golden chain around his neck, and proclaimed before him, saying: "Êl Êl wa abrir." And he put [a ring] upon his hand, and made him master of his whole house, and made him great, and said to him: "I will not be greater than thee except in regard to the thronedom." 7. And Joseph was lord in all the land of Egypt, and all the

princes of Pharaoh loved him, and all the servants and all those that did the offices of the king, for he walked in rectitude and without pride and haughtiness of heart, and did not regard persons nor take bribes, but in rectitude he judged over all the peoples of the land. 8. And the land of Egypt was governed peacefully before Pharaoh on account of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him grace and good will over all his race, before all who knew him and heard reports concerning him; and the kingdom of Pharaoh was in a right condition, without any enemy or evil. 9. And the king called the name of Joseph, Sephnetiphanz, and gave the daughter of Potiphar as a wife to Joseph, the daughter of the one that sacrifices at Heliopolis, the chief of the cooks. 10. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old, when he stood before the face of Pharaoh. 11. And in that year Isaac died. 12. And it happened as Joseph had said concerning the explanation of the two dreams, and there were seven years of plenty, and the land of Egypt was full of fruit, for one measure eighteen measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food from city to city, until they were full of grain, until they were not able to count and measure it on account of multitude.

CHAP. XLI. 1. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week and in the second year, Judah took a wife for Er, his first-born, from among the daughters of Aram, and her name was Tamar. 2. And he hated her and did not lie with her, because his mother was from among the daughters of Canaan, and he desired to take a wife to himself from the relatives of his mother, but his father Judah would not permit him. 3. And this his first-born was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said to his son Onan: "Go in to the wife of thy brother, and make her thy wife and raise up seed for thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, but rather his brother's, and he went to the house of the wife of his brother, and poured the seed upon the ground, and was wicked before the eyes of the Lord, and he slew him. 6. And Judah said to

Tamar, his daughter-in-law, "Abide in the house of thy father as a widow until my son Shelah has grown, and I will give thee to him for a wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsûêl, the wife of Judah, would not permit her son Shelah to marry her. 8. And Bêdsûêl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 9. And in the sixth year thereof Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnath. 10. And she laid aside her widow's garments and clothed herself with a vail, and beautified herself, and sat down at the gate on the way to Timnath. 11. And when Judah came, he found her, and thought her a harlot, and said to her: "I will go in to thee." 12. And she said to him, "Come in," and he came in unto her. 13. And she said to him, "Give me my pay." 14. And he said to her, "I have nothing in my hand except my ring on my finger and my bracelet and my staff, which is in my hand." 15. And she said to him, "Give me these until thou sendest me my pay." 16. And he said to her, "I will send thee a young kid;" and he gave them to her. 17. And she conceived from him; and Judah went to his sheep, but she went to the house of her father. 18. And Judah sent a young kid through a shepherd of Adullam, and he did not find her, and asked the people of the place, saying, "Where is the harlot which was here?" 19. And they said, "There has been no harlot here, and there is no harlot among us." 20. And he returned and told him that he had not found her, and said, "I asked the people of the place and they said to me that there was no harlot there." 21. And he said, "Arise, let us go that we do not become a laughing stock." 22. And when three months were over she learned that she was pregnant, and they told Judah, saying, "Behold, thy daughter-in-law Tamar has conceived by whoredom." 23. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said to her father and mother and brothers: "Bring her out that she be burned, for she has done an unclean thing in Israel. 24. And it happened when they brought her out to burn her, she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the bracelets and the staff, saying, "Dost thou recognize whose these are,

for from him have I conceived?" 25. And Judah recognized them and said, "Tamar is more just than I." 26. And they did not burn her. 27. And on this account she was not given to Shelah; and he did not again approach her. 28. And after that she gave birth to two male children, Pharez and Zarah, in the seventh year of this second week. 29. And three more completed the seven years of fruitfulness of which Joseph had said to Pharaoh. 30. And Judah knew that it was an evil deed which he had done, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and regarded it as a sin before his eyes, and he knew that he had sinned and erred, because he had uncovered the skirt of his son. 31. And he began to lament it and ask for mercy before the Lord on account of his sin. 32. And he told him in a dream, that it would be forgiven him, because he begged exceedingly for mercy and lamented, and did not repeat it. 33. And he obtained forgiveness, for he turned from his sin and ignorance, for it was a great transgression before the Lord our God; and every one that does thus, and lies with his daughter-in-law shall be burned with fire, that he may burn therein, for it is uncleanness and defilement upon them: with fire they shall be burnt. 34. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel, that there be no uncleanness among them, for every one that lieth with his mother-in-law or his daughter-in-law does an unclean thing: with fire shall be burnt the man who lies with her, and the woman also, and he [God] shall remove the anger and punishment from Israel. 35. But to Judah he said that because his two sons did not lie with her, on that account his seed stands for a second generation, and should not be rooted out; for in the innocence of his eyes he had gone and sought punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham which he commanded his children, that Judah should be burned with fire.

CHAP. XLII. 1. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee, the famine began to come into the land, and rain refused to be given to the earth; for none fell. 2. And the earth was unfruitful, and in the land of Egypt

alone there was food, for Joseph had gathered that he might give them food, and Joseph had gathered the seed of the earth in the seven years of fruitfulness and had guarded it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he should give them food, and he opened the storehouses where the grain was in the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. And Jacob heard that there was food in the land of Egypt, and he sent ten sons, that they should go for him to Egypt, but Benjamin he did not send. 5. And they came, together with those that went there. 6. And Joseph knew them, but they did not know him; and he spoke with and asked them, and said to them: "Are ye not spies and have come to examine the traces of the land?" 7. And he locked them in. 8. And then again he released them and incarcerated Simeon alone, and his nine brothers he sent away. 9. And he filled their sacks with grain, and he placed their gold in their sacks, and they did not know it. 10. And he commanded them that they should bring their youngest brother, for they had told him that their father was yet living and also their youngest brother. 11. And they went up from the land of Egypt, and came to the land of Canaan, and told their father all that had happened to them, and how the prince of the land had spoken with them and had seized Simeon until they should bring Benjamin. 12. And Jacob said, "Ye have robbed me of my children: Joseph is no more, Simeon is no more, and ye will also take Benjamin; your wickedness is upon you." 13. And he said: "My son shall not go with you; it is possible that he will become sick; for their mother has given birth to two sons, one is destroyed and this one ye will take. 14. He might take a fever on the road, and ye will bring my gray hairs in sorrow into death." 15. For he saw that all their gold was returned in their packages, and on this account he feared to send him. 16. But the famine increased and became strong in the land of Canaan, and in all the lands, except in the land of Egypt, for many of the sons of Egypt had gathered their seeds for food when they saw that Joseph was collect-

ing the seed and placing it into the storehouses, and preserving it for the years of famine, and the men of Egypt fed themselves in the first year of their famine. 17. And when Israel saw that the famine was very powerful in the land, and that there was no deliverance, he said to his sons: "Go, return, and bring us food that we die not." 18. And they said: "We will not go: unless our youngest brother goes with us we will not go." 19. And Israel saw that if he would not send him with them all would be destroyed on account of the famine. 20. And Reuben said: "Give him to me into my hand, and if I do not return him to thee, slay my two sons in place of his soul." 21. And he said, "He shall not go with thee." 22. And Judah approached and said to him: "Send him with me; and if I do not bring him back to thee, I shall be a transgressor before thee all the days of my life." 23. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week and in the new moon of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those that went, and presents in their hands; and stacte and nuts and pistachio and pure honey. 24. And they came and stood before Joseph, and he saw his brother Benjamin, and knew him, and said to them: "Is this your youngest brother?" 25. And they said to him: "Yea, it is he." 26. And he said, "The Lord be merciful to thee, my son." 27. And he sent them into his house, and brought out Simeon to them and made them a feast, and they brought to him what they had brought in their hands. 28. And they ate before him, and he gave them all a portion, and increased the portion of Benjamin over the portion of the others seven times, and they ate and drank, and arose and remained with their asses. 29. And Joseph thought out a plan how he could learn their thoughts, whether their thoughts were peace among each other; and he said to the man who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, but their gold return to them in the midst of their receptacle, and my goblet out of which I drink put into the sack of the youngest, the silver goblet, and send them away."

CHAP. XLIII. 1. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food, but their gold he put into their sacks, and the goblet he put into the sack of Benjamin. 2. And early in the morning they departed. 3. And it happened when they had gone from there that Joseph said to the man : " Follow them, run and upbraid them, saying : ' For good ye have returned evil, and have stolen the silver cup out of which my master drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, quickly before that I go to my official work." 4. And he ran after them and said to them according to these words. 5. And they said to him : " Far be it from thy servants to do this thing : we have not stolen out of the house of thy lord any utensil, and the gold which we found the first time in our sacks, we, thy servants, have brought back out of the land of Canaan. 6. How then would we steal any utensil : behold, here we are, and our sacks ; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man among us, he shall be killed, but we and our asses will serve thy lord." 7. And he said to them : " Not thus, the man with whom I find it, him alone will I take as a servant, but ye shall return in peace to your houses. 8. And when he searched in their vessels, beginning with the oldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in the sack of Benjamin, the youngest. 9. And they were terrified and rent their clothes, and loaded their asses and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and all fell down before him upon their faces on the ground. 10. And Joseph said to them : " Ye have done evil ;" and they said to him : " What shall we say, and with what shall we defend ourselves that our Lord has found the guilt of his servants ? 11. Behold, we are thy servants, O our lord, together with our asses." 12. And Joseph said to them : " I, too, fear the Lord, and ye shall go to your houses, but your youngest brother shall be my servant, for ye have done evil : do ye not know that one like me who drinks out of his cup values it ? 13. And ye have stolen it." 14. And Judah said : " For us, my lord, let me speak a word into the ear of my lord : his mother has borne

thy servant, our father, two sons; one has left and was lost, and no one found him, and this one alone is left from his mother; and thy servant, our father, loves him and his soul cleaves to his soul, and it will happen when we return to thy servant, our father, and if the young man is not with us, he will die, and our father will sink away through grief unto death. 15. But I will become a servant to my lord in the place of the boy; but let the youth go with his brothers, for I have given promise for him to thy servant, our father; and if thou dost not return him, then thy servant will be guilty to our father all the days." 16. And Joseph saw the heart of all that they were friendly to each other and well disposed, and he was not able to restrain himself, and he said that he was Joseph, and conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue, and he fell upon their neck and wept; but they had not known him, and began to weep. 17. And he said to them: "Do not weep over me; but hasten and bring my father to me, that I may see him before I die, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while I see. 18. For, behold, this is the second year of the famine, and there are yet five years without any harvest or fruit of trees or any plants. 19. Hasten ye to come down with your households, so that ye be not destroyed by the famine, and do not grieve yourselves on account of yourselves, and on account of your possessions, for the Lord has sent me before you as a provider, that many people might live. 20. And tell my father that I am yet alive. 21. But ye, behold, see me, that the Lord has set me as a father to Pharaoh, and that I should rule in his house and over all the land of Egypt. 22. And tell my father of all my honor and all the measure which the Lord has given me of wealth and of honor." 23. And at the command of Pharaoh, he gave them wagons and provisions for the road and gave them all colored garments and silver. 24. And to their father, Pharaoh sent garments and silver and ten asses that carried grain and he sent them away. 25. And they went up and announced to their father that Joseph was alive, and that he was measuring out grain to all the nations of the earth, and that

he was lord of all the land of Egypt. 26. And their father did not believe it, for he was terrified in his thoughts, but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, his spirit revived and lived, and he said: "It is a great thing for me that Joseph lives: I will go down to see him before I die."

CHAP. XLIV. 1. And Israel arose from Haran, from his house, at the new moon of the third month, and came by the way of the well of the oath, and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac, on the seventh of this month, and Jacob remembered the dream which he had dreamed at Bethel, and he feared to descend down to Egypt. 2. And while he was thinking that he would send word to Joseph that he should come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if he might see a vision, whether he should remain or go down. 3. And he celebrated the harvest festival of first fruits with old grain, for there was not a handful of seed in all the land of Canaan, for it was unfruitful for all the animals and beasts and birds, and also human beings. 4. And on the sixteenth thereof the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "Jacob, Jacob!" 5. And he said: "Here I am." 6. And he said to him: "I am the God of thy fathers Abraham and Isaac: fear not to go down to Egypt, for I will make thee into a great people. 7. I will go down with thee and I will bring thee back into this land that thou be buried here, and Joseph shall lay his hands upon thy eyes: fear not to go down to Egypt." 8. And he arose, and his sons and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their vessels upon the wagons. 9. And Israel started from the well of the oath on the sixteenth of third month, and went to the land of Egypt. 10. And Israel sent before him to Joseph, his son Judah, that he should examine the land of Goshen, for there Joseph had told his brothers that they should come, that they should dwell there, that they might be near him; and this was good in the land of Egypt and near to him, for them all and for their animals. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father; Reuben, the first-born of Israel: and these are the names of

his sons: Ênôch and Phâlûs and Êzêrôm and Charâmî, five: Simeon and his sons, and these are the names of his sons: Ijâmôêl and Ijâmên and Amet and Ijâkîm and Saâr and Sâmel, the son of the Sephanite; seven: Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons, Gêdsôn and Kaât and Mêrârî, four: Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sêlêm and Phâlûs and Zârâ, four: Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tôlâ and Phûa and Ijâseb and Samarôm, five: Zebulun and his sons, and these are the names of his sons: Azôr and Êlôn and Ijâlûêl, four. 12. And these are the sons of Jacob and their sons whom Leah had borne to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and one sister to them, Dinah; and all the souls whom Leah had borne and their sons, who went with their father Jacob to Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob, their father, with them, it thus was thirty. 13. And the sons of Zalapha, the handmaid of Leah, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore to Jacob: Gad and Asher. 14. And these are the names of their sons who went with them to Egypt; the sons of Gad: Zêphjôn and Agâtî and Sômî and Asôhên . . . and Arôli and Arôdi; eight. 15. And the sons of Asher: Ijâmuâ and Jesûa and Bârjâ and Sârâ, their sister, seven. 16. And all the souls are fourteen, and all of Leah were forty-four. 17. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, were Joseph and Benjamin. 18. And to Joseph were born in Egypt before his father came to Egypt, whom Asnêt bore him, the daughter of Potiphar, the sacrificer of Heliopolis, Manasseh and Ephraim, three. 19. The sons of Benjamin are Bâlâ and Bâchôr and Êsâbêl, Zuêl and Nemân and Abdlji and Râc and Sanâîm and Aphêm and Gâom, eleven. 20. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 21. And the sons of Bilâ, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 22. And these are the names of their sons who went with them to Egypt; the sons of Dan are Chûsi and Sâmôn and Asûdî and Ijâk and Salamôn, six. 23. And they died in Egypt in the year in which they went down, and there was left to Dan only Chûsî. 24. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Ijâsiêl

and Gûhani and Asaâr and Sûlôni and Êmê, six ; and Êmê died in Egypt, who was born after the year of the famine. 25. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 26. And all the souls of Jacob, that went with him to Egypt, were seventy souls ; but his children and his childrens' children, all together were seventy-five, but five died in Egypt, who were not married and had no children ; and in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and had no children. 27. And the sons of Israel buried those that were destroyed, and these were counted among the seventy peoples.

CHAP. XLV. 1. And Israel went to the land of Egypt unto the land of Goshen at the new moon of fourth month of the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob in the land of Goshen, and he fell upon the neck of his father and wept. 3. And Israel said to Joseph: "I would die now after I have seen thee. 4. And now may the Lord God of Abraham and Isaac be blessed, who has not withdrawn his mercy and kindness from his servant Jacob: It is a great thing to me that I have seen thy face in my life, for true is the vision which I saw in Bethel, blessed be the Lord God to all eternity, and blessed be his name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers ate bread before their father and drank wine ; and Jacob rejoiced exceedingly much, for he saw that Joseph ate with his brothers and drank before him ; and he blessed the Creator of all, who had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph gave his father and his brothers as a present that they should dwell in the land of Goshen and in Râmâsîtinô, and their whole territory, that they should rule it before Pharaoh. 7. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt: but Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph gave provisions to his father and brothers, and their possessions as much as supported them for the seven years of famine. 9. And the land of Egypt suffered on account of the famine, and Joseph gathered in all the land of Egypt to Pharaoh for food, both

the people and their cattle, and Pharaoh possessed everything. 10. And the years of the famine were completed, and Joseph gave to the people that were in the land of Egypt seed and food to sow in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed into all the land of Egypt. 11. For in the seven years of the famine it had watered only a few spots along the bank of the river, but now it overflowed; and the Egyptians sowed upon their land and it produced much grain in that year. 12. And this was the first year of the fourth week of the thirty-fifth jubilee. 13. And Joseph took of the grain which they sowed the fifth part for the king, and the fourth he left them for food and for sowing: and Joseph made it a law for the land of Egypt unto this day. 14. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years. 15. And he died in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 16. And Israel blessed his sons before he died, and told them everything as it would happen to them in the land of Egypt, and what would come upon them in the latter days, and everything he made known to them, and blessed them and gave Joseph two portions in the land. 17. And he slept with his fathers and was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan beside Abraham, his father, in the grave which he had dug for himself, in the double cave, in the land of Hebron. 18. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi, that he should guard them and renew them for the sons of Israel to this day.

CHAP. XLVI. 1. And it happened after the death of Jacob that the children of Israel increased in the land of Egypt. 2. And they became a great people, and they were all united in their hearts, so that each loved his brother and every man assisted his brother, and they increased and multiplied and increased very much. 3. And ten weeks of years were all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father, and he was no enemy or anything wicked in all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all

the Egyptians honored the sons of Jacob during all the days of the life of Joseph. 4. And Joseph died when he was one hundred and ten years old: seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan and ten years he was a servant, and three years he was in prison, and eighty years he was under the king ruling all the land of Egypt. 5. And all his brothers died, and all that generation. 6. And he commanded the children of Israel, before he died, that they should carry up his bones when they would go out of the land of Egypt. 7. And he made them swear concerning his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring out his bones and bury them in the land of Canaan, for Memkerôn, the king of Canaan, while he was dwelling in the land of Asur, was fighting in the valley with the king of Egypt and killed him there and pursued the Egyptians to the gates of Êrômôn. 8. But he was unable to enter, for a second new king ruled over Egypt, and he was more powerful than he; and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were locked and no one entered Egypt. 9. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year; and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brothers died after him. 10. And the king of Egypt went out to fight with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week, in the second year thereof; and the children of Israel brought out the bones of all the sons of Jacob except the bones of Joseph, and buried them in the fields, in the double caves in the mountains. 11. And the most returned to Egypt, and a few of them remained behind in the mountains of Hebron, and thy father Anbaram [Amram] remained with them. 12. And the king of Canaan overcame the king of Egypt and locked the portals of Egypt. 13. And he devised an evil plan against the children of Israel that he would torment them, and he said to the men of Egypt: "Behold, the people of the children have increased and multiplied more than we; behold, we will plot against them before they become too many, and will torment them with slavery, before a murder comes over us and before these become our enemies; if not, these will

unite with the enemy and will depart out of our land, for their faces and hearts are toward the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them work-overseers that they should torment them with slave work. 15. And they commanded them, and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Ramses, and they built all the walls and sides which had fallen in in the cities of Egypt. 16. And they oppressed them with service, but as much as they abused them so much they increased and so much they multiplied. 17. And the men of Egypt considered the children of Israel unclean.

CHAP. XLVII. 1. And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father came from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year, in the forty-eighth jubilee, which are the days of the persecution over the sons of Israel. 2. And King Pharaoh, of Egypt, issued a command concerning them, that they should throw all their children, every male, into the river. 3. And they threw them in seven months, until the day when thou wast born: but thy mother hid thee three months; and they told about her. 4. And she made for thee an ark, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and laid it in the grass, on the bank of the river, and placed thee into it seven days; and thy mother came in the night and nursed thee, and during the days thy sister Miriam protected thee from the wild animals. 5. And in those days Tarmûth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her Hebrew maidens that they should bring thee out; and they brought thee to them. 6. And they took thee out of the ark, and she pitied thee. 7. And thy sister said: "Shall I go and call for thee one of the Hebrew women, who shall raise and nurse this child for thee?" 8. And she said: "Go." 9. And she went and called thy mother Jokabed, and she gave her wages, and she raised thee. 10. And when thou didst grow, they brought thee to the house of Pharaoh, and thou becamest his son; and Anbaram, thy father, taught thee writing. 11. And when thou didst complete three weeks, he brought thee to

the royal court. 12. And thou wast in the court three weeks of years, until the day when thou didst go out of the royal court, and didst see the Egyptian as he was beating thy friend from among the children of Israel. 13. And thou slewest him and hid him in the sand, and on the following day thou foundest two of the children of Israel quarrelling, and didst say to the more powerful: "Why dost thou beat thy brother?" 14. And he became angry and wroth, and said: "Who has set thee a ruler and prince over us? 15. Dost thou desire to kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday?" 16. And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1. And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee, thou didst go and dwell here five weeks and one year, and didst return to Egypt in the second week, in the second year, in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou knowest what he spoke to thee at Mt. Sinai, and what the prince Mastema desired to do with thee, as thou returnest to Egypt, on the way, at the feast of tabernacles. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to kill thee, and to save the Egyptians out of thy hand, when thou sawest that thou wert sent to deliver judgments and vengeance over the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hands, and thou didst the signs and wonders for which I had sent thee to do in Egypt over Pharaoh and over all his house and over his servants and over his people. 5. And the Lord inflicted a great vengeance upon them for Israel's sake, and beat them and killed them through blood and frogs and flies and dog flies and breaking-out skin-diseases, and also their animals by death, and through hail, by which he destroyed everything that grew for them; and through grasshoppers, who ate the rest that had been left by the hail, and through darkness; and also the first-born of man and animals; and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst do it before it was done, and thou didst tell it to the king of Egypt and before all of his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to

thy words: ten great and terrible judgments came over the land of Egypt, that they might take vengeance for Israel. And all the deeds of the Lord concerning Israel and according to his ordinance which he covenanted with Abraham, that he would take vengeance upon them, according as they had served the Egyptians in oppression. 8. And the prince Mastema placed himself against thee, and endeavored to throw thee into the hand of Pharaoh and aided the sorcerers of the Egyptians, and stood by them, and they performed them before thee: the evils, however, we permitted them to perform, but their remedies we did not suffer them to perform by their hands. 9. And the Lord struck them with a dire pox, and they were not able to withstand, for we destroyed them so that they could not do a single sign. 10. And amid all the signs and wonders, the prince Mastema was not ashamed, until he became powerful and cried to the Egyptians that they should pursue after thee with all the power of the Egyptians, with their wagons and with their horses and with all the masses of the people of Egypt. 11. And I stood between the Egyptians and thee, and between them and Israel, and I saved the Israelites out of their hands and out of the hands of the Egyptians. 12. And the Lord led them through the middle of the sea, as if it were dry land. 13. And all the people he caused to come out to pursue Israel, the Lord our God cast into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abysses, instead of the children of Israel, because the people of Egypt had thrown their children by the hundreds into the river: vengeance was taken upon them and one thousand powerful men, and those that were strong, perished on account of one suckling babe which they had cast into the river from amongst thy people. 14. And on the fourteenth day, and on the fifteenth day, and on the sixteenth day, and on the seventeenth day, and on the eighteenth day, the prince Mastema was bound and chained behind the children of Israel, so that he could not accuse the children of Israel. 15. But on the nineteenth day we let him loose, so that he could help the Egyptians, and that

they could pursue the children of Israel; and he made hard their hearts and strengthened them and he became powerful according to the Lord our God, so that he could smite the Egyptians and hurl them into the sea. 16. And on the fifteenth day we bound him, so that he could not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked for the utensils and clothing from the men of Egypt, utensils of silver and utensils of gold and utensils of iron, in order to despoil the Egyptians for having served him a service in oppression: and we did not cause the children of Israel to go out of Egypt empty handed.

CHAP. XLIX. 1. Remember the command which the Lord commanded thee concerning the Pascah, that thou shalt keep it in its time, on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shalt kill it before the evening come, and that they shall eat it during the night, on the evening of the fifteenth, from the time of the setting of the sun, for this is the first day of the festival and the first Pascah. 2. But ye were engaged in eating the Pascah in Egypt while all the powers of Mastema were sent forth in Egypt to destroy all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive servant maid in the mill, and down to the the animals. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: In every house at whose portals they had thrown the blood of a year old sheep, into this house they did not enter to kill those that were locked in it, so that all who were in the house were saved, because the sign of blood was upon the portals. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the sons of Israel, and no plague came over them to destroy any soul from their midst, neither of beast nor of man, not even a dog. And the plague was in Egypt exceedingly great, and there was no house in Egypt in which there was no dead body and weeping and lamentation. 5. And all Israel was engaged in eating the meat of the Pascah and drinking wine, and they lauded and thanked and blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and were prepared to go out from under the yoke of Egypt

and from under its slavery. 6. But thou, remember this day all the days of thy life, once in the year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and thou shalt not change the day for another day, or the month for another month. 7. For it is an ordinance of eternity, which is engraven on the tablets of heaven concerning the children of Israel, that they shall observe each year by year the festivals; once a year, in all their generations, and it has no limit of days, for it is ordained for eternity. 8. And a man, if he is pure and does not come to observe in its time the day, to bring an offering which is acceptable before the Lord on the day of the festival, and to eat and to drink before the Lord, on the day of his festival, that man shall be rooted out, if he is pure and near, because he has not brought the offering to the Lord in its time, and that man places a sin upon himself. Let the children of Israel, who will yet come, observe the Pascah on the day of its time, on the fourteenth of the first month, between the evenings, in the third part of the day to the third part of the night; for two parts of the day are given to the light and the third to the evening; this it is that the Lord has commanded that thou shalt observe it between the evenings. 9. And it shall not take place in the morning, at any time of daylight, but only at the limits of the evenings; and they shall eat it in the time of evening until the third night, and whatever is left of all the meat on the third night, they shall again burn in the fire. 10. And they shall not cook it in water and shall not eat it raw, but carefully roasted on the fire and broiled on the fire; its head together with the intestines they shall roast, and its feet, and shall not break any bone within it, for none of the children of Israel shall have any bone broken. 11. On this account the Lord has commanded the children of Israel to observe the Pascah on the day of its time, and that no bone in it shall be broken, for it is a festival and a day commanded, and there must be no change from it from one day to another, or from one month to another, but on the day shall its festival be observed. 12. But thou, command the children of Israel that they should observe the Pascah on its days in all

the years, once each year, on the day of its fixed time, and that it shall become a memorial before the Lord which is acceptable, and that no plague come over them to kill them and to scourge them in that year. 13. If they observe the Pascah in its time in everything as they have been commanded, then it is not allowed them to eat it outside of the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the assembly of Israel shall observe it in its time. 14. Every man who is twenty years and above who comes on that day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord, for thus it is written and ordained that they shall eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 15. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they shall possess, into the land of Canaan, and plant the tent of the Lord in the midst of the land, within one of their hosts, until the time when the sanctuary of the Lord shall have been built in the land, then they shall come and observe the Pascah in the midst of the tent of the Lord, and shall sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year. 16. And in the days when a house shall have been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the Pascah in the evening, as the sun goes down, in the third part of the day. 17. And they shall place the blood on the foundation of the altar, and the fat they shall lay upon the fire upon the altar, and shall eat flesh thereof that has been roasted at the fire, in the court of the sanctuary in the name of the Lord. 18. And they must not observe the Pascah in their cities and in all their districts, but only before the tent of the Lord or before his house, where his name dwells, so that ye do not trespass against the Lord. 19. But thou, Moses, command the children of Israel, that they shall observe the ordinance of the Pascah as it has been commanded to thee, that they shall observe the day year by year, and its day and the festival of the unleavened bread, that they shall eat unleavened bread seven days, so that they observe its festival, that they bring an offering day by day in these seven days of the Pascah before the Lord on the altar of your God. 20. For this festival ye observed with trembling when ye went out of Egypt until ye

had gone through the sea into the desert of Sur, for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

CHAP. L. 1. And after this law I made known to thee the days of Sabbaths in the desert Sinai, which is between Elam and Sinai. 2. And I told you concerning the Sabbaths of the earth on Mt. Sinai, and concerning the years of jubilees with the Sabbaths ; and also the year I mentioned to you ; but the year thereof we did not tell you, until thou comest into the land which ye shall possess ; and ye shall make the land also observe the Sabbaths for those dwelling in it, and the years of jubilees shall learn. 3. Concerning this I have ordained for thee the weeks of years and the jubilees, from the days of Adam to this day : forty-nine [jubilees] and one week and two years ; and yet forty years are before for learning the commandments of the Lord, until ye cross the border of the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan on the western side, and jubilees will pass by until Israel shall be cleansed from all fornication and guilt and uncleanness and contamination and sin and transgression, and shall dwell in all the land in safety, and no Satan and no evil one will injure him, and the land will be cleansed from that time on and to eternity. 4. And, behold, the command of the Sabbaths I have written down for thee, and all the judgments of its laws. 5. Six days thou shalt do work, and on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, your God ; ye shall not do any work on it, neither ye, nor your children, nor your male servants, nor your maid servants, nor any of your beasts, nor your stranger who is with you. 6. The man that does any work on it shall die, and every man who desecrates this day, who lies with a wife, and who says that he will do something on it, that he will make a trip on it, or concerning all buying and selling, and who draws water on it which he did not prepare for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up a burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house, he shall die. 7. Ye shall not do any work on the Sabbath which ye have not prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, to eat or to drink or to rest or to keep Sabbath from all your work on that day, and to bless the Lord your

God, who has given it to you as a festival day; and a holy day it shall be, and a day of the holy kingdom, for all Israel this day, among your days, in all the days. 8. For great is the honor which the Lord has given to Israel to eat and to drink and to be satisfied on this festival day, after resting on this day from all the work of the children of men, except burning frankincense and bringing offerings and sacrifices before the Lord on the days and the Sabbaths. 9. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath days, in the sanctuary of the Lord your God, so that these shall appear over Israel as a constant atonement, day by day, as a memorial, which is acceptable before the Lord and received forever, day by day, as I have commanded thee. 10. And every man who does any work on this day, or makes a journey, or works his land, be it in the house or at any other place, and whoever lights a fire or rides upon any beast, or travels by ship upon the sea, and everyone that strikes or kills anything, or kills an animal or a bird, and who catches an animal and bird and fish, and who contends or engages in war on the Sabbath day, the man that does any of these things on the Sabbath day, shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths, according to the command of the Sabbath of the land, as it is written on the tablets of heaven, which he gave into my hands, that I should write for thee the laws of the times, and the different times in the division of their days.

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OR

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THE
BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR
THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM
THE EDITOR'S ETHIOPIC TEXT

AND
EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY
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TO
The Reverend George Salmon, D.D.
D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.
PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN
WITH AN OLD PUPIL'S ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE

PREFACE

I HAD hoped to issue this Commentary on the Book of Jubilees quite six years ago, as a sequel to my edition of the Ethiopic and other fragmentary versions of this work; but after writing a large portion of it, I was obliged to abandon the task, as I felt that somehow I had failed to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text, though at the time I could not understand wherein my disability lay. A year or two later when making a special study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, I came to discover that the source of my failure lay in my acceptance of the traditional view that Jubilees was written in the first century of the Christian era. So long as I wrote from this standpoint, my notes became more and more a laboured apologetic for the composition of this work in the first century. The earliest approximation to the right date appeared in my article on the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 241, 1899, where, after giving grounds for the view that the main bulk of that work was written before 100 B.C., I concluded that we should "regard both works (*i.e.* the Testaments and Jubilees) as almost contemporary, and as emanating from the same school of thought." This

view was advocated in the following year by Bohn and by Bousset on various grounds, and it is from this standpoint that the present Commentary is written. The difficulties that beset almost every page of Jubilees vanish for the most part when once we understand that it was written by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, who was also probably a priest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Jubilees. The fact that it is the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, is in itself a distinction. But it is not on this ground that we value it, but rather for the insight it gives us into the religious beliefs of Judaism in the second century B.C. Its interests are many sided. It appeals to the textual critic, as it attests the form of the Hebrew text, which was current in that century. It appeals to the Old Testament scholar, as exhibiting further developments of ideas and tendencies which are only in their incipient stages in the Old Testament. It appeals to the New Testament scholar, as furnishing the first literary embodiment of beliefs which subsequently obtained an entrance into the New Testament, and as having in all probability formed part of the library of some of the apostolic writers. It appeals to the student of theological doctrine, as providing certain indispensable links in the process of development. Finally, to the Jewish scholar, a Pharisaic work of the second century B.C. cannot fail to be of transcendent interest, as it gives the earlier forms of certain legislative enactments that appear in the Mishna, and of legends which in later Judaism have undergone much transformation.

Although half a century has elapsed since the discovery

of Jubilees in its complete form in the Ethiopic Version, no scholar has hitherto attempted a commentary on the entire work. Some thirty years ago Rönsch edited a very learned and laborious work on the Latin Fragments, which constitute slightly more than one-fourth of the original writing, but since his time scholars have contented themselves with short studies on various views of our author.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Cowley for his help in verifying references in the Talmud.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
May, 1902.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xiii-lxxxix
§ 1. Short Account of the Book (pp. xiii, xiv)—§ 2. The Various Titles of the Book (pp. xiv-xx)—§ 3. The Ethiopic Manuscripts (p. xx)—§ 4. Editions of the Ethiopic Version (pp. xx, xxi)—§ 5. Translations (pp. xxi, xxii)—§ 6. Critical inquiries (pp. xxii-xxvi)—§ 7. The Versions of Jubilees—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, Syriac (pp. xxvi-xxix)—§ 8. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek (pp. xxx, xxxi)—§ 9. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew (pp. xxx-xxxiii)—§ 10. Textual Affinities of the Text of the Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii-xxxix)—§ 11. Lacunae, Dittographies and Dislocations in our Text (pp. xxxix-xlii)—§ 12. Poetical Element in Jubilees (pp. xlii-xliii)—§ 13. Jubilees from one author but based on earlier books and traditions (pp. xlii-xlvii)—§ 14. Jubilees—a Product of the midrashic tendency at work in the Old Testament Chronicler, but represented by its author as an Esoteric Tradition (pp. xlvii-li)—§ 15. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic standpoint of the second century B.C. (pp. li-lvi)—§ 16. Angelology and Demonology of Jubilees (pp. lvi-lviii)—§ 17. The Date of Jubilees (pp. lviii-lxvi)—§ 18. The Jubilees and Years used by our author (pp. lxvii-lxviii)—§ 19. Value of Jubilees in determining the Dates of the various Sections of the Ethiopic Enoch and the Book of Noah (pp. lxviii-lxxii)—§ 20. The relation of Jubilees to the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs (p. lxxii)—§ 21. The author—a Pharisee who recognised the Maccabean Pontificate and	

was probably a priest (p. lxxiii)—§ 22. Jubilees in Jewish, Samaritan and Christian non-canonical literature (pp. lxxiii-lxxxiii)—§ 23. Influence of Jubilees on the New Testament (pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi)—§ 24. Views of the author on the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Priesthood of Melchizedek, the Law, Circumcision and the Sabbath, the Future Life, the Jewish Calendar (pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix).

SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION . . .	xc
TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES	1
INDEX I.	263
INDEX II.	267

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which had already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication, of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments, that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity.

From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realised on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.

§ 2. THE VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew. These were :

(a) "Jubilees" = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = ספר היובלים;¹ and

(b) "The Little Genesis" = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = זוטא תשעת.²

(c) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of our book.

(a) *Jubilees*.—According to the citation of Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6), ἐν τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει, the name Jubilees would seem to have been its more usual designation, and "the little Genesis" its less usual. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra*, ii. Fasc. i. 9-10; also my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, p. 183).

This name is admirably adapted to our book as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. By his peculiar redaction of the biblical history down to this period, our author has shown that the law was already in force before its republication as a whole on Sinai. Moreover, his chronological heptadic system has received a perfectly symmetrical development. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, *i.e.* 2450. In the Assumption of Moses, where a jubilee period of fifty years is used, Israel enters Canaan in the year 2500 (see p. lxviii).

(b) *The Little*³ *Genesis*.—The fact that our book was

¹ In the Hebrew book Josippon xxxii. 3, "The Book of Jubilees" is mentioned ספר היובלים (see Eppstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

² Cf. Treuenfels, "Die kleine Genesis" in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 6, p. 81.

³ The epithet "little" does not refer to the extent, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but rather to the character of Jubilees. It deals more fully with the details and minutiae (*i.e.* τὰ λεπτά) than the biblical work. Severus of Antioch, *ob.* 542 A.D., after an account of the death of Moses and the strife between Michael and the evil angels for Moses' body, adds that these matters were said to be described in a book which gave a more detailed account of the

known in Greek, not only as ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις but also ἡ Μικρογένεσις, points quite clearly to an authoritative Hebrew title, בְּרֵאשִׁית וְנֹטָא, which was variously rendered in Greek. There were, indeed, four renderings of the Hebrew :

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις).
2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.
3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.
4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις.—This title is found sixteen times : in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (twice); Syncellus i. 7, 183, 192; Cedrenus i. 6, 9, 16, 48, 53, 85, 87; Zonaras, p. 18 (twice); Glycas, 206 (twice). As Λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Syncellus i. 5, 185, 203 and Cedrenus i. 7. As ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις in Glycas, pp. 198, 392. For the above passages see pp. lxxvii-lxxx.

2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.—This form of the title is found in Didymus of Alexandria (see p. lxxvii) and in one of the MSS of Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (τῇ καὶ Λεπτογενέσει), where the Cod. Venet. has τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. On the other hand, it follows from the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxxviii) that this form was current among Latin writers.

3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.—This form is found in Syncellus i. 13 (see p. lxxix).

4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.—This designation is found only in Jerome, *Epist.* 78 *ad Fab.* See my note on p. 83, where, instead of Λεπτὴ (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις), we should read simply Μικρογένεσις. This is Jerome's independent rendering of the Hebrew title, for Jerome was acquainted with the original of Jubilees.

creation : Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

- (c) 1. *The Apocalypse of Moses*.
 2. *The Testament of Moses*.
 3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters*.
 4. *The Life of Adam*.

1. *The Apocalypse of Moses*.—This title is found in Syncellus i. 5 and repeated from him in Cedrenus i. 7: λεπτῇ . . . Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκαλύψιν: and in Syncellus i. 49: ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει. From the words φασί τινες and λεγομένη we conclude that this title had some currency in Syncellus' time. It was undoubtedly a very appropriate designation, since our author makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in his work (see the Greek scholion in my note on ii. 1). Cedrenus i. 16 speaks of Jubilees as ἡ λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις. The Apocalypse of Moses mentioned in Syncellus i. 48, from which he says Gal. vi. 15 (οὔτε περιτομή τι ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις) was derived, can have nothing to do with Jubilees, the main aim of which is the glorification of circumcision.

2. *The Testament of Moses* = ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως.—This was an older title than the preceding. Thus it is found in the Catena of Nicephorus i. 175, where the words ἡ διαθήκη precede a quotation from Jubilees x. 21 (see note *in loc.*). Here ἡ διαθήκη, as Rönsch (p. 275) has rightly argued, stands for ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. It is impossible to determine whether the Testament of Moses which is here to be identified with Jubilees has anything to do with the διαθήκη Μωϋσέως mentioned in four catalogues of the canonical and uncanonical writings. Rönsch (pp. 480-481) argues for their identification on the ground that the Assumption of Moses forms a suitable close to the Book of Jubilees; that they are found together in this order in the Latin MS which was edited by Ceriani; that the Testament of Moses and the Assumption are enumerated together and

in this order in the Catalogues of Nicephorus, the Ps. Athanasius and of the Sixty Canonical Books. If, however, the number of stichoi—1100—assigned to this Testament of Moses by the first catalogue is right, then this Testament cannot be the same as Jubilees; for Jubilees is longer than Genesis which, according to the same catalogue, has 4300 stichoi.

On the other hand, there may have been in circulation a Testament of Moses which was an expansion of Jubilees ii.-iii. To such a work—one-fourth the size of Genesis—the quotation given in my note on ii. 1 may possibly point, and probably the statement made by Severus of Antioch (see footnote on p. xv), and the quotation from a Catena on the Pentateuch in Fabricius ii. 121-122: *Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque inorientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur.* Here we have a combination of the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses (see my *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xlv. sqq.).

3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*—This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxviii): *Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, Apocryphus.* The designation is far from inappropriate for our book, as it aims at giving the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam onwards. On the other hand, it may not have been applied to the entire Book of Jubilees but to a short work based on Jubilees, and consisting mainly or solely of the names (and histories) of the women mentioned in Jubilees. Such a collection we find in the Syriac with the title: "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see p. xxix). The glosses in the LXX MS used by Holmes and Parsons, and later by

Lagarde (see p. lxxxii), may point to such a collection; for these glosses relate to the wives of the patriarchs and go back ultimately to Jubilees. It is possibly worth while to call attention to the fact that some of these names are found in the Annals of the Arabic writer Tabari (see Lidzbarski, *De propheticiis, quae dicuntur, Legendis Arabicis*, 1893, pp. 11-12).

4. *The Life of Adam*.—This designation is found only three times, so far as I am aware, in Syncellus i. 7, and always as *ὁ λεγόμενος Βίος Ἀδάμ*. According to Syncellus this life of Adam recounted the number of days it took Adam to number the various creatures, the making of Eve, the entrance of Adam into Paradise, and the subsequent admission of Eve, etc. (i. 7-9): *κεῖται γοῦν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Βίῳ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς τῆς τε ὀνομασίας τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς πλάσεως τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς βρώσεως ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τούτου εἰσόδου Εὕα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τὰ τε τῆς παραβάσεως καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν, ὡς ὑποτέτακται . . . ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχειώσαμεν*. If Syncellus is right here as to the contents of the Life of Adam, it treated of the same subjects as Jubilees ii. 1-29. It may, therefore, have been an excerpt from or a section of Jubilees, as Röscher suggests (475-477). Accordingly, he accepts Treuenfels' proposal that the words in Syncellus occurring just before the above extract—*ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Βίου Ἀδάμ*—should be rendered: "from the Leptogenesis, that is, from the so-called Life of Adam." Since the statements in the Life of Adam are fuller than in Jubilees, the former would be an enlarged edition of a portion of the latter. Both may have been before Syncellus. From the Life of Adam—the fuller account—he quotes on pp. 7-9, and continues his narrative on

pp. 13-15 from Jubilees. Rönsch quotes in support of this view the statement of Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 7, ann. 3: "Ein Theil derselben (der Kleinen Genesis), der von Adam handelt, wurde das Leben Adam's genannt und war den Alten als ספרא דאדם הראשון (Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 128; J. Fürst im *Lbl. des Orients*, 1848, p. 589) bekannt."

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC MSS

There are four MSS of this book in Europe, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, which belong respectively to the National Library in Paris, the British Museum, the University Library of Tübingen, and to the collection of M. d'Abbadie. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth cent. respectively) are the most valuable, but in not a few readings the true text is preserved by *c d* (both of recent date). *d* is more nearly allied to *a* and *c* to *b*. *b* is the most trustworthy of the four. For a full description of these MSS the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii sqq.

§ 4. EDITIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

DILLMANN, *Maṣḥafa kāfālē sive Liber Jubilaeorum, qui idem a Graecis Ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις* inscribitur, aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dillmann, 1859.

This edition is based on MSS *c d*.

CHARLES, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*—otherwise known among the Greeks as Ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις—edited from four MSS and critically revised through a continuous comparison of the Massoretic and Samaritan Texts, and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate and Ethiopic

Versions of the Pentateuch, and further emended and restored in accordance with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin fragments of this book, which are here published in full, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

This edition is based on the only four MSS hitherto known. It is from this text that my translation is made. In some dozen or more passages, however, to which attention is called in the notes, I have withdrawn emendations which I had introduced into the text—some in deference to criticisms of Drs. Praetorius and Littmann and others as a result of further study of the text and subject-matter. On the other hand, I have been enabled, from the much larger knowledge I now have of the literature than I had in 1893-1895, to discover the true text underlying corruptions that had defied detection, and likewise to recognise the occurrence of many dittographies and not a few lacunae (see § 11). The criticism of the text has been further greatly advanced by my discovery of a large poetical element in the book (see § 12).

§ 5. TRANSLATIONS

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1850-51, Band ii. 230-256; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS.

SCHODDE, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* (Bibliotheca Sacra, 1885-1887).

CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, vol. v. 703-708; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-745; 1895, vii. 297-328).

The above translation agrees for the most part with the text which I published subsequently. It is, however,

untrustworthy in some passages, and is now superseded by the very much improved edition of it which appears in the present volume.

LITTMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-119).

This admirable translation is based mainly on my Ethiopic text of Jubilees, but occasionally Dr. Littmann prefers to follow the readings of *c d* in Dillmann's text, and in some cases the grounds for this preference are so good that I have followed his lead. His translation is on the whole very accurate, though there are of course some passages where corrections will be introduced on the occasion of a second edition. To Dr. Littmann I owe many corrections of my English translation in the *Jewish Quarterly*.

§ 6. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

FABRICIUS, J. A., *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, i. 849-864. Fabricius here collects under the head of Parva Genesis, passages in Jerome and Greek writers which are expressly assigned to our book. At the close of this collection he adds: "Non dubito tum apud Hieronymum Quaest. et tradit. Hebraeicis in Genesin, tum apud Georgium Syncellum et Cedrenum plura legi ex parva Genesi repetita: quoniam tamen diserte illa non indicant, haec satis esse volui."

TREUENFELS, *Die kleine Genesis* בראשית זוטא (Fürst's *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 1-6; 1851, Nr. 15). Treuenfels ascribes our book to a Jewish author, who wrote most probably before the Christian era.

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1851, iii. 72-96). These pages consist of a series of learned and masterly notes which throw great

light on the text and its interpretation. Dillmann was of opinion that Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic in the first cent. A.D. before the fall of Jerusalem.

—— *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1857, xi. 161-163.

—— “Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments” (Herzog’s *Real-Encyc.*⁽²⁾ xii. 364-365). Here Dillmann sets the composition of Jubilees at the beginning of the Christian era and regards a still earlier date as possible.

—— “Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes” (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323-340). With this contribution to the criticism of the Ethiopic text and its value in determining the criticism of the Pentateuch I have already dealt (*Ethiopic Vers. of Heb. Bk. of Jubilees*, pp. xviii-xix).

JELLINEK, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch*, Leipzig, 1855 (a reprint from the third volume of his *Bet ha-Midrash*). Although the main contention of this treatise, that Jubilees is of Essene origin, cannot be sustained, Jellinek’s observations on its relations to Jewish Midrashim (*i.e.* Wajissau and Tadshe) and legends generally are most illuminating and helpful. Jellinek justly recognises that Jubilees was written when the essential character of the Jewish calendar was not definitely fixed.

BEER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1856; *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1857. The former work is the ablest contribution from the Jewish side that has yet been made towards the interpretation of Jubilees. On pp. 25-39 he deals with the points of similarity existing between Jubilees and Jewish tradition, and on pp. 39-56 the points of divergence. Beer ascribes our book to a Samaritan, who made use of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and

Jewish tradition, and wrote in Africa. This Samaritan authorship was shown to be impossible by Ewald (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissensch.* 1856, viii. 184 sq.), in a short review of Beer's work, and Dillmann (*ZDMG*, 1857, xi. 161-163). In the *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65 and his *Leben Abrahams*, 1859; *Leben Moses*, 1863, Beer has made many valuable indirect contributions to the exegesis of Jubilees.

FRANKEL, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400. Frankel sought to prove that Jubilees was of Egyptian origin and representative of the cult at the Onias Temple at Leontopolis. To this view of Frankel, Beer rejoined in the treatise cited above under his name: *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*.

KRÜGER, "Die Chronologie im Buche d. Jubiläen" (*ZDMG*, 1858, xii. 279-299. Krüger ascribes the composition of Jubilees to the year 320 B.C., but such a view has rightly failed to obtain a single suffrage.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 84-102. Jubilees according to this writer is to be assigned to the years 30-60 A.D. (p. 100).

SINKER, *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, 1869, pp. 42-43, 81-85.

RUBIN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis in's Hebräische übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und mit Noten versehen*, Wien, 1870.

GINSBURG, Art. "Jubilees, Book of" in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*.

RÖNSCH, *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1871, pp. 60-98; *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig, 1874. Rönsch assigned our book to the years 50-60 A.D. It was directed against the rising Christianity, and was an attempt to draw together all the opposing parties in Judaism against the new religion.

HILGENFELD, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie*, 1874, pp. 435-441.

DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 143-147.

EPPSTEIN, "Midrasch Tadsche," in *Beiträge zur Jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887.

—— "Le Livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrasch Tadsché" (*Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

SACK, *Die altjüdische Religion*, 1889, pp. 350-368.

BACON, "Calendar of Enoch and Jubilees" (*Hebraica*, 1891-1892, viii. 79-88; 124-131).

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 193-236. We have here an excellent account of the book from the older standpoint.

THOMSON, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, pp. 297-320, 433-439.

BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,⁽²⁾ 1892, pp. 20-24.

KUENEN, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894, pp. 113 sqq.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*,⁽³⁾ 1898, iii. 274-280. Schürer follows the ordinary view as to the date of Jubilees: "It may with considerable probability be assigned to the first cent. of the Christian era." Notwithstanding its many divergencies from Pharisaic usage and doctrine at that period he holds that in its essential aspects it represents the prevailing Pharisaic standpoint. A good bibliography closes the article.

SINGER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis*, I. Theil; Tendenz und Ursprung, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte, Stuhlweissenburg (Ungarn), 1898. Rönsch, as we have seen above, was of opinion that Jubilees was directed against Christianity, but Singer thinks that he can establish that it was the work of a Jewish Christian, written (about 58-60 A.D.) with a polemic purpose against

the teaching of St. Paul—especially against his doctrine of the abrogation of the law. This work exhibits much learning both in the field of Judaism and Christianity. But the main thesis is not in any sense proved by him nor is it possible of proof.

HEADLAM, Art. "Jubilees," in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, 1899, ii. 791.

CHARLES, Art. "Book of Jubilees," in *Encyc. Biblica*, 1899, i. 230-233.

BOHN, "Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen (*Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1900, pp. 167-184). This article shows admirable insight. Its writer recognises rightly that the book belongs to the second cent. B.C. He ascribes its composition to 150 B.C. or thereabouts.

LITTMANN, Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-38. We have here as good an introduction to our author as was possible from the stage of criticism at the time, and one that is meritorious alike for its learning and judgment. In 1899 Littmann reviewed Singer's book (see above) in the *ZDMG*, pp. 368 sqq.

§ 7. THE VERSIONS OF JUBILEES—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC

1. *The Greek Version*.—Numerous fragments of this version have come down to us in J. Martyr (? see note on p. 41), Origen (see notes on pp. 194, 227), Diodorus of Antioch (see p. 85), Isidore of Alexandria (see p. lxxxix), Epiphanius (see notes on pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 86), John Malala (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66), Anastasius Sinaita (flor. seventh cent.—preserved only in Latin; see note on p. 23), Syncellus (see notes on pp. 41, 59, 66, 68, 69, 71,

73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 191, 192. It is remarkable that Syncellus attributed to Genesis what comes from our text—see note on p. 164, and similarly to Josephus—see notes on pp. 157, 186, 208), Cedrenus (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66, 67, 86, 87, 88, 93, 94, 116, 191, 252), Suidas (see note on p. 91), Zonaras (see p. 35), Glycas (see notes on pp. 37, 84, 85, 164), Joel (see notes on pp. 37, 67).

For probable mistranslations in this version see notes on xxx. 25, xliii. 11, xlvii. 9; for corruptions in the MSS before the Ethiopic and Latin translators, see notes on i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxxii. 27, 29.

This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and the Latin, as we shall prove below.

2. *The Ethiopic Version.*—This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence (see § 11), but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: “my wife” in iii. 6 instead of “wife”; xv. 12 (see note); xvii. 12 (“her bottle” instead of “the bottle”); xxiv. 19 (where the words “a well” are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, etc., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* I can discover only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see my Text, pp. xii. sqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see notes on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

3. *The Latin Version*.—This version, of which about one fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b-21; xv. 20^b-31^a; xvi. 5^b-xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b-xix. 25; xx. 5^b-xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2-19^a; xxiii. 8^b-23^a; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b-23^a; xxvii. 11^b-24^a; xxviii. 16^b-27^a; xxix. 8^b-xxx. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b-18, 29^b-32; xxxii. 1-8^a, 18^b-xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b-xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b-12^a; xxxvi. 20^b-xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b-16^a; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b-18; xlii. 2^b-14^a; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b-22. This version was next edited by Rösensch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente*. This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgment and critical acumen. Rösensch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth cent. (pp. 459-460). In 1895 I edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rösensch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlvi. 14 where it adds "et Oon" against all other authorities. The Eth. version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin

version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (canos meos where our Ethiopic text = *μου τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12 where it reads in tota terra for in terra. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version "et creverunt et juvenes facti sunt" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause "eorum quae fiebant in carcere" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, etc. (see my Text, p. xvi.).

4. *The Syriac Version.*—The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS (Add. 12,154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees." It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by me as Appendix III. to my Text of Jubilees (p. 183).

§ 8. THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK

Like all the biblical literature Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from Greek. We have seen above (p. xxvi) that the Greek version had a very wide currency. To show that our text is a translation from the Greek version it will be sufficient to point out that in xxxiv. 11 we have a transliteration of ἡλίου ("of the sun"); that in i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxviii. 27, xxxii. 4, 27, 29, xlvii. 5 (see notes *in loc.*) we must retranslate into Greek before we can discover the source of the various corruptions. Further, Greek words such as δρύς, βάλανος, λίψ, σχῖνος, φάραγξ, etc. are transliterated in the Ethiopic. The Greek article is rendered by the demonstrative ii. 2, iii. 25, xxiv. 19, 29. Finally, proper names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew: viii. 5, x. 18, etc.

It is no less obvious that the Latin is also a translation from the Greek. Thus in xxxix. 12, timoris = δειλίας, a corruption of δουλείας; in xxxviii. 13, honorem = τιμήν, which should have been rendered by tributum (so Eth.); in xxxii. 26, celavit = ἔκρυψε, corrupt for ἔγραψε (so Eth.). Again, in xxxi. 30, orasti orationem is a mistranslation of ἡύξω εὐχήν, which here = novisti votum; in xxxii. 30, sub glande = ὑπὸ τῆς βαλάνου, which here = sub quercu. The Greek article is often rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in the Ethiopic version: hujus Abrahae, xxix. 16; huic Jacob . . . huic Istraël, xxxi. 15. Greek constructions are reproduced: memor fuit sermones, xvii. 3 = ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους: consummavit loquens, xv. 22 = συνετέλεσε λαλῶν: in omnibus quibus (for quae) dedisti, xxii. 8 = ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας. We should observe also the extraordinary mistranslation of μήποτε = (ne forte) by ne quando in xlii. 11. (See Rönsch, pp. 439 sqq.)

We have seen above (pp. xxviii-xxix) that the Ethiopic and Latin versions presuppose in some cases different forms of the Greek version.

§ 9. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW

The early date and place of composition speak for a Semitic original, and the following evidence for such an original is irresistible.

But the question at once arises: was this original Aramaic or Hebrew? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic, as Cettin, xxiv. 28; Adurin, xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin, xxiv. 14-16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Moreover, it is most dangerous to conclude from Aramaic *proper names* to an Aramaic original; for Aramaic forms occur not infrequently in the Greek versions of the Old Testament. Thus this very word Cettim (כְּתִים) appears as *Χεττάν* in Symmachus (Gen. x. 4), *Χεττείν* in the LXX (B) and Lucian of Judg. i. 26, *Χεττιέν* in the LXX (B) of 1 Kings x. 33. As regards Adurin (which in the Eth. version = 'Adûrâm), we should observe that this word appears as 'Ανοιράμ, *i.e.* 'Αδοιράμ, in the sister work Test. Iud. 9. Thus we may here again conclude to an original Hebrew form. It is noteworthy also that whereas in xxxviii. 3 of the Latin we have Adoram, in the Ethiopic we have 'Adôrân. Another Aramaic form is Mastêmâ (מַסְתֵּמָא) [*Μαστιφάμ* in Syncellus, *Μαστιφάτ* in Cedrenus, and *Mastima* in the Latin version, xviii. 12, xlviii. 2], from the hiphel participle, מַסְתֵּם). But the presence of such a proper name in a Semitic document is inconclusive as we have shown above. Cf. Littmann, in Kautzsch's *Apok. u. Pseud.* ii. 34.

The grounds, on the other hand, for a Hebrew original are weighty and numerous :

1. *A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew.*—Hebrew, our author teaches, was the sacred and national language (see notes on xii. 25-26 ; xliii. 15).

2. *The revival of the national spirit of the nation is universally, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language.*—Thus the Psalms of Solomon (70-40 B.C.) were written in Hebrew, and the Similitudes in the Ethiopic Enoch (xxxvii.-lxx.), as I hope to prove later. As regards the sections of Enoch which were written before the revival of the national spirit under the Maccabees other grounds must decide.

3. *The text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text.*—Thus in xliii. 11 lâ'êlêja = ἐν ἐμοί, which is a mistranslation of בִּי. בִּי in this context = δέομαι, "pray," as in Gen. xlv. 18, which our text reproduces almost word for word. In xvi. 31 lebba dabart (Lat. Vers. corde palmarum) = לבב התמר, where ל is corrupt for לולב. In xlvii. 9 the text = domum Faraonis, but the context demands filiam Faraonis. Hence the Greek translator here misread בַּת-פ as בֵּית-פ or בַּת-פ. The true Aramaic word for daughter is ברת. See also notes on ii. 29, iii. 15, vi. 35, xlviii. 12.

Under this head also we might draw attention to the presence of dittographies already existing in the Hebrew text. See notes on iii. 16, xviii. 15, xxx. 1.

4. *Hebraisms survive in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.*—Thus in ii. 9, 25 the Ethiopic wahaba = "gave" goes back to נתן, which must here be translated "appointed." In xxii. 10 eligere in te is a reproduction of בחר; in xxiv. 25 sermo hic = "this thing" = הדבר הזה, a purely Hebrew expression; in xix. 8 in qua . . . in ipsa (so also Eth.)

= ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ = אֵל אֱשֶׁר בָּהּ; in xl. 7 (see note) we have a transliteration of a Hebrew phrase 'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrër where we should read 'Abîrêl. Again in iv. 4 nûha is a corrupt transliteration of נֹחַ. See also vi. 35, xxxiii. 1, xl. 10.

5. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew.*—Thus in iv. 9 there is a play on Enoch the son of Cain; on Jared in iv. 15, on Noah in iv. 28, on Peleg in viii. 8, on Reu in x. 18, on Serug in xi. 6, on Terah in xi. 12 (see notes *in loc.*).

6. *Many passages of this book are preserved in rabbinic writings*, such as the Hebrew Book of Noah, the Midrash Wajjissau, the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, the Book of Jashar, and the Midrash Tadshe. It has also much matter in common with the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs which was also originally written in Hebrew.

§ 10. TEXTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In order to understand the position which the Hebrew text of Jubilees occupied in relation to the texts and versions of the Pentateuch, it will be necessary to summarise briefly its affinities with them. We shall now discover that our text agrees in turn with the Samaritan (twice?), LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and with Onkelos.

In the following list, where the corresponding passages in Jubilees and the Pentateuch are given without further comment, the details will be found in the notes accompanying the translation. Thus in the first sub-heading i. (a), where xxvi. 34 of our text is equated with Gen. xxvii. 40, the needful information is given in the notes on xxvi. 34. On the other hand, where the notes do not supply such details the read-

ing given by our text and its supporters and the opposing text and its authorities are supplied in brackets. Thus we are to interpret the statement "xli. 14 ('his shepherd')—Gen. xxviii. 40 ('his friend')," which occurs under the sub-heading ii. (η), "It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr.," as meaning that our text, supported by the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxviii. 40, reads "his shepherd," whereas the Mass., Sam., and Syr. read "his friend." For fuller information the reader can refer to my Ethiopic Text.

i. First as to its agreement with individual authorities in opposition to the rest:

(α) It agrees with the Sam. against the Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk. in iv. 7 ("he called")—Gen. iv. 25 ("she called"); xxvi. 34 (?)—Gen. xxvii. 40.

(β) It agrees with the LXX against the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. in iii. 24 ("thy pains")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy conception"); v. 1—Gen. vi. 2; vii. 8—Gen. ix. 22; viii. 1—Gen. xi. 13; xiii. 2—Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 2, 12—Gen. xv. 2, 11; xv. 15 ("her name will be called")—Gen. xvii. 15 ("thou shalt call her name"); xviii. 2—Gen. xxii. 2; xxiv. 25—Gen. xxvi. 32; xxvi. 25 (+ "his son")—Gen. xxvii. 30 (see my Text, p. 97, note 20); xxviii. 11 (+ Jacob)—Gen. xxix. 32; xxviii. 29—Gen. xxx. 43; xxix. 4—Gen. xxxi. 20; xlvi. 14 ("he set over")—Exod. i. 11 ("they set over").

(γ) It agrees with the Syriac version against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Vulg. in xii. 15 ("went forth" in sing.)—Gen. xi. 31 (Mass. = "went forth" in pl., Sam., LXX, Vulg. = "led forth"); xviii. 11 ("I have shown")—Gen. xxii. 12 ("I know"); xliii. 21 ("by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh")—Gen. xlv. 21 ("by the mouth of Pharaoh"); xlvii. 7—Exod. ii. 7; xlix. 9 ("the guilt")—Num. ix. 13 ("his guilt").

(δ) It agrees with the Vulg. against Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr. in vii. 9 ("their shoulders")—Gen. ix. 23 ("both their shoulders"); xiv. 1 ("and thy reward")—Gen. xv. 1 ("thy reward"); xiv. 22 ("shall build up")—Gen. xvi. 2 ("shall be builded up"); xxiv. 3 ("give me")—Gen. xxv. 30 ("feed me"); xxiv. 19 ("living water")—Gen. xxvi. 19 ("well of water"); xxvi. 31 ("Isaac")—Gen. xxvii. 39 ("Isaac his father").

(ε) It agrees with the Targum of Onkelos against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg. in xiii. 20 ("not be numbered")—Gen. xiii. 16 ("be numbered"); xiii. 24—Gen. xiv. 14; xv. 17 ("rejoiced")—Gen. xvii. 17 ("laughed").

ii. We shall next give its affinities with two or more of the above authorities in opposition to the rest.

(α) Its agreement with the Mass. and Sam.:

It agrees with the Mass. and Sam. against the LXX, Syr., Vulg. in iii. 3—Gen. ii. 20; vi. 7 ("with the life thereof with the blood")—Gen. ix. 4 (LXX *ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς*).

It agrees with the Mass. and Onk. against the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. in iii. 7—Gen. ii. 24.

(β) Its agreement with the Mass., Sam., Syr., or with these + Vulg. or + Vulg. and Onk.:

It agrees with Mass., Sam., and Syr. against the LXX and Vulg. in iii. 25 ("for thy sake," *בְּעֵבְרֶיךָ*)—Gen. iii. 17 (LXX (and Vulg.) *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου* = *בְּעֵבְרֶיךָ*); vi. 8 ("by man")—Gen. ix. 6 (LXX *ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ*); xxvi. 27 ("thy firstborn")—Gen. xxvii. 32 (LXX + Vulg. om. "thy"); xxvi. 29 ("unto his father")—Gen. xxvii. 34 (LXX + Vulg. om.); xxvii. 21 ("behold")—Gen. xxviii. 13 (LXX + Vulg. om.).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. against the LXX in v. 27 ("prevailed")—Gen. vii. 24 (LXX *ὑψώθη*);

xii. 15 ("from Ur")—Gen. xi. 31 (LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας);
xiv. 3 ("out of thine own bowels")—Gen. xv. 4 (LXX ἐκ
σου = 𐤓𐤕𐤍 instead of 𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤓); xiv. 12—Gen. xv. 11; xv. 3
("Almighty")—Gen. xvii. 1 (LXX σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.
against the LXX in xv. 20—Gen. xvii. 22; xxvi. 23
("peoples")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX ἄρχοντες = 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤓
corrupt for 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍); xxvi. 24 ("brethren")—Gen. xxvii. 29
(LXX τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Aq., Symm., Vulg.,
and Onk. against the LXX in xiii. 10 ("towards the south")
—Gen. xii. 9 (LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ).

(γ) Its agreement with the Sam. and LXX or with these
+ Syr. or + Onk. or + Vulg. or + Syr. and Vulg.:

It agrees with the Sam. and LXX against the Mass.,
Syr., Vulg. in xiv. 18—Gen. xv. 20; xv. 14—Gen. xvii. 14;
xvii. 1 ("his son")—Gen. xxi. 8 (om.); xxvii. 11 ("my
father")—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Syr. against the
Mass., Vulg., and Onk. in ii. 16—Gen. ii. 2.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against
Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. in xii. 23 ("them that curse")—
Gen. xii. 3 ("him that curses"); xvii. 7—Gen. xxi. 13;
xxviii. 8 ("I shall give")—Gen. xxix. 27 ("we will give");
xliii. 12 ("with us")—Gen. xlv. 31 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the
Mass. and Onk. in xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xv. 19 ("and
for his seed")—Gen. xvii. 19 ("for his seed").

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Onk. against Mass.,
Syr., and Vulg. in iii. 6—Gen. ii. 23.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Vulg. against the Mass.
and Syr. in xiv. 13 ("it was said")—Gen. xv. 13 ("He said").

(δ) Its agreement with the Sam. and Syr. + the Vulg.
or others:

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven. against the Mass., Vulg., and Itala in xviii. 12 ("a single (= 𐤓𐤕𐤓) ram")—Gen. xxii. 23 ("behind (𐤓𐤕𐤓) him a ram"). Onk. combines both readings.

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Vulg., Onk. against Mass. and LXX in xliv. 16 ("Phûa")—Gen. xlv. 13 ("Puvvah").

(ε) Its agreement with the Sam. version + LXX or with the Sam. version + Syr. and others :

It agrees with the Sam. vers., LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. against Mass., Sam., Vulg. in xviii. 15—Gen. xxii. 17.

It agrees with the Sam. Vers., Syr., Vulg. (and possibly Sam.) against Mass. and LXX in xviii. 13 ("hath seen" or "seeth")—Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass. "will be seen" or "provided") (LXX ὥφθη).

(ζ) Its agreement with the LXX and Syr. and with these + others :

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. against Mass., Sam. in iii. 24 ("thy return")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy desire"); xiv. 2 ("son of my handmaid")—Gen. xv. 2 ("of my house"?); xli. 9—Gen. xxxviii. 14.

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. and, in the main, with the Sam. and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in vi. 32 ("beasts and cattle and birds and every moving thing"; LXX πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν καὶ πᾶν ἑρπετὸν κινούμενον. So Syr. save that it omits καὶ after πετεινόν; Sam. and Vulg. agree with LXX save that Vulg. omits καὶ πᾶν πετεινόν and Sam. omits καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη)—Gen. viii. 19 ("every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever creepeth").

It agrees with the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Sam. in v. 8 ("will . . . abide")—Gen. vi. 3 ("will . . . strive"); xiv. 4 ("said unto him")—Gen. xv. 5 ("said"); xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xxiv. 3 ("said to him")

—Gen. xxv. 31 (“said”); xliii. 12 (“our father”)—Gen. xliv. 30 (Mass. “my father”).

(η) Its agreement with the LXX and Vulg.:

It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr. (+ “and dancing”) xvii. 4—Gen. xxi. 9 ; xxvii. 8—Gen. xxvii. 46 (+ “of the daughters of Heth”); xxvii. 11 (“after thee”)—Gen. xxviii. 4 (“with thee”); xxviii. 1 (“land of the east”)—Gen. xxix. 1 (“land of the sons of the east”); xli. 14 (“his shepherd” = רֹעֵהוּ)—Gen. xxviii. 20 (“his friend” = רֵעֵהוּ).

It agrees with the LXX, Vulg., and Onk. in xv. 14 (“for he has broken”)—Gen. xvii. 14 (“he has broken”).

(θ) It agrees with the LXX (*d^{sil}e*, πατρός μου, but other MSS give πατρός σου as in the Sam. and Eth. vers.) against the Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in xxvii. 11—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

Though the above list is not exhaustive it is sufficiently so for our purposes. It follows from it that our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. Thus it agrees at times with the Sam. or LXX or Syr. or Vulg. or even with Onk. against all the rest. Similarly it agrees with various combinations of these against the rest.

In the next place we infer from the following phenomena that *our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac*. For it agrees more frequently with the LXX, see i. (β), or with combinations into which the LXX enters, see ii. (γ), (ε), (η), (θ), than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac, see i. (γ), or with combinations into which the Syriac enters, see ii. (β), (δ). On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown by such passages as i. (α), (γ), (δ), (ε), and its actual superiority in a large array of readings, ii. (α), (β),

where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg. and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of Pentateuch) and 100 A.D., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 11. LACUNAE, DITTOGRAPHIES AND DISLOCATIONS IN OUR TEXT

Lacunae.—In addition to the occasional small lacunae which are supplied from the Latin version or other independent sources, there are four larger lacunae in ii. 22, iii. 23, vii. 37, xiii. 25. The first consists of two clauses according to the Greek authorities: "As there were two and twenty letters, and two and twenty books," but, according to the Midrash Tadshe, only of one: "As there were two and twenty letters" (see ii. 23 notes). Since the earliest testimony elsewhere to this reckoning of the books of the Old Testament as twenty-two is that of Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8), it is possible that the clause in question in Epiphanius and Syncellus may be an addition to the text of Jubilees. This reckoning is mentioned also by Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, in the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, Jerome, etc. (see Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892, p. 221). On the other hand, it is

not improbable that the disputed clause belongs to the original text: for its omission by the Midrash Tadshe is far from conclusive. We have already seen in the notes on ii. 2-3 that this Midrash (written *circ.* 1000 A.D.) has deliberately altered the text of Jubilees, where it is rightly transmitted by Epiphanius and Syncellus, in order to accommodate it to Talmudic Judaism. And in the present instance the motive for this omission was not wanting; for the usual reckoning of the books of the Old Testament in Talmudic writings (Taanith 8*a*; Shem. rabba 41, etc.) and later Jewish scholars, such as Isaac Abarbanel, was twenty-four (see Strack, Herzog's *Real - Encyc.*⁽²⁾ vii. 434-436). Moreover, a passage in Isidore of Seville, which is clearly based on Jub. ii., supports the evidence of Epiphanius and Syncellus. It runs: Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester et xxii literarum sunt elementa (see p. lxxxix for the rest of the quotation). Accordingly, since the negative evidence of the Midrash is thus largely discounted and since on the other hand we have the positive evidence of Epiphanius, Isidore, and Syncellus, and artificial analogies of this nature are characteristic of our author, I am inclined to accept the clause as original.¹

¹ Since writing the above I have come across the following excerpt from the Greek version of Jubilees in Lambros' *Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos*, vol. i., pp. 292, which confirms my view. It is: Ἰωάννου ἀναγνώστου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Λεπτήης Γενέσεως. Ἐν τῇ ψα. [A]π' ὧδε διαλαμβάνει βιβλίον τὸ καλούμενον λεπτὴ γένεσις. Ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ. Ἔργα ὡς λέγει ἔκτησεν (read ἔκτισεν) ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις, δι' ὃ καὶ κβ' γράμματα παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ κβ' βιβλία καὶ κη' γενεαρχίαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ. Κάϊν, ὡς λέγει, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέθανεν. Lambros wrongly prints κβ' as κη' twice in the above passage. I owe the corrections to Mr. Lake, who has just collated it afresh for me on Mt. Athos. The excerpt is from a thirteenth-cent. MS. The last sentence regarding Cain is from Jub. iv. 31.

The third lacuna in vii. 37 appears to have extended to two or more verses, which dealt with the right of eating the fruit of trees in the fifth year after they were planted, and of sowing and reaping the land during six years and the duty of letting it lie fallow on the seventh (see notes *in loc.*). The greatest loss which our book has sustained is that which occurs in xiii. 25. Here the text still stands in a mutilated condition. The subject of the lost verses was undoubtedly Abram's pursuit of the kings, his recovery of the captives, and his meeting with Melchizedek. Since on other grounds it appears that the Maccabean princes claimed in some respects to represent the priesthood of Melchizedek, this loss is most deplorable (see notes on xiii. 25, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16).

Dittographies.—We have already drawn attention to three passages where dittographies most probably existed already in the Hebrew text. These are far from infrequent in the Ethiopic version. Thus in i. 29, vi. 33, viii. 6, 16, ix. 1, xv. 34, xix. 10, xxii. 24, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 13, the dittographies are verbal repetitions of clauses in immediate or mediate juxtaposition. Some of these repetitions may, of course, have already occurred in the Greek. But there is another class of dittographies present in our version which are due to incorporation in the text of duplicate renderings. Thus in xxx. 16 the clause "and no consideration of persons" follows immediately on "And there will be no respect of persons," and both are alternative renderings of *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται προσωποληψία* or some such phrase. This conclusion is confirmed by the Latin version which shows no such dittography. We have the evidence of the same version for excising the dittography in xxiii. 11. Other duplicate renderings, which have found their way into the Ethiopic version, our text exhibits in xx. 3, xxi. 10, 13, xxiv. 3. Possibly in xxxii. 21 "read and

read," which I have emended with the Latin *legit et cognovit* into "read and knew," should be regarded as a simple dittography within the Ethiopic; and *legit et cognovit* as due to two alternative renderings of ἀνέγνω, where the first is right.

Dislocations.—A most probable instance of this nature occurs in xxxvii. 20^{ef}. These two prose lines intervene in the midst of a poem. They are corrupt in all the MSS, but by an easy emendation could be adapted to follow after the first clause of the preceding verse. See note *in loc.*

Another passage is v. 17-18 which deals with the Day of Atonement. I have treated it as interpolated or else as transposed from after xxxiv. 18-19, which treats of the first institution of this festival. It is possible, however, that these verses did belong to the original. Thus 10^b-12 refer to the final judgment and the renewal of the world. The subject of the final judgment is there further dealt with in its general character in 13-16, and in 17-18 the writer turns aside to show the special grace accorded to Israel on that day if they observe the Day of Atonement. But I still incline to the view that 17-18 are foreign to their present context.

Again, i. 28 should probably be read before i. 26, and xxiii. 16 after xxiii. 19.

§ 12. POETICAL ELEMENT IN JUBILEES

Just before completing my commentary on Jubilees, I was so fortunate as to discover that no small proportion of it was originally written in verse. Accordingly the reader will find the following passages arranged as verse: x. 3; xii. 2-5, 18-20, 23, 29; xv. 6-8; xviii. 15-16; xix. 17, 20-22, 25; xx. 6-10; xxi. 21-25; xxii. 11-23; xxiii. 23-31; xxiv. 30-32; xxv. 15-23; xxvi. 23-24, 31-34;

xxxi. 15-20 ; xxxvii. 20-23. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connections of wrongly separated clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Thus, if the reader turns to xxxvii. 20-23 he will find a poem—probably an old one—consisting of five stanzas of three lines each. Our recognition of this fact enables us to excise as an interpolation the unintelligible words occurring in the MSS at the close of the first stanza. Even if we emended these words we should only have a distich, which would be suspicious in the midst of a poem consisting of tristichs. But not only is the form against their genuineness here, but also their subject matter (see notes *in loc.*). Again, in xxxi. 18 we reject a line both on the ground of the parallelism and of its being a dittography, and in xxi. 22 a line on the ground of the parallelism. The most important of these poems is the apocalypse in xxiii. 23-31 which consists of ten stanzas, the first nine of which are tristichs and the last a tetrastich. Of the rest some are composed in distichs, as xii. 23, 29 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xx. 6-10 ; xxii. 11-23 ; xxv. 15-23, xxvi. 23-24, 31-34 ; xxxi. 15-20 ; some in tristichs xix. 17, 25 ; xxi. 21-25 ; xxxvii. 20-23 ; and the rest partly in distichs and partly in tristichs in xii. 18-20 (consisting of a tristich + distich + tristich + 2 distichs) ; xv. 6-8 (distich + 2 tristichs) ; xix. 20-22 (2 tristichs + 2 distichs). While on the one hand it must be confessed that in xv. 6-8 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xxxi. 20, and in one or more other passages, it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement ; on the other it seems most probable that much of the first chapter was originally written in verse ; also vii. 10^b-12 ; xxvii. 23-24 ; xxxii. 18-19, and many passages elsewhere.

§ 13. JUBILEES FROM ONE AUTHOR, BUT BASED ON EARLIER BOOKS AND TRADITIONS

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms, of course, the bulk of the book, but every page of it contains materials characteristic of the age of our author. By referring to Index I. the reader will see at a glance the books of the Old Testament laid under contribution.

But our present chief interest is the relation of our author to non-canonical Jewish literature. Thus he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15 from the Book of Noah. Of this book happily the greater part of x. 1-2, 9-14 is still preserved in the Hebrew Book of Noah (see Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 155, and my Text of Jubilees, p. 179). Our author had before him also the greater part of the Book of Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc.

Besides these he also made use of current traditions and legends, which were already reduced to writing, and have come down to us in Hebrew and Greek in other independent works. Thus the war of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings, xxxiv. 1-9, is found in the Test. Judah 3-7, a contemporary work, in the Midrash Wajjissau, which contains if not the original legend, at all events a very early recast of it, and in the Book of Jashar—a late work. Again, our author drew on existing writings for his description of the fratricidal war between Jacob and Esau in xxxvii.-xxxviii. Here the only contemporary authority that still exists for our text is Test. Jud. 9. But with a few reservations the same statement may be made of the Hebrew document preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (see my notes on pp. 214-215).

Other incidents in our text, which are attested also in the contemporary Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, are the story of Bilhah's dishonour at the hands of Reuben during Jacob's absence (Jub. xxxiii. 1-9—Test. Reuben 3); Levi's dream as to the priesthood (xxxii. 1—Test. Levi 2, 4, 5, 8, 9), and his consecration to it by Isaac (xxxi. 13-17—Test. Levi 9); the names of the wives of Levi and Judah (xxxiv. 20—Test. Levi 11; Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16); the story of Tamar, Er and Onan, and Judah's repentance (xli. —Test. Jud. 10, 12, 14, 19); the burial of Jacob's sons in Hebron (xlvi. 9—Test. Reub. 7, Levi 19, Jud. 26 Zeb. 10, Dan. 7, Naph. 9, Gad 8, Asher 8; cf. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2) during a war between Egypt and Canaan (xlvi. 9—Test. Sim. 8, Benj. 12 [Arm. Vers.]). Also the insertion of Kâinâm in vii. 1 is supported by the LXX of Gen. xi. 13.

Other legendary matter in Jubilees, for which contemporary or earlier documents are, as a rule, not at hand, though most probably belonging to ancient tradition, furnishes us with *a large number of proper names*—particularly the names of women—'Âwân, wife of Cain (iv. 9), 'Azûra, wife of Seth (iv. 11), Mûalêlêth, the wife of Kenan (iv. 14), and the wives of the various patriarchs down to Terah (see iv. 15, 16, 20, 27, 28, 33; vii. 14, 15, 16; viii. 1, 5, 6, 7; xi. 9, 14, etc.), and of the twelve sons of Jacob (xxxiv. 20), and the daughter of Pharaoh (xlvii. 5). As other proper names of persons we might observe: Barâki'êl (iv. 15), Râsûjâl (iv. 16), Dânel (iv. 20), and so on for the fathers of the wives mentioned above (iv. 27, 28, 33; viii. 1, 5, 6, etc.); also Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan (xlvi. 6), and the Êljô¹ (vii. 22). Again, as names of places: 'Êldâ (iii. 32), the mount of the East (iv. 26), the three

¹ This name is found in the Greek Version (Syncellus) of the Eth. Enoch vii. 2 as 'Ελιούδ.

cities built by Noah's sons (vii. 14, 15, 16), the various mountains, islands, towns, rivers, and seas mentioned in viii. 12-ix. 13 (most of which can, however, be identified with actual places), 'Ērmôn (= Heroonpolis, xlv. 6).

Other legendary matter was in many instances (see notes *in loc.*), and possibly in all, the source of the following statements and incidents: the period of five days spent by Adam in naming the creatures (iii. 1-3), the common language of all animals before the Fall (iii. 28), the number of Adam's sons, *i.e.* twelve (iv. 10), his burial—the first that was made in the earth (iv. 29), the manner of Cain's death (iv. 31), Kâinâm's discovery of writings of the Watchers (viii. 1-4), the detailed account of the tower of Babel and its destruction by a mighty wind (x. 21-26), the beginning of wars and idolatry in Serug's time (xi. 2-4), the history of Abraham's early days and exploits (xi. 16-24), his campaign against idolatry and burning of a heathen temple, death of Haran, Abraham's astronomical knowledge and miraculous acquisition of Hebrew (xii. 1-8, 12-14, 16-21, 25-27), Abraham's ten temptations (xvii. 17), the fact of Zilpah and Bilhah being sisters (xxviii. 9), and of Zebulon and Dinah being twins (xxviii. 23), rape of Dinah at the age of twelve (xxx. 1-3), Jacob's presents to his parents four times a year (xxix. 14-17, 19-20), Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (xxxi. 13-20), appointment of Levi to the priesthood as the tenth son (xxxii. 2-3), the deaths of Bilhah and Dinah after news of Joseph's death (xxxiv. 15-16), Simeon's marriage to a woman of Mesopotamia on his repentance (xxxiv. 21), after having first married a woman from Zephath (xlv. 13), the years of famine traced to the failure of the Nile (xlv. 9), the temporary stay of many Israelites in Canaan after burial of the patriarchs (xlvi. 10), the number of months during which the Hebrew children were cast into the river (xlvii. 2), the burning of

the Egyptian gods (xlvi. 5), destruction of 1000 Egyptians in the Red Sea for every Hebrew child that was cast into the river (xlvi. 14).

§ 14. JUBILEES—A PRODUCT OF THE MIDRASHIC TENDENCY AT WORK IN THE OLD TESTAMENT CHRONICLER, BUT REPRESENTED BY ITS AUTHOR AS AN ESOTERIC TRADITION

Our book represents an extreme product of the midrashic process which is apparent on most pages of the Old Testament Chronicler. (*a*) The Chronicler, as we know, to a certain extent rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and the history of Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. In his hands the history of the nation is so recast as to make it a history of the church, the temple and its cultus, and to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. (*b*) In the course of this process facts that will not square with the writer's presuppositions are omitted or transformed in character. This applies particularly to breaches of the Priests' Code; also to statements such as that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, which ascribes David's temptation to Yahweh. This temptation the Chronicler attributes to Satan (1 Chron. xxi. 1).

(*a*) Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis¹ what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings (observe especially his recasting of 2 Kings xi. in 2 Chron. xxii. 10-xxiii. 21), and so he rewrote it in such a way as to

¹ The procedure of our author is, of course, in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis. Thus according to it "Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready" (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124).

show that the law had been rigorously observed, even by the patriarchs.

(b) Like the Chronicler our author found many statements in Genesis that did not square with his presuppositions, and accordingly we find that in many instances he alters the text before him,¹ and in others he simply omits. Thus he omits² the sending out of the raven (Gen. viii. 7) possibly on the ground of its being an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 15), and of the doves, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 2-8), his intercession for Sodom (xviii. 22-33), the mention of Lot's wife and many details regarding the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1-24), Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (xii. 11-14, 18), and of Abimelech in regard to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2-3), Isaac's prayer that Rebecca may have offspring, etc. (Gen. xxv. 21-26), his deception of Abimelech in regard to Rebecca (Gen. xxvi. 7-10), Jacob's meeting with Rachel and his welcome by Laban (Gen. xxix. 2-15), the story of the mandrakes (Gen. xxx. 14-16), Jacob's devices to increase his flocks at the expense of Laban (Gen. xxx. 37-42), the mutual recriminations of Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 26-32, 36-42), Jacob's meeting with the angels (Gen. xxxii. 1-2), his wrestling with the angel (xxxii. 24-32), his fear of Esau and efforts to propitiate him (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.), the circumcision of the Shechemites and their covenant with Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 14-24). The omissions in the history of Joseph are numerous, but they can be explained almost wholly on the ground of the author's desire for brevity. But as regards Gen. xlix. the case is different. It is

¹ See pp. xlix, liv.

² The narrative about Melchizedek is lost in the course of transmission, but was not omitted by our author (see xiii. 25 note). Nor yet was the reference to fasting on the Day of Atonement (see xxxiv. 18 note).

purposely suppressed because of its severity on Levi and its giving the pre-eminence to Judah. Our author throughout reverses this relation, and everywhere sets Levi before Judah.

Again, like the Chronicler he takes offence at the frequent mention of men being tempted or slain by God in Genesis and Exodus, and after the example of the Chronicler he represents the temptation of Abraham to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii.) as due to Mastêmâ (Jub. xvii. 16), the attempt on Moses's life (Exod. iv. 24) as made by the same evil agent; likewise the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 17—Exod. xiv. 8), and the slaying of the first-born (xlix. 2—Exod. xii. 29), he ascribes to the activities of Mastêmâ and his angels.

Again, just as we must not suppose that the peculiar impress which the Chronicler gave to his historical materials was the result of his individual activity but rather the outcome of a process, which in the course of successive generations had in many respects been transforming history into legend, so we must be careful to recognise in our author's book only a more advanced stage of the process above referred to. Possibly this process would not, in the natural course of things, have thrust the completed law further back than the time of Moses, but the exigencies of our author's time and the corroding influences of Hellenism seemed to him to demand the recognition of the law as superior to time, though revealed in time, and valid not only unto eternity but from eternity. The materials which suggested such a view were already at hand. If the earthly tabernacle was only a copy of a heavenly original (Exod. xxv. 9-40, xxvi. 30), it was but natural to infer that the various elements of the law, which were established in the course of tradition, were likewise copies of divine originals engraven on the heavenly tables. Such a view seemed to

be called for by the necessities of the time. Hellenism had for many a decade been undermining circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath,¹ which were the bulwarks of Judaism, before these destructive tendencies came to a head in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (see note on xv. 14). Our author is a late representative of the strong reactionary movement which asserted the everlasting validity and sanctity of these elements of the law. Thus he teaches that, though circumcision was first ordained in Abraham's time, it had been ordained in heaven from the beginning, for the two highest orders of the angels had been created circumcised, and that Israel was through circumcision sanctified together with them (xv. 27 note). Similarly the Sabbath, though first ordained in Jacob's time (see ii. 23, 31 notes), was originally celebrated in heaven by God and by the same two chief orders of angels. Israel was to unite with these angels in observing it. It was to be a sign like circumcision marking off Israel from all the other nations of the earth (ii. 19-21), and making them one with the two chief orders of angels in heaven.

Jubilees—an Esoteric Tradition according to its Author.—The Book of Jubilees claims as a whole to be a revelation of God to Moses, and thus to form a supplement to, and an interpretation of, the Pentateuch, which it calls "the first law" (vi. 22). According to 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses was to reveal the latter but not the former. This second appears from our author to have embraced in a final authenticated form various revelations which had been made to the patriarchs, and constituted in their hands an esoteric tradition. This secret tradition had been handed down from father to son. Thus Enoch committed it to Methuselah, and Methuselah to Lamech, and Lamech to Noah (vii. 38, xxi. 10). Noah in turn entrusted all his

¹ See 1 Macc. i. 39, 43.

books to his eldest son, Shem (x. 14). Between Shem and Abram the knowledge of the sacred language was lost. But the latter was taught this language by an angel, and he thereupon studied "the books of his fathers" (xii. 27). From these books of his forefathers embracing the writings of Enoch and Noah, Abraham instructed Isaac (xxi. 10). These books contained regulations regarding sacrifices as well as other matters (vii. 38, xxi. 10; cf. Test. Zeb. 3). To Jacob also Abraham transmitted the traditions directly (xxv. 7, xxxix. 6). Again, Jacob educated Joseph from the writings of Abraham (xxxix. 6-7), and finally handed over "all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day" (xlv. 16). Thus this secret tradition was to be preserved in the hands of the priesthood till the time should come for its publication. From this last statement it would not be unreasonable to infer that our author was a member of the priestly caste.

§ 15. OBJECT OF JUBILEES—THE DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF JUDAISM FROM THE PHARISAIC STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The object of our author is to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism.

Our author defends Judaism (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.

(*a*) *Our author glorifies the law.*—We have already (p. 1) drawn attention to our author's glorification of circumcision and the Sabbath, the bulwarks of Judaism, as

heavenly ordinances, the sphere of which was so far extended as to embrace Israel on earth. The law, as a whole, was to our author the realisation in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. He is careful to set forth the historical occasions when the various elements of the law were first celebrated on earth, and herein he followed a tendency already well established in post-exilic Judaism. We shall now enumerate these briefly. The levitical law of purification after childbirth was enacted after the creation of Adam and Eve (iii. 8-14). On the expulsion of Adam from Eden the law of covering one's shame was enacted (iii. 30-32). This law does not belong to the Mishna or later Jewish legislation. It was manifestly levelled against the custom of baring the person in the Greek games, and is not explicable of any other than the early Maccabean period. The daily incense-offering began after Adam's expulsion from Eden (iii. 27). The law relating to the jubilees was first set forth by Enoch (iv. 18). The law of retribution in kind—"an eye for an eye"—was first carried out in the case of Cain (iv. 31-32). Noah instituted the feast of weeks, which had been observed in heaven since the creation (vi. 17-22), also the feasts on the new moons (vi. 23-27); he offered sacrifices, which anticipate later ritual (vi. 1-4, vii. 3-5), and enunciated the laws regarding fruit-trees and the land keeping Sabbath (vii. 2, 35-37), though he ascribed these laws to Enoch (vii. 38). Abram enacted the law of tithes (xiii. 25-29); celebrated the feast of first-fruits of the grain harvest on the 15th of the third month (xv. 1-2) and instituted the feast of tabernacles (xvi. 20-31), ordained peace-offerings and the regulations relating to the use of salt, wood for sacrifices, washing before sacrifices, and the duty of covering blood (xxi. 7-17), and forbade all intermarrying with the Canaanites (xxii. 20, xxv. 5), and adultery (xxxix. 6). Laban set forth the law—unknown to

Jewish tradition—that the younger sister should not be given in marriage before the elder (xxviii. 6). The penalty of death was ordained for intermarriage with the heathen in connection with the destruction of Shechem (xxx. 7-17). Levi was ordained priest by Jacob at the feast of tabernacles (xxx. 18-23, xxxii. 2-3), and blessed by Isaac as such (xxx. 13-17). Jacob offered tithes through Levi at the feast of tabernacles—also the second tithe (xxxii. 4-9), and re-enacted the law of tithes (xxxii. 10-15; see xiii. 25-29); added the eighth day to the feast of tabernacles as a permanent institution (xxxii. 27-29). The law regarding incest was published in connection with Reuben's outrage (xxxiii. 10-20). The day of Atonement was instituted as a day of fasting and mourning in commemoration of the day when the news of Joseph's death arrived (xxxiv. 18-19; cf. v. 18). The law of incest was re-enacted and extended in connection with Judah's sin with Tamar (xli. 25-26). Jacob celebrated the feast of the first-fruits (xliv. 1, 4).¹

Glorification of the patriarchs.—This glorification of the patriarchs was also characteristic of the Priests' Code (see Carpenter, *Hexateuch*, i. 123). They are transformed into saints by our author. It is for this reason that Gen. xii. 11-13 (which tells of Abram's representing Sarai as his sister) is omitted, and likewise Isaac's lie about Rebecca, Gen. xxvi. 7. Abram, according to our author, knew the true God from his youth (xi. 16, 17, xii. 1 sqq.). Jacob is

¹ In the course of rewriting Genesis from the standpoint of the law our author explains certain difficulties. According to Gen. ii. 17 Adam was to die on the day that he eat of the tree of knowledge. This was fulfilled: for one day is a thousand years in the testimony of the heavens, and Adam died at 930 (iv. 29-30). Esau gave up his birth-right because he was suffering from the famine in the land (xxiv. 2 sqq.). This explanation our author arrives at by transposing Gen. xxvi. 1 before Gen. xxv. 29 sqq. Isaac's failure to recognise Jacob was due to a dispensation from heaven (xxvi. 18).

represented as a model of filial affection and obedience¹ (xxv. 4 sqq., xxxv. 9-12). The passages relating to Jacob's devices for increasing his flocks (Gen. xxx. 35-38) and his fear of and measures for propitiating Esau (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.) are omitted. Indeed our author represents Jacob as declaring that he was not afraid (xxvii. 4) and as ultimately killing Esau (xxxviii. 2). The text in Gen. xlv. 15 is changed in order to clear Joseph from the charge of divination, and the word "Esau" omitted in Gen. xxvii. 24 in order to cover Jacob's lie, and the words "his brother is dead" (Gen. xlv. 20) are changed into "one went away and was lost" (xliii. 11) in order to avoid making Joseph's brethren tell a deliberate lie.²

(b) *Glorification of Israel and its separation from the Gentiles.*—Whereas the various nations of the Gentiles were subject to angels, Israel was subject to God alone (xv. 32). Not Japheth (Gen. ix. 27) but God was to dwell in the tents of Shem (vii. 12). Israel, moreover, was God's son; and not only did the nation stand in this relation to God, but also

¹ Our author is careful to show that Abram did not leave Terah (xii. 28-31) unless with the full approval of the latter. Jacob did not leave Isaac till the latter approved and sent him off with a blessing (xxvii. 9 sqq.). Esau stole the possessions of his father, but Jacob supplied all his parents' need four times a year (xxix. 15 sqq.).

² To the above class we might add the long addition in chaps. viii. and ix. regarding the division of the earth under Noah. According to this division Palestine fell to the descendants of Shem, and thus our writer justifies the subsequent annihilation of the Canaanites by Israel. Again, Abraham's marriage with Keturah is defended on the ground that Hagar was already dead (xix. 11). Reuben was not so guilty because the law against which he offended had not yet been revealed (xxxiii. 16). Levi's destruction of Shechem is declared to be the ground of his election to the priesthood (xxx. 18); his deed was righteous, for marriage with a Gentile is equivalent to idolatry (xxx. 10). As our author took up this standpoint he had to omit the league that was formed between Jacob and Shechem and the reception of circumcision by the latter (Gen. xxx.).

its individual members (i. 24, 25, 28, xix. 29). Israel was to receive circumcision as a sign that they were the Lord's (xv. 26), a privilege which they were to enjoy in common with the two chief orders of angels (xv. 27). They were also to unite with God and these two orders in the observance of the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). Finally, the destinies of the world were bound up with Israel. The world was to be renewed in the creation of the true man Jacob (xix. 24-25, ii. 22), and its final renewal to synchronize with the setting up of God's sanctuary on Zion and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom (i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12).

Israel to be separate from the Gentiles.—Israel was not in any way to imitate the conduct of the Gentiles (xv. 34, xxii. 16); not to eat with them (xxii. 16), nor to form leagues with them (xxiv. 25, 27), nor to intermarry with them; for he that gave his daughter to a Gentile, gave her to Moloch (xxii. 20, xxv. 9, xxx. 7, 10, 11, 13).

(c) *The Gentiles denounced generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.*—With the immeasurable arrogance of Judaism there went necessarily, hand in hand, an immeasurable hatred and contempt of the Gentiles. Tacitus, more than two centuries later, called attention to this characteristic of the Jews ("adversus omnes alios hostile odium," *Hist.* v. 5). Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was but a reflection of the divine. God had placed the nations under the authority of spirits or angelic guardians with the object of compassing their destruction (xv. 31). Here, most probably, the *ultimate result* of an action is declared to be the *immediate object* of it. Our author denounces particularly the national enemies of Israel, and these, as we shall have more than once occasion to observe, were the very nations with whom Israel was frequently

at war in the second century B.C. First of all our author's maledictions are fulminated against the Philistines both in this world and in the next. The chief cities of this nation were either subjected or destroyed by the Maccabean princes (see xxiv. 28-32 notes). Next they are directed against Edom. Thus Isaac is represented as declaring in the blessing of Esau, that, if Esau's seed rebelled against Israel, they should be "rooted out from under heaven" (xxvi. 34). A war between Jacob and Esau is described in xxxviii. 1-14, in which Edom was reduced to servitude "until this day." Edom was thoroughly subdued by John Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (xxxviii. 8 note). Again, in a description of a war between Jacob and seven kings of the Amorites, the writer forecasts the Maccabean victories of later times (xxxiv. 1-9). In an earlier passage he enumerates the chief seats of the Amorites. These were associated with Maccabean victories, in which the Amorites were all but annihilated (xxix. 10-11). Of the Amorites who were "wicked and sinful" and had "wrought to the full all their sins," our author grimly remarks "they have no longer length of life on earth" (xxix. 11). This was practically the result of the Maccabean wars.

§ 16. ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY OF JUBILEES

Angelology.—The angelology of the author, like that of the Ethiopic Enoch, is in an advanced stage. There are two supreme classes, the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification (ii. 2, 18), and a very large order of inferior angels who presided over natural phenomena (ii. 2 note). The two first classes joined with Israel in observing the Sabbath and circumcision (see p. 1) and other elements of the law, as the feast of weeks (vi. 18). In addition to the above there were the (seventy) angels who formed the angelic

patrons of the nations (xv. 31), and the angels who were the guardians of individuals (xxxv. 17).

The duties assigned to the angels in connection with mankind are numerous. They brought Adam into the Garden of Eden and afterwards Eve (iii. 9, 12), and instructed Adam in tillage in the Garden (iii. 15). They report to God all the sin committed on the earth (iv. 6). The order called "Watchers" descended in the days of Jared to instruct the children of men (iv. 15), and afterwards sinned with the daughters of men (iv. 22). The angels showed to Enoch all that was "on earth and in the heavens" during 294 years (iv. 21), and conducted him into the Garden of Eden (iv. 23). They bound the fallen Watchers in the depths of the earth (v. 6); took to Noah the animals that were to enter the ark (v. 23). In the presence of an angel the earth was divided among Noah's sons (viii. 10). Angels bound nine-tenths of the demons in the place of condemnation (x. 9-11), and instructed Noah in the remedies against all diseases (x. 12); they accompanied the Lord in visiting the tower of Babel (x. 23). An angel bade Abram to go to the land of promise (xii. 22), and instructed him in the knowledge of Hebrew, and explained to him what he found unintelligible (xii. 26, 27). Angels announced to Abraham the birth of Isaac and admonished Sarah for laughing (xvi. 1-4); saved Lot from Sodom (xvi. 7); blessed Abraham and disclosed to him what had been decreed about him (xvi. 16). An angel comforted Hagar (xvii. 11), and withheld Abraham's hand from sacrificing Isaac (xviii. 10). Angels tested Abraham's patience after the death of Sarah (xix. 3). The angels will remember unto a thousand generations Levi's righteous judgment on Shechem (xxx. 20). An angel showed Jacob in a vision of the night seven tablets which recorded all that would befall him and his posterity, and bade him copy them (xxxii. 21, 24-25). Angels disclosed to Judah that

he was forgiven for his sin with Tamar (xli. 24). An angel delivered Moses out of the hands of Mastêmâ (xlvi. 2-4). Angels prevented the magicians from furnishing any remedies to the Egyptians (xlvi. 10), and delivered the Israelites out of the hands of the Egyptians (xlvi. 13), and bound Mastêmâ from the 14th to the 18th and let him loose on the 19th, when they led Israel forth (xlvi. 15-19). An angel made known to Moses the Sabbaths, year-weeks, and jubilees, etc. (l. 1-4).

Demonology.—Over against the angelic kingdom stands a well-organised demonic or satanic kingdom. This kingdom is governed by “the prince of the Mastêmâ,”¹ where Mastêmâ is in point of derivation and meaning the equivalent of Satan. His subjects comprise both satans and demons. The demons are the spirits which went forth from the bodies of the slain children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (x. 5; Eth. En. xvi.). According to Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the Watchers originated in their becoming subject to Satan. By means of these demons the prince of the satans is able to compass his evils, which are the seduction and destruction of men. But these have no power over the righteous and over Israel (see note on x. 8).

§ 17. THE DATE OF JUBILEES

The date of our book can only be established by a series of indirect evidence. But this evidence is so plentiful and powerful, when apprehended, that no room is left for reasonable doubt.

i. *First of all the book was written during the pontificate*

¹ In all the Ethiopic MSS the phrase is wrongly given as “prince Mastêmâ” in xvii. 16, xlvi. 2, but *ab* rightly attest “prince of the Mastêmâ” in xviii. 9, 12, xlvi. 9, 12, 15.

of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 135 B.C.— Thus in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a “priest of the Most High God.” Now, the only Jewish high-priests who ever bore this title were the Maccabean (see note on xxxii. 1). They appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Jewish tradition ascribes the assumption of this title to John Hyrcanus, but it seems to have been already assumed by Simon; cf. Ps. cx. 4: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,” and 1 Macc. xiv. 41. If, however, we follow the Jewish tradition in this matter, we must fix on 135 B.C.,¹ when Hyrcanus became high-priest, as the earliest possible date for the composition of Jubilees. Notwithstanding the objections of the Pharisees to this title, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to the time of Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2).

ii. *Next, it was written before 96 B.C., or some years earlier in the reign of Hyrcanus.*—Since our author is of the strictest sect a Pharisee, and at the same time approves of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96 B.C., when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus came to open strife. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of its composition after the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees which is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 5-6), and in the Talmud (*Kiddush.* 66a) with some variations in names and details. After that event—unfortunately the year is not given by any authority—Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party, and forbade, under penalties, the observance of Pharisaic ordinances. Hence we may conclude that *our book was written between 135 and the year of Hyrcanus’ breach with the Pharisees.*

The above conclusions are confirmed by a large mass of evidence, which may be arranged under seven heads. Of these the first four point definitely to the latter half of the

second century B.C. as the date of the composition of Jubilees; the remaining three give various grounds for postulating a pre-Christian date at any rate.

i. *Our book points to the period—already past—of stress and persecution that preceded the recovery of national independence under the Maccabees.*—Thus, it is impossible to ascribe to any other period the causes which led to the enactment or accentuation of the following laws:

(a) The Jews (“those who know . . . the law”) were forbidden to expose their persons by a law “prescribed on the heavenly tables.” This law was devised to forbid Jews taking part in the Greek games established by Jason the high-priest (see iii. 30-31, notes). It was not unnaturally derived from Gen. iii. 21, and was probably current for a generation before embodied by our author in his book.

(b) The law of circumcision is affirmed under the severest penalties (xv. 11-14, 26, 28). This law was observed in the creation of the highest angels (xv. 27). Yet Israel will, our author says, neglect it and “treat their members like the Gentiles” (xv. 33-34). Antiochus forbade circumcision under the penalty of death (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10). There may be a reference also in our text to the Jews uncircumcising themselves, a practice which they resorted to under Antiochus Epiphanes in order to escape the scoffs of the heathen in the palaestra (1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1).

(c) The Sabbath is re-enacted and its profanation is to be followed by the death penalty (ii. 17-32, l. 6-13). Non-observance of the Sabbath had been prevalent according to our author (xxiii. 19). Antiochus had forbidden the Jews to keep it (1 Macc. i. 39, 45; 2 Macc. vi. 6). Our text lays down the strictest sabbatical laws, such as were not in force at any time save in the second century B.C. or earlier. Thus war is absolutely forbidden (l. 12),

and this prohibition was carried out, as we know, in the early Maccabean wars (see l. 12, note). But it was soon found impossible in practice (see note just referred to), and warfare on the Sabbath was subsequently permitted under a variety of circumstances (Bab. Shabb. i. 8; Shabb. 19*a*; Erub. 45*a*).

Again, a man is forbidden to cohabit with his wife (l. 8). This was the practice of the early Chasids; but this ascetic attitude to marriage is abandoned in the Mishna (see l. 8, note).

Again, riding on any beast is forbidden (l. 12). The enforcement of the law during the Syro-Grecian suzerainty is mentioned in the Talmud.

(*d*) Intermarriage with the heathen is absolutely prohibited by the penalty of death (xxx. 7-17). To give one's daughter to a Gentile was to give her to Moloch (xxx. 10, note). This question had for a long time before our author's date been of vital importance to Israel. But at no time could the danger from this source have been greater than during 200-160 B.C., when the destructive tendencies of Hellenism on Jewish character and religion had come to a head.

ii. *Our book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony.*

(*a*) Only such a period could explain the assured spirit of triumph which led our author to anticipate a world-wide dominion and introduce that expectation into God's promise to Jacob in Gen. xxxv. 11-12: "I shall . . . multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden.¹ And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven . . . and they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever" (Jub. xxxii. 18-19).

¹ See note on p. lxx note.

(b) Only such a period could explain the pre-eminence assigned by our book to Levi over Judah. We have seen above (p. xlvi) that our author omitted Gen. xlix. because of the absolute pre-eminence above his brethren which is there assigned to Judah and the denunciation of Levi. But he goes further. Thus he ascribes to Levi's descendants the supreme offices of high-priest and civil ruler (xxxi. 14-17), but in regard to Judah, only Judah himself and one of his descendants (*i.e.* the Messiah) are mentioned as holding civil authority (xxxi. 18-20). Our author seems to imply that the royal descendants of David are no more, and that till the Messiah comes the Maccabees would hold the offices of high-priest and king. In later days when the Maccabees became a name of reproach, they were charged with usurping the throne of David (Pss. of Solomon xvii. 5, 6, 8) and the high-priesthood (Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1).

(c) The legend of the conquests of Esau's sons by the sons of Jacob in xxxvii.-xxxviii., points very clearly to the complete conquest of Edom by Judah in the Maccabean wars. In these wars the Edomites had sided with the Syrians till they were made tributary by John Hyrcanus. This subjection of Edom is referred to in xxxviii. 14, "The sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude . . . until this day" (*i.e.* the author's time). See notes on xxxvii. 9-10, xxxviii. 4-9, where the fuller account in the Jalkut refers to 'Aqrabbim (1 Macc. v. 3), which as well as Adora were memorable as scenes connected with the Maccabean struggle.

This period also best explains the hatred which transformed Isaac's blessing of Esau into a curse (xxvi. 34).

(d) Again the Maccabean wars are adumbrated in the struggle of Jacob's sons with the Amorite kings in xxxiv. 1-9. This is clearer in the completer narrative in

Test. Judah 3-7. The cities, Tappuah, Hazor, and Bethoron, which are mentioned here, are associated with notable victories and incidents in the Maccabean war. See notes on xxxiv. 4. So also Bousset, *Zeitschrift f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, pp. 202-205. But the reference to the Amorites is much more obvious in xxix. 10-11, where our author enumerates their chief cities and then grimly adds: "They have no longer length of life on the earth" (xxix. 10-11). Their practical annihilation, which is here referred to, was effected by Judas (see notes on xxix. 10).

(e) Our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second cent. B.C. It declares that they will be put to the sword by the Kittim, *i.e.* the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and subsequently fall into the hands of "the righteous nation" (xxiv. 28-29), and be exterminated, as they practically were by the Maccabees (see xxiv. 28-32, notes).

iii. Our author gives in an apocalypse a history of the Maccabean times (xxiii. 12-31), from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Messianic kingdom, the advent of which is just at hand. In this section we have the rise of the Chasids, who rebuke their elders for forsaking the law and the covenant (xxiii. 16), the general corruption which entails judgment on man and beast and leads to civil strife (xxiii. 17-20), the warlike efforts of the Maccabees to reclaim the Hellenisers to Judaism (xxiii. 20-22), the sufferings of the nation through the repeated attacks of Syria (xxiii. 23-25), Israel's return to the law, and its gradual ethical and physical transformation in the Messianic kingdom and its triumph over its national foes (xxiii. 26-30). Our author stands already on the threshold of this happy time. It is, therefore, in the most prosperous days of the Maccabean dynasty, *i.e.*, in the days of Simon or John Hyrcanus.

iv. Our book was used by the author of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., and must, therefore, have been written at latest at the beginning of the first cent. B.C. (see § 19).

v. The textual affinities of our text connect it more closely with the form of Hebrew text, which is presupposed by the LXX (250 B.C.) and found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, than with that which lay behind the Syriac and later versions or Targums. From this evidence we may conclude at all events to a pre-Christian date (see § 10).

vi. Our text preserves older forms of the Haggada and Halacha than are found in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. The details will be found on referring to the notes on the various passages.

Haggada.—In i. 27 (see note) an angel reveals the law to Moses: according to later Judaism Moses receives it from God Himself. In ii. 2-3 angels are said to have been created on the first day: in later Judaism on the second or fifth. According to ii. 7 the Garden of Eden was created on the third day: according to later Judaism before the world. In xi. 2-6 the corruption of mankind is ascribed to the time of Serug: in later Judaism to that of Enos. In xii. 1-14 we have the primitive form of the saga so much developed in later Judaism about Ur of the Chaldees. In xix. 11 Abraham's marriage to Keturah is justified on the ground that Hagar was already dead, whereas later Judaism identifies Hagar and Keturah. In xxx. 2-6 the praise given to Levi and Simeon accords with Jewish views of the first and second cent. B.C. Later Judaism on the whole accepts the judgment pronounced on them in Genesis. Again our author records honestly the marriages of Simeon, Judah, and Joseph, to Gentile women, though such marriages must have in his eyes been full of offence. But later Judaism felt the offence to be too grave for toleration, and sought to establish the Hebrew descent of the women in

question (see xxxiv. 20, xl. 10 notes). In xxxvii.-xxxviii. we have the oldest form of the legend of the war between Jacob's sons and the sons of Esau, and similarly in the case of the war between Egypt and Canaan in xlvi. 6-11. Later developments of these legends are found in rabbinic literature. Again, our text retains the original form of the traditions in Genesis, where later Judaism explained them away as offensive. Thus in iv. 15 the sons of God are rightly taken to be angels: in xxxiii. 2 the story of Reuben and Bilhah is accepted, but later Judaism manages to remove all that is objectionable in it. See also notes on iv. 12, xl. 10.

Halacha.—The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second cent. B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishna and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second cent. B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishna. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly probable that such a halacha did exist in the second cent. B.C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes, and xx. 4 note.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44a) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former.

vii. The following facts postulate a pre-Christian date for the composition of our book:—

(a) The calendar was in an unsettled state when our author wrote. No strict Pharisee, such as our author, could have advanced such a system as is laid down in vi. 28-33, unless at a period when no uniform calendar system was established. With it we may compare an allied system in *Eth. Enoch* lxxii.-lxxxii. There are good grounds for believing that our author grounded his system on the chronological statements regarding the flood in Genesis (see notes on p. 56).

(b) The divine title "Most High God." The use of this title is frequent in our author. This frequency, as appears in the note on xxxvi. 16, is characteristic of writings before the Maccabean era in the second cent. B.C. When once, however, the Maccabeans had assumed the title "priests of the Most High God," the divine title would naturally remain popular amongst those who, like our author, recognised the validity of the Maccabean pontificate. On the other hand, we should expect a decline in its use to set in with the rising unpopularity of the Maccabean dynasty. This disuse, indeed, is not apparent in the oldest anti-Maccabean work, *Eth. Enoch* xci.-civ., where the hostility to the Maccabeans is in an incipient stage. There the title "Most High" occurs nine times. But in the *Pss. of Solomon* and *Eth. Enoch* xxxvii.-lxx., where the hatred is open and unconcealed, this title is not found in the former and only twice in the latter. In the latter half of the first cent. A.D. there was a revival in its use as its Maccabean associations were forgotten.

(c) The phrase "feast of Pentecost," as a description of the feast of weeks, seems to have been unknown to our author (see note on vi. 17), though it was in use in the first cent. B.C.

§ 18. THE JUBILEES AND YEARS USED BY OUR AUTHOR

Our author claims that his chronological system is derived from the heavenly tables. From these tables it was made known to Moses directly by the angel of the presence, who assured Moses with regard to his disclosures on the solar year of 364 days: "It is not of my own devising, for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained" (vi. 35). For the convenience of the reader I have reduced the jubilee reckonings to years and placed them in the margin.

The Jubilees.—The chronology is essentially heptadic. Each jubilee consists of seven year-weeks, and each year-week of seven years. It is probably on the ground of the sacred character of the number seven, and possibly also for the sake of symmetry, that our author makes his jubilee consist of forty-nine years instead of fifty, which was the usual reckoning among the Jews. R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61a—quoted by Beer), however, set down the jubilee at forty-nine years; and in the Samaritan Chronicle (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) a system closely analogous to that of our author is found. Here the jubilee is reckoned at forty-nine and a fraction, which varies unintelligibly in extent, if the text is correct. Thus five jubilees = 246 years, forty jubilees = 1968 years, but sixty jubilees = 2951 years.

It is noteworthy also that, whereas our author applies the jubilee reckoning from the creation to the date of Israel's entering into Palestine, the Talmudic treatise Erachin 12-13a and the Samaritan Chronicle make the jubilee to begin with the settlement of Israel in Palestine, and while the former carries it down to the destruction of the first temple, the latter carries it down to many centuries after the Christian era.

In the Assumption of Moses the jubilee is also used in the chronological system of its author. Thus (i. 2) he reckons 2500 years to have elapsed from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, that is, fifty jubilees of fifty years each. Again, in x. 12 it is stated that from the death of Moses to the Messianic kingdom there will be 250 times (*i.e.* year-weeks) that is thirty-five jubilees of fifty years each. Thus from the creation to the Messianic kingdom there would be eighty-five jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97b.

In one other work, the Seder Olam 23, 25, the jubilee period is occasionally used in the history of Israel and Judah contemporary with the reigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

The Years.—Our author seems to have used a civil year and an ecclesiastical year, both of 364 days. The civil year consisted of twelve months (iv. 17, v. 27, vi. 29-30 note) of thirty days each and four intercalary days (vi. 23 note), one at the beginning of each quarter. The ecclesiastical year consisted of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and in accordance with it were regulated the great festivals, the Sabbaths, Passover, and Feast of Weeks (see notes on vi. 29-30, 32). Furthermore, this impossible solar year of 364 days was undoubtedly put forward in Pharisaic circles in the second cent. B.C., and its currency may date from a much earlier period. See note on vi. 32.

§ 19. VALUE OF JUBILEES IN DETERMINING THE DATES OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC ENOCH AND THE BOOK OF NOAH.

In my edition of the Ethiopic Enoch in 1893 I was the first to point out (pp. 25-29, 221-222, 263-264) that chaps. i.-xxxvi., lxxxiii.-xc., and xci.-civ. were from different authors. To the two former sections I assigned a date

anterior to 161 B.C., and to the third a date subsequent to 95 B.C. We shall now find that the above critical results are confirmed in the main by the evidence of our text. Thus in my note on iv. 17-23 I have shown that our author had *Eth. Enoch* vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. before him. In confirmation of the conclusions in that note we should observe also that v. 1, 2, vii. 21, 22, 23, 24 of our text (see notes) presuppose vii. 1, 2, 5, ix. 1, 9 of the *Eth. Enoch* (see also Index I.).

Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. later than Jubilees.—Next as regards xci.-civ. we shall prove that it was subsequent to *Jubilees* and made use of that work. To begin with, these two writings exhibit certain resemblances. In both there is a temporary Messianic kingdom and an immortality of the soul implied or taught. On the other hand, the tone of *Jubilees* is optimistic and was written before the breach between the Pharisees and the Maccabean rulers, whereas *Eth. Enoch* xci.-civ. is pessimistic in tone and was written after the breach had led to the persecution of the Pharisees. We shall now adduce a variety of passages from both books which will establish the dependent relation of this section of the *Eth. Enoch* on *Jubilees*.

(a) From a comparison of vii. 29 (see note) and xxii. 22 of our text with *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 7, 8 it follows that the latter is based on the former. In our text Sheol is not yet associated with fire and burning; but this stage, which combines the characteristics of Sheol and Gehenna, is already attained in the latter work.

(b) In *Jub.* i. 16 it is promised to Israel that "they will be the head and not the tail." In *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 11 we have: "they hoped to be the head and have become the tail."

(c) In *Jub.* i. 29 a new heavens and a new earth were promised. In the despondent *Eth. Enoch* xci. 16 only a new heaven.

(*d*) According to Jub. xxxii. 18 Israel is to "judge all the nations according to their desires."¹ In Eth. Enoch xcv. 3 righteous Israel is to "execute judgment on them (the sinners) according to their desires," and in xcvi. 1 is to "have lordship over them according to their desires."

(*e*) With Jub. xxiii. 31, "their spirits will have much joy," compare Eth. Enoch civ. 4, "ye will have great joy as the angels," where both expressions are applied to the spirits of the blessed after death. Also ciii. 4, "And your spirits—the spirits of you who have died in righteousness—will live and rejoice."

(*f*) In Jub. xxii. 16 it is said with regard to the wicked "become not their associate," and in Eth. Enoch civ. 6, "have no companionship with them," and in xci. 4, "associate not with those of a double heart." In xcvi. 4, the wicked are said to be the "companions of sinners."

(*g*) With Jub. xii. 2, "What help and profit have we from those idols," cf. Eth. Enoch xcix. 7, "No help will be found in them" (*i.e.* idols).

(*h*) Eating blood is condemned in Jub. vii. 28, 29, etc. cf. Eth. Enoch xcvi. 11.

(*i*) The law is spoken of as "the eternal law" Eth. Enoch xcix. 2, "the law for all future generations" xciii. 6, (cf. xcix. 14), as we might expect in a writer influenced by Jubilees. Throughout all the older sections of Enoch the law is not mentioned.

(*k*) The references to "the plant of righteousness" (Eth. Enoch xciii. 10), or "of righteous judgment" (xciii. 5), or "of uprightness" (xciii. 2), may be due in part to Jub. i. 16 "plant of uprightness," or "a plant of righteousness" (xvi.

¹ In xxxii. 18 for "judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men have trodden," read with Latin "judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden." Based partly on Deut. xi. 24.

26, xxi. 24). The phrase, however, occurs already in *Eth. Enoch* x. 16.

(*l*) *Eth. Enoch* ci. 2: "when he . . . withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth" (cf. c. 12), is found almost verbally in *Jub. xii. 4*, "who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth" (cf. *xii. 18, xx. 9*).

Eth. Enoch, i.-v. *later than Jubilees*.—The evidence in respect to the relative dates of this section and *Jubilees* is not conclusive, but so far as it exists it implies the priority of the latter.

Thus, in *Eth. Enoch* iii. the words "all the trees . . . shed all their leaves except fourteen trees," most probably go back to *Jub. xxi. 12-13* where fourteen evergreen trees are enumerated which were to be used on the altar, cp. *Test. Levi 9*.

Again, *Eth. Enoch* v. 9, "They will complete the number of the days of their life, and their lives will grow old in peace and the years of their joy will be many," seems to be an expansion of *Jub. xxiii. 29*, "All their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy."

Finally, *Eth. Enoch* i.-v. appears to be later than the *Test. XII. Patriarchs*, a sister work of *Jubilees*, but this subject cannot be pursued further here.

The Book of Noah.—This book is referred to twice in our text, *i.e.* in x. 13, xxi. 10. Our author, moreover, has taken over bodily two considerable sections from it and incorporated them in vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. Thus the *Book of Noah* was written before 135-105 B.C. But its composition goes back to a much earlier date. Chapters vi.-xi. of the *Ethiopic Enoch* are clearly from the same source; for they make no reference to *Enoch* but bring forward *Noah* (x. 1), and treat of the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is compounded of the *Semjaza* and *Azazel*

myths, and in its present composite form is already presupposed by Eth. Enoch lxxxviii.-lxxxix. 1. Hence in its present form it is earlier than 166 B.C. Chapters lx., lxv.-lxix. 25, cvi.-cvii. of the same work are also derived from the Book of Noah and probably xxxix. 1, 2^a, xli. 3-8, xliii.-xliv., liv. 7-lv. 2, lix., but not in their present form. There appears to be no adequate ground for assigning these sections of that ancient work to a later date than those above discussed.

The above facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up in part on the debris of the former. And just as the Noah saga made way for the Enoch, so the Enoch saga in turn made way for the Seth, as I have shown at some length in the notes on pp. 33-36.

§ 20. THE RELATION OF JUBILEES TO THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS

From a comparison of the passages in our author and the Testaments which treat of the same subjects, it is clear that neither of the two works is dependent on the other, but that both draw independently from the same sources. See notes on xxviii. 9, xxx. 2-6, 18, 25, xxxi. 3-4, 13, 15, 16, xxxii. 1, 8, xxxiii. 1, 2, 4, xxxiv. 1-9, xxxvii.-xxxviii., xli. 8-14, 24-25, xlv. 6-9.

I hope to treat this question exhaustively in my edition of the Testaments.

§ 21. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISEE WHO RECOGNISED THE MACCABEAN PONTIFICATE AND WAS PROBABLY A PRIEST

From §§ 15, 17 it follows without further need of proof that our author was a pharisee of the straitest sect. He was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, he held the strictest views on circumcision, the sabbath and on the duty of shunning all intercourse with the Gentiles: he believed in angels and demons § 16, and in a blessed immortality. In § 14 we have shown that he was an extreme representative of the midrashic tendency which had been already at work for centuries.

In the next place our author was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers (xxx. 13-17), and applies to them the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thorough-going an admirer as the authors of the Test. Levi 18, or Psalm cx. who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family (see notes on xxx. 18-19, xxxii. 1).

That our author was a priest might be reasonably inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxx. xxxii.) and from the statement in xlv. 16, that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 22. JUBILEES IN JEWISH, SAMARITAN, AND CHRISTIAN NON-CANONICAL LITERATURE

In Jewish Literature.

In Jewish and Samaritan Literature.—Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?), xci.-civ.; Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jashar, Samaritan Chronicle.

On Eth. Enoch i.-v., xci.-civ. see pp. lxix-lxxi above.

Wisdom.—It is not possible to establish conclusively that our book was used by the author of *Wisdom*. There are, however, amid great differences, strong affinities between them. Thus both teach a temporary Messianic kingdom and a blessed immortality of the soul. In *Jubilees* apparently for the first time God is called the Father of the righteous individual Israelite (i. 24 note): in *Wisdom* this view is frequently and emphatically taught (ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21). Again in *Jubilees* the law of retaliation is enunciated in its most literal form (iv. 31, xlviii. 14, notes), and the same phenomenon meets us in *Wisdom*, xi. 16: δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται, Cf. also xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5. Finally either xlviii. 14 of our text or some authority of a like nature seems to have been before the writer of *Wisdom* xviii. 5:

βουλευσαμένους αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἀποκτείνει νήπια
καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκτεθέντος τέκνον [καὶ σωθέντος]
εἰς ἔλεγχον τὸ αὐτῶν ἀφείλω πλῆθος [τέκνων],
καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶ.

In both passages the destruction of the Egyptians in retaliation for the casting of the Hebrew children into the river is dealt with, though this is obscured by the glosses καὶ σωθέντος and τέκνων,¹ which I have bracketed as additions of an early scribe who misinterpreted the passage of Moses. In *Jub.* xlviii. 14 it is said that 1000 Egyptians were destroyed on account of every Hebrew child that was cast into the river. This sense we recover from the Greek on omitting the gloss: "In retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away the multitude of them." But the passage is still unsatisfactory, for πλῆθος in the text which = 777 was corrupt in the original source (? *Jubilees*) as in *Hosea* viii. 12 for 777 = 10,000. Thus we have: "In

¹ Observe independently the awkwardness of τέκνων after αὐτῶν.

retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away 10,000 of them," *i.e.* of those who had taken counsel to destroy the Hebrew children. 10,000 may be more accurate than the 1000 which stands in Jub. xlviii. 14. I have found the same corruption in Ethiopic MSS.

4 *Ezra*.—There can be little doubt that our book is referred to in 4 *Ezra* xiv. 4-6, where it is said of Moses: Et misi eum et eduxit populum meum de Aegypto, et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei *mirabilia multa*, et ostendi ei *temporum secreta et temporum finem*, et praecepi ei dicens: Haec in palam facies verba et *haec abscondes*. The *haec* here refers to Jubilees (see i. 26 notes), which was handed down in the tribe of Levi (xlv. 16) till its publication by our author.

In 4 *Ezra* vi. 20 the words, libri aperientur ante faciem firmamenti et omnes videbunt simul, refer to the books in which the deeds of men are recorded. These books were kept by Enoch according to our text iv. 23, x. 17.

In x. 46, the date in the words: factum est post annorum tria millia (Syr., Eth., Arab., but Lat. = annos tres) aedificavit Salomon civitatem et obtulit oblationes, appears to be based on that given in Jubilees. If with Joseph. (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1.) we reckon 592 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple or 588 years with Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* i. 40, 4 sq.) and take, as our author, 2410 to be the year of the Exodus, then we arrive at 3002 or 2998 (see for these and other reckonings Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judeorum*, p. 83). Again on p. 109 of the work just mentioned Hilgenfeld gives good grounds for assuming that in 4 *Ezra* xiv. 48 (Syr. Eth.,) the text originally contained a computation in jubilees. See also Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 412-414.

Chronicles of Jerahmeel.—This Hebrew work, which has

been translated by Gaster, contains a great deal of subject-matter in common with our book. At times it reproduces the actual words of our text. I have no doubt that our text was used by some of the authors of this compilation. See Index II. for references to the parallel passages.

Midrash Tadshe.—This Midrash was written about the beginning of the eleventh cent. A.D. by Moses ha-Darshan, but was based on an early work by Rabbi Pinchas ben Jair who in turn drew his materials from our text (see Eppstein, *Revue des Étude juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 499). By consulting Index II. the reader will find the passages which are common to this Midrash and our text.

The Book of Jashar.—This late Hebrew work contains much matter in common with our text, and there is every probability that some of it is derived from it ultimately as its source. See Index II. for a list of parallels. The Hebrew text of this book which I have quoted occasionally, is that which was published at Venice in 1629. Generally, however, I have referred to the French translation of it in Migne's series.

The Samaritan Chronicle.—This book, to which we have already drawn attention (see p. lxxvii), belongs for the most part to the twelfth cent. A.D. It appears to contain a deliberate polemic (see vi. 36 note) against the view of our author that calculations should be made according to the sun only. In keeping with the fact that our author gives his calendar in connection with the flood (vi. 29-38), this Chronicle says that the Samaritan system was known to Noah in the Ark. For a remarkable point of agreement between this Chronicle and our text see note v. 22. Also it cannot be an accident that in the case of the antediluvian patriarchs, their respective ages on the birth of their eldest sons agree in both books in every instance except in that of

Seth. Rönsch (p. 362) has tabulated the numbers as follows :

	Jub.	Sam. Chron.
Adam on the birth of his eldest son was aged	130	130
Seth " " "	130	60-66
Enoch " " "	90	90
Kenan " " "	70	70
Mahalalel " " "	65	66
Jared " " "	62	61
Henoch " " "	65	65
Methuselah " " "	67	67
Lamech " " "	53	53

Hence it is not strange that in some cases we are able to determine missing dates in our text from this Chronicle (see iv. 28 note). On the other hand these two works hardly ever harmonise on the ages of the post-diluvian patriarchs till Terah's time, and the Chronicle, as we should expect, omits Kainam which our text (viii. 1) along with the LXX puts forward as the son of Arpachshad.

In Christian literature.—The Christian literature in which Jubilees is reproduced either by name or anonymously will be treated under the following heads :

- i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name.*
- ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce its text or matter anonymously.*¹

- i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name :*

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA (309 or 314 to 394 or 399 A.D.) *in epist. canonicas enarrationes, ad I. Joan.* iii. 12 (Gallandi, *Biblioth. patr.* vi. 300): Nam et in libro qui leptogenesis (MS leprogenesis) appellatur, ita legitur, quia Cain lapide aut ligno percusserit Abel. See Jub. iv. 31.

EPIPHANIUS (*ob.* 404 A.D.), *Haer.* xxxix. 6 : ὡς δὲ ἐν

¹ Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 849-864, ii. 120-121 ; Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 250-382.

τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει καλουμένη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ τε Κάϊν καὶ τοῦ Σήθ ἢ βίβλος περιέχει· . . . οἳ τε τούτου υἱοὶ συνήφθησαν ὁ μὲν Κάϊν τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ μείζονι Σαυή, οὕτω καλουμένη, ὁ δὲ Σήθ . . . τῇ λεγομένῃ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ Ἀζουρά. See Jub. iv. 9, 11 and the continuation of the quotation in my note on iv. 10. For passages where Epiphanius has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

JEROME (*ob.* 420).—See quotations in notes on x. 21, xi. 11-13. For other quotations see Index II.

Decretum Gelasii.—In this decree (*de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*), the date of which is doubtful (see Zahn, *Gesch. des Kanons*, II. i. 259-267), our book is included among the writings to be rejected: *Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, apocryphus.*

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 542).—In an exposition of Deut. xxxiv. 6 this author has (see Nicephorus, *Catena*, i. 1672-1673) described the destinies that await the good and the evil souls on their separation from the body, and various incidents relating to the contest between Michael and Satan for the soul of Moses. He adds that his statements are drawn from our author: ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἢτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν. On this question see above, p. xv note.

NICEPHORUS, *Catena*, i. 175.—(This *catena*, published over 120 years ago, contains extracts from writers from the beginning of the Christian era to the seventh cent.) Before the words quoted from this work in the note on x. 21 we find the title of the source given as ἡ διαθήκη. It is most probable that we should add here τοῦ Μωϋσέως (see p. xvii).

SYNCELLUS (*flor.* 800 A.D.), *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf), i. 5: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 7: ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ

τοῦ λεγομένου βίου Ἀδάμ. i. 13: ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως. i. 14: (see quotation in note on p. 28). i. 49 (see quotation in note on x. 1). i. 183: τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε. i. 185 (see quotation in note on xii. 26). i. 192: Μαστιφὰμ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, ὡς φησιν ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, προσελθὼν τῷ θεῷ εἶπεν, εἰ ἀγαπᾷ σε Ἀβραάμ, θυσάτω σοι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (see our text, xvii. 16). i. 203: βιασθεὶς Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα ἐνέτεινε τόξον καὶ πλήξας κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μαζοῦ τὸν Ἡσαὺ κατέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ θανόντος ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ ἀνείλουν τοὺς πλείστους. ταῦτα ἐν λεπτῇ Γενέσει φέρεται (see our text, xxxviii. 1 sqq.). For passages where Syncellus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

CEDRENUS (ed. Bekker), i. 6: ἀπὸ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. i. 9: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἰναί φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 16 (see quotation in note on iv. 31-32). i. 48: ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶσσαν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγγελος τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. i. 53: ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κείμεναι, ὅτι Μαστιφὰτ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων (and so on as in Syncellus, i. 192, above). i. 85 (see quotation in note on xlvii. 3). i. 87: νόμους δὲ πρῶτον Μωϋσῆς γράφει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις . . . διδασκόμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου . . . καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄστρων θέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κείμεναι. For some of the passages where Cedrenus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ZONARAS (1081-1118, ed. Pinder), i. 18: οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αἱ οὐρανῖαι δυνάμεις πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέστησαν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ. Cf. our text, ii. 2.

GLYCAS (*circa* 1150, ed. Bekker), p. 198: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς πόδας κεκτημένου τὸ πρότερον καθὰ Ἰωσηππὸς τέ φησι καὶ ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις νῦν ἀποφαίνεται τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ περίπατον. See also p. 206. P. 392 (see quotation in note on iii. 8-14). On p. 206 Glycas wrongly attributes to Josephus what is found in Jub. xxxii. 2-3. For some of the passages where Glycas has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce the text or matter of Jubilees anonymously:*

HIPPOLYTUS.—The Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς which is assigned to this writer is based on Jub. viii.-ix. See Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 239, 587-597, 613 sqq. (quoted by Schürer).

PS.-CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Recognitiones* (*circa* 200 A.D.).—This work contains many echoes of Jubilees, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* 322-325.

ORIGEN (185-254) in *Genesis* in Eusebius' *Præp. Evang.* vi. 292 (Migne, xxi. 500). The passage which is quoted from Origen in the note on xxxii. 21 seems to refer to that passage. Another quotation will be found in the note on xlv. 14. The Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ, from which this quotation is taken, is cited in the third place in the Synopsis of the Ps.-Athanasius and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and in the fifth place of the catalogue in the Cod. Coislinianus used by Montfaucon, and in each catalogue immediately after the Πατριάρχαι (cf. Rönsch, p. 332). According to Nicephorus it consisted of 1100 stichoi—the same number as the Testament of Moses, which was identified by some writers with Jubilees. Both Origen (tom. v. in *Johannen*, p. 77) and Glycas (see Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 765, 768) state that it was current among the Hebrews.

Another fragment of Origen preserved in the *Catena* of Nicephorus, i. 463, is quoted in the note on xl. 10.

DIODORUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 392 ?).—See quotation in note on x. 35.

ISIDORE PELUSIOTA of Alexandria, who lived in the fifth cent., gives the following exposition on Deut. xxxiii. 9 (Nicephorus, *Cat.* i. 1660): ἐπειδὴ ἐπελύτησε τῇ πατρῷᾳ εὐνῇ ὁ Ῥουβείμ, διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε βασιλείας οὔτε ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη, καίτοι πρωτότοκος ὢν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Λευὶ τρίτος ὢν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὸν πατέρα δεκάτην ἀφιερῶσειν· κάτωθεν γὰρ ἀριθμούμενος δέκατος ἦν, ἄνωθεν δὲ εἰ ἡριθμήθη, εἰς τῶν παιδισκῶν ἡύρίσκετο· ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὁσιότητα, καὶ τὸ συγγενικῶν αἱμάτων διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐμπλήσαι, ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη. . . . ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας τέταρτος ὢν, διὰ τὴν ἀδέκαστον κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ψῆφον, βασιλείας ἤξιώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα κρύπτοντες πλημμελήματα ἐτέρους καταδικάζουσιν, οὗτος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψηφίσατο, . . . διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως τῆς βασιλείας ἤξιούτο. ἱερῶντο γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Λευῖ, ἐβασίλευον δὲ οἱ ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐ κατὰ κατακλήρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς γέρας εἰληφότες. This exposition regarding Levi is based on Jub. xxxii. 2-3, and regarding Judah on xxxi. 18-20, xli. 23-28.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*ob.* 636), *Origines*, xvi. 26. 10: In principio Deus xxii opera fecit. Nam prima die vii opera fecit, id est: materiam informem, angelos, lucem, coelos superiores, terram, aquam atque aërem. Secunda die firmamentum solum. Tertia die quattuor: maria, semina, sationes atque plantaria. Quarta die tria: solem et lunam et stellas. Quinta die tria: pisces et reptilia aquarum et volatilia. Sexta die quattuor: bestias, pecudes, reptilia terrae et hominem. Et facta sunt omnia xxii genera in diebus sex. Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester, et xxii literarum sunt elementa.

The above is clearly based on our text, although in its

enumeration of the works of the first day it deviates considerably (see Jub. ii. 2 sqq.). Observe that it confirms our view of a lacuna after ii. 22.

EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of Alexandria 933-939, *Annales* translated from Arabic into Latin by Pococke, 1658 (also in Migne, tom. 111, 909-1155).

P. 15. Eva . . . peperit puerum et puellam: puerum appellavit Kain, puellam Azrun. Tum rursus . . . puerum et puellam enixa, puero nomen imposuit Abel, puellae Owain . . . Cumque proveciores facti essent pueri, dixit Adam Evae: Ducat Kain Owain . . . Abel autem Azrun. Cf. Jub. iv. 1, 8, 9, 11.

P. 16. Kain invidit fratri suo . . . ac, lapide caput ejus feriens, ipsum interfecit. Cf. Jub. iv. 31.

P. 56. Natus et Sharna, cujus temporibus coluerunt homines idola, unoquoque quod sibi alliberet colente. Sharna is corrupt for Serug. Cf. Jub. xi. 4.

P. 64-65. Accepit ergo Abraham uxorem suam Saram, quae et ipsi ex patre soror erat. Cf. Jub. xii. 9. For other parallels see notes on pp. 35, 83.

SUIDAS, a Greek grammarian of the tenth or eleventh cent. (Fabricius, i. 336). καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γὰρ ἐπαιδεύετο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Jub. xii. 16. See also note on xii. 2.

JOEL, *Chronographia* (ed. Bekker, 1836), extending to the year 1206 A.D. This writer, whom I have referred to occasionally in my notes, is generally dependent on Syncellus, Cedrenus or Glycas for any matter which he has in common with our text. It is possible, as Rösensch (p. 367) urges, that the phrase καὶ ἐξολοθρεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντος (Joel, p. 10 (cf. Jub. xxxvii. 23)) testifies to an independent knowledge of Jubilees, as it is not found in those earlier chronographers.

LXX MS (thirteenth cent.), cited as no. 135 in Holmes

and Parsons' edition, and as *r* in Lagarde's *Genesis Graece*, 1868. The scholia in this MS attest many of the personal names which are found in Jubilees. I have cited all of these in their appropriate places in my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, and many of them in the notes to my translation. See Index II.

LXX MS *z* in Lagarde's edition contains two readings which come from our text. See notes on v. 31 and vi. 1.

GREGORIUS BARHEBRAEUS (1226-1286).—See note on xi. 11-13.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF JUBILEES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The points of connection between the gospels and our author are very slight, except in the beliefs respecting angels and demons—a subject to which we shall return later. We shall now place the passages side by side where the New Testament is dependent on our text, or presupposes it, or presents a close parallel.

Mark iii. 22 (Matt. xii. 24).—ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων.

Jub. x. 8.—“Chief of the spirits”; xlviii. 9, 12, “Prince of the Mastêmâ.”

Luke xi. 49.—“Therefore also said the wisdom of God: I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute.

i. 12.—“And *I shall send witnesses unto them*, that I may witness against them, but they *will . . . slay the witnesses also and persecute* those who seek the law.”

John xiv. 26.—“The Holy Spirit . . . will bring to your remembrance all things, etc.”

xxxii. 25.—“I will bring all things to thy remembrance.” Here God is to cause Jacob to remember all that he had seen in a vision.

Acts vii. 15-16.—“And he (Jacob) died, himself and our fathers, and they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought, etc.”

xlvi. 9.—“And the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave” (*i.e.* Machpelah). This is the oldest source of the tradition in Acts.

Acts vii. 23.—Moses when “well nigh forty years old” smote the Egyptian.

Acts vii. 30.—Moses spent forty years in Midian.

Acts vii. 53.—“Who received the law as it was ordained by angels and kept it not.” Cf. Gal. iii. 19.

Acts ix. 2.—“If he found any that were of *the way*.”

Rom. iv. 15.—“Where there is no law, neither is there transgression.”

2 Cor. v. 17.—“A new creation” (Gal. vi. 15).

2 Cor. vi. 18.—“I will be to you a Father and ye shall be to me sons and daughters.”

Gal. ii. 15.—“Sinners of the Gentiles.”

Gal. iii. 17.—“A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law which came 430 years later, etc.” Does the confirmation here spoken of mean the birth of Isaac? In that case 430 years exactly elapse between this confirmation of the covenant and the law according to Jubilees.

Gal. v. 12.—“I would that they which unsettle you (*i.e.* Judaisers) would cut off the member” (*ἀποκόψονταί*).

xlvi. 10-12.—Moses forty-two years old.¹

xlvi. 1.—Moses spent thirty-eight years.¹

i. 27.—“And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses, etc.” i. 14: “They will forget . . . thy law.” Our text is the earliest authority for the statement that the law was given through angels.

xxiii. 20.—“Turn them back into *the way*.”

xxxiii. 15-16.—Anticipates this Pauline doctrine.

v. 12.—“A new and righteous nature.”

i. 24.—“I shall be their Father and they will be My children.”²

xxiii. 23.—“Sinners of the Gentiles” (cf. xxiii. 24).

xv. 4 sqq. contains the covenant made in 1979 A.M. with Abraham on his circumcision. The law was given in 2410. Hence 2410 - 1979 = 431. Isaac was born in 1980, or exactly 430 years before the legislation on Sinai according to Jubilees.

Contrast xv. 27, according to which the angels were created circumcised.

¹ Jubilees gives here the oldest dates on this subject. The Midrash Tanchuma on Exod. ii. 6, which was many centuries later, gives a tradition practically the same as that in Acts. “Moses was in the palace of Pharaoh twenty years, but some say forty years, and forty years in Midian and forty years in the wilderness.” Observe that our author makes Moses stay twenty-one years with his own people and twenty-one years at Pharaoh’s court.

² The righteous *individual* is called “a son of God” first in Jubilees, so far as I am aware. See note on i. 24.

2 Thess. ii. 3.—“Son of perdition.”

1 Tim. i. 4.—“Fables and endless genealogies.” iv. 7: “old wives’ fables.” Titus iii. 9: “Genealogies and strifes and fightings about the law.”

James i. 13.—“Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God tempteth no man.”

James ii. 23.—“Abraham believed God and it was counted to him for righteousness and he was called the friend of God.”

2 Peter ii. 5.—“Noah, a preacher of righteousness.”

2 Peter iii. 13.—“New heavens and a new earth.”

2 Peter iii. 8.—“One day is with the Lord as a thousand years.”

Rev. i. 6.—“A kingdom, priests.” v. 10: “A kingdom and priests.”

Rev. iv. 5 (xi. 19, xvi. 18; cf. viii. 5).—“Lightnings and voices and thunderings.”

x. 3.—“Sons of perdition.”

The Pauline phrases form a just description of a large portion of Jubilees. The “old wives’ fables” may be an allusion to the large rôle played by women in it.

The author of Jubilees enforces the same view by representing Mastêmâ as suggesting the temptation of Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (xvii. 16), as hardening the hearts of the Egyptians (xlviii. 12, 17), etc.

xiv. 6.—“And he believed on the Lord and it was counted to him for righteousness” (Gen. xv. 6). xix. 9: “He was found faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God.”

vii. 20-39 contains Noah’s sermon.

i. 29.—“The heavens and the earth shall be renewed, etc.”

iv. 30 contains the oldest dogmatic statement of this fact.

xvi. 18.—“A kingdom and priests.” Our text alone gives this form of Exod. xix. 6 antecedently to Revelation.

ii. 2.—“Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightnings.”

Angelology.—We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are

generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time, in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see § 16.

Demonology.—The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lust after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(b) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince of the Mastêmâ¹ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgment of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-45; Luke xi. 24-26). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgment (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

¹ See note on x. 8.

§ 24. VIEWS OF THE AUTHOR ON THE MESSIAH, THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM, THE PRIESTHOOD OF MELCHIZEDEK, THE LAW, CIRCUMCISION AND THE SABBATH, THE FUTURE LIFE, THE JEWISH CALENDAR

The Messiah.—Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see xxxi. 18 note). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic Kingdom.—In the notes on i. 29, xxiii. 30 I have dealt at some length with the character of this kingdom. We have there seen that it was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgment was apparently to take place at its close (see note on xxiii. 30). On the probable derivation of this view from Mazdeism see note on i. 29.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for

introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx., or the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C., and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realise the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (see note on xxxi. 15), while, according to the Test. Reuben 6, he was to "die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen." In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.¹

Priesthood of Melchizedek.—That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note xiii. 25, and that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv., we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood, of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii. as applied to our Lord.

The Law.—On our author's conception of the law as the ideal and eternal realised under time relations see pp. li sqq.

¹ The belief that the Messianic era had set in appears to have arisen again under Alexander, 78-69 B.C. "Under Simon ben Shetach (and Queen Salome) rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, etc." (Taanih 23a, quoted by Schürer, *Gesch. jud. Volkes*,³ i. 290).

Circumcision and the Sabbath.—On our author's exalted conceptions of these two bulwarks of Judaism, see p. 1.

The Future Life.—In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

The Jewish Calendar.—For our author's peculiar views see § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.



ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

a, b, c, d denote the Ethiopic MSS on which our text is based.

Mass. = Massoretic text.

Sam. = Samaritan version, and Hebrew text in Samaritan characters when both agree.

Syr. = the Syriac version of the Old Testament.

Vulg. = Vulgate.

Onk. = Targum of Onkelos.

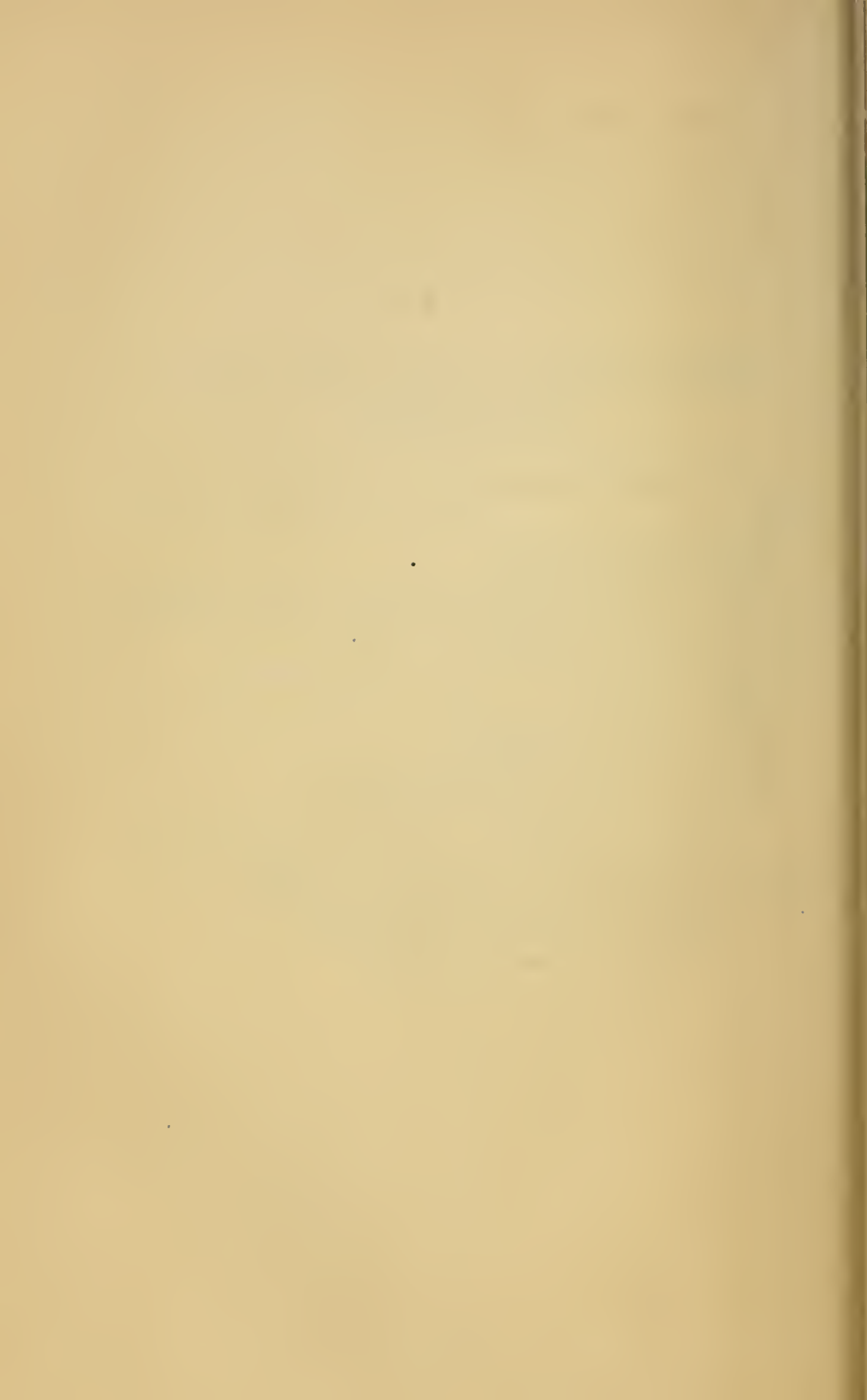
Ps.-Jon. = Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.

Jub. = Book of Jubilees.

() Words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor from some source mentioned in the notes.

[] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt.



THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. Apostasy of Israel, 5-9. Captivity of Israel and Judah, 10-13. Return of Judah and rebuilding of temple, 15-18. Moses' prayer for Israel, 19-21. God's promise to redeem and dwell with them, 22-25, 28. Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?), 26. And an angel to write down the law, 27. This angel takes the heavenly chronological tables to dictate therefrom to Moses, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai

PROLOGUE. This short introduction gives an admirable account of the contents of this book. It is at once a history and a chronological system dominated by the sacred number seven. The history extends from the Creation to the legislation on Sinai, and thus embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. But the writer does not merely reproduce the portions of these books which serve his purpose; he rewrites from the standpoint of the strictest Judaism. See Introduction, §§ 15, 21.

According to their sevenfold division (a c) or "according to their year-weeks" (b d).

Throughout all the years of the world. These words are difficult; for they imply that it was the author's intention to write a history from the Creation till the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom or Theocracy. See i. 26 note.

The Lord **አግዚአብሔር**: (a). *d* reads **አዎላክ**: "God." *b c* omit. **አግዚአብሔር** (which generally = *kύριος*, but often *θεός*) is generally rendered "Lord" in my translation, but occasionally as "God" when external evidence so requires.

when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, "Go up to the top of the Mount."

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I. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: "Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them." 2. And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. 4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the

Tables. *cd* read "tables of stone."

Of the law, etc. See note on i. 1.

Go up, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

I. 1. *In the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.* It will be observed that our author supplies a date to the defective text of Exod. xix. 1 "In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth . . . the same day came they." Ps.-Jon. inserts "on the first day of the month" (בְּהַר יְרֵחָא). It will be observed that on the same date on which Moses went up to receive the Law, the sixteenth of the third month, God appears to Jacob on his way down into Egypt (xliv. 5).

On the other hand, we must carefully distinguish this date and the events connected with it from the fifteenth of the third month and the events connected with it. On the fifteenth Abraham celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest (xv. 1, xlv. 4); Isaac was born (xvi. 13) (so also in Seder Olam); Abraham died (xxii. 1); Judah was born (xxviii. 15); and Jacob and

Laban bound themselves by mutual vows (xxix. 7).

We shall see later (vi. 17-18 notes) that the feast of weeks was first observed on earth in connection with the covenant of Noah, and was according to our author designed to celebrate the institution of that covenant. It is important to recognise this fact, since later Judaism held that the feast of weeks celebrated the legislation on Sinai (see notes on vi. 17).

Come up to Me, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

Two tables. The "two" is not in Exod. xxiv. 12, but is drawn from xxxi. 18.

Of the law and of the commandment. Exod. xxiv. 12, on which the text is based, has "And the law and the commandment." But compare Exod. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29; Deut. ix. 11.

2-4^a. Based on Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. *Flaming.* A change of one vowel would give "devouring" as in Exod. xxiv. 17. Cf. xxxvi. 10.

4. *God taught him the earlier and the later history.* Cf. i. 26. Cf.

law and of the testimony. 5. And He said: "Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. 6. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them. 7. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I swear to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: "Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. 8. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. 9. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness,

Megilla 19b "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law . . . and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times." Also Schem. rabba 40 (Wiinsche, p. 282): "God brought the book of Adam and showed him (Moses) therein all the generations which should arise from the beginning of Creation till the day of the resurrection." Beer compares Menachoth 29b and Wajikra rabba 26.

5. *Write them*, etc. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27. See note on i. 27.

How I have not forsaken them for all the evil. Cf. Ezra ix. 9 "Yet in our bondage God hath not forsaken us."

Transgressing = sêhêtô emended from 'ashêtô of b c d. Cf. vi. 37, 38.

6. *And thus it will come to pass . . . upon them.* Deut. xxx. 1.

7. *Write for thyself all these words.* See note on i. 27.

I know their rebellion and their stiff neck. Deut. xxxi. 27.

The land of which I swear to their fathers, etc. Deut. xxx. 20, Exod. xxxiii. 1.

Unto your seed . . . a land flowing with milk and honey. Exod. xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxxi. 20.

8. *And they will eat . . . to strange gods.* Deut. xxxi. 20.

This witness shall be heard (c d: "witness" a b) for a witness against them. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 20; 2 Kings xvii. 15 "The testimonies which he testified against them." Cf. Deut. xxxi. 19, 26.

9. *Forget all My commandments*, etc. Ezra ix. 10, 11.

Walk after the Gentiles. 2 Kings xvii. 2.

and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. 10. And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set My name upon it, and that it should dwell (there). 11. And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. 12. And I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes. 13. And I shall hide My face from them, and I shall deliver them

Serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence . . . and a snare. Exod. xxiii. 33; Deut. vii. 16; Jos. xxiii. 13.

10-13. These verses depict the two great catastrophies which befell Israel (10) and Judah (11-13).

10. Partial destruction and captivity of Israel. The northern tribes had forsaken the Law and the Festivals observed by Judah: also the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. for diction Deut. xxviii. 63, 41; Lev. xxvi. 14, 15, etc.

And My tabernacle, . . . in the midst of the land. If these words belong to the text, the author must have believed in the existence of the Tabernacle in Jerusalem during the divided monarchies.

11-13. Idolatries and wickedness of Judah. Their captivity.

11. *Make to themselves high places and groves.* Cf. Ezek. xx. 28; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

Sacrifice their children to demons. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xx. 31. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Eth. Enoch xcix. 7. See notes on xxii. 17.

12. *I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 "He sent prophets to them . . . and they testified against them; but they would not give ear." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16; Jer. xxv. 4. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

Will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26 "Slew thy prophets which testified against them."

Change: read jewêlētū (*a*) in Ethiopic text and jewêtēnū (*b e d*) in the notes.

To work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. *Hide My face.* Cf. xxi. 22; Is. i. 15.

Deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles, etc. 2 Kings xxi. 14.

into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them amongst the Gentiles. 14. And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. 15. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek Me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek Me with all their heart and with all their soul. 16. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I shall †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they will be for a blessing and not for a curse, and they will be the head and not the tail. 17. And I shall build My sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God and

For a prey=lahabl emended from lahebl.

14. Judah will forget the service of God in captivity. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15-17. Repentance of Judah, their return from the captivity and the erection of the temple.

15. *They will turn to Me . . . with all their soul.* Cf. Deut. iv. 30, 29.

I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles. Jer. xxix. 14.

They will seek me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart. Jer. xxix. 13-14^a.

When they seek (bcd). *a* reads "and when they seek."

16. *And I shall disclose (bd).* *a c* read "I will disclose."

†Remove them the plant of uprightness.† I have obelized these words as corrupt. Littmann's rendering, "sie umändern zu einer Pflanze der Gerechtigkeit," is hardly possible linguistically. Moreover, it is against the use of this phrase. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Israel was "the plant of uprightness"

ness" from the outset. The original of the words and of those that follow appears to be Jer. xxxii. 41 "I will plant them in this land assuredly with all my heart and with all my soul." These words are used in the very same connection as those in the text. It is not improbable, therefore, that the words "in this land" have been lost after the verb. Next "And I will remove them"=*kai μεταθήσω αὐτοὺς*=וְהִסְעֵתִים. This last may be corrupt for וְהִסְעֵתִים. Thus we should have "And I will plant them the plant of uprightness in the land." This reverses the judgment in verse 13 "I will remove them from the midst of the land."

They will be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

They will be the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13.

17. The second Temple. *I shall build . . . and I shall dwell with them.* Exod. xxv. 8. *I will dwell with them and I will be their (cd, ab om. "their") God.* Exod. xxix. 45.

And I shall be their God and they

they will be My people in truth and righteousness. 18. And I shall not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God." 19. And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee. 20. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. 21. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which Thou hast delivered with Thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity." 22. And the Lord said unto Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. 23. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they

will be My people. Lev. xxvi. 12; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22; Ezek. xiv. 11.

18. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. *Do not forsake . . . Thy inheritance, . . . and do not deliver them into the hands . . . lest they should rule over them.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

Their enemies, the Gentiles (a c). b d omit "their enemies."

20. *Create . . . spirit.* Ps. li. 10. See next ver.

Beliar. See note on xv. 33.

21. *They are Thy people . . . from the hands of the Egyptians.* Deut. ix. 26, 29.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 23. See note on xxv. 14.

22. *I know their contrariness . . . and their stiffneckedness.* Deut. xxxi. 27.

Confess their own sin and the sin, etc. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. *Turn to Me . . . with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul.* 2 Chron. vi. 38.

Circumcise the foreskin of their heart. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 21.

I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. These words imply that

shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. 24. And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children. 25. And they will all be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit will know, yea, they will know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them. 26. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them

Israel shall never again be driven from their own land.

24. *I shall be their Father and they will be My children* (or "sons"). These words are used in 2 Sam. vii. 14 in reference to Solomon; elsewhere in the OT only in reference to the nation or sections of it. God is the Father of Israel, Deut. xxxii. 6; Is. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9; or of the righteous in Israel, even of the righteous individual, Wisdom ii. 16. See also i. 25, 28, xix. 29 of our text. Israel is God's son: Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Is. xliii. 6; Wisdom xviii. 13; Jud. ix. 4; or the righteous in Israel are God's children, even the individuals, Wisdom ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21. For Talmudic references see *Sayings of the Fathers* (ed. Taylor) iii. 22; B. Bathra 10 a, Kiddushin 36 a, Berachoth 3 a. In 2 Cor. vi. 18 St. Paul takes directly these words of 2 Sam. vii. 14 and applies them to all the Christians. In the text they embrace all Israelites. Israelites are God's children according to our author by virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. i. 28.

25. *Children* (or "sons") of the living God. Hos. i. 10.

26. *And do thou write down for thyself* (bc). *ad* read "And I will write down for thee." These words appear to refer to the present work (as Singer p. 15 has recognised), *i.e.*, Jubilees (cf. i. 7). Moses is to write it down at the

dictation of the angel (vi. 1). It constitutes, so to say, the book of the second law. The Pentateuch, on the other hand, is "the book of the first law" (vi. 22), which was written by the angel himself (i. 27). The latter is referred to again in xxx. 12, 21, l. 6. In 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses is bidden to reveal the one, *i.e.*, the Pentateuch, and conceal the other, the apocalyptic tradition. *Haec in palam facies verba et haec abscondes*. In Exod. xxxiv. 27 Moses is bidden to write down certain commands, but the decalogue is engraved on the tables of stone by God Himself: Exod. xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 2, 4.

All these words, the first and the last, which shall come to pass . . . until eternity. Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 4, 5: *Et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud Me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei mirabilia multa, et ostendi ei temporum secreta et temporum finem*.

Until I descend and dwell . . . throughout eternity. Here as in the Prologue the implication is that the author intended to write a history of the world from the Creation to the setting up of the Theocracy. (Cf. Prologue; also i. 27, 29.) In a certain sense he has done so; for references occur to events as late as the early Maccabean times when the author lived. He was of opinion that the Messianic Kingdom would be introduced through the labours of the Maccabees. For God's dwelling

throughout eternity." 27. And He said to the angel of the presence: "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. 28. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all

with man see Eth. Enoch xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. This was the perfected theocracy which was looked for by those who did not expect a personal Messiah, such as the authors of Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi., xci.-civ.; Ass. Moses x. Our author, however, looked for a Messiah sprung from Judah. See note on xxxi. 18.

27. *And He said to the angel of the presence.* See note on i. 29. Our text forms apparently the earliest testimony to the idea that the law was given through the ministry of angels. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 we have the first mention of angels in connection with the giving of the law, but according to that passage they merely accompany Yahwe. But the way was prepared for the conception in Jubilees by the development which angelology underwent in exilic and post-exilic times. Thus from the exile onwards God communicated no longer directly with His servants. In the case of Ezekiel, who was in the period of transition, the revelation is sometimes made directly to him (xliv. 2), sometimes indirectly through an angel (xl. 3). By the time of Zechariah the development is complete. This prophet receives all his communications through angels. Naturally when we come down to the century in which our book was written, this usage is universal. Daniel receives even the interpretation of his visions through angels (vii. 16 sqq.; viii. 15 sqq. etc.), and in a later work of the same century, Test. XII. Patriarch., Dan. 6, the angel that intercedes for Israel is called "the mediator between God and man" (*μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων*). See also Levi 5. I am not aware of any other references to this conception till the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Philo, *De Somnis*, i. 22 (p. 642 M.), commenting on Exod. xix. 19, writes that we cannot receive God's benefits save through the agency of His ministers. (*οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας . . .*

εὐεργεσίας χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ὥς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπερέταις ἄλλοις.) In the first cent. A.D. we have frequent references to this view. Thus in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5. 3: *ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων.* From Judaism this verse passed over into the NT. Cf. Gal. iii. 19 *νόμος . . . διαταγὴς δι' ἀγγέλων.* See also Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2. The Samaritans also believed in the ministry of angels in connection with the law. Cf. Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* p. 15 and de Sacy, *Not. et extraits de la Bibl.* xii. 16. Later Judaism rejected this view probably on polemical grounds, and always represented Moses as receiving the law directly from God. In Sabbath 88b and Shem. rabba 28 Moses is represented as ascending into heaven to receive the law.

Write for Moses, etc. If the interpretation of this verse adopted on i. 26 (note) is right, the angel is to write out the Pentateuch for Moses. There is, however, this difficulty attaching to this interpretation, that the history embraced in the Pentateuch is to extend from the Creation to the time when God's "sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity." It is possible that this means nothing more than such broad and apparently prophetic descriptions of the apostasies of Israel and Judah under their kings, of the Exile and the Return from captivity, and of the restored theocracy as are found in Deut. xxviii.-xxx. It must be confessed that this explanation does not appear adequate.

28. This verse spoils the sequence of thought. We should probably read it after ver. 25.

Appear to the eyes of all. Cf. Rev. i. 7.

God of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 10, etc.

Father of all the children of Jacob.

Cf. Jer. xxxi. 1. See note on i. 24.

the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." 29. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Is. xxiv. 23. On Mount Zion see i. 29.

29. *Angel of the presence.* The phrase is derived from Is. lxiii. 9 and found also in Test. XII. Patriarch., Jud. 25. This angel is probably Michael who was the guardian angel of Israel: cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Eth. Enoch xx. 5; Slav. Enoch xxii. 6; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 168. Four of these angels are mentioned in Eth. Enoch xl. (where see note on ver. 2 in my edition).

Who went before the camp of Israel. Exod. xiv. 19.

Took the tables of the divisions of the years. From these the angel dictates to Moses.

Divisions of the years—from the time of the creation (c)—of the law (a), etc. This seems to be the best way of taking the text. My text which follows *b* = "divisions of the years from the creation of the law."

According to the individual years. Bracketed as an interpolation. *b* omits.

From the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed. The text is clearly corrupt. It should furnish us with the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*. The history of the "tables of the divisions" obviously embraces everything from the creation to the Messianic Kingdom. Hence "new" (*haddas*) is to be regarded as an Ethiopic interpolation. In *a b* it follows the word "creation" but in the inferior MSS (*c d*) it precedes them. Next in place of "†when†" (*ama*) we should expect "till." We can recover "till" by taking *ws* (= "when") in the Greek to be a corruption of *ew*

= "till." In any case we should read "From the day of the creation, till the heavens."

The heavens and the earth shall be renewed. We should observe carefully the nature of the "renewal" as it appears in Jubilees. This renewal of the creation is not to be instantaneous and catastrophic, but gradual, and its progress to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel. This will be seen most clearly in iv. 26 and xxiii. 26-28 (see notes *in loc.*). Similar expressions are found in Is. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22. In my *Eschatology* (pp. 122-123) I took these passages in Isaiah to denote a sudden and actual re-creation of the world, and as I conceived they were at variance with their contexts, I marked them as later interpolations. I now see that they should be taken to express a gradual transformation of the world, moral and physical, and, that thus the argument against their originality falls to the ground. This view was probably adopted from Mazdeism, which according to Söderblom (*La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 254, Paris, 1901) teaches that le monde deviendra peu à peu meilleur et se spiritualisera pendant les derniers temps. This fifth-century view of the writer in Isaiah lxxv. lxxvi. is reproduced by our author. Heaven and earth and the physical nature of man will be transformed *pari passu* with man's spiritual transformation (xxiii. 26-28, l. 5). According to Jubilees xxiii. 27 the righteous should attain to a thousand years, and according to Is. lxxv. 20 the sinner should be prematurely cut off when a hundred years old. So far as I am aware, Is.

all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1-16. Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated, 17-32. (Cf. Gen. i.-ii. 3.)

II. And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the com-

lxv.-lxvi., Jubilees and Test. Levi 18 are the only Jewish writings which attest this view. But from 100 B.C. Jewish, and subsequently Christian, writers took these expressions in a literal and catastrophic sense. Thus it is an actual re-creation of heaven and earth that is foretold in Eth. Enoch xci. 16, lxxii. 1, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

But again to return to our author we find the following novelty. He teaches that God is to renew His creation at three distinct periods. The first was on the occasion of the Deluge when He destroyed all that was corrupt (v. 11) and "*made for all His works a new and righteous nature*" (v. 12). The next renewal was to synchronise with the foundation of the Jewish community in Jacob, which should "serve to lay the foundations of the heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament" (xix. 25). The idea that a renewal of the world began with Jacob follows also from ii. 22 sqq. According to this passage the twenty-two generations that precede Jacob correspond to the twenty-two works of God at the Creation. A new

era of renewal begins with Jacob. Finally when God's sanctuary and the Messianic Kingdom are established amongst men, the final renewal will set in, "when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed" and "all the luminaries shall be renewed" i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. According to the present text of v. 11, 12, the renewal of creation after the Deluge is taught; but the text is corrupt. In its original form it could only refer to the renewal of the world on the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom. There are thus three great eras in this book: the creation of the world, its renewal on the creation of the true man, Jacob, and its final renewal on the establishment of the sanctuary. On the symbolic values of man and the temple see Eppstein, "*Le Livre des Jubilés*," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 92-97.

Sanctuary of the Lord be made in Jerusalem, i.e., the Sanctuary in the Messianic Kingdom. Cf. i. 27, iv. 26.

Renewed for healing. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2 "for the healing of the nations."

II. 1. *Angel of the presence. See i. 29 (note).*

Write the complete history of the

plete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign for all His works. 2. For on

creation. We find the following Scholion in a MS Coislin. (Fabric. ii. 120) on Exod. xxiv. 15, which refers to Jubilees: *ἐνταῦθα ἡξιώθη ὁ μέγας Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν δι' ὀπτασιῶν, πῶς ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάξιν μιᾶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ συγγράψαι παρεκελεύσθη.*

2-3. These verses record the creations of the first day. They were seven in all: heaven, earth, the waters, spirits, the abysses, darkness, light. We have happily the Greek version preserved in Epiphanius, *περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν*, xxii. (see my critical edition of the Ethiopic text pp. 5, 7): *τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐποίησε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τοὺς ἀνωτέρους (καὶ) τὴν γῆν (καὶ) τὰ ὕδατα . . . τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἅτινά ἐστι τάδε ἄγγελοι πρὸ προσώπου, καὶ ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης, καὶ ἄγγελοι πνευμάτων πνεόντων, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι νεφελῶν καὶ γυόφων (καὶ) χιόνος καὶ χαλάξης καὶ πάγου, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι φωνῶν (καὶ) βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν, (καὶ) ἄγγελοι ψυχῶς καὶ καύματος καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ φθινοπώρου καὶ ἔαρος καὶ θέρους, καὶ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, (καὶ) τὰς ἀβύσσους τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους, (καὶ) τὸ σκότος, ἐσπέραν καὶ νύκτα, (καὶ) τὸ φῶς, ἡμέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον.* An imperfect enumeration of the seven works is given by Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, p. 4), in which *τὰς ἀβύσσους* is omitted and *νυχθήμερον* is substituted. Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, p. 7) reproduces Syncellus' summary, but with an additional corruption. He omits *τὰ ὕδατα* and reckons *νυχθήμερον* as two works. The Hebrew work, *Midrash Tadshe* vi. lines 11-16 (ed. by Eppstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, 1887) is clearly based on our text. It runs: "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe in seven days: the first day seven; heaven, earth, waters, darkness, the wind (רוח), the abysses (מחלמות), light. The second

day: one only, the firmament. The third day, four. He reunited the waters in one place, brought up the sweet waters from the earth, likewise herbs and trees. The fourth day, three: the sun, moon and stars. The fifth day, three: the moving creatures, birds and sea monsters. The sixth day, four: beasts, and cattle, and creeping things, and man. This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob (כנני כב אחיות שבאב וכנני הרורות מאדם עד שבא יעקב).

In the enumeration of the works of the first day, we observe a divergency between Jubilees (Epiphanius and Syncellus) and the *Midrash Tadshe*. Where Jubilees gives "angels," the *Midrash* gives "the wind." The ground for this divergency is manifest. If we examine Gen. i. 1-4 we find that the list of seven works is drawn from these verses, and that the idea of the creation of the angels is simply a development of the word "spirit" (רוח), ver. 2. But the *Midrash Tadshe* shuns such an inference from Gen. i. 2; for Talmudic Judaism held that the angels were created on the second or the fifth day. In *Ber. rabba* 1 according to R. Jochanan it was on the second day (Ps. cxv. 4, 5—see also Jerusalem Targum on Gen. i. 26; Chron. of Jerahmeel i. 8), but according to R. Chanina on the fifth (see Gen. i. 20; Is. vi. 6), and R. Luliani bar Tabrai says that they were not created on the first day lest it should be said that they had assisted God in the creation. Philo, *Leg. Allegor.* i. 2, represents the creation of the angels as accomplished on the seventh day.

Philo (*de Mundi opificio*, i. 7) mentions seven objects of creation: οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος, τὸ ἄβυσσον, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, φῶς. Here the πνεῦμα retains for the most part its original force; for in the next chapter Philo says with regard to it: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα. On the other hand he idealises all seven objects of creation

the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of

of the first day. It is not the actual but the ideal world that is created on the first day. Thus he speaks of the heaven as *ἀσώματος*, the earth as *ἀόρατος*, the darkness and the abyss as the *ἀέρος ἰδέα καὶ κενοῦ*, wind and water as having an *ἀσώματος οὐσία*, and the light as being *νοητός*. Notwithstanding, it is obvious that Philo was acquainted with a cosmology such as is given in our text. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, i. 3, enumerate eight works. It duplicates "the spirit" by taking it first as "the spirit of God" and next as "air." Its dependence on the Jubilee tradition is possible.

According to later Judaism, Ber. rabba 3 sqq. four things were created on the first day, mountains (here הרים is corrupt for תהום, "abyss"), heaven, earth, light. On the second—the firmament, hell and the angels. On the third—trees, green things, and Paradise. On the fourth—sun, moon and stars. On the fifth—birds, fishes and the Leviathan. On the sixth—Adam, Eve and worms. In all nineteen works. But according to R. Pinchas, six things were created on the sixth: Adam, Eve, worms, tame beasts, wild beasts, demons.

2. *On the first day he created . . . the angels.* In addition to the remarks made under this head on ii. 2-3 above we should further observe that grounds are furnished for such a conception by Job xxxviii. 7 (cf. i. 6) "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Here the sons of God are regarded as admiring spectators of the creation. It is probable that earlier Judaism so understood this verse. At all events, this interpretation appears in patristic literature; cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxv. chap. 4: *Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἅμα οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ ἄγγελοι ἐκτίσθησαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰώβ οὗτο, "Ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσάν με πάντες ἄγγελοί μου φωνῇ.* See also the quotation from Rufinus in the next note. Nearly two centuries earlier this idea is attested in

Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4: *Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὖξιν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης.*

All the spirits which serve before him. This phrase is found in the Jerusalem Targum I. on Gen. i. 26, but there the creation of the angels is assigned to the second day. See further details in preceding note. With our text compare Rufinus, *Expositio in Symbol.* p. 21 (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud.* V.T. ii. 57), *Ut breviter aliqua etiam de secretionibus perstringamus, ab initio Deus cum fecisset mundum, praecepit ei et praeposuit quasdam virtutum caelestium potestates, quibus regeretur et dispensaretur mortalium genus . . .* Sed et horum nonnulli, sicut et ipse qui princeps appellatus est mundi, datam sibi a Deo potestatem non his quibus acceperant legibus temperarunt nec humanum genus divinis obedire praeceptis, sed suis parere praevaricationibus docuerunt.

The angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. Cf. ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14. These are the two chief orders of angels. On the former see i. 29 note. Both classes are mentioned in ii. 18: these observe the Sabbath together with God and Israel (ii. 18 sqq.), and like them Levi and his seed are to serve in the sanctuary, xxxi. 14. The lower orders who are set over the works of nature do not keep the Sabbath. These angels are, according to the Talmud and no doubt to our author, inferior to righteous Israelites: Sanh. 93a, צדיקים יותר ממלאכי השרה. See also Ber. rabba 8; Tanchuma 14, חביבין ישראל לפני הקב"ה יותר ממלאכי השרה (Singer, p. 98). "The angels of sanctification" are those who sing praises to God (possibly the trisagion as in Eth. En. lxi. 12). As Epiphanius has ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης (= ἄγγελοι δοξάζοντες), Praetorius proposes that we should read weddāsē instead of qeddāsē. But the text can be defended; for in xv. 27 where the phrase recurs, the Latin has sanctificationis.

sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart. 3. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. 4. And on the second

Angels . . . of fire . . . of the winds, . . . of the clouds, etc. The third or lowest order of angels presides over the natural phenomena. See Eth. Enoch lx. 12-21, lxxv., lxxx.; Slav. Enoch xix. 1-4.

Angels . . . of fire. Cf. Rev. xiv. 18.

Of the spirit of fire and the angels. So *bcd*. *a* and *G* of Epiphanius omit.

Angels . . . of the winds. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, 2. See Eth. Enoch xviii. 1-5, xxxiv.-xxxvi., lxxvi. on the various functions of the wind.

Of snow. So *Gk.* of Epiphanius, *χιόνος*, which was probably corrupted into *παντός*: hence text of *a b*. *cd om.*

Of snow and of hail and of hoar frost. Eth. Enoch lx. 17, 18.

Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning. This is an obscure phrase. It would be easy if we could omit the first "and." Then we should have the familiar expression "voices of the thunder." Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; Rev. vi. 1, x. 4, xix. 6. On the other hand we have in Rev. iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18, *ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί*, and in viii. 5, *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί*. The phrase in Rev. may be derived from our text. The "voices" may mean the mutterings of the thunder. "Voice" (ἡρ) in itself means thunder in Job xxxvii. 4.

Thunder and lightning. Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 13-15.

Of winter . . . and summer. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 13-20.

(He created) the abysses. *abcd* read "in all the abysses," connecting the phrase wrongly with the preceding words. "The abysses" are one of the seven things created on the first day and must be in the accusative as in *G* of Epiphanius. The *Kuallû* = "all" may be a corruption of *'ellû* = "these" (a frequent corruption), and the latter a translation of the Greek article in *τὰς ἀβύσσους*. *G* reads *τὰς ἀβύσσους τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους*. In my Ethiopic text, omit the three words after *qalâyât*, which are an attempt partly to restore and partly to emend *a* into conformity with the *G*.

Eventide (and night) and the light, dawn and day. "And night" is supplied from *G*. *a* wrongly transposes "eventide" after "day." *bcd* omit "and day" and transpose "eventide" after "light."

3. *Seven great works.* See note above, p. 11 on ii. 2-3.

4. *Works of the second day.* Gen. i. 6-7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxvi.-xxvii. *G* in Epiphanius runs: *ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τὸ στερέωμα τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμερίσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος (καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ κατέβη ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος) τοῦ ἐμμέσῳ ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.*

day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. 5. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. 6. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 7. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all

The clause in brackets, lost by homoioteleuton, I have supplied.

Waters were divided on that day. According to this view as also of Gen. i. 6 there was a sea in heaven resting on the firmament, which through seven flood-gates (v. 24) let down its waters on the earth. See the curious speculation on these waters in Eth. Enoch liv. 7-8.

5-7. Works of the third day. Cf. Gen. i. 9-13; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρα . . . τὰς θαλάσσας . . . τοὺς ποταμούς, τὰς πηγὰς . . . καὶ λίμνας, τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ σπόρου, καὶ τὰ βλαστήματα, τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ τοὺς ὄρυμους . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ γένος. ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα ἔργα τὰ μέγιστα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* It is better in Syncellus i. 4: *φανέρωσις γῆς καὶ ἀναξήρανσις, παράδεισος, δένδρα παντοῖα, βοτάναι καὶ σπέρματα.*

5. *The third day.* MSS add "He made as."

7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 1.

Sprouting things = *zajebaquel emend-*

ed from zajetbalá'ē according to G βλαστήματα.

Garden of Eden, in Eden. MSS add "for pleasure." This phrase is due either to a corrupt ditto-graphy: *i.e.*—*latadlâ* is corrupt for *bataclâ* = *ἐν τρυφῇ*, a duplicate rendering of *גן עדן*: or else *tadlâ* is corrupt for *taklât* = *φυστά* and should be transposed after *kuellû*. The "in Eden" is also superfluous. *c* omits it.

Garden of Eden. Eden is likewise a creation of the third day in Ber. rabba 15; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1; Book of Adam and Eve i. 1. This is the earliest view so far as our evidence goes. As early, however, as the latter half of the first century A.D., the garden of Eden was said to have been created before the world. Thus 4 Ezra iii. 6 *In paradisum, quem plantavit dextera tua antequam terra adventaret.* This view arose from taking *מקרא* in Gen. ii. 8 to mean "from the beginning" instead of "on the east." This new interpretation was adopted by the Targums and the Syriac and Latin Versions, as well as by Aquila, Sym-

(plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. 8. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. 9. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 10. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by His hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that

machus and Theodotion; also by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8) (Migne, *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* tom. 23, col. 940): Necnon quod sequitur, contra orientem, in Hebraeo Mecedem (מַעֲדָם) scribitur, quod Aquila posuit ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς: et nos, ab exordio, possumus dicere. Symmachus vero, ἐκ πρώτης, et Theodotion, ἐν πρώτοις, quod et ipsum non orientem sed principium significat. Ex quo manifestissime comprobatur, quod priusquam coelum et terram Deus faceret, paradisum ante considerat, sicut et legitur in Hebraeo: *Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum in Eden a principio*. For later Jewish authorities see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 198.

On the peculiar conception of two Paradises, the heavenly and the earthly, and their connection see Slav. Enoch vi.; Weber, 162 sq., 341. For a history of the various meanings of Paradise in Apocalyptic literature, see my *Eschatology*, pp. 197, 234 sq., 262 sqq.

(Plants after their kind.) Supplied from G in Epiphanius. It is possible, however, that "plants" already exists in the text in a corrupt form. See note on beginning of verse.

8-10. Gen. i. 14-19. Cf. Slav. Enoch. xxx. 2-6. G in Epiphanius very defective: τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τὸν ἥλιον τὴν σελήνην τοὺς ἀστέρας . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

9. *Appointed the sun.* It will be observed here that though the writer is basing the text on Gen. i. 16-18 he makes no reference to the moon. The omission is intentional. The writer holds that Israel should not be guided by the moon but by the sun in the calculations of all their festivals. See vi. 36-38.

Appointed the sun . . . for jubilees. The period from the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan to the destruction of the first temple is measured by jubilees in Erachin 12-13 a.

10. *These three kinds, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars.* Cf. Syncellus, i. 5.

11-12. Works of the fifth day. Gen. i. 20-23. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 7. G in Epiphanius: τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα . . . τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐρπετὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πτερωτά . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

flies, the birds and all their kind. 12. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. 14. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. 15. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. 16. And He finished all His work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. 17. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. 18. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctifi-

13-14. Works of the sixth day. Gen. i. 24-28. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 8 sqq. G in Epiphanius is defective: τῇ δὲ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ θηρία . . . τὰ κτήνη, τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἀνθρώπον . . . ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα μεγάλα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

14. *A man and a woman*—instead of the usual "male and female."

15. See note on ii. 23. The Greek of this verse and the next is found in Epiphanius, *loc. cit.*: καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα εἴκοσι δύο γένη ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις. καὶ συνετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ἐν πᾶσι.

16. *On the sixth day.* Our text is supported by the Samaritan text and the LXX and Syriac Versions of Gen.

ii. 2^a. Cf. Exod. xx. 11. Budde and Ball accept this (= עֲשֶׂה) as the original reading of Gen. ii. 2^a over against the Massoretic (= עָבַד). The severer observance of the Sabbath belongs certainly to the pre-Christian centuries as we shall see later.

17-21. The two chief orders of angels observe the Sabbath together with God. Israel alone will be chosen to join in this observance. Like the third order of angels (see note on ii. 2), *i.e.* those that preside over natural phenomena, the Gentiles do not share in this privilege (ii. 31).

17. *He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day.* Cf. Exod. xxxi. 13. This sign, first appointed between God and the two chief orders of angels, was to be established subsequently between God and Israel, ii. 21. See ii. 31 note.

cation, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. 19. And He said unto us: “Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these will keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so shall I bless them, and they will be My people and I shall be their God. 20. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.” 21. And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. 22. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . . 23. There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam

19. *Separate unto Myself a people.* 1 Kings viii. 53.

These will keep the Sabbath . . . sanctify them. Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12. See note on ii. 31.

They will be My people, etc. See i. 17.
20. *I have chosen the seed of Jacob.* Is. xli. 8, xliv. 1, 2. G in Epiphanius = *I will choose, etc.*

From amongst all. This is based on a slight change of a corrupt text.

My first-born son. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; cf. Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. *A sign.* According to Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12, the Sabbath was to be a sign between God and Israel. See ii. 17 note, 31 note.

Keep Sabbath with us. Israel is to unite with the angels (cf. verses 17, 18) in observing the Sabbath.

To eat and to drink, etc. This joyful aspect of the Sabbath is enforced

again in ii. 31, l. 9, 10. In l. 12 fasting on the Sabbath is forbidden. See l. 6 sqq. (notes) for a discussion of the entire question.

A peculiar people above all peoples. Deut. vii. 6; cf. Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 2. The Sabbaths are signs that God has given to His people to distinguish them from other peoples. Cf. verse 31; Ezek. xx. 12, 20. “Peculiar” here = *zajâtari* emended from *zajâstarēi*.

And that they . . . with us. This seems a dittography of the second clause of this verse.

22. *His commands, etc.* Corrupt.

A sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

Acceptable before Him. Ezek. xx. 41; Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. It is clear from Epiphanius, Syncellus and Cedrenus that there is a

to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. 24. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always

lacuna in the text after ver. 22. Thus in Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, ch. xxii. (ed. Dind. vol. iv. 28) after an account of the six days' creation, drawn word for word from Jubilees, he continues *καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωϋσεῖ ὅτι* (Jub. ii. 23) *καὶ εἴκοσι δύο κεφάλαια ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ Ἰακώβ. . . . καὶ* (Jub. ii. 21) *ἐκλέξομαι ἑμναυτῷ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ . . . λαὸν περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν . . . διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν κβ' ἡρίθμησαν εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ οὐσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλαῖνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βίβλους κζ' οὐσας κβ' πεποιήκασιν.* Also in i. 1 p. 59 ('Ἐπικουρ.) we find *αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ εἰκοσι-επτὰ βίβλοι αἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦνται, διὰ τὸ διπλαῦσθαι δέκα βίβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας.* Again Anastasius, who elsewhere quotes Jubilees (see iii. 9 note), seems to refer to our text here in his work on the Hexaemeron (Migne's *Biblioth. Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 940): *Viginti enim duo opera fecisse Deum dicunt, et Judaeorum et Christianorum interpretes . . . propterea viginti quoque duobus libris enumerat omne Vetus suum Testamentum.* In Isidore of Seville (ob. 636), *Etymolog.* xvi. 26. 10 (Migne *Bibl. Patr. Lat.* tom. 82, col. 595), we have an account of the creation agreeing with Jubilees save in one small particular. It is there shown that there were twenty-two kinds of work just as there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, twenty-two books in the OT and twenty-two letters. This account is dependent on Epiphanius. Thus it is most probable that originally mention was made in the text of the twenty-two Hebrew letters and the twenty-two books of the Bible, and so we find it actually stated by Syncellus

Chronogr. i. 5 (ed. Dind.) *ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔργα εἴκοσι δύο ἰσάριθμα τοῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκαῖς βίβλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ εἴκοσι δύο γενεαρχίαις, ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* This statement is reproduced verbally by Cedrenus, *Compendium Histor.* vol. i. 9 (ed. Bekker). Next we have the evidence of the Hebrew tradition preserved in the Midrash Tadshe vi. (quoted above, p. 11): "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe. . . This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob." Thus we should probably restore the lacuna as follows:—*As there were two and twenty letters and two and twenty (sacred) books and two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made two and twenty kinds of work, etc.* The thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are equalised to the number of letters by the following device. The twelve minor prophets count as one book, similarly Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations are taken together, and the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are reckoned respectively as one each. Thus the thirty-nine are reduced to twenty-two. See *Introd.* § 11.

This is blessed and holy, i.e., the Sabbath.

The former also is blessed and holy, i.e., Jacob. These two, the Sabbath and Jacob, are intimately related. As the Sabbath comes at the close of the twenty-two works, so Jacob comes at the close of the twenty-second generation. Not till Jacob's time, therefore, could the Sabbath be rightly observed on earth. Moreover, the Sabbath was given to Israel alone (ii. 31).

24. *They should always, etc.* So *bed. a* reads "he should always," etc.

be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. 25. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. 26. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days. 27. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 28. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us. 29. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything

He had sanctified. So *c d.* *a b* read "it had been sanctified."

And blessed. So *a c d.* *b* "and had been blessed."

The Sabbath day. *c d.* *a b* omit.

25. *Whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles, etc.* Exod. xxxi. 14, 15. Cf. Exod. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32-36. See also verses 26, 27.

26. *Command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy.* Exod. xx. 8, xxxi. 1.

Holier than all other days. Cf. ii. 30 where it is said to be holier than the jubilee of the jubilees; also ii. 33.

27. *Whoever profanes it . . . whoever does thereon any work.* See two preceding verses.

Rooted out of the land. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. *It is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure.* In the rendering "which is unseemly" I have followed Barth and Littmann in taking *za'ijekawen za'ijâstar'i* as representing *זָאִי־קָאֵוֶן זָאִי־אֶסְתָּרִי*. See also on iii. 15. It might be better to connect the following infinitive with "unseemly" and translate "which is unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure." It is usual for *זָאִי* to be followed by an infinitive in this sense. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83b; Nid. vi. 4.

To do thereon their own pleasure. Cf. Is. lviii. 13.

Not prepare thereon anything to be

to be eaten or drunk, †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,† which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. 30. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees: on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 31. And the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples and

eaten or drunk. This law could be derived from Exod. xvi. 23, 25. Baking and boiling are forbidden in Exod. xvi. 23, and the making of a fire in Exod. xxxv. 3.

And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk . . . which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. It will be observed that by omitting "and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" an excellent sense is restored to the text. Besides, the words in question constitute a break in the grammatical construction. The words "or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" look like a dittography of the first clause in ver. 30. They may, however, be genuine, and we can restore at once the sense and grammar by reading these clauses immediately after the words "their own pleasure." Thus we have: "That it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure or to draw water or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden. And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings."

Or bring in or take out . . . any burden. The law is found in ii. 30, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19; John v. 10; Shabb. vii. 2.

Which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. This

should follow immediately on the clause "anything to be eaten or drunk." Thus we have the provision enforced in Bez. 2b, that on the Sabbath day nothing should be eaten which had not been expressly prepared on a week day with a view to the Sabbath.

On the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. This phrase can equally well be rendered in both passages "on the six days."

30. *Bring in nor take out from house to house.* Cf. ii. 29, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 22. Also Shabb. vii. 2, המצוי מרשות לרשות. See note on ver. 29.

On this we kept Sabbath in the heavens. Similarly it is said in vi. 18 that the feast of weeks was celebrated by the angels in heaven till the days of Noah. The writer most probably held that the other feasts were likewise observed in heaven. The sabbath and the feast of weeks, however, are the two chief feasts in the eyes of the writer. According to Ber. rabba 11 even the godless in Gehenna had rest on the Sabbath.

31. *Blessed it, i.e., Israel.* MSS omit "it" but we have only (with Barth and Littmann) to emend bāraka into bārakā to restore it.

He did not sanctify all . . . nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone. Cf. ii. 19. The Sabbath was the special privilege and distinction of Israel. Hence it could not be rightly observed on earth till Jacob's time (see ii. 23 note). It was to be a special sign between God and Israel (ii. 21), as it was already a sign in heaven between

nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone He permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 32. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 33. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification, 4-14. Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion, 15-29. Law of covering one's shame enacted, 30, 31. Adam and Eve live in Êldâ, 32-35. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.).

III. And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name. 3. And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. 4. And the Lord said unto us: "It is not good that the

God and the two chief orders of angels (ii. 17). As no such sign existed between God and the inferior angels (who are inferior to Israel, see ii. 2 note), so none existed between God and the Gentiles.

33. *A law for ever unto their generations* = חקק עולם לדורות, Exod. xxvii. 21; Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14, etc.

III. 1-2. Cf. Gen. ii. 19. G is found

in Syncellus, pp. 7-8: τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν Ἀδὰμ τὰ ἀγρία θηρία θείῳ τινὶ χάρισματι, τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ κτήνη, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν τὰ πετεινά· τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ ἔρπετά· τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ νηκτά.

3. Cf. Gen. ii. 20. *Found.* So Mass., Sam.; but LXX, Syr. and Vulg. = "was found."

man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him." 5. And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. 6. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she will be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband." 7. Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 8. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their

4. Gen. ii. 18. *Let us make.* So also LXX and Vulg. Mass., Sam., Syr. = "I will make."

5-6. Creation of woman on the 13th day of the creation. Cf. Gen. ii. 21-23. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21 the rib is said to have been the 13th on the right side. On the Talmudic theories as to the hermaphroditic character of Adam before the creation of Eve see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² p. 211.

5. *One rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib . . . from amongst his ribs.* Text literally = "one bone from amongst his bones and this rib (or side) . . . from amongst his bones."

6. [*My*] *wife.* The "my" I have bracketed as an interpolation. It is found also in the Eth. vers. of Gen. ii. 23, but in no other important version.

Her husband (חַתָּן). So also Sam., LXX, and Onkelos against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. which omit the pronoun.

7. Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

They shall be one flesh. So also Mass. and Onkelos, but Sam. (וְהָיוּ כְּשֶׁנֶּחָד); LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. = "they twain shall be one flesh." This latter

is followed in Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7; Eph. v. 31, and seems to have the older attestation.

8. *First week . . . second week.* MSS read "seventh" instead of "week" in both cases. We obtain the right sense by simply emending *sāb'ēt* into *sab'at*.

8-14. *Commandment was given to keep in their defilement, etc.* In this passage our author either invents historical grounds or else adopts an already existing legend to account for the commands given in Lev. xii. 2-5. According to Lev. xii. 2, 5 a mother was to be unclean seven days if she bore a man child, and was not to enter the sanctuary till thirty-three days later, in all forty days; and she was to be unclean fourteen days if she bore a maid child, and was not to enter the sanctuary for sixty-six days later, in all eighty days. This law, our author says, was based on the fact that Adam was created at the close of the first week and did not enter the Garden till forty days after his creation, and Eve was created at the close of the second week and did not enter the Garden till eighty days after her creation. This peculiar idea reappears

defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. 9. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered

in various works. Thus in Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 21 (translated by Aucher from the Armenian), where Philo is dealing with the creation of woman from the rib of the man, the text appears to recall the views of our author: Siquidem ut perfectior et (si liceat dici) duplicior est viri formatio formatione mulieris: sic etiam dimidio tempore opus habuit, diebus videlicet xl, ubi imperfectae atque, ut ita dicam, dimidia viri sectioni, scilicet mulieri, (opus esset) duplici mensura, nempe diebus lxxx. Our text was certainly before Syncellus, i. 8-9, εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κτίσεως . . . εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ βοηθὸς Εὐὰ, ἐν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτῆς . . . διὰ τοῦτο προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ, ἥτοι διὰ τὰς μετὰ τὴν πλάσιν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἡμέρας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐπὶ μὲν ἀρρενογονίας ἀκάθαρτον αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ θηλυτοκίας ἕως ἡμερῶν π'. ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἀδὰμ τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰσήχθη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὗ χάριν καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσφέρουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐπὶ δὲ θήλεος ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα, διὰ τε τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς εἰσοδὸν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τοῦ θήλεος πρὸς τὸ ἄρσεν. ἄφεδρος γὰρ πάλιν οὕσα οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον. ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχίωσα, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς πλάσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.

In the Book of Adam and Eve translated by Malan in 1882 from the Ethiopic we find an undoubted reminiscence of our text. Thus in i. 74 and 75 it is recounted that Adam made

an offering for Cain when he was forty days old and an offering for Cain's twin sister Luluwa when she was eighty days old, when Eve and her daughter approached the altar. Anastasius Sinaita (flor. 7th cent.) in his *Anagogic. contemplat. in Hexaem.* (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 83; Migne's *Bibliotheca Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 967) is the first to refer directly to our text: Unde Hebraei ex libro qui non est redactus in canonem qui quidem dicitur Testamentum Protoplastorum, dicunt quadagesima die ingressum esse Adam in Paradisum; sicut etiam videtur cuidam historico chronographo Pyrrhoni, et quibusdam expositoribus. The Pyrrho here mentioned by Anastasius is likewise referred to by Glycas as the source of this statement. Syncellus (p. 8) is the next to use our text: εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. Subsequently Glycas (circ. 1150), in his *Βιβλος Χρονική* (pp. 392-393, ed. Bekker), quotes our text with disapproval: ἡ δὲ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν συγγραφεῖσα καὶ ὅπως, φησὶν ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέρας μ' εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἡ δὲ Εὐὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας π', καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐν ἡμέραις τοσαύταις προσάγονται τῷ νάφ τό τε ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ἀναλόγως τάχα τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὐὰ. On p. 156 Glycas tells us that Pyrrho in his history writes that Adam did not enter the Garden of Eden till the 40th day after his creation, and then adds ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ διέτριβε πρότερον ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου τεσσαράκοντα διάγων ἡμέρας.

On the other hand Beer (*Das Buch des Jubiläen*, p. 40) points out that there is not a trace of such a legend in Rabbinic literature, and that on the contrary it is declared in Shabbath 135a (דורות הראשונים יוכיחו שאין אמו במאה לירה) (ונומל לשכנה) that the regulations in Lev. xii. 2-5 had no currency before

into the garden of Eden. 10. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables in regard to her that gives birth: "if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. 11. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days." 12. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. 13. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute

the legislation of Moses. Yet, notwithstanding Beer's statement, the tradition in our text is not without attestation in Judaism. Thus in the Midrash Tadshe xv. (see Jellinek's edition in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 164-193 or Eppstein in *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887), "Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain seven days of purification for a woman who had borne a male child and fourteen days for her who had borne a female? This is to recall the creation of the first Adam who was created in seven days †in the first† of the first week, (and) the creation of Eve, who was taken from one of his ribs in the second week. So Pinchas ben Jair (פנחס בן יאיר). The sages however say that both were created on the eve of the Sabbath, the sixth day. Wherefore did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain that she who had borne a male should enter the temple after forty days, and that she who had borne a female after eighty days? To recall that which God did regarding the first Adam who was created outside the Garden of Eden and did not enter till later."

We observe here that the above statements are attributed to Pinchas. They go back ultimately to our text. As references to Pinchas, Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxi. 92, 1890) mentions Chullin 7 b, Kethuboth 46 a, Sota 49 a, Ber. rabba 60.

10. *The heavenly tables*: In my note on xlvii. 3 of the Eth. Enoch I have touched on the origin and development of the idea underlying this expression, and to this I must refer the reader. The phrase is found in the Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2, Test. XII. Patriarch. Levi v.; Asher. ii., vii. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in Enoch and Test. XII. Patriarch. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple: whereas in our text, in addition to these significations, it implies at times little more than a contemporary heavenly record of events. In fact, in our author, the heavenly tables are the divine statute book of the Theocracy of which the Mosaic law is the reproduction on earth, or a mere contemporary record of events, or finally they recount the

of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. 14. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. 15. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the ^{1-7 A.M.} garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage. 16. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being

future history of the world either predictively or else determinatively. One meaning, moreover, passes imperceptibly into another. Thus those tables record: (1) Laws levitical, criminal, and chronological, in some instances predetermined and previously observed in heaven, in others established for the first time on earth: purification after childbirth, iii. 8-14; law as to covering one's nakedness, iii. 31; as to murder and those who witness it, iv. 5; as to retribution, iv. 32; as to the judgment of sinners, v. 13; as to the feast of weeks, vi. 17 and the divisions and length of the year, vi. 29-35; as to circumcision, xv. 25-26; as to the seed of Lot, xvi. 9 and the feast of tabernacles, xvi. 29; as to the feast of the lord, xviii. 19; as to the Philistines, xxiv. 33; as to the marriage of the elder daughter, xxviii. 6; as to the man who gives his daughter to a Gentile, xxx. 9; as to tithes, xxxii. 15; as to the incestuous person, xxxiii. 10; as to the Sabbath, l. 13. (2) Merely a contemporary event: the naming of Abraham as a friend of God, xiv. 9, and of Levi, xxx. 20; Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah, xxxi. 32. (3) Predictions and predeterminations: as to the judgment, v. 13; as to the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 32.

15. *Seven years.* According to Ber. rabba 18, Sanh. 38*b*, and *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7 (translated by Bezold),

Adam was only six hours in the Garden. MS *a* of the Slavonic Enoch xxxii. 2 states that Adam was only five and a half hours in Paradise. This last clause looks like a Christian interpolation, and may point to the 5500 years which were to elapse before the coming of Christ according to the early Fathers.

Instructed him . . . for tillage. In Is. xxviii. 26-29 this instruction is attributed to God; but in Ber. rabba 24 it is assigned, as in our text, to the angels: also in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, 22 (Kautzsch, *Apoc. und Pseud.* ii. 515) it is stated that God sent Michael with certain seeds to Adam, and with orders to instruct him in husbandry.

Is suitable. So Barth and Littmann take *zajâstar'î* as representing זָאָר in the Hebrew. See on ii. 29. But the ordinary sense of the word, "is revealed," may be right here. See preceding note.

16. *Naked . . . and was not ashamed.* Gen. ii. 25.

Protected the garden from the birds, etc. The Greek is found in Glycas (p. 206, ed. Bekker): ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεσώβει τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ ἐρπετά, συνῆγε τὸν καρπὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ καὶ σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσθιεν αὐτόν.

[*And put aside . . . kept*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Here "which was being kept" = τὸ φυλασσόμενον = תְּשׁוּבָה הַשְּׂמֵרָה, a corrupt dittography of תְּשׁוּבָה הַשְּׂמֵרָה = τὸ καταλειφθέν, "the residue" (or הַנִּשְׁמָר of הנשאר).

kept]. 17. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in 8 A.M. the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, "Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" 18. And she said to it, "Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." 19. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil." 20. And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. 21. And when she had first covered her shame with fig-leaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. 22. And he took fig-leaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and covered his shame. 23. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . 24. And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

19. See on ver. 32. Cf. Syncellus i. 13: 'Εκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως: τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει παρέβη καὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐξερρίφησαν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως, . . .

23. Cf. Gen. iii. 14. At the close of this verse I have marked a lacuna in the text; for Glycas (p. 206) affirms that according to Jubilees the serpent had originally four feet: ὁ ὄφης ἀπὸ κτήνους ἐρπετὸν ἐγένετο, χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας ἐκέκτητο. ἀφηρέθη δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τολμῆρῶς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσελθεῖν. Syncellus (i. 14) states that the serpent had originally four feet. The text,

therefore, most probably contained some statement relative to the cutting off of the serpent's feet. Such a statement would follow naturally on Gen. iii. 14 "upon thy belly thou shalt go." Indeed in the Targ., Ps.-Jon., Gen. iii. 14 we find this very statement גלגל יצאנה, "and thy feet will be cut off." According to the Midrash Koheleth "the ministering angels came down and and cut off its hands and feet." Finally Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1. 4) writes that the serpent was deprived both of language and feet, ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν . . . ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε.

voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: "I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." 25. And to Adam also He said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 26. And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. 27. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. 28. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue. 29. And He

24. *I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains*, etc. Gen. iii. 16.

Thy pains. So also LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., and Vulg. = "thy conception" (הריון).

Thy return = ἡ ἀποστροφή σου. So also LXX and Syr. = תשובתך instead of Mass. and Sam. תשוקתך = "they desire."

25-26. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. *Of the tree* = ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. The text is "of that tree," but the demonstrative is a rendering of the Greek art. as frequently.

Thy bread. So LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit "thy."

To the earth . . . for earth . . . unto earth. As LXX uses γῆ to render the two Hebrew words ארמה and עפר, so did the Greek version of Jubilees.

27. Here the writer antedates the incense-offering mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34. According to Aboda zara 8a Adam offered an ox whose horns were of earlier growth than its hoof (Beer, *Buch der Jub.* p. 40).

From the day when he covered his shame. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42, where the priests are bidden to cover their nakedness with breeches when at the altar, may have been in the mind of the writer, as Beer (*op. cit.* p. 41) suggests.

28. This was undoubtedly a current belief among certain sections of the Jews. Thus it is stated without question in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4 ὁμοφωνοῦντων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τῶν ζώων πάντων. It appears also in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 18 and in

sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them. 30. And to Adam alone did

some form is implied in Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32 (Armen.). Both our text and Josephus are quoted as teaching this view in Syncellus, i. 14, τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἔρπετα φησὶν ὁ Ἰώσηππος καὶ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις ὁμόφωνα εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις. This statement is repeated in Cedrenus, i. pp. 9-10; Zonaras, i. p. 23. It seems implied in the text that the common original language of men and animals was Hebrew. That Hebrew was the primitive language of man, at any rate, was universally believed among the Jews. Thus according to the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xi. 1 all men originally spoke Hebrew, which was the language by means of which the world was created: בְּלִשָּׁן קִדְשָׁא הָיוּ כִּמְלִלִין קִדְשָׁא בִּיהַ עֲלָמָא. (Cf. also Ber. rabba 18, 31.) In xii. 25, 26 of our text it is called "the tongue of the creation," which "had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel)" till the days of Abraham. In Cedrenus, i. 22, however, the legend is differently preserved. Because Eber refused to join in building Babel he did not lose his original language—the language that Adam spoke—like the rest of his contemporaries—τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχέσεως ἢ τοῦ "Ἐβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἣ καὶ Ἀδὰμ ἐλάλει. Hence his descendants called themselves Hebrews and their language Hebrew, and the names of the patriarchs are a proof that Hebrew was the pre-Babel language—καὶ ταύτην οἱ τοῦτον διαδεξάμενοι ἀπόγονοι πατρωνιμικῶς εἰπὺς τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προσηγόρευσαν καὶ Ἑβραῖδα τὴν φωνὴν ἐκάλεσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πρὸ τῆς συγχύσεως φωνὴν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα. This view is likewise Jewish: it is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11. But while some Syriac writers such as John bar Madani and Jacob of Serugh admitted this claim, others like Theodoret, *Quaest. in*

Gen. lx.-lxi., St. Ephraem, and Barhebraeus (see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 313, 314) were just as confident of the absolute priority of their own language, while Solomon Baisorensis reconciled both views by declaring that originally Syriac and Hebrew were one and the same.

In *Die Schatzhöhle* (transl. by Bezold), p. 29, the priority of Syriac is polemically maintained: "Von Adam his damals redeten sie alle in dieser Sprache, nämlich in der syrischen Sprache . . . denn diese Sprache ist die Königin aller Sprachen. Die früheren Schriftsteller aber irren, indem sie sagen, das Hebräische sei die erste gewesen."

Other writers again asserted that Greek was the primitive speech of mankind. To this last view Eutychius (Nazam, al.-j. pp. 53, 54, quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 245, 6) assents in these words. "This approves itself to me. For the Greek language is wiser, clearer and broader than either the Hebrew or the Syriac." The same view must have been held by the writer who first derived the name Adam from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters of the world—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. See Slav. En. xxx. 13 (note); Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-26. As for later Jewish ideas on this subject we find, Sanh. 38 b, that Adam spoke Aramaic, אַרַם, הראשון בלשון ארמי, because Ps. cxxxix., which was supposed to be written by him, contained an Aramaic (?) word. In Shabb. 12^b on the other hand one is bidden not to pray in Aramaic, שאין בלאמי השתה כסרין בלשון ארבי, because the angels of Service do not understand Aramaic (quoted in Levi's *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 168). According to Abarbanel, in his exposition of Zephaniah, fol. 276, col. 1 (see Eisenmenger, ii. 778), Hebrew was the language spoken before the building of Babel and should ultimately be that of all Israelites.

He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle. 31. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tables as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves. 32. And on the new moon of the fourth ^{8 A.M.} month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. 33. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 34. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he knew her. 35. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

31. This verse is of great importance from the historical standpoint. It constitutes an emphatic protest on the part of the writer against the adoption by his countrymen ("those who know the judgment of the law") of the customs of the Greeks. The custom, which he here protests against, is the exposure of the person in the Greek palaestra, which was established under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12). Here many of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves and joined in the public sports as Greek athletes. Even the priests of the Temple forsook their duties to join in these heathen games. On the institution of these and other Greek customs see 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 9-14; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. It is hardly possible to conceive the shock that such conduct must have given to the religiously disposed amongst the nation, and especially to such a Pharisee of the Pharisees as our author. In order to emphasise his protest against it he did not turn to the laws in Exod. xx. 26, xxx. 34, for these had only to do with the dress of the officiating priest, but to Gen. iii. 21 where he found ample justification for extending the law of covering one's shame to all men. This law, he asserts, was enacted im-

mediately after the expulsion of Adam from Eden, *i.e.*, immediately after the discovery of his nakedness. Subsequently (vii. 20) he represents Noah as enjoining the observance of this ordinance on his children.

32. *On the new moon of the fourth month* (see note on vi. 23). Syncellus (i. p. 13) says that Adam spent forty-five days in the garden after his transgression. This agrees with our text; for, according to iii. 17, Adam sinned on the 17th of the 2nd month and the expulsion followed on the 1st of the 4th.

In the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. Can 'Êldâ be a corruption of מולדה? In that case "land of 'Êldâ" would mean "land of nativity." The phrase "land of their creation" is an interpretation of the words in Gen. iii. 23 "whence he was taken," which are reproduced in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. as "whence he was created" (אֲתַכְרִי), as in our text.

34. Thus Eve was a virgin till after the expulsion from Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 1883), p. 7: Als Adam und Heva aus dem Paradies herausgegangen . . . sie waren jungfräulich.

35. Cf. iii. 15.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, 13-15: Enoch and his history, 16-25. Four sacred places, 26. Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, 27, 28. Death of Adam and Cain, 29-32. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, 33. (Cf. Gen. iv.-v.).

4-70 A.M. IV. And in the third week in the second jubilee she
 1-77 A.M. gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to
 8-84 A.M. Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter 'Âwân.
 9-105 A.M. 2. And in the first (year) of the third jubilee, Cain slew
 Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did
 not accept the offering of Cain. 3. And he slew him in
 the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven,
 complaining because he had slain him. 4. And the Lord
 reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him,

IV. 1. 'Âwân. A second daughter named 'Azûrâ (iv. 8) was born later. Cain married the elder 'Âwân, i.e. אָוָן, "wickedness," and Seth the younger, 'Azûrâ. The derivation of the latter is doubtful. Frankel (*Monatsschrift f. Gesch. des Judenthums*, 1856, 311-316) thinks that it is from עֲזוּרָה = "chaste" (?). Probably it is from אֲזוּרָה, "well guarded" (cf. Syriac Fragment |;וי|). No two of later writers agree as to the forms of these names. According to the Syriac Fragment they were Aswa and Azura: in Epiphanius, Σανή and 'Αζουρά: in Syncellus, 'Ασαννᾶν ('Ασαννά, 'Ασανπᾶν, 'Ασανπά, 'Ασανάμ) and 'Αζουρά. In Glycas and Joel 'Αζουρά ('Αζουρᾶν) is made the elder and 'Ασανάμ the younger. Quite different names are given in the Pseudo-Methodius, i.e., Καλημέρα and Λεβόρα. Again the elder appears as Qalmana in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel and Pseudo-Methodius (Lat. vers.), as Luva in the Book of Adam and Eve, as Azrun in Eutychius, while the younger is Lebuda in Barhebraeus, Aklejâm in the Book of Adam and Eve, and Owain or Laphura in Eutychius. (See Rönsch,

pp. 373-374, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 109 sqq.)

According to Syncellus (i. 14) Cain was born in the year 70 A.M., Abel in 77, and Asouam (i.e. 'Âwân) in 85. Though the dates are left indefinite in our text they are no doubt derived from it. Thus Cain married Âwân in the year 135 according to Syncellus, between 134-140 according to our text. 'Âwân was then fifty years old (Syncellus).

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

2. *The sacrifice of Abel.* So *a. b c d* read "the sacrifice at his hand."

Offering. *a c*, but *b d* omit.

Of Cain. So *a. b c d* "at the hand of Cain."

3. *Complaining* or "making suit." Cf. Gen. iv. 10; Eth. Enoch xxii. 5, 6. According to Syncellus (i. 14) Abel was twenty-two years old when he offered his sacrifice on the new moon of the seventh month. Thus the words "in the first of the third jubilee" are to be taken as the first year of the jubilee = 99 A.M. For the later traditions as to the instrument with which Cain slew Abel, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 113.

and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth.

5. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, "Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other." 6. And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week (99-127) they became joyful, and Adam knew his wife again, and she 130 A.M. bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said

"God has raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him." 8. And in the sixth week he begat his daughter 'Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took 134-140 A.M. 'Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the 190-196 A.M. first week of the fifth jubilee, houses were built on the earth, 197 A.M. and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of

4. Cf. Gen. iv. 11, 12. *A fugitive.* Text nûha is a corrupt transliteration of נָפֵץ, Gen. iv. 12.

5. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 24. *Treacherously* = δόλφ, the LXX rendering of בְּסֵתֶר in Deut. xxvii. 24. The phrase ba'ekûj bears the same meaning in xxix. 7, xxx. 3. In viii. 9 it = "secretly."

6. *Sin . . . committed in heaven.* On this old Semitic idea of the possibility of sin in heaven, see my Slavonic Enoch pp. xxxiv. sqq.

7. *Mourned for Abel four weeks of years.* As Abel was born in 77, and was twenty-two years old according to Syncellus and our text (see verse 3, note) when killed by Cain, the twenty-eight years of mourning extend from 99 to 127. The Greek is found in Syncellus (i. 15): ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἐβδομαδικούς τέσσαρας, ἡγουν ἔτη εἰκοσι ὀκτώ.

Became joyful. The sense may be the same as in Gen. xviii. 12, "After I am waxed old, shall I have pleasure?"

He called. So Sam. ויקרא, but Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk., of Gen. iv. 25 read "she called." In Jubilees it is generally the father that names the child; whereas in J of Genesis it is the mother, except in iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26; Exod. ii. 22.

For he said. So LXX and Vulg. but wanting in Mass. and Sam.

8. 'Azûrâ. See note on iv. 1. 'Azûrâ was born in the sixth week of the third jubilee (134-140) or of the fourth (183-189).

9. *Bare him Enoch*, etc. Cf. Gen. iv. 17. Syncellus (i. 16) ascribes to this Enoch the invention of the plough.

Cain built a city, and called its name . . . Enoch. Cain therefore ceased to be a wanderer. The Book of Jashar, 96, plays on the name Enoch and gives

his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of the fifth jubilee Seth took 'Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth week) she bare him Enos. 12. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. 13. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos

25-231 A.M.

235 A.M.

09-315 A.M.

it the sense of rest in this connection. ויקרא את שם העיר חנוך בשם בנו כי הנח לו יי בארץ בימים ההם.

10. *Yet nine sons.* Reproduced in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (vol. I. i. 528: ed. Oehler): Γεγονάσι δὲ τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἄλλοι υἱοί, ὡς ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις περιέχει, ἐννέα μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τοὺτους ὡς εἶναι αὐτῷ οὓς μὲν θυγατέρας, ἄρρενας δὲ δεκάδύο. The Book of Jashar speaks of three sons and three daughters of Adam. Syncellus (i. 18) assigns to him thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, gives the names of these sons: Acliseel, Suris, Aclamiel, Brabal, Naalt, Harama, Zasam, Maathal, Anath.

11. Cf. Gen. iv. 26. *Fourth (year of the sixth week).* The lacuna here is supplied from Syncellus. According to Syncellus (i. 17) Seth marries in the year υκέ (= 425), and Enos was born in the year υλέ (= 435). Thus there was an interval of ten years between the marriage of Seth and the birth of Enos. It will be observed that there is a difference of 200 years between the dates assigned by Jubilees and those by Syncellus, and that in the following ten dates relating to the same events respectively both books agree in the tens and units but differ in the hundreds.

	According to Jubilees.	According to Syncellus.
Seth born .	130	230
Azûrâ born .	134	234
Seth marries		
Azûrâ .	225	425
Enos born .	235	435
Cainan born .	325	625
Cain marries		
Mûalêlêt .	390	790
Mahalalel born	395	795
Jared born .	461	960
Enoch born .	522	1122

This addition of centuries to the dates in Jubilees rising progressively

from one to six Syncellus carried out in the service of his chronological system (see Rönsch, 285 sq.).

12. *He began.* So LXX and Vulg. implying לָקַח.

Began to call, etc. The two great versions, the LXX and Syr., agree rightly with Jubilees in giving this sense to Gen. iv. 26. It was also so understood by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1, but when we come down to Jerome's time, most Jewish scholars held that the verse recounted the rise of idolatry (*Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 26: Tunc initium fuit invocandi nomen Domini, licet plerique Hebraeorum aliud arbitrentur, quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine ejus fabricata sint idola). This latter interpretation may have arisen as early as the first cent. A.D.; for it is found in Onkelos ("the children of men ceased praying"—אֲנָשִׁים . . . לֹא קָרְאוּ). By Ps.-Jon. the commencement of idolatry is derived from Gen. iv. 26 by taking קָרַח as = profanari. Ber. rabba 23 recounts that men were exposed to demons in the days of Enos, and that then for the first time they made for themselves idols. Shabbath 118b speaks of man committing idolatry like Enos. The same idea recurs in the Book of Jashar and a closely related one in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20. Yet even in this book traces of the older view survive; for astrology, divination and idolatry are assigned to Serug's days, though Serug and his sons are said to have had no part in these things (xxvii. 9). Indeed, in the Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1090), it is said that Seth called his son Enos because "men began to corrupt themselves and forsake God for idols."

13-15. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared.

13, 14. Cf. Gen. v. 9, 12.

took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name 325 A.M. Kenan. 14. And at the close of the eighth jubilee Kenan 386-392 A.M. took Mûâlêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week in the third year 395 A.M. of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. 15. And 449-455 A.M. in the second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared; for 461 A.M. in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth,

13. *Nôâm*. Cf. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl.* Lib. p. 41, Noaba.

Kenan. Eth. Kâinân.

14. *Mûâlêlêth* (so also Syr.) is a feminine form of *Malâlêl* (= מללללל) = "she who praises God."

Mahalalel. Eth. *Malâlêl*.

15. Cf. Gen. v. 15. *Barâkî'êl* (= ברכיא).

Took unto him to wife . . . the daughter of his father's brother. It will be observed that from the descent of the angels onwards men cease to marry their sisters. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 7) remarks: *πλατυνθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . λοιπὸν οὐκέτι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς πρὸς γάμον ἤγοντο, ἀλλὰ εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο*. The last clause appears, as Rönisch (p. 254) has already remarked, to be taken from Jubilees. This book is cited by Epiphanius in the preceding chapter under its twofold name of *Ἰωβηλαῖα* and *Λεπτογένεσις*.

Father's brother. MSS read *'êhta 'abûhû* = "father's sister"; but I have emended this into *'êhwa 'abûhû*, since we find the latter in the Syriac Fragment and in the Greek MS *r* on Gen. v. 15 (*πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ*) and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 7: *εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο*. In similar cases in the sequel the same emenda-

tion is made on the authority of the Syriac and Greek, save in viii. 6 and xi. 7 where the Ethiopic preserves the true text.

Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended. We have here a play on Jared's name in the original, ירד . . . בי במיומלאכי אלפים ירדו.

The angels of the Lord descended on the earth. The later Jewish form of the myth relating to the fall of the angels and their intercourse with the daughters of men is constructed on Gen. vi. 1-4 and Is. xxiv. 21. The true interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is undoubtedly that given in our text, the Enoch literature, Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Philo, Jude, Peter, Josephus, Justin Martyr, and most of the early Christian writers (see my Eth. Enoch vi. 2, note). But probably at the close of the first cent. A.D., or earlier, Jewish scholars protested against this interpretation. Thus (Ber. rabba 26) R. ben Jochai (early in second cent.) cursed any one who translated Gen. vi. 2 by the phrase "sons of God," and not "sons of the judges." Similarly, the Jew Trypho condemns this interpretation, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 79. In the Samaritan Version (*בני שלמניה*), and the Targum of Onkelos (*בני רברביא*), and Symmachus (*υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων*) we have it rendered as = "sons of the mighty." In the Book of Jasher (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1097) the sons of God were "judges and magistrates." In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. vi. 2 we have both interpretations side by side, and also in the

those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do

Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 11-xxv. 8. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 42, gives simply the biblical words. Similarly, on the Christian side the traditional interpretation came in due time to be denounced, and "the sons of God" were taken to be the good amongst mankind, the descendants of Seth, and the daughters of men to be the descendants of Cain. So Julius Africanus: οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ δίκαιοι (see below). Next, while Hilary (ob. 368), *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., contents himself with discrediting the old myth, Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1, says that it is necessary to examine this passage carefully in order to subvert the fables of thoughtless praters—ἀναγκαῖον τούτου τοῦ χωρίου πολλὴν τὴν ἐρευναν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀναστρέψαι τὰς μυθολογίας τῶν ἀπερισκέπτως πάντα φθεγγομένων. These fables rest on a false exegesis; for, as he proceeds to show, the sons of God were the posterity of Seth and Enos—οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ καὶ τοῦ Ἐνὼς. Jerome, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., and Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23. 4, pour discredit and contempt on the old myth. Now concurrently with the increasing acceptance of the new interpretation, there necessarily set in the growing importance of Seth, the ancestor of the righteous generations described in Gen. vi. 1-4 as "the sons of God." In this process of glorification the superhuman achievements and characteristics originally connected with other names were gradually transferred to Seth, and this notably in the case of Enoch. Thus in consequence of this new exegesis the star of Enoch paled before that of Seth. In dealing with such literature this is an important fact, since we are thus frequently justified in applying to Enoch the statements of later Christian writers regarding Seth. We shall now show how subordinate the figure of Enoch becomes in later writers, while the glorification of Seth proceeds apace. First of all in Africanus, who lived about the beginning of the third cent., we have, so far as I am aware, the first occurrence amongst Christians of the new exegesis of Gen. vi. 1-4. He adds, it is true, the old view, but he does not approve of it.

His exposition is given in Syncellus (i. 34 sq.): πλῆθους ἀνθρώπων γενομένου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. ἐν ἐνόιοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. μυθεύεται δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σῆθ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ προσαγορεύονται, διὰ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενεαλογουμένους δικαίους τε καὶ πατριάρχας ἀχρὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Καὶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλεῖ σποράν, ὡς οὐδέ τι θείον ἐσχηκότας διὰ πονηρίαν γένους. . . . εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τῶν περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας. . . . ταῖς γυναῖξιν τὴν γνώσιν παραδεδωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαντο παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας. (Cf. also i. 16 sq.) When we pass from this writer to the sixth cent. Book of Adam and Eve, we find that the new interpretation has ousted the old from the field. Thus the Watchers are throughout described as the sons of Seth, and in Book III. chap. iv. the question is discussed at length: the wise men who said that angels had come down from heaven and mingled with the daughters of men had erred: such actions, moreover, were impossible for spiritual beings. These "angels of God" were the children of Seth who were thus designated so long as they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory. But they transgressed and mingled with the daughters of Cain. It is observable that whereas Seth is an extraordinary and superhuman personage in this work, there is nothing notable said of Enoch save that "he wrote a celebrated book" and that "many wonders happened to him . . . but those wonders may not be told in this place." For the same view as to the Watchers, see *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 8-10. Our next illustration consists of an anonymous extract prefixed to the works of Malala (*circa* 600), quoted by Fabricius, i. 151: ὁ δὲ Ἀδὰμ σ' ἔτῳ ἦν ὅτε ἐγέννησε τὸν Σῆθ' οὗτος ὁ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἐβδομάδας καὶ τοὺς ἀστροὺς ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

judgment and uprightness on the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, and her name 512-518 A.M.

καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν μὲν α' πλανήτην ἀστέρα ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ β' Δία, τὸν δὲ γ' Ἄρεα, τὸν δὲ δ' Ἀφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ ε' Ἑρμῆν. τοὺς γὰρ δύο φωστῆρας ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε. These words form on the whole a reasonable description of the achievements assigned to Enoch in the two books of Enoch, in Jubilees, and the early Christian writers. They are found verbatim in the *Chronography of Joel*, p. 3 (ed. Bekker, 1836). Next, in the *Annals* of Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria (933-939 A.D.), written in Arabic and translated by Pococke (Migne, tom. 111 col. 913), a vigorous protest is made against the old myth: qui autem errant neque sciunt quid dicant aiunt angelos descendisse ad filias hominum, cum intelligendi sint filii Sethi qui a monte sancto ad filias Caini maledicti descenderunt: Sethiadae enim ob sanctitatem suam et quod montem sanctum incoherent, appellati sunt Bani Elohim, i.e., filii Dei. Similar statements are made in the *Chronikon Paschale*, i. pp. 38, 39 (ed. Dindorf, 1832). In Syncellus (circa 800 A.D.), i. 17, 19 the now prevailing interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is repeated. The descendants of Seth were pious and beautiful, and they lived in the heights over against Paradise according to the command of Adam, but were later seduced through love of the daughters of men (p. 17). Thereupon Syncellus cites Gen. vi. 1. Again, on p. 19 he writes that two hundred Watchers of the posterity of Seth were seduced and descended and took them wives, etc.—οἱ δὲ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ (Σήθ) διακόσιοι ἐγρήγοροι . . . πλανηθέντες κατέβησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, κ.τ.λ. These statements, first made in Eth. En. vi. 4-6, regarding the *two hundred angels* are here transferred to Seth, though Syncellus was perfectly aware of their original bearing; for in the next paragraph he actually cites this chapter of the Eth. En. Again, on pp. 16-17 Seth, just as formerly Enoch, is said to have been carried off by the angels and to have received a revelation regarding the future fall of the Watchers and the Deluge—ὁ Σήθ ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων

ἐμνήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐγρηγόρων καὶ τὰ περὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐσομένου . . . καὶ γενόμενος ἄφαντος ἡμέρας μ' ἐλθὼν ἐξηγήσατο τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ὅσα ἐμνήθη δι' ἀγγέλων. This is an exact account of what was originally attributed to Enoch. In the *Synopsis* of Cedrenus (eleventh cent.) we meet with the same phenomena, but carried one stage further; for, whereas Syncellus first gave his own version of the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of men, and then with remarkable candour the original account from the Book of Enoch, in Cedrenus, on the other hand, the two accounts given by Syncellus are worked up into one, and every incident told of the fallen angels is circumstantially recounted of the posterity of Seth (i. 16-20). In Zonaras (twelfth cent.), i. 26 (ed. Pinder 1841), the current view is given and the older mentioned only to be rejected. When we pass from this author we come to the semi-apotheosis of Seth in the writings of Glycas who lived some thirty or forty years later. Thus in the *Annals* of Glycas (ed. Bekker, 1836), p. 223, Seth is almost regarded as a divine being:—οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ καταγόμενοι—ἐκέλευον γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἔλεγον: and likewise on p. 228, Σήθ . . . θεὸς εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενος. This idea, indeed, had already appeared in Cedrenus, i. 16, ὠνομάσθη δὲ θεὸς διὰ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐν ὄλῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ. Thus Seth has at last become incomparably the chief personage among the early Patriarchs. In Glycas, p. 228, however, the persistency of the original Enoch myth is shown in the words: λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀστράσι τεταγμένος ἄγγελος, ὁ θειότατος δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρὸς γε τὸν Σήθ καὶ τὸν Ἑνώχ κατιῶν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὥρων μηνῶν τροπῶν καὶ ἐναντιῶν διαφοράς. Just as these Christian writers transferred Enoch's functions to Seth, so Jewish writers after the Christian era, though on different grounds, transferred them variously to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, etc. See my

was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she
 522 A.M. bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. And he was

Apocalypse of Baruch, xiii. 3 note, lix. 5-11 notes.

Watchers. The מַשְׁכִּי of Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23, in Greek ἐγγήγοροι. See Eth. En. i. 5 (note), xx. 1, etc.; Slav. En. vii. (notes), xviii. (notes); Test. Reub. v. Thus anciently the watchers were always regarded as an angelic class, but later, owing to a new interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4, they were said to be the descendants of Seth. We have seen in the immediately preceding note how this came about.

Watchers instruct the children of men. In v. 6 it is said that God sent the angels to the earth. The object with which the angels here descended to the earth (see v. 6, viii. 10 note) seems at first sight to clash with that which is seemingly implied in the Eth. Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch (see Eth. Enoch vi. notes). But it is quite possible that our text provides us with the object originally assigned in the myth. In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxv. 2-3 this view is preserved where Shemchazai and 'Azael are represented as receiving permission from God to descend on earth in order to sanctify the divine name among men. When these angels descended they could not resist the attractions of the daughters of men (xxv. 4). Such a view most probably underlies Eth. Enoch vi., lxxxvi. 1. At all events the idea was a familiar one in the Judaism of the second cent. B.C. According to Ethiopic Enoch vi.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-lxxxii. Enoch owed all his supernatural knowledge to the instruction of angels, and according to x. 9-10 of our text Raphael taught Noah the secrets of medicinal herbs, and an angel of the presence instructs Moses throughout our book. The way for such beliefs was prepared by the statements in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, bearing on such offices of the angels. For Talmudic ideas on this subject see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 592-593.

16. Râsûjâl (Gk. MS ῥάσουήλ corrupt for πασουήλ), i.e. אָסוּיָאֵל = "acceptable to God."

Father's brother. Emended from "father's sister," as in ver. 15.

17-23. These verses relating to Enoch are of great importance as they help to determine the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch which were known to the author of our text. The words "the first . . . who learnt writing" may point to the phrase in Eth. Enoch xii. 3, "Enoch the scribe"; xii. 4, xv. 1, "Scribe of righteousness," but there is no certainty. On the other hand the clause "who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book that men might know the seasons of the years, etc." may be accepted as a partial description of Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. To ver. 18 we shall return presently. As regards ver. 19 we can attain to practical certainty. The words "what was and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep as it will happen to the children of men . . . until the day of judgment," form an exact description of the Dream-Visions in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc., which give a history of the world from the creation till the final judgment. Moreover, the next verse is no doubt indebted to Eth. Enoch lxxxv. 3 for the name of Enoch's wife. It will be observed also that the Dream-Visions referred to in ver. 19 are rightly placed before Enoch's marriage recounted in ver. 20. It is twice emphatically stated in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii. 2 and lxxxv. 3 that Enoch had these Visions before his marriage. We need, therefore, entertain no doubt as to our author having been acquainted with Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. Now on other critical grounds we know that Eth. Enoch vi.-xi. are earlier than lxxxiii.-xc. Next, the first clause in ver. 21, "he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years," offers an explanation of Eth. Enoch xii. 1-2, "Before all these events Enoch was translated and no one of the children of men knew whither he was translated, and where he abode, and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the

the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. 18. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and

Watchers and his days were with the holy ones." Since in ver. 22 the clause "testified to the watchers" presupposes such statements as are in Eth. En. xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-2, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq., we may conclude, therefore, that our author had also chapters xii.-xvi. of Eth. Enoch before him. To return to ver. 21 the clause "they showed him everything which is on earth" appears to refer to Enoch's journeys to the four quarters of the earth as well as to its centre under the guidance of various angels in Eth. Enoch xxiii.-xxxvi. The next words "(everything which is) . . . in the heavens" are less clear. They may point to Enoch's translation to heaven in Eth. Enoch xiv. or possibly to the celestial phenomena described in lxxii.-lxxxii. Moreover, the next words, "and the rule of the sun," seem clearly to indicate such a passage as lxxxii. 13-20. We have already seen that the first clause of ver. 22 manifestly implies such a background as Eth. Enoch xii.-xvi. Its second clause, "who had transgressed with the daughters of men," expresses the thought that recurs frequently in these chapters. As regards its third, "unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men," the matter of it is found in xv. 3, 4, but the actual clause word for word is taken from Eth. En. x. 11. Finally ver. 23 points to some tradition like that at the base of Eth. En. lxx., which in its present form is late. From the above, therefore, we conclude that our author refers only to chapters vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. of the Eth. Enoch.

17. *First . . . who learnt writing . . . and . . . wrote down the signs of heaven*, etc. Quoted in the *Σειρά* of Nicephorus, i. 123, on Gen. v. 21: Ἐνὼχ πρῶτος ἔμαθε γράμματα καὶ

ἔγραψε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας and in Cedrenus (i. 17) οὗτος πρῶτος γράμματα μαθήσκει. In Eth. Enoch lxix. 8, however, the first instruction of mankind in writing is ascribed to a Satan. On the other hand, just as we should expect (see note on p. 34), John Malala, p. 5 (ed. Dindorf), attributes Enoch's achievements to Seth: οὗτος ὁ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ . . . καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Similarly Cedrenus (i. 16): ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν κινήσεων σοφίαν ἐπενόησε . . . καὶ τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα συνεγράψατο, and Glycas (p. 228) transfers to the latter the achievements assigned in the *Σειρά* above to Enoch: πρῶτος ἐξεύρεν ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Cf. Joel, *Chron.* p. 3.

Wrote down. On Enoch the Scribe, see Eth. Enoch xii. 3, 4, and on the later developments of this legend consult the Slavonic Enoch xxiii. 1-3. The rest of the verse refers mainly to Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii.

Signs of heaven according to the order of their months. The twelve solar months correspond to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

18. There is nothing in the Eth. or Slav. Enoch about the "weeks of the jubilees" or "the sabbaths of the years." Our author is here at his beloved practice of antedating an event or usage he wishes to commend to his countrymen. We shall find (vii. 37, 38, xxi. 10 note) that he similarly ascribes legalistic elements to Enoch, though there is no ground for regarding the books of Enoch as having ever contained such matter.

recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), known to him. 19. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations. 20. And
 82-588 A.M. in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of
 587 A.M. Dânnêl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah. 21. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything. 22. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all. 23. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold

19. *Saw in a vision*, etc. This verse describes the contents of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.

The day of judgment, i.e. the final judgment. Cf. iv. 24, v. 10.

He . . . placed the testimony on earth. For references to the books of Enoch cf. Eth. En. i. 2, xxxvii. 2-4, lxxii. 1, xcii. 1, xciii. 10, civ. 11-13, Test. XII. Patriarchs (see my *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, etc.).

20. Cf. Gen. v. 21. Ednî is mentioned in Eth. En. lxxxv. 3 where the name is written Edna, as Methuselah's wife is named in iv. 27 of our text where it has the independent support of the Syriac and the Greek. Edna = עֵדְנָה = "delight."

Father's brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

21. *Was with the angels.* See note above on 17-23.

These six jubilees of years. So *d.* A slight change of vocalisation in *b* gives the same meaning. *ac* = "six jubilees in years." This means 294 years.

Everything . . . in the heavens. These words may refer to a fuller tradition than is found in the Eth. Enoch—perhaps to something which subsequently became the groundwork of the Slav. Enoch, as is the case in regard to the tradition in ver. 23.

23. *Conducted him into the Garden of Eden.* Eth. En. lxx. 1-3; Slav. Enoch lxvii. 2.

there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men.

24. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. 25. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices, acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. 26. For the

There he writes down . . . the wickedness of the children of men. Enoch is here the Scribe of God. See iv. 23, x. 17. This idea may be referred to in the Eth. En. xii. 3, 4; it is clearly expressed in the Slavonic Enoch. See my edition xl. 13 note, liii. 2, lxiv. 5.

24. *And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood, etc.* Cf. Slav. Enoch xxxiv. 3: "And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth"; also Test. Naph. 4.

Testify against all the children of men, etc. See x. 17.

Until the day of condemnation. Cf. iv. 19.

25. *Incense of the sanctuary, or "incense in the sanctuary."*

Sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. *bcd* = "acceptable before the Lord on the mountains of the South" (*qatr*). But this use of the word *qatr* is unexampled elsewhere. *a* omits it and writes the preceding word *badabr*. I have taken it as a corruption of *qētârê* = "sweet spices." The words would point back to Exod. xxx. 7, קטרת כמים.

On the Mount. So *a. bcd* read "on the mount of the mid-day (or South)." This mountain may be the mountain of the East. See next note.

26. Three of these places are connected with three decisive turning-points or periods in the history of mankind: the Garden of Eden as the first abode of man; Mount Sinai as the place whence the Law was promulgated, and Zion as the centre of the Theocracy. These three are again mentioned in viii. 19. What the Mount of the East is, I cannot determine. In the *ZDMG*, xi. pp. 730-733 Rapoport is of opinion that the

mountain in question is Mount Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 15 sqq.). He argues that this is the most easterly of the mountains of Palestine; that it contains all the localities of special sanctity among the Samaritans, Gerizim, Sichem, Samaria; that Abraham and Jacob had sacrificed thereon (Gen. xii. 7, xxxiii. 20) just as sacrifices had been offered by Adam in Eden, according to iii. 27 of our text and the Talmud, on Sinai by Moses and on Zion by Israel. But as such an interpretation would imply a Samaritan authorship it is thereby made impossible; for the textual evidence is itself decisive against such authorship. The mention, moreover, of Zion tells in the same direction. There is some probability in the suggestion of Röscher, pp. 505-6, that by the Mount of the East we are to understand Lubar, one of the summits of Ararat, on which the Ark rested and Noah sacrificed, as this lay to the NE. of Palestine and as there would thus be connected with these four places the notable names of Adam, Noah, Moses, David. See viii. 19 (note). On the other hand it is possible that we have here the Mount mentioned in the preceding verse as that on which Enoch offered incense. Now if we may cite the evidence of *Die Schatzhöhle* and the Book of Adam and Eve, Seth and his posterity were commanded by Adam to live on the Mount close to Eden and not to descend to the plain and mingle with the descendants of Cain. Adam's command was observed till the days of Jared. This Mount could rightly be described as the *Mount of the East*. Or again the Mount of the East may be the mountain which is described as the

Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the

652 A.M. world. 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his
1-707 A.M. name Lamech. 28. And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâk'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, "This one will comfort me

throne of God in Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiii. 1-3, on which God will sit when He comes to visit the earth. It is the highest of the seven mountains which are in the neighbourhood of the Garden of Eden. Cf. Eth. Enoch xxxii. 1-2, lxxvii. 3-4. In Enoch, it is true, the Garden of Eden appears to be in the NW., but it is in the east in Jubilees: see viii. 16.

Sanctified in the new creation. See note on i. 29.

27. Cf. Gen. v. 25. *Edna.* See iv. 20 note. According to the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married.

Father's brother. Emended as in 15.

Lamech. The year of Lamech's birth is not mentioned, but it can be determined from the date of Methuselah's marriage furnished by the Samaritan Chronicle. According to it Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married, and as he was born according to our text (iv. 20) in the year 587, Lamech was probably born in the year 654.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. *In the fifteenth jubilee in the third week . . . she bare him a son . . . Noah.* This assigns some year in the period 701-707 as the

birthday of Noah, and 707 is no doubt the year intended. For in the Samaritan Chronicle (see preceding note) it is distinctly stated that 707 years elapsed from Adam to the birth of Noah. We can arrive at this date independently also. With the help of the Samaritan Chronicle we saw in the notes on iv. 27 that Lamech was born in 654. Now according to the same Chronicle Lamech was fifty-three when Noah was born: hence Noah was born in the year 707. On the other hand there is a discrepancy between this date of Noah's birth and that which follows from vi. 18 and x. 16. In the former it is said that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated 1309 years, from the day of creation till the days of Noah, and that Noah observed it 350 years. Hence Noah died in 1659. But since in x. 16 Noah is said to have lived 950 years, this would fix 709 as the year of his birth.

Bêtênôs = בֵּת אֲנוֹשׁ. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. v. 29 gives *βεθενως*: the Syriac = Enoshi.

This one will comfort me. "This one" (ze emended from *za* = which). Our text follows Gen. v. 29 in attributing to the name Noah (נֹחַ) the meaning belonging to Menachem (מְנַחֵם). The Book of Jashar 136 says that Methuselah

for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed." 29. And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year 930 A.M. thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he was the first to be buried in the earth. 30. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." For this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. 31. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst

called the child Noah because the earth would have rest (נח) in his days, but Lamech called him Menachem because "he would comfort us" (נחמנו). The same ideas are found in Ber. rabba 25. These results of learned reflection on Gen. v. 29 appear to be later than Jubilees.

And for the ground. All authorities save the LXX and our text omit "and."

29. *Land of his creation.* See iii. 32 note.

First to be buried in the earth. This shows that the legend, which is attested in the later Life of Adam and Eve (Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 21), that the body of Abel was not buried till that of Adam was, already existed.

30. Cf. Gen. ii. 17. This interpretation of a day as a thousand years was current among the Jews. Cf. Ber. rabba 19, 22. 2 Pet. iii. 8 μία ημέρα παρά Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη. Barnab. *Ep.* xv. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη. See also Slav. En. xxxiii. 1, 2 (note) where the application of this principle of interpretation to the six days creation and the seventh of rest issues in the doctrine of the Millenium. Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* lxxxi.) apparently quotes from the text: ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἶρητο, ὅτι ἡ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθανέται,

ἐγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρήμενον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν. See also Lactantius, *Institution*, vii. 14.

31-32. *Cain was killed . . . in the same year, etc.* In Syncellus, i. 19, the text is partly reproduced: τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ Κάιν ἀπέθανεν, ἐμπεσόντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ οἴκου· λίθοις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀβελ ἀνέειλε. In Cedrenus, i. 16, more fully: οὗτος ὁ Κάιν, ὡς ἡ Λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις φησὶν, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ· λίθοις γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀβελ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λίθοις ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκτάνθη. In the *Excerpta Chronologica* prefixed to the works of John Malala we have this and the later legend given: κατὰ (? μετὰ) δὲ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεσοῦσης ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν· ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι Λαμέχ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. This latter account is found also in Glycas 223, in the Book of Adam and Eve, ii. 13, in Jarchi's *Comm.* on Gen. iv. 23, Tanchuma 6, the Book of Jashar (section Beresheth). For other authorities where the later legend is given see Eisenmenger, i. 470-471. On the other hand, according to Ber. rabba 22, the Rabbis said that he was killed by a stone, but Simeon the son of Gamaliel stated that he was killed by a reed. The latter idea seems to have been suggested by the likeness between יר and נר.

of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment. 32. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him." 33. And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ēmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year thereof she bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare him Japheth.

31. *With a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment, etc.* We have here the primitive human law of retaliation (eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, etc., Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19) described as a law of the divine procedure. This law of exact retribution is not merely an enactment of human justice, our author declares; it is observed by God in his government of the world.

It is noteworthy that the same principle of retribution is enforced by historical examples in 2 Macc. v. 10, where speaking of Jason the author writes: ὁ πλῆθος ἀτάφρων ἐκρίψας ἀπένθητος ἐγενήθη, καὶ κηδίας οὐδ' ἦστινος . . . μετέσχευ. Similarly, it is recounted of Nicanor (xv. 32, 33) that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. Cf. also xiii. 8. In this respect 2 Macc. therefore represents truly this second-cent. B.C. doctrine of retribution. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation; but spiritually conceived it represents the profound truth enunciated repeatedly in the N.T. Thus in Gal. vi. 7 "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"; Col. iii. 25 "he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done"; 2 Cor. v. 10 in the judgment men shall "receive the things done in the body." In the Parables this kinship of the

penalty to the sin is repeatedly dwelt on: the unforgiving debtor is refused forgiveness, the slothful servant loses what he had, he who will not use his affluence to succour a brother's need will lose it for himself, and the man who refuses to part with an offending eye or hand will finally lose his whole body in Gehenna. See note on xlviii. 14.

According to Beer this halachic interpretation of Exod. xxi. 24 is unknown to traditional Judaism, which enacts that the murderer is to be slain with the sword.

33. 'Ēmzârâ. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment and Lagarde's LXX MS γ. Frankel derives it from אֵם שָׂרָה or אֵם שָׂרָה because she lived in the days of the Flood.

Brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

Shem . . . Ham . . . Japhet. Cf. x. 14, where again Shem is represented as the eldest. We should observe here that our author thus understood aright יפֿתֿ הַגִּבּוֹר in Gen. x. 21 as "(Shem) . . . the elder brother of Japhet" (so also Vulg.) over against the Massorettes, Symmachus, and Rashi who wrongly understood it as "brother of Japheth the elder." The LXX is similarly wrong: ἀδελφῶ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μείζονος, Ber. rabba 26, 37, and the Book of Jashar (*in loc.*). On the other hand in Sanhedrin 69 b Shem is said to be two years older than Japhet.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. Corruption of all creation, 2-3. Punishment of the fallen angels and their children, 4-9a. Final judgment announced, 9b-16. Day of Atonement, 17-18. The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi.-viii. 19.)

V. And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. 2. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually. 3. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes. 4. And He said: "I shall destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the

V. 1. Gen. vi. 1, 2, 4. On this myth of the intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men see iv. 15 (note): also my *Eth. Enoch* vi. 1, 2, vii. 1, 2 with notes *in loc.*

Angels of God. This is the LXX rendering of Gen. vi. 2. It is also found in Philo, *De Gigant.* 2 (i. 263 Mangey), Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine and Ambrose. It is the *older Jewish* view, but was condemned probably as early as the first cent. A.D. See note on iv. 15.

To look upon. Correct printer's error *res'i'j* into *re'i'j* in my text.

2. *All flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts.* Gen. vi. 12. From the Book of Jashar 13*b* this seems to mean that different kinds of animals coupled with each other: and that man was guilty of bestiality.

Began to devour each other. *Eth. Enoch* vii. 5.

Lawlessness increased, etc. Cf. Gen. vi. 11.

Every imagination, etc. Gen. vi. 5.

3. Gen. vi. 12.

4, 5. Gen. vi. 7, 8.

4. *I shall destroy.* So *a d. b c* = "He would destroy."

earth which I have created." 5. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. 7. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven. 8. And He said "My spirit will not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." 9. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 10. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed

4. *Which I have created.* Emended from *ab* which = "He had created." Corruption could have arisen from confusion of *ἐκτίσα* and *ἐκτίσε*, as Littmann has pointed out. *cd* = "was created." Possibly we should keep to *b* throughout, and translate "He would destroy . . . which He had created." Cf. vi. 20.

10. *Until the day of the great condemnation, i.e., the day of the final judgment.* See iv. 19, 24. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 13. The intervening period, according to Eth. Enoch x. 12, is seventy generations.

10^b-12. Verses 11-12 if the text is correct teach that God recreated the human race and all His other works at the time of the Flood "so that they should not sin in their whole nature forever, but should be all righteous . . . alway." In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 2 there is a slight approximation to this idea: *ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡγάπησε, κατεδίκασε δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ*

διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρὸν. See also Philo, *De Vita Moses*, ii. 12. But with the subsequent corruption of all the descendants of Noah till the time of Abraham and the universal apostasy of the Gentiles according to our author, such a statement is practically inconceivable. Moreover, it is not difficult to discover the origin of the error in our text. Verses 10^b-16 are descriptive of the final judgment, and simply amplify the last clause of ver. 10. Thus the time of the verbs "destroyed," "was," "made" in 11-12 is wrong and we should have "shall destroy," "shall be" and "shall make." "Judged" must also be rendered "shall have judged," but this last does not necessitate a change in the text of either the Ethiopic or Hebrew. The text therefore should be translated: "Until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment shall be executed on all who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord, 11. And He shall destroy (them) all from their places, and there shall not be left one of them

on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 11. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness. 12. And He †made† for all His works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway. 13. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind. 14. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved. 15. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. 16. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [17. And of the children of Israel it has

whom He shall not have judged according to all their wickedness, 12. And He shall make for all His works, etc." This corruption of the tenses may possibly have arisen in the Ethiopic, or in the Greek, but this is very improbable, as it involves so many changes. On the other hand it is easy to explain the false text as having originated in a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The above passage = ער יום הרין הגרול בהעשות משהפס בכול אשר השחית דרכו ומעשהו לכני והאביר כלם . . . ולא יותר מהם אחר אשר לא . . . ועשה. Here we have to suppose that the Greek translator failed to grasp the sense of the passage and see that והאביר and the other verbs followed

closely on בהעשות, and accordingly rendered them merely as ordinary perfects. See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*,² p. 165.

12. *New and righteous nature.* See note on i. 29.

13. *Heavenly tables.* See note on iii. 10.

From the path. So *d*, where I take the singular suffix to express the article. Otherwise *a b c*, "from their path."

16. Cf. xl. 8; Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated or else transposed here from xxxiv. 18-19 where the historical occasion of this feast is given.

17. Probably based on Jer. xxxvi. 3. Cf. Jer. xviii. 8; Jonah iii. 8.

been written and ordained : If they turn to Him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. 18. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] 19. And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone ; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account ; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. 20. And the Lord said that He would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. 21. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. 22. And Noah made the ark in

18. The time referred to here is obviously the tenth day of the seventh month, *i.e.*, the Day of Atonement. In Lev. xvi. in spite of the terms in verses 16, 21, the sin-offering atoned only for sins committed in error (בשגגה, *akosistos*), *i.e.* accidentally or involuntarily (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, etc.—these are the ἀγνοήματα in Heb. ix. 7), not for those committed deliberately and defiantly (ביר רעה, Num. xv. 30). This is the view enforced in the Mishnic treatise *Yoma* viii. 9: "If a man says I will sin, and then repent . . . Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance ; and if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement,' the Day of Atonement will bring no atonement." On the other hand both in our text and in the treatise *Shebu'oth* i. 6 it is taught that on the Day of Atonement sins of every description are forgiven "both the light and the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, the conscious and the unconscious, those relating to the positive and the negative commands, and even those that were to be visited

with the death penalty by God or human judgment." And yet we must discriminate between the teaching of our text and of the treatise *Shebu'oth* in favour of the former. In the latter the ceremonial was of the nature of an *opus operatum*. In our text, on the other hand, repentance is insisted on : God's mercy is not to be won on the Day of Atonement save by those who turn (ישבו) from their sins. Thus though our text stands midway between the doctrine prescribed in Lev. xvi. (also in the treatise *Yoma*) and the treatise *Shebu'oth*, with the former it prescribes as necessary to atonement the temper of true repentance: with the latter it maintains the efficacy of the atonement for sins of every description.

Once each year = ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (Heb. ix. 7).

19. That the wicked are spared for the sake of the righteous is the idea underlying Gen. xviii. 23-32.

20. Gen. vi. 7 ; cf. ver. 4.

21. Gen. vi. 14. According to vi. 25 of our text this command was given on the new moon of the first month.

all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh 1307 A.M. jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). 23. And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, in the second month, on the new 1308 A.M. moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth evening.

24. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep,
seven mouths in number.

25. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from
the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until
the whole world was full of water.

26. And the waters increased upon the earth :
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high
mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.

27. And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five
months — one hundred and fifty days. 28. And the
ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the

22. *Twenty-seventh jubilee.* So we should emend the reading of all the MSS "twenty-second jubilee." In my text I have by a slip emended the reading into "twenty-sixth jubilee." The fifth year of the fifth week of the twenty-seventh jubilee = 1307 A.M. This agrees exactly with the chronology in the Samaritan Chronicle: "From Adam to the birth of Noah was a period of 707 years, and from Adam to the Flood 1307 years" (Samaritan Chronicle translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 421-469).

23. *Closed it, etc.* Gen. vii. 16.

Seventeenth, etc. Gen. vii. 11.

24. *Seven flood-gates.* Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 2.

Floodgates . . . fountains. Gen. vii. 11. See note on ii. 4.

The great deep. The תהום of Gen. i. 2. See note on ii. 2.

25, 26. Gen. vii. 12, 18, 20. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 3.

27. Gen. vii. 24, viii. 3.

28. Gen. viii. 4. This name Lûbâr recurs in vii. 1 (see note), 17. It is mentioned also in the Midrashic *Book of Noah* (see Appendix I. to my Text) as follows: בלובר הבר כהררי אררט. This verse is reproduced freely by Epiphianus, *Adv. Haer.* I. tom. i. 4: μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπιστάσης τῆς λάρνακος τοῦ Νῶε ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυνέων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὅρει καλουμένῳ. As Nicolaus of Damascus reports (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3.

mountains of Ararat. 29. And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 30. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the
 1309 A.M. mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 31. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry. 32. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-22). God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden, 4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood, 11-14. Bow set in the clouds for a sign, 15-16. Feast of weeks instituted, history of its

6) that according to local tradition the Ark rested on a great mountain in Armenia called Baris above Minyas, Professor Sayce (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.* xiv. p. 389 note) conjectures that this is the mountain named Lubar in our text, seeing that both are said by Epiphanius and Syncellus (see note on vii. 1) to be on the borders of Armenia. I am indebted to him also for the following note in which he seeks to account for the syllable Lu in Lubar. "In the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions Lulu is the country which is called Urartu (Ararat) in Assyria, on the borders of Armenia and Kurdistan, and is almost certainly the Lulubi or Luluwi of the Assyrian inscriptions in which was Mount Nizir

on the top of which the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. *On the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.* In Gen. viii. 14 it is on the seven-and-twentieth day that the earth was dry. Part of this verse and the next is quoted in Lagarde's LXX MS z on Gen. viii. 14: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς ἀνέωξε τὴν κιβωτόν. It will be observed that the earth became dry exactly a year after Noah entered the ark (ver. 23).

32. Cf. Gen. viii. 17, 19.

*observance, 17-22. Feasts of the new moons, 23-28.
Division of the year into 364 days, 29-38.*

VI. And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain. 2. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah. 3. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord. 4. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night

VI. 1. *New moon of the third month.* This date is reproduced in Lagarde's MS z on Gen. viii. 19: *ἐν μῇ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου*. See ver. 11 on the parallel between the covenants on Sinai and Ararat. On this date also the covenant was made with Abraham, xiv. 1 sqq.; and Jacob started to go down into Egypt, xlv. 1.

Built an altar on that mountain. Cf. Gen. viii. 20. The mountain is Lubar. According to Ber. rabba 34 Noah offered this sacrifice in Jerusalem. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. viii. 20 the place is not mentioned, but the altar is identified with that which Adam built.

2. *Made atonement for the earth.* Though Jewish Haggada knows nothing of this particular act of atonement, it is easy to justify such a conception from Lev. xviii. 26-28; Num. xxxv. 33, 34. The earth itself as being defiled needed expiation. Unnatural vices and murder pollute it.

3. *Ox, and a goat, and a sheep, etc.* In Gen. viii. 20 it is said that Noah "took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt-offerings, etc."

Mingled with oil, and . . . wine. These elements are also additions to the statement in Gen. viii. 20 in conformity with later ritual. Cf. Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 2-5.

Frankincense. Lev. ii. 2, 15.

4-7. God makes a covenant with Noah, in which He promises not again to destroy the earth with a flood, makes man ruler over everything that is on the earth, and forbids the eating of blood and murder.

4. *The Lord smelt the goodly savour.* Gen. viii. 21.

Made a covenant . . . not . . . to destroy the earth. Gen. ix. 11.

All the days of the earth, etc. Gen. viii. 22.

should not change their order, nor cease for ever. 5. "And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I shall inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. 6. And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. 7. But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast), shall I require the blood of man. 8. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man. 9. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth." 10: And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout

5. Gen. ix. 7. It is noteworthy that the clause *be a blessing* (וּבְרֵכּוּ) corresponds to "multiply" (וּרְבּוּ) in the parallel in Gen. The latter appears to be corrupt for וּרְבּוּ = LXX καὶ κατακυριεύσατε.

The fear of you, etc. Cf. Gen. ix. 2.

6. Gen. ix. 2, 3.

As the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. From Gen. ix. 3 save the verb "to eat" which, however, is only a repetition of the phrase "for food" in the preceding clause. Of the argument that concluded from those words that only certain herbs were allowed for food, our text knows nothing. This view appears in Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 20 βουλομένου αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν ὡς λάχανα χόρτου . . . ἐπεὶ τῶν χόρτων οὐκ ἐσθλομέν οὕτω καὶ διαστολὴν ἔκτοτε τῷ Νῶε διεστάλθαι φατέ. According to Goldfahn (*Monats-schrift für Gesch. d. Jud.* 1873, 57 sq.) the interpretation here attributed to

Trypho is not found in existing Jewish sources. See Singer, 295 sq.

7. Gen. ix. 4, 5. *Of your lives.* Text = "in your lives" which is a wrong rendering of לִנְשֹׁמֹתֵיכֶם.

(*Beast.*) I have here supplied 'ēnsēsā (= beast) which could easily have fallen out before 'ahšēš = I will require.

8. Gen. ix. 6.

10-14. Noah and his sons swear to the covenant as of perpetual obligation as regards the non-eating of blood (ver. 10). Because this ordinance was of perpetual obligation, it was re-enacted on Mount Sinai; but, whereas in Noah's covenant it had been brought forward only on its negative side, in the Mosaic legislation it was enforced in its positive side, that is, according to the former, blood was not to be eaten, whereas according to the latter its true use was to sprinkle the worshipper (ver. 11) and to make atonement before God (ver. 14). Moreover, as Noah's covenant was instituted in the third

all the generations of the earth in this month. 11. On this account He spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. 12. And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 13. And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually. 14. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out. 15. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. 16. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth

month, so also the Law was given on Sinai in the same month (ver. 11). [In no passage is it said that the covenants of Noah and of Moses were established on the same day in the third month. Such a connection appears to exist between the date of the covenant of Noah and that of the first celebration on earth of the feast of weeks (see notes on verses 17-18).]

11. *A covenant . . . in this month upon the mountain.* The law was given on Sinai in the third month according to Exod. xix. 1.

12, 13. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

14. *Supplicating on their (bc) behalf with blood.* Cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

Morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8.

Forgiveness on your (d. bc "their," a "its") behalf. The reading of *d* is to be preferred on the ground of the parallelism (Littmann).

15-16. Cf. Gen. ix. 13-15. The text after touching on the Mosaic development of the covenant of Noah here returns to the latter (cf. ver. 4), which God confirmed with the sign of the bow in the clouds.

to destroy it all the days of the earth. 17. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. 18. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they eat blood. 19. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain. 20. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. 21. For it is the feast of weeks and the feast

1309-1659
A.M.

17-18. In connection with the covenant Noah is bidden to observe the feast of weeks. Since it follows from xv. 1 (see note) and xlv. 4, 5 that this feast was celebrated on the 15th of the third month (see note on i. 1) we may reasonably assign the promulgation of the Noachic covenant to the same date. Later Judaism (Maimonides, *More Neb.* 41) held Pentecost to celebrate the giving of the Law on Sinai, and designated this day as "the day of the giving of the Law" (יום כותן הורה). So our author (cf. i. 1). This idea is not found in Philo and Josephus; but it appears in Jerome, *Ep. ad Fab.* mansio 12; August. *Contra Faust.* xxxii. 12. Observe that our author ascribes the covenant with Abram to the same date (see note on xiv. 20).

17. *Feast of weeks.* This title is found in Exod. xxxiv. 22 (תַּחֲתֵּי שָׁבֻעַ, ἐορτὴ ἑβδομάδων). Our text is not acquainted with the more familiar designation of this feast, i.e. Pentecost. This designation, which is a Greek rendering, ἡ πεντηκοστή (ἡμέρα), of the rabbinic יום הכששים, is found in 2 Macc. xii. 32 μετὰ τὴν λεγομένην

πεντηκοστήν. Tob. ii. 1 contains another early instance of its use, and Philo, *De Septenar.* 21, a near approach to it. For later instances see 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6.

18. *Twenty-six jubilees and five weeks=1309 years.* On the slight discrepancy in our author's dates see notes on iv. 28 and v. 22.

Seven jubilees and one week=350 years.

Did away with (it) . . . and they eat blood. Here again the close connection of the feast of weeks and of the covenant with Noah is emphasised.

19. *But Abraham.* For "but (*a d*) Abraham" (*b c d*), *b c* read "and Abraham alone."

Observed it. *a b* omit "it."

Ye celebrated it anew [= ἡδασκewō (a)]. *b c d* read "I have renewed them" or "I have renewed (it) unto them" [= ἡδασκewōmū (*b c d*)].

20. *One day in the year.* This should perhaps be: "the first day (of the week) in every year." See note on ver. 22.

21. *The feast of weeks* was likewise known as the feast of the harvest

of first-fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature: according to what is written and engraven concerning it celebrate it. 22. For I have written in the book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year. 23. And on the

Exod. xxiii. 16, הַיּוֹם הַהוּא. In the latter respect it was a *feast of first-fruits* as in the text, or the day of first-fruits, Num. xxviii. 26, יוֹם הַבְּכִיּוֹת, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων. Why this festival should be said to be "of a double nature" I do not see.

Celebrate it=gēbarâ emended from gēbrâ="its celebration."

22. *Book of the first law, i.e., the Pentateuch.* See note on i. 26.

One day in the year. Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 7-8) suggests that "one day" here=ἡμέρα μία=יום אחד, which in its original context meant "the first day," i.e. of the week, Sunday. Thus Pentecost was to fall on the same day every year, a Sunday, the first of the week. If this is right it follows that if we count back seven weeks we arrive at Nisan 22, "the morrow after the Sabbath," which is also the first day of the week, and that the author of our book interpreted the term Sabbath in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath (see note on xv. 1). For somewhat similar directions regarding the Passover see xlix. 7, 8.

Its sacrifices, or "the sacrifices."

One day in every year. This should perhaps be "the first day (of the week) in every year" as Eppstein suggests (see note above).

23. According to Lev. xxiii. 24 only the 1st day of the 7th month was a day of remembrance. Nevertheless the special significance assigned to these four days was a not unfamiliar idea in the second cent. as appears from the Eth. Enoch and our text, both of which we shall discuss presently in this relation. Even the Mishna appears to preserve some echoes of the early con-

troversies that circled round them; for we can hardly interpret otherwise the passage in the Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1: "On 1st Nisan—beginning of year, of government and of festivals. On 1st Ellul, the year of tithing of beasts according to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon. On 1st Tisri, the calendar year, the Sabbatical year and jubilee year, and (year) of plants and vegetables. On 1st Sebat, year of blooming of trees according to school of Shammai but on 15th according to school of Hillel." That different usages prevailed at different times follows clearly from the sacrifices enjoined on the new moons in Ezekiel xlvi. 6 and Num. xxviii. 11-15. The Rabbis could give no satisfactory explanation of these differences: some indeed were for removing Ezekiel from the Canon, and others denied its authenticity on account of them. Returning now to our text and the parallel passages in the Eth. Enoch, we observe that these four days have a religious significance in the former, but an astronomical in the latter. In Eth. En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 they are called "leaders," because they lead in the four quarters of the year. They are also called "intercalary days" (Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2) ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι, and correspond respectively to the vernal equinox (1st of 1st month), the summer solstice (1st of 4th month), the autumn equinox (1st of 7th month), and the winter solstice (1st of 10th month). These four days, when added to 360 (i.e., 12 months of 30 days each, Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 11), constitute an invariable year of 364 days (cf. our text v. 32, 38; Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2, lxxxii. 11). On the meaning of this year of 364 days see notes on verses 29-30, 32.

new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another

On the new moon of the first month. On this date Noah was bidden to make an ark, v. 21, vi. 25; the earth first became visible after the flood, v. 30, vi. 25; Noah offered a sacrifice, vii. 2, 3; Abraham erected an altar and sacrificed thereon, xiii. 8; God appeared to Isaac, xxiv., who forthwith offered sacrifice, 22, 23; Jacob went to Bethel, xxvii. 19; Levi was born, xxviii. 14.

On the new moon of the fourth month. The following events are assigned to this date. On it Adam and Eve went forth from the Garden, iii. 32; the mouths of the abysses beneath and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, v. 29, vi. 26; angels appeared to Abraham, xvi. 1; Joseph was born, xxviii. 24; Jacob arrived in Egypt, xlv. 1.

On the new moon of the seventh month. On this date the mouths of the abysses were opened, v. 29, vi. 26;

Abraham observed the stars in order to learn the nature of the coming year, xii. 16.

On the new moon of the tenth month. See ver. 27.

26. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 2; Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

27. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

29. *Placed.* We have here the imperfect; hence literally = "they place" or "they were placing."

On the heavenly tables. Here the festivals ordained by Noah are entered on the heavenly tables. See note on iii. 10.

29-30. *Each had thirteen weeks, etc.* According to verses 23-30 the year consists of four seasons and each season of three months or thirteen weeks. The year has, therefore, on this computation 12 months of 30 days each

(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arrangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days: the month $4 \times 7 = 28$: the year $52 \times 7 = 364$: the year-week 7 years and the jubilee 7×7 years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the

feast of weeks, i.e. Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year. Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So *b*, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting*, or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that *t'adwô* here points back to *עָבַר* = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

mandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and

against such systems of intercalating days in the lunar year to make it synchronise with the solar, as we find in Eth. Enoch lxxiv.-lxxv., and the later systems of the Pharisees. But seeing that the same word which I render "neglecting" is found twice in ver. 33 and in xv. 25, and that it cannot in two of these instances bear the meaning Beer proposes, I have retained the ordinary meaning of the word. See also on xlix. 14.

32. *Three hundred and sixty-four days.* A solar year of the same length is also taught in Eth. Enoch lxxiv. 10, 12, lxxv. 2; Slav. Enoch xlviii. 1. In Slav. Enoch xiv. 1 the ordinary reckoning of 365½ days is found. It is obvious that we have here to do with an old Jewish reckoning. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. Enoch pp. 189-191 that the advocates of this system were acquainted with the Greek octaeteris and the cycle of Calippus, and in my edition of the Slav. Enoch, that its author in xvi. 8 was familiar with the Metonic cycle. Why then did these writers, notwithstanding their knowledge of the Greek systems, advocate an impossible solar year of 364 days? I think their action in this matter must be attributed to dogmatic prejudice. If they regarded it as vital to the validity of their festivals that they should be celebrated not only on the same day of the month but also on the same day of the week from year to year, it seemed possible to attain this end by enforcing the acceptance of a year of 364 days. If the solar year were of this duration, it would always begin on the same day of the week; for it would consist of 52 weeks exactly. Furthermore if it began on Sunday, the first day of the week, the Sabbath would always constitute the 7th day of each of the 52 weeks, and the great festivals would always fall on the same day of the week and on the same day of the month from year to year. Thus the Passover would take place on Nisan 14, a Sabbath day, the wave-sheaf would be offered on Nisan

22, a Sunday (the morrow after the Sabbath), and the feast of weeks on Sivan 15, a Sunday—that is in case we reckon 13 months of 28 days each, the ecclesiastical year (see note on vi. 29-30). By the assumption, therefore, of an impossible solar year of 12 months of 364 days in all and of an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of the same number of days consisting of an arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the phases of the moon, they seemed to have succeeded in synchronising the civil and ecclesiastical years without resorting to intercalary days. *But this year of 364 days goes back in all probability to the Exile.* It will be observed that our text brings forward this disquisition on the true length of the year in connection with the account of the flood. Now it is just in the same connection in the narrative of P in Genesis that a year of 364 days is presupposed as Bacon (*Hebraica*, viii. 79-88, 124-139 [1891-1892]) points out. Thus, the epochs of the flood are:—

Beginning	.	2nd month	17th day
Climax	.	7th "	17th "
Mountain tops			
appear	.	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up	1st	"	1st "
Earth dry	.	2nd "	27th "

He points out that the flood, which in the Babylonian account lasted one year, lasts here from the 17th of the 2nd month of one year to the 27th of the 2nd of the next. Now he argues that, if one reckoned according to Hebrew lunar months, ten days (cf. Jubilees vi. 36) had to be added at the close of the 12th month in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; for the lunar year was 354 days ($= 12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$; cf. Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15). Now if the solar year was reckoned at 364 days, we can understand why Noah's exit is assigned to the 27th and not to the 17th of the 2nd month; for ten days represent according to Jubilees (vi. 36) and the Eth. Enoch (lxxiv. 10,

sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For

11, 13) the difference between the lunar and solar years. Thus the flood would last one solar year from its beginning to its close.

We presume, therefore, writes Bacon, that the authors of Enoch or Jubilees found their peculiar year of 364 days (=12 sidereal months of 30 days each +4 intercalary days) in the Genesis account of the flood. Considering the advanced stage of astronomical science in the second cent. B.C. among the nations in touch with Judaism, it is not possible to explain their adoption of such a solar year unless it appealed to them on dogmatic grounds and had at its back an inspired authority. Genesis formed the inspired authority, and the dogmatic grounds are obvious (see above). That such a scheme is impracticable is really no objection, if we consider that the author of Jubilees is as thorough-going an idealist as the author of the priestly legislation, and is

still more sublimely defiant of that which is merely practicable. On the other hand, the authors in question, though acquainted with the systems current in Greece, were most probably ignorant of the astronomical data which necessarily determined them; and, as a civil year of 360 days was current both in Babylon and Egypt (in the former country corrected by intercalation), they may not have known any irrefutable grounds against the adoption of the solar year of 364 days, authenticated as it was by the priestly compilation of the Exile.

33, 34. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 4-6.

33. *And they will disturb*, etc. Bracketed as a dittography.

Neglect. This word may also be rendered "omit," "pass by," "transgress" (see note on ver. 31).

35. *Not of my own devising*. Text = לֹא מִלְבִּי, Num. xvi. 28. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. 37. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. 38. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1-5. Becomes drunk and exposes his person, 6-9. The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth, 10-12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20-28). Noah's sons and grandsons and their

36. Our author is decidedly opposed to the use of the moon in determining the seasons and feasts. Thus in ii. 9 it is the sun that is to be man's guide as to days and sabbaths, and feasts, and months and years. Again in iv. 21 the angels instruct Enoch as to the lordship of the sun in such matters. Thus our book seems to be a polemic against the teaching of Eth. Enoch lxxiii.-lxxiv. if we accept the text in lxxiv. 12 where we have a statement in irreconcilable conflict with our text: "And the moon brings in all the years exactly so that their position is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity; but they complete the changing year with perfect justice in 364 days." But this divergence arises only from a corruption of the text. For "And the moon brings in . . . unto eternity; but the moons" read "And they (the sun and stars) bring in all the years so exactly that their posi-

tion is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity, and they." It is true, however, that the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, xiv. no. 55, 1869, pp. 421 sqq.), which was acquainted with our text, adopts a hostile attitude to it on this question. Thus it declares that we should reckon according to the course of the sun and of the moon, and quotes Gen. i. 14: "Le calcul avec l'un d'eux seulement (c'est-à-dire avec le soleil ou avec la lune) ne suffit pas."

Comes in . . . ten days too soon.
Lunar year = 354 days.

38. *Will not make. a b c* wrongly omit the negative.

Will go wrong. Because they do not follow the guidance of the sun.

New moons. This could also be translated "beginnings of the months." See last clause of last verse.

cities, 13-19. Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed, 20-39.

VII. And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, 1317 A.M. in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and 1320 A.M. he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month. 2. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first 1321 A.M. day, on the new moon of the first month. 3. And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons. 4. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. 5. And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before

VII. 1. *Lûbâr*. See v. 28. This verse is partly reproduced in Syncellus, i. 147, Νῶε ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ὄρει Λουβάρ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, and in Cedrenus, i. 21. Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* I. i. 4, follows our text: ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδύων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ, ἐκεῖσε πρῶτον κατοίκησις γίνεται μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακῇ φυτεῖν ἀμπελῶνα Νῶε.

Produced fruit in the fourth year.

This is intended to call to mind the command in Lev. xix. 23-25 not to touch the fruit of trees for the first three years after they were planted. See verses 36-37 where the passage from Lev. is in substance reproduced.

3. The ritual is mainly according to Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. *And afterwards . . . which he had previously made . . . and he placed.* So *c d*.

Acceptable. Emended as in vi. 3.

the Lord his God. 6. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy. 7. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. 8. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without. 9. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward. 10. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren." 11. And he blessed Shem, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. 12. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." 13. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. 14. And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. 15. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the

6, 7. Gen. ix. 21.

8, 9. Gen. ix. 22, 23.

8. *And went forth.* Mass., Sam., and all versions save the LXX omit.

10. Gen. ix. 24, 25. *From his sleep.* Gen. ix. 24 has "from his wine."

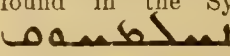
An enslaved servant. So LXX (παῖς οἰκέτης), and Onk.: Mass. has "servant of servants."

11, 12. Gen. ix. 26, 27.

12. *God shall dwell.* It will be observed that the text supplies a subject to the verb "shall dwell." This sense is attached to the ambiguous words of Gen. ix. 27 by Onk. also: וַיֵּשֶׁב אֱלֹהִים שְׂכֵנִיתָם בְּרִשְׁתָּם, "and may He cause His

Shekinah to rest in the dwellings of Shem." The Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ix. 27, on the other hand, and Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 139, refer the words to Japheth.

13. Cf. Gen. x. 6. In the text these names are Ques, Mastarêm, Phûd and Canaan.

14. *Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as , and in Eutychius of Alex. *Annales*, p. 35, as Nahlat. The first part of the compound may be from נחלה, construct case of נחלה, and the second from קהוק.

name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. 16. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb. 17. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. 18. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and Lud, and Aram. 19. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. 20. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. 21. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely,

1324-1372
A.M.

15. 'Adâtan'êsês. Syriac gives
ܐܕܬܢܐܝܝܐ.

16. Shem dwelt near Noah. This is to show Shem's filial love.

17. Sêdêqêtêlêbâb: Syr. ܣܕܩܬܐܠܒܐܒ, from צדקת לבב = "righteousness of the heart" as Rubin has recognised.

The mountain, i.e. Lûbâr. See ver. 1.

18. In Ethiopic these names are Êlâm, 'Assâr, Arphâksed. Gen. x. 22.

This (son), etc. Gen. xi. 10. Text emended. See my edition in loc.

19. Gen. x. 2. These names in the Ethiopic are Gômêr, Mâgûg, Mâdâi, 'Îjûtajâ, Tôbêl, Meskâ, Tôrâs.

20. From this verse to the close of the chapter we have a fragment of the lost book of Noah. From ver. 26 to the end Noah speaks in the first person. Its legalistic character favours the view that its present setting and colouring are due to the author of the book, who

was so careless however as to leave the persons unchanged in verses (26-39).

The substance of this section is referred to in Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii., Dindorf's ed., i. 215), where it is said that Noah, οἷα δίκαιος ὢν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας εὐλαβεῖς καθιστᾶν πειρώμενος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑποπέσωσι κακοῖς ὥς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, οὐ μόνον διὰ λόγων τούτοις τὴν εὐλάβειαν παρετίθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὅρκου ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν ἀπήτησε.

Cover the shame, etc. Cf. iii. 31.

21. These three things, that is "fornication, uncleanness and all iniquity" which are mentioned in the preceding verse (see xx. 5, xxiii. 14). Ber. rabba 31 assigns idolatry, impurity and bloodshed as the three causes of the Flood (חמסוה עון חמסוה גילוי עריות, חמסוה שפיכות דמים). Cf. Sanh. 74a: "R. Johanan says in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak . . . If one says

owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. 22. And they begat sons the Nâphîdim, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphil, and the Nâphil slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. 23. And every one sold himself to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. 24. And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually. 25. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything. 26. "And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness; for

to a man, Commit a transgression else thou wilt be slain, he may transgress the commandment in order to escape death save in the case of idolatry, incest and murder."

Went a whoring after. For phrase see Lev. xvii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 34.

Took themselves wives. Gen. vi. 2; Eth. Enoch vii. 1.

22. Cf. v. 9. *Nâphîdim*, i.e. the Nephilim (נפילי). From Eth. Enoch lxxxvi. 4 and lxxxviii. 2 and the Syncellus Greek version of Enoch vii. 1 we learn that there were three classes of giants: καὶ ἔτεκον αὐτοῖς γένη τρία· πρῶτον γίγαντας μεγάλους (i.e., the גיבורים in Gen. vi. 4). οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλείμ (נפילי in Gen. vi. 4), καὶ τοῖς Ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν Ἐλιούδ.

†*They were . . . unlike.*† This seems corrupt. We might emend ἵjjetmâsalû into jjetmâshatû="they plundered one another," or into jet-

bâ'sû (Eth. Enoch xv. 11)="they strove together": cf. xxiii. 19.

23. *Sold himself to work iniquity.* For phrase see 1 Kings xxi. 20.

Shed much blood. Eth. Enoch ix. 1.

The earth was filled, etc. Gen. vi. 11; Eth. Enoch ix. 9.

24. *They sinned against, etc.* Cf. Eth. Enoch vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

Moves and walks = reptiles and cattle.

Every imagination. Gen. vi. 5. Cf. v. 2 above.

25. *Destroyed everything, etc.* Gen. vii. 4, vi. 7. Cf. ver. 27.

26. Observe how the author of the book forgets to adapt this fragment of the Book of Noah to its new context. From this verse to the end of the chapter Noah speaks in the first person. See ver. 20 (note). In x. 1-15 we have another excerpt from this Apocalypse.

in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother. 27. For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, will all be destroyed from the earth.

29. And there will not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor will there be left to him any seed or descendants
living under heaven ;

For into Sheol will they go,
And into the place of condemnation will they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep will they all be
removed by a violent death.

30. There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. 31. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may

27. See x. 1 where this subject recurs.

Destroyed from the face, etc. See ver. 25.

28. Gen. ix. 4, 6 ; Lev. vii. 27.

29. *Into Sheol will they go, And into the place of condemnation will they descend, And into the darkness.* Cf. xxii. 22. This passage seems to have been used by Eth. Enoch ciii. 7, 8, "their souls will be made to descend into Sheol . . . And into darkness . . . and a burning fire where there is grievous condemnation."

30. *Upon you.* By an easy emendation we could read *among you*.

Covering that which has been shed. This prescript of later legislation is here carried back to Noah : cf. Lev. xvii. 13 ; Ezek. xxiv. 7. We must be careful to render "covering" and not "burying." The Ethiopic word is *dafana* = *καλύπτειν* = *ἔκρυψε* and not *qabara* = *θάπτειν* = *ἔταψεν*. Singer (p. 200) bases one of his arguments for the Jewish Christian authorship of the book on the wrong rendering "burying." Chullin ii. 9 censures the latter as Jewish Christian.

31. *Eats with blood.* Lev. xix. 26.

eat blood before you: cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. 32. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. 33. For the earth will not be clean from the blood which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified throughout all its generations. 34. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. 35. And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees. 36. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered: and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven

32. Cf. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 14.

33. *The earth will not be clean*, etc. See vi. 2 (note).

(*Only*) *through the blood*, etc. Num. xxxv. 33.

34. *Maybe planted*. This metaphor is frequent in the O.T.: Jer. xi. 17; Amos ix. 15 etc. According to Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5, 10 Israel is "the plant of righteousness"; lxxxiv. 6, "the plant of uprightness."

Saved me from . . . the flood. If we observe that in ver. 39 Enoch is called "the seventh in his generation" and that verses 20-39 are Noah's words, as "a preacher" of righteousness"; if we note further the words *saved me from . . . the flood*, we shall not unreasonably conclude that this book was known to the writer of 2 Peter ii. 5 "saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly."

36. In this verse we ought, if the text were authentic, to have an interpretation of the law enunciated in Lev. xix. 23-24. According to this law of the Priests' Code the fruit of a tree was not to be used for the first three years after it was planted. "In the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord" (פריו קדש הלוים ליהוה). It will be observed that our text follows Lev. xix. 24 very closely: "in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy" (*b.c. a d* "will be gathered"). The question now arises, what was to be done with the fruit of the fourth year? (a) If we omit the words in brackets, our text directs that all the fruit of the fourth year is to be accounted holy and offered to God. (b) If the bracketed words are genuine, the text directs that, while all the fruit is to be accounted holy, only the first-fruits are to be offered to God. In either case the words that follow elucidate

and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). 37. And in the fifth year

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant will prosper. 38. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him. 39. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first

further the same subject, and ordain that of the fruit of the fourth year the first-fruits are to be offered on the altar and the rest of it to be given to the priests. Next the words "offer . . . on the altar" seem to mean "offer as a burnt-offering" as in Lev. ii. 14-16, where the Israelite is bidden to burn the first-fruits of corn and oil on the altar.

But if the above interpretation is right, it does not agree with that of later Judaism. According to the latter it belonged to its owners and was to be consumed *within the walls of Jerusalem*. See Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19. In Sifre on Num. v. 10 it is decided that the priests had no share in the fruits of the fourth year. Something of the same nature may be implied in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xix. 24, where the fruit of the fourth year is said to be קִנְיֵי תוֹשְׁבֵיָהּ בְּהָרָה. Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52) writes that the Samaritans, the Caraites and Ibn Ezra held the view set forth in the text. In any case, the teaching of our text does not diverge from that of later Judaism as much as the various regulations on this subject in the different codes of the Pentateuch (see Hastings, *Bible Dict.* ii. 10-11).

Let them offer. The construction with Kama is here jussive. It could

be rendered "so that they offer," but the context is against this.

37. *And in the fifth year.* At the close of these words I have marked a lacuna. The text should have proceeded to enunciate the right of eating the fruit of this year as in Lev. xix. 25, whereas it proceeds to speak of the year of release described in Deut. xv. 1, 9, that is, the seventh year; or else of the command in Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7, to let the land lie fallow every seventh year. The verb *hadaga* is used in the translation of נָשָׂא in the above two senses of letting a field lie fallow (Exod. xxiii. 11) and of remitting a debt (Deut. xv. 2). But the context is concerned with the land. Hence we may render "let it (the land) rest so that ye let it rest." But as this is tautologous we may conclude that there is some corruption. Our text = ἀφήσετε αὐτήν ἵνα ἀφήτε αὐτήν. Here I take ἀφήτε to be a corruption of ἀνήτε. We should then have ἀφήσετε αὐτήν ἵνα ἀνήτε αὐτήν. This is a rendering though not an accurate one of נָשָׂא בְּשָׁנָה שְׁבִיעִית in Exod. xxiii. 11. Hence, instead of "make ye the release . . . release it," we should probably read: "(In the seventh year) ye will let it rest and lie fallow."

38. *Thus did Enoch . . . command.* The author attributes halachoth to Enoch. See note on xxi. 10.

jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his sons' sons until the day of his death."

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1-4. His sons, 5-8. Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth, 10-11. Shem's inheritance, 12-21: Ham's, 22-24: Japheth's, 25-30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

1373 A.M.

VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ējâ, [the daughter of Sûsân,] the daughter of Elam, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. 2. And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and

1375 A.M.

39. *Seventh in his generation.* Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14.

VIII. 1. *Râsû'ējâ* = רַסְעָא, "the acceptable" (cf. Dent. xxxiii. 24). It appears as **𐤒𐤓𐤕** in the Syriac Fragment.

Kâinâm. This name, which is not found in the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. of Gen. xi. 13 nor yet in the Targums, appears in the LXX version of this verse and also in Luke iii. 36. In the Mass., Sam., etc. Salah is the son of Arphaxad. The same facts are stated in Gen. x. 24 and 1 Chron. i. 24. At the best, therefore, the tradition attested by our text, the LXX and Luke is not an ancient one. The motive for its insertion in the text is obvious from ii. 23 above. Without this name there would only have been twenty-one heads from Adam to Jacob. The same motive may have led to its insertion in the LXX.

3. *He found a writing, etc.* The wisdom

attributed by our author to the Watchers, is in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2. 3) assigned to the children of Seth: *Σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὑψηλόμενα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γυνώσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι . . . στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέρας ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὐρημένα.* J. Malala, *Anon. Chron.* p. 6, reproduces the matter contained in the above statement and adds: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καῖνᾶν, ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαζᾶδ, συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν, εὐρηκὼς τὴν τοῦ Σῆθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακὶ λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένην.* In Syncellus, i. 150, this event is recounted as follows: *τῷ β' φ' ε' ἔτει Καῖνᾶν διοδεύων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ εὗρε τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ἔκρυψε παρ' ἐαυτῷ.* The words of Syncellus are reproduced in Cedrenus, i. 27, but with the following important addition which further illustrates our

he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. 4. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. 5. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year 1429 A.M. thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Mēlkā, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and called his name Shelah; for 1432 A.M. he said: "Truly I have been sent." 6. [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth 1499 A.M. week, in the first year thereof. 7. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the 1503 A.M.

text: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν αὐτὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐξεπαίδευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Σάλα φασὶ ταύτην εὐρηκέναι. In Joel's *Chronography*, pp. 3-4, we find additional details borrowed probably from John Malala (see above): μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξᾶδ συννεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν εὐρηκῶς τὴν τοῦ Σήθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακί λιθίνῃ γεγλυμμένην. Similarly in the Book of Jashar 10 a Cainan the son of Seth, and not the son of Arphaxad, as in our text and the above chronographies, is described as possessing great wisdom and a knowledge of future events, especially of the deluge. This wisdom he inscribed on tables of stone (על לוחות אבן) and placed them among his treasures. See the quotation from Josephus above. Just as the revelations of the Watchers are transferred to Seth, so likewise the revelations of the Slavonic Enoch are assigned to him by the Greek chronographers. These words will be found in the note on iv. 15.

He transcribed it. So MSS. By

reading a'ēlawô instead of a'ēlawâ we should have: "it led him astray."

Sinned owing to it. Cedrenus (see above) preserves this clause: ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε.

Used to observe = jērê'ējû. In my text I emended this into jērêšējû = "were founding."

In all the signs, etc. Cf. xi. 8.

5. *Mēlkā* from מלכה = "queen" or "counsel."

Madai. Emended with Syr. مَدَاي and Lagarde's Greek MS *r*: μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι.

Called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' Here obviously there was a paronomasia in the original שְׁלַח שְׁמוֹ שְׁלַח כִּי אָמַר שְׁלַח. For Shelah, Eth. has Sâlâ = LXX Σαλά.

6. Bracketed words a dittography from preceding verse.

Mû'ak. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: μωαχα θυγατηρ χεεδαμ: Syr. مَوَاخَا from מוֹכַח, a frequent O.T. name.

7. *'Azûrâd.* Should be 'Azûrâ. Syr. اَزْرَاد; Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: اَزْرَادَا from אֲצוּרָה, "the treasured one."

- 1564 A.M. daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 8. And in the
- 1567 A.M. sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. 9. And they divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. 10. And it came to pass in the beginning of the
- 1569 A.M. thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us, who had been sent, was with them. 11. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his

8. *Divide the earth . . . for this reason he called his name Peleg.* As in ver. 5 we have here again a paronomasia. יִפְלֹגוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ . . . לְבֶן קִרְיָא אֶת שֵׁמִי. Cf. Gen. x. 25. For Peleg, Eth. has Phâlêk.

9, 10. This secret and unauthorized division of the earth is followed by a formal and authoritative one made by Noah in the presence of an angel, and subscribed to by his sons with an oath binding on their descendants. On this subject Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 33) quotes Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 24. This device of the author in some respects anticipates the Social Contract of Rousseau, but the objects are different. The theory in our text makes it clear that there must have been current in the second cent. B.C. religious and moral objections to the Hebrew invasion of Palestine and the slaughter of the Canaanites which accompanied it. This scheme of an ancestral compact approved by God and accepted as obligatory for succeeding generations is an attempt to obviate such objections, and to show that in reality the true transgressors were not Israel but the Canaanites, and that Israel in seizing Palestine were but resuming possession of what was their own; for the Canaanites had settled in Palestine, although this country had fallen by lot to Shem and

his descendants (see ix. 14, 15, x. 29-34 and notes in loc.). By mutual consent, moreover, a curse had been invoked on any one who should break this covenant as well as destruction on him and on his seed. Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi. 84 (II. ii. p. 542, Oehler): οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ἰδιώτης ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν ἀπέκλησαν διηρπασμένην ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεδικήθη τὰ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων γινόμενα ἐν ὄρφῃ ἀληθείας καὶ ὀρκῷ. Νῶε γὰρ . . . μόνος διαιρῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, τῷ Σὴμ καὶ Χάμ καὶ 'Ιάφεθ, διεῖλε βαλὼν τοὺς κλήρους ἐν 'Ρινοκορούροις. Hence when Israel invaded Palestine and drove out the Canaanites they were simply recovering their own possessions. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐκεῖ παραβὰς τὴν ἐντολὴν Νῶε σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἔθνεσιν ἐπτά, Ἀμορραίοις, Χετταίοις, Φερεζαίοις, Εὐαίοις, Γεργεσαίοις, 'Ιεβουσαίοις καὶ Χανααίοις, οὓς διὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ 'Ιησοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ τινὰς καιροὺς διὰ τῶν κριτῶν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς 'Ισραὴλ τὴν πατρῶαν γῆν . . .

9. *Secretly.* See note on iv. 5.

10. *One of us, who had been sent.* This angel is one of the angels of the presence whom God had sent down to bind the fallen watchers, v. 6. See notes on iv. 15, v. 6.

three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father. 12. And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river

12-21. *Shem's lot.* It is impossible to define exactly the limits of Shem's portion. The text is at times indefinite and no doubt corrupt; but even if we had the original before us many obscurities would still remain, owing to the vague and inaccurate geographical ideas of the time. The boundaries of Shem's portion are defined in verses 12-16 and the countries embraced within them in ver. 21, and ix. 2-6, 13^b. Since there is some hope of understanding our author's ideas as to the countries allotted to Shem, we shall confine our attention in the main to this question, and supplement the evidence of the text by citations from Epiphanius and Syncellus which are based upon it. We shall also make occasional use of the statements of Josephus on this head as well as of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel.

First of all Shem's portion is said to include (ver. 21) the countries of Eden, and of the Red Sea, of Bashan, Lebanon, Elam, Asshur, Babel, Susa, Media, India, the mountains of Sanir and Amana, and the islands of Kaftur. To this list ix. 2-6 adds the waters of Dedan, the mountains of Mebrî and Elâ and the land of Arârâ (? Ararat). Finally in ix. 13^b there are the islands of Kamâturi. Now, if we turn to Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxii. (Dindorf's ed. i. 215), we find that he defines Shem's portion as extending from Persia and Bactria to India, to Rhinocurura which is between Egypt and Palestine (τῷ μὲν Σῇμ . . . ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς χώρας Πινोकουρούρων). The same statement is made in the Chronicon Paschale (i. 53) and in Syncellus (i. 82), though in fuller form in the latter (Σῇμ . . . ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς

ἕως Πινोकουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἤτοι τὰ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἕως μέρους τῆς μεσημβρίας, τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Μῆδειαν καὶ ποταμὸν διορίζοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρια τὸν Εὐφράτην). Cedrenus (i. 23) reproduces this passage. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 give practically the same delimitations: "Shem, the eldest, chose his portion in the land of 'Asya, that is, the land of Persia from Bactris to Endiana, from the Persian river to the Ocean in the west and the whole Rînôs." These definitions include for the most part the countries enumerated in our text above as well as in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, but they hardly explain the statement in viii. 12 that Shem's portion extended to the river Don and the Rhipaeen mountains. Now a list of countries filling up this larger area is given in Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. p. 544 [*Haer.* lxxv. 83], ed. Oehler): τῷ δὲ Σῇμ ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος πρὸς πλάτος, ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Κοίλη, Κομμαγήνη, Κιλικία, Καππαδοκία, Γαλατία, Παφλαγονία, Θράκη, Εὐρώπη, Ῥοδόπη, Λαζία, Ἰβηρία, Κασπία, Καρδυνέα, ἄχρι τῆς Μηδίας πρὸς βορρᾶν. ἐντεῦθεν οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν. But Thrace, Rhodope and probably Europa are here wrongly assigned to Shem.

12. *The middle of the earth.* Palestine according to Ezek. xxxviii. 12 (cf. also v. 5; Eth. Enoch xxvi. 1) was the navel (נוֹרֵם, ὀμφαλός) of the earth. Cf. viii. 19 of our text. The idea reappears in Rabbinic Hebrew. Singer (p. 68) quotes Joma 54^b; Sanhedrin 37^a; Pesikta Rabb. x. in Tanch. on Lev. xix. 23, כֵּן אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּבוֹר שֶׁל עוֹלָם וְיוֹשְׁלִים בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Râfâ. This range is no doubt the Rhipaeen mountains which ancient geographers placed in the northern parts of Europe and Asia or in other

Tînâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. 13. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. 14. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. 15. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of

cases appear to have identified with the Ural mountains. The Tanais or Don is placed by our author in their neighbourhood. A son of Peleg is so named in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxvii. 5.

Tînâ. The Tanais or Don. This river is said to spring from "the waters of the abysses."

Mê'at. The Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13-14. These two verses should describe the western boundary.

13. *Kârâsô.* Dillmann identifies this place with the Chersonese. But if it is connected, as it seems to be, with "the tongue (*i.e.* gulf) which looks towards the south," which in ver. 14 is defined as "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," this identification cannot be right. I am inclined to believe that in Kârâsô we have the latter part of the word *Ῥινωκοροῦρα*, which lies on the western boundary of Shem. For if we turn to the quotations from Epiphanius and Syncellus in the note on 12-21 we find that the portion of Shem is said to extend "from India to Rhinocurura in Egypt." This place furthermore is situated on the frontier of Ham's portion according to Epiphanius and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel. Thus in *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 84 of the former, Ham's African dominions extend *ἀπὸ Ῥινωκοροῦρων ἄχρι Γαδελρων*: and in xxxi. 2 of the latter, "from Rinôs as far as Gadaira." In this last quotation

we have another abbreviation of the long name Rhinocurura. It will be observed, indeed, that our text makes Shem's portion extend westward as far as the mouths of the Gihon (Nile), so that later writers have diverged somewhat from their primal authority. *Ῥινωκοροῦρα* is used by the LXX in translating *נַחַל מִצְרַיִם*, *i.e.*, "the torrent of Egypt," a town on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, in Is. xxvii. 12.

This is in the bosom of. These words cannot be right if either of the above interpretations of Kârâsô is sound.

Tongue. The word *lesân* may be rendered indifferently "promontory" (of the land) or "bay" or "gulf" (of the sea).

Tongue which looks towards the south. This phrase is repeated and defined in the next verse.

14. *Tongue which looks towards the south.* This may mean the promontory which runs out into the Red Sea on which Mt. Sinai is situated.

The tongue of the Egyptian Sea. This is the Gulf of Aqaba at the north of the Red Sea. Our text is the literal equivalent of Is. xi. 15, *לְשׁוֹן יַם מִצְרַיִם*, as Littmann has observed.

15-16. These two verses should describe mainly the southern, eastern, and northern-eastern boundaries.

15. The word Samên which is rendered "south" can also be rendered "north"—a later meaning of the word.

(its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. 16. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the †east,† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. 17. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. 18. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

“Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.”

19. And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount

West to 'Afrâ (c d). *b* reads “to the west of 'Afrâ.” ‘Afrâ seems to be Africa in its early limited sense.

Gihon. Eth. has Gijôn, *i.e.*, the Gihon, one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). According to our text (viii. 23) it flows to the south of the Garden of Eden. This river compassed “the whole land of Cush.” Whether the Cushites are the Kassî of the cuneiform inscriptions or the Ethiopians does not concern us here, though the identification of the Gihon and Nile may have arisen from a confusion of the two countries. Syncellus, i. 89, speaks of two distinct countries named Ethiopia: *Αἰθιοπία ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ Ἰνδοῦς πρὸς εὐρόνοτον, ἄλλη Αἰθιοπία πρὸς νότον, ὅθεν ἐκπορεύεται ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμός.* Our author undoubtedly identifies the Nile with the Gihon. So Syncellus (p. 82) interprets this passage, *τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γειῶν . . . λέγεται.* Γήων is used as a rendering of גִּיחֹן, *i.e.*, the Nile in Sirach xxiv. 27: see also Jer. ii. 18.

16. *South.* Better translate “north.” See note on ver. 15.

[*To the south*]. Bracketed as ditto-graphy.

It turns to the †east†. We should expect “to the west.” I have omitted “and” before “it turns.” The boundary line now returns to the river Don whence it started in ver. 12.

18. See vii. 11. God dwells in the dwellings of Shem: the three most holy places belong to Shem.

19. In iv. 26 above we have seen that there are four holy places in the earth: from the present verses we learn that three of these are in Shem's portion. The fourth place, therefore, must either have been in Japheth's or Ham's portion. Either therefore the Mount of the East may be regarded as Ararat in Japheth's portion, or as the great mountain in the south-east (cf. Eth. En. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3), which would probably belong to Ham's portion. See also iv. 26 note. The latter mountain is the chief in a range of mountains of fire (Eth. En. xviii. 9, xxiv. 1), and such a range belongs to Ham's portion: see ver. 22.

Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. 20. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. 21. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that

Navel of the earth. See note on ver. 12.

21. *A blessed portion.* Cf. Syncellus, p. 83, (Σήμ) τὰς ἐξαιρέτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογιῶν ἐκκληρώσατο ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει φέρεται. On the countries mentioned in this ver. see note on 12-21.

Bashan. In Eth. Bâsâ.

Islands of Kaftûr. This is Caphtor the proper name of a country in Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7. The plural is used of its inhabitants in Gen. x. 14; Deut. ii. 23. In Gen. x. 14 these are taken to be the Cappadocians in the Syr., Onk., and the Jon. and Jer. Targums; also in Amos ix. 7 in the LXX, Syr., Vulg., Targ.-Jon.; also in Jer. xlvii. 4 in the Syr., Jon. Targ., Vulg.; also in Deut. ii. 23 in the LXX, Syr., Onk., Vulg., Jon.-Targ. There are thus some grounds for regarding Kaftûr as equivalent to Cappadocia in this text, and this view may be confirmed by the passage in Epiphanius which includes Cappadocia in the portion of Shem; see quotation in note on viii. 12-21. On the other hand if we take the words "islands of Kaftûr" as a

correct translation of the original (probably כַּפְתֹּר), the phrase may denote the island of Crete. Kamâtûrî in ix. 13 may be a corruption of Kaftûr. Modern exegesis has taken the scriptural Caphtor to be Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid (see *Encyc. Bib.* on "Caphtor").

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. Cf. ix. 4. These names may be derived from Cant. iv. 8. Sanîr is the Biblical Senir in Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5. In Deut. iii. 9 it is said to be the Amoritish name for Hermon. Sanîru occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Bertholet on Ezekiel xxvii. 5). 'Amânâ may belong to the range of the Antilibanus or be Mt. Amanus in northern Syria. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jeralhmeel (xxx. 3. 5) favour the latter view.

Elam. The name of Shem's eldest son. The country is the Assyrian Elamtu, and is "nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks" (*Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1253). Sûsân, which is mentioned presently, was its capital, or it may stand for Susiana.

Mâ'êdâi, i.e. Media. See x. 35.

is in it is very good. 22. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which †everything which is not destroyed descends†. 23. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. 24. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. 25. And for Japheth

22-24. Ham's portion. This portion embraces all Africa from the mouths of the Nile westward and southward and certain parts of Asia, which are vaguely defined in viii. 23, ix. 1, imperfectly in Epiphan. *Ανεορατ.* cxii.: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἕως Γαδείρων τὰ πρὸς νότον: and in Syncellus, 82: Χὰμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ . . . ἔδωκε τὰ πρὸς νότον καὶ Λίβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς δύσεως ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ Λιβύης, 'Αφρικῆν καὶ Μαυριτανίαν ἕως 'Ηρακλείων στηλῶν ἕτοι ἕως τοῦ δυτικοῦ καὶ Λιβυκοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ, ποταμὸν διορίζοντα τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γεῖων . . . λέγεται, for both these passages omit the countries belonging to Ham in Asia. In Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 (*Haer.* lxvi. 84), however, these are given very fully: ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ 'Ρινοκουρούρων ἄχρι Γαδείρων, Αἰγυπτίου ἔχων καὶ Μαρειανήν καὶ 'Αμμῶνα, Λιβύην τε καὶ Μαρμαρίδα, Πεντάπολιν, Μακάτην, Μακρόνην τε καὶ Λεπτημάγην, Σύρτιν, Μαυριτανίαν, ἄχρι τῶν 'Ηρακλεωτικῶν στηλῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῆς ἔσω Γαδείρης ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς νότον ἀπὸ δὲ 'Ρινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τήν τε 'Ιδοιμαίαν καὶ Μαδιαντίν, τήν τε 'Αλαβαστρῖτιν, καὶ 'Ομηρίτιν, καὶ 'Αξωμίτιν, καὶ Βούγειαν, καὶ Λίβαν, ἄχρι τῆς τῶν Βάκτρων χώρας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς

κλῆρος διορίζει ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Σήμ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν. According to the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 "Ham took his portion in the land of Afriqia which comprises Aram, Hamath, and the mountain of Lebanon . . . until the Red Sea and the Sea of Philistia, from Rînôs as far as Gadaira." See also for Josephus' views, *Ant.* i. 6. 2.

22. *Gihon.* Eth. has Gîjôn. See note on viii. 15.

To the right, i.e. to the south.

Mountains of fire. On certain fiery mountains see Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3.

'Atêl. The Atlantic.

Mâ'ûk. This sea or ocean lies in the extreme west: cf. ver. 26. Is the word a distortion of 'Ωκεανός, the Great Ocean Stream?

Everything which is not destroyed descends (a b). c d = "everything perishable descends." What is required probably is: "if anything descends into it, it perishes."

23. *Gâdîr, i.e. Gades, Cadiz.*

Goes along the river Gihon. I have added 'ba' before Gihon; for the writer could not say that the Nile flowed towards the Garden of Eden.

25-29^a. Japheth's portion—Northern Asia, Europe, and five great islands. This portion, which is further described in ix. 7-13, embraces the countries north

came forth the third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. 26. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. 27. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. 28. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns round towards the north. 29. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands, and a great land in the north. 30. But it is cold,

of Shem and Ham's portions from Media to Rhinocurra in Asia and to Gades in Europe. Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii.) describes it brietly: 'Ιάφεθ τῷ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ Μηδείας ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Ρινοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν. Cf. *Chronicon* Pasch. i. 46. A fuller account from a later standpoint is given by Syncellus (p. 83): 'Ιάφεθ . . . (ἔδωκεν) ἀπὸ Μηδείας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δυσμὰς ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Βρεττανικῶν νήσων, Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, Πόντον, Κόλχους καὶ τὰς κατόπιν χώρας καὶ νήσους ἕως Ἰταλίας καὶ Γαλλικῆς, Σπανικῆς, τε καὶ Κελτιβηρίας καὶ Λυσιτανῶν. Practically the same description of Japheth's province is given by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 [*Haer.* lxvi. 84]): οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος (τοῦ Σῆμ) διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν (i.e., Japheth's province in Asia is bounded by Shem's on the south): πρὸς δὲ τὴν δύσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄχρι τῆς Ἰσπανίας καὶ Βριττανίας, ἐκείθεν τε τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, Ἑῆτες καὶ Δαῦνεις, Ἰάπυγες, Κάλαβροι, Λατῖνοι, Ὀπικοί, Μάγαρδες, ἕως διακατοχῆς τῆς Σπανίας, καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας, τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ

Φράγγων ἄνω χώρας. An elaborate account of Japheth's province appears in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and in the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel xxxi. 4-5. The latter is dependent in some respects on the former.

25. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Asia.

Gog. The country of Gog is in northern Asia. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel (xxx. 4).

26-28. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Europe.

26. *Qêlt.* These are probably the Celts.

Mâ'ûk. See on ver. 22.

27. *Fârâ* (cd), b Ferâ, a Ferêg. Fârâ may be Africa. See ver. 15.

Afêrâg. This may be Phrygia. This country according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles* of Jerahmeel xxxi. 5 belonged to Japheth.

29. *Five great islands.* See note on ix. 13. To these five may belong Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Five islands in the Great Sea are mentioned in *Eth. Enoch* lxxvii. 8.

and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: Shem's 2-6: Japheth's, 7-13. Oath taken by Noah's sons, 14-15.

IX. And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. 2. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. 3. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh

30. *Land of Ham is hot.* Cf. Epiphan. *Haer.* lxi. 85: Χαναάν δὲ πλεονέκτης ὦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστηνῶν γῇ . . . καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι κανυματινόν.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6.

Cush. Eth. has Ques. The country is no doubt Ethiopia. See also Josephus and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *in loc.*

Mizraim. Eth. has Mêsîrêm. He receives מִצְרַיִם or Egypt.

Put. Eth. has Phûd. So also in LXX Φούδ, *i.e.* פִּיז. The country of Phûd is Libya, lying west of Egypt. See Josephus and Jerahmeel.

To the west of him . . . on the sea for Canaan. Thus Canaan's portion extended from Libya to the Atlantic on the west. See x. 28-29. The bracketed words are a dittography.

2. Elam's portion—from the Tigris to the utmost confines of India, the countries bordering on the Red Sea and

running northward to Pontus and the Don.

The east, the whole land of India (c d). *ab* read "to the east of the whole land of India." But India was in Shem's portion. See viii. 21.

Waters of Dêdân. Dedan is a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7) or of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3). The Dedanites are generally taken to be a commercial people dwelling in Arabia, possibly on the north-west. See *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 1053.

Mebrî (b). *a* Mazbâra.

'Êlâ (*b c d*). *a* 'Êlâm.

Pharnâk. Can this be Pharnacia on the coast of Pontus? On the countries falling to Shem's portion in Asia Minor and to the north see quotation from Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*) in note on viii. 12-21.

3. *Nineveh.* Eth. Nînêvî.

and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river. 4. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. 6. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother. 7. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. 8. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of Mê'at. 9. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. 10. And for Javan came forth the fourth

Shinar. Eth. has Sinâar. The Shinar of Scripture, Gen. x. 10, etc.

And skirts the river=wawadafa falaga, emended from wadafâ falag of *abâ*, which is untranslatable. If wadafâ were the name of a river we might emend falag into falaga and translate: "to the river Wadafâ."

4. Arpachshad's portion. See further ix. 13 for the islands allotted to him. In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, the descendants of Arpachshad are identified with the Chaldees. Eth. has 'Arphâxed.

Tongue of the sea, etc. I don't know what is meant here.

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. See note on viii. 21.

5. The Syrians.

'Arârâ, i.e. Ararat. See viii. 21.

6. Lud's portion extends from the

west coast of Asia Minor to the east of Asshur. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, says the descendants of Lud were the Lydians.

8. *Magog.* Only Gog is spoken of in viii. 25.

9. The north-western portions of Europe fell to Madai's lot, but he was dissatisfied with it (see x. 35) and begged a portion of Shem's lot. Madai's lot would seem to embrace Britain and Ireland. The former is mentioned in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxxi. 5), Epiphanius and Syncellus; see notes on viii. 25-29^a.

10. *Javan.* Eth. has 'Îjô'evân. Javan denotes properly Ionia, the Greek colony in Asia Minor, and is used in this limited sense in Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13. This name also de

portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. 11. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. 12. And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it approaches the east of Gâdîr. 13. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. 14. And thus the sons of Noah divided

notes the Graeco-Macedonian empire : Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2. In our text it seems to embrace all the islands of the coast of Asia Minor, while in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, it includes Ionia and all the Greeks.

Every island and the islands. We should expect rather "all the coast-lands and the island."

11. Tubal's (Eth. Tôbêl) portion seems to extend from Thrace to Italy. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies Tubal's descendants with the Iberes who lived in the Caucasus, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 5, identify them with the Iberi and Ispania (?). It is not clear what the three tongues of land are. Italy seems to be the third, Greece the second and possibly Thrace the first. The descendants of Tubal in Gen. x. 2 are identified with Tibareni in Pontus.

12. As Italy seems to be the third tongue, Meshech's portion extends from the north of Italy to Cadiz. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 4, take the descendants of Meshech to be identified with the Cappadocians, but modern scholars with the Moschi who lived between the sources of the Phasis and Cyrus.

13. The descendants of Tiras (Eth. Tîrâs) seem to be the Tyrseni, a branch of the Pelasgians who lived by piracy on the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies them with the Thracians.

Four great islands. See on viii. 29.

[*The islands of Kamâtûrî . . . as his inheritance*]. I have bracketed these words as an interpolation. They are foreign to their present context, for it is dealing with the possessions of the sons of Japheth, and Arpachshad is a son of Shem. Furthermore, the phraseology "came out . . . for the sons of Arpachshad" is unusual. This phrase "the sons of" is used only in the case of Noah's three sons: viii. 17 "for Shem and his sons"; viii. 24 "for Ham . . . and his sons"; viii. 29 "for Japheth and his sons." But in connection with Noah's sixteen grandsons in chap. ix. it is not used. The grandson is mentioned in each case as the person to whom a certain province is allotted. On the other hand, the words may in some form have followed after ix. 4, which defines the possessions of Arpachshad. From viii. 21 we know that "the islands of Kaftûr" were in Shem's portion. Now these "islands of Kamâtûrî" may be the "islands of Kaftûr"; for Kamâtûrî could easily originate from Kaftûr.

14. Following our text Epiphanius, *Anchorat.* cxiv. (Dind. ed., vol. i. 217), writes τούτων τολυνν τῶν ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἐκ τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε γεγονότων καὶ τριχῇ τοῦ κόσμου τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς διαμερισθέντος, ὡς προεῖπον, ὅρκος ἀπητήθη παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μηδένα ἐπεμβαίνειν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κλήρῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὴν τοῦ ὅρκου διαταγὴν ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ. See also *Adv. Haer.*

unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on everyone that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. 15. And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. Noah's prayer, 3-6. Mastēmā allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits, 7-11. Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons, 12-14. Noah dies, 15-17. Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, 18-27. Canaan seizes on Palestine, 29-34. Madai receives Media, 35-36.

X. And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of† the sons of

II. ii. 544 (*Haer* lxvi. 85). In Syncellus (i. 83) also, it is said of Noah: μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐνετείλατο τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς μηδὲνα ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁρίοις καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς ἕτερον, ὡς τούτου γεννησόμενον αἰτίου στάσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ πολέμων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

15. *The day of judgment.* See note on iv. 19.

X. 1. We have here another fragment of the lost Apocalypse of Noah. The former fragment we found in vii. 20-39. Of the present fragment a summary is preserved in Syncellus, i. 49, though, of course, as forming a genuine section of Jubilees. This summary gives the contents of verses 1-9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει φέρεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῷ βφπβ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου φθόνῳ κινούμενοι μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλά-

νησαν τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε. καὶ εὐξαμένον τοῦ Νῶε ἵνα ἀποστῶσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ κύριος ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ βαλεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄχρι ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως· ὁ δὲ διάβολος ἡτήσατο λαβεῖν μοῖραν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς πειρασμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δέκατον αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσταξιν θείαν, ὥστε πειράζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς ἐκάστου πρὸς θεὸν προαιρέσεως, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐννέα μέρη ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. But what is of still greater interest is the fact that in the Hebrew Book of Noah fragments of verses 1-2, 9-14 have been preserved from the Hebrew original. For this work the reader can consult Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iv. 155-156, or my text of Jubilees, p. 179.

The third week of this jubilee. If this jubilee be the last mentioned, i.e., the thirty-third (viii. 10), then the date

Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. 2. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said:

"God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;
For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;
Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4. But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth. 5. And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits,

is 1583-1589, but it may be much earlier.

The unclean demons. These are the spirits which went forth from the Mamzerim or children of the angels and the daughters of men. See vii. 22; Eth. Enoch xiv.-xvi.

The unclean demons began . . . destroy them (so *ab*). *cd* omit "the children of." But Syncellus, i. 49, and the passage from the Hebrew Book of Noah (see my Eth. Text, p. 35, notes 17-19) show that instead of "the children of the sons" we should simply have "the sons." Under the word *daqîqa* (= "the children of") there may lie some corruption of the verb *'adqaqa*, "to beat small" = *לרכות*, a corruption for *להכות*, "to slay." Now this verb is the last infinitive in the passage of the Hebrew Book of Noah (see below), and as the other three verbs in the Ethiopic text are literal equivalents of the preceding three infinitives in the same passage we may conclude that we have thus re-

covered the true text. The passage in question is: *החלו רוחות הממזרים להתגרות בבני נח להשטות ולטעות ולהכות ולהכל* = "And the spirits of the Mamzerim began to stir themselves against the sons of Noah, to lead astray and cause to err and to destroy and to slay." "Unclean demons" in our text is a good equivalent for "the spirits of the Mamzerim," though it is not a literal rendering. The Hebrew original of our text therefore = "The unclean demons began to lead astray and to make to err and to slay and to destroy the sons of Noah" (= *החלו להשטות ולטעות ולהכות ולהכל*). On the other hand the expression "sons' sons" recurs in verses 2, 3^b, and 5^b, so that the text of *ab* may be right.

3. *God of the spirits of all flesh.* Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

Sons of perdition (= *בני האבדון*). Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

My sons (*a*). *b* "Thy sons' sons."

5. *Thy Watchers.* Cf. Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi.

acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy. 6. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore." 7. And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. 8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to

The sons (cd). b "the sons' sons."
a "the place."

6. *Canst exercise dominion over them* = tâ'amr kuânnenô lômû emended from tâ'amr kuennanêhômû = "Thou knowest their power" or "judgment."

7. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 4, 12.

8. See the quotation from Syncellus in note on ver. 1.

Mastêmâ. In the Latin version this name appears as Mastima, and in the Midrashic Book of Noah (see my text, p. 179) as שר המשטמה. Hence the form in which it appears in Syncellus and Cedrenus as Μαστιφάμ, ὁ ἀρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, or Μαστιφάτ is less accurate. Outside the Jubilee literature, as Rönisch has remarked (p. 418), this word is not found as a proper noun except in the Acts of Philip (ed. Tischend., p. 98): ὁ δὲ Μανσημάτ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὑπεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὸν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς. As a common noun it is found twice in Hos. ix. 7, 8 in the sense of "enmity." The word appears to be the hiphil of שָׂטַן (= שָׂטָן), i.e. שָׂטָן, and is therefore the equivalent of ὁ Σατανᾶς in point of meaning and derivation. As in the Eth. Enoch it is the function of the evil spirits to tempt men, Eth. Enoch lxix. 4, 6; accuse them, Eth. Enoch xl. 7; and destroy them, Eth. Enoch xv. 11, 12, xvi., in which

capacity they are designated as "angels of punishment," liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1, so also in our author. Thus the evil spirits under Mastêmâ (1) tempt men, lead them astray and blind them x. 2, 8, xlviii. 12, 16, and harden their hearts xlviii. 17. In xv. 31 it is actually stated that God put spirits in authority over men to lead them astray; see notes on xv. 31-32. Again (2) they accuse men of actual or alleged sins, xvii. 16, xlviii. 15, 18. Finally (3) they destroy those who have sinned, being created for this purpose, x. 2, 5. As angels of destruction they appear, xlviii. 2, in slaying the first-born in Egypt. In xlviii. 2 Mastêmâ seeks to slay Moses for failing to circumcise his son. These spirits seek to rule a man in order to destroy him, x. 3. But they cannot touch the righteous, x. 6; every breach of the law, however, exposes men to their malignant influence, xlviii. 2. Israel as such is God's own portion and is not subject to spirits of any kind, xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28. From this high ethical conception our author falls away, no doubt under the influence of his authorities, in x. 12, 13, where, as in Tobit, magical methods are said to be effective against evil spirits. See further note on xlviii. 2.

Let some of them remain before me. See quotation from Syncellus in note on x. 1.

execute the power of my will on the sons of men ; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men."

9. And He said : " Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation." 10. And one of us He commanded that we should

teach Noah all their medicines ; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness.

11. And we did according to all His words : all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. 12. And we explained to Noah

all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth.

13. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah. 14. And he gave all that he had written to Shem,

his eldest son ; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons. 15. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried

on Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. 16. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and 1659 A.M.

two weeks and five years. 17. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the

9. Cf. Hebrew Book of Noah : " And the angel did so and enclosed them in the house of judgment (בית המשפט). Only one-tenth did he permit to go to and fro on the earth before the prince of the Mastema to rule over the godless to smite them and to plague them with all manner of diseases." The angel according to this Hebrew book is Raphael, but according to Eth. Enoch x. 11-13 is Michael. Again, though according to our text only one-tenth of the demons are allowed to act with impunity to the day of judgment, in Eth. Enoch xv.-xvi., all the demons have this privilege.

So it is stated in the Hebrew Book of Noah, where there is a manifest paronomasia between רפואות and רפאל. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 7 ; Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14, 15.

11. See ver. 9, note.

Satan. Satan and Mastema are thus identical.

12. This verse is found almost wholly in Heb. Book of Noah (see my text of Jubilees, p. 179).

13-14. Shem as the eldest son (see note on iv. 33) or as the priest receives all the sacred writings from Noah. Cf. Syncellus ii. 83. In xlv. 16 Jacob gives all the books into Levi's hands, as Levi was priest.

10. *One of us.* This angel is Raphael.

righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgment. 18. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômânâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: "Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar." 19. For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, "Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven." 20. And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. 21. And they built it: forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the

1645-1688 A.M. 17. *Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony, etc.* Cf. iv. 24 for a similar statement.

Recount all the deeds, etc. Cf. iv. 23, 24.

Till the day of judgment. Cf. iv. 19, 24, ix. 15, x. 22.

18. *Lômânâ.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as ܠܡܢܐ (Δ), and Lagarde's MS *r* as *δυμνα*, and Algazi's Chronicle as ܠܒܢܐ.

Reu. Eth. has Râgaw = Παγαύ = רעו (Gen. xi. 18). It is obvious that our author thus derived Reu from רעו, "to be evil." There was a paronomasia in the original. "He called his name Râgau (רעו); for . . . the children of men had become evil," רעו. This derivation appears in the *Onomasticon*, p. 197, 27: 'Ραδν (i.e. 'Ρααύ) κακούμενος.

Shinar. Eth. has Sânaâr, in ver. 25 Sînââr, in 26 Sanâôr.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20. On Babel see *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 410-413.

Made brick. (Emended: see my Eth. Text, p. 34.)

Made brick with fire; and the bricks served, etc. This passage appears to be the source of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix. 2: "Come and let us make bricks . . . and let us burn them and each brick will be to us as a stone and the pitch for mortar." Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3.

21. For the three slight emendations of the text in this verse see my text, pp. 36-37. The passage is found in Greek in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175: ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη ἔμειναν οἰκοδομοῦντες. τὸ ὕψος, εὐλγὴ πῆχεις, καὶ δὺν παλεσταί (sic), τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ σγ' πλίνθους. τῆς πλίνθου τὸ ὕψος, τρίτον μίᾱς πλίνθου. τὸ ἔκταμα τοῦ ἐνὸς τοίχου στάδιοι γ' καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου

height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). 22. And the Lord our God said unto us: "Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgment." 23. And the Lord descended, and we descended with Him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built. 24. And He confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. 25. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities, each according to his language

λ'. Euty chius (translated by Pococke, 1658, pp. 51, 52) has drawn upon our text in the following passage: Tres ergo annos lateribus conficiendis et coquendis insumpserunt: quorum singuli tredecim cubitos longi, decem lati, ac quinque alti essent; urbemque inter Tyrum et Babelem exstruxerunt orgyas longam tercentum et tredecim, latam centum quinquaginta unam: cujus muri alti orgyas quinquies mille quingentas triginta tres; lati triginta tres; turris autem orgyas decies mille alta; quibus exstruendis quadraginta annos insumpserunt. Cf. J. Malalas, p. 12; Glycas, p. 240. The clauses in brackets in the translation are derived from the Greek. Rös ch (p. 401) quotes the following passage respecting this tower from Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 77-78: Der Thurm (Nimrod's) ward bis zu einer Höhe von 5000 Ellen gebaut . . . Gott liess ihn mit einem solchen Getöse umstürzen, dass alle Leute vor Schrecken ganz

ausser sich waren und jeder eine andere Sprache redete.

Thirteen stades. In Jerome (*Epist.* (78 in Migne) *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 18) we have the following reference to this passage. Hoc verbum (רָפָה), quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in Scripturis sanctis apud Hebraeos invenisse me novi absque libro apocrypho qui a Graecis Λεπτή (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις) id est, parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in aedificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletae et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. This forms Jerome's note on the name of the place of encampment Rissah (רִסָּה) in Num. xxxiii. 21, 22. In later Hebrew מִסָּה and מִסָּה are used as = stadium or race-course. See Levy's *Wörterbuch*, *in loc.*

22. *Will be withholden from them.* Lit. "will fail from them." Gen. xi. 6.

25. Cf. Gen. xi. 9.

From thence they were dispersed . . . each according to his language. Accord-

and his nation. 26. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name "Overthrow." 27. In the
 1688 A.M. fourth week in the first year in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar. 28. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south. 29. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from

ing to the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 8 the number of nations thus created were seventy, under their seventy patron angels. Cf. Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxx. 8; also Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5: διεσκέδασε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο διένειμε κατὰ τὸν τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸν εὐρεθέντα. Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 22.

26. *A mighty wind.* This is a very old tradition. It is found in Sibyll. Or. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5; Syncellus, i. 77; Cedrenus, i. 22.

"Overthrow" = *dēqat* = καταστροφή = *הפכה*. Observe the play of words not preserved in Eth.): "Overthrew it . . . and they called its name 'Overthrow'" = *הפכו את שמו וקראו*. . . . *הפכה*. This disagrees with its name "Babel" in Gen. xi. 9. According to Sanh. 109a one-third of the tower of Babel was burnt, one-third swallowed up in the earth, and one-third standing.

28. Ham's portion lay in the north of Africa. It is described in the next verse as lying in the west towards the sea, cf. ix. 1. The designation "land of the south" is a loose one. The word rendered "south" rightly means "north," but it is used occasionally in this wrong sense by Ethiopic scribes. See note on viii. 15.

29. This view is, I think, found only

in Jubilees and the books dependent upon it. Palestine fell by lot to Arpachshad and north-west Africa (see ix. 1) to Canaan; but Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine: see Epiphanius, *Anchorat.* cxiv. p. 217 (ed. Dindorf): ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Σῆμ ἡ Παλαιστίνη ὑπέπεσε καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῆς, πλεονέκτης δὲ ὢν ὁ Χαναὰν υἱὸς Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὕστερον γῆ, τουτέστι τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἀφαρπάξει αὐτήν, ἐμακροθύμει δὲ ὁ θεός, διδοὺς χρόνους μετανοίας, ἵνα μετανοήσῃαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χάμ καὶ ἀποδώσι τοῖς τοῦ Σῆμ τὴν ἰδίαν κληρουχίαν, ἐκείνοι δὲ οὐ μετενόουν, ἀλλ' ἤθελον τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν πληρῶσαι. τότε ὁ θεὸς μετὰ πολλὰς ὕστερον γενεὰς δίκαιος ὢν ἐκδικεῖ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ ὅρκου. οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὸ Ἀμορραίων μέτρον. Cf. also *Haer.* lxvi. 85 (II. ii. 544); Syncellus, i. 83; Glycas, 242. The words of the last come very near our text: ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἰδὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λίβανον γῆν ὅτι . . . ἐστὶν . . . κρείττων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς, τυραννικῶς καθήρπαξεν αὐτήν. Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Cujus interim senior frater (Shem) habitationis sortem eam, quae est in medio terrae, suscepit, in qua est regio Judaeae, junior vero orientis (should be occidentis) plagam sortitus est, ipse autem occidentis (should be orientis) accepit.

Jordan (a d). *bc* "Lebanon."

the border of the sea. 30. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said unto him : "Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot : do not do so ; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition ; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. 31. Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem ; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. 32. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father." 33. But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 34. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. 35. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day. 36. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

30. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84 : *μετὰ διακόσια ἔτη τῆς τελευτῆς Νῶε, νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατώκησεν ἐκεῖ*. With the word "sedition" in the text compare *νεωτερίσας* in Syncellus.

32. *By the curse*, etc. Cf. ix. 14, 15. *The holy judge*, i.e. the angel who was present at the drawing of lots, viii. 10.

33. *Hamath*. Eth. has 'Ēmâth (i.e., 'Ημάθ, *המא*) ; see xiii. 2. Hamath was the northern boundary of Israel (Num. xxxiv. 8 ; Judg. iii. 3, etc.). In 2 Chron. vii. 8 we have the phrase : "From the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt."

34. Cf. Glycas, p. 242 : *καὶ οὕτω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Χαναὰν προσηγορεύθη*.

35. See note on ix. 9. Diodorus, Presbyter of Antioch (*ob.* 392?), appears to have known this passage. He is quoted in *Catena Nicephori*, i. 167 on Gen. ix. 27 : *τί δὴ ποτε, καὶ κατοικησάτω ὁ Ἰάφεθ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι τοῦ Σὴμ εἴρηται ; ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πάντα προφητεία ἦν διὰ προφάσεώς τινος, ἥ ἄνευ προφάσεως φανερομένη ; καὶ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδαῖ, τουτέστιν ὁ Μῆδος, τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ὦν υἱός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν τοῦ Σὴμ οἰκήσεων κατέσχε τὴν Μηδίαν, μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς*.

Media. Eth. Mēdqîn.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry, 2-7. Nachor and Terah, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds, 15-24.

1681 A.M.

1687 A.M.

XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father.

XI. 1. Cf. Gen. xi. 21.

'Orâ. Lagarde's MS *ῥωρα*: Syr. Frag. **ܐܘܪܐ**. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45 gives Melcha.

Sêrôh. See ver. 6. Beer suggests that this is from כרה, "to sin," in Talmudic Hebrew. This would suit ver. 2, but ver. 6 implies that our author derived it from כור, "to turn aside." Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6, writes: τὸν Σερούχ τὸν ἐρμηνευόμενον Ἐρεθισμὸν.

2-6. The corruption of mankind which our author ascribes to the period of Serug is by later writers assigned to the age of Enos, the son of Seth: see iv. 12 note. Some reflection of our text appears in Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6: Φαλὲκ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Παγοῦ . . . καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρία τε καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς . . . οὕτω δὲ ἐν

ξοάνοις καὶ ἐν τορείαις λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων . . . μόνον δὲ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἐαυτῇ ἐφηύρατο τὴν κακίαν: also in Cedrenus, i. 47: ἐπὶ τούτου (Σηροῦχ) οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων ἀνέξήσαντες τύφον στρατηγούς τε ἑαυτοῖς κατεστήσαντο καὶ βασιλεῖς. καὶ τότε πρῶτως πολεμικὰ κατασκευάσαντες ὅργανα πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐνῆρξαντο. See also Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 24: Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45.

2. *Individuals began to exalt themselves, etc.* So MSS. The emendation in my text is not necessary.

3. 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd. We have here an attempt to explain the phrase Ur of the Chaldees (אור כשדים) through reference to Ur and his father Kêsêd.

'Arô. Corrupt for Ura or Ur.

4. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth. 6. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. 7. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-^{1744 A.M.}sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. 8. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. 9. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth^{1800 A.M.} week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. 10. And she bare him Terah in the seventh

5. *Mastêmâ.* See note on x. 8.

To corrupt, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch xvi.

6. There seems to be here a play on the name Serug. "He called the name . . . Serug (שֵׁרֻג) for every one turned (סָוָר) to all manner of sin and transgression (סָרָה)." See, however, note on ver. 1.

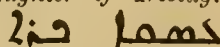
7. *He worshipped idols.* See in note on iv. 12 passage from Chron. of Jerahmeel denying this.

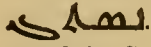
Mêlkâ, daughter of Kâbêr. So also in Syr. and Lagarde's MS r. In Gen. xi. 29 Milcah is the name of Nahor's wife, but this Nahor is Terah's son.

8. Cf. Gen. xi. 23.

His father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, etc. See reference to

Chronicles of Jerahmeel in note on iv. 12. Our text was known directly or indirectly by Cedrenus, i. 47: αὐξηθέντα δὲ τὸν Ναχώρ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων ἐπίλυσιν οἰωνῶν, τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανῷ σημείων διακρίσεις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων καὶ πᾶσαν Χαλδαϊκὴν μαντείαν. On an earlier reference to this art in our text see viii. 3.

9. *Ijâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg.* Syr. Fragment 

 This name Ijâskâ is found in Gen. xi. 29, i.e. Iscah (יסכָה), but there she is the daughter of Haran.

10. Cf. Gen. xi. 25.

Terah. Eth. has Târâ.

1806 A.M. year of this week. 11. And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. 12. And for this reason he called his name Terah, because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed. 13. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days. 14. And in this

1870 A.M. thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Êdnâ, the

11-13. This legend is traced to our text by Jerome. Two other writers reproduce it, but do not mention the source. Jerome, in commenting on Num. xxxiii. 27 (*Epist.* lxxviii. *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24), writes as follows: *Castra metati sunt in Thare (Num. xxxiii. 27): Hoc eodem vocabulo (תר) et iisdem litteris scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. I know of only two other references to the incident in our text. The first is in S. Ephraem i. 156 and is quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 248: "Abram when a child, having been sent by Terah to drive away ravens sent to destroy the crops, as a punishment for the idolatry of the land, Abram—unable to drive them away—by a sudden impulse, called upon God to order them off, who answered: 'Here am I,' and ordered the ravens away from Terah's field." The second is found in Bar-hebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 13 (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 422 sq.): *Cum Abraam annorum esset quindecim, annuit Deus precibus ejus contra picas quae terram Chaldaeorum vastabant semina terrae ab iis**

mandata per dentes. These last two passages are in the main derived from our text.

11. *Sent.* This can be rendered also "had sent."

12. *Reduced them to destitution.* The Ethiopic here = *ἐπρώχισαν αὐτούς*, but it could also be a rendering of *ἐθλίψαν* or *ἐκάκωσαν*. Hence this verb may go back to the Chaldee verb *תרע* = to ravage, devastate. This verb would constitute a play on the name Terah (תר) and the verse would run: *ובואח קרא אח שמו תרה כי העורבים תרעו בהם*. For attempts to explain the derivation of Terah from the meaning assigned by Jerome see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 266-267; Beer, *Leben Abraham's*, pp. 95-96.

14. *'Êdnâ, the daughter of Abram.* So Syriac Fragment (see my text, p. 40). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47: *Θάρρα δὲ . . . ἐγέννησεν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἐδνας, θυγατρὸς Ἀβραάμ πατραδελφου αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, ὅντινα ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐαυτῆς πατρός*. In the later Jewish books the wife of Terah is called Amthelai, the daughter of Karnebo, Baba Bathra 91a; Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103). In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (Eng. transl.) xxvii. 7, Amtalai,

daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's sister. 15. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, 1876 A.M. and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son. 16. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he separated 1890 A.M. himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. 17. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. 18. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. 19. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, "Descend not: return to the place whence ye came," and they proceeded to turn back. 20. And he caused the

the daughter of Karnabo, is said to be the wife of Nahor, but by taking the context rightly we get Amtalai as wife of Terah. Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103) gives Amtela as Terah's wife, but there is no mention of her father's name. According to Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658) Terah had two wives, Yuna and Tohwait. See note on xii. 9.

15. *Abram, by the name, etc.* This statement is referred to by Syncellus, i. 183: Τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι 'Αβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρὶα τοῦ 'Αβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε.

16-17. Syncellus writes (i. 184) on the authority of our text: τῷ ἰδ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Αβραὰμ ἐπιγνούς τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν προσεκύνη. Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47:

οὗτος ('Αβραὰμ) μόνος, τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα πλάνην νοσοῦντων, τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπέγνω καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων ἀνεκήρυξε. According to Simon ben Lakish in Ber. rabba 30, 64, 95, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim v. 16 (cf. Midr. on Esther ii. 5), Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106), Abraham knew God when only three years old, according to R. Chanina in his forty-eighth year. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 103-104 for other references.

16. For later forms of the saga in xi. 16-17, xii. 1-14, see Beer, *Leben Abr.* 3, 102.; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106 sqq.); Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix., xxxiii.-xxxiv

18. *Lad of fourteen years.* See quotation from Bar-hebraeus in note on 11-13.

clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. 21. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees. 22. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. 23. And in the first year of the fifth week

1891 A.M. Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. 24. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. Marries Sarai, 9. Haran and Nachor, 9-11. Abram burns the idols: death of Haran, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). Terah and his family go to Haran, 15. Abram observes the stars and prays, 16-21. Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed, 22-24. Power of speaking Hebrew given to him, 25-27. Leaves Haran for Canaan, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the

1904 A.M.

20. *He caused the clouds of ravens to turn back.* Here we must emend gabera (*ab*), gaberû (*c*), gab'a (*d*), into agb'a, or retaining the reading of *ab* understand jetmajatû after sabê'â.

XII. 1-14. Instead of the simple

narrative in these verses we have in later Jewish writings elaborate accounts of the fear inspired in Nimrod by Abram's birth, and the attempts of the former to destroy Abram in a furnace of fire when he refused to commit

seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here am I, my son."

2. And he said,

"What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,

And before which thou dost bow thyself?

idolatry. The idea that Abram was cast into a fiery furnace arose from a literal interpretation of Gen. xv. 7, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur (כְּאַוּר) of the Chaldees" where אֵשׁ was taken to mean "fire." Probably a comparison of Exod. xx. 2 and Is. xxix. 22 may have contributed to this interpretation. The casting of Abram into the furnace of fire is recorded in Targ.-Jon. on Is. x. 32, in the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 28, xv. 7, and the Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xv. 7; also in Ber. Rabba 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 63; Shem. rabba 18, 23, 44; Wajikra rabba 36; Debarim rabba 9. As to whether it was God Himself or an angel who delivered Abram out of the fire was a question of debate among the Rabbis in the first and second cent. (Ber. rabba 48, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim i. 12). Exaggerated and grotesque forms of the legend will be found in the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1111 sqq.) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxiii.-xxxiv. On the other hand no trace of the legend occurs in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 7) or in the Palestinian Midrashim (the Mechilta, Sifra and Sifre), nor in our text save in xii. 14, where we have perhaps the source of a kindred legend—the death of Haran by fire (see note *in loc.*). Jerome mentions this last legend (see note on xii. 14) and likewise the former about the casting of Abram into the fiery furnace (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xii. 4): Erant autem Abram septuaginta quinque annorum, quando egressus est ex Charra. Indissolubilis nascitur quaestio: si enim Thara pater Abrahæ, cum adhuc esset in regione Chaldaea, septuaginta annorum, genuit Abram, et postea in Charra ducentesimo quinto aetatis suae anno mortuus est: quomodo nunc post mortem Thare, Abram exiens de Charra, septuaginta quinque annorum fuisse memoratur: cum a nativitate Abrae usque ad mortem patris ejus, centum

triginta quinque fuisse anni doceantur. *Vera est igitur illa Hebraeorum traditio, quam supra diximus, quod egressus sit Thara cum filiis suis de igne Chaldaeorum: et quod Abram Babylonio vallatus incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat, Dei sit auxilio liberatus: et ex illo tempore ei dies vitae, et tempus reputetur aetatis, ex quo confessus est Dominum, spernens idola Chaldaeorum. Potest autem fieri ut, quia scriptura reliquit incertum, ante paucos annos Thara de Chaldaea profectus venerit in Charra quam mortem obieret, vel certe statim post persecutionem in Charra venerit et ibi diutius sit moratus. For a full discussion of the subject and references to later Jewish literature see Beer's monograph in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65. Beer is of opinion that Persia was the home of the legend and that it did not make its way into Palestine till the third cent. of the Christian era. This is much too late. A late form of the tradition is found in Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* pp. 48 sqq.*

2. This tradition of Abram admonishing Terah was known to Suidas (*Fabric. Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 336-338): 'Αβραὰμ ὑπάρχων ἐτῶν ἰδ' καὶ θεογνωσίας ἀξιοθεῖς ἐνουθέτει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγων· τί πλανᾷς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ κέρδος ἐπιζημιον, τοῦτέστι, τὰ εἰδῶλα; οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον δημιουργήσας. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. 1, p. 38, Oehler) attributes the invention of image-worship to Terah: Ναχώρ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Θάρρα· ἐντεῦθεν γέγονεν ἀνδριαντοπλασία ἀπὸ πηλουργίας καὶ κεραμικῆς ἐπιστήμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θάρρα τούτου τέχνης.

Help and profit . . . from those idols. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21, "Vain things which cannot profit nor deliver."

3. For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not :
4. Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the
earth,
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.
5. Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who
make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship
them :
Worship them not."

6. And his father said unto him, "I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have made me to serve before them? 7. And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee." 8. And these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent.

1925 A.M. 9. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became

3. *There is no spirit*, etc. See also ver. 5, xx. 8; Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4. *Causes the rain . . . to descend*. See xx. 9. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22, "Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? . . . thou hast made all these things." See also Epistle of Jeremy 53; Mt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.

5. *Work of (men's) hands*. Cf. Jer. x. 3, 9. See xx. 8, xxii. 18 of our text.

On your shoulders do ye carry them. Amos v. 26; Is. xlvi. 7; Jer. x. 5; Epist. Jer. 4, 26; Ass. Mos. viii. 4.

9. *Sarai*. Sarai is written Sôrâ in the Ethiopic till xv. 15, when she receives the name Sarah (Eth. Sârâ).

his wife. 10. And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name ^{1932 A.M.} Lot. 11. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife. 12. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, ^{1936 A.M.} in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it. 13. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire. 14. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father,

The same form of the words is found in the Ethiopic version of Gen. xvii. 15 and may go back to the Greek version. In the LXX the words, however, are given as Σάρα and Σάρρα.

The daughter of his father. Our author here follows Gen. xx. 12, where Abraham says that Sarah is the daughter of his father but not of his mother. Syncellus probably follows our text in saying (i. 183): ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ὑπῆρχε. In the Book of Adam and Eve (translated by Malan), iv. 2, the two wives of Terah are mentioned, Tona, the mother of Abraham, and Tahdif, the mother of Sarah (see note on xi. 14). On the other hand Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5; 7 1) describes Sarai as a niece of Abraham and a daughter of Haran—an evasion probably unknown to our author. According to the rabbinic tradition (*Jebam.* 98 *a*, *Sanh.* 58 *b*, *Ber. rabba* 18, etc.) marriage with half-sisters on the father's side was permitted to the descendants of Noah (see Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 167 note). Marriage with a sister or half-sister is strictly forbidden in Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17. See note on iv. 15.

10. *Haran.* Eth. has 'Arân.

11. According to Gen. xi. 29 Nahor married Milcah, the daughter of Haran.

12-14. In the note on xii. 1-14 (p. 90 sq.) I have drawn attention to the fact that our book knows nothing of the later legend of the casting of Abram into the furnace. In verses 12-14, however,

we have an old legend—possibly devised by our author, being suggested by the twofold meaning of the Ur (אור), *i.e.* the name of a country and a fire. Our author is fond of explaining events from the meanings of words. A different form of the legend appears in Jerome, who rejects the legend of Abram's being cast into the fire (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xi. 28): Pro eo, quod legimus, in regione Chaldaeorum, in Hebraeo habetur, in Ur Chesdim, id est in igne Chaldaeorum. Tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione istius modi fabulam: quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldaei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idolatriae igne profugerit . . . Mortuus est Aran ante conspectum Thare . . . in igne Chaldaeorum: quod videlicet ignem nolens adorare igne consumptus sit. Syncellus (i. 185) follows our author: ἐνεπύρισεν Ἀβραάμ τὰ εἰδῶλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκατεκαύθη αὐτοῖς Ἀρρὰν θέλων σβέσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐν νυκτί. Cedrenus (i. 48) seems to have had our text before him: ἤδη δὲ ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδōκει τὸν πατέρα πείθειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκέλους τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀποσχέσθαι δεισιδαιμονίας, λανθάνει νυκτὸς τῶν εἰδῶλων ἐμπρήσας τὸν οἶκον. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξαναλουμένων οἱ ἀδελφοὶ νοήσαντες ἀναπηδῶσι, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξελέσθαι τὰ εἰδῶλα. φιλοτιμότερον δὲ ὁ Ἀρὰμ τῷ πράγματι προσφερόμενος ἐν μέσῳ διαφθείρεται τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Bar-hebraeus, *Historia*

and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees. 15. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. 16. And in

1951 A.M. the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. 17. And a word came into his heart and he said: "All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?"

18. If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in His hand."

19. And he prayed that night and said
"My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.

Dynastiarum, p. 13 (quoted by Fabricius, i. 422): Incenditque ille templum idolorum in urbe Chaldaeorum, at Haran frater ipsius ad extinguendum ignem ingressus combustus est. According to Beer (*Leben Abr.* 110) the same legend is found in Midr. b. Bechaii.

15. *Haran*. Eth. has Kârân, i.e. הרן, Haran, a city in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. Cf. Gen. xi. 31.

16-18. Abram on the first of the seventh month seeks to determine the nature of the weather during the ensuing six rainy months (see note on xii. 27). In Ber. rabba 44, according to the Rabbis, God told Abram that he was a prophet and not a star-gazer. Cedrenus (i. 48-49) reproduces the sub-

stance of our text: ἔνθα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ δεκαπέντε ἔτη τῷ πατρὶ συνοικήσας ἐννοεῖ ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν κινήσεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος καιροῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν ποιότητα· ἦν γὰρ οὐ μετρίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξασκηθεὶς ἐπιστήμην. καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν ζητουμένων διάγνωσιν, συνίησι περιττὴν ἅπασαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην περιεργίαν· δύνασθαι γὰρ αὐθις τὸν θεόν, εἰ βούλοιο, μετασκευσάσαι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα τὰ προεγνωσμένα. Cf. Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106). Some such idea seems to have been present to Philo, *De Migr. Abr.* xxxii.-xxxiii.

19. *And Thee and Thy Dominion*, etc. The MSS put this line at the end of ver. 19.

20. Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have
 sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,
 And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
 And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
 That we go not astray from henceforth and for ever-
 more."

21. And he said, "Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees
 who seek my face that I may return to them, or am I
 to remain here in this place? The right path before
 Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may
 fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness
 of my heart, O my God." 22. And he made an end of
 speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was
 sent to him through me, saying: "Get thee up from thy
 country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy
 father unto a land which I shall show thee, and I shall
 make thee a great and numerous nation.

23. And I shall bless thee
 And I shall make thy name great,
 And thou wilt be blessed in the earth,
 And in Thee will all families of the earth be blessed,
 And I shall bless them that bless thee,
 And curse them that curse thee.

24. And I shall be a God to thee and thy son, and to
 thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I
 am thy God." 25. And the Lord God said: "Open his
 mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with

22-23. Gen. xii. 1-3.

22. *From the house of thy father.*
 This implies separation from Terah (see
 29-31). The phrase is omitted in Acts
 vii. 3, where the quotation is given a
 different context.

25-26. From the overthrow of Babel
 (x. 26) the knowledge of the Hebrew
 language was lost till the 75th year of

Abram's life. Our text was before
 Syncellus, i. 185. Thus, contrary to
 his own system of chronology, he
 assigns the date in this connection as
 the beginning of the 41st jubilee.
 'Ἀρχὴ τοῦ μᾶ 'Ιωβηλαίου παρ' Ἑβραίοις.
 'Ιωβήλ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πεντηκοντα-
 ετηρίς, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ 'Αδὰμ κατ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐπὶ πέντε (so Rönisch: MSS με') ἔτος

his mouth, with the language which has been revealed"; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). 26. And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. 27. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them.

1953 A.M. during the six rainy months. 28. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father, and informed him that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. 29. And Terah his father said unto him; "Go in peace:

Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη βα' (=2001: so Rönisch: MSS βν'). ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐγὼ ἐδίδαξα τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλῶσσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, λαλεῖν τὰ πάτρια πάντα, ὡς ἐν Λεπτῇ κεῖται Γενέσει. The above reckoning agrees exactly with our text if we take into account the fact that Syncellus wrongly takes a jubilee as 50 years instead of 49 years. Syncellus thus finds that on the 1st year of the 41st jubilee, 2001 years have elapsed from Adam till the 85th year of Abram. According to our text Abram was 75 years old in 1951 and therefore 85 in 1961. Now 40 jubilees + 1 = 1961, but Syncellus, reckoning the jubilee at 50 years, wrongly made the total 2001. A curtailed form of the above statement is reproduced by Cedrenus, i. 48. Again the writer of the *Clementine Recognitions*, i. 30, knew the substance of our text: Quinta decima generatione primo omnium homines idolum statuentes adoraverunt, et usque ad illud tempus divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua tenuit monarchiam.

A different tradition from that in our text appears in the *Catena Nicephori*, i. col. 177, on Gen. xi. 8, where Heber is said to have alone retained the Hebrew language, because he took no part in the building of

Babel. In the next colophon of the same work the same statement is attributed to Diodorus of Antioch (378-394 A.D.). A similar view is set forth in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 11, and in Cedrenus, i. 22: φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Ἑβερὸς τοῦ Φάλεκ πατὴρ οὐ συνέθετο τῇ πράξει τῆς πυργοποιίας διὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχεθείσης ἢ τοῦ Ἑβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. According to Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 245, this view was propounded by Bar-hebraeus (*Syr.* p. 9).

25. *Language which has been revealed.* Cf. *Clementine Recognitions* i. 30: Divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua (see preceding note).

Day of the overthrow. See note on x. 26.

27. *The books of his fathers.* See note on xxi. 10.

Six rainy months. This means the winter in the East. It is the time for study. The expression is Talmudic: ימות הושמים (Taan. 3b; Erubin 56a) in opposition to ימות החמה, the days of the Sun, i.e. the summer.

29-31. Singer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 170) is no doubt right in saying that this passage owes its existence to the author's wish to protect Abram against the reproach of leaving his aged father (see Ber. rabba 39).

May the eternal God make thy path straight,
 And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from
 all evil,
 And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before
 those who see thee,
 And may none of the children of men have power over
 thee to harm thee ;
 Go in peace.

30. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother, as thine own son : the Lord be with thee. 31. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together."

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14a. Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron, 14b-21. Chedor-laomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah : Lot taken captive, 22-24. Law of tithes enacted, 25-29. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20, xiii. 11-18, xiv. 8-14, 21-24.)

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak. 2. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak. 3. And the Lord said to him :

Accordingly, Abram is to return and fetch his father. As Terah is still alive at the age of 147 (see xi. 10, 15) it follows that our author accepts 205 years in Gen. xi. 32 (Mass., LXX) as the age of Terah when he died. The Samaritan here has 145, and this is the text presupposed by Acts vii. 4. It is accepted by Budde and Dillmann.

XIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xii. 5-6.
 †Asshur.† I have obelised this as corrupt. We should expect "Canaan."
a has Sûr.

Shechem. Eth. has Sakimôn.
 2. *Hamath.* Eth. has 'Êmâth. See note on x. 33.

Lofty oak. So LXX Gen. xii. 6 ;
 Mass. = "oak of Moreh."

"To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there. 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees,

1954 A.M. and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God." 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land.

1956 A.M. 11. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais in Egypt was at

3-5. Cf. Gen. xii. 7-8.

5. *Unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west*, etc. After "mountain" there is probably a loss of the words: "to the east of Bethel with." This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zaseinû after Bêtêl in *a* may be a corruption of westa=έν. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl. *bcd* read "unto the mountain of Bethel," etc.

Ai. Eth. 'Aggê, LXX 'Αγγαί.

6. *Date trees*=bīlanôs (=βάλανος), an emendation of *a* bibanôs. *cd* read libânôs, which Dillmann takes to mean "pine trees."

8. *On the new moon of the first month*. So *cd*, which is to be preferred to the reading of *ab* as Praetorius and Littmann have pointed out.

Thou, the eternal God, art (bcd). *a*, "And said, the eternal God is." See ver. 16.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xii. 8^b-10.

10. *Hebron*. Eth. Kêbrôn.

Bealoth, Latin Bahalot, LXX Βααλ-ώθ (Mass. בִּהְלוֹת). A town in the south of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, as Littmann has recognised. MSS corruptly Bôa Lôth.

12. *Tanais*, i.e. Zoan, מִצְרַיִם (LXX

that time built—seven years after Hebron. 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first 1963 A.M. jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever." 17. And in the fourth 1964 A.M. year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children. 19. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I

Taviv). The statement in this verse is drawn from Num. xiii. 22.

13-15^a. Cf. Gen. xii. 15-20. Our author conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh relative to Sarai, and omits Gen. xii. 18. The Book of Jashar expands all the details of the Biblical account.

15. *Journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent*, etc. Cf. Gen. xiii. 3, 4.

Ai on the east, etc. See on ver. 5.

16. *Thou, the most high God*, etc. Cf. ver. 8.

17. *Lot parted from him*. Cf. Gen. xiii. 11.

18. *It grieved him* = 'akajô. So *b*. Cf. Sir. xi. 22 for this transitive use. *a* has 'ak'ijô, *d* 'a'ëkajû. *c* gives hazana, a conjecture right in sense.

19-21. Cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

19. *This week*. MSS add "and said" against Latin and Gen. xiii.

shall give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I shall make thy seed as the sand of the sea : though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered.

21. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all ; for to thy seed shall I give it." And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there. 22.

And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea. 23. And they took

captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan. 24. And one who had

escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. 25.

for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the

20. *Sand of the sea.* This expression is borrowed from Gen. xxi. 17. Gen. xiii. 16 has here : "dust of the earth."

Not be numbered. Gen. xiii. 16 omits the negative ; but it is also found in Onkelos.

21. I have added "through the land" from Gen. xiii. 17, since the expression "length of it" presupposes its presence in the text, otherwise we have to go back twenty-three words in the Ethiopic for the antecedent of "it." The Latin is here defective, omitting "through the land in its length and."

22-29. Cf. Gen. xiv.

22. *Chedorlaomer.* Eth. has Kôdôlâ-gômôr.

Amraphel. Eth. has 'Âmârphel. Cf. Gen. xiv. 1 (LXX) 'Αμαρφάλ.

Sêllâsar. Possibly a corruption of Ellâsar, since sê and 'ê are easily confused in Ethiopic ; but the corruption originated in the Greek, since A in Gen. xiv. 1 has Σελλασαρ ; or in the Hebrew, as the Syriac has Dalasar and the Targum of Ps.-Jon. Telassar.

Têrgâl, i.e. Tidal of Mass. Syr. has Tarîl and LXX Θαργάλ.

Gomorrah. Eth. Gômôr.

King of Sodom fled. Our author here corrects the apparent contradiction in Gen. xiv. 10, 17.

Vale of Siddim. An easy emendation of a corrupt text. See my Eth. text (p. 48).

23. *Adam, i.e.* Admah.

They went. Text which has "he went" should be emended.

To Dan. Cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

24. *One who had escaped.* Gen. xiv. 13. This person was named Oni according to the Book of Jashar (Migne's *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125).

And (Abram) armed his household servants. Gen. xiv. 14. For "armed" (α β δ), c corruptly reads "made atonement for." Onkelos (ורין) supports the rendering which our text gives of ירק in Gen. xiv. 14. The LXX ἡρίθμησε and Vulg. numeravit which presuppose ירק the text of the Samaritan.

25. At the beginning of this verse there is obviously a lacuna, for the text

first-fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. 26. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep. 27. And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. 28. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: "Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine." 29. And Abram said unto him: "I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a

is anacolouthic. *c* removes the anacolouthon by changing 'astarasaja = "armed" of *abā* into 'astasēraja = "made atonement for." Thus instead of "(Abram) armed his household servants . . . for Abram" we have "his household servant made atonement for Abram." But this change is against the best MSS, which are likewise supported by Gen. xiv. 14 (see note on ver. 24), and it does not dispense with the necessity of assuming a lacuna at the close of ver. 24. The lacuna, drawn attention to in our text, would naturally contain an account of Abram's pursuit of the kings and recovery of the captives and spoil. It no doubt told also of Melchizedek; for ver. 25 presupposes Gen. xiv. 18^b-20^c by declaring that the tithes belong to the priests. In Nedar 32^b it is said that the priestly office passed from Melchizedek's successors to those of Abraham because Melchizedek sinned in blessing Abraham before he blessed God (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 74). Since Beer had before him the corrupt reading of *c*, which tries to obviate the anacolouthic nature of the text, he assumed that the text contained no reference to Melchizedek. It is true that this passage has always been a stumbling-block to strict Jews. Thus it was urged against them by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 19: ἀπερίμνητος ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδέκ, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας

προσφοράς ἔδωκεν Ἀβραάμ) that Melchizedek was uncircumcised to whom Abram gave tithes, and also by Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* iii.: Patriarchae incircumcisi fuerunt, ut Melchisedech qui ipsi Abrahae jam circumciso . . . panem et vinum obtulit incircumcisis. To evade such attacks some Jewish writers declared that Melchizedek was born circumcised (Ber. rabba 43; for other references see Singer, p. 122 note); also that Melchizedek was identical with Shem (Targum Jon. and Jerus. on Gen. xiv. 18; Nedar 32^b; Ber. rabba 44: Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125); see Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 142; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 122 note for further references). These evasions were apparently unknown to Philo and Josephus. In connection with the fact that Melchizedek was called "a priest of the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 18) we should remember that the Maccabeans called themselves by this title (see note on xxxii. 1). Now since our author (see Introd. § 21) is an apologist of the Maccabean dynasty, it is not probable that he would omit all reference to Melchizedek who first bore the title they afterwards assumed.

26. From the enigmatical words of Gen. xiv. 20 "he gave him a tenth of all" our author derives the law of universal tithing. See xxxii. 15.

28-29. Cf. Gen. xiv. 21-24.

thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These will take their portion."

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt, 8-17. God's covenant with Abram, 18-20. Hagar bears Ishmael, 21-24. (Cf. Gen. xv., xvi. 1-4, 11.)

XIV. After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great." 2. And he said: "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed." 3. And He said unto him: "This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir." 4. And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them." 5. And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: "So shall thy seed be." 6. And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 7. And He said unto

29. *Aner.* Eth. has 'Aunân.

XIV. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xv. 1-6.

2. *Lord, Lord.* Probably = Δέσποτα Κύριε as in LXX of Gen. xv. 2 = ארני יהיה

The son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid. The Greek translator (and also the LXX) wrongly took טַשֶּׁק (= "possession") to be a proper name.

Instead of "the son of Mâsêq" we should have "the possessor." Next, "the son of my handmaid" = ὁ οἰκογενής μου. Hence our text = בן־טַשֶּׁק בן־בִּיתִי. Subsequent tradition made much of Eliezer. He was said to be one of the seven righteous men who had not tasted of death (Baba bathra 58 a).

7. Cf. Gen. xv. 7.

him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I shall be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee." 8. And he said: "Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?" 9. And He said unto him: "Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. 11. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. 12. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years. 14. And the nation also to whom they will

And I shall be God unto thee (cd). *ab* read "to be God unto thee."

8-9. Cf. Gen. xv. 8-9.

8. *Lord, Lord.* See note on ver. 2.

9. *An heifer of three years, etc.* The Mass., LXX, Ps.-Jon., Wajikra rabba 14, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10. 3 mention one animal of each kind, as here. On the other hand, Gen. rabba and Onkelos on this verse prescribe three of each kind. So also Rashi, Nachmanides, Kimchi according to Beer (*Leb. Abr.* 20, 121).

10. *In the middle of the month.* Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, and the Seder Olam 5, state that this event took place on Nisan 15.

Dwelt at the oak of Mamre. Cf. Gen. xiv. 13.

11-12. Cf. Gen. xv. 10-11.

12. *The pieces.* The MSS have here "that which was spread out" = *ταθέντα*, which I have taken to be a corruption

of *τμηθέντα*: cf. LXX τὰ διχοτομήματα. This would imply the reading *נורים*. But *ταθέντα* might possibly be a corruption of *καταθέντα* = פנירים as in Mass. text. In that case we should render "carcases." Observe that LXX (= ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα ἐπὶ τὰ διχοτομήματα) had clearly *על-הפירות על-נורים* before it.

And Abram drove them away = καὶ ἀπεσόβησεν (= Mass. *וַיִּשְׁבּ*) αὐτὰ Ἀβράμ (Aquila). LXX = καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβράμ.

13-16. Cf. Gen. xv. 12-16.

13. *They will bring them into bondage.* So LXX and Vulgate. Mass., Sam., and Syr. = "they will be in bondage to them."

Four hundred years. In Gen. xv. 13 the length of the sojourn in Egypt is given as 400 years, but in Exod. xii. 40 as 430. But since neither number agrees with the period calculated from the ages of Kohath, Anram

be in bondage shall I judge, and after that they will come forth thence with much substance. 15. And thou wilt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation they will return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Gergashites, and the Jebusites." 19.

in Exod. vi. 18, 20, and Moses at the time of the Exodus, vii. 7; tradition early assumed that the above periods include the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan before the migration. Thus the LXX in Exod. xii. 40 insert the words *καὶ ἐν γῇ Χανάαν* after *ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ*, and the same addition is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The period of 400 or 430 years was reckoned from the date of its announcement in Gen. xv. 13, according to St. Paul, Gal. iii. 16, 17; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps.-Jon. in Exod. xii. 40, but our text reckons the 430 years from Isaac's birth. On the other hand, Philo (*Quis rer. div. her.* 54) sets down the actual sojourn of Israel in Egypt at 400 years, and likewise Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4). According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, 41 the 430 years are explained as follows: 400 years elapsed between Isaac's birth, which took place when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5), and the Exodus; and 430 between the date of God's promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) and the Exodus; for this promise was given 30 years before Isaac's birth. Thus 430 years = 30 (years between promise in Gen. xv. 13 and birth of Isaac) + 60 (years from birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob) + 130 (being age of Jacob on his arrival in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9) +

210 (years of sojourn in Egypt). According to this chronology it follows that Abram was 70 years old when he witnessed the vision in Gen. xv. 7-21. But according to Gen. xii. 4 Abram was already 75 when he left Haran. This difficulty obliged later Jewish exponents to assume that Abram had paid an earlier visit in his 70th year to Canaan, and that Gen. xv. 7-21 belongs to that earlier visit and that its present context is accordingly wrong. This method of exposition is followed in the Book of Jasher where Gen. xv. 7-21 is first recounted (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1119) and subsequently Gen. xv. 1-6 (ii. 1125-1126). The double journey to Canaan is referred to by R. Nehemiah in *Ber. rabba* 39. For other references to later Jewish literature on this question see Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 118-120.

Of this later form of exposition our book knows nothing.

16. *Fourth generation.* A generation means here 100 years. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5).

17-18. Cf. Gen. xv. 17-21.

17. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

18. *The Hivites.* Found in Sam. and LXX of Gen. xv. 20, but not in Mass., Syr., or Vulg.

And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever. 21. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. 22. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him; "Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her." 23. And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, "Do (so)." And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 24. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth 1965 A.M. year in the life of Abram.

Abram celebrates the feast of first-fruits, 1, 2: his name changed and circumcision instituted, 3-14. Sarai's name changed and Isaac promised, 15-21. Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised, 22-24. Circumcision an eternal ordination, 25, 26. Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised, 27-29. Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels, 30-32. Future faithlessness of Israel, 33, 34. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this 1979 A.M.

19. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

20. *On that day, i.e.* the 15th Sivan. We have already seen (see note on vi. 17-18) that the Covenant with Noah was probably assigned to the same month

and the same day of the month by our author.

21^d-24^{ab}. Cf. Gen. xvi. 1-4.

24. *And he called his name Ishmael.* Cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

XV. 1. †*Fourth*† (*a c d*). *b* reads "seventh." It should be "third," here

jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain

and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognised. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xlv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

To begin with, it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word "Sabbath" in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved "on the morrow after the Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, כַּמָּחֳרָה הַשְּׁבִיעִתָּה). In what sense, then, are we to take the word "Sabbath"? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

(1) First the word "Sabbath" is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day.

(i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by *τη ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* (here *ἡ πρώτη* = השבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, כַּמָּחֳרָה יוֹמָא טַבָּא קַמָּא; in the Targum of Onkelos (כַּמָּחֳרָה יוֹמָא טַבָּא) where "the Sabbath"

is simply rendered "the feast day"; in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, *τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ*; in Philo, *De Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: *Ἐορτὴ δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα*. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (a) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (b) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A.D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase *כַּמָּחֳרָה יוֹמָא טַבָּא קַמָּא* = "after the second (feast) day," that is Nisan 21. (c) But the usage is as early as the second cent. B.C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term "Sabbath" stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath, are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 a) took "the morrow after the Sabbath" to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened

harvest. 2. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense. 3. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: "I am God Almighty; approve thyself before Me and be thou perfect. 4. And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly." 5. And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6. "Behold My ordinance is with thee,

And thou wilt be the father of many nations.

7. Neither will thy name any more be called Abram,

But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.

For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8. And I shall make thee very great,

And I shall make thee into nations,

And kings will come forth from thee.

9. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an

bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-137) holds that the $\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribes de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connection. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that "the morrow after the Sabbath" was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos.*

Recht,² 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Heb. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (Herzog's *Real Encyc.*² xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real Encyc.*² and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

2. An heifer and a goat, etc. Cf. xiv. 9. These are not the sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

3-4. Cf. Gen. xvii. 1-2.

3. Approve thyself. Cf. LXX, $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ and Syr. ܐܡܝܢ , which are all free renderings of התהלך .

5-10. Cf. Gen. xvii. 3-8.

eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. 10. (And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee) the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I shall be their God." 11. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "And as for thee, do thou keep My covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it will be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you. 12. And the child on the eighth day ye will circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. 13. He that is born in thy house will surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money will be circumcised, and My covenant will be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. 14. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul will be cut off from his people, for

10. (*And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee*). These words, lost through homoioteleuton, I have restored from Gen. xvii. 8.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xvii. 9-13.

12. *The child (or "children") on the eighth day ye will circumcise*. This form of Gen. xvii. 12 is found only in the Eth. vers. of that passage and in our text. It seems to be a deliberate change of "the child of eight days ye shall circumcise," as in Gen. xvii. 12. See on ver. 14.

14. Cf. Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary in *Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123-124): *Incircumciscus masculus, qui non fuerit circumciscus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa*; and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is

wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV., many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenising attitude towards circumcision our author emphasises what was apparently the current view of his time, *i.e.*, that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for

he has broken My covenant." 15. And God said unto Abraham: "As for Sarai thy wife, her name will no more be called Sarai, but Sarah will be her name. 16. And I shall bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I shall bless him, and he will become a nation, and kings of nations will proceed from him." 17. And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?" 18. And Abraham said unto God: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 19. And God said: "Yea, and Sarah also will bear thee a son, and thou wilt call his name Isaac, and I shall establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after

the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: "A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well." But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: "We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לא נאחריו יום אחד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more." That the severer form of the halacha prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second cent. A.D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): "Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως κὰν ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?" This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10b, Sotah 10b, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba, in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, or "the laying bare." This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

15-22. Cf. Gen. xvii. 15-22.

16. *I shall bless him.* So also the Sam., LXX, Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xvii. 16, whereas the Sam. makes the rest of

him. 20. And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I shall bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he will beget twelve princes, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant shall I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee, in these days, in the next year." 22. And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. 23. And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. 24. And on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him. 25. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. 26. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from

the verse, and the Mass. and Onk. make the entire verse refer to Sarah.

20. *Princes.* So Mass. (נָשִׁים) and Vulg. LXX, $\xi\theta\nu\eta = \text{נָשִׁים}$.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xvii. 23-27.

24. *On the selfsame day, i.e.,* on the 15th of Sivan; see ver. 1. According to the Yalkut Chadash 121 *a* Abraham was circumcised on the 13th or 15th of Nisan, or on the Day of Atonement, or on the New Moon of January (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 63, 152).

(*And those born in the house*). Restored with Lat.

25. See note on ver. 14.

No omission of one day out of the eight

days. I take this clause to be parallel in meaning to the preceding. In no case is the circumcision to be performed before the eighth day. The word translated "omission" is the same as that translated "neglecting" or "transgressing" in vi. 31.

26. This verse is simply an enlargement of ver. 14, which as we saw is Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. MSS and Latin have "till the eighth day." But since this verse is simply an emphatic and enlarged form of ver. 14, for "till" we should clearly have "on." Besides, "till" gives the wrong sense; for the

the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 27. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. 28. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. 29. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. 30. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. 31. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children

circumcision is to be performed *on* the eighth day. The error can be explained by the corruption of ׁ into ׃ or ׃ into ׃ in the Hebrew.

And to be rooted out of the earth. *ad* and Latin omit, possibly through homoioteleuton.

27. There are two classes of angels mentioned here: the angels of the presence (see i. 29 note, ii. 2 note, 18, xxxi. 14) and the angels of sanctification (see ii. 2 note, 18 ["holy ones," "sancti," xxxi. 14]), according to the Ethiopic text; but three or four according to the Latin: *angeli vultus*, *archangeli benedictionis*, *angeli sanctificationis*, *angeli sanctorum ipsius*. But the last does not constitute a distinct order. It is simply a comprehensive term for the two (or three) highest orders, since it occurs in the following context: *ut esset simul cum ipso et cum angelis sanctorum ipsius*. Here *ipso* means "God," and the *angelis sanct. ipsius* sums up the orders mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence. Since in ii. 18 the Ethiopic speaks so clearly of only two classes, I am inclined to believe that "benedictionis" is

simply an alternative rendering that has ousted the true reading, "sanctificationis," and that the context deals only with two orders of angels. The two orders mentioned here in the Ethiopic text are the same two who are said to unite with God and Israel in observing the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). The inferior angels of service did not enjoy this privilege. Now just as the highest angels shared with Israel in the privilege of the Sabbath, so they shared also in the privilege of circumcision. They were created circumcised, just as, according to later Judaism, many of the patriarchs of Israel were born so. (See note on ver. 14.) Such a belief was not difficult to believers in the loves of the angels for the daughters of men (v. 1 sqq.). In *Debarim rabba* on i. 2 it is said that the angels of service, *i.e.* the inferior orders, sought to know the Law, but it was hidden from them (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² 25).

30. *Chose them.* The Ethiopic reproduces the Hebrew idiom בחר. The Latin gives *elegit ex ipsis*.

Israel. See on xvi. 17.

31-32. This idea that Israel was

of men ; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. \ 32. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. 33. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law ; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,

God's portion but that the Gentiles were placed under the dominion of angels, goes back to an old (possibly the oldest) form of the text of Deut. xxxii. 8-9, which, reading לַאֲ instead of לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, is reproduced in the LXX :

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὑψιστος ἔθνη . . .
 ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνῶν
 κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.
 καὶ ἐγενήθη μέρος Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ
 Ἰακώβ.

This view next appears in Sir. xvii. 17 :

ἐκάστω ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον,
 καὶ μέρος Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν :

and in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1, where, however, all the nations including even Israel are understood to be under the patronage of angels, Israel being under Michael. According to Eth. Enoch lxxxix. Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world. The appointment of these seventy angels to be the heads of the nations is recorded in the Ps.-Jon. of Deut. xxxii. 8. They may be referred to as demons in 1 Cor. x. 19, or as τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in Gal. iv. 3, 9 ; Col. ii. 20.

31. *To lead them astray.* In x. 3, 8, xix. 28, this is the function assigned

to the demons, who were the spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (see v. 1, 7-9, x. 5, 8, 9). But in the present passage it is said that God gave the hegemony of the nations to angels for this purpose. The condemnation of the seventy angelic patrons for their evil treatment of Israel is described in Eth. Enoch xc. 22, 23, and also in Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22, though in the latter passage the cause is not assigned. I think we may assume that the statement in our text is made on the same principle as many in the Scriptures (cf. Is. vi. 9 ; Matt. xiii. 14 ; Mark iv. 12, etc.), in which the ultimate result of an action or a series of actions is declared to have been the immediate object of them.

In later Judaism at all events the seventy angels are described as the rulers of the nations. These angels share in the fortunes, whether favourable or unfavourable, of the nations over which they bear sway. They are likewise the sources of corruption to their subject peoples, introducing idolatry and impurity. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 805-820.

33. This verse shows that the apostasy in Israel in early part of the second cent. B.C. was very widespread.

sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. 34. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron, and Isaac again promised, 1-4. Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance, 5-9. Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God, 10-19. Institution of the feast of tabernacles, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12, xix. 24, 29, 33-37, xx. 1, 4, 8, xxi. 1-4.)

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and

Sons of Beliar. An O.T. expression: cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12, etc. For a full treatment of the Beliar myth, see my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. liv sqq. From i. 20 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Dan. 5 it follows that as early as the second cent. B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.

34. *Have forsaken His covenant . . . inasmuch as they do not observe.* Our author has forgotten his rôle as a

prophet and dropped into that of the annalist.

[*So that . . . pardon*]. A corrupt dittography.

XVI. 1. Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10. Our author omits all reference to Gen. xviii. 2-9. Singer (122 note, 293 note) thinks that the eating of the angels may have given offence as it did to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11. 2, οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ πατέσθον ἐσθίουτων).

2. Cf. Gen. xviii. 10, 12, 15.

written in the heavenly tables (*i.e.*) Isaac, 4. And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. 5. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6. And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tables, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation. 10. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. 12. And in the middle of the sixth month the

4. *Would have conceived.* The text is corrupt, but the corruption is as old as the Greek version, as it seems to have led to the gloss in verses 15-16. We should expect "would conceive." See verses 12 (where this promise is fulfilled), 16.

5. Cf. Gen. xix. 24.

Zeboim, in text *Sôbô'im*. See Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

6. *Like unto the judgment of.* Latin = sicut judicavit.

7-8. Cf. Gen. xix. 29, 31 sqq.

10. *Mountains.* The Eth. could be rendered "territories" or "confines" as in Latin. There may, however, as Rönsch (p. 102) suggests, have been a confusion of *ôpos* and *ôpos*.

11. All mention of Abraham's unseemly treatment of Abimelech is omitted.

Well of the Oath, *i.e.* Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31.

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4.

Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken, and she conceived. 13. And she bare a son in the third month, 1980 A.M. and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. 14. And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever. 15. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son. 16. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: 17. And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. 18. For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be

13. Birth of Isaac on the 15th of Sivan. According to the Rosh ha-Shanah 10*b*, Isaac was born on the Passover Feast; according to the Midrash Tanchuma on Exodus (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 168), on the first of Nisan.

15. †Fourth†. This should be "third" as in xv. 1. Abram was in his eighty-sixth year when Ishmael was born (xiv. 24), that is, in the fifth year of the first week of the forty-first jubilee. Fifteen years later Isaac was born in the hundredth year of Abraham.

15-16. The words bracketed in these verses contain a gloss that destroys the sense of the context. They proceed from a corrupt reading in ver. 4 and misunderstanding of text generally.

16. *Blessed him*. For "him" Eth.

reads "her." Similarly after "announced to." The Latin is followed here.

Six sons more. Abraham had six sons by Keturah: Gen. xxv. 2. See xx. 1 of our text.

In Isaac should his name, etc. Gen. xxi. 12. See xvii. 6 of our text.

17. All the descendants of Abraham save Jacob and his posterity belong to the Gentiles. See xv. 30. In Sanh. 59*b* there is a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in consequence of Gen. xvii. 9, 10. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held that the obligation did not extend to the descendants of Esau. See above xv. 30.

18. *Portion of the Most High*. See note on xv. 31-32.

unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation. 19. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 20. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath. 21. And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth. 22. And during these seven days he brought

A people for (His) possession = *hezba terit* (cf. xxxiii. 20), emended from *hezba* (*a b c*) *tersit* (*b c*) *tirsita, a*) = "people of magnificence." *d* reads "people of inheritance" (*hezba rest*), cf. Deut. iv. 20; Latin, *populum sanctificatum*. This last = *λαδὸν ὄσιον*, which may be corrupt for *λαδὸν οὐσίας* (or *περιούσιον*) = *עם סגלה* (Deut. vii. 6), a frequent O.T. phrase; cf. Exod. xix. 5, which was clearly before our author, as the closing clause of our verse shows. See also Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, where the full phrase *עם סגלה* is found. In xix. 18 of our text the same difficulties recur. If *tersit* is right, we might compare Deut. xxvi. 19.

A kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = *βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς*, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = *βασιλεία ἱερατική* = *ממלכת כהנים*. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by *βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα* (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have *βασιλειαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 *βασιλειαν ἱερεῖς*. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in

giving practically the same rendering of *ממלכת כהנים* in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as *מלכין כהנים* (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. *קטירי כלילא מלכין כהנים* (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. *מלכין וכהנים*; and the Syr. version *ܡܠܟܝܢ ܕܟܗܢܝܢ*; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

20-31. The account of the feast of tabernacles in our text is peculiar. As regards the number of victims it presents some points of agreement and many of disagreement with the account given in Num. xxix. 12-40. I cannot offer any explanation of these phenomena. Verses 20-22 were before Cedrenus i. 50: *μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ Μαβρῆ δρυὸς ἀπαναστὰς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ κατασκευοῖ τοῦ ὄρκου. ἐαυτῷ δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ κατὰ συγγενείας πηξάμενος σκηνάς, τότε πρῶτον Ἀβραὰμ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν ἐορτήν.*

22. Two different sacrifices are here recorded: a burnt-offering (*עולה*) and a sin-offering (*חטאת*).

each day to the altar a burnt-offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin-offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. 23. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings; and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. 24. And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure. 25. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house; and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised. 26. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of right-

Two oxen or "bullocks." According to Num. xxix. 13-33 thirteen bullocks were sacrificed on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and soon, the number being diminished by one each day.

Two rams. So in Num. xxix. 13.

Seven sheep. In Num. xxix. 13 fourteen he-lambs.

One he-goat. So in Num. xxix. 16.

23. *Thank-offering* = *θυσία σωτηρίου* = *זבח שלמים*. The victims in this case correspond in kind and number with those offered by Hezekiah in 2 Chron. xxix. 21, but in the latter passage they constitute a sin-offering for the kingdom.

24. *Fragrant substances* = *ἡδύσματα* = *כסמים*. Our author is here making use of Exod. xxx. 34, and not of Num. iv. 16; Lev. iv. 7 etc. as the Latin implies, which has incensum compositionis = *θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως* from Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 13; Num. iv. 16 (*קטרת הכסמים*). The Ethiopic appears to be right.

Frankincense, galbanum, etc. The

first four of these are mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34, *לִבְנָה* (= *λίβανος* = libanus, thus), *חֲלָבֵנָה* (= *χαλβάνη* = galbanum), *שֵׁט* (= *στακτή* = stacte), *נֹדָה* (= *ὄνυξ* = nardus). All seven are enumerated in Sir. xxiv. 15:

ὥς κιννάμωμον καὶ ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων δέδωκα ὁσμὴν,

καὶ ὥς σμύρνα ἐκλεκτὴ δέδωκα εὐωδίαν,

ὥς χαλβάνη καὶ ὄνυξ καὶ στακτή,
καὶ ὥς λίβανου ἀτμὶς ἐν σκηνῇ.

Here *χαλβάνη*, *ὄνυξ*, *στακτή*, *λίβανου ἀτμὶς* correspond to the first four in our text but in a different order, and *κιννάμωμον*, *ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων*, *σμύρνα* to the last three. These seven fragrant constituents of the incense offering are mentioned in Jer. Joma iv. 5; Keritot 6a b (Singer, 75 note; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. 248).

26. *Plant of righteousness.* See xxi. 24; Eth. Enoch x. 16; xciii. 5, 10, where the same expression is found. Cf. also lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2 in the same work.

eousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things. 27. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 28. And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tables. 29. For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for ever throughout their generations every year. 30. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. 31. And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. Mastēmā proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in

28. *All his seed.* Latin omits "all."

29. *A statute for ever, etc.* Lev. xxiii. 41.

30. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

Set wreaths upon their heads. This is unknown to tradition in connection with the feast. The custom of wearing chaplets at feasts is referred to in Wisdom ii. 7-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1 (cf. 3 Macc. iv. 8), but it cannot be established as a Jewish one. Bridegrooms, however, were adorned with myrtles and roses, Gittin 7 a, Sota 49 b (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 47). The metaphorical use of "crown" or "wreath"

as ὁ στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς (Rev. ii. 10; cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8) is familiar also in Judaism; cf. Megilla 15 b.

31. *Branches of palm trees.* Text lebba dabart and Latin corde palmarum go back as Dillmann recognised to לולבי (לולב) was wrongly taken as לבב by the Greek translator. We might observe that the Targums on Lev. xxiii. 40 have here simply לולבין.

Every day . . . seven times. According to Sukka iv. 5 it was only on the seventh day that the worshippers went round the altar seven times (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 46; Singer, 75).

order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.)

XVII. And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac 1982 A.M. was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. 3. And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing, and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac." 5. And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son, that he should drive them from him. 6. And God said to Abraham "Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. 7. But as for the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed." 8. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle

XVII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8.

†*Fifth*†. This should be "fourth."
See a similar error in xvi. 15.

2. *Because he had seen his sons*, etc.
Cf. xvi. 16.

3. See xiii. 19 sqq.

4-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

4. *And dancing*. Since the Latin has cum Isaac, wa-yezafen may be corrupt

for ba-yeshaq = "with Isaac." These words are found in the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 9 but not in the Mass. or Sam.

7. *A great nation*. The epithet "great" is supported by the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 13, but omitted by the Mass., Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. The last reads instead: "a nation of robbers."

of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 9. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down. 10. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, "Let me not see the death of my child," and as she sat she wept. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, "Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child." 12. And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran. 13. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. 14. And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth; for she said, "The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him."

2003 A.M. 15. And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ came and said

10. *An olive tree.* Instead of ἐλάτας LXX has ἐλάτης.

12. *She opened.* We should with Gen. xxi. 19 expect "he."

14. *Nebaioth.* Eth.=Nâbêwôt. Cf. Gen. xxv. 13.

Was nigh. We should expect the original behind "was nigh" to contain some of the consonants in "Nebaioth."

15. Isaac is thus twenty-three when he was offered up by Abraham (cf.

xvi. 12 and xvii. 15). According to the Seder Olam, Isaac was thirty-seven.

16. Here as elsewhere (cf. xlviii. 2, 17) our author attributes to Mastêmâ the conduct which he deems unworthy of God but which is ascribed to Him by Gen. xxii. 1. Cf. also James i. 13. We might compare with our text the following passage from Sanh. 89b 'Satan spake before the Holy One, blessed be He. 'Lord of the World, Thou hast given fruit of the body to

before God, "Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him. 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. 18. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful,

this old man of 100 years, and yet in all the feasts celebrated by him, he has never offered in sacrifice to Thee a bullock or a young dove.' God answered him: . . . 'If I were to say to him, Sacrifice thy son, he would sacrifice him, etc.'" Cf. also Bk. of Jashar (ii. 1139).

17. According to xix. 8 Abraham was submitted to ten trials. Seven are mentioned in this verse: 1. The going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. The wealth of kings. 4. The seizure of his wife by the king of Egypt. 5. Circumcision. 6, 7. The dismissal of Ishmael and Hagar. In xix. 3, 8 the burial of Sarah is specially mentioned as the tenth. The eighth and ninth though not specifically reckoned as such in our text are the unfruitfulness of Sarah, xiv. 21, and the sacrifice of Isaac, xviii. This enumeration agrees closely with those of Maimonides, Jona Girondi and Simon Duran which are given below. From Beer's *Leben Abr.* 190-192 I draw the account in Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 26 sq.: 1. Nimrod's attempt on his life. 2. Ten years imprisonment in Cutha and Khadr. 3. Departure from his country. 4. Famine. 5. Seizure of his wife. 6. War with the kings. 7. Covenant between the pieces. 8. Circumcision. 9. Rejection of Ishmael. 10. Offering of Isaac. The account given in Fabricius, *Col. Pseud. V.T.* i. 398, differs slightly from the above. According to Pirke R. Nathan, ch. 33, two trials were sustained when he was bidden to leave his home (Gen.

xii. 1) and to go to Mt. Moriah to sacrifice Isaac (xx. 2): two in connection with his sons: two in connection with his wives: one with the kings: one between the sacrificial pieces: one in the furnace of the Chaldees: one in circumcision. According to the reckoning of Maimonides (see Fabricius (*ibid.* 399); Rönsch, 383) the trials were: 1. Going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. Seizure of his wife. 4. War with the kings. 5. Unfruitfulness of Sarah. 6. Circumcision. 7. Second seizure of his wife. 8, 9. Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. 10. Sacrifice of Isaac. It will be remarked that this last list corresponds best with our text; but the correspondence of the following lists is closer: Beer (*Leben Abr.* 191) writes: Die meisten späteren Aboth-Commentatoren schlossen sich den Pirke des R. Elieser an, blos darin variirend, dass Einige (Obadia Bertinoro and Menachem Meiri) anstatt des unterirdischen Aufenthaltes in Abraham's Kindheit den Vorfall mit Abimelech besonders zählen und Andere (R. Jona Girondi, Simon Zemach Duran) den Bund zwischen den Stücken nicht unter die Versuchungen aufnehmen, aber an dessen Stelle gegen alle früheren Referate, welche die Zehnzahl mit der Opferung Isaak's schliessen, die Beer-digung Sara's als zehnte Versuchung hinstellten. Thus Jona Girondi and Simon Duran agree with our text in making the burial of Sarah the tenth trial of Abraham.

and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act ; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Saerifice of Isaac : Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. Abraham again blessed : returns to Beersheba, 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)

XVIII. And God said to him, "Abraham, Abraham"; and he said, "Behold, (here) am I." 2. And He said, "Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee." 3. And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt-offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, "Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you." 5. And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father, "Father"; and he said, "Here am I, my son." And he said unto him, "Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?" 7. And he said, "God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son." And he drew near to the place of the mount of God. 8. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac

XVIII. 1-17. Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

2. *Beloved son.* So LXX τὸν ἀγαπητὸν = יְדִיד instead of Mass., Sam., Syr. יְדִיד.

The high country (a d. b c = "moun-

tain") = (Gen. xxii. 2) LXX τὴν γῆν τῆς ὑψηλότητος. Mass. = "Land of Moriah."

7. *Of the mount of God.* Gen. xxii. 9 reads: "which God had told him of."

his son. 9. And I stood before him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, "Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord." 10. And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: "Abraham, Abraham"; and he was terrified and said: "Behold, (here) am I." 11. And I said unto him: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me." 12. And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a single ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. 13. And Abraham called that place "The Lord hath seen," so that it is said "(in the mount) the Lord hath seen": that is Mount Sion. 14. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. 15. And He said: "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, Because thou hast done this thing, And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ.* So *ab* here and in ver. 12 and xlviii. 9, 12, 15. *cd* wrongly give "prince Mastêmâ" in these passages and all MSS wrongly in xvii. 6, xlviii. 2. See note on x. 8.

Shown. Or "known," but see note on 11.

11. *I have shown*=Latin version, manifestavi (=יִרְעָתִי). The Eth. could also be rendered "I have known," as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יִרְעָתִי, but the Latin, manifestavi, is unmistakeable and this rendering is supported by both Eth. and Latin in ver. 16. The Syr. has the very same rendering: ܐܕܐܝܢܐ=I have shown. Ps.-Jon. has ܐܕܐܝܢܐ=manifestatum est. "I have shown" is suitable to the context. God proves Abraham's faithfulness to Mastêmâ and to others (ver. 16).

12. *Caught.* All the MSS add "and

he came"=wa-yêmaš'ê, (?) corrupt for ba'êdaw="in a thicket."

13. (*In the mount*). Added from Latin. It is found in Mass. and LXX of Gen. xxii. 14.

Hath seen. Syr. and Vulg.= "will see," "seeth." The verb is passive in the Mass. (יִרְאֶה) and LXX, and also in the Latin version of Jubilees—visus est.

14. *He caused us to appear* (b). *a* "he caused him (c "me") to appear"; *d* "we appeared." Latin=fuimus is corrupt.

15. *Thy beloved son* (*a d*)=τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου=יִרְיָךְ. Lat., tuo unigenito=τοῦ μονογενεοῦς σου=יְחִידְךָ. Hence Hebrew text seems to have had a dittographical text just as LXX(A) of Judges xi. 34: αὐτῇ μονογενεῖς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητῇ, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16 postulate similar dittographies of the same Hebrew word in Hebrew text. On the other hand *b c* under influence of ver.

That in blessing I shall bless thee,
 And in multiplying I shall multiply thy seed
 As the stars of heaven,
 And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed will inherit the cities of its enemies,
 16. And in thy seed will all nations of the earth be
 blessed ;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
 And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me
 in all that I have said unto thee :
 Go in peace."

17. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose
 and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the
 Well of the Oath. 18. And he celebrated this festival every
 year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of
 the Lord according to the seven days during which he went
 and returned in peace. 19. And accordingly has it been
 ordained and written on the heavenly tables regarding
 Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival
 seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah,
 1-9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham.*
Birth of Esau and Jacob, 10-14. Abraham commends
Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii.
1-4, 11-16, xxiv. 15, xxv. 1-2, 25-27, xiii. 16.)

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the
 2010 A.M. forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt opposite
 Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. 2. And

11 read "thy first-born son," and with
 Latin (quem dilexisti), add "whom thou
 hast loved." This addition may go back
 to אֲשֶׁר-אָהַבָה (Gen. xxii. 2), or to יִרְיָךְ
 (corruption (?) of יִחִידָךְ Gen. xxii. 16 on
 which our text is based).

Cities=πόλεις (so also Sam. vers.,
 LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. of Gen. xxii. 17

where Vulg. has portas=πόλεις=עָרֵי of
 Mass. and Sam.).

16. *Go in peace.* 1 Sam. i. 17.

19. *With the joy of festival.* Latin has
 in laetitia gaudentes.

XIX. 1. *Kirjath Arba.* In MSS
 Qarjatârbaq. LXX ἐν πόλει Ἀρβόκ.

in the first year of the †third† week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. 3. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed. 4. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they should give him a place in which to bury his dead. 5. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. 6. And they besought him, saying, "We shall give it to thee for nothing"; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice; and after this he buried his dead in the double cave. 7. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. 8. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit. 9. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God. 10. And in the fourth year 2020 A.M.

2. †Third†. Read "second." Isaac married (xix. 10) at the age of 40 (Gen. xxv. 20) after Sarah's death. Hence he married in the fourth year of the second week.

2, 4. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 3, 4.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 11-16.

5. *Double cave* = τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ διπλοῦν (LXX) = מערת המכפלה, "the cave of Machpelah."

Four hundred. So Latin. Eth. wrongly gives "forty."

7. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1.

Of the years. a and Latin omit.

8. *Tenth trial.* In addition to the references on xvii. 17 see also the *Sayings of the Fathers*,² v. 3 (Taylor's edition, p. 80), which speaks of the ten trials of Abraham.

9. *Friend of God.* Cf. xxx. 20, 21. This expression springs from the O.T.:

thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 12. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. 13. And in
 2046 A.M. the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn,

cf. Is. xli. 8 "Abraham, My friend"; 2 Chron. xx. 7; LXX of Dan. iii. 35. It is found in Philo, *De Sobrietate*, 11: *μη ἐπικαλύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου*; (Gen. xviii. 17); also in James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17. In Book of Wisdom vii. 27 the designation *φίλοι Θεοῦ* is applied to the faithful generally, and likewise in Philo, *Fragment* ii. p. 652: *πᾶς σοφὸς θεοῦ φίλος*. This application of the phrase may be due to Plato, *Legg.* iv. 8, where the wise man is said to be *θεῶ φίλος*: cf. also Max. Tyr. xx. 6. For Rabbinical references Singer, p. 151 note.

10. Cf. Gen. xxiv. 15.

Daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel. Emended with help of Latin. See my text, p. 66.

[*The daughter . . . brother of Abraham*]. Bracketed as a dittography, already in the Greek, as it appears in the Latin version.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 1.

Keturah . . . for Hagar had died before Sarah. Our author here explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later tradition—Gen. rabba 61, Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxvii.—got over the difficulty by identifying Hagar and Keturah. This view is men-

tioned by Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* xxv. 1: *Cetura Hebraeo sermone copulata interpretatur aut juncta (al. vineta). Quam ob causam suspicantur Hebraei mutato nomine eandem esse Agar, quae Saraa mortua de concubina transierit in uxorem.* According to the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1147) Keturah was a Canaanitish woman. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 83, 198; Singer, p. 118. *Daughters.* Emended with Latin. Text = "sons."

12. Cf. Gen. xxv. 2. In the Ethiopic the names appear as Zenbar, Jâksen, Mâdâi, Mâdân, 'Ijazbôq, Sêhijâ.

13. Cf. Gen. xxv. 25-27.

Sixth. This date harmonises with that in xxv. 1, 4, according to which Jacob was 63 in 2109 A.M., but disagrees with that in xlv. 13.

Smooth and upright. So *b.c.* Two different renderings of *איש תם* (Gen. xxv. 27) seem to be conjoined here. On the other hand, since the description of Esau is borrowed from Gen. xxv. 27 and xxvii. 11, it is probable that the description of Jacob is drawn from both also, and that we should here read: "Smooth and upright."

14. *Jacob learned to write.* On the phrase cf. John vii. 15; Acts xxvi. 24; Plato, *Apol.* 26 D. According to Onkelos

for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. 15. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 16. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. 17. And he said unto her: "My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,

For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. 19. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20. Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he will be a blessing unto us on the earth from
henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21. Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He will be blessed for ever,
And his seed will fill the whole earth.

22. If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also will be numbered.

on Gen. xxv. 27 Jacob attended a Hebrew school of theology, בית-אולפנה. The Ps.-Jon. and Jerus. Targums represent Heber as the head of this school. Cf. Ber. rabba 63. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* p. 200; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseul.* V.T. i. 435-438; Singer, p. 103.

16. Abraham recognises by his conduct the predestined founder of the nation (ii. 20). The promise given in xvi. 16, xvii. 6 is here further defined. According to Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63, Abraham died

before Esau took to evil ways; see also Baba bathra 16b (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 84).

18. *A people for possession* = λαὸν περιούσιον. See note on xvi. 18; also the note in my text p. 68 where I have shown that the Ethiopic translators of the Bible always mistranslated περιούσιος. This verse is drawn word for word from Deut. vii. 6.

Peoples. Restored from Latin.

22. Gen. xiii. 16. Contrast xiii. 20 of our text.

23. And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway.

24. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. 25. And these shall serve

To lay the foundations of the heaven,

And to strengthen the earth,

And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament."

26. And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said:

27. "Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth. 28. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. 29. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son." 30. And they both went forth together from Abraham. 31. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

24. This list of righteous patriarchs is peculiar for its omissions and its insertions. With regard to Mahalelel nothing special is known. On the other hand, the omission of Methuselah is strange. In later times opinions were divided as to the character of Adam. Some held him to be a saint (הַסֵּד Erub. 18b), others an atheist

(נוֹפֵא בַעֲקֵר Sanh. 38b). See rabbinic references in Singer, pp. 125-126.

25. See note on i. 29. Cf. Is. li. 16.

27. *All the blessings wherewith, etc.* Cf. xxii. 13.

28. See note on xv. 31-32. Evil spirits have dominion over the Gentiles but not over Israel.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. Dismisses them with gifts, 11. Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah, 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)

2052
(? 2045) A.M.

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. 3. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness]. 4. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the

XX. 1. †Seventh†. "Seventh" seems corrupt for "sixth." The present text makes the date 2052 or the year after Abraham's death. If we read "sixth" it would give 2045. See note on xxi. 1. Thus some time would intervene between the dismissal of Ishmael and his sons to their distant homes (xx. 11) and the return of Ishmael and Jacob to celebrate the feast of weeks (xxii. 1).

His twelve sons. See Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *Men*=sab'ē emended from šab'ē, "war."

3. *Circumcise their sons.* Sanh. 59 b contains a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in conformity with Gen. xvii. 9. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held not to extend to Esau's descendants.

[*And renounce . . . uncleanness*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

4. This halacha does not agree exactly with those in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, etc., but with that implied in Gen. xxxviii. 24. According to Deut. xxii. 23 sqq.; Ezek. xvi. 40; Lev. xx. 10 the adulteress was to be put to

land. 5. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6. "And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,

And from all pollution of sin,

Lest ye make our name a curse,

And your whole life a hissing,

And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,

And ye become accursed like Sodom,

And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7. I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,

And cleave ye to all His commandments.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8. And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods ;

For they are vanity,

And there is no spirit in them ;

For they are work of (men's) hands,

And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

Serve them not, nor worship them,

9. But serve ye the Most High God, and worship Him continually :

death by stoning, whereas death by fire was reserved for the priest's daughter who had played the whore, Lev. xxi. 9. On the other hand Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah proposes to burn Tamar, comes under neither of these regulations. Tamar was still, according to custom, the wife of Er—for Shelah was simply to act as Er's representative—and should thereupon have been stoned according to the Levitical law. See notes on xli. 25, 26.

5. *Fornication, and uncleanness, and . . . corruption.* See note on vii. 21.

6. *Make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing.* Based on Is. lxxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18. Cf. Eth. En. v. 6. For "a hissing" (so Latin) *a* gives "a threatening" and *b c d* "a cause of boasting."

8. Cf. xii. 5, xxii. 18.

Molten or graven gods. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15.

Serve them not, nor worship them. Exod. xx. 5.

And hope for His countenance always,
 And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
 That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His
 mercy,

And send rain upon you morning and evening,
 And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon
 the earth,

And bless thy bread and thy water,
 And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
 And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10. And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
 And all nations of the earth will desire you,
 And bless your sons in my name,
 That they may be blessed as I am."

11. And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. 12. And Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. 13. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1-11. Also regarding the woods to be used in

9. *Have pleasure in.* Lat. has *dirigat*, which with Praetorius should be changed into *diligat*.

Send rain. Cf. xii. 4, 18.

Bless all your works, etc. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 8.

Bless thy bread and thy water. Exod. xxiii. 25.

Fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, And the herds, etc. Deut. vii.

13. The Ethiopic word rendered fruit generally = "seed," but it also means

what springs from the seed as here. Latin has *fructum*. Greek was prob. *καρπὸν*.

10. *Ye will be for a blessing.* Cf. Gen. xii. 2; and xxi. 25 of our text.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 6.

12. *Paran.* Eth. *Phârmôn*.

13. *Was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.* So Eth. The Latin = "Clave to the Arabs and (they are) Ishmaelites unto this day."

sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

2057
2050) A. M.

XXI. And in the sixth year of the † seventh † week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him, saying: "I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my days. 2. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways. 3. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart

XXI. 1. †*Seventh*†. Since Abraham was born in 1876 A.M. and lived 175 years, he must have died in 2051 A.M., whereas our text makes it 2057. Hence read "sixth." We should then have 2050.

Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him. Cf. Test. Levi 9: 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με . . . τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου. The rest of this chapter according to our author deals with Abraham's directions to Isaac regarding the various kinds of sacrifices, the woods to be used on the altar, the ablutions of the priest, the duty of avoiding fornication. Now it is quite clear that the author of Test. Levi 9 had either our text before him or else a source common to both. The converse hypothesis that our author had the Test. Levi before him is not workable. In any case the text of the Test. Levi is less original than that of our author. It represents Isaac as transmitting to Levi the same ritual commands that our text describes Abraham as giving to Isaac. The only point that can be urged in favour of the originality of the Test. Levi is that the words in Jubilees xxi. 1 "I am become old and know not the day of my death" are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2 and not by Abraham. But the two views are compatible. Our text represents Abraham as giving directions as to sacrifices, etc., to Isaac; and the Test. Levi represents Isaac as handing them on

to Levi. The ὡς καὶ 'Αβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε support the view of our author. I will now give the portions of Test. Levi 9 which deal with the same matter as our text and insert after them the references to the parallels in our text. καὶ 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με συνεχῶς τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου (Jub. xxi. 1) . . . καὶ ἐδίδασκέ με νόμον ἱερωσύνης, θυσιῶν, ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, ἀπαρχῶν, ἐκουσίων, σωτηρίων (Jub. xxi. 7-9) . . . καὶ ἔλεγε· Μὴ πρόσεχε, τέκνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας (xxi. 21-23) . . . καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, λούου· καὶ ἐν τῷ θύειν, νίπτου· καὶ ἀπαρτίζων πάλιν τὴν θυσίαν, νίπτου (xxi. 16 almost word for word). Δώδεκα δένδρων αἰεὶ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε· Κυρίῳ, ὡς καὶ 'Αβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε (xxi. 12-13) . . . καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἄλατι ἀλείψ (xxi. 11).

I am become old, and know not the day of my death. These words are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2.

And am full. For "and" MSS read "for," but Latin rightly gives "et."

Full of my days. The pronoun is peculiar to this book and Eth. vers. and Syr. The Sam., LXX, Vulg. read "full of days" against Mass. and Onkelos of Gen. xxv. 8 which omit "of days." Cf. xxii. 7, xxiii. 8 of our text.

2. Cf. Gen. xxv. 7.

3. (*And I have despised . . . and spirit*). Supplied from Latin: probably lost in Ethiopic through homoioteleuton.

and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. 4. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judgment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. 5. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. 6. And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. 7. And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace-offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour (and the meat-offering) mingled with oil, with its drink-offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt-offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord. 8. And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.

4. *No accepting of (men's) persons and . . . gifts.* Cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. Cf. Lev. vii. 26. See vi. 10, 12 of our text; also xxi. 17 sqq.

7. Cf. Lev. iii. 7-10.

Peace-offering = *θυσία ειρηνικαί* = *ובח שלמים*, 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15 etc., but the Hebrew phrase is more usually rendered (*ḥ*) *θυσία (τοῦ) σωτηρίου*, Lev. iii. 3, 6, 9, iv. 26 etc.

(*And the meat-offering*). Latin omits the meat-offering. The phrase is most probably genuine as Littmann urges, though I rejected it in my Ethiopic text.

Mingled with oil. Cf. Lev. ii. 4, *בשמים*.

8. *And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings . . . and the fat.* So Latin. For "and . . . and" in the above the Ethiopic reads "as . . .

as." Lev. iii. 9-10, which our author has before him, supports the Latin: "And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace-offerings an offering made by fire . . . and the fat which covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins . . . with the kidneys shall he take away." On the phrase "thank-offerings" see note on ver. 7.

On the belly, . . . on the inwards = *ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας* . . . *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐντοσθίων (ἐντέρων)*. The Latin has *super ventrum* . . . *super interanea*. This variation is strange, since the Hebrew has *קרב* and the LXX *κοιλία* in both cases in Lev. iii. 10.

And upon the loins. Lev. iii. 10 has "which is by the loins."

9. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord, 10. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah. 11. And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. 12. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood

Thou shalt remove = tēblēl. Emended with Latin *separa* from tēblūl = rolled up, covered up.

9. *Bread of the offering unto the Lord.* From Lev. iii. 11.

10. [*For it is not approved*]. I have bracketed this clause as a dittography.

Let it no longer be eaten = jētbālā'ē, emended from jētbahal (*ab*). *cd* = "thou shalt not eat."

Written in the books of my forefathers. According to x. 14 Noah gave all his secret books to Shem, who may have passed them on to Abraham, as, according to rabbinic tradition, Abraham attended the school of Shem. According to xii. 27, however, Abram is said to have been a "home" student, and to have studied the books of his fathers. Singer (p. 126 note) states that according to Pirke R. El. viii., Jalk. Gen. § 41, Abraham received from Shem the knowledge of the calendar which was imparted to Adam from heaven, and which had come down to Shem through Enoch and Noah. The present passage in our text as well as vii. 38 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Zeb. 3 trace back certain halachoth to commands or books of Enoch and Noah. None of the ancient books preserved under these names are of an halachic character. There was probably no

ground for the statement made by our author.

11. *On all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt.* Cf. the parallel passage in Test. Levi 9: καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἀλατὶ ἀλειψῇ.

Salt of the covenant. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS read "covenant of salt."

12. *Beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these.* By a slight change (see my text, p. 75 note 30) we might read: "Be careful to offer on the altar the following woods (only)." This passage was written possibly to determine the meaning of עֵצֵי זֶבֶח in Exod. xxv. 5, 10 etc. Our text or the subject of it is referred to in Test. Levi 9: δώδεκα δένδρων αἰὲ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς καμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε. The number here is probably corrupt. δώδεκα = 12, corrupt for 14. The Eth. Enoch iii. speaks of fourteen evergreen trees, and may be in that passage dependent on our text. With the list of fourteen trees in our text, cf. that in the *Geoponica* xi. 1: δένδρα ἀειθαλῆ ἐστὶ . . . ἰδ' (1) φοῖνιξ, (2) κίτριον, (3) στρόβιλος, (4) δάφνη, (5) ἐλαία, (6) κυπάρισσος, (7) κερατέα, (8) πίτυς, (9) πρίνος, (10) πύξος, (11) μυρσίνη, (12) κέδρος, (13) ἰτέα καὶ (14) ἄρκευθος. Of these fourteen, ten, i.e. nos.

for the altar in addition to these: cypress, dêfrân, sagâd, pine, fir, cedar, savin, palm, olive, myrrh, laurel, and citron, juniper, and balsam. 13. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. 14. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. 15. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. 16. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. 17. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. 18. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. 19. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be

6, 3, 8, 12, 1 (?), 5, 11, 4, 2 (or 7), 14, appear in our text. See my text, p. 75.

Dêfrân might be a corruption of *πρίνος* but that *daprono* (دافرون) is found in Syriac, and is a kind of fir.

Sagâd. This has been identified with the שקד, "the almond"; but wrongly, since the trees are all ever-green.

Citron. I have taken *qêdâr* as corrupt for *κίτρινον*. It may be a corruption of *κερατέα*. On wood for the sacrifices see Middoth ii. 5; Tamid 29 b; Sifra on Lev. i. 8 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 35).

13. Nothing of this nature is found in the halacha. Tamid ii. 3 allows all kinds of wood but that of the olive and vine.

Clean = *nēsûh*, emended from *šen'û'a* (*b*) = "firm," *šen'â* (*c*). *a* omits.

[*For its fragrance is gone*]. I have bracketed this clause as originating in a dittography, or an interpolation from the next verse.

14. *Goes not up*. With Littmann I have inserted the negative.

16. On the duty of washing before approaching the altar, cf. Exod. xxx. 19-21, etc.

Wash again. Text = "return and wash," the familiar Hebrew idiom as Littmann has recognised.

17. *Nor upon your clothes*. *ab* omit "nor."

Be on thy guard, my son, against blood, . . . cover it with dust. Cf. Lev. xvii. 13.

18. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14; Deut. xii. 23.

shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. 20. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21. I see, my son,

That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,

And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,

And there is no righteousness with them.

22. Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways

And tread in their paths,

And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,

And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,

And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,

And thy name and thy seed will perish from the whole earth.

23. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,

And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,

19. *Causes the earth to sin.* This goes back to הִנִּיף = "pollutes."

The earth cannot be cleansed, etc. Cf. vii. 33; Num. xxxv. 33.

20. *That thou mayest be accepted.* Emended (see my text, p. 76, note 1). *b (d)* = "and it will be accepted"; *a* "it will not be accepted"; *c* "and He will accept you."

21-24. This passage was written originally in Hebrew verse and the parallelism is still well preserved.

22. *Sin unto death* = $\text{ἀμαρτίαν θανάτου φέρων}$ = חַטֹּאת מוֹת , Num. xviii. 22. Cf. 1 John v. 16. See xxxiii. 18 of our text.

[*Hide His face from thee, And*]. I have bracketed this clause (cf. i. 13) as an interpolation, since it spoils the parallelism.

Give thee back into the hands of thy transgression. Has this vigorous expression been suggested by Gen. iv. 7 "If thou dost not well, sin is a lurker at the door"?

And do His will and be upright in all things.

24. And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,

And will raise up from thee the plant of righteousness
through all the earth, throughout all generations of
the earth,

And my name and thy name will not be forgotten
under heaven for ever.

25. Go, my son, in peace.

May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen
thee to do His will,

And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy
seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous
blessings,

That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth."

26. And he went out from him rejoicing.

*Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first-fruits at
Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. Prayer of Abraham,
6-9. Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob,
10-30.*

XXII. And it came to pass in the †first† week in the
†forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the
year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came
from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks
—that is, the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest—to
Abraham, their father, and Abraham rejoiced because his
two sons had come. 2. For Isaac had many possessions in
Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions

24. *Plant of righteousness.* See xvi. 26.

25. I have with some hesitation arranged this verse as Hebrew poetry.

Mayest be a blessing. Cf. xx. 10.

XXII. 1. All the dates in this verse appear to be wrong. The total = 2116.

Dillmann suggests that for "forty-fourth" we should read "forty-third." But this would make the year of Abraham's death 2060, whereas (see on xxi. 1) he died in the year 2051. Hence I propose: "in the sixth week in the forty-second jubilee, in the seventh year" = 2051.

and to return to his father. 3. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a burnt-offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank-offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother : and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank-offering, that he might eat and drink. 6. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,

Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,

And given them to the children of men

That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7. " And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day : behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace. 8. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day. 9. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages." 10. And he called Jacob and said : " My son Jacob, may

4. *Creator of all things.* A frequently recurring idea in our author : cf. xxii. 27. Cf. Sir. xxiv. 8 : ὁ κτίστης πάντων ; 2 Macc. i. 24 : ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κτίστης ; vii. 23 : ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης (cf. 4 Macc. v. 25). Cf. "God of all," xxii. 10, 27, xxx. 19, xxxi. 13, 32 ; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 2.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

7. See xxi. 1.

8. *The sword of the adversary.* Cf. Jer. vi. 25 ; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

9. *An inheritance* (= נַחֲלָה). Cf. verses 10, 15, 29 and Deut. iv. 20.

the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me." 11. And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:

"Blessed be my son Jacob

And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;

And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;

May nations serve thee,

And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12. Be strong in the presence of men,

And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.

Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,

So that they shall become a holy nation.

13. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings

Wherewith He has blessed me

And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam;

May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.

14. And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and impurity,

10. *God of all*, i.e. God of the universe. See verses 4, 27.

11. *The sons of the God Most High* (or "his sons unto the God Most High"). For phraseology cf. Gen. xiv. 19. On Israel as sons of God, see i. 24 note.

May nations serve Thee, And all the nations, etc. From Gen. xxvii. 29—Isaac's blessing of Jacob.

12. *Exercise*. Eth. has "exercising" but Latin = "exercise."

All the seed of Seth, i.e. all mankind. The phrase is found also in Num.

xxiv. 17, כל בני-שֵׁחַ, where, however, שֵׁחַ is not to be taken as the name of the patriarch but as a contraction of שֵׁחָ = "confusion."

13. *Blessings . . . wherewith He blessed Noah*, etc. See xix. 27.

Rest on the sacred head. From Gen. xlix. 26, though with the Syr. it implies נוֹרַ instead of נוֹר. Cf. Num. vi. 9.

14. *Unrighteousness and impurity*. Emended with Latin inquinamento et injustitia. MSS = "impure defilement."

That thou mayest be forgiven all (thy) transgressions ;
(and) thy sins of ignorance.

And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.

And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15. And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance
for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in
truth and righteousness throughout all the days of
the earth.

16. And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :
Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them :
And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate ;
For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination
and uncleanness.

17. They offer their sacrifices to the dead

Thou mayest be forgiven. Lat. = "He may forgive." The "thy" and "and" are supplied from the Latin.

15. *Renew His covenant.* See ver. 30.

Nation for His inheritance. See on ver. 9.

16. The exclusiveness of Judaism is here traced to Abraham. The very existence of Judaism in 200-150 B.C. made such exclusiveness indispensable.

Separate thyself from the nations. Cf. Is. lii. 11.

Eat not with them. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile ; for the animals might not have been slaughtered according to the prescriptions of the Law (Deut. xii. 23, 24) or might have been amongst those that were forbidden to the Jew (Lev. xi. 4-7, 10-12, 13-20) or the meat and wine might have been offered to idols (cf. 1 Cor. x. 20, 27-

29). Antiochus IV. tried to force the Jews to eat of unclean food, 1 Macc. i. 47-48, 62-63 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21, vii. 1. See Driver's Commentary on Daniel i. 8-10 note. Cf. Matt. ix. 11 ; Mk. ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

Their ways are a pollution. Cf. ver. 19. Observe how frequently this conception returns in all accounts of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors : *μιαίνειν* in 1 Macc. i. 46, 63, iv. 45, vii. 34, xiv. 36 ; *μιασμός*, 1 Macc. iv. 43 ; *ἀκάθαρτος*, 1 Macc. i. 48, iv. 43 ; *ἀκαθαρσία*, 1 Macc. xiii. 48, xiv. 7 ; *μύσος*, 2 Macc. vi. 19, 25 ; *μολύνω*, 1 Macc. i. 37 ; 2 Macc. vi. 2, xiv. 3 ; *μολυσμός*, 2 Macc. v. 27 ; *βεβηλώω*, 1 Macc. i. 43, 45, 48, 63, ii. 12, 34, iii. 51, etc. ; *βεβήλωσις*, 1 Macc. i. 48.

17. *Offer their sacrifices to the dead.* Cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ps. cvi. 28 ; Sir. vii.

And they worship evil spirits,
 And they eat over the graves,
 And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18. They have no heart to understand
 And their eyes do not see what their works are,
 And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou
 art my God,'
 And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my
 deliverer.'
 [And they have no heart.]

19. And as for thee, my son Jacob,
 May the Most High God help thee
 And the God of heaven bless thee
 And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all
 their error.

20. Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any
 seed of the daughters of Canaan;
 For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21. For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
 And all his seed will be destroyed from off the earth
 and all the residue thereof,

33; Tob. iv. 17, which allude to such sacrifices as being offered by Israel. They are derided Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Or. Sibyl. viii. 382-384. The Pirke Aboth iii. 4 speaks of "sacrifices to the dead" (זבחי המתים).

Worship evil spirits. Some of the Jews at the bidding of Antiochus Epiphanes consented to worship idols and offer them sacrifices, 1 Macc. i. 43. For other references to such worship generally see Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; Eth. Enoch xix. 1; Baruch iv. 7; 1 Cor. x. 20: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις . . . θύουσιν. See note on i. 11-13 of our text.

Eat over the graves. Just as the worshipper of Yahweh partook of the sacrifices offered to Him, so those who

offered sacrifices to the dead partook of such sacrifices. These sacrifices were placed over the grave: see references given under "offer sacrifices to the dead" in earlier part of the verse: also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-24.

18. Cf. xii. 5, xx. 8; Jer. ii. 27.

Their works. Read gebrômû instead of gabrômû in my text.

[*And they have no heart*]. Bracketed as a dittography of the beginning of ver. 18. The parallelism is against it.

20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1. For similar commands see xxv. 5, xxvii. 10, xxx 7 of our text; Test. Levi 9.

For all his seed, etc. This line recurs in ver. 21^b; for the two Ethiopic verbs are not infrequently renderings of the same word in Greek.

And none springing from him will be saved on the day of judgment.

22. And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(b) There will be no hope for them in the land of the living ;

(e) And there will be no remembrance of them on the earth ;

(c) For they will descend into Sheol,

(d) And into the place of condemnation will they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23. Fear not, my son Jacob,

And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham :

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may He deliver thee.

24. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth : [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham ; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever ; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever : thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his

21. *Day of judgment.* Cf. xxiii. 11, "day of the great judgment": xxiv. 28, "day of wrath and indignation": also xxxvi. 10.

22. *The profane.* Še'ûlân = βεβηλωμένοι (cf. Lev. xxi. 7, 14), emended from šelû'ân (*a b d*) = "the hated ones." *c* reads, "the perverse." If we emend *a b d* into šalâ-ějân we should have "the adversaries."

(e) *And there will be no remembrance,* etc. It will be observed that I have

transposed this verse on account of the parallelism.

They will descend into Sheol . . . will they go. The same passage with a transposition of the two verbs has already occurred in vii. 29 (see note): cf. Eth. En. ciii. 7, 8.

24. [*It is given, etc.*] A dittography from the second clause following.

25. *Commanding.* Gen. xlix. 33. This word goes back to נָצַח which is used technically of a man's last will

heart rejoiced over him. 27. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that He might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway. 29. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; 30. And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth."

Abraham's death and burial, 1-8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7-10).

Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind:

Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners

and testament: cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Is. xxxviii. 1; Test. XII. Patriarch., Reuben 1; Baba bathra 147a, 151b.

27. This verse looks like an interpolation. It professes to give Abraham's blessing of Jacob, and yet does not mention him at all. Jacob's blessing begins in ver. 28. This verse follows well upon ver. 26. On the other hand some mention of the sacred name is required in ver. 28 if 27 is omitted.

God of all. See on verses 4, 10.

Creator of all, i.e., of the universe. See on ver. 4. See Neh. ix. 6.

Brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Cf. Gen. xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7. Instead of "brought" 3rd sing. of *a d*, *b c* read "brought" 2nd sing.

Blessed be the Most High for ever, or

"that the Most High may be blessed for ever." The latter is the more natural translation; but if we adopt it, there is no principal verb.

28. *Over whom with all my heart . . . I rejoice (c d).* But *a b* read "rejoice" in 3rd sing. This reading presupposes "heart and affection" as the subject of "rejoice," just as in ver. 26. In that case if instead of *zaba* (twice) we read *baza* (twice) we have as follows: "over whom all my heart and my affection rejoice." In either case we must reject *ba'ella* as corrupt.

Be lift up upon him. Cf. Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.

29. *Thine eyes be opened.* Cf. 1 Kings viii. 29, 52; Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18.

30. *Renew Thy covenant.* Cf. ver.

15.

of the Gentiles, 11-25. Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous, 26-31.

XXIII. And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: "Father, father"; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. 5. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. 6. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. 7. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were

XXIII. 1. *He placed two fingers of Jacob.* Cf. Gen. xlv. 4. The closing of the eyes was generally done by the eldest son, and according to Shabbath 151b it was strictly forbidden till death had ensued (Singer, 107 note).

Stretched out his feet. So Syr. and Eth. vers. of Gen. xlix. 33, but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = "gathered up his feet."

Slept the sleep of eternity. Cf. Jer. li. 39, 57.

To his fathers. This phrase is first

in Judges ii. 10. Gen. xxv. 8 has "to his people."

5. From Gen. i. 1.

7. *Buried him in the double cave.* Gen. xxv. 9.

The days of weeping = יְמֵי בְכָיָה (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8; Gen. i. 4). *b* = "the lamentation of the weeping" = נְהִי בְכָיָה (cf. Jer. xxxi. 15) which I take to be a corruption of יְמֵי בְכָיָה. *d* reads "lamentation and weeping" and *ac* "weeping."

ended. 8. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. 9. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 10. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. 11. And all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge will vanish away]. 12. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they will say regarding him: "He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace:

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men's years grow less, *pari passu*, with the growing corruption.

Days of the forefathers, of their life. Probably we should read "days of the life of the forefathers."

To decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days. The Latin has *senescere celerius et minui dies vite ipsorum*. The Latin seems right. For a possible explanation of the corruption in the Eth. see my text, pp. 81-82.

10. *When he had grown old.* Both Eth. and Latin give "until" instead of "when." The error, I take it, arose from the corruption of $\omega\varsigma$ = "when" into $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ = "until."

By reason of the wickedness. Abraham grew old early because of the wicked-

ness of others. He was himself "perfect," according to our author.

11. *Generations which will arise . . . until the day of the great judgment.* Here the judgment seems to precede the Messianic kingdom; but see note on ver. 30.

Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age. Lat. = *erunt transeuntes ab ipsis spiritus intellectus ipsorum*, where *spiritus* and *intellectus* may be duplicate renderings of the same word. Otherwise it should correspond to the phrase "by reason of their age." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

[*And all their knowledge will vanish away*]. A dittography. Lat. omits.

12. *The greater part of his days are pain and sorrow.* Ps. xc. 10. Our text gives the same rendering of רַבָּהּ as the LXX, Syr., Chald., and Vulg.

13. For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains." 14. And all these will come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth: their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations. 15. Then they will say: "The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation." 16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate,

13-14. The calamities that befell Judah in the early decades of the second cent. B.C.

13. *Such as these.* So Latin *secundum hoc ipsud* = $\pi\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tau$.

One with another. Wanting in the Latin.

Fever, and chills. So Latin. The Ethiopic words are $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\chi\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$.

14. *Uncleanness, etc.* See vii. 21 note, xx. 5, xxii. 16 note.

15. *The days of our life . . . are three score years and ten, etc.* Ps. xc. 10.

16. This verse points most probably to the rise of the Chasids. These proceed to challenge the creed and conduct of their fathers and the elders (the spiritual rulers of Judaism). From their ranks (see Eth. Enoch xc. 7) arise the Maccabees. The armed resistance of the latter to the Hellenising party is represented in ver. 20. Finally after years of strife the Messianic era begins to set in and the years of men to grow many, till at last they become a thousand.

We have herein an adumbration of the actual history and the expectations of the Chasids in the second cent. B.C. Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 199) has already recognised that this chapter deals with the Maccabean movement. The conclusiveness of this interpretation will grow stronger as we proceed. It is no little confirmation of our view that we find the same events in Judaism depicted in allegorical language in Eth. Enoch xc. 6-7: "But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry to the sheep. But the sheep did not cry to them and did not hear what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and forcibly blinded." Here "the white sheep" are the faithful adherents of the theocracy; the "lambs" are the Chasids, a new and distinct party among the Jews. The Chasids appeal unavailingly to the nation at large. In the next verse (xc. 8) there is a symbolical description of Syria's attack on Judah.

and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.

17. For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction.

18. Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they will all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men.

19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments.

20. And they will stand (with bows and) swords and war to

Forsaking the covenant. Cf. Dan. xi. 30 and 1 Macc. i. 15 where the same charge is brought against the Hellenising Jews.

Observe and do . . . without . . . either to the . . . or the left. Cf. Deut. v. 31, 32, xxviii. 13, 14. A similar statement is found in 1 Macc. ii. 21-22: "Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances . . . to go aside from our worship to the right hand or the left" (παρελθεῖν τὴν λατρίαν ἡμῶν δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν). The phrase is most probably historical.

17. *All have done evil.* Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, 53, "And from the people were gathered unto them many, every one that had forsaken the law and they did evil things in the land."

Every mouth speaks iniquity. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 6, "And (Mattathias) saw the blasphemies . . . in Judah and in Jerusalem."

Pollution, etc. See note on xxii. 16. 18-24. The Messianic woes.

18. *Will all perish together, beasts . . . and birds, and all the fish of the sea.* Cf. Hos. iv. 3: also Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7.

On account of the children. Lat. = a malitia filiorum.

19. For other descriptions of the Messianic woes, see Or. Sibyl. iii. 796-807; Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 1-13, xlviii. 31-37, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra v. 1-12, vi. 14-18, 21-24; Matt. xxiv. 6-29 with Synoptic parallels; Sota ix. 15 sq. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*,³ ii. 523 sq.

The poor with the rich, and (b omits) the lowly with the great. Apoc. Bar. lxx. 3-4.

For they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, etc. From a general description of the Messianic woes the writer passes on to a definite description of the Maccabean times, and the Apostate Jews.

Judgments, i.e. determinations, decisions.

20. This verse describes the warlike

turn them back into the way; but they will not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. 21. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they will name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. 23. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor

efforts of Judas the Maccabee to force the apostates to return to Judaism. In the year 162, owing to internal divisions, Syria felt it advisable to make terms with the Jews and allow them "to walk after their own laws as aforetime" (1 Macc. vi. 55-62; 2 Macc. xiii. 23-26; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9. 6-7). This understanding was observed by all the subsequent kings of Syria. Hence from 162 onward the struggle was not so much to preserve Judaism against the attempts of Syria to crush it out of existence, as to determine the question whether the Hellenising faction or the national party should control the nation. Syria henceforth intervened in support now of the one now of the other of the two Jewish parties. (See Schurer, *op. cit.* i. 214; [Eng. transl.], I. i. 224 sq.)

(*With bows and*). Supplied from the Latin.

The way. Cf. Is. xxx. 21, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Cf. the use of ἡ ὁδός in Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22.

21. *Those who have escaped will not return . . . to the way of righteousness.* By the treaty of 162 referred to in the preceding note, the religious liberties of Judaism were secured against Syria;

but the Hellenising party under the high priest Alkimus still pursued its own aims. This party is said in our text to "name the great name" and to "defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness." Though it embraced nearly the entire Sanhedrin, it was opposed by the Maccabees, the Chasids, and the great mass of the Jews.

Great name. Cf. Jos. vii. 9. On the phrase "name the . . . name," cf. LXX of Is. xxvi. 13; Acts xix. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

22-23. These verses describe the sufferings of the nation during the civil wars and internal troubles that took place down to Simon's high priesthood (142-135 B.C.).

23. This verse refers in language borrowed from past prophecy to the frequent invasions of Palestine by the Syrians or possibly by some unknown nation from the north as in Zeph. i. 7; Jer. iii.-vi.; like Gog and Magog in Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix.

Have neither mercy nor compassion. So Jeremiah (vi. 23) describes the nation that was to invade Judah: "they are cruel and have no mercy."

Neither old nor young. Cf. Ezek. ix. 6.

any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,

And much blood will be shed upon the earth,

And there will be none to gather and none to bury.

24. In those days they will cry aloud,

And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles ;

But none will be saved.

25. And the heads of the children will be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks will appear old like a man
of one hundred years,

And their stature will be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26. And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,

And to seek the commandments,

And to return to the path of righteousness.

27. And the days will begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men,

None to gather and none to bury, i.e., the fallen. The phrase is from Jer. viii. 2.

24. *Of the sinners, the Gentiles = ἁμαρτωλῶν ἔθνων.* The Ethiopic translator took these words to be in apposition. He ought rather to have taken the second as dependent on the first. Hence "sinners of the Gentiles." See verse 23 and Gal. ii. 15 where the phrase is reproduced somewhat differently: ἐξ ἔθνων ἁμαρτωλοί. To the writer the terms "Gentiles" and "sinners" were practically synonymous.

25. *Heads of the children will be white, etc.* Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 180-181, tells how in the iron age children will be born with hoary temples :

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων
ἀνθρώπων

Εὖτ' ἀνγενόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

This was to be one of the signs (as in our text) which foreshadowed the coming of the kingdom according to Sibyll. Or. ii. 155 :

Ἐκ γενετῆς παῖδες πολιοκρόταφοι
γεγαῶτες.

See also Latin apocalyptic fragment in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 154.

26. It might seem possible that ver. 16 originally followed ver. 26.

26-30. The renewed study of the Law followed by a change for the better and the gradual approach to Messianic blessedness. With this spiritual transformation of Israel (cf. l. 5) there will take place a corresponding transforma-

Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the
number of the days.

28. And there will be no old man
Nor one who is not satisfied with his days,
For all will be (as) children and youths.

29. And all their days they will complete and live in peace
and in joy,
And there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer ;
For all their days will be days of blessing and healing.

30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,

tion of the heaven and the earth. This idea appears also in Is. lxxv. 17 sqq. (See i. 29 note ; iv. 26.) This is their final renewal.

27. *Nigh to one thousand years.* In the Messianic kingdom men will attain to the age originally designed for them by God. Adam did not attain to 1000 years because of his sin ; see iv. 30.

28. The writer appears to have Is. lxxv. 20 before him but avoids making any reference to the presence of the wicked in the consummated kingdom, as is done in Isaiah. Yet apparently they are presupposed in ver. 30, though according to ver. 29 there are none such. They are gradually eliminated. Cf. Test. Levi 18.

Who is not satisfied. I have added the negative from a comparison of Is. lxxv. 20.

29. *In joy.* Cf. Is. lxxv. 14.

No Satan. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. x. 1. This statement need not mean very much : cf. xl. 9, xlvi. 2, l. 5.

Blessing and healing. Cf. i. 29.

30. If this verse refers to the resurrection, the righteous are raised to share in this (temporary ?) Messianic kingdom. If ver. 11 is correctly handed down and to be taken literally, it follows that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom. But the nature of this kingdom precludes such a view. It is to be introduced gradually *pari passu* with the spiritual transformation of man. Such a gradual and progressive transformation does not admit of the insertion of the final judgment at any single point of its evolution. Nor is there a hint of such a judgment in

verses 23-27. Hence the final judgment can occur only at the close of this kingdom. The kingdom is therefore of temporary duration—a conclusion which presents some difficulty in the face of i. 17, 18, 29, but which agrees best with all other passages referring to the final judgment in this book. In that case the resurrection of the righteous and the final judgment are disjoined, if this verse asserts that the righteous rise to share in the kingdom. The eschatology of our author would thus differ alike from that of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. (before 161 B.C.), Test. Jud. 25, Sim. 6, Zeb. 10, Benj. 10, where the final judgment precedes the kingdom and the righteous are raised to enjoy it for ever, and from that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. (104-95 B.C.) where the final judgment comes in at the close of the kingdom and the righteous are not raised to share in it, but in a blessed immortality.

But the teaching of our text agrees rather with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. ; for the words “will rise up” have apparently no reference to the resurrection, and mean merely that when God heals His servants (cf. Rev. xxii. 2) they become strong. The clauses in ver. 29, “all their days will be days of blessing and healing” and in i. 29, “for healing . . . for all the elect of Israel” render this view the most probable. In this case there is no resurrection to this temporary Messianic kingdom, and thus the eschatology harmonises perfectly with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

And they will rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous will see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And will see all their judgments and all their curses on
their enemies.

31. And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy,
And they will know that it is the Lord who executes
judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all
that love Him.

32. And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus
are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly
tables for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34). *Isaac goes down to Gerar*, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9-27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2073 A.M.
2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began 2080 A.M.

See great peace, i.e. "enjoy great peace." The word "peace" may go back to שָׁלוֹם: in that case the sense would be "enjoy sound health."

Drive out their adversaries. Such a conception is in keeping with the gradual growth of the kingdom.

31. After death there is no resurrection of the body, but a blessed immortality awaiting the spirit as in Eth. Enoch xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4 (see my *Eschatology*, pp. 203 sqq.).

And to all (a c d). *b* reads "of all."

XXIV. 1. *Well of the Vision*. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11. The full name is Beer Lahai-roi = "the well of the living One that seeth me." Cf. also Gen. xvi. 14, xxiv. 62.

First year of the third week of this jubilee. This is the forty-third jubilee.

2. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1. Observe that our author transposes Gen. xxvi. 1 before xxv. 29 sqq. in order possibly to explain Esau's hunger.

in the land, besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: "Give me of this red pottage." And Jacob said to him: "Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage." 4. And Esau said in his heart: "I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?" And he said to Jacob: "I give it to thee." 5. And Jacob said: "Swear to me, this day," and he swore unto him. 6. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. 7. And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. 8. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. 9. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I shall be with thee and bless thee. 10. For to thee and to thy seed shall I give all this land, and I shall establish My oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father, and I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give unto thy seed all this land. 11. And in thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and

3-6. Cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34.

3. *Red pottage.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 30. Text = "wheaten pottage." Here *zashernāj* = *πυροῦ* which is corrupt for *πυρροῦ*.

Sell = ἀπόδου (LXX) = Mass. *הִכָּרָה*.

Thy [primogeniture, this] birthright. Here we have two renderings of *τὰ πρωτοτόκιά σου*.

And I will give . . . pottage. Not in Gen. xxv. 31.

6. *Esau's name:* literally "Esau, his name" (*ab*). *cd* read "Esau."

Red pottage. Same corruption as in ver. 3.

8. *Famine.* xxvi. 1.

Second year of this week. See note on date in ver. 1.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 2-6.

My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land." 12. And he dwelt in Gerar three 2080-2101 weeks of years. 13. And Abimelech charged concerning A.M. him, and concerning all that was his, saying: "Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die." 14. And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. 15. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. 16. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. 17. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we"; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the 2101 A.M. valleys of Gerar. 18. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. 19. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: "The water is ours"; and Isaac called the name of the well "Perversity," because they had been perverse with us. 20. And they dug a second well, and they strove for

12. Isaac stayed at the Well of the Vision seven years and in Gerar twenty-one.

13. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 11. No reference is made in our text to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca.

14-17. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 13-17.

14. *Household*. So Latin ministerium = עֲבָדָה. Our text renders loosely "possession."

18-20. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 18-22.

19. *The water*. Here Eth. has "this

water" and the Latin merely "aqua," but the ze (=this) is merely a translation of the Greek article as is frequently the case. Hence Eth. and Lat. attest the same text.

The well. Eth. has "that well" but the we'etû is merely a translation of the Greek art. as is frequently the case. Latin has merely "putei."

Perversity. Gen. xxvi. 20 has פְּעִי, LXX, ἀδικία.

that also, and he called its name "Enmity." And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it "Room," and Isaac said: "Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land." 21. And he went up from thence
 2108 A.M. to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. 22. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: "I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant." 23. And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. 24. And they digged a well and they found living water. 25. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us." 26. And he called the name of that place the "Well of the Oath"; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. 27. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. 28. And Isaac on that day cursed the

20. *Enmity* = šēl'ē emended with Latin (*inimicitias*) from šabâb = "narrow." The corruption is native to the text. It most probably arose from a scribe's wishing to make an antithesis between the name of this well and that of the next "Room."

21-26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 23-25, 32-33.

24-25. There is mention of only one well in Gen. xxvi. 25.

25. The implication of our text is that owing to Isaac having made a covenant with Abimelech his servants failed to find water.

They had not found. Our text and

the LXX thus imply אֵל בְּצַדִּיק in Gen. xxvi. 32, but Mass., Sam., Syr. read וְ instead of אֵל and connect it with the preceding verb.

26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 33.

Ahuzzath. Eth. 'Akôzat.

28-32. The hatred expressed in these verses is hardly intelligible save in a contemporary of the wars waged by the Maccabeans against the Philistine cities. This passage is here introduced gratuitously into the narrative (so also Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1890, p. 200). Of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Jos. xiii. 3) four were still in existence

Philistines and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. 29. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30. And no remnant will be left to them,

Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;

For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),

And there will no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

in Maccabean times, Askelon, Ashdod, Gaza and Ekron. Of these Ekron (Ἀκκαρών) was given by Alex. Balas to Jonathan for his services (1 Macc. x. 89; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4), and Askelon submitted to him (1 Macc. x. 60, xi. 60). Ashdod (Ἀζωτος) suffered severely under Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. v. 68) and was captured, put to the sword, and burnt by Jonathan (147 B.C.); the temple of Dagon likewise and all that had taken refuge in it were burnt (1 Macc. x. 84; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4). It was again reduced to ashes by John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 10). As regards Gaza its suburbs were burnt by Jonathan and the city forced to capitulate (1 Macc. xi. 61-62). It was afterwards destroyed by Alex. Jannaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3). Our text reflects correctly the attitude of Judah towards the cities of the Philistines in the second cent. B.C.

28. *Sinners, the Gentiles.* The Latin has here "peccatoris populi." Cf. xxiii. 24. The Philistines suffered severely at the hands of the Assyrians and Egyptians—particularly the latter: see

Herodotus i. 105, ii. 157, 159.

Kittim (כִּיִּיִם, Κίτιοις, Κίτιοι, Χετιέμ, Χετράν). These were descended from Javan according to Gen. x. 4 and, therefore, belonged to the Graeco-Latin races. Their country is usually identified with Cyprus. In Dan. xi. 30 the Kittim are undoubtedly the Romans, whereas in 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5 they are the Macedonians. It is to the Macedonians that our text refers. Gaza was captured by Alexander the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4).

29. *The righteous nation.* Judah under the Maccabees. See note on 28-32 above.

Generations. Emended with Latin. Text="days."

These Caphtorim. "These" = 'עַלְלָא emend. from kuēllā="all" with Latin. Text="all Caphtorim." According to Amos ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines came originally from Caphtor. On the various views as to its locality see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 698-699.

31. For though he ascend unto heaven,
 Thence will he be brought down,
 And though he make himself strong on earth,
 Thence will he be dragged forth,
 And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
 Even from thence will he be rooted out;
 And though he descend into Sheol,
 There also will his condemnation be great,
 And there also he will have no peace.
32. And if he go into captivity,
 By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay
 him on the way,
 And neither name nor seed will be left to him on all
 the earth;
 For into eternal malediction will he depart."
33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him
 on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of
 judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

*Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman,
 1-3. Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban
 despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry
 a Canaanitish woman, 4-10. Rebecca blesses Jacob, 11-
 23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)*

2109 A.M. XXV. And in the second year of this week in this
 jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto him,
 saying: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters
 of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of
 the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul

31-32. Based on Amos ix. 2-4. Cf.
 Ps. cxxxix. 8 sqq.

31. *Though he make himself strong.*
 Lat. = ubi fugiens erit. The corruption
 seems to have originated in the Hebrew.

XXV. 1-3. Observe that our author
 transposes Gen. xxviii. 1-4 before Gen.
 xxvii., which contains Jacob's inter-
 ception of Esau's blessing.

1. *Second year of this week in this
 jubilee.* See note on ver. 4.

Do not take thee a wife, etc. Cf. Gen.
 xxviii. 1.

Esau . . . who took him two wives,
 etc. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 34.

Embittered my soul. Cf. Gen. xxvii.
 46, xxvi. 35.

with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. 3. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou wilt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a righteous generation and a holy seed." 4. And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: "Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 5. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. 6. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them. 7. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. 8. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has

3. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1, 2.

4. *Nine weeks.* If the date in ver. 1 is right, it follows that since Jacob was then sixty-three years old, he was born in 2046. This agrees with MSS reading in xix. 13; but the estimate based on that reading is at variance with that which follows from xlv. 13, which assigns Jacob's birth to the year 2041. With the statement as to Jacob's age cf. Ber. rabba 68: "Our father Jacob was sixty-three years old when he received

the blessing: fourteen years he spent hidden in the house of Eber and seven years he served for Rachael: accordingly he was eighty-four when he married, but Esau was forty." See also Seder Olam ii.

I neither know . . . any woman. Syncellus (i. 197) wrongly attributes this statement to Josephus: 'Ἰωσηππὸς φησιν ὅτι ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ξγ' οὐκ ἔγνω ὅλως γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξείπε τῇ μητρὶ Πεβέκκα.

7. *With regard to . . . fornication*

striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done. 9. I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 10. Fear not mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever." 11. And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise. 12. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. 13. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him." 14. And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15. "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages;

And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.

May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,

And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16. And may He make thy sons many during thy life,

And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.

Abraham . . . gave me many commands. Cf. xx. 4, xxxix. 6.

8. *These two and twenty years.* This agrees with the statement of Esau's age in Gen. xxvi. 34, where he is said to have been forty when he married. Esau was now sixty-three.

14. *Spirit of righteousness* (or "truth") = τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13. So *abd.* Cf. xxxi. 12. *c* reads "Holy Spirit." The latter is Jewish also: cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 "His holy Spirit" (רוח קדש). With the idea conveyed by

And may their sons become many and great beyond the
stars of heaven,

And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17. And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He
would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him
always—

And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18. And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children
during my life,

And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19. And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during
†my† life,

The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee,

[My affection] and my breasts bless thee

And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20. Increase and spread over the earth,

And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and
earth for ever ;

And may thy seed rejoice,

And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21. And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,

And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,

And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

both phrases cf. Deut. xxxiv. 9 "the spirit of wisdom" (רוח הכמה); Num. xi. 25, 26, 29; Neh. ix. 20; Is. xi. 2.

17. *As He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed . . . always.* Cf. Luke i. 55, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν . . . τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The words in Luke recall both Mic. vii. 20 and our text. Observe that this statement in Luke is added parenthetically or explanatorily as in our text.

Possession for ever. Cf. the Thucydidean phrase κτήμα ἐς αἰ.

19. *Hast refreshed (ab).* *cd* "has given thee rest."

†*My*†. Read "thy," as the sense requires it.

[*My affection*]. I have bracketed this phrase; for it comes in awkwardly between "womb," "breasts," "mouth," and "tongue." We should expect an "and" to precede it. It may be a dittography and have originated as a false alternative rendering of רֶחֶם, "womb."

21. *His sanctuary . . . unto all the ages.* Cf. i. 29.

22. Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely may it be
cursed."
23. And she kissed him, and said to him :
"May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in
thee and bless thee."
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing, 5-9. Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it, 10-24. Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing, 25-34. Threatens Jacob, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

2114 A.M.

XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : "I am old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him : "Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : ' Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. And now, my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go

22. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41.

1. *Are dim in seeing.* An imperfect

rendering of Gen. xxvii. 1 which = "dim so that he could not see (חָמָה)."

2. *Hunt and catch* = θήρευσον καὶ ἐπιλάβου, a loose rendering of the phrase in Gen. xxvii. 3.

to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed." 7. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. 8. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing." 9. And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: "Upon me be thy curse, my son only obey my voice." 10. And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. 11. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. 12. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 13. And Jacob went in to his father and said: "I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me." 14. And Isaac said to his son: "How hast thou found so quickly, my son?" 15. And Jacob said: "Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find." 16. And

7. First half of verse added by our author in favour of Jacob.

10. (*Savoury meat*). Added from Latin.

12. *Gave*. Here Eth. adds "to

him" against Latin and Gen. xxvii. 17. This addition is found also in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 17.

15. (*The Lord*). Supplied from Latin. *Caused me to find* (= 'arkabanî b c).

Isaac said unto him: "Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not." 17. And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 18. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. 19. And he said: "Art thou my son Esau?" and he said: "I am thy son": and he said, "Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 20. And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. 21. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Come near and kiss me, my son." And he came near and kissed him. 22. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

23. And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven

And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,

And peoples bow down to thee.

a = "helped me"; *d* = "caused me to see." Latin gives *direxit*. In my text I emended the phrase into 'artē'auī = *direxit*, comparing xxi. 2 where the Eth. has this verb as the equivalent of *dirigere* in the Latin. But the reading of *b c* may be right as Praetorius thinks.

18. *Because it was a dispensation from heaven.* This clause is borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15; cf. 2 Chron. x. 15.

His power of perception, literally, "his spirit."

(*His brother*). Added from the Latin.

19. *I am thy son.* For an analogous evasion, Beer compares Ber. rabba 65: "I am Esau the first born" (Gen. xxvii. 24). R. Levi said: Jacob meant:

I am he who will receive the ten commandments (which begin with the words "I am"), but Esau is thy first born.

21. *Come near.* Latin adds "to me." So also LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 26.

22. (*Full*). Added from the Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. *Give thee.* *b c d* add "and multiply thee." *a* transposes it before "may the Lord give thee."

Dew of the earth. The same rendering of τῆς πύργου τῆς γῆς is found in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 28.

And plenty. MSS add against parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28 before "plenty" the clause "may He give plentifully to thee."

24. Be lord over thy brethren,
 And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee ;
 And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath
 blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
 Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever :
 Cursed be he that curseth thee,
 And blessed be he that blesseth thee."

25. And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. 26. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father : "Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me." 27. And Isaac, his father, said unto him : "Who art thou ?" And he said unto him : "I am thy first born, thy son Esau : I have done as thou hast commanded me." 28. And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said : "Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him : (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever." 29. And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father : "Bless me, (even) me also, father." 30. And he said unto him : "Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing." And he said : "Now I know why his name is named Jacob : behold, he hath supplanted me these two times : he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing." 31. And he said : "Hast thou not

24. *The blessings wherewith the Lord . . . blessed Abraham, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 4.

25. †*He hid himself and*†. This looks like an addition to the text. Read "that."

28. *Hunted and caught.* See note on ver. 2.

30. *I know why* (or "how") = *οἶδα ὡς*. This may be a corruption of *δικαίως*. In that case the text would agree with Gen. xxvii. 36.

reserved a blessing for me, father?" and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

"Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I
strengthened him:

And what now shall I do for thee, my son?"

32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

"Hast thou but one blessing, O father?

Bless me, (even) me also, father":

And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 33. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

"Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy
dwelling,

And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34. And by thy sword wilt thou live,

And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest
great,

And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,

Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death,

And thy seed will be rooted out from under heaven."

35. And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his

33. *Dew of the earth.* See note on verse 23.

34. *Becomst great* = 'abaika (so *b*). *ac* = "refusest" ('abaika) which is (?) a corruption of the former. *d* is corrupt but supports *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאריך (Gen. xxvii. 40) which is the niphal or hiphal of ארך. Mass. = תריך as to the meaning of which the versions vary. LXX has κατέλγης = חוריר from ירר.

34. *Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death*, or "every sin unto death." This change is contrary to all tradition. In Onkelos we have: "And it will come to pass when his (Jacob's) sons transgress the words of the law, that thou wilt

remove his yoke from off thy neck." Similarly in the Jerusalem and Ps.-Jon. Targums and in Ber. rabba 67. This passage in our text is attributed to Genesis by Syncellus, i. 202: τῷ Ἰσαὺ ἔφη ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν κατέλγης καὶ ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου· πλημμελήσης εἰς θάνατον. Glycas (p. 263) appears to assign it to Josephus: τότε οὖν ἐπληρώθη ἡ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ προφητεία ἡνίκα ἂν κατέλγης τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου σου, πλημμέλειαν πλημμελήσεις θανάτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τοιαῦτα.

Sin unto death. Cf. xxi. 22.

heart: "May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob."

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats, prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob, 13-18. Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel, 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

XXVII. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 2. "Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee. 3. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence." 4. And Jacob said: "I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him." 5. But she said unto him: "Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day." 6. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go;

35. *May the days*, etc. Observe the malicious turn given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-45.

1. *Were told to Rebecca in a dream.* In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 it is said: "And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebecca by the Holy Spirit." In Ber. rabba on the same passage Rebecca is called a prophetess.

6. This verse like xii. 31 owes its existence, as Singer has pointed out, to the author's desire to protect his heroes

Abraham and Jacob from the reproach of leaving their fathers in their old age. Singer (p. 170) writes: In der Haggada wird nämlich Jakob darob getadelt, dass er so lange Zeit von seinen Eltern fernblieb und dadurch die Uebung der Kindespflichten verabsäumte (Megilla 16 b, Sed. Od. rabba 2, Tanch. u. Lek. Tob. Wagescheb in Raschi, Gen. xxxvii. 34), wogegen Esau in dieser Hinsicht sehr gepriesen und als Muster eines guten Kindes dargestellt wird (Ber. rabba 65, 82; Debarim rabba 1, Pesikta rab. xxiv.).

when he sends me, then only will I go." 7. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away." 8. And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: "I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil." 9. And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 10. "Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 11. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace." 12. And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 13. And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. 14. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return. 15. The Most High God will

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

14. *My sister*. This term as applied by Isaac to his wife is used as an expression of tenderness. It is possible that Singer (p. 168 note) is right in stating that it is designed by our author to justify the fact of Isaac's having called her his sister at the Court of Abimelech. As instances of the former use we might quote Tobit's address to his wife (Tobit v. 21): *μὴ λόγον ἔχει, ἀδελφὴ*; also vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; also

Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. This usage was common in the old Egyptian songs as Maspero and Spiegelberg have shown (see Budde, *Das Hohenlied*, pp. xvi-xvii). "Brother" was used in these songs also with a similar meaning. *ἀδελφὴ* in 1 Cor. ix. 5 has quite a different meaning. It denotes one who is connected by the tie of the Christian religion. The above usage, is according to Singer (p. 208 note), unknown in Rabbinic literature.

preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days; 16. For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. 17. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not." 18. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. 19. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this week, 2115 A.M. and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. 20. And he took one of the stones of that place and laid it (at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. 21. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 22. And He spake to Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed after thee. 23. And thy seed will be as the dust of the earth, and thou wilt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed will all the families of the nations be blessed. 24. And behold, I shall be with thee,

16. *Will be prospered*=jěšêrâh (= the Latin *dirigentur*) emended from jěšêrêh. Text="he will prosper."

17. *On the upright path.* So *b* and Latin, in *via recta*. *a c d* diverge in different directions.

And he is faithful. *ab* and Latin omit "and."

19-20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 10, 11, 19.

19. *Luz.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 19.

20. (*At his head*). Added from the Latin.

Under the tree. This phrase is not found in Gen. xxviii. 11. It seems to be the wooden post or mast (עֲזָרָה) which stood at Canaanitish places of worship. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 330-332.

21-27. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 12-22.

and shall keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I shall bring thee again into this land in peace; for I shall not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.” 25. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, “Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not.” And he was afraid and said: “Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” 26. And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first. 27. And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: “If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father’s house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord’s house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God.”

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids, 11-24. Jacob seeks to leave Laban, 25: but stays on at a certain wage, 26-28. Jacob becomes rich, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35, xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.)

XXVIII. And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one

2122 A.M. week. 2. And in the first year of the third week he said

25. *Awoke from . . . sleep* = ἐξύπνωσε ἐξ ὕπνου. MSS corrupt = ὕπνωσε ὕπνου = “slept a sleep.”

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1.

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxix. 21-25.

unto him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years"; and Laban said unto Jacob: "I will give thee thy wife." 3. And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an handmaid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. 4. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: "Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me? Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder." And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tables, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord. 7. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. 8. And Laban said to Jacob: "Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou

3. *Zilpah*. Eth. *Zalafâ*. See note on ver. 9.

He thought. For "he" (*a*) *bcd* read Jacob.

5. Cf. Gen. xxix. 17-18^a.

Leah's eyes were weak. Ps.-Jon. in loc. and Ber. rabba 70 attribute this weakness to Leah's weeping.

6. *It is not . . . before the elder*. Cf. Gen. xxix. 26.

And it is not right to do this, etc.

These are the words of the angels enunciating the law as Singer (p. 82) has recognised. There is no hint according to Beer and Singer of this ordinance in tradition.

But the elder (so *b*). *acd* omit through homoioteleuton, as Littmann has pointed out.

8-10. Cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29. Jacob's marriage with two sisters was expressly forbidden by the later law: cf. Lev.

mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week." 9. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah, as a handmaid. 10. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing. 11. And the Lord opened the

xviii. 18. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 134, declares it to be οὐ θεμιτόν.

8. Our author rightly understands Gen. xxix. 27-29, and represents Jacob as receiving Rachel when the seven days of Leah's feast were over. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19. 7) wrongly makes Jacob wait for seven years after his marriage with Leah.

9. *Bilhah.* Eth. Bâlân.

The sister of Zilpah. Bilhah and Zilpah appear as sisters also in Test. XII. Patriarch. Naph. i. Naphtali declares: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μου ἐστὶ Βάλλα, θυγάτηρ 'Ρωθέου, ἀδελφοῦ Δεβόρρας, τῆς τροφοῦ 'Ρεβέκκας. . . ὁ δὲ 'Ρόθεος ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν 'Αβραάμ. . . καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ἠγοράσθη ὑπὸ Λάβαν· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Αἰνᾶν τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα· ἥτις ἔτεκεν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Ζελφάν. . . καὶ

ἐξῆς ἔτεκεν τὴν Βάλλαν. In later Jewish tradition they are still represented as sisters, but as daughters of Laban by a concubine: cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29; Ber. rabba 74. Singer adds Pirke R. El. 36 on p. 118 note.

11-24. Cf. Gen. xxix. 31-xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24.

11-24. The twelve sons of Jacob. The twelve appear in our text in the same order as in Gen. xxix. 32-34, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. The following tables (taken from Rönsch, p. 330) will serve to make clear the different order of these names. I. In the narrative of Gen. xxix.-xxxv. and Jubilees. II. In Jubilees according to the date of birth. III. In Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth. IV. In Gen. xlix.

	I. Gen. xxix.-xxx., xxxv. and Jubilees.	II. Jubilees according to the date of birth.	III. Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth.	IV. Gen. xlix.
1	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben
2	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi
4	Judah	Dan	Judah	Judah
5	Dan	Judah	Dan	Zebulon
6	Naphtali	Naphtali	Issachar	Issachar
7	Gad	Gad	Naphtali	Dan
8	Asher	Issachar	Gad	Gad
9	Issachar	Asher	Zebulon	Asher
10	Zebulon	Joseph	Asher	Naphtali
11	Joseph	Zebulon	Joseph	Joseph
12	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin

It will be observed that the order in II. diverges from all the others as to Dan, Issachar, and Joseph. The Midrash Tadshe, which is partly based

on our text, shows the same order (see below). Probably the dates are corrupt. Rönsch proposes to read seventh instead of sixth (an easy emendation resting on

womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the 2122 A.M.

confusion of , and ;) in Jub. xxviii. 24. In that case Joseph would be born in 2135 A.M. and his place in the Jubilees list would agree with those of the other authorities. But this date does not agree with what is required by xxxiv. 10 and xlvi. 1 of our text. For these passages when taken together imply that Joseph was born in the year 2132. See note on xxviii. 24.

Rönsch further supposes that the copyist transposed the dates for Judah and Dan, and again a corruption of seventh into sixth; and finally suggests in the case of Asher and Issachar that we should transpose the years of their births, and read fourth year in Asher's case and fifth in Issachar's. Thus we should have the following list:—

Reuben born	14th of 9th month in	1st year of the 3rd week =	2122
Simeon	„ 21st of 10th „ 3rd „ 3rd „	=	2124
Levi	„ 1st of 1st „ 6th „ 3rd „	=	2127
Judah	„ 15th of 3rd „ 7th „ 3rd „	=	2128
Dan	„ 9th of 6th „ 1st „ 4th „	=	2129
Naphtali	„ 5th of 7th „ 2nd „ 4th „	=	2131
Gad	„ 12th of 8th „ 3rd „ 4th „	=	2132
Asher	„ 2nd of 11th „ 4th „ 4th „	=	2133
Issachar	„ 4th of 5th „ 5th „ 4th „	=	2134
Zebulon	„ 7th of 7th „ 6th „ 4th „	=	2134
Joseph	„ 1st of 4th „ 7th „ 4th „	=	2135
Benjamin	„ 11th of 8th „ 1st „ 4th „	=	2143

This order, corrected as Rönsch proposes above, is found in Syncellus i. 198, though the dates differ from those in our text: *καὶ δουλεύσας ἔτη 5' ἔλαβε τὴν Λείαν καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ρουβὴν τῷ π' ἔτει καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν τῷ πα', τὸν δὲ Λευὶ τῷ πβ', τὸν 'Ιούδαν τῷ πγ', τὸν Δάν τῷ πέ', τὸν Νεφθαλεὶμ τῷ πς', τὸν 'Ιὰδ τῷ πζ', τὸν 'Ασὴρ τῷ πη', τὸν 'Ισσάχαρ τῷ πθ', τὸν Ζαβουλὼν καὶ τὴν Δείναν ἐκ Λείας τῷ 5', τὸν 'Ιωσήφ ἐκ τῆς 'Ραχὴλ τῷ 5α'.*

The following imperfect list (derived undoubtedly from our text) of the twelve patriarchs with their ages and the days of the month on which they were born is found in Eppstein's edition of the Midrash Tadshe viii. lines 2-4: "The years of Rebecca were 133, of Rachel 36, of Lea 46. Reuben was born on the 14th of the 9th month and died 125 years old. Simeon was born on the 21st of the 10th month and died at the age of 120 years. Levi was born on the 1st of the 1st month and died at the age of 137. Dan was born on the 6th of the 9th month and

died at the age of 125; Judah on 15th of 3rd and died 119 (?) (text indistinct); Naphtali on the 5th of the 3rd and died aged 133; Gad on the 10th of the 7th and died 125; Issachar on 4th of 5th month and died 122; Asher on 2nd of (corrupt text) and died 123; Joseph on the 1st of the 7th and died 110." It will be observed that more than half the above dates of the month correspond exactly to those in Jubilees, and nearly all the ages to those in Test. XII. Patriarchs (see below). The Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244, 1246, 1248) agrees with the Testament XII. Patriarch, in giving the same ages for Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Gad, Joseph, but disagrees in the cases of Judah, Dan, Asher, Zebulon and Naphtali, to whom it ascribes respectively the following ages: 129, 124, 123, 114, 132.

In the Test. XII. Patriarchs the dates vary also. The facts have been collected by Dodwell and are found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 749-754. See also Rönsch, 327-329. The chief are:—

ninth month, in the first year of the third week. 12. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved. 13. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second
 2124 A.M. son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. 14. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the
 2127 A.M. new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. 15. And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
 2129 A.M. on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. 16. And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: "Give me children"; and Jacob said: "Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?" 17. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: "Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will

Reuben was born in the 76th year of Jacob's life, and died aged 125 in the same year as Zebulon aged 114.

Simeon	„	79th	„	and died aged 120 in the same year as Joseph aged 110.
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Levi	„	81st	„	and died aged 137.
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Judah	„	84th	„	119.
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Dan	„	85th	„	125.
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Issachar, Naphtali, Gad	86th	„	Issachar died aged 122; Naphtali, 130; Gad, 125.
Zebulon and Asher	87th	„	Zebulon died aged 114; Asher, 126.

Dinah	„	88th	„	
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Joseph	„	89th	„	and died aged 110.
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Benjamin	„	101st	„	125.
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We must be content with these dates till a critical edition of this work is issued. For a different set of dates see Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21.

11. *He called.* In Gen. xxix. 32 it is "she called." Perhaps we should so read here and in verses 13, 14, 15, 18. In 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 this form is actually found.

15. From the context (cf. verses 15 and 18) it is obvious that the dates in the text are corrupt. Judah was born before Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob. Yet the text sets the birth of Bilhah's son two years before that of Judah. See note on 11-24.

conceive, and bear a son unto me." 18. (And she gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife.) And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called 2127 A.M. his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. 19. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth 2130 A.M. week. 20. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied (Rachel) and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the 2131 A.M. fourth week. 21. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the 2133 A.M. †fifth† year of the fourth week. 22. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the 2132 A.M. †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 23. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zebulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year 2134 A.M. of the fourth week. 24. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. 2134 A.M.

18. On the date assigned to Dan see note on 11-24.

20. *Become sterile and did not bear.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 9 = "had left bearing." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

Envied (Rachel) and she also gave. So MSS but the text is doubtful. My emendation of the text I here withdraw.

Latin reads *et dedit*. Gen. xxx. 9 has "took and gave."

21-22. On the dates see note on 11-24.

24. According to xxxiv. 10 Joseph was sold into Egypt in 2149 at the age of seventeen (xlv. 3). Hence this would require the date in our text to be 2132. This change is required also by xlv. 1. This would require "fourth" instead of "sixth," but see note on 11-24.

25. And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban? "Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 26. And Laban said to Jacob: "†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages." 27. And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white, (these) were to be his wages. 28. And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked, and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's. 29. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and menservants and maidservants. 30. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

*Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. Laban pursues after him, 5-6.
Covenant of Jacob and Laban, 7-8. Abodes of the*

25-26. Cf. Gen. xxx. 25, 28.

26. †Tarry with me for thy wages.† Latin has: Expecta me in mercede. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has "Appoint (נקבה) me thy wages." Possibly "expecta" goes back to קָהַ and "tarry" to קָם, but neither of these takes us back to the right text.

Take thy wages. Latin: dabo tibi mercedem is better.

27. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32.

Those of. So *b.* *abd* = "all the sheep of."

Black and spotted = חום וטלוא. See my text for emendation.

White. This is a false rendering of δαλευκα = נָקָה (same false rendering in Eth. ver. of Gen. xxx. 39), or else it presupposes λευκόν which is itself wrong. We should render "speckled."

28. Cf. Gen. xxx. 39.

Speckled and black, variously marked. This agrees exactly with LXX of Gen. xxx. 39: ποικίλα καὶ σποδοειδῆ πάντα and Vulg. varia et diverso colore respersa. The Mass. has no equivalent of the σποδοειδῆ. See my text on this clause.

All that were spotted were Jacob's, etc. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in loc.*) seems to have had this passage in mind: Si quid igitur ex albis et nigris, quae unius coloris sunt, varium natum erit, meum erit; si quid vero unius coloris, tuum.

29. And sheep. So also LXX of Gen. xxx. 43. Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit.

30. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 1, 2.

Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. Laban departs, 12. Jacob is reconciled to Esau, 13. Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron, 14-17, 19-20. Esau marries again, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19-21, 23, 24, 46, 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 10, 16.)

XXIX. And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan. 3. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: "To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee." 4. And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention from 2135 A.M. Laban and told him not. 5. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. 6. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for He appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob. 7. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made

XXIX. 1. *Laban went to shear his sheep.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 19.

2. *Called Leah, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 4.

3. *Seen everything in a dream* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 10.

Return to his father's house. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 13.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 20, 21.

Hide his intention (lit. "heart"). So LXX of Gen. xxxi. 20 ἐκρυψε and Onkelos יכס. Mass., Sam., Syr. = ἐκλεψε.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 23, 24.

7. *The fifteenth, i.e. of the 3rd month.*

a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob swore to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. 8. And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: "The Heap of Witness," after this heap. 9. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits. 10. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. 11. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very

A Feast. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 46.

8. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 47.

9. *Rephaim.* Eth. Rafâ'êm. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5.

10. It is difficult to understand why our author mentions these seats of the Rephaim unless it is that certain victories of the Maccabees over the Amorites who succeeded the Rephaim are connected with them. To these we shall draw attention as we proceed.

Karnaim and Ashtaroth. Eth. Qarânâ'im and Astarôs. In Gen. xiv. 5 these two appear as one name "Ashtaroth - Karnaim" = "Ashtaroth of the two horns" (?) in the Mass. and Sam. and some MSS of the LXX. On the other hand the Syr. and some MSS of the LXX support our text. Kuenen, Buhl and Siegfried accept this reading. Ashtaroth Karnaim appears simply as Ashtaroth in Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31 along with Edrei as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan. This Og was of the remnant of the Rephaim, Deut. iii. 11. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 335, 336.

Karnaim. Eth. Qarânâ'im. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5; Amos vi. 13. Karnaim a strong city (1 Macc. v. 26) was captured by Judas and its temple of Atargatis burnt and 25000 people put to the sword (1 Macc. v. 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26). The Rephaim were

succeeded by the Amorites (ver. 11), and of these our text grimly declares that "they have no longer length of life on the earth." Judas must have nearly annihilated them.

Edrei. Eth. 'Adrâ'a. This is the biblical Edrei (אֲדְרַי, 'Eḏrai, 'Eḏra'ev), the Ἀδρα of Ptolemy and the Ἀδράα of Eusebius. It was the chief city of Og, king of Bashan, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31. Although this town is not mentioned as attacked by Judas in his eastern campaign (1 Macc. v.) the fact that it is mentioned here as having been destroyed makes it probable that it did suffer at the hands of Judas.

Mîsûr = מֵיִסוֹר = מִישוֹר. Cf. Deut. iii. 10, where there is a list of the cities of the plain (מִישוֹר) belonging to Og which were captured by Joshua. This may be the same as the valley of Rephaim, Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

Beon = בְּעֹן. Eth. Bêwôn. Cf. Num. xxxii. 3. It is the same as the Baal-meon (see *Encyc. Bib.* and *Bible Dict.* in loc.). It is most probably to be identified with the Maccabean *Baiar* which is described in the *Onomastica* 32. 40; 101. 32 as a πόλις τοῦ Ἀμορραίων. This suits our text exactly. Beon and its inhabitants were utterly destroyed by Judas (1 Macc. v. 4, 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, 1).

malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. 12. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. 13. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the Jordan, 2136 A.M. and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. 15. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley, 16. And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months,

11. *The Amorites dwelt.* Latin: habitare fecit.

13. *Passed over the Jabbok.* Cf. Gen. xxxii. 22.

He passed over the Jabbok . . . on the eleventh thereof. Latin has transivit Jacob et undecim filii ipsius, probably owing to Gen. xxxii. 22.

He was reconciled. Emended with Latin propitius (est) from takuânânû = "they were reconciled."

14. †*Of the heap*†. So *a d.* *b c* give fahahat a word of unknown meaning. Latin has salso. Hence Lat. = "from the Salt Sea."

Bethshan = Βαιθσάν (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = בֵּית שֵׁן (*i.e.* the Bethshan in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10; 1 Kings iv. 12). This town also is associated with Judas, but in a peaceful way: cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29-31, where it appears under a new name Σκυθῶν πόλις (cf. LXX Judg. i. 27, where B adds after Βαιθσάν the gloss ἡ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις). In the Roman war 65 A.D. the heathen inhabitants of this city slaughtered their Jewish fellow-

citizens to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 3). Eth. has Bêtasan.

Dothan. Eth. Dôthâ'im = Δωθαίμ (Judith iv. 6, vii. 3, etc.) = דּוֹתָן, Gen. xxxvii. 17.

Unto the †forest†. Latin has aggruum which may be corrupt for arborem, seeing that the Eth. has 'oma (*a*) = "forest." *b c d* read simply "unto Akrabbim." We should expect "unto the ascent of Akrabbim" from Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

Akrabbim. Eth. 'Aqrâbêth. This name is found only in the phrase "Ascent of Akrabbim." See preceding note. 'Ακραβαττήνη, a district in Idumea, where Judas fought against the Edomites, 1 Macc. v. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1.

15-16. Jacob, in contrast to Esau who robs his father (ver. 18), sends presents to him and his mother four times a year. The four times may correspond, as Rönisch (p. 140) conjectures, to the four festivals instituted by Noah (see vi. 23 sqq.): the 1st

between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. 17. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone¹ up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 18. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. 19. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron, 20. And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. Slaughter of the Shechemites, 4-6. Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen, 7-17. Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites, 18-23. Dinah recovered, 24. Jacob's reproof, 25-26. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

2143 A.M. XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth

of the 4th month = "between the times of the months"; the 1st of the 7th = "between ploughing and reaping"; the 1st of the 10th month = "between autumn and the rain (season)"; the 1st of the 1st month = "between winter and spring."

16. *Between autumn and the rain (season).* Latin has: in medio autumni pluviarum. This is the former rain (יורה), which falls from the

middle of October to the middle of December.

Between winter and spring. Latin has: in medio pluviarum veris. Eth. could be rendered "between the rain and spring." This is the latter rain (מלקוש), which falls in March and April.

18. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 6, 8.

Mahalath. Eth. Mâ'êlêth.

XXX. 1. *Went up to Salem . . . in*

month. 2. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. 3. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them. 4. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and

peace. This passage is based on Gen. xxxiii. 18 שלם יעקב וְיָחִיד. The LXX, Syr., Eusebius, and Jerome here take שלם as a proper name. The Sam. reads שלם. Our text combines both interpretations.

To the east. Gen. xxxiii. 18 has "city."

2-3. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connection with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi 6: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὤργισθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi 5 where the angel bids Levi: ποιήσον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συγχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, καὶ γὰρ ἐσομαι μετὰ σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἑμμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν; and in the Test. Levi 6-7, where Levi says that he saw that "the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem," and still more strongly:

ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου Συμεών, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ ῥομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οὗ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίασμα καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κ.τ.λ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-1168). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

2. *Child of twelve years.* This agrees with the reckoning in Test. Levi 12. There Levi, who was six years older than Dinah, slew Shechem at the age of eighteen.

3. *His father (ab).* cd "her father." *And beguiled them.* *And Simeon . . . to Shechem.* Latin has: Et posuerunt in corde suo Symeon et Lenui exterminare eos.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-27.

slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah. 5. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. 6. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. 7. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 8. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones. 9. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tables regarding all the seed of Israel: he

5. *Wrought shame in Israel.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7.

7. This statement does not agree quite with any in the O.T. The burning of the woman with fire, it is true, finds a precedent in Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah demands that such a punishment should be executed on Tamar—a punishment at variance with the later law in Lev. xxi. 9. See in note on xli. 17 the distortion of the biblical tradition had recourse to by the Rabbis in order to justify the demand of Judah. It is true that her crime is that of fornication, whereas our text deals merely with the marriage of a Hebrew woman and a Gentile. To

our author, however, such a marriage was illegal and was no better than fornication. In Lev. xxi. 9 it is ordained that a priest's daughter who played the harlot was to be burnt with fire. Our text teaches that to give a daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her to Moloch (cf. ver. 10). Since our author holds the former to be equivalent to the latter, it follows that the man who was guilty of the former offence should justly be visited with the penalty exacted for the latter, and this was, according to Lev. xx. 2, death by stoning; hence our text ordains: "and they shall stone him with stones."

who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones. 10. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. 11. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. 12. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: "We shall not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us." 13. And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those who take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel. 14. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its

10. *Has given of his seed to Moloch.* This interpretation of Lev. xviii. 21: "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech," as being equivalent to giving one's child in marriage to a Gentile, is found in Ps.-Jon. on this verse: "And of thy seed thou shalt not give to lie with a daughter of the Gentiles so as to draw him over to a strange worship." The Latin which gives alienigenae instead of Molech is an interpretation of the text but not the text itself. The same idea underlies the statement in Sanh. 82a: R. Chija b. Abija said: "Whoever cohabits with a Gentile woman is to be regarded as though he had made himself the son-in-law of the idol; for it is said: And he cohabited with the daughter of a strange God." In Sanh. ix. 6 it enacts that "the zealous may slay a man taken in fornication with a Gentile or Roman woman (ארמית)." Nearly the same statement as is quoted above from Ps.-Jon. is found

in Megilla 25a. That such an interpretation was prevalent we see from Megil. iv. 9: האומר מורער לא תתן להעביר למולך ומורער לא תתן לאעבד בארמיותא = "Whoever translates 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to pass through the fire to Molech' as 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to cohabit with a Gentile woman,' bid him be silent." Singer (p. 200 note) says that this Mishna is directed against the Jewish Christians. However this may be, the interpretation was an ancient Jewish one to begin with. It may not be older than the Maccabean age. The circumstances of that time were such as to justify the extremest measures in order to save Judaism from annihilation.

11. *For their sons.* So Latin. *bcd* om., but *a* = *avrol*.

12. *We shall not give, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14-15. The sin of one man, the man who gives any of his seed to the Gentiles

daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles. 15. For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this (man). 16. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. 17. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. 18. And the seed of Levi was chosen for

or takes to wife a Gentile woman will affect the whole community. These verses are based on Lev. xx. 2-4, which deal with the man who gives his seed unto Moloch.

15. (*Upon him*). Added from the Latin.

Hide his eyes. This is the phrase in Lev. xx. 4, הָעֵינִים עֲנִים. The Latin, praeterierit et despexerit, seems to be a dittography.

Who commit uncleanness . . . defile the sanctuary of the Lord . . . profane His holy name. Cf. Lev. xx. 3, "Hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary . . . to profane my holy name."

(*Then*) will the whole nation together, etc. In Lev. xx. 5 only the man's family is involved in his guilt. Our author's enlargement of the area of the guilt is to justify the action of Simeon and Levi in slaying all the Shechemites. Our text (ver. 2) makes the whole people share in the rape of Dinah. In

Test. Levi 6 a very evil account of them is given: οὕτως ἐδίωξαν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν ξένον ὄντα, καὶ κατεπάτησαν τὰ πόλινια ὀγκομένα ὄντα ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ Ἰεβλαὶ τὸν οἰκογενῆ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἀκλίσαντο. καὶ γε οὕτως ἐποίησεν πάντας τοὺς ξένους, ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἀρπάζοντες τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.

All the uncleanness (a b and Latin). c d "all this uncleanness."

Profanation of this (man). MSS read "this profanation." I have emended in accordance with the Latin.

16. [*And no consideration of persons*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Latin omits.

The fragrance of sweet savour. Latin: odorabitur odore suavitatis.

18. The ground for Levi's appointment to the priesthood is quite different in xxxii. 3. Levi is there consecrated to the work of the priesthood as the tithe or tenth in Jacob's family. Our author has thus made use of two conflicting traditions. Possibly a third is

the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. 19. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tables blessing and righteousness before the God of all: 20. And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tables as a friend and a righteous man. 21. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. 22. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. 23. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and

to be found in Test. Levi 4, where Levi's appointment seems to be in answer to his prayer: εἰσήκουσεν οὖν ὁ ὑψιστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ . . . λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. Another tradition appears in Shem. rabba 19 to the effect that Levi received the priesthood because it held fast to the rite of circumcision in Egypt when all the other tribes neglected it (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² p. 309). For other reasons cf. Baba bathra 123 a and Bamidbar rabba 7. See Singer (p. 115 note).

19. *God of all.* See note on xxii. 4.

20. *Friend, i.e., of God.* See note on xix. 9.

22. *Transgress.* Latin adds testamentum.

Book of life. See note on this expression in my edition of Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3. It may mean here the register of those who enjoy *temporal* blessings, but, in xxxvi. 10, of those who enjoy *eternal*.

Book of those who will be destroyed and. Latin has libro perditionum.

vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing. 24. And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. 25. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 26. And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4, 7, 14). Isaac blesses Levi, 4-17, and Judah, 18-22. Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him, 24. Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah, 26-30. Jacob blesses the God of his fathers, 31-32.

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because He has been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among

24. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

And all their wealth. *c d* transpose after "flocks" against *a b* and Latin.

25. *Reproached them.* Text = ἐλάλησε πρὸς αὐτούς (so Latin, locutus est ad illos) = עָלַם לָהֶם, which, however, in this context the Greek translator should have rendered by ἐλάλησε κατ' αὐτών. The same wrong choice of the two possible renderings of this phrase is found also in the LXX of Jer. vi. 10,

xxv. 2, xxvi. 2, etc. I press the above correction of the translation because the context requires עָלַם לָהֶם and not יְמַחֵם לָהֶם as in Gen. xxxiv. 30 in the corresponding passage. With our text "reproached them because they had put the city to the sword," cf. Test. Levi 6: οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπάταξαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1-2. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

you." 2. And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her brother she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem. 3. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 4. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die." 5. And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca. 6. And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: "Behold Jacob thy son has come"; and she kissed him. 7. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: "In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye will prove a blessing on the earth." 8. And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck

2. *They gave up* = *maṭawēwômû*. Emended from (a) *b masawēwômû* = "they melted." *cā* give a bad emendation *masatēwômû* = "they tore away."

And which was †on their necks†. Here *kēsāwdihômû* seems corrupt for *'ēdawihômû* = "their hands," and the whole emended clause "which were in their hands" should be inserted after "strange gods."

Her brother. The MSS corruptly

give *'abûhâ* = "her father" instead of *'ēhûhâ*.

3-4. The same incident is referred to in Test. Levi 9, where it says of Isaac: οὐκ ἠθέλησε πορευθῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς Βεθὴλ.

5. This last meeting of Jacob with Isaac and Rebecca is unknown to later haggada (Beer).

6. *Spirit had revived.* Cf. Gen. xlv. 27 for the phrase.

of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck. 9. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said: "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 10. And he said unto him that they were truly his sons: "And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons." 11. And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. 12. And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. 13. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him: "May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. 14. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, will the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great

9. Part of this verse with the subject matter of ver. 5 and 10 sqq. is attributed by Syncellus (i. 202) to Josephus: Ἰωσήφου. τῷ ρηγ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαρήλθεν Ἰακώβ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας. καὶ ἀναβλέψας Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ ἡλόγησε τὸν Λεὺν ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἄρχοντα.

10. *Seen that they are truly my sons.* The Latin has: Vidisti, pater, quoniam filii mei sunt, and is probably right; for 'amân="truly" may be corrupt for 'abâ="O father."

12. *Spirit of prophecy.* See note on xxv. 14.

13. *Turned to Levi first, and began to bless him.* Similarly in Test. Levi 9 it says of Isaac: καὶ εὐλόγησέ με ὁ πατήρ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὁράσεών μου ὧν εἶδον.

God of all. See note on xxii. 4.

14. *To thy seed †greatness and great glory†.* So c. b "to thy seed the

great greatness of glory." *a* is corrupt but points in the direction of *b*. Latin = magno intellegere gloriam ejus. This is decidedly better than the Ethiopic. By a slight change we can arrive at it from *b*. Hence we should probably render: "to thy great seed to understand His glory," or else by another change "to thy seed to have great understanding of His glory."

Serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. On these two classes, see notes ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Here "the holy ones" appear to form a distinct class, whereas in xv. 27 they are used as a comprehensive term for the two (or "three" according to the Latin) highest orders. Levi is to serve in the sanctuary as the two highest orders of angels serve in the highest heaven. One or two such orders are mentioned in Test. Levi 3 (Armenian vers. A) as λειτουργούντες.

May He make them great. Lat. has sanctificabit.

unto all the ages. 15. And they will be princes and judges, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob ;

They will speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they will judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they will declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16. Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name ;

Thou wilt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob ;

15. In this verse a double function is assigned to the descendants of Levi : they are to rule the nation (to be "princes and judges and chiefs") and to be the priests of the nation ("The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths"). This description, combined with other facts peculiar to the Maccabean period, requires us to recognise here the early Maccabean princes. The blessing given to Judah (verses 18, 19) confirms this interpretation.

Princes and judges, and chiefs. The Latin omits "and chiefs." We might compare Test. Levi 8 : ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κριταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖς, for the author of that work had either our text or a source common to both before him. In the same chapter of the Test. Levi there is, as Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 165-167) has already pointed out, an undoubted description of Johannes Hyrcanus : Λεβὶ, εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς διαιρεθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου εἰς σημεῖον δόξης κυρίου ἐπερχομένης (so MS P. Arm. = τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου). These three offices to be administered by Levi's descendants *are to be signs of the coming of the Messiah*. What these are is described in the words that follow : ὁ πρῶτος κλῆρος ἔσται μέγας· ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν οὐ γενήσεται ἕτερος (MS R). ὁ δεῦτερος ἔσται ἐν

ιερωσύνη (Arm. as Bousset remarks prob. = ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἔσται ἱερατεία) : ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα κοινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν (so Arm. : Greek ἐκ) Ἰουδα ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατεῖαν νέαν. The first refers to Moses, the greatest of Levi's descendants ; the second denotes Aaron and the Aaronitic priesthood ; the third the Maccabean ruling priests, and in particular to Johannes Hyrcanus, for the subsequent words ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητῇ, ὡς προφῆτης ὑψίστου point to his prophetic gifts. The three-fold offices of prophet, priest and king were never claimed for any Jewish ruler save this Maccabean prince. See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7 ; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths. Cf. Sir. l. 20 : δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ, and Test. Reuben 6 : πρὸς τὸν Λεβὶ ἐγγίσατε ἐν ταπεινώσει καρδίας, ἵνα δέξησθε εὐλογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

16. *Joined to the Lord . . . the companion,* etc. In the first, if not in the second, there is a play on the name Levi, as in Gen. xxix. 34 "will my husband be joined to me (לֵוִי יִשָּׁא) . . . therefore was his name called Levi" (לֵוִי) : cf. also Num. xviii. 2, 4. Instead of "joined to the Lord" the Latin has

- Let His table be thine,
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;
And may thy table be full unto all generations,
And thy food fail not unto all the ages.
17. And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;
And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.
18. And to Judah he said:
May the Lord give thee strength and power
To tread down all that hate thee;
A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over
the sons of Jacob;
May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and
traverse every land and region.
Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face,

ad decorem Dei, which seems to refer to Levi as derived from לוי, "a crown" or "garland."

Let His table be thine, etc. Cf. Test. Levi 8:

καὶ ἔδεσθε πᾶν ὥραϊον ὁράσει
καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κυρίου διανεμήσεται
τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Also Test. Judah 21: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν (Λεὺ) ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς (Arm. Gk. σε) ἐξελέξατο Κύριος ἐγγίξειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐσθίειν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ.

18-19. In the note on ver. 15 we saw that according to the Test. Levi 8 the three great offices held in turn by the descendants of Levi were to be signs of the coming Messiah who was to spring from Levi or from Judah or from Judah and Levi combined (?). Thus according to Levi 18, Reuben 6, the Messiah (a Maccabean priest-king?) was to spring from Levi and to be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation. During his reign sin was gradually to come to an end just as our author supposes

(xxiii. 26-30), the gates of Paradise to be opened and the saints to eat of the tree of life, as in Eth. Enoch xxv. 5, in an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, as in Eth. Enoch xc. 29-38. In Judah 24-25 and Dan 5 the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah, as in Eth. Enoch xc. See Art. "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs" (in *Bible Dict.* vol. iv.). It is very probable that this last view underlies our text. The words "a prince . . . thou and one of thy sons" admit most naturally of this interpretation. If this is right, then the Messiah is to spring from Judah. In a kingdom which attains to realisation only gradually (see notes on i. 29, xxiii. 26-30) and not catastrophically no rôle seems to be assigned to him, as is also the case in Eth. Enoch xc. On the other hand this seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a *temporary* Messianic kingdom (see note on xxiii. 30).

18. *May thy name . . . go forth*, etc., i.e. that of the Jewish nation.

And all the nations will quake
[And all the peoples will quake].

19. In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.

20. And when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of
thy righteousness,
There will be great peace for all the seed of the sons
of the beloved,
And blessed will he be that blesseth thee;
And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and
accursed."

21. And turning he kissed him again and embraced
him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the sons of
Jacob his son in very truth. 22. And he went forth
from between his feet and fell down and worshipped
him. And he blessed them. And (Jacob) rested there with
Isaac his father that night, and they eat and drank with
joy. 23. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the
one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was
counted to him for righteousness. 24. And Jacob told his
father everything during the night, how the Lord had
shown him great mercy, and how He had prospered (him
in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil. 25. And
Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had
not withdrawn His mercy and His righteousness from the
sons of His servant Isaac. 26. And in the morning Jacob
told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to

[And all the peoples will quake].

Bracketed as a dittography.

20. *The throne of the honour of thy
righteousness, There will be great peace.*
So d. b c read "The throne of honour,
Thy righteousness will be great peace."

The beloved, i.e. Abraham, as in ver.
15.

22. *And he blessed them.* This
clause seems out of place here.

26. Jacob asks his father to go with
him to Bethel; but Isaac is unable to go.

the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. 27. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: "I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. 28. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son. 29. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou wilt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow." 30. And he said to Rebecca: "Go with Jacob thy son"; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 31. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. 32. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all"; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tables how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son, 2-3. Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe, 4-9. Law of tithes ordained, 10-15.

27. *am . . . not able to bear the way,* reference to the same event in the Test.
etc. See note on verses 3-4 for the Levi 9.

Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tables his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles, 27-29. Death of Deborah, 30. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel, 33-34. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

XXXII. And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the

XXXII. 1. According also to Test. Levi 8, Levi had this dream at Bethel, in which seven men appeared unto him and bade him: 'Ἀναστὰς ἐνδύσαι τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἱερατείας, καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνου εἰς ἱερέα κυρίου, σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἕως αἰῶνος. Cf. also Test. Levi 5. In ch. 9 of the same Testament Jacob is said to have had this dream also.

Priest of the Most High God. This was the specific title chosen by the Maccabean priest-kings. Thus they are called sacerdotes summi Dei in Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1 (where my emendation is wrong): Hyrcanus II. is designated ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου by Joseph. (Ant. xvi. 6. 2), and the Rosh ha-Shanah 18b states that it used to be said: "In such a year of Johanan priest of the Most High God." This title, anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the new holders of the high priesthood. Our author has Gen. xiv. 18-20 before him; for in the next verse he adopts a clause from Gen. xiv. 20: "And he gave him a tenth of all." We have seen in the note on xxxi. 18-19 that the Messiah was to spring from this family according to Test. Levi 18. The same expectation

seems to be at the base of Ps. cx. 1-4, which constitutes a Messianic hymn addressed to Simeon or Simon the Maccabee. As Bickell has recognised, this Ps. forms an acrostic on the name Simeon. On the frequency of this divine title "Most High" in the second cent. B.C. see note on xxxvi. 16.

Him and his sons for ever. This phrase in the same connection is found in Test. Levi 8, already quoted above.

2. *Jacob rose early in the morning,* etc. So also Test. Levi 9: καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ, though here the offering is said to be through Levi.

3. *Jacob counted his sons from him (i.e., Benjamin) upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord,* etc. Our text in some form was before Cedrenus, i. 60: καὶ πάντα ἀποδεκατώσας ἃ ἐκέκτητο, τελευταῖον ὑποβάλλει κλήρω τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὸν Λευὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιεροῖ, ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα ἡ' καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀναδείκνυσι, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀστρολογίας (λόγον). And still more clearly before his predecessor Syncellus, i. 200: Ἰακώβ ἀποδεκατώσας τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Λευὶ ἡ' ἐτῶν ὄντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ἰ' ὄντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον. And again on p.

Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. 5. This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. 7. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days' and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had

207: *ιερωσύνη τῷ Λεὺ ἐδόθη, ὅτι δέκατος ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ Θεῷ ἀπεδεκατώθη, καθὼς προσήξατο Ἰακώβ λέγων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι ὧς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* And on p. 211: *Λεὺ γ' υἱὸς Λείας, ἵ' ἀπὸ Ἰωσήφ ἀναστρέφοντι καὶ γ' ἀπὸ Ρουβὴν, ἐγεννήθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰακώβ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῷ πβ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρόδηλόν ἐστι. τοῦτον ἀριθμήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὴν ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Ῥαχὴλ ἵ' ὄντα ἐν ἄρρεσιν, ἀφιέρωσε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ὡς Ἰωσήπος, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνατροφῆς λόγον, συναποδεκατώσας αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀναθέμενος τῷ Θεῷ, καθὰ προσήξατο πορευόμενος εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ὅτι καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι ὧς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* Jacob's dedication of Levi as his tenth son to the priesthood is found also in P. R. Eliez. ch. 37 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 36-37), though the method of reckoning is different. Jacob is said to have separated the first four sons born of his four wives and to have counted his remaining sons from Simeon to Benjamin and then to have

begun again with Simeon. Levi thus came to be the tenth.

Filled his hands. The technical expression for appointment to the priesthood. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. This celebration of the feast of tabernacles is peculiar as regards the number of victims. According to the Levitical law on each of the seven days a kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and two rams and fourteen lambs as a burnt-offering. Throughout the seven days seventy bullocks were offered, beginning with thirteen on the first day, the number being diminished daily till on the seventh day seven were offered. See Num. xxix. 12-40; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-44.

Seven lambs. MSS=60, but since Latin has "septem," and the heptadic system prevails, we may assume with Rönsch (p. 147) that the corruption arose from a confusion of ξ' and ζ'.

One. MSS=9. Emended with Latin "unum." Corruption possibly due to confusion of ἐννέα and ένα (Rönsch).

5. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 22.

given him his vow. 8. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men. 9. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow : thus he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. 10. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever. 11. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. 12. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season. 13. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded as polluted : let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. 14. And thus let them eat it together in the sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. 15. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall

8. *The unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi.* I have supplied the negative. In Test. Levi 9 Levi says that Jacob ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Our text would limit this to the clean animals.

Gave him all the souls of the men. Levi was to exercise his priestly functions on behalf of these.

9. *Discharged the priestly office, or "was constituted a priest."*

Tithed again the tithe to the Lord. Cf. Num. xviii. 26.

10. *To eat before the Lord, etc.* Our text holds closely to the law in Deut. xiv. 22 sq. Cf. Tobit i. 7.

11. *The second tithe (so a). bcd "the tithe again."*

15. *The tithes of the oxen and sheep.* These tithes are mentioned in the O.T. only in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. They were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, xiii. 5, 12). Our author took this law of tithing literally, but rabbinic tradition (Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1, quoted by Dillmann on Lev. xxvii. 32) sought to weaken the statement, and made it out to be merely a tithe of the yearly increase, but the context offers not the slightest justification for this step (see Bertholet on Lev. *in loc.*). See our text xiii. 26.

belong to His priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tables. 16. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. 17. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' 18. And He said unto him again: "I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I shall increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men has trodden. 19. And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they will judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever." 20. And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. 21. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons throughout all the ages. 22. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: "Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou wilt die

17-18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-11.

19. Our author here forsakes Gen. xxxv. 12 and promises to Israel the possession of the whole earth.

All the earth. Latin has: *universas benedictiones*, and perhaps rightly.

20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 13.

21. *Tablets.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

Knew. Emended with Latin "*cognovit.*" Text = "*read.*" But probably for "*read and knew*" we should read "*read,*" see *Introd.* p. xli sq.

in peace, and in this land thou wilt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus will it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read." 25. And Jacob said: "Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?" And he said unto him: "I will bring all things to thy remembrance." 26. And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen. 27. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †"Addition,"† for †this day was added,† and the former days he called "The Feast." 28. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tables: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days

Our text seems to be the source of the words ascribed by Origen (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T. i. 761*) to the Prayer of Joseph: *Διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν.* Cf. xlv. 14.

25. *Will bring all things*, etc. Cf. John xiv. 26, where the Paraclete *ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα*.

27. †*Addition*†. This eighth day after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles was called *הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי* (2 Chron. vii. 9), in New Hebrew *הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי* (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6, *Ἀσάπρα*): likewise the seventh day of the Passover feast. The translation in our text, "addition," points to some corruption in the Greek or Hebrew. The Latin "retentatio" is a possible rendering. Rōnsch suggests that *ἐπίσχεσις* stood in the Greek version but was corrupted into *ἐπίθεσις* in the copy before the Ethiopic translator. Hence we might render: "Called its name 'a keeping back' for on that day he was kept back." Thus our author connects the origin of this

additional feast-day with Jacob's detention an eighth day in Bethel. In the Talmud (Chag. 18*a*) the idea of "keeping back" (in *עצר*) is connected with work. For it states that on the seventh day of the Passover "there must be a keeping back from every kind of work" (*הַשְּׁבִיעִי עֲצֹר בְּכָל מְלָאכָה*). See Levy's *Neuhebr. Lexicon*, iii. 680. Scholars are now generally agreed that the word *עצרה* means "sacred assembly."

†*This day was added*†. Here we must suppose *ἐπετέθη* as corrupt for *ἐπεσχέθη*. See rendering proposed in preceding note. The last clause of the next verse may have given rise to the corruption or wrong correction.

The Feast. This agrees exactly with rabbinic usage. The feast of tabernacles was called *הַיּוֹם הַשְּׁמִינִי* = "the Feast." Cf. Sukk. 42*b*, 48*a*. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1) designates it as *ἑορτὴ ἀγῶνιστῆς καὶ μεγίστης* and Philo *ἑορτῶν μεγίστης*.

29. A very corrupt verse in the Ethiopic and partially corrupt in the Latin. The restored translation is given below.

of the feast. 29. And its name was called †“Addition,”† †because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of the days of the year. 30. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca’s nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, “The river of Deborah,” and the oak, “The oak of the mourning of Deborah.” 31. And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. 32. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. 33. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name “Son of my sorrow”; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the
 2143 A. M. first of the sixth week of this jubilee. 34. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

†*Addition*†. See note on ver. 27.

†*Because that*†. The Ethiopic has a peculiar phrase here *’esma ’enta* which usually = *nam quod*, but since an analogous yet rare phrase *kama enta* = quasi occurs in xliii. 19, xlviii. 13, we may take it that *’esma ’enta* = *propter quod* as the Latin version has it. But this gives no right sense. The reason of the name is not given here but in ver. 27. Hence I suggest that *propter quod* = *διδρυ* = *ῥ*, which the Greek translator should have rendered in this context by *δρε*.

It was recorded. Text of MSS ungrammatical, but by a change of vocalisation in one letter we arrive at the above.

Amongst the days = *ba ’elâta* emended with Latin “in dies” from *basēm’a* = “for a testimony” (*b d*). *c* has *basalâm* = “in peace.”

†*According to*†. Here we expect “in.” Accordingly I suggest that we have here an original corruption of *ῥ*

into *ῥ*. Thus the whole verse should run: “And its name was called ‘a keeping back’ (*i.e.* *עצרה*), when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast-days in the number of the days of the year.”

30. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8. Deborah dies on the eighth day of the feast of tabernacles.

Of this place. So *d*, Latin and Vulg. Gen. xxxv. 8 = “of this place.” *b c* = “of this river.” *a* omits.

32-34. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. *Land of Kabrâtân*. This goes back to *נכרה הארץ* = “some distance” in Gen. xxxv. 16, but the translation like that of the LXX (*Χαβραθα*) took *נכרה* to be a proper name.

34. *Rachel died*. According to Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1172) Rachel was only forty-five years old.

In the land of Ephrath. Gen. xxxv 19, “in the way to Ephrath.”

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22). Laws regarding incest, 10-20. Jacob's children, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-27.)

XXXIII. And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. 3. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house. 4. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben. 5. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto

XXXIII. 1. *To the south of Magdalâ-drâ'êf.* This name is a compression of מגדל-עדר אפרת, "the tower of Eder of Ephrath," Gen. xxxv. 21. See a probably corrupt form of this name in xxxiv. 15. In Test. Reuben 3, where the same scene is recounted, we have ἐν Γαδέρ πλησίον Ἐφραθά.

And he went to his father Isaac . . . 2. *And Reuben saw Bilhah, etc.* It was during Jacob's absence with Isaac that the outrage was done. So Test. Reuben 3: ἀπόντος γὰρ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γαδέρ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλεέμ, Βάλλα . . . ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι.

2. *Saw Bilhah . . . bathing, etc.* Cf. Test. Reuben 3: εἰ μὴ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ Βάλλαν λουομένην ἐν σκεπινῶ τόπῳ, κ.τ.λ. A very different account of Reuben's conduct appears in later works: Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22, Shabb. 55*b* and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* 1172). In

these passages Reuben's guilt is denied absolutely. These writings state that on Rachel's death Jacob settled in the tent of Bilhah her handmaid, and that Reuben, being indignant on behalf of his mother Leah, went into Bilhah's tent and withdrew his father's couch from it, or threw Bilhah's couch into disorder etc., and that on this ground the Scripture held that he lay with Bilhah. In Shabb. 55*b* it is recounted that the earlier teachers, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer, accepted the narrative in Gen. xxxv. 22.

3. *And he hid himself . . . house of Bilhah [at night].* Latin is preferable: Et introivit nocte occulte ad Ballan. The second "at night" is a dittography.

4. *He lay with her, and she awoke.* Test. Reuben 3 agrees with this: καὶ ἐλθὼν . . . ἔπραξα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτὴν κοιμωμένην, ἐξῆλθον.

5. *She was ashamed because of him.* Latin: confusus est ab ea.

him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me." 8. And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt. 9. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord. 10. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tables that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth. 11. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. 12. And again, it is written a second time: "Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame"; and all the holy ones of the Lord said "So be it; so be it." 13. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God. 14. For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. 15. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after

7. Test. Reuben 3 represents Jacob receiving this information from an angel.

Uncovered my skirt. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

9. *Did not approach her again.* So Test. Reuben 3: *μηκέτι ἀψάμενος αὐτῆς.*

10. *They shall surely die.* So Lev. xx. 11.

12. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

13. *A punishment of death* = *κρίσις θανάτου* = *תִּפְסֻת־מָוֶת* (Jer 12: 16).

he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive. 16. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. 17. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. 18. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts. 19. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God. 20. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation. 21. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all 2145 A.M. his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. 22. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben,

16. Our author here anticipates the Pauline doctrine: "where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

18. *Sin unto death.* See note on xxi. 22.

Who respects not persons, etc. Cf. v. 16, xl. 8.

20. See note on xvi. 18.

A priestly and royal nation and for

(*His own*) *possession*=*λαὸς ἱερατικός καὶ βασιλικὸς καὶ περιούσιος* (or *οὐσίας*). Cf. Latin *populus sacerdotalis et regalis et †sanctificationis†*. Here, as in xvi. 18, xix. 18 above, the Latin has mis-translated *περιούσιος* or *οὐσίας* as *δσιος*.

Royal nation (*a*). Literally="nation of a kingdom." Cf. Latin (*populus*) *regalis*. *cd*="of a kingdom."

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-27.

Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 23. And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren, 10. Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-36). Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah, 15. Jacob mourns for Joseph, 13, 14, 17. Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived, 18-19. Wives of Jacob's sons, 20-21.

2148 A.M. XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep, and his servants with them, to the pastures of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take their cattle

XXXIV. 1. *His servants (bcd). a* reads "their servants."

2. *Kings of the Amorites assembled . . . to slay them.* This clause is found also in the Midrash Wajjissau in this connection.

Hiding themselves. Latin gives "et sederunt." This seems right; for there is no hint of their hiding in any of the other versions of this legend.

2-8. In these verses we have a short outline of an ancient legend which, already attested in Gen. xlviii. 22, tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem (see xlv. 14 and notes on p. 201), and is probably

here recast so as to call to mind some of the great victories of the Maccabees (see below). A fuller account of this legend is given in Test. Judah 3-7, and a still fuller in the Midrash Wajjissau which is translated by Gaster in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 1899, pp. 80-87. I have introduced some corrections into this translation from a comparison of the Hebrew MS in the Bodleian, though I have not seen the British Museum MS from which Gaster has drawn occasional phrases. A version almost identical with that of Gaster's has been preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 40 d-41 b, and has been

as a prey. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. 4. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa,† and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr,† and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob saying: "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of

reprinted by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 1-5. A German translation of part of this Midrash by Jellinek will be found in Rönsch, 390-394. From a comparison of the Hebrew text I have observed that this translation has been carelessly edited in one or more points. Thus on p. 393 line 11 instead of "Pasasi von Aram" we should read "Pasusi, König von Sartan, und Laban, König von Aram." A much enlarged and elaborated form of the legend is given in the Book of Jashar (see the French translation: *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-1184). So far as I have compared this translation and the text it is trustworthy. A short but interesting study of this subject has appeared from the pen of Bousset in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 202-204, but in some cases he has been misled by the translations, and in others I have been obliged to disagree with his identifications.

A full treatment of this legend belongs rather to the Test. Judah 3-7, where the order of events corresponds closely with that in the Midrash Wajjissau, and in many cases presupposes details which are found in that Midrash. That some form of this legend is very ancient is attested by the fact that it is referred to in Gen. xlviii. 22 where Jacob declares: "I have given to thee one portion (שָׁכָר)

(שָׁכָר) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." So the Rev. Version following the rendering of Onkelos and the Syriac. But as most scholars are now agreed, שָׁכָר here refers to Shechem. So anciently also the LXX (Σικίμα) and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22 (שָׁכָר, קרחה, the city of Shechem). Thus our verse points to an overthrow of Shechem by all Israel under Jacob's direction, and the fact that Jacob makes it over to one of his sons to the exclusion of the rest can only be justified by the further fact that he was the personal leader of the war and had captured Shechem with his sword and with his bow (see Holzinger's Commentary *in loc.*). Thus this form of the story differs clearly from that in Gen. xxxiv. There Jacob has no part whatever in the onslaught on Shechem and is subsequently hostile to its authors (xxxiv. 30, xlix. 5-7). But the possibly older account has survived in the present work as in Gen. xlviii. 22. Before we pass on, we might observe that later rabbinic tradition changed "sword and bow" into "merits and good deeds" Targ. Jerus. *in loc.*; Gen. rabba 97 (to these Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 3) adds: Baba bathra 123 a), and in a corrupt text of Onkelos we find "prayer and supplication."

his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. 7. And he

Returning now to the legend in our text, I append here a table in which the proper names in the various authorities are compared.

	Jubilees.	Test. Judah chs. 3-7.	Midrash Wajjissau in Bodleian MS used by Gaster, with the forms in Jellinek's text in brackets when these differ.	Book of Jashar.
1	Tâphû	Ταφουέ	(1) Jashub of Tappuah	(1) Jashub of Tappuah
2	'Arêsa	'Ασοῦρ (MS O, corrupt for 'Ασώρ = חצור)	(4) Pirathaho of Hazor	(4) Parathon of Hazor (wanting on ii. 1173-1174, but Hazor is mentioned on 1176, 1182)
3	Sêrâgân	'Αρετάν	(5) Susi of Sartan [Pasusi of Sartan]	(5) Sartan
4	Sêlô	Σηλώμ	(3) Shilo [Zerori of Shiloh]	(3) Ihuri (אִהוּרִי) of Shiloh
5	Gâ'as	Γαάς (MSS OR)	(2) Gaash [Ilon of Gaash]	(2) Ilon (אֵילֹן) of Gaash
6	Bêthôrôn	Αχωρ (? for Χωράν. Χωρα in an Arm. MS)	(6) Laban of Cheldon (so Bodleian Hebrew MS. British Museum MS may have "Horan") [Laban of Aram]	(6) Laban of Bethoron
7	Ma'anisâkir (corrupt for Shakir-Maani)	Μαχιρ [compressed from Μαχανισακιρ. Cf. form in Jubilees]	(7) Shakir of Machnah [Shebir of Machnaim]	(7) Shakir of Machnaim

3. *Sorrowful*. Latin is "pusill-animes."

4. *King[s] of Tâphû*. In this and all the other cases in this verse we should read "king" and not the plural. The Latin has the singular in all the instances but one. Tâphû is to be identified with Τεφών in 1 Macc. and this with Tappuah in Jos. xv. 53, xvi. 8. It was fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

†*Arêsa*.† This is corrupt for Aser (cf. Tobit i. 2, 'Ασήρ) or rather Asor, i.e., Hazor (חצור). See above table. At Hazor, according to 1 Macc. xi. 67 sqq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 7, Jonathan won a great victory over the Syrians. Parathon, who was king of Hazor (see table above), is of the same name as

one of the cities fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 50).

Sêrâgân. In the Hebrew authorities this word appears as Sartan. I can discover nothing further about it.

Sêlô. This is Shiloh. See above table.

Gâ'as. This may be the Gaash (גאש) in the hill-country of Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Jos. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9).

Bêthôrôn. The city Bethhoron was closely associated with the victories of the Maccabees. Thus Judas defeated Seron, a Syrian general, in the neighbourhood of Bethhoron and put 800 of his troops to the sword (1 Macc. iii. 13-24; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7. 1). A few years later it was the scene of

slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânîsakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. 8. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl and Tamnâtârês. 9. And

Judas's great victory over Nicanor when 9000 Syrians were slain (1 Macc. vii. 39-47; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10. 5). It was subsequently fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 3).

†*Ma'anîsakîr*.† This is corrupt for *Shakirmaani* or *Shakir*, king of Mahanaim. See table above.

(*And*). Supplied from Latin.

6. *Six thousand* (*abd*). *c* gives 800.

7. According to our text six kings were slain out of the seven. This agrees with Test. Jud. 4.

8-9. With this passage cf. Test. Jud. 7: ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοῖς οὐθέν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ ἀπεδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμάλωσιαν. καὶ ὥκοδόμησα ἐγὼ τὴν Θάμνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου τὴν 'Ραβαήλ (O, 'Ροβαήλ P). It will be observed that whereas in our text Jacob recovers his herds, in the Test. Jud. the sons of Jacob restore to the Amorites the herds which they had taken from them. This divergence in the tradition is seen also in the Hebrew versions. Thus the Yalkut (in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*) supports our text: "All the Amorites . . . came without arms . . . and besought them to make peace, and they made peace with them and gave them Timna (תמנא) and all the land of Hararya (הרריא). And then Jacob made peace with them, and they delivered up to the sons of Jacob all the cattle which they had taken from them, (returning) two for each one, and they gave them tribute, and returned (החזירו) to them all the booty; and Jacob turned to Timnah and Judah to Arbael (ארבאל)." On the other hand Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of*

Jerahmeel (pp. 83-84) supports the view in the Test. Jud.: "All the Amorites came without arms and promised to keep peace (and friendship, and they gave unto Jacob Timna and the whole land of Hararyah). Then Jacob made peace with them, and the sons of Jacob restored them all the sheep they had captured from them, and in returning them gave double, two for one. And Jacob built Timnah (תמנא) and Judah built Zabel (זבאל)." This translation does not represent the Bodleian MS, which (fol. 30 a) runs as follows: "All the Amorites . . . came to them without arms and surrendered themselves to be their hirelings, and they made peace with them, and they gave a present and they restored to them Jacob (sic, here I think the ungrammatical יעקב להם is corrupt rather for לבני יעקב: hence "restored to the sons of Jacob" as in the Yalkut and our text; or for בני יעקב: hence "the sons of Jacob restored" as we presume is the text of the British Museum MS occasionally used by Gaster) all the cattle which they had captured twice over, and they restored (reading החזירו instead of the intransitive חזירו) the booty and Jacob built (sic) and also Judah (sic)." The Bodleian MS mentions no towns. The view represented in the Test. Jud. has thus no indubitable support in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. It has such, however, in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1184): Les fils de Jacob . . . leur rendirent tous les hommes qu'ils avaient emmenés prisonniers . . . et autre butin."

8. *Rôbêl*. This is most probably corrupt for *Arbael*, cf. Yalkut (ארבאל) quoted in preceding note. Thus Arbael appears in Test. Jud. 7 as 'Ραβαήλ (O) or 'Ροβαήλ (P), 'Ραμβαήλ (CR); זבאל apparently in the Brit. Museum

he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of 2149 A.M. this week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks, priest of the city of 'Ēlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month. 13. And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: "An evil beast hath devoured Joseph"; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with him all that day. 14. And his sons and

MS used by Gaster but not in the Bodleian (see preceding note). We have here most probably the stronghold Arbela mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2, where it is said that Bacchides and Alcimus "went by the way that leadeth to Galgala and encamped against Mesaloth which is in Arbela (Μεσσαλῶθ τῇ ἐν Ἀρβήλοις) and got possession of it" (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 11. 1). Here it seems best with Tuch and Wellhausen to read Μεσαδωθ = מצודות = "strongholds" (see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 291). Arbela is mentioned in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1178) as one of the cities put to the sword by the sons of Jacob in this war.

Tamnâtârês = Θαμναθάρες = תַּמְנַת־חָרִים, Judg. ii. 9. This appears as Timna (תַּמְנָה) in the Jalkut: see note on verses 8-9. It was one of the cities fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

9. *Made peace with them, and they*

became his servants. The Hebrew for these words is preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel; see note on verses 8-9.

10-11. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17, 20, 28, 36.

10. *Dothan.* Eth. Dôthâ'im.

11. *Eunuch of Pharaoh.* Here "Eunuch" goes back to כְּרִים. But this word need not be taken literally but simply as meaning "a court official"; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 19.

Chief of the cooks. Cf. xxxix. 2, 14, xl. 10. Our text and the LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 wrongly take שַׂר־הַמִּטְבָּחִים as = ἀρχιμάγειρος. It should be "captain of the body-guard."

City of 'Ēlêw = Ἐλίου πόλεως (cf. LXX Gen. xli. 45, 50, xli. 20), i.e. On (אֵן).

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-35.

13. [*Mourned with him that day, and they*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son. 15. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. 16. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. 17. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said "Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son." 18. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. 19. And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. 20. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the

15. *Qafrâtêf* (*b* and so almost *a*). *c* reads *Qarâftîfâ*. These may be corruptions of "Eder of Ephrath," which was at one time the abode of Jacob. See xxxiii. 1 note. Or more probably *Qafrâtêf* is the same as *Kabrâtân* in xxxii. 32, where see note.

Dinah. According to Gen. rabba 80 Dinah married Simeon; according to Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51, she married Job.

17. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

18-19. Cf. Lev. xvi. 29, 34, 15, 16.—Haggada knows nothing of this institution of the Day of Atonement. See notes on v. 17-18 which possibly belong to this context.

18. *Afflict themselves*. This phrase (= *ταπεινοῦν τὴν ψυχὴν*, שָׁפַל נַפְשׁוֹ) is a technical designation for fasting: see Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 27, 32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12. So used in the Mishna: נִפְּיָהּ = "fasting."

20. For the list of these names in the Syriac Fragment see my text, p. 183. A different list is given in the Book of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1198.

'*Adâ*. So Syriac Fragment. Book of Jashar gives Elioram, daughter of Havi, a Canaanitess.

'*Adîbâ'a*, a *Canaanite*. This is referred to in Gen. xlvi. 10; Exod. vi. 15 where Shaul a son of Levi is said to

name of Levi's wife is Mēlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zebulon's wife, †Nî'imân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Ēglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. 21. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

be the son of a Canaanitish woman. Since such a marriage was an abomination for which death was the penalty, cf. xxx. 7 sq., it is to our author's credit that he has not sought to explain away the statement in Gen. xlv. 10. 'Adibâa may be corrupt; for the Syriac Fragment has **ܐܕܒܐ**, and Book of Jashar "Buna." Later rabbinic tradition sought to explain this away. According to Gen. rabba 80 Shaul the son of the Canaanitish woman is said to be the son of Dinah, who was deflowered by Shechem. The Rabbis say that Simeon married her (so also Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1198). Another evasion is found in Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlv. 10 where Shaul is said to be "Zimri who did the work of the Canaanites in Shittim"; and in Sanh. 82b, Shaul is said to have been called "the son of a Canaanite" "because he had committed an act like that of Canaan" (see Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 51 sq.).

Mēlkâ. So also in Test. Levi 11 and Syriac Fragment. Bk. of Jashar "Adina," daughter of Jobab, son of Joctan, son of Heber.

Terah. Eth. Târân.

Betasû'êl. Cf. xli. 7. So also in Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16 where the name appears variously as Βησσούς, Βησουέ, Βισσουέ. These are all derived from בַּת-שׁוּא, "the daughter of Shua": see Gen. xxxviii. 2 and Syriac Fragment **ܒܬ ܫܘܐ**. The Bk. of Jashar gives her personal name as "Habith." She is here and in Test. Jud. 13, 16

and Bk. of Jashar called a Canaanitess. Here again the rabbinic tradition felt this an offence. Accordingly in some of the MSS of Onkelos on Gen. xxxviii. 2 **אִישׁ כְּנַעֲנִי** is rendered by **גִּבּוֹר מִכְּנָעַן**, "a merchant." Similarly in Ps.-Jon. on the same passage: also in Gen. rabba 85; Pessach. 50a. Simeon ben Lakish (*circ.* 200-250 A.D.) gave this interpretation on the ground of Hosea xii. 7, where he evidently took **כְּנַעֲנִי** in the sense of "trader," "merchant."

Hêzaqâ. Syr. Frag. **ܚܙܩܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Arida."

†Nî'imân†. Since *abd* omit this name it may be the invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Furthermore the Syr. Frag. gives **ܐܕܢܝ**, "Adni." Bk. of Jashar, "Marusa."

'Ēglâ. Syr. Frag. **ܐܓܠܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Aphlalath."

Rasû'û. Syr. Frag. **ܪܫܘܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Merimath."

Mâka. Syr. Frag. **ܡܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Usith," a daughter of Emoram, son of Hus, son of Nachor." The Syr. Frag. makes Ma'aka also to be of the house of Nachor.

'Îjônâ. Syr. Frag. **ܐܝܝܢܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, first "Edon" and next "Hadora."

Asenath. Eth 'Asnêth. Cf. Gen. xli. 45.

'Îjasaka. Syr. Frag. **ܐܝܝܫܐܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Mahalia" and "Harbath."

Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1-8. Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, 9-12. Isaac consents, 13-17. Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob, 18-26. Death of Rebecca, 27.

XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the 2157 A.M. forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life. 2. And Jacob said: "I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them. 3. And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! 5. Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me." 6. And she said unto him: "My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I shall tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live." 7. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment

XXXV. 1. *His life.* MSS add a 5. *Mercy.* Latin has "Misericordia gloss "of Jacob." Domini."

had touched her all the days of her life. 8. And Jacob said unto her: "Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death." 9. And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: "One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 10. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off all thy possessions from before thy face. 11. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. 12. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually at home honouring us." 13. And Isaac said unto her: "I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the first-born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil

9. This passage is referred to Josephus by Syncellus, i. 202 at the beginning of the section, and to Jubilees at the close, but he attributes it wrongly to Josephus. ἡ 'Ρεβέκκα ἤτησε τὸν

'Ισαὰκ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ παραινέσαι τῷ 'Ησαὺ καὶ τῷ 'Ιακώβ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. καὶ παραινέσας αὐτοῖς προείπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ τῇ 'Ιακώβ ὁ 'Ησαὺ, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται.

deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him]. 14. And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. 15. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. 16. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.] 17. And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau." 18. And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: "I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son." 19. And he said: "I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition." 20. And she said unto him: "I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing

13. [*And there is no righteousness around him.*] This is either a corruption or, as I take it, a dittography.

16. [*For he will descend into his hands.*] Here *jēwarēd* = "will descend" is corrupt for *jēwadēq* = "will fall." I have bracketed the clause as a gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. *Guardian of Jacob.* We seem here to have the idea of men's guardian angels. In that case it is the earliest distinct reference to this belief. Cf. Mt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Heb. i. 14; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you." 21. And he said: "I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. 22. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 23. And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower. 24. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only." And he swore unto her regarding all this matter. 25. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. 26. And he said: "I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only." 27. And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. Divides his

22. *From thy womb.* So *d* probably "mercy" which goes back to a misby an emendation. *bc* = "from thy translation of רחם (Littmann).

possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him, 21-24.

XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called 2162 A.M. his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them: "My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are. 2. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. 5. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. 6. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever. 7. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater

XXXVI. 1. According to ver. 18 Isaac was 180 years old when he died. Hence he must have been born in 1982 and not in 1980 as in xvi. 12-13. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 22) sets Isaac's age down at 185.

The eternal house. Eccles. xii. 5, בית עלמו.

4. *Your brothers.* Seems a gloss.

6. *How*=wakama emended from waemze="and after this."

Plant of righteousness. See notes on i. 16, xvi. 26, xxi. 24.

than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will fear Him and worship Him. 8. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. 9. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth every one that devises evil against his brother will fall into his hand, and will be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed will be destroyed from under heaven. 10. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. 11. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which will come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother.” 12. And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. 13. And he said, “This larger portion I shall give to the first-born.” 14. And Esau said, “I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say

10. *Turbulence and execration and indignation and anger.* It can hardly be accidental that we find in Eth. En. xxxix. 2 “Books of wrath and anger and books of disquiet and turbulence.”

Book of life. See note on xxx. 22. In contrast with the Book of life we have here also a Book of destruction.

13. *I shall give* (=’ēhûb). MSS give “I shall make great” (’a’âbî).

regarding it, for it is his." 15. And Isaac said, "May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. 16. May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever." 17. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept. 18. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him. 19. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there. 20. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as

16. *Most High God.* This divine title is frequently used by our author: see vii. 36, xii. 19, xiii. 29, xvi. 18, 27, xx. 9, xxi. 20, 22, 23, 25, xxii. 6, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27 (twice), xxv. 3, 11, 21, xxvii. 15, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16, xxxix. 6. Cf. Test. Levi 3, 4, 5 (twice), 8, 18. This frequency is characteristic of many writings of the second cent. B.C. Thus it is found forty-eight times in Sirach and thirteen times in Daniel. On the other hand it appears only once in the Prophets, six times in the Pentateuch (and of these four times in Gen. xiv. in connection with Melchizedek), in the Pss. twenty-one times. From the close of the second cent. B.C. till after the Christian era it is rare. Thus in Eth. En. xci.-civ. (before 79 B.C.) it is found nine times, four in xxxvii.-lxx., three times in Tobit, once in Judith, not at all in the Pss. of Solomon, twice in Wisdom, twice in the Assumption of Moses, nine times in the N.T. It is frequent in the Apocalypse of Baruch—twenty-three times, and also in 4 Ezra.

From the above facts it follows that this title of God was most used in the second cent. B.C., though rare in some characteristic writings of that century such as Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi. (twice), lxxii.-xc. (once) and 1 Macc. (not at all). After a long period of comparative disuse it again became prominent in writings of the latter half of the first cent. A.D.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

Slept the eternal sleep. Cf. Test. Dan 7; Issach. 7: ὑπνωσεν ὑπνον αἰώνιον. Test. Jos. 20: ἐκοιμήθη ὑπνον αἰώνιον.

20. *According to the visible commands according as He had divided.* (a d). b c almost wholly wanting. Latin: "secundum praecepta visibilia secundum divisionem temporum generationum ejus." The commands here referred to were made visible to Jacob on the seven tablets which the angel showed him in a vision: see xxxii. 21. All the history of Jacob's descendants was recorded here in their successive time divisions (so also Röscher, p. 152).

He had divided the days of his generations. 21. And Leah
 2167 A.M. his wife died in the fourth year of the second week of the
 forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near
 Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his
 father's mother. 22. And all her sons and his sons came to
 mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him
 regarding her, for he was lamenting her. 23. For he loved
 her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was
 perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob,
 and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear
 from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peace-
 able and upright and honourable. 24. And he remembered
 all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he
 lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his
 heart and with all his soul.

*Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and
 constrain him to war with the assistance of 4000
 mercenaries against Jacob, 1-15. Jacob reproves Esau,
 16-17. Esau's reply, 18-25.*

2162 A.M. XXXVII. And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob
 and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given

XXXVII.-XXXVIII. These two chapters give in some respects the fullest and in others an abridged form of an ancient legend dealing with the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau. The legend is elsewhere found in the Test. Judah 9, in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 (reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5 and on pp. 180-182 of my Ethiopic text of Jubilees), in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, pp. 80-87, and in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1236-1238). Our text preserves the oldest form. The same form though very abbreviated is presupposed in the Test. Judah 9: yet even this preserves some details on the capture of Adora (?) not found in any of the others. The

account in the Jalkut and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes very close to—at times reproduces verbally—that in our text, though most probably with later amplifications. They show however a deliberate attempt to adapt the legend to later times. Thus Adora or Adoraim (אֲדֹרַיִם) is changed to Arodin (in the Jalkut) or Merodin (אֲרֹדִין, *a.l.* מֵרֹדִין in the Chron. of Jerah.) where the M of the latter is due to a change of א into מ. This Arodin is Herodion built by Herod the Great. Gaster has recognised this fact, and on this ground would assign the origin of the legend to the beginning of the Christian era. He takes this legendary story to be a piece of contemporary

the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. 2. And they strove with their father, saying: "Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?" 3. And he said unto them "Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 4. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt." 5. And they said unto him, "We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also. 6. And now

history, "a reflex of the Jewish wars against Herod" (Chron. of Jerah. p. lxxxiii.). But the legend does not owe its origin to the times of Herod, but only this adaptation of it. We should observe also that there were two places called Herodion: the first was a fort built near Jerusalem by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xv. 9. 6, xvii. 8. 3), in which he was subsequently buried. The second was likewise a fort built in Idumea on the confines of Arabia (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 10). Our legend underwent a further adaptation—indeed a complete recasting—in the Book of Jashar, which has here borrowed its materials from the Midrash in Josippon (see Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissenssch.* 1900, p. 205). The events recorded are placed after Jacob's death, and the story presupposes the struggles of the Idumean house of Antipater, by which through the help of Rome—here called "Aeneas"—it rose to royal power.

Thus the oldest form of the legend is found in our text and in the Test. Jud. 9; the next oldest in the Jalkut and Chronicles of Jerahmeel, and the latest in the Book of Jashar.

XXXVII. 1. *On the day that Isaac . . . died.* The sons of Esau began their opposition to Jacob from the day of Isaac's death (2162 A.M.), but did not attack him till Leah died (2167 A.M.). See ver. 14.

2-8, 11-12. The favourable view presented here of Esau contrasts strongly with that found in Jalkut Shimeoni reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5, or in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxvii. 1. According to our text, it was not Esau but Esau's sons that were primarily to blame for this fraternal war.

5. *Him and his sons.* Emended with Latin from "his sons" (*bcd*). Text of *a*, though ungrammatical, = "him his sons."

hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong." 7. And their father said unto them, "Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him." 8. And they said unto him, "This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words." 9. And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war. 10. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty men of war. 11. And they said unto their father: "Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee." 12. And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. 13. But afterward he remem-

6-10. To these verses the only equivalent in the Test. Jud. 9 is: ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῖν Ἡσαῦ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ. For that in the Jalkut see note on verses 14-16.

6. The names of the nations mentioned here recur in verses 9-10.

9-10. Against nearly all the nations mentioned here the Maccabees waged war. With Aram or Syria they were at strife for many decades. The Ammonites were invaded by Judas (1 Macc. v. 6-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1), and discomfited in several battles. On the complete subjugation of the Philistines by the Maccabees see notes on xxiv. 23-32. As regards the Edomites Judas fought against them and smote them with great slaughter, 1 Macc. v.

3, 65. The Syrians invaded Judah frequently by Edom (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), and were helped by the latter against Israel. Later John Hyrcanus wrested Adora and Mareshah out of the hands of the Edomites and compelled the whole nation to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xv. 7. 9; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). As regards the Kittim, see note on xxiv. 28. These may have been Greek auxiliaries of the Syrians.

9. 'Adurâm. He was an Aramaean. See xxxviii. 3.

10. *Horites*. Eth. Kôrêwôs (b): a Kôrêws. See *Encyc. Bib.*, in loc.

Kittim. The Eth. might also be rendered "Hittites" but the context is against this meaning in xxiv. 28.

bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. 14. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. 15. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, "Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons"; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. 16. But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower. 17. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, "Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy

14-16. These verses are found in the *Jalkut Shimeoni* (Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3): "It was the year when Leah died and Jacob and his sons were mourning and some of their children had come to comfort them. Then came (Esau) against them with a mighty army of warriors, clad in armour of iron and brass, all armed with shields and bows and swords, 4000 warriors. All these surrounded the tower, in which were Jacob and his sons together with their servants, children and all their possessions; for they had all assembled there in order to comfort Jacob in his mourning for Leah. They were sitting there peacefully, and none imagined that any force had come upon them to contend

with them, nor did they discover it till the whole host had encompassed the tower, in which there were only Jacob and his sons and their 200 servants." Similarly in *Chron. of Jerahmeel*, p. 84.

17-25. Jacob's attempt to bring about peace and Esau's reply are not referred to in the *Test. Jud.* 9, but are shortly summarised in the *Yalkut*: "When therefore Jacob saw that Esau had emboldened himself to come against him in war in order to put those in the tower to the sword, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the tower, and spake to Esau his brother words of peace, friendship and brotherliness (אֶחָוָה); but Esau would have none of them." Similarly in *Chron. of Jerah.* p. 84.

father wast thou condemned." 18. And then Esau answered and said unto him, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. 19. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. 20. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles
as soft as wool,

Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head
like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,

Then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.

[And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.]

21. And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not
to devour or do them violence,

And if their hearts are towards them for good,

Then there will be peace in my heart towards thee.

22. And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes
peace with him,

19. *The tie of brotherhood.* See this phrase in quotation in preceding note.

20. *Boar.* In Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 12, 42 sq., 49, 66, the boar is used to denote Esau symbolically. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. There is no doubt some such reference here.

Make . . . soft. Instead of 'adkama we should expect jâdakēm.

It can cause horns to sprout forth. So a. b c d = "horns were to sprout forth."

[And if (ab omit) the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.] So a b c d save that for "thou hast not been a brother to me" d reads "I shall not be a brother to thee." These words do not belong to their present context; for the tristichs before and after deal with ideas taken only from the animal

world. Nor do the words as they stand form a distich. If they belong to the text at all, they are corrupt. It is not improbable that originally they followed immediately after ver. 19^a "thou dost hate me and my children for ever." By transposing the two clauses and by reading 'ēm'ama tafalta atbū'ē 'ēm'ēmômû instead of wa'ēma tafalta 'atbât 'ēm'ēmôn, we should get the following excellent sense in ver. 19 "And thou dost hate me and my children for ever; for thou hast not been a brother to me since the twins were separated from their mother. Yea, there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee."

22. *And makes peace with him.* This clause which c d omit is added by a b after "ploughs with him." With the

And if he is bound under one yoke with him and
ploughs with him,

Then shall I make peace with thee.

23. And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,

Then know that I have loved thee

And shall make peace with thee.

Thou shalt be rooted out,

And thy sons shall be rooted out,

And there shall be no peace for thee."

24. And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; 25. Then he spake to his own and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1-10. Edom reduced to servitude "till this day," 11-14. Kings of Edom, 15-24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.)

XXXVIII. And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: let us give him (this) honour." 2. Then

guidance of the parallelism I have transposed it as above.

23. *The râzâ.* The râzâ is according to Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, "a large white bird which eats grasshoppers." Dillmann both in his *Lexicon* and translation took râzâ here to mean "rice," oryza, but there can be no doubt that the above is right. Littmann has followed my rendering.

XXXVIII. 1. In the Jalkut (cf. the Chron. of Jerah. p. 84) Judah says: "How long wilt thou extend words of peace and friendship to him, when he comes against us as an enemy with his mail-clad troops to slay us."

Let us give him = Nahabô (so read in my text instead of Nehabô). Emended with Lat. "demus illi" from baḥabêna = "with us."

Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother, (on his right breast) and slew him. 3. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean, on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. 4. And then went forth the sons of Jacob, they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. 5. And Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north side of the tower, and

2-3. These two verses are found in the reverse order in the Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. pp. 84-85. The former runs: "When Jacob heard this, he seized his bow and slew Adoram the Edomite. And again he seized his bow and smote Esau on the right breast." In the Test. Jud. 9 it is said shortly of Esau: ἔπαισεν ἐν τῷ ἔξῳ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἡσαῦ.

2. (*On his right breast*). Supplied from the Latin and the Yalkut. See preceding note.

Slew him. A later tradition attributed the death of Esau to Chushim, son of Dan. See Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1235); Sota 13 a. Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 6) quotes also Pirke R. Eliezer 39.

3. 'Adôrân, the Aramaean. This is consistent with the statement in xxxvii. 9. The Jalkut and the Chron. of Jerah. on the other hand make him an Edomite.

4-9. Here the sons of Jacob and their 200 servants (cf. Jalkut translated in note on xxxvii. 14-16) go forth from the four sides of the tower to meet the 4000 soldiers of Esau. So we find it exactly in the Yalkut: "And then Judah went forth first and Naphtali and Gad with him to the south of the

tower, and 50 servants of the servants of Jacob their father with them. And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulon went forth on the north of the tower and 50 servants with them. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch the son of Reuben went forth on the west of the tower and 50 servants with them." After a long tedious account of the achievements of the various brothers which are not alluded to in our text the Jalkut again comes into touch with it: "400 men that were warriors who had opposed Simeon fell and the remaining 600 fled, and amongst them were the four sons of Esau—Reuel, Jeush, Jolam, Korah . . . And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the city Arodin, and they left their father Esau lying dead in Arodin, and they fled to Mount Seir to the ascent of 'Aqabbim. And the sons of Jacob entered and rested there that night and they found Esau's dead body and they buried it out of respect for their father." The Test. Jud. 9 says shortly of Esau: καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν Ἀρονιράμ (O. Ἀρονιράμ, P) ἀπέθανεν. The Armenian version of this Testament = ἐτάφη ἐν Ἀνανιράμ.

fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and he returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. 11. And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. 12. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. 13. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. 14. And the sons of Edom have

8. *Horites*. Cf. xxxvii. 10. These are not mentioned in the Yalkut.

Four . . . sons of Esau. These are mentioned in the Yalkut translated in note on 4-9.

'Adûrâm. This appears as Adurin in the Latin, and as 'Ανοριάμ in Test. Jud. 9 (see note on verses 4-9): in the Yalkut as אורין which is corrupt for אוריים. This is the 'Αδωρα mentioned by Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4, along with Μάρισα (cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20). These two towns of Edom were captured by Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6).

10-13. The Yalkut is as follows: "In the morning the sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued after them and pressed them hard on Mount Seir on the ascent of Aqrabbim. The

sons of Esau and all the men who had fled with them came forth and fell down before the sons of Jacob and laid themselves prostrate and prayed them till they made peace with them. And they made them servants to tribute." Similarly in the Chron. of Jerah. p. 87. Test. Jud. 9 gives certain details of the siege of Adora, and then proceeds: τότε αἰτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· καὶ γενόμενοι βουλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἔδεξάμεθα αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους. καὶ ἦσαν δίδοντες ἡμῖν πυροῦ κόρους διακοσίους . . . ἕως ὅτε κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἰγύπτον.

10. *Pressed hard upon*. Here 'aman-dabēwômû (which is to be retained and not emended as in my text) = צרו אותם in the Yalkut.

11-13. The substance of these verses is found in Test. Jud. 9; see on 10-13 above.

not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day. 15. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. 16. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. 17. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. 18. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead. 19. And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith. 20. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned in his stead. 21. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. 22. And Saul died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 23. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabîth, the daughter of Mâṭarat, the daughter of Mêtâbêdzâ'ab. 24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. His purity and imprisonment, 5-13. Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief

14. *Until this day.* Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by Hyrcanus.

15-24. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.

16. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 32. Bâlâq = LXX, Bálak = בלע.

Danâbâ. Cf. LXX, Δεννάβα = דנהבה.

17. Zârâ. Cf. LXX, Zápa, Mass. זָרָא.

Bôsêr. Cf. LXX, Βοσόρρα; Mass. בֹּסֶר.

18. 'Asâm; LXX, 'Ασόμ; Mass. אֶשָּׁם.

19. 'Adât; LXX, 'Αδάδ; Mass. אֶדָּת.

Barad; LXX, Βαράδ; Mass. בָּרָד.

Avith. Eth. 'Aw'ûth; LXX, Γεθ-θάμ; Mass. אַוִּית.

20. Salman; LXX, Σαλαμά; Mass. שָׁלְמָן.

'Amâsêqâ; LXX, Μασέκκα; Mass. אֶמְסַעְקָא.

21. Râ'abôth; LXX, Ρωβώθ; Mass. רָהבֹּת.

22. Ba'êlûnân; LXX, Βαλαεννών; Mass. בָּעֵל הַנָּן.

23. Achbor. Eth. 'Akbur.

'Adâth; LXX, 'Απάθ; Mass. אֶדָּת.

Maitabîth; LXX, Μετεβηθή; Mass. מַיְתָבִיָּת.

Mâṭarat; LXX, Ματραιθ; Mass. מַטְרָרִית.

Mêtâbêdzâ'ab; LXX, Μεζοβός; Mass. מַיְתָבִיָּת.

יְהִי וְקָב.

butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2, xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23, xl. 1-5, 21-23, xli. 1.)

XXXIX. And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. 3. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 4. And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 5. And Joseph's appearance was comely and very beautiful was his appearance, and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him, and besought him to lie with her. 6. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. 7. And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her. 8. And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen. 9. But she embraced him and held him

XXXIX. 2. *Seventeen years old.* Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

The chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. *Into the hands* = ba'ədêhû. Emended with Latin "in manus ejus" in ver. 13 and Gen. xxxix. 6. From qədmêhû = "before him."

5. *Joseph's appearance*, etc. There seems to be a dittography.

6. See xx. 4, xxv. 7 where Abraham's commands on this question are mentioned. According to Soteh 36*b* the image of Jacob appeared at the window and exhorted Joseph to be faithful (Hershon, *Genesis with a Talm. Commentary*, p. 428).

fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. 10. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door." 11. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. 12. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper. 13. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the Lord perfected it. 14. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. 15. And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. 16. And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. 17. And

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. *Into his hands.* Emended as in ver. 4 from MSS = "before him." Latin "in manus ejus."

Knew of nothing that was with him. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 8.

Perfected it. Latin "dirigebat ea," i.e. "made it to prosper."

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-23.

14. *Two years.* Cf. Gen. xli. 1.

Chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 18. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. Elevation and marriage of Joseph, 5-13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 sqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-46, 49.)

XL. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them). 2. And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. 3. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: "Seven years will come (in which there will be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land. 4. And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will

XL. 1. Cf. Gen. xli. 1, 5, 7, 8.

2. Cf. Gen. xli. 9, 14 sqq.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 25, 29, 30.

4. Cf. Gen. xli. 34, 36.

Overseers. We should here have makuannēna. Cf. Latin "speculatores,"

and Gen. xli. 34; whereas *cd* read mēkjâda, "threshing floors" or "barns." Perhaps פִּקְחִים = "overseers" was corrupted into פִּקְדֹנִים. Rönsch thinks there was a corruption of σιτάρχας into σιταρχίας.

not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.” 5. And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: “We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him.” 6. And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. 7. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him “’Êl ’Êl wa ’Abîrër, and he placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him: “Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.” 8. And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king’s business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land. 9. And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those

5. Cf. Gen. xli. 38, 39.

6-7. Cf. Gen. xli. 40-43.

7. (*A herald*) *proclaimed*. The Latin has *praeconaverunt*; but the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Aquila, Symm. of Gen. xli. 43 have the singular. Hence I withdraw my change of the Ethiopic sing. into the plural.

Before him. MSS add against Latin “and he said.”

’Êl ’Êl wa ’Abîrër = אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים וְאַבִּירֶר, “God, God, the mighty one of God.” The Latin has *Elel et Habirel*. This is a peculiar expansion of the term אֲבִירֶר in Gen. xli. 43. With the interpretation of that term we have no concern here, but only with its derivation in our text. The phrase “mighty one

of God” clearly designates Joseph, and, indeed seems to be a technical designation for a great magician. Thus in Acts viii. 10 Simon Magus is called ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη (or ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). In a late Christian version of a Jewish legend “The History of Asenath” (see Fabricius, *Codex Pseud. V.T.* i. 774-784, ii. 85-102; Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889), Joseph is twice (chaps. iii. and xv.) spoken of as “the mighty one of God,” Ἰωσήφ ὁ δυνατὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. The following apt parallel may be cited from *Pap. Par. Bibl. nat.* 1275 sqq.; Wessely, i. 76 (quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 336 note), ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπὸ κυρίου Θεοῦ τεταγμένην.

who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein). 10. And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântî-phâns, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. 11. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. 12. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. Judah's incest with Tamar, 8-18. Tamar bears twins, 21-22. Judah forgiven because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not

9. No Satan. Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. Sēphântîphâns, i.e. פִּתְּנָה פְּעֻנָּה. Gen. xli. 45. Latin Judaism took this to mean "revealer of secrets." Cf. Onk., גברא רטמין גלין ליה. So also Ps.-Jon. and Syr.

Daughter of Potiphar . . . priest of Heliopolis. Our author has rightly identified פוטיפר in Gen. xxxvii. 36 and פוטי פר in xli. 45 as being one and the same name. He takes the two to refer to one and the same person: cf. xxxiv. 11, xliv. 24. Origen (*Cat. Niceph.* i. 463) refers to our book for this view: οἰήσεται δέ τις ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦτον (i.e. Φουρτιφάρ) παρὰ τὸν ὠνησάμενον τὸν Ἰωσήφ· οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὑπειλήφασιν Ἑβραῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκρύφου λέγουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πενθερὸν γενέσθαι. Later Judaism was offended with this marriage of Joseph to the daughter of a heathen priest.

Hence Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 represents Asenath as a daughter of Dinah by Shechem, who was reared by the wife of Potiphar, prince of Tanais. Singer (p. 119 note) states that this view is put forward in the Pirke R. Eliezer 36, 38. This was likewise the view of the Jewish legend which formed the basis of the Greek romance of "History of Asenath" (see Hasting's *Bible Dict.* i. 162; and Issaverden's translation of *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, 1901, Venice, pp. 94-96). In these later writings, however, Asenath is no longer represented as a Jewess by birth except in a single passage in the Syriac version.

11. Cf. Gen. xli. 46. I have bracketed the words "when he stood before Pharaoh" as a dittography.

13. Cf. Gen. xli. 49.

been consummated, 23-28. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-26, 29-30, xli. 13.)

2165 A.M.

XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. 2. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. 3. And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: "Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. 6. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: "Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 8. And

2168 A.M.

XLI. 1. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6.
From the daughters of Aram named Tamar. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: Θάμαρ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας, θυγατέρα Ἀράμ.

2-3. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνεῖλεν αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ νυκτί, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν κατὰ πανουργίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ᾔθελεν ἔχειν τέκνα ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

3. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 7.

4. *Onan.* Eth. 'Aunân.

Perform the duty of a husband's brother = אָרָם אָרָם. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 5.

5-7. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 9-12: also Test. Jud. 10: ἐπεγάμβρευσα αὐτῇ τὸν Αὐνᾶν. καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν . . . διέφθειρε δὲ τὸ σπέρμα

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πονηρίᾳ ἀπέθανεν. ᾔθελον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλῶμ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή μου Βῆσσουε οὐκ ἀφήκεν· ἐπονηρεύετο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Θάμαρ, ὅτι οὐκ ᾔην ἐκ θυγατέρων Χαναάν, ὡς αὐτή.

7. Bêdsû'êl, i.e. Bathshua. See xxxiv. 20.

Shelah. Eth. Sêlôm.

8-12. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-18: also Test. Jud. 12: Θάμαρ, μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ἀνέρχομαι κείραι τὰ πρόβατα, κοσμηθεῖσα κόσμῳ νυμφικῷ, ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν πύλιν . . . μεθυσθεῖς . . . οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου . . . καὶ ἐκκλίνας πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον, Εἰσέλθω πρὸς σε. καὶ εἶπέ μοι,

in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at 2169 A.M. Timnah. And they told Tamar: "Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep." 9. And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah. 10. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: "Let me come in unto thee"; and she said unto him: "Come in," and he went in. 11. And she said unto him: "Give me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand." 12. And she said unto him: "Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I will send unto thee a kid of the goats"; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and she conceived by him. 13. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. 14. And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: "Where is the harlot who was here?" And they said unto him: "There is no harlot here with us." 15. And he returned and informed him, and said unto him that he had not found her; "I

Τί μοι δώσεις; καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν ῥάβδον μου καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ συνελθὼν (sic) αὐτῇ συνείληφεν.

8. *Timnah.* Eth. Tēmnâtâ.

9. *Adorned herself.* So Test. Jud. 12: κοσμηθεῖσα; also LXX, Syr. and Onk. on Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. = "covered herself."

11. *Ring . . . necklace . . . staff.* Corresponding to these Test. Jud. 12 has διάδημα, ζώνη, ῥάβδος, and the LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 18: δακτύλιον, ὀρμίσκος, ῥάβδος. διάδημα supposes עֲזָרָה as in Ps. xlv. 10, or חֲזָרָה as in Esther i. 11, ii. 17, instead of עֲזָרָה. לְחַשׁ, to which

necklace, ζώνη and ὀρμίσκος go back, is said to be the cord round the neck, on which the signet ring was hung.

12. *And he went in unto her.* Restored from Latin "et coit (MS fuit) cum ea." Cf. Test. Jud. 12: συνελθὼν αὐτῇ συνείληφεν, and Gen. xxxviii. 18.

14-19. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 20-26.

14. Cf. Test. Jud. 12: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον, μὴ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πόλει τελισκομένην (= a woman being initiated into rites of Aphrodite, i.e. ἡφῆρη).

15. *And said unto him that he had not found her.* I have here transposed the text of *cd* (*ab*) which read "that he had not found her and he said

asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: 'There is no harlot here.'” And he said: “Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision.” 16. And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: “Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.” 17. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: “Bring her forth, and let them burn her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.” 18. And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: “Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.” 19. And Judah acknowledged, and said: “Tamar is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.” 20. And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. 21. And after that

2170 A.M.

she bare two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. 22. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. 23. And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray; for he had uncovered the skirt of his son,

unto him.” Perhaps we should read with Latin “dicens: Non inveni eam,” “And said: I have not found her,” as I have done in my text.

Let her keep = tēšā'ē, emended with Latin “habeat” from tanšē'ē, “arise.”

17. *Let them burn her.* See note on xxx. 7. In Ber. rabba 85 R. Meir of the second cent. states that Tamar was a daughter of the priest-king Shem. Hence her destruction by fire came under the law in Lev. xxi. 9, which prescribes this penalty for the sin of fornication in the daughter of a priest.

In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24 Tamar is called a priest's daughter. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 52) cites Baba Mezia 87 a to the same effect.

20. *Did not again approach her.* Cf. Test. Jud. 12: οὐδὲ ἤγγισα αὐτῇ ἔτι ἕως θανάτου μου.

21. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 29, 30.

Perez . . . Zerah. Eth. Phârês . . . Zârâ.

22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

23. *Had gone astray; for he had uncovered, etc.* Cf. Test. Jud. 14: ἐποίησα ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἀνεκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας υἱῶν μου.

and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression. 24. And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it. 25. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. 26. And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel. 27. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. 28. For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham, which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

24-25^a. Cf. Test. Jud. 19: *εἰ μὴ ἡ μετάνοια σαρκὸς μου, καὶ ἡ ταπείνωσις ψυχῆς μου, καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἀτεκνὸς εἶχον ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός . . . ὁ οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.*

25. *Received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance.* Something seems wrong. We ought to have the idea expressed in Test. Jud. 19: *συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.* Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13: *ἡλεήθην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα.* *δ* transposes "because he turned" after "ignorance." If we transpose the clauses "because . . . sin" and "from his ignorance," we should have an excellent sense: "received forgiveness because of his ignor-

ance and because he turned from his sin"; for the Eth. preposition *emna* means either "from" or "because of."

Every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire. So Lev. xx. 14 enacts.

26. *Lies with his daughter-in-law.* Cf. Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12. The punishment ordained for this offence is death in the passages referred to in Leviticus; but the form of death is not specified. On the other hand, death by fire is the penalty presupposed for this offence in Gen. xxxviii. 24. Our text (xx. 4) enjoins this penalty for adultery or fornication.

28. *According to the judgment of Abraham.* See note on xx. 4.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. Joseph recognises them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned, 5-12. Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph, 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56, xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-25, 29-30, 34-38, xliii. 1-2, 4-5, 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34, xliv. 1-2.)

2171 A.M. XLII. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. 2. And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those that went (there). 5. And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them; "Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land?" And he put them in

XLII. 2. *In . . . Egypt there was food.* Cf. Gen. xli. 54.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

4. (*Now . . . Canaan*). Supplied from Latin. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

And Jacob heard, etc. Cf. Gen. xlii. 1, 2, 4.

(*The ten sons of Jacob*), (*in Egypt*). Supplied from Latin, "in Aegypto decem filii Jacob."

5-7. Cf. Gen. xlii. 7-9, 17, 24, 25.

5. *Spake unto them and questioned them.* Lat. has "appellavit eos dure." Cf. Gen. xlii. 7.

ward. 6. And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. 7. And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. 8. And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. 9. And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. 10. And Jacob said: "Ye have bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your wickedness come." 11. And he said: "My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death." 12. For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him. 13. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine. 14. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine. 15. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and that there was no deliverance,

6. *And after that . . . Simeon alone.*
 Latin differs: "Et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum."

8. Cf. Gen. xlii. 20, 13.

9. Cf. Gen. xlii. 29, 30, 34.

10-12. Cf. Gen. 36, 38.

12. Cf. Gen. xlii. 35.

13. Cf. Gen. xliii. 1.

15-16. Cf. Gen. xliii. 2, 4, 5.

he said unto his sons: "Go again, and procure food for us that we die not." 16. And they said: "We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go." 17. And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine. 18. And Reuben said: "Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul." And he said unto him: "He will not go with thee." 19. And Judah came near and said: "Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life." 20.

2172 A.M. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. 21. And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: "Is this your youngest brother?" And they said unto him: "It is he." And he said: "The Lord be gracious to thee, my son!" 22. And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands. 23. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs. 24. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with their asses. 25. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into

18. Cf. Gen. xlii. 37, 38.

19. Cf. Gen. xliii. 8, 9.

20. Cf. Gen. xliii. 11.

21. Cf. Gen. xliii. 15, 29.

22. Cf. Gen. xliii. 23, 26.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xliii. 34.

25. Cf. Gen. xliv. 1, 2.

their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away."

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. Judah's supplication, 11-13. Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xliv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-28, 30-32, xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-28.)

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 2. And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: "Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, 'For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment." 3. And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. 4. And they said unto him: "God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. 5. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord." 6. And he said unto them: "Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye will return in peace

XLIII. 2. Cf. Gen. xliv. 3, 4.
3-6. Cf. Gen. xliv. 6-10.

5. *Thy lord.* Gen. xliv. 9, "my lord."

unto your house." 7. And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. 8. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. 9. And Joseph said unto them: "Ye have done evil." And they said: "What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also." 10. And Joseph said unto them: "I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me." 11. And Judah said: "O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). 12. And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. 13. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever."

7-8. Cf. Gen. xliv. 12-14.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xliv. 5 ("ye have done evil"), 16, 17. Observe that Gen. xliv. 16 specifies "we and he also in whose hand the cup is found."

10. *Delights in his cup.* So MSS. A change of *jâsta'adēm* into *jâstaqasēm* = "divines" would bring our text into

line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xliv. 18, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32.

11. *I pray thee.* Here the MSS = "on me," a mistranslation of יַצֵּא = *δέομαι* in Gen. xliv. 18.

14. And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 15. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. 16. And he said unto them: "Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see. 17. For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. 18. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. 19. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. 20. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me." 21. And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. 22. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. 23. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. 24. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which

14-15. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1, 2.

15. *Conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue.* So Ber. rabba 93. According to Gen. Joseph caused all the Egyptians to go out.

16. Cf. Gen. xlv. 5, 9, 12.

Ye see that it is . . . Benjamin see.
Emended: see my text p. 157. MSS =

"Let me see him before I die and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while seeing."

17. Cf. Gen. xlv. 6.

18. Cf. Gen. xlv. 18, 20, 5, 7.

19. Cf. Gen. xlv. 8.

20. Cf. Gen. xlv. 13.

21-24. Cf. Gen. xlv. 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: "It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die."

Jacob celebrates the feast of first-fruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10. Names of his descendants, 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28.)

XLIV. And Israel took his journey from †Haran †from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. 2. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. 3. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. 4. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed (in the land), for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. 5. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, "Jacob, Jacob"; and he said, "Here am I." And He said unto him: "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation.

24. *It is enough for me.* The Ethiopic is here a literal equivalent of the LXX, Gen. xlv. 28, μέγα μοι ἔστιν, which is in its turn a literal rendering of רַב לִּי. LXX, Syr., Vulg. (sufficit mihi) and Onkelos presuppose the רַב, which however the Mass. and Sam. omit.

XLIV. 1. †Haran†. This seems corrupt for "Hebron." Hebron is pre-

supposed by the statement in ver. 6 and also by Gen. xxxvii. 14.

4. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1. Jacob celebrates the feast of weeks on the 15th of the third month. He has a vision on the next day (see next verse).

(*In the land*). Bracketed as a ditto-graphy.

5-8. Cf. Gen. xlv. 2-6.

6. I shall go down with thee, and I shall bring thee up (again), and in this land wilt thou be buried, and Joseph will put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt." 7. And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. 8. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. 9. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. 10. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. 12. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and

6. *Bring thee up.* Cf. xxvii. 24, xxxii. 23. Here wasada has the very unusual meaning of ἀναβιβάζειν or ἀν-άγειν. Cf. Asc. Isaiah ix. 1. Usually it means "conduct," "lead."

9. Cf. Gen. xvi. 28.

To examine=לְחַוֹּת. So practically Onkelos. Mass. alone has לְחַוֹּת, while Sam., LXX, Syr. =לְחַוֹּת.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xvi. 26 and of Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4. On the other hand in Gen. xvi. 15, 18, 21, 25 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xvi. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	Reuben and 4 sons	5
	Simeon and 6 sons	7
	Levi and 3 sons	4
	Judah, 1 son, 2	
	grandsons	4
	Issachar and 4 sons	5
	Zebulun and 3 sons	4
		29

Zilpah's	„	Gad and 7 sons	8
		Asher, 4 sons; and 1 daughter	6
			14

Rachel's	„	Joseph and 2 sons	3
		Benjamin and 10 sons	11
			14

Bilhah's	„	Dan and 5 sons	6
		Naphtali and 5 sons	6
			12

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xvi. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS give 70 but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. 13. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman—seven. 14. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. 15. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. 16. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. 17. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. 18. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons, whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. 19. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore unto Jacob, Gad and Asher. 20. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri) and Areli, and Arodi—eight. 21. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister—six. 22. All

12. For Pallu, Hezron and Carmi, Eth. has Phállûs, 'Êsrôm, Karâmî.

13. For Jemuel, etc., Eth. has 'Îjâmû'êl, 'Îjamên, 'Awôt (LXX, Ἰάωδ), 'Îjakîm, Sâ'ar (LXX, Σάαρ), Saul.

Zephathite woman. So *b* Sîphnâwât. *a cd* corrupt. Zephathite, as Rönsch p. 499 has recognised, is an adjective formed from Zephath, צפח, a Canaanitish city destroyed by Judah and Simeon: Judg. i. 17. Hence reading of *b* should be restored in my text.

14. For Gershon and Kohath Eth. has Gêdsôn and Qa'âth.

15. For Perez and Zerah Eth. has Phârês and Zârâ.

16. Phûa. So Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Onk. in Gen. xlv. 13 (and also

in 1 Chron. vii. 1, פִּזְיָה), whereas Mass. has פִּזְיָה.

Jâsûb. So Sam. of Gen. xlv. 13, יִשׁוּב, LXX, Ἰασούβ. Mass., Vulg., Onk. has יִב.

Shimron. Eth. Sâmarôm.

17. Eth. has Sa'ar, 'Êlôn, 'Îjâl'êl.

19. *Whom she bore unto Jacob.* So *cd.* *a b* = "who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher."

20. Eth. has Sêphjôn, 'Agâtî, Sûn, 'Asibôn, 'Arôlî, 'Arôdî.

(*And Eri*). This was originally in the Ethiopic as the number "eight" shows.

21. Eth. has 'Îjômî, Jêsu'a, Barîja, Sârâ.

(*And Ishvi*). This was originally in the Eth. as the number "six" shows.

the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. 23. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. 24. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. 25. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. 26. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 27. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 28. And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî, and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. 29. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone. 30. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. 31. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 33. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. 34. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel

25. Eth. has Bâlâ, Bakar, 'Asbîl, Gû'ada, Nĕ'ēmên, 'Abdĕjô, Râ'ê, San-ânîm, 'Aphîm, Gâ'am. In this list the sixth, eighth and tenth names are corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition.

28. In Gen. xlvi. 23 only one son of Dan is mentioned, though the Mass. reads "sons of Dan." Cf. for similar case Gen. xxxvi. 25. On the other hand Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlvi. 23 states that the sons of Dan were beyond numbering. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* 37)

quotes Baba bathra 143*b* to the same effect.

Hushim. Eth. has Kûsîm.

30. Eth. has 'Îjâsî'êl, Gâhânî, 'Ēsa'ar, Sallûm. Here our text agrees with 1 Chron. vii. 13 rather than with Gen. xlvi. 24 in the case of the names Jahziel and Shallum. Gen. xlvi. 24 has here Jahzeel and Shillem.

And 'Îv. Not in Gen. xlvi. 24.

33. *Before Joseph* (*b c*). *a* gives "before they married"; *d* "who did not marry."

buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh, 8-12. Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron, 13-15. His books given to Levi, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30, xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, l. 13.)

2172 A.M. XLV. And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. 3. And Israel said unto Joseph: "Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob. 4. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses

XLV. 1-4^a. Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30.

4. *It is enough for me.* Here the Ethiopic = μέγα μοι ἔστιν. See note on xliii. 24.

Whilst †I am† yet alive. In Gen. xlv. 30: "that thou art yet alive";

but our text is probably corrupt; for by changing ana into anta it is brought into line with Gen. xlv. 30.

6. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11.

Rameses. Eth. has Râmêsêna = רעמסס.

and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 7. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the seven years of the famine. 8. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. 9. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. 10. For in the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. 11. And this was the first year of the 2178 A.M. fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 12. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt

One hundred and thirty years. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 12.

As much as sufficed them. By reading bakama 'akâlômû instead of bakama ya'aklômû we should get (as in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 12) κατὰ σῶμα αὐτῶν, "according to their persons." The Hebrew is חֲסֵדָם אֲפֵי = "according to their families."

8. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 13, 19, 20.

For Pharaoh. Emended with Latin "Pharaoni" from text of b = "and Pharaoh."

9. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

(The land). Restored from Latin. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

10. *Not.* Restored from Latin.

It bore = farajat, which, since Latin has collegerunt, may be corrupt for 'ararû = "collegerunt" or "harvested."

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

Of the corn of the harvest = 'em'êkl zazar'û. So the text should be translated. Zar'û is not a verb here, but zar'e (which here = seges, γεννήματα) with the suffix, which goes back to medr = "land" in verse 10, just as αὐτῆς after τὰ γεννήματα in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 24 goes back to γῆν in the preceding sentence. But since the Latin has de omnibus quidquid natum est, it is possible that for em'ekl zazar'û we should read 'emkuellû zar'û = "of all the harvest." I hereby withdraw the emendation in my text.

until this day. 13. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died
 2188 A.M. in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee.

14. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in the land. 15. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron. 16. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. Death of Joseph, 3-5.

War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron, 6-11. Egypt oppresses Israel, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. 1. 22, 25-26; Exod. i. 6-14.)

XLVI. And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and
 2242 A.M. multiplied exceedingly, ten weeks of years, all the days

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28.

This date conflicts with that in xix. 13, i.e. 2046, which according to the present passage should be 2041. See also note on xxv. 4.

14. *Told them everything*, etc. Gen. xlix. 1. See xxxii. 21, note.

Blessed them. Cf. Gen. xlix.

Two portions. Gen. xlviii. 22. See notes p. 201.

15. Cf. Gen. 1. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. According to our author these traditions were in the keeping of Levi's descendants. It is reasonable to infer that our author who gave them to the world was a descendant of Levi, and probably a priest.

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

Ten weeks of years. Hence Joseph

of the life of Joseph. 2. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. 3. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. 4. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. 5. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. 6. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for

died seventy years after the arrival of Jacob in Egypt, *i.e.* in 2242. See note on xxviii. 24. Joseph had already been ruling ten years before Jacob's coming (ver. 3).

2. *No Satan*, etc. See xxiii. 29.

3. *Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old.* Cf. Gen. 1. 22, 26; Exod. i. 6.

5-6^a. Cf. Gen. 1. 25.

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the Test. Sim. 8 and Test. Benj. 12 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. 8: *ἐθῆκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσῆπτων, τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ*; and Benj. 12: *καὶ ἐθῆκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν* (O. Arm. = *ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναναῖοι*). If we could trust the date in Test. Gad 8 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐθῆκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών*, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (Test. Gad, 1 (MS O); Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt

(see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. 12 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. 19; Zeb. 10; Dan 7) add that "afterwards" (*ὕστερον*) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: "His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (*κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον*) and buried them in Hebron." St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii. and *Bible Dictionary*, i. 662, 665. But our text,

he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. 7. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph died in the forty-

2242 A.M. sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. 9. And the king of Egypt went

2263 A.M. forth to war with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain. 10. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and

which emphasises the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III. when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend, having many details in common with that in Josephus, is given in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate, and still more grotesque, edition is found in the *Book of Jashar* (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-1253). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* comes nearest

to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. 'Êrmôn, *i.e.* Heroônpolis which stood close to the Desert on the canal of Ramses. I cannot identify Mâkamârôn.

8. *All his brethren died after him.* This statement holds even if we accept the birth-dates in our text (see p. 171 note), and the ages assigned to the twelve sons of Jacob by the Test. XII. Patriarchs (see p. 172 note).

9. The date 2263 is not late enough to allow of all the sons of Jacob being dead if we accept the ages assigned to them by the Test. XII. Patriarchs. Thus Benjamin was born in the year 2143 and as he lived 125 years (see note on p. 172) the date of his death would be 2268.

10. According to Beer there is no other mention of this stay of Amram in Canaan. To Josephus (see *Ant.* ii. 8. 2), however, some such legend may have been known.

Amram thy father remained with them. 11. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. 12. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them; and he said unto the people of Egypt: 13. "Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses, and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. 15. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. 16. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 5-9.

Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian), 10-12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-15.)

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh 2303 A.M. year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth 2330 A.M.

Amram, i.e. עמרם, Eth. 'Abrâm. This last form is found in Philo, *De Cong. Erud. Gratia* 24: also in one of the LXX MSS in Num. xxvi. 59.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10, 11, 14, 12.

13. *Their hearts . . . are towards the land of Canaan.* Rönsch (p. 162) compares for the diction Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. *Strong cities.* This is קְסָמֹנֹת עָרֵי,

usually rendered "treasure" or "store cities," but the LXX renders πόλεις ὀχυρά here and in 2 Chron. viii. 4.

Pithom and Raamses. Eth. Pitô waRamësê. Latin adds "et Oon" probably through influence of LXX of Exod. i. 11.

And all the fortifications. Latin omits.

week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. 2. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. 3. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. 4. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. 5. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. 6. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. 7. And thy sister said unto her: "Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?" And she said (unto her): "Go." 8. And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. 9. And

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. *For seven months.* Cedrenus (i. 85) takes our text as stating that the casting of the children of the Hebrews went on for "ten" months, i.e., until Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses: *ὅτι ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ γενέσει κεῖται μόνους δέκα μῆνας ριφῆναι τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἕως οὗ ἀνελήφθη Μωϋσῆς ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης· διὰ τοῦτο δέκα πηληγαὶ ἐδόθησαν ἐν δέκα μηνσι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τέλος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κατεστράφησαν ὃν τρόπον τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπέπνιγον, χιλιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπονιγόντων ἰσχυρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνθ' ἐνὸς βρέφους Ἰσραηλιτικοῦ.*

5-8. Cf. Exod. ii. 5-9.

5. *Tharmuth.* Syr. This appears in Syr. Frag. as *ܬܪܡܘܬ*; 2, as *Θέρμουθις* in Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5, 7: 10. 2: similarly in Syncellus i. 227: *Θέρμουθις ἢ καὶ Φάρτη*. This *Φάρτα* is identified with Isis; see Tertullian *Ad. Nat.* ii. 8; *Apol.* 16. For other references consult Rössch, p. 265.

Her maidens. Eth. = "her Hebrew maids," a mistranslation as Dillmann recognised of *ἄβραις*. The plural is also found in the Syr. of Exod. ii. 5, but our Latin version and the Mass., Sam., LXX, and Vulg. = *ἄβραι*.

7. (*Unto her*). Restored from the Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. *Jochebed.* Cf. Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. 10. And thou wast three weeks 2351-2372 A.M. of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. 11. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: "Why dost thou smite thy brother?" 12. And he was angry and indignant, and said: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. The ten plagues, 4-11. Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea, 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15, iv. 19, 24, vii. sqq.)

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week of 2372 A.M. the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell in the land of Midian five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the

9. Cf. Exod. ii. 10.

Daughter. Eth. and Lat. = "house." Here the Greek translator misread בַּת as בֵּית.

Amram. Eth. 'Ĕbrân.

Taught thee writing. This is not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 83 (Mangey); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23, 153.

Three weeks. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 6) says that when he was only three years old God gave him *θανμαστόν* . . .

τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας . . . ἀνάστημα. According to the Chron. of Jerahmeel, xlv. 12 and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1265) Moses was only eighteen when he slew the Egyptian.

10-12. Cf. Exod. ii. 11-14.

XLVIII. 1. *In the land of Midian.* Restored from Latin "in terram Med(ian)," and Exod. ii. 15.

One year. Corrupt for three "years."

Return into Egypt. Cf. Exod. iv. 19.

2410 A.M. second year in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. 5. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the

2. We have in this verse another instance (cf. also ver. 17) where our author has followed the example of the Chronicler in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where he assigns to Satan the action that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 is ascribed to Yahweh. The LXX and the Targums replace the divine name by the phrase "an angel of the Lord." We have already called attention to an earlier instance as xvii. 16, where our author has similarly got rid of the offence in the Biblical text. On Mastêmâ see note on x. 8.

On the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. Here the Eth. is hopelessly corrupt. *c* which represents an attempt at emendation="on the feast of tabernacles." *abd* are unintelligible. It is best therefore to follow the Latin: "in via in qua praeteristi eum in refectiōne," and Exod. iv. 24, בִּרְדֵּךְ בַּמֶּלֶךְ יִפְנֹשְׁהוּ.

3. Our author here quite explains

away the true meaning of the incident in Exod. iv. 24 sqq. This is followed more faithfully by the Ps.-Jon. *in loc.* and the Chron. of Jerah. xlvii. 1, 2 where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son. It is explained, however, that it was owing to Jethro that the child had not been circumcised.

5. We have here an enumeration of the ten plagues of Egypt.

And (by the death) of the first-born. I have supplied the words in brackets. They are wanting both in the Eth. and Lat. The Lat. has simply "primitivorum" and so *ab. cd* have prefixed "and." Hence there was a lacuna here in the Greek version. Only for the concluding words "and burned them with fire" we might connect the clause with the words that follow and merely supply a preposition: "(on) the first-born." But the genitive "primitivorum" is also against this.

Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. 8. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. 9. And the prince of the Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. 10. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. 11. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. 12. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince of the Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt. 13. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his

6. *Declare* = *tenger*, emended from *tegbar* = "shouldst do." The context shows that this is the idea required. In xlix. 22 the same corruption is found in three out of the four MSS.

8. Cf. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ*. So *ab* here and in verses 12 and 15 and in xviii. 9, 12.

11. Cf. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

Was not put to shame because he took courage. The Eth. = "was not put to

shame until he took courage." As this fails to give a good sense, I omitted the negative in my text. Thus we should have: "was put to shame until he took courage." Cf. xviii. 12. I now think that the corruption lies in the "until he took courage" = ער־אשר, where I take ער־אשר to be corrupt for על־אשר = "because." Instead of *hajjala* = "took courage," *a* reads *halaja* = "took thought."

13. I have omitted "between thee and" which *ab* insert before "between

hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the

the Egyptians." *cd* add these words after "between the Egyptians."

14. Another example of the *lex talionis* mentioned in iv. 31 (see note), and enunciated in Wisd. xi. 16: *δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται*. See also Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xviii. 11; Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

One thousand . . . men. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 5.

17. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8 for diction. Here again our author attributes to the immediate agency of Mastêmâ the action which Exod. xiv. 8 assigns to Yahweh. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.

18. *The fourteenth.* So we should read with *b*. *ad* = "the seventeenth,"

but *sabû'ē* in *ad* is corrupt for *rabû'ē* in *b*. *c* gives "the fifteenth." Cedrenus (i. 87), who has cited our text but a few sentences before, confirms *b*: *τῇ ἰδ' τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐξῆλθον*. This would admit of the Israelites setting out on the 15th of Nisan as in Joseph. (*Ant.* ii. 14. 6; 15. 2), where it states Israel went forth from Egypt on the 15th of Nisan having already received gifts from the Egyptians (ii. 14. 6): so also in Shabb. 87 *b*. Our text then supposes that the Israelites marched from the 15th to the 18th, and that on the 19th Mastema and his powers were let loose. Beer points out that in the Mechilta on Exod. xiv. 3 it is stated that the Egyptians pursued after Israel from the 19th of the first month.

Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-23, 30, 46, xv. 22.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And

XLIX. 1. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

2. *When all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay*, etc. See note on x. 8. According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 29 it was the word (מִסְרָא) of Yahweh which slew the

Egyptians. Here again (cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, 17) our author interprets after his manner the statement in Exod. xii. 29 that "Yahweh smote all the first-born."

3. Cf. Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.

the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will take the guilt upon himself. 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light,

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. *Drinking the wine.* This seems to be the earliest reference to the use of wine at the Passover feast. For later references, see Pesach. x. 2; Bababathra 97 b.

7-8. Compare the directions regarding the feast of weeks, vi. 20, 22.

7. *Do not adjourn (it) from day to day (b)* or "do not change a day from

(its) day" (a). The translation is doubtful, and the Latin "praeteribit et erit illud a diebus suis" is corrupt.

9. Cf. Num. ix. 13.

To bring an acceptable offering. According to Pesach. ix. 4 it was the duty of every man within a radius of 15 miles, if not ceremonially impure, to present an offering at this feast.

10. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

and a third part to the evening. 11. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be

12. *Slay it . . . during the period* (or "time") *bordering on the evening.* According to our text the Passover victim might be slain "during the period bordering on the evening." This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase "between the evenings" (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם).

It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover "at even, at the going down of the sun." But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—"from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase "between the evenings." The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, *i.e.*, from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, *i.e.*, 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἐνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during "the third part of the day" before sunset; and this harmonises on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting

the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

Eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. *And they shall not cook . . . roast on the fire.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

They shall eat it = jēbl'ēwō, emended with Lat. "comedetis illud" from the unmeaning besûla.

They shall eat it with diligence. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. "With diligence" = σπουδαίως, which in the LXX is a rendering of בְּהִתְעָוִי. In ver. 23 this Hebrew phrase is rendered more literally.

Its head with the inwards, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

Not break any bone thereof. Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

†Of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†. The Latin differs and is to be followed: "Non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac." If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of "in die hac" was בעצם היום הזה, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of היום הוה and the change of בעצם into עצם. But the cor-

crushed†. 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed.

15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command.

16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of

ruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the "breaking" of a bone, it would most probably have used *sabara* as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses *frangere* and *confringere* respectively. In this clause, therefore, *ʾijēt-qataqat* (= "will not be crushed") is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin "*non erit tribulatio*." This idea, that no evil will befall on the day of the right celebration of the Passover, recurs in ver. 15 in an intensified degree.

15. *Every year, once a year.* Cf. verses 7-8.

No plague will come upon them, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

In every respect according to His command. Latin seems better: "*secundum universa praecepta ejus*."

16. *Before the sanctuary of the Lord.* Cf. ver. 17 and see note on ver. 20.

17. *Your God.* Latin has *Dei nostri*, but the phrase recurs in ver. 22.

From twenty years old, etc. Rabbinic tradition determines fourteen years and upwards as the qualifying age. The determination in our text may be based on such passages as Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32 which prescribe that in numbering the people only the males from twenty years old and upwards should be taken account of. Man was not accountable for the first twenty

their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

years according to some rabbis, and no punishment was to be enacted for them.

20. *Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house*, etc. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." But the Mishna extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. *May not*. Here Eth. and Latin (poterunt) = οὐ δυνήσονται, which is a faulty rendering of לא יוכלו, where the phrase denotes moral inability. The text is based on Deut. xvi. 5, where the LXX (οὐ

δυνήσῃ) and the Vulg. (non poteris) render in the same faulty manner לא תוכל.

In any place. Eth. prefixes "and," which I have omitted with the Latin.

Will not go astray from the Lord. Cf. Zeph. i. 6.

22. *Every year* = 'āmata (c) la'amatât (d). So Latin "per singulos . . . annos." *a b* = "its year every year."

†*And the day of its days, and†*. Here the Latin "in tempore dierum suorum" is most probably right, and we should render "during its days and during."

(*And*) *that*. "And" supplied from the Latin.

During those. Latin omits "those." Hence it probably represents the Greek article.

23. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6-13.

L. And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai. 2. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3. And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year. 4. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees

2410 A.M. from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit.

2450 A.M. "distant") for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5. And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore.

6. And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—and all the judgments

23. *With haste.* See note on ver. 13. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. For Shur (Eth. Sûr) see Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. *Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.* Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sin[ai] corrupt for Sin.

2. *Jubilee years.* Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, etc.

4. *Year-weeks, i.e., seven years.*

Jubilees. Our author assumes jubilee periods of 49 years each, as R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61 a), whereas the majority of Jewish writers reckoned it at 50 years (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 38).

5. Forecast of the Messianic kingdom. A gradual transformation: cf. i. 29 note; xxiii. 26-28 note.

A Satan or any evil one. See note on xxiii. 29.

of its laws. 7. Six days wilt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. 8. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his) wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared

7. Cf. Exod. xx. 9, 10.

8-12. On the Talmudic laws relating to the Sabbath see Schürer, *History of N.T. Times*, II. ii. 96-105; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 777-787; and the Bible Dictionaries, *in loc.*

8. *The man that does any work on it shall die.* This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.

Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprung probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46*a*, the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38*a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishna on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82*a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should "eat garlic" (*i.e.* cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.*

1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-199 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 sq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (b d). *ac* omit "thereon." This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden "to abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day" and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the "Sabbath limit" (תחום השבת) or simply "limit" (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitations on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's *Lexicons on תחום*; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, II. ii. 102-103. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν οὐτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὐτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS prefix "and." The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

Whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost,

for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. 9. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival, and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. 10. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. 11. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. 12. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on

Gesch. d. Judenth. ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

Which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against "eating or drinking anything" may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

Takes up any burden to carry it, etc. See note on ii. 29. This is the 39th form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a "burden." Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 782, 784).

9. See note on ii. 29.

10. Cf. ii. 21.

11. Cf. Num. xxviii. 9, 10; Matt. xii. 5.

12. *Goes a journey.* See note on ver. 8.

Tills (his) farm. Ploughing and harvesting are forbidden in Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

Whether in his house or any other place. These words seem to be in their wrong place. They would give good sense if they were read immediately after "every man who does any work thereon."

Lights a fire. Forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Shabb. vii. 2. The man who gathers sticks for this purpose is to be stoned. Num. xv. 32, 33.

the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: 13. The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tables, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

Rides on any beast. This is forbidden in Beza v. 2: also in Sanh. 46 *a*, which states that during the Syro-Grecian domination an offender against this law was arraigned before the judicial court and sentenced to death by stoning: cf. Jebam. 90 *b*.

Strikes or kills anything. Killing any animal is the 26th forbidden Sabbatical offence (Shabb. vii. 2).

Fasts. Israel is to "eat and drink" on the Sabbath (see ver. 9). This law was observed by Judith (Judith viii. 6, a book which in its shorter form probably goes back to the early Maccabean times). The injunction against fasting in our text is not in harmony with the severe ascetic law against the marriage-bed on the Sabbath.

Makes war. This prohibition of all warfare, which is found also in the Mishna, Shabb. vi. 2, 4, was observed literally before and during the outbreak of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. ii. 31-38; 2 Macc. vi. 11; Joseph. *Ant.*

xii. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 1; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xviii. 9. 2 for later occasions). But on the urgent representations of Mattathias this prohibition of warfare, offensive and defensive, was abandoned, and defensive measures were declared legitimate (1 Macc. ii. 41; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2): but offensive warfare was still forbidden (2 Macc. viii. 26). Jonathan's battle against Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 43 sqq.) can be justified from the new standpoint. This emended law was in force when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but as it only allowed of an active resistance against an active assault, it did not permit of the destruction of fortified works raised by the enemy on the Sabbath, and so exposed the Jews to defeat (*op. cit.* xiv. 4. 2). Once during the final war with Rome the Jews broke through this Sabbatical law, and successfully attacked the Romans (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 2).

INDEX I

PASSAGES FROM THE SCRIPTURES AND OTHER ANCIENT BOOKS DIRECTLY CONNECTED OR CLOSELY PARALLEL WITH THE TEXT¹

EXODUS	JUBILEES	EXODUS	JUBILEES	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES
i. 5	xliv. 33	xxxi. 13	ii. 17	iii. 9, 10	xxi. 8
i. 7	xlvi. 1	xxxi. 13, 17	ii. 19	vii. 26	xxi. 6
i. 22	xlvi. 2-4	xxxi. 14, 15	ii. 25	xii. 2, 5	iii. 8-14
ii. 2-4	xlvi. 2-4	xxxi. 16	ii. 26	xvi. 29, 34,	
ii. 5-9	xlvi. 5-8	xxxi. 18	i. 1	15, 16	xxxiv. 18, 19
ii. 8	xlvi. 7	xxxiii. 1, 3	i. 7	xvii. 13	vii. 30
ii. 10	xlvi. 9	xxxiv. 21	l. 12	xvii. 13	xxi. 17
ii. 11-14	xlvi. 10-12	xxxiv. 27	i. 5	xvii. 14	xxi. 18
ii. 15	xlvi. 1	xxxv. 2	l. 8	xviii. 15	xli. 26
iv. 24	xlvi. 2	xxxv. 3	l. 12	xix. 23, 24	vii. 36
vi. 20	xlvi. 8			xix. 23-25	vii. 1
ix. 11	xlvi. 11			xx. 2	xxx. 7
xii. 6	xlvi. 1	NUMBERS	JUBILEES	xx. 2-4	xxx. 14, 15
xii. 9	xlvi. 13	vi. 26	xxii. 28	xx. 12	xli. 26
xii. 11	xlvi. 13	ix. 13	xlvi. 9	xx. 14	xli. 25
xii. 11	xlvi. 23	xiii. 22	xiii. 12	xxi. 7, 14	xxii. 22
xii. 13	xlvi. 15	xv. 32, 33	l. 12	xxi. 9	xx. 4
xii. 46	xlvi. 13	xvi. 22	x. 3	xxi. 9	xli. 17
xiv. 8, 9	xlvi. 12	xviii. 2, 4	xxxii. 16	xxiii. 40	xvi. 30
xiv. 8	xlvi. 17	xviii. 26	xxxii. 9	xxiii. 34-36,	
xiv. 19	i. 29	xxvi. 59	xlvi. 8	39-44	xxxii. 4
xvi. 1	l. 1	xxvii. 16	x. 3	xxv. 8	l. 2
xix. 5	xvi. 18	xxviii. 9, 10	l. 11	xxvi. 34, etc.	l. 3
xix. 6	xvi. 18	xxix. 2, 5	vii. 3	xxvi. 40	i. 22
xx. 5	xx. 8	xxix. 12-40	xxxii. 4		
xx. 9, 10	l. 7	xxix. 13	xvi. 22	DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES
xxiii. 25	xx. 9	xxix. 16	xvi. 22	i. 4	xxix. 10
xxiii. 33	i. 9	xxxiv. 4	xxix. 14	iv. 20	xxii. 9
xxiv. 12	i. 1	xxxv. 33	vii. 33	iv. 30, 29	i. 15
xxiv. 15-18	i. 2-4	xxxv. 33	xxi. 19	v. 31, 32	xxiii. 16
xxv. 8	i. 17			vii. 6	ii. 21
xxvii. 21	ii. 33	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES	vii. 6	xvi. 18
xxix. 45	i. 17	ii. 4	xxi. 7	vii. 6	xix. 18
xxx. 7	iv. 25	ii. 13	xxi. 11	vii. 13	xx. 9
xxx. 19-21	xxi. 16	iii. 7-10	xxi. 7	vii. 16	i. 9
xxx. 34	xvi. 24			ix. 26, 29	i. 21

¹ I have not given the passages in Genesis which are reproduced in the text. These are indicated generally in the headings to the chapters and in detail in the notes.

DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES	NEHEMIAH	JUBILEES	DANIEL	JUBILEES
x. 16	i. 23	i. 6	xxii. 29	ix. 18	xxii. 29
x. 17	v. 16	ix. 2	i. 22	x. 13, 20, 21	xv. 31, 32
x. 17	xxi. 4	ix. 7	xxii. 27	xi. 30	xxiii. 16
x. 22	xliv. 12-33	x. 31	l. 8	xii. 1	xv. 31, 32
xiv. 2	xvi. 18	xiii. 16, 17	l. 8		
xiv. 22 sq.	xxxii. 10			HOSEA	JUBILEES
xvi. 5	xliv. 21	PSALMS	JUBILEES	i. 10	i. 25
xvi. 6.	xliv. 12	iv. 6	xxii. 28	iv. 3	xxiii. 18
xlvi. 7	xliv. 20	li. 10	i. 20		
xxii. 23 sqq.	xx. 4	lxxx. 13	xxxvii. 20	AMOS	JUBILEES
xxii. 30	xxxiii. 7	lxxxix. 27	ii. 20	ix. 2-4	xxiv. 31, 32
xxv. 9	xli. 4	xc. 10	xxiii. 12		
xxvi. 14	xxii. 17	xc. 10	xxiii. 15	ZEPHANIAH	JUBILEES
xxvi. 18	xvi. 18	cvi. 28	xxii. 17	i. 3	xxiii. 18
xxvii. 15	xx. 8	cvi. 37	xxii. 17		
xxvii. 24	iv. 5	cxxxix. 8 sqq.	xxiv. 31, 32	ZECHARIAH	JUBILEES
xxviii. 8	xx. 9			viii. 13	i. 16
xxviii. 13	i. 16				
xxviii. 13, 14	xxiii. 16	ISAIAH	JUBILEES	ETHIOPIC ENOCH	JUBILEES
xxix. 28	ii. 27	xli. 8	xix. 9	vi. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 1	i. 6	xli. 8	ii. 20	vii. 1 (Syn-	
xxx. 6	i. 23	xlvi. 7	xii. 5	cellus' Gk.)	vii. 21, 22
xxx. 20	i. 7	lii. 11	xxii. 16	vii. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 6	i. 18	lviii. 13	ii. 29	vii. 5	v. 2, vii. 24
xxx. 20	i. 7	lxv. 15	xx. 6	ix. 1, 9	vii. 23
xxx. 27	i. 7	lxv. 17 sqq.	xxiii. 26-30	x. 4, 12	x. 7
xxx. 27	i. 22			x. 11	iv. 22
xxxii. 6	i. 24			xii. 1, 2	iv. 21
xxxii. 17	xxii. 17	JEREMIAH	JUBILEES	xii. 3-6 (xiii. 1-2,	
xxxiv. 8	xxiii. 7	ii. 27	xxii. 18	xiv. 4-7, xv.	
xxxiv. 9	xxv. 14	vi. 23	xxiii. 23	2 sqq.)	vii. 22
		vi. 25	xxii. 8	xv. 3-4	vii. 22
JOSHUA	JUBILEES	viii. 2	xxiii. 23	xxiii.-xxxvi.	
xxiii. 13	i. 9	x. 3, 9	xii. 5	(implied by)	vii. 21 ¹
		x. 5	xii. 5	liv. 7, 8	ii. 4
1 KINGS	JUBILEES	xiv. 22	xii. 4	lx. 12-21	ii. 2
viii. 29, 52	xxii. 29	xvii. 21, 22,		lxxii.-lxxxii.	
viii. 53	ii. 19	24, 27	ii. 29	(implied by)	iv. 17
xii. 15	xii. 19	xvii. 22	ii. 30	lxxiv. 12	vi. 32
xxi. 20	vii. 23	xxvi. 16	xxxiii. 13	lxxiv. 13-16	
		xxix. 13, 14 ^a	i. 15	(implied by)	vi. 36
2 CHRONICLES	JUBILEES	xxix. 14	i. 15	lxxv. 1, 2	
vi. 38	i. 23	xxix. 18	xx. 6	(lxxxii. 11)	vi. 23
xx. 7	xix. 9	xxxii. 41	i. 16	lxxxiii.-xc.	
xxiv. 19	i. 12	li. 39, 57	xxiii. 1	(implied by)	iv. 19
xxviii. 3	i. 11			lxxxv. 3	iv. 20
xxix. 21	xvi. 23	EZEKIEL	JUBILEES	lxxxix. 7, 8	vi. 26
xxxiii. 6	i. 11	xx. 12	ii. 19	lxxxix.-xc.	
				(implied by)	xv. 31, 32

Wherever there has been a relation of dependence in the preceding list of passages, the dependence has been on the side of Jubilees. When such a relation exists in the list that follows, Jubilees is to be regarded as the original.

¹ See note on iv. 17-23 of the Translation.

ETHIOPIA ENOCH¹ JUBILEES

iii.	xxi. 12, 13
v. 9	xxxiii. 29
xxxix. 2	xxxvi. 10
lxx. 1-3	iv. 23
xc. 4	xxii. 16
xc. 16	i. 29
xciii. 2, 5, 10	xvi. 26
xcv. 3	xxxii. 18
xevi. 1	xxxii. 18
xcviii. 11	vii. 28, 29
xcix. 7	xii. 2
ci. 2	xii. 4
ciii. 7, 8,	vii. 29, xxii.
	22
ciii. 11	i. 16
civ. 6	xxii. 16

WISDOM² JUBILEES

ii. 13 (v. 5,	
xii. 7, etc.)	xxi. iv.
xi. 16	iv. 31
xviii. 5	xlvi. 14

4 EZRA² JUBILEES

xiv. 4-6	i. 26 (see note)
----------	------------------

MATTHEW JUBILEES

ix. 11	xxii. 16
xii. 5	i. 11
xviii. 10	xxxv. 17
xxiii. 34	i. 12

MARK JUBILEES

ii. 16	xxii. 16
*iii. 22	x. 8

LUKE JUBILEES

*xi. 49	i. 12
---------	-------

JOHN JUBILEES

*xiv. 26	xxxii. 25
----------	-----------

ACTS JUBILEES

*vii. 15, 16	xlvi. 9
*vii. 23	xlvi. 10-12
vii. 53	i. 27

ROMANS JUBILEES

*iv. 15	xxxiii. 15, 16
---------	----------------

1 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

x. 20	xxii. 17
-------	----------

2 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

*v. 17	v. 12
vi. 18	i. 24

GALATIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 15	*xxiii. 23
*iii. 17	xv. 4 sqq.
*v. 12	xv. 27

2 THESSALONIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 3	x. 3
--------	------

2 PETER JUBILEES

*ii. 5	vii. 20-39
*iii. 8	iv. 30
*iii. 13	i. 29

REVELATION JUBILEES

*i. 6	xvi. 18
*iv. 5	ii. 2
*v. 10	xvi. 18

¹ On the following list of passages from this work, see Introduction, § 19.

² See Introduction, § 22.

* Passages so asterisked are dealt with in the Introduction, § 23.

INDEX II

NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Abel, iv. 1
 Abimelech, xxiv. 13, 17, 26
 Abraham. *See* Abram
 'Abrâm, father-in-law of Terah, xi. 14
 Abram, birth of, xi. 15
 late legend of his being cast into a
 fiery furnace, xii. 1-14 note
 observes the sky, xii. 16-17
 called Abraham, xv. 7
 his ten trials, xvii. 17 note
 death of, xxiii. 1
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Abysses, the, ii. 2, 16; v. 29
 'Adâ, wife of Reuben, xxxiv. 20
 Adam, creation of, ii. 14
 brought into Eden forty days after
 his creation, iii. 9
 names the animals, iii. 1-3
 death of, iv. 29
 Life of, pp. xix-xx
 Adam's Daughters, Book of, pp. xviii-
 xix
 Adam = Admah, xiii. 23
 Adam and Eve, Book of, pp. 28, 34, 88,
 93
 'Adâtânêsês, vii. 15, 17
 'Adibâ'a, wife of Simeon, xxxiv. 20
 'Adôrân, xxxviii. 3
 'Adûram, friend of Esau, xxxvii. 9
 'Adûrâm—a place, xxxviii. 8, 9
 Adurin, p. xxxi
 'Afêrâg, viii. 27
 'Afrâ, viii. 15
 Africanus, Julius, p. 34
 Ahuzzath, xxiv. 26
 Aj, xiii. 5
 Akrabbim, xxix. 14
 'Amânâ, viii. 21; ix. 4
 Ammonites, xxix. 10; xxxvii. 6, 10;
 xxxviii. 6
 Amorites, xiv. 18; (destroyed in lifetime
 of the author?) xxix. 9-11
 war of, against Jacob and his sons,
 pp. lvi, lxii; xxxiv. 1-9
 Amram, father of Moses, xlvi. 10
 Amraphel, xiii. 22
 Anastasius Sinaita, pp. 18, 23
 Aner, xiii. 29
 Angelology of Jubilees, pp. lvi sqq.
 and of the New Testament, p.
 lxxxvi
 Angels created on the first day, ii. 2
 note
 created on the second day according
 to later tradition, ii. 2-3 note
 of the presence, i. 27, 29 note; ii.
 1, 2 note, 18; xv. 27; xxxi. 14
 of sanctification, ii. 2, 18; xv. 27;
 xxxi. 14
 over natural phenomena — winds,
 clouds, fire, etc.. ii. 2
 two chief orders of, created circum-
 cised, xv. 27 note
 descend in days of Jared to instruct
 mankind, iv. 15 note
 marry the daughters of men, v. 1 note;
 vii. 21; a myth rejected by later
 Jewish and Christian tradition, pp.
 33-35, 43 notes
 their punishment and that of their
 children, v. 6-11; vii. 25
 guardians of individuals, p. lxxxvi;
 xxxv. 17
 Antiochus Epiphanes, pp. lx, lxi, lxiii
 Apocalypse of the last things, xxiii. 11-
 31
 Apocalyptic tradition written down by
 Moses, i. 26 note
 'Arâ (corrupt for Ur, xi. 7), city of, xi. 3
 Arabs, xx. 13

- Aram, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 5
 land of, xxxvii. 6, 9
 Ararat, v. 28 ; viii. 21 ; ix. 5 ; x. 15
 Ard, xlv. 25
 Areli, xlv. 20
 'Arêsa, corrupt for Hazor, xxxiv. 4, 7
 Arioch, xiii. 22
 Ark, building of the, v. 21-22
 Arodi, xlv. 20
 Arpachshad, vii. 18 ; viii. 1
 Asenath, xxxiv. 20 ; xl. 10 ; xlv. 24
 Ashbel, xlv. 25
 Asher, xxviii. 21
 Ashtaroth, xxix. 10
 Asshur, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 3, 6
 land of (= Assyria), viii. 21 ; ix. 3, 5
 'Asûdî, xlv. 28
 Atonement, Day of, p. xlii ; v. 17-18 ;
 xxxiv. 18-19
 'Âwân, wife of Cain, iv. 1, 9
 'Azriâl, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 'Azûrâ, wife of Seth, iv. 8, 11
 wife of Eber, viii. 7
- Babel, tower of, x. 19-26
 Bâbêl, viii. 21
 Babylon, xx. 12
 Bacon, pp. xxv, 56-57
 Baldensperger, p. xxv
 Bâraka, wife of Jared, iv. 16
 Barâkî'êl, brother of Kenan, iv. 15
 Baraki'il, brother of Methuselah, iv. 28
 Barhebraeus, pp. lxxxiii, 88, 94
 Barth, pp. 19, 25
 Bashan, viii. 21
 Bealoth, xiii. 10
 Becher, xlv. 25
 Bêdsû'êl, wife of Judah, xli. 7
 Beer, pp. xxiii, 3, 55, 65, 68, 89, 91,
 101, 118, 121, 127, etc.
 Beersheba (*see* Well of the Oath), xvii.
 9 ; xviii. 17 ; xxii. 2
 Bela, xlv. 25
 Beliar, sons of, xv. 33 note
 spirit of, i. 20
 Benjamin, xxxii. 3, 33
 Beon, xxix. 10
 Beriah, xlv. 21
 Bêtasû'êl, wife of Judah, xxxiv. 20
 Bêtênôs, wife of Lamech, iv. 28
 Bethel, xiii. 5 ; xxvii. 19, 26
 Bêthôrôn, xxxiv. 4
 Bethshan, xxix. 14
 Bethuel, xix. 10 ; xxvii. 10, 12
 Bilhah, sister of Zilpah, xxviii. 9
 Reuben sins with, xxxiii. 1-9
 Blood, eating of, forbidden, vii. 28, 29 ;
 xxi. 6, 18
 Bohn, p. xxvi
- Book of Life, xxx. 22 ; xxxvi. 10
 those who will be destroyed, xxx.
 22
 Bousset, pp. lxii, 146, 201, 215
 Burial of patriarchs in Canaan, xlv. 9
- Cain, iv. 1
 death of, iv. 31
 Calendar, p. lxvi
 Canaan, vii. 10-13 ; ix. 1 ; xxii. 21
 seizes Palestine, x. 29-34
 Canaanites, xiv. 18 ; xxx. 25
 Canaanish wives of Joseph, Judah,
 Simeon, xl. 10 ; xxxiv. 20
 Caphtorim, xxiv. 30
 Carmi, xlv. 12
 Carpenter, pp. xlvii, liii
 Catena on Pentateuch quoted, p. xviii
 Cedrenus, pp. xvi, xvii, lxxix, 11, 23,
 35, 37, 41, 66, 67, 80, 86-88, 93,
 94, 96, 116, 191, 248, 252
- Ceriani, pp. xv, xxix
 Cettin, p. xxxi
 Chaldees, land of, ix. 4, 5
 Charles, pp. xx, xxi, xxvi, xxviii, xxix
 Chasids, rise of, xxiii. 16
 Chedorlaomer, xiii. 22
 Chrysostom quoted, p. 34
- Circumcision, an everlasting ordinance,
 p. 1 ; xv. 14 note, 25 ; xx. 3
 observed in the creation of the two
 highest orders of angels, pp. 1, lx ;
 xv. 27
 on the eighth day, xv. 14, 25
 neglected by Israel, xv. 33-34
- Clementine *Recognitions*, pp. lxxx, 84,
 96
- Covenant with Noah, vi. 17-18
 with Abram, xiv. 20
- Cush, vii. 13 ; ix. 1
- Creation, the new, i. 29 note ; iv. 26
 note ; xxiii. 26-30 ; l. 5
 twenty-two works of, ii. 1-16
- Creator of all things, xvii. 3 ; xxii. 4,
 27 ; xlv. 5
- Dan, xiii. 23 ; xxviii. 18 ; xlv. 27, 28
 Dânel, iv. 20
 Deane, p. xxv
 Deborah, xxxii. 30
 Dêdân, waters of, ix. 2
- Demonology of Jubilees, p. lviii
 and of the New Testament, pp. lxxxvi
 sq.
- Demons, sons of the Watchers, vii. 22
 note ; vii. 27
 tempt Noah's sons, x. 1-2 notes ; x.
 5, 8 note ; xii. 20

- one-tenth of the, left subject to Mas-têmâ, x. 9
 nine-tenths to be bound in place of temporal punishment, x. 9
 to be punished finally with Satan, x. 8
 worshipped, xxii. 17
 Didymus of Alexandria, p. lxxvii
 Dillmann, pp. xx, xxi, xxiii, 118, 193
 Dinah, daughter of Jacob, xxviii. 23 ; xxx. 1-3 ; xxxiv. 15 ; xlv. 18
 Dînâh, wife of Mahalalel, iv. 15
 Diodorus of Antioch, pp. lxxxi, 85, 96
 Dislocations of text, pp. xlii, 45, 218
 Dittographies, pp. xli-xlii
 Dothan, xxix. 14 ; xxxiv. 10
 Driver, p. 140
 Drummond, p. xxv
 Earth divided, viii. 8
 Eating with Gentiles forbidden, xxii. 16
 Eber, viii. 7
 Eden, Garden of. *See* Garden land of, viii. 16, 21
 Edersheim, p. 260
 'Ednâ, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 wife of Terah, xi. 14
 'Ednî, wife of Enoch, iv. 20
 Edom, p. lvi ; xxiv. 6 ; xxxvi. 19 ; xxxviii. 8
 kings of, xxxviii. 16-23
 made tributary to Israel, p. lxii ; xxxviii. 10-14
 Edrei, xxix. 10
 'Eglâ, wife of Dan, xxxiv. 20
 Ehi, xlv. 25
 'Êl 'Êl, xl. 7
 'Êlâ, mountains of, ix. 2
 Elam, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 2
 land of, viii. 21 ; xiii. 22
 'Êlêw, city of = Heliopolis, xxxiv. 11
 Eliezer, xiv. 2
 'Eljô, vii. 22
 Elon, xlv. 17
 'Ëmazârâ, wife of Noah, iv. 33
Encyclopaedia Biblica, pp. 167, 176, 204, 245
 Enoch, son of Cain, iv. 9
 son of Jared, iv. 16-26 ; xix. 24, 27 ; first to learn writing, iv. 17 ; the scribe of judgment in the Garden of Eden, iv. 23-24 ; x. 17
 son of Reuben, xxxviii. 8 ; xlv. 12
 Ethiopic Book of, pp. 13, 36, 37, 53, 62-64, 102, 134, 146, 150, 212, 213
 Slavonic Book of, pp. 13-15, 25, 37, 39, 41
 Enos, son of Seth, iv. 11 ; xix. 24
 Ephraim, xlv. 24
 Ephrath, xxxii. 34
 Ephron, the Hittite, xxxvi. 2
 Epiphanius, pp. xv, xvi, xl, lxxvii, lxxviii, 11-16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 70, 73-74, 75, 77, 84, 86, 91
 Eppstein, pp. xvi, xxv, lxxvi, 11, 53, 55
 Er, xli. 1
 Eri, xlv. 20
 'Ërmôn = Heroonpolis, xlv. 6
 Esau (*see* Edom), p. lvi ; xv. 30 ; xix. 13 ; xxix. 13
 sells his birthright, xxiv. 2-7
 breaks with Jacob, xxxvii. 20-23
 slain by Jacob, xxxviii. 2
 Eschol, xiii. 29
 Euphrates, ix. 5 ; xiv. 18
 Eutychius, pp. lxxxii, 28, 35, 83, 89
 Eve created on the 6th day of the second week, iii. 5-6
 brought into Eden 80 days after her creation, iii. 9
 Exposure of the person condemned, p. lx ; iii. 31 ; vii. 20
 Ezbon, xlv. 20
 Ezra, Fourth, pp. 1, lxxv, 7, 14
 Fabricius, pp. xviii, xxii, 121, 171, 194
 Fârâ (= Africa ?), viii. 27
 Feast of tabernacles instituted by Abraham, xvi. 20-31
 celebrated by Jacob, xxxii. 4-9
 Feast of weeks celebrated in heaven and first revealed to Noah, vi. 17-18
 note ; xv. 1 note ; xxii. 1-5
 rules as to its observance, vi. 20-22
 commemorates giving of Law on Sinai, vi. 17-18 note
 its designation "Pentecost" unknown to the author, vi. 17 note
 Feasts on the new moons, vi. 23-29
 Filistin, p. xxxi
 Flood, the, v. 23-32
 Floodgates, the, v. 24
 Fornication, punishment for, xx. 4 ; xxv. 7 ; xxxix. 6
 Four sacred places, iv. 26
 Frankel, pp. xxiv, 30, 42, 107, 259
 Friend of God, xix. 9 ; xxx. 20, 21
 Fruit trees, law as to, vii. 36
 Gâ'as (= Gaash), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Gad, xxviii. 20 ; xlv. 19, 20
 Gâdîr (= Cadiz), viii. 23, 26 ; ix. 12
 Garden of Eden, ii. 7 note ; iv. 26 ; viii. 16, 19, 23
 Gaster, pp. 200, 203, 204, 214

- Gelasius, Decree of, pp. xviii, lxxviii
 Genesis, the Little, pp. xv-xvi
 Gentiles denounced, pp. lv, lvi
Geoponica, the, quoted, p. 134
 Gera, xlv. 25
 Gerar, mountains of, xvi. 10 ; xxiv. 12, 19
 Gershon, xlv. 14
 Giants, the, vii. 22
 Gihon, the, viii. 15, 22
 Gilead, xxix. 4, 5, 9
 Ginsburg, p. xxiv
 Girschites, the, xiv. 18
 Glycas, pp. xvi, lxxx, 23, 25, 26, 35, 37, 84, 85, 164
 God dwells with man in the Messianic times, i. 26 note, 27
 the Father of the children of Jacob, i. 24, 28 note
 of all, xxii. 10, 27 ; xxx. 19 ; xxxi. 13, 32
 Gog, land of, viii. 25
 Gomer, vii. 19 ; ix. 8
 Gomorrha, xiii. 22 ; xvi. 5 ; xx. 6
 Goshen, xlv. 9 ; xlv. 1, 2
 Great Sea, the, ix. 6
 Guni, xlv. 30

 Hagar, xiv. 22 ; xvii. 2 ; xix. 11
 Haggada, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxiv sq.
 Haggi, xlv. 20
 Halacha, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxv sq.
 Ham, iv. 33 ; vii. 8, 13 ; xxii. 21
 portion of, viii. 22-24
 Hamath, x. 33 ; xiii. 2
 Hamor, xxx. 2
 Haran, brother of Abram, xii. 10, 14
 land of, xiii. 1 ; xxvii. 3, 19 ; xxxv. 10, 12
 Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, pp. 107, 188
 Hazor (*see* 'Arêsa), p. lxiii ; xxxiv. 4, 7
 Headlam, p. xxvi
 Heap of Witness, xxix. 8
 Heavenly tables, iii. 10 note
 Hebraisms in Ethiopic text, p. xxxii sq.
 Hebrew, the original language of men and animals, iii. 28 note
 forgotten from overthrow of Babel till Abram's time, xii. 25-26 note
 Hebron, xiii. 10, 21 ; xix. 1 ; xxxvi. 20
 Heliopolis, xl. 10
 Hellenism, p. 1
 Hermon, xxix. 10
 Hesiod quoted, p. 149
 Heth, children of, xix. 4, 5
 Hêzaqâ, wife of Issachar, xxxiv. 20

 Hezron, xlv. 12
 Hilgenfeld, pp. xxv, lxxx
 Hippolytus, p. lxxx
 Hivites, xiv. 18
 Horites, xxxvii. 10 ; xxxviii. 8
 Huppim, xlv. 25
 Hushim, xlv. 28
 Hyrcanus, J., pp. lvi, lix, lxii, lxiv, lxxxviii

 Idolatry, rise of, xi. 4
 Abram dissuades Terah against, xii. 1-8
 forbidden, xx. 7-9 ; xxi. 3-5
 'Ijâka, xlv. 28
 'Ijasaka, wife of Benjamin, xxxiv. 20
 'Ijâskâ, xi. 9
 'Ijônâ, wife of Asher, xxxiv. 20
 Immortality of the soul, pp. xii, lxxxix ; xxiii. 31
 Imnah, xlv. 21
 Incest, laws regarding, xxxiii. 10-20 ; xli. 25-26
 India, viii. 21 ; ix. 2, 3
 Intercalary days, p. lxviii ; vi. 23 note
 Intermarriage with Canaan forbidden, pp. liii, lxi ; xx. 4 ; xxii. 20 ; xxv. 1, 5
 with Gentiles = giving to Moloch, xxx. 7-17
 Isaac, xv. 21 ; xvi. 13
 sacrifice of, xviii. 1-13
 blesses Levi, xxxi. 4-17
 blesses Judah, xxxi. 18-22
 death of, xxxvi. 18
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Ishbak, xix. 12
 Ishmael, xiv. 24 ; xv. 18, 20, 23, 30 ; xvii. 2, 4 ; xx. 1. 11
 Ishmaelites, xx. 13
 Ishvah, xlv. 21
 Ishvi, xlv. 21
 Isidore of Pelusium, p. lxxxii
 of Seville, pp. lxxxii, 18
 Israel, apostasy of, i. 5-9 ; xv. 33-34 ; xxiii. 14, 17-19
 captivity of, i. 10
 God's inheritance, xxii. 9, 10, 15
 God's portion, xv. 31 note ; xvi. 18 note
 to be separate from the Gentiles, p. lv
 glorification of, pp. liv sq.
 Issachar, xxviii. 22
 'Îv, xlv. 30

 Jabbok, xxix. 13, 14
 Jachin, xlv. 13
 Jacob, birth of, xix. 13
 twenty-second from Adam, ii. 23 note

- called Israel, xxxii. 17
 twelve sons of, xxxiii. 22
 sees the future on the heavenly tables,
 xxxii. 21-26
 gives his books to Levi, xlv. 16
 dies, xlv. 14
 glorification of, in Jubilees, pp. liii,
 liv-
 Jahleel, xlv. 17
 Jahziel, xlv. 30
 Jalkut Shimeoni, pp. xliii, 200, 201,
 203, 214, 217, 220, 221
 Jamin, xlv. 13
 Jannaeus, A., p. lix
 Japheth, iv. 33; vii. 9, 12, 15; ix. 7
 portion of, viii. 25-29^a
 Jared, iv. 15
 Jashar, Book of, pp. xlv, lxxvi, 32,
 33, 40, 43, 67, 89, 126, 171, 179,
 196, 197, 201-204, 206, 214
 Jâsûb, xlv. 16
 Javan, vii. 19; ix. 10
 Jebusites, xiv. 18
 Jellinek, pp. xx, xxiii, xlv, 201, 202,
 214, 215, 217
 Jemuel, xlv. 13
 Jerahmeel, Chronicles of (translated by
 Gaster), pp. lxxv, lxxvi, 12, 28,
 32, 36, 69, 70, 73, 77, 82, 89,
 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 214, 215,
 220, 246
 Jerome, pp. xvi, 15, 34, 52, 83, 88, 91,
 93, 126, 174
 Jerusalem, i. 28, 29
 Jezer, xlv. 30
 Jochebed, xlvii. 8
 Joel, Greek chronographer. pp. lxxxii.
 37, 67
 Jokshan, xix. 12
 Jordan, the, xxix. 14
 Joseph, xxviii. 24
 carried down into Egypt, xxxiv. 11-21
 dies, xlv. 3
 Josephus, pp. xxxix, lix, 8, 26, 27, 44,
 65, 66, 69, 106, 113, 187, 191, 195,
 211, 245, 246, 249, 255, 257, 259,
 261
 Jubilee period=49 years, pp. xv, lxxvii
 =50 years, pp. xv, lxxviii
 laws regarding, l. 1-5
 Jubilees, Book of, its various titles—
 Jubilees, or the Book of Jubilees,
 p. xv; Little Genesis, pp. xv, xvi;
 Apocalypse of Moses, p. xvii; Tes-
 tament of Moses, pp. xvii-xviii; Book
 of Adam's Daughters, pp. xviii-xix;
 Life of Adam, pp. xix, xx
 written originally in Hebrew, pp.
 xxxi-xxxiii
 textual affinities of, p. xxxiii sqq.
 versions of, pp. xxvi-xxix
 Greek version of, pp. xxvi, xxvii
 Ethiopic version of, pp. xxvii, xxviii
 Latin version of, pp. xxviii, xxix
 Syriac version of, p. xxx
 Ethiopic and Latin, from the Greek,
 pp. xxx, xxxi
 Ethiopic MSS of, p. xx; editions of,
 pp. xx, xxi; translations of, pp.
 xxi, xxii
 poetical element in, pp. xlii sq.
 from one author but based on earlier
 books and traditions, pp. xlv sqq.
 a product of the Midrashic tendency,
 pp. xlvii sqq.
 an esoteric tradition according to its
 author, pp. l, li
 written by Moses at the dictation of
 an angel according to its author,
 i. 26 note; xxiii. 32
 omissions in, of narratives in Genesis,
 pp. xlviii sqq.
 alterations in, of such narratives, pp.
 xlix, liv
 explanations in, pp. liii, liv notes
 object of,—the defence of Judaism,
 pp. li sqq.; and exposition of pre-
 Mosaic elements of the law, pp. li
 sqq.
 glorifies the patriarchs and Israel,
 pp. liii sqq.
 date of, pp. lviii-lxvi
 makes use of Eth. Enoch vi.-xxxvi.,
 lxxii.-xc., pp. lxxviii sq.
 makes use of Book of Noah, pp. lxxi
 sq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.,
 pp. lxix sqq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?),
 p. lxxi
 made use of by Wisdom, pp. lxxiv sq.
 made use of by 4 Ezra, p. lxxv
 relation of, to Test. XII. Patriarchs.
 p. lxxii
 author of, a Pharisee and a Priest (?),
 p. lxxiii
 author of, an upholder of the Mac-
 cabean dynasty, p. lxxiii
 in Jewish literature, pp. lxxiv sqq.
 in Christian non-canonical literature,
 pp. lxxvii-lxxxiii
 influence of, on the New Testament,
 pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi
 Judah, tribe of, carried into captivity,
 i. 13
 restored from the captivity, i. 15-16
 Judah born, xxviii. 15
 Judas Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxvii

- Judgment, final, of the fallen angels and their sons, v. 10, 11
 of mankind (?) and Satan precedes the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 11
 at close of Messianic kingdom, pp. lxxxvii sq.; xxxiii. 30 note
 Judith quoted, pp. 179, 205
 Justin Martyr quoted, pp. 33, 41, 50, 101, 109
- Kâbêr, brother of Reu, xi. 7
 Kabrâtân, xxxii. 32
 Kadesh, xvi. 10
 Kadmonites, xiv. 18
 Kaftûr, viii. 21
 Kâinâm, viii. 1-4
 Kamâtûrî, ix. 13
 Kârâsô (= Chersonese or Rhinocorura), viii. 13
 Karnaim, xxix. 10
 Kenan, iv. 13
 Kenites, xiv. 18
 Kenizzites, xiv. 18
 Kêsel, brother of Arpachshad, viii. 6
 grandfather of 'Ôrâ, the wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Keturah, xix. 11; xx. 1, 11, 12
 Kirjath Arba, xix. 1
 Kittim = Macedonians, pp. lxiii; xxiv. 28, 29
 = Ilittites (?), xxxvii. 10
 Kohath, xlv. 14
 Krüger, p. xxiv
- Laban, xix. 10; xxvii. 3, 10; xxviii. 1
 Lacunae, pp. xxxix sqq.; ii. 22; iii. 23; vii. 37; xiii. 25
 Lambros' Catalogue of Greek MSS on Mt. Athos, p. xl
 Lamech, iv. 27
 Land to lie fallow every seventh year, vii. 37
 Langen, p. xxiv
 Law, the, of everlasting validity, pp. xiii, 1, lii sq.
 given through angels, i. 27 note
 transmitted through the patriarchs, vii. 38
 Leah, xxviii. 3
 death of, xxxvi. 21
 Lebanon, viii. 21; ix. 4; xii. 15
 Legendary matter in Jubilees, pp. xlv sqq.
 Levi, birth of, xxviii. 14
 ordained to the priesthood for the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 17-23
 ordained to the priesthood because he was the tenth son, xxxii. 2, 3 note
- pre-eminence of, over Judah, p. lxii; xxxi. 14-17
 Levitical elements in Enoch, vii. 37, 38; xxi. 10 notes
 Lidzbarski, p. xix
 Littmann referred to, pp. xxii, xxvi, xxxi; 5, 19, 25, 44, 70, 98, 135, 169, 210
 Lômnâ, wife of Peleg, x. 18
 Lot, xii. 30; xiii. 1; xvi. 7
 Lûbâr, v. 28; vii. 1
 Lud, vii. 18; ix. 6, 10, 11
 Luz, xxvii. 19, 26
- Ma'anisâkir (corrupt for Shakir of Mahanaim), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Maccabean victories, scenes of, alluded to, pp. lvi, lxii, lxiii; xxiii. 21-22
 Maccabees, First, referred to, pp. lxxxviii, 147, 148, 204
 Second, referred to, p. 42
 Madai, vii. 19; viii. 5; ix. 9
 obtains Media, x. 35-36
 Mâ'êdâi (= Media), viii. 21
 Magdalâdrâ'êf, xxxiii. 1
 Magog, vii. 19; ix. 8
 Mahalalel, iv. 14, 15; xix. 24
 Mahalath, xxix. 18
 Mâka, wife of Gad, xxxiv. 20
 Mâkamârôn, xlv. 6
 Malala, John, pp. 34, 37, 41, 66, 67
 Mamre (a person), xiii. 29
 (a place), xiv. 10; xvi. 1
 Manasseh, xlv. 24
 Marriage with sisters ceases in Mahalalel's time, iv. 15 note
 Mastêmâ, pp. xxxi, xlix, lviii, lxxxvi; x, 8 note; xi. 5, 11; xix. 28
 = Satan, x. 8, 11
 prince or chief, xvii. 16; xlviii. 2
 prince of the, xviii. 9, 12; xlviii. 9, 12, 15
 Mâ'ûk, sea of, viii. 22, 26
 Mê'at (= Maedis), viii. 12, 27; ix. 8
 Mebri, mountains of, ix. 2
 Medan, xix. 12
 Melchizedek, pp. xlviii, lxxxviii; xiii. 25 note
 Mêlkâ, wife of Levi, xxxiv. 20
 wife of Kâinâm, viii. 5
 wife of Nahor, xix. 10
 wife of Serug, xi. 7
 Merari, xlv. 14
 Meshech, vii. 19; ix. 12
 Mesopotamia, ix. 5; xxvii. 10, 12, 13; xxix. 18
 Messiah from Judah, p. lxxxvii; xxxi. 18 note

- Messianic kingdom, gradual development of the, pp. lxxiii, lxxxvii; i. 29 note; v. 12; xxiii. 26-30 notes
 righteous do not rise to share in the, xxiii, 30, 31
 woes, xxiii. 9, 11-15, 17-19, 22-25
 Methuselah, iv. 27
 Midian, xix. 12
 Midrash Bereshith rabba, pp. 12, 25, 33, 41, 49, 61, 89, 94, 96, 109, 127, 157, 162, 165, 169, 179, 206, 230
 Shem. rabba quoted, pp. 3, 183
 Wajjisau, pp. xlv, 200, 201, 202, 203
 Tadshe quoted, pp. xl, lxxvi, 11, 18, 24, 171
 Mishna, pp. 20, 46, 53, 106, 109, 135, 141, 181, 193, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261
 Mîsûr, xxix. 10
 Mizraim, vii. 13; ix. 1
 Moab, xxxvii. 6, 10; xxxviii. 6
 Moloch, xxx. 10
 Moon, polemic against calculations by the, vi. 36
 Moses born, xlvii. 1
 twenty-one years at court of Pharaoh, xlvii. 10
 thirty-six years in Midian, xlviii. 1
 Assumption of, pp. xv, xviii
 Most High, the, p. lxvi; xxxvi. 16 note
 Mount of the East, iv. 26
 MS Coislinianus, p. 11
 r in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 33, 40, 42, 67
 z in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 48, 49
 Mû'ak, wife of Shelah, viii. 6
 Mûalêlêth, wife of Kenan, iv. 14
 Muppm, xlv. 25
 Naaman, xlv. 25
 Nahor, father of Terah, xi. 8
 son of Terah, xii. 11
 Nâphîl, vii. 22
 Naphtali, xxviii. 19; xlv. 30
 Navel of the earth, viii. 19
 Nebaioth, xvii. 14
 Nêbrôd, viii. 7
 Nê'êlâtâmâ'ûk, vii. 14, 17
 Nêstâg, xi. 9
 Niccphorus, Catena of, pp. xviii, lxxviii, 37, 82, 85, 96
 Catalogue of, p. xvii.
 Nicolaus of Damascus, p. 47
 Nî'imân, wife of Zabulon, xxxiv. 20
 Nineveh, ix. 3
 Noah, iv. 28; xix. 24, 27; xxii. 13
 ordinances of, vii. 20-39
 ancient Book of, pp. lxxi sq.
 Hebrew Book of, pp. xlv; 47, 61, 62, 78, 79, 81
 saga of, earlier than that of Enoch, p. lxxii
 Noam, wife of Enos, iv. 13
 Ohad, xlv. 13
 Onan, xlv. 4, 5
 Onkelos, pp. 32, 33, 60, 106, 116, 126, 227
 'Ôrâ, wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Origen, pp. lxxx, 108, 194, 227
 Pallu, xlv. 12
 Paran, wilderness of, xvii. 12; xx. 12
 Paronomasiae, p. xxxiii; iv. 9, 15, 28; viii. 5, 8; x. 18, 26; xi. 6, 12
 Passover, the laws regulating the observance of the, p. 49
 Peleg, viii. 8; x. 18
 Pentateuch, the book of the first Law written by an angel, p. 1; i. 27; vi. 22; xxx. 12, 21
 Pentecost, p. lxvi; vi. 17 note
 Perez, xli. 21; xlv. 15
 Perizzites, xiv. 18; xxx. 25
 Phakorites, xiv. 18
 Pharaoh, contemporary of Abram xiii. 13
 contemporary of Joseph, xl. 1, 3, 5, etc.
 contemporary of Moses, xlvii. 2
 Pharnâk, ix. 2
 Phicol, xxiv. 26
 Philip, Acts of, p. 80
 Philistia, xxxvii. 6, 10
 Philistines, pp. lvi, lxiii; xxiv. 14, 15, etc.
 Philo quoted, pp. 8, 11, 28, 44, 106, 179
 Philo, Pseudo-, *Antiquitatum bibl. Liber*, pp. 32, 205
 Phûa, xlv. 16
 Pithom, xlv. 14
 Plagues, the ten, xlviii. 5-11
 Plant, the, of uprightness, i. 16; xvi. 26 note; xxi. 24; xxxvi. 6
 Plough, the invention of the, xi. 23-24
 Poetical element in Jubilees, pp. xlii sqq.
 Potiphar, chief of the cooks, xxxiv. 11; xxxix. 2
 Priest of the Most High God, p. lix; xxxii. 1

Purification, laws of, iii. 10-12

Put, vii. 13; ix. 1

Qafrâtêf, xxxiv. 15

Qêlt (= Celts) viii. 26

Raamses, xlv. 6; xlv. 14

Rachel, xxviii. 1, 9; xxxii. 34

Râfâ (= Rhipaeen Mountains), viii. 12, 16

Râkê'êl, brother of Lamech, iv. 33

Râsû'êjâ, wife of Arpachshad, viii. 1

Râsûjâl, iv. 16

Rasû'û, wife of Naphtali, xxxiv. 20

Ravens put to flight by Abram, xi. 18-22

Rebecca, xix. 10, 13, 16; xxxv. 27

Red Sea, the, viii. 21; ix. 2, 4

Rephaim, the, xiv. 18; xxix. 9

Resurrection, no, of the body, xxiii. 30

Retaliation, law of literal, iv. 31 note; xlviii. 14 note

Reu, x. 18

Reuben, xxviii. 11

sin of, with Bilhah, xxxiii. 1-9

Rôbêl (corrupt for Arbael), xxxiv. 8

Rönsch, pp. xvii. xix, xxiv, xxviii, xxxi, lxxvii, 33, 39, 80, 83, 96, 121, 170, 171, 177, 192, 195

Rosh, xlv. 25

Rubin, p. xxiv

Rufinus quoted, p. 12

Ryle, p. xxxix

Sabbath, the, to be kept by the highest angels and Israel, p. 1; ii. 17-21 notes; ii. 31 note

not for the inferior angels, nor for

the Gentiles, ii. 2 note; ii. 31 note

first celebrated by Jacob, ii. 23 note; ii. 31 note

laws for the observance of the, pp. lx, lxi; ii. 25-30; l. 6-13

various interpretations of the term, in relation to the feast of weeks, xv. 1 note

Sack, p. xxv

Sacrifices to the dead, xxii. 17

to demons, i. 11 note; xxii. 17 note

Sallûm, xlv. 30

Salômôn, xlv. 23

Salt Sea, xiii. 22

Salt to be used in sacrifices, xxi. 11

Samaritan Chronicle, pp. lxxvi sq., 40, 47, 58

Sâmôn, xlv. 28

Sanîr (= Biblical Senir), viii. 21; ix. 4

Sarai, xii. 9

called Sarah, xv. 15

death of, xix. 2, 7

Satan, x. 11

to be punished finally, x. 8

confined at different periods, xxiii. 29; xl. 9; xlv. 2; l. 5

Sayce, p. 48

Schatzhöhle, die, pp. 28, 29, 34

Schodde, p. xxi

Schürer, pp. xxv, lxxx, lxxxviii, 147, 259

Sêdêqêtlêbâb, vii. 16, 17

Seder Olam rabba, p. 103

Seir, xxix. 13, 18

Sêllâsar, xiii. 22

Sêlô (= Shiloh), xxxiv. 4, 7

Sêphântiphâns, xl. 10

Sêrâgân (= Sartan), xxxiv. 4, 7

Serah, xlv. 21

Sered, xlv. 17

Sêrôh, xi. 1, 6

Serug, xi. 6

Seth, iv. 17; xix. 24

saga, pp. lxxii, 33-36

later glorification of, in Jewish and Christian writings, pp. 34, 35 notes

Severus of Antioch, pp. xv, lxxviii

Shaul, xlv. 13

Shechem, city of, xiii. i

destroyed by Levi and Simeon, xxx. 4-6

taken from the Amorites by Jacob and his sons, xxxiv. 2-8 note

Shechem, son of Hamor, xxx. 2

Shelah, son of Arpachshad, viii. 5, 6

son of Judah, xli. 6, 7

Shem, iv. 33; vii. 9, 11, 12, 16; xix. 24, 27

lot of, viii. 12-21

Sheol, a place of punishment but not of fire, vii. 29; xxii. 22; xxiv. 31

Shimron, xlv. 16

Shinar, land of, ix. 3; x. 18, 19, 20; xiii. 22

Shua, xix. 12

Shuni, xlv. 20

Shur, xvi. 10

Siddim, xiii. 22

Simeon, xxviii. 13; xxx. 4; xxxiv. 20, 21; xlv. 13

Simon Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxviii

Sinâ'ar, father-in-law of Peleg, x. 18

Sinai, i. 2, 5; viii. 19

Singer, pp. xxvi, 7, 63, 93, 96, 101, 109, 113, 117, 134, 144, 165, 166, 169, 181, 227

Sinker, p. xxiv

Sirach quoted, p. 117

- Six days of creation, ii. 1-14
 Söderblom quoted, p. 9
 Sodom, xiii. 17, 22; xvi. 5; xx. 5, 6; xxii. 22
 Son of God, the individual Israelite a, i. 24 note; i. 25, 28; xix. 29
 Spirit, a holy, i. 21, 23
 of righteousness (or truth), xxv. 14 note
 Suidas, pp. lxxxii, 91
 Sun, the, to regulate the year, ii. 9 note; vi. 36-38 notes
 Syncellus, pp. xvi, xvii, xix, lxxviii, lxxix, 11, 14, 18, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 59, 62, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 157, 164, 171, 186, 191, 192, 208
 Syriac Fragment, the, pp. 30, 60, 61, 66, 67, 86, 87, 206

 Tables, two, of stone, i. 1
 Talmud, pp. lix, lxi, lxxxviii, 3, 12, 23, 27, 28, 32, 42, 61, 89, 96, 101, 102, 118, 120, 121, 128, 144, 181, 191, 195, 197, 206, 220, 223, 252, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261
 Tamar, xli. 1, 6, 8, 16, 19
 Tamnâtârês (= Timnath-heres), xxxiv. 8
 Tanais (= Zoan), xiii. 12
 Tâphû, xxxiv. 4
 Targum, Ps. Jonathan, pp. 2, 22, 26, 32, 33, 103, 116, 201
 Taylor quoted, p. 7, 125
 Temple, the second, i. 17
 Terah, xi. 10
 Tergal, xiii. 22
 Tertullian quoted, p. 101
 Testaments of XII. Patriarchs, pp. xlv, xlv, 8, 9, 24, 132, 134, 170, 171, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 206, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 245, 246
 Tharmuth, xlvii. 5
 Third month, i. 1 note
 Thomson, p. xxv
 Thousand years=one day, iv. 30 note
 years of life for the righteous, xxiii. 27 (iv. 30; xxiii. 15)
 Tigris, ix. 2, 5
 Timnah, xli. 8, 9
 Tinâ (= Tanais=Don), viii. 12, 16, 25, 28; ix. 2, 8
 Tiras, vii. 19; ix. 13
 Tithes, xiii. 25, 26; xxxii. 2, 8, 9, 10-15 double, xxxii. 9-11
 Tobit quoted, p. 166
 Tola, xlv. 16
 Tower of Abraham, xxix. 16, 19
 Treuenfels, p. xxii.
 Tubal, vii. 19; ix. 11
 Twenty-two—a significant number, pp. xxxix-xi; ii. 23 note

 'Ūr, father-in-law of Reu, xi. 1
 Ur, city of, xi. 3, 7, 8; xii. 14, 15

 War forbidden on the Sabbath, l. 12
 Washings obligatory in connection with sacrifices, xxi. 16
 Watchers, the. *See* Angels
 Well of the Oath (*see* Beersheba), xvi. 11, 15; xviii. 17; xxii. 1; xxiv. 21, 26; xxvii. 19; xxix. 17; xlv. 1
 Vision, xxiv. 1
 Wine to be drunk at the Passover, xlix. 6, 9
 Wisdom, Book of, pp. 126, 252
 makes use of Jubilees, pp. lxxiv, sq.
 Woods to be used in sacrificing, xxi. 12-14

 Year, the=364 days, vi. 29-38 notes
 Years, civil and ecclesiastical, implied (?) in Jubilees, p. lxxviii; vi. 29-30 note
 430, from birth of Isaac to The Exodus, xiv. 13 note

 Zabulon, xxviii. 23
 Zeboim, xiii. 23; xvi. 5
 Zephathite, xlv. 13
 Zerah, xli. 21; xlv. 15
 Zilpah, sister of Bilhah, xxviii. 3, 9; xlv. 19
 Zimran, xix. 12
 Zion, i. 28, 29; viii. 19
 Ziphion, xlv. 20
 Zonaras quoted, pp. xvi, lxxix, 35

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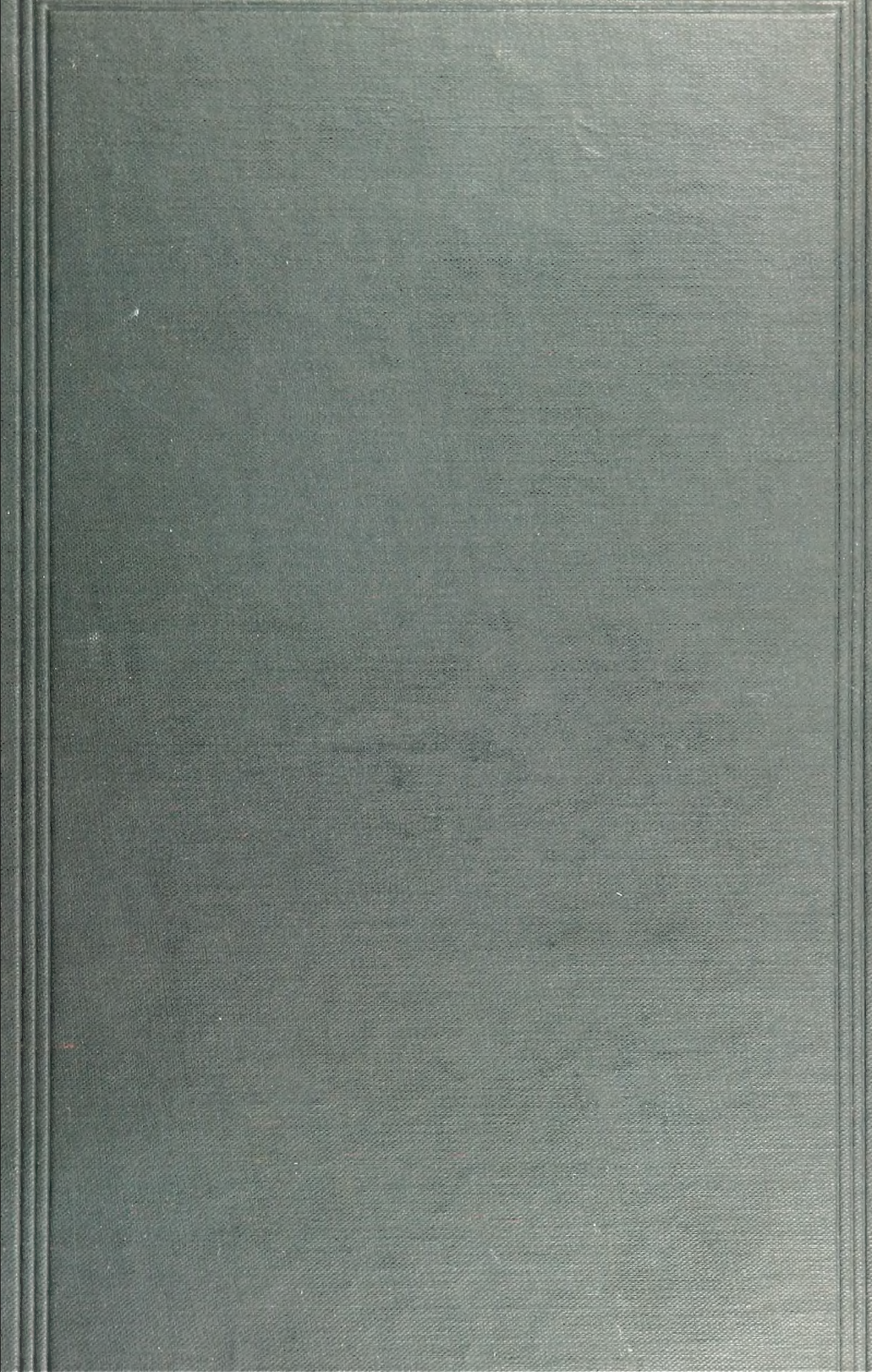
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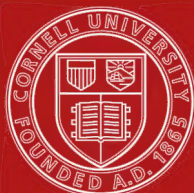
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THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

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BOOK OF JUBILEES

OR
THE LITTLE GENESIS

TRANSLATED FROM
THE EDITOR'S ETHIOPIC TEXT

AND
EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL GREEK, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

LONDON
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
1902

TO

The Reverend George Salmon, D.D.

D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH AN OLD PUPIL'S ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE

PREFACE

I HAD hoped to issue this Commentary on the Book of Jubilees quite six years ago, as a sequel to my edition of the Ethiopic and other fragmentary versions of this work ; but after writing a large portion of it, I was obliged to abandon the task, as I felt that somehow I had failed to give a satisfactory interpretation of the text, though at the time I could not understand wherein my disability lay. A year or two later when making a special study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, I came to discover that the source of my failure lay in my acceptance of the traditional view that Jubilees was written in the first century of the Christian era. So long as I wrote from this standpoint, my notes became more and more a laboured apologetic for the composition of this work in the first century. The earliest approximation to the right date appeared in my article on the "Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 241, 1899, where, after giving grounds for the view that the main bulk of that work was written before 100 B.C., I concluded that we should "regard both works (*i.e.* the Testaments and Jubilees) as almost contemporary, and as emanating from the same school of thought." This

view was advocated in the following year by Bohn and by Bousset on various grounds, and it is from this standpoint that the present Commentary is written. The difficulties that beset almost every page of Jubilees vanish for the most part when once we understand that it was written by a Pharisaic upholder of the Maccabean dynasty, who was also probably a priest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Jubilees. The fact that it is the oldest commentary in the world on Genesis, is in itself a distinction. But it is not on this ground that we value it, but rather for the insight it gives us into the religious beliefs of Judaism in the second century B.C. Its interests are many sided. It appeals to the textual critic, as it attests the form of the Hebrew text, which was current in that century. It appeals to the Old Testament scholar, as exhibiting further developments of ideas and tendencies which are only in their incipient stages in the Old Testament. It appeals to the New Testament scholar, as furnishing the first literary embodiment of beliefs which subsequently obtained an entrance into the New Testament, and as having in all probability formed part of the library of some of the apostolic writers. It appeals to the student of theological doctrine, as providing certain indispensable links in the process of development. Finally, to the Jewish scholar, a Pharisaic work of the second century B.C. cannot fail to be of transcendent interest, as it gives the earlier forms of certain legislative enactments that appear in the Mishna, and of legends which in later Judaism have undergone much transformation.

Although half a century has elapsed since the discovery

of Jubilees in its complete form in the Ethiopic Version, no scholar has hitherto attempted a commentary on the entire work. Some thirty years ago Rönsch edited a very learned and laborious work on the Latin Fragments, which constitute slightly more than one-fourth of the original writing, but since his time scholars have contented themselves with short studies on various views of our author.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Cowley for his help in verifying references in the Talmud.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
May, 1902.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION

xiii-lxxxix

§ 1. Short Account of the Book (pp. xiii, xiv)—§ 2. The Various Titles of the Book (pp. xiv-xx)—§ 3. The Ethiopic Manuscripts (p. xx)—§ 4. Editions of the Ethiopic Version (pp. xx, xxi)—§ 5. Translations (pp. xxi, xxii)—§ 6. Critical inquiries (pp. xxii-xxvi)—§ 7. The Versions of Jubilees—Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, Syriac (pp. xxvi-xxix)—§ 8. The Ethiopic and Latin Versions—Translations from the Greek (pp. xxx, xxxi)—§ 9. The Greek—a Translation from the Hebrew (pp. xxx-xxxiii)—§ 10. Textual Affinities of the Text of the Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii-xxxix)—§ 11. Lacunae, Dittographies and Dislocations in our Text (pp. xxxix-xlii)—§ 12. Poetical Element in Jubilees (pp. xlii-xliii)—§ 13. Jubilees from one author but based on earlier books and traditions (pp. xlv-xlvii)—§ 14. Jubilees—a Product of the midrashic tendency at work in the Old Testament Chronicler, but represented by its author as an Esoteric Tradition (pp. xlvii-li)—§ 15. Object of Jubilees—the Defence and Exposition of Judaism from the Pharisaic standpoint of the second century B.C. (pp. li-lvi)—§ 16. Angelology and Demonology of Jubilees (pp. lvi-lviii)—§ 17. The Date of Jubilees (pp. lviii-lxvi)—§ 18. The Jubilees and Years used by our author (pp. lxvii-lxviii)—§ 19. Value of Jubilees in determining the Dates of the various Sections of the Ethiopic Enoch and the Book of Noah (pp. lxviii-lxxii)—§ 20. The relation of Jubilees to the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs (p. lxxii)—§ 21. The author—a Pharisee who recognised the Maccabean Pontificate and

was probably a priest (p. lxxiii)—§ 22. Jubilees in Jewish, Samaritan and Christian non-canonical literature (pp. lxxiii-lxxxiii)—§ 23. Influence of Jubilees on the New Testament (pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi)—§ 24. Views of the author on the Messiah, the Messianic Kingdom, the Priesthood of Melchizedek, the Law, Circumcision and the Sabbath, the Future Life, the Jewish Calendar (pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix).

SYMBOLS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION .	xci
TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES	1
INDEX I.	263
INDEX II.	267

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B.C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which had already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication, of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments, that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity.

From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realised on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.

§ 2. THE VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew. These were :

(a) "Jubilees" = τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = יְיֻבְלָיִם;¹ and

(b) "The Little Genesis" = ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις = מִשְׁנֵה גֵּנֶזִיס.²

(c) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of our book.

(a) *Jubilees*.—According to the citation of Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6), ἐν τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὑρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γένεσει, the name Jubilees would seem to have been its more usual designation, and "the little Genesis" its less usual. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment entitled "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see Ceriani, *Mon. Sacra*, ii. Fasc. i. 9-10; also my *Ethiopic Text of Jubilees*, p. 183).

This name is admirably adapted to our book as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. By his peculiar redaction of the biblical history down to this period, our author has shown that the law was already in force before its republication as a whole on Sinai. Moreover, his chronological heptadic system has received a perfectly symmetrical development. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, *i.e.* 2450. In the Assumption of Moses, where a jubilee period of fifty years is used, Israel enters Canaan in the year 2500 (see p. lxviii).

(b) *The Little*³ *Genesis*.—The fact that our book was

¹ In the Hebrew book Josippon xxxii. 3, "The Book of Jubilees" is mentioned סֵפֶר יְיֻבְלָיִם (see Eppstein, "Le Livre des Jubilés," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

² Cf. Treuenfels, "Die kleine Genesis" in Fürst's *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1846, No. 6, p. 81.

³ The epithet "little" does not refer to the extent, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but rather to the character of Jubilees. It deals more fully with the details and minutiae (*i.e.* τὰ λεπτά) than the biblical work. Severus of Antioch, *ob.* 542 A.D., after an account of the death of Moses and the strife between Michael and the evil angels for Moses' body, adds that these matters were said to be described in a book which gave a more detailed account of the

known in Greek, not only as ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις but also ἡ Μικρογένεσις, points quite clearly to an authoritative Hebrew title, **בְּרֵאשִׁית וַשְׁמִי**, which was variously rendered in Greek. There were, indeed, four renderings of the Hebrew :

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις).
2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.
3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.
4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.

1. ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις.—This title is found sixteen times : in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (twice); Syncellus i. 7, 183, 192; Cedrenus i. 6, 9, 16, 48, 53, 85, 87; Zonaras, p. 18 (twice); Glycas, 206 (twice). As Λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Syncellus i. 5, 185, 203 and Cedrenus i. 7. As ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις in Glycas, pp. 198, 392. For the above passages see pp. lxxvii-lxxx.

2. ἡ Λεπτογένεσις.—This form of the title is found in Didymus of Alexandria (see p. lxxvii) and in one of the MSS of Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (τῇ καὶ Λεπτογενέσει), where the Cod. Venet. has τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. On the other hand, it follows from the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxxviii) that this form was current among Latin writers.

3. τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως.—This form is found in Syncellus i. 13 (see p. lxxix).

4. ἡ Μικρογένεσις.—This designation is found only in Jerome, *Epist.* 78 *ad Fab.* See my note on p. 83, where, instead of Λεπτὴ (*a.l.* Μικρογένεσις), we should read simply Μικρογένεσις. This is Jerome's independent rendering of the Hebrew title, for Jerome was acquainted with the original of Jubilees.

creation : Ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κείσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἤτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

- (c) 1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*
 2. *The Testament of Moses.*
 3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*
 4. *The Life of Adam.*

1. *The Apocalypse of Moses.*—This title is found in Syncellus i. 5 and repeated from him in Cedrenus i. 7 : λεπτή . . . Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἰναί φασί τινες ἀποκαλύψει : and in Syncellus i. 49 : ἐν τῇ Μωϋσέως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει. From the words φασί τινες and λεγομένη we conclude that this title had some currency in Syncellus' time. It was undoubtedly a very appropriate designation, since our author makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in his work (see the Greek scholion in my note on ii. 1). Cedrenus i. 16 speaks of Jubilees as ἡ λεπτή Μωσέως Γένεσις. The Apocalypse of Moses mentioned in Syncellus i. 48, from which he says Gal. vi. 15 (οὔτε περιτομή τι ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις) was derived, can have nothing to do with Jubilees, the main aim of which is the glorification of circumcision.

2. *The Testament of Moses* = ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως.—This was an older title than the preceding. Thus it is found in the Catena of Nicephorus i. 175, where the words ἡ διαθήκη precede a quotation from Jubilees x. 21 (see note *in loc.*). Here ἡ διαθήκη, as Rönsch (p. 275) has rightly argued, stands for ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. It is impossible to determine whether the Testament of Moses which is here to be identified with Jubilees has anything to do with the διαθήκη Μωϋσέως mentioned in four catalogues of the canonical and uncanonical writings. Rönsch (pp. 480-481) argues for their identification on the ground that the Assumption of Moses forms a suitable close to the Book of Jubilees ; that they are found together in this order in the Latin MS which was edited by Ceriani ; that the Testament of Moses and the Assumption are enumerated together and

in this order in the Catalogues of Nicephorus, the Ps. Athanasius and of the Sixty Canonical Books. If, however, the number of stichoi—1100—assigned to this Testament of Moses by the first catalogue is right, then this Testament cannot be the same as Jubilees; for Jubilees is longer than Genesis which, according to the same catalogue, has 4300 stichoi.

On the other hand, there may have been in circulation a Testament of Moses which was an expansion of Jubilees ii.-iii. To such a work—one-fourth the size of Genesis—the quotation given in my note on ii. 1 may possibly point, and probably the statement made by Severus of Antioch (see footnote on p. xv), and the quotation from a Catena on the Pentateuch in Fabricius ii. 121-122: *Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur.* Here we have a combination of the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses (see my *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xlv. sqq.).

3. *The Book of Adam's Daughters.*—This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius (see p. lxviii): *Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, Apocryphus.* The designation is far from inappropriate for our book, as it aims at giving the names of the wives of all the patriarchs from Adam onwards. On the other hand, it may not have been applied to the entire Book of Jubilees but to a short work based on Jubilees, and consisting mainly or solely of the names (and histories) of the women mentioned in Jubilees. Such a collection we find in the Syriac with the title: "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees" (see p. xxix). The glosses in the LXX MS used by Holmes and Parsons, and later by

Lagarde (see p. lxxxii), may point to such a collection; for these glosses relate to the wives of the patriarchs and go back ultimately to Jubilees. It is possibly worth while to call attention to the fact that some of these names are found in the Annals of the Arabic writer Tabari (see Lidzbarski, *De propheticiis, quae dicuntur, Legendis Arabicis*, 1893, pp. 11-12).

4. *The Life of Adam*.—This designation is found only three times, so far as I am aware, in Syncellus i. 7, and always as ὁ λεγόμενος Βίος Ἀδάμ. According to Syncellus this life of Adam recounted the number of days it took Adam to number the various creatures, the making of Eve, the entrance of Adam into Paradise, and the subsequent admission of Eve, etc. (i. 7-9): κεῖται γοῦν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Βίῳ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς τῆς τε ὀνομασίας τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς πλάσεως τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς βρώσεως ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τούτου εἰσόδου Εὔα ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, τὰ τε τῆς παραβάσεως καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν, ὡς ὑποτέτακται . . . ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Βίου λεγόμενον Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχειώσαμεν. If Syncellus is right here as to the contents of the Life of Adam, it treated of the same subjects as Jubilees ii. 1-29. It may, therefore, have been an excerpt from or a section of Jubilees, as Rönisch suggests (475-477). Accordingly, he accepts Treuenfels' proposal that the words in Syncellus occurring just before the above extract—ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου Βίου Ἀδάμ—should be rendered: "from the Leptogenesis, that is, from the so-called Life of Adam." Since the statements in the Life of Adam are fuller than in Jubilees, the former would be an enlarged edition of a portion of the latter. Both may have been before Syncellus. From the Life of Adam—the fuller account—he quotes on pp. 7-9, and continues his narrative on

pp. 13-15 from Jubilees. Rönsch quotes in support of this view the statement of Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 7, anm. 3: "Ein Theil derselben (der Kleinen Genesis), der von Adam handelt, wurde das Leben Adam's genannt und war den Alten als ספרא דאדם הראשון (Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, p. 128; J. Fürst im *Lbl. des Orients*, 1848, p. 589) bekannt."

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC MSS

There are four MSS of this book in Europe, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, which belong respectively to the National Library in Paris, the British Museum, the University Library of Tübingen, and to the collection of M. d'Abbadie. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth cent. respectively) are the most valuable, but in not a few readings the true text is preserved by *c d* (both of recent date). *d* is more nearly allied to *a* and *c* to *b*. *b* is the most trustworthy of the four. For a full description of these MSS the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii sqq.

§ 4. EDITIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

DILLMANN, *Mashafa küfdlé sive Liber Jubilaeorum, qui idem a Graecis Ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις* inscribitur, aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dillmann, 1859.

This edition is based on MSS *c d*.

CHARLES, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*—otherwise known among the Greeks as Ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις—edited from four MSS and critically revised through a continuous comparison of the Massoretic and Samaritan Texts, and the Greek, Syriac, Vulgate and Ethiopic

Versions of the Pentateuch, and further emended and restored in accordance with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin fragments of this book, which are here published in full, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1895.

This edition is based on the only four MSS hitherto known. It is from this text that my translation is made. In some dozen or more passages, however, to which attention is called in the notes, I have withdrawn emendations which I had introduced into the text—some in deference to criticisms of Drs. Praetorius and Littmann and others as a result of further study of the text and subject-matter. On the other hand, I have been enabled, from the much larger knowledge I now have of the literature than I had in 1893-1895, to discover the true text underlying corruptions that had defied detection, and likewise to recognise the occurrence of many dittographies and not a few lacunae (see § 11). The criticism of the text has been further greatly advanced by my discovery of a large poetical element in the book (see § 12).

§ 5. TRANSLATIONS

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1850-51, Band ii. 230-256; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS.

SCHODDE, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* (Bibliotheca Sacra, 1885-1887).

CHARLES, *The Book of Jubilees translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, vol. v. 703-708; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-745; 1895, vii. 297-328).

The above translation agrees for the most part with the text which I published subsequently. It is, however,

untrustworthy in some passages, and is now superseded by the very much improved edition of it which appears in the present volume.

LITTMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-119).

This admirable translation is based mainly on my Ethiopic text of Jubilees, but occasionally Dr. Littmann prefers to follow the readings of *c d* in Dillmann's text, and in some cases the grounds for this preference are so good that I have followed his lead. His translation is on the whole very accurate, though there are of course some passages where corrections will be introduced on the occasion of a second edition. To Dr. Littmann I owe many corrections of my English translation in the *Jewish Quarterly*.

§ 6. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

FABRICIUS, J. A., *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1713, i. 849-864. Fabricius here collects under the head of Parva Genesis, passages in Jerome and Greek writers which are expressly assigned to our book. At the close of this collection he adds: "Non dubito tum apud Hieronymum Quaest. et tradit. Hebraeicis in Genesin, tum apud Georgium Syncellum et Cedrenum plura legi ex parva Genesi repetita: quoniam tamen diserte illa non indicant, haec satis esse volui."

TREUENFELS, *Die kleine Genesis* בְּרֵאשִׁית וְגֵ' (Fürst's *Literaturbl. des Orients*, 1846, Nr. 1-6; 1851, Nr. 15). Treuenfels ascribes our book to a Jewish author, who wrote most probably before the Christian era.

DILLMANN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Ewald's *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissensch.* 1851, iii. 72-96). These pages consist of a series of learned and masterly notes which throw great

light on the text and its interpretation. Dillmann was of opinion that Jubilees was written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic in the first cent. A.D. before the fall of Jerusalem.

—— *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellsch.* 1857, xi. 161-163.

—— “Pseudepigraphen des A. Testaments” (Herzog’s *Real-Encyc.*⁽²⁾ xii. 364-365). Here Dillmann sets the composition of Jubilees at the beginning of the Christian era and regards a still earlier date as possible.

—— “Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch Textes” (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, pp. 323-340). With this contribution to the criticism of the Ethiopic text and its value in determining the criticism of the Pentateuch I have already dealt (*Ethiopic Vers. of Heb. Bk. of Jubilees*, pp. xviii-xix).

JELLINEK, *Ueber das Buch der Jubiläen und das Noah-Buch*, Leipzig, 1855 (a reprint from the third volume of his *Bet ha-Midrash*). Although the main contention of this treatise, that Jubilees is of Essene origin, cannot be sustained, Jellinek’s observations on its relations to Jewish Midrashim (*i.e.* Wajissau and Tadshe) and legends generally are most illuminating and helpful. Jellinek justly recognises that Jubilees was written when the essential character of the Jewish calendar was not definitely fixed.

BEER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1856; *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1857. The former work is the ablest contribution from the Jewish side that has yet been made towards the interpretation of Jubilees. On pp. 25-39 he deals with the points of similarity existing between Jubilees and Jewish tradition, and on pp. 39-56 the points of divergence. Beer ascribes our book to a Samaritan, who made use of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and

Jewish tradition, and wrote in Africa. This Samaritan authorship was shown to be impossible by Ewald (*Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissensch.* 1856, viii. 184 sq.), in a short review of Beer's work, and Dillmann (*ZDMG*, 1857, xi. 161-163). In the *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65 and his *Leben Abrahams*, 1859; *Leben Moses*, 1863, Beer has made many valuable indirect contributions to the exegesis of Jubilees.

FRANKEL, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400. Frankel sought to prove that Jubilees was of Egyptian origin and representative of the cult at the Onias Temple at Leontopolis. To this view of Frankel, Beer rejoined in the treatise cited above under his name: *Noch ein Wort über das Buch der Jubiläen*.

KRÜGER, "Die Chronologie im Buche d. Jubiläen" (*ZDMG*, 1858, xii. 279-299. Krüger ascribes the composition of Jubilees to the year 320 B.C., but such a view has rightly failed to obtain a single suffrage.

LANGEN, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, 1866, pp. 84-102. Jubilees according to this writer is to be assigned to the years 30-60 A.D. (p. 100).

SINKER, *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, 1869, pp. 42-43, 81-85.

RUBIN, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis in's Hebräische übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und mit Noten versehen*, Wien, 1870.

GINSBURG, Art. "Jubilees, Book of" in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*.

RÖNSCH, *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaft. Theologie*, 1871, pp. 60-98; *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig, 1874. Rönsch assigned our book to the years 50-60 A.D. It was directed against the rising Christianity, and was an attempt to draw together all the opposing parties in Judaism against the new religion.

HILGENFELD, *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theologie*, 1874, pp. 435-441.

DRUMMOND, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 143-147.

EPPSTEIN, "Midrasch Tadsche," in *Beiträge zur Jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887.

—— "Le Livre des Jubilés, Philon et le Midrasch Tadsché" (*Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25).

SACK, *Die altjüdische Religion*, 1889, pp. 350-368.

BACON, "Calendar of Enoch and Jubilees" (*Hebraica*, 1891-1892, viii. 79-88; 124-131).

DEANE, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 193-236. We have here an excellent account of the book from the older standpoint.

THOMSON, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, pp. 297-320, 433-439.

BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,⁽²⁾ 1892, pp. 20-24.

KUENEN, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894, pp. 113 sqq.

SCHÜRER, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*,⁽³⁾ 1898, iii. 274-280. Schürer follows the ordinary view as to the date of Jubilees: "It may with considerable probability be assigned to the first cent. of the Christian era." Notwithstanding its many divergencies from Pharisaic usage and doctrine at that period he holds that in its essential aspects it represents the prevailing Pharisaic standpoint. A good bibliography closes the article.

SINGER, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Leptogenesis*, I. Theil; Tendenz und Ursprung, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte, Stuhlweissenburg (Ungarn), 1898. Rönsch, as we have seen above, was of opinion that Jubilees was directed against Christianity, but Singer thinks that he can establish that it was the work of a Jewish Christian, written (about 58-60 A.D.) with a polemic purpose against

the teaching of St. Paul—especially against his doctrine of the abrogation of the law. This work exhibits much learning both in the field of Judaism and Christianity. But the main thesis is not in any sense proved by him nor is it possible of proof.

HEADLAM, Art. "Jubilees," in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, 1899, ii. 791.

CHARLES, Art. "Book of Jubilees," in *Encyc. Biblica*, 1899, i. 230-233.

BOHN, "Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen (*Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1900, pp. 167-184). This article shows admirable insight. Its writer recognises rightly that the book belongs to the second cent. B.C. He ascribes its composition to 150 B.C. or thereabouts.

LITTMANN, Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900, ii. 31-38. We have here as good an introduction to our author as was possible from the stage of criticism at the time, and one that is meritorious alike for its learning and judgment. In 1899 Littmann reviewed Singer's book (see above) in the *ZDMG*, pp. 368 sqq.

§ 7. THE VERSIONS OF JUBILEES—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC

1. *The Greek Version*.—Numerous fragments of this version have come down to us in J. Martyr (? see note on p. 41), Origen (see notes on pp. 194, 227), Diodorus of Antioch (see p. 85), Isidore of Alexandria (see p. lxxxix), Epiphanius (see notes on pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59, 61, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 77, 84, 86), John Malala (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66), Anastasius Sinaita (flor. seventh cent.—preserved only in Latin; see note on p. 23), Syncellus (see notes on pp. 41, 59, 66, 68, 69, 71,

73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 191, 192. It is remarkable that Syncellus attributed to Genesis what comes from our text—see note on p. 164, and similarly to Josephus—see notes on pp. 157, 186, 208), Cedrenus (see notes on pp. 37, 41, 66, 67, 86, 87, 88, 93, 94, 116, 191, 252), Suidas (see note on p. 91), Zonaras (see p. 35), Glycas (see notes on pp. 37, 84, 85, 164), Joel (see notes on pp. 37, 67).

For probable mistranslations in this version see notes on xxx. 25, xliii. 11, xlvi. 9; for corruptions in the MSS before the Ethiopic and Latin translators, see notes on i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxxii. 27, 29.

This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and the Latin, as we shall prove below.

2. *The Ethiopic Version.*—This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence (see § 11), but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: “my wife” in iii. 6 instead of “wife”; xv. 12 (see note); xvii. 12 (“her bottle” instead of “the bottle”); xxiv. 19 (where the words “a well” are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, etc., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* I can discover only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see my Text, pp. xii. sqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see notes on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

3. *The Latin Version.*—This version, of which about one fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b-21; xv. 20^b-31^a; xvi. 5^b-xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b-xix. 25; xx. 5^b-xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2-19^a; xxiii. 8^b-23^a; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b-23^a; xxvii. 11^b-24^a; xxviii. 16^b-27^a; xxix. 8^b-xxx. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b-18, 29^b-32; xxxii. 1-8^a, 18^b-xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b-xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b-12^a; xxxvi. 20^b-xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b-16^a; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b-18; xlii. 2^b-14^a; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b-22. This version was next edited by Rösensch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente*. This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgment and critical acumen. Rösensch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth cent. (pp. 459-460). In 1895 I edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rösensch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlv. 14 where it adds "et Oon" against all other authorities. The Eth. version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin

version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (canos meos where our Ethiopic text = *μου τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12 where it reads in tota terra for in terra. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version "et creverunt et juvenes facti sunt" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause "eorum quae fiebant in carcere" agrees with the Eth. version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, etc. (see my Text, p. xvi.).

4. *The Syriac Version.*—The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS (Add. 12,154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, "Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees." It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by me as Appendix III. to my Text of Jubilees (p. 183).

§ 8. THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK

Like all the biblical literature Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from Greek. We have seen above (p. xxvi) that the Greek version had a very wide currency. To show that our text is a translation from the Greek version it will be sufficient to point out that in xxxiv. 11 we have a transliteration of *ἡλίου* ("of the sun"); that in i. 29, ii. 2, v. 4, xiv. 12, xxiii. 10, xxviii. 27, xxxii. 4, 27, 29, xlvii. 5 (see notes *in loc.*) we must retranslate into Greek before we can discover the source of the various corruptions. Further, Greek words such as *δρύς*, *βάλανος*, *λίψ*, *σχῖνος*, *φάραγξ*, etc. are transliterated in the Ethiopic. The Greek article is rendered by the demonstrative ii. 2, iii. 25, xxiv. 19, 29. Finally, proper names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew: viii. 5, x. 18, etc.

It is no less obvious that the Latin is also a translation from the Greek. Thus in xxxix. 12, *timoris* = *δειλίας*, a corruption of *δουλείας*; in xxxviii. 13, *honorem* = *τιμὴν*, which should have been rendered by *tributum* (so Eth.); in xxxii. 26, *celavit* = *ἐκρυψε*, corrupt for *ἔγραψε* (so Eth.). Again, in xxxi. 30, *orasti orationem* is a mistranslation of *ἡὔξω εὐχὴν*, which here = *vovisti votum*; in xxxii. 30, *sub glande* = *ὑπὸ τῆς βαλάνου*, which here = *sub quercu*. The Greek article is often rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in the Ethiopic version: *hujus Abrahæ*, xxix. 16; *huic Jacob* . . . *huic Istraël*, xxxi. 15. Greek constructions are reproduced: *memor fuit sermones*, xvii. 3 = *ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους*; *consummavit loquens*, xv. 22 = *συντετέλεσε λαλῶν*; *in omnibus quibus (for quæ) dedisti*, xxii. 8 = *ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἔδωκας*. We should observe also the extraordinary mistranslation of *μήποτε* = (ne forte) by *ne quando* in xlii. 11. (See Rönsch, pp. 439 sqq.)

We have seen above (pp. xxviii-xxix) that the Ethiopic and Latin versions presuppose in some cases different forms of the Greek version.

§ 9. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW

The early date and place of composition speak for a Semitic original, and the following evidence for such an original is irresistible.

But the question at once arises: was this original Aramaic or Hebrew? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic, as Cettin, xxiv. 28; Adurin, xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin, xxiv. 14-16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönsch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Moreover, it is most dangerous to conclude from Aramaic *proper names* to an Aramaic original; for Aramaic forms occur not infrequently in the Greek versions of the Old Testament. Thus this very word Cettim (כֶּתִים) appears as *Χεττάν* in Symmachus (Gen. x. 4), *Χεττείν* in the LXX (B) and Lucian of Judg. i. 26, *Χεττιείν* in the LXX (B) of 1 Kings x. 33. As regards Adurin (which in the Eth. version = 'Adûrâm), we should observe that this word appears as 'Ανουράμ, i.e. 'Αδουράμ, in the sister work Test. Iud. 9. Thus we may here again conclude to an original Hebrew form. It is noteworthy also that whereas in xxxviii. 3 of the Latin we have Adoram, in the Ethiopic we have 'Adôrân. Another Aramaic form is Mastêmâ (מַסְתֵּמָא) [Μαστιφάμ in Syncellus, Μαστιφάτ in Cedrenus, and Mastima in the Latin version, xviii. 12, xlvi. 2], from the hiphe! participle, מַסְתֵּם). But the presence of such a proper name in a Semitic document is inconclusive as we have shown above. Cf. Littmann, in Kautzsch's *Apok. u. Pseud.* ii. 34.

The grounds, on the other hand, for a Hebrew original are weighty and numerous :

1. *A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew.*—Hebrew, our author teaches, was the sacred and national language (see notes on xii. 25-26 ; xliii. 15).

2. *The revival of the national spirit of the nation is universally, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language.*—Thus the Psalms of Solomon (70-40 B.C.) were written in Hebrew, and the Similitudes in the Ethiopic Enoch (xxxvii.-lxx.), as I hope to prove later. As regards the sections of Enoch which were written before the revival of the national spirit under the Maccabees other grounds must decide.

3. *The text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text.*—Thus in xliii. 11 lâ'êlêja = ἐν ἐμοί, which is a mistranslation of בִּי בִי in this context = δέομαι, "pray," as in Gen. xliv. 18, which our text reproduces almost word for word. In xvi. 31 lebba dabart (Lat. Vers. corde palmarum) = לִבִּי דַּבַּרְתִּי, where לִבִּי is corrupt for לִלְבִּי. In xlvii. 9 the text = domum Faraonis, but the context demands filiam Faraonis. Hence the Greek translator here misread בַּת־פֿ as בֵּית־פֿ or בַּת־פֿ. The true Aramaic word for daughter is בַּרְתָּ. See also notes on ii. 29, iii. 15, vi. 35, xlviii. 12.

Under this head also we might draw attention to the presence of dittographies already existing in the Hebrew text. See notes on iii. 16, xviii. 15, xxx. 1.

4. *Hebraisms survive in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.*—Thus in ii. 9, 25 the Ethiopic wahaba = "gave" goes back to בָּרַח, which must here be translated "appointed." In xxii. 10 eligere in te is a reproduction of בָּחַר ; in xxiv. 25 sermo hic = "this thing" = הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, a purely Hebrew expression ; in xix. 8 in qua . . . in ipsa (so also Eth.)

= ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ = אֵל אֱלֹהִים; in xl. 7 (see note) we have a transliteration of a Hebrew phrase 'Êl 'Êl wa 'Abîrêr where we should read 'Abîrêl. Again in iv. 4 nûḥa is a corrupt transliteration of נח. See also vi. 35, xxxiii. 1, xl. 10.

5. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew.*—Thus in iv. 9 there is a play on Enoch the son of Cain; on Jared in iv. 15, on Noah in iv. 28, on Peleg in viii. 8, on Reu in x. 18, on Serug in xi. 6, on Terah in xi. 12 (see notes *in loc.*).

6. *Many passages of this book are preserved in rabbinic writings*, such as the Hebrew Book of Noah, the Midrash Wajjissau, the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, the Book of Jashar, and the Midrash Tadshe. It has also much matter in common with the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs which was also originally written in Hebrew.

§ 10. TEXTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In order to understand the position which the Hebrew text of Jubilees occupied in relation to the texts and versions of the Pentateuch, it will be necessary to summarise briefly its affinities with them. We shall now discover that our text agrees in turn with the Samaritan (twice?), LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, and with Onkelos.

In the following list, where the corresponding passages in Jubilees and the Pentateuch are given without further comment, the details will be found in the notes accompanying the translation. Thus in the first sub-heading i. (a), where xxvi. 34 of our text is equated with Gen. xxvii. 40, the needful information is given in the notes on xxvi. 34. On the other hand, where the notes do not supply such details the read-

ing given by our text and its supporters and the opposing text and its authorities are supplied in brackets. Thus we are to interpret the statement "xli. 14 ('his shepherd')—Gen. xxviii. 40 ('his friend')," which occurs under the sub-heading ii. (η), "It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr.," as meaning that our text, supported by the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxviii. 40, reads "his shepherd," whereas the Mass., Sam., and Syr. read "his friend." For fuller information the reader can refer to my Ethiopic Text.

i. First as to its agreement with individual authorities in opposition to the rest:

(α) It agrees with the Sam. against the Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk. in iv. 7 ("he called")—Gen. iv. 25 ("she called"); xxvi. 34 (?)—Gen. xxvii. 40.

(β) It agrees with the LXX against the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. in iii. 24 ("thy pains")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy conception"); v. 1—Gen. vi. 2; vii. 8—Gen. ix. 22; viii. 1—Gen. xi. 13; xiii. 2—Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 2, 12—Gen. xv. 2, 11; xv. 15 ("her name will be called")—Gen. xvii. 15 ("thou shalt call her name"); xviii. 2—Gen. xxii. 2; xxiv. 25—Gen. xxvi. 32; xxvi. 25 (+ "his son")—Gen. xxvii. 30 (see my Text, p. 97, note 20); xxviii. 11 (+ Jacob)—Gen. xxix. 32; xxviii. 29—Gen. xxx. 43; xxix. 4—Gen. xxxi. 20; xlvi. 14 ("he set over")—Exod. i. 11 ("they set over").

(γ) It agrees with the Syriac version against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Vulg. in xii. 15 ("went forth" in sing.)—Gen. xi. 31 (Mass. = "went forth" in pl., Sam., LXX, Vulg. = "led forth"); xviii. 11 ("I have shown")—Gen. xxii. 12 ("I know"); xliii. 21 ("by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh")—Gen. xlv. 21 ("by the mouth of Pharaoh"); xlvii. 7—Exod. ii. 7; xlix. 9 ("the guilt")—Num. ix. 13 ("his guilt").

(δ) It agrees with the Vulg. against Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr. in vii. 9 ("their shoulders")—Gen. ix. 23 ("both their shoulders"); xiv. 1 ("and thy reward")—Gen. xv. 1 ("thy reward"); xiv. 22 ("shall build up")—Gen. xvi. 2 ("shall be builded up"); xxiv. 3 ("give me")—Gen. xxv. 30 ("feed me"); xxiv. 19 ("living water")—Gen. xxvi. 19 ("well of water"); xxvi. 31 ("Isaac")—Gen. xxvii. 39 ("Isaac his father").

(ε) It agrees with the Targum of Onkelos against the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg. in xiii. 20 ("not be numbered")—Gen. xiii. 16 ("be numbered"); xiii. 24—Gen. xiv. 14; xv. 17 ("rejoiced")—Gen. xvii. 17 ("laughed").

ii. We shall next give its affinities with two or more of the above authorities in opposition to the rest.

(a) Its agreement with the Mass. and Sam. :

It agrees with the Mass. and Sam. against the LXX, Syr., Vulg. in iii. 3—Gen. ii. 20; vi. 7 ("with the life thereof with the blood")—Gen. ix. 4 (LXX *ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς*).

It agrees with the Mass. and Onk. against the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. in iii. 7—Gen. ii. 24.

(β) Its agreement with the Mass., Sam., Syr., or with these + Vulg. or + Vulg. and Onk. :

It agrees with Mass., Sam., and Syr. against the LXX and Vulg. in iii. 25 ("for thy sake," *בְּעִבְרָךְ*)—Gen. iii. 17 (LXX (and Vulg.) *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου* = *בְּעִבְרָךְ*); vi. 8 ("by man")—Gen. ix. 6 (LXX *ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ*); xxvi. 27 ("thy firstborn")—Gen. xxvii. 32 (LXX + Vulg. om. "thy"); xxvi. 29 ("unto his father")—Gen. xxvii. 34 (LXX + Vulg. om.); xxvii. 21 ("behold")—Gen. xxviii. 13 (LXX + Vulg. om.).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. against the LXX in v. 27 ("prevailed")—Gen. vii. 24 (LXX *ὑψώθη*);

xii. 15 ("from Ur")—Gen. xi. 31 (LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας);
 xiv. 3 ("out of thine own bowels")—Gen. xv. 4 (LXX ἐκ
 σοῦ = 𐤒𐤌𐤍 instead of 𐤒𐤌𐤍𐤍); xiv. 12—Gen. xv. 11; xv. 3
 ("Almighty")—Gen. xvii. 1 (LXX σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.
 against the LXX in xv. 20—Gen. xvii. 22; xxvi. 23
 ("peoples")—Gen. xxvii. 29 (LXX ἄρχοντες = 𐤀𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤕
 corrupt for 𐤀𐤕𐤓𐤕); xxvi. 24 ("brethren")—Gen. xxvii. 29
 (LXX τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου).

It agrees with the Mass., Sam., Syr., Aq., Symm., Vulg.,
 and Onk. against the LXX in xiii. 10 ("towards the south")
 —Gen. xii. 9 (LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ).

(γ) Its agreement with the Sam. and LXX or with these
 + Syr. or + Onk. or + Vulg. or + Syr. and Vulg.:

It agrees with the Sam. and LXX against the Mass.,
 Syr., Vulg. in xiv. 18—Gen. xv. 20; xv. 14—Gen. xvii. 14;
 xvii. 1 ("his son")—Gen. xxi. 8 (om.); xxvii. 11 ("my
 father")—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Syr. against the
 Mass., Vulg., and Onk. in ii. 16—Gen. ii. 2.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against
 Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. in xii. 23 ("them that curse")—
 Gen. xii. 3 ("him that curses"); xvii. 7—Gen. xxi. 13;
 xxviii. 8 ("I shall give")—Gen. xxix. 27 ("we will give");
 xliii. 12 ("with us")—Gen. xliv. 31 (om.).

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the
 Mass. and Onk. in xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xv. 19 ("and
 for his seed")—Gen. xvii. 19 ("for his seed").

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Onk. against Mass.,
 Syr., and Vulg. in iii. 6—Gen. ii. 23.

It agrees with the Sam., LXX, and Vulg. against the Mass.
 and Syr. in xiv. 13 ("it was said")—Gen. xv. 13 ("He said").

(δ) Its agreement with the Sam. and Syr. + the Vulg.
 or others:

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven. against the Mass., Vulg., and Itala in xviii. 12 ("a single (= *רם*) ram")—Gen. xxii. 23 ("behind (*אחור*) him a ram"). Onk. combines both readings.

It agrees with the Sam., Syr., Vulg., Onk. against Mass. and LXX in xliv. 16 ("Phûa")—Gen. xlv. 13 ("Puvvah").

(ε) Its agreement with the Sam. version + LXX or with the Sam. version + Syr. and others :

It agrees with the Sam. vers., LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. against Mass., Sam., Vulg. in xviii. 15—Gen. xxii. 17.

It agrees with the Sam. Vers., Syr., Vulg. (and possibly Sam.) against Mass. and LXX in xviii. 13 ("hath seen" or "seeth")—Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass. "will be seen" or "provided") (LXX *ὡφθη*).

(ζ) Its agreement with the LXX and Syr. and with these + others :

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. against Mass., Sam. in iii. 24 ("thy return")—Gen. iii. 16 ("thy desire"); xiv. 2 ("son of my handmaid")—Gen. xv. 2 ("of my house"?); xli. 9—Gen. xxxviii. 14.

It agrees with the LXX and Syr. and, in the main, with the Sam. and Vulg. against the Mass. and Onk. in vi. 32 ("beasts and cattle and birds and every moving thing"; LXX *πάντα τὰ θηρία καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ πᾶν πετεινὸν καὶ πᾶν ἔρπετον κινούμενον*. So Syr. save that it omits *καὶ* after *πετεινόν*; Sam. and Vulg. agree with LXX save that Vulg. omits *καὶ πᾶν πετεινόν* and Sam. omits *καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη*)—Gen. viii. 19 ("every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever creepeth").

It agrees with the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. against the Mass. and Sam. in v. 8 ("will . . . abide")—Gen. vi. 3 ("will . . . strive"); xiv. 4 ("said unto him")—Gen. xv. 5 ("said"); xv. 16—Gen. xvii. 16; xxiv. 3 ("said to him")

—Gen. xxv. 31 (“said”); xliii. 12 (“our father”)—Gen. xliv. 30 (Mass. “my father”).

(η) Its agreement with the LXX and Vulg.:

It agrees with the LXX and Vulg. against the Mass., Sam., and Syr. (+ “and dancing”) xvii. 4—Gen. xxi. 9; xxvii. 8—Gen. xxvii. 46 (+ “of the daughters of Heth”); xxvii. 11 (“after thee”)—Gen. xxviii. 4 (“with thee”); xxviii. 1 (“land of the east”)—Gen. xxix. 1 (“land of the sons of the east”); xli. 14 (“his shepherd” = רִעָדוֹ)—Gen. xxviii. 20 (“his friend” = רִעָדוֹ).

It agrees with the LXX, Vulg., and Onk. in xv. 14 (“for he has broken”)—Gen. xvii. 14 (“he has broken”).

(θ) It agrees with the LXX (*d^{sil}e*, πατρός μου, but other MSS give πατρός σου as in the Sam. and Eth. vers.) against the Mass., Syr., and Vulg. in xxvii. 11—Gen. xxviii. 4 (om.).

Though the above list is not exhaustive it is sufficiently so for our purposes. It follows from it that our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. Thus it agrees at times with the Sam. or LXX or Syr. or Vulg. or even with Onk. against all the rest. Similarly it agrees with various combinations of these against the rest.

In the next place we infer from the following phenomena that *our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac*. For it agrees more frequently with the LXX, see i. (β), or with combinations into which the LXX enters, see ii. (γ), (ε), (η), (θ), than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac, see i. (γ), or with combinations into which the Syriac enters, see ii. (β), (δ). On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown by such passages as i. (α), (γ), (δ), (ε), and its actual superiority in a large array of readings, ii. (α), (β),

where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg. and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B.C. (LXX version of Pentateuch) and 100 A.D., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

§ 11. LACUNAE, DITTOGRAPHIES AND DISLOCATIONS IN OUR TEXT

Lacunae.—In addition to the occasional small lacunae which are supplied from the Latin version or other independent sources, there are four larger lacunae in ii. 22, iii. 23, vii. 37, xiii. 25. The first consists of two clauses according to the Greek authorities: "As there were two and twenty letters, and two and twenty books," but, according to the Midrash Tadshe, only of one: "As there were two and twenty letters" (see ii. 23 notes). Since the earliest testimony elsewhere to this reckoning of the books of the Old Testament as twenty-two is that of Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 8), it is possible that the clause in question in Epiphanius and Syncellus may be an addition to the text of Jubilees. This reckoning is mentioned also by Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, in the Canons of the Council of Laodicea, Jerome, etc. (see Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892, p. 221). On the other hand, it is

not improbable that the disputed clause belongs to the original text: for its omission by the Midrash Tadshe is far from conclusive. We have already seen in the notes on ii. 2-3 that this Midrash (written *circa* 1000 A.D.) has deliberately altered the text of Jubilees, where it is rightly transmitted by Epiphanius and Syncellus, in order to accommodate it to Talmudic Judaism. And in the present instance the motive for this omission was not wanting; for the usual reckoning of the books of the Old Testament in Talmudic writings (Taanith 8*a*; Shem. rabba 41, etc.) and later Jewish scholars, such as Isaac Abarbanel, was twenty-four (see Strack, Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*⁽²⁾ vii. 434-436). Moreover, a passage in Isidore of Seville, which is clearly based on Jub. ii., supports the evidence of Epiphanius and Syncellus. It runs: Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester et xxii literarum sunt elementa (see p. lxxxi for the rest of the quotation). Accordingly, since the negative evidence of the Midrash is thus largely discounted and since on the other hand we have the positive evidence of Epiphanius, Isidore, and Syncellus, and artificial analogies of this nature are characteristic of our author, I am inclined to accept the clause as original.¹

¹ Since writing the above I have come across the following excerpt from the Greek version of Jubilees in Lambros' *Catalogue of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos*, vol. i., pp. 292, which confirms my view. It is: 'Ιωάννου ἀναγνώστου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. 'Εν τῇ ψα' [Α]π' ὧδε διαλαμβάνει βιβλίον τὸ καλούμενον λεπτή γενέσις. 'Εν τῷ κειμένῳ· "Ἔργα ὡς λέγει ἔκτησεν (read ἔκτισεν) ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις, δι' ὃ καὶ κβ' γράμματα παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ κβ' βιβλία καὶ κη' γενεαρχαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ. Κάιν, ὡς λέγει, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέθανεν. Lambros wrongly prints κβ' as κη' twice in the above passage. I owe the corrections to Mr. Lake, who has just collated it afresh for me on Mt. Athos. The excerpt is from a thirteenth-cent. MS. The last sentence regarding Cain is from Jub. iv. 31.

The third lacuna in vii. 37 appears to have extended to two or more verses, which dealt with the right of eating the fruit of trees in the fifth year after they were planted, and of sowing and reaping the land during six years and the duty of letting it lie fallow on the seventh (see notes *in loc.*). The greatest loss which our book has sustained is that which occurs in xiii. 25. Here the text still stands in a mutilated condition. The subject of the lost verses was undoubtedly Abram's pursuit of the kings, his recovery of the captives, and his meeting with Melchizedek. Since on other grounds it appears that the Maccabean princes claimed in some respects to represent the priesthood of Melchizedek, this loss is most deplorable (see notes on xiii. 25, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16).

Dittographies.—We have already drawn attention to three passages where dittographies most probably existed already in the Hebrew text. These are far from infrequent in the Ethiopic version. Thus in i. 29, vi. 33, viii. 6, 16, ix. 1, xv. 34, xix. 10, xxii. 24, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 13, the dittographies are verbal repetitions of clauses in immediate or mediate juxtaposition. Some of these repetitions may, of course, have already occurred in the Greek. But there is another class of dittographies present in our version which are due to incorporation in the text of duplicate renderings. Thus in xxx. 16 the clause "and no consideration of persons" follows immediately on "And there will be no respect of persons," and both are alternative renderings of *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται προσωποληψία* or some such phrase. This conclusion is confirmed by the Latin version which shows no such dittography. We have the evidence of the same version for excising the dittography in xxiii. 11. Other duplicate renderings, which have found their way into the Ethiopic version, our text exhibits in xx. 3, xxi. 10, 13, xxiv. 3. Possibly in xxxii. 21 "read and

read," which I have emended with the Latin *legit et cognovit* into "read and knew," should be regarded as a simple dittography within the Ethiopic; and *legit et cognovit* as due to two alternative renderings of ἀνέγνω, where the first is right.

Dislocations.—A most probable instance of this nature occurs in xxxvii. 20^{ef}. These two prose lines intervene in the midst of a poem. They are corrupt in all the MSS, but by an easy emendation could be adapted to follow after the first clause of the preceding verse. See note *in loc*.

Another passage is v. 17-18 which deals with the Day of Atonement. I have treated it as interpolated or else as transposed from after xxxiv. 18-19, which treats of the first institution of this festival. It is possible, however, that these verses did belong to the original. Thus 10^b-12 refer to the final judgment and the renewal of the world. The subject of the final judgment is there further dealt with in its general character in 13-16, and in 17-18 the writer turns aside to show the special grace accorded to Israel on that day if they observe the Day of Atonement. But I still incline to the view that 17-18 are foreign to their present context.

Again, i. 28 should probably be read before i. 26, and xxiii. 16 after xxiii. 19.

§ 12. POETICAL ELEMENT IN JUBILEES

Just before completing my commentary on Jubilees, I was so fortunate as to discover that no small proportion of it was originally written in verse. Accordingly the reader will find the following passages arranged as verse: x. 3; xii. 2-5, 18-20, 23, 29; xv. 6-8; xviii. 15-16; xix. 17, 20-22, 25; xx. 6-10; xxi. 21-25; xxii. 11-23; xxiii. 23-31; xxiv. 30-32; xxv. 15-23; xxvi. 23-24, 31-34;

xxxi. 15-20 ; xxxvii. 20-23. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connections of wrongly separated clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Thus, if the reader turns to xxxvii. 20-23 he will find a poem—probably an old one—consisting of five stanzas of three lines each. Our recognition of this fact enables us to excise as an interpolation the unintelligible words occurring in the MSS at the close of the first stanza. Even if we emended these words we should only have a distich, which would be suspicious in the midst of a poem consisting of tristichs. But not only is the form against their genuineness here, but also their subject matter (see notes *in loc.*). Again, in xxxi. 18 we reject a line both on the ground of the parallelism and of its being a dittography, and in xxi. 22 a line on the ground of the parallelism. The most important of these poems is the apocalypse in xxiii. 23-31 which consists of ten stanzas, the first nine of which are tristichs and the last a tetrastich. Of the rest some are composed in distichs, as xii. 23, 29 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xx. 6-10 ; xxii. 11-23 ; xxv. 15-23, xxvi. 23-24, 31-34 ; xxxi. 15-20 ; some in tristichs xix. 17, 25 ; xxi. 21-25 ; xxxvii. 20-23 ; and the rest partly in distichs and partly in tristichs in xii. 18-20 (consisting of a tristich + distich + tristich + 2 distichs) ; xv. 6-8 (distich + 2 tristichs) ; xix. 20-22 (2 tristichs + 2 distichs). While on the one hand it must be confessed that in xv. 6-8 ; xviii. 15-16 ; xxxi. 20, and in one or more other passages, it is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement ; on the other it seems most probable that much of the first chapter was originally written in verse ; also vii. 10^b-12 ; xxvii. 23-24 ; xxxii. 18-19, and many passages elsewhere.

§ 13. JUBILEES FROM ONE AUTHOR, BUT BASED ON EARLIER BOOKS AND TRADITIONS

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms, of course, the bulk of the book, but every page of it contains materials characteristic of the age of our author. By referring to Index I. the reader will see at a glance the books of the Old Testament laid under contribution.

But our present chief interest is the relation of our author to non-canonical Jewish literature. Thus he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15 from the Book of Noah. Of this book happily the greater part of x. 1-2, 9-14 is still preserved in the Hebrew Book of Noah (see Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 155, and my Text of Jubilees, p. 179). Our author had before him also the greater part of the Book of Enoch vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc.

Besides these he also made use of current traditions and legends, which were already reduced to writing, and have come down to us in Hebrew and Greek in other independent works. Thus the war of Jacob and his sons against the Amorite kings, xxxiv. 1-9, is found in the Test. Judah 3-7, a contemporary work, in the Midrash Wajjissau, which contains if not the original legend, at all events a very early recast of it, and in the Book of Jashar—a late work. Again, our author drew on existing writings for his description of the fratricidal war between Jacob and Esau in xxxvii.-xxxviii. Here the only contemporary authority that still exists for our text is Test. Jud. 9. But with a few reservations the same statement may be made of the Hebrew document preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (see my notes on pp. 214-215).

Other incidents in our text, which are attested also in the contemporary Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, are the story of Bilhah's dishonour at the hands of Reuben during Jacob's absence (Jub. xxxiii. 1-9—Test. Reuben 3); Levi's dream as to the priesthood (xxxii. 1—Test. Levi 2, 4, 5, 8, 9), and his consecration to it by Isaac (xxxi. 13-17—Test. Levi 9); the names of the wives of Levi and Judah (xxxiv. 20—Test. Levi 11; Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16); the story of Tamar, Er and Onan, and Judah's repentance (xli. —Test. Jud. 10, 12, 14, 19); the burial of Jacob's sons in Hebron (xlvi. 9—Test. Reub. 7, Levi 19, Jud. 26 Zeb. 10, Dan. 7, Naph. 9, Gad 8, Asher 8; cf. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2) during a war between Egypt and Canaan (xlvi. 9—Test. Sim. 8, Benj. 12 [Arm. Vers.]). Also the insertion of Kâinâm in vii. 1 is supported by the LXX of Gen. xi. 13.

Other legendary matter in Jubilees, for which contemporary or earlier documents are, as a rule, not at hand, though most probably belonging to ancient tradition, furnishes us with *a large number of proper names*—particularly the names of women—'Âwân, wife of Cain (iv. 9), 'Azûra, wife of Seth (iv. 11), Mûalêlêth, the wife of Kenan (iv. 14), and the wives of the various patriarchs down to Terah (see iv. 15, 16, 20, 27, 28, 33; vii. 14, 15, 16; viii. 1, 5, 6, 7; xi. 9, 14, etc.), and of the twelve sons of Jacob (xxxiv. 20), and the daughter of Pharaoh (xlvii. 5). As other proper names of persons we might observe: Barâkî'êl (iv. 15), Râsûjâl (iv. 16), Dânel (iv. 20), and so on for the fathers of the wives mentioned above (iv. 27, 28, 33; viii. 1, 5, 6, etc.); also Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan (xlvi. 6), and the Êljô¹ (vii. 22). Again, as names of places: 'Êldâ (iii. 32), the mount of the East (iv. 26), the three

¹ This name is found in the Greek Version (Syncellus) of the Eth. Enoch vii. 2 as 'Ελιούδ.

cities built by Noah's sons (vii. 14, 15, 16), the various mountains, islands, towns, rivers, and seas mentioned in viii. 12-ix. 13 (most of which can, however, be identified with actual places), 'Ērmôn (= Heroonpolis, xlvi. 6).

Other legendary matter was in many instances (see notes *in loc.*), and possibly in all, the source of the following statements and incidents: the period of five days spent by Adam in naming the creatures (iii. 1-3), the common language of all animals before the Fall (iii. 28), the number of Adam's sons, *i.e.* twelve (iv. 10), his burial—the first that was made in the earth (iv. 29), the manner of Cain's death (iv. 31), Kâinâm's discovery of writings of the Watchers (viii. 1-4), the detailed account of the tower of Babel and its destruction by a mighty wind (x. 21-26), the beginning of wars and idolatry in Serug's time (xi. 2-4), the history of Abraham's early days and exploits (xi. 16-24), his campaign against idolatry and burning of a heathen temple, death of Haran, Abraham's astronomical knowledge and miraculous acquisition of Hebrew (xii. 1-8, 12-14, 16-21, 25-27), Abraham's ten temptations (xvii. 17), the fact of Zilpah and Bilhah being sisters (xxviii. 9), and of Zebulon and Dinah being twins (xxviii. 23), rape of Dinah at the age of twelve (xxx. 1-3), Jacob's presents to his parents four times a year (xxix. 14-17, 19-20), Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (xxxi. 13-20), appointment of Levi to the priesthood as the tenth son (xxxii. 2-3), the deaths of Bilhah and Dinah after news of Joseph's death (xxxiv. 15-16), Simeon's marriage to a woman of Mesopotamia on his repentance (xxxiv. 21), after having first married a woman from Zephath (xliv. 13), the years of famine traced to the failure of the Nile (xlv. 9), the temporary stay of many Israelites in Canaan after burial of the patriarchs (xlvi. 10), the number of months during which the Hebrew children were cast into the river (xlvii. 2), the burning of

the Egyptian gods (xlviii. 5), destruction of 1000 Egyptians in the Red Sea for every Hebrew child that was cast into the river (xlviii. 14).

§ 14. JUBILEES—A PRODUCT OF THE MIDRASHIC TENDENCY AT WORK IN THE OLD TESTAMENT CHRONICLER, BUT REPRESENTED BY ITS AUTHOR AS AN ESOTERIC TRADITION

Our book represents an extreme product of the midrashic process which is apparent on most pages of the Old Testament Chronicler. (*a*) The Chronicler, as we know, to a certain extent rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and the history of Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. In his hands the history of the nation is so recast as to make it a history of the church, the temple and its cultus, and to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the prescripts of the law according to the Priests' Code. (*b*) In the course of this process facts that will not square with the writer's presuppositions are omitted or transformed in character. This applies particularly to breaches of the Priests' Code; also to statements such as that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, which ascribes David's temptation to Yahweh. This temptation the Chronicler attributes to Satan (1 Chron. xxi. 1).

(*a*) Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis¹ what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings (observe especially his recasting of 2 Kings xi. in 2 Chron. xxii. 10-xxiii. 21), and so he rewrote it in such a way as to

¹ The procedure of our author is, of course, in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis. Thus according to it "Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready" (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124).

show that the law had been rigorously observed, even by the patriarchs.

(b) Like the Chronicler our author found many statements in Genesis that did not square with his presuppositions, and accordingly we find that in many instances he alters the text before him,¹ and in others he simply omits. Thus he omits² the sending out of the raven (Gen. viii. 7) possibly on the ground of its being an unclean bird (Lev. xi. 15), and of the doves, Abraham's entertainment of the angels (Gen. xviii. 2-8), his intercession for Sodom (xviii. 22-33), the mention of Lot's wife and many details regarding the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 1-24), Abraham's deception of the Egyptians (xii. 11-14, 18), and of Abimelech in regard to Sarah (Gen. xx. 2-3), Isaac's prayer that Rebecca may have offspring, etc. (Gen. xxv. 21-26), his deception of Abimelech in regard to Rebecca (Gen. xxvi. 7-10), Jacob's meeting with Rachel and his welcome by Laban (Gen. xxix. 2-15), the story of the mandrakes (Gen. xxx. 14-16), Jacob's devices to increase his flocks at the expense of Laban (Gen. xxx. 37-42), the mutual recriminations of Jacob and Laban (Gen. xxxi. 26-32, 36-42), Jacob's meeting with the angels (Gen. xxxii. 1-2), his wrestling with the angel (xxxii. 24-32), his fear of Esau and efforts to propitiate him (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.), the circumcision of the Shechemites and their covenant with Jacob (Gen. xxxiv. 14-24). The omissions in the history of Joseph are numerous, but they can be explained almost wholly on the ground of the author's desire for brevity. But as regards Gen. xlix. the case is different. It is

¹ See pp. xlix, liv.

² The narrative about Melchizedek is lost in the course of transmission, but was not omitted by our author (see xiii. 25 note). Nor yet was the reference to fasting on the Day of Atonement (see xxxiv. 18 note).

purposely suppressed because of its severity on Levi and its giving the pre-eminence to Judah. Our author throughout reverses this relation, and everywhere sets Levi before Judah.

Again, like the Chronicler he takes offence at the frequent mention of men being tempted or slain by God in Genesis and Exodus, and after the example of the Chronicler he represents the temptation of Abraham to offer Isaac (Gen. xxii.) as due to Mastêmâ (Jub. xvii. 16), the attempt on Moses's life (Exod. iv. 24) as made by the same evil agent; likewise the hardening of the hearts of the Egyptians (xlvi. 17—Exod. xiv. 8), and the slaying of the first-born (xlix. 2—Exod. xii. 29), he ascribes to the activities of Mastêmâ and his angels.

Again, just as we must not suppose that the peculiar impress which the Chronicler gave to his historical materials was the result of his individual activity but rather the outcome of a process, which in the course of successive generations had in many respects been transforming history into legend, so we must be careful to recognise in our author's book only a more advanced stage of the process above referred to. Possibly this process would not, in the natural course of things, have thrust the completed law further back than the time of Moses, but the exigencies of our author's time and the corroding influences of Hellenism seemed to him to demand the recognition of the law as superior to time, though revealed in time, and valid not only unto eternity but from eternity. The materials which suggested such a view were already at hand. If the earthly tabernacle was only a copy of a heavenly original (Exod. xxv. 9-40, xxvi. 30), it was but natural to infer that the various elements of the law, which were established in the course of tradition, were likewise copies of divine originals engraven on the heavenly tables. Such a view seemed to

be called for by the necessities of the time. Hellenism had for many a decade been undermining circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath,¹ which were the bulwarks of Judaism, before these destructive tendencies came to a head in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (see note on xv. 14). Our author is a late representative of the strong reactionary movement which asserted the everlasting validity and sanctity of these elements of the law. Thus he teaches that, though circumcision was first ordained in Abraham's time, it had been ordained in heaven from the beginning, for the two highest orders of the angels had been created circumcised, and that Israel was through circumcision sanctified together with them (xv. 27 note). Similarly the Sabbath, though first ordained in Jacob's time (see ii. 23, 31 notes), was originally celebrated in heaven by God and by the same two chief orders of angels. Israel was to unite with these angels in observing it. It was to be a sign like circumcision marking off Israel from all the other nations of the earth (ii. 19-21), and making them one with the two chief orders of angels in heaven.

Jubilees—an Esoteric Tradition according to its Author.

—The Book of Jubilees claims as a whole to be a revelation of God to Moses, and thus to form a supplement to, and an interpretation of, the Pentateuch, which it calls "the first law" (vi. 22). According to 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses was to reveal the latter but not the former. This second appears from our author to have embraced in a final authenticated form various revelations which had been made to the patriarchs, and constituted in their hands an esoteric tradition. This secret tradition had been handed down from father to son. Thus Enoch committed it to Methuselah, and Methuselah to Lamech, and Lamech to Noah (vii. 38, xxi. 10). Noah in turn entrusted all his

¹ See 1 Macc. i. 39, 43.

books to his eldest son, Shem (x. 14). Between Shem and Abram the knowledge of the sacred language was lost. But the latter was taught this language by an angel, and he thereupon studied "the books of his fathers" (xii. 27). From these books of his forefathers embracing the writings of Enoch and Noah, Abraham instructed Isaac (xxi. 10). These books contained regulations regarding sacrifices as well as other matters (vii. 38, xxi. 10; cf. Test. Zeb. 3). To Jacob also Abraham transmitted the traditions directly (xxv. 7, xxxix. 6). Again, Jacob educated Joseph from the writings of Abraham (xxxix. 6-7), and finally handed over "all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day" (xlv. 16). Thus this secret tradition was to be preserved in the hands of the priesthood till the time should come for its publication. From this last statement it would not be unreasonable to infer that our author was a member of the priestly caste.

§ 15. OBJECT OF JUBILEES—THE DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF JUDAISM FROM THE PHARISAIC STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

The object of our author is to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism.

Our author defends Judaism (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.

(*a*) *Our author glorifies the law.*—We have already (p. 1) drawn attention to our author's glorification of circumcision and the Sabbath, the bulwarks of Judaism, as

heavenly ordinances, the sphere of which was so far extended as to embrace Israel on earth. The law, as a whole, was to our author the realisation in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. He is careful to set forth the historical occasions when the various elements of the law were first celebrated on earth, and herein he followed a tendency already well established in post-exilic Judaism. We shall now enumerate these briefly. The levitical law of purification after childbirth was enacted after the creation of Adam and Eve (iii. 8-14). On the expulsion of Adam from Eden the law of covering one's shame was enacted (iii. 30-32). This law does not belong to the Mishna or later Jewish legislation. It was manifestly levelled against the custom of baring the person in the Greek games, and is not explicable of any other than the early Maccabean period. The daily incense-offering began after Adam's expulsion from Eden (iii. 27). The law relating to the jubilees was first set forth by Enoch (iv. 18). The law of retribution in kind—"an eye for an eye"—was first carried out in the case of Cain (iv. 31-32). Noah instituted the feast of weeks, which had been observed in heaven since the creation (vi. 17-22), also the feasts on the new moons (vi. 23-27); he offered sacrifices, which anticipate later ritual (vi. 1-4, vii. 3-5), and enunciated the laws regarding fruit-trees and the land keeping Sabbath (vii. 2, 35-37), though he ascribed these laws to Enoch (vii. 38). Abram enacted the law of tithes (xiii. 25-29); celebrated the feast of first-fruits of the grain harvest on the 15th of the third month (xv. 1-2) and instituted the feast of tabernacles (xvi. 20-31), ordained peace-offerings and the regulations relating to the use of salt, wood for sacrifices, washing before sacrifices, and the duty of covering blood (xxi. 7-17), and forbade all intermarrying with the Canaanites (xxii. 20, xxv. 5), and adultery (xxxix. 6). Laban set forth the law—unknown to

Jewish tradition—that the younger sister should not be given in marriage before the elder (xxviii. 6). The penalty of death was ordained for intermarriage with the heathen in connection with the destruction of Shechem (xxx. 7-17). Levi was ordained priest by Jacob at the feast of tabernacles (xxx. 18-23, xxxii. 2-3), and blessed by Isaac as such (xxxi. 13-17). Jacob offered tithes through Levi at the feast of tabernacles—also the second tithe (xxxii. 4-9), and re-enacted the law of tithes (xxxii. 10-15; see xiii. 25-29); added the eighth day to the feast of tabernacles as a permanent institution (xxxii. 27-29). The law regarding incest was published in connection with Reuben's outrage (xxxiii. 10-20). The day of Atonement was instituted as a day of fasting and mourning in commemoration of the day when the news of Joseph's death arrived (xxxiv. 18-19; cf. v. 18). The law of incest was re-enacted and extended in connection with Judah's sin with Tamar (xli. 25-26). Jacob celebrated the feast of the first-fruits (xliv. 1, 4).¹

Glorification of the patriarchs.—This glorification of the patriarchs was also characteristic of the Priests' Code (see Carpenter, *Hexateuch*, i. 123). They are transformed into saints by our author. It is for this reason that Gen. xii. 11-13 (which tells of Abram's representing Sarai as his sister) is omitted, and likewise Isaac's lie about Rebecca, Gen. xxvi. 7. Abram, according to our author, knew the true God from his youth (xi. 16, 17, xii. 1 sqq.). Jacob is

¹ In the course of rewriting Genesis from the standpoint of the law our author explains certain difficulties. According to Gen. ii. 17 Adam was to die on the day that he eat of the tree of knowledge. This was fulfilled: for one day is a thousand years in the testimony of the heavens, and Adam died at 930 (iv. 29-30). Esau gave up his birth-right because he was suffering from the famine in the land (xxiv. 2 sqq.). This explanation our author arrives at by transposing Gen. xxvi. 1 before Gen. xxv. 29 sqq. Isaac's failure to recognise Jacob was due to a dispensation from heaven (xxvi. 18).

represented as a model of filial affection and obedience¹ (xxv. 4 sqq., xxxv. 9-12). The passages relating to Jacob's devices for increasing his flocks (Gen. xxx. 35-38) and his fear of and measures for propitiating Esau (Gen. xxxii.-xxxiii.) are omitted. Indeed our author represents Jacob as declaring that he was not afraid (xxvii. 4) and as ultimately killing Esau (xxxviii. 2). The text in Gen. xlv. 15 is changed in order to clear Joseph from the charge of divination, and the word "Esau" omitted in Gen. xxvii. 24 in order to cover Jacob's lie, and the words "his brother is dead" (Gen. xlv. 20) are changed into "one went away and was lost" (xliii. 11) in order to avoid making Joseph's brethren tell a deliberate lie.²

(b) *Glorification of Israel and its separation from the Gentiles.*—Whereas the various nations of the Gentiles were subject to angels, Israel was subject to God alone (xv. 32). Not Japheth (Gen. ix. 27) but God was to dwell in the tents of Shem (vii. 12). Israel, moreover, was God's son; and not only did the nation stand in this relation to God, but also

¹ Our author is careful to show that Abram did not leave Terah (xii. 28-31) unless with the full approval of the latter. Jacob did not leave Isaac till the latter approved and sent him off with a blessing (xxvii. 9 sqq.). Esau stole the possessions of his father, but Jacob supplied all his parents' need four times a year (xxix. 15 sqq.).

² To the above class we might add the long addition in chaps. viii. and ix. regarding the division of the earth under Noah. According to this division Palestine fell to the descendants of Shem, and thus our writer justifies the subsequent annihilation of the Canaanites by Israel. Again, Abraham's marriage with Keturah is defended on the ground that Hagar was already dead (xix. 11). Reuben was not so guilty because the law against which he offended had not yet been revealed (xxxiii. 16). Levi's destruction of Shechem is declared to be the ground of his election to the priesthood (xxx. 18); his deed was righteous, for marriage with a Gentile is equivalent to idolatry (xxx. 10). As our author took up this standpoint he had to omit the league that was formed between Jacob and Shechem and the reception of circumcision by the latter (Gen. xxx.).

its individual members (i. 24, 25, 28, xix. 29). Israel was to receive circumcision as a sign that they were the Lord's (xv. 26), a privilege which they were to enjoy in common with the two chief orders of angels (xv. 27). They were also to unite with God and these two orders in the observance of the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). Finally, the destinies of the world were bound up with Israel. The world was to be renewed in the creation of the true man Jacob (xix. 24-25, ii. 22), and its final renewal to synchronize with the setting up of God's sanctuary on Zion and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom (i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12).

Israel to be separate from the Gentiles.—Israel was not in any way to imitate the conduct of the Gentiles (xv. 34, xxii. 16); not to eat with them (xxii. 16), nor to form leagues with them (xxiv. 25, 27), nor to intermarry with them; for he that gave his daughter to a Gentile, gave her to Moloch (xxii. 20, xxv. 9, xxx. 7, 10, 11, 13).

(c) *The Gentiles denounced generally and particularly Israel's national enemies.*—With the immeasurable arrogance of Judaism there went necessarily, hand in hand, an immeasurable hatred and contempt of the Gentiles. Tacitus, more than two centuries later, called attention to this characteristic of the Jews ("adversus omnes alios hostile odium," *Hist.* v. 5). Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was but a reflection of the divine. God had placed the nations under the authority of spirits or angelic guardians with the object of compassing their destruction (xv. 31). Here, most probably, the *ultimate result* of an action is declared to be the *immediate object* of it. Our author denounces particularly the national enemies of Israel, and these, as we shall have more than once occasion to observe, were the very nations with whom Israel was frequently

at war in the second century B.C. First of all our author's maledictions are fulminated against the Philistines both in this world and in the next. The chief cities of this nation were either subjected or destroyed by the Maccabean princes (see xxiv. 28-32 notes). Next they are directed against Edom. Thus Isaac is represented as declaring in the blessing of Esau, that, if Esau's seed rebelled against Israel, they should be "rooted out from under heaven" (xxvi. 34). A war between Jacob and Esau is described in xxxviii. 1-14, in which Edom was reduced to servitude "until this day." Edom was thoroughly subdued by John Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (xxxviii. 8 note). Again, in a description of a war between Jacob and seven kings of the Amorites, the writer forecasts the Maccabean victories of later times (xxxiv. 1-9). In an earlier passage he enumerates the chief seats of the Amorites. These were associated with Maccabean victories, in which the Amorites were all but annihilated (xxix. 10-11). Of the Amorites who were "wicked and sinful" and had "wrought to the full all their sins," our author grimly remarks "they have no longer length of life on earth" (xxix. 11). This was practically the result of the Maccabean wars.

§ 16. ANGELOLOGY AND DEMONOLOGY OF JUBILEES

Angelology.—The angelology of the author, like that of the Ethiopic Enoch, is in an advanced stage. There are two supreme classes, the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification (ii. 2, 18), and a very large order of inferior angels who presided over natural phenomena (ii. 2 note). The two first classes joined with Israel in observing the Sabbath and circumcision (see p. 1) and other elements of the law, as the feast of weeks (vi. 18). In addition to the above there were the (seventy) angels who formed the angelic

patrons of the nations (xv. 31), and the angels who were the guardians of individuals (xxxv. 17).

The duties assigned to the angels in connection with mankind are numerous. They brought Adam into the Garden of Eden and afterwards Eve (iii. 9, 12), and instructed Adam in tillage in the Garden (iii. 15). They report to God all the sin committed on the earth (iv. 6). The order called "Watchers" descended in the days of Jared to instruct the children of men (iv. 15), and afterwards sinned with the daughters of men (iv. 22). The angels showed to Enoch all that was "on earth and in the heavens" during 294 years (iv. 21), and conducted him into the Garden of Eden (iv. 23). They bound the fallen Watchers in the depths of the earth (v. 6); took to Noah the animals that were to enter the ark (v. 23). In the presence of an angel the earth was divided among Noah's sons (viii. 10). Angels bound nine-tenths of the demons in the place of condemnation (x. 9-11), and instructed Noah in the remedies against all diseases (x. 12); they accompanied the Lord in visiting the tower of Babel (x. 23). An angel bade Abram to go to the land of promise (xii. 22), and instructed him in the knowledge of Hebrew, and explained to him what he found unintelligible (xii. 26, 27). Angels announced to Abraham the birth of Isaac and admonished Sarah for laughing (xvi. 1-4); saved Lot from Sodom (xvi. 7); blessed Abraham and disclosed to him what had been decreed about him (xvi. 16). An angel comforted Hagar (xvii. 11), and withheld Abraham's hand from sacrificing Isaac (xviii. 10). Angels tested Abraham's patience after the death of Sarah (xix. 3). The angels will remember unto a thousand generations Levi's righteous judgment on Shechem (xxx. 20). An angel showed Jacob in a vision of the night seven tablets which recorded all that would befall him and his posterity, and bade him copy them (xxxii. 21, 24-25). Angels disclosed to Judah that

he was forgiven for his sin with Tamar (xli. 24). An angel delivered Moses out of the hands of Mastêmâ (xlvi. 2-4). Angels prevented the magicians from furnishing any remedies to the Egyptians (xlvi. 10), and delivered the Israelites out of the hands of the Egyptians (xlvi. 13), and bound Mastêmâ from the 14th to the 18th and let him loose on the 19th, when they led Israel forth (xlvi. 15-19). An angel made known to Moses the Sabbaths, year-weeks, and jubilees, etc. (l. 1-4).

Demonology.—Over against the angelic kingdom stands a well-organised demonic or satanic kingdom. This kingdom is governed by "the prince of the Mastêmâ,"¹ where Mastêmâ is in point of derivation and meaning the equivalent of Satan. His subjects comprise both satans and demons. The demons are the spirits which went forth from the bodies of the slain children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (x. 5; Eth. En. xvi.). According to Eth. En. liv. 6 the guilt of the Watchers originated in their becoming subject to Satan. By means of these demons the prince of the satans is able to compass his evils, which are the seduction and destruction of men. But these have no power over the righteous and over Israel (see note on x. 8).

§ 17. THE DATE OF JUBILEES

The date of our book can only be established by a series of indirect evidence. But this evidence is so plentiful and powerful, when apprehended, that no room is left for reasonable doubt.

i. *First of all the book was written during the pontificate*

¹ In all the Ethiopic MSS the phrase is wrongly given as "prince Mastêmâ" in xvii. 16, xlvi. 2, but *ab* rightly attest "prince of the Mastêmâ" in xviii. 9, 12, xlvi. 9, 12, 15.

of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 135 B.C.—Thus in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a “priest of the Most High God.” Now, the only Jewish high-priests who ever bore this title were the Maccabean (see note on xxxii. 1). They appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Jewish tradition ascribes the assumption of this title to John Hyrcanus, but it seems to have been already assumed by Simon; cf. Ps. cx. 4: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek,” and 1 Macc. xiv. 41. If, however, we follow the Jewish tradition in this matter, we must fix on 135 B.C., when Hyrcanus became high-priest, as the earliest possible date for the composition of Jubilees. Notwithstanding the objections of the Pharisees to this title, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to the time of Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2).

ii. *Next, it was written before 96 B.C., or some years earlier in the reign of Hyrcanus.*—Since our author is of the strictest sect a Pharisee, and at the same time approves of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96 B.C., when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannæus came to open strife. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of its composition after the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees which is described in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 5-6), and in the Talmud (*Kiddush.* 66a) with some variations in names and details. After that event—unfortunately the year is not given by any authority—Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party, and forbade, under penalties, the observance of Pharisaic ordinances. Hence we may conclude that *our book was written between 135 and the year of Hyrcanus’ breach with the Pharisees.*

The above conclusions are confirmed by a large mass of evidence, which may be arranged under seven heads. Of these the first four point definitely to the latter half of the

second century B.C. as the date of the composition of Jubilees; the remaining three give various grounds for postulating a pre-Christian date at any rate.

i. *Our book points to the period—already past—of stress and persecution that preceded the recovery of national independence under the Maccabees.*—Thus, it is impossible to ascribe to any other period the causes which led to the enactment or accentuation of the following laws:

(a) The Jews (“those who know . . . the law”) were forbidden to expose their persons by a law “prescribed on the heavenly tables.” This law was devised to forbid Jews taking part in the Greek games established by Jason the high-priest (see iii. 30-31, notes). It was not unnaturally derived from Gen. iii. 21, and was probably current for a generation before embodied by our author in his book.

(b) The law of circumcision is affirmed under the severest penalties (xv. 11-14, 26, 28). This law was observed in the creation of the highest angels (xv. 27). Yet Israel will, our author says, neglect it and “treat their members like the Gentiles” (xv. 33-34). Antiochus forbade circumcision under the penalty of death (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10). There may be a reference also in our text to the Jews uncircumcising themselves, a practice which they resorted to under Antiochus Epiphanes in order to escape the scoffs of the heathen in the palaestra (1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1).

(c) The Sabbath is re-enacted and its profanation is to be followed by the death penalty (ii. 17-32, l. 6-13). Non-observance of the Sabbath had been prevalent according to our author (xxiii. 19). Antiochus had forbidden the Jews to keep it (1 Macc. i. 39, 45; 2 Macc. vi. 6). Our text lays down the strictest sabbatical laws, such as were not in force at any time save in the second century B.C. or earlier. Thus war is absolutely forbidden (l. 12),

and this prohibition was carried out, as we know, in the early Maccabean wars (see l. 12, note). But it was soon found impossible in practice (see note just referred to), and warfare on the Sabbath was subsequently permitted under a variety of circumstances (Bab. Shabb. i. 8; Shabb. 19*a*; Erub. 45*a*).

Again, a man is forbidden to cohabit with his wife (l. 8). This was the practice of the early Chasids; but this ascetic attitude to marriage is abandoned in the Mishna (see l. 8, note).

Again, riding on any beast is forbidden (l. 12). The enforcement of the law during the Syro-Grecian suzerainty is mentioned in the Talmud.

(*d*) Intermarriage with the heathen is absolutely prohibited by the penalty of death (xxx. 7-17). To give one's daughter to a Gentile was to give her to Moloch (xxx. 10, note). This question had for a long time before our author's date been of vital importance to Israel. But at no time could the danger from this source have been greater than during 200-160 B.C., when the destructive tendencies of Hellenism on Jewish character and religion had come to a head.

ii. *Our book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony.*

(*a*) Only such a period could explain the assured spirit of triumph which led our author to anticipate a world-wide dominion and introduce that expectation into God's promise to Jacob in Gen. xxxv. 11-12: "I shall . . . multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden.¹ And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven . . . and they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever" (Jub. xxxii. 18-19).

¹ See note on p. lxx note.

(b) Only such a period could explain the pre-eminence assigned by our book to Levi over Judah. We have seen above (p. xlviii) that our author omitted Gen. xlix. because of the absolute pre-eminence above his brethren which is there assigned to Judah and the denunciation of Levi. But he goes further. Thus he ascribes to Levi's descendants the supreme offices of high-priest and civil ruler (xxxi. 14-17), but in regard to Judah, only Judah himself and one of his descendants (*i.e.* the Messiah) are mentioned as holding civil authority (xxxi. 18-20). Our author seems to imply that the royal descendants of David are no more, and that till the Messiah comes the Maccabees would hold the offices of high-priest and king. In later days when the Maccabees became a name of reproach, they were charged with usurping the throne of David (Pss. of Solomon xvii. 5, 6, 8) and the high-priesthood (Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1).

(c) The legend of the conquests of Esau's sons by the sons of Jacob in xxxvii.-xxxviii., points very clearly to the complete conquest of Edom by Judah in the Maccabean wars. In these wars the Edomites had sided with the Syrians till they were made tributary by John Hyrcanus. This subjection of Edom is referred to in xxxviii. 14, "The sons of Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude . . . until this day" (*i.e.* the author's time). See notes on xxxvii. 9-10, xxxviii. 4-9, where the fuller account in the Jalkut refers to 'Aqrabbim (1 Macc. v. 3), which as well as Adora were memorable as scenes connected with the Maccabean struggle.

This period also best explains the hatred which transformed Isaac's blessing of Esau into a curse (xxvi. 34).

(d) Again the Maccabean wars are adumbrated in the struggle of Jacob's sons with the Amorite kings in xxxiv. 1-9. This is clearer in the completer narrative in

Test. Judah 3-7. The cities, Tappuah, Hazor, and Bethoron, which are mentioned here, are associated with notable victories and incidents in the Maccabean war. See notes on xxxiv. 4. So also Bousset, *Zeitschrift f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, pp. 202-205. But the reference to the Amorites is much more obvious in xxix. 10-11, where our author enumerates their chief cities and then grimly adds: "They have no longer length of life on the earth" (xxix. 10-11). Their practical annihilation, which is here referred to, was effected by Judas (see notes on xxix. 10).

(e) Our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second cent. B.C. It declares that they will be put to the sword by the Kittim, *i.e.* the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and subsequently fall into the hands of "the righteous nation" (xxiv. 28-29), and be exterminated, as they practically were by the Maccabees (see xxiv. 28-32, notes).

iii. Our author gives in an apocalypse a history of the Maccabean times (xxiii. 12-31), from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Messianic kingdom, the advent of which is just at hand. In this section we have the rise of the Chasids, who rebuke their elders for forsaking the law and the covenant (xxiii. 16), the general corruption which entails judgment on man and beast and leads to civil strife (xxiii. 17-20), the warlike efforts of the Maccabeans to reclaim the Hellenisers to Judaism (xxiii. 20-22), the sufferings of the nation through the repeated attacks of Syria (xxiii. 23-25), Israel's return to the law, and its gradual ethical and physical transformation in the Messianic kingdom and its triumph over its national foes (xxiii. 26-30). Our author stands already on the threshold of this happy time. It is, therefore, in the most prosperous days of the Maccabean dynasty, *i.e.*, in the days of Simon or John Hyrcanus.

iv. Our book was used by the author of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., and must, therefore, have been written at latest at the beginning of the first cent. B.C. (see § 19).

v. The textual affinities of our text connect it more closely with the form of Hebrew text, which is presupposed by the LXX (250 B.C.) and found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, than with that which lay behind the Syriac and later versions or Targums. From this evidence we may conclude at all events to a pre-Christian date (see § 10).

vi. Our text preserves older forms of the Haggada and Halacha than are found in the Talmud and later Jewish literature. The details will be found on referring to the notes on the various passages.

Haggada.—In i. 27 (see note) an angel reveals the law to Moses: according to later Judaism Moses receives it from God Himself. In ii. 2-3 angels are said to have been created on the first day: in later Judaism on the second or fifth. According to ii. 7 the Garden of Eden was created on the third day: according to later Judaism before the world. In xi. 2-6 the corruption of mankind is ascribed to the time of Serug: in later Judaism to that of Enos. In xii. 1-14 we have the primitive form of the saga so much developed in later Judaism about Ur of the Chaldees. In xix. 11 Abraham's marriage to Keturah is justified on the ground that Hagar was already dead, whereas later Judaism identifies Hagar and Keturah. In xxx. 2-6 the praise given to Levi and Simeon accords with Jewish views of the first and second cent. B.C. Later Judaism on the whole accepts the judgment pronounced on them in Genesis. Again our author records honestly the marriages of Simeon, Judah, and Joseph, to Gentile women, though such marriages must have in his eyes been full of offence. But later Judaism felt the offence to be too grave for toleration, and sought to establish the Hebrew descent of the women in

question (see xxxiv. 20, xl. 10 notes). In xxxvii.-xxxviii. we have the oldest form of the legend of the war between Jacob's sons and the sons of Esau, and similarly in the case of the war between Egypt and Canaan in xlvi. 6-11. Later developments of these legends are found in rabbinic literature. Again, our text retains the original form of the traditions in Genesis, where later Judaism explained them away as offensive. Thus in iv. 15 the sons of God are rightly taken to be angels: in xxxiii. 2 the story of Reuben and Bilhah is accepted, but later Judaism manages to remove all that is objectionable in it. See also notes on iv. 12, xl. 10.

Halacha.—The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second cent. B.C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishna and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second cent. B.C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishna. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly probable that such a halacha did exist in the second cent. B.C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes, and xx. 4 note.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44a) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former.

vii. The following facts postulate a pre-Christian date for the composition of our book :—

(a) The calendar was in an unsettled state when our author wrote. No strict Pharisee, such as our author, could have advanced such a system as is laid down in vi. 28-33, unless at a period when no uniform calendar system was established. With it we may compare an allied system in Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. There are good grounds for believing that our author grounded his system on the chronological statements regarding the flood in Genesis (see notes on p. 56).

(b) The divine title "Most High God." The use of this title is frequent in our author. This frequency, as appears in the note on xxxvi. 16, is characteristic of writings before the Maccabean era in the second cent. B.C. When once, however, the Maccabeans had assumed the title "priests of the Most High God," the divine title would naturally remain popular amongst those who, like our author, recognised the validity of the Maccabean pontificate. On the other hand, we should expect a decline in its use to set in with the rising unpopularity of the Maccabean dynasty. This disuse, indeed, is not apparent in the oldest anti-Maccabean work, Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., where the hostility to the Maccabeans is in an incipient stage. There the title "Most High" occurs nine times. But in the Pss. of Solomon and Eth. Enoch xxxvii.-lxx., where the hatred is open and unconcealed, this title is not found in the former and only twice in the latter. In the latter half of the first cent. A.D. there was a revival in its use as its Maccabean associations were forgotten.

(c) The phrase "feast of Pentecost," as a description of the feast of weeks, seems to have been unknown to our author (see note on vi. 17), though it was in use in the first cent. B.C.

§ 18. THE JUBILEES AND YEARS USED BY OUR AUTHOR

Our author claims that his chronological system is derived from the heavenly tables. From these tables it was made known to Moses directly by the angel of the presence, who assured Moses with regard to his disclosures on the solar year of 364 days: "It is not of my own devising, for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained" (vi. 35). For the convenience of the reader I have reduced the jubilee reckonings to years and placed them in the margin.

The Jubilees.—The chronology is essentially heptadic. Each jubilee consists of seven year-weeks, and each year-week of seven years. It is probably on the ground of the sacred character of the number seven, and possibly also for the sake of symmetry, that our author makes his jubilee consist of forty-nine years instead of fifty, which was the usual reckoning among the Jews. R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61a—quoted by Beer), however, set down the jubilee at forty-nine years; and in the Samaritan Chronicle (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) a system closely analogous to that of our author is found. Here the jubilee is reckoned at forty-nine and a fraction, which varies unintelligibly in extent, if the text is correct. Thus five jubilees = 246 years, forty jubilees = 1968 years, but sixty jubilees = 2951 years.

It is noteworthy also that, whereas our author applies the jubilee reckoning from the creation to the date of Israel's entering into Palestine, the Talmudic treatise Erachin 12-13a and the Samaritan Chronicle make the jubilee to begin with the settlement of Israel in Palestine, and while the former carries it down to the destruction of the first temple, the latter carries it down to many centuries after the Christian era.

In the Assumption of Moses the jubilee is also used in the chronological system of its author. Thus (i. 2) he reckons 2500 years to have elapsed from the creation of the world to the death of Moses, that is, fifty jubilees of fifty years each. Again, in x. 12 it is stated that from the death of Moses to the Messianic kingdom there will be 250 times (*i.e.* year-weeks) that is thirty-five jubilees of fifty years each. Thus from the creation to the Messianic kingdom there would be eighty-five jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97b.

In one other work, the Seder Olam 23, 25, the jubilee period is occasionally used in the history of Israel and Judah contemporary with the reigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

The Years.—Our author seems to have used a civil year and an ecclesiastical year, both of 364 days. The civil year consisted of twelve months (iv. 17, v. 27, vi. 29-30 note) of thirty days each and four intercalary days (vi. 23 note), one at the beginning of each quarter. The ecclesiastical year consisted of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, and in accordance with it were regulated the great festivals, the Sabbaths, Passover, and Feast of Weeks (see notes on vi. 29-30, 32). Furthermore, this impossible solar year of 364 days was undoubtedly put forward in Pharisaic circles in the second cent. B.C., and its currency may date from a much earlier period. See note on vi. 32.

§ 19. VALUE OF JUBILEES IN DETERMINING the DATES OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE ETHIOPIC ENOCH AND THE BOOK OF NOAH.

In my edition of the Ethiopic Enoch in 1893 I was the first to point out (pp. 25-29, 221-222, 263-264) that chaps. i.-xxxvi., lxxxiii.-xc., and xci.-civ. were from different authors. To the two former sections I assigned a date

anterior to 161 B.C., and to the third a date subsequent to 95 B.C. We shall now find that the above critical results are confirmed in the main by the evidence of our text. Thus in my note on iv. 17-23 I have shown that our author had *Eth. Enoch* vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. before him. In confirmation of the conclusions in that note we should observe also that v. 1, 2, vii. 21, 22, 23, 24 of our text (see notes) presuppose vii. 1, 2, 5, ix. 1, 9 of the *Eth. Enoch* (see also Index I.).

Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. later than Jubilees.—Next as regards xci.-civ. we shall prove that it was subsequent to *Jubilees* and made use of that work. To begin with, these two writings exhibit certain resemblances. In both there is a temporary Messianic kingdom and an immortality of the soul implied or taught. On the other hand, the tone of *Jubilees* is optimistic and was written before the breach between the Pharisees and the Maccabean rulers, whereas *Eth. Enoch* xci.-civ. is pessimistic in tone and was written after the breach had led to the persecution of the Pharisees. We shall now adduce a variety of passages from both books which will establish the dependent relation of this section of the *Eth. Enoch* on *Jubilees*.

(a) From a comparison of vii. 29 (see note) and xxii. 22 of our text with *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 7, 8 it follows that the latter is based on the former. In our text Sheol is not yet associated with fire and burning; but this stage, which combines the characteristics of Sheol and Gehenna, is already attained in the latter work.

(b) In *Jub. i. 16* it is promised to Israel that "they will be the head and not the tail." In *Eth. Enoch* ciii. 11 we have: "they hoped to be the head and have become the tail."

(c) In *Jub. i. 29* a new heavens and a new earth were promised. In the despondent *Eth. Enoch* xci. 16 only a new heaven.

(d) According to Jub. xxxii. 18 Israel is to "judge all the nations according to their desires."¹ In Eth. Enoch xciv. 3 righteous Israel is to "execute judgment on them (the sinners) according to their desires," and in xcvi. 1 is to "have lordship over them according to their desires."

(e) With Jub. xxiii. 31, "their spirits will have much joy," compare Eth. Enoch civ. 4, "ye will have great joy as the angels," where both expressions are applied to the spirits of the blessed after death. Also ciii. 4, "And your spirits—the spirits of you who have died in righteousness—will live and rejoice."

(f) In Jub. xxii. 16 it is said with regard to the wicked "become not their associate," and in Eth. Enoch civ. 6, "have no companionship with them," and in xci. 4, "associate not with those of a double heart." In xcvi. 4, the wicked are said to be the "companions of sinners."

(g) With Jub. xii. 2, "What help and profit have we from those idols," cf. Eth. Enoch xcix. 7, "No help will be found in them" (*i.e.* idols).

(h) Eating blood is condemned in Jub. vii. 28, 29, etc. cf. Eth. Enoch xcvi. 11.

(i) The law is spoken of as "the eternal law" Eth. Enoch xcix. 2, "the law for all future generations" xciii. 6, (cf. xcix. 14), as we might expect in a writer influenced by Jubilees. Throughout all the older sections of Enoch the law is not mentioned.

(k) The references to "the plant of righteousness" (Eth. Enoch xciii. 10), or "of righteous judgment" (xciii. 5), or "of uprightness" (xciii. 2), may be due in part to Jub. i. 16 "plant of uprightness," or "a plant of righteousness" (xvi.

¹ In xxxii. 18 for "judge everywhere wherever the foot of the sons of men have trodden," read with Latin "judge the sons of men wherever their foot has trodden." Based partly on Deut. xi. 24.

26, xxi. 24). The phrase, however, occurs already in Eth. Enoch x. 16.

(b) Eth. Enoch ci. 2: "when he . . . withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth" (cf. c. 12), is found almost verbally in Jub. xii. 4, "who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth" (cf. xii. 18, xx. 9).

Eth. Enoch, i.-v. *later than Jubilees*.—The evidence in respect to the relative dates of this section and Jubilees is not conclusive, but so far as it exists it implies the priority of the latter.

Thus, in Eth. Enoch iii. the words "all the trees . . . shed all their leaves except fourteen trees," most probably go back to Jub. xxi. 12-13 where fourteen evergreen trees are enumerated which were to be used on the altar, cp. Test. Levi 9.

Again, Eth. Enoch v. 9, "They will complete the number of the days of their life, and their lives will grow old in peace and the years of their joy will be many," seems to be an expansion of Jub. xxiii. 29, "All their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy."

Finally, Eth. Enoch i.-v. appears to be later than the Test. XII. Patriarchs, a sister work of Jubilees, but this subject cannot be pursued further here.

The Book of Noah.—This book is referred to twice in our text, *i.e.* in x. 13, xxi. 10. Our author, moreover, has taken over bodily two considerable sections from it and incorporated them in vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. Thus the Book of Noah was written before 135-105 B.C. But its composition goes back to a much earlier date. Chapters vi.-xi. of the Ethiopic Enoch are clearly from the same source; for they make no reference to Enoch but bring forward Noah (x. 1), and treat of the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is compounded of the Semjaza and Azazel

myths, and in its present composite form is already presupposed by Eth. Enoch lxxxviii.-lxxxix. 1. Hence in its present form it is earlier than 166 B.C. Chapters lx., lxv.-lxix. 25, cvi.-cvii. of the same work are also derived from the Book of Noah and probably xxxix. 1, 2^a, xli. 3-8, xliii.-xliv., liv. 7-lv. 2, lix., but not in their present form. There appears to be no adequate ground for assigning these sections of that ancient work to a later date than those above discussed.

The above facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up in part on the debris of the former. And just as the Noah saga made way for the Enoch, so the Enoch saga in turn made way for the Seth, as I have shown at some length in the notes on pp. 33-36.

§ 20. THE RELATION OF JUBILEES TO THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS

From a comparison of the passages in our author and the Testaments which treat of the same subjects, it is clear that neither of the two works is dependent on the other, but that both draw independently from the same sources. See notes on xxviii. 9, xxx. 2-6, 18, 25, xxxi. 3-4, 13, 15, 16, xxxii. 1, 8, xxxiii. 1, 2, 4, xxxiv. 1-9, xxxvii.-xxxviii., xli. 8-14, 24-25, xlv. 6-9.

I hope to treat this question exhaustively in my edition of the Testaments.

§ 21. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISEE WHO RECOGNISED THE MACCABEAN PONTIFICATE AND WAS PROBABLY A PRIEST

From §§ 15, 17 it follows without further need of proof that our author was a pharisee of the strictest sect. He was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, he held the strictest views on circumcision, the sabbath and on the duty of shunning all intercourse with the Gentiles: he believed in angels and demons § 16, and in a blessed immortality. In § 14 we have shown that he was an extreme representative of the midrashic tendency which had been already at work for centuries.

In the next place our author was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers (xxx. 13-17), and applies to them the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thorough-going an admirer as the authors of the Test. Levi 18, or Psalm cx. who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family (see notes on xxx. 18-19, xxxii. 1).

That our author was a priest might be reasonably inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxx.-xxxii.) and from the statement in xlv. 16, that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 22. JUBILEES IN JEWISH, SAMARITAN, AND CHRISTIAN NON-CANONICAL LITERATURE

In Jewish Literature.

In Jewish and Samaritan Literature.—Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?), xci.-civ.; Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jashar, Samaritan Chronicle.

On Eth. Enoch i.-v., xci.-civ. see pp. lxix-lxxi above.

Wisdom.—It is not possible to establish conclusively that our book was used by the author of *Wisdom*. There are, however, amid great differences, strong affinities between them. Thus both teach a temporary Messianic kingdom and a blessed immortality of the soul. In *Jubilees* apparently for the first time God is called the Father of the righteous individual Israelite (i. 24 note): in *Wisdom* this view is frequently and emphatically taught (ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21). Again in *Jubilees* the law of retaliation is enunciated in its most literal form (iv. 31, xlviii. 14, notes), and the same phenomenon meets us in *Wisdom*, xi. 16: δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολλάζεται. Cf. also xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5. Finally either xlviii. 14 of our text or some authority of a like nature seems to have been before the writer of *Wisdom* xviii. 5:

βουλευσαμένους αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἀποκτείνειν νήπια
καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκτεθέντος τέκνου [καὶ σωθέντος]
εἰς ἔλεγχον τὸ αὐτῶν ἀφείλω πλῆθος [τέκνων],
καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶ.

In both passages the destruction of the Egyptians in retaliation for the casting of the Hebrew children into the river is dealt with, though this is obscured by the glosses *καὶ σωθέντος* and *τέκνων*,¹ which I have bracketed as additions of an early scribe who misinterpreted the passage of Moses. In *Jub.* xlviii. 14 it is said that 1000 Egyptians were destroyed on account of every Hebrew child that was cast into the river. This sense we recover from the Greek on omitting the gloss: "In retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away the multitude of them." But the passage is still unsatisfactory, for *πλῆθος* in the text which = *רוב* was corrupt in the original source (? *Jubilees*) as in *Hosea* viii. 12 for *רוב* = 10,000. Thus we have: "In

¹ Observe independently the awkwardness of *τέκνων* after *αὐτῶν*.

retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away 10,000 of them," *i.e.* of those who had taken counsel to destroy the Hebrew children. 10,000 may be more accurate than the 1000 which stands in Jub. xlviii. 14. I have found the same corruption in Ethiopic MSS.

4 *Ezra*.—There can be little doubt that our book is referred to in 4 Ezra xiv. 4-6, where it is said of Moses: Et misi eum et eduxit populum meum de Aegypto, et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei *mirabilia multa*, et ostendi ei *temporum secreta et temporum finem*, et praecepi ei dicens: Haec in palam facies verba et *haec abscondes*. The *haec* here refers to Jubilees (see i. 26 notes), which was handed down in the tribe of Levi (xlv. 16) till its publication by our author.

In 4 *Ezra* vi. 20 the words, libri aperientur ante faciem firmamenti et omnes videbunt simul, refer to the books in which the deeds of men are recorded. These books were kept by Enoch according to our text iv. 23, x. 17.

In x. 46, the date in the words: factum est post annorum tria millia (Syr., Eth., Arab., but Lat. = annos tres) aedificavit Salomon civitatem et obtulit oblationes, appears to be based on that given in Jubilees. If with Joseph. (*Ant.* viii. 3. 1.) we reckon 592 years from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple or 588 years with Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* i. 40, 4 sq.) and take, as our author, 2410 to be the year of the Exodus, then we arrive at 3002 or 2998 (see for these and other reckonings Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judeorum*, p. 83). Again on p. 109 of the work just mentioned Hilgenfeld gives good grounds for assuming that in 4 Ezra xiv. 48 (Syr. Eth.,) the text originally contained a computation in jubilees. See also Rösensch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 412-414.

Chronicles of Jerahmeel.—This Hebrew work, which has

been translated by Gaster, contains a great deal of subject-matter in common with our book. At times it reproduces the actual words of our text. I have no doubt that our text was used by some of the authors of this compilation. See Index II. for references to the parallel passages.

Midrash Tadshe.—This Midrash was written about the beginning of the eleventh cent. A.D. by Moses ha-Darshan, but was based on an early work by Rabbi Pinchas ben Jair who in turn drew his materials from our text (see Eppstein, *Revue des Étude juives*, 1890, xxi. 80-97; 1891, xxii. 1-25; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, ii. 499). By consulting Index II. the reader will find the passages which are common to this Midrash and our text.

The Book of Jashar.—This late Hebrew work contains much matter in common with our text, and there is every probability that some of it is derived from it ultimately as its source. See Index II. for a list of parallels. The Hebrew text of this book which I have quoted occasionally, is that which was published at Venice in 1629. Generally, however, I have referred to the French translation of it in Migne's series.

The Samaritan Chronicle.—This book, to which we have already drawn attention (see p. lxvii), belongs for the most part to the twelfth cent. A.D. It appears to contain a deliberate polemic (see vi. 36 note) against the view of our author that calculations should be made according to the sun only. In keeping with the fact that our author gives his calendar in connection with the flood (vi. 29-38), this Chronicle says that the Samaritan system was known to Noah in the Ark. For a remarkable point of agreement between this Chronicle and our text see note v. 22. Also it cannot be an accident that in the case of the antediluvian patriarchs, their respective ages on the birth of their eldest sons agree in both books in every instance except in that of

Seth. Rönsch (p. 362) has tabulated the numbers as follows :

	Jub.	Sam. Chron.
Adam on the birth of his eldest son was aged	130	130
Seth " " "	130	60-66
Enoch " " "	90	90
Kenan " " "	70	70
Mahalalel " " "	65	66
Jared " " "	62	61
Henoch " " "	65	65
Methuselah " " "	67	67
Lamech " " "	53	53

Hence it is not strange that in some cases we are able to determine missing dates in our text from this Chronicle (see iv. 28 note). On the other hand these two works hardly ever harmonise on the ages of the post-diluvian patriarchs till Terah's time, and the Chronicle, as we should expect, omits Kainam which our text (viii. 1) along with the LXX puts forward as the son of Arpachshad.

In Christian literature.—The Christian literature in which Jubilees is reproduced either by name or anonymously will be treated under the following heads :

- i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name.*
- ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce its text or matter anonymously.*¹

i. *Authors who cite Jubilees or the Little Genesis by name :*

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA (309 or 314 to 394 or 399 A.D.) *in epist. canonicas enarrationes, ad I. Joan.* iii. 12 (Gallandi, *Biblioth. patr.* vi. 300): Nam et in libro qui leptogenesis (MS leprogenesis) appellatur, ita legitur, quia Cain lapide aut ligno percusserit Abel. See Jub. iv. 31.

EPIPHANIUS (ob. 404 A.D.), *Haer.* xxxix. 6 : ὡς δὲ ἐν

¹ Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 849-864, ii. 120-121 ; Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 250-382.

τοῖς Ἰωβηλαίοις εὐρίσκεται, τῇ καὶ λεπτῇ Γενέσει καλουμένη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ τε Κάϊν καὶ τοῦ Σῆθ ἡ βίβλος περιέχει· . . . οἱ τε τούτου υἱοὶ συνήφθησαν ὁ μὲν Κάϊν τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ μείζονι Σαυή, οὕτω καλουμένη, ὁ δὲ Σῆθ . . . τῇ λεγομένῃ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῇ Ἀζουρά. See Jub. iv. 9, 11 and the continuation of the quotation in my note on iv. 10. For passages where Epiphanius has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

JEROME (*ob.* 420).—See quotations in notes on x. 21, xi. 11-13. For other quotations see Index II.

Decretum Gelasii.—In this decree (*de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*), the date of which is doubtful (see Zahn, *Gesch. des Kanons*, II. i. 259-267), our book is included among the writings to be rejected: Liber de filiabus Adae, hoc est Leptogenesis, apocryphus.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 542).—In an exposition of Deut. xxxiv. 6 this author has (see Nicephorus, *Catena*, i. 1672-1673) described the destinies that await the good and the evil souls on their separation from the body, and various incidents relating to the contest between Michael and Satan for the soul of Moses. He adds that his statements are drawn from our author: ταῦτα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βιβλίῳ λέγεται κεῖσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἔχοντι τῆς Γενέσεως ἥτοι τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀφήγησιν. On this question see above, p. xv note.

NICEPHORUS, *Catena*, i. 175.—(This catena, published over 120 years ago, contains extracts from writers from the beginning of the Christian era to the seventh cent.) Before the words quoted from this work in the note on x. 21 we find the title of the source given as ἡ διαθήκη. It is most probable that we should add here τοῦ Μωϋσέως (see p. xvii).

SYNCELLUS (*flor.* 800 A.D.), *Chronographia* (ed. Dindorf), i. 5: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 7: ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως καὶ

τοῦ λεγομένου βίου Ἀδάμ. i. 13: ἐκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως. i. 14: (see quotation in note on p. 28). i. 49 (see quotation in note on x. 1). i. 183: τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπῆρχε. i. 185 (see quotation in note on xii. 26). i. 192: Μαστιφὰμ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, ὡς φησιν ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, προσελθὼν τῷ θεῷ εἶπεν, εἰ ἀγαπᾷ σε Ἀβραάμ, θυσάτω σοι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (see our text, xvii. 16). i. 203: βιασθεὶς Ἰακώβ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα ἐνέτεινε τόξον καὶ πλήξας κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μαζοῦ τὸν Ἡσαὺ κατέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ θανόντος ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ ἀνείλυν τοὺς πλείστους. ταῦτα ἐν λεπτῇ Γενέσει φέρεται (see our text, xxxviii. 1 sqq.). For passages where Syncellus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

CEDRENUS (ed. Bekker), i. 6: ἀπὸ τῆς λεπτῆς Γενέσεως. i. 9: ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασί τινες ἀποκάλυψιν. i. 16 (see quotation in note on iv. 31-32). i. 48: ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλῶσσαν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγγελος τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει. i. 53: ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται, ὅτι Μαστιφὰτ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων (and so on as in Syncellus, i. 192, above). i. 85 (see quotation in note on xlvii. 3). i. 87: νόμους δὲ πρῶτον Μωϋσῆς γράφει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις . . . διδασκόμενος παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Γαβριὴλ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κόσμου . . . καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄστρων θέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . ὡς ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει κεῖται. For some of the passages where Cedrenus has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ZONARAS (1081-1118, ed. Pinder), i. 18: οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ Γενέσει γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αἱ οὐρανίαι δυνάμεις πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέστησαν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ. Cf. our text, ii. 2.

GLYCAS (*circa* 1150, ed. Bekker), p. 198: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς πόδας κεκτημένου τὸ πρότερον καθὰ Ἰωσηππὸς τέ φησι καὶ ἡ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις νῦν ἀποφαίνεται τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ περίπατον. See also p. 206. P. 392 (see quotation in note on iii. 8-14). On p. 206 Glycas wrongly attributes to Josephus what is found in Jub. xxxii. 2-3. For some of the passages where Glycas has used our text without acknowledgment see Index II.

ii. *Patristic and other writings which reproduce the text or matter of Jubilees anonymously:*

HIPPOLYTUS.—The Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς which is assigned to this writer is based on Jub. viii.-ix. See Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften*, v. 239, 587-597, 613 sqq. (quoted by Schürer).

PS.-CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Recognitiones* (*circa* 200 A.D.).—This work contains many echoes of Jubilees, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* 322-325.

ORIGEN (185-254) in *Genesin* in Eusebius' *Praep. Evang.* vi. 292 (Migne, xxi. 500). The passage which is quoted from Origen in the note on xxxii. 21 seems to refer to that passage. Another quotation will be found in the note on xlv. 14. The Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ, from which this quotation is taken, is cited in the third place in the Synopsis of the Ps.-Athanasius and the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and in the fifth place of the catalogue in the Cod. Coislinianus used by Montfaucon, and in each catalogue immediately after the Πατριάρχαι (cf. Rönsch, p. 332). According to Nicephorus it consisted of 1100 stichoi—the same number as the Testament of Moses, which was identified by some writers with Jubilees. Both Origen (tom. v. in *Johannen*, p. 77) and Glycas (see Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 765, 768) state that it was current among the Hebrews.

Another fragment of Origen preserved in the *Catena* of Nicephorus, i. 463, is quoted in the note on xl. 10.

DIODORUS OF ANTIOCH (*ob.* 392 ?).—See quotation in note on x. 35.

ISIDORE PELUSIOTA of Alexandria, who lived in the fifth cent., gives the following exposition on Deut. xxxiii. 9 (Nicephorus, *Cat.* i. 1660): ἐπειδὴ ἐπελύτησε τῇ πατρίᾳ εὐνῇ ὁ Ῥουβείμ, διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε βασιλείας οὔτε ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη, καίτοι πρωτότοκος ὢν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Λευὶ τρίτος ὢν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι τὸν πατέρα δεκάτην ἀφιερῶσειν· κάτωθεν γὰρ ἀριθμούμενος δέκατος ἦν, ἄνωθεν δὲ εἰ ἡριθμήθη, εἰς τῶν παιδισκῶν ἠύρισκετο· ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὁσιότητα, καὶ τὸ συγγενικῶν αἱμάτων διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὴν τὰς χεῖρας ἐμπλῆσαι, ἱερωσύνης ἤξιώθη. . . . ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας τέταρτος ὢν, διὰ τὴν ἀδέκαστον κρίσιν, καὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν ψῆφον, βασιλείας ἤξιώθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα κρύπτοντες πλημμελήματα ἐτέρους καταδικάζουσιν, οὗτος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψηφίσατο, . . . διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως τῆς βασιλείας ἤξιοῦτο. ἱερῶντο γὰρ οἱ ἐκ Λευῖ, ἐβασίλευον δὲ οἱ ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐ κατὰ κατακλήρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς γέρας εἰληφότες. This exposition regarding Levi is based on Jub. xxxii. 2-3, and regarding Judah on xxxi. 18-20, xli. 23-28.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*ob.* 636), *Origines*, xvi. 26. 10: In principio Deus xxii opera fecit. Nam prima die vii opera fecit, id est: materiam informem, angelos, lucem, coelos superiores, terram, aquam atque aërem. Secunda die firmitamentum solum. Tertia die quattuor: maria, semina, sationes atque plantaria. Quarta die tria: solem et lunam et stellas. Quinta die tria: pisces et reptilia aquarum et volatilia. Sexta die quattuor: bestias, pecudes, reptilia terrae et hominem. Et facta sunt omnia xxii genera in diebus sex. Et xxii generationes sunt ab Adam usque ad Jacob, . . . et xxii libri Veteris Testamenti usque ad Hester, et xxii literarum sunt elementa.

The above is clearly based on our text, although in its

enumeration of the works of the first day it deviates considerably (see Jub. ii. 2 sqq.). Observe that it confirms our view of a lacuna after ii. 22.

EUTYCHIUS, Patriarch of Alexandria 933-939, *Annales* translated from Arabic into Latin by Pococke, 1658 (also in Migne, tom. 111, 909-1155).

P. 15. Eva . . . peperit puerum et puellam: puerum appellavit Kain, puellam Azrun. Tum rursus . . . puerum et puellam enixa, puero nomen imposuit Abel, puellae Owain . . . Cumque proveciores facti essent pueri, dixit Adam Evae: Ducat Kain Owain . . . Abel autem Azrun. Cf. Jub. iv. 1, 8, 9, 11.

P. 16. Kain invidit fratri suo . . . ac, lapide caput ejus feriens, ipsum interfecit. Cf. Jub. iv. 31.

P. 56. Natus et Sharna, cujus temporibus coluerunt homines idola, unoquoque quod sibi alliberet colente. Sharna is corrupt for Serug. Cf. Jub. xi. 4.

P. 64-65. Accepit ergo Abraham uxorem suam Saram, quae et ipsi ex patre soror erat. Cf. Jub. xii. 9. For other parallels see notes on pp. 35, 83.

SUIDAS, a Greek grammarian of the tenth or eleventh cent. (Fabricius, i. 336). καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γὰρ ἐπαιδεύετο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Jub. xii. 16. See also note on xii. 2.

JOEL, *Chronographia* (ed. Bekker, 1836), extending to the year 1206 A.D. This writer, whom I have referred to occasionally in my notes, is generally dependent on Syncellus, Cedrenus or Glycas for any matter which he has in common with our text. It is possible, as Rösensch (p. 367) urges, that the phrase καὶ ἐξολοθρεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπειλοῦντος (Joel, p. 10 (cf. Jub. xxxvii. 23)) testifies to an independent knowledge of Jubilees, as it is not found in those earlier chronographers.

LXX MS (thirteenth cent.), cited as no. 135 in Holmes

and Parsons' edition, and as *r* in Lagarde's *Genesis Graece*, 1868. The scholia in this MS attest many of the personal names which are found in Jubilees. I have cited all of these in their appropriate places in my Ethiopic Text of Jubilees, and many of them in the notes to my translation. See Index II.

LXX MS *z* in Lagarde's edition contains two readings which come from our text. See notes on v. 31 and vi. 1.

GREGORIUS BARHEBRAEUS (1226-1286).—See note on xi. 11-13.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF JUBILEES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

The points of connection between the gospels and our author are very slight, except in the beliefs respecting angels and demons—a subject to which we shall return later. We shall now place the passages side by side where the New Testament is dependent on our text, or presupposes it, or presents a close parallel.

Mark iii. 22 (Matt. xii. 24).—ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν δαιμονίων.

Luke xi. 49.—“Therefore also said the wisdom of God: I will send unto them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute.

John xiv. 26.—“The Holy Spirit . . . will bring to your remembrance all things, etc.”

Acts vii. 15-16.—“And he (Jacob) died, himself and our fathers, and they were carried over unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought, etc.”

Jub. x. 8.—“Chief of the spirits”; xlviii. 9, 12, “Prince of the Mastêmâ.”

i. 12.—“And *I shall send witnesses unto them*, that I may witness against them, but they *will . . . slay the witnesses also and persecute* those who seek the law.”

xxxii. 25.—“I will bring all things to thy remembrance.” Here God is to cause Jacob to remember all that he had seen in a vision.

xlvi. 9.—“And the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave” (*i.e.* Machpelah). This is the oldest source of the tradition in Acts.

Acts vii. 23.—Moses when “well nigh forty years old” smote the Egyptian.

Acts vii. 30.—Moses spent forty years in Midian.

Acts vii. 53.—“Who received the law as it was ordained by angels and kept it not.” Cf. Gal. iii. 19.

Acts ix. 2.—“If he found any that were of *the way*.”

Rom. iv. 15.—“Where there is no law, neither is there transgression.”

2 Cor. v. 17.—“A new creation” (Gal. vi. 15).

2 Cor. vi. 18.—“I will be to you a Father and ye shall be to me sons and daughters.”

Gal. ii. 15.—“Sinners of the Gentiles.”

Gal. iii. 17.—“A covenant confirmed beforehand by God, the law which came 430 years later, etc.” Does the confirmation here spoken of mean the birth of Isaac? In that case 430 years exactly elapse between this confirmation of the covenant and the law according to Jubilees.

Gal. v. 12.—“I would that they which unsettle you (*i.e.* Judaisers) would cut off the member” (*ἀποκόψονταί*).

xlvi. 10-12.—Moses forty-two years old.¹

xlvi. 1.—Moses spent thirty-eight years.¹

i. 27.—“And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses, etc.” i. 14: “They will forget . . . thy law.” Our text is the earliest authority for the statement that the law was given through angels.

xxiii. 20.—“Turn them back into *the way*.”

xxxiii. 15-16.—Anticipates this Pauline doctrine.

v. 12.—“A new and righteous nature.”

i. 24.—“I shall be their Father and they will be My children.”²

xxiii. 23.—“Sinners of the Gentiles” (cf. xxiii. 24).

xv. 4 sqq. contains the covenant made in 1979 A.M. with Abraham on his circumcision. The law was given in 2410. Hence 2410 - 1979 = 431. Isaac was born in 1980, or exactly 430 years before the legislation on Sinai according to Jubilees.

Contrast xv. 27, according to which the angels were created circumcised.

¹ Jubilees gives here the oldest dates on this subject. The Midrash Tanchuma on Exod. ii. 6, which was many centuries later, gives a tradition practically the same as that in Acts. “Moses was in the palace of Pharaoh twenty years, but some say forty years, and forty years in Midian and forty years in the wilderness.” Observe that our author makes Moses stay twenty-one years with his own people and twenty-one years at Pharaoh’s court.

² The righteous *individual* is called “a son of God” first in Jubilees, so far as I am aware. See note on i. 24.

2 Thess. ii. 3.—“Son of perdition.”

1 Tim. i. 4.—“Fables and endless genealogies.” iv. 7: “old wives’ fables.” Titus iii. 9: “Genealogies and strifes and fightings about the law.”

James i. 13.—“Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God tempteth no man.”

James ii. 23.—“Abraham believed God and it was counted to him for righteousness and he was called the friend of God.”

2 Peter ii. 5.—“Noah, a preacher of righteousness.”

2 Peter iii. 13.—“New heavens and a new earth.”

2 Peter iii. 8.—“One day is with the Lord as a thousand years.”

Rev. i. 6.—“A kingdom, priests.” v. 10: “A kingdom and priests.”

Rev. iv. 5 (xi. 19, xvi. 18; cf. viii. 5).—“Lightnings and voices and thunderings.”

x. 3.—“Sons of perdition.”

The Pauline phrases form a just description of a large portion of Jubilees. The “old wives’ fables” may be an allusion to the large rôle played by women in it.

The author of Jubilees enforces the same view by representing Mastêmâ as suggesting the temptation of Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (xvii. 16), as hardening the hearts of the Egyptians (xlviii. 12, 17), etc.

xiv. 6.—“And he believed on the Lord and it was counted to him for righteousness” (Gen. xv. 6). xix. 9: “He was found faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God.”

vii. 20-39 contains Noah’s sermon.

i. 29.—“The heavens and the earth shall be renewed, etc.”

iv. 30 contains the oldest dogmatic statement of this fact.

xvi. 18.—“A kingdom and priests.” Our text alone gives this form of Exod. xix. 6 antecedently to Revelation.

ii. 2.—“Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightnings.”

Angelology.—We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are

generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time, in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see § 16.

Demonology.—The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(b) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince of the Mastêmâ¹ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgment of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-45; Luke xi. 24-26). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgment (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

¹ See note on x. 8.

§ 24. VIEWS OF THE AUTHOR ON THE MESSIAH, THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM, THE PRIESTHOOD OF MELCHIZEDEK, THE LAW, CIRCUMCISION AND THE SABBATH, THE FUTURE LIFE, THE JEWISH CALENDAR

The Messiah.—Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see xxxi. 18 note). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic Kingdom.—In the notes on i. 29, xxiii. 30 I have dealt at some length with the character of this kingdom. We have there seen that it was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgment was apparently to take place at its close (see note on xxiii. 30). On the probable derivation of this view from Mazdeism see note on i. 29.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. in the days of Judas before 161 B.C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for

introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx., or the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B.C., and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realise the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (see note on xxxi. 15), while, according to the Test. Reuben 6, he was to "die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen." In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.¹

Priesthood of Melchizedek.—That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note xiii. 25, and that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv., we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood, of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii. as applied to our Lord.

The Law.—On our author's conception of the law as the ideal and eternal realised under time relations see pp. li sqq.

¹ The belief that the Messianic era had set in appears to have arisen again under Alexander, 78-69 B.C. "Under Simon ben Shetach (and Queen Salome) rain fell on the eve of the Sabbath, so that the corns of wheat were as large as kidneys, etc." (Taanith 23a, quoted by Schürer, *Gesch. jud. Volkes*,³ i. 290).

Circumcision and the Sabbath.—On our author's exalted conceptions of these two bulwarks of Judaism, see p. 1.

The Future Life.—In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

The Jewish Calendar.—For our author's peculiar views see § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS USED IN THIS EDITION

a, b, c, d denote the Ethiopic MSS on which our text is based.

Mass. = Massoretic text.

Sam. = Samaritan version, and Hebrew text in Samaritan characters when both agree.

Syr. = the Syriac version of the Old Testament.

Vulg. = Vulgate.

Onk. = Targum of Onkelos.

Ps.-Jon. = Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.

Jub. = Book of Jubilees.

() Words or letters so enclosed are supplied by the editor from some source mentioned in the notes.

[] Words so enclosed are interpolated.

† † Words so enclosed are corrupt.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. Apostasy of Israel, 5-9. Captivity of Israel and Judah, 10-13. Return of Judah and rebuilding of temple, 15-18. Moses' prayer for Israel, 19-21. God's promise to redeem and dwell with them, 22-25, 28. Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?), 26. And an angel to write down the law, 27. This angel takes the heavenly chronological tables to dictate therefrom to Moses, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai

PROLOGUE. This short introduction gives an admirable account of the contents of this book. It is at once a history and a chronological system dominated by the sacred number seven. The history extends from the Creation to the legislation on Sinai, and thus embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. But the writer does not merely reproduce the portions of these books which serve his purpose; he rewrites from the standpoint of the strictest Judaism. See Introduction, §§ 15, 21.

According to their sevenfold division (a c) or "according to their year-weeks" (b d).

Throughout all the years of the world. These words are difficult; for they imply that it was the author's intention to write a history from the Creation till the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom or Theocracy. See i. 26 note.

The Lord 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏: (a). *d* reads 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤋: "God." *b c* omit. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏 (which generally = κύριος, but often θεός) is generally rendered "Lord" in my translation, but occasionally as "God" when external evidence so requires.

when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of GOD as he said unto him, "Go up to the top of the Mount."

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I. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that GOD spake to Moses, saying: "Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them." 2. And Moses went up into the mount of GOD, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. 4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and GOD taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the

Tables. *cd* read "tables of stone."

Of the law, etc. See note on i. 1.

Go up, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

I. 1. *In the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.* It will be observed that our author supplies a date to the defective text of Exod. xix. 1 "In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth . . . the same day came they." Ps.-Jon. inserts "on the first day of the month" (בְּחֵד יוֹם). It will be observed that on the same date on which Moses went up to receive the Law, the sixteenth of the third month, GOD appears to Jacob on his way down into Egypt (xliv. 5).

On the other hand, we must carefully distinguish this date and the events connected with it from the fifteenth of the third month and the events connected with it. On the fifteenth Abraham celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest (xv. 1, xliv. 4); Isaac was born (xvi. 13) (so also in Seder Olam); Abraham died (xxii. 1); Judah was born (xxviii. 15); and Jacob and

Laban bound themselves by mutual vows (xxix. 7).

We shall see later (vi. 17-18 notes) that the feast of weeks was first observed on earth in connection with the covenant of Noah, and was according to our author designed to celebrate the institution of that covenant. It is important to recognise this fact, since later Judaism held that the feast of weeks celebrated the legislation on Sinai (see notes on vi. 17).

Come up to Me, etc. Exod. xxiv. 12.

Two tables. The "two" is not in Exod. xxiv. 12, but is drawn from xxxi. 18.

Of the law and of the commandment. Exod. xxiv. 12, on which the text is based, has "And the law and the commandment." But compare Exod. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 29; Deut. ix. 11.

2-4^a. Based on Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. *Flaming.* A change of one vowel would give "devouring" as in Exod. xxiv. 17. Cf. xxxvi. 10.

4. *God taught him the earlier and the later history.* Cf. i. 26. Cf.

law and of the testimony. 5. And He said: "Incline thine heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. 6. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them. 7. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land of which I sware to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: "Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. 8. And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. 9. For they will forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the Gentiles, and after their uncleanness,

Megilla 19b "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law . . . and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times." Also Shem. rabba 40 (Wünsche, p. 282): "God brought the book of Adam and showed him (Moses) therein all the generations which should arise from the beginning of Creation till the day of the resurrection." Beer compares Menachoth 29b and Wajikra rabba 26.

5. *Write them*, etc. Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27. See note on i. 27.

How I have not forsaken them for all the evil. Cf. Ezra ix. 9 "Yet in our bondage God hath not forsaken us."

Transgressing = sēhētō emended from 'ashētō of b c d. Cf. vi. 37, 38.

6. *And thus it will come to pass . . . upon them*. Deut. xxx. 1.

7. *Write for thyself all these words*. See note on i. 27.

I know their rebellion and their stiff neck. Deut. xxxi. 27.

The land of which I sware to their fathers, etc. Deut. xxx. 20, Exod. xxxiii. 1.

Unto your seed . . . a land flowing with milk and honey. Exod. xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxxi. 20.

8. *And they will eat . . . to strange gods*. Deut. xxxi. 20.

This witness shall be heard (c d: "witness" a b) *for a witness against them*. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 20; 2 Kings xvii. 15 "The testimonies which he testified against them." Cf. Deut. xxxi. 19, 26.

9. *Forget all My commandments*, etc. Ezra ix. 10, 11.

Walk after the Gentiles. 2 Kings xvii. 2.

and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. 10. And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set My name upon it, and that it should dwell (there). 11. And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. 12. And I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change everything so as to work evil before My eyes. 13. And I shall hide My face from them, and I shall deliver them

Serve their gods, and these will prove unto them an offence . . . and a snare. Exod. xxiii. 33; Deut. vii. 16; Jos. xxiii. 13.

10-13. These verses depict the two great catastrophes which befell Israel (10) and Judah (11-13).

10. Partial destruction and captivity of Israel. The northern tribes had forsaken the Law and the Festivals observed by Judah: also the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. for diction Deut. xxviii. 63, 41; Lev. xxvi. 14, 15, etc.

And My tabernacle, . . . in the midst of the land. If these words belong to the text, the author must have believed in the existence of the Tabernacle in Jerusalem during the divided monarchies.

11-13. Idolatries and wickedness of Judah. Their captivity.

11. *Make to themselves high places and groves.* Cf. Ezek. xx. 28; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

Sacrifice their children to demons. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xx. 31. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Eth. Enoch xcix. 7. See notes on xxii. 17.

12. *I shall send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 "He sent prophets to them . . . and they testified against them; but they would not give ear." Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16; Jer. xxv. 4. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.

Will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26 "Slew thy prophets which testified against them."

Change: read jewêlêtû (a) in Ethiopic text and jewêtênû (b c d) in the notes.

To work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.

13. *Hide My face.* Cf. xxi. 22; Is. i. 15.

Deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles, etc. 2 Kings xxi. 14.

into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I shall remove them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them amongst the Gentiles. 14. And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. 15. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek Me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek Me with all their heart and with all their soul. 16. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I shall †remove them the plant of uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they will be for a blessing and not for a curse, and they will be the head and not the tail. 17. And I shall build My sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God and

For a prey=lahabl emended from lahebl.

14. Judah will forget the service of God in captivity. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.

15-17. Repentance of Judah, their return from the captivity and the erection of the temple.

15. *They will turn to Me . . . with all their soul.* Cf. Deut. iv. 30, 29.

I shall gather them from amongst all the Gentiles. Jer. xxix. 14.

They will seek me, so that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart. Jer. xxix. 13-14^a.

When they seek: (b c d). *a* reads "and when they seek."

16. *And I shall disclose (b d).* *a c* read "I will disclose."

†Remove them the plant of uprightness.† I have obelized these words as corrupt. Littmann's rendering, "sie umändern zu einer Pflanze der Gerechtigkeit," is hardly possible linguistically. Moreover, it is against the use of this phrase. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Israel was "the plant of uprightness"

from the outset. The original of the words and of those that follow appears to be Jer. xxxii. 41 "I will plant them in this land assuredly with all my heart and with all my soul." These words are used in the very same connection as those in the text. It is not improbable, therefore, that the words "in this land" have been lost after the verb. Next "And I will remove them"=*καὶ μεταθήσω αὐτοὺς*=והסיעתיים. This last may be corrupt for ונתתיים. Thus we should have "And I will plant them the plant of uprightness in the land." This reverses the judgment in verse 13 "I will remove them from the midst of the land."

They will be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.

They will be the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13.

17. The second Temple. *I shall build . . . and I shall dwell with them.* Exod. xxv. 8. *I will dwell with them and I will be their (c d, a b om. "their") God.* Exod. xxix. 45.

And I shall be their God and they

they will be My people in truth and righteousness. 18. And I shall not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God." 19. And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, "O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against Thee. 20. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. 21. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which Thou hast delivered with Thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in their sins from henceforth until eternity." 22. And the Lord said unto Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. 23. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they

will be My people. Lev. xxvi. 12; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22; Ezek. xiv. 11.

18. Deut. xxxi. 6.

19. *Do not forsake . . . Thy inheritance, . . . and do not deliver them into the hands . . . lest they should rule over them.* Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.

Their enemies, the Gentiles (a c). b d omit "their enemies."

20. *Create . . . spirit.* Ps. li. 10. See next ver.

Beliar. See note on xv. 33.

21. *They are Thy people . . . from the hands of the Egyptians.* Deut. ix. 26, 29.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 23. See note on xxv. 14.

22. *I know their contrariness . . . and their stiffneckedness.* Deut. xxxi. 27.

Confess their own sin and the sin, etc. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.

23. *Turn to Me . . . with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul.* 2 Chron. vi. 38.

Circumcise the foreskin of their heart. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6.

A holy spirit. Cf. i. 21.

I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. These words imply that

shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity. 24. And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children. 25. And they will all be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit will know, yea, they will know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them. 26. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them

Israel shall never again be driven from their own land.

24. *I shall be their Father and they will be My children* (or "sons"). These words are used in 2 Sam. vii. 14 in reference to Solomon; elsewhere in the OT only in reference to the nation or sections of it. God is the Father of Israel, Deut. xxxii. 6; Is. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9; or of the righteous in Israel, even of the righteous individual, Wisdom ii. 16. See also i. 25, 28, xix. 29 of our text. Israel is God's son: Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Is. xliii. 6; Wisdom xviii. 13; Jud. ix. 4; or the righteous in Israel are God's children, even the individuals, Wisdom ii. 13, 18, v. 5, xii. 7, 21. For Talmudic references see *Sayings of the Fathers* (ed. Taylor) iii. 22; B. Bathra 10 a, Kiddushin 36 a, Berachoth 3 a. In 2 Cor. vi. 18 St. Paul takes directly these words of 2 Sam. vii. 14 and applies them to all the Christians. In the text they embrace all Israelites. Israelites are God's children according to our author by virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. i. 28.

25. *Children* (or "sons") of the living God. Hos. i. 10.

26. *And do thou write down for thyself* (b c). *a d* read "And I will write down for thee." These words appear to refer to the present work (as Singer p. 15 has recognised), i.e., Jubilees (cf. i. 7). Moses is to write it down at the

dictation of the angel (vi. 1). It constitutes, so to say, the book of the second law. The Pentateuch, on the other hand, is "the book of the first law" (vi. 22), which was written by the angel himself (i. 27). The latter is referred to again in xxx. 12, 21, l. 6. In 4 Ezra xiv. 6 Moses is bidden to reveal the one, i.e., the Pentateuch, and conceal the other, the apocalyptic tradition. *Haec in palam facies verba et haec abscondes*. In Exod. xxxiv. 27 Moses is bidden to write down certain commands, but the decalogue is engraved on the tables of stone by God Himself: Exod. xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 2, 4.

All these words, the first and the last, which shall come to pass . . . until eternity. Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 4, 5: *Et adduxi eum super montem Sina et detinui eum apud Me diebus multis, Et enarravi ei mirabilia multa, et ostendi ei temporum secreta et temporum finem*.

Until I descend and dwell . . . throughout eternity. Here as in the Prologue the implication is that the author intended to write a history of the world from the Creation to the setting up of the Theocracy. (Cf. Prologue; also i. 27, 29.) In a certain sense he has done so; for references occur to events as late as the early Maccabean times when the author lived. He was of opinion that the Messianic Kingdom would be introduced through the labours of the Maccabees. For God's dwelling

throughout eternity." 27. And He said to the angel of the presence: "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. 28. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all

with man see Eth. Enoch xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. This was the perfected theocracy which was looked for by those who did not expect a personal Messiah, such as the authors of Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi., xci.-civ.; Ass. Moses x. Our author, however, looked for a Messiah sprung from Judah. See note on xxxi. 18.

27. *And He said to the angel of the presence.* See note on i. 29. Our text forms apparently the earliest testimony to the idea that the law was given through the ministry of angels. In Deut. xxxiii. 2 we have the first mention of angels in connection with the giving of the law, but according to that passage they merely accompany Yahwe. But the way was prepared for the conception in Jubilees by the development which angelology underwent in exilic and post-exilic times. Thus from the exile onwards God communicated no longer directly with His servants. In the case of Ezekiel, who was in the period of transition, the revelation is sometimes made directly to him (xliv. 2), sometimes indirectly through an angel (xl. 3). By the time of Zechariah the development is complete. This prophet receives all his communications through angels. Naturally when we come down to the century in which our book was written, this usage is universal. Daniel receives even the interpretation of his visions through angels (vii. 16 sqq.; viii. 15 sqq. etc.), and in a later work of the same century, Test. XII. Patriarch., Dan. 6, the angel that intercedes for Israel is called "the mediator between God and man" (*μεσότης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων*). See also Levi 5. I am not aware of any other references to this conception till the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Philo, *De Somnis*, i. 22 (p. 642 M.), commenting on Exod. xix. 19, writes that we cannot receive God's benefits save through the agency of His ministers. (*οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας . . .*

εὐεργεσίας χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ὥς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπερέταις ἄλλοις.) In the first cent. A.D. we have frequent references to this view. Thus in Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5. 3: *ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὁσιώτατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων.* From Judaism this verse passed over into the NT. Cf. Gal. iii. 19 *νόμος . . . διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων.* See also Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2. The Samaritans also believed in the ministry of angels in connection with the law. Cf. Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* p. 15 and de Sacy, *Not. et extraits de la Bibl.* xii. 16. Later Judaism rejected this view probably on polemical grounds, and always represented Moses as receiving the law directly from God. In Sabbath 88 b and Shem. rabba 28 Moses is represented as ascending into heaven to receive the law.

Write for Moses, etc. If the interpretation of this verse adopted on i. 26 (note) is right, the angel is to write out the Pentateuch for Moses. There is, however, this difficulty attaching to this interpretation, that the history embraced in the Pentateuch is to extend from the Creation to the time when God's "sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity." It is possible that this means nothing more than such broad and apparently prophetic descriptions of the apostasies of Israel and Judah under their kings, of the Exile and the Return from captivity, and of the restored theocracy as are found in Deut. xxviii.-xxx. It must be confessed that this explanation does not appear adequate.

28. This verse spoils the sequence of thought. We should probably read it after ver. 25.

Appear to the eyes of all. Cf. Rev. i. 7.

God of Israel. Exod. xxiv. 10, etc.

Father of all the children of Jacob. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 1. See note on i. 24.

the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." 29. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Is. xxiv. 23. On Mount Zion see i. 29.

29. *Angel of the presence.* The phrase is derived from Is. lxiii. 9 and found also in Test. XII. Patriarch., Jud. 25. This angel is probably Michael who was the guardian angel of Israel: cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; Eth. Enoch xx. 5; Slav. Enoch xxii. 6; Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 168. Four of these angels are mentioned in Eth. Enoch xl. (where see note on ver. 2 in my edition).

Who went before the camp of Israel. Exod. xiv. 19.

Took the tables of the divisions of the years. From these the angel dictates to Moses.

Divisions of the years—from the time of the creation (c)—of the law (a), etc. This seems to be the best way of taking the text. My text which follows *b* = "divisions of the years from the creation of the law."

According to the individual years. Bracketed as an interpolation. *b* omits.

From the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed. The text is clearly corrupt. It should furnish us with the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*. The history of the "tables of the divisions" obviously embraces everything from the creation to the Messianic Kingdom. Hence "new" (*haddas*) is to be regarded as an Ethiopic interpolation. In *a b* it follows the word "creation" but in the inferior MSS (*c d*) it precedes them. Next in place of "†when†" (*ama*) we should expect "till." We can recover "till" by taking *ws* (= "when") in the Greek to be a corruption of *ews*

= "till." In any case we should read "From the day of the creation, till the heavens."

The heavens and the earth shall be renewed. We should observe carefully the nature of the "renewal" as it appears in Jubilees. This renewal of the creation is not to be instantaneous and catastrophic, but gradual, and its progress to be conditioned ethically by the conduct of Israel. This will be seen most clearly in iv. 26 and xxiii. 26-28 (see notes *in loc.*). Similar expressions are found in Is. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22. In my *Eschatology* (pp. 122-123) I took these passages in Isaiah to denote a sudden and actual re-creation of the world, and as I conceived they were at variance with their contexts, I marked them as later interpolations. I now see that they should be taken to express a gradual transformation of the world, moral and physical, and, that thus the argument against their originality falls to the ground. This view was probably adopted from Mazdeism, which according to Söderblom (*La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme*, p. 254, Paris, 1901) teaches that le monde deviendra peu à peu meilleur et se spiritualisera pendant les derniers temps. This fifth-century view of the writer in Isaiah lxxv-lxxvi. is reproduced by our author. Heaven and earth and the physical nature of man will be transformed *pari passu* with man's spiritual transformation (xxiii. 26-28, l. 5). According to Jubilees xxiii. 27 the righteous should attain to a thousand years, and according to Is. lxxv. 20 the sinner should be prematurely cut off when a hundred years old. So far as I am aware, Is.

all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1-16. Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated, 17-32. (Cf. Gen. i.-ii. 3.)

II. And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the com-

lxv.-lxvi., Jubilees and Test. Levi 18 are the only Jewish writings which attest this view. But from 100 B.C. Jewish, and subsequently Christian, writers took these expressions in a literal and catastrophic sense. Thus it is an actual re-creation of heaven and earth that is foretold in Eth. Enoch xci. 16, lxxii. 1, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

But again to return to our author we find the following novelty. He teaches that God is to renew His creation at three distinct periods. The first was on the occasion of the Deluge, when He destroyed all that was corrupt (v. 11) and "*made for all His works a new and righteous nature*" (v. 12). The next renewal was to synchronise with the foundation of the Jewish community in Jacob, which should "serve to lay the foundations of the heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament" (xix. 25). The idea that a renewal of the world began with Jacob follows also from ii. 22 sqq. According to this passage the twenty-two generations that precede Jacob correspond to the twenty-two works of God at the Creation. A new

era of renewal begins with Jacob. Finally when God's sanctuary and the Messianic Kingdom are established amongst men, the final renewal will set in, "when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed" and "all the luminaries shall be renewed" i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. According to the present text of v. 11, 12, the renewal of creation after the Deluge is taught; but the text is corrupt. In its original form it could only refer to the renewal of the world on the setting up of the Messianic Kingdom. There are thus three great eras in this book: the creation of the world, its renewal on the creation of the true man, Jacob, and its final renewal on the establishment of the sanctuary. On the symbolic values of man and the temple see Eppstein, "*Le Livre des Jubilés*," *Revue des Études juives*, 1890, xxi. 92-97.

Sanctuary of the Lord be made in Jerusalem, i.e., the Sanctuary in the Messianic Kingdom. Cf. i. 27, iv. 26.

Renewed for healing. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2 "for the healing of the nations."

II. 1. *Angel of the presence. See i. 29 (note).*

Write the complete history of the

Philo (*de Mundi opificio*, i.7) mentions seven objects of creation: οὐρανός, γῆ, σκότος, τὸ ἄβυσσον, ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, φῶς. Here the πνεῦμα retains for the most part its original force; for in the next chapter Philo says with regard to it: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ, διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα. On the other hand he idealises all seven objects of creation

the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of

of the first day. It is not the actual but the ideal world that is created on the first day. Thus he speaks of the heaven as *ἀσώματος*, the earth as *ἀδόρατος*, the darkness and the abyss as the *ἀέρος ἰδέα καὶ κενοῦ*, wind and water as having an *ἀσώματος οὐσία*, and the light as being *νοητός*. Notwithstanding, it is obvious that Philo was acquainted with a cosmology such as is given in our text. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, i. 3, enumerate eight works. It duplicates "the spirit" by taking it first as "the spirit of God" and next as "air." Its dependence on the Jubilee tradition is possible.

According to later Judaism, Ber. rabba 3 sqq. four things were created on the first day, mountains (here *הרים* is corrupt for *הוהם*, "abyss"), heaven, earth, light. On the second—the firmament, hell and the angels. On the third—trees, green things, and Paradise. On the fourth—sun, moon and stars. On the fifth—birds, fishes and the Leviathan. On the sixth—Adam, Eve and worms. In all nineteen works. But according to R. Pinchas, six things were created on the sixth: Adam, Eve, worms, tame beasts, wild beasts, demons.

2. *On the first day he created . . . the angels.* In addition to the remarks made under this head on ii. 2-3 above we should further observe that grounds are furnished for such a conception by Job xxxviii. 7 (cf. i. 6) "When the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy." Here the sons of God are regarded as admiring spectators of the creation. It is probable that earlier Judaism so understood this verse. At all events, this interpretation appears in patristic literature; cf. Epiphanius, *Hæc.* lxxv. chap. 4: *Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἅμα οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ ἄγγελοι ἐκτίσθησαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰῶβ ὅτι, "Ὅτε ἐγενήθησαν ἄστρα, ἤνεσαν με πάντες ἄγγελοι μου φωνῇ.* See also the quotation from Rufinus in the next note. Nearly two centuries earlier this idea is attested in

Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4: *Ὅδοι εἰσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, αὔξειν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ δεσπόζειν τῆς κτίσεως πάσης.*

All the spirits which serve before him. This phrase is found in the Jerusalem Targum I. on Gen. i. 26, but there the creation of the angels is assigned to the second day. See further details in preceding note. With our text compare Rufinus, *Expositio in Symbol.* p. 21 (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 57), *Ut brevier aliqua etiam de secretionibus perstringamus, ab initio Deus cum fecisset mundum, praecepit ei et praeposuit quasdam virtutum caelestium potestates, quibus regeretur et dispenseretur mortalium genus . . . Sed et horum nonnulli, sicut et ipse qui princeps appellatus est mundi, datam sibi a Deo potestatem non his quibus acceperant legibus temperarunt nec humanum genus divinis obedire praeceptis, sed suis parere praevaricationibus docuerunt.*

The angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. Cf. ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14. These are the two chief orders of angels. On the former see i. 29 note. Both classes are mentioned in ii. 18: these observe the Sabbath together with God and Israel (ii. 18 sqq.), and like them Levi and his seed are to serve in the sanctuary, xxxi. 14. The lower orders who are set over the works of nature do not keep the Sabbath. These angels are, according to the Talmud and no doubt to our author, inferior to righteous Israelites: *Sanh.* 93a, *צדיקים יותר כמלאכי השרה*. See also Ber. rabba 8; Tanchuma 14, *ישראל לפני הקדש, חביבין יותר כמלאכי השרה* (Singer, p. 98). "The angels of sanctification" are those who sing praises to God (possibly the trisagion as in *Eth. En.* lxi. 12). As Epiphanius has *ἄγγελοι τῆς δόξης* (= *ἄγγελοι δοξάζοντες*), Praetorius proposes that we should read *weddāsē* instead of *qeddāsē*. But the text can be defended; for in xv. 27 where the phrase recurs, the Latin has *sanctificationis*.

sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of His heart. 3. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. 4. And on the second

Angels . . . of fire . . . of the winds, . . . of the clouds, etc. The third or lowest order of angels presides over the natural phenomena. See Eth. Enoch lx. 12-21, lxxv., lxxx.; Slav. Enoch xix. 1-4.

Angels . . . of fire. Cf. Rev. xiv. 18.

Of the spirit of fire and the angels. So *b c d*. *a* and *G* of Epiphanius omit.

Angels . . . of the winds. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, 2. See Eth. Enoch xviii. 1-5, xxxiv.-xxxvi., lxxvi. on the various functions of the wind.

Of snow. So Gk. of Epiphanius, *χιόνος*, which was probably corrupted into *παντός*: hence text of *a b*. *c d om*.

Of snow and of hail and of hoar frost. Eth. Enoch lx. 17, 18.

Angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning. This is an obscure phrase. It would be easy if we could omit the first "and." Then we should have the familiar expression "voices of the thunder." Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; Rev. vi. 1, x. 4, xix. 6. On the other hand we have in Rev. iv. 5, xi. 19, xvi. 18, *ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί*, and in viii. 5, *βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ*. The phrase in Rev. may be derived from our text. The "voices" may mean the mutterings of the thunder. "Voice" (*ῥή*) in itself means thunder in Job xxxvii. 4.

Thunder and lightning. Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 13-15.

Of winter . . . and summer. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxiii. 13-20.

(He created) the abysses. *a b c d* read "in all the abysses," connecting the phrase wrongly with the preceding words. "The abysses" are one of the seven things created on the first day and must be in the accusative as in *G* of Epiphanius. The *Kuellû* = "all" may be a corruption of *'ellû* = "these" (a frequent corruption), and the latter a translation of the Greek article in *τὰς ἀβύσσους*. *G* reads *τὰς ἀβύσσους τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάρους*. In my Ethiopic text, omit the three words after *qalâyât*, which are an attempt partly to restore and partly to emend *a* into confirmity with the *G*.

Eventide (and night) and the light, dawn and day. "And night" is supplied from *G*. *a* wrongly transposes "eventide" after "day." *b c d* omit "and day" and transpose "eventide" after "light."

3. Seven great works. See note above, p. 11 on ii. 2-3.

4. Works of the second day. Gen. i. 6-7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxvi.-xxvii. *G* in Epiphanius runs: *ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τὸ στερεώμα τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμερσθη τὰ ὕδατα, τὸ ἡμισυ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος (καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ κατέβη ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος) τοῦ ἐμμέσῳ ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ ἔργον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.*

day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. 5. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. 6. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 7. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all

The clause in brackets, lost by homoio-teleuton, I have supplied.

Waters were divided on that day. According to this view as also of Gen. i. 6 there was a sea in heaven resting on the firmament, which through seven flood-gates (v. 24) let down its waters on the earth. See the curious speculation on these waters in Eth. Enoch liv. 7-8.

5-7. Works of the third day. Cf. Gen. i. 9-13; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρα . . . τὰς θαλάσσας . . . τοὺς ποταμούς, τὰς πηγὰς . . . καὶ λίμνας, τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ σπέρου, καὶ τὰ βλαστήματα, τὰ ξύλα τὰ κάρπιμά τε καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ τοὺς δρυμούς . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ φυτὰ κατὰ γένος. ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα ἔργα τὰ μέγιστα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* It is better in Syncellus i. 4: *φανέρωσις γῆς καὶ ἀναξήρανσις, παράδεισος, δένδρα παντοῖα, βοτάναι καὶ σπέρματα.*

5. *The third day.* MSS add "He made as."

7. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 1.

Sprouting things = *zajebaquel* emend-

ed from *zajetbalā'ē* according to G *βλαστήματα*.

Garden of Eden, in Eden. MSS add "for pleasure." This phrase is due either to a corrupt ditto-graphy: *i.e.*—*latadlā* is corrupt for *batadlā*=*ἐν τρυφῇ*, a duplicate rendering of *יְרֵבָה*: or else *tadlā* is corrupt for *taclāt*=*φντά* and should be transposed after *kuellā*. The "in Eden" is also superfluous. c omits it.

Garden of Eden. Eden is likewise a creation of the third day in Ber. rabba 15; Slav. Enoch xxx. 1; Book of Adam and Eve i. 1. This is the earliest view so far as our evidence goes. As early, however, as the latter half of the first century A.D., the garden of Eden was said to have been created before the world. Thus 4 Ezra iii. 6 In paradisum, quem plantavit dextera tua antequam terra adventaret. This view arose from taking *עַרְבָּא* in Gen. ii. 8 to mean "from the beginning" instead of "on the east." This new interpretation was adopted by the Targums and the Syriac and Latin Versions, as well as by Aquila, Sym-

(plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. 8. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. 9. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 10. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by His hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that

machus and Theodotion; also by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8) (Migne, *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* tom. 23, col. 940): Necnon quod sequitur, contra orientem, in Hebraeo Mecedem (מקדם) scribitur, quod Aquila posuit ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς: et nos, ab exordio, possumus dicere. Symmachus vero, ἐκ πρώτης, et Theodotion, ἐν πρώτοις, quod et ipsum non orientem sed principium significat. Ex quo manifestissime comprobatur, quod priusquam coelum et terram Deus faceret, paradysum ante condiderat, sicut et legitur in Hebraeo: *Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradysum in Eden a principio*. For later Jewish authorities see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² 198.

On the peculiar conception of two Paradises, the heavenly and the earthly, and their connection see Slav. Enoch vi.; Weber, 162 sq., 341. For a history of the various meanings of Paradise in Apocalyptic literature, see my *Eschatology*, pp. 197, 234 sq., 262 sqq.

(*Plants after their kind.*) Supplied from G in Epiphanius. It is possible, however, that "plants" already exists in the text in a corrupt form. See note on beginning of verse.

8-10. Gen. i. 14-19. Cf. Slav. Enoch. xxx. 2-6. G in Epiphanius very defective: τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τὸν ἥλιον τὴν σελήνην τοὺς ἀστέρας . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

9. *Appointed the sun.* It will be observed here that though the writer is basing the text on Gen. i. 16-18 he makes no reference to the moon. The omission is intentional. The writer holds that Israel should not be guided by the moon but by the sun in the calculations of all their festivals. See vi. 36-38.

Appointed the sun . . . for jubilees. The period from the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan to the destruction of the first temple is measured by jubilees in Erachin 12-13 a.

10. *These three kinds, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars.* Cf. Syncellus, i. 5.

11-12. Works of the fifth day. Gen. i. 20-23. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 7. G in Epiphanius: τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τὰ κήτη τὰ μεγάλα . . . τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐρπετὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, τὰ πετεινὰ τὰ πτερωτά . . . ταῦτα τὰ τρία ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

flies, the birds and all their kind. 12. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. 14. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. 15. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. 16. And He finished all His work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. 17. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. 18. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctifi-

13-14. Works of the sixth day. Gen. i. 24-28. Cf. Slav. Enoch xxx. 8 sqq. G in Epiphanius is defective: *τῇ δὲ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ θηρία . . . τὰ κτήνη, τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα μεγάλα ἔργα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.*

14. *A man and a woman*—instead of the usual "male and female."

15. See note on ii. 23. The Greek of this verse and the next is found in Epiphanius, *loc. cit.*: *καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα εἰκοσι δύο γένη ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις. καὶ συνετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀβύσσοις, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ ἐν πᾶσι.*

16. *On the sixth day.* Our text is supported by the Samaritan text and the LXX and Syriac Versions of Gen.

ii. 2^a. Cf. Exod. xx. 11. Budde and Ball accept this (= *יְשֻׁעָה*) as the original reading of Gen. ii. 2^a over against the Massoretic (= *יְכַלֵּה*). The severer observance of the Sabbath belongs certainly to the pre-Christian centuries as we shall see later.

17-21. The two chief orders of angels observe the Sabbath together with God. Israel alone will be chosen to join in this observance. Like the third order of angels (see note on ii. 2), *i.e.* those that preside over natural phenomena, the Gentiles do not share in this privilege (ii. 31).

17. *He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day.* Cf. Exod. xxxi. 13. This sign, first appointed between God and the two chief orders of angels, was to be established subsequently between God and Israel, ii. 21. See ii. 31 note.

cation, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. 19. And He said unto us: “Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these will keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so shall I bless them, and they will be My people and I shall be their God. 20. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever; and I will teach them the Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.” 21. And thus He created therein a sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. 22. And He caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . . 23. There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam

19. *Separate unto Myself a people.* 1 Kings viii. 53.

These will keep the Sabbath . . . sanctify them. Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12. See note on ii. 31.

They will be My people, etc. See i. 17.

20. *I have chosen the seed of Jacob.* Is. xli. 8, xlii. 1, 2. G in Epiphanius = *I will choose, etc.*

From amongst all. This is based on a slight change of a corrupt text.

My first-born son. Exod. iv. 22; Ps. lxxxix. 27; cf. Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. *A sign.* According to Exod. xxxi. 13, 17; Ezek. xx. 12, the Sabbath was to be a sign between God and Israel. See ii. 17 note, 31 note.

Keep Sabbath with us. Israel is to unite with the angels (cf. verses 17, 18) in observing the Sabbath.

To eat and to drink, etc. This joyful aspect of the Sabbath is enforced

again in ii. 31, 1. 9, 10. In 1. 12 fasting on the Sabbath is forbidden. See 1. 6 sqq. (notes) for a discussion of the entire question.

A peculiar people above all peoples. Deut. vii. 6; cf. Exod. xix. 5; Amos iii. 2. The Sabbaths are signs that God has given to His people to distinguish them from other peoples. Cf. verse 31; Ezek. xx. 12, 20. “Peculiar” here = *zajâtari* emended from *zajâstarē'i*.

And that they . . . with us. This seems a dittography of the second clause of this verse.

22. *His commands, etc.* Corrupt.

A sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21; Exod. xxix. 18; Ezek. xx. 41; 2 Cor. ii. 15; Eph. v. 2.

Acceptable before Him. Ezek. xx. 41; Rom. xii. 1; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. It is clear from Epiphanius, Syncellus and Cedrenus that there is a

to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of work were made until the seventh day; this is blessed and holy; and the former also is blessed and holy; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. 24. And to this (Jacob and his seed) it was granted that they should always

lacuna in the text after ver. 22. Thus in Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, ch. xxii. (ed. Dind. vol. iv. 28) after an account of the six days' creation, drawn word for word from Jubilees, he continues *καὶ ἐδήλωσε δι' ἀγγέλου τῷ Μωϋσέϊ ὅτι* (Jub. ii. 23) *καὶ εἴκοσι δύο κεφάλαια ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἄχρι τοῦ Ἰακώβ. . . . καὶ* (Jub. ii. 21) *ἐκλέξομαι ἐμὰντῶ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ . . . λαὸν περιούσιον ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν . . . διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βιβλους αὐτῶν κβ' ἡριθμησαν εἴκοσι ἐπτά οὐσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλαῖνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἐπτά καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βιβλους κς' οὐσας κβ' πεποιήκασιν.* Also in i. 1 p. 59 ('Ἐπικουρ.) we find *αὐτὰ εἰσιν αἱ εἴκοσι-ἐπτά βιβλοὶ αἱ ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦμεναι, διὰ τὸ διπλαῖσθαι δέκα βιβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας.* Again Anastasius, who elsewhere quotes Jubilees (see iii. 9 note), seems to refer to our text here in his work on the Hexaemeron (Migne's *Biblioth. Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 940): *Viginti enim duo opera fecisse Deum dicunt, et Judaeorum et Christianorum interpretes . . . propterea viginti quoque duobus libris enumerat omne Vetus suum Testamentum.* In Isidore of Seville (ob. 636), *Etymolog.* xvi. 26. 10 (Migne *Bibl. Patr. Lat.* tom. 82, col. 595), we have an account of the creation agreeing with Jubilees save in one small particular. It is there shown that there were twenty-two kinds of work just as there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, twenty-two books in the OT and twenty-two letters. This account is dependent on Epiphanius. Thus it is most probable that originally mention was made in the text of the twenty-two Hebrew letters and the twenty-two books of the Bible, and so we find it actually stated by Syncellus

Chronogr. i. 5 (ed. Dind.) *ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔργα εἴκοσι δύο ἰσάριθμα τοῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι δύο Ἑβραϊκαῖς βιβλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως Ἰακώβ εἴκοσι δύο γενεαρχαῖς, ὡς ἐν λεπτῇ φέρεται Γενέσει, ἣν καὶ Μωϋσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν.* This statement is reproduced verbally by Cedrenus, *Compendium Histor.* vol. i. 9 (ed. Bekker). Next we have the evidence of the Hebrew tradition preserved in the Midrash Tadshe vi. (quoted above, p. 11): "Twenty-two kinds of creatures were created in the universe. . . This corresponds to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet and to the twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob." Thus we should probably restore the lacuna as follows:—*As there were two and twenty letters and two and twenty (sacred) books and two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made two and twenty kinds of work, etc.* The thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are equalised to the number of letters by the following device. The twelve minor prophets count as one book, similarly Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations are taken together, and the two books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles are reckoned respectively as one each. Thus the thirty-nine are reduced to twenty-two. See *Introd.* § 11.

This is blessed and holy, i.e., the Sabbath.

The former also is blessed and holy, i.e., Jacob. These two, the Sabbath and Jacob, are intimately related. As the Sabbath comes at the close of the twenty-two works, so Jacob comes at the close of the twenty-second generation. Not till Jacob's time, therefore, could the Sabbath be rightly observed on earth. Moreover, the Sabbath was given to Israel alone (ii. 31).

24. *They should always, etc.* So *bcd.* *a* reads "he should always," etc.

be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. 25. He created heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy, for all His works; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. 26. Wherefore do thou command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to defile it, as it is holier than all other days. 27. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 28. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and blessed throughout all days like unto us. 29. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of their hearts; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything

He had sanctified. So *c d.* *a b* read "it had been sanctified."

And blessed. So *a c d.* *b* "and had been blessed."

The Sabbath day. *c d.* *a b* omit.

25. *Whoever does any work thereon shall die, and that he who defiles, etc.* Exod. xxxi. 14, 15. Cf. Exod. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32-36. See also verses 26, 27.

26. *Command the children of Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy.* Exod. xx. 8, xxxi. 1.

Holier than all other days. Cf. ii. 30 where it is said to be holier than the jubilee of the jubilees; also ii. 33.

27. *Whoever profanes it . . . whoever does thereon any work.* See two preceding verses.

Rooted out of the land. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. *It is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure.* In the rendering "which is unseemly" I have followed Barth and Littmann in taking *za'ijekawen za'ijāstar'i* as representing *זָאִי־זָאִי־זָאִי*. See also on iii. 15. It might be better to connect the following infinitive with "unseemly" and translate "which is unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure." It is usual for *זָאִי* to be followed by an infinitive in this sense. Cf. Esther ii. 9; Chull. 83b; Nid. vi. 4.

To do thereon their own pleasure. Cf. Is. lviii. 13.

Not prepare thereon anything to be

to be eaten or drunk, †and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden,† which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. 30. And they shall not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day; for that day is more holy and blessed than any jubilee day of the jubilees: on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 31. And the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples and

eaten or drunk. This law could be derived from Exod. xvi. 23, 25. Baking and boiling are forbidden in Exod. xvi. 23, and the making of a fire in Exod. xxxv. 3.

And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk . . . which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. It will be observed that by omitting "and (that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" an excellent sense is restored to the text. Besides, the words in question constitute a break in the grammatical construction. The words "or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden" look like a dittography of the first clause in ver. 30. They may, however, be genuine, and we can restore at once the sense and grammar by reading these clauses immediately after the words "their own pleasure." Thus we have: "That it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is unseemly, to do thereon their own pleasure or to draw water or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden. And that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings."

Or bring in or take out . . . any burden. The law is found in ii. 30, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19; John v. 10; Shabb. vii. 2.

Which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day. This

should follow immediately on the clause "anything to be eaten or drunk." Thus we have the provision enforced in Bez. 2b, that on the Sabbath day nothing should be eaten which had not been expressly prepared on a week day with a view to the Sabbath.

On the sixth day. Cf. i. 9. This phrase can equally well be rendered in both passages "on the six days."

30. *Bring in nor take out from house to house.* Cf. ii. 29, i. 8; Jer. xvii. 22. Also Shabb. vii. 2, המצוי מרשות לרשות. See note on ver. 29.

On this we kept Sabbath in the heavens. Similarly it is said in vi. 18 that the feast of weeks was celebrated by the angels in heaven till the days of Noah. The writer most probably held that the other feasts were likewise observed in heaven. The sabbath and the feast of weeks, however, are the two chief feasts in the eyes of the writer. According to Ber. rabba 11 even the godless in Gehenna had rest on the Sabbath.

31. *Blessed it, i.e., Israel.* MSS omit "it" but we have only (with Barth and Littmann) to emend bāraka into bārakā to restore it.

He did not sanctify all . . . nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone. Cf. ii. 19. The Sabbath was the special privilege and distinction of Israel. Hence it could not be rightly observed on earth till Jacob's time (see ii. 23 note). It was to be a special sign between God and Israel (ii. 21), as it was already a sign in heaven between

nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone: them alone He permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. 32. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which He had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 33. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their generations.

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification, 4-14. Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion, 15-29. Law of covering one's shame enacted, 30, 31. Adam and Eve live in Êlâdâ, 32-35. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.).

III. And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name. 3. And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. 4. And the Lord said unto us: "It is not good that the

God and the two chief orders of angels (ii. 17). As no such sign existed between God and the inferior angels (who are inferior to Israel, see ii. 2 note), so none existed between God and the Gen-tilis.

33. *A law for ever unto their generations* = חקת עולם לדורותם, Exod. xxvii. 21; Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14, etc.

III. 1-2. Cf. Gen. ii. 19. G is found

in Syncellus, pp. 7-8: τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν Ἀδὰμ τὰ ἀγρία θηρία θείῳ τινὶ χαρίσματι, τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ κτήνη, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασεν τὰ πετεινά· τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ ἔρπετά· τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ . . . ὠνόμασε τὰ νηκτά.

3. Cf. Gen. ii. 20. *Found*. So Mass., Sam.; but LXX, Syr. and Vulg. = "was found."

man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him." 5. And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. 6. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: "This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she will be called [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband." 7. Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 8. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their

4. Gen. ii. 18. *Let us make.* So also LXX and Vulg. Mass., Sam., Syr. = "I will make."

5-6. Creation of woman on the 13th day of the creation. Cf. Gen. ii. 21-23. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21 the rib is said to have been the 13th on the right side. On the Talmudic theories as to the hermaphroditic character of Adam before the creation of Eve see Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*,² p. 211.

5. *One rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib . . . from amongst his ribs.* Text literally = "one bone from amongst his bones and this rib (or side) . . . from amongst his bones."

6. [*My*] wife. The "my" I have bracketed as an interpolation. It is found also in the Eth. vers. of Gen. ii. 23, but in no other important version.

Her husband (= חַוְּיָאָה). So also Sam., LXX, and Onkelos against Mass., Syr., and Vulg. which omit the pronoun.

7. Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

They shall be one flesh. So also Mass. and Onkelos, but Sam. (והיו כשנים); LXX, Syr., Vulg., Ps.-Jon. = "they twain shall be one flesh." This latter

is followed in Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7; Eph. v. 31, and seems to have the older attestation.

8. *First week . . . second week.* MSS read "seventh" instead of "week" in both cases. We obtain the right sense by simply emending sab'et into sab'at.

8-14. *Commandment was given to keep in their defilement*, etc. In this passage our author either invents historical grounds or else adopts an already existing legend to account for the commands given in Lev. xii. 2-5. According to Lev. xii. 2, 5 a mother was to be unclean seven days if she bore a man child, and was not to enter the sanctuary till thirty-three days later, in all forty days; and she was to be unclean fourteen days if she bore a maid child, and was not to enter the sanctuary for sixty-six days later, in all eighty days. This law, our author says, was based on the fact that Adam was created at the close of the first week and did not enter the Garden till forty days after his creation, and Eve was created at the close of the second week and did not enter the Garden till eighty days after her creation. This peculiar idea reappears

defilement, for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. 9. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered

in various works. Thus in Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 21 (translated by Aucher from the Armenian), where Philo is dealing with the creation of woman from the rib of the man, the text appears to recall the views of our author: Siquidem ut perfectior et (si liceat dici) duplicior est viri formatio formatione mulieris: sic etiam dimidio tempore opus habuit, diebus videlicet xl, ubi imperfectae atque, ut ita dicam, dimidia viri sectioni, scilicet mulieri, (opus esset) duplici mensura, nempe diebus lxxx. Our text was certainly before Syncellus, i. 8-9, εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κτίσεως . . . εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ βοηθὸς Εὐὰ, ἐν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτῆς . . . διὰ τοῦτο προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ, ἥτοι διὰ τὰς μετὰ τὴν πλάσιν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἡμέρας ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐπὶ μὲν ἀρρενογονίας ἀκάθαρτον αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ θηλυτοκίας ἕως ἡμέρῶν π'. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀδὰμ τῇ μ' ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰσήχθη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὐ χάριν καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσφέρουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐπὶ δὲ θήλεος ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα, διὰ τε τὴν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς εἰσοδὸν τῇ ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τοῦ θήλεος πρὸς τὸ ἄρσεν. ἀφεδρος γὰρ πάλιν οὕσα οὐκ εἰσέρχεται ἕως ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον. ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ βίου λεγομένου Ἀδὰμ φιλομαθίας χάριν ἐν συντόμῳ ἐστοιχείωσα, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς πλάσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.

In the Book of Adam and Eve translated by Malan in 1882 from the Ethiopic we find an undoubted reminiscence of our text. Thus in i. 74 and 75 it is recounted that Adam made

an offering for Cain when he was forty days old and an offering for Cain's twin sister Luluwa when she was eighty days old, when Eve and her daughter approached the altar. Anastasius Sinaita (flor. 7th cent.) in his *Anagogic. contemplat. in Hexaem.* (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 83; Migne's *Bibliotheca Patr. Graec.* tom. 89, col. 967) is the first to refer directly to our text: Unde Hebraei ex libro qui non est redactus in canonem qui quidem dicitur Testamentum Protoplastorum, dicunt quadragesima die ingressum esse Adam in Paradisum; sicut etiam videtur cuidam historico chronographo Pyrrhoni, et quibusdam expositoribus. The Pyrrho here mentioned by Anastasius is likewise referred to by Glycas as the source of this statement. Syncellus (p. 8) is the next to use our text: εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ. Subsequently Glycas (circ. 1150), in his *Bιβλος Χρονική* (pp. 392-393, ed. Bekker), quotes our text with disapproval: ἡ δὲ λεγομένη λεπτή Γένεσις, οὐκ οἶδ', ὅθεν συγγραφείσα καὶ ὅπως, φησὶν ὅτι μεθ' ἡμέρας μ' εἰσήλθεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, ἡ δὲ Εὐὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας π', καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐν ἡμέραις τοσαύταις προσάγονται τῷ νάφ τό τε ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ἀνάλογως τάχα τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῇ Εὐᾷ. On p. 156 Glycas tells us that Pyrrho in his history writes that Adam did not enter the Garden of Eden till the 40th day after his creation, and then adds ἄλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ διέτριβε πρότερον ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἕξω τοῦ παραδείσου τεσσαράκοντα διὰ τὴν ἡμέρας.

On the other hand Beer (*Das Buch des Jubiläen*, p. 40) points out that there is not a trace of such a legend in Rabbinic literature, and that on the contrary it is declared in Shabbath 135a (דורות הראשונים יוכיחו שאין אדם נשמה לרעה (נימול) לשמה) that the regulations in Lev. xii. 2-5 had no currency before

into the garden of Eden. 10. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tables in regard to her that gives birth: "if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. 11. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days." 12. And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. 13. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute

the legislation of Moses. Yet, notwithstanding Beer's statement, the tradition in our text is not without attestation in Judaism. Thus in the Midrash Tadshe xv. (see Jellinek's edition in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 164-193 or Eppstein in *Beiträge zur jüd. Alterthumskunde*, 1887), "Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain seven days of purification for a woman who had borne a male child and fourteen days for her who had borne a female? This is to recall the creation of the first Adam who was created in seven days [in the first] of the first week, (and) the creation of Eve, who was taken from one of his ribs in the second week. So Pinchas ben Jair (פנחס בן יאיר). The sages however say that both were created on the eve of the Sabbath, the sixth day. Wherefore did the Holy One, blessed be He, ordain that she who had borne a male should enter the temple after forty days, and that she who had borne a female after eighty days? To recall that which God did regarding the first Adam who was created outside the Garden of Eden and did not enter till later."

We observe here that the above statements are attributed to Pinchas. They go back ultimately to our text. As references to Pinchas, Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxi. 92, 1890) mentions Chullin 7 b, Kethuboth 46 a, Sota 49 a, Ber. rabba 60.

10. *The heavenly tables.* In my note on xlvii. 3 of the Eth. Enoch I have touched on the origin and development of the idea underlying this expression, and to this I must refer the reader. The phrase is found in the Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3, lxxx. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2, Test. XII. Patriarch. Levi v.; Asher. ii., vii. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in Enoch and Test. XII. Patriarch. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple: whereas in our text, in addition to these significations, it implies at times little more than a contemporary heavenly record of events. In fact, in our author, the heavenly tables are the divine statute book of the Theocracy of which the Mosaic law is the reproduction on earth, or a mere contemporary record of events, or finally they recount the

of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. 14. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the days. 15. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the ^{1-7 A.M.} garden of Eden for seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything that is suitable for tillage. 16. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was being

future history of the world either predictively or else determinatively. One meaning, moreover, passes imperceptibly into another. Thus those tables record: (1) Laws levitical, criminal, and chronological, in some instances predetermined and previously observed in heaven, in others established for the first time on earth: purification after childbirth, iii. 8-14; law as to covering one's nakedness, iii. 31; as to murder and those who witness it, iv. 5; as to retribution, iv. 32; as to the judgment of sinners, v. 13; as to the feast of weeks, vi. 17 and the divisions and length of the year, vi. 29-35; as to circumcision, xv. 25-26; as to the seed of Lot, xvi. 9 and the feast of tabernacles, xvi. 29; as to the feast of the lord, xviii. 19; as to the Philistines, xxiv. 33; as to the marriage of the elder daughter, xxviii. 6; as to the man who gives his daughter to a Gentile, xxx. 9; as to tithes, xxxii. 15; as to the incestuous person, xxxiii. 10; as to the Sabbath, l. 13. (2) Merely a contemporary event: the naming of Abraham as a friend of God, xiv. 9, and of Levi, xxx. 20; Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah, xxi. 32. (3) Predictions and predeterminations: as to the judgment, v. 13; as to the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 32.

15. *Seven years.* According to Ber. rabba 18, Sanh. 38b, and *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7 (translated by Bezold),

Adam was only six hours in the Garden. MS *a* of the Slavonic Enoch xxxii. 2 states that Adam was only five and a half hours in Paradise. This last clause looks like a Christian interpolation, and may point to the 5500 years which were to elapse before the coming of Christ according to the early Fathers.

Instructed him . . . for tillage. In Is. xxviii. 26-29 this instruction is attributed to God; but in Ber. rabba 24 it is assigned, as in our text, to the angels: also in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, 22 (Kautzsch, *Apoc. und Pseud.* ii. 515) it is stated that God sent Michael with certain seeds to Adam, and with orders to instruct him in husbandry.

Is suitable. So Barth and Littmann take *zajăstar'i* as representing אָרַךְ in the Hebrew. See on ii. 29. But the ordinary sense of the word, "is revealed," may be right here. See preceding note.

16. *Naked . . . and was not ashamed.* Gen. ii. 25.

Protected the garden from the birds, etc. The Greek is found in Glycas (p. 206, ed. Bekker): ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεσώβει τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ ἐρπετὰ, συνήγε τὸν καρπὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ καὶ σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσθιον αὐτόν.

[*And put aside . . . kept*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Here "which was being kept" = τὸ φυλασσόμενον = תְּשׁוּבָה, a corrupt dittography of תְּשׁוּבָה = τὸ καταλειφθέν, "the residue" (or תְּשׁוּבָה of תְּשׁוּבָה).

kept]. 17. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven years exactly, and in 8 A.M. the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, "Hath God commanded you, saying, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" 18. And she said to it, "Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." 19. And the serpent said unto the woman, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil." 20. And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. 21. And when she had first covered her shame with fig-leaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. 22. And he took fig-leaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and covered his shame. 23. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . 24. And He was wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

19. See on ver. 32. Cf. Syncellus i. 13: 'Εκ τῶν λεπτῶν Γενέσεως: τῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει παρέβη καὶ τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἐξερρίψαν τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως, . . .

23. Cf. Gen. iii. 14. At the close of this verse I have marked a lacuna in the text; for Glycas (p. 206) affirms that according to Jubilees the serpent had originally four feet: ὁ ὄφης ἀπὸ κτήνους ἐρπετὸν ἐγένετο, χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας ἐέκτητο. ἀφῆρέθη δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τολμηρῶς εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσελθεῖν. Syncellus (i. 14) states that the serpent had originally four feet. The text,

therefore, most probably contained some statement relative to the cutting off of the serpent's feet. Such a statement would follow naturally on Gen. iii. 14 "upon thy belly thou shalt go." Indeed in the Targ., Ps.-Jon., Gen. iii. 14 we find this very statement גְּלִי יִרְיָן, "and thy feet will be cut off." According to the Midrash Koheleth "the ministering angels came down and and cut off its hands and feet." Finally Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1. 4.) writes that the serpent was deprived both of language and feet, ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν . . . ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε.

voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: "I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee." 25. And to Adam also He said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou wast taken; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 26. And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. 27. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. 28. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue. 29. And He

24. *I shall greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains*, etc. Gen. iii. 16.

Thy pains. So also LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., and Vulg. = "thy conception" (הריון).

Thy return = ἡ ἀποστροφή σου. So also LXX and Syr. = חשבת instead of Mass. and Sam. חשוקת = "they desire."

25-26. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. *Of the tree* = ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. The text is "of that tree," but the demonstrative is a rendering of the Greek art. as frequently.

Thy bread. So LXX, but Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit "thy."

To the earth . . . for earth . . . unto earth. As LXX uses γῆ to render the two Hebrew words ארמה and עפר, so did the Greek version of Jubilees.

27. Here the writer antedates the incense-offering mentioned in Exod. xxx. 34. According to Aboda zara 8 a Adam offered an ox whose horns were of earlier growth than its hoof (Beer, *Buch der Jub.* p. 40).

From the day when he covered his shame. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42, where the priests are bidden to cover their nakedness with breeches when at the altar, may have been in the mind of the writer, as Beer (*op. cit.* p. 41) suggests.

28. This was undoubtedly a current belief among certain sections of the Jews. Thus it is stated without question in Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4 ἀποφωνούτων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ τῶν ζώων πάντων. It appears also in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 18 and in

sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created for them. 30. And to Adam alone did

some form is implied in Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32 (Armen.). Both our text and Josephus are quoted as teaching this view in Syncellus, i. 14, τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἔρπετα φησὶν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ ἡ Λεπτή Γένεσις μόφωνα εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις. This statement is repeated in Cedrenus, i. pp. 9-10; Zonaras, i. p. 23. It seems implied in the text that the common original language of men and animals was Hebrew. That Hebrew was the primitive language of man, at any rate, was universally believed among the Jews. Thus according to the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. xi. 1 all men originally spoke Hebrew, which was the language by means of which the world was created: הָיָה אִשְׁתִּיךָ שְׁלֹשָׁה אֲמָלָה בְּהָמָה בְּרֵאשִׁית הָאָדָמָה. (Cf. also Ber. rabba 18, 31.) In xii. 25, 26 of our text it is called "the tongue of the creation," which "had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel)" till the days of Abraham. In Cedrenus, i. 22, however, the legend is differently preserved. Because Eber refused to join in building Babel he did not lose his original language—the language that Adam spoke—like the rest of his contemporaries—τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγγεθελεῖς ἡ τοῦ "Ἐβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἥ καὶ Ἀδὰμ ἐλάλει. Hence his descendants called themselves Hebrews and their language Hebrew, and the names of the patriarchs are a proof that Hebrew was the pre-Babel language—καὶ ταύτην οἱ τοῦτον διαδεξάμενοι ἀπόγονοι πατρωνυμικῶς ἑαυτοὺς Ἑβραίους προσηγόρευσαν καὶ Ἑβραῖδα τὴν φωνὴν ἐκάλεσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πρὸ τῆς συγχύσεως φωνὴν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα. This view is likewise Jewish: it is found in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11. But while some Syriac writers such as John bar Madani and Jacob of Serugh admitted this claim, others like Theodoret, *Quaest. in*

Gen. lx-lxi., St. Ephraem, and Barhebraeus (see Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 313, 314) were just as confident of the absolute priority of their own language, while Solomon Baisorensis reconciled both views by declaring that originally Syriac and Hebrew were one and the same.

In *Die Schatzhöhle* (transl. by Bezold), p. 29, the priority of Syriac is polemically maintained: "Von Adam bis damals redeten sie alle in dieser Sprache, nämlich in der syrischen Sprache . . . denn diese Sprache ist die Königin aller Sprachen. Die früheren Schriftsteller aber irren, indem sie sagen, das Hebräische sei die erste gewesen."

Other writers again asserted that Greek was the primitive speech of mankind. To this last view Eutychius (Nazam, al-j. pp. 53, 54, quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, pp. 245, 6) assents in these words. "This approves itself to me. For the Greek language is wiser, clearer and broader than either the Hebrew or the Syriac." The same view must have been held by the writer who first derived the name Adam from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters of the world—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἀρκτος, μεσημβρία. See Slav. En. xxx. 13 (note); Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-26. As for later Jewish ideas on this subject we find, Sanh. 38b, that Adam spoke Aramaic, אַרַמִּי, because Ps. cxxxix., which was supposed to be written by him, contained an Aramaic (?) word. In Shabb. 12b on the other hand one is bidden not to pray in Aramaic, שְׂמַי אַרְבִּי, because the angels of Service do not understand Aramaic (quoted in Levi's *Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 168). According to Abarbanel, in his exposition of Zephaniah, fol. 276, col. 1 (see Eisenmenger, ii. 778), Hebrew was the language spoken before the building of Babel and should ultimately be that of all Israelites.

He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and cattle. 31. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tables as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves. 32. And on the new moon of the fourth ^{8 A.M.} month, Adam and his wife went forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. 33. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 34. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he knew her. 35. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

31. This verse is of great importance from the historical standpoint. It constitutes an emphatic protest on the part of the writer against the adoption by his countrymen ("those who know the judgment of the law") of the customs of the Greeks. The custom, which he here protests against, is the exposure of the person in the Greek palaestra, which was established under the very citadel of David (2 Macc. iv. 12). Here many of the Jewish youths completely stripped themselves and joined in the public sports as Greek athletes. Even the priests of the Temple forsook their duties to join in these heathen games. On the institution of these and other Greek customs see 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 9-14; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. It is hardly possible to conceive the shock that such conduct must have given to the religiously disposed amongst the nation, and especially to such a Pharisee of the Pharisees as our author. In order to emphasise his protest against it he did not turn to the laws in Exod. xx. 26, xxx. 34, for these had only to do with the dress of the officiating priest, but to Gen. iii. 21 where he found ample justification for extending the law of covering one's shame to all men. This law, he asserts, was enacted im-

mediately after the expulsion of Adam from Eden, *i.e.*, immediately after the discovery of his nakedness. Subsequently (vii. 20) he represents Noah as enjoining the observance of this ordinance on his children.

32. *On the new moon of the fourth month* (see note on vi. 23). Syncellus (i. p. 13) says that Adam spent forty-five days in the garden after his transgression. This agrees with our text; for, according to iii. 17, Adam sinned on the 17th of the 2nd month and the expulsion followed on the 1st of the 4th.

In the land of 'Êldâ, in the land of their creation. Can 'Êldâ be a corruption of מולרָה? In that case "land of 'Êldâ" would mean "land of nativity." The phrase "land of their creation" is an interpretation of the words in Gen. iii. 23 "whence he was taken," which are reproduced in Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. as "whence he was created" (אֲתֵרִי), as in our text.

34. Thus Eve was a virgin till after the expulsion from Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 1883), p. 7: Als Adam und Heva aus dem Paradies herausgegangen . . . sie waren jungfräulich.

35. Cf. iii. 15.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, 13-15: Enoch and his history, 16-25. Four sacred places, 26. Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, 27, 28. Death of Adam and Cain, 29-32. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, 33. (Cf. Gen. iv.-v.).

64-70 A.M. IV. And in the third week in the second jubilee she
 71-77 A.M. gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to
 78-84 A.M. Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter 'Âwân.
 99-105 A.M. 2. And in the first (year) of the third jubilee, Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept the offering of Cain. 3. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, complaining because he had slain him. 4. And the Lord reproved Cain because of Abel, because he had slain him,

IV. 1. 'Âwân. A second daughter named 'Azûrâ (iv. 8) was born later. Cain married the elder 'Âwân, *i.e.* אָוָן, "wickedness," and Seth the younger, 'Azûrâ. The derivation of the latter is doubtful. Frankel (*Monatsschrift f. Gesch. des Judenthums*, 1856, 311-316) thinks that it is from עֲזוּרָה = "chaste" (?). Probably it is from אֲזוּרָה, "well guarded" (cf. Syriac Fragment 130f).

No two of later writers agree as to the forms of these names. According to the Syriac Fragment they were Aswa and Azura: in Epiphanius, Σαυή and 'Αζουρά: in Syncellus, 'Ασαννάν ('Ασαννά, 'Ασαννάν, 'Ασανρά, 'Ασουάμ) and 'Αζουρά. In Glycas and Joel 'Αζουρά ('Αζουρân) is made the elder and 'Ασουάμ the younger. Quite different names are given in the Pseudo-Methodius, *i.e.*, Καλημέρα and Λεβόρα. Again the elder appears as Qalmana in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel and Pseudo-Methodius (Lat. vers.), as Luva in the Book of Adam and Eve, as Azrun in Eutychius, while the younger is Lebuda in Barhebraeus, Aklejâm in the Book of Adam and Eve, and Owain or Laphura in Eutychius. (See Rönsch,

pp. 373-374, Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 109 sqq.)

According to Syncellus (i. 14) Cain was born in the year 70 A.M., Abel in 77, and Asouam (*i.e.* 'Âwân) in 85. Though the dates are left indefinite in our text they are no doubt derived from it. Thus Cain married Âwân in the year 135 according to Syncellus, between 134-140 according to our text. 'Âwân was then fifty years old (Syncellus).

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

2. *The sacrifice of Abel.* So *a. bcd* read "the sacrifice at his hand."

Offering. *a c*, but *bd* omit.

Of Cain. So *a. bcd* "at the hand of Cain."

3. *Complaining* or "making suit." Cf. Gen. iv. 10; Eth. Enoch xxii. 5, 6. According to Syncellus (i. 14) Abel was twenty-two years old when he offered his sacrifice on the new moon of the seventh month. Thus the words "in the first of the third jubilee" are to be taken as the first year of the jubilee = 99 A.M. For the later traditions as to the instrument with which Cain slew Abel, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 113.

and he made him a fugitive on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth.

5. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, "Cursed is he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other."

6. And for this reason we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere.

7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week (99-127) they became joyful, and Adam knew his wife again, and she

130 A.M.

bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said "GOD has raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him."

8. And in the sixth week he begat his daughter 'Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took 134-140 A.M.

'Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the 190-196 A.M.

first week of the fifth jubilee, houses were built on the earth, 197 A.M.

and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of

4. Cf. Gen. iv. 11, 12. *A fugitive.* Text nûḥa is a corrupt transliteration of נֹחַ, Gen. iv. 12.

5. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 24.

Treacherously = δόλῳ, the LXX rendering of בסתר in Deut. xxvii. 24. The phrase ba'ekûj bears the same meaning in xxix. 7, xxx. 3. In viii. 9 it = "secretly."

6. *Sin . . . committed in heaven.* On this old Semitic idea of the possibility of sin in heaven, see my Slavonic Enoch pp. xxxiv. sqq.

7. *Mourned for Abel four weeks of years.* As Abel was born in 77, and was twenty-two years old according to Syncellus and our text (see verse 3, note) when killed by Cain, the twenty-eight years of mourning extend from 99 to 127. The Greek is found in Syncellus (i. 15): ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν οἱ πρωτόπλαστοι ἐβδομαδικούς τέσσαρας, ἡγουν ἔτη εἰκοσι ὀκτώ.

Became joyful. The sense may be the same as in Gen. xviii. 12, "After I am waxed old, shall I have pleasure?"

He called. So Sam. וקרא, but Mass., LXX, Syr., Onk., of Gen. iv. 25 read "she called." In Jubilees it is generally the father that names the child; whereas in J of Genesis it is the mother, except in iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26; Exod. ii. 22.

For he said. So LXX and Vulg. but wanting in Mass. and Sam.

8. 'Azûrâ. See note on iv. 1. 'Azûrâ was born in the sixth week of the third jubilee (134-140) or of the fourth (183-189).

9. *Bare him Enoch, etc.* Cf. Gen. iv. 17. Syncellus (i. 16) ascribes to this Enoch the invention of the plough.

Cain built a city, and called its name . . . Enoch. Cain therefore ceased to be a wanderer. The Book of Jashar, 96, plays on the name Enoch and gives

his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of the

231 A.M. fifth jubilee Seth took 'Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in
235 A.M. the fourth (year of the sixth week) she bare him Enos.

12. He began to call on the namē of the Lord on the earth.

315 A.M. 13. And in the seventh jubilee in the third week Enos

it the sense of rest in this connection.
יִקְרָא אֶת שֵׁם הָעֵר חֲנֹךְ בְּשֵׁם בְּנוֹ כִּי הָנָה לוֹ
בְּאַרְצָא בְּיָמֵם הָהֵם.

10. *Yet nine sons.* Reproduced in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 6 (vol. I. i. 528: ed. Oehler): Γεγόνασι δὲ τῷ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἄλλοι υἱοί, ὡς ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις περιέχει, ἐννέα μετὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τοῦτους· ὡς εἶναι αὐτῷ δύο μὲν θυγατέρας, ἄρρενας δὲ δεκαδύο. The Book of Jashar speaks of three sons and three daughters of Adam. Syncellus (i. 18) assigns to him thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, gives the names of these sons: Acliseel, Suris, Aelamiel, Brabal, Naalt, Harama, Hasam, Maathal, Anath.

11. Cf. Gen. iv. 26. *Fourth (year of the sixth week).* The lacuna here is supplied from Syncellus. According to Syncellus (i. 17) Seth marries in the year υλέ (= 425), and Enos was born in the year υλέ (= 435). Thus there was an interval of ten years between the marriage of Seth and the birth of Enos. It will be observed that there is a difference of 200 years between the dates assigned by Jubilees and those by Syncellus, and that in the following ten dates relating to the same events respectively both books agree in the tens and units but differ in the hundreds.

	According to Jubilees.	According to Syncellus.
Seth born .	130	230
Azûrâ born .	134	234
Seth marries		
Azûrâ .	225	425
Enos born .	235	435
Cainan born .	325	625
Cain marries		
Mûalêlêt .	390	790
Mahalalel born	395	795
Jared born .	461	960
Enoch born .	522	1122

This addition of centuries to the dates in Jubilees rising progressively

from one to six Syncellus carried out in the service of his chronological system (see Rönisch, 285 sq.).

12. *He began.* So LXX and Vulg. implying הָחֵל.

Began to call, etc. The two great versions, the LXX and Syr., agree rightly with Jubilees in giving this sense to Gen. iv. 26. It was also so understood by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1, but when we come down to Jerome's time, most Jewish scholars held that the verse recounted the rise of idolatry (*Quaest. in Gen.* iv. 26: Tunc initium fuit invocandi nomen Domini, licet plerique Hebraeorum aliud arbitrentur, quod tunc primum in nomine Domini et in similitudine ejus fabricata sint idola). This latter interpretation may have arisen as early as the first cent. A.D.; for it is found in Onkelos ("the children of men ceased praying"—הָחֵל . . . לְפָנָיו). By Ps.-Jon. the commencement of idolatry is derived from Gen. iv. 26 by taking הָחֵל as = profanari. Ber. rabba 23 recounts that men were exposed to demons in the days of Enos, and that then for the first time they made for themselves idols. Shabbath 118b speaks of man committing idolatry like Enos. The same idea recurs in the Book of Jashar and a closely related one in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20. Yet even in this book traces of the older view survive; for astrology, divination and idolatry are assigned to Serug's days, though Serug and his sons are said to have had no part in these things (xxvii. 9). Indeed, in the Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1090), it is said that Seth called his son Enos because "men began to corrupt themselves and forsake God for idols."

13-15. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared.

13, 14. Cf. Gen. v. 9, 12.

took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name 325 A.M. Kenan. 14. And at the close of the eighth jubilee Kenan 386-392 A.M. took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week in the third year 395 A.M. of this week, and he called his name Mahalalel. 15. And 449-455 A.M. in the second week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dînâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl the daughter of his father's brother, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and he called his name Jared; for 461 A.M. in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth,

13. *Nôâm*. Cf. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 41, Noaba.

Kenan. Eth. Kâinân.

14. *Mûalêlêth* (so also Syr.) is a feminine form of *Malâlêl* (= מללל) = "she who praises God."

Mahalalel. Eth. *Malâlêl*.

15. Cf. Gen. v. 15. Barâkî'êl (= ברכיא).

Took unto him to wife . . . the daughter of his father's brother. It will be observed that from the descent of the angels onwards men cease to marry their sisters. Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 7) remarks: πλατυνθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . λοιπὸν οὐκέτι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀδελφὰς πρὸς γάμον ἤγοντο, ἀλλὰ εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. The last clause appears, as Rönisch (p. 254) has already remarked, to be taken from Jubilees. This book is cited by Epiphanius in the preceding chapter under its twofold name of Ἰωβηλαῖα and Λεπτογένεσις.

Father's brother. MSS read ἑβτα ἄβὺή = "father's sister"; but I have emended this into ἑβwa ἄβὺή, since we find the latter in the Syriac Fragment and in the Greek MS r on Gen. v. 15 (πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ) and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxxix. 7: εἰς εὐνομίαν κατέστη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγγράφου νόμου ὁ κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν γάμον θεσμός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πατραδέλφων αὐτῶν τὰς γαμετὰς ἑαυτῶν ἤγοντο. In similar cases in the sequel the same emenda-

tion is made on the authority of the Syriac and Greek, save in viii. 6 and xi. 7 where the Ethiopic preserves the true text.

Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended. We have here a play on Jared's name in the original, ירר . . . כי במי מלאכי אלהים ירר.

The angels of the Lord descended on the earth. The later Jewish form of the myth relating to the fall of the angels and their intercourse with the daughters of men is constructed on Gen. vi. 1-4 and Is. xxiv. 21. The true interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is undoubtedly that given in our text, the Enoch literature, Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Philo, Jude, Peter, Josephus, Justin Martyr, and most of the early Christian writers (see my Eth. Enoch vi. 2, note). But probably at the close of the first cent. A.D., or earlier, Jewish scholars protested against this interpretation. Thus (Ber. rabba 26) R. ben Jochai (early in second cent.) cursed any one who translated Gen. vi. 2 by the phrase "sons of God," and not "sons of the judges." Similarly, the Jew Trypho condemns this interpretation, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 79. In the Samaritan Version (בני שלמניה), and the Targum of Onkelos (בני רכריא), and Symmachus (υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστεύοντων) we have it rendered as = "sons of the mighty." In the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1097) the sons of God were "judges and magistrates." In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. vi. 2 we have both interpretations side by side, and also in the

those who are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do

Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxiv. 11-xxv. 8. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 42, gives simply the biblical words. Similarly, on the Christian side the traditional interpretation came in due time to be denounced, and "the sons of God" were taken to be the good amongst mankind, the descendants of Seth, and the daughters of men to be the descendants of Cain. So Julius Africanus: *οι από του Σήθ δίκαιοι* (see below). Next, while Hilary (ob. 368), *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., contents himself with discrediting the old myth, Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1, says that it is necessary to examine this passage carefully in order to subvert the fables of thoughtless praters—*ἀναγκαῖον τούτου τοῦ χωρίου πολλήν τὴν ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀναστρέψαι τὰς μυθολογίας τῶν ἀπερισκέπτως πάντα φθεγγομένων*. These fables rest on a false exegesis; for, as he proceeds to show, the sons of God were the posterity of Seth and Enos—*οι από του Σήθ καὶ του Ἐνὼς*. Jerome, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii., and Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23. 4, pour discredit and contempt on the old myth. Now concurrently with the increasing acceptance of the new interpretation, there necessarily set in the growing importance of Seth, the ancestor of the righteous generations described in Gen. vi. 1-4 as "the sons of God." In this process of glorification the superhuman achievements and characteristics originally connected with other names were gradually transferred to Seth, and this notably in the case of Enoch. Thus in consequence of this new exegesis the star of Enoch paled before that of Seth. In dealing with such literature this is an important fact, since we are thus frequently justified in applying to Enoch the statements of later Christian writers regarding Seth. We shall now show how subordinate the figure of Enoch becomes in later writers, while the glorification of Seth proceeds apace. First of all in Africanus, who lived about the beginning of the third cent., we have, so far as I am aware, the first occurrence amongst Christians of the new exegesis of Gen. vi. 1-4. He adds, it is true, the old view, but he does not approve of it.

His exposition is given in Syncellus (i. 34 sq.): *πλήθους ἀνθρώπων γενομένου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνήλθον. ἐν ἐνόις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. μυθεύεται δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ προσ-αγορεύονται, διὰ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενεα-λογουμένους δικαίους τε καὶ πατριάρχας ἀχρὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Κάιν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλεῖ σποράν, ὡς οὐδὲ τι θεῖον ἐσχγκότας διὰ πονηρίαν γένους . . . εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους, τῶν περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας . . . ταῖς γυναῖξι τὴν γνῶσιν παραδ-ωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας.* (Cf. also i. 16 sq.) When we pass from this writer to the sixth cent. Book of Adam and Eve, we find that the new interpretation has ousted the old from the field. Thus the Watchers are throughout described as the sons of Seth, and in Book III. chap. iv. the question is discussed at length: the wise men who said that angels had come down from heaven and mingled with the daughters of men had erred: such actions, moreover, were impossible for spiritual beings. These "angels of God" were the children of Seth who were thus designated so long as they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory. But they transgressed and mingled with the daughters of Cain. It is observable that whereas Seth is an extraordinary and superhuman personage in this work, there is nothing notable said of Enoch save that "he wrote a celebrated book" and that "many wonders happened to him . . . but those wonders may not be told in this place." For the same view as to the Watchers, see *Die Schatzhöhle*, pp. 8-10. Our next illustration consists of an anonymous extract prefixed to the works of Malala (*circa* 600), quoted by Fabricius, i. 151: *ὁ δὲ Ἀδάμ σλ' ἐτῶν ἦν ὅτε ἐγέννησε τὸν Σήθ· οὗτος ὁ Σήθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρησε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἐβδομάδας καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέ-θηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*

judgment and uprightness on the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, and her name 512-518 A.M.

καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν μὲν α' πλανήτην ἀστέρα ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, τὸν δὲ β' Δία, τὸν δὲ γ' Ἄρεα, τὸν δὲ δ' Ἀφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ ε' Ἑρμῆν. τοὺς γὰρ δύο φωστῆρας ἦλιον καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε. These words form on the whole a reasonable description of the achievements assigned to Enoch in the two books of Enoch, in Jubilees, and the early Christian writers. They are found verbatim in the *Chronography of Joel*, p. 3 (ed. Bekker, 1836). Next, in the *Annals of Eutychius*, Patriarch of Alexandria (933-939 A.D.), written in Arabic and translated by Pococke (Migne, tom. 111 col. 913), a vigorous protest is made against the old myth: qui autem errant neque sciunt quid dicant aiunt angelos descendisse ad filias hominum, cum intelligendi sint filii Sethi qui a monte sancto ad filias Caini maledicti descenderunt: Sethiadae enim ob sanctitatem suam et quod montem sanctum incolerent, appellati sunt Bani Elohim, i.e., filii Dei. Similar statements are made in the *Chronikon Paschale*, i. pp. 38, 39 (ed. Dindorf, 1832). In Syncellus (*circa* 800 A.D.), i. 17, 19 the now prevailing interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4 is repeated. The descendants of Seth were pious and beautiful, and they lived in the heights over against Paradise according to the command of Adam, but were later seduced through love of the daughters of men (p. 17). Thereupon Syncellus cites Gen. vi. 1. Again, on p. 19 he writes that two hundred Watchers of the posterity of Seth were seduced and descended and took them wives, etc.—οἱ δὲ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ (Σήθ) διακόσιοι ἐγγήγοροι . . . πλανηθέντες κατέβησαν, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, κ.τ.λ. These statements, first made in Eth. En. vi. 4-6, regarding the *two hundred angels* are here transferred to Seth, though Syncellus was perfectly aware of their original bearing; for in the next paragraph he actually cites this chapter of the Eth. En. Again, on pp. 16-17 Seth, just as formerly Enoch, is said to have been carried off by the angels and to have received a revelation regarding the future fall of the Watchers and the Deluge—ὁ Σήθ ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων

ἐμνήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἐγγηγόρων καὶ τὰ περὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐσομένου . . . καὶ γενόμενος ἀφαντος ἡμέρας μ' ἐλθὼν ἐξηγήσατο τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ὅσα ἐμνήθη δι' ἀγγέλων. This is an exact account of what was originally attributed to Enoch. In the *Synopsis* of Cedrenus (eleventh cent.) we meet with the same phenomena, but carried one stage further; for, whereas Syncellus first gave his own version of the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of men, and then with remarkable candour the original account from the Book of Enoch, in Cedrenus, on the other hand, the two accounts given by Syncellus are worked up into one, and every incident told of the fallen angels is circumstantially recounted of the posterity of Seth (i. 16-20). In Zonaras (twelfth cent.), i. 26 (ed. Pinder 1841), the current view is given and the older mentioned only to be rejected. When we pass from this author we come to the semi-apotheosis of Seth in the writings of Glycas who lived some thirty or forty years later. Thus in the *Annals* of Glycas (ed. Bekker, 1836), p. 233, Seth is almost regarded as a divine being:—οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτέστιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ καταγόμενοι—ἐκεῖνον γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ θεὸν ἔλεγον: and likewise on p. 228, Σήθ . . . θεὸς εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενος. This idea, indeed, had already appeared in Cedrenus, i. 16, ὡνομάσθη δὲ θεὸς διὰ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐν ὅλῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ. Thus Seth has at last become incomparably the chief personage among the early Patriarchs. In Glycas, p. 228, however, the persistency of the original Enoch myth is shown in the words: λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀστράσι τεταγμένος ἀγγελος, ὁ θεότατος δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρὸς γε τὸν Σήθ καὶ τὸν Ἑνῶχ κατῶν ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ὥρων μηνῶν τροπῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν διαφορὰς. Just as these Christian writers transferred Enoch's functions to Seth, so Jewish writers after the Christian era, though on different grounds, transferred them variously to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, etc. See my

was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee, and she
 522 A.M. bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. And he was

Apocalypse of Baruch, xiii. 3 note, lix. 5-11 notes.

Watchers. The מְרַקְּעִים of Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23, in Greek ἐγρηγόροι. See Eth. En. i. 5 (note), xx. 1, etc.; Slav. En. vii. (notes), xviii. (notes); Test. Reub. v. Thus anciently the watchers were always regarded as an angelic class, but later, owing to a new interpretation of Gen. vi. 1-4, they were said to be the descendants of Seth. We have seen in the immediately preceding note how this came about.

Watchers instruct the children of men. In v. 6 it is said that God sent the angels to the earth. The object with which the angels here descended to the earth (see v. 6, viii. 10 note) seems at first sight to clash with that which is seemingly implied in the Eth. Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch (see Eth. Enoch vi. notes). But it is quite possible that our text provides us with the object originally assigned in the myth. In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxv. 2-3 this view is preserved where Shemchazai and 'Azael are represented as receiving permission from God to descend on earth in order to sanctify the divine name among men. When these angels descended they could not resist the attractions of the daughters of men (xxv. 4). Such a view most probably underlies Eth. Enoch vi., lxxxvi. 1. At all events the idea was a familiar one in the Judaism of the second cent. B.C. According to Ethiopic Enoch vi.-xxxvi. and lxxii.-lxxxii. Enoch owed all his supernatural knowledge to the instruction of angels, and according to x. 9-10 of our text Raphael taught Noah the secrets of medicinal herbs, and an angel of the presence instructs Moses throughout our book. The way for such beliefs was prepared by the statements in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, bearing on such offices of the angels. For Talmudic ideas on this subject see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 592-593.

16. Râsûjâl (Gk. MS ῥάσουηλ corrupt for πασουήλ), i.e. רָצוּיָא = "acceptable to God."

Father's brother. Emended from "father's sister," as in ver. 15.

17-23. These verses relating to Enoch are of great importance as they help to determine the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch which were known to the author of our text. The words "the first . . . who learnt writing" may point to the phrase in Eth. Enoch xii. 3, "Enoch the scribe"; xii. 4, xv. 1, "Scribe of righteousness," but there is no certainty. On the other hand the clause "who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book that men might know the seasons of the years, etc." may be accepted as a partial description of Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii. To ver. 18 we shall return presently. As regards ver. 19 we can attain to practical certainty. The words "what was and what will be, he saw in a vision of his sleep as it will happen to the children of men . . . until the day of judgment," form an exact description of the Dream-Visions in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc., which give a history of the world from the creation till the final judgment. Moreover, the next verse is no doubt indebted to Eth. Enoch lxxxv. 3 for the name of Enoch's wife. It will be observed also that the Dream-Visions referred to in ver. 19 are rightly placed before Enoch's marriage recounted in ver. 20. It is twice emphatically stated in Eth. Enoch lxxxiii. 2 and lxxxv. 3 that Enoch had these Visions before his marriage. We need, therefore, entertain no doubt as to our author having been acquainted with Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. Now on other critical grounds we know that Eth. Enoch vi.-xi. are earlier than lxxxiii.-xc. Next, the first clause in ver. 21, "he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years," offers an explanation of Eth. Enoch xii. 1-2, "Before all these events Enoch was translated and no one of the children of men knew whither he was translated, and where he abode, and what had become of him. 2. And his activities had to do with the

the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. 18. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth, and

Watchers and his days were with the holy ones." Since in ver. 22 the clause "testified to the watchers" presupposes such statements as are in Eth. En. xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-2, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq., we may conclude, therefore, that our author had also chapters xii.-xvi. of Eth. Enoch before him. To return to ver. 21 the clause "they showed him everything which is on earth" appears to refer to Enoch's journeys to the four quarters of the earth as well as to its centre under the guidance of various angels in Eth. Enoch xxiii.-xxxvi. The next words "(everything which is) . . . in the heavens" are less clear. They may point to Enoch's translation to heaven in Eth. Enoch xiv. or possibly to the celestial phenomena described in lxxii.-lxxxii. Moreover, the next words, "and the rule of the sun," seem clearly to indicate such a passage as lxxxii. 13-20. We have already seen that the first clause of ver. 22 manifestly implies such a background as Eth. Enoch xii.-xvi. Its second clause, "who had transgressed with the daughters of men," expresses the thought that recurs frequently in these chapters. As regards its third, "unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men," the matter of it is found in xv. 3, 4, but the actual clause word for word is taken from Eth. En. x. 11. Finally ver. 23 points to some tradition like that at the base of Eth. En. lxx., which in its present form is late. From the above, therefore, we conclude that our author refers only to chapters vi.-xvi., xxiii.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc. of the Eth. Enoch.

17. *First . . . who learnt writing . . . and . . . wrote down the signs of heaven, etc.* Quoted in the *Σειρά* of Nicephorus, i. 123, on Gen. v. 21: 'Ἐνὼχ πρῶτος ἔμαθε γράμματα καὶ

ἔγραψε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς καὶ τοὺς μῆνας and in Cedrenus (i. 17) οὗτος πρῶτος γράμματα μαθήσκει. In Eth. Enoch lxix. 8, however, the first instruction of mankind in writing is ascribed to a Satan. On the other hand, just as we should expect (see note on p. 34), John Malala, p. 5 (ed. Dindorf), attributes Enoch's achievements to Seth: οὗτος ὁ Σῆθ πρῶτος ἐξεύρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ . . . καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Similarly Cedrenus (i. 16): ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων κινήσεων σοφίαν ἐπενόησε . . . καὶ τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα συνεγάρφατο, and Glycas (p. 228) transfers to the latter the achievements assigned in the *Σειρά* above to Enoch: πρῶτος ἐξεύρεν ὁ Σῆθ . . . τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς μῆνας. Cf. Joel, *Chron.* p. 3.

Wrote down. On Enoch the Scribe, see Eth. Enoch xii. 3, 4, and on the later developments of this legend consult the Slavonic Enoch xxiii. 1-3. The rest of the verse refers mainly to Eth. Enoch lxxii.-lxxxii.

Signs of heaven according to the order of their months. The twelve solar months correspond to the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

18. There is nothing in the Eth. or Slav. Enoch about the "weeks of the jubilees" or "the sabbaths of the years." Our author is here at his beloved practice of antedating an event or usage he wishes to commend to his countrymen. We shall find (vii. 37, 38, xxi. 10 note) that he similarly ascribes legalistic elements to Enoch, though there is no ground for regarding the books of Enoch as having ever contained such matter.

recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), known to him. 19. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all the children of men and for their generations. 20. And 582-588 A.M. in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of 587 A.M. Dânel, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Methuselah. 21. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down everything. 22. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch testified against (them) all. 23. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold

19. *Saw in a vision*, etc. This verse describes the contents of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc.

The day of judgment, i.e. the final judgment. Cf. iv. 24, v. 10.

He . . . placed the testimony on earth. For references to the books of Enoch cf. Eth. En. i. 2, xxxvii. 2-4, lxxii. 1, xcii. 1, xciii. 10, civ. 11-13, Test. XII. Patriarchs (see my *Slavonic Enoch*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 20, 21, etc.).

20. Cf. Gen. v. 21. Ednî is mentioned in Eth. En. lxxxv. 3 where the name is written Edna, as Methuselah's wife is named in iv. 27 of our text where it has the independent support of the Syriac and the Greek. Edna = ערנה = "delight."

Father's brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

21. *Was with the angels.* See note above on 17-23.

These six jubilees of years. So *d.* A slight change of vocalisation in *b* gives the same meaning. *ac* = "six jubilees in years." This means 294 years.

Everything . . . in the heavens. These words may refer to a fuller tradition than is found in the Eth. Enoch—perhaps to something which subsequently became the groundwork of the Slav. Enoch, as is the case in regard to the tradition in ver. 23.

23. *Conducted him into the Garden of Eden.* Eth. En. lxx. 1-3; Slav. Enoch lxvii. 2.

there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. 24. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. 25. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary, (even) sweet spices, acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. 26. For the

There he writes down . . . the wickedness of the children of men. Enoch is here the Scribe of God. See iv. 23, x. 17. This idea may be referred to in the Eth. En. xii. 3, 4; it is clearly expressed in the Slavonic Enoch. See my edition xl. 13 note, liii. 2, lxiv. 5.

24. *And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood, etc.* Cf. Slav. Enoch xxxiv. 3: "And on this account I will bring a deluge upon the earth"; also Test. Napht. 4.

Testify against all the children of men, etc. See x. 17.

Until the day of condemnation. Cf. iv. 19.

25. *Incense of the sanctuary, or "incense in the sanctuary."*

Sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. *bcd* = "acceptable before the Lord on the mountains of the South" (*qatr*). But this use of the word *qatr* is unexampled elsewhere. *a* omits it and writes the preceding word *badabr*. I have taken it as a corruption of *qâtârê* = "sweet spices." The words would point back to Exod. xxx. 7, קִטְרֵת סַמִּים.

On the Mount. So *a. bcd* read "on the mount of the mid-day (or South)." This mountain may be the mountain of the East. See next note.

26. Three of these places are connected with three decisive turning-points or periods in the history of mankind: the Garden of Eden as the first abode of man; Mount Sinai as the place whence the Law was promulgated, and Zion as the centre of the Theocracy. These three are again mentioned in viii. 19. What the Mount of the East is, I cannot determine. In the *ZDMG*, xi. pp. 730-733 Rapoport is of opinion that the

mountain in question is Mount Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 15 sqq.). He argues that this is the most easterly of the mountains of Palestine; that it contains all the localities of special sanctity among the Samaritans, Gerizim, Sichem, Samaria; that Abraham and Jacob had sacrificed thereon (Gen. xii. 7, xxxiii. 20) just as sacrifices had been offered by Adam in Eden, according to iii. 27 of our text and the Talmud, on Sinai by Moses and on Zion by Israel. But as such an interpretation would imply a Samaritan authorship it is thereby made impossible; for the textual evidence is itself decisive against such authorship. The mention, moreover, of Zion tells in the same direction. There is some probability in the suggestion of Rönisch, pp. 505-6, that by the Mount of the East we are to understand Lubar, one of the summits of Ararat, on which the Ark rested and Noah sacrificed, as this lay to the NE. of Palestine and as there would thus be connected with these four places the notable names of Adam, Noah, Moses, David. See viii. 19 (note). On the other hand it is possible that we have here the Mount mentioned in the preceding verse as that on which Enoch offered incense. Now if we may cite the evidence of *Die Schatzhöhle* and the Book of Adam and Eve, Seth and his posterity were commanded by Adam to live on the Mount close to Eden and not to descend to the plain and mingle with the descendants of Cain. Adam's command was observed till the days of Jared. This Mount could rightly be described as the *Mount of the East*. Or again the Mount of the East may be the mountain which is described as the

Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the world. 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. 28. And in the fifteenth jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâk'îl, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, "This one will comfort me

throne of God in Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiii. 1-3, on which God will sit when He comes to visit the earth. It is the highest of the seven mountains which are in the neighbourhood of the Garden of Eden. Cf. Eth. Enoch xxxii. 1-2, lxxvii. 3-4. In Enoch, it is true, the Garden of Eden appears to be in the NW., but it is in the east in Jubilees: see viii. 16.

Sanctified in the new creation. See note on i. 29.

27. Cf. Gen. v. 25. *Edna.* See iv. 20 note. According to the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, tom. xiv. No. 55, pp. 421-467) Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married.

Father's brother. Emended as in 15.

Lamech. The year of Lamech's birth is not mentioned, but it can be determined from the date of Methuselah's marriage furnished by the Samaritan Chronicle. According to it Methuselah was sixty-seven when he married, and as he was born according to our text (iv. 20) in the year 587, Lamech was probably born in the year 654.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. *In the fifteenth jubilee in the third week . . . she bare him a son . . . Noah.* This assigns some year in the period 701-707 as the

birthday of Noah, and 707 is no doubt the year intended. For in the Samaritan Chronicle (see preceding note) it is distinctly stated that 707 years elapsed from Adam to the birth of Noah. We can arrive at this date independently also. With the help of the Samaritan Chronicle we saw in the notes on iv. 27 that Lamech was born in 654. Now according to the same Chronicle Lamech was fifty-three when Noah was born: hence Noah was born in the year 707. On the other hand there is a discrepancy between this date of Noah's birth and that which follows from vi. 18 and x. 16. In the former it is said that the Feast of Weeks was celebrated 1309 years, from the day of creation till the days of Noah, and that Noah observed it 350 years. Hence Noah died in 1659. But since in x. 16 Noah is said to have lived 950 years, this would fix 709 as the year of his birth.

Bêtênôs = בֶּתְנֹשׁ. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. v. 29 gives *βεθενως*: the Syriac = Enoshi.

This one will comfort me. "This one" (ze emended from za=which). Our text follows Gen. v. 29 in attributing to the name Noah (נֹחַ) the meaning belonging to Menachem (מְנַחֵם). The Book of Jashar 13*b* says that Methuselah

for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground which the Lord hath cursed." 29. And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in the sixth year 930 A.M. thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he was the first to be buried in the earth. 30. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." For this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. 31. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst

called the child Noah because the earth would have rest (נח) in his days, but Lamech called him Menachem because "he would comfort us" (נחמוני). The same ideas are found in Ber. rabba 25. These results of learned reflection on Gen. v. 29 appear to be later than Jubilees.

And for the ground. All authorities save the LXX and our text omit "and."

29. *Land of his creation.* See iii. 32 note.

First to be buried in the earth. This shows that the legend, which is attested in the later Life of Adam and Eve (Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 21), that the body of Abel was not buried till that of Adam was, already existed.

30. Cf. Gen. ii. 17. This interpretation of a day as a thousand years was current among the Jews. Cf. Ber. rabba 19, 22. 2 Pet. iii. 8 μία ημέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη. Barnab. *Ep.* xv. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη. See also Slav. *En.* xxxiii. 1, 2 (note) where the application of this principle of interpretation to the six days creation and the seventh of rest issues in the doctrine of the Millenium. Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* lxxxix.) apparently quotes from the text: ὡς γὰρ τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἶρητο, ὅτι ἡ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀποθάνεται,

ἐγνωμεν αὐτὸν μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντα χίλια ἔτη. Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν. See also Lactantius, *Institution.* vii. 14.

31-32. *Cain was killed . . . in the same year, etc.* In Syncellus, i. 19, the text is partly reproduced: τῷ αὐτῷ ΤΑΧ' ἔτει καὶ Κάιν ἀπέθανεν, ἐμπροσθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ οἴκου· λίθοις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀβελ ἀνείλε. In Cedrenus, i. 16, more fully: οὗτος ὁ Κάιν, ὡς ἡ Λεπτὴ Μωσέως Γένεσις φησὶν, τῆς οἰκίας πεσοῦσης ἐπ' αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ· λίθοις γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀβελ ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λίθοις ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκτάνθη. In the *Excerpta Chronologica* prefixed to the works of John Malala we have this and the later legend given: κατὰ (? μετὰ) δὲ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πεσοῦσης ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐνίοι φασιν· ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι Λαμὲχ αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. This latter account is found also in Glycas 223, in the Book of Adam and Eve, ii. 13, in Jarchi's *Comm.* on Gen. iv. 23, Tanchuma 6, the Book of Jashar (section Beresheth). For other authorities where the later legend is given see Eisenmenger, i. 470-471. On the other hand, according to Ber. rabba 22, the Rabbis said that he was killed by a stone, but Simeon the son of Gamaliel stated that he was killed by a reed. The latter idea seems to have been suggested by the likeness between יר and נר.

of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment. 32. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tables: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that he wounded him, in like manner shall

1205 A.M. they deal with him." 33. And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ēmzârâ, the daughter of Râkê'êl, the daughter of his father's brother, in
1207 A.M. the first year in the fifth week: and in the third year
1209 A.M. thereof she bare him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she
1212 A.M. bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare him Japheth.

31. *With a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment, etc.* We have here the primitive human law of retaliation (eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, etc., Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19) described as a law of the divine procedure. This law of exact retribution is not merely an enactment of human justice, our author declares; it is observed by God in his government of the world.

It is noteworthy that the same principle of retribution is enforced by historical examples in 2 Macc. v. 10, where speaking of Jason the author writes: ὁ πλῆθος ἀτάφρων ἐκρίψας ἀπένθητος ἐγενήθη, καὶ κηδίας οὐδ' ἥστυνος . . . μετέσχευ. Similarly, it is recounted of Nicanor (xv. 32, 33) that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. Cf. also xiii. 8. In this respect 2 Macc. therefore represents truly this second-cent. B.C. doctrine of retribution. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation; but spiritually conceived it represents the profound truth enunciated repeatedly in the N.T. Thus in Gal. vi. 7 "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap"; Col. iii. 25 "he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done"; 2 Cor. v. 10 in the judgment men shall "receive the things done in the body." In the Parables this kinship of the

penalty to the sin is repeatedly dwelt on: the unforgiving debtor is refused forgiveness, the slothful servant loses what he had, he who will not use his affluence to succour a brother's need will lose it for himself, and the man who refuses to part with an offending eye or hand will finally lose his whole body in Gehenna. See note on xlviii. 14.

According to Beer this halachic interpretation of Exod. xxi. 24 is unknown to traditional Judaism, which enacts that the murderer is to be slain with the sword.

33. 'Ēmzârâ. This name is found in the Syriac Fragment and Lagarde's LXX MS *r*. Frankel derives it from אִם צָרָה or צָרָה אִם because she lived in the days of the Flood.

Brother. Emended as in ver. 15.

Shem . . . Ham . . . Japhet. Cf. x. 14, where again Shem is represented as the eldest. We should observe here that our author thus understood aright אָחִי יִתְּ הַגִּדּוּל in Gen. x. 21 as "(Shem) . . . the elder brother of Japhet" (so also Vulg.) over against the Massoretes, Symmachus, and Rashi who wrongly understood it as "brother of Japheth the elder." The LXX is similarly wrong: ἀδελφῶν Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μελίσσος, Ber. rabba 26, 37, and the Book of Jashar (*in loc.*). On the other hand in Sanhedrin 69*b* Shem is said to be two years older than Japhet.

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. Corruption of all creation, 2-3. Punishment of the fallen angels and their children, 4-9a. Final judgment announced, 9b-16. Day of Atonement, 17-18. The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi.-viii. 19.)

V. And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. 2. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men (was) thus evil continually. 3. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil before His eyes. 4. And He said: "I shall destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the

V. 1. Gen. vi. 1, 2, 4. On this myth of the intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men see iv. 15 (note): also my *Eth.* Enoch vi. 1, 2, vii. 1, 2 with notes *in loc.*

Angels of God. This is the LXX rendering of Gen. vi. 2. It is also found in Philo, *De Gigant.* 2 (i. 263 Mangey), Josephus, Eusebius, Augustine and Ambrose. It is the *older* Jewish view, but was condemned probably as early as the first cent. A.D. See note on iv. 15.

To look upon. Correct printer's error *res'i*j into *re'i*j in my text.

2. *All flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts.* Gen. vi. 12. From the Book of Jasher 13*b* this seems to mean that different kinds of animals coupled with each other: and that man was guilty of bestiality.

Began to devour each other. *Eth.* Enoch vii. 5.

Lawlessness increased, etc. Cf. Gen. vi. 11.

Every imagination, etc. Gen. vi. 5.

3. Gen. vi. 12.

4, 5. Gen. vi. 7, 8.

4. *I shall destroy.* So *a d.* *b c* = "He would destroy."

earth which I have created." 5. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. 7. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed from under heaven. 8. And He said "My spirit will not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." 9. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 10. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed

4. *Which I have created.* Emended from *ab* which="He had created." Corruption could have arisen from confusion of *ἐκτίσα* and *ἐκτίσε*, as Littmann has pointed out. *cd* = "was created." Possibly we should keep to *b* throughout, and translate "He would destroy . . . which He had created." Cf. vi. 20.

10. *Until the day of the great condemnation, i.e.,* the day of the final judgment. See iv. 19, 24. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 13. The intervening period, according to Eth. Enoch x. 12, is seventy generations.

10^b-12. Verses 11-12 if the text is correct teach that God recreated the human race and all His other works at the time of the Flood "so that they should not sin in their whole nature forever, but should be all righteous . . . alway." In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 2 there is a slight approximation to this idea: ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἂν ἀνθρώπων τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ

διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρὸν. See also Philo, *De Vita Moses*, ii. 12. But with the subsequent corruption of all the descendants of Noah till the time of Abraham and the universal apostasy of the Gentiles according to our author, such a statement is practically inconceivable. Moreover, it is not difficult to discover the origin of the error in our text. Verses 10^b-16 are descriptive of the final judgment, and simply amplify the last clause of ver. 10. Thus the time of the verbs "destroyed," "was," "made" in 11-12 is wrong and we should have "shall destroy," "shall be" and "shall make." "Judged" must also be rendered "shall have judged," but this last does not necessitate a change in the text of either the Ethiopic or Hebrew. The text therefore should be translated: "Until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment shall be executed on all who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord, 11. And He shall destroy (them) all from their places, and there shall not be left one of them

on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 11. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom He judged not according to all their wickedness. 12. And He †made† for all His works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all righteous each in his kind alway. 13. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and for every kind. 14. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved. 15. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. 16. And He is not one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [17. And of the children of Israel it has

whom He shall not have judged according to all their wickedness, 12. And He shall make for all His works, etc." This corruption of the tenses may possibly have arisen in the Ethiopic, or in the Greek, but this is very improbable, as it involves so many changes. On the other hand it is easy to explain the false text as having originated in a mistranslation of the Hebrew. The above passage = ער יום הדין הנורא בהעשות דרכו ומעשהו לפני יי משפט בכול אשר השחית . . . ולא יוחר מהם אחר אשר לא והאביר כלם . . . שפט . . . תעשה. Here we have to suppose that the Greek translator failed to grasp the sense of the passage and see that האביר and the other verbs followed

closely on בְּהֵעָשָׂה, and accordingly rendered them merely as ordinary perfects. See Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*,² p. 165.

12. *New and righteous nature.* See note on i. 29.

13. *Heavenly tables*. See note on iii. 10.

From the path. So *d*, where I take the singular suffix to express the article. Otherwise *a b c*, "from their path."

16. Cf. xl. 8; Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated or else transposed here from xxxiv. 18-19 where the historical occasion of this feast is given.

17. Probably based on Jer. xxxvi.
3. Cf. Jer. xviii. 8 ; Jonah iii. 8.

been written and ordained : If they turn to Him in righteousness, He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. 18. It is written and ordained that He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] 19. And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone ; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account ; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was commanded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. 20. And the Lord said that He would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. 21. And He commanded Noah to make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. 22. And Noah made the ark in

18. The time referred to here is obviously the tenth day of the seventh month, *i.e.*, the Day of Atonement. In Lev. xvi. in spite of the terms in verses 16, 21, the sin-offering atoned only for sins committed in error (בשגגה, *akousiōs*), *i.e.* accidentally or involuntarily (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, etc.—these are the ἀγνοήματα in Heb. ix. 7), not for those committed deliberately and defiantly (ביר רכה, Num. xv. 30). This is the view enforced in the Mishnic treatise *Yoma* viii. 9: "If a man says I will sin, and then repent . . . Heaven does not give him the means of practising repentance ; and if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will bring atonement,' the Day of Atonement will bring no atonement." On the other hand both in our text and in the treatise *Shebu'oth* i. 6 it is taught that on the Day of Atonement sins of every description are forgiven "both the light and the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, the conscious and the unconscious, those relating to the positive and the negative commands, and even those that were to be visited

with the death penalty by God or human judgment." And yet we must discriminate between the teaching of our text and of the treatise *Shebu'oth* in favour of the former. In the latter the ceremonial was of the nature of an *opus operatum*. In our text, on the other hand, repentance is insisted on : God's mercy is not to be won on the Day of Atonement save by those who turn (ישבו) from their sins. Thus though our text stands midway between the doctrine prescribed in Lev. xvi. (also in the treatise *Yoma*) and the treatise *Shebu'oth*, with the former it prescribes as necessary to atonement the temper of true repentance : with the latter it maintains the efficacy of the atonement for sins of every description.

Once each year = ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (Heb. ix. 7).

19. That the wicked are spared for the sake of the righteous is the idea underlying Gen. xviii. 23-32.

20. Gen. vi. 7 ; cf. ver. 4.

21. Gen. vi. 14. According to vi. 25 of our text this command was given on the new moon of the first month.

all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh 1307 A.M. jubilee of years, in the fifth week in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). 23. And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, in the second month, on the new 1308 A.M. moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth evening.

24. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,

And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep,
seven mouths in number.

25. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from
the heaven forty days and forty nights,

And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until
the whole world was full of water.

26. And the waters increased upon the earth :

Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high
mountains,

And the ark was lift up above the earth,

And it moved upon the face of the waters.

27. And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five
months — one hundred and fifty days. 28. And the
ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the

22. *Twenty-seventh jubilee.* So we should emend the reading of all the MSS "twenty-second jubilee." In my text I have by a slip emended the reading into "twenty-sixth jubilee." The fifth year of the fifth week of the twenty-seventh jubilee = 1307 A.M. This agrees exactly with the chronology in the Samaritan Chronicle: "From Adam to the birth of Noah was a period of 707 years, and from Adam to the Flood 1307 years" (Samaritan Chronicle translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, pp. 421-469).

23. *Closed it, etc.* Gen. vii. 16.

Seventeenth, etc. Gen. vii. 11.

24. *Seven flood-gates.* Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 2.

Floodgates . . . fountains. Gen. vii. 11. See note on ii. 4.

The great deep. The חַדָּם of Gen. i. 2. See note on ii. 2.

25, 26. Gen. vii. 12, 18, 20. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 3.

27. Gen. vii. 24, viii. 3.

28. Gen. viii. 4. This name Lûbâr recurs in vii. 1 (see note), 17. It is mentioned also in the Midrashic *Book of Noah* (see Appendix I. to my Text) as follows: בְּלוּבָר הָהָר מִהָרֵי אֲרָרֹט. This verse is reproduced freely by Epiphianus, *Adv. Haer.* I. tom. i. 4: μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπιστάσης τῆς λάρνακος τοῦ Νῶε ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδυνέων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὅρει καλουμένῳ. As Nicolaus of Damascus reports (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3.

mountains of Ararat. 29. And (on the new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 30. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 31. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry. 32. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and birds, and every moving thing.

Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-22). God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden, 4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood, 11-14. Bow set in the clouds for a sign, 15-16. Feast of weeks instituted, history of its

6) that according to local tradition the Ark rested on a great mountain in Armenia called Baris above Minyas, Professor Sayce (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc.* xiv. p. 389 note) conjectures that this is the mountain named Lubar in our text, seeing that both are said by Epiphanius and Syncellus (see note on vii. 1) to be on the borders of Armenia. I am indebted to him also for the following note in which he seeks to account for the syllable Lu in Lubar. "In the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions Lulu is the country which is called Urartu (Ararat) in Assyria, on the borders of Armenia and Kurdistan, and is almost certainly the Lulubi or Luluwi of the Assyrian inscriptions in which was Mount Nizir

on the top of which the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. *On the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.* In Gen. viii. 14 it is on the seven-and-twentieth day that the earth was dry. Part of this verse and the next is quoted in Lagarde's LXX MS z on Gen. viii. 14: ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκατῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ ἐκδίδυ τοῦ μηνὸς ἀνέψχε τὴν κιβωτόν. It will be observed that the earth became dry exactly a year after Noah entered the ark (ver. 23).

32. Cf. Gen. viii. 17, 19.

observance, 17-22. Feasts of the new moons, 23-28. Division of the year into 364 days, 29-38.

VI. And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on that mountain. 2. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save those that were in the ark with Noah. 3. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, acceptable before the Lord. 4. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night

VI. 1. *New moon of the third month.* This date is reproduced in Lagarde's MS z on Gen. viii. 19: ἐν μὲν τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου. See ver. 11 on the parallel between the covenants on Sinai and Ararat. On this date also the covenant was made with Abraham, xiv. 1 sqq.; and Jacob started to go down into Egypt, xlv. 1.

Built an altar on that mountain. Cf. Gen. viii. 20. The mountain is Lubar. According to Ber. rabba 34 Noah offered this sacrifice in Jerusalem. In the Targ. Jon. on Gen. viii. 20 the place is not mentioned, but the altar is identified with that which Adam built.

2. *Made atonement for the earth.* Though Jewish Haggada knows nothing of this particular act of atonement, it is easy to justify such a conception from Lev. xviii. 26-28; Num. xxxv. 33, 34. The earth itself as being defiled needed expiation. Unnatural vices and murder pollute it.

3. *Ox, and a goat, and a sheep, etc.* In Gen. viii. 20 it is said that Noah "took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt-offerings, etc."

Mingled with oil, and . . . wine. These elements are also additions to the statement in Gen. viii. 20 in conformity with later ritual. Cf. Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 2-5.

Frankincense. Lev. ii. 2, 15.

4-7. God makes a covenant with Noah, in which He promises not again to destroy the earth with a flood, makes man ruler over everything that is on the earth, and forbids the eating of blood and murder.

4. *The Lord smelt the goodly savour.* Gen. viii. 21.

Made a covenant . . . not . . . to destroy the earth. Gen. ix. 11.

All the days of the earth, etc. Gen. viii. 22.

should not change their order, nor cease for ever. 5. "And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and become many upon it, and be a blessing upon it. The fear of you and the dread of you I shall inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. 6. And behold I have given unto you all beasts, and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. 7. But flesh, with the life thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast), shall I require the blood of man. 8. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man. 9. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth." 10. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the Lord God for ever throughout

5. Gen. ix. 7. It is noteworthy that the clause *be a blessing* (וּבֵרַכְו) corresponds to "multiply" (וַיִּרְבּוּ) in the parallel in Gen. The latter appears to be corrupt for לִרְבּוּ = LXX καὶ κατακυριεύσατε.

The fear of you, etc. Cf. Gen. ix. 2.

6. Gen. ix. 2, 3.

As the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. From Gen. ix. 3 save the verb "to eat" which, however, is only a repetition of the phrase "for food" in the preceding clause. Of the argument that concluded from those words that only certain herbs were allowed for food, our text knows nothing. This view appears in Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 20 βουλομένων αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν ὡς λάχανα χόρτον . . . ἐπεὶ τινα τῶν χόρτων οὐκ ἐσθλομεν οὕτω καὶ διασολῆν ἔκτοτε τῷ Νῶε διεσάλλθαι πατέ. According to Goldfahn (*Monatschrift für Gesch. d. Jud.* 1873, 57 sq.) the interpretation here attributed to

Trypho is not found in existing Jewish sources. See Singer, 295 sq.

7. Gen. ix. 4, 5. *Of your lives.* Text = "in your lives" which is a wrong rendering of לַנַּפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם.

(*Beast.*) I have here supplied ἑνσῆσά (= beast) which could easily have fallen out before ἁῖξῆς = I will require.

8. Gen. ix. 6.

10-14. Noah and his sons swear to the covenant as of perpetual obligation as regards the non-eating of blood (ver. 10). Because this ordinance was of perpetual obligation, it was re-enacted on Mount Sinai; but, whereas in Noah's covenant it had been brought forward only on its negative side, in the Mosaic legislation it was enforced in its positive side, that is, according to the former, blood was not to be eaten, whereas according to the latter its true use was to sprinkle the worshipper (ver. 11) and to make atonement before God (ver. 14). Moreover, as Noah's covenant was instituted in the third

all the generations of the earth in this month. 11. On this account He spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. 12. And this testimony is written concerning you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 13. And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God continually. 14. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue supplicating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep it and not be rooted out. 15. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. 16. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth

month, so also the Law was given on Sinai in the same month (ver. 11). [In no passage is it said that the covenants of Noah and of Moses were established on the same day in the third month. Such a connection appears to exist between the date of the covenant of Noah and that of the first celebration on earth of the feast of weeks (see notes on verses 17-18).]

11. *A covenant . . . in this month upon the mountain.* The law was given on Sinai in the third month according to Exod. xix. 1.

12, 13. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 14; Deut. xii. 23.

14. *Supplicating on their (b c) behalf with blood.* Cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

Morning and evening they shall seek forgiveness. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8.

Forgiveness on your (d. b c "their," a "its") behalf. The reading of *d* is to be preferred on the ground of the parallelism (Littmann).

15-16. Cf. Gen. ix. 13-15. The text after touching on the Mosaic development of the covenant of Noah here returns to the latter (cf. ver. 4), which God confirmed with the sign of the bow in the clouds.

to destroy it all the days of the earth. 17. For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tables, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. 18. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years: and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and they eat blood. 19. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain. 20. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. 21. For it is the feast of weeks and the feast

17-18. In connection with the covenant Noah is bidden to observe the feast of weeks. Since it follows from xv. 1 (see note) and xliv. 4, 5 that this feast was celebrated on the 15th of the third month (see note on i. 1) we may reasonably assign the promulgation of the Noachic covenant to the same date. Later Judaism (Maimonides, *More Neb.* 41) held Pentecost to celebrate the giving of the Law on Sinai, and designated this day as "the day of the giving of the Law" (יום מתן תורה). So our author (cf. i. 1). This idea is not found in Philo and Josephus; but it appears in Jerome, *Ep. ad Fab.* mansio 12; August. *Contra Faust.* xxxii. 12. Observe that our author ascribes the covenant with Abram to the same date (see note on xiv. 20).

17. *Feast of weeks.* This title is found in Exod. xxxiv. 22 (תֵּן שָׁבִיעָה, *éporḡ ēbdomádw*). Our text is not acquainted with the more familiar designation of this feast, i.e. Pentecost. This designation, which is a Greek rendering, ἡ πεντηκοστή (ἡμέρα), of the rabbinic תֵּן חֲמִשִּׁים יום, is found in 2 Macc. xii. 32 μετὰ τῇν λεγομένην

πεντηκοστήν. Tob. ii. 1 contains another early instance of its use, and Philo, *De Septenar.* 21, a near approach to it. For later instances see 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6.

18. *Twenty-six jubilees and five weeks*=1309 years. On the slight discrepancy in our author's dates see notes on iv. 28 and v. 22.

Seven jubilees and one week=350 years.

Did away with (it) . . . and they eat blood. Here again the close connection of the feast of weeks and of the covenant with Noah is emphasised.

19. *But Abraham.* For "but (*a d*) Abraham" (*b c d*), *b c* read "and Abraham alone."

Observed it. *a b* omit "it."

Yecelerated it anew [=haddaskemwô (*a*)]. *b c d* read "I have renewed them" or "I have renewed (it) unto them" [=haddaskewômû (*b c d*)].

20. *One day in the year.* This should perhaps be: "the first day (of the week) in every year." See note on ver. 22.

21. *The feast of weeks* was likewise known as the feast of the harvest

1309-1659

A. M.

of first-fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature: according to what is written and engraven concerning it celebrate it. 22. For I have written in the book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year. 23. And on the

Exod. xxiii. 16, חַג הַקָּצִיר. In the latter respect it was a *feast of first-fruits* as in the text, or the day of first-fruits, Num. xxviii. 26, יוֹם הַבְּכּוּרִים, ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν νέων. Why this festival should be said to be "of a double nature" I do not see.

Celebrate it=gēbarâ emended from gēbrâ="its celebration."

22. *Book of the first law, i.e., the Pentateuch.* See note on i. 26.

One day in the year. Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 7-8) suggests that "one day" here=ἡμέρα μία=יוֹם אֶחָד, which in its original context meant "the first day," i.e. of the week, Sunday. Thus Pentecost was to fall on the same day every year, a Sunday, the first of the week. If this is right it follows that if we count back seven weeks we arrive at Nisan 22, "the morrow after the Sabbath," which is also the first day of the week, and that the author of our book interpreted the term Sabbath in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath (see note on xv. 1). For somewhat similar directions regarding the Passover see xlix. 7, 8.

Its sacrifices, or "the sacrifices."

One day in every year. This should perhaps be "the first day (of the week) in every year" as Eppstein suggests (see note above).

23. According to Lev. xxiii. 24 only the 1st day of the 7th month was a day of remembrance. Nevertheless the special significance assigned to these four days was a not unfamiliar idea in the second cent. as appears from the Eth. Enoch and our text, both of which we shall discuss presently in this relation. Even the Mishna appears to preserve some echoes of the early con-

troversies that circled round them; for we can hardly interpret otherwise the passage in the Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1: "On 1st Nisan—beginning of year, of government and of festivals. On 1st Ellul, the year of tithing of beasts according to R. Eliezer and R. Simeon. On 1st Tisri, the calendar year, the Sabbatical year and jubilee year, and (year) of plants and vegetables. On 1st Sebat, year of blooming of trees according to school of Shammai but on 15th according to school of Hillel." That different usages prevailed at different times follows clearly from the sacrifices enjoined on the new moons in Ezekiel xlvi. 6 and Num. xxviii. 11-15. The Rabbis could give no satisfactory explanation of these differences: some indeed were for removing Ezekiel from the Canon, and others denied its authenticity on account of them. Returning now to our text and the parallel passages in the Eth. Enoch, we observe that these four days have a religious significance in the former, but an astronomical in the latter. In Eth. En. lxxv. 1, 2, lxxxii. 11 they are called "leaders," because they lead in the four quarters of the year. They are also called "intercalary days" (Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2) ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι, and correspond respectively to the vernal equinox (1st of 1st month), the summer solstice (1st of 4th month), the autumn equinox (1st of 7th month), and the winter solstice (1st of 10th month). These four days, when added to 360 (i.e., 12 months of 30 days each, Eth. Enoch lxxxii. 11), constitute an invariable year of 364 days (cf. our text v. 32, 38; Eth. Enoch lxxv. 2, lxxxii. 11). On the meaning of this year of 364 days see notes on verses 29-30, 32.

new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained as a testimony for ever. 24. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever, so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. 25. And on the new moon of the first month he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened (the ark) and saw the earth. 26. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths of the abysses beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. 27. And on the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. 28. And on this account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained. 29. And they placed them on the heavenly tables, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another

On the new moon of the first month. On this date Noah was bidden to make an ark, v. 21, vi. 25; the earth first became visible after the flood, v. 30, vi. 25; Noah offered a sacrifice, vii. 2, 3; Abraham erected an altar and sacrificed thereon, xiii. 8; God appeared to Isaac, xxiv., who forthwith offered sacrifice, 22, 23; Jacob went to Bethel, xxvii. 19; Levi was born, xxviii. 14.

On the new moon of the fourth month. The following events are assigned to this date. On it Adam and Eve went forth from the Garden, iii. 32; the mouths of the abysses beneath and the flood-gates of heaven were closed, v. 29, vi. 26; angels appeared to Abraham, xvi. 1; Joseph was born, xxviii. 24; Jacob arrived in Egypt, xlv. 1.

On the new moon of the seventh month. On this date the mouths of the abysses were opened, v. 29, vi. 26;

Abraham observed the stars in order to learn the nature of the coming year, xii. 16.

On the new moon of the tenth month. See ver. 27.

26. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 2; Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 7, 8.

27. See notes on ver. 23. Cf. Gen. viii. 5.

29. *Placed.* We have here the imperfect; hence literally = "they place" or "they were placing."

On the heavenly tables. Here the festivals ordained by Noah are entered on the heavenly tables. See note on iii. 10.

29-30. *Each had thirteen weeks, etc.* According to verses 23-30 the year consists of four seasons and each season of three months or thirteen weeks. The year has, therefore, on this computation 12 months of 30 days each

(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the third to the fourth. 30. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and (these will make) the entire year complete. 31. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly tables. And there is no neglecting (this com-

(see below) and 4 intercalary days, 52 weeks, or 364 days. This our author takes to be the duration of a solar year. A solar year of 12 months is likewise presupposed in iv. 17 where the months are said to be of the same number as the signs of the zodiac; in v. 27 where five months are described as amounting to 150 days, hence each month consists of 30 days; in xii. 16 Abram makes observations on the 1st of the 7th month to learn the character of the ensuing six months (autumn and winter). They are solar months; for they are six in number, xii. 27; in xvi. 12-13 a year of twelve months is implied; and in xxv. 16 the tribes who are to spring from Jacob are to be of the same number as the months of the year. In the face of these facts Frankel was quite wrong, as Beer has shown, to assert that Jubilees reckoned each month at 28 days and added a thirteenth month of 28 days. On the other hand Eppstein (*Revue des Études juives*, xxii. 10-13) offers the attractive suggestion that in Jubilees two kinds of years are used: a civil year of 12 months with eight of 30 days each and four of 31 days each; and an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of 28 days each. Our author, writes Eppstein, fixed the dates of the festivals according to the ecclesiastical year, and by such a year managed to make each week, each month and each year to begin on Sunday and terminate on the Sabbath. By such an arrangement also all the festivals fell on Sunday save that of the Day of Atonement, and all the chronology took a regular and uniform character from the fact that everything had 7 for its point of departure. Thus the week had 7 days; the month $4 \times 7 = 28$: the year $52 \times 7 = 364$: the year-week 7 years and the jubilee 7×7 years. Further, the date assigned by our author to the

feast of weeks, *i.e.* Sivan 15, certainly supports Eppstein's view. This date can only be arrived at by reckoning the 7 weeks from Nisan 22. Thus the paschal lamb was offered on Nisan 14: the feast of unleavened bread began on the 15th and ended on the 21st. On the 22nd the wave-sheaf was offered. Now if we count 7 weeks onward from this day, that is 1 week in the 1st month, 4 weeks in the 2nd and 2 in the 3rd (Sivan), the feast of weeks falls on the 15th of Sivan as in our author. Thus the date presupposes months of 28 days. And since the months consisted of 28 days each, there must have been 13 in this ecclesiastical year, as it consisted of 364 days. Finally, if Eppstein's view on the interpretation of vi. 22 is correct, it serves to confirm the above view; for if the year begins on Sunday, the passover on Nisan falls on the Sabbath: the offering of the wave-sheaf on Sunday the 22nd and the feast of weeks on Sunday, Sivan 15.

But on the other hand there is this objection to this theory: it is not true that all the festivals in Jubilees are fixed according to this so-called ecclesiastical year; for the four ordained by Noah in vi. 23-29 are determined according to the 12 solar months of the year. Apart from this objection this theory is the best solution of the problem yet offered. Elsewhere, where two years were in use, as amongst the Egyptians and later amongst the Abyssinian Jews, the civil year was a solar one and the ecclesiastical a lunar.

30. *The entire year complete.* So *b*, which alone gives an intelligible sense.

31. *Neglecting*, or "transgressing." Beer has suggested that *ta'adwô* here points back to *תאדו* = "intercalation." Linguistically, this is possible. If so, our author would be here protesting

mandment) for a single year or from year to year. 32. And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—three hundred and

against such systems of intercalating days in the lunar year to make it synchronise with the solar, as we find in Eth. Enoch lxxiv.-lxxv., and the later systems of the Pharisees. But seeing that the same word which I render "neglecting" is found twice in ver. 33 and in xv. 25, and that it cannot in two of these instances bear the meaning Beer proposes, I have retained the ordinary meaning of the word. See also on xlix. 14.

32. *Three hundred and sixty-four days.* A solar year of the same length is also taught in Eth. Enoch lxxiv. 10, 12, lxxv. 2; Slav. Enoch xlvi. 1. In Slav. Enoch xiv. 1 the ordinary reckoning of 365½ days is found. It is obvious that we have here to do with an old Jewish reckoning. I have shown in my edition of the Eth. Enoch pp. 189-191 that the advocates of this system were acquainted with the Greek octaeteris and the cycle of Calippus, and in my edition of the Slav. Enoch, that its author in xvi. 8 was familiar with the Metonic cycle. Why then did these writers, notwithstanding their knowledge of the Greek systems, advocate an impossible solar year of 364 days? I think their action in this matter must be attributed to dogmatic prejudice. If they regarded it as vital to the validity of their festivals that they should be celebrated not only on the same day of the month but also on the same day of the week from year to year, it seemed possible to attain this end by enforcing the acceptance of a year of 364 days. If the solar year were of this duration, it would always begin on the same day of the week; for it would consist of 52 weeks exactly. Furthermore if it began on Sunday, the first day of the week, the Sabbath would always constitute the 7th day of each of the 52 weeks, and the great festivals would always fall on the same day of the week and on the same day of the month from year to year. Thus the Passover would take place on Nisan 14, a Sabbath day, the wave-sheaf would be offered on Nisan

22, a Sunday (the morrow after the Sabbath), and the feast of weeks on Sivan 15, a Sunday—that is in case we reckon 13 months of 28 days each, the ecclesiastical year (see note on vi. 29-30). By the assumption, therefore, of an impossible solar year of 12 months of 364 days in all and of an ecclesiastical year of 13 months of the same number of days consisting of an arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the phases of the moon, they seemed to have succeeded in synchronising the civil and ecclesiastical years without resorting to intercalary days. *But this year of 364 days goes back in all probability to the Exile.* It will be observed that our text brings forward this disquisition on the true length of the year in connection with the account of the flood. Now it is just in the same connection in the narrative of P in Genesis that a year of 364 days is presupposed as Bacon (*Hebraica*, viii. 79-88, 124-139 [1891-1892]) points out. Thus, the epochs of the flood are:—

Beginning	.	2nd month	17th day
Climax	.	7th "	17th "
Mountain tops			
appear	.	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up	1st	"	1st "
Earth dry	.	2nd "	27th "

He points out that the flood, which in the Babylonian account lasted one year, lasts here from the 17th of the 2nd month of one year to the 27th of the 2nd of the next. Now he argues that, if one reckoned according to Hebrew lunar months, ten days (cf. Jubilees vi. 36) had to be added at the close of the 12th month in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; for the lunar year was 354 days ($=12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$; cf. Eth. Enoch lxxviii. 15). Now if the solar year was reckoned at 364 days, we can understand why Noah's exit is assigned to the 27th and not to the 17th of the 2nd month; for ten days represent according to Jubilees (vi. 36) and the Eth. Enoch (lxxiv. 10,

sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. 33. But if they do neglect and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons, and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. 34. And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. 35. For I know and from henceforth shall I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tables the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. 36. For

11, 13) the difference between the lunar and solar years. Thus the flood would last one solar year from its beginning to its close.

We presume, therefore, writes Bacon, that the authors of Enoch or Jubilees found their peculiar year of 364 days (=12 sidereal months of 30 days each +4 intercalary days) in the Genesis account of the flood. Considering the advanced stage of astronomical science in the second cent. B.C. among the nations in touch with Judaism, it is not possible to explain their adoption of such a solar year unless it appealed to them on dogmatic grounds and had at its back an inspired authority. Genesis formed the inspired authority, and the dogmatic grounds are obvious (see above). That such a scheme is impracticable is really no objection, if we consider that the author of Jubilees is as thorough-going an idealist as the author of the priestly legislation, and is

still more sublimely defiant of that which is merely practicable. On the other hand, the authors in question, though acquainted with the systems current in Greece, were most probably ignorant of the astronomical data which necessarily determined them; and, as a civil year of 360 days was current both in Babylon and Egypt (in the former country corrected by intercalation), they may not have known any irrefutable grounds against the adoption of the solar year of 364 days, authenticated as it was by the priestly compilation of the Exile.

33, 34. Cf. Eth. Enoch lxxxi. 4-6.

33. *And they will disturb*, etc. Bracketed as a dittography.

Neglect. This word may also be rendered "omit," "pass by," "transgress" (see note on ver. 31).

35. *Not of my own devising*. Text = *לֹא מִלְּבִי*, Num. xvi. 28. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—now (it) disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. 37. For this reason the years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees. 38. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1-5. Becomes drunk and exposes his person, 6-9. The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth, 10-12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20-28). Noah's sons and grandsons and their

36. Our author is decidedly opposed to the use of the moon in determining the seasons and feasts. Thus in ii. 9 it is the sun that is to be man's guide as to days and sabbaths, and feasts, and months and years. Again in iv. 21 the angels instruct Enoch as to the lordship of the sun in such matters. Thus our book seems to be a polemic against the teaching of Eth. Enoch lxxiii.-lxxiv. if we accept the text in lxxiv. 12 where we have a statement in irreconcilable conflict with our text: "And the moon brings in all the years exactly so that their position is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity; but they complete the changing year with perfect justice in 364 days." But this divergence arises only from a corruption of the text. For "And the moon brings in . . . unto eternity; but the moons" read "And they (the sun and stars) bring in all the years so exactly that their posi-

tion is not prematurely advanced or delayed by a single day unto eternity, and they." It is true, however, that the Samaritan Chronicle (translated by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique*, xiv. no. 55, 1869, pp. 421 sqq.), which was acquainted with our text, adopts a hostile attitude to it on this question. Thus it declares that we should reckon according to the course of the sun and of the moon, and quotes Gen. i. 14: "Le calcul avec l'un d'eux seulement (c'est-à-dire avec le soleil ou avec la lune) ne suffit pas."

Comes in . . . ten days too soon.
Lunar year = 354 days.

38. *Will not make. abc* wrongly omit the negative.

Will go wrong. Because they do not follow the guidance of the sun.

New moons. This could also be translated "beginnings of the months." See last clause of last verse.

cities, 13-19. Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed, 20-39.

VII. And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, 1317 A.M. in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and 1320 A.M. he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the seventh month. 2. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first 1321 A.M. day, on the new moon of the first month. 3. And he celebrated with joy the day of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself and his sons. 4. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice, and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. 5. And he placed all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to ascend acceptable before

VII. 1. *Lûbâr*. See v. 28. This verse is partly reproduced in Syncellus, i. 147, Νῶε ἐφύτευεν ἀμπελῶνα ἐν ὄρει Λουβάρ της Ἀρμενίας, and in Cedrenus, i. 21. Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* I. i. 4, follows our text: ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδύων ἐν τῷ Λουβάρ ὄρει καλουμένῳ, ἐκέισε πρῶτον κατοίκησις γίνεται μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκει φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα Νῶε.
Produced fruit in the fourth year.

This is intended to call to mind the command in Lev. xix. 23-25 not to touch the fruit of trees for the first three years after they were planted. See verses 36-37 where the passage from Lev. is in substance reproduced.

3. The ritual is mainly according to Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. *And afterwards . . . which he had previously made . . . and he placed.* So c.d.

Acceptable. Emended as in vi. 3.

the Lord his God. 6. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his children with joy. 7. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. 8. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and went forth and told his two brethren without. 9. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and went backward and covered the shame of their father, and their faces were backward. 10. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan; an enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren." 11. And he blessed Shem, and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. 12. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." 13. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. 14. And he built for himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. 15. And Japheth saw it, and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after the

6, 7. Gen. ix. 21.

8, 9. Gen. ix. 22, 23.

8. *And went forth.* Mass., Sam., and all versions save the LXX omit.

10. Gen. ix. 24, 25. *From his sleep.* Gen. ix. 24 has "from his wine."

An enslaved servant. So LXX (παῖς οὐκέρως), and Onk.: Mass. has "servant of servants."

11, 12. Gen. ix. 26, 27.

12. *God shall dwell.* It will be observed that the text supplies a subject to the verb "shall dwell." This sense is attached to the ambiguous words of Gen. ix. 27 by Onk. also: שְׁכֵנִיָּה: רַבְּמִשְׁכְּנֵיהּ, "and may He cause His

Shekinah to rest in the dwellings of Shem." The Targ.-Jon. on Gen. ix. 27, on the other hand, and Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 139, refer the words to Japheth.

13. Cf. Gen. x. 6. In the text these names are Ques, Mastarêm, Phûd and Canaan.

14. *Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as , and in Eutychius of Alex. *Annales*, p. 35, as Nahlat. The first part of the compound may be from נחלה, construct case of נחלה, and the second from נחיק.

name of his wife 'Adâtanêsês. 16. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb. 17. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. 18. And these are the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) was born two years after the flood—and Lud, and Aram. 19. The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. 20. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. 21. For owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth, namely,

1324-1372
A.M.

15. 'Adâtan'êsês. Syriac gives
ܐܕܬܢܐ.

16. Shem dwelt near Noah. This is to show Shem's filial love.

17. Sêdêqêtêlêbâb: Syr. ܣܕܩܬܐܠܒܐܒ, from ܣܕܩܐ = "righteousness of the heart" as Rubin has recognised.

The mountain, i.e. Lûbâr. See ver. 1.

18. In Ethiopic these names are Êlâm, 'Assûr, Arphâksed. Gen. x. 22.

This (son), etc. Gen. xi. 10. Text emended. See my edition *in loc.*

19. Gen. x. 2. These names in the Ethiopic are Gômêr, Mâgûg, Mâdâi, 'Îjûajâ, Tôbêl, Meskâ, Tôrâs.

20. From this verse to the close of the chapter we have a fragment of the lost book of Noah. From ver. 26 to the end Noah speaks in the first person. Its legalistic character favours the view that its present setting and colouring are due to the author of the book, who

was so careless however as to leave the persons unchanged in verses (26-39).

The substance of this section is referred to in Epiphanius (*Ancorat.* cxii., Dindorf's ed., i. 215), where it is said that Noah, *οἷα δίκαιος ὢν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας εὐλαβεῖς καθιστᾶν πειρώμενος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑποπέσωσι κακοῖς*, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, οὐ μόνον διὰ λόγων τοῦτοις τὴν εὐλάβειαν παρετίθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὄρκου ἀφ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὐνοίαν ἀπήτησε.

Cover the shame, etc. Cf. iii. 31.

21. These three things, that is "fornication, uncleanness and all iniquity" which are mentioned in the preceding verse (see xx. 5, xxiii. 14). Ber. rabba 31 assigns idolatry, impurity and bloodshed as the three causes of the Flood (חמס זה ענין חמס זה גילוי עריות, חמס זה שפיכות דמים). Cf. Sanh. 74a: "R. Johanan says in the name of R. Simeon b. Jehozadak . . . If one says

owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. 22. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. 23. And every one sold himself to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. 24. And after this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil continually. 25. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth He destroyed everything. 26. "And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness; for

to a man, Commit a transgression else thou wilt be slain, he may transgress the commandment in order to escape death save in the case of idolatry, incest and murder."

Went a whoring after. For phrase see Lev. xvii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 34.

Took themselves wives. Gen. vi. 2; Eth. Enoch vii. 1.

22. Cf. v. 9. *Nâphîdîm*, i.e. the Nephilim (נפילי). From Eth. Enoch lxxxvi. 4 and lxxxviii. 2 and the Syncellus Greek version of Enoch vii. 1 we learn that there were three classes of giants: καὶ ἔτεκον αὐτοῖς γένη τρία· πρῶτον γίγαντας μεγάλους (i.e., the גבורים in Gen. vi. 4). οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν Ναφηλείμ (נפילי in Gen. vi. 4), καὶ τοῖς Ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν Ἐλιούδ.

†*They were . . . unlike.*† This seems corrupt. We might emend ἵjetmâsalû into jetmâshatû="they plundered one another," or into jet-

bâ'satû (Eth. Enoch xv. 11)="they strove together": cf. xxiii. 19.

23. *Sold himself to work iniquity.* For phrase see 1 Kings xxi. 20.

Shed much blood. Eth. Enoch ix. 1. *The earth was filled*, etc. Gen. vi. 11; Eth. Enoch ix. 9.

24. *They sinned against*, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

Moves and walks=reptiles and cattle.

Every imagination. Gen. vi. 5. Cf. v. 2 above.

25. *Destroyed everything*, etc. Gen. vii. 4, vi. 7. Cf. ver. 27.

26. Observe how the author of the book forgets to adapt this fragment of the Book of Noah to its new context. From this verse to the end of the chapter Noah speaks in the first person. See ver. 20 (note). In x. 1-15 we have another excerpt from this Apocalypse.

in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother. 27. For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children, and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth, and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28. For whoso sheddeth man's blood, and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, will all be destroyed from the earth.

29. And there will not be left any man that eateth blood,
Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
Nor will there be left to him any seed or descendants
living under heaven ;

For into Sheol will they go,
And into the place of condemnation will they descend,
And into the darkness of the deep will they all be
removed by a violent death.

30. There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. 31. And ye shall not be like him who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may

27. See x. 1 where this subject recurs.

Destroyed from the face, etc. See ver. 25.

28. Gen. ix. 4, 6 ; Lev. vii. 27.

29. *Into Sheol will they go, And into the place of condemnation will they descend, And into the darkness.* Cf. xxii.

22. This passage seems to have been used by Eth. Enoch ciii. 7, 8, "their souls will be made to descend into Sheol . . . And into darkness . . . and a burning fire where there is grievous condemnation."

30. *Upon you.* By an easy emendation we could read *among you*.

Covering that which has been shed.

This prescript of later legislation is here carried back to Noah : cf. Lev. xvii. 13 ; Ezek. xxiv. 7. We must be careful to render "covering" and not "burying." The Ethiopic word is *dafana* = *καλύπτειν* = *כָּפַף* and not *qabara* = *θάπτειν* = *קָבַר*. Singer (p. 200) bases one of his arguments for the Jewish Christian authorship of the book on the wrong rendering "burying." Chullin ii. 9 censures the latter as Jewish Christian.

31. *Eats with blood.* Lev. xix. 26.

eat blood before you: cover the blood, for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. 32. And suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. 33. For the earth will not be clean from the blood which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be purified throughout all its generations. 34. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and righteousness that ye may be planted in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. 35. And behold, ye will go and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover all fruit-bearing trees. 36. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered: and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable before the Most High God, who created heaven

32. Cf. Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 14.

33. *The earth will not be clean*, etc. See vi. 2 (note).

(Only) *through the blood*, etc. Num. xxxv. 33.

34. *Maybe planted*. This metaphor is frequent in the O.T.: Jer. xi. 17; Amos ix. 15 etc. According to Eth. Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5, 10 Israel is "the plant of righteousness"; lxxxiv. 6, "the plant of uprightness."

Saved me from . . . the flood. If we observe that in ver. 39 Enoch is called "the seventh in his generation" and that verses 20-39 are Noah's words, as "a preacher" of righteousness"; if we note further the words *saved me from . . . the flood*, we shall not unreasonably conclude that this book was known to the writer of 2 Peter ii. 5 "saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly."

36. In this verse we ought, if the text were authentic, to have an interpretation of the law enunciated in Lev. xix. 23-24. According to this law of the Priests' Code the fruit of a tree was not to be used for the first three years after it was planted. "In the fourth year all the fruit thereof shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord" (פריו קדש הלוים ליהוה). It will be observed that our text follows Lev. xix. 24 very closely: "in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy" (*b.c.* *ad* "will be gathered"). The question now arises, what was to be done with the fruit of the fourth year? (a) If we omit the words in brackets, our text directs that all the fruit of the fourth year is to be accounted holy and offered to God. (b) If the bracketed words are genuine, the text directs that, while all the fruit is to be accounted holy, only the first-fruits are to be offered to God. In either case the words that follow elucidate

and earth and all things. Let them offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). 37. And in the fifth year

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous, and all that you plant will prosper. 38. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his fathers commanded him. 39. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch commanded his son in the first

further the same subject, and ordain that of the fruit of the fourth year the first-fruits are to be offered on the altar and the rest of it to be given to the priests. Next the words "offer . . . on the altar" seem to mean "offer as a burnt-offering" as in Lev. ii. 14-16, where the Israelite is bidden to burn the first-fruits of corn and oil on the altar.

But if the above interpretation is right, it does not agree with that of later Judaism. According to the latter it belonged to its owners and was to be consumed *within the walls of Jerusalem*. See Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19. In Sifre on Num. v. 10 it is decided that the priests had no share in the fruits of the fourth year. Something of the same nature may be implied in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xix. 24, where the fruit of the fourth year is said to be קורשי חשבון כהנה. Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 52) writes that the Samaritans, the Caraites and Ibn Ezra held the view set forth in the text. In any case, the teaching of our text does not diverge from that of later Judaism as much as the various regulations on this subject in the different codes of the Pentateuch (see Hastings, *Bible Dict.* ii. 10-11).

Let them offer. The construction with Kama is here jussive. It could

be rendered "so that they offer," but the context is against this.

37. *And in the fifth year.* At the close of these words I have marked a lacuna. The text should have proceeded to enunciate the right of eating the fruit of this year as in Lev. xix. 25, whereas it proceeds to speak of the year of release described in Deut. xv. 1, 9, that is, the seventh year; or else of the command in Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7, to let the land lie fallow every seventh year. The verb *ḥadaga* is used in the translation of *סָוַי* in the above two senses of letting a field lie fallow (Exod. xxiii. 11) and of remitting a debt (Deut. xv. 2). But the context is concerned with the land. Hence we may render "let it (the land) rest so that ye let it rest." But as this is tautologous we may conclude that there is some corruption. Our text = ἀφήσεται αὐτὴν ἵνα ἀφήτε αὐτήν. Here I take ἀφήτε to be a corruption of ἀνήτε. We should then have ἀφήσεται αὐτὴν ἵνα ἀνήτε αὐτήν. This is a rendering though not an accurate one of *אָנִיחָהּ* in Exod. xxiii. 11. Hence, instead of "make ye the release . . . release it," we should probably read: "(In the seventh year) ye will let it rest and lie fallow."

38. *Thus did Enoch . . . command.* The author attributes halachoth to Enoch. See note on xxi. 10.

jubilees : whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he commanded and testified to his son and to his sons' sons until the day of his death."

Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars,

1-4. *His sons*, 5-8. *Noah's sons and Noah divide the earth*, 10-11. *Shem's inheritance*, 12-21 : *Ham's*, 22-24 : *Japheth's*, 25-30. (Cf. Gen. x.)

1373 A.M.

VIII. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to himself a wife and

1375 A.M.

her name was Râsû'ējâ, [the daughter of Sûsân,] the daughter of Elam, and she bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. 2. And the son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and

39. *Seventh in his generation.* Cf. Eth. Enoch lx. 8, xciii. 3 ; Jude 14.

VIII. 1. *Râsû'ējâ* = רסו'יג, "the acceptable" (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 24). It appears as **𐤠𐤓𐤕** in the Syriac Fragment.

Kâinâm. This name, which is not found in the Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. of Gen. xi. 13 nor yet in the Targums, appears in the LXX version of this verse and also in Luke iii. 36. In the Mass., Sam., etc. Salah is the son of Arphaxad. The same facts are stated in Gen. x. 24 and 1 Chron. i. 24. At the best, therefore, the tradition attested by our text, the LXX and Luke is not an ancient one. The motive for its insertion in the text is obvious from ii. 23 above. Without this name there would only have been twenty-one heads from Adam to Jacob. The same motive may have led to its insertion in the LXX.

3. *He found a writing*, etc. The wisdom

attributed by our author to the Watchers, is in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2. 3) assigned to the children of Seth : Σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ἡρρημένα μηδὲ πρὶν εἰς γυνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι . . . στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέροις ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὐρημένα. J. Malala, *Anon. Chron.* p. 6, reproduces the matter contained in the above statement and adds : μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καῖνάν, ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδ, συνεγράφατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν, εὐρηκῶς τὴν τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν, ὥς εἴρηται, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακί λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένην. In Syncellus, i. 150, this event is recounted as follows : τῷ β' φ' π' ἔτει Καῖνάν διδοεύων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ εὗρε τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ἔκρυσσε παρ' ἑαυτῷ. The words of Syncellus are reproduced in Cedrenus, i. 27, but with the following important addition which further illustrates our

he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars in all the signs of heaven. 4. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. 5. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year 1429 A.M. thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Mēlkâ, the daughter of Madai, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and called his name Shelah; for 1432 A.M. he said: "Truly I have been sent." 6. [And in the fourth year he was born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of Kêsêd, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth 1499 A.M. week, in the first year thereof. 7. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the 1503 A.M.

text: καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν αὐτὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐξεπαίδευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Σάλα φασὶ ταύτην εὐρηκέναι. In Joel's *Chronography*, pp. 3-4, we find additional details borrowed probably from John Malala (see above): μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καῖνᾶν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξᾶδ συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν εὐρηκῶς τὴν τοῦ Σήθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ὀνομασίαν καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλακί λιθίνῃ γεγλυμμένῃ. Similarly in the Book of Jashar 10 a Cainan the son of Seth, and not the son of Arphaxad, as in our text and the above chronographies, is described as possessing great wisdom and a knowledge of future events, especially of the deluge. This wisdom he inscribed on tables of stone (על לוחות אבן) and placed them among his treasures. See the quotation from Josephus above. Just as the revelations of the Watchers are transferred to Seth, so likewise the revelations of the Slavonic Enoch are assigned to him by the Greek chronographers. These words will be found in the note on iv. 15.

He transcribed it. So MSS. By

reading a'ēlawô instead of a'ēlawâ we should have: "it led him astray."

Sinned owing to it. Cedrenus (see above) preserves this clause: ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξημάρτανε.

Used to observe = jêrê'ējû. In my text I emended this into jêrêsejû = "were founding."

In all the signs, etc. Cf. xi. 8.

5. Mēlkâ from מלכה = "queen" or "counsel."

Madai. Emended with Syr. **ܡܕܝܐ** and Lagarde's Greek MS *r*: μέλχα θυγατρη μαδαί.

Called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' Here obviously there was a paronomasia in the original: שֶׁלַח אֵת שְׁמוֹ שֶׁלַח כִּי אָמַר שֶׁלַח. For Shelah, Eth. has Sâlâ = LXX Σαλά.

6. Bracketed words a dittography from preceding verse.

Mû'ak. Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: **μωαχα** θυγατρη **χεεδαμ**: Syr. **ܡܘܚܐ** from מוכה, a frequent O.T. name.

7. 'Azûrâd. Should be 'Azûrâ. Syr. **ܐܙܪܐ**; Lagarde's MS *r* on Gen. x. 24: **ܐܙܪܘܦܐ** from אצורה, "the treasured one."

- 1564 A.M. daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 8. And in the
- 1567 A.M. sixth year thereof, she bare him a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. 9. And they divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. 10. And it came to pass in the beginning of the
- 1569 A.M. thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us, who had been sent, was with them. 11. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his

8. *Divide the earth . . . for this reason he called his name Peleg.* As in ver. 5 we have here again a paronomasia. לפלגו את הארץ . . . לכן קרא את שמו. Cf. Gen. x. 25. For Peleg, Eth. has Phâlêk.

9, 10. This secret and unauthorized division of the earth is followed by a formal and authoritative one made by Noah in the presence of an angel, and subscribed to by his sons with an oath binding on their descendants. On this subject Beer (*Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 33) quotes Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 24. This device of the author in some respects anticipates the Social Contract of Rousseau, but the objects are different. The theory in our text makes it clear that there must have been current in the second cent. B.C. religious and moral objections to the Hebrew invasion of Palestine and the slaughter of the Canaanites which accompanied it. This scheme of an ancestral compact approved by God and accepted as obligatory for succeeding generations is an attempt to obviate such objections, and to show that in reality the true transgressors were not Israel but the Canaanites, and that Israel in seizing Palestine were but resuming possession of what was their own; for the Canaanites had settled in Palestine, although this country had fallen by lot to Shem and

his descendants (see ix. 14, 15, x. 29-34 and notes *in loc.*). By mutual consent, moreover, a curse had been invoked on any one who should break this covenant as well as destruction on him and on his seed. Cf. Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxvi. 84 (II. ii. p. 542, Oehler): οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ἰδιώτης ὅτι τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν ἀπελθῶσαν διηρασμένην ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεδικήθη τὰ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων γινόμενα ἐν ὄρφῃ ἀληθείας καὶ ὀρκῷ. Νῶε γὰρ . . . μόνος διαιρῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, τῷ Σὴμ καὶ Χάμ καὶ 'Ιάφεθ, διέδωκε βαλὼν τοὺς κλήρους ἐν 'Ρινκορούροις. Hence when Israel invaded Palestine and drove out the Canaanites they were simply recovering their own possessions. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναὰν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατέκρησεν ἐκεῖ παραβὰς τὴν ἐντολὴν Νῶε σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἔθνεσιν ἑπτὰ, Ἀμορραῖοις, Χετταῖοις, Φερεζαῖοις, Εὐδαῖοις, Γεργεσαῖοις, Ἰεβουσαῖοις καὶ Χαναταῖοις, οὓς διὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ τινας καιροὺς διὰ τῶν κριτῶν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὴν πατρίαν γῆν . . .

9. *Secretly.* See note on iv. 5.

10. *One of us, who had been sent.* This angel is one of the angels of the presence whom God had sent down to bind the fallen watchers, v. 6. See notes on iv. 15, v. 6.

three sons were to take in possession, and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father. 12. And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river

12-21. *Shem's lot.* It is impossible to define exactly the limits of Shem's portion. The text is at times indefinite and no doubt corrupt; but even if we had the original before us many obscurities would still remain, owing to the vague and inaccurate geographical ideas of the time. The boundaries of Shem's portion are defined in verses 12-16 and the countries embraced within them in ver. 21, and ix. 2-6, 13^b. Since there is some hope of understanding our author's ideas as to the countries allotted to Shem, we shall confine our attention in the main to this question, and supplement the evidence of the text by citations from Epiphanius and Syncellus which are based upon it. We shall also make occasional use of the statements of Josephus on this head as well as of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel.

First of all Shem's portion is said to include (ver. 21) the countries of Eden, and of the Red Sea, of Bashan, Lebanon, Elam, Asshur, Babel, Susa, Media, India, the mountains of Sanir and Amana, and the islands of Kaptur. To this list ix. 2-6 adds the waters of Dedan, the mountains of Mebrî and Elâ and the land of Arârâ (? Ararat). Finally in ix. 13^b there are the islands of Kamâturi. Now, if we turn to Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxii. (Dindorf's ed. i. 215), we find that he defines Shem's portion as extending from Persia and Bactria to India, to Rhinocurura which is between Egypt and Palestine (τῷ μὲν Σῆμ . . . ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς χώρας Ῥινोकουρούρων). The same statement is made in the Chronicon Paschale (i. 53) and in Syncellus (i. 82), though in fuller form in the latter (Σῆμ . . . ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ Περσίδος καὶ Βάκτρων ἕως Ἰνδικῆς μήκος, πλάτος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς

ἕως Ῥινोकουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἥτοι τὰ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἕως μέρους τῆς μεσημβρίας, τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ Μῆδειαν καὶ ποταμὸν διορίζοντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρια τὸν Εὐφράτην). Cedrenus (i. 23) reproduces this passage. The Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 give practically the same delimitations: "Shem, the eldest, chose his portion in the land of 'Asya, that is, the land of Persia from Bactris to Endiana, from the Persian river to the Ocean in the west and the whole Rînôs." These definitions include for the most part the countries enumerated in our text above as well as in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, but they hardly explain the statement in viii. 12 that Shem's portion extended to the river Don and the Rhipaeen mountains. Now a list of countries filling up this larger area is given in Epiphanius (*Adn. Haer.* II. ii. p. 544 [*Haer.* lxxv. 83], ed. Oehler): τῷ δὲ Σῆμ ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος πρὸς πλάτος, ἡ Παλαιστίνη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Κολήν, Κομμαγήνη, Κιλικία, Καπαδοκία, Γαλατία, Παφλαγονία, Θράκη, Εὐρώπη, Ῥοδόπη, Λαζία, Ἰβηρία, Κασπία, Καρδυνέα, ἄχρι τῆς Μηδίας πρὸς βορρᾶν. ἐντεῦθεν οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν. But Thrace, Rhodope and probably Europa are here wrongly assigned to Shem.

12. *The middle of the earth.* Palestine according to Ezek. xxxviii. 12 (cf. also v. 5; Eth. Enoch xxvi. 1) was the navel (נוֹרֵם, ὀμφαλός) of the earth. Cf. viii. 19 of our text. The idea reappears in Rabbinic Hebrew. Singer (p. 68) quotes Joma 54 b; Sanhedrin 37 a; Pesikta Rabb. x. in Tanch. on Lev. xix. 23, כֵּן אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל טֶבֶר שֶׁל עוֹלָם וְיִירוּשָׁלַם בְּמִצְחָהּ "א."

Râfâ. This range is no doubt the Rhipaeen mountains which ancient geographers placed in the northern parts of Europe and Asia or in other

Tinâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mê'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. 13. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. 14. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. 15. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of

cases appear to have identified with the Ural mountains. The Tanais or Don is placed by our author in their neighbourhood. A son of Peleg is so named in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxvii. 5.

Tinâ. The Tanais or Don. This river is said to spring from "the waters of the abysses."

Mê'at. The Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13-14. These two verses should describe the western boundary.

13. *Kârâsô.* Dillmann identifies this place with the Chersonese. But if it is connected, as it seems to be, with "the tongue (*i.e.* gulf) which looks towards the south," which in ver. 14 is defined as "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," this identification cannot be right. I am inclined to believe that in Kârâsô we have the latter part of the word *Ῥινωκοροῦρα*, which lies on the western boundary of Shem. For if we turn to the quotations from Epiphanius and Syncellus in the note on 12-21 we find that the portion of Shem is said to extend "from India to Rhinocurura in Egypt." This place furthermore is situated on the frontier of Ham's portion according to Epiphanius and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel. Thus in *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 84 of the former, Ham's African dominions extend ἀπὸ Ῥινωκοροῦρων ἄχρι Γαδελῶν: and in xxxi. 2 of the latter, "from Rînôs as far as Gadaira." In this last quotation

we have another abbreviation of the long name Rhinocurura. It will be observed, indeed, that our text makes Shem's portion extend westward as far as the mouths of the Gihon (Nile), so that later writers have diverged somewhat from their primal authority. *Ῥινωκοροῦρα* is used by the LXX in translating נַחַל כַּזְרַיִם, *i.e.*, "the torrent of Egypt," a town on the confines of Egypt and Palestine, in Is. xxvii. 12.

This is in the bosom of. These words cannot be right if either of the above interpretations of Kârâsô is sound.

Tongue. The word *lesân* may be rendered indifferently "promontory" (of the land) or "bay" or "gulf" (of the sea).

Tongue which looks towards the south. This phrase is repeated and defined in the next verse.

14. *Tongue which looks towards the south.* This may mean the promontory which runs out into the Red Sea on which Mt. Sinai is situated.

The tongue of the Egyptian Sea. This is the Gulf of Aqaba at the north of the Red Sea. Our text is the literal equivalent of Is. xi. 15, לַשּׁוֹן יָם כַּזְרַיִם, as Littmann has observed.

15-16. These two verses should describe mainly the southern, eastern, and northern-eastern boundaries.

15. The word *Samên* which is rendered "south" can also be rendered "north"—a later meaning of the word.

(its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. 16. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the †east,† and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tînâ. 17. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. 18. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

"Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem."

19. And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount

West to 'Afrâ (c d). *b* reads "to the west of 'Afrâ." 'Afrâ seems to be Africa in its early limited sense.

Gihon. Eth. has Gijôn, i.e., the Gihon, one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 13). According to our text (viii. 23) it flows to the south of the Garden of Eden. This river compassed "the whole land of Cush." Whether the Cushites are the Kassî of the cuneiform inscriptions or the Ethiopians does not concern us here, though the identification of the Gihon and Nile may have arisen from a confusion of the two countries. Syncellus, i. 89, speaks of two distinct countries named Ethiopia: *Αἰθιοπία ἡ βλέπουσα κατὰ Ἰνδοῦς πρὸς εὐρόπoτον, ἄλλη Αἰθιοπία πρὸς νότον, ὅθεν ἐκπορεύεται ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμός*. Our author undoubtedly identifies the Nile with the Gihon. So Syncellus (p. 82) interprets this passage, *τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γειῶν . . . λέγεται*. Γηῶν is used as a rendering of נָחַל, i.e., the Nile in Sirach xxiv. 27: see also Jer. ii. 18.

16. *South.* Better translate "north." See note on ver. 15.

[*To the south*]. Bracketed as ditto-graphy.

It turns to the †east†. We should expect "to the west." I have omitted "and" before "it turns." The boundary line now returns to the river Don whence it started in ver. 12.

18. See vii. 11. God dwells in the dwellings of Shem: the three most holy places belong to Shem.

19. In iv. 26 above we have seen that there are four holy places in the earth: from the present verses we learn that three of these are in Shem's portion. The fourth place, therefore, must either have been in Japheth's or Ham's portion. Either therefore the Mount of the East may be regarded as Ararat in Japheth's portion, or as the great mountain in the south-east (cf. Eth. En. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3), which would probably belong to Ham's portion. See also iv. 26 note. The latter mountain is the chief in a range of mountains of fire (Eth. En. xviii. 9, xxiv. 1), and such a range belongs to Ham's portion: see ver. 22.

Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. 20. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. 21. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that

Navel of the earth. See note on ver. 12.

21. *A blessed portion.* Cf. Syncellus, p. 83, (Σημ) τὰς ἐξαιρέτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐλογιῶν ἐκληρώσατο ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει φέρεται. On the countries mentioned in this ver. see note on 12-21.

Bashan. In Eth. Bâsâ.

Islands of Kaftûr. This is Caphtor the proper name of a country in Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7. The plural is used of its inhabitants in Gen. x. 14; Deut. ii. 23. In Gen. x. 14 these are taken to be the Cappadocians in the Syr., Onk., and the Jon. and Jer. Targums; also in Amos ix. 7 in the LXX, Syr., Vulg., Targ.-Jon.; also in Jer. xlvii. 4 in the Syr., Jon. Targ., Vulg.; also in Deut. ii. 23 in the LXX, Syr., Onk., Vulg., Jon.-Targ. There are thus some grounds for regarding Kaftûr as equivalent to Cappadocia in this text, and this view may be confirmed by the passage in Epiphanius which includes Cappadocia in the portion of Shem; see quotation in note on viii. 12-21. On the other hand if we take the words "islands of Kaftûr" as a

correct translation of the original (probably אֶרֶץ כַּפְתֹּר), the phrase may denote the island of Crete. Kamâtûrî in ix. 13 may be a corruption of Kaftûr. Modern exegesis has taken the scriptural Caphtor to be Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid (see *Encyc. Bib.* on "Caphtor").

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. Cf. ix. 4. These names may be derived from Cant. iv. 8. Sanir is the Biblical Senir in Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5. In Deut. iii. 9 it is said to be the Amoritish name for Hermon. Sanîru occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions (see Bertholet on Ezekiel xxvii. 5). 'Amânâ may belong to the range of the Antilibanus or be Mt. Amanus in northern Syria. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxxi. 3. 5) favour the latter view.

Elam. The name of Shem's eldest son. The country is the Assyrian Elamtu, and is "nearly equivalent to the Susiana and Elymais of the Greeks" (*Encyc. Bib.* ii. 1253). Sûsân, which is mentioned presently, was its capital, or it may stand for Susiana.

Mâ'êdâi, i.e. Media. See x. 35.

is in it is very good. 22. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which †everything which is not destroyed descends†. 23. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdir, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. 24. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. 25. And for Japheth

22-24. Ham's portion. This portion embraces all Africa from the mouths of the Nile westward and southward and certain parts of Asia, which are vaguely defined in viii. 23, ix. 1, imperfectly in Epiphanius. *Anchorat.* cxii.: Χάμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ῥινκοκουρούρων ἕως Γαδεύρων τὰ πρὸς νότον: and in Syncellus, 82: Χάμ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ . . . ἔδωκε τὰ πρὸς νότον καὶ Λίβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς δύσεως ἀπὸ Ῥινκοκουρούρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ Αἰγυπτῶν καὶ Λιβύης, Ἀφρικῆν καὶ Μαυριτανίαν ἕως Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἕτοι ἕως τοῦ δυτικοῦ καὶ Λιβυκοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, ποταμὸν διορίζοντα τὸν Νεῖλον, ὃς καὶ Γεῶν . . . λέγεται, for both these passages omit the countries belonging to Ham in Asia. In Epiphanius. *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 (*Haer.* lxi. 84), however, these are given very fully: ὑπέπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ Ῥινκοκουρούρων ἄχρι Γαδεύρων, Αἰγυπτῶν ἔχων καὶ Μαυριτανίαν καὶ Ἀμμῶνα, Λιβύην τε καὶ Μαρμαρίδα, Πεντάπολιν, Μακάτην, Μακρόνην τε καὶ Λεπτιμιάγνην, Σύρτιν, Μαυριτανίαν, ἄχρι τῶν Ἡρακλεωτικῶν στηλῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῆς ἔσω Γαδεύρης· ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς νότον· ἀπὸ δὲ Ῥινκοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τὴν τε Ἰδοιμαλίαν καὶ Μαδιαντίν, τὴν τε Ἀλαβαστρίτιν, καὶ Ὀμηρίτιν, καὶ Ἀξωμίτιν, καὶ Βούγειαν, καὶ Λίβαν, ἄχρι τῆς τῶν Βάκτρων χώρας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς

κλῆρος διορίζει ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Σήμ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολήν. According to the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxi. 2 "Ham took his portion in the land of Afriquia which comprises Aram, Hamath, and the mountain of Lebanon . . . until the Red Sea and the Sea of Philistia, from Rînôs as far as Gadaira." See also for Josephus' views, *Ant.* i. 6. 2.

22. *Gihon.* Eth. has Gijôn. See note on viii. 15.

To the right, i.e. to the south.

Mountains of fire. On certain fiery mountains see Eth. Enoch xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3.

'Atêl. The Atlantic.

Mâ'ûk. This sea or ocean lies in the extreme west: cf. ver. 26. Is the word a distortion of Ὠκεανός, the Great Ocean Stream?

Everything which is not destroyed descends (a b). cd = "everything perishable descends." What is required probably is: "if anything descends into it, it perishes."

23. *Gâdir*, i.e. Gades, Cadiz.

Goes along the river Gihon. I have added 'ba' before Gihon; for the writer could not say that the Nile flowed towards the Garden of Eden.

25-29a. Japheth's portion—Northern Asia, Europe, and five great islands. This portion, which is further described in ix. 7-13, embraces the countries north

came forth the third portion beyond the river Tînâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north-easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. 26. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdir as far as the region of the waters of the sea. 27. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly to the waters of the sea of Mê'at. 28. And it extends to the region of the river Tînâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns round towards the north. 29. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever; five great islands, and a great land in the north. 30. But it is cold,

of Shem and Ham's portions from Media to Rhinocurura in Asia and to Gades in Europe. Epiphanius (*Anchorat.* cxii.) describes it briefly: 'Ιάφεθ τῷ τρίτῳ ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Ρινκοκουρούρων τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν. Cf. *Chronicon Pasch.* i. 46. A fuller account from a later standpoint is given by Syncellus (p. 83): 'Ιάφεθ . . . (ἔδωκεν) ἀπὸ Μηδείας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δυσμὰς ἕως Γαδείρων καὶ Βρεττανικῶν νήσων, Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, Πόντον, Κόλχους καὶ τὰς κατόπιον χώρας καὶ νήσους ἕως Ἰταλίας καὶ Γαλλικῆς, Σπανικῆς, τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ Λυσιτανῶν. Practically the same description of Japheth's province is given by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544 [*Haer.* lxvi. 84]): οὗτος ὁ κλῆρος (τοῦ Σῆμ) διορίζει τὸν 'Ιάφεθ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν (i.e., Japheth's province in Asia is bounded by Shem's on the south): πρὸς δὲ τὴν δύσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄχρι τῆς Ἰσπανίας καὶ Βριττανίας, ἐκεῖθεν τε τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, Ἐπτες καὶ Δαῦνεις, Ἰάπυγες, Κάλαβροι, Λατῖνοι, Ὀπικοί, Μάγαρδες, ἕως διακατοχῆς τῆς Σπανίας, καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας, τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ

Φράγγων ἀνω χώρας. An elaborate account of Japheth's province appears in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* xxxi. 4-5. The latter is dependent in some respects on the former.

25. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Asia.

Gog. The country of Gog is in northern Asia. Gog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (xxx. 4).

26-28. The boundaries of Japheth's portion in Europe.

26. *Qêlt.* These are probably the Celts.

Mâ'ûk. See on ver. 22.

27. *Fârâ* (*cd*), *b* Ferâ, *a* Ferêg. Fârâ may be Africa. See ver. 15.

Afêrâg. This may be Phrygia. This country according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 1) and the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* xxxi. 5 belonged to Japheth.

29. *Five great islands.* See note on ix. 13. To these five may belong Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Five islands in the Great Sea are mentioned in *Eth. Enoch* lxxvii. 8.

and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1: Shem's 2-6: Japheth's, 7-13. Oath taken by Noah's sons, 14-15.

IX. And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. 2. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dêdân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Êlâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk to the Red Sea and the river Tînâ. 3. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of Asshur and Nineveh

30. *Land of Ham is hot.* Cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxvi. 85: Χαναάν δὲ πλεονέκτης ὢν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ γῇ . . . καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι καυματινόν.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6.

Cush. Eth. has Ques. The country is no doubt Ethiopia. See also Josephus and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, *in loc.*

Mizraim. Eth. has Mêsîrêm. He receives מִצְרַיִם or Egypt.

Put. Eth. has Phûd. So also in LXX Φούδ, *i.e.* מִצְרַיִם. The country of Phûd is Libya, lying west of Egypt. See Josephus and Jerahmeel.

To the west of him . . . on the sea for Canaan. Thus Canaan's portion extended from Libya to the Atlantic on the west. See x. 28-29. The bracketed words are a dittography.

2. Elam's portion—from the Tigris to the utmost confines of India, the countries bordering on the Red Sea and

running northward to Pontus and the Don.

The east, the whole land of India (câ). *a b* read "to the east of the whole land of India." But India was in Shem's portion. See viii. 21.

Waters of Dêdân. Dedan is a son of Raamah, one of the sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7) or of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3). The Dedanites are generally taken to be a commercial people dwelling in Arabia, possibly on the north-west. See *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 1053.

Mebrî (b). *a* Mazbâra.

'Êlâ (*b c d*). *a* 'Êlâm.

Pharnâk. Can this be Pharnacia on the coast of Pontus? On the countries falling to Shem's portion in Asia Minor and to the north see quotation from Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.*) in note on viii. 12-21.

3. *Nineveh.* Eth. Ninêvî.

and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends and skirts the river. 4. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. 6. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of Asshur his brother. 7. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. 8. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tînâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of M'eat. 9. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. 10. And for Javan came forth the fourth

Shinar. Eth. has Sinâar. The Shinar of Scripture, Gen. x. 10, etc.

And skirts the river=wawadafa falaga, emended from wadafâ falag of *abâ*, which is untranslatable. If wadafâ were the name of a river we might emend falag into falaga and translate: "to the river Wadafâ."

4. Arpachshad's portion. See further ix. 13 for the islands allotted to him. In Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, the descendants of Arpachshad are identified with the Chaldees. Eth. has 'Arphâxed.

Tongue of the sea, etc. I don't know what is meant here.

Sanîr and 'Amânâ. See note on viii. 21.

5. The Syrians.

'Arârâ, i.e. Ararat. See viii. 21.

6. Lud's portion extends from the

west coast of Asia Minor to the east of Asshur. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 4, says the descendants of Lud were the Lydians.

8. *Magog.* Only Gog is spoken of in viii. 25.

9. The north-western portions of Europe fell to Madai's lot, but he was dissatisfied with it (see x. 35) and begged a portion of Shem's lot. Madai's lot would seem to embrace Britain and Ireland. The former is mentioned in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (xxi. 5), Epiphanius and Syncellus; see notes on viii. 25-29^a.

10. *Javan.* Eth. has 'Îjô'evân. Javan denotes properly Ionia, the Greek colony in Asia Minor, and is used in this limited sense in Is. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13. This name also de

portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. 11. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. 12. And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it approaches the east of Gâdîr. 13. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. 14. And thus the sons of Noah divided

notes the Graeco-Macedonian empire: Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2. In our text it seems to embrace all the islands of the coast of Asia Minor, while in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, it includes Ionia and all the Greeks.

Every island and the islands. We should expect rather "all the coastlands and the island."

11. Tubal's (Eth. Tôbêl) portion seems to extend from Thrace to Italy. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies Tubal's descendants with the Iberes who lived in the Caucasus, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 5, identify them with the Iberi and Ispamia (?). It is not clear what the three tongues of land are. Italy seems to be the third, Greece the second and possibly Thrace the first. The descendants of Tubal in Gen. x. 2 are identified with Tibareni in Pontus.

12. As Italy seems to be the third tongue, Meshech's portion extends from the north of Italy to Cadiz. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxi. 4, take the descendants of Meshech to be identified with the Cappadocians, but modern scholars with the Moschi who lived between the sources of the Phasis and Cyrus.

13. The descendants of Tiras (Eth. Tîrás) seem to be the Tyrseni, a branch of the Pelasgians who lived by piracy on the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 6. 1, identifies them with the Thracians.

Four great islands. See on viii. 29.

[*The islands of Kamâtûrî . . . as his inheritance*]. I have bracketed these words as an interpolation. They are foreign to their present context, for it is dealing with the possessions of the sons of Japheth, and Arpachshad is a son of Shem. Furthermore, the phraseology "came out . . . for the sons of Arpachshad" is unusual. This phrase "the sons of" is used only in the case of Noah's three sons: viii. 17 "for Shem and his sons"; viii. 24 "for Ham . . . and his sons"; viii. 29 "for Japheth and his sons." But in connection with Noah's sixteen grandsons in chap. ix. it is not used. The grandson is mentioned in each case as the person to whom a certain province is allotted. On the other hand, the words may in some form have followed after ix. 4, which defines the possessions of Arpachshad. From viii. 21 we know that "the islands of Kaftûr" were in Shem's portion. Now these "islands of Kamâtûrî" may be the "islands of Kaftûr"; for Kamâtûrî could easily originate from Kaftûr.

14. Following our text Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* cxiv. (Dind. ed., vol. i. 217), writes τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ἐθνῶν οὕτως ἐκ τῶν τριῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Νῶε γεγονότων καὶ τριχῇ τοῦ κόσμου τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς διαμερισθέντος, ὥς προείπον, ὅρκος ἀπητήθη παρ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μηδένα ἐπεμβαίνειν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κλήρῳ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τὴν τοῦ ὅρκου διαταγὴν ἐξολοθρεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ καὶ πάντῃ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ. See also *Adv. Haer.*

unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating a curse on everyone that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. 15. And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. Noah's prayer, 3-6. Mastēma allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits, 7-11. Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons, 12-14. Noah dies, 15-17. Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, 18-27. Canaan seizes on Palestine, 29-34. Madai receives Media, 35-36.

X. And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of† the sons of

II. ii. 544 (*Haer* lxvi. 85). In Syncellus (i. 83) also, it is said of Noah: μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐνετείλατο τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς μηδένα ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὁρίοις καὶ ἀτάκτως ἐνεχθῆναι πρὸς ἕτερον, ὥς τούτου γενησομένου αἰτίου στάσεως αὐτοῖς καὶ πολέμων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

15. *The day of judgment.* See note on iv. 19.

X. 1. We have here another fragment of the lost Apocalypse of Noah. The former fragment we found in vii. 20-39. Of the present fragment a summary is preserved in Syncellus, i. 49, though, of course, as forming a genuine section of Jubilees. This summary gives the contents of verses 1-9. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μωϋσείως λεγομένη ἀποκαλύψει φέρεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῷ β' φ' β' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου φθόνῳ κινούμενοι μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλά-

νησαν τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε. καὶ εὐξαμένον τοῦ Νῶε ἵνα ἀποστῶσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ κύριος ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ βαλεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄχρι ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως· ὁ δὲ διάβολος ἠτήσατο λαβεῖν μοῖραν ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς πειρασμὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τὸ δέκατον αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσταξιν θεῖαν, ὥστε πειράζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς δοκιμὴν τῆς ἐκάστου πρὸς θεὸν προαιρέσεως, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐννέα μέρη ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. But what is of still greater interest is the fact that in the Hebrew Book of Noah fragments of verses 1-2, 9-14 have been preserved from the Hebrew original. For this work the reader can consult Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iv. 155-156, or my text of Jubilees, p. 179.

The third week of this jubilee. If this jubilee be the last mentioned, i.e., the thirty-third (viii. 10), then the date

Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. 2. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said :

"God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,

And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,

And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition ;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,

And great has been Thy mercy to my soul ;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,

And let not wicked spirits rule over them

Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4. But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth. 5. And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits,

is 1583-1589, but it may be much earlier.

The unclean demons. These are the spirits which went forth from the Mamzerim or children of the angels and the daughters of men. See vii. 22 ; Eth. Enoch xiv.-xvi.

The unclean demons began . . . destroy them (so *a b*). *cd* omit "the children of." But Syncellus, i. 49, and the passage from the Hebrew Book of Noah (see my Eth. Text, p. 35, notes 17-19) show that instead of "the children of the sons" we should simply have "the sons." Under the word *daqîqa* (= "the children of") there may lie some corruption of the verb 'adqaga, "to beat small" = לרכות, a corruption for להכות, "to slay." Now this verb is the last infinitive in the passage of the Hebrew Book of Noah (see below), and as the other three verbs in the Ethiopic text are literal equivalents of the preceding three infinitives in the same passage we may conclude that we have thus re-

covered the true text. The passage in question is : החלו רוחות הממזרים להתגרות ובהניח להשטות ולטעות ולהכל ולהכות "And the spirits of the Mamzerim began to stir themselves against the sons of Noah, to lead astray and cause to err and to destroy and to slay." "Unclean demons" in our text is a good equivalent for "the spirits of the Mamzerim," though it is not a literal rendering. The Hebrew original of our text therefore = "The unclean demons began to lead astray and to make to err and to slay and to destroy the sons of Noah" (= החלו להשטות ולטעות ולהכות ולהכל). On the other hand the expression "sons' sons" recurs in verses 2, 3^b, and 5^b, so that the text of *a b* may be right.

3. *God of the spirits of all flesh.* Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

Sons of perdition (= בני האכזרין). Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

My sons (*a*). *b* "Thy sons' sons."

5. *Thy Watchers.* Cf. Eth. Enoch vi.-xvi.

acted in my day: and as for these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and created in order to destroy. 6. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous from henceforth and for evermore." 7. And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. 8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to

*The sons (cd). b "the sons' sons."
a "the place."*

6. *Canst exercise dominion over them* = tâ'amr kuânnenô lômû emended from tâ'amr kuennanêhômû = "Thou knowest their power" or "judgment."

7. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 4, 12.

8. See the quotation from Syncellus in note on ver. 1.

Mastêmâ. In the Latin version this name appears as Mastima, and in the Midrashic Book of Noah (see my text, p. 179) as מַסְתִּמָּה. Hence the form in which it appears in Syncellus and Cedrenus as Μαστιφάμ, ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν δαιμονίων, or Μαστιφάτ is less accurate. Outside the Jubilee literature, as Rösensch has remarked (p. 418), this word is not found as a proper noun except in the Acts of Philip (ed. Tischend., p. 98): ὁ δὲ Μανσημάτ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὑπεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀνανίαν καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν αὐτὸν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς. As a common noun it is found twice in Hos. ix. 7, 8 in the sense of "enmity." The word appears to be the hiphil of סַשׂ (= שַׁשׂ), i.e. סַשְׁשָׁה, and is therefore the equivalent of ὁ Σατανᾶς in point of meaning and derivation. As in the Eth. Enoch it is the function of the evil spirits to tempt men, Eth. Enoch lxix. 4, 6; accuse them, Eth. Enoch xl. 7; and destroy them, Eth. Enoch xv. 11, 12, xvi., in which

capacity they are designated as "angels of punishment," liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxiii. 11, lxiii. 1, so also in our author. Thus the evil spirits under Mastêmâ (1) tempt men, lead them astray and blind them x. 2, 8, xlviii. 12, 16, and harden their hearts xlviii. 17. In xv. 31 it is actually stated that God put spirits in authority over men to lead them astray; see notes on xv. 31-32. Again (2) they accuse men of actual or alleged sins, xvii. 16, xlviii. 15, 18. Finally (3) they destroy those who have sinned, being created for this purpose, x. 2, 5. As angels of destruction they appear, xlviii. 2, in slaying the first-born in Egypt. In xlviii. 2 Mastêmâ seeks to slay Moses for failing to circumcise his son. These spirits seek to rule a man in order to destroy him, x. 3. But they cannot touch the righteous, x. 6; every breach of the law, however, exposes men to their malignant influence, xlviii. 2. Israel as such is God's own portion and is not subject to spirits of any kind, xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28. From this high ethical conception our author falls away, no doubt under the influence of his authorities, in x. 12, 13, where, as in Tobit, magical methods are said to be effective against evil spirits. See further note on xlviii. 2.

Let some of them remain before me. See quotation from Syncellus in note on x. 1.

execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.” 9. And He said: “Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation.” 10. And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. 11. And we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemnation, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. 12. And we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. 13. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah. 14. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he loved him exceedingly above all his sons. 15. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. 16. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen jubilees and 1659 A.M. two weeks and five years. 17. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the

9. Cf. Hebrew Book of Noah: “And the angel did so and enclosed them in the house of judgment (בית הדין). Only one-tenth did he permit to go to and fro on the earth before the prince of the Mastema to rule over the godless to smite them and to plague them with all manner of diseases.” The angel according to this Hebrew book is Raphael, but according to Eth. Enoch x. 11-13 is Michael. Again, though according to our text only one-tenth of the demons are allowed to act with impunity to the day of judgment, in Eth. Enoch xv.-xvi., all the demons have this privilege.

10. *One of us.* This angel is Raphael.

So it is stated in the Hebrew Book of Noah, where there is a manifest paronomasia between רפאל and רפואה. Cf. Eth. Enoch x. 7; Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14, 15.

11. See ver. 9, note.

Satan. Satan and Mastema are thus identical.

12. This verse is found almost wholly in Heb. Book of Noah (see my text of Jubilees, p. 179).

13-14. Shem as the eldest son (see note on iv. 33) or as the priest receives all the sacred writings from Noah. Cf. Syncellus ii. 83. In xlv. 16 Jacob gives all the books into Levi's hands, as Levi was priest.

righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the day of judgment. 18. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômânâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar, and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said: "Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Shinar." 19. For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, "Go to, let us ascend thereby into heaven." 20. And they began to build, and in the fourth week they made brick with fire, and the bricks served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. 21. And they built it: forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the

1645-1688
A. M.

17. *Enoch's office was ordained for a testimony, etc.* Cf. iv. 24 for a similar statement.

Recount all the deeds, etc. Cf. iv. 23, 24.

Till the day of judgment. Cf. iv. 19, 24, ix. 15, x. 22.

18. *Lômânâ.* This name is found in the Syriac fragment as ܠܡܢܐ, and Lagarde's MS *r* as *δυννα*, and Algazi's Chronicle as ܠܡܢܐ.

Reu. Eth. has Râgaw = 'Ραγαύ = ʾר (Gen. xi. 18). It is obvious that our author thus derived Reu from ʾר, "to be evil." There was a paronomasia in the original. "He called his name Râgau (ʾר); for . . . the children of men had become evil," ʾר. This derivation appears in the *Onomasticon*, p. 197, 27: 'Ράαν (i.e. 'Ρααύ) κακούμενος.

Shinar. Eth. has Sânaâr, in ver. 25 Sînââr, in 26 Sanââr.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20. On Babel see *Encyc. Bibl.* i. 410-413.

Made brick. (Emended: see my Eth. Text, p. 34.)

Made brick with fire; and the bricks served, etc. This passage appears to be the source of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix. 2: "Come and let us make bricks . . . and let us burn them and each brick will be to us as a stone and the pitch for mortar." Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3.

21. For the three slight emendations of the text in this verse see my text, pp. 36-37. The passage is found in Greek in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175: ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη ἔμειναν οἰκοδομοῦντες. τὸ ὕψος, εὐλογῶντες, καὶ οὕτως παλεστοῦν (sic), τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ σὺν πλινθούς. τῆς πλινθού τοῦ ὕψους, τρίτον μῆκος πλινθού. τὸ ἑκταμα τοῦ ἐνὸς τοίχου στάδιοι γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου

height (of a brick) was the third of one ; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). 22. And the Lord our God said unto us : " Behold, they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them. Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with them till the day of judgment." 23. And the Lord descended, and we descended with Him to see the city and the tower which the children of men had built. 24. And He confounded their language, and they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. 25. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their cities, each according to his language

λ'. Eutychiuss (translated by Pococke, 1658, pp. 51, 52) has drawn upon our text in the following passage: Tres ergo annos lateribus conficiendis et coquendis insumpserunt: quorum singuli tredecim cubitos longi, decem lati, ac quinque alti essent; urbemque inter Tyrum et Babelam exstruxerunt orgyas longam tercentum et tredecim, latam centum quinquaginta unam: cujus muri alti orgyas quinquies mille quingentas triginta tres; lati triginta tres; turris autem orgyas decies mille alta; quibus exstruendis quadraginta annos insumpserunt. Cf. J. Malalas, p. 12; Glycas, p. 240. The clauses in brackets in the translation are derived from the Greek. Rönsch (p. 401) quotes the following passage respecting this tower from Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, pp. 77-78: Der Thurm (Nimrod's) ward bis zu einer Höhe von 5000 Ellen gebaut . . . Gott liess ihn mit einem solchen Getöse umstürzen, dass alle Leute vor Schrecken ganz

ausser sich waren und jeder eine andere Sprache redete.

Thirteen stades. In Jerome (*Epist.* (78 in Migne) *ad Fabiolam*, mansion 18) we have the following reference to this passage. Hoc verbum (רָסָה), quantum memoria suggerit, nusquam alibi in Scripturis sanctis apud Hebraeos invenisse me novi absque libro apocrypho qui a Graecis Αερρή (*a.l.* Μικρογένης) id est, parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in aedificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletae et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. This forms Jerome's note on the name of the place of encampment Rissah (רָסָה) in Num. xxxiii. 21, 22. In later Hebrew רִיס and רִיסָה are used as = stadium or race-course. See Levy's *Wörterbuch*, *in loc.*

22. *Will be withholden from them.* Lit. "will fail from them." Gen. xi. 6.

25. Cf. Gen. xi. 9.

From thence they were dispersed . . . each according to his language. Accord-

and his nation. 26. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the land of Shinar, and they called its name "Overthrow." 27. In the fourth week in the first year in the beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar. 28. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion in the land of the south. 29. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from

ing to the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 8 the number of nations thus created were seventy, under their seventy patron angels. Cf. Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxx. 8; also Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5: διεσκέδασε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐλς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο διένειμε κατὰ τὸν τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸν εὐρεθέντα. Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 22.

26. *A mighty wind.* This is a very old tradition. It is found in Sibyll. Or. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5; Syncellus, i. 77; Cedrenus, i. 22.

"Overthrow" = *dēqat* = καταστροφή = *הפכה*. Observe the play of words not preserved in Eth.): "Overthrew it . . . and they called its name 'Overthrow'" = *שמו את ארץ' . . . הפכו הבה*. This disagrees with its name "Babel" in Gen. xi. 9. According to Sanh. 109a one-third of the tower of Babel was burnt, one-third swallowed up in the earth, and one-third standing.

28. Ham's portion lay in the north of Africa. It is described in the next verse as lying in the west towards the sea, cf. ix. 1. The designation "land of the south" is a loose one. The word rendered "south" rightly means "north," but it is used occasionally in this wrong sense by Ethiopic scribes. See note on viii. 15.

29. This view is, I think, found only

in Jubilees and the books dependent upon it. Palestine fell by lot to Arpachshad and north-west Africa (see ix. 1) to Canaan; but Canaan wrongfully seized Palestine: see Epiphanius, *Anchorat.* cxiv. p. 217 (ed. Dindorf): ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ Σὴμ ἡ Παλαιστίνη ὑπέπεσε καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῆς, πλεονέκτης δὲ ὢν ὁ Χαναάν υἱὸς Χάμ ἐπῆλθε τῇ Παλαιστινίων ὕστερον γῇ, τουτέστι τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἀφαρπαῖζει αὐτήν, ἐμακροθύμει δὲ ὁ θεός, διδοὺς χρόνους μετανοίας, ἵνα μετανοήσῃαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χάμ καὶ ἀποδώσι τοῖς τοῦ Σὴμ τὴν ἰδίαν κληρονομίαν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐ μετενοοῦν, ἀλλ' ἤθελον τὸ μέτρον αὐτῶν πληρῶσαι. τότε ὁ θεὸς μετὰ πολλὰς ὕστερον γενεὰς δίκαιος ὢν ἐκδικεῖ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ ὅρκου. οὕτω γὰρ ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὸ Ἀμορραίων μέτρον. Cf. also *Haer.* lxvi. 85 (II. ii. 544); Syncellus, i. 83; Glycas, 242. The words of the last come very near our text: ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναάν ἰδὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λίβανον γῆν ὅτι . . . ἐστίν . . . κρείττων τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γῆς, τυραννικῶς καθήρπαξεν αὐτήν. Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Cujus interim senior frater (Shem) habitationis sortem eam, quae est in medio terrae, suscepit, in qua est regio Judaeae, junior vero orientis (should be occidentis) plagam sortitus est, ipse autem occidentis (should be orientis) accepit.

Jordan (ad). *bc* "Lebanon."

the border of the sea. 30. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers, said unto him: "Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. 31. Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. 32. Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father." 33. But he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 34. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. 35. And Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until this day. 36. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the name of their father Madai.

30. Cf. Syncellus, i. 83-84: *μετὰ διακόσια ἔτη τῆς τελευτῆς Νῶε, νεωτερίσας ὁ τοῦ Χάμ υἱὸς Χαναάν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ κατέκρησεν ἐκεῖ.* With the word "sedition" in the text compare *νεωτερίσας* in Syncellus.

32. *By the curse*, etc. Cf. ix. 14, 15.

The holy judge, i.e. the angel who was present at the drawing of lots, viii. 10.

33. *Hamath*. Eth. has *Ḥmāth* (i.e., *Ἡμάθ*, *נַחֲמָת*); see xiii. 2. Hamath was the northern boundary of Israel (Num. xxxiv. 8; Judg. iii. 3, etc.). In 2 Chron. vii. 8 we have the phrase: "From the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt."

34. Cf. Glycas, p. 242: *καὶ οὕτω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Χαναάν προσηγορεύθη.*

35. See note on ix. 9. Diodorus, Presbyter of Antioch (ob. 392?), appears to have known this passage. He is quoted in *Catena Nicephori*, i. 167 on Gen. ix. 27: *τί δήποτε, καὶ κατοικησάτω ὁ Ἰάφεθ ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασι τοῦ Σὴμ εἰρηται; ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πάντα προφητεία ἦν διὰ προφάσεως τινος, ἣ ἀνευ προφάσεως φανερομένη; καὶ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδαὶ, τουτέστιν ὁ Μηδός, τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ὢν υἱός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν τοῦ Σὴμ οἰκήσεων κατέσχε τὴν Μηδίαν, μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς.*

Media. Eth. *Mēdqin*.

Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). *Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and idolatry*, 2-7. *Nachor and Terah*, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). *Abram's knowledge of God and wonderful deeds*, 15-24.

1681 A. M.

XI. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ôrâ, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Sêrôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father.

1687 A. M.

XI. 1. Cf. Gen. xi. 21.
'Ôrâ. Lagarde's MS *r wpa*: Syr. Frag. **ⲓⲟⲗ**. Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45 gives Melcha.

Sêrôh. See ver. 6. Beer suggests that this is from כרה, "to sin," in Talmudic Hebrew. This would suit ver. 2, but ver. 6 implies that our author derived it from כור, "to turn aside." Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6, writes: τὸν Σερούχ τὸν ἐρμηνεύμενον Ἐρεθισμὸν.

2-6. The corruption of mankind which our author ascribes to the period of Serug is by later writers assigned to the age of Enos, the son of Seth: see iv. 12 note. Some reflection of our text appears in Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 6: Φαλὲκ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Παγού . . . καὶ ἤρξατο εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡ εἰδωλολατρία τε καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμός . . . οὕτω δὲ ἐν

ξοάνους καὶ ἐν τορELAIS λίθων ἢ ξύλων ἢ ἀργυροτεύκτων . . . μόνον δὲ διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ εἰκόνων ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διάνοια ἐναντὶ ἐφύρατο τὴν κακίαν: also in Cedrenus, i. 47: ἐπὶ τούτου (Σηρούχ) οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐξήσαντες τύφον στρατηγούς τε ἐαυτοῖς κατεστήσαντο καὶ βασιλεῖς. καὶ τότε πρῶτως πολεμικὰ κατασκευάσαντες ὄργανα πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐνῆρξαντο. See also Book of Adam and Eve (Malan), iii. 24: Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 45.

2. *Individuals began to exalt themselves*, etc. So MSS. The emendation in my text is not necessary.

3. 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd. We have here an attempt to explain the phrase Ur of the Chaldees (אור כשדים) through reference to Ur and his father Kêsêd.

'Arâ. Corrupt for Ura or Ur.

4. And they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy, and to shed blood upon the earth. 6. For this reason he called the name of Sêrôh, Serug, for every one turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. 7. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-^{1744 A.M.}sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. 8. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. 9. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth^{1800 A.M.} week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Îjâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. 10. And she bare him Terah in the seventh

5. *Mastêmâ.* See note on x. 8.

To corrupt, etc. Cf. Eth. Enoch xvi.

6. There seems to be here a play on the name Serug. "He called the name . . . Serug (שֵׂרֻג) for every one turned (סָוָר) to all manner of sin and transgression (סָוָר)." See, however, note on ver. 1.

7. *He worshipped idols.* See in note on iv. 12 passage from Chron. of Jerahmeel denying this.

Mêlkâ, daughter of Kâbêr. So also in Syr. and Lagarde's MS r. In Gen. xi. 29 Milcah is the name of Nahor's wife, but this Nahor is Terah's son.

8. Cf. Gen. xi. 23.

His father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, etc. See reference to

Chronicles of Jerahmeel in note on iv. 12. Our text was known directly or indirectly by Cedrenus, i. 47 : *αὐτὴν θέντα δὲ τὸν Ναχώρ ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατήρ πάντων ἐπίλυσιν ὁλωνῶν, τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανῷ σημείων διακρίσεις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων καὶ πᾶσαν Χαλδαϊκὴν μαντείαν.* On an earlier reference to this art in our text see viii. 3.

9. *Ijâskâ, the daughter of Nêstâg.*

Syr. Fragment 

 This name Ijâskâ is found in Gen. xi. 29, i.e. Iscah (יִסְכָּה), but there she is the daughter of Haran.

10. Cf. Gen. xi. 25.

Terah. Eth. has Târâ.

1806 A.M. year of this week. 11. And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. 12. And for this reason he called his name Terah, because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their seed. 13. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the earth in their days. 14. And in this 1870 A.M. thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Êdnâ, the

11-13. This legend is traced to our text by Jerome. Two other writers reproduce it, but do not mention the source. Jerome, in commenting on Num. xxxiii. 27 (*Epist. lxxviii. ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24), writes as follows: *Castra metati sunt in Thare (Num. xxxiii. 27): Hoc eodem vocabulo (תר) et iisdem litteris scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. I know of only two other references to the incident in our text. The first is in S. Ephraem i. 156 and is quoted by Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 248: "Abram when a child, having been sent by Terah to drive away ravens sent to destroy the crops, as a punishment for the idolatry of the land, Abram—unable to drive them away—by a sudden impulse, called upon God to order them off, who answered: 'Here am I,' and ordered the ravens away from Terah's field." The second is found in Bar-hebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 13 (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 422 sq.): *Cum Abraam annorum esset quindecim, annuit Deus precibus ejus contra pिकास quae terram Chaldaeorum vastabant semina terrae ab iis**

mandata perdetes. These last two passages are in the main derived from our text.

11. *Sent.* This can be rendered also "had sent."

12. *Reduced them to destitution.* The Ethiopic here = ἐπτώχισαν αὐτούς, but it could also be a rendering of ἐθλίψαν or ἐκάκωσαν. Hence this verb may go back to the Chaldee verb חרע = to ravage, devastate. This verb would constitute a play on the name Terah (תר) and the verse would run: יבואת קרא את שמו חרע יבואת קרא את שמו חרע. כי העורבים חרעו בם. For attempts to explain the derivation of Terah from the meaning assigned by Jerome see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 266-267; Beer, *Leben Abraham's*, pp. 95-96.

14. 'Êdnâ, the daughter of Abram. So Syriac Fragment (see my text, p. 40). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47: Θάρρα δὲ . . . ἐγέννησεν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἐδνας, θυγατρὸς Ἀβραάμ πατράδελφου αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, οὗτινα ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἑαυτῆς πατρός. In the later Jewish books the wife of Terah is called Amthelai, the daughter of Karnebo, Baba Bathra 91a; Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103). In the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (Eng. transl.) xxvii. 7, Amtalai,

daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's sister. 15. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, 1876 A.M. and he called his name Abram, by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son. 16. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he separated 1890 A.M. himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. 17. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. 18. And the seed time came for the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. 19. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, "Descend not: return to the place whence ye came," and they proceeded to turn back. 20. And he caused the

the daughter of Karnabo, is said to be the wife of Nahor, but by taking the context rightly we get Amtalai as wife of Terah. Book of Jashar (Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1103) gives Amtela as Terah's wife, but there is no mention of her father's name. According to Eutychius (translated by Pococke, 1658) Terah had two wives, Yuna and Tohwait. See note on xii. 9.

15. *Abram, by the name*, etc. This statement is referred to by Syncellus, i. 183: Τὸν κατὰ μητέρα πάππον τοῦ 'Αβραάμ ἡ Λεπτὴ Γένεσις φησιν ὅτι 'Αβραάμ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρὶα τοῦ 'Αβραάμ ὑπῆρχε.

16-17. Syncellus writes (i. 184) on the authority of our text: τῷ ἰδ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Αβραάμ ἐπιγνούς τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν προσεκύνει. Cf. Cedrenus, i. 47:

οὗτος ('Αβραάμ) μόνος, τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα πλάνην νοσούντων, τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπέγνω καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων ἀνεκήρυξε. According to Simon ben Lakish in Ber. rabba 30, 64, 95, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim v. 16 (cf. Midr. on Esther ii. 5), Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106), Abraham knew God when only three years old, according to R. Chanina in his forty-eighth year. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 103-104 for other references.

16. For later forms of the saga in xi. 16-17, xii. 1-14, see Beer, *Leben Abr.* 3, 102; Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106 sqq.); Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxix., xxxiii.-xxxiv.

18. *Lad of fourteen years.* See quotation from Bar-hebraeus in note on 11-13.

clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. 21. And all who were with him throughout all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the land of the Chaldees. 22. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. 23. And in the first year of the fifth week

1891 A.M. Abram taught those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens. 24. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. Marries Sarai, 9. Haran and Nachor, 9-11. Abram burns the idols: death of Haran, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). Terah and his family go to Haran, 15. Abram observes the stars and prays, 16-21. Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed, 22-24. Power of speaking Hebrew given to him, 25-27. Leaves Haran for Canaan, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

XII. And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the

1904 A.M.

20. *He caused the clouds of ravens to turn back.* Here we must emend gaberā (*a b*), gaberū (*c*), gab'a (*d*), into agb'a, or retaining the reading of *a b* understand jetajatatū after sabē'ā.

XII. 1-14. Instead of the simple

narrative in these verses we have in later Jewish writings elaborate accounts of the fear inspired in Nimrod by Abram's birth, and the attempts of the former to destroy Abram in a furnace of fire when he refused to commit

seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here am I, my son."

2. And he said,

"What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,

And before which thou dost bow thyself?

idolatry. The idea that Abram was cast into a fiery furnace arose from a literal interpretation of Gen. xv. 7, "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur (בִּבְלָא) of the Chaldees" where אִשׁ was taken to mean "fire." Probably a comparison of Exod. xx. 2 and Is. xxix. 22 may have contributed to this interpretation. The casting of Abram into the furnace of fire is recorded in Targ.-Jon. on Is. x. 32, in the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xi. 28, xv. 7, and the Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xv. 7; also in Ber. Rabba 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 63; Shem. rabba 18, 23, 44; Wajikra rabba 36; Debarim rabba 9. As to whether it was God Himself or an angel who delivered Abram out of the fire was a question of debate among the Rabbis in the first and second cent. (Ber. rabba 48, Midr. on Shir ha-Shirim i. 12). Exaggerated and grotesque forms of the legend will be found in the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1111 sqq.) and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxiii.-xxxiv. On the other hand no trace of the legend occurs in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 7) or in the Palestinian Midrashim (the Mechilta, Sifra and Sifre), nor in our text save in xii. 14, where we have perhaps the source of a kindred legend—the death of Haran by fire (see note *in loc.*). Jerome mentions this last legend (see note on xii. 14) and likewise the former about the casting of Abram into the fiery furnace (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xii. 4): Erant autem Abram septuaginta quinque annorum, quando egressus est ex Charra. Indissolubilis nascitur quaestio: si enim Thara pater Abrahæ, cum adhuc esset in regione Chaldaea, septuaginta annorum, genuit Abram, et postea in Charra ducentesimo quinto aetatis suae anno mortuus est: quomodo nunc post mortem Thare, Abram exiens de Charra, septuaginta quinque annorum fuisse memoratur: cum a nativitate Abrae usque ad mortem patris ejus, centum

triginta quinque fuisse anni doceantur. *Vera est igitur illa Hebraeorum traditio, quam supra diximus, quod egressus sit Thara cum filiis suis de igne Chaldaeorum: et quod Abram Babylonio vallatus incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat, Dei sit auxilio liberatus: et ex illo tempore ei dies vitae, et tempus reputetur aetatis, ex quo confessus est Dominum, spernens idola Chaldaeorum. Potest autem fieri ut, quia scriptura reliquit incertum, ante paucos annos Thara de Chaldaea profectus venerit in Charra quam mortem obieret, vel certe statim post persecutionem in Charra venerit et ibi diutius sit moratus. For a full discussion of the subject and references to later Jewish literature see Beer's monograph in the *Monatsschrift für Gesch. Judenthums*, 1855, pp. 59-65. Beer is of opinion that Persia was the home of the legend and that it did not make its way into Palestine till the third cent. of the Christian era. This is much too late. A late form of the tradition is found in Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* pp. 48 sqq.*

2. This tradition of Abram admonishing Terah was known to Suidas (*Fabric. Cod. Pseud.* V. T. i. 336-338): Ἀβραὰμ ὑπάρχων ἐτῶν ἰδ' καὶ θεογνωσίας ἀξιώθεις ἐνουθέτει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ λέγων· τί πλατῆς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ κέρδος ἐπιζητήσας, τοῦτέστι, τὰ εἰδωλὰ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον δημιουργήσας. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. 1, p. 38, Oehler) attributes the invention of image-worship to Terah: Ναχώρ δὲ γεννᾷ τὸν Θάρρα· ἐντεῦθεν γέγονεν ἀνδριαντοπλασία ἀπὸ πηλοῦργίας καὶ κεραμικῆς ἐπιστήμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θάρρα τούτου τέχνης.

Help and profit . . . from those idols. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21, "Vain things which cannot profit nor deliver."

3. For there is no spirit in them,
For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
Worship them not :
4. Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the
earth,
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.
5. Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them ?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who
make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship
them :
Worship them not."
6. And his father said unto him, " I also know it, my
son, but what shall I do with a people who have made
me to serve before them? 7. And if I tell them the
truth, they will slay me ; for their soul cleaves to them to
worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest
they slay thee." 8. And these words he spake to his two
brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent.
- 1925 A.M. 9. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the
seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her
name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became

3. *There is no spirit*, etc. See also ver. 5, xx. 8 ; Ps. cxxxv. 17.

4. *Causes the rain . . . to descend*. See xx. 9. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22, "Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? . . . thou hast made all these things." See also Epistle of Jeremy 53 ; Mt. v. 45 ; Acts xiv. 17.

5. *Work of (men's) hands*. Cf. Jer. x. 3, 9. See xx. 8, xxii. 18 of our text.

On your shoulders do ye carry them. Amos v. 26 ; Is. xlvi. 7 ; Jer. x. 5 ; Epist. Jer. 4, 26 ; Ass. Mos. viii. 4.

9. *Sarai*. Sarai is written Sôrâ in the Ethiopic till xv. 15, when she receives the name Sarah (Eth. Sârâ).

his wife. 10. And Haran, his brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name 1932 A.M. Lot. 11. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself a wife. 12. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, 1936 A.M. in the fourth week, in the fourth year thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the house, and no man knew it. 13. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the midst of the fire. 14. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father,

The same form of the words is found in the Ethiopic version of Gen. xvii. 15 and may go back to the Greek version. In the LXX the words, however, are given as Σάρα and Σάρρα.

The daughter of his father. Our author here follows Gen. xx. 12, where Abraham says that Sarah is the daughter of his father but not of his mother. Syncellus probably follows our text in saying (i. 183): ἡ δὲ Σάρρα ὁμοπατέρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ὑπῆρχε. In the Book of Adam and Eve (translated by Malan), iv. 2, the two wives of Terah are mentioned, Tona, the mother of Abraham, and Tahdif, the mother of Sarah (see note on xi. 14). On the other hand Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5; 7 1) describes Sarai as a niece of Abraham and a daughter of Haran—an evasion probably unknown to our author. According to the rabbinic tradition (Jebam. 98 a, Sanh. 58 b, Ber. rabba 18, etc.) marriage with half-sisters on the father's side was permitted to the descendants of Noah (see Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 167 note). Marriage with a sister or half-sister is strictly forbidden in Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17. See note on iv. 15.

10. *Haran.* Eth. has 'Arân.

11. According to Gen. xi. 29 Nahor married Milcah, the daughter of Haran.

12-14. In the note on xii. 1-14 (p. 90 sq.) I have drawn attention to the fact that our book knows nothing of the later legend of the casting of Abram into the furnace. In verses 12-14, however,

we have an old legend—possibly devised by our author, being suggested by the twofold meaning of the Ur (אור), i.e. the name of a country and a fire. Our author is fond of explaining events from the meanings of words. A different form of the legend appears in Jerome, who rejects the legend of Abram's being cast into the fire (*Quaest. Hebr.* on Gen. xi. 28): Pro eo, quod legimus, in regione Chaldaeorum, in Hebraeo habetur, in Ur Chesdim, id est in igne Chaldaeorum. Tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione istius modi fabulam: quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldaei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idolatriae igne profugerit . . . Mortuus est Aran ante conspectum Thare . . . in igne Chaldaeorum: quod videlicet ignem nolens adorare igne consumptus sit. Syncellus (i. 185) follows our author: ἐνεπύρισε Ἀβραάμ τὰ εἰδῶλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκατεκαύθη αὐτοῖς Ἀρρὰν θέλων σβέσαι τὸ πῦρ ἐν νυκτί. Cedrenus (i. 48) seems to have had our text before him: ἤδη δὲ ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ὁ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδῳκε τὸν πατέρα πείθειν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀποσχέσθαι δεισιδαιμονίας, λανθάνει νυκτὸς τῶν εἰδώλων ἐμπρήσας τὸν οἶκον. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξαναλουμένων οἱ ἀδελφοὶ νοήσαντες ἀναπηδῶσι, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξελεῖσθαι τὰ εἰδῶλα. φιλοτιμώτερον δὲ ὁ Ἀρὰμ τῷ πράγματι προσφερόμενος ἐν μέσῳ διαφθείρεται τοῦ πυρὸς. Cf. Bar-hebraeus, *Historia*

and they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees. 15. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. 16. And in

1951 A.M. the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. 17. And a word came into his heart and he said: "All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search (them) out?"

18. If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in His hand."

19. And he prayed that night and said
"My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of Thy hands.

Dynastiarum, p. 13 (quoted by Fabricius, i. 422): Incenditque ille templum idolorum in urbe Chaldaeorum, at Haran frater ipsius ad extinguendum ignem ingressus combustus est. According to Beer (*Leben Abr.* 110) the same legend is found in Midr. b. Bechaii.

15. *Haran*. Eth. has Kârân, i.e. ܡܚܪܢ, Haran, a city in the N.W. of Mesopotamia. Cf. Gen. xi. 31.

16-18. Abram on the first of the seventh month seeks to determine the nature of the weather during the ensuing six rainy months (see note on xii. 27). In Ber. rabba 44, according to the Rabbis, God told Abram that he was a prophet and not a star-gazer. Cedrenus (i. 48-49) reproduces the sub-

stance of our text: ἐνθα ὁ Ἀβραὰμ δεκαπέντε ἔτη τῷ πατρὶ συνοικήσας ἐννοεῖ ποτὲ νυκτὸς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν κινήσεως τοῦ ἐπίοντος καιροῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν ποιότητα· ἦν γὰρ οὐ μετρίως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐξασκηθεὶς ἐπιστήμην. καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν ζητουμένων διάγνωσιν, συνήησι περιττὴν ἅπασαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην περιεργίαν· δύνασθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεόν, εἰ βούλοιτο, μετασκευάσαι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον βούλημα τὰ προεγνωσμένα. Cf. Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1106). Some such idea seems to have been present to Philo, *De Migr. Abr.* xxxii.-xxxiii.

19. *And Thee and Thy Dominion*, etc. The MSS put this line at the end of ver. 19.

20. Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have
 sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,
 And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
 And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
 That we go not astray from henceforth and for ever-
 more."

21. And he said, "Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees
 who seek my face that I may return to them, or am I
 to remain here in this place? The right path before
 Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy servant that he may
 fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness
 of my heart, O my God." 22. And he made an end of
 speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was
 sent to him through me, saying: "Get thee up from thy
 country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy
 father unto a land which I shall show thee, and I shall
 make thee a great and numerous nation.

23. And I shall bless thee
 And I shall make thy name great,
 And thou wilt be blessed in the earth,
 And in Thee will all families of the earth be blessed,
 And I shall bless them that bless thee,
 And curse them that curse thee.

24. And I shall be a God to thee and thy son, and to
 thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from
 henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I
 am thy God." 25. And the Lord God said: "Open his
 mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with

22-23. Gen. xii. 1-3.

22. *From the house of thy father.*
 This implies separation from Terah (see
 29-31). The phrase is omitted in Acts
 vii. 3, where the quotation is given a
 different context.

25-26. From the overthrow of Babel
 (x. 26) the knowledge of the Hebrew
 language was lost till the 75th year of

Abram's life. Our text was before
 Syncellus, i. 185. Thus, contrary to
 his own system of chronology, he
 assigns the date in this connection as
 the beginning of the 41st jubilee.
'Αρχὴ τοῦ μά 'Ιωβηλαίου παρ' 'Εβραίοις.
'Ιωβήλ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ πεντηκοντα-
ετηρίς, ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ κατ' αὐτοῦς
ἐπὶ πέντε' (so Röscher: MSS μέ) ἔτος

his mouth, with the language which has been revealed"; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). 26. And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. 27. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six rainy months. 28. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father, and informed him that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. 29. And Terah his father said unto him; "Go in peace:

'Αβραάμ ἔτη ,βα' (=2001: so Rönisch: MSS βν'). ὁ ἀγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Μωϋσῇ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν 'Αβραάμ ἐγὼ ἐδίδαξα τὴν Ἑβραϊδα γλῶσσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, λαλεῖν τὰ πάτρια πάντα, ὡς ἐν Λεπτῇ κέεται Γενέσει. The above reckoning agrees exactly with our text if we take into account the fact that Syncellus wrongly takes a jubilee as 50 years instead of 49 years. Syncellus thus finds that on the 1st year of the 41st jubilee, 2001 years have elapsed from Adam till the 85th year of Abram. According to our text Abram was 75 years old in 1951 and therefore 85 in 1961. Now 40 jubilees + 1 = 1961, but Syncellus, reckoning the jubilee at 50 years, wrongly made the total 2001. A curtailed form of the above statement is reproduced by Cedrenus, i. 48. Again the writer of the Clementine *Recognitions*, i. 30, knew the substance of our text: Quinta decima generatione primo omnium homines idolum statuente adoraverunt, et usque ad illud tempus divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua tenuit monarchiam.

A different tradition from that in our text appears in the *Catena Nicephori*, i. col. 177, on Gen. xi. 8, where Heber is said to have alone retained the Hebrew language, because he took no part in the building of

Babel. In the next colophon of the same work the same statement is attributed to Diodorus of Antioch (378-394 A.D.). A similar view is set forth in Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 11, and in Cedrenus, i. 22: φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Ἑβερ ὁ τοῦ Φάλεκ πατρὸς οὐ συνέθετο τῇ πράξει τῆς πυργοποιίας διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φωνῆς συγχεθείσης ἢ τοῦ Ἑβερ οὐκ ἀπώλετο. According to Malan, *Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 245, this view was propounded by Bar-hebraeus (*Syr.* p. 9).

25. *Language which has been revealed.* Cf. Clementine *Recognitions* i. 30: Divinitus humano generi data Hebraeorum lingua (see preceding note).

Day of the overthrow. See note on x. 26.

27. *The books of his fathers.* See note on xxi. 10.

Six rainy months. This means the winter in the East. It is the time for study. The expression is Talmudic: ימים השמים (Ta'an. 3 b; Erubin 56 a) in opposition to ימים החמה, the days of the Sun, i.e. the summer.

29-31. Singer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 170) is no doubt right in saying that this passage owes its existence to the author's wish to protect Abram against the reproach of leaving his aged father (see Ber. rabba 39).

May the eternal God make thy path straight,
 And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from
 all evil,
 And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before
 those who see thee,
 And may none of the children of men have power over
 thee to harm thee ;
 Go in peace.

30. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother, as thine own son : the Lord be with thee. 31. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together."

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14a. Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron, 14b-21. Chedor-laomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah : Lot taken captive, 22-24. Law of tithes enacted, 25-29. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20, xiii. 11-18, xiv. 8-14, 21-24.)

XIII. And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near a lofty oak. 2. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to the lofty oak. 3. And the Lord said to him :

Accordingly, Abram is to return and fetch his father. As Terah is still alive at the age of 147 (see xi. 10, 15) it follows that our author accepts 205 years in Gen. xi. 32 (Mass., LXX) as the age of Terah when he died. The Samaritan here has 145, and this is the text presupposed by Acts vii. 4. It is accepted by Budde and Dillmann.

XIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xii. 5-6.
 †Asshur.† I have obelised this as corrupt. We should expect "Canaan." *a* has Sûr.

Shechem. Eth. has Sakimôn.

2. Hamath. Eth. has 'Ēmâth. See note on x. 33.

Lofty oak. So LXX Gen. xii. 6 ; Mass. = "oak of Moreh."

"To thee and to thy seed will I give this land." 4. And he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to him. 5. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, and pitched his tent there. 6. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the mountains. 7. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought him to this land. 8. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: "Thou, the eternal God, art my God." 9. And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. 10. And he removed from thence and went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine in the land. 11. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 12. Now Tanais in Egypt was at

3-5. Cf. Gen. xii. 7-8.

5. *Unto the mountain* . . . *Bethel on the west*, etc. After "mountain" there is probably a loss of the words: "to the east of Bethel with." This lacuna is not marked in the MSS. Zasedū after Bêtêl in *a* may be a corruption of westa = ἐν. If so, it should be placed before Bêtêl. *bcd* read "unto the mountain of Bethel," etc.

Ai. Eth. 'Aggê, LXX 'Αγγαί.

6. *Date trees* = bîlanôs (= βάλανος), an emendation of *a* bîbanôs. *cd* read libânôs, which Dillmann takes to mean "pine trees."

8. *On the new moon of the first month*. So *cd*, which is to be preferred to the reading of *a* *b* as Praetorius and Littmann have pointed out.

Thou, the eternal God, art (bcd). *a*, "And said, the eternal God is." See ver. 16.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xii. 8^b-10.

10. *Hebron*. Eth. Kêbrôn.

Bealoth, Latin Bahalot, LXX Βααλωθ (Mass. נִלְוָה). A town in the south of Judah, Jos. xv. 24, as Littmann has recognised. MSS corruptly Bêa Lôth.

12. *Tanais*, i.e. Zoan, נַחֲשֹׁן (LXX

1954 A.M.

1956 A.M.

that time built—seven years after Hebron. 13. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram, that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife. 14. And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses, and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also, his brother's son, was wealthy. 15. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 16. And it came to pass in the forty-first 1963 A.M. jubilee, in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, and called on the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever and ever." 17. And in the fourth 1964 A.M. year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. 18. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's son had parted from him; for he had no children. 19. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: "Lift up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and eastward. 20. For all the land which thou seest I

Tavlv). The statement in this verse is drawn from Num. xiii. 22.

13-15^a. Cf. Gen. xii. 15-20. Our author conceals Abram's deception of Pharaoh relative to Sarai, and omits Gen. xii. 18. The Book of Jashar expands all the details of the Biblical account.

15. *Journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent*, etc. Cf. Gen. xiii. 3, 4.

Ai on the east, etc. See on ver. 5.

16. *Thou, the most high God*, etc. Cf. ver. 8.

17. *Lot parted from him*. Cf. Gen. xiii. 11.

18. *It grieved him* = 'akajð. So *b*. Cf. Sir. xi. 22 for this transitive use. *a* has 'ak'ijð, *d* 'a'ekajfi. *c* gives *hazana*, a conjecture right in sense.

19-21. Cf. Gen. xiii. 14-18.

19. *This week*. MSS add "and said" against Latin and Gen. xiii.

shall give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I shall make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet thy seed shall not be numbered.

21. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth of it, and see it all; for to thy seed shall I give it." And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there. 22.

And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell through wounds in the vale of Siddim, by the Salt Sea. 23. And they took captive Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and all his possessions, and they went to Dan. 24. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants. 25.

. for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the

20. *Sand of the sea.* This expression is borrowed from Gen. xxii. 17. Gen. xiii. 16 has here: "dust of the earth."

Not be numbered. Gen. xiii. 16 omits the negative; but it is also found in Onkelos.

21. I have added "through the land" from Gen. xiii. 17, since the expression "length of it" presupposes its presence in the text, otherwise we have to go back twenty-three words in the Ethiopic for the antecedent of "it." The Latin is here defective, omitting "through the land in its length and."

22-29. Cf. Gen. xiv.

22. *Chedorlaomer.* Eth. has Kôdôlâ-gômôr.

Amraphel. Eth. has 'Âmârphel. Cf. Gen. xiv. 1 (LXX) 'Αμαρφάλ.

Sêllâsar. Possibly a corruption of Ellâsar, since sê and 'ê are easily confused in Ethiopic; but the corruption originated in the Greek, since A in Gen. xiv. 1 has Σελλασαρ; or in the Hebrew, as the Syriac has Dalasar and the Targum of Ps.-Jon. Telassar.

Têrgâl, i.e. Tidal of Mass. Syr. has Tar'îl and LXX Θαργὰλ.

Gomorrah. Eth. Gômôr.

King of Sodom fled. Our author here corrects the apparent contradiction in Gen. xiv. 10, 17.

Vale of Siddim. An easy emendation of a corrupt text. See my Eth. text (p. 48).

23. *Adam, i.e.* Admah.

They went. Text which has "he went" should be emended.

To Dan. Cf. Gen. xiv. 14.

24. *One who had escaped.* Gen. xiv. 13. This person was named Oni according to the Book of Jashar (Migne's *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1125).

And (Abram) armed his household servants. Gen. xiv. 14. For "armed" (a b d), c corruptly reads "made atonement for." Onkelos (וי) supports the rendering which our text gives of קי in Gen. xiv. 14. The LXX ἠπλομήσε and Vulg. numeravit which presuppose קי the text of the Samaritan.

25. At the beginning of this verse there is obviously a lacuna, for the text

first-fruits to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. 26. And to this law there is no limit of days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep. 27. And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. 28. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: "Our Lord Abram, give unto us the souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine." 29. And Abram said unto him: "I lift up my hands to the Most High God, that from a

is anacolouthic. *c* removes the anacolouthon by changing 'astarasaja = "armed" of *αδδ* into 'astaseraja = "made atonement for." Thus instead of "(Abram) armed his household servants . . . for Abram" we have "his household servant made atonement for Abram." But this change is against the best MSS, which are likewise supported by Gen. xiv. 14 (see note on ver. 24), and it does not dispense with the necessity of assuming a lacuna at the close of ver. 24. The lacuna, drawn attention to in our text, would naturally contain an account of Abram's pursuit of the kings and recovery of the captives and spoil. It no doubt told also of Melchizedek; for ver. 25 presupposes Gen. xiv. 18^b. 20^c by declaring that the tithes belong to the priests. In Nedar 32^b it is said that the priestly office passed from Melchizedek's successors to those of Abraham because Melchizedek sinned in blessing Abraham before he blessed God (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 74). Since Beer had before him the corrupt reading of *c*, which tries to obviate the anacolouthic nature of the text, he assumed that the text contained no reference to Melchizedek. It is true that this passage has always been a stumbling-block to strict Jews. Thus it was urged against them by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 19: ἀπερίμνητος ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου Μελχισεδέκ, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτας

προσφοράς ἔδωκεν Ἀβραάμ) that Melchizedek was uncircumcised to whom Abram gave tithes, and also by Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* iii.: Patriarchae incircumcisi fuerunt, ut Melchisedech qui ipsi Abrahæ jam circumciso . . . panem et vinum obtulit incircumcisos. To evade such attacks some Jewish writers declared that Melchizedek was born circumcised (Ber. rabba 43; for other references see Singer, p. 122 note); also that Melchizedek was identical with Shem (Targum Jon. and Jerus. on Gen. xiv. 18; Nedar 32^b; Ber. rabba 44: Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1125); see Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 142; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 122 note for further references). These evasions were apparently unknown to Philo and Josephus. In connection with the fact that Melchizedek was called "a priest of the most high God" (Gen. xiv. 18) we should remember that the Maccabeans called themselves by this title (see note on xxxii. 1). Now since our author (see Introd. § 21) is an apologist of the Maccabean dynasty, it is not probable that he would omit all reference to Melchizedek who first bore the title they afterwards assumed.

26. From the enigmatical words of Gen. xiv. 20 "he gave him a tenth of all" our author derives the law of universal tithing. See xxxii. 15.

28-29. Cf. Gen. xiv. 21-24.

thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that is thine, lest thou shouldst say I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These will take their portion."

Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. Offers a sacrifice and is told of his seed being in Egypt, 8-17. God's covenant with Abram, 18-20. Hagar bears Ishmael, 21-24. (Cf. Gen. xv., xvi. 1-4, 11.)

XIV. After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and thy reward will be exceeding great." 2. And he said: "Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed." 3. And He said unto him: "This (man) will not be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir." 4. And He brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: "Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou art able to number them." 5. And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said unto him: "So shall thy seed be." 6. And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness. 7. And He said unto

29. *Aner*. Eth. has 'Aunân.

XIV. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xv. 1-6.

2. *Lord, Lord*. Probably = Δέσποτα Κύριε as in LXX of Gen. xv. 2 = אדוני יהוה.

The son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid. The Greek translator (and also the LXX) wrongly took מֶשֶׁק (= "possession") to be a proper name.

Instead of "the son of Mâsêq" we should have "the possessor." Next, "the son of my handmaid" = ὁ οἰκογενῆς μου. Hence our text = בן־מֶשֶׁק בְּרַבִּית. Subsequent tradition made much of Eliezer. He was said to be one of the seven righteous men who had not tasted of death (Baba bathra 58 a).

7. Cf. Gen. xv. 7.

him: "I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I shall be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee." 8. And he said: "Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?" 9. And He said unto him: "Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month; and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. 11. And he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. 12. And birds came down upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it came to pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land (that is) not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred years. 14. And the nation also to whom they will

And I shall be God unto thee (c d). a b read "to be God unto thee."

8-9. Cf. Gen. xv. 8-9.

8. *Lord, Lord.* See note on ver. 2.

9. *An heifer of three years, etc.* The Mass., LXX, Ps.-Jon., Wajikra rabba 14, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10. 3 mention one animal of each kind, as here. On the other hand, Gen. rabba and Onkelos on this verse prescribe three of each kind. So also Rashi, Nachmanides, Kimchi according to Beer (*Leb. Abr.* 20, 121).

10. *In the middle of the month.* Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, and the Seder Olam 5, state that this event took place on Nisan 15.

Dwelt at the oak of Mamre. Cf. Gen. xiv. 13.

11-12. Cf. Gen. xv. 10-11.

12. *The pieces.* The MSS have here "that which was spread out" = *ταθέντα*, which I have taken to be a corruption

of *τμηθέντα*: cf. LXX τὰ διχοτομήματα. This would imply the reading גזרים. But *ταθέντα* might possibly be a corruption of *καταθέντα* = פנירים as in Mass. text. In that case we should render "carcasses." Observe that LXX (= *ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα ἐπὶ τὰ διχοτομήματα*) had clearly *על-הפגרים על-גזרים* before it.

Abram drove them away = *καὶ ἀπεσβήσεν* (= Mass. ויגב) *αὐτὰ Ἀβράμ* (Aquila). LXX = *καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβράμ*.

13-16. Cf. Gen. xv. 12-16.

13. *They will bring them into bondage.* So LXX and Vulgate. Mass., Sam., and Syr. = "they will be in bondage to them."

Four hundred years. In Gen. xv. 13 the length of the sojourn in Egypt is given as 400 years, but in Exod. xii. 40 as 430. But since neither number agrees with the period calculated from the ages of Kohath, Amram

be in bondage shall I judge, and after that they will come forth thence with much substance. 15. And thou wilt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried in a good old age. 16. But in the fourth generation they will return hither; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites." 19.

in Exod. vi. 18, 20, and Moses at the time of the Exodus, vii. 7, tradition early assumed that the above periods include the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan before the migration. Thus the LXX in Exod. xii. 40 insert the words *καὶ ἐν γῇ Χανάαν* after *ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ*, and the same addition is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The period of 400 or 430 years was reckoned from the date of its announcement in Gen. xv. 13, according to St. Paul, Gal. iii. 16, 17; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 15. 2; Ps.-Jon. in Exod. xii. 40, but our text reckons the 430 years from Isaac's birth. On the other hand, Philo (*Quis rer. div. her.* 54) sets down the actual sojourn of Israel in Egypt at 400 years, and likewise Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4). According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 40, 41 the 430 years are explained as follows: 400 years elapsed between Isaac's birth, which took place when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5), and the Exodus; and 430 between the date of God's promise to Abraham (Gen. xv. 13) and the Exodus; for this promise was given 30 years before Isaac's birth. Thus 430 years = 30 (years between promise in Gen. xv. 13 and birth of Isaac) + 60 (years from birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob) + 130 (being age of Jacob on his arrival in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9) +

210 (years of sojourn in Egypt). According to this chronology it follows that Abram was 70 years old when he witnessed the vision in Gen. xv. 7-21. But according to Gen. xii. 4 Abram was already 75 when he left Haran. This difficulty obliged later Jewish exponents to assume that Abram had paid an earlier visit in his 70th year to Canaan, and that Gen. xv. 7-21 belongs to that earlier visit and that its present context is accordingly wrong. This method of exposition is followed in the Book of Jashar where Gen. xv. 7-21 is first recounted (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1119) and subsequently Gen. xv. 1-6 (ii. 1125-1126). The double journey to Canaan is referred to by R. Nehemiah in Ber. rabba 39. For other references to later Jewish literature on this question see Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 118-120.

Of this later form of exposition our book knows nothing.

16. *Fourth generation.* A generation means here 100 years. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5).

17-18. Cf. Gen. xv. 17-21.

17. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

18. *The Hivites.* Found in Sam. and LXX of Gen. xv. 20, but not in Mass., Syr., or Vulg.

And the day passed, and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself for ever. 21. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed that he would have seed, but she did not bear. 22. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said unto him; "Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee by her." 23. And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, "Do (so)." And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 24. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth 1965 A.M. year in the life of Abram.

Abram celebrates the feast of first-fruits, 1, 2: his name changed and circumcision instituted, 3-14. Sarai's name changed and Isaac promised, 15-21. Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised, 22-24. Circumcision an eternal ordination, 25, 26. Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised, 27-29. Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels, 30-32. Future faithlessness of Israel, 33, 34. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

XV. And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this 1979 A.M.

19. *The pieces.* Emended. See note on ver. 12, where the same corruption is found.

20. *On that day, i.e. the 15th Sivan.* We have already seen (see note on vi. 17-18) that the Covenant with Noah was probably assigned to the same month

and the same day of the month by our author.

21^d-24^{ab}. Cf. Gen. xvi. 1-4.

24. *And he called his name Ishmael.* Cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

XV. 1. †*Fourth*† (*a c d*). *b* reads "seventh." It should be "third," here

jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain

and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognised. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xlv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

To begin with, it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word "Sabbath" in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved "on the morrow after the Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, *מחרת השבת*). In what sense, then, are we to take the word "Sabbath"? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

(1) First the word "Sabbath" is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day.

(i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by *τη ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης* (here *ἡ πρώτη* = *חשבת*), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, *מחרת קמח*; in the Targum of Onkelos (*מבחר יומא טבא*) where "the Sabbath"

is simply rendered "the feast day"; in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, *τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ*; in Philo, *De Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: *Ἐορτὴ δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα*. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (a) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (b) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A.D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase *מחרת השבת* = "after the second (feast) day," that is Nisan 21. (c) But the usage is as early as the second cent. B.C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase "the morrow after the Sabbath" as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term "Sabbath" stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath, are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 a) took "the morrow after the Sabbath" to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened

harvest. 2. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings he offered upon the altar with frankincense. 3. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him: "I am God Almighty; approve thyself before Me and be thou perfect. 4. And I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly." 5. And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, and said:

6. "Behold My ordinance is with thee,

And thou wilt be the father of many nations.

7. Neither will thy name any more be called Abram,

But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.

For the father of many nations have I made thee.

8. And I shall make thee very great,

And I shall make thee into nations,

And kings will come forth from thee.

9. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their generations, for an

bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. pol. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-137) holds that the ἡ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatribē de Secta Karæorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connection. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that "the morrow after the Sabbath" was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos.*

Recht,² 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Heb. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii.), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (*Herzog's Real Encyc.*² xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*; *Herzog's Real Encyc.*² and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

2. An heifer and a goat, etc. Cf. xiv. 9. These are not the sacrifices prescribed for this festival in Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

3-4. Cf. Gen. xvii. 1-2.

3. Approve thyself. Cf. LXX, ἐναπέσται and Syr. which are all free renderings of הוהלך.

5-10. Cf. Gen. xvii. 3-8.

eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. 10. (And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee) the land where thou hast been a sojourner, the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I shall be their God." 11. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "And as for thee, do thou keep My covenant, thou and thy seed after thee; and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it will be a token of an eternal covenant between Me and you. 12. And the child on the eighth day ye will circumcise, every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. 13. He that is born in thy house will surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money will be circumcised, and My covenant will be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. 14. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul will be cut off from his people, for

10. (*And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee*). These words, lost through homoioteleuton, I have restored from Gen. xvii. 8.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xvii. 9-13.

12. *The child (or "children") on the eighth day ye will circumcise*. This form of Gen. xvii. 12 is found only in the Eth. vers. of that passage and in our text. It seems to be a deliberate change of "the child of eight days ye shall circumcise," as in Gen. xvii. 12. See on ver. 14.

14. Cf. Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's *Commentary in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123-124): Incircumciscus masculus, qui non fuerit circumciscus in carne praeputii sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa; and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is

wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV., many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenising attitude towards circumcision our author emphasises what was apparently the current view of his time, *i.e.*, that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for

he has broken My covenant." 15. And God said unto Abraham: "As for Sarai thy wife, her name will no more be called Sarai, but Sarah will be her name. 16. And I shall bless her, and give thee a son by her, and I shall bless him, and he will become a nation, and kings of nations will proceed from him." 17. And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: "Shall a son be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?" 18. And Abraham said unto God: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 19. And God said: "Yea, and Sarah also will bear thee a son, and thou wilt call his name Isaac, and I shall establish My covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after

the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: "A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well." But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (Eichhorn's *Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: "We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לֹא נֶאֱחָזֵר יוֹם אֶחָד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more." That the severer form of the halacha prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second cent. A.D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): "Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμολῶς κἀν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?" This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (*Midrash Tillin 10b*, *Sotah 10b*, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba, in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פריעה, or "the laying bare." This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

15-22. Cf. Gen. xvii. 15-22.

16. *I shall bless him.* So also the Sam., LXX, Syr. and Vulg. of Gen. xvii. 16, whereas the Sam. makes the rest of

him. 20. And as for Ishmael also have I heard thee, and behold I shall bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly, and he will beget twelve princes, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant shall I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee, in these days, in the next year." 22. And He left off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. 23. And Abraham did according as God had said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. 24. And on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were circumcised with him. 25. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written on the heavenly tables. 26. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from

the verse, and the Mass. and Onk. make the entire verse refer to Sarah.

20. *Princes*. So Mass. (אנשי) and Vulg. LXX, ἐθνῶν = אנשי.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xvii. 23-27.

24. *On the selfsame day, i.e., on the 15th of Sivan*; see ver. 1. According to the Yalkut Chadash 121 *a* Abraham was circumcised on the 13th or 15th of Nisan, or on the Day of Atonement, or on the New Moon of January (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 63, 152).

(*And those born in the house*). Restored with Lat.

25. See note on ver. 14.

No omission of one day out of the eight

days. I take this clause to be parallel in meaning to the preceding. In no case is the circumcision to be performed before the eighth day. The word translated "omission" is the same as that translated "neglecting" or "transgressing" in vi. 31.

26. This verse is simply an enlargement of ver. 14, which as we saw is Gen. xvii. 14.

On the eighth day. MSS and Latin have "till the eighth day." But since this verse is simply an emphatic and enlarged form of ver. 14, for "till" we should clearly have "on." Besides, "till" gives the wrong sense; for the

the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 27. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. 28. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. 29. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. 30. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. 31. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children

circumcision is to be performed *on the eighth day*. The error can be explained by the corruption of $\aleph$ into $\beth$ or $\beth$ into γ in the Hebrew.

And to be rooted out of the earth. ad and Latin omit, possibly through homoioteleuton.

27. There are two classes of angels mentioned here: the angels of the presence (see i. 29 note, ii. 2 note, 18, xxxi. 14) and the angels of sanctification (see ii. 2 note, 18 ["holy ones," "sancti," xxxi. 14]), according to the Ethiopic text; but three or four according to the Latin: *angeli vultus, archangeli benedictionis, angeli sanctificationis, angeli sanctorum ipsius*. But the last does not constitute a distinct order. It is simply a comprehensive term for the two (or three) highest orders, since it occurs in the following context: *ut esset simul cum ipso et cum angelis sanctorum ipsius*. Here *ipso* means "God," and the *angelis sancti, ipsius* sums up the orders mentioned in the earlier part of the sentence. Since in ii. 18 the Ethiopic speaks so clearly of only two classes, I am inclined to believe that "benedictionis" is

simply an alternative rendering that has ousted the true reading, "sanctificationis," and that the context deals only with two orders of angels. The two orders mentioned here in the Ethiopic text are the same two who are said to unite with God and Israel in observing the Sabbath (ii. 18, 19, 21). The inferior angels of service did not enjoy this privilege. Now just as the highest angels shared with Israel in the privilege of the Sabbath, so they shared also in the privilege of circumcision. They were created circumcised, just as, according to later Judaism, many of the patriarchs of Israel were born so. (See note on ver. 14.) Such a belief was not difficult to believers in the loves of the angels for the daughters of men (v. 1 sqq.). In *Debarim rabba* on i. 2 it is said that the angels of service, *i.e.* the inferior orders, sought to know the Law, but it was hidden from them (see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² 25).

30. *Chose them*. The Ethiopic reproduces the Hebrew idiom בחר ב. The Latin gives *elegit ex ipsis*.

Israel. See on xvi. 17.

31-32. This idea that Israel was

of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. 32. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. 33. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them,

God's portion but that the Gentiles were placed under the dominion of angels, goes back to an old (possibly the oldest) form of the text of Deut. xxxii. 8-9, which, reading *לֹא* instead of *לֹא־בְנֵי*, is reproduced in the LXX:

ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὑψίστος ἔθνη . . .
 ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνων
 κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.
 καὶ ἐγενήθη μέρος Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ
 Ἰακώβ.

This view next appears in Sir. xvii. 17:

ἐκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον,
 καὶ μέρος Κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν:

and in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1, where, however, all the nations including even Israel are understood to be under the patronage of angels, Israel being under Michael. According to Eth. Enoch lxxxix. Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world. The appointment of these seventy angels to be the heads of the nations is recorded in the Ps.-Jon. of Deut. xxxii. 8. They may be referred to as demons in 1 Cor. x. 19, or as *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* in Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

31. To lead them astray. In x. 3, 8, xix. 28, this is the function assigned

to the demons, who were the spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (see v. 1, 7-9, x. 5, 8, 9). But in the present passage it is said that God gave the hegemony of the nations to angels for this purpose. The condemnation of the seventy angelic patrons for their evil treatment of Israel is described in Eth. Enoch xc. 22, 23, and also in Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22, though in the latter passage the cause is not assigned. I think we may assume that the statement in our text is made on the same principle as many in the Scriptures (cf. Is. vi. 9; Matt. xiii. 14; Mark iv. 12, etc.), in which the ultimate result of an action or a series of actions is declared to have been the immediate object of them.

In later Judaism at all events the seventy angels are described as the rulers of the nations. These angels share in the fortunes, whether favourable or unfavourable, of the nations over which they bear sway. They are likewise the sources of corruption to their subject peoples, introducing idolatry and impurity. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 805-820.

33. This verse shows that the apostasy in Israel in early part of the second cent. B.C. was very widespread.

sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. 34. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron, and Isaac again promised, 1-4. Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance, 5-9. Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God, 10-19. Institution of the feast of tabernacles, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12, xix. 24, 29, 33-37, xx. 1, 4, 8, xxi. 1-4.)

XVI. And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and

Sons of Beliar. An O.T. expression: cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12, etc. For a full treatment of the Beliar myth, see my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, pp. liv sqq. From i. 20 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Dan. 5 it follows that as early as the second cent. B.C. Beliar was regarded as a Satanic spirit.

34. *Have forsaken His covenant . . . inasmuch as they do not observe.* Our author has forgotten his rôle as a

prophet and dropped into that of the annalist.

[*So that . . . pardon*]. A corrupt dittography.

XVI. 1. Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10. Our author omits all reference to Gen. xviii. 2-9. Singer (122 note, 293 note) thinks that the eating of the angels may have given offence as it did to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11. 2, οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσθιόντων).

2. Cf. Gen. xviii. 10, 12, 15.

written in the heavenly tables (*i.e.*) Isaac, 4. And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. 5. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [lo] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6. And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tables, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation. 10. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. 12. And in the middle of the sixth month the

4. *Would have conceived.* The text is corrupt, but the corruption is as old as the Greek version, as it seems to have led to the gloss in verses 15-16. We should expect "would conceive." See verses 12 (where this promise is fulfilled), 16.

5. Cf. Gen. xix. 24.

Zeboim, in text *Sôbô'im*. See Gen. xiv. 2, 8.

6. *Like unto the judgment of.* Latin = sicut judicavit.

7-8. Cf. Gen. xix. 29, 31 sqq.

10. *Mountains.* The Eth. could be rendered "territories" or "confines" as in Latin. There may, however, as Rönsch (p. 102) suggests, have been a confusion of *ēpos* and *ēpos*.

11. All mention of Abraham's unseemly treatment of Abimelech is omitted.

Well of the Oath, i.e. Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31.

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxi. 1-4.

Lord visited Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken, and she conceived. 13. And she bare a son in the third month, 1980 A.M. and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. 14. And Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained for ever. 15. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath, and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have conceived a son. 16. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him, that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: 17. And (that) all the seed of his sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. 18. For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be

13. Birth of Isaac on the 15th of Sivan. According to the Rosh ha-Shanah 10*b*, Isaac was born on the Passover Feast; according to the Midrash Tanchuma on Exodus (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 168), on the first of Nisan.

15. †Fourth†. This should be "third" as in xv. 1. Abram was in his eighty-sixth year when Ishmael was born (xiv. 24), that is, in the fifth year of the first week of the forty-first jubilee. Fifteen years later Isaac was born in the hundredth year of Abraham.

15-16. The words bracketed in these verses contain a gloss that destroys the sense of the context. They proceed from a corrupt reading in ver. 4 and misunderstanding of text generally.

16. *Blessed him*. For "him" Eth.

reads "her." Similarly after "announced to." The Latin is followed here.

Six sons more. Abraham had six sons by Keturah: Gen. xxv. 2. See xx. 1 of our text.

In Isaac should his name, etc. Gen. xxi. 12. See xvii. 6 of our text.

17. All the descendants of Abraham save Jacob and his posterity belong to the Gentiles. See xv. 30. In Sanh. 59*b* there is a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in consequence of Gen. xvii. 9, 10. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held that the obligation did not extend to the descendants of Esau. See above xv. 30.

18. *Portion of the Most High*. See note on xv. 31-32.

unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation. 19. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 20. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath. 21. And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate the feast of tabernacles on the earth. 22. And during these seven days he brought

A people for (His) possession = *hezba terit* (cf. xxxiii. 20), emended from *hezba* (*a b c*) *tersit* (*b c* *tîrsita, a*) = "people of magnificence." *d* reads "people of inheritance" (*hezba rest*), cf. Deut. iv. 20; Latin, *populum sanctificatum*. This last = *λαδν δσιον*, which may be corrupt for *λαδν ούστας* (or *περιούσιον*) = *עם סגלה* (Deut. vii. 6), a frequent O.T. phrase; cf. Exod. xix. 5, which was clearly before our author, as the closing clause of our verse shows. See also Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18, where the full phrase *עם סגלה* is found. In xix. 18 of our text the same difficulties recur. If *tersit* is right, we might compare Deut. xxvi. 19.

A kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = *βασιλεια καὶ ἱερεῖς*, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = *βασιλεια ἱερατικῆ* = *ממלכת כהנים*. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by *βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα* (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have *βασιλειαν καὶ ἱερεῖς* exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 *βασιλειαν ἱερεῖς*. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in

giving practically the same rendering of *ממלכת כהנים* in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as *מלכין כהנים* (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. *מלכין קטירי כלילא* (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. *מלכין וכהנים*; and the Syr. version *ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܝܚܐ*; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.

20-31. The account of the feast of tabernacles in our text is peculiar. As regards the number of victims it presents some points of agreement and many of disagreement with the account given in Num. xxix. 12-40. I cannot offer any explanation of these phenomena. Verses 20-22 were before Cedrenus i. 50: *μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ Μαβρῆ δρυὸς ἀπαναστὰς ὁ Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ κατασκευοῖ τοῦ ὄρκου. ἐαυτῷ δὲ ἰδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ κατὰ συγγενείας πηξάμενος σκηνάς, τότε πρῶτον Ἀβραάμ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐπιτελεῖ τὴν ἐορτήν.*

22. Two different sacrifices are here recorded: a burnt-offering (*עולה*) and a sin-offering (*חטאת*).

each day to the altar a burnt-offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin-offering, that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. 23. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings; and he burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. 24. And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte, and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in equal parts (and) pure. 25. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house; and there was no stranger with him, nor any that was uncircumcised. 26. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him would arise the plant of right-

Two oxen or "bullocks." Accord-
ing to Num. xxix. 13-33 thirteen bullocks
were sacrificed on the first day, twelve
on the second, eleven on the third, and
soon, the number being diminished by
one each day.

Two rams. So in Num. xxix. 13.

Seven sheep. In Num. xxix. 13
fourteen he-lambs.

One he-goat. So in Num. xxix. 16.

23. *Thank-offering* = *θυσία σωτηρίου*
= *זבח שלמים*. The victims in this case
correspond in kind and number with
those offered by Hezekiah in 2 Chron.
xxix. 21, but in the latter passage they
constitute a sin-offering for the king-
dom.

24. *Fragrant substances* = *ἡδύσματα*
= *סמים*. Our author is here making use
of Exod. xxx. 34, and not of Num.
iv. 16; Lev. iv. 7 etc. as the Latin
implies, which has incensum com-
positionis = *θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως* from
Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 13; Num. iv. 16
(קטרת הסמים). The Ethiopic appears to
be right.

Frankincense, galbanum, etc. The

first four of these are mentioned in
Exod. xxx. 34, *חֲבֵל* (= *λίβανος* =
libanus, thus), *חֲבֵלֶת* (= *χαλβάνη* =
galbanum), *קִנְאָה* (= *στακτή* = stacte),
חֲבֵלֶת (= *δυνξ* = nardus). All seven are
enumerated in Sir. xxiv. 15:

ὡς κιννάμωμον καὶ ἀσπάλαθος ἀρω-
μάτων δέδωκα ὁσμὴν,
καὶ ὡς σμύρνα ἐκλεκτὴ δέδωκα εὐω-
δίαν,

ὡς χαλβάνη καὶ δυνξ καὶ στακτή,
καὶ ὡς λίβανου ἀτμὶς ἐν σκηνῇ.

Here *χαλβάνη*, *δυνξ*, *στακτή*, *λίβανου*
ἀτμὶς correspond to the first four in
our text but in a different order, and
κιννάμωμον, *ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων*,
σμύρνα to the last three. These seven
fragrant constituents of the incense
offering are mentioned in Jer. Joma
iv. 5; Keritot 6 a b (Singer, 75 note;
Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. 248).

26. *Plant of righteousness.* See
xxi. 24; Eth. Enoch x. 16; xciii. 5,
10, where the same expression is found.
Cf. also lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2 in the same
work.

eousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it should become like Him who had made all things. 27. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 28. And we blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tables. 29. For this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for ever throughout their generations every year. 30. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. 31. And Abraham took branches of palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. Mastēmā proposes that God should require Abraham to sacrifice Isaac in

28. *All his seed.* Latin omits "all."

29. *A statute for ever*, etc. Lev. xxiii. 41.

30. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

Set wreaths upon their heads. This is unknown to tradition in connection with the feast. The custom of wearing chaplets at feasts is referred to in Wisdom ii. 7-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1 (cf. 3 Macc. iv. 8), but it cannot be established as a Jewish one. Bridegrooms, however, were adorned with myrtles and roses, Gittin 7a, Sota 49b (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 47). The metaphorical use of "crown" or "wreath"

as ὁ στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς (Rev. ii. 10: cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8) is familiar also in Judaism; cf. Megilla 15b.

31. *Branches of palm trees.* Text lebba dabart and Latin corde palmarum go back as Dillmann recognised to לילבי החמר. לילבי was wrongly taken as לבב by the Greek translator. We might observe that the Targums on Lev. xxiii. 40 have here simply לילבין.

Every day . . . seven times. According to Sukka iv. 5 it was only on the seventh day that the worshippers went round the altar seven times (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 46; Singer, 75).

order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.)

XVII. And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac 1982 A.M. was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. 3. And he remembered the words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing and dancing, and Abraham rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, "Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac." 5. And the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son, that he should drive them from him. 6. And God said to Abraham "Let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. 7. But as for the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed." 8. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle

XVII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8.
†*Fifth*†. This should be "fourth."
See a similar error in xvi. 15.

2. *Because he had seen his sons, etc.*
Cf. xvi. 16.

3. See xiii. 19 sqq.

4-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 9-21.

4. *And dancing.* Since the Latin has cum Isac, wa-yezafen may be corrupt

for ba-yeshaq = "with Isaac." These words are found in the LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 9 but not in the Mass. or Sam.

7. *A great nation.* The epithet "great" is supported by the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxi. 13, but omitted by the Mass., Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. The last reads instead: "a nation of robbers."

of water, and placed them on the shoulders of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. 9. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on, and fell down. 10. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, "Let me not see the death of my child," and as she sat she wept. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, "Why weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy voice, and hath seen the child." 12. And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards the wilderness of Paran. 13. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him; and his mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. 14. And she bare him a son, and he called his name Nebaioth; for she said, "The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him."

2003 A.M. 15. And it came to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ came and said

10. *An olive tree.* Instead of ἐλάτας LXX has ἐλάττης.

12. *She opened.* We should with Gen. xxi. 19 expect "he."

14. *Nebaioth.* Eth. = Nâbêwôt. Cf. Gen. xxv. 13.

Was nigh. We should expect the original behind "was nigh" to contain some of the consonants in "Nebaioth."

15. Isaac is thus twenty-three when he was offered up by Abraham (cf.

xvi. 12 and xvii. 15). According to the Seder Olam, Isaac was thirty-seven.

16. Here as elsewhere (cf. xlviii. 2, 17) our author attributes to Mastêmâ the conduct which he deems unworthy of God but which is ascribed to Him by Gen. xxii. 1. Cf. also James i. 13. We might compare with our text the following passage from Sanh. 89b 'Satan spake before the Holy One, blessed be He. 'Lord of the World, Thou hast given fruit of the body to

before God, "Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him. 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. 18. And in everything wherein He had tried him, he was found faithful,

this old man of 100 years, and yet in all the feasts celebrated by him, he has never offered in sacrifice to Thee a bullock or a young dove.' God answered him: . . . 'If I were to say to him, Sacrifice thy son, he would sacrifice him, etc.'" Cf. also Bk. of Jashar (ii. 1139).

17. According to xix. 8 Abraham was submitted to ten trials. Seven are mentioned in this verse: 1. The going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. The wealth of kings. 4. The seizure of his wife by the king of Egypt. 5. Circumcision. 6, 7. The dismissal of Ishmael and Hagar. In xix. 3, 8 the burial of Sarah is specially mentioned as the tenth. The eighth and ninth though not specifically reckoned as such in our text are the unfruitfulness of Sarah, xiv. 21, and the sacrifice of Isaac, xviii. This enumeration agrees closely with those of Maimonides, Jona Girondi and Simon Duran which are given below. From Beer's *Leben Abr.* 190-192 I draw the account in Pirke R. Eliezer, ch. 26 sq.: 1. Nimrod's attempt on his life. 2. Ten years imprisonment in Cutha and Khadr. 3. Departure from his country. 4. Famine. 5. Seizure of his wife. 6. War with the kings. 7. Covenant between the pieces. 8. Circumcision. 9. Rejection of Ishmael. 10. Offering of Isaac. The account given in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 398, differs slightly from the above. According to Pirke R. Nathan, ch. 33, two trials were sustained when he was bidden to leave his home (Gen.

xii. 1) and to go to Mt. Moriah to sacrifice Isaac (xx. 2): two in connection with his sons: two in connection with his wives: one with the kings: one between the sacrificial pieces: one in the furnace of the Chaldees: one in circumcision. According to the reckoning of Maimonides (see Fabricius (*ibid.* 399); Rönsch, 383) the trials were: 1. Going forth from his country. 2. Famine. 3. Seizure of his wife. 4. War with the kings. 5. Unfruitfulness of Sarah. 6. Circumcision. 7. Second seizure of his wife. 8, 9. Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. 10. Sacrifice of Isaac. It will be remarked that this last list corresponds best with our text; but the correspondence of the following lists is closer: Beer (*Leben Abr.* 191) writes: Die meisten späteren Aboth-Commentatoren schlossen sich den Pirke des R. Elieser an, blos darin variirend, dass Einige (Obadia Bertinoro und Menachem Meiri) anstatt des unterirdischen Aufenthaltes in Abraham's Kindheit den Vorfall mit Abimelech besonders zählen und Andere (R. Jona Girondi, Simon Zemach Duran) den Bund zwischen den Stücken nicht unter die Versuche aufnehmen, aber an dessen Stelle gegen alle früheren Referate, welche die Zehnzahl mit der Opferung Isaak's schliessen, die Beerdigung Sara's als zehnte Versuchung hinstellten. Thus Jona Girondi and Simon Duran agree with our text in making the burial of Sarah the tenth trial of Abraham.

and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act; for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba, 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)

XVIII. And God said to him, "Abraham, Abraham"; and he said, "Behold, (here) am I." 2. And He said, "Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee." 3. And he rose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the burnt-offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, "Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you." 5. And he took the wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the knife, and they went both of them together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father, "Father"; and he said, "Here am I, my son." And he said unto him, "Behold the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?" 7. And he said, "God will provide for himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son." And he drew near to the place of the mount of God. 8. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife to slay Isaac

XVIII. 1-17. Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

2. *Beloved son.* So LXX τὸν ἀγαπητόν = ירִיך instead of Mass., Sam., Syr. ירִיך.

The high country (a d. b c = "moun-

tain") = (Gen. xxii. 2) LXX τὴν γῆν τῆν ὑψηλάν. Mass. = "Land of Moriah."

7. *Of the mount of God.* Gen. xxii. 9 reads: "which God had told him of."

his son. 9. And I stood before him, and before the prince of the Mastêmâ, and the Lord said, "Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears the Lord." 10. And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: "Abraham, Abraham"; and he was terrified and said: "Behold, (here) am I." 11. And I said unto him: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me." 12. And the prince of the Mastêmâ was put to shame; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, a single ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. 13. And Abraham called that place "The Lord hath seen," so that it is said "(in the mount) the Lord hath seen": that is Mount Sion. 14. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. 15. And He said: "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, Because thou hast done this thing, And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ.* So *ab* here and in ver. 12 and xlviii. 9, 12, 15. *cd* wrongly give "prince Mastêmâ" in these passages and all MSS wrongly in xvii. 6, xlviii. 2. See note on x. 8.

Shown. Or "known," but see note on 11.

11. *I have shown* = Latin version, manifestavi (= מַנִּיפֵּסְתִּי). The Eth. could also be rendered "I have known," as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 מֵיָדְעִי, but the Latin, manifestavi, is unmistakeable and this rendering is supported by both Eth. and Latin in ver. 16. The Syr. has the very same rendering: ܡܢܝܦܝܫܬܝ = I have shown. Ps.-Jon. has מַנִּיפֵּסְתִּי = manifestatum est. "I have shown" is suitable to the context. God proves Abraham's faithfulness to Mastêmâ and to others (ver. 16).

12. *Caught.* All the MSS add "and

he came" = wa-yēmaš'ē, (?) corrupt for ba'ēdaw = "in a thicket."

13. (*In the mount*). Added from Latin. It is found in Mass. and LXX of Gen. xxii. 14.

Hath seen. Syr. and Vulg. = "will see," "seeth." The verb is passive in the Mass. (יִרְאֶה) and LXX, and also in the Latin version of Jubilees—visus est.

14. *He caused us to appear* (b). *a* "he caused him (*c* "me") to appear"; *d* "we appeared." Latin = fuimus is corrupt.

15. *Thy beloved son* (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = יִרְיָךְ. Lat., tuo unigenito = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יְחִידְךָ. Hence Hebrew text seems to have had a dittographical text just as LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὐτῇ μονογενῆς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητῇ, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16 postulate similar dittographies of the same Hebrew word in Hebrew text. On the other hand *b c* under influence of ver.

That in blessing I shall bless thee,
 And in multiplying I shall multiply thy seed
 As the stars of heaven,
 And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed will inherit the cities of its enemies,
 16. And in thy seed will all nations of the earth be
 blessed;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
 And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me
 in all that I have said unto thee :
 Go in peace."

17. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose
 and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham dwelt by the
 Well of the Oath. 18. And he celebrated this festival every
 year, seven days with joy, and he called it the festival of
 the Lord according to the seven days during which he went
 and returned in peace. 19. And accordingly has it been
 ordained and written on the heavenly tables regarding
 Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival
 seven days with the joy of festival.

Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah,
 1-9. *Marriage of Isaac and second marriage of Abraham.*
Birth of Esau and Jacob, 10-14. Abraham commends
Jacob to Rebecca and blesses him, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii.
1-4, 11-16, xxiv. 15, xxv. 1-2, 25-27, xiii. 16.)

XIX. And in the first year of the first week in the
 2010 A.M. forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt opposite
 Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. 2. And

11 read "thy first-born son," and with
 Latin (quem dilexisti), add "whom thou
 hast loved." This addition may go back
 to אשר-אבות (Gen. xxii. 2), or to יריד
 (corruption (?) of יחיד Gen. xxii. 16 on
 which our text is based).

Cities = πόλεις (so also Sam. vers.,
 LXX, Syr. (?), Onk. of Gen. xxii. 17

where Vulg. has portas = πόλεις = πύλεις of
 Mass. and Sam.).

16. *Go in peace.* 1 Sam. i. 17.

19. *With the joy of festival.* Latin has
 in laetitia gaudentes.

XIX. 1. *Kirjath Arba.* In MSS
 Qarjatârbaq. LXX ἐν πόλει Ἀρβὰκ.

in the first year of the †third† week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. 3. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not disturbed. 4. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they should give him a place in which to bury his dead. 5. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. 6. And they besought him, saying, "We shall give it to thee for nothing"; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice; and after this he buried his dead in the double cave. 7. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. 8. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found faithful, patient in spirit. 9. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tables as the friend of God. 10. And in the fourth year 2020 A.M.

2. †Third†. Read "second." Isaac married (xix. 10) at the age of 40 (Gen. xxv. 20) after Sarah's death. Hence he married in the fourth year of the second week.

2, 4. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 3, 4.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 11-16.

5. *Double cave* = τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν (LXX) = מערת המכפלה, "the cave of Machpelah."

Four hundred. So Latin. Eth. wrongly gives "forty."

7. Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1.

Of the years. a and Latin omit.

8. *Tenth trial.* In addition to the references on xvii. 17 see also the *Sayings of the Fathers*,² v. 3 (Taylor's edition, p. 80), which speaks of the ten trials of Abraham.

9. *Friend of God.* Cf. xxx. 20, 21. This expression springs from the O.T. :

thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mêlcâ, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 11. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 12. And she bare him six sons, Zimram, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. 13. And in

2046 A.M. the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn,

cf. Is. xli. 8 "Abraham, My friend"; 2 Chron. xx. 7; LXX of Dan. iii. 35. It is found in Philo, *De Sobrietate*, 11: *μη επικαλύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ φίλου μου*; (Gen. xviii. 17); also in James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17. In Book of Wisdom vii. 27 the designation *φίλου Θεοῦ* is applied to the faithful generally, and likewise in Philo, *Fragment* ii. p. 652: *πᾶς σοφὸς θεοῦ φίλος*. This application of the phrase may be due to Plato, *Legg.* iv. 8, where the wise man is said to be *θεῷ φίλος*: cf. also Max. Tyr. xx. 6. For Rabbinical references Singer, p. 151 note.

10. Cf. Gen. xxiv. 15.

Daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel. Emended with help of Latin. See my text, p. 66.

[*The daughter . . . brother of Abraham*]. Bracketed as a dittography, already in the Greek, as it appears in the Latin version.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 1.

Keturah . . . for Hagar had died before Sarah. Our author here explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later tradition—Gen. rabba 61, Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxvii.—got over the difficulty by identifying Hagar and Keturah. This view is men-

tioned by Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* xxv. 1: *Cetura Hebraeo sermone copulata interpretatur aut juncta (al. vincta). Quam ob causam suspicantur Hebraei mutato nomine eandem esse Agar, quae Saraa mortua de concubina transierit in uxorem.* According to the Book of Jashar (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1147) Keturah was a Canaanitish woman. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 83, 198; Singer, p. 118.

Daughters. Emended with Latin. Text = "sons."

12. Cf. Gen. xxv. 2. In the Ethiopic the names appear as Zenbar, Jâksen, Mâdâi, Mâdân, 'Ijazbôq, Sêhijâ.

13. Cf. Gen. xxv. 25-27.

Sixth. This date harmonises with that in xxv. 1, 4, according to which Jacob was 63 in 2109 A.M., but disagrees with that in xlv. 13.

Smooth and upright. So *b.c.* Two different renderings of *איש חם* (Gen. xxv. 27) seem to be conjoined here. On the other hand, since the description of Esau is borrowed from Gen. xxv. 27 and xxvii. 11, it is probable that the description of Jacob is drawn from both also, and that we should here read: "Smooth and upright."

14. *Jacob learned to write.* On the phrase cf. John vii. 15; Acts xxvi. 24; Plato, *Apol.* 26 D. According to Onkelos

for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. 15. And Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 16. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. 17. And he said unto her: "My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,

For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.

18. For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. 19. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.

20. Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he will be a blessing unto us on the earth from
henceforth unto all generations of the earth.

21. Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He will be blessed for ever,
And his seed will fill the whole earth.

22. If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also will be numbered.

on Gen. xxv. 27 Jacob attended a Hebrew school of theology, בֵּית־אוֹלָפָן. The Ps.-Jon. and Jerus. Targums represent Heber as the head of this school. Cf. Ber. rabba 63. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* p. 200; Fabricius, *Cod. Pseul.* V.T. i. 435-438; Singer, p. 103.

16. Abraham recognises by his conduct the predestined founder of the nation (ii. 20). The promise given in xvi. 16, xvii. 6 is here further defined. According to Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63, Abraham died

before Esau took to evil ways; see also Baba bathra 16 b (Beer, *Leb. Abr.* 84).

18. *A people for possession* = λαὸν περιούσιον. See note on xvi. 18; also the note in my text p. 68 where I have shown that the Ethiopic translators of the Bible always mistranslated περιούσιος. This verse is drawn word for word from Deut. vii. 6.

Peoples. Restored from Latin.

22. Gen. xiii. 16. Contrast xiii. 20 of our text.

23. And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and his seed alway. 24. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. 25. And these shall serve

To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament."

26. And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and said: 27. "Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament, and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may He cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the earth. 28. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. 29. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son." 30. And they both went forth together from Abraham. 31. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

24. This list of righteous patriarchs is peculiar for its omissions and its insertions. With regard to Mahalelel nothing special is known. On the other hand, the omission of Methuselah is strange. In later times opinions were divided as to the character of Adam. Some held him to be a saint (חסידי Erub. 18b), others an atheist

(נופרי בעיקר Sanh. 38b). See rabbinic references in Singer, pp. 125-126.

25. See note on i. 29. Cf. Is. li. 16.

27. *All the blessings wherewith, etc.* Cf. xxii. 13.

28. See note on xv. 31-32. Evil spirits have dominion over the Gentiles but not over Israel.

Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. Dismisses them with gifts, 11. Dwelling-places of the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah, 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)

XX. And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteousness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. 3. That they should circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and uncleanness]. 4. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of the

XX. 1. †*Seventh*†. "Seventh" seems corrupt for "sixth." The present text makes the date 2052 or the year after Abraham's death. If we read "sixth" it would give 2045. See note on xxi. 1. Thus some time would intervene between the dismissal of Ishmael and his sons to their distant homes (xx. 11) and the return of Ishmael and Jacob to celebrate the feast of weeks (xxii. 1).

His twelve sons. See Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *Men*=sab'ē emended from šab'ē, "war."

3. *Circumcise their sons.* Sanh. 59 b contains a discussion as to whether circumcision was obligatory on Ishmael's and Keturah's sons in conformity with Gen. xvii. 9. Owing to Gen. xxi. 12 it was held not to extend to Esau's descendants.

[*And renounce . . . uncleanness*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

4. This halacha does not agree exactly with those in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, etc., but with that implied in Gen. xxxviii. 24. According to Deut. xxii. 23 sqq.; Ezek. xvi. 40; Lev. xx. 10 the adulteress was to be put to

land. 5. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites, how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their fornication, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.

6. "And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,

And from all pollution of sin,

Lest ye make our name a curse,

And your whole life a hissing,

And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,

And ye become accursed like Sodom,

And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.

7. I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,

And cleave ye to all His commandments.

And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,

8. And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods ;

For they are vanity,

And there is no spirit in them ;

For they are work of (men's) hands,

And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

Serve them not, nor worship them,

9. But serve ye the Most High God, and worship Him continually :

death by stoning, whereas death by fire was reserved for the priest's daughter who had played the whore, Lev. xxi. 9. On the other hand Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah proposes to burn Tamar, comes under neither of these regulations. Tamar was still, according to custom, the wife of Er—for Shelah was simply to act as Er's representative—and should thereupon have been stoned according to the Levitical law. See notes on xli. 25, 26.

5. *Fornication, and uncleanness, and . . . corruption.* See note on vii. 21.

6. *Make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing.* Based on Is. lxxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18. Cf. Eth. En. v. 6. For "a hissing" (so Latin) *a* gives "a threatening" and *b c d* "a cause of boasting."

8. Cf. xii. 5, xxii. 18.

Molten or graven gods. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15.

Serve them not, nor worship them. Exod. xx. 5.

And hope for His countenance always,
 And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
 That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His
 mercy,
 And send rain upon you morning and evening,
 And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon
 the earth,
 And bless thy bread and thy water,
 And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
 And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.

10. And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
 And all nations of the earth will desire you,
 And bless your sons in my name,
 That they may be blessed as I am."

11. And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the
 sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his
 son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. 12. And
 Ishmael and his sons, and the sons of Keturah and their
 sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering
 in of Babylon in all the land which is towards the East
 facing the desert. 13. And these mingled with each other,
 and their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

*Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating
 of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of
 salt, 1-11. Also regarding the woods to be used in*

9. *Have pleasure in.* Lat. has
 dirigat, which with Praetorius should be
 changed into diligit.

Send rain. Cf. xii. 4, 18.

Bless all your works, etc. Cf. Deut.
 xxviii. 8.

Bless thy bread and thy water. Exod.
 xxiii. 25.

*Fruit of thy womb and the fruit of
 thy land, And the herds, etc.* Deut. vii.

13. The Ethiopic word rendered fruit
 generally = "seed," but it also means

what springs from the seed as here.
 Latin has fructum. Greek was prob.
 καρπόν.

10. *Ye will be for a blessing.* Cf. Gen.
 xii. 2; and xxi. 25 of our text.

11. Cf. Gen. xxv. 6.

12. *Paran.* Eth. Phârmôn.

13. *Was called Arabs, and Ishmael-
 ites.* So Eth. The Latin = "Clave to
 the Arabs and (they are) Ishmaelites
 unto this day."

sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

2057
(? 2050) A.M.

XXI. And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him, saying: "I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my days. 2. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly in all His ways. 3. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have given my heart

XXI. 1. †*Seventh*†. Since Abraham was born in 1876 A.M. and lived 175 years, he must have died in 2051 A.M., whereas our text makes it 2057. Hence read "sixth." We should then have 2050.

Abraham called Isaac his son, and commanded him. Cf. Test. Levi 9: 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με . . . τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου. The rest of this chapter according to our author deals with Abraham's directions to Isaac regarding the various kinds of sacrifices, the woods to be used on the altar, the ablutions of the priest, the duty of avoiding fornication. Now it is quite clear that the author of Test. Levi 9 had either our text before him or else a source common to both. The converse hypothesis that our author had the Test. Levi before him is not workable. In any case the text of the Test. Levi is less original than that of our author. It represents Isaac as transmitting to Levi the same ritual commands that our text describes Abraham as giving to Isaac. The only point that can be urged in favour of the originality of the Test. Levi is that the words in Jubilees xxi. 1 "I am become old and know not the day of my death" are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2 and not by Abraham. But the two views are compatible. Our text represents Abraham as giving directions as to sacrifices, etc., to Isaac; and the Test. Levi represents Isaac as handing them on

to Levi. The ὡς καὶ με' Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε support the view of our author. I will now give the portions of Test. Levi 9 which deal with the same matter as our text and insert after them the references to the parallels in our text. καὶ 'Ισαὰκ ἐκάλει με συνεχῶς τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι με νόμον Κυρίου (Jub. xxi. 1) . . . καὶ ἐδίδασκέ με νόμον ἱερωσύνης, θυσιῶν, ὀλοκαυμάτων, ἀπαρχῶν, ἐκουσίων, σωτηριῶν (Jub. xxi. 7-9) . . . καὶ ἔλεγε· Μὴ πρόσεχε, τέκνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας (xxi. 21-23) . . . καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, λούου· καὶ ἐν τῷ θύειν, νίπτου· καὶ ἀπαρτίζων πάλιν τὴν θυσίαν, νίπτου (xxi. 16 almost word for word). Δώδεκα δένδρων δὲ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς καὶ με' Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε (xxi. 12-13) . . . καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἀλατὶ ἀλιεῖς (xxi. 11).

I am become old, and know not the day of my death. These words are used by Isaac in Gen. xxvii. 2.

And am full. For "and" MSS read "for," but Latin rightly gives "et."

Full of my days. The pronoun is peculiar to this book and Eth. vers. and Syr. The Sam., LXX, Vulg. read "full of days" against Mass. and Onkelos of Gen. xxv. 8 which omit "of days." Cf. xxii. 7, xxiii. 8 of our text.

2. Cf. Gen. xxv. 7.

3. (*And I have despised . . . and spirit*). Supplied from Latin: probably lost in Ethiopic through homoioteleuton.

and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. 4. For He is the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts; for God is righteous, and executeth judgment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. 5. And do thou, my son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. 6. And eat no blood at all of animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. 7. And if thou dost slay a victim as an acceptable peace-offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the offering offer on the altar with fine flour (and the meat-offering) mingled with oil, with its drink-offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt-offering; it is a sweet savour before the Lord. 8. And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the loins and liver thou shalt remove, together with the kidneys.

4. *No accepting of (men's) persons and . . . gifts.* Cf. Deut. x. 17.

6. Cf. Lev. vii. 26. See vi. 10, 12 of our text; also xxi. 17 sqq.

7. Cf. Lev. iii. 7-10.

Peace-offering = *θυσία ἐρημικαί* = *זבח שלמים*, 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15 etc., but the Hebrew phrase is more usually rendered (ἡ) *θυσία (τοῦ) σωτηρίου*, Lev. iii. 3, 6, 9, iv. 26 etc.

(*And the meat-offering*). Latin omits the meat-offering. The phrase is most probably genuine as Littmann urges, though I rejected it in my Ethiopic text.

Mingled with oil. Cf. Lev. ii. 4, *משחים בשמן*.

8. *And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank-offerings . . . and the fat.* So Latin. For "and . . . and" in the above the Ethiopic reads "as . . .

as." Lev. iii. 9-10, which our author has before him, supports the Latin: "And he shall offer of the sacrifice of peace-offerings an offering made by fire . . . and the fat which covereth the inwards, and all the fat that is upon the inwards and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins . . . with the kidneys shall he take away." On the phrase "thank-offerings" see note on ver. 7.

On the belly, . . . on the inwards = *ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας . . . ἐπὶ τῶν ἐντοσθίων (ἐντέρων)*. The Latin has *super ventrum . . . super interanea*. This variation is strange, since the Hebrew has *קרב* and the LXX *κοιλία* in both cases in Lev. iii. 10.

And upon the loins. Lev. iii. 10 has "which is by the loins."

9. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord, 10. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah. 11. And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the salt of the covenant be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. 12. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood

Thou shalt remove = tēblēl. Emended with Latin separa from tēblūl = rolled up, covered up.

9. *Bread of the offering unto the Lord.* From Lev. iii. 11.

10. [*For it is not approved*]. I have bracketed this clause as a dittography.

Let it no longer be eaten = jētbālā'ē, emended from jētbahal (a b). c d = "thou shalt not eat."

Written in the books of my forefathers. According to x. 14 Noah gave all his secret books to Shem, who may have passed them on to Abraham, as, according to rabbinic tradition, Abraham attended the school of Shem. According to xii. 27, however, Abram is said to have been a "home" student, and 'to have studied the books of his fathers. Singer (p. 126 note) states that according to Pirke R. El. viii., Jalk. Gen. § 41, Abraham received from Shem the knowledge of the calendar which was imparted to Adam from heaven, and which had come down to Shem through Enoch and Noah. The present passage in our text as well as vii. 38 and Test. XII. Patriarch. Zeb. 3 trace back certain halachoth to commands or books of Enoch and Noah. None of the ancient books preserved under these names are of an halachic character. There was probably no

ground for the statement made by our author.

11. *On all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt.* Cf. the parallel passage in Test. Levi 9: καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἀλατὶ ἀλιεῖς.

Salt of the covenant. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS read "covenant of salt."

12. *Beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these.* By a slight change (see my text, p. 75 note 30) we might read: "Be careful to offer on the altar the following woods (only)." This passage was written possibly to determine the meaning of עֵצֵי זָבַח in Exod. xxv. 5, 10 etc. Our text or the subject of it is referred to in Test. Levi 9: δώδεκα δένδρων ἀεὶ ἐχόντων φύλλα ἀναγε Κυρίῳ, ὡς καμὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐδίδαξε. The number here is probably corrupt. δώδεκα = 12, corrupt for 14. The Eth. Enoch iii. speaks of fourteen evergreen trees, and may be in that passage dependent on our text. With the list of fourteen trees in our text, cf. that in the *Geoponica* xi. 1: δένδρα ἀειθαλῆ ἐστὶ . . . ιδ' (1) φοῖνιξ, (2) κίτριον, (3) στρόβιλος, (4) δάφνη, (5) ἐλάλη, (6) κυπάρισσος, (7) κερατέα, (8) πίνυς, (9) πρίνος, (10) πύξος, (11) μυρσίνη, (12) κέδρος, (13) ἰτέα καὶ (14) ἄρκευθος. Of these fourteen, ten, i.e. nos.

for the altar in addition to these: cypress, dêfrân, sagâd, pine, fir, cedar, savin, palm, olive, myrrh, laurel, and citron, juniper, and balsam. 13. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. 14. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. 15. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. 16. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. 17. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. 18. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. 19. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be

6, 3, 8, 12, 1 (?), 5, 11, 4, 2 (or 7), 14, appear in our text. See my text, p. 75.

Dêfrân might be a corruption of *πρῖνος* but that *daprono* (دافرون) is found in Syriac, and is a kind of fir.

Sagâd. This has been identified with the קש, "the almond"; but wrongly, since the trees are all ever-green.

Citron. I have taken *qêdâr* as corrupt for *κίτριον*. It may be a corruption of *κεπαρέα*. On wood for the sacrifices see Middoth ii. 5; Tamid 29 b; Sifra on Lev. i. 8 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 35).

13. Nothing of this nature is found in the halacha. Tamid ii. 3 allows all kinds of wood but that of the olive and vine.

Clean=נֶשֶׁטֶף, emended from *šênû'a* (b)="firm," *šên'a* (c). *a* omits.

[*For its fragrance is gone*]. I have bracketed this clause as originating in a dittography, or an interpolation from the next verse.

14. *Goes not up*. With Littmann I have inserted the negative.

16. On the duty of washing before approaching the altar, cf. Exod. xxx. 19-21, etc.

Wash again. Text="return and wash." the familiar Hebrew idiom as Littmann has recognised.

17. *Nor upon your clothes*. *a b* omit "nor."

Be on thy guard, my son, against blood, . . . cover it with dust. Cf. Lev. xvii. 13.

18. Cf. Lev. xvii. 14; Deut. xii. 23.

shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and the earth cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. 20. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that thou mayest be accepted before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

21. I see, my son,

That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,

And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,

And there is no righteousness with them.

22. Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways

And tread in their paths,

And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.

Else He will [hide His face from thee,

And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,

And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,

And thy name and thy seed will perish from the whole earth.

23. Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,

And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,

19. *Causes the earth to sin.* This goes back to קִטְּיָה = "pollutes."

The earth cannot be cleansed, etc. Cf. vii. 33; Num. xxxv. 33.

20. *That thou mayest be accepted.* Emended (see my text, p. 76, note 1). *b* (*d*) = "and it will be accepted"; *a* "it will not be accepted"; *c* "and He will accept you."

21-24. This passage was written originally in Hebrew verse and the parallelism is still well preserved.

22. *Sin unto death* = ἀμαρτίαν θανάτου = חַטֹּאת מוֹת, Num. xviii. 22. Cf. 1 John v. 16. See xxxiii. 18 of our text.

[*Hide His face from thee, And*]. I have bracketed this clause (cf. i. 13) as an interpolation, since it spoils the parallelism.

Give thee back into the hands of thy transgression. Has this vigorous expression been suggested by Gen. iv. 7 "If thou dost not well, sin is a lurker at the door"?

And do His will and be upright in all things.

24. And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,

And will raise up from thee the plant of righteousness
through all the earth, throughout all generations of
the earth,

And my name and thy name will not be forgotten
under heaven for ever.

25. Go, my son, in peace.

May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen
thee to do His will,

And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy
seed for the generations for ever, with all righteous
blessings,

That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth."

26. And he went out from him rejoicing.

*Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first-fruits at
Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. Prayer of Abraham,
6-9. Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob,
10-30.*

XXII. And it came to pass in the †first† week in the
†forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the
year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came
from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks
—that is, the feast of the first-fruits of the harvest—to
Abraham, their father, and Abraham rejoiced because his
two sons had come. 2. For Isaac had many possessions in
Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions

24. *Plant of righteousness.* See xvi. 26.

25. I have with some hesitation
arranged this verse as Hebrew poetry.

Mayest be a blessing. Cf. xx. 10.

XXII. 1. All the dates in this verse
appear to be wrong. The total=2116.

Dillmann suggests that for "forty-fourth" we should read "forty-third." But this would make the year of Abraham's death 2060, whereas (see on xxi. 1) he died in the year 2051. Hence I propose: "in the sixth week in the forty-second jubilee, in the seventh year" = 2051.

and to return to his father. 3. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they both came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice for a burnt-offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank-offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother : and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank-offering, that he might eat and drink. 6. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,

Who hath created heaven and earth,

Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,

And given them to the children of men

That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.

7. "And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day : behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have been unto me peace. 8. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until this day. 9. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the generations of the earth, unto all the ages." 10. And he called Jacob and said : "My son Jacob, may

4. *Creator of all things.* A frequently recurring idea in our author : cf. xxii. 27. Cf. Sir. xxiv. 8 : ὁ κτίστης ἀπάντων ; 2 Macc. i. 24 : ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κτίστης ; vii. 23 : ὁ τοῦ κόσμου κτίστης (cf. 4 Macc. v. 25). Cf. "God of all," xxii. 10, 27, xxx. 19, xxxi. 13, 32 ; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 2.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

7. See xxi. 1.

8. *The sword of the adversary.* Cf. Jer. vi. 25 ; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

9. *An inheritance* (= נַחֲלָה). Cf. verses 10, 15, 29 and Deut. iv. 20.

the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me." 11. And he drew near and kissed him, and he said :

"Blessed be my son Jacob

And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages :

May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness ;

And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of
the whole earth ;

May nations serve thee,

And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

12. Be strong in the presence of men,

And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.

Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be
justified,

So that they shall become a holy nation.

13. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings

Wherewith He has blessed me

And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam ;

May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from
generation to generation for ever.

14. And may He cleanse thee from all unrighteousness and
impurity,

10. *God of all*, i.e. God of the universe. See verses 4, 27.

11. *The sons of the God Most High* (or "his sons unto the God Most High"). For phraseology cf. Gen. xiv. 19. On Israel as sons of God, see i. 24 note.

May nations serve Thee, And all the nations, etc. From Gen. xxvii. 29—Isaac's blessing of Jacob.

12. *Exercise*. Eth. has "exercising" but Latin = "exercise."

All the seed of Seth, i.e. all mankind. The phrase is found also in Num.

xxiv. 17, כל בני-שם, where, however, שם is not to be taken as the name of the patriarch but as a contraction of שמש = "confusion."

13. *Blessings . . . wherewith He blessed Noah*, etc. See xix. 27.

Rest on the sacred head. From Gen. xlix. 26, though with the Syr. it implies נָיַר instead of נָוִיר. Cf. Num. vi. 9.

14. *Unrighteousness and impurity*. Emended with Latin inquinamento et injustitia. MSS = "impure defilement."

That thou mayest be forgiven all (thy) transgressions ;
(and) thy sins of ignorance.

And may He strengthen thee,

And bless thee.

And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,

15. And may He renew His covenant with thee,

That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance
for all the ages,

And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in
truth and righteousness throughout all the days of
the earth.

16. And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,

And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :

Separate thyself from the nations,

And eat not with them :

And do not according to their works,

And become not their associate ;

For their works are unclean,

And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination
and uncleanness.

17. They offer their sacrifices to the dead

Thou mayest be forgiven. Lat. = "He may forgive." The "thy" and "and" are supplied from the Latin.

15. *Renew His covenant.* See ver. 30.

Nation for His inheritance. See on ver. 9.

16. The exclusiveness of Judaism is here traced to Abraham. The very existence of Judaism in 200-150 B.C. made such exclusiveness indispensable.

Separate thyself from the nations. Cf. Is. lii. 11.

Eat not with them. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile ; for the animals might not have been slaughtered according to the prescriptions of the Law (Deut. xii. 23, 24) or might have been amongst those that were forbidden to the Jew (Lev. xi. 4-7, 10-12, 13-20) or the meat and wine might have been offered to idols (cf. 1 Cor. x. 20, 27-

29). Antiochus IV. tried to force the Jews to eat of unclean food, 1 Macc. i. 47-48, 62-63 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21, vii. 1. See Driver's Commentary on Daniel i. 8-10 note. Cf. Matt. ix. 11 ; Mk. ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.

Their ways are a pollution. Cf. ver.

19. Observe how frequently this conception returns in all accounts of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors : *μαίνειν* in 1 Macc. i. 46, 63, iv. 45, vii. 34, xiv. 36 ; *μασμός*, 1 Macc. iv. 43 ; *ἀκάθαρτος*, 1 Macc. i. 48, iv. 43 ; *ἀκαθαρσία*, 1 Macc. xiii. 48, xiv. 7 ; *μύσος*, 2 Macc. vi. 19, 25 ; *μολύνω*, 1 Macc. i. 37 ; 2 Macc. vi. 2, xiv. 3 ; *μολυσμός*, 2 Macc. v. 27 ; *βεβηλώω*, 1 Macc. i. 43, 45, 48, 63, ii. 12, 34, iii. 51, etc. ; *βεβήλωσις*, 1 Macc. i. 48.

17. *Offer their sacrifices to the dead.* Cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ps. cvi. 28 ; Sir. vii.

And they worship evil spirits,
 And they eat over the graves,
 And all their works are vanity and nothingness.

18. They have no heart to understand
 And their eyes do not see what their works are,
 And how they err in saying to a piece of wood: 'Thou
 art my God,'
 And to a stone: 'Thou art my Lord and thou art my
 deliverer.'
 [And they have no heart.]

19. And as for thee, my son Jacob,
 May the Most High God help thee
 And the God of heaven bless thee
 And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all
 their error.

20. Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any
 seed of the daughters of Canaan;
 For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

21. For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
 And all his seed will be destroyed from off the earth
 and all the residue thereof,

33; Tob. iv. 17, which allude to such sacrifices as being offered by Israel. They are derided Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Or. Sibyl. viii. 382-384. The Pirke Aboth iii. 4 speaks of "sacrifices to the dead" (ובחי המתים).

Worship evil spirits. Some of the Jews at the bidding of Antiochus Epiphanes consented to worship idols and offer them sacrifices, 1 Macc. i. 43. For other references to such worship generally see Deut. xxxii. 17; Lev. xvii. 7; Ps. cvi. 37; Eth. Enoch xix. 1; Baruch iv. 7; 1 Cor. x. 20: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις . . . θύουσιν. See note on i. 11-13 of our text.

Eat over the graves. Just as the worshipper of Yahweh partook of the sacrifices offered to Him, so those who

offered sacrifices to the dead partook of such sacrifices. These sacrifices were placed over the grave: see references given under "offer sacrifices to the dead" in earlier part of the verse: also Schwall, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-24.

18. Cf. xii. 5, xx. 8; Jer. ii. 27.

Their works. Read gebrômû instead of gabrômû in my text.

[*And they have no heart*]. Bracketed as a dittography of the beginning of ver. 18. The parallelism is against it.

20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1. For similar commands see xxv. 5, xxvii. 10, xxx 7 of our text; Test. Levi 9.

For all his seed, etc. This line recurs in ver. 21^b; for the two Ethiopic verbs are not infrequently renderings of the same word in Greek.

And none springing from him will be saved on the day of judgment.

22. And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(b) There will be no hope for them in the land of the living ;

(e) And there will be no remembrance of them on the earth ;

(c) For they will descend into Sheol,

(d) And into the place of condemnation will they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

23. Fear not, my son Jacob,

And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham :

May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may He deliver thee.

24. This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth : [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham ; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever ; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever : thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his

21. *Day of judgment.* Cf. xxiii. 11, "day of the great judgment": xxiv. 28, "day of wrath and indignation". also xxxvi. 10.

22. *The profane.* Se'ûlân = βεβηλωμένοι (cf. Lev. xxi. 7, 14), emended from selû'ân (*a b d*) = "the hated ones." *c* reads, "the perverse." If we emend *a b d* into salâ-êjân we should have "the adversaries."

(e) *And there will be no remembrance,* etc. It will be observed that I have

transposed this verse on account of the parallelism.

They will descend into Sheol . . . will they go. The same passage with a transposition of the two verbs has already occurred in vii. 29 (see note): cf. Eth. En. ciii. 7, 8.

24. [*It is given,* etc.] A dittography from the second clause following.

25. *Commanding.* Gen. xlix. 33. This word goes back to *mx* which is used technically of a man's last will

heart rejoiced over him. 27. And he blessed him with all his heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that He might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway. 29. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance; 30. And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth."

Abraham's death and burial, 1-8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7-10).

Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind:

Messianic woes: universal strife: the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless: Israel invaded by sinners

and testament: cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 2 Kings xx. 1; Is. xxxviii. 1; Test. XII. Patriarch., Reuben 1; Baba bathra 147a, 151b.

27. This verse looks like an interpolation. It professes to give Abraham's blessing of Jacob, and yet does not mention him at all. Jacob's blessing begins in ver. 28. This verse follows well upon ver. 26. On the other hand some mention of the sacred name is required in ver. 28 if 27 is omitted.

God of all. See on verses 4, 10.

Creator of all, i.e., of the universe. See on ver. 4. See Neh. ix. 6.

Brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Cf. Gen. xv. 7; Neh. ix. 7. Instead of "brought" 3rd sing. of *a d*, *b c* read "brought" 2nd sing.

Blessed be the Most High for ever, or

"that the Most High may be blessed for ever." The latter is the more natural translation; but if we adopt it, there is no principal verb.

28. *Over whom with all my heart . . . I rejoice (cd).* But *a b* read "rejoice" in 3rd sing. This reading presupposes "heart and affection" as the subject of "rejoice," just as in ver. 26. In that case if instead of *zaba* (twice) we read *baza* (twice) we have as follows: "over whom all my heart and my affection rejoice." In either case we must reject *ba'ella* as corrupt.

Be lift up upon him. Cf. Num. vi. 26; Ps. iv. 6.

29. *Thine eyes be opened.* Cf. 1 Kings viii. 29, 52; Neh. i. 6; Dan. ix. 18.

30. *Renew Thy covenant.* Cf. ver. 15.

of the Gentiles, 11-25. Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind: Messianic kingdom: blessed immortality of the righteous, 26-31.

XXIII. And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2. And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said: "Father, father"; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. 5. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, and wept and kissed him. 6. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. 7. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places; and the days of weeping for Abraham were

XXIII. 1. *He placed two fingers of Jacob.* Cf. Gen. xvi. 4. The closing of the eyes was generally done by the eldest son, and according to Shabbath 151b it was strictly forbidden till death had ensued (Singer, 107 note).

Stretched out his feet. So Syr. and Eth. vers. of Gen. xlix. 33, but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = "gathered up his feet."

Slept the sleep of eternity. Cf. Jer. li. 39, 57.

To his fathers. This phrase is first

in Judges ii. 10. Gen. xxv. 8 has "to his people."

5. From Gen. i. 1.

7. *Buried him in the double cave.* Gen. xxv. 9.

The days of weeping = ימי בכי (cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8; Gen. i. 4). *b* = "the lamentation of the weeping" = נקי בכי (cf. Jer. xxxi. 15) which I take to be a corruption of ימי בכי. *d* reads "lamentation and weeping" and *a c* "weeping."

ended. 8. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. 9. For the days of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 10. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, when he had grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. 11. And all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge will vanish away]. 12. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they will say regarding him: "He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace:

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men's years grow less, *pari passu*, with the growing corruption.

Days of the forefathers, of their life. Probably we should read "days of the life of the forefathers."

To decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days. The Latin has *senescere celerius et minui dies vite ipsorum*. The Latin seems right. For a possible explanation of the corruption in the Eth. see my text, pp. 81-82.

10. *When he had grown old.* Both Eth. and Latin give "until" instead of "when." The error, I take it, arose from the corruption of $\omega\varsigma$ = "when" into $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ = "until."

By reason of the wickedness. Abraham grew old early because of the wicked-

ness of others. He was himself "perfect," according to our author.

11. *Generations which will arise . . . until the day of the great judgment.* Here the judgment seems to precede the Messianic kingdom; but see note on ver. 30.

Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age. Lat. = *erunt transeuntes ab ipsis spiritus intellectus ipsorum, where spiritus and intellectus may be duplicate renderings of the same word. Otherwise it should correspond to the phrase "by reason of their age."* I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

[And all their knowledge will vanish away]. A dittography. Lat. omits.

12. *The greater part of his days are pain and sorrow.* Ps. xc. 10. Our text gives the same rendering of רהבם as the LXX, Syr., Chald., and Vulg.

13. For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and pains." 14. And all these will come on an evil generation, which transgresses on the earth: their works are uncleanness and fornication, and pollution and abominations. 15. Then they will say: "The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years, and those evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation." 16. And in that generation the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate,

13-14. The calamities that befell Judah in the early decades of the second cent. B.C.

13. *Such as these.* So Latin *secundum hoc ipsud* = $\pi\lambda\eta\lambda\alpha$.

One with another. Wanting in the Latin.

Fever, and chills. So Latin. The Ethiopic words are $\delta\pi\alpha\zeta\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$.

14. *Uncleanness, etc.* See vii. 21 note, xx. 5, xxii. 16 note.

15. *The days of our life . . . are three score years and ten, etc.* Ps. xc. 10.

16. This verse points most probably to the rise of the Chasids. These proceed to challenge the creed and conduct of their fathers and the elders (the spiritual rulers of Judaism). From their ranks (see Eth. Enoch xc. 7) arise the Maccabees. The armed resistance of the latter to the Hellenising party is represented in ver. 20. Finally after years of strife the Messianic era begins to set in and the years of men to grow many, till at last they become a thousand.

We have herein an adumbration of the actual history and the expectations of the Chasids in the second cent. B.C. Bousset (*Z.f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 199) has already recognised that this chapter deals with the Maccabean movement. The conclusiveness of this interpretation will grow stronger as we proceed. It is no little confirmation of our view that we find the same events in Judaism depicted in allegorical language in Eth. Enoch xc. 6-7: "But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry to the sheep. But the sheep did not cry to them and did not hear what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were exceedingly and forcibly blinded." Here "the white sheep" are the faithful adherents of the theocracy; the "lambs" are the Chasids, a new and distinct party among the Jews. The Chasids appeal unavailingly to the nation at large. In the next verse (xc. 8) there is a symbolical description of Syria's attack on Judah.

and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left. 17. For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. 18. Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there will be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they will all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. 19. And they will strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments. 20. And they will stand (with bows and) swords and war to

Forsaking the covenant. Cf. Dan. xi. 30 and 1 Macc. i. 15 where the same charge is brought against the Hellenising Jews.

Observe and do . . . without . . . either to the . . . or the left. Cf. Deut. v. 31, 32, xxviii. 13, 14. A similar statement is found in 1 Macc. ii. 21-22: "Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances . . . to go aside from our worship to the right hand or the left" (παρελθεῖν τὴν λατρίαν ἡμῶν δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν). The phrase is most probably historical.

17. *All have done evil.* Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, 53, "And from the people were gathered unto them many, every one that had forsaken the law and they did evil things in the land."

Every mouth speaks iniquity. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 6, "And (Mattathias) saw the blasphemies . . . in Judah and in Jerusalem."

Pollution, etc. See note on xxii. 16. 18-24. The Messianic woes.

18. *Will all perish together, beasts . . . and birds, and all the fish of the sea.* Cf. Hos. iv. 3: also Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7.

On account of the children. Lat. = a malitia filiorum.

19. For other descriptions of the Messianic woes, see Or. Sibyl. iii. 796-807; Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 1-13, xlvi. 31-37, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra v. 1-12, vi. 14-18, 21-24; Matt. xxiv. 6-29 with Synoptic parallels; Sota ix. 15 sq. See Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*,³ ii. 523 sq.

The poor with the rich, and (b omits) the lowly with the great. Apoc. Bar. lxx. 3-4.

For they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, etc. From a general description of the Messianic woes the writer passes on to a definite description of the Maccabean times, and the Apostate Jews.

Judgments, i.e. determinations, decisions.

20. This verse describes the warlike

turn them back into the way; but they will not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another.

21. And those who have escaped will not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they will all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they will name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they will defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. 22. And a great punishment will befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. 23. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who will respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor

efforts of Judas the Maccabee to force the apostates to return to Judaism. In the year 162, owing to internal divisions, Syria felt it advisable to make terms with the Jews and allow them "to walk after their own laws as aforetime" (1 Macc. vi. 55-62; 2 Macc. xiii. 23-26; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9. 6-7). This understanding was observed by all the subsequent kings of Syria. Hence from 162 onward the struggle was not so much to preserve Judaism against the attempts of Syria to crush it out of existence, as to determine the question whether the Hellenising faction or the national party should control the nation. Syria henceforth intervened in support now of the one now of the other of the two Jewish parties. (See Schurer, *op. cit.* i. 214; [Eng. transl.], i. i. 224 sq.)

(*With bows and*). Supplied from the Latin.

The way. Cf. Is. xxx. 21, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Cf. the use of ἡ δόξ in Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22.

21. *Those who have escaped will not return . . . to the way of righteousness.* By the treaty of 162 referred to in the preceding note, the religious liberties of Judaism were secured against Syria;

but the Hellenising party under the high priest Alkimus still pursued its own aims. This party is said in our text to "name the great name" and to "defile the holy of holies with their uncleanness." Though it embraced nearly the entire Sanhedrin, it was opposed by the Maccabees, the Chasids, and the great mass of the Jews.

Great name. Cf. Jos. vii. 9. On the phrase "name the . . . name," cf. LXX of Is. xxvi. 13; Acts xix. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

22-23. These verses describe the sufferings of the nation during the civil wars and internal troubles that took place down to Simon's high priesthood (142-135 B.C.).

23. This verse refers in language borrowed from past prophecy to the frequent invasions of Palestine by the Syrians or possibly by some unknown nation from the north as in Zeph. i. 7; Jer. iii.-vi.; like Gog and Magog in Ezek. xxxviii.-xxxix.

Have neither mercy nor compassion. So Jeremiah (vi. 23) describes the nation that was to invade Judah: "they are cruel and have no mercy."

Neither old nor young. Cf. Ezek. ix. 6.

any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they will use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,

And much blood will be shed upon the earth,

And there will be none to gather and none to bury.

24. In those days they will cry aloud,

And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles ;

But none will be saved.

25. And the heads of the children will be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks will appear old like a man of one hundred years,

And their stature will be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.

26. And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,

And to seek the commandments,

And to return to the path of righteousness.

27. And the days will begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men,

None to gather and none to bury, i.e., the fallen. The phrase is from Jer. viii. 2.

24. *Of the sinners, the Gentiles* = ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐθνῶν. The Ethiopic translator took these words to be in apposition. He ought rather to have taken the second as dependent on the first. Hence "sinners of the Gentiles." See verse 23 and Gal. ii. 15 where the phrase is reproduced somewhat differently: ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί. To the writer the terms "Gentiles" and "sinners" were practically synonymous.

25. *Heads of the children will be white, etc.* Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 180-181, tells how in the iron age children will be born with hoary temples :

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερῶν
ἀνθρώπων

Ἐστ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν.

This was to be one of the signs (as in our text) which foreshadowed the coming of the kingdom according to Sibyll. Or. ii. 155 :

Ἐκ γενετῆς παῖδες πολιοκρόταφοι γεγαῶτες.

See also Latin apocalyptic fragment in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, ii. 3, p. 154.

26. It might seem possible that ver. 16 originally followed ver. 26.

26-30. The renewed study of the Law followed by a change for the better and the gradual approach to Messianic blessedness. With this spiritual transformation of Israel (cf. l. 5) there will take place a corresponding transforma-

Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the
number of the days.

28. And there will be no old man

Nor one who is not satisfied with his days,
For all will be (as) children and youths.

29. And all their days they will complete and live in peace
and in joy,

And there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer ;
For all their days will be days of blessing and healing.

30. And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,

tion of the heaven and the earth. This idea appears also in Is. lxxv. 17 sqq. (See i. 29 note ; iv. 26.) This is their final renewal.

27. *Nigh to one thousand years.* In the Messianic kingdom men will attain to the age originally designed for them by God. Adam did not attain to 1000 years because of his sin ; see iv. 30.

28. The writer appears to have Is. lxxv. 20 before him but avoids making any reference to the presence of the wicked in the consummated kingdom, as is done in Isaiah. Yet apparently they are presupposed in ver. 30, though according to ver. 29 there are none such. They are gradually eliminated. Cf. Test. Levi 18.

Who is not satisfied. I have added the negative from a comparison of Is. lxxv. 20.

29. *In joy.* Cf. Is. lxxv. 14.

No Satan. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. x. 1. This statement need not mean very much : cf. xl. 9, xlv. 2, l. 5.

Blessing and healing. Cf. i. 29.

30. If this verse refers to the resurrection, the righteous are raised to share in this (temporary?) Messianic kingdom. If ver. 11 is correctly handed down and to be taken literally, it follows that the final judgment precedes the Messianic kingdom. But the nature of this kingdom precludes such a view. It is to be introduced gradually *pari passu* with the spiritual transformation of man. Such a gradual and progressive transformation does not admit of the insertion of the final judgment at any single point of its evolution. Nor is there a hint of such a judgment in

verses 23-27. Hence the final judgment can occur only at the close of this kingdom. The kingdom is therefore of temporary duration—a conclusion which presents some difficulty in the face of i. 17, 18, 29, but which agrees best with all other passages referring to the final judgment in this book. In that case the resurrection of the righteous and the final judgment are disjoined, if this verse asserts that the righteous rise to share in the kingdom. The eschatology of our author would thus differ alike from that of Eth. Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. (before 161 B.C.), Test. Jud. 25, Sim. 6, Zeb. 10, Benj. 10, where the final judgment precedes the kingdom and the righteous are raised to enjoy it for ever, and from that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. (104-95 B.C.) where the final judgment comes in at the close of the kingdom and the righteous are not raised to share in it, but in a blessed immortality.

But the teaching of our text agrees rather with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ. ; for the words "will rise up" have apparently no reference to the resurrection, and mean merely that when God heals His servants (cf. Rev. xxii. 2) they become strong. The clauses in ver. 29, "all their days will be days of blessing and healing" and in i. 29, "for healing . . . for all the elect of Israel" render this view the most probable. In this case there is no resurrection to this temporary Messianic kingdom, and thus the eschatology harmonises perfectly with that of Eth. Enoch xci.-civ.

And they will rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.

And the righteous will see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And will see all their judgments and all their curses on
their enemies.

31. And their bones will rest in the earth,
And their spirits will have much joy,
And they will know that it is the Lord who executes
judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all
that love Him.

32. And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus
are they written, and they record (them) on the heavenly
tables for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). Esau sells his birthright, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34). Isaac goes down to Gerar, 8. Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech, 9-27. Isaac curses the Philistines, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

XXIV. And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2073 A.M.
2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began 2080 A.M.

See great peace, i.e. "enjoy great peace." The word "peace" may go back to שָׁלוֹם: in that case the sense would be "enjoy sound health."

Drive out their adversaries. Such a conception is in keeping with the gradual growth of the kingdom.

31. After death there is no resurrection of the body, but a blessed immortality awaiting the spirit as in Eth. Enoch xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4 (see my *Eschatology*, pp. 203 sqq.).

And to all (acd). b reads "of all."
XXIV. 1. *Well of the Vision.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 11. The full name is Beer Lahai-roi="the well of the living One that seeth me." Cf. also Gen. xvi. 14, xxiv. 62.

First year of the third week of this jubilee. This is the forty-third jubilee.

2. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1. Observe that our author transposes Gen. xxvi. 1 before xxv. 29 sqq. in order possibly to explain Esau's hunger.

in the land, besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob sod lentil pottage, and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: "Give me of this red pottage." And Jacob said to him: "Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage." 4. And Esau said in his heart: "I shall die; of what profit to me is this birthright?" And he said to Jacob: "I give it to thee." 5. And Jacob said: "Swear to me, this day," and he swore unto him. 6. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage, and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. 7. And Jacob became the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. 8. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. 9. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: "Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I shall be with thee and bless thee. 10. For to thee and to thy seed shall I give all this land, and I shall establish My oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father, and I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give unto thy seed all this land. 11. And in thy seed will all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and

3-6. Cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34.

3. *Red pottage.* Cf. Gen. xxv. 30. Text = "wheaten pottage." Here *zā-šernāj* = *πυρρῶν* which is corrupt for *πυρρῶν*.

Sell = *ἀπὸδου* (LXX) = Mass. מכר.

Thy [primogeniture, this] birthright. Here we have two renderings of *τὰ πρωτογάδια σου*.

And I will give . . . pottage. Not in Gen. xxv. 31.

6. *Esau's name:* literally "Esau, his name" (*ab*). *cd* read "Esau."

Red pottage. Same corruption as in ver. 3.

8. *Famine.* xxvi. 1.

Second year of this week. See note on date in ver. 1.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 2-6.

My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land." 12. And he dwelt in Gerar three 2080-2101 weeks of years. 13. And Abimelech charged concerning A. M. him, and concerning all that was his, saying: "Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die." 14. And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. 15. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. 16. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. 17. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: "Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we"; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the 2101 A. M. valleys of Gerar. 18. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. 19. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: "The water is ours"; and Isaac called the name of the well "Perversity," because they had been perverse with us. 20. And they dug a second well, and they strove for

12. Isaac stayed at the Well of the Vision seven years and in Gerar twenty-one.

13. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 11. No reference is made in our text to Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca.

14-17. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 13-17.

14. *Household*. So Latin *ministerium* = עֲבָדָה. Our text renders loosely "possession."

18-20. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 18-22.

19. *The water*. Here Eth. has "this

water" and the Latin merely "aqua," but the *ze* (=this) is merely a translation of the Greek article as is frequently the case. Hence Eth. and Lat. attest the same text.

The well. Eth. has "that well" but the *we'etû* is merely a translation of the Greek art. as is frequently the case. Latin has merely "putei."

Perversity. Gen. xxvi. 20 has *p̄p̄p̄*, LXX, ἀδικία.

that also, and he called its name "Enmity." And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it "Room," and Isaac said: "Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land." 21. And he went up from thence

2108 A.M. to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. 22. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: "I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant." 23. And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. 24. And they digged a well and they found living water. 25. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us." 26. And he called the name of that place the "Well of the Oath"; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. 27. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. 28. And Isaac on that day cursed the

20. *Enmity* = šēl'ē emended with Latin (inimicitias) from šabāb = "narrow." The corruption is native to the text. It most probably arose from a scribe's wishing to make an antithesis between the name of this well and that of the next "Room."

21-26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 23-25, 32-33.

24-25. There is mention of only one well in Gen. xxvi. 25.

25. The implication of our text is that owing to Isaac having made a covenant with Abimelech his servants failed to find water.

They had not found. Our text and

the LXX thus imply שָׁבַב אֵל in Gen. xxvi. 32, but Mass., Sam., Syr. read אֵל instead of שָׁבַב and connect it with the preceding verb.

26. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 33.

Ahuzzath. Eth. 'Akôzat.

28-32. The hatred expressed in these verses is hardly intelligible save in a contemporary of the wars waged by the Maccabeans against the Philistine cities. This passage is here introduced gratuitously into the narrative (so also Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1890, p. 200). Of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Jos. xiii. 3) four were still in existence

Philistines and said: "Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. 29. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they will be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

30. And no remnant will be left to them,

Nor one that will be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;

For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),

And there will no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

in Maccabean times, Askelon, Ashdod, Gaza and Ekron. Of these Ekron (Ἀκκαρών) was given by Alex. Balas to Jonathan for his services (1 Macc. x. 89; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4), and Askelon submitted to him (1 Macc. x. 60, xi. 60). Ashdod (Ἀζωτος) suffered severely under Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. v. 68) and was captured, put to the sword, and burnt by Jonathan (147 B.C.); the temple of Dagon likewise and all that had taken refuge in it were burnt (1 Macc. x. 84; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4. 4). It was again reduced to ashes by John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. xvi. 10). As regards Gaza its suburbs were burnt by Jonathan and the city forced to capitulate (1 Macc. xi. 61-62). It was afterwards destroyed by Alex. Jannaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3). Our text reflects correctly the attitude of Judah towards the cities of the Philistines in the second cent. B.C.

28. *Sinners, the Gentiles.* The Latin has here "peccatoris populi." Cf. xxiii. 24. The Philistines suffered severely at the hands of the Assyrians and Egyptians—particularly the latter: see

Herodotus i. 105, ii. 157, 159.

Kittim (כִּיִּתִּים, *Kiriêis*, *Kiriou*, *Xerielu*, *Xerrân*). These were descended from Javan according to Gen. x. 4 and, therefore, belonged to the Graeco-Latin races. Their country is usually identified with Cyprus. In Dan. xi. 30 the Kittim are undoubtedly the Romans, whereas in 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5 they are the Macedonians. It is to the Macedonians that our text refers. Gaza was captured by Alexander the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4).

29. *The righteous nation.* Judah under the Maccabees. See note on 28-32 above.

Generations. Emended with Latin. Text="days."

These Caphtorim. "These" = ἑλλὰ emend. from kuëllâ = "all" with Latin. Text="all Caphtorim." According to Amos ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines came originally from Caphtor. On the various views as to its locality see *Encyc. Bib.* i. 698-699.

31. For though he ascend unto heaven,
 Thence will he be brought down,
 And though he make himself strong on earth,
 Thence will he be dragged forth,
 And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
 Even from thence will he be rooted out;
 And though he descend into Sheol,
 There also will his condemnation be great,
 And there also he will have no peace.
32. And if he go into captivity,
 By the hands of those that seek his life will they slay
 him on the way,
 And neither name nor seed will be left to him on all
 the earth;
 For into eternal malediction will he depart."
33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him
 on the heavenly tables, to do unto him on the day of
 judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

*Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman,
 1-3. Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban
 despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry
 a Canaanitish woman, 4-10. Rebecca blesses Jacob, 11-
 23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)*

2109 A.M.

XXV. And in the second year of this week in this
 jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto him,
 saying: "My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters
 of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of
 the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul

31-32. Based on Amos ix. 2-4. Cf.
 Ps. cxxxix. 8 sqq.

31. *Though he make himself strong.*
 Lat. = ubi fugiens erit. The corruption
 seems to have originated in the Hebrew.

XXV. 1-3. Observe that our author
 transposes Gen. xxviii. 1-4 before Gen.
 xxvii., which contains Jacob's inter-
 ception of Esau's blessing.

1. *Second year of this week in this
 jubilee.* See note on ver. 4.

Do not take thee a wife, etc. Cf. Gen.
 xxviii. 1.

*Esau . . . who took him two wives,
 etc.* Cf. Gen. xxvi. 34.

Embittered my soul. Cf. Gen. xxvii.
 46, xxvi. 35.

with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. 3. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou wilt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a righteous generation and a holy seed." 4. And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: "Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 5. For I remember, mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father's house and from my kindred. 6. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them to take a wife from amongst them. 7. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. 8. And, despite all that he has commanded me, these two and twenty years my brother has

3. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1, 2.

4. *Nine weeks.* If the date in ver. 1 is right, it follows that since Jacob was then sixty-three years old, he was born in 2046. This agrees with MSS reading in xix. 13; but the estimate based on that reading is at variance with that which follows from xlv. 13, which assigns Jacob's birth to the year 2041. With the statement as to Jacob's age cf. Ber. rabba 68: "Our father Jacob was sixty-three years old when he received

the blessing: fourteen years he spent hidden in the house of Eber and seven years he served for Rachael: accordingly he was eighty-four when he married, but Esau was forty." See also Seder Olam ii.

I neither know . . . any woman. Syncellus (i. 197) wrongly attributes this statement to Josephus: 'Ἰωσηππὸς φησιν ὅτι ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ξγ' οὐκ ἔγνω ὅλως γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξείπε τῇ μητρὶ 'Ρεβέκκα.

7. *With regard to . . . fornication*

striven with me, and spoken frequently to me and said: 'My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives'; but I refuse to do as he has done. 9. I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 10. Fear not mother; be assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever." 11. And thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him thanks and praise. 12. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. 13. Bless him, O Lord, and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him." 14. And at that hour, when the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said:

15. "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages;

And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.

May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.

16. And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.

Abraham . . . gave me many commands. Cf. xx. 4, xxxix. 6.

8. *These two and twenty years.* This agrees with the statement of Esau's age in Gen. xxvi. 34, where he is said to have been forty when he married. Esau was now sixty-three.

14. *Spirit of righteousness* (or "truth") = τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13. So *abd.* Cf. xxxi. 12. *c* reads "Holy Spirit." The latter is Jewish also: cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 "His holy Spirit" (רוח קדש). With the idea conveyed by

And may their sons become many and great beyond the
stars of heaven,

And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.

17. And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He
would give it to Abraham and to his seed after him
alway—

And may they hold it as a possession for ever.

18. And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children
during my life,

And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.

19. And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during
†my† life,

The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee,

[My affection] and my breasts bless thee

And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.

20. Increase and spread over the earth,

And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and
earth for ever ;

And may thy seed rejoice,

And on the great day of peace may it have peace.

21. And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,

And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,

And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.

both phrases cf. Deut. xxxiv. 9 "the spirit of wisdom" (רוח חכמה); Num. xi. 25, 26, 29; Neh. ix. 20; Is. xi. 2.

17. *As He said He would give it to Abraham and to his seed . . . alway.* Cf. Luke i. 55, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν . . . τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. The words in Luke recall both Mic. vii. 20 and our text. Observe that this statement in Luke is added parenthetically or explanatorily as in our text.

Possession for ever. Cf. the Thucydidean phrase κτήμα ἐς αἰεί.

19. *Hast refreshed (ab).* *cd* "has given thee rest."

†*My*†. Read "thy," as the sense requires it.

[*My affection*]. I have bracketed this phrase; for it comes in awkwardly between "womb," "breasts," "mouth," and "tongue." We should expect an "and" to precede it. It may be a dittography and have originated as a false alternative rendering of ὄμφη, "womb."

21. *His sanctuary . . . unto all the ages.* Cf. i. 29.

22. Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely may it be
cursed."
23. And she kissed him, and said to him :
"May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in
thee and bless thee."
And she ceased from blessing.

*Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. Rebecca instructs Jacob to
obtain the blessing, 5-9. Jacob under the person of
Esau obtains it, 10-24. Esau brings in his venison
and by his importunity obtains a blessing, 25-34.
Threatens Jacob, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)*

2114 A.M. XXVI. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac
called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : "I am old,
my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know
not the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting
weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field,
and hunt and catch me (venison), my son, and make me
savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me
that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I
die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And
Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring
home to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son,
and said unto him : "Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father,
speak unto Esau, thy brother, saying : 'Hunt for me, and
make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that I may eat
and bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. And now,
my son, obey my voice in that which I command thee : Go

22. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41.

1. *Are dim in seeing.* An imperfect

rendering of Gen. xxvii. 1 which = "dim
so that he could not see (חָרָה)."

2. *Hunt and catch* = θήρευσον καὶ
ἐπιλάβου, a loose rendering of the
phrase in Gen. xxvii. 3.

to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed." 7. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. 8. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing." 9. And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: "Upon me be thy curse, my son only obey my voice." 10. And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. 11. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. 12. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. 13. And Jacob went in to his father and said: "I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me." 14. And Isaac said to his son: "How hast thou found so quickly, my son?" 15. And Jacob said: "Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find." 16. And

7. First half of verse added by our author in favour of Jacob.

10. (*Savoury meat*). Added from Latin.

12. *Gave*. Here Eth. adds "to

him" against Latin and Gen. xxvii. 17. This addition is found also in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 17.

15. (*The Lord*). Supplied from Latin. *Caused me to find* (= 'arkabanî b c).

Isaac said unto him: "Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not." 17. And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 18. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau," and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. 19. And he said: "Art thou my son Esau?" and he said: "I am thy son": and he said, "Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 20. And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. 21. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Come near and kiss me, my son." And he came near and kissed him. 22. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

23. And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven

And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:

Let nations serve thee,

And peoples bow down to thee.

α = "helped me"; δ = "caused me to see." Latin gives *direxit*. In my text I emended the phrase into *'artē'ani* = *direxit*, comparing xxi. 2 where the Eth. has this verb as the equivalent of *dirigere* in the Latin. But the reading of *b c* may be right as Praetorius thinks.

18. *Because it was a dispensation from heaven.* This clause is borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15; cf. 2 Chron. x. 15.

His power of perception, literally, "his spirit."

(His brother). Added from the Latin.

19. *I am thy son.* For an analogous evasion, Beer compares Ber. rabba 65: "I am Esau the first born" (Gen. xxvii. 24). R. Levi said: Jacob meant:

I am he who will receive the ten commandments (which begin with the words "I am"), but Esau is thy first born.

21. *Come near.* Latin adds "to me." So also LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 26.

22. *(Full).* Added from the Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg. of Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. *Give thee.* *b c d* add "and multiply thee." α transposes it before "may the Lord give thee."

Dew of the earth. The same rendering of *τῆς πύργου τῆς γῆς* is found in the Eth. version of Gen. xxvii. 28.

And plenty. MSS add against parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28 before "plenty" the clause "may He give plentifully to thee."

24. Be lord over thy brethren,
 And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;
 And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath
 blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
 Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:
 Cursed be he that curseth thee,
 And blessed be he that blesseth thee."

25. And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father †he hid himself and† Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. 26. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: "Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me." 27. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: "Who art thou?" And he said unto him: "I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me." 28. And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: "Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever." 29. And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: "Bless me, (even) me also, father." 30. And he said unto him: "Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing." And he said: "Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away my blessing." 31. And he said: "Hast thou not

24. *The blessings wherewith the Lord . . . blessed Abraham, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 4.

25. †*He hid himself and*†. This looks like an addition to the text. Read "that."

28. *Hunted and caught.* See note on ver. 2.

30. *I know why* (or "how") = οἶδα ὡς. This may be a corruption of δικάως. In that case the text would agree with Gen. xxvii. 36.

reserved a blessing for me, father?" and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:

"Behold, I have made him thy lord,
And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I
strengthened him:

And what now shall I do for thee, my son?"

32. And Esau said to Isaac, his father:

"Hast thou but one blessing, O father?"

Bless me, (even) me also, father":

And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. 33. And Isaac answered and said unto him:

"Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,

And far from the dew of heaven from above.

34. And by thy sword wilt thou live,

And thou wilt serve thy brother.

And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,

And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,

Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death,

And thy seed will be rooted out from under heaven."

35. And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his

33. *Dew of the earth.* See note on verse 23.

34. *Becomest great* = 'abaika (so *b*). *a c* = "refusest" ('abaika) which is (?) a corruption of the former. *d* is corrupt but supports *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאריך (Gen. xxvii. 40) which is theniphal or biphil of ארר. Mass. = ריר as to the meaning of which the versions vary. LXX has καθέλγς = חוריר from רר.

34. *Thou wilt sin a complete sin unto death*, or "every sin unto death." This change is contrary to all tradition. In Onkelos we have: "And it will come to pass when his (Jacob's) sons transgress the words of the law, that thou wilt

remove his yoke from off thy neck." Similarly in the Jerusalem and Ps.-Jon. Targums and in Ber. rabba 67. This passage in our text is attributed to Genesis by Syncellus, i. 202: τῷ Ἰσαὺ ἔφη ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλγς καὶ ἐκλύσγς τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου· πλημμελήσγς εἰς θάνατον. Glycas (p. 263) appears to assign it to Josephus: τότε οὖν ἐπληρώθη ἡ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ προφητεία ἡνίκα ἂν καθέλγς τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου σου, πλημμελείαν πλημμελήσεις θανάτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰωσήφον τοιαῦτα.

Sin unto death. Cf. xxi. 22.

heart: "May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob."

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats, prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob, 13-18. Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel, 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

XXVII. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 2. "Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on thee so as to kill thee. 3. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from thence." 4. And Jacob said: "I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him." 5. But she said unto him: "Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day." 6. And Jacob said to Rebecca his mother: "Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go;

35. *May the days, etc.* Observe the malicious turn given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-45.

1. *Were told to Rebecca in a dream.* In the Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 it is said: "And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebecca by the Holy Spirit." In Ber. rabba on the same passage Rebecca is called a prophetess.

6. This verse like xii. 31 owes its existence, as Singer has pointed out, to the author's desire to protect his heroes

Abraham and Jacob from the reproach of leaving their fathers in their old age. Singer (p. 170) writes: In der Haggada wird nämlich Jakob darob getadelt, dass er so lange Zeit von seinen Eltern fernblieb und dadurch die Uebung der Kindespflichten verabsäumte (Megilla 16 b, Sed. Od. rabba 2, Tanch. u. Lek. Tob. Wagescheb in Raschi, Gen. xxxvii. 34), wogegen Esau in dieser Hinsicht sehr gepriesen und als Muster eines guten Kindes dargestellt wird (Ber. rabba 65, 82; Debarim rabba 1, Pesikta rab. xxiv.).

when he sends me, then only will I go." 7. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away." 8. And Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: "I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil." 9. And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 10. "Do not take thee a wife of any of the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 11. And God Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations, and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace." 12. And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. 13. And it came to pass after Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. 14. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and in peace will he return. 15. The Most High God will

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

14. *My sister*. This term as applied by Isaac to his wife is used as an expression of tenderness. It is possible that Singer (p. 168 note) is right in stating that it is designed by our author to justify the fact of Isaac's having called her his sister at the Court of Abimelech. As instances of the former use we might quote Tobit's address to his wife (Tobit v. 21): *μη λόγον ἔχε, ἀδελφή*: also vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; also

Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1.

This usage was common in the old Egyptian songs as Maspero and Spiegelberg have shown (see Budde, *Das Hohenlied*, pp. xvi-xvii). "Brother" was used in these songs also with a similar meaning. *ἀδελφῇ* in 1 Cor. ix. 5 has quite a different meaning. It denotes one who is connected by the tie of the Christian religion. The above usage, is according to Singer (p. 208 note), unknown in Rabbinic literature.

preserve him from all evil, and will be with him; for He will not forsake him all his days; 16. For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. 17. Fear not on his account, my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish. Weep not." 18. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. 19. And Jacob went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first month of this week, 2115 A.M. and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. 20. And he took one of the stones of that place and laid it (at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. 21. And he dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 22. And He spake to Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed after thee. 23. And thy seed will be as the dust of the earth, and thou wilt increase to the west and to the east, to the north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed will all the families of the nations be blessed. 24. And behold, I shall be with thee,

16. *Will be prospered* = jěšêrâh (= the Latin *dirigetur*) emended from jěšêrêh. Text = "he will prosper."

17. *On the upright path.* So *b* and Latin, in *via recta*. *a c d* diverge in different directions.

And he is faithful. *a b* and Latin omit "and."

19-20. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 10, 11, 19.

19. *Luz.* Cf. Gen. xxviii. 19.

20. (*At his head*). Added from the Latin.

Under the tree. This phrase is not found in Gen. xxviii. 11. It seems to be the wooden post or mast (מַעֲבָד) which stood at Canaanitish places of worship. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 330-332.

21-27. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 12-22.

and shall keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I shall bring thee again into this land in peace; for I shall not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of." 25. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, "Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew it not." And he was afraid and said: "Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." 26. And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first. 27. And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: "If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth to thee, my God."

Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids, 11-24. Jacob seeks to leave Laban, 25: but stays on at a certain wage, 26-28. Jacob becomes rich, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35, xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.)

XXVIII. And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca, and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one

2122 A.M. week. 2. And in the first year of the third week he said

25. *Awoke from . . . sleep* = ἐξύπνωσε ἐξ ὕπνου. MSS corrupt = ὑπνωσε ὑπνον = "slept a sleep."

XXVIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xxix. 1. 2-4. Cf. Gen. xxix. 21-25.

unto him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years"; and Laban said unto Jacob: "I will give thee thy wife." 3. And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an handmaid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. 4. And he went in unto her, and behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: "Why hast thou dealt thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me? Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder." And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained and written in the heavenly tables, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—but the elder one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the Lord. 7. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. 8. And Laban said to Jacob: "Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou

3. *Zilpah.* Eth. *Zalafâ.* See note on ver. 9.

He thought. For "he" (*a*) *bcd* read Jacob.

5. Cf. Gen. xxix. 17-18^a.

Leah's eyes were weak. Ps.-Jon. in *loc.* and Ber. rabba 70 attribute this weakness to Leah's weeping.

6. *It is not . . . before the elder.* Cf. Gen. xxix. 26.

And it is not right to do this, etc.

These are the words of the angels enunciating the law as Singer (p. 82) has recognised. There is no hint according to Beer and Singer of this ordinance in tradition.

But the elder (so *b*). *acd* omit through homoioteleuton, as Littmann has pointed out.

8-10. Cf. Gen. xxix. 27-29. Jacob's marriage with two sisters was expressly forbidden by the later law: cf. Lev.

mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former week." 9. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of Zilpah, as a handmaid. 10. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him for nothing. 11. And the Lord opened the

xviii. 18. Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 134, declares it to be οὐ θεμιτόν.

8. Our author rightly understands Gen. xxix. 27-29, and represents Jacob as receiving Rachel when the seven days of Leah's feast were over. Josephus (*Ant. i.* 19. 7) wrongly makes Jacob wait for seven years after his marriage with Leah.

9. *Bilhah.* Eth. Bâlân.

The sister of Zilpah. Bilhah and Zilpah appear as sisters also in Test. XII. Patriarch. Naph. i. Naphtali declares: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μου ἐστὶ Βάλλα, θυγάτηρ Ῥωθέου, ἀδελφοῦ Δεβόρρας, τῆς τροφοῦ Ῥεβέκκας. . . . ὁ δὲ Ῥόθεος ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν Ἀβραάμ. . . . καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ἠγοράσθη ὑπὸ Λάβαν· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Δινὰν τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα· ἦτις ἔτεκεν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Ζελφάν. . . . καὶ

ἐξῆς ἔτεκεν τὴν Βάλλαν. In later Jewish tradition they are still represented as sisters, but as daughters of Laban by a concubine: cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29; Ber. rabba 74. Singer adds Pirke R. El. 36 on p. 118 note.

11-24. Cf. Gen. xxix. 31-xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24.

11-24. The twelve sons of Jacob. The twelve appear in our text in the same order as in Gen. xxix. 32-34, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. The following tables (taken from Rönsch, p. 330) will serve to make clear the different order of these names. I. In the narrative of Gen. xxix.-xxxv. and Jubilees. II. In Jubilees according to the date of birth. III. In Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth. IV. In Gen. xlix.

	I. Gen. xxix.-xxx., xxxv. and Jubilees.	II. Jubilees according to the date of birth.	III. Test. XII. Patriarchs according to date of birth.	IV. Gen. xlix.
1	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben
2	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon
3	Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi
4	Judah	Dan	Judah	Judah
5	Dan	Judah	Dan	Zebulon
6	Naphtali	Naphtali	Issachar	Issachar
7	Gad	Gad	Naphtali	Dan
8	Asher	Issachar	Gad	Gad
9	Issachar	Asher	Zebulon	Asher
10	Zebulon	Joseph	Asher	Naphtali
11	Joseph	Zebulon	Joseph	Joseph
12	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin

It will be observed that the order in II. diverges from all the others as to Dan, Issachar, and Joseph. The Midrash Tadshe, which is partly based

on our text, shows the same order (see below). Probably the dates are corrupt. Rönsch proposes to read seventh instead of sixth (an easy emendation resting on

womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the 2122 A.M.

confusion of γ and ι) in Jub. xxviii. 24. In that case Joseph would be born in 2135 A.M. and his place in the Jubilees list would agree with those of the other authorities. But this date does not agree with what is required by xxxiv. 10 and xlvi. 1 of our text. For these passages when taken together imply that Joseph was born in the year 2132. See note on xxviii. 24.

Rönsch further supposes that the copyist transposed the dates for Judah and Dan, and again a corruption of seventh into sixth; and finally suggests in the case of Asher and Issachar that we should transpose the years of their births, and read fourth year in Asher's case and fifth in Issachar's. Thus we should have the following list:—

Reuben	born 14th of 9th month	in 1st year of the 3rd week	= 2122
Simeon	„ 21st of 10th „	3rd „ 3rd „	= 2124
Levi	„ 1st of 1st „	6th „ 3rd „	= 2127
Judah	„ 15th of 3rd „	7th „ 3rd „	= 2128
Dan	„ 9th of 6th „	1st „ 4th „	= 2129
Naphtali	„ 5th of 7th „	2nd „ 4th „	= 2131
Gad	„ 12th of 8th „	3rd „ 4th „	= 2132
Asher	„ 2nd of 11th „	4th „ 4th „	= 2133
Issachar	„ 4th of 5th „	5th „ 4th „	= 2134
Zebulon	„ 7th of 7th „	6th „ 4th „	= 2134
Joseph	„ 1st of 4th „	7th „ 4th „	= 2135
Benjamin	„ 11th of 8th „	1st „ 4th „	= 2143

This order, corrected as Rönsch proposes above, is found in Syncellus i. 198, though the dates differ from those in our text: *καὶ δουλεύσας ἔτη ζ' ἔλαβε τὴν Δεῖαν καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ρουβὴν τῷ π' ἔτει καὶ τὸν Συμεὼν τῷ πα', τὸν δὲ Λεὺι τῷ πβ', τὸν 'Ιούδαν τῷ πγ', τὸν Δὰν τῷ πε', τὸν Νεφθαλεὶμ τῷ πς', τὸν Γὰδ τῷ πζ', τὸν 'Ασὴρ τῷ πη', τὸν 'Ισάαχαρ τῷ πθ', τὸν Ζαβουλὼν καὶ τὴν Δεῖαν ἐκ Δείας τῷ ζ', τὸν 'Ιωσήφ ἐκ τῆς 'Ραχὴλ τῷ δα'.*

The following imperfect list (derived undoubtedly from our text) of the twelve patriarchs with their ages and the days of the month on which they were born is found in Eppstein's edition of the Midrash Tadshe viii. lines 2-4: "The years of Rebecca were 133, of Rachel 36, of Lea 46. Reuben was born on the 14th of the 9th month and died 125 years old. Simeon was born on the 21st of the 10th month and died at the age of 120 years. Levi was born on the 1st of the 1st month and died at the age of 137. Dan was born on the 6th of the 9th month and

died at the age of 125; Judah on 15th of 3rd and died 119 (?) (text indistinct); Naphtali on the 5th of the 3rd and died aged 133; Gad on the 10th of the 7th and died 125; Issachar on 4th of 5th month and died 122; Asher on 2nd of (corrupt text) and died 123; Joseph on the 1st of the 7th and died 110." It will be observed that more than half the above dates of the month correspond exactly to those in Jubilees, and nearly all the ages to those in Test. XII. Patriarchs (see below). The Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244, 1246, 1248) agrees with the Testament XII. Patriarch. in giving the same ages for Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Gad, Joseph, but disagrees in the cases of Judah, Dan, Asher, Zebulon and Naphtali, to whom it ascribes respectively the following ages: 129, 124, 123, 114, 132.

In the Test. XII. Patriarchs the dates vary also. The facts have been collected by Dodwell and are found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 749-754. See also Rönsch, 327-329. The chief are:—

ninth month, in the first year of the third week. 12. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and Rachel loved. 13. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second
 2124 A.M. son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this week. 14. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the
 2127 A.M. new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. 15. And again Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
 2129 A.M. on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. 16. And on account of all this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: "Give me children"; and Jacob said: "Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?" 17. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto him: "Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will

Reuben was born in the 76th year of Jacob's life, and died aged 125 in the same year as Zebulon aged 114.			
Simeon	„	79th	„ and died aged 120 in the same year as Joseph aged 110.
Levi	„	81st	„ and died aged 137.
Judah	„	84th	„ „ 119.
Dan	„	85th	„ „ 125.
Issachar, Naphtali, Gad	„	86th	„ Issachar died aged 122; Naphtali, 130; Gad, 125.
Zebulon and Asher	„	87th	„ Zebulon died aged 114; Asher, 126.
Dinah	„	88th	„
Joseph	„	89th	„ and died aged 110.
Benjamin	„	101st	„ „ 125.

We must be content with these dates till a critical edition of this work is issued. For a different set of dates see Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21.

11. *He called.* In Gen. xxix. 32 it is "she called." Perhaps we should so read here and in verses 13, 14, 15, 18. In 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 this form is actually found.

15. From the context (cf. verses 15 and 18) it is obvious that the dates in the text are corrupt. Judah was born before Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob. Yet the text sets the birth of Bilhah's son two years before that of Judah. See note on 11-24.

conceive, and bear a son unto me." 18. (And she gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife.) And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a son, and he called 2127 A.M. his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the †third† week. 19. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the second year of the fourth 2130 A.M. week. 20. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she envied (Rachel) and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of the 2131 A.M. fourth week. 21. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the 2133 A.M. †fifth† year of the fourth week. 22. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the 2132 A.M. †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 23. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zebulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year 2134 A.M. of the fourth week. 24. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. 2134 A.M.

18. On the date assigned to Dan see note on 11-24.

20. *Become sterile and did not bear.* Cf. Gen. xxx. 9 = "had left bearing." I here withdraw the emendation in my text.

Envied (Rachel) and she also gave. So MSS but the text is doubtful. My emendation of the text I here withdraw.

Latin reads *et dedit*. Gen. xxx. 9 has "took and gave."

21-22. On the dates see note on 11-24.

24. According to xxxiv. 10 Joseph was sold into Egypt in 2149 at the age of seventeen (xlv. 3). Hence this would require the date in our text to be 2132. This change is required also by xlv. 1. This would require "fourth" instead of "sixth," but see note on 11-24.

25. And in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban? "Give me my wives and sons, and let me go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father."

26. And Laban said to Jacob: "†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages."

27. And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids which were born black and spotted and white, (these) were to be his wages. 28. And all the sheep brought forth spotted and speckled and black, variously marked, and they brought forth again lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were Laban's. 29. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels, and menservants and maidservants. 30. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. Laban pursues after him, 5-6.

Covenant of Jacob and Laban, 7-8. Abodes of the

25-26. Cf. Gen. xxx. 25, 28.

26. †Tarry with me for thy wages.† Latin has: Expecta me in mercede. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has "Appoint (נקח) me thy wages." Possibly "expecta" goes back to נקח and "tarry" to קים, but neither of these takes us back to the right text.

Take thy wages. Latin: dabo tibi mercedem is better.

27. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32.

Those of. So b. a b d = "all the sheep of."

Black and spotted = חום ופלוא. See my text for emendation.

White. This is a false rendering of δάλευκα = נקח (same false rendering in Eth. ver. of Gen. xxx. 39), or else it presupposes λευκόν which is itself wrong. We should render "speckled."

28. Cf. Gen. xxx. 39.

Speckled and black, variously marked. This agrees exactly with LXX of Gen. xxx. 39: ποικίλα καὶ σποδοειδῆ παντὰ and Vulg. varia et diverso colore respersa. The Mass. has no equivalent of the σποδοειδῆ. See my text on this clause.

All that were spotted were Jacob's, etc. Cf. Gen. xxx. 32. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in loc.*) seems to have had this passage in mind: Si quid igitur ex albis et nigris, quae unius coloris sunt, varium natum erit, meum erit; si quid vero unius coloris, tuum.

29. And sheep. So also LXX of Gen. xxx. 43. Mass., Sam., Syr., Vulg. omit.

30. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 1, 2.

Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. Laban departs, 12. Jacob is reconciled to Esau, 13. Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron, 14-17, 19-20. Esau marries again, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19-21, 23, 24, 46, 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 10, 16.)

XXIX. And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they were distant from him a three days' journey. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with him to the land of Canaan. 3. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: "To every place whither thou goest we will go with thee." 4. And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention from 2135 A.M. Laban and told him not. 5. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. 6. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for He appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban spake to Jacob. 7. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made

XXIX. 1. *Laban went to shear his sheep.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 19.

2. *Called Leah, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 4.

3. *Seen everything in a dream* Cf. Gen. xxxi. 10.

Return to his father's house. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 13.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 20, 21.

hid his intention (lit. "heart"). So LXX of Gen. xxxi. 20 ἔκρυψε and Onkelos יכסִי. Mass., Sam., Syr. = ἔκλεψε.

5-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 23, 24.

7. *The fifteenth, i.e. of the 3rd month.*

a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob swore to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. 8. And he made there a heap for a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: "The Heap of Witness," after this heap. 9. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits. 10. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. 11. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very

A Feast. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 46.

8. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 47.

9. *Rephaim.* Eth. Rafâ'êm. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5.

10. It is difficult to understand why our author mentions these seats of the Rephaim unless it is that certain victories of the Maccabees over the Amorites who succeeded the Rephaim are connected with them. To these we shall draw attention as we proceed.

Karnaim and Ashtaroth. Eth. Qarânâ'im and Astarôs. In Gen. xiv. 5 these two appear as one name "Ashtaroth - Karnaim" = "Ashtaroth of the two horns" (?) in the Mass. and Sam. and some MSS of the LXX. On the other hand the Syr. and some MSS of the LXX support our text. Kuenen, Buhl and Siegfried accept this reading. Ashtaroth Karnaim appears simply as Ashtaroth in Deut. i. 4; Josh. ix. 10, xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31 along with Edrei as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan. This Og was of the remnant of the Rephaim, Deut. iii. 11. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 335, 336.

Karnaim. Eth. Qarânâ'im. Cf. Gen. xiv. 5; Amos vi. 13. Karnaim a strong city (1 Macc. v. 26) was captured by Judas and its temple of Atargatis burnt and 25000 people put to the sword (1 Macc. v. 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26). The Rephaim were

succeeded by the Amorites (ver. 11), and of these our text grimly declares that "they have no longer length of life on the earth." Judas must have nearly annihilated them.

Edrei. Eth. 'Adrâ'a. This is the biblical Edrei (אֲדָרַי, 'Eḏraî, 'Eḏraîev), the "Ἀδρα of Ptolemy and the 'Ἀδράα of Eusebius. It was the chief city of Og, king of Bashan, who dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei, Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31. Although this town is not mentioned as attacked by Judas in his eastern campaign (1 Macc. v.) the fact that it is mentioned here as having been destroyed makes it probable that it did suffer at the hands of Judas.

Mîsûr = Μεισώρ = מִישׁוֹר. Cf. Deut. iii. 10, where there is a list of the cities of the plain (מִישׁוֹר) belonging to Og which were captured by Joshua. This may be the same as the valley of Rephaim, Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

Beon = בְּעֹן. Eth. Bêwôn. Cf. Num. xxxii. 3. It is the same as the Baal-meon (see *Encyc. Bib.* and *Bible Dict.* in loc.). It is most probably to be identified with the Maccabean *Baiav* which is described in the *Onomastica* 32. 40; 101. 32 as a πόλις τοῦ Ἀμορραίου. This suits our text exactly. Beon and its inhabitants were utterly destroyed by Judas (1 Macc. v. 4, 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, 1).

malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. 12. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of Gilead. 13. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 14. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he crossed the Jordan, 2136 A.M. and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. 15. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley, 16. And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months,

11. *The Amorites dwelt.* Latin: habitare fecit.

13. *Passed over the Jabbok.* Cf. Gen. xxxii. 22.

He passed over the Jabbok . . . on the eleventh thereof. Latin has transivit Jacob et undecim filii ipsius, probably owing to Gen. xxxii. 22.

He was reconciled. Emended with Latin propitius (est) from takuânânú = "they were reconciled."

14. †*Of the heap*†. So *a.d.* *b c* give fahahat a word of unknown meaning. Latin has salso. Hence Lat. = "from the Salt Sea."

Bethshan = Βαιθσάν (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = בֵּית שֵׁן (i.e. the Bethshan in 1 Sam. xxxi. 10; 1 Kings iv. 12). This town also is associated with Judas, but in a peaceful way: cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29-31, where it appears under a new name Σκυθῶν πόλις (cf. LXX Judg. i. 27, where B adds after Βαιθσάν the gloss ἡ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις). In the Roman war 65 A.D. the heathen inhabitants of this city slaughtered their Jewish fellow-

citizens to the number of 13,000 (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18. 3). Eth. has Bêtasan.

Dothan. Eth. Dôthâ'im = Δωδάειμ (Judith iv. 6, vii. 3, etc.) = דֹּתַן, Gen. xxxvii. 17.

Unto the †forest†. Latin has aggruum which may be corrupt for arborem, seeing that the Eth. has 'oma (*a*) = "forest." *b c d* read simply "unto Akrabbim." We should expect "unto the ascent of Akrabbim" from Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

Akrabbim. Eth. 'Aqrâbêth. This name is found only in the phrase "Ascent of Akrabbim." See preceding note. 'Ακραβάρρηνη, a district in Idumea, where Judas fought against the Edomites, 1 Macc. v. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1.

15-16. Jacob, in contrast to Esau who robs his father (ver. 18), sends presents to him and his mother four times a year. The four times may correspond, as Röscher (p. 140) conjectures, to the four festivals instituted by Noah (see vi. 23 sqq.): the 1st

between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. 17. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone¹ up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 18. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. 19. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains of Hebron, 20. And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

Dinah ravished, 1-3. Slaughter of the Shechemites, 4-6. Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen, 7-17. Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites, 18-23. Dinah recovered, 24. Jacob's reproof, 25-26. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

2143 A.M.

XXX. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth

of the 4th month = "between the times of the months"; the 1st of the 7th = "between ploughing and reaping"; the 1st of the 10th month = "between autumn and the rain (season)"; the 1st of the 1st month = "between winter and spring."

16. *Between autumn and the rain (season).* Latin has: in medio autumni pluviarum. This is the former rain (יורה), which falls from the

middle of October to the middle of December.

Between winter and spring. Latin has: in medio pluviarum veris. Eth. could be rendered "between the rain and spring." This is the latter rain (מלקוש), which falls in March and April.

18. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 6, 8. *Mahalath.* Eth. Mâ'êlêth.

XXX. 1. *Went up to Salem . . . in*

month. 2. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. 3. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt deceitfully with them and beguiled them. 4. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and

peace. This passage is based on Gen. xxxiii. 18 שָׁלַם עָרָב וְיָבֵר. The LXX, Syr., Eusebius, and Jerome here take שָׁלַם as a proper name. The Sam. reads שָׁלַם. Our text combines both interpretations.

To the east. Gen. xxxiii. 18 has "city."

2-3. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connection with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi 6: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi 5 where the angel bids Levi: ποιήσον ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, καὶ γὰρ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκέλευε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἐμῶρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν: and in the Test. Levi 6-7, where Levi says that he saw that "the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem," and still more strongly:

ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου Συμεὼν, ᾧ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ βρομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἱ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίσμα καὶ ἐγύμνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς ἀσχύνην, κ.τ.λ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσται καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apoc.* ii. 1166-1168). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

2. *Child of twelve years.* This agrees with the reckoning in Test. Levi 12. There Levi, who was six years older than Dinah, slew Shechem at the age of eighteen.

3. *His father (ab).* cā "her father." And beguiled them. And Simeon . . . to Shechem. Latin has: Et posuerunt in corde suo Symeon et Lenui exterminare eos.

4. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-27.

slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured their sister Dinah. 5. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. 6. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. 7. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 8. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: they shall stone him with stones. 9. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tables regarding all the seed of Israel: he

5. *Wrought shame in Israel.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 7.

7. This statement does not agree quite with any in the O.T. The burning of the woman with fire, it is true, finds a precedent in Gen. xxxviii. 24, where Judah demands that such a punishment should be executed on Tamar—a punishment at variance with the later law in Lev. xxi. 9. See in note on xli. 17 the distortion of the biblical tradition had recourse to by the Rabbis in order to justify the demand of Judah. It is true that her crime is that of fornication, whereas our text deals merely with the marriage of a Hebrew woman and a Gentile. To

our author, however, such a marriage was illegal and was no better than fornication. In Lev. xxi. 9 it is ordained that a priest's daughter who played the harlot was to be burnt with fire. Our text teaches that to give a daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her to Moloch (cf. ver. 10). Since our author holds the former to be equivalent to the latter, it follows that the man who was guilty of the former offence should justly be visited with the penalty exacted for the latter, and this was, according to Lev. xx. 2, death by stoning; hence our text ordains: "and they shall stone him with stones."

who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with stones. 10. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. 11. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. 12. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: "We shall not give our daughter to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us." 13. And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those who take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and abominable to Israel. 14. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its

10. *Has given of his seed to Moloch.* This interpretation of Lev. xviii. 21: "Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Molech," as being equivalent to giving one's child in marriage to a Gentile, is found in Ps.-Jon. on this verse: "And of thy seed thou shalt not give to lie with a daughter of the Gentiles so as to draw him over to a strange worship." The Latin which gives *alienigenae* instead of Molech is an interpretation of the text but not the text itself. The same idea underlies the statement in Sanh. 82a: R. Chija b. Abija said: "Whoever cohabits with a Gentile woman is to be regarded as though he had made himself the son-in-law of the idol; for it is said: And he cohabited with the daughter of a strange God." In Sanh. ix. 6 it enacts that "the zealous may slay a man taken in fornication with a Gentile or Roman woman (אֲרִמִית)." Nearly the same statement as is quoted above from Ps.-Jon. is found

in Megilla 25a. That such an interpretation was prevalent we see from Megil. iv. 9: האומר מורעך לא תתן להעביר: לא תתן לאעבדא בארמיותא = "Whoever translates 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to pass through the fire to Molech' as 'Thou shalt not give of thy seed to cohabit with a Gentile woman,' bid him be silent." Singer (p. 200 note) says that this Mishna is directed against the Jewish Christians. However this may be, the interpretation was an ancient Jewish one to begin with. It may not be older than the Maccabean age. The circumstances of that time were such as to justify the extremest measures in order to save Judaism from annihilation.

11. *For their sons.* So Latin. *bcd* om., but *a* = *avrol*.

12. *We shall not give, etc.* Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

14-15. The sin of one man, the man who gives any of his seed to the Gentiles

daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles. 15. For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this (man). 16. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. 17. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. 18. And the seed of Levi was chosen for

or takes to wife a Gentile woman will affect the whole community. These verses are based on Lev. xx. 2-4, which deal with the man who gives his seed unto Moloch.

15. (*Upon him*). Added from the Latin.

Hide his eyes. This is the phrase in Lev. xx. 4, עֵינָיו מְסָתִים. The Latin, *praeterierit et despexerit*, seems to be a dittography.

Who commit uncleanness . . . defile the sanctuary of the Lord . . . profane His holy name. Cf. Lev. xx. 3, "Hath given of his seed unto Moloch, to defile my sanctuary . . . to profane my holy name."

(*Then*) *will the whole nation together*, etc. In Lev. xx. 5 only the man's family is involved in his guilt. Our author's enlargement of the area of the guilt is to justify the action of Simeon and Levi in slaying all the Shechemites. Our text (ver. 2) makes the whole people share in the rape of Dinah. In

Test. Levi 6 a very evil account of them is given: οὕτως ἐδίωξαν Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν ξένον ὄντα, καὶ κατεπάτησαν τὰ ποίμνια δογκομένα ὄντα ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ Ἰεβλαὲ τὸν οἰκογενῆ αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἀκλίσαντο. καὶ γε οὕτως ἐποίησαν πάντας τοὺς ξένους, ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἀρπάζοντες τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν.

All the uncleanness (a b and Latin). c d "all this uncleanness."

Profanation of this (man). MSS read "this profanation." I have emended in accordance with the Latin.

16. [*And no consideration of persons*]. Bracketed as a dittography. Latin omits.

The fragrance of sweet savour. Latin: odorabitur odore suavitatis.

18. The ground for Levi's appointment to the priesthood is quite different in xxxii. 3. Levi is there consecrated to the work of the priesthood as the tithe or tenth in Jacob's family. Our author has thus made use of two conflicting traditions. Possibly a third is

the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. 19. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tables blessing and righteousness before the God of all: 20. And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tables as a friend and a righteous man. 21. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. 22. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. 23. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and

to be found in Test. Levi 4, where Levi's appointment seems to be in answer to his prayer: *εισηκούσεν οὖν ὁ ὑψιστος τῆς προσευχῆς σου τοῦ διελεῖν σε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ . . . λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*. Another tradition appears in Shem. rabba 19 to the effect that Levi received the priesthood because it held fast to the rite of circumcision in Egypt when all the other tribes neglected it (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² p. 309). For other reasons cf. Baba bathra 123 a and Bamidbar rabba 7. See Singer (p. 115 note).

19. *God of all.* See note on xxii. 4.

20. *Friend, i.e., of God.* See note on xix. 9.

22. *Transgress.* Latin adds *testamentum*.

Book of life. See note on this expression in my edition of Eth. Enoch xlvii. 3. It may mean here the register of those who enjoy *temporal* blessings, but, in xxxvi. 10, of those who enjoy *eternal*.

Book of those who will be destroyed and. Latin has *libro perditionum*.

vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing. 24. And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. 25. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. 26. And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4, 7, 14). Isaac blesses Levi, 4-17, and Judah, 18-22. Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him, 24. Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah, 26-30. Jacob blesses the God of his fathers, 31-32.

XXXI. And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because He has been with me and brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among

24. Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

And all their wealth. *c d* trans-
pose after "flocks" against *a b* and
Latin.

25. *Reproached them.* Text = ἐλάλησε
πρὸς αὐτούς (so Latin, locutus est ad
illos) = עָלָה עֲלֵיהֶם, which, however, in
this context the Greek translator should
have rendered by ἐλάλησε κατ' αὐτών.
The same wrong choice of the two
possible renderings of this phrase is
found also in the LXX of Jer. vi. 10,

xxv. 2, xxvi. 2, etc. I press the above
correction of the translation because the
context requires על ויברך and not ויברך
לָא as in Gen. xxxiv. 30 in the corre-
sponding passage. With our text "re-
proached them because they had put
the city to the sword," cf. Test. Levi
6: οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπάταξαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν
στόματι βομφάλας. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ,
καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1-2. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

you." 2. And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was [†]on their necks,[†] and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her brother she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of Shechem. 3. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 4. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come, and let me see him before I die." 5. And Jacob went to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca. 6. And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: "Behold Jacob thy son has come"; and she kissed him. 7. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: "In you shall the seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye will prove a blessing on the earth." 8. And Jacob went in to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck

2. *They gave up* = matawêwômû. Emended from (a) *ê masawêwômû* = "they melted," *câ* give a bad emendation masatêwômû = "they tore away."

And which was †on their necks†. Here *kêsâwdihômû* seems corrupt for *êdawihômû* = "their hands," and the whole emended clause "which were in their hands" should be inserted after "strange gods."

Her brother. The MSS corruptly

give 'abûhâ = "her father" instead of 'êhûhâ.

3-4. The same incident is referred to in Test. Levi 9, where it says of Isaac: οὐκ ἦθέλησε πορευθῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς Βεθῆλ.

5. This last meeting of Jacob with Isaac and Rebecca is unknown to later haggada (Beer).

6. *Spirit had revived*. Cf. Gen. xlv. 27 for the phrase.

of Jacob his son, and wept upon his neck. 9. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said: "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 10. And he said unto him that they were truly his sons: "And thou hast truly seen that they are truly my sons." 11. And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them both together. 12. And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. 13. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him: "May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the ages. 14. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, will the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness and holiness, and may He make them great

9. Part of this verse with the subject matter of ver. 5 and 10 sqq. is attributed by Syncellus (i. 202) to Josephus: Ἰωσήπου. τῷ πνύ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπανήλθεν Ἰακώβ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Μεσσοποταμίας. καὶ ἀναβλέψας Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ ἠλόγησε τὸν Λεὼν ὡς ἀρχιερεὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀρχοντα.

10. *Seen that they are truly my sons.* The Latin has: *Vidisti, pater, quoniam filii mei sunt*, and is probably right; for 'amân="truly" may be corrupt for 'abâ="O father."

12. *Spirit of prophecy.* See note on xxv. 14.

13. *Turned to Levi first, and began to bless him.* Similarly in Test. Levi 9 it says of Isaac: καὶ εὐλόγησέ με ὁ πατήρ τοῦ πατρός μου, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὁράσεών μου ὧν εἶδον.

God of all. See note on xxii. 4.

14. *To thy seed †greatness and great glory†.* So c. ḅ "to thy seed the

great greatness of glory." *a* is corrupt but points in the direction of *b*. Latin = *magno intellegere gloriam ejus*. This is decidedly better than the Ethiopic. By a slight change we can arrive at it from *b*. Hence we should probably render: "to thy great seed to understand His glory," or else by another change "to thy seed to have great understanding of His glory."

Serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the presence and as the holy ones. On these two classes, see notes ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Here "the holy ones" appear to form a distinct class, whereas in xv. 27 they are used as a comprehensive term for the two (or "three" according to the Latin) highest orders. Levi is to serve in the sanctuary as the two highest orders of angels serve in the highest heaven. One or two such orders are mentioned in Test. Levi 3 (Armenian vers. A) as λειτουργοῦντες.

May He make them great. Lat. has *sanctificabit*.

unto all the ages. 15. And they will be princes and judges, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They will speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they will judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they will declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16. Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;

Thou wilt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;

15. In this verse a double function is assigned to the descendants of Levi: they are to rule the nation (to be "princes and judges and chiefs") and to be the priests of the nation ("The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths"). This description, combined with other facts peculiar to the Maccabean period, requires us to recognise here the early Maccabean princes. The blessing given to Judah (verses 18, 19) confirms this interpretation.

Princes and judges, and chiefs. The Latin omits "and chiefs." We might compare Test. Levi 8: ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κριταὶ καὶ γραμματεῖς, for the author of that work had either our text or a source common to both before him. In the same chapter of the Test. Levi there is, as Bousset (*Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 165-167) has already pointed out, an undoubted description of Johannes Hyrcanus: Λεβὶ, εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς διαιρεθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου εἰς σημεῖον δόξης κυρίου ἐπερχομένης (so MS P. Arm. = τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου). These three offices to be administered by Levi's descendants are to be signs of the coming of the Messiah. What these are is described in the words that follow: ὁ πρῶτος κληρὸς ἔσται μέγας· ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν οὐ γενήσεται ἕτερος (MS R). ὁ δεύτερος ἔσται ἐν

ιερωσύνῃ (Arm. as Bousset remarks prob. = ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἔσται ἱερατεία): ὁ τρίτος ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα κοινόν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐν (so Arm.: Greek ἐκ) Ἰούδα ἀναστήσεται, καὶ ποιήσει ἱερατεῖαν νέαν. The first refers to Moses, the greatest of Levi's descendants; the second denotes Aaron and the Aaronitic priesthood; the third the Maccabean ruling priests, and in particular to Johannes Hyrcanus, for the subsequent words ἡ δὲ παρουσία αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητῇ, ὡς προφῆτης ὕψιστου point to his prophetic gifts. The three-fold offices of prophet, priest and king were never claimed for any Jewish ruler save this Maccabean prince. See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8.

The blessing of the Lord will be given in their mouths. Cf. Sir. 1. 20: δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίῳ ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ, and Test. Reuben 6: πρὸς τὸν Λεβὶ ἐγγίσατε ἐν ταπεινώσει καρδίας, ἵνα δέξησθε εὐλογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

16. *Joined to the Lord . . . the companion,* etc. In the first, if not in the second, there is a play on the name Levi, as in Gen. xxix. 34 "will my husband be joined to me (לֵוִי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) . . . therefore was his name called Levi" (לֵוִי): cf. also Num. xviii. 2, 4. Instead of "joined to the Lord" the Latin has

Let His table be thine,
 And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;
 And may thy table be full unto all generations,
 And thy food fail not unto all the ages.

17. And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
 And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;
 And blessed be he that blesses thee,
 And cursed be every nation that curses thee.

18. And to Judah he said:
 May the Lord give thee strength and power
 To tread down all that hate thee;
 A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over
 the sons of Jacob;
 May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and
 traverse every land and region.

Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face,

ad decorem Dei, which seems to refer to Levi as derived from לֵוִי, "a crown" or "garland."

Let His table be thine, etc. Cf. Test. Levi 8:

καὶ ἔδεσθε πᾶν ὠραῖον ὀράσει
 καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κυρίου διανεμήσεται
 τὸ σπέρμα σου.

Also Test. Judah 21: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν (Λεὐὶ) ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς (Arm. Gk. σε) ἐξελέξατο Κύριος ἐγγίλξειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐσθίειν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ.

18-19. In the note on ver. 15 we saw that according to the Test. Levi 8 the three great offices held in turn by the descendants of Levi were to be signs of the coming Messiah who was to spring from Levi or from Judah or from Judah and Levi combined (?). Thus according to Levi 18, Reuben 6, the Messiah (a Maccabean priest-king?) was to spring from Levi and to be the eternal High Priest and civil ruler of the nation. During his reign sin was gradually to come to an end just as our author supposes

(xxiii. 26-30), the gates of Paradise to be opened and the saints to eat of the tree of life, as in Eth. Enoch xxv. 5, in an eternal Messianic kingdom on earth, as in Eth. Enoch xc. 29-38. In Judah 24-25 and Dan 5 the Messiah is to spring not from Levi but from Judah, as in Eth. Enoch xc. See Art. "Testaments of the XII Patriarchs" (in *Bible Dict.* vol. iv.). It is very probable that this last view underlies our text. The words "a prince . . . thou and one of thy sons" admit most naturally of this interpretation. If this is right, then the Messiah is to spring from Judah. In a kingdom which attains to realisation only gradually (see notes on i. 29, xxiii. 26-30) and not catastrophically no rôle seems to be assigned to him, as is also the case in Eth. Enoch xc. On the other hand this seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a *temporary* Messianic kingdom (see note on xxiii. 30).

18. *May thy name . . . go forth, etc., i.e. that of the Jewish nation.*

And all the nations will quake
[And all the peoples will quake].

19. In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.
20. And when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of
thy righteousness,
There will be great peace for all the seed of the sons
of the beloved,
And blessed will he be that blesseth thee ;
And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and
accursed."

21. And turning he kissed him again and embraced
him, and rejoiced greatly ; for he had seen the sons of
Jacob his son in very truth. 22. And he went forth
from between his feet and fell down and worshipped
him. And he blessed them. And (Jacob) rested there with
Isaac his father that night, and they eat and drank with
joy. 23. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the
one on his right hand and the other on his left, and it was
counted to him for righteousness. 24. And Jacob told his
father everything during the night, how the Lord had
shown him great mercy, and how He had prospered (him
in) all his ways, and protected him from all evil. 25. And
Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had
not withdrawn His mercy and His righteousness from the
sons of His servant Isaac. 26. And in the morning Jacob
told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to

[*And all the peoples will quake*].
Bracketed as a dittography.

20. *The throne of the honour of thy
righteousness, There will be great peace.*
So *d.* *b c* read "The throne of honour,
Thy righteousness will be great peace."

The beloved, i.e. Abraham, as in ver.
15.

22. *And he blessed them.* This
clause seems out of place here.

26. Jacob asks his father to go with
him to Bethel ; but Isaac is unable to go.

the Lord, and the vision which he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. 27. And Isaac said unto Jacob his son: "I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go, my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. 28. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have seen thee, my son. 29. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off thy vow; for thou wilt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow." 30. And he said to Rebecca: "Go with Jacob thy son"; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 31. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers, Abraham and Isaac. 32. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also, before the God of all"; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tables how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son, 2-3. Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe, 4-9. Law of tithes ordained, 10-15.

27. *am . . . not able to bear the way,* reference to the same event in the Test.
etc. See note on verses 3-4 for the Levi 9.

Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tables his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles, 27-29. Death of Deborah, 30. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel, 33-34. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

XXXII. And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment, yea, he gave tithes of all. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin. And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the

XXXII. 1. According also to Test. Levi 8, Levi had this dream at Bethel, in which seven men appeared unto him and bade him: 'Ἀναστὰς ἐνδύσαι τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἱερατείας, καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνου ἐς ἱερέα κυρίου, σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἕως αἰῶνος. Cf. also Test. Levi 5. In ch. 9 of the same Testament Jacob is said to have had this dream also.

Priest of the Most High God. This was the specific title chosen by the Maccabean priest-kings. Thus they are called sacerdotēs summi Dei in Assumpt. Mos. vi. 1 (where my emendation is wrong): Hyrcanus II. is designated ἀρχιερεὺς θεοῦ ὑψίστου by Joseph. (Ant. xvi. 6. 2), and the Rosh ha-Shanah 18b states that it used to be said: "In such a year of Johanan priest of the Most High God." This title, anciently borne by Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 18), was revived by the new holders of the high priesthood. Our author has Gen. xiv. 18-20 before him; for in the next verse he adopts a clause from Gen. xiv. 20: "And he gave him a tenth of all." We have seen in the note on xxxi. 18-19 that the Messiah was to spring from this family according to Test. Levi 18. The same expectation

seems to be at the base of Ps. cx. 1-4, which constitutes a Messianic hymn addressed to Simeon or Simon the Maccabee. As Bickell has recognised, this Ps. forms an acrostic on the name Simeon. On the frequency of this divine title "Most High" in the second cent. B.C. see note on xxxvi. 16.

Him and his sons for ever. This phrase in the same connection is found in Test. Levi 8, already quoted above.

2. *Jacob rose early in the morning,* etc. So also Test. Levi 9: καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ, though here the offering is said to be through Levi.

3. *Jacob counted his sons from him* (i.e., Benjamin) *upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord,* etc. Our text in some form was before Cedrenus, i. 60: καὶ πάντα ἀποδεκατώσας ἃ ἐκέκτητο, τελευταῖον ὑποβάλλει κλήρῳ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὸν Λεὼν τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερῶι, ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα ἡ' καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀναδεικνυσι, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀστρολογίας (λόγον). And still more clearly before his predecessor Syncellus, i. 200: Ἰακώβ ἀποδεκατώσας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Λεὼν ἡ' ἐτῶν ὄντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξε, ἵ' ὄντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον. And again on p.

Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and seven lambs, and twenty-one kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the altar of sacrifice, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. 5. This was his offering, in consequence of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old, and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. 7. And he and all his sons and his men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had

207: *ἱερωσύνη τῷ Λεὺ ἐδόθη, ὅτι δέκατος ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχάτου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ Θεῷ ἀπεδεκατώθη, καθὼς προσηύξατο Ἰακώβ λέγων, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι δῶς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* And on p. 211: *Λεὺ γ' υἱὸς Δεῖας, ἵ' ἀπὸ Ἰωσήφ ἀναστρέφοντι καὶ γ' ἀπὸ Ρουβήν, ἐγεννήθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἰακώβ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῷ πβ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ, ὡς πρόδηλόν ἐστι. τοῦτον ἀριθμήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὴν ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ Ῥαχὴλ ἵ' ὄντα ἐν ἄρρεσιν, ἀφίερωσε τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν, ὡς Ἰώσηπος, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς λόγον, συναποδεκατώσας αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀναθέμενος τῷ Θεῷ, καθὰ προσηύξατο πορευόμενος εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ὅτι καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μοι δῶς ἀποδεκατώσω αὐτά.* Jacob's dedication of Levi as his tenth son to the priesthood is found also in P. R. Eliez. ch. 37 (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* 36-37), though the method of reckoning is different. Jacob is said to have separated the first four sons born of his four wives and to have counted his remaining sons from Simeon to Benjamin and then to have

begun again with Simeon. Levi thus came to be the tenth.

Filled his hands. The technical expression for appointment to the priesthood. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. This celebration of the feast of tabernacles is peculiar as regards the number of victims. According to the Levitical law on each of the seven days a kid of the goats was offered as a sin-offering, and two rams and fourteen lambs as a burnt-offering. Throughout the seven days seventy bullocks were offered, beginning with thirteen on the first day, the number being diminished daily till on the seventh day seven were offered. See Num. xxix. 12-40; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-44.

Seven lambs. MSS=60, but since Latin has "septem," and the heptadic system prevails, we may assume with Rösensch (p. 147) that the corruption arose from a confusion of ξ' and ζ'.

One. MSS=9. Emended with Latin "unum." Corruption possibly due to confusion of ἐννέα and ένα (Rösensch).

5. Cf. Gen. xxviii. 22.

given him his vow. 8. And he tithed all the clean animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he gave him all the souls of the men. 9. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow : thus he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. 10. And for this reason it is ordained on the heavenly tables as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law there is no limit of days for ever. 11. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. 12. For in its year shall the seed be eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine, and the oil till the days of its season. 13. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded as polluted : let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. 14. And thus let them eat it together in the sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. 15. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall be holy unto the Lord, and shall

8. *The unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi.* I have supplied the negative. In Test. 9 Levi says that Jacob ἀπεδεκάτωσε πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ. Our text would limit this to the clean animals.

Gave him all the souls of the men. Levi was to exercise his priestly functions on behalf of these.

9. *Discharged the priestly office, or "was constituted a priest."*

Tithed again the tithe to the Lord. Cf. Num. xviii. 26.

10. *To eat before the Lord, etc.* Our text holds closely to the law in Deut. xiv. 22 sq. Cf. Tobit i. 7.

11. *The second tithe (so a). bcd "the tithe again."*

15. *The tithes of the oxen and sheep.* These tithes are mentioned in the O.T. only in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. They were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, xiii. 5, 12). Our author took this law of tithing literally, but rabbinic tradition (Rosh ha-Shanah i. 1, quoted by Dillmann on Lev. xxvii. 32) sought to weaken the statement, and made it out to be merely a tithe of the yearly increase, but the context offers not the slightest justification for this step (see Bertholet on Lev. *in loc.*). See our text xiii. 26.

belong to His priests, which they will eat before Him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tables. 16. And on the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children after him. 17. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' 18. And He said unto him again: "I am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I shall increase thee and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings will come forth from thee, and they will judge everywhere where-ever the foot of the sons of men has trodden. 19. And I shall give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven, and they will judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they will get possession of the whole earth and inherit it for ever." 20. And He finished speaking with him, and He went up from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. 21. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read them and knew all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons throughout all the ages. 22. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him: "Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou wilt die

17-18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-11.

19. Our author here forsakes Gen. xxxv. 12 and promises to Israel the possession of the whole earth.

All the earth. Latin has: *universas benedictiones*, and perhaps rightly.

20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 13.

21. *Tablets.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

Knew. Emended with Latin "*cognovit.*" Text = "*read.*" But probably for "*read and knew*" we should read "*read,*" see *Introd.* p. xli sq.

in peace, and in this land thou wilt be buried with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not, for as thou hast seen and read it, thus will it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read." 25. And Jacob said: "Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?" And he said unto him: "I will bring all things to thy remembrance." 26. And he went up from him, and he awoke from his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the words which he had read and seen. 27. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †"Addition,"† for †this day was added,† and the former days he called "The Feast." 28. And thus it was manifested that it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tables: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should celebrate it, and add it to the seven days

Our text seems to be the source of the words ascribed by Origen (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 761) to the Prayer of Joseph: Διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀνέγνω γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν. Cf. xlv. 14.

25. *Will bring all things*, etc. Cf. John xiv. 26, where the Paraclete ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα.

27. †*Addition*†. This eighth day after the seven days of the feast of tabernacles was called תַּעֲרָה (2 Chron. vii. 9), in New Hebrew תַּעֲרָה (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6, Ἀσδρα): likewise the seventh day of the Passover feast. The translation in our text, "addition," points to some corruption in the Greek or Hebrew. The Latin "reten-tatio" is a possible rendering. Rönisch suggests that ἐπίσχεσις stood in the Greek version but was corrupted into ἐπίθεσις in the copy before the Ethiopic translator. Hence we might render: "Called its name 'a keeping back' for on that day he was kept back." Thus our author connects the origin of this

additional feast-day with Jacob's detention an eighth day in Bethel. In the Talmud (Chag. 18a) the idea of "keeping back" (עָצָר) is connected with work. For it states that on the seventh day of the Passover "there must be a keeping back from every kind of work" (חֲשִׁבִּיעִי עָצָר בְּכָל מְלָאכָה). See Levy's *Neuhebr. Lexicon*, iii. 680. Scholars are now generally agreed that the word עָצָר means "sacred assembly."

†*This day was added*†. Here we must suppose ἐπετέθη as corrupt for ἐπισχέθη. See rendering proposed in preceding note. The last clause of the next verse may have given rise to the corruption or wrong correction.

The Feast. This agrees exactly with rabbinic usage. The feast of tabernacles was called תַּח = "the Feast." Cf. Sukk. 42b, 48a. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4. 1) designates it as ἑορτὴ ἀγῶνιστῆ καὶ μεγίστη and Philo ἑορτὴν μεγίστην. 29. A very corrupt verse in the Ethiopic and partially corrupt in the Latin. The restored translation is given below.

of the feast. 29. And its name was called †“Addition,”† because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of the days of the year. 30. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca’s nurse died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this place, “The river of Deborah,” and the oak, “The oak of the mourning of Deborah.” 31. And Rebecca went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. 32. And he went after his mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. 33. And Rachel bare a son in the night, and called his name “Son of my sorrow”; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this jubilee. 34. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

2143 A. M.

†Addition†. See note on ver. 27.

†Because that†. The Ethiopic has a peculiar phrase here ‘esma ‘enta which usually = nam quod, but since an analogous yet rare phrase kama enta = quasi occurs in xliii. 19, xlviii. 13, we may take it that ‘esma ‘enta = propter quod as the Latin version has it. But this gives no right sense. The reason of the name is not given here but in ver. 27. Hence I suggest that propter quod = δὲτι = ἦ, which the Greek translator should have rendered in this context by ὅτε.

It was recorded. Text of MSS ungrammatical, but by a change of vocalisation in one letter we arrive at the above.

Amongst the days = ba ‘elâta emended with Latin “in dies” from basēm’a = “for a testimony” (b d). c has basalâm = “in peace.”

†According to†. Here we expect “in.” Accordingly I suggest that we have here an original corruption of †

into †. Thus the whole verse should run: “And its name was called ‘a keeping back’ (i.e. עצרת), when it was recorded amongst the days of the feast-days in the number of the days of the year.”

30. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8. Deborah dies on the eighth day of the feast of tabernacles.

Of this place. So d, Latin and Vulg. Gen. xxxv. 8 = “of this place.” bc = “of this river.” a omits.

32-34. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. Land of Kabrâtân. This goes back to כְּבֵרֵת הָאָרָץ = “some distance” in Gen. xxxv. 16, but the translation like that of the LXX (Χαβραθα) took כְּבֵרֵת to be a proper name.

34. Rachel died. According to Book of Jashar (Dict. des Apocr. ii. 1172) Rachel was only forty-five years old.

In the land of Ephrath. Gen. xxxv 19, “in the way to Ephrath.”

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22). *Laws regarding incest*, 10-20. *Jacob's children*, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-27.)

XXXIII. And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 2. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid, the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. 3. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in her house. 4. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben. 5. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto

XXXIII. 1. *To the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf*. This name is a compression of מגדל עדר אפרת, "the tower of Eder of Ephrath," Gen. xxxv. 21. See a probably corrupt form of this name in xxxiv. 15. In Test. Reuben 3, where the same scene is recounted, we have ἐν Γαδὲρ πλησίον Ἐφραθᾶ.

And he went to his father Isaac . . . 2. *And Reuben saw Bilhah*, etc. It was during Jacob's absence with Isaac that the outrage was done. So Test. Reuben 3: ἀπόντος γὰρ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, δντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γαδὲρ, πλησίον Ἐφραθᾶ οἴκου Βηθλεέμ, Βάλλα . . . ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι.

2. *Saw Bilhah . . . bathing*, etc. Cf. Test. Reuben 3: εἰ μὴ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ Βάλλαν λουομένην ἐν σκεπινῶ τόπω, κ.τ.λ. A very different account of Reuben's conduct appears in later works: Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22, Shabb. 55 b and the Book of Jashar (op. cit. 1172). In

these passages Reuben's guilt is denied absolutely. These writings state that on Rachel's death Jacob settled in the tent of Bilhah her handmaid, and that Reuben, being indignant on behalf of his mother Leah, went into Bilhah's tent and withdrew his father's couch from it, or threw Bilhah's couch into disorder etc., and that on this ground the Scripture held that he lay with Bilhah. In Shabb. 55 b it is recounted that the earlier teachers, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer, accepted the narrative in Gen. xxxv. 22.

3. *And he hid himself . . . house of Bilhah [at night]*. Latin is preferable: Et introivit nocte occulte ad Ballan. The second "at night" is a dittography.

4. *He lay with her, and she awoke*. Test. Reuben 3 agrees with this: καὶ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν . . . ἔπραξα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καί, καταλιπὼν αὐτὴν κοιμωμένην, ἐξῆλθον.

5. *She was ashamed because of him*. Latin: confusus est ab ea.

him: "I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me." 8. And Jacob was exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his father's skirt. 9. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before the Lord. 10. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tables that a man should not lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have wrought uncleanness on the earth. 11. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. 12. And again, it is written a second time: "Cursed be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame"; and all the holy ones of the Lord said "So be it; so be it." 13. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God. 14. For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he is abominable and unclean. 15. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after

7. Test. Reuben 3 represents Jacob receiving this information from an angel.

Uncovered my skirt. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

9. *Did not approach her again.* So Test. Reuben 3: *μηκέτι ἀψάμενος αὐτῆς.*

10. *They shall surely die.* So Lev. xx. 11.

12. Cf. Deut. xxii. 30.

13. *A punishment of death* = *κρίσις θανάτου* = *ἡνὶ ἡμῶν* (Jer 11. 16).

he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband Jacob, his father, was still alive. 16. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. 17. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. 18. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts. 19. And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before our God. 20. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy nation. 21. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all 2145 A.M. his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. 22. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben,

16. Our author here anticipates the Pauline doctrine: "where there is no law there is no transgression" (Rom. iv. 15).

18. *Sin unto death.* See note on xxi. 22.

Who respects not persons, etc. Cf. v. 16, xl. 8.

20. See note on xvi. 18.

A priestly and royal nation and for

(*His own*) possession = λαὸς ἱερατικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς καὶ περιούσιος (or οὐσίας). Cf. Latin *populus sacerdotalis et regalis et ἱsancificationist*. Here, as in xvi. 18, xix. 18 above, the Latin has mis-translated περιούσιος or οὐσίας as ὅσιος.

Royal nation (a). Literally = "nation of a kingdom." Cf. Latin (*populus*) *regalis*. *c d* = "of a kingdom."

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-27.

Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah ; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin ; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali ; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher ; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 23. And they came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren, 10. Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-36). Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah, 15. Jacob mourns for Joseph, 13, 14, 17. Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived, 18-19. Wives of Jacob's sons, 20-21.

2148 A.M. XXXIV. And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their sheep, and his servants with them, to the pastures of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take their cattle

XXXIV. 1. *His servants (bcd).* a reads "their servants."

2. *Kings of the Amorites assembled . . . to slay them.* This clause is found also in the Midrash Wajjissau in this connection.

Hiding themselves. Latin gives "et sederunt." This seems right ; for there is no hint of their hiding in any of the other versions of this legend.

2-8. In these verses we have a short outline of an ancient legend which, already attested in Gen. xlviii. 22, tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem (see xlv. 14 and notes on p. 201), and is probably

here recast so as to call to mind some of the great victories of the Maccabees (see below). A fuller account of this legend is given in Test. Judah 3-7, and a still fuller in the Midrash Wajjissau which is translated by Gaster in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 1899, pp. 80-87. I have introduced some corrections into this translation from a comparison of the Hebrew MS in the Bodleian, though I have not seen the British Museum MS from which Gaster has drawn occasional phrases. A version almost identical with that of Gaster's has been preserved in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 40 d-41 b, and has been

as a prey. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. 4. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †Arêsa,† and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anîsâkîr,† and all those who dwell in these mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob saying: "Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of

reprinted by Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 1-5. A German translation of part of this Midrash by Jellinek will be found in Rönsch, 390-394. From a comparison of the Hebrew text I have observed that this translation has been carelessly edited in one or more points. Thus on p. 393 line 11 instead of "Pasasi von Aram" we should read "Pasusi, König von Sartan, und Laban, König von Aram." A much enlarged and elaborated form of the legend is given in the Book of Jashar (see the French translation: *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1173-1184). So far as I have compared this translation and the text it is trustworthy. A short but interesting study of this subject has appeared from the pen of Bousset in the *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 202-204, but in some cases he has been misled by the translations, and in others I have been obliged to disagree with his identifications.

A full treatment of this legend belongs rather to the Test. Judah 3-7, where the order of events corresponds closely with that in the Midrash Wajjissau, and in many cases presupposes details which are found in that Midrash. That some form of this legend is very ancient is attested by the fact that it is referred to in Gen. xlviii. 22 where Jacob declares: "I have given to thee one portion (שָׁכָם)

אֶחָד) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." So the Rev. Version following the rendering of Onkelos and the Syriac. But as most scholars are now agreed, שָׁכָם here refers to Shechem. So anciently also the LXX (Σικιμα) and Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22 קרתא דְּשִׁכָּם, the city of Shechem). Thus our verse points to an overthrow of Shechem by all Israel under Jacob's direction, and the fact that Jacob makes it over to one of his sons to the exclusion of the rest can only be justified by the further fact that he was the personal leader of the war and had captured Shechem with his sword and with his bow (see Holzinger's Commentary *in loc.*). Thus this form of the story differs clearly from that in Gen. xxiv. There Jacob has no part whatever in the onslaught on Shechem and is subsequently hostile to its authors (xxiv. 30, xlix. 5-7). But the possibly older account has survived in the present work as in Gen. xlviii. 22. Before we pass on, we might observe that later rabbinic tradition changed "sword and bow" into "merits and good deeds" Targ. Jerus. *in loc.*; Gen. rabba 97 (to these Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 3) adds: Baba bathra 123 a), and in a corrupt text of Onkelos we find "prayer and supplication."

his father, and his own servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. 7. And he

Returning now to the legend in our text, I append here a table in which the proper names in the various authorities are compared.

	Jubilees.	Test. Judah chs. 3-7.	Midrash Wajjissau in Bodleian MS used by Gaster, with the forms in Jellinek's text in brackets when these differ.	Book of Jashar.
1	Tâphû	Ταφουέ	(1) Jashub of Tappuah	(1) Jashub of Tappuah
2	'Arêsa	'Ασοῦρ (MS O, corrupt for 'Ασώρ = Ἀσὺρ)	(4) Pir'athaho of Hazor	(4) Parathon of Hazor (wanting on ii. 1173-1174, but Hazor is mentioned on 1176, 1182)
3	Sêrâgân	'Αρετάν	(5) Susi of Sartan [Pasusi of Sartan]	(5) Sartan
4	Sêlô	Σηλώμ	(3) Shilo [Zerori of Shiloh]	(3) Ihuri (אִיחֻרִי) of Shiloh
5	Gâ'as	Γαάς (MSS OR)	(2) Gaash [Ilon of Gaash]	(2) Ilon (אֵילֹן) of Gaash
6	Bêthôrôn	Αχωρ (? for Χωράν. Χωρα in an Arm. MS)	(6) Laban of Cheldon (so Bodleian Hebrew MS. British Museum MS may have "Horan") [Laban of Aram]	(6) Laban of Bethoron
7	Ma'anîsâkir (corrupt for Shakir-Maani)	Μαχιρ [compressed from Μαχανισακιρ. Cf. form in Jubilees]	(7) Shakir of Machnah [Shebir of Machnaim]	(7) Shakir of Machnaim

3. *Sorrowful*. Latin is "pusill-animes."

4. *King[s] of Tâphû*. In this and all the other cases in this verse we should read "king" and not the plural. The Latin has the singular in all the instances but one. Tâphû is to be identified with Τεφών in 1 Macc. and this with Tappuah in Jos. xv. 53, xvi. 8. It was fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

†'Arêsa.† This is corrupt for Aser (cf. Tobit i. 2, 'Ασήρ) or rather Asor, i.e., Hazor (חזר). See above table. At Hazor, according to 1 Macc. xi. 67 sqq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 7, Jonathan won a great victory over the Syrians. Parathon, who was king of Hazor (see table above), is of the same name as

one of the cities fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 50).

Sêrâgân. In the Hebrew authorities this word appears as Sartan. I can discover nothing further about it.

Sêlô. This is Shiloh. See above table.

Gâ'as. This may be the Gaash (גאש) in the hill-country of Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Jos. xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9).

Bêthôrôn. The city Bethhoron was closely associated with the victories of the Maccabees. Thus Judas defeated Seron, a Syrian general, in the neighbourhood of Bethhoron and put 800 of his troops to the sword (1 Macc. iii. 13-24; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7. 1). A few years later it was the scene of

slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânîsakîr† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. 8. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl and Tamnâtârês. 9. And

Judas's great victory over Nicanor when 9000 Syrians were slain (1 Macc. vii. 39-47; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10. 5). It was subsequently fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 3).

†*Ma'anîsakîr*.† This is corrupt for *Shakirmaani* or Shakir, king of Mahanaim. See table above.

(*And*). Supplied from Latin.

6. *Six thousand (a b d)*. *c* gives 800.

7. According to our text six kings were slain out of the seven. This agrees with Test. Jud. 4.

8-9. With this passage cf. Test. Jud. 7: ἐδεήθησαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου καὶ ἐποίησεν εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοῖς οὐθέν κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐποίησαμεν αὐτοὺς ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ ἀπεδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα ἐγὼ τὴν Θάμνα καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου τὴν 'Ραβαήλ (O, 'Ροβαήλ P). It will be observed that whereas in our text Jacob recovers his herds, in the Test. Jud. the sons of Jacob restore to the Amorites the herds which they had taken from them. This divergence in the tradition is seen also in the Hebrew versions. Thus the Yalkut (in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*) supports our text: "All the Amorites . . . came without arms . . . and besought them to make peace, and they made peace with them and gave them Timna (חַמְנָה) and all the land of Hararya (חֲרִירָה). And then Jacob made peace with them, and they delivered up to the sons of Jacob all the cattle which they had taken from them, (returning) two for each one, and they gave them tribute, and returned (הוֹרִיר) to them all the booty; and Jacob turned to Timnah and Judah to Arbæel (אַרְבָּאֵל)." On the other hand Gaster's translation of the *Chronicles of*

Jerahmeel (pp. 83-84) supports the view in the Test. Jud.: "All the Amorites came without arms and promised to keep peace (and friendship, and they gave unto Jacob Timna and the whole land of Hararya). Then Jacob made peace with them, and the sons of Jacob restored them all the sheep they had captured from them, and in returning them gave double, two for one. And Jacob built Timnah (חֲמִנָה) and Judah built Zabel (זַבְאֵל)." This translation does not represent the Bodleian MS, which (fol. 30 a) runs as follows: "All the Amorites . . . came to them without arms and surrendered themselves to be their hirelings, and they made peace with them, and they gave a present and they restored to them Jacob (sic, here I think the ungrammatical יַעֲקֹב לָחֵם is corrupt rather for יַעֲקֹב לְבִנֵי: hence "restored to the sons of Jacob" as in the Yalkut and our text; or for יַעֲקֹב בְּנֵי: hence "the sons of Jacob restored" as we presume is the text of the British Museum MS occasionally used by Gaster) all the cattle which they had captured twice over, and they restored (reading חֲוִירִי instead of the intransitive חוֹרִי) the booty and Jacob built (sic) and also Judah (sic)." The Bodleian MS mentions no towns. The view represented in the Test. Jud. has thus no indubitable support in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. It has such, however, in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1184): Les fils de Jacob . . . leur rendirent tous les hommes qu'ils avaient emmenés prisonniers . . . et autre butin."

8. *Rôbêl*. This is most probably corrupt for Arbæel, cf. Yalkut (אַרְבָּאֵל) quoted in preceding note. Thus Arbæel appears in Test. Jud. 7 as 'Ραβαήλ (O) or 'Ροβαήλ (P), 'Ραμβαήλ (CR); זַבְאֵל apparently in the Brit. Museum

he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of 2149 A.M. this week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem, and he found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief of the cooks, priest of the city of 'Ēlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month. 13. And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: "An evil beast hath devoured Joseph"; and all the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with him all that day. 14. And his sons and

MS used by Gaster but not in the Bodleian (see preceding note). We have here most probably the stronghold Arbela mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2, where it is said that Bacchides and Alcimus "went by the way that leadeth to Galgala and encamped against Mesaloth which is in Arbela (Μεσσαλώθ την ἐν Ἀρβήλοις) and got possession of it" (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 11. 1). Here it seems best with Tuch and Wellhausen to read Μεσαδωθ = מצודות = "strongholds" (see *Enyc. Bib.* i. 291). Arbela is mentioned in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1178) as one of the cities put to the sword by the sons of Jacob in this war.

Tamnâtârêš = Θαμναθάρες = תַּמְנַתְאֲרֵשׁ, Judg. ii. 9. This appears as Timna (תַּמְנָה) in the Jalkut; see note on verses 8-9. It was one of the cities fortified by Bacchides against Jonathan (1 Macc. ix. 50).

9. *Made peace with them, and they*

became his servants. The Hebrew for these words is preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel; see note on verses 8-9.

10-11. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17, 20, 28, 36.

10. *Dothan.* Eth. Dôthâ'im.

11. *Eunuch of Pharaoh.* Here "Eunuch" goes back to מְרִיס. But this word need not be taken literally but simply as meaning "a court official"; cf. 2 Kings xxv. 19.

Chief of the cooks. Cf. xxxix. 2, 14, xl. 10. Our text and the LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36 wrongly take שֶׁרֵפְתָּהִים as = ἀρχιμάγειρος. It should be "captain of the body-guard."

City of 'Ēlêw = Ἐλίου πόλεως (cf. LXX Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlii. 20), i.e. On (אֵן).

12-14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-35.

13. [*Mourned with him that day, and they*]. Bracketed as a dittography.

his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted for his son. 15. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. 16. And they buried Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. 17. And he mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said "Let me go down to the grave mourning for my son." 18. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. 19. And this day has been ordained that they should grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. 20. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the

15. *Qafrâtêf* (b and so almost a). c reads *Qarâttîfâ*. These may be corruptions of "Eder of Ephrath," which was at one time the abode of Jacob. See xxxiii. 1 note. Or more probably *Qafrâtêf* is the same as *Kabrâtân* in xxxii. 32, where see note.

Dinah. According to Gen. rabba 80 Dinah married Simeon; according to Ps.-Philo, *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51, she married Job.

17. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

18-19. Cf. Lev. xvi. 29, 34, 15, 16.—Haggada knows nothing of this institution of the Day of Atonement. See notes on v. 17-18 which possibly belong to this context.

18. *Afflict themselves*. This phrase (= *ταπεινούν την ψυχήν*, *שָׁפַךְ נֶפֶשׁ*) is a technical designation for fasting: see Lev. xvi. 31, xxiii. 27, 32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12. So used in the Mishna: *נִפְיָהּ* = "fasting."

20. For the list of these names in the Syriac Fragment see my text, p. 183. A different list is given in the Book of Jashar, *Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1198.

'*Adâ*. So Syriac Fragment. Book of Jashar gives Elioram, daughter of Havi, a Canaanitess.

'*Adîbâ'a*, a Canaanite. This is referred to in Gen. xli. 10; Exod. vi. 15 where Shaul a son of Levi is said to

name of Levi's wife is Mēlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zebulon's wife, †Nî'imân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Ēglâ; and the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. 21. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his brothers.

be the son of a Canaanitish woman. Since such a marriage was an abomination for which death was the penalty, cf. xxx. 7 sqq., it is to our author's credit that he has not sought to explain away the statement in Gen. xlv. 10. 'Adibâa may be corrupt; for the Syriac Fragment has **ܐܕܒܐ**, and Book of Jashar "Buna." Later rabbinic tradition sought to explain this away. According to Gen. rabba 80 Shaul the son of the Canaanitish woman is said to be the son of Dinah, who was deflowered by Shechem. The Rabbis say that Simeon married her (so also Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1198). Another evasion is found in Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlv. 10 where Shaul is said to be "Zimri who did the work of the Canaanites in Shittim"; and in Sanh. 82b, Shaul is said to have been called "the son of a Canaanite" "because he had committed an act like that of Canaan" (see Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 51 sq.).

Mēlkâ. So also in Test. Levi 11 and Syriac Fragment. Bk. of Jashar "Adina," daughter of Jobab, son of Joctan, son of Heber.

Terah. Eth. Tārân.

Betasû'êl. Cf. xli. 7. So also in Test. Jud. 8, 13, 16 where the name appears variously as Βησσαῖος, Βησουέ, Βισσουέ. These are all derived from בִּתְּיָה, "the daughter of Shua": see Gen. xxxviii. 2 and Syriac Fragment **ܒܬܝܐ**. The Bk. of Jashar gives her personal name as "Habith." She is here and in Test. Jud. 13, 16

and Bk. of Jashar called a Canaanitess. Here again the rabbinic tradition felt this an offence. Accordingly in some of the MSS of Onkelos on Gen. xxxviii. 2 **אִשׁ כּוֹנֵן** is rendered by **מֵרְכָּא**, "a merchant." Similarly in Ps.-Jon. on the same passage: also in Gen. rabba 85; Pessach. 50a. Simeon ben Lakish (circ. 200-250 A.D.) gave this interpretation on the ground of Hosea xii. 7, where he evidently took **כּוֹנֵן** in the sense of "trader," "merchant."

Hêzaqâ. Syr. Frag. **ܫܪܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Arida."

†Nî'imân†. Since *abd* omit this name it may be the invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Furthermore the Syr. Frag. gives **ܐܕܢܝ**, "Adni." Bk. of Jashar, "Marusa."

'Ēglâ. Syr. Frag. **ܥܓܠܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Aphlalath."

Rasû'û. Syr. Frag. **ܪܫܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Merimath."

Mâka. Syr. Frag. **ܡܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Usith," a daughter of Emoram, son of Hus, son of Nachor." The Syr. Frag. makes Ma'aka also to be of the house of Nachor.

'Îjônâ. Syr. Frag. **ܝܝܢܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, first "Edon" and next "Hadora."

Asenath. Eth 'Asnêth. Cf. Gen. xli. 45.

'Îjasaka. Syr. Frag. **ܝܝܫܐܟܐ**. Bk. of Jashar, "Mahalia" and "Harbath."

Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1-8. Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, 9-12. Isaac consents, 13-17. Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob, 18-26. Death of Rebecca, 27.

XXXV. And in the first year of the first week of the 2157 A.M. forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the days of his life. 2. And Jacob said: "I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them. 3. And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in my heart, that I always think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this thing which thou hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! 5. Tell me, mother, what perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me." 6. And she said unto him: "My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright deeds. And yet I shall tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to live." 7. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment

XXXV. 1. *His life.* MSS add a 5. *Mercy.* Latin has "Misericordia gloss "of Jacob." Domini."

had touched her all the days of her life. 8. And Jacob said unto her: "Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death." 9. And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: "One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth, and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 10. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off all thy possessions from before thy face. 11. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. 12. And he is bitter against thee because thou didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually at home honouring us." 13. And Isaac said unto her: "I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the first-born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil

9. This passage is referred to Josephus by Syncellus, i. 202 at the beginning of the section, and to Jubilees at the close, but he attributes it wrongly to Josephus. ἡ 'Ρεβέκκα ἤτησε τὸν

'Ισαὰκ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ παραινέσαι τῷ 'Ησαὺ καὶ τῷ 'Ιακώβ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. καὶ παραινέσας αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐπαναστῇ τῷ 'Ιακώβ ὁ 'Ησαὺ, εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται.

deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and there is no righteousness around him]. 14. And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. 15. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. 16. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his hands.] 17. And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau." 18. And Rebecca sent and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said unto him: "I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do thou promise to do it, my son." 19. And he said: "I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition." 20. And she said unto him: "I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be a blessing

13. [*And there is no righteousness around him.*] This is either a corruption or, as I take it, a dittography.

16. [*For he will descend into his hands.*] Here *jēwarēd* = "will descend" is corrupt for *jēwadēq* = "will fall." I have bracketed the clause as a gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. *Guardian of Jacob.* We seem here to have the idea of men's guardian angels. In that case it is the earliest distinct reference to this belief. Cf. Mt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Heb. i. 14; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.” 21. And he said: “I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father’s mother, as thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. 22. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 23. And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me the lower. 24. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only.” And he sware unto her regarding all this matter. 25. And she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. 26. And he said: “I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.” 27. And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father’s mother.

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. Divides his

22. *From thy womb.* So *d* probably by an emendation. *bc* = “from thy mercy” which goes back to a mis-translation of *רחם* (Littmann).

possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him, 21-24.

XXXVI. And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called 2162 A.M.
his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said unto them: "My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house where my fathers are. 2. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which I digged for myself, there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. 5. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. 6. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and how I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted out unto all the generations for ever. 7. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater

XXXVI. 1. According to ver. 18 Isaac was 180 years old when he died. Hence he must have been born in 1982 and not in 1980 as in xvi. 12-13. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 22) sets Isaac's age down at 185.

The eternal house. Eccles. xii. 5, בית עולם.

4. *Your brothers.* Seems a gloss.

6. *How* = wakama emended from waemze = "and after this."

Plant of righteousness. See notes on i. 16, xvi. 26, xxi. 24.

than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will fear Him and worship Him. 8. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. 9. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth every one that devises evil against his brother will fall into his hand, and will be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed will be destroyed from under heaven. 10. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he will depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. 11. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which will come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother.” 12. And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. 13. And he said, “This larger portion I shall give to the first-born.” 14. And Esau said, “I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be given, and I have not a single word to say

10. *Turbulence and execration and indignation and anger.* It can hardly be accidental that we find in Eth. En. xxxix. 2 “Books of wrath and anger and books of disquiet and turbulence.”

Book of life. See note on xxx. 22. In contrast with the Book of life we have here also a Book of destruction.

13. *I shall give* (=’ēhûb). MSS give “I shall make great” (’a’ābi).

regarding it, for it is his." 15. And Isaac said, "May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. 16. May the Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever." 17. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and slept. 18. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons Esau and Jacob buried him. 19. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and dwelt there. 20. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible commands according as

16. *Most High God.* This divine title is frequently used by our author: see vii. 36, xii. 19, xiii. 29, xvi. 18, 27, xx. 9, xxi. 20, 22, 23, 25, xxii. 6, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27 (twice), xxv. 3, 11, 21, xxvii. 15, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16, xxxix. 6. Cf. Test. Levi 3, 4, 5 (twice), 8, 18. This frequency is characteristic of many writings of the second cent. B.C. Thus it is found forty-eight times in Sirach and thirteen times in Daniel. On the other hand it appears only once in the Prophets, six times in the Pentateuch (and of these four times in Gen. xiv. in connection with Melchizedek), in the Pss. twenty-one times. From the close of the second cent. B.C. till after the Christian era it is rare. Thus in Eth. En. xci.-civ. (before 79 B.C.) it is found nine times, four in xxxvii.-lxx., three times in Tobit, once in Judith, not at all in the Pss. of Solomon, twice in Wisdom, twice in the Assumption of Moses, nine times in the N.T. It is frequent in the Apocalypse of Baruch—twenty-three times, and also in 4 Ezra.

From the above facts it follows that this title of God was most used in the second cent. B.C., though rare in some characteristic writings of that century such as Eth. Enoch i.-xxxvi. (twice), lxxii.-xc. (once) and 1 Macc. (not at all). After a long period of comparative disuse it again became prominent in writings of the latter half of the first cent. A.D.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

Slept the eternal sleep. Cf. Test. Dan 7; Issach. 7: ὑπνωσεν ὑπνον αἰώνιον. Test. Jos. 20: ἐκοιμήθη ὑπνον αἰώνιον.

20. *According to the visible commands according as He had divided.* (a d). b c almost wholly wanting. Latin: "secundum praecepta visibilia secundum divisionem temporum generationum ejus." The commands here referred to were made visible to Jacob on the seven tablets which the angel showed him in a vision: see xxxii. 21. All the history of Jacob's descendants was recorded here in their successive time divisions (so also Rösensch, p. 152).

He had divided the days of his generations. 21. And Leah
 2167 A.M. his wife died in the fourth year of the second week of the
 forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near
 Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his
 father's mother. 22. And all her sons and his sons came to
 mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him
 regarding her, for he was lamenting her. 23. For he loved
 her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was
 perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob,
 and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear
 from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peace-
 able and upright and honourable. 24. And he remembered
 all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he
 lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his
 heart and with all his soul.

*Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and
 constrain him to war with the assistance of 4000
 mercenaries against Jacob, 1-15. Jacob reproves Esau,
 16-17. Esau's reply, 18-25.*

2162 A.M. XXXVII. And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob
 and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given

XXXVII.-XXXVIII. These two chapters give in some respects the fullest and in others an abridged form of an ancient legend dealing with the wars between the sons of Jacob and Esau. The legend is elsewhere found in the Test. Judah 9, in the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132 (reprinted in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5 and on pp. 180-182 of my Ethiopic text of Jubilees), in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, pp. 80-87, and in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1236-1238). Our text preserves the oldest form. The same form though very abbreviated is presupposed in the Test. Judah 9: yet even this preserves some details on the capture of Adora (?) not found in any of the others. The

account in the Jalkut and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes very close to—at times reproduces verbally—that in our text, though most probably with later amplifications. They show however a deliberate attempt to adapt the legend to later times. Thus Adora or Adoraim (אֲדוֹרַיִם) is changed to Arodin (in the Jalkut) or Merodin (אֲמֶרֶדִין, *a.l.* מֶרֶדִין in the Chron. of Jerah.) where the M of the latter is due to a change of א into מ. This Arodin is Herodion built by Herod the Great. Gaster has recognised this fact, and on this ground would assign the origin of the legend to the beginning of the Christian era. He takes this legendary story to be a piece of contemporary

the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. 2. And they strove with their father, saying: "Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?" 3. And he said unto them "Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 4. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways corrupt." 5. And they said unto him, "We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy him and his sons. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt to thee also. 6. And now

history, "a reflex of the Jewish wars against Herod" (Chron. of Jerah. p. lxxxiii.). But the legend does not owe its origin to the times of Herod, but only this adaptation of it. We should observe also that there were two places called Herodion: the first was a fort built near Jerusalem by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xv. 9. 6, xvii. 8. 3), in which he was subsequently buried. The second was likewise a fort built in Idumea on the confines of Arabia (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 10). Our legend underwent a further adaptation—indeed a complete recasting—in the Book of Jashar, which has here borrowed its materials from the Midrash in Josippon (see Bousset, *Z. f. NTliche Wissensch.* 1900, p. 205). The events recorded are placed after Jacob's death, and the story presupposes the struggles of the Idumean house of Antipater, by which through the help of Rome—here called "Aeneas"—it rose to royal power.

Thus the oldest form of the legend is found in our text and in the Test. Jud. 9; the next oldest in the Jalkut and Chronicles of Jerahmeel, and the latest in the Book of Jashar.

XXXVII. 1. *On the day that Isaac . . . died.* The sons of Esau began their opposition to Jacob from the day of Isaac's death (2162 A.M.), but did not attack him till Leah died (2167 A.M.). See ver. 14.

2-8, 11-12. The favourable view presented here of Esau contrasts strongly with that found in Jalkut Shimeoni reprinted in Jellinek's *Be ha-Midrash*, iii. 3-5, or in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xxxvii. 1. According to our text, it was not Esau but Esau's sons that were primarily to blame for this fraternal war.

5. *Him and his sons.* Emended with Latin from "his sons" (*bcd*). Text of *a*, though ungrammatical, = "him his sons."

hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong." 7. And their father said unto them, "Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him." 8. And they said unto him, "This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words." 9. And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand fighting men, chosen men of war. 10. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the Kittim mighty men of war. 11. And they said unto their father: "Go forth with them and lead them, else we shall slay thee." 12. And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. 13. But afterward he remem-

6-10. To these verses the only equivalent in the Test. Jud. 9 is: ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῖν Ἡσαῦ, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἐν λαῷ βαρεῖ καὶ ισχυρῷ. For that in the Jalkut see note on verses 14-16.

6. The names of the nations mentioned here recur in verses 9-10.

9-10. Against nearly all the nations mentioned here the Maccabees waged war. With Aram or Syria they were at strife for many decades. The Ammonites were invaded by Judas (1 Macc. v. 6-8; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1), and discomfited in several battles. On the complete subjugation of the Philistines by the Maccabees see notes on xxiv. 28-32. As regards the Edomites Judas fought against them and smote them with great slaughter, 1 Macc. v.

3, 65. The Syrians invaded Judah frequently by Edom (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61), and were helped by the latter against Israel. Later John Hyrcanus wrested Adora and Mareshah out of the hands of the Edomites and compelled the whole nation to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xv. 7. 9; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6). As regards the Kittim, see note on xxiv. 28. These may have been Greek auxiliaries of the Syrians.

9. 'Adûrâm. He was an Aramaean. See xxxviii. 3.

10. Horites. Eth. Kôrêwôs (*b*): α Kôrêws. See *Encyc. Bib.*, in loc.

Kittim. The Eth. might also be rendered "Hittites" but the context is against this meaning in xxiv. 28.

bered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. 14. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. 15. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, "Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons"; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. 16. But Jacob would not believe until they came very near to the tower. 17. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, "Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy

14-16. These verses are found in the Jalkut Shimeoni (Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 3): "It was the year when Leah died and Jacob and his sons were mourning and some of their children had come to comfort them. Then came (Esau) against them with a mighty army of warriors, clad in armour of iron and brass, all armed with shields and bows and swords, 4000 warriors. All these surrounded the tower, in which were Jacob and his sons together with their servants, children and all their possessions; for they had all assembled there in order to comfort Jacob in his mourning for Leah. They were sitting there peacefully, and none imagined that any force had come upon them to contend

with them, nor did they discover it till the whole host had encompassed the tower, in which there were only Jacob and his sons and their 200 servants." Similarly in Chron. of Jerahmeel, p. 84.

17-25. Jacob's attempt to bring about peace and Esau's reply are not referred to in the Test. Jud. 9, but are shortly summarised in the Yalkut: "When therefore Jacob saw that Esau had emboldened himself to come against him in war in order to put those in the tower to the sword, and that he shot arrows against them, Jacob stood upon the wall of the tower, and spake to Esau his brother words of peace, friendship and brotherliness (אָהוּבָה); but Esau would have none of them." Similarly in Chron. of Jerah. p. 84.

father wast thou condemned." 18. And then Esau answered and said unto him, "Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. 19. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. 20. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles
as soft as wool,

Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head
like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,

Then shall I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.

[And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.]

21. And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not
to devour or do them violence,

And if their hearts are towards them for good,

Then there will be peace in my heart towards thee.

22. And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes
peace with him,

19. *The tie of brotherhood.* See this phrase in quotation in preceding note.

20. *Boar.* In Eth. Enoch lxxxix. 12, 42 sq., 49, 66, the boar is used to denote Esau symbolically. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. There is no doubt some such reference here.

Make . . . soft. Instead of 'adkama we should expect jâdakēm.

It can cause horns to sprout forth. So a. b c d = "horns were to sprout forth."

[And if (ab omit) the breasts separated themselves from their mother; for thou hast not been a brother to me.] So a b c d save that for "thou hast not been a brother to me" d reads "I shall not be a brother to thee." These words do not belong to their present context; for the tristichs before and after deal with ideas taken only from the animal

world. Nor do the words as they stand form a distich. If they belong to the text at all, they are corrupt. It is not improbable that originally they followed immediately after ver. 19^a "thou dost hate me and my children for ever." By transposing the two clauses and by reading 'ēm'ama tafalta atbû'ē 'ēm'ēmômû instead of wa'ēma tafalta 'atbât 'ēm'ēmôn, we should get the following excellent sense in ver. 19 "And thou dost hate me and my children for ever; for thou hast not been a brother to me since the twins were separated from their mother. Yea, there is no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee."

22. *And makes peace with him.* This clause which c d omit is added by a b after "ploughs with him." With the

And if he is bound under one yoke with him and
ploughs with him,
Then shall I make peace with thee.

23. And when the raven becomes white as the râzâ,
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee."

24. And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed
towards him with his heart, and with all his soul as to
slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild
boar which comes upon the spear that pierces and kills
it, and recoils not from it; 25. Then he spake to his
own and to his servants that they should attack him and
all his companions.

*War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and over-
throw of his forces, 1-10. Edom reduced to servitude
"till this day," 11-14. Kings of Edom, 15-24. (Cf.
Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.)*

XXXVIII. And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his
father, and said unto him: "Bend thy bow, father, and
send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and
slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the power, for
we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and
he is like thee: let us give him (this) honour." 2. Then

guidance of the parallelism I have
transposed it as above.

23. *The râzâ.* The râzâ is according to
Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48,
"a large white bird which eats grass-
hoppers." Dillmann both in his
Lexicon and translation took râzâ here
to mean "rice," oryza, but there can
be no doubt that the above is right.
Littmann has followed my rendering.

XXXVIII. 1. In the Jalkut (cf. the
Chron. of Jerah. p. 84) Judah says:
"How long wilt thou extend words of
peace and friendship to him, when he
comes against us as an enemy with his
mail-clad troops to slay us."

Let us give him = Nahabô (so read in
my text instead of Nehabô). Emended
with Lat. "demus illi" from bahabêna
= "with us."

fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the Philistines. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and he returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. 11. And they sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. 12. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. 13. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. 14. And the sons of Edom have

8. *Horites*. Cf. xxxvii. 10. These are not mentioned in the Yalkut.

Four . . . sons of Esau. These are mentioned in the Jalkut translated in note on 4-9.

'Adûrâm. This appears as Adurin in the Latin, and as 'Ανοσιράμ in Test. Jud. 9 (see note on verses 4-9): in the Yalkut as אַדוּרִיָּם which is corrupt for אַדוּרִיָּם. This is the 'Αδωρα mentioned by Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4, along with Μάρσα (cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20). These two towns of Edom were captured by Hyrcanus and forced to accept circumcision (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 6).

10-13. The Jalkut is as follows: "In the morning the sons of Jacob armed themselves and pursued after them and pressed them hard on Mount Seir on the ascent of Aqrabbim. The

sons of Esau and all the men who had fled with them came forth and fell down before the sons of Jacob and laid themselves prostrate and prayed them till they made peace with them. And they made them servants to tribute." Similarly in the Chron. of Jerah. p. 87. Test. Jud. 9 gives certain details of the siege of Adora, and then proceeds: τότε αἰτοῦσιν ἡμᾶς τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· καὶ γενόμενοι βουλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐδέξαμεθα αὐτοὺς ὑποφόρους. καὶ ἦσαν δίδοντες ἡμῖν πυροῦ κόρους διακοσίους . . . ἕως ὅτε κατήλθομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

10. *Pressed hard upon*. Here 'amadabêwômû (which is to be retained and not emended as in my text) = צָרָא אִוָּחַם in the Jalkut.

11-13. The substance of these verses is found in Test. Jud. 9; see on 10-13 above.

not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on them until this day. 15. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. 16. And Bâlâq, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. 17. And Bâlâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. 18. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead. 19. And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead, and the name of his city was Avith. 20. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned in his stead. 21. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. 22. And Saul died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 23. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabîth, the daughter of Mâṭarat, the daughter of Mêtâbêdzâ'ab. 24. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. His purity and imprisonment, 5-13. Imprisonment of Pharaoh's chief

14. *Until this day.* Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by Hyrcanus.

15-24. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-39.

16. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 32. *Bâlâq* = LXX, *Bálak* = בלע.

Danâbâ. Cf. LXX, *Δεννάβα* = דנהבה.

17. *Zârâ.* Cf. LXX, *Zâpa*, Mass. ירה.

Bôsêr. Cf. LXX, *Βοσόρρα*; Mass. בֶּסֶר.

18. 'Asâm; LXX, 'Aσóμ; Mass. אֶסָם.

19. 'Adât; LXX, 'Aδád; Mass. אֶדָת.

Barad; LXX, *Bapád*; Mass. בָּרַד.

Avith. Eth. 'Aw'ûth; LXX, Γεθ-θάμ; Mass. אַוִּית.

20. *Salman;* LXX, *Σαλαμά*; Mass. שַׁלְמָה.

'Amâsêqâ; LXX, *Μασέκκα*; Mass. אֶמְסַקָּה.

21. *Râ'abôth;* LXX, *Ῥωβóθ*; Mass. רַחֲבֹת.

22. *Ba'êlûnân;* LXX, *Βαλαεννών*; Mass. בַּעַל עֲנַן.

23. *Achbor.* Eth. 'Akbur.

'Adâth; LXX, 'Απάθ; Mass. אֶדָת.

Maitabîth; LXX, *Μεταβεθή*; Mass. מַיְטַבִּית.

Mâṭarat; LXX, *Ματραιθ*; Mass. מַטָּרַת.

Mêtâbêdzâ'ab; LXX, *Μετσοός*; Mass. מַיְטַבִּי אֶב.

butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2, xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23, xl. 1-5, 21-23, xli. 1.)

XXXIX. And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. 3. And he set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 4. And the Egyptian committed everything into the hands of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord prospered him in all that he did. 5. And Joseph's appearance was comely and very beautiful was his appearance, and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him, and besought him to lie with her. 6. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham, that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. 7. And Joseph remembered these words and refused to lie with her. 8. And she besought him for a year, but he refused and would not listen. 9. But she embraced him and held him

XXXIX. 2. *Seventeen years old.* Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.

The chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. *Into the hands* = ba'êdêhû. Emended with Latin "in manus ejus" in ver. 13 and Gen. xxxix. 6. From qêdmêhû = "before him."

5. *Joseph's appearance*, etc. There seems to be a dittography.

6. See xx. 4, xxv. 7 where Abraham's commands on this question are mentioned. According to Sotah 36b the image of Jacob appeared at the window and exhorted Joseph to be faithful (Hershon, Genesis with a Talm. Commentary, p. 428).

fast in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. 10. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door." 11. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned 12. And he was there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper. 13. And he committed all things into his hands, and the chief of the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the Lord perfected it. 14. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt, was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler and against the chief baker, and he put them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. 15. And the chief of the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. 16. And they both dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. 17. And

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. *Into his hands.* Emended as in ver. 4 from MSS = "before him." Latin "in manus ejus."

Knew of nothing that was with him. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 8.

Perfected it. Latin "dirigebat ea," i.e. "made it to prosper."

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-23.

14. *Two years.* Cf. Gen. xli. 1.

Chief cook. See note on xxxiv. 11.

as he interpreted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. 18. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. Elevation and marriage of Joseph, 5-13. (Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 sqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-46, 49.)

XL. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them). 2. And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. 3. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: "Seven years will come (in which there will be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land. 4. And now let Pharaoh appoint overseers in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will

XL. 1. Cf. Gen. xli. 1, 5, 7, 8.

2. Cf. Gen. xli. 9, 14 sqq.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 25, 29, 30.

4. Cf. Gen. xli. 34, 36.

Overseers. We should here have *makuannéna*. Cf. Latin "speculatores,"

and Gen. xli. 34; whereas *cd* read *mēkjāda*, "threshing floors" or "barns." Perhaps פקרים = "overseers" was corrupted into פקרון. Rönsch thinks there was a corruption of *στράρχας* into *στραρχίας*.

not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.” 5. And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: “We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him.” 6. And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. 7. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him “’Ēl ’Ēl wa ’Abirēr, and he placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him: “Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.” 8. And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king’s business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land. 9. And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those

5. Cf. Gen. xli. 38, 39.

6-7. Cf. Gen. xli. 40-43.

7. (A herald) *proclaimed*. The Latin has *praeconaverunt*; but the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Aquila, Symm. of Gen. xli. 43 have the singular. Hence I withdraw my change of the Ethiopic sing. into the plural.

Before him. MSS add against Latin “and he said.”

’Ēl ’Ēl wa ’Abirēr = אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים אַבִּירֵר, “God, God, the mighty one of God.” The Latin has *Ellel et Habirel*. This is a peculiar expansion of the term אַבִּירֵר in Gen. xli. 43. With the interpretation of that term we have no concern here, but only with its derivation in our text. The phrase “mighty one

of God” clearly designates Joseph, and, indeed seems to be a technical designation for a great magician. Thus in Acts viii. 10 Simon Magus is called ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη (or ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). In a late Christian version of a Jewish legend “The History of Asenath” (see Fabricius, *Codex Pseud.* V.T. i. 774-784, ii. 85-102; Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889), Joseph is twice (chaps. iii. and xv.) spoken of as “the mighty one of God,” Ἰωσήφ ὁ δυνατὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. The following apt parallel may be cited from *Pap. Par. Bibl. nat.* 1275 sqq.; Wessely, i. 76 (quoted by Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 336 note), ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπὸ κυρίου Θεοῦ τεταγμένην.

who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein). 10. And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântîphâns, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. 11. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. 12. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt produced abundantly, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. Judah's incest with Tamar, 8-18. Tamar bears twins, 21-22. Judah forgiven because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not

9. *No Satan.* Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. *Sēphântîphâns, i.e. סֵפְחַנְתִּיפְחַנְס.* Gen. xli. 45. Latin Judaism took this to mean "revealer of secrets." Cf. Onk., גַּבְרָא דְסֵפְחַנְתִּיפְחַנְס. So also Ps.-Jon. and Syr.

Daughter of Potiphar . . . priest of Heliopolis. Our author has rightly identified פֹּטִיפָר in Gen. xxxvii. 36 and פֹּטִיפָר in xli. 45 as being one and the same name. He takes the two to refer to one and the same person: cf. xxxiv. 11, xliv. 24. Origen (*Cat. Niceph.* i. 463) refers to our book for this view: οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς εἶναι τοῦτον (i.e. Φουρτιφάρ) παρὰ τὸν ὠνησάμενον τὸν Ἰωσήφ· οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὑπελήφασιν Ἑβραῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκρύφου λέγουσι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ δεσπότην καὶ πενθερὸν γενέσθαι. Later Judaism was offended with this marriage of Joseph to the daughter of a heathen priest.

Hence Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 represents Asenath as a daughter of Dinah by Shechem, who was reared by the wife of Potiphar, prince of Tanais. Singer (p. 119 note) states that this view is put forward in the Pirke R. Eliezer 36, 38. This was likewise the view of the Jewish legend which formed the basis of the Greek romance of "History of Asenath" (see Hasting's *Bible Dict.* i. 162; and Issaverden's translation of *Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, 1901, Venice, pp. 94-96). In these later writings, however, Asenath is no longer represented as a Jewess by birth except in a single passage in the Syriac version.

11. Cf. Gen. xli. 46. I have bracketed the words "when he stood before Pharaoh" as a dittography.

13. Cf. Gen. xli. 49.

been consummated, 23-28. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-26, 29-30, xli. 13.)

2165 A.M.

XLI. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. 2. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. 3. And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: "Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew him. 6. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law: "Remain in thy father's house as a widow till Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 8. And

2168 A.M.

XLI. 1. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6.

From the daughters of Aram named Tamar. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: Θάμαρ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας, θυγατέρα Ἀράμ.

2-3. Cf. Test. Jud. 10: καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀνέειλεν αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ νυκτὶ, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν κατὰ πανουργίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλην ἔχειν τέκνα ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

3. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 7.

4. *Onan.* Eth. 'Aunân.

Perform the duty of a husband's brother = תָּשָׂא עָלָיָהּ. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 8; Deut. xxv. 5.

5-7. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 9-12: also Test. Jud. 10: ἐπεγάμβρευσα αὐτῇ τὸν Αἰνᾶν. καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πανηγίᾳ οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν . . . διέφθειρε δὲ τὸ σπέρμα

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ γε οὗτος ἐν πανηγίᾳ ἀπέθανεν. ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλῶμ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ μου Βῆσσουε οὐκ ἀφήκεν· ἐπονηρεύετο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν Θάμαρ, ὅτι οὐκ ᾔην ἐκ θυγατέρων Χαναάν, ὡς αὐτή.

7. *Bêdsû'êl*, i.e. Bathshua. See xxxiv. 20.

Shelah. Eth. Sêlôm.

8-12. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-18: also Test. Jud. 12: Θάμαρ, μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἀκούσασα, ὅτι ἀνέρχεται κείραι τὰ πρόβατα, κοσμηθεῖσα κόσμῳ νυμφικῷ, ἐκάθισεν ἀπέναντι τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν πύλιν . . . μεθυσθεῖς . . . οὐκ ἐπέγνω αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου . . . καὶ ἐκκλίνας πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον, Εἰσέλθω πρὸς σε. καὶ εἰπέ μοι,

in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at 2169 A.M. Timnah. And they told Tamar: "Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep." 9. And she put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the way to Timnah. 10. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot, and he said unto her: "Let me come in unto thee"; and she said unto him: "Come in," and he went in. 11. And she said unto him: "Give me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I have nothing in my hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand." 12. And she said unto him: "Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire"; and he said unto her: "I will send unto thee a kid of the goats"; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and she conceived by him. 13. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. 14. And Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not; and he asked the people of the place, saying: "Where is the harlot who was here?" And they said unto him: "There is no harlot here with us." 15. And he returned and informed him, and said unto him that he had not found her; "I

τί μοι δώσεις; καὶ ἔδωκε αὐτῇ τὴν ῥάβδον μου καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ συνελθὼν (sic) αὐτῇ συνείληφεν.

8. *Timnah.* Eth. Tēmnâtâ.

9. *Adorned herself.* So Test. Jud. 12: κοσμηθεῖσα; also LXX, Syr. and Onk. on Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. = "covered herself."

11. *Ring . . . necklace . . . staff.* Corresponding to these Test. Jud. 12 has διάδημα, ζώνη, ῥάβδος, and the LXX of Gen. xxxviii. 18: δακτύλιον, ὀρμίσκος, ῥάβδος. διάδημα supposes דָּהָא as in Ps. xlv. 10, or דָּהָא as in Esther i. 11, ii. 17, instead of דָּהָא. לְהָא, to which

necklace, ζώνη and ὀρμίσκος go back, is said to be the cord round the neck, on which the signet ring was hung.

12. *And he went in unto her.* Restored from Latin "et coitit (MS fuit) cum ea." Cf. Test. Jud. 12: συνελθὼν αὐτῇ συνείληφεν, and Gen. xxxviii. 18.

14-19. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 20-26.

14. Cf. Test. Jud. 12: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔλεγον, μὴ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πόλει τελισκομένην (= a woman being initiated into rites of Aphrodite, i.e. πῦρ).

15. *And said unto him that he had not found her.* I have here transposed the text of *cd* (*ab*) which read "that he had not found her and he said

asked the people of the place, and they said unto me: 'There is no harlot here.'" And he said: "Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision." 16. And when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah, saying: "Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom." 17. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers: "Bring her forth, and let them burn her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel." 18. And it came to pass when they brought her forth to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying: "Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child." 19. And Judah acknowledged, and said: "Tamar is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not." 20. And for that reason she was not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. 21. And after that

2170 A.M. she bare two sons, Perez and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. 22. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. 23. And Judah acknowledged that the deed which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray; for he had uncovered the skirt of his son,

unto him." Perhaps we should read with Latin "dicens: Non inveni eam," "And said: I have not found her," as I have done in my text.

Let her keep = *tēšā'ē*, emended with Latin "habeat" from *tanšā'ē*, "arise."

17. *Let them burn her.* See note on xxx. 7. In Ber. rabba 85 R. Meir of the second cent. states that Tamar was a daughter of the priest-king Shem. Hence her destruction by fire came under the law in Lev. xxi. 9, which prescribes this penalty for the sin of fornication in the daughter of a priest.

In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxviii. 6, 24 Tamar is called a priest's daughter. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* p. 52) cites Baba Mezia 87 a to the same effect.

20. *Did not again approach her.* Cf. Test. Jud. 12: οὐδὲ ἤγγισα αὐτῇ ἔτι ἕως θανάτου μου.

21. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 29, 30. *Perez . . . Zerah.* Eth. Phârês . . . Zârâ.

22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.

23. *Had gone astray; for he had uncovered, etc.* Cf. Test. Jud. 14: ἐποίησα ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἀνέκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας νύων μου.

and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression. 24. And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented, and did not again commit it. 25. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God; and every one that acts thus, every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is uncleanness and pollution upon them; with fire let them burn them. 26. And do thou command the children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness; with fire let them burn the man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment from Israel. 27. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. 28. For in singleness of eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham, which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

24-25^a. Cf. Test. Jud. 19: *εἰ μὴ ἡ μετάνοια σαρκὸς μου, καὶ ἡ ταπεινώσις ψυχῆς μου, καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἀτεκνὸς εἶχον ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ οἰκτίρων καὶ ἐλεήμων συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.*

25. Received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from his ignorance. Something seems wrong. We ought to have the idea expressed in Test. Jud. 19: *συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα.* Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13: *ἡλεήτην, ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα.* *ὁ* transposes "because he turned" after "ignorance." If we transpose the clauses "because . . . sin" and "from his ignorance," we should have an excellent sense: "received forgiveness because of his ignor-

ance and because he turned from his sin"; for the Eth. preposition *emna* means either "from" or "because of."

Every one who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire. So Lev. xx. 14 enacts.

26. *Lies with his daughter-in-law.* Cf. Lev. xviii. 15, xx. 12. The punishment ordained for this offence is death in the passages referred to in Leviticus; but the form of death is not specified. On the other hand, death by fire is the penalty presupposed for this offence in Gen. xxxviii. 24. Our text (xx. 4) enjoins this penalty for adultery or fornication.

28. *According to the judgment of Abraham.* See note on xx. 4.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. Joseph recognises them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned, 5-12. Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph, 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56, xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-25, 29-30, 34-38, xliii. 1-2, 4-5, 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34, xliv. 1-2.)

2171 A.M. XLII. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. 2. And the earth grew barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the seven years of plenty and had preserved it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those that went (there). 5. And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto them and questioned them, and he said unto them; "Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to explore the approaches of the land?" And he put them in

XLII. 2. *In . . . Egypt there was food.* Cf. Gen. xli. 54.

3. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

4. (*Now . . . Canaan*). Supplied from Latin. Cf. Gen. xli. 56.

And Jacob heard, etc. Cf. Gen. xlii. 1, 2, 4.

(*The ten sons of Jacob*), (*in Egypt*). Supplied from Latin, "in Aegypto decem filii Jacob."

5-7. Cf. Gen. xlii. 7-9, 17, 24, 25.

5. *Spake unto them and questioned them.* Lat. has "appellavit eos dure." Cf. Gen. xlii. 7.

ward. 6. And after that he set them free again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. 7. And he filled their sacks with corn, and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. 8. And he commanded them to bring their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. 9. And they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. 10. And Jacob said: "Me have ye bereaved of my children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your wickedness come." 11. And he said: "My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick; for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me. If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death." 12. For he saw that their money had been returned to every man in his sack, and for this reason he feared to send him. 13. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses and preserving it for the years of famine. 14. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during the first year of their famine. 15. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and that there was no deliverance,

6. *And after that . . . Simeon alone.*
 Latin differs: "Et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum."

8. Cf. Gen. xlii. 20, 13.

9. Cf. Gen. xlii. 29, 30, 34.

10-12. Cf. Gen. 36, 38.

12. Cf. Gen. xlii. 35.

13. Cf. Gen. xliii. 1.

15-16. Cf. Gen. xliii. 2, 4, 5.

he said unto his sons: "Go again, and procure food for us that we die not." 16. And they said: "We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go." 17. And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine. 18. And Reuben said: "Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two sons instead of his soul." And he said unto him: "He will not go with thee." 19. And Judah came near and said: "Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before thee all the days of my life." 20.

2172 A.M. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had) presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. 21. And they went and stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: "Is this your youngest brother?" And they said unto him: "It is he." And he said: "The Lord be gracious to thee, my son!" 22. And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their hands. 23. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was seven times larger than that of any of theirs. 24. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with their asses. 25. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, and return their money unto them into

18. Cf. Gen. xlii. 37, 38.

19. Cf. Gen. xliii. 8, 9.

20. Cf. Gen. xliii. 11.

21. Cf. Gen. xliii. 15, 29.

22. Cf. Gen. xliii. 23, 26.

23-24. Cf. Gen. xliii. 34.

25. Cf. Gen. xliv. 1, 2.

their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.’

Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. Judah's supplication, 11-13. Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and sends them back for his father, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-28, 30-32, xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-21, 23, 25-28.)

XLIII. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. 2. And early in the morning they departed, and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his house: "Pursue them, run and seize them, saying, 'For good ye have requited me with evil; you have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment." 3. And he ran after them and said unto them according to these words. 4. And they said unto him: "God forbid that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of Canaan. 5. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our asses will serve thy lord." 6. And he said unto them: "Not so, the man with whom I find, him only shall I take as a servant, and ye will return in peace

XLIII. 2. Cf. Gen. xlv. 3, 4.
3-6. Cf. Gen. xlv. 6-10.

5. *Thy lord.* Gen. xlv. 9, "my lord."

unto your house." 7. And as he was searching in their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's sack. 8. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. 9. And Joseph said unto them: "Ye have done evil." And they said: "What shall we say and how shall we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the servants of our lord, and our asses also." 10. And Joseph said unto them: "I too fear the Lord; as for you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me." 11. And Judah said: "O my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with the life of this (lad). 12. And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. 13. Now rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever."

7-8. Cf. Gen. xliv. 12-14.

9-10. Cf. Gen. xliv. 5 ("ye have done evil"), 16, 17. Observe that Gen. xliv. 16 specifies "we and he also in whose hand the cup is found."

10. *Delights in his cup*. So MSS. A change of *jâsta'adēm* into *jâstaqasēm* = "divines" would bring our text into

line with Gen. xliv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.

11-13. Cf. Gen. xliv. 18, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32.

11. *I pray thee*. Here the MSS = "on me," a mistranslation of *יָצָא = δέομαι* in Gen. xliv. 18.

14. And Joseph saw that they were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them that he was Joseph. 15. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. 16. And he said unto them: "Weep not over me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see. 17. For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. 18. Come down quickly ye and your households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. 19. And tell my father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh, and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. 20. And tell my father of all my glory, and all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me." 21. And by the command of the mouth of Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured raiment and silver. 22. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn, and he sent them away. 23. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt. 24. And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the wagons which

14-15. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1, 2.

15. *Conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue.* So Ber. rabba 93. According to Gen. Joseph caused all the Egyptians to go out.

16. Cf. Gen. xlv. 5, 9, 12.

Ye see that it is . . . Benjamin see.
Emended: see my text p. 157. MSS =

"Let me see him before I die and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while seeing."

17. Cf. Gen. xlv. 6.

18. Cf. Gen. xlv. 18, 20, 5, 7.

19. Cf. Gen. xlv. 8.

20. Cf. Gen. xlv. 13.

21-24. Cf. Gen. xlv. 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: "It is enough for me if Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die."

Jacob celebrates the feast of first-fruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10. Names of his descendants, 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28.)

XLIV. And Israel took his journey from †Haran† from his house on the new moon of the third month, and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac on the seventh of this month. 2. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. 3. And while he was thinking of sending word to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. 4. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed (in the land), for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and birds, and also over man. 5. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, "Jacob, Jacob"; and he said, "Here am I." And He said unto him: "I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation.

24. *It is enough for me.* The Ethiopic is here a literal equivalent of the LXX, Gen. xlv. 28, μέγα μοι ἔστιν, which is in its turn a literal rendering of חַיִּי לִּי. LXX, Syr., Vulg. (sufficit mihi) and Onkelos presuppose the חַיִּי, which however the Mass. and Sam. omit.

XLIV. 1. †Haran†. This seems corrupt for "Hebron." Hebron is pre-

supposed by the statement in ver. 6 and also by Gen. xxxvii. 14.

4. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1. Jacob celebrates the feast of weeks on the 15th of the third month. He has a vision on the next day (see next verse).

(*In the land*). Bracketed as a ditto-graphy.

5-8. Cf. Gen. xlv. 2-6.

6. I shall go down with thee, and I shall bring thee up (again), and in this land wilt thou be buried, and Joseph will put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt." 7. And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon wagons. 8. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he went to the land of Egypt. 9. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they might be near him. 10. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all (of them) and also for the cattle. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father. 12. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his sons: Enoch, and

6. *Bring thee up.* Cf. xxvii. 24, xxxii. 23. Here wasada has the very unusual meaning of ἀναβιβάζειν or ἀν-ἀγειν. Cf. Asc. Isaiah ix. 1. Usually it means "conduct," "lead."

9. Cf. Gen. xlv. 28.

To examine = אָרָא. So practically Onkelos. Mass. alone has אָרָא, while Sam., LXX, Syr. = אָרָא.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlv. 26 and of Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4. On the other hand in Gen. xlv. 15, 18, 21, 25 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlv. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	{	Reuben and 4 sons	5
		Simeon and 6 sons	7
		Levi and 3 sons	4
		Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons	4
		Issachar and 4 sons	5
		Zebulon and 3 sons	4
			29
Zilpah's "	{	Gad and 7 sons	8
		Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter	6
		14	
Rachel's "	{	Joseph and 2 sons	3
		Benjamin and 10 sons	11
		14	
Bilhah's "	{	Dan and 5 sons	6
		Naphtali and 5 sons	6
		12	

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlv. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS give 70 but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. 13. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son of the Zephathite woman—seven. 14. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. 15. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. 16. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. 17. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. 18. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons, whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their father being with them, they were thirty. 19. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore unto Jacob, Gad and Asher. 20. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: the sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri) and Areli, and Arodi—eight. 21. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, their one sister—six. 22. All

12. For Pallu, Hezron and Carmi, Eth. has Phâllûs, 'Ēsrôm, Karâmî.

13. For Jemuel, etc., Eth. has 'Ījâmû'êl, 'Ījâmên, 'Awôt (LXX, "Αωδ), 'Ījakim, Sâ'ar (LXX, Σάαρ), Saul.

Zephathite woman. So *b* Siphnâwât. *a c d* corrupt. Zephathite, as Rönisch p. 499 has recognised, is an adjective formed from Zephath, צפח, a Canaanitish city destroyed by Judah and Simeon: Judg. i. 17. Hence reading of *b* should be restored in my text.

14. For Gershon and Kohath Eth. has Gêdsôn and Qa'âth.

15. For Perez and Zerah Eth. has Phârês and Zârâ.

16. *Phûa.* So Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., Onk. in Gen. xlv. 13 (and also

in 1 Chron. vii. 1, פואה), whereas Mass. has פנה.

Jâsûb. So Sam. of Gen. xlv. 13, ישוב, LXX, 'Ιασούβ. Mass., Vulg., Onk. has יוב.

Shimron. Eth. Sâmarôm.

17. Eth. has Sa'ar, 'Ēlôn, 'Ījâl'êl.

19. *Whom she bore unto Jacob.* So *c d.* *a b* = "who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher."

20. Eth. has Sêphjôn, 'Agâtî, Sûn, 'Asibôn, 'Arôlî, 'Arôdî.

(*And Eri*). This was originally in the Ethiopic as the number "eight" shows.

21. Eth. has 'Ījômânâ, Jêšû'a, Barija, Sârâ.

(*And Ishvi*). This was originally in the Eth. as the number "six" shows.

the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. 23. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. 24. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. 25. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. 26. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 27. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 28. And these are the names of their sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sâmôn, and Asûdî, and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. 29. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there was left to Dan Hushim alone. 30. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. 31. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 33. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. 34. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel

25. Eth. has Bâlâ, Bakar, 'Asbîl, Gô'ada, Nê'emên, 'Abdêjô, Râ'ê, San-ânîm, 'Aphîm, Gâ'am. In this list the sixth, eighth and tenth names are corrupted almost beyond the possibility of recognition.

28. In Gen. xlvî. 23 only one son of Dan is mentioned, though the Mass. reads "sons of Dan." Cf. for similar case Gen. xxxvi. 25. On the other hand Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlvî. 23 states that the sons of Dan were beyond numbering. Beer (*Buch d. Jub.* 37)

quotes Baba bathra 143 b to the same effect.

Hushim. Eth. has Kûsîm.

30. Eth. has 'Îjâsî'êl, Gâhânî, 'Ësa'ar, Sallûm. Here our text agrees with 1 Chron. vii. 13 rather than with Gen. xlvî. 24 in the case of the names Jahziel and Shallum. Gen. xlvî. 24 has here Jahzeel and Shillel.

And 'Îv. Not in Gen. xlvî. 24.

33. *Before Joseph* (bc). a gives "before they married"; d "who did not marry."

buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh, 8-12. Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron, 13-15. His books given to Levi, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30, xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 1. 13.)

2172 A.M. XLV. And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. 3. And Israel said unto Joseph: "Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from His servant Jacob. 4. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be His name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling in the land of Goshen and in Rameses

XLV. 1-4^a. Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30.

4. *It is enough for me.* Here the Ethiopic = μέγα μοι ἔστιν. See note on xliii. 24.

Whilst †I am† yet alive. In Gen. xlv. 30: "that thou art yet alive";

but our text is probably corrupt; for by changing ana into anta it is brought into line with Gen. xlv. 30.

6. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11.

Rameses. Eth. has Râmêsêna = רמסס.

and all the region round about, which he ruled over before Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt; and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 7. And Joseph nourished his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the seven years of the famine. 8. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. 9. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. 10. For in the seven years of the famine it had not overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. 11. And this was the first year of the 2178 A.M. fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 12. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for the land of Egypt

One hundred and thirty years. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 12.

As much as sufficed them. By reading bakama 'akâlômû instead of bakama yaaklômû we should get (as in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 12) κατὰ σῶμα αὐτῶν, "according to their persons." The Hebrew is כַּפֵּי שֶׁמֶץ = "according to their families."

8. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 13, 19, 20.

For Pharaoh. Emended with Latin "Pharaoni" from text of b = "and Pharaoh."

9. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

(The land). Restored from Latin. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 23.

10. *Not.* Restored from Latin.

It bore = farajat, which, since Latin has collegerunt, may be corrupt for 'ararû = "collegerunt" or "harvested."

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

Of the corn of the harvest = 'em'êkl zazar'û. So the text should be translated. Zar'û is not a verb here, but zar'e (which here = seges, γεννήματα) with the suffix, which goes back to medr = "land" in verse 10, just as αὐτῆς after τὰ γεννήματα in LXX of Gen. xlvii. 24 goes back to γῆν in the preceding sentence. But since the Latin has de omnibus quidquid natum est, it is possible that for em'êkl zazar'û we should read 'emkuellû zar'û = "of all the harvest." I hereby withdraw the emendation in my text.

until this day. 13. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died
 2188 A.M. in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 14. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in the land. 15. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in the land of Hebron. 16. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. Death of Joseph, 3-5. War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron, 6-11. Egypt oppresses Israel, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. i. 22, 25-26; Exod. i. 6-14.)

XLVI. And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and
 2242 A.M. multiplied exceedingly, ten weeks of years, all the days

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28.

This date conflicts with that in xix. 13, i.e. 2046, which according to the present passage should be 2041. See also note on xxv. 4.

14. *Told them everything*, etc. Gen. xlix. 1. See xxxii. 21, note.

Blessed them. Cf. Gen. xlix.

Two portions. Gen. xlviii. 22. See notes p. 201.

15. Cf. Gen. i. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. According to our author these traditions were in the keeping of Levi's descendants. It is reasonable to infer that our author who gave them to the world was a descendant of Levi, and probably a priest.

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

Ten weeks of years. Hence Joseph

of the life of Joseph. 2. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. 3. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. 4. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. 5. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. 6. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for

died seventy years after the arrival of Jacob in Egypt, *i.e.* in 2242. See note on xxviii. 24. Joseph had already been ruling ten years before Jacob's coming (ver. 3).

2. *No Satan*, etc. See xxiii. 29.

3. *Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old.* Cf. Gen. 1. 22, 26; Exod. i. 6.

5-6^a. Cf. Gen. 1. 25.

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the Test. Sim. 8 and Test. Benj. 12 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. 8: *ἔθθησαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσθήπτων, τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Ἀλγυπτίων κρυφῇ*; and Benj. 12: *καὶ ἔθθησαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν (O. Arm. = ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χαναανίται).* If we could trust the date in Test. Gad 8 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: *ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθθησαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών*, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (Test. Gad, 1 (MS O); Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt

(see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. 12 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. 19; Zeb. 10; Dan 7) add that "afterwards" (*ὕστερον*) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: "His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (*κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον*) and buried them in Hebron." St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii. and *Bible Dictionary*, i. 662, 665. But our text,

he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of 'Êrmôn. 7. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. 9. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave in the mountain. 10. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and

which emphasises the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III. when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend, having many details in common with that in Josephus, is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate, and still more grotesque, edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-1253). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest

to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. 'Êrmôn, i.e. Heroôpolis which stood close to the Desert on the canal of Rameses. I cannot identify Mâkamârôn.

8. *All his brethren died after him.* This statement holds even if we accept the birth-dates in our text (see p. 171 note), and the ages assigned to the twelve sons of Jacob by the Test. XII. Patriarchs (see p. 172 note).

9. The date 2263 is not late enough to allow of all the sons of Jacob being dead if we accept the ages assigned to them by the Test. XII. Patriarchs. Thus Benjamin was born in the year 2143 and as he lived 125 years (see note on p. 172) the date of his death would be 2268.

10. According to Beer there is no other mention of this stay of Amram in Canaan. To Josephus (see *Ant.* ii. 8. 2), however, some such legend may have been known.

2242 A.M.

2263 A.M.

Amram thy father remained with them. 11. And the king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. 12. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them; and he said unto the people of Egypt: 13. "Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves unto our enemies and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Raamses, and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. 15. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. 16. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 5-9.

Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian), 10-12. (Cf.

Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-15.)

XLVII. And in the seventh week, in the seventh 2303 A. M. year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth 2330 A. M.

Amram, i.e. אַמְרָם, Eth. 'Abrâm. This last form is found in Philo, De Cong. Erud. Gratia 24: also in one of the LXX MSS in Num. xxvi. 59.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10, 11, 14, 12.

13. *Their hearts . . . are towards the land of Canaan.* Rönsch (p. 162) compares for the dictio Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. *Strong cities.* This is קְסָמֹת, עָרֵי

usually rendered "treasure" or "store cities," but the LXX renders πόλεις ὀχυραί here and in 2 Chron. viii. 4.

Pithom and Raamses. Eth. Pîthô waRamèsê. Latin adds "et Oon" probably through influence of LXX of Exod. i. 11.

And all the fortifications. Latin omits.

week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. 2. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. 3. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. 4. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. 5. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her maidens to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. 6. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. 7. And thy sister said unto her: "Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?" And she said (unto her): "Go." 8. And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. 9. And

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. *For seven months.* Cedrenus (i. 85) takes our text as stating that the casting of the children of the Hebrews went on for "ten" months, i.e., until Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses: ὅτι ἐν τῇ λεπτῇ γενέσει κείται μόνους δέκα μῆνας ριφῆναι τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἕως οὗ ἀνελήφθη Μωϋσῆς ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης· διὰ τοῦτο δέκα πληγαὶ ἐδόθησαν ἐν δέκα μηνσι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τέλος ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ κατεστράφησαν ὃν τρόπον τὰ βρέφη τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπέπνιγον, χιλιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπονιγέντων ἰσχυρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνθ' ἐνὸς βρέφους Ἰσραηλικοῦ.

5-8. Cf. Exod. ii. 5-9.

5. *Tharmuth.* Syr. This appears in Syr. Frag. as ܬܪܡܘܬ, as *Θέρμουθις* in Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5, 7: 10. 2: similarly in Syncellus i. 227: *Θερμουθις ἡ καὶ Φαρίη*. This *Φαρία* is identified with Isis; see Tertullian *Ad. Nat.* ii. 8; *Apol.* 16. For other references consult Rösensch, p. 265.

Her maidens. Eth. = "her Hebrew maids," a mistranslation as Dillmann recognised of *ἄβραις*. The plural is also found in the Syr. of Exod. ii. 5, but our Latin version and the Mass., Sam., LXX, and Vulg. = *ἄβραι*.

7. (*Unto her*). Restored from the Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. *Jochebed.* Cf. Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the daughter of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. 10. And thou wast three weeks 2351-2372 A.M. of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. 11. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: "Why dost thou smite thy brother?" 12. And he was angry and indignant, and said: "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. The ten plagues, 4-11. Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea, 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15, iv. 19, 24, vii. sqq.)

XLVIII. And in the sixth year of the third week of 2372 A.M. the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell in the land of Midian five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the

9. Cf. Exod. ii. 10.

Daughter. Eth. and Lat. = "house." Here the Greek translator misread בית as בית.

Amram. Eth. Ēbrân.

Taught thee writing. This is not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 83 (Mangey); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23, 153.

Three weeks. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 6) says that when he was only three years old God gave him θαυμαστὸν . . .

τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας . . . ἀνδρόσημα. According to the Chron. of Jerahmeel, xlv. 12 and the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1265) Moses was only eighteen when he slew the Egyptian.

10-12. Cf. Exod. ii. 11-14.

XLVIII. 1. *In the land of Midian.* Restored from Latin "in terram Med(ian)," and Exod. ii. 15.

One year. Corrupt for three "years."

Return into Egypt. Cf. Exod. iv. 19.

2410 A. M. second year in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. 5. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the

2. We have in this verse another instance (cf. also ver. 17) where our author has followed the example of the Chronicler in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where he assigns to Satan the action that in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 is ascribed to Yahweh. The LXX and the Targums replace the divine name by the phrase "an angel of the Lord." We have already called attention to an earlier instance as xvii. 16, where our author has similarly got rid of the offence in the Biblical text. On Mastêmâ see note on x. 8.

On the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place. Here the Eth. is hopelessly corrupt. *c* which represents an attempt at emendation—"on the feast of tabernacles." *abd* are unintelligible. It is best therefore to follow the Latin: "in via in qua praeteristi eum in refectone," and Exod. iv. 24, בדרך במלון ויפגשו.

3. Our author here quite explains

away the true meaning of the incident in Exod. iv. 24 sqq. This is followed more faithfully by the Ps.-Jon. *in loc.* and the Chron. of Jerah. xlvii. 1, 2 where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son. It is explained, however, that it was owing to Jethro that the child had not been circumcised.

5. We have here an enumeration of the ten plagues of Egypt.

And (by the death) of the first-born. I have supplied the words in brackets. They are wanting both in the Eth. and Lat. The Lat. has simply "primitivorum" and so *ab. cd* have prefixed "and." Hence there was a lacuna here in the Greek version. Only for the concluding words "and burned them with fire" we might connect the clause with the words that follow and merely supply a preposition: "(on) the first-born." But the genitive "primitivorum" is also against this.

Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. 8. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. 9. And the prince of the Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. 10. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. 11. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. 12. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince of the Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt. 13. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his

6. *Declare* = *tenger*, emended from *tegbar* = "shouldst do." The context shows that this is the idea required. In xlix. 22 the same corruption is found in three out of the four MSS.

8. Cf. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. *Prince of the Mastêmâ*. So *ab* here and in verses 12 and 15 and in xviii. 9, 12.

11. Cf. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

Was not put to shame because he took courage. The Eth. = "was not put to

shame until he took courage." As this fails to give a good sense, I omitted the negative in my text. Thus we should have: "was put to shame until he took courage." Cf. xviii. 12. I now think that the corruption lies in the "until he took courage" = עָרַאֲשֶׁר *erâšer*, where I take עָרַאֲשֶׁר to be corrupt for עַל־אֲשֶׁר = "because." Instead of *hajjala* = "took courage," *a* reads *halaja* = "took thought."

13. I have omitted "between thee and" which *ab* insert before "between

hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. 14. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. 15. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince of the Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. 16. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. 17. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. 18. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the

the Egyptians." *cd* add these words after "between the Egyptians."

14. Another example of the *lex talionis* mentioned in iv. 31 (see note), and enunciated in Wisd. xi. 16: δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται. See also Gen. ix. 6; Exod. xviii. 11; Wisd. xi. 7, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5; Philo, *Adv. Flacc.* 20; Joseph. *Contra Ap.* ii. 13.

One thousand . . . men. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 5.

17. Cf. Exod. xiv. 8 for diction. Here again our author attributes to the immediate agency of Mastêmâ the action which Exod. xiv. 8 assigns to Yahweh. Cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2.

18. *The fourteenth.* So we should read with *b*. *ad* = "the seventeenth,"

but *sabû'ē* in *ad* is corrupt for *rabû'ē* in *b*. *c* gives "the fifteenth." Cedrenus (i. 87), who has cited our text but a few sentences before, confirms *b*: τῇ ιδ' τοῦτου τοῦ μηνὸς σκυλεύσαντες τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐξῆλθον. This would admit of the Israelites setting out on the 15th of Nisan as in Joseph. (*Ant.* ii. 14. 6; 15. 2), where it states Israel went forth from Egypt on the 15th of Nisan having already received gifts from the Egyptians (ii. 14. 6); so also in Shabb. 87 *b*. Our text then supposes that the Israelites marched from the 15th to the 18th, and that on the 19th Mastema and his powers were let loose. Beer points out that in the Mechilta on Exod. xiv. 3 it is stated that the Egyptians pursued after Israel from the 19th of the first month.

Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. 19. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-23, 30, 46, xv. 22.)

XLIX. Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. 2. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into (that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel, and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or man, or dog. 5. And

XLIX. 1. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

2. *When all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let loose to slay*, etc. See note on x. 8. According to Ps.-Jon. on Exod. xii. 29 it was the word (מִסֵּרָא) of Yahweh which slew the

Egyptians. Here again (cf. xvii. 16, xlviii. 2, 17) our author interprets after his manner the statement in Exod. xii. 29 that "Yahweh smote all the first-born."

3. Cf. Exod. xii. 13, 22, 23.

the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. 6. And all Israel was eating the flesh of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from the evil bondage. 7. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. 8. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven on the heavenly tables regarding all the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained for ever. 9. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand will be cut off: because he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he will take the guilt upon himself. 10. Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light,

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. *Drinking the wine.* This seems to be the earliest reference to the use of wine at the Passover feast. For later references, see Pesach. x. 2; Bababathra 97 b.

7-8. Compare the directions regarding the feast of weeks, vi. 20, 22.

7. *Do not adjourn (it) from day to day (b)* or "do not change a day from

(its) day" (a). The translation is doubtful, and the Latin "praeteribit et erit illud a diebus suis" is corrupt.

9. Cf. Num. ix. 13.

To bring an acceptable offering. According to Pesach. ix. 4 it was the duty of every man within a radius of 15 miles, if not ceremonially impure, to present an offering at this feast.

10. Cf. Exod. xii. 6.

and a third part to the evening. 11. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. 12. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire. 13. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the fire: they shall eat it with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be

12. *Slay it . . . during the period (or "time") bordering on the evening.* According to our text the Passover victim might be slain "during the period bordering on the evening." This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase "between the evenings" (בֵּין תַּעֲרֵבִים).

It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover "at even, at the going down of the sun." But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—"from the third part of the day to the third part of the night." The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase "between the evenings." The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, *i.e.*, from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, *i.e.*, 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάρξης ὥρας μέχρις ἐνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during "the third part of the day" before sunset; and this harmonises on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting

the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

Eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. *And they shall not cook . . . roast on the fire.* Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

They shall eat it = jēb'ēwō, emended with Lat. "comedetis illud" from the unmeaning besûla.

They shall eat it with diligence. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. "With diligence" = σπουδαίως, which in the LXX is a rendering of בְּהָתָּר. In ver. 23 this Hebrew phrase is rendered more literally.

Its head with the inwards, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 9.

Not break any bone thereof. Cf. Exod. xii. 46.

†Of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†. The Latin differs and is to be followed: "Non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac." If we might suppose two distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew and that the original of "in die hac" was בְּעֶצַם הַיּוֹם, we could explain the Eth. by supposing the loss of הַיּוֹם and the change of בְּעֶצַם into עֶצַם. But the cor-

crushed†. 14. For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded, and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its festival let it be observed. 15. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it will come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague will come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. 16. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. 17. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 18. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of

ruption seems native to the Ethiopic. If the text referred here to the "breaking" of a bone, it would most probably have used sabara as in the clause before and in the verse after, where the Latin uses frangere and confringere respectively. In this clause, therefore, "ijët-qataqat" (= "will not be crushed") is to be taken metaphorically = the Latin "non erit tribulatio." This idea, that no evil will befall on the day of the right celebration of the Passover, recurs in ver. 15 in an intensified degree.

15. *Every year, once a year.* Cf. verses 7-8.

No plague will come upon them, etc. Cf. Exod. xii. 13.

In every respect according to His command. Latin seems better: "secundum universa praecepta ejus."

16. *Before the sanctuary of the Lord.* Cf. ver. 17 and see note on ver. 20.

17. *Your God.* Latin has Dei nostri, but the phrase recurs in ver. 22.

From twenty years old, etc. Rabbinic tradition determines fourteen years and upwards as the qualifying age. The determination in our text may be based on such passages as Exod. xxx. 14; Num. i. 32 which prescribe that in numbering the people only the males from twenty years old and upwards should be taken account of. Man was not accountable for the first twenty

their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. 19. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. 20. And they will offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. 21. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they will not go astray from the Lord. 22. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and† the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God.

years according to some rabbis, and no punishment was to be enacted for them.

20. *Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house*, etc. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) "thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." But the Mishna extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).

21. *May not*. Here Eth. and Latin (poterunt) = οὐ δύνησονται, which is a faulty rendering of לא יוכלו, where the phrase denotes moral inability. The text is based on Deut. xvi. 5, where the LXX (οὐ

δύνῃσιν) and the Vulg. (non poteris) render in the same faulty manner לא חוכל.

In any place. Eth. prefixes "and," which I have omitted with the Latin.

Will not go astray from the Lord. Cf. Zeph. i. 6.

22. *Every year* = 'āmata (c) la'amatāt (d). So Latin "per singulos . . . annos." *a b* = "its year every year."

†*And the day of its days, and†*. Here the Latin "in tempore dierum suorum" is most probably right, and we should render "during its days and during."

(*And*) *that*. "And" supplied from the Latin.

During those. Latin omits "those." Hence it probably represents the Greek article.

23. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6-13.

L. And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai. 2. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. 3. And the land also will keep its sabbaths while they dwell upon it, and they will know the jubilee year. 4. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees
 2410 A.M. from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit.
 2450 A.M. "distant") for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. 5. And the jubilees will pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there will be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land will be clean from that time for evermore.

6. And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee—and all the judgments

23. *With haste.* See note on ver. 13. Cf. Exod. xii. 11. For Shur (Eth. Sûr) see Exod. xv. 22.

L. 1. *Sin[ai], which is between Elim and Sinai.* Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sin[ai] corrupt for Sin.

2. *Jubilee years.* Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.

3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34, etc.

4. *Year-weeks, i.e., seven years.*

Jubilees. Our author assumes jubilee periods of 49 years each, as R. Jehuda (Nedarim 61 a), whereas the majority of Jewish writers reckoned it at 50 years (Beer, *Buch d. Jub.* p. 38).

5. *Forecast of the Messianic kingdom.* A gradual transformation: cf. i. 29 note; xxiii. 26-28 note.

A Satan or any evil one. See note on xxiii. 29.

of its laws. 7. Six days wilt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men-servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. 8. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his) wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared

7. Cf. Exod. xx. 9, 10.

8-12. On the Talmudic laws relating to the Sabbath see Schürer, *History of N.T. Times*, II. ii. 96-105; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 777-787; and the Bible Dictionaries, *in loc.*

8. *The man that does any work on it shall die.* This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.

Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprung probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46a, the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38a. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishna on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82a it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should "eat garlic" (i.e. cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.*

1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-199 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubilæen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 sq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (bd). a c omit "thereon." This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden "to abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day" and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, 1, v. 7), which was called the "Sabbath limit" (חומת השבת) or simply "limit" (חומה), or Sabbath-day's journey (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitations on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's *Lexicons on the Hebrew*; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, II. ii. 102-103. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἐξέρου δ' ὑμῖν οὐτε τοῖς σαββάτοις οὐτ' ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ δόδευν. *In regard to any buying or selling.* All the MSS prefix "and." The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

Whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost,

for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. 9. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival, and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. 10. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. 11. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. 12. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on

Gesch. d. Judenth. ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

Which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against "eating or drinking anything" may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

Takes up any burden to carry it, etc. See note on ii. 29. This is the 39th form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a "burden." Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 782, 784).

9. See note on ii. 29.

10. Cf. ii. 21.

11. Cf. Num. xxviii. 9, 10; Matt. xii. 5.

12. *Goes a journey.* See note on ver. 8.

Tills (his) farm. Ploughing and harvesting are forbidden in Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

Whether in his house or any other place. These words seem to be in their wrong place. They would give good sense if they were read immediately after "every man who does any work thereon."

Lights a fire. Forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Shabb. vii. 2. The man who gathers sticks for this purpose is to be stoned. Num. xv. 32, 33.

the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: 13. The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tables, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

Rides on any beast. This is forbidden in Beza v. 2: also in Sanh. 46 a, which states that during the Syro-Grecian domination an offender against this law was arraigned before the judicial court and sentenced to death by stoning: cf. Jebam. 90 b.

Strikes or kills anything. Killing any animal is the 26th forbidden Sabbatical offence (Shabb. vii. 2).

Fasts. Israel is to "eat and drink" on the Sabbath (see ver. 9). This law was observed by Judith (Judith viii. 6, a book which in its shorter form probably goes back to the early Maccabean times). The injunction against fasting in our text is not in harmony with the severe ascetic law against the marriage-bed on the Sabbath.

Makes war. This prohibition of all warfare, which is found also in the Mishna, Shabb. vi. 2, 4, was observed literally before and during the outbreak of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc. ii. 31-38; 2 Macc. vi. 11; Joseph. *Ant.*

xii. 1; 2 Macc. xv. 1; cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xviii. 9. 2 for later occasions). But on the urgent representations of Mattathias this prohibition of warfare, offensive and defensive, was abandoned, and defensive measures were declared legitimate (1 Macc. ii. 41; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2): but offensive warfare was still forbidden (2 Macc. viii. 26). Jonathan's battle against Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 43 sqq.) can be justified from the new standpoint. This emended law was in force when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but as it only allowed of an active resistance against an active assault, it did not permit of the destruction of fortified works raised by the enemy on the Sabbath, and so exposed the Jews to defeat (*op. cit.* xiv. 4. 2). Once during the final war with Rome the Jews broke through this Sabbatical law, and successfully attacked the Romans (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 2).

INDEX I

PASSAGES FROM THE SCRIPTURES AND OTHER ANCIENT BOOKS DIRECTLY CONNECTED OR CLOSELY PARALLEL WITH THE TEXT¹

EXODUS	JUBILEES	EXODUS	JUBILEES	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES
i. 5	xliv. 33	xxxi. 13	ii. 17	iii. 9, 10	xxi. 8
i. 7	xlvi. 1	xxxi. 13, 17	ii. 19	vii. 26	xxi. 6
i. 22	xlvi. 2-4	xxxi. 14, 15	ii. 25	xii. 2, 5	iii. 8-14
ii. 2-4	xlvi. 2-4	xxxi. 16	ii. 26	xvi. 29, 34,	
ii. 5-9	xlvi. 5-8	xxxi. 18	i. 1	15, 16	xxxiv. 18, 19
ii. 8	xlvi. 7	xxxiii. 1, 3	i. 7	xvii. 13	vii. 30
ii. 10	xlvi. 9	xxxiv. 21	1. 12	xvii. 13	xxi. 17
ii. 11-14	xlvi. 10-12	xxxiv. 27	i. 5	xvii. 14	xxi. 18
ii. 15	xlvi. 1	xxxv. 2	1. 8	xviii. 15	xli. 26
iv. 24	xlvi. 2	xxxv. 3	1. 12	xix. 23, 24	vii. 36
vi. 20	xlvi. 8			xix. 23-25	vii. 1
ix. 11	xlvi. 11	NUMBERS	JUBILEES	xx. 2	xxx. 7
xii. 6	xlvi. 1	vi. 26	xxii. 28	xx. 2-4	xxx. 14, 15
xii. 9	xlvi. 13	ix. 13	xlvi. 9	xx. 12	xli. 26
xii. 11	xlvi. 13	xiii. 22	xiii. 12	xx. 14	xli. 25
xii. 11	xlvi. 23	xv. 32, 33	1. 12	xxi. 7, 14	xxii. 22
xii. 13	xlvi. 15	xvi. 22	x. 3	xxi. 9	xx. 4
xii. 46	xlvi. 13	xviii. 2, 4	xxxi. 16	xxi. 9	xli. 17
xiv. 8, 9	xlvi. 12	xviii. 26	xxxii. 9	xxiii. 40	xvi. 30
xiv. 8	xlvi. 17	xxvi. 59	xlvi. 8	xxiii. 34-36,	
xiv. 19	i. 29	xxvii. 16	x. 3	39-44	xxxii. 4
xvi. 1	1. 1	xxviii. 9, 10	1. 11	xxv. 8	1. 2
xix. 5	xvi. 18	xxix. 2, 5	vii. 3	xxvi. 34, etc.	1. 3
xix. 6	xvi. 18	xxix. 12-40	xxxii. 4	xxvi. 40	i. 22
xx. 5	xx. 8	xxix. 13	xvi. 22	DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES
xx. 9, 10	1. 7	xxix. 16	xvi. 22	i. 4	xxix. 10
xxiii. 25	xx. 9	xxxiv. 4	xxix. 14	iv. 20	xxii. 9
xxiii. 33	i. 9	xxxv. 33	vii. 33	iv. 30, 29	i. 15
xxiv. 12	i. 1	xxxv. 33	xxi. 19	v. 31, 32	xxiii. 16
xxiv. 15-18	i. 2-4			vii. 6	ii. 21
xxv. 8	i. 17	LEVITICUS	JUBILEES	vii. 6	xvi. 18
xxvii. 21	ii. 33	ii. 4	xxi. 7	vii. 6	xix. 18
xxix. 45	i. 17	ii. 13	xxi. 11	vii. 13	xx. 9
xxx. 7	iv. 25	iii. 7-10	xxi. 7	vii. 16	i. 9
xxx. 19-21	xxi. 16			ix. 26, 29	i. 21
xxx. 34	xvi. 24				

¹ I have not given the passages in Genesis which are reproduced in the text. These are indicated generally in the headings to the chapters and in detail in the notes.

DEUTERONOMY	JUBILEES	NEHEMIAH	JUBILEES	DANIEL	JUBILEES
x. 16	i. 23	i. 6	xxii. 29	ix. 18	xxii. 29
x. 17	v. 16	ix. 2	i. 22	x. 13, 20, 21	xv. 31, 32
x. 17	xxi. 4	ix. 7	xxii. 27	xi. 30	xxiii. 16
x. 22	xliv. 12-33	x. 31	l. 8	xii. 1	xv. 31, 32
xiv. 2	xvi. 18	xiii. 16, 17	l. 8		
xiv. 22 sq.	xxxii. 10			HOSEA	JUBILEES
xvi. 5	xliv. 21	PSALMS	JUBILEES	i. 10	i. 25
xvi. 6	xliv. 12	iv. 6	xxii. 28	iv. 3	xxiii. 18
xlvi. 7	xliv. 20	li. 10	i. 20		
xxii. 23 sqq.	xx. 4	lxxx. 13	xxxvii. 20	AMOS	JUBILEES
xxii. 30	xxxiii. 7	lxxxix. 27	ii. 20	ix. 2-4	xxiv. 31, 32
xxv. 9	xli. 4	xc. 10	xxiii. 12		
xxvi. 14	xxii. 17	xc. 10	xxiii. 15	ZEPHANIAH	JUBILEES
xxvi. 18	xvi. 18	cvi. 28	xxii. 17	i. 3	xxiii. 18
xxvii. 15	xx. 8	cvi. 37	xxii. 17		
xxvii. 24	iv. 5	cxxxix. 8 sqq.	xxiv. 31, 32	ZECHARIAH	JUBILEES
xxviii. 8	xx. 9			viii. 13	i. 16
xxviii. 13	i. 16				
xxviii. 13, 14	xxiii. 16	ISAIAH	JUBILEES	ETHIOPIC ENOCH	JUBILEES
xxix. 28	ii. 27	xli. 8	xix. 9	vi. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 1	i. 6	xli. 8	ii. 20	vii. 1 (Syn-	
xxx. 6	i. 23	xlvi. 7	xii. 5	cellus' Gk.)	vii. 21, 22
xxx. 20	i. 7	lii. 11	xxii. 16	vii. 1, 2	v. 1
xxx. 6	i. 18	lviii. 13	ii. 29	vii. 5	v. 2, vii. 24
xxx. 20	i. 7	lv. 15	xx. 6	ix. 1, 9	vii. 23
xxx. 27	i. 7	lv. 17 sqq.	xxiii. 26-30	x. 4, 12	x. 7
xxx. 27	i. 22			x. 11	iv. 22
xxxii. 6	i. 24			xii. 1, 2	iv. 21
xxxii. 17	xxii. 17	JEREMIAH	JUBILEES	xii. 3-6 (xiii. 1-2,	
xxxiv. 8	xxiii. 7	ii. 27	xxii. 18	xiv. 4-7, xv.	
xxxiv. 9	xxv. 14	vi. 23	xxiii. 23	2 sqq.)	vii. 22
		vi. 25	xxii. 8	xv. 3-4	vii. 22
JOSHUA	JUBILEES	viii. 2	xxiii. 23	xxiii.-xxxvi.	
xxiii. 13	i. 9	x. 3, 9	xii. 5	(implied by)	vii. 21 ¹
		x. 5	xii. 5	liv. 7, 8	ii. 4
1 KINGS	JUBILEES	xiv. 22	xii. 4	lx. 12-21	ii. 2
viii. 29, 52	xxii. 29	xvii. 21, 22,		lxxii.-lxxxii.	
viii. 53	ii. 19	24, 27	ii. 29	(implied by)	iv. 17
xii. 15	xii. 19	xvii. 22	ii. 30	lxxiv. 12	vi. 32
xxi. 20	vii. 23	xxvi. 16	xxxiii. 13	lxxiv. 13-16	
		xxix. 13, 14 ^a	i. 15	(implied by)	vi. 36
2 CHRONICLES	JUBILEES	xxix. 14	i. 15	lxxv. 1, 2	
vi. 38	i. 23	xxix. 18	xx. 6	(lxxxii. 11)	vi. 23
xx. 7	xix. 9	xxxii. 41	i. 16	lxxxiii.-xc.	
xxiv. 19	i. 12	li. 39, 57	xxiii. 1	(implied by)	iv. 19
xxviii. 3	i. 11			lxxxv. 3	iv. 20
xxix. 21	xvi. 23	EZEKIEL	JUBILEES	lxxxix. 7, 8	vi. 26
xxxiii. 6	i. 11	xx. 12	ii. 19	lxxxix.-xc.	
				(implied by)	xv. 31, 32

Wherever there has been a relation of dependence in the preceding list of passages, the dependence has been on the side of Jubilees. When such a relation exists in the list that follows, Jubilees is to be regarded as the original.

¹ See note on iv. 17-23 of the Translation.

ETHIOPIA Enoch¹ JUBILEES

iii.	xxi. 12, 13
v. 9	xxxiii. 29
xxxix. 2	xxxvi. 10
lxx. 1-3	iv. 23
xc. 4	xxii. 16
xc. 16	i. 29
xciii. 2, 5, 10	xvi. 26
xcv. 3	xxxii. 18
xcvi. 1	xxxii. 18
xcviii. 11	vii. 28, 29
xcix. 7	xii. 2
ci. 2	xii. 4
ciii. 7, 8,	vii. 29, xxii.
	22
ciii. 11	i. 16
civ. 6	xxii. 16

WISDOM² JUBILEES

ii. 13 (v. 5,	
xii. 7, etc.)	xxi. iv.
xi. 16	iv. 31
xviii. 5	xlvi. 14

4 EZRA² JUBILEES

xiv. 4-6	i. 26 (see note)
----------	------------------

MATTHEW JUBILEES

ix. 11	xxii. 16
xii. 5	i. 11
xviii. 10	xxxv. 17
xxiii. 34	i. 12

MARK JUBILEES

ii. 16	xxii. 16
*iii. 22	a. 8

LUKE JUBILEES

*xi. 49	i. 12
---------	-------

JOHN JUBILEES

*xiv. 26	xxxii. 25
----------	-----------

ACTS JUBILEES

*vii. 15, 16	xlvi. 9
*vii. 23	xlvi. 10-12
vii. 53	i. 27

ROMANS JUBILEES

*iv. 15	xxxiii. 15, 16
---------	----------------

1 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

x. 20	xxii. 17
-------	----------

2 CORINTHIANS JUBILEES

*v. 17	v. 12
vi. 18	i. 24

GALATIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 15	*xxiii. 23
*iii. 17	xv. 4 sqq.
*v. 12	xv. 27

2 THESSALONIANS JUBILEES

*ii. 3	x. 3
--------	------

2 PETER JUBILEES

*ii. 5	vii. 20-39
*iii. 8	iv. 30
*iii. 13	i. 29

REVELATION JUBILEES

*i. 6	xvi. 18
*iv. 5	ii. 2
*v. 10	xvi. 18

¹ On the following list of passages from this work, see Introduction, § 19.

² See Introduction, § 22.

* Passages so asterisked are dealt with in the Introduction, § 23.

INDEX II

NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Abel, iv. 1
 Abimelech, xxiv. 13, 17, 26
 Abraham. *See* Abram
 'Abrâm, father-in-law of Terah, xi. 14
 Abram, birth of, xi. 15
 late legend of his being cast into a
 fiery furnace, xii. 1-14 note
 observes the sky, xii. 16-17
 called Abraham, xv. 7
 his ten trials, xvii. 17 note
 death of, xxiii. 1
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Abysses, the, ii. 2, 16; v. 29
 'Adâ, wife of Reuben, xxxiv. 20
 Adam, creation of, ii. 14
 brought into Eden forty days after
 his creation, iii. 9
 names the animals, iii. 1-3
 death of, iv. 29
 Life of, pp. xix-xx
 Adam's Daughters, Book of, pp. xviii-
 xix
 Adam = Admah, xiii. 23
 Adam and Eve, Book of, pp. 28, 34, 88,
 93
 'Adâtânêsês, vii. 15, 17
 'Adibâ'a, wife of Simeon, xxxiv. 20
 'Adôrân, xxxviii. 3
 'Adûram, friend of Esau, xxxvii. 9
 'Adûrâm—a place, xxxviii. 8, 9
 Adûrin, p. xxxi
 'Afêrâg, viii. 27
 'Afrâ, viii. 15
 Africanus, Julius, p. 34
 Ahuzzath, xxiv. 26
 Ai, xiii. 5
 Akrabbim, xxix. 14
 'Amânâ, viii. 21; ix. 4
 Ammonites, xxix. 10; xxxvii. 6, 10;
 xxxviii. 6
 Amorites, xiv. 18; (destroyed in lifetime
 of the author?) xxix. 9-11
 war of, against Jacob and his sons,
 pp. lvi, lxii; xxxiv. 1-9
 Amram, father of Moses, xlvi. 10
 Amraphel, xiii. 22
 Anastasius Sinaita, pp. 18, 23
 Aner, xiii. 29
 Angelology of Jubilees, pp. lvi sqq.
 and of the New Testament, p.
 lxxxvi
 Angels created on the first day, ii. 2
 note
 created on the second day according
 to later tradition, ii. 2-3 note
 of the presence, i. 27, 29 note; ii.
 1, 2 note, 18; xv. 27; xxxi. 14
 of sanctification, ii. 2, 18; xv. 27;
 xxxi. 14
 over natural phenomena—winds,
 clouds, fire, etc., ii. 2
 two chief orders of, created circum-
 cised, xv. 27 note
 descend in days of Jared to instruct
 mankind, iv. 15 note
 marry the daughters of men, v. 1 note;
 vii. 21; a myth rejected by later
 Jewish and Christian tradition, pp.
 33-35, 43 notes
 their punishment and that of their
 children, v. 6-11; vii. 25
 guardians of individuals, p. lxxxvi;
 xxxv. 17
 Antiochus Epiphanes, pp. lx, lxi, lxiii
 Apocalypse of the last things, xxiii. 11-
 31
 Apocalyptic tradition written down by
 Moses, i. 26 note
 'Arâ (corrupt for Ur, xi. 7), city of, xi. 3
 Arabs, xx. 13

- Aram, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 5
 land of, xxxvii. 6, 9
 Ararat, v. 28 ; viii. 21 ; ix. 5 ; x. 15
 Ard, xlv. 25
 Areli, xlv. 20
 'Arêsa, corrupt for Hazor, xxxiv. 4, 7
 Arioeh, xiii. 22
 Ark, building of the, v. 21-22
 Arodi, xlv. 20
 Arpachshad, vii. 18 ; viii. 1
 Asenath, xxxiv. 20 ; xl. 10 ; xlv. 24
 Ashbel, xlv. 25
 Asher, xxviii. 21
 Ashtaroth, xxix. 10
 Asshur, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 3, 6
 land of (= Assyria), viii. 21 ; ix. 3, 5
 'Asûdi, xlv. 28
 Atonement, Day of, p. xlii ; v. 17-18 ;
 xxxiv. 18-19
 'Âwân, wife of Cain, iv. 1, 9
 'Âzriâl, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 'Azûrâ, wife of Seth, iv. 8, 11
 wife of Eber, viii. 7
- Babel, tower of, x. 19-26
 Bâbêl, viii. 21
 Babylon, xx. 12
 Bacon, pp. xxv, 56-57
 Baldensperger, p. xxv
 Bâraka, wife of Jared, iv. 16
 Barâki'êl, brother of Kenan, iv. 15
 Baraki'il, brother of Methuselah, iv. 28
 Barhebraeus, pp. lxxxiii, 88, 94
 Barth, pp. 19, 25
 Bashan, viii. 21
 Bealoth, xiii. 10
 Becher, xlv. 25
 Bêdsû'êl, wife of Judah, xli. 7
 Beer, pp. xxiii, 3, 55, 65, 68, 89, 91,
 101, 118, 121, 127, etc.
 Beersheba (*see* Well of the Oath), xvii.
 9 ; xviii. 17 ; xxii. 2
 Bela, xlv. 25
 Beliar, sons of, xv. 33 note
 spirit of, i. 20
 Benjamin, xxxii. 3, 33
 Beon, xxix. 10
 Beriah, xlv. 21
 Bêtasû'êl, wife of Judah, xxxiv. 20
 Bêtênôs, wife of Lamech, iv. 28
 Bethel, xiii. 5 ; xxvii. 19, 26
 Bêthôrôn, xxxiv. 4
 Bethshan, xxix. 14
 Bethuel, xix. 10 ; xxvii. 10, 12
 Bilhah, sister of Zilpah, xxviii. 9
 Reuben sins with, xxxiii. 1-9
 Blood, eating of, forbidden, vii. 28, 29 ;
 xxi. 6, 18
 Bohn, p. xxvi
- Book of Life, xxx. 22 ; xxxvi. 10
 those who will be destroyed, xxx.
 22
 Bousset, pp. lxii, 146, 201, 215
 Burial of patriarchs in Canaan, xlv. 9
- Cain, iv. 1
 death of, iv. 31
 Calendar, p. lxvi
 Canaan, vii. 10-13 ; ix. 1 ; xxii. 21
 seizes Palestine, x. 29-34
 Canaanites, xiv. 18 ; xxx. 25
 Canaanitish wives of Joseph, Judah,
 Simeon, xl. 10 ; xxxiv. 20
 Caphtorim, xxiv. 30
 Carmi, xlv. 12
 Carpenter, pp. xlvii, liii
 Catena on Pentateuch quoted, p. xviii
 Cedrenus, pp. xvi, xvii, lxxix, 11, 28,
 35, 37, 41, 66, 67, 80, 86-88, 93,
 94, 96, 116, 191, 248, 252
 Ceriani, pp. xv, xxix
 Cettin, p. xxxi
 Chaldees, land of, ix. 4, 5
 Charles, pp. xx, xxi, xxvi, xxviii, xxix
 Chasids, rise of, xxiii. 16
 Chedorlaomer, xii. 22
 Chrysostom quoted, p. 34
 Circumcision, an everlasting ordinance,
 p. 1 ; xv. 14 note, 25 ; xx. 3
 observed in the creation of the two
 highest orders of angels, pp. 1, lx ;
 xv. 27
 on the eighth day, xv. 14, 25
 neglected by Israel, xv. 33-34
 Clementine *Recognitions*, pp. lxxx, 84,
 96
 Covenant with Noah, vi. 17-18
 with Abram, xiv. 20
 Cush, vii. 13 ; ix. 1
 Creation, the new, i. 29 note ; iv. 26
 note ; xxiii. 26-30 ; 1. 5
 twenty-two works of, ii. 1-16
 Creator of all things, xvii. 3 ; xxii. 4,
 27 ; xlv. 5
- Dan, xiii. 23 ; xxviii. 18 ; xlv. 27, 28
 Dânél, iv. 20
 Deane, p. xxv
 Deborah, xxxii. 30
 Dêdân, waters of, ix. 2
 Demonology of Jubilees, p. lviii
 and of the New Testament, pp. lxxxvi
 sq.
 Demons, sons of the Watchers, vii. 22
 note ; vii. 27
 tempt Noah's sons, x. 1-2 notes ; x.
 5, 8 note ; xii. 20

- one-tenth of the, left subject to Mas-têmâ, x. 9
 nine-tenths to be bound in place of temporal punishment, x. 9
 to be punished finally with Satan, x. 8
 worshipped, xxii. 17
 Didymus of Alexandria, p. lxxvii
 Dillmann, pp. xx, xxi, xxiii, 118, 193
 Dinah, daughter of Jacob, xxviii. 23 ;
 xxx. 1-3 ; xxxiv. 15 ; xlv. 18
 Dinâh, wife of Mahalalel, iv. 15
 Diodorus of Antioch, pp. lxxxi, 85, 96
 Dislocations of text, pp. xlii, 45, 218
 Dittographies, pp. xli-xlii
 Dothan, xxix. 14 ; xxxiv. 10
 Driver, p. 140
 Drummond, p. xxv

 Earth divided, viii. 8
 Eating with Gentiles forbidden, xxii. 16
 Eber, viii. 7
 Eden, Garden of. *See* Garden
 land of, viii. 16, 21
 Edersheim, p. 260
 'Ednâ, wife of Methuselah, iv. 27
 wife of Terah, xi. 14
 'Edni, wife of Enoch, iv. 20
 Edom, p. lvi ; xxiv. 6 ; xxxvi. 19 ;
 xxxviii. 8
 kings of, xxxviii. 16-23
 made tributary to Israel, p. lxii ;
 xxxviii. 10-14
 Edrei, xxix. 10
 'Eglâ, wife of Dan, xxxiv. 20
 Ehi, xlv. 25
 'El 'El, xl. 7
 'Elâ, mountains of, ix. 2
 Elam, son of Shem, vii. 18 ; ix. 2
 land of, viii. 21 ; xiii. 22
 'Elêw, city of = Heliopolis, xxxiv. 11
 Eliezer, xiv. 2
 'Eljô, vii. 22
 Elon, xlv. 17
 'Emazârâ, wife of Noah, iv. 33
Encyclopaedia Biblica, pp. 167, 176,
 204, 245
 Enoch, son of Cain, iv. 9
 son of Jared, iv. 16-26 ; xix. 24, 27 ;
 first to learn writing, iv. 17 ; the
 scribe of judgment in the Garden
 of Eden, iv. 23-24 ; x. 17
 son of Reuben, xxxviii. 8 ; xlv. 12
 Ethiopic Book of, pp. 13, 36, 37, 53,
 62-64, 102, 134, 146, 150, 212,
 213
 Slavonic Book of, pp. 13-15, 25, 37,
 39, 41
 Enos, son of Seth, iv. 11 ; xix. 24
 Ephraim, xlv. 24
 Ephrath, xxxii. 34
 Ephron, the Hittite, xxxvi. 2
 Epiphanius, pp. xv, xvi, xl, lxxvii,
 lxxviii, 11-16, 18, 32, 33, 47, 59,
 61, 68, 69, 70, 73-74, 75, 77, 84,
 86, 91
 Eppstein, pp. xvi, xxv, lxxvi, 11, 53,
 55
 Er, xli. 1
 Eri, xlv. 20
 'Ermôn = Heroopolis, xlv. 6
 Esau (*see* Edom), p. lvi ; xv. 30 ; xix.
 13 ; xxix. 13
 sells his birthright, xxiv. 2-7
 breaks with Jacob, xxxvii. 20-23
 slain by Jacob, xxxviii. 2
 Eschol, xiii. 29
 Euphrates, ix. 5 ; xiv. 18
 Eutychius, pp. lxxxii, 28, 35, 83, 89
 Eve created on the 6th day of the
 second week, iii. 5-6
 brought into Eden 80 days after her
 creation, iii. 9
 Exposure of the person condemned, p.
 lx ; iii. 31 ; vii. 20
 Ezbon, xlv. 20
 Ezra, Fourth, pp. 1, lxxv, 7, 14

 Fabricius, pp. xviii, xxii, 121, 171, 194
 Fârâ (= Africa ?), viii. 27
 Feast of tabernacles instituted by Abra-
 ham, xvi. 20-31
 celebrated by Jacob, xxxii. 4-9
 Feast of weeks celebrated in heaven and
 first revealed to Noah, vi. 17-18
 note ; xv. 1 note ; xxii. 1-5
 rules as to its observance, vi. 20-22
 commemorates giving of Law on Sinai,
 vi. 17-18 note
 its designation "Pentecost" unknown
 to the author, vi. 17 note
 Feasts on the new moons, vi. 23-29
 Filistin, p. xxxi
 Flood, the, v. 23-32
 Floodgates, the, v. 24
 Fornication, punishment for, xx. 4 ;
 xxv. 7 ; xxxix. 6
 Four sacred places, iv. 26
 Frankel, pp. xxiv, 30, 42, 107, 259
 Friend of God, xix. 9 ; xxx. 20, 21
 Fruit trees, law as to, vii. 36

 Gâ'as (= Gaash), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Gad, xxviii. 20 ; xlv. 19, 20
 Gâdîr (= Cadiz), viii. 23, 26 ; ix. 12
 Garden of Eden, ii. 7 note ; iv. 26 ;
 viii. 16, 19, 23
 Gaster, pp. 200, 203, 204, 214

- Gelasius, Decree of, pp. xviii, lxxviii
 Genesis, the Little, pp. xv-xvi
 Gentiles denounced, pp. lv, lvi
Geoponica, the, quoted, p. 134
 Gera, xlv. 25
 Gerar, mountains of, xvi. 10; xxiv. 12, 19
 Gershon, xlv. 14
 Giants, the, vii. 22
 Gihon, the, viii. 15, 22
 Gilead, xxix. 4, 5, 9
 Ginsburg, p. xxiv
 Girgashites, the, xiv. 18
 Glycas, pp. xvi, lxxx, 23, 25, 26, 35, 37, 84, 85, 164
 God dwells with man in the Messianic times, i. 26 note, 27
 the Father of the children of Jacob, i. 24, 28 note
 of all, xxii. 10, 27; xxx. 19; xxxi. 13, 32
 Gog, land of, viii. 25
 Gomer, vii. 19; ix. 8
 Gomorrha, xiii. 22; xvi. 5; xx. 6
 Goshen, xlv. 9; xlv. 1, 2
 Great Sea, the, ix. 6
 Guni, xlv. 30

 Hagar, xiv. 22; xvii. 2; xix. 11
 Haggada, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxiv sq.
 Haggi, xlv. 20
 Halacha, older forms of, in Jubilees, pp. lxv sq.
 Ham, iv. 33; vii. 8, 13; xxii. 21
 portion of, viii. 22-24
 Hamath, x. 33; xiii. 2
 Hamor, xxx. 2
 Haran, brother of Abram, xii. 10, 14
 land of, xiii. 1; xxvii. 3, 19; xxxv. 10, 12
 Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, pp. 107, 188
 Hazer (see 'Arêsa), p. lxiii; xxxiv. 4, 7
 Headlam, p. xxvi
 Heap of Witness, xxix. 8
 Heavenly tables, iii. 10 note
 Hebraisms in Ethiopic text, p. xxxii sq.
 Hebrew, the original language of men and animals, iii. 28 note
 forgotten from overthrow of Babel till Abram's time, xii. 25-26 note
 Hebron, xiii. 10, 21; xix. 1; xxxvi. 20
 Heliopolis, xl. 10
 Hellenism, p. 1
 Hermon, xxix. 10
 Hesiod quoted, p. 149
 Heth, children of, xix. 4, 5
 Hêzaqâ, wife of Issachar, xxxiv. 20

 Hezron, xlv. 12
 Hilgenfeld, pp. xxv, lxxv
 Hippolytus, p. lxxx
 Hivites, xiv. 18
 Horites, xxxvii. 10; xxxviii. 8
 Huppim, xlv. 25
 Hushim, xlv. 28
 Hyrcanus, J., pp. lvi, lix, lxii, lxiv, lxxxviii

 Idolatry, rise of, xi. 4
 Abram dissuades Terah against, xii. 1-8
 forbidden, xx. 7-9; xxi. 3-5
 'Ijâka, xlv. 28
 'Ijasaka, wife of Benjamin, xxxiv. 20
 'Ijâskâ, xi. 9
 'Ijônâ, wife of Asher, xxxiv. 20
 Immortality of the soul, pp. xii, lxxxix; xxiii. 31
 Imnah, xlv. 21
 Incest, laws regarding, xxxiii. 10-20; xli. 25-26
 India, viii. 21; ix. 2, 3
 Intercalary days, p. lxviii; vi. 23 note
 Intermarriage with Canaan forbidden, pp. liii, lxi; xx. 4; xxii. 20; xxv. 1, 5
 with Gentiles=giving to Moloch, xxx. 7-17
 Isaac, xv. 21; xvi. 13
 sacrifice of, xviii. 1-13
 blesses Levi, xxxi. 4-17
 blesses Judah, xxxi. 18-22
 death of, xxxvi. 18
 glorification of, in Jubilees, p. liii
 Ishbak, xix. 12
 Ishmael, xiv. 24; xv. 18, 20, 23, 30; xvii. 2, 4; xx. 1, 11
 Ishmaelites, xx. 13
 Ishvah, xlv. 21
 Ishvi, xlv. 21
 Isidore of Pelusium, p. lxxxii
 of Seville, pp. lxxxii, 18
 Israel, apostasy of, i. 5-9; xv. 33-34; xxiii. 14, 17-19
 captivity of, i. 10
 God's inheritance, xxii. 9, 10, 15
 God's portion, xv. 31 note; xvi. 18 note
 to be separate from the Gentiles, p. lv
 glorification of, pp. liv sq.
 Issachar, xxviii. 22
 'Îv, xlv. 30

 Jabbok, xxix. 13, 14
 Jachin, xlv. 13
 Jacob, birth of, xix. 13
 twenty-second from Adam, ii. 23 note

- called Israel, xxxii. 17
 twelve sons of, xxxiii. 22
 sees the future on the heavenly tables, xxxii. 21-26
 gives his books to Levi, xlv. 16
 dies, xlv. 14
 glorification of, in Jubilees, pp. liii, liv
 Jahleel, xlv. 17
 Jahziel, xlv. 30
 Jalkut Shimeoni, pp. xliii, 200, 201, 203, 214, 217, 220, 221
 Jamin, xlv. 13
 Jannaeus, A., p. lix
 Japheth, iv. 33; vii. 9, 12, 15; ix. 7
 portion of, viii. 25-29^a
 Jared, iv. 15
 Jashar, Book of, pp. xlv, lxxvi, 32, 33, 40, 43, 67, 89, 126, 171, 179, 196, 197, 201-204, 206, 214
 Jâsûb, xlv. 16
 Javan, vii. 19; ix. 10
 Jebusites, xiv. 18
 Jellinek, pp. xx, xxiii, xlv, 201, 202, 214, 215, 217
 Jemuel, xlv. 13
 Jerahmeel, Chronicles of (translated by Gaster), pp. lxxv, lxxvi, 12, 28, 32, 36, 69, 70, 73, 77, 82, 89, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 214, 215, 220, 246
 Jerome, pp. xvi, 15, 34, 52, 83, 88, 91, 93, 126, 174
 Jerusalem, i. 28, 29
 Jezer, xlv. 30
 Jochebed, xlvii. 8
 Joel, Greek chronographer, pp. lxxxii. 37, 67
 Jokshan, xix. 12
 Jordan, the, xxix. 14
 Joseph, xxviii. 24
 carried down into Egypt, xxxiv. 11-21
 dies, xlv. 3
 Josephus, pp. xxxix, lix, 8, 26, 27, 44, 65, 66, 69, 106, 113, 187, 191, 195, 211, 245, 246, 249, 255, 257, 259, 261
 Jubilee period = 49 years, pp. xv, lxvii = 50 years, pp. xv, lxviii
 laws regarding, l. 1-5
 Jubilees, Book of, its various titles—
 Jubilees, or the Book of Jubilees, p. xv; Little Genesis, pp. xv, xvi; Apocalypse of Moses, p. xvii; Testament of Moses, pp. xvii-xviii; Book of Adam's Daughters, pp. xviii-xix; Life of Adam, pp. xix, xx
 written originally in Hebrew, pp. xxxi-xxxiii
 textual affinities of, p. xxxiii sqq.
 versions of, pp. xxvi-xxix
 Greek version of, pp. xxvi, xxvii
 Ethiopic version of, pp. xxvii, xxviii
 Latin version of, pp. xxviii, xxix
 Syriac version of, p. xxx
 Ethiopic and Latin, from the Greek, pp. xxx, xxxi
 Ethiopic MSS of, p. xx; editions of, pp. xx, xxi; translations of, pp. xxi, xxii
 poetical element in, pp. xlii sq.
 from one author but based on earlier books and traditions, pp. xlv sqq.
 a product of the Midrashic tendency, pp. lxvii sqq.
 an esoteric tradition according to its author, pp. l, li
 written by Moses at the dictation of an angel according to its author, i. 26 note; xxiii. 32
 omissions in, of narratives in Genesis, pp. lxviii sqq.
 alterations in, of such narratives, pp. xlix, liv
 explanations in, pp. liii, liv notes
 object of,—the defence of Judaism, pp. li sqq.; and exposition of pre-Mosaic elements of the law, pp. li sqq.
 glorifies the patriarchs and Israel, pp. liii sqq.
 date of, pp. lviii-lxvi
 makes use of Eth. Enoch vi.-xxxvi., lxxii.-xc., pp. lxviii sq.
 makes use of Book of Noah, pp. lxxi sq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch xci.-civ., pp. lxix sqq.
 made use of by Eth. Enoch i.-v. (?), p. lxxi
 made use of by Wisdom, pp. lxxiv sq.
 made use of by 4 Ezra, p. lxxv
 relation of, to Test. XII. Patriarchs, p. lxxii
 author of, a Pharisee and a Priest (?), p. lxxiii
 author of, an upholder of the Macabean dynasty, p. lxxiii
 in Jewish literature, pp. lxxiv sqq.
 in Christian non-canonical literature, pp. lxxvii-lxxxiii
 influence of, on the New Testament, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi
 Judah, tribe of, carried into captivity, i. 13
 restored from the captivity, i. 15-16
 Judah born, xxviii. 15
 Judas Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxvii

- Judgment, final, of the fallen angels and their sons, v. 10, 11
 of mankind (?) and Satan precedes the Messianic kingdom, xxiii. 11
 at close of Messianic kingdom, pp. lxxxvii sq.; xxxiii. 30 note
 Judith quoted, pp. 179, 205
 Justin Martyr quoted, pp. 33, 41, 50, 101, 109
- Kâbêr, brother of Reu, xi. 7
 Kabrâtân, xxxii. 32
 Kadesh, xvi. 10
 Kadmonites, xiv. 18
 Kaftûr, viii. 21
 Kâinâm, viii. 1-4
 Kamâtûrî, ix. 13
 Kârâsô (= Chersonese or Rhinocorura), viii. 13
 Karnaim, xxix. 10
 Kenan, iv. 13
 Kenites, xiv. 18
 Kenizzites, xiv. 18
 Kêšûd, brother of Arpachshad, viii. 6
 grandfather of 'Ôrâ, the wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Keturah, xix. 11; xx. 1, 11, 12
 Kirjath Arba, xix. 1
 Kittim = Macedonians, pp. lxiii; xxiv. 28, 29
 = Hittites (?), xxxvii. 10
 Kohath, xlv. 14
 Krüger, p. xxiv
- Laban, xix. 10; xxvii. 3, 10; xxviii. 1
 Lacunae, pp. xxxix sqq.; ii. 22; iii. 23; vii. 37; xiii. 25
 Lambros' Catalogue of Greek MSS on Mt. Athos, p. xl
 Lamech, iv. 27
 Land to lie fallow every seventh year, vii. 37
 Langen, p. xxiv
 Law, the, of everlasting validity, pp. xiii, 1, lii sq.
 given through angels, i. 27 note
 transmitted through the patriarchs, vii. 38
 Leah, xxviii. 3
 death of, xxxvi. 21
 Lebanon, viii. 21; ix. 4; xii. 15
 Legendary matter in Jubilees, pp. xlv sqq.
 Levi, birth of, xxviii. 14
 ordained to the priesthood for the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 17-23
 ordained to the priesthood because he was the tenth son, xxxii. 2, 3 note
- pre-eminence of, over Judah, p. lxii; xxxi. 14-17
 Levitical elements in Enoch, vii. 37, 38; xxi. 10 notes
 Lidzbarski, p. xix
 Littmann referred to, pp. xxii, xxvi, xxxi; 5, 19, 25, 44, 70, 98, 135, 169, 210
 Lômnâ, wife of Peleg, x. 18
 Lot, xii. 30; xiii. 1; xvi. 7
 Lûbâr, v. 28; vii. 1
 Lud, vii. 18; ix. 6, 10, 11
 Luz, xxvii. 19, 26
- Ma'anisâkîr (corrupt for Shakir of Mahanaim), xxxiv. 4, 7
 Maccabean victories, scenes of, alluded to, pp. lvi, lxii, lxiii; xxiii. 21-22
 Maccabees, First, referred to, pp. lxxxviii, 147, 148, 204
 Second, referred to, p. 42
 Madai, vii. 19; viii. 5; ix. 9
 obtains Media, x. 35-36
 Mâ'êdâi (= Media), viii. 21
 Magdalâdrâ'êf, xxxiii. 1
 Magog, vii. 19; ix. 8
 Mahalalel, iv. 14, 15; xix. 24
 Mahalath, xxix. 18
 Mâka, wife of Gad, xxxiv. 20
 Mâkamârôn, xlv. 6
 Malala, John, pp. 34, 37, 41, 66, 67
 Mamre (a person), xiii. 29
 (a place), xiv. 10; xvi. 1
 Manasseh, xlv. 24
 Marriage with sisters ceases in Mahalalel's time, iv. 15 note
 Mastêmâ, pp. xxxi, xlix, lviii, lxxxvi; x, 8 note; xi. 5, 11; xix. 28
 = Satan, x. 8, 11
 prince or chief, xvii. 16; xlviii. 2
 prince of the, xviii. 9, 12; xlviii. 9, 12, 15
 Mâ'ûk, sea of, viii. 22, 26
 Mê'at (= Maedis), viii. 12, 27; ix. 8
 Mebri, mountains of, ix. 2
 Medan, xix. 12
 Melchizedek, pp. xlviii, lxxxviii; xiii. 25 note
 Mêlkâ, wife of Levi, xxxiv. 20
 wife of Kâinâm, viii. 5
 wife of Nahor, xix. 10
 wife of Serug, xi. 7
 Merari, xlv. 14
 Meshech, vii. 19; ix. 12
 Mesopotamia, ix. 5; xxvii. 10, 12, 13; xxix. 18
 Messiah from Judah, p. lxxxvii; xxxi. 18 note

- Messianic kingdom, gradual development of the, pp. lxiii, lxxxvii ; i. 29 note ; v. 12 ; xxiii. 26-30 notes
 righteous do not rise to share in the, xxiii, 30, 31
 woes, xxiii. 9, 11-15, 17-19, 22-25
 Methuselah, iv. 27
 Midian, xix. 12
 Midrash Bereshith rabba, pp. 12, 25, 33, 41, 49, 61, 89, 94, 96, 109, 127, 157, 162, 165, 169, 179, 206, 230
 Shem. rabba quoted, pp. 3, 183
 Wajjisau, pp. xlv, 200, 201, 202, 203
 Tadshe quoted, pp. xl, lxxvi, 11, 18, 24, 171
 Mishna, pp. 20, 46, 53, 106, 109, 135, 141, 181, 193, 255, 257, 259, 260, 261
 Misûr, xxix. 10
 Mizraim, vii. 13 ; ix. 1
 Moab, xxxvii. 6, 10 ; xxxviii. 6
 Moloch, xxx. 10
 Moon, polemic against calculations by the, vi. 36
 Moses born, xlvii. 1
 twenty-one years at court of Pharaoh, xlvii. 10
 thirty-six years in Midian, xlviii. 1
 Assumption of, pp. xv, xviii
 Most High, the, p. lxvi ; xxxvi. 16 note
 Mount of the East, iv. 26
 MS Coislinianus, p. 11
 r in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 33, 40, 42, 67
 z in Lagarde's Genesis, pp. lxxxiii, 48, 49
 Mû'ak, wife of Shelah, viii. 6
 Mûalêlêth, wife of Kenan, iv. 14
 Muppim, xlv. 25
 Naaman, xlv. 25
 Nahor, father of Terah, xi. 8
 son of Terah, xii. 11
 Nâphil, vii. 22
 Naphtali, xxviii. 19 ; xlv. 30
 Navel of the earth, viii. 19
 Nebaioth, xvii. 14
 Nêbrôd, viii. 7
 Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk, vii. 14, 17
 Nêstâg, xi. 9
 Nicephorus, Catena of, pp. xviii, lxxviii, 37, 82, 85, 96
 Catalogue of, p. xvii.
 Nicolaus of Damascus, p. 47
 Ni'imân, wife of Zabulon, xxxiv. 20
 Nineveh, ix. 3
 Noah, iv. 28 ; xix. 24, 27 ; xxii. 13
 ordinances of, vii. 20-39
 ancient Book of, pp. lxxi sq.
 Hebrew Book of, pp. xlv ; 47, 61, 62, 78, 79, 81
 saga of, earlier than that of Enoch, p. lxxii
 Noam, wife of Enos, iv. 13
 Ohad, xlv. 13
 Onan, xlv. 4, 5
 Onkelos, pp. 32, 33, 60, 106, 116, 126, 227
 'Ôrâ, wife of Reu, xi. 1
 Origen, pp. lxxx, 108, 194, 227
 Pallu, xlv. 12
 Paran, wilderness of, xvii. 12 ; xx. 12
 Paronomasiae, p. xxxiii ; iv. 9, 15, 28 ; viii. 5, 8 ; x. 18, 26 ; xi. 6, 12
 Passover, the laws regulating the observance of the, p. 49
 Peleg, viii. 8 ; x. 18
 Pentateuch, the book of the first Law written by an angel, p. 1 ; i. 27 ; vi. 22 ; xxx. 12, 21
 Pentecost, p. lxvi ; vi. 17 note
 Perez, xli. 21 ; xlv. 15
 Perizzites, xiv. 18 ; xxx. 25
 Phakorites, xiv. 18
 Pharaoh, contemporary of Abram xiii. 13
 contemporary of Joseph, xl. 1, 3, 5, etc.
 contemporary of Moses, xlvii. 2
 Pharnâk, ix. 2
 Phicol, xxiv. 26
 Philip, Acts of, p. 80
 Philistia, xxxvii. 6, 10
 Philistines, pp. lvi, lxiii ; xxiv. 14, 15, etc.
 Philo quoted, pp. 8, 11, 28, 44, 106, 179
 Philo, Pseudo-, *Antiquitatum bibl. Liber*, pp. 32, 205
 Phûa, xlv. 16
 Pithom, xlv. 14
 Plagues, the ten, xlviii. 5-11
 Plant, the, of uprightness, i. 16 ; xvi. 26 note ; xxi. 24 ; xxxvi. 6
 Plough, the invention of the, xi. 23-24
 Poetical element in Jubilees, pp. xlii sqq.
 Potiphar, chief of the cooks, xxxiv. 11 ; xxxix. 2
 Priest of the Most High God, p. lix ; xxxii. 1

Purification, laws of, iii. 10-12

Put, vii. 13; ix. 1

Qafrâtêf, xxxiv. 15

Qêlt (= Celts) viii. 26

Raamses, xlv. 6; xlv. 14

Rachel, xxviii. 1, 9; xxxii. 34

Râfâ (= Rhipaeen Mountains), viii. 12, 16

Râkê'êl, brother of Lamech, iv. 33

Râsû'êjâ, wife of Arpachshad, viii. 1

Râsûjâl, iv. 16

Rasû'û, wife of Naphtali, xxxiv. 20

Ravens put to flight by Abram, xi. 18-22

Rebecca, xix. 10, 13, 16; xxxv. 27

Red Sea, the, viii. 21; ix. 2, 4

Rephaim, the, xiv. 18; xxix. 9

Resurrection, no, of the body, xxiii. 30

Retaliation, law of literal, iv. 31 note; xlviii. 14 note

Reu, x. 18

Reuben, xxviii. 11

sin of, with Bilhah, xxxiii. 1-9

Rôbêl (corrupt for Arbael), xxxiv. 8

Rönsch, pp xvii, xix, xxiv, xxviii, xxxi, lxxvii, 33, 39, 80, 83, 96, 121, 170, 171, 177, 192, 195

Rosh, xlv. 25

Rubin, p. xxiv

Rufinus quoted, p. 12

Ryle, p. xxxix

Sabbath, the, to be kept by the highest angels and Israel, p. 1; ii. 17-21 notes; ii. 31 note

not for the inferior angels, nor for the Gentiles, ii. 2 note; ii. 31 note
first celebrated by Jacob, ii. 23 note; ii. 31 note

laws for the observance of the, pp. lx, lxi; ii. 25-30; i. 6-13

various interpretations of the term, in relation to the feast of weeks, xv. 1 note

Sack, p. xxv

Sacrifices to the dead, xxii. 17

to demons, i. 11 note; xxii. 17 note

Sallûm, xlv. 30

Salômôn, xlv. 28

Salt Sea, xiii. 22

Salt to be used in sacrifices, xxi. 11

Samaritan Chronicle, pp. lxxvi sq., 40, 47, 58

Sâmôn, xlv. 28

Sanîr (= Biblical Senir), viii. 21; ix. 4

Sarai, xii. 9

called Sarah, xv. 15

death of, xix. 2, 7

Satan, x. 11

to be punished finally, x. 8

confined at different periods, xxiii. 29; xl. 9; xlv. 2; i. 5

Sayce, p. 48

Schatzhöhle, die, pp. 28, 29, 34

Schodde, p. xxi

Schürer, pp. xxv, lxxx, lxxxviii, 147, 259

Sêdêqêtelêbâb, vii. 16, 17

Seder Olam rabba, p. 103

Seir, xxix. 13, 18

Sêllâsar, xiii. 22

Sêlô (= Shiloh), xxxiv. 4, 7

Sêphântiphâns, xl. 10

Sêrâgân (= Sartan), xxxiv. 4, 7

Serah, xlv. 21

Sered, xlv. 17

Sêrôh, xi. 1, 6

Serug, xi. 6

Seth, iv. 17; xix. 24

saga, pp. lxxii, 33-36

later glorification of, in Jewish and Christian writings, pp. 34, 35 notes

Severus of Antioch, pp. xv, lxxviii

Shaul, xlv. 13

Shechem, city of, xiii. i

destroyed by Levi and Simeon, xxx. 4-6

taken from the Amorites by Jacob and his sons, xxxiv. 2-8 note

Shechem, son of Hamor, xxx. 2

Shelah, son of Arpachshad, viii. 5, 6

son of Judah, xli. 6, 7

Shem, iv. 33; vii. 9, 11, 12, 16; xix. 24, 27

lot of, viii. 12-21

Sheol, a place of punishment but not of fire, vii. 29; xxii. 22; xxiv. 31

Shimron, xlv. 16

Shinar, land of, ix. 3; x. 18, 19, 20; xiii. 22

Shua, xix. 12

Shuni, xlv. 20

Shur, xvi. 10

Siddim, xiii. 22

Simeon, xxviii. 13; xxx. 4; xxxiv. 20, 21; xlv. 13

Simon Maccabaeus, pp. lxiii, lxxxviii

Sînâ'ar, father-in-law of Peleg, x. 18

Sinai, i. 2, 5; viii. 19

Singer, pp. xxvi, 7, 63, 93, 96, 101, 109, 113, 117, 134, 144, 165, 166, 169, 181, 227

Sinker, p. xxiv

Sirach quoted, p. 117

- Six days of creation, ii. 1-14
 Söderblom quoted, p. 9
 Sodom, xiii. 17, 22; xvi. 5; xx. 5, 6; xxii. 22
 Son of God, the individual Israelite a, i. 24 note; i. 25, 28; xix. 29
 Spirit, a holy, i. 21, 23
 of righteousness (or truth), xxv. 14 note
 Suidas, pp. lxxxii, 91
 Sun, the, to regulate the year, ii. 9 note; vi. 36-38 notes
 Syncellus, pp. xvi, xvii, xix, lxxviii, lxxix, 11, 14, 18, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 41, 59, 62, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 78, 85, 89, 93, 95, 157, 164, 171, 186, 191, 192, 208
 Syriac Fragment, the, pp. 30, 60, 61, 66, 67, 86, 87, 206

 Tables, two, of stone, i. 1
 Talmud, pp. lix, lxi, lxxxviii, 3, 12, 23, 27, 28, 32, 42, 61, 89, 96, 101, 102, 118, 120, 121, 128, 144, 181, 191, 195, 197, 206, 220, 223, 252, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261
 Tamar, xli. 1, 6, 8, 16, 19
 Tamnâtârês (= Timnath-heres), xxxiv. 8
 Tanais (= Zoan), xiii. 12
 Tâphâ, xxxiv. 4
 Targum, Ps. Jonathan, pp. 2, 22, 26, 32, 33, 103, 116, 201
 Taylor quoted, p. 7, 125
 Temple, the second, i. 17
 Terah, xi. 10
 Tergal, xiii. 22
 Tertullian quoted, p. 101
 Testaments of XII. Patriarchs, pp. xlv, xlv, 8, 9, 24, 132, 134, 170, 171, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 206, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 245, 246
 Tharmuth, xlvii. 5
 Third month, i. 1 note
 Thomson, p. xxv
 Thousand years=one day, iv. 30 note
 years of life for the righteous, xxiii. 27 (iv. 30; xxiii. 15)
 Tigris, ix. 2, 5
 Timnah, xli. 8, 9
 Tinâ (= Tanais=Don), viii. 12, 16, 25, 28; ix. 2, 8
 Tiras, vii. 19; ix. 13
 Tithes, xiii. 25, 26; xxxii. 2, 8, 9, 10-15 double, xxxii. 9-11
 Tobit quoted, p. 166
 Tola, xlv. 16
 Tower of Abraham, xxix. 16, 19
 Treuenfels, p. xxii.
 Tubal, vii. 19; ix. 11
 Twenty-two—a significant number, pp. xxxix-xi; ii. 23 note

 'Ūr, father-in-law of Reu, xi. 1
 Ur, city of, xi. 3, 7, 8; xii. 14, 15

 War forbidden on the Sabbath, i. 12
 Washings obligatory in connection with sacrifices, xxi. 16
 Watchers, the. *See* Angels
 Well of the Oath (*see* Beersheba), xvi. 11, 15; xviii. 17; xxii. 1; xxiv. 21, 26; xxvii. 19; xxix. 17; xlv. 1
 Vision, xxiv. 1
 Wine to be drunk at the Passover, xlix. 6, 9
 Wisdom, Book of, pp. 126, 252
 makes use of Jubilees, pp. lxxiv, sq.
 Woods to be used in sacrificing, xxi. 12-14

 Year, the=364 days, vi. 29-38 notes
 Years, civil and ecclesiastical, implied (?) in Jubilees, p. lxxviii; vi. 29-30 note
 430, from birth of Isaac to The Exodus, xiv. 13 note

 Zabulon, xxviii. 23
 Zeboim, xiii. 23; xvi. 5
 Zephathite, xlv. 13
 Zerah, xli. 21; xlv. 15
 Zilpah, sister of Bilhah, xxviii. 3, 9; xlv. 19
 Zimram, xix. 12
 Zion, i. 28, 29; viii. 19
 Ziphion, xlv. 20
 Zonaras quoted, pp. xvi, lxxix, 35

Printed by R. & R. CLARK, LIMITED, Edinburgh.

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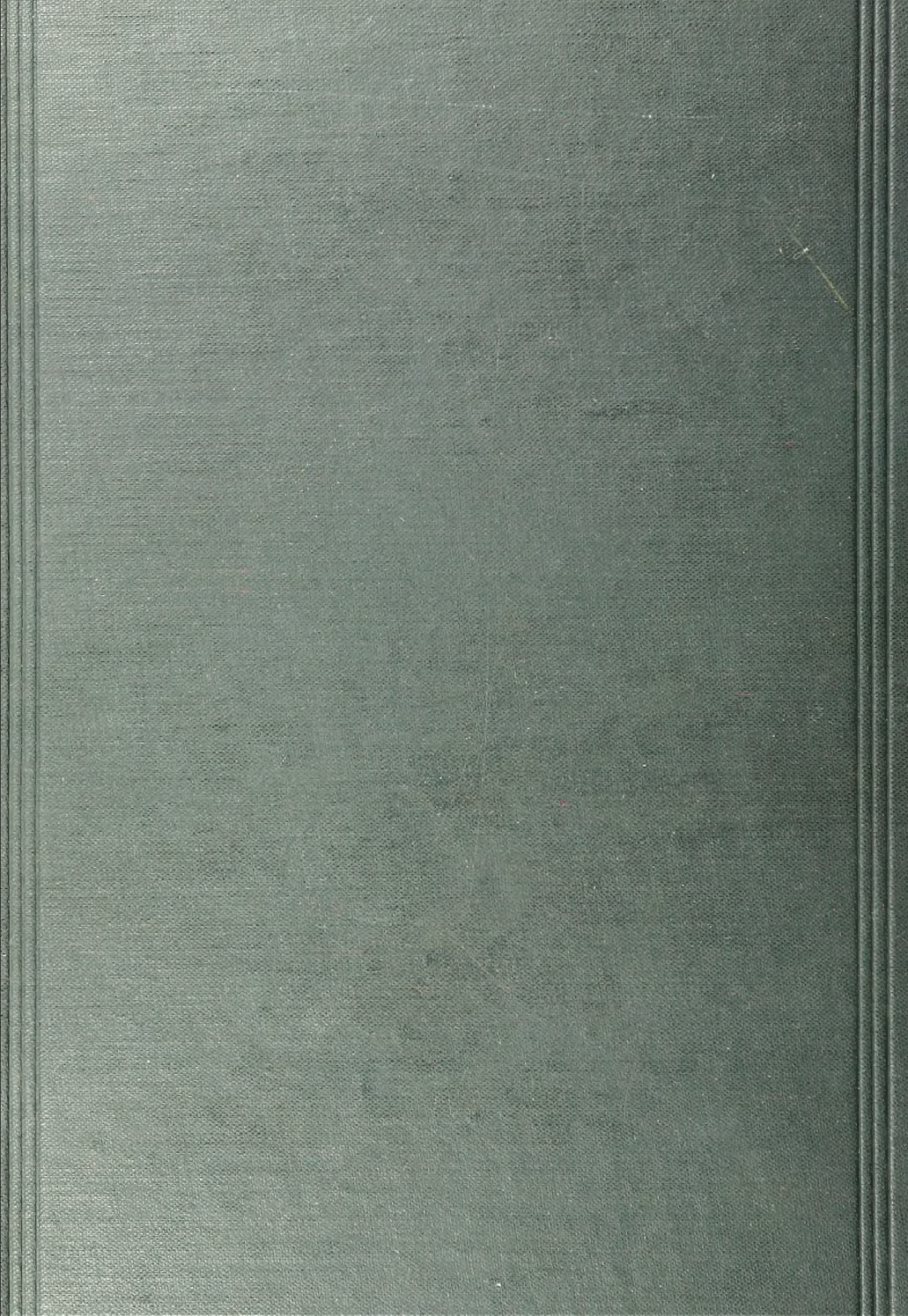
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Even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob."*

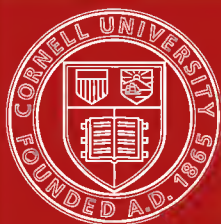


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INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

ONE of the most marked features of theological research in our day and decade is the intense interest which characterizes the work in biblical theology, technically so called, and in this department no auxiliary branch has been more productive of good results than has been that discipline called History of New Testament Times, or the study of the times of Christ as to their religious, moral, and social features. The aim of such study is to reproduce, as far as possible, the exact picture of Christ's earthly career in the midst of all the agencies which influenced him and upon which he exerted his influence; in other words, to understand Christ's words and works with their true historical background and surroundings. It is a line of investigation that has produced, indirectly, such masterpieces as Weber's *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie* (Leipzig, 1880), and, directly, such as Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, as also the two *Neu-Testamentliche Zeitgeschichten*, of Schürer and Hausrath, as well as many other works, smaller in dimensions and more closely circumscribed in scope, while the spirit and method of this research is felt in every fibre of the leading exegetical and historical works on biblical subjects. The object of all this study is to produce an accurate and truly historical picture of Christ and Christianity.

In the pursuit of this aim the Book of Jubilees has a not unimportant mission. This importance lies in the fact that it, if carefully studied, will furnish valuable contributions toward the understanding of that problem which lies back and behind all the work and teachings of both

Christ and his disciples, as also of the writings of the latter, namely, the doctrines, beliefs, and spirit of New Testament Judaism. Christ came unto his own, and his own received him not (John i. 11), because Israel had departed from the revelations of God. Instead of a justification by faith, as is taught throughout the whole Old Testament, the cotemporaries of our Lord taught a justification by the law, a legal righteousness. The central principle of Jewish orthodoxy was the nomistic principle, that obedience to the law in all its real and imagined ramifications must be the basis of acceptance before God. Thus there was an impassable gulf fixed between the theological system of the Jews and that of Christ and his disciples. The latter was a further development from Old Testament premises; the former was a radical departure from all pre-Christian revelation. This woful heterodoxy, which constituted the backbone and marrow of the accepted theology of the day, meets Christ and his disciples wherever they work or speak, and has been an all-powerful factor in moulding the shape and form which the New Testament revelation and development has assumed. We need in this connection to cite as examples only the Pauline doctrine of the law, in which he antagonizes, not the law as such, but only the false stand-point of the Jews in regard to the law, and his outspoken and decided championship of the doctrine of justification by faith alone over against a justification by works, suggested, beyond all doubt, by the fundamental error of the Jewish system of his day.

In the study of these problems the book before us finds its mission. The editor of the Ethiopic text and German translator, Professor Dillmann, has proved to the satisfaction of scholars in general, that the book is a production of the first Christian century. In Ewald's *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* for 1850 and 1851, he has published a German translation of the book from a single and defective manuscript, and added a short discussion of the

contents. There (pp. 90-4) he shows that the book presupposes and cites those parts of the Book of Enoch which date up to about the birth of Christ, while it, in turn, has been used and quoted by the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a work similar in spirit and a product of the early part of the second century. This will decide the end of the first century after Christ as the date for the composition of the Book of Jubilees. By Christian authors the work is not quoted until later. Epiphanius, Jerome, and Rufinus are the first to mention it, while Syncellus, Cedrinus, and other Byzantine writers quote from it at length. These citations are collected in Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 1722, vol. i. pp. 849-64. But the testimony of the *Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum* is decisive as to the *terminus ad quem*. Rönisch, who has made a most exhaustive study of the book, confidently claims that it was written before the destruction of the temple, pointing to the words in c. 1, 23; 49, 27, and similar passages, which could not have been written after that event. Cf. also Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, p. 146, and Schiirer, l. c. 463.

As the book is undoubtedly the work of a Palestinian Jew and written in Hebrew (although the Ethiopic is translated from the Greek—cf. Dillmann, l. c. p. 88 ff.), it can be fairly considered as an outgrowth of that school and spirit of Judaism which we in the New Testament find arrayed in opposition to Christianity and its work. The book can best be described by calling it a haggadic commentary on certain portions of Genesis and the opening chapters of Exodus, and it is thus the oldest of all the Midrashim, and a representative example of the manner in which the learned contemporaries of Christ made use of the biblical books for their own peculiar purpose and object. It is a sample of an exegetical Targum of those days in the spirit of New Testament Judaism. Just to what particular school of Jewish thought it owes its origin would be difficult to decide. Since the publica-

tion of the German translation, a number of Jewish scholars, such as Jellenek (*Beth-ha-Midrash*, 1855, p. x. ff.), Beer (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856), Frankel (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1856), and earlier, Treuenfels (*Literaturblatt des Orients*, p. 1846), have discussed the problem, one advocating a Samaritan origin, another an Essene, another claiming that it arose in the Egyptian Diaspora, but all agreeing as to its thoroughly Jewish origin and, in general, its representative character, while Rönsch even thinks that he detects an anti-Christian tendency (*Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder die kleine Genesis*, pp. 518–20).

What time and source would indicate is amply verified by an examination of the contents. This, of course, cannot be the place, nor is it our object, to analyze critically the contents of the book, but by pointing to a few prominent features it will be readily seen how thoroughly the book harmonizes with the leading thoughts of Jewish orthodoxy in Christ's day. The centre of that orthodoxy was the law and its paraphernalia, and all means, lawful and unlawful, were put into requisition to exalt the importance of that law and to increase its authority. The eternity and pre-existence of this law, its festivals and its ceremonies, are accepted beliefs of later Judaism (cf. Weber, l. c. § 4 ff.). To the service of this dogma the writer of the Book of Jubilees has lent his pen. He again and again maintains the thesis that the law existed from eternity, although revealed in full only through Moses; that even in heaven, before the creation, the angels observed the festivals, services, and ceremonies of this law; that throughout their lives the patriarchs all strictly carried out its behests. All these things were written on the "tablets of heaven," and were gradually introduced among the pious fathers as occasion offered an opportunity, and the teachings concerning them were laid down in writing at the very beginning, which books of mystery were handed down from father to son in theo-

cratic succession. This is the leading thought of the whole work, and, in some form or other, is found in nearly every chapter. It is a remarkable example of how willing the Jews in Christ's day were to employ a most remarkable exegesis in order to make the records of revelation accord with their false view of its legal features.

Besides this leading characteristic of the work, there are many others of less importance that are interesting and instructive, and that cast a discerning light on the Jewish world of thought at the New Testament era. Outwardly the leading feature is the chronological system of the book, namely, its division of all ancient history of the Israelites according to the sacred periods of jubilees of forty-nine years, which fact gives it one of its Greek names, *Tὰ Ἰωβηλαία* (Epiphanius, *adv. Her.*, i, 3, 6), the other being *ἡ λεπτή γένεσις, λεπτογένεσις, or μικρογένεσις*, so called, not because it is shorter than the canonical Genesis, but because it had less authority. The time between the creation and the entrance of Israel into Canaan is counted as fifty jubilees, or 2,450 years, which in general agrees with the biblical records. In the details of this chronological arrangement there are occasionally slight variations from the Hebrew text, and in these instances there is often a surprising agreement with the Septuagint and the Samaritan versions. Dillmann is probably correct (p. 77) in ascribing these variations from the Hebrew, not to the author, but to the translator, accommodating the numbers to the Septuagint text recognized among the Greeks.

It is remarkable how the writer bridges over all the difficulties of the canonical Genesis. The speaking of the serpent in Paradise is explained by the fact that before the fall all animals could speak; he knows the names of all the wives of the patriarchs, also the day and month when their children were born; he shows how Genesis ii. 17 was literally fulfilled, since before the Lord a thousand years are as one day, and Adam died before he was a thousand years old; a parallel exegesis to this is found in

Justin Martyr c. Tryphone 81. He narrates with whose assistance Noah brought the animals into the ark; how the Hamitic tribes of Palestine unlawfully took possession of Shem's portion; that Rebecca loved Jacob more than Esau because Abraham had told her that the younger son would be the theocratic successor; also why it was that Amnon refused to take Tamar to wife; how Moses was preserved in the bulrushes, etc., and many other biblical narratives are explained and complemented in various manners, usually in an apologetical spirit.

The book is also full of stories and fables concerning the fathers in Israel, some of these being found also in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and other earlier and later works, but many not preserved elsewhere. In this connection we mention the names of the wives of the patriarchs and of the sons of Jacob; the name of the land to which Adam was driven after the expulsion from Eden; the number of the sons of Adam; the four sacred mountains of the earth; the name of the mountain of the Ararat chain where the ark rested; the extensive account of the fall of the angels in the days of Jared, together with the dire consequences of their sins with the daughters of men, which story forms the burden of the earliest portions of the book; the story of the books of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and others; the early days of Abraham, his piety, and fight against the idolatry of his father's house; the ten temptations of Abraham, and many similar stories concerning Jacob and his relations to Esau, and concerning the sons of Jacob and their history. The angelology and demonology of the book are carried out quite extensively, and in the main thoughts agree with the ideas found in other apocalyptic works. The patriarchs are all models of virtue, and especially prominent through their observance of the Levitical ordinances and ceremonies. The rest of the work is in harmony with these statements. Both through what it states and what it omits, the work is instructive in teaching what was the *Zeitgeist* among the Jews in those memorable days.

But, of course, the full contribution of the Book of Jubilees to the New Testament can only be secured through a careful and patient study of every chapter and verse. In order to enable scholars who are not acquainted with the Ethiopic to do this work, the present translation is here offered. It has been made directly from the best Ethiopic text accessible, and with the best aids at the translator's command. As has been stated above, the German translation by Dillmann is from a single defective and poor manuscript. Nine years after its publication, in 1859, Dillmann, the prince of Ethiopic scholars in our century, issued a critical edition of the Ethiopic text on the basis of two manuscripts, entitled, *Liber Jubilaeorum Qui idem a Gracis Ἡ λεπτὴ γένεσις inscribitur, versione Graeca deperdita, nunc nonnisi in Geez lingua conservatus, nuper ex Abyssinia in Europam allatus, Aethiopice ad duorum librorum manuscriptorum fidem primum edidit Dr. August Dillmann*. He had hoped himself to make a new translation of the book from this improved text (cf. Praefatio p. x.), but has never been able to do so. In Rönsch's edition, however, of a Latin fragment of the book found in 1861 by Ceriani, and embracing about one-third of the book, he has given a Latin translation from the Ethiopic of those sections corresponding to the Ceriani fragment. The need of a new translation has frequently been urged (cf., e. g., Drummond, l. c., p. 144). As there is no such version in any modern language, the present translator has attempted to do this, leaving to others to investigate the book in its whole length, depth, and breadth. In order to facilitate the study of the book, the translator has not only adopted the division of Dillmann into chapters, but has also divided these again into verses. The lack of this latter feature in Dillmann makes the use of his version very difficult. The fullest discussion of the book is that of Rönsch, besides whose work those mentioned in this introductory note may be consulted. The English reader will find valuable aid in Drummond, pp. 143-147.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

These are the words of the division¹ of days, according to the law and testimony,² according to the events of the years, according to their sevens, according to their Jubilees, to all the years of the world, according to the word of the Lord on Mount Sinai to Moses, when he ascended to receive the stone tablets of the law and the commandments by the voice of the Lord when he said to him: "Ascend to the top of the mountain!"³

CHAP. I. And it happened in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the 3rd month, on the 16th of this month, and the Lord spoke to Moses saying: "Ascend to me here on the mountain, and I will give to thee the two stone tablets of the law and the commandments; as I have written them, thou shalt make them known." 2. And Moses ascended the mountain of the Lord, and the glory of the Lord dwelt on the mountain of Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. 3. And the Lord called to Moses on the seventh day in the

¹ Kûfâlê, i. e., division, or rather, "Book of Division," is the name by which this book is known among the Abyssinians. As such it is cited, e. g., in the Apostolic Canons, 55. In Fell's edition, c. 56, we read of "three books of the Kûfâlê." The name is derived from the fact that the author divides the history he records according to the chronological system of jubilee periods.

² Both words used in the original for law and testimony are frequently employed for "covenant," διαθήκη. The two together evidently express the covenant relation between Israel and Jehovah.

³ In claiming divine and Sinaitic authority for the production before us, the author does nothing more than what is claimed for the whole of the oral traditions of the Jews. Cf. especially the opening sentences of the *Pirke Aboth* in the Mishna. The apocalypses of the same period also claim inspiration, prominently the book of Enoch. Such a *pia fraus* was manifestly not considered a moral wrong.

midst of the cloud; and he saw the glory of the Lord like a flaming fire on the top of the mountain.¹ 4. And Moses was there on the mountain forty days and forty nights, and the Lord instructed him in regard to what was past and what would be, the words of the division of days, both in the law and the testimony. 5. And he said to him: "Incline thy heart to every word which I shall speak to thee, and write them into a book, in order that their generations may see how I have left them on account of all the evil which they do, in rebelling and in deserting the covenant which I established between me and thee this day on Mount Sinai for their generations. 6. And it will be and these words shall declare it thus when all the punishments shall come over them, and they will know that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and their desires, and they will know that I was with them. 7. And thou, write for thyself all these words which I make known to thee this day (for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck²) before I shall lead them into the land which I have sworn to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying, "To your seed I will give this land, which flows with milk and honey; and they shall eat and be satisfied. 8. And they will turn themselves to false gods, who did not deliver them from all their oppression; and this testimony will be heard against them for a testimony. 9. For they will forget all my ordinances which I have commanded them, and will walk after the Gentiles and after their impurity and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will become for them an offence unto oppression and misfortune and for a trap. 10. And many will be destroyed and will be taken captive and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have deserted my ordinances and my com-

¹ Cf. Ex. xxiv. 15-17.

² Deut. xxxi. 27. Here, and indeed throughout the opening chapters of the book, there is a marked similarity between the author's ideas and that of the book of Deuteronomy.

mands and the festivals of my covenant, and my sabbaths and that which I have sanctified to myself in their midst, and my tabernacle and my sanctuary which I have sanctified to myself in the midst of the land that I should set my name over it and it should dwell there. 11. And they will make to themselves altars on heights and groves and sculptured idols, and each one will worship his own idol for sin, and they will offer their children to the demons and to all the deeds of the error of their hearts. 12. And I will send witnesses to them that I may testify over them, but they will not hear and will slay my witnesses, and they will cast out those who seek the law, and will abolish the whole [law], and will begin to do evil before my eyes. 13. And I will hide my face from them and I will deliver them over to the gentiles for captivity and for binding and for devouring and for expelling them from the midst of the land, and I shall scatter them in the midst of the gentiles. 14. And they will forget all my law and all my commandments and all my judgment, and they will err in reference to new moons and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees and ordinances. 15. And then they will turn themselves to me from the midst of the gentiles with all their hearts and all their soul and all their power, and I shall gather them from amongst all the gentiles, and they will seek me that I may be found for them when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, and I will open to them much peace and righteousness. 16. And I will transplant them as a plant of righteousness, with all my heart and with all my soul, and they will be to me for a blessing and not for a curse, a head and not a tail; and I will build up my sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be to them their God, and they shall be to me my people, in truth and in righteousness, and I will not desert them and will not deny them, for I am the Lord their God." 17. And Moses fell down upon his face, and he prayed and said: "My Lord and my God, do not for-

sake thy people and thy inheritance to wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the gentiles, that these may not rule over them, and that they do not make them to sin against thee. 18. O Lord, let thy mercy be raised over thy people, and create for them a righteous mind, and let not the spirit of Beliar¹ rule over them to accuse them before thee, to entrap them away from the path of righteousness, that they be destroyed from before thy face. 19. But they are thy people and thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered from the hands of the Egyptians with thy great power; and create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be entrapped in their sins from now on and to eternity!" 20. And the Lord said to Moses: "I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiff neck, and they will not obey until they learn their sins and the sins of their fathers. And after this they will turn to me in all righteousness and with their whole heart and with their whole soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their hearts and the foreskin of the hearts of their seed, and I will create for them a holy spirit, and will cleanse them so that they do not turn away from me from this day to eternity. 21. And their souls will cling to me and to all my commandments, and my commandments shall return to them, and I will be to them a father, and they shall be to me children. And they shall all be called the children of the living God, and will know all things of the spirit and all things of service, and it will be known that they are my children and that I am their father in righteousness and in truth, and that I love them. 22. And thou, write down for thyself all these words which I have this day make known to thee on this mountain, the first and the last and what is future, according to all the division of days in the law and in the testimony, and according

¹ Beliar, *βελιαρ*, cf. 2 Cor. vi. 15, a name of Satan frequently found in apocalyptic and early ecclesiastical literature.

to the weeks¹ of the jubilees to eternity, until I descend and dwell with them in all eternity."

23. And he said to the angel of the face:² "Write for Moses from the beginning of creation until my sanctuary shall have been established in their midst for all eternity, and the Lord will have appeared to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all of the children of Jacob and King on Mount Zion from eternity to eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy."

24. And the angel of the face, who went before the tents of Israel, took the tablets of the division of years from the time of the creation, the law and the testimony for the weeks and the jubilees, each year according to all its numbers and the jubilees according to years from the day of the new creation, when heaven and earth were created new, and also all creation according to the powers of heaven and all the creation of the earth, until then when the sanctuary of the Lord will be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries will be renewed for a healing and for peace and for a blessing for all the chosen of Israel, that it may be thus from this day on and to all the days of the world!

CHAP. II. And the angel of the face spoke to Moses by the command of the Lord, saying: "Write all the words

¹ The word "weeks" is used throughout the work in the sense of week of years, i. e., forty-nine years, or one jubilee period.

² The biblical מלאך הפנים, the favorite angels of apocalyptic writers, whose mission is the mediatorship between God and man. Later writers resort to this means of communication between divinity and humanity all the more in order to preserve the former from all contact with the latter, and thus preserve the holiness of God. The idea is born from the same spirit that induced the Septuagint translators to smooth over the anthropomorphism and anthropopathies of the Hebrew text, and helped much to the development of Philo's *logos* idea and allegorical method of interpretation, as also to the popularity of the *Menre* mediatorship in God's dealings with men and the world so generally prevalent in the Targumim. Cf. Zech. i. 9, and similar passages, and also Weber, System der altsynag. palest. Theologie, passim.

of creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all the works which he created, and rested on the seventh day and sanctified it for all the years and established it as a sign for all his works." For on the first day he created the heavens above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits that serve before him, and the angels of the face and the angels that cry "holy," and the angels of the spirit of fire,¹ and the angels of the spirit of wind, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds of darkness and of hail and of hoarfrost, and the angels of the abysses and of thunder and of lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, of winter and of spring and of fall and of summer and of all the spirits of the multitude of works which are in the heavens and on the earth and in all the depths, and of darkness and of light and of dawn and of eve which he has prepared in the knowledge of his heart. 2. And at that time we saw his work and praised him and lauded before him on account of all his work, for seven great things did he make on the first day.² 3. And on the second day he made a firmament between the waters, and the waters divided on this day, and half of it ascended upward, and half of it descended beneath the firmament over the face of the earth. And this work alone was made on the second day. 4. And on the third day he did as he said to the waters that they should cross from the face of the whole earth to one place, and that dry land should appear. 5. And he made the waters thus as he said to them, and they gathered from over the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. 6. And on that day he created for it

¹ The idea underlying this and similar expressions found so frequently in the Jewish apocalypses is that all objects in nature which can be agencies for good or for evil are under the management of particular angels who direct their use according to the will of the Lord. Especially is this the case in the Noachic fragments of Enoch. Cf. the translator's version of that book (Andover, 1882), chap. 60 sqq. and notes.

² I. e., heaven, earth, water, serving spirits, angels of the face, angels of praise, and angels of the elements. Cf. also verse 17 of this chapter.

[the water] the abysses of the seas, according to their separate gathering places, and all the rivers and the gathering places of the waters in the hills and in all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown according to its kind, and every thing that is eaten, and the trees which bear fruit, and the wild trees, and the garden of Eden for pleasure; and all these four¹ great creations he made on the third day.

7. And on the fourth day he made the sun and moon and stars and placed them in the firmament of heaven that they should shine over the earth and to rule over day and night and to divide between night and day and between darkness and light. 8. And God established the sun as a great sign over the earth and for days and for sabbaths and for months and for festivals and for years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. 9. And he shall divide between light and darkness and for prosperity that all things that sprout and grow on earth may prosper. 10. These three kinds God made on the fourth day. 11. And on the fifth day he created the great animals in the abysses of the seas (for these were the first things of flesh created by his hands), and every thing that moves in the waters, and the fishes and every thing that flies, the birds and their whole kind. 12. And the sun arose over them to prosper them, and over all that was on the earth, every thing that sprouts out of the earth and all the trees that bear fruit and all flesh: these three kinds he made on the fifth day. 13. And on the sixth day he made all the animals of the earth and all the beasts and every thing that moves over the earth. 14. And after all this he made mankind, a single one; male and female he created them, and made him ruler over all things upon the earth and in the seas and over that which flies and over all the animals and beasts and over every thing that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth;

¹ I. e., the terra firma, the gathering places for the water, the plants, and Eden.

and over all this he made him ruler. 15. And these four kinds he made on the sixth day. And there were altogether twenty-two kinds.¹ 16. And he completed all his work on the sixth day,² all that is in the heavens and on the earth and in the seas and in the abysses, in the light and in the darkness and in every thing; and he gave us [the angels] a great sign, the day of sabbaths, that we should do work six days, and should rest on the sabbath from all work. 17. And all the angels of the face and all the angels that cry "holy," to us, these two great kinds, he said that we should observe the sabbath with him in heaven and on earth.³ 18. And he said to us: "Behold, I shall separate for myself a people from among all the nations, and these shall celebrate the sabbath, and I shall sanctify them unto myself as a nation, and I will sanctify them unto myself as a people, and will bless them, as I have sanctified the day of sabbaths, and I will sanctify them unto me and thus I will bless them; and they shall be to me my people, but I will be to them a God. 19. And I chose the seed of Jacob from among all that I have seen and have written him down as a first born son, and I have sanctified him unto myself forever and ever; and the day of the sabbaths I will teach them, that they observe sabbath on it from all work." 20. And he made therein a sign that they too should observe the sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to drink and to bless him who has created all things, as he blessed and sanctified unto himself a

¹ I. e., seven kinds on the first day, one on the second, four on the third, three on the fourth, three on the fifth, and four on the sixth day.

² The writer follows the Septuagint with its ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑκτῇ in Gen. ii.2. It will be remembered that the Hebrew text here has ביום השביעי.

³ Not only the pre-existence of great persons, such as the Messiah, but of sacred objects and ceremonies is a favorite idea of apocalyptic writers. According to the book of Jubilees, the Israelite economy was but a reflex and reproduction of an eternal and more perfect *hierarchia caelestis* among the angels around the throne of grace. Cf. especially the translator's introduction to Enoch p. 48 sqq. In *Assumptio Mosis* i. 17 we have the same view we find expressed here concerning the observance of the sabbath in heaven, cf. also verse 27 of this chapter.

people which shall appear from amongst the nations and that they should observe the sabbath together with us. And he caused that before him his commands should ascend like a sweet savor which should be acceptable before him all the days of the twenty-two heads of men from Adam to Jacob. And twenty-two kinds of works were made until this seventh day;¹ this thing is blessed and holy, and the former too is blessed and holy: and this one with that one serves for a sanctification and blessing. 21. And to this one [Jacob and his seed] was given that they should be for all days the blessed and holy ones of the testimony and the first law, just as he had blessed and sanctified the seventh day on the seventh day. 22. He created heaven and earth and every thing that he created in six days, and the Lord established a holy festival day for all his creation; and therefore he commanded on its account that he who does any work on it shall die, and whoever defiles it shall surely die. 23. And thou, command the children of Israel, and they shall observe this day, so that they keep it holy and do not work on it any work, and do not defile it; for it is holier than all the days. 24. All who profane this day shall surely die, and all who do any work on it shall surely die forever; so that the children of Israel observe this day in their generations and be not rooted out of the land; for it is a holy day and a blessed day. 25. And every man who observes it and keeps the sabbath on it away from all his work, will be blessed and holy for all his days like unto me. 26. And announce and say to the children of Israel the law of this day, and that they shall observe the sabbath on it, and do not desert it in the error of their hearts, and that they be not engaged in doing any thing on it which should not be done, and that they do not prepare on it any thing that

¹ In connection with this observe, that as there had been twenty-two different works of creation before the sanctification of the sabbath by the angels (cf. v. 15 sqq.) thus too there should be twenty-two generations of people before in Israel a nation should arise that would establish the sanctification of the sabbath on earth.

is eaten or drunk, nor draw water, nor on it carry in or bring out of their gates any thing that is carried, which they have not prepared for themselves as a work on the six days in their houses. 27. And they shall not carry out or bring in on that day from one house to another, for this is a holy and blessed day over all the days of jubilees; on it we observed the sabbath in heaven, before it was known to any mortal to observe the sabbath on it on the earth. 28. And the Creator of all blessed it; but he did not sanctify all nations and peoples to observe the sabbath on it, only Israel alone: to them alone he granted to eat and to drink and to observe sabbath on it on the earth. 29. And the Creator of all blessed it, who had created this day for a blessing and a sanctification and for glory above all the days. 30. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law forever to their generations.

CHAP. III. 1. And in the sixth day of the second sabbath we brought, by the command of the Lord, to Adam all the animals and all the beasts and all the birds and every thing that moves on the earth and every thing that moves in the water, each according to their kind, and each according to their similarity: on the first day the animals; the beasts on the second day; the birds on the third day; every thing that moves on the earth the fourth day; whatever moves in the water on the fifth day. 2. And Adam gave unto each its name; and as he called them, this was their name. And on these five days Adam saw this: a male and a female in each kind that is on the earth, but that he was alone and could not find a companion who could be an aid to such as he. 3. And God said to me:¹ "It is not good that man should be alone: let us make for him a helpmeet like unto him." 4. And the Lord our God caused a stupor to fall upon him and he slept, and he took for a wife one rib from amongst his ribs, and this rib was made into a woman from amongst his ribs, and he built

¹ I. e., to the angel who is narrating these matters to Moses.

flesh there in its place, and built a woman. 5. And he awakened Adam out of his sleep, and awakening he arose on the sixth day and came to her and knew her and said unto her: 'This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh: this one shall be called my wife, for she came and originated from man. 6. For this reason man and wife shall be one, and for this reason a man shall leave his father and his mother and will connect himself with his wife, and they shall be one flesh. 7. And in the first seventh was Adam created, and his wife in his side, and in the second seventh he showed her to him,¹ and on that account the command was given to observe in their defilement seven days for a male and twice seven days for a female.²

8. And when Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden, that he should work it and watch it; but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered the garden; and on this account the commandment is written on the tablets of heaven³ in reference to her that gives birth, that "if she brings forth a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty days shall she abide in the blood of purifying, and she shall touch nothing holy and shall not enter into the sanctuary until these days are completed for her who has a male child. 9. But she who has a female child shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days in the blood of purifying, and all the days for her shall be eighty."⁴ 10. And she having completed these

¹ I. e., she was created at the same time with Adam, but in and within him, and it was only in the second week that she became a separate creature.

² Cf. Lev. xii.

³ Throughout this and similar works the laws of God and his ordinances are looked upon as taken from the tablets of heaven; especially is this idea and expression found in the Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum.

⁴ Cf. Lev. xv.

eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holy above the whole earth, and every tree that is planted in it is holy. And on this account was ordained concerning her that gives birth to a male or female this law for these days, that they shall touch nothing holy nor enter a sanctuary until these days for a male or a female are completed.¹ 11. This law and testimony was given and written for the children of Israel that they should observe it all the days. 12. And in the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden seven years working and watching it; and we gave them work and taught them to work every thing that offered itself for work. 13. And he labored and was naked and did not know it and was not ashamed, and he watched the garden against the birds and the animals and the beasts,² and gathered its fruits and ate and laid aside the rest for himself and his wife, and laid aside that which he had guarded for himself. 14. And having ended the completion of seven years which he completed there, in the seventh year exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth of the month, the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman: "Has God commanded that you shall not eat of any of the fruit of the tree in the garden?" 15. And she said to it. "He has told us, 'Eat from all the fruit of the trees in the garden, but from the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden ye shall not eat, nor shall ye touch it, that ye die not!'" 16. And the serpent said to the woman: "Ye will surely not die, but because God knows that on which day ye eat of it your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be like gods and will know good and evil." 17. And the woman saw the tree that it was pleasant and it pleased the eye, and that its fruit was good to eat; she

¹ To the present day yet this law is preserved in the Church of Abyssinia. Cf. Thiersch's elaborate articles on Abyssinia in the July and August numbers of the *Allgm. Conservat. Monatschrift* for 1884.

² On this point our book differs from other apocalypses where the animals before the fall are represented as harmless.

took from it and ate. 18. And she first covered her shame with fig leaves, and gave to her husband, and he ate, and his eyes were opened and he saw that he was naked. 19. And he took fig leaves and sewed them together and made for himself an apron and covered his shame. 20. And God cursed the serpent and was enraged at it forever; and he was enraged at the woman also, because she had obeyed the voice of the serpent, and he said to her: "I shall surely increase thy pains and thy trouble; in thy pains bear children, and to thy husband be thy refuge, and he shall be thy lord." 21. And to Adam he said: "Because thou didst obey the voice of thy wife and didst eat from this tree of which I had commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat, let the earth be cursed on account of thy deed; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for thee; and eat thou thy bread in the sweat of thy brow until thou returnest to the earth from which thou hast been taken; for earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt return." 22. And he made for them garments of skin and clothed them, and sent them from the garden. 23. And on that day on which Adam came out of the garden of Eden he offered, as a sweet savour, a burnt offering: frankincense and galbanum and myrrh spices, in the morning with the rising of the sun, on the day when he covered his shame. 24. And on that day was closed the mouth of all the animals and of the beasts and of the birds and of whatever walks and of whatever moves, so that they could not speak; for they all had spoken with each other one lip and one tongue.¹ 25. And he sent out of the garden of Eden all flesh that was in the garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds and according to its natures to the places which had been created for them. 26. And to Adam alone did he give to cover his shame, of all the animals and beasts. 27. On this account it is commanded in the tablets of heaven concerning all who know the judgment of the law, that they

¹ The idea that animals spoke before the fall is not confined to this book.

shall cover their shame and shall not uncover themselves as the gentiles uncover themselves. 28. And at the new moon of the fourth month Adam and his wife came out of the garden of Eden and dwelt in the land of Eldâ, in the land of their creation. 29. And Adam called the name of his wife Eve. 30. And they did not have a son until the first jubilee year; and after this he knew her. 31. But he cultivated the land, as he had been taught in the garden of Eden.

CHAP. IV. 1. And in the third week of the second jubilee she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth she gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth she gave birth to her daughter Awân.¹ 2. And in the first [week] of the third jubilee Cain slew Abel, because [God] accepted an offering from his hands, but did not receive a fruit offering from the hands of Cain. 3. And he slew him on the field; and his blood cried aloud from earth to heaven lamenting that he had slain him, and God punished Cain, because he had slain Abel. 4. And he made him a refugee over the earth, on account of the blood of his brother, and he cursed him upon the earth. 5. And on this account it is written in the tablets of heaven: "Cursed be he who slays his neighbor in wickedness, and all who hear shall say, 'So be it!' and the man who sees it and does not announce it, cursed be he like the other." 6. And on this account we hearing come to announce before the Lord our God all the sins which take place in heaven and earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. 7. And Adam and his wife mourned for Abel four weeks of years; and in the fourth year of the fifth week he became joyful and knew his wife again, and she brought forth for him a son, and

¹ Who invented this and the other non-biblical names that are found in this and the following chapters is not known. As in the whole known literature of that day and kind there is no other book that contains so many of them as does the one before us, it may not be incorrect to think that the author himself invented many. But he is certainly not the originator of the idea of inventing such names. Indications abound that the popular Jewish faith of the day had many such names.

they called his name Seth; for he said: "The Lord has raised up for us a second seed on the earth in the place of Abel; for Cain slew him." 8. In the sixth week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. 9. And Cain took Awân his sister to himself as wife, and she brought forth for him Enoch at the end of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth jubilee houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called it by the name of his son Enoch. 10. And Adam knew Eve, his wife, and she brought forth yet nine sons. 11. And in the fifth week of this jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to himself as wife, and in the fourth [year] she brought forth for him Enos. 12. And he began first to call upon the name of the Lord on the earth. 13. And in the seventh jubilee, in the fifth week, Enos took Nôêm his sister to himself as wife, and she brought forth for him a son in the third year of the fifth week, and called his name Cainan. 14. And at the end of the eighth jubilee Cainan took to himself as wife Mûalêt his sister, and she bore for him a son in the ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the third year of this week, and he called his name Malâlêl. 15. And in the second week of the tenth jubilee Malâlêl took unto himself as wife Sinâ, the daughter of Barâkhêl, the daughter of the sister of his father, and she bore him a son in the third week, in the sixth year, and he called his name Jârêd; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended upon the earth, those that are called Watchmen,¹ that they should teach the children of men to do judgment and right over the earth. 16. And in the eleventh jubilee Jârêd took to himself a wife, and her name was Barâkâ, a daughter of Râsûjêl, a daughter of the sister of his father,

¹ The name by which the angels of Gen. vi. 1 sqq. are known in apocalyptic literature. Their evil deeds and the consequences thereof form the burden of the oldest portion of the book of Enoch. All that is here related of them and of Enoch is based upon the account there given, and the whole matter is treated *in extenso* in the writer's translation of that book. Cf. especially the Introduction, p. 32 sqq., and chap. vi. and sqq. of the book itself, together with the notes.

in the fourth week of this jubilee; and she bore for him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year, of this jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. 17. He was the first one from among the children of men that are born on the earth to learn writing and knowledge and wisdom. 18. And he wrote the signs of heaven¹ according to the order of their months in a book, that the sons of men might know the time of the year according to their separate months. 19. He was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the children of men concerning the generations of the earth, and explained the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them the days of the years, and arranged the months and explained the sabbaths of the years as we made them known to him. 20. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of the night in a dream, and as it will happen to the children of men in their generations until the day of judgment; he saw and learned every thing and wrote it as a testimony and laid the testimony on the earth over all the children of men and for their generations. 21. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednâ, the daughter of Daniel, the daughter of the sister of his father; and in the sixth year in this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Methusaleh. 22. And then he was with the angels of God six years of this jubilee, and they showed him all things on earth and in heaven, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down all things. 23. And he testified to the Watchmen, those that sinned with the daughters of men; for they had commenced to mix with the daughters of the earth, so that they were defiled; and Enoch testified against them all. 24. And he was removed from the midst of the children of men, and we conducted him into the garden of Eden for greatness and for honor, and behold here he was

¹ The standard reputation of Enoch among legend-loving Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. Cf. Enoch (Introd.) pp. 14-17. The writing here referred to is the book of Enoch.

engaged in writing down the judgment and the eternal condemnation and all the wickedness of the sons of the children of men. 25. And on his account [God] brought the deluge over the whole land of Eden;¹ for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify over all the sons of the children of men, that he should declare all the deeds of the generations until the day of judgment. 26. And he offered a burnt offering on the west side of the sanctuary [?] which was pleasing before the Lord on the hill of the south; for there are four places to the Lord on earth: the garden of Eden and the hill of the east in it,² and this hill on which thou art to-day, the hill of Sinai, and the hill of Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth: through it the earth will be sanctified from all its sin and its uncleanness to the generation of eternity.³ 27. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methusaleh took unto himself as his wife Ednâ, the daughter of Ezrâêl, the daughter of the sister of his father, in the third week in first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lâmêch. And in the fifteenth jubilee, in the third week, Lâmêch took to himself a wife, and her name was Bilanôs, the daughter of Barâkêl, the daughter of the sister of his father; and in this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Noah, saying: "This one will comfort me on account of all my work and on account of the earth which the Lord has

¹ This is a somewhat strange statement, and the text may be corrupt. The term "land of Eden" generally is the same as simply Eden. The connection might lead to the thought that all but Eden was then destroyed, as it was no longer inhabited since Adam's expulsion. A negative particle of some sort may have dropped out.

² Naturally the locality of the first two of these sacred places cannot be ascertained; it may be that the writer himself had no accurate idea on this matter.

³ Referring to the hope of all writers of Jewish apocalypses that God would establish Israel as his ruling people on Zion, and from that centre spread his blessings over all nations. This is one of the most fixed hopes of this and similar works.

cursed." 28. And at the end of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week, in the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all of his sons buried him in the land of the creation of Adam, and he was the first to be buried in the earth, and he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are like one day in the testimony of heaven,¹ and therefore it was written concerning the tree of knowledge: "On the day on which ye eat thereof ye shall die." 29. And for this reason he did not complete the years of this day; for in it he died. 30. At the end of this jubilee Cain was killed, after him, in the same year; and his house fell upon him, and he died in the midst of the house, and he was killed with his stones, for with a stone he had killed Abel, and with a stone he was killed by a judgment of righteousness. 31. On this account it is ordained in the tablets of heaven: "With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbor, he shall be killed; as he wounded him, shall thus they do to him."² 32. And in the fifty-fifth jubilee. Noah took to himself a wife, and her name was Emzarâh, the daughter of Râkêl the daughter of his sister [sic] in the first year, in the fifth week; and in the third year thereof she bore him Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bore him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bore him Japhet.

CHAP. V. 1. And it happened, when the sons of the children of men commenced to increase over the face of the whole earth and daughters were born to them, that the angels of the Lord saw them in one year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took unto themselves wives from all of them whomever they chose, and they bore them sons, and these were giants.³ 2. And injustice increased over the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, from men to animals and to beasts and to birds and to all that walks upon the earth; all corrupted

¹ A somewhat peculiar commentary on Ps. xc. 4.

² The *lex talionis*, based partly on Lev. xxiv. 19, 20.

³ Cf. note on iv. 15.

their ways and their orders¹ and began to devour each other, and unrighteousness increased over the earth, and all the thoughts of the knowledge of all the sons of men were thus wicked all the days. 3. And the Lord looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh corrupted its order and they all did evil before his eyes, all that were on the earth. 4. And he said: "I shall destroy mankind and all flesh that has been created above the face of the earth." And Noah alone found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 5. And concerning the angels whom he had sent upon the earth, he was greatly enraged, that he would root them out of all their power; and he said to us that we should bind them in the depths of the earth; and behold they are bound in the midst of them [depths] and separate. 6. And against their children came a word from before the face of the Lord, that they should be slain with a sword and be removed from under heaven. 7. And he said: "My spirit shall not abide over men forever, for they are flesh; and let their days be one hundred and twenty years." 8. And he sent into their midst his sword that each should slay his neighbor; and they began to slay one the other until they all fell upon the sword and were destroyed from the earth. 9. And their fathers witnessed it; and after this these were bound in the depths of the earth, until the day of the great judgment for the coming of punishment unto eternity over all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. 10. And he destroyed all their places, and there was not left a single one of them who was not judged according to all their wickedness. 11. And he made for all of his works a new and righteous nature, so that they did not sin in their entire nature unto eternity and were righteous each in his generation all the days. 12. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the tablets of the heaven and without injustice; and all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in, and

¹ I. e., the spheres to which the Creator had assigned them.

if they do not walk in it, then is written down a judgment for every creature and every generation; and nothing that is in heaven, or on earth, or in the light, or in the darkness, or in Sheol, or in the depth, or in the dark place [can escape]; all their judgments are ordained and written and engraved concerning all. 13. He will judge the small and the great, the great according to his greatness and the small according to his smallness, and each one according to his path. 14. And he is not one who has regard for persons, nor one who receives bribes when he says that he will hold judgment over each one: if one gives him all things on earth, he will have no regard for his person and will not receive any thing from his hands, for he is the judge. 15. And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained, if they shall turn to him in righteousness, he will remove all their guilt and pardon all their sins. 16. It is ordained and written that he will show mercy to all who turn from all their errors, once each year. 17. And concerning all those who corrupted their ways and works before the flood, he had no regard for their persons, with the exception of Noah alone; for he had regard for his person on account of the sons whom he saved from the water of the flood for his sake;¹ for his heart was righteous in all his ways, as had been commanded concerning it, and he had not transgressed any thing that had been ordained for him. 18. And the Lord said: "Every thing that is on the dry land and every thing that is created, from men to animals and to beasts and to birds and to whatever moves upon the earth, shall be destroyed." 19. And he commanded Noah to build an ark for himself that he might save him from the water of the flood. 20. And Noah made an ark in every thing as he had commanded him in the [twenty-seventh] jubilee, in the fifth week, in the fifth year. 21. And he entered on the sixth [year] thereof, in the second month, in the new moon of the second month:

¹I. e., Noah's sons were not themselves worthy of being saved, but escaped death for their father's sake.

until the sixteenth thereof he entered and all that we brought to him into the ark, and the Lord locked it from without on the seventeenth, at eve. 22. And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven and the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number. 23. And the flood-gates began to pour down water from heaven forty days and forty nights, and the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water. 24. And the water increased upon the earth: fifteen ells the waters were raised over all the high mountains, and the ark was lifted above the earth and moved upon the face of the waters. 25. And the water remained standing upon the face of the earth five months, one hundred and fifty days. 26. And the ark proceeded and rested upon the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. 17. And in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed, and the flood-gates of heaven were restrained, and in the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the deep of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. 28. And in the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains became visible, and in the new moon of the first month the earth became visible. 29. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth week, in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth became dry. 30. And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark and sent out of it the animals and the beasts and the birds and whatever moves.

CHAP. VI. 1. And at the new moon of the third month he came out of the ark and built an altar on that hill. 2. And he appeared on the earth, and he took a young goat and atoned by its blood for all the guilt of the earth, because every thing that had been on it was destroyed except those that were in the ark with Noah; and he placed the fat on the altar, and he took an ox and a goat and a sheep and young goats and salt and a turtle dove

and the young of a dove and brought a burnt sacrifice upon the altar, and scattered over them fruit offerings baked in oil and sprinkled the blood and wine, and placed upon it frankincense, and a sweet savour arose which was acceptable before the Lord. 3. And the Lord smelt the sweet savour, and he made with him a covenant that there should no more be a flood upon the earth which would destroy the earth: all the days of the earth, seed and harvest shall not cease, frost and heat and summer and winter and day and night shall not change their order and shall not cease forever. 4. "And ye, grow and increase on the earth and increase over it, and be for a blessing in its midst: your fear and your terror I will put upon every thing that is on the earth and in the sea. 5. And, behold, I have given you all the animals and all the beasts and every thing that flies and every thing that moves on the earth and the fish in the waters and all things for food; like the herbs of grass, I have given them all to you to eat. 6. Only flesh in which is its life with blood ye shall not eat: for the blood is the soul of all flesh, so that your blood in your souls be not demanded of you. 7. From the hands of each one I will demand the blood of a man; every one that sheddeth the blood of a man, by the hand of a man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God did he create Adam. 8. But ye, grow and increase upon the earth." 9. And Noah and his sons swore that they would not eat any blood that is in any flesh, and they made a covenant before the Lord God for ever, in all the generations of the world, in this month. 10. On this account he spoke to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the mountain, with an oath, and shouldst sprinkle blood over them on account of all the words of the covenant which the Lord has made with them for all days.¹ 11. And this testimony is written concerning you, that you observe it in all days, that ye do not in all days eat any blood of ani-

¹ The covenant of Sinai is regarded as a renewal of the Noachic covenant.

mals and birds and beasts in all the days of the earth; and the man who eats the blood of an animal or of beasts or of birds in all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land. 12. And thou command the children of Israel that they shall not eat any blood, so that their names and their seed may be before the Lord our God all the days. 13. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is for eternity; and they shall observe it to generation and generation, so that they may continue supplicating in their behalf with blood before the Lord on the altar on each day and day; mornings and evenings they shall supplicate in their behalf perpetually before the Lord, that they may observe this and not be rooted out. 14. And he gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a deluge over the earth; he placed his bow in the clouds as the sign of the eternal covenant that no water of the deluge should again come over the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. 15. On this account it is ordained and written on the tablets of heaven that the celebration of the festival of weeks should be in this month, once a year, for a renewed covenant in each year and year.¹ 16. And during the time this festival was being celebrated in heaven, from the days of creation to the days of Noah, it was twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years; and Noah and his sons observed it seven jubilees and one week of years until the time when Noah died. 17. But his children violated it until the days of Abraham, and they ate blood. But Abraham alone observed it, and Isaac and Jacob observed it, for these are his children, up to thy day; and in thy day the children of Israel forgot it until I renewed it for them on this mountain. 18. And thou command the children of Israel that they should observe this festival in all their generations as a commandment for

¹ It will be observed here and throughout the book that the author connects the religious system and worship in Israel not only with the ordinances of the tablets of heaven, but also with important events in the lines of the patriarchs.

them: one day in the year, in this month, they shall celebrate this festival. 19. For it is the festival of weeks and is a festival of first fruits; for this festival is of a double nature and double kind, as is written and engraved concerning its celebration. 20. For I have written it in the book of the first law in which I wrote to thee that thou shouldst observe it in its time one day a year; and I have explained to thee the offerings on that day, that they should be remembered and that the children of Israel should celebrate it one day in each year. 21. And at the new moon of the first month, and in the new moon of the fourth month, and in the new moon of the seventh month, and in the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remembrance and the days of the festivals in the four divisions of the years: written and ordained they are for a testimony until eternity. 22. And Noah ordained them for himself as festivals for future generations, for on them there was to him a remembrance. 23. At the new moon of the first month it was said to him that he should make for himself an ark, and on it the earth became dry, and he opened [the ark] and saw the earth. And at the new moon of the fourth month the mouth of the flood-gates of the lowest deep was closed. 24. And at the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the flood-gates of the earth were opened and the waters began to descend into the depth beneath. 25. And at the new moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains appeared, and Noah became glad. 26. And on this account he ordained them as festivals of remembrance unto himself unto eternity, and thus they are ordained. 27. And they were raised into the tablets of heaven: thirteen sabbaths to each, from one to another their remembrance, from the first to the second, from the second to the third, from the third to the fourth. 28. And all the days of this commandment are fifty-two sabbaths of days, and the whole year is completed. 29. Thus it is engraved and ordained in the tablets of heaven, and there is no transgression

from one year to another. And thou command the children of Israel that they should observe the years in this number, three hundred and sixty-four days, and the year shall be complete and the fixed date of their days and their festivals shall not be corrupted, for every thing transpires in them according to their testimony; and they [Israel] shall not miss a day or corrupt a festival. 31. But if they do transgress and do not observe them according to his commandment, then will be corrupted all their fixed dates, and the years will waver in consequence, and also their times and their years, and they will transgress their ordinances. 32. And all the children of Israel will forget and will not find the paths of the years, and will forget the new moon and the sabbaths and the festivals, and in all the order of the years they will err. 33. For I know, and from now on I shall make it known to thee, and not from my heart, but thus is written in a book before me and is ordained in the tablets of heaven, the division of the days, that they forget not the festivals of my covenant and walk according to the festivals of the gentiles, after their errors and after their ignorance. 34. And there will be those who will make observations of the moon, for this one [the moon] corrupts the stated times and comes out earlier each year by ten days. 35. And in this way they will corrupt the years and will observe a wrong day as the day of testimony and a corrupted festival day, and every one will mix holy days with unclean ones and unclean with holy; for they will err as to months and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees. 36. And on this account I command thee and testify to thee that thou shouldst testify to them, for after thy death thy children will corrupt, so that they make a year only three hundred and sixty-four days,¹ and on this account they will err as to new moons and sabbaths and fixed times and festivals and will ever eat blood with all kinds of flesh.

¹ How this statement is to be reconciled with verse 30 is not clear.

CHAP. VII. 1. And in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on this hill upon which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, the Ararat Mountains, and they produced fruit in the fourth year, and he watched their fruit and gathered them in this year in the seventh month, and he made wine of it, and put it into a vessel and kept it until the fifth year, until the first day of the new moon of the first month. 2. And he celebrated this day in rejoicing as a festival,¹ and he made a sacrifice unto the Lord, a young one from among the oxen and a ram and a sheep, each seven years old, and a young goat, that he might thereby obtain pardon for himself and his sons. 3. And he prepared the goat first, and he placed of its blood upon the flesh of the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid upon the altar where he was sacrificing to the Lord, and of the ox and the sheep he also placed the flesh upon the altar. 4. And he made all the fruit offerings thereof mixed with oil upon them, and thereupon he first scattered wine upon the fire on the altar, and placed incense upon the altar, and a sweet savor ascended which was acceptable before the Lord his God. 5. And he and his children rejoiced and drank of this wine in joy.² 6. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and he lay down drunken, and he slept, and he was uncovered in his tent while sleeping. 7. And Ham saw his father naked, and going out he told it to his two brothers without. 8. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and Japheth, and they carried the garment upon their shoulders, and their faces backward, and covered the shame of their father. 9. And Noah awoke from his sleep and learned everything that his youngest son had done to him; and he cursed his son and said: "Cursed be Canaan, a slaving servant shall he be to his brothers." And he blessed Shem: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and

¹ Cf. chap. vi. vs. 21 and 22.

² The writer apologetically describes the wine as having been drunk by Noah on the occasion of a religious festival.

may Canaan be his servant; and may the Lord extend Japheth and may the Lord dwell in the tent of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant!" 11. And Ham knew that his father had cursed his youngest son, and he became displeased with him because he had cursed his son and he separated himself from his father, he and his sons with him, Chush, and Meshrêm, and Pûd, and Canaan. 12. And he built for himself a city, and called its name after the name of his wife Nêêlâta-Mêk.¹ 13. And Japheth saw it and became envious of his brother, and he too built a city, and called its name after the name of his wife Adalênsês. 14. But Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city by the side of his father on the hill, and he too called its name by the name of his wife Sêdûkâtêlbâb. 15. And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr: Sêdûkâtêlbâb on the side of the hill on the east; Nêûltemâûk on the south side; and Adalânêsês toward the west; and these are the sons of Shem: Elâm, and Asûr, and Arpakeed: this is the generation after the second year of the flood (?)² these are the children of Noah. 16. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee he began to command the sons of his sons the ordinances and the commandments all as he had learned them and the judgments, and he testified to his sons that they should observe righteousness, and that they should cover the shame of their flesh, and that they should bless him who created them, and should honor father and mother, and each should love his neighbor, and should preserve their souls from all fornication and from all uncleanness and unrighteousness. 17. For on account of these three things the deluge came over the earth, namely on account of fornication, in which the Watchmen indulged against the commandments of their law, with the daughters of men, and took to themselves wives from all

¹ Very little reliance can be placed upon these names as the MSS. vary, and nearly all trace of the etymology is lost. The copyists naturally made mistakes in writing them.

² Here is a *lacuna* in the Ethiopic text.

whom they chose and made the beginning of uncleanness. 18. And they begat sons, the Naphidêm, and they were all unlike and they devoured one another: the giant slew the Naphil, and the Naphil slew Eljô, and Eljô the children of men, and all publicly practised every unrighteousness and shed much blood, and the earth was filled with unrighteousness; and after all these the animals, and the beasts, and the birds, and whatever walks and moves on the earth; and much blood was spilt on the earth, and all the thoughts and deeds of men were wicked in all the days. 19. And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth on account of their deeds and on account of the blood which was spilt over the earth. 20. And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered with us into the ark, and behold I am the first to see your works that ye do not walk in righteousness, for in the path of destruction have you commenced to walk, and are separating yourselves each from his neighbor, and are envious the one of the other, and are not in harmony each with his neighbor and his brother. 21. And yet, my sons, for I see and behold the satans have commenced to lead astray you and your children; and now I fear on your behalf that after my death ye will spill the blood of men over the face of the earth, and that ye too will be destroyed from its face. 22. For every one that sheds the blood of any man, and every one that eats the blood in any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth. 23. And there shall not be left any man who eats blood and who sheds blood upon the earth, and there shall not be left alone for him any seed or children under heaven; for they will go into Sheol, and into the place of judgment they will descend, in the darkness of the deep they will all be cast by a terrible death. 24. With regard to all blood over you which is in all the days that ye sacrifice an animal or a beast or whatever flies over the earth, and do a good deed concerning your souls in your covering of that which has been spilt over the face of the earth. 25. And ye shall not be like him that eats

with blood; be strong that no one eat blood in your presence: bury the blood in the earth; for as I have been commanded, I testify to you and your children together with all flesh. 26. And ye shall not eat the soul with the meat, that ye be not those of whom your blood, that is, your soul, be demanded from the hands of every one that sheddeth blood on the earth. 27. For the earth will not be clean of the blood which has been spilt upon it, but only by the blood of him that shed it will the earth be cleansed in all the generations of the earth. 28. And now, my children, obey and practise righteousness and justice so that ye be planted in righteousness upon the whole face of the earth, and that your renown be elevated before my God who has saved me from the water of the deluge. 29. And, behold, ye will proceed and build for yourselves cities and will plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth and every tree that bears fruit; for three years its fruit shall not be gathered to eat it, and in the fourth year the fruit shall be sanctified, and the first fruits which they gather shall be brought before the Lord our God, the Most High, who created heaven and earth and all things, so that they bring in fatness the first of the wine and oil as first fruits upon the altar of the Lord who receives it; and what is left the servants of the house of the Lord shall eat before the altar which he has accepted. 30. And in the fifth year make the release, so that ye release them in righteousness and justice, and you shall be just and all your plants shall be right. 31. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father Methusaleh, command his sons, and Methusaleh his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his father commanded him; but I command it to you, my children, just as Enoch commanded his son in his first jubilee; while he was alive, in his generation the seventh, he commanded and testified to his son and to the sons of his sons until the day of his death.¹

¹ We notice here the principle of the traditions of the fathers so potent in the theology of New Testament Judaism. Cf. also c. x. ii.

CHAP. VIII. 1. In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the first [year] thereof, Arphaksed took to himself a wife, and her name was Râsûjâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elâm, and she bore him a son in the third year of this week, and he called his name Kâinân. 2. And his son grew, and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for himself a city. 3. And he found a writing which the forefathers had carved into a rock, and he read what was in it, and he translated it and found that there was within it the science of the Watchmen by which they had seen the astrology of the sun and the moon and the stars and in all the signs of heaven;¹ and he wrote this down and did not say any thing concerning it, for he feared to speak to Noah concerning it, lest he be angry with him on this account. 4. And in the thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Milkâ, the daughter of Abâdai, the son of Japhet, and in the fourth year she bore him a son, and he called his name Sâlâ, for he said, "Verily, I have been sent away." 5. And in the fourth year Sâlâ was born, and he grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mûak, the daughter of Kêsêd, the brother of his father, in the thirty-first jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof. And she bore him a son in the fifth year, and he called his name Ebôr; and he took to himself a wife, and her name was Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. 6. And in the sixth year thereof she bore him a son, and he called his name Phalêk, for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began to divide the earth among themselves; and on this account he called his name Phalêk. 7. And they divided the earth among themselves in wickedness, and told it to Noah. 8. And it happened in the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee, and they divided the earth into three parts, to Shem and to

¹ Cf. Book of Enoch, c. viii. 1 sqq.

Ham, and to Japhet, each one his inheritance, in the first year of the first week, while an angel, one of us who were sent to them, was there. 9. And he called his sons, and they came to him, they and their children, and he divided the earth by lot what his three sons should take, and they stretched out their hands and took to themselves the writing out of the bosom of their father Noah. 10. And there came out on the writing as the lot for Shem the middle of the earth, which he and his children should have as an inheritance for the generations unto eternity, from the middle of the mountain Râfû, from the exit of the water of the river Tînâ, and his portion goes toward the west through the midst of this river, and they go until they approach to the abyss of the waters out of which comes this river, and this river empties and pours its waters into the sea Mîôt, and this river goes into the great sea: all that is toward the north of this is Japhet's, and all that is to the direction of the south is Shem's. 11. And it reaches until it comes to Karâsô, which is in the bosom of the tongue which looks toward the south. 12. And his portion reaches unto the great sea, and reaches straight until it approaches the west of the tongue which looks toward the south; for the sea is called the tongue of the Egyptian sea. 13. And it turns from there toward the south, toward the mouth of the great sea in the shore of the waters and proceeds toward Arabia and Ophrâ, and it proceeds until it reaches to the water of the river Gejôn and toward the south of the water of Gejôn, along the shore of this same river. 14. And it proceeds toward the north until it approaches the garden of Eden, toward the south thereof to the south, and from the east of the whole land of Eden, and toward the whole east, and it turns to the east, and proceeds until it approaches toward the east of the hills whose name is Râfâ, and it descends toward the border of the outlet of the water of the river Tînâ. 15. This portion came out in the lot for Shem and his sons, and he remembered his word which he had

spoken with his mouth in prophecy, for he had said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem!" 17. And he knew that the garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai, the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion, the centre of the navel of the earth,¹ these three, opposite one another, were created as sanctuaries. 18. And he blessed the God of gods who had put the speech of the Lord into his mouth. 19. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and to the children of his generations forever; the whole land of Edom, and all the land of the Erythrian sea, and all the land of the east, and India and at the Erythrian and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bâsôr, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kuphatûr, and all the land of Elâm and Asûr and Bâbêl and Sûsân and Mâdâr, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the land beyond the sea which is beyond the hills of Asûr toward the north, a blessed and prosperous land, and all that is in it is very good. 20. And for Ham came out as the second portion, beyond the Gijôn, toward the south, to the right of the garden, and it proceeds to all the fire mountains, and goes toward the west to the sea Atîl, and goes to the west until it reaches to the sea of Mâûk, of that one into which everything descends that is destroyed. 21. And it proceeds to the north to the shore of Gâdîl and goes to the west of the water of the sea until it approaches the river Gejôn, and the river Gejôn goes until it approaches to the right of the garden of Eden: and this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion he shall retain for himself and the children of his generations forever. 22. And for Japhet there came forth a third portion beyond the river Tinâ, toward the north of the exit of its waters, and it goes toward the

¹ That Jerusalem is the centre of the earth is an idea often met with in the later Jewish writers, and it is therefore also the central place of the Messianic rule. Cf., e. g., Enoch, lvi. 7; Dillmann, *Aethiop. Chrest.*, p. 15.

northeast the whole district of Lâg, and all the east thereof. 23. And it goes toward the north to the north, and goes to the mountains of Kilt, toward the north and toward the sea Mâûk, and it goes toward the east of Gadir over toward the coast of the water of the sea. 24. And it proceeds until it approaches the west of Para, and returns toward Aphêrâg, and goes toward the east, towards the waters of the sea Mêat. And it goes toward the shore of the river Tina, toward the east of the north, until it approaches to the shore of the waters thereof, toward the mountain Râfâ, and it bends toward the north. 25. This is the land which came forth for Japhet and his children as the portion of his inheritance which he should hold unto eternity for himself and the children of their generation unto eternity: five great islands and a greas land in the north; only it is cold, but the land of Ham it hot, and the land of Shem has neither heat nor frost, for it mixed in coldness and heat.

CHAP. IX. 1. And Ham divided among his sons; and the first portion came out for Ques toward the east, and to the west of him for Phud, and to the west of him for Kainan toward the west of the sea. 2. And Shem also divided among his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons toward the east of the river Tiger, until it approaches the east, the whole land of India and on the Erythrian and its coast, and the waters of Dêdan and all the mountains of Mêbrî and Ela, and all the land of Sûsan, and all that is on the side of the Phêrnak to the Erythrian sea and the river Tina. 3. But for Asûr came forth a second portion, all the land of Asûr and Nineva and Sinaôr and to the border of India, and ascends along the river. 4. And for Arphaksed came forth a third portion, all the land of the district of the Chaldees toward the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Erythrian lea, and all the waters of the desert until near to the tongue of the sea which looks toward Egypt, and all the sand of Libanon and Sanêr and Amana to the border of

the Euphrates. 5. And for Aram came forth as a fourth portion all the land of Mesopotamia, between the Tiger and the Euphrates, toward the north of the Chaldees, to the border of the mountains of Asur. 6. And the land of Arara came out as a fifth portion to his son, the mountains of Asur and all belonging to them until it reaches to the east of Asur, his brother. 7. And Japhet, too, divided the land of his inheritance between his sons, and the first portion came forth for Gômêr toward the east, from the north side to the river Tîna. And in the north there came out for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches the sea Mêat. 8. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess, to the west of his two brothers, unto the islands and unto the coasts of the islands. And to Egawan came forth as a fourth portion all the islands, and the islands which are toward Edalûd. 9. And for Tôbêl came forth as a fifth portion, between the tongue which approaches toward the side of the portion of Lûd, to the second tongue, unto beyond the second tongue into the third tongue. 10. And for Melek came forth as a sixth portion, all that beyond the third tongue, until it approaches to the east of Gadir. 11. And for Tiras came forth a seventh portion; four great islands in the midst of the sea, which approach to the portion of Ham; and the islands of Kamatûra came out for the sons of Arphaksed in his division of his inheritance by lot. 12. And thus the sons of Noah divided out to their children, in the presence of Noah their father, and he caused them to swear an oath cursing him who endeavored to seize a portion which had not been allotted him. And they all said: "Thus be it! Thus be it!" for themselves and for their descendants to eternity in their generations, until the day of judgment, on which the Lord God will judge them with a sword and with fire for all the wickedness of uncleanness which they have committed in that they filled the earth with transgression, uncleanness, fornication, and sin.

CHAP. X. 1. And in the third week of this jubilee the evil demons began to lead astray the sons of Noah and deceived them and destroyed them. 2. And the sons came to Noah their father and told him concerning the demons which were leading astray, darkening, and slaying the sons of their sons. 3. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and he said: "Lord of the spirits' of all flesh, thou who hast shown mercy to me and hast delivered me and my children from the waters of the deluge, and hast not suffered me to be destroyed as thou didst the children of destruction, for thy grace was great over men, and great was thy mercy over my soul; may thy grace be exalted over the sons of thy sons, and may the evil spirit not rule over them to destroy them off the earth. And thou hast verily blessed me and my sons that we increase and multiply and fill the earth. 4. And thou knowest how the Watchmen, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day; and these spirits also which are alive, cast them into prison and hold them in the places of judgment, and let them not destroy the sons of thy servant, my God, for they are terrible and created for destroying; and may they not rule over the spirits of the living; for thou alone knowest their judgment. 5. And let them have no sway over the children of the righteous from now on and to eternity. 6. And our God said unto us that we should bind all. 7. And the angel of the spirits, Mastêma,² came and said: "O Lord, Creator, leave some of them before me, and they shall hear my voice and they shall do all things that I tell them; for if thou dost not leave any of them to me I shall not be able to accomplish the power of

¹ A typical name of God in the Parables of Enoch, c. xxxvii. 71.

² The name of the leader of the evil spirits found throughout the book. The role here occupied by him may have been taken from that of Satan in Job, but it is in place to remark that in many apocryphal works, especially in Enoch, demonology has a wide field and the satans are recognized as organized opponents of God, who, however, do their evil deeds only with his permission. The word Mastema is derived from שטן=שטם, the Greek form being *μαστιφάτ*.

my will among the children of men, for they are here for corrupting, and destroying, and leading astray before the judgment, for great is their wickedness to the children of men." 8. And he said: "The tenth part of them shall be left before him and nine parts shall descend into the place of judgment." 9. And one of us said: "We will teach Noah all their medicines;" for they did not walk in righteousness, and did not contend in uprightness. And we did according to his word; all the wicked ones that were terrible we bound in the place of judgment, but the tenth part of them we left, that they should be judged before Satan on the earth. 10. And the medicines of all their sicknesses we explained to Noah together with all their deceptions how to heal them with the plants of the earth. 11. And Noah wrote all these down in a book as we instructed him, concerning every kind of medicines, and the evil spirits were held away from the sons of Noah. 12. And he gave all the writings which he had written to Shem, his oldest son, for him he loved exceedingly above all his children. 13. And Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on Mount Lûbar, in the land of Ararat. 14. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life; nineteen jubilees and two weeks and five years; he excelled in his life on the earth the children of men on account of his righteousness, in which he was perfect, with the exception of Enoch. 15. For the history of Enoch is made a testimony to the generations of eternity to announce all the deeds of the generation on the day of judgment. 16. In the thirty-third [fourth] jubilee, in the first year of the second week, Phalêk took to himself a wife, whose name was Lâmnâ, the daughter of Sînaar, and she bore him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Ragev, for he said: "Behold, the sons of men have become evil through a plan of wickedness, because they build for themselves a city and a tower in the land of Sînaar;" for they separated from the land of Ararat toward the east to Sînaar, for in his day they were building a city and a

tower, saying: "We will ascend on it into heaven." 17. And they began to build in the fourth week, and they burned with fire, and they used bricks for stones, and the clay with which they joined them was asphalt, which comes out of the sea and out of the fountains of water in the land of Sinaar, and they built forty years, and three years they were making bricks 18. And the Lord our God said to us: "Behold it is one people that has commenced to do it, and now I shall not let go of them; behold, we will descend and mix their tongues, and one shall not hear the other and they shall be scattered into cities and into nations and one counsel shall no longer abide with them until the day of judgment." 19. And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the city and tower which the children of men were building. 20. And he confounded all the speech of their tongues, and they no longer heard the voice one of the other, and they ceased then to build the city and the tower. On this account the whole land of Sinaar is called Babel, because there God confused all the tongues of the children of men, and from there they were scattered to all their cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a great wind against the tower and it overturned it upon the ground, and behold, [it stood] between the land of Assur and Babylon in the land of Sinaar, and they called its name Ruins. 21. And in the fourth week, in the first year of the thirty-fourth jubilee they were scattered out of the land of Sinaar. 22. And Ham and his sons went into the land which he had taken, which fell to him by lot in the land of the north [south]; and Kainaan saw the land of the Libanon to the canal of Egypt that it was very good, and he did not go into the land of his inheritance to the west of the sea, and dwelt in the land of Libanon to the east and to the west of the land of the Jordan and on the coast of the sea. 23. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mêzrêm, his brothers, said to him: "Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine and did not fall to us

by lot, thou shouldst not do thus; for if thou doest thus, then thou and thy children will fall by condemnation in the land, and as cursed ones by sedition, for by sedition ye have settled and by sedition thy children will fall and thou wilt be rooted out to eternity. 24. Do not dwell in the dwelling place of Shem, for to Shem and his children was it given by lot. 25. Cursed art thou and cursed shalt thou be above all the sons of Noah by the curse which we covenanted with an oath between us in the presence of the holy judge and before Noah our father." 26. But he did not listen to them and dwelt in the land of Libanon from Emath to the entrance of Egypt, he and his sons until this day. 27. And on this account this land is called Canaan. 28. But Japheth and his sons went toward the east and dwelt in their portions and Madai saw the land of the sea, and it pleased him, and he begged it from Elam, and Assur, and Arphaksed, the brother of his wife, and he dwelt in the land Mêdkin, near to the brother of his wife until this day. 29. And he called his dwelling place and the dwelling place of his sons Madakia, by the name of their father Madai.

CHAP. XI. 1. In the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Ragev took unto himself a wife, and her name was Orâ, the daughter of Or, the daughter of the son of Kêsêd, and she bore him a son, and he called his name Sêrûg, in the seventh year of this week of this jubilee. 2. And the sons of Noah began to fight with each other, to take captive and to slay each one his brother, and to spill the blood of men over the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers (and single men elevated themselves above the people, and first founded kingdoms), and to make war, a nation against a nation, and nations against nations, and city against city, and all things became worse, and they acquired for themselves arms, and taught their sons war, and began to take captive the cities and to sell male and female slaves. 3. And Ur, the son of Kêsêd, built Erâ of

the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and by the name of his father. 4. And he made for himself molten images, and they worshipped each one his own image which they had made for themselves by molding, and they began to make sculptured images and unclean forms, and the terrible spirits assisted them and misled them to commit transgression and uncleanness. 5. And the prince Mastêma gave his power to make all this, and through the angels who had been given under his hand, he sent out his hand to do all wickedness and sin and all transgression, and to destroy and to murder and to shed blood over the earth. 6. On this account his name was called Sêrâch, for Sêrâch turned himself in all things to do all kinds of sin. 7. And he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees near to the father of the mother of his wife, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlka, the daughter of Kêher, the daughter of the brother of his father. And she bore him a son Nakôr, in the first year of this week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the Chaldees, divination and astrology according to the signs of the heavens. 8. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ijôsek, the daughter of Nêsteg of the Chaldees. 9. And she bore him Tarah in the seventh year of this week. 10. And the prince Mastema sent ravens and birds that they should eat what was sown on the land, in order to destroy the land, so that they might deprive the children of men of their labor, for before they plowed in the seed the ravens picked it up from the surface of the ground. 11. On that account his father called his name Tarah, because the ravens and the birds robbed them and devoured their seed. 12. And the years began to be barren on account of the birds, and all the fruit of the trees they ate from the trees ; with great strength they were able to save a little

from all the fruit of the land in their days. 13. And in the thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year, Tarah took to himself a wife, and her name was Edna, the daughter of Abram, the daughter of the sister of his father. 14. And in the seventh year of this week she bore him a son, and he called his name Abram by the name of the father of his mother, for he had died before his daughter conceived a son. 15. And the child began to understand the errors of the earth, that all went astray after the images and after uncleanness; and his father taught him writing when two weeks of years old; and he separated himself from his father that he might not worship the idols with him. 16. And he began to pray to the Creator of all things that he should save him from the errors of the children of men, and that his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and shame. 17. And the time of seed came to sow it upon the land, and all came out together to watch their seed against the ravens, and Abram came out with those that came out, and he was a boy of fourteen years. 18. And a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to scatter them before they sat down on the earth to eat the seed, and said: "Do not devour; return to the place whence you came!" and they turned back. 19. And clouds of ravens returned that day seven times, and of all the ravens none sat down upon any of the land where Abram was, and not one was left there. 20. And all those that were with him on the whole land saw him crying, and all the ravens turned back; and great was his name in all the land of the Chaldees. 21. And there came to him in this year all those that had sowed seed, and he would go with them until the time of sowing in the land ceased, and they sowed in their land, and in this year they brought home grain, and ate it and were satisfied. 22. And in the fifth year of the fifth week Abram taught those who make the instruments for oxen, the workmen in wood, and they made utensils over the earth, opposite the crook timber

of the plows in order to put the seed thereon, and to let the seed fall out of it into the seed furrows. 23. And it was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the ravens; and thus they did on all the crook-timber of the plows over the earth, and they sowed and worked the land each one as Abram had commanded them, and no longer feared the ravens.

CHAP. XII. 1. And it happened in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram said unto Tarah, his father, saying, "Father!" And he said, "Behold, here I am, my son!" 2. And he said: "What assistance and what pleasure have we from all the idols which thou dost worship and before which thou dost prostrate thyself? 3. For there is no spirit in them, but they are dumb statues and a deception of the heart: do not worship them. 4. Worship the God of heaven, who sends down dew and rain upon the earth and does everything upon the earth and has created everything through his word and all living things are from before his face. 5. Why do ye worship those who have no heart and spirit in them; for they are the works of hands, and upon your shoulders do ye carry them, and ye have from them no help, but a great disgrace to those who make them and a deception of the heart to those who worship them: do not worship them!" 6. And Tarah said: "I also know it, my son; but what shall I do with this people who command me that I should serve them? 7. If I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul clings to them to worship and to glorify them. 8. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee!" 9. And these words he spoke to his two brothers, and they became angry at him, and he kept silent. 10. And in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, and her name was Sara, the daughter of his father, and she became to him a wife. 11. And Arân, his brother, took to himself [a wife] in the third year of this week,

and his wife bare him a son in the seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. 12. And Nachor also, his brother, took to himself a wife. 13. And in the [sixtieth] year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth year of the fourth week, Abram arose in the night, and burned down the house of his idols, and burned all that was in the house, and there was no man that knew it. 14. And they arose in the night and desired to save their idols from the midst of the flame. 15. And Arân ran in order to save them, and the fire burned over him and he burned in the midst of the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Tarah, his father, and they buried him in Ur. 16. And Tarah went away from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, in order to come into the land of the Lebanon and into the land of Canaan; and he dwelt in Haran, and Abram dwelt with his father Tarah in Haran two weeks of years. 17. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, Abram arose and sat in the night at the new moon of the seventh month, so that he might observe the stars from the evening to the morning, so that he might know what would be the character of the year with regard to the rains, and he was sitting alone and observing. 18. And a word came into his heart, and he said: "All the signs of the stars and the signs of the sun and of the moon are all in the hand of the Lord; why do I search them out? 19. If he desires, he causes it to rain, morning and evening; and if he desires, he causes it to descend, and all things are in his hands." 20. And he prayed in that night, and said: "My God, God Most High, thou alone art a God to me, and thou hast created all things, and all things that are are the works of thy hand, and thee and thy godship have I chosen. 21. Deliver me from the hands of the evil spirits who reign over the thoughts of the hearts of men, and let them not lead me astray from thee, my God, and cause thou me and my seed in eternity not to go astray from now on and to eternity! 22. And I

say, shall I return to Ur of the Chaldees, who seek my face, that I should return to them; or shall I remain here in this place; the right path before thee prosper in the hands of thy servant, that he may follow it and not walk in the error of my heart, O my God!" 23. He completed his words and prayer, and, behold, the Lord sent a word to him through me, saying: Up, go thou out of thy country, and out of thy kindred, and out of the house of thy father, into a land which I will show to thee, and I will make thee in the land which is great into a great and numerous people. 24. And I will bless thee and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed in the land, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in thee; those that bless thee I will bless, and those that curse thee I will curse. 25. And I will be a God to thee and to thy children and to thy children's children and to all thy seed, and behind thee will be thy God. 26. Fear not, from now on to all the generations of the earth I am thy God." 27. And the Lord God said to me: "Open his mouth and his ears that he may hear and speak with the language which has been revealed;" for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men. 28. And I opened his mouth and his lips, and I opened his ears, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew, in the tongue of creation; and he took the books of his father, and these were written in Hebrew, and he copied them, and he began to learn them from then on, and I made known to him every thing he was incapable [of understanding], and he studied them the six months of the rainy period. 29. And it happened in the seventh year of the sixth week, and he spoke with his father, and informed him that he would go from Haran to go to the land of Canaan to see it and to return to him. 30. And Tarah, his father, said to him: "Go in peace! the God of the worlds make straight thy path, and the Lord be with thee and protect thee from all evil, and give to thee good will and mercy and grace before those who see thee; and may none of

the sons of men come over thee to do thee evil; go in peace! 31. And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in it, then up, and take me with thee; and take Lot with thee, the son of Arân thy brother, as thy son, and God be with thee. 32. But Nachor thy brother leave with me until thou returnest in peace and we go with thee together."

CHAP. XIII. 1. And Abram went from Haran, and took Sara, his wife, and Lot, the son of his brother Arân, to the land of Canaan, and he came into the land of Asur, and proceeded to Sakimôn, and dwelt near a great oak.¹ And he saw the land, and, behold, it was very beautiful from the entrance of Emêt to the great mountains. 2. And the Lord said to him: "To thee and to thy seed I will give this land." 3. And he built an altar there, and brought upon it a sacrifice to the Lord who had appeared to him. 4. And he arose from there, with the hill Bethel toward the sea [west], and Ai to the east, and fixed his tent there. 5. And he saw, and, behold, the land was pleasant and extended and very wide, and every thing grew on it, vines and figs and pomegranates and terebinths and oil trees and cedars and Lebanon trees and cypresses and all the trees of the field; and water was upon the hills. 6. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees and brought him to this hill. 7. And it happened in the first year, in the seventh week, at the new moon of the first month, that he built an altar on this hill, and called upon the name of the Lord: "Thou art my God, the God unto eternity." 8. And he placed upon the altar a sacrifice unto the Lord, that he should be with him and should not desert him all the days of his life. 9. And he arose from there and went toward the north,² and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time,³ and he dwelt there two years in the land to the

¹ Cf. Gen. xii. 6.

² It should, of course, be "southward,"—probably a blunder of a translator living in Ethiopia.

³ Cf. Num. xiii. 22.

north of Boaz-Lot, and there was a famine in the land, and Abram went into Egypt in the third year of this week, and he dwelt in Egypt five years before his wife was torn away from him. 10. But Tanâi¹ in Egypt was then built in the seventh winter after Hebron. 11. And it happened that when Pharaoh seized Sara, the wife of Abram, the Lord punished Pharaoh and his whole house with large plagues, on account of Sara, the wife of Abram. And Abram was very conspicuous by wealth in sheep and oxen and asses and horses and camels and in man-servants and in maid-servants and in silver and in gold exceedingly, and Lot, also, the son of his brother, was wealthy. 12. And Pharaoh brought back Sara, the wife of Abram, and sent him out of the land of Egypt; and he came to a place where he had first fixed his tent, at the place of the altar at Agê to the east of Bethel, and he went and blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. 13. And it happened in the forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week, he returned to this place, and placed upon it a burnt sacrifice, and called upon the name of the Lord, and said: "Thou, O Lord, Most High God, art my God to all eternity." 14. And in the fourth year of this week Lot separated from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom; but the men of Sodom were great sinners. And he grieved in his heart that the son of his brother had separated from him, for he had no children. 15. And in that year when Lot was taken captive, the Lord also said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, in the fourth year of this week, and said: "Lift up thine eyes from the place here where thou art dwelling toward the north and south and west and east. 16. For the whole land which thou seest I will give to thee and thy seed to eternity, and I will make thy seed like the sand on the sea; and when man is able to count the sand on the sea, then thy seed will be counted. 17. Arise and go through it in its length

¹ I. e., תַּנַּי, *Tavîv*. Num. xiii. 22.

and breadth and see it all, for to thy seed I will give it." 18. And Abram went to Hebron and dwelt there. 19. And in that year came Kôlôdôgômôr, the king of Elam, and Emâlphele, the king of Sînâr, and Ariôk, the king of Sêlâsar, and Tîrgâl, the king of the Gentiles, and slew the king of Gomorrhâ, and the king of Sodom fled, and many fell by wounds in Sêdêmâv and in the salt-district, and they took captive Sodom and Adam and Shêbôêm, and Lot, also, the son of the brother of Abram, and all his possessions, and went to Dan. 20. And one who had escaped came and told Abram, that the son of the brother of Abram had been taken captive.¹ 21. And the house-servant brought for Abram and his seed the first tenth to the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance to eternity, that they should give [this] to the priests who served before him, that they should possess it forever. 22. And to this law is not a limit of days, but it is ordained to the generation of eternity, that they should give the tenth to the Lord, of their seed and of their wine and of their oil and of their oxen and of their sheep. 23. And he gave it to his priests to eat and to drink in joy before him. 24. And the king of Sodom came to him and bowed down before him, and said: "Our lord Abram, give us the souls thou hast saved, but let the booty be thine." 25. And Abram said to him: "I lift up my hands to God on high, from a thread to a shoe-latchet I will take nothing from all that is thine, so that thou sayest not, 'I have made Abram rich,' only except what the youths have eaten and the portion for the men who came with me, Avnân, Eskôl, and Mâmre, these shall take their share."

CHAP. XIV. 1. And after these events, in the fourth year of this week, in the new moon of the third month, the voice of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: "Fear not, Abram, for I am thy defender and thy exceeding great reward." 2. And he said: "O Lord, Lord, what

¹ There is certainly a *lacuna* between this and the following verse, although there is nothing in the Ethiopic text to show it.

wilt thou give me, and I have no son; and the son of Mâsêk, the son of my maid-servant,¹ this Eleazer of Damascus, he will be my heir; but to me thou hast not given any seed." 3. And he said to him: "This one will not be thy heir, but he that comes from thy body, he will be thy heir." 4. And he took him without and said to him: "Look upon the heavens and see the stars of heaven, if thou art able to count them." 5. And he looked at the heavens and saw the stars; and he said to him: "Thus shall be thy seed." 6. And he believed the Lord, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. 7. And he said to him: "I am the Lord thy God, who have brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, that I might give thee the land of Canaan for an eternal possession, and I will be to thee and thy children after thee a God." 8. And he said: "O Lord, Lord, by what am I to know that I shall inherit it?" 9. And he said to him: "Take to thyself a heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep of three years, and a turtle-dove and a pigeon." 10. And he took all these in the middle of the month, and he dwelt near the oak Mâmre, which is near Hebron, and he built there an altar, and sacrificed all these and poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them into halves and laid them opposite each other; but the birds he did not divide. 12. And birds descended upon the pieces, and Abram drove them away and would not suffer the birds to touch them. 13. And it happened when the sun had set, a stupor fell upon Abram, and, behold, a great horror of darkness fell upon him, and it was spoken to Abram:² "Know in truth that thy seed will be a stranger in a strange land, and they will make them servants and oppress them four hundred years. 14. But the nation which they serve I will judge, and after that they will go out from there with many possessions. 15. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace and shalt be buried in a good age. 16. And in the fourth generation they shall return hither, for not yet are

¹ Cf. LXX. on Gen. xv. 2.

² Cf. LXX. on Gen. xv. 13.

the sins of the Amorites completed." 17. And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set, and there was a flame, and, behold, an oven was smoking, and a flame of fire passed through between the pieces. 18. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: "To thy seed I will give this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river Euphrates, the Kenites and the Kenizzites and the Kadmonites and the Perizzites and the Rephaimites and the Ewites and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Girgashites." 19. And Abram went and took up the pieces and the birds and the fruit and the drink offerings, and the fire devoured them. 20. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram according to the covenant which he had made in this month with Noah; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself unto eternity.¹ 21. And Abram rejoiced and told all these things to Sara, his wife, and he believed that he would have seed; but she did not bring forth. And Sara advised her husband Abram, and said to him: "Go in to Hagar, my Egyptian maid; it is possible that he will raise up for thee seed from her." 22. And Abram obeyed the voice of Sara, his wife, and said to her, "Do it," and Sara took her Egyptian maid Hagar and gave her to Abram, her husband, that she should become his wife. 23. And he went in to her, and she conceived and bore him a son, and he called his name Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week: and this was the eighty-sixth year of the life of Abram.²

CHAP. XV. 1. In the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the beginning of the month, Abram celebrated the festival of the first of the grain harvest; and he brought new offerings beside offering of the first-fruits to the Lord, an ox and a goat and a sheep upon the altar as a sacrifice to the Lord, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he placed upon the altar together with frankincense. 2. And the Lord

¹ Cf. note on Chap. vi. 15.

² Gen. xvi. 16.

appeared to Abram and said to him: "I am the omnipotent God; be pleasing to me and be perfect, and I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and will increase thee exceedingly." 3. And Abram fell down on his face. 4. And the Lord spoke to him and said: "Behold my ordinance is with thee, and I will make thee the father of many nations, and thy name shall no longer be called Abram, and thy name henceforth and to eternity shall be Abraham, for I will make thee a father of many nations, and I will make thee exceedingly great, and will cause nations and kings to proceed from thee. 5. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and between thy seed after thee in their generations, as an ordinance of eternity, that I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee in their generations, [and I will give thee] the land where thou art a stranger, the land of Canaan, that thou shalt be ruler over it to eternity, and I will be their God." 6. And the Lord said to Abraham: "And thou, preserve my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee, and circumcise all your foreskins, and let it be a sign of my ordinance unto eternity between me and thee and for thy descendants. 7. On the eighth day ye shall circumcise all the males in your generation, the members of the household, and him whom ye have bought with gold from all the sons of the strangers whom ye have as your property, who are not of thy seed,—they shall circumcise the children of the household, and whomsoever ye have bought shall be circumcised. 8. And my covenant shall be on your flesh as an eternal ordinance; and whosoever is not circumcised, all of thy males the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, his soul shall be rooted out of his generation, for he has overthrown my covenant." 9. And the Lord said unto Abraham: "Sara, thy wife, shall no longer be called by her name Sara, for Sarah shall be her name;¹ for I will bless

¹ The actual change made, according to the Ethiopic, is from Sôrâ to Sârâ, which is the same as made in the best MSS. of the Ethiopic Bible in

and give to thee a son from her, and I will bless him and he will become a people, and kings and nations shall proceed from him." 10. And Abraham fell upon his face and rejoiced, and he said in his heart: "Should there be born a son to one of a hundred years, and shall Sarah, who is ninety, yet bring forth!" 11. And Abraham said to the Lord: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" 12. And the Lord said: "Yea, and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish my eternal covenant with him and with his seed after him. 13. And also in reference to Ishmael have I heard thee, and, behold, I will bless him, and I will make him great and will increase him exceedingly, and twelve princes he will beget, and I will make him a great nation; but I will establish my covenant with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear for thee, in these days, in the second year." 14. And having ended speaking with him, the Lord ascended from over above Abraham. 15. And Abraham did as the Lord had said to him, and took Ishmael his son, and all the members of his household, and those whom he had bought with gold, all the males that were in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their sexual member. 16. And at the time of these days Abraham was circumcised, and all the men of his house and all whom he had bought with gold from among the sons of the strangers were circumcised with him. 17. And this is the law for all the generations of eternity, with no change of days and no deviation of day from the eighth day, for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained and written in the tablets of heaven. 18. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose member is not circumcised upon the eighth day, is not of the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but is of the children of destruction; and he has no sign upon

Gen. xvii. 15. Really, throughout the text, before this, the Book of Jubilees has been using the word *Sôrâ*, for which now *Sârâ* is employed. In Ethiopic this involves no change in the meaning of the name. The LXX. changes from *Σάρα* to *Σάρρα*.

him that he is the Lord's, but he is for destruction and slaying from the earth and for rooting out of the earth; for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. 19. For all the angels of the face and all the angels of glorification were thus created from the day of their creation; and he looked upon the angels of glorification, and he sanctified Israel that they should be with him and with his holy angels. 20. And thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant, and for their generations as an eternal ordinance that they be not rooted out of the land. 21. For it is ordained as a command of the covenant that they should observe it forever among all the children of Israel. 22. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau the Lord did not permit to approach him and did not choose them, for the sons of Abraham are those he acknowledged, and he chose Israel to be his people. 23. And he sanctified it and collected it from among all the children of men, for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are his, and over all has he appointed spirits to rule, that they should lead them astray from him, but over Israel he did not appoint any ruler, neither an angel nor a spirit, but he alone is their ruler, and he preserves them, and he contends for them against the hands of his angels and his spirits and all; and they shall keep all his commandments, and he will bless them, and they shall be his, and he will be theirs, from now on and to eternity. 24. And from now on I will announce to you that the children of Israel will break faith with this ordinance, and will not circumcise their sons according to this whole law, for they will omit this circumcision of the children on the flesh of their circumcision, and they all, the sons of Belial, will leave their children without circumcision as they were born. 25. And the wrath upon the children of Israel will be great from the Lord, for they have deserted his covenant.

¹ The angels even are circumcised, or rather created in that condition. One of the MSS. upon which D. bases his Ethiopic text omits this sentence.

and have departed from his word, and enrage him and blaspheme him, as they do not observe this ordinance according to this sign, for they make their members like the Gentiles for being torn and rooted out of the land. And no longer is there forgiveness or pardon for them that all their sin may be forgiven and pardoned for this error to eternity.

CHAP. XVI. 1. And at the new moon of the fourth month we appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mâmre, and we conversed with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given him from Sarah his wife. 2. And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we spoke these words with Abraham; and we admonished her, and she became afraid and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. 3. And we told her the name of her son as it is written on the tablets of heaven, namely, Isaac, as his name. 4. And when we returned to her in a fixed time then she was pregnant with a son. 5. And in this month the Lord carried out the judgments of Sodom and Gomorrah and Sebrûem and all the circuit of the Jordan, and burnt them with fire and brimstone, and demolished them unto the present day, according to what we have made known to thee concerning all their actions, that they were terrible and very sinful and they defiled themselves and committed fornication and uncleanness over the earth. 6. And accordingly the Lord inflicted judgment upon all the places by the hand of his servants, according to the uncleanness of Sodom, according to the judgment of Sodom. 7. But Lot we saved, for the Lord remembered Abraham, and led him out of the destruction. 8. And he and his daughters committed sin on the earth, such as had not been from the days of Adam until now, for the man lay with his daughters. 9. And, behold, it is commanded and engraven concerning all his seed on the tablets of heaven, that they should tear them out and root them out and judge them according to the judgment of Sodom, and that no seed should be left this man on the earth in

the day of judgment. 10. And in this month Abraham migrated from Hebron, and dwelt between Kades and Shur in the mountains of Gêrârôn. 11. And in the middle of the fifth month he migrated from there and dwelt at the well of the oath.¹ And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited Sarah, and did to her as he had said to her, and she conceived and bore a son. And in the third month, in the middle of the month, in the days which the Lord had said to Abraham, on the festival of the first harvest, Isaac was born; and Abraham circumcised his son on the eighth day: he was the first one circumcised in the covenant as it was ordained forever. 12. And in the sixth year, in this month, of the fourth week, we came to Abraham to the well of the oath, and we appeared to him as we had told Sarah, that we would come to her, but she became pregnant with a son, and we returned in the seventh month and found Sarah pregnant before us, and we blessed her and told her all things that had been commanded us concerning him [Abraham] that he should not die until six sons had been born to him, and that he would see them before he should die; but that in Isaac his name and seed should be called. 13. And all the seed of his [other] sons will become Gentiles and will be numbered with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one shall become a holy seed and shall not be numbered among the Gentiles. 14. For he shall become the portion of the Most High, and among those of whom God is ruler will be his abode and all his seed, that it become a seed of the Lord, a nation of inheritance among all the nations, and that it may be a kingdom and a priesthood and a holy nation. 15. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him; and these two rejoiced with an exceeding great joy. 16. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had saved him and had filled him with joy in the land of his pilgrimage, and he celebrated a festival of great joy in this month, seven days, at the altar

¹ I. e., Beer-Sheba.

which he had built at the fountain of the oath; and he built tents for himself and his servants on this festival, and he was the first one to celebrate the festival of tabernacles on the earth. 17. And in these seven days Abraham would bring every single day upon the altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, seven sheep, one young goat, on account of his sins that thereby these might be forgiven him and his seed, and as an offering of salvation seven rams, seven goats, and their fruit offering and their drink offering; over all the fat thereof he burnt incense upon the altar as a sacrifice chosen to the Lord as a sweet savor. 18. At mornings and evenings he burnt frankincense, galbanum, staklē and wood and myrrh and spice and costum; all these seven he brought, united with each other in equal parts and clean. 19. And thus he celebrated his festival seven days, rejoicing with his whole heart and his whole soul, he and all those that were in his house; and there was not any stranger with him nor any bastard. 20. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation, for according to his pleasure did he create him; for he knew and observed that from him would come the plant of righteousness for the generations of eternity, and that from him should also come the holy seed, like him who had made all things.¹ 21. And he blessed his Creator, and he was glad, and he called the name of this festival the festival of the Lord with a joy acceptable to the Most High God. 22. And we blessed him forever and all his seed after him in all the generations of the world on this earth, because he celebrated this festival in its house according to the testimony of the tablets of heaven. 23. On this account it is ordained in the tablets of heaven concerning Israel that they shall celebrate the festival of the tabernacles seven days in joy, in the seventh month, that it be accepted before the Lord as an eternal law in the generations of all the years. 24.

¹ This is one of the passages in this book which can be interpreted messianically.

And to this there is no limit of days, but it is ordained over Israel as a festival that they shall observe it, and shall dwell in tents, and shall place wreaths upon their heads, and they shall take a willow branch with foliage from the brook. 25. And Abraham took the heart of the palm and good fruit of trees, and every day and day he would go around the altar with the branches, seven times a day, and in the morning he praised and thanked his God for all things in joy.

CHAP. XVII. 1. And in the first year of the fifth week Isaac was weaned, in this jubilee, and Abraham made a great feast in the third month on the day his son Isaac was weaned. 2. And Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian Hagar, was before the face of his father in this place; and Abraham rejoiced and blessed the Lord, because that he could see sons to himself and had not died without sons. 3. And he remembered the words which he had spoken to him on the day that Lot separated from him; and he rejoiced, because the Lord had given him seed on the earth to inherit the land; and he blessed with his whole mouth the Creator of all things. 4. And when Sarah saw that Ishmael was playing and growing, and that Abraham was rejoicing exceedingly, she became jealous of Ishmael, and she said to Abraham: "Drive away this slave and her son, for the son of this one shall not inherit with my son Isaac." 5. And these words were grievous in the eyes of Abraham, on account of his maid, and on account of his son, that he should drive them away from him. 6. And the Lord said to Abraham: "Let it not be grievous in thy eyes concerning the child, and concerning the slave; all that Sarah says to thee, hear her words and do them, for in Isaac shall thy name and thy seed be called for thee. 7. But the son of this [slave] I will make into a great nation, for he is of thy seed. 8. And Abraham arose early in the morning and took bread and a bag of water and put them upon the shoulders of Hagar and of the boy and sent them away. 9. And she went wandering about in the

desert Beer-Sheba; and the water was finished from the bag, and the boy was thirsty, and was not able to walk, and he fell down. 10. And his mother took him, and going, threw him under an olive tree, and she went and sat down opposite him, the distance of an arrow shot, saying: "I cannot see the death of my child;" and she sat weeping. 11. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said to her: "Why dost thou weep, Hagar? arising, take the boy, and lead him by the hand, for the Lord has heard thy voice." 12. And she looked at the bag and opened her eyes and saw a well of water, and she went and filled the bag with water and gave her boy to drink, and she arose and went toward the desert of Paran. 13. And the boy grew and became a horseman, and the Lord was with him. 14. And his mother took for him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt, and she bore him a son, and he called his name Nâbêmôth, for she said: "The Lord was near to me when I cried out to him." 15. And it happened in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month of this jubilee, on the twelfth of this month, there was a word in the heavens concerning Abraham, that he was a believer in all that the Lord told him, and that he loved him, because in all temptations he was faithful. 16. And the prince Mastêmâ approached and said before God: "Behold Abraham loves Isaac his son, and esteems him more than all other things; say that he should bring him as a burnt offering on the altar and thou wilt see if he will do this word, and thou wilt know if he is a believer in everything with which thou triest him." 17. And the Lord knew that Abraham was a believer in all trials which he spoke to him; for he had tried him in his country, and in the strange land, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again with his wife in that she was torn from him, and with the circumcision, and had tried him with Ishmael and Hagar his maid, when he sent them away, and in all in which he had tried him he was found faithful, and his soul did not become impatient, nor

did he hesitate to do it, for he was faithful and a lover of God.¹

CHAP. XVIII. 1. And the Lord said to Abraham, "Abraham." And he said to him, "Behold, O Lord, here I am." 2. And he said to him: "Take thy son Isaac whom thou lovest, and go into the high land, and take him upon one of the hills which I will show thee." 3. And he arose in the morning from there and saddled his ass, and took two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and split the wood for a sacrifice, and he came to the place on the third day, and saw the place from afar. 4. And he came to a well of water, and he said to the young men: "Remain here with the ass, and I and the boy will go on and will worship, and after worshipping will return to you." 5. And he took the wood for the sacrifice and put it upon the shoulders of his son Isaac and he took in his hands the fire and the knife, and the two went together to that place. 6. And Isaac said to his father: "My father." 7. And he said to him: "Behold, here I am, my son." 8. [And he said] "Behold here is the fire, and the knife, and the wood; but where, my father, is the sheep for the sacrifice?" 9. And he said: "The Lord will show me the sheep for the sacrifice, my son." 10. And he came to the place of the hill of the Lord, and he built an altar and laid the wood upon the altar, and tied Isaac his son and placed him upon the wood over the altar, and he stretched out his hands to take the knife to sacrifice Isaac. 11. And I stood before him [God] and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said: "Tell him not to lay his hand upon the boy and to do him no harm; for I know that he fears the Lord." 12. And the Lord called to him from heaven and said to him: "Abraham! Abraham!" and he was frightened and said: "Behold, here I am." 13. And he said to him: "Do not lay thy hands upon the boy, and do him no

¹ This list of temptations appears elsewhere, although with variation of figures, in similar writings. The Targum Jerusal. to Gen. xxii. 1 has the same number.

harm, for now I know that thou fearest the Lord, and hast not spared from me thy first-born son." 14 And the prince Mastêmâ was confounded; and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold a ram held fast with his horns. 15. And Abraham went and took the ram and brought him as a sacrifice in the place of his son Isaac. 16. And Abraham called this place "The Lord seeth," so that it is said "The Lord saw it" for Mount Zion. 17. And the Lord called Abraham by name a second time from heaven as he had appeared to us that we should speak to him in the name of the Lord. 18. And he said: "By my head, I swear, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing and hast not spared from me thy first-born son whom thou lovest, therefore I will surely bless thee and will surely increase thy head like the stars of heaven and like the sand of the shore of the sea. 19. And thy seed shall inherit the cities of their enemy, and in thy seed shall be blessed all the nations of the earth, for this that thou hast listened to my voice and hast shown unto all that thou art faithful unto me in all that I say to thee; go in peace." 20. And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beer-Sheba, and Abraham dwelt near the well of the oath; and he celebrated this festival in all the years, seven days in joy, and called it "the festival of the Lord," according to the seven days in which he had gone and returned in peace. 21. And thus it is, and it is engraven and written in the tablets of heaven concerning Israel and its seed to keep this festival seven days in joy.

CHAP. XIX. 1. And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee Abraham returned and dwelt opposite Hebron, that is, Karjâtârbôk, two weeks of years. 2. And in the first year of the third week of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were completed, and she died in Hebron. 5. And Abraham went to mourn over and to bury her; and we tried him if his spirit was patient and if he was impatient in the words of his mouth, and he

was found patient in this, and was not shaken. 4. For in the patience of his soul he conversed with the children of Kêti that they should give him a place that he could bury his body in it; and the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he asked with modesty of heart of the children of Kêti, and they gave him the land of the double cave opposite Mâmre, which is Hebron, for forty pieces of silver. 5. But they begged him, saying: "We will give it to thee;" and he did not take anything from them for nothing, for he gave the price for the place, perfect silver; and he bowed down before them twice, and then he buried the body in the double cave. 6. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, and this is two jubilees and four weeks and one year; those are the days of the years of the life of Sarah. And this was the tenth trial with which Abraham was tempted, and he was found faithful and of patient spirit. 8. And he did not speak a single word concerning that God had said that he would give him and his seed after him this land when he petitioned that he might bury his body there, for he was found faithful and patient and was written down as a friend of the Lord in the tablets of heaven. 9. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for Isaac his son, and her name was Rebecca, the daughter of Betuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham. 10. And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the sons of his household, for Hagar had died before Sarah. 11. And she bore him six sons, Zambari, and Joksan, and Madai, and Ejazbok, and Sachai in the second week of years.¹ 12. And in the sixth week, in the second year, Rebecca bore to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau: but Jacob was pious and righteous and Esau was a rough man, a tiller of the field and hairy, but Jacob dwelt within tents. 13. And the youths grew, and

¹ Only five names are given in the Ethiopic text. The similarity of the names Medan and Midian (Gen. xxv. 2) has manifestly led to the omission of one.

Jacob learned writing ; but Esau did not learn it, for he was a man of the field and a hunter, and learned war and all rough deeds. 14. But Abraham loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. 15. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that his name and seed should be called for him in Jacob, and he called Rebecca, and commanded her concerning Jacob, for he saw that she too loved Jacob much more than Esau. 16. And he said to her: " My daughter, watch my son Jacob, for he shall be in my stead upon the earth as a blessing among the sons of men and to all the seed of Shem, and for an honor, and I know that the Lord has chosen him for himself as a people secluded from all those upon the face of the earth, and behold, Isaac, my son, loves Esau more than Jacob, and I see that thou lovest righteousness for Jacob ; add yet to do something good for him and let thine eyes be over him as the beloved, for he shall be to me a blessing over the earth, from now on and to all the generations of the earth. 17. Let thy hands be strong, and thou shalt rejoice in thy son Jacob, for him do I love exceedingly above all my children ; for to eternity the Lord will be blessed in him, and his seed shall fill all the land. 18. If a man can number the dust of the earth, then his seed will be numbered. 19. And all the blessings with which the Lord has blessed me and my seed shall be to Jacob and his seed all the days, and in his seed shall my name be blessed and the names of my fathers, Shem, and Noah, and Enoch, and Mahaalel, and Seth, and Adam ; and these will serve to a founding of heaven and a strengthening of the earth and for a removal of all the stars upon the firmament."¹ 20. And he called Jacob before the eyes of his mother Rebecca, and he kissed him, and blessed him, and said to him ; " My beloved son Jacob, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from the firmament above and give thee all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah,

¹ This probably means that a great nation is to come from Jacob, referring either to the Israel of history or to that of the messianic period.

and Shem, and all that he has conversed with me and all that he has said that he would give me, may he fasten these to thee and to thy seed to eternity, according to the days of heaven over the earth. 21. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not become masters over thee and over thy seed to remove thee from the Lord who is thy God, from now on and to eternity. 22. And may the Lord God be thy father, and thou his first-born son, and his people for all days: go, my son, in peace!" 23. And the two went together from Abraham. 24. And Rebecca loved Jacob with all her heart, and with all her soul, exceedingly more than Esau; and Isaac loved Esau exceedingly more than Jacob.

CHAP. XX. 1 And in the thirty-second jubilee, in the first year of the seventh week, Abraham called Ishmael and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah and their sons. 2. And he commanded them that they should preserve the path of the Lord to do righteousness and should love each his neighbor, and that they should be thus in all the wars that they go into against every one that is against them, and do justice and righteousness over the earth, and that they circumcise their sons according to the covenant which he had made with them, and that they should not transgress neither to the right hand nor to the left from all the paths which the Lord had commanded them, and that they should preserve themselves from all uncleanness, and that we should remove from our midst all uncleanness and fornication. 3. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire, and do not commit fornication after their eyes and hearts; and that they should not take unto themselves wives from among the daughters of Canaan, for the seed of Canaan shall be rooted out of the land. 4. And he spoke to them concerning the judgment of the giants and the judgment of Sodom, that these had been judged on account of their wickedness, and on account of fornication and uncleanness and destruction

among each other. 5. "But be on your guard against all fornication and uncleanness and contamination of sin, so that ye do not make our name a curse and bring your lives and your sons to destruction by the sword and ye become accursed like Sodom, and all your remnant like the sons of Gomorrah. 6. And I call upon you as witnesses, my sons, love the God of heaven and submit to all his commandments, and do not walk after their idols and after their uncleanness, and do not make molten gods for yourselves nor wooden ones. 7. For they are vanity, and have no spirit, but they are the work of hands, and all who depend upon them Do not worship them nor bow down to them. 8. But worship ye the Most High God and bow down to him ever, and hope upon his face at all times, and do rectitude and righteousness before him, that he may find pleasure in you and give you his mercy, and send down rain to you morning and evening, and bless all your work which ye do on the earth, and bless thy grain and thy water, and bless the seed of thy body, and the seed of thy land, and the herds of thy oxen, and the herds of thy sheep. 9. And thou shalt be for a blessing over the earth, and all the nations of the earth shall desire for you and will bless thy sons in my name that they be blessed as I am." 10. And he gave to Ishmael his son and to the sons of Keturah a gift and sent them away from Isaac his son. 10. And Ishmael and his sons and the sons of Keturah and their sons went together and dwelt from Pharmon (Pharan) to the entrance of Babylon, in all the land which faces toward the east opposite the desert. 12. And these mingled with each other, and their name was called Arabs and Ishmaelites.

CHAP. XXI. 1. And in the sixth year of the seventh week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and his father commanded him saying: "I am gray and do not know the day of my death, for I am satisfied in my days. 2. And behold, my son, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and in all the days of my life I have ever

remembered the Lord and sought with all my might that I might do the will of my God, and that I might walk aright in all his paths. 3. My soul hated idols so that I could be on my guard to do the will of him that created me, for he is the living God, and he is holy, and he is faithful, and he is just above all, and no evil is with him to have regard for persons and to take presents, for he is a god of righteousness, and a doer of judgment over all who transgress his commandments, and all that violate his covenant. 4. And thou, my son, observe his commandments and his ordinance and his judgment, and walk not after the unclean and after the wooden images and after the molten ones. 5. And do not eat any blood of an animal, or of a beast, or of any bird that flies in the heavens. 6. And if thou slaughterest, slaughter as a pure sacrifice that is acceptable; slaughter it and pour out its blood upon the altar and all the fat of the sacrifice place upon the altar with flour and fruit offering, mixed with oil together with drink offering; place all this together upon the altar as a sacrifice of sweet savor before the Lord. 7. Like the fat of the thank offering lay them upon the fire, like the fat of the belly, and all the fat upon the entrails, and the two kidneys and all the fat that is upon them, and upon the thigh pieces, and the liver, together with the kidneys wrapped up in them; bring this all as a sweet savor which will be acceptable before the Lord together with fruit and drink offerings, thou shalt bring them all together for a sweet savor as the bread of the burnt offering for the Lord. 7. And the meat eat on that day and on the second day, and do not let the sun go down on it on the second day until it is eaten and nothing shall be left over for the third day, for it is not acceptable nor chosen, and it shall no longer be eaten, and all who eat bring sin upon themselves. 8. For thus have I found it written in the books of my forefathers, in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah. 9. And upon all thy sacrifices thou shalt put salt, and thou shalt not violate the covenant of salt in all thy sacrifices before

the Lord. 10. And watch all the wood of the sacrifices, that thou dost not bring sacrificing wood besides the following: cypress, fir, and almond, and pine, and fir, and cedar, and savin, and citron, and olive, and myrrh, and balsam.¹ 11. Of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar, under the sacrifice, having examined its appearance, and do not place any broken or dark wood; hard wood and unbroken, perfect, and nearly grown, and not old, for its savor is gone and there is no more savor in it, as at first. 12. Besides these kinds of wood thou shalt place no other kinds, for its savor has departed, and thou shalt send up the smell of its savor to heaven. 13. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayest be right in all thy actions. 14. And at all times be clean in thy body and wash thyself with water, before thou goest to sacrifice upon the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou approachest the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, return and wash thy hands and thy feet. 16. And let there not appear upon any one of you any blood, nor upon your clothes: be on thy guard, my son, guard thyself exceedingly against blood; bury it in the ground. 16. And do not eat any blood for it is the soul, eat no blood whatever. 17. And do not receive any present for any blood of man that it should be spilt in vain without judgment, for this blood which is spilt causes sin upon the earth, and it cannot be cleansed of the blood except by blood being shed; and do not receive a present or any gift for the blood of man; blood for blood; and ye shall become acceptable before the Lord God Most High, and he will be the protector of good, and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil and be saved from all death. 18. I see, my son, all the deeds of the sons of men, that they are sin and evil, and all their deeds are uncleanness, and rebellious and defiling, and there is no righteousness with them. 19. Guard thyself, do not go on their paths to step into their footprints and do not commit the error of death before

¹ Cf. on these names Dillmann's *Lexicon Æthiopico-Latinum*.

the Most High God, lest he hide his face from thee, and return thee into the hands of thy transgression and root thee out of the land, and thy seed from under heaven, and thy name be destroyed and thy seed from all the earth. 20. Preserve thyself from all their deeds and from all their uncleanness, and observe the observance of the Lord Most High and do his will and do right in all things. 21. And he will bless thee in all thy deeds, and will bring forth from thee a plant of righteousness in all the earth, in all the generations of the earth. And my name shall be known, and thy name, under heaven, in all the days. 22. Go, my son, in peace. May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do his will, and may he bless all thy seed and the descendants of thy seeds to the generations of eternity, with all the blessings of righteousness, that thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth." 23. And he went out from him, rejoicing happy.

CHAP. XXII. 1. And it happened in the first week of the forty-third [fourth] jubilee, in the second year, that is the year in which Abraham died, Isaac and Ishmael came from the fountain of the oath that they might celebrate the festival of the seven days, that is, the festival of the first-fruits of the harvest, with Abraham, their father; and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons came to him. 2. For Isaac had much possessions in Beer-Sheba, and Isaac went out to see his possessions and returned to his father. 3. And in these days Ishmael came to see his father, and they all came together, and Isaac offered up a sacrifice as a burnt offering, and brought it upon the altar which his father had made at Hebron. 4. And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before his brother Ishmael, and Rebecca made new cakes out of new grain, and she gave thereof to Jacob, her best son, that he should bring to Abraham, his father, from the first-fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all before he died. 5. And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob, who excelled, a thank offering to Abraham, that he

should drink and eat. 6. And he ate and drank and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heavens and the earth, and had made all the fat of the earth and had given it to the children of men to eat and to drink and that they should bless their Creator. 7. "And now I humbly thank thee, my Lord, that thou hast shown to me this day: behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old and full of days, and all the days were peace. 8. The sword of the hater did not overcome me in all that thou hast given me and my children all the days of my life until the present day. 9. My God, thy grace be over thy servant and over the seed of his sons, that he may be to thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth, from now on and to all the days of the generations of the earth unto all eternities." 10. And he called Jacob and said to him: "My son Jacob, the Lord of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness and his will before him, and may he choose thee and thy seed that ye may be a people for his inheritance, according to his will in all the days. 11. And thou, my son Jacob, come hither and kiss me." 12. And he approached and kissed him, and he said: "Blessed be Jacob, my son, and all his children to the Lord Most High in all eternities; may the Lord give thee a seed of righteousness from amongst thy sons, to sanctify him in the midst of all the earth; and may all the nations serve thee and bow down to thy seed. 13. Become powerful before men, as thou rulest over all the seed of the earth and among the seed of Seth, when thy path and the path of thy sons is just for being his holy nation. 14. May the Most High God give thee all the blessings with which he blessed me and with which he blessed Noah and Adam; may they rest upon the sacred head of thy seed to all the generations and to eternity. 15. And may the Lord preserve thee clean from all unclean defilement, that thou mayest be forgiven of all the sins which without knowledge thou hast committed, and may he strengthen thee and bless

thee, and mayest thou inherit the whole earth. 16. And may he renew his covenant with thee, that thou mayest be to him a nation for his inheritance to all eternities, and he may be to thee and to thy seed a God in reality and in truth in all the days of the earth. 17. And thou, my son Jacob, remember my words and observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father; withdraw from among the Gentiles and do not eat with them, and do not according to their actions, and be not their companion; for their actions are unclean and all their ways are defiled and their sacrifices an abomination. 18. They sacrifice to the dead, and the evil spirits they worship, and in the graves they eat, and all their doings are in vain and for naught. 19. They have no heart to think and no eyes to see any of their actions and when they err, saying to a piece of wood, "Thou art my God," and to a stone, "Thou art my Lord and my saviour," and these have no heart. 20. And thou, my son Jacob, may the Most High Lord aid thee, and the God of heaven bless thee and preserve thee from all their uncleanness and from all their error. 21. Be thou on thy guard, my son Jacob, that thou takest not a wife from among all the seed of the daughters of Canaan, for all its seed is to be rooted out of the land; for on account of the sin of Ham and the transgression of Canaan also all his seed will be destroyed from the earth, and none will be left and escape of them on the day of judgment. 22. And all those that worship idols and all haters will have no hope in the land of the living, for they will descend into Sheol and will go unto the place of judgment, and there will not be any remembrance of them on the earth; just as the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth, there will be taken away all those that worship idols. 23. Fear not, my son Jacob, and do not tremble, son of Abraham; the Most High God will protect thee from all destruction, and from all the paths of error he will deliver thee. 24. This house I have built for myself, that I might place my name above it upon the land which is given to

thee and to thy seed forever, and that it should be called the house of Abraham; it is given to thee and to thy seed forever, since thou wilt build up my house and wilt establish my name before God unto eternity, and thy seed and thy name will stand in all the generations of the earth."

25. And he ceased speaking and commanding and blessing. 26. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, the father of his father, and his thoughts kissed him seven times, and his love and his heart rejoiced over him. 26. And he blessed him with his whole heart and said: "The Most High God, the God of all, the Creator of all, who has led me out of Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land as an inheritance to eternity and that I should establish a holy seed, may the Most High be blessed to eternity." 28. And he blessed Jacob and said: "My son, who is in all my heart and in all my thoughts, may I rejoice in him, and may thy grace and thy mercy be extensive over him and over his seed all the days. 29. And do not desert him and do not neglect him from now on and to the eternity of days, and may thy eyes be open over him and over his seed, that thou protectest him and blessest him and sanctifiest him, to be a nation for thy inheritance. 30. And bless him with all thy blessings from now on and to all days to eternity, and renew thy covenant, and be merciful with him and with his seed, in all thy will to all the generations of the earth."

CHAP. XXIII. 1. And he laid two fingers of Jacob upon his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity and was gathered to his father. 2. And during all this, Jacob was lying on his bosom and did not know that Abraham, the father of his father, was dead. 3. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and, behold, Abraham was cold like ice, and he said, "Father! father!" and no one answered, and he knew that Abraham was dead. 4. And he arose from his bosom and ran and told it to

Rebecca, his mother, and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night and told him, and they went together and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and going they found Abraham as a corpse. 5. And Isaac fell upon the face of his father Abraham, and wept and blessed him and kissed him; and the words were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael, his son, arose and came to his father Abraham, and wept over Abraham, his father, he and all the house of Abraham, and they wept exceedingly. 6. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near to Sarah, his wife, and they mourned over him forty days, all the people of his house, Isaac and Ishmael and all their children and the children of Keturah in their places; and the lamentation and weeping over Abraham was ended. 7. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and the days of his life were completed, and he was old, perfect in days. 8. For the days of the lives of the first fathers were nineteen jubilees, and after the flood they began to decrease from nineteen jubilees, diminishing in the jubilees and becoming speedily old and satisfying their days on account of the many sufferings and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. 9. But Abraham was perfect in his deeds with the Lord and well pleasing and in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life until he grew old on account of wickedness, and satisfied with days. 10. And all the generations that arise from then and unto the day of the great judgment age die speedily before completing two jubilees. 11. And it will be since their knowledge leaves them on account of their old age that also all their knowledge ceases. 12. And on that day if a man lives a jubilee and a half jubilee, they say concerning him, "He has lived long;" and the mass of his days are sufferings and pain and trouble and no peace, for punishment follows upon punishment, hostility upon hostility, trouble upon trouble, wickedness upon

wickedness, sickness upon sickness, and all evil judgments of this kind, as sickness and inflammation and hail and ice and snow and fever and suffering and becoming stiff, and sterility and death and sword and captivity and all the punishments and sufferings. 13. All this comes in the evil generation which sins upon the earth with the uncleanness of fornication and defilement and the abomination of their deeds. 14. And then they will say: "The days of the fathers were many, even to one thousand years, and were good, and behold the days of our lives, if a man has lived many, are seventy years, and if he is strong, eighty years, and all were evil and no peace will be in this evil generation." 15. And in that generation the children will be about to upbraid their fathers and their sires concerning the sin, and concerning the injustice, and concerning the words of their mouth, and concerning the great wickedness which they do, and concerning their deserting the ordinances which the Lord had covenanted between them and him, that they should observe and do all his commandments and his ordinances and all his laws and not depart to the right or to the left. 16. For all are wicked, and every mouth speaks transgression, and all their deeds are unclean and an abomination, and all their paths are contamination and uncleanness and destruction. 17. Behold, the earth will be destroyed on account of all their deeds, and there will be no seed of wine and no oil, because all their deeds are unbelief, and they all will be destroyed together, the beasts and the animals and the birds and all the fish of the sea, on account of the sons of men. 18. And they will contend with each other, the young with the old and the old with the young; the poor with the rich, and the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and on account of the covenant, for they have forgotten his commandments and his covenant and the festivals and the months and the sabbaths and the jubilees and all law. 19. And they will arise with swords and murder to bring

them back to the path, but they will not return until the blood of many has been spilt upon the earth, one over the other. 20. And those who escape will not return on the path of righteousness from their wickedness, for they all will arise for a robbery for wealth, that each one may take that which is his neighbors' and be called by a great name, but not in reality and in truth, and the most holy will be defiled in the uncleanness of the destruction of their defilement. 21. And a great punishment will be over the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and he will give them over to the sword and to judgment and to captivity and to robbery and to devouring. 22. And he will awaken over them the sinners of the Gentiles, who will have no mercy or grace for them, and who regard the face of none, neither old nor young nor any one; for they are wicked and powerful that they act more wickedly than all the children of men; and in Israel they practise violence and sin in Jacob, and the blood of many will be spilt on the land; and there will be none to gather and to bury. 23. And in those days they will cry aloud and call and pray that they be saved from the hands of the sinful Gentiles, and there will be none to save them. 24. And the heads of the children will be white with gray hair, and a child of three weeks will appear as old as a man of a hundred years, and their standing will be destroyed by trouble and oppression. 25. And in those days the children will begin to seek the laws and to seek the commandments and to return to the path of righteousness. 26. And the days will begin to increase and grow many, and the children of men generation by generation and day by day, until their days approach to one thousand years and to a multitude of years and days. 27. And no one will be old or satisfied with days, for all will be [like] children and youths. 28. And all their days will be in peace, and in joy they will end them and live, and there will be no satan nor any destroyer, for all their days will be days of peace and healing and blessings. 29. And

at that time the Lord will heal his servants, and they will arise and will see great peace and will cast out their enemies; and the just shall see it and be thankful and rejoice in joy to all eternity, and shall see judgment and curses upon all their enemies. 30. And their bones shall rest in the earth, but their spirits shall increase in joy, and they shall know that the Lord is the doer of judgment, and gives mercy to the hundreds and thousands and to all that love him. 31. And thou, Moses, write down all these words, for thus are they written, and they have raised them upon the tablets of heaven to the generation of eternity.¹

CHAP. XXIV. 1. And it happened after the death of Abraham that the Lord blessed Isaac, his son, and he arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the fountain of the vision, in the first year of the third week of this jubilee, seven years. 2. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, in addition to the first famine which was in the days of Abraham. 3. And Jacob cooked a mess of lentils, and Esau came from the field hungry. 4. And he said to Jacob, his brother, "Give me of thy mess of pulse;" and Jacob said to him, "Give up to me thy right of first birth, and I will give thee bread and also from this mess of pulse." 5. And Esau said in his heart, "I shall die; what is it to me to be born first?" 6. And he said to Jacob, "I will give it to you." 7. And Jacob said, "Swear to me this day," and he swore to him. 8. And Jacob gave to his brother Esau bread and the mess, and he ate and was satisfied, and Esau despised his right of first birth; and from this was Esau called Edom,² on account of the mess of grain which Jacob gave him for his right of first birth. 9. And Jacob became the older, but Esau diminished from his greatness. 10. And

¹ These somewhat crass messianic views this book has in common with other and similar works of the same period. Cf. Enoch c. 5 et passim.

² The Ethiopic translator must have read ἐψήματος πυροῦ for πυρρόν. Cf. LXX. on Gen. xxv. 30.

the famine was over the land, and Isaac went to go down to Egypt in the second year of this week, and he went to the king of the Philistines at Gêrârâ, to Abimelech. 11. And the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "Do not go down to Egypt; dwell in the land which I tell thee of: be a stranger in this land, and I will be with thee and will bless thee. 12. For to thee and to thy seed I will give all this land, and I will confirm my oath which I swore to Abraham, thy father, and I will increase thy seed like the stars of the heavens, and I will give to thy seed all this land. 13. And in thy seed shall be blessed all the nations of the earth, because thy father hearkened unto my voice and observed my words and my commandments and my law and my ordinances and my covenant; and now hear my voice and dwell in this land." 14. And he dwelt at Gerar three weeks of years. 15. And Abimelech commanded on his account and on account of all that was his, saying: "Every man that touches him or any thing that is his, shall surely die." 16. And Isaac increased in Philistia, and he secured many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and many possessions. 17. And he sowed in the land of Philistia and he raised a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines were jealous of him, and all the wells which the young men of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham the Philistines covered after the death of Abraham and filled them with earth. 18. And Abimelech said to Isaac: "Go from me, for thou art exceedingly greater than I;" and Isaac went in the first year of this seventh week from there, and migrated to valleys of Gêrânôn. 19. And they returned and dug open the wells of water, which the servants of Abraham, his father, had dug, and which the Philistines had covered over after the death of Abraham, his father, and he called their names as Abraham, his father, had named them. 20. And the young men of Isaac dug wells in the valley, and found living water; and the shepherds of Gêrânôn quarrelled with the shepherds

of Isaac, saying, "This is our water," and Isaac called the name of this well Contention, "because ye have contended with us." 21. And they dug another well, and quarrelled on its account, and Isaac called its name Narrowness. 22. And he arose from there, and they dug another well, and did not quarrel on its account, and he called its name Extension, and Isaac said, "Now the Lord has extended us;" and he increased in the land. 23. And he ascended from there to the well of the oath in the first year of the first week in the forty-third jubilee. 24. And the Lord appeared to him in this night, at the new moon of the first month, and said to him: "I am the God of Abraham, thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and I will bless thee and increase thy seed like the sand of the sea, on account of Abraham, my servant." 25. And he built an altar there where Abraham, his father, had first built one, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and offered sacrifices to the God of Abraham, his father. And they dug a well and found living water. 26. And the young men of Isaac dug another well, and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: "I have sworn this day to the Philistines, and this is to us the affair." 27. And Isaac called the name of this place The Well of the Oath, for there had he sworn to Abimelech and Akôsat, his friend, and Phikôl his companion. 28. And Isaac knew on that day that in injustice they had sworn to them to keep the peace with them. 29. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines, and he said: "Cursed be the Philistines to the day of wrath and rage above all the nations: may the Lord make them an ignominy and a curse and anger and rage in the hands of sinful nations, and by the hands of the Hittites let him root them out. 30. And whoever escapes from the sword of the enemy and from the Hittites, may the people of the just root them out in judgment from under heaven, for they will be enemies and haters to my children in their days over the earth. 31. And may no remnant of

them be left nor may any be saved on the day of the judgment of wrath, for to destruction and rooting out and being destroyed from the land are all the seed of the Philistines, and no remnant or name shall be left of *their* seed over the earth. 32. For even if he had ascended to heaven, they would bring him down from there; and if he is fortified upon the earth they will tear him from there; and if he hides himself among the Gentiles, they will destroy him from there; and even if he descends into Sheôl, there too shall his judgment be great, and no peace shall be to him; and if he go into captivity, by the hand of those that seek his soul on the way he shall be killed, and no name or seed shall be left him on the whole earth, for he shall go into the curse of eternity." 33. And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the tablets of heaven, to do to him on the day of judgment, that he may be rooted out of the earth.

CHAP. XXV. 1. And in the second year of this week in this jubilee Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake to him, saying: "My son, do not take to thyself a wife from among the daughters of Canaan, like Esau, thy brother, who took to himself as wives two from the seed of Canaan, and they embittered my spirit with all their unclean deeds, for all their deeds are fornication and shame, and there is no righteousness in them, but it is evil. 2. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my mercy, my son, blesses thee at every hour and watch of the night; and now, my son, hear my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take to thyself a wife from among the daughters of this land, except from the house of thy father and except from the family of thy father: take to thyself a wife from the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children will be a generation of righteousness and thy seed holy." 3. And then spake Jacob with his mother Rebecca, and said to her: "Behold, I am now nine weeks of years old and know no woman: I have touched none nor betrothed myself to any, nor do I think

of taking to myself a wife from all the seed of the daughters of Canaan. 4. For I remember, O mother, the words of Abraham, our father, that he commanded me not to take my wife from among all the seed of the house of Canaan, but from the seed of my father's house I should take to myself a wife and from my relationship. 5. I have heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and upon them is my heart set to take a wife of them. 6. On this account I have preserved myself in my spirit not to sin nor defile myself in all my ways all the days of my life, for with reference to lust and fornication my father Abraham gave me many commands. 7. And with all that he has commanded me these twenty-two years my brother contends with me and continually converses, saying: My brother, take to wife one of the sisters of my two wives; but I am not willing to do as my brother has done. 8. I swear before thee, my mother, that all the days of my life I will not take to myself a wife from the seed of all the daughters of Canaan, and will not act wickedly as my brother has done. 9. And do not fear, mother; trust me that I will do thy will, and will walk in rectitude, and my paths will not be destroyed in eternity." 10. And then she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hand toward heaven, and opened her mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created heaven and earth, and she gave him thanks and praise. 11. And she said: "Blessed be the Lord God and blessed be his name for ever and ever, who has given to me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for thine he is and thine shall be his seed unto all the days and in all the generations of the world. 12. Bless him, O Lord, and place the blessing of righteousness in my mouth that I may bless him." 13. And at that hour the Holy Spirit descended into her mouth, and she placed her two hands upon the head of Jacob, and she said: "Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the worlds, and thee do all the generations of men praise: may he give thee, my son, the path

of righteousness, and reveal to thy seed righteousness. 14. And may thy sons increase in thy life, and stand to the number of the months of the year, and may thy sons increase and grow more than the stars of the heavens, and more than the sand of the sea increase their numbers. 15. And may he give them this fruitful land, as he said he would give it to Abraham and his seed after him in all the days, and may they possess it to eternity. 16. And may I see for thee, my son, blessed children in this life, and may holy seed be all thy seed. 17. And as the spirit of thy mother in her life caused thee to rest in her womb to give thee birth, thus my affection blesses thee, and my breasts bless thee and my mouth and my tongue praise thee. 18. Increase and be poured over the earth, and thy seed be perfect in all the earth in the joy of heaven and earth, and may thy seed rejoice, and on the great day of peace may the peace of thy name be theirs. 19. And may thy seed abide to all the worlds, and may the Most High God be their God, and may the Most High God dwell with them and his sanctuary be built to all the eternities. 20. He that blesses thee be blessed, and all flesh that curses thee in lies, may it be cursed." 21. And she kissed him and said to him, "May the Lord of the world love thee as the heart of thy mother, and may her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee." 22. And she ceased from blessing him.

CHAP. XXVI. 1. And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said to him: "My son, I am old, and behold my eyes are dull of seeing, and I do not know the day of my death. 2. And now take thy hunting weapon and thy bow and thy quiver, and go to the field and hunt and catch something for me, my son, and prepare me a meal such as my soul loves, and bring it to me, so that I may eat and my soul bless thee before I die." 3. But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau. 4. And Esau went early to the field to hunt and catch something and bring it to his father. 5. And Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said to him: "Behold, I have heard

thy father Isaac speaking with thy brother Esau, saying, 'Hunt me something and prepare a meal and bring it in to me, and I will bless thee before the Lord before I die.' 6. But now hear, my son, my words which I command thee: Go to thy flocks and bring me two good young kids, and I will make a meal out of them such as he loves, and thou shalt bring it in to thy father and he shall eat, that he may bless thee before the Lord before he dies, and thou become blessed." 7. And Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: "O mother, I will not hold back any thing that my father may eat and is pleasing to him; only I fear, my mother, that he will know my voice and will desire to touch me; and thou knowest that I am smooth, but my brother Esau is rough, and I may be before his eyes like an evil-doer, and I should do a deed which he has not commanded me, and he might become angry with me and I should bring a curse upon myself and not a blessing." 8. And Rebecca, his mother, said to him: "Upon me, my son, be thy curse; and again listen to my voice." 9. And Jacob obeyed the words of his mother Rebecca, and he went and took two good and fat young kids and brought them in to his mother, and his mother made a meal out of them as he liked it. 10. And Rebecca took the clothing of her elder son Esau, the most precious with her in the house, and clothed Jacob with them, and the skins of the kids she placed over his hands and upon the exposed parts of his body; and she gave the meat and the bread which she had made into the hands of her son Jacob. 11. And he went in to his father and said: "Behold, I am thy son; I have done as thou hast said to me: arise and sit up and eat of what I have hunted, my father, that thy soul may bless me." 12. And Isaac said to his son, "What is this, that thou hast so suddenly found it, my son?" 13. And Jacob said to him: "He who has caused me to find it, thy God, is before me." 14. And Isaac said: "Come hither to me, that I may touch thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau, or if not." 15. And Jacob came near to Isaac his father, and he touched him.

16. And he said: "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hand is the hand of Esau;" and he did not know him, for it was a fate from heaven to remove his spirit; and Isaac did not know him, for his hands were like his [i. e., Esau's] hands, and hairy like the hands of Esau, so that he should bless him. 17. And he said, "Art thou my son Esau?" And he said, "I am thy son." And he said: "Bring hither to me, and I will eat of what thou hast hunted, my son, that my soul may bless thee." 18. And he brought to him the meal, and he ate; and he brought in wine, and he drank. 19. And Isaac, his father, said to him: "Approach and kiss me, my son;" and he approached and kissed him. 20. And he smelt the smell of his clothes, and he blessed him, and said: "Behold, the smell of my son is like the smell of the field which the Lord has blessed; and may the Lord give to thee and increase thee like the dew of the heaven and the dew of earth, and may grain increase and oil be plenty to thee, and may the nations serve thee and the peoples bow down to thee. 21. Be the lord of thy brother, and may the sons of thy mother bow down to thee, and may all the blessings with which the Lord has blessed me and has blessed my father Abraham be thine and thy seed's to eternity: he that curseth thee shall be cursed, and he that blesseth thee shall be blessed." 22. And when Isaac ended blessing his son Jacob, then Jacob went out from Isaac his father to hide himself. 23. But Esau, his brother, came in from hunting, and he too prepared a meal and brought it in to his father, and said to his father, "Arise, my father, and eat of my prey, that thy soul may bless me." 24. And Isaac, his father, said to him, "Who art thou?" 25. And he said to him, "I am thy first-born son Esau; I have done as thou hast commanded me." 26. And Isaac was very much astounded; and said: "Who was he that hunted and caught something for me, and brought it in, and I ate of all before thou camest in, and I blessed him? 27. Blessed shall he be and his seed to eternity." 28. And when Esau

heard the words of his father Isaac he cried with a loud and very bitter voice, and said to his father: "Bless me too, father!" 29. And he said to him, "Thy brother came and took thy blessing." 30. [And Esau said:] "And now I know why his name is called Jacob; behold he has ensnared me twice; the first time he took my birth-right, and now he takes my blessing. 31. And he said, "Hast thou not a blessing left for me, my father?" 32. And Isaac answered and said to Esau: "Behold, I have set him as lord over thee and all his brothers, and have given them to be his servants, and with much grain and oil and wine I have strengthened him, and what shall I do to thee, my son?" 33. And Esau said to his father Isaac: "Hast thou but one blessing, father? Bless also me, father." 34. And Esau raised his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said to him: "Behold, from the fatness of the earth shall be thy substance and from the dew of heaven above; and thou shalt live by thy sword and thou shalt serve thy brother. 35. And it will happen when thou art great and shalt break his yoke off thy neck, thou shalt commit a sin unto death, and all thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven." 36. And Esau was wroth at Jacob on account of the blessing with which his father had blessed him; and he said in his heart, "Now the days of grief may come for my father, that I may kill my brother Jacob."

CHAP. XXVII. 1. And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca, sending, called for Jacob, her younger son. 2. And she said to him: "Behold, thy brother Esau is making his plans to kill thee; and now hear my words: arise and flee to my brother Laban and dwell with him a number of days, until the anger of thy brother has turned and his anger has departed from thee and he forget every thing that thou hast done him, and I will send to bring thee from there." 3. And Jacob said: "I have no fear: if he desires to kill me, I will kill him." 4. And she said to him, "Then should I be deprived of both my sons in one day." 5. And

Jacob said to his mother Rebecca: "Behold, thou knowest that my father is old, and I see that his eyes have become dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes that I leave him and go away from thee, and my father will be angry and will curse me. I will not go; only if he sends me will I go from here." 6. And Rebecca said to Jacob: "I will go in and will speak to him, and he will send thee." 7. And Rebecca went in and spake to Isaac: "I am aggrieved in my life on account of the two daughters of Heth which Esau has taken to himself as wives from among the daughters of Canaan: why should I yet live? for the daughters of the land of Canaan are evil." 8. And Isaac called his son Jacob, and blessed him, and admonished him, and said to him: "Do not take to thee a wife from among all the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of the father of thy mother, to the house of Bethuel, and take to thee from there a wife from among the daughters of Laban, the brother of thy mother. And may the God of heaven bless thee and increase and enlarge thee, and become thou a collection of nations, and may he give the blessings of thy father Abraham to thee and thy seed after thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy pilgrimage and all the land which the Lord gave to Abraham: go, my son, in peace!" 9. And Isaac sent away Jacob, and he went to Mesopotamia to Laban, the son of Bethuel, the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, the mother of Jacob.. 10. And it happened when Jacob had arisen to go to Mesopotamia, the spirit of Rebecca was sad after her son had gone, and she wept. 11. And Isaac said to Rebecca: "My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son, for he is going in peace, and in peace he will return. 12. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil and will be with him, for he will not desert him any day of his life, for I perceive that the Lord will prosper his path wherever he goes, until he returns in peace to us and we see him in peace. 13. Do not fear on his account, my sister, for right is his path and he is a

perfect and faithful man and will not be destroyed: do not weep!" 14. And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of Jacob her son, and blessed him. 15. And Jacob went from The Well of the Oath that he might come to Haran in the first year of the second week in the forty-fourth jubilee, and came to Lôzâ among the mountains, that is, Bethel, in the beginning of the first month of this week, and he came to the place at eve, and he turned off from the way toward the west from the highway in this night, and slept there, for the sun had set. 16. And he took one from among the stones of that place and laid it under a tree, and he was travelling alone, and he slept. 17. And he dreamed in that night a dream, and behold, a ladder was planted upon the earth, and its head reached to the heaven, and behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it, and behold, the Lord stood upon it. 18. And the Lord spake unto Jacob and said: "I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land upon which thou art sleeping I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee, and thy seed shall be like the sand of the sea, and thou shalt increase to the west and east and south and north; and all the countries of the nations shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed. 19. And behold, I will be with thee and still watch over thee in all things wherever thou goest, and will bring thee back into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do all that I have said to thee." 20. And Jacob finished his sleep, and said: "Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I did not know it." 21. And he was afraid, and said: "Dreadful is this place, which is nothing but the house of the Lord, and this is the portal of heaven." 22. And Jacob awoke early in the morning and took the stone from under his head and placed it up as a pillar, as a sign of this place; and he poured oil upon its head, and called the name of this place Bethel; but its first name was Lôzâ, like the land. 23. And Jacob prayed a prayer to the Lord, saying: "If the Lord will be with me and guard me on this path

upon which I walk, and if the Lord give me bread to eat and clothes to clothe myself, and I return in peace to the house of my father, then the Lord shall be my God, and this stone, which I have set up as a pillar, as a sign in this place, shall be a house of the Lord. 24. And all things that thou givest me, of that I will give the tenth to thee, my God."

CHAP. XXVIII. 1. And he lifted up his feet and went to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of his mother Rebecca, and he was with him and served him for Rachel, his daughter one week. And in the first year of the third week he said to him: "Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years. 2. And Laban said to Jacob, "I will give thee thy wife." And Laban made a feast, and took Leah, his older daughter, and gave her to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zalapha as a maid to serve her; and Jacob did not know it, for he thought she was Rachel. 3. And he went in to her, and behold, it was Leah; and Jacob was angry at Laban and said to him: "Why hast thou done thus? 4. Have I not served thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou injured me? Take thy daughter and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me." 5. For Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah, for the eyes of Leah were dull, but her form was very beautiful; but Rachel had beautiful eyes and a beautiful and very attractive form. 6. And Laban said to Jacob: "It is not the custom in our land to give the younger before the elder." 7. And it is not right to do this, for thus is it ordained and written on the tablets of heaven, that no one shall give his younger daughter before the older, but shall give the younger after her. 8. And the man that does this loads sin upon himself on this account in heaven, and no one who does this is just, for it is an evil deed before the Lord. 9. And thou command the children of Israel that they do not this thing, and neither take nor give the younger before the older has been established, for it is very wicked. 10. And Laban said to Jacob:

“Let the seven days of this feast pass by, and I will give thee Rachel that thou mayest serve me another seven years, that thou mayest herd my sheep, as thou hast done in the first week.” 11. And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah were passed, Laban gave Rachel to Jacob, that he might serve him a second seven years, and he gave Rachel Balla, the sister of Zalapha, as a maid to serve her. 12. And he served seven years again for Rachel, for Leah had been given to him. 13. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth of the ninth month of the first year of the third week. 14. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated but Rachel was beloved. 15. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she conceived and bore Jacob a second son, and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month and the third year of this week. 16. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore him a third son, and he called his name Levi, in the beginning of the third month, in the sixth year of this week. 17. And again Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah, on the fifteenth of the third month in the first year of the fourth week. 18. And in all this Rachel was jealous of Leah, for she did not bear; and she said to Jacob, “Give me a son!” 19. And Jacob said to her, “Am I preventing fruit of the womb from thee: have I left thee?” 20. And when Rachel saw that Leah had borne Jacob four sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, then she said to him, “Go in to Balla, my maid, and she will conceive and bear a son for me.” 21. And he went in to her, and she became pregnant and bore him a son, and she called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the sixth year of the third week. 22. And again a second time he went in to Balla, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtalim, in the fifth of the seventh

month of the second year of the fourth week. 23. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear, she became jealous of Rachel, and she gave Zalapha, her maid, to Jacob as a wife, and she became pregnant and bore him a son, and she called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month in the third year of the fourth week. 24. And again he went in to her, and she became pregnant and bore him another son, and Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month in the fifth year of the fourth week. 25. And Jacob went in to Leah, and she became pregnant and bore Jacob a son, and she called his name Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month in the fourth year of the fourth week, and she gave him to a nurse. 26. And Jacob again went in to her, and she became pregnant and she bore him two [children], a son and a daughter, and she called his name Zebulon and the name of the daughter Dinah, on the seventh of the seventh month in the sixth year of the fourth week. 27. And the Lord was gracious to Rachel and opened her womb, and she became pregnant and bore a son, and she called his name Joseph, in the beginning of the fourth month of the sixth year of this fourth week. 28. And in the days when Joseph was born Jacob said to Laban: "Give me my wives and my children, and I will go to my father Isaac, and I will make for myself a house, for I have completed the years which I have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father." 29. And Laban said to Jacob: "Remain with me for wages, and herd my folds again and receive thy wages." 30. And they agreed with each other, that he would give him as wages all the young sheep and goats should be his wages. And the possessions of Jacob increased very much, and he possessed oxen and sheep and asses and camels and sons and daughters. 31. And Laban and his sons were jealous of Jacob, and Laban gathered his sheep away from him, and thought out evil.

CHAP. XXIX. 1. And it happened when Rachel had

given birth to Joseph that Laban went out to shear his sheep, for they were distant from him a journey of three days. 2. And Jacob saw that Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and he called Leah and Rachel, and spake unto their hearts, that they should go with him to the land of Canaan, for he told them all that he had seen in the dream, and all that he [God] had spoken to him, that he should return to the house of his father; and they said to him: "We will go everywhere thou goest, with thee we will go." 3. And Jacob blessed the God of his father Isaac, and the God of Abraham, the father of his father, and he arose and prepared his wives and children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his heart from Laban and did not tell him. 4. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob returned to Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first; and Laban followed after him, and found Jacob in the mountains of Gilead, in the third month, on the twelfth thereof. 5. And the Lord did not permit him to injure Jacob, for he appeared to him in a dream by night; and Laban spake to Jacob. 6. And on the fifteenth thereof, on that day, Jacob made a feast to Laban and all who had come with him, and Jacob swore to Laban on this day and Laban to Jacob, that they would not cross for evil to one another the mountains of Gilead. 7. And he made there a large stone heap as a testimony; on this account the name of this place is called "The Stone Heap of Testimony;" such is the heap. 8. But before they had called the land of Gilead the land of Raphaim, for it was the land of the Raphaim, and the Raphaim, or giants, were born there, whose length is ten, nine, eight, and seven ells, and their dwellings were from the land of the sons of Ammon to Mount Hermon, and the seats of their kingdom were Kôrônâêm and Adrâ and Mîsûr and Bêôn. 9. And the Lord slew them on account of the wickedness of their deeds, for they were most terrible, and the Amorites inhabit it in their place, evil and sinful, and there

is no nation to-day that has completed all their sin, and therefore they have no length of life upon the earth. 10. And Jacob sent Laban away, and he came into the land of Mesopotamia, the land of the east, but Jacob returned to the land of Gilead and crossed over the Jabbok in the ninth month on the eleventh thereof. 11. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and they settled their troubles; and they went from here into the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. 12. And in the first year of the fifth week of this jubilee he crossed the Jordan and lived opposite the Jordan, that he might pasture his sheep from the land of Stone Heap to Betâ-Zôn and to Dôtâêm and to Akrâbil. 13. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his possessions clothing and food and meat and drink and milk and oil and bread of milk and of the palms of the valley; and to his mother Rebecca he also sent four times a year, between the times of the months, between the plowing and the harvest, between the spring and the rain, and between winter and summer; to the tower of Abraham, for Isaac had returned from The Well of the Oath and had gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son Esau. 14. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself as wife Mâlit, the daughter of Ishmael, and collected all the herds of his father and his wives and went up and dwelt in the mountains of Seir, and left Isaac, his father, at The Well of the Oath alone; and Isaac went up from The Well of the Oath, and dwelt in the tower of Abraham, his father, on the mountains of Hebron. 15. And from here Jacob sent all things which he sent to his father Isaac and to his mother from time to time all their sorrows; and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and all their souls.

CHAP. XXX. 1. And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, which is opposite the east of Shechem, in peace, in the fourth month; and there they brought by force Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the

house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite prince of the land, and he slept with her and defiled her, and she was a small girl twelve years of age. 2. And he begged her father and her brothers for her, that she should be given to him as wife; and Jacob and his sons were angry on account of the men of Shechem, because they had defiled their sister Dinah; and they spoke with them for evil, and intrigued against and deceived them. 3. And Simeon and Levi secretly came to Shechem and inflicted punishment upon all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men they found in it, and did not leave a single one in it. 4. They killed all in torments, because they had dishonored their sister Dinah. 5. And thus ye shall not do from now on and to eternity to defile a daughter of Israel, for in heaven it was ordained over them as a punishment that they should root out all the men of Shechem, because they committed a shame on a daughter of Israel, and the Lord turned them over into the hands of the sons of Jacob, that they should root them out with the sword, and that they should inflict punishment upon them; and never again shall it be thus in Israel, that a daughter of Israel be defiled. 6. And if there is any man in Israel who desires to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles, he shall surely die, and they shall slay him with stones, for he has committed a sin and a shame in Israel; and his wife they shall burn with fire, for she has defiled the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. 7. And no fornication or defilement shall be found in Israel all the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy to the Lord, and every man that defiles must surely die, and they shall slay him with stones. 8. For thus is it ordained and written on the tablets of heaven concerning all the seed of Israel, that he who defiles must surely die, and they shall slay him with stones. 9. And to this law there is no limit of days and no ceasing and no forgiveness, but he shall be rooted out who defiles his daughter, among all Israel, be-

cause he has given of his seed to Moloch and has sinned by defiling. 10. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and testify over them that they shall not give any of their daughters to the Gentiles and that they shall not take any of the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is accursed before the Lord. 11. And on this account I have written for thee in the words of the law all the deeds of Shechem which they did against Dinah, and how the children of Jacob conversed saying: "We will not give our daughter to an uncircumcised man, for this is disgraceful to us." 12. And it is disgraceful to Israel to those that give and to those that receive from the Gentiles any daughters, for it is unclean and accursed to Israel; and Israel will not be clean of this uncleanness of him who has of the daughters of the Gentiles for a wife, or who has given of his daughters to a man who is of any of the seed of the Gentiles; for there will be plagues upon plagues, curse upon curse, and all punishment and plagues and curses will come. 13. And if they do this thing, and if they blind their eyes to those that commit uncleanness and to those that defile the sanctuary of the Lord and those that profane his holy name, then shall the whole people together be punished, on account of all this uncleanness and this profaneness, and there will be no respect for persons, and no consideration for persons, and no taking of fruits from his hands and fruit offering and burnt offering and fat and incense offering as a sweet savour, that it may be acceptable. 14. And every man and woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary shall be thus. 15. And on account of this I have commanded thee, saying: "Testify this testimony over Israel: see how it happened to the Shechemites and their sons, how they were given into the hands of the two sons of Jacob and they slew them in torments, and it was justice to them, and it is written down for justice concerning them."

CHAP. XXXI. 1. And in the new moon of the month, Jacob spoke to all the men of his house, saying: "Purify yourselves and change your clothes, and arising let us go up

to Bethel, where I made a vow when I was fleeing from the face of Esau, my brother; because he [God] has been with me, and has brought me into this land in peace. 2. And remove the false gods that are in your midst. 3. And tear away the false gods which are in your ears and on your necks, and the idols which Rachel took from her father Laban, and which she gave all to Jacob." 4. And he burned and broke and destroyed and hid them under an oak, which was in the land of Shechem. 5. And he ascended at the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. 6. And he built an altar at the place where he had slept, and he erected there a monument, and he sent for his father Isaac to come to him to the sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. 7. And Isaac said: "Let my son Jacob come and let me see him before I die." 8. And Jacob went to Isaac his father, and to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons with him, Levi and Judah, and came to his father Isaac and his mother Rebecca. 9. And Rebecca came out of the tower to the front of the tower, that she might kiss Jacob and to embrace him, for her spirit was alive when she heard, "Behold thy son Jacob has come!" and she kissed him. 10. And she saw the two sons and she knew them, and said to him: 11. "Are these thy sons, my son?" and she embraced them and kissed them and blessed them, saying: "In you may the seed of Abraham be honored, and may ye be a blessing over the earth!" 12. And Jacob went in to his father Isaac to his chamber where he slept, and his two sons with him, and he took the hand of his father, and bending down kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son, and wept on his neck. 13. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he said, "Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee." 14. And he said that in truth they were his sons, and "in truth thou seest that they are my sons." 15. And they approached him, and they turned, and he kissed them and embraced them all together. 16. And the spirit of prophecy fell into his mouth,

and he took Levi by the right hand, and Judah by the left hand. 17. And he turned to Levi and began to bless him first, saying, "May the Lord God of all, the Lord of all the worlds, bless thee and thy children in all the worlds. 18. And may the Lord give thee and thy seed greatness and great honor, and cause thee and thy seed to approach to him from among all flesh, that they shall serve him in his sanctuary like the angels of the face, and like the holy ones that shall be the seed of thy sons for honor and greatness and holiness: and may he make them great in all the worlds. 19. And they shall be princes and lords and leaders for all the seed of the sons of Jacob: they shall speak the words of the Lord in truth, and shall judge all his judgments in truth, and speak my ways to Jacob, and they shall appear to Israel: may the blessing of the Lord be given into their mouths, that they may bless all the seed of the beloved. 20. And thy mother has called thy name Levi, and in truth has she thus called thee: thou shalt be very near to the Lord, and shalt have a part with all the sons of Jacob: his table shall be thine, and thou and thy sons shall eat thereof, and to all the generations may thy table be full, and may thy food not decrease to all eternity. 21. And all those that hate thee shall fall before thee, and all thy enemies shall be rooted out and be destroyed, but they that bless thee shall be blessed, and all the nations that curse thee shall be cursed." 22. And to Judah he spoke: "May the Lord give thee strength and power that thou mayest tread down all that hate thee: be thou a prince, thou and one of thy sons over the sons of Jacob. 23. May thy name and the name of thy sons be one that goes and encompasses the whole earth and the cities; then shall the Gentiles fear thy face, and all the nations shall tremble and all the people shake. 24. In thee let there be help to Jacob, and in thee may deliverance be found for Israel. 25. And if thou sittest on the throne of the honor of thy righteousness, there shall be great peace to all the seed of the sons of the beloved. 26. He that blesseth thee shall be blessed, and all that hate

and trouble thee, and those that curse thee, shall be rooted out and be destroyed from the earth, and shall be accursed.”

27. And turning around he kissed him again and embraced him and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen sons of Jacob, who was his son in truth. 28. And he came from between his feet, and fell down and prostrated himself, and he blessed them, and he remained with Isaac, his father, on that night, and they ate and drank with joy. 29. And he caused the two sons of Jacob to sleep, the one at his right, the other at his left, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. 30. And Jacob told his father everything during the night, how the Lord had been merciful to him, and how he had prospered him in all his ways and had protected him from all evil. 31. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who had not ceased his mercy and righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. 32. And in the morning Jacob told his father Isaac of the vow he had made to the Lord, and of the vision he had seen, and how he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice before the Lord, as he had vowed, and that he had come to place him upon an ass. 33. And Isaac said to his son Jacob: “I am not able to go with thee, for I am old and not able to endure the way: go, my son, in peace, for I am one hundred and sixty-five years old to-day; I am not able to travel. 34. Take thy mother and let her go with thee. 35. And I know, my son, that thou hast come on my account; and may this day be blessed upon which thou hast seen me alive and I have seen thee, my son. 36. Prosper, and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed, and do not delay thy vow, for thou must seek the vow. 37. And now hasten to fulfil thy vow; and may he be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast made thy vow.” 38. And he said to Rebecca: “Go with Jacob, thy son.” 39. And Rebecca went with Jacob, and Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. 40. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his fathers,

Abraham and Isaac. 41. And he said: "Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons also before the God of all; and thus it is ordained concerning the two, and they have placed it as a testimony for them to eternity, upon the tablets of heaven as Isaac blessed them.

CHAP. XXXII. 1. And he remained in that night in Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had appointed and made him priest, and his sons to eternity, priests of the Most High God; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed the Lord. 2. And Jacob started early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and the tenth of all that came with him of men and beasts, and gold, and all possessions and clothing. 3. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin, and Jacob counted his sons from him on and upwards; and the portion of the Lord fell upon Levi, and his father clothed him with the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands. 4. And on the fifteenth of this month he brought to the altar fifteen oxen from among the cattle, twenty-eight rams, and forty-nine sheep, and sixty lambs, and twenty-nine young goats, as a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and as an acceptable gift for a sweet savor to the Lord God. 5. This was the fulfilment of the vow he had made to give the tenth; together with their fruit and their drink offerings. 6. And when the fire had consumed them, he scattered frankincense over them on the fire; and for thank offering two oxen, and four rams, and four sheep, and a sheep of two years, and two young goats; thus he did distributing over seven days. 7. And he remained there eating, and all his sons and his men in joy seven days, and he blessed and thanked the Lord, who had delivered him from all his trouble, and to whom he had fulfilled his vow. 8. And he took the tenth of all the clean animals and made a burnt offering; and the unclean animals he gave to his son, and the men he gave him, and Levi exercised his priestly office in Bethel before Jacob, his father, in preference to his ten brothers, and he was there a priest, and Jacob fulfilled to him his vows: and thus he gave the tenth again to the Lord, and sanctified it, and it was holy for him. 9. And

on this account it is ordained on the tablets of heaven as a law concerning the giving of a second tenth—to eat before the Lord at the place upon which he has chosen his name to dwell year after year, and to this law there is no limit of day to eternity. 10. And this ordinance is written to do it year after year for eating a second tenth before the Lord in the place which he has chosen, and nothing shall be left over from it to the following year. 11. For in its year shall the seed be eaten until the seed of the year and the wine change their days to the days of wine and oil, and to the days of oil in its season. 12. And all that is left thereof and which becomes old, let it be considered contaminated; burn it with fire, for it is unclean. 13. And thus they shall eat together in the sanctuary, and shall not let it become old. 14. And all the tenth of oxen and sheep shall be holy to the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, who will eat it before him from year to year; for thus is it ordained and engraven concerning the tenth on the tablets of heaven. 15. And in the following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob planned that he would build this place and erect a wall around it, and that he would sanctify it and make it holy to eternity, for himself and his children after him. 16. And the Lord appeared to him in the night, and blessed him, and said to him: “Thou shalt not call thy name Jacob only, but Israel also shall thy name be called.” 17. And he said to him again: “I am the Lord thy God, who has created heaven and earth; and I will increase and multiply thee exceedingly, and kings shall come from thee, and they shall rule over all, wherever the foot of the sons of man has trod. 18. And I will give to thy seed all the land under heaven, and they shall rule over all the nations as they desire, and after that they will gather to themselves the whole earth, and shall inherit the world.” 19. And he completed conversing with him, and ascended from there, and Jacob looked until he ascended to heaven. 20. And he saw in a vision of the night, and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to Jacob, and he read all that was written on them,

what would happen to himself and his sons in all the years.

21. And he showed him all things that were written on the tablets, and said to him: "Do not build up this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here, for this is not the place. 22. Go to the house of Abraham, thy father, and dwell there with Isaac, thy father, until the day of the death of thy father. 23. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried in honor, in the grave of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. 24. Fear not; for as thou hast seen and read it, thus shall it all be. 25. But write thou down all as thou hast seen and read."

26. And Jacob said: "How can I remember all as I have seen and read it?" 27. And he said to him: "I will recall it all for thee." 28. And he went up from there: and he awoke from his sleep and remembered all that he had seen and read, and he wrote down all the words that he had read and that he had seen. 29. And he stayed there yet another day, and sacrificed there according to all that had been ordained on former days, and called its name "addition," for this day was added; and the first day he called "the festival."

30. And thus it appeared that it would be, and it is written on the tablets of heaven; and on this account it was revealed to him, that he should celebrate it, and that he should add it to the seven days of the festival, and its name was called "addition," because it comes to the seven days; and thus is the festival by number of days of the year. 31. And in the night of the twenty-third of this month, Deborah, the nurse of Rebecca, died, and he buried her below the city under the oak of the river, and called the name of this river "the river of Deborah," and of the oak, "lamentation oak of Deborah."

32. And Rebecca went and returned to her house, to Isaac, his father; and Jacob sent by her rams and calves and sheep, that she should prepare for his father a meal, as he loved it. 33. And he too went after his mother until he came to the land of Kêbrâtân, and he dwelt there. 34. And Rachel in that night gave birth to a son, and called his name "Son of my sorrow," for she suffered in giving birth; but his father

called him Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month, in the first year of the sixth week of this jubilee. 35. And Rachel died there, and was buried in the land of Ephrathah, that is, Bethlehem ; and Jacob erected upon the grave of Rachel a column, on the road above her grave.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1. And Jacob went and dwelt toward the north at Mâgdêlraep. 2. And he went to his father Isaac, he and Leah, his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. 3. And Reuben saw Balla, the maid of Rachel, the concubine of his father, while she was bathing in water at a hidden place, and he loved her. 4. And he hid himself at night, and he entered the house of Balla at night, and found her lying alone on her bed, and sleeping, and he lay down with her. 5. And she awoke, and saw, and behold, Reuben was lying with her on the bed ; and she uncovered the edge and seized him and cried out, and discovered that it was Reuben, and she was ashamed on his account, and let go her hand from him, and he fled. 6. And she lamented on account of this thing exceedingly, and did not mention it to anybody. 7. And when Jacob returned and sought her, she said to him : " I am not clean for thee, for I have been defiled for thee, for Reuben has defiled me and lay with me in the night, and I was asleep and did not discover it until he uncovered the edge, and he lay with me." 8. And Jacob was very angry at Reuben that he had lain with Balla, for he had uncovered the covering of his father ; and Jacob did not approach her any more, because Reuben had defiled her, for his deed was very wicked, for it is accursed before the Lord. 9. On this account it is written and ordained on the tablets of heaven, that a man shall not sleep with the wife of his father, and that he shall not uncover the covering of his father, for this is unclean ; they must surely die together, the man that lies with the wife of his father, and the woman, for they do an unclean thing in the land. 10. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation he has chosen for himself as a kingdom. 11. And again it is written : " Cursed be the one that lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered the shame of

his father, and all the holy ones of the Lord shall say : 'Thus be it ! Thus be it !'' 12. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel that they observe this word, for the punishment is death, and it is unclean, and there is no forgiveness to atone for a man that does this wicked deed, except slaying and stoning him to death, or rooting him out from amongst the people of our God. 13. For there shall not remain alive on earth a single day any man that does this in Israel, for it is accursed and unclean. 14. And let them not say that Reuben lived and was forgiven that he had slept with the concubine of his father, and she too, although her husband, Jacob, his father, was yet alive. 15. For hé had not yet revealed the ordinance and the punishment and the law in its entire completeness ; for in thy days it is as a law since his days and as a law to eternity, to the generation of eternity ; and there is not any passing of days to this law, nor any forgiveness to him, except that they both be rooted out together from the midst of the people : on the day on which they do it they shall slay them. 16. And thou, Moses, write it down for Israel that they observe it according to these words, and let them not commit a mortal sin, for the Lord our God is a judge who has no regard for persons and receives no presents. 17. And tell them these words of the ordinance, that they obey and preserve them, and watch themselves, and be not destroyed and rooted out of the land ; for unclean and an abomination and contamination and profanation are all they that do this on the earth before our God. 18. And there is no sin on earth greater than fornication, which they commit on the earth, for Israel is a nation holy unto God, and a nation of inheritance for its God, and a nation of priesthood and royalty and a possession, and no one shall appear thus unclean in the midst of the holy people. 19. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house of Abraham, near Isaac, his father, and Rebecca, his mother. 20. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob : the first bore Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, the sons of Leah ; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin ; and

the sons of Balla, Dan and Naphtali ; and the sons of Zalapha, Gad and Asur ; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. 21. And going, they bowed down before Isaac and Rebecca ; and when they saw them, they blessed Jacob and all his sons. 22. And Isaac rejoiced exceedingly that he saw the sons of Jacob, his youngest son, and he blessed them.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1. And in the sixth year of this week of the forty-fourth jubilee, Jacob sent his sons to pasture his sheep, and his servants with them to the pasture of Shechem. 2. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves against them to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and to take away their cattle and their wives. 3. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were at the house where Isaac their father was, for his spirit was sad, and they could not leave him ; and Benjamin was the youngest, and on this account remained with his father. 4. And the kings of Tâphô and of Azêsa and Sarâgôn and Sêlô and Gâez, and the king of Bêtôrôn and of Mânîsâkêr came, and all those that dwell in those mountains, who dwell in the woods of the land of Canaan. 5. And they announced this to Jacob, saying : " Behold the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons in order to rob their herds." 6. And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and the young men of his father, and went forth and went against them, eight hundred men who carried swords. 7. And they slew them on the fields of Shechem, and pursued those that fled and slew them with the edge of the sword, and slew them at Arêsa and Thapha and Sêrâgen and Selo and Amânîsakêrô and Gâgâas. 8. And he collected his herds ; and he was more powerful than those and ordained a tax over them, that they should give him tribute, fine fruits of their land, and he built Reuben and Tâmnâtârês. 9. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they were his servants until the day he and his sons descended down to the land of Egypt. 10. And in the seventh year of this week he sent Joseph to learn about the safety of his brothers, from his house to Shechem, and he

found them in the land of Dothan. 11. And they waylaid him and made a plot against him to slay him ; and changing, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants, and they brought him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the head cook, the one that sacrificed in the city of Êlêw. 12. And the sons of Jacob killed a young goat, and dipped the clothes of Joseph in its blood, and sent it to their father Jacob. 13. And it was on the tenth of the seventh month, and they stayed all this day until the evening, and they brought it to him ; and he became fevered in his grief unto death, and said : “ A wild beast has devoured Joseph ; ” and on that day all the men of his house were with him, and mourned and lamented with him all the day. 14. And his sons and his daughter arose to comfort him, but he could not be comforted on account of his son. 15. And on that day Balla heard that Joseph had been killed, and she died in her grief, and she was living at Kertârêtêf ; and Dinah, his daughter, died also after Joseph had been slain. 16. This threefold sorrow came over Israel in one month. 17. And he buried Balla opposite the grave of Rachel, and Dinah, his daughter, he also buried there. 18. And he continued mourning for Joseph one year, and did not cease, saying : “ I will descend into the grave grieving for my son. ” 19. And on this account it is ordained for the children of Israel, that they shall mourn on the tenth of the seventh month, on the day when they brought the sad news concerning Joseph to his father Jacob, that on it pardon should be sought by the death of a young goat, on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins ; for they had grieved the heart of their father on account of his son Joseph. 20. And this day has been ordained that they shall lament on it over their sins, and on account of all their transgressions, and on account of their error, that they shall cleanse themselves on this day once a year. 21. And after the death of Joseph the sons of Jacob took wives to themselves : first, the name of the wife of Reuben is Adâ ; secondly, the name of the wife of Simeon is Adîbâ, a Canaanite woman ; third, the name of the wife of

Levi is Mêlkâ, from among the daughters of Arâm, from the seed of the sons of Târâm ; fourth, the name of the wife of Judah is Bêtasûêl, a Canaanite woman ; fifth, the name of the wife of Issachar is Jesâkôr Hêzkâ ; sixth, the name of the wife of Zebulun is Nîimân ; seventh, the name of the wife of Dan, Êglâ ; eighth, the name of the wife of Naphtali is Rasûa, of Mesopotamia ; ninth, the name of the wife of Gad is Mâk ; and tenth, name of the wife of Asur is Ijôn ; eleventh, the name of the wife of Joseph is Asnêth, an Egyptian woman ; twelfth, the name of the wife of Benjamin is Ijôskâ. 22. And Simeon repented and took a second wife from Mesopotamia, like his brothers.

CHAP. XXXV. 1. And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee, Rebecca called her son Jacob and gave him command concerning his father and concerning his brother, that he should honor them all the days of the life of Jacob. 2. And Jacob said : " I will do all thou commandest me, for this thing will be honor and greatness to me and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honor them. 3. And thou, my mother, knowest me from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and everything that is in my heart, that always I think good concerning all. 4. And how should I not do this which thou hast commanded me, that I should honor my father and my brother ? 5. Tell me, my mother, what perversity thou seest in me ? 6. And I am far removed from him, and gentleness is in me." 7. And she said to him : " My son, all my days I have not seen in thee any perversity, and no depraved actions, but righteousness. 8. But in truth I tell thee, my son, I will die in this year, and will not get beyond this year in my life, for I saw in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond one hundred and fifty-five years. 9. And behold, I have completed all the days of my life which I was to live." 10. And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because she said that she would die, and she was sitting opposite him with her strength upon her, without any decrease of strength, for she went in and out, and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment

had touched her all the days of her life. 11. And Jacob said to her: "Happy am I, my mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength abide in me as thy strength; and thou wilt not die, for in vain dost thou speak with me concerning thy death." 12. And she went in to Isaac, and said to him: "One petition I ask of thee: let Esau swear that he will not harm Jacob, and will not persecute him in enmity, for thou knowest the thoughts of Esau, that he was terrible from his youth on, and there is not gentleness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. 13. And thou knowest how he has done all the days from the day when Jacob, his brother, went to Haran to this day, that he has left us with his whole heart, and does evil with us. 14. He has collected thy flocks, and all thy possessions he robs from before thy face, and when we entreated and asked for what was ours, he did as a man that practises usury on us. 15. And he is bitter at thee because thou didst bless that perfect and righteous son Jacob; for in him there is no evil, but goodness. 16. And since he came from Haran to this day, he has not deprived us of the least; but he brings us everything in its time and always, and he rejoices in his whole heart when we take anything from his hands, and he blesses us and does not separate from us since he came from Haran to the present day, and he lives with us ever in our house, honoring us." 17. And Isaac said to her: "I know and I see the deeds of Jacob with us, that with all his heart he honors us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, on account of his birth; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, because he has increased in evil doings, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are injustice and violence, and there is no righteousness in him at all. 18. And now my heart trembles concerning all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed shall abide, for they shall be destroyed from the earth, and they shall be rooted out from under heaven; for he has deserted the God of Abraham, and goes after his women after uncleanness and after error, he and his children. 19. And thou dost tell me that I shall make him swear not to kill

Jacob: even if he swears he will not keep to his oath, and will not do good but evil. 20. And if he desires to kill his brother Jacob, he shall be given into the hands of Jacob and shall not escape from his hands, but fall into his hands. 21. And thou fear not concerning Jacob, for the watchman of Jacob is great and powerful, and honored and worshipped above the watchman of Esau." 22. And Rebecca sent for and called Esau, and he came to her, and she said to him, "One prayer I have, my son, which I ask of thee, and grant it, that thou mayest do what I ask of thee, my son." 23. And he said to her: "I will do all that thou tellest me, and will not refuse any thing that thou askest." 24. And she said to him: "I ask of thee that the day I die thou wilt take me and bury me near the grave of Sarah, the mother of thy father, and that thou and thy brother Jacob will love each other, and that neither will undertake evil against his brother, but love him, so that ye may be prosperous, my son, and be honored in the midst of the land and that an enemy may not rejoice over you, and that ye may be a blessing and mercy before the eyes of all that love you." 25. And he said: "I will do all that thou sayest to me, and I will bury thee on the day of thy death near Sarah, the mother of thy father, as thou lovest her bones, that they shall be near to thy bones. 26. But Jacob, my brother, I will love above all flesh, and I have no other brother in all the world except him alone, and this is not a great thing for me that I shall love him, for he is my brother, and together we were sown in thy womb, and together we came forth from thee, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? 27. And I then beg of thee that thou wilt exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my children, for I know that he will rule as king over me and over my children, for on the day when my father blessed him, he made him the higher and me the lower. 28. And I swear to thee that I will love him and will not seek out evil against him all the days of my life, but only good." 29. And he swore to her concerning this whole matter. 30. And

she called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and commanded him according to the words she had spoken with Esau. 31. And he said, "I will do thy pleasure, promising that no evil shall proceed from me and from my sons against Esau, my brother, and nothing shall be shown him except love." 32. And they ate and drank, she and her sons, on this day, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, in this night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the cave near Sarah, the mother of their father.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1. In the sixth week of this year, Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to him, and he said to them: "My sons, I shall go the way of my father into the house of eternity, where my fathers are. 2. Bury me near to Abraham, my father, in the south cave in the field of Êphrôn, the Hittite, which Abraham bought as a burial place; there bury me. 3. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and rectitude on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that he would do to Abraham and to his seed. 4. And be ye to each other as loving brothers as a man that loves himself, and each seeking for his brother that which is good for him, and acting together from the heart upon earth, and loving each other as yourselves. 5. And concerning the matter of idols, I command ye, that ye cast them away and hold them in abomination, and hate them, and that ye do not love them, for they are full of deception for those that worship them, and for those that bow down to them. 6. And remember, O my sons, the Lord God of Abraham, your father, and how I too worshipped him and served him in truth, that he may increase you in joy and may enlarge your seed like the stars of the heaven in multitude, and plant you upon the earth as a plant of righteousness, which is not rooted out to all the generations of eternity. 7. And now I will make you swear a great oath, for there is no oath greater than the one by the glorious and honored and great name of him who created the heavens and the earth and all things together, that ye will fear and worship him, and that

each will love his brother in tenderness and in truth, and that neither will wish evil against his brother, from now on and to eternity, all the days of your life, that ye may be prosperous in all your deeds, and be not destroyed. 8. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know from now on, that every one that devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hands, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from under heaven. 9. And on that day of cursing and turbulence he [God] will also burn with devouring fire, as he burned Sodom, thus also will he burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he will be erased out of the book of the discipline of the sons of men, and shall not ascend into the book of life, for he shall be destroyed and shall depart to the eternal curse, so that for all days their punishments may be renewed in hate and in cursing, and in wrath, and in torments, and in fury, and in plagues, and in sickness to eternity. 10. And I say and testify to you, my sons, how that my judgment will come upon the man who desires to do evil against his brother." 11. And he divided all the possessions he had between the two on that day, and he gave the preference to him that was born first, both the tower and all around it, and everything that Abraham possessed around the well of the oath. 12. And he said: "This preference shall be his who was born first." 13. And Esau said: "I have sold and given my age to Jacob, to him it has been given, and I will not say anything more about it, not one word, for it is passed." 14. And Isaac said: "May blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not sad on account of the birthright, that no strife will take place concerning it. 15. The Most High Lord bless the man that does righteousness, him and his seed to eternity." 16. And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they ate and drank before him together; and he rejoiced, for there was a reconciliation between them, and they went out from him and rested on that day and slept. 17. And Isaac slept

on his bed that day rejoicing, and he slept the sleep of eternity, and died one hundred and eighty years old. 18. And he completed twenty-five weeks and five years. 19. And his two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried him. 20. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir and dwelt there. 21. And Jacob dwelt in the land of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the pilgrimage of his father Abraham, and worshipped God with his whole heart, and according to the command of him who appeared to him, who had distinguished him on the day of his birth. 22. And Leah, his wife, died, in the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave near to Rebecca, his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, the mother of his father. 23. And all of her sons and his sons came to weep over Leah, his wife, with him, and that they might comfort each other on her account, for he mourned over her. 24. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died, for she was perfect and righteous in all her ways and honored Jacob: and in all the days which she lived with him, he did not hear from her mouth a hard word, for she was gentle and upright and peaceful and honorable. 25. And he remembered all her deeds which she had done in her life, and mourned exceedingly, for he loved her very much with all his heart and with all his soul.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1. And on the day of the death of Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau, when the sons of Esau heard that Isaac had given the birthright to his younger son Jacob, they were very angry. 2. And they quarrelled with their father, saying: "Why hath thy father, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger, given to Jacob the birthright and left thee behind?" 3. And he said to them: "Because I sold my right of first birth to Jacob for a small mess of lentils, 4. And on the day that my father sent me out to hunt and catch and bring something to him that he should eat it and bless me, he came in deception and brought to my father something to eat and to drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. 5. And now our father has

made us swear, me and him, that we will not devise any evil one against his brother, and that each will continue in love and in peace with his brother, and will not destroy our ways." 6. And they said to him: "We will not listen to thee to keep peace with him, for our strength exceeds his strength, and we are more powerful than he. 7. We will go out against him, and will slay him, and destroy his children; and if thou dost not go out with us, we will do thee harm also. 8. Listen now to us: We will send to Aram and to Philistia and to Moab and to Ammon, and we will pick out for ourselves chosen men who are prepared for battle, and we will go against him and will battle with him, and we will root him out of the land, before he has taken root and is strong." 9. And their father said to them: "Ye shall not go and make war upon him, that ye may not fall before him." 10. And they said to him: "This is as thou hast done from thy youth on to the present day, and thou hast brought thy neck under his yoke. 11. We will not listen to these words." And they sent to Aram and to Aduram to the associates of their father, and they hired with themselves one thousand fighting men and chosen warriors. 12. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon those that were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia one thousand chosen warriors, and from Edom and the Horites one thousand chosen fighters, and from the Hittites strong fighting men. 13. And they said to their father: "Go out, lead them, and if not, we will kill thee." 14. And he was filled with anger and wrath at the time when he saw his sons that they were forcing him to go before them to lead them against Jacob, his brother. 15. And then he remembered all the evil which had been hidden in his heart against his brother Jacob, and did not remember the oath which he had sworn to his father and his mother, that he would not devise any evil all his days against his brother Jacob. 16. And in all this time Jacob did not know that they were coming against him for battle, but he was lamenting over Leah, his wife, until they approached him very near to the tower, four thousand

warlike, powerful, and chosen fighters. 17. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying: "Behold thy brother is coming against thee to fight with thee with four thousand heavily girded men, and they carry shields and weapons;" for they loved Jacob more than Esau, and told it to him, for Jacob was a more gracious and mild man than Esau. 18. But Jacob did not believe it until he approached very near the tower. 19. And he fastened the gates of the tower and stood upon the top of the tower, and spoke with his brother Esau and said: "Hast thou come to me bringing me a good consolation on account of my wife who has died? 20. Is this the oath which thou hast sworn to thy father and thy mother twice before they died? 21. Thou hast violated the oath, and on account of what thou hast sworn to thy father, thou shalt be judged." 22. And then Esau answered and said to him: "There is not to the sons of men and to the animals of the earth any oath of trust which they swear to them unto eternity; but on that morning yet they devise evil against each other, so that one may kill his hater and his enemy. 23. And thou too dost hate me and my children to eternity, and there is no brotherly dealing with thee. 24. Hear these my words which I announce to thee: If one can change the bristles of the swine and change them into wool, and if horns will come out of its head like the horns of the deer and rams, then I will maintain brotherly relations with thee. 25. And if the breasts are separated from the mother—for wast not thou to me a brother—and if the wolves make peace with the lambs, so that they do not devour and rob them; and if their hearts incline to doing each other good, then will there be peace in my heart toward thee. 26. And when the lion becomes the friend of the ox, and when he is put into one yoke with him and plows with him, then I will make peace with thee. 27. And when the raven becomes white like the rice bird, then I will know that I love thee and will make peace with thee. Thou shalt be rooted out and thy sons shall be rooted out, and there shall be no peace." 28. And then Jacob saw that his heart was evil against him, and that from his whole soul he would slay

him, and he had come springing like a wild animal which comes against the spear that pierces it through and kills it, and it does not depart from it. 29. And then he said to his sons and to his servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1. And after that Judah spoke to his father Jacob and said to him: "Bend thy bow, father, and send forth thy arrow and cast down thy hater and slay thy enemy: and mayest thou have the power, for we will not slay thy brother, for to thee and with thee and to us it will be an honor." 2. And immediately Jacob bent the bow and sent forth his arrow, and cast down his brother Esau, and slew him. 3. And again he sent forth his arrow and hit Adôrân, the Aramæan, on the left breast, and drove him back and killed him. 4. And then the sons of Jacob and their servants came out breaking forth from the four sides of the tower. 5. Out came completely Judah, and Naphtali and Gad with him, and fifty young men with him out of the north side of the tower, and killed all that they found before them, and none escaped of those, not one. 6. And Levi and Dan and Asher came out from the east side of the tower, and fifty with them, and they slew the warriors of Moab and Ammon. 7. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulun came out of the south side of the tower, and fifty with them, and they killed the fighters of Philistia. 8. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, the son of Reuben, came out of the west side of the tower, and fifty with them, and killed of those of Edom and Chorán four hundred powerful men, and seven hundred escaped, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father behind dead, as he had fallen on the hill which is [called] Adûrâm. 9. And the sons of Jacob pursued after them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is [called] Adûrâm, and returned to his house. 10. And the sons of Jacob overcame the sons of Esau in the mountains of Seir, and made them bend their necks, so that they became the servants of the sons of Jacob; and they sent word to their father inquiring if they should make peace with them, or if

they should kill them. 11. And Jacob sent word to his sons that they should make peace; and they made peace with them, and they placed the yoke of servitude upon them that they should pay tribute to Jacob and his sons all the days. 12. And they continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day when Jacob descended to the land of Egypt, and the sons of Esau did not cease from the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed upon them, until the present day. 13. And these are the kings which ruled over Edom before a king ruled over the children of Israel, until the present day in the land of Edom; and Bâlâk, the son of Bêôr, was king, and the name of his city was Dînâbâ. 14. And Bâlâk died, and Jôbâb, the son of Zârâ, of Bêzôr, ruled in his stead. 15. And Jôbâb died, and Adat, the son of Barad, who slew the Mediarites on the field of Moab, was king in his place, and the name of his city was Amôt. 16. And Adat died and Salmân, of Amalek, was king in his stead. 17. And Salman died and Sâûl, of the river Rôbâêt, was king in his stead. 18. And Sâûl died, and Beûlûnân, the son of Akbûr, was king in his stead. 19. And Beûlûnân died, and Adat was king in his stead, and the name of his wife was Mâtîlât, the daughter of Mâtrît, the daughter of Mêtbed Zaab. 20. These are the kings who ruled in the land of Edom.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1. And Jacob dwelt in the land of the pilgrimage of his father, the land of Canaan. 2. These are the generations of Jacob: When Joseph was seventeen years old they took him down into Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the head of the cooks. 3. And he set Joseph over his whole house: and the blessing of the Lord was in the house of the Egyptian on account of Joseph, and all that he did the Lord prospered. 4. And the Egyptian left in Joseph's hands all that was before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that everything he did the Lord prospered. 5. But Joseph was beautiful to look at and very attractive in form, and the wife of his master lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph. 6. And she loved him and entreated him to lie with her. 7. But he did not give over his soul,

but remembered the Lord and the words which his father Jacob had read from among the words of Abraham, that no one among men should commit fornication with the wife of another, and with a woman who has a husband, and that as a punishment for this one death has been established in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin on account of it will be inscribed on the books which are in eternity, all the days, before the Lord. 8. And Joseph remembered these words, and was not willing to lie with her. 9. And she entreated him one year, and he refused, and would not listen. 10. But she embraced him and seized him in the house in order to force him to lie with her, and locked the doors of the house; but he tore himself out of her hands and left his garment in her hand, and broke the lock, and fled without away from her presence. 11. And the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she lied before her lord, saying: "Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to do me violence that he might lie with me, and it happened that when I raised my voice, he fled and left his garment in my hand, when I had seized him, and broke the lock." 12. And the Egyptian saw the garment of Joseph and the broken lock, and he obeyed the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into prison, into the place where the prisoners stayed whom the king had caused to be imprisoned. 13. And there he was in the prison, and the Lord gave Joseph grace in the eyes of the head of the prison guards, and good will before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and all that he did the Lord prospered. 14. And he left all things to him, and the head of the prison guards looked to nothing, for all things that Joseph did the Lord perfected. 15. And he remained there two years. 16. And in those days Pharaoh was angry with two of his eunuchs, the chief of the butlers and chief of the bakers, and he cast them into prison, into the house of the chief of the cooks, the prison where Joseph was held. 17. And the chief of the prison guards ordered Joseph to serve them, and he served them before him. 18. And both of them dreamed a dream, the chief of the butlers and the chief of the bakers, and they

told it to Joseph. 19. And as he explained to them, thus it happened to them; and the chief of the butlers Pharaoh put back into his office, and the chief of the bakers he killed, as Joseph had explained to them. 20. And the chief of the butlers forgot Joseph in the prison, although he had informed him what would become of him, and did not remember to inform Pharaoh as Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

CHAP. XL. 1. And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night, concerning the matter of a famine which would come over all the land; and he awoke from his dream and called all the dream interpreters that were in Egypt, and the sorcerers, and told them both his dreams, and they were not able to understand them. 2. And then the chief of the butlers recalled Joseph to memory, and spoke concerning him to the king; and he brought him out of prison and narrated his two dreams before him. 3. And he spoke before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said: "Seven years will come of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that, seven years of famine, such as has not been upon the whole earth. 4. And now, O Pharaoh, establish throughout all the land of Egypt storehouses that grain may be gathered into them from city to city, in the days of the years of plenty, so that there may be grain for the seven years of famine, and that the land be not destroyed on account of the famine, for it will be very severe." 5. And the Lord gave Joseph grace and good will before the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said to his servants: "We shall not be able to find a wise and intelligent man like this man, for the spirit of the Lord is upon him." 6. And he appointed him the second over the whole kingdom, and made him prince over all Egypt; and caused him to ride upon the second chariot of Pharaoh, and clothed him with byssus garments, and put a golden chain around his neck, and proclaimed before him, saying: "Êl Êl wa abrir." And he put [a ring] upon his hand, and made him master of his whole house, and made him great, and said to him: "I will not be greater than thee except in regard to the thronedom." 7. And Joseph was lord in all the land of Egypt, and all the

princes of Pharaoh loved him, and all the servants and all those that did the offices of the king, for he walked in rectitude and without pride and haughtiness of heart, and did not regard persons nor take bribes, but in rectitude he judged over all the peoples of the land. 8. And the land of Egypt was governed peacefully before Pharaoh on account of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him grace and good will over all his race, before all who knew him and heard reports concerning him; and the kingdom of Pharaoh was in a right condition, without any enemy or evil. 9. And the king called the name of Joseph, Sephnetiphanz, and gave the daughter of Potiphar as a wife to Joseph, the daughter of the one that sacrifices at Heliopolis, the chief of the cooks. 10. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old, when he stood before the face of Pharaoh. 11. And in that year Isaac died. 12. And it happened as Joseph had said concerning the explanation of the two dreams, and there were seven years of plenty, and the land of Egypt was full of fruit, for one measure eighteen measures. 13. And Joseph gathered food from city to city, until they were full of grain, until they were not able to count and measure it on account of multitude.

CHAP. XLI. 1. And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week and in the second year, Judah took a wife for Er, his first-born, from among the daughters of Aram, and her name was Tamar. 2. And he hated her and did not lie with her, because his mother was from among the daughters of Canaan, and he desired to take a wife to himself from the relatives of his mother, but his father Judah would not permit him. 3. And this his first-born was wicked, and the Lord slew him. 4. And Judah said to his son Onan: "Go in to the wife of thy brother, and make her thy wife and raise up seed for thy brother." 5. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, but rather his brother's, and he went to the house of the wife of his brother, and poured the seed upon the ground, and was wicked before the eyes of the Lord, and he slew him. 6. And Judah said to

Tamar, his daughter-in-law, "Abide in the house of thy father as a widow until my son Shelah has grown, and I will give thee to him for a wife." 7. And he grew up; but Bêdsûêl, the wife of Judah, would not permit her son Shelah to marry her. 8. And Bêdsûêl, the wife of Judah, died in the fifth year of this week. 9. And in the sixth year thereof Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnath. 10. And she laid aside her widow's garments and clothed herself with a vail, and beautified herself, and sat down at the gate on the way to Timnath. 11. And when Judah came, he found her, and thought her a harlot, and said to her: "I will go in to thee." 12. And she said to him, "Come in," and he came in unto her. 13. And she said to him, "Give me my pay." 14. And he said to her, "I have nothing in my hand except my ring on my finger and my bracelet and my staff, which is in my hand." 15. And she said to him, "Give me these until thou sendest me my pay." 16. And he said to her, "I will send thee a young kid;" and he gave them to her. 17. And she conceived from him; and Judah went to his sheep, but she went to the house of her father. 18. And Judah sent a young kid through a shepherd of Adullam, and he did not find her, and asked the people of the place, saying, "Where is the harlot which was here?" 19. And they said, "There has been no harlot here, and there is no harlot among us." 20. And he returned and told him that he had not found her, and said, "I asked the people of the place and they said to me that there was no harlot there." 21. And he said, "Arise, let us go that we do not become a laughing stock." 22. And when three months were over she learned that she was pregnant, and they told Judah, saying, "Behold, thy daughter-in-law Tamar has conceived by whoredom." 23. And Judah went to the house of her father, and said to her father and mother and brothers: "Bring her out that she be burned, for she has done an unclean thing in Israel. 24. And it happened when they brought her out to burn her, she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the bracelets and the staff, saying, "Dost thou recognize whose these are,

for from him have I conceived?" 25. And Judah recognized them and said, "Tamar is more just than I." 26. And they did not burn her. 27. And on this account she was not given to Shelah; and he did not again approach her. 28. And after that she gave birth to two male children, Pharez and Zarah, in the seventh year of this second week. 29. And three more completed the seven years of fruitfulness of which Joseph had said to Pharaoh. 30. And Judah knew that it was an evil deed which he had done, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and regarded it as a sin before his eyes, and he knew that he had sinned and erred, because he had uncovered the skirt of his son. 31. And he began to lament it and ask for mercy before the Lord on account of his sin. 32. And he told him in a dream, that it would be forgiven him, because he begged exceedingly for mercy and lamented, and did not repeat it. 33. And he obtained forgiveness, for he turned from his sin and ignorance, for it was a great transgression before the Lord our God; and every one that does thus, and lies with his daughter-in-law shall be burned with fire, that he may burn therein, for it is uncleanness and defilement upon them: with fire they shall be burnt. 34. And thou, Moses, command the children of Israel, that there be no uncleanness among them, for every one that lieth with his mother-in-law or his daughter-in-law does an unclean thing: with fire shall be burnt the man who lies with her, and the woman also, and he [God] shall remove the anger and punishment from Israel. 35. But to Judah he said that because his two sons did not lie with her, on that account his seed stands for a second generation, and should not be rooted out; for in the innocence of his eyes he had gone and sought punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham which he commanded his children, that Judah should be burned with fire.

CHAP. XLII. 1. And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee, the famine began to come into the land, and rain refused to be given to the earth; for none fell. 2. And the earth was unfruitful, and in the land of Egypt

alone there was food, for Joseph had gathered that he might give them food, and Joseph had gathered the seed of the earth in the seven years of fruitfulness and had guarded it. 3. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he should give them food, and he opened the storehouses where the grain was in the first year, and he sold it to the people of the land for gold. 4. And Jacob heard that there was food in the land of Egypt, and he sent ten sons, that they should go for him to Egypt, but Benjamin he did not send. 5. And they came, together with those that went there. 6. And Joseph knew them, but they did not know him; and he spoke with and asked them, and said to them: "Are ye not spies and have come to examine the traces of the land?" 7. And he locked them in. 8. And then again he released them and incarcerated Simeon alone, and his nine brothers he sent away. 9. And he filled their sacks with grain, and he placed their gold in their sacks, and they did not know it. 10. And he commanded them that they should bring their youngest brother, for they had told him that their father was yet living and also their youngest brother. 11. And they went up from the land of Egypt, and came to the land of Canaan, and told their father all that had happened to them, and how the prince of the land had spoken with them and had seized Simeon until they should bring Benjamin. 12. And Jacob said, "Ye have robbed me of my children: Joseph is no more, Simeon is no more, and ye will also take Benjamin; your wickedness is upon you." 13. And he said: "My son shall not go with you; it is possible that he will become sick; for their mother has given birth to two sons, one is destroyed and this one ye will take. 14. He might take a fever on the road, and ye will bring my gray hairs in sorrow into death." 15. For he saw that all their gold was returned in their packages, and on this account he feared to send him. 16. But the famine increased and became strong in the land of Canaan, and in all the lands, except in the land of Egypt, for many of the sons of Egypt had gathered their seeds for food when they saw that Joseph was collect-

ing the seed and placing it into the storehouses, and preserving it for the years of famine, and the men of Egypt fed themselves in the first year of their famine. 17. And when Israel saw that the famine was very powerful in the land, and that there was no deliverance, he said to his sons: "Go, return, and bring us food that we die not." 18. And they said: "We will not go: unless our youngest brother goes with us we will not go." 19. And Israel saw that if he would not send him with them all would be destroyed on account of the famine. 20. And Reuben said: "Give him to me into my hand, and if I do not return him to thee, slay my two sons in place of his soul." 21. And he said, "He shall not go with thee." 22. And Judah approached and said to him: "Send him with me; and if I do not bring him back to thee, I shall be a transgressor before thee all the days of my life." 23. And he sent him with them in the second year of this week and in the new moon of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those that went, and presents in their hands; and stacte and nuts and pistachio and pure honey. 24. And they came and stood before Joseph, and he saw his brother Benjamin, and knew him, and said to them: "Is this your youngest brother?" 25. And they said to him: "Yea, it is he." 26. And he said, "The Lord be merciful to thee, my son." 27. And he sent them into his house, and brought out Simeon to them and made them a feast, and they brought to him what they had brought in their hands. 28. And they ate before him, and he gave them all a portion, and increased the portion of Benjamin over the portion of the others seven times, and they ate and drank, and arose and remained with their asses. 29. And Joseph thought out a plan how he could learn their thoughts, whether their thoughts were peace among each other; and he said to the man who was over his house: "Fill all their sacks with food, but their gold return to them in the midst of their receptacle, and my goblet out of which I drink put into the sack of the youngest, the silver goblet, and send them away."

CHAP. XLIII. 1. And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food, but their gold he put into their sacks, and the goblet he put into the sack of Benjamin. 2. And early in the morning they departed. 3. And it happened when they had gone from there that Joseph said to the man : " Follow them, run and upbraid them, saying : ' For good ye have returned evil, and have stolen the silver cup out of which my master drinks.' And bring back to me their youngest brother, quickly before that I go to my official work." 4. And he ran after them and said to them according to these words. 5. And they said to him : " Far be it from thy servants to do this thing : we have not stolen out of the house of thy lord any utensil, and the gold which we found the first time in our sacks, we, thy servants, have brought back out of the land of Canaan. 6. How then would we steal any utensil : behold, here we are, and our sacks ; search, and wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man among us, he shall be killed, but we and our asses will serve thy lord." 7. And he said to them : " Not thus, the man with whom I find it, him alone will I take as a servant, but ye shall return in peace to your houses. 8. And when he searched in their vessels, beginning with the oldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in the sack of Benjamin, the youngest. 9. And they were terrified and rent their clothes, and loaded their asses and returned to the city and came to the house of Joseph, and all fell down before him upon their faces on the ground. 10. And Joseph said to them : " Ye have done evil ; " and they said to him : " What shall we say, and with what shall we defend ourselves that our Lord has found the guilt of his servants ? 11. Behold, we are thy servants, O our lord, together with our asses." 12. And Joseph said to them : " I, too, fear the Lord, and ye shall go to your houses, but your youngest brother shall be my servant, for ye have done evil : do ye not know that one like me who drinks out of his cup values it ? 13. And ye have stolen it." 14. And Judah said : " For us, my lord, let me speak a word into the ear of my lord : his mother has borne

thy servant, our father, two sons; one has left and was lost, and no one found him, and this one alone is left from his mother; and thy servant, our father, loves him and his soul cleaves to his soul, and it will happen when we return to thy servant, our father, and if the young man is not with us, he will die, and our father will sink away through grief unto death. 15. But I will become a servant to my lord in the place of the boy; but let the youth go with his brothers, for I have given promise for him to thy servant, our father; and if thou dost not return him, then thy servant will be guilty to our father all the days." 16. And Joseph saw the heart of all that they were friendly to each other and well disposed, and he was not able to restrain himself, and he said that he was Joseph, and conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue, and he fell upon their neck and wept; but they had not known him, and began to weep. 17. And he said to them: "Do not weep over me; but hasten and bring my father to me, that I may see him before I die, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin while I see. 18. For, behold, this is the second year of the famine, and there are yet five years without any harvest or fruit of trees or any plants. 19. Hasten ye to come down with your households, so that ye be not destroyed by the famine, and do not grieve yourselves on account of yourselves, and on account of your possessions, for the Lord has sent me before you as a provider, that many people might live. 20. And tell my father that I am yet alive. 21. But ye, behold, see me, that the Lord has set me as a father to Pharaoh, and that I should rule in his house and over all the land of Egypt. 22. And tell my father of all my honor and all the measure which the Lord has given me of wealth and of honor." 23. And at the command of Pharaoh, he gave them wagons and provisions for the road and gave them all colored garments and silver. 24. And to their father, Pharaoh sent garments and silver and ten asses that carried grain and he sent them away. 25. And they went up and announced to their father that Joseph was alive, and that he was measuring out grain to all the nations of the earth, and that

he was lord of all the land of Egypt. 26. And their father did not believe it, for he was terrified in his thoughts, but when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent, his spirit revived and lived, and he said: "It is a great thing for me that Joseph lives: I will go down to see him before I die."

CHAP. XLIV. 1. And Israel arose from Haran, from his house, at the new moon of the third month, and came by the way of the well of the oath, and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac, on the seventh of this month, and Jacob remembered the dream which he had dreamed at Bethel, and he feared to descend down to Egypt. 2. And while he was thinking that he would send word to Joseph that he should come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if he might see a vision, whether he should remain or go down. 3. And he celebrated the harvest festival of first fruits with old grain, for there was not a handful of seed in all the land of Canaan, for it was unfruitful for all the animals and beasts and birds, and also human beings. 4. And on the sixteenth thereof the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "Jacob, Jacob!" 5. And he said: "Here I am." 6. And he said to him: "I am the God of thy fathers Abraham and Isaac: fear not to go down to Egypt, for I will make thee into a great people. 7. I will go down with thee and I will bring thee back into this land that thou be buried here, and Joseph shall lay his hands upon thy eyes: fear not to go down to Egypt." 8. And he arose, and his sons and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their vessels upon the wagons. 9. And Israel started from the well of the oath on the sixteenth of third month, and went to the land of Egypt. 10. And Israel sent before him to Joseph, his son Judah, that he should examine the land of Goshen, for there Joseph had told his brothers that they should come, that they should dwell there, that they might be near him; and this was good in the land of Egypt and near to him, for them all and for their animals. 11. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into Egypt with Jacob their father; Reuben, the first-born of Israel: and these are the names of

his sons: Ênôch and Phâlûs and Êzêrôm and Charâmî, five: Simeon and his sons, and these are the names of his sons: Ijâmôêl and Ijâmên and Amet and Ijâkîm and Saâr and Sâmêl, the son of the Sephanite; seven: Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons, Gêdsôn and Kaât and Mêrârî, four: Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Sêlêm and Phâlûs and Zârâ, four: Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Tôlâ and Phûa and Ijâseb and Samarôm, five: Zebulun and his sons, and these are the names of his sons: Azôr and Êlôn and Ijâlûêl, four. 12. And these are the sons of Jacob and their sons whom Leah had borne to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and one sister to them, Dinah; and all the souls whom Leah had borne and their sons, who went with their father Jacob to Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob, their father, with them, it thus was thirty. 13. And the sons of Zalapha, the handmaid of Leah, the wife of Jacob, whom she bore to Jacob: Gad and Asher. 14. And these are the names of their sons who went with them to Egypt; the sons of Gad: Zêphjôn and Agâtî and Sômî and Asôhên . . . and Arôli and Arôdi; eight. 15. And the sons of Asher: Ijâmuâ and Jesûa and Bârjâ and Sârâ, their sister, seven. 16. And all the souls are fourteen, and all of Leah were forty-four. 17. And the sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, were Joseph and Benjamin. 18. And to Joseph were born in Egypt before his father came to Egypt, whom Asnêt bore him, the daughter of Potiphar, the sacrificer of Heliopolis, Manasseh and Ephraim, three. 19. The sons of Benjamin are Bâlâ and Bâchôr and Êsâbêl, Zuêl and Nemân and Abdljî and Râê and Sanâim and Aphêm and Gâom, eleven. 20. And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. 21. And the sons of Bilâ, the handmaid of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. 22. And these are the names of their sons who went with them to Egypt; the sons of Dan are Chûsî and Sâmôn and Asûdî and Ijâk and Salamôn, six. 23. And they died in Egypt in the year in which they went down, and there was left to Dan only Chûsî. 24. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Ijâsiêl

and Gûhanî and Asaâr and Sûlônî and Êmê, six ; and Êmê died in Egypt, who was born after the year of the famine. 25. And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. 26. And all the souls of Jacob, that went with him to Egypt, were seventy souls ; but his children and his childrens' children, all together were seventy-five, but five died in Egypt, who were not married and had no children ; and in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and had no children. 27. And the sons of Israel buried those that were destroyed, and these were counted among the seventy peoples.

CHAP. XLV. 1. And Israel went to the land of Egypt unto the land of Goshen at the new moon of fourth month of the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 2. And Joseph went to meet his father Jacob in the land of Goshen, and he fell upon the neck of his father and wept. 3. And Israel said to Joseph : " I would die now after I have seen thee. 4. And now may the Lord God of Abraham and Isaac be blessed, who has not withdrawn his mercy and kindness from his servant Jacob : It is a great thing to me that I have seen thy face in my life, for true is the vision which I saw in Bethel, blessed be the Lord God to all eternity, and blessed be his name." 5. And Joseph and his brothers ate bread before their father and drank wine ; and Jacob rejoiced exceedingly much, for he saw that Joseph ate with his brothers and drank before him ; and he blessed the Creator of all, who had preserved for him his twelve sons. 6. And Joseph gave his father and his brothers as a present that they should dwell in the land of Goshen and in Râmâsîtinô, and their whole territory, that they should rule it before Pharaoh. 7. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt : but Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. 8. And Joseph gave provisions to his father and brothers, and their possessions as much as supported them for the seven years of famine. 9. And the land of Egypt suffered on account of the famine, and Joseph gathered in all the land of Egypt to Pharaoh for food, both

the people and their cattle, and Pharaoh possessed everything. 10. And the years of the famine were completed, and Joseph gave to the people that were in the land of Egypt seed and food to sow in the eighth year, for the river had overflowed into all the land of Egypt. 11. For in the seven years of the famine it had watered only a few spots along the bank of the river, but now it overflowed; and the Egyptians sowed upon their land and it produced much grain in that year. 12. And this was the first year of the fourth week of the thirty-fifth jubilee. 13. And Joseph took of the grain which they sowed the fifth part for the king, and the fourth he left them for food and for sowing: and Joseph made it a law for the land of Egypt unto this day. 14. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years. 15. And he died in the fourth year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. 16. And Israel blessed his sons before he died, and told them everything as it would happen to them in the land of Egypt, and what would come upon them in the latter days, and everything he made known to them, and blessed them and gave Joseph two portions in the land. 17. And he slept with his fathers and was buried in the double cave in the land of Canaan beside Abraham, his father, in the grave which he had dug for himself, in the double cave, in the land of Hebron. 18. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi, that he should guard them and renew them for the sons of Israel to this day.

CHAP. XLVI. 1. And it happened after the death of Jacob that the children of Israel increased in the land of Egypt. 2. And they became a great people, and they were all united in their hearts, so that each loved his brother and every man assisted his brother, and they increased and multiplied and increased very much. 3. And ten weeks of years were all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father, and he was no enemy or anything wicked in all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all

the Egyptians honored the sons of Jacob during all the days of the life of Joseph. 4. And Joseph died when he was one hundred and ten years old: seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan and ten years he was a servant, and three years he was in prison, and eighty years he was under the king ruling all the land of Egypt. 5. And all his brothers died, and all that generation. 6. And he commanded the children of Israel, before he died, that they should carry up his bones when they would go out of the land of Egypt. 7. And he made them swear concerning his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring out his bones and bury them in the land of Canaan, for Memkerôn, the king of Canaan, while he was dwelling in the land of Asur, was fighting in the valley with the king of Egypt and killed him there and pursued the Egyptians to the gates of Êrômôn. 8. But he was unable to enter, for a second new king ruled over Egypt, and he was more powerful than he; and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were locked and no one entered Egypt. 9. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year; and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brothers died after him. 10. And the king of Egypt went out to fight with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week, in the second year thereof; and the children of Israel brought out the bones of all the sons of Jacob except the bones of Joseph, and buried them in the fields, in the double caves in the mountains. 11. And the most returned to Egypt, and a few of them remained behind in the mountains of Hebron, and thy father Anbaram [Amram] remained with them. 12. And the king of Canaan overcame the king of Egypt and locked the portals of Egypt. 13. And he devised an evil plan against the children of Israel that he would torment them, and he said to the men of Egypt: "Behold, the people of the children have increased and multiplied more than we; behold, we will plot against them before they become too many, and will torment them with slavery, before a murder comes over us and before these become our enemies; if not, these will

unite with the enemy and will depart out of our land, for their faces and hearts are toward the land of Canaan." 14. And he set over them work-overseers that they should torment them with slave work. 15. And they commanded them, and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom and Ramses, and they built all the walls and sides which had fallen in in the cities of Egypt. 16. And they oppressed them with service, but as much as they abused them so much they increased and so much they multiplied. 17. And the men of Egypt considered the children of Israel unclean.

CHAP. XLVII. 1. And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father came from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year, in the forty-eighth jubilee, which are the days of the persecution over the sons of Israel. 2. And King Pharaoh, of Egypt, issued a command concerning them, that they should throw all their children, every male, into the river. 3. And they threw them in seven months, until the day when thou wast born: but thy mother hid thee three months; and they told about her. 4. And she made for thee an ark, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and laid it in the grass, on the bank of the river, and placed thee into it seven days; and thy mother came in the night and nursed thee, and during the days thy sister Miriam protected thee from the wild animals. 5. And in those days Tarmûth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her Hebrew maidens that they should bring thee out; and they brought thee to them. 6. And they took thee out of the ark, and she pitied thee. 7. And thy sister said: "Shall I go and call for thee one of the Hebrew women, who shall raise and nurse this child for thee?" 8. And she said: "Go." 9. And she went and called thy mother Jokabed, and she gave her wages, and she raised thee. 10. And when thou didst grow, they brought thee to the house of Pharaoh, and thou becamest his son; and Anbaram, thy father, taught thee writing. 11. And when thou didst complete three weeks, he brought thee to

the royal court. 12. And thou wast in the court three weeks of years, until the day when thou didst go out of the royal court, and didst see the Egyptian as he was beating thy friend from among the children of Israel. 13. And thou slewest him and hid him in the sand, and on the following day thou foundest two of the children of Israel quarrelling, and didst say to the more powerful: "Why dost thou beat thy brother?" 14. And he became angry and wroth, and said: "Who has set thee a ruler and prince over us?" 15. Dost thou desire to kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday?" 16. And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

CHAP. XLVIII. 1. And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee, thou didst go and dwell here five weeks and one year, and didst return to Egypt in the second week, in the second year, in the fiftieth jubilee. 2. And thou knowest what he spoke to thee at Mt. Sinai, and what the prince Mastema desired to do with thee, as thou returnest to Egypt, on the way, at the feast of tabernacles. 3. Did he not with all his power seek to kill thee, and to save the Egyptians out of thy hand, when thou sawest that thou wert sent to deliver judgments and vengeance over the Egyptians? 4. And I delivered thee out of his hands, and thou didst the signs and wonders for which I had sent thee to do in Egypt over Pharaoh and over all his house and over his servants and over his people. 5. And the Lord inflicted a great vengeance upon them for Israel's sake, and beat them and killed them through blood and frogs and flies and dog flies and breaking-out skin-diseases, and also their animals by death, and through hail, by which he destroyed everything that grew for them; and through grasshoppers, who ate the rest that had been left by the hail, and through darkness; and also the first-born of man and animals; and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. 6. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst do it before it was done, and thou didst tell it to the king of Egypt and before all of his servants and before his people. 7. And everything took place according to

thy words: ten great and terrible judgments came over the land of Egypt, that they might take vengeance for Israel. And all the deeds of the Lord concerning Israel and according to his ordinance which he covenanted with Abraham, that he would take vengeance upon them, according as they had served the Egyptians in oppression. 8. And the prince Mastema placed himself against thee, and endeavored to throw thee into the hand of Pharaoh and aided the sorcerers of the Egyptians, and stood by them, and they performed them before thee: the evils, however, we permitted them to perform, but their remedies we did not suffer them to perform by their hands. 9. And the Lord struck them with a dire pox, and they were not able to withstand, for we destroyed them so that they could not do a single sign. 10. And amid all the signs and wonders, the prince Mastema was not ashamed, until he became powerful and cried to the Egyptians that they should pursue after thee with all the power of the Egyptians, with their wagons and with their horses and with all the masses of the people of Egypt. 11. And I stood between the Egyptians and thee, and between them and Israel, and I saved the Israelites out of their hands and out of the hands of the Egyptians. 12. And the Lord led them through the middle of the sea, as if it were dry land. 13. And all the people he caused to come out to pursue Israel, the Lord our God cast into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abysses, instead of the children of Israel, because the people of Egypt had thrown their children by the hundreds into the river: vengeance was taken upon them and one thousand powerful men, and those that were strong, perished on account of one suckling babe which they had cast into the river from amongst thy people. 14. And on the fourteenth day, and on the fifteenth day, and on the sixteenth day, and on the seventeenth day, and on the eighteenth day, the prince Mastema was bound and chained behind the children of Israel, so that he could not accuse the children of Israel. 15. But on the nineteenth day we let him loose, so that he could help the Egyptians, and that

they could pursue the children of Israel; and he made hard their hearts and strengthened them and he became powerful according to the Lord our God, so that he could smite the Egyptians and hurl them into the sea. 16. And on the fifteenth day we bound him, so that he could not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked for the utensils and clothing from the men of Egypt, utensils of silver and utensils of gold and utensils of iron, in order to despoil the Egyptians for having served him a service in oppression: and we did not cause the children of Israel to go out of Egypt empty handed.

CHAP. XLIX. 1. Remember the command which the Lord commanded thee concerning the Pascah, that thou shalt keep it in its time, on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shalt kill it before the evening come, and that they shall eat it during the night, on the evening of the fifteenth, from the time of the setting of the sun, for this is the first day of the festival and the first Pascah. 2. But ye were engaged in eating the Pascah in Egypt while all the powers of Mastema were sent forth in Egypt to destroy all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the captive servant maid in the mill, and down to the the animals. 3. And this is the sign which the Lord gave them: In every house at whose portals they had thrown the blood of a year old sheep, into this house they did not enter to kill those that were locked in it, so that all who were in the house were saved, because the sign of blood was upon the portals. 4. And the powers of the Lord did everything as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the sons of Israel, and no plague came over them to destroy any soul from their midst, neither of beast nor of man, not even a dog. And the plague was in Egypt exceedingly great, and there was no house in Egypt in which there was no dead body and weeping and lamentation. 5. And all Israel was engaged in eating the meat of the Pascah and drinking wine, and they lauded and thanked and blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and were prepared to go out from under the yoke of Egypt

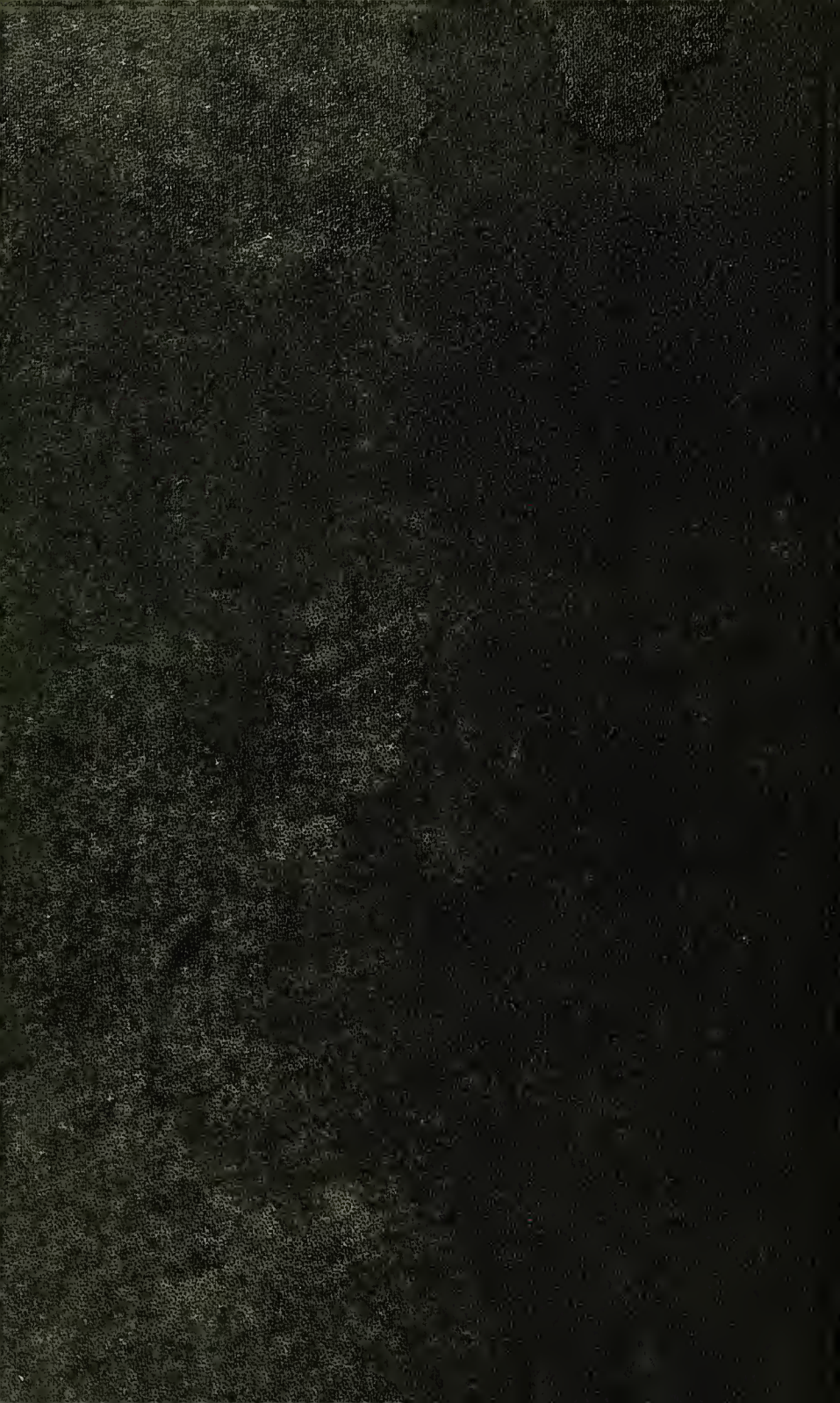
and from under its slavery. 6. But thou, remember this day all the days of thy life, once in the year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and thou shalt not change the day for another day, or the month for another month. 7. For it is an ordinance of eternity, which is engraven on the tablets of heaven concerning the children of Israel, that they shall observe each year by year the festivals; once a year, in all their generations, and it has no limit of days, for it is ordained for eternity. 8. And a man, if he is pure and does not come to observe in its time the day, to bring an offering which is acceptable before the Lord on the day of the festival, and to eat and to drink before the Lord, on the day of his festival, that man shall be rooted out, if he is pure and near, because he has not brought the offering to the Lord in its time, and that man places a sin upon himself. Let the children of Israel, who will yet come, observe the Pascah on the day of its time, on the fourteenth of the first month, between the evenings, in the third part of the day to the third part of the night; for two parts of the day are given to the light and the third to the evening; this it is that the Lord has commanded that thou shalt observe it between the evenings. 9. And it shall not take place in the morning, at any time of daylight, but only at the limits of the evenings; and they shall eat it in the time of evening until the third night, and whatever is left of all the meat on the third night, they shall again burn in the fire. 10. And they shall not cook it in water and shall not eat it raw, but carefully roasted on the fire and broiled on the fire; its head together with the intestines they shall roast, and its feet, and shall not break any bone within it, for none of the children of Israel shall have any bone broken. 11. On this account the Lord has commanded the children of Israel to observe the Pascah on the day of its time, and that no bone in it shall be broken, for it is a festival and a day commanded, and there must be no change from it from one day to another, or from one month to another, but on the day shall its festival be observed. 12. But thou, command the children of Israel that they should observe the Pascah on its days in all

the years, once each year, on the day of its fixed time, and that it shall become a memorial before the Lord which is acceptable, and that no plague come over them to kill them and to scourge them in that year. 13. If they observe the Pascah in its time in everything as they have been commanded, then it is not allowed them to eat it outside of the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the assembly of Israel shall observe it in its time. 14. Every man who is twenty years and above who comes on that day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord, for thus it is written and ordained that they shall eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. 15. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they shall possess, into the land of Canaan, and plant the tent of the Lord in the midst of the land, within one of their hosts, until the time when the sanctuary of the Lord shall have been built in the land, then they shall come and observe the Pascah in the midst of the tent of the Lord, and shall sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year. 16. And in the days when a house shall have been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the Pascah in the evening, as the sun goes down, in the third part of the day. 17. And they shall place the blood on the foundation of the altar, and the fat they shall lay upon the fire upon the altar, and shall eat flesh thereof that has been roasted at the fire, in the court of the sanctuary in the name of the Lord. 18. And they must not observe the Pascah in their cities and in all their districts, but only before the tent of the Lord or before his house, where his name dwells, so that ye do not trespass against the Lord. 19. But thou, Moses, command the children of Israel, that they shall observe the ordinance of the Pascah as it has been commanded to thee, that they shall observe the day year by year, and its day and the festival of the unleavened bread, that they shall eat unleavened bread seven days, so that they observe its festival, that they bring an offering day by day in these seven days of the Pascah before the Lord on the altar of your God. 20. For this festival ye observed with trembling when ye went out of Egypt until ye

had gone through the sea into the desert of Sur, for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

CHAP. L. 1. And after this law I made known to thee the days of Sabbaths in the desert Sinai, which is between Elam and Sinai. 2. And I told you concerning the Sabbaths of the earth on Mt. Sinai, and concerning the years of jubilees with the Sabbaths; and also the year I mentioned to you; but the year thereof we did not tell you, until thou comest into the land which ye shall possess; and ye shall make the land also observe the Sabbaths for those dwelling in it, and the years of jubilees shall learn. 3. Concerning this I have ordained for thee the weeks of years and the jubilees, from the days of Adam to this day: forty-nine [jubilees] and one week and two years; and yet forty years are before for learning the commandments of the Lord, until ye cross the border of the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan on the western side, and jubilees will pass by until Israel shall be cleansed from all fornication and guilt and uncleanness and contamination and sin and transgression, and shall dwell in all the land in safety, and no Satan and no evil one will injure him, and the land will be cleansed from that time on and to eternity. 4. And, behold, the command of the Sabbaths I have written down for thee, and all the judgments of its laws. 5. Six days thou shalt do work, and on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, your God; ye shall not do any work on it, neither ye, nor your children, nor your male servants, nor your maid servants, nor any of your beasts, nor your stranger who is with you. 6. The man that does any work on it shall die, and every man who desecrates this day, who lies with a wife, and who says that he will do something on it, that he will make a trip on it, or concerning all buying and selling, and who draws water on it which he did not prepare for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up a burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house, he shall die. 7. Ye shall not do any work on the Sabbath which ye have not prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, to eat or to drink or to rest or to keep Sabbath from all your work on that day, and to bless the Lord your

God, who has given it to you as a festival day; and a holy day it shall be, and a day of the holy kingdom, for all Israel this day, among your days, in all the days. 8. For great is the honor which the Lord has given to Israel to eat and to drink and to be satisfied on this festival day, after resting on this day from all the work of the children of men, except burning frankincense and bringing offerings and sacrifices before the Lord on the days and the Sabbaths. 9. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath days, in the sanctuary of the Lord your God, so that these shall appear over Israel as a constant atonement, day by day, as a memorial, which is acceptable before the Lord and received forever, day by day, as I have commanded thee. 10. And every man who does any work on this day, or makes a journey, or works his land, be it in the house or at any other place, and whoever lights a fire or rides upon any beast, or travels by ship upon the sea, and everyone that strikes or kills anything, or kills an animal or a bird, and who catches an animal and bird and fish, and who contends or engages in war on the Sabbath day, the man that does any of these things on the Sabbath day, shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths, according to the command of the Sabbath of the land, as it is written on the tablets of heaven, which he gave into my hands, that I should write for thee the laws of the times, and the different times in the division of their days.



Grimoirium Verum

or

The True Grimoire

The Most Approved Keys
of
Solomon, The Hebrew Rabbi

Wherein The Most Hidden Secrets,
Both Natural And Supernatural
Are Immediately Exhibited.

Modo operator per necessaria et contenta
facit scia tamen oportet Daemonum
potentia dum taxat per agantur.

Translated From The Hebrew
by
Plangiere,
Jesuit Dominicane.

with a Curious collection of Rare and Astounding Magical Secrets.

Edited, With A Preface By
James Banner, Gent.

Originally Published By
Alibeck The AEgyptian

at Memphis

1517.

The Grimoirium Verum

PDF edition, 1999 Phil Legard

INTRODUCTION

In the first part is contained various dispositions of characters, by which powers the spirits or, rather, the devils are invoked, to make them come when you will, each according to his power, and to bring whatever is asked: and that without any discomfort, providing also that they are content on their part; for this sort of creature does not give anything for nothing. In the first part is taught the means of calling forth the Elemental Spirits of the Air, Earth, Sea or of the Infernus, according to their affinities.

In the second part are expressed the secrets, both Natural and Supernatural which operate by the power of the Daemons. You will find the manner to make use of them, and all without deceit.

In the third part is the Key to the Work, with the manner of using it. But, before starting this, it will be necessary to be instructed in the following: There are three powers, which are Lucifer, Beelzebuth and Astaroth. You must engrave their Characters in the correct manner and at the appropriate hours. Believe me, all this is of consequence, nothing is to be forgotten.

THE FIRST BOOK

Concerning the Characters of the Daemons.

You must carry the aforesaid character with you. If you are male, in the right pocket, and it is to be written in your own blood, or that of a sea-turtle. You put at the two half-circles the first letter of your name and surname. And if you wish more, you may draw the character on an emerald or ruby, for they have a sympathy for the spirits, especially those of the Sun, who are the most knowledgeable, and are better than the others. If you are a female, carry the character on the left side, between the breasts, like a Reliquary; and always observing, as much as the other sex, to write or have engraved the character on the day and in the hour of Mars. Obey the spirits in this, that they may obey thee.

The spirits who are powerful and exalted, serve only their confidants and intimate friends, by the pact made or to be made according to certain characters at the will of Singambuth or of his Secretary. Aabidandes, of whom we will give you information, is the perfect acquaintance to call, conjure and constrain, as you will see in the Key, where you will be given a method of making a pact with the spirits.

Of the Nature of Pacts.

There are only two kinds of pact, the tacit and the apparent [or explicit]. You will know the one from the other, if you read this little book. Know, however, that there are many kinds of spirits, some attractive and others not attractive.

It is when you make a pact with a spirit, and have to give the spirit something which belongs to you, that you have to be on your guard.

The Kinds of Spirits.

In regard to spirits, there are the superior and the inferior. Names of the superiors are: Lucifer, Beelzebuth, Astaroth. The inferiors of Lucifer are in Europe and Asia, and obey him. Beelzebuth lives in Africa, and Astaroth inhabits America.

Of these, each of them has two who order their subjects all that which the Emperor has resolved to do in all the world, and vice-versa.

The Visible Appearance of Spirits.

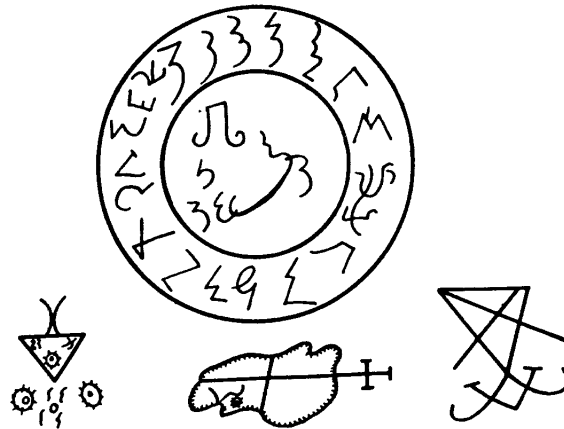
Spirits do not always appear in the same shape. This is because they are not themselves of matter or form, and have to find a body to appear in, and one suitable to their intended manifestation and appearance.

Lucifer appears in the form and figure of a fair boy. When angry, he seems red. There is nothing monstrous about him.

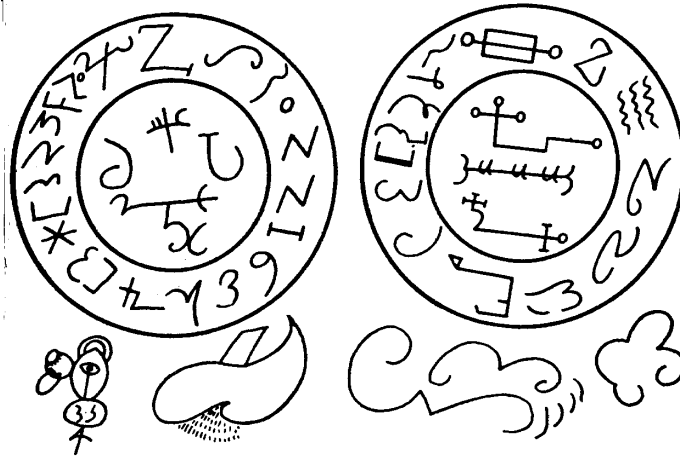
Beelzebuth appears sometimes in monstrous forms, sometimes like a giant cow, at times like a he-goat, with a long tail. When angry, he vomits fire.

Astaroth appears black, in human shape.

Here are three characters of Lucifer, outside his circle:



The following are those of Beelzebuth and Astaroth placed outside their circles:



To Invoke the Spirits.

It is only necessary, when you desire to invoke them, to call them by their characters, which they themselves have given. And when you wish to invoke them, call them to serve you, in the manner taught in the Third Part.

Descending to the Inferiors.

Lucifer has two demons under him: Satanackia and Agalierap. Those of Beelzebuth are Tarchimache and Fleruty. The characters of Satanackia and Fleruty are:



The two inferiors of Astaroth are Sagatana and Nesbiros, and their characters are:

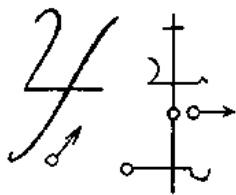


There are yet other daemons, apart from these, who are under Duke Syrach. There are eighteen of these, and their names are:

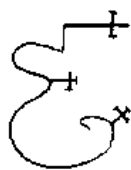
- I. Clauneck
- II. Musisin
- III. Bechaud
- IV. Frimost
- V. Klepoth
- VI. Khil
- VII. Mersilde
- VIII. Clisihert
- IX. Sirchade
- X. Segal
- XI. Hicpacth
- XII. Humots
- XIII. Frucissiere
- XIV. Guland
- XV. Surgat
- XVI. Morail
- XVII. Frutimiere
- XVIII. Huictiigaras

These are the characters of fifteen inferior spirits:

BUCON



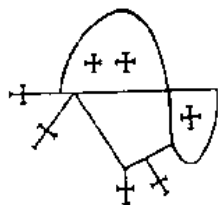
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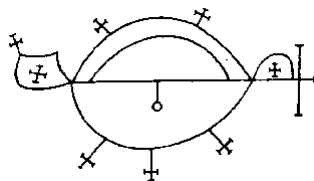
FRUCISSIERE



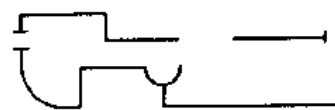
GULAND



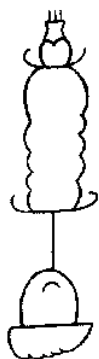
MORAIL



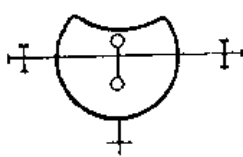
HICPACTH



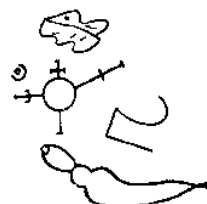
FRUTIMIERE



HUICHTIGARAS



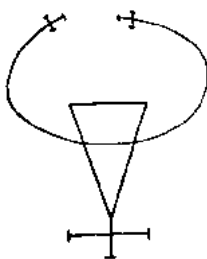
HUMOTS



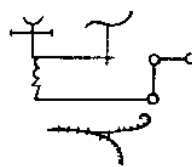
KHIL



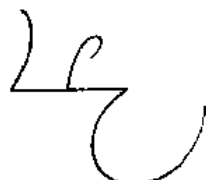
MERSILDE



MINOSON



SEGAL



SIRCHADE



SURGAT



THE SECOND BOOK

AGLA * ADONAY * JEHOVA

There are other daemons, but as they have no power, we shall not speak of them. The powers of the eighteen above-mentioned ones are these:

CLAUNECK has power over riches, can cause treasures to be found. He can give great riches to he who makes a pact with him, for he is much loved by Lucifer. It is he who causes money to be brought.

MUSISIN has power over great lords, teaches all that happens in the Republics, and the affairs of the Allies.

FRIMOST has power over women and girls, and will help you to obtain their use.

KLEPOTH makes you see all sorts of dreams and visions.

KHIL makes great earthquakes.

MERSILDE has the power to transport anyone in an instant, anywhere.

CLISTHERT allows you to have day or night, whichever you wish, when you desire either.

SIRCHADE makes you see all sorts of natural and supernatural animals.

HICPACTH will bring you a person in an instant, though he be far away.

HUMOTS can bring you any book you desire.

SEGAL will cause all sorts of prodigies to appear.

FRUCISSIERE revives the dead.

GULAND causes all illnesses.

SURGAT opens every kind of lock.

MORAIL can make anything invisible.

FRUTIMIERE prepares all kinds of feasts for you.

HUICTIIGARAS causes sleep in the case of some, and insomnia in others.

Under Satanachia and Sataniciae are forty-five [or, according to other versions, fifty-four] daemons. Four of these, the chiefs, are Sergutthy, Heramael, Trimasael and Sustugriel. The others are of no great consequence.

These spirits are of great advantage, and they work well and speedily, in the case that they are pleased with the operator.

Sergutthy has power over maidens and wives, when things are favourable.

Heramael teaches the art of healing, including the complete knowledge of any illness and its cure, He also makes known the virtues of plants, where they are to be found, when to pluck them, and their making into a complete cure.

Trimasael teaches chemistry and all means of conjuring of the nature of deceit or sleight-of-hand. He also teaches the secret of making the Powder of Projection, by means of which the base metals may be turned into gold or silver.

Sustugriel teaches the art of magic. He gives familiar spirits that can be used for all purposes, and he also gives mandragores.

Agalierept and Tarihimal are the rulers of Elelogap, who in turn governs matters connected with water.

Nebirot rules Hael and Surgulath. The former (Hael) enables anyone to speak in any language he will, and also teaches the means whereby any type of letter may be written. He is also able to teach those things which are most secret and completely hidden.

Sergulath gives every means of speculation. In addition, he instructs as to the methods of breaking the ranks and strategy of opponents. Subject to these are the eight most powerful subordinates:

I. PROCULO, who can cause a person to sleep for forty-eight hours, with the knowledge of the spheres of sleep.

II. HARISTUM, who can cause anyone to pass through fire without being touched by it.

III. BRULEFER, who causes a person to be beloved of women.

IV. PENTAGNONY, who gives the two benefits of attaining invisibility and the love of great lords.

V. AGLASIS, who can carry anyone or anything anywhere in the world.

VI. SIDRAGOSAM, causes any girl to dance in the nude.

VII. MINOSON, is able to make anyone win at any game.

VIII. BUCON, can cause hate and spiteful jealousy between members of the opposite sexes.

THE THIRD BOOK

The Invocation.

This is the Invocation:

HELOY + TAU + VARAF + PANTHON + HOMNORCUM + ELEMIATH +
SERUGEATH + AGLA + ON + TETRAGRAMMATON + CASILY.

This Invocation is to be made on virgin parchment, with the characters of the D³/₄mon upon it, which causes the intermediary Scirlin to come. For from this depend all the others, and it can constrain them to appear in spite of themselves, as he has the power of Emperor.

Orison : Preparation.

Lord God Adonay, who hast made man in Thine own image and resemblance out of nothing! I, poor sinner that I am, beg Thee to deign bless and sanctify this water, so that it may be healthy for my body and my soul, and that all foolishness should depart from it.

Lord God, all-powerful and ineffable, and who led Thy people out of the land of @gypt, and has enabled them to cross the Red Sea with dry feet! Accord me this, that I may be purified by this water of all my sins, so that I may appear innocent before Thee! Amen.

When the operator has thus purified himself, he is to set about the making of the Instruments of the Art.

Of the Magical Knife.

It is necessary to have a knife or lancet, of new steel, made on the day and hour of Jupiter with the Moon crescent. If it cannot be made, it may be bought, but this must be done at the time, as above.

Having achieved this, you will say the Orison or Conjunction following, which will serve for the knife and lancet.

Conjunction of the Instrument.

I conjure thee, O form of the Instrument, by the authority of our Father God Almighty, by the virtues of Heaven and by the Stars, by the virtue of the Angels, and by the virtue of the Elements, by the virtues of the stones and herbs, and of snow-storms, winds and thunder: that thou now obtain all the necessary power into thyself for the pefectioning of the achievement of those things in which we are at present concerned! And this without deception, untruth, or anything of that nature whatsoever, by God the Creator of the Sun of Angels! Amen.

Then we recite the Seven Psalms, and afterwards the following words:

Dalmaley lamekh cadat pancia velous merroe lamideck caldurech anereton mitraton : Most Pure Angels, be the guardians of these instruments, they are needed for many things.

The Sacrificial Knife.

On the day of Mars [Tuesday] at the New Moon, make a knife of new steel which is strong enough to cut the neck of a kid with one blow, and make a handle of wood on the same day and in the same hour, and with an engraver you engrave on the handle these characters:

9233

Then asperge and fumigate it, and you have prepared an instrument for service when and where you wish.

The Manner of Asperging & Fumigation.

First, there is the Orison which is needful on asperging, and it is thus recited:

In the name of the immortal God, asperge [N] and clean you of all foolishness and all deceit, and you will be whiter than snow. Amen.

Then pour as the aspersion blessed water thereon, saying:

In the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Holy + Ghost, Amen.

These aspersions are necessary for every item of equipment; so also is the fumigation which follows.

To fumigate, it is necessary to have a cruse, in which you place coal newly kindled with a new fire, and let it be well ablaze. On this you place aromatics, and when perfuming the article in question, say the following:

Angels of God, be our help, and may our work be accomplished by you. Zalay, Salmay, Dalmay, Angrecton, Ledrion, Amisor, Euchey, Or. Great Angels: And do thou also, O Adonay, come and give to this a virtue so that this creature may gain a shape, and by this let our work be accomplished. In the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Holy + Ghost, Amen.

Then recite the Seven Psalms which come after Judicum tuum Regida and Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.

Of the Virgin Parchment.

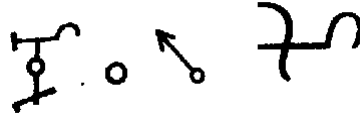
Virgin parchment can be made in many ways. Generally it is made of the skin of a goat or a lamb, or other animal, which must be virgin.

After inscribing on the blade AGLA, and having fumigated it, the knife will serve you for all purposes.

Remember that when you make the Sacrifice in order to obtain the virgin parchment from the kid, all the instruments must be on the altar.

You make the baton [or Rod, staff] of the Art from Hazel wood that has never borne, and cut it with a single stroke on the day and in the hour of Mercury [Wednesday], at the Crescent Moon. And you engrave it with the needle, the pen or the lancet, in the following characters:

The seal and character of Frimost to be inscribed on the first Rod:



Then you make another baton of Hazel wood, which has never borne, and which is without seed, and cut it in the day and hour of the Sun [Sunday], and on this you engrave these characters:



The seal and character of Klippoth is to be inscribed on the second Rod.

This having been done, you say over your baton the following Orison:

Orison.

Most wise, most powerful Adonay, deign to bless, sanctify and conserve this batTMn so that it may have the necessary virtue, O most holy Adonay, to whom be honor and glory for all time. Amen.

Of the Lancet.

It is necessary to have a new lancet, conjured and prepared like the knife and sickle. Make it in the day and hour of Mercury, at the Crescent Moon. Now follows the method of Making the Sacrifice of the Kid.

Take your goat and place it on a flat surface, so that the throat is uppermost, the better to cut it. Take your knife and cut the throat with a single stroke, while pronouncing the name of the Spirit you wish to invoke.

For example, you say:

I kill you in the name and in the honor of [N]. . .

This is to be well understood, and take care that you sever the throat at first, and do not take two strokes, but see that he dies at the first.

Then you skin him with the knife, and at the skinning make this Invocation:

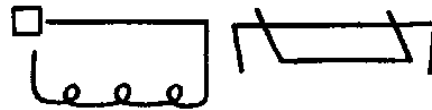
Adonay, Dalmay, Lauday, Tetragrammaton, Anereton, and all you, Holy Angels of God, come and be here, and deign to infuse into this skin the power that it may be correctly conserved, so that all that is written upon it may become perfected.

After the skinning, take well-ground salt, and strew this upon the skin, which has been stretched, and let the salt cover the skin well. Before you use the salt it must have the following Benediction said over it.

The Benediction of the Salt.

I exorcise you, O creature of the Salt, by the God who is living, the God of all Gods, the Lord of all Lords, that all fantasies may leave you, and that you may be suitable for the virgin parchment.

When this is finished, let the skin with the salt upon it remain in the sun for a full day. Then obtain a glazed pottery jar, and write these characters around it with the Pen of the Art:



Get quicklime and slake this with exorcised water, and put these in the jar. When it is liquid place it in your goatskin, and leave it long enough for the hairs to peel off of themselves.

As soon as the hair is in such a condition as to come off with a touch, remove it from the jar and peel the hairs with a knife made from carved Hazel. The knife must have had these words said over it:

O holiest Adonay, put into this wood the power to cleanse this skin, through the holy name Agason, Amen.

The skin, when peeled, may be stretched over a piece of new wood, and stones are to be placed on the skin, so that they hold it down. These are to be stones from a river bank. Before placing the stones, say the following Orison over them.

The Orison of the Stones.

O Adonay, most puissant and all-powerful Lord, allow that these stones may stretch this skin, and remove from them all wickedness, so that they may possess the required power. Amen.

Of the Aspersion of the Water.

All water used in these experiments must be asperged, by saying this over it:

Lord God, Father, all-powerful, my refuge and my life, help me, Holy Father, for I love you, God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, of the Archangels and Prophets, Creator of All. In humility, and, calling upon Thy holy Name, I supplicate that thou wilt agree to bless this water, so that it may sanctify our bodies and our souls, through Thee, most holy Adonay, Everlasting Ruler, Amen.

The skin is allowed to dry after this, and before quitting the spot, say over the parchment:

Je, Agla, Jod, Hoi, He, Emmanuel! Stand guard over this parchment, in order that no spectra may take charge of it!

When the skin is dry it may be removed from its wooden frame, blessed and fumigated, and then it is ready for use.

It is important that this must not be seen by any women, and more especially during certain times of theirs [i.e., during menstruation], otherwise it will lose its power. It must also be known that when you make and use this parchment, you must be clean, pure and chaste.

The operator is to say one Mass of the Nativity then, and all the instruments are to be on the altar.

Of Aspersions.

You take an asperser made with a bunch of mint, marjoram and rosemary which is secured by a thread which has been made by a virgin maiden.

The asperger is made in the day and hour of Mercury when the Moon is at its crescent.

Of the Perfumes.

These are to be wood of aloes, incense and mace. As for the mace, this is all that you need for the circle, and over the perfumes is to be said the following Orison:

The Orison of the Aromatic Perfumes.

Deign, O Lord, to sanctify the creature of this, in order that it may be a remedy for the human race, and that it may be a remedy for our souls and bodies, through the invoking of Thy holy Name! Agree that all creatures which may breathe in the vapor of this may have wealth of their bodies and souls: through the Lord who has fashioned the time eternal! Amen.

Of the Pen of the Art.

Take a new quill, and asperge and fumigate this in the same way as the other instruments, and when you are cutting its points, say:

Ababaloy, Samoy, Escavor, Adonay: I have from this quill driven out all illusions, so that it may hold within it with effectiveness the power needed for all those things which are used in the Art: for both the operations and the characters and conjurations. Amen.

Of the Ink-horn.

You buy a new Ink-horn on the day and in the hour of Mercury. At this time, also, these characters are [to be] inscribed upon it:

JOD HE VAU HE + METATRON + JOD + KADOS + ELOHIM SABAOTH.

Then newly-made ink is exorcised with this exorcism before being placed in the horn:

I exorcise you, Creature of this Ink, by the names Anston, Cerreton, Stimulator, Adonay, and by the Name of He who created all by one word, and who can achieve all, so that you shall assist me in my work, and so this work may be accomplished by my desire, and brought to a successful end through the agreement of God, He who rules all things, and through all things, omnipresent and eternal. Amen.

Then the ink is to be blessed with this Blessing:

Lord God, Almighty, ruler over all and forever, Thou who dost cause to take place the greatest wonders in Thy creations, deign to grant the grace of Thy holy spirit through this ink. Bless it, and sanctify it, and impart to it a special power, that whatever we may say or do or desire may be accomplished: through Thee, Most Holy Prince, ADONAY. Amen.

The Preperation of the Operator.

When the implements are ready, the operator must prepare himself. This is first done by this Preparatory Orison:

Lord God, ADONAY, who hast formed man in Thine image, I, the unworthy and sinful, beseech Thee to sanctify this water, to benefit my body and soul, cause me to be cleansed.

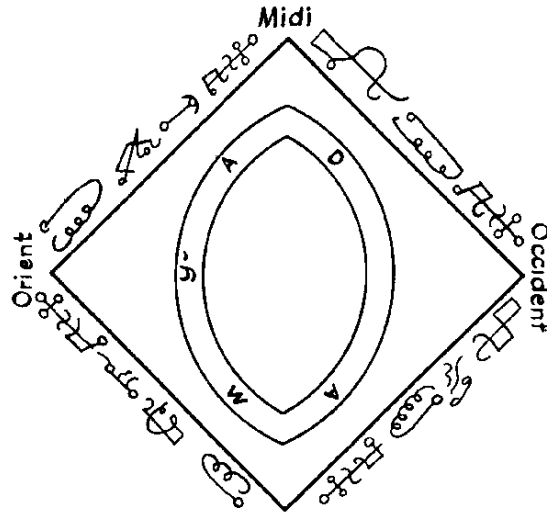
As he says this the operator is to wash his face and hands with the water that he is blessing.

NOTE: This water is to be used for washing the hands and feet, and know alsoÑand know and know againÑthat it is necessary and most necessary, to abstain three days from sin: and above all mortally, however much the human frailty may be, and especially guard your chastity.

During the three days, study the book and during this time, pray five times during the day and four times each night, with the following form:

Astrachios, Asach, Ascala, Abedumabal, Silat, Anabotas, Jesubilin, Scingin, Geneon, Domol: O Lord my God, Thou who art seated higher than the Heavens, Thou who art seated higher than the Heavens, Thou who seeth even unto the depths, I pray that Thou unto me the things which I have in my mind and that I may be successful in them: through Thee, O Great God, the Eternal and who reigns for ever and ever. Amen. [Shah gives a note of a variation: "Astrocio, Asath, a sacra Bedrimubal, Felut, Anabotos, Serabilem, Sergen, Gemen, Domos: . . ."]

All this having been done correctly, all that remains is to follow your invocations and draw your characters and you do as follows.



In the day and hour of Mars [Tuesday] the Moon being at the crescent, and at the first hour of the day—which is a quarter of an hour before sunrise—you will prepare a piece of virgin parchment, which shall contain all the characters and the invocations of the spirits which you wish to produce.

For example, in the said day and hour, you will attach to the small finger of the hand (which is the finger of Mercury) a thread spun by a virgin girl, and pierce the finger with the lancet of the Art, to get blood from it, with which you form your Scirlin character, as is given at the commencement of this book. Then write your invocation, which is that which follows.

Invocation to Scirlin.

HELON + TAUL + VARF + PAN + HEON + HOMONOREUM + CLEMIALH +
SERUGEATH + AGLA + TETRAGRAMMATON + CASOLY.

You must write the first letter of your name where is the letter A [in the sign & character of Scirlin], and that of your surname where is the letter D. The spirit Aglassis, whose character it is, is very potent to render you service, and will cause you to have power over the other spirits.

Make above the Character of the Spirit that you desire to come, and burn incense in his honor. Then make the conjuration which is addressed to the spirit that you want to cause to appear, and burn incense in his honor.

Conjuration for Lucifer.

Lucifer, Ouyar, Chameron, Aliseon, Mandousin, Premy, Oriet, Naydrus, Esmony, Eparinesont, Estiot, Dumosson, Danochar, Casmiel, Hayras, Fabelleronthou, Sodirno, Peatham, Come, Lucifer, Amen.

Conjuration for Beelzebuth.

Beelzebuth, Lucifer, Madilon, Solymo, Saroy, Theu, Ameclo, Sagrael, Praredun, Adricanorom, Martino, Timo, Cameron, Phorsy, Metosite, Prumosy, Dumaso, Elivisa, Alphrois, Fubentrotty, Come, Beelzebuth, Amen.

Conjuration for Astaroth.

Astaroth, Ador, Cameso, Valuerituf, Mareso, Lodir, Cadomir, Aluiel, Calniso, Tely, Plorim, Viordy, Cureviorbas, Cameron, Vesturiel, Vulnavij, Benez meus Calmiron, Noard, Nisa Chenibranbo Calevodium, Brazo Tabrasol, Come, Astaroth, Amen.

After having said seven times the conjuration addressed to superior spirits, you will see the spirit at once appear, to do whatever you desire.

Dismissal of the Spirit.

When you have written the conjuration on the virgin parchment, and have seen the spirit, being satisfied, you can dismiss him by saying this:

Ite in pace ad loca vestra et pax sit inter vos redituri ad mecum vos invocavero, in nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti + Amen.

[Go in peace unto your abode and let there be peace between you and I, and be ready to come to me when you are called, in the name of the Father + and the Son + and of the Holy Spirit + Amen]

Conjuration for Inferior Spirits.

OSURMY + DELMUSAN + ATALSLOYM + CHARUSIHOA + MELANY + LIAMINTHO + COLEHON + PARON + MADDOIN + MERLOY + BULERATOR + DONMEDO + HONE + PELOYM + IBASIL + MEON + ALYMDRICTELS + PERSON + CRISOLSAY + LEMON SESSLE NIDAR HORIEL PEUNT + HALMON + ASOPHIEL + ILNOSTREON + BANIEL + VERMIAS + SLEVOR + NOELMA + DORSAMOT + LHAVALA + OMOR + FRAMGAM + BELDOR + DRAGIN + Come, N. . .

Dismissal of the Inferior Spirit.

Go in peace, N., whence you came, peace be with you, and come every time I shall call you, in the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Holy Spirit + Amen.

Then you will burn the characters, because they will serve only once.

Another Conjuration.

I conjure thee, N., by the name of the Great Living God, Sovereign Creator of all things, that thou appear in human form, fair and agreeable, without noise or inconvenience, to answer truthfully in all the interrogations that I shall make. I conjure thee to do this by the power of the Holy and Sacred Names.

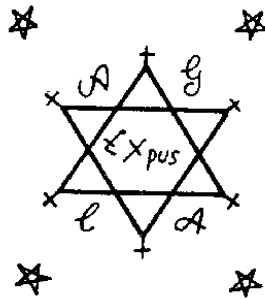
Orison of the Salamanders.

Immortal, eternal, ineffable and Holy Father of all things, who is carried by the revolving chariot unceasingly, of the worlds which continually revolve: dominator of the Etherian countries where there is raised the throne of Thy power: above which Thy redoubtable eyes see all, and Thy holy ears hear all—Naid Thy children whom Thou hast loved since the birth of the centuries: for thy golden and great and eternal majesty shines above the world, the sky and the stars, Thou art elevated above all, O sparkling fire, and Thou illuminatest Thyself by Thy splendor, and there go out from Thy essence untarnishable rays of light which nourish Thy infinite spirit. That infinite spirit produces all things, and makes the mighty treasure which cannot fail, to the creation which surrounds Thee, due to the numberless forms of which she bears, and which Thou hast filled at the start. From this spirit comes also the origin of those most holy kings who are around Thy throne, and who compose Thy court, O Universal Father!

O Unique One, O Father of happy mortals and immortals! Thou hast created in particular the powers which are marvellously like the eternal thought, and from Thy adorable essence. Thou hast established them over the angels, Thou hast created a third kind of sovereign in the elements. Our continual exercise is to worship Thy desires. We burn with the desire to possess Thee, O Father, O Mother, the most tender of Mothers! O wonderful example of feelings and tenderness of Mothers! O Son, the flower of all sons! O Form of all forms! Soul, Spirit, Harmony, and Name of all things, preserve us and we shall be blessed. Amen.

Of the Pentacle and the Manner of Working.

I have put here the form of the Pentacle of Solomon so that you may make the arrangements, they being of great importance.



When you make your circle, before entering therein, it is to be perfumed with musk, amber, aloes wood and incense. And for the perfume which you will need for the invocations, that is incense alone.

It is to be observed that you need to have always a fire during invocations, and when you perfume, this will be in the name of the spirit that you would invoke. When you are placing the perfume on the fire, say all the time:

I burn this, N., in the name and to the honor of N.

It is to be remembered that you must hold the invocation in the left hand, and in the right a rod of elder, and a ladle and a knife are to be at your feet.

When all this is ready, stand inside the circle. If you have companions with you, they are to hold a hand one of the other. When inside, trace the form of the circle with the knife of the Art.

Then pick up the wands, one after the other, reciting the Fiftieth Psalm. When the circle is complete, perfume and sprinkle it with holy water. Characters are to be written at the four corners of the circle. There are generally four pentacles, one at each point of the compass; and the spirit is prohibited specifically from entering into the precincts of the circle.

Then the invocations are to be repeated seven times. When the spirit appears, make him sign the character which you are holding in your hand, which promises that he will come whenever you may call him. Ask for what you think needed, and he will give it to you.

Dismissal of the Spirit.

Let him go away in these words:

Ite in pace ad loca vestra et pax sit inter vos redituri ad mecum vos invocavero, in nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti + Amen.

[Go in peace unto your abode and let there be peace between you and I, and be ready to come to me when you are called, in the name of the Father + and the Son + and of the Holy Spirit + Amen]

Rare & Suprising Magical Secrets.

The manner of making the Mirror of Solomon, useful for all divinations.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. YE shall see in this mirror anything which you may desire. In the name of the Lord who is blessed, in the name of the Lord, Amen. Firstly, you shall abstain from all actions of the flesh, and also from any sin, whether in word or action, during the period of time laid down herein. Secondly, you must perform acts of good and piety. Thirdly, take a plate of finest steel, burnished and slightly curved, and with the blood of a white pigeon write upon it, at the four corners, these names: JEHOVA, ELOYM, METATRON, ADONAY.

Place the steel in a clean, white cloth. Look for the new Moon, in the first hour after the Sun has set, and when you see it, go to a window, look devoutly towards Heaven, and say:

O Eternal, O King Eternal! God Ineffable! Thou, who hast created all things for the love of men, and by a concealed decision for the wellbeing of man, deign Thou to look on me, N., who am Thy most unfit and unworthy Servant, and look upon this, which is my intention.

Deign to send unto me Thine Angel, Anael upon this same mirror; he does command and order his companionsÑwhom Thou hast formed, O Most Powerful Lord, who hast always been, who art, and who shall ever be, so that in Thy name they may work and act with equity, giving me knowledge in everything that I shall seek to know of them.

Now you are to throw down upon the burning embers a perfume. While you are doing this, say:

In this and with this, that I pour forth before Thy face, O God, my God, Thou who art blessed, Three in One, and in the state of exaltation most sublime, who sits above the Cherubim and Seraphim, who will judge the earth by fire, hear me!

This is to be said three times. When you have done so, breathe three times upon the surface of the mirror, and say:

Come, Anael, come: and let it be thy agreement to be with me willingly: in the name + of the Father, the Most Puissant, in the name + of the Son, Most Wise, in the name + of the Holy Spirit, the Most Living!

Come, Anael, in the terrific name of Jehova! Come, Anael, by the power of the everliving Elohim! Come, thee, by the right arm of the mighty Metatron!

Come to me, N., and order thy subjects so that they may make known to me through their love, joy and peace, the things that are hidden from my eyes.

When you have finished this, raise your eyes toward Heaven and say:

O most powerful Lord, who does cause all things to move in accordance with Thy will, listen to my prayer, and may my intentions be agreeable to Thee! O Lord, if it be Thy will, deign to gaze upon this mirror and sanctify it, that Thy Servant Anael may come thereto with his companions, and be agreeable to me, N., Thy poor and humble servant! O God, blessed and raised above all the spirits of Heaven, Thou who livest and reignest for all time. Amen.

When this is done, make the Sign of the Cross over yourself, and also on the mirror on the first day, and also on the next forty and five days. At the end of this time, the angel Anael will

appear to you, like unto a beautiful child. He will greet you, and will order his companions to obey you.

It does not always require as long as this to cause the angel to appear, however. He may come on the fourteenth day, but this will depend upon the degree of application and fervor of the operator.

When he comes, ask him whatever you may desire, and also beg him to come and do your will whenever you shall call him.

When you want Anael to come again, after the first time, all you have to do is to perfume the mirror, and say these words: Come, Anael, come, and let it be thy agreement --and the rest of this prayer to Anael as we have given you above, until the Amen.

Dismissing the Spirit.

When he has answered your questions, and you are satisfied with him, you must send him away by saying this:

I thank thee, Anael, for having appeared and having fulfilled my requests. Thou mayest therefore depart in peace, and shall return when I call unto thee.

The perfume of Anael is saffron.

Divination by the Word of Uriel.

To succeed in this operation, he who makes the experiment must do all things which are told herein. He is to choose a small room or place which for nine days or more has not been visited by women in an impure state [i.e., during their menstruation period].

This place must be well cleaned and consecrated, by means of consecrations and aspersions. In the middle of the room there is to be a table covered with a white cloth. On this is a new glass vial full of spring water, brought shortly before the operation, with three small tapers of virgin wax mixed with human fat; a piece of virgin parchment, and the quill of a raven suitable for writing with; an inkpot of chine full of fresh ink; a small container of metal with materials to make a fire.

You must also find a boy of nine or ten years old, who shall be well behaved and cleanly dressed. He should be near the table.

A large new needle is taken, and one of the three tapers is mounted upon it, six inches behind the glass. The other two tapers should be positioned at the right and left of the glass, and an equal distance away.

While you are doing this, say:

Gabamiah, Adonay, Agla, O Lord of Powers, aid us!

Place the virgin parchment on the right of the glass and the pen and ink on the left. Before starting, close the door and windows.

Now stir the fire, and light the wax tapers. Let the boy be on his knees, looking into the glass vial. He should be bareheaded and his hands joined.

Now the Master orders the boy to stare fixedly into the vial, and speaking softly into his right ear, he says:

The Conjunction.

URIEL + SERAPH + JOSATA + ABLATI + AGLA + CAILA, I beg and conjure thee by the four words that God spoke with His mouth to His servant Moses: JOSTA + AGLA + CAILA + ABLATI. And by the name of the Nine Heavens in which thou livest, and also by the virginity of this child who is before thee, to appear at once, and visibly, to reveal that truth which I desire to know. And when this is done, I shall discharge thee in peace and benevolence, in the Name of the Most Holy Adonay.

When this conjunction is finished, ask the child whether he sees anything in the vial. If he answers that he sees an angel or other materialization, the Master of the operation shall say in a friendly tone:

Blessed spirit, welcome. I conjure thee again, in the Name of the Most Holy Adonay, to reveal to me immediately . . . (Here the operator petitions the spirit for what he will.)

Then say to the spirit:

If, for any reason, thou dost not wish what thou sayest to be heard by others, I conjure thee to write the answer upon this virgin parchment, between this time and the morrow. Otherwise thou mayst reveal it to me in my sleep.

If the spirit answers audibly, you must listen with respect. If he does not speak, after you have repeated the supplication three times, snuff the tapers, and leave the room until the following day. Return the next morning, and you will find the answer written on the virgin parchment, if it has not been revealed to you in the night.

Divination by the Egg.

The operation of the Egg is to know what will happen to anyone who is present at the experiment.

One takes an egg of a black hen, laid in the daytime, breaks it, and removes the germ.

You must have a large glass, very thin and clear. Fill this with clear water and into it put the egg-germ.

The glass is placed in the Sun at midday in summer, and the Director of the operation will recite the prayers and conjurations of the day.

These prayers and conjurations are such as are found in the Key of Solomon, in which we treat amply of airy spirits.

And with the index finger, agitate the water, to make the germ turn. Leave it to rest a moment, and then look at it through the glass, not touching it. Then you will see the answer, and it

should be tried on a working-day, because these are spirits that will come during the times of ordinary occupations.

If one wishes to see if a boy or a girl is a virgin, the germ will fall to the bottom; and if he (or she) is not, it will be as usual.

To See Spirits of the Air.

Take the brain of a cock, the powder from the grave of a dead man (which touches the coffin), walnut oil and virgin wax. Make all [this] into a mixture, wrapped in virgin parchment, on which is written the words:

GOMERT KAILOETH, with the character of Khil.

Burn it all, and you will see prodigious things. But this experiment should be done only by those who fear nothing.

To make 3 Girls or 3 Gentlemen appear in your Room, after Supper.

It is necessary to be three days chaste, and you will be elevated.

I. Preparation. On the fourth day, as soon as it is morning, clean and prepare your room, as soon as you have dressed. You must be fasting at this time. Make sure that your room will not be disturbed for the whole of the ensuing day. Note that there shall be nothing hanging, neither anything crosswise to anything else, no tapestries or clothes hanging, and no hats or cages of birds, or curtains of the bed, and so on.

Above all, make sure that everything is clean in every way.

II. Ceremony. After you have supped, go secretly to your room, which has been cleansed as already described. Upon the table there is now to be set a white cloth, and three chairs at the table. In front of each place, set a wheaten roll and a glass of clear and fresh water. Now place a chair at the side of the bed, and retire, while saying this:

III. Conjuration. Besticium consolatio veni ad me vertat Creon, Creon, Creon, cantor laudem omnipotentis et non commentur. Stat superior carta bient laudem omviestra principiem da montem et inimicos meos o prostantis vobis et mihi dantes que passium fieri sincisibus.

The three people, having arrived, will sit by the fire, eating and drinking, and will thank the person who has entertained them. If you are a gentleman, three girls will come; but if you are a lady, three young men will be involved.

Then the three will draw lots as to whom is to stay with you. If the operator is a man, the girl who wins will sit in the chair which you have placed by the bed, and she will stay and be with you until midnight. At this time she will leave, with her companions, without having been dismissed.

The two others will stay by the fire, while the first entertains you.

While she is with you, you may ask her any question, about any art or science, or upon any subject at all, and she will at once give you a definite reply. You can ask the whereabouts of hidden treasure, and she will tell you where it is, and how and when to remove it. If the treasure is under the guardianship of infernal spirits, she will come herself, with her companions, and defend you against these fiends.

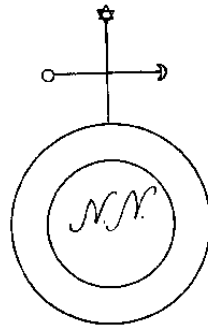
When she leaves, she will give you a ring. If you wear this on your finger, you will be fortunate at gambling. If you place it on the finger of any woman or girl, you will be able at once to obtain your will of her. Note: The window is to be left open. You can do this experiment as often as you please.

To Make a Girl come to You, however Modest she may Be.

Experiment of a marvelous power of the superior intelligences.

Watch for the crescent or the waning moon, and when you see it, make sure that you see also a star, between the hours of eleven and midnight. Before beginning the process, do thus:

Take a virgin parchment, and write on it the name of the girl whom you desire to come. The shape of the parchment is to be as you see in this figure:



On the other side of the parchment, write MELCHIAEL, BARESCHAS. Then put the parchment on the earth, with the part where the name of the person is written next to the ground. Place your right foot upon the parchment, and your left knee, bent, upon the ground.

Then look to the highest star in the sky, while in this position. In your right hand hold a taper of white wax, sufficiently large to burn for one hour. Then say the following:

The Conjunction.

I salute thee and conjure thee, O beautiful Moon, O most beautiful Star, O brilliant light which I have in my hand. By the light which I have in my hand. By the air that I breathe within me, by the earth that I am touching: I conjure thee. By the names of the spirit princes living in you. By the ineffable name ON, which created everything! By you, O resplendent angel GABRIEL, with the planet Mercury, Prince, MICHIAEL and MELCHIDAEL.

I conjure you again, by all the Holy Names of God, so that you may send down power to oppress, torture and harass the body and soul and the five senses of N., she whose name is written here, so that she may come unto me. Let her then be tortured, made to suffer. Go, then, at once! Go, MELCHIDAEL, BARESCHES, ZAZEL, FIRIEL, MALCHA, and all those who are with thee! I conjure you by the Great Living God to obey my will, and I, N., promise to satisfy you.

When this conjuration has been said three times, burn the parchment with the taper. On the next day, take the parchment, put it in your left shoe, and let it stay there until the person whom you have called comes to seek you out. In the conjuration you must say the date that she is to come, and she will not be absent.

To Make oneself Invisible.

Collect seven black beans. Start the rite on a Wednesday, before sunrise. Then take the head of a dead man, and put one of the black beans in his mouth, two in his eyes and two in his ears. Then make upon his head the character of Morail.

When you have done this, bury the head, with the face upwards, and for nine days, before sunrise, water it each morning with excellent brandy. On the eighth day you will find the spirit mentioned, who will say to you: "What wilt thou?"

You will reply: "I am watering my plant." Then the spirit will say: "Give me the bottle, I desire to water it myself." In answer, refuse him this, even though he will ask you again.

Then he will reach out with his hand, and will display to you that same figure which you have drawn upon the head. Now you can be sure that it is the right spirit, the spirit of the head. There is a danger that another one might try to trick you, which would have evil consequences—and in that case your operation would not succeed.

Then you may give him the bottle, and he will water the head and leave. On the next day--which is the ninth--when you return, you will find the beans that are germinating. Take them and put them in your mouth, and look at yourself in the mirror. If you can see nothing, it is well. Test the others in the same way, either in your own mouth, or in that of a child. Those which do not confer invisibility are to be reburied with the head.

To Have Gold and Silver, or the Hand of Glory

Tear out the hair of a mare in heat, by the roots, closest to the nature, saying DRAGNE, DRAGNE, DRAGNE. Then tie them into a knot. Now go out and buy, without dispute over the price, a new pot of earthenware, which shall have a lid. Return to your house as fast as you can, fill the pot with water from a spring, until it is not quite full. Place the knotted hairs in it, cover it, and place it where neither you nor anyone else can see it, for there is danger in this.

After nine days, at the hidden hour, bring out the pot and open it, and you will find that there is a small animal like a snake therein. This will jump up. Then say: I ACCEPT THE PACT.

Do not touch the animal with your hand. Place it in a new box, which you have bought for this purpose, and that without bargaining as to price. You must feed the creature on wheat-husks alone, daily.

When you need gold or silver, place as much as you require in the box. Go to bed, with the box at the side of the bed. Sleep, if you desire, for three or four hours. Rise, then, and you will find that the money you have placed in the box has been doubled. But what you put first into the box must be left in it.

If it is an ordinary-looking snake, you should not ask for more than one hundred francs at each time. If, however, it has a human face, then you will be able to obtain a thousand francs each time.

If you want to kill the creature, place in the box instead of its daily husks, some of the flour which has been used for the consecration in the first Mass said by the priest. After eating this it will die. Above all, do not omit anything, because this is not intended as a joke!

Garters for Distances

Go out of the house, fasting; march to your left until you find a ribbon-seller. Buy one ell of white ribbon. Pay what is asked, and drop a farthing (un liard) into the box.

Return home by the same route. Next day do the same, until you have found a seller of pens. Buy one, as you bought the ribbon. When you are locked in your own room, write with your own blood on the ribbon the characters of the third line on the plan. This is the right garter. Those of the fourth line are for the left. [These are presumably the planetary symbols in the concentric circles of the plan of the Grimoire.]

When this is done, go out. The third day after, take your ribbon and pen, walk to the left until you find a pastry cook or bakery. Buy a cake or bread for a halfpenny. Go to the first tavern, order a half bottle of wine, have your glass rinsed three times by the same person, break in three the cake or bread.

Put the three pieces in the glass with wine. Take the first piece and throw it under the table without looking at it, saying IRLY, FOR THEE.

Then take the second piece and throw it likewise, saying TERLY, FOR THEE. Write on the other side of the garter the two names of these spirits with your blood. Throw down the third piece, saying, ERLY, FOR THEE. Throw down the pen, drink the wine without eating, pay the cost and go away.

Being outside the town, take the garters, make no mistake as to which is the right and which the left. This is important. Stamp three times with the foot on the ground, pronounce the names of the spirits TERLY, ERLY, BALTAZARD, IRLY, MELCHIOR, GASPARD, LET US GO. Then make your trip.

To Make a Girl Dance in the Nude

Write on virgin parchment the Character of FRUTIMIERE with the blood of a bat. Then put it on a blessed stone, over which a Mass has been said. After this when you want to use it, place the character under the sill or threshold of a door which she must pass.

When she comes past, she will come in. She will undress and be completely naked, and will dance increasingly until death, if one does not remove the character; with grimaces and contortions which will cause more pity than desire.

To See in a Vision Anything from the Past or Future

The two N N which you see in the second small circle mark the place where you put your name [see To Make a Girl Come to You . . .]. To know what you will, write the names in the circle on virgin parchment, before sleeping, and put it under your right ear on retiring, saying the following orison:

Orison

O Glorious Name of Great God the ever-living, to whom all things are present, I am Thy servant N. . . . Father Eternal, I beg You to send me Thy Holy Angels, who are written in the Circle and that they shall show me what I want to know, by Jesus Christ our Lord. So be it

Having completed the orison, lie down on your right side, and you will see in a dream that which you desire to know.

To Nail (an Enemy)

Go to a cemetery, remove a nail from an old coffin, saying:

Nails, I take you, so that you may serve to turn aside and cause evil to all persons whom I will. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen..

When you wish to use it, you must look for a footprint and making the three figures of GULAND, SURGAT and MORAIL, fix the nail in the middle saying:

Pater noster upto in terra [our father who art on earth]

Hit the nail with a stone, saying:

Curse evil to N . . ., until I remove thee.

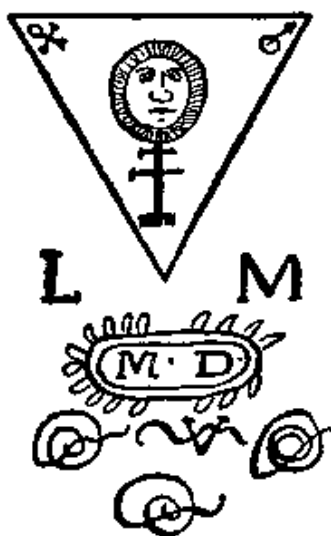
Re-cover the place with a little dust, and remember it well, because one cannot remove the evil which this causes, but by removing the nail, and saying:

I remove thee, so that the evil which thou has caused to N. . ., shall cease. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son. and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Then take the nail out, and efface the characters: not with the same hand as you make them, but with the other. Thus it will be without danger.

FIN

The Grimoire Of



Honorius

The person who desires to invoke the perverse “Spirits of Darkness must observe a three days’ fast; he must also confess and approach the Holy Altar. After these three days, upon the morrow, and at the hour of sunrise, he shall recite the Seven Gradual Psalms, with the accompanying Litanies and Prayers,¹ the whole on his knees; further, he must drink no wine and eat no meat on that day. Next, he shall rise at midnight on the first Monday of the month,² and a priest shall say a Mass of the Holy

² The three days’ fast must therefore have been regulated so that it expired on the previous Saturday.

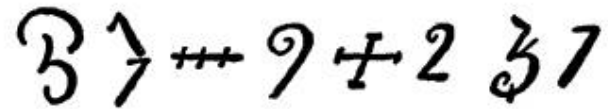
Ghost.³ After the consecration, taking the Host in his left hand, he shall recite the following prayer on his knees :

PRAYER

My Sovereign Saviour Jesus Christ, Son of the living God! Thou who for the salvation of all mankind didst suffer the death of the Cross; Thou who, before being abandoned to Thine enemies, by an impulse of ineffable love didst institute the Sacrament of thy Body; Thou who hast vouchsafed to us miserable creatures the privilege of making daily commemoration thereof; do Thou deign unto thine unworthy servant, thus holding thy Living Body in his hands, all strength and ability for the profitable application of that power with which he has been entrusted against the horde of rebellious spirits. Thou art their true God, and if they tremble at the utterance of Thy Name, upon that Holy Name will I call, crying Jesus Christ! Jesus, be Thou my help, now and for ever! Amen.

After sunrise a black cock must be killed, the first feather of its left wing being plucked and preserved for use at the required time. The eyes must be torn out, and so also the tongue and heart; these must be dried in the sun and afterwards reduced to powder. The remains must be interred

at sunset in a secret place, a cross of a palm in height being set upon the mound, while at each of the four corners the signs which here follow must be drawn with the thumb :



3 The Mass of Pentecost, except the Epistle, which should be that of the Tuesday after Pentecost, and the Gradual, for which there are special versicles.

On this day also the operator should drink no wine and abstain from eating meat.

On Tuesday, at break of day, let him say a Mass of the Angels,¹ placing the feather taken from the bird upon the altar, together with a new penknife. The signs hereinafter represented must be inscribed on a sheet of clean paper with the consecrated wine which is the Blood of Jesus Christ :

W I Z T W

They should be written upon the altar, and at the end of the Mass the paper should be folded in a new veil of violet silk, to be concealed on the morrow, together with the oblation of the Mass and a part of the consecrated Host.

On the evening of Thursday the operator must rise at midnight, and, having sprinkled holy water about the

¹ The Mass for the Apparition of St. Michael, May 8, with a special Epistle, Gospel, Commemoration, &c,

chamber, he must light a taper of yellow wax, which shall have been prepared on the Wednesday and pierced in the form of a cross. When it is lighted he shall recite Psalm *lxxvii.*²—*Attendite, popule meus, legem meam, &c.*—without the *Gloria Patri*. He shall then begin the “Office of the Dead” with *I/enite exultemus Domino, &c.* He shall recite Matins and Lauds, but in place of the versicle of the ninth Lesson 1 he shall say: Deliver us, O Lord, from the fear of hell. Let not the demons destroy my soul when I shall raise them from the deep pit, when I shall command them to do my will. May the day be bright, may the sun and moon shine forth, when I shall call upon them. Terrible of aspect are they, deformed and horrible to sight; but do Thou restore unto them their angelic shapes when I shall impose my will upon them. O Lord deliver me from those of the dread visage, and grant that they shall be obedient when I shall raise them up from hell, when I shall impose my will upon them.

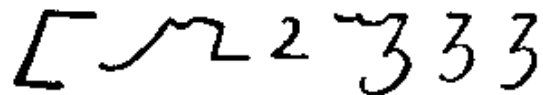
After the “Office of the Dead” the operator shall extinguish the taper, and at sunrise shall cut the throat of a male lamb of nine days, taking care that the blood does not gush forth upon the earth. He shall skin the lamb, and shall cast its tongue and heart into the fire. The fire must be freshly kindled, and the ashes shall be preserved for use at the proper time. The skin of th~

lamb shall be spread in the middle of a field, and for the space of nine days shall be sprinkled four times every day with holy water. On the tenth day, before the rising of the sun, the lambskin shall be covered with the ashes of the heart and tongue, and with the ashes also of the

2 This Psalm is numbered lxxviii. in the Authorised Version.

1 This is extremely confused; the Office of the Dead does not begin with the *Venite exultemus*. The ninth Lesson belongs to the third Nocturne of the Matins. The prayer given in the Grimoire is based on the verses which it replaces.

cock. On Thursday², after sunset, the flesh of the lamb shall be interred in a secret place where no bird can come, and the priest with his right thumb shall inscribe on the grave the characters here indicated



Moreover, for the space of three days he shall sprinkle the four corners with holy water, saying: Sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed! Wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow!

After the aspersion let him recite the following prayer,
kneeling with his face towards the east

PRAYER.

Christ Jesus, Redeemer of men, who, being the Lamb without spot, wast immolated for the salvation of the human race, who alone wast found worthy to open the Book of Life, impart such virtue to this lambskin that it may receive the signs which we shall trace thereon, written with Thy blood, so that the figures, signs, and words may become efficacious; and grant that this skin may preserve us against the wiles of the demons; that they

may be terrified at the sight of these figures, and may only approach them trembling. Through Thee, Jesus Christ, who livest and reignest through all ages. So be it.

2 The days on which the various operations should be performed have been confused, after the prevailing manner of the Grimoires.

The Litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus must then be repeated, but instead of the *Agnus Dei*, substitute:

Immolated Lamb, be Thou a pillar of strength against the demons³ Slain Lamb, give power over the Powers of Darkness! Immolated Lamb, grant favour and strength unto the binding of the Rebellious Spirits. So be it.

The lambskin shall be stretched for eighteen days, and on the nineteenth day the fleece shall be removed, reduced into powder, and interred in the same place. The word *vellus* shall be written above it with the finger, together with the following character and the words: May this which hath been reduced into ashes preserve against the demons through the name of Jesus.

ſ 2 8 4 1 3 2 7 6

Add also these signs

7 † R 3 5 9 9 9

Lastly, on the eastern side, the said skin must be set to dry in the sun for three days, the ensuing characters being cut with a new knife:

∇ n γ × h B + † †

— This being accomplished, recite Psalm lxxi., *Deus, judicium tuum regi da, &c.*, and cut the following characters

† † O D ≡ † O

The figure being thus far completed, recite the verses *Afferte Domino, patria' gentium*, occurring in Psalm xcv.:

Cantate Domino Canticum novum, of which the seventh versicle is: *Offerte Domino, Full Del, &c.*, and cut subsequently these characters :

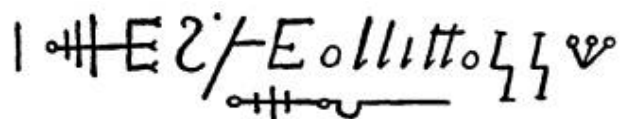
† v s h

— Next recite Psalm lxxvii.: *Attendite, popule meus, legem meam*, and compose the following figure:

∪ √ z z z z ∘ [√ w } h z

— Which being accomplished, recite Psalm ii.: *Quart'*

fre, nuerunt gentes et populi ineditati sunt inania Then make another figure as follows



And recite Psalm cxv.: (*_redidi pro pter quod locutus sum.* Finally, on the last day of the month a Mass for the Dead shall be offered; the prose shall be omitted, and also the Gospel of St. John, but at the end of the Mass the priest shall recite the Psalm *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, &c.*¹

In Honour of the Most Holy and August Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

The Seventy-two Sacred Names of God.—TRINITAS, SOTHER, MESSIAS, EMMANUEL, SABAHOT, ADONAY, ATHANATOS, JESU, PENTAGNA, ARGAGON, ISCHIRO, ELEYSON, OTHEOS, TETRAGRAMMATON, ELY, SADAY,

AQUILA, MAGNUS HOMO, *Vzsro*, FLOS, ORIGO, SALVA-

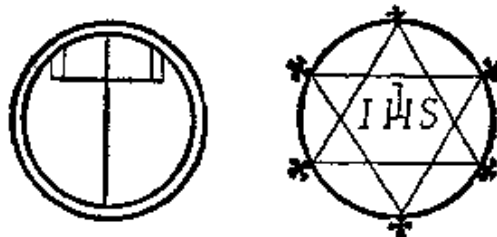
TOR, ALPHIA AND OMEGA, PRIMIS, NovissIMus, PRINI
At this point the process of the Grimoire becomes almost unintelligible. The relation of the seventy-two names apparently succeeds the Psalm, and is followed by the Second Gospel, which is not omitted after all. There is then an extension of the

Deo Gratias; this concluded the Mass, which seems immediately followed by the evocation. But the use of the Pentacles of Solomon and St. John does not appear, in the one case, till the close of the Conjurations, and not at all in the other.

CIPUM ET FINIS, PRIMOGENITUS, SAPIENTIA,
VIRTUS,
PARACLITUS, VERITAS, VIA, MEDIATOR,
MEDICUS, SALUS, AGNUS, OVIS, VITULUS, SPES,
ARIES, LEO, LUX, IMAGO, PANIS, JANUA, PETRA,
SPONSA, PASTOR, PROPHETA, SACERDOS,
SANCTUS, IMMORTALITAS, JESUS, CHRISTUS,
PATER, FILIUS HOMINIS, SANCTUS, PATER
OMNIPOTENS, DEUS, AGIOS, RESSURRECTIO,
MISERICORDIA, CHARITAS, AETERNITAS, CREATOR,
REDEMPTOR, UNITAS, SUMMUM BONUM,
INFINITAS. AMEN.

Hereinafter follow the three small pentacles of Solomon,
and that of the Gospel of St. John.





The Beginning of the Holy Gospel according to John.

Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

*In the beginning was the Word, &c., in extenso, so far as
the end of the fourteenth versicle.*

Thanks be to God. Hosanna to the Son of David!

Blessed is He who cometh in the Name of the Lord.

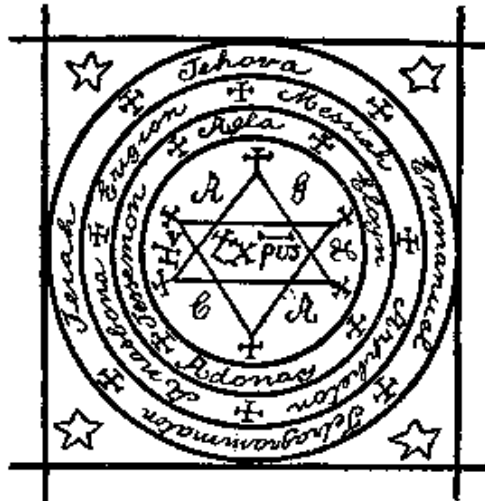
Hosanna in the Highest. We invoke Thee. We adore Thee.
We praise Thee. We glorify Thee, O blessed and glorious
Trinity! May the Name of the Lord be blessed, now and
henceforth for ever! Amen. In the Name of the Father, of
the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Jesus of Nazareth, King of
the Jews. May Christ conquer, reign, command, and
defend me from all evil. Amen.

UNIVERSAL CONJURATION.

I, N., do conjure thee, O Spirit N., by the living God, by the true God, by the holy and all-ruling God, who created from nothingness the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all things that are therein, in virtue of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, in the name of Jesus Christ, and by the power of this same Almighty Son of God, who for us and for our redemption was crucified, suffered death, and was buried; who rose again on the third day, and is now seated on the right hand of the Creator of the whole world, from whence he will come to judge the living and the dead; as also by the precious love of the Holy Spirit, perfect Trinity. I conjure thee within the circle, accursed one, by thy judgment, who didst dare to tempt God: I exorcise thee, Serpent, and I command thee to appear forthwith under a beautiful and well-favoured human form of soul and body, and to fulfil my behests without any deceit whatsoever, as also without mental reservation of any kind, by the great times of the God of gods and Lord of lords, ADONAY, TETRAGRAM MATON, JEHOVA, TETRAGRAM MATON, ADONAY, JEHOVA, OTHEOS, ATHANATOS, ISCHYROS, AGLA, PENTACRAM MATON, SADAY, SADAY, SADAY, JEHOVA, OTHEOS, ATHANATOS a *Liciat* TETRAGRAMMATON, ADONAY, ISCHYROS, ATHANATOS, SADY, SADY, SADY, CADOS, CADOS,

CADOS, ELOY. AGLA, AGLA, AGLA, ADONAY,
ADONAY.

I conjure thee, Evil and Accursed Serpent, N.. to appear at my will and pleasure, in this place, before this circle, without tarrying, without companions, without grievance, without noise, deformity, or murmuring. I exorcise thee by the ineffable names of God, to wit, Gog and Magog, which I am unworthy to pronounce; Come hither, Conic hither, Come hither. Accomplish my will and desire, without wile or falsehood. Otherwise St. Michael, the invisible Archangel, shall presently blast thee in the utmost depths of hell. Come, then, N., to do my will.



A.P.

Why tarriest thou, and why delayest? What doest thou? Make ready, obey your master, in the name of the Lord, BATHAT or RACHAT flowing over ABRACM ENS, ALCHOR or ABERER.

L.Q. L. F. A. P.

Behold the Pentacle of Solomon which I have brought into thy presence! I command thee, by order of the great God, ADONAY, TETRAGRAMMATON, and JEsUs!

Hasten, fulfil my behests, without wile or falsehood, but in all truth, in the name of the Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

DISCHARGE.

Go in peace unto your places. May there be peace between us and you, and be ye ready to come when ye are called. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

ACT OF THANKSGIVING.

Praise, honour, glory, and blessing be unto Him who sitteth upon the throne, who liveth for ever and ever. Amen.

*CONJURATION OF THE BoO*K*.*¹

I conjure thee, 0 Book, to be useful and profitable unto all who shall have recourse to thee for the success of their affairs. I conjure thee anew, by the virtue of the Blood of Jesus Christ, contained daily in the chalice, to be serviceable unto all those who shall read thee. I exorcise thee, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity!

What follows must be said before the sealing of the Book.

I conjure and command you, O Spirits, all and so many as ye are, to accept this Book with good grace, so that whensoever we may read it, the same being approved and recognised as in proper form and valid, you shall be constrained to appear in comely human form when you are called, accordingly as the reader shall judge. In no circumstances shall you make any attempt upon the body, soul, or spirit of the reader, nor inflict any harm on those who may accompany him, either by mutterings, tempests, noise, scandals, nor yet by lesion or by hindrance in the execution of the commands of this Book. I conjure you to appear immediately when the conjuration is made, to execute without dallying all that is written and enumerated in its proper place in the said book. You shall obey, serve, instruct, impart, and perform all in your power for the benefit of those who command you, and the whole without illusion. If perchance some of the invoked spirits be unable to come or appear when required, they shall be bound over to send others vested with their power, who also shall swear solemnly to execute all that the reader may demand, and ye are all hereby enjoined by the Most Holy Names of the Omnipotent Living God, ELOYM, JAH, EL, ELOY, TETRAGRAMMATON, to fulfil everything as it is set forth above. If ye obey me not, I will force you to abide in torments for a thousand years, as also if any one of you receive not this Book with entire resignation to the will of the reader.

1 This is the *Liber Spirituum* of Pseudo-Agrippa, sufficiently described in Part I. The introduction of it in this Grimoire presupposes either an acquaintance in the reader or information which is omitted.

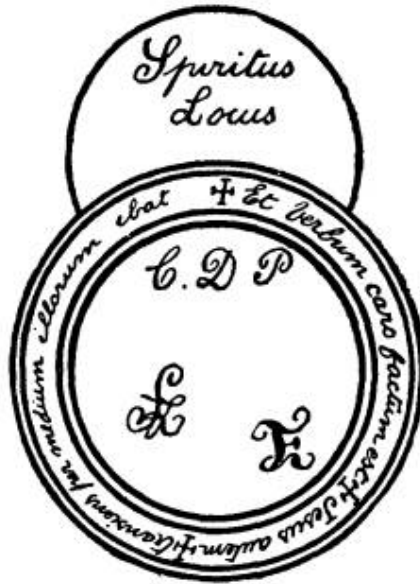
CONJURATION OF THE DEMONS.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Take heed! Come, all Spirits! By the virtue and power of your King, and by the seven crowns and chains of your Kings, all Spirits of the Hells are forced to appear in my presence before this pentacle or circle of Solomon, whensoever I shall call them. Come, then, all at my orders, to fulfil that which is in your power, as commanded. Come, therefore, from the East, South, West, and North! I conjure and command you, by the virtue and power of Him who is three, eternal, equal, who is God invisible, consubstantial, in a word, who has created the heavens, the sea, and all which is under heaven.

After these Conjurations you shall command them to affix the Seal.

CONCERNING THE FIGURE OF THE CIRCLE.

Circles should be described with charcoal or holy water, sprinkled with the wood of the blessed Cross.



The Magic Circle of Honorius

When they have been duly made, and the words have been written about the circle, the holy water which has served to bless the same may also be used to prevent the spirits from inflicting any hurt. Standing in the middle of the circle, you shall command them in a lively manner, as one who is their master.

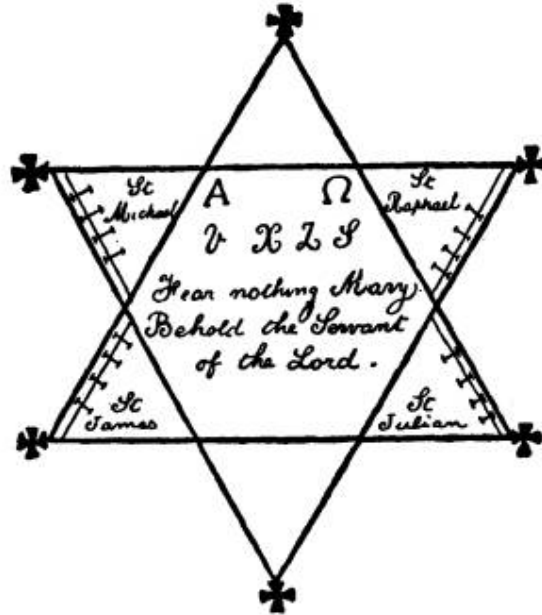
What must be said in Composing the Circle.

O Lord, we fly to Thy virtue! O Lord, confirm this work! What is operated in us becomes like dust driven before the wind, and the Angel of the Lord pausing (*sic*), let the darkness disappear, and the Angel of the Lord ever pursuing, ALPHA, OMEGA, ELY, ELOTHE, FLOHIM, ZABAHOT, FLION, SADY.

Behold the Lion who is the conqueror of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David! I will open the Book, and the seven seals thereof. I have beheld Satan as a bolt falling from heaven. It is Thou who hast given us power to crush dragons, scorpions, and all Thine enemies beneath Thy feet. Nothing shall harm us, not even ELOY, ELOHIM, ELOHE, ZABAHOT, ELI0N, ESARCHIE, ADONAY, JAH, TETRAGRAMMATON, SADY. The earth is the Lord's and all those who dwell therein, because He established it upon the seas and prepared it in the midst of the waves. Who shall ascend unto the mountain of the Lord? Who shall be received in his Holy Place? The innocent of hands and clean of heart. Who hath not received his soul in vain, and hath not sworn false witness against his neighbour. The same shall be blessed of God, and shall obtain mercy of God to his salvation. He is of the generation of those who seek Him. Open your gates, ye princes, open the eternal gates, and the King of Glory shall enter! Who is this King of Glory? The Lord Almighty, the Lord, mighty in battle. Open your gates, ye princes! Lift up the eternal gates. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord Almighty. This Lord is the King of Glory. Glory be to the Father, &c.

To dismiss them, the Pentacle of Solomon must be exhibited, at the same time saying a-s follows :— Behold your sentence!

Behold that which forbids
rebellion to our wills, and doth ordain you to return unto your
abodes. May peace be between us and you, and be my will.



CONJURATION OF THE KING OF THE EAST.

I conjure and invoke thee, O powerful King of the East Magoa, by my holy labour, by all the names of Divinity, by the name of the All-Powerful: I command thee to obey, and to come to me, or that failing, forthwith and immediately to send unto me Massayel, Ariel, Satiel, Arduel, Acorib, to respond concerning all that I would know and to fulfil all that I shall command. Else

thou shalt come verily in thine own person to satisfy my will; which refusing, I shall compel thee by all the virtue and power of God.

The Grand Pentacle or Circle of Solomon will answer for the above and following Conjurations, which can be said on all days and at all hours. If it be desired to speak only with one spirit, one only need be named, at the choice of the reader.

CONJURATION OF THE KING OF THE SOUTH.

O Egym, great King of the South, I conjure and invoke thee by the most high and holy Names of God, do thou here manifest, clothed with all thy power; come before this circle, or at least send me forthwith Fadal, Nastrache, to make answer unto me, and to execute all my wishes. If thou failest, I shall force thee by God Himself.

CONJURATION OF THE KING OF THE WEST.

O Baymon, most potent King, who reignest in the Western quarter, I call and I invoke thee in the name of the Deity! I command thee by virtue of the Most High, to send me immediately before this circle the Spirit Passiel Rosus, with all other Spirits who are subject unto thee, that the same may answer in everything, even as I shall require them. If thou

failest, I will torment thee with the sword of fire divine; I will multiply thy sufferings, and will burn thee.

CONJURATION OF THE KING OF THE NORTH.

O thou, Amaymon, King and Emperor of the Northern parts, I call, invoke, exorcise, and conjure thee, by the virtue and power of the Creator, and by the virtue of virtues, to send me presently, and without delay, Madael, Laaval, Bamlahe, Belem, and Ramath, with all other Spirits of thine obedience, in comely and human form! In whatsoever place thou now art, come hither and render that honour which thou owest to the true living God, who is thy Creator. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, come therefore, and be obedient, in front of this circle, without peril to my body or soul. Appear in comely human form, with no terror encompassing thee. I conjure thee, make haste, come straightway, and at once. By all the Divine names— SECHIEL, BARACHIEL—if thou dost not obey promptly, BALANDIER, *suspensus, iracundus, Origratiumgu, Partus, Olemdemis, and Bautratis*, N. I exorcise thee, do invoke, and do impose most high commandment upon thee, by the omnipotence of the living God, and of the true God; by the virtue of the holy God, and by the power of Him who spake and all things were made, even by His holy commandment the heaven and earth were made, with all that is in them! I adjure

thee by the Father, by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost, even by the Holy Trinity, by that God whom thou canst not resist, under whose empire I will compel thee; I conjure thee by God the Father, by God the Son, by God the Holy Ghost, by the Mother of Jesus Christ, Holy Mother and perpetual Virgin, by her sacred heart, by her blessed milk, which the Son of the Father sucked, by her most holy body and soul, by all the parts and members of this Virgin, by all the sufferings, afflictions, labours, agonies which she endured during the whole course of her life, by all the sighs she uttered, by the holy tears which she shed whilst her dear Son wept before the time of His dolorous passion and on the tree of the Cross, by all the sacred holy things which are offered and done, and also by all others, as in heaven so on earth, in honour of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Blessed Mary, His Mother, by whatsoever is celestial, by the Church Militant, in honour of the Virgin and of all the Saints. In like manner, I conjure thee by the Holy Trinity, by all other mysteries, by the sign of the Cross, by the most precious blood and water which flowed from the side of Jesus Christ, by the sweat which issued from His whole body, when He said in the Garden of Olives: My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me—I conjure thee by His death and passion, by His burial and glorious resurrection, by His ascension, by the coming of the Holy Ghost. I adjure thee, furthermore, by the crown of thorns which was set upon His head, by the blood

which flowed from His feet and hands, by the nails with which He was nailed to the tree of the Cross, by the holy tears which He shed, by all which He suffered willingly through great love of us: by the lungs, the heart, the hair, the inward parts, and by all the members, of our Saviour Jesus Christ. I conjure thee by the judgment of the living and the dead, by the Gospel words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by His preachings, by His sayings, by all His miracles, by the child in swaddling-clothes, by the crying child, borne by the mother in her most pure and virginal womb; by the glorious intercession of the Virgin Mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ; by all which is of God and of His Most Holy Mother, as in heaven so on earth. I conjure thee by the holy Angels and Archangels, and by all the blessed orders of Spirits, by the holy patriarchs and prophets, by all the holy martyrs and confessors, by all the holy virgins and innocent widows, and by all the saints of God, both men and women. I conjure thee by the head of St. John the Baptist, by the milk of St. Catherine, and by all the Saints.

CONJURATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

For Monday, to Lucifer.

This experience is commonly performed between eleven and twelve o'clock, or between three and four. Requisites: coal, and consecrated chalk to compose the circle, about which these words must be written: I forbid thee, Lucifer, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, to enter within this circle. A mouse must be provided to give him; the master must have a stole and holy water, an air also and a surplice. He must recite the Conjunction in a lively manner, commanding sharply and shortly, as a lord should address his servant, with all kinds of menaces: SATAN, RANTAM, PALLANTRE, LUT AIS, C0RI-CACOEM, SCIRCIGREUR, I require thee to give me very humbly, &c.



Conjuration

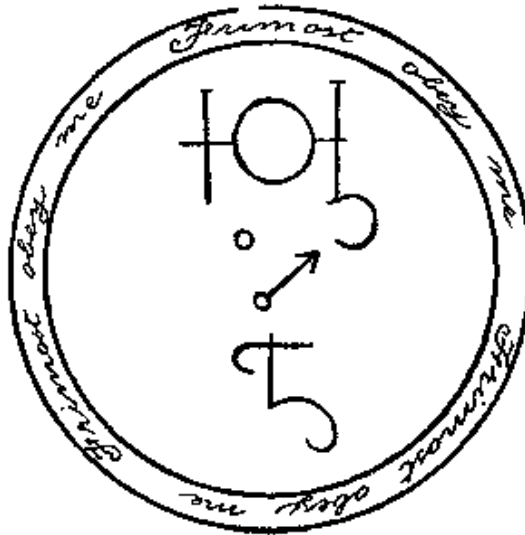
I conjure thee, Lucifer, by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, who spake and all was made, who commanded and all things were created and made! I conjure thee by the ineffable name of God, ON, ALPHA and OMEGA, ELOY, ELOYM, YA, SADAY, LUX, MUGIENS, REX, SALUS, ADONAY, EMMANUEL, MESSIAS; and I adjure, conjure, and exorcise thee by the names which are declared under the letters V, C, X, as also by the names

JEHOVAH, SOL, AGLA, RIFFASORIS, ORISTON, ORPHITNE, PHATON, IPRETU, OCIA, SP1~RATON, IMAGON, AMUL, PENATON, SOTER, TETRAGRAMMATON, ELOY, PREMOTON, SITMON, PERIGARON, IRATATON, PLEGATON, ON, PEROHIRAM, TIROS, RUBIPHATON, SIMULATON, PERPI, KLARIMUM, TREMENDUM, MERAY, and by the most high ineffable names of God, GALI, ENGA, EL, HABDANUM, INGODUM, OBU ENGLABIS, do thou make haste to come, or send me N., having a comely and human form in no wise repulsive, that he may answer in real truth whatsoever I shall ask him, being also powerless to hurt me, or any person whomsoever, either in body or soul.

For Tuesday, to Frimost.¹

This experience is performed at night from nine to ten o'clock, and the first stone found is given to him. He is to be received with dignity and honour. Proceed as on Monday; compose the circle, and write about it:

Obey me, Frimost! Obey me, Frimost! Obey me, Frimost!



CONJURATION.

I conjue and command thee, Frimost, by all the names wherewith thou canst be constrained and bound! I exorcise thee, Nambroth, by thy name, by the virtue of all spirits, by all characters, by the Jewish, Greek, and Chaldean conjurations, by the confusion and malediction, and I will redouble thy pains and torments from day to day for ever, if thou come not now to accomplish my will and submit to all that I shall command, being powerless to harm me, or those who accompany me,

either in body or soul.

For Wednesday, to Astaroth.

This experience is performed at night, from ten to eleven o'clock; it is designed to obtain the good graces of the King and others. Write in the circle as follows:

Come, Astaroth! Come, Astaroth! Come, Astaroth!



CONJURATION.

I conjure thee, Astaroth, wicked spirit, by the words Christ of Nazareth, unto whom all demons are submitted, who was

conceived of the Virgin Mary; by the mystery of the Angel Gabriel, I conjure thee; and again in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; in the name of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the Most Holy Trinity, in whose honour do all the Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Powers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists sing without end; Hosannah, Hosannah, Hosannah, Lord God of Hosts, who art, who wast, who art to come, as a river of burning fire! Neglect not my commands, refuse not to come. I command thee by Him who shall appear with flames to judge the living and the dead, unto whom is all honour, praise, and glory. Come, therefore, promptly, obey my will, appear and give praise to the true God, unto the living God, yea, unto all His works; fail not to obey me, and give honour to the Holy Ghost, in whose name I command thee.

This experience is made at night, from three to four o'clock, at which hour he is called, and appears in the form of a King. A little bread must be given him when he is required to depart; he renders man happy and also discovers treasures. Write about the circle as follows:

Holy God! Holy God! Holy God!

CONJURATION.

I conjure thee, Silcharde, by the image and likeness of Jesus Christ our Saviour, whose death and passion redeemed the entire human race, who also wills that, by His providence, thou appear forthwith in this place. I command thee by all the Kingdoms of God. Act—I adjure and constrain thee by his Holy Name, by Him who walked upon the asp, who crushed the lion and the dragon. Do thou obey me, and fulfil my commands, being powerless to do harm unto me, or any person whomsoever, either in body or soul.



For Friday, to Bechard.

This experience is performed on a night from eleven to twelve o'clock, and a nut must be given to him. Write within the circle:
Come, Bechard! Come, Bechard! Come, Bechard!

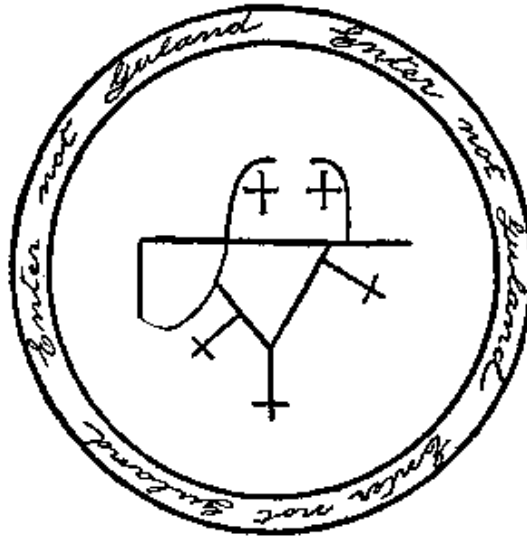


CONJURATION.

I conjure thee, Bechard, and constrain thee, in like manner, by the Most Holy Names of God, ELOY, ADONAY, ELOY, AGLA, SAMALABACTAY, which are written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin; by all the sacraments, by all the names written in this book; and by him who drove thee from the height of Heaven. I conjure and command thee by the virtue of the Most Holy Eucharist, which hath redeemed men from their sins; I conjure thee to come without any delay, to do and perform all my biddings, without any prejudice to my body or soul, without harming my book, or doing injury to those that accompany me.

For Saturday, to Guland.¹

This experience is performed at night from eleven to twelve o'clock, and so soon as he appears burnt bread must be given him. Ask him anything you will, and he will obey you on the spot. Write in his circle: Enter not, Guland! Enter not, Guland! Enter not, Guland!



CONJURATION.

I conjure thee, O Guland, in the name of Satan, in the name of Beelzebuth, in the name of Astaroth, and in the name of all other Spirits, to make haste and appear before me. Come, then in the name of Satan and in the names of all other demons. Come to me, I command thee, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity. Come without inflicting any harm upon me, without injury to my body or soul, without maltreating my books, or anything which I use. I command thee to appear without delay, or, that failing, to send me forthwith another Spirit having the same power as thou hast, who shall accomplish my commands and be submitted to my will, wanting which, he whom thou shalt send

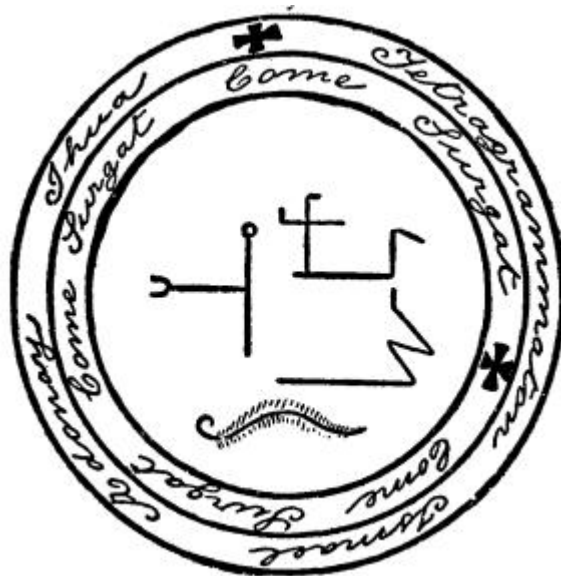
me, if indeed thou comest not thyself, shall in no wise depart,
nor until he hath in all things fulfilled my desire.

For Sunday, to Surgat.¹

This experience is performed at night from eleven to one o'clock. He will demand a hair of your head, but give him one of a fox, and see that he takes it. His office is to discover and transport all treasures, and perform anything that you may will. Write in his circle:

TnTRAGRAM MATON, TETRAGRAM MATON, TETRAGRAM MATON. ISMAEL, ADONAY, IHUA. And in a second circle:

Come, Surgat! Come, Surgat t Come, Surgat!



CONJURATION.

I conjure thee, 0 Surgat, by all the names which are written in this book, to present thyself here before me, promptly and without delay, being ready to obey me in all things, or, failing this, to despatch me a Spirit with a stone which shall make me invisible to every one whensoever I carry it! And I conjure thee to be submitted in thine own person, or in the person of him or of those whom thou shalt send me, to do and accomplish my will, and all that I shall command, without harm to me or to any one, so soon as I make known my intent.

Very Powerful Conjuration for all days and hours of the Day or Night, being for Treasures hidden by men or Spirits, that the same may be possessed and transported.

I command you, O all ye demons dwelling in these parts, or in what part of the world soever ye may be, by whatsoever power may have been given you by God and our holy Angels over this place, and by the powerful Principality of the infernal abysses, as also by all your brethren, both general and special demons, whether dwelling in the East, West, South, or North, or in any side of the earth, and, in like manner, by the power of God the Father, by the wisdom of God the Son, by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and by the authority I derive from our Saviour Jesus Christ, the only Son of the Almighty and the Creator, who made us and all creatures from nothing, who also ordains that you do hereby abdicate all power to guard, habit, and abide in this place; by whom further I constrain and command you, *nolens volens*, without guile or deception, to declare me your names, and to leave me in peaceable possession and rule over this place, of whatsoever legion you be and of whatsoever part of the world; by order of the Most Holy Trinity, and by the merits of the Most Holy and Blessed Virgin, as also of all the saints, I unbind you all, spirits who abide in this place, and I drive you to the deepest infernal abysses. Thus: Go, all Spirits accursed, who are condemned to the flame eternal which is prepared for you and your companions, if ye be rebellious and disobedient. I conjure you by the same authority, I exhort and call

you, I constrain and command you, by all the powers of your superior demons, to come, obey, and reply positively to what I direct you in the name of Jesus Christ. Whence, if you or they do not obey promptly and without tarrying, I will shortly increase your torments for a thousand years in hell. I constrain you therefore to appear here in comely human shape, by the Most High Names of God, HAIN, L0N, HILAY, SABAOTH, HELIM, RADISH~~, LEDIEHA, ADONAY, JEHOVA, YAH, TETRAGRAMMATON, SADA!, MESSIAS, AGIOS, ISCHYROS, EMMANUEL, AGLA, Jesus who is ALPHA and OMEGA, the beginning and the end, that you be justly established in the fire, having no power to reside, habit, or abide in this place henceforth; and I require your doom by the virtue of the said names, to wit, that St. Michael drive you to the uttermost of the infernal abyss, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. So I conjure thee, Acham, or whomsoever thou mayst be,

by the Most Holy Names of God, by MALHAME, JAE, MAY, MABRON, JACOB, DASMEDIAS, EL0Y, ATERESTIN, JANASTARDY, FINI5, AGI0s, JSCHYROS, OTHEOS, ATHAN-ATOS, AGLA, JEHOVA, HOM0SION, AGA, MESSIAS, SOTHER, CHRISTUS VINCIT, CHRISTUS IMPERAT, INCREATUS

SPIRITUS SANCTUS.

I conjure thee, Cassiel, or whomsoever thou mayest be, by all the said names, with power and with exorcism! I warn thee by the other sacred names of the most great Creator, which are or shall hereafter be communicated to thee; hearken forthwith and immediately to my words, and observe them inviolably, as sentences of the last dreadful day of judgment, which thou must obey inviolately, nor think to repulse me because I am a sinner, for therein shalt thou repulse the commands of the Most High God. Knowest thou not that thou art bereft of thy powers before thy Creator and ours? Think therefore what thou refusest, and pledge therefore thine obedience, swearing by the said last dreadful day of judgment, and by Him who bath created all things by His word, whom all creatures obey. *P. per sedem Balda'rey et per gratiam et diligentiam tuam habuisti ab eo ha~ic n&atimanamilam*, as I command thee.



**The Grand Grimoire
With
The Great Clavicle of Solomon**

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The Grand Grimoire

Chapter I

This Book is so rare and sought after in our country it has been called, by our Rabbis, the true Great Work. They were the ones who left us this precious original that many charlatans uselessly wanted to counterfeit, attempting to imitate the truth that they never found, in order to swindle ingenuous individuals who have faith in initial encounters without seeking their true Source.

This manuscript has been copied from various writings of the great King Solomon. This great king spent all of his days in the most difficult search and in the most obscure and unexpected secrets. In the end he succeeded in all of his endeavors and he reached his goal of penetrating the most profound dwelling of the spirits, whom he obliged to obey him by the power of his talisman, the clavicle, since who else but this powerful genius would have dared bring to light the thundering words that he made use of to constrain the rebel spirits to his will, having penetrated up to the celestial beings to learn more thoroughly the secrets and the powerful words that have the force of a terrible and respected God?

This great King discovered the secrets of which the great Divinity made use, and then enabled us to understand the influence of the stars, the constellation of the planets. To prepare the fulminating (or Conjuror's) rod, with its effects which make the spirits tremble and of which God made use of to arm the angel who expelled Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden; with which God struck down the Rebel Angels, precipitating their pride (or imagination) into the most horrendous abyss. With the power of this rod clouds are formed, hurricanes are dispersed and one can make them fall on the part of the earth that one desires.

Chapter II

Weak men and mortals! Tremble at your temerity when you blindly think that you possess such a profound science. You are taking your spirit beyond its spheres. Learn from me that before undertaking this work it is necessary to be steadfast, constant and most careful to observe exactly, point by point, everything that I will tell you (without which) everything would rebound to your disadvantage, confusion and total loss. If, to the contrary, you comply exactly that which I tell you, you will leave behind your baseness and indigence and you will have full success in all of your enterprises.

Arm yourselves then with intrepidity, prudence and virtuosity in order to succeed at this great and immense task, at which I have spent 67 years working day and night. To succeed at this great goal it is necessary to do exactly that which I will hereby indicate.

----Solomon

Principio

You will pass a quarter of a month abstaining from the company of the opposite sex, so as to not fall into impurity.

Begin the quarter of a month by promising to the great ADONAY, who is the leader of all of the spirits to have two meals a day every 24 hours of the above-mentioned quarter month, during which you will eat at midday and midnight, or at seven in the morning and seven in the evening, reciting the following prayer before dining for this entire period.

The manner in which one can make any sort of spirit appear, reciting the great invocation that you will find in this book. So also, the true method of preparation.

Prayer

"I implore you, O great and powerful ADONAY, head of all spirits. I implore you O ELOHIM I implore you O JEHOVA, O great King ADONAY, condescend to be favorable. So it shall be. Amen."

Then eat your meals, and don't undress, and sleep as little as possible for the prescribed quarter of a month, continually thinking of your undertaking and putting all of your faith and hope in the infinite good of the Great ADONAY.

The second day of this period, you will buy a bloodstone called *Ematille* from the druggist and you will always carry it with you and it will preserve you from all fears and worries since the spirit that you intend to bring into your servitude will do all that he can to dissuade you from your undertaking, believing with these means to liberate himself and thereby break the twines of the net that you begin to fasten around him. This project must be undertaken only by one other person, including the Karcist, (the one who must speak to the spirit), keeping in his hand the fulminating wand.

It is essential to choose a solitary location for this operation, which is far from any uproar, so that the operator is not interrupted. Following this, you will buy a young virgin kid, that on the third day of the quarter you will adorn with a garland of vervain (or, the sacred herb) which you will attach to his head with a green ribbon. Then you will transport it to the place that has been chosen for your operation; your right arm will be bare to the shoulder, armed with a blade of pure steel, a fire of white wood will be lit, you will say the following words with hope and resolve.

First Offering

“I offer you this victim, O great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA, and this in the honor, glory and power of your superior and to all if the spirits, be so kind, O great ADONAY, as to appreciate it. Amen.”

Following this you will skin the kid and take its skin, putting the rest of it in the fire until it is reduced to ashes, which you will gather and throw to the rising Sun pronouncing the following words:

“It is for the honor, glory and power of *your name*, O ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA, that I shed the blood of this victim. Deign yourself to accept these ashes, O great ADONAY.”

While the sacrifice burns, rejoice in the honor and glory of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA taking care to conserve the kids skin to make the round, or the grand cabalistic circle in which you will stay the day of the great undertaking. Containing the true composition of the mysterious or fulminating wand as it is depicted here below.

Chapter III

On the eve of the great undertaking you will search for a rod or wand of wild hazel tree that has not yet born fruit, at the highest point of the sought-after branch there should be a second little branch in the form of a fork with two ends; its length should be nineteen and a half inches.



After having found a branch of this shape, only look at it but abstain from touching it, waiting for the following day, a day destined for action, in which you will go and cut it precisely at sunrise, and denude it of its leaves and small twigs, if there are any of these and with the same blade that was used to skin the sacrifice, which will still be tainted with its blood; you will cut it when the Sun starts to break forth on this hemisphere, pronouncing the following words:

“I beseech you, O great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA to be favorable and to give this rod that I am cutting the strength of Jacob and the virtue of Moses and that of the great Joshua; and I beseech you, O great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA to enclose in this rod all the power of Samson, the righteous rage of Emmanuel and the Thunderbolt of ZARIATNATMICK who will avenge man’s affronts on the day of Judgement.”

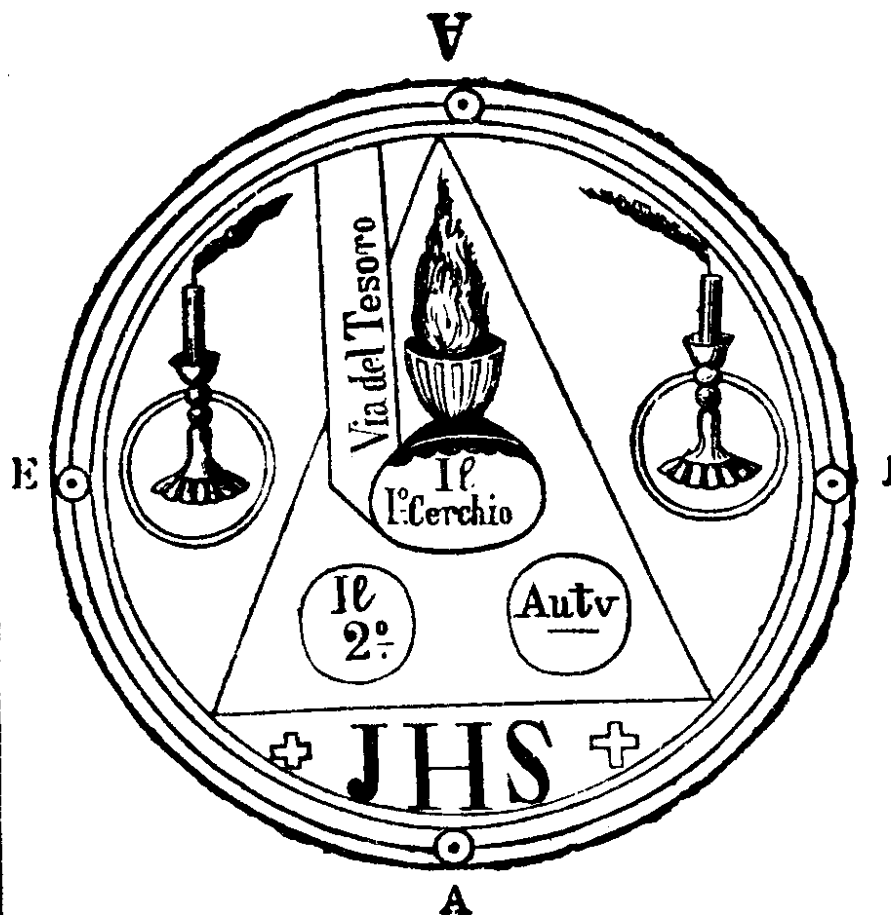
After having pronounced these great and terrible words, always keeping your eyes turned toward the rising sun, cut the branch and take it to your room,

then take a piece of wood that is of the same thickness as the two ends of the rod and take it to a Smith to cap the two ends of the fork with the steel blade that was used to skin the sacrifice, ensuring that the two blades are sharp and when they are fitted to the two pieces of wood, take them home, putting the two irons on the true rod yourself, then take a Lodestone, heat it in the fire to magnetize the points of the rod pronouncing the following words:

“By the power of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA, I beseech you to unite all of the materials that I desire by the power of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA I command you by the incorruptibility of water and fire, to separate all of the materials as they were separated the day of the creation of the world. Amen.”

Following this I assure you (in the honor of the great ADONAY) being certain that you possess the greatest Treasure of the Light. The following evening take your rod, the kid skin, the Bloodstone, the two garlands of vervain, then also, the two candleholders and two pounds of virgin wax that has been blessed; take also the lodestone and two smooth Flintstones to light the fire also half a bottle of Spirit of Water and a portion of blessed incense mixed with some Camfora and four nails that were used in the coffin of a child who has recently died. Then take yourself to the place where you have to do the Great Work, doing exactly the following, executing point-by-point the great KABBALISTIC CIRCLE in the manner indicated.

TRIANGOLO



DEI PATTI



Lucifuge Rofocale

Chapter IV

Containing the true method to make the great cabalistic circle.

Start by forming a circle with the kid skin that you will nail down with the four nails, then with the Bloodstone you will make a triangle inside of the circle, starting from the direction of the rising sun; make also with the Bloodstone the four letters that are written outside of the circle. So also the saintly name of Jesus in this manner: † JHS † between two crosses so that the spirits can't harm you from behind.

Following this, the Karcist (who is the operator) will let his Associates into the Triangle and he will also enter without letting himself become frightened by any noise that he could hear, putting the two candleholders with the two garlands of vervain to the right and to the left of the internal triangle. That done, light the two candles and put a new vase in front of you, that is, in front of the Karcist, filled with the ash of the Willow wood that you have burned earlier that same day.

The Karcist will light it and pouring in a part of the Spirit of Water and part of the incense and Camfor, and conserving the remaining part to maintain a continuous flame that will suffice for the entire operation.

Having done everything exactly as has been described here you will pronounce the following words.

"I present you, O great ADONAY, this incense as the most pure, at the same time I present you with these ashes which come from the lightest (or finest) wood. I offer you them, O great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA, with ll my heart and spirit. Condescend, O great ADONAY, to accept them. Amen."

Pay attention not to have any impure metal on your person but only some gold or silver coins folded in a piece of paper to throw at the spirit so that he cannot harm you when he presents himself to you before the circle and while he takes the coin you will begin the following prayer, arming yourself with courage, strength and prudence.

Be careful that only the Karcist, or Operator, speaks; the others must remain silent, even if the spirit interrogates or threatens them.

First Oration

"O great living God, the only and same person, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I adore you with the most profound respect and I submit myself

to your saintly and your custody with full faith. I sincerely believe that you are my creator, my benefactor and my support and master; I declare to you that I have no other wish but that of belonging to you for eternity. So it shall be. Amen.”

Second Oration

“O great living God, who created man to be happy in this life and who created everything for our needs, and who said that everything shall be dependent on man; be favorable and do not permit that the rebel spirits possess the treasures that were formed by your hands for earthly needs. Give me, O great God, the faculty to possess them by the powerful and terrible words of the Clavicle: ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL, JEHOVA, TAGLA, MATHON. Be favorable. So shall it be.”

Be careful to maintain your flame with the spirits of the wine, incense and canphora and then make the following offering.

“I offer you this incense as the purest that I could find, O great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA deign to accept it. O great ADONAY use your power to be favorable and enable me to succeed in this great undertaking. So it shall be. Amen.”

First Invocation to Emperor Lucifer

“Emperor Lucifer, prince and master of the rebel spirits, I implore you to abandon your dwelling, in whatever part of the world you should be, to come and speak to me. I command and entreat you by the authority of the great living God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, to come noiselessly and without giving off any offensive scents, to respond in a clear and intelligible voice, point by point, to all that I shall ask you, failing which, thou shalt be most surely compelled to obedience by the power of the divine ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL, JEHOVA, TAGLA, MATHON, and by the whole hierarchy of superior spirits, who shall constrain you against your will.

Second Invocation to Emperor Lucifer

“I command and entreat you Emperor Lucifer, by the authority of the great living God, by the power of EMMANUEL his Son, your only master and mine, and by virtue of his precious blood which he spilled to liberate man from his chains, I order you to abandon your dwelling in whatever part of the world you should be, swearing to you that I will not give you a moment of rest, but that you come to speak to me immediately with an intelligent voice or, if you cannot come in person, send me your messenger Astaroth in human guise noiselessly and without foul scents otherwise I will strike you and your entire kind with the blasting rod as far as the bottom of the abysses and it will be with the power of

these great words of the Clavicle, by ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL, JEHOVA, TAGLA, MATHON, ALMOZIN, ARIOS, PITHONIA, MAGOTS, SYLPHAE, TABOTS, SALAMANDRAE, GNOMUS, TERRAE, CELLIS, GODIUS, AQUA; immediately.”

Warning

Prior to reading of the third invocation, if the spirit doesn't appear, read the Clavicle as follows, and strike all of the spirits, putting the two ends of the fork of your rod in the fire. At this point do not be frightened by the horrible cries that you will hear because all of the spirits will appear. Before reading the Clavicle, while the noise continues, read again the third invocation.

Third Invocation to Emperor Lucifer

“I command you, Emperor Lucifer, by the great living God, his dear son and the Holy Ghost and by the power of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL AND JEHOVA, to appear now or send me your ASTAROTH. I command you to abandon your dwelling in whatever part of the world it should be, declaring to you that if you do not appear immediately, I will strike you and all of your cohorts again with the blasting rod of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL AND JEHOVA.”

If the spirit still has not appeared put the two ends of your rod in the fire and read the following words of Solomon's Clavicle.

Grand Invocation of the Great Kabbala

“I supplicate you, O Spirit! by the power of the grand ADONAY, to appear instanter, and by ELOHIM, by ARIEL, by JEHOVA, by AGLA, TAGLA, MATHON, OARIOS, ALMOAZIN, ARIOS, MEMBROT, VARIOS, PITHONA, MAJODS, SULPHAE, GABOTS, SALAMANDRAE, TABOTS, GINGUA, JANNA, ETITNAMUS, ZARIATNATMIX, etc.. A + E + A + J + A + T + M + O + A + A + M + V + P + M + S + C + S + J + C + G + A + J + F + Z + etc..”

After having twice repeated these great and powerful words you can be sure that the spirit will appear in the following manner.

The Apparation of the Spirit

“Here I am, what will you ask of me? Why do you torment my peace? Desist from striking me again with that terrible rod.”

-----Lucifuge Rofocale



Lucifuge Rofocale



Lucifuge Rofocale

Query to the Spirit

“Had you appeared when I called you, I would not have struck you: consider that if you do not confer upon me that which I ask, I will eternally torment you.”

-----Solomon

Response of the Spirit

“Do not bother or disturb me further. Tell me immediately what you want.”

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Query to the Spirit

“I command you to come and speak to me twice daily during the night, or to those who have the book which you will approve and sign. I will leave it to you to choose which times are most convenient to you, if you do not want to approve the following times hereby indicated, that is:

On Monday at nine o'clock and at midnight.

On Tuesday at ten o'clock and at one in the morning.

On Wednesday at eleven o'clock and at two in the morning.

On Thursday at eight and ten o'clock.

On Friday at seven in the evening and at midnight.

On Saturday at nine in the evening and at eleven at night.

Moreover, I command you to give me the nearest treasure and I promise you as reward the first piece of gold or silver which I touch with my hands on the first day of every month. Here is what I ask of you.”

-----Solomon

Response of the Spirit

“I cannot grant what which you ask of me, if not on this, nor on any others, unless you give yourself over to me in fifty years, to do with thy body and soul as I please.

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Query to the Spirit

"I am going to strike you and all of your cohorts by the power of the great ADONAY if you do not immediately grant to me that which I ask of you."

-----Solomon

Warning

Put the two ends of the blasting rod in the fire again; re-reading the great invocation of the Clavicle, until the spirit submits to your wishes."

Response and Covenant with the Spirit

"Do not strike me anymore! I promise to do everything that you want. Two hours at night-time every day of the week, that is:

On Monday at ten o'clock and at midnight.

On Tuesday at eleven o'clock and at one in the morning.

On Wednesday at midnight and at two in the morning.

On Thursday at eight and eleven o'clock.

On Friday at nine in the evening and at midnight.

On Saturday at ten o'clock in the evening and at one in the morning.

I also approve your book and I give my signature in parchment which I will attach to this book so that you can use it for your needs; I also submit myself to appear before you whenever I am called and when you open the book and are purified and have the terrible blasting rod and have prepared the great kabbalistic circle and Pronouncing the name Rofocale. I promise to appear and treat you, and those who have this book which will bear my signature, considerately and in a friendly manner as long as you shall call me to order as soon as have need of me. I shall also induce myself to give you the treasure for which you have asked, provided that you keep the secret forever; that you shall be charitable towards the poor and that you give me a gold or silver coin all the first days of every month. If you neglect to do this things you shall be mine forever."

-----Lucifuge Rofocale, Approved

The Signature:

Response to the Spirit

"I will adhere to your demand."

-----Solomon

✚ Centum Regum ✚

Conjuring Lucifer

LUCIFER, OUIA, KAMERON, ALISCOT, MANDESUMINI, POEMI, ORIEL, MAGREUSE, PARINOSCON, ESTIO, DUMOGON, DIVORCON, CASMIEL, HUGRAS, FABIEL, VONTON, ULI, SODIERNO, PETAN! Come LUCIFER. Amen.

The Promise of the Spirit

First Article

I, Lucifer, am the extremely powerful Emperor, supreme and independent, free and absolute ruler of the subterranean kingdom, despotic lord over all my jurisdiction. I, the formidable, terrible, most noble, rule everything in the most regular fashion, moving and governing the fortunes and misfortunes of my subjects with absolute power, wise and sagacious, endowed with the most sublime and luminous character, am the dominator of Europe and of all misfortunes in general.

Second Article

I promise and swear, in the name of the God of the living, obedience, promptitude, and submission to the owner of this book; signed and sworn, in the name of the undersigned and of my aforementioned subjects, and by the virtue of the oath and signature I swear to adhere to all that will please the owner of this book.

Third Article

Additionally, as for one of my own subjects that reading my summons from the first article may cause them to appear at once in the guise of a handsome young man with a pleasing appearance without making any uproar or noise or anything else that might cause my master to be offended or frightened, to respond truthfully and clearly, without duplicity, to his interrogations and to fulfill that which is commanded of me, with complete loyalty and sincerely, without spreading scents or any other magical invocations, actions or ceremonies but rather to appear instantaneously ready to execute your commands.

Fourth Article

Without in these occasions ever, ever, ever damaging the countryside or anything else that springs from the earth. I will accomplish my service and leave at once without causing any commotion.

Fifth Article

Additionally, I promise and swear to the aforesaid: servitude of all my subjects to the owner of this book without differentiation in rank, dignity or any other division but any time, in any weather, season, year, month, week, day, hour or quarter, that at the moment my invocation is read to provide any of my subjects to appear in the form of a handsome young man to the service of the owner of this book and not to leave unless I or my subjects given license with the simple formula, either from myself or from others.

Sixth Article

Moreover, I promise and swear my subjects in the name of God and of other mysterious dispositions will practice secrecy and invincible loyalty without ever failing to fulfill my oath and promises.

Seventh Article

Also I promise and swear on behalf of all my subjects to protect and defend the owner of this book from all misfortunes, dangers and other natural and accidental occurrences, and for whatever he might want when I am called to assist him with anything he might need, although it is not noted in this book.

Method of Dismissal

I leave you in peace and I will permit you to retire to wherever you please, to return immediately with my invocation. In the name of the Father, The Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Orders of the Spirit

“Follow me and you will come to identify the treasure.”

Then the Karcist, armed with the blasting rod and the Bloodstone, will leave the circle at that point where the door of mighty ADONAY is figured, towards the place where the treasure is located, and will follow the spirit; the others shall not move from there place in the circle and shall remain there without any fear, despite the noise that they will hear and any vision that they see.

The spirit will then take the Karcist to the entrance of the treasure and it might be that the Karcist will see something like a big dog with a collar that shines like the Sun that will block the entrance; this is the gnome that you will drive away from you by presenting the forked part of the rod, then he will walk towards the treasure. You will follow him and having arrived at the treasure, you will be surprised to see the person who originally hid it, who will want to throw himself over it however he will not be able to approach it. It is necessary to be armed with a sheet of virgin parchment on which you will have written the great conjuration of the Clavicle which you will throw over the treasure.

At the same time, take a coin as a token of gratitude, and throwing first one of yours that you have bitten and withdrawing backwards, that is, with your shoulders back, taking with you all of the coins that you can from the treasure. The rest can not disappear considering the precautions that have been taken. Be careful not to turn back despite any noise you might hear since at the time it will seem to you that all of the mountains of the world are falling on your head.

It is necessary to arm yourself with intrepidity and not to become frightened, but to remain resolute whilst the Spirit conducts you back to the entrance of the circle. The Karcist will begin to read the Returning of the spirit, as follows.

Entreating and Returning of the Spirit

O Prince Lucifer, I am satisfied with you at the present; I leave you in peace and I will permit you to retire to wherever you please, without making any noise or leaving bad odors; think of your promise, since if you fail for even a moment to fulfill your duties you can be certain that I will strike you eternally with the fulminating rod of the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA. Amen.

Rendering Thanks

O great God, you who have created all things for the service and utility of man, we render you humble thanks for all of your generosity which has overwhelmed tonight and for all your precious favors and for that which you have granted us, fulfilling all of our desires. At present, O great God, we have come to know the extent of the power of your great promises taken when you said "seek and you shall find", "knock and the door shall be opened", since you have recommended that we help the poor; we promise by the great ADONAY, ELOHIM, ARIEL and JEHOVA to be charitable and to spread over them the rays of the Sun of which these four powerful divinities have come to cover us. So it shall be. Amen.

✚ The Second Book ✚

Second Book containing the *Sanctum Regnum* of the Clavicle or the true manner of making pacts, with the names and powers and talents of all of the great superior Spirits and also the manner of making them appear by the power of the great invocations of the chapter of the pacts of the Clavicle that forces them to obey in whatever operation one wishes to execute.

Following other Magick Secrets

The true manner of making pacts with any spirit without them being able to do you any harm. The true *Sanctum Regnum* of the great Clavicle otherwise referred to as *Pacta Conventa Daemoniorum* which has already been talked about for a long while, is a necessary thing for the understanding of those who want to force the spirits and who do not have the capacity to prepare the blasting rod or the cabalistic circle that were discussed in the preceding book.

The individuals cannot arrive at their goal of forcing any spirit to appear if they don't do exactly that which I will hereby describe, concerning the manner of making pacts with any spirit, whether it is for gaining treasures or for the enjoyment of some earthly pleasure, or whatever favor one would desire or in order to discover the most hidden (well-kept) secrets of all of the courts and cabinets of the world; be it to reveal the most impenetrable thoughts to make or constrain a spirit to work at night-time at whatever task; to make it hail or storm wherever it pleases you and you see fit; to render yourself invisible; to have yourself transported to any part of the earth; to open all of the keyholes and see everything that occurs in the houses of others; so also to gain understanding of necromancy or to gain glory, to know all of the qualities and virtues of all the minerals, vegetables and all of the animals, pure and impure, and to do many very surprising things.

There is no man who does not become astonished at the discovery that in making a pact with a spirit one can unveil nature's greatest secrets that have remained hidden from the eyes of all men and by means of the great King Solomon's Clavicle the true manner of making pacts has been discovered and that he himself made use of it to acquire many riches and to enjoy many women and to know the most impenetrable secrets of nature which one can do any sort of good deed while avoiding any kind of evil.

Finally, at least we will begin by listing the names of the principle spirits along with their respective strengths and powers; following which we will explain the *pacta dæmoniorum*, which contains the manner of making pacts with any spirits, with the names of the three principle spirits.

The Names and Offices of the Spirits

Lucifer, Emperor
Belzebuth, Prince
Astaroth, Grand Duke

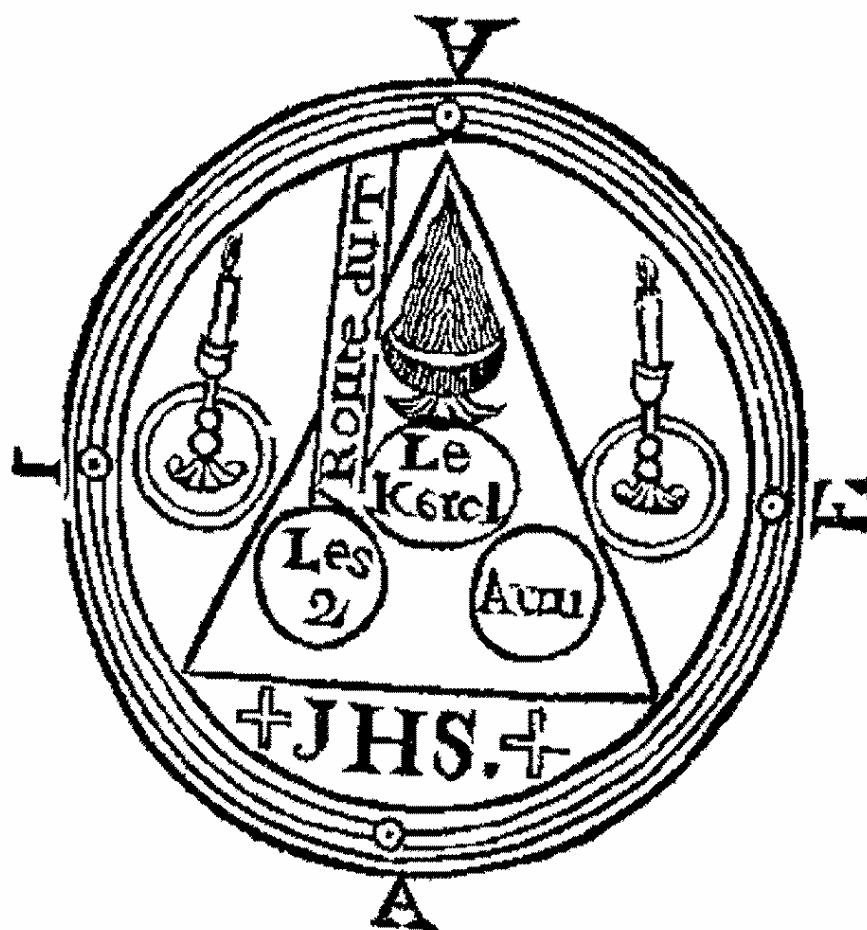
Then come the superior spirits who are beneath the three above-mentioned, that is:

Lucifuge, Prime Minister
Satanachia, Great General
Agliairept, General
Fleurèty, Lieutenant General
Sargatanas, Brigadier
Nebiros, Camp Marshal

The first seven superior spirits that I will name direct their power over all of the internal powers and have at their service 18 other spirits that are beneath them, that is:

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. Bael | 7. Buer | 13. Loray |
| 2. Agares | 8. Gusoyne | 14. Valefor |
| 3. Marbas | 9. Botis | 15. Farai |
| 4. Pruslas | 10. Bathim | 16. Ayperos |
| 5. Aamon | 11. Hursan | 17. Naberus |
| 6. Barbatos | 12. Eligor | 18. Glosialabolas |

TRIANGLE



DES PACTES.

	Lucifer	
	Belzebuth	
	Astaroth	
	Lucifuge	
	Satanachia	
	Agaliarept	
	Fleurety	
	Sargatanas	
	Nebiros	

After having indicated to you the above names of the 18 spirits who are inferior to the first six already mentioned, it is necessary to understand the following, that is:

Lucifuge commands the first three who are
called Bael, Agares and Marbas.
Satanachia over Pruslas, Aamon and Barbatos.
Aglia rept over Buer, Cusgyn and Betis.
Fleurèty over Bathim, Hursan and Eligor.
Sargatanas over Loray, Valefar and Farai.
Nebiros over Ayperos, Naberus and Glosialabolas.

Although there are millions of spirits that are all inferior to those above, it would be useless to describe them because they are employed by the superior ones. To work in their place all of these inferior spirits are employed as if they were workers of slaves.

Now then, in making a pact with one of the first principle spirits, of which you will have need, it won't matter which spirit serves you, nonetheless always ask for the one with which you have made the pact, whether it is one of the three principle ones, or one of their subjects which serve you.

Now you come to know the power, science, art and talents at all of the subject spirits, so that he who you would like to make a pact can find in each one of the six superior spirits the power that he will need.

The first is the great Lucifuge Rofocale, the infernal Prime Minister who possesses the power that Lucifer gave him over all worldly riches and treasures. He has beneath him Bael, Agares and Marbas along with thousands of other demons or spirits who are his subordinates.

The second is the great Satanacha, the Great General who has the power to make all young or old. Women submit to him; he commands a strong legion of spirits and has beneath him Pruslas, Aamon and Barbatos.

Agaliarept, General, has the power to uncover the most well-hidden secrets of all of the courts and cabinets of the world and reveals the greatest mysteries; he commands the second legion of spirits and has Guer, Gusoyne and Boris etc.. under his command.

Fleurèty, Lieutenant General, has the power has the power to do whatever thing one could want at night-time. He makes hail fall wherever he deigns and commands a considerably body of spirits and has Bathim, Hursan and Eligor etc.. beneath him.

Sargatanas, Brigadier, has the power to render one invisible and to transport you anywhere, to open all of the keyholes and to let you see what is going on in other houses and to teach you Necromancy. He commands other brigades of spirits and has beneath him Loray, Valefar and Farai, etc..

Naberus, Field Marshal, or Inspector General, has the power to do evil to whomever he pleases and enables one to find the Hand of Glory and teaches the qualities of minerals, vegetables and of all of the animals, pure and impure, possesses the art of foretelling the future, being one of the best Necromancers of all of the Infernal Spirits. He can go anywhere and inspects all of the Infernal Militias and has beneath him Ayperos, Naberus and Glosialobolas, etc..

Warning

When you want to make your pact with one of the principal spirits that I have named, begin the day before the eve of the pact cutting a branch of wild hazel that has never bloomed with a new blade that has never been used, in the same manner that I have described in the first book, precisely at the moment that the sun appears on the horizon.

Then procure a Bloodstone and two candles that have been blessed and choose a place that nobody can disturb you for the operation.

You can make a pact in a room that is far from turmoil or in some hamlet of an old, ruined castle so that the spirit has the power to transport the treasure where he pleases.

Having returned to the opportune place, draw a triangle with the Bloodstone and you only need to do this operation the first time the pact is made.

Then put the two blessed candles on the sides of the triangle, as is described in the triangle of the pacts, making the saintly name of Jesus behind, so that the spirits can not do you any harm.

Following this, go to the center of the triangle with the mysterious rod and the great invocation of the spirit, the Clavicle, the petition, the pact that you in mind to make with the spirit, and the sending back of the spirit as will hereby be explained. If what has been explained up to this point is executed with exactitude then start to recite the following invocation with hope and steadfast firmness.

Great Invocation to Summon the Spirit with whom one wishes to the pact excerpted from The Great Clavicle

“Emperor LUCIFER, master of all the rebel spirits, I ask you to be favorable in my summons of your Great Minister LUCIFUGE ROFOCALE, since I wish to make a pact with him. I also request that you, Prince BELZEBUTH, protect me in my undertaking; O Come ASTAROTH BE propitious and ensure that the great LUCIFUGE appears to me tonight in human guise and without

emitting foul odors and he grant me as per the pact that I will present to him, all of the riches which I require. O great LUCIFUGE, I request that you abandon your dwelling, in whatever part of the world it should be, to come and speak with me. Otherwise, I will force you by the power of the great living God and his dear Son and the Holy Spirit: obey now, or I will eternally torment you by the authority of the powerful words of Solomon's great Clavicle of which he made use to oblige the rebel Spirits to receive his pact; therefore, appear as quickly as possible or I will continually torment you by the authority of the powerful words of the Clavicle:

Aglon, Tetragram, vaycheon stimulamaton ezphares Tetragrammaton, olyaram irion esytion existion eryona onera orasim mozm messias soter Emanuel Sabaoth ADONAY, te adoro et te invoco. Amen."

You can be certain that before having finished reading the above-mentioned powerful words the spirit will appear and will tell you the following.

Apparition of the Spirit

"Here I am. What would you ask of me? Why do you torment my rest? Answer me!"

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Request to the Spirit

"I may ask you to make a pact with me so that you make me rich as soon as possible, otherwise I will torment you by the powerful words of the Clavicle.

-----Karcist

Response of the Spirit

I can not grant your request except on the condition that you give yourself to me for the next 20 years so that I can use your body and soul as I see fit.

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Then you will throw him your pact, which must be in your handwritting on a sheet of virgin parchment, which will consist of these few words, with your signature written in your blood. Here is the pact:

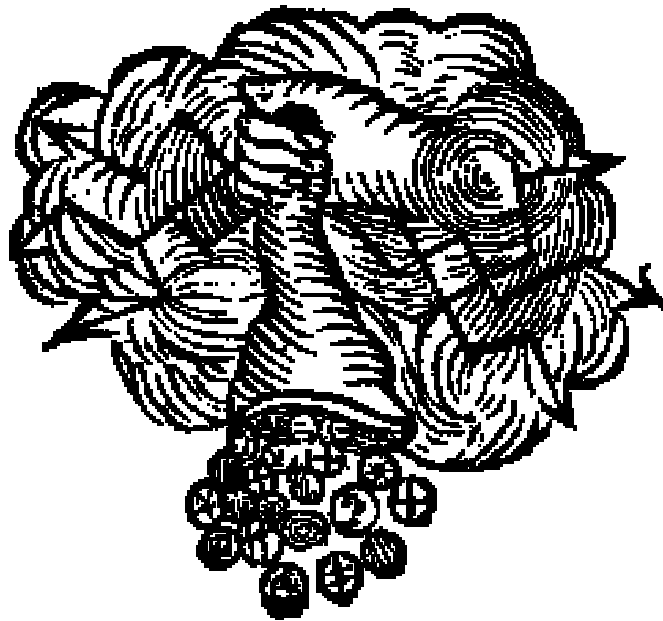
"I promise to repay the great Lucifuge in 20 years for all of the treasures that he will give me. On my honor I sign this in good faith."

-----Signature in blood

Response of the Spirit

"I can not grant your request."

-----Lucifuge Rofocale





**Seguimi e prendi il tesoro che vado
a mostrarti**

"Follow me and take the treasure I will show you"

Second Appearance of the Spirit

Then, in order to force the spirit to obey you, re-read the great Invocation of the terrible words of the Clavicle, until the spirit appears and tells you the following:

“Why do you torment me more and more? If you leave me in peace, I will give you the nearest treasure on the condition that you consecrate a coin to me all of the Mondays of every month and that you will call me one day every week, from ten o’clock in the evening until 2 two in the morning. Take your pact which I have signed; and if you do not maintain your word you will be mine in 20 years.”

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Response to the Spirit

“I adhere to your demands, on the condition that you enable me to have the nearest treasure and that I can take it with me right away.”

-----Karcist

Response of the Spirit

“Follow me and take the treasure that I am going to show you.”

-----Lucifuge Rofocale

Then follow the spirit on the path to the treasure that will be indicated (at the triangle) without taking fright and throw the signed pact over the treasure and touching it with the rod take as much of it as you can. Then return inside the triangle, making certain to walk backwards, where you will deposit your treasure in front of yourself, dismissing the spirit as follows:

The Conjuring and Dismissal of the Spirit with whom the pact is made

“O great LUCIFUGE, I am satisfied with you at present; I will leave you to peace and permit you to retire to wherever you wish without making any noise or leaving any bad odors. Think then, about your duty regarding my pact; since, if the one instant you shirk your obligation, you can be sure that I will torment you eternally with the great and powerful words of the great Clavicle of the great King Solomon with which he forced all of the rebel spirits to obey him.”

Prayer to the Omnipotent in Thanksgiving

“Omnipotent God, heavenly father, who created all things for the service and use of man, I humbly thank you, that in your great goodness and that you have permitted that I could make a pact with a spirit that is a rebel of your authority and subdue it to obey me in fulfilling all of my needs. I thank you, O omnipotent God, for the good that you have done me tonight to have shown myself to be worthy to have granted to me, miserable creature, your precious favors and to present, great God, now that I have come to know the force and power of your great promises, when you said: “seek and you shall find”, “knock and the door shall be opened” as you have recommended to raise the poor, condescend O great God to inspire me to true sentiment of charity so that I can spread with this Great Work a great portion of the possessions your great divinity permitted that I could receive. Let it be, O great God, that I can enjoy these great riches that I possess, with tranquillity and do not permit any rebel spirit to harm my enjoyment of these precious treasures over which you permit me to own. Inspire in me, O great God, the necessary sentiment to unbind me from the grips of the devil and all malefficient spirits. I trust, O great God, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and in your saintly protection. Amen.”

Oration to Protect Oneself from Evil Spirits

“O omnipotent Father, O Mother, the most tender of all mothers, O admirable example of the sentiments, O Son, O flower of all sons, soul, spirit, harmony and number of all orders, preserve us, protect us, guide us and be propitious. Amen.”

CITATIO PRAEDICTORUM SPIRITUM

§ I.

Ubi quem volueris spiritum, hujus nomen et officium supra cognosces: imprimis autem ab omni pollutione minimum tres vel quatuor dies mundus esto in prima citatione, sic et spiritus postea obsequentiores erunt; fac et circulum, et voca spiritum, cum multa intentione primum vere anulum in manu contineatur: inde banc resitata benedictionem tuo nomine e socii, si praesto fuerit et effectum tui instituti sortieris, nec detrimentum e spiritibus senties imo tuae animae perditionem.

§ II.

In nomine domini nostri Jesus Christi, patris et filii et spiritus sancti: sancta Trinitas et inseparabilis unitas te invoco, ut sis mihi salus et defensio et protectio corporis et animae meae et omnium rerum mearum. Per virtutem sanctae crucis et per virtutem passionis tuae deprecor te Domine Jesus Christi, per merita

beatissimae Mariae Virgini et matris tuae atque ominis sanctorum tuorum, ut mihi concedas gratiam et potestatem divinam super omnes malignos spiritus, ut quoscumque nominibus invocavero, statim ex omni parte conveniant, et voluntatem meam perfecte adimpleant quod mihi nihil nocentes, neque timorem inferentes, sed potens obedientes et ministrantes, tua distincte virtute praecipiente, mandata mea perficiant. Amen.

Sanctus, sanctus, dominus Deus sabaot, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos: tu qui es primus et novissimus, rex regum et dominum dominantium Joth, Agladabrach, Elabiel, anarchi enatiel amaz in sedomel gayes tol ma elias ischiro atgadatas mas heli messias per hac tua sancta nomina, et per omnia alia invocare et obsecro te Domine Jesu Christe, per quam nativitatem per baptismum tuum, per passionem et crucem tuam, per ascensionem tuam per adventum Spiritus Sancti paraclite per amaritudinae anime tuae quando exivi de corpore tuo per quinque vulnera tua, per sanguinem et aquam quae exierant de corpore tuo, per virtutem tuam, per sacramentum quod dedisti discipulis tuis pridie quam passus fuisti per sanctam Trinitatem, per individuum unitatem, per beatam Mariam, matrem tuam, per Angelos, et arcangelos, per prophetas et patriarchas, et per omnes sanctos tuos et per omnia sacramenta quae fiant in honore tuo; adoro et te obsecro, te benedicto tibi, et rogo ut acceptes orationes has et conjurationes et verba oris mei; quibus uti volucro peto Domine Jesu Christe: da mihi virtutem et potestatem tuam super omnes angelos tuos, qui de coelo ejectioni sunt ad decipiendum genus humanum; ad attrahendum eos, ad constringendum, ad ligandum eos pariter et solvendum; et ad congregandum eos coram me; quae possunt, faciant et verba mea vocem quae meam nullo modo contemnant, sed mihi et dictis meis obediant, et me teneant per humanitatem et misericordiam et gratiam tuam deprecor et peto et ADONAY amay hora videgora mitay hel suranay syota y fiesy, et per omnia nomina tua sancta per omnes sanctos et sanctos tuos, per angelos et archangelos, potestates, dominationes et virtutes, et per illud nomen per quod Salomo costringebat daemones et conclusit ipso. Eth rocebant hangle goth joih athio venoh aubru et per omnium tua nomina quae scripta sunt in hoc librum et per virtutem sorundem, quatenus me potentem faciat congregare contringere omnes tuos spiritus de coelo depulsos ut mihi veraciter de omnibus meis interrogatis de quibus quaram responsionem veracem tribuant et omnibus meis mandatis illi satis faciant sine laesione corporis et animae meae, et omnibus ad me pertinentium, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia saecula.

§ III.

O pater omnipotens!, o filii sapiens, o spiritus sancte corda hominum illustrans! vos tres in personis una vero deitas in substantia qui Adam et Evae in peccatis eorum perpercistis et propter eorum peccata mortem subieci tu filii turpissima in lignoque sancte crucis sustinuisti. O misericordissime quando ad tuam confugio misericordiam, et supplico modis omnibus quibus possum per haec nomina

sancta tui filii scilicet A et a et per omnia alia sua nomina, quatenus concedas mihi virtutem et potestatem tuam, ut valeam tuos spiritus qui de coelo eieci sunt, ante me citare, et ut ipsi mecum loquantur, et mandata mea perficiant statim et fine mora cum eorum voluntate, sine omni laesione corporis animae et honorum meorum. Amen.

§ IV.

O summa et eterna virtus altissimi! que te disponente his iudicio vocatis *vaycheon stimulamaton esphares tetagrammaton ilioram rion esytio existioneriona onera brasym moyne messias sodxer, EMMANUEL, SABAOth, ADONAY*, te adoro, te invoco, totius mentis viribus meis, imploro, quatenus per te praesentes orationes et consecrationes consequantur videlicet, et ubicumque maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum dominum sunt vocati, et voluntatem mei exorcisatores diligenter adimpleant fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.

The Magick Secret; or The Art of Speaking with the Dead

For this operation it is necessary to attend midnight mass at Christmas and at midnight precisely to have a conversation with the inhabitants of the other world and at the moment that the Priest lifts the Host, bow down and with a frank and severe voice say "*Esurgens mortuus et ad me veni.*" As soon as you have pronounced these six words it is necessary to go to the cemetery and at the first tomb that meets your eye offer this prayer:

"Infernal powers, you who bring the turbid in the universe, abandon your obscure dwelling and retire to the other side of the River Styx."

Then remain there for a moment of silence. "If you have your power, he or she that interests me, I supplicate you in the name of the King of Kings to make him appear before me at the hour and moment that I will indicate to you."

After this ceremony, which is indispensable to carry out, take a fistful of earth and spread it as one sows grain in a field, saying in a low voice: "He who is in dust awake from his tomb and leave his ashes and answer the questions that I pose him in the name of the Father of all men."

Then bend a knee to the ground, turning your eyes to the East and when you see that the doors of the Sun are going to open, arm yourself with the two bones of the dead man that you will put in a cross of Saint Andrew. Then throw them at the first temple or church that offers itself to your eyes.

Having well-executed the aforesaid, set out in a western direction and when you have taken 5,900 steps, lay yourself down to sleep on the ground in an

elongated position, holding the palms of your hand against your thighs, and your eyes to the sky towards the Moon and in this position, call he or she whom you wish to see, when you see the specter appear, solicit their presence with the following words "*Ego sum te peto, et videre queo.*"

After these words, your eyes will be satisfied to see the object that dearest to you and give you the most pleasurable delight.

When you have obtained from the shadow which you have Invoked, that which you believe to be to your satisfaction, send it away in this manner: "Return to the kingdom of the elect, I am content with you and your presence."

Then picking yourself up, return to the same tomb where you made the first prayer above which you need to make a cross with the end of your blade which you will be holding in your left hand.

The reader should not neglect any of the prescribed ceremonies otherwise he could incur some risk.

Secrets of the Magick Art

Observe that these secrets can not be employed by those who have not done all that is described in Chapters II, III and IV of the first book of this volume.

The Composition of Death, or Philosopher's Stone

Take a new earthen pot, put in it a pound of red copper with half a bottle of Nitric Acid. Boil it for half an hour. Afterwards add three ounces of verdegriis (Copper Carbonate), and boil for one hour. Then add two and a half ounces of arsenic, and boil one hour. Add three ounces of oak bark, well pulverized, and let it boil a half hour, add a 64 fluid ounces of rose water boil twelve minutes, then add three ounces of lampblack, and let it boil until the composition is good. To see whether it is cooked enough, dip a nail in it; if it adheres, remove it. It will produce a pound and a half of good gold. If it does not adhere, it is proof that it has not cooked enough; the liquor can serve four times.

To make the divining rod and make it work

At the moment the sun appears on the horizon, take your left hand a virgin branch from the wild hazel tree, and cut it in three strokes while saying: I collect you in the name of ELOHIM, MITRATHON, ADONAY and SEMIPHORAS, so that you have the virtue of the rod of Moses and Jacob, to discover all that I will want to know. To make it work, hold it tightly in your hands by the two ends which

make the fork, and say: I command you in the name of ELOHIM, MITRATHON, ADONAY and SEMIPHORAS to reveal to me, etc.

To Enchant Firearms

Say: "God has a share in it and the devil has the exit", and when you fire, say the following while crossing your left leg over your right: *'non tradas Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Mathon. Amen.'*

To win any time one plays the lottery

Lying down, recite three times the following prayer, after what to you will put it under your pillow, written on virgin parchment, on which you will have a mass of the Holy Spirit said, and during sleep the genius of your planet will come and tell you the hour that you must get your ticket.

"Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti ego sum via, veritas et vita, ecce enim veritatem dilexisti, incerta et occulta sapientiæ tuæ manifestasti mihi, adhuc quæ reveles in hac nocte sicut ita revelatum fuit parvulis solis, incognita et ventura unaque alia me doceas, ut possim omnia cognoscere, si et si sit; ita monstra mihi montem ornatum omni nivo bono, pulchrum et gratum pomarium, aut quandam rem gratam, sin autem ministra mihi ignem ardentem, vel aquarum currentem vel aliam quamcumque rem quæ Domino placeat, et vel Angeli ARIEL, Rubiel et Barachiel sitis mihi multum amatores et factores ad opus istud obtinendum quod cupio scire, videre cognoscere et prævidere per illum Deum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem. Amen."

Say three "Our Father" 's and three "Hail Mary" 's for the souls left in purgatory.

To speak with the Spirits on the Eve of St. John the Baptist

From eleven at night until Midnight go stand by a fern, and say: "I ask of God that the spirits with which I wish to speak will appear at precisely midnight"; and at three-quarters repeat nine times these five words: Bar, Kirabar, Alli, Alla Tetragrammaton.

To be Insensible to Torture

Write these lines on a small piece of paper, which you will then swallow.

*Dismas et gestas damnatur potestas.
Disma et gestas damnatur.
Ad astra levatur.*

When you will have to be tortured say: "This rope is so soothing to the my limbs, like the Holy Virgin's milk to Our Lord."

To Compel one dance completely naked

On Eve of St. John the Baptist, gather at midnight, three walnut leaves, three sweet marjoram plants, three myrtle plants, and three vervain plants. Dry it all in the shade, and make it into a powder. When you want to make use of the powder, Throw some like a small pinch of tobacco into the air of the room where there are the people whom you wish to enjoy.

To make oneself invisible

Take a black cat, and a new pot, a mirror, a lighter, coal and tinder. Gather water from a fountain at the strike of midnight.

After you light your fire, and put the cat in the pot. Hold the cover with your left hand without moving nor looking behind you, no matter what noises you may hear.

After having made it boil 24 hours, put the boiled cat on a new dish. Take the meat and throw it over your left shoulder, saying these words: "*accipe quod tibi do, et nihil ampliùs.*".

Then put the bones one by one under the teeth on the left side, while looking at yourself in the mirror; and if they are do not work, throw them away, repeating the same words each time until you find the right bone; and as soon you cannot see yourself any more in the mirror, withdraw, moving backwards, while saying: "*Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.*" This is bone you must keep.

To Render Oneself Favorable to Judges

Upon seeing the Judge, say these words: "Phalay, Phalay, Phalay; preside in my favor, let your power shine. Make me satisfied."

To be Impervious to White Arms

With the head of a needle, write these words on your arm: *Ales* ✚ *Dales* ✚ *Tolas* ✚. Then put the needle in the middle cross, from which no blood will flow.

To make the garter of twenty miles per hour

Buy a young wolf under one year old, and cut its throat with a new knife, in the hour of Mars, pronouncing these words: *Adhumatis cados ambulavit in fortitudine cibi ilius*; then cut his skin into broad garters of an inch, and write there upon the same words that you said while slaughtering it. Write the first letter with your blood, the second with that of the wolf, and continue in the same way until the end of the sentence.

After it is written and dries, it is necessary to cover it by wrapping the garter in white cloth, and to attach two purple ribbons to the two ends, so to tie the garters to the knee braces; Make sure that no woman or girl sees the garters; also remove the garters before crossing a river, Less it loses it's power.

Formula for a plaster to travel ten miles per hour

Take two ounces of human fat, one ounce of oil of stag, one ounce of oil of bay-tree, one ounce of fat of stag, one ounce of natural mummy, a half-cup of spirit of wine, and seven vervain leaves. Boil the whole in a new pot, until half-reduction, then form a plaster of it on a fresh wolf skin. When you wear it on the spleen, you go like the wind.

To not fall when you are done, take three drops of blood in a glass of white wine and soak your feet in the wine.

Composition of the ink for writing pacts

The pacts should not be written with ordinary ink. It must be changed each time that there is occasion to write a pact, that is to say, whenever the appellation of a spirit is made. Place river-water in a new, water-proof earthenware pot, together with the powder described below. Take sprigs of fern gathered on the Eve of St. John and vine twigs cut in the full moon of March. Kindle this wood by means of virgin paper, and when the water boils the ink will be made. It must be changed each time that there is occasion to write, that is to say, whensoever the appellation of a spirit is undertaken.

10 oz. Of Gall nuts, 3 oz. Of Roman Vitriol or Green Copperas, 3 oz. Of Rock Alum or dried Gum Arabic. Make a fine powder, and when you would compose the ink, use as described above.

Solomon's Mirror

How to Make Solomon's Mirror

✚ in nomine domini. amen. ✚

The manner upon which the Cabbalist Scholars relied to make the Mirror of Solomon, David's son, who had the gift of wisdom and the occult science; this mirror is made in forty-eight days, starting from the New Moon until the following Full one. You will see (in this mirror) all of the hidden things that you desire in the name of our Lord.

First, abstain from any carnal action or thought for the entire aforementioned time and meanwhile do many pious and compassionate deeds.

Take a shiny and well cleaned plate of steel and write in the four corners these precise words in the blood of a White Dove: JEHOVA, ELOHIM, MITRATHON, ADONAY. Then put the steel plate in a piece of new white cloth and when you observe the New Moon one hour after the sun has set go to the window and gazing at the sky and the moon say with devotion: *“O rex eternæ Deus! Creator ineffabilis, qui cuncta as hominis sanitatem meagratio, et occulto judicio creasti respice me (N.N.), indignissimum servum tuum, et ad intentionem meam, et mittere mihi dignare angelum Anael, in speculum istud, qui mandet, et inspiret et jubeat cum sociis suis, et subditis nostris ut in nomine tuo qui fuisti, es et eris potens, et jus, jud, judicent mihi quecumque ab illis exposcam.”*

Take some ashes made from Laurel wood and add some perfume into it in three shots saying: *“In hoc, per hoc, et cum hoc, quod effundo ante conspectum tuum, Deus meus, trinus et unus benedictus et per excelsus qui vides super Cherubin et Seraphin et venturus est judicare seculum per ignem.”*

Recite this prayer three times, blow on the mirror and then call out this invocation: *“Veni Anael, et tibi complaceat esse per socios tuos mecum, in nomine patris potentissimi, in nomine filio sapientissimo, in nomine spiritus amabilissimi. Veni Anael, in nomini terribilis JEHOVA; veni Anael in virtute immortalis Eliom; veni Anael in brachio omnipotentis Mitraton; veni Anael in potentia sacratissimi ADONAY; veni ad me (N.N.) in ispeculo isto, et jubeat subditis tuis ut cum amore gaudio et pace ostendat mihi occulta in oculis meis. Amen.”*

This said, raise your eyes to the sky and say: *“Domini Deus omnipotens, cujus nutu omnia moventur, exaudi deprecationem meum et desiderium meum tibi complaceat, respice domini speculum istud, et benedice illi ut Anael, unus ex subditis fuisse sistat in illo cum sociis et satisfaciat mihi famulo tuo (N.N.), cui vivis et regnas benedictus et excelsus, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.”*

After the aforementioned prayer, cross yourself and the mirror, and this you will do everyday for as long as it takes to make the mirror. In the end, the angel Anael will appear in the guise of a most handsome young man will greet you and command his companions to obey you. Be aware that 48 days are not always necessary to obtain what you intend; often he appears after 14 days, that depends on the intention and devotion of the Operator.

So when the spirit appears to you, as him everything that you wish and request that he appear to you whenever you call him to satisfy your requests. Then you will see everything you wish to see without reciting the preceding oration; but having anointed him with scent (the scent of Anael is Saffron) say the following:

Oration

“Veni Anael, veni tibi complaceat esse per socios tuos mecum, in nomini mecum, in nomini Patris potentissimi, in nomini Filii sapientissimi, in nomine Spiritus Sancti amabilissimi; veni Anael, in virtutis immortalis ELOHIM; veni Anael, in brachio omnipotentis Mitraton; veni Anael, in potentia sacratissimi ADONAY; veni ad me (N.N.) in speculo isto, et jubeas subditis tuis, ut cum amore, gaudio et pace ostendam mihi occulta in oculis meis. Amen, Amen.”

After you have recited this oration he will appear to you and satisfy all of your desires.

Method of taking Leave of the angel Anael

“Gratias tibi ago Anael quod venisti, et petitioni meæ satisfacisti, ibi in pace et placeat tibi redire quando to vocavero.”

Cross yourself and the mirror.

Table of Auspicious and Inauspicious Days

<u>Auspicious Days</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Inauspicious Days</u>
3, 10, 27 and 31	January	13 and 23
7, 8 and 18	February	2,10,17 and 22
3, 9, 12, 14 and 16	March	13, 19, 23 and 28
5 and 17	April	18, 20, 29 and 30
1, 2, 4, 6, 9 and 14	May	10, 17 and 20
3, 5, 7, 9, 12 and 23	June	4 and 20
2, 6, 10, 23 and 30	July	5, 13 and 27
5, 7, 10, 14 and 29	August	2, 13, 27 and 31
6, 10, 13, 18 and 30	September	13, 16, 18 and 19
13, 16, 25 and 31	October	3, 9 and 27
1, 13, 23 and 30	November	6 and 25
10, 20 and 29	December	15, 26 and 31

Observation

Many wise men believe this table was dictated to Abraham by an angel and that it determined his actions: he neither sowed nor transplanted except on

auspicious days and for this reason everything went marvelously for him. If your ploughmen did likewise their yield would certainly increase.

The Secret of the Black Hen

The famous secret of the Black Hen, a secret without which one can not count on the success of any cabala, was lost for a long time: after much investigation we have succeeded in finding it and the tests which we have carried out, to assure ourselves that it was positively that which we sought, exactly matched our expectations. Therefore we are completely satisfied. It is to share our happiness with all those who have the courage to imitate us that we have transcribed it.

Take a Black Hen that has never been laid eggs and that has never been approached by a rooster and in taking her make certain that she does not cry out so that you will have to do this at eleven at night, when she is sleeping. Take her neck and close her throat so that she can not scream.

Then go where two streets form a cross and at midnight precisely make a circle with a Cyprus branch, go into the middle of the circle and cut the hen's body into two parts uttering the following words three times: ELOHIM, ESSAIM, search and then turn your gaze toward the East, kneel and recite the prayer:

Prayer to the Omnipotent in Thanksgiving

"Omnipotent God, heavenly father, who created all things for the service and use of man, I humbly thank you, that in your great goodness and that you have permitted that I could make a pact with a spirit that is a rebel of your authority and subdue it to obey me in fulfilling all of my needs. I thank you, O omnipotent God, for the good that you have done me tonight to have shown myself to be worthy to have granted to me, miserable creature, your precious favors and to present, great God, now that I have come to know the force and power of your great promises, when you said: "seek and you shall find", "knock and the door shall be opened" as you have recommended to raise the poor, condescend O great God to inspire me to true sentiment of charity so that I can spread with this Great Work a great portion of the possessions your great divinity permitted that I could receive. Let it be, O great God, that I can enjoy these great riches that I possess, with tranquillity and do not permit any rebel spirit to harm my enjoyment of these precious treasures over which you permit me to own. Inspire in me, O great God, the necessary sentiment to unbind me from the grips of the devil and all malefficient spirits. I trust, O great God, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and in your saintly protection. Amen."

Oration to Protect Oneself from Evil Spirits

“O omnipotent Father, O Mother, the most tender of all mothers, O admirable example of the sentiments, O Son, O flower of all sons, soul, spirit, harmony and number of all orders, preserve us, protect us, guide us and be propitious. Amen.”

Great Invocation to Summon the Spirit with whom one wishes to the pact excerpted from The Great Clavicle

“Emperor LUCIFER, master of all the rebel spirits, I ask you to be favorable in my summons of your Great Minister LUCIFUGE ROFOCALE, since I wish to make a pact with him. I also request that you, Prince BELZEBUTH, protect me in my undertaking; O Come ASTAROTH BE propitious and ensure that the great LUCIFUGE appears to me tonight in human guise and without emitting foul odors and he grant me as per the pact that I will present to him, all of the riches which I require. O great LUCIFUGE, I request that you abandon your dwelling, in whatever part of the world it should be, to come and speak with me. Otherwise, I will force you by the power of the great living God and his dear Son and the Holy Spirit: obey now, or I will eternally torment you by the authority of the powerful words of Solomon’s great Clavicle of which he made use to oblige the rebel Spirits to receive his pact; therefore, appear as quickly as possible or I will continually torment you by the authority of the powerful words of the Clavicle:

Aglon, Tetragram, vaycheon stimulamaton ezphares Tetragrammaton, olyaram irion esytion existion eryona onera orasim mozm messias soter Emanuel Sabaoth ADONAY, te adoro et te invoco. Amen.”

At that moment the foul spirit will appear, dressed in a scarlet outfit with braids, a yellow shirt, green pants, his head resembles that of a dog, but he has the ears of an ass, with two horns, legs and feet like a heifer. He will ask you your demands; you give them as you think best since he will not be able to disobey you and he can make you one of the richest and therefore happiest of men.

Before you do what has been explained you need to make vyour devotions. Say your prayers and be above reproach; this is so essential that in doing the opposite you could end up at the spirits command, instead of him being at yours.

Other Magick Secrets

To prevent a woman from conceiving

To prevent a woman, with whom you are having relations, from having children, take a sponge the size of a nutmeg, and soak it with pure milk mixed with a little fine oil. Put it in her left hand and walk away from her and every time you do this you will be sure to gave good results.

To find out whether a Woman can have Children

Take the fat of a dear, melt it in hot water; the woman should drink it on an empty stomach and afterwards take a hot bath. If this gives her pain in her stomach, then she will have children, otherwise not.

To make Three young Ladies, or rather three Spirits come into your room after Dinner

Preparation

Eat neither meat nor fatty foods for three days; on the fourth day clean your room as soon as you have arisen from bed, fast for the entire day and ensure that no one enters the room all day and that there is nothing hung on the walls, neither clothes, nor hats, nor bird cages, nor curtains on the windows or on the bed and above all, put freshly washed white linens on the bed.

Ceremony

After dinner, go secretly to the room that you have prepared, light a good fire, put a clean white cloth on the table and three chairs around the table and three loaves of bread and three glasses of clear, fresh water at each place. Then put a recliner or chair beside your bed and get into bed.

Upon entering the room the three persons will seat themselves beside the fire and taking refreshment and thank he or she who has received them, since, if he is a man who makes the ceremony three ladies will come, and if it is a woman, three men will come. The three spirits will choose by lots among themselves to determine who will remain seated in the chair beside your bed to converse with you until midnight.

At midnight she will leave with her companions without you having to ask her to leave, as for the other two, they will remain by the fire while the other converses with you beside your bed and you will to ask her about any art or science that you desire and she will immediately answer your questions, you can ask her the location of the nearest hidden treasure and she will reveal to you the most opportune time and place to recover it. She will also be there accompanied by her two companions to protect you from any infernal spirit who could be in

possession of the treasure. When she leaves, she will give you a ring which will make you lucky in any game when you wear it and if you place it on a young maid's finger you can make her your wife.

Note: Leave the window open so that they may enter and you can repeat this operation and make them come as many times as you wish. You should repeat the following prayer after each conjuration:

O summa et eterna virtus altissimi! que te disponente his iudicio vocatis
vaycheon stimulamaton esphares tetagrammaton ilioram rion esytio
existioneriona onera brasym moyne messias sodxer, EMMANUEL, SABAOth,
ADONAY, te adoro, te invoco, totius mentis viribus meis, imploro, quatenus per te
praesentes orationes et consecrationes consequentur videlicet, et ubicumque
maligni spiritus in virtute tuorum dominum sunt vocati, et voluntatem mei
exorcisatores diligenter adimpleant fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.

To be Lucky in every Enterprise

Take a green frog, cut off its head and his four feet. Then on a Friday with a full Moon put them in an elder tree and keep them there for twenty-one days, removing them on the twenty-first day precisely at midnight.

Then expose the parts of the frog to the light of the Moon for three nights. Afterwards, dry the frog parts in a new earthenware pot that has never been used. Take the dried frog parts, and grind to a powder. Mix the powder in equal measure with earth taken from a cemetery, if possible from the grave of someone in your family.

Carry the powder mixture with you, it will help you succeed in any undertaking.

To make a Woman disclose her secrets

Take the heart of a pigeon and the head of a frog. Dry them as above, and reduce them to fine powder. Put the powder into a little purse, and add moss for fragrance.

Put the purse under the woman's ear while she is sleeping, fifteen minutes later, she will unveil all of her secrets. Make certain to remove the purse a few minutes after she has stopped speaking otherwise she could fall into delirium.

To see and do the Supernatural

Put a gold studded plate under your tongue, it should be half the size of your thumb. Under your feet put the border of a mortuary sheet or linen and hold a quince tree branch in your hand. Abstain from having sexual relations for

thirty-five days, for thirty-five is the number that puts you under the protection of favorable constellations and sorcery and with this secret one can do prodigious deeds, as did Mousu with this secret did supernatural things.

To make everything in an apartment appear Black.

Soak the wick of the lamp used to light the apartment in well beaten sea foam, adding to the lamp oil some sulfur and Litharge in equal parts, and all those who enter the room will appear drunk and delirious.

Glue to attach Crystals

Take some wine spirits and whitest and clearest Gum Arabic. Liquefy the Gum Arabic with the spirits. Heat up the two broken pieces in the fire, then with a little brush apply the glue to the two pieces. Attach the two pieces, and hold together until they have cooled.

Glue to Repair Porcelain Vases

Take two fresh egg whites, mix them together, add a little quicklime. Put a little of this mixture on the broken pieces, hold them together for two or three minutes. Then boil them with milk and the cracks will become invisible.

The Secrets of Love

Of reciprocal love between a Man and a Woman

There is nothing more natural to man than loving and being loved. Without invoking Venus or Cupid, who are the dominant divinities regarding this noble passion of man, every day produces material substances that are favorable to success in love.

One often finds on the forehead of a newborn foal, a little piece of flesh that has marvelous virtue in love. Dry it in a new pot, and wear it, especially on Fridays, since this is the day dedicated to Venus, Goddess of Love.

Another Love Secret

Take a gold ring that is studded with a small diamond that has not been worn by anyone. Wrap it in a piece of green fabric and for nine days and nine nights wear it against your skin over your heart. On the ninth day, before the Sun rises, engrave the following word inside the ring: *Scheva*, with a new scribe or engraver.

Find a way to have three hairs of the person who you want to love you, unite them with three of your own hairs, while saying: "Body, that you could love me, that your desires could be as passionate as mine, by *Scheva's* most potent

virtue.” Tie the hairs in a love snare knot around the ring. Wrap the ring in a piece of silk, and wear it against your skin over your heart for another six days. On the seventh day, Fast. On an empty stomach, unwrap the ring and give it to the person you desire to love you.

If your ring is accepted then you can be certain to be loved by that person. If the ring is refused, rest assured that the heart of that person belongs to another and in that case, you should seek your fortune elsewhere.

Other Secrets that Achieve the Same Effect

Here is the secret that the wise Cabbalists have called “Apple of Love” which is prepared as follows:

Go pick an apple from a tree on a Friday morning before sunrise. Write your name with your blood on a piece of paper and also write the name of the person whom you wish to love you. On another sheet of paper, write the name *Scheva*, also in your own blood.

Find a means of procuring three strands of that person’s hair, which you will unite with three of yours. Cut the apple in half, and remove the seeds. In the place of the seeds, place the pieces of paper. Take the apple and tie it back together, with the united hairs, using a green myrtle twig to twist together the two halves of the apple like a tourniquet.

Dry well in the oven, and wrap them in bay and myrtle leaves. Have a well trusted person put the apple under the young woman’s pillow without her noticing. In a few days you will notice the appearance of her love.

Fin

THE SECRET GRIMOIRE OF TURIEL

A SYSTEM OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC

THE GREAT ARCANUM
(The Rites of Ceremonial Magick).

PART I. THE SECRET GRIMOIRE OF TURIEL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE S.S. Umvoti, on which I was travelling from Beira, Portugese East Africa, to London, reached Las Palmas in November, 1927, after a very stormy passage. Like the rest of the passengers, I was thankful to get ashore.

The usual vendors, beggars, and guides were soon in evidence. One old man in the garb of a peasant offered me his services as a guide, which I gladly accepted. The man was bearded, swarthy of complexion, and very thin. He spoke in broken English and suggested that we visit the Cathedral. This we did, and as we walked the stranger informed me that the Cathedral was founded in the 16th century but only completed in the 19th. He conducted me to a lift inside the Cathedral, and smiled at two most corpulent priests who were seated at confessional boxes. The priests turned their heads away from the guide, who entered the lift with me. Soon we were speeding upward to enjoy the most enchanting scene imaginable. In the sunlight, on each bank of the river, lay the houses of the capital. Down below the people walked, Lilliputians in size.

We stood for a considerable time, and indeed I could have remained much longer drinking in the view, but the guide suggested that we leave. We did so and visited the bazaars and other places of interest including taverns where we enjoyed native cigars and wine.

As we made our way back to the ship my guide produced a little metal crucifix and some papers which he begged me to buy. He informed me that the papers were the manuscripts of a system of ceremonial magic, "The Secret Grimoire of Turiel". These were the original dated 1518. written in Latin, and a copy written in English, a translation from the original. The original copy was in fragments, almost worn away, but the copy was intact. I told the guide the original was not worth taking, but I would buy the cross and the copy. He agreed to this, and thus I became the possessor of the Grimoire. Since 1927 I have rewritten the manuscript owing to the fact that I was on the move so often, and for the sake of convenience the new *writing* was entered into a note book of convenient size, and the copy purchased in Las Palmas I destroyed. I have reason to believe that the present manuscript is the only one in existence. In publishing same I feel sure that it will appeal to all students of occultism as an additional item of interest. It has much to commend it. Though small in volume it is a complete system of Ceremonial

Magic. The former owner admitted that he had made use of the formula contained therein. For his experiments in the Art he, a former priest, had been defrocked. This he said was the reason why the two priests *in* the Cathedral had not acknowledged his smile.

MARIUS MALCHUS.

Westminster, 1954.

THE SECRET GRIMOIRE OF TURIEL

OBSERVATIONS and method of Invoking related with great pains and diligent research.

Retire thyself Seven Days free from all company and fast and pray from sunset to sunrise. Rise every morning at Seven of the clock, and the three days previous to the Work fast upon bread and water and humble thyself before Almighty God. Watch and pray all night before the Work.

And on the day before draw the lines of the Circle in a fair place. and let the diameter of the Circle be 9 feet. Wash thyself the same day quite clean.

Make the pentacles forthwith and provide the other things necessary, with Incensing. Then being clothed in pure Vestments and having covered the Altar and lighted the candles begin about half an hour before sunrise on the Day assigned for the Work and say with great Devotion as follows:—

First Morning Prayer :— Almighty and Most Merciful Father I beseech Thee that Thou

wilt vouchsafe favourably to hear me at this time whilst I make my humble prayer and Supplication unto Thee. I confess unto Thee O Lord Thou hast justly punished me for my manifold sins and offences but Thou hast promised at what time soever a sinner doth repent of his sins and wickedness Thou wilt pardon and forgive him and turn away the remembrance of them from before Thy face.

Purge me therefore O Lord and wash me from all my offences in the Blood of Jesus Christ that, being pure and clothed in the Vestments of Sanctity, I may

bring this Work to perfection, through Jesus our Lord who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the Unity of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Sprinkle thyself with Holy Water and say —Asperges me Domine hysope, et mundabor. Lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor.

Hail O Mighty God, for in Thy power alone abideth the Key to all exorcising of Principalities, Powers, Thrones, Angels and Spirits. Amen.

Then bless your Girdle, saying : —

O God Who by the breath of Thy nostrils framed Heaven and Earth and wonderfully disposed all things therein in six days, grant that this now brought to perfection by Thine unworthy servant may be by Thee blessed and receive Divine virtue, power and Influence from Thee that every thing therein contained may fully operate according to the hope and confidence of me Thine unworthy servant through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

The Blessing of the Light

I bless thee in the Name of the Father. O Holy, Holy Lord, God, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory before Whose face there is a bright shining light forever; bless now, O Lord, I beseech Thee, these creatures of light which Thou hast given for the kindly use of man that they, by Thee being sanctified, may not be put out or extinguished by the power, malice, or filthy darkness of the devil, but may shine forth brightly and lend their assistance to this my Work, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then say, ‘Asperges me, etc.’”

Consecration of the Sword :—

O Great God Who art the God of strength and fortitude and greatly to be feared, bless O Lord, this Instrument that it may be a terror unto the Enemy, and therewith I may fight with and over-come all phantasms and oppositions of the Enemy, through the influence and help of Thy most Holy Mighty Name, On, St.

Agla, and in the Cross of Jesus Christ our only Lord. Amen.

Be thou blessed and consecrated in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Asperges me, etc.

Benediction of the Lamens (Symbois. Circles) :—

O God Thou God of my Salvation I call upon Thee by the mysteries of Thy most holy Name, On, St. Agla, I worship and beseech Thee by Thy Names El, Elohim, Elohe, Zebaoth, and by Thy Mighty Name Tetragrammaton, Saday, that Thou wilt be seen in the power and force of these Thy most holy names so written filling them with divine virtue and Influence through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Benediction of the Pentacles:— Eternal God which, by Thy Holy Wisdom, hast caused great power and virtue to lie hidden in the characters and Holy Writings of Thy Spirits and Angels, and hast given unto man that with them, faithfully used, power thereby to work many things; bless these, O Lord, framed and written by the hand of me Thine unworthy servant that being filled with divine virtue and Influence by Thy Commands, O Most Holy God, they may shew forth their virtue and power to Thy praise and Glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I bless and consecrate you in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Asperges me, etc. Amen.

Benediction of the Garment

O Holy, blessed and Eternal Lord God Who art the God of purity and delightest that our souls should appear before Thee in clean and pure and undefiled Vestments being cleansed, blessed, and consecrated by Thee, I may put them on, being therewith clothed I may be whiter than snow both in soul and body in Thy presence this day, *in* and through the ment, death, and passion of our onty Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob bless thee, purge thee, and make thee pure, and be thou clean in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.



In this Thy Holy Sign O God, ; fear no evil. By Thy Holy Power, and by this Thy Holy Sign all evil doth flee.

By Thy Holy Name and Thy Power which Secret was revealed to Moses, through the Holy Names written in this Book, depart far from me all ye workers of iniquity.

Bless, O Lord, I beseech Thee, this place and drive away all evil and wickedness far from it. Sanctify and make it become meet and convenient for Thy Servant to finish and bring to pass therein his desires, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Be thou blessed and purified in the Name of the Father, Son, ami Holy Ghost. Amen.

Benediction of the Perfumes :— The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob,

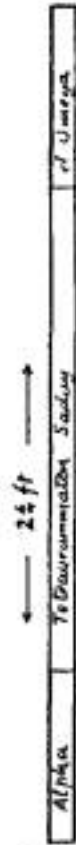
bless here the creatures of these kinds that they may give forth the power of their odours so that neither the Enemy nor any false Imaginaions may be able to enter into them, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and Glory now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

Sprinkle them with Holy Water, saying, “Asperges me, Domine, etc.”

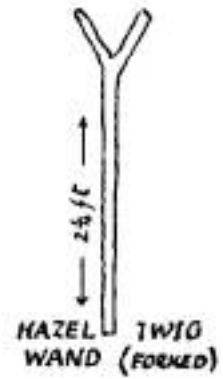
Exorcism of Fire

I exorcise thee, O thou creature of Fire, by Him by Whom all things are made, that forthwith thou wilt cast away every phantasm from thee that it shall not be able to do any hurt in any thing. Bless, O Lord, this creature of Fire and sanctify it, that it may be biessed to set forth the praise of Thy Holy Name that no hurt

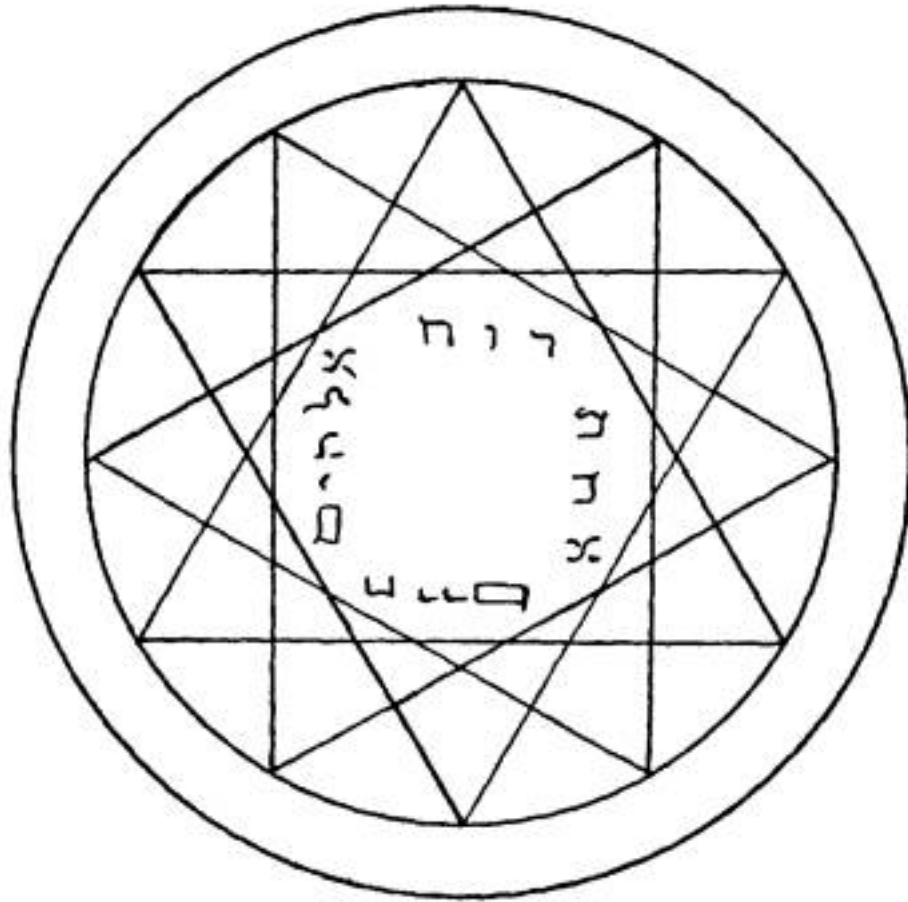
may be able to come unto me, through the virtue and defence of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.



HAZEL
WAND



SWORD

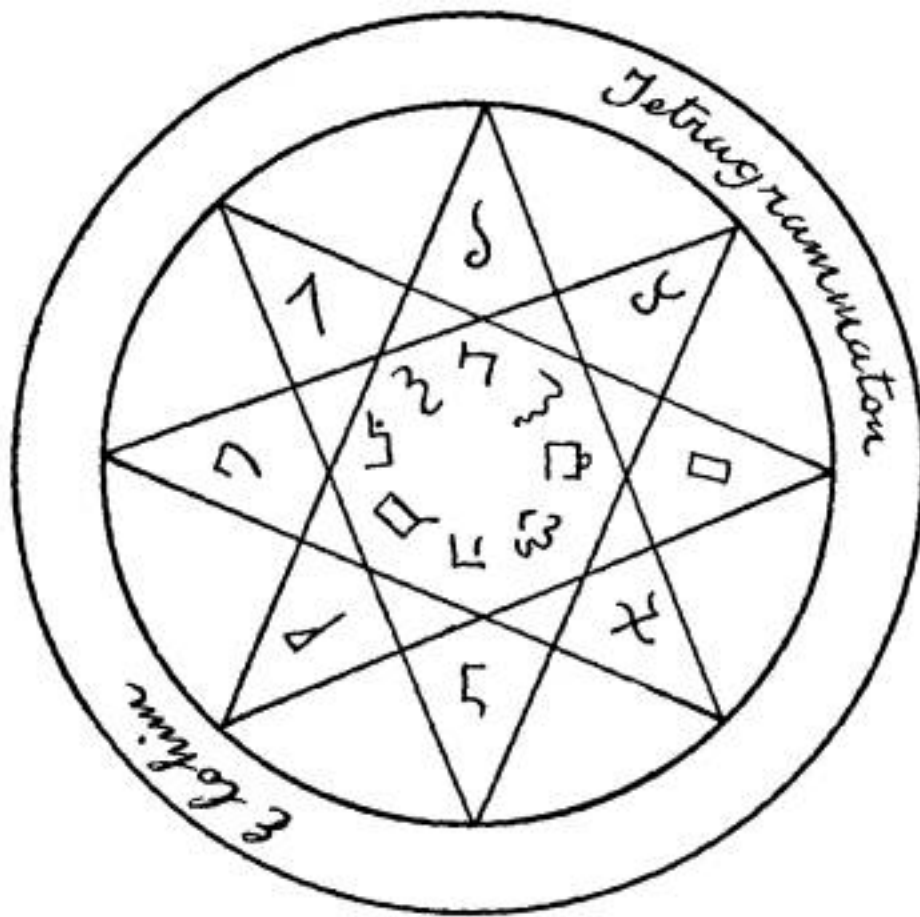


Invocation for Sunday (SOL) :— Come, Heavenly Spirits who have the effulgent rays of the Sun, Luminous Spirits who are ready to obey the power of the great Tetragrammaton, come and assist me in the operation that I am making under the auspices of the Grand Light of Day which the Eternal Creator hath formed for the use of universal nature. I invoke you for these purposes. Be favourable and auspicious to what I shali ask in the Name of Amioram, Adonai, Sabaoth.



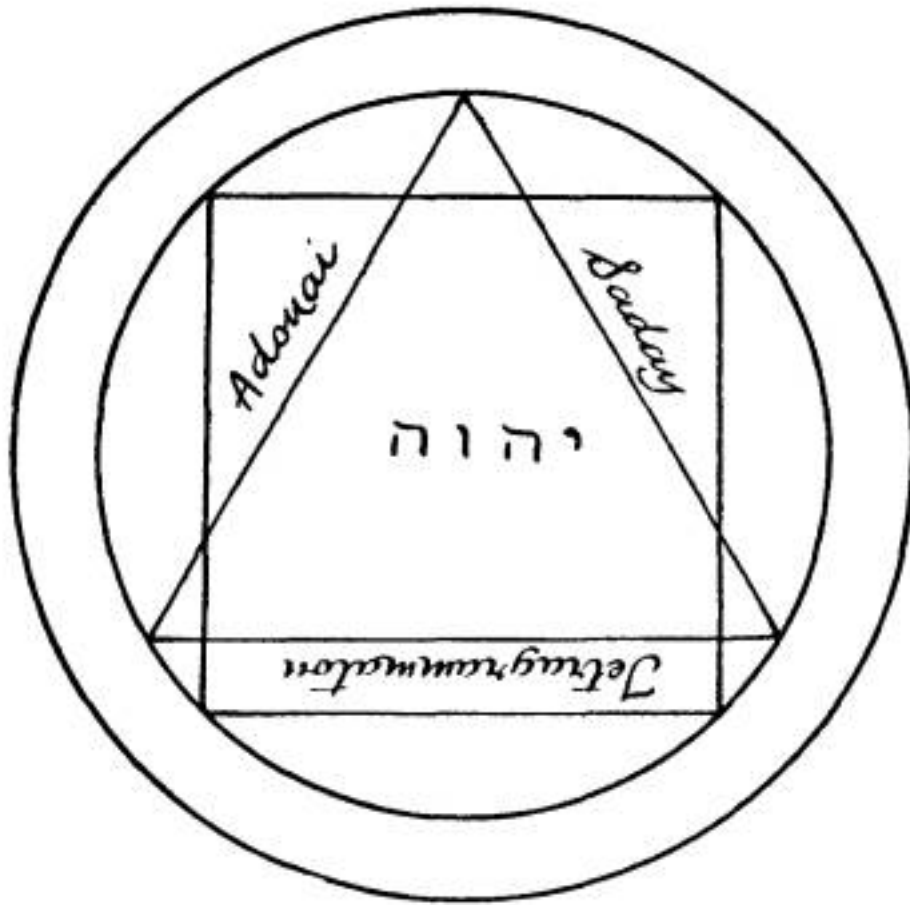
Invocation for Monday (MOON)

Haste ye Sublime and Intelligent Genil who are obedient to the Sovereign Arcana, come and assist me in the operation that I undertake under the auspices of the Grand Luminary of the Night. I invoke you to this end and implore you to be favourable and hear my entreaties in the Name of Him Who commands the spirits of the Four Quarters of the Universal Mansions: Inhabit, Bileth, Mizabu, Abinzaba.



Invocation for Tuesday (MARS)

Come Children of the Red Genii who have executed the order of the Sovereign Master of the Universe upon the armies of the rash Sennacherib, come and assist me in the operation that I undertake under the auspices of the third brilliant luminary of the firmament; be favourable to my entreaties in the Name of Adonay Sabaoth.

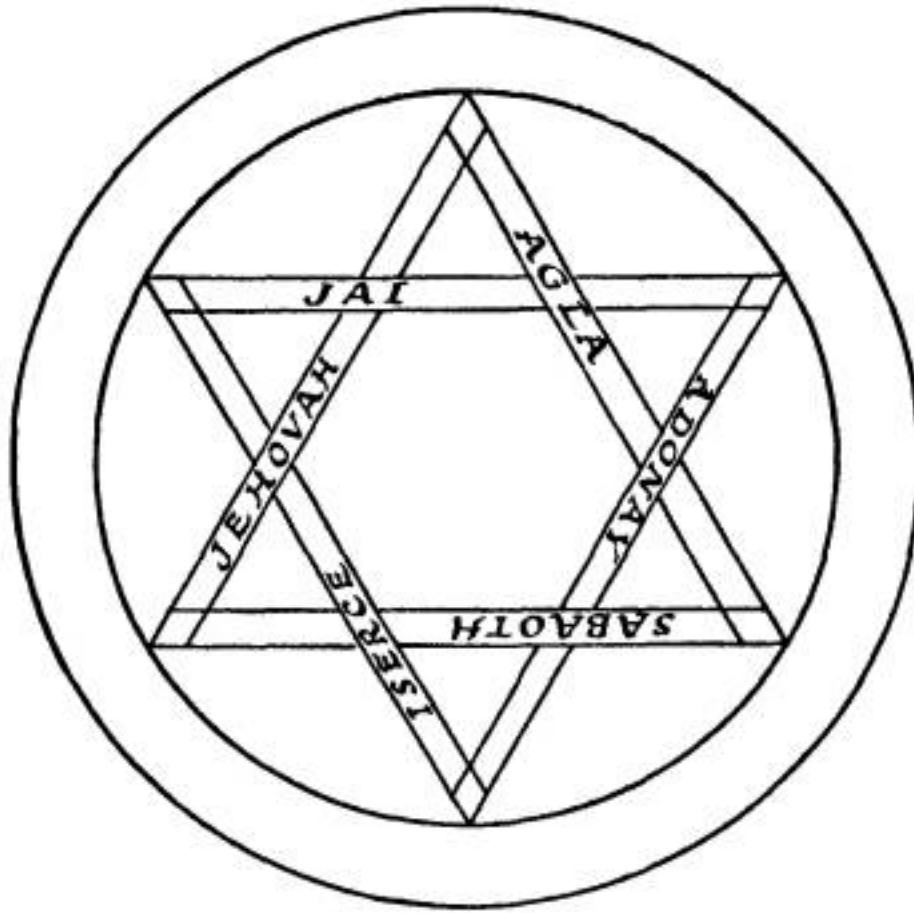


Invocation of Wednesday (MERCURY) :— Run to me with speed, come to me ye Spirits of Mercury who preside over the operation of this day, hear favourably the present invocation that I make to you under the Divine Names of Venoel, Urael, be kind and ready to second my undertakings. Render them efficacious.



Invocation for Thursday (JUPITER)

Come speedily ye Olepid Spirits who preside over the operation of this day.
Come, Incomprehensible Zebarel and all your legions, haste to my assistance and
be propitious to my undertakings, be kind and refuse me not your powerful aid
and assistance.



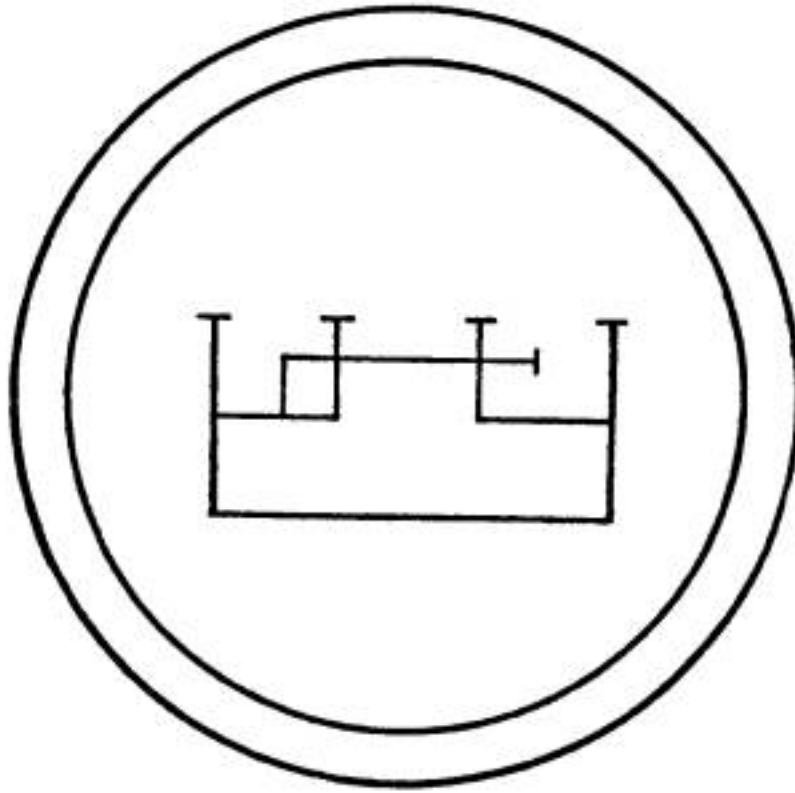
Invocation for Friday (VENUS)

Come on the wings of the wind, ye happy Genii who preside over the workings of the heart. Come in the Name of the Great Tetragrammaton; hear favourably the Invocation that I make this day, destined to the wonder of love. Be ready to lend me your assistance to succeed in what I have undertaken under the hope that you will be favourable to me.



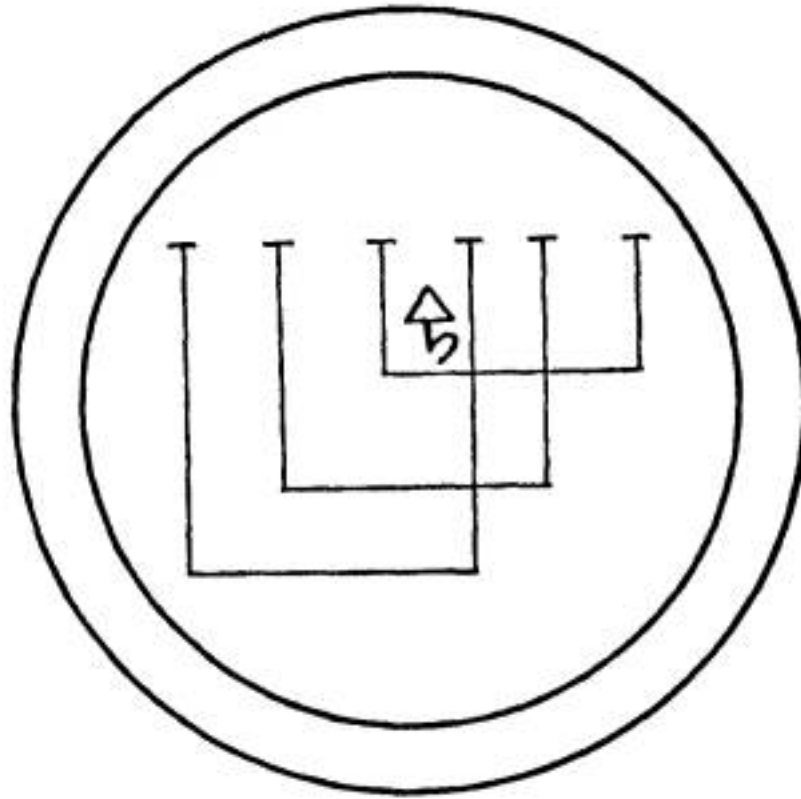
Invocation for Saturday (SA TURN)

Come out of your gloomy solitude ye Saturnine spirits, come with your cohort, come with diligence to the place where I am going to begin my operation under your auspices; be attentive to my labours and contribute your assistance that it may rebound to the honour and glory of the Highest.



CHARACTER OF ARATRON LORD OF SATURN.

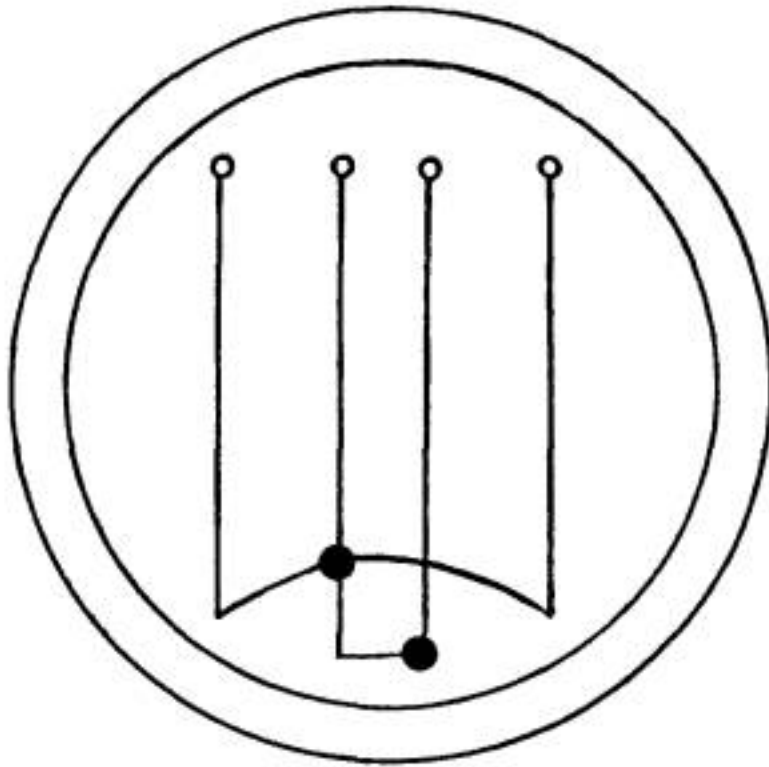
Perfumes :— Saifron, with the wood of Atoes, the Elder and the Pine. Add to it a grain of Musk, and consecrate the whole, pulverized and mixed together in a paste.



CHABACTER OF PRALEG LORD OF MARS.

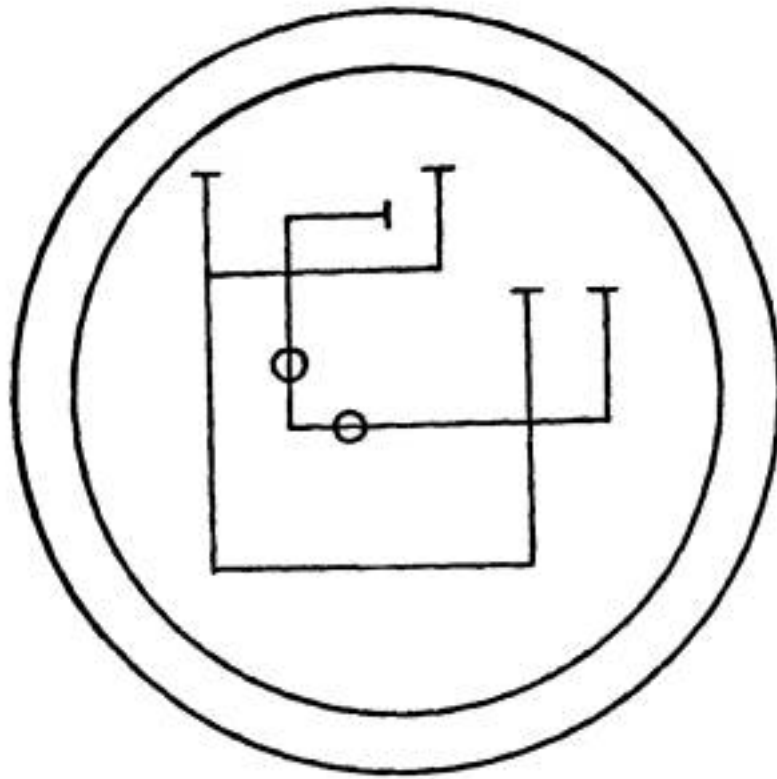
Perfumes

The head of a frog, the Bovine Blood, a grain of White Poppy, Fiowers of Camomile, and Camphor, pulverized into a paste by the mixing of the blood of a Virgin Kid.



CHARACTER of PHUL LORD OF THE Moon.

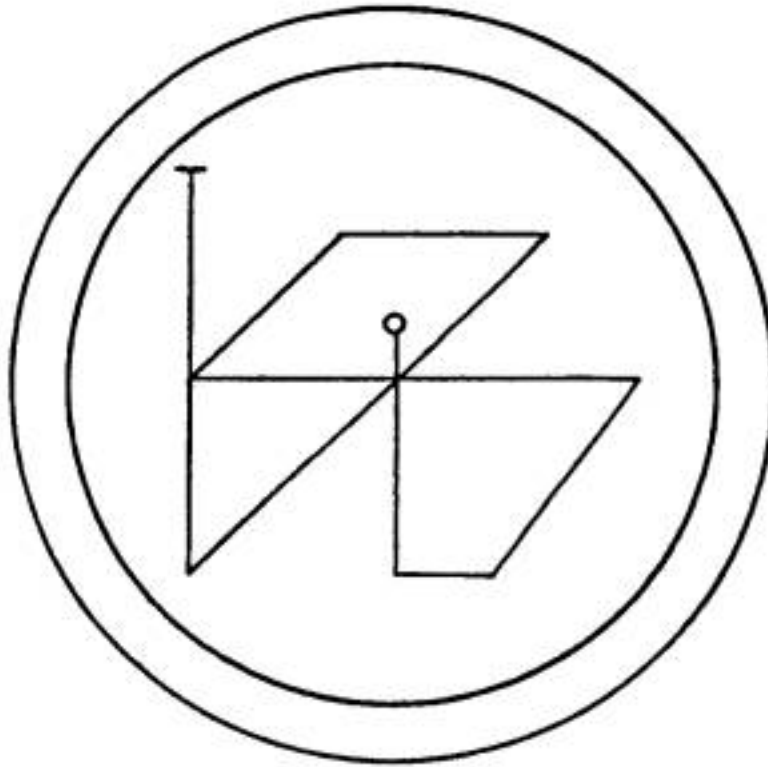
Perfumes :— Leaves of the Mandrake, Sal Ammonia, Roots of Gentian, Valerian herbs finely cut, a little Sulphur, made into a paste with the blood of a black Cat.



CHARACTER OF J3ETHOR LORD OF JUPITER.

Perfumes

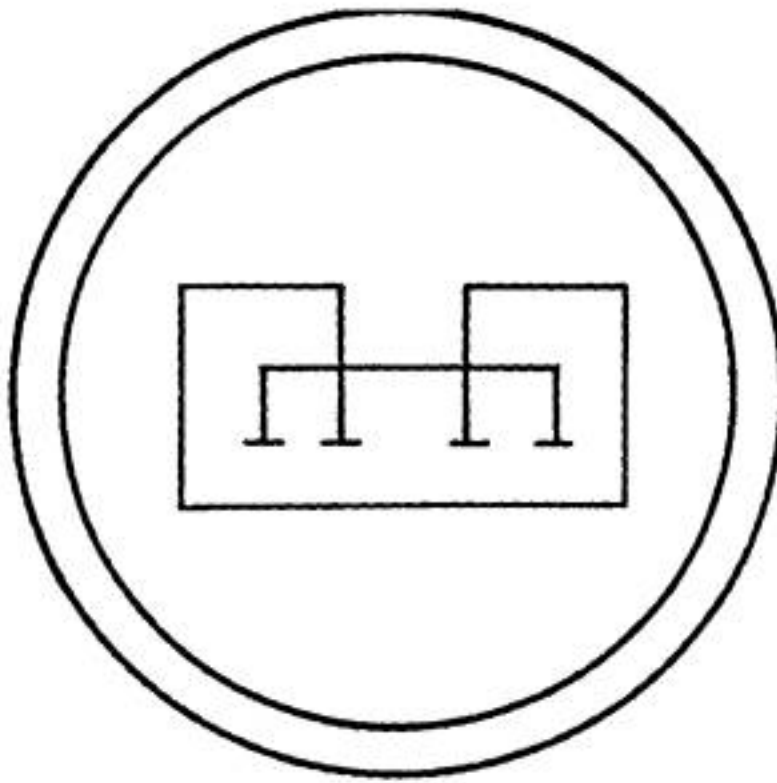
Sandalwood of the East, leaves of Agrimony, Choves, powder of Henbane. Beat all into a powder. Make thereof a paste with Foxes' blood and the brains of a Magpie.



CHARACTER OF OPHIEL LORD OF MERCURY.

Perfumes

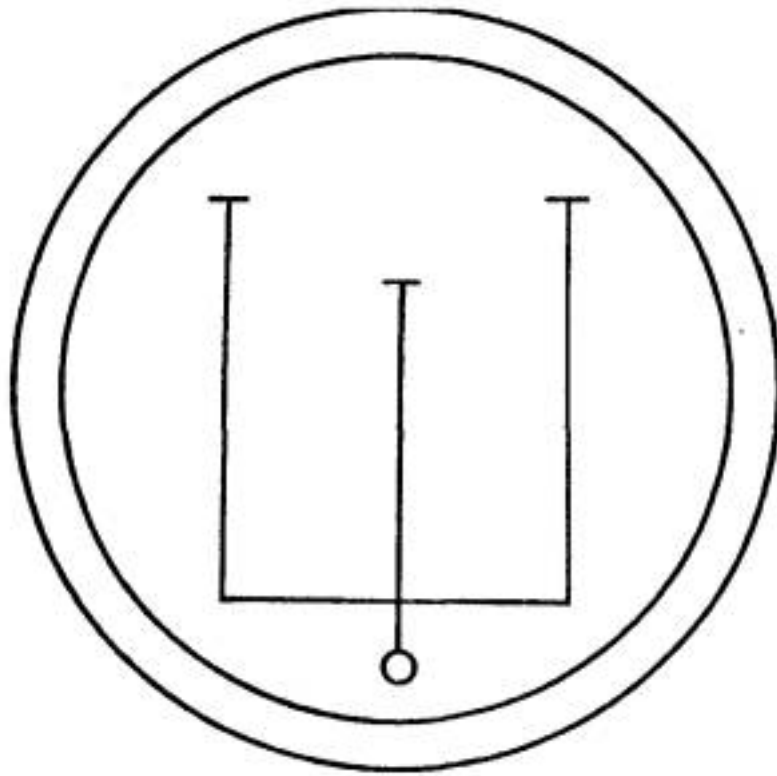
The seed of an Ash Tree, the wood of the Aloe, leaves of the Scullcap Herb, Mandrake roots, and the end of a Quili, made into small balls (pihis).



CRARACTER OF HAGITH LORD OF VENUS.

Perfumes

Musk, Juniper berries, wood of Áloes, dried Red Roses, dried leaves of Elder, pulvenzed, and made into a paste with the blood of a Pigeon.



CHARACTER OF OCH LORD OF THE SUN.

Perfumes

Grains of Bhack Pepper, grains of Hogsbane, powder of Sulphur, made into a paste with the blood of a Bat, and the brains of a black Cat.

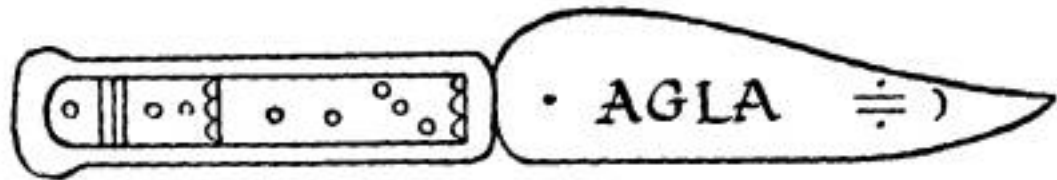
PART THE SECOND

CONTAINING INVOCATIONS, CONJURATIONS, ARO EXORCISMS OF
TREE

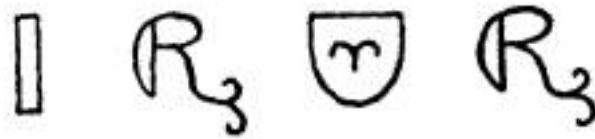
BAND OF SPIRITS

FORM OF CONJURING AND EXORCISING SPIRITS TO ~

Oration lo be said when putting on the Vestures ∴— Amacor, Amacor, Amides, Theodamai, Aintor, by the merits of Thy Angels, O Lord, I with I put on the garments of Righteousness, that this which I desire I may bring to perfection through the most holy Adonay, Whose kingdom endureth for ever and ever. Amen.



This on the ather side



The Lamien



Prayer

• Holy, Holy Lord God, from Whom all holy desires do proceed, I beg Thou wilt be merciful unto me at this time, granting I may become a True Magician and contemplate of Thy wondrous works at all times, in the Name of the Father and of the Son. Therefore in all my doings and at all times I will call upon Thy Most Holy Name, O Lord, for Thy help and assistance.

I beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wilt purge me and wash me in the blood of our Saviour, from all my sins and frailties, and that Thou wilt henceforward vouchsafe to keep and defend me from pride, lusts, cursing, blasphemy, unfaithfulness, and all other deadly sins and enormous offences, profaneness and spiritual wickedness ; but that I may lead a godly, sober, faithful, constant and pure life, walking uprightly in Thy sight, through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour.

Omnipotent and Eternal Lord God Who sittest in Heaven and dost from thence behold all the dwellers upon earth, most mercifully I beseech Thee to hear and

answer the petition of Thine unworthy servant, which I shali make unto Thee at this time, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Who hiveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of Thy Holy Spirit, ever One God, worlhd without end.

Sead down, O Lord, the Spirit of Thy Grace upon me. O God, put fear far from me, and give me an abundance in Thy faith, whereby all things are made possib!e unto man; put evexy wicked phantom far from my mind, and grant me true zeal, fervour, and intentive spirit of zeal, and prayer, that I may offer up a welh-pleasing sacrifice unto Thee. Let me use Thy ministering spirits and Angels, O Lord, as thereby I may attain true wisdom and knowledge.

Our Father, etc.

Credo, etc.

Ave Maria, etc.

Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shalll be, world without end. Amen.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, which will come to judge the quick and the dead; Thou art Alpha and Omega, the first and the iast, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Ioth, Abiel, Anathiel, Aniasim, Alganabro, El, Sedomel, Gayes, Hehi, Messias, Tolosm, Elias, Eschiros, Athanatos; by these Thy Holy Names, and al! others, I do call upon Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, by Thy Nativity and baptism, by Thy Cross and Passion, by Thine ascension, and by the coming of Thy Holy Ghost, by the bitterness of Thy Soul when it departed from Thy body; by Thine Angels, Archangels, prophets, patriarchs, and by al! Thy Saints, and by alt the Sacraments which are made in Thine honour, I do worship and beseech Thee, I bless and desire Thee, to accept these prayers and conjurations.

I implore Thee, O Holy Adonay, Amay, Horta, Vegadoro, Ysion, Ysesy, and by al! Thy Holy Names, and by al! Thine Angels, Archangels, and Powers, Dominations, and Virtues, and by Thy Name with which King Solomon did bind up the devils and shut them np, Ethrack, Evanher, Agla, Goth, Joth, Othie, Venock, Nabrat, and by al! Thy Holy Names which are written in this book, and by the virtue of them all, that Thou enable me to congregate all Thy spirits, that they may give me true answers to all my demands.

O Great and Eternal Virtue of the Highest, which Thou disposest their being come to judgment, Viachem, Stimilomaton, Esphares, Tetragrammaton, Oboram, Cryon, Elijtion, Onela, Brassim, Aoym, Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonay, I worship Thee. I implore Thee with all the strength of my mmd that by Thee my present prayers, consecrations, and conjurations may be ha!!owed. In the Name of the most merciful God of Heaven and of Earth, of the Seas and of the Infernais, by Thine Omni-potent help may I perform this Work.

Helie, Helion, Esseju, Deus Eternis, Eloy, Clemens Deus, Sanctus Sabaoth, Deus Exercillum, Adonay, Deus Mirabilis, Jao, Verax, Ampheneton, Saday, Dominator, On, Fortissimus Deus, invest with Thy blessed help this Work begun of Thee, that it may be consummated by Thy mighty power. Amen.

Amoruli, Tametia, Latisten, Rabur, Tanetia, Latisten, Escha, Aloelin, Alpha et Omega, Leytse, Oraston, Adonay. Amen.

Names and Offices of the Spirits. Messengers. and Intelligences of the Seven Planets

Spirits of the Sun.

Gabriel.

Vianathraba.

Corat.

Messengers of the Sun.

Burchat.

Suceratos.

Capabile.

Intelligences of the Sun.

Haludiel

Machasiel.

Chassiel.

Spirits of the Moon.

Gabriel.

Gabraei.

Madios.

Messengers of the Moon.

Anael.

Pabael.

Ustael.

Intefligences of the Moori.

Uriel.

Naromiel.

Abuori.

Spirits of Saturn.

Samael.

Bachiel.

Astel.

Messengers of Saturn.

Sachieh.

Zoniel.

Hubaril.

Intefligences of Saturu.

Mael.

Orael.

Valnum.

Spirits of Jupiter.

Setchiel.

Chedusitanieh.

Corael

Messengers of Jupiter.

Tunel. (See Secret Grimoire of Turiel).

Conieh.

Babiel.

Intelligences of Ju/iter.

Kadiel.

Maltiel.

Huphatrieb.

Estael.

Spirits of Venus.

Thamael.

Tenariel.

Arragon.

Messengers of Venus.

Coiznas.

Peajel

Penael.

Intelligences of Venus.

Penat.

Thiel.

Rael

Teriapel.

Spirits of Mercury.

Mathlai.

Tarmiel.

Baraborat.

Messengers of Mercury.

Raphael.

Ramel.

Doremiel.

Intelligences of Mercury.

Aiediat.

Modiat.

Sugmonos.

Sal!ales.

Presiding Spirits of Jupiter.

Sachiel.

Castiel.

Asasiel.

Presiding Spirits of Venus.

Anael.

Rachiel.

Sachiel.

Presiding Spirits of Mars.

Samael.

Satael.

Amabiel.

Presiding Spirits of Mercury.

Raphael.

Uriel.

Seraphiel.

Angeli Glorioso supradicti estote coadjutores et auxiliares in omnibus negotijs et interrogationibus in omnibus celensq (?)
causis per Eum qui venturus est judiciase vivos et mortuos.

Omnipotent and Eternal God Who hast ordained the whole creation for Thy praise and glory and for the salvation of man, I earnestly beseech Thee that Thou wouldst send one of Thy spirits of the Orden of Jupiter, one of the messengers of Sachiel whom Thou hast appointed presiding spirit of Thy firmament at this time, most faithfully, willingly to show unto me those things which I shall demand or require of him, and truly execute my desires. Nevertheless, O most Holy God, Thy will and not mine be done, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Invocation : I call upon thee, Sachiel, Castiel, and Asasiel!, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Blessed Trinity, Inseparable Unity, I invoke and entreat thee, Sachiel, Castiel, and Asasiel, in this hour to attend to the words and conjurations which I shall use by the Holy Names of God, El, Elohim, Elohe, Eeoba, Sabaoth, Elion, Eschiros, Adonay, Jay, Tetragrammaton, Saday; I conjure and excite you by the Holy Names of God, Hagios, Otheos, Ischyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Agla, On, Alpha and Omega, Ausias, Tolimi, Elias, Irnos, Aniaya, Horta, Vegadora, Antir, Sibranat, Amatha, Baldachia, Anuoram, Anexpheton, Via, Vita, Manus, Fons, Origo, Filius



and by all the other Holy, Glorious, Great, and Unspeakable, Mysterious, Mighty, Powerful, and Incomprehensible Names of God, that you attend unto the words which I shall utter, and send unto me Tarje!, Coniel, on Babel, messengers of your sphere, to tel! unto me such things as I shall demand of him, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I entreat thee, Setchiel, Chedustaniel, and Corael, by the whole host of Heaven, Seraphims, Cherubims, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels and Angels, by the great and glorious Spirits Orphaniel, Tetra, Pagiel, Salmia, Pastor, Salun, Azimor, and by your Star which is Jupiter, and by all the constellations of Heaven, and by whatsoever you obey, and by your Character which you have given and proposed and confirmed, that you attend unto me according to the prayers and petitions which I have made unto Almighty God, and that you forthwith send unto me one of your messengers who may willingly and truly and faithfully fulfil all my desires, wishes and commands, and that you

command him to appear unto me in form of a beautiful angel clothed in white vestures, gently, courteously, kindly, and affably entering into communication with me, and that he neither bring terror nor fear unto me, or obstinately deny my requests, neither permitting any evil spirits to appear or approach in any way to hurt, terrify, or affright me, nor deceiving me in any wise; through the virtue of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Whose Name I attend, waiting for and expecting your appearance. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat. Amen.

Interrogations : –“Comest thou in peace, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ““Yes”.

“Thou art welcome, noble Spirit. What is thy name?

“Turiel .

“I have called thee here, Turiel, in the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, at Whose Name every knee doth bow, both of things in Heaven, Earth, and Heil, and every tongue shall confess there is no Name like unto the Name of Jesus, Who hath given power unto man to bind and to loose all things in His Name, yea, even unto them that trust in His salvation. Art thou the messenger of Setchiel

“yes”

“Wilt thou confirm thyself unto me at this time, and from henceforward reveal all things unto me that I shall desire to know and teach me how to increase my wisdom and knowledge, and show unto me the secrets of the Magick Art, and of the liberal sciences, that I may set forth the praise and glory of Almighty God

“Yes”.

“Then, I pray thee, give and confirm thy Character unto me, whereby I may call thee at all times, and also swear unto me this Oath, and I will righteously keep my vow and covenant unto Almighty God, and will courteously receive thee at all times when thou dost appear to me

“Forasmuch as thou camest in peace and quietness and hast answered me and unto my petitions, I give humble and hearty thanks unto Almighty God, in whose Name I called thee and thou camest. And now thou mayest depart in peace unto thy Orders, and return unto me again at what time soever I shall call thee by

Licence to Depart : —thine own Oath, or by thy name, or by thine Order, or by thine

Office which is granted from the Creator. And the Grace of God be with thee and me and upon the whoie Israel of God. Amen. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat. Amen “.

Form of a Bond of Spirits given by Turiel, Messenger of the Spirits of Jupiter:

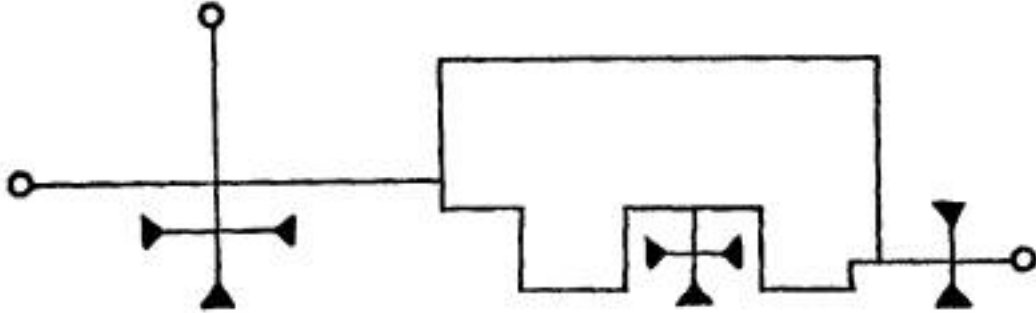
Gloria Deo in Excelsis.

I, Turiel, Messenger of the Spirits of Jupiter, appointed there-unto by the Creator of all things visible and invisible, do swear and promise, and plighting faith and troth unto thee in the presence, by, and before the Great Lord of Heaven



and the whole company of Heaven, by all the Holy Names of God, do swear and bind myself unto thee, by all the contents of God's Sacred Writ, by the Incarnation, death and passion, resurrection, and glorious Ascension of Jesus Christ, by all the Holy Sacraments, by the Mercy of God, by the Glory and Eyes of Heaven, by the forgiveness of sin, and hope of eternal salvation, by the Great Day of Doom, by all the Angels and Archangels, Seraphim, Cherubim, Dominations, Thrones, Principalities, Powers, and Virtues, Patriarchs, Prophets, Saints, Martyrs, Innocents, and all others of the blessed and glorious Company of Heaven, and by al! the sacred powers and virtues above rehearsed, and by whatever is holy and binding, thus do I swear now, and promise unto thee that I will hasten unto thee, and appear clearly unto thee at all times and places, and in

all hours, days, and minutes, from this time forward until thy life's end, wbensoever thou shalt call me by my name, or by my Office, and will come unto thee in what form thou shalt desire, whether it be visibly or invisibly; I will answer a!! thy desires. And in testimony whereof, and before all the Powers of Heaven, I have hereunto set, subscribed, and confirmed my Character unto thee. So help me God. Fiat. Amen.



The Character of Turiel.

FINIS

THE MAGIC OF ARMADEL

Electronic Version Prologue

This grimoire was first translated by Mr. MacGregor Mathers into English. Now for the first time in English I Frater Alastor , rendering into the html format. When Mathers made his translation he notice that the title page was the last page of the grimoire, so he moved to the front but keep the rest of the chapters in the same order. He also notice that this grimoire began speaking about the magick circle like if it where something that the reader should already know.

Now it is my believe that the whole grimoire was written backward, this is to say that you should read the last page first (the title page) then the last chapter and so on. If you read it this way you will see that make a lot of sense. In Mathers version the first chapter is a reference to the magick circle and the License to depart, it make no sense to begin a grimoire that way since the license to depart is the last think that a magician read. Also if you fallow the Latin titles in Mathers version the text begin with the Sanhedrin, Jesus and go on to the creation of Adam and the demons and the angels etc. This order is completely the opposite of that one on the bible this is god first, then the angels, the demons, Adam, Jesus, the Crucifixion and the Sanhedrin. So neither to say I had inverted the orders of the chapters in Mathers version under the believing that this is the way that was

intended to be read.

Frater Alastor.

LIBER ARMADEL

Seu totius Cabalae perfectissima brevissima et infallibilis Scientia tam
speculativa quam practiqua

Dominum Deum timebus et illi seli serbies per nomen

illius tremendae at adorabilis Majestatis omnibus

diebus vitae tuae.

operaribus

TRANSLATTON OF THE FOREGOING

The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom. In the Name of the God of Israel, One and Triune, Abraham believed, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. Amen.

Nisi Dominus Operitus nobiscum in vanum laborant qui operantur.

Unless the Lord work with us, in vain do they strive who labour.

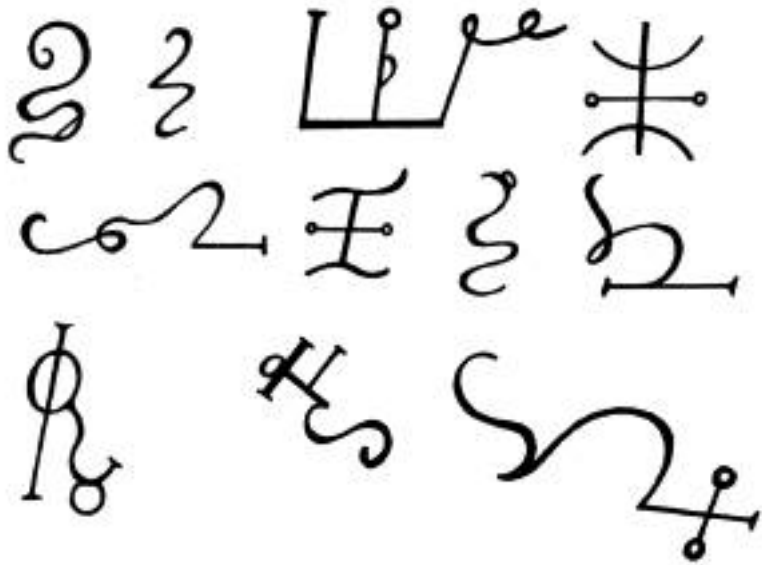
De Profundis Clamavi ad Te Domine, Domine Exaudi Orationem meam.

Out of the Depths Have I cried unto Thee O Lord, O Lord hear my prayer.

Fiant aures tuae intendentes un vocem Deprecationis mea.

Let Thine ears be inclined unto the voice of my supplication.

THE CHARACTERS OF MICHAEL



The Characters of Michael

(Taken from the German Original)

Therefore Hear O Man The Lord, the Lord Our God, is one Lord. Thou shalt love

the Lord thy God with thine whole heart, with thy whole Soul, and with thy whole strength, and thy neighbour as thyself. And these words which I teach unto thee shall be in thine heart, thou shalt relate them unto thy children and thou shalt meditate upon them, when thou sittest in thine house, when thou walkest by the wayside, when thou sleepest, and when thou arisest; and thou shalt bind them like unto a staff for thine hand, and thou shalt place them between thine eyes and thou shalt write them upon the threshold and portals of thy dwelling place. AMEN.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, in any soever of thy works; but keeping His precepts and testimony, and ceremonies, most pure, thou shalt do that which is pleasing and good in the sight of the Lord with zeal and charity, not out of curiosity or ostentation.

If thus thou shalt have heard the voice of the Lord thy God and shalt have walked in his ways, that thou mayest do and keep His commandments, the Lord thy God shall make these more excellent than all the Nations which be spread abroad upon the Earth; and by reason of that blessing shall they come unto thee and learn of thee, Blessed shalt thou be in the City, and blessed shalt thou be in the field, and blessed shall be the fruit of thy body. AMEN.

But the God of these, Who is also our God, is in Heaven, and in Earth, and in the Abysses, and He doeth whatsoever He will. They who fear the Lord have put their trust in the Lord, He is their helper and defender. Would that my life were directed to the safeguard of thy justification. Also I have sought thee out, because thou hast caused me to have life hereby. Let it go forth unto my works. Direct thou them according to Thy saying, and let not injustice have dominion over me

When, therefore, thou shalt be worthy to understand in what manner thy vow and thy natal day are to be observed with circumspection and purity:

Take note of this:

Are there not twelve Months in the Year?

Is there not one hour in each single month?

Does not this hour pass by?

And thus let it then pass by with chastity, fasting, ardent prayer and desire, desiring also your Vow by the Divine inspiration and therefore fit to be carried out.

This following is a fitting prayer.

ORATIO

Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini in Nomine Dei Israel, LIni et Trino, Credidit Abraham et ei reputatumfuit in justitiam. AMEN.

THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (II)

Santi Andrea et Thoma circumvallate me.

O Saint Andrew and (Saint) Thomas, be a defence about me.

Sancte Michael auxiliate omnibus operationibus meis quoniam quis sicut Dominum Virtutum et nullus certe nisi solus deus meus magnus et terribile super omnes qui in exercitu ejus sunt ideo enim voto voverint domino Deo meo Jesu me possidents et circumvallante gratia sua et dominus Deus Jesus imposita mihi Lege sua sit mihi semper a cunctis diebus et momentis vitae meae unum patrem et deum meum— et si vere Emmanuel amabilis.

O Saint Michael bring thine aid unto all mine Operations, for who is like unto the Lord of Virtues; and assuredly there is none else but my Lord God, the only Great and terrible over all who be in His Army, for hereunto by vow are they vowed unto my Lord God Jesus, Who possesseth and defendeth me by His Grace. Also may the Lord God Jesus having imposed upon me His Law, be ever mine in every Day and moment of my life as my Father and God, and thus truly my beloved Emmanuel.

Sancte Petre ad glorium et utilitatem proximi ure in me omnes iniquitates meas.

O Saint Peter, unto the (Divine) Glory and the good of my neighbour, bum up in me all mine iniquities.

San te Paule obviam este deprecationis meae.

O Saint Paul, be thou propitious unto my prayer.

Confitebor Jesu tibi Christi rex Aeternae gloriae verbum caro factum est, ex

Maria de Spiritu Sancte te humillime deprecor per vulnere tua sanctissima quae sunt fons regenerationis nos trahere in fide et charitate per delectissimam Mariam Matrem tuam semper immaculatam et omnes sanctes tuos ne impediar opere ad mortem justificari in fide et charitate quoniam fides sine operibus mortua, non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo, nequando dicant gentes ubi est.

I will confess myself unto Thee, O Jesus Christ, King of Eternal Glory, the Word is made flesh from Mary by the Holy Spirit; I pray Thee most humbly by Thy most holy wounds which are the Foundation of our Regeneration in Faith and Charity; by Thy Most delightful Mother Mary, ever Immaculate; and by all Thy Saints let me not be hindered in my work, unto death be justified in Faith and in Charity, since Faith without Works is dead. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name; lest the heathen may say: Where is He

Let us become as little children at birth, for unless we be born again we shall not see the wonders of God, nor yet in any way progress in the Art.

Good is fasting with prayer, and almsgiving, and vow.

Before the Oration, prepare the Soul

THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (1)

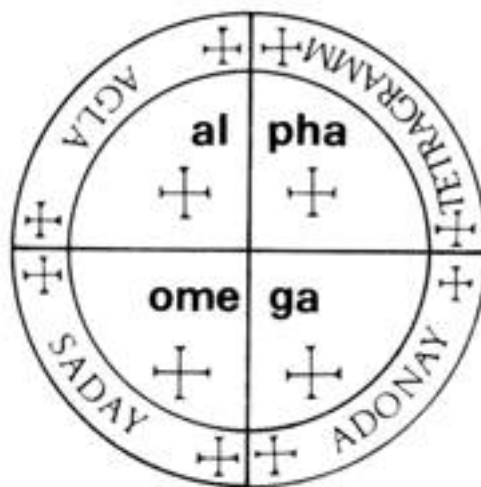
Before invoking the Spirits it is necessary to make a (Magical) Circle, and place thyself in the midst thereof after having sprinkled the same with Holy Water saying:

‘In Nomine Patris + et Fuji + et Spiritus Sancti.’¹

‘In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.’

‘Res pice in me per Sanctissimos Angelos Tuos in Nomine Jeus de Maria Virgine semper immaculata Nati, et Ventas Tua manet in aeternum—Amen.

‘Examine me thoroughly by Thy most Holy Angels, in the Name of Jesus, born of Mary, the ever Immaculate Virgin; and may Thy Truth endure for ever— Amen.’



The Magick Circle

(Taken from the German Original)

Before the Oration prepare thy Soul, and be not thou like unto a man who tempteth a God.

ORATION SEMPER PRECEDENS ACTUM

(Dirigatur quaese et humillime.

Deprecor Domine Deus Meus Omnipotens in conspectu Tuo Operatio mea et comittentier mihi et operatione mea sanctissimi (here follow a collection of scratches evidently intended to represent Hebrew Letters which I imagine are intended to stand for the words: ‘IHVH Elohim, Ab, Ben Ve-Ruach Haqodesh.’ ‘Tetragrammaton Elohim, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.’)

Ad Majorem Nomini Tui gloriam, edificationem et utilitatem proximi mei. Amen.

Translation of the Foregoing.

THE ORATION ALWAYS TO BE MADE BEFORE OPERATION

(also I warn you that it is to be performed with the greatest humility).

In Thy Sight O Lord mine Omnipotent God, do I pray for mine Operation, and may these most Holy (Names) be in charge over me and my Operation... unto the Greater Glory of Thy Name, and the edification and profit of my neighbour. Amen.

COR ERGO ET SCIETUR UNUM SUNT

PUTREUS M ALE STUM

THE VISION OF DUST

Wherefore let it be granted that dry bones having been reduced in to a most fine powder, that this also may be refined and compounded together like unto the Thine in a name of *Moses* the Blood. Neither ever hereafter shouldest thou despise this holiest Mystery; for thee the Spirit of Life is herein like as in the Dust of a Man.

Since all these (matters) have been placed before thy true heart, which also the Lord God hath chosen for the legitimate Tabernacle, may He further bless all thy works in thy time

By His Angel *Raphael* He appeareth unto the blessed Tobias and in his journey he put to flight all Malice of heart and every kind of Demon which obsesses, and (caused) Simplicity of heart, Purity and Faith in Prayer to have entire dominion

with him.

Is there not sought in the Imagination those things which one hath not known, and is there not pleasure in the excitation thereof? Hath not Memory been willing to aid that which the Imagination hath clothed with form, so that one may see of what nature such things may be and whether any further development of them may be (advisable)? Hath not the Intellect having applied them unto Itself, known how to treat in thee the things cast forth by the Memory, and this to what degree and extent according unto their faculties and powers? Do not Memory, imagination, and Intellect operate (simultaneously) together? For at once and in unity these (three) which be united together do then become Intellectual Action. Is not the Heart a recurved Vase of Blood? If among all these so many be found similar that they may be perfected hereunto, it will be the same concerning His people.³

Study this weH O Man, ardent for Wisdom, in the following out of this Path desiring all things, seeking all things, and understanding all things, seeing that in thyself *are* all things.

Assimilated; Contained: Willed. Was it not on the Fifth Day⁵ that Man was made a Living Soul?

Was there not a Soul⁶ which came forth (into manifestation) on the Third Day? Did it not also give forth and withdraw (the faculty of) Hope, and before that it withdrew, did it not rejoice in the Quinary Number; going forth and returning in that same Number; for it rejoiced in the Nature of the Creatures which do exist in the Number of the Quinary.

First God, (then) Spirit and Matter. Most powerfully do these operate the separation of Matter violently transformed by Life. How can such (Life) do aught but delight in the Number of the Five, seeing that therein is hidden every Mystery of a (Past), Present and Future Age, since in such (Eternal) Epoch is the Name of the Lord God.

Also in the Prophecy of Ezekiel, as it was taught unto him, the Lord God said: ‘Let the Spirit come from the Four Winds, and brood over these that they may revive in the Name PELECH, now JESUS.’ The Lord God PELEG, now JESUS. The Spirit having entered into them, also they spake. It is not also related by inspiration that the Lord said unto Moses: ‘Take unto thee Aromatics; Stacte, Galbanum of good odour, and thus Luci, of equal weight: hereof shalt thou make a perfume composed according to the Art of the Apothecary, mixed with care; pure and sanctified, and most fitting to be offered unto me. And when thou shalt have beaten it into most fine powder, then shalt thou place it before the Tabernacle of the Testimony in the which place I will appear unto thee, Holy of Holies shall it be. Thou shalt compose nothing similar for thine own use, seeing that it is Holy unto the Lord.’ Man who was called Adam, also called by their (true) Names all the Animals, as well the Birds of Heaven as the Beasts of Earth, But there was not found an aid for Adam who was like unto him.^o

Is it not written and reported by tradition’ that the Lord God led forth Ezekiel in His Spirit, and left him in the midst of a field which was full of dry bones, and led him round about these bones in that region, and prophesied over those bones. And in the Name of the Lord he said unto them: ‘O Dry Bones, hear ye the Word of the Lord Thus said the Lord unto you: “So therefore will I send forth My Spirit unto you, and ye shall live, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.” Also thus was it done at the same time that Ezekiel did prophesy over those dry bones.’

Since in that prophesying there was a sound made, and behold there was a great movement, and the bones approached and joined each unto the other together, and the nerves and flesh formed upon them, and the skin was spread above, though as yet they had not the Spirit of Life. Unto that Spirit, then did Ezekiel prophesy his Will, in all humility, sobriety, mercy and patience. And though, whosoever thou mayest be, who in thy life and action possesses thy Soul in peace, when therefore thou shalt know the Mystery,¹² be thou well ware not to reveal it. When the Spirit willeth seek to enter into the Knowledge of the Lord, and there shall rise an intellectual fountain of Understanding and Wisdom. The (celestial) LIGFIT fleeth the (Earthly) Light, and operateth in Secret until thine Heart is tormented with

understanding and with the desire of Understanding, since it is that which seeketh and which is hidden from Man. Is it not written and reported by tradition, and hast thou not read, that the Lord God formed Man of the Mud¹³ of the Earth, and that Man became a Living Soul, and that when He had formed Man He placed him in the Paradise of Pleasure to work it and to keep it.

And seeing that the Lord God, having formed from the ground all the animals of the Earth and all the winged things of heaven, did bring all these living creatures before Adam himself, then did his Name (that is) the Spirit (or Breath) go forth (upon them); and the Dust¹⁴ being arrested, there did it remain, and the Rose¹⁵ was restored. And so also is the Man who understandeth the Mysteries of the Book, and of the Similitude of the Rose, and the Mystery of the Dust; preserving the same in the inmost of his heart like a Magically guarded Treasure: and as a Gift of the Highest, most sacred and most unutterable nature. But shouldest thou make an abuse hereof, then shall it be unto thee as a most heavy and scandalous thing and shall bring about the utter ruin of all thy worldly possessions, of thy body, of thine intellect, and of thy Soul. Further also take heed that thou reveal it not to any in writing, nor yet even the least part of the Mysteries of this Book. Wherefore mayest thou be contented herein, with all charity and zeal thereof, and thou shalt have done sufficient; for God knoweth who desireth truly for His Grace, His Light and the Understanding of His Empire; seeing that in His Name he hath known Him.

When thou shalt have comprehended the *Misterium Stile*, which is the Most Holy Gift of God, this is that which the Lord God PELECH now JESUS revealeth or permitteth to be revealed unto those who do seek His Will.

Is it not reported by tradition and written ‘In the Beginning the Elohim created’ (Bereshith Bara Elohim). . . Man on the Sixth Day; whom the Lord God took and placed in the Paradise of Pleasure, wherem was the Fountain divided into Four

Heads. There is that Most Holy Mystery, let him who hath ears to hear, hear and live O Lord God, may he be Anathema (accursed) whosoever he be, who shall have despised this most precious Mystery. Amen

Hear, O my Soul, turn unto the Lord thy God; for where there hath been Pride, there shall be also Abasement; but where there is humility (there is) also Wisdom. So, therefore, abide fast in the Lord God, saying with thine whole heart, ‘Truly I have sinned in all my ways, but I beseech Thee O Lord to take away the Iniquity of Thy Servant, seeing that nevertheless I have put my trust in Thee’

O Lord God, thou art become my oppressor, because of the multitude of my sins, seeing that I have greatly sinned, and that mine Iniquities be multiplied like unto the Sands of the Sea, and I am not worthy to lift up mine eyes unto the Height of Heaven.

THE VISION OF ANOINTING

Hath it not been written in the Scriptures, — ‘Take unto thee sweet spices, five hundred shekels of myrrh the finest and most choice, likewise thou shalt reckon two hundred and fifty shekels of Calamus,’ Are these not in the Blood, Vital and Animal Spirits? Is there not Blood in the whole Body? And there is (a certain proportion) of fat joined thereunto preserving the Spirits thereof. In the Body of the Fish preserved by Tobias were there not these Spirits (derived from) the purest faculties of all true Elementary Forces? Know thou then what most holy thing existeth as regardeth (these Elementary Forces) preserved in Nature

Therefore the Lord *Pelech*, now *Jesus*, by His Omnipotent Grace mercifully operating in Nature, protecting the Heart of the Operator in Simplicity, in Faith, in Hope and going forth in Charity, rejoicing also in Itself, directeth such Spirits according to their most sacred faculties to cooperate with such Operation of a Simple Heart.

Is it not manifested in the Book of Tobias, who himself was of a Simple Heart, that the Lord God directed the Spirits of the Liver of the Fish according to their most secret faculties, in His Adorable Name, by His Angel Raphael, to co-operate with Tobias in the casting away of the Albumen (from the eyes of his) father?

By a Number (namely) through the Tetary, is the Mercy of God the Highest Lord, *Jah*, turned, therefore revealing all things. David took unto himself five most clear stones from the Brook and five cakes of Shewbread, the which Bread the Laity might not have, but only the Elect. Is not the Head the seat of Imagination, of Memory and of Intellect?

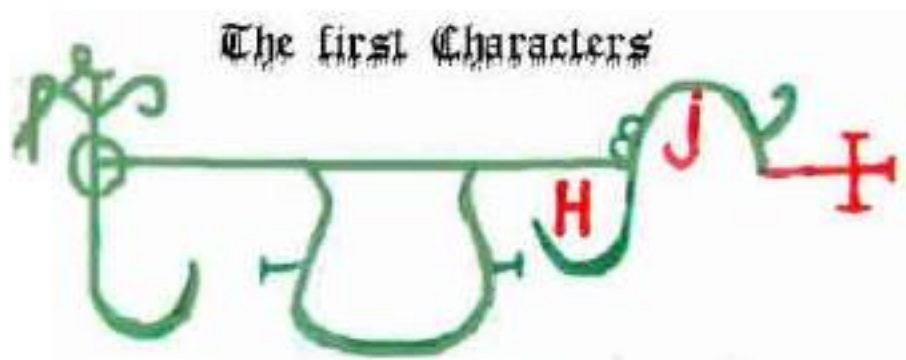
THE RATIONAL TABLE:

or the QABALISTICAL LIGHT;

**PENETRATING WHATSOEVER THINGS BE
MOST HIDDEN AMONG THE CELESTIALS,
THE TERRESTRIALS AND THE INFERNALS**

THE FIRST CHARACTERS

The First Characters which should be made upon virgin parchment, on Sunday in the Hour of the sun (see Figure 46), The first letter of your name should be written in the semi-circle 'A', and that of your surname in the semi-circle 'B'. You should wear this upon your left side (near the heart) before you proceed to invoke the Spirits, in order to make them obey you, and to gain from them that which you shall desire.



ISRAEL hath gone forth from the Beginning, from the Days of Etemity. O my Soul, possess thyself in searching out and foliowing out in thyself the Will of thy Lord **PELECH** Who is Jesus; for that Peace shall be thine, when M e m o r o t h the Assyrian and M e t r u m shall come to turn thee from the Eternal Law, and thus disturb thee in all thy ways.

Be unwilling to fast,¹ O my Soul; let it be at the hour of Day that thy cry may be heard on high. Is it also such a fást which the Lord hath chosen to afflict thee by day, through the depth and multitude of my iniquities, whereby 1 have excited thy wrath, and have done evil before thee unintentionally, also 1 have kept thy commands.²

The Lord God presseth me hard because of my many sins; nevertheless bow down (unto Him) O my Soul; that thou mayest rather fall into the hands of the Lord God, seeing that many are His Mercies, than into the hands of Man. Turn then, O my Soul and humble thyself before the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God

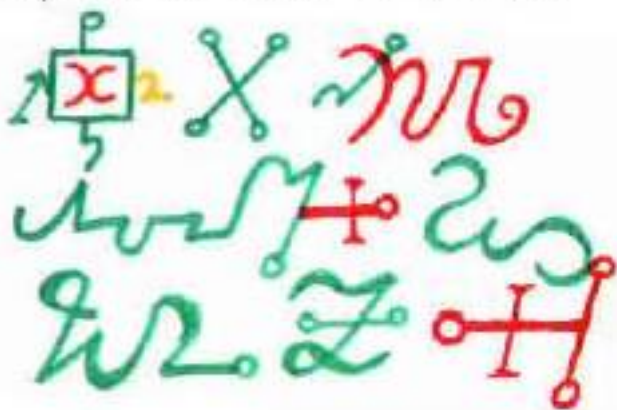
hath created Israel, and truly there is a Providence which acteth in the sight of God; and him who hath cried unto Him, also He observeth intently, and listeneth unto his prayer.

Cry unto the Lord, with great insistence, and humiliate thyself O Soul, also in Chastity, in fasting, in mercy, in power, seeking out with thine whole heart in thy prayers the Will of the Lord God, and all things shall be added unto thee. From thine inmost heart and in tears shalt thou say unto the Lord thy God, 'I have sinned, nevertheless O Lord return unto me whom Thou hast humiliated.' Be in thine whole heart ever seeking Jesus, in chastity and in sobriety, in mercy and patience, and thus shalt thou possess the Soul in faith, hope, and charity; and thus shalt thou pray confidently. And whatsoever thou shalt seek in *Bereshith*, shall be given back unto thee in *Mercavah*.

CONCERNING THE PATHS OF WISDOM

These be the Characters of the Spirits of Force and Counsel (see Figure 43).

Spirits of Force & Counsel



Characters of the Spirit of Force and Counsel

This is the Sigil of Joy, and of the Spirit which goeth forth and retireth. The Characters of the Spirits of Joy (see Figure 44).



Characters of the Spirits of Joy

Thou shalt have fasted with the Lord God Pelech, now (called) Jesus, for Seven Days, the which shall be passed in humility and sobriety, in mercy and patience, in peace and equilibrium; (that is to say) in the beginning of all the Sigils of Love

and Charity, and from which they do proceed.

The Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity (see Figure 45).

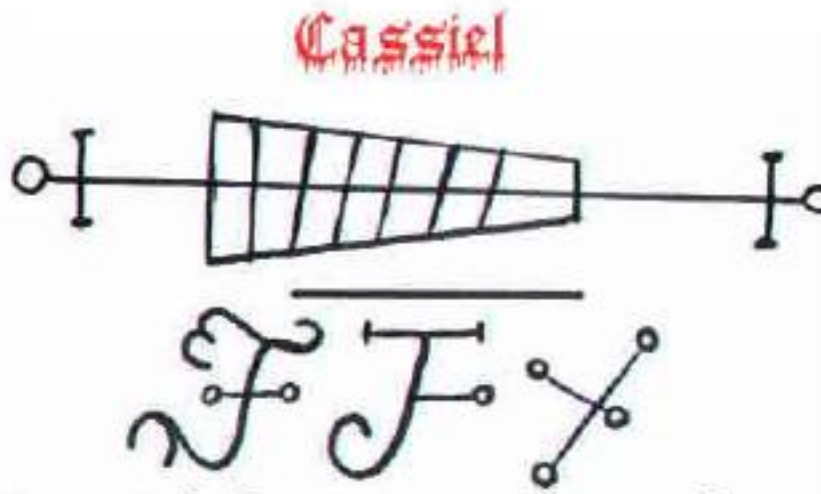


Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity

Is it not written and reported by tradition that ‘there were Six Men² who carne from the way of the Upper Gate which looketh toward the North, each holding in his hand a weapon of death. Also in the midst of them was one Man clothed with a robe of fine linen, and he had instruments for writing hung at his side. And when they had entered, they stood beside the Altar of Brass, And the Glory of the Lord of Israel withdrew from the cherub which was etc. . . ‘ Also in the Books of Moses (it is written)³ that with 250 shekels of each of various ingredients and with 500 shekels of Myrrh, etc., according to the weight of the Sanctuary, and with a certain measure of Olive Oil, thou shalt make a certain Holy Anointing Oil composed according to the Art of the Apothecary; and that herewith thou shalt anoint the Tabernacle of Testimony and the Ark of the Covenant, the Table with its Vessels, the Candlesticks, the Altar of Incense and that of Burnt Offering, and all things pertaining unto the Cult.

CONCERNING GOD THE UNIVERSALLY ONE

These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all kinds of Sciences (see Figure 42). They be under the domination of **CASSIEL**, and are to be invoked on a Saturday at eleven o'clock at night,



In this Sigil is manifested the most glorious Science of God.

In this are taught the Paths of Wisdom¹ and their profoundest Mysteries; how we can know such paths; and how we may become worthy to wait therein. There be also shown the Mysteries of our hearts through this Number of Thirty-two. Its significations teach the Mysteries of the Regeneration of our Heart; whether from the beginning it was constituted to operate hereby and herewith, and by the Word of God; whether it was distinct in the Mind of God; and what be its place, Science and dubitation, its hope, faith and ultimate desire.

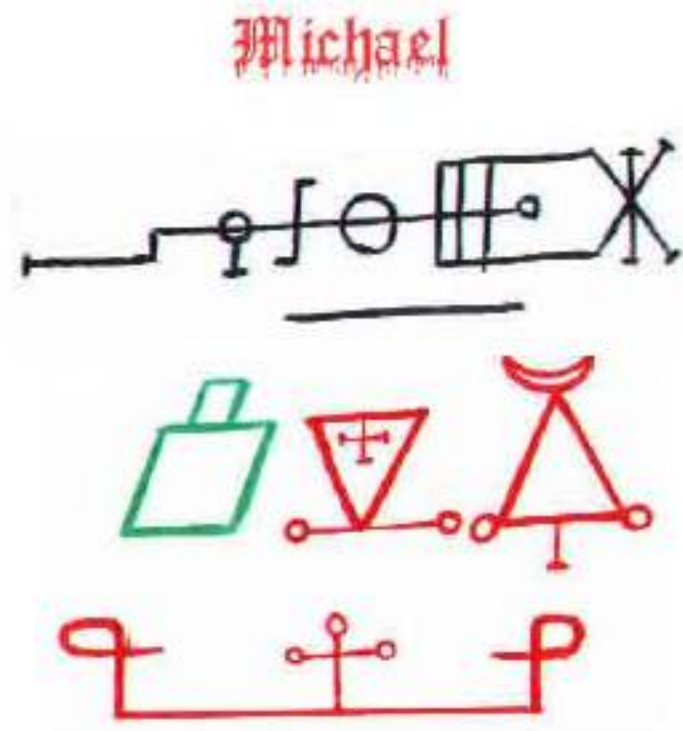
If you shalt desire to know thoroughly these Paths of Perfect and Profound Wisdom together with their Mysteries; remember the combinations of writings in the Sigil (He) which is in the centre of the figure of the Heart.

Whosoever thou mayest be, despise not this wonderful Science and Geometrical Searching Out, and the points of E o n,³ and the Mystical Numbers of the Letters. Also the Lord said unto God:⁴ ‘Go forth through the midst of the City, through the midst of Jerusalem, and sign a Symbol upon the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the abominations which be in the midst thereof. ‘Also he said unto them: ‘Hear me, go ye forth through the City follow-ing after him, and smite ye every man upon whom ye shall see ‘T ha un e’.⁵ Ye shall slay them from my Sanctuary. —Begin.’

CONCERNING GOD IN HIS TRINE

PERSONALITY

(MICHAEL and his Spirits) These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all Mystical Sciences (see Figure 41).

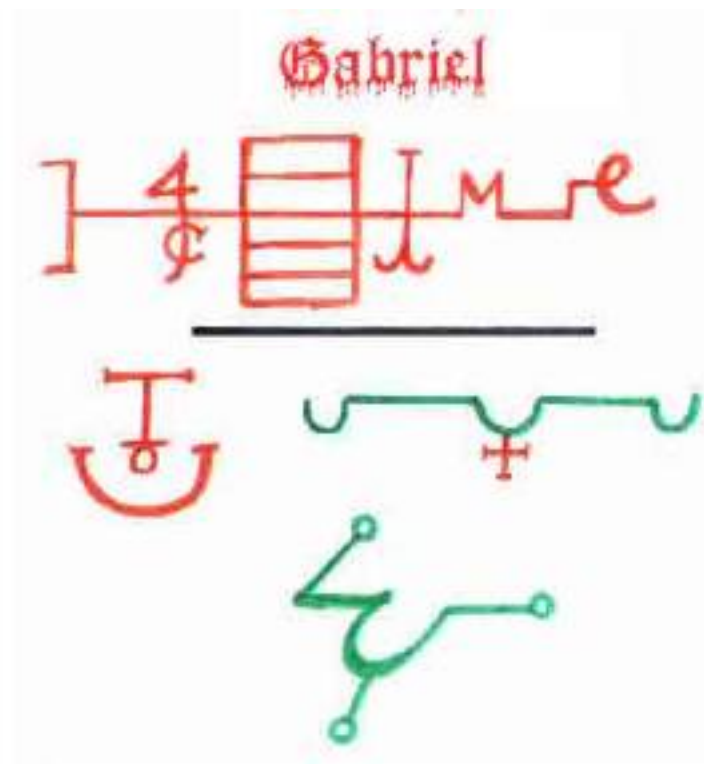


In this Sigil be taught the Mysteries of the Trinity Whom Abraham our Father knew, believed in and confessed. There is also taught herein how It is pleasing and harmonious in Itself, and by what ways It may be propitiated, as hath been communicable through Its Adorable Attributes. There is also (herein) taught how the whole may be communicable unto and in Thee, and as regardeth Thee in a profound and wonderful manner, through the Combinations of the Letters which be in the Great Central Triangle, between the Small Orb and Triangle. There is also (herein) taught how the Science of God may be communicable through His Attributes unto all Created Beings; and especially those most profound Mysteries which He operateth with regard both to Angels and Men, the which be shown through the combinations of the Letters which be without the Small Orb.

Also in all this Science thou shalt observe the Combinations of the Letters, of Geometry, and Gilgud or of their Numbers, in thy searching examination of all Sigils.

CONCERNING GOD, THE PRESERVER, THE DESTROYER, AND THE CREATOR

(GABRIEL and his Spirits) These Spirits do teach you all kinds of Mysteries. Thus is the Character (see Figure 40).



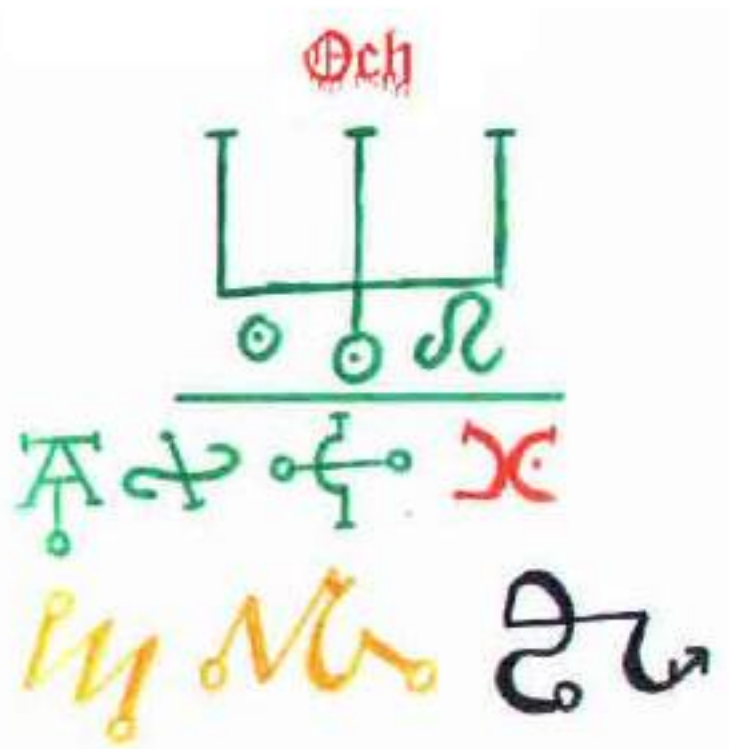
In this Sigil is taught what Mysteries the Lord God is willing to permit to **operate** in Creation, through the uncontaminate Inner Knowledge whereof also (Abraham) did rule and govern himself and went forth by the command of the Lord God to travel in the Land of Chanaan, wherein also he sojourned and was buried by his two (Sons) in a Mystical Sepulchre, that is to say in the Cave near unto Cariatarbee, wherein also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were interred. Now this same Cariatarbee is Hebrew Mambre, and Ephrata.

In this land did Abraham behold Three and Adore One, and thus was it counted unto him for righteousness.

In this Sigil is taught Who be those Three Persons meet to be adored, and how they do harmonise together; also as concerneth the Angels and Men what Mysteries they do operate; also how they do harmoniously act through Created Beings, Angels and men. All these things be shown forth in the Letters and in the Sigil herewith given, through their Number and Combination.

CONCERNING THE CREATION OF ALL THE ANGELS

(OCH and his Spirits) These do teach you what is the Nature of the Angels. These subjects fail under the domination of Och who is a Solar Spirit, and should be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak. Thus are the Characters (see Figure 39).



In this Sigil there is taught what is the Nature of Angels; what may be the object and end of such Creation and whether it be established to operate in the preservation and destruction of all Creatures. There is also taught Who and What is that Promised Messiah; what is the Kingdom; What is the Kingdom of Israel; what the Restitution through Him for the Wretched; what kind of a Prophet He may be; and what things can be performed by the Messiah for the welfare,

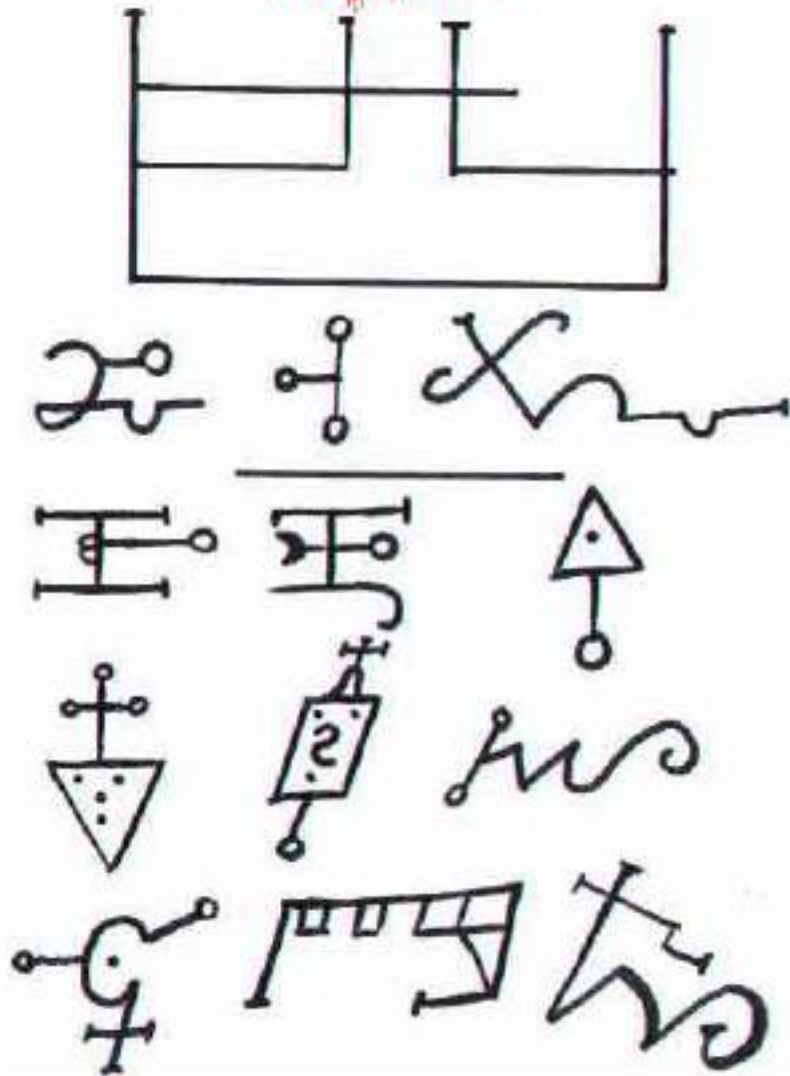
restitution all liberation of His people in Daya (sic).

In this Sigil as in others (Magical ones), there be Mysteries through the combination of Geometry, Gilgud and Numbers, as well as points relating to Geometrical (Symbolism).

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE ANGELS BEFORE THE FALL

(ZAPHKIEL and his Spirits) These do (not) teach you of what nature is the Life of all Angels, and their business and intercourse. Thus be their Characters (see Figure 38).

Zaphkiel



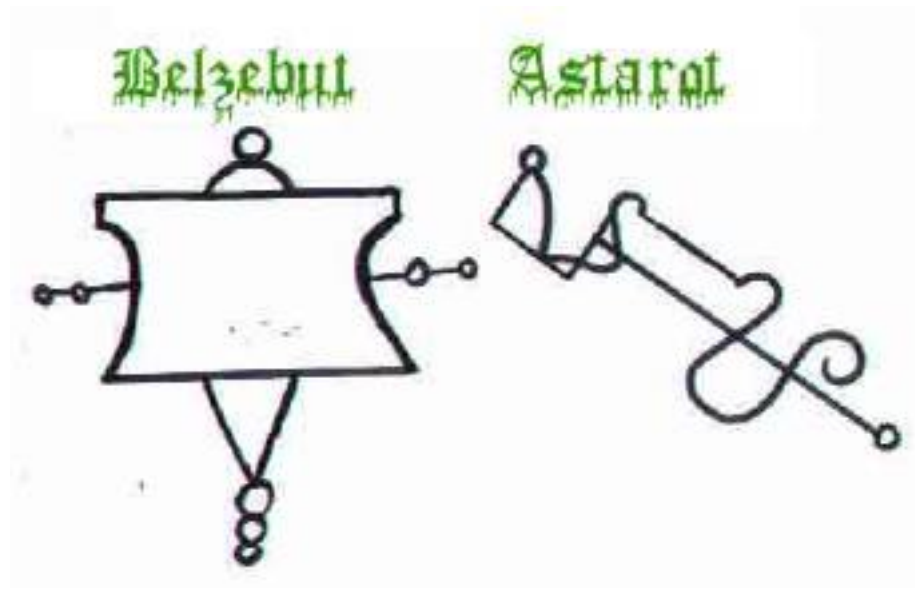
In this Sigil there is taught what was the Life of the Angels before the Fall. There be taught also the Mysteries of their habitation; whether there be a place of habitation for the Rebellious Angels; whether there may be found a Place Impassable and Void; whether the Angels were without any affection of passion soever; whether they were created in happiness; and whether such is confirmed unto them.

CONCERNING THE EVANGELIC REBELLION AND EXPULSION

(LUCIFER . BELZEBUT . ASTAROT) These Spirits teach you what were the Rebellion and Fail of the Evil Spirits. Thus be their Characters (see Figures 35,36 and 37).



Characters of his Princes

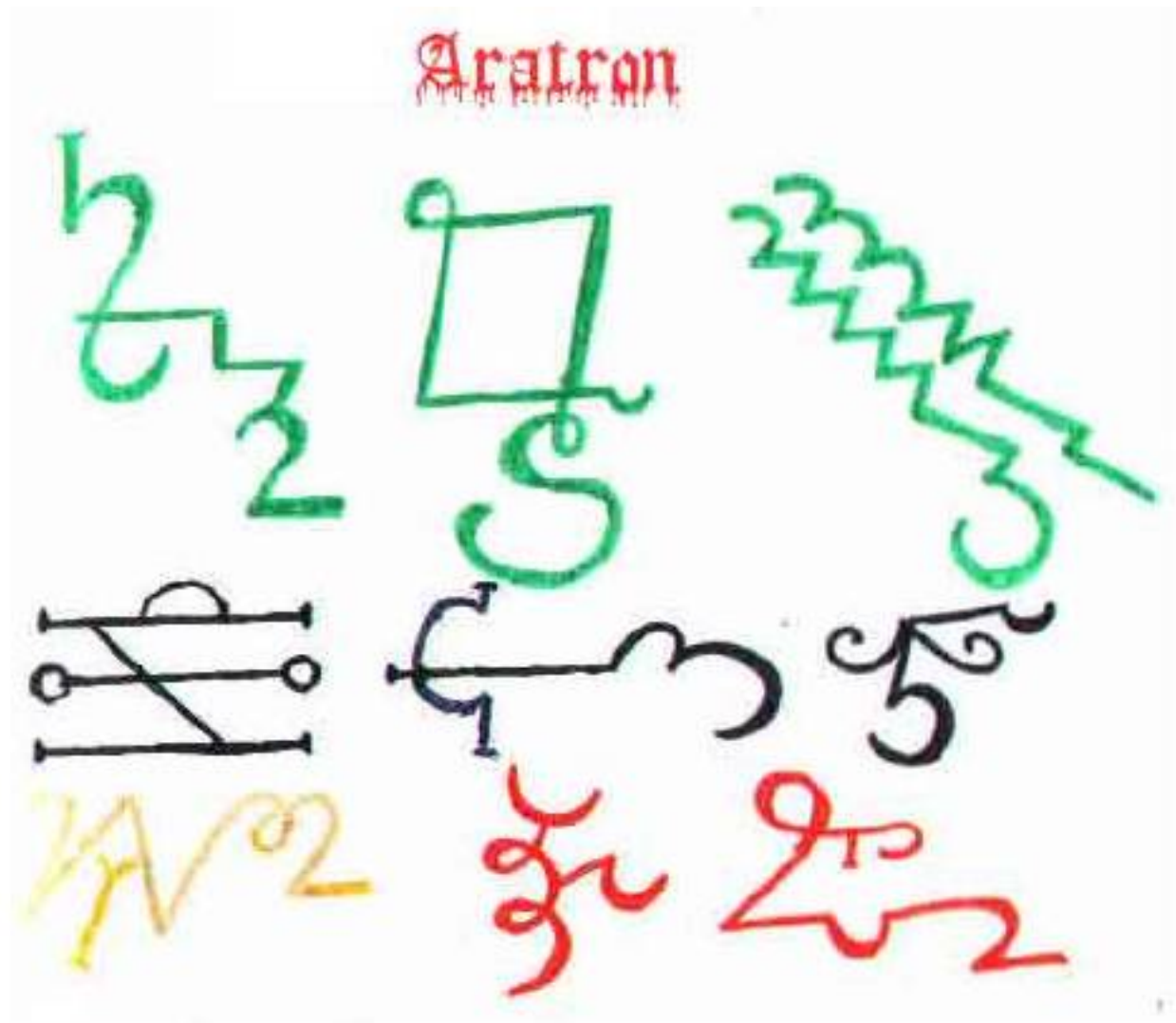


In this Sigil there be taught what was the Rebellion of the Angels and what was its cause; what were the Mysteries of their Life; whether their life should be understood as a continual action; whether the Names of these Angels were given unto them through the commands of God; what things have been committed unto them, whence and of what kind; and whether a certain Angel be allotted unto any or unto some especial commands. There be taught also herein certain most hidden Mysteries, alike admirable and not admirable, concerning their Life, which same be revealed unto very few, (especially the comprehension of their Mode of Life before the Fall).

CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE SOULS OF MEN

(ARATRON) This Spirit **teacheth** unto you the Creation of the Souls of Men, and what they really are; as also their estate after Death. When you cause these Spirits (under Aratron) to come unto you, see that you remain not long in their company. They will also tell you by writing, that which you desire to know. This

is his Character (see Figure 34).



In this Sigil is taught what is the creation of the Souls of Mankind, and what is the object and end of such Creation. Also what portion of the Angelic Host did rebel; and what time they rebelled; and how the Rebellious Angels were cast out. Also by the Virtue and in the Virtue (of this Sigil) there be also taught Unrelatable Mysteries regarding that Rebellion and that Expulsion, as well as the Time of that Rebellion and Expulsion.

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN

(PHUL. GABRIEL) These Spirits, besides the Life of Souls and of Man, do teach unto you all the Sciences which you shall desire to know. Thus are his Characters (see Figures 32 and 33).



In this Sigil there is taught what may be the Life (of Man) and the Creation (of Souls) even until the time of their sending forth into Bodies.

There be also taught the great Mysteries which the Lord is willing to perform; and whether all Souls were created from such a creation alike and at one time, and so also whether such be reserved in a certain place so that going forth thence they may be sent into Bodies and rule therein for a period of time.

These Spirits are to be invoked on a Monday and at Daybreak.

CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE GOOD ANGELS, AND OF CONSULTING THEM

(ZADKIEL, SACHIEL) These Spirits do give you in all things whatsoever advice may be good and fitting; they discover unto you all kinds of treasures, give them unto you and carry them whithersoever you request. They can also give you a Purse wherein is Gold and Silver. They appear unto you as soon as you invoke them, which should be on a Thursday and at Daybreak. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 30 and 31).



In this Sigil is taught of what description be the Angels of Light and Glory. There be also taught the Mystical Period of such a Life; and Mysteries, as they were unutterable, concerning such a Life; also that there was a certain Interval between their Creation and sending forth, and what be the Mysteries of such Interval.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND THEIR LIFE

(BETOR) This Spirit maketh you comprehend who and what the Devils or Angels of Darkness really are; the difference of their Names; their Powers; and what they can do. He, being invoked, appeareth speedily, and that at any time and at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 29).



In this Sigil there be taught what are the Devils or Angels of Darkness; how they can be known and understood by their proper Names; and how they are to be distinguished from the Angels. Also whether the Devils can fully be known by proper Names; and whether the Virtue of God is impressed upon them, or followeth hereupon.

There is also herein taught how we can attract such Angels unto us as Familiar Spirits by the knowledge of their Names.

Also the Mysterious Operations of such Angels, both as regardeth ourselves and our actions.

CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE DEVILS AND OF BANISHING THEM

(LAUNE) This Spirit again giveth unto you the knowledge of the Devils, but I counsel you not to avail yourself of his services, for he is a very wicked Spirit and a deceiver, who will do all in his power to entrap you, and afterwards he will mock you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 28).



In this Sigil there is taught whether they can have proper Names as distinct from the Angelic Names, seeing that they were transformed through their casting out: whether they can lead their lives in any definite place, or wherein there is a place determined; whether it be permitted in the Spheres or in the compounded

Elements. Also there is herein taught whether they have free will; in what way they conduct themselves in the places which they occupy; Also whether where they live be determined by the Power of their Expulsion.

Whether again there was an interval between their Expulsion and the Creation of Adam, and (if so) what interval. Herein also are taught unheard of and most terrible Mysteries, of such Interval and of Life.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND BECOME VISIBLE

(BRUF0R) This Spirit again teacheth unto you the nature and quality of the Devils, and the difference of their names and titles; how they can bind invisibly and how we can bind them. Avail not yourself of him. This is his Character. (See Figure 27).



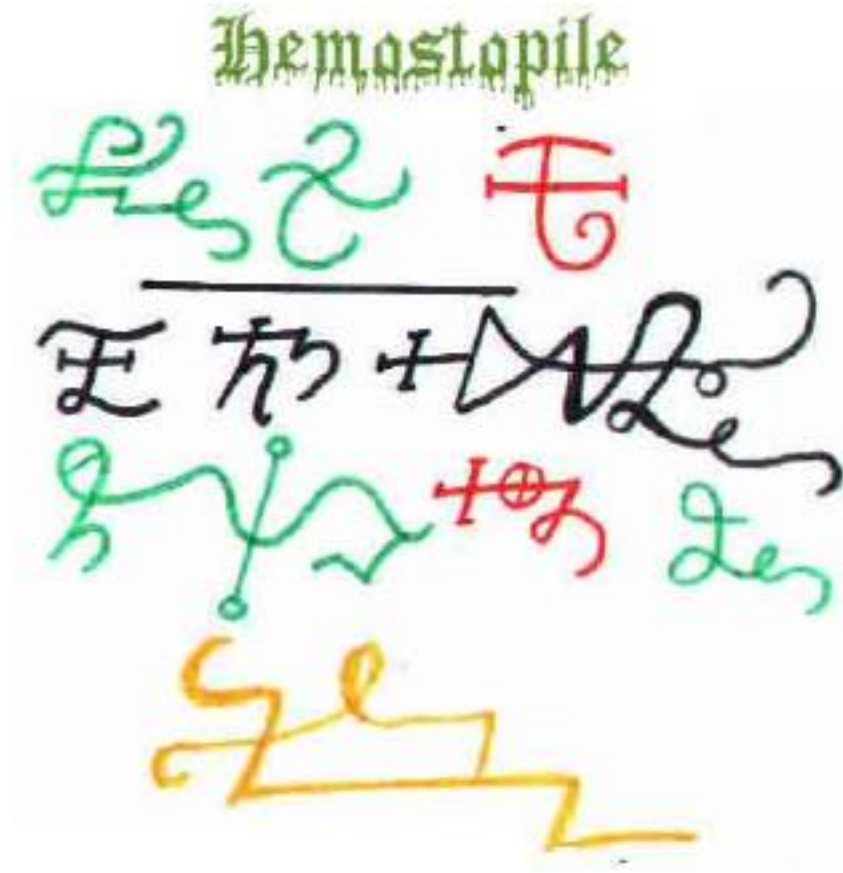
In this Sigil is taught how we can compel the Devils to show themselves visibly in the forms which they usually take to frighten and deceive (men).

There is also (here) taught how we may know them, for the Devils are known by their Names. Also whether and how from their Names their actions and operations can be known. Also how by the light hereof we can find out the means of driving them away from us and from our works and operations.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY CAN BECOME VISIBLE

(HEMOSTOPILE) This Spirit again will make you see and know the Malice of

the Devils, and will give you as many of them as you may wish. Avail not yourself of their services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 26).



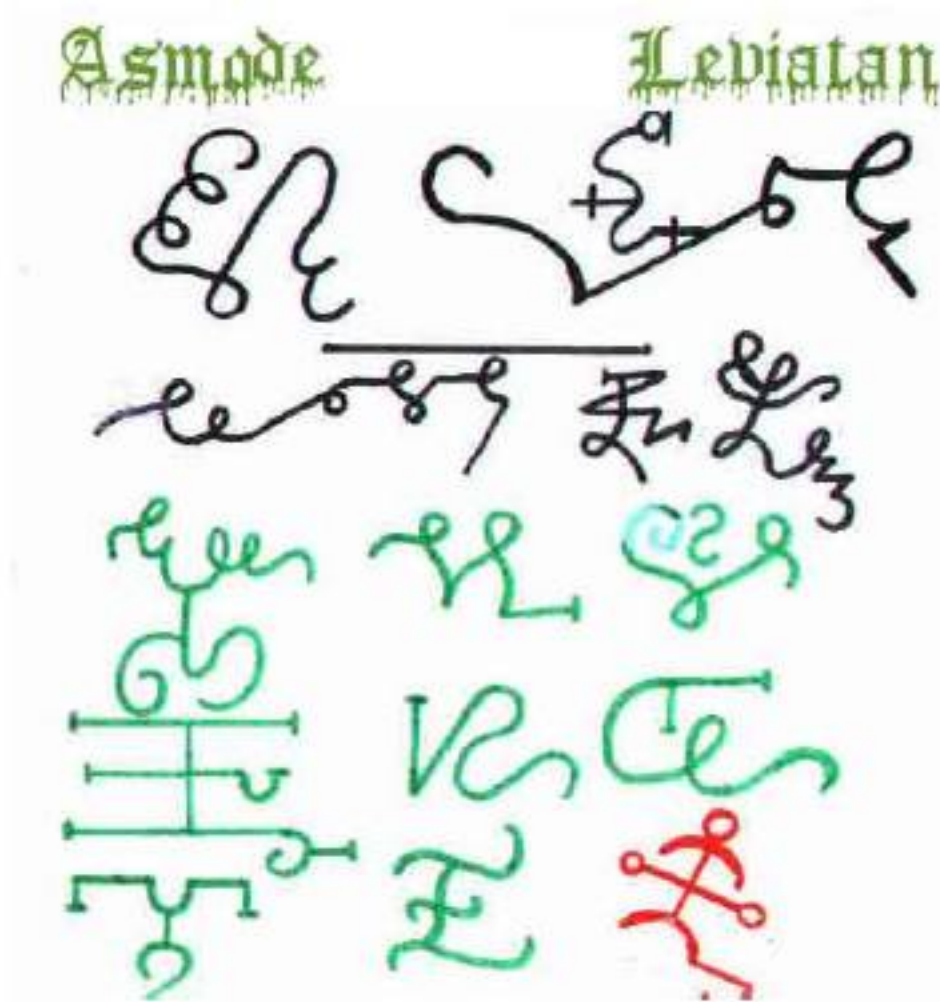
In this Sigil there be taught the methods whereby we can oblige the Devils to show themselves visibly in torments. They can deceive men and assume their forms, and change the just inclinations of men into evil passions. (Also there is herein shown) how they can take such forms, and from what media, and what methods they make use of (to do so).

CON CERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW

THEY MAY BE BOUND AND COMPELLED TO VISIBLE APPEARANCE

Now this is the Object of the Diabolic Qabalah.

(ASMODEUS. LEVIATAN) These Spirits teach you further the Malice of the Devils. Avail not yourself of the services of these Evil Spirits who are deceivers. It is alone the Name of God which can enable you to force them and all others to come unto you. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 24 and 25).



In this Sigil be the methods whereby we can force the Devils to show themselves

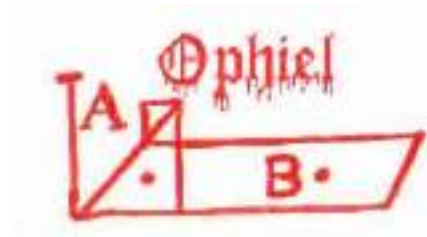
unto us in their torments and that in bodily form.

THE SACRO-MYSTIC THEOLOGY OF OUR FATHERS

CONCERNING THE SCIENCE OF THE REGENERATION OF ADAM AND HIS CHILDREN BY PELECH

We have given and told unto you many things regarding the Good Spirits who can serve you faithfully. Those we are here about to speak of can also do the same, seeing that they served our First Parents from the Creation of the World.

OPHIEL is a Spirit of Piety. He will teach you all the Wisdom of our First Father. Thus is his Character (see Figure 23).



Characters of the Spirit which be under the
domination of OPHIEL

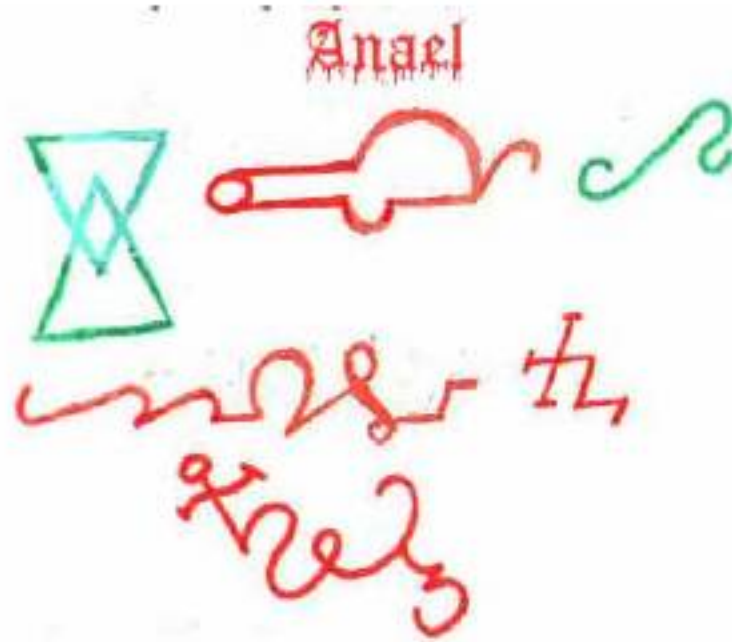


In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Regeneration of Adam and his
Children in Time, through Pelech now shown forth visibly as Jesus. Also the
forms of those in torment.

CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE GENII

ANAEL is a Spirit which will give unto you the Knowledge of all things which

he in the Order of Nature (understands), for he is a Spirit of Power, who appeareth speedily if he shall be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak by one who is alone and in a retired place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 22).

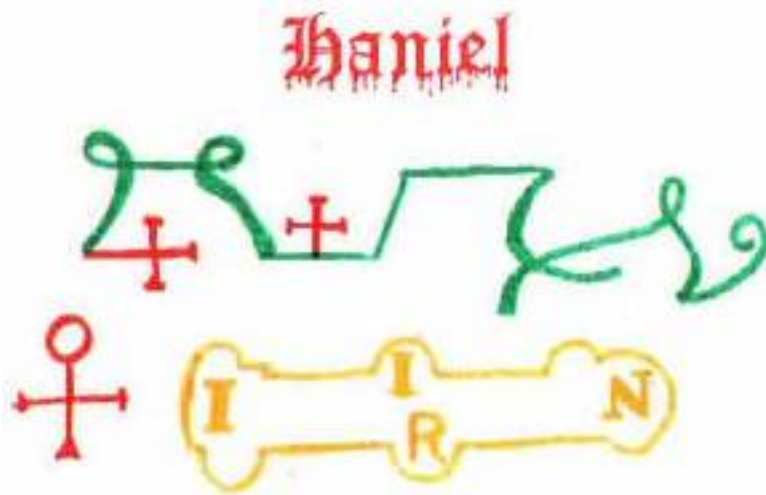


In this Sigil there be taught who and what the Genii are, as also their power and virtue. There be further shown the Mysteries of the Present, Past and Future Age. In this Sigil is hidden the Science of Merchants. Also here be those things which do appear and are reputed to be supernatural. Also herein we can obtain the revelation of unknown things, but this (is only granted) unto the Elect of God.

Also the Praxis of those Arcane Secrets of the Lord is declared and demonstrated in this Sigil, wherefore Adore the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and love thy neighbour. In the Praxis or working of this Sigil thou shalt constate that the effects hereof be certain and true yet (causing) the greatest wonder and astonishment.

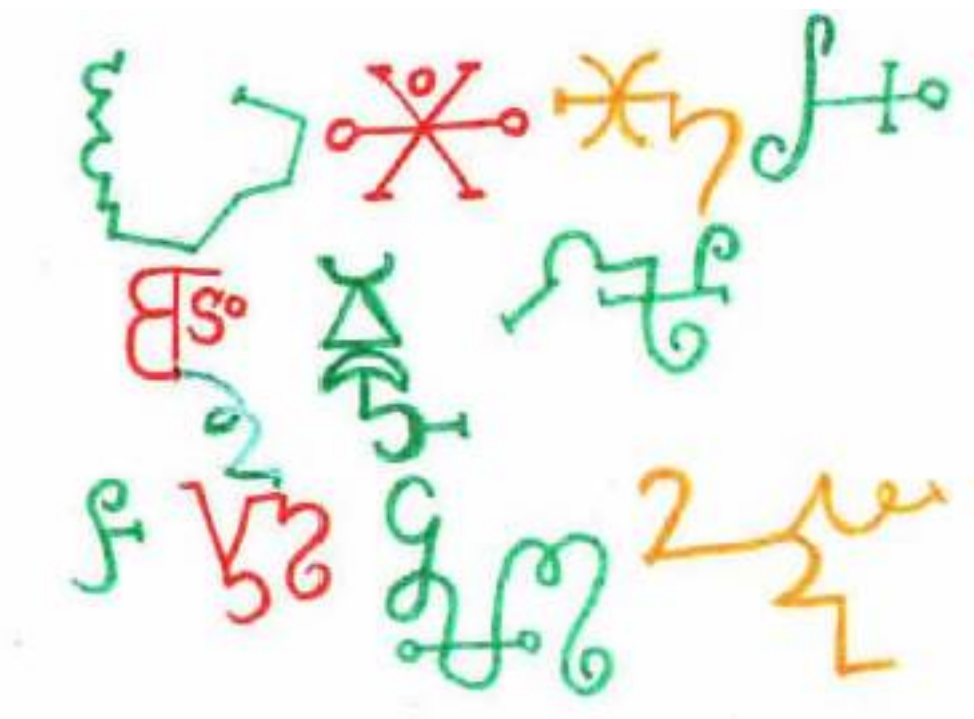
CONCERNING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GENII

HANIEL teacheth unto you the transformation of all precious stones and giveth unto you as many as you wish thereof. He is to be invoked on a Friday before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 21).



Characters of the Spirits which be under

HANIEL

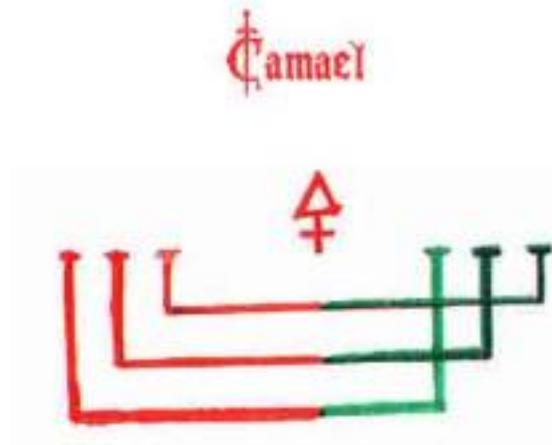


In this seal there is taught how Genii may be transformed into Man. They can pass from him into their nature, and correspond unto him in the compounded elements. There is here also taught how such may be necessary unto the Human Race. Also the necessity of such a Mystery.

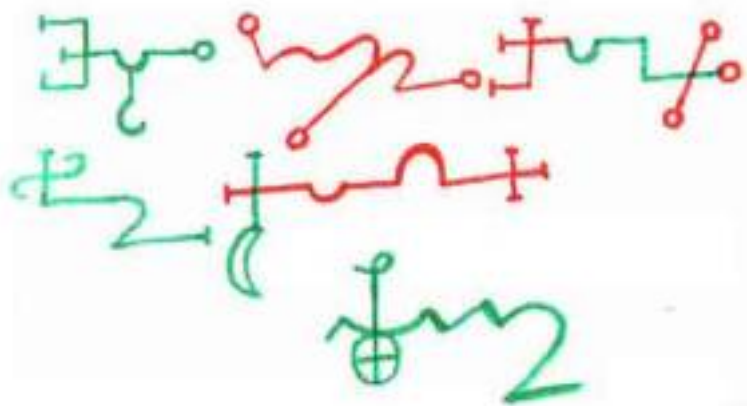
CONCERNING THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GENII

CAMAEL giveth unto you a perfect knowledge of your Genius, who will have the power to grant you everything that you shall demand of him. There be many Spirits under the rule of (Camael) who can serve you in many things, and especially such as you shall demand of them. Thus is his O-taracter (see Figure

20).



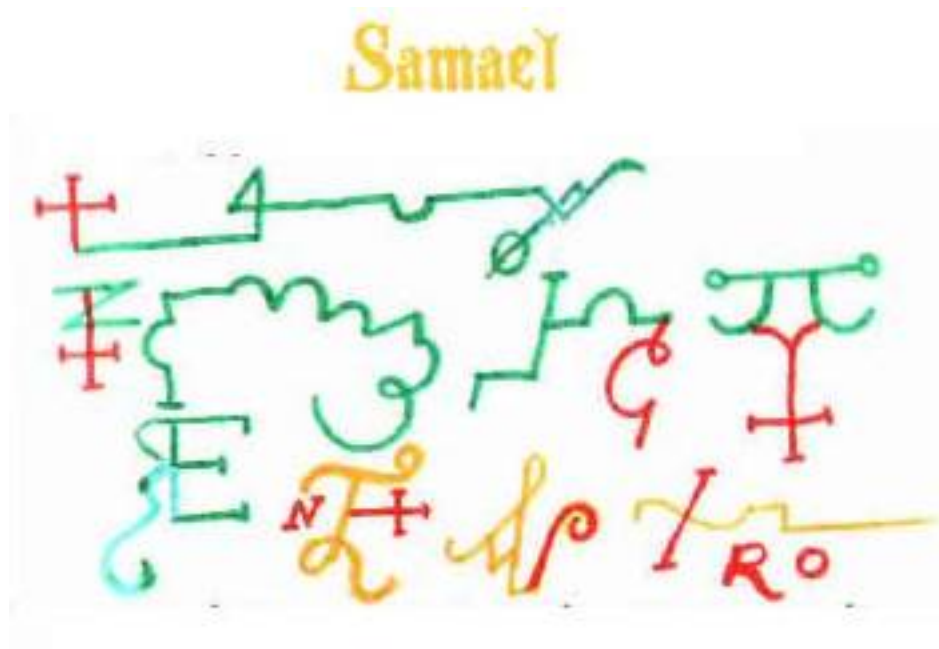
Characters of the Spirit which be under the
domination of CAMAEL



In this Sigil is taught what and after what manner may be this communication of the Genius; (transforming in us) our evil (qualities) into good, and our good (qualities) into better and best; there is also taught the method of such transformation. Wherefore adore the Lord God and love thy neighbour

CONCERNING PHITONE OR THE ABUSES OF NECROMANCY

SAMAEEL is a spirit of Counsel. He teacheth you Magic, Necromancy, Jurisprudence, and all the Occult Sciences, with facility. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday at Midnight, care being taken to fast the day that you shall wish to avail your self of his services. He hath much in his power, and on your demand he will tell you the extent thereof. Thus is his Character (see Figure 19).

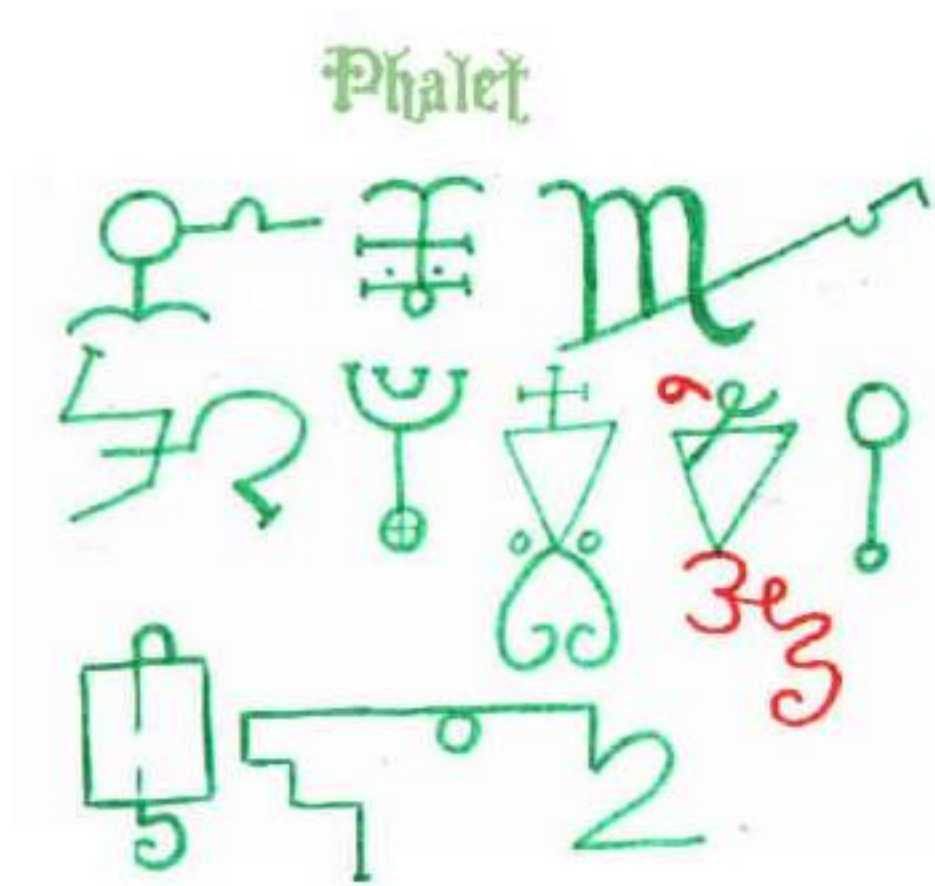


In this Sigil there be taught what are all the abuses of Necromancy which may expose a man (to danger) through such communication; whether such communication may have such virtue as to link you unto the Angels and unto God, and to confer upon you power over all creatures, or the union of the love of all beings with the most profound and familiar knowledge of them, or whether it

may join us unto the *Devil* even as in our mortal familiar (relationships) so can we be linked with all things which may be pleasing unto us. There is also taught (herein) how such communications maybe formed.

THE VISION OF EDEN, OR OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

PHALET will teach unto you all that did happen in the Terrestrial Paradise, from the time of the Creation of Adam and Eve. There be many Spirits under his leadership who can do much in the manner of serving you, and in many ways. Thus is his Character (see Figure 18).



In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Creation of the World, and of all Creatures, and what (of these) be sacred; but also how those (creatures) are proper to be detested for superstitious reasons when they draw their origin from Corpses of the dead, and from collections thereof, and from sepulchres; and thence also is the arising of every kind of superstitions. In this Sigil be (also) taught all the Arcana of Necromancers and of Diviners of that same class,¹ and whence in a Scientific (sense) these (arts) take their rise.

THE VISION OF FORMATION—ADAM

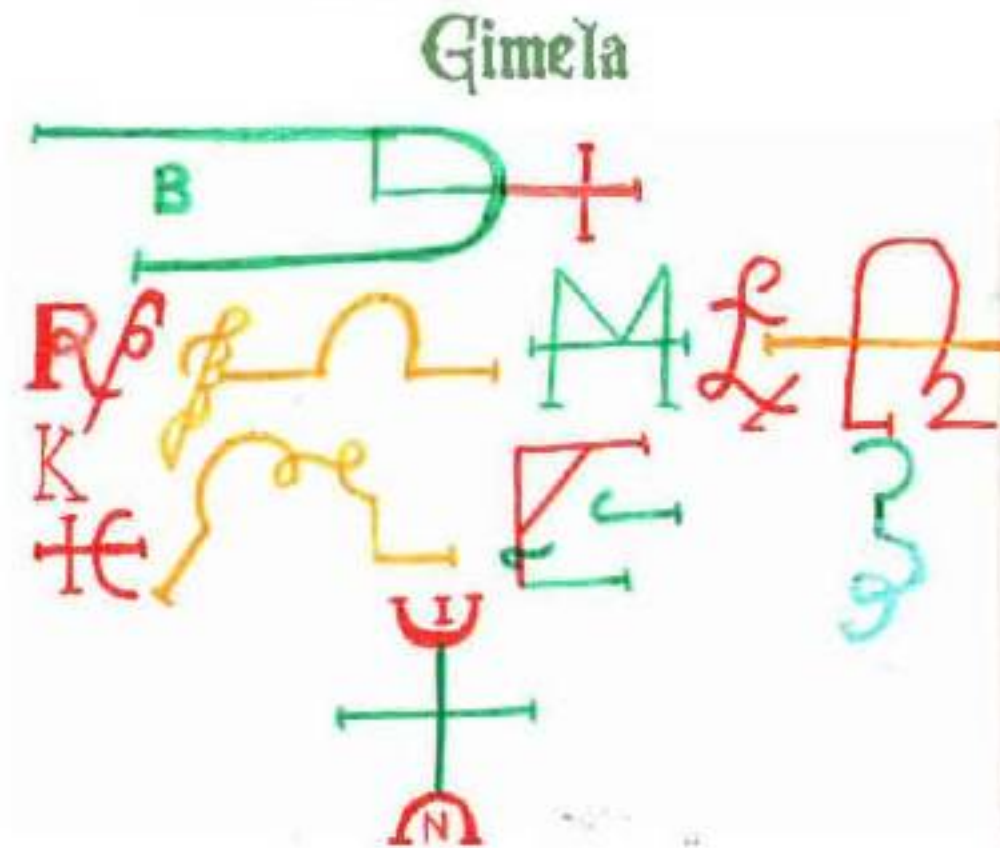
DALETE is a Spirit who will show unto you the Visions which Adam beheld while he was upon the Earth. He hath many Spirits under his leadership, who will teach unto you many things if you tell unto them that which you shall desire. Thus is his character (see Figure 17).



In this Sigil be taught and demonstrated the Mystical Formation of Adam; what Animals were in the Lord and brought in this place unto Adam by the Lord God.

THE BEHOLDING OF THE SERPENT

GIMELA maketh you to know and behold the form of the Serpent who did tempt Eve in the Terrestrial Paradise; (he also) can give unto you some of his Spirits who can transport you from one place to another and can even make you travel at the speed of an hundred leagues in an hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 16).

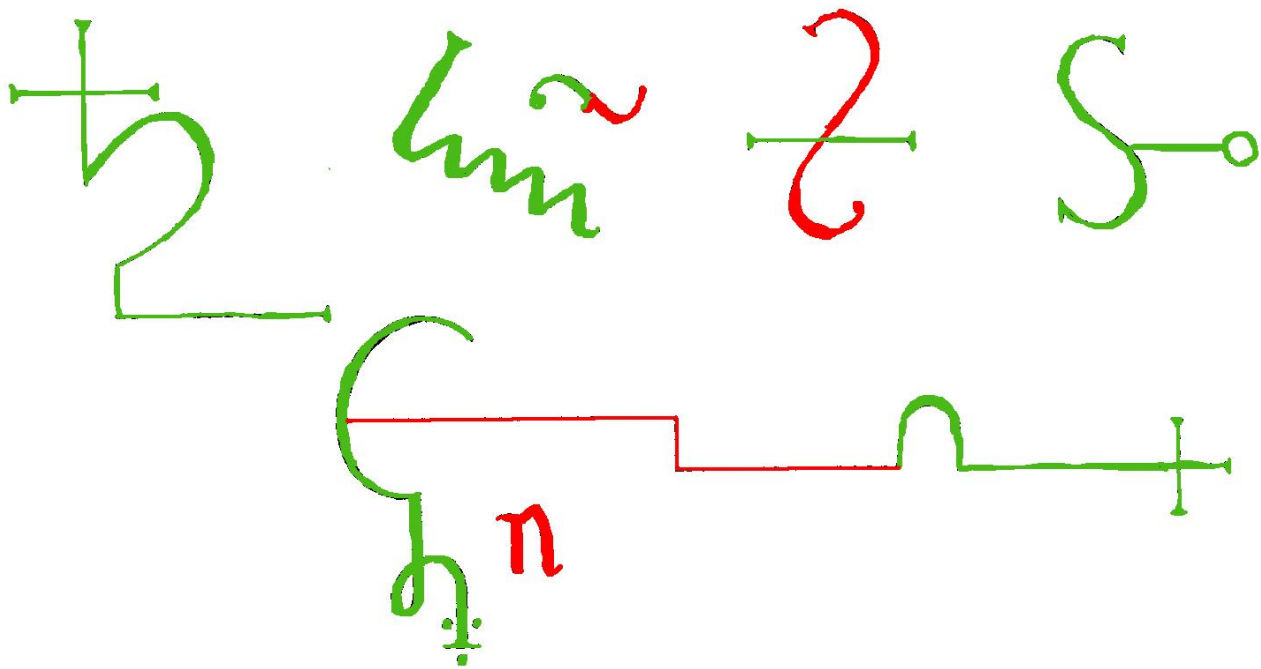


In this Sigil there be taught all the Mysteries which the Lord is willing to allow to be worked by the Serpent and from the Serpent; what may be his corporeal moulding or proportion, and whether he can contain in himself all invisible beings (or creatures) and in what manner.

THE WISDOM OF OUR FOREFATHER ADAM

BETEL teacheth unto you the Sciences which God had revealed unto Adam. He is a very docile Spirit who appeareth as soon as he is invoked. (This should be either) in a wood, or in a secluded garden, and one should be alone, whether it be by day or by night. Thus is his Character (see Figure 15).

BETEL

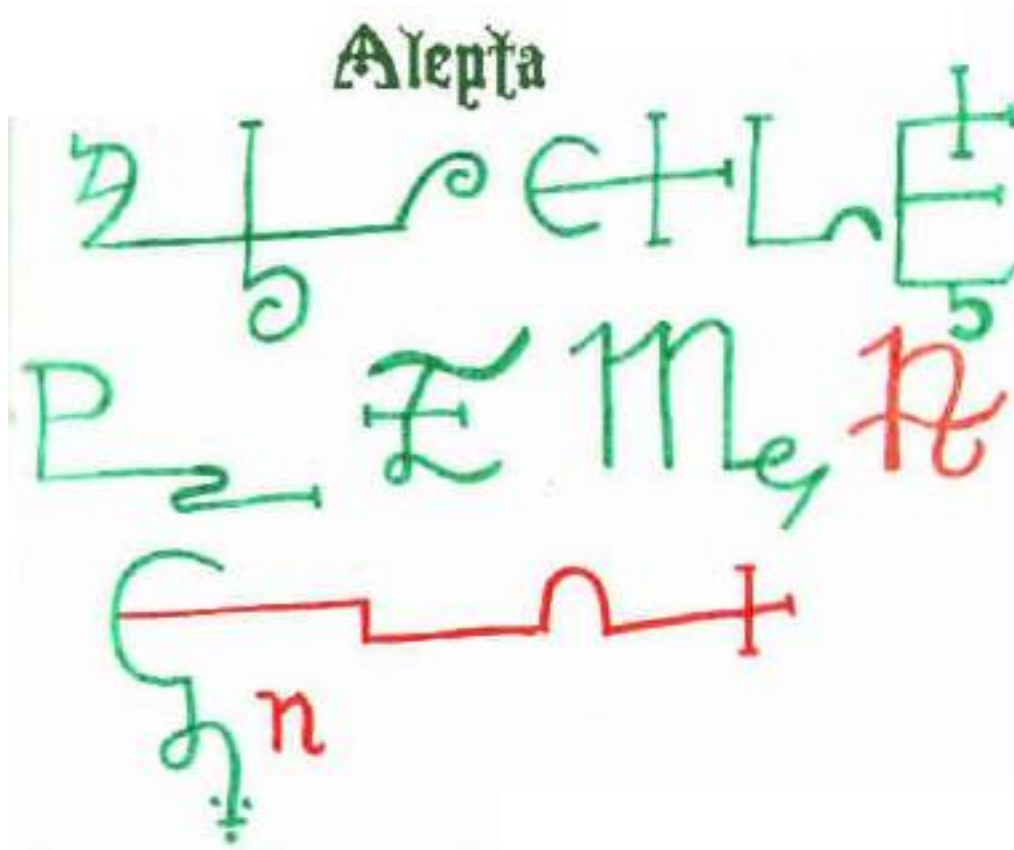


In this there is taught in what way we can arrive at the possession of the virtues of all Creatures (or created things); there is (further) taught what and of what kind¹ be the virtues hereof, and what (virtues) be truly most powerful above all virtues of Creatures. There is also taught the reason of the laws of (such) virtues and of their uses.

THE GOING-FORTH OF ABRAHAM FROM UR OF THE CHALDEES AND FROM HARAN

ALEPTA maketh you see how Abraham went forth from Ur from among the

Chaldeans, and from Haran. He can give unto you great riches. Thus is his Character (see Figure 14).

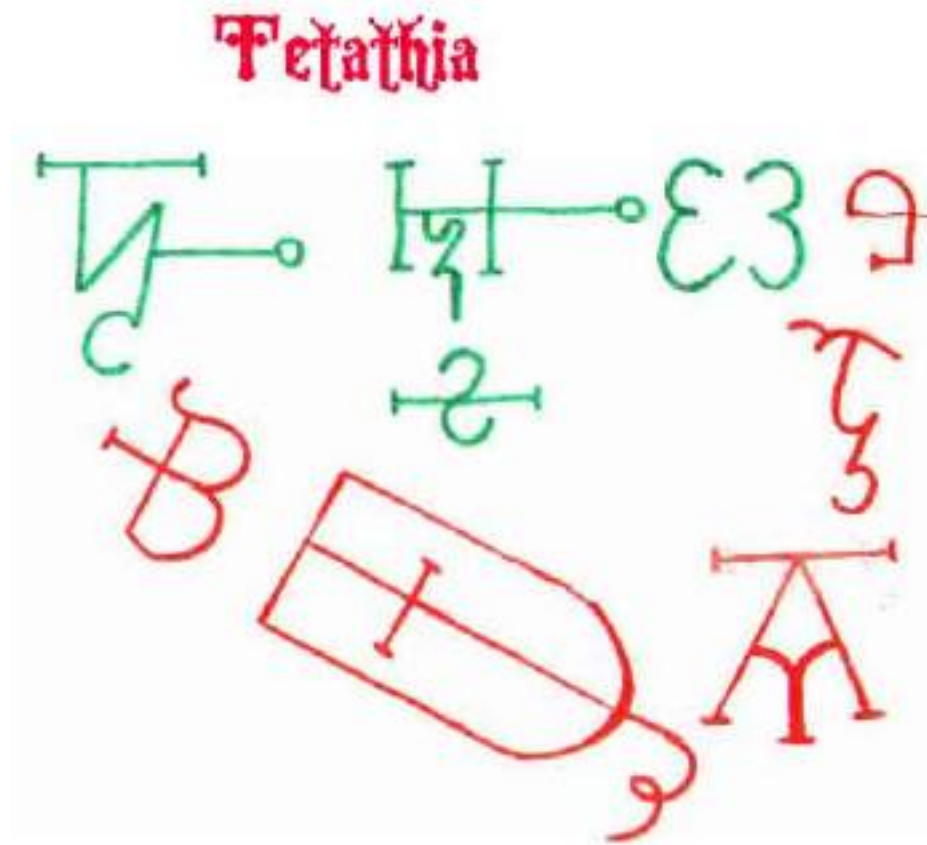


In this Sigil is taught how a Man may be exalted, and how a Man may become formidable unto all Creatures, at any hour (and how he may be rescued) whether out of the hands of cruel men, or from a crowd of men.

THE CAVE OF EPHRON

TETAHATIA is a Spirit of Science and Virtue, who hath preserved our Forefathers from their enemies, rendering them formidable unto them so as to put them to flight. He will do the same unto the Enemies of those who shall wish to

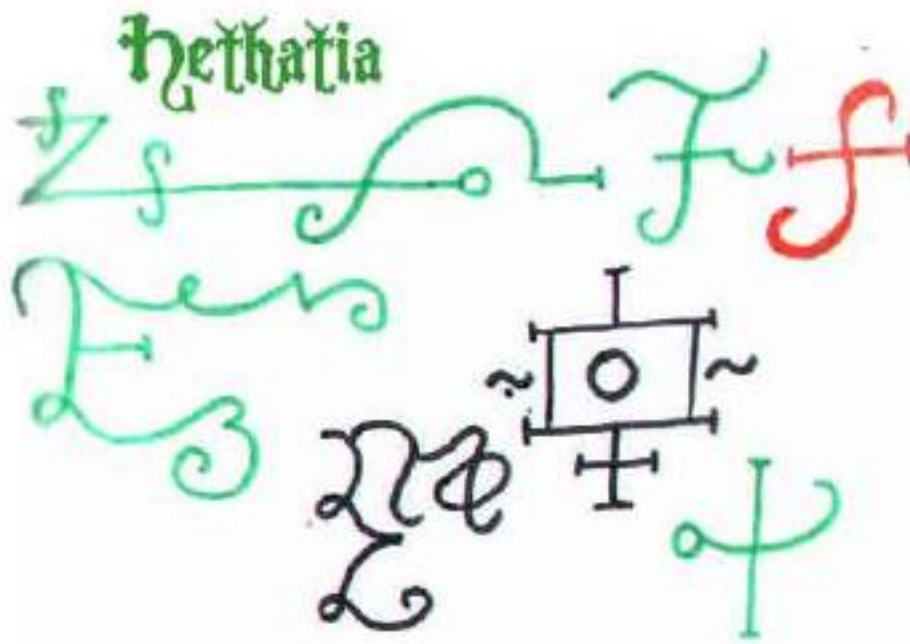
avail themselves of his services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 13).



In this Sigil be noted the ways whereby a blinding darkness may be produced, or a thing terrible unto one's enemies, also how a blessing may fail hereon.

MOSES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE DESERT

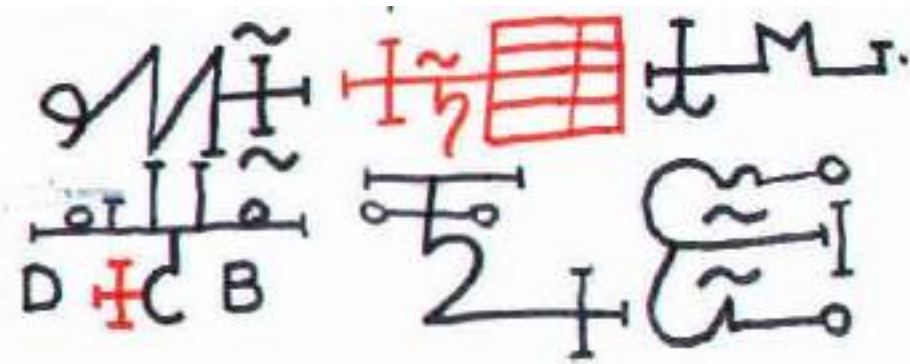
HETHATIA maketh you see even as Moses saw the benefits which he had received from God, when he was in the Desert of the Land of Midian. He can do much for those who invoke him, but it must not be in the desert place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 12).



In this Sigil is taught the Science and Wisdom of Moses, and the Arcana of the Egyptian Magi and Diviners; perfect happiness and the ways of causing and inspiring fear, and of going forth from a land and for the preservation of a Man in that (case) and place.

THE ROD OF MOSES

ZAINAEL is a Spirit who did teach unto Moses the methods of availing himself of the Rod with the which he did perform so many miracles in Egypt, and among the chaldeans. He hath much power to render those rich who avail themselves of his services. He can be invoked at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 11).

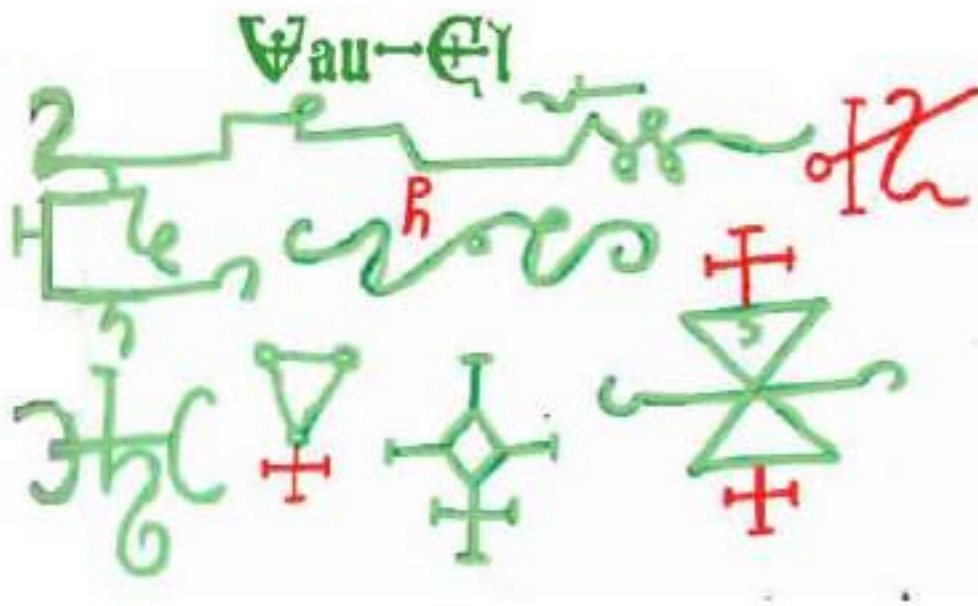




In this Sigil is taught the Practice of the Science and Wisdom of the Diviners and Magi of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and by what ways and means they may be acquired.

THE VISION OF ‘MAN’

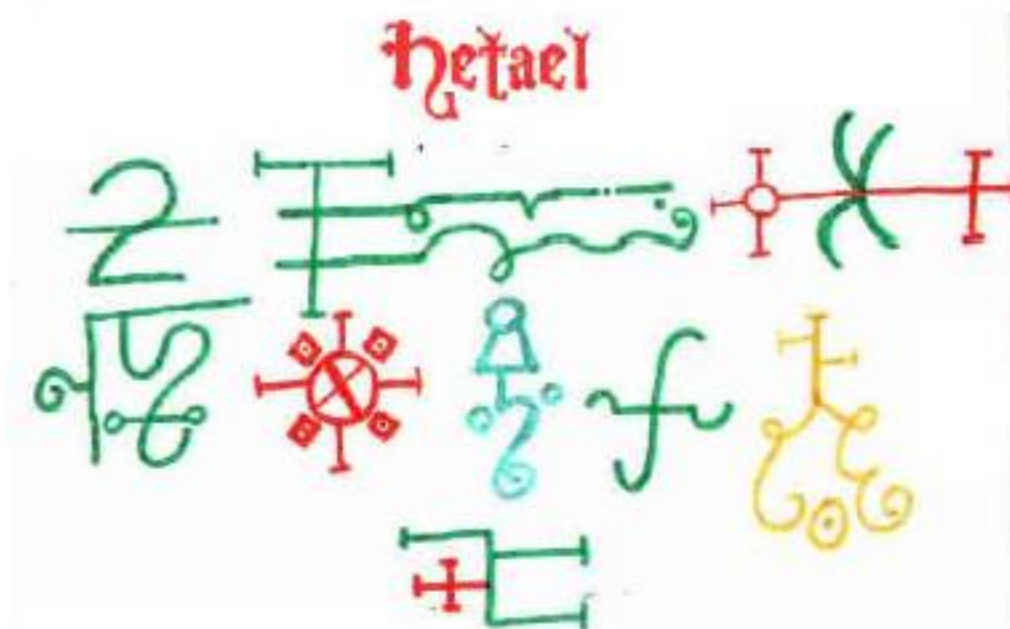
VAU-AEL is a Spirit who causeth all kinds of pleasant visions to appear, such as our Forefathers in the Old Testament beheld. He serveth you faithfully in all that you desire to know. Thus is his Character (see Figure 10). He hath many Spirits under his dominion.



In this Sigil, howbeit, there is formed a certain species of ‘Man’ for castings out.

THE EXPLORER AND LEADER JOSHUA

HETAEL is a Spirit who guides armies and also can destroy them, as he did unto the enemies of the Children of Israel under the command of Joshua, when by his prayer the latter arrested the course of the Sun. He can render you invulnerable unto every kind of weapon, and can give you Spirits to serve you unto this end. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday. Thus is his Character (see Figure 9).



In this Sigil there is taught the declaring of the intentions of Enemies and the like. Also there can be expelled all things noxious unto body and mind, and further in like manner this Mystic (Sigil) operateth in their restoration. Also there be Mysteries regarding 'Man'.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

RAPHAEL is a Spirit of Science who did teach unto Solomon¹ Knowledge and Wisdom. He is to be invoked on a Sunday before Sunrise. Thou must be both pure and chaste when thou dost invoke him, and thou must have fasted on the previous eve. Thus is his Character (see Figure 8).



In this Sigil is taught the manner of joining Actives and Passives together the one unto the other, in natural things. There is also taught concerning the 'KANSSUD' of Earthly regions and powers, from one class unto another.

OF THE LIFE OF ELIJAH

GABRIEL is a Spirit who did teach unto the Prophet Elijah all the Mysteries of Divinity. He is to be invoked on a Thursday before Daybreak. His Power is very Great, and he can do you great good, in the which he will instruct you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 7).



In this Sigil there be taught the Methods of restoring and transplanting both health and mental force.

THE SPIRIT OF ELISHA

MICHAEL is a Spirit who guided the Prophet Elisha in all his actions. He is the Protector of all Kingdoms. After God Himself, he is almost all-powerful as regardeth those who perform his Invocation, which latter should be worked upon a Sunday, and in the evening. Thus is his Character (see Figure 6).



In this Sigil is taught how there may be formed a certain composite thing by means of which the faculties and vital Spirits (exist) as well in Man as in other creatures, according to what is necessary for and convenable unto them.

IN THE FIELDS OF BABYLON

URIEL is a Spirit who did reveal unto the Prophet Esdras every description of Prophecy, he did also aid the Children of Israel in the Camp of the Babylonians. He teacheth natural Sciences, Physic, and Medicine. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 5).



In this Sigil there be taught the method of understanding what and of what Kind were those twin Souls (namely) Henoch. The faculties of the Mind and Understanding are purified, and these also in such a manner that they may be exalted from the lowest degree unto that which is most perfect of all. By the

which composition also there can be a transmission made of the participating Power or that power of communication of the comprehension of Spirits.

THE SON OF ZACHARIAS IN THE DESERT

SAMAEL is the Spirit who did never abandon Saint John during the time in which he dwelled in the desert before his preaching. He is the protector of preachers in Missions among foreign nations. He teacheth Theology. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, and in the morning. His Character is thus formed (see Figure 4).

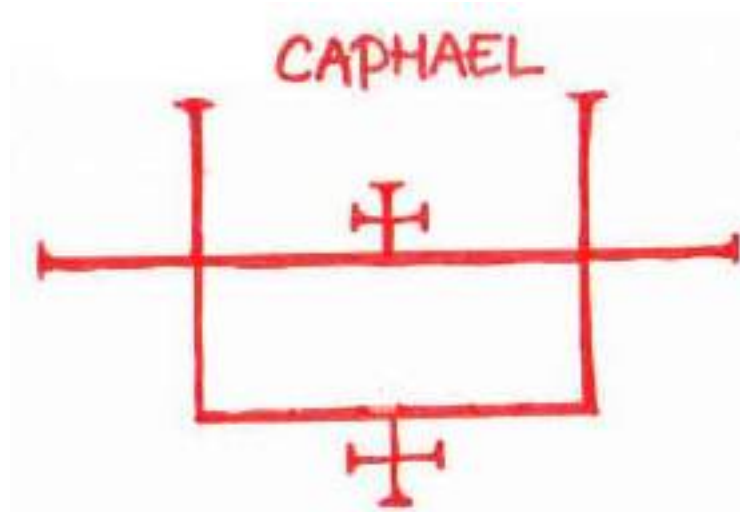


In this Sigil is taught the harvest of the Plants of Blessedness, and such harvests; together with the envy of the Kingdom of Behemoth and Leviathan, of the which the Lord God did make use from the Beginning, and preserved (the same) for the production of all creatures, and also in what manner such souls be produced (and

come forth).

BY THE FLOWING OF JORDAN

CAPHAEL is a Spirit who guided St. John in the desert, and when he was preaching the Baptism of Penitence by the River of Jordan where the people were baptized, he filled their hearts with Charity and Benediction. He teacheth an infinitude of matters with facility.



In this his Sigil (see Figure 3) there is taught concerning the healing of barrenness and of death concerning the Kingdom of God, and the most ardent Charity; in the which blessed mystical Numbers (of the Sigil) there is taught unto whatsoever Operations this is to be applied, howbeit certain special Operations do fail under the head of certain especial Numbers. Also concerning Sciences and Arts of all kinds and of all perfections whatsoever they may be.

He is to be invoked on Fridays and in the morning.

THE CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS AT NAZARETH

The Prophet of the Greatest One; or the Languor of the Nature.

THAVAEEL. This Spirit had a particular care of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was he who conducted the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph into Egypt when they were fleeing from the persecution of Herod. He giveth unto us a perfect knowledge of all the simples and their virtues. He can be invoked at any time. His Character is thus (see Figure 2).



In this Sigil is taught the planting or the sowing of the Seed of Plants, the comprehension of virtue; there are also (herein) taught the manners of flowering as regardeth Plants, and also those inspirations of virtue and grace which be as it were the fundamental plants of the Qabalistical ART.

They who shall write with the ginger upon the forehead of these letters I.. .N. R. .I, will never die by a sudden death.

THE THEOSOPHY OF OUR FATHERS

AS REGARDETH THE PLANETS THE SANHEDRIN

ZADKIEL will teach unto you all the Sciences Active and Passive, with a remarkable facility, with all honesty and courtesy, together with every kind of benediction. They who avail themselves hereof will possess all things in content.

He is to be invoked on a Monday and in the Morning. His Character is this (see Figure 1)



In this Sigil is taught the method of joining together Actives and Passives, or in everything the manner of modesty and grace. In the which Numbers the Lord God doth sanctify these Planets, so that they may work marvels, and as it were portents, through such Numerations.

Seeing that we possess the explanation of the (Magical) Circle, (let us here state) that it is (Employed) for the Invocation of Spirits, so as to escape the dangers which might arise through their malice. Now it having been duly prepared for you to avail yourself of the Services of the Spirit you desire (to Summon) it is necessary to take heed that you comprehend the power which he hath and whether he can grant you that which you shall demand.

Being, then, in the midst of the Circle, wherein you are to perform the Operation, and having made the Character (or Sigil) of the Spirit who shall serve you: you shall see that the Circle be (correctly) formed according to the instructions we have (elsewhere) given. Being then, I say, in the midst thereof, after having recited the *Pater*, an *Aye*, together with the *Credo*, you shall repeat the following Conjunction:

CONJURATIO

Omnipotens Aeterne Deus, Qui totam Creaturam condidisti in laudem et honorem tuum, ac ministerium hominis, OTO ut Spiritum (N.N.) de () ordine mittas, qui me informat et doceat quo ilium interrogavero, non mea voluntas fiat, sed Tua, per Jesum Christum Filium Unigenitum. Amen.

O Eternal Omnipotent God, Who hast formed every creature unto Thy praise and honour, and for the Ministry of Man: I beseech Thee to send unto me the Spirit (here give the name of the Spirit) of the (here give the name of of class or Order of Spirits) Order, who may inform and teach me concerning those things which I shall demand of him, nevertheless not my Will, but Thine, be done, through Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Having obtained from the Spirit that which you desire, you shall license him to depart in these words:

THE LICENCE TO DEPART

Quia Placide et quiete venisti, et hac petitione mihi respondisti, ago Deo gratias in Cujus Nomen venisti, ite in pace ad loca tua et rediturus ad me cum te vocavero per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING LICENCE TO DEPART

Seems that peaceably and in quiet thou has come, and hast made answer unto me in this (my) petition, I return thanks unto God, in Whose Name thou hast come. Depart hence in peace unto thine habitations, and be thou ready to return whensoever I shall have called thee. Through Christ our Lord Amen.

After having repeated this Conjunction three times, if so be that the Spirit appeareth not unto you, you shall repeat the present (following) Conjunction three times. And these Conjunctions should be written out on virgin parchment, together with the Licence to Depart.

THE CONJURATION

I (N.N.) do Conjure thee (O Spirit N.N.) by the virtue of the Great and Holy Names of God, that immediately and without delay thou art to appear unto me

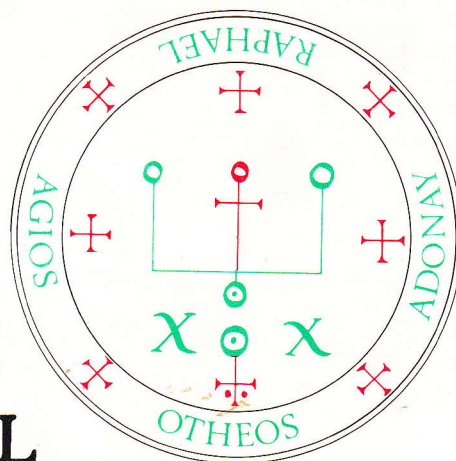
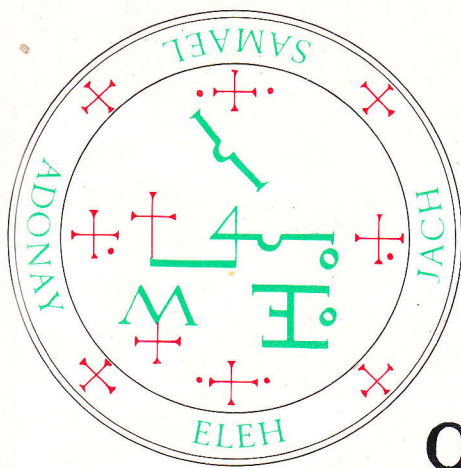
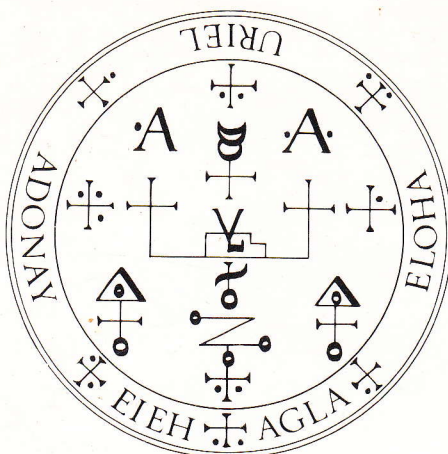
under an agreeable form, and without noise, nor injury unto my person, to make answer unto all that I shall command thee; and I do conjure thee herein by

**EL ELOHIM ELOHO ELOHIM SEBAOTH ELION EIECH ADIER
EIECH ADONAY JAH SADAY TETRÁGRAMMATON SADAY AGIOS
OTHEOS ISCHIROs ATHANATOS AGLA Amen.**

After having performed this Conjunction three times following, it is necessary to continue the same for three days successively, in the same place, and at the same hour.

And when (your desire shall be) satisfied, and having obtained from Him that which you wish, you must license him to depart (saying):

‘Go in peace unto the place which hath been destined unto you from all Eternity; let there be peace between us and you’

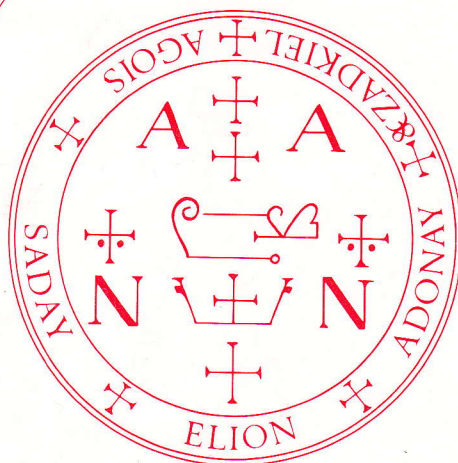
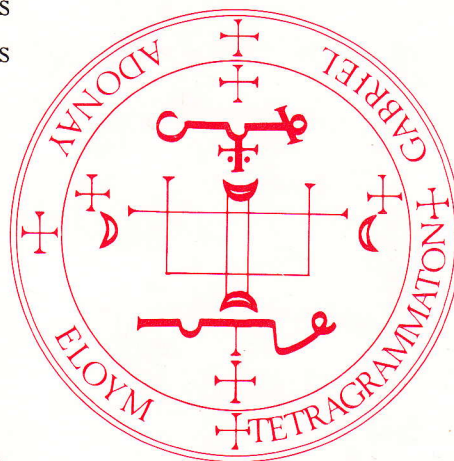


THE GRIMOIRE OF ARMADIEL

TRANSLATED AND EDITED FROM
THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE ARSENAL, PARIS

BY S. L. MACGREGOR MATHERS
Comte de Glanstrae

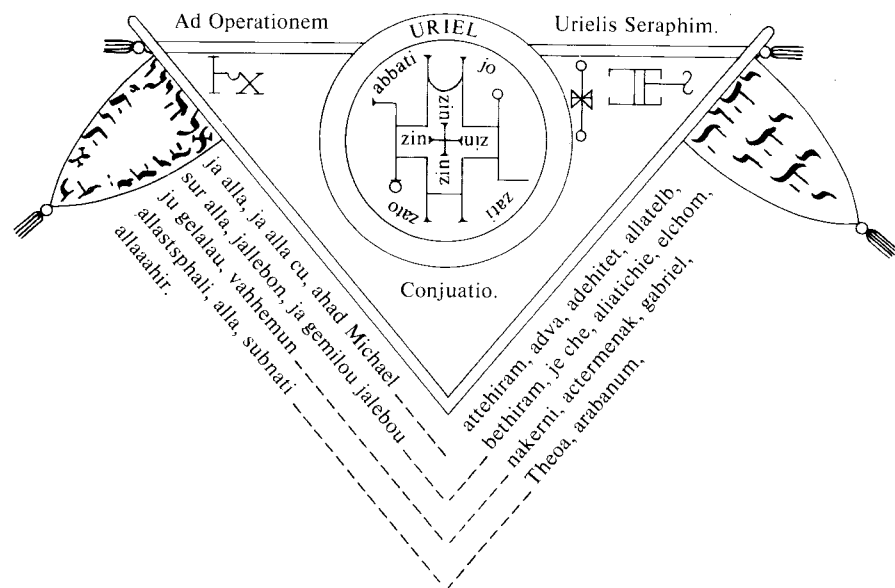
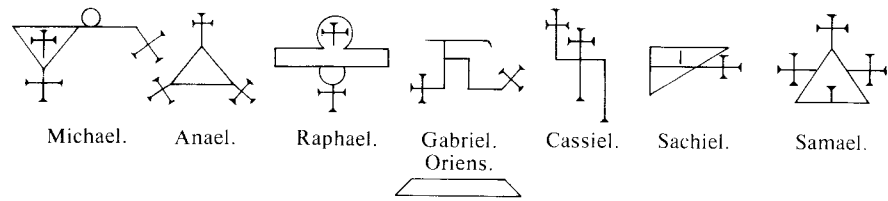
WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND ADDITIONAL NOTES BY
FRANCIS KING



THE GRIMOIRE OF ARMADEL



Operation of URIEL SERAPHIM.



THE GRIMOIRE OF ARMADEL



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ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL
LONDON AND HENLEY

*First published in 1980
by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd
39 Store Street, London WC1E 7DD and
Broadway House, Newtown Road,
Henley-on-Thames, Oxon RG9 1EN
Set in 11/14pt Palatino by Oxprint Ltd
and printed in Great Britain by
Lowe & Brydone Ltd*

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
The grimoire of Armadel.*

1. Magic

I. Mathers, S Liddell MacGregor

133.4'3 BF1602 79-40851

ISBN 0 7100 0083 9

CONTENTS



INTRODUCTION p1

1. MACGREGOR MATHERS AND HIS TRANSLATIONS p1
2. THE GRIMOIRE OF ARMADEL AND ITS USE IN MAGIC p6

THE MAGIC OF ARMADEL p15

THE THEOSOPHY OF OUR FOREFATHERS OF THEIR SACRED AND MYSTIC THEOLOGY BY ARMADEL p21

- AS REGARDETH THE PLANETS. THE SANHEDRIN p23
- THE CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS AT NAZARETH p24
- BY THE FLOWING OF JORDAN p25
- THE SON OF ZACHARIAS IN THE DESERT p26
- IN THE FIELDS OF BABYLON p27
- THE SPIRIT OF ELISHA p28
- OF THE LIFE OF ELIJAH p29
- THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON p30
- THE EXPLORER AND LEADER JOSHUA p31
- THE VISION OF 'MAN' p32
- THE ROD OF MOSES p33
- MOSES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE DESERT p34
- THE CAVE OF EPHRON p35
- THE GOING-FORTH OF ABRAHAM FROM UR OF THE CHALDEES
AND FROM HARAN p36
- THE WISDOM OF OUR FOREFATHER ADAM p37
- THE BEHOLDING OF THE SERPENT p38
- THE VISION OF FORMATION — ADAM p39

THE VISION OF EDEN, OR OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE p40
CONCERNING PHITONE OR THE ABUSES OF NECROMANCY p41
CONCERNING THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GENII p42
CONCERNING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GENII p43
CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE GENII p44

THE SACRO-MYSTIC THEOLOGY OF OUR FATHERS p47

CONCERNING THE SCIENCE OF THE REGENERATION OF ADAM
AND HIS CHILDREN BY PELECH p47
CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND
COMPELLED TO VISIBLE APPEARANCE p48
CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY CAN BECOME VISIBLE p50
CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND BECOME VISIBLE p51
CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE DEVILS AND OF
BANISHING THEM p52
CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND THEIR LIFE p53
CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE GOOD ANGELS,
AND OF CONSULTING THEM p54
CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN p55
CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE SOULS OF MEN p56
CONCERNING THE EVANGELIC REBELLION AND EXPULSION p57
CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE ANGELS BEFORE THE FALL p58
CONCERNING THE CREATION OF ALL THE ANGELS p59
CONCERNING GOD, THE PRESERVER, THE DESTROYER, AND THE CREATOR p60
CONCERNING GOD IN HIS TRINE PERSONALITY p61
CONCERNING GOD THE UNIVERSALLY ONE p62
CONCERNING THE PATHS OF WISDOM p64

THE RATIONAL TABLE p67

THE FIRST CHARACTERS p67
THE VISION OF ANOINTING p69
THE VISION OF DUST p70
THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (I) p74
THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (II) p75
THE CHARACTERS OF MICHAEL p77
ORIGINAL LATIN TITLE PAGE p79

FIGURES



OPERATION OF THE URIEL SERAPHIM FRONTISPIECE

- A THE MAGIC SQUARE OF MARS p8
- B THE SQUARES OF BRTzBAL p9
- C THE TRUE SIGIL OF BRTzBAL p9
- D THE FORMAL SIGIL OF BRTzBAL p9
- 1 THE SIGIL OF ZADKIEL p23
- 2 THE SIGIL OF THAVAEI p24
- 3 THE SIGIL OF CAPHAEL p25
- 4 THE SIGIL OF SAMAEL p26
- 5 THE SIGIL OF URIEL p27
- 6 THE SIGIL OF MICHAEL p28
- 7 THE SIGIL OF GABRIEL p29
- 8 THE SIGIL OF RAPHAEL p30
- 9 THE SIGILS OF HETAEL p31
- 10 THE SIGILS OF VAU-AEL p32
- 11 THE SIGILS OF ZAINAEL p33
- 12 THE SIGILS OF HETHATIA p34
- 13 THE SIGILS OF TETAHATIA p35
- 14 THE SIGILS OF ALEPTA p36
- 15 THE SIGILS OF BETEL p37
- 16 THE SIGILS OF GIMELA p38
- 17 THE SIGILS OF DALÉTÉ p39
- 18 THE SIGILS OF PHALET p40
- 19 THE SIGILS OF SAMAEL p41
- 20 THE SIGILS OF CAMAEL p42
- 21 THE SIGILS OF HANIEL p43
- 22 THE SIGILS OF ANAEL p44
- 23 THE SIGILS OF OPHIEL p47
- 24, 25 THE SIGILS OF ASMODÉ AND LEVIATAN p49

- 26 THE SIGILS OF HEMOSTOPILÉ p50
- 27 THE SIGILS OF BRUFOR p51
- 28 THE SIGILS OF LAUNÉ p52
- 29 THE SIGILS OF BETOR p53
- 30, 31 THE SIGILS OF ZADKIEL AND SACHIEL p54
- 32, 33 THE SIGILS OF PHUL AND GABRIEL p55
- 34 THE SIGILS OF ARATRON p56
- 35, 36, 37 THE SIGILS OF LUCIFER, BELZEBUT AND ASTAROT p57
- 38 THE SIGILS OF ZAPHKIEL p58
- 39 THE SIGILS OF OCH p59
- 40 THE SIGILS OF GABRIEL p60
- 41 THE SIGILS OF MICHAEL p61
- 42 THE SIGILS OF CASSIEL p62
- 43 THE SIGILS OF THE SPIRITS OF FORCE AND COUNSEL p64
- 44 THE SIGILS OF THE SPIRITS OF JOY p64
- 45 THE SIGILS OF THE ANGELS OF LOVE AND CHARITY p65
- 46 THE SIGIL OF GOOD FORTUNE p67

INTRODUCTION



1. MACGREGOR MATHERS AND HIS TRANSLATIONS

The *Grimoire of Armadel* is one of those do-it-yourself textbooks of ceremonial magic of which the most famous are the *Key of Solomon* and the (forged) fourth book of Cornelius Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*. Hitherto the *Armadel* seems to have circulated only in manuscript form and one of the principal points of interest about this, its first printed edition, is that the translation and notes are by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, Comte de Glenstrae (1854–1918), who was himself not only a practising magician, the man responsible for transforming a small, secret sodality known as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn into the magical fraternity that was undoubtedly the *fons et origo* of the current craze for ritual magic, but one of the most amusing English eccentrics of the last 150 years. *English* eccentrics? Yes, for in spite of the Celtic splendours of the names MacGregor and Glenstrae their bearer was by birth a Londoner and his actual connections with Scotland were almost certainly quite imaginary.

I have been unable to trace any records of Mather's birth or baptism but Wynn Westcott, his magical colleague and eventually his rival, has recorded that he was born in Hackney, the son of a commercial clerk named William Mathers. A tenuous Scottish connection is suggested by a surviving tradition that William Mathers's wife was a Glaswegian by birth but, if so, she was probably of Irish rather than Scottish ancestry, for Westcott believed that her maiden name had been Collins.¹

¹ The full text of Westcott's memorandum can be found on pp. 37–8 of Ellic Howe's painstakingly researched and often amusing *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). This book has been responsible for a good deal of ill-tempered wing fluttering in certain present-day magical dovescotes but is, nevertheless, essential reading for Yeatsian scholars, nineteenth-century social historians and, above all, magicians.

Mathers went to Bedford School, leaving it a few months before his seventeenth birthday. Nothing is known of how he occupied himself in the years immediately following this event but, like Aleister Crowley (who, years later, was to become his pupil in magic) he was hardly cut out for the tedium of ordinary life and it is likely that any periods of paid employment were of but brief duration. By 1877 he was living in Bournemouth with, and presumably upon, his widowed mother. Mathers must have enjoyed this period of his life; he became an amateur soldier, probably in the 1st Hampshire Infantry Volunteers, was initiated into freemasonry and, under the tuition of a bibliophile named Frederick Holland, began the studies in mysticism and magic that for the rest of his life were to occupy much of his time.

It may have been before the Bournemouth period that Mathers first read Bulwer Lytton's *Zanoni*, a 'three-decker' occult novel which exerted a considerable influence upon him—as, indeed, it did upon a whole generation of nineteenth-century occultists. The novel tells the story of Glyndon, an eighteenth-century Englishman with mystical inclinations who studies 'Rosicrucian' philosophy under the mysterious Zanoni, a character Lytton clearly based on that intriguing charlatan, the Comte de St-Germain. So great was Zanoni's fascination for Mathers, so obvious his attempts to model his behaviour upon that of Lytton's hero that Moina Bergson (who eventually became Mathers's wife) nicknamed him 'Zan' and familiarly addressed him by that name until the end of his life. Mathers looked upon *Zanoni* as something beyond a mere novel; he believed that Lytton was an authentic Rosicrucian who had chosen to convey important occult teachings under the guise of fiction² and that almost every incident in the story had some magical significance. Thus, for example, in a didactic Golden Dawn treatise entitled *On the Tattwas of the Eastern School*—it deals with various types of 'etheric energy' and how they can be controlled by such means as breathing exercises³—Mathers inserted an odd note explaining that:

Zanoni secured success in gaming for Cetosa and overcame the effects of the poisoned wine of the Prince di D— as follows. In the first place, he changed his breath to the right nostril, and threw an envelope of the Akasa Tattwa over his antagonist, who consequently became all empty, the money in gaming flowing towards the Surya Swara. In the latter he brought the Apas Tattwa into course, directed it with the full force of his

² Mathers's opinion may not be quite so outlandish as it might seem. Lytton dabbled in occultism, was on friendly terms with the French magician, Eliphas Lévi, and was Grand Patron of the quasi-monastic Rosicrucian Society of England.

³ *On the Tattwas of the Eastern School* was little more than a précis of Rama Prasad's *Nature's Finer Forces*, an early Theosophical work which was itself derived from Tantric sources.

trained will towards the poisoned wine, and consequently the burning heat of the poison was counteracted for a very long time, and before it could recover strength enough to act on the system, it was there no longer.

By Akasa was meant 'elemental spirit'—something very like the quintessence of the Alexandrian Hermetic philosophers; by Apas was meant a lunar, fluid principle, 'elemental water'; and by Surya Swara was meant a current of elemental force supposedly attracted to a 'yogic nerve' traditionally associated with the right nostril and bronchus.

Mathers found his cultivated Zanonian mask of lordly indifference of comfort to him in 1885 when he was suddenly reduced to poverty by the death of his mother—presumably her income had been derived from an annuity which had ceased with her death. She may have left a little money to her son but, if so, he must have spent all of it on the printing bill for the publication of his first original work, *The Fall of Granada: A Poem in Six Duans* (1885), which fell still-born from the press. He moved to London where, fortunately for himself, he was already on friendly terms with William Wynn Westcott—both men were members of the Rosicrucian Society of England—who extended to him hospitality and, probably, a certain amount of financial assistance. Westcott, described by his acquaintance, A. E. Waite, as being 'like a dull owl hooting dolefully among cypresses over tombs of false adepts', was a qualified physician with some pretensions to occult scholarship, a love of dressing up in exotic masonic regalia and a considerable admiration for Madame Blavatsky, the Russian adventuress who had founded the Theosophical Society in 1875.

Mathers knew H. P. Blavatsky well; he had been introduced to her by Anna Kingsford, a Victorian seeress who cries out for a biographer, and it is clear that Blavatsky, whose learning was only skin-deep, was impressed by the erudition of the young magician whose remarks on the subject of the cabbalah she quoted with approval in her book, *The Secret Doctrine*. At this time Mathers was deeply involved in the study of cabbalism and in 1887 he published *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, a translation of three of the major books of the *Sepher ha Zohar*. It is unlikely that Mather's scholarship would have been equal to making a direct translation from the Aramaic Chaldee of the original text and in fact he used the seventeenth-century Latin version of Knorr von Rosenroth.⁴

The publisher of *The Kabbalah Unveiled* was George Redway, a somewhat dubious dabbler in occultism and mild pornography who succeeded in buying the copyright outright for only £35. This was a real bargain; since its first publication *The Kabbalah Unveiled* has remained almost continuously in print

⁴ Nevertheless when alleged mistakes in the translation were pointed out by a Theosophical reviewer Mathers defended himself with the claim that there had been errors in the Latin version which he had discovered and corrected on the basis of his examination of the original Chaldee text.

and it was in its eleventh impression in 1972. For an even smaller sum Redway also bought the copyright of *The Key of Solomon*, the first of three grimoires translated by Mathers.

The Key of Solomon splendidly illustrates Mathers's odd blend of curious learning and intense credulity. On the one hand his reconstruction of the mangled sigils and Hebrew lettering of the various pentacles (talismans) showed a detailed knowledge of the magical literature of the Renaissance, a considerable acquaintance with the Massoretic version of the Old Testament and a capacity for hard work. On the other hand he naïvely assigned the authorship of the grimoire to King Solomon, airily remarking that he saw 'no reason to doubt the tradition which assigns the authorship of the *Key* to King Solomon'.

Thinking as he did that the *Key* was 'a work of the highest authority', the 'fountain-head and storehouse of Qabalistical Magic', Mathers was puzzled by certain elements in it, notably the advocacy of blood sacrifice and the presence of certain 'experiments' that clearly smacked of black magic. He carried out as much bowdlerization as his conscience allowed, and explained what remained as allegory. The exact nature of Mathers's allegorical interpretation is unknown, for he regarded it as valuable magical knowledge, to be conveyed only to trusted pupils under oath of secrecy, but we can get a fair idea of it from similar interpretations put forward by contemporary magicians. One grimoire, for example, gives a formula for 'discovering a woman's deepest secret' which involves taking out the tongue of a living toad and placing it over the heart of the woman when she is asleep. A modern occult commentator has claimed that 'the toad is the third of Beelzebub's 72 spirits, Bilifares, who appears as a great black-headed toad—he is the opposite of the good spirit Vassago. The spell means that Bilifares is to be compelled to make her talk in her sleep.' The same occultist has given a complex demonic explanation of a messy spell (pick a lily in June under the waning moon, moisten it with laurel juice and bury it in dung; worms will breed, dry them and scatter on the victim's pillow) designed to produce a restless night. 'The lily in June under a waning moon', we are informed, 'means Lilith Queen Night under the influence of the demon Shimri; the laurel is the Raven of Dispersion, Q'areb Zarag'.

In 1892 Mathers and his wife moved to Paris where they lived on the involuntary donations of their friends, occupying their time with eccentric politics—Mathers and his friend, J. W. Brodie-Innes, seem to have been active on the lunatic fringe of Spanish Carlism⁵—the invocation of spirits and much esoteric research. Mathers soon discovered the vast collections of magical

⁵ My supposition is based on the facts that (a) Mathers and Brodie-Innes are known to have had a close political relationship, (b) Brodie-Innes's novel, *Old as the World*, shows an inside knowledge of late

material in the Parisian libraries and in 1896 began his translation of *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage*, a magical textbook which is quite unlike anything else in European occult literature. Abramelin the Mage, whoever he may have been, was essentially a radical; he abandoned the rituals, consecrated swords, protective circles, etc. of classical western magic in favour of a yoga-like technique of isolation and withdrawal from the world. This lasted six months and supposedly concluded with the adept gaining 'the Knowledge and Conversation of his Holy Guardian Angel', following which he could proceed with safety to the manufacture of the forty-nine talismans designed to produce such wonders as 'the finding of a great treasure' and the control of phantom armies.

Originally *The Sacred Magic* was to have been published by Redway but Mathers, infuriated by some suggestions made by that publisher's reader—A. E. Waite, who saw Mathers as 'a comic Blackstone of occult lore'—and by the miserliness of the sum offered for the copyright, got one of his followers, a stockbroker named F. L. Gardner, to publish it on a profit-sharing basis. The profits to be shared were in fact non-existent, for the book sold very badly; Mathers did quite well out of it, however, for he had managed to extract a £55 loan (to be paid back out of profits) from his partner.

I would speculate that Mathers's version of the *Armadel* was prepared at some time between July 1897, the month in which Mathers delivered his completed Abramelin manuscript to Gardner, and February 1899; by the latter date it had become clear that the *Sacred Magic* was a financial disaster and it is most unlikely that Mathers would have wasted his time on producing yet another grimoire subsequently.

By this time Mathers's behaviour had alienated many of his followers and his contacts with them were few. By 1901 such contacts had become non-existent, for the great majority of Golden Dawn members had rebelled against their Chief and established a schismatic magical fraternity. The rebels seem to have remained in complete ignorance of the existence of the *Armadel* but copies did circulate amongst the members of the Rosicrucian Order of the Alpha et Omega (the group which remained loyal to Mathers) who used it in ways described in the second part of this introduction.

The later histories of Mathers and the magic fraternities inspired by him do not concern us here, but they are not without interest and those readers who desire some knowledge of them are referred to Mr Howe's *Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, which deals in great detail with the period 1887–1923, and to my

nineteenth-century Carlism and its association with Iberian anarchism, and (c) Aleister Crowley, at the time on terms of close friendship with Mathers, was very probably involved in the Jacobite-Carlist conspiracy of 1899.

own *Ritual Magic in England* which gives, to quote Mr Howe, 'an account of the post-1923 Temples which continued to keep the Golden Dawn tradition more or less alive'.



2. THE GRIMOIRE OF ARMADDEL AND ITS USE IN MAGIC

While the etymological origin of Armadel is uncertain, the word seems not to have any occult significance but to be a personal name. The British Museum's manuscript, Lansdowne 1202, is entitled *The True Keys of King Solomon by Armadel*, but this is no more than a version of the *Key of Solomon* with a number of sigils (seals) of evil spirits added at the end.

These sigils bear a certain resemblance to some of those reproduced in the text of this book, but according to Mathers they were derived from a medieval black-magical text entitled the *Grimorium Verum* and falsely attributed to King Solomon. I have not had an opportunity of examining a copy of this last-mentioned work, but if Mathers's statement was correct the *Armadel* may be ultimately derived from the *Grimorium Verum*; in this case, however, it must have suffered a major reworking in the period 1650–1700 for although the manuscript from which Mathers worked (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Sc. et A. No. 88) is written in French it clearly belongs to a family of seventeenth-century German magical texts which were manufactured to exploit commercially the reputation of the semi-legendary Dr Faust.

Nothing is known of the original Faust. Probably he was a magician of the late fifteenth century, for the earliest of references to an occultist of that name seems to imply that he was the imitator of some well-known original. The allusion in question, made by Trithemius in a letter dated August 1507, is given in the form of a warning against a man 'who is a fool and no philosopher' and who has 'adopted the following title: Magister Georgius Sabellicus, *Faustus Junior*, Fountain of Necromancers, astrologer, magus secundus, chiromancer, aeromancer, pyromancer, second in hydromancy'.

The fame of both first and second Faustus spread throughout Germany and, with time, they became confused with one another—or so it seems from the nature of the incompatible stories, some representing their hero as almost a

semi-divine being, others showing him as a vulgar confidence trickster, that made up the Faust legend as it was recorded in the first *Faustbook* (1587). This seems to have had an almost universal appeal; translated into English it inspired Marlowe, stumblingly read aloud by the light of peasant firesides its stories soon became part of popular German folklore, and studied by the more materialistically motivated of would-be sorcerers it created in them a desire to have access to the Faustian formulae that would produce, among other things, an ever-full purse and the love of Helen of Troy.

One of the curiosities of the history of occult literature is the fact that a potential market for *any* magical text, even an imaginary one, will ultimately be supplied with the required article. Thus in the sixteenth century Edward Kelley, that strange companion of John Dee, claimed to have discovered a hitherto unknown alchemical text, the *Book of St. Dunstan*, and to have transmuted base metal into gold by the use of its formulae. All over Europe the alchemists became excited, feeling that perhaps Kelley's book (which no one save the gullible Dee had ever seen) would teach them the long-sought secret of the manufacture of the philosophers' stone; within fifty years at least three different (forged) versions of the book were on the market. Such credulity is still widespread; H. P. Lovecraft, the American pulp writer, used the *Necronomicon*, an imaginary magical text, as a piece of literary machinery in many of his stories. Inevitably, certain present-day magicians have chosen to believe in the real existence of this work and their desire to own a copy of it was first met by an ingenious forger whose manuscript production sold at up to £50 a copy and then by two printed versions—amusing hoaxes which will probably become collectors' items.

In exactly the same way the desire of seventeenth-century magicians to emulate Faust led to the production of a whole family of occult MSS, purporting to contain authentic Faustian formulae. It is to this family that the *Armadel* belongs and, like its siblings, its most notable characteristics are its descriptions of the natures and offices of the various evil spirits and its reproduction of the sigils—seals supposedly giving power over demons—appropriate to those same spirits. How exactly the sigils of the *Armadel* were created has been forgotten, but it must not be assumed that they were the products of the random fantasies of some eccentric occultist and it is probable that they were designed by the use of some variation of the techniques employed in the construction of the seals of the 'planetary intelligences and spirits' to be found in the writings of Cornelius Agrippa.

The *rationale* of these last-mentioned seals has puzzled several distinguished historians of Renaissance thought. It must be admitted, however, that this puzzlement has arisen from the curious tendency of

academics to disregard totally occult sources of their own day. Thus even K. A. Nowotny, who came nearer to solving the problem,⁶ failed to realize that the secret of the construction of these seals lies in the use of *Aiq Beker*, the 'cabbalah of nine chambers', described in detail in such easily accessible sources as Mathers's introduction to his *Kabbalah Unveiled* and Dr Israel Regardie's *Golden Dawn*.

The 'cabbalah of nine chambers' is neither more nor less than a Hebrew form of 'Theosophical Addition', a numerological technique which still has many devotees,⁷ and it simply involves 'knocking the noughts off the end' of the numerical values of the Hebrew alphabet. The letter Shin, for example, which has a numerical value of 300, is taken as 3. The names of the planetary spirits are first written out in Hebrew, then transposed into their simplest numerical form; finally, lines are drawn on the 'magic square'⁸ of the particular planet connecting up the appropriate numbers, thus giving the required seal.

Take, for example, Bartzabal, the spirit of Mars whom Aleister Crowley claimed to have invoked in 1910 (suitably enough, Bartzabal prophesied the coming World War). In Hebrew his name is spelt BRTzBAL,⁹ with a numerical value of 2, 200, 90, 2, 1 and 30 which, by *Aiq Beker*, becomes 2, 2, 9, 2, 1 and 3. The magic square of Mars is as follows:

11	24	7	20	3
4	12	25	8	16
17	5	13	21	9
10	18	1	14	22
23	6	19	2	15

FIGURE A

⁶ In his article on pp. 46-57 of the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, XII, 1949.

⁷ An excellent description of the use of 'Theosophical Addition' in popular, contemporary numerology may be found in the appropriate section of Richard Cavendish's *The Black Arts* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

⁸ It is uncertain when the planets were first associated with magic squares; certainly they were by the late classical period.

⁹ I have adopted the mode of transliteration customarily employed by western occultists.

and the significant squares for BRTzBAL are indicated as:

				3
				9
		1		
			2	

FIGURE B

A double loop (ω) is drawn on the figure 2, representing the first two letters, a line is drawn to the figure 9, back to 2, on to 1 and finally to 3 where by convention, a small circle is drawn indicating the conclusion of the sigil. Thus:

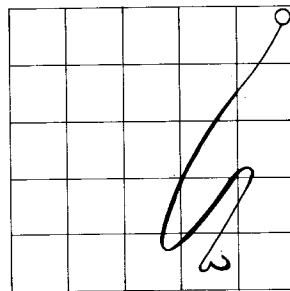


FIGURE C

Or, in the slightly formalized form usually adopted by occultists:



FIGURE D

The *Armadel's* sigils of spirits are likely to have been produced by this method.¹⁰ In addition, however, some of them probably incorporate conventionalized pictorial representations of the supposed attributes of the symbolized entities. Thus the sigil of Anael, who is described as a 'spirit of Power', seems to me to be meant to represent an erect penis, while that of Gimela, a spirit who 'maketh you to know and behold the form of the serpent which did tempt Eve in the Terrestrial Paradise', is, I think, nothing more than a diagrammatic representation of male ejaculation.

Such occultists as Mathers would have been deeply shocked by sexual interpretations of this kind, but there is little doubt that an undercurrent of allegorized sexual magic, similar to that associated with Aleister Crowley, is present in parts of the *Armadel*—for example, in the chapters entitled *The Vision of Anointing* and *The Vision of Dust*.

One further point is worth noticing—the surprising resemblance between some of the sigils of the *Armadel* and the *vevers* (large symbolic diagrams usually traced with cornmeal or coloured powders) employed in the ceremonies of Haitian voodoo. It may be that these resemblances are entirely coincidental, but it is more likely that eighteenth-century grimoires reached Haiti in the colonial period and subsequently influenced the more literate of the voodoo priesthood. It is of some interest that the *Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Books of Moses*, a Faustian textbook of the same family as the *Armadel*, has reached West Africa in English translation and currently enjoys a high reputation among Ghanaian occultists.

But how were the sigils of the *Armadel* employed? The answer depends on whether the magician who used them was a man of the seventeenth century or the nineteenth. Those of the earlier period had a strangely materialistic approach to the nature of the spirit world. Mephistopheles, for example, was looked upon as a person in exactly the same way as the magician was himself a person, and subject to the same laws of time and space—hence the solemn injunctions to evoked spirits contained in many medieval magical texts urging the demon to send a substitute in his place if he was already employed in being evoked by someone else! Sigils were regarded as pictorial representations of the true names of the spirits and, once a spirit had been evoked, the possession of its sigil gave the magician power over it (compare the widespread primitive custom of the individual having a secret name, never used in ordinary life, and the belief that knowledge of the secret name would give the knower power over its owner).

¹⁰ The seals of the planets themselves, however, present a much more difficult problem. In his introduction to the American edition of Francis Barrett's *The Magus* Mr Timothy d'Arch Smith gives a characteristically elegant 'solution' which, alas, does not appear to work for any of the seals except that of Saturn.

Mathers and his fellow magicians of the nineteenth century held much more subtle beliefs about the world of spirits. They too believed in the existence of discarnate entities, not so much as an objective reality but rather as a reasonable working hypothesis. J. W. Brodie-Innes, who combined being a lawyer with holding office in an eccentric literary society called Ye Sette of Odde Volumes and the practice of magic, wrote that: 'Whether the Gods . . . really exist is comparatively unimportant; the point is that the universe behaves as though they do. . . .'

Sigils were used in two ways by these latter-day Fausts; first, as a basis for the manufacture of talismans, and, second, as what they called 'astral doorways'.

Talismans, material objects supposedly charged with specific forms of psychic force, have a long history. Originally their virtue was held to lie in the materials employed in their manufacture and in the words or symbols carved or written upon them, and in the way in which they were worn on the body; thus to enjoy safety from being struck on the head by lightning one took a piece of serpentine, engraved it with the word ON and carried it under one's left armpit. By the late eighteenth century a more sophisticated view prevailed and the real virtue of talismans was believed to lie in their consecration, the magical processes to which they had been submitted. By the 1890s the members of the Golden Dawn drew their talismans on cardboard and then consecrated them by a complex process designed to imbue them with the type of 'spiritual energy'¹¹ symbolized by the designs drawn upon them. Such designs were sometimes original and would incorporate the geometrical figures of geomancy, the colours corresponding to the desired force—the Golden Dawn employed four elaborate systems of colour correspondences—and Hebrew versicles drawn from the Old Testament. On other occasions the design would be a traditional one—perhaps one of the talismanic drawings from the *Key of Solomon*, perhaps one of the lettered Abramelin squares or, on occasions when the desired force was perhaps a little sinister, one of the sigils of the *Armadel*.

Only a minority of Golden Dawn members and their present-day admirers have been serious practising magicians. The majority have studied the theory, they have manufactured magical robes and implements, they may even have taken part in the occasional invocation, but they have not engaged in the regular performance of the time-absorbing and emotionally exhausting techniques of ritual magic. Apart from anything else the sheer expense of it all would have been too much for most of them; consider, for example, the invocation of a 'Mercurial Spirit' by four of Mathers's disciples in 1896. This involved the

¹¹ Examples of such consecration ceremonies may be found in Vol. I, No. 3, of Dr Regardie's recently reprinted *Golden Dawn*. See also the descriptions given in Richard Cavendish, *op. cit.*

purchase and use of such exotic materials as snake-fat, alcohol in which a snake had been preserved, spermaceti and rare gums and spices.¹²

Far more easily practised, and more popular, are and have been Mathers's techniques of the use of 'astral doorways' and 'skrying in the spirit vision'. The practice of skrying—the use of mirrors, ink-pools etc. as a means of obtaining a dissociation of consciousness and visionary experience—is of great antiquity and until the latter half of the nineteenth century its techniques had changed very little in over two thousand years. Take, for instance, the following process described in a Graeco-Egyptian magical text¹³ of the early Christian era: to be wrought by the help of a boy, with a lamp, a bowl. . . .

I invoke thee, O Zeus, Mithra, Sarapis, unconquerable, possessor of honey, Melicerteo . . . appear and give heed to him who was manifested before fire and snow for thou art he who didst manifest light and snow, terrible-eyed-thundering-and-lightning-swift-footed-one. . . . Tell what I enquire of thee. . . . Let the throne of the god enter . . . let the throne be brought in. Then if it be borne by four men, inquire what they are crowned with and what precedes the throne. If he say, They are crowned with olive and a censer precedes, the boy speaks true. . . .

This is perhaps a little obscurely worded, but it seems to mean that a young boy should be used as a medium, that he should attain a dissociated state of consciousness by staring into the rays of a lamp reflected in a bowl of water and that all his visions should be accepted as authentic provided that the first of them was the sight of the entry of the god's throne borne by four laurel-crowned servitors. An almost identical method was described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1846)—a remarkable example of the persistence of the underground magical tradition.

While Mathers was undoubtedly familiar with the Graeco-Egyptian system described above, he derived much of his skrying technique from Fred Hockley, a wealthy book collector who dabbled in mesmerism, claimed the 'power of vision in the Crystal' and was greatly admired by all the earlier members of the Golden Dawn. Hockley believed that either a crystal or a 'magic mirror'—a polished black glass—should be used for a skrying and that to be fully effective

¹² The full rubric of this extraordinary ceremony may be found in *The Equinox*, Vol. I, No. 3. It is also briefly described in Ellic Howe, *op. cit.*

¹³ The text in question was translated into English by C. W. Goodawin and published in 1852 by Deighton Macmillan and Co. of Cambridge under the title, *Fragment of a Graeco-Egyptian Work Upon Magic*. This pamphlet, only fifty-seven pages in length, was greatly valued by Mathers and exerted a major influence upon him. His *Bornless Ritual* for the invocation of the Higher Genius was derived from it, as was Crowley's *Liber Samekh*, originally published as an appendix to his *Magick in Theory and Practice* (now appearing in *Magick*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

it should be consecrated to a particular spirit. In 1871 he gave an account¹⁴ of the use of such a consecrated 'black mirror' which he had supplied many years before to a young army officer. The officer had passed the mirror on to a 'seeress' who used it to observe his actions when he was travelling in unexplored lands.

One day my seeress called him into the mirror [said Hockley]. She plainly recognised him, although he was dressed as an Arab and sunburnt, and described what he was doing. He was quarreling with a party of Bedouins in Arabian and speaking energetically to them in Arabic. An old man at last pulled out his dagger and the Lieutenant his revolver, when up rode a horseman and separated them. A long time afterwards the Lieutenant came to me and I told him what she had seen . . . he assured me it was correct in every particular and attached his name to the account I had written down at the time, to certify it was true.

One of the most interesting things about this account is that the lieutenant was R. F. Burton, the young linguist and explorer who was to become the English translator of *The Arabian Nights* and *The Perfumed Garden*. It is likely that the recipient of Hockley's magic mirror was Burton's wife, Isabel, who, in spite of her fanatical Roman Catholicism, remained fascinated until the end of her life by tales of hauntings, witchcraft and prophecy.

It was usual for practitioners of Hockley's type of crystal-gazing to 'see' their visions two-dimensionally, rather as though they were watching a television screen. On occasion, however, the seer would find himself entering into the vision, becoming part of it. This was considered to be skrying of a more advanced sort and occultists considered that the souls of those who experienced it had actually left their bodies.

Mathers was impressed by this type of 'astral projection', which he and his disciples called 'skrying in the spirit vision', but he felt that its main disadvantage was its lack of control—the fact that the seer had little or no power to direct the course and content of his vision. To overcome this he evolved the still widely used technique of astral doorways. That is to say the use of symbols, such as the Tarot trumps or the sigils of the *Armadel*, as devices for auto-hypnosis. The exact way in which these astral doorways were (and are) used is illustrated by the following extracts from a Golden Dawn document.¹⁵

Proceed to contemplation of some object; say a Tarot Trump: either by placing it before you and gazing at it, until you seem to see into it; or by

¹⁴ In his evidence on the subject of spiritualism to the committee of the London Dialectical Society.

¹⁵ The full text of Flying Roll No. IV, the document in question, may be found in *Astral Projection, Magic and Alchemy* (Spearman, 1972).

placing it against your forehead or elsewhere, and then keeping the eyes closed; in this case you should have given previous study to the Card. . . . In either case you should then deeply sink into the abstract idea of the card; being in entire indifference to your surroundings. . . . The vision may begin by the concentration passing into a state or reverie; or with a distinct sense of change . . . do not resist . . . let yourself go. . . .

The document then goes on to describe a vision actually experienced by two Golden Dawn initiates, one of them being Florence Farr, the friend of both Yeats and Shaw. Their 'astral journey' involved them in entering 'a Gothic Temple of ghostly outlines', meeting the goddess Isis, and experiencing the vision of the Holy Grail!

The sigils of the *Armadel* would have been used in precisely the same way as the Tarot card that produced the visions of Florence Farr. Exactly which sigil was used would have depended upon exactly which aspect of the astral world the seer wished to investigate. If, for example, he wanted to know something about 'The Mysteries of the Creation of the World' he would have used the sigil of Phaet and travelled to the appropriate section of the astral plane.

Such were the ways in which Mathers's disciples used the *Armadel*.

It remains only to add, first, that all notes to the body of the text are by Mathers unless prefaced by the words *Additional Note* (in which case they are my own), and, second, that the text of the *Armadel* printed in the following pages is taken from one of the manuscript copies that circulated amongst the members of the Rosicrucian Order of the Alpha et Omega. This manuscript found its way into the collection of Mr Gerald Yorke (whose activities in the field of document preservation have placed many students of the magical revival greatly in his debt) and will eventually be placed in the library of the Warburg Institute.

Francis King



THE MAGIC OF ARMADEL



THE BOOK OF ARMADEL

or

The Most Perfect, Short and Infallible
Science, as well Speculative as Practical
of the Whole

QABALAH
I.·H.·V.·H

The Lord thy God thou shalt fear and Him
only shalt thou Serve all the days of thy
Life, through this Name of Tremendous and
Adorable Majesty.¹

¹ This species of title-page occurs in the original MS. at the extreme end of the book, instead of at the beginning, but I have placed it here as more suitable, while giving the Latin of it at the end.

THE MAGIC OF ARMADEL



Seeing that we possess the explanation of the (Magical) Circle, (let us here state) that it is (Employed) for the Invocation of Spirits, so as to escape the dangers which might arise through their malice. Now it having been duly prepared for you to avail yourself of the Services of the Spirit you desire (to Summon) it is necessary to take heed that you comprehend the power which he hath and whether he can grant you that which you shall demand.¹

Being, then, in the midst of the Circle, wherein you are to perform the Operation, and having made the Character (or Sigil) of the Spirit who shall serve you: you shall see that the Circle be (correctly) formed according to the instructions we have (elsewhere) given. Being then, I say, in the midst thereof, after having recited the *Pater*, an *Ave*, together with the *Credo*, you shall repeat the following Conjunction:

CONJURATIO

*Omnipotens Aeterne Deus, Qui totam Creaturam condidisti in laudem et honorem tuum, ac ministerium hominis, oro ut Spiritum (N.N.) de () ordine mittas, qui me informat et doceat quo illum interrogavero, non mea voluntas fiat, sed Tua, per Jesum Christum Filium Unigenitum. Amen.*²

¹ All this paragraph is somewhat complicated in the original French.

² I have given this Conjunction in the Latin of the MS. as some students may prefer to use it in that language.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING CONJURATION

O Eternal Omnipotent God, Who hast formed every creature unto Thy praise and honour, and for the Ministry of Man: I beseech Thee to send unto me the Spirit (here give the name of the Spirit) of the (here give the name of of class or Order of Spirits) Order, who may inform and teach me concerning those things which I shall demand of him, nevertheless not my Will, but Thine, be done, through Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Having obtained from the Spirit that which you desire, you shall licence him to depart in these words:

THE LICENCE TO DEPART³

Quia Placide et quiete venisti, et hac petitione mihi respondisti, ago Deo gratias in Cujus Nomen venisti, ite in pace ad loca tua et rediturus ad me cum te vocavero per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING LICENCE TO DEPART

Seeing that peaceably and in quiet thou has come, and hast made answer unto me in this (my) petition, I return thanks unto God, in Whose Name thou hast come. Depart hence in peace unto thine habitations, and be thou ready to return whensoever I shall have called thee. Through Christ our Lord! Amen.

After having repeated this Conjunction three times, if so be that the Spirit appeareth not unto you, you shall repeat the present (following) Conjunction three times. And these Conjunctions should be written out on virgin parchment, together with the Licence to Depart.

THE CONJURATION⁴

I (N.N.) do Conjure thee (O Spirit N.N.) by the virtue of the Great and Holy Names of God, that immediately and without delay thou art to appear unto me under an agreeable form, and without noise, nor injury unto my person, to make answer unto all that I shall command thee; and I do conjure thee herein by

³ I have here likewise given this 'Licence to Depart' in the original Latin.

⁴ This Conjunction is not given in the Latin in the original MS., but only in French.

the Great Name of the Living God, and by these Holy Names:

EL ELOHIM ELOHO ELOHIM SEBAOTH ELION EIECH ADIER
EIECH ADONAY JAH SADAY TETRAGRAMMATON SADAY AGIOS O
THEOS ISCHIOS ATHANATOS AGLA ⁵ *Amen.*

After having performed this Conjunction three times following, it is necessary to continue the same for three days successively, in the same place, and at the same hour.

And when (your desire shall be) satisfied, and having obtained from him that which you wish, you must licence him to depart (saying):

'Go in peace unto the place which hath been destined unto you from all Eternity; let there be peace between us and you!'



⁵ El (Hebrew), is God the Mighty One.

Elohim (Hebrew), is The Gods, the God and Goddess, who are the Father and Mother of all, the Great Mother Goddess.

Sebaoth (Hebrew), should be Tzabaoth, is Hosts or Armies.

Elion (Hebrew), is God the Mighty and Living.

Eiech Adier Eiech (Hebrew), should be Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh, is the Name of God signifying 'Eternal Life', ill rendered by the translation 'I am that I am.'

Adonay (Hebrew), should be Adonai, is Lord.

Jah (Hebrew), cf. the passage in the Psalms, 'Praise Him in His Name Jah.'

Saday (Hebrew), should be Shaddai, is God the Shedder or Dispenser.

Tetragrammaton (Greek), is fourfold writing, a mode of indicating the Name of four Letters, which we usually call Jehovah.

Agios (Greek), is Holy.

O Theos (Greek), is God.

Ischios (Greek), is Strong.

Athanatos (Greek), is Immortal.

Agla (Hebrew), is formed from the initials of a sentence meaning 'Thou O God, art mighty for ever!'

THE THEOSOPHY OF OUR FOREFATHERS OR THEIR SACRED AND MYSTIC THEOLOGY



by
ARMADEL¹

¹In the MS. this title-page is blank, so I have supplied this text of a title. As in the case of the first title, the design is evidently intended to represent a door; the Portal of Wisdom, as it were.

THE THEOSOPHY OF OUR FATHERS



AS REGARDETH THE PLANETS THE SANHEDRIN

ZADKIEL will teach unto you all the Sciences Active and Passive, with a remarkable facility, with all honesty and courtesy, together with every kind of benediction. They who avail themselves hereof will possess all things in content. He is to be invoked on a Monday and in the Morning. His Character is this (see Figure 1)

ZADKIEL
Red

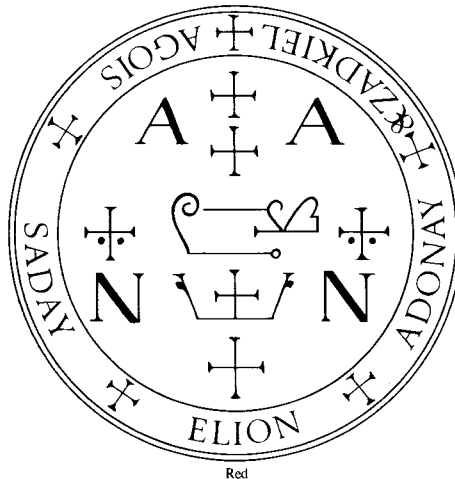


FIGURE 1

In this Sigil is taught the method of joining together Actives and Passives, or in everything the manner of modesty and grace. In the which Numbers the Lord God doth sanctify these Planets, so that they may work marvels, and as it were portents, through such Numerations.¹



THE CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS AT NAZARETH

The Prophet of the Greatest One; or the Languor of the Nature.

THAVAEI. This Spirit had a particular care of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was he who conducted the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph into Egypt when they were fleeing from the persecution of Herod. He giveth unto us a perfect knowledge of all the simples and their virtues. He can be invoked at any time. His Character is thus (see Figure 2).

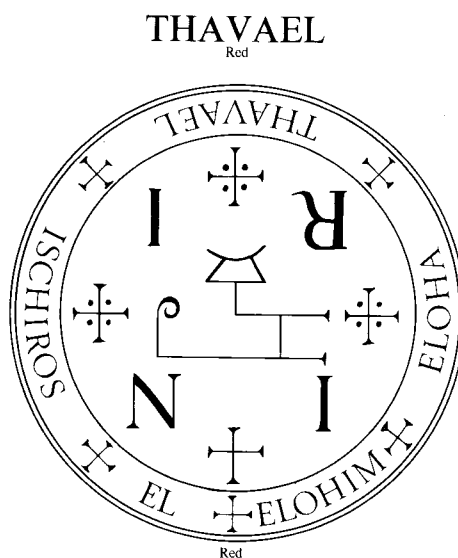


FIGURE 2

¹ In this and the following descriptions of the Offices of these Spirits, the first paragraph is in French, and the second in Latin, the latter being not always either particularly classical or easy of translation.

By the Numbers above referred to are to be understood their mystical values and symbolism according to the Qabalah.

In this Sigil is taught the planting or the sowing of the Seed of Plants, the comprehension of virtue; there are also (herein) taught the manners of flowering as regardeth Plants, and also those inspirations of virtue and grace which be as it were the fundamental plants of the Qabalistical ART.

They who shall write with the ginger upon the forehead of these letters I. . N. . R. . I, will never die by a sudden death.



BY THE FLOWING OF JORDAN

CAPHAEL is a Spirit who guided St. John in the desert, and when he was preaching the Baptism of Penitence by the River of Jordan where the people were baptized, he filled their hearts with Charity and Benediction. He teacheth an infinitude of matters with facility.

CAPHAEL

Red

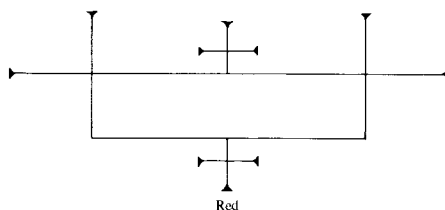


FIGURE 3

In this his Sigil (see Figure 3) there is taught concerning the healing of barrenness and of death concerning the Kingdom of God, and the most ardent Charity; in the which blessed mystical Numbers (of the Sigil) there is taught unto whatsoever Operations this is to be applied, howbeit certain special Operations do fall under the head of certain especial Numbers. Also concerning Sciences and Arts of all kinds and of all perfections whatsoever they may be.

He is to be invoked on Fridays and in the morning.



THE SON OF ZACHARIAS IN THE DESERT

SAMAEL is the Spirit who did never abandon Saint John during the time in which he dwelled in the desert before his preaching. He is the protector of preachers in Missions among foreign nations. He teacheth Theology. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, and in the morning. His Character is thus formed (see Figure 4).

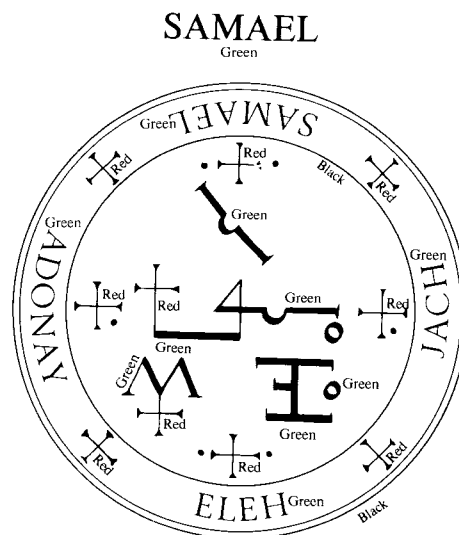


FIGURE 4

In this Sigil is taught the harvest of the Plants of Blessedness, and such harvests; together with the envy of the Kingdom of Behemoth and Leviathan, of the which the Lord God did make use from the Beginning, and preserved (the same) for the production of all creatures, and also in what manner such souls be produced (and come forth).



IN THE FIELDS OF BABYLON

URIEL is a Spirit who did reveal unto the Prophet Esdras every description of Prophecy, he did also aid the Children of Israel in the Camp of the Babylonians. He teacheth natural Sciences, Physic, and Medicine. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 5).

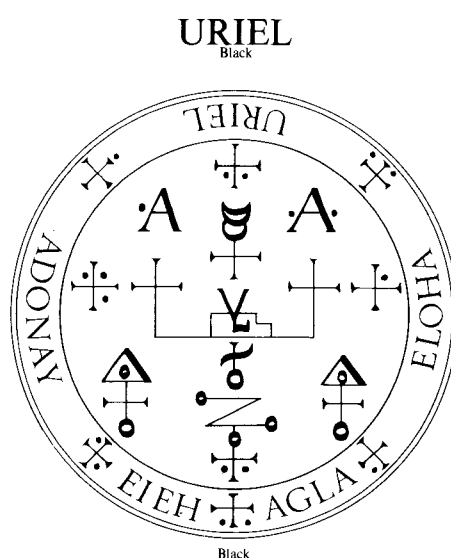


FIGURE 5

In this Sigil there be taught the method of understanding what and of what Kind were those twin Souls (namely) Henoch.¹ The faculties of the Mind and Understanding are purified, and these also in such a manner that they may be exalted from the lowest degree unto that which is most perfect of all. By the which composition also there can be a transmission made of the participating Power or that power of communication of the comprehension of Spirits.



¹ It is noteworthy what is here said concerning the dual nature of Enoch!

THE SPIRIT OF ELISHA

MICHAEL is a Spirit who guided the Prophet Elisha in all his actions. He is the Protector of all Kingdoms. After God Himself, he is almost all-powerful as regardeth those who perform his Invocation, which latter should be worked upon a Sunday, and in the evening. Thus is his Character (see Figure 6).

MICHAEL

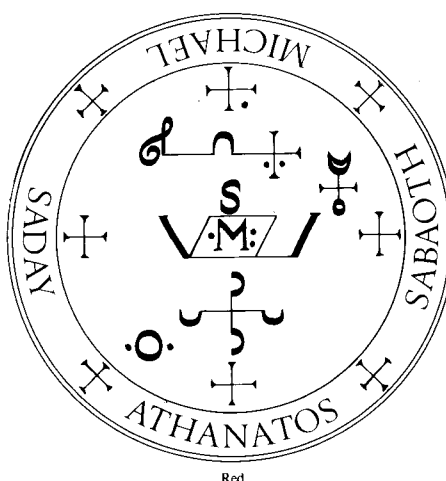


FIGURE 6

In this Sigil is taught how there may be formed a certain composite thing by means of which the faculties and vital Spirits (exist) as well in Man as in other creatures, according to what is necessary for and convenable unto them.

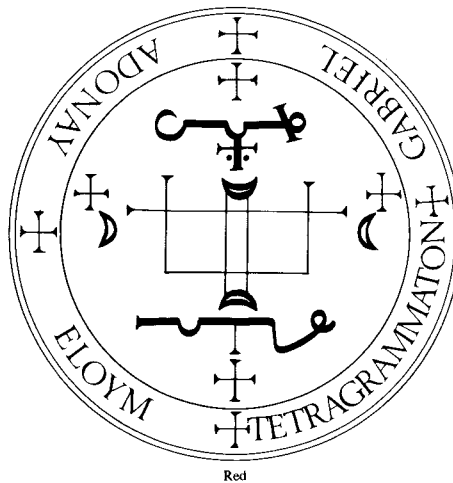


OF THE LIFE OF ELIJAH

GABRIEL is a Spirit who did teach unto the Prophet Elijah all the Mysteries of Divinity. He is to be invoked on a Thursday before Daybreak. His Power is very Great, and he can do you great good, in the which he will instruct you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 7).

GABRIEL

Red



Red

FIGURE 7

In this Sigil there be taught the Methods of restoring and transplanting both health and mental force.¹



¹ The Latin is: Sanitatem et Spiritus.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

RAPHAEL is a Spirit of Science who did teach unto Solomon¹ Knowledge and Wisdom. He is to be invoked on a Sunday before Sunrise. Thou must be both pure and chaste when thou dost invoke him, and thou must have fasted on the previous eve. Thus is his Character (see Figure 8).

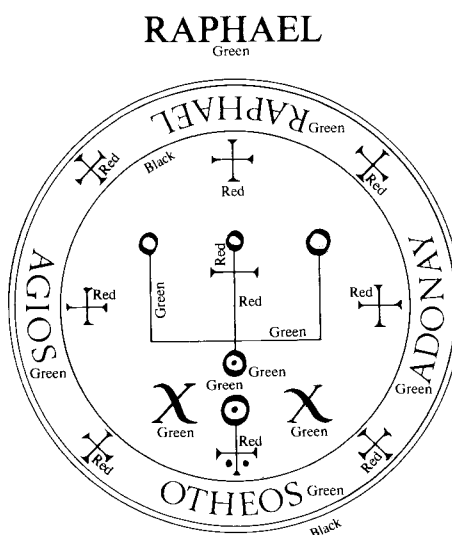


FIGURE 8

In this Sigil is taught the manner of joining Actives and Passives together the one unto the other, in natural things. There is also taught concerning the 'KANSSUD'² of Earthly regions and powers, from one class unto another.



¹ Many Magical Works say that Solomon was taught by the Angels Hamaliel and Michael.

² *Docetur Kanssud Terrenarum et potestatem de uno capite in aliud.* This word 'Kanssud' which here occurs in the middle of the Latin is, I think, a contraction for the German 'Sud Kante' and I think must here mean the 'Southern division of our Earth,' or 'the Knowledge of the countries and races South of the Equator,' concerning most of which the civilised Ancients knew very little, or nothing.

THE EXPLORER AND LEADER JOSHUA

HETAEL is a Spirit who guides armies and also can destroy them, as he did unto the enemies of the Children of Israel under the command of Joshua, when by his prayer the latter arrested the course of the Sun. He can render you invulnerable unto every kind of weapon, and can give you Spirits to serve you unto this end. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday. Thus is his Character (see Figure 9).

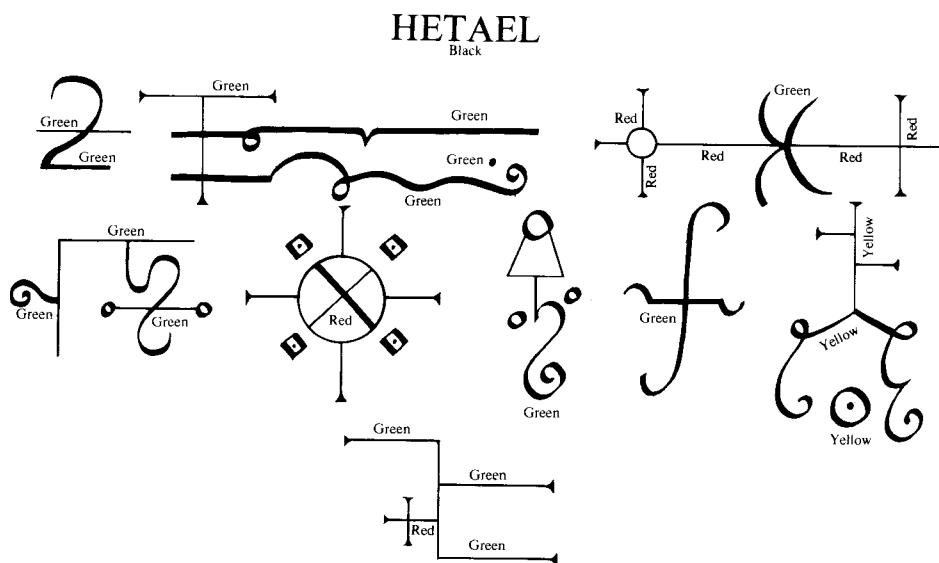


FIGURE 9

In this Sigil there is taught the declaring of the intentions of Enemies and the like. Also there can be expelled all things noxious unto body and mind, and further in like manner this Mystic (Sigil) operateth in their restoration. Also there be Mysteries regarding 'Man'.^{1*}



¹ *In hoc Sigillo docetur enarratio cordium inimicorum et quorum cumque expellenda omnia noxia corporis et animi et restauratione eorum sicut illud misterium operatur docentur quoque misteria Man.'*

The Latin is rather obscurely worded. I do not think for a moment that by 'Man' the English word is intended, but perhaps it may be German 'Man' the pronoun 'one'. In this case I should consider here that it most likely means 'personality' but perhaps also the Indian 'Mantra' or Spell is intended.

* *Additional Note* Mathers's suggestion that the word 'Man' might be derived from Mantra betrays his total lack of historical sense! The word is clearly derived from the German and illustrates the *Armadel's* Faustian connections.

THE VISION OF 'MAN'¹

VAU-AEL is a Spirit who causeth all kinds of pleasant visions to appear, such as our Forefathers in the Old Testament beheld. He serveth you faithfully in all that you desire to know. Thus is his Character (see Figure 10). He hath many Spirits under his dominion.

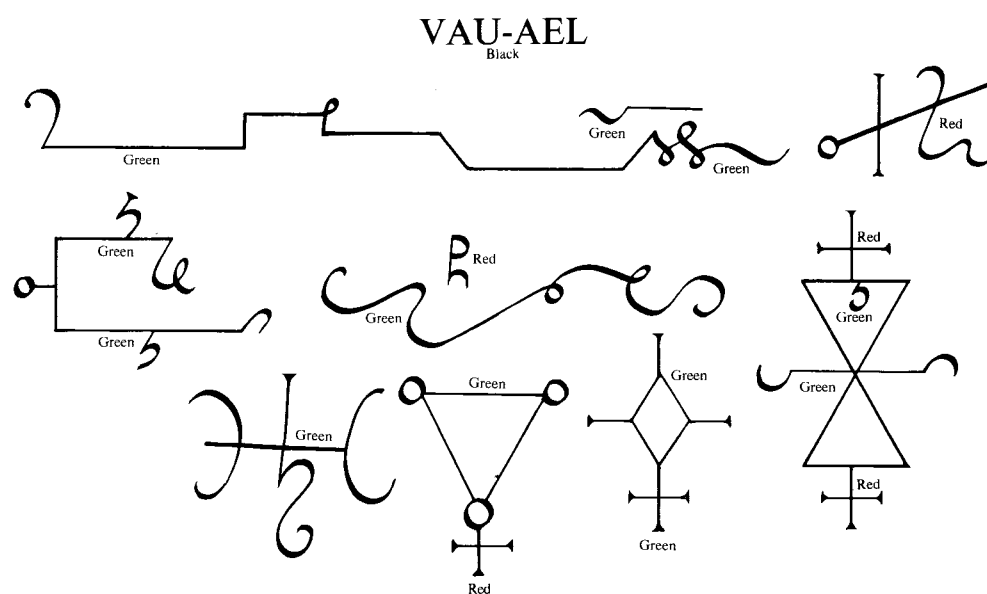


FIGURE 10

In this Sigil, howbeit, there is formed a certain species of 'Man'¹ for castings out.



¹ See note to description of the Sigil of the previous Spirit, Hetael.

THE ROD OF MOSES

ZAINAEL is a Spirit who did teach unto Moses the methods of availing himself of the Rod with the which he did perform so many miracles in Egypt, and among the Chaldeans. He hath much power to render those rich who avail themselves of his services. He can be invoked at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 11).

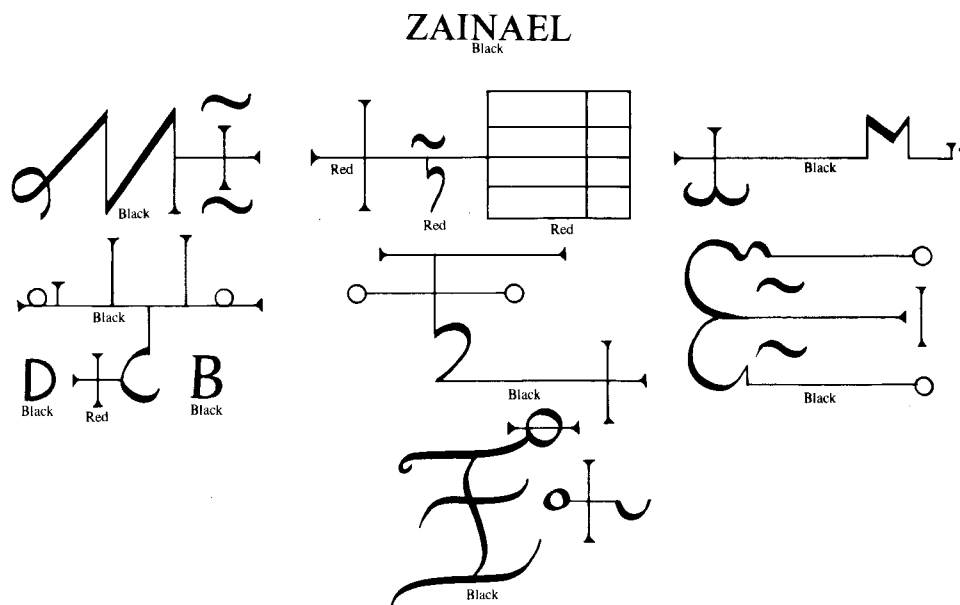


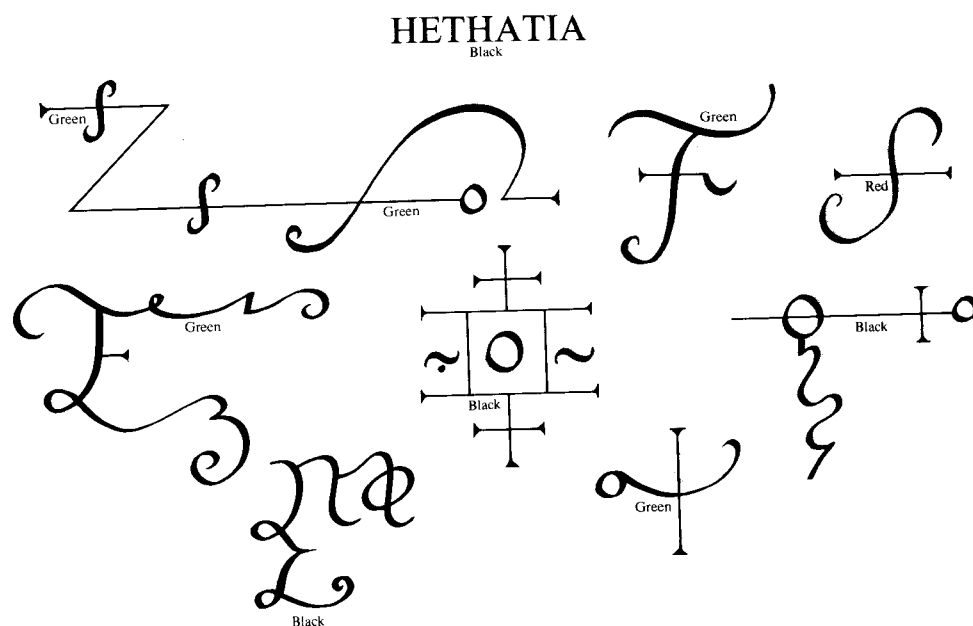
FIGURE 11

In this Sigil is taught the Practice of the Science and Wisdom of the Diviners and Magi of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and by what ways and means they may be acquired.



MOSES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE DESERT

HETHATIA maketh you see even as Moses saw the benefits which he had received from God, when he was in the Desert of the Land of Midian. He can do much for those who invoke him, but it must not be in the desert place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 12).



In this Sigil is taught the Science and Wisdom of Moses, and the Arcana of the Egyptian Magi and Diviners; perfect happiness and the ways of causing and inspiring fear, and of going forth from a land and for the preservation of a Man in that (case) and place.



THE CAVE OF EPHRON

TETAHATIA is a Spirit of Science and Virtue, who hath preserved our Forefathers from their enemies, rendering them formidable unto them so as to put them to flight. He will do the same unto the Enemies of those who shall wish to avail themselves of his services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 13).

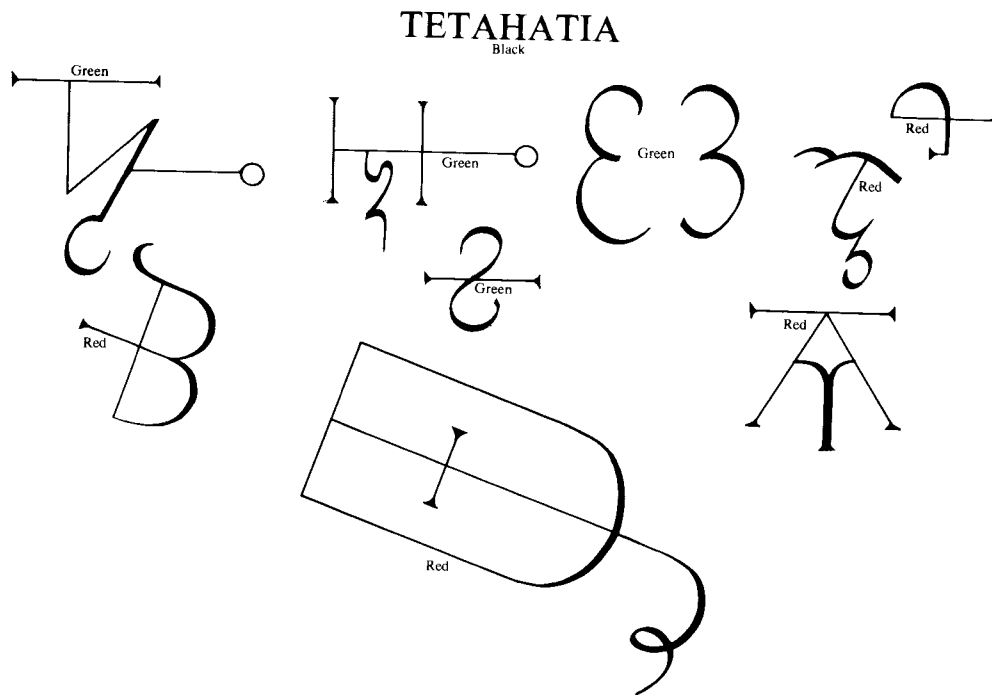


FIGURE 13

In this Sigil be noted the ways whereby a blinding darkness may be produced, or a thing terrible unto one's enemies, also how a blessing may fall hereon.



ALEPTA maketh you see how Abraham went forth from Ur from among the Chaldeans, and from Haran. He can give unto you great riches. Thus is his Character (see Figure 14).

ALEPTA maketh you see how Abraham went forth from Ur from among the Chaldeans, and from Haran. He can give unto you great riches. Thus is his Character (see Figure 14).

FIGURE 14

In this Sigil is taught how a Man may be exalted, and how a Man may become formidable unto all Creatures, at any hour (and how he may be rescued) whether out of the hands of cruel men, or from a crowd of men.¹



¹ This is the best translation I can give of the crabbed Latin '*Singulis horis ex duris hominibus seu posse hominis.*'

THE WISDOM OF OUR FOREFATHER ADAM

BETEL teacheth unto you the Sciences which God had revealed unto Adam. He is a very docile Spirit who appeareth as soon as he is invoked. (This should be either) in a wood, or in a secluded garden, and one should be alone, whether it be by day or by night. Thus is his Character (see Figure 15).

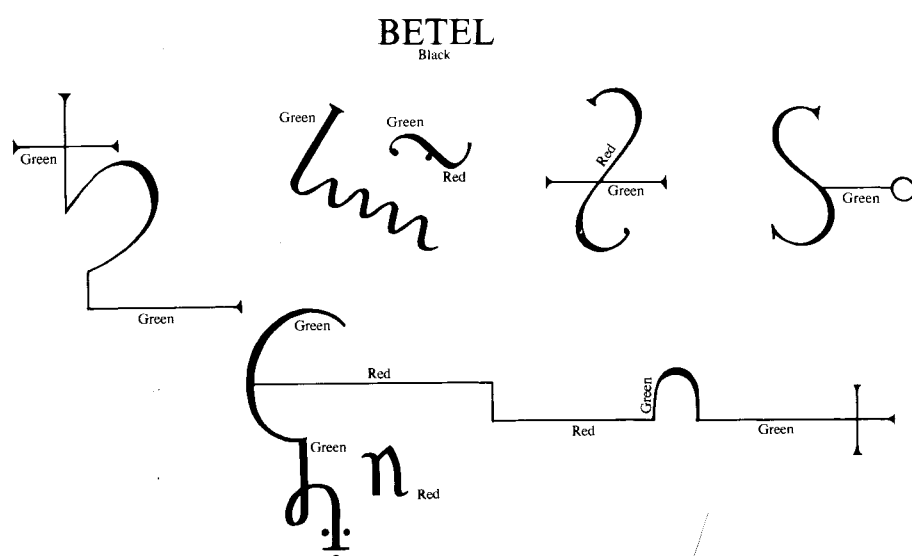


FIGURE 15

In this there is taught in what way we can arrive at the possession of the virtues of all Creatures (or created things); there is (further) taught what and of what kind¹ be the virtues hereof, and what (virtues) be truly most powerful above all virtues of Creatures. There is also taught the reason of the laws² of (such) virtues and of their uses.



¹ In the MS. 'Equales'; I think a slip for 'et quales'.

² 'Latium', I think the word is in the MS. In Latin this means rather an Act, such as an Act of Parliament, than a Law properly so called.

THE BEHOLDING OF THE SERPENT

GIMELA maketh you to know and behold the form of the Serpent who did tempt Eve in the Terrestrial Paradise; (he also) can give unto you some of his Spirits who can transport you from one place to another and can even make you travel at the speed of an hundred leagues in an hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 16).

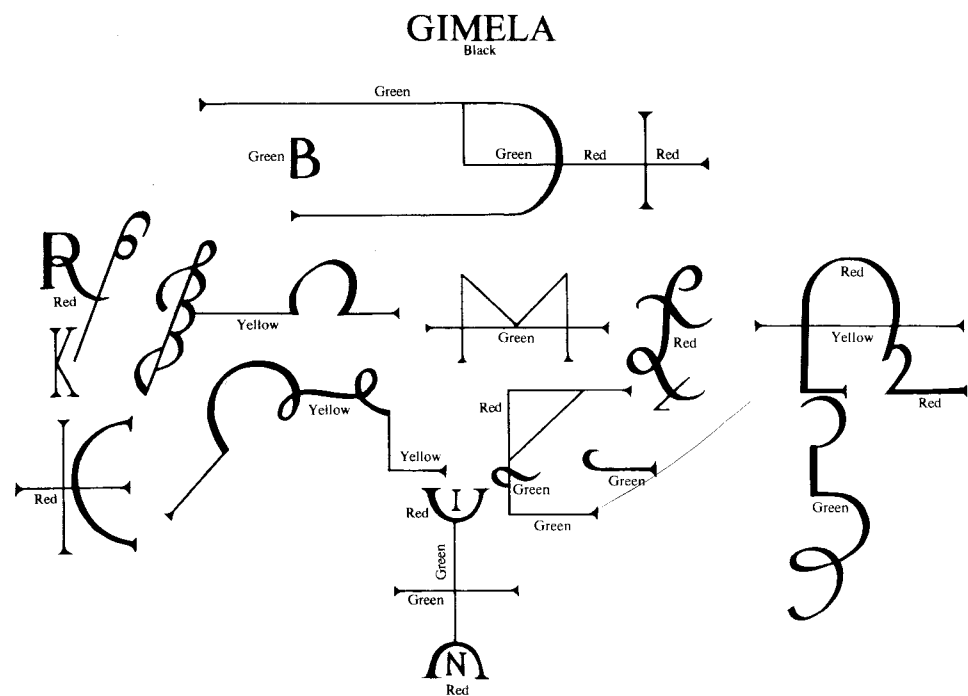


FIGURE 16

In this Sigil there be taught all the Mysteries which the Lord is willing to allow to be worked by the Serpent and from the Serpent; what may be his corporeal moulding or proportion, and whether he can contain in himself all invisible beings (or creatures) and in what manner.



THE VISION OF FORMATION—ADAM

DALÉTÉ is a Spirit who will show unto you the Visions which Adam beheld while he was upon the Earth. He hath many Spirits under his leadership, who will teach unto you many things if you tell unto them that which you shall desire. Thus is his Character (see Figure 17).

DALÉTÉ
Black

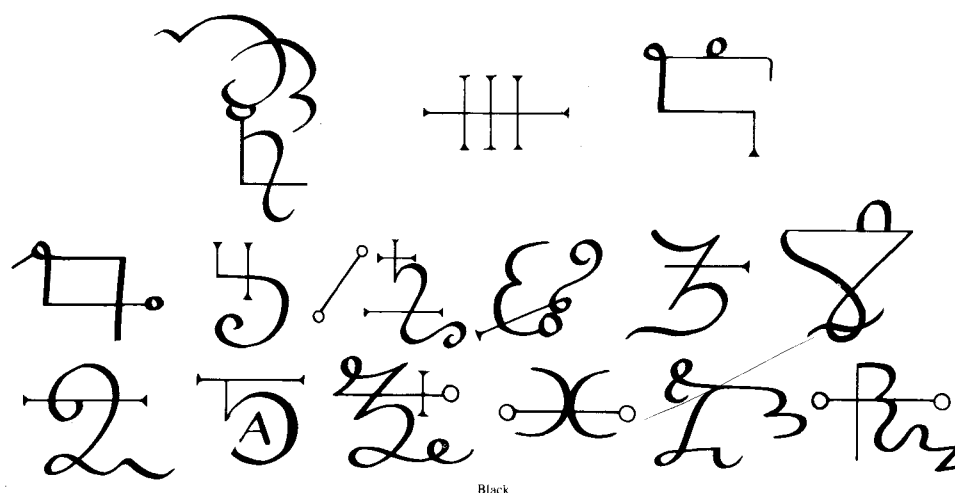


FIGURE 17

In this Sigil be taught and demonstrated the Mystical Formation of Adam; what Animals were in the Lord¹ and brought in this place unto Adam by the Lord God.



¹ i.e., symbolically included in the Name IHVH and its power as distinct from that of the Evil Spirits and Demons.

THE VISION OF EDEN, OR OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

PHALET will teach unto you all that did happen in the Terrestrial Paradise, from the time of the Creation of Adam and Eve. There be many Spirits under his leadership who can do much in the manner of serving you, and in many ways. Thus is his Character (see Figure 18).

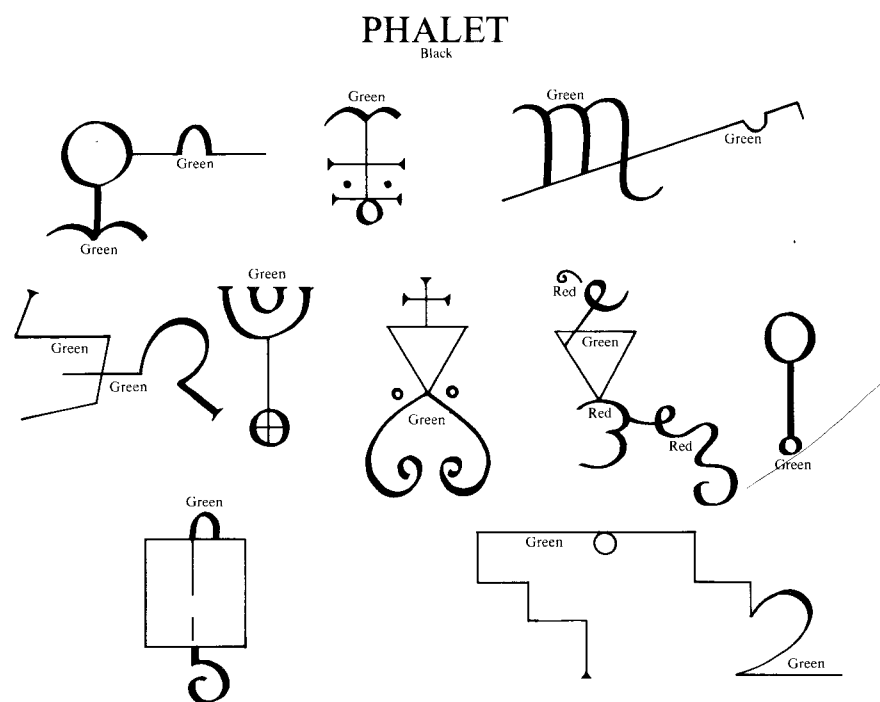


FIGURE 18

In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Creation of the World, and of all Creatures, and what (of these) be sacred; but also how those (creatures) are proper to be detested for superstitious reasons when they draw their origin from Corpses of the dead, and from collections thereof, and from sepulchres; and thence also is the arising of every kind of superstitions. In this Sigil be (also) taught all the Arcana of Necromancers and of Diviners of that same class,¹ and whence in a Scientific (sense) these (arts) take their rise.



¹ i.e., those who Divine by means of the dead. This whole paragraph is in atrocious Latin and very obscurely worded.

CONCERNING PHITONE¹ OR THE
ABUSES OF NECROMANCY

SAMAEL is a spirit of Counsel. He teacheth you Magic, Necromancy, Jurisprudence, and all the Occult Sciences, with facility. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday at Midnight, care being taken to fast the day that you shall wish to avail your self of his services. He hath much in his power, and on your demand he will tell you the extent thereof. Thus is his Character (see Figure 19).

SAMAEI

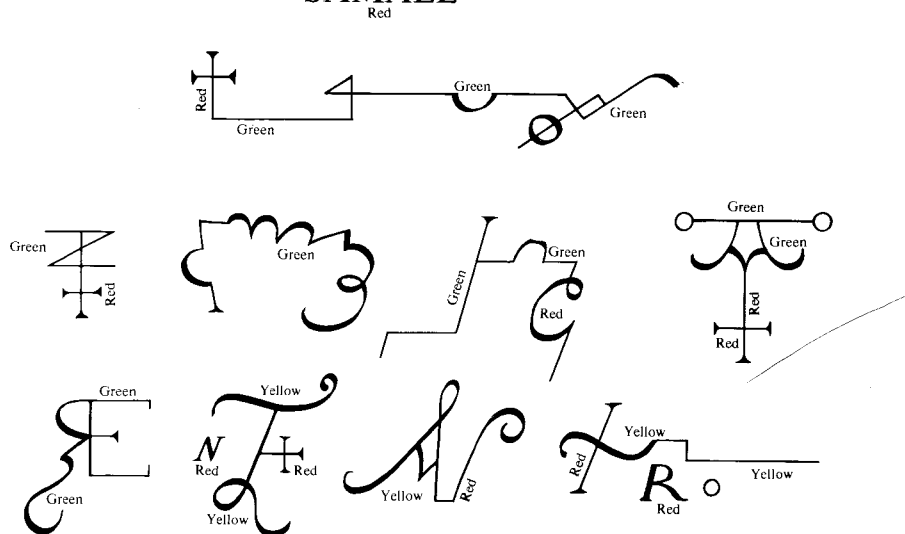


FIGURE 19

In this Sigil there be taught what are all the abuses of Necromancy which may expose a man (to danger) through such communication; whether such communication may have such virtue as to link you unto the Angels and unto God, and to confer upon you power over all creatures, or the union of the love of all beings with the most profound and familiar knowledge of them, or whether it may join us unto the *Devil* even as in our mortal familiar (relationships) so can we be linked with all things which may be pleasing unto us. There is also taught (herein) how such communications may be formed.²

¹ Probably an error for 'Pythene' the Ablative case of the Latin word 'Pythe' or 'Pythen', meaning the Spirit of Necromantic Divination. See *Acts of the Apostles*.

² This whole paragraph is in very obscure Latin and without the slightest punctuation.

CONCERNING THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GENII

CAMAEEL giveth unto you a perfect knowledge of your Genius, who will have the power to grant you everything that you shall demand of him. There be many Spirits under the rule of (Camael) who can serve you in many things, and especially such as you shall demand of them. Thus is his Character (see Figure 20).

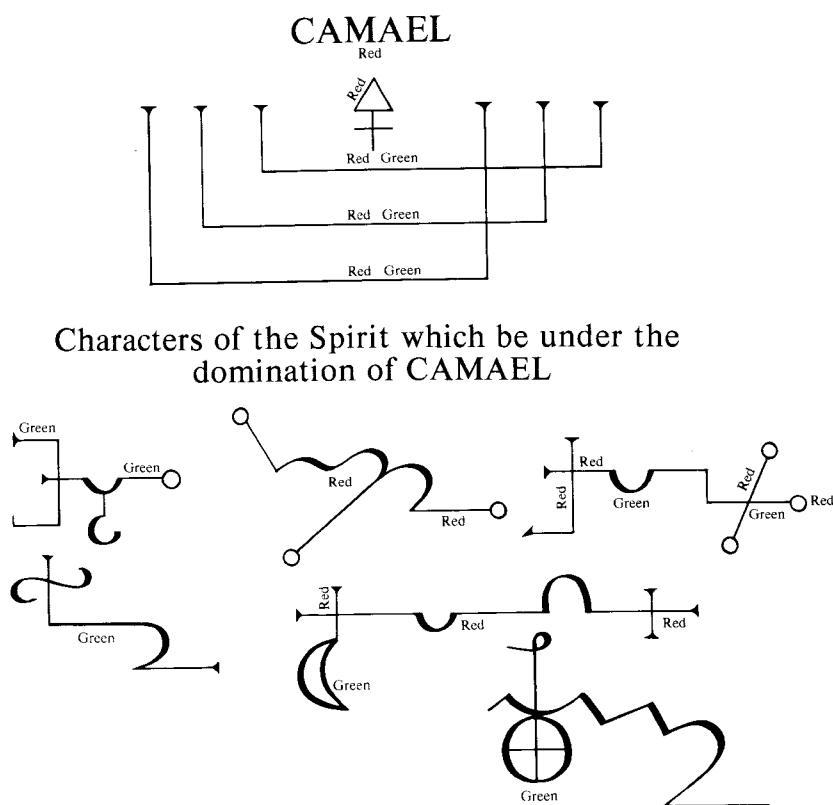


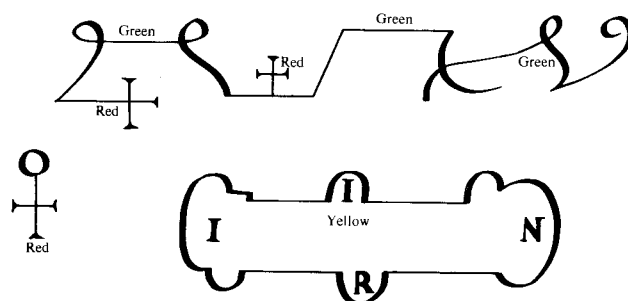
FIGURE 20

In this Sigil is taught what and after what manner may be this communication of the Genii; (transforming in us) our evil (qualities) into good, and our good (qualities) into better and best; there is also taught the method of such transformation. Wherefore adore the Lord God and love thy neighbour!



HANIEL teacheth unto you the transformation of all precious stones and giveth unto you as many as you wish thereof. He is to be invoked on a Friday before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 21).

Reed



This image displays a collection of 15 calligraphic letters from various scripts, including Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic. Each letter is annotated with a red or green label indicating a specific stroke or feature:

- Top Row:**
 - A large, stylized letter (possibly a variant of 'E' or 'G') with a green label.
 - A six-pointed star-like symbol with a red label.
 - A letter with a yellow label.
 - A letter with a green label.
- Middle Row:**
 - A letter with a red label.
 - A letter with a green label.
 - A letter with a green label.
- Bottom Row:**
 - A letter with a green label.
 - A letter with a red label.
 - A letter with a green label.
 - A letter with a yellow label.

43

In this seal there is taught how Genii may be transformed into Man. They can pass from him into their nature, and correspond unto him in the compounded elements. There is here also taught how such may be necessary unto the Human Race. Also the necessity of such a Mystery.



CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE GENII

ANAEL is a Spirit which will give unto you the Knowledge of all things which he in the Order of Nature (understands), for he is a Spirit of Power, who appeareth speedily if he shall be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak by one who is alone and in a retired place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 22).

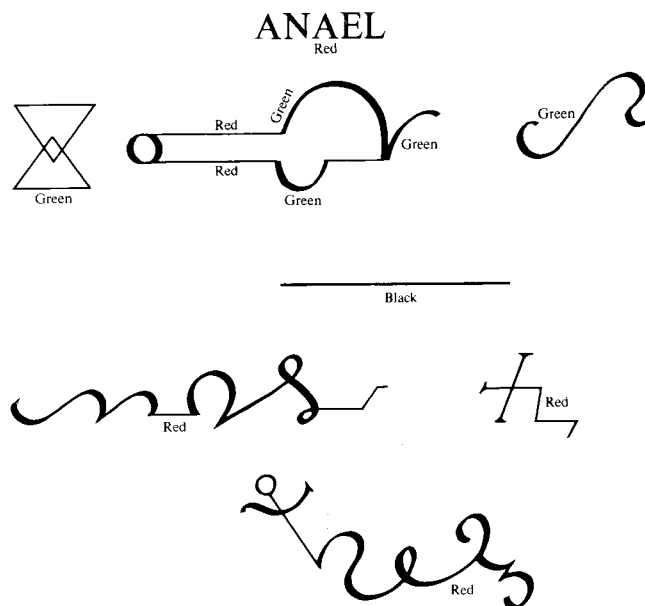


FIGURE 22

In this Sigil there be taught who and what the Genii are, as also their power and virtue. There be further shown the Mysteries of the Present, Past and

Future Age. In this Sigil is hidden the Science of Merchants. Also here be those things which do appear and are reputed to be supernatural. Also herein we can obtain the revelation of unknown things, but this (is only granted) unto the Elect of God.¹

Also the Praxis of those Arcane Secrets of the Lord is declared and demonstrated in this Sigil, wherefore Adore the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and love thy neighbour. In the Praxis or working of this Sigil thou shalt constate that the effects hereof be certain and true yet (causing) the greatest wonder and astonishment.



¹ This whole paragraph is in most vile Latin, and is difficult of purely literal translation.



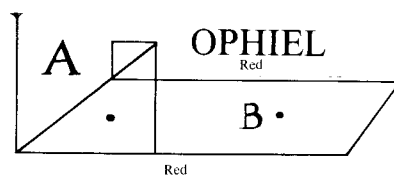
THE SACRO-MYSTIC THEOLOGY OF OUR FATHERS¹



CONCERNING THE SCIENCE OF THE REGENERATION OF ADAM AND HIS CHILDREN BY PELECH²

We have given and told unto you many things regarding the Good Spirits who can serve you faithfully. Those we are here about to speak of can also do the same, seeing that they served our First Parents from the Creation of the World.

OPHIEL is a Spirit of Piety. He will teach you all the Wisdom of our First Father. Thus is his Character (see Figure 23).



Characters of the Spirit which be under the
domination of OPHIEL

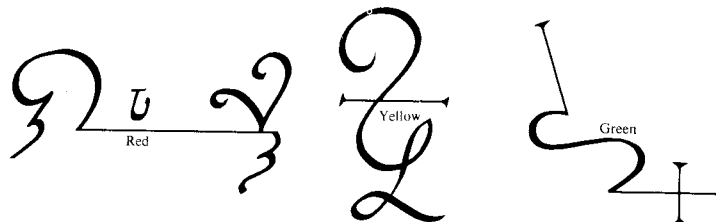


FIGURE 23

¹ Here the title changes.

² Here follow three characters which are evidently intended for the Hebrew letters P L Ch, Pelech.

In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Regeneration of Adam and his Children in Time, through Pelech³ now shown forth visibly as Jesus. Also the forms of those in torment.



CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND COMPELLED TO VISIBLE APPEARANCE

Now this is the Object of the Diabolic Qabalah.

(ASMODEUS. LEVIATHAN) These Spirits teach you further the Malice of the Devils. Avail not yourself of the services of these Evil Spirits who are deceivers. It is alone the Name of God which can enable you to force them and all others to come unto you. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 24 and 25).

³ Later in the Work 'Pelech' is used as the Name of Jesus.

ASMODEÉ
Green

LEVIATAN
Green

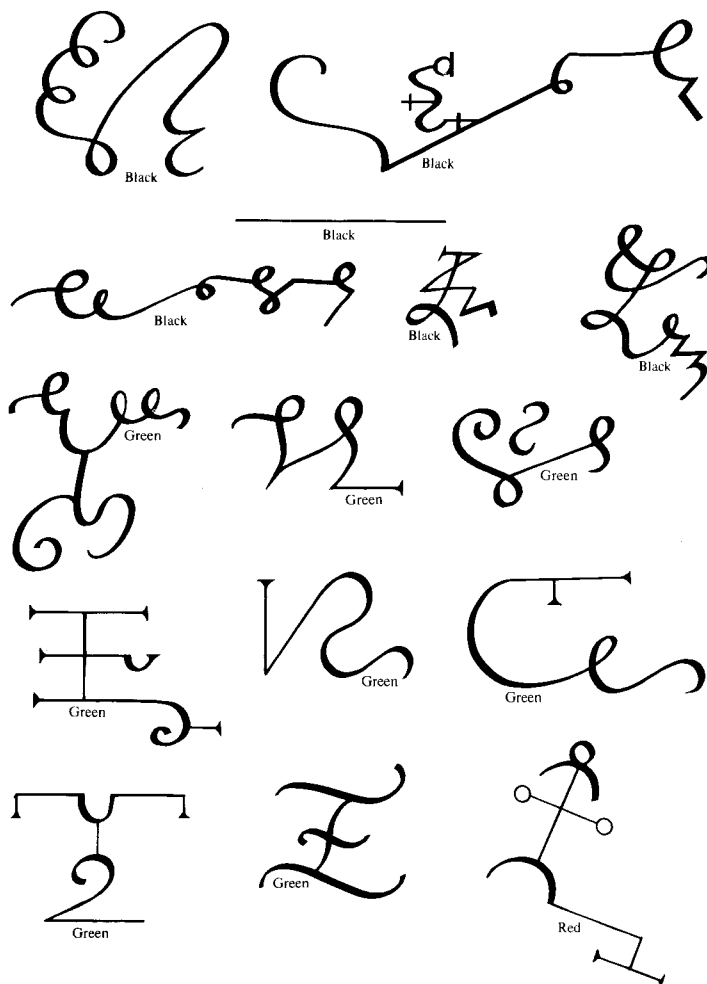


FIGURE 24

FIGURE 25

In this Sigil be the methods whereby we can force the Devils to show themselves unto us in their torments and that in bodily form.



CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY CAN BECOME VISIBLE

(HEMOSTOPHILÉ)¹ This Spirit again will make you see and know the Malice of the Devils, and will give you as many of them as you may wish. Avail not yourself of their services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 26).

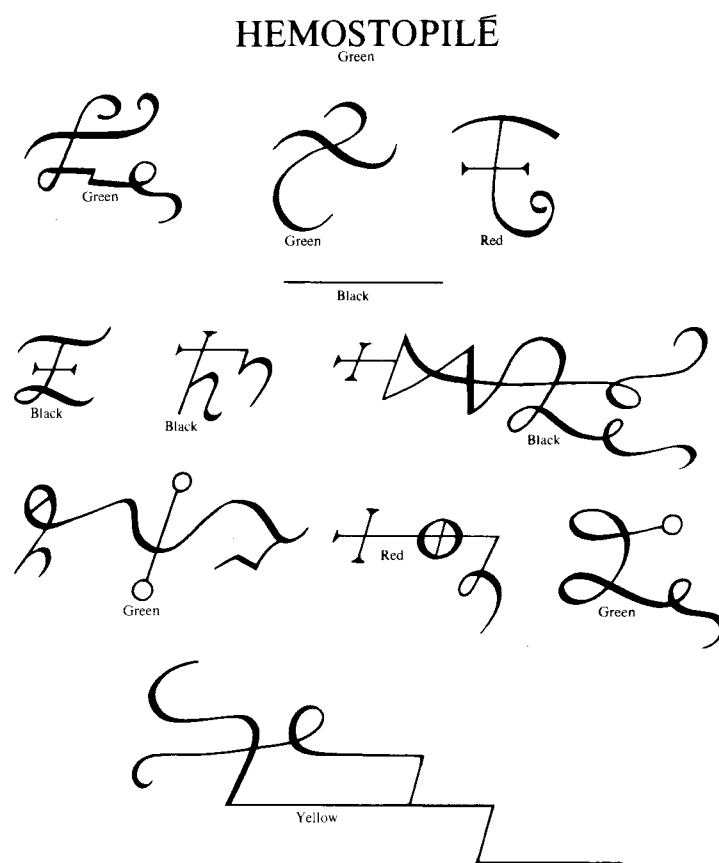


FIGURE 26

In this Sigil there be taught the methods whereby we can oblige the Devils to show themselves visibly in torments. They can deceive men and assume their forms, and change the just inclinations of men into evil passions. (Also there is

¹ Probably the same as Mephistopheles, yet the seal is different from his.

herein shown) how they can take such forms, and from what media, and what methods they make use of (to do so).



CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND BECOME VISIBLE

(BRUFOR) This Spirit again teacheth unto you the nature and quality of the Devils, and the difference of their names and titles; how they can bind invisibly and how we can bind them. Avail not yourself of him. This is his Character. (See Figure 27).

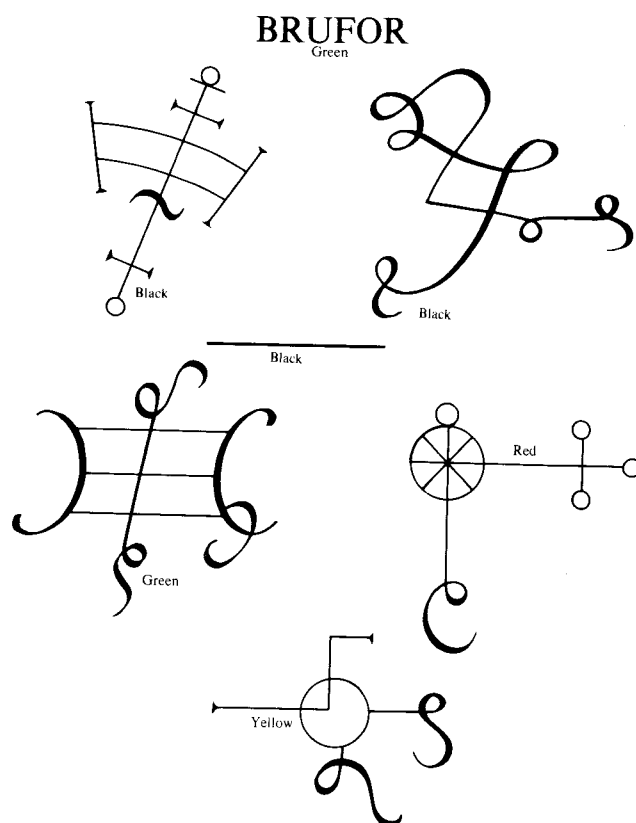


FIGURE 27

In this Sigil is taught how we can compel the Devils to show themselves visibly in the forms which they usually take to frighten and deceive (men).

There is also (here) taught how we may know them, for the Devils are known by their Names. Also whether and how from their Names their actions and operations can be known. Also how by the light hereof we can find out the means of driving them away from us and from our works and operations.



CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE DEVILS AND OF BANISHING THEM

(LAUNÉ) This Spirit again giveth unto you the knowledge of the Devils, but I counsel you not to avail yourself of his services, for he is a very wicked Spirit and a deceiver, who will do all in his power to entrap you, and afterwards he will mock you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 28).

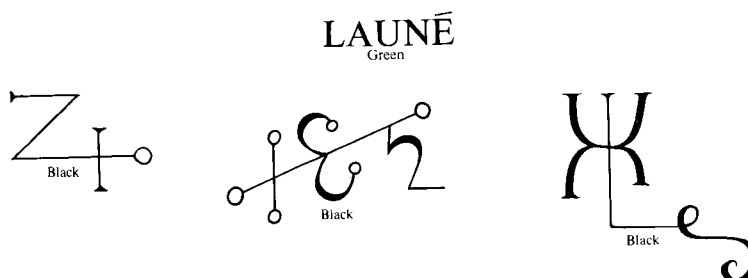


FIGURE 28

In this Sigil there is taught whether they can have proper Names as distinct from the Angelic Names, seeing that they were transformed through their casting out: whether they can lead their lives in any definite place, or wherein there is a place determined; whether it be permitted in the Spheres or in the compounded Elements. Also there is herein taught whether they have free will; in what way they conduct themselves in the places which they occupy; Also whether where they live be determined by the Power of their Expulsion.

Whether again there was an interval between their Expulsion and the Creation of Adam, and (if so) what interval. Herein also are taught unheard of and most terrible Mysteries, of such Interval and of Life.



CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND THEIR LIFE

(BETOR)¹ This Spirit maketh you comprehend who and what the Devils or Angels of Darkness really are; the difference of their Names; their Powers; and what they can do. He, being invoked, appeareth speedily, and that at any time and at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 29).

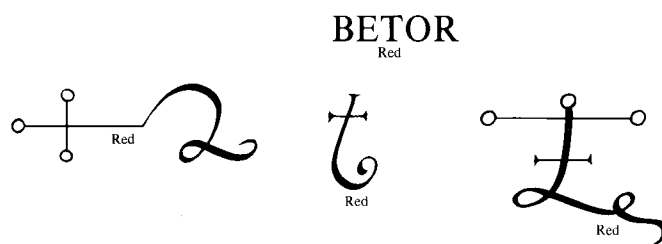


FIGURE 29

In this Sigil there be taught what are the Devils or Angels of Darkness; how they can be known and understood by their proper Names; and how they are to be distinguished from the Angels. Also whether the Devils can fully be known by proper Names; and whether the Virtue of God is impressed upon them, or followeth hereupon.

There is also herein taught how we can attract such Angels unto us as Familiar Spirits by the knowledge of their Names.

Also the Mysterious Operations of such Angels, both as regardeth ourselves and our actions.*



¹ This is usually considered as the Name of the Olympic Spirits of the Planet Jupiter, which is a Spirit of a good and benevolent nature.

* *Additional Note* In fact several of the names of Spirits given in the *Armadel* seem to be variations on the names of the so-called 'Olympic Planetary Spirits' who feature in almost all the Faustian grimoires of the seventeenth century.

CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE GOOD ANGELS, AND OF CONSULTING THEM

(ZADKIEL, SACHIEL) These Spirits do give you in all things whatsoever advice may be good and fitting; they discover unto you all kinds of treasures, give them unto you and carry them whithersoever you request. They can also give you a Purse wherein is Gold and Silver. They appear unto you as soon as you invoke them, which should be on a Thursday and at Daybreak. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 30 and 31).

ZADKIEL

Red

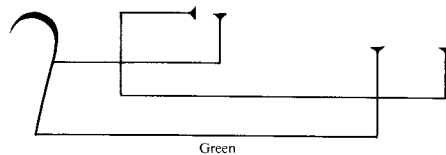


FIGURE 30

SACHIEL

Red

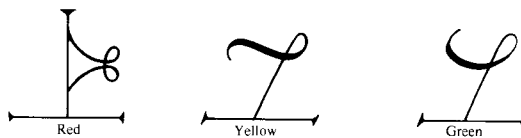


FIGURE 31

In this Sigil is taught of what description be the Angels of Light and Glory. There be also taught the Mystical Period of such a Life; and Mysteries, as they were unutterable, concerning such a Life; also that there was a certain Interval between their Creation and sending forth, and what be the Mysteries of such Interval.



CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN

(PHUL. GABRIEL) These Spirits, besides the Life of Souls and of Man, do teach unto you all the Sciences which you shall desire to know. Thus are his Characters (see Figures 32 and 33).

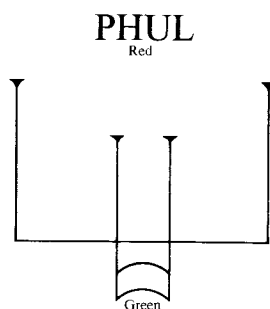


FIGURE 32

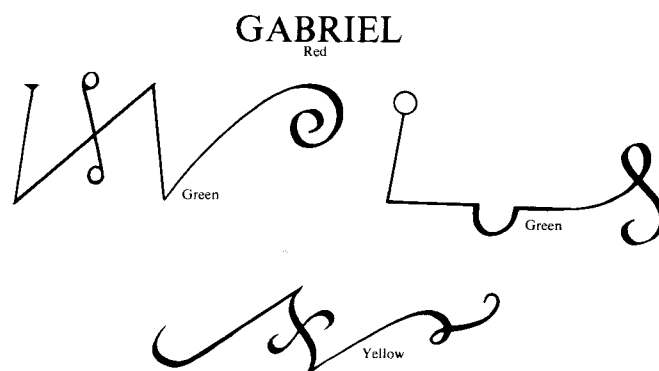


FIGURE 33

In this Sigil there is taught what may be the Life (of Man) and the Creation (of Souls) even until the time of their sending forth into Bodies.

There be also taught the great Mysteries which the Lord is willing to perform; and whether all Souls were created from such a creation alike and at one time, and so also whether such be reserved in a certain place so that going forth thence they may be sent into Bodies and rule therein for a period of time.

These Spirits are to be invoked on a Monday and at Daybreak.



CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE SOULS OF MEN

(ARATRON) This Spirit teacheth unto you the Creation of the Souls of Men, and what they really are; as also their estate after Death. When you cause these Spirits (under Aratron) to come unto you, see that you remain not long in their company. They will also tell you by writing, that which you desire to know. This is his Character (see Figure 34).

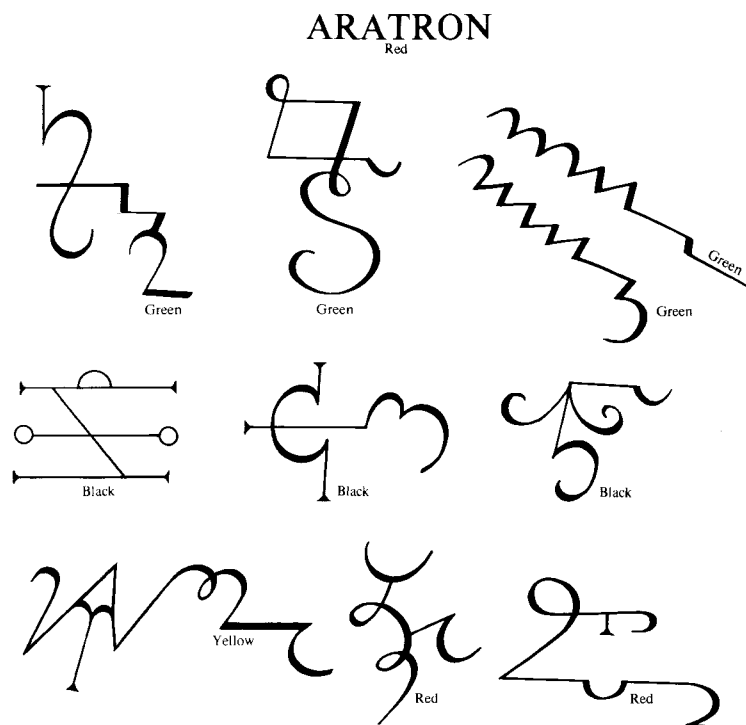


FIGURE 34

In this Sigil is taught what is the creation of the Souls of Mankind, and what is the object and end of such Creation. Also what portion of the Angelic Host did rebel; and what time they rebelled; and how the Rebellious Angels were cast out. Also by the Virtue and in the Virtue (of this Sigil) there be also taught Unrelatable Mysteries regarding that Rebellion and that Expulsion, as well as the Time of that Rebellion and Expulsion.



CONCERNING THE EVANGELIC REBELLION AND EXPULSION¹

(LUCIFER . BELZEBUT . ASTAROT) These Spirits teach you what were the Rebellion and Fall of the Evil Spirits. Thus be their Characters (see Figures 35, 36 and 37).

LUCIFER

Green

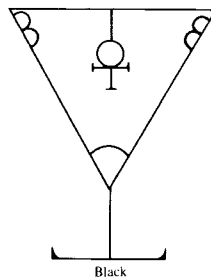


FIGURE 35

Characters of his Princes

BELZEBUT

Green

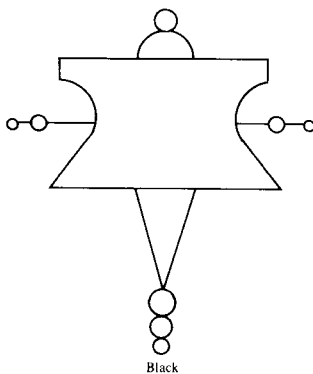


FIGURE 36

ASTAROT

Green

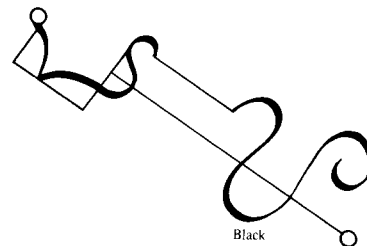


FIGURE 37

In this Sigil there be taught what was the Rebellion of the Angels and what was its cause; what were the Mysteries of their Life; whether their life should be understood as a continual action; whether the Names of these Angels were

¹ i.e., referred to in the New Testament.

given unto them through the commands of God; what things have been committed unto them, whence and of what kind; and whether a certain Angel be allotted unto any or unto some especial commands. There be taught also herein certain most hidden Mysteries, alike admirable and not admirable, concerning their Life, which same be revealed unto very few, (especially the comprehension of their Mode of Life before the Fall).

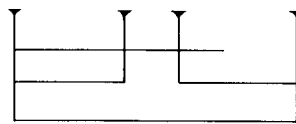


CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE ANGELS BEFORE THE FALL

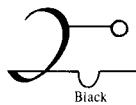
(ZAPHKIEL and his Spirits) These do (not) teach you of what nature is the Life of all Angels, and their business and intercourse. Thus be their Characters (see Figure 38).

ZAPHKIEL

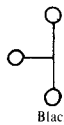
Red



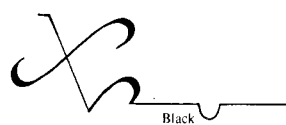
Black



Black

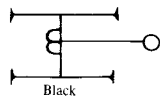


Black

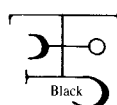


Black

Black



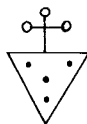
Black



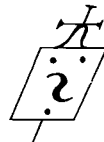
Black



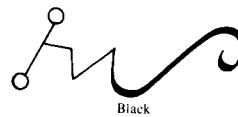
Black



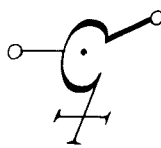
Black



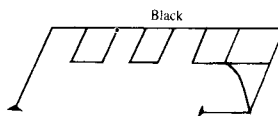
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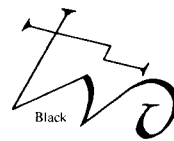
Black



Black



Black



Black

FIGURE 38

In this Sigil there is taught what was the Life of the Angels before the Fall. There be taught also the Mysteries of their habitation; whether there be a place of habitation for the Rebellious Angels; whether there may be found a Place Impassable and Void; whether the Angels were without any affection of passion soever; whether they were created in happiness; and whether such is confirmed unto them.



CONCERNING THE CREATION OF ALL THE ANGELS

(OCH and his Spirits) These do teach you what is the Nature of the Angels. These subjects fall under the domination of Och who is a Solar Spirit, and should be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak. Thus are the Characters (see Figure 39).

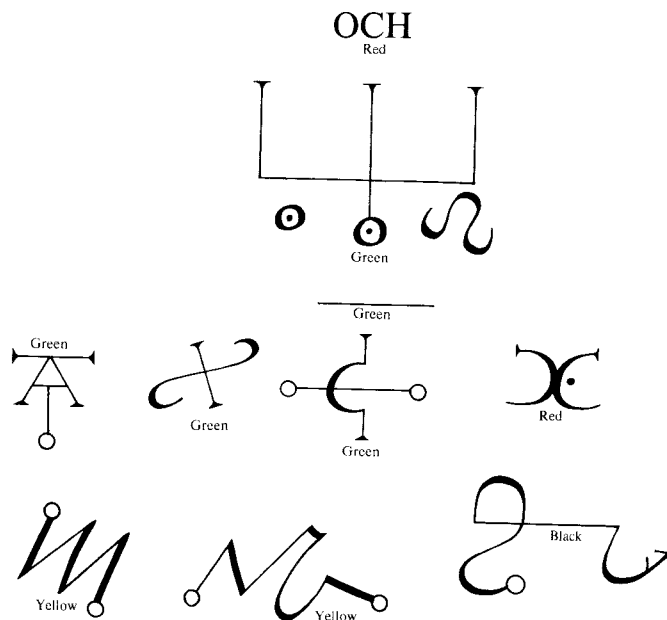


FIGURE 39

In this Sigil there is taught what is the Nature of Angels; what may be the object and end of such Creation and whether it be established to operate in the preservation and destruction of all Creatures. There is also taught Who and What is that Promised Messiah; what is the Kingdom; What is the Kingdom of

In this Sigil as in others (Magical ones), there be Mysteries through the combination of Geometry, Gilgud² and Numbers, as well as points relating to Geometrical (Symbolism).

(GABRIEL and his Spirits) These Spirits do teach you all kinds of Mysteries. Thus is the Character (see Figure 40).

FIGURE 40

¹ At this point in the original MS. a leaf is interpolated bearing only the Hebrew words transliterated as: IHVH El Adonai Elohim Shaddai Agla Elohi.

² 'Gilgud', from the Hebrew, means Wheel or Revolution and is often applied to Permutation of Names by Substitution, transposition, etc. of the Letters composing them.

(Abraham) did rule and govern himself and went forth by the command of the Lord God to travel in the Land of Chanaan, wherein also he sojourned and was buried by his two (sons) in a Mystical Sepulchre, that is to say in the Cave near unto Cariatarbee, wherein also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were interred. Now this same Cariatarbee is Hebrew Mambre, and Ephrata.

In this land did Abraham behold Three and Adore One, and thus was it counted unto him for righteousness.

In this Sigil is taught Who be those Three Persons meet to be adored, and how they do harmonise together; also as concerneth the Angels and Men what Mysteries they do operate; also how they do harmoniously act through Created Beings, Angels and men. All these things be shown forth in the Letters and in the Sigil herewith given, through their Number and Combination.



CONCERNING GOD IN HIS TRINE PERSONALITY

(MICHAEL and his Spirits) These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all Mystical Sciences (see Figure 41).

MICHAEL
Red

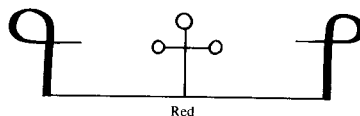
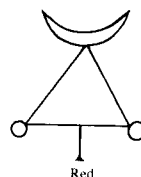
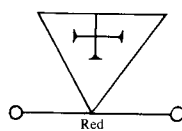
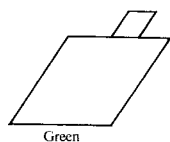
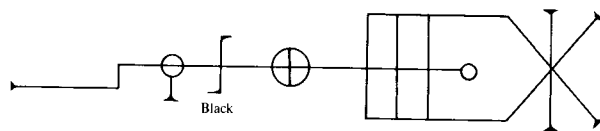


FIGURE 41

In this Sigil be taught the Mysteries of the Trinity Whom Abraham our Father knew, believed in and confessed. There is also taught herein how It is pleasing and harmonious in Itself, and by what ways It may be propitiated, as hath been communicable through Its Adorable Attributes. There is also (herein) taught how the whole may be communicable unto and in Thee, and as regardeth Thee in a profound and wonderful manner, through the Combinations of the Letters which be in the Great Central Triangle, between the Small Orb and Triangle. There is also (herein) taught how the Science of God may be communicable through His Attributes unto all Created Beings; and especially those most profound Mysteries which He operateth with regard both to Angels and Men, the which be shown through the combinations of the Letters which be without the Small Orb.

Also in all this Science thou shalt observe the Combinations of the Letters, of Geometry, and Gilgud or of their Numbers, in thy searching examination of all Sigils.



CONCERNING GOD THE UNIVERSALLY ONE

These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all kinds of Sciences (see Figure 42). They be under the domination of CASSIEL, and are to be invoked on a Saturday at eleven o'clock at night,

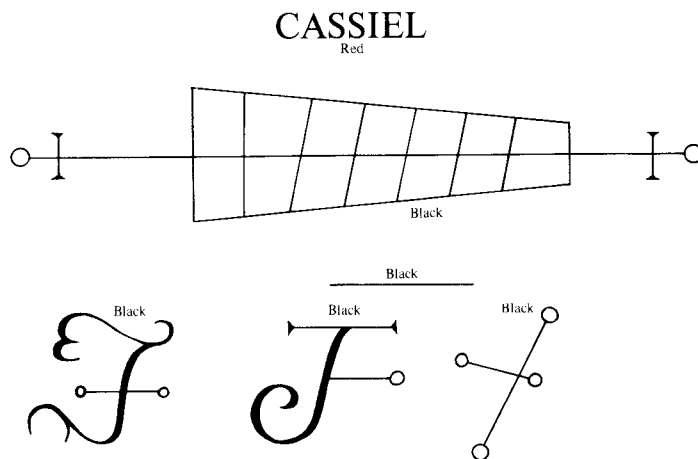


FIGURE 42

In this Sigil is manifested the most glorious Science of God.

In this are taught the Paths of Wisdom¹ and their profoundest Mysteries; how we can know such paths; and how we may become worthy to walk therein. There be also shown the Mysteries of our hearts through this Number of Thirty-two. Its significations teach the Mysteries of the Regeneration of our Heart; whether from the beginning it was constituted to operate hereby and herewith, and by the Word of God; whether it was distinct in the Mind of God; and what be its place, Science and dubitation, its hope, faith and ultimate desire.

If you shalt desire to know thoroughly these Paths of Perfect and Profound Wisdom together with their Mysteries; remember the combinations of writings in the Sigil (He)² which is in the centre of the figure of the Heart.

Whosoever thou mayest be, despise not this wonderful Science and Geometrical Searching Out, and the points of E o n,³ and the Mystical Numbers of the Letters. Also the Lord said unto God:⁴ 'Go forth through the midst of the City, through the midst of Jerusalem, and sign a Symbol upon the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the abominations which be in the midst thereof.' Also he said unto them: 'Hear me, go ye forth through the City following after him, and smite ye every man upon whom ye shall see 'T h a u n e'.⁵ Ye shall slay them from my Sanctuary. — Begin.'



¹ i.e., the thirty-two Paths of the *Sepher Yetzirah*.

² This is evidently the Hebrew letter Hé though it looks more like the numbers 33 in the MS.

³ The Gnostic term for emanation of the Deity.

⁴ Cf. Ezekiel.

⁵ The Greek Letter Tau(?).

CONCERNING THE PATHS OF WISDOM

These be the Characters of the Spirits of Force and Counsel (see Figure 43).

Characters of the Spirit of Force and Counsel.

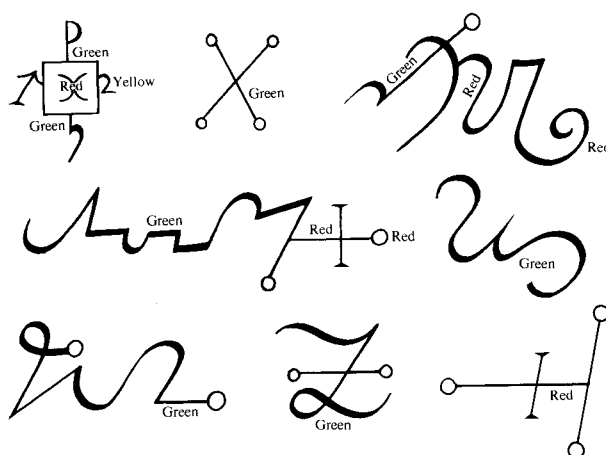


FIGURE 43

This is the Sigil of Joy, and of the Spirit which goeth forth and retireth. The Characters of the Spirits of Joy (see Figure 44).

Characters of the Spirits of Joy

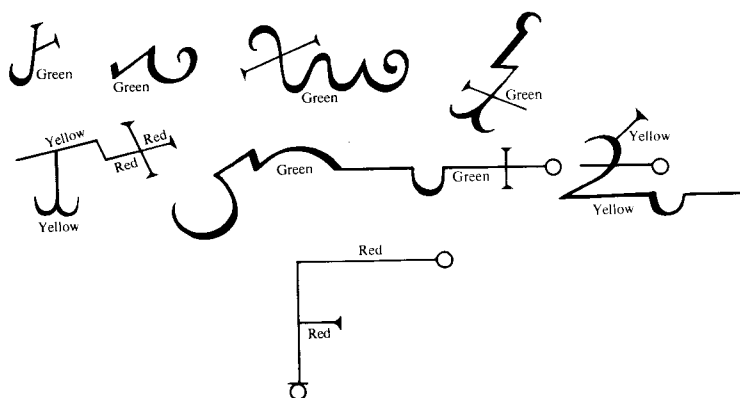


FIGURE 44

Thou¹ shalt have fasted with the Lord God Pelech, now (called) Jesus, for Seven Days, the which shall be passed in humility and sobriety, in mercy and patience, in peace and equilibrium; (that is to say) in the beginning of all the Sigils of Love and Charity, and from which they do proceed.

The Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity (see Figure 45).

Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity

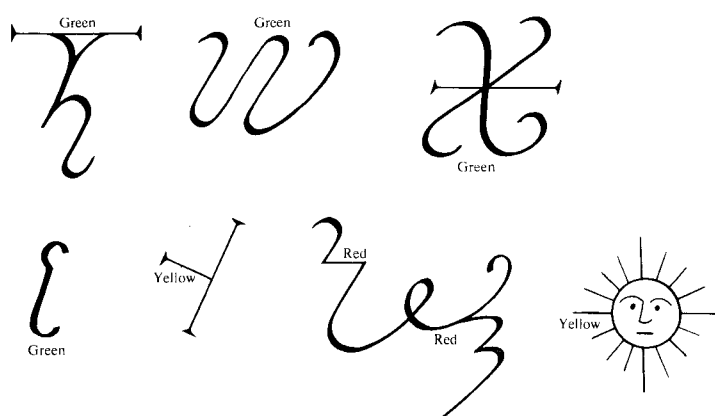


FIGURE 45

Is it not written and reported by tradition that 'there were Six Men² who came from the way of the Upper Gate which looketh toward the North, each holding in his hand a weapon of death. Also in the midst of them was one Man clothed with a robe of fine linen, and he had instruments for writing hung at his side. And when they had entered, they stood beside the Altar of Brass, And the Glory of the Lord of Israel withdrew from the Cherub which was etc. . . ' Also in the Books of Moses (it is written)³ that with 250 shekels of each of various ingredients and with 500 shekels of Myrrh, etc., according to the weight of the Sanctuary, and with a certain measure of Olive Oil, thou shalt make a certain Holy Anointing Oil composed according to the Art of the Apothecary; and that herewith thou shalt anoint the Tabernacle of Testimony and the Ark of the Covenant, the Table with its Vessels, the Candlesticks, the Altar of Incense and that of Burnt Offering, and all things pertaining unto the Cult.⁴

¹ From this point on to the end of the book, the whole of the original MS. is in execrable and obscure Latin.

² See Ezekiel.

³ See Exod. xxx.

⁴ Here by an evident slip the Characters of the Spirits of Joy are given a second time.



THE RATIONAL TABLE: or the QABALISTICAL LIGHT; PENETRATING WHATSOEVER THINGS BE MOST HIDDEN AMONG THE CELESTIALS, THE TERRESTRIALS AND THE INFERNALS



THE FIRST CHARACTERS

The First Characters which should be made upon virgin parchment, on Sunday in the Hour of the sun (see Figure 46), The first letter of your name should be written in the semi-circle 'A', and that of your surname in the semi-circle 'B'. You should wear this upon your left side (near the heart) before you proceed to invoke the Spirits, in order to make them obey you, and to gain from them that which you shall desire.

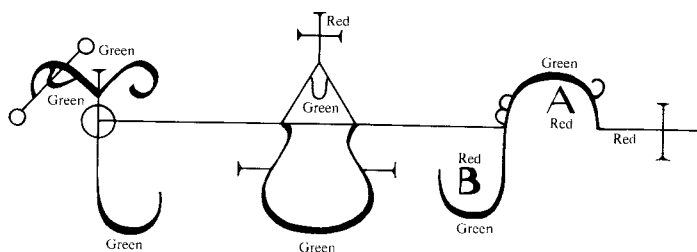


FIGURE 46

ISRAEL hath gone forth from the Beginning, from the Days of Eternity. O my Soul, possess thyself in searching out and following out in thyself the Will of thy Lord PELECH Who is JESUS; for that Peace shall be thine, when M e m o r o t h the Assyrian and M e t r u m shall come to turn thee from the Eternal Law, and thus disturb thee in all thy ways.

Be unwilling to fast,¹ O my Soul; let it be at the hour of Day that thy cry may be heard on high. Is it also such a fast which the Lord hath chosen to afflict thee by day, through the depth and multitude of my iniquities, whereby I have excited thy wrath, and have done evil before thee unintentionally, also I have kept thy commands.²

The Lord God presseth me hard because of my many sins; nevertheless bow down (unto Him) O my Soul; that thou mayest rather fall into the hands of the Lord God, seeing that many are His Mercies, than into the hands of Man. Turn then, O my Soul and humble thyself before the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God hath created Israel, and truly there is a Providence which acteth in the sight of God; and him who hath cried unto Him, also He observeth intently, and listeneth unto his prayer.

Cry unto the Lord, with great insistence, and humiliate thyself O Soul, also in Chastity, in fasting, in mercy, in power, seeking out with thine whole heart in thy prayers the Will of the Lord God, and all things shall be added unto thee. From thine inmost heart and in tears shalt thou say unto the Lord thy God, 'I have sinned, nevertheless O Lord return unto me whom Thou hast humiliated.' Be in thine whole heart ever seeking Jesus, in chastity and in sobriety, in mercy and patience, and thus shalt thou possess the Soul in faith, hope, and charity; and thus shalt thou pray confidently. And whatsoever thou shalt seek in *Bereshith*,³ shall be given back unto thee in *Mercavah*.⁴



¹ *Noli jejunare.*

² Like nearly all the latter part of the MS. this paragraph is most obscurely worded in Latin.

³ The Beginning of Genesis.

⁴ The Vision of the Cherubim in Ezek. i. called also 'Mercavah' or 'the Vision of the Chariot'.

THE VISION OF ANOINTING

Hath it not been written in the Scriptures, — 'Take unto thee sweet spices, five hundred shekels of myrrh the finest and most choice, likewise thou shalt reckon two hundred and fifty shekels of Calamus,'¹ Are these not in the Blood, Vital and Animal Spirits? Is there not Blood in the whole Body? And there is (a certain proportion) of fat joined thereunto preserving the Spirits thereof. In the Body of the Fish preserved by Tobias were there not these Spirits (derived from) the purest faculties of all true Elementary Forces? Know thou then what most holy thing existeth as regardeth (these Elementary Forces) preserved in Nature!

Therefore the Lord *Pelech*,² now *Jesus*, by His Omnipotent Grace mercifully operating in Nature, protecting the Heart of the Operator in Simplicity, in Faith, in Hope and going forth in Charity, rejoicing also in Itself, directeth such Spirits according to their most sacred faculties to cooperate with such Operation of a Simple Heart.

Is it not manifested in the Book of Tobias, who himself was of a Simple Heart, that the Lord God directed the Spirits of the Liver of the Fish according to their most secret faculties, in His Adorable Name, by His Angel Raphael, to co-operate with Tobias in the casting away of the Albumen (from the eyes of his) father?

By a Number (namely) through the Ternary, is the Mercy of God the Highest Lord, *Jah*, turned, therefore revealing all things. David took unto himself five most clear stones from the Brook and five cakes of Shewbread, the which Bread the Laity might not have, but only the Elect. Is not the Head the seat of Imagination, of Memory and of Intellect?



¹ See Exod. xxx. 23.

² P L C h = 118, to pass, renew, change, to ferment (in Hebrew) פ ל ח

COR ERGO ET SCIETUR UNUM SUNT
PUTREUS M ALE STUM¹
THE VISION OF DUST²

Wherefore let it be granted that dry bones having been reduced in to a most fine powder, that this also may be refined and compounded together like unto the T h i n i a n a of *Moses* the Blood. Neither ever hereafter shouldest thou despise this holiest Mystery; for thee the Spirit of Life is herein like as in the Dust of a Man.

Since all these (matters) have been placed before thy true heart, which also the Lord God hath chosen for the legitimate Tabernacle, may He further bless all thy works in thy time!

By His Angel *Raphael* He appeareth unto the blessed Tobias and in his journey he put to flight all Malice of heart and every kind of Demon which obsesses, and (caused) Simplicity of heart, Purity and Faith in Prayer to have entire dominion with him.

Is there not sought in the Imagination those things which one hath not known, and is there not pleasure in the excitation thereof? Hath not Memory been willing to aid that which the Imagination hath clothed with form, so that one may see of what nature such things may be and whether any further development of them may be (advisable)? Hath not the Intellect having applied them unto Itself, known how to treat in thee the things cast forth by the Memory, and this to what degree and extent according unto their faculties and powers? Do not Memory, imagination, and Intellect operate (simultaneously) together? For at once and in unity these (three) which be united together do then become Intellectual Action. Is not the Heart a recurved Vase of Blood? If among all these so many be found similar that they may be perfected hereunto, it will be the same concerning His people.³

Study this well O Man, ardent for Wisdom, in the following out of this Path desiring all things, seeking all things, and understanding all things, seeing that in thyself⁴ are all things.

¹ This piece of mutilated Latin is very difficult of translation. I suggest the following: 'Therefore let it be understood that the heart which is one thing yet when decaying is reduced into a bitter powder,' taking 'Male' for 'Malleatus' and 'Stum' for 'Stymma.'

² *Visio Stile*. This word *Stile* probably stands for dust but it may also be a perversion of 'Still' from 'Stilla' a drop, as a drop of Dew.

³ This whole sentence is very obscurely worded in Latin.

⁴ *Inipso*.

Assimilated; Contained: Willed. Was it not on the Fifth Day⁵ that Man was made a Living Soul?

Was there not a Soul⁶ which came forth (into manifestation) on the Third Day? Did it not also give forth and withdraw (the faculty of) Hope, and before that it withdrew, did it not rejoice in the Quinary Number;⁷ going forth and returning in that same Number; for it rejoiced in the Nature of the Creatures which do exist in the Number of the Quinary.

First God, (then) Spirit and Matter. Most powerfully do these operate the separation of Matter violently transformed by Life. How can such (Life) do aught but delight in the Number of the Five, seeing that therein is hidden every Mystery of a (Past), Present and Future Age, since in such (Eternal) Epoch is the Name of the Lord God.

Also in the Prophecy of Ezekiel, as it was taught unto him, the Lord God said: 'Let the Spirit come from the Four Winds,⁸ and brood over these that they may revive in the Name PELECH, now JESUS.' The Lord God PELECH, now JESUS. The Spirit having entered into them, also they spake. It is not also related by inspiration that the Lord said unto Moses: 'Take unto thee Aromatics; Stacte, Galbanum of good odour, and thus Luci, of equal weight:⁹ hereof shalt thou make a perfume composed according to the Art of the Apothecary, mixed with care; pure and sanctified, and most fitting to be offered unto me. And when thou shalt have beaten it into most fine powder, then shalt thou place it before the Tabernacle of the Testimony in the which place I will appear unto thee, Holy of Holies shall it be. Thou shalt compose nothing similar for thine own use, seeing that it is Holy unto the Lord.' Man who was called Adam, also called by their (true) Names all the animals, as well the Birds of Heaven as the Beasts of Earth, But there was not found an aid for Adam who was like unto him.¹⁰

Is it not written and reported by tradition¹¹ that the Lord God led forth Ezekiel in His Spirit, and left him in the midst of a field which was full of dry bones, and led him round about these bones in that region, and prophesied over those bones. And in the Name of the Lord he said unto them: 'O Dry Bones, hear ye the Word of the Lord! Thus said the Lord unto you: "So therefore

⁵ ?Sixth.

⁶ i.e., that Germination of Life on the Earth.

⁷ i.e., that of the Spirit and the Four Elements, (that is, the Creative.) cf. the Cherubim and the Elemental Spirits.

⁸ i.e., as it were the Ethers of the Four Elements, see Ezekiel.

⁹ See Exod. xxx. 34 *et seq.*

¹⁰ See Gen. ii. 19-20.

¹¹ Ezek. xxxvii.

will I send forth My Spirit unto you, and ye shall live, and ye shall know that I am the Lord." Also thus was it done at the same time that Ezekiel did prophesy over those dry bones.'

Since in that prophesying there was a sound made, and behold there was a great movement, and the bones approached and joined each unto the other together, and the nerves and flesh formed upon them, and the skin was spread above, though as yet they had not the Spirit of Life. Unto that Spirit, then did Ezekiel prophesy his Will, in all humility, sobriety, mercy and patience. And though, whosoever thou mayest be, who in thy life and action possesses thy Soul in peace, when therefore thou shalt know the Mysterium,¹² be thou well ware not to reveal it. When the Spirit willesh seek to enter into the Knowledge of the Lord, and there shall rise an intellectual fountain of Understanding and Wisdom. The (celestial) LIGHT fleeth the (Earthly) Light, and operateth in Secret until thine Heart is tormented with understanding and with the desire of Understanding, since it is that which seeketh and which is hidden from Man. Is it not written and reported by tradition, and hast thou not read, that the Lord God formed Man of the Mud¹³ of the Earth, and that Man became a Living Soul, and that when He had formed Man He placed him in the Paradise of Pleasure to work it and to keep it.

And seeing that the Lord God, having formed from the ground all the animals of the Earth and all the winged things of heaven, did bring all these living creatures before Adam himself, then did his Name (that is) the Spirit (or Breath) go forth (upon them); and the Dust¹⁴ being arrested, there did it remain, and the Rose¹⁵ was restored. And so also is the Man who understandeth the Mysteries of the Book, and of the Similitude of the Rose, and the Mystery of the Dust; preserving the same in the inmost of his heart like a Magically guarded Treasure¹⁶: and as a Gift of the Highest, most sacred and most unutterable nature. But shouldest thou make an abuse hereof, then shall it be unto thee as a most heavy and scandalous thing and shall bring about the utter ruin of all thy worldly possessions, of thy body, of thine intellect, and of thy Soul. Further also take heed that thou reveal it not to any in writing, nor yet even the least part of the Mysteries of this Book. Wherefore mayest thou be contented herein, with all charity and zeal thereof, and thou shalt have done sufficient; for God knoweth who desireth truly for His Grace, His Light and the Understanding of His Empire; seeing that in His Name he hath known Him.

¹² Cf. the 'Mysterium' of the Rosicrucians.

¹³ *De limo terrae.*

¹⁴ Or 'Drop' or 'Grain'.

¹⁵ i.e., the Rose of Creation.

¹⁶ *Tanquam thesaurum imprecabilem.*

When thou shalt have comprehended the *Misterium Stile*,¹⁷ which is the Most Holy Gift of God, this is that which the Lord God PELECH now JESUS revealeth or permitteth to be revealed unto those who do seek His Will.

Is it not reported by tradition and written 'In the Beginning the Elohim created' (Bereshith Bara Elohim) . . . Man on the Sixth Day; whom the Lord God took and placed in the Paradise of Pleasure, wherein was the Fountain divided into Four Heads. There is that Most Holy Mystery, let him who hath ears to hear, hear and live! O Lord God, may he be Anathema (accursed) whosoever he be, who shall have despised this most precious Mystery. Amen!

Hear, O my Soul, turn unto the Lord thy God; for where there hath been Pride, there shall be also Abasement; but where there is humility (there is) also Wisdom. So, therefore, abide fast in the Lord God, saying with thine whole heart, 'Truly I have sinned in all my ways, but I beseech Thee O Lord to take away the Iniquity of Thy Servant, seeing that nevertheless I have put my trust in Thee!'

O Lord God, thou art become my oppressor, because of the multitude of my sins, seeing that I have greatly sinned, and that mine Iniquities be multiplied like unto the Sands of the Sea, and I am not worthy to lift up mine eyes unto the Height of Heaven.



¹⁷ The Mystery of the Dust or of the Drop.

THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (I)

Before invoking the Spirits it is necessary to make a (Magical) Circle, and place thyself in the midst thereof after having sprinkled the same with Holy Water saying:

*'In Nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti.'*¹

'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'

*'Respice in me per Sanctissimos Angelos Tuos in Nomine Jeus de Maria Virgine semper immaculata Nati, et Veritas Tua manet in aeternum— Amen.'*²

'Examine me thoroughly by Thy most Holy Angels, in the Name of Jesus, born of Mary, the ever Immaculate Virgin; and may Thy Truth endure for ever— Amen.'

Before the Oration prepare thy Soul, and be not thou like unto a man who tempteth a God.

ORATION SEMPER PRECEDENS ACTUM

(Dirigatur quae et humillime.

Deprecor Domine Deus Meus Omnipotens in conspectu Tuo Operatio mea et comittentier mihi et operatione mea sanctissimi (here follow a collection of scratches evidently intended to represent Hebrew Letters which I imagine are intended to stand for the words: 'IHVH Elohim, Ab, Ben Ve-Ruach Haqodesh.' 'Tetragrammaton Elohim, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.')

Ad Majorem Nomini Tui gloriam, edificationem et utilitatem proximi mei. Amen.

Translation of the Foregoing.

THE ORATION ALWAYS TO BE MADE BEFORE OPERATION

(also I warn you that it is to be performed with the greatest humility).

¹ Make the Sign of the Cross at each Cross.

² I give the exact Latin of the original MS. here and in other cases.

In Thy Sight O Lord mine Omnipotent God, do I pray for mine Operation, and may these most Holy (Names) be in charge over me and my Operation . . . unto the Greater Glory of Thy Name, and the edification and profit of my neighbour. Amen.



THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (II)

Santi Andrea et Thoma circumvallate me.

O Saint Andrew and (Saint) Thomas, be a defence about me.

Sancte Michael auxiliate omnibus operationibus meis quoniam quis sicut Dominum Virtutum et nullus certe nisi solus deus meus magnus et terribile super omnes qui in exercitu ejus sunt ideo enim voto voverint domino Deo meo Jesu me possidentis et circumvallante gratia sua et dominus Deus Jesus imposita mihi Lege sua sit mihi semper a cunctis diebus et momentis vitae meae in patrem et deum meum — et si vere Emmanuel amabilis.

O Saint Michael bring thine aid unto all mine Operations, for who is like unto the Lord of Virtues; and assuredly there is none else but my Lord God, the only Great and terrible over all who be in His Army, for hereunto by vow are they vowed unto my Lord God Jesus, Who possesseth and defendeth me by His Grace. Also may the Lord God Jesus having imposed upon me His Law, be ever mine in every Day and moment of my life as my Father and God, and thus truly my beloved Emmanuel.

Sancte Petre ad glorium et utilitatem proximi ure in me omnes iniquitates meas.

O Saint Peter, unto the (Divine) Glory and the good of my neighbour, burn up in me all mine iniquities.

Sante Paule obviam este deprecationis meae.

O Saint Paul, be thou propitious unto my prayer.

Confitebor Jesu tibi Christi rex Aeternae gloriae verbum caro factum est, ex Maria de Spiritu Sancte te humillime deprecor per vulnere tua sanctissima quae sunt fons regenerationis mostrae in fide et charitate per delectissimam Mariam Matrem tuam semper immaculatam et omnes sanctes tuos ne impediar opere ad mortem justificari in fide et charitate quoniam fides sine operibus mortua, non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo, nequando dicant gentes ubi est.

I will confess myself unto Thee, O Jesus Christ, King of Eternal Glory, the Word is made flesh from Mary by the Holy Spirit; I pray Thee most humbly by Thy most holy wounds which are the Foundation of our Regeneration in Faith and Charity; by Thy Most delightful Mother Mary, ever Immaculate; and by all Thy Saints let me not be hindered in my work, unto death be justified in Faith and in Charity, since Faith without Works is dead. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name; lest the heathen may say: Where is He!

Let us become as little children at birth, for unless we be born again we shall not see the wonders of God, nor yet in any way progress in the Art.

Good is fasting with prayer, and almsgiving, and vow.

Before the Oration, prepare the Soul!



THE CHARACTERS OF MICHAEL

Therefore Hear O Man! The Lord, the Lord Our God, is one Lord. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thine whole heart, with thy whole Soul, and with thy whole strength, and thy neighbour as thyself. And these words which I teach unto thee shall be in thine heart, thou shalt relate them unto thy children and thou shalt meditate upon them, when thou sittest in thine house, when thou walkest by the wayside, when thou sleepest, and when thou arisest; and thou shalt bind them like unto a staff for thine hand, and thou shalt place them between thine eyes and thou shalt write them upon the threshold and portals of thy dwelling place. AMEN.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, in any soever of thy works; but keeping His precepts and testimony, and ceremonies, most pure, thou shalt do that which is pleasing and good in the sight of the Lord with zeal and charity, not out of curiosity or ostentation.

If thus thou shalt have heard the voice of the Lord thy God and shalt have walked in his ways, that thou mayest do and keep His commandments, the Lord thy God shall make these more excellent than all the Nations which be spread abroad upon the Earth; and by reason of that blessing shall they come unto thee and learn of thee, Blessed shalt thou be in the City, and blessed shalt thou be in the field, and blessed shall be the fruit of thy body. AMEN.

But the God of these, Who is also our God, is in Heaven, and in Earth, and in the Abysses, and He doeth whatsoever He will. They who fear the Lord have put their trust in the Lord, He is their helper and defender. Would that my life were directed to the safeguard of thy justification. Also I have sought thee out, because thou hast caused me to have life hereby. Let it go forth unto my works. Direct thou them according to Thy saying, and let not injustice have dominion over me!

When, therefore, thou shalt be worthy to understand in what manner thy vow and thy natal day are to be observed with circumspection and purity:

Take note of this:

Are there not twelve Months in the Year?

Is there not one hour in each single month?

Does not this hour pass by?

And thus let it then pass by with chastity, fasting, ardent prayer and desire, desiring also your Vow by the Divine inspiration and therefore fit to be carried out.

This following is a fitting prayer.

ORATIO

Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini in Nomine Dei Israel, Uni et Trino, Credidit Abraham et ei reputatum fuit in iustitiam. AMEN.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING

The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom. In the Name of the God of Israel, One and Triune, Abraham believed, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. Amen.

Nisi Dominus Operitus nobiscum in vanum laborant qui operantur.

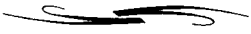
Unless the Lord work with us, in vain do they strive who labour.

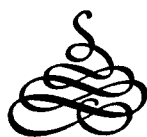
De Profundis Clamavi ad Te Domine, Domine Exaudi Orationem meam.

Out of the Depths Have I cried unto Thee O Lord, O Lord hear my prayer.

Fiant aures tuae intendentes in vocem Deprecationis mea.

Let Thine ears be inclined unto the voice of my supplication.





LIBER ARMADEL¹

Seu totius Cabalae perfectissima brevissima et infallibilis Scientia tam
speculativa quam practiqua

Dominum Deum timebus et illi seli serbies per nomen

illius tremendae at adorabilis Majestatis omnibus

diebus vitae tuae.

operaribus

FIN



¹ This is a reproduction of the original title-page.

THE MAGIC OF ARMADEL

Electronic Version Prologue

This grimoire was first translated by Mr. MacGregor Mathers into English. Now for the first time in English I Frater Alastor , rendering into the html format. When Mathers made his translation he notice that the title page was the last page of the grimoire, so he moved to the front but keep the rest of the chapters in the same order. He also notice that this grimoire began speaking about the magick circle like if it where something that the reader should already know.

Now it is my believe that the whole grimoire was written backward, this is to say that you should read the last page first (the title page) then the last chapter and so on. If you read it this way you will see that make a lot of sense. In Mathers version the first chapter is a reference to the magick circle and the License to depart, it make no sense to begin a grimoire that way since the license to depart is the last think that a magician read. Also if you fallow the Latin titles in Mathers version the text begin with the Sanhedrin, Jesus and go on to the creation of Adam and the demons and the angels etc. This order is completely the opposite of that one on the bible this is god first, then the angels, the demons, Adam, Jesus, the Crucifixion and the Sanhedrin. So neither to say I had inverted the orders of the chapters in Mathers version under the believing that this is the way that was

intended to be read.

Frater Alastor.

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Dominum Deum timebus et illi seli serbies per nomen

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operaribus

TRANSLATTON OF THE FOREGOING

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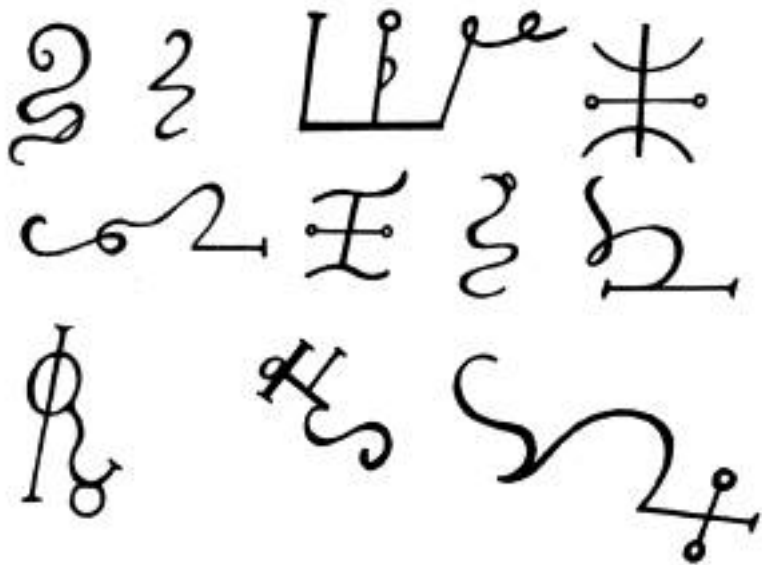
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THE CHARACTERS OF MICHAEL



The Characters of Michael

(Taken from the German Original)

Therefore Hear O Man The Lord, the Lord Our God, is one Lord. Thou shalt love

the Lord thy God with thine whole heart, with thy whole Soul, and with thy whole strength, and thy neighbour as thyself. And these words which I teach unto thee shall be in thine heart, thou shalt relate them unto thy children and thou shalt meditate upon them, when thou sittest in thine house, when thou walkest by the wayside, when thou sleepest, and when thou arisest; and thou shalt bind them like unto a staff for thine hand, and thou shalt place them between thine eyes and thou shalt write them upon the threshold and portals of thy dwelling place. AMEN.

Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, in any soever of thy works; but keeping His precepts and testimony, and ceremonies, most pure, thou shalt do that which is pleasing and good in the sight of the Lord with zeal and charity, not out of curiosity or ostentation.

If thus thou shalt have heard the voice of the Lord thy God and shalt have walked in his ways, that thou mayest do and keep His commandments, the Lord thy God shall make these more excellent than all the Nations which be spread abroad upon the Earth; and by reason of that blessing shall they come unto thee and learn of thee, Blessed shalt thou be in the City, and blessed shalt thou be in the field, and blessed shall be the fruit of thy body. AMEN.

But the God of these, Who is also our God, is in Heaven, and in Earth, and in the Abysses, and He doeth whatsoever He will. They who fear the Lord have put their trust in the Lord, He is their helper and defender. Would that my life were directed to the safeguard of thy justification. Also I have sought thee out, because thou hast caused me to have life hereby. Let it go forth unto my works. Direct thou them according to Thy saying, and let not injustice have dominion over me

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ORATIO

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THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (II)

Santi Andrea et Thoma circumvallate me.

O Saint Andrew and (Saint) Thomas, be a defence about me.

Sancte Michael auxiliate omnibus operationibus meis quoniam quis sicut Dominum Virtutum et nullus certe nisi solus deus meus magnus et terribile super omnes qui in exercitu ejus sunt ideo enim voto voverint domino Deo meo Jesu me possidents et circumvallante gratia sua et dominus Deus Jesus imposita mihi Lege sua sit mihi semper a cunctis diebus et momentis vitae meae unum patrem et deum meum— et si vere Emmanuel amabilis.

O Saint Michael bring thine aid unto all mine Operations, for who is like unto the Lord of Virtues; and assuredly there is none else but my Lord God, the only Great and terrible over all who be in His Army, for hereunto by vow are they vowed unto my Lord God Jesus, Who possesseth and defendeth me by His Grace. Also may the Lord God Jesus having imposed upon me His Law, be ever mine in every Day and moment of my life as my Father and God, and thus truly my beloved Emmanuel.

Sancte Petre ad glorium et utilitatem proximi ure in me omnes iniquitates meas.

O Saint Peter, unto the (Divine) Glory and the good of my neighbour, bum up in me all mine iniquities.

San te Paule obviam este deprecationis meae.

O Saint Paul, be thou propitious unto my prayer.

Confitebor Jesu tibi Christi rex Aeternae gloriae verbum caro factum est, ex

Maria de Spiritu Sancte te humillime deprecor per vulnere tua sanctissima quae sunt fons regenerationis nos trahere in fide et charitate per delectissimam Mariam Matrem tuam semper immaculatam et omnes sanctes tuos ne impediar opere ad mortem justificari in fide et charitate quoniam fides sine operibus mortua, non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo, nequando dicant gentes ubi est.

I will confess myself unto Thee, O Jesus Christ, King of Eternal Glory, the Word is made flesh from Mary by the Holy Spirit; I pray Thee most humbly by Thy most holy wounds which are the Foundation of our Regeneration in Faith and Charity; by Thy Most delightful Mother Mary, ever Immaculate; and by all Thy Saints let me not be hindered in my work, unto death be justified in Faith and in Charity, since Faith without Works is dead. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name; lest the heathen may say: Where is He

Let us become as little children at birth, for unless we be born again we shall not see the wonders of God, nor yet in any way progress in the Art.

Good is fasting with prayer, and almsgiving, and vow.

Before the Oration, prepare the Soul

THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL (1)

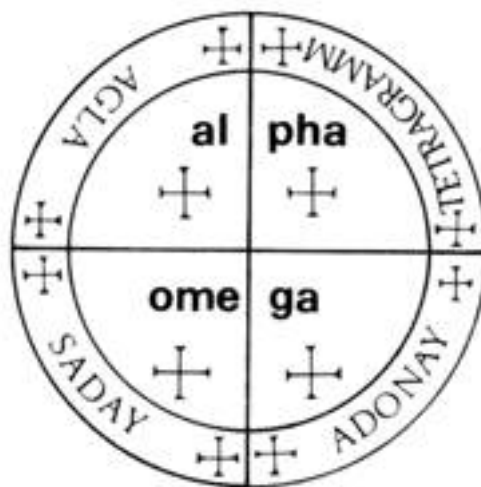
Before invoking the Spirits it is necessary to make a (Magical) Circle, and place thyself in the midst thereof after having sprinkled the same with Holy Water saying:

‘In Nomine Patris + et Fuji + et Spiritus Sancti.’¹

‘In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.’

‘Res pice in me per Sanctissimos Angelos Tuos in Nomine Jeus de Maria Virgine semper immaculata Nati, et Ventas Tua manet in aeternum—Amen.

‘Examine me thoroughly by Thy most Holy Angels, in the Name of Jesus, born of Mary, the ever Immaculate Virgin; and may Thy Truth endure for ever— Amen.’



The Magick Circle

(Taken from the German Original)

Before the Oration prepare thy Soul, and be not thou like unto a man who tempteth a God.

ORATION SEMPER PRECEDENS ACTUM

(Dirigatur quaese et humillime.

Deprecor Domine Deus Meus Omnipotens in conspectu Tuo Operatio mea et comittentier mihi et operatione mea sanctissimi (here follow a collection of scratches evidently intended to represent Hebrew Letters which I imagine are intended to stand for the words: ‘IHVH Elohim, Ab, Ben Ve-Ruach Haqodesh.’ ‘Tetragrammaton Elohim, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.’)

Ad Majorem Nomini Tui gloriam, edificationem et utilitatem proximi mei. Amen.

Translation of the Foregoing.

THE ORATION ALWAYS TO BE MADE BEFORE OPERATION

(also I warn you that it is to be performed with the greatest humility).

In Thy Sight O Lord mine Omnipotent God, do I pray for mine Operation, and may these most Holy (Names) be in charge over me and my Operation... unto the Greater Glory of Thy Name, and the edification and profit of my neighbour. Amen.

COR ERGO ET SCIETUR UNUM SUNT

PUTREUS M ALE STUM

THE VISION OF DUST

Wherefore let it be granted that dry bones having been reduced in to a most fine powder, that this also may be refined and compounded together like unto the Thine in a name of *Moses* the Blood. Neither ever hereafter shouldest thou despise this holiest Mystery; for thee the Spirit of Life is herein like as in the Dust of a Man.

Since all these (matters) have been placed before thy true heart, which also the Lord God hath chosen for the legitimate Tabernacle, may He further bless all thy works in thy time

By His Angel *Raphael* He appeareth unto the blessed Tobias and in his journey he put to flight all Malice of heart and every kind of Demon which obsesses, and (caused) Simplicity of heart, Purity and Faith in Prayer to have entire dominion

with him.

Is there not sought in the Imagination those things which one hath not known, and is there not pleasure in the excitation thereof? Hath not Memory been willing to aid that which the Imagination hath clothed with form, so that one may see of what nature such things may be and whether any further development of them may be (advisable)? Hath not the Intellect having applied them unto Itself, known how to treat in thee the things cast forth by the Memory, and this to what degree and extent according unto their faculties and powers? Do not Memory, imagination, and Intellect operate (simultaneously) together? For at once and in unity these (three) which be united together do then become Intellectual Action. Is not the Heart a recurved Vase of Blood? If among all these so many be found similar that they may be perfected hereunto, it will be the same concerning His people.³

Study this weH O Man, ardent for Wisdom, in the following out of this Path desiring all things, seeking all things, and understanding all things, seeing that in thyself *are* all things.

Assimilated; Contained: Willed. Was it not on the Fifth Day⁵ that Man was made a Living Soul?

Was there not a Soul⁶ which came forth (into manifestation) on the Third Day? Did it not also give forth and withdraw (the faculty of) Hope, and before that it withdrew, did it not rejoice in the Quinary Number; going forth and returning in that same Number; for it rejoiced in the Nature of the Creatures which do exist in the Number of the Quinary.

First God, (then) Spirit and Matter. Most powerfully do these operate the separation of Matter violently transformed by Life. How can such (Life) do aught but delight in the Number of the Five, seeing that therein is hidden every Mystery of a (Past), Present and Future Age, since in such (Eternal) Epoch is the Name of the Lord God.

Also in the Prophecy of Ezekiel, as it was taught unto him, the Lord God said: ‘Let the Spirit come from the Four Winds, and brood over these that they may revive in the Name PELECH, now JESUS.’ The Lord God PELEG, now JESUS. The Spirit having entered into them, also they spake. It is not also related by inspiration that the Lord said unto Moses: ‘Take unto thee Aromatics; Stacte, Galbanum of good odour, and thus Luci, of equal weight: hereof shalt thou make a perfume composed according to the Art of the Apothecary, mixed with care; pure and sanctified, and most fitting to be offered unto me. And when thou shalt have beaten it into most fine powder, then shalt thou place it before the Tabernacle of the Testimony in the which place I will appear unto thee, Holy of Holies shall it be. Thou shalt compose nothing similar for thine owrt use, seeing that it is Holy unto the Lord.’ Man who was called Adam, also called by their (true) Names all the Animals, as well the Birds of Heaven as the Beasts of Earth, But there was not found an aid for Adam who was like unto him.^o

Is it not written and reported by tradition’ that the Lord God led forth Ezekiel in His Spirit, and left him in the midst of a field which was full of dry bones, and led him round about these bones in that region, and prophesied over those bones. And in the Name of the Lord he said unto them: ‘O Dry Bones, hear ye the Word of the Lord Thus said the Lord unto you: “So therefore will I send forth My Spirit unto you, and ye shall live, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.” Also thus was it done at the same time that Ezekiel did prophesy over those dry bones.’

Since in that prophesying there was a sound made, and behold there was a great movement, and the bones approached and joined each unto the other together, and the nerves and flesh formed upon them, and the skin was spread aboye, though as yet they had not the Spirit of Life. Unto that Spirit, then did Ezekiel prophesy his Will, in all humilty, sobriety, mercy and patience. And though, whosoever thou mayest be, who in thy life and action possesses thy Soul in peace, when therefore thou shalt know the Mysterium,¹² be thou well ware not to reveal it. When the Spirit willeth seek to enter into the Knowledge of the Lord, and there shall rise an intellectual fountain of Understanding and Wisdom. The (celestial) LIGFIT fleeth the (Earthly) Light, and operateth in Secret until thine Heart is tormented with

understanding and with the desire of Understanding, since it is that which seeketh and which is hidden from Man. Is it not written and reported by tradition, and hast thou not read, that the Lord God formed Man of the Mud¹³ of the Earth, and that Man became a Living Soul, and that when He had formed Man He placed him in the Paradise of Pleasure to work it and to keep it.

And seeing that the Lord God, having formed from the ground all the animals of the Earth and all the winged things of heaven, did bring all these living creatures before Adam himself, then did his Name (that is) the Spirit (or Breath) go forth (upon them); and the Dust¹⁴ being arrested, there did it remain, and the Rose¹⁵ was restored. And so also is the Man who understandeth the Mysteries of the Book, and of the Similitude of the Rose, and the Mystery of the Dust; preserving the same in the inmost of his heart like a Magically guarded Treasure: and as a Gift of the Highest, most sacred and most unutterable nature. But shouldest thou make an abuse hereof, then shall it be unto thee as a most heavy and scandalous thing and shall bring about the utter ruin of all thy worldly possessions, of thy body, of thine intellect, and of thy Soul. Further also take heed that thou reveal it not to any in writing, nor yet even the least part of the Mysteries of this Book. Wherefore mayest thou be contented herein, with all charity and zeal thereof, and thou shalt have done sufficient; for God knoweth who desireth truly for His Grace, His Light and the Understanding of His Empire; seeing that in His Name he hath known Him.

When thou shalt have comprehended the *Misterium Stile*, which is the Most Holy Gift of God, this is that which the Lord God PELECH now JESUS revealeth or permitteth to be revealed unto those who do seek His Will.

Is it not reported by tradition and written 'In the Beginning the Elohim created' (Bereshith Bara Elohim). . . Man on the Sixth Day; whom the Lord God took and placed in the Paradise of Pleasure, wherem was the Fountain divided into Four

Heads. There is that Most Holy Mystery, let him who hath ears to hear, hear and live O Lord God, may he be Anathema (accursed) whosoever he be, who shall have despised this most precious Mystery. Amen

Hear, O my Soul, turn unto the Lord thy God; for where there hath been Pride, there shall be also Abasement; but where there is humility (there is) also Wisdom. So, therefore, abide fast in the Lord God, saying with thine whole heart, ‘Truly I have sinned in all my ways, but I beseech Thee O Lord to take away the Iniquity of Thy Servant, seeing that nevertheless I have put my trust in Thee’

O Lord God, thou art become my oppressor, because of the multitude of my sins, seeing that I have greatly sinned, and that mine Iniquities be multiplied like unto the Sands of the Sea, and I am not worthy to lift up mine eyes unto the Height of Heaven.

THE VISION OF ANOINTING

Hath it not been written in the Scriptures, — ‘Take unto thee sweet spices, five hundred shekels of myrrh the finest and most choice, likewise thou shalt reckon two hundred and fifty shekels of Calamus,’ Are these not in the Blood, Vital and Animal Spirits? Is there not Blood in the whole Body? And there is (a certain proportion) of fat joined thereunto preserving the Spirits thereof. In the Body of the Fish preserved by Tobias were there not these Spirits (derived from) the purest faculties of all true Elementary Forces? Know thou then what most holy thing existeth as regardeth (these Elementary Forces) preserved in Nature

Therefore the Lord *Pelech*, now *Jesus*, by His Omnipotent Grace mercifully operating in Nature, protecting the Heart of the Operator in Simplicity, in Faith, in Hope and going forth in Charity, rejoicing also in Itself, directeth such Spirits according to their most sacred faculties to cooperate with such Operation of a Simple Heart.

Is it not manifested in the Book of Tobias, who himself was of a Simple Heart, that the Lord God directed the Spirits of the Liver of the Fish according to their most secret faculties, in His Adorable Name, by His Angel Raphael, to co-operate with Tobias in the casting away of the Albumen (from the eyes of his) father?

By a Number (namely) through the Tetary, is the Mercy of God the Highest Lord, *Jah*, turned, therefore revealing all things. David took unto himself five most clear stones from the Brook and five cakes of Shewbread, the which Bread the Laity might not have, but only the Elect. Is not the Head the seat of Imagination, of Memory and of Intellect?

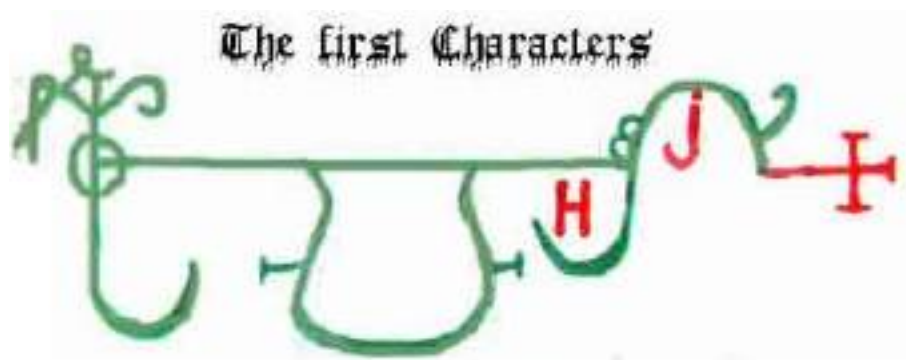
THE RATIONAL TABLE:

or the QABALISTICAL LIGHT;

**PENETRATING WHATSOEVER THINGS BE
MOST HIDDEN AMONG THE CELESTIALS,
THE TERRESTRIALS AND THE INFERNALS**

THE FIRST CHARACTERS

The First Characters which should be made upon virgin parchment, on Sunday in the Hour of the sun (see Figure 46), The first letter of your name should be written in the semi-circle 'A', and that of your surname in the semi-circle 'B'. You should wear this upon your left side (near the heart) before you proceed to invoke the Spirits, in order to make them obey you, and to gain from them that which you shall desire.



ISRAEL hath gone forth from the Beginning, from the Days of Etemity. O my Soul, possess thyself in searching out and foliowing out in thyself the Will of thy Lord **PELECH** Who is Jesus; for that Peace shall be thine, when M e m o r o t h the Assyrian and M e t r u m shall come to turn thee from the Eternal Law, and thus disturb thee in all thy ways.

Be unwilling to fast,¹ O my Soul; let it be at the hour of Day that thy cry may be heard on high. Is it also such a fást which the Lord hath chosen to afflict thee by day, through the depth and multitude of my iniquities, whereby 1 have excited thy wrath, and have done evil before thee unintentionally, also 1 have kept thy commands.²

The Lord God presseth me hard because of my many sins; nevertheless bow down (unto Him) O my Soul; that thou mayest rather fall into the hands of the Lord God, seeing that many are His Mercies, than into the hands of Man. Turn then, O my Soul and humble thyself before the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God

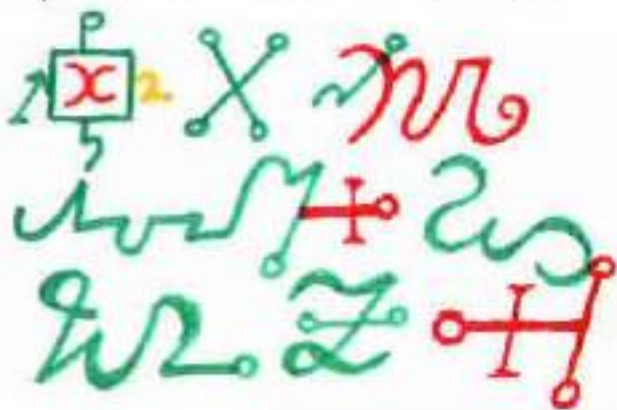
hath created Israel, and truly there is a Providence which acteth in the sight of God; and him who hath cried unto Him, also He observeth intently, and listeneth unto his prayer.

Cry unto the Lord, with great insistence, and humiliate thyself O Soul, also in Chastity, in fasting, in mercy, in power, seeking out with thine whole heart in thy prayers the Will of the Lord God, and all things shall be added unto thee. From thine inmost heart and in tears shalt thou say unto the Lord thy God, 'I have sinned, nevertheless O Lord return unto me whom Thou hast humiliated.' Be in thine whole heart ever seeking Jesus, in chastity and in sobriety, in mercy and patience, and thus shalt thou possess the Soul in faith, hope, and charity; and thus shalt thou pray confidently. And whatsoever thou shalt seek in *Bereshith*, shall be given back unto thee in *Mercavah*.

CONCERNING THE PATHS OF WISDOM

These be the Characters of the Spirits of Force and Counsel (see Figure 43).

Spirits of Force & Counsel



Characters of the Spirit of Force and Counsel

This is the Sigil of Joy, and of the Spirit which goeth forth and retireth. The Characters of the Spirits of Joy (see Figure 44).



Characters of the Spirits of Joy

Thou shalt have fasted with the Lord God Pelech, now (called) Jesus, for Seven Days, the which shall be passed in humility and sobriety, in mercy and patience, in peace and equilibrium; (that is to say) in the beginning of all the Sigils of Love

and Charity, and from which they do proceed.

The Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity (see Figure 45).

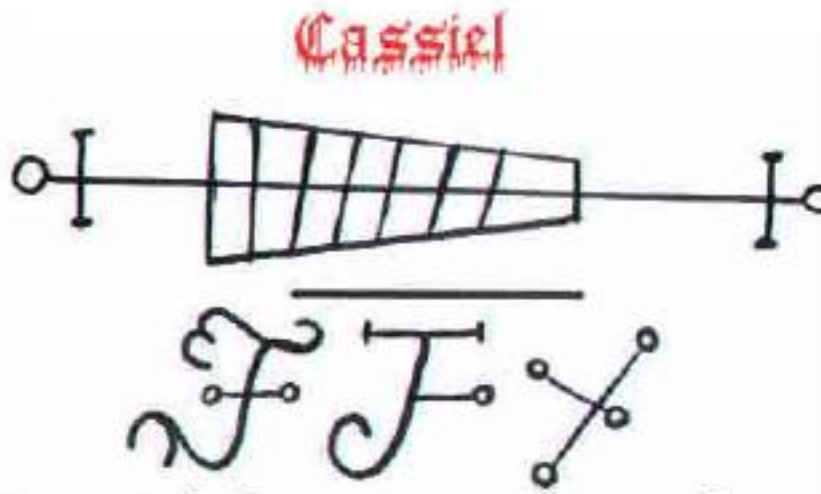


Characters of the Angels of Love and Charity

Is it not written and reported by tradition that ‘there were Six Men² who carne from the way of the Upper Gate which looketh toward the North, each holding in his hand a weapon of death. Also in the midst of them was one Man clothed with a robe of fine linen, and he had instruments for writing hung at his side. And when they had entered, they stood beside the Altar of Brass, And the Glory of the Lord of Israel withdrew from the cherub which was etc. . . ‘ Also in the Books of Moses (it is written)³ that with 250 shekels of each of various ingredients and with 500 shekels of Myrrh, etc., according to the weight of the Sanctuary, and with a certain measure of Olive Oil, thou shalt make a certain Holy Anointing Oil composed according to the Art of the Apothecary; and that herewith thou shalt anoint the Tabernacle of Testimony and the Ark of the Covenant, the Table with its Vessels, the Candlesticks, the Altar of Incense and that of Burnt Offering, and all things pertaining unto the Cult.

CONCERNING GOD THE UNIVERSALLY ONE

These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all kinds of Sciences (see Figure 42). They be under the domination of **CASSIEL**, and are to be invoked on a Saturday at eleven o'clock at night,



In this Sigil is manifested the most glorious Science of God.

In this are taught the Paths of Wisdom¹ and their profoundest Mysteries; how we can know such paths; and how we may become worthy to wait therein. There be also shown the Mysteries of our hearts through this Number of Thirty-two. Its significations teach the Mysteries of the Regeneration of our Heart; whether from the beginning it was constituted to operate hereby and herewith, and by the Word of God; whether it was distinct in the Mind of God; and what be its place, Science and dubitation, its hope, faith and ultimate desire.

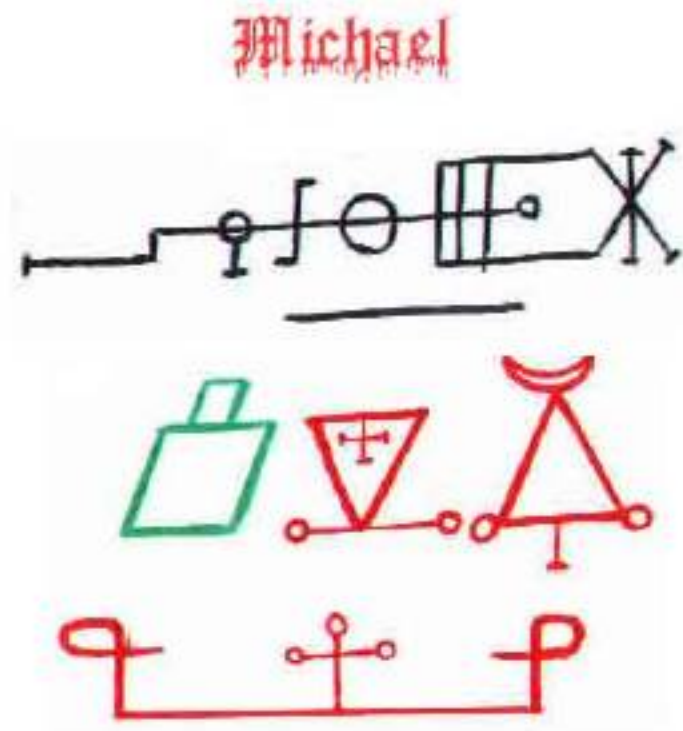
If you shalt desire to know thoroughly these Paths of Perfect and Profound Wisdom together with their Mysteries; remember the combinations of writings in the Sigil (He) which is in the centre of the figure of the Heart.

Whosoever thou mayest be, despise not this wonderful Science and Geometrical Searching Out, and the points of E o n,³ and the Mystical Numbers of the Letters. Also the Lord said unto God:⁴ ‘Go forth through the midst of the City, through the midst of Jerusalem, and sign a Symbol upon the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the abominations which be in the midst thereof. ‘Also he said unto them: ‘Hear me, go ye forth through the City follow-ing after him, and smite ye every man upon whom ye shall see ‘T ha un e’.⁵ Ye shall slay them from my Sanctuary. —Begin.’

CONCERNING GOD IN HIS TRINE

PERSONALITY

(MICHAEL and his Spirits) These be the Characters of the Spirits who do teach unto you all Mystical Sciences (see Figure 41).

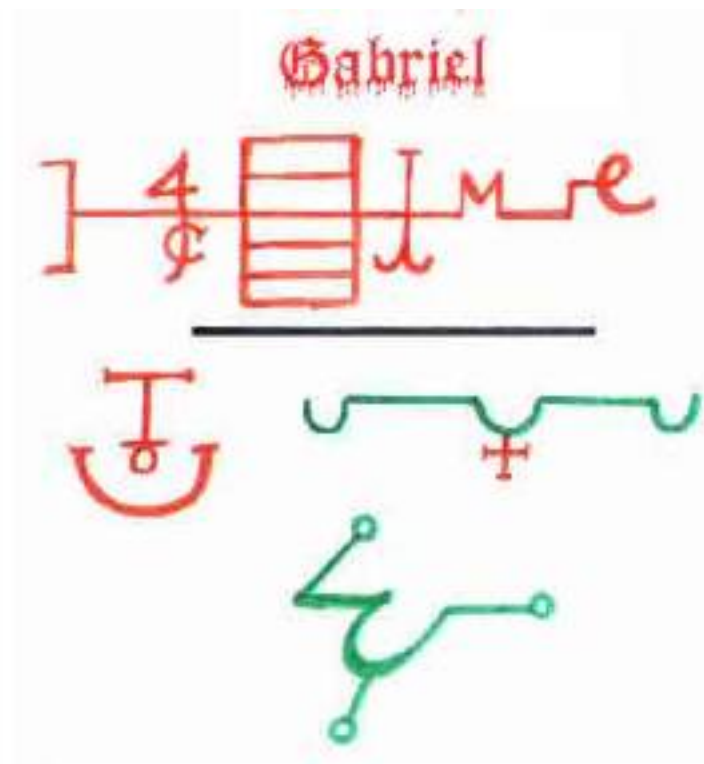


In this Sigil be taught the Mysteries of the Trinity Whom Abraham our Father knew, believed in and confessed. There is also taught herein how It is pleasing and harmonious in Itself, and by what ways It may be propitiated, as hath been communicable through Its Adorable Attributes. There is also (herein) taught how the whole may be communicable unto and in Thee, and as regardeth Thee in a profound and wonderful manner, through the Combinations of the Letters which be in the Great Central Triangle, between the Small Orb and Triangle. There is also (herein) taught how the Science of God may be communicable through His Attributes unto all Created Beings; and especially those most profound Mysteries which He operateth with regard both to Angels and Men, the which be shown through the combinations of the Letters which be without the Small Orb.

Also in all this Science thou shalt observe the Combinations of the Letters, of Geometry, and Gilgud or of their Numbers, in thy searching examination of all Sigils.

CONCERNING GOD, THE PRESERVER, THE DESTROYER, AND THE CREATOR

(GABRIEL and his Spirits) These Spirits do teach you all kinds of Mysteries. Thus is the Character (see Figure 40).



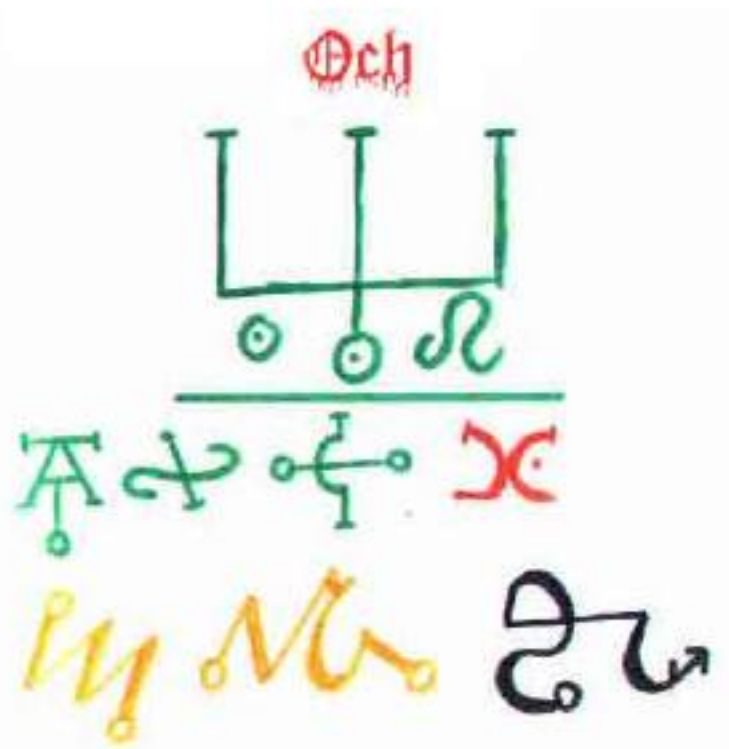
In this Sigil is taught what Mysteries the Lord God is willing to permit to **operate** in Creation, through the uncontaminate Inner Knowledge whereof also (Abraham) did rule and govern himself and went forth by the command of the Lord God to travel in the Land of Chanaan, wherein also he sojourned and was buried by his two (Sons) in a Mystical Sepulchre, that is to say in the Cave near unto Cariatarbee, wherein also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were interred. Now this same Cariatarbee is Hebrew Mambre, and Ephrata.

In this land did Abraham behold Three and Adore One, and thus was it counted unto him for righteousness.

In this Sigil is taught Who be those Three Persons meet to be adored, and how they do harmonise together; also as concerneth the Angels and Men what Mysteries they do operate; also how they do harmoniously act through Created Beings, Angels and men. All these things be shown forth in the Letters and in the Sigil herewith given, through their Number and Combination.

CONCERNING THE CREATION OF ALL THE ANGELS

(OCH and his Spirits) These do teach you what is the Nature of the Angels. These subjects fail under the domination of Och who is a Solar Spirit, and should be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak. Thus are the Characters (see Figure 39).



In this Sigil there is taught what is the Nature of Angels; what may be the object and end of such Creation and whether it be established to operate in the preservation and destruction of all Creatures. There is also taught Who and What is that Promised Messiah; what is the Kingdom; What is the Kingdom of Israel; what the Restitution through Him for the Wretched; what kind of a Prophet He may be; and what things can be performed by the Messiah for the welfare,

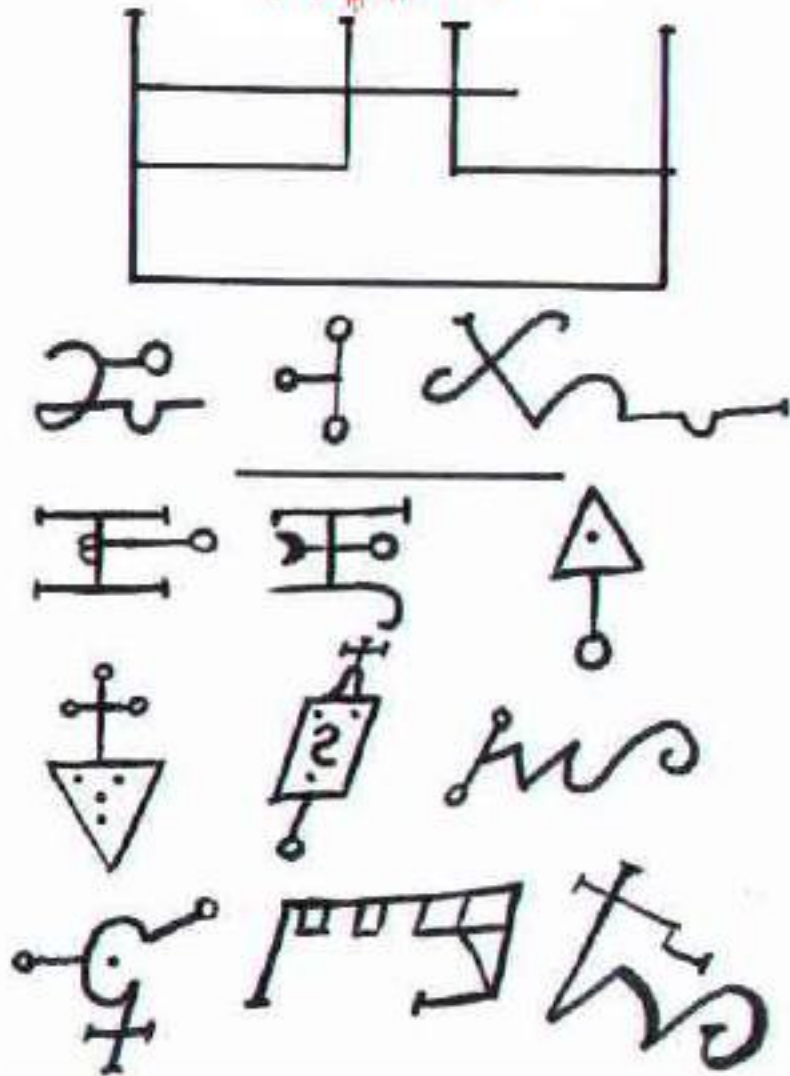
restitution all liberation of His people in Daya (sic).

In this Sigil as in others (Magical ones), there be Mysteries through the combination of Geometry, Gilgud and Numbers, as well as points relating to Geometrical (Symbolism).

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE ANGELS BEFORE THE FALL

(ZAPHKIEL and his Spirits) These do (not) teach you of what nature is the Life of all Angels, and their business and intercourse. Thus be their Characters (see Figure 38).

Zaphkiel



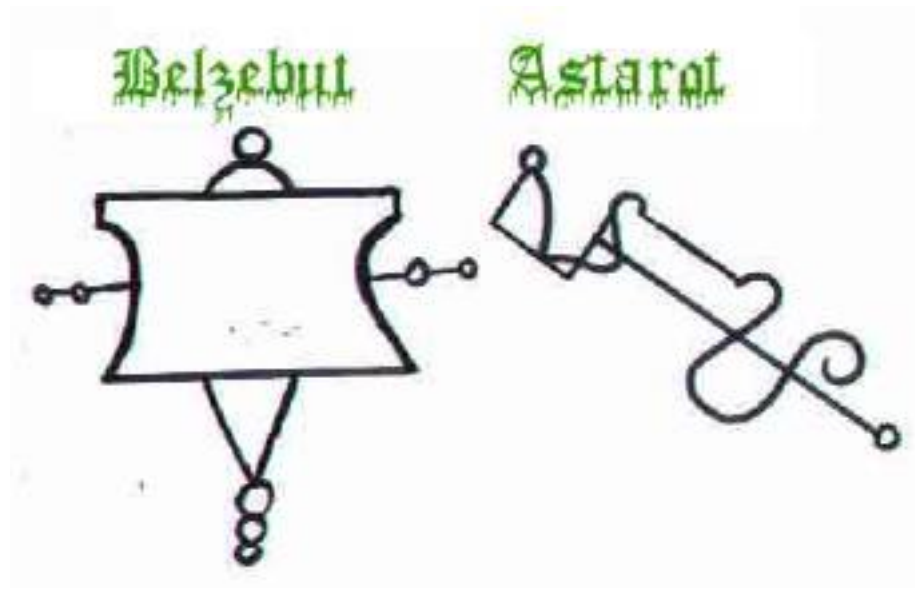
In this Sigil there is taught what was the Life of the Angels before the Fall. There be taught also the Mysteries of their habitation; whether there be a place of habitation for the Rebellious Angels; whether there may be found a Place Impassable and Void; whether the Angels were without any affection of passion soever; whether they were created in happiness; and whether such is confirmed unto them.

CONCERNING THE EVANGELIC REBELLION AND EXPULSION

(LUCIFER . BELZEBUT . ASTAROT) These Spirits teach you what were the Rebellion and Fail of the Evil Spirits. Thus be their Characters (see Figures 35,36 and 37).



Characters of his Princes

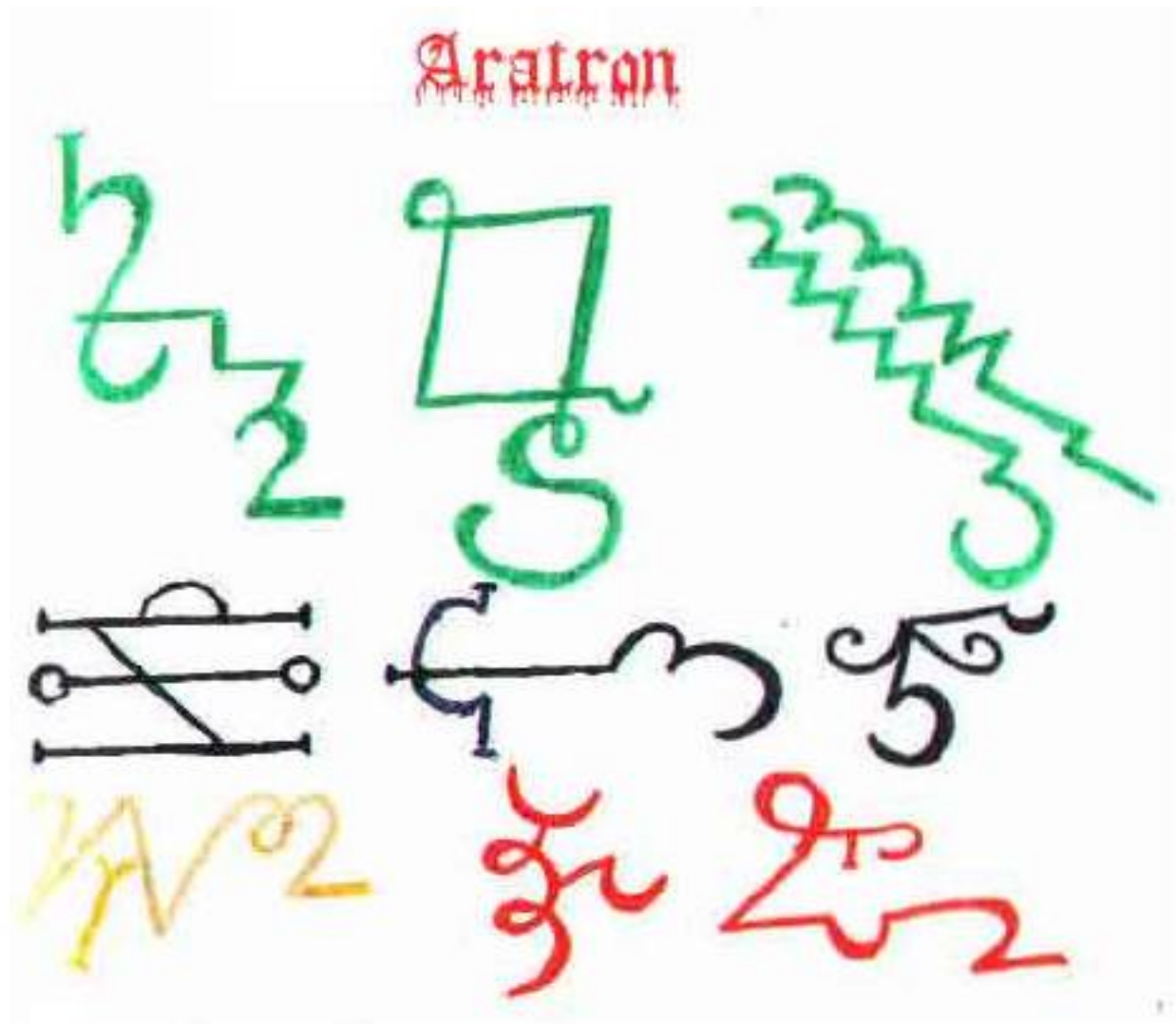


In this Sigil there be taught what was the Rebellion of the Angels and what was its cause; what were the Mysteries of their Life; whether their life should be understood as a continual action; whether the Names of these Angels were given unto them through the commands of God; what things have been committed unto them, whence and of what kind; and whether a certain Angel be allotted unto any or unto some especial commands. There be taught also herein certain most hidden Mysteries, alike admirable and not admirable, concerning their Life, which same be revealed unto very few, (especially the comprehension of their Mode of Life before the Fall).

CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE SOULS OF MEN

(ARATRON) This Spirit **teacheth** unto you the Creation of the Souls of Men, and what they really are; as also their estate after Death. When you cause these Spirits (under Aratron) to come unto you, see that you remain not long in their company. They will also tell you by writing, that which you desire to know. This

is his Character (see Figure 34).



In this Sigil is taught what is the creation of the Souls of Mankind, and what is the object and end of such Creation. Also what portion of the Angelic Host did rebel; and what time they rebelled; and how the Rebellious Angels were cast out. Also by the Virtue and in the Virtue (of this Sigil) there be also taught Unrelatable Mysteries regarding that Rebellion and that Expulsion, as well as the Time of that Rebellion and Expulsion.

CONCERNING THE LIFE OF MAN

(PHUL. GABRIEL) These Spirits, besides the Life of Souls and of Man, do teach unto you all the Sciences which you shall desire to know. Thus are his Characters (see Figures 32 and 33).



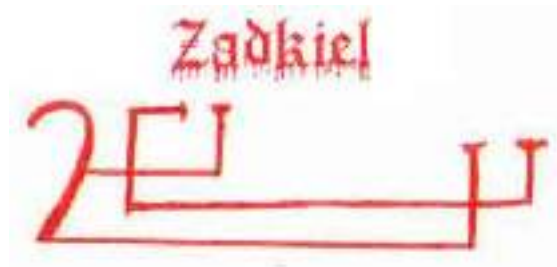
In this Sigil there is taught what may be the Life (of Man) and the Creation (of Souls) even until the time of their sending forth into Bodies.

There be also taught the great Mysteries which the Lord is willing to perform; and whether all Souls were created from such a creation alike and at one time, and so also whether such be reserved in a certain place so that going forth thence they may be sent into Bodies and rule therein for a period of time.

These Spirits are to be invoked on a Monday and at Daybreak.

CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE GOOD ANGELS, AND OF CONSULTING THEM

(ZADKIEL, SACHIEL) These Spirits do give you in all things whatsoever advice may be good and fitting; they discover unto you all kinds of treasures, give them unto you and carry them whithersoever you request. They can also give you a Purse wherein is Gold and Silver. They appear unto you as soon as you invoke them, which should be on a Thursday and at Daybreak. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 30 and 31).



In this Sigil is taught of what description be the Angels of Light and Glory. There be also taught the Mystical Period of such a Life; and Mysteries, as they were unutterable, concerning such a Life; also that there was a certain Interval between their Creation and sending forth, and what be the Mysteries of such Interval.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND THEIR LIFE

(BETOR) This Spirit maketh you comprehend who and what the Devils or Angels of Darkness really are; the difference of their Names; their Powers; and what they can do. He, being invoked, appeareth speedily, and that at any time and at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 29).



In this Sigil there be taught what are the Devils or Angels of Darkness; how they can be known and understood by their proper Names; and how they are to be distinguished from the Angels. Also whether the Devils can fully be known by proper Names; and whether the Virtue of God is impressed upon them, or followeth hereupon.

There is also herein taught how we can attract such Angels unto us as Familiar Spirits by the knowledge of their Names.

Also the Mysterious Operations of such Angels, both as regardeth ourselves and our actions.

CONCERNING THE WAYS OF KNOWING THE DEVILS AND OF BANISHING THEM

(LAUNE) This Spirit again giveth unto you the knowledge of the Devils, but I counsel you not to avail yourself of his services, for he is a very wicked Spirit and a deceiver, who will do all in his power to entrap you, and afterwards he will mock you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 28).



In this Sigil there is taught whether they can have proper Names as distinct from the Angelic Names, seeing that they were transformed through their casting out: whether they can lead their lives in any definite place, or wherein there is a place determined; whether it be permitted in the Spheres or in the compounded

Elements. Also there is herein taught whether they have free will; in what way they conduct themselves in the places which they occupy; Also whether where they live be determined by the Power of their Expulsion.

Whether again there was an interval between their Expulsion and the Creation of Adam, and (if so) what interval. Herein also are taught unheard of and most terrible Mysteries, of such Interval and of Life.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY MAY BE BOUND AND BECOME VISIBLE

(BRUF0R) This Spirit again teacheth unto you the nature and quality of the Devils, and the difference of their names and titles; how they can bind invisibly and how we can bind them. Avail not yourself of him. This is his Character. (See Figure 27).



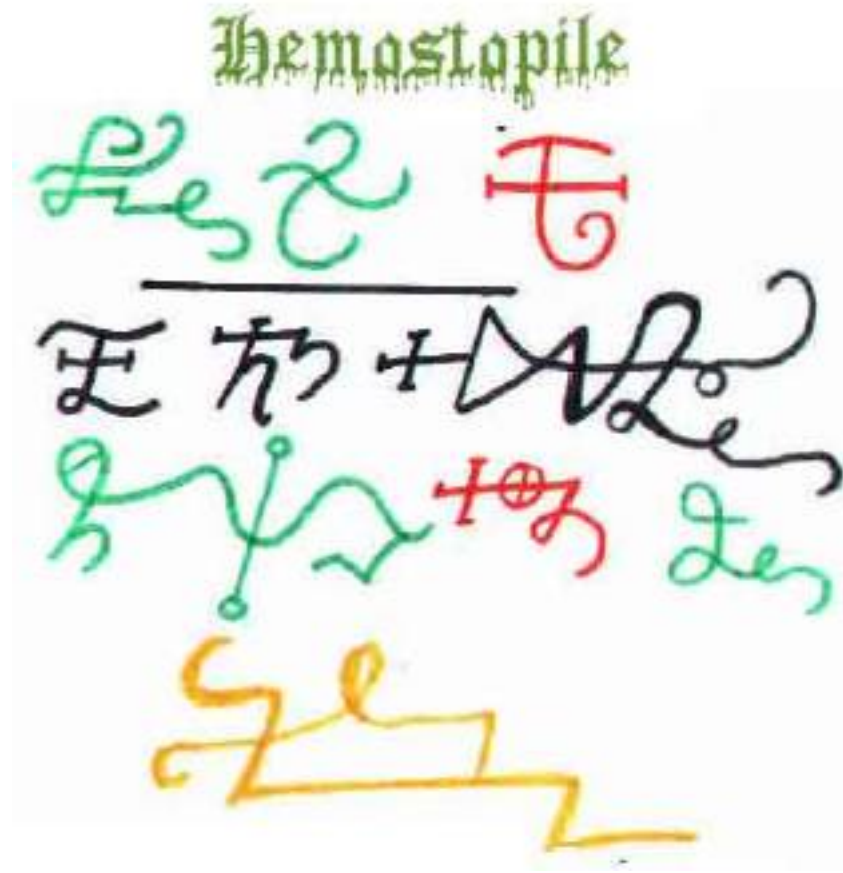
In this Sigil is taught how we can compel the Devils to show themselves visibly in the forms which they usually take to frighten and deceive (men).

There is also (here) taught how we may know them, for the Devils are known by their Names. Also whether and how from their Names their actions and operations can be known. Also how by the light hereof we can find out the means of driving them away from us and from our works and operations.

CONCERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW THEY CAN BECOME VISIBLE

(HEMOSTOPILE) This Spirit again will make you see and know the Malice of

the Devils, and will give you as many of them as you may wish. Avail not yourself of their services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 26).



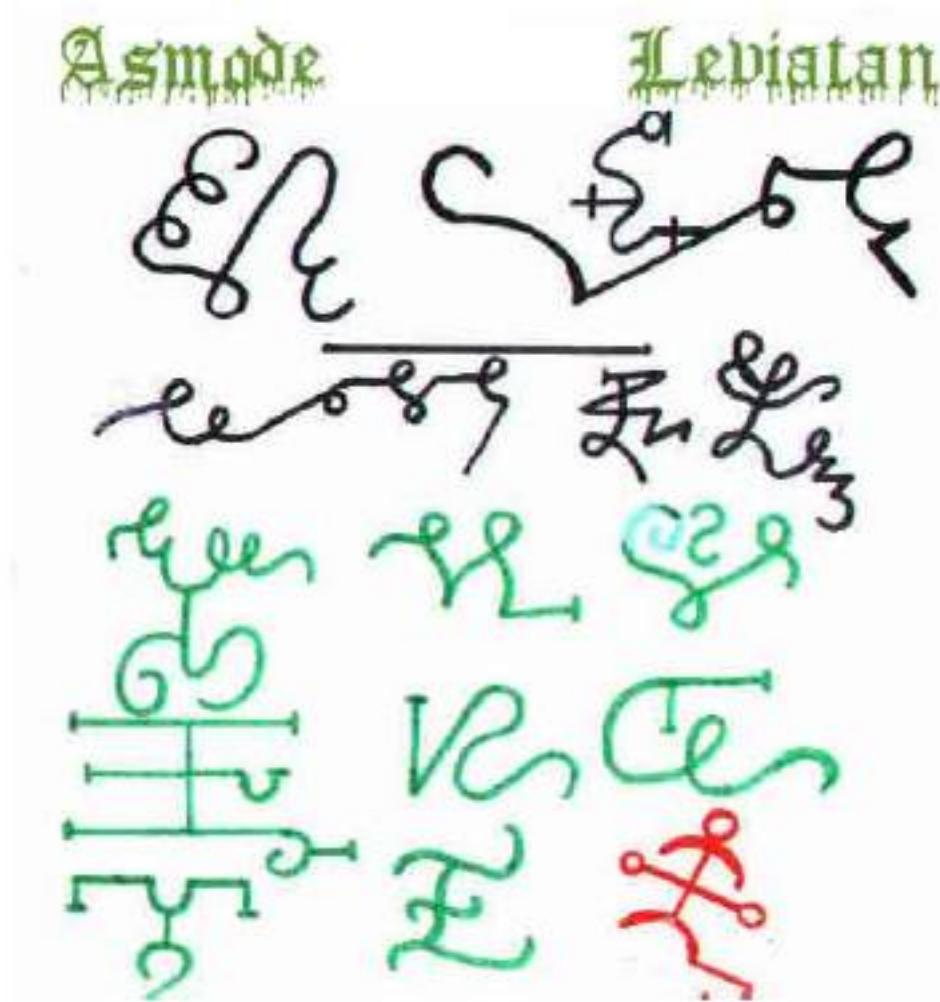
In this Sigil there be taught the methods whereby we can oblige the Devils to show themselves visibly in torments. They can deceive men and assume their forms, and change the just inclinations of men into evil passions. (Also there is herein shown) how they can take such forms, and from what media, and what methods they make use of (to do so).

CON CERNING THE DEVILS AND HOW

THEY MAY BE BOUND AND COMPELLED TO VISIBLE APPEARANCE

Now this is the Object of the Diabolic Qabalah.

(ASMODEUS. LEVIATAN) These Spirits teach you further the Malice of the Devils. Avail not yourself of the services of these Evil Spirits who are deceivers. It is alone the Name of God which can enable you to force them and all others to come unto you. Thus are their Characters (see Figures 24 and 25).



In this Sigil be the methods whereby we can force the Devils to show themselves

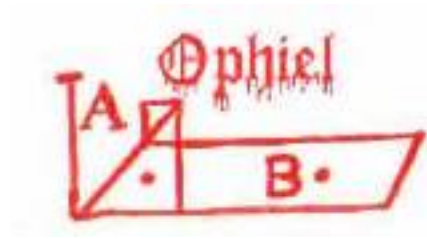
unto us in their torments and that in bodily form.

THE SACRO-MYSTIC THEOLOGY OF OUR FATHERS

CONCERNING THE SCIENCE OF THE REGENERATION OF ADAM AND HIS CHILDREN BY PELECH

We have given and told unto you many things regarding the Good Spirits who can serve you faithfully. Those we are here about to speak of can also do the same, seeing that they served our First Parents from the Creation of the World.

OPHIEL is a Spirit of Piety. He will teach you all the Wisdom of our First Father. Thus is his Character (see Figure 23).



Characters of the Spirit which be under the
domination of OPHIEL

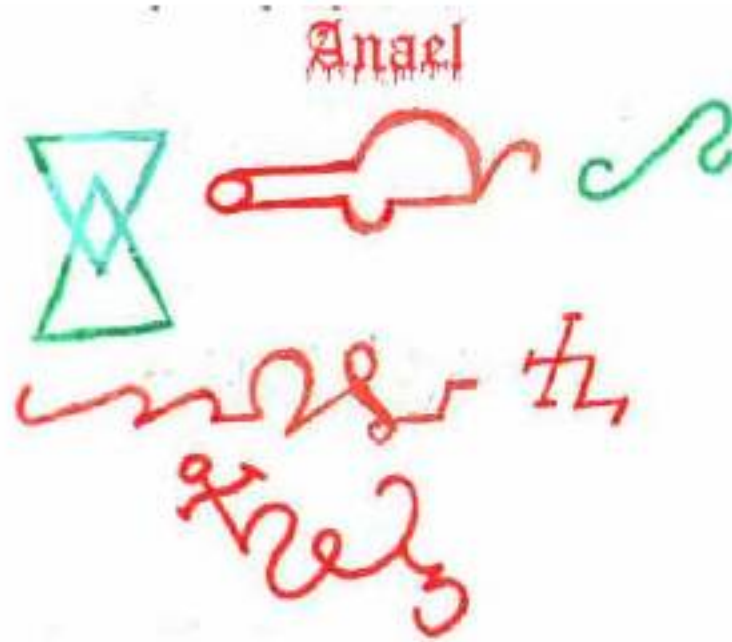


In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Regeneration of Adam and his
Children in Time, through Pelech now shown forth visibly as Jesus. Also the
forms of those in torment.

CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE GENII

ANAEL is a Spirit which will give unto you the Knowledge of all things which

he in the Order of Nature (understands), for he is a Spirit of Power, who appeareth speedily if he shall be invoked on a Sunday at Daybreak by one who is alone and in a retired place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 22).

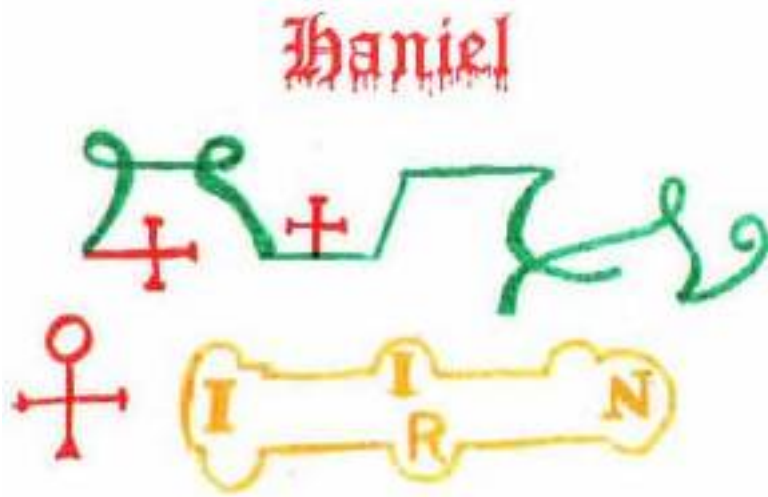


In this Sigil there be taught who and what the Genii are, as also their power and virtue. There be further shown the Mysteries of the Present, Past and Future Age. In this Sigil is hidden the Science of Merchants. Also here be those things which do appear and are reputed to be supernatural. Also herein we can obtain the revelation of unknown things, but this (is only granted) unto the Elect of God.

Also the Praxis of those Arcane Secrets of the Lord is declared and demonstrated in this Sigil, wherefore Adore the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and love thy neighbour. In the Praxis or working of this Sigil thou shalt constate that the effects hereof be certain and true yet (causing) the greatest wonder and astonishment.

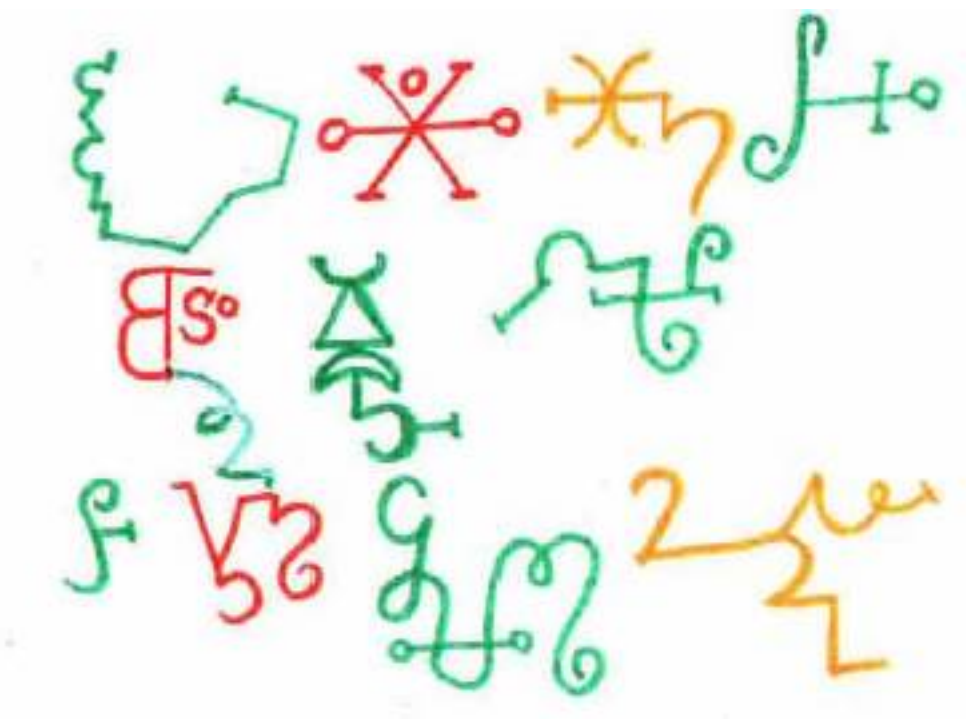
CONCERNING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GENII

HANIEL teacheth unto you the transformation of all precious stones and giveth unto you as many as you wish thereof. He is to be invoked on a Friday before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 21).



Characters of the Spirits which be under

HANIEL

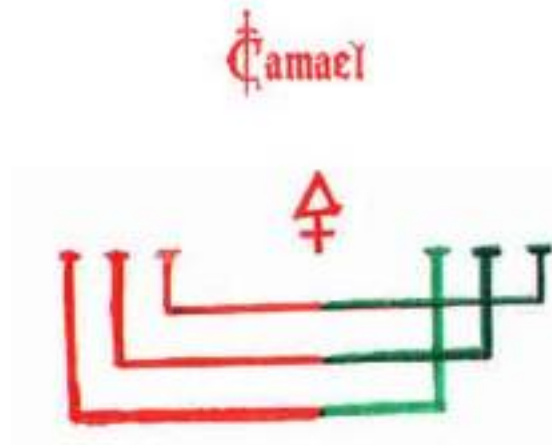


In this seal there is taught how Genii may be transformed into Man. They can pass from him into their nature, and correspond unto him in the compounded elements. There is here also taught how such may be necessary unto the Human Race. Also the necessity of such a Mystery.

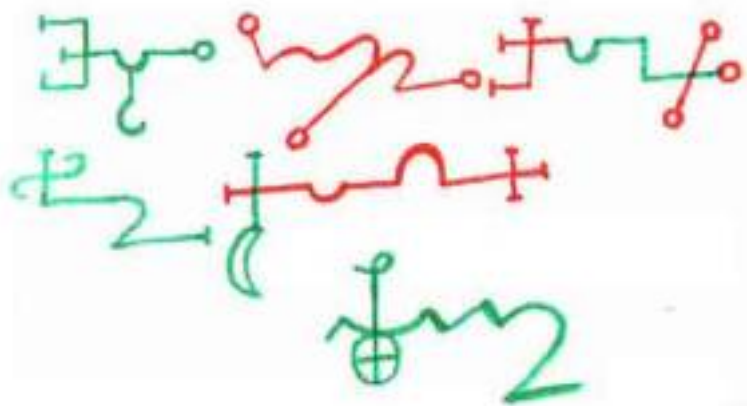
CONCERNING THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GENII

CAMAEL giveth unto you a perfect knowledge of your Genius, who will have the power to grant you everything that you shall demand of him. There be many Spirits under the rule of (Camael) who can serve you in many things, and especially such as you shall demand of them. Thus is his O-taracter (see Figure

20).



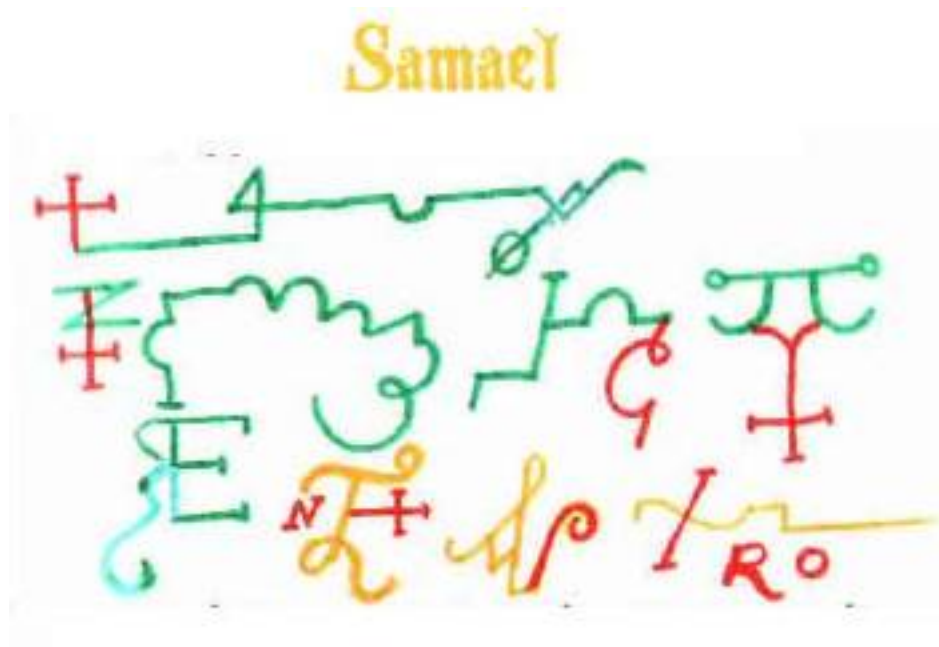
Characters of the Spirit which be under the
domination of CAMAEL



In this Sigil is taught what and after what manner may be this communication of the Genius; (transforming in us) our evil (qualities) into good, and our good (qualities) into better and best; there is also taught the method of such transformation. Wherefore adore the Lord God and love thy neighbour

CONCERNING PHITONE OR THE ABUSES OF NECROMANCY

SAMAEEL is a spirit of Counsel. He teacheth you Magic, Necromancy, Jurisprudence, and all the Occult Sciences, with facility. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday at Midnight, care being taken to fast the day that you shall wish to avail your self of his services. He hath much in his power, and on your demand he will tell you the extent thereof. Thus is his Character (see Figure 19).

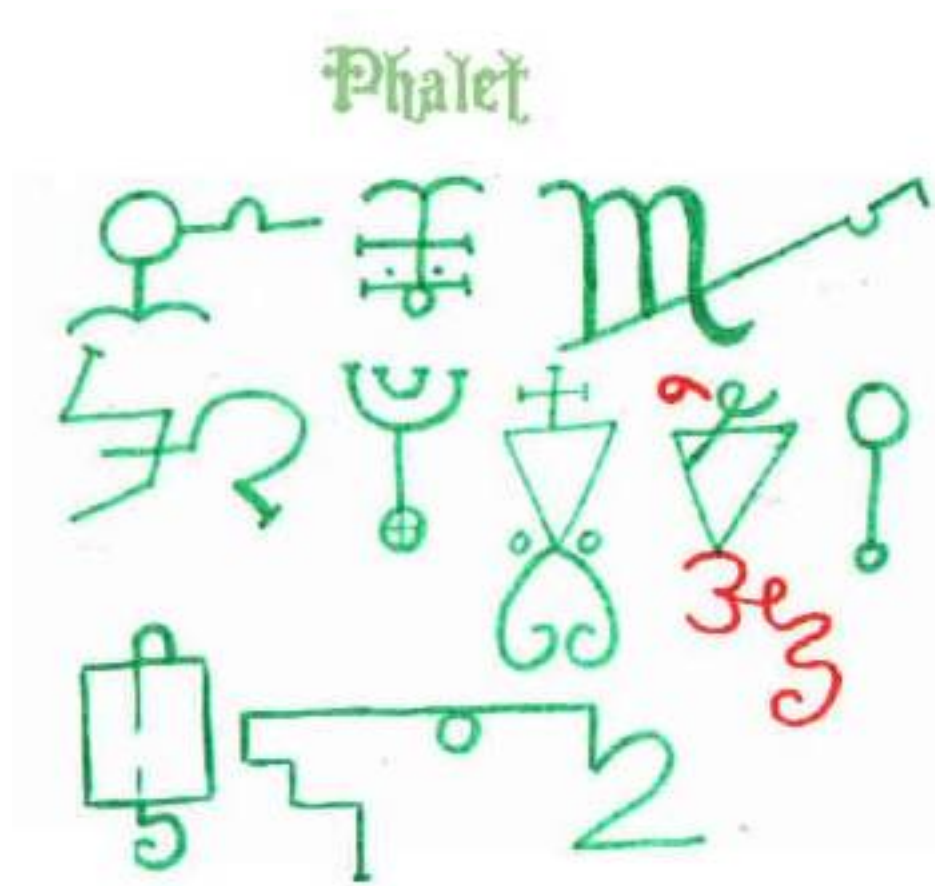


In this Sigil there be taught what are all the abuses of Necromancy which may expose a man (to danger) through such communication; whether such communication may have such virtue as to link you unto the Angels and unto God, and to confer upon you power over all creatures, or the union of the love of all beings with the most profound and familiar knowledge of them, or whether it

may join us unto the *Devil* even as in our mortal familiar (relationships) so can we be linked with all things which may be pleasing unto us. There is also taught (herein) how such communications maybe formed.

THE VISION OF EDEN, OR OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

PHALET will teach unto you all that did happen in the Terrestrial Paradise, from the time of the Creation of Adam and Eve. There be many Spirits under his leadership who can do much in the manner of serving you, and in many ways. Thus is his Character (see Figure 18).



In this Sigil there be taught the Mysteries of the Creation of the World, and of all Creatures, and what (of these) be sacred; but also how those (creatures) are proper to be detested for superstitious reasons when they draw their origin from Corpses of the dead, and from collections thereof, and from sepulchres; and thence also is the arising of every kind of superstitions. In this Sigil be (also) taught all the Arcana of Necromancers and of Diviners of that same class,¹ and whence in a Scientific (sense) these (arts) take their rise.

THE VISION OF FORMATION—ADAM

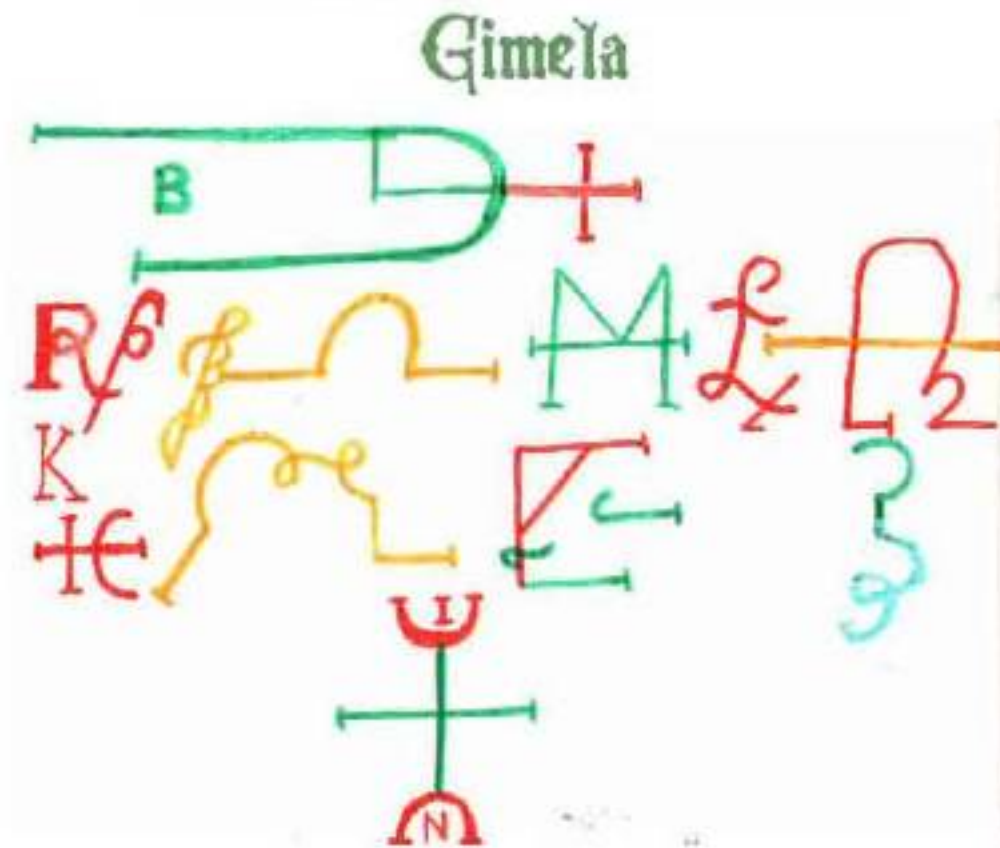
DALETE is a Spirit who will show unto you the Visions which Adam beheld while he was upon the Earth. He hath many Spirits under his leadership, who will teach unto you many things if you tell unto them that which you shall desire. Thus is his character (see Figure 17).



In this Sigil be taught and demonstrated the Mystical Formation of Adam; what Animals were in the Lord and brought in this place unto Adam by the Lord God.

THE BEHOLDING OF THE SERPENT

GIMELA maketh you to know and behold the form of the Serpent who did tempt Eve in the Terrestrial Paradise; (he also) can give unto you some of his Spirits who can transport you from one place to another and can even make you travel at the speed of an hundred leagues in an hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 16).

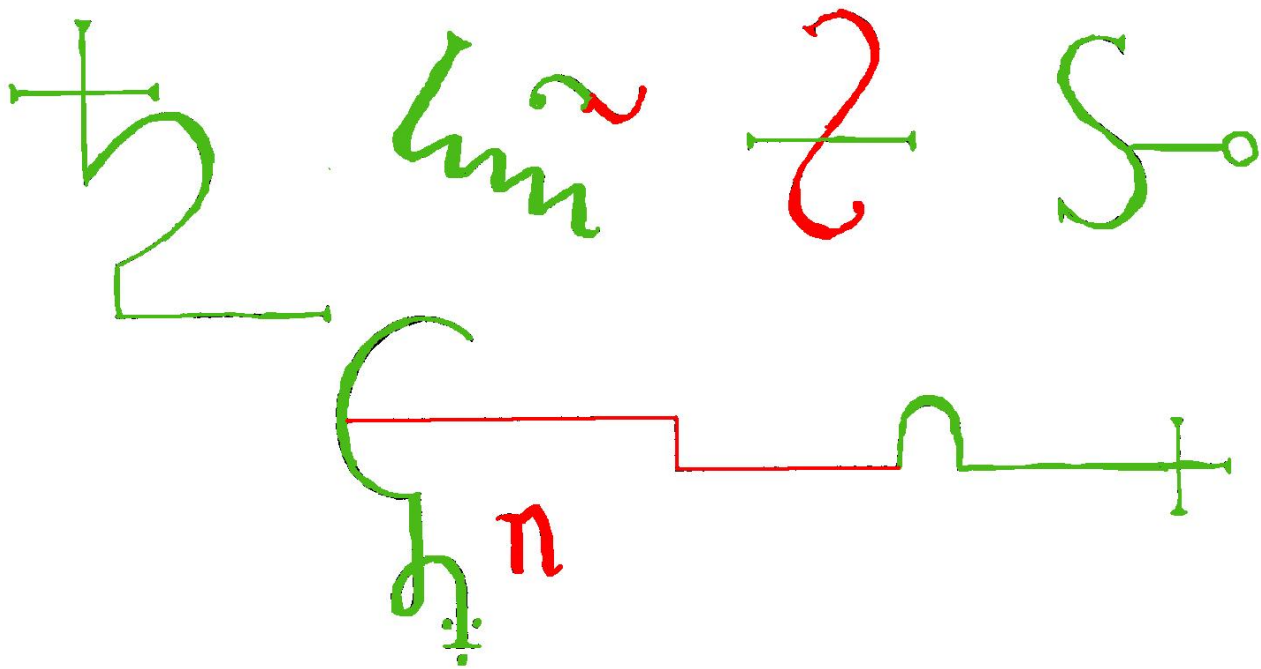


In this Sigil there be taught all the Mysteries which the Lord is willing to allow to be worked by the Serpent and from the Serpent; what may be his corporeal moulding or proportion, and whether he can contain in himself all invisible beings (or creatures) and in what manner.

THE WISDOM OF OUR FOREFATHER ADAM

BETEL teacheth unto you the Sciences which God had revealed unto Adam. He is a very docile Spirit who appeareth as soon as he is invoked. (This should be either) in a wood, or in a secluded garden, and one should be alone, whether it be by day or by night. Thus is his Character (see Figure 15).

BETEL

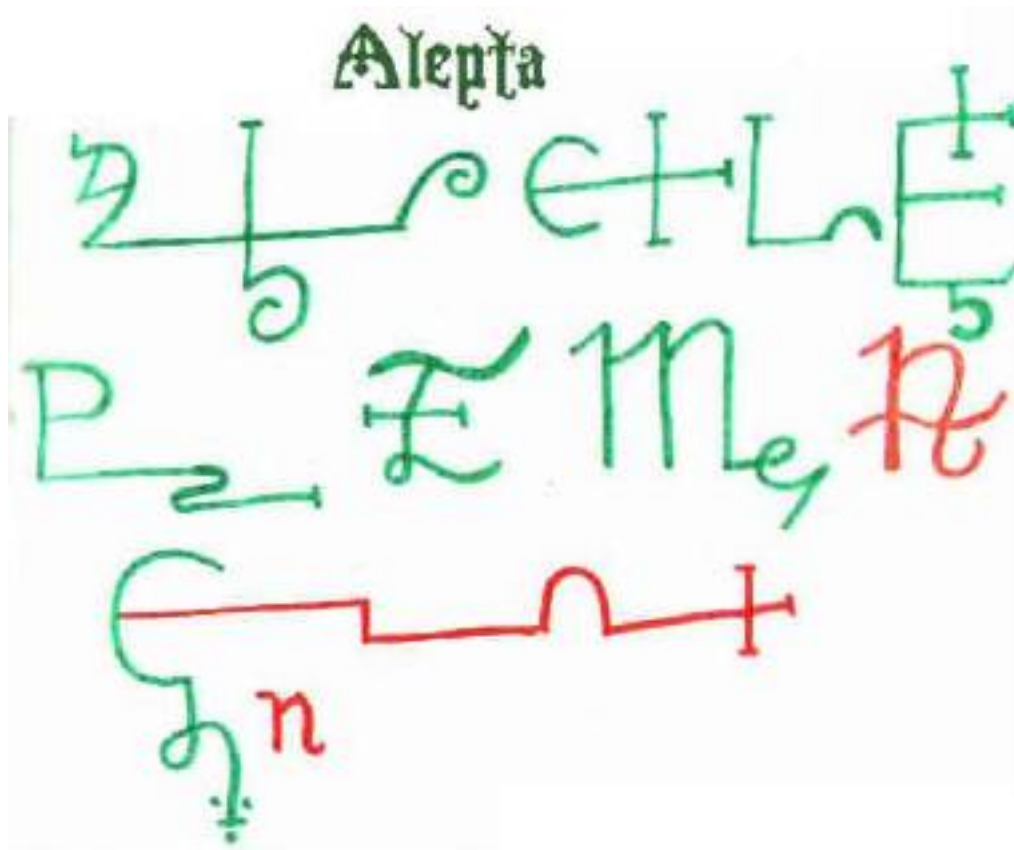


In this there is taught in what way we can arrive at the possession of the virtues of all Creatures (or created things); there is (further) taught what and of what kind¹ be the virtues hereof, and what (virtues) be truly most powerful above all virtues of Creatures. There is also taught the reason of the laws of (such) virtues and of their uses.

THE GOING-FORTH OF ABRAHAM FROM UR OF THE CHALDEES AND FROM HARAN

ALEPTA maketh you see how Abraham went forth from Ur from among the

Chaldeans, and from Haran. He can give unto you great riches. Thus is his Character (see Figure 14).

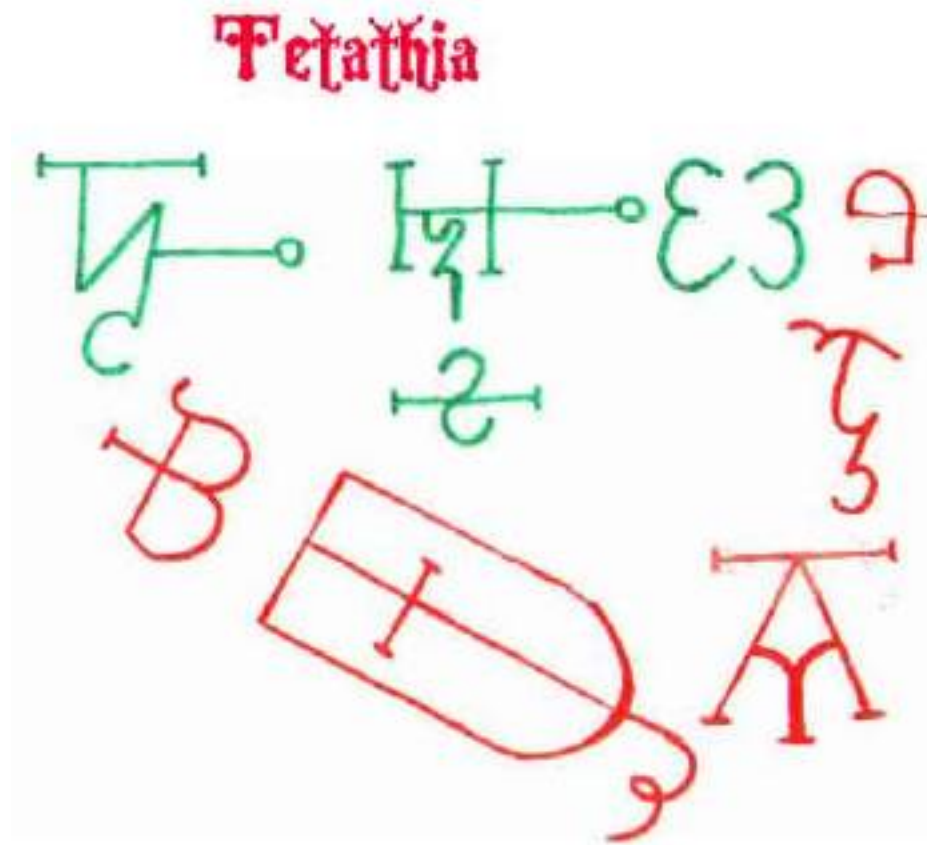


In this Sigil is taught how a Man may be exalted, and how a Man may become formidable unto all Creatures, at any hour (and how he may be rescued) whether out of the hands of cruel men, or from a crowd of men.

THE CAVE OF EPHRON

TETAHATIA is a Spirit of Science and Virtue, who hath preserved our Forefathers from their enemies, rendering them formidable unto them so as to put them to flight. He will do the same unto the Enemies of those who shall wish to

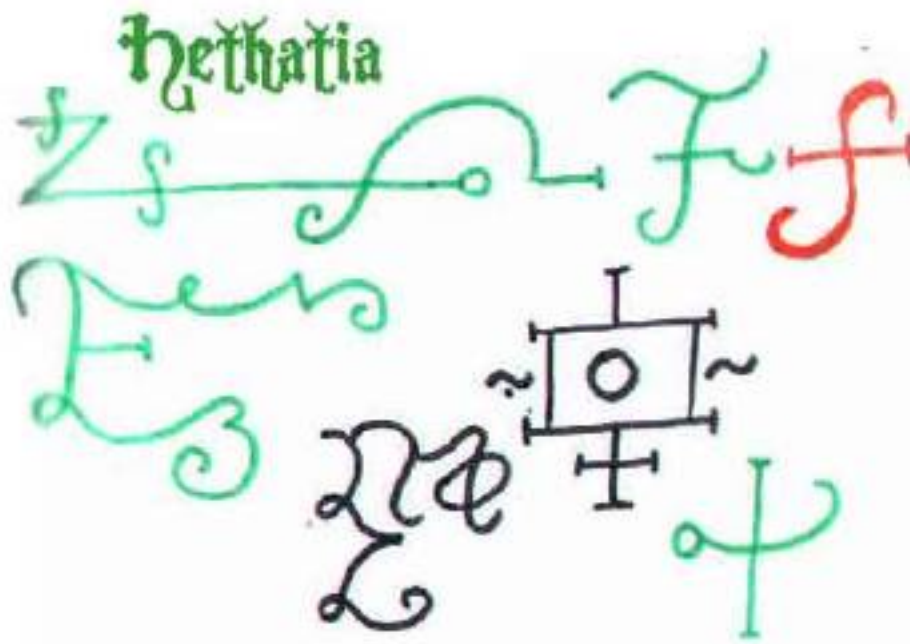
avail themselves of his services. Thus is his Character (see Figure 13).



In this Sigil be noted the ways whereby a blinding darkness may be produced, or a thing terrible unto one's enemies, also how a blessing may fail hereon.

MOSES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE DESERT

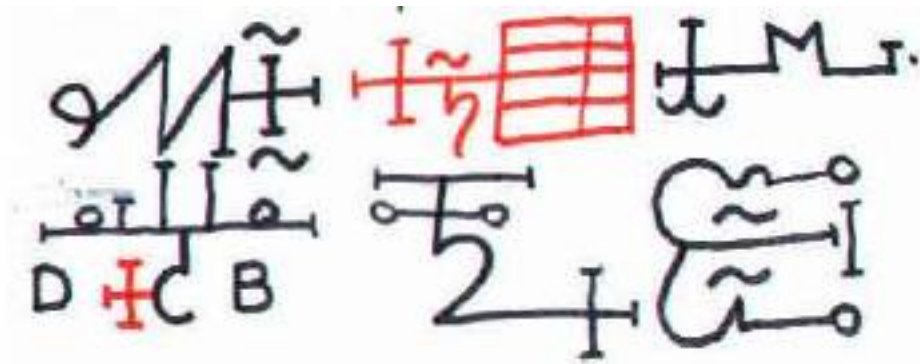
HETHATIA maketh you see even as Moses saw the benefits which he had received from God, when he was in the Desert of the Land of Midian. He can do much for those who invoke him, but it must not be in the desert place. Thus is his Character (see Figure 12).



In this Sigil is taught the Science and Wisdom of Moses, and the Arcana of the Egyptian Magi and Diviners; perfect happiness and the ways of causing and inspiring fear, and of going forth from a land and for the preservation of a Man in that (case) and place.

THE ROD OF MOSES

ZAINAEL is a Spirit who did teach unto Moses the methods of availing himself of the Rod with the which he did perform so many miracles in Egypt, and among the chaldeans. He hath much power to render those rich who avail themselves of his services. He can be invoked at any hour. Thus is his Character (see Figure 11).

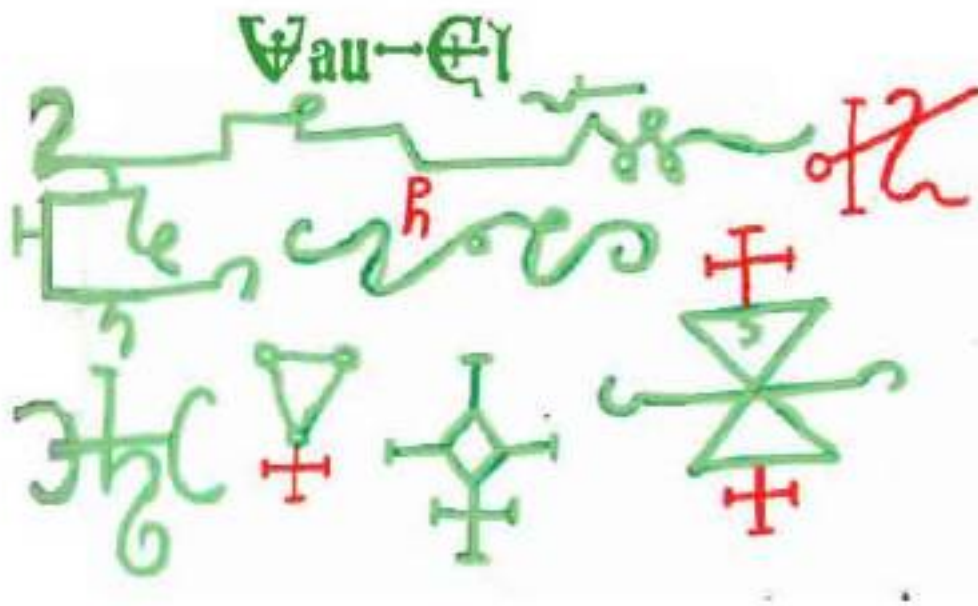




In this Sigil is taught the Practice of the Science and Wisdom of the Diviners and Magi of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and by what ways and means they may be acquired.

THE VISION OF 'MAN'

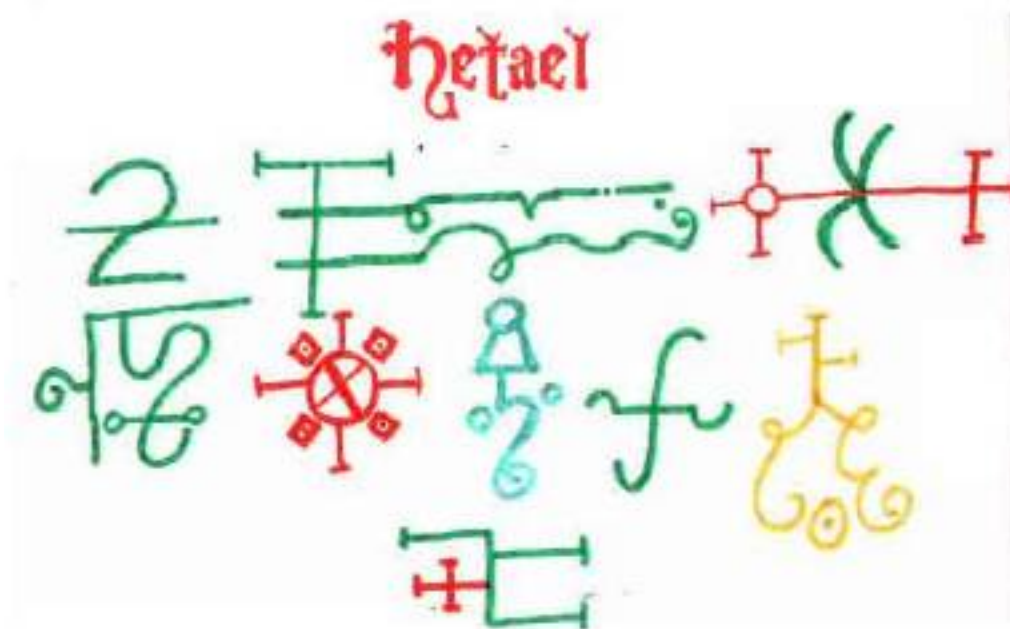
VAU-AEL is a Spirit who causeth all kinds of pleasant visions to appear, such as our Forefathers in the Old Testament beheld. He serveth you faithfully in all that you desire to know. Thus is his Character (see Figure 10). He hath many Spirits under his dominion.



In this Sigil, howbeit, there is formed a certain species of 'Man' for castings out.

THE EXPLORER AND LEADER JOSHUA

HETAEL is a Spirit who guides armies and also can destroy them, as he did unto the enemies of the Children of Israel under the command of Joshua, when by his prayer the latter arrested the course of the Sun. He can render you invulnerable unto every kind of weapon, and can give you Spirits to serve you unto this end. He is to be invoked on a Tuesday. Thus is his Character (see Figure 9).



In this Sigil there is taught the declaring of the intentions of Enemies and the like. Also there can be expelled all things noxious unto body and mind, and further in like manner this Mystic (Sigil) operateth in their restoration. Also there be Mysteries regarding 'Man'.

THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON

RAPHAEL is a Spirit of Science who did teach unto Solomon¹ Knowledge and Wisdom. He is to be invoked on a Sunday before Sunrise. Thou must be both pure and chaste when thou dost invoke him, and thou must have fasted on the previous eve. Thus is his Character (see Figure 8).



In this Sigil is taught the manner of joining Actives and Passives together the one unto the other, in natural things. There is also taught concerning the 'KANSSUD' of Earthly regions and powers, from one class unto another.

OF THE LIFE OF ELIJAH

GABRIEL is a Spirit who did teach unto the Prophet Elijah all the Mysteries of Divinity. He is to be invoked on a Thursday before Daybreak. His Power is very Great, and he can do you great good, in the which he will instruct you. Thus is his Character (see Figure 7).



In this Sigil there be taught the Methods of restoring and transplanting both health and mental force.

THE SPIRIT OF ELISHA

MICHAEL is a Spirit who guided the Prophet Elisha in all his actions. He is the Protector of all Kingdoms. After God Himself, he is almost all-powerful as regardeth those who perform his Invocation, which latter should be worked upon a Sunday, and in the evening. Thus is his Character (see Figure 6).



In this Sigil is taught how there may be formed a certain composite thing by means of which the faculties and vital Spirits (exist) as well in Man as in other creatures, according to what is necessary for and convenable unto them.

IN THE FIELDS OF BABYLON

URIEL is a Spirit who did reveal unto the Prophet Esdras every description of Prophecy, he did also aid the Children of Israel in the Camp of the Babylonians. He teacheth natural Sciences, Physic, and Medicine. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, before daybreak. Thus is his Character (see Figure 5).



In this Sigil there be taught the method of understanding what and of what Kind were those twin Souls (namely) Henoch. The faculties of the Mind and Understanding are purified, and these also in such a manner that they may be exalted from the lowest degree unto that which is most perfect of all. By the

which composition also there can be a transmission made of the participating Power or that power of communication of the comprehension of Spirits.

THE SON OF ZACHARIAS IN THE DESERT

SAMAEL is the Spirit who did never abandon Saint John during the time in which he dwelled in the desert before his preaching. He is the protector of preachers in Missions among foreign nations. He teacheth Theology. He is to be invoked on a Wednesday, and in the morning. His Character is thus formed (see Figure 4).

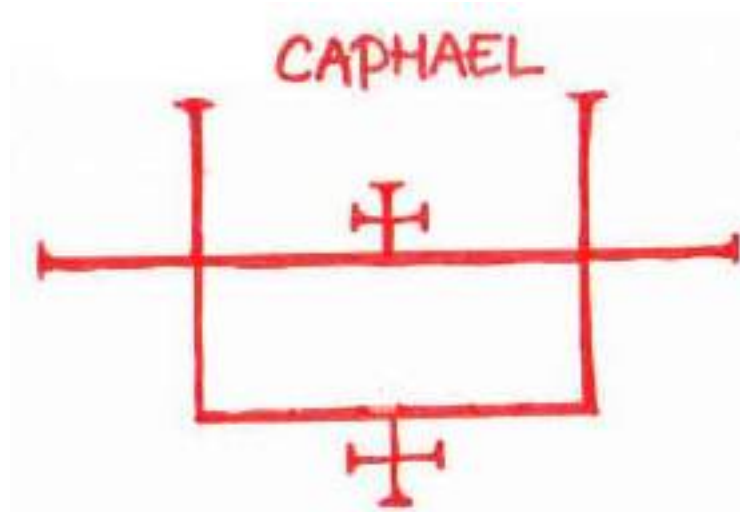


In this Sigil is taught the harvest of the Plants of Blessedness, and such harvests; together with the envy of the Kingdom of Behemoth and Leviathan, of the which the Lord God did make use from the Beginning, and preserved (the same) for the production of all creatures, and also in what manner such souls be produced (and

come forth).

BY THE FLOWING OF JORDAN

CAPHAEL is a Spirit who guided St. John in the desert, and when he was preaching the Baptism of Penitence by the River of Jordan where the people were baptized, he filled their hearts with Charity and Benediction. He teacheth an infinitude of matters with facility.



In this his Sigil (see Figure 3) there is taught concerning the healing of barrenness and of death concerning the Kingdom of God, and the most ardent Charity; in the which blessed mystical Numbers (of the Sigil) there is taught unto whatsoever Operations this is to be applied, howbeit certain special Operations do fail under the head of certain especial Numbers. Also concerning Sciences and Arts of all kinds and of all perfections whatsoever they may be.

He is to be invoked on Fridays and in the morning.

THE CIRCUMCISION OF JESUS AT NAZARETH

The Prophet of the Greatest One; or the Languor of the Nature.

THAVAEEL. This Spirit had a particular care of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was he who conducted the Holy Virgin and Saint Joseph into Egypt when they were fleeing from the persecution of Herod. He giveth unto us a perfect knowledge of all the simples and their virtues. He can be invoked at any time. His Character is thus (see Figure 2).



In this Sigil is taught the planting or the sowing of the Seed of Plants, the comprehension of virtue; there are also (herein) taught the manners of flowering as regardeth Plants, and also those inspirations of virtue and grace which be as it were the fundamental plants of the Qabalistical ART.

They who shall write with the ginger upon the forehead of these letters I.. .N. R. .I, will never die by a sudden death.

THE THEOSOPHY OF OUR FATHERS

AS REGARDETH THE PLANETS THE SANHEDRIN

ZADKIEL will teach unto you all the Sciences Active and Passive, with a remarkable facility, with all honesty and courtesy, together with every kind of benediction. They who avail themselves hereof will possess all things in content.

He is to be invoked on a Monday and in the Morning. His Character is this (see Figure 1)



In this Sigil is taught the method of joining together Actives and Passives, or in everything the manner of modesty and grace. In the which Numbers the Lord God doth sanctify these Planets, so that they may work marvels, and as it were portents, through such Numerations.

Seeing that we possess the explanation of the (Magical) Circle, (let us here state) that it is (Employed) for the Invocation of Spirits, so as to escape the dangers which might arise through their malice. Now it having been duly prepared for you to avail yourself of the Services of the Spirit you desire (to Summon) it is necessary to take heed that you comprehend the power which he hath and whether he can grant you that which you shall demand.

Being, then, in the midst of the Circle, wherein you are to perform the Operation, and having made the Character (or Sigil) of the Spirit who shall serve you: you shall see that the Circle be (correctly) formed according to the instructions we have (elsewhere) given. Being then, I say, in the midst thereof, after having recited the *Pater*, an *Aye*, together with the *Credo*, you shall repeat the following Conjunction:

CONJURATIO

Omnipotens Aeterne Deus, Qui totam Creaturam condidisti in laudem et honorem tuum, ac ministerium hominis, OTO ut Spiritum (N.N.) de () ordine mittas, qui me informat et doceat quo ilium interrogavero, non mea voluntas fiat, sed Tua, per Jesum Christum Filium Unigenitum. Amen.

O Eternal Omnipotent God, Who hast formed every creature unto Thy praise and honour, and for the Ministry of Man: I beseech Thee to send unto me the Spirit (here give the name of the Spirit) of the (here give the name of of class or Order of Spirits) Order, who may inform and teach me concerning those things which I shall demand of him, nevertheless not my Will, but Thine, be done, through Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Amen.

Having obtained from the Spirit that which you desire, you shall license him to depart in these words:

THE LICENCE TO DEPART

Quia Placide et quiete venisti, et hac petitione mihi respondisti, ago Deo gratias in Cujus Nomen venisti, ite in pace ad loca tua et rediturus ad me cum te vocavero per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING LICENCE TO DEPART

Seems that peaceably and in quiet thou has come, and hast made answer unto me in this (my) petition, I return thanks unto God, in Whose Name thou hast come. Depart hence in peace unto thine habitations, and be thou ready to return whensoever I shall have called thee. Through Christ our Lord Amen.

After having repeated this Conjunction three times, if so be that the Spirit appeareth not unto you, you shall repeat the present (following) Conjunction three times. And these Conjunctions should be written out on virgin parchment, together with the Licence to Depart.

THE CONJURATION

I (N.N.) do Conjure thee (O Spirit N.N.) by the virtue of the Great and Holy Names of God, that immediately and without delay thou art to appear unto me

under an agreeable form, and without noise, nor injury unto my person, to make answer unto all that I shall command thee; and I do conjure thee herein by

**EL ELOHIM ELOHO ELOHIM SEBAOTH ELION EIECH ADIER
EIECH ADONAY JAH SADAY TETRÁGRAMMATON SADAY AGIOS
OTHEOS ISCHIROs ATHANATOS AGLA Amen.**

After having performed this Conjuration three times following, it is necessary to continue the same for three days successively, in the same place, and at the same hour.

And when (your desire shall be) satisfied, and having obtained from Him that which you wish, you must license him to depart (saying):

‘Go in peace unto the place which hath been destined unto you from all Eternity; let there be peace between us and you’

HEKHALOT RABBATI

היכלות רבתי

THE GREATER TREATISE CONCERNING THE PALACES OF HEAVEN

translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by
Morton Smith

corrected by
Gershom Scholem

transcribed and edited with notes by
Don Karr

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Preface to the July 1995 edition

The following sections of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (hereafter HR) have been edited from an English draft prepared by Morton Smith (1915-1991). The draft shows corrections and marginal notes made by Gershom Scholem (1897-1982). Smith made the translation in the early 'forties from an unpublished edition (in the original Hebrew and Aramaic) prepared by Scholem and Chaim Wirszubski (1915-1977).¹ In a note² accompanying the photocopy of HR, Smith stated that the translation was based on a "somewhat inferior manuscript" (MS New York 8128) and that "a new translation based on two better manuscripts is now being made." That was 1981.

In 1978, David Blumenthal published *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader*, vol. 1 (Ktav Publishing House, New York), which contained a translation of roughly the second half of HR prepared by Lauren Grodner. The translation was based on the edition of S. A. Wertheimer in his *Batei Midrashot*, with some adaptations according to spot English translations in

- (1) Smith's "Observations on *Hekhalot Rabbati*," in *Biblical and Other Studies* edited by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963);
- (2) Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960; 2nd, improved edition: 1965);
- (3) Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1941; reprinted frequently).

In 1982, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan presented again roughly the second half of HR in English in *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc.), adding chapters I and II as a preface. Kaplan also based his work on Wertheimer, correcting it according to other versions.

It is now July 1995, and the *first* half of HR has yet to be published in English, so I have been grateful to the late Professor Smith for having provided me with a copy of his draft, whatever its shortcomings.

The following is a presentable edition of the first half of HR³, prepared to fill the gap until the whole of HR appears in translation.

The as-yet unpublished (in English, at any rate) "first half," presented here, is Smith's Chapters I to XII. Smith's Chapter XIII is where Grodner's translation begins, though she calls it "Chapter 15." Kaplan's translation cuts in a chapter or so later. Through my typescript, numbers in square brackets indicate paragraph (segment, or *microform*) numbers from *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, edited by Peter Schäfer, Margarete Schlüter, and Hans Georg von Mutius (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981). In recent scholarly books and articles, it has become conventional to refer to *Synopse* § numbers when citing or quoting *hekhalot* material.

—Don Karr

¹ I have learned that Ithamar Gruenwald, long-time professor of Jewish mysticism at Tel Aviv University and author of the pioneering *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980), *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988), and *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003), had a hand in the translation of (at least) the first twelve chapters. See "Preface to the January 2009 edition."

The first page of Smith's typescript is reproduced below, page 45.

² March 17, 1981. The letter is reproduced below, page 46.

³ The transcription below has been completed. See "Preface to the January 2009 edition."

Preface to the January 2009 edition (with additions and revisions: 2013 & 2015)

Smith's chapters XIII-XXX have been added to the transcription, making this a complete edition of Smith's translation. Inconsistencies in Smith's spelling have been retained, e.g., within a few lines we find "spendour" and "splendor" (as in CHAPTER XXIV); elsewhere, "Shekinah" and "Shekhinah."

To place *Synopse* § numbers, I have compared segments of Smith's translation with passages translated in

- Boustani, Ra'anan. *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
- Davila, James R. *Hekhalot Literature in Translation: Major Texts of Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013).
- Halperin, David J. *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988).
- Kuyt, Annalies. *The 'Descent' to the Chariot. Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function and Nature of the YERIDAH in Hekhalot Literature* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995).
- Wolfson, Elliot R. *Through a Speculum That Shines* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

It is of interest to follow the hapless course of Smith's translation of HR in the letters recently published as *Morton Smith and Gershom Scholem, Correspondence 1945-1982*, edited with an introduction by Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008). The HR translation is mentioned more than two dozen times over the full range of years covered; indeed, the first mention is in 1945, the last in 1982. An excerpt from Ithamar Gruenwald's note to me (December 23, 2012) provides some details of this "hapless course."

[Sometime in the late 1960s] Scholem showed me the typescript of Smith's translation of HR. I read it and told Scholem that it needed revision on the basis of manuscripts which Scholem did not know about, especially Vatican 228. Scholem told me to contact Smith, with whom I exchanged letters for several years. Morton agreed that when I came to New York we should meet and discuss ways to compose the revision.

In February-June 1981, I held a position of visiting professor at the Revel Graduate School at Yeshiva University. When I arrived in New York, Morton and I agreed to meet once or twice a week to work on the revised translation. We did so on a regular basis, and my wife and I were welcome guests at his home.

The process was as follows: between one session and the next, Morton prepared an almost new translation of several paragraphs based on MS Vatican 228. He did masterful work. When I came to his apartment, we read his latest translations, and in most cases he accepted my comments.⁴

In June, we had to interrupt the work because I had to go back to Jerusalem.

When I left in June of 1981, we had reached chapter 12 or so. Morton said that between then and my return to New York (in less than a year), he would work on the translation, and possibly send me the materials by mail. However, this did not work out.

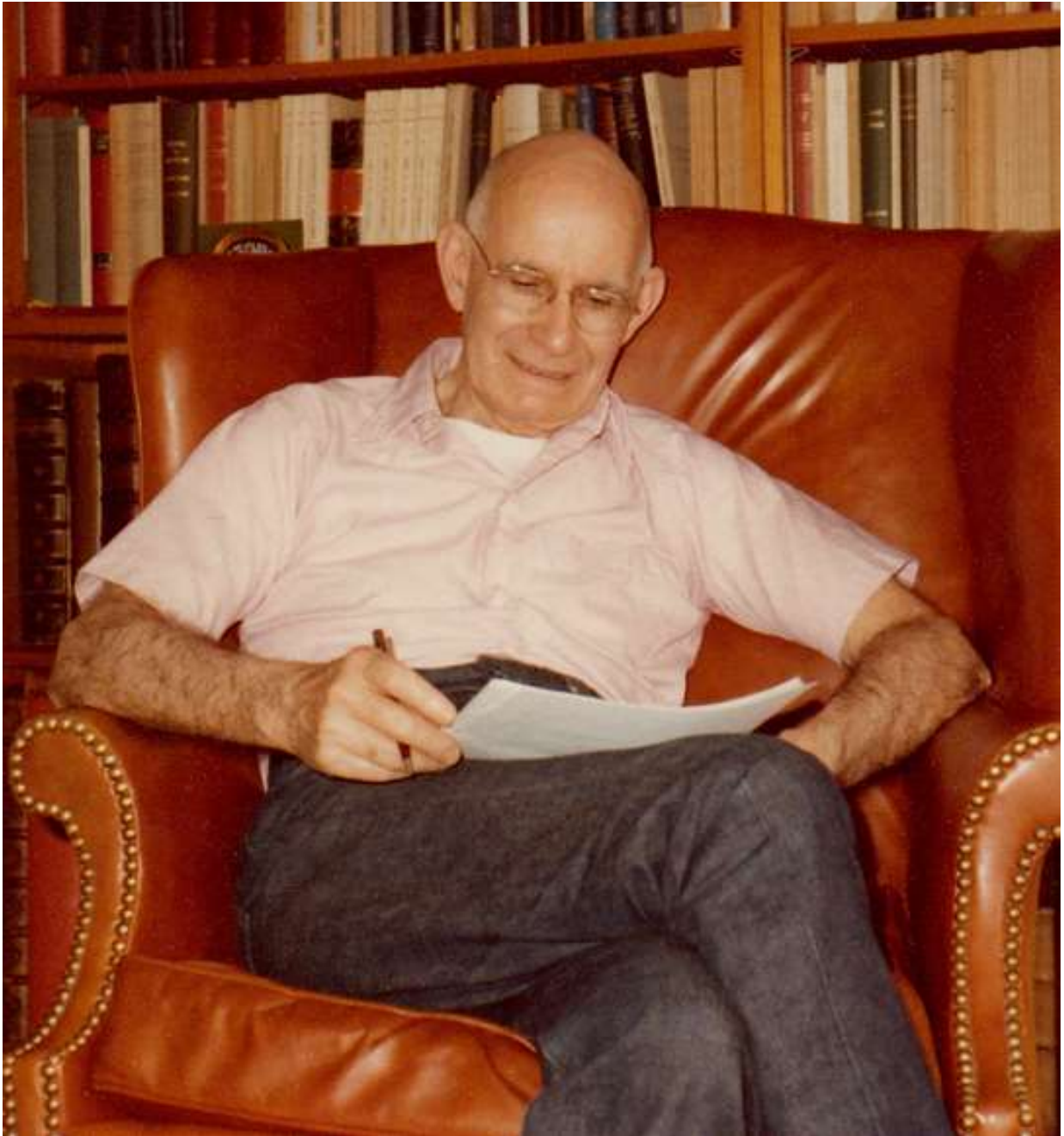
On January 1st, 1982, our son Eviatar was killed during his service in the army, and Scholem died a short while afterwards [February 21, 1982]. These events delayed my return to New York.

When I returned to New York, I called Morton and he told me that he could no longer work on the translation. A short while later I called him again and—to my shock—he told me, "Finally, my senile condition is under control. I hope that I shall be able to continue the work soon." This condition is referred to in Guy G. Stroumsa's book [*Morton Smith and Gershom Scholem, Correspondence 1945-1982*], where, on page 190, Morton asked Scholem, "Please give my regards to Gruenwald when you see him, my retranslation of *Hekhalot Rabbati* was sidetracked during the fall by a long series of petty problems." The "petty problems" were the "senile condition" mentioned. Scholem was not aware of the problem, and he did not seem to catch on even when Morton reiterated in the same letter, "First, however, I have to dispose of a lot of petty problems...." [—Smith's letter to Scholem of January 10, 1982].

My sincere thanks to Professor Shaye J. D. Cohen of Harvard University, literary executor to Morton Smith, for granting me permission to reproduce Smith's translation of HR. I wish to thank Sergiusz Cichosz for informing me of numerous errors in my typescript while he was in the process of translating Smith's *Hekhalot Rabbati* into Polish (January-February of 2015).

—Don Karr

⁴ The collaborative work of Smith and Gruenwald is not reflected in the transcription presented here.



Morton Smith, 1981
Working on his translation of *Hekhalot Rabbati*
Photograph in possession of Ithamar Gruenwald

THE GREATER TREATISE CONCERNING THE PALACES OF HEAVEN

*translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by Morton Smith
with corrections by Gershom Scholem
transcribed and edited with notes by Don Karr*

(...) = Smith's additions
[...] (words) = Smith's additions
[...] (numbers) = *Synopse* § numbers
{...} (letters/words) = my additions (DK)
{...} (ellipses) = a gap – a place where material appears in other MSS

CHAPTER I:

[81] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What are those songs which he recites who would behold the vision of the Merkabha, who would descend in peace and would ascend in peace?

[82] Greatest of all [his achievements] it is that [the angels] have a care for him, to gather him in and bring him unto the chambers of the palace of the seventh heaven, to cause him to stand on the right hand of the throne of the glory of God; for there be times when he standeth over against Tazsh the Lord God of Israel, to see all that which is done before the throne of His glory and to know all that which is destined to come to pass in the world:

Who shall be cast down, who exalted;
Who shall be weakened, who made strong;
Who shall be crushed with poverty, who made rich;
Who shall die, who shall live;
From whom shall inheritance be taken,
To whom shall inheritance be given;
Who shall be granted the Law for his portion
And who be given Wisdom.

[83] Greatest of all* it is that he beholdeth all the works of the children of men, yea even those which they work in their secret chambers, whether these be seemly works or works corrupt:

A man stole – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man committed adultery – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man committed murder – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man was suspect to have lain with a woman in her uncleanness –
he knoweth and recognizeth it (the truth of the matter);
A man spread slander – he knoweth and recognizeth it.

* “Greatest of all” is Scholem’s correction from § 83 to § 92. Smith had “Still greater,” which may indeed make better sense. Kaplan opens each of these lines, “When one is on a (still) higher level...”

[84] Greatest of all it is that he recognizeth all those who know sorcery.

Greatest of all it is that any man who lift up his hand against him and smite him is clothed with scalls and covered with leprosy and crowned with a pox.

Greatest of all it is that any man who slander him is subject to all manner of injuries: morbid growths and discolourations and wounds which give rise to running ulcers.

[85] Greatest of all it is that he is set apart from all the children of men and is exalted in all his doings and is honored by those above and those below. And if any man find cause of offense in him, upon that man do offenses, great and evil and harsh, fall from heaven. And if any man stretch forth his hand against him in reproach, against that man doth the heavenly court of justice stretch forth its hand to consume him from the world.

 Greatest of all it is that all men are set before him as silver before the refiner, to know which is alloyed silver, which is pure silver. And, moreover, he beholdeth in families:

 How many in a family be children of forbidden unions,
 How many in a family be children of their mother's impurity,
 How many in a family be wounded in the stones,
 How many in a family be cut off of their privy members,
 How many in a family be children of slaves,
 How many in a family be children of the uncircumcised,
 How many in a family be unfit for the priesthood.

CHAPTER II:

[86] Greatest of all it is that any man who harden his face against him to gainsay him is darkened from the light of the balls of his eyes.

 Greatest of all it is that if any man treat him despitefully he leaves neither root nor branch nor yet inheritor.

 Greatest of all it is that any man who spread evil report against him is consumed, his judgment is determined and no mercy is had upon him.

{...}

[92] Greatest of all it is that in the heavenly court of justice, three times each day (from the day when permission was given to Israel, to the honest and to the upright, to the humble and to the humiliated, to the understanding and to the chosen and to the separated, that they might descend to the Merkabha and ascend thence) three times each day they blow the trumpets thrice and excommunicate with the lesser excommunication and again excommunicate with the greater excommunication, saying: "Let him be excommunicated to Tazsh the Lord God of Israel, to him and to the throne of His glory and to the crown upon His head, to the heavenly court of justice and to the earthly court of justice and to all the host of heaven and to all its servants, he who standeth before one beholding the Merkabha and who abandoneth him."

[93] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus ran the teaching as to the vision of the Merkabha: He who beholdeth the Merkabha hath no right to stand up [out of courtesy to a superior], except before three authorities only: before a king and before a high priest and before a sanhedrin (and that, when a patriarch is with the sanhedrin, thus if a patriarch is not with a sanhedrin, then even before a sanhedrin he shall not stand up). And should he stand up he would be guilty of death because he had stood up before it, and he would lessen his days and cut short his years.

[94] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What be the words of the songs which a man doth recite when he descendeth to the Merkabha? Let him begin and recite the principal songs [OR, the first songs]:

 The beginning of praise and the commencement of song
 The beginning of jubilation and the commencement of exultation
 Do the princes sing who serve each day
 The Lord God of Israel and the throne of His glory;
 They bear up the wheel of the throne of His glory, [singing]:
 "Sing, sing for joy, supernal dwelling!

“Shout, shout for joy, precious vessel!
“Made marvelously and a marvel.
“Surely thou shalt gladden the King who sitteth upon thee,
“[With a joy] as the joy of the bridegroom in his bridechamber.
[Thus said I] when I came to take refuge under the shadow of Thy wings
In the joy of my heart which rejoiced in thee.
(For thy converse [my heart] is with the converse of the King
And with thy Maker thou dost hold discourse.)
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

- [95] “From the praise and song of each day,
“From the jubilation and exaltation of each hour,
“And from the utterance which preceedeth out of the mouths of
the holy ones
“And from the melody which welleteth up out of the mouths of
the servants
“Mountains of fire and hills of flame
“Are piled up and hidden and poured out each day.”
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

CHAPTER III:

- [96] “Why should’st thou be affrighted, faithful servant?
“Why should’st thou be terrified, servitor beloved?”
“I say to thy face, Zoharaiel, Lord God of Israel,
“If I be not affrighted, who is he that shall be affrighted?
“If I be not terrified, who is he that shall be terrified?
“For I am summoned before the Omnipotent six hours in each day,
“And a thousand times I am dragged upon my knees
“Until I touch the throne of glory.”

And then the voice would answer say{ing}:
(As it is said [Ez. 1:25]: “And there was a voice above the firmament
that was over their heads; when they stood they let down their wings.”)
“As for those who practice upon you those practices –
“Reproach shall not be cast upon their words,
“Nor shall any contradict their discourse,
“Nor any contradict their words.”
His kingly servants behold the King majestic
Enthroned in the chambers of the palace of silence,
Dread and fear, holiness and purity.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

- [97] King of miracles, King of powers,
King of wonders, King transcendent.
Thy throne doth fly and standeth still.
Years very many, generations without end have passed
Since thou didst drive the peg for the weaving of the web
On which the perfection of the world and the excellence thereof do stand

And even yet hath Thy throne not rested its foot upon the firm ground
of the seventh heaven,
But as a bird doth fly it fly and standeth still.

- [98] The loftiest of the lofty, they whose brows be bound with diadems,
*And all angels, the chief hypostases which Thou hast created,
Stand harnessed beneath the throne of glory
And do hold it up continually with strength, might and power.
And they also have not rested their feet upon the firm ground of the
seventh heaven,
But as a bird do they fly yet stand still.

* A marginal note in Smith's hand at this place reads: "Translated at first "all the angels of the chief hypostases" מַלְאָכִים
Prof. Scholem corrected to this {as shown above}, which seems to suppose מַלְאָכִים instead of מַלְאָכִים. What is the
final Hebrew text?"

- [99] And three times in each day
Doth the throne of Thy glory prostrate itself before Thee and say to Thee,
"Zoharariel, Lord God of Israel,
"Pray seat Thyself upon me, O splendid King,
"For Thy burden is delightful to me
"And weigheth not heavy upon me."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

- [100] Wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Is the loftiness of exultation and the lordship of splendor
With which the angel of the presence doth conduct himself
Three times each day
In the heavenly court of justice
As he goeth and cometh upon the seventh heaven
Which is upon the heads of the cherubim and upon the heads of the ophanim
And upon the heads of the holy beasts.

- [101] And the cherubim and the ophanim and the holy beasts
Are harnessed and stand beneath the throne of glory.
And when they behold anyone in the height
As he goeth and cometh upon the seventh heaven
(Which is upon the heads of the cherubim and upon the heads of the ophanim
And upon the heads of the holy beasts)
They are terrified and affrighted and faint and fall backward,
For no creature is able to attain unto that place
By a distance of one hundred and eighty five thousand myriad parasangs
Because of the streaming fires which flow and issue forth
From the mouths of the cherubim and from the mouths of the ophanim and
from the mouths of the holy beasts
Who open their mouths to say "Holy"
When Israel saith before Him "Holy"
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

- [102] A measure of holiness, a measure of dominion,
A measure of fearfulness, a measure of consternation,
A measure of trembling, a measure of shaking,
A measure of terror, a measure of panic
Is the measure of the garment of Zoharariel Lord God of Israel
Who cometh crowned to the throne of His glory.
- [103] And it is every part engraved from within and from without with
the words *The Lord, The Lord*.
And the eye of no creature is able to behold it,
Not the eyes of flesh and blood, and not the eyes of His servants.
And as for him who doth behold it, or glimpseth or seeth it,
Hallucinations lay hold upon the balls of his eyes
And the balls of his eyes emit and send forth torches of fire
And these enkindle him and these burn him.
(For the fire which cometh out from the man who beholdeth,
This enkindle him and burneth him.)
Why? Because of the measure of the garment
Of Zoharariel, Lord God of Israel,
Who cometh crowned to the throne of His glory.
And pleasant and sweet is His beauty
As the appearance of the beauty of the glory of the majesty
Of the eyes of the likeness of the holy beasts
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

CHAPTER IV:

- [104] Who is like unto our King among all the lofty ones of them
who lay hold upon kingship?
Who is like our Maker? Who is like unto the Lord our God?
Who is like unto Him among those who knot the knots of diadems?
For with six voices do the supernal servants,
The bearers of the throne of His glory,
The cherubim and the ophanim and the holy beasts, sing before Him,
For each voice is exalted beyond its fellows and differeth form
that which was before it.
The first voice: Everyone who heareth it at once crieth out and
prostrateth himself.
The second voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once falleth into
confusion and thereafter returneth not.
The third voice: Everyone who heareth it at once is seized by con-
vulsions and at once dieth.
The fourth voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once hath the
skull of his head and his body broken and
most of the ends of his ribs are torn out.
The fifth voice: Everyone who heareth it at once poureth himself out
as a vessel and is utterly dissolved into blood.

The sixth voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once is seized at
heart by a fierce fire, and his heart is tumultuous
and overturneth his inmost bowels, and his bile
is dissolved within him as to be as water.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[105] Who is like unto our King? Who is like unto our Maker? Who is
like unto the Lord our God?
The sun and the moon emit and send forth the crown on His head.
The Pleiades and Orion and the star of morning,
Constellations and stars and planets
Flow and issue forth from the garment of Him
Who sitteth crowned upon the throne of His glory.
And He gave forth a great light from between His eyes.
For King of miracles, King of powers,
King of wonders, King transcendent is He.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[106] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All these songs did Rabbi Akiba hear when he descended to the Merkabha, and he laid hold upon them and learned them before the throne of God's glory, for there His servants sang them before God.

CHAPTER V:

[107] Said Rabbi Ishmael: That day was the fifth day of the week when there came abysmal tidings from the great city of Rome saying: "Four men from among the mighty of Israel have been seized – Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and Rabbi Elazar ben Dama and Rabbi Judah ben Baba; and eight thousand students from Jerusalem shall be their ransom."

[108] And when Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah saw this decree, he caused me at once to descend to the Merkabha and I questioned Surya the Prince of the Presence. And he said to me: "Ten men did the heavenly court of justice write down, and gave them unto Sammael the wicked, the genius of Rome, saying: 'Go out and destroy from the mighty of Israel every good member, thigh and shoulder, to fulfill the decree' [Ex. 21.16]: "And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." And the sons of Jacob stole Joseph their brother and sold him, what shall be done concerning them? At once was the authority given to Sammael to destroy ten of the mighty in their stead, in order to fulfill the decree. And a vengeance to be avenged upon him is laid up against him until the time shall come when [Is. 24.21] 'The Lord shall punish the host of the high ones on high,' for he shall be cut down and cast upon the earth, ne and all the princes of the kingdoms in the height, as the goats and sheep of the day of atonement."

[109] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All these warnings and all these conditions were made known to and laid upon Sammael the wicked, and he saith, 'I have taken all upon me provided only that ten of the mighty shall be destroyed, to wit: Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, and Rabbi Judah ben Baba, and Rabbi Jeshbab the scribe, and Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon, Rabbi Hozpit the interpreter, Rabbi Elazar ben Shammua, Rabbi Hanina ben Hakinai, Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha, Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel, Rabbi Eliezer ben Dama.'

[110] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What then did Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel? Because of the wrath with which He was filled against Sammael as having ~~taken~~ upon him all those conditions, [His patience] did not then suffice Him that He should say to the scribe: "Write decrees of punishment and great plagues, strong and harsh and

fearful and terrible, heavy and disgraceful against the wicked city, Rome.” Nay, but at once He Himself took paper and wrote upon the paper. And thus He wrote against the day of vengeance which is destined and laid up for the wicked city, Rome. “One cloud shall come up and stand above Rome six months and pour down a running sore upon man and upon beast and upon the silver and upon the gold and upon all the fruit and upon all kinds of metals. And thereafter shall another cloud come up and drive away its fellow and stand in its place six months and pour down a scall of leprosy and scab and pox and all manner of scalls whatsoever upon the wicked city Rome, until the time shall come when a man shall say to his fellow, ‘Behold, the wicked city Rome, she and all that which is in her, are thine for one farthing,’ and he shall say to him, ‘I want her not.’”

[111] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When I came and bore witness to this [which I had received] from before the throne of glory, all [my] fellows rejoiced and they made that day before Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah a day of feasting and rejoicing; and yet more - the Patriarch himself did say in his joy, “Bring in before us all manner of musical instruments, and we shall drink wine to their accompaniment, inasmuch as Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel shall surely wreak vengeance and do wonders and wonders of wonders upon the wicked city Rome, and we shall exult with joy of harp and flute.”

[112] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What then did the heavenly court of justice? They at once gave command to the angels of torment, and these descending, wrought upon Lupinus Caesar utter destruction; and there was not left in all his palace a fugitive nor a remnant, and Rufa the wife of his youth and all his mistresses and all his maid-servants and all his concubines were cast dead on the earth before him, and all his sons and all his daughters and all the delights of his eyes were rent asunder and thrown [dead] before him.

[113] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What was done to that wicked man himself? He was abased and made contemptible by reason of his dead, that they lay ever before him. And whensoever and man stretched forth his hand to take one of the dead of Lupinus Caesar, that he should lay it upon the bier and take it forth to bury it, then would the abyss swallow up that body, and, when the burier withdrew his hand, would the abyss again vomit it forth. Thus did his dead lie ever before him; and yet more – they were noisome and stank throughout all his royal palace and he was ashamed before the royal princes who came in and went out before his face.

CHAPTER VI:

[117] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend, why did all this disgrace, all this revilement, and all this shame befall that wicked man? Because of Rabbi Hanaya ben Teradyon. For when the day came which he had set for his execution, [some of his servants] said to him, ‘Lord Caesar, repeal [the sentence which] thou [hast passed] upon that sage, that he be not killed.’ [But] he replied, ‘Let him die. For though I and all these of my family, yea, even though all Rome be destroyed with him – yet in this matter I will not change my mind.’”

[118] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend, I shall tell thee why the strength of that wicked man was great: Because he came from the line of Esau the wicked, and therefore he confirmed and strengthened and hardened his heart.”

[119] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend I say unto thee, thou shalt not be grieved at this death in which thou departest to thine eternal dwelling, for already hath Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel filled His mouth with laughter at that wicked man and said: ‘By the glory of the loftiness of the fearful palace in which I dwell, and by the throne of My glory which is My concern and which I leave not from [the time of] its creation and unto eternity: In Gehenna, at the hand of Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon, I will cause that wicked man to taste the taste of flame of fire and fiery coals of cherubim and ophanim and the holy beasts.’”

[120] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend, I shall tell thee what did then the pure effulgence of the splendor of the effulgence of ’Uzhaya the Lord God of Israel. At that time He commanded me and I descended and banished and drove out Lupinus Caesar from his palace in which he was sleeping during the night and took him to a pig sty and a dog pound and put him asleep [there], and I brought in Rabbi Hananya and put him asleep in the palace of Lupinus Caesar. Next day came the executioners who had been commanded concerning Rabbi Hananya to this effect: ‘He is sitting and doing wonders in the school and is teaching law to the mighty of Israel. Off with his head!’ Lupinus Caesar appeared to them as Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon and they cut off his head. And Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon bound on the diadem of his royalty and reigned over the wicked city Rome in the likeness of Lupinus Caesar, six months, and killed in it six thousand bishops, a thousand bishops a month. [121] And something in the form of Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon was then put before the men of the wicked city Rome and they laid hold upon it and cast it into the fire. And who was he whom they cast into the fire? Lupinus Caesar. For after he was killed, he was made alive again in the heavenly court of justice. And they laid hold upon him and cast him into the fire, and he was in anguish in the midst of the fierce fire. And after this manner did they with all ten sages of Israel, for the proclamation goeth forth from the seventh heaven proclaiming and saying in the heavenly court of justice: ‘As for the design which the wicked city Rome designed against the mighty of Israel to destroy them, Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel has agreed, but even the meditation of the heart which Rome meditateth against his children is weighty to them as if they carried it out.’”

[The First Apocalypse]

[122] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Seganzegael, the Prince of the Presence, said to me, “My friend, sit in my bosom and I shall tell thee what is to come upon Israel.” I sat in his bosom and he gazed upon me and did weep, and his tears ran down continually from his eyes and fell upon my face. I said to him, “Why does your Excellency weep?” He said to me, “My friend, come, and I shall take thee in and teach thee what is laid up for Israel, the holy people.” He grasped me by my hand and took me in to the inmost chambers and to the most secret rooms and to the treasuries. He took tablets and opened them and showed me letters written with griefs each different from the other. I said to him, “For whom are these?” He said to me, “For Israel.” I said to him, “And can Israel bear them?” He said to me, “Come tomorrow and I shall teach thee of griefs yet different from these.” On the morrow he took me in to the inmost chambers and showed me griefs more bitter than the first: [There] those [who shall perish] by the sword [were destined already] for the sword; those [who shall perish] by hunger, for hunger; those who shall be led captive, for captivity. I said to him, “And did then, your Excellency, Israel alone sin?” He said to me, “Griefs more bitter than these are laid on them anew each day. And when, assembling in synagogues and schools, they say, ‘Amen. Let the great name be blessed,’ we do not permit these [griefs] to go forth from the inmost chambers.”

[123] When I went down from before him I heard a voice speaking in the Aramaic language, and thus it said:
 “The holy shrine shall be a ruin;
 and the temple, a fire burning;
 “And the dwelling of the king, desolation;
 and she in whom the king rejoiced shall mourn as a widow;
 “And the virgins and the youths shall be spoiled;
 and the servants of the king, be killed;
 “And the pure altar, polluted;
 and the table which was set before the Lord, taken as spoil by the enemy;
 “And Jerusalem shall be desolation;
 and the land of Israel trembling.”

[124] When I heard the voice of this vision I was terrified and struck silent and fell backwards. But then came the angel Hadariel and gave me breath and spirit and stood me upon my feet. He said to me, "My friend, what came over thee?" I said to him, "Your Excellency, is there no restoration for Israel?" He said to me, "Come, and I shall bring thee in to treasuries of consolations and to treasuries of salvations and shall show thee." He brought me in to treasuries of salvations and to treasuries of consolations and I beheld the companies of ministering angels, that they were sitting and weaving garments of salvations and making crowns of life and fixing in them precious stones and pearls and compounding all manner of spices and perfumed wines for the righteous. And I beheld one crown which differed from all the [other] crowns, and the sun and the moon and the twelve signs of the zodiac were fixed in it. I said to him, "Your Excellency, for whom are these crowns?" He said to me, "For Israel." "And that different crown, for whom is that destined?" He said to me, "For David, the king of Israel." I said to him, "Your Excellency, show me the glory of David." He said to me, "My friend, wait for three hours until David cometh hither and thou shalt behold his greatness." [125] He took me and seated me in his bosom. He said to me, "What dost thou see?" I said to him, "I see seven lightnings which strike as one." He said to me, "My son, close thine eyes that thou not be shaken by those that shall go forth to meet David." At once, all ophanim and seraphim and the holy beasts and treasuries of snow and treasuries of hail and clouds of glory and planets and stars and ministering angels and fiery spirits of the fourth heaven cried out in tumult, saying: "For the chief musician, a psalm of David. The heavens are telling the glory of God." And I heard a sound of a great uproar which came from Gozen, saying: "The Lord shall reign forever and ever." And behold David, the King of Israel, came first, and I beheld all the kings of the house of David following after him, and each had his crown on his head and the crown of David was more brilliant and differed from all the other crowns and its splendor went forth from one end of the world to the other. [126] When David went up to the great school which is in the firmament, there was set for him a throne of fire which was forty parasangs in height and double in length and double in breadth. And when David came and sat down upon his throne which was prepared for him opposite the throne of his Creator (and all the kings of the house of David sit before him, and all the kings of the house of Israel stand behind him) at once David arose and uttered songs and praises [such as] ear hath not heard from [the creation of] the world. And when David began and said, "The Lord shall rule forever; thy God, Zion, to all generations, Hallelujah!" Metatron and all his servants began and said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, all the earth is full of His glory," and the beasts praise God saying, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place," and the firmaments say, "The Lord shall reign forever," and all the earth saith, "The Lord has been King, the Lord is King, the Lord shall be King, forever and ever," and all the kings of the house of David say, "The Lord shall be King over all the earth, in that day shall the Lord be one and His name One."

{...}

[The Second Apocalypse]

[130] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus did 'Akhtariel Yah the Lord God of Hosts converse with me, saying: "My friend Ishmael, know that I have not given to any of the nations of the world [permission] to enslave Israel, except for one day in this world, [and that] because Israel forsook Me and bowed down to other gods and set up a graven image in my house (and [therefore] did I drive My Shekinah forth from [that place] where I had sworn to cause My name to dwell forever). And they did anger Me and did provoke Me, they, their kings and their princes, their priests and their prophets. And for seven hundred years did they remain separate from Me. And I swore in Mine anger that I would subdue them beneath the [kingdom of] iron and the [kingdom of] clay. And their princes shall they kill and their kings shall they slaughter, their youths shall they cast out and their children shall they dash to pieces, and they shall make the yoke of their old men heavy and shall decree upon them harsh decrees until they shall pine away in their iniquity and in the iniquity of their fathers. Either let them return to Me, or the end shall be fulfilled, for thus have I sent unto them by the hand of My servants the prophets, that I will visit upon them the days of the Baalim when they did burn incense to them. And even as they did provoke Me to anger seven hundred years, so I will surely anger them and make them jealous with a foolish nation and a

nation for which I set apart no kingdom, in that day when I cast lots for all the peoples. Because, even because....”

[131] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When I heard “Because, even because” my hands grew feeble and I fell prostrate upon my face and I was terrified and there was no force in me, neither to speak nor to answer. At once did Metatron the Prince of the Presence answer and said to me, “My friend, rise and stand and strengthen thy loins and understand and be intelligent in [the matter of] the words which He will speak to thee.” And I heard a voice going forth from between the two cherubim and saying: “My friend, Ishmael, fear not, for I will not exact from them payment measure for measure, for I know that they have not in them the strength to endure; but I act for My Name’s sake and I set division between the nations and great enmity between Edom and Ishmael, that they make war one with another and so destroy not utterly my people Israel.”

[132] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I sat and did reckon the reckoning which was first given me, and I reckoned to Babylon seventy years, and to Media fifty and two years, and to Greece an hundred and eighty years, and for Edom I had not yet made reckoning till I arose in the same prayer and in the same affliction in which I had first fallen aforetime. Straightway I heard a voice from heaven going forth and saying, “My friend, Ishmael, know thou that if Israel repent, forthwith shall they be re- deemed, for thus did I stipulate with Isaiah [30.15]: ‘In repenting and rest shall ye be saved.’”

[133] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word, and said, “If they do not repent, shall they never be redeemed?” He said to me, “Either they shall pine away in their iniquity or the end shall be completed.”

[134] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word, and said, “And may not the end of this wicked kingdom be revealed?” I heard a voice going forth and saying, “My friend Ishmael, at the end of the fulfillment of seven hundred years, from the time of the building of {the} house [which was built by the authority] of the kings of Persia, all things shall come to an end and they shall finally cease from off all the face of the earth and that shall be the cleansing of iniquities. Even as they did forsake Me seven hundred years and did serve the Baalim, so I, even I, will forsake them and will cast them off into the hand of the cruel, seven hundred years. And there shall be for them no saviour, no priest, neither teacher, and no prophet and no king and no leader and no prince until they turn and return to Me in prayer and in supplications for mercy. And yet, if they seek My Face, I shall be found of them, and I shall bring them back to their land.”

[135] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word and said, “And if they do not repent shall they never be redeemed?” He said to me “I will set over them a king whose decrees shall be harsh as Haman’s, and against their will, by compulsion, they shall return to Me. And this shall be [Daniel 8.23] ‘a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences.’ [7.25] ‘And he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High; and he shall think to change the times and the law; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and half a time.’”

[136] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I reckoned the reckoning: For Babylon seventy years and for Media fifty and two and for Greece and hundred and eighty and for Edom accordingly I found the years to the destruction of the second temple to complete seven hundred years. And I sought in books which Daniel had closed up and sealed, and I found written in them: “Seven hundred years were determined and decreed upon Thy people and upon Thy holy city and at their fulfillment shall the transgressors cease and the sinners shall come to an end and the iniquity of a small people shall be atoned and He that is righteous forever shall bring the Messiah who has remained hidden and sealed [from the sight] of all the prophets and he shall anoint the Holy of Holies.”

[137] Said Rabbi Ishmael: And even as Daniel explained I found written [Daniel 9.24] “Seventy weeks are decreed upon Thy people and upon Thy holy city to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins and to make reconciliation for iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness and to seal up vision and prophecy and

to anoint the Holy of Holies.” And these seventy weeks be a sign for seven hundred years, and when these do come to their end they shall end at even{ing}, and straightway shall come the light, for it is said [Zachariah 14.7] “And it shall come to pass that at evening time there shall be light.”

[138] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Why was this [vision of the] end revealed to me? Inasmuch as I had set my heart to study wisdom and to reckon seasons and times, minutes and ends, and a period of periods and a season of seasons. And I turned my face to the supernal Holy One in prayer and in supplications and in fasting and in sackcloth and in mourning, and I did often pray saying: “O Lord God of Hosts, God of Israel, how long are we to be loathsome and broken, made a mock and a derision among the peoples. All those who see us will mock us and say, ‘These are they, the people of the Lord. Why did He smite them and why did He cast them out from before His face?’ And they say, ‘Because of the greatness of their iniquity and the strength of their sin did He abominate them and loathed them and put them away from before His face and He shall bring them back no more?’” And because of this prayer did ‘Akhtariel Yah, the Lord God of Israel converse with me.

[The Third Apocalypse]

[140] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Metatron, the great Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “My friend, come and I shall reveal the Messianic end which even they of old time were not worthy that it should be revealed to them, but thy glory is weighed equal to [that of] Aaron the Priest. As for that generation in which the son of David shall come, in it are all the peoples like unto a woman in travail, eating and drinking but with no thought. And there shall be wailing among the holy, and cries of terror among the images of the mighty ones, and trembling shall arise in the cities and quaking in the provinces. And the vine shall yield its fruits, yet shall wine cost dear, and the olives shall be smitten and oil shall be dear. And none that laboreth, he and his household, all the day long suffereth to support himself and to support his household, because of the great cost of living. And when the nations of the world do see that this be so, they give authority for assistance in all things, as it is said [Psalms 97.7] ‘Ashamed be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols.’ And when thou seest all these signs, know that this is the Messianic end.

[142] Thereafter come four from the four winds of the world and these be they: the children of Maskidia from one quarter, the children of Shabhur from one quarter, the children of Mash and Marghish from one quarter, the children of Piston from one quarter and they make war with one another and kill one another, and there fall of them, that day, more than two hundred thousand slain. At that time do they say to one another, ‘Why should we make war? Come and we shall compromise and whoever winneth shall be supreme king and we shall all serve him.’

[143] Then shall the Messiah come forth from prison with [naught save] his staff and his sack, and he warneth them, ‘I am patient with you.’ Then do they say one to another, ‘With what shall he conquer us. His countenance is not that of men and his form is not that of men. His wealth is not that of men. His strength is not that of men. We are rich, strong, warlike, the children of kings. And this fellow – with what shall he conquer us?’ They say to him, ‘If we conquer you what do you give us?’ The Messiah saith unto them, ‘If you conquer me, behold I and all the children of Israel are your slaves.’ When they hear this, from the greatness of the love with which they love to enslave Israel doth each one say unto him ‘Say what thou wilt.’ The Messiah saith unto them, ‘The thing which I propose is small and is not great: He who bring to life all these slain shall be king over us.’ Straightway are their words stopped up and they have no mouth to speak. [144] Then doth the Messiah stand and wrap himself in prayer and gird himself as an hero before Him who spoke and the world was. He saith before Him, ‘Master of worlds, remember on my behalf the suffering and grief and darkness and obscurity in which I was cast, mine eyes which beheld no light and mine ears which heard great reviling and the scurvy of my skin upon my bones and the breaking of my heart in my vitals and the weakening of my strength with pain and grief. It is revealed and known before Thee that in this matter I have not acted for my own glory,

nor yet for the glory of my father's house have I acted, but for Thy glory have I acted, for Thy sake and for Thy temple {and} for Thy children who dwell in sorrow among the peoples of the world.' Then do those two hundred thousand stand upon their feet and say, 'We are of Israel, we are of Israel' as it is said [Zech. 2.15], 'And many nations shall join themselves unto the Lord.' Then doth the Messiah say unto them, 'Go ye and assemble all your brethren from all the nations.' And they go and assemble all Israel and bring them and cause them to stand before the Messiah as it is said [Isaiah 66.20], 'And they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations as an offering unto the Lord.'"

[145] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Zegangael, the Prince of the Presence, said to me, "All the peoples of the world are destined to come to the Messiah and say to him, 'We have heard concerning thee that thou hast power to kill and to make alive. We pray thee, speak with the Holy One, blessed be He, that He receive from us a gift.' He saith unto them, 'And what gift do you bring to me?' They say unto him, 'We have destroyed the house of dwelling, from it we shall enter.'* And we say unto them, 'Those men are wicked. He needeth not your building, for of it is written [Ps 147.2] "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem" etc.' They say unto him, 'We, if that be so, shall gather in it precious stones and pearls the like of which is not in all the world.' He saith unto them, 'Ye wicked, all precious stones and pearls are His, for it is said [Haggai 2.8], "The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine" etc.' Then doth the Holy Spirit answer them and saith unto them, 'Fools and evil-doers, what do ye bring in place of the great men and the lords whom ye have killed?' Straightway they go forth from before him in disappointment."

* In a marginal note, Scholem suggests that the reading of this quote be 'We shall enter from the temple which is destroyed'; that is, as their gift, the nations offer to rebuild the temple. This passage is similar to the offer—and rejection—of the Samaritans in Ezra 4.

[146] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Splendor of Height said to me, "Come and I shall show thee their appearance. Between firmament and firmament is hung water; between water and water, fire; between fire and fire, water; between water and water, fire and hail and water. Fire burneth more fiercely and there is a wall of fire on either side of the throne and seraphim standing before Him and saying, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts' and beasts uttering praise, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place.' And the firmament saith, 'The Lord shall reign forever.' And the earth saith, 'The Lord reigneth, He is apparelled with majesty.' And the seas and the rivers utter praise and say, 'To Him who divided the Red Sea into parts' etc."

[147] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Splendor of Height said to me, "I make a request of thee: Say unto Israel, 'Love the repentant.' For repentance reacheth and goeth to the throne of glory, three hundred and ninety firmaments (removed). The repentant are greater than the ministering angels. [148] For at the time when Israel went into exile, Metatron and Yikhael and Gabhriel said 'What shall we do?' Forthwith they laid their hands upon their heads and wept with a loud voice and said, 'Who will go up to the height of heights and weep before Him who spoke and the world was, that He shall return from the fierceness of His anger and shall have mercy upon His children. [149] Metatron said to them, 'I shall go up when they go up.' All those who glowed with fire shrank trembling from before him. When he had ascended [through] eighty firmaments the heavens and the heavens of the heavens shook and the holy ones above said with one voice, 'How comes it that the odor of one born of woman ascendeth on high' until the Holy One, blessed be He, said unto them, 'He is one of the servants of justice and of My seraphs. Permit him that he come and weep over [the fate of] My children who have gone into exile among wolves and among lions, and over their temple and their Law, that the son of the son of Nimrod the wicked has burned them, and over sages and students who were killed in the holy temple. Heaven forbid that My hands were relaxed and that I was not able to deliver them because they themselves relaxed from the study of the Law, and there were not among them penitents who might beseech mercy upon them. For if only there had been among them penitents who might have besought mercy upon them I had not made them over death.' Behold, thou hast learned that the repentant are greater than the ministering angels."

[150] Said Rabbi Ishmael: These heavens [of which I speak] are 390 [in number] for such [is the numerical value of the word] Shamaim [viz: *heavens*] in gematria. And lest thou shouldst say that these [heavens] alone exist [I state in advance that the fact is not so] but this far it is permitted to speak, from here on thou hast no right to speak. For there is no number to the membranes, and there is no end and reckoning, and there is no sum to firmaments of fire. And the conflagration cometh. But search not deeply into this matter, that thou be not banished from the world, but put an end [to the questionings] in thy heart.

[151] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Once I was burning whole burnt offering upon the altar and I beheld 'Akhtariel Yah the Lord of Hosts sitting on a throne high and lifted up. He said to me, "Ishmael, my son, bless Me." I said before Him, "Master of the Worlds, may it be Thy will, O Lord my God, that Thy mercy conquer Thine anger, and may Thy mercy prevail over Thine [other] attributes, and deal with Thy children according to Thine attribute of mercy, and walk, for their sakes, within the line of justice." And He nodded toward me.

CHAPTER VII:

[152] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me, saying, "Friend, I shall tell thee the praise of the King and of his throne." Therefore it is said:

Thou hast uplifted the throne of Thy glory upon the cherubim of heaven,
And the ophanim of greatness do bear it,
And creatures of frost, creatures of mist, creatures of flame,
Crowned with loftiness and with splendor.
And the eyes of Shaddai are lifted up upon them,
And they were extended beneath it
As rams beneath the plough.
And it was erected upon their heads
With strength, might and power.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[153] Be exalted, be raised on high, be lifted up, O splendid King!
Upon the throne raised high and lifted up, fearful and terrific.
Thou dwellest in the chambers of the temple of loftiness.
The servants of Thy throne are terrified and make tremble
The heavens which are the footstool of Thy feet, each day,
With voice of exultation and tumult of psalmody and roar of songs.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[154] Messengers of the Power [of God] and awakeners of the Shekhinah
(Tumultuous of voice, who magnify song
To the voice of the servants and the voice of the mighty)
Sing, with sweet mouth and with holy melody,
Him who dwelleth in the lava stream of flaming coals.

[155] They bear up the wheel of the throne of His glory, [singing]:
"Sing, sing for joy, supernal dwelling!
"Shout, shout for joy, precious vessel!
"Made marvelously and a marvel.
"Surely thou shalt gladden the King who sitteth upon thee,
"[With a joy] as the joy of the bridegroom in his bridechamber.
"Let him rejoice, and let all the seed of Jacob be glad."
[Thus said I] when I came to take refuge under the shadow of Thy wings
In the joy of my heart which rejoiced in thee.

(For thy converse [my heart] is with the converse of the King
And with thy Maker thou dost hold discourse.)
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

- [156] O wreathed with splendor, crowned with crowns,
Supernal singers in the song of jubilation
Extol ye the Lord of flame,
For in the innermost Shekhinah, in the innermost chamber
Of the chamber of His chambers do ye dwell.
He hath distinguished your name from the name of His servants,
He hath separated you from the servants of the Merkabha.
He who nameth the name of one from among you –
Fire flames, flame encircles,
Blaze encompasseth, coals of splendor brought forth.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

- [157] O beloved of the Fearful, chosen of the Most High,
Ye who lift up [your] faces, whose converse is majestic,
Agreeable and pleasant in the eyes of Shaddai,
Who speak and are heard in the presence of the splendid King,
Servants of his majesty, crying: "King majestic
"Enthroned in the chambers of the palace of silence
"Dread and fear, holiness and purity."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

CHAPTER VIII:

- [158] O ye who cancel decrees, who annul vows,
Who avert wrath, who quiet jealousy,
Who cause love to be remembered, who set forth friendship
Before the loftiness of the majesty of the fearful palace,
What aileth ye that ye be fearful
And there be times when ye rejoice?
What aileth ye that ye do sing for exultation,
And there be times when ye are terrified?
They said:
"When the ophanim of the power of God darken the Merkabha
"We rejoice with great joy."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")
- [159] A lovely face, a majestic face,
A face of beauty, a face of flame,
Is the face of the Lord God of Israel
When He sitteth upon the throne of His glory
And His dignity is established in the dwelling of His majesty.
His beauty is more lovely than the beauty of the powers,
His majesty surpasseth the majesty of the bridegrooms
And brides in their bride-chambers.
He that beholdeth Him is at once torn in pieces,
And he that glimpseth His beauty at once poureth himself out as a vessel.

[160] They who serve Him to-day
Serve Him not to-morrow,
And they who serve Him to-morrow
Serve Him never again.
For their strength grew feeble and their faces darkened,
Their hearts wandered and their eyes were obscured
After [the vision of] His majesty, the splendor of the beauty of their King.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

Servitors beloved, servitors lovely,
Servitors who hasten, servitors swift,
Are they who stand upon the stone of the throne of the glory
And who are stationed upon the wheel of the Merkabha.
As the stone of the throne of the glory returneth upon them,
As the wheel of the Merkabha snatches them
They who stand to the right return and stand to the left
And they who stand to the left return and stand to the right,
And they who stand before return and stand behind
And they who stand behind return and stand before.
He who beholdeth the other saith, "This is he,"
For the feature of the face of the one
Is like the feature of the face of the other,
And the feature of the face of the other
Is like the feature of the face of the one.
Happy the King of whom those be the servants!
And happy the servants of whom this be the King!
Happy the eye which feedeth itself
And which gazeth upon this wonderful light,
A vision wonderful and exceeding strange!
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

[161] Rivers of joy, rivers of rejoicing,
Rivers of jubilation, rivers of content,
Rivers of love, rivers of friendship,
Pour themselves, issuing forth from before the throne of glory,
Strengthen themselves and pass through the gates of the seventh heaven.
From the sound of the playing of the harps of His beasts,
From the sound of the exultation of the drums of His ophanim,
And from the sound of music of the cymbals of His cherubim
A sound strengtheneth itself and goeth forth in a great tumult
When Israel saith before Him,
"Holy, Holy, Holy."

CHAPTER IX:

[162] In the sound of the seas, in the tumult of rivers
In the waves of Tarshish which the south wind troubleth,
In the sound of the song of the throne of glory
Which maketh music and praiseth the splendid King –
A multitude of sounds and great tumult! –

Many did utter their voices
Before the throne of glory, to aid it and to strengthen it,
When it maketh music and applaudeth the Mighty One of Jacob.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

- [163] "Blessed be ye to the heavens and to the earth, ye who descend to the Merkabha,
"If ye will say and will declare to My children what I do,
"In morning prayer and in noonday and in evening prayer
"And in each day and in each hour
"When Israel saith before me 'Holy.'
"Teach them, and say unto them,
"Lift up your eyes to the firmament over against your house of prayer
"At the time when you say before Me "Holy."
"For I have no pleasure in all My world which I have created
"Like in that time when your eyes are lifted up to Mine
"And Mine eyes are lifted up to yours,
"At the time you say before Me, 'Holy.'
"For the breath which goeth forth from your mouths at that time
"Moveth and riseth up before Me as a pleasant savor.
[164] "And bear witness to them, witness of what ye have seen,
"What I do to the feature of the face of Jacob your father
"Which is graven for Me upon the throne of My glory,
"For at the time when you say before Me, 'Holy,'
"I bow down upon it and clasp it
"And embrace it and kiss it
"And My hands rest upon its arms three times
"As against the three times that you say before Me, 'Holy.'"
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

- [165] Who will not attribute majesty to the King majestic,
Who will not give praise to the King who is praised,
Who will not hallow the King who is hallowed?
For each day do powers and many wonders
Come to pass before Him, each surpassing and more strange than the other.
For from the breath of the eyelids of His chief servants,
Which moveth and goeth out from their mouths
When they make mention of that splendid name,
The name which entereth by the ears and goeth out by the mouth
And which is forgotten from the heart that is not fitted for it.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

- [166] For in that place where it be mentioned
It lighteneth and dawneth and gildeth and silvereth
And moveth topaz and onyx and sapphire,
Carbuncle and emerald and pure marble,
For wonderful and strange and great secret is it,
The name by which heaven and earth were created
And by which all the categories of creation
Were swallowed up and bound together and suspended and sealed.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

CHAPTER X:

- [167] Be proud, be proud ye lofty!
 Lift yourselves up, lift yourselves up ye splendid!
 Strengthen, strengthen yourselves, ye strong!
 Exalt, exalt yourselves, ye haughty!
 For to the King of the world and to all His servants,
 To them alone,
 [Belong] loftiness and strength, haughtiness and splendor.
 For it is fitting that the servants of His sublimity should exalt themselves,
 And it is proper that they who bear up His throne should make themselves strong.

{*Shi'ur Qomah* material begins}

For from the throne of His glory and upwards His height is one hundred and eighty thousands of myriads of parasangs, and from the throne of His glory and downwards there be one hundred and eighty thousands of myriads of parasangs. His stature is two hundred and thirty and six thousands of myriads of parasangs. From the ball of the right eye to the ball of the left eye there be thirty myriads of parasangs. The width of His right eye is three myriads of parasangs and three thousand of parasangs, and so for His left eye. And from His right arm to His left arm His width is seventy and seven myriads of parasangs, and His arms are folded upon His shoulders. His right arm – The Mover is its name, and the name of His left arm is The Follower (?) The palms of His hands are four thousands of myriads of parasangs, each one. The right palm – its name is Just, and of the left the name is Holy. Therefore He was called “God the great, the strong, and the fearful.” Said Metatron, “Thus far have I beheld the height of Jedidiah, the Master of the world. Peace.” [These revelations enable us to understand the verses in the Song of Songs 5.9 ff.] “What is thy beloved move than another beloved, O thou fairest among women?” etc. “My love is white and ruddy,” etc., all the section down to “daughters of Jerusalem.”

{*Shi'ur Qomah* material ends}

- [168] For how many of the mighty are they
 Who bear up the throne of the glory of this mighty King,
 Standing laden, day and night,
 Evening and morning and noon, in trembling and in terror,
 In fright, in shivering, in shaking and in fear!
 And how great strength is there in ye, ye servants of our God,
 That ye recall to Him and cause Him to hear
 The reminder of His name, in the height of the world!
 There is no searching out and no telling the sound and the strength.
 (As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)
- [169] The ban of Heaven be upon ye, ye who descend to the Merkabha,
 If ye remember not and declare not what ye have heard
 And if ye bear not witness of what ye have seen on the faces,
 The faces of loftiness, the faces of strength,
 The faces of sublimity, the faces of splendor,
 Which lift themselves up, and maintain themselves on high, which
 crowd upward and make themselves great,
 The faces exalt and strengthen themselves
 Three times each day, on high,
 And the children of men know them not and recognize them not.
 (As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)

CHAPTER XI:

[170] When the Angel of the Presence goeth in to arrange and to set in order the throne of His glory and to prepare a seat for the Mighty One of Jacob, a thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the ophanim of majesty, and a thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Two thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the cherubim of glory, and two thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. [171] Three thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the Holy Beasts, and three thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Six thousand diadems doth he bind to [him who is called] Shining Light, to him and to eight thousand thousands of thousands of myriad myriads of myriads of diadems, and six thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Twelve thousand diadems doth he bind upon [the angel of] lightning, upon him and upon sixteen thousand thousands and myriad myriads of myriads of diadems, twelve thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them.

[172] I make a request of ye*

Hypostates, who bear the throne of His glory
With whole heart and with longing soul:
Increase jubilation and exultation and song and the making of music
Before the glorious throne of Totrosiai Nebhobh Medhath Za'an.
(And there be those who say Tesar Nadhibh Merath Za'an the Lord God of Israel.)
And let His heart rejoice at the time of the prayer of his children,
And He will permit Himself to be sought and to be found of them
that descend to the Merkabha
At the time when they stand before the throne of His glory.

* Smith's indication of a lacuna here appears unnecessary. Kuyt has, "I ask of you, MDWT of the bearers of the throne of glory" (—*The 'Descent' to the Chariot*, page 176).

[173] Each day, when the dawn beginneth to appear,
The King majestic sitteth and blesseth the beasts”
“To ye, Beasts, do I speak,
“Ye, Creatures, do I cause to hear.
“O Beasts, who bear the throne of My glory
“With whole heart and with longing soul,
“May that hour be blest in which I created ye,
“May that planet be exalted under which I formed ye,
“May the light of that day
“In which ye occurred to the thoughts of My heart, shine.
“For ye are a precious vessel which I have prepared and have completed.
“Be silent before Me, all creatures which I have made,
“That I may listen and give ear to the voice of the prayer of My children.”

$$\{\dots\}$$

{A marginal note at this place reads: '(Something omitted / ית' = ית' ? So probably best left out / thrice below)'}

[178] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Happy are Israel! How much dearer are they in the sight of the Holy One, blessed be He, than are the ministering angels! For when the ministering angels wish to sing a song of heaven above, they first gather about the throne of glory, like mountains of fire and hills of flame, and the Holy One, blessed be He, saith unto them, "Be silent before Me each angel and each beast and each ophan and each seraph whom

I have created until I shall first have heard and have given ear unto the voice of the song of the praise of Israel My children.” For it is said [Job 38.7], “When the morning stars sang together,” these be Israel; “And all the sons of God shouted for joy,” these be the household of the angels. When is there glory in heaven, as it is written [Psalms 57.11], “Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens”? At the time when “thy glory [is over] all the earth,” etc. Thousands of myriads of ministering angels stand to the right of the throne, and over against them to the left of the throne, and between the surrounding rivers stand the princes, the great ones, they who stand in command of each troop and each host to the right of the throne and to the left of the throne, and who teach [them] to sing songs and to make music for the glory of the King of Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

[179] When it cometh the time of the angels to sing songs and to make music before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Lord, [then doth] the angel Shamiel, the great, honored and fearful prince stand above the windows of the lowest firmament to hear and to attend to the sound of the songs and the music and the praises which ascend from the earth, from the synagogues and from the schools, that he may cause them to be heard before the seventh heaven. And why doth he stand above the windows of the firmament? Because the ministering angels have not permission to sing a song [in heaven] above until Israel first open their mouths in song [on earth] below, as it is said, “Praise ye the Lord our God.” And all the ministering angels and all angels of each heaven, when they hear the voice of songs and praises which Israel saith [on earth] below, do commence [in heaven] above with “Holy, holy, holy.” [180] And why is the name of that prince called Shamiel? Because at each dawn he standeth and causeth the voice of songs and praises which ascend from earth, from synagogues and schools, to be heard before each firmament unto the seventh heaven and the holy beasts and ophanim and seraphim and cherubim of majesty. When they heareth [the voice of Israel] and causeth it to be heard in each firmament, straightway there descend troops upon troops, ranks upon ranks, companies upon companies, camps upon camps, divisions upon divisions of ministering angels from every firmament to the midst of rivers of fire and rivers of flame and rivers of burning and immerse themselves therein seven times and examine themselves in fire three hundred and sixty and five times.

[181] And have, then, the ministering angels flux and [are they liable to] impurity, that they need immersion? But these are those ministering angels who are set over the service of the world and who descend each day to make peace in the world. And when the time of song cometh they mount up to the firmament. And because of the odor of the children of men born of women, because they do have flux are [are liable to] impurity, [these angels] immerse themselves in fire and cleanse and make brilliant and separate and examine and strengthen and magnify and better themselves in fire until they make themselves holy and hallowed, clean and cleansed, and they return and are once more the angels of the seventh heaven.

[182] And thereafter do they call one to another and speak one to another and they ascend from the rivers of fire each with the permission of the other and they strengthen themselves and make themselves like unto light and unto lightning of the splendors of splendor. And thereafter they go up on a ladder of fire, each with the permission of the other, with laud, with praise, with psalm, with rejoicing, with exultation, until they come unto the soldiers of the seventh heaven, unto lightnings of brilliance, unto cherubim and ophanim, unto holy beasts, unto the wheels of the Merkabha, unto the majesties of the countenance, unto the winged beings, unto the throne which is high and lifted up. [183] Forthwith do they stand in fear and in trembling and in shaking and in holiness and in truth and in humility and cover their faces with their wings that they behold not the likeness of God who sitteth upon the Merkabha, and there stand troops upon troops of a thousand thousands of thousands and ranks upon ranks of a myriad myriads of myriads and camps upon camps uncountable and hosts upon hosts without number, like unto mountains upon mountains of fire, and like unto hills upon hills of flame, before the throne of glory. And then doth the Holy One, blessed be He, seat Himself upon the throne of glory, and His glory filleth the world, as it is said, “All the earth is full of His glory.”

[184] And moreover the holy beasts do strengthen and hallow and purify themselves more than these, and each beast has bound upon its head a thousand thousands of thousands of crowns of luminaries of diverse sort, and they are clothed in clothing of fire and wrapped in a covering of flame and cover their faces with lightning. And the Holy One, blessed be He, uncovereth His face.

[185] And wherefore do the holy beasts and the ophanim of magnificence and the cherubim of majesty hallow and purify and clothe and wrap and adorn themselves yet more? Because the Merkabha is upon their faces and the throne of glory upon their heads and the Shekhina over them and rivers of fire pass between them, accordingly do they strengthen themselves and make themselves splendid and purify themselves in fire seventy times and do all of them stand in cleanliness and holiness and sing songs and music, praise and rejoicing and applause, with one voice, with one utterance, with one mind and with one melody.

[186] And not only [do they purify themselves] but [nevertheless] there fall from them – that is, from the ministering angels – a thousand thousands and myriad myriads, fall to the river of fire and are burned. Wherefore? Because there may not be among them any who preceedeth or delayeth, who singeth more softly or loudly the song and the sanctus [which are sung] before the King of Kings of Kings. Accordingly any who preceedeth the rest or who delayeth [and singeth] after them in the song is at once burned.

[187] But among the holy beasts there is none that preceedeth or delayeth because their height is one and their breadth is one and their clothing is one and their strength is one and the crowns on their heads are one and their splendor is one. And the creatures are arranged at the four feet of the throne, one over against the other: One wheel over against another, one ophan over against another, one beast over against another, one cherub over against another and one melody over against another. And they open their mouths in song, in thanksgiving, in fear, in fright, in terror, in trembling, in shaking, in shivering, in cleanliness and in holiness and in a still, small voice, as it is said, “and after the tumult (*sic*) a still, small voice.”

[188] And they lift up the Merkabha with a sound of songs, with praise and with laud. Then do the holy hallow, the pure applaud, the messengers exalt, the wheels rejoice, the cherubim praise, the beasts bless, the seraphim give utterance, the troops magnify, the angels make music and they are divided into three groups of a thousand thousands and myriad of myriads. One group saith, “Holy, holy, holy,” and kneeleth and falleth prostrate; and the second group saith, “Holy, holy, holy,” and kneeleth and falleth prostrate; and the third group saith, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, all the earth is full of His glory,” and it kneeleth and falleth prostrate. And the beasts from under the throne of glory answer after them and say, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His dwelling place.”

[189] Each day, when [the time of] the afternoon prayer arriveth,
The King majestic sitteth and praiseth the beasts,
But before He have finished speaking
The holy beasts come forth from beneath the throne of glory,
Their mouths full of exultation, their wings full of jubilation,
Clapping their hands, their feet dancing,
And they encircle and surround their King,
One on His right and one on His left
And one before Him and one behind Him.
And they embrace and kiss Him and uncover their faces,
(They uncover, and the King of glory covereth His face)
And the seventh heaven is broken like a sieve
Because of the effulgence of the splendor of the beauty of the dignity
Of the loveliness of the mercy of the desire of the brilliance
Of the glory of the praise of the appearance of their faces.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)

CHAPTER XII:

- [190] They who cancel decrees, who annul vows,
 Who avert wrath, who quiet jealousy,
 Who cause love to be remembered – the love of Abraham – before their King,
 When they behold Him, that He is angry against His children,
 What do they do?
 They beat upon their crowns and ungird their loins
 And strike their heads and fall upon their faces
 And say:
 “Release, release, O Maker of Creation!
 “Pardon, pardon, O mighty One of Jacob!
 “Atone, atone, O Holy One of Israel!
 “For loftiest of Kings art thou.
- [191] “King fearful, King terrific,
 “King beloved, King honored,
 “Why shouldst Thou be hostile against the seed of Abraham?
 “Why shouldst Thou be jealous against the seed of Isaac?
 “Why shouldst Thou be contentious against the seed of Jacob?
- [192] “For Thou hast called them the purchase of heaven and earth.”
- And horns come out from beneath the throne of His glory
 In many multitudes, and blow long and loud, and bless [saying]:
 “Blessed be ye who are advocates for My children,
 “Praised be ye who laud the Patriarchs”

And all the host on high rendered them glory and greatness, 'drw 'th t'n 'wry tzt the Lord God of Israel, which they were called.

[196] Behold it saith [I Chr. 29.2 ff.]: “Thine, Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth [is Thine]; Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and Thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honor come of Thee, and Thou rulest over all, and in Thine hand is power and might, and in Thine hand it is to make great and to give strength unto all. Now, therefore, our God, we thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious name.” And it saith, “How many are Thy works, O Lord, all of them hast Thou made with wisdom. The earth is full of Thy creatures.” Therefore be clothed with majesty, be exalted and be lifted up, O splendid King, be blessed and be praised and be hallowed, Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel. (For He is called Totrosi'ai, Totrosyah, Totrosy'a, Totrosih, Totrosiel, Totrosig, Totrosikh, Totrosiph, Totrosiz, Totrosish, Totrosibh, Totrosin, Totrosis, Totrosi', Totrosik, Totrosith, Zurtag, Zoharariel, 'Ashrawwili'ai. And the right procedure in dealing with this paragraph with these great [magical] names is to read Totrosi'ai to Totrosith according to this order, Yod, He, Aleph, Heth, Lamed, Gimel, Kaph, Pe, Zade, etc. [These being the final letters of the names.]

CHAPTER XIII:

[198] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah saw that the wicked city Rome had taken counsel against the mighty ones of Israel to destroy them, he straightway revealed the secret of the world, that which is seen of him who is worthy to gaze upon the King and His throne, in His glory and His beauty, and [upon] the holy beasts, upon the cherubim of the Power [of God], and upon the ophanim of the Shekinah, upon lightning terrific, upon chain-lightning terrible, when the lava-stream which encompasseth His throne, upon its bridges and upon conflagrations which increase in strength and rise up between one bridge and another, and

upon dust of smoke and upon wind of splendour which raised all the dust of coals which was covering and hiding with the darkness of coals all the chambers of the palace of the seventh heaven. And Surya, Prince of the Presence, the servant of Totrakhiel the Lord, is great.

[199] To what can this scheme for those who descend to the Merkabha be likened? It is like unto a man who hath a ladder in his house, [and] who was going up and down on it and there is no creature that preventeth him. Whoever is clean and guiltless of idolatry and of sexual sins and of murder and of slander and vain oaths and of blasphemy and presumption and of groundless enmity and who keepeth every positive and negative commandment.

[200] Said Rabbi Ishmael: My master Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah said to me: Scion of nobles, fortunate is he (who is thus clean) and fortunate is his soul, for everyone who is clean and guiltless of these eight matters (which Totrakiel the Lord and His servant Surya the Prince of the Presence loathe) may go down and gaze

On the wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory
Three times each day, on high
From the day when the world was created and until now, for praise,
With which Totrakiel the Lord doth conduct himself on high.

CHAPTER XIV

[201] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When my ears heard this warning my strength grew feeble. I said to Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master, "If so there is no end to the matter. For you will find no man whose soul is yet in his body who is clean and guiltless of these eight matters." He said to me, "Scion of nobles, and if not – ? Arise and bring before me all the great ones of the company and all the mighty ones of the academy, and I shall declare before them the hidden, the concealed secrets, wonders of the ascent, and the weaving of the web upon which the perfection of the world and the excellence thereof doth stand, and the beauty of heaven and earth (wherein all the ends of the earth and the world and the ends of the firmaments of the height are bound, sewed and joined, hung and standing) and the path of the ladder to the height, of which one end is on earth and one end on the right foot of the throne of glory."

[202] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Straightway I arose and assembled all the Sanhedrin, great and small, to the third entrance which was in the house of the Lord. And he was sitting upon a chair of pure marble which Elisha my father gave me, for it was of the goods of her that bore me which she did bring to him in her dowry. [203] And there came Rabban Simon ben Gamliel and Rabbi Eliezer the Great and Rabbi Elazar ben Dama and Elazar ben Shammua and Jonathan ben Dahabhai and Haninah ben Hakkanai and Jonathan ben Uziel and Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Judah ben Babba. We came and sat down before him. And all the multitude of companies were standing upon their feet, for they saw spiderwebs of fire and torches of light which made a separation between them and between us. And Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah sitteth and setteth in order before them all the teachings concerning the Merkabha, [the] descent and [the] ascent, how he descendeth who descendeth, and how he ascendeth who ascendeth.

[204] And whenever a man wished to descend to the Merkabha he would call to Surya the Prince of the Presence and conjure him one hundred and twelve times by Totrosi'ai the Lord (who is called Totrosi'ai Zurtak Totrakhiel Tophgar 'Ashrawwili'ai Zebhodi'el Zoharari'el Tandiel, and Shekhadhozi'ai Dehibhiron, and 'Andiriron the Lord God of Israel. And let him beware that he do not exceed an hundred and twelve times and do not diminish from them. And if he exceed or diminish his blood is upon his own head. Bit his mouth must utter [the words of conjuration] and the fingers of his hands must count one hundred and twelve and forthwith he may go down and rule in the [world of the] Merkabha.)

CHAPTER XV

[206] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah say to me: Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel of Hosts sitteth within seven palaces, one within another. And at the entrance to each palace are eight door-keepers, four to the right of the lintel and four to the left of the lintel. [207] These be the names of the door-keepers of the first palace: Lahabhiel, and Kashrael, Gahoriel, Zekhuthiel, Tophhiel, and Lahariel, Mathkiel, and Shuwael. And there be those who say, And Shubhael. [208] These be the names of the door-keepers of the second palace: Tagriel, and Mathpiel, Sarhiel, and 'Azpiel, Shaharariel, and Starel, Rig'iel, and Sahabiel. [209] And these be the names of the door-keepers of the third palace: Shebhuriel, and Rezuziel, and Shalmiel, Sabhlael, and Zahazhael, Hadarel, and Puriel, and Paltriel. [210] These be the names of the door-keepers of the fourth palace: Pahdiel, Gebhurthiel, Pozaziel, and Shekhinael, Shathkael, and 'Arbhiel, and Kapiel, and 'Anaphiel. [211] These be the names of the door-keepers of the fifth palace: Tehilael, and 'Azziel, Gatoel, Gathoel, and Sa'aphriel, Naraphiel, and Gariel, Hadiel. [212] And these be the names of the door-keepers of the sixth palace: Domiel, and Kazpiel, Gahaghiel, and 'Arasbarasbiel, 'Anromiel, and Parziel, and Magogael, and Tophrael.

[213] And at the door of the seventh palace stand angry all the heroes, warlike, strong, harsh, fearful, terrific, taller than mountains and sharper than peaks. Their bows are strung and stand before them; their swords are sharpened and in their hands. And lightnings flow and issue forth from the balls of their eyes, and spider-webs of fire from their nostrils and torches of fiery coals from their mouths. And they are equipped with helmets and with coats of mail, and javelins and spears are hung upon their thews.

CHAPTER XVI

[214] Their horses be heroes of darkness, horses of the shadow of death, horses of thick darkness, horses of fire, horses of blood, horses of hail, horses of iron, horses of fog. The horses upon which they ride stand beside mangers of fire full of coals of juniper and eat fiery coals from their mangers, [taking] a measure of forty bushel of coals in one mouthful. And the measure of the [content of the] mouth of such horse is [the content of] three mangers such as the mangers of Caesaraea, and the measure of each manger is the measure of the gate of Caesaraea. [215] And there be rivers of fire beside their mangers, and each of their horses drinks as the measure of the fullness of the watercourse which is in the valley of Kidron, which bringeth and containeth all the rainwater of all Jerusalem. And in that place was a cloud above their heads, showering blood above their heads and [above the heads] of their horses. And this is the sign and the measure of the horses of the entrance of the seventh palace and a horse of the entrance of each palace.

[216] And all those who descend to the Merkabha ascend and are not harmed, but they behold all this trouble and descend safely and come to stand and bear witness and tell the fearful and terrific vision. (Whereas, in the palaces of kings who are flesh and blood, matters are otherwise. [Neither are such visions seen, nor do visitors get safely out.]) And they bless and praise and applaud and glorify and exalt and magnify and attribute honor and beauty and greatness to Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel who rejoiced in those who descend to the Merkabha and who sat and looked for each one of Israel, to know when he would descend and behold

The wonderful loftiness and strange lordship,
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory
Three times each day, on high,
From the time when the world was created
And until now, for praise.

[217] King just, King faithful, King beloved, King lovely, King supporting King lowly, King humble, King righteous, King pious, King holy, King pure, King blessed, King lofty, King mighty, King gracious, King merciful, King of Kings of Kings and Lord of the Crowns.

[218] Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel desireth and awaiteth –
In such measure as He awaiteth for the redemption and for the
season of salvation
Which is laid up for Israel for a day of vengeance
After the destruction of the last temple –
When shall he that descendeth to the Merkabha descend?
When shall he see the loftiness of the height?
When shall he see the end which bringeth salvation?
When shall he hear the end which is wrought by wonders?
When shall he see that which eye hath not seen?
When shall he ascend and tell to the seed of Abraham who loved Him?

CHAPTER XVII

[219] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When thou comest and standest at the entrance of the first palace take two seals in thy hands, one that of Totrosi'ai the Lord and one that of Surya the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Totrosi'ai the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of Surya the Prince of the Presence to those standing on the left. Straightway Dahabhiel the Prince who is head of the entrance of the first palace and is appointed over the first palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Tophahiel the Prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him, – straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left until they bring thee and hand thee over to Taghriel and Mathpiel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Taghriel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the second palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Mathpiel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. [220] And show them two seals, one of 'Adhriwaron the Lord and one of 'Uzhiy'a the Prince of the Presence. Show that of 'Adhriwaron the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of 'Uzhiy'a the Prince of the Presence to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, until they bring thee and hand thee over to Shebhoriel and Reziziel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Shebhoriel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the third palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Reziziel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. Show them two seals, one of Zurtak the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of Dehabhyoron the Prince of the Presence to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, and these bring thee – two princes before and two princes behinds the – and hand thee over to Pahdiel and Gebhortiel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Pahdiel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the fourth palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Gebhortiel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. And show them two seals, one of Zebhoriel the Lord and one of Margiwiel the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Zebhoriel the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of Margiwiel the Prince of the Presence to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, until they bring thee and hand thee over to Tehilael and 'Azriel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Tehilael is the prince who is head of the entrance of the fifth palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and 'Azriel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. And show them two seals, one of Totrakhriel the Lord and one of Zehaphtariai the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Totrakhriel to those standing to the right, and show that of Zehaphtariai to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee and bring thee – three princes before thee and three princes behind thee and two princes at thy sides, [224] because the door-keepers of the sixth palace would destroy all those who “do and do not” descend to the Merkabha because they act without permission. And [the superior powers] did give the

door-keepers orders and beat them and burn them and set others in their place. And also the others who replace them behave in the same fashion, for they do not fear, nor do they consider, saying: “Why should we be burned and what pleasure is it to us that we should destroy [all] those that do and do not descend to the Merkabha because they act without permission?” And this is still the behaviour of the door-keepers of the sixth palace.

CHAPTER XVIII:

[225] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All the companions said to me: “Scion of nobles, thou who rulest by the light of the Law as doth Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah, see him and bring him back that he sit with us, leaving the vision which he glimpseth in the vision of the Merkabha, and that he tell us who is he who doth and doth not descend to the Merkabha – he whom the door-keepers of the sixth palace would attack, for they would not touch at all those who [really] descend to the Merkabha. What is the difference between those [who would not be attacked] and those [who would]?”

[226] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thereupon I took a piece of woolen cloth and gave it to Rabbi Akiba, and Rabbi Akiba gave it to a servant of ours, saying, “Go and lay this cloth beside a woman who immersed herself and yet did not become pure, and let her immerse [herself a second time]. For if that woman will come and will declare the measure of her menstrual flow before the company, it is known that one forbids [her to her husband] and the majority permit. Say to that woman, ‘Touch this cloth with the end of the middle finger of thy hand, and press not the end of thy finger upon it, but [only] as a man [presseth] who taketh a hair, which hath fallen therein, from out his eye-ball, pushing it very gently.’” [227] They went and did so, and placed the cloth before Rabbi Ishmael. He [picked it up by] thrusting into it a bough of myrrh full of oil of spikenard which was laid up in clean balsam and they placed it upon the knees of Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah and therewith caused him to be dismissed from before the throne of glory where he had been sitting and beholding

Wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory
Three times each day, on high,
From the time when the world was created
And until now, for praise.

[228] And we besought of him [to know] who is he who “doth and doth not” descend to the Merkabha. He said unto us, “These be the men whom those who [really] descend to the Merkabha do take and cause to stand above them or to sit before them and do say unto them, ‘Behold and see and give ear and write down all that which we say and all that which you hear from before the throne of glory.’ And if those men be not fit for this task, then would the door-keepers of the sixth palace attack them. And take care that ye choose for yourselves fit men and these from the tested companions.”

[229] When thou comest and standest at the entrance of the sixth palace, display three seals of the door-keepers of the sixth palace. Display two seals to Kazpiel the Prince, whose sword is drawn in his hand, and there issue forth from it lightnings, and he shaketh it against everyone who is not fit to behold the King and his throne, and there is no creature who may stay his hand. And his sword crieth and saith: “Pain!” And he standeth by the lintel of the [entrance on the] right. And one seal show Dumiel. [230] And is Dumiel indeed his name And is not ’byrghydrhym (*i.e.* Air Earth Water Fire) his name? And why was his name called Dumiel? Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah: “Each day doth a voice go forth from the seventh heaven and proclaimeth and saith in the heavenly court of justice (saying as follows): ’t ‘ws wbrmnzh / wpwr g ‘st _____ the Lord God of Israel called him Dumiel according to His Own Name, [saying]: ‘Just as I see and hold my peace so doth Dumiel [viz: The silence of God].’” His authority [extendeth over] the right lintel, but Kazpiel the Prince driveth him away, yet he cherisheth against him neither enmity nor hatred nor jealousy nor contention, but each [doteth] for His honor.

CHAPTER XIX:

[232] Zoharriel and Pa'ali Pa'ali: Show something of these two seals to Kazpiel, and show Beronyah to Dumiel the Prince, a just and humble prince. And at once would Kazpiel the Prince string his bow and draw his sword and bring thee a whirlwind and seat thee in a chariot of brilliance and trumpet before thee as eight thousands of myriads of horns and three thousands of myriads of rams' horns and four thousands of myriads of bugles. And Dumiel the Prince seizeth a gift and walketh before thee. And what gift? Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master: "This gift which Dumiel the Prince would seize [and carry] before the chariot of that man who doth deserve by reason of his righteousness to descend to the Merkabha is not a gift of silver and not a gift of gold, but it is that they grant him the privilege that he should not be questioned, not in the first palace and not in the second palace and not in the third palace and not in the fourth palace and not the in the fifth palace and not in the sixth palace and not in the seventh palace, but he showeth them his seal and they leave him [in peace] and he entereth."

[233] And in the entrance of the sixth palace Dumiel the Prince guardeth the sill of the right [side] of the entrance of the sixth palace, sitting on a chair [wrought] of a pure gem which [hath] in it the splendour of the luminaries of the firmament such as [they were at] the creation of the world. (Fortunate Day. Best of luck. Show the sign. Peace. The Lord God of Israel) And Dumiel the Prince receiveth him kindly and seateth him upon a chair wrought of a pure gem, and himself sitteth beside him at his right.

CHAPTER XX:

[234] And Dumiel would say to him: "I bear witness and warn thee concerning two things: That none of those who descend to the Merkabha succeed to descend except only he who hath these two qualifications: He who hath read the Bible and studieth mishna, midrash, halakhoth and agadoth, and the explanation of halakhoth as to what is forbidden and permitted; and he who hath fulfilled all that which is written in the law and keepeth all warnings of statutes and of judgments and of laws which were declared to Moses on Sinai." [235] If he said to Dumiel the Prince, "I have one of these two qualifications," Dumiel the Prince would at once get in connection with Gabhriel the Secretary and write his the paper with red paint and would hang the paper upon the chariot of that same man, saying: "Thus and so is the knowledge of such a one in the Torah, thus and so are his actions, and he desireth to enter in before the throne of His glory." [237] And when the door-keepers of the seventh palace would see that Dumiel and Kazpiel and Gabhriel, were before the chariot of that man who deservingly descendeth to the Merkabha, they [would] cover their faces, which had been angry, and they [would] at once unstring the strung bows, and return the drawn swords to their sheaths. And nevertheless it is necessary to show them a great seal and a fearful crown: God of heaven, Master of earth the Lord God of Israel. And they would enter in before the throne of His glory and bring out before that man all sorts of [instruments for] music and song, and they would come making music before him until they bring him up and seat him beside the cherubim, beside the ophanim, beside the holy beasts. And he beholdeth wonders and powers, loftiness and greatness, holiness and purity, fear, humility and justice. Then said Rabbi Ishmael: "All the companions made a parable of this scheme [for those who descend to the Merkhaba: It is like] unto a man who hath a ladder in his house, [and] who was going up and down on it, and there is no creature that preventeth him." Blessed be thou, O Lord, who art wise in secrets and master of hidden things. Amen. Amen.

CHAPTER XXI:

[238] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Rabban Simon ben Gamliel was angry with me. He said to me, "Almost had Zahaphtariai rebuked us and shucked {us} as husks of corn. Why didst thou, by criminal carelessness, sin against us? Dost thou, perhaps, think that Jonathan ben Uzziel is a man of small account in Israel? If he simply

descended and came and stood at the entrance of the seventh palace without any seal, what would happen to him? He could not blink an eye before the door-keepers of the seventh palace had utterly exterminated him. [And yet you have said nothing about the necessary seals nor the names of the angels to whom they must be shown.] [239] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I went and was angry with Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master, saying, "The patriarch is angry with me, why do I live?" He said to me, "Scion of nobles, if [you ask for an answer] on this point [then tell me,] what is my distinction among you? I put in your mouths the prophets, the writings, mishna and midrash, halakhoth and agadoth, and the explanation of halakhoth as to what is forbidden and permitted. Were it not for the mysteries of the law [in which] I have initiated some of you, would ye have come and appeared before me at all? I know why thou hast come. Thou hast only come because of the door-keepers of the seventh palace. [240] Go and say to the Patriarch: 'As for all the door-keepers of the [first] six palaces, it is permitted to mention the names of each one of them and to touch them; but as for the door-keepers of the seventh palace, by the sound of their names is a man terrified and is not able to touch them, inasmuch as the name of them is called according to the name of the King of the world. Consequently I have not stated them. But now – since you say to me, "State them." – come ye and stand upon your feet and, each one of you, when His name goeth forth from my mouth, kneel and fall upon your face.'" Forthwith came all the great ones of the company and all the mighty ones of the academy and stood upon their feet before Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah and he speaketh and they fall upon their faces and the scribes write.

CHAPTER XXII:

[242] These be the names of the door-keepers of the seventh palace: Zahaphtari'ai the Lord, a prince honored and beloved; 'Abhirahi'ai the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful; 'Atrighael the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying; Barnael the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear; Noraphneel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid; Na'aroriel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong; Sastitiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty; 'Anaphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty and powerful and just and gallant, a prince whose name is mentioned on high before the throne of His glory three times each day from the day when the world was created and until now, for praise. Why? Because the ring of the seal of heaven and earth is given over to his hand. [243] And whenever they see him all those on high kneel and fall down and prostrate themselves before him, a thing which is not done in the height [before any other prince]. If you say, 'They do not fall down before the Prince of the Presence' [This is true] for those who stand before the throne of His glory, who do not prostrate themselves before the Prince of the Presence, but before 'Anaphiel the Prince [even] so with the permission and according to the will of 'ntrws rbyhg. Some say pwmyl smh brz', the Lord God of Israel.

[244] These be the names of the door-keepers of the seventh palace of the descent, for those whose names I have just stated were of the ascent. Noraphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called 'Abhirzahi'ai the Lord; Dalkokiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called Lebhakhiel the Lord; Yekariel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called 'Atrighiel the Lord; Yeshishiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called Ben'an'ael the Lord; Teraphiel the Lord, who was called Shakdihiel the Lord; Na'aroriel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved, who was called Zohaliel the Lord; 'Anaphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty and powerful and just and gallant, who was called Tophriel the Lord. [245] And why was his name called 'Anaphiel? Because of the ramification 'anaph of the crowns [which were] placed upon his head, for he overcast and covered all of the chambers of the seventh heaven as did the Maker of Creation. Just as, concerning the Maker of Creation it is written [Hab. 3.3]: "His glory covered the heavens," so also [does the glory (of)] 'Anaphiel the Prince as a servant who is called by his master's name. And why is he more lovely and beloved than all the [other] door-keepers of the palaces? Because he openeth the doors of the entrance of the seventh palace and closeth them before the throne of glory which is set high and standeth

opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. And the holy beasts are opposite the entrance of the seventh palace, and the cherubim and the ophanim are opposite the entrance of the seventh palace, and there be 256 faces in each of the holy beasts opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. [246] Still greater it is that there be 512 eyes in [each of] the four beasts opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. Their faces are of the likeness of the face of a man, faces of 16 faces each are there in each beast opposite the entrance of the seventh palace.

CHAPTER XXIII:

[247] And whenever a man desired to descend to the Merkabha, 'Anaphiel would open for him the doors of the entrance of the seventh palace and that man would go in and stand on the door-sill of the entrance of the seventh palace and the holy beasts would lift up upon him 512 eyes and each one of the eyes of the holy beasts is pierced as a sieve of withes, and the appearance of their eyes [is described in Nahum 2.4]: "they run like lightnings." And these are in addition to the eyes of the cherubim of the Power [of God] and the ophanim of the Shekinah, which are like torches of fire and conflagrations of coals of juniper. [248] And that man would sway and tremble and start backward and be frightened and be terrified, faint and fall backward. And 'Anaphiel the Prince would support him, he and sixty and three door-keepers of the entrances of the seven palaces. And all of them would help him and say to him:

"Fear not, son of a seed beloved,

"Enter and see the King in His beauty,

"And thou shalt not be destroyed and thou shalt not be burned.

[249] "A just King is He, a faithful King is He, a submissive King is He, a humble King is He, a righteous King is He, a pious King is He, a holy King is He, a pure King is He, a blessed King is He, a lofty King is He, a mighty King is He, a gracious King is He, a merciful King is He, a lowly King [is He] – blessed be He." [250] And they attribute to Him power. Forthwith a horn soundeth from above the firmament and cherubim and ophanim turn away their faces and he goeth in and standeth before the throne of His glory.

CHAPTER XXIV:

[251] When he standeth before the throne of glory he beginneth and reciteth a song which the throne of glory singeth each day: "Laud, song, and music, blessing, praise and celebration and applause and thanks and thanksgivings, victory and melody, speech and jubilation, rejoicing and joy and gladness, exultations, accord, humility, brilliance, propriety, truth, righteousness and justice, treasure, ornament and might, delight and ecstasy and elevation, calm and rest and consolation, contentment and quiet and peace, tranquility, security and prosperity, love, loveliness, grace and mercy and pulchritude, renown, acclaim and pity, splendor, glory, innocence, effulgence, appearance, adornment, brilliance, fire, ramification, sublimity, wonders and salvation, perfume, salt, light, loftiness, help, violence, potency, height, preciousness, mightiness, lordship, fortitude, elevation, exaltation and brightness, kingliness, power and force, holiness, purity and cleanliness, pride, greatness and kingship, magnificence and majesty, honour, and beauty to Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel."

[252] Spendid King, He robed with splendour,
Made majestic with embroideries of song,
Crowned with magnificence and majesty,
A crown of loftiness and a diadem of fearfulness.
For His name is agreeable to Him, and His title is sweet to Him,
And His throne is splendid to Him and His palace is magnificent
And His glory is delightful to Him, and His majesty is becoming to Him,
And His strength is pleasant to Him and His servants sing pleasantly to Him,
And Israel tell to Him the kingliness of His wonders.

- [253] King of Kings, God of Gods, and Lord of Lords
He surrounded with chains of crowns, encompassed
 with the ramifications of the rulers of brilliance,
He who covereth the heavens with the ramification of His magnificence,
 and who, in His majesty, appeared from the heights,
From His beauty the deeps were enkindled,
 and from His stature did the clouds shower rain.
His stature sendeth out the lofty,
 and His crown blazeth out the mighty,
 and His garment floweth with the precious.
And all trees shall rejoice in His word,
 and herbs shall exult in His rejoicing,
And His words shall liquefy as perfumes,
 flowing and sent forth in flames of fire,
Giving joy to those who search these,
 and quiet to those who fulfill them.
- [254] King beloved and lovely and clean,
Exalted beyond all the haughty,
Haughty, clothed in majesty beyond the majestic,
Majestic, lifted up beyond the mighty,
Mighty, upraised beyond the powerful.
Splendor of kings, praise of nobles,
Treasure of the holy, humility of the lowly,
Pleasant in the mouth of all those that call upon Him, Sweet to
 them that hope in His name,
Righteous in all His ways, upright in all His doings
Just in counsel and in knowledge, clear in understanding and
 in practice,
Judge of every soul, witness of every transaction, judge of every word,
Mighty in wisdom and in every secret, lofty in purity and in holiness.
- [255] King true and only, King who liveth forever,
King who killeth and maketh alive, King who sayeth and doeth,
King who formeth every disease, and createth every cure,
King who maketh every blessing, and establish every good,
King who feedeth all his works, and supporteth all his creatures,
King who is high to each of the lowly, and who is strong to each
 of good courage.

CHAPTER XXV:

King high and lifted up, sublime and wonderful,
Beloved and old, upright and faithful,
Precious and honored, strong and stout-hearted,
Righteous and true, holy and pure,
Pious, great and mighty,
Strong, powerful, precious, fearful and terrific,
High-placed upon perfections of loftiness,

Established upon the adornments of splendour
In the chambers of the palace of loftiness.
Who seest profundities, beholdest mysteries, observest dark matters,
And who, in every place is
And there is no changing His purpose, nor retorting to His word,
nor delaying His will
And there is no place to flee from Him, and no secret place to
hide from before Him.

[256] Reign forever, King merciful and gracious,
Pardoner and forgiver, who rolleth away and taketh away [sin],
Let Thy majesty be declared in every song, Thy splendor in every chant.
Be high above the palaces of loftiness, be lifted up above the
adornments of splendor,
Be exalted above all Thy doings, be praised above all created things,
Be honored above the throne of Thy glory, be precious above the
vessel of Thy loveliness,
Be blessed with all blessings, be praised with all praises,
Be lauded with all laud, be applauded with all songs,
Be magnified forever, be holy world without end, Totrosi'ai the Lord.

[257] King of all worlds, Lord of all actions,
Wise in all secrets, ruler in all generations,
One God who art from eternity,
Unique King who art forever and ever. Selah.

[258] And I beheld something like unto the appearance of lightning which was fixed and stationary and was divided, among those who descend to the Merkabha, between those who were fit to descend to the Merkabha and those who were not fit to descend to the Merkabha. If a man were fit to descend to the Merkabha, when they say to him "Enter" and he doth not enter, they repeat themselves and say to him "Enter," and he at once entereth. They would then praise him, saying, "Surely this is on of those who descend to the Merkabha." But if a man be not fit to descend to the Merkabha, when they say to him "Enter" and he entereth, they at once place upon him a thousand pieces of iron, [259] because the door-keepers of the sixth palace place upon him a thousand thousands of waves of water, and there is not in that place even a single drop. And if he said, "What is the nature of this water?" they at once run after him, stoning him, and saying to him, "Wretch, are thou not of the seed of them that kissed the [golden] calf, and art unfit to see the King and His throne in his bea{u}ty." And if he be such, a voice goeth forth from the seventh heaven saying, "well have ye said [that] he is from the seed of them that kissed the [golden] calf and is not fit to see the King and His throne." He does not move from the spot before they place on him a thousand thousands of pieces of iron.

[260] Who is like unto Thee Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, who doest mightily,
To Thee Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, shall the throne of Thy glory
sing praise,
To Thee shall be attributed loftiness and greatness, strength and beauty,
Thou shalt be called strong, Thou, mighty; for Thee shall they make new [song]
for Thee exult.
With Thee shall converse be held, Thou shalt be blessed, Thou praised,
Thou exalted.
To Thee shall splendor be attributed, Thou shalt be lifted up, Thou
magnified, Thou called majestic.

Thou shalt be praised, Thou applauded, Thou sanctified,
For Thee, Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, shall Thy servants weave diadems
And shall sing unto Thee a new song
And shall declare The King forever and ever.
All things are Thy kingdom, and over all things is Thy kingdom,
And Thou shalt be called One, world without end,
Totrosi'ai, Lord God of Israel.
Blessed be Thou O Lord, King of all secrets and Lord of all hidden things.

{...}

CHAPTER XXVI:

- [269] Thou workest wonders, dost bring to pass new things,
Renewest Thy creatures each day,
Servants [created] from fire to lift up praise of Thy mystery,
O Sacred One. Who shinest in the midst of myriads of fire,
Who loathest hatred and jealousy,
Who despiseth enmity and contention,
Who settest anger afar, who turnest away wrath,
Who multiplieth all grace and goodness,'
The cherubim of Thy glory are fire.
[O Thou] who art exalted upon cherubim of fire, Prince over princes,
Seraphim, seraphim of flame do stand about Thy throne,
Hither and other sound forth: "Make way for Him who rideth the heavens."
- [270] Blessing, praise and laud, song, thanks and thanksgivings,
Splendor and whispering, applause, humility and mercy
To the lofty, to the powerful, to the brave,
To the elect, to the chosen, to the choosing,
To the mighty, to the haughty, to the high.
In their mouths music, on their tongues exultation,
They slumber not, neither night nor day,
But music and laud are as blazing light.
- [271] Thou art the great Lord
The mighty and fearful, the righteous and pious,
The holy and the faithful, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth.
It is Thou who art Lord, O God of Gods and Lord of Lords,
It is Thou who art Great, Thee do all the great magnify,
It is Thou who art Mighty, Thee do all the mighty declare strong,
It is Thou who art Fearful, Thee do all the singers celebrate,
It is Thou who art Righteous, Thee do all the righteous justify,
It is Thou who art Pious, Thee do all the pious expect,
It is Thou who art Holy, Thee do all the holy hallow,
It is Thou who art Faithful, Thee do all the faithful believe.

- [272] It is Thou who hast revealed thy secret to Moses
And who hast not concealed from him any of Thy mighty works.
When the words goeth not forth from Thy mouth
All the lofty mountains trembled
And stood before Thee in great consternation;
When the word goeth forth from Thy mouth
They were all of them burned with flames of fire.
It is Thou who examinest the inward parts and choosest the faithful
Thou dwellest in the flame of rivers of fire and conflagrations.
It is Thou who art mighty, more lofty than all the lofty and lifted up above all,
Who dost cast down the haughty and exaltest the humble.
- [273] The most lofty of creation is man,
 The likeness of a man hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They have the face of a man, and the hands of a man are under
 their wings,
 They run as a man, they toil as a man,
 They kneel down and prostrate themselves in song as a man doth,
 And the fear of Thee, O King, is upon them.
The most lofty of cattle is the ox.
 The likeness of an ox hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They run as an ox, they toil as an ox,
 They stand in the places as an ox,
 And the fear of Thee, O Holy One, is upon them.
The most lofty of wild beasts is the lion.
 The likeness of a lion hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They roar as a lion, they are feared as a lion,
 The thew of their strength is as that of a lion,
 And the fear of Thee, O terrible One, is upon them.
The most lofty of birds is the eagle.
 The likeness of an eagle hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They move as an eagle, they are swift as an eagle,
 They fly as an eagle, they soar as an eagle,
 And the fear of Thee, O Pure One, is upon them.
And all of them do triply declare Thy sanctitude with the triple sanctus.
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")
- [274] Be honoured, be made majestic, be raised, be lifted up,
Be made splendid, be blessed, be praised, be magnified,
Be hallowed, be exalted, be lauded, be applauded,
For such is the duty of all creatures:
To honour Thee, to own Thy majesty, to raise Thee, to lift Thee up,
To show forth Thy splendour, to bless Thee, to praise Thee, to magnify Thee,
To hallow Thee, to exalt Thee, to laud Thee, to applaud Thee,
The great and holy King, who rulest
Over the highest and over the lowest,
Over the first and over the last,
Which, from the midst of trembling and quaking,
Do triply declare Thy sanctitude with triple sanctus.
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

[275]	Assembly and applause are His who liveth forever, Beauty and bliss are His who liveth forever, Compassion and caresses{?} are His who liveth forever, Doctrine and deed are His who liveth forever, Eternity and end are His who liveth forever, Fervour and faith are His who liveth forever, Glory and grace are His who liveth forever, Humility and holiness are His who liveth forever, Innocence and insight are His who liveth forever, Justice and jubilation are His who liveth forever, Kingdom and knowledge are His who liveth forever, Loveliness and laud are His who liveth forever, Majesty and mercy are His who liveth forever, Nobility and name are His who liveth forever, Obedience and observance are His who liveth forever, Purity and power are His who liveth forever, Righteousness and reason are His who liveth forever, Strength and salvation are His who liveth forever, Trust and truth are His who liveth forever, Understanding and utterance are His who liveth forever, Victory and vengeance are His who liveth forever, Wonder and wisdom are His who liveth forever, Excellence and exultation are His who liveth forever, Years and youth are His who liveth forever, Zest and zeal are His who liveth forever.*	[honour faith understanding blessing greatness might knowledge utterance magnificence majesty assembly trustworthiness brilliance effulgence grace mercy purity goodness preciousness salvation crown glory doctrine encouragement kingdom power beauty victory secret intelligence strength humility jubilation righteousness applause holiness splendour wonder song praise laud loveliness]
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* This list of words is similar to those used in Scholem's translation (shown on the right) of the same hymn in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pages 58-9, which represent a truer translation of the terms in the text. In the left column, Smith imitates the text's alphabetical device, even shifting from 22 to 26 letters, instead of directly translating.

[276] Who is able to state one from a thousand thousands of thousands
And a myriad myriads of myriads of Thy mighty deeds, O King of Kings of Kings,
Before whom the beasts are stationed and stand [speaking] with a still
 small voice –
They are fire, their palate is fire, their movement is fire, their speech
 is fire,
Yet are they afraid because of fire,
Lest they be burned in flames of fire,
It is Thou whom they encompass, it is Thou whom they surround,
With Thee are they hidden, in Thy bosom do they give utterance,
In secret and intelligence, girded with strength, clothed with magnificence.
The eye may not travel to where Thou dwellest,
King great and holy, ruler
Over the highest and over the lowest,
Over the first and over the last.
There is none among the highest, nor among the lowest,
Nor among the first, nor among the last,
Who can know Thy works
And search out all Thy wonders.

[277] Just as none is able to imagine ab, bc, cd, de, ef, fg, gh, hi, ij. Metatron whose name is called according to eight names, his name is Margawiel, his name is Gayothiel, his name is Ziwathiel, his name is 'Izihiel, his name is Yahawiel, his name is Mayoel, his name is Segansagiel, his name is Segansayriyah. And from the love with which they love him on high, they call him in the camps of the holy ones, Metatron, Servant of the Lord, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy. Blessed be thou O Lord, wise in secrets and Lord of hidden things, Amen, Amen, Selah.

CHAPTER XXVII:

{*Sar Torah* material: CHAPTERS XXVII TO XXX}

[278] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Three years did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah behold me in affliction and in great sorrow and in great danger: That portion of the Bible which I would read one day, would I forget the next, and that mishna which I would study one day, the next day would I forget. What did I do? When I saw that the Law did not remain in me, I laid hold upon myself and denied myself food and drink and washing and anointment, and deprived myself of conjugal intercourse, and I neither exulted nor rejoiced, nor did any music nor song go forth from my mouth. [279] Thereupon did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah, my master, take me from my father's house and bring me into the chamber of the Temple in which the Sanhedrin met and cause me to swear by a great seal and by a great oath which appertaineth to Zebhoriel the Lord God of Israel who is Metatron the Lord God of Israel, God of the heavens and God of the earth, God of Gods, God of the sea and God of the land. And he revealed the secret of the Law, which was in his possession. And at once my heart was {as} enlightened as the gates of the East and mine eyes beheld the depths and the ways of the Law and thenceforth I forgot nothing. All things which mine ears heard from the mouth of my master and from the mouth of scripture and from the ways of the Law which I had truly practiced, thenceforth I forgot none of them.

[280] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Had I done nothing in the Law, yet would this method which I have fixed in Israel be more than sufficient for me, as against all the Law, [since I have revealed it] in order that men may increase their knowledge of the Law without weariness.

[281] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Rabbi Akiba did indeed say in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: From the day when the Law was given to Israel until the last temple was built, the Law was given, its majesty was not given, and its preciousness, its glory and its greatness and its beauty, its terror, its reverence and its fear, its richness and its loftiness and its exaltation, its trembling and its splendour, its strength, its rule and its might were not given, until the last temple was built and the Shekinah did not dwell in it. [282] Thereupon Israel began to pour forth complaint before their Father who is in heaven, saying: "Thou hast laid many troublesome tasks upon us. Which shall we hold to and which shall we abandon? Thou hast thrown upon us great labour and great burden; Thou hast said to us, 'Build Me a house, and although ye build, yet study the Law.'" This is the plea of His children. [283] And this is the answer of their Father who is in heaven. Ye had a long rest between captivities, and I longed [saying], 'When shall I hear the sound of the words of My Law from your mouths?' Ye have not done well, and I have not done well. Ye have not done well in that ye have differed from Me, and I was angry against you and arose and brought utter destruction on My city and My house and My children. And I did not do well in that I arose against you and sealed a decree of judgment against you. Indeed, shall that which endureth forever and ever, world without end, contend with that which hath no endurance but for a year, or two, or ten, or thirty, and if at most for an hundred years, and then passeth away? But in that ye have rebuked Me, ye did well. Already have I accepted your rebuke.

[284] "For the sigh of Israel is sweet to Me, and the desire for the Law
hath covered Me,
"Your words have found grace in My ears, and I accept the sayings
of your mouths.
"Ye have labored in the house of My choice, and the Law shall not
move from your mouths,

- [285] “For I am master of wonders, the transcendent Lord, I am He.
“Mighty works come to pass before Me, miracles and
 marvels before My throne.
“Who hath come before Me and I have not fulfilled his [prayer]?
 Who hath called upon Me and I have not straightway answered him?
“State before Me all your requests, and multiply upon Me the desire of
 your hearts.
- [286] “My storehouses and My treasures, – nothing in them is lacking.
“State your requests and they shall be given you, and the desire of your
 hearts shall be done forthwith,
“For there is no season like to this season, and no time like to
 this time.
“There is no season like to this season, for My soul bowed down till
 I beheld you,
“And there is no time like to this time, for the love of you cling
 to My heart.

CHAPTER XXVIII:

- [287] “I know what ye request, and My heart perceiveth what ye desire.
“Ye request much [knowledge of] Law, and a multitude of Talmud and
 many halakhic traditions,
“Ye hope to ask questions on points of law, and ye covet a multitude
 of secrets.
“To multiply testimony in mountains upon mountains, to make wisdom
 wonderful in hills upon hills,
“To increase knowledge of the Talmud in the streets, and subtleties
 in the roads,
“To multiply laws as the sand of the sea, and rabbis as the dust of
 the world,
- [288] “To seat academies in the gates of the tents, to expound therein
 what is prohibited and what is permitted,
“Therein to declare the impure impure, and therein to declare the
 pure pure,
“Therein to declare the fit fit, and therein to declare the unfit unfit,
“Therein to recognize the [sorts] of blood, and to teach the menstruants
 what they should do,
“To bind diadems upon your heads, and crowns of royalty upon the heads
 of your children,
“To force kings to prostrate themselves before you, to compel princes
 to fall down in your presence,
“To send forth your name beneath all the heavens, and your memory in
 the great ports,
“To illumine your faces as the brilliance of the day,
 and the space between your eyes as a blazing star.
“And if ye be worthy [to employ] this seal,
 and to make use of the fearful crown,
“Neither vulgar nor ignorant shall be found in you,
 nor fool nor idiot shall be of your number,

- [289] “Ye rejoice, and My servants are grieved,
“That this secret goeth forth from My treasury.
“By virtue of it the voice of your academies [soundeth] as [the voice of]
fatted calves.
“Not with toil and not with weariness [do they learn],
“But with the name of this seal and with the mention of the fearful crown.
“He that marveleth at you, and he that grieveth grieveth because
of you;
“Many die in their sighing, and their souls go forth by reason of the
repute of your glory,
[290] “Wealth and riches increase upon you; the great of the world cleave unto you;
“That family from which ye marry a daughter is known on all sides to be noble,
“He that is blessed in you is truly blessed, he that rejoiceth in you
rejoiceth truly.
“Ye are called, ‘Those who turn many to righteousness’;
they call ye, ‘Those who prove men innocent.’
“The determinations of the months proceed from your [council],
and the intercalulation of years from the subtlety of your wisdom.
“By your hands are patriarchs anointed,
and presidents of the sanhedrin take office according to
your words;
[291] “Ye set up exilarchs, and the judges of cities are appointed by your authority.
“The order of society shall go forth from you,
and none shall differ therefrom.
“A great war was waged with Me and My servants,
“As accuser appeared the greatest of the ministering angels.
“This is his plea:

CHAPTER XXIX:

- [292] “Let not this secret go forth from Thy storehouse,
and mystery of prudence from Thy treasures;
“Let not flesh and blood as our equals, suppose not the children of men our substitute.
“Let them grow weary in the study of the Law as much as they wish,
“And let those who come from their descendants, and after,
“Fulfill it with labor and great anguish.
“This is thy glory, this is thy beauty.
“In the midst of their rejoicing they bethink themselves and pray to Thee,
“They cry out before Thee whole-heartedly, they beseech Thee with desirous soul:
““May that which we have read remain in our possession,
may that which we have studied remain in our possession,
““May our inward parts grasp all that which our ears have heard,
““May our hearts hold firmly the ways of the teaching which we have heard
from the mouth of the teacher.”
“And let them continue to honour one another.
“But if Thou revealest this secret to Thy children,
“The small will be as the great and the fool as the wise.”

[293] This is the reply which He replieth to His servants:

“Nay, My servitors, nay, My servants, trouble Me not in this matter.

“This secret shall go forth from My storehouse, and mystery of prudence
from My treasuries.

“To a beloved people I reveal, to a faithful seed I teach;

“For them it is laid up from the fountainhead of the world, and from the
days of creation prepared for them.

“And I never thought to give it to any of the generations,
from the days of Moses and until now.

“For they shall go from evil to evil, and Me shall they not know,

“For their understanding was obscured by exile, and the words of the Law
were hard as brass and iron.

“It is proper for them to make use of it, to bring the Law as water in their
inward parts and as oil in their bones.

“For Israel was in affliction from the day when Mine anger waxed hot against them

“And I smote them, and because of them mountains trembled, and their
carcasses were as refuse in the midst of the street.

[294] “With what shall I appease them? With what shall I comfort them?

“Or what good form of treasure is there on high

“That I should bring it forth and give it them and cause them to rejoice?

“For I have beheld and seen:

“I have gold, [but] there is gold in the world;

“I have silver, [but] there is silver in the world;

“I have precious stones and pearls, [but] there are precious stones and pearls
in the world.

“Wheat and barley, honey and oil, I have already placed in the world.

“But what is lacking the world? This secret and this mystery which is not
in the world.

“Therefore I shall give them this means of loftiness, that thereby My children
shall raise themselves up.”

[295] Said Rabbi Akiba: I heard a voice going forth from under the throne of glory, saying. And what was it saying? “I strengthened him, I took him, I commanded him (i.e. Enoch ben Jared whose name is Metatron), and I took him from among the children of men, and I made a throne for him over against my throne.” And what is the measure of that throne? Forty thousand myriads of parasangs of fire. And I gave over to him seventy angels, as against seventy peoples, and I gave into his hand all my servants in the world above and all my servants in the world below, and I explained to him all the categories of creation, and I set, as his name, The Lesser Lord [which is the numerical equivalent of ‘My Lord; and he is lesser than *The* Lord]. (For his name, reckoning by the numerical equivalents of the letters, is 71.) And I gave him wisdom and understanding more than all the angels and made him greater than any of the ministering angels.

[296] Said Rabbi Akiba: Each day doth an angel stand at morning in the midst of the firmament and beginneth and saith, “The Lord is King!” And all the host on high answer after him until he reacheth [the word], “Bless ye,” and when he reacheth “Bless ye” a beast standeth in the midst of the firmament and the name [of this beast] is Israel, and engraven on its forehead [are the words] “My people is Mine.” And it saith, “Bless ye the Lord, the Blessed.” And all the princes on high answer after it, “Blessed be the Lord, the Blessed, forever and ever.” While this is yet unfinished, the ophanim break forth in tumult and tremble and shake the whole world and say, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place.” And that same beast standeth in the midst of the firmament until all the princes on high break forth in tumult, and seraphim and cherubim and troops and all the camps and each one in his place saith to the beast, “Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, is one Lord.”

[297] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: Our fathers did not undertake to put one stone upon another in the Temple until they compelled the King of the world and all his servants and He met with them and showed them the secret of the Law, how they should do it and how they should explain it and how they should practice it. At once the Holy Spirit appeared from the great entrance which is in the House of the Lord – since the Shekinah did not dwell in the Holy of Holies because of the decree. And when our fathers saw that the throne of glory made its way and stood between the cella and the altar – for although up to that time they had not built the building, [yet the throne moved] over the place of the rooks which they were shaping to found upon them the cella and the temple and the altar and all the structure generally – and when our fathers saw that the throne of glory was set on high between the altar and the cella, and the King of the World upon it, they at once fell upon their faces, [298] and concerning that moment it says [Haggai 2.9]: “The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former.” “For in the first temple I did not communicate with My children but by voice and in this temple ye have compelled Me and My throne and all My servants [to appear]. And would that it might endure! My children, why are ye fallen and lying upon your faces? Stand and seat yourselves before My throne in the order in which you sit in the academy and take hold upon a crown and receive a seal and hear the order of this secret of the Law, how ye shall do it, how explain it, and how practice it, how ascend the roads of your hearts, how your hearts may behold the Law.” At once did Zerubabel the son of Shealtiel answer and stood upon his feet as an interpreter and stated the names of the princes of the Law, each one according to his name, the name of a crown and the name of a seal.

CHAPTER XXX:

[299] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: “He who presenteth himself to serve in [connection with] this secret of the Law shall wash his garment and his undergarments and shall immerse himself in the most thorough manner lest semen should separate [any part of his skin from the water], and shall enter and sit for twelve days in a room or in an upper chamber. He shall neither go out nor come in nor eat nor drink but from evening to evening. And he shall eat, as his food, bread [baked by] his own hands [and he shall be wrapped] in a clean tallith. And he shall not taste any sort of vegetable. And water shall be his drink. [300] And he shall regularly read this midrash concerning the secret of the Law three times each day after [the regular daily] prayers which he shall pray from beginning to end. And thereafter he shall sit and shall repeat them – [the prayers and the Midrash] – twelve days the days of his fast, from morning until evening and shall not be silent. And whenever he finisheth it he shall stand upon his feet and conjure, as [one would conjure] by [the name of] their king, and shall call twelve times upon every prince, and thereafter he shall conjure him with the seal, [and so] for each one of them. [301] And these are their names which he shall say: The Prince Shekadhozi’ai the Lord, the Prince Nihappardiyuel the Lord, the Prince ‘Abhirgehwhedhiryah* the Lord (and there be those who say Gehwedhiryahu) the Prince Plitriyah the Lord, the

* In the margin, Scholem notes, “...I should prefer ‘Abhirgehīdoryah if the Heb. text permitted (ע so in the following, transposing the י ע the first”).”

Prince Zehubh’adyah the Lord, the Prince ‘Ogbohad’ay the Lord, the Prince Totrosi’ai the Lord, the Prince ‘Ashrawwili’ai the Lord, the Prince Zebhudiel the Lord, the Prince Margawwiel the Lord, the Prince Daharbyoron the Lord, the Prince ‘Adiron the Lord. [302] And he shall conjure them by the permission of his King for twelve [days] in the name of Yopphiel Splendor of Height, and in the name of Sarbiel who is one of the princes of the Merkabha, and in the name of Shadriel who is a beloved prince, and in the name of Hasdiel who is called to the Power [of God] six hours daily. And he shall repeat and shall conjure the same last four princes with a great seal and with a great oath in the name of ‘Ezboghah, which is a great seal, and in the name of Zurtak, a holy name and a fearful crown. [303] And when he finesheth twelve days let him go forth to any form of the Torah which he desire, whether Bible, whether Mishnah, whether the vision of the Merkabha. For he goeth forth in a clean spirit and from great sorrow and anguish, for it is a teaching known to us, an ordinance

made by the first teachers, and a tradition of the men of old which they wrote down and left for coming generations, that the humble might practice it. And he who is worthy is answered thereby.

[304] Said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: Happy is he who is aided by the desert of his fathers, and whom the righteousness of his ancestors stands [in good stead], that he may practice this crown and this seal, and they shall communicate with him, and he exalteth himself in the loftiness of the Law.

[305] Said Rabbi Ishmael: This was done by Rabbi Eliezer and he was answered and did not believe; and it was done by me and I did not believe until I brought a fool and he was made like unto me. And again it was done by shepherds and they were made like unto us. By the authority of the court they sent down Rabbi Akiba outside the Land [of Israel] and he waited until it was done by many who neither read nor studied and they became equal [to] others and were made learned students. And he came and verified [the matter] and agreed in the evidence which he bore in the court of the Patriarch, saying: "This was done also outside the Land [of Israel] and succeeded." And thus said Rabbi Eliezer the Great. And the Sages say, "Perhaps we possess it by virtue of the Land of Israel." And they did not believe until they sent Rabbi Akiba down to Babylon and it was done [there] and succeeded. And thereafter we rejoiced.

[306] Said Rabbi Ishmael: How shall a man begin before he pray this secret of the Law? When he arose (*sic*) he shall say:

"Be made magnificent, be exalted, be lifted up, O splendid King,
"Upon a throne high and lifted up, fearful and terrible.
"Thou dwellest in the chambers of the palace of loftiness.
"The servants of Thy throne are terrified, and set trembling
"The heavens which are the footstool of Thy feet, each day,
"With sound of exultation and with tumult of music and multitude of song."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

And let him conjure and say:

"Who will not exalt Thee, O King fearful
"And terrible above all Thy servants?
"In shaking and in trembling do they serve Thee,
"In terror and in quaking they are terrified before Thee.
"With identical words, with one mouth they utter forth Thy fearful name.
"Because of fright and fear [among those] who stand before Thee
"There is none who goes ahead and none who lags [in the song].
"And whoever delayeth the sound after his companion, in [the pronunciation
of] Thy name
"[Though but] as by the measure of a hair's breadth,
"Is consumed, and flaming fire trampleth him down."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts,
all the earth is full of His glory.")

APPENDIX

A chart prepared for my 1987 edition shows the alignment of chapters for three translations of *Hekhalot Rabbi*:

- Smith = Morton Smith: chapters I-XXX
- Grodner = Lauren Grodner: chapters 15-29, which appear in David Blumenthal's *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1978) pages 59-89.
- Kaplan = Aryeh Kaplan: "a synthesis of the best readings found in various editions" of chapters 1, 2, and 16-26 in his *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1982) pages 41-54.

Within the column showing Smith's chapters is a band indicating "text" (also "tx" and "t") or narrative sections and "hymns" (also "h") or songs.

Smith		Grodner	Kaplan
ch I	text		ch 1
ch II	hymns		ch 2
ch III			
ch IV	text		
ch V			
ch VI	hymns		
ch VII			
ch VIII	hymns		
ch IX			
ch X	hymns		
ch XI	hymns		
ch XII	hymns		
ch XIII	tx	ch 15	
ch XIV	h	ch 16	ch 16
ch XV	text	ch 17	ch 17
ch XVI	h	ch 18	ch 18 (2)
ch XVII		ch 19	ch 19
ch XVIII		ch 20	ch 20
ch XIX	t	ch 21	ch 21
ch XX	e	ch 22	
ch XXI	x	ch 23	ch 22
ch XXII	t	ch 24	ch 23
ch XXIII			ch 24
ch XXIV		ch 25	ch 25
ch XXV	h		(2)
ch XXVI	t	ch 26	ch 26
ch XXVII	h	ch 27	
ch XXVIII	text	ch 28 (1)	
ch XXIX	hymns	ch 29	
ch XXX	tx		

(1) Grodner omits the first paragraph of Smith's CHAPTER XXVII.

(2) Kaplan omits material here, primarily hymns.

With Kama regards - your own work!! Givsham
THE GREATER TREATISE CONCERNING THE PALACES OF HEAVEN

Chapter I:

Said Rabbi Ishmael: What are those songs which he ^{recites} must-recite who would behold the vision of the Merkabha, who would descend in peace and would ascend in peace?

Greater of all ⁱⁿ [his achievements] it is that [the angels] shall have a care for him, to gather him ⁱⁿ and bring him ~~it~~ unto the chambers of the palace of the seventh heaven of the firmament, to cause him to stand on the right hand of the throne of the glory of God; for there be times when he standeth over against ~~the~~ ^{the} Lord God of Israel, to see all that which is done before the throne of His glory and to know all that which is destined to come to pass in the world:

Who shall be cast down; who exalted;
Who shall be weakened; who made strong;
Who shall be crushed with poverty; who made rich;
Who shall die; who shall live;
From whom shall inheritance be taken;
To whom shall inheritance be given;
Who shall be granted the Law for his portion
And who shall inherit Wisdom.

^{Greater of all} Still greater it is that he beholdeth all the works of the children of men, yea even those which they work in their secret chambers, whether these be seemly works or works corrupt;

A man steal - he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man commit adultery - he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man commit murder - he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man ^{was} suspect to have lain with a woman in her uncleanness - he knoweth and recognizeth it (the truth of the matter);
A man spread ~~the~~ slander - he knoweth and recognizeth it.

^{Greater of all} Still greater it is that he recognizeth all those who know sorcery ^{and smite him} ~~him~~ ^{is} clothed with scalls and covered with leprosy and crowned with a pox.

^{Greater of all} Still greater it is that any man who slander him shall be subject to all manner of injuries: morbid growths and discolourations and wounds which shall give rise to running ulcers.

^{Greater of all} Still greater it is that he is set apart from all the children of man and is exalted in all his doings and is honored by those above and those below.

Columbia University in the City of New York

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

FOYERBROTHER HALL
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

17/11/81

Dear Mr. Karr,

I left the original MS of my translation of the Hekhalot Rabbati with Scholom, and now have only a bad xerox of this with his corrections. The translation was made almost 40 years ago and further study has inevitably revealed that the text used had been based on a somewhat inferior manuscript. A new translation based on two better manuscripts is now being made, but probably will not be out for a year or so. If you

were in the meantime a xerox of the xerox of my translation I'll be glad to send you one provided you will assure me

- 1) that you will not publish it
- 2) that if you quote short sections of it (as normally permitted by copyright laws) in publications you will acknowledge the source of the translation, and
- 3) that you will pay the cost of xeroxing and mailing. — There are 57 pages; at 6¢ per page this comes to \$3.42. Mailing will probably cost about \$1.50. Accordingly on receipt of a letter with the indicated assurances and with your check for \$5 — I shall have the xerox made and shall send it to you. Sincerely, Morton Smith

Morton Smith's letter of March 17th, 1981

HEKHALOT RABBATI

היכלות רבתי

THE GREATER TREATISE CONCERNING THE PALACES OF HEAVEN

translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by
Morton Smith

corrected by
Gershom Scholem

transcribed and edited with notes by
Don Karr

Translation © Morton Smith (estate) 1943-7, 2009

Edition © Don Karr 1995, 2009, 2013

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Shaye J. D. Cohen

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Preface to the July 1995 edition

The following sections of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (hereafter HR) have been edited from an English draft prepared by Morton Smith (1915-1991). The draft shows corrections and marginal notes made by Gershom Scholem (1897-1982). Smith made the translation in the early 'forties from an unpublished edition (in the original Hebrew and Aramaic) prepared by Scholem and Chaim Wirszubski (1915-1977).¹ In a note² accompanying the photocopy of HR, Smith stated that the translation was based on a "somewhat inferior manuscript" (MS New York 8128) and that "a new translation based on two better manuscripts is now being made." That was 1981.

In 1978, David Blumenthal published *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader*, vol. 1 (Ktav Publishing House, New York), which contained a translation of roughly the second half of HR prepared by Lauren Grodner. The translation was based on the edition of S. A. Wertheimer in his *Batei Midrashot*, with some adaptations according to spot English translations in

- (1) Smith's "Observations on *Hekhalot Rabbati*," in *Biblical and Other Studies* edited by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963);
- (2) Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960; 2nd, improved edition: 1965);
- (3) Scholem's *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1941; reprinted frequently).

In 1982, Rabbi Aryeh Kaplan presented again roughly the second half of HR in English in *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc.), adding chapters I and II as a preface. Kaplan also based his work on Wertheimer, correcting it according to other versions.

It is now July 1995, and the *first* half of HR has yet to be published in English, so I have been grateful to the late Professor Smith for having provided me with a copy of his draft, whatever its shortcomings.

The following is a presentable edition of the first half of HR³, prepared to fill the gap until the whole of HR appears in translation.

The as-yet unpublished (in English, at any rate) "first half," presented here, is Smith's Chapters I to XII. Smith's Chapter XIII is where Grodner's translation begins, though she calls it "Chapter 15." Kaplan's translation cuts in a chapter or so later. Through my typescript, numbers in square brackets indicate paragraph (segment, or *microform*) numbers from *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, edited by Peter Schäfer, Margarete Schlüter, and Hans Georg von Mutius (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981). In recent scholarly books and articles, it has become conventional to refer to *Synopse* numbers when citing or quoting *hekhalot* material.

—Don Karr

¹ I have learned that Ithamar Gruenwald, long-time professor of Jewish mysticism at Tel Aviv University and author of the pioneering *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980), *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988), and *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2003), had a hand in the translation of (at least) the first twelve chapters. See "Preface to the January 2009 edition."

² March 17, 1981.

³ The transcription below has been completed. See "Preface to the January 2009 edition."

Preface to the January 2009 edition

Smith's chapters XIV-XXX have been added to the transcription, making this a complete edition of Smith's translation.

Inconsistencies in Smith's spelling have been retained, *e.g.*, within a few lines we find "spendour" and "splendor" (as in CHAPTER XXIV); elsewhere, "Shekinah" and "Shekhinah."

To place *Synopse* § numbers, I have compared segments of Smith's translation with passages translated in

- Boustán, Ra'anan. *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Halperin, David J. *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988.
- Kuyt, Annalies. *The 'Descent' to the Chariot. Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function and Nature of the YERIDAH in Hekhalot Literature*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. *Through a Speculum That Shines*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

It is of interest to follow the hapless course of Smith's translation of HR in the letters recently published as *Morton Smith and Gershom Scholem, Correspondence 1945-1982*, edited with an introduction by Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008). The HR translation is mentioned more than two dozen times over the full range of years covered; indeed, the first mention is in 1945, the last in 1982.⁴

My sincere thanks to Professor Shaye J. D. Cohen of Harvard University, literary executor to Morton Smith, for granting me permission to reproduce Smith's translation of HR.

I sincerely hope that readers will inform me of errors.

—Don Karr

⁴ An excerpt from Ithamar Gruenwald's note to me (December 23, 2012) provides some details of this "hapless course."

[Sometime after 1976] Scholem showed me the typescript of Smith's translation of HR. I read it and told Scholem that it needed revision on the basis of manuscripts which Scholem did not know about, especially Vatican 228. Scholem told me to contact Smith, with whom I exchanged letters for several years. Morton agreed that when I came to New York we should meet and discuss ways to compose the revision.

In February-June 1981, I held a position of visiting professor at the Revel Graduate School at Yeshiva University. When I arrived in New York, Morton and I agreed to meet once or twice a week to work on the revised translation. We did so on a regular basis, and my wife and I were welcome guests at his home.

The process was as follows: between one session and the next, Morton prepared an almost new translation of several paragraphs based on MS Vatican 228. He did masterful work. When I came to his apartment, we read his latest translations, and in most cases he accepted my comments.

In June, we had to interrupt the work because I had to go back to Jerusalem.

When I left in June of 1981, we had reached chapter 12 or so. Morton said that between then and my return to New York (in less than a year), he would work on the translation, and possibly send me the materials by mail. However, this did not work out.

On January 1st, 1982, our son Evyathar was killed during his service in the army, and Scholem died a short while afterwards [February 21, 1982]. These events delayed my return to New York.

When I returned to New York, I called Morton and he told me that he could no longer work on the translation. A short while later I called him again and—to my shock—he told me, "Finally, my senile condition is under control. I hope that I shall be able to continue the work soon." This condition is referred to in Guy G. Stroumsa's book [*Morton Smith and Gershom Scholem, Correspondence 1945-1982*], where, on page 190, Morton asked Scholem, "Please give my regards to Gruenwald when you see him, my retranslation of *Hekhalot Rabhati* was sidetracked during the fall by a long series of petty problems." The "petty problems" were the "senile condition" mentioned. Scholem was not aware of the problem, and he did not seem to catch on even when Morton reiterated in the same letter, "First, however, I have to dispose of a lot of petty problems...." [—Smith's letter to Scholem of January 10, 1982].

THE GREATER TREATISE CONCERNING THE PALACES OF HEAVEN

*translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by Morton Smith
with corrections by Gershom Scholem
transcribed and edited with notes by Don Karr*

(...) = Smith's additions
[...] (words) = Smith's additions
[...] (numbers) = *Synopse* § numbers
{...} (letters/words) = my additions (*DK*)
{...} (ellipses) = a gap – a place where material appears in other MSS

CHAPTER I:

[81] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What are those songs which he recites who would behold the vision of the Merkabha, who would descend in peace and would ascend in peace?

[82] Greatest of all [his achievements] it is that [the angels] have a care for him, to gather him in and bring him unto the chambers of the palace of the seventh heaven, to cause him to stand on the right hand of the throne of the glory of God; for there be times when he standeth over against Tazsh the Lord God of Israel, to see all that which is done before the throne of His glory and to know all that which is destined to come to pass in the world:

Who shall be cast down, who exalted;
Who shall be weakened, who made strong;
Who shall be crushed with poverty, who made rich;
Who shall die, who shall live;
From whom shall inheritance be taken,
To whom shall inheritance be given;
Who shall be granted the Law for his portion
And who be given Wisdom.

[83] Greatest of all* it is that he beholdeth all the works of the children of men, yea even those which they work in their secret chambers, whether these be seemly works or works corrupt:

A man stole – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man committed adultery – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man committed murder – he knoweth and recognizeth it;
A man was suspect to have lain with a woman in her uncleanness –
 he knoweth and recognizeth it (the truth of the matter);
A man spread slander – he knoweth and recognizeth it.

* "Greatest of all" is Scholem's correction from § 83 onward. Smith had "Still greater," which may indeed make better sense. Kaplan opens each of these lines, "When one is on a (still) higher level..."

[84] Greatest of all it is that he recognizeth all those who know sorcery.

Greatest of all it is that any man who lift up his hand against him and smite him is clothed with scalls and covered with leprosy and crowned with a pox.

Greatest of all it is that any man who slander him is subject to all manner of injuries: morbid growths and discolourations and wounds which give rise to running ulcers.

[85] Greatest of all it is that he is set apart from all the children of men and is exalted in all his doings and is honored by those above and those below. And if any man find cause of offense in him, upon that man do offenses, great and evil and harsh, fall from heaven. And if any man stretch forth his hand against him in reproach, against that man doth the heavenly court of justice stretch forth its hand to consume him from the world.

 Greatest of all it is that all men are set before him as silver before the refiner, to know which is alloyed silver, which is pure silver. And, moreover, he beholdeth in families:

 How many in a family be children of forbidden unions,
 How many in a family be children of their mother's impurity,
 How many in a family be wounded in the stones,
 How many in a family be cut off of their privy members,
 How many in a family be children of slaves,
 How many in a family be children of the uncircumcised,
 How many in a family be unfit for the priesthood.

CHAPTER II:

[86] Greatest of all it is that any man who harden his face against him to gainsay him is darkened from the light of the balls of his eyes.

 Greatest of all it is that if any man treat him despitefully he leaves neither root nor branch nor yet inheritor.

 Greatest of all it is that any man who spread evil report against him is consumed, his judgment is determined and no mercy is had upon him.

{...}

[92] Greatest of all it is that in the heavenly court of justice, three times each day (from the day when permission was given to Israel, to the honest and to the upright, to the humble and to the humiliated, to the understanding and to the chosen and to the separated, that they might descend to the Merkabha and ascend thence) three times each day they blow the trumpets thrice and excommunicate with the lesser excommunication and again excommunicate with the greater excommunication, saying: "Let him be excommunicated to Tazsh the Lord God of Israel, to him and to the throne of His glory and to the crown upon His head, to the heavenly court of justice and to the earthly court of justice and to all the host of heaven and to all its servants, he who standeth before one beholding the Merkabha and who abandoneth him."

[93] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus ran the teaching as to the vision of the Merkabha: He who beholdeth the Merkabha hath no right to stand up [out of courtesy to a superior], except before three authorities only: before a king and before a high priest and before a sanhedrin (and that, when a patriarch is with the sanhedrin, thus if a patriarch is not with a sanhedrin, then even before a sanhedrin he shall not stand up). And should he stand up he would be guilty of death because he had stood up before it, and he would lessen his days and cut short his years.

[94] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What be the words of the songs which a man doth recite when he descendeth to the Merkabha? Let him begin and recite the principal songs [OR, the first songs]:

 The beginning of praise and the commencement of song
 The beginning of jubilation and the commencement of exultation
 Do the princes sing who serve each day
 The Lord God of Israel and the throne of His glory;
 They bear up the wheel of the throne of His glory, [singing]:
 "Sing, sing for joy, supernal dwelling!

“Shout, shout for joy, precious vessel!
 “Made marvelously and a marvel.
 “Surely thou shalt gladden the King who sitteth upon thee,
 “[With a joy] as the joy of the bridegroom in his bridechamber.
 [Thus said I] when I came to take refuge under the shadow of Thy wings
 In the joy of my heart which rejoiced in thee.
 (For thy converse [my heart] is with the converse of the King
 And with thy Maker thou dost hold discourse.)
 (As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

[95] “From the praise and song of each day,
 “From the jubilation and exaltation of each hour,
 “And from the utterance which preceedeth out of the mouths of
 the holy ones
 “And from the melody which wellet up out of the mouths of
 the servants
 “Mountains of fire and hills of flame
 “Are piled up and hidden and poured out each day.”
 (As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

CHAPTER III:

[96] “Why should’st thou be affrighted, faithful servant?
 “Why should’st thou be terrified, servitor beloved?”
 “I say to thy face, Zoharariel, Lord God of Israel,
 “If I be not affrighted, who is he that shall be affrighted?
 “If I be not terrified, who is he that shall be terrified?
 “For I am summoned before the Omnipotent six hours in each day,
 “And a thousand times I am dragged upon my knees
 “Until I touch the throne of glory.”

And then the voice would answer say{ing}:
 (As it is said [Ez. 1:25]: “And there was a voice above the firmament
 that was over their heads; when they stood they let down their wings.”)
 “As for those who practice upon you those practices –
 “Reproach shall not be cast upon their words,
 “Nor shall any contradict their discourse,
 “Nor any contradict their words.”
 His kingly servants behold the King majestic
 Enthroned in the chambers of the palace of silence,
 Dread and fear, holiness and purity.
 (As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

[97] King of miracles, King of powers,
 King of wonders, King transcendent.
 Thy throne doth fly and standeth still.
 Years very many, generations without end have passed
 Since thou didst drive the peg for the weaving of the web
 On which the perfection of the world and the excellence thereof do stand

And even yet hath Thy throne not rested its foot upon the firm ground
of the seventh heaven,
But as a bird doth fly it fly and standeth still.

- [98] The loftiest of the lofty, they whose brows be bound with diadems,
*And all angels, the chief hypostases which Thou hast created,
Stand harnessed beneath the throne of glory
And do hold it up continually with strength, might and power.
And they also have not rested their feet upon the firm ground of the
seventh heaven,
But as a bird do they fly yet stand still.

* A marginal note in Smith's hand at this place reads: "Translated at first "all the angels of the chief hypostases" & Prof. Scholem corrected to this {as shown above}, which seems to suppose מואכיק instead of מואכי. What is the final Hebrew text?"

- [99] And three times in each day
Doth the throne of Thy glory prostrate itself before Thee and say to Thee,
"Zoharariel, Lord God of Israel,
"Pray seat Thyself upon me, O splendid King,
"For Thy burden is delightful to me
"And weigheth not heavy upon me."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

- [100] Wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Is the loftiness of exultation and the lordship of splendor
With which the angel of the presence doth conduct himself
Three times each day
In the heavenly court of justice
As he goeth and cometh upon the seventh heaven
Which is upon the heads of the cherubim and upon the heads of the ophanim
And upon the heads of the holy beasts.

- [101] And the cherubim and the ophanim and the holy beasts
Are harnessed and stand beneath the throne of glory.
And when they behold anyone in the height
As he goeth and cometh upon the seventh heaven
(Which is upon the heads of the cherubim and upon the heads of the ophanim
And upon the heads of the holy beasts)
They are terrified and affrighted and faint and fall backward,
For no creature is able to attain unto that place
By a distance of one hundred and eighty five thousand myriad parasangs
Because of the streaming fires which flow and issue forth
From the mouths of the cherubim and from the mouths of the ophanim and
from the mouths of the holy beasts
Who open their mouths to say "Holy"
When Israel saith before Him "Holy"
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[102] A measure of holiness, a measure of dominion,
A measure of fearfulness, a measure of consternation,
A measure of trembling, a measure of shaking,
A measure of terror, a measure of panic
Is the measure of the garment of Zoharariel Lord God of Israel
Who cometh crowned to the throne of His glory.

[103] And it is every part engraved from within and from without with
the words *The Lord, The Lord*.
And the eye of no creature is able to behold it,
Not the eyes of flesh and blood, and not the eyes of His servants.
And as for him who doth behold it, or glimpseth or seeth it,
Hallucinations lay hold upon the balls of his eyes
And the balls of his eyes emit and send forth torches of fire
And these enkindle him and these burn him.
(For the fire which cometh out from the man who beholdeth,
This enkindle him and burneth him.)
Why? Because of the measure of the garment
Of Zoharariel, Lord God of Israel,
Who cometh crowned to the throne of His glory.
And pleasant and sweet is His beauty
As the appearance of the beauty of the glory of the majesty
Of the eyes of the likeness of the holy beasts
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

CHAPTER IV:

[104] Who is like unto our King among all the lofty ones of them
who lay hold upon kingship?
Who is like our Maker? Who is like unto the Lord our God?
Who is like unto Him among those who knot the knots of diadems?
For with six voices do the supernal servants,
The bearers of the throne of His glory,
The cherubim and the ophanim and the holy beasts, sing before Him,
For each voice is exalted beyond its fellows and differeth from
that which was before it.
The first voice: Everyone who heareth it at once crieth out and
prostrateth himself.
The second voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once falleth into
confusion and thereafter returneth not.
The third voice: Everyone who heareth it at once is seized by con-
vulsions and at once dieth.
The fourth voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once hath the
skull of his head and his body broken and
most of the ends of his ribs are torn out.
The fifth voice: Everyone who heareth it at once poureth himself out
as a vessel and is utterly dissolved into blood.

The sixth voice: Everyone who hearkeneth unto it at once is seized at heart by a fierce fire, and his heart is tumultuous and overturneth his inmost bowels, and his bile is dissolved within him as to be as water.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

[105] Who is like unto our King? Who is like unto our Maker? Who is like unto the Lord our God?
The sun and the moon emit and send forth the crown on His head.
The Pleiades and Orion and the star of morning,
Constellations and stars and planets
Flow and issue forth from the garment of Him
Who sitteth crowned upon the throne of His glory.
And He gave forth a great light from between His eyes.
For King of miracles, King of powers,
King of wonders, King transcendent is He.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

[106] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All these songs did Rabbi Akiba hear when he descended to the Merkabha, and he laid hold upon them and learned them before the throne of God’s glory, for there His servants sang them before God.

CHAPTER V:

[107] Said Rabbi Ishmael: That day was the fifth day of the week when there came abysmal tidings from the great city of Rome saying: “Four men from among the mighty of Israel have been seized – Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha and Rabbi Elazar ben Dama and Rabbi Judah ben Baba; and eight thousand students from Jerusalem shall be their ransom.”

[108] And when Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah saw this decree, he caused me at once to descend to the Merkabha and I questioned Surya the Prince of the Presence. And he said to me: “Ten men did the heavenly court of justice write down, and gave them unto Sammael the wicked, the genius of Rome, saying: ‘Go out and destroy from the mighty of Israel every good member, thigh and shoulder, to fulfill the decree’ [Ex. 21.16]: “And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.” And the sons of Jacob stole Joseph their brother and sold him, what shall be done concerning them? At once was the authority given to Sammael to destroy ten of the mighty in their stead, in order to fulfill the decree. And a vengeance to be avenged upon him is laid up against him until the time shall come when [Is. 24.21] ‘The Lord shall punish the host of the high ones on high,’ for he shall be cut down and cast upon the earth, ne and all the princes of the kingdoms in the height, as the goats and sheep of the day of atonement.”

[109] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All these warnings and all these conditions were made known to and laid upon Sammael the wicked, and he saith, ‘I have taken all upon me provided only that ten of the mighty shall be destroyed, to wit: Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, and Rabbi Judah ben Baba, and Rabbi Jeshbab the scribe, and Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon, Rabbi Hozpit the interpreter, Rabbi Elazar ben Shammua, Rabbi Hanina ben Hakinai, Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha, Rabban Simon ben Gamaliel, Rabbi Eliezer ben Dama.’

[110] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What then did Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel? Because of the wrath with which He was filled against Sammael as having ~~taken~~ upon him all those conditions, [His patience] did not then suffice Him that He should say to the scribe: “Write decrees of punishment and great plagues, strong and harsh and

fearful and terrible, heavy and disgraceful against the wicked city, Rome.” Nay, but at once He Himself took paper and wrote upon the paper. And thus He wrote against the day of vengeance which is destined and laid up for the wicked city, Rome. “One cloud shall come up and stand above Rome six months and pour down a running sore upon man and upon beast and upon the silver and upon the gold and upon all the fruit and upon all kinds of metals. And thereafter shall another cloud come up and drive away its fellow and stand in its place six months and pour down a scall of leprosy and scab and pox and all manner of scalls whatsoever upon the wicked city Rome, until the time shall come when a man shall say to his fellow, ‘Behold, the wicked city Rome, she and all that which is in her, are thine for one farthing,’ and he shall say to him, ‘I want her not.’”

[111] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When I came and bore witness to this [which I had received] from before the throne of glory, all [my] fellows rejoiced and they made that day before Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah a day of feasting and rejoicing; and yet more - the Patriarch himself did say in his joy, “Bring in before us all manner of musical instruments, and we shall drink wine to their accompaniment, inasmuch as Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel shall surely wreak vengeance and do wonders and wonders of wonders upon the wicked city Rome, and we shall exult with joy of harp and flute.”

[112] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What then did the heavenly court of justice? They at once gave command to the angels of torment, and these descending, wrought upon Lupinus Caesar utter destruction; and there was not left in all his palace a fugitive nor a remnant, and Rufa the wife of his youth and all his mistresses and all his maid-servants and all his concubines were cast dead on the earth before him, and all his sons and all his daughters and all the delights of his eyes were rent asunder and thrown [dead] before him.

[113] Said Rabbi Ishmael: What was done to that wicked man himself? He was abased and made contemptible by reason of his dead, that they lay ever before him. And whensoever and man stretched forth his hand to take one of the dead of Lupinus Caesar, that he should lay it upon the bier and take it forth to bury it, then would the abyss swallow up that body, and, when the burier withdrew his hand, would the abyss again vomit it forth. Thus did his dead lie ever before him; and yet more – they were noisome and stank throughout all his royal palace and he was ashamed before the royal princes who came in and went out before his face.

CHAPTER VI:

[117] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend, why did all this disgrace, all this revilement, and all this shame befall that wicked man? Because of Rabbi Hanaya ben Teradyon. For when the day came which he had set for his execution, [some of his servants] said to him, ‘Lord Caesar, repeal [the sentence which] thou [hast passed] upon that sage, that he be not killed.’ [But] he replied, ‘Let him die. For though I and all these of my family, yea, even though all Rome be destroyed with him – yet in this matter I will not change my mind.’”

[118] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend, I shall tell thee why the strength of that wicked man was great: Because he came from the line of Esau the wicked, and therefore he confirmed and strengthened and hardened his heart.”

[119] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “Friend I say unto thee, thou shalt not be grieved at this death in which thou departest to thine eternal dwelling, for already hath Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel filled His mouth with laughter at that wicked man and said: ‘By the glory of the loftiness of the fearful palace in which I dwell, and by the throne of My glory which is My concern and which I leave not from [the time of] its creation and unto eternity: In Gehenna, at the hand of Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon, I will cause that wicked man to taste the taste of flame of fire and fiery coals of cherubim and ophanim and the holy beasts.’”

[120] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: "Friend, I shall tell thee what did then the pure effulgence of the splendor of the effulgence of 'Uzhaya the Lord God of Israel. At that time He commanded me and I descended and banished and drove out Lupinus Caesar from his palace in which he was sleeping during the night and took him to a pig sty and a dog pound and put him asleep [there], and I brought in Rabbi Hananya and put him asleep in the palace of Lupinus Caesar. Next day came the executioners who had been commanded concerning Rabbi Hananya to this effect: 'He is sitting and doing wonders in the school and is teaching law to the mighty of Israel. Off with his head!' Lupinus Caesar appeared to them as Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon and they cut off his head. And Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon bound on the diadem of his royalty and reigned over the wicked city Rome in the likeness of Lupinus Caesar, six months, and killed in it six thousand bishops, a thousand bishops a month. [121] And something in the form of Rabbi Hananya ben Teradyon was then put before the men of the wicked city Rome and they laid hold upon it and cast it into the fire. And who was he whom they cast into the fire? Lupinus Caesar. For after he was killed, he was made alive again in the heavenly court of justice. And they laid hold upon him and cast him into the fire, and he was in anguish in the midst of the fierce fire. And after this manner did they with all ten sages of Israel, for the proclamation goeth forth from the seventh heaven proclaiming and saying in the heavenly court of justice: 'As for the design which the wicked city Rome designed against the mighty of Israel to destroy them, Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel has agreed, but even the meditation of the heart which Rome mediteth against his children is weighty to them as if they carried it out.'"

[The First Apocalypse]

[122] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Seganzegael, the Prince of the Presence, said to me, "My friend, sit in my bosom and I shall tell thee what is to come upon Israel." I sat in his bosom and he gazed upon me and did weep, and his tears ran down continually from his eyes and fell upon my face. I said to him, "Why does your Excellency weep?" He said to me, "My friend, come, and I shall take thee in and teach thee what is laid up for Israel, the holy people." He grasped me by my hand and took me in to the inmost chambers and to the most secret rooms and to the treasuries. He took tablets and opened them and showed me letters written with griefs each different from the other. I said to him, "For whom are these?" He said to me, "For Israel." I said to him, "And can Israel bear them?" He said to me, "Come tomorrow and I shall teach thee of griefs yet different from these." On the morrow he took me in to the inmost chambers and showed me griefs more bitter than the first: [There] those [who shall perish] by the sword [were destined already] for the sword; those [who shall perish] by hunger, for hunger; those who shall be led captive, for captivity. I said to him, "And did then, your Excellency, Israel alone sin?" He said to me, "Griefs more bitter than these are laid on them anew each day. And when, assembling in synagogues and schools, they say, 'Amen. Let the great name be blessed,' we do not permit these [griefs] to go forth from the inmost chambers."

[123] When I went down from before him I heard a voice speaking in the Aramaic language, and thus it said:
"The holy shrine shall be a ruin;
and the temple, a fire burning;
"And the dwelling of the king, desolation;
and she in whom the king rejoiced shall mourn as a widow;
"And the virgins and the youths shall be spoiled;
and the servants of the king, be killed;
"And the pure altar, polluted;
and the table which was set before the Lord, taken as spoil by the enemy;
"And Jerusalem shall be desolation;
and the land of Israel trembling."

[124] When I heard the voice of this vision I was terrified and struck silent and fell backwards. But then came the angel Hadariel and gave me breath and spirit and stood me upon my feet. He said to me, "My friend, what came over thee?" I said to him, "Your Excellency, is there no restoration for Israel?" He said to me, "Come, and I shall bring thee in to treasuries of consolations and to treasuries of salvations and shall show thee." He brought me in to treasuries of salvations and to treasuries of consolations and I beheld the companies of ministering angels, that they were sitting and weaving garments of salvations and making crowns of life and fixing in them precious stones and pearls and compounding all manner of spices and perfumed wines for the righteous. And I beheld one crown which differed from all the [other] crowns, and the sun and the moon and the twelve signs of the zodiac were fixed in it. I said to him, "Your Excellency, for whom are these crowns?" He said to me, "For Israel." "And that different crown, for whom is that destined?" He said to me, "For David, the king of Israel." I said to him, "Your Excellency, show me the glory of David." He said to me, "My friend, wait for three hours until David cometh hither and thou shalt behold his greatness." [125] He took me and seated me in his bosom. He said to me, "What dost thou see?" I said to him, "I see seven lightnings which strike as one." He said to me, "My son, close thine eyes that thou not be shaken by those that shall go forth to meet David." At once, all ophanim and seraphim and the holy beasts and treasuries of snow and treasuries of hail and clouds of glory and planets and stars and ministering angels and fiery spirits of the fourth heaven cried out in tumult, saying: "For the chief musician, a psalm of David. The heavens are telling the glory of God." And I heard a sound of a great uproar which came from Gozen, saying: "The Lord shall reign forever and ever." And behold David, the King of Israel, came first, and I beheld all the kings of the house of David following after him, and each had his crown on his head and the crown of David was more brilliant and differed from all the other crowns and its splendor went forth from one end of the world to the other. [126] When David went up to the great school which is in the firmament, there was set for him a throne of fire which was forty parasangs in height and double in length and double in breadth. And when David came and sat down upon his throne which was prepared for him opposite the throne of his Creator (and all the kings of the house of David sit before him, and all the kings of the house of Israel stand behind him) at once David arose and uttered songs and praises [such as] ear hath not heard from [the creation of] the world. And when David began and said, "The Lord shall rule forever; thy God, Zion, to all generations, Hallelujah!" Metatron and all his servants began and said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, all the earth is full of His glory," and the beasts praise God saying, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place," and the firmaments say, "The Lord shall reign forever," and all the earth saith, "The Lord has been King, the Lord is King, the Lord shall be King, forever and ever," and all the kings of the house of David say, "The Lord shall be King over all the earth, in that day shall the Lord be one and His name One."

{...}

[The Second Apocalypse]

[130] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus did 'Akhtariel Yah the Lord God of Hosts converse with me, saying: "My friend Ishmael, know that I have not given to any of the nations of the world [permission] to enslave Israel, except for one day in this world, [and that] because Israel forsook Me and bowed down to other gods and set up a graven image in my house (and [therefore] did I drive My Shekinah forth from [that place] where I had sworn to cause My name to dwell forever). And they did anger Me and did provoke Me, they, their kings and their princes, their priests and their prophets. And for seven hundred years did they remain separate from Me. And I swore in Mine anger that I would subdue them beneath the [kingdom of] iron and the [kingdom of] clay. And their princes shall they kill and their kings shall they slaughter, their youths shall they cast out and their children shall they dash to pieces, and they shall make the yoke of their old men heavy and shall decree upon them harsh decrees until they shall pine away in their iniquity and in the iniquity of their fathers. Either let them return to Me, or the end shall be fulfilled, for thus have I sent unto them by the hand of My servants the prophets, that I will visit upon them the days of the Baalim when they did burn incense to them. And even as they did provoke Me to anger seven hundred years, so I will surely anger them and make them jealous with a foolish nation and a

nation for which I set apart no kingdom, in that day when I cast lots for all the peoples. Because, even because....”

[131] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When I heard “Because, even because” my hands grew feeble and I fell prostrate upon my face and I was terrified and there was no force in me, neither to speak nor to answer. At once did Metatron the Prince of the Presence answer and said to me, “My friend, rise and stand and strengthen thy loins and understand and be intelligent in [the matter of] the words which He will speak to thee.” And I heard a voice going forth from between the two cherubim and saying: “My friend, Ishmael, fear not, for I will not exact from them payment measure for measure, for I know that they have not in them the strength to endure; but I act for My Name’s sake and I set division between the nations and great enmity between Edom and Ishmael, that they make war one with another and so destroy not utterly my people Israel.”

[132] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I sat and did reckon the reckoning which was first given me, and I reckoned to Babylon seventy years, and to Media fifty and two years, and to Greece an hundred and eighty years, and for Edom I had not yet made reckoning till I arose in the same prayer and in the same affliction in which I had first fallen aforetime. Straightway I heard a voice from heaven going forth and saying, “My friend, Ishmael, know thou that if Israel repent, forthwith shall they be re- deemed, for thus did I stipulate with Isaiah [30.15]: ‘In repenting and rest shall ye be saved.’”

[133] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word, and said, “If they do not repent, shall they never be redeemed?” He said to me, “Either they shall pine away in their iniquity or the end shall be completed.”

[134] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word, and said, “And may not the end of this wicked kingdom be revealed?” I heard a voice going forth and saying, “My friend Ishmael, at the end of the fulfillment of seven hundred years, from the time of the building of {the} house [which was built by the authority] of the kings of Persia, all things shall come to an end and they shall finally cease from off all the face of the earth and that shall be the cleansing of iniquities. Even as they did forsake Me seven hundred years and did serve the Baalim, so I, even I, will forsake them and will cast them off into the hand of the cruel, seven hundred years. And there shall be for them no saviour, no priest, neither teacher, and no prophet and no king and no leader and no prince until they turn and return to Me in prayer and in supplications for mercy. And yet, if they seek My Face, I shall be found of them, and I shall bring them back to their land.”

[135] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I retorted word against word and said, “And if they do not repent shall they never be redeemed?” He said to me “I will set over them a king whose decrees shall be harsh as Haman’s, and against their will, by compulsion, they shall return to Me. And this shall be [Daniel 8.23] ‘a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences.’ [7.25] ‘And he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High; and he shall think to change the times and the law; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and half a time.’”

[136] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I reckoned the reckoning: For Babylon seventy years and for Media fifty and two and for Greece and hundred and eighty and for Edom accordingly I found the years to the destruction of the second temple to complete seven hundred years. And I sought in books which Daniel had closed up and sealed, and I found written in them: “Seven hundred years were determined and decreed upon Thy people and upon Thy holy city and at their fulfillment shall the transgressors cease and the sinners shall come to an end and the iniquity of a small people shall be atoned and He that is righteous forever shall bring the Messiah who has remained hidden and sealed [from the sight] of all the prophets and he shall anoint the Holy of Holies.”

[137] Said Rabbi Ishmael: And even as Daniel explained I found written [Daniel 9.24] “Seventy weeks are decreed upon Thy people and upon Thy holy city to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins and to make reconciliation for iniquity and to bring in everlasting righteousness and to seal up vision and prophecy and

to anoint the Holy of Holies.” And these seventy weeks be a sign for seven hundred years, and when these do come to their end they shall end at even {ing}, and straightway shall come the light, for it is said [Zachariah 14.7] “And it shall come to pass that at evening time there shall be light.”

[138] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Why was this [vision of the] end revealed to me? Inasmuch as I had set my heart to study wisdom and to reckon seasons and times, minutes and ends, and a period of periods and a season of seasons. And I turned my face to the supernal Holy One in prayer and in supplications and in fasting and in sackcloth and in mourning, and I did often pray saying: “O Lord God of Hosts, God of Israel, how long are we to be loathsome and broken, made a mock and a derision among the peoples. All those who see us will mock us and say, ‘These are they, the people of the Lord. Why did He smite them and why did He cast them out from before His face?’ And they say, ‘Because of the greatness of their iniquity and the strength of their sin did He abominate them and loathed them and put them away from before His face and He shall bring them back no more?’” And because of this prayer did ’Akhtariel Yah, the Lord God of Israel converse with me.

[The Third Apocalypse]

[140] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Metatron, the great Prince of the Presence, spoke to me [saying]: “My friend, come and I shall reveal the Messianic end which even they of old time were not worthy that it should be revealed to them, but thy glory is weighed equal to [that of] Aaron the Priest. As for that generation in which the son of David shall come, in it are all the peoples like unto a woman in travail, eating and drinking but with no thought. And there shall be wailing among the holy, and cries of terror among the images of the mighty ones, and trembling shall arise in the cities and quaking in the provinces. And the vine shall yield its fruits, yet shall wine cost dear, and the olives shall be smitten and oil shall be dear. And none that laboreth, he and his household, all the day long suffereth to support himself and to support his household, because of the great cost of living. And when the nations of the world do see that this be so, they give authority for assistance in all things, as it is said [Psalms 97.7] ‘Ashamed be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols.’ And when thou seest all these signs, know that this is the Messianic end.

[142] Thereafter come four from the four winds of the world and these be they: the children of Maskidia from one quarter, the children of Shabbur from one quarter, the children of Mash and Marghish from one quarter, the children of Piston from one quarter and they make war with one another and kill one another, and there fall of them, that day, more than two hundred thousand slain. At that time do they say to one another, ‘Why should we make war? Come and we shall compromise and whoever winneth shall be supreme king and we shall all serve him.’

[143] Then shall the Messiah come forth from prison with [naught save] his staff and his sack, and he warneth them, ‘I am patient with you.’ Then do they say one to another, ‘With what shall he conquer us. His countenance is not that of men and his form is not that of men. His wealth is not that of men. His strength is not that of men. We are rich, strong, warlike, the children of kings. And this fellow – with what shall he conquer us?’ They say to him, ‘If we conquer you what do you give us?’ The Messiah saith unto them, ‘If you conquer me, behold I and all the children of Israel are your slaves.’ When they hear this, from the greatness of the love with which they love to enslave Israel doth each one say unto him ‘Say what thou wilt.’ The Messiah saith unto them, ‘The thing which I propose is small and is not great: He who bring to life all these slain shall be king over us.’ Straightway are their words stopped up and they have no mouth to speak. [144] Then doth the Messiah stand and wrap himself in prayer and gird himself as an hero before Him who spoke and the world was. He saith before Him, ‘Master of worlds, remember on my behalf the suffering and grief and darkness and obscurity in which I was cast, mine eyes which beheld no light and mine ears which heard great reviling and the scurvy of my skin upon my bones and the breaking of my heart in my vitals and the weakening of my strength with pain and grief. It is revealed and known before Thee that in this matter I have not acted for my own glory,

nor yet for the glory of my father's house have I acted, but for Thy glory have I acted, for Thy sake and for Thy temple {and} for Thy children who dwell in sorrow among the peoples of the world.' Then do those two hundred thousand stand upon their feet and say, 'We are of Israel, we are of Israel' as it is said [Zech. 2.15], 'And many nations shall join themselves unto the Lord.' Then doth the Messiah say unto them, 'Go ye and assemble all your brethren from all the nations.' And they go and assemble all Israel and bring them and cause them to stand before the Messiah as it is said [Isaiah 66.20], 'And they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations as an offering unto the Lord.'"

[145] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Zegangael, the Prince of the Presence, said to me, "All the peoples of the world are destined to come to the Messiah and say to him, 'We have heard concerning thee that thou hast power to kill and to make alive. We pray thee, speak with the Holy One, blessed be He, that He receive from us a gift.' He saith unto them, 'And what gift do you bring to me?' They say unto him, 'We have destroyed the house of dwelling, from it we shall enter.'* And we say unto them, 'Those men are wicked. He needeth not your building, for of it is written [Ps 147.2] "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem" etc.' They say unto him, 'We, if that be so, shall gather in it precious stones and pearls the like of which is not in all the world.' He saith unto them, 'Ye wicked, all precious stones and pearls are His, for it is said [Haggai 2.8], "The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine" etc.' Then doth the Holy Spirit answer them and saith unto them, 'Fools and evil-doers, what do ye bring in place of the great men and the lords whom ye have killed?' Straightway they go forth from before him in disappointment."

* In a marginal note, Scholem suggests that the reading of this quote be 'We shall enter from the temple which is destroyed'; that is, as their gift, the nations offer to rebuild the temple. This passage is similar to the offer—and rejection—of the Samaritans in Ezra 4.

[146] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Splendor of Height said to me, "Come and I shall show thee their appearance. Between firmament and firmament is hung water; between water and water, fire; between fire and fire, water; between water and water, fire and hail and water. Fire burneth more fiercely and there is a wall of fire on either side of the throne and seraphim standing before Him and saying, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts' and beasts uttering praise, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place.' And the firmament saith, 'The Lord shall reign forever.' And the earth saith, 'The Lord reigneth, He is apparelled with majesty.' And the seas and the rivers utter praise and say, 'To Him who divided the Red Sea into parts' etc."

[147] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Splendor of Height said to me, "I make a request of thee: Say unto Israel, 'Love the repentant.' For repentance reacheth and goeth to the throne of glory, three hundred and ninety firmaments (removed). The repentant are greater than the ministering angels. [148] For at the time when Israel went into exile, Metatron and Yikhael and Gabhriel said 'What shall we do?' Forthwith they laid their hands upon their heads and wept with a loud voice and said, 'Who will go up to the height of heights and weep before Him who spoke and the world was, that He shall return from the fierceness of His anger and shall have mercy upon His children. [149] Metatron said to them, 'I shall go up when they go up.' All those who glowed with fire shrank trembling from before him. When he had ascended [through] eighty firmaments the heavens and the heavens of the heavens shook and the holy ones above said with one voice, 'How comes it that the odor of one born of woman ascendeth on high' until the Holy One, blessed be He, said unto them, 'He is one of the servants of justice and of My seraphs. Permit him that he come and weep over [the fate of] My children who have gone into exile among wolves and among lions, and over their temple and their Law, that the son of the son of Nimrod the wicked has burned them, and over sages and students who were killed in the holy temple. Heaven forbid that My hands were relaxed and that I was not able to deliver them because they themselves relaxed from the study of the Law, and there were not among them penitents who might beseech mercy upon them. For if only there had been among them penitents who might have besought mercy upon them I had not made them over death.' Behold, thou hast learned that the repentant are greater than the ministering angels."

[150] Said Rabbi Ishmael: These heavens [of which I speak] are 390 [in number] for such [is the numerical value of the word] Shamaim [viz: *heavens*] in gematria. And lest thou shouldst say that these [heavens] alone exist [I state in advance that the fact is not so] but this far it is permitted to speak, from here on thou hast no right to speak. For there is no number to the membranes, and there is no end and reckoning, and there is no sum to firmaments of fire. And the conflagration cometh. But search not deeply into this matter, that thou be not banished from the world, but put an end [to the questionings] in thy heart.

[151] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Once I was burning whole burnt offering upon the altar and I beheld 'Akhtariel Yah the Lord of Hosts sitting on a throne high and lifted up. He said to me, "Ishmael, my son, bless Me." I said before Him, "Master of the Worlds, may it be Thy will, O Lord my God, that Thy mercy conquer Thine anger, and may Thy mercy prevail over Thine [other] attributes, and deal with Thy children according to Thine attribute of mercy, and walk, for their sakes, within the line of justice." And He nodded toward me.

CHAPTER VII:

[152] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Surya, the Prince of the Presence, spoke to me, saying, "Friend, I shall tell thee the praise of the King and of His throne." Therefore it is said:

Thou hast uplifted the throne of Thy glory upon the cherubim of heaven,
And the ophanim of greatness do bear it,
And creatures of frost, creatures of mist, creatures of flame,
Crowned with loftiness and with splendor.
And the eyes of Shaddai are lifted up upon them,
And they were extended beneath it
As rams beneath the plough.
And it was erected upon their heads
With strength, might and power.

(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[153] Be exalted, be raised on high, be lifted up, O splendid King!
Upon the throne raised high and lifted up, fearful and terrific.
Thou dwellest in the chambers of the temple of loftiness.
The servants of Thy throne are terrified and make tremble
The heavens which are the footstool of Thy feet, each day,
With voice of exultation and tumult of psalmody and roar of songs.

(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

[154] Messengers of the Power [of God] and awakeners of the Shekhinah
(Tumultuous of voice, who magnify song
To the voice of the servants and the voice of the mighty)
Sing, with sweet mouth and with holy melody,
Him who dwelleth in the lava stream of flaming coals.

[155] They bear up the wheel of the throne of His glory, [singing]:
"Sing, sing for joy, supernal dwelling!
"Shout, shout for joy, precious vessel!
"Made marvelously and a marvel.
"Surely thou shalt gladden the King who sitteth upon thee,
"[With a joy] as the joy of the bridegroom in his bridechamber.
"Let him rejoice, and let all the seed of Jacob be glad."
[Thus said I] when I came to take refuge under the shadow of Thy wings
In the joy of my heart which rejoiced in thee.

(For thy converse [my heart] is with the converse of the King
And with thy Maker thou dost hold discourse.)
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

- [156] O wreathed with splendor, crowned with crowns,
Supernal singers in the song of rejoylation
Extol ye the Lord of flame,
For in the innermost Shekhinah, in the innermost chamber
Of the chamber of His chambers do ye dwell.
He hath distinguished your name from the name of His servants,
He hath separated you from the servants of the Merkabha.
He who nameth the name of one from among you –
Fire flames, flame encircles,
Blaze encompasseth, coals of splendor brought forth.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

- [157] O beloved of the Fearful, chosen of the Most High,
Ye who lift up [your] faces, whose converse is majestic,
Agreeable and pleasant in the eyes of Shaddai,
Who speak and are heard in the presence of the splendid King,
Servants of his majesty, crying: “King majestic
“Enthroned in the chambers of the palace of silence
“Dread and fear, holiness and purity.”
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)

CHAPTER VIII:

- [158] O ye who cancel decrees, who annul vows,
Who avert wrath, who quiet jealousy,
Who cause love to be remembered, who set forth friendship
Before the loftiness of the majesty of the fearful palace,
What aileth ye that ye be fearful
And there be times when ye rejoice?
What aileth ye that ye do sing for exultation,
And there be times when ye are terrified?
They said:
“When the ophanim of the power of God darken the Merkabha
“We rejoice with great joy.”
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.”)
- [159] A lovely face, a majestic face,
A face of beauty, a face of flame,
Is the face of the Lord God of Israel
When He sitteth upon the throne of His glory
And His dignity is established in the dwelling of His majesty.
His beauty is more lovely than the beauty of the powers,
His majesty surpasseth the majesty of the bridegrooms
And brides in their bride-chambers.
He that beholdeth Him is at once torn in pieces,
And he that glimpseth His beauty at once poureth himself out as a vessel.

[160] They who serve Him to-day
 Serve Him not to-morrow,
 And they who serve Him to-morrow
 Serve Him never again.
 For their strength grew feeble and their faces darkened,
 Their hearts wandered and their eyes were obscured
 After [the vision of] His majesty, the splendor of the beauty of their King.
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

Servitors beloved, servitors lovely,
 Servitors who hasten, servitors swift,
 Are they who stand upon the stone of the throne of the glory
 And who are stationed upon the wheel of the Merkabha.
 As the stone of the throne of the glory returneth upon them,
 As the wheel of the Merkabha snatches them
 They who stand to the right return and stand to the left
 And they who stand to the left return and stand to the right,
 And they who stand before return and stand behind
 And they who stand behind return and stand before.
 He who beholdeth the other saith, "This is he,"
 For the feature of the face of the one
 Is like the feature of the face of the other,
 And the feature of the face of the other
 Is like the feature of the face of the one.
 Happy the King of whom those be the servants!
 And happy the servants of whom this be the King!
 Happy the eye which feedeth itself
 And which gazeth upon this wonderful light,
 A vision wonderful and exceeding strange!
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

[161] Rivers of joy, rivers of rejoicing,
 Rivers of jubilation, rivers of content,
 Rivers of love, rivers of friendship,
 Pour themselves, issuing forth from before the throne of glory,
 Strengthen themselves and pass through the gates of the seventh heaven.
 From the sound of the playing of the harps of His beasts,
 From the sound of the exultation of the drums of His ophanim,
 And from the sound of music of the cymbals of His cherubim
 A sound strengtheneth itself and goeth forth in a great tumult
 When Israel saith before Him,
 "Holy, Holy, Holy."

CHAPTER IX:

[162] In the sound of the seas, in the tumult of rivers
 In the waves of Tarshish which the south wind troubleth,
 In the sound of the song of the throne of glory
 Which maketh music and praiseth the splendid King –
 A multitude of sounds and great tumult! –

Many did utter their voices
Before the throne of glory, to aid it and to strengthen it,
When it maketh music and applaudeth the Mighty One of Jacob.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

- [163] "Blessed be ye to the heavens and to the earth, ye who descend to the Merkabha,
"If ye will say and will declare to My children what I do,
"In morning prayer and in noonday and in evening prayer
"And in each day and in each hour
"When Israel saith before me 'Holy.'
"Teach them, and say unto them,
"Lift up your eyes to the firmament over against your house of prayer
"At the time when you say before Me "Holy.""
"For I have no pleasure in all My world which I have created
"Like in that time when your eyes are lifted up to Mine
"And Mine eyes are lifted up to yours,
"At the time you say before Me, 'Holy.'
"For the breath which goeth forth from your mouths at that time
"Moveth and riseth up before Me as a pleasant savor.
- [164] "And bear witness to them, witness of what ye have seen,
"What I do to the feature of the face of Jacob your father
"Which is graven for Me upon the throne of My glory,
"For at the time when you say before Me, 'Holy,'
"I bow down upon it and clasp it
"And embrace it and kiss it
"And My hands rest upon its arms three times
"As against the three times that you say before Me, 'Holy.'"
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")
- [165] Who will not attribute majesty to the King majestic,
Who will not give praise to the King who is praised,
Who will not hallow the King who is hallowed?
For each day do powers and many wonders
Come to pass before Him, each surpassing and more strange than the other.
For from the breath of the eyelids of His chief servants,
Which moveth and goeth out from their mouths
When they make mention of that splendid name,
The name which entereth by the ears and goeth out by the mouth
And which is forgotten from the heart that is not fitted for it.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")
- [166] For in that place where it be mentioned
It lighteneth and dawneth and gildeth and silvereth
And moveth topaz and onyx and sapphire,
Carbuncle and emerald and pure marble,
For wonderful and strange and great secret is it,
The name by which heaven and earth were created
And by which all the categories of creation
Were swallowed up and bound together and suspended and sealed.
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

CHAPTER X:

- [167] Be proud, be proud ye lofty!
Lift yourselves up, lift yourselves up ye splendid!
Strengthen, strengthen yourselves, ye strong!
Exalt, exalt yourselves, ye haughty!
For to the King of the world and to all His servants,
To them alone,
[Belong] loftiness and strength, haughtiness and splendor.
For it is fitting that the servants of His sublimity should exalt themselves,
And it is proper that they who bear up His throne should make themselves strong.

{*Shi'ur Qomah* material begins}

- [167] For from the throne of His glory and upwards His height is one hundred and eighty thousands of myriads of parasangs, and from the throne of His glory and downwards there be one hundred and eighty thousands of myriads of parasangs. His stature is two hundred and thirty and six thousands of myriads of parasangs. From the ball of the right eye to the ball of the left eye there be thirty myriads of parasangs. The width of His right eye is three myriads of parasangs and three thousand parasangs, and so for His left eye. And from His right arm to His left arm His width is seventy and seven myriads of parasangs, and His arms are folded upon His shoulders. His right arm – The Mover is its name, and the name of His left arm is The Follower (?) The palms of His hands are four thousands of myriads of parasangs, each one. The right palm – its name is Just, and of the left the name is Holy. Therefore He was called “God the great, the strong, and the fearful.” Said Metatron, “Thus far have I beheld the height of Jedidiah, the Master of the world. Peace.” [These revelations enable us to understand the verses in the Song of Songs 5.9 ff.] “What is thy beloved move than another beloved, O thou fairest among women?” etc. “My love is white and ruddy,” etc., all the section down to “daughters of Jerusalem.”

{*Shi'ur Qomah* material ends}

- [168] For how many of the mighty are they
Who bear up the throne of the glory of this mighty King,
Standing laden, day and night,
Evening and morning and noon, in trembling and in terror,
In fright, in shivering, in shaking and in fear!
And how great strength is there in ye, ye servants of our God,
That ye recall to Him and cause Him to hear
The reminder of His name, in the height of the world!
There is no searching out and no telling the sound and the strength.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)

- [169] The ban of Heaven be upon ye, ye who descend to the Merkabha,
If ye remember not and declare not what ye have heard
And if ye bear not witness of what ye have seen on the faces,
The faces of loftiness, the faces of strength,
The faces of sublimity, the faces of splendor,
Which lift themselves up, and maintain themselves on high, which
crowd upward and make themselves great,
The faces exalt and strengthen themselves
Three times each day, on high,
And the children of men know them not and recognize them not.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)

CHAPTER XI:

[170] When the Angel of the Presence goeth in to arrange and to set in order the throne of His glory and to prepare a seat for the Mighty One of Jacob, a thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the ophanim of majesty, and a thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Two thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the cherubim of glory, and two thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Three thousand diadems doth he bind upon the head of each one of the Holy Beasts, and three thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Six thousand diadems doth he bind to [him who is called] Shining Light, to him and to eight thousand thousands of thousands of myriad myriads of myriads of diadems, and six thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them. Twelve thousand diadems doth he bind upon [the angel of] lightning, upon him and upon sixteen thousand thousands and myriad myriads of myriads of diadems, twelve thousand times doth he kneel and fall down and prostrate himself before each one of them.

[172] I make a request of ye^{*}
Hypostates, who bear the throne of His glory
With whole heart and with longing soul:
Increase jubilation and exultation and song and the making of music
Before the glorious throne of 'Totrosiai Nebhobh Medhath Za'an.
(And there be those who say 'Tesar Nadhibh Merath Za'an the Lord God of Israel.)
And let His heart rejoice at the time of the prayer of his children,
And He will permit Himself to be sought and to be found of them
that descend to the Merkabha
At the time when they stand before the throne of His glory.

^{*} Smith's indication of a lacuna here appears unnecessary. Kuyt has, "I ask of you, MDWT of the bearers of the throne of glory" (—*The 'Descent' to the Chariot*, page 176).

[173] Each day, when the dawn beginneth to appear,
The King majestic sitteth and blesseth the beasts"
"To ye, Beasts, do I speak,
"Ye, Creatures, do I cause to hear.
"O Beasts, who bear the throne of My glory
"With whole heart and with longing soul,
"May that hour be blest in which I created ye,
"May that planet be exalted under which I formed ye,
"May the light of that day
"In which ye occurred to the thoughts of My heart, shine.
"For ye are a precious vessel which I have prepared and have completed.
"Be silent before Me, all creatures which I have made,
"That I may listen and give ear to the voice of the prayer of My children."

{...}

{A marginal note at this place reads: '(Something omitted / ית' = תכרך ? So probably best left out / thrice below)'}
{...}

[178] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Happy are Israel! How much dearer are they in the sight of the Holy One, blessed be He, than are the ministering angels! For when the ministering angels wish to sing a song of heaven above, they first gather about the throne of glory, like mountains of fire and hills of flame, and the Holy One, blessed be He, saith unto them, "Be silent before Me each angel and each beast and each ophan and each seraph whom

I have created until I shall first have heard and have given ear unto the voice of the song of the praise of Israel My children.” For it is said [Job 38.7], “When the morning stars sang together,” these be Israel; “And all the sons of God shouted for joy,” these be the household of the angels. When is there glory in heaven, as it is written [Psalms 57.11], “Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens”? At the time when “thy glory [is over] all the earth,” etc. Thousands of myriads of ministering angels stand to the right of the throne, and over against them to the left of the throne, and between the surrounding rivers stand the princes, the great ones, they who stand in command of each troop and each host to the right of the throne and to the left of the throne, and who teach [them] to sing songs and to make music for the glory of the King of Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He.

[179] When it cometh the time of the angels to sing songs and to make music before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Lord, [then doth] the angel Shamiel, the great, honored and fearful prince stand above the windows of the lowest firmament to hear and to attend to the sound of the songs and the music and the praises which ascend from the earth, from the synagogues and from the schools, that he may cause them to be heard before the seventh heaven. [180] And why doth he stand above the windows of the firmament? Because the ministering angels have not permission to sing a song [in heaven] above until Israel first open their mouths in song [on earth] below, as it is said, “Praise ye the Lord our God.” And all the ministering angels and all angels of each heaven, when they hear the voice of songs and praises which Israel saith [on earth] below, do commence [in heaven] above with “Holy, holy, holy.” [180] And why is the name of that prince called Shamiel? Because at each dawn he standeth and causeth the voice of songs and praises which ascend from earth, from synagogues and schools, to be heard before each firmament unto the seventh heaven and the holy beasts and ophanim and seraphim and cherubim of majesty. When they heareth [the voice of Israel] and causeth it to be heard in each firmament, straightway there descend troops upon troops, ranks upon ranks, companies upon companies, camps upon camps, divisions upon divisions of ministering angels from every firmament to the midst of rivers of fire and rivers of flame and rivers of burning and immerse themselves therein seven times and examine themselves in fire three hundred and sixty and five times.

[181] And have, then, the ministering angels flux and [are they liable to] impurity, that they need immersion? But these are those ministering angels who are set over the service of the world and who descend each day to make peace in the world. And when the time of song cometh they mount up to the firmament. And because of the odor of the children of men born of women, because they do have flux are [are liable to] impurity, [these angels] immerse themselves in fire and cleanse and make brilliant and separate and examine and strengthen and magnify and better themselves in fire until they make themselves holy and hallowed, clean and cleansed, and they return and are once more the angels of the seventh heaven.

[182] And thereafter do they call one to another and speak one to another and they ascend from the rivers of fire each with the permission of the other and they strengthen themselves and make themselves like unto light and unto lightning of the splendors of splendor. And thereafter they go up on a ladder of fire, each with the permission of the other, with laud, with praise, with psalm, with rejoicing, with exultation, until they come unto the soldiers of the seventh heaven, unto lightnings of brilliance, unto cherubim and ophanim, unto holy beasts, unto the wheels of the Merkabha, unto the majesties of the countenance, unto the winged beings, unto the throne which is high and lifted up. [183] Forthwith do they stand in fear and in trembling and in shaking and in holiness and in truth and in humility and cover their faces with their wings that they behold not the likeness of God who sitteth upon the Merkabha, and there stand troops upon troops of a thousand thousands of thousands and ranks upon ranks of a myriad myriads of myriads and camps upon camps uncountable and hosts upon hosts without number, like unto mountains upon mountains of fire, and like unto hills upon hills of flame, before the throne of glory. And then doth the Holy One, blessed be He, seat Himself upon the throne of glory, and His glory filleth the world, as it is said, “All the earth is full of His glory.”

[184] And moreover the holy beasts do strengthen and hallow and purify themselves more than these, and each beast has bound upon its head a thousand thousands of thousands of crowns of luminaries of diverse sort, and they are clothed in clothing of fire and wrapped in a covering of flame and cover their faces with lightning. And the Holy One, blessed be He, uncovereth His face.

[185] And wherefore do the holy beasts and the ophanim of magnificence and the cherubim of majesty hallow and purify and clothe and wrap and adorn themselves yet more? Because the Merkabha is upon their faces and the throne of glory upon their heads and the Shekhina over them and rivers of fire pass between them, accordingly do they strengthen themselves and make themselves splendid and purify themselves in fire seventy times and do all of them stand in cleanliness and holiness and sing songs and music, praise and rejoicing and applause, with one voice, with one utterance, with one mind and with one melody.

[186] And not only [do they purify themselves] but [nevertheless] there fall from them – that is, from the ministering angels – a thousand thousands and myriad myriads, fall to the river of fire and are burned. Wherefore? Because there may not be among them any who preceedeth or delayeth, who singeth more softly or loudly the song and the sanctus [which are sung] before the King of Kings of Kings. Accordingly any who preceedeth the rest or who delayeth [and singeth] after them in the song is at once burned.

[187] But among the holy beasts there is none that preceedeth or delayeth because their height is one and their breadth is one and their clothing is one and their strength is one and the crowns on their heads are one and their splendor is one. And the creatures are arranged at the four feet of the throne, one over against the other: One wheel over against another, one ophan over against another, one beast over against another, one cherub over against another and one melody over against another. And they open their mouths in song, in thanksgiving, in fear, in fright, in terror, in trembling, in shaking, in shivering, in cleanliness and in holiness and in a still, small voice, as it is said, “and after the tumult (*sic*) a still, small voice.”

[188] And they lift up the Merkabha with a sound of songs, with praise and with laud. Then do the holy hallow, the pure applaud, the messengers exalt, the wheels rejoice, the cherubim praise, the beasts bless, the seraphim give utterance, the troops magnify, the angels make music and they are divided into three groups of a thousand thousands and myriad of myriads. One group saith, “Holy, holy, holy,” and kneeleth and falleth prostrate; and the second group saith, “Holy, holy, holy,” and kneeleth and falleth prostrate; and the third group saith, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts, all the earth is full of His glory,” and it kneeleth and falleth prostrate. And the beasts from under the throne of glory answer after them and say, “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His dwelling place.”

[189] Each day, when [the time of] the afternoon prayer arriveth,
The King majestic sitteth and praiseth the beasts,
But before He have finished speaking
The holy beasts come forth from beneath the throne of glory,
Their mouths full of exultation, their wings full of jubilation,
Clapping their hands, their feet dancing,
And they encircle and surround their King,
One on His right and one on His left
And one before Him and one behind Him.
And they embrace and kiss Him and uncover their faces,
(They uncover, and the King of glory covereth His face)
And the seventh heaven is broken like a sieve
Because of the effulgence of the splendor of the beauty of the dignity
Of the loveliness of the mercy of the desire of the brilliance
Of the glory of the praise of the appearance of their faces.
(As it is said, “Holy, holy, holy.”)

CHAPTER XII:

[190] They who cancel decrees, who annul vows,
Who avert wrath, who quiet jealousy,
Who cause love to be remembered – the love of Abraham – before their King,
When they behold Him, that He is angry against His children,
What do they do?
They beat upon their crowns and ungird their loins
And strike their heads and fall upon their faces
And say:
“Release, release, O Maker of Creation!
“Pardon, pardon, O mighty One of Jacob!
“Atone, atone, O Holy One of Israel!
“For loftiest of Kings art thou.
“King fearful, King terrific,
“King beloved, King honored,
“Why shouldst Thou be hostile against the seed of Abraham?
“Why shouldst Thou be jealous against the seed of Isaac?
“Why shouldst Thou be contentious against the seed of Jacob?
“For Thou hast called them the purchase of heaven and earth.”

And horns come out from beneath the throne of His glory
In many multitudes, and blow long and loud, and bless [saying]:
“Blessed be ye who are advocates for My children,
“Praised be ye who laud the Patriarchs”

And all the host on high rendered them glory and greatness, 'drw 'th t'n 'wry tzt the Lord God of Israel, which they were called.

[196] Behold it saith [I Chr. 29.2 ff.]: “Thine, Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth [is Thine]; Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and Thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honor come of Thee, and Thou rulest over all, and in Thine hand is power and might, and in Thine hand it is to make great and to give strength unto all. Now, therefore, our God, we thank Thee, and praise Thy glorious name.” And it saith, “How many are Thy works, O Lord, all of them hast Thou made with wisdom. The earth is full of Thy creatures.” Therefore be clothed with majesty, be exalted and be lifted up, O splendid King, be blessed and be praised and be hallowed, Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel. (For He is called Totrosi'ai, Totrosyah, Totrosy'a, Totrosih, Totrosiel, Totrosig, Totrosikh, Totrosiph, Totrosiz, Totrosish, Totrosibh, Totrosin, Totrosis, Totrosi', Totrosik, Totrosith, Zurtag, Zoharariel, 'Ashrawwili'ai. And the right procedure in dealing with this paragraph with these great [magical] names is to read Totrosi'ai to Totrosith according to this order, Yod, He, Aleph, Heth, Lamed, Gimel, Kaph, Pe, Zade, etc. [These being the final letters of the names.]

CHAPTER XIII:

[198] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah saw that the wicked city Rome had taken counsel against the mighty ones of Israel to destroy them, he straightway revealed the secret of the world, that which is seen of him who is worthy to gaze upon the King and His throne, in His glory and His beauty, and [upon] the holy beasts, upon the cherubim of the Power [of God], and upon the ophanim of the Shekinah, upon lightning terrific, upon chain-lightning terrible, when the lava-stream which encompasseth His throne, upon its bridges and upon conflagrations which increase in strength and rise up between one bridge and another, and

upon dust of smoke and upon wind of splendour which raised all the dust of coals which was covering and hiding with the darkness of coals all the chambers of the palace of the seventh heaven. And Surya, Prince of the Presence, the servant of Totrakhiel the Lord, is great.

[199] To what can this scheme for those who descend to the Merkabha be likened? It is like unto a man who hath a ladder in his house, [and] who was going up and down on it and there is no creature that preventeth him. Whoever is clean and guiltless of idolatry and of sexual sins and of murder and of slander and vain oaths and of blasphemy and presumption and of groundless enmity and who keepeth every positive and negative commandment.

[200] Said Rabbi Ishmael: My master Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah said to me: Scion of nobles, fortunate is he (who is thus clean) and fortunate is his soul, for everyone who is clean and guiltless of these eight matters (which Totrakiel the Lord and His servant Surya the Prince of the Presence loathe) may go down and gaze

On the wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory
Three times each day, on high
From the day when the world was created and until now, for praise,
With which Totrakiel the Lord doth conduct himself on high.

CHAPTER XIV

[201] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When my ears heard this warning my strength grew feeble. I said to Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master, "If so there is no end to the matter. For you will find no man whose soul is yet in his body who is clean and guiltless of these eight matters." He said to me, "Scion of nobles, and if not – ? Arise and bring before me all the great ones of the company and all the mighty ones of the academy, and I shall declare before them the hidden, the concealed secrets, wonders of the ascent, and the weaving of the web upon which the perfection of the world and the excellence thereof doth stand, and the beauty of heaven and earth (wherein all the ends of the earth and the world and the ends of the firmaments of the height are bound, sewed and joined, hung and standing) and the path of the ladder to the height, of which one end is on earth and one end on the right foot of the throne of glory."

[202] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Straightway I arose and assembled all the Sanhedrin, great and small, to the third entrance which was in the house of the Lord. And he was sitting upon a chair of pure marble which Elisha my father gave me, for it was of the goods of her that bore me which she did bring to him in her dowry. [203] And there came Rabban Simon ben Gamliel and Rabbi Eliezer the Great and Rabbi Elazar ben Dama and Elazar ben Shammua and Jonathan ben Dahabhai and Haninah ben Hakkanai and Jonathan ben Uziel and Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Judah ben Babba. We came and sat down before him. And all the multitude of companies were standing upon their feet, for they saw spiderwebs of fire and torches of light which made a separation between them and between us. And Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah sitteth and setteth in order before them all the teachings concerning the Merkabha, [the] descent and [the] ascent, how he descendeth who descendeth, and how he ascendeth who ascendeth.

[204] And whenever a man wished to descend to the Merkabha he would call to Surya the Prince of the Presence and conjure him one hundred and twelve times by Totrosi'ai the Lord (who is called Totrosi'ai Zurtak Totrakhiel Tophgar 'Ashrawwili'ai Zebhodi'el Zoharari'el Tandiel, and Shekhadhozi'ai Dehibhiron, and 'Andiriron the Lord God of Israel. And let him beware that he do not exceed an hundred and twelve times and do not diminish from them. And if he exceed or diminish his blood is upon his own head. Bit his mouth must utter [the words of conjuration] and the fingers of his hands must count one hundred and twelve and forthwith he may go down and rule in the [world of the] Merkabha.)

CHAPTER XV

[206] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah say to me: 'Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel of Hosts sitteth within seven palaces, one within another. And at the entrance to each palace are eight door-keepers, four to the right of the lintel and four to the left of the lintel. These be the names of the door-keepers of the first palace: Lahabhiel, and Kashrael, Gahoriel, Zekhuthiel, Tophhiel, and Lahariel, Mathkiel, and Shuwael. And there be those who say, And Shubhael. These be the names of the door-keepers of the second palace: Tagriel, and Mathpiel, Sarhiel, and 'Azpiel, Shaharariel, and Starel, Rig'iel, and Sahabiel. And these be the names of the door-keepers of the third palace: Shebhuriel, and Rezuziel, and Shalmiel, Sabhlael, and Zahazhael, Hadarel, and Puriel, and Paltriel. These be the names of the door-keepers of the fourth palace: Pahdiel, Gebhurthiel, Pozaziel, and Shekhinael, Shathkael, and 'Arbhiel, and Kapiel, and 'Anaphiel. These be the names of the door-keepers of the fifth palace: Tehilael, and 'Azziel, Gatoel, Gathoel, and Sa'aphriel, Naraphiel, and Gariel, Hadiel. And these be the names of the door-keepers of the sixth palace: Domiel, and Kazpiel, Gahaghiel, and 'Arasbarasbiel, 'Anromiel, and Parziel, and Magogael, and Tophrael.

And at the door of the seventh palace stand angry all the heroes, warlike, strong, harsh, fearful, terrific, taller than mountains and sharper than peaks, Their bows are strung and stand before them; their swords are sharpened and in their hands. And lightnings flow and issue forth from the balls of their eyes, and spider-webs of fire from their nostrils and torches of fiery coals from their mouths. And they are equipped with helmets and with coats of mail, and javelins and spears are hung upon their thews.

CHAPTER XVI

Their horses be heroes of darkness, horses of the shadow of death, horses of thick darkness, horses of fire, horses of blood, horses of hail, horses of iron, horses of fog. The horses upon which they ride stand beside mangers of fire full of coals of juniper and eat fiery coals from their mangers, [taking] a measure of forty bushel of coals in one mouthful. And the measure of the [content of the] mouth of such horse is [the content of] three mangers such as the mangers of Caesaraea, and the measure of each manger is the measure of the gate of Caesaraea. And there be rivers of fire beside their mangers, and each of their horses drinks as the measure of the fullness of the watercourse which is in the valley of Kidron, which bringeth and containeth all the rainwater of all Jerusalem. And in that place was a cloud above their heads, showering blood above their heads and [above the heads] of their horses. And this is the sign and the measure of the horses of the entrance of the seventh palace and a horse of the entrance of each palace.

[216] And all those who descend to the Merkabha ascend and are not harmed, but they behold all this trouble and descend safely and come to stand and bear witness and tell the fearful and terrific vision. (Whereas, in the palaces of kings who are flesh and blood, matters are otherwise. [Neither are such visions seen, nor do visitors get safely out.]) And they bless and praise and applaud and glorify and exalt and magnify and attribute honor and beauty and greatness to 'Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel who rejoiced in those who descend to the Merkabha and who sat and looked for each one of Israel, to know when he would descend and behold

The wonderful loftiness and strange lordship,
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory Three times each day, on high,
From the time when the world was created
And until now, for praise.

[217] King just, King faithful, King beloved, King lovely, King supporting King lowly, King humble, King righteous, King pious, King holy, King pure, King blessed, King lofty, King mighty, King gracious, King merciful, King of Kings of Kings and Lord of the Crowns.

[218] Totrosi'ai the Lord God of Israel desireth and awaiteth –
 In such measure as He awaiteth for the redemption and for the
 season of salvation
 Which is laid up for Israel for a day of vengeance
 After the destruction of the last temple –
 When shall he descendeth to the Merkabha descend?
 When shall he see the loftiness of the height?
 When shall he see the end which bringeth salvation?
 When shall he hear the end which is wrought by wonders?
 When shall he see that which eye hath not seen?
 When shall he ascend and tell to the seed of Abraham who loved Him?

CHAPTER XVII

[219] Said Rabbi Ishmael: When thou comest and standest at the entrance of the first palace take two seals in thy hands, one that of Totrosi'ai the Lord and one that of Surya the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Totrosi'ai the Lord to those standing to the left. Straightway Dahabhiel the Prince who is head of the entrance of the first palace and is appointed over the first palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Tophahiel the Prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him, – straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left until they bring thee and hand thee over to Taghriel and Mathpiel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Taghriel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the second palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Mathpiel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. [220] And show them two seals, one of 'Adhriwaron the Lord and one of 'Uzhiy'a the Prince of the Presence. Show that of 'Adhriwaron the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of 'Uzhiy'a the Prince of the Presence too those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, until they bring thee and hand the over to Shebhoriel and Reziziel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Shebhoriel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the third palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Reziziel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. Show them two seals, one of Zurtak the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of Dehabhyoron the Prince of the Presence to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, and these bring thee – two princes before and two princes behinds the – and hand thee over to Pahdiel and Gebhortiel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Pahdiel is the prince who is head of the entrance of the fourth palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and Gebhortiel is the prince who standeth to the right of the lintel with him. And show them two seals, one of Zebhoriel the Lord and one of Margiwiel the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Zebhoriel the Lord to those standing to the right, and show that of Margiwiel the Prince of the Presence to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee, one from thy right and one from thy left, until they bring thee and hand thee over to Tehilael and 'Azriel and make thy peace with them and warn them concerning thee. Now Tehilael is the prince who is head of the entrance of the fifth palace and standeth to the right of the lintel, and 'Azriel is the prince who standeth to the left of the lintel with him. And show them two seals, one of Totrakhiel the Lord and one of Zehaphtariai the Prince of the Presence. Show that of Totrakhiel to those standing to the right, and show that of Zehaphtariai to those standing to the left. Straightway they seize thee and bring thee – three princes before thee and three princes behind thee and two princes at thy sides, [224] because the door-keepers of the sixth palace would destroy all those who “do and do not” descend to the Merkabha because they act without permission. And [the superior powers] did give the door-keepers orders and beat them and burn them and set others in their place. And also the others who replace them behave in the same fashion, for they do not fear, nor do they consider, saying: “Why should we be burned and what pleasure is it to us that we should destroy [all] those that do and do not descend to the Merkabha because they act without permission?” And this is still the behaviour of the door-keepers of the sixth palace.

CHAPTER XVIII:

[225] Said Rabbi Ishmael: All the companions said to me: “Scion of nobles, thou who rulest by the light of the Law as doth Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah, see him and bring him back that he sit with us, leaving the vision which he glimpseth in the vision of the Merkabha, and that he tell us who is he who doth and doth not descend to the Merkabha – he whom the door-keepers of the sixth palace would attack, for they would not touch at all those who [really] descend to the Merkabha. What is the difference between those [who would not be attacked] and those [who would]?”

[226] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thereupon I took a piece of woolen cloth and gave it to Rabbi Akiba, and Rabbi Akiba gave it to a servant of ours, saying, “Go and lay this cloth beside a woman who immersed herself and yet did not become pure, and let her immerse [herself a second time]. For if that woman will come and will declare the measure of her menstrual flow before the company, it is known that one forbids [her to her husband] and the majority permit. Say to that woman, ‘Touch this cloth with the end of the middle finger of thy hand, and press not the end of thy finger upon it, but [only] as a man [presseth] who taketh a hair, which hath fallen therein, from out his eye-ball, pushing it very gently.’” [227] They went and did so, and placed the cloth before Rabbi Ishmael. He [picked it up by] thrusting into it a bough of myrrh full of oil of spikenard which was laid up in clean balsam and they placed it upon the knees of Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah and therewith caused him to be dismissed from before the throne of glory where he had been sitting and beholding

Wonderful loftiness and strange lordship
Loftiness of exaltation and lordship of splendor,
Which come to pass before the throne of His glory
Three times each day, on high,
From the time when the world was created
And until now, for praise.

[228] And we besought of him [to know] who is he who “doth and doth not” descend to the Merkabha. He said unto us, “These be the men whom those who [really] descend to the Merkabha do take and cause to stand above them or to sit before them and do say unto them, ‘Behold and see and give ear and write down all that which we say and all that which you hear from before the throne of glory.’ And if those men be not fit for this task, then would the door-keepers of the sixth palace attack them. And take care that ye choose for yourselves fit men and these from the tested companions.”

[229] When thou comest and standest at the entrance of the sixth palace, display three seals of the door-keepers of the sixth palace. Display two seals to Kazpiel the Prince, whose sword is drawn in his hand, and there issue forth from it lightnings, and he shaketh it against everyone who is not fit to behold the King and his throne, and there is no creature who may stay his hand. And his sword crieth and saith: “Pain!” And he standeth by the lintel of the [entrance on the] right. And one seal show Dumiel. And is Dumiel indeed his name And is not ’byrghydrhym (*i.e.* Air Earth Water Fire) his name? And why was his name called Dumiel? Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah: “Each day doth a voice go forth from the seventh heaven and proclaimeth and saith in the heavenly court of justice (saying as follows): ‘t ‘ws wbrmnzh / wpwr g ‘st the Lord God of Israel called him Dumiel according to His Own Name, [saying]: ‘Just as I see and hold my peace so doth Dumiel [viz: The silence of God].’” His authority [extendeth over] the right lintel, but Kazpiel the Prince driveth him away, yet he cherisheth against him neither enmity nor hatred nor jealousy nor contention, but each [doteth] for His honor.

CHAPTER XIX:

[232] Zoharariel and Pa'ali Pa'ali: Show something of these two seals to Kazpiel, and show Beronyah to Dumiel the Prince, a just and humble prince. And at once would Kazpiel the Prince string his bow and draw his sword and bring thee a whirlwind and seat thee in a chariot of brilliance and trumpet before thee as eight thousands of myriads of horns and three thousands of myriads of rams' horns and four thousands of myriads of bugles. And Dumiel the Prince seizeth a gift and walketh before thee. And what gift? Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master: "This gift which Dumiel The Prince would seize [and carry] before the chariot of that man who doth deserve by reason of his righteousness to descend to the Merkabha is not a gift of silver and not a gift of gold, but it is that they grant him the privilege that he should not be questioned, not in the first palace and not in the second palace and not in the third palace and not in the fourth palace and not in the fifth palace and not in the sixth palace and not in the seventh palace, but he showeth them his seal and they leave him [in peace] and he entereth."

[233] And in the entrance of the sixth palace Dumiel the Prince guardeth the sill of the right [side] of the entrance of the sixth palace, sitting on a chair [wrought] of a pure gem which [hath] in it the splendour of the luminaries of the firmament such as [they were at] the creation of the world. (Fortunate Day. Best of luck. Show the sign. Peace. The Lord God of Israel) And Dumiel the Prince receiveth him kindly and seateth him upon a chair wrought of a pure gem, and himself sitteth beside him at his right.

CHAPTER XX:

[234] And Dumiel would say to him: "I bear witness and warn thee concerning two things: That none of those who descend to the Merkabha succeed to descend except only he who hath these two qualifications: He who hath read the Bible and studieth mishna, midrash, halakhoth and agadoth, and the explanation of halakhoth as to what is forbidden and permitted; and he who hath fulfilled all that which is written in the law and keepeth all warnings of statutes and of judgments and of laws which were declared to Moses on Sinai." [235] If he said to Dumiel the Prince, "I have one of these two qualifications," Dumiel the Prince would at once get in connection with Gabhriel the Secretary and write his the paper with red paint and would hang the paper upon the chariot of that same man, saying: "Thus and so is the knowledge of such a one in the Torah, thus and so are his actions, and he desireth to enter in before the throne of His glory." [237] And when the door-keepers of the seventh palace would see that Dumiel and Kazpiel and Gabhriel, were before the chariot of that man who deservingly descendeth to the Merkabha, they [would] cover their faces, which had been angry, and they [would] at once unstring the strung bows, and return the drawn swords to their sheaths. And nevertheless it is necessary to show them a great seal and a fearful crown: God of heaven, Master of earth the Lord God of Israel. And they would enter in before the throne of His glory and bring out before that man all sorts of [instruments for] music and song, and they would come making music before him until they bring him up and seat him beside the cherubim, beside the ophanim, beside the holy beasts. And he beholdeth wonders and powers, loftiness and greatness, holiness and purity, fear, humility and justice. Then said Rabbi Ishmael: "All the companions made a parable of this scheme [for those who descend to the Merkhaba: It is like] unto a man who hath a ladder in his house, [and] who was going up and down on it, and there is no creature that preventeth him." Blessed be thou, O Lord, who art wise in secrets and master of hidden things. Amen. Amen.

CHAPTER XXI:

[238] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Rabban Simon ben Gamliel was angry with me. He said to me, "Almost had Zahaphtariai rebuked us and shucked {us} as husks of corn. Why didst thou, by criminal carelessness, sin against us? Dost thou, perhaps, think that Jonathan be Uzziel is a man of small account in Israel? If he simply

descended and came and stood at the entrance of the seventh palace without and seal, what would happen to him? He could not blink an eye before the door-keepers of the seventh palace had utterly exterminated him. [And yet you have said nothing about the necessary seals nor the names of the angels to whom they must be shown.] [239] Said Rabbi Ishmael: I went and was angry with Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah my master, saying, "The patriarch is angry with me, why do I live?" He said to me, "Scion of nobles, if [you ask for an answer] on this point [then tell me,] what is my distinction among you? I put in your mouths the prophets, the writings, mishna and midrash, halakhoth and agadoth, and the explanation of halakhoth as to what is forbidden and permitted. Were it not for the mysteries of the law [in which] I have initiated some of you, would ye have come and appeared before me at all? I know why thou hast come. Thou hast only come because of the door-keepers of the seventh palace. [240] Go and say to the Patriarch: 'As for all the door-keepers of the [first] six palaces, it is permitted to mention the names of each one of them and to touch them; but as for the door-keepers of the seventh palace, by the sound of their names is a man terrified and is not able to touch them, inasmuch as the name of them is called according to the name of the King of the world. Consequently I have not stated them. But now – since you say to me, "State them." – come ye and stand upon your feet and, each one of you, when His name goeth forth from my mouth, kneel and fall upon your faced.'" Forthwith came all the great ones of the company and all the mighty ones of the academy and stood upon their feet before Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah and he speaketh and they fall upon their faces and the scribes write.

CHAPTER XXII:

[242] These be the names of the door-keepers of the seventh palace: Zahaphtari'ai the Lord, a prince honored and beloved; 'Abhirahi'ai the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful; 'Atrighael the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying; Barnael the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear; Noraphneel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid; Na'aroriel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong; Sastitiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty; 'Anaphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty and powerful and just and gallant, a prince whose name is mentioned on high before the throne of His glory three times each day from the day when the world was created and until now, for praise. Why? Because the ring of the seal of heaven and earth is given over to his hand. [243] And whenever they see him all those on high kneel and fall down and prostrate themselves before him, a thing which is not done in the height [before any other prince]. If you say, 'They do not fall down before the Prince of the Presence' [This is true] for those who stand before the throne of His glory, who do not prostrate themselves before the Prince of the Presence, but before 'Anaphiel the Prince [even] so with the permission and according to the will of 'ntrws rbyhg. Some say pwnyl smh brz', the Lord God of Israel.

[244] These be the names of the door-keepers of the seventh palace of the descent, for those whose names I have just stated were of the ascent. Noraphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called 'Abhirzahi'ai the Lord; Dalkokiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called Lebhakhpiel the Lord; Yekariel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called 'Atrighiel the Lord; Yeshishiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful, who was called Ben'an'ael the Lord; Teraphiel the Lord, who was called Shakdihiel the Lord; Na'aroriel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved, who was called Zohaliel the Lord, 'Anaphiel the Lord, a prince honored and beloved and fearful and terrifying and dear and splendid and strong and mighty and powerful and just and gallant, who was called Tophriel the Lord. [245] And why was his name called 'Anaphiel? Because of the ramification 'anaph of the crowns [which were] placed upon his head, for he overcast and covered all of the chambers of the seventh heaven as did the Maker of Creation. Just as, concerning the Maker of Creation it is written [Hab. 3.3]: "His glory covered the heavens," so also [does the glory] 'Anaphiel the Prince as a servant who is called by his master's name. And why is he more lovely and beloved than all the [other] door-keepers of the palaces? Because he openeth the doors of the entrance of the seventh palace and closeth them before the throne of glory which is set high and standeth

opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. And the holy beasts are opposite the entrance of the seventh palace, and the cherubim and the ophanim are opposite the entrance of the seventh palace, and there be 256 faces in each of the holy beasts opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. [246] Still greater it is that there be 512 eyes in [each of] the four beasts opposite the entrance of the seventh palace. Their faces are of the likeness of the face of a man, faces of 16 faces each are there in each beast opposite the entrance of the seventh palace.

CHAPTER XXIII:

[247] And whenever a man desired to descend to the Merkabha, 'Anaphiel would open for him the doors of the entrance of the seventh palace and that man would go in and stand on the door-sill of the entrance of the seventh palace and the holy beasts would lift up upon him 512 eyes and each one of the eyes of the holy beasts in pierced as a sieve of withes, and the appearance of their eyes [is described in Nahum 2.4]: "they run like lightnings." And these are in addition to the eyes of the cherubim of the Power [of God] and the ophanim of the Shekinah, which are like torches of fire and conflagrations of coals of juniper. [248] And that man would sway and tremble and start backward and be frightened and be terrified, faint and fall backward. And 'Anaphiel the Prince would support him, he and sixty and three door-keepers of the entrances of the seven palaces. And all of them would help him and say to him:

"Fear not, son of a seed beloved,

"Enter and see the King in His beauty,

"And thou shalt not be destroyed and thou shalt not be burned.

[249] "A just King is He, a faithful King is He, a submissive King is He, a humble King is He, a righteous King is He, a pious King is He, a holy King is He, a pure King is He, a blessed King is He, a lofty King is He, a mighty King is He, a pure King is He, a merciful King is He, a lowly King is He – blessed be He." [250] And they attribute to Him power. Forthwith a horn soundeth from above the firmament and cherubim and ophanim turn away their faces and he goeth in and standeth before the throne of His glory.

CHAPTER XXIV:

[251] When he standeth before the throne of glory he beginneth and reciteth a song which the throne of glory singeth each day: "Laud, song, and music, blessing, praise and celebration and applause and thanks and thanksgivings, victory and melody, speech and rejubilation, rejoicing and joy and gladness, exultations, accord, humility, brilliance, propriety, truth, righteousness and justice, treasure, ornament and might, delight and ecstasy and elevation, calm and rest and consolation, contentment and quiet and peace, tranquility, security and prosperity, love, loveliness, grace and mercy and pulchritude, renown, acclaim and pity, splendor, glory, innocence, effulgence, appearance, adornment, brilliance, fire, ramification, sublimity, wonders and salvation, perfume, salt, light, loftiness, help, violence, potency, height, preciousness, mightiness, lordship, fortitude, elevation, exaltation and brightness, kingliness, power and force, holiness, purity and cleanliness, pride, greatness and kingship, magnificence and majesty, honour, and beauty to Zoharariel the Lord God of Israel."

Spendid King, He robed with splendour,

Made majestic with embroideries of song,

Crowned with magnificence and majesty,

A crown of loftiness and a diadem of fearfulness.

For His name is agreeable to Him, and His title is sweet to Him,

And His throne is splendid to Him and His palace is magnificent

And his glory is delightful to him, and His majesty is becoming to Him,

And His strength is pleasant to Him and His servants sing pleasantly to Him,

And Israel tell to Him the kingliness of His wonders.

King of Kings, God of Gods, and Lord of Lords
 He surrounded with chains of crowns, encompassed
 with the ramifications of the rulers of brilliance,
 He who covereth the heavens with the ramification of His magnificence,
 and who, in His majesty, appeared from the heights,
 From His beauty the deeps were enkindled,
 and from His stature did the clouds shower rain.
 His stature sendeth out the lofty,
 and His crown blazeth out the might
 and His garment floweth with the precious.
 And all trees shall rejoice in His word,
 and herbs shall exult in His rejoicing,
 And His words shall liquefy as perfumes,
 flowing and sent forth in flames of fire,
 Giving joy to those who search these,
 and quiet to those who fulfill them.

[254] King beloved and lovely and clean,
 Exalted beyond all the haughty,
 Haughty, clothed in majesty beyond the majestic,
 Majestic, lifted up beyond the mighty,
 Mighty, upraised beyond the powerful.
 Splendor of kings, praise of nobles,
 Treasure of the holy, humility of the lowly,
 Pleasant in the mouth of all those that call upon Him, Sweet to
 them that hope in His name,
 Righteous in all His ways, upright in all His doings
 Just in counsel and in knowledge, clear in understanding and
 in practice,
 Judge of every soul, witness of every transaction, judge of every word,
 Mighty in wisdom and in every secret, lofty in purity and in holiness.

[255] King true and only, King who liveth forever,
 King who killeth and maketh alive, King who sayeth and doeth,
 King who formeth every disease, and createth every cure,
 King who maketh every blessing, and establish every good,
 King who feedeth all his works, and supporteth all his creatures,
 King who is high and to each of the lowly, and who is strong to each
 of good courage.

CHAPTER XXV:

King high and lifted up, sublime and wonderful,
 Beloved and old, upright and faithful,
 Precious and honored, strong and stout-hearted,
 Righteous and true, holy and pure,
 Pious, great and mighty,

Strong, powerful, precious, fearful and terrific,
 High-placed upon perfections of loftiness,
 Established upon the adornments of splendour
 In the chambers of the palace of loftiness.
 Who seest profundities, beholdest mysteries, observest dark matters,
 And who, in every place is
 And there is no changing His purpose, nor retorting to His word,
 nor delaying His will
 And there is no place to flee from Him, and no secret place to
 hide from before Him.

[256] Reign forever, King merciful and gracious,
 Pardoner and forgiver, who rolleth away and taketh away [sin],
 Let Thy majesty be declared in every song, Thy splendor in every chant.
 Be high above the palaces of loftiness, be lifted up above the
 adornments of splendor,
 Be exalted above all Thy doings, be praised above all created things,
 Be honored above the throne of Thy glory, be precious above the
 vessel of Thy loveliness,
 Be blessed with all blessings, be praised with all praises,
 Be lauded with all laud, be applauded with all songs,
 Be magnified forever, be holy world without end, Totrosi'ai the Lord.

[257] King of all worlds, Lord of all actions,
 Wise in all secrets, ruler in all generations,
 One God who art from eternity,
 Unique King who art forever and ever. Selah.

[258] And I beheld something like unto the appearance of lightning which was fixed and stationary and was divided, among those who descend to the Merkabha, between those who were fit to descend to the Merkabha and those who were not fit to descend to the Merkabha. If a man were fit to descend to the Merkabha, when they say to him "Enter" and he doth not enter, they repeat themselves and say to him "Enter," and he at once entereth. They would then praise him, saying, "Surely this is on of those who descend to the Merkabha." But if a man be not fit to descend to the Merkabha, when they say to him "Enter" and he entereth, they at once place upon him a thousand pieces of iron, [259] because the door-keepers of the sixth palace place upon him a thousand thousands of waves of water, and there is not in that place even a single drop. And if he said, "What is the nature of this water?" they at once run after him, stoning him, and saying to him, "Wretch, are thou not or the seed of them that kissed the [golden] calf, and art unfit to see the King and His throne in his bea{u}ty." And if he be such, a voice goeth forth from the seventh heaven saying, "well have ye said [that] he is from the seed of them that kissed the [golden] calf and is not fit to see the King and His throne." He does not move from the spot before they place on him a Thousand thousands of pieces of iron.

[260] Who is like unto Thee Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, who doest mightily,
 To Thee Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, shall the throne of Thy glory
 sing praise,
 To Thee shall be attributed loftiness and greatness, strength and beauty,
 Thou shalt be called strong, Thou, mighty; for Thee shall they make new [song]
 for Thee exult.
 With Thee shall converse be held, Thou shalt be blessed, Thou praised,
 Thou exalted.

To Thee shall splendor be attributed, Thou shalt be lifted up, Thou
magnified, Thou called majestic.
Thou shalt be praised, Thou applauded, Thou sanctified,
For Thee, Totrosi'ai Lord God of Israel, shall Thy servants weave diadems
And shall sing unto Thee a new song
And shall declare The King forever and ever.
All things are Thy kingdom, and over all things is Thy kingdom,
And Thou shalt be called One, world without end,
Totrosi'ai, Lord God of Israel.
Blessed be Thou O Lord, King of all secrets and Lord of all hidden things.

{...}

CHAPTER XXVI:

- [269] Thou workest wonders, dost bring to pass new things,
Renewest Thy creatures each day,
Servants [created] from fire to lift up praise of Thy mystery,
O Sacred One. Who shinest in the midst of myriads of fire,
Who loathest hatred and jealousy,
Who despiseth enmity and contention,
Who settest anger afar, who turnest away wrath,
Who multiplieth all grace and goodness,
The cherubim of Thy glory are fire.
[O Thou] who art exalted upon cherubim of fire, Prince over princes,
Seraphim, seraphim of flame do stand about Thy throne,
Hither and other sound forth: "Make way for Him who rideth the heavens."
- [270] Blessing, praise and laud, song, thanks and thanksgivings,
Splendor and whispering, applause, humility and mercy
To the lofty, to the powerful, to the brave,
To the elect, to the chosen, to the choosing,
To the mighty, to the haughty, to the high.
In their mouths music, on their tongues exultation,
They slumber not, neither night nor day,
But music and laud are as blazing light.
- [271] Thou art the great Lord
The mighty and fearful, the righteous and pious,
The holy and the faithful, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth.
It is Thou who art Lord, O God of Gods and Lord of Lords,
It is Thou who art Great, Thee do all the great magnify,
It is Thou who art Mighty, Thee do all the mighty declare strong,
It is Thou who art Fearful, Thee do all the singers celebrate,
It is Thou who art Righteous, Thee do all the righteous justify,
It is Thou who art Pious, Thee do all the pious expect,
It is Thou who art Holy, Thee do all the holy hallow,
It is Thou who art Faithful, Thee do all the faithful believe.

[272] It is Thou who hast revealed thy secret to Moses
 And who hast not concealed from him any of Thy mighty works.
 When the words goeth not forth from Thy mouth
 All the lofty mountains trembled
 And stood before Thee great consternation;
 When the word goeth forth from Thy mouth
 They were all of them burned with flames of fire.
 It is Thou who examinest the inward parts and choosest the faithful
 Thou dwellest in the flame of rivers of fire and conflagrations.
 It is Thou who art mighty, more lofty than all the lofty and lifted up above all,
 Who dost cast down the haughty and exaltest the humble.

[273] The most lofty of creation is man,
 The likeness of a man hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They have the face of a man, and the hands of a man are under
 their wings,
 They run as a man, they toil as a man,
 They kneel down and prostrate themselves in song as a man doth,
 And the fear of Thee, O King, is upon them.
 The most lofty of cattle is the ox.
 The likeness of an ox hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They run as an ox, they toil as an ox,
 They stand in the places as an ox,
 And the fear of Thee, O Holy One, is upon them.
 The most lofty of wild beasts is the lion.
 The likeness of a lion hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They roar as a lion, they are feared as a lion,
 The thew of their strength is as that of a lion,
 And the fear of Thee, O terrible One, is upon them.
 The most lofty of birds is the eagle.
 The likeness of an eagle hast Thou fixed in Thy throne:
 They move as an eagle, they are swift as an eagle,
 They fly as an eagle, they soar as an eagle,
 And the fear of Thee, O Pure One, is upon them.
 And all of them do triply declare Thy sanctitude with the triple sanctus.
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

[274] Be honoured, be made majestic, be raised, be lifted up,
 Be made splendid, be blessed, be praised, be magnified,
 Be hallowed, be exalted, be lauded, be applauded,
 For such is the duty of all creatures:
 To honour Thee, to own Thy majesty, to raise Thee, to lift Thee up,
 To show forth Thy splendour, to bless Thee, to praise Thee, to magnify Thee,
 The hallow Thee, to exalt Thee, to laud Thee, to applaud Thee,
 The great and holy King, who rulest
 Over the highest and over the lowest,
 Over the first and over the last,
 Which, from the midst of trembling and quaking,
 Do triply declare Thy sanctitude with triple sanctus.
 (As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy.")

[275]	Assembly and applause are His who liveth forever, Beauty and bliss are His who liveth forever, Compassion and caresses {?} are His who liveth forever, Doctrine and deed are His who liveth forever, Eternity and end are His who liveth forever, Fervour and faith are His who liveth forever, Glory and grace are His who liveth forever, Humility and holiness are His who liveth forever, Innocence and insight are His who liveth forever, Justice and jubilation are His who liveth forever, Kingdom and knowledge are His who liveth forever, Loveliness and laud are His who liveth forever, Majesty and mercy are His who liveth forever, Nobility and name are His who liveth forever, Obedience and observance are His who liveth forever, Purity and power are His who liveth forever, Righteousness and reason are His who liveth forever, Strength and salvation are His who liveth forever, Trust and truth are His who liveth forever, Understanding and utterance are His who liveth forever, Victory and vengeance are His who liveth forever, Wonder and wisdom are His who liveth forever, Excellence and exultation are His who liveth forever, Years and youth are His who liveth forever, Zest and zeal are His who liveth forever.	[honour faith understanding blessing greatness might knowledge utterance magnificence majesty assembly trustworthiness brilliance effulgence grace mercy purity goodness preciousness salvation crown glory doctrine encouragement kingdom power beauty victory secret intelligence strength humility jubilation righteousness applause holiness splendour wonder song praise laud loveliness]*
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* This list of words is similar to those used in Scholem's translation of the same hymn in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pages 58-9; these likely represent a truer translation of the terms used in the text. In the left column, Smith imitates the text's alphabetical device instead of directly translating.

[276] Who is able to state one from a thousand thousands of thousands
And a myriad myriads of myriads of Thy mighty deeds, O King of Kings of Kings,
Before whom the beasts are stationed and stand [speaking] with a still
 small voice –
They are fire, their palate is fire, their movement is fire, their speech
 is fire,
Yet are they afraid because of fire,
Lest they be burned in flames of fire,
It is Thou whom they encompass, it is Thou whom they surround,
With Thee are they hidden, in Thy bosom do they give utterance,
In secret and intelligence, girded with strength, clothed with magnificence.
The eye may not travel to where Thou dwellest,
King great and holy, ruler
Over the highest and over the lowest,
Over the first and over the last.
There is none among the highest, nor among the lowest,
Nor among the first, nor among the last,
Who can know Thy works
And search out all Thy wonders.

[277] Just as none is able to imagine ab, bc, cd, de, ef, fg, gh, hi, ij. Metatron whose name is called according to eight names, his name is Margawiel, his name is Gayothiel, his name is Ziwathiel, his name is 'Izihiel, his name is Yahawiel, his name is Mayoel, his name is Segansagiel, his name is Segansayriyah. And from the love with which they love him on high, they call him in the camps of the holy ones, Metatron, Servant of the Lord, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy. Blessed be thou O Lord, wise in secrets and Lord of hidden things, Amen, Amen, Selah.

CHAPTER XXVII:

{*Sar Torah* material: CHAPTERS XXVII TO XXX}

[278] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Three years did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah behold me in affliction and in great sorrow and in great danger: That portion of the Bible which I would read one day, would I forget the next, and that mishna which I would study one day, the next day would I forget. What did I do? When I saw that the Law did not remain in me, I laid hold upon myself and denied myself food and drink and washing and anointment, and deprived myself of conjugal intercourse, and I neither exulted nor rejoiced, nor did any music nor song go forth from my mouth. [279] Thereupon did Rabbi Nehunya ben Hakkanah, my master, take me from my father's house and bring me into the chamber of the Temple in which the Sanhedrin met and cause me to swear by a great seal and by a great oath which appertaineth to Zebhoriel the Lord God of Israel who is Metatron the Lord God of Israel, God of the heavens and God of the earth, God of Gods, God of the sea and God of the land. And he revealed the secret of the Law, which was in his possession. And at once my heart was {as} enlightened as the gates of the East and mine eyes beheld the depths and the ways of the Law and thenceforth I forgot nothing. All things which mine ears heard from the mouth of my master and from the mouth of scripture and from the ways of the Law which I had truly practiced, thenceforth I forgot none of them.

[280] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Had I done nothing in the Law, yet would this method which I have fixed in Israel be more than sufficient for me, as against all the Law, [since I have revealed it] in order that men may increase their knowledge of the Law without weariness.

[281] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Rabbi Akiba did indeed say in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: From the day when the Law was given to Israel until the last temple was built, the Law was given, its majesty was not given, and its preciousness, its glory and its greatness and its beauty, its terror, its reverence and its fear, its richness and its loftiness and its exaltation, its trembling and its splendour, its strength, its rule and its might were not given, until the last temple was built and the Shekinah did not dwell in it. [282] Thereupon Israel began to pour forth complaint before their Father who is in heaven, saying: "Thou hast laid many troublesome tasks upon us. Which shall we hold to and which shall we abandon? Thou hast thrown upon us great labour and great burden; Thou hast said to us, 'Build Me a house, and although ye build, yet study the Law.'" This is the plea of His children. [283] And this is the answer of their Father who is in heaven. Ye had a long rest between captivities, and I longed [saying], 'When shall I hear the sound of the words of My Law from your mouths?' Ye have not done well, and I have not done well. Ye have not done well in that ye have differed from Me, and I was angry against you and arose and brought utter destruction on My city and My house and My children. And I did not do well in that I arose against you and sealed a decree of judgment against you. Indeed, shall that which endureth forever and ever, world without end, contend with that which hath no endurance but for a year, or two, or ten, or thirty, and if at most for an hundred years, and then passeth away? But in that ye have rebuked Me, ye did well. Already have I accepted your rebuke.

[284] "For the sigh of Israel is sweet to Me, and the desire for the Law
hath covered Me,
"Your words have found grace in My ears, and I accept the sayings
of your mouths.
"Ye have labored in the house of My choice, and the Law shall not
move from your mouths,

- [285] “For I am master of wonders, the transcendent Lord, I am He.
 “Mighty works come to pass before Me, miracles and
 marvels before My throne.
 “Who hath come before Me and I have not fulfilled his [prayer]?
 Who hath called upon Me and I have not straightway answered him?
 “State before Me all your requests, and multiply upon Me the desire of
 your hearts.
- [286] “My storehouses and My treasures, – nothing in them is lacking.
 “State your requests and they shall be given you, and the desire of your
 hearts shall be done forthwith,
 “For there is no season like to this season, and no time like to
 this time.
 “There is no season like to this season, for My soul bowed down till
 I beheld you,
 “And there is no time like to this time, for the love of you cling
 to My heart.

CHAPTER XXVIII:

- [287] “I know what ye request, and My heart perceiveth what ye desire.
 “Ye request much [knowledge of] Law, and a multitude of Talmud and
 many halakhic traditions,
 “Ye hope to ask questions on points of law, and ye covet a multitude
 of secrets.
 “To multiply testimony in mountains upon mountains, to make wisdom
 wonderful in hills upon hills,
 “To increase knowledge of the Talmud in the streets, and subtleties
 in the roads,
 “To multiply laws as the sand of the sea, and rabbis as the dust of
 the world,
- [288] “To seat academies in the gates of the tents, to expound therein
 what is prohibited and what is permitted,
 “Therein to declare the impure impure, and therein to declare the
 pure pure,
 “Therein to declare the fit fit, and therein to declare the unfit unfit,
 “Therein to recognize the [sorts] of blood, and to teach the menstruants
 what they should do,
 “To bind diadems upon your heads, and crowns of royalty upon the heads
 of your children,
 “To force kings to prostrate themselves before you, to compel princes
 to fall down in your presence,
 “To send forth your name beneath all the heavens, and your memory in
 the great ports,
 “To illumine your faces as the brilliance of the day,
 and the space between your eyes as a blazing star.
 “And if ye be worthy [to employ] this seal,
 and to make use of the fearful crown,
 “Neither vulgar nor ignorant shall be found in you,
 nor fool nor idiot shall be of your number,

- [289] “Ye rejoice, and My servants are grieved,
 “That this secret goeth forth from My treasury.
 “By virtue of it the voice of your academies [soundeth] as [the voice of]
 fatted calves.
 “Not with toil and not with weariness [do they learn],
 “But with the name of this seal and with the mention of the fearful crown.
 “He that marveleth at you, and he that grieveth grieveth because
 of you;
 “Many die in their sighing, and their souls go forth by reason of the
 repute of your glory,
 [290] “Wealth and riches increase upon you; the great of the world cleave unto you;
 “That family from which ye marry a daughter is known on all sides to be noble,
 “He that is blessed in you is truly blessed, he that rejoiceth in you
 rejoiceth truly.
 “Ye are called, ‘Those who turn many to righteousness’;
 they call ye, ‘Those who prove men innocent.’
 “The determinations of the months proceed from your [council],
 and the intercalulation of years from the subtlety of your wisdom.
 “By your hands are patriarchs anointed,
 and presidents of the sanhedrin take office according to
 your words;
 [291] “Ye set up exilarchs, and the judges of cities are appointed by your authority.
 “The order of society shall go forth from you,
 and none shall differ therefrom.
 “A great war was waged with Me and My servants,
 “As accuser appeared the greatest of the ministering angels.
 “This is his plea:

CHAPTER XXIX:

- [292] ““Let not this secret go forth from Thy storehouse,
 and mystery of prudence from Thy treasures;
 ““Let not flesh and blood as our equals, suppose not the children of men our substitute.
 ““Let them grow weary in the study of the Law as much as they wish,
 ““And let those who come from their descendants, and after,
 ““Fulfill it with labor and great anguish.
 ““This is thy glory, this is thy beauty.
 ““In the midst of their rejoicing they bethink themselves and pray to Thee,
 ““They cry out before Thee whole-heartedly, they beseech Thee with desirous soul:
 ““ “May that which we have read remain in our possession,
 may that which we have studied remain in our possession,
 ““ “May our inward parts grasp all that which our ears have heard,
 ““ “May our hearts hold firmly the ways of the teaching which we have heard
 from the mouth of the teacher.”
 ““And let them continue to honour one another.
 ““But if Thou revealest this secret to Thy children,
 ““The small will be as the great and the fool as the wise.””

- [293] This is the reply which He replieth to His servants”
 “Nay, My servitors, nay, My servants, trouble Me not in this matter.
 “This secret shall go forth from My storehouse, and mystery of prudence
 from My treasures.
 “To a beloved people I reveal, to a faithful seed I teach;
 “For them it is laid up from the fountainhead of the world, and from the
 days of creation prepared for them.
 “And I never thought to give it to any of the generations,
 from the days of Moses and until now.
 “For they shall go from evil to evil, and Me shall they not know,
 “For their understanding was obscured by exile, and the words of the Law
 were hard as brass and iron.
 “It is proper for them to make use of it, to bring the Law as water in their
 inward parts and as oil in their bones.
 “For Israel was in affliction from the day when Mine anger waxed hot against them
 “And I smote them, and because of them mountains trembled, and their
 carcasses were as refuse in the midst of the street.
- [294] “With what shall I appease them? With what shall I comfort them?
 “Or what good form of treasure is there on high
 “That I should bring it forth and give it them and cause them to rejoice?
 “For I have beheld and seen:
 “I have gold, [but] there is gold in the world;
 “I have silver, [but] there is silver in the world;
 “I have precious stones and pearls, [but] there are precious stones and pearls
 in the world.
 “Wheat and barley, honey and oil, I have already placed in the world.
 “But what is lacking the world? This secret and this mystery which is not
 in the world.
 “Therefore I shall give them this means of loftiness, that thereby My children
 shall raise themselves up.”

CHAPTER XXIX

[295] Said Rabbi Akiba: I heard a voice going forth from under the throne of glory, saying. And what was it saying? “I strengthened him, I took him, I commanded him (i.e. Enoch ben Jared whose name is Metatron), and I took him from among the children of men, and I made a throne for him over against my throne.” And what is the measure of that throne? Forty thousand myriads of parasangs of fire. And I gave over to him seventy angels, as against seventy peoples, and I gave into his hand all my servants in the world above and all my servants in the world below, and I explained to him all the categories of creation, and I set, as his name, The Lesser Lord [which is the numerical equivalent of ‘My Lord; and he is lesser than *The* Lord]. (For his name, reckoning by the numerical equivalents of the letters, is 71.) And I gave him wisdom and understanding more than all the angels and made him greater than any of the ministering angels.

[296] Said Rabbi Akiba: Each day doth an angel stand at morning in the midst of the firmament and beginneth and saith, “The Lord is King!” And all the host on high answer after him until he reacheth [the word], “Bless ye,” and when he reacheth “Bless ye” a beast standeth in the midst of the firmament and the name [of this beast] is Israel, and engraven on its forehead [are the words] “My people is Mine.” And it saith, “Bless ye the Lord, the Blessed.” And all the princes on high answer after it, “Blessed be the Lord, the Blessed, forever and ever.” While this is yet unfinished, the ophanim break forth in tumult and tremble and shake the whole world

and say, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His [dwelling] place." And that same beast standeth in the midst of the firmament until all the princes on high break forth in tumult, and seraphim and cherubim and troops and all the camps and each one in his place saith to the beast, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, is one Lord."

[297] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: Our fathers did not undertake to put one stone upon another in the Temple until they compelled the King of the world and all his servants and He met with them and showed them the secret of the Law, how they should do it and how they should explain it and how they should practice it. At once the Holy Spirit appeared from the great entrance which is in the House of the Lord – since the Shekinah did not dwell in the Holy of Holies because of the decree. And when our fathers saw that the throne of glory made its way and stood between the cella and the altar – for although up to that time they had not built the building, [yet the throne moved] over the place of the rooks which they were shaping to found upon them the cella and the temple and the altar and all the structure generally – and when our fathers saw that the throne of glory was set on high between the altar and the cella, and the King of the World upon it, they at once fell upon their faces, [298] and concerning that moment it says [Haggai 2.9]: "The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former." "For in the first temple I did not communicate with My children but by voice and in this temple ye have compelled Me and My throne and all My servants [to appear]. And would that it might endure! My children, why are ye fallen and lying upon your faces? Stand and seat yourselves before My throne in the order in which you sit in the academy and take hold upon a crown and receive a seal and hear the order of this secret of the Law, how ye shall do it, how explain it, and how practice it, how ascend the roads of your hearts, how your hearts may behold the Law." At once did Zerubabel the son of Shealtiel answer and stood upon his feet as an interpreter and stated the names of the princes of the Law, each one according to his name, the name of a crown and the name of a seal.

CHAPTER XXX:

[299] Said Rabbi Ishmael: Thus said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: "He who presenteth himself to serve in [connection with] this secret of the Law shall wash his garment and his undergarments and shall immerse himself in the most thorough manner lest semen should separate [any part of his skin from the water], and shall enter and sit for twelve days in a room or in an upper chamber. He shall neither go out nor come in nor eat nor drink but from evening to evening. And he shall eat, as his food, bread [baked by] his own hands [and he shall be wrapped] in a clean tallith. And he shall not taste any sort of vegetable. And water shall be his drink. [300] And he shall regularly read this midrash concerning the secret of the Law three times each day after [the regular daily] prayers which he shall pray from beginning to end. And thereafter he shall sit and shall repeat them – [the prayers and the Midrash] – twelve days the days of his fast, from morning until evening and shall not be silent. And whenever he finisheth it he shall stand upon his feet and conjure, as [one would conjure] by [the name of] their king, and shall call twelve times upon every prince, and thereafter he shall conjure him with the seal, [and so] for each one of them. [301] And these are their names which he shall say: The Prince Shekadhozi'ai the Lord, the Prince Nihappardiyuel the Lord, the Prince 'Abhirgehwdhiryah* the Lord (and there be those who say Gehwedhiryahu) the Prince Plitriyah the Lord, the

* In the margin, Scholem notes, "...I should prefer 'Abhirgehidyryah if the Heb. text permitted (& so in the following, transposing the 1 & the first 2)."

Prince Zehubh'adyah the Lord, the Prince 'Ogbohah'ay the Lord, the Prince Totrosi'ai the Lord, the Prince 'Ashrawwili'ai the Lord, the Prince Zebhudiel the Lord, the Prince Margawwiel the Lord, the Prince Daharbyoron the Lord, the Prince 'Adiriron the Lord. [302] And he shall conjure them by the permission of his King for twelve [days] in the name of Yophiel Splendor of Height, and in the name of Sarbiel who is one of the princes of the Merkabha, and in the name of Shadriel who is a beloved prince, and in the name of Hasdiel who is called to the Power [of God] six hours daily. And he shall repeat and shall conjure the same last four

princes with a great seal and with a great oath in the name of 'Ezbooghah, which is a great seal, and in the name of Zurtaq, a holy name and a fearful crown. [303] And when he finesheth twelve days let him go forth to any form of the Torah which he desire, whether Bible, whether Mishnah, whether the vision of the Merkabha. For he goeth forth in a clean spirit and from great sorrow and anguish, for it is a teaching known to us, an ordinance made by the first teachers, and a tradition of the men of old which they wrote down and left for coming generations, that the humble might practice it. And he who is worthy is answered thereby.

[304] Said Rabbi Akiba in the name of Rabbi Eliezer the Great: Happy is he who is aided by the desert of his fathers, and whom the righteousness of his ancestors stands [in good stead], that he may practice this crown and this seal, and they shall communicate with him, and he exalteth himself in the loftiness of the Law.

[305] Said Rabbi Ishmael: This was done by Rabbi Eliezer and he was answered and did not believe; and it was done by me and I did not believe until a brought a fool and he was made like unto me. And again it was done by shepherds and they were made like unto us. By the authority of the court they sent down Rabbi Akiba outside the Land [of Israel] and he waited until it was done by many who neither read nor studied and they became equal [to] others and were made learned students. And he came and verified [the matter] and agreed in the evidence which he bore in the court of the Patriarch, saying: "This was done also outside the Land [of Israel] and succeeded." And thus said Rabbi Eliezer the Great. And the Sages say, "Perhaps we possess it by virtue of the Land of Israel." And they did not believe until they sent Rabbi Akiba down to Babylon and it was done [there] and succeeded. And thereafter we rejoiced.

[306] Said Rabbi Ishmael: How shall a man begin before he pray this secret of the Law? When he arose (*sic*) he shall say:

"Be made magnificent, be exalted, be lifted up, O splendid King,
"Upon a throne high and lifted up, fearful and terrible.
"Thou dwellest in the chambers of the palace of loftiness.
"The servants of Thy throne are terrified, and set trembling
"The heavens which are the footstool of Thy feet, each day,
"With sound of exultation and with tumult of music and multitude of song."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts.")

And let him conjure and say:

"Who will not exalt Thee, O King fearful
"And terrible above all Thy servants?
"In shaking and in trembling do they serve Thee,
"In terror and in quaking they are terrified before Thee.
"With identical words, with one mouth they utter forth Thy fearful name.
"Because of fright and fear [among those] who stand before Thee
"There is none who goes ahead and none who lags [in the song].
"And whoever delayeth the sound after his companion, in [the pronunciation
of] Thy name
"["Though but] as by the measure of a hair's breadth,
"Is consumed, and flaming fire trampleth him down."
(As it is said, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts,
all the earth is full of His glory.")

APPENDIX

A chart prepared for my 1987 edition shows the alignment of chapters for three translations of *Hekhalot Rabbati*:

- Smith = Morton Smith: chapters I-XXX
- Grodner = Lauren Grodner: chapters 15-29, which appear in David Blumenthal's *Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1978) pages 59-89.
- Kaplan = Aryeh Kaplan: "a synthesis of the best readings found in various editions" of chapters 1, 2, and 16-26 in his *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1982) pages 41-54.

Within the column showing Smith's chapters is a band indicating "text" (also "tx" and "t") or narrative sections and "hymns" (also "h") or songs.

Smith		Grodner	Kaplan
ch I	text		ch 1
ch II			ch 2
ch III	hymns		
ch IV			
ch V	text		
ch VI			
ch VII			
ch VIII	hymns		
ch IX			
ch X	text		
ch XI			
ch XII	tx		
ch XIII	h	ch 15	
ch XIV	text	ch 16	ch 16
ch XV		ch 17	ch 17
ch XVI	h	ch 18	ch 18 (2)
ch XVII		ch 19	ch 19
ch XVIII		ch 20	ch 20
ch XIX	t e x t	ch 21	ch 21
ch XX		ch 22	
ch XXI		ch 23	ch 22
ch XXII		ch 24	ch 23
ch XXIII			ch 24
ch XXIV	h	ch 25	ch 25 (2)
ch XXV	t	ch 26	
ch XXVI	h	ch 27	ch 26
ch XXVII	text	ch 28 (1)	
ch XXVIII	hymns	ch 29	
ch XXIX	tx		
ch XXX	h		

- (1) Grodner omits the first paragraph of Smith's CHAPTER XXVII.
 (2) Kaplan omits material here, primarily hymns.





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VOLUME III.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.L.

PROVERBS.

[*Prologue on the book of Proverbs*^a.]

IN these Prouerbis of Salomon is contened myche prudence and vndurstonding, ȝouen to Salomon bi the Spirit of God, and acordinge in many places with the gospel of Crist. And as Crist techith in his gospel goostli wisdom oonli, so Salomon techith worldli warnesse, how a man owith to gouerne him prudentli in the world, and to be war of perels and mescheues, and to fle nedynesse, and to schewe bi his gouernaunce, that the prudence of God is with him, which is arettid as lizt, and folie is arettid as derknesse.

Heere bygyneth the prologe in the booc off Prouerbys^a.

To Cromacie and Eliodere, bishopis, Jerome sendeth greeting^b. Joyne^c the epistil whom ioyneth presthod; ȝhe, the chartre twynne not, whom the looue of Crist knytteth. Expositiouns in Osee, Amos, Zacharie, and Malachie, the^d whiche ȝee asken, I shulde han write, if it hadde ben leeful for siknesse. Ȝee senden solacys of costis, ȝoure notories, and bokis writeres sustenende, that to ȝou most oure^e wit trauaile. And lo! aside^f the hauntende puple of men diuerse thingis askende, as or^g euene it be me^h to trauailen, ȝou hungrende, also to othere, or, in resoun of ȝyuen thing and taken, to any, saue ȝou, I be bounde. And so thurȝ long siknesse brosid, lest fulli this ȝeer I shulde be stille, and anentⁱ ȝou I were dounb, the werc of thre dazis to ȝoure name I sacride; the remenyng, that is, of theȝ thre volumes of Salomon, Masloch, that Ebrues Parablis, the comun making Prouerbis clepeth; Coelech, that Grecli Ecclesiasten, Latinli a Spekere wee moun seyn; Cirasirym, that in to oure tunge is turned Song of Songis. It is told and^k Panarethos, the boc of Jhesu, sone of Cirach; and an other falsly writen, that is inwriten^l the Wisdam of Salamon. Of whiche^m the rathere I fond Ebru, not Ecclesiasticum, as anent the Latynes, but Parablis befor notid; to whom weren ioyned Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songis; that he shulde euene toⁿ the licnesse of Salamon, not onli in noumbre of bokis, but also in maner^o of mateeris. The secounde anent the Ebrues is neuer no wher, for and that maner of speche sauoureth the Grekis faire speche^p; and summe of olde writeres afermen this boc to ben of Jew Filon. As thanne Judith, and Tobie, and the bokis of

^a This prologue is from M.

^a Heer begynneth the preface of seynt Jerom in the booc of Prouerbis. EGH I. Here bigynneth the prolog on the Parablis of Salamon. L. No initial rubric in AR. ^b Jerom sendith greetinge to Cromacie and to Eliodere, bishopis L. ^c I iojne R. ^d Om. R. ^e ȝoure L. ^f of the side I. ^g Om. R. ^h Om. R. ⁱ anentis A et E et L passim. ^j Om. C. ^k Om. LR. ^l writen LR. ^m the whiche C pr. m. I. ⁿ Om. AHLR. ^o the maner L. ^p spechis R.

Macabeis, redeth hem forsothe the chirche, but among the reuleer scripturis resceyueth not; so and these two volumes rede he^a to the edificacioun of the^r puple, not to the autorite of chirche teching^s to ben confermed. If to any man forsothe more plesse the translacioun of the seuenti remenoures, he hath it sum time amended of vs. Ne forsothe so newe thingis wee maken, that olde thingis wee destroe. And 'neuer the lateret, whan most diligentli redeth he^u, wite he oure written thingis to ben vnderstonde, that ben not corruptid held^v into the thridde vessel, but, anoon from the presse most pureli the vessel zeuen, han kept their sauour.

Here endith the prolog, and here bigynnen the Parablis of Salomon^w.

Here bigynneth the Parablis of Salomon^x.

CAP. I.

1 THE parabis of Salamon, sone of Da-
2 uid, king of Irael; to ben koud wisdam,
3 and discipline; to ben vnderstonden the
woordis of prudence; and to ben vndir-
take enformyng of doctrine, riztwysnesse,
4 and dom, and equite; that felnesse be
zeue to litle childer, and to the zunge
ful waxen, kunnyng and vnderstanding.
5 Herende the wise wisere shal ben; and
vnderstondende gouernaile he shal welde.
6 Take he heede the parable, and the re-
menyng; the woordis of wise men, and
7 the derke spechis of hem. The drede of
the Lord the^y begynnyng of wisdam;
8 wisdam and lore foolis dispisen. Here,
my sone, the discipline of thi fader, and
9 ne leue thou the lawe of thi modir; that
ther be added grace to thin hed, and a
10 beze^z to thi necke. My sone, if thee^a
synneres fulfille with mylc, ne assente
11 thou^b to them. If thei sey, Cum thou
with vs, waite wee to the blod, hide
wee grenes a3en the innocent in veyn;
12 swolewe wee hym, as helle the liuende;
and hol as the descendende in to the
13 lake; alle precious substaunce we shul

Here bigynnen the Prouerbis of Salomon^b.

CAP. I.

The parabis of Salomon, the sone of 1
David, king of Israel; to kunne wisdom 2
and kunnyng; to vndurstonde the wordis 3
of prudence; and to take the lernyng of
teching; to take riztfulnesse, and dom, and
equyte; that felnesse^{bb*} be 3ouun to litle 4
children[†], and kunnyng, and vndurston-
ding to a 3ong wexyng man. A wise man 5
heringe schal be wisere^c; and a man vn-
durstondinge schal holde gouernails. He 6
schal perseyue a parable, and expown-
yng^{d†}; the wordis of wise men, and the
derk figuratif spechis of hem. The^e drede 7
of the Lord is the bigynning of wisdom;
foolis dispisen wisdom and teching. My 8
sone, here thou the teching of thi fadir[§],
and forsake thou not the lawe of thi
modir; that grace be addid, *ethir en-9*
creessid^f, to thin heed, and a bie^{||} to thi
necke. Mi sone, if synneris flateren thee, 10
assente thou not to hem. If thei seien, 11
Come thou with vs, sette we aspies to
blood^g, hide we snaris of disseitis a3ens
an innocent without cause; swolowe we 12
him, as helle *swolowith* a man lyuynge;
and al hool, as goynge down in to a lake;

* felnesse; to
eschewe yuelis.
Live here c.
† children; that
is, symple men.
Live here. c et
alii.

‡ expownyng;
that is, in se-
inge the veri
vndurstanding
thereof. Live
here. c.

§ fadir; that
is, God. and thi
modir; that is,
of hooli chirche.
Live here. c.
|| and a bie, etc.;
bi eld tyme wise
men weren
wont to haue a
goldun bie, in
signe of wis-
dom. Live
here. c.

^a hem L. ^r Om. LR. ^s techingis E. ^t neuer lattere LR. ^u hem L. ^v heeldid AEHLR.
^w From E. Here endith the prolog of Prouerbis, se now the book. I. Here eendith the prolog, and bigynneth
the firste c^o. L. Here eendith the prolog, and bigynneth the book of Prouerbis of Salamon. R. No final
rubric in the other Mss. ^x From A. Incipit liber Proverbiorum. G. No initial rubric in the other Mss.
^y is the A. ^z wrethe E pr. m. ^a thee souken E pr. m. ^b thou not E pr. m.

^b From EM. Here bigynnen the Prouerbis. G. Heere bigynnith the book of Prouerbis. I. Here biginnith
the Prouerbis of Salomon. Rg. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^{bb} felnesse, or warnesse v. ^c the
wisere I. ^d the expownyng I. ^e Om. I. ^f encrease w. ^g schede blood I.

finde, wee shul fulfillen oure housis with
 14 spoilis; lot ley with vs, o bagge of
 15 monee be of vs alle; mi sone, ne go
 thou with hem; forfende thi foot fro the
 16 sties of hem. Forsothe the feet of hem
 to euel rennen; and heezen that thei
 17 sheden out blod. In vein forsothe is
 throwen a net befor the e3en of the
 18 fethered. Thei also a3en ther blod
 awaiten; and casten gilyls a3en ther
 19 soulis. So the pathis of the auerous man
 raueshen the liues of the welderes. Wis-
 20 dam withouteforth precheth; in stretis
 21 it 3yueth his vois. In the hed of cum-
 panyes it ofte crieth; in the doris of
 the 3atis of the cite he bringeth forth
 22 his woordis, seiende, Hou longe, 3ee litle
 childer, loouen childhed, and foolis tho
 thingus that ben no3esum to them shul
 coueiten, and vnprudent^c men shuln
 23 haten kunnyng? Be 3ee conuertid at
 my correccioun; lo! I shal bringe forth
 to 3ou my spirit, and shewen my woordis.
 24 For I clepede, and 3ee forsoken; I strazte
 out myn hond, and ther was not that
 25 wolde beholden. 3ee despiseden al my
 counsel; and my blamyngis^d 3ee ro3ten
 26 not of. I forsothe in 3oure deth shal
 law3he; and vndermouwe 3ou, whan to
 3ou that, that 3ee dreden, shal come.
 27 Whan shal falle feerli wrecchidnesse, and
 deth as tempest shal a3en come; whan
 shal come vp on 3ou tribulacioun and an-
 28 guysh. Thanne thei shul inwardli clepe
 me, and I shal not ful out heren; erly
 they shuln rise togidere, and not finde
 29 me. For thi that hatesum thei hadden
 disciplyne, and the drede of the Lord
 30 thei vndertoken not, ne assentiden to my
 counsel, and bacbitiden to al my correc-
 31 cioun. Thei shuln ete therfore the frutis
 of ther weie; and with ther counseilis
 32 thei shul be fulfild. The turning awei

we schulen fynde al preciose catel, we 13
 schulen fille oure housis with spuylish^{h*};
 sendeⁱ thou lot with vs, o purs be^k of vs 14
 alle; my sone, go thou not with hem; 15
 forbede thi foot fro the pathis of hem.
 For the feet of hem rennen to yuel; and 16
 thei hasten to schede out blood. But a 17
 net[†] is leid in veyn[†] bifore the 3en[§] of
 briddis, that han wengis. Also 'thilke 18
wickid disseyueris setten^l aspies a3ens her
 owne blood; and maken redi fraudis^m
 a3ens her soulis. So the pathis of ech 19
 auerouse man rauschenⁿ|| the soulis of
 hem that welden^o. Wisdom[¶] prechith 20
 with outforth; in stretis it 3yueth his vois.
 It crieth ofte in the heed of cumpenyes; 21
 in the leeuves of 3atis of the citee it
 bringith forth hise wordis, and seith, Hou 22
 long, 3e^p litle men *in wit*, louen^q 3ong
 childhod^{**}, and foolis schulen coueyte tho
 thingis, that ben harmful to hem silf,
 and^r vnprudent men schulen hate kun-
 nyng? Be 3e conuertid at my repreu- 23
 yng; lo, Y schal profres forth to 3ou my
 spirit, and Y schal schewe my wordis.
 For Y clepide^{††}, and 3e forsoken; Y helde 24
 forth myn hond, and noon was^t that bi-
 helde. 3e dispisiden^u al my counsel; and 25
 chargiden not my blamyngis. And Y 26
 schal leize in 3oure perisching; and Y schal
 scorne^v 3ou, whanne that, that 3e dreden,
 cometh to 3ou. Whanne sodeyne wretch- 27
 idnesse fallith in, and perisching^w bifallith
 as tempest; whanne tribulacioun and an-
 gwisch cometh^x on 3ou. Thanne thei 28
 schulen clepe me, and Y schal not here^{††};
 thei schulen rise eerli, and thei schulen
 not fynde me. For^y thei hatiden^z teching^a, 29
 and^b thei token not the^c drede of the
 Lord, nether^d assentiden to my counsel, 30
 and^e depraueden al myn amending. Ther- 31
 for thei schulen ete the fruytis^{§§} of her
 weie; and thei schulen be fillid with her

* *spuylish*; that is, richessis
 rausched fro the innocentis hows. *Live here. c.*
 † *net*; bi the net is signefied disseit of wickid men, and this is set forth in veyn to wise men, that han 3en to se yuel suyng, and ben wyngid bi vertu to eschewe it. *Live here. c.*
 † *in veyn*; ben disseitis or disseyuable wordis putte bifore vertuose wise men. *ka.*
 § *bifor the 3en*; that is, bifor briddis seinge scharpeli the peril, and eschewing bi flizt. *c.*
 || *rauschen*, etc.; that is, alien thing to helle. *Live here. cna.*
 ¶ *Wisdom*; that is, God, wisdom with out bigynnyng. *prechith*; bi profetis and techeris.
 in *stretis*; for thei that han hoolsom doctryn, techen in comyn places, as a3enward thei that han yuel doctryn and suspect, techen in priuy places; for he that doith yuele, hatith list, and he cometh not to the list, lest hise werkis ben repreud, but he that doith truthe, cometh to the list, that hise werkis be schewid, for tho ben doon in God, as Crist seith, in iij. co. of Joon. *Live here. c.*
 ** *childhod*; that is, wantonnesse. *Live here. cna.*
 †† *Y clepide*; that is, bi wise

^c vnkunnyng ^a. ^d blamyng ^a.

^h robries ⁱ. ⁱ putte ⁱ. ^k be ther ⁱ. ^l thei setten ⁱ. that setten ^s. ^m fraudis, or *gijles* ⁱ. ⁿ rauschen or taken away ⁱ. ^o that is, wisdom ^k marg. ^p Om. ⁱ. ^q louen 3e ⁱ. ^r and *hou longe* ⁱ. ^s bryng ceteri. ^t ther was ⁱ. ^u haue dispisid ⁱ. ^v bymowe ^{ny}. ^w spillyng ⁱ. ^x comen ⁱ. ^y For cause that ⁱ. ^z hadden ⁱ. ^a teching in hate ⁱ. ^b and for ⁱ. ^c Om. ⁱ. ^d nether thei ⁱ. ^e and thei ⁱ.

of litle childer shal slen hem; and the
 33 prosperite of foolis shal leesen hem. Who
 forsothe me shal heren, withoute ferd shal
 resten; and abundaunce he shal parfitli
 vsen, the ferd of euelis taken away.

CAP. II.

1 My sone, if thou vndertakest my
 woordis, and my maundementes hidist
 2 anent thee; that thin ere here wisdom,
 inwardliche bowe thin herte to ben
 3 knowne wisdom. If forsothe wisdom
 thou shalt inwardli clepen, and inwardli
 4 bowe thin herte to prudence; if thou
 shalt sechen it as money, and as tresoris
 5 deluen it out; thanne thou shalt vnder-
 stonden the drede of the Lord, and the
 6 kunnyng of God finde. For the Lord
 3yueth wisdom; and of the mouth of
 7 hym prudence and kunnyng. He shal
 kepen the helthe of rijt^e men, and de-
 8 fende the goende symplely; withholdende
 the pathis of rijt^{wisnesse}, and the weies
 9 of halewis kepende. Thanne thou shalt
 vnderstonde rijt^{wisnesse}, and dom, and
 10 equite, and eche good path. If wisdom
 shul go in to thin herte, and the kun-
 11 nyng to thi soule plese, counseil shal
 kepe thee, and prudence shal withholde
 12 thee; that thou be pullid out fro an euel
 wey, and fro a man that speketh shreude
 13 thingus. Thei that forsaken the rijt go-
 14 ing, and wenten bi derke weies; that for-
 sothe gladen, whan thei don euele, and
 15 ful out iozen in werst thingus; of whom
 the weies shreude, and yuel losid the go-
 16 ingys of hem. That thou be take away
 fro an alien womman, and fro a straunge,
 17 that softeth hir woordis; and forsaketh
 18 the ledere of hir childhed, and the coue-
 naunt of hir God hath forjete. Forsothe
 inwardly bowid is to deth the hous of
 19 hir, and to helle the pathis of hir. Alle

counseils. The turnyng awei of litle men 32
 in wit schal sle hem; and the prosperite
 of foolis schal leese^f hem. But he that 33
 herith^g me*, schal reste with outen drede;
 and he schal vse abundaunce, whanne the
 drede of yuels is takun awei.

CAP. II.

Mi sone, if thou resseyuest my wordis, 1
 and hidist myn heestis[†] anentis thee; that 2
 thin eere here wisdom, bowe thin herte to
 knowe prudence. For if thou inwardli 3
 clepist wisdom, and bowist thin herte^b to
 prudence; if thou sekist it as money[†], 4
 and diggist it out as tresours; thanne 5
 thou schalt vndirstonde the drede of the
 Lord, and schalt fynde the kunnyng of
 God. For the Lord 3yueth wisdom 6;
 and prudence and kunnyng is of his
 mouth. He schal kepe the heelte of rijt- 7
 ful men, and he schal defende hem that
 goen sympli. And he schal kepe the 8
 pathis of rijtfulness^l, and he schal kepe
 the weies of hooli men. Thanne thou 9
 schalt vndirstonde rijtfulness, and dom,
 and equitye, and ech good path||. If 10
 wysdom entrith in to thin herte, and kun-
 nyng plesith thi soule, good counsel schal 11
 kepe thee, and prudence schal kepe thee;
 that thou be delyuered fro an yuel weie[¶], 12
 and fro a man that spekith weiward
 thingis. Whiche^m forsaken a rijtful weie, 13
 and goen bi derk weies; whicheⁿ ben 14
 glad, whanne thei han do yuel, and maken
 ful out ioye in worste thingis; whose 15
 weies ben weywerd, and her goyingis ben
 of yuel fame. That thou be delyuered fro 16
 an alien womman**, and fro a straunge
 womman, that makith soft hir wordis;
 and forsakith the duyke^o of hir tyme of 17
 mariage, and hath forjete the couenaunt 18
 of hir God. For the hous of hir is bowid
 to deeth, and hir pathis to helle. Alle 19
 that entren to hir^{††}, schulen not turne azen,

men and pro-
 fetis, noon was,
 etc.; that is, fewe
 bihelden, in
 comparisoun of
 the multitude.
 Live here. c.
 † schal nothere;
 for the tyme of
 merit is passid,
 as to deed men,
 ether for thei
 that synnen
 repenten not
 verily, that is,
 for the loue of
 good, but onely
 for drede, and
 hidousnesse of
 peyne. Live
 here. c.
 †† set the fruytis,
 etc.; that is,
 schulen be pu-
 nyschid bi her
 yuele werkis.
 Live here. cv.
 * he that her-
 ith me; that is,
 obeyeth to
 Goddis heestis.
 abundaunce;
 of goostli
 goodis, and of
 the higeste good
 in blis. Live
 here. c.
 † and hidist
 myn heestis;
 not in hidinge
 tho fro othere
 men, for siche
 owen to be
 comyned to
 neijboris, but
 in keepinge tho
 as a precious
 thing. thyn eere;
 that is, the eere
 of bodi and of
 soule. wisdom;
 is properly
 knowing of dy-
 uyn thingis.
 and prudence;
 is knowing of
 manus thingis
 worthi to be
 doon. kunnyng;
 is of thingis to be
 biholdun in wit.
 Live here. c.
 † as money;
 that is, with so
 greet enforsing,
 as an auarouse
 man sekith
 money, and as
 a mynour sek-
 ith gold hid.
 Live here. c.
 †† 3yueth wisdom;
 to hem that
 desiren it. c.
 || ech good path;
 that is, his ver-
 tu, that ledith

^e rijtwise 1.

^f fordo 1. ^g wel herith 1.
^o duyke, or ledere 1.

^h ere 1.

ⁱ rijt^{wisnesse} 1.

^m The whiche 1.

ⁿ the whiche 1.

that gon in to hir, shul not turne azeen,
 20 ne take the sties of lif. That thou go
 in a good weye, and the pathis of riztwis
 21 men thou kepe. Who forsothe ben rizte,
 shul dwelle in the erthe; and the symple
 22 shul parfitli wone in it. The vnpitouse
 forsothe fro the erthe shul be lost; and
 that wickidli don, shul be take fro it
 awei.

CAP. III.

1 My sone, ne forzete thou my lawe;
 2 and thin herte kepe myn hestis. For-
 sothe lengthe of dazis, and zeeris of lif,
 3 and pes, thei shul ley to^f to thee. Mercy
 and treuthe forsake thei not thee; cum-
 pase them to thi throte, and descryue in
 4 the tablis of thin herte. And thou shalt
 finde grace, and good discipline befor
 5 God and men. Haue trost in the Lord,
 of al thin herte; and ne lene thou to thi
 6 prudence. In alle thi weies thenc hym,
 7 and he shal rizt reulen thi goingsis. Ne
 be thou wis anent thiself; dred God, and
 8 go away fro euel. Helthe forsothe shal
 ben in thi nauele, and watring of thi
 9 bones. Honoure the Lord of thi sub-
 stance, and of the cheef of alle thi
 10 frutis 3if to pore men; and thi bernis
 shul ben fulfild with fulnesse, and with
 11 win thi presses shul rebounden. The
 discipline of the Lord, my sone, ne caste
 thou away; ne faile thou, whan of hym
 12 thou art chastisid. Whom forsothe the
 Lord looueth, he chastiseth; and as fader
 in the sone it with pleseth to hym.
 13 Blisful the man that findeth wisdam,
 14 and that flowith prudence. Betere is the
 purchasing of it, than the chaffering of
 gold and of siluer; first and most pure
 15 the frutis of it. More precious than alle
 richesses it is; and alle thingus that be
 desirid, to it moun not be comparisound.
 16 Lengthe of dazis in his rizt half, and in
 the left half of it richessis and glorie.
 17 The weies of it faire, and alle the pathis

nether^p schulen catche the pathis of lijf.
 That thou go in^q a good weie, and kepe²⁰
 the pathis of iust men. Forsothe thei that²¹
 ben riztful, schulen dwelle in the lond;
 and symple men schulen perfitli dwelle
 ther ynne. But vnfeithful men schulen be²²
 lost fro the loond; and thei that doen
 wickidli, schulen be takun away fro it.

CAP. III.

Mi sone, forzete thou not my lawe; and
 thyn herte kepe my comaundementis. For²
 tho^r schulen sette to thee the lengthe of
 daies, and the zeeris of lijf, and pees.
 Merci and treuthe forsake thee not^{*}; ³
 bynde thou tho to thi throte, and write^s
 in the tablis of thin herte. And thou⁴
 schalt fynde grace, and good teching bi-
 fore God and men. Haue thou trist in⁵
 the Lord, of al thin herte; and triste^t thou
 not to thi prudence. In alle thi weies⁶
 thenke thou^u on hym, and he schal dresse
 thi goyngis. Be thou not wijs anentis thi⁷
 silf[†]; drede thou God, and go awei fro
 yuel. For whi helthe schal be in thi⁸
 nawle[‡], and moisting of thi boonys.
 Onoure thou the Lord of thi catel, and of⁹
 the beste of alle thi fruytis 3yue thou
 to pore men; and thi bernis schulen be¹⁰
 fillid with abundaunce, and pressours^v
 schulen flowe with wiyn. My sone, caste¹¹
 thou not awei the teching of the Lord;
 and faile thou not, whanne thou art chas-
 tisid of him. For the Lord chastisith¹²
 hym, whom he loueth; and as a fadir in
 the sone he plesith hym. Blessid is the¹³
 man that fyndith wisdom, and which^w
 flowith with prudence. The geting therof¹⁴
 is betere than the marchaundie of gold
 and of siluer; the fruytis therof *ben* the
 firste and clenneste^x. It is preciousere^y
 than alle richessis; and alle thingis that
 ben desirid, moun not be comparisound to
 this. Lengthe of daies *is* in the rizthalf¹⁶
 therof, and richessis and glorie *ben* in the

schortly to blys.
Live here. c.
[†] *yuel wey;*
 that is, idola-
 trie. c.

^{**} *an alien*
womman; that
 is, fro idolatrie,
 that makith
 alien fro God,
 ether fro a
 womman auou-
 tresse, as to the
 synne of fleisch.
Live here. c.

that is, fro any
 womman that
 is leecherous,
 ajenus the bid-
 ding of Goddis
 lawe. *Live*

here. k.
^{††} *Alle that en-*
tern to hir, etc.;
 that is, for we
 schulen turne
 ajen to veri
 feith and onour
 of God. *Live*
here. c.

^{*} *forsake thee*
not; that is,
 be not forsakun
 of thee, for whi
 vertues for-
 saken not a
 man, no but
 for he forsakith
 tho. *good tech-*
ing; ether tem-
 perance and on-
 estie in vir-
 mere conuersa-
 cioun. *Live*

here. c.

[†] in thiyn owne

reputacioun. *k.*

[‡] in thi nawle;

this is a figura-

tif speche, for

bi the helthe of

the nawle, is

vndurstondun

good disposi-

cioun of the

soule in pro-

sperites; and bi

moisture of

boonys, is vn-

derstondun

stidefastnesse

in aduersites.

Live here. c.

^{*} *It is a tre of*

lygf; as lyf was

contynnued, bi

the tre of lyf,

and as man,

dwellinge in

the staat of in-

nocence, schulde

haue passid fro

the lyf of

kynde to the

lyf of glorie,

without deth

goyng bitwixe,

so wisdom

and prudence leden

^f Om. AGH.

^p nether thei I. ^q in to A. ^r thei I. ^s write hem I. ^t lene I. ^u Om. I. ^v thi pressours I.
^w that I. ^x the clenneste I. ^y more precious I.

18 of it pesible. The tre of lif it is to them
that cacchen it; and that holden it, ben
19 blisful. The Lord bi wisdom foundede
the erthe; bi prudence stablide heuenes.
20 Bi the wisdom of hym brecken out depe
wattris; and the cloudis bi dew togidere
21 waxen. My sone, ne flowe these thingis
awei fro thin e3e; kep thou my lawe, and
22 counseil^g; and there schal ben lif to thi
23 soule, and grace to thi chekis. Thanne
thou shalt go trostli in thi wey; and thi
24 foot schal not offende. If thou shul slepe,
thou shalt not drede; thou shalt resten,
25 and sweete schal be thi slep. Ne drede
thou with sodeyn gastnesse, and the
poweris of the^h vnpitous men fallende
26 on to thee. The Lord forsothe schal ben
in thi side; and kepe thi foot, that thou
27 be not take. Wile thou^l not forfenden
hym that mai wel don; if thou maist,
28 and thiself wel do. Ne sey thou to thi
frend, Go, and turne a3een, to moru I shal
3yue to thee; whan anoon thou maist
29 3iue. Ne caste thou to thi frend euel,
30 whan he in thee hath trost. Ne striue
thou a3en a man^k in veyn, whan he no
31 thing of euel hath don to thee. Ne
enuye thou the vnri3twis man, ne folewe
32 thou the weies of hym. For^l abhomynacioun
of the Lord is eche gilour; and
with the simple the sermounyng of hym.
33 Nede of the Lord in the hous of the
vnpitouse; the dwelling placis forsothe of
34 ri3twis men shul be blessid. He schal
desceyue the desceyueres; and to the de-
35 bonere he shal 3yue grace. Glorie wise
men shul welde; of foolis the out io3ing
shenshipe.

CAP. IV.

1 Here 3ee, sones, the discipline of the
fader; and taketh heede, that 3ee knowen
2 prudence. A good 3ifte I shal 3yuen to
3 3ou; my lawe ne forsake 3ee. For and I

lifthalf therof. The weies therof *ben* 17 a man fro the
feire weies, and alle the pathis therof
ben pesible. It is a tre of lijf* to hem 18 a liyf of grace to
that taken it; and he that holdith it, is the liyf of glo-
blessid. The Lord foundide the erthe bi 19 rie, without
wisdom; he stablischide heuenes bi pru- deth of dedly
dence. The depthis of wattris braken out 20 synne goynge
bi his wisdom; and cloudis wexen togi- bitwixe, so that
dere bi² dewe. My sone, these thingis 21 a man contynue
flete not away fro thin i3en; kepe thou in tho; therfor
my lawe, and my counsel; and lijf schal 22 it sueth, and he
be to thi soule, and grace *schal be*^a to thi that holdith it,
chekis. Thanne thou schalt go tristili in 23 *is blessid*; for
thi weie; and thi foot schal not snapere. certeynly he
If thou schalt slepe, thou schalt not drede; 24 schal be led to
thou schalt reste, and thi sleep schal be blis. *schal not*
soft. Drede thou not bi^b sudeyne feer, and 25 *snapere*; in
the powers of wickid men fallynge in on fullinge in to
thee. For the Lord schal be at thi side; 26 dedly synne.
and he schal kepe thi foot, that thou be the Lord *schal*
not takun. Nil thou forbede to do wel 27 *be at thi side*;
him that mai; if thou maist, and^c do that if he nyle
thou wel. Seie thou not to thi frend, 28 kepe thee fro
Go^d, and turne thou^e a3en, and to morewe temporal peyae,
Y schal 3yue to thee; whanne thou maist this schal be to
3yue anoon. Ymagyne thou not yuel to 29 thi good, that
thi freend, whanne he hath trist in thee. is to exercisce of
Stryue thou not a3ens a man with out 30 patience, and
cause, whanne he doith noon yuel to to merit of
thee. Sue thou not an vniust man, sue 31 glorie. *Lire*
thou not hise weies. For ech disseyuer[†] 32 *here. c.*
is abhomynacioun of^f the Lord; and his † *disseyuere*;
speking *is* with simple men. Nedinesse 33 that bihetith
is sent of the Lord in the hous of a good with the
wickid man; but the dwelling places of mouth, that
iust men schulen be blessid[‡]. He schal 34 thenkith yuel
scorne scorneris; and he schal 3yue grace in the herte.
to mylde men. Wise men schulen haue 35 *Lire here. c.*
glorie; enhaunsing of foolis *is* schen- ‡ *be blessid*;
schipe§. that is, schulen
§ Many Latyn be multiplied
bokis han thus, in temporal
the ful out io3- goodis and
yng of foolis is goostli. *Lire*
schenschipe; that is, ful of here. c.
of schenschipe, § Many Latyn
for thei ben bokis han thus,
glad, whanne the ful out io3-
thei han do yuele, and yng of foolis is
make ful out schenschipe;
ioye in worste for thanne the
things; nethe- filthe of her foli
les in Ebrew it aperith more,
is, enhaunsing as the filthe of
of foolis is the hyndre
schenschipe; partis of an ape
for thanne the aperith more,
the filthe of whanne he
the hyndre stiet an hij;
partis of an and oure Latyn
ape aperith more, translacioun
more, semeth corrupt
for the licnesse bi writeri-,
of wordis. *Lire* for the licnesse
here. c. of wordis. *Lire*
|| of the fadir;

CAP. IV.

Sones, here 3e the teching of the^g fadir||; 1
and perseiue 3e, that 3e kunne prudence.
Y schal 3yue to 3ou a good 3ifte; forsake 2
3e not my lawe. For whi and Y was^h the 3

^g my counseile A. ^h Om. A. ⁱ Om. A. ^k man, a comelyng tiliere E pr. m. ^l Forsothe AH.

² with I. ^a Om. I. ^b of I. ^c also I. ^d And go thou N. ^e Om. N. ^f to I. ^g 3oure I.
^h was also I.

was the sone of my fader, sum what tender, and the onli goten befor my moder.
 4 And he tazte me, and seide, Take my woordys thin^m herte; kep thou myn
 5 hestis, and thou shalt liue. Weld wisdom, weld prudence; ne forȝete thou, ne
 6 bowe thou down fro the wordis of my mouth. Ne leue thou it, and it shal kepe
 thee; looue it, and it shal withholde thee.
 7 Begynnyng of wisdom, welde thou wisdom; and in al thi possessioun purchaseⁿ
 8 prudence. Tac it, and it shal enhaunce thee; thou shalt be glorified of it, whan
 9 thou hast clippid it. It shal ȝiue to thin hed encreis of graces; and a noble crowne
 10 shal defende thee. Here thou, my sone, and vndertac my woordis; and be ther
 11 multeplied to thee ȝeris of lif. The weie of wisdom I shal shewe to thee; and lede
 12 thee bi the pathys of equityte. The whiche whan thou shalt gon in, thi goingis shul
 not be streitid; and rennende thou shalt
 13 not han letting. Hold discipline, and ne
 14 leue thou it; kep it, for it is thi lyf. Ne delite thou in the pathis of vnпиты men;
 and to thee plese not the weie of euele
 15 men. Flee^o fro it, and passe thou not bi
 16 it; bowe down, and forsake it. Forsothe they slepen not, but if thei don euele; and
 17 slep is not caȝt of hem, but if thei supplaunte. Thei eten the bred of vnпиты
 18 tounesse, and the win of wickidnesse^p drinken. Forsothe the path of riȝtwis-
 19 men as shynende liȝt goth forth, and growith in to a parfit day. The weie of
 vnпиты men derk^q; thei witen not wher
 20 thei falle. My sone, herkne my woordis; and to my spechis bowe in thin ere. Ne
 21 go thei away fro thin eȝen; kep thou hem in the myddel of thin herte. Forsothe
 22 lif thei ben to the findende hem, and of alle flesh the helthe. With alle warde
 23 kep thou thin herte, for of it lif goth forth. Remoue from thee a shreude
 24 mouth; and bacbitende lippis be thei

sone of my fadir, a tendir sone, and oon
 'gendride bifore^l my modir. And my fadir⁴
 tauȝte me, and seide, Thin herte resseyue
 my wordis; kepe thou myn heestis, and
 thou schalt lyue. Welde thou wisdom,
 5 welde thou prudence; forȝete thou not, ne-
 6 thir bowe thou away fro the wordis of my
 mouth. Forsake thou not it, and it schal
 6 kepe thee; loue thou it, and it schal kepe^k
 thee. The bigynnyng of wisdom*, welde
 7 thou wisdom; and in al thi possessioun
 gete thou prudence. Take thou it, and it
 8 schal enhaunse thee; thou schalt be glori-
 fied[†] of it, whanne thou hast biclippid it.
 It schal ȝyue encresyngis of graces to thin
 9 heed; and a noble coroun schal defende
 thee. Mi sone, here thou, and take my
 10 wordis; that the ȝeris of lijf be multiplid
 to thee. Y schal schewe to thee the weie
 11 of wisdom; and Y schal lede thee bi the
 pathis of equityte. In to whiche^l whanne
 12 thou hast entrid, thi goyngis schulen not
 be maad streit; and thou schalt rennen,
 and schalt not haue hirtyng. Holde thou
 13 teching^m, and forsake it not; kepe thou
 it, for it is thi lijf. Delite thou not in the
 14 pathis of wyckid men; and the weie of
 yuele men plese not thee. Fle thou fro it,
 15 and passe thou not therbi; bowe thou
 awei, and forsake it. For thei slepen not,
 16 'no butⁿ thei han do yuele; and^o sleep is
 rausched^p fro hem, no^q but thei^r han dis-
 seyued[‡]. Thei eten the breed of vnpite,
 17 and^s drinken the wyn of wickidnesse[§].
 But the path of iust men goth forth as
 18 liȝt schynynge, and encreessith^{||} til to per-
 fit dai. The weie of wickid men is derk; 19
 thei witen not wher thei schulen falle.
 Mi sone, herkne thou my wordis; and
 20 bowe down thin eeris to my spechis. Go
 21 not tho^t awei fro thyn iȝen; kepe thou
 hem^u in the myddil of thin herte. For
 22 tho^v ben lijf to men fyndynge thoo^w,
 and^x heelthe 'of al fleisch^y. With al kep-
 23 ing^z kepe thin herte, for lijf cometh forth

this may be vnderstondun of Dauid, the fadir of Salomon; and of God, cheef fadir of alle; and this letre may be vnderstondun bothe of Salomon and of Crist. *Live here. c.*

* The bigynnyng of wisdom; that is, to gete wisdom. *welde thou wisdom; that is, possessioun of wisdom in this liyf, is the bigynnyng to haue wisdom in heuenli cun- trey, which stonith in the cleer siȝt and knowing of God. and in al thi possessioun; that is, bifor al thing that may be getun in to thi possessioun. take thou it; that is, haaste thou to gete it. In Ebreu thus, the bigynnyng of wisdom, be thou wisdom; that is, the bigynnyng to gete wisdom, is to bie to thee bi priys ether seruyce a wiȝs techere, which is seid here wisdom. and in al thi biȝng, gete thou prudence; that is, bifor alle thingis that moun be bouȝt, ether moun be had of eny man in eny maner. *Live here. c.* † be glorified; that is, thou schalt be onourid bifor many men for it. *Live here. c.* ‡ disseyued; symple men. *Live here. ckn.* § of wickidnesse; that is,*

^m in thin *AH*. ⁿ purchase thou *c pr. m.* ^o Flee thou *A*. ^p wickidnesse *EG pr. m.* ^q is derk *A*.

^l bigotun tofore *I*. ^k warishe *I*. ^l the whiche *I*. ^m disciplyne or teching *I*. ⁿ but if *I*.
^o neither *A sec. m.* ^p take away *I*. ^q Om. *A sec. m.* ^r if thei *I*. ^s and thei *I*. ^t thei *I*. ^u tho *cvw*.
 Om. *FHV*. ^v tho wordis *I*. ^w hem *I*. ^x and thei ben *I*. ^y to ech man *I*. ^z warde *I*.

25 ferr fro thee. Thin ezen see thei rizte thingis; and thin ezelidis beforgo thei thi
26 goingis. Rizt reule the pathis to thi feet,
27 and alle thi weies be they stablid. Ne bowe thou down to the rizt, ne to the lift; turne awei thi foot fro euel. Forsothe the weies that ben on the rizthalf the Lord knew³; shreude forsothe ben^r, that of the lift ben. He forsothe rizt shal make thi goingus; thi weies forsothe in pes shul be broyt forth.

CAP. V.

1 My sone, tac heed to my wisdam, and to my prudence bowe thou thin ere;
2 that thou kepe tho³tis, and discipline thi lippis withholden. Ne^a wile thou not entende to the desceyuyng of womman;
3 forsothe an hony comb droppende the lippis of a strumpet, and clerere than oile
4 the throte of hir; forsothe the laste of hir bitter as wormod, and the tunge of
5 hir sharp as a twei bitende swerd. The feet of hir gon down in to deth; and to^t
6 helle the goingis of hir persen. Bi the path of lif thei gon not; vagaunt ben
7 the goingus of hir, and vnserchable. Now thanne, my sone, here thou me, and ne go thou awei fro the woordis of my
8 mouth. Aferr mac fro hir thi weie, and ne nezhe thou to the doris of hir hous.
9 Ne 3yue thou to alienes thi wrshi^e, and
10 thi 3eris to the cruel; lest perauenture be fulfid straungeres with thi strengthis, and thi trauailis ben in an^a aliene hous;
11 and thou weile in^v thi laste, whan thou hast wastid thi flesh, and thi bodi; and
12 sey, Whi wariede I discipline, and to
13 snybbingis assentede^w not myn herte; ne I herde the vois of men techende me, and
14 to maistris I bowide not myn ere? Ne³h I was in alle euel, in the myddel of the
15 chirche, and of the synagoge. Drink watir of thi cisterne, and the flowingus

of it. Remoue thou^a a schrewid mouth 24
fro thee; and backbitynge lippis be fer fro thee. Thin 3en se riztful thingis; and thin 25
3eliddis go bfore thi steppis. Dresse thou 26
pathis to thi feet^{*}, and alle thi weies schulen be stablischid. Bowe thou not to the 27
riztside[†], nether to the leftside; turne awei thi foot fro yuel. For the Lord[†]
knowith the weies that ben at the rizt- side; but the weies ben weiward, that ben at the leftside. Forsothe he schal make thi goyngis riztful; and thi weies schulen be brouzt forth in pees.

CAP. V.

Mi sone, perseyue thou my wisdom, 1
and bowe down thin eere to my prudence; that thou kepe thi thou³tis, and thi lippis 2
kepe teching. 3yue thou not tent to the falsnesse of a womman; for the lippis of 3
an hoore[§] ben an hony coomb droppinge, and hir throte *is* clerere than oile; but 4
the last thingis *ben* bittir as wormod, and hir tunge *is* scharp as a swerd keruyng on ech side. Hir feet gon down in to deeth; 5
and hir steppis persen to hellis. Tho goon 6
not bi the path of lijf; hir steppis ben vn- certeyn, and moun not be souzt out. Now 7
therfor, my sone, here thou me, and go^b not awei fro the wordis of my mouth. Make fer thi weie fro hir, and neize thou 8
not to the doris of hir hous. 3yue thou 9
not thin onour to aliens^{||}, and thi 3eeris to the cruel; lest perauenture straungeris 10
be fillid with thi strengthis, and lest thi trauels be in an alien^c hous; and thou 11
biweile[¶] in the laste daies, whanne thou hast wastid thi flesch^d, and thi bodi; and thou^e seie, Whi^f wlatide Y teching, and 12
myn herte assentide not to blamyngis; nether Y herde the voys of men techinge 13
me, and Y bowide not down myn eere to maistris? Almost Y was in al yuel, in the 14
myddis of the chirche, and of the synagoge. Drinke thou watir^{**} of thi cisterne^{††}, 15
and the floodis of thi pit. Thi wellis be 16

getun bi wick- idnesse. *Live here. c.*
|| and encreess- ith, etc.; in go- ynge forth fro vertu in to vertu, til God be seyen in Syon. *tho ben lijf*; that is, ben cause of lijf of grace, and maken good disposicioun of bodi to hem that kepen tho. *Live here. c.*
* to thi feet; that is, to thyn affeccions. *Live here. cx na.*
† Bowe thou not to the rizt side, etc.; that is, be thou not drawun fro the weye of riztful- nesse [riztwis- nesse x] bi prosperites, nether [or faire x] biheestis, nether be thou brokun bi ad- uersites, nether ma. asis. *Live here. cx.*
† For the Lord, etc.; al this til to the ende of the chapitre, is not of the text, for it is not in Ebreu. *Live here. c.*
§ of an hoore; summe Ebreys, as Rabi Sala- mon, expownen this of idolatrie, signefied bi an hoore. *Live here. c.*
|| that is, to ribaudis and enemyes of Goddis lawe. x.
¶ withouten fruyt, as dampned men doon aftir deeth. Sap. vto. x.
** Drynke thou water; that is, if thou maist not, ether nylt lyue chaste, vse thi wiyf. *Live here. c.*
vse thou with drede thin owne wiyf, kepe hire fro othere, bring- inge forth chil- dren in ver- tuous loue. x.
†† bi water of

^r thei ben A. ^a Om. A. ^t in to A. ^u Om. E pr. m. ^v Om. c. ^w assente c.

^a Om. i. ^b go thou i. ^c aliens A1. ^d fleish i. ^e Om. i. ^f Thanne whi i.

16 of thi pyt. Ben lad out thi wellis with-
oute forth; and in stretis thi watir de-
17 uyde thou. Haue thou hem alone; and
18 be not alienes thi parceneres. Be thi
veyne blissid; and glade thou with the
19 womman of thi ful waxende 3outhen. A
most cheere^x hynde; and a most kindeli
hert calf. The tetis of hir inwardli make
thee drunke alle time; and in the looue
20 of hire delite thou bisili. Whi art thou
bro3t doun, sone myn, of an alien wom-
man; and art fed in the bosum of an
21 othere? The Lord loketh the weie of a
man; and alle the goingis of hym be-
22 holdith^y. His wickenesses^z taken the vn-
pitouse; and with the cordis of his synnes
23 he is togidere streyned. He schal dien,
for he hadde not discipline; and in the
multitude of his folie he schal ben be-
gyld.

CAP. VI.

1 My sone, if thou become bor3 for thi
frend; thou hast pi3t doun anent a straun-
2 ger thin hond. Thou art gnarid with the
woordis of thi mouth; and taken with thi
3 proper woordis. Do thanne, my sone, that
I seie, and deliuere thi self; for thou hast
fallen in to the hond of thi ne3hebore.
Ren hider and thider, hee3e, rere vp thi
4 frend; ne 3iue thou slep to thin e3en,
5 and nappe not thin e3elidis. Be thou
pullid out as a^a foun fro the hond; and as
6 a brid fro the spies of the foulere. Go
to the anpte, O! thou slowe; and behold
7 the weies of it, and lerne wisdom. The
whiche, whan it hath no ledere, ne co-
8 maundere, ne prince; it greitheth in the
somer mete to hymself^b, and gedereth
9 togidere in time of rip, that it etc. Hou
longe, thou slowe, shalt thou slepe?
10 whanne shalt thou rise fro thi slep? A
litol while thou shalt slepe, a litil while
thou shalt nappe; a litil while thou shalt
leyn togidere thin hondis, that thou slepe.

stremed forth^{*}; and departe thi watris in
stretis. Haue thou aloone *tho watris*^g; 17
and aliens be not thi parceneris[†]. Thi 18
veyne[‡] be blissid; and be thou glad with
the womman of thi 3ong^h wexynge age[§].
An hynde moost dereworth^{||}; and an hert 19
calf moost acceptable. Hir teetis fille thee
in al tyme; and delite thou contynueli in
the loue of hir^{**}. Mi sone, whi art thou 20
disseyued of an alien womman; and art
fostrid in the bosum of an othere? The 21
Lord seeth the weie of a man; andⁱ bi-
holdith alle hise steppis. The wickid- 22
nessis of a wyckid man taken hym; and
he is boundun with the roopis of hise
synnes. He schal die, for he hadde not 23
lernyng^k; and he schal be disseyued in
the mychilnesse of his fooli.

CAP. VI.

1 Mi sone, if thou hast bihi3t for thi
freend; thou hast fastned thin hoond at a
straunger. Thou art boundun bi the wordis 2
of thi mouth; and *thou art* takun with
thin owne wordis^l. Therfor, my sone, do 3
thou that that Y seie, and delyuere thi
silf; for thou hast fallun^m in to the hond
of thi ne3bore. Renne thou aboute, haste
thou, reise thi freend; 3yue thou not sleep 4
to thin 3en, nether thin 3eliddis nappe.
Be thou rauyschid^{††} as a doo fro the 5
hond; and as a bridde froⁿ aspiyngis^p of
the foulere. O^q! thou slowe man, go to the 6
'amte, ether pissemire^r; and biholde thou
hise weies, and lerne thou wisdom. Which^s 7
whanne^t he hath^u no duyck, nethir co-
maundour, nether^v prince; makith redi 8
in somer mete to hym silf, and gaderith
togidere in heruest that, that he schal
etc. Hou long schalt thou, slow man, 9
slep? whanne schalt thou rise fro thi
sleep? A litil thou schalt slepe, a litil 10
thou schalt nappe; a litil thou schalt ioynen

cisterne; is sig-
nified the watir
of helthe and
of wisdom, that
cometh forth of
hooly scripture.
A man owith
to departe this
wisdom in
stretis, that is
comyn places;
also he alone
owith to haue
this watir of
wisdom, not
excludinge
othere feithful
men and good
dissipulis, but
scornis and
vnfeithful men.

^{*} *thi wellis be
stremed forth*;
that is, children
be gendrid of
thee in matry-
monye. *Live
here. c.*
[†] *and departe
thi watris, etc.*;
that is, 3yue
thou to mariage
thi children
comun to age.
Live here. c.
[‡] *aliens be not
thi parceneris*;
that is, kepe so
thi wyf, that
children borun
of hir be thyne,
and that aliens
be not parce-
neris in thi
wyf, nether in
children. *Live
here. c.*
[§] *thi veyne*;
that is, the
children borun
of veri matry-
monye. *c.*
^{||} *with a wom-
man of thi 3ong
wexynge age*;
that is, with
Goddis lawe
3ounn to the
puple of Israel
in the 3outhen
therof. *c.*
^{**} *an hynde
moost dere-
worth*; is
Goddis lawe.
*an hert calf
moost accepta-
ble*; is a studi-
ous dissiple in
Goddis lawe;
ether bi an
hynde is vndur-
stonde a feith-
ful spousesse.
an hert calf;
that is, a feith-

^x cleere *A.* ^y he beholdith *AGH.* ^z wickidnessis *AGH.* ^a Om. *A.* ^b it silf *AH.*

³ hem *I.* ^h Om. *I.* ⁱ and he *I.* ^k lernyng *ether chastising* CEF GK MN PQ RS UV Y A C. discipline or chas-
tising *I.* ^l spechis *I.* ^m feld *CHNUV.* ⁿ for *R.* ^p spiyngis *MY.* ^q A *plures.* ^r amte, *ether spisse-
mire* NQUW. amte *H.* amte, *ether the spissmire* S. pismire, *ether ampte* Y. ^s The which emte *I.* ^t thou3 *I.*
^u haue *I.* ^v ne *I.*

11 And ther shal come to thee as a weie
goere, nede; and porenese, as a man
armed. If forsothe vnslo; thou shul be,
shal come as a welle thi rip; and nede
12 ferr shal flee fro thee. A man apostata,
a man ful of strengthe vnprofitable, goth
13 with peruertid mouth; he twincleth with
the ejen^c, he tramplith with the foot,
14 with the fingir he speketh, with shreude
herte he castith euel; and alle times
15 striues he sowith. To this anoon shal
come his perdicoun, and sodeynli he shall
be to-treden; and he shal han no mor
16 medecyn. Sixe thingis ben, that the
Lord hateth; and the seuenthe the lif of
17 hym varieth. Heze ejen, a tunge liere,
hondis shedende out the innocent blod,
18 the herte castende most euel tho;tis, the
19 swifte feet to rennen in to euel, the
bringende forth lesingis, the desceyuable
witness; and hym that sowith among
20 brether discordis. Withhold, my sone,
the hestis of thi fader; and ne leue thou
21 the lawe of thi moder. Bind hem bisili
in thin herte; and enuyroune to thi throte.
22 Whan thou shalt go, go thei with thee;
whan thou shalt slepe, kepe thei thee;
23 and wakende speke thou with hem. For
the maundement is a lanterne, and the
lawe lijt^d, and the weie of lif the snyb-
24 bing of discipline; that thei kepe thee
fro an euel womman, and fro the flater-
ende tunge of the straunge womman.
25 Coueite not thin herte the fairnesse of
hir; ne be thou take^e with the beckis of
26 hir. The price forsothe of the strumpet
vnethe is of o lof; the womman forsothe
27 taketh the precious lif of a man. Whether
mai a man hide fir in his bosum, that his
28 clothis brenne not; or gon vpon colis^f,
29 and his solis ben not brent? So he that
goth in to the womman of his ne;hebore;
shal not ben clene, whan he touchith hir.
30 Not gret is the blame, whan a man stelith;

togidere thin hondis, that thou slepe. And^y 11 ful spouse, ether
nedynesse, as a weigoere*, schal come to
thee; and pouert, as an armed man. For-
sothe if thou art not slow, thi ripe corn
shal come as a welle; and nedynesse schal
fle fer fro thee. A man apostata†, a^y man 12
vnprofitable, he goith with a weiward
mouth; he bekeneth with ijen†, he tramp- 13
ith with the foot, he spekith with the
fyngur‡, bi^z schrewid herte he ymagyneth 14
yuel, and in al tyme he sowith dissen-
ciouns. His perdicoun schal come to hym 15
anoon, and he schal be brokun sodeynli;
and he schal no more haue medecyn||. Sixe 16
thingis ben^a, whyche the Lord hatith; and
hise soule cursith the seuenthe thing. Hi- 17
ze ijen¶, a tunge liere**, hondis sched-
inge out innocent blood, an herte ymagyn- 18
ynge worste^b thou;tis, feet swifte to renne
in to yuel, a man bringynge forth lesingis, 19
a fals witness; and him that sowith dis-
cordis^c among britheren. Mi sone, kepe 20
the comaundementis of thi fadir††; and for-
sake not the lawe of thi modir. Bynde 21
thou tho continueli in thin herte; and cum-
passe^d to thi throte^d. Whanne thou goist, 22
go tho^e with thee; whanne thou slepist,
kepe tho^f thee; and thou wakyng speke
with tho^g. For the comaundement of God 23
is a lanterne, and the lawe is lijt, and the
blamyng of techyng^h is the weie of lijf;
'that the comaundementisⁱ kepe thee fro 24
an yuel womman, and fro a flaterynge
tunge of a straunge womman. Thin herte 25
coueite not the fairnesse of hir; nether be
thou takun bi the signes^k of hir. For the 26
prijs of an hoore is vnnethe of^l o loof††;
but^m a womman takithⁿ the preciose
soule of a man. Whetherⁿⁿ a man mai 27
hide fier in his bosum, that hise clothis
brenne not; ethir go on colis, and hise 28
feet be not brent? So^o he that entrieth to 29
the wijf of his ne;hbore; schal not be cleene,
whanne he hath touchid hir. It^p is not^q 30

ful spouse, ether
hosebonde.
Live here. c.
** in the loue of
hir; that is, in
hir felouschipe
in 3ongthe and
eelde. Live
here. c.
†† Be thou ra-
uyschid; that
is, swiftd; fro
the hond of
him, to whom
thou hast
bounde thee.
Live here. c.
* as a wei-
goere; that is,
sone and su-
deynli; armed
so that thou
maist not de-
fende thee
agens it. Live
here. c.
† apostata;
that is, brekere
of religioun, is
maad a man
vnprofitable,
etc. cknw.
‡ bekeneth with
ijen; schew-
inge to wym-
men signes of
leccherie. c.
§ with the fyn-
gur; that is,
with pride.
Live here. ckn.
|| no more haue
medecyn; for
aftir deth is no
place to fruyt-
ful penance.
Live here. c.
¶ hi;ze ijen;
that is, opyn
signes of pride.
Live here. ckn.
** a tunge
liere; that is,
customable to
dedly leeing.
Live here. c.
†† of thi fadir;
that is God.
modir; that
is, hooli scrip-
ture, ethir hooli
chirche.
to thi throte;
that is, in hold-
inge tho in
mynde stide-
fastli, and in
spekinge of tho.
whanne thou
slepist, etc.; for
in slepinge in
the mynde of
tho, thou
slepist in the
Lord, and in
his proteccioun.
weie of lijf;
that is, to hem

^c eye A. ^d of lijt E pr. m. ^e not take AE pr. m. H. ^f the colis AEGH.

^y And thanne I. ^{yy} is a I. ^z with I. ^a ther ben I. ^b ful wickid I. ^c discord I. ^d with hem I.
^e thei I. ^f thei I. ^g hem I. ^h disciplyne I. ⁱ that thei I. that, that is, the comaundementis. Live
here. N sec. m. ^k beckis I. ^l the value of I. ^m forsothe I. ⁿ takith away I. ⁿⁿ Wher ceteri passim.
^o Riht so I. ^p And it A. ^q no rs pr. m.

forsothe he steleth, that he fulfille the hun-
 31 grende soule. Ca3t therewith forsothe
 he shal 3elde the^g seuene fold; and al the
 substaunce of his hous he shal take, and
 32 deliueren hymself. Who^h forsothe is auou-
 trer; for miseise of herte he shal lesen
 33 his soule. Filthe and shenshepe he geder-
 eth to hymself; and the repref of hym
 34 shal not ben don awei. For the ielous-
 nesse and the wodnesse of the man shal
 35 not sparen in the dai of veniaunce, ne
 assente to the pre3eeris of any man; and
 he shal not take for the a3een bizing
 manye 3iftis.

CAP. VII.

1 My sone, kep thou my woordis; and
 myne hestis ley vp to thee. Sone, ho-
 noure thou the Lord, and thou shalt fare
 wel; biside hym forsothe thou shalt not
 2 dredenⁱ an other. Kep my maundemens,
 and thou shalt liue; and my lawe as the
 3 appil of thin e3e. Bind it in thi fingris;
 4 wryt it in the tablis of thin herte. Sey
 to wisdom, My sister thou art; and pru-
 5 dence clep thou thi lemman. That it kepe
 thee fro^a a straunge womman; and fro an
 alien, that hir woordis maketh sweete.
 6 Fro the windowe forsothe of myn hous
 bi the latys I beheeld the 3unge man;
 7 and I see litle childer. I beholde the sori
 8 hertid 3unge man, that passeth thur3 the
 stretis, biside the corner; and ne3 the weie
 9 of that hous goth in derc, the dai wax-
 ende to euen, in the ny3tis dercnessis and
 10 mystynesse. And lo! a womman a3en
 cam to hym, with strumpet aray befor
 11 a chaterere, and vagaunt of reste, vnpa-
 cient, ne mowende in the hous abide stille
 12 with hir feet; now withouteforth, now
 in the stretys, now beside the corneres^k
 13 aspiende. And the ca3te 3unge man she
 kisseth; and with wowende chere she
 14 flatereth, seiende, Sacrifies^l of victorie^m

greet synne*, whanne a man stelith; for
 he stelith to fille an hungri soule. And he 31
 takun schal 3elde the seuenthe fold; and
 he schal 3yue al the catel of his hous, and
 schal delyuere hym silf. But he that is 32
 avouter; schal leese his soule, for the^r po-
 uert of herte[†]. He gaderith filthe, and 33
 sclaudrith^a to^t hym silf; and his schen-
 schip schal not be don awei[†]. For the 34
 feruent loue and strong veniaunce of the
 man3 schal not spare in the dai of ven-
 iaunce, nether schal assente to the preieris 35
 of ony; nether schal^v take ful^w many 3iftis
 for raunsum.

CAP. VII.

Mi sone, kepe thou my wordis||; and 1
 kepe^x myn heestis to thee. Sone, onoure[¶]
 thou the Lord, and thou schalt be^y my3ti;
 but outakun hym drede thou not an alien^y.
 Kepe thou myn heestis, and thou schalt 2
 lyue; and^z my lawe as the appil of thin
 3 3en^a. Bynde thou it in thi fyngris**;
 write thou it in the tablis of thin herte.
 Seie thou to wisdom, Thou art my sistir;
 4 and clepe thou prudence thi frendesse^b.
 That it kepe thee fro a straunge wom- 5
 man^{††}; and fro an alien womman, that
 makith hir wordis swete. For whi fro 6
 the wyndow^{††} of myn hous bi the latijs
 Y bihelde; and Y se litle children33. I bi- 7
 holde a 3ong man coward, that passith bi 8
 the stretis, bisidis^c the^d corner; and he
 goith ni3 the weie of hir hous in derk 9
 tyme, whanne the dai drawith to ni3t, in
 the derknessis^e and myst off^f the ny3t.
 And lo! a womman, maad redi with our- 10
 nement of an hoore to disseyue soulis,
 meetith hym, and *sche is* a ianglere, and
 goynge^g about, and vnpacient of reste, 11
 and mai not stonde in the hous with hir
 feet; and now without forth, now in 12
 stretis, now bisidis corneris *sche* 'aspieth^h.
 And *sche* takith, and kisseth the 3ong man; 13
 and flaterith with wowynge cheer|||, and

that synnen bi
 ignorance
 ether frelte.
 a straunge
 womman; that
 is, a uoutresse,
 that makith hir
 strange fro
 hir hosebonde.
 Lire here. c.
 †† a loof; in
 Ebreu it is, is
 ennethe a gobet
 of breed.
 precious soule;
 the soule of
 man is seid
 precious, for
 it is maad to
 the ymage of
 God, and is or-
 deyned to blis
 aboue kynde;
 but a womman
 as a sustir of
 the deuel tak-
 ith it to auou-
 trie and damp-
 nacioun. Lire
 here. c.
 * not greet
 synne, etc.;
 that is, thefte
 in comparisoun
 of auoutrie.
 Lire here. c.
 sec. m.
 † pouert of
 herte; that is,
 [wanting ɛ]
 of resoun. c.
 ‡ schal not be
 doon away; for
 the payne of
 helle is with-
 outen ende.
 Lire here. c.
 § the man;
 that is, God.
 c et alii.
 that is, Crist. i.
 || my wordis;
 in fillinge tho
 bi werk, and
 kepinge as a
 precousere tre-
 sour. Lire
 here. c.
 ¶ Sone, onoure,
 etc.; this vers
 is not in Ebreu.
 Lire here. c.
 ** in thi fyn-
 gris; that is,
 fille it in werk.
 Lire here. c.
 †† a straunge
 womman; that
 is, auoutresse.
 Lire here. c.
 ‡† fro the wynd-
 ow, etc.; that
 is, priyete of
 consience. Lire
 here. c.
 §§ litle children;
 that is, foolis
 that han litil
 wit. Lire here.
 c.
 ||| with wowynge

g Om. A. h Who so A. i holden E pr. m. k corner AH. l Sacrifice A. m victories c pr. m.

r Om. i. s sclaudre wq. t Om. c. v he schal i. w Om. i. x gadre in tresour i. y myche worth,
 and drede thou noon oother but him i. z and kepe i. a 3e i. b leef i. c biside i. d a i. e derk-
 nesse c. f in c. g a goer i. h spieth c.

for helthe I haue gretli vouwid; to dai
 13 I haue 3olde my vouwis. Therfore I wente
 out in to thin a3en comyng, desirende
 16 thee to seen; and I haue founde. I haue
 arazid with cordis my litil bed, and spred
 17 with peintid tapitis of Egipt; I haⁿ
 sprengd my ligging place with myrre,
 18 and aloes, and canell. Cum, and be wee
 inwardli drunke with tetes, and vse wee
 the coueitid clippingis; to the time that
 19 the dai waxe list. There is not a man in
 hir hous; he 3ide awei the most ferr
 20 weie. The bagge of his monee he toc
 with hym; in the dai of the^o fulle moone
 21 he is to turne a3een in to his hous. She
 grenede hym with manye wordis; and
 with flatering of lippis she fordrow hym.
 22 Anoon he folewith hir, as an oxe lad to
 the sacrificis of victorie; and as a lomb
 pleiende and vnknowende, that to bondis
 23 the fool is drawe, to the time that the
 arwe thirle thur3 his mawe. As if a brid
 hee3e to the grene; and wot not, that of
 24 the^p perile of his lif me purposeth. Now
 thanne, sone myn^q, here thou me; and tac
 25 tente to the wordis of my mouth. Ne
 be drawen awei in the weies of hir thi
 mynde; ne be thou bigilid in the sties of
 26 hir. Manye forsothe woundid she threw
 down; and alle the strongeste^r ben slain
 27 of hir. The weies of helle the housis of
 hir; persende in to the innermor thingus
 of deth.

CAP. VIII.

1 Whether not wisdam ofte crieth; and
 2 prudence 3yueth his vois? In the he3est
 and he3e frountis, aboue the weie, in the
 3 myddel pathis, stondende beside the 3ate
 of the cite; in tho 3ate doris it speket,
 4 seiende, O! men, to 3ou I ofte crie; and
 5 my vois to the sonas of men. Vnder-
 stondeth, 3ee litle childer, witnesse; and,
 6 3ee vnwise men, taketh heed. Hereth,
 for of grete thingis I am to speke; and
 my lippis shul ben opened, that euene

seith, Y ou3te sacrificis^{i*} for heelthe; to 14
 dai Y haue 3olde my vouwis. Therfor Y 15
 3ede^k out in to thi meetyng, and Y desiride
 to se thee; and Y haue founde thee. Y 16
 haue maad my bed with coordis, Y haue
 arayed^l with tapetis peyntid of Egipt; Y 17
 haue bispreynt my bed with myrre, and
 aloes, and canel. Come thou, be we fillid 18
 with tetis[†], and vse we collyngis that
 ben^m coueitid; til the dai bigynne to be
 cleer. For myn hosebonde is not in his 19
 hows; he is goon a ful long weie. He 20
 took with hym a bagge of money; he
 schal turne a3en in to his hous in the dai
 of ful moone. Sche boonde hym[†] with 21
 many wordis; and sche drow forth hym
 with flateryngis of lippis. Anoon he as 22
 an oxe led to slayn sacrifice sueth hir,
 and as a ioli lomb and vnkunyngeⁿ; and
 the fool woot not, that he is drawun to
 bondys[§], til an arowe perse^o his mawe. 23
 As if a brid hastith^{||} to the snare; and
 woot not, that it is don of the perel of his
 lijf. Now therfor, my sone, here thou me; 24
 and perseyue the wordis of my mouth.
 Lest thi soule be drawun awei in the weies 25
 of hir; nether be thou disseyued in the
 pathis of hir. For sche castide^p down[¶] 26
 many woundid men; and alle strongeste
 men weren slayn of hir^{**}. The weies of 27
 helle is hir hous; and persen in to^q ynnere
 thingis of deeth.

CAP. VIII.

Whether wisdom crieth not ofte; and 1
 prudence 3yueth his^r vois? In souereyn-2
 este^{††} and hi3 coppis, aboue the weie, in the
 myddis of pathis, and it stondith bisidis 3
 the 3ate of the citee, in thilke closyngis,
 and spekith, and seith, A! 3e men, Y crie 4
 ofte to 3ou; and my vois is to the sonas of
 men. Litle children^{††}, vndirstonde 3e wis-5
 dom; and 3e vnwise men, 'perseyue wis-
 dom^t. Here 3e, for Y schal speke of grete 6
 thingis; and my lippis schulen be openyd,

ⁿ han AGH. haue E. ^o this A. ^p Om. C. ^q Om. AGH. ^r strengthid A.

ⁱ sacrifice A. ^k wente I. ^l arayed it K. ^m Om. ceteri. ⁿ vnkunynge I. ^o perishe I. ^p hath cast I.
^q to the I. ^r hir I. ^s souereyne A sec. m. moost souereyne I. ^t perseyueth in herte I. perseyue
 wisdam. Lire here. N text.

cheer; that
 is, vnresteful,
 and with out
 schame. Lire
 here. c.
^{*} Y ou3te sa-
 crifice; thus it
 is in bokis
 amendid, but
 summe bokis
 han, Y auow-
 ide. Lire here.
 c.
[†] with tetis;
 that is, with
 toching of
 tetis. Lire
 here. c.
[†] Sche boond
 him; that is,
 withhelde and
 wlapide him
 in coueytise of
 fleisch, as in a
 net. Lire
 here. c.
[§] to boondis;
 of synne and
 of peyne. Lire
 here. c.
^{||} a brid hast-
 ith; as a brid
 is takun in a
 snare, for the
 coueytise of a
 litil meete, so
 he that is vn-
 contynent, ether
 a lechour, ren-
 neth in to the
 snare of synne,
 and in to the
 deth of helle,
 for couetise of
 desiring of a
 woman. Lire
 here. c.
[¶] sche castide
 down; fro the
 staat of grace;
 many woundid
 men, bi the
 wounde of
 fleischli couey-
 tise. Lire
 here. c.
^{**} strongeste
 men weren
 slayen of hir;
 as it is opyn of
 Adam, the
 moste man, for
 he was in the
 staat of inno-
 cence, and was
 ful of kunnyng
 and vertu, and
 of Sampson, the
 strongeste man,
 and of Dauyth,
 the holieste
 man, and of
 Salamon, the
 wiseste man,
 and of many
 mo in the Eldre
 and Newe Tes-
 tament. c.
^{††} in souereyn-
 este; that is,

7 thingus thei preche. Treuthe my throte
shal sweteli bethenke; and my lippis shul
8 wlate the vnпитыouse. Ríztwise ben alle
my sermownes; ther is not in hem any
9 thing shreude, ne peruertid. Rízte thei
ben to vnderstondende men; and euene to
10 men findende kunnyng. Taketh my dis-
cipline, and not money; doctrine mor
11 than tresor cheseth. Betere is wisdom
than alle the most precious richessis; and
al desirable thing to it mai not be com-
12 parisound. I, wisdom, dwelle in coun-
13 seil; and am among to lerned tho3tis. The
drede of the Lord hateth euel; enhaunc-
ing, and pride, and the shreude weie,
and the mouth of the twisil tunge I wlate.
14 Myn is conseil, and equite; myn is pru-
15 dence, myn is and strengthe. By me
kingus regnen; and makeris of lawis rízte
16 thingus demen. Bi me princis comaund-
17 en; and my3ti men deme ríztwísnesse. I
men loouende me looue; and that erli
18 waken at me, shul finde me. With^a me
ben richessis, and glorie; and proud plen-
19 teuousnessis, and ríztwísnesse. Betere is
my frut than gold, and than precious
ston; and my buriounyngis than chosen
20 siluer. In the weies of ríztwísnesse I go,
21 in^t the myddel of pathis of dom; that I
make riche men loouende me, and fulfille
22 the tresores of hem. The Lord weldide
me in the begynnyng of his weies; er any
thing shulde be maad, of the firste cause.
23 Of the euere lastende I am ordeyned; and
of the olde, er the erthe shulde be maad.
24 Not 3it weren the depthis of watir; and I
now was conceyued. And not 3it the wellis
25 of watris hadden broken out, ne 3it the
mounteynes^u in heuy mykilnesse hadden
26 ben maad; er the hillis I was born. 3it
the erthe he hadde not maad; and flodis,
and the utmost^v poyntys of the round-
27 nesse of the erthe. Whan he greithede
heuenes, I was thereat; whan in certein
lawe and cumpas he closide the depnesse
28 of watris. Whan the eir he fastnede aboue;

to preche ríztful thingis. My throte schal⁷
bithenke treuthe; and my lippis schulen
curse a wickid man. My wordis ben iust; 8
no schrewid thing, nether weiward is^u in
tho^v. 'My wordis^w ben ríztful to hem that 9
vndurstonden; and ben^x euene to hem that
fynden kunnyng. Take 3e my chastisyng, 10
and not money; chese 3e teching more
than tresour. For wisdom is betere than 11
alle richessis moost preciose; and al de-
sirable thing mai not be comparisound
therto. Y, wisdom, dwelle in counsel^{*}; 12
and Y am among lernyd thou3tis. The 13
drede of the Lord hatith yuel; Y curse
boost, and pride, and a schrewid weie, and
a double tungid mouth. Counsel is myn, 14
and equyte 'is myn^y; prudence is myn,
and strengthe 'is myn^z. Kyngis regnen bi 15
me; and the^a makeris of lawis demen iust
thingis bi me. Princis comaunden bi me; 16
and my3ti men demen ríztfulnesse bi me.
I loue hem that louen me; and thei that 17
waken eerli to me, schulen fynde me. With 18
me ben rychessis, and glorie; souereyn
richessis, and ríztfulnesse. My fruyt is 19
betere than gold, and precyouse stoon;
and my seedis ben betere than chosun
siluer. Y go in the weies of ríztfulnesse, 20
in the myddis of pathis^b of doom; that 21
Y make riche hem that louen me, and
that Y fille her tresouris. The Lord weld- 22
ide[†] me in the bigynnyng of hise weies;
bifore that he made any thing, at the
bigynnyng. Fro with out bigynnyng Y 23
was ordeined; and fro elde tymes, bifer
that the erthe was maad. Depthis of wa- 24
tris weren not 3it; and Y was conseyued
thanne. The wellis of watris hadden not
brokun out 3it, and hillis stoden not to- 25
gidere 3it bi sad heuynesse; bifer lital
hillis Y was born. 3it he hadde not maad 26
erthe; and floodis, and the^c herris^d of the
world. Whanne he made redi heuenes, 27
Y was present; whanne he cumpasside
the depthis of watris bi certeyn lawe and
cumpas. Whanne he made stidfast the eir 28

in profetis and
holl doctouris.
Live here. c.
†† lital chil-
dren; that is,
lital of wit. Live
here. c.

* wisdom dwelle
in counsel; for
hoolsun coun-
cel is 3oun bi
wisdom, and
wise thou3tis
comen forth of
wisdom and
encreessen it.
Live here. c.

† the Lord
weldide, etc.;
here Salamon
spekith of wis-
dom vnmaad,
that is, of the
secunde per-
soone in Tri-
nyte, which is
the kyndly
Sone of God,
with oute bi-
gynnyng and
ende.
of hise weies;
that is, of his
werkis.
conseyued; for
as a word in vs,
is the conseit
of soule, so and
in dyuyn
thingis the
word is the
conseit, ether
the sone gen-
drid of the
fadir.
the herris; that
is, the princy-
pal partis of the
world, that ben
the eest and
west, south and
north. Live
here. c.

^s To E. ^t and in AGH. ^u hillis E pr. m. ^v vttermoost AGH.

^u ther is I. ^v hem I. ^w Thei I. ^x thei ben I. ^y Om. I. ^z Om. I. ^a Om. I. ^b the pathis I.
c Om. cl. ^d erthis a.

29 and wejede the wellis of watris. Whan
he cumpaside to the se his terme; and
lawe putte to watris, that thei passe not
there coostis. Whan he heeng^w vp the
30 foundemens of the erthe; with hym I was,
alle thingis puttende togidere. And I de-
litede bi alle dazes, beforn hym alle time,
31 pleiende in to the roundnesse of erthis;
and my delcis to be with the sones of
32 men. Now thanne, sones, hereth me;
33 blisful that kepen my weies. Hereth
discipline, and beth wise men; and wileth
34 not casten it awei. Blisful the man that
hereth me, and that waketh at my zate
dores al dai; and that waitith at the
35 postis of my dore^x. Who me shal finde,
shal finde lif; and drawen helthe of the
36 Lord. Who forsothe in me shal synnen,
shal hurten his soule; alle that hateden^y
me, loouen deth.

CAP. IX.

1 Wisdam bilde out to hym an hous;
2 heew^z out seuen pileris, offride his sacri-
fises of victorie, mengde win, and sette
3 forth his bord. He sente his hand wym-
men, that thei shulde clepe to the hei3te;
4 and to the wallis of the cite. If any is a
litol child; come he to me. And to vnwise
5 men he^a spac, Cometh, etith my bred;
and drinketh win, that I mengde to 3ou.
6 Forsaketh childhed, and liueth^b; and goth
7 bi the weies of prudence. Who lerneth
a scornere, doth wrong he to hymself;
and who vndernemeth the vnpitouse, to
8 hymself a wem gendrieth. Wile thou not
vndernyme the scornere; lest he shul hate
thee. Vndirnym the wise man; and he
9 shal looue thee. 3if to the wise man oca-
sioun; and ther shal ben addid to hym
wisdam. Tech the riztwis man; and he
10 shall hee3e to take. The begynnyng of
wisdam the drede of the Lord; and the
11 kunnyng of halewis prudence. Forsothe
bi me shul be multiplied thi^c dazes; and

about; and weiede the wellis of watris.
Whanne he cumpasside to the see his²⁹
marke; and settide lawe to watris, that
tho^d schulden not passe her coostis.
Whanne he peiside the foundementis of
erthe; Y was making alle thingis with³⁰
him. And Y delitide bi alle daies, and
pleiede bfore hym in al tyme, and Y³¹
pleiede in the world; and my delices *ben*
to be with the sones of men. Now ther-³²
for, sones, here 3e me; blessid *ben thei*
that kepen my weies. Here 3e teching,³³
and be 3e wise men; and nile 3e caste it
awei. Blessid *is* the man that herith me,³⁴
and that wakith at my 3atis al dai; and
kepith at the postis of my dore. He that³⁵
fyndith me, schal fynde lijf; and schal^e
drawe helthe of the Lord. But he that³⁶
synneth a3ens me, schal hurte his soule;
alle that haten me, louen deeth.

CAP. IX.

Wisdom^{*} bildide an hous to him silf; 1
he hewide out seuene pileris, he offride²
his slayn sacrifices, he medlide wijn, and
settide forth his table. He sente hise hand-³
maidens^f, that thei schulden clepe to the
tour; and to the wallis of the citee. If ony⁴
man is litil^g; come he to me. And *wisdom*
spak to vnwise men, Come 3e, ete 3e my⁵
breed; and drynke 3e^h the wiyn, whichⁱ
Y haue medlid to 3ou. Forsake 3e 3ong⁶
childhed, and lyue 3e; and go 3e bi the
weyes^k of prudence. He that techith a⁷
scornere[†], doith wrong to him silf; and
he that vndirnymmeth a wickid man, gen-
drieth a wem to him silf. Nile thou vndir-⁸
nyme a scornere; lest he hate thee. Vndir-
nyme thou a wise man; and he schal loue
thee. 3yue thou occasioun to a wise man;⁹
and wisdom schal be encreessid to hym.
Teche thou a iust man; and he schal haste
to take^l. The bigynnyng of wisdom *is*¹⁰
the^m drede of the Lord; and prudence *is*
the kunnyng of seyntis. Forⁿ thi daies¹¹

* *Wisdom, etc.*; that is, Goddis Sone, vnmaad, with out bigynnyng and ende. *an hous*; that is, holy chirche, which he bildide bi word and ensaumple in manhed takun.

vii. *pileris*; that is, vii. 3iftis of the Hooly Goost, ether ordeynede vii. sacramentis, bi whiche al the chirche is borun up.

slayn *sacrifices*; that is, himsilf in the croce, which is 3eid sacrifices, for it conteyneth the vertu of ech other sacrifice; and the memorial of this sacrifice, is the sacrament of the auter.

medlid *wyn*; that is, 3af to vs his blood which is *sacrid* in wyn medlid with water. *handmaydis*; that is, apostlis and othere meke dissipils to the wallis, etc.; that is, to the feith of Crist, and to the thingis that ben annexid to the articlis of the feith. *litil*; that is, meke.

my *breed*; that is, my bodi 3ouun vndur the licnesse of breed.

and *wyn*; that is, my blood vndur the spice of wyn, wherynne water is medlid; bi eld tyme cristen men comyneden in euer either spice, but it is ordeyned for perel of scheding out of the blood, that it is 3ouun to lewid men vndur the spice of breed onely. *3ong childhed*; that is, vnpro-

^w hangide AEGH. ^x dores AGH. ^y haten AH. ^z hewide AEGH. ^a sche c sec. m. ^b cometh E pr. m. ^c her A.

^d thei I. ^e he schal I. ^f handmaidens I. ^g litil, that is, meek. Lire here. KNA. ^h Om. I. ⁱ that I. ^k wey I. ^l take it I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ Forsothe I.

12 ben added to thee the ȝerys of lif. If a
wis man thou shul be; to thiself thou
shalt be, and to thi neȝheboris. If for-
sothe a gilere; alone thou shalt bern euel.
13 A fool womman, and crious, and ful of
euele draȝtis to delicis, and no thing
14 outerli kunnende, sat in the ȝate doris of
hir hous, vpon a sete, in the heȝe place
15 of the cite; that she myȝte clepe men
passende bi the weie, and men goende in
16 ther gate. Who is a litil child; bowe he
doun to me. And to the sory hertid she
17 spac, Stoln watris ben swettere, and hid
18 bred more swete. And he knew not that
there ben ieauntis; and in the depthis of
helle the^d gestis of hir. Who forsothe
shal be ioyned to hir; shal falle doun in
to helle. For whi he that goth away from
hir; shal be saued.

CAP. X

1 A wys sone gladeth the^e fader; for-
sothe a sone fool, the sorewe is of his
2 modir. No thing shal profiten the tre-
sours of vnpitousnesse; riȝtwisnesse for-
3 sothe shal deliuere fro deth. The Lord
shal not tormente thurȝ hungir the soule
of the riȝtwise; and the spies of the
vnpitous men he shal turn vpso doun.
4 Nedynesse wercheth the slowe hond; the
hond forsothe of stronge men greitheth
richessis. Who forsothe vseth lesingis,
this fedeth windis; the same folewith
5 fleende briddes. Who gedereth in rep,
is a wis sone; who forsothe routeth in
6 somer^f, is the sone of confusioun. The
blissing of God vpon the hed of the riȝt-
wis; the mouth forsothe of vnpitous men
7 wickidnesse couereth. The mynde of the
riȝtwise with preisingis; and the name
of vnpitous^g men shal waxe stinkinge.
8 The wise man in herte shal kepen the
9 heatis; the fool is beten with lippis. Who
goth simpleli, goth trostli; who forsothe

schulen be multiplied bi me; and ȝeeris of
lijf schulen be encreessid to thee. If thou 12
art wijs; thou schalt be^o to thi silf^{*}, and
to thi neȝheboris. Forsothe if *thou art* a
scornere; thou^p aloone schalt bere yuel.
A fonned womman, and ful of cry, and 13
ful of vnleueful lustis, and that kan no
thing outirli, sittith in the doris of hir 14
hous, on a seete, in^q an hij place of the
cite; to clepe men passenge bi the weie, 15
and men goynge in her iournei. Who is
a litil man *'of wit'*^r; bowe he to me. And
sche spak to a coward, Watris of thefte 17
ben swettere, and breed hid is swettere^s.
And wiste^t not that giauntis ben there; 18
and the gestis^u *'of hir'* *ben* in the depthis
of helle. Sotheli he that schal be applied,
ether fastned, to hir^w; schal go doun to
hellis. For whi he that goith awei fro
hir^w; schal be saued.

CAP. X.

The parablis of Salomon. A wijs sone 1
makith glad the^x fadir; but a fonned sone
is the sorewe of his modir. Tresouris of 2
wickidnesse[†] schulen not profite; but riȝt-
fulnesse schal delyuere fro deth. The Lord 3
shal not turmente the soule^y of a iust
man with hungur; and he schal distrie
the tresouns of vnpitouse men. A slow 4
hond hath wrouȝt nedynesse; but the
hond of stronge men makith redi rich-
essis. Forsothe he that enforsith *to gete*
'ony thing'^z bi^a leesyngis, fedith the^b
wyndis[†]; sotheli the same man sueth
briddis fleyng. He that gaderith togi- 5
dere in heruest, is a wijs sone; *but* he
that slepith in sommer, is a sone of con-
fusioun. The blessing of God *is ouer*^c the
heed of a iust man; but wickidnesse hilith
the mouth of wickid men. The mynde of 7
a iust man *schal be* with preisingis; and
the name of wickid men schal wexe rotun.
A wijs man schal resseyue comaunde- 8
mentis with herte[§]; a fool is betun with

fitable and
veyn thingis.
lyue ȝe, in
grace. of pru-
dence; that is,
of comaunde-
mentis and
counselis of
God. Lire
here. c.
† a scornere,
etc.; for he
stirith the
scornere to do
wrong to him.
Lire here. c.
** to thiself;*
that is, to do
good to thi silf
principally, and
afterward to
othere men.
a fonnid wom-
man; that is,
fals and veyn
teching.
ful of cry; for
it hath not no
but wordis.
vnleueful
lustis; for not
onely it graunt-
ith, but also
bringith to
siche lustis.
kan no thing;
for so litil of
trithe is there,
that it is aret-
tid as nouȝt.
in the doris,
and so forth;
forliche doc-
tryne is tauȝt
sumtyme bi
autorite.
bi the weye;
that is, bi the
brode weye of
viciis.
in her iourney;
that is, suyng
the fernesse of
her conceite.
a coward; that
is, to him that
sueth lustis.
of thefte; that
is, fals doctryn.
breed hid, etc.;
the herere of
fals doctryne.
geauntis, that
is, of endis.
in the depthis
of helle; that
is, they that
ben tauȝt and
fillid bi sich
doctryne goen
doun to the
peyne of helle,
with fendis
that disseyuen
hem. Lire
here. c.
† tresouris of
wickidnesse;
that is, yuele

^d Om. AGH. ^e his AGH. ^f the somer AEGH. ^g the vnpitous AGH.

^o be wijs i. ^p forsothe thou i. ^q on cx. ^r in wit i. *of wit. Lire here. n text.* ^s esier to ete i.
^t I wiste; I, the heerere of fals doctryn wiste. *Lire here. n text.* ^u gistis A. felawis i. ^v therof plures.
^w it plures. ^x his i. ^y lijf i. ^z auȝt i. *ony thing. Lire here. n text.* ^a with i. ^b Om. i. ^c Om. c i n.

beshrewith his weies, shal be maad opene.
 10 Who twinclith with eȝe, shal ȝiue so-
 rewe; the fool with lippis shal be bete.
 11 The veyne of lif the mouth of theⁱ riȝt-
 wis; the mouth forsothe of vnpitous
 12 men couereth wickidnesse. Hate rereth
 striues; and alle giltis charite couereth.
 13 In the lippis of the wis man is founde
 wisdom; and a ȝerde in the rigge of hym
 14 that is nedi in herte. Wise men hiden
 kunnyng; the mouth forsothe of the fool
 15 is next to confusioun. The substaunce of
 the riche man the cite of his strengthe;
 the ferd of pore men the nedynesse of
 16 hem. The werc of the riȝtwis man to
 lif; the frut forsothe of the vnpitous to
 17 synne. The weie of lif to the^k kepene
 discipline; who forsothe vnder nemynge
 18 forsaketh, erreth. Liende lippis hiden^l
 hate; who speketh^m wrongful blamyng,
 19 is an vnwis man. In myche speche shal
 not lacke synne; who forsothe temperth
 20 his lippis, is most prudent. Chosen siluer
 the tunge of the riȝtwis; the herte of
 21 vnpitous men for noȝt. The lippis of the
 riȝtwise techen manye; who forsothe ben
 vntaȝt, in the nedynesse of herte shul die.
 22 The blessing of the Lord maketh riche
 men; ne shal be felashipid to them tor-
 23 menting. As by laȝhing the fool werch-
 ith hidous trespas; wisdom forsothe is to
 24 a man purueing. That that the vnpitouse
 dredeth, shal come vpon hym; therⁿ de-
 25 sir to riȝtwis men shal be ȝiue. As tem-
 pest passende, shal be the vnpitouse; the
 riȝtwise forsothe as euere durende ground.
 26 As eisel to teeth, and smoke to eȝen; so
 the slowe to hem that senten hym in the
 27 weie. The drede of the Lord leith to
 daȝes; and the ȝeris of vnpitous men shul
 28 be shortid. The bidding of riȝtwis men
 gladnesse; the hope forsothe of vnpitous
 29 men shal pershen. The strengthe of the
 simple the weie of the Lord; and ferd
 30 to them that werken euel. The riȝtwis
 into withoute ende shal not be moued;

lippis*. He that goith simpli, goith tristili; 9
 but he that makith schrewid hise weies,
 schal be opyn. He that bekeneth with 10
 the ȝe, schal ȝyue sorewe; a fool schal be
 betun with lippis. The veyne of lijf *is* 11
 the mouth of a iust man; but the mouth
 of wickid men hilith wickidnesse. Ha- 12
 trede reisith^e chidingis; and charite hilith
 alle synnes. Wisdom is foundun in the 13
 lippis of a wise man; and a ȝerd in^f the
 bak of him that is nedi of herte. Wise 14
 men hiden[†] kunnyng; but the mouth of
 a fool is nexte to confusioun. The catel of 15
 a riche man *is* the citee of his strengthe;
 the drede of pore men *is* the nedynesse of
 hem. The werk of a iust man *is* to lijf; 16
 but the fruyt of a wickid man *is* to synne.
 The weie of lijf *is* to him that kepith 17
 chastising^g; but he that forsakith blam-
 yngis, errith. False lippis hiden hatrede; 18
 he that bringith forth dispisinge is vn-
 wijs. Synne schal not faile in myche 19
 spekyng; but he that mesurith hise lippis,
 is moost prudent. Chosun siluer *is* the 20
 tunge of a iust man; the herte of wickid
 men *is* for nouȝt[†]. The lippis of a iust 21
 man techen ful manye men; but thei that
 ben vnlerned, schulen die in nedynesse of
 herte. The blessing of the Lord makith 22
 riche[§] men; and turment schal not be fe-
 lowschipid to hem. A fool worchith wick- 23
 idnesse as bi leizyng; but wisdom is pru-
 dence to a^h man. That that a wickid man 24
 dredith, schal come on hym; the desire of
 iust men schalbe ȝouun to hem. As a 25
 tempeste passynge, a wickid man schal not
 be; but a iust man *shal be* as an euer-
 lastynge fundament. As vynegre *noieth* 26
 the teeth, and smoke *noieth*^l the ȝen; so
 a slow man *noieth* hem that senten hym
 in the weie. The drede of the Lord en- 27
 creasith daies; and the ȝeeris of wickid
 men schulen be maad schort. Abiding of 28
 iust men *is* gladnesse; but the hope of
 wickid men schal perische. The strengthe 29
 of a symple man *is* the weie of the Lord;

getun. *Live here.* CKN.
 schulen not
 profile; for tho
 ben occasionn
 of synne and
 of deth of helle
 if penaunce
 sueth not, and
 ofte of temporal
 deth. *Live here.* c.
 † fedith the
 wyndis; that
 is, seeth his
 trauel.
 that slepith in
 somer; that is,
 he that is idil
 in tyme of
 worching, is
 worthi to haue
 confusioun.
Live here. c.
 § herte; that
 is, in obeying
 to hem. *Live here.* CKN.
 * a fool is betun
 with lippis;
 for he arettith
 betingis, the
 wordis of his
 blamyng. *Live here.* c.
 † hiden; that
 is, fro scorn-
 eris. *Live here.* CKN.

ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om. AGH. ^l hidith A. ^m speketh or bryngeth forth *E pr. m.* ⁿ his *E pr. m.*

^e reisith up 1. ^f *is founde* in 1. ^g chastisingis *E.* ^h prudence is to a wijs 1. ⁱ Om. 1.

vnpitouse forsothe shul not dwelle vp on
31 erthe. The mouth of the ríztwis shal
bere wisdam; the tunge of shrewis shal
32 pershen. The lippis of the ríztwis be-
holden plesid thingis; and the mouth of
vnpitouse peruertid thingis.

CAP. XI.

1 A treccherous weje abominacioun is
anent God^o; and an euen^{oo} weízt the wil
2 of hym. Wher shal be pride, there shal
be wrongful blamyng; wher forsothe is
3 mecnesse, and there wisdam. Simple-
nesse of ríztwis men shal rízt reule them;
and supplaunting of peruertid men shal
4 waste them. Richessis shul not profiten
in the day of veniaunce; forsothe ríztwis-
5 nesse shal deliuere fro deth. Ríztwisnesse
of the simple shal rízt reulen his weie;
and the vnpitous in his vnpitousnesse
6 shal falle. The ríztwisnesse of rízt men
shal deliuere them; and wicke^p men in
7 ther aspies shul be take. The vnpytous
man dead, noon hope shal ben ouer; and
the abiding of bisy men shal pershe.
8 The ríztwis fro anguysh is deliuered;
and shal be take the vnpitous for hym.
9 The feynere in mouth desceyueth his
frend; ríztwis men forsothe shul ben de-
10 liuered with kunnyng. In goodis of rízt-
wis men shal ben enhauncid the cite;
and in the leeing of vnpitous^{pp} men^q shal
11 ben preising. Thur³ the blessing of rízt-
wis men shal ben enhauncid the cite;
and bi the mouth of vnpitous men it shal
12 be turned vp so down. Who desceyueth
his frend, is nedi in herte; the prudent
13 man forsothe shal be stille. Who goth
gilendeli, shewith priue thingus; who
forsothe is feithful, hilith the gilte of
14 the frend. Wher is not a gouernour, the
puple fallith; helthe forsothe, wher ben
15 manye counselis. He shal be tormentid

and drede to hem that worchen yuel. A 30
iust man shal not be moued* with outen
ende; but wickid men schulen not dwelle
on the erthe†. The mouth of a iust man 31
shal bringe forth wisdom; the tunge of
schrewis schal perische. The lippis of a 32
iust man biholden pleasaunt thingis; and
the mouth of wickid men *byholdith* wei-
ward thingis¹.

CAP. XI.

A gileful balaunce is abhominacioun 1
anentis God; and an euene weízte *is* his
wille. Where pride is, there also dispis- 2
ing schal be; but where meeknesse is,
there also *is* wisdom. The simplenesse of 3
iust men schal dresse hem; and the dis-
seyuyng of weiward men schal destrie
hem. Richessis schulen not profite in the 4
dai of veniaunce; but ríztfulnesse schal
delyuere fro deth. The ríztfulnesse of a 5
simple man schal dresse his weie; and a
wickid man schal falle in his wickidnesse.
The ríztfulnesse of ríztful men schal dely- 6
uere hem; and wickid men schulen be
takun in her aspiyngis. Whanne a wickid 7
man is deed, noon hope schal be fer-
ther‡; and abidyng of bisy men^k† schal
perische. A iust man is delyuered from 8
angwisch; and a wickid man schal be
3ouun for hym. A feynere bi mouth dis- 9
seyueth his freend; but iust men schulen
be deliuered bi kunnyng. A citee schal 10
be enhaunsid in the goodis of iust men;
and preysyng schal be in the perdicoun
of wickid men. A citee schal be enhaunsid 11
bi blessing of iust men; and it schal be
distried bi the mouth of wickid men. He 12
that dispisith his freend, is nedi in herte;
but a prudent man schal be stille. He that 13
goith gilefuli, schewith priuetees; but he
that is feithful, helith the priuete of a
freend. Where a gouernour is¹ not, the 14
puple schal falle; but helthe *of the pu-
ple^m is^{mm}*, where ben many counsels§. He 15
that makith feith|| for a straunger, schal

* not be moued;
that is, fro the
stabilnesse of
vertu. CKN.
† not dwelle on
the erthe; that
is, on the erthe
of hem that
lyuen in blis.
‡ pleasaunt thing-
is, etc.; that
is, to God and
to goode men.
§ weyward thing-
is, etc.; that
is, blasfemes
agenus God, and
wrongis agenus
the neibore.
Live here. c.

‡ of bisi men,
etc.; that is,
of hem that
serueden bisily
a wickid man,
and hopiden to
be auansid of
him. *Live
here.* c.
|| that is, blamed
in the gospel. k.

§ many coun-
sels; bi whiche
bothe yuels ben
eschewid, and
goodis ben
getun. c.
|| makith feith,
etc.; that is,
obligacioun.
CKN.

^o the Lord c pr. m. ^{oo} trewe c pr. m. ^p wickid AGH. ^{pp} the vnpitous A. ^q man A.

¹ thing I. ^j ferther of him I. ^k men in euel A sec. m. ^l ther is I. ^m Om. I. ^{mm} is. *Live here.* n text.

with euel, that doth feith for a stranger;
 who forsothe shoneth grenes, shal be si-
 16 kir. A gracious womman shal finden glo-
 rie; and stronge men shuln han richessis.
 17 Wel doth to his soule the merciful man;
 who forsothe is cruel, casteth awei nee3h
 18 men. The vnpitouse maketh were vn-
 stable; to the sowende forsothe riztwis-
 19 nesse feithfull^r mede. Noble mercy shal
 greithe lif; and folewing of euelis deth.
 20 Abhominable a^s shreude herte to the
 Lord; and his wil in hem, that simply
 21 gon. Hond in hond, shal not ben inno-
 cent the euele man; the sed forsothe of
 22 riztwis men shal be saued. A goldene
 cercle in the nosethirlis of a souwe, a
 23 fair womman and a fool. The desir of
 riztwis men alle good thing is; the abid-
 24 ing of vnpitous men wodnesse. Othere
 men deuyden proper thingus, and ben
 maad richere; othere reuen not their
 owne, and euermor ben in nedynesse.
 25 The lif that blisseth, shal ben inwardli
 fattid; and he that maketh inwardli
 drunken, also hymself shal ben inwardli
 26 maad drunken. He that hideth whete in
 time, shal be cursid in puplis; blessing
 27 forsothe vp on the hed of silleris. Wel
 riseth erli, that secheth goodis; who for-
 sothe is enserchere of euelis, of hem shal
 28 be oppressid. Who trosteth in his rich-
 essis, shal falle; riztwis men forsothe as
 29 a greene lef shul burioune. Who distur-
 bith his hous, shal han windis; and he
 that is a fool, shal seruen to the wise
 30 man. The frut of the riztwise the tree
 of lif; and he that vndertaketh soulis, is
 31 a wis man. If the riztwise in the erthe
 resceyueth, myche more the vnpitous, and
 the synnere.

CAP. XII.

1 Who looueth discipline, looueth kun-
 nyng; who forsothe hateth blamyngus, is
 2 vnwis. Who forsothe is good, shal drawe
 to hym grace of the Lord; who forsothe

be turmentid with yuel; but he that
 eschewith snaris, schal be sikur. A gra-
 16 cious womman* schal fynde glorie; and
 stronge men schulen haue richessis. A
 17 merciful man doith wel to his soule; but
 he that is cruel, castith awei, 3he, kynnes-
 men. A wickid man makith vnstable
 18 werk; but feithful mede is to hym, that
 sowith riztfulnesse. Merci schal make
 19 redi lijf; and the suying of yuelsⁿ 'schal
 make redi^o deth. A schrewid herte is
 20 abhomynable to the Lord; and his wille
 is in hem, that goen symply. *Thou3* hond
 21 be^p in the^q hond, an yuel man[†] schal not
 be innocent; but the seed of iust men
 schal be sauyd. A goldun 'sercle, ether^r 22
 ryng, in the 'nose thrillis^t of a sowe, a
 womman fair and fool. The desir of iust
 23 men is al good; abiding of wickid men is
 wodnesse. Sum men departen her owne
 24 thingis, and ben maad richere; other men
 rauyschen *thingis, that ben* not hern, and
 ben^u euere in nedynesse. A soule that
 25 blessith, schal be maad fat[‡]; and he that
 fillith^v §, schal be fillid also. He that hidith
 26 wheete 'in tyme^w, schal be cursid among
 the puplis; but blessing^{yng} schal come on
 the heed of silleris. Wel he risith eerli,
 27 that sekith good thingis; but he that is a
 serchere of yuels, schal be oppressid of tho.
 He that tristith in hise richessis, schal
 28 falle; but iust men schulen burioune as
 a greene leef. He that disturblith his
 29 hows, schal haue wyndis|| *in possessioun*;
 and he that is a fool, schal serue a wijs
 man. The fruyt of a riztful man is the
 30 tre of lijf ¶; and he that takith soulis^{**}, is
 a wijs man^{††}. If a iust man receyueth
 31 in erthe^{‡‡}, how miche more an vnfeithful
 man, and synnere^x.

CAP. XII.

He that loueth chastisyng, loueth kun-
 1 nyng; but he that hatith blamyngis, is
 vnwijs§§. He that is good, schal drawe to
 2 hym silf grace of the Lord; but he that

* a graciouse
 womman; that
 is, onest and
 schamefast. c.

† thou3 he
 worcheth no
 thing, but hold-
 eth the too
 hond in the
 tothir, thinketh
 yuel. k.

‡ bi fatnesse of
 grace. k.
 § his neizbore
 with good tech-
 ing. k.

|| of wratthe
 and tempta-
 cioun. k.

¶ the tre of
 lijf; that is,
 Crist in blisful
 sijt; for the
 werk of a iust
 man bringith
 herto. c.

** takith soulis;
 that is, the
 cure of soulis.
 ck.

†† is a wijs
 man; that is,
 owith to be a
 wijs man; for
 as Greg. seith in
 his Pastorals,
 the craft of
 craftis is the
 gouernail of
 soulis. c.

‡‡ erthe; that
 is, turmentis
 of God. Live
 here. xx.

§§ is vnwijs;
 for he is liyk
 a wood man,
 that eschewith
 heelful medi-
 cyn. Live
 here. c.

^r is feithful A. ^s is a A.

ⁿ yuel i. ^o Om. i. ^p is a pr. m. c et plures.
 nese thorlis E. nose thirllis F et alii. ^u thei ben i.

^q Om. A sec. m. F sec. m. i. ^r Om. i. ^t nostris CN.
^v fullith A. ^w Om. A pr. m. cu pr. m. ^x a synnere i. e

trostith in his thoȝtis, vnpitously doth.
 3 A man shal not be strenghtid of vnpi-
 tounesse; and the roote of riȝtwis men^t
 4 shal not ben al moued. A bisi womman
 a croune is to hir man; and stinc in the
 bones of hir, that berth thingus wrthi
 5 confusioun. The thoȝtis of riȝtwis men
 domes; and counseilis of vnpitous men
 6 gilesum. The woordis of vnpitous men
 spien to blod; the mouth of riȝtwis
 7 men shal deliuere them. Turne vnpitous
 men, and thei shul not be; the housis
 forsothe of riȝtwis men shal abide stille.
 8 Bi his doctrine shal be knowen a man;
 who forsothe is veyn and herteles, shal
 9 ben open to despising. Betere is a pore
 man, and suffisaunt to hymself, than a
 10 glorious, and nedi bred. The riȝtwis
 knew³ the liues of his helpeli bestis; the
 bowelis forsothe of vnpitous men cruel.
 11 Who^a werketh his lond, shal be fulfild
 with loues; who forsothe folewith idel
 reste, most fool is. Who is sweete, liueth
 in tempringis; in his monestingis he for-
 12 saketh wrongful blamyngis^v. The desir
 of the vnpitous is the myndeful place of
 werst thingis; the roote forsothe of riȝt-
 13 wis men shal profiten. For the synnes
 of lippis falling neȝheth to the euel man;
 forsothe the riȝtwis man shal fleen out of
 14 anguysh. Of the frut of his mouth eche^w
 shal be fulfild of goodis; and after the
 werkis of his hondis it shal be ȝolde to
 15 hym. The weie of the fool riȝt in the
 eȝen of hym; who forsothe is a wis
 16 man, hereth counseilis. The fool shewith
 anoon his wrathe; who forsothe dissymu-
 17 lith wrongus, is fel. Who that he knew³,
 speketh, domes man of riȝtwisnesse is;
 who forsothe lieth, is a gileful witenesse.
 18 Ther is that behoteth, and as with a
 swerd is pungid to the conscience; the
 tunge forsothe of wise men is helthe.
 19 The lippe of truthe shal be fast in to
 withoute ende; who forsothe is a feerli
 witenesse, maketh a tunge of lesing.

tristith in hise thouȝtis, doith wickidli.
 A man schal not be maad strong by³
 wyckidnesse; and the root of iust men
 schal not be moued. A diligent womman⁴
 is a coroun to hir hosebond; and rot is in
 the boonys of that *womman*, that doith
 thingis worthi of confusioun. The thouȝtis⁵
 of iust men *ben* domes; and the counseilis
 of wickid men *ben* gileful. The wordis⁶
 of wickid men setten tresoun to blood;
 the mouth of iust men schal delyuere hem.
 Turne thou^{*} wickid men, and thei schu-
 7 len not be[†]; but the housis of iust men
 schulen dwelle perfitli. A man schal be⁸
 knowun bi his teching; but he that is
 veyn and hertles, schal be open to dispis-
 ing. Betere is a pore man, and sufficient⁹
 to him silf, than a gloriouse man, and nedi
 of breed. A iust man knowith the^y soulis¹⁰
 of hise werk beestis[‡]; but the^a entrailis of
 wickid men *ben* cruel. He that worchith¹¹
 his lond, schal be fillid with looues; but
 he that sueth idilnesse, is moost fool. He
 that is swete^b, lyueth in temperaunces;
 and in hise monestyngis he forsakith dis-
 pisyngis. The desir of a wickid man is¹²
 the memorial of worste thingis; but the
 roote of iust men schal encreesse. For the¹³
 synnes of lippis 'falling doun^c neȝheth to
 an yuel man; but a iust man schal scape
 fro angwisch. Of the fruyt of his mouth¹⁴
 ech man schal be fillid with goodis; and
 bi^d the werkis of hise hondis it schal be
 ȝoldun to him. The weie of a fool is riȝt-¹⁵
 ful in hise iȝen; but he that is wijs, herith
 counsels. A fool schewith anoon his ire;¹⁶
 but he that dissymelith wrongis, is wijs.
 He that spekith that, that he knowith, is¹⁷
 a iuge of riȝtfulnesse; but he that lieth,
 is a gileful witenesse. A man is that bi-¹⁸
 hetith[§], and he is prickid as with the
 swerd of conscience; but the tunge of wise
 men is helthe. The lippe of treuthe schal¹⁹
 be stidfast with outen ende; but he that
 is a sudeyn witenesse, makith redi the tunge
 of leesyng. Gile is in the herte of hem²⁰

* that is, to
 goodnesse. K.
 † wickid, or
 dampned. K.

‡ werk beestis;
 that is, of his
 seruauntis.
 Live here. CKN.

§ bihetith; and
 payeth not.
 Live here. CNA.

^t Om. AGH. ^u Who so A. ^v blamyng AG pr. m. H. ^w ech on AEGH.

^y Om. c. ^z lijues I. ^a Om. A pr. m. ^b softe or esy I. swete, that is, mylde KNA. ^c ruyne or myschef I. ^d aftir I.

20 Treccherie in the herte of men thenk-
ende euelys; who forsothe gon^x in to the
21 counseilis of pes, hem folewith io3e. Shal
not holli sorewen^y the rijt^zwis man, what
euere thing shal falle to hym; vn^zpitous
men forsothe shul be fulfild^z of euel.
22 Abomynacioun is to the Lord liende
lippis; who forsothe feithfulli don, ple-
23 sen to hym. A man turned to deceit,
hilith kunnyng; the herte of vn^zwise
24 men stireth to folie. The hond of stronge
men shal lordshepen; the whiche for-
25 sothe is slo3, shal serue to tributis. Morn-
yng in the herte of the rijt^zwis man shal
meken hym; and with a good woord he
26 shal be maad glad^a. Who dispisith harm
for a frend, is rijt^zwis; the weie forsothe
27 of vn^zpitous men shal desceyue them. The
gileful man shal not finde wynnyng; and
the substaunce of a man shal be the pris
28 of gold. In the path of rijt^zwisnesse^b
lif; the going out wei forsothe ledeth to
deth.

CAP. XIII.

1 The wise sone the doctrine of the fa-
der; who forsothe is a gilere, hereth not,
2 whan he is vnder nomyn. Of the frut of
his mouth a man shal be fild with goodis;
the soule forsothe of the lawe brekeris^c
3 wicke. Who kepeth his mouth, kepeth
his soule; who forsothe is vnausid to
4 speken, shal felen euelis. The slowe wile,
and wile not; the soule forsothe of werk-
ende men shal ben inwardliche fattid.
5 A lesing woord the rijt^zwis man shal
wlaten; the vn^zpitous^d man forsothe
6 shendeth, and shal be shent. Rijt^zwis-
nesse kepeth the weie of the innocent;
vn^zpitousnesse forsothe supplauntith the
7 synnere. Ther is as a riche man,
whan no thing he hath; and ther is
as a pore man, whan in many riches
8 he is. The a3een biyng of the soule of
a man his richessis; who forsothe is a
9 pore man, blamyng suffreth not. The list

that thenken yuels; but ioye sueth hem,
that maken counsels of pees. What euere 21
bifallith to a iust man, it schal not make
hym sori; but wickid men schulen be fillid
with yuel. False lippis is abhominacioun 22
to the Lord; but thei that don feithfuli,
plesen him. A fel^e man hilith kunnyng; 23
and the herte of vn^zwise men stirith foli.
The hond of stronge men schal haue lord- 24
schip; but the hond that is slow, schal
serue to tributis. Morenyng in the herte 25
of a iust man schal make hym meke; and
he schal be maad glad bi a good word.
He that dispisith harm* for a frend, is a 26
iust man; but the weie of wickid men
schal disseyue hem. A gileful man schal 27
not fynde wynnyng; and the substaunce^f
of man schal be the prijs of gold[†]. Lijf 28
is in the path of rijt^zfulnesse^f; but the
wrong weie leedith to deeth.

CAP. XIII.

A wijs sone is the teching of the fadir; 1
but he that is a scornere, herith not, whanne
he is repreuyd. A man schal be fillid with 2
goodis of the fruit of his mouth; but the
soule of vn^zpitouse men is wickid. He that 3
kepith his mouth, kepith his soule; but
he that is vnwar to speke, schal feel yuels.
A slow man wole, and wole not[‡]; but the 4
soule of hem that worchen schal be maad
fat. A iust man schal wlate a fals word; 5
but a wickid man schendith, and schal be
schent. Rijt^zfulnesse kepith the weie of 6
an innocent man; but wickidnesse dis-
seyueth a synnere. A man is as riche^{||}, 7
whanne he hath no thing[¶]; and a man
is as pore^{**}, whanne he is in many
richessis. Redempcioun of the soule of 8
man is hise richessis; but he that is
pore, suffrith not blamyng. The list of 9
iust^{††} men makith glad; but the lan-
terne of wickid men schal be quenched.

* dispisith harm; that is, chargith not temporal harm for the helping of a frend. *Live here. c.*
† the substaunce; that is, liyf. *Live here. c. k. n. a.*
‡ the prijs of gold; that is, presiousere than gold. *Live here. c.*
§ wole and wole not; for he wole haue good profitable, ether worschipful, but he nyle suffre the trauele which is axid herto, and so he nyle spedily; therfor he is liyk the cat that wolde ete fisch, ne theles he eschewith to putte hise feet in to the water. *Live here. c.*
|| that is, wole haue prosperite in this world and ioie in heuen, but he wole not trauele vertuouali therfore. *x.*
¶ a man is as riche; whanne that litil thing that he hath, which is aret- tid as nou3t, suffisith to him self. *Live here. c.*
¶ that is, but fode and hiling, and desireth noo more. *x.*
** as pore, etc.; this is an aua- rouse man, to whom no thing suffisith. *Live here. c.*
and kannot holde him paid, but euere crieth, Bryng, Bring. *x.*
†† the list of iust men; that is, her prosperite. *Live here. c. k. n. a.*
makith glad; the peple, for thei vsen wel her prosperite. *Live here. c.*

^x goth AGH. ^y serue E pr. m. ^z fild AGH.
^c vn^zpitouse men E pr. m. ^d vnrijt^zwis A.

^a gladen E pr. m. ^b rijt^zwis men AG. rijt^zwys man H.

^e fool A sec. m. ^f rijt^zwisnesse I.

of riȝtwis men maketh glad; the lanterne forsothe of vnпитыous men shal ben
 10 quenched. Among proude men euermor ben striues; who forsothe alle thingis don with counseil, ben gouerned with
 11 wisdom. Substaunce hastid shal be lasid; that forsothe litlemele^e is gedered,
 12 with hond shal be multeplied. Hope that is deferrid, tormenteth the soule;
 13 the tree of lif desir comynge^{ee}. Who bacbiteth to any thing, he oblisheth hymself in to the^f time to come; who forsothe
 14 dredeth the heste, in pes shal wone. The lawe of a wis man the welle of lif; that he bowe awei fro the falling of deth.
 15 Good doctrine shal ȝyue grace; in the weye of dispiseris a swolwȝ. A witti man alle thingis^g doth with counseil;
 16 who forsothe is a fool, shall opene folie. The messenger of the vnпитыous shal falle in to euil; the feithful sent is helthe.
 17 Nedynesse and shenshipe to hym that forsaketh discipline; who forsothe assenteth to the vndernymere, shal ben
 18 glorified. Desir, if it be fulfild, delitith the soule; foolis wlaten hem that flen
 19 euelis. Who with wise goth, a wis man shal ben; the frend of folis lic shal
 20 be maad. Synneres euel pursueth; and to riȝtwis men goode thingis shul be
 21 ȝolde. A good man leueth eiris sones, and sonys sones; and is kept to the riȝt-wise the substaunce of the synnere.
 22 Manye metis in the newid^h feeldis of fadris; and to othere men thei ben gedered withoute dom. Who spareth to the ȝerde, hatith his sone; who forsothe
 23 looueth hym, bisili techeth. The riȝtwis eteth, and fulfillith his soule; the wombe forsothe of vnпитыousⁱ vnfilable.

CAP. XIV.

1 The wise womman bildeth vp hir hous; the vnwise the maad out^k forsothe with
 2 hondis shal destroye. The goende in riȝt weie, and dredende God, is dispisid

^e with litlemel *A.* ^{ee} comende *C pr. m.* ^f Om. *AEGH.* ^g thing *AC.* ^h precious *E pr. m.* ⁱ the vnriȝt-wijs *A.* the vnпитыous *GH.* ^k Om. *A.* vp *GH.*

^g that *I.* the which *A.* ^h ȝoue *I.*

Stryues ben euere a mong proude men; 10
 but thei that don alle thingis with counsel, ben gouerned bi wisdom. Hastid^{*} 11
 catel schal be maad lesse; but that that is gaderid litle and litle with hond, schal be multiplid. Hope which^g is dilaied, 12
 turmentith the soule; a tre of lijf is desir comyng. He that bacbitith any thing, 13
 byndith hym silf in to tyme to comynge; but he that dredith[†] the comaundement, schal lyue in pees. The lawe of a wise 14
 man is a welle of lijf; that he bowe awei fro the falling of deth[†]. Good teching 15
 schal ȝyue grace; a swolowe is in the weie of dispiseris[§]. A fel man doith alle 16
 thingis with counsel; but he that is a fool, schal opene foli. The messenger of 17
 a wickid man schal falle in to yuel; a feithful messenger is helthe. Nedynesse 18
 and schenschip is to him that forsakith techyng; but he that assentith^{||} to a blamere, schal be glorified. Desir, if it is 19
 fillid, delitith the soule; foolis wlaten hem that fleen yuels. He that goith with wijs 20
 men[¶], schal be wijs; the frend of foolis schal be maad lijk hem. Yuel pursueth 21
 synneris; and goodis schulen be ȝoldun^h to iust men. A good man schal leue *afir* 22
 him eiris, sones, and the sones of sones; and the catel of a synnere is kept to a iust man. Many meetis *ben* in the new 23
 tilid feeldis of fadris; and ben gaderid to othere men with out doom^{**}. He that 24
 sparith the ȝerde, hatith his sone; but he that loueth him, techith bisili. A iust 25
 man etith, and fillith his soule; but the wombe of wickid men is vnable to be fillid^{††}.

^{*} catel hastid; that is, getun hastily, as bi raueyn ether bi veure. with hond; that is, getun bi iust maner. *Live here. c.*

[†] dredith, etc.; that is, the breking of Goddis heestia. *Live here. c.*
^{††} of deth; that is, of synne and of helle. *Live here. c.*

[§] dispiseris; of good teching, for thei fallen fro synne into synne. *Live here. c.*

^{||} assentith, etc.; in amendinge him silf mekely. *Live here. c.*

[¶] with wise men; in conformyng him silf to hem. *Live here. c.*

^{**} doom; that is, with out her trauel. *Live here. c.*

^{††} to be fillid; for tho thingis that ben set forth suffisen not to hem, but, euere more thei seken delicat thingis. *Live here. c.*

CAP. XIV.

A wijs womman bildith hir hous; and 1
 an unwijs womman schal distrie with hondis^{††} an hous bildid. A man goynge 2
 in riȝtful weie, and dredinge God, is dis-

^{††} with hondis; that is, with hir yuele werkis. *Live here. c.*

of hym, that goth in the euel losid weie.
 3 In the mouth of the fool a 3erde of
 pride; the lippis of wise men kepen
 4 hem. Wher ben not oxen, the cracche
 is voide; wher forsothe aperen many
 tilthis, there is open maad the strengthe
 5 of the oxe. A feithful wisse schal not
 lien; the trecherous wisse speketh
 6 lesing. The scornere seketh wisdom, and
 findeth not; the doctrine of prudent men
 7 lizt. Go a3en the fol¹; and he schal not
 8 knowe the lippis of prudence. The wis-
 dam of the witti man is to vnderstonde
 his weie; and the^m vnprudence of foolis
 9 erring. The fool scorneth synne; among
 10 riztwis men grace shal wone. The herte
 that knew the bitternesse of his soule;
 in io3e to hym shal not be togidere
 11 mengd a straunger. The hous of vn-
 pitous men shal be don awei; the taber-
 naclis of riztwis men shal burioune.
 12 Ther is forsothe a weie, that semeth to
 a man riztwis; the laste thingus forsothe
 13 of it bringen^a down to deth. Law3ing
 with sorewe shal be mengd; and the
 14 endis of io3e weiling occupieth. With his
 weies shal be fulfid the fol; and aboue
 15 hym shal be a good man. The innocent
 trowith to eche woord; the witti behold-
 16 eth his goingis. The wise man dredeth,
 and bowith down fro euel; the fol ouer-
 17 lepth, and troseth. The vnpacient shal
 werche folie; and the desseyuable man
 18 is hateful. Litle childer shul welde folie;
 19 and witti men shul abide kunnyng. Euel
 men shul lyn befor good men; and vn-
 pitous men befor the 3atis of riztwis men.
 20 Also to his nezhebore the^o pore man
 hateful shal be; the frendis forsothe of
 21 riche men manye. Who despisith his
 nezhebore, synneth; who forsothe doth
 merci to the pore man, shal be blisful.
 Who leeueth in the Lord, looueth merci;
 22 thei erren, that werchen euel. Mercy
 23 and treuthe greithen goodis; in alle
 good werch plente shal be. Wher forsothe

pisid of hym, that goith in aⁱ weie of
 yuel fame. The 3erde of pride^{*} is in the 3
 mouth of a fool; the lippis of wijs men
 kepen hem. Where oxis^k ben not[†], the 4
 cracche is void; but where ful many
 cornes apperen, there the strengthe of
 oxe^l is opyn. A feithful wisse schal 5
 not lie; a gileful wisse bringith forth a
 leeing. A scornere[‡] sekith wisdom, and 6
 he fyndith^m not; the teching of prudent
 men is esy. Go thou a3ens a man a fool; 7
 and he schal not knowe the lippis of pru-
 dence[§]. The wisdom of a fel man is to 8
 vnderstonde his weie; and the vnwarnesse
 of foolis errith. A fool scorneth synne^{||}; 9
 grace schal dwelle among iust men. The 10
 herte that knowith the bittirnesse[¶] of his
 soule; a straunger schal not be medlid in
 the ioie therof. The hous of wickid men 11
 schal be don awei; the tabernaclis of iust
 men schulen buriowne. Sotheli a weie is, 12
 that semeth iust to a man; but the laste
 thingis therof leden forth to deth. Lei3- 13
 yng schal be medlid with sorewe; and
 morenyng occupieth the laste thingis of
 ioie. A fool schal be fillid with hise 14
 weies; and a good man schal be aboue
 hym. An innocent man bileueth to eche 15
 word; a felle man biholdith hise goyngis.
 A wijs man dredith, and bowith awei fro 16
 yuel; a fool skippith^{**} ouer, and tristith.
 A man vnpacient schal worche foli; and 17
 a gileful man is odiouse. Litle men of 18
 wit schulen holde foli; and felle men
 schulen abide kunnyng. Yuel men schulen 19
 ligge bifor goode men; and vnpitouse
 men bifor the 3atis of iust men. A pore 20
 man schal be hateful, 3he, to his nez-
 bore; but many men *ben* frendis of riche
 men. He that dispisith his nez3bore, doith 21
 synne; but he that doith merci to a pore
 man, schal be blessid. He that bileueth
 in the Lord, loueth merci; thei erren 22
 that worchen yuel. Merci and treuthe
 maken redi goodis; abundaunce 'schal 23
 beⁿ in ech^o good werk. Sotheli where ful

* that is, man-
 nas and proud
 correccion. K.
 † *oxis ben not*;
 that is, where
 defaute of
 techeris is, ther
 ben fewe feith-
 ful men. *Live*
here. CK.
 ‡ a scornere;
 he is seid a
 scornere, that
 dispisith to se
 the seiyingis of
 elde men, and
 bileueth to
 fynde wisdom
 bi his wit, but
 he fyndith not,
 for pride blynd-
 ith him. *Live*
here. C.
 § that is, he
 shal not re-
 sceyue heuenli
 wisdom. K.
 || scornith
 synne; that is,
 hath for nou3t
 to do synne.
Live here. C.
 ¶ bitternesse;
 that is, for
 contricioun of
 synne passid.
 a straunger;
 that is, alien fro
 veri penaunce.
 in the ioie ther-
 of; that is, of
 remyscioun of
 synne, and of
 hope of glorie.
 leden forth to
 deeth; that is,
 the weye of
 synnes that
 semeth iust to a
 synnere, ledith
 to deth of synne
 and of helle.
 an innocent
 man; that is,
 an vnkunnyng
 man, that kan
 not deme bi
 twixe a good
 councel and
 yuel. *Live here.*
 C.
 ** a fool skip-
 peth; rennyng
 liztly fro synne
 in to synne.
 and tristith; to
 gete for3eu-
 nesse bi be-
 nyngnet, which
 he mysusith.
Live here. C.

¹ fol man E pr. m. ^m Om. AGH. ⁿ bringith A. ^o a AGH.

^l the C. ^k oxen I. ^l oxen A. the oxe R. ^m fyndith it I. ⁿ Om. C. ^o eueri Y.

ben manye woordis, there nedynesse ofte.
 24 The croune of wise men the riches of
 25 hem; the folie of foolis vnprudence. A
 feithful wnesse deliuereth soulis; and
 26 speketh lesingus the peruertid. In the
 drede of the Lord trost of strengthe; and
 27 to the sones of hym shal ben hope. The
 drede of the Lord the welle of lif; that
 28 he bowe down fro falling of deth. In
 the multitude of puple the dignete of the
 king; and in fewnesse of folc the shen-
 29 shipe of the prince. Who is pacient, is
 gouerned with myche wisdom; who for-
 sothe is vnpacient, enhaunceth hys folie.
 30 The lif of flesh helthe of herte; the
 31 stink of bones enuye. Who wrongfulli
 chalengeth the nedi, mysseith to his
 makere; he honoureth hym forsothe,
 32 that hath reuthe of the pore. In hys
 malice is put out the vnpitous; the rízt-
 33 wis forsothe hopeth in his deth. In the
 herte of the prudent man shal reste wis-
 dam; and vntaȝt men also^p it shal lerne.
 34 Ríztwísnesse rereth vp folc^q; wreccheful
 35 maketh pupilis synne. Alowid is to the
 king an vnderstondende seruau^t; the
 plente of his wrathe the vnprofitable shal
 suffre.

CAP. XV.

1 A nesshe answere breketh wrathe;
 2 an hard woord rereth woodnesse. The
 tunge of wise men enhourneth kunnyng;
 3 the mouth of foolis boylith^r out folie. In
 alle place the eȝen of the Lord beholden^s
 4 goode men, and euele. A plesable^t tunge
 the tre of lif; whiche forsothe is vn-
 5 temprid, shal defoule the spirit. The
 fol scorneth the discipline of his fader;
 who forsothe kepith blamyngis, shal be
 more witti. In plenteuous ríztwísnesse is
 6 most vertue; thoȝtys forsothe of vnpitous
 men shul be pullid out bi the roote. The
 hous of the ríztwise myche strengthe;
 and in the frutis of vnpitouse al dis-
 7 turbaunce. The lippis of wise men shul

many wordis ben, there nedynesse is ofte.

The coroun of wise men *is* the riches^{* 24}
 of hem; the fooli of foolis *is* vnwarnesse.
 A feithful wnesse delyuereth soulis; and
 25 a fals man bringith forth leesyngis. In
 the drede of the Lord *is* triste of strengthe;
 and hope schal be to the sones of it^p. The
 drede of the Lord *is* a welle of lijf; that
 it bowe awei fro the fallyng of deth. The
 28 dignite of the king *is* in the multitude of
 puple; and the schenscipe of a^q prince *is*
 in the fewnesse of puple. He that is
 29 pacient, is gouerned bi^r myche wisdom;
 but he that is vnpacient, enhaunsith his
 foli. Helthe of herte *is* the lijf of
 30 fleischis^s; enuye *is* rot of boonys[†]. He
 31 that falsli chalengith a nedi man, dispisith
 his maker; but he that hath merci on a
 pore man, onourith that^t makere. A
 32 wickid man is put out for his malice; but
 a iust man hopith in his deth. Wisdom
 33 restith in the herte of a wijs man; and
 he schal teche alle vnlerned men. Rízt-
 34 fulnesse reisith a folc; synne makith pu-
 plis wretchis. A mynystre^u vnderstond-
 35 ynge[†] is acceptable to a kyng; a myn-
 ystre^u vnprofitable schal suffre the wrath-
 fulnesse of him.

CAP. XV.

A soft answere brekith ire; an hard
 word reisith woodnesse. The tunge of
 2 wise men ourneth^v kunnyng^q; the mouth
 of foolis buylith out foli. In ech place
 3 the iȝen of the Lord biholden good men,
 and yuel men. A plesaunt tunge^{||} *is* the
 4 tre of lijf; but the tunge which^w is vn-
 mesurable, schal defoule the spirit. A
 5 fool scorneth the techyng of his fadir;
 but he that kepith blamyngis[¶], schal be
 maad wisere. Moost vertu schal be in
 plenteuouse ríztfulnesse; but the thouȝtis
 of wickid men schulen be drawun vp bi
 the roote. The hous of a iust man *is*
 6 moost^x strengthe; and disturbing *is* in
 the fruitis of a wickid man. The lippis⁷

* richness; that is, kunnyng and vertue.

† vnwarnesse; that is, herfor thei ben foolis, for thei biforseen not thingis to comynge.

Live here. c.

† boons; that is, vertues ben corrupt bi enuye comynge on tho. Live here. c.

‡ vnderstondinge; that is, a good prelat is acceptable to the king Jhesu Crist, and an yuel prelat schal be punyschid of him scharply.

Live here. c.

§ ourneth kunnyng; that is, it bringith forth kunnyng in tyme and place acceptable.

|| buylith out; that is, bringith forth feruently and feraly. c.

¶ a plesaunt tunge; that is, of swete speche to the neizbore, and ententif to preyer anentis God, to plesse him.

¶ is a tre of lijf; for as bodily lijf is contynued bi the tre of lijf, so goostly lijf is contynued bi sich a tunge.

¶ vnmesurable; to speke.

¶ schal defoule the spirit; for synne schal not faile in myche speche. Live here. c.

¶ that kepith blamyngis; in amending him self.

¶ wisere; in eschewing yuelis to comynge.

¶ in plesaunt ríztfulnesse; that is, in kep- ing of Cristis counsels.

¶ strengthe; for the Lord schal defende it.

Live here. c.

^p eche *E pr. m.* ^q the nedy *E pr. m.* ^r bolkith *A.* ^s beholdith *A.* ^t pesable *C.*

^p him *I.* ^q Om. *CN.* ^r with *I.* ^s fleish *I.* ^t his *I.* ^u seruau^t *I.* ^v onourneth *A pr. m.* honourith *I.* onourith *U.* ^w that *I.* ^x ful gret *I.*

sowen abrod kunnyng; the herte of foolis
 8 vnlic shal ben. The sacrificse of victorie
 of vnpytous men wlatesum to the Lord;
 the vouwis of ríztwys men plesable.
 9 Abominacioun is to the Lord the lif of
 the vnpytous; who folewith ríztwysnesse,
 10 shal be loued of hym. Euel doctrine
 to the forsakende the weie of lif; who
 11 blamyngis hateth, shal dien. Helle and
 perdicoun befor the Lord; myche more
 12 the hertis of the sonus of men. The
 bacbitere looueth not hym that chastis-
 13 eth hym; ne to wise men goth. The
 iozende herte maketh out gladsum the
 face; in mornying of inwit shal be
 14 throwe down the spirit. The herte of
 the wise man shal seche doctrine; and
 the mouth of foolis is fed with vnwis-
 15 dam. Alle the dazis of the pore euele;
 a sikir mynde as a contynuel feste.
 16 Betere is a litil with the drede of the
 Lord, than grete tresoris and vnfillable.
 17 Betere is to be clepid to wrtis with
 18 charite, than to a fat calf with hate. A
 man ful of wrathe stirith striues; who
 19 is pacient^u, swageth the vprered. The
 weie of slowe men as heggis of thornes;
 the weie of ríztwis men withoute thing
 20 of hurting. A wis sone maketh glad
 the fader; and a fool man despiseth^v his
 21 moder. Folie is ioze to the fool; and a
 prudent man shal rízt reulen his goingus.
 22 Thoztis ben to-scatered, wher is not
 counseil; wher forsothe ben manye
 23 counseileris, thei ben confermed. A man
 gladeth in the sentence of his mouth;
 24 and the spedful sermoun is best. The
 path of lif vp on the tazt man; that he
 25 bowe down fro the last helle. The hous
 of proude men the Lord shal destroye;
 and stedefast he shal make the termes of
 26 the widewe. Abominacioun of the Lord
 euele thoztis; a pure sermoun most fair
 27 shal be fastned of hym. He al disturb-
 ith his hous, that folewith auarice; who

of wise men schulen sowe abrood kun-
 nyng; the herte of foolis schal be vnlic.
 The sacrifices of wickyd men *ben* abho-
 8 mynable to the Lord; avowis^y of iust men
ben plesaunt. The lijf of the^z vnpytouse* 9
 man is abhomynacioun to the Lord; he
 that sueth ríztfulnesse, schal be loued of
 the Lord. Yuel teching is of men for- 10
 sakinge^a the weie of lijf; he that hatith
 blamyngis, schal die. Helle and perdi- 11
 cioun *ben open* bifor the Lord; hou
 myche more^b the hertis of sonus of men.
 A man ful of pestilence loueth not hym 12
 that repreueth him; and he goith not to
 wyse men. A ioiful herte makith glad 13
 the face; the spirit is cast down in the^c
 morenyng of soule. The herte of a wijs 14
 man sekith techyng; and the mouth of
 foolis is fed[†] with vnkunnyng. Alle the 15
 daies of a pore man *ben* yuele^d; a sikir
 soule *is* a^e contynuel feeste. Betere is a 16
 litil with the^f drede of the Lord, than
 many tresouris and vnfillable^g. It is betere 17
 to be clepid to wortis with charite, than
 with hatrede to a calf maad fat. A wrath- 18
 ful man reisith chidyngis; he that is pa-
 cient, swagith *chidyngis* reisid^h. The weie 19
 of slow men *is* anⁱ hegge of thornes; the
 weie of iust men *is* with out hirtyng. A 20
 wise sone makith glad the^k fadir; and a
 fonned man dispisith his modir. Foli is 21
 ioye to a fool; and^l a prudent man schal
 dresse hise steppis. Thouztis ben distried, 22
 where^m no counseil is; but where many
 counseleris[†] *ben*ⁿ, tho^o ben confermyd. A 23
 man is glad in the sentence of his mouth[§];
 and a couenable word is best. The path 24
 of lijf *is* on a lernyd man; that he bowe
 awei fro the laste helle. The Lord schal 25
 distrie the hows^p of proude men; and he
 schal make stidefast the coostis of a wi-
 dewe. Iuele thouztis *is* abhomynacioun 26
 of the Lord; and a cleene word moost
 fair schal be maad stidfast of hym. He 27
 that sueth aueryce, disturblith his hous;

* vnpytouse,
 etc.; for it is
 propirte of God,
 to spare and
 haue mersy, and
 so to be pitouse;
 and therfor he
 hath abhomy-
 nacioun of an
 vnpytouse man.
 schal die; that
 is, bi deth of
 synne, and ofte
 bi temporal
 deth. *Live*
here. c.

† fed; that is,
 delith in spek-
 inge fonned
 thingis.

ben yuele; bi
 yuele of payne,
 for pouert is de-
 faute of thingis
 nedeful to sus-
 tenaunce.

and vnfillable;
 that is, for tho
 fillen not the
 nedynesse, but
 more encreesen
 it.

the weye of
 slowe; for a
 slow man dred-
 ith euere to
 fynde lettingis
 in the weye.
Live here. c.

† counsellours;
 feithful and
 goode, thouztis
 ben brougt to
 effect. *Live*
here. c.

§ of his mouth;
 that is, whanne
 it is appreued
 of othere goode
 men and wise.
Live here. c.

^u pacient forsothe *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^v desceyueh *E pr. m.*

^y the avowis *I.* ^z an *I.* ^a that forsaken *I.* ^b more rather *I.* ^c Om. *I.* ^d disesy *I.* ^e as a *A sec. m.*
^f Om. *I.* ^g vnprofitable *I.* ^h that weren reisid *I.* ⁱ as an *A sec. m.* ^k his *I.* ^l but *I.* ^m there *I.*
ⁿ ther ben *I.* ^o thei *I.* ^p housis *I.*

forsothe hatith ȝiftis, shal liue. Bi merci
and feith ben purgyd synnes; bi the
drede forsothe of the Lord bowith doun
28 eche man fro euel. The mynde of the
riȝtwis sweteli thenketh wisdam; the
mouth of vnpitous men reboundeth to
29 euelis. Ferr is the Lord fro vnpitous
men; and the orisouns^w of riȝtwis men
30 he shal ful out heren. The liȝt of eȝen
maketh glad the soule; good los in-
31 wardli fattith bones. The ere that her-
eth blamyngus of lif, in the myddel of
32 wise men shal al abide. Who casteth
awei discipline, despiseth his soule; who
forsothe assenteth to vndirnymyngis,
33 weldere is of herte. The drede of the
Lord discipline of wisdam; and mekenesse
goth befor glorie.

CAP. XVI.

1 Off a man is to make redy the inwit;
and of the Lord to gouerne the tunge.
2 Alle the weies of man ben opene to the
eȝen of hym; of spiritis the peisere is
3 the Lord. Shewe to the Lord thi werkis;
4 and riȝt reulid shul ben thi thoȝtis. Alle
thingus for hymself wroȝte the Lord;
5 also the vnpitouse to the euele dai. Abom-
inacioun is of the Lord eche proud
man; also if hond at hond were, he 'shal
not be^x innocent. The begynnyng of the
good wey to do riȝtwysnesse; is^y alouwid
6 anent^z God, more than to offre ostis. Bi
merci and treuthe wickidnesse is forboȝt;
and in drede of the Lord is bowid awei
7 fro euel. Whan shul plesse to the Lord
the weies of man, the enemys forsothe
8 of hym he shal turne to pes. Betere is
a litil with riȝtwysnesse, than manye
9 frutis with wickidnesse. The herte of
man shal disposen his weie; but of the
10 Lord is to riȝt reulen his goyngis. De-
uynnyng in the lippis of the king; in
11 dom his mouth shal not erre. Weiȝte
and balaunce ben the domes of the Lord;

but he that hatith ȝiftis schal lyue.
Synnes ben purgid bi merci and feith;
ech man bowith awei fro yuel bi the
drede of the Lord. The soule of a iust²⁸
man bithenkith obedience; the mouth of
wickid men is ful of yuelis. The Lord is²⁹
fer fro wickid men; and he schal here the
preyers of iust men. The liȝt of iȝen³⁰
makith glad the soule; good fame makith
fat* the boonys. The eere that herith³¹
the blamyngis of lijf, schal dwelle in the
myddis of wise men. He that castith³²
awei chastisyng, dispisith his soule; but
he that assentith to blamyngis, is^a pesible
holdere of the herte. The drede of the³³
Lord is teching of wisdom; and mekenesse
goith bfore glorie.

* fat; that is,
encreesith ver-
tues, wherynne
the strengthe of
soule stondith,
for vertu prei-
sith encreesith. Lire
here. c.
that is, encreas-
eth his vertues,
that ben the
substance of
the soule. x.

CAP. XVI.

It perteyneth to man to make redi the
soule; and *it perteyneth* to the Lord to
gouerne the tunge. Alle the weies of²
men ben opyn to the iȝen of God; the
Lord is a weiere of spiritis†. Schewe thi³
werkys to the Lord; and thi thouȝtis
schulen be dressid^r. The Lord wrouȝte⁴
alle thingis for hym silf; and he *made*
redi a wickid man to the yuel dai. Abho-⁵
mynacioun of the Lord is ech proude
man; ȝhe, thouȝ the hond is^{rr} to the hond,
he schal not be innocent. The bigynnyng
of good weie is to do riȝtwysnesse^s; for-
sothe it is more acceptable at^t God, than
to offre sacrifices. Wickidnesse is aȝen⁶
bouȝt bi merci and treuthe; and me bow-
ith awei fro yuel bi the^a drede of the
Lord. Whanne the weyes of man plesen⁷
the Lord, he schal conuerte, ȝhe, hise ene-
myes to pees. Betere is a litil with riȝt-⁸
fulnesse, than many fruytis with wickid-
nesse. The herte of a man schal dispose⁹
his weie; but it perteyneth to the Lord
to dresse hise steppis. Dyuyynyng† is in¹⁰
the lippis of a king; his mouth schal not

† that is, of
willis, yelding to
man afir his
desseruings. x.

† Dyuyynyng;
that is, reding
in hooli scrip-
ture, therfor in
xvii. c^o of Deut.
the king schal
rede in the
book of Goddis
lawe, in alle
daies of his lijf,
that he lerne
for to drede
God. cx.
not erre in
doom; that is,
he schal not
ȝyue an yuel
sentence, if he
studieth in hooli
scripture, and
dredith God. c.

^w orisoun A. ^x is not E pr. m. ^y Om. c pr. m. ^z anentis E passim.

^q is a i. ^r dressid, into good issu. Lire here. n text. ^{rr} be i. ^s riȝtfulnesse plures. ^t anentis i.
^u Om. i.

and his werkis alle the stones of the
 12 world. Abominable to the king, that don
 vnpolitously; for bi riȝtwisnesse is fastned
 13 the kingis dignete. The wil of the king
 riȝtwis lippis; that riȝt thingus speketh,
 14 shal be riȝt reulid. The indignacioun
 of the king messageres of deth; and a
 15 wis man shal don aseeth to hym. In
 gladnesse of the chere of the king lif;
 and the noble mercy of hym as euetid^z
 16 weder. Weld wisdom, for betere it is
 than gold; and purchase prudence, for
 17 it is mor precious than siluer. The
 path of riȝtwis men bowith awei euelis;
 the kepere of his soule holdeth faste his
 18 weye. Pride goth befor contricioun;
 and befor falling the spirit shal ben en-
 19 hauncid. Betere is to be meke^a with
 mylde men, than to deuyde spoilis with
 20 proude men. The lerned in woord shal
 finde goodis; and that hopeth in the
 21 Lord is blisful. Who is wis in herte,
 shal be clepid prudent; and who is
 sweete in fair speche, more thingis shal
 22 finde. The welle of lif the lernyng of
 the weldere; the doctrine of foolis folie.
 23 The herte of the wise man shal lerne the
 mouth of hym; and to the lippis of hym
 24 it shal adde grace. The comb of hony
 wel set woordis; swetnesse of soule is
 25 helthe of bones. Ther is a weie that
 semeth to a man riȝt; and the last
 26 thingis of it leden^b to deth. The soule
 of the trauailere trauaileth to hymself;
 27 for hys mouth compellide hym. An un-
 wis man delueth euel; and in^c the lippis
 28 of hym fyr brenneth. A man peruertid
 rereth striues; and the man ful of
 29 woordis seuereth princis. The wicke^d
 man flatereth his frend; and ledeth hym
 30 bi a weie not good. That with stonezid
 ezen thenketh shreude thingis, bitende
 31 his^e lippis parformeth euel. The croune
 of dignete elde, that in the weie^f of riȝt-
 32 wisnesse shal be founde. Betere is the
 pacient, than a strong man; and that

erre in doom. The domes of the Lord¹¹
 ben weizte and a balaunce; and hise werkis
 12 ben alle the stoonys of the world. Thei¹²
 that don wickidli *ben* abhomynable to the
 king; for the trone of the *rewme* is maad
 stidfast bi riȝtfulnesse. The wille of¹³
 kyngis *is* iust lippis; he that spekith riȝt-
 ful thingis, schal be dressid*. Indigna-¹⁴
 cioun of the kyng *is* messengeris of deth;
 and a wijs man schal plese him. Lijf *is*¹⁵
 in the^v gladnesse of the 'cheer of the
 king^w; and his merci *is* as a^x reyn com-
 ynge late. Welde thou wisdom, for it is¹⁶
 betere than gold; and gete thou prudence,
 for it is^y precyousere than siluer. The¹⁷
 path of iust men bowith awei yuelis; the
 kepere of his soule kepith his weie. Pride¹⁸
 goith bifore sorewe; and the spirit schal
 be enhaunsid byfor fallyng. It is betere¹⁹
 to be maad meke with mylde men, than
 to departe spuylis with proude men. A²⁰
 lerned man in word schal fynde goodis;
 and he that hopith in the Lord is blessid.
 He that is wijs in herte, schal be clepid²¹
 prudent; and he that is swete in speche,
 schal fynde grettere thingis. The welle²²
 of lijf *is* the lernyng of him that weld-
 ith†; the techyng of foolis *is* foli. The²³
 herte of a wijs man schal teche his mouth;
 and schal encrease grace to hise lippis.
 Wordis wel set togidere *is* a coomb of²⁴
 hony; helthe of boonys‡ is the swetnesse
 of soule. A weye *is*²⁵ that semeth riȝtful
 to a man; and the laste thingis therof
 leden to deth. The soule of a man§ tra-²⁶
 uelinge trauelith to hym silf||; for his
 mouth¶ compellide hym. An vnwijs man²⁷
 diggith** yuel††; and fier‡‡ brenneth in
 hise lippis. A weiward man reisith stryues;²⁸
 and a man ful of wordis departith princis.
 A wickid man flaterith his frend; and²⁹
 ledith hym bi a weie not good. He³⁰
 that thenkith schrewid thingis with izen
 astonyed, bitith hise lippis, and parform-
 eth yuel§§. A coroun of dignyte *is* eelde,³¹
 that schal be foundun in the weies of

weizte and a balaunce; that is, Goddis domes ben iust. *iust lippis*; that is, iust lippis in iugis ben the wille of iust kingis. *as a reyn*; for as reyn comynge late is good and swete to the fruytis of erthe, so the mercy of the king is good to hem that han ned to remyscioun. *Live here. c.*
 * *dressid*, of God into an end. *Live here. KN.*

† wisdom and wille to teche Goddis pleasure. *K.*
 ‡ that is, sadness of feith and othere vertues. *K.*
 § euer more morking in the erthe bi couetise. *K.*
 || principali for his owne profit. *K.*
 ¶ for al goith in to the mouth of glotterouse laborers. *K.*
 ** *diggith yuel*; that is, sekith it with diligence. *fier brenneth*; of wrathfulnesse and of pride. *Live here. c.*
 †† that is, worchith vnwiseli and out of tyme. *K.*
 ‡‡ of wraththe and distemperance. *K.*
 §§ *parformeth yuel*; that is, ymagyneth to parforme. *Live here. c.*

^z an euetid *c.* ^a meked *AE GH.* ^b ledith *A.* ^c Om. *A.* ^d wickyd *A.* ^e with *A.* ^f weies *AE GH.*

^v Om. *I.* ^w kingis chere *I.* ^x Om. *I.* ^y is more *I.* ^z ther is *I.*

lordshipeth to his wil, than an ouer-
33 comere of cites. Lotis ben put in to
the bosum; but of the Lord thei ben
temprid.

CAP. XVII.

1 Betere is a drie morsel with io3e, than
an hous ful of sacrifices of victorie with
2 strif. A wis seruauant shal lordshipen
to sones foolis; and among bretheren
3 eritage he shal deuyde. As bi fyr is
proued siluer, and gold bi the chymney,
4 so hertes the Lord preueth. The euele
man obesheth to the wicke tunge; and
the desceyuable consenteth to the liende
5 lippis. Who dispiseth a pore man, mys-
seyth to his makere; and who gladeth in
the falling of an other, shal not ben vn-
6 punshid. The croune of olde men sones
of sones; and the glorie of sones the
7 fadris of hem. There semeth not the
fool faire set woordis; ne the prince a
8 liende lippe. Most kinde iemme the
abiding of the abidere; whider euere he
turneth^g hymself, prudentli he vnder-
9 stand^h. Who helith the gilte, secheth
frenshipis; who with an other sermoun
10 reherceth, seuereth the federedⁱ. Mor
profiteth correccioun anent the prudent,
than an hundrid veniaunces anent the
11 fol. Euermor strues secheth the euel
man; the cruel forsothe aungil shal be
12 sent a3en hym. It spedeth mor to a3en
come to a she bere, whan hir whelpis
ben take away, than to a fol trostende
13 to hymself in his folie. Who 3eldeth
euelis for goodis, shal not go awei euel
14 fro his hous. Who leueth water, hed is
of strues; and er he suffre wrong blam-
15 yng, dom he forsaketh. And who iuste-
fieth the vnpitouse, and who condemp-
neth the ri3twise, abominable is either
16 anent God. What profiteth to the fol to
han richessis, whan wisdam bie he mai

ri3tfulnesse. A pacient man is betere than 32
a stronge man; and he that 'is lord^a of
his^b soule*, is betere than an ouercomere
of citees. Lottis[†] ben sent into the bosum; 33
but tho^c ben temperid of the Lord[§].

CAP. XVII.

Betere is a drie mussel with ioye, than 1
an hous ful of sacrifices with chidyng.
A wijs seruauant schal be lord of fonned 2
sones; and he schal departe eritage among
britheren. As siluer is preued bi fier, 3
and gold is preued bi a chymnei, so the
Lord preueth hertis. An yuel man obei- 4
eth to a wickid tunge||; and^d a fals man
obeieth to false lippis. He that dispisith 5
a pore man, repreueth his maker; and he
that is glad in the fallyng of another man,
schal not be vnpunyschid. The coroun 6
of elde men is the sones of sones; and
the glorie of sones is the fadris of hem.
Wordis wel set togidere bisemen not a 7
fool; and a liyng lippe bicometh not a
prince. A preciouze stoon¶ moost accept- 8
able is the abiding** of hym that sekith;
whidur euere he turneth hym silf, he vn-
durstandith prudentli. He that helith 9
trespas, sekith frenshipis; he that re-
hersith||| bi an hi3 word, departith hem,
that ben knyght togidere in pees. A blam- 10
yng profitith more at a prudent man, than
an hundryd woundis at a fool. Euere an 11
yuel man sekith stryues; forsothe a cruel
aungel schal be sent a3ens hym. It sped- 12
ith more to meete a femal bere, whanne
the^e whelpis ben rauyschid^f, than a fool
tristynge to hym silf in his foli. Yuel 13
schal not go a wei fro the hous of hym,
that 3eldith yuels for goodis. He that 14
leueth^g watir^{††}, is heed^h of stryues^{‡‡}; and
bifor that he suffrith wrong, he forsakith
dom. Bothe he that iustifieth a wickid 15
man, and he that condempneth a iust
man, euer ethir is abhominable atⁱ God.
What profitith^{§§} it to a fool to haue 16

* lord of his
soule; bi re-
freynnyng of
conciuisis, is
betere. Live
here. c. x. x. x.
† that is, vpon
hid thingis. k.
‡ whanne God
chesith which
he wole. k.

|| wickid
tunge; that is,
to a tyrant
commanding
wickid thing.
Live here. c.
¶ A preciouze
ston; that is,
the thing abe-
dun of a de-
sirere, is a pre-
cious stoon in
hise i3en, and
ech werk he
doith prudently,
that he be not
defraudid of his
desire. Live
here. c.
that is, lijf
enelasting, for
the wich a wijs
marchaunt
solde al that he
hadde, and
bouzte it. Mt.
xiiij. k.
** of ech ver-
tuous man, that
Poul clepeth a
croune of lijf.
k.
||| that rehers-
ith, etc.; that
is, pupplischith
with out iust
cause. Live
here. c.
†† leueth wa-
tir; that is,
drynkith ouer
strong wyn.
of stryues;
that risen of
drunkenesse.
he forsakith
doom; in hirt-
ing his neishore
with out cause.
Live here. c.
‡‡ that is, be
that letteth wa-
ter renne forth,
and he that hi-
gyneth strifes,
doon lijf
thingis. k.
§§ What profit-
ith it, etc.; as
if he seie, no
thing; for he
vsith not tho
to good but to
yuel, and may
not gete wis-
dom bi tho.
Live here. c.

g turne AEGH. h vnderstandeth AEGH. i federed or boundun in loue c sec. m. marg. E sec. m. marg. AGH.

a hath power i. b his owne i. c thei i. d Om. i. e her i. f take away i. g leueth, or let go i.
letteth ka. h the heed a. i to c.

not? Who heiȝ maketh his hous, sech-
eth falling; and who shoneth to lerne,
17 falleth in to euelis. Alle time looueth,
that is a frend; and a brother in an-
18 guysshis is preued^k. A fool man shal
for ioȝe flappe with hondis, whan he
19 shal behoten for his frend. Who sweteli
thenketh discordis, looueth striues; and
who enhauncith his herte, secheth fall-
20 ing. Who is of peruertid herte, findeth
not good; and who turneth the tunge,
21 shal falle in to^l euel. Born is the fool
in his shenshipe; but ne^m the faderⁿ in
22 the fol shal glade. Ioȝende inwit mak-
eth briȝt age; a drery spirit ful out dri-
23 eth bones. Ȝiftis of the bosum the vn-
pitous taketh, that he peruerte the pathis
24 of dom. In the face of the prudent
shyneth wisdom; the eȝen of foolis in
25 the endis of erthe. The wrathe of the
fader a sone fol; the sorewe of the mo-
26 dir that gat hym. It is not good to bern
in harm to the riȝtwis; ne to smyte a
27 prince that riȝt demeth. Who tempreth
his woordis, taȝt and prudent is; and of
28 precious^o spirit the man lerned. The
fool forsothe, if he holde his pes, wis
shal ben holde; if he threste togidere
his lippis, vnderstondende.

CAP. XVIII.

1 Ocasoun secheth, that wil gon awei
fro a frend; alle time variable he shal
2 be. A fol resceiueth not the woordis of
prudence; but tho thingis thou^p shul
seyn, that ben ofte turned in his herte.
3 The vnpitous, whan in to depthe of
synne^q shal^r come, dispiseth; and ther
folewith hym shenshipe and repreff.
4 Deep water woordis of the mouth of a
man; and a stef strem the reboundende
5 welle of wisdom. To alouwen the per-
sone of the vnpitouse in dom, is not good,
that thou bowe awei fro the sothfast-

richessis, sithen^k he mai not bie wisdom?
He that makith his hous* hiȝ, sekith
falling†; and he that eschewith^l to lerne,
shal falle in to yuels. He that is a frend, 17^k
loueth in al tyme; and a brother is
preuyd in angwischis. A fonned man 18
shal make ioie with hondis, whanne he
hath bihiȝt for his frend. He that bi- 19
thenkith discordis, loueth chidingis; and^m
he that enhaunsith‡ his mouth, sekith
fallyng. He that is of weiward herte, 20
shal not fynde good; and he that turn-
eth the tunge§, schal falle in to yuel. A 21
fool is borun in his schenschipe; but ne-
ther the fadir schal be glad in a fool. A 22
ioiful soule makith likinge age; a sorew-
ful spirit makith drie boonys. A wickid 23
man takith ȝiftis fro the bosum, to mys-
turne the pathis of doom. Wisdom schyn- 24
eth in the face of a prudent man; the
iȝen of foolis *ben* in the endis of erthe. A 25
fonned sone *is* the ire of the fadir, and
the sorewe of the modir that gendrideⁿ
hym. It is not good to brynge in harm 26
to a iust man; nether to smyte the prince
that demeth riȝtfuli. He that mesurith 27
his wordis, is wiȝs and prudent; and a
lerud man is of preciouſe spirit. Also a 28
foole, if he is stille, schal be gessid a wiȝs
man; and, if he pressith togidre hise lippis,
he 'schal be^o gessid an vndurstondynge
man.

CAP. XVIII.

He that wole go a wei fro a frend, 1
sekith occasiouns||; in al tyme he schal
be dispisable. A fool resseyueth not the 2
wordis of prudence; 'no but^p thou seie
tho thingis, that ben turned in his herte.
A wickid man, whanne he cometh in to 3
depthe of synnes, dispisith¶; but sclau-
dre and schenschipe sueth hym. Deep 4
watir** *is* the wordis of the mouth of a
man; and a stronde fletinge ouer†† *is* the
welle of wisdom. It is not good to take 5
the persone of a wickid man in doom,
that thou bowe awei fro the treuthe of

* of yuel geten
good. k.
† disserueth
falling to helle.
k.

‡ in boasting
and other curs-
ed speche. k.

§ that turneth
the tunge; that
is, flaterith in
presence, and
deffameth in
absence of a
man. Live here.
c.

|| sekith occa-
siouns; that is,
feyneth causis.
Live here. c.n.
¶ hoolsum
loore and
amaundement.
k.

** deep watir;
that is, the
wordis of a man
perfit in kun-
nyng and vertu,
conteynen deep
sentence, to
which not ech
man may listly
ateyne, as ne-
thir to the
botme of deep
watir. c.k.
a stronde flow-
inge ouer; in
to othere men
bi good teching.
is the welle of
wisdom, in the
soule of a wise
man, fro whiche
welle the watir
of wisdom is
brouȝt out to
othere men.
chidingis; of
othere men
chidinge to
gidere. double
tunge; that
flaterith in pre-
sence, and bac-
bitith in ab-
sence. of the
wombe; that is,
til to the herte.
dredre; this
vers til thidur
he that is
neische, is not
in Ebreu. Live
here. c.
†† into other
men bi good
teching. k.

^k aproued E. ^l Om. A. ^m Om. A. ⁿ faders A. ^o the precious A. ^p he AE pr. m. ^q synnes AGH.
^r he shal c pr. m.

^k sith I passim. ^l ethchewith I passim. ^m Om. A pr. m. M. ⁿ baar I. ^o is I. ^p but if I.

6 nesse of dom. The lippis of the^r fol
shul menge themself with striues; and
7 the mouth of hym debatis stireth. The
mouth of the fool 'to-treding^s of hym;
and the lippis of hym the falling of his
8 soule. The woordis of the twisil tunge
as simple^t; and tho³ thur³ comen vnto
the entrailis of the wombe. The slowe
drede threw³ down; the soulis forsothe
9 of wommanysh men shul hungren. Who
is nesshe, and dissolut in his werk, bro-
ther is of the man scaterende his werkes.
10 The most strong tour the name of the
Lord; to it renneth the ríztwise, and he
11 shal ben enhauncid. The substaunce of
the riche man the cite of his strengthe;
and as a strong wal cumpassende hym.
12 Er it be to-treden, is enhauncid the herte
of a man; and er it be glorified, it is
13 mekid. Who rathere answereth than he
hereth, a fool hymself to ben he shew-
14 ith; and confusioun wrthi. The spirit
of the man susteneth his febleness; the
spirit forsothe lízt to wrathen, who shal
15 moun sustene? The herte of the pru-
dent shal welde kunnyng; and the ere
16 of wise men secheth doctrine. The free
3ifte of a man spreadeth abroad his weie;
and befor princis space to hym maketh.
17 The ríztwis rathere is the acuser of
hymself; ther cometh his frend, and he
18 shal enserchen hym. Azenseiyngus lot
thresteth togidere; and among my3ti
19 men^v also dyuersly demeth. The brother
that is holpen of the brother, as a stef
cite; and the domes as barris of cites.
20 Of the frut of the mouth of a man shal
be fulfid his wombe; and the burioun-
yngis of the lippis of hym shul fulfillen
21 hym. Deth and lif in the hondis of the
tunge; who loouen^w it, shuln ete the
22 frutis of it. Who findeth a good wom-
man, findeth good; and shal drawn
merthe of the Lord. Who putteth out
a good womman, putteth out good; who
forsothe holdeth avoutresse, is a fool and

dom. The lippis of a fool medlen hem⁶
silf with chidyngis; and his mouth ex-
citith^a stryues. The mouth of a fool is⁷
defoulyng of hym; and hise lippis ben
the fallynge of his soule. The wordis of⁸
a double tungid man ben as symple; and
tho^r comen 'til to^s the ynnere thingis of
the wombe*. Drede castith down a slowe
man[†]; forsothe the soulis of men turned
in to wymmens condicioun schulen haue
hungur. He that is neisch, and vnstid-⁹
fast^t in his werk, is the brother of a man
distriynge hise werkis. A strongeste^u tour¹⁰
is the name of the Lord; a iust man
renneth to hym, and schal be enhaunsid.
The catel of a riche man is the citee of¹¹
his strengthe; and as a stronge wal cum-
passinge hym. The herte of man^v is en-¹²
haunsid, bifor that it be brokun; and it
is maad meke, bifore that it be glorified.
He that answerith bifore that he herith,¹³
shewith hym silf to be a fool; and worthi
of schenschipec. The spirit of a man sus-¹⁴
teyneth his febleness; but who may sus-
teyne a spirit lízt to be wrooth? The¹⁵
herte of a prudent man schal holde stid-
fastli kunnyng; and the eere of wise men
sekith techyng. The 3ifte of a man alarg-¹⁶
ith his weie; and makith space to hym
bifore princes. A iust man is the first¹⁷
accuser[‡] of hym silf; his frend cometh,
and schal serche hym[§]. Lot ceessith azen-¹⁸
seyngis; and demeth also among mizti
men. A brother that is helpid^w of a
brothir, is as a stidfast citee; and domes
ben as the barris of citees. A mannus^{||}
wombe[¶] schal be fillid of the fruit of his
mouth; and the seedis of hise lippis
schulen fille hym. Deth and lijf ben in²¹
the werkis of tunge; thei that louen it,
schulen ete the fruytis therof. He that²²
fyndith a good womman, fyndith a good
thing; and of the Lord he schal drawe
vp myrthe. He that puttith a wey a good
womman, puttith awei a good thing; but
he that holdith auowtresse, is a fool and

* that is, to
the herte. K.
† castith out a
slow man; that
is, the drede of
trauel castith
him down fro
bigynnyng of
good werk.
to wymmens
condicioun;
that is, men
that ben neische
as wymmens
worche good.
the catel of a
riche man, etc.;
that is, he trist-
ith in hise
richessis, as in
a wallid citee,
thou; he is
ofte disseyued
in this. C.

‡ to God and
to a true frend.
K.
§ ordeynnyng
the weie of his
delyueraunce.
K.
|| a mannus
wombe; that is,
the kunnyng of
vertuose man
schal be en-
creessid bi his
trewe teching.
deth and lijf;
that is, deth of
synne is in the
myssyng of the
tunge, and the
lijf of grace is
in the goode
vying therof.
Live here. C.
¶ that is, his
mynde, or his
desire, shal be
fulfilled for his
vertuous word-
is; of thi word-
is thou shalt be
iustified. Mt.
xii. K.

^r a AGH. ^s the to-treding AH. ^t tormentis E pr. m. ^u throwith A. ^v Om. AGH. ^w loueth A.

^a stirith I. ^r thei I. ^s vnto I. ^t dissolute, ether vnstidfast CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXYAÇ. ^u ful strong I.
^v a man I. ^w holpun I.

23 vnwis. With obsecracious spekethe the
pore man; and a riche man schal speke out
24 ruggidli. A man amyable to felashipe
mor a frend shal be, than a brother.

CAP. XIX.

1 Betere is a pore man, that goith in
simplenes, than a riche man tormentende
2 his lippis, and vnwis. Wher is not kun-
nyng of soule, is not good; and who is
3 hastif, with feett stumblith. The folie
of a man supplauntith hise goingis; and
4 azen God boileth in his inwit. Richesses
addene manye frendis; fro the pore for-
sothe and tho that he hadde, ben seuered.
5 A fals witness shal not ben vnpunshid;
and he that lesing spekethe, shal not
6 ascapen. Manye herien^x the persone of
the myzti; and frendis ben of the ziuende
7 ziftis. The brethern of the pore man
hateden hym; ferthermor and frendis
aferr wenten awei fro hym. Who onli
woordis folewith, no thing shal han;
8 who forsothe weldere is of the mynde,
loueth his soule, and the kepere of pru-
9 dence shal finde goodis. The false wit-
nesse shal not ben vnpunshid; and that
10 spekethe lesing, shal pershen. Delicis
semen not the fool; ne the seruaunt to
11 lordshipen to princis. The doctrine of
a man bi pacience is knowe; and the glo-
rie of hym is to go biside wicke thingys.
12 As the gnasting of a leoun, so and^y the
wrathe of the king; and as deu vpon
13 erbe, so and the gladnesse of hym. The
sorewe of the fader, the sone a fol; and
rooues contynueli thur; droppende, a
14 womman ful of strif. Housis and rich-
essis ben zeue of the fadris; of the Lord
15 forsothe properli a prudent wif. Slouth
sendeth in slep; and a dissolut soule shal
16 hungre. Who kepeth the maundement,
kepeth his soule; who forsothe despisith
17 his weie, shal be maad dead. He vsureth
to the Lord, that hath reuthe of the
pore; and his while he shal zelde to hym.

vnwijs. A pore man schal speke with 23
bisechingis; and a riche man schal speke
sterneli. A man freendli to felouschipe 24
shal more be a frend, than a brothir.

CAP. XIX.

Betere is a pore man, that goith in his 1
simplenesse, than a riche man bitynge
hise lippis, and vnwijs. Where is not 2
kunnyng of the soule, is^x not good; and
he that is hasti*, in feet hirtith. The 3
foli of a man disseyueth hise steppis;
and he brenneth in his soule azens God†.
Richessis encreessen ful many freendis; 4
forsothe also thei ben departid fro a pore
man, whiche he hadde. A fals witness 5
shal not be vnpunyschid; and he that
spekith leesingis, schal not ascape‡. Many 6
men onouren the persooone of a myzti man;
and ben^y frendis of hym that deelith ziftis.
The britheren of a pore man haten hym; 7
ferthermore and the freendis zeden awei
fer^z fro hym. He that sueth^a wordis
oonliḡ, schal haue no thing; but he that 8
holdith stabli the mynde||, loueth his
soule, and the kepere of prudence schal
fynde goodis. A fals witness schal not 9
be vnpunyschid; and he that spekith
leesyngis, schal perische. Delices bicomene 10
not a fool; nether ^{it} bicometh^b a seruaunt
to be lord of princis. The teching of a 11
man is knowun bi pacience¶; and his
glorie is to passe ouere wickid thingis.
As the gnasting of a lioun, so and the ire 12
of the^c king; and as deewe on eerbe, so
and the gladnesse of the kyng. The so- 13
rewe of the fadir is a fonnede sone; and
roofes droppynge contynueli is a womman
ful of chiding. Housis and richessis ben 14
3ouun of fadir and modir; but a prudent
wif is 3ouun propirli of the Lord. Slouth 15
bringith^d in sleep; and a negligent soule
shal haue hungur**. He that kepith the 16
comaundement of God, kepith his soule;
but he that chargith not his weie, schal
be slayn. He that hath mercy on a pore 17

* that is, doith
heedli hise
werkis. x.
† azens God;
that is, bi vn-
pacience he
brekith out in
to the blasfemye
of God. Lire
here. ck.
‡ not ascape;
Goddis doom,
in whiche he
must zelde re-
soun of ech idil
word, and
myche more of
a leesing. c.
§ wordis
oneli; that is,
a dissiple that
loueth more
the fairnesse of
wordis than the
good sentence,
reportith no
thing of truthe
of the techere,
ethir so litil,
that it is worthi
to be rekenyd
as for nouzt;
ethir thus, a
techere that
hath onely
wordis and no
goode dedis,
shal gete no
mede of God.
goodis; of grace
in present tyme,
and of glorie in
tyme to com-
ynge. Lire
here. c.
|| mynde bi
Goddis vertue.
Lire here. kva.
¶ knowun bi
pacience; that
is, the teching
of apostlis and
of othere tech-
eris, in the
bigynnyng of
the chirche, was
knowun bi this,
that they dred-
den not to die
for it. to passe
ouer wickid
thingis; that
is, to do not
wickid thingis,
but more to
suffre peyne.
Lire here. c.
** hungur; in
suffringe de-
faute of goostly
goodis, and
ofte of bodily
goodis.
his weye; that
is, the keepinge
of Goddis
heestis.
shal be slayn;
bi deth of synne
and of helle.
Lire here. c.

x worschipe n. y Om. n.

x ther is i. y thei ben i. z Om. c. a sowith a. b Om. i. c a i. d sendith CEFHNPVY.

18 Lerne thou thi sone, ne despeire thou;
to the slazter forsothe of hym ne poote
19 thou thi soule. Who forsothe is vn-
pacyent, shal suffre harm; and whan he
shall cacche, other thing he shal putte
20 to. Here thou counseil, and vnder-
discipline; that thou be wijs in thi laste
21 thingis. Manye tho3tis in the herte of
a man; the wil forsothe of the Lord shal
22 abide stille. A man nedi is merciful;
and betere the pore man ri3twis, than a
23 man liere. The drede of the Lord to
lif; and in plenteuousnesse^z it shal abide
stille, withoute visiting of the werste.
24 The slowe hideth his^{zz} hond vnder the
arm pit; ne to his mouth he leith it.
25 The 'man ful of pestilence^a scourgid, a
fool the wisere shal ben. If forsothe thou
chastise the wise man, he shal vnder-
26 stonde discipline. Who tormentith the
fader, and fleeth the modir, shenful shal
27 be, and vnblisful. Cese thou not, sone,
to here doctrine; ne vnknowe thou the
28 wordis of kunnyng. The wicke wyt-
nesse scorneth dom; and the mouth of
vnпиты men deuoureth wickidnesse.
29 Greithid ben to scorneres domes; and
smytende hameres to the bodies of foolis.

CAP. XX.

1 A leccherous thing win, and noiseful
drunkenesse; who so euere in these
2 thingis delitith, shal not be wis. As the
roring of a leoun, so and^b the ferd of the
king; who terreth hym, synneth a3en
3 his soule. Wrshi3pe is to the man that
seuereth hym fro striues; alle^c forsothe
foolis shul be mengd with wrong blam-
4 yngis. For cold the slowe wolde not
eren; thanne he shal begge in somer,
5 and it shal not ben 3iue to hym. As
dep watir, so counseil in the herte of a

man, leeneth to the Lord; and he schal
3elde his while to hym. Teche thi sone^{*}, 18
and despeire thou not[†]; but sette thou
not[†] thi soule to the sleynge of hym. For- 19
sothe he that is vnpatient, schal suffre
harm; and whanne he hath rauyschid,
he schal leie to anothir thing. Here thou 20
counsel, and take thou doctryn; that thou
be wijs in thi laste thingis. Many thou3tis 21
ben^e in the herte of a man; but the wille
of the Lord schal dwelle. A nedi man is 22
merciful; and betere *is* a pore iust man,
than a^f man liere3. The^s drede of the 23
Lord *ledith* to lijf^h 'of blis^l'; and he '*that*
dredith God^k schal dwelle in plentee, with
outen visityng^l 'of the worste^m. A slow 24
man hidith his hond vnder the^a armpit;
and putteth^o it not to his mouth. Whanne 25
a man ful of pestilence is betun, a fool
shal be^p wisere. If thou blamist a wijs
man, he schal vnderstonde techyng. He 26
that turmentith the^q fadir, and fleeth fro
the^q modir, schal be ful of yuel fame, and
shal be cursid. Sone, ceesse thou not to 27
here techyng; and knowe thou the wordis
of kunnyng. A wickid witnesse scorneth 28
doom; and the mouth of vnпиты men
deuourith^{||} wickidnesse. Domes ben maad 29
redi to scorneris; and hameris smytynge
ben maad redi to the bodies of foolis[¶].

CAP. XX.

Wiyn *is* a letcherouse thing^{**}, and 1
drunkenesse *is* ful of noise; who euere
delitith in these, schal not be wijs. As 2
the roryng of a lioun, so and the drede
of the^r kyng; he that territh hym to ire,
synneth a3ens his owne lijf^s. It is onour 3
to a man that departith hym silf fro
stryuyngis; but fonned men ben medlid
with dispisyngis. A slow man nolde^t ere 4
for coold; therfor he schal begge in
somer, and me schal not 3yue to hym.
As deep watir, so counseil *is* in the herte 5

* the drede of the Lord and his lawe. x.
† *despeire thou not*; of his lernyng, thou3 he takith litil ether nou3t in the bigynnyng, for ofte sicke children ben wel larned in the ende. c.
‡ thou3 he lerne not at the bigynnyng; but contynue in techinge, and he shal lerne.
x marg.
‡ in withdrawyng of teching.
x.
§ a man liere; that is, than a my3ti man that bowith away fro ri3tfulnesse, bi leeingis.
plente; of blis, of the worste; deuel, which in no maner may ne3e thidur.
wisere; that is, lesse fool, for [it] schal amende him in sum thing. Lire here. c.
|| *deuourith*; that is, swolowith greedily.
Lire here. c.
¶ *foolis*; that is, brekeris of Goddis lawe.
Lire here. c.

** *uyn is lecherouse thing*; that is, makith lecherie; wherfor Jerom seith, a wombe brennyng of wyn, spueth out soone in to lecherie. Wherfor Loth, bi the drynk- ing of wyn, dide lecherie with hise dou- tris, in xix. c^e. of Gen. *delitith in these*; that is, drunkenesse and lecherie. *wijs*; for euer eithir deuour- ith resoun, and causith dul- nesse. c.

^z the plenteuousnesse AGH. ^{zz} the c pr. m. ^a bacbitere E pr. m. man of pestilence c. ^b Om. A.
c men E pr. m.

^e ther ben I. ^f a riche I. ^g Om. I. ^h the lijf a. ⁱ Om. I. of blis. Lire here. x text. ^k Om. I.
^l ful yuel visityng I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ his I. ^o dressith I. ^p be the I. ^q his I. ^r a I. ^s soule I. ^t wolde
not I.

man; but a wis man shal drawe it out.
 6 Many men merciful ben clepid; a feith-
 7 ful man forsothe who shal finde? The
 riȝtwis forsothe that goth in his simple-
 nesse, blisful sones aftir hym shal leuen.
 8 The king that sit^d in the see of dom,
 scattereth alle euelis^e in his clere loking.
 9 Who mai sey, Clene is myn herte; pure
 10 withoute synne? Peis and peis, mesure
 and mesure, either is abhominable^f anent
 11 God. Of his^g studies is the child vnder-
 stonde, if riȝt ben and clene the workis
 12 of hym. The herende ere, and the seende
 13 eȝe, the Lord made euer either. Wile
 thou not looue slep, lest thee nedynesse^h
 opresse; opene thin eȝen, and be thou
 14 fulfild with loues. Euel it is, euel it is,
 seith eche biere; and whan he goth awei,
 15 thanne he shal glorien. Gold, and the
 multitude of iemmes, and precious ves-
 16 sel, the lippis of kunnyng. Tac the cloth
 of hym, that borȝ was of theⁱ alien; and
 for straungeres tac awei the wed fro hym.
 17 Swete is to a man the bred of lesing;
 and aftir shal be fulfild the mouth of
 18 hym with a litil pibbil ston. Thoȝtis bi
 counseilis ben strengthid; and bi go-
 19 uernailis bataillis ben to be tretid. To
 hym that openeth priuetees, and goth
 gilendeli, and spreadeth abrod his lippis,
 20 ne be thou togidere mengd. Who cursith
 to his fader and moder, shal be quenchid
 21 his liȝt in myddyl derknesses. Eritage to
 the whiche is heeȝid in the begynnyng,
 22 in the laste shal lacke blissing. Ne sey
 thou, I shal ȝelde euel for euel; abide the
 23 Lord, and he shal deliuere thee. Abo-
 minacioun is anent God weiȝte and weiȝte;
 24 a treeccherous balaunce is not good. Of
 the Lord ben riȝt reulid the goingis of a
 man; who forsothe of men mai vnder-
 25 stonde his wei? Falling is of men ofte
 to 'vouwe to^k seintis, and aftir the rouwis
 26 aȝeen drawe. Scattereth vnpiȝous men a
 wis king; and he bowith in vpon hem

of a man; but a wiȝs man* schal drawe
 it out. Many men ben clepid merciful; 6
 but who schal fynde a feithful man? 7
 Forsothe a iust man that goth in his 8
 simplenesse, schal leue blessid sones aftir
 hym. A king that sittith in the seete of 8
 doom, distrieth al yuel bi his lokyng. Who 9
 may seie, Myn herte is clene; Y am clene
 of synne? A weiȝte† and a weiȝte, a me- 10
 sure and a mesure, euer eithir is abhomy-
 nable at God. A child is vndurstonde bi 11
 hise studies, yf his werkis ben riȝtful and
 cleene. An eere heringe, and an iȝe se- 12
 ynge, God made euer eithir. Nyle thou 13
 loue sleep, lest nedynesse oppresse thee;
 opene thin iȝen, and be thou fillid with
 looues. Ech biere seith, It is yuel, it is 14
 yuel; and whanne he hath go away,
 thanne he schal haue glorie. Gold, and 15
 the multitude of iemmes, and a preciose
 vessel, *ben* the lippis of kunnyng. Take 16
 thou awei the cloth of hym, that was
 borewe of an othere man; and for straun-
 geris take thou awei a wed fro hym. The 17
 breed of a leeing‡ is sweet to a man;
 and aftirward his mouth schal be fillid
 with rikenyng. Thouȝtis ben maad strong 18
 bi counselis; and bateils schulen be tretid
 bi gouernails. Be thou not medlid with 19
 him that schewith pryutees§, and goth
 gylefulli, and alargith hise lippis. The 20
 liȝt of hym that cursith his fadir and mo-
 dir, schal be quenchid in the myddis of
 derknessis. Eritage to which me haastith 21
 in the bigynnyng, schal wante blessing in
 the laste *tyme*. Seie thou not, Y schal 22
 ȝelde yuel for yuel; abide thou the Lord,
 and he schal delyuere thee. Abhomyna- 23
 cioun at^u God is weiȝte and weiȝte; a gile-
 ful balaunce is not good. The steppis of 24
 man^v ben dressid of the Lord; who for-
 sothe of men mai vndurstonde his weie?
 Falling of man is to make auow to seyntis, 25
 and aftirward to withdrawe the^w vowis.
 A wiȝs kyng scatterith wickid men; and 26

* a wise man; that is, a dili-
 gent disciple.
schal drawe it out; in axinge
 of him dili-
 gently and
 warily. *Live*
here. c.

† a weiȝte; grettere in bi-
 ynge, and a
 weiȝte lesse in
 sillig; and so
 of a mesure.
abhominable;
 for it is thefte,
 colourid by the
 colour of riȝt-
 fulnesse; wher-
 for Jerom seith
 feyned hooly-
 nesse ether
 equyte, is
 double wickid-
 nesse. *sleep*;
 vnmeasurable
 bi slouthe.

opene *thyn*
iȝen; that is,
 be thou wakir,
 and diligent in
 thi werkis. *c.*
 ‡ the breed of
 leeing; that
 is, getun bi a
 leeing. *to a*
man; liere.

with *rikenyng*;
 bi bittirnesse of
 penaunce, for
 he seith that
 he diide yuel.
 bi *gouernayls*;
 that is, pru-
 dence, coun-
 cel, and expe-
 riens, and not
 oneli bi bodily
 strengthe;

therfor at Ro-
 mayns, that
 maden al the
 world soiet to
 hem til bi
 batels, a knyȝt,
 were he neuere
 so strong, if he
 hadde not wis-
 dom, he was
 seid a knyȝt
 with outen
 iȝen. *Live*
here. c.

§ schewith
pryuetees;
 that is, coun-
 cels bitakun to
 his feithful-
 nesse. *gylefully*;
 schewing fren-
 schipe, whanne
 he is an enemy
 priueli. *alargith*
hise lippis; that
 is, bihetith grete
 thingis, and
 fillith lile ethir

^d sitteth *AECH*. ^e euel *AECH*.
 taken awei deuocioun fro *E pr. m.*

^f abominacioun *c.* ^g the *A*. ^h the nedynes *A*. ⁱ Om. *A*. ^k to

^u anentis *I*. ^v a man *I*. ^w tho *c.*

27 a stonene bowe. The lanterne of the Lord the brething place of a man, that enserchith alle the priuetees of the wombe. 28 Mercy and treuthe kepen the king; and his trone is strenghtid with noble mercy. 29 The ful out iozing of yunge men the strengthe of hem; and the dignete of 30 olde men hornesse. The wannesse of wounde schal clense awei euelis, and woundis in the^l priuyere^m partys of the wombe.

CAP. XXI.

1 As deuseouns of watris, so the herte of the king in the hond of the Lord; whider euer he wile, he schal bowe it. 2 Eche weie of a man riȝt to hym semeth; 3 the Lord forsothe peiseth the hertis. To do mercy and dom, more pleseth to the 4 Lord, than sacrifices of victorie. The enhauncing of eȝen is the larging of the herte; the lanterne of vnпитыous men 5 synne. The thoȝtis of the strong man euermor in plente; eche forsothe slouȝⁿ 6 euermor is in nedynesse. Who gedereth tresores with the tunge of lesing, vein and herteles is; and he schal be put in^o 7 to the grenes of deth. Raueynes of vnпитыous men shul drawe them down; for 8 thei wolden not do dom. The peruertid weie of a man alien is fro God; who forsothe is clene, riȝt is the werc of hym. 9 Betere is^p to sitte in the corner of the hous, than with the womman ful of strif, 10 and in the hous of feste. The soule of the vnпитыouse^q desireth euel; he schal not 11 han merci to his neȝhebore. Punshid the bacbitere, the wisere schal be the litte child; and if he folewe the wise man, he 12 schal take kunnyng. The riȝtwis bethenkithe of the hous of the vnпитыous, that he 13 drawe awei vnпитыous men fro euel. Who stoppeth his ere at the cri of the pore, and he schal crie, and schal not ben herd. 14 Ȝifte hyd quencheth wrathis; and fre ȝifte

bowith a bouwe of victorie^{x*} ouer hem. The lanterne[†] of the Lord is the spirit of 27 man, that sekith out alle the priuetees of the wombe. Merci and treuthe[‡] kepen a 28 kyng; and his trone is maad strong bi mekenesse. The ful out ioiung of yonge 29 men is the strengthe of hem; and the dignyte of elde men is hoornesse[§]. The 30 wannesse of wounde schal wipe awei yuels, and woundis in the priuyere thingis of the wombe.

CAP. XXI.

As departyngis of watris, so the herte¹ of the kyng is in the power of the Lord; whidur euer he wole, he schal bowe it. Ech weye of a man semeth riȝtful to² hym silf; but the Lord peisith the hertis. To do merci and doom^{||}, plesith more the³ Lord, than sacrifices doen^y. Enhaunsyng⁴ of iȝen is alargyng of the herte; the lanterne of wickid men is synne. The thoȝtis⁵ of a stronge man ben euer in abundaunce; but ech slow man is euer in nedynesse. He that gaderith tresours bi the tunge of a leesyng^{z¶}, is veyne, and with outen herte; and he schal be hurtlid^{zz} to the snaris of deth. The raueyns of vnпитыouse men⁷ schulen drawe hem down; for thei nolden^a do doom. The weiward weie of a man⁸ is alien fro God; but the werk of hym that is cleene^b, is riȝtful. It is betere to⁹ sitte in the corner of an hous with oute roof, than with a womman ful of chydyng, and in a comyn hous. The soule of an¹⁰ vnпитыouse man desirith yuel; he schal not haue merci on his neȝbore. Whanne a¹¹ man ful of pestilence is punyschid, a litil man of wit schal be the wisere; and if he sueth a wiȝs man, he schal take kunnyng. A iust man of the hous of a wickid man¹² thenkith, to withdrawe wickid men fro yuel. He that stoppith his eere at the¹³ cry of a pore man, schal crye also, and^c schal not be herd. A ȝift hid quenchith¹⁴

nouȝt. hastith; bi coueitise to gete it vnduly. wante blessing; for the grettere schal auffre peyne aftir deth, and comynly his eir schal not reioysche it at the ende. Live here. c.

* that is, a stoon bouwe. x. † The lanterne; for kindly list of resoun is sum preenting of Goddis list. of the wombe; that is, herte. Live here. c.

‡ Mercy and treuthe; for merci without riȝtfulnesse, is cowardise, and riȝtfulnesse with out merci, is crueltie, for tho distrien a king and rewme. Live here. c.

§ hoornesse; that is, the eldneesse and sadnesse of wittis, with hoornesse of the heed. The wannesse of wounde; causith distriyng of rychesse in yuele werkis. Live here. c.

|| mercy and doom; that is, the werkis of merci doon to ned men, and the werkis of riȝtfulnesse doon to men oppressid, please more God than doen sacrifices; for Crist in his membris hath nede to these werkis, as he seith in xxv. c^o. of Math.

is synne; that is, thei kunnen dresse her vnderstanding to synne, and not to good, as Jeremye seith in iiii. c^o. strong man; that is, bi strengthe of soule and of bodi. Live here. c.

¶ tunge of

¹ Om. A G H. ^m priuye H. ⁿ slowe man A. ^o inwardly saidid E pr. m. ^p it is A E G H. ^q vnпитыous man A.

^x a victorie a. ^y Om. I. ^z leesyng makere I. ^{zz} hurlid I. ^a wolden not I. ^b cleene of synne c sec. m. ^c and he I.

15 in the bosum most indignacioun. Ioye to
the rijtwis is to don dom; and ferd to
16 men werkende wickidnesse. The man
that erreth fro the weie of doctrine, in
17 the felashipe of ieauntis shal wone. Who^r
looeth deynte metis, in nedynesse shall
be; who looueth win and fatte thingus,
18 shall not be maad riche. For the rijtwise
shal ben zoue the vnпитыouse; and for the
19 rijt man the wicke. Betere is to dwelle
in desert lond, than with a ianglende
20 womman, and wratheful. Desyrable tre-
sor and oile in the dwelling place of the
rijtwis; and the vnprudēt man shal
21 scatteren it. Who folewith rijtwisnesse
and mercy, shal finde lif and rijtwisnesse
22 and glorie. The cite of stronge men the
wise man stezede vp, and destroȝide the
23 strengthe of the trost of it. Who kepeth
his mouth and his tunge, kepeth his soule
24 fro anguysshis. The proud man and the^{rr}
enhaunsende hymself is clepid vntaȝt, the
25 whiche in wrathe wercheth pride. De-
sires slen the slowe; wolden not forsothe
the hondis of hym any thing werchen^s.
26 Al dai he coueitith and desireth; who
forsothe is rijtwis, shal zelde, and not
27 cese. The ostis of vnпитыous men abomi-
28 nable, that ben offrid of hidous gilte. A
witnessē liere shal pershe; the obeisaunt
29 man shall speke victorie. The vnпитыous
man wowendeli stablith his chere; who
30 forsothe is rijt, mendeth his weie. Ther
is not wisdom, ther is not prudence,
31 ther is not counseil aȝen the Lord. An
hors is maad redi to the dai of bataile;
the Lord forsothe helthe shal zeelden.

CAP. XXII.

1 Betere is a good name, than manye
richessis; ouer siluer forsothe and gold
2 good grace. The riche man and the pore
metten togidere; the werkere of euer
3 either is the Lord. The felle man seeth
euel, and hideth hymself; and the inno-

chidyngis; and a ȝift in bosum *quenichith*
the^d moost indignacioun. It is ioye to a 15
iust man to make doom^{e*}; and *it is drede*
to hem that worchen wickidnesse. A man 16
that errith fro the weie of doctryn, schal
dwelle in the cumpany of giauntis[†]. He 17
that loueth metis[‡], schal be in nedynesse;
he that loueth wiyn and fatte thingis,
schal not be maad riche. An vnпитыouse 18
man schal be zouun for^f a iust man[§]; and
a wickid man *schal be zouun* for a rijtful
man. It is betere to dwelle in a desert 19
lond, than with a womman ful of chidyng,
and wrathful. Desirable^g tresoure and oile 20
is in the dwelling places^h of a iust man;
and an vnprudēt man schal distrie it.
He that sueth rijtfulnesse and mercy, schal 21
fynde lijf and glorie. A wijs man stiede 22
in toⁱ the citee of stronge men, and di-
striede the strengthe of trist therof. He 23
that kepith his mouth and his tunge,
kepith his soule from angwischis. A 24
proude man and boosteere is clepid a fool,
that worchith pride in ire. Desiris sleen 25
a slow man; for hise hondis nolden^k worche
ony thing. Al dai he coueitith and de- 26
sirith; but he that is a iust man, schal
ȝyue, and^l schal not cesse. The offringis 27
of wickid men, that ben offrid of greet
trespas^{||}, *ben* abhomynable. A fals wit- 28
nesse schal perische; a man obedient schal
speke victorie[¶]. A wickid man makith 29
sad his cheer vnschamefastli; but he that
is rijtful, amendith his weie. No wis- 30
dom is^m, no prudence is^m, no counsel is^m
aȝens the Lord. An hors is maad redi to 31
the dai of batel; but the Lord schal ȝyue
helthe.

CAP. XXII.

Betere is a good name, than many 1
richessis; for good grace *is* aboue siluer
and gold. A riche man^{**} and a pore man 2
metten hem silf; the Lord is worchere of
euer eithir. A felle man seeth yuel, and 3
hidith him silf; and an innocent man

leessing; as
flatereris of
riche men and
false avocatis
doen.

weyn; that is,
voide of vertu.
and with outen
herte; for he
suffrith defeaute
of good herte.
to the snaris
of deth; of
synne, and of
helle. *hemdoun*;
to helle. *nolden*
do doom; that is,
lyue iustli with
the neibore.

Live here. c.
^{*} to make
doom; that is,
to parfume
rijtfulnesse.
drede; for thei
dreden euere to
be takun ther-
ynne, therfor
ben dredeful
comynly.

of doctryn; that
is, good doctryn.
Live here. c.
[†] *giauntis*; that
is, of men yuele
rudid, ether of
fendis. *c.*

[‡] *metis*; that is,
vnmesurably.

Live here. c.

[§] *for a iust*
man; that is,
for the yuel of
peyne doon
to a iust man,
an vnпитыouse
man, that dide
that yuel, *schal*
be zouun to
grettere payne.

Live here. c.
^{||} *of greet tres-*
pas; that is,
of raueyn, ether
of thefte. *Live*
here. c.

[¶] *victorie*; for
he makith the
lowere myȝtis
soiet to resoun,
and this is the
mooste victorie.
amendith his
weie; that is,
of litle defaultis
whiche he doith
in this lijf, thouȝ
he be ful iust.

Live here. c.

^{**} *A riche man*,
etc.; God mak-
ith a pore man,
that he haue
merit of pa-
cience, and he
makith a riche
man, that he
haue merit of
mercy, in help-
inge a pore man.
Live here. c.

^r Who so *A.* ^{rr} Om. *c pr. m.* ^s Om. *A.*

^d Om. *i.* ^e *iust doom i.* ^f to *i.* ^g Desiderable *ca.* ^h place *A sec. m. i.* ⁱ vnto *i.* ^k wolden not *i.*
^l and he *i.* ^m ther is *i.*

cent passede, and is tormentid with harm.
 4 The ende of manernesse the dred of the
 5 Lord; richessis, and glorie, and lif. Armes
 and swerdis in the weie of the proud;
 the kepere forsothe of his soule ferr goth
 6 awei fro hem. A prouerbe is, A 3ung ful
 waxen man aftyr his weie, and whan he
 7 eldeth, shal not gon awei fro it. The
 riche man to pore men comaundeth; and
 he that taketh borewing, seruauent is of
 8 the vsurer. Who sowith wickidnesse^t, shal
 repen euelis; and the 3erde of his wrathe
 9 shal be ful endid. Who redi is to mercy,
 shal be blissid; of his loues forsothe he
 3af to the pore. Victorie and worship
 shal purchase, that 3eueth 3iftis; for-
 sothe he taketh awei the soule of the
 10 resceyueres. Cast away the scornere, and
 with hym shal gon out strif; and causis
 11 shul cese, and wrong blamyngis. Who
 looueth clenness of herte, for the grace
 of his lippis shal han the king frend.
 12 The e3en of the Lord kepe kunnyng;
 and supplauntyd ben the woordis of the
 13 wicke. The slowe shal seyen, A leoun is
 withoute; in the myddel of the stretes
 14 I am to be slain. A dep dich the mouth
 of the alien womman; to whom the Lord
 15 is wroth, shal falle in to hir. Folie is
 bounde togidere in the herte of the child;
 and the 3erde off discipline shal driuen
 16 awei it. Who wrong chalengeth the pore,
 that he eeche his richessis, he shal 3yue
 17 to a richere, and neden. My sone, bowe
 in thin ere, and here the woordis of wise
 men; lei to forsothe herte to my doctrine.
 18 The whiche fair shal be to thee, whan
 thou kepist it in thi wombe, and shal
 19 rebounde in thi lippis. That in the Lord
 be thyn trost; wherfore and I shal shewe
 20 to thee it to dai. Lo! I haue discriued
 it thre wise, in tho3tus and kunnyng,
 21 that I shulde shewe to thee stedefast-
 nesse; and faire spechis of treuthe thou
 shuldest answeere of these thingis to them

passidⁿ, and he was turmentid bi^v harm.
 The ende of temperaunce is the drede of
 the Lord; richessis, and glorye, and lijf *.
 Armuris and swerdis *ben* in the weie of a
 weiward man; but the kepere of his soule
 goith away fer fro tho. It is a prouerbe,
 6 A 3ong wexynge man bisidis^p his weie,
 and whanne he hath wexe^q elde, he schal
 not go awei fro it. A riche man co-
 7 maundith to pore men; and he that
 takith borewyng, is ther seruauent of the
 leenere. He that sowith wickidnes^t,
 8 schal repe yuels; and the 3erde of his yre
 schal be endid. He that is redi^s to merci,
 9 schal be blessid; for of his looues he 3af
 to a pore man. He that 3yueth 3iftis[†],
 schal gete victorie and onour; forsothe he
 takith awei the soule of the takeris. Caste
 10 thou out a scornere, and strif schal go
 out with hym; and causis and dispisyngis
 schulen ceesse. He that loueth the clen-
 11 nesse of herte, schal haue the kyng a
 frend, for^t the^u grace of hise lippis. The
 12 3zen of the Lord kepen kunnyng[§]; and the
 wordis of a wickid man ben disseyued.
 A slow man schal seie, A lioun is without-
 13 forth; Y schal be slayn in the myddis of
 the stretis. The mouth of an alien^{||} wom-
 14 man is a^v deep dicke; he to whom the
 Lord is wrooth, schal falle in to it. Foli¹⁵
 is boundun togidere in the herte of a
 child; and a 3erde of chastisyng schal
 dryue it away. He that falsli chalengith¹⁶
 a pore man, to encrease hise owne rich-
 essis, schal 3yue to a richere man, and^w
 schal be nedi. My sone, bowe down thin¹⁷
 eere, and here thou the wordis of wise
 men; but sette thou the^x herte to my
 techyng. That schal be fair to thee,
 whanne thou hast kept it in thin herte,
 and it schal flowe a3en in thi lippis. That¹⁹
 thi trist be in the Lord; wherfor and Y
 haue schewid it to thee to dai. Lo! Y haue²⁰
 discryued it in thre maneres[¶], in thou3tis
 and kunnyng, that Y schulde schewe to²¹

* *richessis, glorie, and lijf*; that is, euerlastinge richessis, glorie of seyntia, and euerlastinge lijf.

Armuris and swerdis; that is, the mys-vayng of tho. fro tho; that is, fro mys-vayng of tho.

a prouerbe; that is, a word seid comynly. Lire here. c.

† *sowith wickidnesse*; that is, yuel teching, dissencion, and hatrede.

yuels; of synne and of peyne. 3erde of his ire; that is, the power bi which he hide yuels. Lire here. c.

‡ *He that 3yueth 3iftis*; this vers, til thidur, Caste thou out, etc., is not in Ebreu.

§ *kepen kunnyng*; that is,

a man hauyng very kunnyng, which is of the helthe of soule. Lire here. c.

|| *The mouth of an alien*; that is, of fals doctryn, for it ledith to the depthe of helle. wrooth; for bi ire a3enus a man, he with drawith fro him his grace, and so he fallith fro synne in to synne, and ofte in to fals doctryn and eresie.

¶ *in thre maneres*; that is,

in thre partis of the Elde Testament, that ben the lawe, hooly stories, and profetis; and herbi Salamon spekith in the persone of God, ether he spekith this in

^t wickenesse E.

ⁿ passid, bi a perelous place. Lire here. N text. ^o with I. P aftir A sec. m. marg. I text. ^q woken I.
^r Om. I. ^s enclinaunt, ether redi CEGHKMNPRQSUXYA. enclynaunt, or bowith I. ^t fro a. ^u Om. c.
^v the c. ^w and he I. ^x Om. A sec. m.

22 that senten thee. Do thou not violence
to the pore, for he is pore; ne to-trede
23 thou the nedy in the zate. For the Lord
shal deme the cause of hym, and he shal
stike them, that stekeden the lif of hym.
24 Wile thou not be frend to a man ful of
wrathe, ne go thou with a wood man;
25 lest paraenture thou lerne the pathis of
hym, and take sclaunder to thi soule.
26 Wile thou not be with them that ficche
doun ther hondis, and that borewis offren
27 hemself for dettis; if forsothe thou hast
wherof thou restore, what of cause is,
that^a thou take coueryng fro^v thi bed?
28 Ne ouerpasse thou olde termes, the
29 whiche thi fadris setteden. Hast thou
seen a swift man in his werc? befor
kingis he shal stonde, ne he shal ben
beforn vnnoble men.

CAP. XXIII.

1 Whan thou shal sitte, that thou ete
with a prince, besili tac heede that ben
2 set befor thi face, and set a culter in thi
throthe. If ^{ner} the latere^{vv} thou haue
3 power in to thi soule, ne desire thou of
the metis of hym, in the whiche is the
4 bred of lesing. Wile thou not trauailen
that thou be riche, but to thi prudence
5 put maner. Ne rere thou thin eȝen to
richessis, that thou maist not han; for
thei make to them federis, as of an egle,
6 and thei shul flee in to heuene. Ne ete
thou with an enuyous man, and ne de-
7 sire thou the metis^w of hym; for in lic-
nesse of a deuyngour and of a fals castere,
he eymeth that he knowith not. Et and
drink, he shal sei to thee; and the mynde
8 of hym is not with thee. The metes that
thou hast eten, thou shalt spewen out;
9 and thou shalt leesen thi faire wrdis. In
the eres of vnwise men speke thou not;
for thei shul dispisen the doctrine of thi
10 speche. Ne ateyne thou the termes of

thee the sadnesse and spechis of trewth; to
answere of these thingis to hem, that
senten thee. Do thou not violence to a 22
pore man, for he is pore; nethir defoule
thou a nedi man in the zate. For the Lord 23
shal deme his cause, and he schal tur-
mente hem, that turmentiden his soule.
Nyle thou be frend to a wrathful man, 24
nether go thou with a wood man; lest 25
peraenture thou lerne hise weies, and
take sclaunder to thi soule. Nyle thou be 26
with hem that oblischen^y her hondis, and
that proferen hem silf^z borewis for dettis;
for if he hath not wherof he schal restore, 27
what of cause is^a, that thou take awei
hilyng^b fro^c thi bed? Go thou not ouer 28
the elde markis^d, whiche thi faders han
set. Thou hast seyn a man smert in his 29
werk; he schal stonde bifore kyngis, and
he schal not be bifor vnnoble men.

CAP. XXIII.

Whanne thou sittist, to ete with the
prince, perseyue thou diligentli what
thingis ben set bifore thi face, and sette 2
thou a withholding^e in thi throthe. If ne-
theles thou hast power on thi soule, desire 3
thou not of his metis, in whom is the
breed of 'a leeing^f*. Nyle thou trauele 4
to be maad riche, but sette thou mesure
to thi prudence. Reise^g not thin iȝen to 5
richessis, whiche thou maist not haue;
for tho schulen make to hem silf pennes,
as of an egle, and tho^h schulen flee in to
heuene. Ete thou not with an enuyouse 6
man, and desire thou not hise metis; for 7
at the licnesse of a fals dyuynour and of
a coniectere[†], he gessith that, that he
knowith not. He schal sei to thee, Ete
thou and drinke; and his soule is not
with thee[‡]. Thou schalt brakeⁱ out the 8
metis^k, whiche thou hast ete; and thou
schalt leese thi faire wordis. Speke thou 9
not in the eeris of vnwise men; for thei
schulen dispise the teching of thi speche.

his owne per-
soone of his
thre bokis,
Prouerbis, Ec-
clesiastes, and
Songis, that
techen what is
trewe and fals,
what is good
and yuel, and
what is leueful
and vnleueful.
that senten
thee; in Ebreu
it is, to men
axinge thee,
and thus the
sentence is
pleyn. c.

* breed of a
leeing; that
is, getun bi a
leeing.
riche; ouer
dwe mesure.
mesure; of iust
resoun.
to thi pru-
dence; that is,
sutilte ether
felnesse in
geting. Live
here. c.

† coniectere;
that is, ex-
pownere of
dremes. Live
here. CN.

‡ with thee;
that is, he
sekith not thi
profiyt. Live
here. c.

^u if A. ^v for A. ^{vv} neuerthelater A et alii. ^w meet AGH.

^y fastnen, ether oblischen CEFHGKMNPQRSUXYA. fastnen, or bynden I. ^z silf to be I. ^a ther is I. ^b the
hilyng I. ^c of I. ^d termes, ether markis CEFHGKMNPQRSUXYA. ^e culter, or a withholding I. ^f liyng I.
^g Reise thou I. ^h thei I. ⁱ spue CEFHGKMNPQRSUXYA. caste F pr. m. I. ^k mete P.

litle^x childer; and the feeld of moderles
 11 childer go^y thou not in. The neezh for-
 sothe of them is strong, and he shal
 12 demen azen thee the causes of hem. Go
 in to doctrine thin herte, and thin eris
 13 to the wrdis of kunnyng. Wile thou not
 withdrawe fro a child discipline; if for-
 sothe thou smyte^z hym with 3erde^a, he
 14 shal not die. Thou with a 3erde shalt
 smite hym, and the soule of hym fro
 15 helle thou shalt deliueren. My sone, if
 wijs were thin inwit, myn^b herte shal
 16 iozen with thee; and ful out shuln iozen
 my^c reenes, whan thi lippis shul speke
 17 ri3t. Ne enuye^d thin herte synneres;
 but in the drede of the Lord be thou al
 18 dai. For thou shalt han hope in the
 laste, and thin abiding shal not ben taken
 19 awei. Heere, my sone, and be thou wijs;
 and ri3t reule in the weie thin inwit.
 20 Wile thou not ben in the festis of drink-
 eris, ne in the meteshipsis of hem, that
 21 flesh to eten bringen. For thei tendende
 to drinkis, and 3iuende scot, shul ben
 wastid, and napping shal be clad^e with
 22 clothis. Heere thou thi fader, that gat
 thee; and ne dispise thou, 'whan shal
 23 eelden thi moder^f. Bie treuthe, and wile
 thou not selle wisdom, and doctrine, and
 24 vnderstanding. Ful out io3eth with io3e
 the fader of the ri3twise; that a wis man
 25 gat, shal gladen in hym. Io3e thi fader
 and thi moder, and^g ful out io3e, that gat
 26 thee. 3if, sone myn, thin herte to me,
 27 and thin e3en my weies kepe thei. A dep
 dich forsothe is^h a strumpet, and a streit
 28 pit an alien womman. She waiteth in
 the weie, as a thef; and whom vnslei3
 29 she seeth, she shal slen. To whom wo?
 to whos fader wo? to whom strif? to
 whom dichis? to whom withoute cause
 woundis? to whom 'thrusting out^g of

Touche thou not the termes of litle chil-
 dren; and entre thou not in to the feeld
 of fadirles and modirles children. For the
 neizbore of hem is strong, and he schal
 deme her cause a3ens thee. Thin herte
 entre to techyng, and thin eeris 'be redi'
 to the wordis of kunnyng. Nile thou
 withdrawe chastisyng fro a child; for
 thou3 thou smyte^m hym with a 3erde, he
 schal not die. Thou schalt smyte hym
 with a 3erde, and thou schalt delyuere his
 soule fro helle. Mi sone, if thi soule is
 wijs, myn herte schal haue ioeye with thee;
 and my reynes^{*} schulen make ful out
 ioeye, whanne thi lippis speken ri3tful
 thing. Thin herte sue not synneris; but
 be thou in theⁿ drede of the Lord al dai.
 For^o thou schalt haue hope at the laste,
 and thin abidyng schal not be don awei.
 Mi sone, here thou, and be thou^p wijs,
 and dresse thi soule in the weie. Nyle
 thou be in the feestis of drinkeris, nether
 in the ofte etyngis of hem, that bryngen
 togidere fleischis to ete. For men 3yuyng
 tent to drinkis, and 3yuyng mussels togi-
 dere, schulen be waastid[†], and napping
 schal be clothid with clothis. Here thi
 fadir, that gendride^q thee; and dispise not
 thi modir, whanne sche is eld. Bie thou
 treuthe, and nyle thou sille wisdom, and^r
 doctryn, and^r vnderstanding. The fadir
 of a iust man ioieth ful out with ioie; he
 that gendride^s a wijs man, schal be glad
 in hym. Thi fadir and thi modir haue
 ioeye, and he that gendride^s thee, make ful
 out ioeye. My sone, 3yue thin herte[†] to
 me, and thin i3en kepe my weyes. For an
 hoore is a deep dicke, and an alien wom-
 man is a streit pit. Sche settith asprie in
 the weie, as a theef; and sche schal sle
 hem, whiche sche schal se vnwar. To
 whom is wo[§]? to whos fadir is wo?

* mi reynes;
 that is, my
 body. Live
 here. c.
 † wastid; as
 to outermere
 goodis; that ben
 spendid in
 suche thingis,
 and as to goodis
 of kynde, that
 ben peirid and
 corrupt in suche
 thingis.
 with clothis;
 that is, with
 vile clothis;
 therfor in E-
 breu it is, with
 clothis to-rent;
 as if he seye,
 no thing schal
 dwell to thee
 wheryne thou
 schalt slepe, no
 but vile clothis
 and to-rent.
 Bie thou treuthe;
 bi the trauel
 of studie. nyle
 thou sille wis-
 dom and tech-
 ing; for it
 owith to be
 3ounn frely,
 and for it
 passith al priys
 of money, ne-
 theles a techere
 of wisdom may
 take liyflode
 and clothing
 for his trauel,
 3he, it is due
 to him of the
 comynalte, for
 the prestis of
 Egypt, that
 studieden in
 filosofie, weren
 susteyned of
 the comun
 goodis. Live
 here. c.
 ‡ thyn herte;
 to thenke on
 my teching.
 mi weyes; in
 suyng my
 werkis. an
 hoore; that is,
 fals doctryn.
 a streit pit;
 for of hard a
 man may go
 out therof.
 vnwar; that
 kunnen not
 deme bitwixe
 hoolsom doc-
 tryn and yuel
 doctryn. schal
 sle; bi deth
 of synne and
 of helle; in

Ebreu it is, schal adde dispiseris in men; that is, schal multiplie dispiseris of God among men. Also this letre mai be expowned of a bodili hoore, which is seid a deep dich, for many 3onge men and elde fallen in to it; also sche is seid a streit pit; for a man goith not out of the synne of lecherie, no but with hardnesse. And sche settith aspries, in drawinge vnchast men bi flatteringis and cossis. c. § is wo; that is, cursing and myshap. dichis; that is, prisouns vndur the erthe. without cause; that is, not maad bi swerd, but bi her owne falling. putting out; that is, febling and derking of the i3en. Live here. c.

^x thi litle c. ^y ne go g sec. m. ^z smytyst AEGH. ^a a 3eerde A. ^b thyn AE pr. m. H. ^c thy E pr. m.
^d or folowe c sec. m. marg. E sec. m. marg. enuye or folewe AGH. ^e clothid AEGH. ^f thi moder, whanne
 she shal eelde A. ^g Om. c pr. m. ^h Om. c pr. m. ⁱ stidyng E pr. m.

^l Om. I. ^m smytist CFGKMNQRUXY. ⁿ Om. I. ^o And thanne I. ^p Om. I. ^q gaat I. ^r ne I.
^s gaat I.

30 ejen? Whether not to them, that dwellen
in win, and studien to chalices to ben
31 drunken vp? Ne beholde thou the win,
whan it floureth, whan shal shine in the
32 verr the colour of it. It shal gon in
softe, but in^b the laste it shal bite as a
shadewe eddere, and as a kokatrice ve-
33 nymys shal heelden abroad. Thin ejen
shul beholde straunge wymen, and thin
34 herte shal speke peruertid thingus. And
thou shalt ben as slepende in the myddil
se, and as the steris man al forslept, the
35 steer staf lost. And thou shalt sey, Thei
beeten me, but I sorewide not; thei
drowen me, and I felide not; whanne
shal I wake, and eft wines finden?

CAP. XXIV.

1 Ne enuyeⁱ thou euele men, ne desire
2 thou to ben with them. For raueynes
sweteli thenketh the mynde of hem, and
3 giles the lippis of hem speken. Bi wis-
dam shal the^k hous ben bild, and bi pru-
4 dence it shul be strenghtid. In doctrine
shul be fulfild^l the celeris, with alle pre-
5 cious substaunce and most fair. A wis
man is strong, and a tajt man is stal-
6 wrthe and myyti. For with disposicioun
me goth in to bataile; and helthe shal ben,
7 wher ben many counseilis. Ful hee; to
the fool wisdom; in^m the zate he shal
8 not openen his mouth. Who thenketh
9 euelis to don, a fool shal ben clepid. The
thenking of the fool is synne; and abho-
10 minacioun of men the bacbitere. If slyden
thou despeire, in the dai of anguyshⁿ
11 shal beⁿⁿ maad lital^o thi strengthe. Deli-
uere hem, that ben lad to deth; and that
ben drawen to diyng, to deliuere ne cese

and is enclyned herto bi yuel custom, so he that is customable to lecherie, thou; he wakith sumtyme, turneth agen to his spyng, for the yuel custom ether corrupcioun of fleisch hurlinge him therto. *Live here. c.* § *prudence*; that is, good gouernayl. *Celeris*; that is, the hertis of hereris. *ful fair*; for goostly richessis ben euer preciose, and ful faire, but bodily richessis han sumtyme filthe knyrt to tho. *hiz to a fool*; for he mai not ateyne therto. *Live here. c.* ¶ *dispeirist*; of ascaping of perel. *Live here. c.* ¶ *to deth*; vnustly. *Live here. c.*

^h at AH. ⁱ or folowe c sec. m. marg. E sec. m. marg. folewe A. enuy or folewe GH. ^k thin A. ^l fild A.
^m and in A. ⁿ veniaunce AH. ⁿⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o founden E pr. m.

^t Om. i. ^u steere [steerne N], ether [the EPY] instrument of gouernail CEF GH K M N P Q R S U X Y A. steere of gouernail i. ^v and whanne i. ^w and if i. ^x with al i. ^y Om. omnes præter c. ^z yslide i. ^a and dispeirist KX.

to whom *ben* chidingis? to whom *ben*
dichis? to whom *ben* woundis with out
cause? to whom *is* puttyng out of ijen?
Whether not to hem, that dwellen in 30
wyn*, and studien to drynke al of cuppis?
Biholde thou not wyn, whanne it spar- 31
clith, whanne the colour therof schyneth
in a ver. It entrith swetli, but at the laste 32
it schal bite as an eddre *doith^t*, and as a
cocatrice it schal schede abroad venymys.
Thin ijen schulen se straunge wymmen[†], 33
and thi herte schal speke weiwerd thingis.
And thou schalt be as a man slepinge in 34
the myddis of the see, and as a gouernour
aslepid, whanne the steere^{u†} is lost. And 35
thou schalt seie, Thei beeten me, but Y
hadde not sorewe; thei drowen me, and
Y feelide not; whanne schal Y wake out,
and^v Y schal fynde wynes eft?

CAP. XXIV.

Sue thou not yuele men, desire thou not 1
to be with hem. For the soule of hem bi- 2
thinkith raueyns, and her lippis speken
fraudis. An hous schal be bildid bi wis- 3
dom, and^w schal be maad strong bi pru-
dence§. Celeris schulen be fillid in tech- 4
ing, al^x riches preciose and ful fair. A 5
wijs man is strong, and a lerned man is
stalworth and mizti. For whi batel is bi- 6
gunnun with ordenaunce, and helthe schal
be, where many counsels ben. Wisdom is 7
hiz to a fool; in the zate he schal not
opene his mouth. He that thenkith to do 8
yuels, schal be clepid a fool. The thou;te 9
of a fool is synne; and a bacbitere is
abhomynacioun of men. If thou that^y hast 10
slide^z, dispeirist^{a||} in the dai of angwisch,
thi strengthe schal be maad lesse. Dely- 11
uere thou hem, that ben led to deth; and
ceesse thou not to delyuere hem, that ben
drawun to deth¶. If thou seist, Strengthis 12

* in wyn; drunkun ouere myche. as an adde, etc.; for it wastith temporal goodis, and goodis of kynde, and goodis of grace, for it indusith to vices, and most of lecherie. as a man slepinge; for the couetise of lecherie byndith the resoun and wit. of the see; that is, of this world, for it is hurlid with the watris of temptaciouns and of vices. a gouernour aslepid; the bodi is the schip, the soule is the gouernour; the soule is seid aslepid, whanne it is boundun with sleep ether with lust of lecherie. *Live here. c.*

† *straunge wymmen*; that is, hooris and auoutressis. *Live here. c.* ‡ *the steere*; is rytful doom of resoun. *schall seie*; whanne the sleep ether lust is passid. *thei beeten me, etc.*; for as a man oppressid bi sleep for ouer greet drunkenesse, perseiueh not thanne, thou; he is smytun ether drawun, so he that is holdun with greet lust of lecherie, perseiueh not thanne the yuels of synne and of peyne, in to whiche he renneth. *schal Y wake, etc.*; as he that is customable to drunkenesse, goith agen to drynking soone after waking,

12 thou. If thou shul seyn, Strengthis
seruen not; he that is the inward be-
holdere of herte, vnderstondith, and the
kepere of thi soule no thing begilith, and
shall zelde to a man after his werkis.
13 Et, sone, hony for good; and the most
14 swete honycumb to thi throte. So and
the doctrine of wisdom to thi soule; the
whiche whan thou findist, thou shalt han
in the laste thingus hope; and thin hope
15 shal not pershe. Ne asprie thou, and
seche vnpitousnesse in the hous of the
rihtwis, ne waste thou the reste of hym.
16 Seuene sithes forsothe shal falle the riht-
wis, and risen; the vnpitouse forsothe
17 shal fallen in to euel. Whan thin enemy
fallith, ne ioze thou; and in the falling
18 of hym ful out ioze not thin herte; lest
perauenture the Lord see, and it displese
to hym, and he take awei fro hym his
19 wrathe. Striue thou not with the werste
men, and enuye^p thou not vnpitouse^q men.
20 For euele men han not hope of thingus
to come, and the lanterne of vnpitous
21 men shal be quenched. Dreed God, sone
myn, and the king; and with bachiteres
22 be thou not mengd. For sodeynli at
ones shal rise the perdicioun of hem, and
the falling of euer either who knew^r?
23 These thingus forsothe to wise men. To
known persone in dom is not good.
24 Who seith to the vnpitous, Thou art
rihtwis, puples shal cursen to hym; and
25 linages shul wlaten hym. Who vnder-
nymyn, shul ben preisid; and vp on hem
26 shal come blessing. Lippes shal kisse,
27 that riht wrdis answerth. Greithe out
forth thi werc, and bisili enhaunte thi
feeld, that aftir thou bilde vp thin hous.
28 Be thou not a witnesse in idil azen thi
nezhebore; and ne flatere thou any man
29 with thi lippes. Ne sey thou, As he dide
to me, so I shal do to hym, and I shal
30 zelde to eche man after his werc. Bi the
feld of the slowe man I passede, and bi
31 the vyne of the fool man; and lo! al

suffisen not; he that is biholdere of the
herte, vnderstondith, and no thing dis-
seyueth the kepere of thi soule, and he
schal zelde to a man bi^b his werkis. Mi¹³
sone, ete thou hony, for *it is* good; and
an^c honycumb ful^d swete to thi throte.
'So and^e the techyng of wisdom *is good* to¹⁴
thi soule; and whanne thou hast founde^{*}
it, thou schalt haue hope in the laste
thingis, and thin hope schal not perische.
Aspie thou not, and seke^f not wickidnesse¹⁵
in the hous of a iust man, nether waste
thou his reste. For a iust man schal falle¹⁶
seuene sithis *in the dai*, and schal rise
azen; but wickid men schulen falle in to
yuele. Whanne thin enemye fallith, haue¹⁷
thou not ioze; and thin herte haue not
ful out ioiying in his fal; lest perauenture¹⁸
the Lord se, and it displese hym, and he
take awei his ire fro hym. Stryue thou¹⁹
not with 'the worste^g men, nether sue
thou wickid men. For whi yuele men han²⁰
not hope of thingis to comynge^h, and the
lanterne of wickid men schal be quenched.
My sone, drede thou God, and the kyng; ²¹
and be thou not medlid with bachiteris.
For her perdicioun schal rise togidere²²
sudenli, and who knowith the fal of euer
either? Also these thingis *that suen* ben²³
to wise men. It is not good to knowe[†] a
persoone in doom. Pupilis schulen curse²⁴
hem, that seien to a wickid man, Thou
art iust; and lynagis schulen holde hem
abhomynable. Thei that repreuen *iustli*²⁵
*synners*ⁱ, schulen be preisid; and blessing
schal come on hem. He that answerith²⁶
rihtful wordis, schal kisse lippis. Make²⁷
redi thi werk with outforth, and worche
thi feelde dilygentli, that thou bilde thin
hous aftirward. Be thou not a witnesse²⁸
with out resonable cause azens thi neiz-
bore; nether flatere thou any man with
thi lippis. Seie thou not, As he dide to²⁹
me, so Y schal do to him, and Y schal
zelde to ech man aftir his werk. I passide³⁰
bi the feeld of a slow man, and bi the

* founde; that is, in think-
ing, and in fill-
ing in werk.
laste thingis;
in goods of the
world to com-
ynge. wickid-
nesse; that is,
occasioun to
defame him,
for he tres-
passide in sum
thing. seuene
sithis; that is,
ofte, for pre-
sent liyf may
not be led with
out synne by
comyn cours.
falle in to yuel;
without amend-
inge. ire fro
him; and
turne it on
thee, for the
yuel stiring of
thi soule.
Stryue thou
not; that is,
with vncor-
rigible men bi
word of blam-
yng, but a iuge-
ment with stryue
with sicke men
bi peynes, that
thei be refreyn-
ed fro yuel, and
other men be
maad aferd. to
wise men; that
is, to iugis, and
to men stond-
ing ny hem.
Live here. c.
† to knowe a
persoone in
doom; that is,
to fauore him
more than is
rihtful, for any
familiarite.
kisse lippis;
that is, schal
reforme pees,
whos signe is
kissing to gi-
dere. Make
redi thi werk;
that is, first
purueye to
thee of feeldis,
and vyneris,
and othere ne-
cessaries to
lyf. bilde thyn
hous; that is,
take a wyf,
and gendre
children; ether
thus, first stu-
die thou hooly
writ, and se the
glosis of trewe
doctouris, and
aftirward make
to thee dissi-
plis bi hool-
sum teching.
Live here. c.

^p or folowe E sec. m. marg. folowe A. enuye or sew GH. ^q to vnpitouse E pr. m.

^b aftir i. ^c the i. ^d for it is ful i. ^e Riht so i. ^f seke thou a. ^g ful wickid i. ^h come i. ⁱ syn-
ners. Live here. n text.

netlis hadden fulfild, thornes hadden covered the vtmost^x of it, and the wal of 32 stones was destroyed. The whiche whan I hadde see, I putte in myn herte, and 33 bi exsaumple lernede discipline. Hou longe, slowe, thou slepist? hou longe fro slep thou shalt rise? A litil forsothe thou shalt slepe, a litil while thou shalt nappe, a litil thin hondis thou shalt lei 34 togidere, that thou reste; and ther shal come to thee as a corour thi nedynesse, and thi beggingnesse as a man armyd. 1 These forsothe the^y Parablis of Salamon, the whiche translateden the men of Ezechie, king of Juda.

CAP. XXV.

2 The glorie of God is to hilyn a wrd; and the glorie of kingis to enserchen a 3 sermoun. Heuene aboue, and erthe^z benethe, and the herte of kingus vnserchable. Do awei rust from siluer, and ther shal gon out a most pure vessel. 5 Do awei vnpitousnesse fro the chere of the king, and bi riztwisnesse shal ben 6 fastned the trone of hym. Ne glorious apere thou befor the king, and in place^a 7 of grete men stonde thou not. Betere is^b forsothe, that it be seid to thee, Ste3e vp hidir, than that thou be mekid be- 8 forn a prince. That thin e3en se3en, ne speke thou soone in strif; lest parauenture thou mowe not amende, whan thou 9 hast dishonestid thi frend. Thi cause trete with thi frend, and priuyte to a 10 straunger opene thou not; lest perauenture he asaile to thee, whan he shal heren, and to repreuen cese not. Grace and frendshipe delyueren, the whiche kepe thou to thee, lest thou be maad 11 repreuable. A goldene cheke bon in siluerene beddis, that speketh a wrd in his 12 tyme. A goldene erering, and a margarite shynende, that vndernemeth a wis 13 man, and an ere obedient. As cold of sno3 in the dai of rep, so^c an feithful messenger to hym that sente hym; the

vyner of a fonnid man; and, lo! nettlis 31 hadden fillid al, thornes hadden hilid the hizere part therof, and the wal of stoonys with out mortar was distried. And whanne 32 Y hadde seyn this thing, Y settide in myn herte, and bi ensaumple Y lernyde techyng*. Hou longe slepist thou, slow man? 33 whanne schalt thou ryse fro sleep? Sotheli thou schalt slepe a litil, thou schalt nappe a litil, thou schalt ioyn togidere the hondis a litil, to take reste; and^k thi 34 nedynesse as a currou schal come to thee, and thi beggerie as an armed man.

CAP. XXV.

Also these *ben* the Parablis of Salomon, 1 whiche the men of Ezechie, kyng of Juda, translatiden. The glorie of God is to hele 2 a word†; and the glorie of kyngis *is* to seke out a word. Heuene aboue, and the 3 erthe bynethe, and the herte of kyngis *is* vnserchable. Do thou a wei rust fro sil- 4 uer, and a ful cleene vessel schal¹ go out. Do thou awei vnpite fro the cheer of the 5 kyng, and his trone schal be maad stidfast bi riztfulnesse. Appere thou not glori- 6 ouse‡ bfore the kyng, and stonde thou not in the place of grete men. For it is 7 betere, that it be seid to thee, Stie thou hidur, than that thou be maad low bfore the prince. Brynge thou not forth soone 8 tho thingis in strijf, whiche thin i3en sien^m; lest aftirward thou maist not amende, whanne thou hast maad thi frend vn honest §. Trete thi cause with thi 9 frend, and schewe thou not priuyte to a straunge man; lest perauenture he haue 10 ioie of thi fal, whanne he hath herde, and ceesse not to do schenschi to thee. Grace|| and frenschip delyueren, whicheⁿ kepe thou to thee, that thou be not maad repreuable. A goldun pomel in beddis of 11 siluer *is he*, that spekith a word in his time. A goldun eere ryng, and a^o schin- 12 ynge peerle *is he*, that repreueth a wijs man, and an eere obeiyng. As the coold 13 of snow¶ in the^p dai of heruest, so a

* *teching*; wise men seynge the negligence of slowe men, and of foolis, ben more bisi to kepe and tile her possessions; ether bi the feeld and vyner, is vnderstondun the consience of a man, which whanne it is not kept bisily, is fillid with dyuerse vices; and wise men that biholden this, ben bisiere to purge her owne consience. *Live here. c.*

† *The glorie of God is to hele a word*; that is, the priuyte of hooly scripture.

The bigynnyngis of Genesis and of Ezechiel ben 30oun priuely, ether bi heling, that vnfeithful men be scorned, and Cristen men ful of studie be occupied, and wondre on the depthe of Goddis wisdom. *seke out a word*; that is, the sentence of Goddis word, tau3t priuely. *Live here. c.*

‡ *glorouse, etc.*; in pressynge forth thee ouere dwe measure, lest thi schame sue. *Live here. c.*

§ *vn honest*; that is, telle thou not soone to othere men the pryuyt yuels of thi neibore, lest thou maist not zelde good fame to thi neibore, which fame thou hast birt. *Live here. c.*

|| *Grace*; this vers til thidur, a goldun pomel, etc., is not in Ebreu. *Live here. c.*

¶ *the coold of snow*; that is, wynd keling reperis, at the maner of coold of snow. *Live here. c.*

^x vttermoost AGH. ^y ben the A. ^z the erthe EH. ^a the place AGH. ^b it is EG sec.m. ^c Om. AG pr.m. H.

^k and *thanne* I. ¹ ther shal I. ^m saw3en I. ⁿ the whiche I. ^o Om. c. ^p Om. I.

soule of hym to resten he maketh.
 14 Cloud and wind, and reines not folew-
 ende, a man glorious, and the behestes
 15 not fulfillende. Bi pacience shal ben
 maad softe the prince; and a nesshe
 16 tunge shal to-breke hardnesse. Hony
 thou hast founden, ett that suffiseth to
 thee; lest paraenture fulfild thou spewe
 17 it out. Withdra³ thi foot fro the hous
 of thi ne³hebore; lest any time fulfild, he
 18 shul hate thee. Spere, and swerd, and
 sharp arwe, a man that speketh a³en his
 19 ne³hebore fals wittenesse. A roten toth,
 and a foot sliden, that hopith vpon the
 20 vnfeithful in the dai of anguysh, and
 leeseth the mantil in the dai of cold.
 Eisel in glas, that singeth dities with
 peruertid herte. As a mo³he^d to the
 cloth, and a werm to the tree, so sorewe
 21 of a man no³eth to the herte. If thin
 enemy shul hungren, feed hym; if he
 22 thirstith, 3if hym watir to drinke; for-
 sothe colis thou shalt gadere togidere vp
 on the hed of hym; and the Lord shal
 23 3elde to thee. A northerne wind scater-
 eth reynes; and a dreri face the bac-
 24 bitende tunge. Betere is to sitte in a
 corner of a roof, than with a womman
 25 ful of strif, in the hous of a feste. Cold
 watir to the threstende soule; and a good
 26 messenger fro a ferr lond. A welle tru-
 blid bi foot, and a veyne corrupt, the
 27 ri³t³wis fallende beforⁿ the vnpitous. As
 he that etith myche hony, and it is not
 to hym good; so that^e is a serchere of
 28 mageste, shal ben oppressid of glorie. As
 an opyn cite, and withoute enuyrounyng
 of wallis; so a man that mai not in
 speking chastisen his spirit.

CAP. XXVI.

1 What maner sno³ in somer, and reyn
 in rep time; so vnsemende is to the fool

hem that wolen entre, so the priuytes of sich a man ben opyn to othere men. *Live here. c.* ¶ *as snow*; is vnsemely. in somer; for it is agenus the kynde of the tyme. *in heruist*; for it peirith the ripe corn, and disposith to corrupecioun. *glorie*; that is, onour, to be 3ouun in opyn place. This word *forwhi* is not in Ebreu, but it sueth thus, *as a brid*, etc. so cursing brouzt forth with out resonable cause schal not come; that is, on him in to whom it is brouzt forth, as a bird vnstable of abiding, that fleeth ouer to a certeyn place, turneth not a³en. *Live here. c.*

^d mouzth *A.* mo³zte *E.* ^e he that *A.*

^q him *I.* ^r spue *CEF pr. m. GHIKMN PQRSUXYA.* ^s full *therof I.* ^t Om. *I.* ^u for so *I.* ^v scaterith *abrod I.*

feithful messenger to hym that sente
 'thilke messenger^q, makith his soule to
 haue reste. A cloude and wind, and reyn
 14 not suyng, *is* a gloriouse man, and not
 fillynge biheestis. A prince schal be maad
 15 soft bi pacience; and a soft tunge schal
 breke hardnesse. Thou hast founde hony,
 16 ete thou that that suffisith to thee; lest
 paraenture thou be fillid, and brake^r it
 out. Withdraw^e thi foot fro the hous of
 17 thi ne³hebore; lest sum tyme he be fillid^s,
 and hate thee. A dart, and a swerd, and
 18 a scharp arowe, a man that spekith fals
 witnessing a³ens his ne³hebore. A rotun
 19 tooth, and a feynt foot *is* he, that hopith
 on an vnfeithful man in the dai of an-
 gwisch, and leesith his mentil in the dai
 20 of coold. Vynegre in a vessel^t of salt *is*
 he, that singith songis to the worste herte.
 As a mouzte *noieth* a cloth, and a worm
noieth^t a tree, so the sorewe of a man
noieth the herte. If thin enemy hungrith,
 21 feede thou him[†]; if he thirstith, 3yue
 thou watir to hym to drinke; for^u thou
 22 schalt gadere togidere coolis on his heed;
 and the Lord schal 3elde to thee. The
 23 north wind scatereth^v reynes; and a sorew-
 ful face *distrieth* a tunge bacbitinge. It
 24 is betere to sitte in the corner of an hous
 without roof, than with a womman ful of
 chidyng, and in a comyn hous. Coold
 25 watir to a thirsti man; and a good mes-
 sanger fro a fer lond. A welle[§] dis-
 26 turblid with foot, and a veyne brokun,
 a iust man fallinge bifore a wickid man.
 As it is not good to hym that etith myche
 27 hony; so he that is a serchere of maieste^{||},
 schal be put down fro glorie. As a citee
 28 opyn, and with out cumpas of wallis; so *is*
 a man that mai not refreyne his spirit in
 speking.

CAP. XXVI.

As snow[¶] in somer, and reyn in her-
 1 uest; so glorie is vnsemeli to a fool. For²

* *be fillid*; that is, annoyed. *Live here. c.*
 † *Vynegre in a vessel*; this vessel is a spice of salt, and brekith and frothith, whanne vynegre is put on it. *songis*; that is, the seiyngis of the lawe and of profetis. *to the worste herte*; that is, to a man obstynat in synne, for he is not amended, but more is wroth, and is stirid to dyspayning. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ *fede thou him*; that is, helpe thi ne³hebore set in neede. *colis, etc.*; that is, thou schalt induce him to do repentaunce of the yuel which he dide to thee, ether asayed to do. *schal 3elde to thee*; that is, meede for the charite of the ne³hebore; in Ebreu thus, and the Lord schal make him possible to thee. *Live here. c.*
 § *A welle*; troubled leuith fairnesse bi a litil mouyng, a brokun veyne is signe of deth. *so is a iust man fallinge*; that is, doinge synne bifor a wickid man, for he defameth him myche for a litil fal, and of a festu he makith a beem. *Live here. c.*
 || *a serchere of maieste*; that is, wole mesure dyuyn thingis bi his owne wit. *schal be oppressid of glorie*; that is, schal falle in to errour. *as a citee opyn, etc.*; that is, as the ynnere thingis of sich a citee ben opyn to

2 glorie. For as a brid to heze thingus
ouerfleende, and a sparewe^f whider hym
list goende; so curs in veyn spoken in
3 to sum man shal comen ouer. A scourge
to an hors, and a bernacle to an asse;
and a 3erde in the reg of vnprudent men.
4 Answer thou not to a fool aftir his
folie, lest thou be maad out lic to hym.
5 Answer to a fool aftir his folie, lest he
6 seme to ben wis to hymself. Halt in
feet, and drinkende wickidnesse, that
7 sendith wordus bi a fool messenger. What
maner the halte hath in veyn faire
leggis; so vnsemende thing is in the
8 mouth of foolis a parable. As he that
sendith a ston in to an hep of monee; so
he that 3iueth to an vnwis man wrshi-
9 pe. What maner if a thorun be growen in
the hond of the drunken; so a parable in
10 the mouth of foolis. Dem determyneth
causes; and he that puttith silence to a
11 fool, swageth wrathis. As an hound
that tourneth a3een to his vome; so an
vnprudent man, that reherseth his folie.
12 Hast thou seen a man wis to be seen to
hymself? more than he an vnwis man
13 shal han hope. The slowe seith, A leoun
is in the weie, and^g a leounesse is in the
14 gatis. As a dore is turned in his heeng;
15 so a slo3 man in his litle bed. A slo3
man hidith his^b hondis vnder his arm
pit; and trauailith, if to his mouth he
16 shal turneⁱ them. Wisere to hymself the
slowe semeth, than seuene men spekende
17 sentences. As he that cachith bi the
eres a dogge; so he that passeth, and
vnpacient shal be mengd with^k to the
18 strif of an other. As gilti he is, that
19 sendith speres and arwes in to deth; so
the man that gilendeli no3eth to his
frend, and whan he were ca3t, shal sey,

whi as a brid flynge ouer to hi3 thingis,
and^w a sparowe goynge in to vncerteyn;
so cursing brou3t forth with out resonable
cause schal come aboue in to sum man.
Beting^x to an hors, and a bernacle to an 3
asse; and a 3erde in^y the bak of vnpru-
dent men. Answer thou not^{*} to a fool 4
bi^y his foli, lest thou be maad lijk hym^z.
Answer thou a fool bi^a his fooli, lest he 5
seme to him silf to be wijs. An haltinge 6
man in feet, and drinkinge wickidnesse[†],
he that sendith wordis by a fonned mes-
sanger. As an haltinge man hath faire 7
leggis in veyn; so a parable[‡] is vnsemeli
in the mouth of foolis. As he that cast- 8
eth^b a stoon in to an heap of mercurie[§];
so he that 3yueth honour to an vnwijs man.
As if a thorn growith in the hond of a 9
drunkun man; so^c a parable in the mouth
of foolis. Doom determyneth causis ||; 10
and he that settith silence to a fool, swag-
ith iris^d. As a dogge that turneth a3en 11
to his spuynge; so *is* an vnprudent man,
that rehersith his fooli[¶]. Thou hast seyn 12
a man seme wijs to hym silf; an vnkun-
nyng man schal haue hope more than he.
A slow man seith, A lioun is in the weie, 13
a liounesse is in the foot pathis. As a 14
dore is turned in his^e hengis^f; so a slow
man in his bed. A slow man hidith hise 15
hondis vndur his armpit; and he trauelith,
if he turneth tho^g to his mouth. A slow 16
man semeth wysere^{**} to hym silf, than
seuene men spekyng sentensis. As he 17
that takith a dogge bi the eeris; so he
that passith, and *is* vnpacient, and is med-
dlid with the chiding of anothir man^{††}.
As he is gilti, that sendith speris and 18
arowis in to deth; so a man that anoi- 19
eth gilefuli his frend, and whanne he is
takun, he schal seie, Y dide pleiyng.

^{**} *semeth wisere*; in sekinge the reste of his fleisch, than excelent wise men. *Live here. c.*

^{††} *chiding of anothir man*; that is, he that s
rich no wrong of an othir man, excitith him with whom he chidith with out cause, to bite him bi word ether dede. *Y dide pleyng*; whanne
may not excuse the opyn malice of dede, he denyeth the malice of entent which is hid. *to the ynneste thingis of the herte*; that is, he feyneth him
speke for the loue of rightfulness, ether for the good of him to whom he spekith, ether of whom he spekith; but he purposith to anoye til to the he
with foul siluer; that is, with the dros of siluer, as it is in Ebreu. *bolnyng lipis*; that is, spekinge with bolnyng of pride. *for vii. wickidnes*

^f spare c. ^g Om. c. ^h Om. AEH. ⁱ chaungen E pr. m. ^k Om. AG pr. m. H.

^w and as I. ^x Beting ben I. ^y to I. ^{yy} aftir I. ^z to him ka. ^a aftir I. ^b sendith CEFHNPUY.
^c so is I. ^d wraththis I. ^e the R. ^f herre, ether heengis CEFHGHIKMNPPQRSUXYA. ^g hem up I.

* *Answer thou not*; that is, folly, as he spok folily. *answer thou a fool, etc.*, in declaryng resonably. *Live here. c.*

† *drynkinge wickidnesse*; that is, drynkyng noyful to him silf. *Live here c.*

‡ *so a parable*; that is, teching, for foolis techen vnsemely. *Live here. c.*

§ *sendith a stoon in to the heap of mercurie*; that is, to bielede a temple in the onour of this idol.

¶ *onour to an vnwise man*; for euer either

onour is lost; in Ebreu thus

He that sendith a stoon in to the

brood place of the slyng, etc.

that is, a stoon is leid there, be sent an hys

ajensthe king of the stoon;

so onour 3oum to an vnwise

man, is ajenst resoun, sither it owth to be

3oum to a wijs man onely. a

thorn; as a drunkun man hauyng a

thorn in his hond, prickith him silf and

othere men, doith a fool techinge ethi

preching. *Live here. c.*

¶ *his folly*; that is, greet folly, ether malice, that mal

ith him abho mynable to G and men. an

unkunnyng man; that is, knowinge his ignorance.

Live here. c.

20 Pleiende I dide. Whan wodis shuln failen, the fyr shal ben queynt¹; and the groynere withdrawen, striues togidere resten. As deade colis to quyke colis, and wode to fyr; so a wrathful man rereth striues. The wrdis of a groynere as simple; and thei comen thur; 23 to^m the inmostis of the herte. What maner as with foul siluer thou wilt honoure britil vessel; so swellende lippis 24 with werst herte felashipid. In his lippis is vndirstonde the enemy, whan in 25 herte he hath tretid treccheries. Whan he shal vndirputte his vois, ne 3iue thou credence to hym; for seuene wickidnesses ben in the herte of hym. Who couereth hate gilendeli, shal ben opened 27 the malice of hym in counseil. Who delueth a dich, shal falle in to it; and who ouirturneth a ston, it shal ben a3een 28 turned to hym. A deseyuable tunge looueth not the treuthe; and the slideriⁿ mouth werchith fallngis.

CAP. XXVII.

1 Ne glorie^o thou in to the moru, vnknowende what the dai to ouercome 2 bringe forth. Preise thee an alien, and not thi mouth; a straunger, and not 3 thi lippis. Heuy is the ston, and charious is the grauel; but the wrathe of the 4 fool is heuyere than either. Wrathe hath not mercy, ne brekende out wodnesse; and the bure of the stirid spirit 5 bern who shall moun? Betere is open 6 amending, than hid looue. Betere ben the woundis of the loouere, than the 7 gileful kosses of the hatere. The soule fulfild shal to-trede the hony comb; the soule forsothe hungrende also bitter for 8 sweete shal take. As a brid ouerpassende fro his nest, so a man that forsaketh 9 his place. With oynement and diuers smellis deliteth the herte; and with goode counseilis of the frend the soule is

Whanne trees failen, the fier schal be 20 quenched; and whanne a priuy bachitere is withdrawun, stryues resten. As deed 21 coolis at quic coolis, and trees at the fier; so a wrathful man reisith chidyngis. The 22 wordis of a pryuei bachitere *ben* as symple; and tho comen til^h to the ynnesteⁱ thingis of the herte. As if thou wolt^k 23 ourne^l a vessel of erthe with foul siluer; so *ben* bolnyng lippis felouschipid with 'the werste^m herte. An enemy is vndir- 24 stondun bi hise lippis, whanne he tretith giles in theⁿ herte. Whanne he 'makith 25 low^o his vois, bileue thou not to hym; for seuene wickidnessis ben in his herte. The malice of hym that hilith hatrede 26 gilefuli, schal be schewid in a counsel. He that delueth a dicke, schal falle in to 27 it; and if a man walewith a stoon, it schal turne a3en to hym. A fals tunge 28 loueth not treuth; and a slidir^p mouth worchith fallngis.

ben in his herte; that is, the vyuersite of malice, ethir of wickidnesse. u dich delueth i that is, makith redy falling to another man. slidur mouth; that kepith not priuete. teor-chith fallngis; in openyng counsel to aduersaries. Lire here. c.

** Haue thou not glorie on the morewe; that is, dilaye thou not a good werk, vndur hope of tyme to comynge more able. stirid; bi ire, ethir woodnesse; no man may suffre this, no but ful wiys and pacient. Lire here. c.*

† opyn repreuyng; bi which repreuyng good cometh to him that is repreuyed. than loue hid; that is, not schewid in werk, for no good cometh therof to him that is loued. woundis of the louyers; that ben doon to amending of him that is loued. gileful kossis; than ben maad to disseyuing of him that is kissed. forsakith his place; that is, hows, and meynee, and chargith not of the cure of hem; and bi this is vndurston dun the malice of a prelat, dispisyng the cure ether helche of soulis, for bisynessis and offices of erthely thingis. Lire here. c.

CAP. XXVII.

Haue thou not glorie on^q the morewe*, 1 'not knowyng^r what thing the dai to^s comynge schal bringe forth. Another 2 man, and not thi mouth preise thee; a straunger, and not thi lippis 'preise thee^t. A stoon is heuy, and grauel is chariouse; 3 but the ire of a fool is heuyere than euer eithir. Ire hath no merci, and^u wood- 4 nesse brekyng out 'hath no merci^v; and who mai suffre the fersnesse of a spirit stirid^w? Betere is opyn repreuyng[†], than 5 loue hid. Betere ben the woundis of hym 6 that loueth, than the gileful kossis of hym that hatith. A man fillid schal dispise 7 an hony coomb; but an hungri man schal take, 3he, bittir thing for swete. As a 8 brid passinge ouer fro his nest, so is a man that forsakith his place. The herte 9 delitith in oynement, and dyuerse odours; and a soule is maad swete bi the good

¹ quenched AEGH. ^m unto AEGH. ⁿ slyper A. ^o ioye A.

^h Om. a. ⁱ ynnere M. innerest PY. ^k woldist I. ^l onouren PY. honoure a. ^m a ful wickid I. ⁿ his I. ^o sendith doun, ether makith low CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXYA. ^p sliper M. ^q of I. ^r that knowist not I. ^s Om. CGI. ^t Om. I. ^u ne I. ^v Om. I. ^w yuel stirid I.

10 swetid. Thi frend, and the frend of thi fader, ne leue thou; and the hous of thi brother go thou not in, in the dai of thi tormenting. Betere is a ne3hebore bi-
 11 side, than a brother aferr. Studie to wisdam, sone myn, and glade thou myn herte; that thou mowe to the repreuere
 12 answern a wrd. The felle seende euel is hid; litle childer forth passende suf-
 13 freden harmys. Tac the clothing of hym, that behotith for a straunger; and for an alien tac awei to hym a wed.
 14 Who blissith to his ne3hebore with a gret vois, fro ny3t risende, to the cursere
 15 shal be lic. Rooues thur3 droppende in the dai of cold, and a womman ful of
 16 strif ben comparisound togidere. Who holdith hir, as he heelde wind; and the^o
 17 oile of his ri3t side he auoide out. Iren with iren is whettid out; and a man
 18 whettith out the face of his frend. Who kepith a fige tree, shal ete the frutis of it; and who kepere is of his lord, shal
 19 ben glorified. What maner wise in watris a3een shinen the cheres of men lokende; so the hertes of men ben opened
 20 to prudent men. Helle and perdicoun neuere ben fulfid; and the ezen of men
 21 vnfillable. What maner wise siluer is preued in the 3eting vessel, and gold in the furneis; so is preued a man in the mouth of preiseris. The herte of the
 22 wicke sechith out euelis; the ri3t forsothe herte secheth out kunnyng. If thou bete togidere a fool in a mortar, as
 23 hoolid barli smytende there vp on the pestel; shal not ben take awei fro hym
 24 his folie. Bisili knowe thou the chere of thi beeste; and thi flockis behold.
 25 Forsothe thou shalt not han continuelli power; but a croune shal be 3olde to thee
 in ieneracioun of ieneraciouns. Opened ben the medwis, and apereden greene erbis; and gedered ben heys fro the hillis.

counsels of a frend. Forsake thou not 10
 thi frend, and the frend of thi fadir; and
 entre thou not in to the hous of thi bro-
 thir, in the dai of thi turment. Betere is
 a ne3bore ny3, than a brothir afer. Mi 11
 sone, studie thou a boutte wisdom, and
 make thou glad myn herte; that thou
 maist answer a word to a dispisere*.
 A fel man seyng yuel was hid; litle men 12
 of wit passinge forth suffriden harmes.
 Take thou awei his clooth, that bihi3te 13
 for a straunger; and take thou awei a^x
 wed fro hym for an alien man. He that 14
 blessith his[†] ne3bore with greet vois;
 and risith bi ni3t, schal be lijk hym that
 cursith. Roouys droppynge in the dai of 15
 coold, and a womman ful of chidyng ben
 comparisond^y. He that withholdith[†] hir, 16
 as if he holdith^z wynd; and auoidith the
 oile of his ri3t hond. Yrun is whettid bi^a 17
 irun; and a man whettith the face of his
 frend. He that kepith a fige tre, schal 18
 ete the fruytis therof; and he that is a
 kepere of his lord, schal be glorified. As 19
 the cheris of men biholdinge schynen in
 watris; so the hertis of men ben opyn
 to prudent men. Helle and perdicoun 20
 schulen not be fillid; so and the 3en of
 men[§] moun not be fillid. As siluer is 21
 preuyd in a wellyng place, and gold^{'is}
 preued^b in a furneys; so a man is preued
 bi the mouth of preyseris. The herte||
 of a wickid man sekith out yuels; but a
 ri3tful herte sekith out kunnyng. Thou3 22
 thou beetist^c a fool[¶] in a mortar, as with
 a pestel smytynge aboue dried barli; his
 foli schal not be don awei fro him.
 Knowe thou diligentli the cheere of thi 23
 beeste**; and biholde thou thi flockis. For 24
 thou schalt not haue power contynueli;
 but a coroun schal be 3ounn to thee in
 generacioun and in to generacioun. Mede- 25
 wis ben openyd, and greene eerbis apper-
 iden; and hey is gaderid fro hillis.

* *answere a word to a dispisere*; that is, to him that dispisith truthe, in conuynctinge ether ouercomynge him reasonably. *Live here. c.*
[†] *that blessith his, etc.*; that is, flaterith him opynli. and *risith bi ny3t*; that is, doith this bisili. *Live here. c.*
[‡] *with holdith*; that is, enforseth to withhold fro her nysete. *holdith wynd*; and this is impossible, ether ful hard. *the oile of his ri3thond*; for oile holdun in the ri3t hond, be it streyned neuere so harde, goith out; so a nyse womman, how myche euer sche be restreyned, fyndith weyes to do yuele. *Live here. c.*
[§] *so and the 3en of men, etc.*; coueytouse men moun not be fillid; for whi coueytise is not decressid, but encreesid bi thingis getun. *bi the mouth of preiseris*; for herbi it apperith, wher he is verli vertuose, ether nay, if he is not enhaunsid, ether proud, bi the preissing in ony maner, but is maad betere, the truthe of the vertu apperith, which preisid, encreesith; if he is enhaunsid, the falsnesse aperith. *Live here. c.*
^{||} *the herte*; this vers is not in Ebreu. *Live here. c.*
[¶] *thou3 thou beetist a fool, etc.*; that is, he schal not be

amendid, bi what ener chastising ethir beting moun. *Live here. c.* ** *the cheere of thi beeste*; this is expowned of prelatys that han cure of soulis thus. *knowe thou diligentli the cheere of thi beeste*; that is, the liyf and condiciouns of men suget to thee. *for thou schalt not haue power to amende hem contynueli*; that is, aftir deth. *but a coroun, of glorie, schal be 3ounn to thee, if thou vsist well the power bitakun to thee. Live here. c.*

^o as the E pr. m.

^x the i. ^y likned to gidre i. ^z holde i. ^a with i. ^b Om. i. ^c beetist A. pownedist i.

26 Lombis ben to thi clothing; and geet to
27 the pris of the feeld. Suffise to thee the
myle of got in to thi metes; in to the
necessaries of thin hous, and to liflode to
thin hond wymmen.

CAP. XXVIII.

1 The vnpitouse fleeth, no man pursu-
ende; the rijt wis forsothe as a leoun
2 trostende without ferd shal be. For the
synnes of the erthe manye princis of it;
and for the wisdam of a man, and the
kunnyng of these thingus that ben seid,
3 the lif of a duk shal ben lengere. A
man pore chalengende pore men, lic is
to hidous weder, in whiche is greithid
4 hunger. Who forsaken the lawe, preisen
the vnpitous; who kepen, shul ben tend
5 vp azen hym. Euele men thenken not
dom; who forsothe azen sechen the
6 Lord, taken to heed alle thingus. Betere
is a pore man goende in his simplenesse,
than a riche man in his shreude weies.
7 Who kepith the lawe, a wis sone is;
who forsothe glotounes fedith, shendith
8 his fader. Who kepith togidere richesses
with vsures, and with free wynnyng of
vsure, in to pore men he gedereth hem
9 togidere. Who bowith doun his eres,
that he here not the lawe; his orisoun
10 shal be maad cursful. Who desceyueth
rijte men in an euel weie, in his deth
shal falle; and simple men shuln welden
11 his goodis. A wis man to hymself is
seen a riche man; the pore forsothe
12 prudent shal enserchen hym. In the ful
out iojing of rijt wis men myche glorie^p
is; regnende vnpitous men, fallingus ben
13 of men. Who hidith his hidous giltis,
shal not ben rijt reulid; who forsothe
knoulechith and forsakith, mercy shal
14 gete. Blisful the man, that euermor is

Lambren be to^d thi clothing; and kidis 26 * and kidia to
be to the^e prijs of^f feeld*. The mylke 27 *the pryjs of the
feeld; that is,
that thou bie
feeldis bi the
prijs of tho,
ethir that thou
tile feeldis now
had; and bi
lambren and
kidis ben vn-
durstondun
here, also othere
beestis nedeful
to liyfode. Lire
here. c.*
of geete suffice to thee for this meetis; in
to the necessarie thingis of thin hous, and
to lijfode to^h thin handmaidis[†].

CAP. XXVIII.

A wickid man fleeth, whanne no man 1
pursueth; but a iust man as a lioun
tristynge[‡] schal be with out ferdfulnesse.
For the synnes of the lond *ben^k many²*
princis therof¹; and for the wisdom of a
man, and for the kunnyng of these
thingis[§] that ben seid, the lijf of the
duyk schal be lengere^m. A pore man 3
falsli calengynge pore men, is lik a
grete reyn, wherynne hungur is maad
redi. Thei that forsaken the lawe, preisen 4
aⁿ wickid man; thei that kepen *'the
lawe^o, ben kyndlid^{p||} azens hym. Wickid⁵*
men thenken not^a doom; but thei that
seken the Lord, perseyuen alle thingis[¶].
Betere is a pore man goynge in his sym- 6
pilnesse, than a riche man in schrewid
weies. He that kepith the lawe, is a 7
wijs sone; but he that fedith^{**} glotouns,
schendith his fadir. He that gaderith 8
togidere richessis bi vsuris, and fre en-
crees^{††}, gaderith tho^r togidere azens pore
men. His preyer schal be maad cursid, 9
that bowith awei his eere^{‡‡}; that he here
not the lawe. He that disseyueth iust 10
men in an yuel weye, schal falle in his
perisching; and iuste men schulen welde
hise goodis. A ryche man semeth wijs to 11
him silf; but a pore man prudent schal
serche him^{§§}. In enhaunsing of iust men 12
is miche glorie; whanne wickid men
regnen, fallyngis^s of men ben^t. He that 13
hidith hise grete trespassis^{|||}, schal not be
maad rijtful; but he that knoulechith and
forsakith tho^u, schal gete merci. Blessid 14

sience; for it cometh of greet lust to do synne, that a man nyle kunne the lawe, lest bi kunnyng therof he be lettid of synne, ether withdrawun therfro. *in an yuel weye; that is, drawith hem to yuel, bi his counsel. perisching; of dedly synne, and of helle. Lire here. c.* *§§ schal serche him; that is, schal knowe his counsel. Lire here. c.* *||| that hidith his grete trespassis; in the doom of consience, that is confessioun. Lire here. c.*

P ioze E pr. m.

^d in to I. ^e Om. M. ^f of the INQ pr. m. of thi KX. ^g Om. s. ^h of I. ⁱ hond maidens IKSA.
^k there ben I. ^l of it I. ^m the lengere I. ⁿ the I. ^o it I. ^p leendid or stirid I. ^q not on I. ^r Om. I.
^s myscheues I. ^t ther ben I. ^u hem I.

ferdful; who forsothe is of hard mynde,
 15 shal falle in to euel. A leoun rorende,
 and a bere hungrende, an vnпитыous prince
 16 on^a a pore puple. A nedi duk of prudence
 manye shal opresse bi chalenge; who
 forsothe hatith auarice, long shul
 17 be made the dazes of hym. The man
 that wrongfulli chalengith to the soule,
 the blod of hym, if vn to the lake he
 18 shul flee, no man susteneth^r. Who goth
 simpleli, shal ben saaf; who in peruertid
 weies shal go, shal falle togidere at ones.
 19 Who werchith his erthe, shal be fulfild
 with loeues; who folewith idil reste, shal
 20 ben fulfild with nedynesse. A man feithful
 myche shal ben preisid; who forsothe hee3-
 eth to be maad riche, shal not ben inno-
 21 cent. Who^s knowith in dom face, he this
 doth not wel; and for a morsel of bred
 22 he forsaketh the treuthe. The man that
 hee3eth to be maad riche, and to othere
 men enuyeth; vnknowith that nedinesse
 23 come vp on to hym. Who chastiseth a
 man, grace aftir shal find anent hym;
 more than he that bi flateringus of tunge
 24 bigilith. Who withdrawith any thing
 fro his fader and moder, and seith that
 not to ben synne, parcener is of a man
 25 sleere. Who bostith of hymself, and
 spreadeth abrod, sterith striues; who for-
 sothe hopeth in the Lord, shal be saued.
 26 Who trostith in his herte, is a fool; who
 forsothe goth wisly, he^t shal ben preisid.
 27 Who 3iueth to the pore, shal not neden;
 who dispiseth the preiere louli, shal suf-
 28 fre scarnesse. Whan vnпитыous men shuln
 risen, men shul ben hid; and whan thei
 han pershid, the riztwise shul ben mul-
 tiplied.

CAP. XXIX.

1 To the man, that the chastisere with
 hard noll dispisith, feerli deth shal come

rishyng; of body and of soule. *with hard nol*; that is, an obstynat soule. *helthe schal not sue him*; for his synne is vncurable, for it is a spice of synne azenus the Hooly Goost, which synne is seid vnable to be for3ouun, that is, is not able to be for3ouun eseli, ethir of ful hard to be for3ouun. *Live here. c.*

^a up on AEGH. ^r shal susteynen E pr. m. ^s Who forsothe E pr. m. ^t Om. A.

^v of hard herte I. ^w susteyne I. ^x vn to I. ^y giltles I. ^z anentis I. ^a reisith up I. ^b him I.
^c and whanne I. ^d thei I. the s. ^e Om. I.

is the man, which is euere dredeful*;
 but he that is 'harde of soule^v, shal falle^t
 in to yuel. A rorynge lioun[†], and an 15
 hungry bere, is a wickid prince on a pore
 puple. A duyk nedi of prudence schal 16
 oppresse[§] many men bi fals chalenge;
 but the daies of hym that hatith aueryce,
 schulen be maad longe. No man sus- 17
 teyneth^w a man that falsly chalengith the
 blood^{||} of a man, if he fleeth 'til to^x the
 lake. He that goith simpli[¶], schal be 18
 saaf; he that goith bi weiward weies,
 schal falle down onys^{**}. He that worch- 19
 ith his lond, schal be fillid with looues;
 he that sueth ydelnesse, schal be fillid
 with nedynesse. A feithful man schal be 20
 preisid myche; but he that hastith^{††} to
 be maad riche, schal not be innocent^r.
 He that knowith a face in doom^{‡‡}, doith 21
 not wel; this man forsakith treuthe, 3he,
 for a mussel of breed. A man that hast- 22
 ith to be maad riche, and hath enuye to
 othere men; woot not that nedinesse schal
 come on hym. He that repreueth a man, 23
 schal fynde grace aftirward at^z hym; more
 than he that disseyueth bi flateryngis of
 tunge. He that withdrawith any thing 24
 fro his fadir and fro his modir, and seith
 that this is no synne, is parcener of a
 manuellere. He that auauntith^{§§} hym 25
 silf, and alargith, reisith^a stryues; but he
 that hopith in the Lord, schal be sauyl.
 He that tristith in his herte^{|||}, is a fool; 26
 but he that goith wiseli, schal be preysid.
 He that 3yueth to a pore man, schal not be
 nedi; he that dispisith 'a pore man^b bi-
 sechyng, schal suffre nedynesse. Whanne 28
 vnпитыouse men risen, men schulen be hid;
 whanne^c tho^d 'vnпитыouse men^e han perisch-
 id, iust men schulen be multiplied.

CAP. XXIX.

Sodeyn perischyng^{¶¶} schal come on
 that man, that with hard nol dispisith a

* euere dred-ful; lest he offende God in any thing. *Live here. c.*
[†] of hard soule, schal falle, etc.; that is, he that chargith not of trespas azenus Goddis lawe, schal falle in to yuel of synne and of peyne. *c.*
[†] A roryng lioun, etc.; as a lioun denour-ith beestis, so a wickid king spulith hise augetis of her goodis, that moun not azen stonde him. *Live here. c.*
[§] schal oppresse, etc.; for he hath wickid mynystris indusinge him to this malice, and he kan not perseyue. *Live here. c.*
^{||} the blood; that is, sekith vniusti the deth of a man. *Live here. c.*
[¶] simpli; that is, innocentli. *Live here. c.*
^{**} schal falle down onys; that is, with out rising azen to good. *Live here. c.*
^{††} that hastith, etc.; coueytinge ouer myche hereto. *Live here. c.*
^{‡‡} a face in doom; that is, fauerith a man for singular fauour. *Live here. c.*
^{§§} auauntith; in magnifyng ouer mesure hise seiynge ether dedis. *Live here. c.*
^{|||} tristith in his herte; that is, ouer myche in his owne wit. *Live here. c.*
^{¶¶} Sodeyn perischyng; that is, a sudden perischyng. *Live here. c.*

vp on to hym; and hym helthe shal not
 2folewe. In the multepliying of rīztwis
 men shal gladen the comun; and whan
 vnpitous men han taken princehed, the
 3puple shal weilen. The man that loou-
 eth wisdom, gladith his fader; who for-
 sothe nurshith an hoore, shal leese sub-
 4staunce. A rīztwis king rereth vp the
 lond; an auerous man shal destroyed it.
 5The man that with flaterieng and feyned
 wrdis spekith to his frend; a net spred-
 6ith to his goings. The sinnende wicke
 man a grene shal inwrappe; and the
 7rīztwise shal preisen, and iojen. The
 rīztwise kneȝ the cause of pore men;
 the vnpitous vnknowith kunnyng men.
 8Bacbitende scateren the cite; wise men
 9forsothe turnen awei wodnesse. A wis
 man if with a fool shul striue; whethir
 he lazhe, or wrathe, he shal not finde
 10reste. Men of blodis hateden the sim-
 ple; rīztwis men forsothe sechen the
 11soule of hym. Al his spirit bringeth
 forth the fool; a wis man berth ouer,
 12and kepith vnto afterward. A prince
 that gladli hereth the wrdis of lesing;
 13alle the mynystris hath vnpitouse. The
 pore and the creaunsour metten togi-
 dere; of either the līztner is the Lord.
 14The king that demeth in treuthe pore
 men; the trone of hym in to withoute
 15ende shal be fastned. Ȝerde and correc-
 cioun shal ȝelde wisdom; the child for-
 sothe, that is laft to his wil, confoundith
 16his modir. In the multiplieng of vnpit-
 ous men shuln ben multiplied hidous
 giltis; and the fallingis^a of hem rīztwis
 17men shul see. Lerne thi sone, and he
 shal refreshen thee; and he shal ȝiue
 18delices to his soule. Whan prophecie
 shal faile, the puple shal ben scatterid;
 who forsothe kepith the lawe, is blisful.
 19The seruauant in wrdis mai not ben
 lerned; for that that thou seist, he vn-
 releue the pore man; and wille to the pore man, to preye for the riche man. *Live here. c.*

blamere; and helth schal not sue hym.
 The comynalte schal be glad in the multi-
 2plieng of iust men; whanne wickid men
 han take prinshod, the puple schal weyle.
 A man that loueth wisdom, makith glad
 his fadir; but he that nurschith 'an
 hoore^f, schal leese catel^g. A iust king⁴
 reisith the lond; an auerouse man schal
 distrie it. A man that spekith bi flater-
 5yng and feyned wordis to his frend;
 spredith abroad a net* to hise steppis.
 A snare schal wlappe a wickid man do-
 6yng synne; and a iust man schal preise,
 and schal^h make ioye. A iust man know-
 7ith the cause of pore men; anⁱ vnpitouse
 man knowith not kunnyng. Men ful of
 pestilence distryen a citee; but wise men
 turnen awei woodnesse. If a wijs man
 9stryueth with a fool[†]; whether^k he be^l
 wrooth, 'ether he leizith^m, he schal not
 fynde reste. Menquelleris haten a simple
 10man; but iust men seken his soule. A
 fool bringith forth al his spirit; a wise
 man dilaieth, and reserueth in to tyme
 comyng afterward. A prince that herith
 12wilfuli the wordis of aⁿ leesyn[‡]; schal
 haue alle mynystris^o vnfeithful^p. A pore
 13man and a leenere metten hem silf; the
 Lord is līztner[§] of euer ethir. If a
 14kyng demeth pore men in treuthe; his
 trone schal be maad stidfast with outen
 ende. A ȝerde and chastisieng schal ȝyue
 15wisdom; but a child, which^q is left to his
 wille^r, schendith his modir. Grete tres-
 16passis schulen be multiplied in the mul-
 tiplieng of wickid men; and iust men
 schulen se the falliengis of hem. Teche
 17thi sone, and he schal coumforte thee;
 and he schal ȝyue delices to thi soule.
 Whanne prophesie faylith, the puple schal
 18be distried; but he that kepith the lawe,
 is blessid. A seruauant^{||} mai not be tauȝt
 19bi wordis; for he vndirstondith that that
 thou seist, and^s dispisith for^t to answe-
 re.

* a net, etc.;
 for he lettith
 his going forth
 in hise werkis,
 in withdraw-
 inge fro him the
 bibeest in which
 he trieste. A
 snare; of many
 fold synne and
 of helle. A iust
 man knowith;
 that is, enfor-
 ith to knowe,
 that he may
 helpe. kun-
 nyng; to do
 wel, for wickid
 men kunnan
 not do wel.
Live here. c.

† If a wise
 man stryueth
 with a fool;
 that is, trauel-
 ith to amende
 the fool. wher
 he; that is, the
 wise man. is
 wrooth; in
 repreuynge
 scharply the
 fool. leizith; in
 monestinge him
 swetely. reste;
 that is, amend-
 ing of the fool.
 Menquelleris;
 ether men of
 bloodis, that is,
 schederis out of
 myche blood.
 haten a symple
 man; that is,
 goyng with out
 doublenesse of
 gile. seken his
 soule; that is,
 to saue his liyf.
 alle mynystris
 vnfeithful; for
 they seken to
 plesse him, and
 sue him of sicke
 wordis of flater-
 yng and of bac-
 biting; as it is
 opyn of kyng
 Saul, that pur-
 suede Dauid,
 for the flater-
 yngis of Doech,
 and othere men
 liyk him. *Live
 here. c.*

‡ of leesing;
 that is, of flater-
 ing and of bac-
 biting. *Live
 here. c.*
 § the Lord is
 līztner, etc.;
 for he enspirith
 wille to the
 riche man, to

|| A seruauant; vnboxum and rebel. *Live here. c.*

^a falling A.

^f a strumpett I. ^g his catel I. ^h Om. I. ⁱ and an cs. as q. ^k wher CEGHMNPQRUXY. ^l is not CEGH
 KMNPRQSUX pr. m. Ya. is x sec. m. ^m wher he leizith CEGHIKMNPRUXY. or leize I. whether he leiz-
 ith sa. ⁿ Om. I. ^o his seruauantis I. ^p vnpitous x sec. m. marg. ^q that I. ^r owen wille I. ^s and he I.
^t Om. I.

dirstant^w, and to answern he dispisith.
 20 Hast thou seen a man swift to speken?
 folie more is to ben hopid than the cor-
 21 reccioun of hym. Who delicatli fro
 childhed^x nurshith his seruau^t; after-
 22 ward shal feelen hym vnobeisaunt. The
 man wrathful stireth striues; and he
 that is list to han indignacioun, shal be
 23 to synnes more redi. The proude man
 lounesse folewith^y; and the meke man in
 24 spirit glorie shal resceyue. Who with a
 thief is parcener, hatith his soule; the
 adiurere he hereth, and not shewith.
 25 Who dredith a man, soone shal falle; who
 hopith in the Lord, shal ben vp rerid.
 26 Many sechen the face of the prince;
 and dom of eche^z shal gon out fro the
 27 Lord. Ritzwis men wlaten the vnpitous
 man; and vnpitous men wlaten hem,
 that ben in the ritz weie. The sone
 kepende the wrd shal ben out of perdi-
 1 cioun. The wrdis of the gederere, vo-
 mende sone.

CAP. XXX.

The viseoun that a man spac, with
 whiche is God, and that, God with hym
 2 wonende, coumfortid, seith, Most fool I
 am of men; and the wisdom of men is
 3 not with me. I lernede not wisdom; and
 4 I knew^z the kunnyng of seintus. Who
 stejide vp in to heuene, and who cam
 down? Who with heeld spirit in his
 hondis? who bond togidere watris as in
 a cloth? Who rerede alle the termes of
 the erthe? What name is of hym? and
 what name of the sone of hym, if thou
 5 knewe? Eche sermoun of God frid^a, a
 6 sheld it is to alle hoperis in itself. Ne
 adde thou any thing to the wordis of
 hym^b; and thou be vndernome, and

wisdom gaderid in him, and the excelence of his teching. *Live here. c.* || *Y am the moste fool*; Salomon bi the Hooly Goost bifor si^z, that
 simple men not lettrid schulden be listned of God in thingis that perteynen to helthe of souls; and this in the tyme of Crist; and of sich a
 symple man seith Salomon, *Y am the moste fool of men*, that is, vnettrid and symple. and the wisdom of men; that is, wisdom of temporal
 gouernail of mennus thingis, is not with me. *Y lernede not wisdom*; that is, kunnyng of filosofie. and *Y knew not the kunnyng of seyntis*; that
 disposit to euerlastinge helthe. *Who stiede in to heuene and cam down*; that is, it is God that gouerneth heuene thingis and erthli thingis, and God
 the Fadir, and God his Sone, ben with out bigynnyng and ende. And a filosofore may not knowe this bi worldly wisdom, but this is knowun oneli
 by Goddis wisdom. *Live here. c.*

^w vnderstondith *AH.* ^x his childhed *E pr. m.* ^y hatith *E sec. m.* ^z echon *AEFGH.* ^a is frid *A.*
^b it *E pr. m.*

^u soone fro ritzfulnesse *N.* ^v visioun ether profecie *CEFGHKMNPQRSUXYA.* visioun *I.* ^w that *I.* ^x the *I.*
^y a man *A pr. m. Y.* ^z Om. *I.* ^a Om. *I.* ^b the name *I.*

Thou hast seyn a man swift to speke; foli²⁰ * *He that tak-*
 schal be hopid more than his amending. *ith part with a*
 He that nurschith his seruau^t delicatli²¹ *theef; etc.; in*
 fro childhod; schal fynde hym rebel aftir- *ix. maneris is*
 ward. A wrathful man territh chidingis; *maad part tak-*
 and he that is list to haue indignacioun, *ing ether con-*
 schal be more enclynaunt to synnes. Low- *sent of thefte;*
 nesse sueth a proude man; and glorie schal *firste whanne a*
 vp take a meke man of spirit. He that²⁴ *man comaund-*
 takith part with a theef*, hatith his *ith his seruau^t*
 soule; he herith a man chargynge† *ether suget to*
 greetli, and schewith not. He that dred- *do thefte; the*
 ith a man, schal falle soon^u; he that *ii. in counsel-*
 hopith in the Lord, shal be reisid. Many²⁶ *inge a straun-*
 men seken the face of the prince; and the *gere to do thefte;*
 doom of alle men schal go forth of the *iii. in consent-*
 Lord. Iust men han abhomynacioun of²⁷ *inge, where*
 a wickid man; and wickid men han abho- *it schulde not*
 mynacioun of hem, that ben in a ritzful *be don with out*
 weye. A sone kepynge‡ a word, schal *his consent;*
 be out of perdicoun. *iiii. in flater-*
yng ether
preisinge a
theef, ether a
raueynour; v.
in ressetinge a
theef, ether his
thefte; vi. in
beynge stille,
whanne he
seeth thefte
doon, which he
myzte lette bi
speking, ether
cry; vii. in not
putting forth
him silf and
lettinge not
thefte, whanne
he is holdun
herto, as a inge,
ether kepere of
the lond; viii.
whanne, aftir
theft don, en-
quering is maad
therof, that it
be foundun, and
he knowith sum
thing therof,
and schewith
not; the ix. in
takinge part of
the thefte. Live
here. c.
 † *charginge;*
 that is, enquer-
 ing thefte, vn-
 dur the peyne
 of curs, ether in
 other maner.
 Live here. c.
 ‡ *a sone kep-*
ing, etc.; this
vers is not in
Ebreu. Live
here. c.
 § *that gader-*
ith, etc.; Salo-
mon is seid a
sone gaderinge
and spuynge, to
signefie the
greetnesse of

CAP. XXX.

The wordis of hym that gaderith§, of¹
 the sone spuynge. The prophesie^v which^w
 a man spac, with whom God was, and^x
 which *man^y* was^z coumfortid bi God
 dwellyng with hym, and^a seide, Y am²
 the moost fool|| of men; and the wisdom
 of men is not with me. Y lernede not³
 wisdom; and Y knew not the kunnyng of
 hooli men. Who stiede in to heuene, and⁴
 cam down? Who helde togidere the spirit
 in hise hondis? who bonde togidere wa-
 tris as in a cloth? Who reise alle the
 endis of erthe? What is name^b of hym?
 and what is the name of his sone, if thou
 knowist? Ech word of God is a scheld⁵
 set a fiere, to alle that hopen in hym.

7 founde a liere. Two thingus I preȝede
to thee; ne denien thou to me, er I die.
8 Vanyte and lesing wrdis^c fer do awei
fro me; beggerie and richessis ne ȝiue
thou to me; ȝif onli to my liflode nede-
9 ful thingus; lest par auenture I fulfild, be
drawen to denyen, and seie, Who is the
Lord? and thurȝ nede constreyned, stele,
10 and forswere the name of my God. Ne
acuse thou a seruaunt to his lord, lest
par auenture he curse to thee, and thou
11 falle. Jeneracioun is, that to his fader
cursith, and that to his moder blisseth
12 not. Jeneracioun that to hymself clene
is seen, and neuer the latere it is not
13 wasshe fro his filthis. Jeneracioun of the
whiche ben the eȝen and the eȝe lidis of
14 it in to heȝe thingus vp rerid. Jenera-
cioun that for teth hath swerdis, and
chewith with his wang teth; that he ete
helpeles^{cc} fro the erthe, and pore men
15 fro men. Waterlechis two ben doȝtris,
seiende, Bring on, bring on. Thre
thingus ben vnfillable, and the ferthe,
that seith neuermore^d, It suffisith;
16 helle, and the mouth of a womman
wombe, and the erthe that neuer is fild
with water; fiȝr forsothe neuermore^e
17 seith^f, It suffiseth. The eȝe that scorn-
eth the fader, and that dispiseth the
birthe of his moder, pecken hym out
crowis of the stremes; and ete hym the
18 sonus of the egle. Thre thingus ben
hard to me, and the ferthe outerli I
19 knowe not; the weie of an egle in he-
uene, the weie of the shadewe eddere
on^g a ston, the weie of a ship in the
mydd^h se, and the weie of a man in his
20 waxende ȝouthⁱ. Such is the weie of the
womman auoutresse, that etith, and wip-
ende hir mouth, seith, I haue not wroȝt
21 euil. Bi thre thingus is moued the erthe,
22 and the ferthe it^k mai not sustene; bi a
seruaunt, whan he regneth; bi a fool,
23 whan he were fulfild with mete; bi an

Adde thou not^{*} any thing to the wordis⁶
of hym, and^e thou^d be repreued, and be
foundun a liere. I preiede^e thee twei⁷
thingis; denye not thou^f to me, bifor that
Y die. Make thou fer fro me vanytes⁸
and wordis of leesyng; ȝyue thou not to
me beggery^g† and richessis; ȝyue^b thou
oneli necessities to my lijflode; lest per-⁹
aenture Y be fillidⁱ, and be drawun to
denye, and^k seie, Who is the Lord? and
lest Y^l compellid bi nedynesse, stele^m, and
forswere the name of my God. Accuse¹⁰
thou not[†] a seruaunt to his lord, lest per-
aenture he curse thee, and thou falle
doun. A generacioun that cursith his¹¹
fadir, and that blessith not his modir. A¹²
generacioun that semeth cleene to it silf,
and netheles is not waischun fro hise
filthis. A generacioun whose iȝen ben¹³
hiȝȝ, and the iȝe liddis therof ben reisid
in to hiȝ thingis. A generacioun that¹⁴
hath swerdis for teeth, and etith with hise
wank teeth; that it ete nedi men of erthe,
and the porails of men. The watir leche¹⁵
hath tweiⁿ doȝtris ||, seiynge, Brynge,
bringe. Thre thingis ben vnable to be
fillid, and the fourthe, that seith neuere,
It suffisith; helle[¶], and the mouth of the¹⁶
wombe, and the erthe which^o is neuere
fillid with water; but fier seith neuere, It
suffisith. Crowis of the stronde picke out¹⁷
thilke iȝe, that scorneth the fadir, and
that dispisith the child beryng of his
modir; and the briddis of an egle ete
that iȝe. Thre thingis ben hard to me,¹⁸
and outirli Y knowe not the fourthe
thing; the weie of an egle^{**} in heuene,¹⁹
the weie of a serpent on a stoon, the weie
of a schip in the myddil of the see, and
the weie of a man in ȝong wexynge age.
Siche is the weie of a womman auow-²⁰
tresse, which^p etith, and wipith hir mouth,
and seith, Y wrouȝte not yuel. The erthe²¹
is moued bi thre thingis, and^q the fourthe
thing, which it may not susteyne; bi a²²

* *Adde thou not, etc.; contrarie, netheles tho thingis that declaren Goddis word, moun he addid wel and meedefully. Live here. c.*

† *beggeri; he spekith this in the persone of a siyk man, that kan not wel vse prosperites with out pride, nether aduersite with out gruching. Live here. c.*

‡ *Accuse thou not, etc.; that is, no but for a iust cause. Live here. c.*

§ *iȝen ben hiȝ, etc.; that is, whos pride of herte apperith opinli with out forth, in the iȝen and lippis. Live here. c.*

¶ *twei doȝtris, etc.; that is, auarice and lecherie, that ben neuere fillid. Live here. c.*

¶ *helle, etc.; that is, the deuil, that euere enforst more and more to drawe synneris to himsilf. of the wombe; that is, of a lecherouse womman. Live here. c.*

** *weie of an egle; that is, of Crist, in his assencion. weie of a serpent; that is, of Crist, in his rising agen. of a schip in the myddis of the see; that is, of Crist, in his conuersacioun in the world. of a man; that is, of Crist, perfit man in kunnyng and vertues. in a ȝong weyringe womman; that is, in the blessed Virgyn. Live here. c.*

^c wordis c sec. m. ^{cc} the helpeles A. ^d euermore A. ^e Om. E pr. m. ^f that seith not E pr. m. ^g up on AEGH. ^h myddel AEGH. ⁱ ȝongth A passim. ^j a AEGH. ^k that it E pr. m.

^c and so I. ^d Om. I. ^e preie EPY. ^f thou hem I. ^g beggyng I. ^h but ȝyue I. ⁱ fulfillid I. ^k and Y c. ^l Y be I. ^m and stele I. ⁿ two I passim. ^o that I. ^p that I. ^q and bi I.

hateful womman, whan she were taken
in to matrimoyne; and bi an hand wom-
man, whan she were eir of hir ladi.
24 Foure thingus ther ben the leste of
erthe¹, and thei ben wisere than wise
25 men; amptis, a feble puple, that greithen
26 in rep time mete to them; a litil hare, a
folc vnmy3ti, that in a ston his bed set-
27 tith; a king the locuste hath not, and it
28 goth out alle bi cumpanyes; a lisard
with hondis cleueth, and he dwellith in
29 the housis of a king. Thre thingus ben^m,
that weel gon, and the ferthe, that goth
30 welsumly. A leoun, most strong of bestes,
at 'azen coomyngⁿ of noon shal dreden;
31 a cok gyrd vp the leendis, and a ram,
and ther is not that withstonde to hym.
32 And that fool shal seme, aftir that he is
rerid vp in to hee3; if forsothe he hadde
vnderstonden, to his mouth he hadde put
33 on hond. Who forsothe strongli threst-
eth tetes, to drawen out mylc, threstith
out buttere; and who hugeli smyteth,
drawith out blod; and who terreth
1 wrathis, bringeth forth discordis. The
wrdis of Lamuel, the^o king; the sizte in
2 whiche^p his^q moder tau3te hym. What my
leef? what my leef of my wombe?
what my leef of my vouwis?

CAP. XXXI.

3 Ne 3iue thou to wimmen thi sub-
stance, and^r thi^s riches to ben don
4 awei kingus. Wile thou not to kingus,
O! Lamuel, wile thou not to kingus 3iue
win; for no priuyte is, where drunke-
5 nesse regneth. Lest par auenture thei
drinken, and for3eten domes, and chaungen
6 the cause of the sonus of the pore. 3iue
either to mornende men, and win to hem
7 that ben in bitter inwit. Drinke thei,
and for3ete thei of ther nedynesse; and
of ther sorewe^t recorde thei no more.
8 Opene thi mouth to the doumbe, and to

and this acordith betere to the lettre suyng. *Lire here. c.*
that is, drynk able to make drunkun. *Lire here. c.*

seruaunt, whanne he regneth; bi a fool,
whanne he is fillid with mete; bi an²³
hateful womman, whanne sche is takun
in matrimoyne; and bi an handmaide,
whanne sche is eir of hir ladi. Foure ben²⁴
the leeste thingis of erthe, and tho ben
wisere than wise men; amtis, a feble²⁵
puple, that maken redi mete in heruest to
hem silf; a^r hare, a puple vnmy3ti, that²⁶
settith his bed in a stoon; a locust hath²⁷
no kyng, and al goith out bi cumpanyes;
an euete enforsith with hondis, and dwell-²⁸
ith in the housis of kingis. Thre thingis²⁹
ben^s, that goon wel, and the fourthe thing,
that goith richeli^t. A lioun, strongeste of³⁰
beestis*, schal not drede at the meetyng
of ony man; a cok gird the leendis, and³¹
a ram, and noon is^u that schal azenstonde
him. He[†] that apperith a fool, aftir that³²
he is reisid an hi3; for if he hadde vn-
durstonde, he hadde sett hond on his
mouth. Forsothe he that thristith strongli³³
teetis, to drawe out mylk, thristith out
botere[‡]; and he that smytith greetli,
drawith out blood; and he that stirith
iris, bringith forth discordis.

CAP. XXXI.

The wordis of Lamuel, the king[§]; the¹
visioun^{||} bi which his modir tau3te hym.
What my derlyng? what the derlyng of²
my wombe? what the derlyng of my
desiris? 3yue thou not thi catel to wym-³
men, and thi richessis to do awei kyngis[¶].
A! Lamuel, nyle thou 3iue wyn^{**} to⁴
kingis; for no pryuete is^v, where drunke-
nesse regneth. Lest perauenture thei⁵
drynke, and for3ete domes, and chaunge
the cause of the sonus of a pore man.
3yue 3e sidur^{††} to hem that morenen, and⁶
wyn to hem that ben of bitter soule.
Drinke thei, and for3ete thei her nedi-⁷
nesse; and thenke thei no more on her

** wyn, etc.; that is, to drynke ouer mesure. *Lire here. c.*

¹ the erthe AEGH. ^m there ben A. ⁿ the azen coomyng AGH. ^o Om. C. ^p the whiche AEGH.
^q is C. ^r ne AG pr. m. H. ^s Om. A. ^t sorewis A. sorewen GH.

^r an I. ^s ther ben I. ^t richeli, ether bi prosperite CEFHGKMNPRQSUXYA. richeli, or welsumly I.
^u ther is I. ^v ther is I.

* A lioun strongeste of beestis; that is, the rewme of Babiloyne. a cok gird the leendis; that is, the rewme of Perseys, ne theles cok is not in Ebreu. a ram; that is, Alisaundre the Grete, ether the rewme of Grekis. and a king azenus whom no man schal reise the hond; thus it is in Ebreu, that is, azenus whom no man schal moun azenstonde; and this signifieth the rewme of Romayns, that was strongere than the rewmes bi-forgoinge. apperith a fool; foli apperith more in a fool, whanne he is set in an hi3 staat; and if he hadde wist this, he hadde be stille vnauauna-id. *Lire here. c.* [†] He; thou; Latyn bookis han here and he, in Ebreu is not and; for the sentence of this vers is not couplid to that, that goith bi-fore. *Lire here. c.* [‡] botere; that is, mater sad-dere than mylk, that schulde not be thristid out. *Lire here. c.* [§] Lamuel, the king; that is, Salomon. La-muel is in-terpretid, with whom God is, for God was with Salomon in the bigyn-nyn of his rewme. *Lire here. c.* ^{||} the visioun; that is, teching ether blamyng. *Lire here. c.* [¶] do awey kyngis; Ebreys seyen, to make fatte kingis; ^{††} 3yue 3e sidur;

9 the causes of alle sones that passen, opene thou thi mouth. Deme that is ríztwís, and venge the helpeles and the pore.
 10 *Aleph.* A strong womman who shal finde? aferr and^u fro the utmost^v endis
 11 the pris of hir. *Beth.* Trosteth in hir the herte of hir man; and spoiles he
 12 shal not neden. *Gimel.* She shal zelde to hym good, and not euel, alle the dazes
 13 of hir lif. *Deleth.* She sozte wíle and flax; and wrozte bi the counseil of hir
 14 hondis. *He.* She is mad as a ship of a marchaund, fro aferr bringende hir
 15 bred. *Vau.* And fro the nyzt she ros, and 3af prei to hir homli men, and metis
 16 to hir hand wymmen. *Zay.* She beheeld a feeld, and bozte it; of the frut of hir
 17 hondis^w she plauntide a vyne. *Heth.* She girde to with strengthe hir leendis, and
 18 made stalwrthe hir arm. *Teth.* She tastide, and sa3, for good is the chaffaring of hir; shall not ben quenchild in the
 19 nyzt the lanterne of hir. *Joth.* Hir hond she putte to stronge thingus, and
 20 hir fingris ca3ten the spindle. *Caf.* Hir hond she openede to the helpeles, and hir paumes she strazte out to the pore.
 21 *Lameth.* She shal not drede to hir hous of coldys of sno3; alle forsothe hir homli^x men ben^y clad^z with double.
 22 *Men.* A rai cloth she made to hir; bijs and purpre the clothing of hir.
 23 *Num.* Noble in the 3ates the man of hir, whan he shal sitte with the senatoures
 24 of the erthe. *Sameth.* Sendel she made, and solde; and a litil girdil she toc to
 25 Canane. *Ayn.* Strengthe and fairnesse the clothing of hir; and she shal lazhen
 26 in the laste dai. *Fee.* Hir mouth she openede to wisdom; and the lawe of noble merci in the tunge of hir. *Sade.*
 27 She beheeld the pathis of hir hous; and
 28 idil bred she eet not. *Cof.* Ther risen the sones of hir, and most blisful prech-

sorewe. Opene thi mouth* for a doubt⁸ man, and opene thi mouth for the causes⁹ of alle sones that passen forth†. Deme thou that that is iust, and deme thou a nedi man‡ and a pore man. Who schal¹⁰ fynde a stronge womman§? the prijs of her *is* fer, and fro the laste endis. The¹¹ herte of hir hosebond tristith in hir; and sche^w schal not haue nede to spuylis^x. Sche schal zelde to hym good, and not yuel,¹² in alle the daies of hir lijf. Sche souzte¹³ wolle and flex; and wrouzte bi the counsel of hir hondis. Sche is maad as the¹⁴ schip of a marchaunt, that berith his breed fro fer. And sche roos bi nyzt, and¹⁵ 3af prey|| to hir meyneals, and metis to hir handmaidis^y. Sche bihelde a feeld,¹⁶ and bouzte it; of the fruyt of hir hondis sche plauntide a vyner. Sche girde^z hir¹⁷ leendis with strengthe, and made strong hir arm. Sche taastide, and si3^a, that hir¹⁸ marchaundie was good; hir lanterne schal not be quenchild in the níz^t. Sche putte¹⁹ hir hondis to stronge thingis¶, and hir fyngris token the spyndil. Sche openyde²⁰ hir hond to a^b nedi man, and stretchide forth hir hondis to a pore man. Sche²¹ schal not drede for hir hous of the cooldis of snow; for alle hir meyneals ben clothid with double *clothis*. Sche made to hir²² a ray cloth; bijs^c and purpur *is* the cloth of hir. Hir hosebonde *is* noble in the²³ 3atis, whanne he sittith with the senatours of erthe. Sche made lynnun^d cloth, and²⁴ selde^e; and 3af a girdil to a Chananei^{**}. Strengthe and fairnesse *is* the^{ee} clothing of²⁵ hir; and sche schal leize in the laste dai. Sche openyde hir mouth to wisdom; and²⁶ the lawe of merci *is* in hir tunge. Sche²⁷ bihelde the pathis of hir hous; and sche eet not breed idili. Hir sones risiden^f,²⁸ and prechiden hir moost blessid; hir hosebonde *roos*, and preiside hir. Many²⁹ dou3tris gaderiden richessis; thou pass-

* Opene thi mouth, etc.; that is, allegge thou ríztfulness, for him that kan not plete in his cause. *Live here. c.*
 † that passen forth; that is, of straungeris goinge thorow the lond. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ deme thou a nedi man, etc.; that is, do thou executioun of ríztfulness, for nedi men and pore, that han a iust cause. *Live here. c.*
 § a strong womman; Cristen doctours expownen comynly this letre, til to the ende, of hooly chirche, which bi figuratif speche, is seid a strong womman; hir hosebonde is Crist, hir sones and dou3tris ben Cristen men and wymmen; and this is the literal vnderstanding, as thei seyen; and this expositioun is reasonable, and set opinly in the comyn glos. But Rabi Salomon seith, that bi a strong womman is vnderstandun hooli Scripture; the hosebonde of this womman, is a studiouse techere in hooly Scripture, bothe men and wymmen; for in Jeroms tyme summe wymmen weren ful studiouse in hooly Scripture. *Live here. c.*
 || 3af prey, etc.; in Ebreu it is, liyflode. *Live here. c.*
 ¶ to stronge thingis; in Ebreu it is, to the wherne; and the letre suynghe acordith wel herto.

Live here. c. ** to a Cananey; Ebreys seyen, to a marchaunt; and this acordith more to the letre biforgoinge. *Live here. c.*

^u Om. A. ^v vttermoost AGH. ^w hond c. ^x deboner E pr. m. ^y she A. ^z clothide AGH.

^w he I. ^x robries I. ^y handmaidens I. ^z girdide I. ^a sau3 I passim. ^b the I. ^c bijs, ether *whiyt silk* CEFGHKMNPRUXYA. ^d a lynnun c. ^e solde it I. ^{ee} in the E. ^f risen E. resen up I.

eden; and the man of hir preiside hir.
 29 *Res.* Manie doztris gedereden riches; and
 30 thou ouerpassedist alle. *Syn.* Descey-
 uable grace and veyn is fairnesse; the
 womman dredende the Lord, she shal be
 31 preisid. *Thau.* 3iue^h to hir of the
 frut of hir hondis; and preisen hir in
 the 3ates hir werkis.

idist^s alle. Fairnesse is disseiuable grace,³⁰
 and veyn; thilke womman, that dredith
 the Lord, schal be preisid. 3yue 3e to³¹
 hir of the fruyt^h of hir hondis; and hir
 werkis preise hir in the 3atis.

*Here endith the book of Prouerbis, and
 here bigynneth Ecclesiastes¹.*

^s hast ouer passid i. ^h frutis e. ⁱ From CHNSX. *Here enden Prouerbis, and here bygynneth Ecclesiastes.* F. *Here endith the book of Prouerbis, and bigynneth a prolog on Ecclesiastes.* G. *Heere endith the book of Prouerbis, and biginnith Ecclesiastes.* IQ. *Here eendeth the booc of Prouerbis; se now the prolog in the booc of Ecclesiastes, that is to seie, booc of talkere to the puple, or togidere calle[re].* K. *Here endith the book of Prouerbis, and here bigynneth the book of Ecclesiastes, that tretith also of wisdom and prudence, and nedith noon other prologe.* M. *Here endith the Prouerbis, and here bigynneth Ecclesiastes.* V. *Here eendith the Parablis, and bigynneth the prolog on Ecclesiastes.* A. No final rubric in AEPHY.

ECCLESIASTES.

Heere gynneth^a the prologe in the boc of Ecclesiastes, that is to sey, boc^b of talker to the puple, or togidere clepere.

THIS almost the fiftē ȝeer, whan ȝit I was at Rome, that Ecclesiasten I shulde reden to Seint Blesill, that hir I shulde stire to the^c dispising of thes^d world, and that she shulde sett al that in the world she beholdith^e, to ben for noȝt, I^{ee} haue mynde, me preȝid of^f hir, that in to^g maner of a^h short exposicioun alle the hard thingus I shulde clerli expoune, that, withoute me, she myȝte vnderstonde thatⁱ she radde; and so for^j in the firste greithing of oure werch, she withdrawn with sodeyn deth, and^k, O! Paule and Eustoche, wee deserueden not to^l ha^m such a felawe of oure lif, and with so myche wounde smyten, thanne I becam dounb. Now in Bethlem set, that is, inⁿ a streitere^o cite, I ȝeelde that I owe and to the mynde of hir and to ȝou; this shortli doende to witen, that the autorite of no man I folewede, but translatende^p fro Ebru most I confoormede me to the custum of the Seuenti Remenoures, in these thingus onli that not myche fro Ebrues^q they discordeden^r. Otherwhile also I recordid of Aquile, also and of Simake, and of Theodocian^s, that I shulde not feren^t the studi of the redere with to myche newenesse, ne, on^u the other^v side, the welle of treuthe left, aȝen my concience I shulde togidere folewen the stremes of opinyouns.

Here endeth the prolog of Ecclesiastes; se now the booc^w.

^a begynneth AEGH. ^b the book A. ^c Om. C. ^d the C pr. m. ^e behalt C pr. m. ^{ee} and I L. ^f for ILR. ^g two L. ^h Om. LR. ⁱ that that I. ^j fro L. ^k Om. I. ^l Om. A. ^m han AEGH. haue ILR. ⁿ Om. I. ^o streit I. ^p ful translatynge R. ^q Ebrew A. ^r discorden I. ^s Theodosi L. ^t seete L. ^u in R. ^v tother AGHILR. ^w From I. Here eendith the prolog, and biginneth the firste chapitre. L. Heere eendith the prolog, and bigynneth Ecclesiastes. R. No final rubric in the other Mss.

Heer gynneth the booc^a.

CAP. I.

1 The wrdis of Ecclesiastes, sone of
 2 David, king of Jerusalem. Vanite of
 vanites, seide Ecclesiastes; vanite of va-
 3 nytes, and alle thingus vanyte. What
 hath a man more ouer of^b al his tra-
 uale, that he trauaileth vnder the sunne?
 4 Jeneracioun goth, and ieneracioun cometh;
 the erthe forsothe in to with oute ende
 5 stant^c. The sunne risith vp, and goth
 doun, and to his place turneth azen;
 6 and there azen risende goth aboute bi
 the south, and turneth azen to the north.
 Enuyrounende alle thingus the spirit in
 cumpas passeth, and in to his cercles
 7 turneth azen. Alle flodis entren in to
 the se, and the se redoundith not; to
 the place whennes the flodis wenten out,
 thei turnen azen, that eft thei flowen
 8 out. Alle thingus harde, and a man mai
 not them tellen out pleyntli with wrd;
 the eze is not fild with sizte, ne fulfid is
 9 the ere with heering. What is that was,
 it that is to come? What is that is
 10 mad, it that is to be maad? No thing
 vnder the sunne newe, ne any man mai
 seyn, Lo! this is fresh newe; now for-
 sothe it wente befor in worldis, the
 11 whiche weren befor vs. Ther is not
 mynde of the rathere thingus, but and of
 tho thingis forsothe, that ben aftir to
 come, shal not ben recording anent^d hem
 12 that be to come in the laste time. I
 Ecclesiastes was king of Irael in Jerusa-
 13 lem; and I purposide in myn inwit to
 seche and enserchen wisli of alle thingus,
 that ben mad vnder sunne^e. This werste
 ocupacioun 3aff God to the sonus of men,

Here bigynneth Ecclesiastes^a.

CAP. I.

The wordis* of Ecclesiastes†, sone of 1
 David, the^b kyng of Jerusalem. The^{bb} 2
 vanyte‡ of vanytees, seide Ecclesiastes;
 the^b vanyte of vanytees, and alle thingis
 3 *ben* vanite. What hath a man more of alle 3
 his trauel, bi which he traueilith vnder
 the^c sunne? Generacioun^d passith awei, 4
 and^e generacioun cometh; but the erthe
 stondith with outen ende. The sunne 5
 risith, and goith doun, and turneth azen
 to his place; and there it risith azen, and 6
 cumpassith bi the south, and turneth azen
 to the north. The spirit§ cumpassyng
 alle thingis goith in cumpas^f, and turneth
 azen in to hise cerclis. Alle floodis entren 7
 in to the see, and the see fletith not ouer
 the *markis set of God*; the floodis turnen
 azen to the place fro whennus tho^g comen
 forth, that tho^h floweⁱ eft. Alle thingis 8
ben hard||; a man may not declare tho
 thingis bi word; the i3e is not fillid bi
 sizt, nether the eere is fillid bi hering.
 What is that thing that was¶, that that 9
 schal come? What is that thing that is
 maad, that that schal be maad? No thing 10
 vndir the sunne *is* newe, nether ony man
 may seie, Lo! this thing is newe; for now
 it 3ede bifore in worldis, that weren bifore
 vs. Mynde of the formere thingis is not, 11
 but sotheli nether thenkyng of tho thingis,
 that schulen come afterward, schal be at
 hem that schulen come in the last tyme.
 I Ecclesiastes was king of Israel in Jeru- 12
 salem; and Y purposide in my soule to 13
 seke and enserche wiseli of alle thingis,
 that ben maad vnder the sunne. God 3af
 this werste ocupacioun** to the sonus of

* The wordis : for many men erriden in the mater of blis of man, and summen seiden, that mannus blis stondith in richessis, othere men seiden in delices, othere men seiden in onours, and so of many othere goodis, that moun be getun in present tyme bi mannus trauel; therfor Salomon schewith in this book, that mannus blis stondith not in sicke goodis, but in God, which is good with outen ende; and in i. c. he preueth that mannus blis stondith not in kunnyng, for kunnyng getun bi mannus weye is vnprofit and diseseul, and quyeth not a mannus desir.
 Live here. c. † of Ecclesiastes; that is, of Salomon, for Ecclesiastes is seid a spekere to the puple.
 Live here. c. ‡ The vanyte, etc.; that is, the moste vanyte. and alle; thingis in whiche false men setten blis.
 ben vanyte; that is, ful veyne. vnder the sunne; that is, in present liyf; as if he seye, ech man may preue bi experience, that he getith not of his trauels no but vinstable good and able to be lost, nameli, bi deth, which he may not ascape.
 Live here. c. || ben harde; to be vnderstondun. Live here. c. ¶ that was; bothe in thingis and in opynyons of men. schal come; thou3 in the meene tyme it ceessith and is forjetun. Live here. c. ** this werste ocupacioun; in Ebreu it is yuel ocupacioun; for thou3 kunnyng getun bi mannus weye is good in it silf, nethes it is yuel, in as myche as it hath trauel and turment of studie knyhterto, and for sumtyme it is a letting of more good, that is, of deuocioun and of preyer. Live here. c.

§ The spirit, etc.; that is, the sunne; not for it hath a soule, but for it causith liyf in these lowere thingis. Live here. c. || ben harde; to be vnderstondun. Live here. c. ¶ that was; bothe in thingis and in opynyons of men. schal come; thou3 in the meene tyme it ceessith and is forjetun. Live here. c. ** this werste ocupacioun; in Ebreu it is yuel ocupacioun; for thou3 kunnyng getun bi mannus weye is good in it silf, nethes it is yuel, in as myche as it hath trauel and turment of studie knyhterto, and for sumtyme it is a letting of more good, that is, of deuocioun and of preyer. Live here. c.

^a Ecclesiastes. A. Heer begynneth the book. E. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Om. AGH. ^c stondith AH.
^d anentis E passim. ^e the sunne AEGH.

^a From AG. Here biginneth the bok of Ecclesiastes. EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. I.
^{bb} Om. I. ^c Om. plures. ^d A generacioun I. ^e an oother I. ^f aboute I. ^g thei I. ^h thei I. ⁱ flowe out c.

14 that thei schulden ben ocupied in it. I
saz alle thingus that ben mad vnder the
sunne, and, lo! alle thingus vanite and
15 tormenting of spirit. Peruertid men of
hard ben amendid; and withoute ende
16 is the noumbre of foolis. I spac in myn
herte, seiende, Lo! gret I am mad, and
I wente befor alle in wisdam, that weren
befor me in Jerusalem; and my mynde
beheeld manye thingus wisli, and I lern-
17 ede. And I 3af myn herte, that I knewe
prudence and doctrine, and errouris and
folie. And I knew^e that in these thingis
also was trauaile and tormenting of spi-
18 rit; for thi that in myche wisdam is
myche indignacioun, and that addith kun-
nyng, addeth and trauaile.

CAP. II.

1 I seide in myn herte, I shal go, and
flowe^f delices^g, and I shal take the frutis
in^h goodis; and I saz also that that was
2 vanyte. And la3hing I heeld errour, and
to io3e I seide, Wherto in veyn thou art
3 bigilid? I tho3te in myn herte to with-
drawe fro wyn my flesh, and myn inwit
to bern ouer to wisdam, and that I schulde
eschewe folie, to the tyme that I schulde
seen, what were profitable to the sonus of
men; the whiche thing don, nede is to
ther lif in the noumbre of dajes vnder
4 the sunne. I magniefiede my werkis, I
bilde to me houses, and plauntide vynes;
5 I made gardynes and appil gardynes,
and I plauntide them with the trees of
6 alle kinde; and I made out to me cys-
ternesⁱ of watris, that I schulde watren
7 the wode of the buriounynge tres. I
weldide seruauuns and hand wymmen,^j
and myche^k meyne I hadde; droues^l also,
and grete flockis of sheep, ouer alle men
8 that weren befor me in Jerusalem. I
hepede to me siluer and gold, and sub-
staunces of kingus and of prouynces; I
made to me singeris and singeresses, and
the delices of sonus of men, cuppis and

men, that thei schulden be ocupied ther-
ynne. I si3 alle thingis that ben maad 14
vndur the sunne, and lo! alle thingis *ben*
vanyte and turment of spirit. Weiward 15
men ben amendid^k of hard; and the noum-
bre of foolis is greet with outen ende. I 16
spak in myn herte, and Y seide, Lo! Y
am made greet, and Y passide in wisdom
alle men, that weren bfore me in Jerusa-
lem; and my soule si3 many thingis wiseli,
and Y lernede. And Y 3af myn herte, that 17
Y schulde knowe prudence* and doctryn,
and errours and foli. And Y knew that in
these thingis also was trauel and turment
of spirit; for in myche wisdom† is myche 18
indignacioun, and he that encessith kun-
nyng, encreessith also trauel‡.

* that Y
schulde knowe
prudence; that
rulith wel in
mannus thingis
worthi to be
doon. and doc-
tryn; that is,
the vertu of
Goddis lawe.
and errours;
aboute dyuyn
thingis. and
folly; aboute
mannus thingis,
to eschewe and
impyngne sicke
errours and
foli. Lire here.

† in myche wis-
dom; of man.
is myche indig-
nacioun; for
sicke kunnyng
bolnyth with
pride, and a
proud man is
lytli stirid to
indignacioun.
Lire here. c.
‡ also trauel;
for men that
han dedeyn
and ben vnpa-
ciant, feelen
many an-
gwischis with
ynne hem silf.
Lire here. c.
§ Y seide in
myn herte; in
ii. c°. Salomon
schewith, that
mannus blis is
not in delices
of bodi. Lire
here. c.

CAP. II.

Therfor Y seide in myn herte§, Y schal
go, and Y schal flowe in delices, and Y
schal vse goodis; and Y si3 also that this
was vanyte. And leizyng Y arrettide er-2
rour, and Y seide to io3e, What^l art thou
disseyued in veyn? I thou3te in myn 3
herte to withdrawe my fleisch fro wyn,
that Y schulde lede ouer my soule to wis-
dom, and that Y schulde^m eschewe foli, til
Y schulde se, what were profitable to the
sones of men; in which dede the noumbre
of daies of herⁿ lijf vndur the sunne is
nedeful. Y magniefiede^o my werkis, Y bild-4
ide housis to me, and Y plauntide vynes;
Y made 3erdis and orcherdis, and Y set-5
tide^p tho^q with the^r trees of al kynde; and 6
Y made cisternes of watris, for to watre
thè wode of trees growynge. I hadde in 7
possessioun seruauantis and handmaidis^s;
and Y hadde myche meynee, and droues
of grete beestis, and grete flockis of scheep,
ouer alle men that weren bfore me in
Jerusalem. Y gaderide togidere to me sil-8
uer and gold, and the castels of kingis and
of prouyncis; Y made to me syngeris and
syngeressist, and delices of the sonus of
men, and cuppis and vessels in seruyce,

^e kne3 c. ^f folewe A. ^g with delices AEGH. ^h of AG pr. m. H. ⁱ fishpondis c pr. m. E pr. m. ^k mychel E.

^k mendid I. ^l Wherto I. ^m wolde I. ⁿ Om. c. ^o magniefiede, ether made greet c et plures.
^p sette I. ^q hem N. ^r Om. CI. ^s handmaidens IR. ^t syngsters I.

pottis in seruise, to wynes to ben held;
 9 and I passede in riches alle, that be-
 fore me weren in Jerusalem. Wisdam
 10 also abod stille with me, and alle thingus
 that desireden myn eȝen, I denyede not
 to them; ne I forfendide^l myn herte, but
 that of alle voluptuouse he shulde take
 frut, and al delicen hym self in these
 thingus that I hadde greithid; and this
 I alouwide my part, for I shulde vsen
 11 my trauaile. And whan me I hadde
 turned to alle the werkis that myn hondis
 hadden don, and to the^m trauailes in
 whiche in veyn I hadde swat, I saȝ in
 alle thingus vanyte and tormenting of
 inwit, and no thing to dwelle stille vnder
 12 the sunne. I passede, and to ben be-
 holden wisdam, and erroures, and folie;
 what is forsothe a man, that he mowe
 13 folewen the king, his makere? And I
 saȝ, that so myche wisdam wente befor
 folie, hou myche liȝt is in difference fro
 14 derknesses. Of the wise man the eȝen in
 his hed, the fool goth in derknesses; and
 I lernede, that o diyng was of euer
 15 either. And I seide in myn herte, If
 oon and of the fool and my diyng shal
 be, what to me profiteth, that more bisy-
 nesse I ȝaf to wisdam? And spoken with
 my mynde, I toc heed, that that also was
 16 vanyte. Forsothe ther shal not be the^{mm}
 mynde of the wise man, lic maner as of
 the fool in to withoute ende, and the
 times to come with forȝeting alle thingus
 shul couere togidere; the taȝt man dieth
 17 also and the vntaȝt. And therefore it
 noȝede me of my lif, seende alle euelis to
 ben vnder the sunne, and alle thingus va-
 18 nytesⁿ and tormenting of spirit. Eft I
 wlatede alle my bisynesse, that vnder the
 sunne most studiousli I trauailede, to han^o
 19 an eir after me, whom I knowe^p not, whe-
 ther wis or fool he be to ben; and shal
 lordshipen in my trauailes, in the whiche

to helde out wynes; and Y passide in
 richess alle men, that weren bifor me in
 Jerusalem. Also wisdom dwellide* stabli
 with me, and alle thingis whiche^u myn¹⁰
 iȝen desiriden, Y denyede not to hem;
 nether Y refreynede myn herte, that ne it
 vside al lust, and delitide it silf in these
 thingis whiche I hadde maad redi; and
 Y demyde this my part[†], if Y vside my
 trauel. And whanne Y hadde turned me¹¹
 to alle werkis^v whiche myn hondys had-
 den maad, and to the trauels in whiche Y
 hadde swet^w in veyn, Y siȝ in alle thingis
 vanyte and turment of the^x soule, and
 that no thing vndir sunne dwellith stabli.
 I passide^v to biholde wisdom[†], erroours^z,¹²
 and foli; Y seide, What is a man, that he
 may sue the king, his maker? And Y siȝ,¹³
 that wisdom ȝede so mych bifor foli, as
 miche as liȝt is dyuerse fro derknessis.
 The iȝen of a wijs man *ben* in his heed^ȝ,¹⁴
 a fool goith in derknessis^{||}; and Y lernede,
 that o perisching was of euer either. And¹⁵
 Y seide in myn herte, If o deth schal be
 bothe of the fool and of me, what pro-
 fitith it to me, that Y ȝaf more bisynesse
 to wisdom? And Y spak with my soule,
 and perseyuede, that this also was vanyte.
 For mynde^a of a wijs man schal not be, in¹⁶
 lijk maner as nether of a fool with outen
 ende, and tymes to comynge schulen hile
 alle thingis togidere with forȝetyng; a
 lerned man dieth in lijk maner and^b an
 vnlearned man. And therfor it anoiede me¹⁷
 of my lijf, seyng that alle thingis vndir
 sunne ben yuele, and that alle thingis
ben vanyte and turment of the spirit. Eft¹⁸
 Y curside al my bisynesse, bi which Y
 trauelide moost studiousli vndir sunne,
 and Y schal haue an eir after me, whom¹⁹
 Y knowe^{bb} not, whether he schal be wijs
 ether a fool; and he schal be lord in my
 trauels, for whiche^c Y swatte greetli, and
 was bisi; and is^d only thing so veyn?

* wisdom dwell-
 ide, etc.; til
 that he was
 disseyued bi
 wymmen. *Lire*
here. c.
 † and Y de-
 nyde this my
 part; that is,
 lustful liyf.
 my part; that
 is, blis; for he
 was disseyued
 by wymmen,
 and felde in to
 this errour.
Lire here. c.
 † Y passide to
 biholde wisdom;
 that is, Y bi-
 helde that tra-
 uel is aboute
 the geting of
 kunnyng, and
 most in dyuyn
 thingis, which
 is seid wisdom
 properly. Of
 this place and
 othere liyk,
 sum men seyen,
 that Salomon
 dide penaunce
 in the ende;
 but it semeth
 that this pe-
 naunce was not
 sufficient and
 perfit, for he
 distriede not
 the idols
 whiche he
 hadde maad,
 as Y seide ful-
 liere in xxx. c.
 of Prouerbis.
 what is a man,
 etc.; that is, of
 what vertu,
 that he may
 ateyne to God
 bi the knowing
 of creaturis.
 Salomon spek-
 ith ofte in this
 book, in the
 persone of
 othere men,
 not oneli that
 seyen truthe,
 but also that
 erren, that the
 truthe appere
 more bi con-
 traries leid to-
 gidere. *Lire*
here. c.
 § *ben* in his
 heed; that is,
 in the hizere
 part of soule
 that ȝyueth
 tent to con-
 templacioun of
 dyuyn thingis.
Lire here. c.
 || in derk-
 nessis; for
 he thenkith
 and of the fool.

erthely thingis aloone and sensible, whiche comparisound to God ben derknessis. *was of euer either*; that is, of the wise man and of the fool. Salomon seith this in the persone of hem that denyeden vnedlynnesse of mannus soule. *ben yuel*; that is, defaultif. *and turment of the spirit*; Salomon asoilith not here this obieccioun maad aȝenus the truthe, for obieccioun takith opinli fals, and for a wijs man and iust schal haue moede, and a fool schal haue payne with outen ende. *Lire here. c.*

^l forfendide not *E pr. m.* ^m Om. *A.* ^{mm} Om. *C pr. m.* ⁿ vanyte *AGH.* ^o haunge *E pr. m.* ^p knewe *AGH.*

^u that *I.* ^v the werkis *I.* ^w swat *I.* ^x Om. *I.* ^y passide forth *I.* ^z and erroours *A sec. m.* ^a the mynde *I.* ^b as *I.* ^{bb} knew *E.* ^c the whiche *I.* ^d is ther *I.*

I haue myche swat, and ben bisy; and
 20 alle thing^p is so^a veyn. Wherfore I cesede,
 and myn herte forsoc more to trauailen
 21 vnder the sunne. For whan an other
 shal trauailen in wisdom, and doctrine,
 and besynesse, and to an idil man the
 purchasid thingus lefeth; and that thanne
 22 vanyte^r, and gret euel. What forsothe
 shal profite to a man of al his trauaile,
 and of the tormenting of spirit, that vnder
 23 the sunne he is tormentid? Alle the dazes
 of hym of sorewes and myseyse^s ben
 ful, and bi the nyzt in mynde he resteth
 not; and whether is not that vanyte?
 24 Whether is it^t not betere to eten and
 drinke^u, and to shewe to his lif the goodis
 of his trauailes? and that is of the hond
 25 of God. Who shal so^v deuouren, and de-
 26 licis flowen, as I? To a good man in his
 sizte God 3af wisdom, and kunnyng, and
 vnderstanding; to the synnere forsothe
 he 3af tormenting, and wast bisynesse,
 that he adde, and gedere togidere, and
 take to hym that shal plesen to God;
 but and this vanite, and wast^w besynesse
 of mynde.

CAP. III.

1 Alle thingus han time, and in ther
 spaces passen alle thingus vnder the
 2 sunne. Time of hauyng birthe, and time
 of diyng; time of plaunting, and time of
 3 pulling vp that is plauntid. Time of
 sleying, and time of heling; time of de-
 4 stroying, and time of bilding. Time of
 weping, and time of lashing; time of
 5 weiling, and time of leping. Time of
 sprenging abrod stones, and time of ga-
 dering togidere; time of clipping, and
 time to ben maad aferr fro clippingus.
 6 Time of purchasing, and time of leeing;
 time of keping, and time of casting awei.

is wont to be desirid of men, ontakun feweste men and ful perfit, as Poul desiride to be deed, and to be with Crist. *Live here. c.*
 aduersaries of rixtfulnesse ether of comynalte. *Live here. c.* †† tyme to colle; that is, to 3yue tent to generacioun, in 3ong age of hem that ben
 weddid. tyme to be fer; that is, in eelde, whanne the vertu of gendring failith, and whanne comyn turment is of the puple; therfor men and beestis
 weren chast in the arke in the grete flood of Noe, as Ebreys seyen. *Live here. c.*

^p thingus c. ^a also A. ^r gret vanyte E pr. m. ^s of miseyse c pr. m. ^t Om. AG pr. m. H. ^u to
 drinke E. ^v thanne A. ^w brosed E pr. m.

^e with I. ^f be I. ^g trauel s. ^h in M. Om. E et plures. ⁱ haue I. ^k colle ether biclippe c et plures.
 colle eithir to-clippe a. ^l gete I.

VOL. III.

I

Wherfor Y ceesside, and myn herte for-
 20 sook for to trauele ferthere vnder sunne.
 For whi whanne another man trauelith in
 21 wisdom, and techyng, and bisynesse, he
 leeueth thingis getun to an idel man; and
 therfor this is vanyte, and greet yuel. For
 22 whi what schal it profite to a man of al
 his trauel, and turment of spirit, bi^e which
 he was turmentid vndur sunne? Alle hise
 23 daies ben ful of sorewis and mescheys,
 and bi nyzt he restith not in soule; and
 whether this is^f not vanyte*? Whether
 24 it is not betere to ete and drynke†, and
 to schewe to hise soule goodis of hise
 trauels? and this thing is of^h the hond of
 God. Who schal deuoure so, and schal
 25 flowe in delicis‡, as Y dideⁱ? God 3af
 26 wisdom, and kunnyng, and gladnesse§ to
 a good man in his sizt; but he 3af tur-
 ment, and superflu bisynesse to a synnere,
 that he encreesse, and gadere togidere,
 and 3yue to hym that plesith God||; but
 also this is vanyte, and veyn bisynesse of
 soule.

CAP. III.

Alle thingis han tyme¶, and alle thingis
 vndur sunne passen bi her spaces. Tyme
 2 of birthe, and time of diyng; tyme to
 plaunte, and tyme to drawe vp that that
 is plauntid. Tyme to sle**, and tyme to
 3 make hool; tyme to distrie, and tyme to
 bilde. Tyme to wepe, and tyme to lei3e;
 4 tyme to biweile, and tyme to daunse.
 Tyme to scatere stoonys, and tyme to
 5 gadere togidere; tyme to colle^k††, and
 tyme to be fer fro collyngis. Tyme to
 6 wynne^l, and tyme to leese; tyme to kepe,
 and tyme to caste awei. Tyme to kitte,
 7 and tyme to sewe togidere; tyme to be

* vanyte; that is, veyn trauel, and with out fruyt, as if he sele, 3is. *Live here. c.*
 † to ete and drynke; that is, to lyue couenabli bi thingis getun. goodis of hise trauels; in spendinge a part of the goodis in the werkis of pitee and of liberalite. and this is of the hond of God; that is, good grauntid of God, and is not so greet good, that it is man- nus blis. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ in delicis, etc.; that is, wyymmen, as if he seide, no man. *Live here. c.*
 § and glad- nesse; that is, glad liyf in vsinge wel temporal goodis. *Live here. c.*
 || and 3yue to him that plesith God; not that he 3yueh wil- fully to goode men; but for whanne he is deed, sicke goodis ben 3ouun to goode men ful ofte, as whanne Na- bal was deed, hise goodis camen to Da- uyth, in III. book of Kingis, xxv. c. but also this; that is, bisynesse in sich gadering of goodis, whiche goodis the getere vsith not, but ben 3ouun to othere men. *Live here. c.*
 ¶ han tyme; in iii. c. Salo- mon remoneth long liyf fro mannis blis, which long liyf
 ** Tyme to sle;

7 Time of kutting, and time of souwing to-
 gidere; time of holding pes, and time of
 8 speking. Time of loouing, and time of
 hate; time of bataile, and time of pes.
 9 What hath a man more of his trauaile?
 10 I saȝ the affliccioun, that God ȝaf to the
 sonus of men, that thei be tormentid in it.
 11 Alle thingus he made goode in ther time,
 and the world he toc to^x the^y disputisoun^z
 of them, that a man finde not the were
 that God wroȝte fro the bigynnyng to
 12 the ende. And I kneȝ that ther was
 not^a betere, but to gladen, and to do good
 13 in ther lif. Eche man forsothe that
 etith and drinketh, and seeth good of his
 14 trauaile; that the ȝifte of God is. I lern-
 ede that alle werkis, that God made,
 dwellen stille in to with oute ende; wee
 moun not to them any thing adden, or
 taken awei, that God made, that he be
 15 drad. That is maad, it dwellith stille;
 that ben to come, now weren; and God
 16 restoreth that, that ȝide awei. I saȝ
 vnder sunne^b in the^c place of dom vnpi-
 tousnesse; and in the^d place of riȝtwis-
 17 nesse wickidnesse. And I seide in myn
 herte, The riȝtwise and the vnpitouse the
 Lord shal demen; and tyme of alle thing
 18 thanne shal be. I seide in myn herte of
 the sonus of men, that God shulde prouen
 hem, and shewen to ben lic to bestis.
 19 Therefore oon is the diyng of men and of
 bestis, and euene the condicioun of euere
 either; as a man dieth, so and tho dien;
 lic maner brethen alle thingus, and no
 thing hath a man more than a beste.
 20 Alle thingus vnderlin to vanyte, and alle
 thingus gon to o^e place; of erthe thei
 ben maad, and in to erthe togidere thei
 21 turnen aȝeen. Who kneȝ, if the spirit^f
 of the sonus of Adam steȝe vp aboue, and

stille, and tyme to speke. Tyme of^m loue, 8
 and tyme of hatredé; tyme of batel, and
 tyme of pees. What hath a man more* 9
 of his trauel? I siȝ the turment, which 10
 God ȝaf to the sonus of men, that thei be
 occupied therynne. God made alle thingis 11
 good in her tyme†, and ȝaf the world to
 disputyng of hem, that a man fynde not
 the werk whichⁿ God hath wrouȝt fro the
 bigynnyng 'til in to^o the ende. And Y 12
 knew that no thing was betere 'to a man^p,
 'no but^q to be glad, and to do good *werkis*
 in his lijf‡. For whi ech man that etith 13
 and drinkith, and seeth good of his trauel;
 this is the ȝifte of God. I haue lerned 14
 that alle werkis^r, whiche^s God made, lasten
 stidfastli 'til in to^t with outen ende; we
 moun not addeȝ any thing to tho^u, nether
 take awei fro tho *thingis*, whiche God
 made, that he be dred. That thing that 15
 is maad, dwellith perfitli; tho thingis that
 schulen come, weren bifore; and God re-
 storith that, that is goon. I siȝ vndur 16
 sunne|| vnfeithfulnesse in the place of
 doom; and wickidnesse in the place of
 riȝtfulnesse. And Y seide in myn herte, 17
 The Lord schal deme a iust man, and an
 vnfeithful man; and the tyme of ech
 thing schal be thanne. I seide in myn 18
 herte of the sonus^v of men, that God
 schulde preue hem, and schewe that thei
 ben lijk *vnresonable^v* beestis. Therfor oon 19
 is the perisching of man and of beestis,
 and euene condicioun *is* of euer eithir; as
 a man dieth, 'so and tho^w *beestis* dien; alle
beestis^x brethen in lijk maner, and a man
 hath no thing more than a beeste. Alle 20
 thingis ben suget to vanyte, and alle
 thingis goen to^y o place; tho ben maad
 of erthe, and tho turnen aȝen togidere in
 to erthe. Who knowith, if the spirit of 21

* What hath a man more; no but vnerteinte of kunnyng. of his trauel; in long bisynesse of studie; as if he seye, litil ether nouȝt; for thouȝ men lyuen neuere so longe, they atteynen not to perfit know-inge, ȝhe, of the leeste thing. Y siȝ the turment; in occupacioun of studie. which God ȝaf to the sonus of men; in as myche as he ȝaf to hem vnderstanding, to enquire sicke thingis. Lire here. c. † God made alle thingis goode in her tyme; that is, of creacioun. of hem; that is, of men. fynde not, etc.; in knowyng that werk parfitly, thouȝ he schulde lyue bi ful long tyme. Lire here. c. ‡ in his lijf; that is, to lyue couenabli and vertuously, bi the cours of kynde, so that he be apayed with the terme of lijf, which the kynde ȝaf to him. etith and drynkith; in lyuyng onestly and with out superflu bisynesse. good of his trauel; in ȝuyng the thingis that he gat, in party liberaly, in party mercifully. ȝifte of God; that is, good in present tyme. Lire here. c. § we moun not adde, etc.; therfor we owen to be

apayed with the terme of oure lijf, and to be not bisi of encreessing bi the lengthe of lijf. Lire here. c. || Y siȝ vndur sunne, etc.; that is, in the dwellinge place of men. vnfeithfulnesse in the place, etc.; that is, where riȝtful doom was wont to be ȝouun, is ȝouun wickid doom. Lire here. c. ¶ Y seide in myn herte of the sonus, etc.; Salomon spekith this in the persoon of vnfeithful men, that denyen lijf to comyn in blis ether payne aftir deth. Lire here. c.

^x in to AGH. ^y Om. A. ^z disposicioun E. ^a no AEGH. ^b the sunne G sec. m. ^c Om. AGH.
^d Om. GH. ^e oon E passim. ^f spiritis AGH.

^m to I. ⁿ that I. ^o vnto I. ^p Om. I. to man N. ^q than I. ^r the werkis I. ^s that I. ^t vn to I.
^u tho *werkis* I. ^v Om. I. ^w riȝt so I. ^x tho I. ^y til N.

if the spirit of bestis go doun bynethe?
 22 And I parceyuede no thing to ben betere,
 than a man to gladen in his werc, and
 that to ben the part of hym; who for-
 sothe hym shal leden to, that aftir hym
 he knowe thingis to come?

CAP. IV.

1 I turnede me to othere thingus, and I
 saȝ chalenges, that vnder the sunne ben
 don, and the teres of innocens, and no
 man coumfortende; ne to moun^h with-
 stonde the violence of them, benomen the
 2 helpe of alle. And I preisede more the
 3 deade than the liuende; and I demede
 hym welsumere than either, that ȝit is
 not born, ne saȝ the euelis that ben don
 4 vnder the sunne. Eft I beheeld alle the
 trauailis of men, and the besynesses I
 tooc heed to ben opened to the enuye of
 5 neȝbore^l; and in that thanne vanyte,
 and wast besynesse is. The fool foldeth
 togidere his hondis, and eteth his^k flesh,
 6 seiende, Betere is a litil handful with
 reste, than ful either hond with trauaile
 7 and tormenting of inwit. Beholdende
 I founde and an other vanyte vnder the
 8 sunne; oon is, and the secunde hath not;
 nouthur sone, ne brother; and ner the
 latere to trauailen he ceseth not, and
 ner the latere his eȝen ben not fild
 with riches; ne he thenketh aȝeen,
 seiende, To whom trauaile I, and begile
 my soule of goodis? In^l that also ys
 9 vanyte, and werst tormenting. Betere
 is that two^m ben togidere than oon;
 forsothe thei han auantage of ther fela-
 10 shipe. If oon shul fallen, of the tother
 he shal ben holden vp; wo to the alone,
 for whan he shal fallen, he hath not a
 11 man rerende hym vp. If two shul slepe,
 thei shul ben nurshid togidere; oon, what

the sones of Adam stieth vpward, and if^z
 the spirit of beestis goith^a downward?
 And Y perseyuede that no thing is betere,
 22 than that a man be glad in his werk^{*}, and
 that this be his part; for who schal brynge
 hym, that he knowe thingis that schulen
 come after hym?

CAP. IV.

I turnede me to othere thingis, and Y
 siȝ fals chalengis, that ben don vnder the
 sunne[†], and the teris of innocentis^b, and
 no man coumfortour; and that thei for-
 sakun^c of the help of alle men, moun not
 aȝenstonde the violence of hem. And Y²
 preiside more deed men than lyuynge
 men; and Y demyde hym, that was not³
 borun ȝit, and siȝ^d not the yuels that ben
 don vnder the sunne, to be blisfulere^e than
 euer eithir[†]. Eft Y bihelde alle the tra-
 4 uelis of men, and bisynesses; and Y per-
 seyuede that tho ben opyn to the^f enuye
 of neȝbore^g; and therfor in this is va-
 nyte, and superflu bisynesse. A fool fold-
 5 ith togidere hise hondis, and etith hise
 fleischis^h, and seith, Betere is an handful⁶
 with reste, than euer either hondful with
 trauel and turment of soule. I bihelde⁷
 and foond also another vanytee || vnder
 theⁱ sunne; oon is^k, and he hath not a⁸
 secunde; not^l a sone, not^m a brother;
 and netheles he ceesith not forⁿ to trauele,
 nether hise iȝen ben fillid with^o riches;
 nether he bithenkith^p, and seith, To whom
 trauele Y, and disseyue my soule in goodis?
 In this also is vanyte, and the^q worste^r
 turment. Therfor it is betere, that tweyne^s
 be togidere than oon; for thei han profite
 of her felouschipe. If oon fallith doun, he¹⁰
 schal be vnder set of the tothere^t; wo to
 hym that is aloone[¶], for whanne he fallith,
 he hath noon reisyng^u him^v. And if¹¹
 tweyne slepen^w, thei schulen be nurschid

* in his werk;
 that is, in ver-
 tuous werks.
 Live here. c.
 † that ben doon
 vnder the
 sunne; in iiii.
 c. he preueth
 that mannis
 blis stonidith not
 in lordschip, for
 it hath myche
 disese and tra-
 uel and perel
 of synne. Live
 here. c.

‡ than euer
 eithir; that is,
 lesse wrecchid
 than an yuel
 man deed, and
 an yuel man
 lyuynge; for
 he that is deed
 borun and
 dieth in ori-
 ginal synne
 onely, hath no
 peyne of feel-
 ing, but he
 hath more de-
 litable liyf,
 than he myȝte
 haue in present
 liyf, as alle
 doctours seyen,
 that speken of
 hem that dien
 in original
 synne onely.
 Live here. c.

§ etith hise
 fleischis; for
 whi for he
 eschewith tra-
 uel, he hath
 litil to ete, and
 so hise fleischis
 ben maad
 thynne. Live
 here. c.

|| an other
 vanyte, etc.; that
 is, the wrecchid-
 nesse of an
 auarouse man.
 hath not a se-
 cunde; for he
 fleeth to haue
 meyne and
 frenschipe with
 any man, lest
 it bihoueth him
 spende sum-
 thing, and ne-
 theles he cees-
 sith not to gete
 catel, with
 greet turment
 of bodi and of
 soule. that
 tweyne be to
 gidere; that is,
 that many men
 be ioyned togi-
 dere in fren-

schip and felouschipe. Live here. c.

¶ wo to him that is aloone; that is, hath not felouschipe and frenschip with any man. Live here. c.

§ comynge AGH. ^h now E *passim*. ⁱ the neȝbour A. ^k Om. AGH. ^l And c. ^m thanne two to c.

^z Om. c. ^a goon s. ^b the giltles I. ^c destitut, ether forsakun c et plures. destitute, or failinge I.
^d Y siȝ CMÇ. ^e more blessid I. ^f Om. I. ^g the neȝbore I. ^h fleische I. ⁱ Om. IN pr. m. ^k ther is I.
^l nether I. ^m ne I. ⁿ Om. I. ^o of I. ^p bithenkith him I. ^q Om. I. ^r ful yuel I. ^s two I. ^t that
 oother I. ^u to reise I. ^v him up I. ^w slepen to gidre I.

12 maner shal he be maad hot? If any man
haue the ouere hond azen oon, two^m with-
stonden to hym; a thre fold corde hard
13 is to-broken. Betere is a child pore and
wis than a king old and fool, that can-
14 not seen befor in to aftir. That and
fro prisoun and cheynes otherwhile sum
man goth out to a reume; and an other
born into a reume with myseise is wastid.
15 I sa; alle liuende men that gon vnder the
sunne, with the zunge ful waxynge the
16 secunde, that shal rise for hym. With
oute ende is the noumbre of pupleⁿ, of
alle that weren befor hym, and that
aftir^o ben to comen, shul not gladen in
hym; but and this vanyte and torment-
17 ing of spirit. Kep thou thi foot, goende
in to the hous of God, and nezhe that
thou heere; forsothe myche betere is
obeisaunce than victorie sacrifices^p of
foolis, that wite not what thei don of
euel.

CAP. V.

1 And speke thou not folili any thing,
ne thin herte be swift to bringe forth a
wrđ befor God; God forsothe in heuene,
and thou vp^{pp} on erthe, and therefore fewe
2 be thi wrdis. Sweuenus folewen manye
besynesses, and in manye wrdis shal ben
3 founde folie. If any thing thou haue^q
vouwid to God, ne tarie thou to zelde;
forsothe displesith to hym vnfeithful and
fool beheste; but what euere thou auouw-
4 ist, zeeld; and myche betere it is to^r not
auouwen, than aftir the vow the bihestis
5 to not zelde. Ne ziue thou thi mouth,
that thou make thi flesh to synnen; ne
sey thou biforn the aungil, There is not
purueying; lest paraenture the Lord,
wroth vp on thi wrdis, scatere alle the
6 werkis of thin hondis. Wher many
sweuenes ben, many vanytes, and wrdis

togidere*; hou schal oon be maad hoot?
And if ony man hath maistri azens oon, 12
tweyne azen stonden hym; a threfolde
corde is brokun of hard. A pore man 13
and wijs is betere than an eld kyng and
fool, that kan not bifore se in to tyme to
comynge. For sum tyme a man goith 14
out bothe fro prysoun and chaynes to a
rewme; and anothir borun in to a rewme
is wastid bi nedynesse. I si; alle men† 15
lyuynge that goen vndur the sunne, with
the secunde zong wexynge man, that
shal rise for hym. The noumbre of pu- 16
ple, of alle that weren bifore hym, is greet
with outen mesure, and thei that schulen
come aftirward, schulen not be glad in
hym; but also this is vanyte and turment
of the spirit. Thou that entrist in to the 17
hous of God, kepe thi foot†, and neize thou
for to here; for whi myche betere is obe-
dience^x than the sacrifices^y of foolis, that
witen not what yuel thei don. Speke thou 1
not ony thing folily||, nether thin herte
be swift to brynge forth a word bifore
God; for^z God is in heuene, and thou
art on erthe, therfor thi wordis be fewe.
Dremes suen many bisynessis, and foli 2
shal be foundun in many wordis. If thou 3
hast avowid ony thing to God, tarie thou
not to zelde^a; for an vnfeithful and fonned
biheest¶ displesith hym; but 'zelde thou^b
what euer thing thou hast avowid^c; and 4
it is myche betere to make not a vowe,
than aftir a vowe to zelde not biheestis^d.
Zyue thou not thi mouth**, that thou make 5
thi fleisch to do synne; nether seie thou
bifor an aungel, No puruyaunce is^e; lest
perauenture the Lord be wrooth on^f thi
wordis, and distruye alle the werkis of
thin hondis. Where ben many dremes, 6
ben ful many vanytees, and wordis with
out noumbre; but drede thou God. If 7

* *nurschid to-
gidere*; herbi
in figuratif
speche is vn-
durstondun
the reste of
many men in
o loue. *hoot*; in
charite. a *thre
fold coorde*,
etc.; that is,
as myche as
mo men and
goode ben
ioyned to gidere
in frenschipe,
bi so myche the
staot of hem is
amendid. *Live
here. c.*

† *Y si; alle
men*; that is,
many men.
with the se-
conde; that is,
the sone of the
king that schal
regne aftir him.
Live here. c.

‡ *kepe thi foot*;
that is, go thou
not in boost-
fully nether
proudly, as
myzty men of
this world, that
ben enhaunsid
in her power,
ben wout to
do. *neize thou*;
to prestis and
techeris of the
lawe, for to
here Goddis
heestis, to fille
tho feithful in
werk. *Live
here. c.*

§ *betere is obe-
dience*; in the
kepinge of
Goddis heestis.
than the sacri-
fices of foolis;
that is, of
brekeris of the
lawe, that
dreden not to
breke Goddis
heestis bi her
power, and
gessen to please
hym bi of-
fringis and sa-
crifices. *witen
not what yuel
thei doen*; for
bi this that
thei ben proude,
they ben blynd-
id, and kun-
neu not knowe
the greuous-
nesse of her
synne. *Live
here. c.*

|| *Speke thou not ony thing folili*; of God ether of hise domes, in repreuyng the. *Live here. c.*
¶ *vnfeithful*, whanne aftir a vow maad in the tyme of nede, the purpos is chaungid anon whanne the nede ceessith; it is seid a fonned biheest, whanne
it is of a thing vnleueful ether vndifferent, as if a man makith a vow, to reise a stre fro erthe, for this turneth not in ony thing to the onour of God,
ethir if a vow is maad of a good thing, nethes impossible to him that makith a vow. *Live here. c.*
to gloteny. to do synne; bi the vice of lecherie. *Live here. c.*

¶ *vnfeithful and fonned biheest*; it is seid
** *thi mouth*; in openyng it ouer myche

^m tweyne AEGH. ⁿ the puple A. ^o after hym A. ^p sacrifice C. ^{pp} Om. C *pr. m.* ^q hast AEGH. ^r Om. A.

^x the obedience M. ^y sacrifice A. ^z sothly I. ^a zelde it I. ^b Om. I. ^c auowid to God, zelde
thou it I. ^d the biheestis I. ^e ther is I. ^f of I.

vnnoumbreable; thou forsothe dred God.
 7 If thou shalt seen wronge^r chalengis of
 nedi men, and violent domes, and rízt-
 wisnesse to be turned vpso down in pro-
 uynce^s, wndre^t thou not vp on this nede;
 for than the hee³ an other is hezere, and
 vp on these othere also ben hezere stond-
 sende; and ferthermore the king of al
 9 erthe comaundith to the seruende. The
 auerouse shall not ben fulfid with monee;
 and that looueth richesses, frut shal not
 take of them; and this thanne vanyte.
 10 Wher ben many richesses, and manye
 that eten hem; and^u what profiteth to
 the weldere, but that he seeth the rich-
 11 esses with his e³en? Swete is slep to the
 werchere, whether lital or myche^v he ete;
 fulnesse forsothe of the riche man suf-
 12 frith hym not to slepen. Ther is and
 an other infirmyte werst, that I sa³ vndir
 the sunne; richesses kept in to euel^w of
 13 his lord. Forsothe thei pershen in the
 werste tormenting; 'he gat^x a sone, that
 14 in hezest nedynesse shal be. As he wente
 out nakid of the wombe of his moder, so
 he shal turne a³een; and no thing he
 shal take with hym of his trauaile.
 15 Wrecche^{ful} forsothe infirmyte; what
 maner he cam, so he shal turne a³een.
 What thanne profiteth to^v hym, that he
 16 trauailede in to wind? Alle the dazes of
 his lif he eet in dercnesses, and in many
 besynesses, and in myseise, and sorewe.
 17 And so this to me is seen good, that a
 man ete, and drinke, and vse gladnesse
 of his trauaile, that he trauailede vnder
 the sunne, in noumbre of the dazes of his
 lif, 'the whiche^z God 3af to hym; and this
 18 is his part. And to eche man, to whom
 God 3af richesses, and substaunce, and
 power he 3af to hym, that he ete of hem,
 and take the frut of his part, and glade
 of his trauaile; this is the 3ifte of God.
 19 Forsothe not 'a seeth^a he shal recorde of
 the dazes of his lif, ther thur³ that God
 ocupie in delicys his herte.

thou seest false chalengis of nedi men, and
 violent domes, and that ríztfulnesse is dis-
 tried in the prouynce, wondre thou not on
 this doynge; for another is hizere than an
 hiz man, and also othere men ben more
 hize aboue these men; and ferthermore^s
 the kyng of al erthe comaundith to the
 seruaunt*.

CAP. V.

An auerouse† man schal not be fillid of⁹
 monei; and he that loueth richessis schal
 not take fruytis of tho^s; and therfor this
 is vanyte. Where ben^b many richessis, 10
 also many men *ben^b*, that eten tho; and
 what profitith it to the haldere, noⁱ but
 that he seeth richessis with hise i³en? 11
 Slepe is swete to hym that worchith, whe-
 ther he etith^k lital ether myche; but the
 fulnesse of a ryche man suffrith not hym
 to slepe. Also anothir sijknese is ful 12
 yuel, which^l Y si³ vndur the sunne; rich-
 essis *ben* kept in to the yuel^m of her lord†. 13
 For thei perischen in the worste turment;
 he gendrideⁿ a sone, that schal be in soue-
 reyn nedynesse. As he 3ede nakid out of 14
 his modris wombe, so he schal turne a³en;
 and he schal take awei with hym no thing
 of his trauel. Outirli *it is* a wretchid 15
 sijknese; as he cam, so he schal turne
 a³en. What therfor^o profitith it to hym,
 that he trauelide in to the wynde^s? In 16
 alle the daies of his lijf he eet in derk-
 nessis, and in many businessis, and in nedynesse^p, and^q sorewe. Therfor this semyde 17
 good to me, that a man ete, and drynke,
 and vse gladnesse of his trauel, in which
 he trauelide vndir the sunne, in the noum-
 bre of daies of his lijf, which God 3af to
 hym; and this is his part. And to ech 18
 man, to whom God 3af richessis, and catel,
 and 3af power to hym to ete of tho, and
 to vse his part, and to be glad of his
 trauel; this is the 3ifte of God. For he 19
 schal not bithenke^r miche on the daies of
 his lijf, for God ocupieth his herte with
 delicis.

* to the ser-
 uant; that is,
 to ech creature
 soiet to him
 silf. *Live here.*

† An auerouse,
 etc.; here bi-
 ginneth the
 v. c°. bi Jerom,
 and in this c°. Salomon schew-
 ith, that man-
 nus blis stondith
 not in temporal
 richessis. *schal*
 not take, etc.;
 that is, that
 loueth richessis
 as an auarouse
 man doith,
 schal take no
 profit of tho,
 for his auarice
 suffrith him
 not to vse tho.
Live here. c.
 ‡ in to the yuel
 of her lord;
 for herbi ra-
 ueynours and
 couetouse men
 setten tresoun
 to riche men,
 and thei ben
 stranglid for
 her richessis.
Live here. c.

§ in to the
 wynd; as if
 he seye, no
 thing; for his
 trauel profitith
 not to him silf,
 nethir to hise
 sones. *Live*
here. c.

^r Om. c pr. m. ^s prouyncis A. ^t ne wondre E pr. m. ^u Om. CG sec. m. ^v mychel E. ^w the euel AGH.
^x Om. c pr. m. thei iendren E pr. m. he begat AE sec. m. GH. ^y Om. c pr. m. ^z that c pr. m. ^a ynow³
 AE sec. m. marg. GH.

³ hem I. ^b ther ben I. ⁱ Om. I. ^k ete I. ^l that I. ^m harm I. ⁿ gaat I. ^o Om. c. ^p nedi
 nessis A. ^q of c. ^r thenke I.

CAP. VI.

1 Ther is and an other euel, that I saȝ
vnder the sunne; and forsothe ofte anentis
2 men. A man to whom God ȝaf richesses,
and substaunce, and wrshepe; and no
thing lacketh to his soule of alle thingis
that he desireth; and God ȝyueth not
power to hym, that he ete of it, but a
straunge man shal deuouren it. This is
3 vanyte, and gret wrecchidnesse. If any
man geete an hundred free childer, and
liue many ȝeris, and many dazes of his
age hadde, and the soule of hym vse nott
the goodis of his substaunce, and lacke
sepulture; of that I pronounce, that
betere than he be maad 'a dead born^z.
4 In veyn forsothe he cam, and wente to
dercnesses; and bi forȝeting shal be don
5 awei the name of hym. He^a saȝ not the
sunne, ne kneȝ the distaunce of good and
6 euel; also if two thousand ȝeer he shulde
liue, and hadde not ful vsid the goodis;
7 whether not to o place gon alle? Al the
trauaille of man in the mouth of hym,
but the soule of hym shal not be fulfild
8 with goodis. What more hath a wis
man than a fool? and what a pore, but
9 that he go thider, wher is lif? Betere is
to seen that thou coueitist, than to desire
that thou wost not; but and this is va-
10 nyte, and presumpcioun of spirit. Who
is to come, now is clepid the name of
hym, and is knowen, that he be a man,
and mai not aȝen a strengere than hym-
11 self striuen with in^b dom. Wrdis ben
many, and myche in disputing vanyte
hauende.

CAP. VII.

1 What nede is to a man more thingus
than hymself to sechen; whan he vn-
knowith, what it bringe to hym in his

CAP. VI.

Also another yuel is^a, which^t Y siȝ¹
vndur the sunne; and certis *it is* oft vsid
anentis men. A^u man *is*^v, to whom God²
ȝaf^w richessis, and catel, and onour; and
no thing failith^x to his soule^y of alle
thingis which^z he desirith; and God ȝyueth
not power^{*} to hym, that he ete therof,
but a straunge man shal deuoure it. This
is vanyte^a, and a gret wretchidnesse. If³
a man gendrith^b an hundrid[†] fre^c sones,
and lyueth many ȝeris, and hath many
daies of age, and his soule vsith not the
goodis of his catel, and wantith biriyng;
Y pronounce of this man, that a deed
borun child is betere than he. For he⁴
cometh in veyn[‡], and goith to derknessis;
and his name schal be don awei bi for-
ȝetyng. He siȝ⁵ not the sunne, nether⁵
knew dyuersyte^d of good and of yuel;
also thouȝ he lyueth^e twei thousynde⁶
ȝeeris, and vsith not goodis[§]; whether
alle thingis hasten not^{||} to o place? Al⁷
the trauel of a man *is* in his mouth[¶], but
the soule of hym schal not be fillid with
goodis. What hath a wijs man more⁸
than a fool? and what hath a pore man,
no^f but that he go thidur, where is lijf^{**}?
It is betere to se that, that thou coueitist,⁹
than to desire that, that thou knowist not;
but also this is vanyte, and presumpcioun
of spirit. The name of hym that schal¹⁰
come, is clepid now, and it is knowun,
that he is a man, and he mai not stryue^{††}
in doom aȝens a strongere than hym silf.
Wordis ben ful many, and han myche¹¹
vanyte in^g dispuyinge. What nede is it¹
to a man to seke grettere thingis than
hym silf; sithen^h he knowith not, what
schal bifalle to hym in his lijf, in the
noubre of daies of his pilgrimage, and

* God ȝyueth not power, etc.; for God drawith him away sudehynly fro present liyf. *Live here. c.*
† If a man gendrith an hundrid, etc.; defaute that cometh of auarice makith a man wrecchid, ȝhe, thouȝ he hath richessis and many othere thingis that ben desirid in present liyf. *and his soule; that is, he him silf. vsith not, in his owne per-soone, the goodis of his catel. a deed borun child; that assayed noon yuel of present liyf, and hath liyf more delitable than is this present liyf; therfor he is betere than an auarouse man, for in al his liyf he feelith not no but yuel, and angwisch of bodi and soule. Live here. c.*
‡ he cometh in veyn; to birthe, and goith to the sepulchre. *Live here. c.*
§ and vsith not goodis; but euere yuels, as if he seide, long liyf profitith no thing to him, but anoyeth more. *Live here. c.*
|| wher alle thingis hasten not, etc.; that is, alle corruptible thingis hasten bi deth to the erthe, fro whennus tho weren takun. *Live here. c.*
¶ Al the trauel of a man is in

his mouth; that is, for couenable sustenance of mannis liyf. but the soule of him; that is, of the auarouse man bifor seid. schal not be fillid with goodis; for he schal not vse his richessis, and therfor he hath richessis in veyn. *Live here. c.* ** where is lijf; that is, to blis to comyng, where deth hath no place. *Live here. c.* †† he may not stryue, etc.; that is, allegge resonably aȝenus God, that it perteyneth to man to knowe thingis to comyng that ben vncerteyn, and not teld in hooly writ. wordis ben ful, etc.; of dyuynyngis aboute thingis to comyng, to seke grettere, etc.; that is, kunnyng that passith his vndurstonding. sithen he knowith not, etc.; that is, what is profitable to him in present liyf.

^z an abortif *E pr. m.* ^a I *AG pr. m. H.* ^b Om. *A.*

^s ther is *I.* ^t that *I.* ^u Sum *I.* ^v ther is *I.* ^w hath ȝoue *I.* ^x ther failith *I.* ^y lijf *I.* ^z that *I.*
^a a vanyte *A.* ^b getith *I.* ^c of fre *I.* ^d the dyuersite *I.* ^e lyue *I.* ^f Om. *I.* ^g and *c.* ^h sith *I passim.*

lif, bi noumbre of dazes of his pilgrim-
age, and bi time that as shadewe passede?
or who to hym shal moun shewen, what
after hym be to come vnder the sunne?

2 Betere is a good name than precious
oynementes; and the dai of deth than
3 the dai of birthe. Betere is to go to the
hous of weiling, than to the hous of a
feste; in it forsothe the ende of alle men
is warned, and liuende he thenketh, what
4 be to come. Betere is wrathe than laz-
ing; for bi sorewe of the chere the wil-
5 of the trespasere is amendid. The herte
of wise men where is sorewe; and the
6 herte of foolis where is gladnesse. Betere
is to be chastisid of a wis man, than bi
7 flatering of foolis to be desceyued; for as
the soun of brennende thornes vnder a
8 pot, so the lazging of a fool. But and
this vanyte. Chaleng disturbeth the wise
man, and shal leesen the strengthe of his
9 herte. Betere is forsothe the ende of ori-
soun^e than the begynnyng. Betere is a^d
patient man than the enhauncende hyn-
10 self. Be thou not swift to wrathen; for
wrathe in the bosum of a fool restith.
11 Ne seye thou, What wenest thou of cause
is, that the rather tymes betere weren
than now ben? folie forsothe is such a
12 maner asking. Profitablere forsothe is
wisdam with richesses, and more pro-
13 fitith to men seende the sunne. Forsothe
as wisdam defendith, so^o monee; this
forsothe more hath lernyng and wisdam,
14 that lif thei zeelden to ther weldere. Be-
hold the werkes of God, that no man mai
15 amende, whom he despiside. In the
goode dai vse goodes, and the euele dai
be war biforn; as forsothe this, so and

in the tyme that passith as schadowe?
ether who may schewe to hym, what thing
vndur sunne schal come aftir hym?

CAP. VII.

A good name* is betere than precieuse²
oynementis; and the dai of deth *is betere*
than the dai of birthe. It is betere to go³
to the hous of morenyng†, than to the
hous of aⁱ feeste; for in that *hous* of
morenyng^k the ende of alle men is mo-
nestid^l, and a man lyuynge thenkith, what
is to comynge. Yre is betere than leizyng; ⁴
for the soule of a trespassour is amendid^m
bi theⁿ heuynesse of cheer. The herte of⁵
wise men *is* where^o sorewe is; and the
herte of foolis *is* where gladnesse^p is. It⁶
is betere to be repreued of a wijs man,
than to^q be disseyued bi the^r flaterynge of
foolis; for as the sown of thornes bren-
7 nyng vndur a pot, so *is* the leizyng of a
fool. But also this *is* vanyte. Fals cha-
8 lenge‡ disturbith a wijs man, and it schal
leese^s the strengthe of his herte. For-
9 sothe the ende of preyer is betere|| than
the bigynnyng. A patient man is betere
than a proud man. Be thou not swift to¹⁰
be wrooth; for ire^t restith in the bosum^u¶
of a fool. Seie thou not, What gessist¹¹
thou is of^v cause, that the formere tymes
weren betere than ben now? for whi
siche axyng is fonnid. Forsothe wisdom¹²
with richessis is more profitable**, and
profitith more to men seynge†† the sunne.
For as wisdom defendith, so money de-¹³
fendith‡‡; but lernyng and wisdom§§ hath^w
this more, that^x tho yuen lijf to her
weldere^y. Biholde thou the werkis of God,¹⁴
that^z no man may amende hym, whom

ether who may,
etc.; God
aloone. *Lire*
here. c.

*A good name;
that cometh of
onest liyf. is
betere than pre-
cious oyme-
mentis; here
Salomon tech-
ith of veri-
blis, that stond-
ith in God
aloone, and in
his cleer sijt,
and knowing,
and loue; and
the disposicioun
of blis stondith
in meedful
werk, for whi
hope is certeyn
abiding of blis
to comynge,
that risith of
grace and good
werkis, and
sich vertuose
lyif is a maner
of bigynnyng
of parfit blis.
day of deth; of
iust men; for
in the day of
deth they by-
gynen to lyue
verily, and
therfor the day
of deth of holy
men is clepid
the birthe of
hem. *Lire*
here. c.

† hows of
mornyng;
where moren-
yng is maad
for deed men.
to the hows of
feeste; wher-
ynne the synne
of gloteny is
ofte doon, and
the synne of
lecherie sueth
ofte. *Ire is*
betere; the
fadir, that
loueth the sone,
is wrooth,
whanne he
seeth him do
folily; but a
straunger, that
reckith not of
him, leizith of
his folie. *Lire*
here. c.

‡ Fals caleng;

§ it schal leese
the strengthe,
etc.; that is,
the vertu of
stidefastnesse,
if the troubling
wexith strong;
therfor a wijs
man owith to
arme him self
bi preyer. *Lire*
here. c.

that is, greuouse wrong. *disturbith*, etc.; netheles it castith not him down anon fro the vertu of stidefastnesse. *Lire* here. c.
the strengthe, etc.; that is, the vertu of stidefastnesse, if the troubling wexith strong; therfor a wijs man owith to arme him self bi preyer. *Lire* here. c.
|| the ende of preyer is betere, etc.; for it bigynneth of sorewe for wrong doon, and it is endid in coumfort 3oun of God, bi which a man is maad patient in aduersites. *Lire* here. c.
¶ in the bosum; that is, in his herte. *Lire* here. c.
** wisdom with richessis is more profitable; therfor Ambrose on Luk seith, As richessis ben lettynge to yuele men, so to goode men tho ben helpis. *Lire* here. c.
†† and profitith more to men seynge, etc.; that is, wisdom is betere with richessis, than with out richessis; and this is soth, whanne othere vertues ben euene in a riche man and a pore man; for a wise man hauynge richessis may do werkis of pitee and of liberalte, whiche he that hath no richessis, may not do. *Lire* here. c.
‡‡ so money defendith; that is, mynstrith spensis azenus visible enemyes, and it defendith azenus vnuysible enemyes, by meedful werkis of pitee and of liberalte. *Lire* here. c.
§§ but lernyng and wisdom, etc.; that is, liyf of grace, and of glorie to a wijs man, and without richessis, but richessis without wisdom moun not yue this. c.

^e the orisoun AGH. ^d the A. ^e so and c pr. m. so defendith G sec. m.

ⁱ o c. ^k Om. l. ^l warned l. ^m correctid l. ⁿ Om. l. ^o where that l. ^p folly gladnesse l. ^q Om. u.
^r Om. cix. ^s fordo l. ^t wratthe l. ^u herte l. *text.* or *bosum* l. *marg.* ^v the c sec. m. EFGHIKMPQ
^{RSUXYAQ.} ^w han l. ^x ouer that l. ^y hem that han hem l. ^z and se that l.

it God made, that a man finde not azen
 16 hym riȝtwis pleyntes. These thingus also
 I sawȝ in the dazes of my birthe; the
 riȝtwis pershede in his riȝtwisnesse, and
 the vnпитыous myche time liueth, and in
 17 his malice. Wile thou not ben myche
 riȝtwis, ne more sauouren^f than is nede;
 18 lest thou become stoneid. Ne myche vn-
 pytousli do thou, and wile thou not ben
 a fool; lest thou die in the^{ff} time not thin.
 19 Good is, thee to sustenen the riȝtwis;
 but and fro hym ne withdrawe thou thin
 hond; for who dredeth God, no thing
 20 necgligentli leueth. Wisdam coumfortede
 the wise, ouer ten princes of the cite.
 21 Ther is not forsothe a riȝtwis man in
 the erthe, that do good, and not synne.
 22 But and to alle wrdis, that ben seid, ne
 leeuē thou^g thin herte; lest paraenture
 thou heere a seruau^t cursende to thee;
 23 thi conscience forsothe wot, for and thou
 24 ofte sithes cursedist to othere. Alle
 thingis I saȝede^h in wisdam; I seide, Wis
 I shal be maad, and it ferthere wente
 25 awei fro me, myche more than it was;
 26 and heeȝ depnesse, who shal finde it? I
 cumpassede alle thingus in myn inwit,
 that I shulde witen, and beholde, and
 sechen wisdam and resoun, and that I
 shulde knowe the vnпитыousnes of the fool,
 27 and the errour of vnprudent men. And
 I fond a womman bitterere than deth,
 the whiche is the grene of hunteres, and
 a net the herte of hir, bondis ben the
 hondis of hir; who plesith to God, shal
 ascapen hir, who forsothe is a synnere,
 28 shal be caȝt of hir. Lo! this I fond,
 seide Ecclesiastes, oon and other, that I
 29 shulde finde resoun, that ȝit sechith my
 soule; and I fond not. A man of a thou-
 send oon I fond, a womman of alle I fond

God hath dispisid*. In a good day vse¹⁵ * whom God
 thou goodis, and bifore eschewe thou an
 yuel day; for God made so this dai as
 that dai, that a man fynde not iust
 playnyngis aȝens hym. Also Y siȝ^a these 16
 thingis in the daies[†] of my natyuyte^b;
 a iust man perischith in his riȝtfulnesse,
 and a wickid man lyueth myche tyme in
 his malice. Nyle thou be iust myche^c†, 17
 nether vndurstonde thou more than is
 nedeful; lest thou be astonyed. Do thou 18
 not wickidli myche^g, and nyle thou be a
 fool; lest thou die in a tyme not thin. It 19
 is good, that thou susteyne a iust man; but
 also withdrawe thou not thin hond from
 hym; for he that dredith God, is not necli-
 gent of ony thing. Wisdom hath coum- 20
 fortid a wise man, ouer ten pryncis^{||} of a
 citee. Forsothe no iust man is^d in erthe, 21
 that doith good, and synneth not. But 22
 also ȝyue thou not thin herte to alle
 wordis^e, that ben seid; lest perauenture
 thou here thi seruau^t cursynge thee; for 23
 thi conscience woot, that also thou hast
 cursid ofte othere men. I asayedē alle 24
 thingis in wisdom[¶]; Y^f seide, I schal be
 maad wiȝs, and it ȝede awei ferthere fro
 me, myche more than it was; and the 25
 depthe is hiȝ^{g**}, who schal fynde it? I 26
 cumpasside alle thingis in^h my soule, to
 kunne, and biholdeⁱ, and seke wisdom and
 resoun, and to knowe the wickidnesse of
 a fool, and the^k errour of vnprudent men.
 And Y foond a womman bitterere^{††} than 27
 deth, which^l is the snare of hunteris, and
 hir herte is a net, and hir hondis ben
 boondis; he that plesith God schal ascape
 hir, but he that is a synnere, schal be
 takun of hir. Lo! Y foond^{‡‡} this, seide 28
 Ecclesiastes, oon and other, that Y schulde
 fynde resoun, which^m my soule sekith ȝit; 29

that is, hath dispisid; that is, hath forsake him finally; and a signe of this forsaking is, the hardnesse in yuel; brotheris repreu- yng ether priuy blamyng ow- ith to ceesse, whanne a man seeth his brother obstynat in synne, but the iuge owith not to ceesse herfor of pu- nysching, but more to pu- nysche so, ȝhe, by deth, if his trespas axith this, that the comyn good and pees be not disturblid bi him. *Live here. c.*
 † in the daies, etc.; that is, of present liyf, that passith sone away, so it is not no but vanyte. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ Nyle thou be iust myche; that is, in pu- nysching ouer scharply. *nether vndurstonde, etc.; of thi riȝtfulnesse. astonyed; in ȝyuyngē a cruel sentence, and not iust. Live here. c.*
 § Do thou not wickidly myche; for cruelte is a greet wickid- nesse, and for it makith a man to erre, and to gete to him silf dedly enemytes, it sueth, nyle thou be a fool, etc. not thyn; in hastinge thi deeth bi ene- mytes. *a iust man; in de- fendinge him in his riȝtful- nesse. Live here. c.*
 || ouer ten

prynces; that is, more than eny power of man. *Live here. c.*
 here. c. ** the depthe is hiȝ; that is, the kynde of God, as to the knowing of persoones is an hiȝ depthe. *who schal fynde it; as if he seye, no man bi mannus seking. Live here. c.* †† a womman biterere, etc.; for a womman departith the soule fro his Creatour, but deth departith oneli fro the body. *of hunteris; that is, of fendis. Live here. c.* ‡‡ Lo! Y foond; that is, enqueride deligentli. *oon and other; that is, in applynge my wit to ech thing. Live here. c.*

¶ in wisdom; that is, for wisdom to be getun. *it ȝede; in my reputacioun. Live here. c.*

^f sauere E. sauere thou AGH. ^{ff} Om. c. pr. m. ^g thou not E pr. m. ^h asaȝede G.

^a sawȝ I *passim.* ^b birthe I. ^c ouer myche I. ^d ther is I. ^e the wordis I. ^f and Y I. ^g lowe I.
^h with I. ⁱ to beholde I. ^k Om. c. ^l the which I. ^m that I.

30 not. Onli this I fond, that God made man riȝt; and he hymself mengde with questiouns with oute ende. Who such^h oon as the wise is? and who kneȝ the solucioun of theⁱ wrd?

CAP. VIII.

1 The wisdam of a man liztneth^j in the chere of hym; and the most myȝti the
2 face of hym shal chaungen. I the mouth of the king kepe, and hestes and the othis
3 of God. Ne heȝe thou to gon awei fro the face of hym, ne abide thou stille in euel were. For al that he wille, he shal
4 do; and the sermoun of hym is ful of power, ne any man mai sey to hym, Whi
5 dost thou thus? Who kepeth the hest, shal not ben expert^k any thing 'of euel^{kk}; time and answering the herte of the
6 wise man vnderstant^l. To alle nede time is^m and couenableness; and myche tor-
7 mentyng of a man, that vnknowith the passide thingus, and theⁿ to comen bi no
8 messenger he may wite. It is not in a mannys power to defende the spirit, ne he hath power in the dai of deth, ne it is suffrid to resten, bataile aȝencomende; ne vnpitousnesse shal saue the vnpitouse.
9 Alle these thingus I beheeld, and ȝaf myn herte in alle werkis, that ben mad vnder sunneⁿⁿ. Otherwhile a man lordshipeth to
10 a man, in to his euel. I saȝ vnpitous men biried, that alsoo, whan ȝit thei liueden, 'in holi place^o weren; and thei weren preised in the cite, as of riȝtwis werkis;
11 but and this is vanyte. Forsothe for ther is not broȝt forth anoon^{oo} aȝen euele men sentence, withoute any drede the
12 sones of men werchen eueles. And ner the latere the synnere, of that, that an hundrid sithes he doth euel, and bi pa-

and Y foondⁿ not*. I foond o man of a thousynde; Y^o foond not a^p womman of alle. I foond this oonli, that God made³⁰ a man riȝtful; and he medlide hym silf with questiouns with out noubre. Who is siche as a wiȝs man? and who knowith the expownyng^q of a word[†]? The wisdom¹ of a man schyneth in his cheer; and the myȝtieste schal chaunge his face.

CAP. VIII.

I kepe the mouth of the kyng[†], and the² comaundementis and sweryngis of God. Haste thou not to go awei[§] fro his face,³ and dwelle thou not in yuel werk. For he schal do al thing, that he wole; and⁴ his word is ful of power, and no man mai seie to hym, Whi doist thou so? He that⁵ kepith the comaundement of God 'in this liȝf^r, schal not feeles ony^s thing of yuel; the herte of a wiȝs man vnderstondith tyme and answer. Tyme and^v cesoun^u is⁶ to ech werk; and myche turment is of a man, for he knowith not thingis passid,⁷ and he mai not knowe bi ony messenger thingis to comynge^v. It is not in the⁸ power of man to forbede the spirit ||, nethir he hath power in the dai of deth, nethir he is suffrid to haue reste, whanne the batel neizeth^w; nethir wickidnesse schal saue a wickid man. I bihelde alle⁹ thes thingis, and Y ȝaf myn herte in alle werkis, that ben don vnder the sunne. Sum tyme a man is lord of a man, to his yuel[¶]. Y siȝ wickid men biried, which,¹⁰ whanne thei lyueden ȝit, weren in hooli place; and thei weren preised in the citee, as men of iust werkis; but also this is vanyte. Forsothe^x for the sentence^{**} is¹¹ not brouȝt forth soone aȝens yuele men, the sones of men^{††} doon yuels with outen

* and Y fond not; that is, til to perfectioun. o man, vertuose of a thousnde; that is, ful fewe men ben foundun vertuose in comparisoun of men failing fro vertu, for the noubre of foolis is greet with out noubre. Y foond not a womman of alle; that is, not oon vertuose; not that no womman is vertuose, but for fewe in comparisoun of men ben vertuose, as it is seid comynly, that no man is in the chirche, whanne ful fewe men ben there, in comparisoun of the multitude that is wont to come to gidere thidur. with questiouns; that is, hardnesis aboute the getting of sciences and vertues. Who is siche; that is, so worthe to be preised among men, as a wiȝs man; that is, a vertuose man bi vertues and vnderstonding; he that atteyneth to vertuose liȝf and trewe vnderstonding, is ful excelent among men. Lire here. c. † ether expownyng of a word; that is, of a priuy word, as if he seye, noon, no but a wiȝs man in vnderstonding and vertuose liȝf. chaunge his face; that is, in the rising aȝen, whanne

he schal ȝyue to him a gloriouse face. Lire here. c.

† Y kepe the mouth, etc.; that is, the comaundement is brouȝt forth of his mouth, and this is seid in the persoune of a trewe obeiere to God. Lire here. c.

|| spirit; that is, his soule, fro goyng out fro the bodi. Lire here. c.

¶ to his yuel; that is, to the yuel of the Lord, whanne herbi he is reised aȝenus God. Lire here. c.

** the sentence; of Goddis punyschyng. Lire here. c.

†† the sones of men; that is, that ben nurschid in fleisly lustis, that ben the sones of men, and not of God. Lire here. c.

^h sechith A.

ⁱ Om. c pr. m.

^j lizteth E pr. m.

^k expert, or feeles AEGH.

^{kk} Om. c pr. m.

^l vnderstondeth AEH.

^m Om. A.

ⁿ the thingis A. tho G.

ⁿⁿ the sunne c pr. m.

^o Om. c pr. m.

^{oo} Om. c pr. m.

ⁿ foond it I. ^o and Y c. ^p oo Y. ^q soilyng, ether [the 18] expownyng c et ceteri. ^r Om. I. in his liȝf a.

^s of ony c. ^t eyther s. ^u leiser, ether cesoun c et ceteri. ^v come I. ^w neizeth niȝ I. ^x Sothly I.

VOL. III.

K

cience is sustened, I kneȝ that ther was good to men dredende God, that reue-
 13 rentli dreden the face of hym. Be ther not good to the vnpitouse, ne be ther aferr longid the dazes of hym; but as shadewe passe they, that dreden not the
 14 face of the Lord. Ther is and an other vanyte, that is don vp^p on erthe. Ther ben riztwis men, to the^{pp} whiche eueles comen forth, as werkes thei diden of vnpitous men; and ther ben vnpitous men, that ben so sikir, as thoȝ^q thei hadden the deedis of riztwis men; but and this
 15 most veyn I deme. I preisede therefore gladnesse, that ther was not to man good vnder sunne, but that he ete, and drinke, and ioȝe; and that onli with hym he take of his^{qq} trauaile, in the dazes of his lif, that God ȝaf to hym vnder the
 16 sunne. And I leide to myn herte, that I wite wisdom, and vnderstande distincion, that goth^r on erthe. Ther is a man, that dazes and niztus slep taketh
 17 not to his egen. And I vnderstod, that of alle the werkis of God, no resoun of them mai a man finde, that ben mad vnder the sunne; and hou myche more he trauailede to sechen, so myche lasse he shal finde; also if the wise man^{rr} shal sei hymself to han knowen, he shal not
 1 moun finde. Alle these thingus I tretede in myn herte, that I vndirstonde curiously.

CAP. IX.

Ther ben riztwis and wise men, and the werkis of hem in the hond of God; and ner the latere a man wot not, whether looue or hate he be wrthi. But
 2 alle thingus in to time to come ben kept vncerteyn; for thi that alle thingus euenli comen to the riztwis and to the vnpitous, to the goode and to the euele, to the clene and to the vnclene, to the offrende ostis and victorie sacrificis, and to the despisende sacrificis; as a good man,

chosun men; wherfor God schal be glorified in alle thingis, and it is worthi to obeie to hise comaundementis. *Live here. c.*
 the ix. c^o. in Ebreu. *Live here. c.* ¶ *ether of hatredis; of God. Live here. c.*

ony drede. Netheles of that, that a syn-
 12 nere doith yuel^y an hundrid sithis, and is suffrid bi pacience, Y knew that good schal^z be to men dredynge God, that reuerensen his face^a. Good be not^{*} to the
 13 wickid man, nethir hise daies be maad longe; but passe thei as schadewe, that dreden not the face of the Lord. Also
 14 another vanyte is^b, which^c is don on erthe. Iust men ben^d, to whiche^e yuels comen, as if thei diden the werkis of wickid men; and wickid men ben^f, that ben so^g sikur, as if thei han^h the dedis of iust men; but Y deme also this moost veyn[†]. Therfor
 15 Y preysid gladnesse[‡], that no good was to a man vndur the sunne, noⁱ but to ete, and drynke, and to be ioiful; and that he schulde bere awei with hym silf oneli this of his trauel, in the daies of his lijf[§], whiche God ȝaf to hym vndur the^k sunne. And
 16 Y settide myn herte to knowe wisdom, and to vndurstonde the departing, which is turned in erthe. A man is, that bi daies and niztis takith not sleep with^l izen. And
 17 Y vnderstod, that of alle^m the werkis of God, a man may fynde no resoun of tho thingis, that ben don vndur the sunne; and in as myche as he traueilith more to seke, bi so myche he schal fynde lesse; ȝhe, thouȝ a wijs man seithⁿ that he knowith, he schal not mow fynde.

CAP. IX.

¶ I tretide alle these thingis in myn herte,
 1 to vndirstonde diligentli. Iust men, and wise men^o ben^p, and her werkis ben in the hond of God; and netheles a man noot^q, whether he is^r worthi of loue or^s of hatrede^t¶. But alle thingis ben kept vncer-
 2 teyn in to tyme^u to comynge; for alle thingis bifallen euenli to a iust man and to a wickid man, to a good man and to an yuel man, to a cleene man and to an vnclene man, to a man offrynge offryngis and sacrificis, and to a man dispisyng

* *Good be not, etc.; that is, temporal prosperite, for he mysuith it. maad longe; for it is to him occasioun of multipliynge of synnes. Live here. c.*
 † *moost veyn; that is, moost vnreasonable; and he spekith here in the persone of a fleisly man and vnfeithful, that thenkith not on peynes and meedis to comynge. Y preyside, etc.; that is, lustful lijf. to vndurstonde the departing; aboute the tribulacioun of vniust men, and the prosperite of wickid men. Live here. c.*
 ‡ *gladnesse; that is, lustful lijf. Live here. c.*
 § *of his travel in the dayes of his lijf, etc.; of this it is opin, that Salomon spekith here in the persone of a fleisly man, that thenkith of present lijf onely. And Y settide myn herte, etc.; this, that God sufferith iust men to be set in tribulacioun in present lijf, and vniust men to haue prosperite, per- teyneth to the iust domes of God, but priuy to vs; and therfor siche thingis owen not to be sougt of vs, but it suffisith to knowe in general, bi feith and hooly scripture, that siche thingis that bifallen here, be ordeyned bi Goddis wisdom, to the glorie of him, and also of*
 ¶ *Here bigynneth*

p Om. c pr. m. pp Om. c pr. m. q thof E passim. qq al his E pr. m. r gon c pr. m. rr Om. AGH.

y yuelis m. z it shal i. a face or presence i. b ther is i. c that i. d ther ben i. e whom i. f ther ben i. g as i. h hadden i. i Om. L k Om. I. l with his i. m Om. c. n sey i. o Om. s. p ther ben i. q woot not i. not s pr. m. wot not s sec. m. r be i. s ether ceteri. t hate m. u the tyme c.

so and a synnere; as a forsworn, so and
 3 he that soth swerth. This is the werste
 among alle thingis, that vnder the sunne
 ben don, for the same thingus to alle men
 fallen; wherfore and the hertes of the
 sonus of men ben fulfild with malice and
 with dispising in ther lif; and aftir
 these^a to helle thei shul ben broȝt down.
 4 No man is, that euermor liue, and that
 of this thing haue trost; betere is a quyc
 5 dogge thanne a leoun dead. Lyuende
 men forsothe witen themself to be to
 dien; deade forsothe no thing knewen
 more, ne han ouer meede; for to for-
 6 ȝeting taken is the mynde of hem. Looe
 also, and hate, and enuyes togidere per-
 sheden; and thei han not part in this
 world, and in the werk that vnder the
 7 sunne is don. Go thanne, and ett in
 gladnesse thi bred, and drinc with ioȝe
 thi win; for to God plesen thi werkis.
 8 Alle times be thi clothis white, and oile
 9 fro thin hed faile not. Parfitli vse lif
 with the wif that thou loouest, alle the
 dazes of thi lif of thin vnstabilnesse, that
 ben ȝyue to thee vnder sunne^t, al the
 time of thi vanyte; this is forsothe part
 in lif, and in thi trauaile, that thou
 10 trauailist vnder sunne^t. What euere
 thing mai thin hond don, besili werc;
 for nouthur werc, ne resoun, ne wisdam,
 ne kunnyng is anent helle, whider thou
 11 gost. I turnede me to an other thing,
 and^u I saȝ vnder sunne neither cours to
 ben of swifte men, ne bataile of stronge
 men, ne bred of wise men, ne riches-
 ses of tȝt men, ne grace off craftis men; but
 12 time and chauns in alle thingus. A man
 wot not his ende; but as fisshis ben take
 with the hoc, and as briddes ben^v caȝt
 with the grene, so ben taken men in euel

sacrifices; as a good man, so and a syn-
 nere; as a forsworn man, so^v and^w he
 that greetli swerith treuthe. This thing³
 is the worste among alle thingis, that ben
 don vnder the sunne, that the same thingis
 bifallen to alle men; wherfor and the hertis
 of the sonus of men ben fillid with malice
 and^x dispising in her lijf; and aftir these
 thingis thei schulen be led down to^y hellis.
 No man is^z, that lyueth euere, and that⁴
 hath trist of this thing; betere is a quik
 dogge^{*} than a deed lioun. For thei that⁵
 lyuen witen that thei schulen die; but
 deed men knowen no thing more, nether
 han meede ferthere; for her mynde is
 ȝouun to forȝetyng. Also the loue, and⁶
 hatrede, and enuye perischiden togidere;
 and thei han no part[†] in this world, and
 in the werk that is don vnder the^a sunne.
 Therfor go thou, *iust man*, and ete thi⁷
 breed in gladnesse, and drynke thi wiyn
 with ioie; for thi werkis plesen God. In⁸
 ech tyme thi clothis be white[‡], and oile faile
 not fro thin heed. Vse thou lijf with the⁹
 wijf which thou louest, in alle the^b daies
 of lijf^c of thin vnstabilnesse, that ben
 ȝouun to thee vnder sunne^d, in al the
 tyme of thi vanyte; for this is thi part
 in thi lijf and trauel, bi which thou tra-
 uelist vnder the sunne. Worche thou¹⁰
 bisili[§], what euer thing thin hond mai do;
 for nether werk, nether resoun, nethir^e kun-
 nyng, nether^e wisdom schulen be at hellis,
 whidir thou haastist. I turnede me to¹¹
 another thing, and Y siȝ vnder sunne, that
 rennyng is not of swift men, nethir batel
 is of stronge men, nether breed is of wise
 men, nether richessis *ben* of techeris, ne^f
 grace is of crafti men; but tyme and hap
 is in alle thingis^{||}. A man knowith not¹²
 his ende; but as fisshis ben takun with

* *betere is a quyk dogge, etc.*; lyoun and dogge ben vnderstondun yuele men, that is, a quyk synnere is of betere condicioun than a deed synnere, for he that lyueth may repente, and turne to good. *her mynde is ȝouun to forȝeting*; that is, bifor God, for he ȝyueh not to hem place of penaunce, thouȝ they ben in his mynde to punysche hem, and they knowen no thing, wherbi they moun turne agen to good, thouȝ they knowen many othere thingis. *Live here. c.* † *and thei han no part, etc.*; that is, in suffragies ether preieris and almes dedis, whiche quyke men doen for dede men; al this profitith not to hem that dien out of charite. *Live here. c.* ‡ *thi clothis be white*; that is, thi lijf be hooly and onest. *and oyle*; of Goddis grace. *faile not fro thyn heed*; that is, fro thyn vnderstonding, which is heed in the mystis of the soule; that is, lyue thou so, that God with-drawe not his grace fro thee. *with the wijf which thou louest*; that is, with the wis-dom of Goddis lawe, as Ebreyse seyen; for a good man chesith this wisdom to be his wiyf.

as it is seid in viii. c^o. of Wisdom. *in the dayes of lijf of thyn vnstabilnesse*; that is, of present lijf, which is vnstable, and owith to be spendid in the ocupacioun of Goddis lawe. *this is thi part, etc.*; that is, thou schalt bere these thingis with thee fro present lijf, and not temporal goodis. *Live here. c.* § *Worche thou bisili, etc.*; that is, as myche as thou maist, do thou bisili meedeful werkis. *Live here. c.* || *hap is in alle thingis*; that is, vncerteinte, that owith refreyne a man fro pride. *Live here. c.*

^s Om. c pr. m. ^t the sunne c pr. m. ^u that A. ^v Om. c pr. m.

^v riȝt so I. ^w Om. I. ^x and with I. ^y in to c. ^z ther is I. ^a Om. I. ^b Om. ceteri. ^c the lijf I. ^d the sunne cgsa. ^e ne I. ^f nether ceteri.

time, whan to them sodeynli it cometh
 13 ouer. This also vnder sunne I saȝ wis-
 14 dam, and prouede the moste. A litil cite,
 and fewe men in it; ther cam aȝen it a
 gret king, and besegede it, and made out
 strengthis bi enuyroun; and ful mad is
 15 the sege. And ther is founden in it a
 pore man and a wis; he delyuerede the
 cite bi his wisdom, and no man therafter
 16 recordede of that pore man. And I seide,
 betere to ben wisdom than strengthe;
 what maner thanne the wisdom of the
 pore man is despisid, and the wrdis of
 17 hym ben not herd? The wrdis of wise
 men ben herd in silence, more than the
 18 cri of a prince among foolis. Betere is
 wisdom than armes for bataile; and
 who in oon shal synnen, many goodis
 shal leese.

CAP. X.

1 Fleȝis diende leesen the swotnesse of
 the oynement. More precious is wisdom
 2 and litil glorie at tyme, than folie. The
 herte of the wise man in the riȝthalf of
 hym; and the herte of the fool in the
 3 lifthalf of hym. But and in the weie a
 fool goende, whan he be an vnwis man,
 4 alle foolis eymeth. If the spirit of the
 hauende power steȝe vp vp on thee, thi
 place ne lefe thou; for kuring maketh to
 5 cese most synnes. Ther is euel, that I
 saȝ vnder the sunne, as bi errorr goende
 6 out fro the face of the prince; a fool set
 in heeȝ dignete, and riche men to seete
 7 benethe. I saȝ seruauentis in hors, and
 princes goende as seruauens vp on erthe.
 8 Who delueth a dich, fallith in to it; and
 who scatereth the hegg, shal biten hym
 9 the shadewe eddere. Who berth ouer
 stones, shal be tormentid in hem; and

an hook, and as briddis ben takun with
 a snare, so men ben takun in yuel tyme*,
 whanne it cometh sudeynli on hem. Also 13
 Y siȝ this^g wisdom vndur the sunne, and
 Y preuede it the mooste. A litil citee†, 14
 and a^h fewe men ther ynne; a greet kyng
 cam aȝens it, and cumpasside it with palis,
 and he bildideⁱ strengthis^k bi cumpas; and^l
 bisegyng was maad perfit^m. And a pore 15
 man and a wiȝs was foundun ther ynne;
 and he delyuerede the citee bi his wisdom,
 and no man bithouȝte aftirward on that
 pore man. And Y seide, that wisdom is 16
 betere than strengthe; hou therfor is the
 wisdom of a pore man dispisid, and hise
 wordis ben not herd? The wordis of wise 17
 men ben herd in silence, more than the
 cry of a prince among foolis.

CAP. X.

Betere is wisdom than armuris of batel; 18
 and he that synneth in o thing‡, schal
 leese many goodis. Flies that dien, leesenⁿ 1
 the swetnesse of oynement. Litil^o foli at
 a^p tyme is precioussere^q than wisdom and
 glorie. The herte of a wiȝs man is in his 2
 riȝt side; and the herte of a fool is in his
 left side. But also a fool goynge in the 3
 weie, whanne he is vnwiȝs, gessith alle
 men foolis. If the spirit§ of hym, that 4
 hath power, stieth on^r thee, forsake thou
 not thi place; for heeling^s schal make
 grettteste synnes to cesse. An yuel is^t, 5
 which^u Y siȝ vndur the sunne, and goith^v
 out as bi errorr fro the face of the prince;
 a fool set in hiȝ dignyte, and riche men 6
 sitte byneth. I siȝ seruauentis on horsis, 7
 and princes as seruauentis goynge on the
 erthe. He that diggith a dicke, schal falle 8
 in to it; and an eddre|| schal bite hym,
 that distrieth an hegge¶. He that berith 9

* in yuel tyme;
 that is, in the
 tyme of deth,
 that priueth fro
 liyf. Lire here.
 c.

† A litil citee,
 etc.; this myȝte
 be doon to the
 lettre, as a wiȝs
 womman sau-
 yde the citee
 Abela in 11. of
 Kingis xx. c.^o;
 netheles Cris-
 ten doctours
 expowen this
 comynli of
 Crist and hooly
 chirche; bi the
 citee is vndur-
 stondun hooli
 chirche; the
 kyng biseginge
 it, is the deuil
 and his malice;
 the pore man
 and wiȝs, is
 Crist, that
 ledde a pore
 liyf, and as
 myche as per-
 teyneth to him,
 he bi his wis-
 dom delyueride
 his puple fro
 the fendis

power. and no
 man bithouȝte
 on that pore
 man; that is,
 ful fewe ben
 kynde in com-
 parisoun of
 vnkynde men,
 and this vn-
 kyndenesse
 cometh of foly.
 Lire here. c.

‡ that synneth
 in o thing, etc.;
 for bi o dedly
 synne al the
 heelp of me-
 ritis biforgo-
 inge is lost.

§ Litil foly at a
 tyme, etc.; this
 lettre must be
 takun thus bi
 the Ebreu,
 where it is
 writun thus,
 litil foly is
 heuyere than
 wisdom and
 glorie, that is, a
 litil defaute in
 vertues that is
 seid foly, is
 heuyere than
 wisdom and
 glorie, which
 defaute makith

wisdom and glorie to be vile ofte in a famouse persone. Lire here. c. Netheles oure Latyn lettre is thus, wisdom and litil glorie is precioussere than foli at a tyme. c. § If the spirit; that is, the violent stiring. of him that hath power; that is, of the fostering of synne, ether of the fend. stieth on thee; in hurlinge ether stiringe thee violently to synne. forsake thou not thi place; that is, stidefastnesse of vertu. and heeling; that is, myȝty withstanding aȝenus temptaciouns, which is seid helthe of soule, schal make moste synnes to cesse. Lire here. c. || an adde; that is, the deuil. Lire here. c. ¶ an hegge; that is, the lore of oneste, tauȝt of wise men. Lire here. c.

^g Om. c. ^h Om. ceteri. ⁱ bildide it with c. ^k strengthis, ether engyns c et ceteri. ^l and the i.
^m full i. ⁿ diynge fordon i. ^o A litil i. ^p sum i. ^q more precious i. ^r upon i. ^s curyng, ether
 heelyng c et plures. curyng, or takyng hede i. ^t ther is i. ^u that i. ^v goynge i.

who hewith trees, shal be woundid of
 10 hem. If a3een smyten^v were the iren,
 and that not as bifore, but were bluntid,
 with myche trauaile shall be whettid
 out; and aftir the besynesse shal folewe
 11 wisdam. If the eddere bijte in silence,
 no thing lasse than he hath, that priueli
 12 bacbiteth. The^w wrdis of the wise mouth
 grace; and the lippis of the vnwise shuln
 13 stumblen hym down. The bigynnyng of
 the wrdis of hym folie; and the last thing
 14 of the mouth of hym werst errour. A
 fool multeplieth wrdes; a man vnknowith
 what beforn hym was, and what after
 is to come, who to hym shal moun
 15 shewe? The labour of foolys shal tor-
 menten hem, that kunnen not in to the
 16 cite gon. Wo to thee, thou lond, whos
 king is a child, and whos princes erli
 17 eten. Blisful the lond, whos king is
 noble; and whos princes eten in ther^x
 18 time, to fillen^y, and not to leccherie. In
 slouthis shal be mekid the ioynnyng of
 sparres; and in infirmyte^z of hondis the
 19 hous shal droppe thur3. In laz3ing thei
 make bred and wyn, that^a thei ete drink-
 ende; and to monee obeshen alle thingus.
 20 In thi thenking ne bacbite thou to the
 king, and in the priuyte of thi bed, ne
 curse thou to the riche man; for and
 the foulis of heuene shuln bern thi vois,
 and that hath federes, shal telle out sen-
 tence.

CAP. XI.

1 Send thi bred vp on men passende
 watris, for after manye times thou shalt
 2 finden it. 3if partis seuene, and also
 eizte; for thou knowist not, what be to

distrien doom for the 3iftis of riche men. *Live here. c.*
Live here. c. ^{††} he that hath pennes; that is, a swift tellere of wordis. *shal telle the sentence*; that is, thi wordis, to thi dampnyng; ether

bi him that hath pennes, is vndurstondun an yuel iuge, which is ouer swift to brynge forth hard sentence a3enus symple men spekinge listli. *Live here. c.* ^{‡‡} *Sende thi breed on watris*; that is, 3yue thou mete and drinke to nedi men. *fynde it*; in resseyuyng meede in tyme to comynge, and sum tyme in present liyf. *Live here. c.* ^{§§} *3yue thou partis vii. etc.*; that is, 3yue thou largeli of thi goodis to nedy men. *yuel schal come on erthe*; that is, in present liyf, and thou maist be delyuerid therfro bi werkis of pyttee 3ouun to nedi men. *if a tre fallith down to the south*; that is, if a man dieth, and goith to the part of chosun men. *ether to the north*; that is, to the part of repreuable men. *there it schal be*; that is, vnchaungably; and therfor in present liyf a man owith to be bisi aboute the werkis of pitee, as myche as he may disserue. *Live here. c.*

^v bluntid *E pr. m.* ^w In the *A.* ^x Om. *A.* ^y fulfillen *AGH.* ^z infirmytes *C.* ^a and *A.*

^w it *I.* ^x he *I.* ^y ben *I.* ^z wot not *I.* ^a her *I.* ^b leccherie *A sec. m. marg. L.*

ouer stoonys, schal be turmentid in tho;
 and he that kittith trees*, schal be
 woundid of tho. If yrun is foldid a3en,
 10 and this^w is not as bifore, but is maad
 blunt, it schal be maad scharp with
 myche trauel; and wisdom schal sue aftir
 bisynesse†. If a serpent bitith, it^x bitith¹¹
 in silence; he that bacbitith priueli, hath
 no thing lesse than it. The wordis of the
 12 mouth of a wijs man is^y grace; and the
 lippis of an vnwijs man schulen caste
 hym down. The bigynnyng of hise¹³
 wordis is foli; and the laste thing of
 his mouth is the worste errour. A fool¹⁴
 multiplieth wordis; a man noot^z, what
 was† bifore hym, and who mai schewe
 to hym that, that schal come aftir hym?
 The trauel of foolis shal turment hem,
 15 that kunnen not go in to the citee. Lond,
 16 wo to thee, whos kyng is a child, and
 whose princes eten eerli. Blessid is the
 17 lond, whos kyng is noble; and whose
 princis eten in her tyme, to susteyne the^a
 kynde, and not to waste^b. The hiznesse¹⁸
 of housis schal be maad low in slouthis;
 and the hous schal droppe§ in the feble-
 nesse of hondis. In leizyng thei dis-
 19 posen|| breed and wyn, that thei drynk-
 ynge ete largeli; and alle thingis obeien
 to monei¶. In thi thou3t bacbite thou²⁰
 not the kyng, and in the priuete of thi
 bed, curse thou not a riche man; for the
 briddis** of heuene schulen bere thi vois,
 and he that hath pennys††, schal telle the
 sentence.

CAP. XI.

Sende thi breed on watris‡‡ passynge;
 forth, for aftir many tymes thou schalt
 fynde it. 3yue thou partis seuene§§, and
 2 also eizte; for thou woost not, what yuel

* that kittith trees; so he that puttith forth him silf to occasiouns of synnes, schal suffre peyryng of soule. *Live here. c.*

† aftir bisynesse; that is, the staat of a vertuose man schal come a3en, aftir myche diligense to rekyuere vertu. *Live here. c.*

‡ a man noot what was, etc.; that is, a fonnid man, for he dispisith to biholde the dedis of wise men biforgoinge. *that that schal come, etc.; that is, God aloone may do this, but the fool is not worth to sich reuelacioun. Live here. c.*

§ in to the citee; that is, to the reste of seyntis. *whos king is a child*; in wit and yuele condicioun; for herbi sugetis ben wantoun, and vices ben encreessid many fold. *eten eerli*; that is, out of du ordre. *is noble*; that is, in vertues and kyn. *Live here. c.*

|| the hows schal droppe, etc.; that is, in the slouth of hondis fro goode werkis. *Live here. c.* ¶ In leizyng thei disposyn, etc.; that is, vnco-uenablemyrthe. *Live here. c.*

¶ obeien to money; that is, for thei han nede to myche money for greet meynee and large table, therfor thei

to thyn accusing. *Live here. c.*

3 comen of euelis vp on erthe. If the
cloudis weren fulfild, weder vp on erthe
thei shul heelden out; if the tree shul
falle to the south, or to the north, in
what euer place it shul falle, there it
4 shal be. Who waiteth wind, sowith not;
and who biholdith cloudis, neuermore
5 shal repe. What maner wise thou know-
est not, what be the weie of the spirit,
and bi what resoun bones ben ioyned in
the wombe of the womman with childe,
so thou wost not the werkes of God, that
6 is forgere of alle thingus. Erli sowe thi
seed, and at eue^b ne cese thin hond; for
thou wost neuer, whiche more growe,
this or that; and if either togidere, the^c
7 betere shal be. Sweete the tree, and de-
8 litable is to ejen to seen the sunne. If
manye 3eres a man lyuede, and in alle
these thingus were glad, he owith to han
mynde of the derke tyme, and of many
dazes; the whiche whan thei shul come,
of vanyte shul ben vndernomen the pass-
9 ed tymes. Thanne glade thou, 3unge
man, in thi waxende age, and in good
be thin herte in the dazes of thi 3outhe,
and go in the weies of thin herte, and in
the sizte of thin ejen; and wite thou,
that for alle these thingus God shal
10 bringe thee in to dom. Do awei wrathe
fro thin herte, and put awei malice fro
thi flesh; forsothe waxende age and vo-
luptuouste ben veyn.

CAP. XII.

1 Haue mynde of thi creatour in the
dazis of thi 3outhe, and er time^d come of
tormenting, and ne3hen the 3eres, of the
whiche thou seye, Thei plesen not to me.
2 Er the sunne waxe derc, and list, and^e
sterres, and moone^f; and the cloudis

ing of coueitise. *Live here. c.*

** remoue thou malice; that is, lecherie. *3ongthe and lust; that is, 3ongthe sekinge veniaunce, and lust*

hauntinge lechery, passen away soone, and leden to an yuel ende. *Live here. c.*

ymage and licnesse. *Live here. c.*

schal come on erthe. If cloudis ben fill-3
ed, tho^c schulen schede out reyn on the
erthe; if a tre fallith down to the south,
ether to the north, in what euer place it
fallith down, there it schal be. He that 4
aspieth the wynd*, sowith not; and he
that biholdith the cloudis, schal neuere
repe. As thou knowist not, which is the 5
weye of the spirit, and bi what resoun
boonys ben ioyned togidere in the wombe
of a womman with childe, so thou know-
ist not the werkis of God, which is makere
of alle thingis. Erli sowe† thi seed, and 6
thin hond ceesse not in the euentid; for
thou woost not, what schal come forth
more, this ethir that; and if euer eithir
cometh^d forth togidere, it schal be the
betere. The list is sweet, and delitable 7
to the izen to se the sunne. If a man 8
lyueth many 3eeris, and is glad in alle
these, he owith to haue mynde of derk
tyme‡, and of many daies; and whanne tho
schulen come, thingis passid§ schulen be
repreued of vanyte. Therfor, thou 3onge 9
man, be glad|| in thi 3ongthe, and thin
herte be in good^e in the daies of thi
3ongthe, and go thou in the weies¶ of thin
herte, and in the biholding of thin izen;
and wite thou, that for alle these thingis
God shal brynge thee in to doom. Do 10
thou awei ire fro thin herte, and remoue
thou malice** fro thi fleisch; for whi
3ongthe and lust ben veyne thingis.

CAP. XII.

Haue thou mynde on thi creatour†† in 1
the daies of thi 3ongthe, bifore that the
tyme of thi turment come, and the 3eris
of thi deth neize, of whiche^f thou schalt
seie, Tho plesen not me^g. `Haue thou 2
mynde on thi creatour^h, bifor that the

* He that aspi-
eth the wynd;
that is, dilayeth
to sowe, for the
wynd, and di-
layeth to repe,
for the schew-
ing of cloudis,
so thei that
abiden an
ablere tyme and
lengthe of liyf,
ben lettid ofte
to do the werkis
of pitee. *Live
here. c.*

† Erli sowe,
etc.; that is,
bigynne thou
the werkis of
pitee at the
tyme of 3ongthe.
and thyn hond
ceesse not; to
do werkis of
pitee. in the
euentid; that
is, eelde, wher-
ynne men ben
wont to be more
hard. thou
woost not what
schal come forth
more; that is,
schal be maad
more acceptable
to God. euer
eithir togidere;
that is, is ac-
ceptable to God.
the betere; bi
the fruyt of
meede. *Live
here. c.*

‡ of derk tyme;
that is, of deth.
of many daies;
that is, of tyme,
that hath noon
ende after deth.
Live here. c.

§ thingis pass-
id; that is, de-
litable thingis
of this liyf, that
passiden as
schadewe. *Live
here. c.*

|| thou 3ong
man, be glad,
etc.; Ebreys
seyen, that this
is seid by scorn,
and this semeth
wel bi the lettre.
Live here. c.

¶ go thou in the
weies, etc.; that
is, bi the maner
of thyn owne
wille. biholding
of thyn izen;
that is, in su-
ynge the styr-

^b euen AGH. ^c Om. AEGH. ^d the tyme A. ^e Om. A. ^f the mone AH.

^c thei I. ^d come I. ^e goodnes CFGIKMNQRSXQ. ^f the which I. ^g to me I. ^h Om. I.

3 turnen azeen after reyn. Whan shul be
moued the keperes of the hous, and the
most strong men wagen; and idil
shuln ben the wymmen grindende in a
litol noumbre, and seende bi holes shul
4 waxe derc; and closen the dores in the
strete, in the meknesse of the vois of hir
grindende; and thei shul rise at the vois
of the brid, and alle the doztris of the
5 song shul become doumb. Heze thingus
also shul dreden, and quaken in the
weie; the almaunder shal flouren, and
the locust shal be mad fat, and the erbe
caperis shal be scatered; for a man shal
gon in to the hous of his euerlasting-
nesse, and men weilende shul gon aboute
6 in the strete. Er be to-broke the sil-
ueren corde, and azeen come the goldene
flet, and the stene be to-brosid vp on
the welle, and to-broke be the wheel vp
7 on the cisterne; and pouder turne azeen
in to his erthe, whenes he was, and the
8 spirit go azeen to God, that 3af it. Va-
nyte of vanytes, seide Ecclesiastes, va-
nyte of vanytes, and alle thingus vanyte.
9 And whan Ecclesiastes was most wis, he
tazte the puple, and tolde out what he
10 hadde^g do, and enserchende made manye
parablis; he sozte profitable wrdis, and
wrot most rizt sermounes, and ful of
11 treuthe. The wrdis of wise men as
prickes, and as nailes in to heihte piht,
that bi the counseiles^h of maistris ben
12 ziuen of oon^l shepperde. More than
these, sone myn, ne seche thou; of
making manye bokis is noon ende, and
ofte bethenking is tormenting of the
13 flesh. Eende of speking alle heere wee
togidere. Dred God, and his hestis

sunne be derk, and the list, and sterrys,
and the mone; and^l cloude^k turne azen
after reyn*. Whanne the keperis of the
hous schulen^l be mouyd, and strongeste
men schulen tremble; and grynderis schu-
len be idel, whanne the noumbre schal be
maad lesse, and seeris bi the hoolis schulen
wexe derk; and schulen close the doris⁴
in the street, in the lownesse of vois of a
gryndere; and thei schulen rise at the vois
of a brid[†], and alle the douztris of song
schulen wexe deaf. And hi³ thingis⁵
schulen drede, and schulen be aferd in
the weie[‡]; an^m alemaunde tre schal floure,
a locuste schal be maad fat, and capparis[§]
shal be distried; for a man schal go
in to the hous of his euerlastyngnesse,
and weileris schulen go aboute in the
street. *Haue thou mynde on thi creatour*,⁶
byfore that a siluerne roop^{||} be brokun, and
a goldun lace renne azen, and a watir pot
be al to-brokun on the welle, and a wheele
be brokun togidere on the cisterne; and⁷
dust turne azen in to his erthe, wherof it
was, and the spirit turne^p azen to God,
that 3af it. The vanyte of vanytees, seide⁸
Ecclesiastes, the vanyte of vanytees, and
alle thingis *ben* vanyte. And whanne⁹
Ecclesiastes was moost wijs[¶], he tauzte
the puple, and he telde out the thingis
whiche he dide, and he souzte out *wisdom*,¹⁰
and made many parablis; he souzte pro-
fitable wordis, and he wroot moost riztful
wordis, and ful of treuthe. The wordis¹¹
of wise men *ben* as prickis, and as nailis
fastned deepe, whiche^q *ben* 3ouun of o
scheepherde^{**} bi the counsels of maistris^{††}.
My sone, seke thou no more than these;¹²
noon ende is^r to make many bookis, and

* after reyn; that is, after the tribulacioun of eelde. *the keperis*; that is, isen, keperis of the body, bi-gynnen to faile, and to be dullid. *and strongeste men*; that is, hipis and leggis. *and grynderis*; that is, teeth. *and seeris*; that is, isen, set bi-twix the holis of the heed. *the doris in the street*; that is, lippis, set in the pleyn place of the face. *Live here. c.*

† vois of a brid; that is, the cok. *douztris of song*; that is, eeris, that deliten in melodie. *c.*

‡ be aferd in the weie; that is, the hijere part of soule, and the lowere part that hath compassioun on the bodi; for alle men dreden kyndly the deth neijinge, and to go out of the weye of present liyf. *an alemaund, etc.*; that is, the heed schal wexe hoor. *locuste*; that is, the wombe.

capparis; that is, couetise of flech. *go*; bi deth. *euerlastyngnesse*; for he schal neuere turne azen to present liyf. *Live here. c.*

§ *capparis* is an herbe. *x.* || *a siluerne roop*; that is, acording in the bodi lyuyng, be brokun bi deth. *a goldun lace*; that is, liyf to comyng. *on the welle*; that is, on the ioynyng togi-

¶ *Ecclesiastes was*

dere of othere membris on the herte. *the susterne*; that is, the heed on the herte. *and dust*; that is, the body. *Live here. c.* ¶ *Ecclesiastes was moost wijs*; that is, Salomon was wiseste of alle men of his tyme. *Live here. c.* ** *o scheepherde*; that is, God, that rulith and feedith alle thingis. *Live here. c.* †† *maistris*; that is, of the persoones in Trynity, ether of hooli aunghels. *seke thou nomore than these*; that is, than the bokis of hooli scripture; netheles herbi ben not excludid othere bokis, that ben nedeful to the vnderstanding of hooli scripture, but oneli tho bokis that ben not nedeful to helthe; of whiche bokis it sueth, *noon ende is to make many bokis*, for newe hardnessis risen euere in siche thingis. *ofte thenking*; aboute sich thingis. *is turment of fleisch*; that is, makith turment of fleisch, and is with out profit, sithen it is of thingis that ben not nedeful to helthe, and lettich the knowing of nedeful thingis; therfor a man owith with alle myztis and bisynnessis 3yue tent to tho thingis that ben nedeful to the helthe of soule. *Live here. c.*

g it shulde *E pr. m.* h counseile *AGH.* i Om. *A.*

^l and the *EPR.* ^k cloudis *ceteri.* ^l Om. *s.* ^m and an *c.* ^p go *CEFGHIKMNQRSUXA.* ^q the whiche *r.* ^r ther is *r.*

14kep; that is, eche man. Alle thingus that ben^k mad, he shal bringe in to dom; for eche errid thing, whether good or euel it be.

ofte thenkyng is turment of fleisch. Alle 13 we here togydere the ende of spekyng. Drede thou God, and kepe hise heestis; 'that is to seie, ech man^{s*}. God schal 14 brynge alle thingis in to dom, that ben don; for ech thing don bi errour, whether it be good, ether^t yuel.

Here endith Ecclesiastes, and here bigynneth the book, that is clepid Soongis of Soongis, of the bridalys of Crist and of the Chirche¹.

Here endith Ecclesiastes, and here bigynneth the Song of Songis^u.

^k he A. ¹ From A. Explicit E. Explicit Ecclesiastes. GH. No final rubric in C.

^s this is, al man CGHKMNQSUXA. this is, eueri man EF. that is to wite, euery man I. this al man R. ^t or I passim. SA. ^u Here endith the book of Ecclesiastes, and here bigynneth the book of Songis. F. Here endith Ecclesiastes, and bygynneth the prolog on Song of Songis. G. Heere endith Ecclesiastes, and bigynneth Song of Songis. ISXA. Here endeth the booc of Ecclesiastes; se now the book of Song of Songis. K. Here endith the book of Ecclesiastes, and here bigynneth the book of Song of Songis, that weren maad of Salomon, to be sungen in the temple of the Lord, in to euerlastinge wurschiping, and nedith noon other prologe. M. Here endith Ecclesiastes, and here bigynneth the book of Songis of Songis. N. Heere eendith the book of Ecclesiastes, and bigynneth the book of Songes. R. Here endith Ecclesiasticus, and here bigynneth the book of Songis. V. Here endith Ecclesiastes, and bigynneth Song of Songis, of the bridales of Christ and of the Chirche. X. No final rubric in EF.

* this is al man; that is, perfit man; that is, these twey partis, to drede God and kepe hise heestis, maken a man parfit in vertu. that ben doon; that is, of men that moun do wel and yuele, bi freedom of wille. ech thing doon bi errour; in Ebreu it is, for ech thing helid ether priuy; but thing doon bi errour is vndurstondun trespas by malice ether bi ignorance. good; in kynde, ne theles yuel bi circumstance ether entent. Live here. C.

SONG OF SOLOMON.

*Heer gynneth^a the booc that is clepid
Songus^b of Songis, of the bridalys of
Crist and of the Chirche^c.*

CAP. I.

*The Chirche, of the comyng of Crist
1 spekith, seiende, Kisse he me with the
cos of his mowth. The vois of the Fa-
der. For betere ben thi tetes than wyn,
2 smellende with best oynemens. The vois
of the Chirche. Oile held out, thi name;
therefore the 3unge waxende wymmen
loueden thee ful myche. The vois of
3 the Chirche to Crist. Draz me aftir thee;
wee shul rennen in the smel of thin
oynemens. The Chirche seith of Crist.
Bro3te me in^d the king in to his celeris;
wee shul ful out io3en, and gladen in
thee, myndeful of thi tetes, vp on wyn;
ri3t men loouen thee. The Chirche of
4 hir tribulaciouns. O! 3ee do3tris of Je-
rusalem, blac I am, but shapli, as the
tabernacles of Cedar, as the skynnes of
5 Salomon. Wileth not beholden, that I*

*Here^a biginneth the bok of the Songes
of Songes^a.*

CAP. I.

^b Kisse he me with the cos of his
mouth*. ^cFor thi tetis† ben betere than²
wyn, and 3yuen odour with beste oyne-
mentis. ^dThi name is oile† sched out;
therfor 3onge damesels loueden thee.
^eDrawe thou me after thee; we schulen³
renne in to^f the odour of thin oyne-
mentis. ^gThe kyng ledde me in to
hise celeris‡; we myndeful of thi teetis
about wyn, schulen make ful out ioye,
and^h schulen be glad in thee; ri3tful men
louen thee. ⁱ3e dou3tris of Jerusalem,⁴
Y am blak, but fair, as the tabernaclis
of Cedar, as the skynnes of Salomon.
Nyle 3e biholde me, that Y am blak, for⁵
the sunne hath|| discolourid me; the
sones of my modir fou3ten azens me, thei
settiden^j me a kepere in vyners; Y kepte
not my vyner¶. ^kThou spouse, whom⁶

* In this book the spouse is God; the spousesse is hooli chirche, that comprehendith the staat of the Elde Testament and Newe; the chirche for the staat of the Elde Testament, is discryued in the vj. firste chapitris, and aftirward the staat of the Newe Testament, in viij. and viij. chapitris. This chirche is maad of dyuerse folkis, that is, of Jewis and hethen men, of iust men and of synners, of prelatys and of sugetis. Hooli chirche took specialy the name of spousesse, first in the 3yuyng of the laue, in the hil of Synay. The puple of Israel, signefied bi the name of spousesse, seith to God, *Kisse he me with the cos of his mouth*;

that is, Y wolde, that God schewe hym silf frendful to me bi signes and werkis, as a spouse to the spousesse. c. † *thi tetis, etc.*; that is, the fulnesse of Goddis mersi is swettere to mannus soule, than wyn most sauery among bodili thingis is swete to the tast. In Ebreu it is, *for thi loues ben betere than wyn, etc.*; that is, the loue of God is more sauery to a deuout soule, than ony bodili thing to bodili tast. *Live here.* c. ‡ *oyle*; that is, good fame; for bi the meruels that God dide to the sones of Israel in Egipt, and in the Reed See, the fame of his name and goodnesse was spred abroad to othere puplis, for which many men weren conuertid to the feith of Jewis. *3onge damesels*; that is, othere folkis weren conuertid to thi loue. *odour of thyn oynementis*; that is, we schulen be drawun bi affeccions of thi goodnesse; netheles these wordis in to the *odour of thyn oynementis*, is not of the text; for it is not in Ebreu. *Live here.* c. § *celeris*; that is, the kyng of heuens shewide to me hise priuytes, bi Moises. *of thi tetis*; ether of thi loues, as Ebreys seyen. *tabernaclis of Cedar, etc.*; bi Cedar ben vndurstondun Agareneus, that ben seid now Saracenus. Bi Salomon is vndurstondun God; hise skynnes ben seid the hizere hiling of the tabernacle. c. || *the sunne hath, etc.*; that is, brennyng of tribulacioun. c. ¶ *Y kepte not my vyner*; that is, Y my3te not 3yue tent to my werkis, for ocupacioun in the werkis of Egipcians. c.

^a begynneth EGH. ^b Song c pr. m. ^c No initial rubric in A. ^d Om. A.

^a From EP. *Here bigynneth the Song of Songes.* g. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b *The Chirche of the comyng of Christ spekith, and seith.* x marg. ^c *The vois of the Fadir.* x marg. ^d *The vois of the Chirche.* x marg. ^e *The vois of the Chirche to Crist.* x marg. ^f Om. I. ^g *The Chirche seith of Crist.* x marg. ^h and we I. ⁱ *The Chirche, of hir tribulaciouns.* x marg. ^j setten I. ^k *The voice of the Chirche to Crist.* x marg.

be broun, for discoloured me hath the
sunne; the sonus of my moder fozten
azen me, thei setteden me kepere in
vynes; my vynezerd I kepte not. *The*
6 vois of the Chirche to Crist. Shew thou
to me, whom loueth my soule, wher
thou 3iuest leswe, wher thou ligge^e in
myddai; lest to gon vagaunt I bygynne,
aftir the flockis of thi^f felawis^g. *The*
7 vois of Crist to the Chirche. If thou
knowest not thee, O! thou most fair
among wymmen, go out, and go awei
after the steppis of thi flockis; and feed
thi got, biside the tabernacle^h of shep-
8 perdis. To my riding in charis of Farao
9 I licnede thee, O! my leef. Faire ben
thi cheekes, as ofⁱ a turtill^k; thi necke
10 as brooches. Goldene ribanes wee shul
make to thee, mad fijr red with siluer.
11 The vois of the Chirche of Crist. Whan
the king was in his liyng place, my
12 mad encens 3af his smel. A bundelet^l
of myrre my lemman is to me; betwe^m
13 my tetes he shal dwelle. The clustre of
cypre tree my lemman to me, in the
vynes of Engaddy. *The vois of Crist*
14 to the Chirche. Lo! thou art fair, my
leef; lo! thou fair, thin e3en of culueres.
15 The vois of the Chirche to Crist. Lo!
thou art fair, my lemman, and semeli;
16 oure bed shynende. The trees of oure
houses cedre; oure couplis cipresse.

CAP. II.

The vois of Crist, of hym and of the
1 Chirche. I the flour of the feeld, and the
2 lilie of aleyesⁿ. As a lilie among thornes,
so my leef among doztres. *The vois of*
3 the Chirche of Crist. As an appil tree
among the trees of wodis, so my lemman

my soule loueth, schewe to me, where
thou lesewist, where thou restist in myd-
dai*; lest Y bigynne to wandre, aftir the
flockis of thi felowis. *e*A! thou fair-
7 est among wymmen, if thou knowist
not thi silf, go thou out, and go forth
aftir the steppis[†] of thi flockis; and feede
thi kidis, bisidis the tabernaclis of scheep-
herdis. Mi frendesse^d, Y licnede thee to
myn oost of kny3tis in the charis of Fa-
rao. Thi chekis ben feire, as of a tur-
9 tle; thi necke *is* as brochis. We schulen
make to thee goldun ournementis, departid
and maad dyuerse with silver. *e*Whanne
11 the kyng was in his restyng place, my
narde^f 3af his odour. My derlyng *is* a
12 bundel of myrre to me; he schal dwelle
bitwixe^g my tetis. My derlyng *is* to me
13 a cluster of cypre tre, among the vyneres
of Engaddi. *h*Lo! my frendesseⁱ, thou
14 art fair; lo! thou *art* fair, thin i3en *ben*
the i3en of culueris. *k*Lo, my derling,
15 thou art fair, and schapli; oure bed *is* fair
as flouris. The trees of oure housis *ben*
16 of cedre; oure couplis *ben* of cipresse.
1 I *am* a flour of the feeld, and a lilye of
grete valeis. As a lilie among thornes, so
2 *is* my frendesse[‡] among dou3tris. *m*As
3 an apple tre among the trees of wodis, so
my derlyng among sones.

CAP. II.

I sat vndur the shadewe[§] of hym, whom
Y desiride; and his fruyt *was* swete to
my throte. The king ledde me in to the
wyn celer; he ordeynede charite in me.
Bisette 3e me with flouris^{||}, cumpasse 3e
5 me with applis; for Y am sijk for loue.

that 3yuen hem silf to idolatrie. *Live here. c.* § Y sat vndur the schadewe; that is, Y dwellide vndur the piler of fier and of cloude, that
3af list in the nist, and temperide the heete of sunne in the day. *his fruyt*; that is, manna 3ouun in desert fro heuene. *wyn celer*; that is, to
the auter of brent sacrifices, for wyn was sched out in moist sacrifices. *Live here. c.* || *with flouris, etc.*; bi these ben vndurston dun Goddis
coumfortingis, that ben 3ouun to men hopinge in him; thou3 God is had bi charite in this liyf; this bi hope, and not in blisful sijt; therfor the
absence of this good makith turment, which turment is seid here the siknesse of the spousesse.

^e liggist A. ^f my E pr. m. ^g lesewis A. ^h tabernaclis AGH. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k tour E pr. m. turtir
AE sec. m. G. ^l bundel A. ^m between E passim. ⁿ alle valeys AGH.

^e *The vois of Crist to the Chirche. x marg.* ^d leef I. ^e *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg.*
^f or oynement boxe I marg. ^g bitwene I. ^h *The vois of Crist to the Chirche. x marg.* ⁱ leef I. ^k *The*
vois of the Chirche to Crist. x marg. ^l *The vois of Crist, of him and of the Chirche. x marg.* ^m *The*
vois of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg.

* *in mydday*; that is, in the heete of tribulacioun. *the flockis of thi felows*; that is, where thou feedist thi feithful men, and restist bi feith formed with charite. *after the flockis*; that is, othere vnfeithful folkis. *of thi felowis*; that is, of hooli aungels, assigned to the keeping of vnfeithful men. *A! thou fairest, etc.*; that is, thou puple of Israel. *knowist not*; that is, if thou dredist for thi sike men to bowe away fro rijtful weye. *Live here. c.* [†] *after the steppis, etc.*; that is, of symple men bilyuynge; and siche weren Abel, Seth, Enok, Noe, and liyk men. *thi chekis ben faire, etc.*; in Ebreu it is, thi chekis ben faire in ordris, that is, in ournementis disposid in due ordre in thi face. *restyng place*; that is, propiciatorie. *my narde, etc.*; that is, encense of good odour. *my tetis*; that is, withinnemyn herte, by contynuel thenking. *a clustre, etc.*; that is, he delitith me more goostli, than ony sauerie thing and swete delitith bodili. *Live here. c.* [‡] *my frendesse, etc.*; that is, the puple of Israel among othere folkis,

among sones. Vnder the shadewe of hym, whom I hadde desirid, I sat; and
 4 his frut sweete to my throte. The king ledde me in his win celer; he ordeynde
 5 in me charite. Vnder ley see me with floures, setteth me aboute with appelis; for I languyshe for looue. *The vois of the Chirche of Crist.* The lift hond of hym vnder myn hed; and his riȝt hond shal clippe me. *The vois of Crist, of the Chirche.* I adiure ȝou, see doȝtris of Jerusalem, bi the capretes, and the hertes of feeldis, ne rere ȝee, ne maketh my^o leef to waken, to the time that she wile.
 8 *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist.* The vois of my lemman; lo! this cometh lepende in mounteynes, and ouer lepende
 9 hillis. Lic is my lemman to a capret, and to an hert calf of hertis; lo! he stant^p bihynde oure wal, biholdende bi the windowes, aferr lookende thurȝ the
 10 latis. Lo! my lemman speketh to me, Ris, go thou, my leef, my culuer, my
 11 shapli, and cum; now forsothe wintre passede, weder ȝide fro, and is gon awei.
 12 Floures apereden in oure lond, time of kutting is come; the vois of the turtl^q
 13 is herd in oure lond, the fige tree broȝte forth his first figus; the vynes flourende
 ȝiuen ther smel. *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* Ris, go, my leef, myn
 14 shapli, and cum thou. My culuer in the holis of the ston, in the chyne of a^r ston wal. Shewe thou to me thi face, sounne thi vois in myn eres; thi vois forsothe is swete, and thi face semeli. *The vois of Crist to the Chirche, aȝen eretikis.*
 15 Take see to vs litle foxes, that destroyed vynes; for oure vyne flourede. *The vois of the Chirche of Crist.* My looued to me, and I to hym, that is fed among
 17 lilies; to the time that the dai springe, and shadewes be bowid in. Turne aȝen;

His left hond is vndur myn heed; and
 his riȝt hond schal biclippe me. ȝe douȝ-
 tris of Jerusalem, Y charge ȝou greetli, bi capretis, and hertis of feeldis, that ȝe reise not, nether make to awake^h the dereworthe *spousesse*, til sche wole. *The vois of my derlyng**; lo! this *der-lyng* cometh lepyng in mounteyns, and skippyng ouer litle hillis. My derlyng⁹ is lijk a capret, and a calf of hertis; lo! he stondith bihynde oure wal[†], and biholdith bi the wyndows, and lokith thorouȝ the latis^k. Lo! my derlyng¹⁰ spekith to me, My frendesse^l, my culuer, my faire *spousesse*, rise thou[‡], haaste thou, and come thou; for wyntir is pass-
 id now, reyn is goon, and is^m departid awei. Flouris apperidenⁿ in oure lond,
 the tyme of schridyng is comun; the vois of a turtle is herd in oure lond, the
 fige tre hath brouȝt forth hise buddis; vyneris flouryng han ȝoue her odour.
 ȝMy frendesse^p, my fayre *spousesse*, rise thou, haaste thou, and come thou. My
 culuer is in the hoolis of stoon, in the chyne of a wal with out mortar. Schewe thi face[§] to me, thi vois sounne in myn eeris; for thi vois is swete, and thi face is fair. ȝCatches ȝe litle foxis to vs, that
 destrien the vyneris; for oure vyner hath flourid. *My derlyng is* to me, and Y
 am to hym, which is fed among lilies; til
 the dai spryng, and schadewis be bowid down. My derlyng, turne thou aȝen; be thou lijk a capret, and a calf of hertis, on the hillis of Betel^{||}.

ȝe douȝtris of Jerusalem; that is, sike men of the puple of Israel. bi capretis, etc.; that is, bi patriarkis. reise not; that is, that ȝe bowe not to ony orible synne, for which the coumfort of God schal be withdrawun, and al the puple schal be disturblid. til sche wole; that is, the spousesse schal neuere wile this. *Live here.* c.
 * my derling; pronounsinge x. heestis in the hil of Syna. *Live here.* c.
 † wal; that is, the thicke cloude. *Live here.* c.
 ‡ rise thou; that is, reise thi soule to my wordis. come thou; to serue me aloone. wyntir; that is, the hidouse tyme of thraldom of Egypt. Flouris; that is, the myrry tyme of fredom is comun, in which thou maist serue me frely. *Live here.* c.
 § Schewe thi face; in resseyuynge gladli my lawe. thi vois sounne; in knoueleching to kepe my lawe. Catches ȝe litle foxes, etc.; that is, sle ȝe per-soones that inducen bi gile the puple to idolatrie, for the puple of Israel hath flourid in deuout resseyuynge of Goddis lawe. *Live here.* c.
 || a calf of hertis on the hillis of Betel; that is, on the hil of Synay, where the Lord spak to Moyses.

Betel; that is, Goddis hows, for he dwellide there with Moyses; in Ebreu it is on the hillis of Bathar, that is, of departing; for there God was departid fro the puple, for idolatrie, but he was plesid fynaly, at the preyeris of Moyses. *Live here.* c.

^o the E pr. m. P stoondith A. q turtre AEG. r the AH.

[†] *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist.* x marg. [§] *The vois of Crist, of the Chirche.* x marg. ^h wake I.
^l *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist.* x marg. ^k latis I. ^l leef I. ^m it is I. ⁿ han apperid I. ^o *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* x marg. P leef I. ^q *The vois of Crist to the Chirche, aȝens heretikis.* x marg.
^r *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist.* x marg.

lic be thou, O! my lemman, to a capret,
and to the hert calf of hertis, vpon the
mounteynes of Bethel.

CAP. III.

*The vois of the Chirche, gedered to-
1gidere of Jentiles.* In my litle bed by
niztis I sozte, whom loouede my soule;
2 I sozte hym, and I fond not. I shal rise,
and gon aboute the cite, bi townes and
stretis; I shal seche, whom looueth my
3 soule; I sozte hym, and fond^s not. There
founden me the waccheres, that kepe
the cite. *The Chirche seith of Crist to
the Apostolis.* Whether whom looueth
4 my soule, zee sezen? A litil whan I
hadde passed them, I fond, whom loou-
eth my soule; I heeld hym, and I shal
not lefe, to the time that I bringe hym
in to the hous of my moder, and in to
the bed of hir that gat me. *The vois of
5 Crist, of the Chirche.* I adiure zou, zee
douztris off Jerusalem, bi capretis, and
hertis of feeldis, ne rere zee, ne make zee
my leef to wake, to the time that she
wile. *The sinagoge of the Chirche.*
6 What is she, this that stezeth vp bi de-
sert, as a lytil zerdè of smoke of the
swote spices, of myrre, and of encens^t,
and of alle pymentarie poudre? *The
7 vois of the Chirche of Crist.* Lo! the litle
bed of Salamon sixty stronge men cum-
passen, of the most stronge men of Irael;
8 the whyche alle ben holdende swerdis,
and to batailes^u best tazt; of 'eche on^v the
sward vp on his hipe, for the nyzt dredes.
*Of^w Crist, and of the Chirche, chosen of
9 Jentilis.* A chazer king Salamon made
10 to hym, of the trees of Liban; his pileris

CAP. III.

^aIn my litle bed* Y souzte hym bi¹
niztis, whom my soule loueth; Y souzte
hym, and Y foond not. I shal rise, and²
Y schal cumpasse the citee, bi litle stretis
and large stretis; Y schal seke hym,
whom my soule loueth; I souzte hym,
and Y foond not. Wakeris^o, that kepen³
the citee, founden me. ^pWhether ze sien
hym, whom my soule loueth? A litil⁴
whanne Y hadde passid hem, Y foond
hym, whom my soule loueth; Y helde
hym, and Y schal not leue hym^q, til Y
brynge him in to the hous of my modir,
and in to the closet of my modir. ^rZe⁵
douztris of Jerusalem, Y charge you greetli,
bi the capretis, and hertis of feeldis, that
ze reise not, nether make to awake the
dereworthe spousesse, til sche wole. ^sWho⁶
is this womman, that stieth^t bi the deseert,
as a zerde of smoke[†] of swete smellynge
spices, of mirre, and of encence, and of
al poudur of an oynement makere? ^uLo!⁷
sixti stronge men of the strongeste men
of Israel cumpassen the bed of Salomon;
and alle thei holden swerdis, and ^{ben}⁸
moost witti to batels; the sward of ech
man ^{is} on his hipe, for the drede of nyztis.
^vKyng Salomon[†] made to hym a seete, of⁹
the trees of Liban; he made the pilers¹⁰
therof of siluer; ^{he} made a goldun rest-
yng place, a styng^w of purpur; and he
arayede the myddil thingis with charite,
for the douztris of Jerusalem. ^xZe douz-¹¹
tris of Sion, go^y out, and se^z kyng Salo-

* In iij. c. is set the letting of the puple, that bifelde bi aspieris of the lond of biheest, that maden the puple so myche aferd, that thei wolden forsake Moises, and the arke of the Lord, and turne agen in to Egypt; and the spousesse biweilith this letting, and seith, in my litle bed; that is, in the tabernacle of Moises. bi nyztis; that is, in the tyme of tribulacioun, reisd bi thilke aspieris. Moises and Aaron in the tabernacle preyeden the Lord for the puple, that the forseid sentence schulde be temperid, ether reuokid, but for thei weren not herd, it sueth, Y souzte him, and foond not. cumpasse the citee; that is, the desert bi xl. zeer. the wakeris; that is, Moises and Aaron. founden me; and tolden the sentence of God; and for the puple repentide of that rebelte, and was redi to stie in to the lond of biheest, and so thei souzten the good wille of God, it sueth, wher ze sien him, etc. where the spousesse spekith to Moises and Aaron, and for they answeriden not to her desir, but more to the contrarie, and seiden, Nyle ze stie, therfor here

is set noon answer to the forseid axing. *Live here. c.* [†] as a zerde of smoke, etc.; that is seid for encence maad of many swete smellynge spices, that signefiede deuocioun of the puple, bi which thei desserueden to be brouzt in to the lond of biheest. *sixti stronge men*; that is, sixti sithis ten thousinde that maken vj. hundrid thousynde of verriours, aboute the bed of Salomon, that is, the tabernacle of pees of the Lord. *Live here. c.* [†] Kyng Salomon; that is, God a king to zou, specially in the yuyng of lawe. *a goldun resting place*; that is, the propiciatorie, that was the seete of God was al of pure gold. *stying of purpur*; that is, a veil of purpur hanginge bitwixe the pilers, and was reisd vp, whanne me entride in to the hooli of hooli places. *the myddil thingis with charite*; for in the hooli of hooli places on the pawment was the arke of testament, with the tablis of lawe, and manna, and the zerde of Aaron, that weren signes of Goddis charite to the puple. *Live here. c.*

^a I foond AGH. ^t cense AEGH. ^u bataille AGH. ^v eche c pr. m. echon ceteri. ^w The vois of A.

^a The vois of the Chirche, gaderid togidere of Gentilis. x marg. ^o Wacche men I. ^p The Chirche seith of Crist to the Apostlis. x marg. ^q Om. c. ^r The vois of Crist, of the Chirche. x marg. ^s The synagoge, of the Chirche. x marg. ^t stieth up I. ^u The vois of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg. ^v Of Crist, and of the Chirche, chosen of Gentilis. x marg. ^w styng up I. ^x The vois of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg. ^y goth I. ^z se ze I.

he made siluerene, the lenyng place goldene, the stejyng vp purper; the myddes^x he enournede^y with charite, for the do3tris of Jerusalem. *The vois of the*

11 *Chirche, of Crist.* Goth out, and seeth, 3ee do3tris of Sion, king Salamon in the diademe, in the whiche crounede hym hys moder, in the dai of spousing of hym, and in the dai of gladnesse of his herte.

CAP. IV.

1 *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* Hou fair art thou, my leef, hou fair art thou; thin ezen of culueres, withoute it that withynne forth is hid; thin heres as the flockes of get, that stejeden vp fro the 2 hil^z of Galaad. Thi teth as the flockys of clippid sheep, that stejeden vp fro the wassing place; alle with double lombis in the wombe, and bareyn ther is not 3 among hem. As a fyr red silkene filet thi lippes, and thi faire speche sweete; as the breking of a poumgarnet, so thi chekes, withoute it, that withinne forth 4 sit^a hid. As the tour of Dauid thi necke, that is bild out with pynacles; a thousand sheldis hangen of it, al the armoure 5 of stronge men. Thi two tetes as two 3unge capretes, twynlingus^b of the capret, 6 that ben fed in lilies, to the time that the dai brethe out, and the shadewes ben inbowed. I shal go to the mount of 7 mirre, and to the hil of cens. Al fair thou art, my leef, and wem is not in 8 thee. Cum thou fro Liban, my spouse; cum^c from Liban, cum; thou shalt be crouned fro the hed of Amana, fro the frount of Samur and of Ermon, fro the couches of leouns, and the hil of pardis. 9 Thou hast woundid myn herte, my sister; my spouse, thou hast woundid my herte, in oon of thin ezen, and in oon 10 her of thi necke. Hou faire ben thi tetes, my sister, my spouse; fairere ben

mon in the diademe, bi^t which his modir^{*} crounede hym, in the dai of his spousing, and in^u the dai of the^v gladnesse of his herte.

CAP. IV.

"Mi[†] frendesse, thou art ful fair^x; thin 1 izen *ben* of culueris, with outen that that is hid with ynne; thin heeris *ben* as the flockis of geete, that stieden^{xx} fro the hil of Galaad. Thi teeth *ben* as the^y flockis 2 of clippid^z sheep, that stieden^a fro waischyng; alle *ben* with double lambren, and no bareyn is^b among tho. Thi lippis *ben* 3 as a reed lace, and thi speche is swete; as the relif of an appil of Punyk, so *ben* thi chekis, with outen that, that is hid with ynne. Thi necke is as the tour of 4 Dauid, which is bildid with strengthis maad bfore for defense; a thousynde scheldis hangen on it, al armure of stronge men. Thi twei tetis *ben* as twei 5 kidis, twynnes of a capret, that ben fed in^c lilies, til the dai sprynge, and shadewis 6 ben bowid down. Y schal go to the mounteyn of myrre[‡], and to the litil hil of encense. My frendesse^d, thou art al 7 faire, and no wem is^e in thee. My 8 spousesse, come thou fro the Liban; come thou fro the Liban, come thou; thou schalt be corowned fro the heed of Amana^{||}, fro the cop of Sanyr and Hermon, fro the dennys of liouns, fro the hillis of pardis. My sister spousesse, thou hast 9 woundid myn herte; thou hast woundid myn herte, in oon of thin izen[¶], and in oon^f heer of thi necke. My sistir 10 spousesse, thi tetis ben ful faire; thi tetis ben feirere than wyn, and the odour of

* *his modir*; that is, the puple of Jewis. of his spousing; that is, in 3yuyng of the lawe. *Live here.* c.

† In iij. c°. the goostli fairnesse of the spousesse is signified by this parable; the heed of the spousesse was the patriark Jacob; the heeris ben xij. patriarkis; the izen ben Moises and Aaron, rulinge the puple; the teeth ben werriouris, schapli to deuoure aduersaries; lippis, that bryngen forth swete speche, ben dekenes and singeris, seiyngge Goddis herinygis; the rodi chekis ben othere dekenes, mynstringe aboute the auter of brent sacrifices; the throte ben studiouse men in the lawe, liened to the tour of Dauith, maad strong with scheeldis; for whi armuris ajenus impyngneris of Goddis lawe, ben had bi sich studie; twei tetis ben twei tablis of witnessing, of whiche the mylk of kunnyng and deuocioun is sokun out; til the day, of the newe testament; schadewis, for the figuris of the elde lawe ceesen in the newe testament, of which thei weren schadewe. *Live here.* c.

‡ to the mounteyn of myrre, etc.; that is, to the lond of Judee, that is ful of hillis, and bath myche ¶ oon of thin

myrre and encense. *Live here.* c. || heed of Amana; in Ebreu it is, biholdinge fro the heed of Amana. *Live here.* c. izen; that is, Moises. heer; that is, Joseph. *Live here.* c.

^x vtmost E. ^y enuyrounede AC. ^z hillis A. ^a sittith A. ^b iemeus E pr. m. ^c cum thou A.

^t with I. ^u Om. A. ^v Om. CM. ^w *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* ^x marg. ^x fair, thou art ful fair c. ^{xx} stieden up I. ^y Om. C. ^z schorn I. ^a stieden up I. ^b ther is I. ^c among c. ^d leef I, ^e ther is I. ^f an I.

thi tetes than win, and the smel of thin
 11 oynemens ouer alle spices. A droppende
 honycomb thi lippes, spouse; hony and
 mylc vnder thi tunge, and the smel of
 12 thi clothingus as the smel of cens. A
 closid gardin, my sister spouse; a closid
 13 gardyn, a welle selid. Thin outsendungus
 paradys of pougarnetes, with the frutis
 14 of appilis, of cipre tre, with narde; and
 narde, and safrun, fistula, and canel, with
 alle the trees of Liban, myrre, and aloes,
 15 with alle the firste oynemens. The welle
 of gardynes, the pit of liuende watris,
 16 that flowen with bire fro Liban. Ris,
 north, and cum, south; blo3 thur3 my
 gardyn, and ther shul flowe swote spices
 of it.

CAP. V.

1 *The Chirche seith of Crist.* Come,
 my leef, in to his gardyn; and ete he
 the frut of his appelis. *Crist seith to*
the Chirche. Cum in to my gardin, my
 sister, my spouse. I haue gedered my
 mirre, with my swoote spices; I eet
 myn honycomb, with myn hony; I dranc
 my wyn, with my mylc. *Crist to the*
Apostolis seith. Eteth, 3ee frendes, and
 drinketh; and 3ee most derwrthe, beth
 2 inwardli maad drunke. I slepe, and myn
 herte waketh. *The vois of the Chirche*
of Crist. The vois of my lemman knock-
 ende; opene thou to me, myn sister, my
 leef, my culuer, myn vnwemed; for myn
 hed is ful of dew, and my temple heres
 3 of the dropis of nyztis. I spoilede me
 my coote; hou shal I be clad^e it? I
 wesh^f my feet; hou shal I defoule them?
 4 My lemman putte his hond bi the hole;
 my wombe inwardli tremblede at the

thi clothis *is* aboue alle swete smellynge
 oynementis. Spousesse, thi lippis *ben* an 11
 hony* coomb droppynge; hony and mylk
ben^f vndur thi tunge, and the odour of thi
 clothis *is* as the odour of encence. Mi 12
 sister spousesse, a gardyn closid togidere;
 a gardyn closid togidere, a welle aseelid.
 Thi sendingis out *ben* paradys of applis[†] 13
 of Punyk, with the fruytis of applis, cipre
 trees, with narde; narde, and safrun, an 14
erbe clepid fistula, and canel, with alle
 trees of the Liban, myrre, and aloes, with
 alle the beste[§] oynementis. A welle of 15
 gardyns, a pit of wallynge^b watris, that
 flowen with fersnesse fro the Liban. Rise 16
 thou northⁱ *wynd*, and come thou, south^k
wynd; blowe thou thorou3 my gardyn,
 and the swete smellynge oynementis[‡]
 therof schulen flete.

CAP. V.

¹Mi derlyng, come¹¹ in to his gardyn,¹
 to ete the fruyt[§] of hise applis. ^mMi
 sister spousesse, come thou in to my gar-
 dyn. Y have ropeⁿ my myrre, with my
 swete smellynge spices; Y haue ete an
 hony combe, with myn hony; Y haue
 drunke my wyn, with my mylk. ^oFrendis,
 ete 3e, and drynke^p; and dereworthe^q
frendis, be 3e fillid greetli. Y slepe^{||},²
 and myn herte wakith. ^rThe vois of
 my derlyng knockynge; my sister, my
 frendesse^a, my culuer, my spousesse vn-
 wemed, opene thou to me; for myn
 heed is ful of dew, and myn heeris *ben*
 ful of dropis of nyztis. I haue vnclothid³
 me of my coote; hou schal Y be clothid
 ther ynne? I haue waische my feet;
 hou schal Y defoule tho^t? Mi derlyng⁴
 putte^u his hond bi an hoole; and my
 wombe tremblide at the touchyng therof.
 Y roos, for to opene^v to my derlyng; myn⁵

* *thi lippis ben*
 as hony; this is
 said of deuout
 preyeris of the
 highest preest, and
 of dekenes, that
 weren maad in
 the persone of
 al the chirche.
 Live here. c.
 † *paradiys of*
 applis, etc.;
 that is, strondis
 flowinge forth
 therfro maken
 the lond myrie,
 at the maner
 of paradiys of
 pumgranatis.
 Live here. c.
 ‡ *oynmentis*,
 etc.; alle these
 thingis ben seid
 in preising of
 the lond of bi-
 heeste, to reise
 the desir of the
 spousesse. Live
 here. c.
 § *to ete the*
 fruyt, etc.; that
 is, make me to
 ete in pees the
 fruyt of the lond
 grauntid to me.
 Live here. c.
 || *Y slepe*; that
 is, punysche
 not synnes at a
 tyme. *wakith*;
 that is, Y bifor
 se du tyme of
 punysching.
 knockinge;
 bi profetis and
 techeris, to clepe
 me to penaunce
 aftir idolatrie
 doon. *frendesse*;
 in tyme passid
 of thyn inno-
 cence. *opene*
 to me; bi con-
 sent of good.
 myn heed is
 ful, etc.; God
 spekith here bi
 the maner of a
 spouse, desiring
 to be recoun-
 celid to the
 spousesse, and
 sparith not for
 hardnesse of
 trauel; but the
 vnkynde spous-
 esse, yuele for-
 sakinge, this
 answerith. *Y*
haue vnclothid,
 etc.; that is,
 Y haue left
 Goddis reli-
 gioun. *hou*
schal Y be
clothid ther

ynne; for the puple nolde turne a3en to Goddis religioun, at the monestingis of profetis. *waische my feet*; this is seid bi the gessing of the puple, that dide idolatrie, and arettide the worshipinge of God to be vnclene, and the worshiping of an idol to be clene. *his hond*; that is, the hond of his rijtfulnesse, to punysche me. *tremblide*; for the puple that was smytun of God, conseyuede drede. Live here. c. ¶ *Y roos for* to opene, etc.; that is, Y souste to be recouncelid to him, and so to be deliuerid of payne.

^e clothid AEGH. ^f washide AGH.

^f Om. c pr. m. [§] beste, ether firste x marg. ^b wellynge, ether quike K marg. ⁱ northerne A sec. m.
^k southerne A sec. m. ¹ The Chirche seith of Crist. x marg. ¹¹ come he I. ^m Crist seith to the Chirche.
x marg. ⁿ repe I. ^o Crist seith to the Apostelis. x marg. ^p drinketh I. ^q most dere I. ^r The vois
of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg. ^a leef I. ^t hem I. ^u sente CEF pr. m. GHIKMN PQRSUXA^q.

5 touching of hym. I ros, that I shulde
 opene to my lemman; myn hondis drop-
 peden mirre, and my fingres ful of best
 6 proued myrre. The lach of my dore I
 openede to my lemman; and he hadde
 bowid aside, and passede. My soule is
 molten, as my^s lemman spac^h; I sozte,
 and I fond not hym; I clepede, and he
 7 answerde not to me. Ther founden me
 theⁱ keperes that gon aboute the cite;
 thei smyten me, and woundeden me;
 token my mantil the keperes of the
 8 wallis. I adiure 3ou, 3ee^k do3tris of Je-
 rusalem, if 3ee shul finde my lemman,
 that 3ee telle to hym^l, for I languysse
 for looue. *The vois of frendis seith to*
 9 *the chirche*. Whiche is thi lemman of
 the looued, O! thou most fair of wym-
 men? whiche is thi lemman of the looued?
 'for so^m thou hast adiurid vs. *The*
vois of the chirche of Crist seith to the
 10 *frendis*^{mm}. My lemman whit and roody;
 11 chosen of thousandis. His hed best gold;
 his her as braunchis of palmes thicke
 12 lefed, blac as a crowe. Hys e3en as cul-
 ueres vp on litle ryueres of watris, that
 ben wassheⁿ with mylc, and sitten bi the
 13 most ful flowingus of watris. The chekes
 of hym as litle flores of swote spicis,
 plaunted^o of pymentaries; his lippis^{oo}
 14 droppende the first myrre. The hondis
 of hym able to turnen aboute, goldene,
 and ful of iacynctis; his wombe is
 15 yuerene, departid bi safiris. His hipis^p
 marbil pileres, that ben foundid vpon
 goldene feet; his fairnesse as of Liban,
 16 and chosen as of cedre. The throte of

hondis droppiden myrre, and my fyngris
 weren ful of myrre moost preued. Y⁶
 openede the wicket of my dore to my
 derlyng; and he hadde bowid awei, and
 hadde passid^s. My soule was meltid*, as
 the derlyng spak; Y souzte, and Y foond
 not hym; Y clepide, and he answerde
 not to me. Keperis[†] that cumpassiden⁷
 the citee founden me; thei smytiden^u me,
 and woundiden me; the keperis of wallis
 token away my mentil. 3e dou3tris of⁸
 Jerusalem, Y biseche 3ou bi an hooli
 thing, if 3e han founde my derlyng, that
 3e telle to hym, that Y am sijk for
 loue. ^{uu}A! thou faireste of wymmen,⁹
 of what manner condicioun is thi der-
 lyng^v 'of the louede^w? of what manner
 condicioun is thi derling of a derling?
 for thou hast^x bisou3t vs bi an hooli thing.
^{xx}My derling is whyt and rodi[‡]; chosun¹⁰
 of thousyndis. His heed is best gold; ¹¹
 hise heeris *ben* as the bowis of palm trees,
 and^y *ben* blake as a crowe. Hise i3en¹²
ben as culueris on the strondis of watris,
 that ben waischid^z in mylk, and sitten be-
 sidis fulleste ryueris. Hise chekis *ben*¹³
 as gardyns of swete smellynge spices, set
 of oynement makeris; hise lippis *ben*
 lilies, droppynge down the best^a myrre||.
 Hise hondis *ben* able to turne aboute,¹⁴
 goldun, and ful of iacynctis; his wombe
 is of^b yuer, ourned with safiris. Hise¹⁵
 lippis *ben* pilers of marble, that ben
 foundid on foundementis of gold; his
 schapplinesse is as of^c the Liban, *he is*
 chosun as cedris. His throte is moost¹⁶
 swete, and he is al desirable. 3e dou3-

droppiden
 myrre; that is,
 Y dresside me
 to penaunce.
 the wicket of
 my dore; herbi
 it is signefied,
 that penaunce
 in the begyn-
 nyng is vnper-
 fit; therfor it
 sueth, and he
 bowide awey;
 for not anoon
 at the cry of
 the puple he de-
 lyueride hem
 fro peyne. *Live*
here. c.

* My soule was
 meltid; as
 fatnesse in a
 panne; therfor
 it is seid of a
 man left in tur-
 ment, he is fried
 in his blood.
 foond not; for
 he delyueride
 not the puple
 anoon, but suf-
 fride hem to be
 turmentid of
 aduersaries.
Live here. c.

† Keperis; that
 is, the princes
 of hethen men,
 that weren in
 the cumpas of
 Jude. smytiden;
 in doyng anoye
 to persounes.
 tokun away; in
 spulyng me
 of my goodis.
 dou3tris of
 Jerusalem;
 that is, deuout
 persounes of the
 puple of Israel.
 han founde
 my derling;
 gracious to 3ou
 in 3oure prey-
 eris. that 3e telle
 to him; in bi-
 seching for me.
 that Y am sijk
 for loue; that
 is, for desir to
 be recounclid
 to him. derling
 of a derling;
 that is, worthi
 to be loued,
 more than alle;

ether this is seid to signefie the comyng forth of dyuyn persounes; for the Sone cometh forth of the Fadir, as the derling of a derling, and the Hooli Goost of euer either to other cometh forth of bothe. *Live here. c.* [‡] *whit and rody*; that is, benygne to iust men, and wroth to reпреuable men. *chosun of thousindis*; in Ebreu it is, banerid in thousyndis, that is, hauynge many thousyndis of aungels in his oost. *His heed is best gold*; that is, maad fair, with a goldun coroun, to signefie that he is King of kingis, and Lord of lordis. *hise heeris*; this signefieth, that his wisdom, and goodnes, and strength failen neuere. *fulleste ryueris*; that bi o symple loking he seeth alle thingis, and his vnderstanding wexith not foul, bi the knowing of tho thingis that ben with out him. *Hise chekis*; that is, his vertu, to drawe to him bi feith and loue chosun men. *Live here. c.* || *the beste myrre*; this signefieth his vertu to open priuytes, and that his wordis ben cleene, and kepen fro corrupcioun of synne. *Hise hondis*; signefien his power of worching; and alle the workis of God ben perfit. *ful of iacynctis*; that is, of steris, that ben of the colour of iacynth. *his wombe*; is whyt and cleene, that is, the biholding of Goddis preuytes makith the coold of drede withdrawn men fro synne. *Hise lippis, etc.*; that is, ben stronge, as siche pilers, and ben set on feet schoold with gold, in the hijere part of schoon; this signefieth, that his power berith vp alle thingis. *his schapplinesse, etc.*; for his fairnesse is word delitable, and hijnesse vncomprehensible. *His throte is moost swete, etc.*; as Goddis vertu, bi which he makith faithful men his membris bi grace, is signefied bi his chekis, so his vertu bi which he makith chosun men membris of his bodi bi glorie, is signefied bi his throte.

^s the E pr. m. ^h he spac E pr. m. ⁱ Om. AC sec. m. GH. ^k the AGH. ^l me E pr. m. ^m forsothe AG. ^{mm} seyntus c pr. m. ⁿ washed AEGH. ^o maad E pr. m. ^{oo} lippis as lilies E sec. m. marg. ^p lippis AG. thijs H sec. m.

^s passid forth I. ^t The keperis I. ^u smeten I. ^{uu} *The vois of frendis seith to the Chirche*. ^x marg. ^v of a derlyng COHINPQRSUVXG. ^w Orig. EM. ^x hast so I. ^{xx} *The vois of the Chirche of Crist seith to the frendis*. ^x marg. ^y and thei I. ^z weishe I. ^a thei firste x marg. ^b Om. I. ^c Om. c.

hym most sweete, and he al desirable. Such is my looued, and this is my lemman, 3ee doztris of Jerusalem. *The vois*
 17 *of holi soules, of the Chirche.* Whider 3ide awei thi lemman, O! thou most fair of wymmen? whider bowed down thi leef? and wee shul sechen hym with thee.

CAP. VI.

1 *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist.* My leef wente down in to his gardeyn, to the flor of swote spices, that there he be fed
 2 in the gardynes, and lilies he gedere. I to my leef; and myn leef to me, that is fed among lilies. *The vois of Crist to*
 3 *the Chirche.* Fair thou art, my leef, sweete and fair as Jerusalem, ferful as
 4 the sheltrun of tentes ordeyned. Turne away thin e3en fro me, for thei maden me to fleen awei; thin heres as the flockis of she got, that aperede fro Galaad. Thi teth as a floc of shep, that
 5 ste3eden vp fro the wasshing place; alle with double frut of wombe, and barein there is not in hem. As the rinde of poun9arnet, so thi chekes, withoute thin
 7 hid thingus. Sixty ben quenes, and eizeti ben secundarie wifes; and of 3unge waxen wymmen ther is no noubre.
 8 Oon is my culuer, my parfit, oon is to hir moder, chosen of hir that gat hir; ther see3en hir the doztris of Sion, and most blisful precheden; the quenes, and
 9 the secundarie wifes preyseden hir. What is she this, that goth forth as morutid rising, fair as the moone, chosen as the sunne, ferful as of tentes sheltrun ordeyned? *The vois of the Chirche, of the*
 10 *sinagoge.* I wente down in to my gardyn, that I shulde seen the applis of aleies^p, and beholde, if the vynes hadden

tris of Jerusalem, siche is my derlyng, and this is my freend. ^cThou faireste¹⁷ of wymmen, whidur 3ede thi derlyng? whidur bowide thi derlyng? and we schulen seke hym with thee.

CAP. VI.

^dMy derlyng 3ede down in to his or-
 cherd*, to the gardyn of swete smellynge spices, that he be fed there in orcherdis, and gadere lilyes. Y to my derlyng; ² and my derlyng, that is fed among the^e lilies, be to me. ^fMi frendesse^g, thou ³ art fair, swete and schappli as Jerusalem, *thou art* ferdful as the scheltrun of oostis set in good ordre. Turne awei thin ⁴ izen fro me, for tho^h maden me to fle awei; thin heeris *ben* as the flockis of geet, that apperiden fro Galaad. Thi⁵ teeth¹ as a^k flok¹ of scheep, that stieden fro^m waischyng; alle *ben* with double lambren, *'ether twynnes^a*, and no bareyn is^o among tho^p. As the rynde of a pumgranate, so *ben* thi chekis, without thi priuutees. Sixti ben^q queenys[†], and eizti ⁷ ben secundarie wyues; and of 3ong damedels is^r noon noubre. Oon is my cul-⁸ uer, my perfit *spousesse*, oon is to hir modir, and *is* the chosun of hir modir; the dou3tris of Syon sien^s hir, and prechiden *hir* moost blessid; queenys, and secundarie wyues preysiden hir. Who is this, ⁹ that goith forth, as the moreutid risynge, fair as the moone, chosun as the sunne, ferdful as the scheltrun of oostis set in good ordre? ^tY cam down in to myn ¹⁰ orcherd[‡], to se the applis of grete valeis, and to biholde, if vyneris hadden flourid, and if pumgranate trees hadden buri-

faireste of wymmen; that is, of alle folkis, in tyme of thi spousing to God, bi resseyuyng of thi lawe. *whidur 3ede thi derlyng*; this lettre is refferid to the tyme of taking of the arke bi Filisteis, and of translating ther of in to the lond of Filisteys. *we schulen seke, etc.*; this is refferid to the tyme wherynne Dauyth brou3te the arke of the Lord solemneli in to Jerusalem. *Live here. c.*

** my derlyng 3ede down in to his orcherd, etc.*; that is, in to the tabernacle, that Dauyth arayed to the setting of the arke. *in orchardis*, that is, in sacrifices and offringis offrid bi feith and deuocioun. *lilies*; that is, dresse cleene mynystris to his seruyce. *Y to my derlyng*; that is, Y wole serue him aloone. *to me*; in helpinge my nedis. *Turne away*; this is declaring of loue of ech to other; ether this is seid of studious men in the lawe, whiche sum tyme enqueren ouer curiously dyuyn thingis, and so God with drawith him fro hem; therfor bi this that is seid, *turne away, etc.* is forbedun curiouse seking of dyuyn thingis. *Live here. c.*

† queenys; that is, synagogis of lesse townes. Bi oon which is seid *culuer* and *spousesse*, is vnderstondun the tabernacle in Jerusalem, wherynne was the arke, and in Jerusalem oneli was maad the offryng of sacrifices; the modir of Jerusalem is the chirche hauyng victorie. *Live here. c.*

‡ in to myn orcherd; that is, in to the temple of Salomon. *applis, etc.*; that is, goode werkis of meke men. *vyneris*; that is, the bows of Israel. *pumgranate trees*; that is, prestis and dekenes.

P valeyes G sec. v. H sec. v.

^c *The vois of hooli soules, of the Chirche. x marg.* ^d *The vois of the Chirche, of Crist. x marg.*
^e Om. plures. ^f *The vois of Crist to the Chirche. x marg.* ^g leef I. ^h thei I. ⁱ teeth ben C sec. m. iv.
^k the EV. ^l flockis v. ^m up fro I. ⁿ Om. CI. ^o ther is I. ^p hem I. ^q ther ben I. ^r ther is I.
^s saw3en I passim. ^t *The vois of the Chirche, of the synagoge. x marg.*

floured, and the poungarnetis hadden
 11 buriouned. I wiste not; myn soule dis-
 turbide me, for the foure horsid cartis of
 Amynadab. *The vois of the Chirche,*
 12 of^q the feith of the natiuite. Turne
 azeen, turne azeen, Sunamytis; turne
 azeen, turne azeen, that wee byholde thee.

CAP. VII.

*The vois of Crist to the Chirche, of the
 synagoge.* What shalt thou seen in Su-
 namyte, but queres of tentes? *The vois*
 1 of *Crist to the Chirche.* Hou faire ben
 thi goingus in shon, thou do3ter of the
 prince; the ioynitures of thin hipes^r as
 brooches, that ben forgid with the hond
 2 of the craftisman. Thi nauele a turned
 cuppe, neuere nedende drinks; thi
 wombe as an hep of whete, set aboute
 3 with lilies. Thi two tetus as two 3unge
 4 capretis, iemews of the she capret. Thi
 necke as an yuerene tour; thin ezen as
 the cystemis^s in Esebon, that ben in the
 3ate of the do3ter of the multitude; thi
 nose as the tour of Liban, that beholdith
 5 azen Damasch. Thin hed as Carmel;
 thin heres of thin hed as the purper of
 6 the king, ioyned to water pipes. Hou
 fair thou art, and hou semeli, thou most
 7 derwrthe in delices. Thi stature is ligned
 to a palm, and thi tetes to clustris.
 8 *Crist of the holi cros seith.* I seide, I
 shal ste3en in to a palm tree, and I shal
 take the frutis of it. *The vois of Crist*
to the Chirche. And thi tetes shul ben
 as the clustris of a vyne; and the smel

owned. Y knew not; my soule dis-11
 turbide me^r, for the charis of Amyna-
 dab. ^sTurne azen, turne azen, thou Su-12
 namyte; turne azen, turne azen, that we
 biholde thee. ^tWhat schalt thou se in
 the Sunamyte, no^u but cumpenyes of
 oostis?

CAP. VII.

^vDou3tir of the prince*, thi goyngis 1
 ben ful faire in schoon; the ioyncturis
 of thi heppis *ben* as brochis, that ben
 maad bi^w the hond of a crafti man. Thi 2
 nawle^x is as^y a round cuppe, and wel
 formed, that hath neuere nede to drynkis;
 thi wombe is as an hep of whete, biset
 aboute with lilies. Thi twei teetis[†] *ben* 3
 as twei kidis, twynnes of a capret. Thi 4
 necke is as a tour of yuer; thin 3zen
ben as cisternes in Esebon, that ben in
 the 3ate of the dou3ter of multitude; thi
 nose is as the tour of Liban, that bihold-
 ith azen Damask. Thin heed is as Car-5
 mele; and the heeres of thin heed *ben* as
 the kyngis purpur, ioyned to trow3is^z.
 Dereworthe^a *spousesse*, thou art ful fair[†], 6
 and ful schappli in delices. Thi stature is 7
 ligned to a palm tree, and thi tetis to
 clustris of grapis. ^bI seide, Y schal 8
 stie^c in to a palm tree||, and Y schal take
 the fruytis therof. ^dAnd thi tetis schulen
 be as the clustris of grapis of a vyner;
 and the odour of thi mouth as the odour
 of pumgranatis; thi throte *schal* be as 9
 beste wyn. ^eWorthi to my derlyng for
 to drynke, and to hise lippis and teeth to

Y knew not; here is set the state aftir the tyme of Salomon, til to the caityte of Babiloyne. *Y knew not;* that is, Y koude not biholde Goddis benefices 3ouun to me in tymes passid. *my soule distur-* *blide me, etc.;* that is, Jero-boam induside the ten lynagis to idolatrie, for drede of leeing of the rewme, if the puple 3ede to Jerusa-lem, leste it wolde turne azen to the rewme of Juda, signefied bi Amynadab. Ebreis seien, this is the veri lettre, *My soule hath set me the car-tis of the puple hauing prinse-hed,* that is, my wille, that brou3t me in to do idolatrie, for whiche Y was conquerid, made me the cartis of Assi-riens and of Ba-biloynes, that ledden the sonas of Israel in to caityte, and leiden on hem, as cartis charg-id, greuouse birthuns to bere in the weye. *turne azen;* that is, fro caityte, in to the hool staat of thi feith. *Sunamyte;* ether Sulamyte, bi Ebreu lettre, that signefieth hool ether perfit. *Live here.* c.

* *Dou3tir of the prince;* here is descryued the loue of the spouse and of the spousesse for the staat of the newe testament. *Dou3ter of the prince;* that is, hooli chirche, which is the spousesse and dou3ter of Crist. *thi goingis;* bi the counceles of the gospel. *in schoon;* that is, in the myndis of Crist and martris. *the ioyncturis of thyh hipis;* that is, the ioynnyng togidere of Jewis and of hethen men in o chirche of Crist, maad bi the hond of Crist. Bi *nawle* and *wombe* is vnderstondun the plenteouse childbering of the chirche, to bringe forth the children of Crist goostly, not fleisly; therfor it sueth, *biset with lilies* of charite. *a round cuppe;* in Ebreu it is, as a cleer basin. *Live here.* c. [†] *twei tetis;* ben twey testamentis, of whiche mylk is sokun, wherynne children, gendren in Crist, ben nurschid and encressid. *thi necke;* that is, feith formed with charite. *the 3zen;* ben Cristis vertu of knowing, bi which he biholdith hise sones bi appreyung. *as cisternes;* for the 3zen ben full of watris of mersy. *the nose;* is doom of discrecioun. *the heed;* is Crist; the hignesse of his hed is Cristis Godhed. *the heeres;* ben apostlis. *as purpur;* for thei weren maad reed in her blood, for the loue of Crist. *ioyned to trow3is;* that is, put in trou3is to be waischid, aftir dryngis. *Live here.* c. [†] *ful fair;* bi feith and oneste of conuersacioun. *a palme tree;* in streitnesse of rizfulnessse, and in heit3e of deuout contemplacioun. *clustris of grapis;* for abundaunce of goostly mylk, ether doctryn. *Live here.* c. || *Y schal stie in to a palm tre, etc.;* that is, seith the spouse, Y schal make parfit men in the chirche, to stie in to the hignesse of contemplacioun, and make hem to take swetnesse and deliting, which is feelid in the hignesse of contemplacioun. *thi tetis schulen be, etc.;* that is, bi abundaunce of mylk of hooli doctryn. *odour of thi mouth;* that is, the fame of teching. *Live here.* c.

^q to AEGH. ^r lippis A. ^s fishpondis E pr. m.

^r Om. 1. ^s *The vois of the Chirche, to the feith of the natyuite.* x marg. ^t *The vois of Crist to the Chirche, of the synagoge.* x marg. ^u Om. 1. ^v *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* x marg. ^w with 1. ^x lippis A pr. m. nable E. naule orq. nauele Rca. nauel S. ^y Om. a. ^z to be bathid ynne F marg. sec. m. ^a Most dere 1. ^b *Crist of the hooli crosse seith.* x marg. ^c stie up 1. ^d *The vois of Crist to the Chirche.* x marg. ^e *The Chirche seith of Crist.* x marg.

9 of thi mouth as the smel of appellis, and
thi throte as best wyn. *The Chirche*
seith of Crist. Wrthi to my leef to
drinken, to the lippes and to the teth of
10 hym to chewen. 'I to^t my leef, and to
me the turnyng of hym. *The vois of*
11 *the Chirche to Crist.* Cum, my leef, go
wee out in to the feeld; dwelle wee to-
12 gidere in tounes. Erli rise wee to the
vyne; see wee, if the vyne flourede, if
the floures frutes bringe forth, if the
poumgarnetes floureden; there I shal
13 jiuue to thee my tetes. The mandrages
jeuen ther smel in oure zates; alle
appellis, newe and olde, my leef, I kepte
to thee.

CAP. VIII.

1 *The vois of patriarkis, of Crist.* Who
to me zyue^z thee, my brother, soukende
the tetes of my moder, that I finde thee
alone withoute forth, and kisse thee,
2 and now me no man dispise? I shal
take thee, and leden in to the hous of
my moder, and in to the bed place of hir
that gat me; there thou shalt teche me,
and I shal zyue to thee drinken^u of spiced
win, and of the must of my poumgar-
3 netes. The lift hond of hym vnder myn
hed, and the rizt hond of hym shal clippe
me. *The vois of Crist, of the Chirche.*
4 I adiure zou, zee doztris of Jerusalem, ne
rere zee, ne maketh^{uu} to waken my leef,
to the time that she wile. *The vois of*
5 *the sinagoge, of the Chirche.* What is
she this, that stezeth vp fro desert, flow-

chewe^z. *Y schal cleue by loue to my der-* 10
lyng, and his turnyng schal be to me.
11 ^aCome thou, my derlyng, go we out in to
the feeld*; dwelle we togidere in townes.
Ryse we eerli to the vyner; se we, if the 12
vyner hath flourid, if the^{aa} flouris bryngen
forth fruytis^b, if pumgranatis han flourid;
there I schal zyue to thee my tetis.
Mandrogoris han zoue her odour in oure^c 13
zatis; my derlyng, Y haue kept to thee
alle applis, new and elde.

CAP. VIII.

^dWho 'mai grantef to me^{dd} thee^e, my 1
brother, soukyng the tetis of my modir,
that Y fynde thee aloone without forth,
and^f that Y kisse thee, and no man dis-
pise me thanne? Y schal take thee, and 2
Y schal lede thee in to the hous of my
modir, and in to the closet of my modir;
there thou schalt teche me, and Y schal
zyue to thee drink of wyn maad swete,
and of the must of my pumgranatis.
His lefthond vndur^g myn heed, and his 3
rizthond schal biclippe me. ^hZe douztris 4
of Jerusalem, Y charge zou greetli, that
ze reise not, nether make the dereworthe
spousesse to awake, til sche wole^{hh}. ⁱWho 5
is this *spousesse*, that stieth^j fro desert,
and flowith in delices, and restith on hir
derlyng? ^kY reise^k thee vndur a pum-

* go we out in
to the feeld; bi
spreding abroad
of feith in to the
world. dwelle
we togidere,
etc.; in bild-
inge chirehis
in citees and
townes. Rise we
erly, etc.; that
is, to conuerte
hethen puple.
if the vyner
hath flourid;
that is, for he-
then puple hath
flourid in rea-
seyunge ioy-
fulli Goddis
word. if pum-
granatis, etc.;
that is, the
fulnesse of
martris in the
firste chirche.
Y schal zeue
to thee my tetis;
that is, Y schal
ordeyne the
teching of euer
ether testament
to thi glorie.
Mandragoris
han zoue, etc.;
that is, excel-
ent men in
Cristis chirche
han zoue the
odour of good
fame, bi hooli
liyf and hool-
sum techyng in
the chirche of
God. alle applis,
newe and elde;
that is, Y haue
ordeynd to thyn
onour the wit-
nessingis of the
elde and newe
testament. Live
here. c.
† Hooli chirche
axith here to be
delyuerid fro
schenschebis
and dispitis
doon therto, in
the bigynnyng
therof, aftir
Cristis ascen-
cioun. my bro-
ther; for the re-
soun of manhed

takun. soukinge the tetis of my modir; that is, of the Virgyn Marie, whiche is seid modir, bothe of Crist and of al hooli chirche. Y fynde thee
aloone; onourid with onour, that perteyneth oneli to God; bi this word thee alone, the Fadir and the Hooli Goost ben not excludid, but the
seruyce of idols is excludid herbi. without forth; that is, opynly, with out the drede of vnfeithful men. Y schal take thee; bi deuocioun of feith.
schal lede; that is, bi preyeris Y schal make thee to come, bi condescending of thi goodnesse. in to the hous of my modir; that is, in to chirchis
halewid to the blessid Virgyn and othere seyntis. there thou schalt teche me; in schewinge priuy mysteries to the mynysters of the chirche.
of wyn; that is, of deuocioun of feithful men. must; that is, deuocioun of men newly conuertid. his left hond, etc.; thanne he schal schewe
frenschip to me, as a spouse doith to a ful dereworthe spousesse. nether make the dereworthe to awake; that is, whanne the spouse hath gete
reste and pees, ze do not ony thing wherbi the spouse be offendid, and the reste of the spousesse be brokun. that stieth fro desert; that is, fro
the scharpnesse of persecucioun fro tirauntis. Y reise thee vndur a pumgranate tre; thus it is in Ebrey, tho summe doctours taken

^t And to *AN pr. m.* ^u drinke *A.* ^{uu} make *A.*

^z schewe *A pr. m. MRV.* ^a *The vois of the Chirche to Crist. x marg.* ^{aa} Om. *CV.* ^b fruyzt *AS.*
^c zoure *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUXAÇ.* ^d *The vois of patriarkis, of Crist. x marg.* ^{dd} shal zeue to *E.* schal jiuue
HPUV. ^e Om. *CFGHIKMN PQRSXAÇ.* ^f Om. *C.* ^g shal be vnder *I.* ^h *The vois of Crist, of the Chirche. x marg.*
^{hh} wile *I.* ⁱ *The vois of the sinagoge, of the Chirche. x marg.* ^j stieth up *I.* ^k *The vois of Crist to the*
synagoge, of the hooli crosse. x marg.

ende delices, faste cleuende vpon^v hir
leef? *The vois of Crist to the sinagoge^{vv}, of the holi cros.* Vndir an apil
tree I rerede^w thee; there shent is thi
moder, there defoulid is she that gat
thee. Put me as a brooche vpon thin
herte, as a brooche vpon thin arm; for
strong is as deth looue, hard as helle ie-
lousnesse^x; the laumpis of it the laumpes
of fir, and of flaumes. Manye watris
shul not moun quenchen out charite, ne
flodis shul not throwen it down. If a
man 3eue al the substaunce of his hous
for looue, as no3t he dispisith it. *The
vois of Crist to the sinagoge^x, of the
holi^z Chirche.* Oure^a sister a litil child,
and tetes she hath not; what shul wee
do to oure sister, in the dai whan she is
to ben spoken to? If a wal she is, bilde
wee vp 'on it^b siluerene pynaclis; if a
dore she is, ioayne wee it with ceder tables.
The vois of the Chirche answerende. I
a wal, and my tetes as a tour; sithen I
am mad befor thee as pes resceyuende.
The sinagoge of the Chirche seith. A
vyne she was to the pesible; in hir that
hath puples, she toc it to the keperes;
a man taketh awei for^c the frut of it a
thousand siluer^d plates. *Crist to the*

granate tre; there thi modir was corrupt,
there thi modir was defoulid. Set thou
me as a signet on thin herte, as a signet
on thin arm; for loue is strong as deth^{*},
enuy is hard as helle; the laumpis ther-
of *ben* laumpis of fier, and of flawmes.
Many watris moun not quenche charite,
nether floodis schulen oppresse it. Thou;
a man 3yue^k al the catel of his hous for
loue, he schal dispise^l 'that *catel^m* as
nouzt. ⁿOure sistir is litil, and hath no
tetys; what schulen we do to oure sistir,
in the dai whanne sche schal be spokun
to? If it is a wal, bilde we theronne
siluerne tourisⁿⁿ; if it is a dore, ioayne
we it togidere with tablis of cedre. ^oI
am a wal, and my tetis *ben* as a tour;
sithen Y am maad as fyndyng pees[†]
bifore hym. ^pA vyner was to the pesi-
ble; in that *citee*, that hath puplis, he
bitook it to keperis; a man bryngith a
thousynde platys of siluer for the fruyt
therof. ^qThe vyner is bifore me; a
thousynde *ben* of thee pesible, and two
hundrid to hem that kepen the fruytis
therof. Frendis herkene thee, that dwell-
ist in orchertis; make thou me to here
thi vois. ^rMy derlyng, fle thou[‡]; be
thou maad lik a capret, and a calf of

this vnkun-
nyngly of the
tre forebodon
to Adam and
Eue; that is,
Y clepide thee
inwardly, bi the
vertu of the
hooly cros, and
of thi passion.
*there thi mo-
dir was cor-
rupt; in Ebreu
it is, there thi
modir childide
thee. there; that is, bisidis
the cros. thi
modir childide
thee; that is,
the blessid Vir-
gyn Marie
hadde sorewe
for thee, as a
woman beringe
child hath so-
rewe; for there
sche was persid
with the swerd
of sorewe for
her sone, as
Symeon bifor-
seide, in ij. c.
of Luyk. there
thi modir was
defoulid; that
is, the syna-
goge, seid the
modir of Crist,
for he took
mankynde of
the puple of
Jewis. was cor-
rupt there; for
the obseruaun-
ces of Moises
lawe ceessiden,
as slayn in the
passion of Crist.
as a signet on
thyn herte; in
louynge me
perfitly. on*

thyn arm; in defendinge me bi the arm of thi power. Live here. c. * loue is strong as deth; that is, thou; thi loue is so strong in the
perfit sones of hooli chirche, that they dreden not to suffre deth for thee, as it is opyn in martris, netheles enuye, that is, persecucioun of
tirauntis, that cometh forth for enuye and hatrede of Cristen men, is hard as helle to feble men; and therfor thei han nede of the help of thi
proteccioun, and to the benefice of pees. *the laumpis therof; that is, of thi loue, in the soulis of perfit men. of fier; that is, so strong, that*
it may not be borun down bi the persecuciouns of tirauntis, but not so in feble men. *many watris; that is, persecuciouns of tirauntis. he schal*
despise that catel as nouzt; as if he seye, men, 3he, feble men, moun dispise outermere goodis for thi loue, but thei moun not so dispise her owne
lyf, in suffringe martirdom. Oure sister is litil, and hath no tetis; that is, hooli chirche is meke, and cast out among men of this world, and
hath not fredom to schede out the mylk of hooli doctryn, bi preching of Cristen feith. be spokun to; of princes, as of Constantyn, and
other princes in his tyme, that grauntiden pees to hooli chirche. siluerne touris; in Ebreu it is, a siluerne paleis, that is, ioayne we to it the
princes of the world, bi resseyuyng of feith to the defence of syke men. ioayne we it to, etc.; that is, make we it strong with hooli techeris,
clepid cedris; for the hijnesse of lyf and kunnyng, and for the hoolnesse of feith. Live here. c. † Y am maad as fyndyng pees, etc.;
that is, Y haue fredom to preche Cristis feith opynly, for Constantyn, in the iij. day of his bapty, puplischide his lawe, that who euer dide
wrong to a Cristen man, he schulde lease the half of his goodis. *to keperis; that is, to Petre and hise successours. a man, etc.; that is, Con-*
stantyn 3af many costis for the fruyt of chirche. The vyner is bifore me; that is, seith Crist, Y stonde ny3 bi my presence, to kepe the chirche
principaly. and ij. hundrid, etc.; that is, myche mo thankings ben due to Crist pesible, for the keping of hooli chirche, than to prelatys, that
ben keperis of the chirche vndur him. to here; that is, aungels herken thee, spousesse, in chirchis spred abroad bi the world. thi vois; that
is, the declaring of thi desir. Live here. c. ‡ My dirling, fle thou; bi this fli3t is not vndurston dun departing of the spouse fro the
spousesse, but bi this fli3t is vndurston dun swift translating of the spousesse with the spouse to heuenly blis; which the spousesse desirith
souereynly; therfor the spousesse seith, *my dirling, fle thou*, that is, lede thou me with thee, out of wrecchidnesse of present world. *be thou*
maad lik a capret, etc.; that is, do this swiftly. on the hillis of swete smellynge spices; that is, in beringe me ouer with thee to heuenys,
where is swetteste feeding of chosun men. Live here. c.

^v to E pr. m. ^{vv} sinage AH. linage G. ^w herde C. ^x gloriousnes A. ^y sinage AGH. ^z Om. AEGH.
^a My E pr. m. ^b to hir A. ^c fro A. ^d siluerene AEGH.

^k 3yueh c et ceteri. ^l dispise, or rette it I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ The vois of Crist to the synagoge of hooli
Chirche. x marg. ⁿⁿ touris, ethir britagis v. ^o The vois of the Chirche ansverynge. x marg. ^p The
synagoge of the Chirche seith. x marg. ^q Crist to the Chirche seith. x marg. ^r The vois of the Chirche
to Crist. x marg.

- 12 *Chirche seith.* My vine bifer me is; a
thousand thi pesiblis, and two hundrid
to them that kepen the frutis of it.
13 The whiche dwellist in gardynes, frendis
herknen thee^e; mac me to heren thi
vois. *The vois of the Chirche to Crist.*
14 Flee thou, my leef; be thou ligned to a
capret, and to an hert calf of hertes, vp
on the mounteynes of swote spices.

hertis, on the hillis of swete smellynge
spices.

*Here endith the Songe of Songis, and
here bigynneth Sapiens^v.*

Here endith the Songis of Songis^f.

^e me A. ^f From A. *Explicit.* E. *Explicit Canticum.* GH. No final rubric in c.

^v *Here endith the book of Songis, and here bigynneth the book of Wisdom.* CUX. *Here endith the book of Songis, and here bygynneth Wisdom.* FH. *Here endith the book of Songis, and bigynneth a prolog on the book of Wysdom.* G. *Heere endith the book of Songis, and biginnith the book of Wisdom.* IQS. *Here endeth the book of Songis; se now the booc of Sapiens or Wisdom.* K. *Here endith the book of Songis, and here bigynneth the book of Wisdom, which is red in holi cherche in lessouns of the masse; for the mater therof is goostli, and profecie of thingis to comynge.* M. *Here endith Songis of Songis, and bigynneth Sapiens.* N. *Here endith the book of Song of Songis, and bigynneth the book of Wysdom or Sapiens.* V. *Here eendith Cantica Canticorum, and biginneth the prolog on Sapiens.* A. No final rubric in EPRY.

W I S D O M.

*Heer gynneth^a the prolog in the
booc of Wisdam.*

THE booc of Wisdam anent^b Ebrues
no3her^{bb} is; wherfore and that diting^c
the more^d smelleth fair^e Grec speche^f.
Thys booc the Jewis afermen to ben of
Filon, that therfore Wisdam is nemned^g,
for in it the^{gg} comyng^h of Crist, that is
the wisdam of the Fader, and the pas-
sion, diligentli is opened^{hh}.

*Here eendith the prolog, and bigyn-
neth Sapiensⁱ.*

A prolog upon Sapience^a.

The book of Wisdom is not hadde
among Ebreuys; wherfore the writyng
therof sowneth moost in Greke speche.
This book the Jewis affermen to be of
Philonys, and it is clepid the book of
Wisdom, for in it the comyng of Crist,
which is the wisdom of the Fader, and
his passioun, opinli ben schewid.

Heer gynneth^k the booc^l.

1 Looue 3ee ri3twisnesse, that demen the
erthe; feeleth of the Lord in goodnesse,
and in simplenesse of herte secheth hym.

*Here biginneth the bok of Sapience or
Wysedom^{aa}.*

3e that demen the erthe*, loue^b ri3tful-
nesse; feele 3e of the Lord in goodnesse,
and seke 3e hym in the^c symplenesse†

* the erthe;
that is, men
dwellinge in
erthe. c.

† symplenesse;
that is, clen-
nesse. Austyn
and Live here.
c.

^a begynneth AEGH. ^b anentis AEL. ^{bb} nowhere A. ^c eendinge L. ^d Om. L. ^e the fair AEGH. the L.
^f speche the more fair L. ^g clepid L. ^{gg} Om. c pr. m. ^h kunnyng A. ^{hh} expowned AGHL. ⁱ From L.
No final rubric in the other Mss. ^k begynneth AE. ^l book of Wisdam. A. No initial rubric in GH.

^a This prologue is from R. ^{aa} From EGPY. Heere bigynneth Sapience. R. No initial rubric in the
other Mss. ^b loueth I. ^c Om. CI.

2 For^{bb} he is founden of hem, that tempten
hym not; he apereth forsothe to them,
3 that feith han in to^c hym. Shreude for-
sothe thoȝtis seueren fro God; preued
forsothe vertu chastiseth vnwise men.
4 For in to an euell willi soule shal not
gon in wisdam; ne shal dwelle in a bodi
5 soget to synnes. An holi spirit forsothe
shal flee the feynere^{cc} of discipline, and
shal taken hymself awei fro thoȝtis, that
ben without vnderstonding; and he shal
be chastisid fro the ouercomende wickid-
6 nesse. Benyngne is the spirit of wisdam,
and he shal not deliuere the cursid fro
his lippis; for of the reenus of hym wit-
nesse is God, and of the herte of hym he
is verre^d serchere, and of the tunge of
7 hym herere^e. For the Spirit of the Lord
fulfilde^f the rondnesse of londis; and that,
that conteneth alle thingus, kunnyng hath
8 of vois. For that 'he that^g speketh wicke
thingus, mai not lurke; ne chastysende
9 dom shal beside passen hym. In the
thoȝtis forsothe of the vnþitous asking
10 shal be. Of the sermounes forsothe of
hym heering to God shal come, and to
the correccioun^h of the wickidnesses of
hym; for the ere of the ielous hereth
alle thingis, and the noise of grucchingusⁱ
11 shal not ben hid. Kepe ȝee thanne ȝou
fro grucching, that no thing profiteth,
and fro bacbiting 'spareth to the^k tunge;
for a derc sermoun in veyn shal not go;
the mouth forsothe that lieth, sleth the
12 soule. Wileth not loouen deth, in errour
of ȝoure lif, ne purchase ȝee perdicoun

of herte. For he is foundun of hem, 2
that tempten not hym; forsothe he ap-
perith to hem, that han feith in to hym.
For whi weiward thouȝtis departen fro 3
God; but preued* vertu repreueth vnwise
men. For whi wisdom schal not entre in 4
to an yuel willid soule†; nethir schal^d
dwelle in a bodi suget to synnes. For- 5
sothe the Hooli Goost of wisdom schal
fle awei fro 'a feyned man^e, and he schal
take awei hym silf fro thouȝtis, that ben
with out vnderstondyng; and *the man*^f
schal be punyschid of wyckidnesse com-
yngne aboue. For the spirit of wisdom is 6
benyngne, and he schal not delyuere a
cursid man fro hise lippis^g; for whi
God is witnesse of hise reynes, and the
serchere of his herte is trewe, and the
herere of his tunge. For whi the Spirit 7
of the Lord hath fillid the world; and this
thing, that conteyneth alle thingis, hath
the kunnyng of vois. For^h this he that^g
spekith wickid thingis, may not be hid;
and doom punyschyngⁱ schal not passe
hym. For whi axyng schal be in the 9
thouȝtis of a wickid man. Forsothe the 10
heryng of hise wordis schal come to God,
and to the punyschyng of hise wickid-
nessis; for the eere of feruent loue herith
alle thingis, and the noise of grutchyngis
schal not be hyd. Therfor kepe ȝe ȝou 11
fro grutchyng, that profitith no thing,
and fro bacbityng spare ȝe the tunge; for
a derk word schal not go in to veyn;
forsothe the mouth that lieth, sleth the
soule†. Nyle ȝe coueyte deth, in the 12

* *preued*; that is, vertu ap-
preued of God. *vnwise men*;
that is, hem that synnen bi
ignorance. *Live here. c.*
† *yuel willed*
soule; that is, to whom malice
plesith for vici-
cious custom.
suget to synnes;
that is, in a
man suget to
fleisli vices, that
maken dulnesse
of vnderstond-
ing. *Goost of*
wisdom; that
is autour of
wisdom in the
dissiple. *a feyn-*
ed man; that is,
him that sekith
in vertues not
trute, but
oneli apperith.
without vn-
durstondyng;
that is, with out
resoun. *a cursid*
man, etc.; that
is, a man ob-
stynat in syn-
nes, fro blasfe-
myes and othere
yuels, doon bi
stirring of lippis.
reynes; that is,
of yuele affec-
cions. *herte*;
that is, of thouȝt
and entent.
conteyneth;
that is, the
Hooli Goost,
that kepith alle
thingis in be-
ing. *kunnyng*
of vois; that is,
knowing of ech
seyng. *a derk*
word, etc.; that
is, colourid bi
the semyng of
hoolynesse,
whanne it hath
the venym of
wickidnesse
withynne. *Live*
here. c.
‡ *sleeth the*
soule; this is

vnderstondun of a dedly leeing, not of a bourdeful leeing, and profitable. *in the errour of ȝoure lyf*; that is, bileuyng bi this to ascape al
peynefulnesse. *nether gete ȝe perdicoun*; that is, dampnacioun of helle. *in the werkis of ȝoure hondis*; that is, in sleynge ȝou bi ȝoure hondis.
God made not deth; of man, whom he made myȝty to die not, bi the ȝifte of origenal riȝtfulnesse; and if man had kepte that ȝifte, he schulde
haue passid with out deth to the glorie of bodi and of soule. *Live here. c.*

^{bb} Forsothe *c pr. m.* ^c Om. *c pr. m.* ^{cc} feyned thyng *E pr. m.* ^d the verre *AGH.* ^e he is
herere *E pr. m.* ^f fulfillith *AGH.* ^g Om. *A.* ^h correccioun *AGH.* ⁱ the grucchingis *A.* grucchinge *H.*
^k of the twisel *E pr. m.*

^d it schal *I.* ^e feynynge thing *I text. or a feyned man I marg.* ^f vnwijs man *I.* ^g lippis, that is, ob-
stynat *V.* ^h Therfor *I.* ⁱ and punyschyng *I.*

13 in the werkis of ȝoure hondis; for God
made not deth, ne gladeth¹ in the leeing
14 of men 'of liue^m. Forsothe God made,
that alle thingus weren; and able to
helthe he made the naciouns of the
roundnesse of londis. Forsothe ther is
not in hem leching of destruccioun, ne
15 the reume of helle is in the erthe. Riȝt-
wisnesse forsothe is perpetuel, and vn-
deadli; vnriȝtwisnesse forsothe purchas-
16 ing of deth. Vnpitous men forsothe with
hondis and wrdis haunteden it, and
eymende it a frend, flowedenⁿ down, and
behestes they putteden to it; for deth
thei ben wrthi, that ben of the part^o
of it.

CAP. II.

1 Forsothe vnpitouse men seiden, thenk-
ende anent^{oo} hemselue not riȝt, Lital and
with noȝe is the time of oure^p lif; ther
is not refreshing in the ende of a man,
and ther is not, that be knowen turned
2 aȝeen fro helle. For of noȝt wee ben
born, and aftir these thingus wee shul
be, as thoȝ^q wee hadden not ben; for
smoke and blast is in oure nose therles,
and sermoun of a sparcle to stirn togi-
3 dere oure herte. For quenched ashent^r
shal ben oure bodi, and the spirit shal
be held abroad as 'softe eir^s; and oure lif
shal passe as the step of a cloude, and
as a lital cloude ben vnknyt, that is
dryuen of the bemes of the sunne, and
4 of the hete of it aggreggid. And oure
name forȝeting shal take by tyme; and
no man shal han mynde of oure werkis.
5 Forsothe the passing of the^t shadewe is
oure tyme, and ther is notⁿ turning
aȝeen of oure ende; for it is al closid,
6 and no man turneth aȝeen. Cometh

errour of ȝoure lijf, nether gete ȝe per-
dicioun in the werkis of ȝoure hondis;
for God made not deth, nether is^m glad 13
in the perdicioun of lyuyng men. For 14
whi God made of nouȝt alle thingis, that
tho schulden be; and he made the na-
ciouns of the world able to be heeled.
Forwhi medecyn[†] of distriyng is not in
tho men, nether the rewme of hellis is in
erthe[‡]. For riȝtfulnesse is euerlastyng, 15
and vndeeli; but vnriȝtfulnesse is getyng
of deeth. Forsothe wickid men clepiden 16
that *vnriȝtfulnesse* bi hondis and wordis,
and thei gessiden it a frendesseⁿ, and flet-
iden awei, and thei puttiden biheestis to
it; for thei ben worthi the deth[§], that
ben of the part therof.

CAP. II.

Forsothe wickid men seiden, thenkyng¹
anentis^o hem silf not riȝtfuli, The tyme
of oure lijf is lital, and with anoye; no
refreisching is in the ende of a man, and
noon is^p, that is knowun, that turnede
aȝeen fro hellis. For we weren borun of 2
nouȝt, and aftir this *tyme* we schulen be,
as if we hadden not be; forwhi smoke^{||}
is blowun out in oure nose thirlis, and a
word of sparcle to stire oure herte. For 3
oure bodi schal be quenched aische, and
the spirit schal be scaterid abroad as soft
eir; and oure lijf schal passe as the step
of a cloude, and it schal be departid as a
myst, which is dryuun away of the beemys
of the sunne, and is greued of the heete
therof. And oure name schal take for- 4
ȝeting bi tyme[¶]; and no man schal haue
mynde of oure werkis. Forwhi oure tyme 5
is the^q passyng of a schadewe, and no
turnyng aȝeen of oure ende is^r; for it is
aseelid^{**}, and no man turneth aȝeen. Ther- 6
for come ȝe, and vse we the goodis that

[†] *medecyn*, etc.; that is, remedi-
azens wrecch-
idness is not
bi distriyng of
herowne liyf. c.
[‡] *the rewme*
of hellis is in
erthe; that is,
in present liyf.
The lawe of
helle is this, that
noon may go
aȝen fro synne
and peyne; but
in present liyf
men moun be
heeled fro
synne bi pen-
aunce, and come
to glorie. *riȝt-*
fulnesse; which
is bi grace.
getyng of deth;
that is, of helle,
bi dedly synne.
hondis; that is,
werkis. *fletiden*;
bi dyuerse vices.
puttiden bi-
heestis to it;
that is, cleu-
yden to vnriȝt-
fulnesse with-
out departing,
as a spouse
cleueth to his
spousesse. *Lire*
here. c.
[§] *the deth*; of
helle. *Lire*
here. c.
^{||} *smoke*; for
we lyuen bi
brething in
and brething
aȝeen of the eir.
a word of spar-
cle; that is,
kyndly heete is
in oure bodi,
and first and
last in the
herte. *as soft*
eir; that is,
the soule schal
vanysche away,
as the soule of
vnreasonable
beestis. *Lire*
here. c.
[¶] *bi tyme*;
that is, bi pass-
yng of tyme.
Lire here. c.
^{**} *aseelid*; bi
a stoon put on
the bodi of the
deed man
buried. *Lire*
here. c.

¹ gladeth not *AE pr. m. GH.* ^m aliue *AGH.* ⁿ foleweden *A.* ^o parti *AEGH.* ^{oo} anentis *A et alii passim.*
^p this *E pr. m.* ^q thof *E passim.* ^r asken *EGH.* ^s neshe wax *E pr. m.* ^t Om. *AEGH.* ^u no *AH.*

^m he is *I.* ⁿ freend *I.* ^o at *I.* ^p ther is *I.* ^q Om. *c.* ^r ther is *I.*

thanne, and vse wee^v the goodis that
ben, and vse wee creature^w, as in oure
73outh, swiftli. With precyous win and
oynemens fille wee vs; and passe not vs
8 the flour of tyme. Crowne wee vs with
roses, er thei welewen; no medwe be,
that oure leccherie passe not thur3.
9 Noon of vs be withoute lot of oure lec-
cherie; ouer al lefe wee^x signes of glad-
nesse; for this is oure part, and this is
10 lot^y. Oppresse wee the riztwis pore man,
and spare wee not to the widewe, ne
wrshiþe wee hoere heres of the olde
11 man of myche time. Be forsothe oure
strengthe the lawe of vnri3twisnesse;
forsothe that that is feble, vnprofitable
12 is founde. Bigile wee thanne the riztwis
man, for vnprofitable he is to vs, and
contrarie to oure werkis; and repreuendeli
puttith to vs the synnes of lawe, and
defameth a3en vs the synnes of oure
13 disciplyne. He behoteth hym the kun-
nyng of God to han, and the sone of
14 God he nempneth hymself. He is mad
to vs in to ouerleding of oure tho3tis.
15 Heuy he is to vs also to seen; for vnlic
to othere is the lif of hym, and myche
16 chaungid ben the weies of hym. As
trifleres wee ben eymed of hym, and he
absteneth hymself fro oure weies, as fro
vncleenneses^a; and he tellith biforn the
laste thingus of riztwis men, and he glo-
17 rieth hymself to han God to fader. See
wee thanne, if the wrdis of hym ben
trewe; and asa3e wee, what ben to comen
to hym; and wee shul wite, what shul
18 ben the laste thingis of hym. If for-
sothe he is verre^b sone of God, he shal
vndertaken hym, and delyuere hym^c fro
19 the hondis of the contrariouse. With
wrong vndernymyng and torment aske
wee hym, that wee wite the reuerence of

ben, and vse we a creature, as in 3ongthe,
swiftli*. Fille we vs with precieuse wyn⁷
and oynementis; and the flour of tyme
passe not vs. Corowne we vs with roosis,⁸
bifor that tho^s welewen; no medewe be, 'bi
which^t oure letcherie passe not^u. No man⁹
of vs be^v with out part of oure letcherie;
euery where leeue we the signes of glad-
nesse; for this is oure part[†], and this is
oure eritage. Oppresse we a pore iust¹⁰
man, and spare we not a widewe, nether
reuerence we hoor heeris of an old man
of myche tyme. But oure strengthe be¹¹
the lawe of riztfulness[‡]; forwhi that
that is feble, is foundun vnprofitable.
Therfor disseyue we a iust man[§], for he¹²
is vnprofitable to vs, and he is contrarie
to oure werkis; and he vpbreidith^w to vs
the synnes of lawe, and he defameth on vs
the synnes of oure techyng. He biheet-¹³
ith that he hath the kunnyng of God, and
he nemeth hym silf the sone of God. He¹⁴
is maad to us in to schewyng of oure
thouztis||. He is greuouse to vs, 3he, to¹⁵
se; forwhi his lyf is vnli3k to other men,
and hise weies ben chaungid. We ben¹⁶
gessid of hym to be triffleris¶, and he
absteyneth^x hym silf fro oure weies, as
fro vncleennesis; and he bifore settith** the
laste thingis of iust men, and he hath
glorie, that he hath God a^y fadir. Ther-¹⁷
for se we, if hise wordis ben trewe; and
asaie we, what thingis schulen come to
hym; and we schulen wite, what schulen
be the laste thingis of hym. For if he¹⁸
is the very sone of God, he schal vp take
hym, and schal delyuere hym fro the
hondis of hem that ben contrarie^z. Axe¹⁹
we hym bi dispisyng and turment, that
we knowe his reuerence, and that we
preue his pacience. Bi fouleste^a deth con-²⁰
dempne we hym; for whi biholdyng schal

* *swiftli*; that is, as soone as we moun. *Live here. c.*

† *oure part*; that is, we moun no thing more here of the goodis of this lyf. *Live here. c.*

‡ *lawe of riztfulness*; that is, gesse we leueful, what euer thing we moun do. *vnprofitable*; bi oure doom. *Live here. c.*

§ *Therfor disseyue we a iust man, etc.*; this is expownd specialy of the Jewis, that ymagyneden to sle Crist, thou3 the wise men of Jewis hadden first the knowing of Crist, as it is seid in xxj. c^o. of Math. netheles for he prechide a3enus her vices, thei consueyeden enuye and hatrede a3enus him, bi whiche the knowing, whiche thei hadden of Crist, was maad derk, and thei bigunnen to expowne weywardly the profesies of him. *Live here. c.*

|| *of oure thouztis*; in repreuynge tho, as many men diden, bi the spirit of profesie. *Live here. c.*

¶ *trifleris*; that is, men of no vertu. *Live here. c.*

** *biforsettith*; that is, he settith bifor alle goodis of present lyf the goodis abedun of iust men. *Live here. c.*

^v Om. AGH.
^c Om. c *pr. m.*

^w a creature A.

^x Om. AGH.

^y oure lot A.

^a vncleennes AGH.

^b the verrei A.

^s thei I. ^t that I. ^u not bi I. ^v be ther I. ^w vpbreidith, *ether edwitet c et ceteri*. ^x withholdith I. ^y his I. ^z contrarie to him I. ^a most foul I.

hym, and proue the pacience of hym.
 20 Bi most foul deth condempne wee hym;
 forsothe respit shal be of the wrdis of
 21 hym. These thingus thei tho3ten, and
 erreden; and the malice of hem blendede
 22 them. And thei knewen not the sacra-
 mens of God, ne hopeden the meede of
 riztwisnesse, ne demeden the wrshepe of
 23 holi soules. For God made man^d vn-
 deadli, and to the ymage of his licnesse
 24 made hym. Forsothe thur3 the enuye
 of the deucl deth cam in in to the round-
 25 nesse of erthis; forsothe thei folewen
 hym, that ben of the part of hym.

CAP. III.

1 The soules of riztwis men ben in the
 hond of God; and torment of deth shal
 2 not^{dd} touche them. Thei ben seen to the^e
 e3en of vnwise^f men to dien; tormenting
 3 is eymed the issue of hem. And fro a
 riztwis weie thei wenten in to destruc-
 4 cioun; and that of vs ys weie of destruc-
 cioun; thei forsothe ben in pes. And
 if befor men thei suffreden tormentis, the
 5 hope of hem is ful of vndeadlynesse. In
 fewe thingus trauailid, in manye thingus
 thei shul be weel disposid; for God
 temptede them, and fond hem wrthi
 6 hymself. As gold in furneis he prouede
 them, and as brent sacrificise of ost he
 loouwed^g them; and in time shal ben
 7 the biholding of hem. Thei shul shyne
 riztwis, and as sparles in reeddy places
 8 thei shuln renne hider and thider. Thei
 shul deme naciouns, and lordshipen to
 puples; and the Lord of hem shal regne
 9 in to withoute ende. Who trosten in
 hym, shuln vnderstonde treuthe; and
 feithful in loue thei shul assente to
 hym; for free 3ifte and pes is to the
 10 chosen men of hym. Vnpitous men for-
 sothe, aftir that thei tho3ten, vndernym-

men that dien, ben distried outirli. *Live here. c.*

be of hise wordis*. Thei thou3ten these²¹
 thingis, and thei erriden; for whi her
 malice blyndide hem. And thei knewen²²
 not the sacramentis of God†, nethir thei
 hopiden the meede of riztfulnesse, nether
 thei demyden the onour of hooli soulis.
 For whi God made man vnable to be dis-²³
 tried, and *God* made man to the ymage
 of his licnesse. But bi enuye of the²⁴
 deucl‡ deth entride in to the world; for²⁵
 sothe thei suen hym, that ben of his part.

* of his
 wordis; for the
 Jewis bileu-
 yden, that
 whanne Crist
 was deed, hise
 wordis bifor go-
 inge schulden
 be arettid fals,
 but the con-
 trarie bifelde.
Live here. c

† the sacra-
 mentis of God;
 that is, priuy
 goodis, whiche
 he made redi
 to hem that
 louen him.
undistrieable;
 that is, vndedly
 as to the soule,
 and to be dis-
 tried a3enus the
 corrupcioun of
 the bodi, for it
 is maad of con-
 trarie elementis;
 he 3af the 3ifte
 of original
 riztfulnesse, bi
 whiche the
 soule my3te
 kepe his bodi
 fro corrupcioun.
 to the ymage
 of his licnesse;
 for he made
 man able to
 take God, bi
 knowing and
 loue. *Live here.*
c.

‡ bi enuye of
 the deucl; for
 bi his tempta-
 cioun the firste
 fadir and modir
 braken Goddis
 comaundement,
 and losten ori-
 ginal riztful-
 nesse, and en-
 triden into nede
 to die. *c.*

§ of deth; that
 is, of helle. *Live*
here. c.

|| And fro iust
 weie, etc.; that
 is, fro the weie
 of riztfulnesse,
 that theyhelden
 truly in this
 world. *in to dis-
 triyng;* bi the
 errour of vn-
 wise men. *Live*
here. c.

¶ wey of distri-
 yng; that is,
 bi the errour,
 that seith, that

** 3ifte; of grace in present tyme. and pees; in tyme to comynge. *Live here. c.*

^d a man *E pr. m.* ^{dd} no *c.* ^e Om. *AGH.* ^f wijs *AG pr. m.* ^g alouwid *A.*

^b Om. *c.* ^c and thei *r.*

ynges^h shuln han; that dispisiden the
 rīztwis, and fro the Lord wenten awei.
 11 Wisdam forsothe and discipline who
 casteth awei, is vnsele; and voide is the
 hope of hem, and trauailes withoute frut,
 and vnprofitable the werkis of them, and
 12 vnable to dwelle in. The wymmen of
 them ben vnwise, and most wicke the
 13 sonus of hem. Cursid the creature of
 them; for seli is the bareyn, and the
 vndefoulid, that kneȝ not the bed in tres-
 pas, shal han frut in beholding of holi
 14 soulis. And the gelding, that wroȝte not
 bi his hondis wickidnesse, ne thoȝte aȝen
 the Lord most wicke thingus; forsothe
 ther shal ben ȝiue to hym the chosen
 fre ȝifte of the beleue, and lot in the
 15 temple of God most aloowid. Forsothe
 of goode trauailes glorious is the frut,
 and the whiche the roote of wisdam al
 16 to-stereth not. The sonus forsothe of
 auoutreres in ending shul ben, and fro
 the wicke bed the seed shal ben out-
 17 lawid. And if forsothe of long lif thei
 shul be, in noȝt thei shul be countid; and
 withoute wrshiþe shal be the laste eelde
 18 of hem. And if swiftliere thei shul ben
 dead, thei shul not han hope, ne in the
 19 dai of knouleching speche. Forsothe
 wicke naciouns ben of hard ending.

CAP. IV.

1 Oi! hou fair is chast ieneracioun with
 clerte; vndeadi forsothe is the mynde of
 it, for anent God it is knowe, and anent
 2 men. Whan present it is, thei folewe;
 and desiren it, whan 'it hath^k lad out
 itself^l, and it crowned in to withoute
 ende berth the victorie, takende bi vic-
 torie the meede of the vndefoulid striues.
 3 Forsothe the manyfold goten multitude
 of vnpitouse men shal not ben profitable;
 and auoutrie plauntingis shul not ȝiue
 heeȝe rootis, ne stable stedefastnesse set-

that thei thouȝten, schulen haue punysch-
 yng; whiche dispisiden* iust thing, and
 ȝeden awei fro the Lord. For he that 11
 castith awei wisdom and lore, is cursid;
 and the hope of wickid men is voide, and
 her trauels *ben* without fruyt, and her
 werkis *ben* vnhabitable^d, and vnprofit-
 able. The wymmen of hem ben vnwitti, 12
 and the sonus of hem *ben* ful weiward.
 The creature of hem *is* cursid; for whi *a*^e 13
womman bareyn and vndefoulid is blessid,
 that 'knew not^f bed in trespas; sche schal
 haue frut in the biholding of holy soulis.
 And a man vnmyȝti to gendre^g *is* *blessid*, 14
 that 'wrouȝte not^h wickidnesse bi hise
 hondis, nether thouȝte moost weiward
 thingis aȝens the Lord; for whi a chosun
 ȝifte of feith schal be ȝouun to hym, and
 a most acceptable eritage in the temple of
 God. For whi the frut of good trauels 15
 is gloriouse, and the roote of wisdom that
 fallith not down. But the sonus of avow- 16
 treris schulen be in distriyng, and the seed
 of a wickid bed schal be destried. And 17
 sotheli thouȝ thei schulen be of long lijf,
 thei schulen be arettid in to nouȝt; and
 the laste eelde of hem schal be withouten
 onour. And if thei ben deed swiftliere, 18
 thei schulen not haue hope, nether alow-
 yng in the dai of knowyng. Forsothe 19
 wickide naciouns ben of hard ending.

CAP. IV.

Ai! hou fair is chast^k generacioun† 1
 with clerenesse; for the mynde therof
 is vndeedi, for it is knowun^l, both
 anentis God, and anentis men. Whanne 2
 it is present, thei suen it; and thei desiren
 it, whanne it hath led out† it silf, and it
 ouercomyng getith bi victorie the mede
 of batels vndefoulid, and is corowned with
 outen ende. But the many fold gendrid³
 multitude of wickid men schal not be
 profitable; and plauntynge of auoutrie^g
 schulen^m not ȝyue deepe rootis, nether

* dispisiden,
 etc.; that is,
 nolden do iust
 werkis.
 vnhabitable;
 that is, vnable
 to dwelle yune.
 alowing;
 that is, excus-
 ing of her
 yuels.
 in the dai
 of knowing;
 that is, of ge-
 neral doom.
 of hard end-
 ing; that is,
 of hard dampn-
 yng to the
 peyne of helle.
 Live here. c.

† chast gene-
 racioun; that is,
 the multitude of
 iust men, which
 is chast in bodi,
 in refreynynge
 vnleueful
 lustis of fleisch,
 and also chast
 in soule, in
 eschewynge the
 synne of vn-
 feithfulnesse
 and of idolatrie.
 with clerenesse;
 of wisdom,
 which is ȝouun
 to iust men.
 it is knowun;
 bi knowing of
 appreuyng;
 sotheli no for-
 getyng fallith in
 God. Live here.
 c.

‡ led out;
 that is, fro pre-
 sent bi kyndly
 deth.
 ouercom-
 ynge; the
 flesch, and the
 world, and the
 deuel, that ben
 ouercomun per-
 fitli of iust men
 in her deth.
 Live here. c.
 § of auoutrie;
 that is, alle
 wickid men,
 that ben the
 fendis sonus bi
 goostly auou-
 trie. Live here.
 c.

^h correcciouns *E pr. m.* ⁱ Om. *ACGH.* ^k thei han *E pr. m.* ^l themself *E pr. m.*

^d vnable for to dwelle *1.* ^e *the 1.* ^f hath not knowen the *1.* ^g gete *1.* ^h hath not wrouȝt *1.*
ⁱ Om. *1a.* ^k a chaast *1a.* ^l vnknowun *A.* ^m thei schal *1.*

4 ten. And if in the braunchis in the tyme
buriounen, vnstabli set of the wind thei
shul ben al to-stirid, and of the mychil-
nesse of windis pullid vp bi the rootis.
5 Forsothe braunchis vnendid shul be to-
broken; and the frutis of them vnprofit-
6 able. Forsothe alle the sonus, that shul
ben born of wicke^m men, witnesses ben
of shreudenesses azen fader and moder,
7 in ther asking. The rijtwis forsothe, if
he were befor occupied bi deth, in re-
8 freshing shal ben. The laste age for-
sothe wrshipecful isⁿ not longe durende,
ne in noumbre of 3eres countid; hoere^o
9 ben the wittis of man, and the age of
10 eelde lijf vndefoulid. The plesing to God
mad looued, and lyuyng among syn-
11 neres is translatid; he is raueshid, lest
malice shulde chaunge the vnderstanding
of hym, or lest feynyng shulde begile
12 the soule of hym. Forsothe priue de-
sceyuyng of trifling derkneth goode
thingus, and vnstablenesse of coueiting
13 ouerturneth wit withoute malice. The
ful endid in short fulfild manye tymes;
14 plesid forsothe to God was the soule of
hym; for that he wente to bringen hym
out fro the myddel of shreudenesses^{oo};
puples forsothe seende and not vnder-
standende, nouthen ben puttende in ther
15 hertes suche thingis. For grace of God
and mercy is 'in to^p his seyntis, and fer-
thermor respit in to the chosyn of hym.
16 Forsothe the rijtwis dead condempneth
the vnпиты men on liue; and 3outhen
swiftliere endid, the longe lif of the^q
17 vnrijtwis. Forsothe thei shul see the
ende of the wise man, and thei shul not
vnderstonde, what God hath tho3t of

schulen sette stable stidfastnesse. Thou³ 4
thei buriounen* in bowis inⁿ time, thei
set vnstidfastli Schulen be moued of the
wynd, and^o Schulen be drawun out[†] bi
the roote of the greetnesse of wyndys.
For whi bowis vnperfit Schulen be brokun⁵
togidere; and the fruytis of hem *ben* vn-
profitable, and soure to ete, and couenable
to no thing. For whi alle sonus, that *ben*⁶
borun of wickid men, ben witnessis[‡] of
wickidnesse azen faders and modris, in
her axyng. But a iust man, thou³ he be⁷
bifore occupied[§] bi deth, schal be in re-
freischyng^{||}. For whi worschipful eelde⁸
is not of long tyme, nether is^p rikened bi
the noumbre of 3eris; the wittis of a
man ben hoore, and the age of eelde is⁹
lijf withouten wem. He pleside God,¹⁰
and was maad dereworth, and he lyu-
yng among synneris was 'borun ouer[¶]¶
he was rauyschid, lest malice schulde¹¹
chaunge his vnderstondyng, ethir lest
feynyng schulde disseyue his soule.
For whi disseyuyng of trifelyng makith¹²
derk goode thingis, and the^r vnstable-
nesse of coueitise turneth ouer the wit
without malice. He was endid in schort¹³
tyme, and fillide many tymes; for whi his¹⁴
soule was plesant to God; for this thing
God hastide to lede hym out fro the
myddis of wickidnesses; but pupilis**
sien and vndurstoden not, nether settiden
siche thingis in^s 'the inwardnesses^t. For^u¹⁵
whi^v the grace and merci^w of God is on
hise seyntis, and biholdyng of '*Goddis*
coumfort^x is on hise chosun men. For¹⁶
sothe a iust man deed^{††} condempneth
quyke wickid men; and 3ongthe endid
swiftliere *condempneth* long^y lijf of an
vniust man. For thei Schulen se the ende¹⁷

* *buriounen*;
that is, han
prosperite in
temporal good-
dis. *Live here. c.*

† *schulen be*
drawun out,
etc.; that is, bi
Goddis sen-
tence, fallinge
on hem, thei
schulen be
drawun out fro
goodis of pre-
sent liyf, in
whiche thei
hadden set
roote. *Live*
here. c.

‡ *ben witnessis*,
etc.; for bi this
that thei suen
the trespassis of
faders, thei
witnessen her
malice. *Live*
here. c.

§ *bifore occu-*
pied, etc.; that
is, bifore that
he come to
ende. *Live*
here. c.

|| *schal be in*
refreischyng;
that is, in reste
fro wrecchid-
nessis of pre-
sent liyf; and
so a iust man
that lyueth litil
tyme, is of
betere condi-
cioun than a
wickid man,
that lyueth
longe, and that
fallith in tribu-
laciouns of bodi
and of soule.

worschipful;
that is, worthi
to be worschip-
id, is not in
multitude of
3eris, but in
ripenesse of
vertues, which
a iust man get-
ith, thou³ he be
3ong in age.
the wittis of

a man; iust.
ben hoore; for
tho ben ripe
and oneste.
and the age
of eelde; wor-
thi to be wor-
schipid.

is liyf without
wem; whether

it be schort ether long. *Live here. c.* ¶ *was borun ouer*; that is, fro present liyf, and fro the felouschipe of wickid men, of whiche he my3te be peirid. *lest malice*; that is, apertly yuele men. *schulde chaunge*; bi violence of turmentis. *feynyng*; that is, ipocritis. *schulde disseyue*; bi apperyng of good. *of trifeling*; that is, of iangling of many wordis, ourned ether faire enditid. *makith derke goode thingis*; for ofte it makith tho to appere yuels. *contynuaunce of couetise, etc.*; for whi the greetnesse of lust mysturneth the doom of resoun, and most in simple men, in whiche resoun is leese strong. *Live here. c.* ** *but pupilis*; that is, vnwise men. *in the entrailis*; that is, in the ynnere thingis of soule. *Live here. c.*

†† *a iust man deed*; for the mynde of his rijtfulnesse schewith, that wickid men ben worthi to be dampned. *Live here. c.*

¹ Om. c sec. m. ^m wickid AGH. ⁿ shul ben E pr. m. ^o olde E pr. m. ^{oo} shrewidnes A. P to A.
^q Om. AGH.

ⁿ for a I. in a ksa. ^o and thei I. P it is I. q translatid, or born ouer I. ^r Om. I. ^s Om. a.
^t the entrailis EHM PUVY. her hertis I. ^u Om. aq. ^v Om. I. while q. ^w the merci sa. ^x God I.
^y the long I.

hym, and whi the Lord mynushte, 'or
 18 made lytil^r hym. Thei shul seen, and
 dispisen hym; hem forsothe the Lord
 19 shal scorne. And thei shul ben after
 these thingus falling down with oute
 wrshipe, and in wrong blamyng among
 the deade in to withoute ende. For
 them inwardli blowen he shal to-breke
 withoute vois, and stern hem fro the
 foundemens; and vnto the hejest thei
 shul ben desolat. And thei shul be
 weilende, and the mynde of hem shal
 20 pershen. Thei shul comen in the thenk-
 ing of ther synnes dredful; and shuln
 ouerleden hem forn azen the wickidnesses
 of hem.

CAP. V.

1 Thanne shul stonde ríztwis men in gret
 stedefastnesse azen hem that anguyssh-
 eden hem, and that token^a awei the tra-
 2 uailes of hem. Seende thei shul ben dis-
 turbid^t with horrible drede, and shul
 merueilen in the sodeynesse of the vn-
 hopid helthe^u, weilende for anguysh of
 3 spirit, seiende, withinne themself pen-
 aunce doende, and for anguysh of spirit
 weilende, These ben, whom wee hadden
 'sum tyme^v in to scorn, and in to licnesse
 4 of reprof. Wee vnwise eymeden the lif
 of hem wodnesse, and the ende of them
 5 without wrshipe; hou thanne ben thei
 countid among the sonus of God, and
 6 among seyntis the lot of hem is? Ther-
 fore wee erreden fro^w the weie of treuthe,
 and the lizt of ríztwisnesse liztede not to
 vs, and the sunne off vnderstanding is
 7 not sprunge to vs. Weri wee ben in the
 weie of wickidnesse, and of perdicioun;
 8 and wee han gon harde weies. The
 wei forsothe of the Lord wee knewen
 not; what profitede to vs pride, or bost

of a wise man*, and thei schulen not vn-
 durstonde, what thing God thouzte of
 hym, and whi the Lord made hym lesse.
 For thei schulen se, and schulen dispise 18
 hym; but the Lord schal scorne hem.
 And aftir these thingis thei schulen be 19
 fallynge down withouten onour, and in
 dispisyng among deed men with outen
 ende. For he schal al to-breke hem
 bolnyd with out vois, and he schal moue
 hem fro the foundementis; and thei
 schulen be desolat til to the laste thing.
 And thei schulen be weilynge, and the
 mynde of hem schal perische. Thei 20
 schulen come ferdful in the thouzt of her
 synnes; and her wickidnessis on the con-
 trarie side schulen lede hem ouer†.

CAP. V.

Thanne‡ iust men schulen stonde in 1
 greet stidfastnesse azen hem that an-
 gwischiden^z 'iust men^a, and whiche^b token
 awei her trauelis. Thei schulen se, and 2
 schulen^c be disturblyd with horrible drede,
 and thei schulen wondre in the sudeyn-
 te of heelthe^d vnhopid; and thei schulen
 weile for angwisch of spirit, and thei 3
 schulen seie, doynge penaunce|| withynne
 hem silf, and weilyng for the^e angwysch
 of spirit, These men it ben, whiche we
 hadden sum tyme in to^f scorn, and in to
 licnesse of vpbreidyng^g. We woode men 4
 gessiden her lijf woodnesse, and the ende
 of hem with oute onour^h; hou therfor ben 5
 thei rekened among the sones of God, and
 her part is among seyntis? Therfor we 6
 erriden fro the weie of treuthe, and the
 lizt of ríztfulnesse schynede not to us¶,
 and the sunne of vndurstondyng roos not
 vp to us. We weren maad weri in the 7
 weie of wickidnesse and of perdicioun;
 and we zeden hard weies. But we 8
 knewenⁱ not the weie of the Lord; what

* a wise man; that is, bifor takun with deth.
 made him lesse; in making schort his liyf. schal scorne hem; that is, schal schewe hem worthi to be scorned in deth, for thei aretten iust men foolis and woode, that putten forth hem silf to deth for ríztfulnesse.
 aftir these; that is, aftir delices and onours of this liyf.
 with outen onour; in the power of fendis.
 with out vois; for thei schulen not mowe defende hem silf, nether excuse.
 fro foundementis; that is, fro fleiali frendis, and ertheli goodis, in whiche thei tristiden. Lire here. c.

† schal lede hem ouer; that is, fro temporal prosperite in to euerlastinge wrecchidnesse.
 Lire here. c.
 § thanne; that is, in the tyme of doom. Lire here. c.

|| penaunce; vnfruytful, for thei schulen be out of the staat of merit, and for the penaunce schal not be for the offence of God, but for the hardnesse of turment. Lire here. c.

¶ schynede not to vs; thouz it schyneth to alle men, as myche as is of it silf, for whi Goddis stringis to good, ben maad comynly to alle men, but summen res-

seyuen the stringis, and othere men putten away tho; and so tho ben not maad to hem, that is, to her profit, but more to her dampnacioun.
 Lire here. c.

^r Om. c et e pr. m. ^s taken A. ^t disturblyd EGH. ^u helpe c. ^v Om. c. ^w forsothe fro A.

^z anguischen sa. ^a hem I. ^b the whiche I. ^c Om. I. ^d her heelthe I. ^e Om. I. ^f Om. N.
^g vpbreiding, ether edwityng c et ceteri. ^h ony honour c sec. m. ⁱ knowen CHN.

9 of^x riches what ȝaf it to vs? Alle
tho thingus passeden as shadewe, and as
10 a messenger rennende biforn. And as a
ship, that passeth thurȝ the flowende
water, of the whiche whan it is passid,
a step is not to finde, ne a path of his
11 botme in the flodis. Or as a brid, that
ouerfleth in the eir, of the whiche noon
euydence is founden of his weie, but onli
the soun of weengis betende the list
wind, and kuttende bi fors the eir of the
weie, and togidere stirid the weenges
ouerfleth^y, and aftir that no signe is
12 founden of his weie. Or as an arwe
sent out in to the ordeyned place, the
eir deuydid contynueli is reclosid in it,
13 that the passing of it be vnknowen. So
and wee born contynueli lefen to ben, and
of vertue noon forsothe signe wee myȝten
shewe; in oure wariedhed forsothe wee
14 ben wastid. Such thingus seyden in helle
15 these that synned. For the hope of
the vnpitous is as a wille^{yy} loke, 'or thistil-
doun^z that of the wind is taken awei,
and as a smal fome^a that^b of tempest^c is
sprengd awei, and as smoke that of the
wind is held abroad, and as the mynde of
16 a geste of o dai, passende biside. Riȝt-
wise men forsothe in to withoute ende
shul lyue, and anent^d the Lord is the
meede of hem; and the thoȝt of hem
17 anent the heȝest. Therefore thei shul
take the reume of wrshiȝe, and the dia-
deme of fairnesse of the hond of the
Lord; for with his riȝt hond he shal
couere them, and with his holi arm de-
18 fenden hem. And the ielouste of hym
shal taken armure, and armen creature
19 to the veniȝng of enemys. He shal
clothen for the brest plate riȝtwisnesse,
and he shal take to for the helm certein
20 dom; he shal take the sheeld vnuenkus-
21 able equite; he shal sharpe forsothe
hard wrathe in to a spere, and the round-

profitide pride to vs, ethir what brouȝte^k
the boost of richessis to vs? All thoȝ
thingis passiden as schadewe, and as a
messenger bifore rennyȝe. And as a 10
schip, that passith thorou the flowyȝge
watir, of which whanne it hath passid, it
is not to fynde a step, nethir the path of
the botme therof in wawys. Ethir as a 11
bryd, that flieth ouer in the eir, of which^l
no preef is foundun of the weie therof,
but oneli the soun of wengis betyȝge list
wynde, and keruyȝge the eir by the^m
myȝt of weie, and with wyȝgis moued
togidere it flei ouer, and aftir this no
signe is foundun of the weie therof. Ethir 12
as an arowe shotⁿ out in to a place or-
deyned, the eir is^o departid, and^p is^q closid
aȝen anoon, that the passyȝg therof be
not knowun. 'So and^r we borun ceessiden 13
anoon to be, and sotheli we myȝten schewe
no signe of vertu; but we weren wastid
in oure malice^s *. Thei that synned, 14
seyden sicke thingis in helle. For the hope 15
of a wickid man is as the flour of a brere
which is takun awei of the wynd, and as
smal froth which is scaterid^t of a tempest,
and as smoke which^u is spred abroad of
wynd, and as the mynde of 'an herborid
man^v of o dai, that passith forth. But 16
iust men schulen lyue withouten ende,
and the meede of hem is anentis the
Lord; and the thoȝt of hem is anentis
the hiȝeste. Therfor thei schulen take 17
of the hond of the Lord the rewme of
fairnesse, and the^w diademe of comely-
nesse; for he schal gouerne hem with his
riȝthond, and he schal defende hem with
his hooli arm. And his feruent loue[†] 18
schal take armure, and he schal arme the
creature to the venieaunce of enemys.
He schal clothe riȝtfulnesse for an ha- 19
burioun, and he schal take certeyn doom
for a^x basynet; he schal take a scheeld 20
that may not be ouercomun, equyte^y;

* we weren
wastid in oure
malice, ether
yuel willid-
nesse; is seid
yuel firyȝg,
that stondith
in the bren-
nyȝg of co-
ueytise, wher
ynne wickid
men ben wast-
id; for whi
lecherouse men
ben wastid bi
the fier of fleisly
coueitise, co-
ueytouse men
ben wastid bi
the fier of co-
ueytise, and
proude men
ben wastid bi
the fier of
worldly hiȝ-
nesse.

iust men
schulen liue;
in liȝf glorie.
anentis the
Lord; of whom
thei hope to
be rewardid,
not of the
world.
anentis the
hiȝeste; to
whose onour
thei ordeynen
her dedis.
the rewme of
fairnesse; that
is, of heuenly
glorie, where
no vile thing is.
with his riȝt
hond; in kep-
ping hem in blis,
that is signefied
bi the riȝthond.
with his hooli
arm; in this is
signefied the
sikirnesse of
blis, that may
not be takun
away bi ony
creature. Live
here. c.

† feruent loue;
for bi feruent
loue of riȝtful-
nesse he goith
forth, to the
punysching of
yuele men. c.

^x or c. ^y ouerfleiz AEGH. ^{yy} Om. c et E pr. m. ^z Om. c et E pr. m. or thistles doune GH.
^a thorn E pr. m. ^b Om. AGH. ^c the tempest AE sec. m. GH. ^d anentis A et E passim.

^k hath brouȝt I. ^l whos wey I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ sent ceteri. ^o Om. cv. ^p Om. cv. ^q it is I. ^r Riȝt
so I. ^s malice, ether yuel willidnesse CEFHGKMQSUVYA. ^t scaterid abroad I. ^u the which I. ^v a geste I.
^w a I. ^x the I. ^y equyte, ether euenesse CEFHGKMNQSUVA. equyte, ether euenehede EPY.

nesse of erthis shal fize with hym azen
 22 the vnwise. The sendingus out of leitis
 shul gon euene rize, and as at the teising
 the bowe of cloudis bent, thei shul
 ben outlawid; and to a certeyn place thei
 23 shul lepen in. And fro the stony wrathe-
 ful hailes shul ben sent, and water of the
 se shal teenden in to them, and flodis
 24 shul renne togidere hard. Azen hem the
 spirit of vertue shal stonde, and as a
 whirle puff of wind deuyden^e hem; and
 to wilderness he shal fulli bringen al
 the lond of the wickidnesse^f of hem, and
 wariedhed shal turne awei the setis of
 1 my3ti men. Betere is wisdom than
 strengthis, and a man prudent more than
 a strong man.

CAP. VI.

2 Hereth^g thanne, 3ee^b kingis, and vndir-
 stondith; lerneth, 3ee domes men of the
 3 coestes of the erthe. 3iue^h eres, 3ee
 that holden togidere multitudis, and
 plesen to 3ou in cumpanyes of naciouns;
 4 for ther is 3ouen of the Lord power to
 3ou, and vertue of the heizeste, that shal
 aske 3oure werkis, and tho3tis serchen.
 5 For whan 3ee weren mynestres of his
 reume, not rize thei 3ee demeden, ne kepten
 the lawe of rize wisnesse, ne aftir the wil
 6 of God 3ee wenten. Orribleli and soone
 he shal apere to 3ou; for most hard dom
 shal ben don in hem, that ben biforn.
 7 Forsothe 'to theⁱ litle^k is grauntid mercy;
 my3ty men forsothe my3tili tormentis
 8 shul suffre. Forsothe he shal not with-
 drawe the persone of any man, the Lord,
 that is lordshipere of alle thingus, and
 he shal not drede the mykilnesse^l of any
 man; for litil and gret he made, and
 9 euenli cure is to hym of^m alle. To the
 strengere forsothe strengere stantⁿ in
 10 tormenting. To 3ou thanne, kingus, ben
 these my wrdis, that 3ee lerne wisdom,
 11 and^o that 3ee falle^p not of^q. Who for-

forsothe he schal whette hard wraththe*²¹
 in to a spere, and the world schal fize
 with him azen vnwitti men. Streize²²
 sendyngis out of leythis schulen go, and as
 the sidis of a reynbouwe, whanne the
 bouwe of cloudis is crokid, thei schulen
 be destried; and thei schulen skippe in
 to a certeyn place. And fulle hailstones²³
 schulen be sent fro a stony wreththe[†],
 and the watir of the see schal wexe
 whijt azen hem, and floodis schulen
 renne togider harde. The spirit of vertu²⁴
 schal stonde azen hem, and as the whirl-
 yng of wind it schal departe hem; and
 the wickidnesse of hem schal brynge al
 the lond to desert, and malice schal distrye
 the seetis of my3ti men.

CAP. VI.

Wisdom is beter than strengthis, and a
 prudent man doith more than a strong
 man. Therfor, 3e kyngis, here, and vn-²
 durstonde^z; and 3e iugis of the coostis of
 erthe, lerne^a. 3e that holden togidere³
 multitudis, and plesen 3ou[†] in the cum-
 penyes of naciouns, 3yue^b eeris; forwhi⁴
 power is 3ouun of the Lord to 3ou, and
 vertu is 3ouun of the hizeste, that schal
 axe 3oure werkis, and schal serche thou3tis.
 For whanne 3e weren mynystris of his⁵
 rewme, 3e demeden not rizefuli, nether 3e
 kepten the lawe of rizefulnesse, nether 3e
 3eden bi the wille of God. Hidousli⁶
 and soone[§] he schal appere to 3ou; for-
 whi hardeste doom schal be maad in
 hem, that ben souereyns. Forsothe merci⁷
 is grauntid to a litil man; but mize
 men schulen suffre turmentis mize.
 For the Lord, which is lord of alle⁸
 thingis, schal not withdrawe the per-
 soone of ony man, nether he schal
 drede the greetnesse of ony man; for he
 made the^c litil man and the greet man,
 and charge^{||} is to hym euenli of alle men.
 But strongere turment neizeth to strongere⁹

* *hard*
wraththe; that
 is, his ven-
 iance, which
 noon mai with-
 stonde. *Live*
here. c.
 † *a stony*
wraththe; that
 is, of Goddis
 ire, that makith
 heuye hail
 stones.
 wexe whijt;
 that semeth
 whijt, whanne
 the see is tro-
 blid.
 The spirit of
 vertu; that is,
 strong wynd.
 Live here. c.
 ‡ plesen 3ou;
 that is, deliten
 in the gouernail
 of hem.
 of the Lord;
 whose vikeris
 3e ben in this.
 Live here. c.
 § and soone;
 in deth, that
 tarieth not. c.
 hardeste
 doom; that is,
 greuouseste
 peyn.
 to a litil man;
 that is, to a
 man of litil
 staat, and of
 litil kunnyng,
 for sich a man
 synneth co-
 mynly bi igno-
 rance.
 my3ty men;
 bi dignete of
 staat, and bi
 greetnesse of
 kunnyng.
 turmentis
 mize; that
 is, greuouseste
 turmentis; for
 in as myche as
 the staat is
 hizere, in so
 myche the fal
 is greuousere,
 and worthi of
 more peyne.
 withdrawe
 the persone;
 fro good to him,
 be he neuere so
 pore.
 the greetnesse
 of ony man;
 that ne he pun-
 yschith him
 duly. *Live here.*
c.
 || charge, etc.;
 that is, puruy-
 aunce, for he
 purueyeth for
 ech creature,
 bi the couena-
 ble of his
 kynde. *Live*
here. c.

^e deuydeth A. ^f wickennesse E. ^g Here 3ee AEGH. ^h Om. AEGH. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k a litle while
 E pr. m. ^l mykil AGH. ^m Om. C sec. m. E sec. m. ⁿ stondith A. ^o Om. A. ^p passe E pr. m.
^q Om. E pr. m.

^z vndurstondeth I. ^a lerneth I. ^b 3iue^h to 3oure I. ^c bothe the I.

sothe shul kepe riȝtwisnesse, riȝtly shul
be demed; and that shul lerne riȝt
thingus, shul finde, what thei answeren.
12 Coueiteth thanne my wrdys, and loou-
eth hem; and ȝee shuln han disciplyne.
13 Wisdam is cler, and that neuere wele-
with; and liȝtli is seen of hem that
loouen it, and is founde of hem that
14 sechen it. It beforn ocupieth that co-
ueyteth it, that to them rathere he shewe
15 hymself. Who fro liȝt shal wake to it,
shal not trauailen; forsothe he shal finde
16 it sittende in his ȝates. Thanne to
thenken of it is ful endid wit, and he
that shal wake for it, soone shal be sikir.
17 For it goth aboute sechende the wrthi
itself; and in his weis it shal shewe itself
to them, and gladsumli in alle prouy-
dence *'or bifore ordeynyng'*^r it shal aȝen
18 come to them. The bigynnyng forsothe
of it is most verre coueityng of disci-
19 pline. Thanne cure of discipline is
loouyng; and loouyng is keping of his
lawis. Keping forsothe of lawes is ful
20 ending of vncorupcioun; vncorupcioun
forsothe makith next to God to ben.
21 And so coueiting of wisdam shal lede
22 forth to the euerlastende kingdam. If
thanne ȝee deliten in setes, and in kingus
dignetees, O! ȝee kyngis of the puple,
looueth wisdam, that in to withoute ende
23 ȝee regne. Looueth the liȝt of wisdam,
24 alle ȝee, that ben tofor to pupilis. What
is forsothe wisdam, and hou it be mad,
I shal telle; and I shal not hide fro ȝou
the sacramentis of God; but fro the bi-
gynnyng of birthe I shal enserche, and
putten in to liȝt the kunnyng of it, and
25 I shal not passe beside the treuthe. Ne
with the quyterende enuye weie I shal
han; for such a man shal not ben par-
cener of wisdam. The multitude for-
sothe of wise men^s helthe is of the round-
nesse of erthis; and a wis king is the
27 stablete of the puple. Thanne takith

men. Therfor, ȝe kyngis, these my wordis 10
ben to you, that ȝe lerne wisdom, and that
ȝe falle not down. For thei that kepen 11
riȝtfulnesse, schulen be deemed riȝtfuli;
and thei, that lernen iust thingis, schulen
fynde, what thei schulen answeren. Ther- 12
for coueite ȝe my wordis, and loue ȝe tho;
and ȝe schulen haue techyng. Wisdom 13
is cleer, and that schal neuer fade; and it
is seyn liȝtli of hem that louen it, and it
is foundun of hem that seken it. It bi- 14
fore ocupieth hem that coueyten it, that
it schewe it silf the formere to hem. He 15
that wakith bi liȝt to it, schal not trauele;
forsothe he schal fynde it sittynge nyȝ
hise ȝatis. Therfor to thenke* on^d wis- 16
dom^e is parfit wit, and he that wakith for
it, schal soone be sikir. For whi it goith 17
aboute, and sekith men worthi to it; and
in her^f weies it schal schewe it silf gladli
to hem, and in al puruyaunce[†] it schal
meete hem. For whi the bigynnyng of 18
wisdom is the verieste coueytise of lern-
yng. Therfor the bisynesse of lernyng is 19
loue; and loue is the kepyng of lawis
therof. Sotheli the kepyng of lawis is
perfeccioun of vncorupcioun[‡]; forsothe 20
vncorupcioun makith to be next to God.
Therfor the coueitise of wisdom schal 21
brynge to euerlastynge rewme. Therfor 22
if ȝe, kyngis of the puple, deliten in seetis,
and in kyngis ȝerdis, *'ether regaltees'*[§],
loue ȝe wisdom, that ȝe regne with outen
ende. Alle ȝe, that ben souereyns to pu- 23
plis, loue^{§§} the liȝt of wisdom. Sotheli 24
what is wisdom[¶], and hou it is maad, Y
shal telle; and Y schal not hide fro ȝou
the^h sacramentis^{||} of God; but fro the bi-
gynnyng of birthe Y schal seke, and Y
shal sette in to the liȝt the kunnyng
therof, and Y schal not passe treuthe.
And Y schal not haue weye with enuye 25
wexynge rotun; for sicke a man schal not
be parcener of wisdom. Forsothe the 26
multitude of wise men is the helthe of

* to thenke; bi
hooly thouȝtis.
Lire here. c.

† puruyaunce;
that is, in rul-
inge hem in alle
thingis of man,
that ben worthi
to be doon. Lire
here. c.

‡ vncorup-
cioun; that is,
of goostly vn-
corrupcioun, bi
eschewing of
synne. vncor-
rupcioun; is
clennesse fro
synne. Lire
here. c.

§ what is wis-
dom; here the
autour of this
book spekith in
the persone of
Salomon, that
hadde double
kunnyng; the
firste was
knowing of
creaturis of this
world, that may
be getun bi sek-
ing of resoun,
and bi trauele
of studie, ne-
theles in party,
and vuperfili,
and with er-
rouis, as Ari-
stotle, fa-
mousere among
othere filoso-
foris, erride in
many thingis,
as of the euer-
lastingenesse of
the world, with
out bigynnyng,
and of the
nombere of vn-
durstandingis,
and of the
blis of tho, as

it is opin, in
xij. of Meta-
fisikis; but Sa-
lomon hadde
this wisdom, bi
the ȝifte of God,
perfytly, and
sodeynly, and
with out er-
rou; and he
hadde also kun-
nyng of pro-
fesie. Lire
here. c.

|| sacramentis;
that is, hise
priuytees
schewid to me.
Lire here.

^r Om. c et E pr. m. ^s Om. A.

^d of CGHIKMNQRBUVXaÇ. ^e it s. ^f his s. ^g or regalies I. ^{g§} loueth I. ^h tho I.

discipline bi my^t wrdis, and it shal profite to 3ou.

CAP. VII.

1 I am forsothe and a deadli man, lic to men, and of 'the erthi^u kinde of hym that rathere is mad, and in the wombe
2 of the modir figured I am flesh. In time of ten monethis cruddid I am in to blod, of the sed of man, and of couena-
3 ble^{uu} deliting of slep. And I born toc comun eir, and lic maner fel down in to the mad erthe; and the firste vois, lic
4 alle, I putte out weping. I was nurshid in swathing clothis, and in grete besy-
5 nesses; no man forsothe of kingis other hath bigynnyng of birthe. Oon entre
7 is to alle to lif, and lije issue. For that I desirede, and there is 3iue to me wit;
and I inwardli clepide, and there cam in^v
8 me the spirit of wisdom. And I putte it biforn to reumes, and setes; and rich-
esses I seide no thing to ben in comparisoun of it, ne I comparisounede to
9 it a precious ston; for alle gold in comparisoun of it is a litil grauel, and as clei siluer shal ben eymed in the sizte
10 of it. Ouer helthe and fairnesse I loouede it; and I purposide for list to han it,
11 for vnquenchable is the lyzt of it. Forsothe there camen to me alle goodis togidere with it; and vnnoumbrable honeste
12 by the hondis of it. And I gladede in alle thingus; for this wisdom wente befor me, and I kne3 not, for of alle goodis
13 it is moder. For withoute feynyng I lernede, and withoute enuye I comune;
14 and the oneste of it I hidde not. Forsothe tresor it is withoute ende to men, the whiche who useden, parcener ben
mad of the frenshipe of God, com-
15 mendid for the 3iftis^w of discipline. To me forsothe God 3af to seyn of sentence, and to take bfore the wrthi thingis of these that ben 3iue to me; for he is duk

the world; and a wijs kyng* is the stabilischyng of the puple. Therfor take 3e²⁷ techyng bi my wordis, and it schal profite to 3ou.

CAP. VII.

Forsothe and Yⁱ am a deedli man, lijk^k 1 men, and of erthli kynde of hym that was maad first, and in the wombe of the^l modir Y was fourmed fleische. In the² time of ten monethis Y was cruddid togidere in blood, of the seed of man, and bi acordynge delit of sleep. And Y was³ borun, and^m took comyn eir, and in lijk maner Y felle down in to the erthe maad; and Y wepyng[†] sente out the firste vois, lijk alle men. Y was nurschid in wrap-⁴ pyngis, and in greet bisynesses; for whi no⁵ man of kyngis[‡] hadde othere bigynnyng of birthe. Therfor oon entryng to lijf is⁶ to alle men, and lijk goyng out. Her-⁷ for Y desiride, and wit was 3ouun to me; and Y inwardli clepide, and the spirit of wisdom cam in to me. And Y settide⁸ wisdom bifore rewmes, and seetis; and Y seide, that richessis ben nouzt in comparisoun therof, and Y comparisonede not⁹ a preciose stoon to it; forwhi al gold in comparisoun therof is a litil grauel, and siluer schal be arettid as cley in the sizt therof. Y louyde wisdom more than¹⁰ helthe and fairnesse; and Y purposide to haue it for list, for the list therof may not be quenchid. Forsothe alle goodis¹¹ camen togidere to me with it; and vnnoumbrable oneste is by the werkys therof. And Y was glad in alle thingis; ¹² for this wisdom 3ede bfore me, and Y knew not, for it is the modir of alle goodis. Whichⁿ wisdom Y lernyde with¹³ out feynyng, and Y comyne^o without enuye; and Y hide not the oneste therof. For it is tresour with out noubre to¹⁴ men, and thei, that vsiden that tresour, weren maad parceneris of Goddis frenschip, and weren preisid for the 3iftis of kunnyng. Forsothe God 3af to me to seie¹⁵

* a wijs kyng; for as an heed wel disposid 3yueth wit, and stiring wel ordeyned to the membris, so a wijs king rulith hise sugetis to comyn good. Live here. c.
† weping; for a knaue child borun seith in weilinge A! and a maide child seith E! as pleyninge of the trespas of Adam and of Eue, for which thei ben borun the sones and dougtris of veniaunce, and of wrecchidnesse. Live here. c.
‡ of kyngis; for thei ben borun vnmysty in bodi, and vnkunnyng in the soule, and also othere men.
oon entryng; as to noun power and vnkunnyng.
lijk goyng out; as to angwische and nakidnesse of alle temporal thingis.
Herfor; that is, for Y was borun al vnkunnyng.
Y desiride; the 3ifte of wisdom. and wit, that is, the 3ifte of wisdom and of vnderstanding.
was 3ouun; the spirit of wisdom, that is, the Hooli Goost, that 3yueth wisdom.
siluer schal be arettid as cley; that is, alle temporal thingis that ben comyn to goode men and yuele, and ben oftenere grauntid to yuele men than to goode men, schulen be arettid of no valu, in comparisoun of wisdom, with charite, that is 3ouun to goode men onely. Live here. c.

^t manye A. ^u that lond E pr. m. ^{uu} the couenable c pr. m. ^v to A. ^w 3ift A.

ⁱ Om. 1a pr. m. ^k lijk othere 1. ^l my 1. ^m and I 1. ⁿ The which 1. ^o comyne it 1.

of wisdom, and the mendere of wise men.
 16 In the hond forsothe of hym and wee,
 and oure wrdis, and alle wisdom, and
 disciplyne of the kunnyng of werkes.
 17 He forsothe ȝaf to me verre kunnyng of
 these that ben, that I wite the disposi-
 cioun of the roundnesse of erthis, and
 18 the vertues of elemens; the begynnyng,
 and the^w ende, and the myddil of tymes;
 the chaungingus^x of whillemelis, and the
 endingus of times; the chaungingus^y of
 19 maneris, and deuyseouns^z of times; the
 coursis of the ȝeer, and the disposicioun
 20 of sterres; the kindis of bestes, and the
 wrathis of noȝous bestis^a; the strengthe
 of windis, and the thoȝtis of men; the
 differences of ȝunge trees, and vertues^b of
 21 rootis. And what euere thing be hid and
 vnpurueid, I lernede; forsothe the craftus
 man of alle thingus ȝaȝte me bi wisdom.
 22 Forsothe ther is in it the spirit of vnder-
 standing, hoeli, many fold, onli, sotile,
 manerli, faire spekende, mouable, vnde-
 foulid, certeyn, sweete, loouende good
 deede, that no thing forfendith^c to do
 23 weel; manli, benygne, stable, sikir, alle
 hauende vertue, alle thingus beholdende,
 and that taketh alle intelligible spiritis,
 24 clene, sotile. Thanne^{cc} alle forsothe mou-
 able thingis mor mouable is wisdom;
 forsothe it ateyneth ouer al, for his clen-
 25 nesse. Forsothe the humour of the vertu
 of God it is, and the maner going out is
 a clene clernesse of the Almyȝti God;
 26 and therefore no thing defoulid renneth
 in to it. Forsothe whitnesse it is of the
 euerlastende liȝt, and a merour withoute
 wem of the maieste of God, and an
 27 ymage of the goodnesse of hym. And
 sithen it is oon, alle thingus it mai; and
 abidende stille in itself^d, alle thingus it^e
 neweth, and bi naciouns to hoeli soules

of sentence*, and to bifore take worthi
 thingis of these thingis that ben ȝouun to
 me; for he is the ledere of wisdom, and
 amendere of wise men. For whi bothe 16
 we, and oure wordis, and al wisdom, and
 lernyng of kunnyng of werkis *ben* in his
 hond. Forsothe he ȝaf to me the veri 17
 kunnyng of these thingis that ben, that
 Y knowe the disposicioun of the world,
 and the vertues of elementis; the bigyn- 18
 nyng, and the endyng, and the myddil of
 tymes; the chaungyngis of whilis, and
 the endyngis of tymes; the chaungyngis
 of maneres, and departyngis of tymes;
 the coursis of the ȝeer, and the disposi- 19
 ciouns of sterres; the kyndis of beestis,
 and the wraththis of wielde beestis; the
 strengthe of wyndis, and the thouȝtis of
 men[†]; the differences of trees, and the
 vertues of rootis. And Y lernede what 21
 euere thingis ben hid and vnpurueyed; for
 whi wisdom, the crafti maker of alle
 thingis, ȝaȝte me. For in that *wisdom* 22
vnmaad is the spirit of vndurstanding,
 hooli, many fold[‡], oon aloone, sutil,
 temperat, wiȝs, mouable, vndefoulid, cer-
 teyn, swete, louyng a good dede, which^v
spirit forbedith no thing to do wel; cur- 23
 teis^q, benygne, stable, sikur, hauyng al
 vertu, biholdyng alle thingis, and which^r
 takith alle spiritis able to vndurstonde,
 and *he is* clene, and sutil. For whi wis- 24
 dom is more mouable than alle mouable
 thingis; forsothe it stretchith forth euery
 where, for his clenness. For it is a 25
 brething^s of Goddis vertu, and it is sum
 cleene comyngforth of the clernesse of
 Almyȝti God; and therfor no defoulid 26
 thing renneth in to it. For it is brizt-
 nesse of euerlastyng liȝt, and *it is* a
 myrrour with out wem of Goddis ma-
 ieste, and *it is* an ymage of his goodnesse.

* of sentence; that is, to speke to the onour of God, and to the edifying of neigbore, bi grace ȝouun of God to me. and amendere of wise men; in encreessing hise giftis to hem, for her good vss. *ben* in his hond; for nether we moun do, nether speke, nether thanke ony good, with out him. *Live here. c.*
 † the thouȝtis of men; mennus thouȝtis moun be knowun certeynly onely bi Goddis reuelacioun, but wise men knowen the thouȝtis of othere men bi coniecting, ether supposing of outer-mere signes; and of this knowing spekith Salomon here. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ hooly, many fold; that is, in giftis. oon alone; in him silf; therfor Poul seith, Oon in the same spirit worchith alle these thingis, and departith to ech man as he wole. *sutil*; that is, persyng alle thingis bi his vertu. *mouable*; in worching, for he makith men mouable and swift to sue his good stiring. *manly ether curteis*; in hauyng com- passiou on oure defaultis. *benygne*; that is, wel louyng, in enflawmyng vs to Goddis loue. *more mouable, etc.*; this mou-

nyng is seid bi licnesse, in as myche as Goddis wisdom strecchith forth to dispose alle the werkis of God, til to the leste thingis. *Live here. c.*
 § For it is a brething, ether vapour; vapour is a thing reysid vp, and cometh forth of water, and is of the kynde of water; so Goddis Sone, which is seid the wisdom of the Fadir, cometh forth of him, and is of the same kynde with him. *briztnesse of euerlastyng liȝt*; for Goddis Sone is liȝt of liȝt. *a myrrour*; in which alle thingis schynen most clerely. and *ymage of his goodnesse*; for it is propir of Goddis Sone, that he is the ymage of the Fadir, for whi aungels and men ben seid to ben his ymage. *Live here. c.*

^w Om. *c pr. m.* ^x chaungyng *ah.* ^y chaungis *a.* ^z the deuysiouns *ah.* ^a bestis, and of helpely bestis *e pr. m.* ^b the vertues *AE GH.* ^c shone *e pr. m.* ^{cc} Om. *c pr. m.* ^d hymself *AE GH.* ^e Om. *a.*

^p the which *i.* ^q manli, *ether curteis c et ceteri. it is manli, ether curteis i.* ^r the which *i.*

it berth ouer itself; the frendis of God
 28 and profetes it ordeyneth. No man for-
 sothe God looueth, but hym that dwellith
 29 with wisdom. Forsothe this is fairere
 than the sunne, and ouer al disposicioun
 of sterres; to list comparysouned, it is
 30 founde rathere. To it forsothe nyzt goth
 down; wisdom forsothe malice ouercom-
 eth not.

CAP. VIII.

1 Therefore it ateyneth from ende vnto
 ende strongli, and disposeth alle thingus
 2 sweeteli. This I louede, and sozte it out
 fro my zouth; and I sozte to taken it a
 spouse to me, and loouere I am mad of
 3 the foorme of it. It hauende the cum-
 panye of God, glorifieth the ientilnesse
 of it; but and of alle thingis^e the Lord
 4 louede it. Forsothe the techeresse it is
 of the discipline of God, and^f the cheser-
 5 esse of the werkis of hym. And if rich-
 esses ben desirid in the^{ff} lif, what richere
 than wisdom, that wercheth alle thingis?
 6 If forsothe wit wercheth, who of these
 that ben, more is crafti man than it?
 7 And if riztwisnesse a man looueth, the
 trauailes of this^g han grete vertues; so-
 brenesse forsothe and prudence it techeth,
 and riztwisnesse, and vertue; than the
 whiche more profitable no thing is in lif
 8 to men^h. And if multitude of kunnyng
 desireth a man, it knowith the passid
 thingus, and of the to comen it eymeth;
 it knowith the felnesseⁱ of wrdis, and the
 soilingis off argumentis; the toknes and
 wndris it knowith, er thei ben don; and
 the chaunsis of tymes and of worldis.
 9 Thanne I purposide this to bringe to me,
 to festeye^k with me; witende for with me
 it shal comune of goodis, and ther shal
 be togidere speche of thenking, and of
 10 myn anoze. I haue for this to cumpa-
 nyes clernesse, and wrshipec anent the
 11 elderes; jung and sharp I shal be founde
 in dom, and in the sizte of myzti men

And whanne it is oon, it may alle thingis; 27
 and it dwellith in it silf, and renulith alle
 thingis, and bi naciouns it berith ouer it
 silf in to hooli soulis; it makith the frendis
 of God* and profetis. For God loueth 28
 no man, no^s but hym that dwellith with
 wisdom. Forwhi this *wisdom* is fairere 29
 than the sunne, and *is* aboue al the^{ss} dis-
 posicioun of sterres; wisdom comparisound
 to list, is foundun the formere. Forwhi 30
 nizt cometh aftir that list; but wysdom
 ouercometh malice. Therfor wisdom
 stretchith forth fro the ende til to the
 ende strongli, and disposith alle thingis
 swetly.

CAP. VIII.

I louede this *wisdom maad*, and Y 2
 souzte it out fro my zongthe; and Y souzte
 to take it a spousesse[†] to me, and Y am
 maad a louyere of the fairnesse therof.
 He that hath the felouschip[‡] of God, glo- 3
 rifieth the gentilnesse therof; but also
 the Lord of alle thingis louede it. For it 4
 is the techeresse of the lernyng of God,
 and cheseresse^u of hise werkis. And if 5
 richessis ben coueitid in lijf, what *is*
 richere than wisdom, that worchith alle
 thingis? Sotheli if wit worchith, who is 6
 a crafti maker more than wisdom, of these
 thingis that ben? And if a man loueth 7
 riztfulnesse, the trauels of this *wisdom*
 han grete vertues; for it techith sobre-
 nesse[§], and prudence, and riztfulnesse, and
 vertu; and no thing is profitablere than
 these in lijf to men. And if a man de- 8
 sirith multitude^w of kunnyng, wisdom
 knowith thingis passid, and gessith of^x
 thingis to comynge; it kan the felnessis^y
 of wordis, and asoilyngis of argumentis;
 it kan signes and schewyngis of thingis to
 comynge, bfore that tho^z ben maad; and
 the bifallyngis of tymes and^a of worldus.
 Therfor Y purposide to brynge to me this 9
wisdom, to lyue togidere; witynge that it
 schal comyne with me of goodis, and
 spekyng^{||} togidere of my thouzt, and of

* frendis of
 God; bi feith
 formed with
 charite.

profetis; bi
 knowing aboue
 kynde.

that dwellith
 with wisdom;
 that is, no but
 he be in cha-

rite, for thanne
 God dwellith
 with him, and
 he with God.

the formere;
 this letre sem-
 eth to speke of

wisdom vn-
 maad, without
 bigynnyng and

ende; wisdom
 maad is formere
 than list bi

dignete, not bi
 during. *Live*
here. c.

† a spousesse;
 that is, to
 cleue in the

thouztis therof,
 with out de-
 parting. *Live*
here. c.

‡ felouschip;
 bi charite.
 glorifieth; that

is, knowlech-
 ith and preisith
 it gloriousse.
Live here. c.

§ sobrenesse;
 that is, tem-
 perance.

vertu; that
 is, goostly
 strengthe.
Live here. c.

|| spekyng,
 etc.; for siche
 thouztis ben
 the wordis of
 soule.

^e Om. c *pr. m.* ^f Om. A. ^{ff} Om. c *pr. m.* ^g hym A. ^h me A. ⁱ felnesses E. ^k ete E *pr. m.* c *pr. m.* festene A.

^s Om. I. ^{ss} Om. I. ^t spousesse c. ^u chesister I. techeresse s *sup. ras.* chesere v. ^w the multitude I. ^x alle A *pr. m.* ^y felnesse CKRÇ. falsnessis HEPUY. falsnesse MY. ^z thei N. ^a Om. cç.

merueilous I shal be, and the faces of
 12 princes shul merueilen me. Thei shul
 sustene me, beende stille, and me spek-
 ende, beholden; and me sermounende
 manye thingis, hondis to ther mouth thei
 13 shul putte. Ferthermor I haue bi this
 vndeadlynnesse; and euere lastende mynde
 to them, that after me ben to come, I
 14 shal lefe. I shal dispose puples; and
 15 naciouns to me shul ben soget. Ferful
 kingus herende me shul dreden; and in
 multitude good I shal be seen, and in
 16 bataile stronge. Entrende in to myn
 hous, I shal reste with it; forsothe the
 conuersacioun of it hath not bitternesse,
 ne noȝe the¹ with lyuyng of it, but
 17 gladnesse and ioȝe. These thingus thenk-
 ende anent me, and togidere membrende
 in myn herte; for vndeadli is wisdom in
 18 thenking, and in the frenshipe of it good
 delitende; and in the werkus of the hondis
 of it honeste with oute failing, and in the
 strif of the speche of it wisdom; and
 'gret openyng in comunycacioun^m ofⁿ theⁿⁿ
 wrdis of it; I wente aboute, sechende
 19 that to me it I shulde take. A child
 forsothe I was witti, and bi lot hauende
 20 a good soule. And whan I was more
 21 good, I cam to a bodi vndefoulid. And as
 I wiste, for other wise I mai not ben con-
 tentent^o, but God ȝeue, and that selue was
 wisdom, to knowen of whom was that
 ȝifte; I wente to the Lord, and preȝede^{oo}
 hym, and seide, of alle the entrailis of
 myn herte.

CAP. IX.

1 God of my^p fadris, and Lord of mercy,
 that madest alle thingus with thi^a wrd,
 2 and with thi wisdom ordeynedest man,
 that^r he shulde lordshopen of creature^s,

¹ thou *A sec. m.* ^m greet openyng and comunycacioun *A.* noblenesse in the chaungyng *E pr. m.*
^o Om. *c pr. m.* ⁿⁿ Om. *A.* ^o conteyned *A.* ^{oo} I preȝede *AE GH.* ^p oure *E pr. m.* ^q Om. *A.* ^r in that
 that *A.* in that *GH.* ^s the creature *c pr. m.*

^b comyng *ç.* ^c Om. *c.* ^d took *1.* ^e contyngent, *ether chast c et ceteri.* ^f but if *1.* ^g ȝeue *it 1.*
^h that *1.*

myn anoi schal be. For this wisdom Y¹⁰
 schal haue clerenesse at cumpenynges, and
 onour at eldre men; Y schal be foundun¹¹
 ȝong and scharp in doom, and in the ȝit
 of myȝti men Y schal be wondurful, and
 the faces of princes schulen worschipe me.
 Thei schulen abide me, beyng stille, and
 thei schulen biholde me, spekyng; and
 the while I speke many thingis, thei schu-
 len sette hondis* on her mouth. Ferther-¹³
 more bi this wisdom Y schal haue vnded-
 lynnesse; and Y schal leue euerlastyng
 mynde to hem, that schulen come aftir
 me. I schal dispose pupilis; and naciouns¹⁴
 schulen be suget to me. Hidouse kyngis¹⁵
 heryng me schulen drede; and in mul-
 titude Y schal be seyn good, and strong
 in batel. Y schal entre in to myn hous[†],¹⁶
 and Y schal reste with wisdom; for the
 conuersacioun[‡] therof hath no bitternesse,
 and the dwellyng togidere therof hath
 noon anoye, but gladnesse and ioȝe.
 Y thouȝte these thingis at me, and Y re-¹⁷
 membride in myn herte; forwhi wisdom
 is vndeedli in thouȝt, and good delityng¹⁸
 is in the frendshipe therof; and onestee
 without defaute is in the werkis of hondis
 therof; and wisdom is in the strijf of
 speche therof; and greet clerenesse is in
 the comyng^b of wordis therof; Y ȝede
 aboute, sekinge to take wisdom to me.
 Forsothe Y was a witti child, and Y^c gat^d¹⁹
 a good soule. And whanne Y was more²⁰
 good, Y cam to a bodi vndefoulid. And²¹
 as Y knew, that ellis Y mai not be chaste^e,
 no but^f God ȝeue^g, and this same thing
 was wisdom, to wite whos this ȝifte was;
 Y ȝede to the Lord, and Y bisouȝte hym,
 and Y seide, of alle myn entralis^g.

CAP. IX.

God of my fadris^{||}, and Lord of merci,¹
 that madist alle thingis bi thi word, and²
 ordeynedist man bi thi wisdom, that he
 schulde be lord of creature, which^h is

¹⁰ anoi; to be
 excludid, for
 aiche thouȝtis
 excluden al
 anoye. *Live
 here. c.*

* sette hondis,
 etc.; that is,
 hou myche euer
 Y drawe along
 a sermoun, thei
 schulen herkne
 with reuerence.
Live here. c.

† myn hous;
 that is, con-
 sience. *Live
 here. c.*

‡ conuersa-
 cioun; that is,
 thouȝt, that
 cometh forth
 of vnderstand-
 ing, and cus-
 tom of wisdom.
*werkis of
 hondis; that
 is, in werkis
 comyng forth
 of wisdom.*

Y gat a good
 soule; bi clen-
 nesse of loue.
 more good;
 that is, encreas-
 inge in vertues.
 a bodi vnde-
 foulid; that is,
 kept bi con-
 tynence of ma-
 trimonye. *Live
 here. c.*

§ myn en-
 trailis; that
 is, of al myn
 vnderstanding
 and loue. *Live
 here. c.*

|| God of my
 fadris; which
 thou chesidist
 mercifully, as
 Abraham,
 Isaac, and Ja-
 cob, and spe-
 cially Dauyth,
 my fadir, whom
 thou chesidist
 to the rewme.
*Lord of mer-
 ci; that hast
 forȝoue to my
 fadir the synne
 of the deth [of]
 Vrie. that he
 schulde be
 lord; for if
 man hadde
 stonde in the
 staat of kynde
 maad, he
 schulde haue
 had ful lord-
 schip on crea-
 turis lowere
 than him self.*

3 that of thee is mad, that he dispose
the roundnesse of londis in equyte and
ri3twisnesse, and in ri3t reuling of herte
4 he deme dom; 3if to me wisdom, the
nee3h stondere of thi setis; and wile
5 thou not me repreuen of thi childer. For
I am thi seruaunt, and the sone of thin
hand woman; a feble man, and of litil
time, and lasse to the vndirstonding of
6 dom and of lawes. And if any man shul
ben ful endid of the sonus of men, if fro
hym flee wisdom, in to no3t he shal be
7 countid. Thou forsothe chose me king
to thi puple, and domysman of thi sonus
8 and do3tris; and thou seidist, me to
bilden a temple in thin holi hil, and in
the cite of thi dwelling an auter; the
licnesse of thin holi tabernacle, that thou
9 greithedist fro the begynnyng. And with
thee thi wisdom, that kne3 thi werkis,
the whiche and was at thanne, whan the
roundnesse of erthis thou shuldist make,
and he wist that, that was plesaunt to
'thin e3ent, and that, that is ri3t in thin
10 hestis. Send fro thin holi heuenes it,
and fro the sete of thi mychilnesse, that
with me it be, and with me trauaile;
and I wite what be aloouwid anent thee.
11 Forsothe it wot alle thingus, and vndir-
standith; and shal leden me forth in my
werkes sobrelly^u, and kepen me in his
12 power. And my werkys shul ben aloou-
wid, and I^v shal disposen thi puple ri3t-
wisly, and I shal ben wrthi the setes of
13 my fader. Who forsothe of men shal
moun wite the counseil of God? or who
14 shal moun thenke, what God wile? The
tho3tis forsothe of deadli men dredful,
15 and vncerteyn oure purueauncis^w. For-
sothe the body that is corrupid, gree-
ueth the soule; and ertheli indwelling
presseth down the wit, manye thingus
16 thenkende. And of hard wee eyemen,
that ben in the erthe; and that in ferr
17 si3te ben, we finden with trauaile. That
forsothe in heuenus ben, who shal en-

maad of thee, that he dispose the world
in equite and ri3tfulnesse, and deme doom
in ri3t reulyng of herte; 3yue thou to me 4
wisdom, that stondith ny3 thi seetis; and
nyle thou repreue me fro thi children.
For Y am thi seruaunt, and the sone of 5
thin hand mayde; Y am a sijk man, and
of litil tyme, and lesse* to the vndur-
standyng of doom and of lawis. And if 6
ony man is perfit among the sonus of men,
if thi wisdom fleeth awei fro hym, he
schal be rikenyd in to nou3t. Forsothe 7
thou hast chose me kyng to thi puple,
and a iuge of thi sonus and dou3tris; and 8
thou seidist, that Y schulde bilde a tem-
ple in thin holi hil, and an auter in the
citee of thi dwellyng place; the licnesse
of thin hooli tabernacle, which thou madist
redi at the bigynnyng†. And thi wisdom 9
is with thee, that knowith thi werkis,
whichⁱ also was present thanne, whanne
thou madist the world, and wiste what
was plesaunt to thin i3en, and what was
dressid in thi comaundementis. Sende 10
thou that wisdom fro thin hooli heuenes,
and fro the seete of thi greetnesse, that it
be with me, and trauele with me; and that
Y wyte what is acceptable anentis thee.
Forwhi thilke wisdom knowith and vndir- 11
standith alle thingis; and it schal lede me
forth in my werkis sobrelly, and it schal
kepe me in his power. And my werkis 12
schulen be acceptable, and Y schal dispose
thi puple iustli, and Y schal be worthi of
the seetis of my fadir. For who of men 13
mai knowe the counsel of God‡? ether
who mai thenke, what wole God? For 14
whi the thou3tis of deedli men ben dred-
ful, and oure puruyaunces ben vncerteyn.
For whi the bodi that is corrupt, greueth 15
the soule; and ertheli dwellyng pressith
down the wit, thenkyng manye thingis.
And of hard we gessen tho thingis, that 16
ben in erthe; and we fynden with trauel
tho thingis, that ben in biholdyng. But 17
who schal serche§ tho thingis, that ben in

in equite; in
disposing crea-
turis to that,
that the ben
maad. of thi
seetis; Salomon
spekith of God,
as of an hijeste
iuge; aboute
whom stonden
wise men, and
fro whom wis-
dom is teld
forth to lowere
iugis; and in
this maner Sa-
lomon, as a
lowere iuge,
axith, that God
3yue wisdom
to him. Live
here. c.
* and lesse;
that is, vnsuf-
ficient. Live
here. c.

† at the begyn-
nyng; of the
goyng out of
Egipt. Live
here. c.

‡ I may knowe
the counsel of
God; as if he
seye, noon, no
but bi wisdom
3ounn of God
to him. Live
here. c.

§ But who schal
serche; as if he
seye, no man,
no but bi wis-
dom 3ounn of
thee. Live here.
c.

^t the e3en of hym E pr. m. ^u Om. AGH. ^v Om. AH. ^w purueaunce A.

ⁱ the which I.

serche? Thi wit forsothe who shal knowe, but if thou shul 3yue wisdom, and sende thin Holi Spirit fro hejest thingus? And so^r amendid ben the pathis of hem, that ben in erthis^z, and that to^a thee pleseden^b, men lerneden. For whi bi wisdom thei ben helid, who so euer pleseden^c to thee, Lord, fro the bygynyng.

CAP. X.

1 This hym, that first is foormed of God, the^{cc} fader of the roundnesse of erthis, 2 whan alone he was foormed, kepte. And ladde hym out fro his gilte, and bro3te hym out of the slym of erthe^d, and 3af to hym vertue of hauynge alle thingus. 3 Fro this as the vnri3twis wente awei in his wrathe, bi the^{dd} wrathe of mansla3- 4 ter pershede fraternyte. For the whiche whan water shulde don awei the erthe, he helede eftsoone bi wisdom; bi the dispisable^e tree gouernende the ri3twis man. 5 This and in^f the^{ff} consenting of pride, whan naciouns rereden himself, knew the ri3twis, and kepte withoute blame to God; 6 and in^g the sones gret^h merci kepte. This the ri3twis fro the pershende vnpitous men deliuerede fleende, fijr descendende 7 in to the regioun of fiue citees. To the whiche, in to theⁱ witnessing of shreudenesse, the desert erthe is knowen ful of smoking, and in certeyn time the trees hauende frutes; and of the mysbeleued soule the mynde stondende is the foormyng of salt. Forsothe passende biside wisdom, not onli in that ben slyden, that thei vnknowen gode thingis, but and of ther vnwisdom thei han laft to men mynde, that in tho^j thingus, that thei synneden, thei my3ten not lurken. Wisdom forsothe them, that it kepen, al aboute 10 fro sorewes shal delyuere. This forsothe the ferr fugitif, or *fleynge*^k ri3twis fro the^l wrathe of the brother, ladde awei bi

heuenes? But who schal knowe thi wit, 'no but^k thou 3yue wisdom, and sende thin Hooli Spirit fro hizeste thingis? And 18 if the pathis^{*} of hem, that ben in londis, ben amendid, and if men han lernyd *tho thingis*, that plesen thee. For whi, Lord, 19 whiche euer plesiden thee fro the bigynyng, weren maad hool bi wisdom.

CAP. X.

This *wisdom* 'of God¹ kepte hym, that 1 was formed first of God, the fadir of the world[†], whanne he aloone was maad of nou3t. And 'this *wisdom*^m ledde hym out 2 of his trespas, and ledde hym out of the sliym of ertheⁿ, and 3af to hym vertu to holde togider alle thingis[‡]. As the vn- 3 just man in his ire 3ede awei fro this *wisdom*, brotherhed perischide bi^o the ire of manquellyng. For which thing whanne 4 watir^p dide awei the erthe[§], wisdom heelide eft; gouernynge a^q iust man bi a dispisable tre. This *wisdom* also in the con- 5 sent of pride, whanne naciouns hadden reisid hem silf, knew^{||} a iust man, and kept with out playnt to God; and this *wisdom* kepte strong merci in sonen. 'This 6 *wisdom*^{qq} deliuerede a iust man fleynge fro wickid men perischinge, whanne fier cam down in to the place of fyue cytees. For 7 whiche^r *wickid*^s men the lond smokyng is maad deseert, in to witnessyng of weawardnesse[¶], and trees hauynge fruytis in vncerteyn tyme; and the mynde of an vnbileueful soule stondynge an ymage of salt. For whi men passynge wisdom, not 8 oneli fellen^{ss} in this, that thei knewen not goodis, but also thei leften to men the mynde of her vnwisdom, that in these synnes, whiche thei diden, thei mi3ten not be hid. Forsothe wisdom delyuerede hem 9 fro sorewis, that kepen it^{**}. Sotheli this 10 *wisdom* ledde forth a iust man bi ri3tful weies, that fledde fro the ire of his bro-

* if the pathis; vndurstonde thou, no man may wite, no but bi thi wisdom and spirit schewing. Live here. c.

† of the world that is, of alle men. Live here. c.
‡ alle thingis; for it 3af to him the lordship ouer alle lowere thingis. Live here. c.
§ the erthe; that is, alle men dwellinge in erthe. c.
|| knew, etc.; that is, Abraham, whom it made to be known bi apreuyng. a iust man; that is, Loth. Live here. c.
¶ witnessing of weawardnesse; that is, of synne azenus kynde. in vncerteyn tyme; that is, out of comyn cours of kynde, in to witnessing, that the dwelleris of that lond synneden azenus kynde. vnbileueful soule, etc.; that is, of Lothis wyif, that bileuyde not to the angel, comaundinge that sche schulde not loke bihynde hir bak. Live here. c.
** that kepen it; bi hooly lyuyng and deuoute preyer. ledde forth a iust man; that is, Jacob, that was iust, and 3ede into Mesopotamy, and fledde the ire of Isau, his brother.

^y 3if E pr. m. ^z the erthis AEH. the erth G. ^a Om. A. ^b plesen AEGH. ^c plese E pr. m.
^{cc} Om. C pr. m. ^d the erthe AEGH. ^{dd} Om. C pr. m. ^e disseyable A. ^f Om. AC. ^{ff} Om. G. ^g Om. A.
^h of gret AGH. ⁱ Om. A. ^j the G. ^k Om. C et E pr. m. ^l Om. A.

^k but if I. ¹ Om. I. ^m it I. ⁿ the erthe s. ^o thorew s. ^p the watir s. ^q the I. ^{qq} And it I.
^r the whiche I. ^s Om. I. ^{ss} felden I pass.

riȝt weies; and shewede to hym the king-
dam of God, and ȝaf to hym the kun-
nyng of seyntis; it honestede hym in
trauailis, and fulfild the trauailis of
11 hym. In the gile of the men comende
aboute to hym, it was nyȝ, and honest
12 made hym. It kepte hym fro enemys,
and fro desceyueres defendide hym; and
a strong strif it ȝaf to hym, that he
shulde ouercome, and wite, for of alle
13 thingis^m the myȝtiere is wisdom. This
this olde riȝtwis man forsoc not, but fro
synneres deliuerede hym; and it descend-
14 ide with hym in to the dich; and in
bondis forsoc not hym, to the time that
it shulde bringe to hym the dignete of
the reume, and myȝt aȝen hem that hymⁿ
thresteden down; and lieres he shewide,
that defouleden hym, and he ȝaf to hym
15 euere lastende clernesse. This the riȝt-
wis puple, and hoely withoute blame,
delyuerede fro naciouns, that it^{na} oppress-
16 eden^o. It entride in to the soule of the
seruaunt of God, and stod aȝen grisful
17 kingus, in grete wondris and signes. And
it ȝeeld to the^{oo} riȝtwis men the meede of
ther^p trauailis, and broȝte them thennes
in a merueylous weie; and it was to
them in the coueryng of the day, and in
18 liȝt of sterres bi the nyȝt. And he bar
them ouer thurȝ the rede se; and he
ouercariede them thurȝ ful myche water.
19 The enemys forsothe of hem he drench-
ide in the se; and fro the^{pp} depnesse^q of
helle he ladde them out. Therefore riȝt-
wis men token awei the spoiles of vnpi-
20 tous men; and heeȝli sunge, Lord, thin
holi name, and thin hond ouercomere thei
21 preiseden togidere. For wisdom openede
the mouth of doumbe men, and the

ther; and it schewide to hym the rewme
of God, and ȝaf to hym the kunnyng of
seyntis; it made hym onest in trauels,
and fillide^t hise trauelis. It helpide 11
hym in the fraude of disseyueris, and
made hym onest. It kepte hym fro 12
enemys, and defendide hym fro dis-
seyueris; and it ȝaf to him a strong ba-
tel, that he shulde ouercome, and wite,
that wisdom is the myȝtieste of alle. This 13
wisdom forsook not aⁿ iust man seeld*,
but delyuerede hym fro synneris; and it 14
ȝede down with hym in to a dicke; and
it forsook not hym in boondis, til it
brouȝte to hym the ceptre^v of the rewme,
and power aȝens hem that oppressiden
hym; and it schewide hem lieris, that
defouleden hym[†], and it ȝaf to hym euer-
lastyng clernesse. This *wisdom* dely- 15
uerede a iust puple, and hooli[‡] without
pleynt, fro naciouns that oppressiden it.
Wisdom^w entride in to the soule of Goddis 16
seruaunt, and he stood aȝens hidouse
kyngis, in grete wondris and myraelis.
And it ȝeldide to iust men the meede of 17
her trauelis, and ledde hem forth in a
wondurful weie; and it was to hem in
hilyng of the dai, and in the liȝt of sterres
bi nyȝt. And it ^xledde ouer^x hem thorouȝ 18
the reede see; and bar^y hem ouer thoruȝ
ful myche watir. But it drenchide down 19
the enemys of hem in to the see; and
ledde hem out fro the depthe of hellis[§].
Therfor iust men taken awei the spuylis
of wickid men; and, Lord, thei magne- 20
fieden in song thin hooli name, and preys-
eden togidere thin hond ouercomer. For- 21
whi wisdom openyde the mouth of doumbe
men, and made the tungis of ȝonge chil-
dren not spekyng to be wise. He dress-

the rewme of God; whanne he siȝ the lad- dre, whos hiȝ- nesse touchide heuene, and the Lord fast- ned to the lad- dre, in xxviij. c^o. of Genesis, for thanne he hadde reuelacioun of he- uenly Jerusa- lem.
the kunnyng of seyntis; that is, knowing of hooly aungels, whiche he siȝ, styng and goyng down bi that laddre.
made hym onest in tra- uels; that is, made hym riche and no- ble, for hise trauelis, in kepinge the scheep of La- ban.
fillide hise trauels; whanne bi God defend- inge hym, he ȝede away fro Mesopotamy, with hise wyues, chil- dren, and rich- essis.
helpide hym; in multipliynge flockis, that ouȝten come in to the meede of Jacob bi coue- naunt.
of disseyueris; that is, of Laban and of hise sones, that ymagyn- eden to dis- seyne him, in chaunginge ofte his meed.
made him onest; in mak- inge riche, in temporal and goostly rich- essis.
fro enemyes; that is, Laban and hise sones, pursuyng Jacob, goyng away to robbe

him. *a stronge batel to him; wrastlinge with the aungel. ouercome; Esau, his aduersarie. Lire here. c.* * *a iust man seeld; that is, Joseph, whanne hise bretheren seelden to men of Ismael. a dicke; that is, to the prisoun of the king of Egypt. Lire here. c.* † *that defouleden him; in puttinge auowtrie to him. Lire here. c.* ‡ *a iust puple and hooly; that is, the puple of Israel worschippinge God. fro naciouns; of Egipcians, that oppressiden it ouer greuously. Goddis wisdom entrede in to the soule of Goddis seruaunt; that is, Moises. aȝenys hidouse kyngis; that is, Farao and hise princes. the meede of her trauelis; for bi Goddis comaundement the sones of Israel goyng away spuyliiden Egypt, and axiden, bi borewing of neiȝboris, vessels of gold and of siluer, in xij. c^o. of Exodi; and this in quytting of trauels, in whiche the men of Egypt bigiliden hem vnjustly. Lire here. c.* § *depthe of hellis; that is, fro the botme of the see. the spuylis, etc.; that is, of Egipcians, drenchid, and cast up to the brinke of the see. Lire here. c.*

^m Om. c pr. m. ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^{na} hym AEGH. ^o ouer presside AGH. ^{oo} Om. c pr. m. ^p the A. thi H. PP Om. A. ^q heȝte E pr. m. c pr. m.

^t fulfillide I. ^u the I. ^v ceptre, ether the kyngis ȝerde c et ceteri. ^w It I. ^x translatid, ether ledde ouer CEFHGKMNPRQSUUVXYAÇ. translatide I. ^y it bar I.

tunges of vnspekende childer made faire
1 spekende. It riȝt reulede the werkis of
hem, in the hondus of the holi profete.

CAP. XI.

2 Weie thei maden bi desertis, that ben
not dwellid in; and in desert^r places thei
3 maden lital^{rr} cotes. Thei stoden aȝen ene-
mys, and of the enemys thei venieden
4 hemself. Thei thristeden, and inwardli
clepeden thee; and ther is ȝoue to them
water of the heȝest ston, and reste of
5 thirst of the harde ston. Bi tho thingis
forsothe that the enemys of hem suf-
freden peynes, fro the^s defaulting of ther
drinc, and whan the sones of Irael had-
6 den plente, gladen; bi these thingus,
whan to them hadden failid, wel with
7 them is don. Forwhi forsothe for the
welle of the^t euerlastende flod, mannys
8 blod thou ȝeue to vnriȝtwis men. The
whiche whan thei weren mynusht, in the
ouerleding of the slayne litle childer, thou
ȝeue to them abundende water in maner
9 not hopid; shewende bi the thirst, that
thanne was, hou thine thou shuldest en-
hauncen, and the aduersaries of hem slen.
10 Whan forsothe thei weren temptid, for-
sothe and with mercy disciplyne thei
token; thei wisten, hou with wrathe vn-
pitous^u men demed, tormentis shulden
11 suffre. These forsothe as a fader warn-
ende, thou prouedest; hem forsothe as an
hard king askende, thou condempnedist.
12 Forsothe the absent men and the present
13 lic maner weren tormentid. Forsothe
double noȝe hadde taken hem, and weil-
ing with the mynde of the passid thingis.
14 Whan forsothe thei herden, bi ther tor-
mentis wel with them to ben do, thei
membreden the Lord, merueilende in to
15 the ende of the going out. Whom for-
sothe in a shreude putting out thei
scorneden cast aferr, in^v to the ende of
that that fel, merueileden^w; not lic maner

^r the desert *AH*. ^{rr} *Om. c pr. m.* ^s *Om. A.*
^w thei merueileden *E pr. m.*

^z housis, *ether hulkis* *CEFGHKMNPQRSUVXYA*. housis, or cotis *x sec. m. marg.* housis, *ether helkis* *ç*.
^a this *c.* ^b thilke *I.* ^c monestyng *CGHKMQSUVXaç*.

ide the werkis of hem, in the hondis of an
hooli profete.

CAP. XI.

Thei maden iourney bi desertis, that²
weren not enhabitid; and thei maden litle
housis^z in desert places. Thei stoden³
aȝens kyngis, and vengiden hem of ene-
myes. Thei thirstiden, and thei inwardli⁴
clepiden thee; and watir of a ful hiȝ stoon
was ȝouun to hem, and reste of thirst *was*
ȝouun to hem of an hard stoon. For bi⁵
whiche thingis the enemyes of hem suf-
friden peynes, for defaute of her drink,
and the sones of Israel weren glad,
whanne thei hadden plente; bi these⁶
thingis, whanne these^a failiden to tho^b
enemyes, it was don wel with hem^{*}. For⁷
sotheli for the welle of euerlastynge flood,
thou ȝauest mannus blood to vniust men.
And whanne thei weren maad lesse, in the⁸
leding awei of ȝonge children slayn, thou
ȝauest sudeynli plenteuouse watir to hem;
and schewidist bi the thirst, that was⁹
thanne, hou thou woldist enhaunse thi
seruauntis, and woldist sle the aduersa-
ries of hem. For whanne thei weren¹⁰
asaied, sotheli thei token chastisyng with
merci; thei wisten, hou wickid men demed
with ire, schulden suffre turmentis. So-¹¹
theli thou amonestynge^c as a fadir, pre-
uedist[†] these men; but thou as an hard
kyng axynge condempnedist hem. For¹²
whi men absent and *men* present weren
turmentid in lijk maner. For whi double¹³
anoye hadde take hem, and weilyng with
the mynde of thingis passid. Sotheli¹⁴
whanne thei herden, that it was don wel
with hem silf bi her turmentis, thei bi-
thouȝten on the Lord, and wondriden on
the ende of the out goyng. For at the¹⁵
ende of the bifallyng, thei worschipiden
him, whom thei scorneden cast out in
schrewid puttyng forth; and thou didist

^{*} with hem;
that is, with
the children of
Israel. *c.*

[†] *preuedist*,
etc.; that is,
thi trewe ser-
uauntis.
condempned-
ist; that is,
thyn aduer-
saries hardid in
her synne. *c.*

16 to riȝtwis men doende. For vnwis^x thoȝtis
 forsothe^y the wickidnessis^z of hem, that
 summe errende herieden doumbe edderes,
 and ouer veyne bestes, thou sentist in to
 them a multitude of doumbe bestes, in to
 17 veniaunce; that thei shulden witen, for^a
 bi tho thingus that a man synneth, bi tho
 18 thingus also he shal be tormentid. For-
 sothe not impossible was thin almyȝti
 hond, that made the roundnesse of erthis
 of mater vnseen, to senden in to them a
 19 multitude of beres, or hardi leouns, or of
 newe kinde vnknowen^{aa} bestes, and ful of
 wrathe, or spittende brething of fires, or
 bringende forth smel of smoke, or put-
 20 tende out grisful sparkes fro eȝen; of
 whiche not onli the hurting^b hadde mouȝt
 destroyed them, but and the looking bi
 21 drede slen. But and withoute these with
 o spirit thei myȝten ben slayn, suffrid
 persecucioun of ther deedis self, and
 scatered bi the spirit of hys vertue. But
 and alle thingus in mesure, and noum-
 22 bre, and peis thou disposedist; forsothe
 myche to moun, to thee alone ouer was
 euermore; and to the vertue of thin arm
 23 who shal aȝenstonde? For as a poynt
 of a balaunce, so is befor thee the round-
 nesse of erthis; and as a drope of mo-
 rutid dew, that goth down in to the
 24 erthe. And thou hast merci of alle, for
 alle thingus thou maist; and thou for-
 berist the synnes of men, for penaunce.
 25 Forsothe thou loouest alle thingus that
 ben, and no thing thou hatedest of hem,
 that thou madist; ne forsothe hatende any
 26 thing thou ordeynedest, or madist. Hou
 forsothe myȝte any thing abide stille, but
 thou haddest wold? or that of thee were
 27 not clepid, shulde ben kept? Thou sparist
 forsothe to alle; for thine thei ben, Lord,
 that loouest soulis.

not in lijk maner to iust men. Forsothe^d 16
 for vnwise thouȝtis the wickidnessis of
 hem *weren punyschid*; for summen err-
 ynge worschipiden doumbe serpentis, and
 superflu beestis, thou sentist in to hem
 a multitude of doumbe beestis, in to ven-
 iaunce; that thei schulden wite, that bi 17
 what thingis a man synneth, he is tur-
 mentid also bi these^e thingis. For whi 18
 thin hond almyȝti, that made the world
 of mater vnseyn, was not vnmyȝti to sende
 in to hem a multitude of beeris, ether
 hardi liouns, ether beestis of newe kynde 19
 ful of ire, and vnknowun beestis, ether
beestis frothinge heete of firis, ethir bryng-
 ynge forth the odour of smoke, ethir send-
 ynge out^f fro the iȝen hidouse sparclis; of 20
 whiche^g *beestis* not oneli the hirtyng myȝte
 distrie hem, but also the siȝt myȝte sle
 bi drede. For whi and with oute these 21
beestis thei myȝten be slayn bi o spirit,
 and suffre persecucioun of tho^h her owne
 dedis, and be scaterid by the spirit of thi
 vertu. But andⁱ thou hast disposid alle
 thingis in mesure, and in noumbre, and
 in weiȝte; for it was left euere to thee 22
 aloone to mow do myche; and who schal
 aȝenstonde the vertu of thin arm? For as 23
 the tunge of a balaunce, so is the world
 bifore thee; and as a drope of dew rys-
 ynge bifore the liȝt, that cometh down in
 to erthe. And thou hast merci of alle 24
 thingis, for thou maist alle thingis; and
 thou dissymelist^k the synnes of men, for
 penaunce. For thou louest alle thingis 25
 that ben, and thou hatist no thing of
 tho, that thou madist; for thou not hat-
 ynge ony thing ordeynedist, ether madist.
 But hou myȝte ony thing dwelle, 'no but^l 26
 thou woldist? ether hou schulde *a thing*
 be kept, that were not clepid of thee?
 But, Lord, that^m louest soulis, thou sparist 27
 alle thingis; for tho thingis ben thine.

^x the vnwis *E pr. m.*
^b hurting *A.*

^y Om. *A.*

^z wickidnes *A.*

^a that for *AGH.*

^{aa} of vnknownen *C pr. m.*

^d Sothly *I.*

^e these same *I.*

^f of *E.*

^g the whiche *I.*

^h thilke *I.*

ⁱ also *I.*

^k ether for-

berist *X sec. m. marg.*

^l but if *I.*

^m thou *I.*

CAP. XII.

1 O! hou good, and hou swete, Lord, is
 2 thi Spirit in vs; therfore them that out
 erren in parties, thou chastisist; and of
 the whiche thingus thei synnen, thou
 warnest, and spekest to, that, the malice
 3 laft, thei leeuē in thee, Lord. Forsothe
 tho^e olde dwelleris of thin holi lond, 'the
 4 which^{cc} thou grisedist; for hateful werkis
 thei diden to thee, bi lechingus, and sacri-
 5 fises vnriȝtwise; and the sleeres of ther
 sonus, withoute mercy, and the eteres of
 the boweles of men, and the^d deuoureres
 of blod; and the fadris and modris^e, au-
 toures of the soules vnholpen^f, leese thou
 6 woldist not fro thi myddel sacrament, bi
 the hondis of ther fadris and modris;
 7 that the wrthi pilgrimaging of the chil-
 der of God thei shulden parceyue, the
 whiche is a lond more cheere^g to thee of
 8 alle. But and to these as to men^{gg} thou
 sparedist, and sentist waspis, beforgo-
 eres of thin ost, that 'them litilmel^h thei
 9 shulden destroyen. Not for thou were
 vnmyȝti in bataile to sogeten vnpitous^{hh}
 men to riȝtwis men, or bi cruel bestes,
 10 or bi hard wrd to destroye togidere; but
 bi parties demende, thou ȝaue place of
 penaunce, not vnknowende, for shreude
 is the nacioun of hem, and kindly the
 malice of them, and for the thoȝt of them
 myȝte not ben chaungid in to euermor.
 11 The sed forsothe was cursid fro the bi-
 gynnyng. Ne dredende any man, forȝyue-
 nesse thou ȝeue to the synnes of them.
 12 Who forsothe shal sey to thee, What
 madist thou? or who shal stonde aȝen
 thi dom? or who in thi siȝte shal comen,
 veniere of wicke men? or who shal wijte
 to thee, if naciouns pershen, that thou
 13 hast mad? Forsothe there is noon other

CAP. XII.

Lord, hou good, and hou swete is thi
 Spirit in alle thingis; and therfor* thou 2
 chastisist bi partis these men that erren;
 and thou monestist, of whiche thingis thei
 synnen, and thou spekist to hem, that
 whanne thei han forsake malice, thei bi-
 leue in thee, Lord. For thou woldist leeseⁿ 3
 thilke elde dwelleris of thin hooli lond,
 whiche thou wlatidist; for thei diden 4
 werkis hateful to thee, bi medicynes[†],
 and vniust sacrifices; and the slears of 5
 her sones, with out merci, and eteris of
 entrailis of men, and^e deuowreris of blood;
 and bi the hondis of oure fadris thou
 woldist leese fro thi myddil sacrament[‡]
 fadris and modris, autours of soulis[§] vn- 6
 helpid; that oure fadris schulden take 7
 the worthi pilgrymage of Goddis children,
 which is to thee the derewortheⁿⁿ lond
 of alle. But also thou sparidist these as 8
 men, and thou sentist waspis, the bifore
 goeris of thin oost, that tho schulden de-
 strie hem lital and lital. Not for thou 9
 were vnmyȝti to make wickid men suget
 to iust men in batel^o; but thou demydist^{oo} 10
 bi partis, and ȝauest place^p to penaunce,
 and wistist, that the nacioun of hem was
 weiward, and her malice was kyndli^{||}, and
 that her thouȝt myȝte not be chaungid[¶]
 with outen ende. For it was a cursid 11
 seed at the bigynnyng. And thou not
 dredynge ony man, ȝauest forȝyuenesse to
 the synnes of hem^q. For whi who schal 12
 seie to thee, What hast thou do? ether
 who schal stonde aȝens thi doom? ethir
 who schal come in thi siȝt, to be auen-
 gere of wickid men? ether who schal
 arette to thee, if naciouns perischen,
 whiche thou madist? For whi noon other 13
 than thou is God, to whom is charge of

* and therfor; that is, for thi goodnesse.
 chastisidist bi partis; that is, punyschist curteisly, and bi dyuerse tymes, and not togidere in takinge hem away fro lyf, that they haue tyme to do penaunce.
 spekist to hem; sumtyme bi ynward ster- ing, sumtyme bi trauel of bodi, that ȝyueh vnder- standing.
 of thyn hooli lond; that is, of Judee, which is seid hooli, for Goddis wor- schiping throof there in the tyme of the elde testa- ment; and the mysterie of Crist was fillid there in the tyme of the newe testa- ment.
 hateful; that is, orible synnes.
 Live here. c.
 † bi medecynes, etc.; that is, bi wichecraftis, and false dy- uynnyngis, and sacrifices offrid to fendis. Live here. c.
 ‡ myddil sacra- ment; that is, fro Judee. Live here. c.
 § of soulis, etc.; that is, of her children, desti- tute of du help. Live here. c.
 || was kindeli; that is, maad hard bi long custum, which is a maner kynde. Live here. c.
 ¶ myȝte not be chaungid; this is not outirli noun- power; but in party, for as longe as a man lyueth, he may

turne aȝen to good; but this nounpower is in parti, for siche men moun turne aȝen with hardnesse, for the custum of synne enclynyng bi maner of kynde: wherfor in v. book of Metafisikis, a thing is seid impossible in o maner, which thing is hard, as it is seid also in comyn speche of a man, seyng yuele, that he may not se. at the bigynnyng; in ix. c^o. of Genesis, Cursid be Canaan; he schal be seruaunt of seruaunts. Live here. c.

^e the A. ^{cc} that c pr. m. ^d Om. A. ^e the modris AGH. ^f vnhelpid AGH. ^g cleer A. ^{gg} man A.
^h them men litilmelum c pr. m. ^{hh} vnriȝtwis E pr. m.

ⁿ fordo i. ⁿⁿ dereworste c. ^o ether to distrie at oonys, bi cruel beestis, ether bi an hard word A sec. m.
 marg. ^{oo} dyuydist c. ^p places s. ^q men s.

God than thou, to whom is cure of alle,
 that thou shewe, for not vnri3twisly thou
 14 demest dom. Ne¹ forsothe king ne ti-
 raunt in thi sizte shul enserche of these
 15 thingus^k, that thou hast destroyed. Sithen
 thanne thou art ri3twis, alle thingis ri3t-
 wisly thou disposist; hym also, O! fader,
 that owith not to be punshid, condemp-
 nende, and straunge thou eymest fro thi
 16 vertue. Forsothe thi vertue is the bi-
 gynnynge of ri3twisnesse; and for that,
 that of alle thou art lord, to alle thou
 17 makest thee to sparen. Forsothe vertue
 shewist thou, that art not beleued to
 ben in vertue ful endid; and hem that
 knownen not thee, in hardynesse thou
 18 ouerledist. Thou forsothe, lordshipere
 of vertue, with pesiblenesse demest, and
 with gret reuerence disposist vs; forsothe
 ther vnderlith to thee, whan thou wilt,
 19 to moun. Forsothe thou taztist thi puple
 bi suche werkis, for it behoueth to ben
 ri3twis, and manly; and thou madist thi
 sones of¹ good hope, for demende thou
 20 3yuest place of penaunce in synnes. If
 forsothe the enemys of thi seruauens, and
 due to deth, with so myche tentifnesse^m
 thou tormentedist, and deliueredest, 3iue-
 ende time and place, bi theⁿ whiche thei
 21 my3ten be chaungid fro malice; with hou
 myche diligence demest thou thi sones,
 to whos fadris and modris, othis and co-
 uenauntis thou 3eue of goode behestes?
 22 Thanne whan thou 3iuest to vs disci-
 pline, oure enemys manyfold thou scourg-
 ist, that thi goodnesse demende, wee
 thenken; and whan of vs is demed, wee
 23 hope thi merci. Wherefore and to^o them,
 that in ther lif vnwisly and vnri3tfulli
 lyueden, bi tho thingus, that thei heri-
 24 eden, thou 3eue grettest tormentis. For-
 sothe in the weie of errour lengere thei
 erreden, eymende goddis tho thingis that
 in bestes ben ouer veyne, liuende bi ma-
 25 ner of vnwise 3unge childer. For that

alle thingis, that thou schewe, that thou
 demest doom not vniustli. Nether king¹⁴
 nether tiraunt in thi sizt schulen enquire
 of these men, whiche thou hast lost. Ther-¹⁵
 for sithen thou art iust, thou disposist
 iustli alle thingis; also, fadir, thou con-
 dempnest^{*} hym, that owith not to be
 punyschid, and thou gessist hym a
 straunger fro thi vertu. For whi thi¹⁶
 vertu is the bigynnynge of ri3tfulnesse;
 and for this, that thou art lord of alle
 men, thou makist thee to spare alle men.
 For thou, that art not bileued to be per-¹⁷
 fit in vertu, schewist^r vertu; and thou
 ledist ouer[†] these^s men, that knowen^t not
 thee, in hardynesse. But thou, lord of¹⁸
 vertu, demest with pesiblenesse, and dis-
 posist vs with gret reuerence; for it is
 suget to thee to mow, whanne thou wilt.
 Forsothe thou hast tau3t thi puple bi siche¹⁹
 werkis, that it bihoueth *a iuge* to be iust,
 and benygne^u; and thou madist thi sones
 of good hope, for thou demest, and 3yuest
 place to penaunce in synnes. For if thou²⁰
 turmentidist the enemyes of thi seruauens,
 and men due to deth with so gret per-
 seyuyng^v, and delyueridist, and 3auest
 tyme and place, bi which thei my3ten
 be chaungid fro malice; with hou greet²¹
 diligence demest thou thi sones, to whos
 fadris thou 3auest othis and couenauntis
 of good biheestis? Therfor whanne thou²²
 3yuest chastising[‡] to vs, thou betist many
 fold oure enemyes, that we demynge thenke
 thi goodnesse[§]; and whanne it is demyd
 of vs, that we hope thi merci. Wher-²³
 for and to hem, that lyueden vnwiseli, and
 vniustli in her lijf, thou 3auest souereyn
 turmentis, bi these thingis whiche thei
 worschipiden. For thei erriden ful longe²⁴
 in the weie of errour, and gessiden goddis^w
 these thingis that ben superflu in beestis^{||},
 and lyueden bi custom of 3onge children
 vnwitti. For this thing thou 3auest doom,²⁵
 in to scorn, as to children vnwitti; but²⁶

* thou con-
 dempnest; that
 is, punyschist
 sum tyme, to
 preuyng of his
 pacience, it is
 opyn of seynt
 Joob.

owith not to
 be punischid;
 in biholdinge
 his innocence.
 gessist; that
 is, suffrist to
 be gessid.

thi vertu; that
 is, thi power.
 Live here. c.

† thou ledist
 ouer; that is,
 suffrist to be
 led ouer fro
 synne in to
 synne.

in hardy-
 nesse; for by
 this that they
 knownen not
 God, they syn-
 nen hardili.

reuerence;
 not punysch-
 ynge synnes
 anoon, but
 abidinge to
 penaunce.
 to mow; that
 is, punysche
 synnes.

Live here. c.

‡ chastising;
 that is, betist
 vs, to oure
 amending.

Live here. c.

§ thenke thi
 goodnesse; that
 is, whanne we
 punyschen
 othere men,
 that we do this
 myldely, bi
 saumple of thi
 goodnesse.

demed of vs;
 that is, peyne
 is 3ouun to vs.

thi mercy;
 turnyng agen
 to thee, bi pe-
 naunce. Live
 here. c.

|| superflu in
 beestis; that
 is, vnprofitable
 to men, but
 more noyeful.
 Live here. c.

¹ Nether A. ^k Om. AGH. ¹ of men of E pr. m. ^m ententifnes A. ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o Om. A.

^r thou shewedist s. ^s Om. s. ^t knewen CEGHKNP SXVYAC. ^u benygne, ether merciful c et ceteri. ^v ethir
 tentifnesse x sec. m. marg. ^w to be goddis i.

as to vnwise childer thou ȝeue dom, in to
 26 scorn; who forsothe with repreues and
 blamyngus^p ben not mendid^q, the wrthi
 dom of God ben expert *'or feliden'*.
 27 In these thingus forsothe that thei suf-
 freden, heuyli thei beeren, in the whiche
 suffring thei endeyneden; bi tho^s thingis
 that thei wenden goddis, in hem whan
 thei weren distrojid, seende hym, whom
 sum tyme thei denyeden hem to han
 knowen, verre God thei knewen; for the
 whiche and the ende of the condempnyng
 of hem shal come on^t hem.

CAP. XIII.

1 Veyne forsothe ben alle men, in whiche
 vnderlith not the kunnyng of God; and
 of tho that ben seen goode thingus, thei
 myzten not vndirstonde hym, that is, ne
 to the werkis takende heed, knewen who
 2 was craftis man; but or fyr, or spirit, or
 swift eir, or cumpas of sterres, or ful
 myche watir, or sunne, or moone, the^{tt}
 gouernoures of the roundnesse of londis
 3 goddis wenden; in whos fairnesse delitid,
 if thei wenden^u goddis, wite they, hou
 myche *'than these'* the lordshipere of
 hem is the^w fairere^x; the getere forsothe
 of fairnesse alle these thingus ordeynede.
 4 Or if the^y vertue and werkis^z of them
 thei wndreden, vnderstonde they of tho
 thingis, for he that made these thingis,
 5 is strengere than tho; forsothe of the
 mykilnesse of fairnesse, and of crea-
 ture^a, knowendeli shal moun the creatour
 6 of these ben seen. But *'ner the latere'*^{aa}
 ȝit in these lasse pleynt is; and these
 forsothe parauenture erren, sechende God,
 7 and willende to finden. And forsothe in
 the werkys of hym whan thei ben often
 turnende, and sechen^b, and ful shewid
 han, for goode thingis ben, that ben seen.
 8 Eft forsoothe ne to these owith to be for-
 9 ȝouen. If forsothe so myche thei myzten

thei, that weren not amendid bi scorn-
 yngis and blamyngis, feeliden the worthi
 doom^{*} of God. For thei baren heuyli²¹
 in these thingis, whiche thei suffriden, in
 whiche thingis thei suffrynge hadden in-
 dignacioun; thei seyng hym, whom thei
 denyeden sum tyme hem to knowe, knewen
hym veri God, bi these thingis whiche
 thei gessiden goddis among hem, whanne
 tho weren destried; for which thing and
 the ende of her condempnacioun[†] schal
 come on hem.

CAP. XIII.

Forsothe alle men ben veyn[‡], in whiche 1
 the kunnyng of God is not; and of these
 thingis that ben seyn goode, thei myzten
 not vndurstonde him, that is, and thei
 perseyuyng the werkis knewen not, who
 was the worchere; but thei gessiden 2
 goddis[§] gouernours of the world, ethir
 the fier, ether the wynd, ethir the eir
 maad swift, ether the cumpas of sterres,
 ether ful myche watir, ethir the sunne
 and moone; and if thei delitiden in the 3
 fairnesse of tho thingis, and gessiden *tho*^x
 goddis, wite thei^{||}, hou myche the lord
 of tho^y is fairere than tho; for whi the
 gendrer of fairnesse made alle these
 thingis. Ethir if thei wondriden on the 4
 vertu and werkis of tho thingis, vndur-
 stonde thei[¶] of tho, that he that made
 these thingis, is strengere than tho; for 5
 bi the greetnesse of fairnesse and of crea-
 ture the creatour of these thingis myzte
 be seyn knowyngli^z. But netheles ȝit in 6
 these men^{**} is lesse playnt; for thei erren,
 in hap sekyng God, and willyng to
 fynde. For whanne thei lyuen in hise 7
 werkis, thei seken, and holden for a soth,
 that tho thingis ben goode, that ben seyn.
 Eft sotheli it owith not to^a be forȝouen 8
 to these men. For if thei myzten wite 9

^{*} *worthi doom*; that is, euer-
 lasting peyne.
[†] *heuyly*; that is, vnpatiently.
Live here. c.
[‡] *condempnacioun, etc.*; that is, euer-
 lasting peyne schal come on
 hem in the final doom,
 whanne thei schulen be tur-
 mentid in body and soule, in
 the peyne of helle. *Live
 here. c.*
[§] *ben veyn*; that is, voide
 of truthe.
^{||} *the kunnyng of
 God*; these ben idolatrous, that
 wanten the kunyng of veri
 God.
[¶] *him that is*; good, ether bi
 kynde ether beyng. *Live
 here. c.*
[§] *gessiden
 goddis*; that is, thei bileu-
 yden, that tho weren goddis,
 gouernynge the world. *Live
 here. c.*
^{||} *wite thei*; as if he seide, thei
 ouzten wite this anon.
[¶] *fairere*; for his fairnesse
 passith with outen ende.
[¶] *for the gen-
 dre of fair-
 nesse*; that is, God, atour of
 al fairnesse.
[¶] *made alle these
 thingis*; and bi sayng of re-
 soun the fair-
 nesse of tho thingis is bifore
 in him, more excelently with
 out noumbre.
[¶] *Live here. c.*
[¶] *vndurstonde
 thei*; that is, thei owen to
 vndurstonde.
[¶] *Live here. c.*
^{**} *in these men*; that worschip-
 iden excelent creaturis, as
 the sunne and moone, for
 goddis.

is lesse playnt; than in hem that worschipiden serpentis, and vile beestis. *Live here. c.*

^p blamyng A. ^q amendid A. ^r Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^s thee A. the GH. ^t upon AEGH. ^{tt} Om. c pr. m.
^u weneden E. ^v than tho c pr. m. more E pr. m. ^w Om. A. ^x fairere of them E pr. m. ^y Om. AEGH.
^z the werkis AGH. ^a the creature c pr. m. ^{aa} neuer the latere AEG. ^b sechyng A.

^x hem I. ^y thilke thingis I. ^z knowyngli, ether myzte be knowun bi hise werkis v. ^a Om. I.

kunne, that the world thei myzten eyen,
 hou the lord of this liztliere thei founden
 10 not? Vnseli forsothe thei ben, and among
 the deade the hope of them is, that^c cle-
 peden^d goddis the werkis of the hondis
 of men, gold, and siluer, the finding of
 craft, and the licnesses of bestes, or vn-
 profitable ston, the werc of the olde hond.
 11 Or if any crafti man, forgere, hewe of
 the wode an euene tree, and of this
 taztli pare awei al the rinde, and, vsid
 his craft diligentli, forge a vessel vnpro-
 12 fitable in to conuersacioun of lif; the
 tother forsothe of his werk to the mak-
 13 ing of mete vse; and the tother of these
 thingis, that to noon vse, a crokid tree,
 and ful of knarres, he maketh, that he
 graue diligentli bi his voidenesse, and bi
 the kunnyng of his craft figure it, and
 14 licne it to an ymage of man, or to sum
 of bestes it he comparisoune, thur; draw-
 ende with a reuler, and make the colour
 of it with red, and broun, and eche spot,
 15 that is in it, ful^e 'daubende with erthe^f,
 and make it a wrthi dwelling, puttende
 it in a wal, and fastnende^g with iren,
 16 lest parauenture it falle; beholdende to
 it, witende, for it mai not helpen the-
 self^h; forsothe an ymage it is, and nede
 17 is to it helpe. And of his substaunce,
 and of his sones, and of sposailles, mak-
 ende auow, ensercheth; he shameth not
 to speke with it, that withoute soule is;
 18 and for helthe forsothe the feble he be-
 secheth, and for lif he pre;eth the deade,
 and in to helpe he inwardli clepeth the
 19 vnprofitable. And for thei going asketh
 of it^k, that may not go; and of purchas-
 ing, and of werching, and of the chauns
 of alle thingus he asketh of it, that in
 alle thingys ys vnprofitable.

so myche, that thei mizten gesse the
 world*, hou founden thei not liztliere the
 lord therof? forsothe thei ben cursid, 10
 and the hope of hem† is among deed men,
 that clepiden goddis the werkis of mennus
 hondis, gold, and siluer, the fyndyng of
 craft, and licnessis of beestis, ether a stoon
 vnprofitable, the werk of an eld hond.
 Ethir if ony crafti man, a carpenter, hew- 11
 ith doun of the wode a streijt tre, and
 rasith awei perfitli al the riynde therof,
 and vsith his craft diligentli, and makith
 a vessel ful profitable in to conuersacioun
 of lijf‡; sotheli he vsith the relifs of 12
 this werk to the making redi of mete;
 and the residue^b of these thingis, which 13
 he makith to no werk, a crokid tre, and
 ful of knottis, he graueth diligentli bi his
 voidnesse§, and bi the kunnyng of his
 craft he figurith it, and licneth it to the
 ymage of a man, ether makith it lijk to 14
 sum of beestis, and anoyntith with reed
 colour, and makith the colour therof rodi
 with peynture, and anoyntith eche spotte
 which^c is in it, and makith to it a worthi 15
 dwellyng place, and settith it in the wal,
 and he fastneth it with irun, lest per- 16
 auenture it falle doun; and he purueyeth
 for it, and woot, that it may not helpe it
 silf; for it is an ymage, and help is nede-
 ful therto. And he makith auowe||, and 17
 enquerith of his catel, and of hise sones,
 and of weddyngis; he is not aschamed to
 speke with hym, that is with out soule;
 and sotheli for helthe he bisechith a thing 18
 vnmyzti, and for lijf he preieth a thing
 with out lijf, and he clepith an vnpro-
 fitable thing in to help. And for iourney 19
 he axith of that thing, that mai not go;
 and of getyng, and of worchyng, and of
 bifallyng of alle thingis he axith of hym,
 which is vnprofitable in alle thingis.

* *gesse the world*; that is, knowe the ordre of creaturis. *Live here. c.*
 † *the hope of hem, etc.*; for noon hope is of her helthe, as long as thei ben siche.
 ‡ *werkis of mennus hondis*; for whi idols as to the figure, ether schap, ben maad bi craft, but the mater is thing of kynde; as gold, and siluer, and othere thingis, wherof tho ben maad.
 § *the werk of an eld hond*; for whi idols maad of eld tyme weren had in more reuerence; wherfor and summe symple Cristen men doen more reuerence to summe elde ymagis of the crucifix, that ben seid maad of Nyodemene.
 || *Live here. c.*
 || *to conuersacioun of lijf*; that is, to mannus profit, to whos lijf many vessels of tre ben nede-ful.
 || *with the re-lifs*; that is, the hewingis of this werk, to get mete.
 || *Live here. c.*
 || *bi his voidnesse*; that is, maad of hym bi his grauynge.
 || *Live here. c.*
 || *makith auow*; to the idol, that it here him.
 || *and enquerith*; that is, axith of the idol richessis, and sones, and weddingis of sones. *Live here. c.*

^c thei A. ^d clepen AGH. ^e ful of A. ^f peynting E pr. m. ^g fastne it A. ^h it self A.
ⁱ Om. AE sec. m. GH. ^k Om. C pr. m.

^b residue, or the leuing 1. ^c that 1.

CAP. XIV.

1 Eft] an other thenkende to seilen, bi
hidous flodis bigynnende to make weie,
the tree berende hym, inwardli^k clepeth
2 a more frele tree. That forsothe co-
ueitise of wynnyng^l tho³te^m out; and a
3 craftisman forgede bi his wisdom. Thou
forsothe, fader, gouernest bi prouydence,
for thou hast ³oue in the se weie, and
4 among flodis mostⁿ stedefast path; shew-
ende, for thou art my³ti of alle thingus
to helen, also if withoute ship a man go
5 to^o the se; but that the werkis of thi
wisdam weren not voide, for that also
men takende ther liues to a litil tree,
and passende the se, bi a ship ben deli-
6 uered. But fro the bygynnyng, whan
proude ieauntis persheden, the hope of
the roundnesse of erthis to a ship fleende,
sente a³een to the world sed of birthe,
7 that bi thin hond was gouerned. Blissid
forsothe is the tree, bi the^p whiche is do
8 ri³twisnesse. The maumet forsothe, that
is maad bi hondys, is cursid, and it, and
he that made it, for he forsothe wro³te
vnleeffulnesse; that forsothe, whan it was
9 britil, is nempned God. Lic maner for-
sothe to^a hate ben^r to God the vnpytouse,
10 and the vnpytousnesse of hym. Forsothe
that is mad, with hym that made, tor-
11 mentus shal suffre. For that and to the
maumetis of naciouns shal not ben re-
ward; for the creaturis of God in to hate
ben mad, and tempting to the soule of
men, and in to a mouscacche to the feet
12 of vnwise men. The bigynnyng forsothe
of fornycacioun is the outseching of mau-
metis, and the finding of hem is corrup-
13 cioun of lyf. Forsothe thei weren not

CAP. XIV.

Eft an other man thenkyng to seile in 1
schip^d, and bigynnyng to make iournei
thorou³ ferse wawis^e, inwardli clepith^f a
tre^{*} frelere^g than the tre that berith hym.
For whi couetise to gete money foond that 2
idol; and a crafti man made it bi his
wisdom. But thou, fadir, gouernest bi 3
puruyaunce, for thou ³auest weie in the
see, and a most stidfast path among
wawis; schewyng that thou art mi³ti to 4
make hool of alle thingis, ³he, if a man
goith to the see with out schip; but that 5
the werkis of thi wisdom[†] schulden not
be voide, for this thing men bitaken her
lyues, ³he, to a litil tre, and thei passen
the see, and ben delyuered bi a schip.
But at the bigynnyng, whanne proude 6
giauntis perischiden, the hope of the
world fledde to a schip, and sente efte
seed of birthe to the world, which[‡] was
gouerned bi thin hond. For whi blessid 7
is the tree, bi which ri³tfulesse was
maad. But the idol which is maad bi 8
hond is cursid, bothe it, and he that
made it, for sotheli he wrou³te grete
trespas; sotheli that idol, whanne it was
freel, was nemyd God. Forsothe in lijk 9
maner the wickid man[§] and his wickid-
nesse ben hateful to God. For whi that 10
that is maad schal suffre turmentis, with
hym that made it^h. For this thing and 11
to the idols of naciouns schal not be
biholdyng; for the creaturis of God ben
maad in to hatrede, and in to tempta-
cioun to the soule of men, and in to a
trappe to the feet of vnwise men. For 12
the bigynnyng of fornycacioun|| is the sek-
yng out of idols, and the fynding of tho

* a tre; that is,
an idol of tre.
frelere than
the tre; that
is, the schip.
thou fadir;
of heuene.
gouernest; the
seiling of men,
but thilke idol
doith not this.
Live here. c.
† werkis of thi
wisdom, etc.;
God made low-
ere creaturis
for man, and
therfor if tho
seuede not to
the nedis of
man, tho
schulden seme
to be reyn as
to this, in hise
profitis; so-
thely these pro-
fitis ben maad
bi seiling, bi
which mar-
chauntis carien
tho thingis,
that ben plen-
teouse in o
lond, to an
other, where
is scarsite of
siche thingis;
and thus the
nedynessis of
londis ben re-
leenyd.
But at the
bigynnyng;
that is, in the
firste age of
the world, that
duride fro A-
dam til to the
grete flood.
the hope of
the world; that
is, Noe, and his
wiyf, and hise
sones, and her
wyues.
seed of birthe;
for whi man-
kynde was
multiplied bi
him and hise
sones, aftir the
greet flood.
Live here. c.
‡ which; schip.
the tre; that
is, thilke schip
maad of trees.
Live here. c.

§ the wickid man; that is, the maker of an idol, and the idol maad of him. that is maad; that is, the deuel, that was worschipid in the idol, and ³af
answeris there sum tyme. to the idolis of naciouns; that is, to fendis dwelling in idolis. not be biholding; that is, of Goddis mersi, for whi the synne
of fendis may not be for³oun. the creaturis of God; that is, fendis maad of God, as to the kynde. ben maad in to hatrede; for her synne, which is not
of God autour, but of defeaute of fre wille. and in to temptacioun; for thei that ben caste down fro heuene, studien to lette men fro her helthe. and in to
a trappe to the feet of vnwise men; that ben ouercomun bi temptaciouns of fendis, but to wise men, that a³enstonden manly; siche temptaciouns ben
not in to a trappe, but more in to victorie and in to a coroun. Live here. c. || of fornycacioun; that is, idolatrie, which is goostly fornicacioun.

j Also A. k he inwardli AEGH. l purchasyng E pr. m. m so³te c. n a most c pr. m. o in to AGH.
p Om. AEGH. q thei ben to E pr. m. r thei ben E pr. m.

d a ship s. e watris c. f he clepith i. g more freel i. h Om. CEF pr. m. GHMNPQRSUVXYa^g.

fro the bigynnyng, ne shul ben in to
 14 with oute ende. The oueruoidenesse for-
 sothe of men these thingis fond in to the
 roundnesse of erthis; and therfore short
 15 the ende of hem is founden. Forsothe
 with bitter weiling the fader sorewende,
 soone^s of the raueshid sone made an
 ymage; and hym, that thanne as a man
 was dead, now as god^t he begynneth to
 herien; and ordeynede^u among his ser-
 16 uauns templis^v and sacrificises. Aftirward
 in the mene comende time waxende
 shreude custum, this errour as lawe^w is
 kept, and bi maundemens of tirauntis
 17 false werkis ben heried. These whom
 in opene men myȝten not wrshipen, for
 that aferr thei weren, from aferr the
 figure of them is broȝt; the euydent
 ymage of the king, whom wrshipen thei
 wolden, thei maden; that hym that was
 aferr, as present thei shulden herien with
 18 ther^x bisynesse. Forsothe the grete dili-
 gence of the^y craftis man droȝ to the
 heriung of hem and hem, that vnknewen.
 19 He forsothe wilnende more to plesen to
 hym, that hym toc, trauailede out bi his
 craft, that the licnesse in to betere he
 20 shulde figuren. Forsothe the multitude
 of men, disceyued bi the fairnesse of the
 werk, hym that bifor time as a man was
 21 wrshipid, now god thei eymeden. And
 this was disceyuyng of mannys lif; for
 to afecioun, or to kingus men deseruyng,
 the vncomunycable name to stones and
 22 trees thei putten^z. And it suffisede not,
 them to han erred aboute the kunnyng
 of God; but and in gret bataile of vnkun-
 nyng^a liuende, so fele and so grete eueles
 23 pes thei clepen. Or forsothe ther sones
 sacrificiende, or derke sacrificises makende,
 24 or hauende ful wacchis of wodnesse, ne
 lif, ne clene sposailis now thei kepen;
 but an other an other bi enuye sleth, or
 25 auoutrende sorewith. And alle thingus

idols is the corrupcioun of lijf. Forsothe 13 *corrupcioun*
 tho weren not at the bigynnyng, nethir *of lijf; that is,*
 tho schulen be with oute ende. For whi 14 *of goostli lijf,*
 the voidnesse of men foond these *idols* in *that stondith in*
 to the world; and therfor the ende of tho *onyng to God,*
 is foundun schort¹. For whi the fadir 15 *which onyng is*
 makinge sorewe with bittir morenyng, *brokun bi idol-*
 made soone to hym an ymage* of the sone *atrie.*
 'that was^k rauyschid; and bigan to wor- *the voidnesse*
 schipe hym now as a god, that was deed *of men; that*
 thanne as a man; and he ordeynede hooli *is, defaute of*
 thingis and sacrificises among hise seru- *her wisdom.*
 auntis. Aftirward in tyme comynge bi- 16 *Live here. c.*
 twixe¹, whanne the wickid custom was ** an ymage;*
 strong, this errour was kept as a lawe, *that is, bifor*
 and ymagis weren worschapid bi lordschip *the deth of the*
 of tirauntis. The figure of hem was 17 *fadir.*
 brouȝt fro fer, whiche the men miȝten not *hooli thingis;*
 onoure in opyn, for thei weren fer; and *to be ȝouun to*
 thei maden an opyn ymage of the kyng, *the ymage.*
 whom thei wolden onoure; that bi her *Live here. c.*
 bisynesse thei schulden worschipe hym as
 present, that was absent. Forsothe the 18
 noble diligence of a crafti man brouȝte in
 also hem, that knewen not, to the wor-
 schipyng^m of thes *kyngis*ⁿ. For he will- 19
 ynge more to plesse that^o *kyng*, that took
 hym[†], trauelide perfitli^p bi his craft, to *† took him;*
 make a^q licnesse in to betere. Sotheli 20 *that is, chees*
 the multitude of men, disceyued bi the *him to make*
 fairnesse of werk, gessiden hym now a *an ymage to*
 god, that was onourid as a man bifore *the king.*
 that tyme. And this was the disseit of 21 *a licnesse;*
 mannys lijf; for whi men seruyng *that is, ymage.*
 greetli, ethir to afecioun, ethir to kyngis, *in to betere;*
 puttiden to stoonys and trees the name *in makinge the*
 that mai not be comynynd. And it suffside 22 *king fairere.*
 not, that thei erriden aboute the kunnyng *Live here. c.*
 of God; but also thei lyuyng in greet
 batel of vnkunnyng, clepen so many and
 so grete yuels pees. For ethir thei sle- 23
 ynge her sones in sacrifice, ethir makyng
 derk sacrificises, ethir hauynge wakyngis
 ful of woodnesse, kepen now nether cleene 24

^s the soone AGH. ^t a God A. ^u ordeyne AGH. ^v behestis E pr. m. ^w a lawe AGH. ^x Om. A.
^y Om. A. ^z puttiden AGH. ^a vnkunnyng of God A.

¹ in schort c. ^k Om. FIKSA. ^l bitwene I. ^m wurship s. ⁿ thingis I. ^o the a. ^p more perfitli
 A pr. m. ^q Om. s.

ben mengd togidere, blod, manslaxter, thefte, and feynyng, corrupcioun, vnfeithfulnesse, disturbing, and forswering, strif, 26 the vnmynding of the goodes of the Lord, the defouling of soules, the mischaunging of birthe, the vnstabilnesse of bridales, the vnordeynyng of leccherie 27 and of vncleennesse. Forsothe the herinyng of cursid maumetis is the cause of 28 alle^e euel, and bigynnyng, and ende. Or forsothe, whil thei gladen, thei waxen wod; or certis thei profecien false thingus, or liuen vnrihtwisly, or forswern 29 soone. Whil forsothe thei trosten in maumetus, that ben withoute soule, euele swerende, thei hopen not themself to 30 ben nozed. Eithir thanne to them comen wrthili; for euele thei feleden of God, takende heed to maumetis, and sworn vnrihtwisly in the maumet, dispisende 31 rihtwisnesse. Forsothe of men swerendef is not vertue, but the peyne of synneres thurȝ goth euermor, in to the lawe breking of rihtwis thingus.

CAP. XV.

1 Thou forsothe, oure God, sweete, and verre, and pacient, and in mercy disposende alle thingis. Forsothe if wee synnen, thine wee ben, witende thi mykilnesse; and if wee synnen not, wee witen, 3 for anent thee wee ben countid. Forsothe to han knowen thee, is ful endid rihtwisnesse; and to witen rihtwisnesse and thi vertu, roote is of vndeadlynesse. 4 Forsothe not in to errour inladde vs the oute thenking of the euele craft of men, ne the shadewe of peyntyng trauaile withoute frut, the grauen licnesse bi dyuers coloures; whos sizte to the vnwise

lijf, nether cleene weddyngis; but also o man sleeth another man bi enuye, ethir doynge auowtrie makith sory *his neizbore*. And alle thingis ben medlid* togidere, 25 blood†, mansleyng, thefte, and feynyng, corrupcioun, vnfeithfulnesse, disturbing, and forsweryng, noise, forȝetyng of goodis 26 of the Lord, defoulyng of soulis, chaungyng of birthe, vnstidfastnesse of weddyngis, vnordeynyng of letcherie and of vnchastite. For whi the worschipyng of 27 cursid idols is the cause, and the bigynnyng, and the ende of al yuel. For whi 28 ethir thei wexen woode, while thei ben glad; ether certis thei profecien false thingis, ethir thei lyuen vniustli, ethir thei forsweren soone. For the^r while thei 29 tristen in idols, that ben with out soule, thei sweren yuele, and hopen not, that thei schulen be anoyed. Therfor euer 30 eithir‡ schulen come to hem worthili; for thei demeden yuele of God, and ȝauen tent to idols, and thei sworn vniustli in an idol, and thei^s dispisiden rihtfulnesse. For whi an ooth is not vertu§, but the^s 31 peyne of synneris goith forth euere, in to the breking of iust thingis.

CAP. XV.

Forsothe thou, oure God, *art* swete, 1 and trewe, and pacient, and disposist alle thingis in merci. For if we synnen, we 2 ben thin, and knowen thi greetnesse; and if we synnen not||, we witen, that we ben acountid at thee. For whi to knowe 3 thee, is parfit rihtfulnesse; and to kunne thi rihtfulnesse and vertu, is the root of vndedlynesse. Forsothe the thenkyng out 4 of yuel craft of men brouȝte not vs in to errour, nether the schadewe of peynture trauel without fruyt, an ymage gravun bi dyuerse coloures; whos biholdyng ȝyueth 5 coueytise to an vnwise man, and he lou-

* *medid*; that is, schent, and put out of ordre of resoun. *Live here. c.*

† *blood*; in wounding of the neizbore. *feynyng*; that is, ipocrisie.

‡ *corrupcioun*; that is, defouling of virgyns. *noyse*; in stiring of dissencioun.

§ *chaunging of birthe*; that is, synne of Sodom. *vnstidfastnesse of weddingis*; bi

which summen chaungiden togidere her owne wyues. *Live here. c.*

¶ *Therfor euer eithir*; that is, it is iust, that thei ben pun-

ischid for euer eithir synne, that is for idolatrie, and for swering. *Live here. c.*

§ *an ooth is not vertu*; that is, an ooth owith not to be de-

sid as good bi it silf, but it is to vse it onely in nede; to the stidefastnesse of trithe and of feithfulnesse among men.

going forth euere; that is, wexith and is encreessid.

¶ *in to the breking of iust thingis*; that is, of Goddis heestis, that ben iust; for no thing no but iust may come forth of God.

Live here. c. || *synnen not*; dedly, for whi venyal synne may not be eschewid hoolliche.

ben acountid; that is, bothe in noumbre and merit, with chosun men, for whi venyal synne doith not away grace.

to know thee; bi feith, formed

with charite. and *vertu*; that is, bi parformyng in werk. *in to errour*; of idolatrie, and Philo, autour of this book, spekith here for his tyme; for bifor the caityfte of Babiloyne, the Jewis dide nmyche idolatrie. *ȝyueth couetise, etc.*; that is, drawith his soule to do reuerence to the idol.

^e Om. A. ^f sweringe the oth E pr. m.

^r Om. I. ^s Om. cv.

3yueþ coueiting, and looueth the licnesse
6 of the deade ymage withoute soule. The
looueres of euelis ben wrthi deth, that
hope han in suche thingus; and that don
hem, and that loouen, and that herien.
7 But and the crockere, the nesshe erthe
threstende, trauailously maketh to oure
vses eche vessel; and of the same clei
he made that ben clene vesselis in to vse,
and also that to them ben contrarious;
forsothe of these vesselis what is the vse,
8 domesman is the crockere. And with
veyn trauaile god he maketh of the same
cley, he that a litil biforn of erthe was
mad; and aftir a litil he ledith hym-
selfe whennes he is taken, aʒeen askid
the dette of the soule that he hadde.
9 But and ther is cure to hym, not for
he is to trauailen, ne for his lif is short,
but that me spute^g with gold smythis,
and siluer smythis; but and metal ma-
keres he folewith, and glorie he berth
biforn; for thingus ouervoide he mak-
10 eth^h. Askenⁱ forsothe is the herte of
hym, and erthe ouervoide the hope of
hym, and foulere than cley the lif of
11 hym. For he kneʒ not that made hym,
and that enspirede to hym a soule; and
looueth that he wroʒte; and that^k bleʒ
12 in to hym a lifli spirit. But thei eym-
eden a pleiyng place to ben the lif of
hem, and the conuersacioun of lif mad
to wynnyng, and to bihouen also on eche
13 side, of euel to purchasen. This forsothe
wot hymself ouer alle men to trespassen,
that of the mater of erthe britel vesselis
14 and grauen maketh. Forsothe alle the
vnwise men and vnsely ouer maner of
ther soule ben proude, enemys of thi
15 puple, and mysseiende to it; for alle the
maumetis of naciouns godis thei eym-
eden, to the whiche nouthir sizte of eʒen
is to seen, ne nose therlis to parceyue

eth the licnesse of a deed ymage with out
soule. The louyers of yuels ben worthi⁶
the deeth, that han hope in siche; and
thei that maken tho, and thei that louen,
and thei that worschipen *ben worthi the
deth*. But also a pottere, thristynge⁷
neische erthe, bi greet trauel makith ech
vessel to oure vsis; and of the same clei
he makith vessels that ben clene to vss,
and in lijk maner tho that ben contrarie
to these; forsothe what vss is of these
vessels, the pottere is iuge. And he that⁸
was maad of erthe a litil bifore^t, makith
a god of the same clei with veyn trauel;
and the pottere, axid to *ʒelde* the dette of
soule^u which he hadde, ledith hym silf
aftir a litil tyme to *the erthe*, fro whennus
he was takun. But he hath care, not for⁹
he schal trauele, nether for his lijf is schort,
but he stryueþ with gold smythis and sil-
uer^v smythis; but also he sueth* worcheris
of bras, and settith bifore glorie; for he
makith superflu thingis. For the herte¹⁰
of hym[†] is aische, and superflu erthe is
his hope, and his lijf is vilere than clei.
For he knew not *God*, that made him,¹¹
and that enspiride a soule to hym; and
he loueth tho thingis whiche he hath
wrouʒt[‡]; and *he knew not God*, that
blowide in hym a spirit of lijf. But thei¹²
gessiden fleischli delityng to be oure lijf,
and the conuersacioun of lijf to be maad
to wynnyng^w, and that it bihoueth to gete
on ech side, ʒhe, of yuel. Forsothe this¹³
man that makith freele vessels, and graun
ymagis of the mater of erthe, woot[§] that
he trespassith aboue alle men. Forsothe,¹⁴
Lord, alle vnwise men and cursid ben
proude ouer the mesure of her soule, and
ben enemyes of thi puple, and vpbreyden^x
it; for thei gessiden alle the idols of¹⁵
naciouns to be goddis, that han nethir
sizt of iʒen to se, nethir nose thirlis to

*louyeris of
yuels*; that is,
of idols.
*tho that ben con-
trarie*; that is,
vessels to serue
to vnonest vsis.
*he that was
maad*; that is,
the pottere.
Live here. c.
* *he sueth*; in
makinge idols
of erthe lijk
tho of bras.
*settith bifore
glorie*; of his
craft, for the
multitude of
men renneth to
him to haue
idols.
*superflu
thingis*; that
is, idols of no
prijs, ether
litil, in compa-
risoun of
othere. *Live
here. c.*
[†] *the herte of
him*; that is,
of the pottere.
is aische; bi
loue, for Austyn
seith, If thou
louest erthe,
thou art erthe;
but this pot-
tere settith al
his bisynesse
to the forming
of erthe; and
if the erthe
were priued
from meddling of wa-
ter, it schulde
be dryun in to
dust, ether in to
aische; wherfor
the herte of a
pottere is seid
aische.
superflu erthe;
wher he mak-
ith idols.
is his hope; for
he hopith to
lyue herof.
*and his lijf is
vilere than cley*;
which lijf is
ordeyned to the
wynnyng of
cley, as to the
ende, and to the
ende betere;
than these
thingis, that
ben to the ende
Live here. c.
[‡] *hath wrouʒt*;
that is, idols.
^{||} *But thei*; that
is, the for-eid
idolatouris.
Live here. c.
[¶] *woot*; that is,

owith to wite. *aboue alle*; makeris of idols. *vnwise men*; that ben idolatouris, and erren fro veri blis. *proude, etc.*; that is, presumen of hem silf, more than they moun do. *Live here. c.*

g togidere spute *E pr. m.* h made *E pr. m.* i Asshen *A.* k Om. *c pr. m.*

^t bifore to CEFHKMNPQRSUVXYAç. ^u the soule *I.* ^v siluerne *C.* ^w wynnyng, *ether coueitise c et ceteri.*
^x edwiten CFGHIMNOPQRSUVXYA. comaunden, *ether edwiten K.*

spirit, ne eres to heren, ne fingris of hondis to gropen, but and¹ the feet of hem slowe to gon. A man forsothe made them, and that the spirit borewide, he feynede them; no man forsothe mai maken a god lic to hym. Whan forsothe he be deadli, the deade he makith with wicke hondis; betere forsothe is he than these, that he herieth; for he forsothe liuede, whan he was deadli, thei forsothe neuere. But and thei most wrecchid herien bestes; witles forsothe, comparisouned to these, ben wers than tho. But neither with sizte any thing of these bestes mai beholden goode thyngis; forsothe they fledden the preisyng of God, and the blessing of hym.

CAP. XVI.

1 For these, and lic thingus to these, wrthily thei suffreden tormentis, and bi multitude of bestes thei ben destroyed. 2 For whyche^m tormentis thou disposidist wel thi puple, bi whiche thou zeue coueiting of ther delit a newe sauour, 3 greithende curleeu mete to them. That thei forsothe coueitende mete, for tho thingus that to them ben shewid, and sent, also fro nedeful coueiting thei shulden be turned awei; these forsothe nedi mad in short, tasteden newe mete. 4 Forsothe it bihouede to them, hauntende tiraundise, deth toⁿ comen on with oute excusacioun; to them forsothe onli to shewen, hou the enemys of them weren destroyed. Forsothe whan to them cam on the cruel wrathe of bestis, bi the bityngisⁿⁿ of shreude shadewe edderes thei weren destroyed. But not in to euermor thi wrathe abod stille; but to the correccioun in short thei ben disturbid, to the hauende of helthe, to the remembring of the maundement of thi lawe. 7 Who forsothe is turned, not bi that that he sa3, he was heled, but bi thee^o, saueour of alle^p. In that forsothe thou shewdist

perseyue a spirit, *ethir wynd*, nether eeris to here, nethir fyngris of hondis to touche, but also her feet *ben* slowe to go. For 16 whi a man made tho, and he that borewide a spirit, made tho; forwhi no man mai make a god lijk hym silf. For sithen he 17 is deedli, bi wickid hondis he makith a deed *idol*; for he is betere than these *goddis*, whiche he worschipith; for sotheli he liuyde, whanne he was deedli, but thei *lyueden* neuere. But also moost 18 wretchid men worschipe beestis; for whi vnreasonable *beestis*, comparisound to these men, ben worse than thei. But nether bi 19 sijn ony man mai of these beestis biholde goodis; forsothe thei han dryue awei the heriung* of God, and his blessing.

CAP. XVI.

For these thingis†, and thingis lijk 1 these, thei suffriden turmentis worthili, and thei weren destried bi multitude of beestis. For whiche^z turmentis‡ thou dis- 2 posidist wel thi puple, to whiche thou 3 auest coueitise of her delityng a new sauour, makynge redi mete to hem a curlew§. That sotheli thei coueitynge mete, 3 weren turned awei, 3he, fro nedeful coueityng, for tho thingis that weren schewid, and sent to hem; but these men|| maad pore in schort tyme, tastiden newe mete. For sotheli it bihofte perischyng to come 4 on hem with outen excusyng¶, vsynge tirauntri; but to schewe oneli to^a these *Ebries*, hou her enemyes weren destried. Forsothe whanne the feers ire of beestis 5 cam on hem, thei weren destried bi the bityngis of weiward serpentis. But, *Lord*, 6 thin ire dwellide not with outen ende; but thei weren troblid in schort time to amending, and hadden a signe of helthe, to remembryng** of the comaundement of thi lawe. For he that was conuertid, was 7 heeled not bi that that he sij3, but bi thee, sauyour of alle men. Forsothe in this 8 thou schewidist to oure enemyes, that thou

* dryue awei the heriung, etc.; and 3aue it to vnreasonable beestis. his blessing; that is, the gifte of his grace. Live here. c. † these thingis; that is, the forseid idolatries. thei; that is, Egipcians, idolatrouis. Live here. c. ‡ For which turmentis; that is, in the stide of turmentis doon to Egipcians. coueitise of her delityng; that is, delitable men coueitid of hem, in xj. c°. of Numery. thei coueitinge mete; that is, Egipcians, coueitynge mete to her nursching. turned awey fro nedeful coueiting; that is, of nedeful mete, hauynge hidousnesse to ete metis defoulid and venemyd. sent to hem; that is, for padokis and venemouse flies, defouling and venemyng the metis of Egipcians. Live here. c. § a curlew; that is, a multitude of curlewis. Live here. c. || these men; that is, Ebreys. Live here. c. ¶ excusing; that is, with outen remedy. on hem; that is, Ebreis, bitun of serpentis, in xxj. c°. of Numery. Live here. c. ** to remembryng; that is, that thei smytun and heeled, schulden be mynde of thyn heestis, and do tho. Live here. c.

¹ Om. A. ^m the whyche c pr. m. ⁿ forsothe to c. ⁿⁿ bites c pr. m. ^o the AGH. ^p alle thingis E pr. m.

^z the whiche 1.

^a Om. A pr. m. c.

to oure enemys, for thou art, that delyuerest fro alle euel. Hem forsothe the bityngis of flejes and of locustis slown, and ther is not founden helthe to the soule of hem; for wrthi thei weren of
 10 suche thingus to ben destroyed. This sonus forsothe, nouthur the teth of dragounes, ne of venymed thingus ouercamen; forsothe thi mercy comende to,
 11 helede them. In the mynde forsothe of thi wrdis thei weren destroyed, and swiftli thei weren saued; lest in to heeȝ forȝeting fallende, thei myȝten not vse thin
 12 helpe. Forsothe neither erbe, ne plastre helde^q them; but thi wrd, Lord, that
 13 heleth alle thingus. Thou art, Lord, that of lif and deth hast power; and bringest down to the ȝatis of deth, and
 14 aȝeen bringest. A man forsothe^r sleth bi malice forsothe^s his soule; and whan the spirit goth out, he schal not turne
 15 aȝeen, ne the soule, that is resceyued, shal aȝeen clepen; but thyn hond to
 16 fleen is^t vnpossible. Vnpitouse men forsothe, denyng^u to han knowen thee, bi the strengthe of thin arm ben scourgid; with newe watris, and hailis, and reynes, they suffreden persecucioun, and bi fȝir
 17 ben wastid. That forsothe was merueylous, in water, that alle thingis quencheth, more the fir myȝte; the world forsothe is veniere of riȝtwis men.
 18 Forsothe sum tyme the fyr was tamed, that the bestes, that weren sent to vn-
 pitous men, weren not brent; but that thei seende shulden witen, for bi the dom of God thei suffren^v persecucioun.
 19 And sum tyme in water, aboue vertue, fyr brende out on either side, that the wicke nacioun of the lond it shulde de-
 20 stroȝen. For the whiche with the mete of aungelis thou nurshedist thi puple, and thou ȝeue to them bred mad redi

it art, that delyuerist fro al yuel. For-
 sothe the bityngis of locustis and of flies
 killiden hem*, and heelte of her lijf was
 not foundun; for thei weren worthi to be
 destried of sicke thingis. But nether the
 10 teeth of dragouns, nethir of venemouse
 beestis ouercamen thi children; for whi
 thi merci cam, and heelde hem. For thei
 11 weren turmentid in mynde[†] of thi wordis,
 and thei weren heeld swiftli; lest thei
 fallynge in to deep forȝetyng of God,
 miȝten not vse thin help. For nethir eerbe,
 12 nethir plastre heelde hem; but, Lord,
 thi word, that heelith alle thingis. Lord,
 13 thou art, that hast power of lijf and of
 deth; and ledist forth to the ȝatis of deth[‡],
 and ledist aȝen. But sotheli a man sleeth
 14 his soule bi malice; and whanne the spirit
 is goen out, it schal not turne aȝen,
 nether the *bodi* schal aȝen clepe the soule,
 which is resceyued; but it is vnpossible^b
 15 to ascape thin hond. Forwhi wickid
 16 men, denying to knowe thee, weren tur-
 mentid bi strengthe^c of thin arm; thei
 suffriden persecucioun bi newe watris, and
 hailis, and reines, and weren wastid bi
 fier. For whi that was wondrous, the
 17 fier hadde more miȝt in the watir, that
 quenchith alle thingis; for whi the world
 was veniere[§] of iust men. For whi sum
 18 tyme the fier was mylde, lest the beestis
 schulden be brent, that weren sent to
 wickid men^{||}; but that thei seyng[¶]
 schulden wite, that thei suffren persecu-
 cioun bi the doom of God. And sum
 19 tyme the fier brente an hij on ech side
 in the water, aboue the vertu of fier, to
 destrie the wickid nacioun of the lond.
 For whiche thingis** thou nurischidist
 20 thi puple with mete of aungels, and thou
 ȝauest fro heuene breed maad redi to hem,
 with out trauel; hauyng^{††} al delityng in
 it silf, and the swetnesse of al sauour.

* killiden hem;
 that is, Egip-
 cians. *Live*
here. c.

† in mynde;
 that is, that
 they schulden
 be myndeful of
 thyn heestis.

Live here. c.

‡ ȝatis of deth;
 that is, of bodili
 deth; but he
 ledith not to
 the ȝatis of
 goostly deth,
 for he is not
 autour of synne,
 but man, bi
 defaute of his
 fre wille, is au-
 tour of synne.
 sleeth his soule
 bi malice; of
 dedly synne;
 the soule is vn-
 dedly bi deth of
 kynde.

gon out; of
 the bodi. it
 schal not turne
 aȝen; bi weye
 of kynde.

resceyued;
 that is, depart-
 id fro the bodi.

vnpossible to
 ascape thyn

hond; for whi
 the soulis of
 iust men ben
 resceyued in the
 hond of Goddis
 merci, but the
 soulis of syn-
 neris ben res-
 ceyued in the
 hond of his riȝt-
 fulnesse, ether
 iust punysch-
 ing. *Live here. c.*

§ the world was
 veniere, etc.;
 that is, creature
 of the world.

|| of iust men;
 that is, of E-
 breys turment-
 id of Egipcians
 vniustly. *Live*
here. c.

¶ wickid men;
 that is, Egip-
 cians. *Live here.*
c.

†† thei seyng;
 that beestis
 noyful to hem
 weren not
 brent, and that
 beestis profit-
 able to hem, as
 weren oxis and
 werk beestis,
 weren wastid
 with the same
 fier.

of God; to

whom the creature obeyeth at his wille. with mete of aungels; that is, that cam down bi the seruyce of aungels, that eten not bodily mete. hauyng^{††} al delityng; for it saueride to goode men, as eche man wolde. thi catel; that is, the richessis of thi goodnesse. *Live here. c.*

whiche thingis; that is, for the forseid turmentis of Egipcians. *Live here. c.*

^q helide AGH. ^r Om. G sec. m. ^s Om. A. ^t it is A. ^u demyng AGH. ^v suffreden CE pr. m.

^b impossible I. ^c the strengthe I.

fro heuene, with oute trauaile; hauende alle deliting in itself, and swetnesse of
 21 alle sauour. Forsothe thi substaunce, and thi swetnesse, that in to sones thou hast, thou shewedist; and deseruende to the wil of echone, to what eche wolde,
 22 it was conuertid. Sno3 forsothe and ijs suffreden the strengthe of fyr, and floweden not; that thei shulden witen, for brennende fyr, leiting in hail and reyn, destroyede the frutes of the enemys.
 23 That forsothe eft, that the ri3twis man shulde ben nurshid, the fyr also for3at his vertue. Forsothe the creature to thee makere deseruende, brenneth out in to torment a3en vnri3twis men, and softere^w is mad to weel don, for them
 25 that trosten in thee. For that and thanne thi graces deserueden in to alle thingus, transfigured to the vertue of alle, at the wil of them, that of thee ben desired; that thi sones, whom thou loouedyst, Lord, shulden wite, for not the frut of birthe fedde men, but thi wrd
 27 kepte them, that in thee leueden. That forsothe that of f3jr my3te not ben destroyed, anon of a litil bem of sunne
 28 chaufid, flowede; that it were knownen to alle, for it byhoueth to comen befor the sunne to thi^x blessing, and at the
 29 springing of li3t to honoure thee. Forsothe the hope of the vnkinde as cold ijs shal flowen, and dispershen as watir ouer voide.

CAP. XVII.

1 Forsothe grete ben thi domes, Lord, and vntellable^y thi wrdis; for these the
 2 vndisciplyned soulis erriden. Whil forsothe wicke men han ful preued, to moun lordshipen to the holy nacioun, in bondis of dercnesses, and of long ny3t gyued, enclosid vnder rooues, fugitif to perpetuel
 3 prouydence, pleseden. And whil thei wenen them to lurken in derk synnes, bi the derc veil of for3eting thei ben sca-

For thou schewidist thi catel, and thi²¹ swetnesse, which thou hast, to sones; and *the breed* seruyng to the wille of eche man*, was turned to that, that ech man wolde. Forsothe snow and iys suffriden²² the mi3t of fier, and meltiden not; that thei schulden wite, that fier brennyng, in hail and reyn leytyng, destroyede the fruytis of enemyes. Sotheli eft this was²³ *wondirful*, also fier for3at his vertu[†], that iust men schulden be nurschid. For whi²⁴ the creature seruyng to thee the makere, wexith whijt in to turment azens vniust men, and is maad li3tere to do wel, for hem that tristen in thee. For this thing²⁵ and alle thingis transfigurid[‡] thanne^{dd} seruyden to thi grace, nurischere of alle thingis, to the wille of hem, that ben desired of thee; that, Lord, thi sones²⁶ schulden wite, whiche thou louedist, that not the fruytis of birthe[§] feeden men, but thi word kepeth hem, that bileuen in thee. For whi that that mi3te not^{||} be distried²⁷ of fier, meltide anon *as it was* maad hoot of a litil beam of the sunne; that it were²⁸ knowun to alle men, that it bihoueth to come before the sunne to thi blessing, and to worschipe thee at the risyng of the li3t^e. Forsothe the hope of an vnkynde²⁹ man schal melte awei as iys of wyntir, and^f schal perische as superflu watir.

* to the wille of ech man; be-
 yng of the
 noumbre of
 goode men, for
 it was vnsauery
 mete to wickid
 men. *Live*
here. c.

† fier for3at his
 vertu; in the
 chymeney of
 thre children,
 in iij. c^o. of
 Danyel, and
 fier hurtide not
 the beestis of
 Ebreys, in the
 lond of Gessen.
Live here. c.
 ‡ transfigurid;
 that is, chaung-
 id fro the pro-
 perte of her
 kynde. *Live*
here. c.

§ fruytis of
 birthe; that
 is, not onely
 fruytis com-
 yng forth of
 erthe. *Live*
here. c.
 || that that mi3te
 not, etc.; that
 is, manna that
 was hardid at
 the fire, and
 meltide at the
 heete of the
 sunne.
 thi blessing;
 that is, to ga-
 dere manna.
Live here. c.

CAP. XVII.

Forsothe, Lord, thi domes ben greet,¹ and thi wordis[¶] moun not be fulli told out; vnlearned soulis erriden for these. For the while wickid men holden for stid-² fast, that thei moun be lordis of hooli nacioun, thei weren feterid with boondis of derknessis, and of long ni3t, and weren closid vnder rooues; and thei fugityues weren suget^s to euerlastinge puruyaunce. And the while thei gessen hem to be hid³

¶ thi wordis;
 that is, dedis
 maad bi thi
 word.
 vnlearned soulis;
 that is, men not
 louyng truthe.
Live here. c.

^w li3tere *E pr. m.* ^x the *A.* ^y vnwlatabe *A.*

^{dd} thanne, that is, chaungid fro the properte of her kynde v. ^e li3t, that is, sunne v. ^f and it i.
^s sugetis *A sec. m.*

tered, dredende grisfulli, and with ful
 4 myche wndring disturbid. Ne forsothe
 the den that heeld^z hem, with oute drede
 kepte; for descendende soun disturbide^a
 them, and dreri persones aperende to
 5 them, 3euen inward^b fere to them. And
 no strengthe forsothe of the^{bb} fjr myzte
 to them 3yuen lizt, ne the cleer flaumes
 of sterres^c myzten lizten that grisful nyzt.
 6 Forsothe ther aperede to them sodeyn
 fyr, ful of drede^{cc}; and smyten with the
 drede of that face, that was not seen,
 thei eymeden werse to ben, that weren
 7 seen. And of deuyning craft the scornes
 weren leid to, and the glorie of wisdom
 8 correccioun with strif. Thei forsothe,
 that bihi3ten dredes and perturbaciouns
 them to putten out fro the languysshende
 soule, these with scorn ful, of drede lan-
 9 guyssheden. For and if no thing hem
 of the wndris disturbide, bi passing of
 bestis, and hissing of edderes stirid, fer-
 ful thei persheden^d; and the eir, that bi
 no resoun a man myzte flee, denyende
 themself see3en; ofte forsothe they be-
 foren ocupien werst thingis, the concience
 10 vndernemende. Whan forsothe ther is
 ferful shreudenesse, it is 3ouen in to the
 condepnacioun of alle thingus; euermor
 presumeth cruel thingis a conscience dis-
 11 turbid. No thing forsothe is drede^e, but
 helpe of presumpcioun, betra3yng^f of
 12 the helpis of tho3t. And whil fro with-
 inne lasse is the abiding, the more it
 weneth the power of his cause, of the
 13 whiche torment it 3yueth. Thei for-
 sothe, that verrelly the vnmy3ti nyzt, and
 slepende the same slep, ouercomende from
 14 the lowest, and fro the he3est, otherwhile
 thei weren stirid hider and thider, bi
 the drede of the wndris, otherwhile the
 lyues faileden bi ouerleding; forsothe to

in derk synnes, thei weren scaterid bi
 derk hidyng of for3etyng, dredyng hid-
 ousli, and disturblid with ful greet won-
 dryng. For the denne that withhelde hem,⁴
 kepte not with out drede; for whi sown
 comyng doun disturblide hem, and soreu-
 ful persoones apperynge to hem, 3auen
 drede to hem. And sotheli no myzt of⁵
 fier myzte 3yue lizt to hem, and the cleer
 flawmes of sterris myzten not liztne that
 hidouse nyzt. Sotheli sodeyn fier^{*} ful of⁶
 drede apperide to hem; and thei weren
 smytun with the drede of that face, that
 was not seyn, and gessiden tho thingis to
 be worse, that weren seyn. And scornes[†]⁷
 of whitche craft weren leid to, and the
 glorie of wisdom *was* chastisyng with
 dispisyng. For thei, that bihi3ten hem⁸
 silf to putte awei dredis and disturb-
 lyngis fro a sijk soule, weren ful with
 scorn, and weren sijk for drede. For whi⁹
 thou3 no thing of the wondris azens kynde
 disturblide hem, thei weren mouyd bi
 the passyng of beestis, and bi the hiss-
 yng of eddris, and^b trembliden, and pe-
 rischiden; and denyeden, that thei sien the
 eyr, which a man myzte not ascape bi
 ony resoun; for whi worste thingis bifore
 ocupien ofte, while the conscience repreu-
 eth. For sithen wickidnesse is dreedful[‡],¹⁰
 it is 3ouun in to condempnacioun of alle
 men; for whi a conscience disturblid pre-
 sumeth[§] euere wickid thingis. For whi¹¹
 drede is no thing, noⁱ but help of pre-
 sumpcioun, and schewyng of thou3t of
 helpis. And the while lesse abydyng is¹²
 fro with ynne, it gessith gretter power
 of that cause, of which it 3yueth turment.
 Forsothe thei, that camen in to a my3ti ni3t^{||},¹³
 and comyng aboue fro loweste thingis,
 and fro hi3este thingis, thei slepyng the
 same sleep, weren hurlid sum tyme bi¹⁴

in to thicke derknessis, that ben seid a my3ty nyzt bi long duryng, that is, of thre dayes, and bi thicknesse, for which thei myzten not stire hem
 silf fro her place. *fro loweste*; that is, fro erthe and water, fro whiche stieden smokis, makinge greet the eir. *fro hi3este*; that is, fro thicknesse
 of cloudis, lettynge the liztynge of the eir. *slepyng*; Egipcians, that slepten sum deel in tho thre dayes, suffriden anon ferdful dreyns, in so
 myche that summe of hem dieden. *bi leding ouer*; that is, bi departing of the soule fro the body. *Lirs here. c.*

^z hilyde A. ^a disturblid G. ^b inwardli A. ^{bb} Om. c *pr. m.* ^c the sterres A. ^{cc} dreden c.
^d perishen AGH. ^e dredeful A. ^f betra3yngis AC.

^h and thei I. ⁱ Om. I.

^{*} *sodeyn fier*; that is, apperyng at a moment, not to comfort of hem, but more to discourtment.

[†] *And scornes*; that is, scorn of the wiccheis of Farao, nei3ede to the for-seid yuels.

and the glorie of wisdom, etc.; that is, wisdom, of which the wiccheis hadden glorie, was chastisid with dispit, for they weren smytun with othere men, so that they myzten not helpe hem silf, nether othere men.

of wondris azens kynde; for thei weren customable to sicke wondris. *passing of beestis, etc.*; for whi drede makith to forme ymage of ferdful thingis bi a litil noyse, as he that dredith myche, bileueth that enemyes comen, bi the sowne of leuys, ether ony sych thing. *Lirs here. c.*

[‡] *wickidnesse is dredeful*; for it makith men dredeful. *Lirs here. c.*

[§] *presumeth*; that is, bi for-gessing grete yuels to comyng on it silf. *of presumpcioun*; that is, encressing of gessing of peyne nei3inge.

abidyng; that is, lesse hope of help is in the soule of him that dredith.

grettere; for he bileueth, that more yuels schulen come.

Lirs here. c. *|| in to a mi3ti nyzt*; that is,

them sodeyn and vnhopid drede ouer-
 15 cam. Theraftir if any of hem hadde
 falle down, he was kept in prisoun, with
 16 oute iren, reclosid; if forsothe a cherl
 who were, or a shepperde, or a werch-
 ere of feeldis, were befor occupied,
 vnscapable, 'or that myzt not be fled^g,
 17 nede he suffrede. With oon forsothe
 cheyne of dercnnesses alle thei weren
 bounde togidere; or^h puffende wind, or
 sweet soun of briddes among thickeⁱ
 braunchis of tres, or^k strengthe of ful
 18 myche rennende doun water, or strong
 soun of stones fallid doun, or the vnseen
 cours of pleiende bestes, or the stronge
 vois of loowende bestes, or the azen
 sounende rebounding of soun fro^l the
 hejest hillis, maden them failende for
 19 drede. Forsothe al the roundnesse of
 erthis was liztid with cler lizt, and con-
 20 tened in werkis not lettid. Forsothe
 only to them was ouerset a greuous nyzt,
 ymage of dercnnesses, that was to come
 'on to^m them; thanne thei to themself
 weren mor greuous than the dercnnessis.

CAP. XVIII.

1 To thi seyntes forsothe was most lizt,
 and the vois forsothe of these the enemys
 herden, but the figure thei sezen not;
 and^a for not and thei bi the same thingus
 hadden suffrid, thei magniefieden thee.
 2 And for biforn hurt thei weren, for thei
 weren not hurt, graces thei diden to
 thee; and that ther were difference,
 3 thee, God, thei askeden. For the whiche
 thei hadden to the vnknowe lif ledere, a
 brennende piler of fyr; and thou zeue
 the sunne, withoute hurting of good her-
 4 berewe. Wrthi forsothe thei^o to^p lacken
 lizt, and to^p suffrin prisoun of dercnnesses,
 that enclosid kepten thin holi sones; bi
 whom the vncorrupt lizt of lawe bigan to
 5 ben zouen to the world. Whan thei

drede of wondris azens kynde, sum tyme
 the soulis failiden bi ledyng ouer; for
 why sudeyn drede and vnhopid, cam on
 hem. Afterward if ony of hem hadde fel¹⁵
 doun, he was kept closid in prisoun, with
 out yrun; for if ony cheerl^{*} was, ethir¹⁶
 scheepherd, ethir a^k werk man of feeldis,
 and was bifore occupied, he suffride nede
 that mizte not be ascapid. For whi alle¹⁷
 men weren boundun togidere bi o chayne
 of derknnessis; ether a wynd hissyng,
 ether swete soun of briddis bitwixe the
 thicke bowis of trees, ethir the feersnesse
 of watir rennyng doun greetli, ethir a¹⁸
 strong soun of stoonys cast doun, ethir
 the rennyng vnseyn of beestis pleiynge,
 ethir the strong vois of beestis lowynge,
 ethir ecco[†] sownynge azen fro hijeste
 hillis, maden hem failynge for drede.
 Forsothe al the world[‡] was liztned with¹⁹
 cleer lizt, and was^l not^m withholdun in
 werkis lettid. But a greuouse nyzt, the²⁰
 ymage of derknnessis, that was to comyng
 on hem, was set on hem aloone; therfor
 thei weren greuousere to hem silf than the
 derknnessis.

CAP. XVIII.

But ful greet lizt was^a to thin hooli¹
seruauntis, and sotheli enemyes herden
 the vois[§] of hem, but thei sien not the
 figure, *ethir schap*; and for also thei^o
 suffriden not bi the same thingis, thei
 magniefieden thee. And for thei weren²
 hirt bifore^{||}, thei diden thankyngis to thee,
 for thei weren not hirt; and that dif-
 ference schulde be *bitwixe hem and Egip-*
cians, thei axiden thee, God. For which³
 thing thei[¶] hadden a brennyng piler of
 fier, the ledere of vnknowun weie; and
 thou zauest the sunne, with out hirtyng of
 good herbore. Forsothe thei *weren wor-*⁴
 thi to wante lizt, and to suffre the prisoun
 of derknnessis, whiche helden thi sones
 enclosid^{**}; bi whiche *sones* the vncorrupt

* *ony cheerl*; where euere ony man was occupied in feeld, ether in hows, whanne the derknnessis camen on hem, he dwellide there thre dayes. *Live here. c.*

† *ether ecco*; that is, a soun foldid azen. *Live here. c.*

‡ *at the world, etc.*; out of the place of Egipcians. *Live here. c.*

§ *the vois*; that is, of Ebreys. *Live here. c.*

|| *hirt bifor*; that is, of Egipcians, bi harde trauelis, in i. c^o. of Exodi. *not hirt*; in x. veniaunces, as Egipcians weren. *Live here. c.*

¶ *thei*; that is, Egipcians. *Live here. c.*

** *enclosid*; and suffriden not hem go out of Egypt, to make sacrifice to the Lord. *Live here. c.*

^g Om. c et E pr. m. ^h outhur AEGH. ⁱ thoo E pr. m. ^k a A. bi E pr. m. ^l of A. ^m vnto AG. ⁿ Om. A. ^o thei ben A. P Om. E sec. m.

^k Om. I. ^l it was I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ ther was I. ^o thei, that is, Ebreis v.

tho3ten to slen the fauntis of ri3twis men; and oon sone leid out, and deliuered, and in to the ouerleding of them, thou tooke awei the multitude of sones, and togidere them thou spildist in strong
 6 water. That forsothe ny3t is knowen biforn of^a oure fadris, that verreli witende bi what othis thei leeueden, thei
 7 shulden ben mor stedefast. Forsothe ther is taken of thi puple helthe, forsothe of ri3twis men; of vnri3twis men
 8 forsothe destroying. Forsothe as thou hurtedest oure aduersaries, so and vs
 9 sterende, thou magnifiedist. Hidendely forsothe the ri3twis childer of goode men sacrificeden, and the lawe of ry3twisnesse thei disposeden to^r acord; lic maner ri3twis men goodes and eueles to resceyuen, noble preisingus to the fader of^s alle
 10 singende. Forsothe the vncouenable vois of enemyes sounede, and wepful weiling
 11 of bewepete 3unge childer was herd. Lic peyne forsothe the seruaunt with the lord is tormentid; and a man of the puple to the king lic thyngis suffrede.
 12 Thanne lic maner alle with o name of deth hadden vnnoumbrable deade men, ne the quyke forsothe suffiseden to birien; for o moment the nacioun of hem, that
 13 was mor cler, is distro3ed. Of alle forsothe they not leeuende for the benefetes, thanne whan first was the deth of the first goten, thei bihi3ten himself the
 14 puple of God to ben. Whan forsothe quyete silence contenede alle thingus, and the ny3t in his cours hadde the mene
 15 weie, thin almy3ti wrd, Lord, goende out fro heuene, fro the kingus setes cam; and
 16 an hard ouercomere it is, in to the myddel lond of deth; leep forth a sharp swerd berende in to thi licned empire; and stondende fulfilde alle thingus with deth,

lijt of lawe bigan to be 3ouun to the world. Whanne thei thou3ten to sle the^s 3onge children of iust men; and whanne o sone was put forth, and delyuered, thou tokist^{*} awei the multitude of sones[†], for the ledyng ouer of hem^a, and thou lostist hem togidere in strong watir. Forsothe thilke ny3t was knowun bifore of oure fadris, that thei witynge verili to whiche othis thei bileuyden, schulden be more paciente. Forsothe helthe of iust⁷ men was resseyued verili of thi puple, and also^r distriyng of vniust men. For as⁸ thou hirtidist^s oure aduersaries, so thou excitidist also vs, and magnifiedist vs. For whi iust children of goode men^{†9} maden sacrifice priueli, and disposiden the lawe of ri3tfulnesse in to acordyng; thei *disposiden* iust men to resseyue goodis and yuels in lijk maner, and sungen heriyngis to the fadir of alle men. But vnsemeli vois of enemyes¹⁰ sownede, and wepful weilyng of biweperis of 3onge children was herd. Forsothe the seruaunt was turmentid bi lijk peyne with the lord; and a man of the puple suffride thingis lijk the kyng. Therfor in lijk maner alle men bi o name¹² of deth hadden deed men vnnoumbrable, for nether quyke men suffiseden to birie; for whi the nacioun of hem, that was clerere *than othere*, was destried in o moment. Forsothe of alle *Egipcians* men¹³ not bileuynges for benefices, bihi3ten hem thanne to be Goddis puple, whanne the distriyng of the firste gendryd thingis was first. Forsothe whanne alle thingis helden¹⁴ restful silence, and the ny3t hadde the myddil weie in his cours, Lord, thi word¹⁵ almy3ti|| comynge swiftli fro heuene, cam fro the kyngis seetis; a scharp swerd ber-¹⁶ ynge thi comaundement not feyned, cam

* tokist; fro present liyf. *Live here.* c. [†] of sones; that is, of the firste gendride of Egipt.

ledyng ouer; that is, in the ledyng of Ebreys out of Egipt.

lostist hem; that is, Egipcians, fadris of the children slayn.

whiche othis; that is, to Goddis affermyngis maad to hem and to her fadris. *Live here.* c.

† iust children of goode men, etc.; that is, Ebreys, the sones of patriarkis.

disposiden, etc.; that is, resseyueden acordyngly.

the lawe of ri3tfulnesse; 3ouun in the hil of Synay.

to resseyue goodis and yuels; that is, dispoide to resseyue paciently,

for the loue of God, prosperites and aduersites sent, and to be sent, bi Goddis wille.

heriyngis; in prosperites and aduersites.

to the fadir of alle; that is, to God.

weilyng of biweperis; that is, which wepten for the sleynge of 3onge children. *Live here.* c.

§ men not bileuyng; to God and to Moyses.

for benefices; 3ouun in the doing awei of veniaunces; for

whanne the veniaunces weren doon away, they turneden agen to her hardnesse in synne.

bihi3ten hem; ether Egipcians

|| Lord,

that is, knowlechen Moises and Ebreys. *to be the puple of God*; for thanne thei lesten hem go, as the seruauntis of God; *bihi3ten hem self to be Goddis puple*; bi this, that thei obeyeden to Goddis heeste, of the sendyng out of Ebreys. *Live here.* c. *this word almy3ti*; that is, thi comaundement of the sleynge of the firste gendrid thingis. *swerd beringe*; that is, fillinge. *Live here.* c.

.^a Om. A. .^r into AGH. .^s Om. A.

^p sones, the firste gendrid v. .^q hem, that is, Ebreys out of Egipt v. .^r but c et ceteri. .^s hurtist s.

and vnto heuene ateynede, stondende in
 17 the erthe. Thanne anon the sizte of
 euele sweuenes disturbide them, and
 18 dredes oncamen vnhopid. And an other
 elleswher cast forth half on lyue, for
 what^t cause of deth he diede, he shewede.
 19 Forsothe the viseouns that disturbeden
 hem, these thingus biforn warneden, that
 thei shulden not pershen vnkunynge,
 20 whi thei suffreden eueles. Thanne for-
 sothe touchede and riztwismen the tempt-
 acioun of deth, and ther is mad of the
 multitude a stiring in wilderness; but
 21 not longe abod stille thi wrathe. A man
 forsothe goende withoute blame to prezen
 for puples, bringende forth of hys seruyse
 the sheeld an^u orisoun, and bi encens
 prezing aleggyng, withstod to the wrathe,
 and ende putte to the nede, shewende for
 22 thi seruaunt he is. Forsothe he ouer-
 cam companys, not in vertue of body, ne
 in^v armure of power; but in wrd hym
 that ouertrauilede hym, he vndircaste^w,
 remembrede the othis of fadris, and tes-
 23 tament. Whan forsothe now hipyllmelum
 thei hadden fallen dead, either vp on
 other, he stod betwen, and kutte awei
 the bure, and deuydede that^x weie, that
 24 to the men on lyue ladde. Forsothe in
 the clothing of the preest coepe, that he
 hadde, was al the roundnesse of erthis;
 and the grete thingus of fadris weren
 grauen in foure ordres of stones; and
 thi grete doyng in the^{xx} dyademe of hys
 25 hed was writen. To these^v forsothe 'he
 3af stede^z, that distrojede^{zz}, and these
 thingus he ful out dredde; forsothe ther
 was alone sufficyent temptyng of wrathe.

forth, ouercomere in to the myddil of the
 lond of destriyng; and it stood, and fillide
 alle thingis with deeth, and it stood in
 erthe, and stretchide forth til to heuene.
 Thanne anon* the siztis of yuel dremes 17
 disturbliden hem, and dredis not hopid
 camen aboue. And another man cast forth 18
 half quyk in an other place, schewide for
 what cause of deth he diede. For whi 19
 siztis that disturbliden hem, bifore warn-
 eden these thingis, that thei schulden
 perische not vnwityngli, why thei suf-
 friden yuels. Forsothe temptacioun of 20
 deth† touchide thanne also iust men, and
 mouyng togidere of multitude was maad
 in desert; but thin ire dwellide not longe.
 For a man without pleynt hastide to 21
 biseche for puplis, and he brouzte forth
 preier the scheld of his seruyce, and he
 aleggide preier bi encence, and azen stood
 ire; and he settide an ende to the nede†,
 and schewide that he was thi seruaunt.
 Forsothe he ouercam cumpenyes, not bi 22
 vertu of bodi, nether bi armure of power;
 but he remembrede the othis, and the tes-
 tament of fadris, and bi word‡ he made
 hym suget, that trauelide hym silf. For 23
 whanne deed men fellen down bi heepis,
 ech on other, he stood bitwixe '*deed men*
and lyuynge^t, and kittide^{tt} awei the feers-
 nesse of *brennyng*, and departide that
 weie, that ledde to quyke men. For whi 24
 al the world was|| in the cloth lastynge to
 the heelis, which he hadde; and the
 grete thingis of fadris weren grauun in
 foure ordres of stoonys; and, *Lord*, thi
 magnyficence^u was writun in the dia-
 deme of his heed. Forsothe he that dis- 25
 triede, 3af stide to these thingis, and dredde
 these thingis; for whi the temptacioun
 aloone was sufficient to ire¶.

*Thanne anon;
 that is, next
 bifore. yuele
 dremes; to bi-
 fore figure the
 forseid sleing of
 the firste gen-
 drid children.
 Live here. c.

† temptacioun
 of deth; that
 is, punyschid
 bi deth.
 and; is set
 here for that is.
 mouyng togidere
 of dissencioun,
 reised by Choree
 and hise felowis.
 a man with-
 out playnt;
 that is, Aaron
 lyuynge feith-
 fulli anentis
 God, and iustly
 anentis the
 neibore. for
 the puphis;
 diynge.

azen stood ire;
 in plesinge God
 bi his preyer.
 ouercam cum-
 penyes; that
 is, witnessis of
 disturblinge the
 puple. Live
 here. c.

‡ to the nede;
 that is, to deth.
 Live here. c.
 § and bi word; of
 dyuout preyer.
 him that trauel-
 ide him silf;
 that is, the
 brennyng
 brennyng the
 puple, of whos
 brennyng Aa-
 ron was tra-
 uelid. Live
 here. c.

|| the world
 was; bi signe-
 fying ether fi-
 gure.
 grete thingis
 of fadris; that
 is, the names
 of xij. lynagis.
 magnificence;
 that is, thyn
 hiz name tetra-
 gramaton. Live
 here. c.

¶ was sufficient
 to ire; that is,
 temptacioun of
 dissencioun
 mouyd, was
 sufficient cause
 of Goddis

veniaunce azenus al the puple; nobut the bischop hadde plesid. Live here. c.

^t the what *E pr. m.* ^u of an *c pr. m. H.* ^v Om. *c.* ^w ouercaste *c.* ^x it that *E pr. m.* ^{xx} Om. *G.*
^y this *E pr. m.* ^z wente awei *E pr. m.* ^{zz} distrojeden *c.*

^t the deede and the quyke 1. ^{tt} kitte 1. ^u magnyficence, that is, thin hiz name tetragramaton v.

CAP. XIX.

1 To the vnpytouse forsothe and to the
laste withoute mercy wrathe cam vpon;
forsothe he knew biforn and the thingis
2 to comen of hem. For whan thei weren
turned, and hadden suffrid, that thei
shulden lede them, and with gret bys-
nesse thei hadden sent them^a befor, ther
folewede forsothe them the deede of pe-
3 nauce. 3it forsothe among the hondys
hauende weiling, and weping at the mo-
numentes of the deade, an other thynk-
ing of vnkunnyng thei^{aa} token to them;
and whom pre3ende thei hadden throwen
awei, them as fugitifis thei pursueden.
4 Forsothe ther ladde them to that ende
wrthi necessite, and of these thingis that
hadden fallen, the mynde thei losten, that
that lackeden of tormentis, punshyng
5 schulde fulfillen, and thi puple forsothe
merueylously schulde passe; thei forsothe
6 newe deth shulden fynde. Eche creature
forsothe to his kinde fro the bigynnyng
was a3een figured, deseruend to thin
hestes, that thi childer shulden be kept
7 vnhurt. For a cloude shadewede the
tentes of hem, and in the water that was
biforn, the erthe aperede drie; and in the
rede se weie with oute lettyng, and a
8 buriounende feeld of ful gret depthe; bi
the whiche alle nacioun passede, that was
couered with thin hond; seende forsothe
9 thi merueiles and wndris. As hors for-
sothe thei gnowen mete, and as lombis
thei ful out io3eden, magnefiende thee,
10 Lord, for thou delyueredest hem. For-
sothe myndeful they weren 3it^b of tho
thingus, that were don in the comeling
wonyng of hem; as for the nacioun of
bestes, the erthe bro3te out fleezes, and for
the^{bb} fisshes, the flod bolkede^c out mul-
11 titude^{cc} of frogges. At the laste forsothe

CAP. XIX.

Forsothe ire with out merci cam on 1
wickid men til^v in to the laste*; forwhi
God bifore knew also the thingis to com-
ynge of hem. For whanne thei weren 2
turned, and hadden suffrid, that thei
schulden lede out hem[†], and hadden bifor
sent hem with greet bysynesse, the dedis
of repentyng sueden hem. For thei hau- 3
ynge 3it morenyng bitwixe the hondis,
and thei biwepyng at the sepulcris of
deed men, token to hem anothir thou3t
of vnkunnyng[‡]; and thei pursueden tho
Ebreis, as fleeris awei, whiche thei prei-
ynge hadden sent forth. For whi worthi 4
nede ledde hem to this ende, and thei
losten remembryng of these thingis, that
hadden bifeld^w, that punyschyng schulde
fille tho thingis, that failiden of tur-
mentis, and that sotheli thi puple schulde 5
passe wondurfuli; forsothe that thei
schulden fynde a newe deth. For whi 6
ech creature seruyng to thin heestis, was
refourmed[§] to his kynde at the bigyn-
nyng, that thi children schulden be kept
vnhirt. For whi a cloude bischadewide 7
the castels of hem, and drie erthe apperide
in watir that was bifore; and a weie with
out letting *apperide* in the reed see, and
a feeld buriownyng fro ful greet depthe||;
bi which *feeld* al the nacioun passide, that 8
was hilid with thin hond; forsothe thei
sien thi merueilis and wondris. For thei 9
as horsis deuouriden mete[¶], and as lam-
bren thei maden ful out ioye, magnefiyng
thee, Lord, that delyueredist hem. For 10
thei weren myndeful 3it of tho thingis,
that weren don in the dwellyng of hem
among Egipcians; hou the lond brou3te
forth flies, for the nacioun of beestis, and
the flood brou3te forth multitude of pad-
dokis, for fischis. Forsothe at the last 11

* to the laste;
that is, til to
the drenching
of hem. *Live*
here. c.

† Iede out hem;
that is, Ebreys
that Egipcians
wolden sende
the sones of
Israel out of
Egipt.
repenting,
etc.; that is,
Egipcians re-
pentide of the
sending out of
the puple of
Israel. *Live*
here. c.

‡ vnkunnyng;
that is, of led-
ing a3en of
Ebreys.
worthi nede;
that is, deth,
that schulde be
youn to hem
iustly in the
reed see. *Live*
here. c.

§ was refourm-
ed; that is, to
obeye to God,
of whom ech
creature is
maad. *Live*
here. c.

|| greet depthe;
that is, the
botme of the
see was dried,
at the maner
of a feeld
buriownyng.
Live here. c.
¶ deuouriden
mete; that is,
taken the ar-
muris of Egip-
cians, whiche
thei sien deed
on the brinke
of the see.
Live here. c.

^a Om. c pr. m. ^{aa} the AC. ^b Om. c pr. m. ^{bb} Om. c pr. m. ^c bowede GH. ^{cc} the multitude A.

^v Om. A sec. m. ^w bifalle r.

they sejen a newe creature of briddes,
whan, lad bi lust, thei askeden metes of
12 delicious eting. In the speche forsothe
of the desir, stezede vp to them fro the
se a curlu; and trauailes to synneres
camen vp on, not withoute tho euydences,
that weren mad bi the fors of flodis.
Riȝtwisly forsothe thei suffreden, aftir
13 their shreudenesses; forsothe in to abho-
minable hospitalite thei stoden in. Othere
forsothe vnknown comelingus rescey-
eden not; othere forsothe goode gestes
14 in to seruage token. And not onli these
thingus, but an other forsothe respit of
hem was, for maugre theires thei re-
15 sceyueden straungeres. Who forsothe
with gladnesse resceyueden them, that
hadden vsid the same enformyngus, with
most cruel sorewes thei tormenteden.
16 Smyte forsothe thei ben with blindnesse,
as thei in the^e ȝates of the riȝtwise, with
sodeyn dercnesses, whan thei ben couered;
eche oon^{ee} soȝte the passing out of his
17 dore. In to them self forsothe whil the
elemens ben turned, as in an orgne of
qualite the soun is chaungid, and alle
kepen ther soun; wherfore of that ser-
18 teyn siȝte it may be eymed. Feeldi wilde
thingus in to watir^f ben turned; what-
euer were swymmende, in the erthe
19 passeden. Fyr in the watir hadde
strengthe ouer his vertue; and water
20 forȝat^g his quenchemde kinde. Flaumes
aȝeenward trauaileden not the flesh of
the corruptible bestes goende togidere; ne
dissoluede it, that liȝtli was dissolued as
ijs, good mete. In alle thingus forsothe
thou magnifiedist thi puple, Lord, and
wrshepedist; and dispisedist not, in alle

thei sien a newe creature of briddis,
whanne thei weren led bi coueitise, and
axiden metis of feeste. For in the spek-
12 ynge to^{*} of her desir, a^x curlew stiede
to hem fro the see; and diseesis camen
on synneris, and not with out preuyngis
of tho thingis, that weren don bifor bi the^y
feersnesse of floodis. For thei suffriden iust-
li, bi^z her wickidnessis; for thei ordeyneden 13
more abhomynable vnospitalite. Sotheli
summe resseyueden not vnknowun come-
lyngis; sotheli othere token good men her-
borid in to thraldom. And not oneli thei 14
15 diden these thingis, but sotheli also an-
other biholding of hem was, that thei
aȝens her wille[†] resseyueden straungeris.
Forsothe thei that vsiden the same or- 15
dynaunces[‡], turmentiden with cruelest
sorewis hem, that resseyueden with glad-
nesse. Forsothe thei weren smytun with 16
blyndnesse, as thei in the ȝatis of the iust
man, whanne thei weren hilid with su-
deyne derknessis; ech man souȝte the
passyng of his dore. Forsothe while ele- 17
mentis ben turned in to hem silf, as the
sown of maner is chaungid in orgun, and
alle thingis kepen her sown[§]; wherfor it
mai be gessid of that certeyn siȝt. Beestis 18
of the feeld[¶] weren turned in to beestis
of watir; what euer weren swymmynge
thingis^{¶¶}, ȝeden in the lond. Fier in watir 19
hadde power aboue his vertu; and water
forȝat the kynde quenchyng. Aȝenward 20
flawmes of corruptible beestis disesiden
not the fleischis of *Ebreis* goynge togi-
dere; nethir departiden that good mete,
that was departid liȝtly as iys. Forsothe,
Lord, thou magnifiedist thi puple in alle
thingis, and onouridist; and dispisidist

* in the spek-
ing to, etc.;
that is, at the
axing of hem,
bi her desir.

a curlu; that
is, a greet mul-
titude of cur-
lewis. *Live*
here. c.

† aȝenus her
wille; that is,
with hardnesse
of cheer and of
wordis.

resseyueden
straungeris;
to herbore, as
it bifallith sum-
tyme, that thei
that ȝyuen

almes, seyen
so many dis-
pisingis to the
axeris, that
thei sillen to
dere to hem.

Live here. c.

‡ thei that
vsiden the same
ordenaunces;
that is, Egip-
cians, that
vsiden orde-
naunces aȝenus
the good of
ospitalite.

that resseyu-
eden with glad-
nesse; that is,
Ebreys resseyu-

ynge straun-
geris gladly.
with blynd-
nesse; thre
dayes in derk-
nessis, that
myȝten be
gropid.

as they; that
is, Sodomytis.
in the ȝatis of
the iust man;
that is, of Loth.
Live here. c.

§ kepen her
sown; that is,
bi the disposi-
cioun of him
that makith
melodie, so
the doynge of
creature was
chaungid, in
the punysch-
yng of Egip-
cians, bi dispo-
sicioun of the
creatour. *Live*
here. c.

¶ beestis of the

feeld; that is, beestis dwellinge in feeldis, as oxis and werk beestis. *were turned*; not bi substaunce, but bi goyng, that is, Ebreys with her beestis ȝeden thorow the depthe of the see, which is the dwelling of fischis. *Live* here. c. ¶ swymmynge thingis; as it is opyn of paddokis, entring in to the housis of Egipcians. *fier and water hadden power*; in brennyng strongly, aboue his kyndly vertu. *flawmes of corruptible beestis*; that is, of eddris and draguns, brethinge out fier. *disesiden not the fleischis*, of the sones of Israel. *goyng togidere*; bi desert, wher ynne was a serpent brennyng bi blast, in viij. c^o. of Deutronome, that is, many sicke serpentis weren there. *Live* here. c.

^e Om. E. ^{ee} Om. c pr. m. ^f watir CG. ^g forȝat of AEGH.

^x the I. ^y Om. I. ^z aftir I.

tyme and in alle place stondende nyȝ to
them.

not, and helpidist hem in ech tyme and
in ech place^a.

*Here endith the book of Sapiens, and
now bigynneth the prolog of Ecclesiasticus^b.*

^b From *A*. *Explicit CEH*. No final rubric in *G*.

^a *Here endith the book of Wisdom, and here bigynneth the book of Ecclesiastici. CFHSXA. Here endith the book of Wysdom, and bigynneth a prolog on Ecclesiastici. G. Here endith the book of Wisdom, and bigynneth Ecclesiasticus. HU. Heere endith the book of Wisdom, and bigynnith the book of Ecclesiasticus. INQ. Here endith the booc of Sapiens or Wisdom; se now the prolog of the booc of Ecclesiastici. K. Here endith the book of Wisdom, and here bigynneth the book of Ecclesiastici, that tretith also of wisdom and prudence in many degrees of the world. M. Heere eendith Sapience, and bigynneth the prolog upon the book of Ecclesiastici. R. Here endith Sapiens, and bigyn[neth] the book of Ecclesiasticus. V. No final rubric in AEPY.*

ECCLESIASTICUS.

Heer gynneth^a the prologe in the booc of Ecclesiastici^b.

[Prologue to Ecclesiasticus.]

OFF manye and grete bi the lawe, and profetes, and othere, that foleweden hem, wisdom to vs is shewed. In the whiche it behoueth to preisen Irael, bi cause of doctrine and of^c wisdom; for not onli hem spekende, nedful it is to be wis, but also straungeres to moun, and seiende and writende, to be mad most wis. Myn elde-fader Jhesus, aftir that hymself he ȝaf more to besynesse of lessoun of lawe, and of profetes, and of othere bokis, that to vs of oure fadris ben taken, and he wolde write sum what of these, that to wisdom and doctrine pertenen, that men desirende to lerne, and to be mad wise men, of hem more and more thei taken heed in inwit, and ben confermed to the lawful lif. Also I moneste^d ȝou to comen with wel^e willingnesse, and with mor bisy studi to do lessoun, and to han forȝyuenesse in tho^f thingus, in whiche wee ben seen folewende the ymage of wisdom, and to defauten^g in the making togidere of wrdys. For Ebru wrdis failen^h, whan thei weren translaid toⁱ an other tunge. Forsothe not oneli this, but and that lawe, and profetes, and othire thingis of bokes, han not a litil difference, whan betwen^k hemself thei ben seid. For in the eiȝte and threttithe^l ȝer, in the tymes of king

WISDOM is schewid to us of fele and greet bi the lawe, and prophetis, whiche folewide hem. In which thingis it bihoueth to preise Israel, bi cause of doctrine and wisdom; for not which it is necesarie thilke spekers to be wise, but also straungers mouȝe, and reders and writers, be also imade best itauȝte. My graunfadir Jhesus, bisiloker to diligence of redyng of the lawe, and prophetis, and of othir bokes, that beth of oure fadris itake to us, thanne wolde he write sum thing here of, which that perteynid to doctrine and wisdom, as desires to lerne and of hem to be made wijs, more and more in biholdyng in inwitt, and to be confermed to laweful lyf. Therfore I warne ȝou to come with goode wille with the more bisili stodie the lesson to make, and haue in hem forȝeuenesse, in which as semeth folwyng the ymage of wisdom, and lackide compassioun of wordis. For Ebrewe wordis lackide, whanne thei weren translaid to an alien tunge. Not oonli thei, but also the self lawe, and the prophetis, and othre thingis of bokis, haueth not a litil difference, whanne thei ben ispoken bitwixe hemself. For the eiȝte and the thrittenthe ȝeer of the tyme of Tolomeye Euergete king, aftir that he came in to Egypt, and I hadde there abide longe

^a bygynnith H. ^b From RH. Prologus C. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^c Om. c pr. m.
^d amoneste AEGHI. ^e Om. C. ^f thes AGHI. ^g faile I. ^h failiden I. ⁱ in to AGHI. ^k bitwixe I,
^l the threttithe E.

Ptholome Euergeet^m, aftir that I cam in to Egipt, and whan myche of tyme I hadde ben there, I fond there bokes laft, not of litil doctrine, ne to ben dispisid. And soo good and necessarie trowede and I myself to adden sum diligence and trauaile ofⁿ remenyng^o this bok, and with myche waking I leide to^p besynesse of^q doctrine, in space of tyme to ȝyue this boc to tho thingus that leden to an ende, and to them that wiln the inwit bisiyn, and lernen, hou it behoueth to enformen maneres, that after the lawe of the Lord purposen lif^r to leden.

Here endith the prolog, and now begynneth the book of Ecclesiasticus^s.

Here begynnith the boke of Ecclesiastici^a.

CAP. I.

1 Alle wisdom of the Lord God is, and with hym was euermor, and is biforn
2 aungelis during. The grauel of the se, and the dropis of reyn, and the dazes of the world, who distinctli hath^b noumbrede? The heizte of heuene^c, and the brede of^d erthe, and the depthe of the
3 se, who distinctli mesurede? The wisdom of God goende befor alle thingus,
4 who enserchede? First of alle formed is wisdom, and the vnderstanding of prudence, fro the during of aungelis. The welle of wisdom the wrd of God in heiztes; and the ingoyng of it euere
5 lastende maundemens. The roote of wisdom to whom is it shewyd? and the 'sutil
6 wittis^e of it who kneȝ? The discyplyne of wisdom, to whom is it shewid, and

tyme, I fonde there bokes ilefte not of schrewid, neithir of dispiseable doctrine. So I thouȝte good and necessarie to putte therto diligence and labour to expowne these bokes, and with grete wakyng I brouȝte the doctrine, in the space of tyme to thilke thingis that ledeth to the eend to ȝeue this boke, to hem that wolen ȝeue her inwitt, and lerne hou it bihoueth to lerne vertues, the which purposide to lede her lyf aftir the Lordis lawe^a.

Here bigynneth the book of Ecclesiastici^b.

CAP. I.

Al wisdom^{*} is of the Lord God, and I was euere with hym, and is bifore the world. Who noumbrede the grauel of the
2 see, and the dropis of reyn, and the daies of the world? Who mesuride the hiȝnesse of heuene, and the breed of erthe, and the depthe of the see? Who enserch-
3 ide^c the wisdom of God, that goith bifore alle thingis? Wisdom was formed[†] firste⁴
of alle thingis, and the vnderstanding of prudence, fro the world^{d†}. The welle of
5 wisdom[§] is the sone of God in hiȝ thingis; and the entryng of that wisdom is euerlastyng comaundementis^{||}. To whom was
6 the roote of wisdom schewid? and who knewe the sutilites therof? To whom
7 was the lore of wisdom shewid, and maad opyn? and who vnderstood the multi-

* wisdom; that is, Goddis Sone, that conteyneth ful hiȝli alle maneris of wisdom maad, is of the Fadir, and cometh forth of him, with out bigynnyng. *Live here. c.*

† was formyd; that is, brouȝt forth bi euerlastinge generacioun. *Live here. c.*

‡ fro the world; that is, fro without bigynnyng. *Live here. c.*

§ The welle of wisdom; that is, wherof the werk of wisdom is spred forth as streemes.

|| in hiȝe thingis; for it flowith to hooli aungels, and aftirward to othere creaturis. *the entryng; the entryngis of wisdom to men ben seid reuelaciouns therof. Live here. c.*

|| euerlastinge comaundementis; in the hil of Synay God ȝaf comaundementis that ben seid euerlastinge, for tho ben weye to come to euerlastyng liyf.

the roote of wisdom schewid; that is, knowun perfytly, as if he seye, to no creature. *schewid and maad opyn; that is, perfytly knowun, as if he seye, to no creature. Live here. c.*

^m eueri ȝeer I. ⁿ in A. ^o renewing I. ^p Om. I. ^q Om. E sec. m. ^r her lijf A. ^s From A. *Here endeth the prolog; se now the booc. I.* No final rubric in the other Mss. ^a From A. *Heer gynneth the booc. E.* No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. c pr. m. ^c heuene c pr. m. ^d of the c pr. m. ^e sutil wittynesses E pr. m. AGH. witnesses c pr. m.

^a This prologue is taken from R. ^b From EGPY. *Ecclesiasticus. R.* No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^c deth enserchide c pr. m. HU. hath enserchide A sup. ras. doth encerche EY. doth encerchede P. ^d world withouten ende V.

opened? and the multeplyng of the
 8 incommynge^f of it who vnderstod? Oon
 is the heigest makere of nozt of alle
 thingus, al myzti, and a myzti king, and
 wrthi to be drad ful myche, sittende vp
 on the trone of hym, and Godd lord-
 9 shipende. He formede it in the Hoeli
 Goest, and sa3, and distinctli noumbrede,
 10 and mesurede; and helde out it vpon alle
 his werkes, and vp on alle flesh aftir his
 zifte; he 3yueth it to men loouende itself.
 11 The drede of the Lord glorie, and iozyng,
 and gladnesse, and coroun of outward
 12 iozyng. The drede of the Lord shal de-
 lyten the herte; and shal 3yue gladnesse
 13 and io3e in to the lengthe of dazes. To
 the dredende God, wel shal be in the
 laste endys; and in the dai of his diyng
 14 he shal be blissid. To whom forsothe it
 shal aperen in sijt, thei loouen it in see-
 yng, and in the knowing of his grete
 15 thingus^g. The loouyng of God wrshepe-
 16 ful wisdam. The bigynnyng of wisdam
 drede of the Lord; and with feithful men
 in the wombe he is togidere formed, and
 with chosen wymmen he goth, and with
 rijtwis and feithful men he is knowen.
 17 The drede of the Lord religiosite of kun-
 18 nyng. Religiosite shal kepen, and iuste-
 fien the herte; ful myrthe and io3e it
 19 shal 3yue. To the dredende God wel
 shal be; and in the dazes of endyng^h
 20 of hymⁱ he shal be blissid. Plente of
 wisdam to dreden God; and plente of
 21 the frutes of it. Eche hous of hym it
 shal fulfille fro ieneraciouns, and the
 resceyuyng places fro^k the tresores of
 22 hym. The croune of wisdam drede of
 the Lord, fulfillende pes, and the frut of
 23 helthe. And it sa3, and distinctli noum-
 brede it; bothe^l forsothe ben the ziftis
 24 of God. Kunnyng and vnderstanding of

plyng of the entryng therof*? Oon is the 8
 hizeste creatour of alle thingis, almyzti,
 and a myzti kyng, and worthi to be dred
 ful miche, sittynge on the trone of that
 wisdom, and God hauynge lordschipe. He 9
 fourmyde† that wisdom^e in the Hooli
 Ghost, and he siz, and noumbrede, and he
 mesuride. And he schedde out it on alle 10
 hise werkis, and on ech fleisch^f bi his
 zifte; he 3yueth it to hem that louen hym.
 The drede of the Lord is glorie†, and 11
 gloriyng, and gladnesse, and a coroun of
 ful out ioiynge. The drede of the Lord 12
 schal delite the herte; and schal^h 3yue
 gladnesse and ioie in to lengthe of daies^g.
 To hym that dredith God, it schal be wel 13
 in the laste thingisⁱ; and he schal be
 blessid in the dai of his deth. Forsothe 14
 thei to whiche^k wisdom apperith in sijt||,
 louen^l it in sijt, and in knowyng of hise
 grete thingis. The loue of God is onour- 15
 able wisdom. The bigynnyng of wisdom 16
 is the^m drede of the Lord; and it is formyd
 togidere in the wombe¶ with feithful men,
 and it goith with chosun wymmen, and isⁿ
 knowun with iust men and feithful. The^o 17
 drede of the Lord is religioust^e** of kun-
 nyng. Religioust^e schal kepe, and schal^p 18
 iustifie the herte; and schal 3yue myrthe
 and ioie. It schal be wel to hym that 19
 dredith God; and he schal be blessid in
 the daies of his coumfort. The fulnesse 20
 of wisdom is for to drede God; and ful-
 nesse is of the fruytis therof. It schal 21
 fille ech zifte†† of hym of generaciouns,
 and reseitis of the tresouris therof. The 22
 coroun of wisdom is the drede of the
 Lord, and fillith pees, and the fruyt of
 heelthe. And he siz, and noumbrede it; 23
 forsothe euer eithir†† ben^a the ziftis of
 God. Wisdom schal departe the kunnyng 24
 and vndurstondyng of prudence; and it en-

* of the entring
 therof; that is,
 of the werk
 therof. *Live*
here. c.

† He fourmyde;
 he, that is, the
 Fadir mesuride.
 on ech fleisch;
 that is, on ech
 man. *Live*
here. c.

‡ The drede of
 Lord is glorie;
 for bi it a man
 disseruyth glo-
 rie. *Live here. c.*
 § lengthe of
 dayes; that is,
 with outen
 ende. *Live*
here. c.

|| apperith in
 sijt; that is, bi
 reuelacioun of
 profesie. *Live*
here. c.

¶ in the wombe;
 that is, in bap-
 tism, which is
 goostly gene-
 racioun, in
 whiche the
 grace of the
 Hooli Goost is
 3ouun. *Live*
here. c.

** The drede of
 the Lord is
 religioust^e;
 that is, bynd-
 ing of kun-
 nyng about
 God, lest it
 flete down, for
 to loue vnduly
 delitable thingis
 of the world.

†† myrthe; in pre-
 sent tyme, bi
 clenness of
 consience.

and ioie; in
 tyme to com-
 ynge, bi the
 geting of glorie.
 schal be wel;
 for in heuene
 schal be noon
 yuel.

schal be blissid;
 of God and
 aungels.

of his coum-
 fort; that is,
 of blisful vsing
 in heuene. The

fulnesse of wis-
 dom is for to
 drede God; for
 it ledith to glo-
 rie, wherynne
 is fulnesse of
 wisdom in
 blisful sijt.

Live here. c.

†† schal fille ech zifte; for whi the ziftis of God ben fillid in heuenly cuntrey, to which the drede of God bryngith. and reseitis; that is, myztis of the soule, that schulen be fillid with souereyn perfeccioun in heuene. *Live here. c.* †† euer eithir; that is, wisdom and drede. *Live here. c.*

^f inwit *E pr. m.* comyng *E sec. m.* ^g habile thingis *E pr. m.* ^h the coumforting *c et E pr. m.* ⁱ it *E pr. m.*
^k of *A.* ^l either *c et E pr. m.*

^e it *I.* ^f fleisch *ether man v.* ^g Om. *I.* ^h it schal *I.* ⁱ daies *I.* ^k whom *I.* ^l that is louen *v.*
^m Om. *I.* ⁿ it is *I.* ^o Om. *I.* ^p Om. *I.* ^q that is, wijsdom and drede ben *v.*

prudence wisdom shal with departen; and the glorie of men holdende itself it en-
 25 haunceth. The roote of wisdom is 'to dreden^m God; the braunches forsotheⁿ of it long lyuyng. In the tresores of wisdom vnderstanding, and religiosite of kunnyng; kursyng forsothe to synneres
 27 wisdom^o. The drede of the Lord putteth 28 awey synne, for^p who withoute drede is, shal not moun be iustefied; wrauthfulnesse forsothe of^q wilfulnesse 'or hardynesse^r of
 29 hym is his turnyng vp so down. Vn to tyme^s the pacient shal suffre; and aftir-
 30 ward is^t zeldyng^u azeen of ful myrthe. Good wit vnto time shal hide his wrdis; and the lippis of manye shuln tellen out
 31 the wit of hym. In the tresores of wisdom is tocyng of discyplyne; cursing forsothe to the synnere is the^v heriung of
 33 God. Sone, coueitende wisdom, kep rihtwysnesse, and God shal 3yue it to thee. Wisdom forsothe and discyplyne the drede
 34 of the Lord, and that weel plesid is to 35 hym, feith and debonernesse; and it shal 36 fulfille the tresores of hym. Be thou not rebel, and 'mys leeful^w to the dred
 37 of the Lord; and ne 38 he thou to hym with double herte. Ne be thou an ipocrite in the sijte of men; and be thou not
 38 sclaundred in thi lippes. Tac heed in tho thingus, lest parauenture thou falle, and
 39 bringe to thi soule vnwrshaping; and God openeth in hid thingus, and^x in the myddel of the synagoge^y he hurtle thee;
 40 for thou ne3hedist maliciously to the Lord, and thin herte is ful of treccherie and desceyt.

CAP. II.

1 Sone, ne3hende to the seruage of God, stond in rihtwysnesse, and drede; and
 2 greithe thou thi soule to tempting. Ber down thin herte, and suffre, and bowe

^m the synagoge; that is, of gadering togidere of faithful men. Lire here. c.
^w patience. Lire here. c.

haunsith the glorie of hem, that holden it. The roote of wisdom is for to drede²⁵ God; forsothe the^r braunchis^s therof * ben longe duryng. Vndurstonding, and re-
 26 ligioust of kunnyng ben in the tresouris of wisdom; but wisdom is abhomynacioun to synners. The^t drede of the Lord put-
 27 tith awey synne, for he that is with out drede[†], mai not be iustified; for whi the wrauthfulnesse of his pride is the destriyng
 of hym. A pacient man schal suffre[‡] til 29 in to tyme; and aftirward schal^u be zelding of mirthe. Good wit schal hide the 30 wordis of hym til in to a tyme; and the lippis of many men schulen telle out the wit of hym. In the tresouris of wisdom
 31 is signefiung of kunnyng; but the wor- 32 schipyng of God is abhomynacioun to a synnere. A! sone, coueitynge wisdom, 33 kepe thou rihtfulnesse, and God schal 3yue it to thee. For whi the^v drede of the 34 Lord is wisdom, and kunnyng, and that that is wel plesaunt to hym is feith and 35 myldenesse; and God schal fille the tresours of hym^s. Be thou not rebel, and 36 vnobileueful to the drede of the Lord; and neize thou not to hym in double herte. Be thou not an ypocrite in the sijt of 37 men; and be thou not sclaundrid in thi lippis. Take thou kepe to tho, lest thou 38 falle, and brynge disonour to thi soule; and lest God schewe thi priuytees, and 39 hurtle thee down in the myddis of the synagoge^{||}; for thou neizidist wickidli to 40 the Lord, and thin herte was ful of gile and of falsnesse.

CAP. II.

Sone, neizyng to the seruyce of God, 1 stonde thou in rihtfulnesse, and drede; and make redi thi soule to temptacioun. Bere down thin herte[¶], and suffre, and 2

[¶] bere down thyn herte; in refreyninge the stiringis of

* the braunchis therof; that is, vertues, that comen forth of wisdom. Lire here. c.
 † with out drede; of God. Lire here. c.
 ‡ a pacient man schal suffre; the disesie of a proud man. of myrthe; for the mede of glorie schal be zoldun to a pacient man, and the peyne of helle to a proude man. good wit; that is, a man of good discrecioun. schal hide the wordis of him; that is, of a proud man and ouerthwert, in beyng stille patiently til in to a couenable tyme. the wit of him; that suffrith patiently, as it is opyn of Dauith, whos wit many men comenden, for he herd patiently the wordis of Seimey doyng ouerthwertly azenus hym. In the tresours of wisdom; that is, among precious thingis therof. signefiung of kunnyng; bi which a man suffrith patiently disesie, as the scourgis of God, as of a fadir chastisinge. worschipping of God; which is worschippid bi feith, hope, and charite, as Austyn seith in Encheridion. Lire here. c.
 § the tresouris; of goostly goodis. of hym; that dredith God. Lire here. c.

^m the dreed of A. ⁿ Om. c. ^o is wisdom A. ^p and A. for whi G. ^q of the c pr. m. ^r Om. c et E pr. m. ^s the tyme E pr. m. ^t Om. AGH. ^u turnyng c et E pr. m. ^v Om. c pr. m. ^w mysbileueful AG. ^x Om. c. ^y lynage G.

^r Om. K. ^s braunchis, that is, vertues V. ^t Om. I. ^u ther schal I. ^v Om. I.

in thyn ere, and vndertac the wrdis of vndirstonding, and heeþe thou not in 3 tyme of opressing. Sustene the sustenyngus of God; be thou with ioyned to God, and suffre, that thi lif waxe in the 4 laste. Alle^a that^a to thee shul ben leid to, tac, and in sorewe sustene, and in thi 5 mecnesse haue pacience. For in fyr is preued gold and siluer; men forsothe resceyuable in the chymne of mecnesse. 6 3if feith to God, and he shal rekure^{aa} thee; and dresse thi weye, and hope in to hym. Kep the drede of hym, and in hym wax 7 old. 3ee dredende the Lord, susteeneth the mercy^b of hym, and bowith not down 8 fro hym, lest 3ee falle. 3ee that dreden the Lord, 3yueth feith to hym, and there 9 shal not be voidid awei 3oure meede. 3ee that dreden the Lord, hopeth in to hym, and in to liking shal come to 3ou mercy. 10 3ee that dreden the Lord, looueth hym, 11 and 3oure hertes shul be liztned. Beholdeth, 3ee sonus, the naciouns of men, and witeth, for no man hopide in the 12 Lord, and is shent; abod^c stille in his hestes, and is forsaken; or who inwardli 13 clepede hym, and he dispisede hym? For piteuous, and mercyful is God, and he shal for3yue in the day of tribulacioun synnes; and defendere he is to alle men, 14 ful out sechende hym in treuthe. Wo to the double in herte, and to the lippis of the 'hidously giltende^d, and to the hondes euele doende; and to the synnere goende 15 in to the erthe two weies. Wo to the dissolut 'or vnstable^e in herte, that 3yuen not feith to God; and therfore thei 'schul not 16 ben^f defendid of hym. Wo to them that han lost suffring, and that han forsake ri3t weies, and han turned aside in to shreude 17 weies. And what shul thei do, whan the Lord shal begynne to inwardli looken? 18 Who dreden the Lord, shul not ben of mysfeith to the wrd of hym; and who

bowe down thin eere, and take the wordis of vndirstonding, and haaste thou not in to the tyme of deeth*. Suffre thou the 3 susteynyngis of God; be thou ioyned to God, and abide thou, that thi lijf waxe in the last tyme. Take thou alle thing that 4 is set to thee, and suffre thou in sorewe, and haue thou pacience in thi lownesse. For whi gold and siluer is preued in fier; 5 forsothe men worthi to be resseyued *ben preued* in the chymeney of lownesse. Bileue thou to God, and he schal rekeuere 6 thee; and dresse thou thi weie, and hope thou in to hym. Kepe thou his drede, and waxe thou eld ther ynne. 3e that dreden 7 the Lord, abide^w his merci, and boowe 3e not awei fro hym, lest 3e falle down. 3e 8 that dreden the Lord, bileue to hym, and 3oure mede schal not be auoidid. 3e that 9 dreden the Lord, hope^x into hym, and merci^y schal come to 3ou into delityng. 3e that dreden the Lord, loue^z hym, and 10 3oure hertis schulen be liztned. Sones, 11 biholde 3e the naciouns[†] of men, and wite 3e, that no man hopide in the Lord, and was schent; *noon* dwellide in hise heestis, 12 and was forsakun; ether who inwardli clepede hym, and he despisede hym 'that clepide^a? For whi God is pitouse, and 13 merciful, and he schal for3yue synnes in the dai of tribulacioun; and he is defendere to alle men, that seken hym in treuthe. Woo to the 'man with^b double^c 14 herte, and with cursid lippis, and misdoyunge hondys; and to a synnere entrynge in to the lond bi twei^{cc} weies. Wo 15 to hem that ben dissolute[‡] of herte, that bileuen not to God; and therfor thei schulen not be defendid of him. Wo to hem 16 that han lost pacience, and that han forsake ri3tful weies, and han turned awei in to schrewid weies. And what schulen 17 thei do, whanne the Lord schal bigynne to biholde[§]? Thei that dreden the Lord, 18

* haste thou not in to the tyme of deeth; that is, be thou not brokun for the lengthe of aduersite, and desire deth. Suffre thou the susteynyngis of God; that is, suffre patiently aduersites, in whiche God schal susteyne thee. haue thou pacience in thi lownesse; that is, temporal casting down. he schal rekyuere thee; fro temporal turment to euerlastinge coumfort. Live here. c.

† biholde 3e the naciouns, etc.; biholding of hooly bokis, in whiche the dedis of fadris, that is, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and other men ben writun. Live here. c.

‡ that ben dissolute; that is, whos herte is vnboundun and departid fro God, bi vnfeithfulnesse. Live here. c. § to biholde; that is, to punysche; the Lord is seid to biholde synnes, whanne he punyschith tho. Live here. c.

^a And alle c et E pr. m. ^a that is, E pr. m. ^{aa} resceyuen c pr. m. ^b drede E pr. m. ^c or abod A. ^d hidous gilter AGH. ^e Om. c et E pr. m. ^f ben not c et E pr. m.

^w abideth I. ^x hopeth I. ^y his merci c. ^z loueth I. ^a Om. I. ^b Om. I. ^c double in I. ^{cc} two I passim.

loouen hym, shuln holli kepe the weie
 19 of hym. Who dreden the Lord, shuln
 inwardli sechen, that ben wel plesid
 thingus to hym; and that loouen hym,
 shul be fulfild with the lawe of hym.
 20 Who dreden the Lord, shul greithe ther
 hertes, and in the sizte of hym thei shul
 21 halewen ther soules. Who dreden the
 Lord, shul kepen the hestis of hym, and
 pacience shuln han vnto the inwardly
 22 looking of hym; seiende, If penaunce wee
 shul not do, wee shul falle in to the
 hondus of the Lord, and not into the
 23 hondis of men. Forsothe aftir the my-
 kilnesse of hym, so and his mercy is^g
 with hym.

CAP. III.

1 The sonus of wisdom the chirche of
 riztwis men, and the nacioun of hem
 2 obeisaunce and loouyng. The dom of
 the fader hereth, 3ee looued sonus; and
 3 so doth, that 3ee be saf. God forsothe
 wrshepede the fader in sonus, and the
 dom of the moder ful out sechende he
 4 fastnede in to the sonus. Who looueth
 God, shal full out prezen for synnes, and
 shal withholden hym fro them, and in
 the orisoun of daies he shal be ful out
 5 herd. And as he that tresoreth, so and
 6 he that wrshepith his moder. Who
 wrshepith his fader, shal be mad merie
 in sonus, and in the dai of his orisoun
 7 he shal be full out herd. Who wrshipith
 his fader, with lengere lif shal lyue; and
 who obesheth to the fadir, shal refreshe
 8 the moder. Who dredeth the Lord,
 wrshepith fader and moder; and as to
 lordis he shal serue to them that geeten
 9 hym, in werc, and wrd, and in alle pa-
 10 cience. Wrshipec thou thi fader, that
 ther come vpon to thee blissing fro God;
 and the blessing of hym in the laste
 11 dwelleth. The blissing of the fadir fast-
 neth the houses of sonus; the cursing

schulen not be vnbileueful to his word;
 and thei that louen hym, schuln kepe his
 weie. Thei that dreden the Lord, schuln 19
 enquire tho thingis, that ben wel plesaunt
 to hym; and thei that louen him, schuln
 be fillid with his lawe. Thei that dreden 20
 the Lord, schuln make redi her hertis,
 and schuln halewe her soulis in his sizt.
 Thei that dreden the Lord, schuln kepe 21
 hise comaundementis, and^d schuln haue
 pacience til to the biholdyng* of hym; and 22
 schuln seie, If we doon not penaunce,
 we schuln falle in to the hondis of the
 Lord, and not in to the hondis of men.
 For bi the greetnesse of hym, so and his 23
 merci is^e with hym.

CAP. III.

The sonus of wisdom *ben* the chirche 1
 of iust men, and the^f nacioun of hem *is*
 obedience and loue. Dereworthe sonus, 2
 here 3e the^g doom of the fadir; and do 3e
 so, that 3e be saaf. For whi God onouride 3
 the fadir[†] in sonus, and he sekith, and
 hath maad stidfast the doom of the^h
 modir in to sonus. He that loueth God, 4
 schal preie for synnes, and he schal ab-
 steyne hym silf fro tho, and he schal be
 herd in the preier of daies. And as he 5
 that tresourith, so andⁱ he that onourith
 his modir. He that onourith his fadir, 6
 schal be maad myrie in sonus, and he
 schal be herd in the dai of his preier.
 He that onourith his fadir, schal lyue bi 7
 lengere lijf; and he that obeieith to the
 fader, schal refreische the modir^k[‡]. He 8
 that dredith the Lord, onourith fadir and
 modir; and he schal serue in werk, and word,
 and al^l pacience to hem that gendriden^m 9
 hym as to lordis. Onoure thi fadir, that 10
 the blessing of God come to thee; and his
 blessing dwellithⁿ in the laste. The bless- 11
 yng of the fadir makith stidfast the housis
 of sonus; but the cursyng of the modir
 drawith out the^o foundementis. Haue 12

* *have pacience til to the bihold- ing; thanne God biholdith pacient men, whanne he deliuerith hem, and makith hem ioyeful.*
 † *If we doon not penaunce; for synnes, fro whiche a man may not be al vngilti in present tyme.*
 ‡ *in to the hondis of the Lord; that is, in to Goddis punysching ful greuouse. bi the greetnesse of hym; that is, his power to punysch hem, that ben obstynat in synne.*
 † *his merci; in sparing hem, that doen penaunce.*
 ‡ *him; for whi euer either is the same thing with Goddis being.*
 † *of wisdom; that is, of God, which is wisdom, thorou beyng ether kynde.*
 † *obedience and loue; as a man liberal excellently is seid not onely liberal, but also liberalte.*
 † *Live here. c.*
 † *God onouride the fadir; that is, comaundide, that the fadir be onourid bi sonus.*
 † *sekith; for he sekith stidefastly the keperis of this heest, to rewarde hem, and the trespassours, to punysche hem.*
 † *Live here. c.*
 † *the modir; that is, schal coumforte hir.*
 † *Live here. c.*

^g Om. c.

^d and thei i. ^e Om. n. ^f Om. c. ^g Om. i. ^h Om. ceteri. ⁱ Om. i. ^k modir, that is, shal coumforte hir v. ^l in al x. ^m bigaten i. ⁿ dwelle ca. ^o Om. i.

forsothe of the moder drawith out foun-
 12 demens bi the roote. Ne glorie thou in
 the wrong of thi fader; forsothe it is not
 13 to thee glorie, but shenshepe. The glorie
 forsothe of a man, of the wrshepe of his
 fadir; and the vylenye of the sone, the
 14 fader withoute wrshepe. Sone, mekeli
 tac the laste age of thi fader, and ne
 15 sorewe thou hym in his lif; and if he faile
 in wit, 3if for3yuenesse, and dispyse thou
 not hym in thi^h vertue; forsothe the
 almesse deede of the fader shal not be
 16 in for3etyng. For whi for the synne of
 the moder shal be restored to thee good,
 17 and in ri3twisnesse it shal ben bild vp to
 thee; and in the dai of tribulacioun it
 shal be remembrid of thee, and as iys in
 18 cleer, thi synnes shul ben loosed. Of hou
 euel loos is he, that forsaketh the fader;
 and he is cursid of God, that terreth to
 19 wrathe the moder. Sone, in debonernesse
 thi werkes parforme, and ouer the glorie
 20 of men thou shalt be looued. Hou myche
 thou art gret, meeke thee in alle thyngus,
 and byforn God thou shalt fynde grace;
 21 for gret my3t is of God alone, and of
 22 meeke men he is wrshipid. He3ere
 thyngus than thiself seche thou not, and
 strengere thingus than thiself ne serche
 thou; but the thingus that God comaund-
 ide to thee, thenk hem euermor; and in
 manye werkes of hym 'ne be thouⁱ kuri-
 23 ous. Forsothe it is not nedeful to thee,
 tho thingus that ben hid, to seen with
 24 thin ezen. In oueruoide thingus wile
 thou not enserchen manyefold; and in
 manye werkes of hym thou shalt not be
 25 curious; manye forsothe thyngus ouer
 the wit of men ben shewid to thee.
 26 Manye forsothe supplaunted the suspi-
 sioun of hem, and in vanytee heeld down
 27 the wittis of hem. The harde herte
 shal han euel in the laste; and that
 28 looueth perile, in it shal pershen. The

thou not glorie in the dispisyng of thi
 fadir; for it is not glorie to thee, but con-
 fusoun. For whi the glorie of a man is 13
 of the onour of his fadir; and the schen-
 schip of the sone is a fadir with out onour.
 Sone, resseyue the elde of thi fadir, and 14
 make thou not hym sori in his lijf; and 15
 if he failith in wit*, 3yue thou for3yue-
 nesse, and dispise thou not hym in thi
 vertu; for whi the almes of the fadir
 schal not be for3etyng. For whi good 16
 schal be restorid to thee for the synne of
 the moder, and bildyng schal be maad to 17
 thee in ri3tfulnesse; and it schal remembre
 of thee in dai^p of tribulacioun, and thi
 synnes schulen be releessid, as iys in clere-
 nesse^q of the sunne. He is of ful yuel 18
 fame, that forsakith the fadir; and he
 that wraththith^r the^s moder, is cursid of
 God. Sone, performe thi werkis in mylde- 19
 nesse, and thou schalt be loued ouer the
 glorie of men. In as myche as thou art 20
 greet†, make thee meke in alle thingis,
 and thou schalt fynde grace bfore God;
 for whi the power of God aloon is greet, 21
 and he is onourid of meke men. Seke 22
 thou not hizere thingis than thou, and
 enquere thou not strongere thingis than
 thou; but euere thenke thou tho thingis,
 whiche God comaundide to thee; and be
 thou not curiouse‡ in ful many werkis of
 hym. For it is not nedeful to thee to se 23
 with thin izen tho thingis, that ben hid.
 In superflu thingis nyle thou seke many- 24
 fold; and be thou not curiouse in many
 werkis of hym; for whi ful many thingis 25
 aboute the wit of men|| ben schewid to
 thee. For the suspicioun of many men 26
 hath disseyued hem, and withhelde her
 wittis in vanytee. An hard herte schal 27
 haue yuel in the laste tyme; and he that
 loueth perel, schal perische ther ynne. An 28
 herte that entrith bi tweie weies§, schal
 not haue prosperitees, *ether reste*; and a

* if he failith
 in wit; for it
 is not his synne,
 but kyndeli
 defaute.
 almes of the
 fadir; that is,
 3ounn for the
 soule of the
 fadir.
 synne of the
 moder; that is,
 almes 3ounn
 in to remys-
 sioun of her
 synne. *Live
 here. c.*
 † art greet; in
 power, kun-
 nyng, ether
 vertu.
 Seke thou not,
 etc.; as ben the
 priuytes of
 Godhed. *Live
 here. c.*
 ‡ be thou not
 curiouse, etc.;
 for in sicke is
 more vanyte
 than profit.
Live here. c.
 || many thingis
 aboute the wit
 of men; that
 is, tho that
 weren schewid
 to the hooly
 profetis, to the
 helthe of men,
 to whiche it is
 to assente
 mekely or
 stidefastly.
 suspicioun;
 for they that
 presumen of
 her wit, sup-
 posen that they
 moun come to
 the knowing
 of alle hize
 thingis. *in
 vanyte*; for bi
 this thei felden
 in to errours,
 and eresies.
 An herd herte;
 that azenstond-
 ith Goddis stir-
 ing to good.
 in the laste
 tyme; for, as
 Austyn seith,
 in a sermoun
 of the Inno-
 centis, a syn-
 nere is smytun
 bi this pu-
 nysching, that
 whanne he
 dieth, he for-
 gete him silf,
 which the
 while he lyu-
 ede, for3at God.
 loueth perel;
 that is, occa-
 siouns of
 synnes. *Live*

here. c.

§ bi tweie weyes; that is, that hath the knowing of good in vndurstonding, and malice in wille. *Live here. c.*

^h Om. A. ⁱ be thou not AGH.

^p the dai A pr. m. ^q clerenesse, ether heete CEF GHIMNPQR SUVXYC. ^r or whettith I marg. ^s his I.

herte goende in to two weies, shal not
han welsum chaunces; and the shrewde
29 herte in them shal be sclaudred. A
wicke^k herte shal ben greeued in so-
rewes; and the synnere shal lei to to
30 synnen. To the synagoge of proude
men shal not be helthe; forsothe the
thicke^l bush of synne in hem shal ben
taken vp bi the^m roote, and it shal not
31 be vnderstonde. The herte of the wise
man is vnderstonde in wisdom, and the
goode ere shal heren with alle coueitende
32 wisdom. The wis herte and vnderstand-
able shal abstenen hymself from synnes,
and in werkes of riȝtwisnesse welsum
33 aftercomyngus shal han. Brennende fyr
water shal quenche, and almes deede
34 aȝenstandeth to synnes. And God is
the forlookereⁿ of hym that ȝeldeth
grace; he hath mynde in to afterward,
and in time of his falling he shal finde
fastnyng.

CAP. IV.

1 Sone, the almesse deede of the pore man
ne begile thou, and ouerturne thou not
2 thin eȝen fro the pore. The hungrende
soule ne dispise thou, and terre thou not
out to wrathe the pore in his myseise.
3 The herte of the helpeles ne tormente
thou, and drawe thou not a long ȝifte to
4 the man^o put in streit. The preȝing of
the troblid ne caste thou awei, and turne
thou not awei thi face fro the nedi. Fro
5 the helpeles ne turne thou awei eȝen^p for
wrathe, and 'leeue thou not, 'or ȝif thou
not cause^q, to men sechende to curse bi-
6 hynde to thee. Forsothe of the man
cursende to thee in bitterness of soule,
ful out herd shal be the preȝeere of hym;
forsothe he shall here hym, that made
7 hym. To the congregacioun of pore men
mac thou thee homli to speken, and to the

man of schrewid herte schal be sclaudrid
in tho. A wickid herte schal be greuyd 29
in sorewis; and a synnere schal 'hepe to
do^t synne. Helthe schal not be^{*} to the 30
synagoge^u of proude men; for whi the
thicke wode of synne schal be drawun
out bi the roote in hem, and it schal not
be vndurstondu[†]. The herte of a wise 31
man is vndurstonduⁿ in wisdom, and a
good eere schal here wisdom with al co-
ueitise. A wijs herte and able to vndur- 32
stonde schal absteyne it silf fro synnes,
and schal^v haue prosperitees in the werkis
of riȝtfulnesse. Watir quencheth fier bren- 33
nyng, and almes aȝenstonduⁿ synnes. And 34
God, the biholdere of hym that ȝeldith
grace[‡], hath mynde aftirward; and he
schal fynde stidefastnesse in the^w tyme of
his fal.

CAP. IV.

Sone, defraude thou not the almes of a
pore man, and turne not ouere thin iȝen[§]
fro a pore man. Dispise thou not an 2
hungri man, and wrathe thou not a
pore man in his nedynesse. Turmentes
thou not the herte of a nedi man, and
tarie thou not the ȝifte to a man that is
set in angwisch. Caste thou not awei the 4
preiȝng of a man set in tribulacioun, and
turne not awei thi face fro a nedi man.
Turne not awei thin iȝen fro a pore man 5
for ire^{||}, and ȝyue not occasioun to men
axyng to curse thee byhynde. For the 6
preyer of hym that cursith thee in the^x
bitternesse of soule, schal be herd; for-
sothe he that made hym, schal here hym.
Make thee eesi to speke to the congrega- 7
cioun of pore men, and make meke thi
soule to a preest[¶], and make meke thin

* Helthe schal
not be; that is,
goostly helthe,
that stonduⁿ
in good dispo-
sicioun of ver-
tues. wode;
that is, al excu-
sacioun lous-
ing synne. *Live*
here. c.
† it schal not be
vndurstonduⁿ;
of synneris that
nylen thenke
on Goddis
domes. *Live*
here. c.
‡ that ȝeldith
grace; that is,
doith almes,
of the goodis
ȝouun of God
to hise mem-
bris. *hath*
mynde; in en-
creessinge his
good. *in the*
tyme of his fal;
that is, of his
deth, for as
Austyn seith,
mersi aloone is
the felow of
deed men.
defraude thou
not the almes
of a pore man;
in witholdinge
to thee that,
that is bitakun
to ȝyue to pore
men, ether in
denyinge of
thyn owne
good in the
tyme of nede,
in which it is
due to a pore
man. *Live*
here. c.
§ turne not
ouer thyn iȝen;
that is, that
thouȝ thou
maist not ȝyue
almes bi the
hond, thou ȝyue
namely the
wille, and be-
nygne lokyng.
Live here. c.
|| Turne not
awei thin iȝen
fro a pore man
for ire; that
is, thouȝ he
wrathe the
thee bifore,
leeue thou not
herfore to do
good to him.
cursith; that
is, wischith to
thee yuel of
peyne, that

ȝyueth vndurstonduⁿ to him to whom it is wischid, that so bi his owne turment he be stirid to haue compassioun of othere men. *Live here. c.*
¶ to a preest; that is, do thou du reuerence to an eld man. *Live here. cv.*

^k wicked *A.* ^l Om. *c pr. m.* ^m Om. *A.* ⁿ forth loker *ÆGH.* ^o anguyssh *E pr. m.* ^p thin eȝen *A.*
^q Om. *c et E pr. m.*

^t adde to to *I.* ^u synage *I.* ^v it schal *I.* ^w Om. *I.* ^x Om. *I.*

prest meeke thou thi soule, and to the
 8 mad gret meeke thou thin hed. Bowe
 down to the pore thin ere^r withoute
 drerynesse, and zeld thi dette, and an-
 9 swere pesibli in debonernesse. Delyuere
 hym that wrong suffreth fro the hond of
 the proude man, and egreli, ^{or} *heuyly*^s,
 10 bere thou not in thi soule. In demende
 be thou to the^t fadirles childer merciful as
 a fadir, and for a man, ^{or} *husbonde*^a, to
 11 the moder of hem; and thou shal be as an
 obeisaunt sone of the heigest, and he shal
 han merci of thee more than a moder.
 12 Wisdam to his sonus inbrethede lif, and
 receyueth the men out sechende him, and
 he shal go befor in the weie of riztwis-
 13 nesse; and he that looueth it, looueth lif,
 and that waken to it, shul clippe togidere
 the^v *'gladnesse, or pesiblenesse'*^w, of it.
 14 Who holden it, shuln eritagen lif; and
 whider it shal gon in, God shal blissen^x.
 15 Who seruen to it, obeshende shul ben to
 the hoeli man; and hem that loouen it,
 16 God looueth. Who hereth it, demeth
 folkis of kinde; and who biholdeth it, shal
 17 abide stille trostende. If he schal^y 3yue
 feith to it, he shal abide stille, and erit-
 agen it; and the creatures of hem shul
 18 be in fastnyng togidere. For in tempta-
 cioun it goth with hym, and in the first
 19 thyngus it chees hym^z. Drede, and ferd,
 and prouyng it shal bringe in vp on
 hym, and schal^a tormenten hym in tribu-
 lacioun of his techyng, to the tyme that
 it tempte hym in his tho3tis, and he leue
 20 to his soule. And it shal fastne hym,
 and a rizt euene weie bringe to hym,
 21 and gladen hym; and nakenen his hidde
 thingus to hym, and tresoren vp on hym
 kunnyng, and vnderstanding of riztwis-
 22 nesse. If forsothe he schal^b ful^c erre,
 it shal forsaken hym, and it shall taken

heed to a greet man. Boowe down with⁸
 out sorewe thin eere to a pore man, and
 zelde thi debt, and answeere thou pesibli
 in myldenesse. Delyuere thou hym that⁹
 suffrith wrong fro the hond of a proude
 man, and bere thou not heuyli in thi soule.
 In demynge be thou merciful as a fadir¹⁰
 to fadirles children, and *be thou* for an
 hosebonde to the modir of hem; and thou¹¹
 schalt be as an obedient sone of the hiz-
 este, and he schal haue merci on thee
 more than a modir *'hath merci'* on *hir*
child. Wisdom^{*} enspirith lijf to hise sones,¹²
 and resseyueth men sekinge hym, and
 schal^z go bfore in the wei of riztfulnesse;
 and he that loueth that *wisdom*, loueth¹³
 lijf, and thei that waken to it[†], schulen
 biclipe the pesiblenesse, *ether swetnesse*^a,
 therof. Thei that holden it, schulen en-¹⁴
 herite lijf; and whidir it schal entre, God
 schal blesse. Thei that seruen it, schulen¹⁵
 be obeynge to the hooli; and God loueth
 hem, that louen it. He that herith it,¹⁶
 demeth folkis; and he that biholdith it^b,
 schal dwelle tristili. If a man bileueth to¹⁷
 it, he schal dwelle, and enherite it; and the
 creaturis of hem schulen be in conferm-
 yng[†]. For in temptacioun it goith with¹⁸
 hym, and among the firste it chesith
 hym[§]. It schal brynge in on hym drede,¹⁹
 and feer, and preuyng, and it schal tur-
 mente hym in the tribulacioun of his doc-
 tryn, til it tempte hym in hise thou3tis,
 and bileue to his soule^{||}. And it schal²⁰
 make hym stidefast, and schal brynge rizt
 weie to hym, and it schal make hym glad;
 and schal^c make nakid hise priuytees to²¹
 hym, and schal tresore on hym kunnyng,
 and vnderstanding of riztfulnesse. For²²
 sothe if he errith, *God* schal forsake hym,
 and schal bitake hym in to^{cc} the hondis
 of his enemy. Sone, kepe thou tyme, and²³

^{*} *Wisdom*; vnmaad, that is, Goddis Sone. *enspirith lijf*; that is, purpos and desir of betere lyf, bi his teching. and resseyueth men sekinge him; in encreessinge to hem the gifte of wisdom. *go bfore in the weye*; of riztfulnesse, in schewyng it. *Live here. c.* [†] *thei that waken to it*; bi studie of reding, and of preyer. *holden it*; bi hert and werk. *lijf*; of grace and of glorie. *that biholdith*; that is, bi hooly meditacioun. *Live here. c.* [‡] *in confermyng*; that is, the werkis of hem schulen be confermed in good. *Live here. c.* [§] *it chesith hym*; that is, arettith him with chosun men, that ben the firste and beste anentis God. *drede*; of offence, and feer of helle. *brynge in*; that is, schal suffre to be brougt in for his good. *tempte him*; that is, make knowun to othere men the goodnesse of his soule. *Live here. c.* ^{||} *and bileue to his soule*; that is, make that credence be 3ouun to hise wordis; that comen forth of the conseit of soule. and schal bringe, etc.; that is, schal bringe him to rizt weie. schal make nakid, etc.; that is, schal schewe

the priuytes of his kunnyng. *kunnyng* and *vnderstanding* of *riztfulnesse*; that he kunne dresse him silf and othere men in to the weye of *riztfulnesse*.

^r eeze H. eye AG. ^s Om. c et E pr. m. ^t Om. AEGH. ^a Om. c et E pr. m. ^v in A. ^w gladnesse c pr. m. E pr. m. pesiblenesse E sec. m. marg. AGH. ^x ben blessed E pr. m. AGH. ^y Om. c pr. m. ^z Om. c pr. m. ^a Om. c pr. m. ^b Om. c pr. m. ^c ful out c pr. m.

^y Om. i. ^z it schal i. ^a the swetnesse o. ^b it bi hooli meditacioun v. ^c it schal i. ^{cc} Om. i.

23 hym in the hond of his enemy. Sone,
waite tyme, and shone awei fro euel.
24 For thi soule, 'or *lyyf*^d, be thou not con-
foundid^e to seyn soth; ther is forsothe
25 confusioun 'bringende to^f synne, and ther
is confusioun bringende to glorie and
26 grace. Ne take thou to face azen thi face,
27 ne azen thi soule lesing. Ne shame thou
28 thi nezhebore in his falling, ne azen holde
thou a woord in time^g of helthe. Hide
thou not thi wisdam in the fairnes of
29 hit; in the tunge forsothe wisdam is
knownen, and wit, and kunnyng, and
techyng, in the wrd of the weel feel-
ende; and fastnyng in the werkis^h of
30 ryztwisnesse. Azensey thou not to the
wrđ of treuthe any maner; and of lesingⁱ
of thi myslernyng be thou confoundid.
31 Be thou not confoundid to knouelechen
thi synnes; and^j ne sochete thou thee to
32 eche man for synne. Wile thou not with-
stonde^k azen the face of the myzti, ne
enforce thou azen the stroc of the flood.
33 For ryztwisnesse fyt for thi soule, and
vnto deth strif for ryztwisnesse; and God
shal outfytten, 'or ouer come^l, for thee
34 thin enemys. Wile thou not be swift in
thi tunge, and vnprofitable and sloz in thi
35 werkis. Wile thou not ben as a leoun
in thin hous, turnende awei thin homli
men, and oppressende to men soget to
36 thee. Be not thin hond put forth to
taken, and to zyuen^m drawn togidere.

CAP. V.

1 Wile thou not taken heed to wickideⁿ
possessiouns, and ne seye thou, Ther is to
me suffisaunt lif; no thing forsothe it shal
profiten in the tyme of veniaunce, and
2 of oppressing, 'or deth^o. Ne folewe thou in
thi strengthe the coueiting of thin herte,
3 and ne sey thou, What maner myzte I,
or who me shal subiecten for my deedis?
4 God forsothe veniende shal venien. Ne

vnonestly. *Live here. c.*

Y myzte; vndurstonde thou, so Y schal be myzty aftirward. Live here. c.

^d Om. c et E pr. m. ^e offendid A. ^f Om. c pr. m. ^g the time E pr. m. ^h wrdis c pr. m. ⁱ the
lesynge AGH. ^j Om. AGH. ^k stonde AGH. ^l Om. c et E pr. m. ^m zyue thingis E pr. m. ⁿ wicke GH.
^o Om. c et E pr. m.

^d ethchewe I. ^e suget CNV. ^f of deth G.

eschewe^d thou fro yuel. Be thou not 24
aschamed for thi lijf^{*} to seie treuthe; for
whi ther is schame that bryngith synne,
and ther is schame that bryngith glorie 25
and grace. Take thou not a face azens 26
thi face[†], nethir a leesyng azens thi soule.
Schame thou not thi neizbore in his fal, 27
nether withholde thou a word in the tyme 28
of helthe. Hide not thi wisdom[‡] in the
fairnesse therof; for whi wisdom is knowun 29
in tunge, and wit, and kunnyng, and tech-
yng in the word of a wijs man; and stid-
fastnesse is in the werkis of ryztfulnesse.
Azenseye thou not the word of treuthe in 30
only maner; and be thou aschamed of the
leesyng of thi mislernyng. Be thou not 31
aschamed to knoueleche thi synnes[§]; and
make thee not suget to ech man for synne.
Nyle thou stonde azens the face of the 32
myzti, nethir enforse thou azens the stroc
of the flood. For ryztfulnesse fytte thou 33
for thi soule^{||}, and til to the deth stryue
thou for ryztfulnesse; and God schal ouer-
come thin enemyes for thee. Nyle thou 34
be swift in thi tunge, and vnprofitable
and slak in thi werkis. Nyle thou be as 35
a lioun in thin hous, turnynge vpsedoun
thi meneals, and oppressynge hem that
ben sugetis^e to thee. Thin hond be not 36
redi to take[¶], and closid togidere to zyue.

CAP. V.

Nile thou take heed to wickid posses-
siouns, and seie thou not, Sufficient lijf^{**}
is to me; for it schal no thing profite in
the tyme of veniaunce, and of failynge,
ether deth^l. Sue thou not the coueitise of
thin herte in thi strengthe, and seie thou 3
not, As Y myzte^{††}, ether who schal make
me suget for my dedis? For whi God veng-
ynge schal venge. Seie thou not, Y haue 4

²⁴ *schame that bringith synne; that is, schame bi which a techere ceaseth to seye treuthe, lest he suffre schame of grettere prelatia in the sight of men. schame that bryngith glorie and grace; that is, schame, which is suffrid patiently for treuthe. Live here. c.*
^{*} *Be thou not aschamed for thi lijf; to be set forth to deth. Live here. c.*
[†] *azenus thi face; that is, azenus thi soule. Live here. c.*
[‡] *Hide not thi wisdom; in makinge derk the truthe bi curiosewordis. Live here. c.*
[§] *thi synnes; to him that can and may zyue remedy. to ech man for synne; to be curid, but onely to him that kan and may sette remedy. of the myzti; that is, of God. of the flood; that is, of Goddis ryztfulnesse, azenus which they withstonden, that ben obstynat in synnes. Live here. c.*
^{||} *for thi soule; that is, for the helthe of thi soule. til to deth; for good deth is worthi to be chosun more than the trespassing of ryztfulnesse. swift in thi tunge; that is, heedly to bringe forth sentence. slak in thi werkis; that is, in parfournynge the sentence zoun iustly. Live here. c.*
[¶] *to take; ziftis vniustly, ether*
^{††} *As*

sey thou, I synnede, and what to me
falleth sorewy^p? Forsothe the heizeste is
5 a pacient zeldere. Of the forzyuenesse
of synnes, wile thou not^q be withoute
drede, ne ley thou to synne vp on synne.
6 And sey thou not, The merci of God is
gret; of the multitude of my synnes he
7 shal han mercy. Mercy forsothe and
wrathe fro hym soone nezheth, and in to
synneres beholdeth the wrathe of hym.
8 Ne tarie thou to be conuertid to the
Lord, and ne putte^r thou it of fro dai in
9 to day. Sodeynli forsothe shal come the
wrathe of hym, and in time of veniaunce
10 he shal distroze thee. Wile thou not ben
anguysht in vnrizt riches; forsothe
thei shul not profiten in the dai of deth
11 and of veniaunces. Ne throwe thou^s thee
out in to eche wynd, and go thou not in
to eche wei; so forsothe a synnere is
12 proued in double tunge. Be thou stede-
fast in the weie of the Lord, and in the^{ss}
treuthe of thi wit and kunnyng; and
parfitli folewe thee the wrd of pes and
13 of rijtwisnesse. Be thou debonere to
here^t the wrd of God, that thou vnder-
stonde, and with wysdam thou schalt^u
14 bringe forth 'a soth^v answer. If ther
is to thee vnderstanding, answer to thi
nezhbore; elles forsothe thin hond be
vp on thi mouth, lest thou be take in an
vndisciplined wrd, and thou be con-
15 foundid. Wrshipe and glorie in the wrd
of the weel felende; the tunge forsothe
of the vnprudent is the turnyng vp so
16 doun of hym. Be thou not clepid a
twisil tunge^w, 'or a priue bacbiter^{ww}, in
thi lif, and be thou not take in thi
17 tunge, and confoundid. Forsothe vp on
a theef is confusioun, and peyne taking,
and werst repref vp on the twisel tunge.
To the priue grucchere forsothe^x hate,
18 and enemyte, and strif. Iustefie thou
lic maner the^y litle and the^y grete.

synned, and what sorewful thing bifelle to
me? For the hizeste is a pacient zeldere.
Of the forzyuenesse of synnes, nyle thou⁵
be without drede^{*}, nether heepe thou
synne on^s synne. And seie thou not, The⁶
merciful doying of God is greet; he schal
haue merci on the multitude of my synnes.
For whi merci and ire neizeth soone fro⁷
hym, and his ire biholdith on synneris.
Tarie thou not to be conuertid to the⁸
Lord, and dilaie thou not fro dai in to dai.
For whi his ire schal come sodeynli, and⁹
he schal leese thee in the time of ven-
iaunce. Nyle thou be angwischid in vn-¹⁰
iust richessit[†]; for tho schulen not profite
in the dai of failing, *ether of^h dethⁱ*, and of
veniaunce. Wyndewe[‡] thee not in to ech¹¹
wynd, and go thou not in to ech weie;
for so a synnere is preued in double tunge.
Be thou stidfast in the weie of the Lord,¹²
and in treuthe and kunnyng of thi wit;
and the word of pees and of rijtfulnesse
sue thee perfitli. Be thou mylde to here¹³
the word of God[§], that thou vndurstonde,
and with wisdom brynge thou forth a
trewe answer. If thou hast vndirstond-¹⁴
yng, answer thi neizbore; ellis thin hond
be on thi mouth, lest thou be takun in
a word vnwiseli tauzt, and be aschamed.
Onour and glorie is in the word of a wijs¹⁵
man; but the tunge of an vnprudent man
is his distriyng. Be thou not clepid a¹⁶
preuy yuel spekere in thi lijf, and be thou
not takun in thi tunge, and be aschamed.
Schame and penaunce is on a theef, and¹⁷
worst^k schenschip^l is on a man of double
tunge. Forsothe hatrede and enemytee
and dispisyng is to a preuy bacbitere.
Iustifie thou a litil man and a greet man¹⁸
in lijk maner.

* nyle thou be
with out drede;
for thou woost
not wher the
penaunce is
sufficient, and
thou; it is
sufficient to
remouyng of
synne, netheles
not of al peyne.
Live here. c.

† richessis; to
be getun yuele,
ether to with-
holdun yuele.
Live here. c.

‡ Wyndewe,
etc.; in tech-
ing boostfully
and presumptu-
ously. in to ech
weye; that is,
in rehersyng
ech opynyoun,
and cleuyng
now to this,
now to another.
in double tunge;
in techinge now
the truthe, and
now affirm-
yng the con-
trarie of truthe,
whiche thing
techeris doubt-
inge ether vn-
stidfast in
feith, ben wont
to do. in the
weye of the
Lord; as to
feith. in the
truthe, and
kunnyng of thi
wit; that is,
in the stiring
of kyndly re-
soun as to ver-
tues. Live here.
c.

§ to here the
word of God;
in heringe
swetly an axing
of feith, ether
of vertues, set
forth to thee.
that thou vn-
durstonde; the
entent of the
axere. Live
here. c.

^p sorew A sec. m. EG. ^q Om. A. ^r bere E pr. m. ^s Om. A. ^{ss} Om. c pr. m. ^t Om c pr. m.
^u Om. c pr. m. ^v Om. AGH. ^w tungid A. ^{ww} Om. c et E pr. m. ^x Om. A. ^y to A.

^g vpon I. ^h Om. s. ⁱ deed v. ^k ful yuel I. ^l schenschip, ether cursyng c et ceteri.

CAP. VI.

1 Wile thou not be mad for a frend
 enemy to thi neȝheboꝛe; repref forsothe
 and strif the euel man shal eritagen,
 and eche synnere enuyous and twisil
 2 tungid. Ne enhaunce thou thee in the
 thenking of thi soule, as a boole; lest
 perauenture be hurtlid awei thi strengthe
 3 bi folie, and thi lefes it ete, and thi
 frutes it leese, and thou be laft as a drie
 4 tree in wildernesse. A shreude forsothe
 soule shal destroyed hym that hath it,
 and in to ioȝe of his enemy it ȝyueþ
 hym, and shal bringe down in to the lot
 5 of vnpytous men. A sweete wrd mul-
 plieth frendis, and swagith enemys; and
 a gracious tunge in a good man shal
 6 abounde. Manye pesible ben to thee, and
 counsellour be to thee oon of a thousand.
 7 If thou weldist a frend, in temptacioun
 weld hym, and ne liztli opene, *'or trowe^a*,
 8 thou thiself to hym. Ther is forsothe a
 frend aftir his tyme, and *'schal not abide^b*
 9 stille in the dai of tribulacioun. And ther
 is a frend that is turned to enemyte; and
 ther is a frend, that hate, and strif, and
 10 reprefes shal discoueren. Ther is for-
 sothe a frend, felawe of the bord, and
 11 abidith not stille in the dai of nede. A
 frend if he^c abide stille stablid, he shal
 be to thee as euene with, and in thin
 12 homli thingus trostli he shal do. If he
 shal meeken hymself aȝen thee, and hiden
 hymself fro thi face, thou shalt han good
 13 frenshepe of o wil. Fro thin enemys be
 thou seuered, and of thi frendis tac heed.
 14 A feithful frend a strong^d proteccioun;
 who forsothe fyndeth hym, fyndith tresor.
 15 To a feithful frend is no comparisoun;
 ther is not wrthi peising of gold and of
 siluer aȝen the goodnesse of the feith of
 16 hym. A feithful frend^e leching of lif,
 and of vndealdynesse; and who dreden^f

CAP. VI.

Nile thou for a freend be maad enemyte
 to the^m neȝboꝛe; for whi an yuele man
 schal enherite vpbreidyngⁿ and dispisyng,
 and ech synnere enuyouse and double
 tungid. Enhaunse thee not in the^o thouȝt²
 of thi soule, as a bole *doith*; lest thi vertu^{*}
 be hurtlid down bi foli, and it ete thi³
 leeuës, and leese thi fruytis, and thou be
 left as a drye tree in deseert. Forsothe⁴
 a wickid soule schal leese hym that hath
 it, and it ȝyueþ hym in to the^p ioie of the
 enemyte, and it schal leede forth in to the
 part of wickid men[†]. A swete word mul-⁵
 tiplieth frendis, and swagith enemytes; and
 a tunge wel graciously schal be plenteuouse
 in a good man. Many pesible men be to⁶
 thee, and oon of a thousynde be a coun-
 sellour to thee. If thou hast a frend, haue⁷
 hym in temptacioun[‡], and bitake not liztli
 thi silf to hym. For ther is a frend bi his⁸
 time, and he schal not dwelle in the dai of
 tribulacioun. And ther is a frend which⁹
 is turned to enemyte; and ther is a
 frend, that schal schewe opynli hatrede,
 and chiding, and dispisyngis. Forsothe¹⁰
 ther is a frend, felowe^q of table, and dwell-
 ith not in the dai of nede. If a frend¹¹
 dwellith stidfast[§], he schal be as a man
 euene with thee, and he schal do tristili
 in thi meyneal^r thingis. If he mekith hym¹²
 silf bifore thee, and hidith hym^{rr} fro thi
 face, thou schalt haue good frendship of
 oon acord. Be thou departid fro thin¹³
 enemytes, and take heede of thi frendis.
 A feithful frend *is* a strong defendyng; ¹⁴
 forsothe he that fyndith him, fyndith tre-
 sour. No comparisoun is to a feithful¹⁵
 frend; weiyng of gold and of siluer is not
 worthi aȝens the goodnesse of his feithful-
 nesse. A feithful frend *is* medecyn of¹⁶
 lijf^{||}, and of vndealdynesse; and thei that
 dreden the Lord, schulen fynde hym. He¹⁷

* thi vertu;
 that is, sultile
 of thi wit. bi
 foli; that is,
 bi mysusing of
 thi kunnyng;
 and this foli
 ete thi leeuës;
 that is, distrie
 thi faire wordis.
 Lire here. c.
 † in to the part
 of wickid men;
 that is, in to
 helle, which is
 the eritage of
 wickid men. c.

‡ haue him in
 temptacioun;
 that is, preue
 thou him in
 thyn aduersite.
 bitake, etc.; in
 schewing thi
 priuytes to him,
 bifor that thou
 haue preued
 him. bi his
 tyme; that is,
 tyme of pros-
 perite, coue-
 nable to his
 wyynyng. Lire
 here. c.

§ If a frend
 dwellith stide-
 fast; with thee
 in frendship to
 God. mekith
 him; that is,
 consentith with
 thee in alle
 goodis. hidith
 hym; in pro-
 curing thi
 good more in
 thyn absence
 than in pre-
 sence. Lire
 here. c.

|| is medecyn of
 lyif; for he
 loueth bi cha-
 rite, and pro-
 curith to his
 frend the goodis
 of grace, that
 quykeneth
 goostly, and
 bryngith to
 vndealdynesse
 of glorie. c.

^a Om. c et e pr. m. ^b abidith not c pr. m. e pr. m. ^c Om. c pr. m. ^d frend a strong feithful c pr. m.
 frend is a stroong feithful A. stronge frende and a feithful G. ^e frend is A. ^f dredith A.

^m thi I. ⁿ edwityng c et ceteri. ^o Om. c. ^p Om. I. ^q to felowe c. ^r memoreal c. ^{rr} hym
 silf A pr. m.

17 the Lord, shul finden hym. Who dredeth
the Lord, euenly shal han good fren-
shipe; for after hym shal ben his frend.
18 Sone, fro thi 3outh the tac doctrine, and
vn to hoore^g heris thou shalt finde wis-
19 dam. As he that ereth, and that sowith,
ne3he thou to it, and sustene the goode
20 frutes of it. In the werk forsothe of it
a litil thou shal trauailen, and soone thou
21 shalt ete of^h the getingus of it. Hou
sharp ful myche is wisdam to vnwise men,
and ther shal not abide stille in it the
22 herteles. As the vertue of a ston, prou-
yng shal be in them; and thei shul not
23 abide to throwe it afer. The wisdam
forsothe of doctrine isⁱ after the name of
it, and not to manye it is opened; to
whom forsothe it is knowen, it abit^j
24 stille, vnto the sizte of God. Here, sone,
and tac counseil of vnderstandyng, and
25 caste thou not awei my counseil. Thro3
in thi feet in to the gyues of it, and in to
26 the coleris of it thi necke. Vnderlei thi
shulder, and ber it, and ne bere thou
27 heuysumli in^k the bondis of it. In al
thin inwit ne3he to it, and in al thi ver-
28 tue kep the weies of it. Enserche it, and
it shal be mad open to thee; 'and thou^l
mad withholding, ne forsake thou^m it.
29 In the laste thingus forsothe thou shalt
finde reste in it, and it shal be turned to
30 thee in to liking. And the gyues of it
shul be to thee 'in toⁿ proteccioun of
strengthe, and the feet of vertue, and the
31 coleris of it in a stoele of glorie. The
fairnesse forsothe of lif is in it, and the
32 bondis of it holsum binding. Stoele off
glorie thou shalt clothen it, and a crowne
of thanking thou shalt putte aboue to
33 thee. Sone, if thou schalt^o take heed to me,
thou shalt lerne it; and if thou lenest to,
'or dressist^p, thin inwit, thou shalt be wis.
34 If thou bowest in thin ere, thou shalt
take doctrine; and if thou looue to heren,

that dredith the Lord, schal haue euenli
good frendschip; for whi his frend schal
be at the licesse of hym. Sone, fro thi is
3ongthe take thou doctryn, and til to hoor
heeris thou schalt fynde wisdom. As he¹⁹ * an hertles
that erith, and that sowith, nei3e thou to
it, and abide thou the goode fruytis therof.
For thou schalt trauele a litil in the werk²⁰
therof, and thou schalt ete soone of the
generaciouns therof. Wisdom is ouer²¹
scharp to vntau3t men, and an hertles
man^{*} schal not dwelle there ynne. As the²²
vertu of a stoon, preuyng schal be in hem;
and thei schulen not tarie to caste awei it.
Forsothe the wisdom of techyng is bi the²³
name therof, and it is not opyn to many
men; but it dwellith with hem, of whiche^t
it is knowun, til to the sizt of God. Sone,²⁴
here thou, and take the counsel of vndur-
standyng[†], and caste thou not awei my
counsel. Set in thi foot in to the stockis²⁵
therof, and thi necke in to the bies therof.
Make suget thi schuldir, and bere it, and²⁶
be thou not anoiied in the boondis therof.
In al thi wille go to it, and in al thi vertu²⁷
kepe the weies therof. Enquere thou it,²⁸
and it schal be maad opyn to thee; and
thou made holdinge *wisdom* forsake not
it. For in the laste thingis thou schalt²⁹
fynde reste ther ynne, and it schal turne
to thee in to deliting. And the stockis³⁰
therof schulen be to thee in defence of
strengthe, and the foundementis of vertu,
and the bie therof in a stoele of glorie[†].
For whi the fairnesse of lijf is in wisdom,³¹
and the boondis therof *ben* heelfulⁿ bynd-
yng. Thou schalt 'were it as a^v stoele of³²
glorie, and thou schalt sette on thee a
coroun of thankyng. Sone, if thou takist³³
heede to me, thou schalt lerne wisdom;
and if thou 3yuest thi wille, thou schalt
be wijs. If thou bowist down thin eere,³⁴
thou schalt take teching; and if thou louest
for to here, thou schalt be wijs. Stonde³⁵

* an hertles
man, etc.; that
is, a man with
outen herte,
which is neegli-

gent in the
geting of wis-
dom. the vertu
of a stoon; that
is, weizte. to
the sizt of God;
in ledinge hem
to the staat of
glorie. Lire
here. c.

† of vndur-
standing; that
is, bi which
thou schalt rede
with ynne thee,
good to sue it,
and ynel to fle
it. thi foot;
that is, affec-
cioun, ether
desir. in to the
stockis therof;
that is, of wis-
dom, in cleu-

ynge to it with-
out departing.
and thi necke;
that is, bere
gladly, and
without anoy,
trauel in the
geting of wis-
dom. in al thi
soule; in appli-

ynge al thyn
vndirstanding
and loue to
wisdom. in al
thi vertu; that
is, good werk.
the stockis
therof, etc.;
that is, vnse-
parable cleu-
yng with wis-
dom. in defence
of strengthe;
for he that
stondith on
wisdom, is not
brokun bi ad-
uersite. the bie
therof; that is,
the teching of
wisdom, which
is formed in the
throote. Lire
here. c.

† a stoele of
glorie; for whi,
double glorie
of bodi and of
soule is getun
bi wisdom. Lire
here. c.

^g thyn hoore E pr. m. ^h Om. A. ⁱ Om. c pr. m.
that AG. that thou H. ^m Om. c sec. m. E sec. m.
leuest dressist AGH.

^j abideth AEGH. ^k to AGH. ^l and c pr. m. E pr. m.
ⁿ in AGH. ^o Om. c pr. m. ^p Om. c et E pr. m.

^a ful c et celeri. ^t whom I. ^u heltheful c. ^v clothe it in a c pr. m. E. clothe it a HPUVY. clothe, ether
weere it in a c sec. m. GKMNQRSAÇ. clothe it as a I text. or were I marg. were it a F.

35 thou shalt be wis. In the multitude of prudent prestis stond thou, and to the wisdom of hem of herte be thou ioyned; that al the telling of God thou mowe heren, and the prouerbis of preisyng
36 ascape not fro^q thee. And if thou see the wel felende man, wake out to hym, and thi foot ofte trede the grees 'of the
37 dores of hym^r. Thenking haue thou in the hestes of God, and in the maundemens of hym most bisi be thou; and he shal 3yue to thee an herte, and coueytinge of wisdom shal ben 3oue to thee.

CAP. VII.

1 Wile thou not don eueles, and thei
2 shul not cacche thee. Go awei fro the wicke, and ther shul failen eueles fro
3 thee. Sowe thou not eueles in foorewes of vnri3twisnesse^s, and thou shalt not repen^t them in to the seuethe^u fold.
4 Wile thou not sechen of a man the dignete of a ledere, ne of a king the chazer
5 of wrshepe. Iustefie thou not thee bifor God, for he ys knowere of the herte^v; and anent the king wile thou not wilne to
6 ben seen wys. Wile thou not sechen to be mad a domes man, but if thou mowe bi vertue breken wickidnesses; lest parauenture thou out drede the face of the
7 my3ti, and putte sclaunder in thin hider and thider deliuerne. Synne thou not
8 in the multitude of the cite, ne poote thee in to the puple; ne bynde thou to double synnes, ne forsothe thou shalt be
9 in oon gilteles. Wile thou not ben a
10 couward in thi soule, to prezen; and to
11 don almesse deede, ne dispise thou. Ne sei thou, In the multitude of my 3iftus God shal beholde; and me offrende to the
12 he3est God, my 3iftis he shal take. Scorne

thou in the multitude of prudent* preestis, and be thou ioyned of herte to the wisdom of hem; that thou maist here ech telling of God, and the prouerbis of preisyng fle not away fro thee. And if thou seest a 36
wijs man, wake thou to hym, and thi foot trede on the greeces^{vv} of his doris. Haue 37
thou thou3t in the comaundementis of God, and be thou most bisi in his heestis; and he schal 3yue to thee herte[†], and coueitise of wisdom schal be 3ouun to thee.

CAP. VII.

Nile thou do yuels, and tho schulen not 1
take thee. Departe thou fro wickidnesse, 2
and yuels schulen faile fro thee. Sowe 3
thou not yuels in the forewis[†] of vnri3tfulnesse, and thou schalt not repe tho in
seuene fold. Nyle thou seke of a man 4
ledyng, nethir of a kyng the chaier of onour. Iustifie thou not thee bifore God, 5
for he is the^w knowere of the herte; and nyle thou wilne to be seyn wijs anentis
the king. Nile thou seke to be maad a 6
iuge, no^x but thou maist breke wickidnessis bi vertu; lest thou drede the face of
a my3ti man, and sette sclaunder^s in^{xx} thi swiftnesse. Do thou not synne in the 7
multitude of a cytee, nether sende thee in to the puple; nether bynde thou double 8
synnes^{||}, for thou schalt not be giltles in oon. Nyle thou be a coward in thi soule, 9
to preie; and dispise thou not to do almes. 10
Seie thou not, God schal biholde in the 11
multitude of my 3iftis; and whanne Y schal offre to God alther hijeste, he schal
take my 3iftis. Scorne thou not a man in 12
the bitternesse of soule; for whi God is the biholdere, that makith meke, and en-

* of prudent; bi this ben excludid vnwise elde men and faylinge in vertues; for whi othere vertues ben knyt to prudence.
† prestis; that is, elde men; and this may be expowned of good prestis, that ben holdun to kunne Goddis lawe, and teche it.
Lire here. c. † 3yue to thee herte; to vnderstonde and worche tho.
Lire here. c. † in the forewis; that is, 3yue thou not ensauple of yuel doing to men enclynant herto, not repe tho; in payne to be 3ouun to thee sevenfold, that is, manyfold; for whi to hou many men a man is cause of synne, bi so many peynes he schal be punyschid, bi the ordre of ri3tfulnesse.
Nyle thou seke of a man ledyng; that is, that thou be maad ledere of othere men in goostly thingis, ether temporal thingis; for whi vertues owen to be more excelent in souereyns; but it is presumptuous thing, that a man arette him silf to be more vertuous than othere, and therfor it is vicious to coueite, ether to seke prinshed outirly; netheles it is leueful and good to take

it in the tyme of nede, as Austin seith. Lire here. c.

thee, etc.; in consentinge to it in yuel. Lire here. c.

thou schalt be punyschid for euer either, for a iuge is holdun to lette the dede of the puple in sicke thingis. Nyle thou be coward, etc.; as if he seye, Be thou not so bisy of the gouernail of the puple, that thou dispise to do the helthe of thi soule, bi preyeris and werkis of mersy. in the multitude of my 3iftis; in so myche, that he schal not punysche my synnes; for whi this is fals. Greg. seith, he that 3yueh mete ether clothis to a pore man, and is netheles defouled bi wickidnesse of soule, ether of bodi, 3yueh hise goodis to God, and him silf to the deuyl. Lire here. c.

^q Om. c pr. m.

^u seuenthe ceteri.

^r Om. A. of the house of him GH.

^v hertes c pr. m.

^s vnri3twijs AGH.

^t gedere c pr. m. E pr. m.

^{vv} grees i. ^w Om. i. ^x Om. i. ^{xx} to i.

thou not a man in the bitterness of soule; God forsothe the lokere aboute is, 13 that enhaunceth and meketh. Wile thou not looue lesing azen thi brother; and in 14 to a frend lic maner do thou not. Wile thou not wilne to lien eche lesing; the besynesse forsothe of hem is not good. 15 Wile thou not be ful of wrdis in the multitude of prestus; and reherse thou not 16 a wrd in thin orisoun. Hate thou not trauailous werkes, and cherlish doing 17 foormed of the heizest. Ne acounte thou thee in the multitude of men withoute 18 discipline. Haue mynde of wrathe, for 19 it shall not tarie. Meeke gretli thi spirit, for veniaunce of the flesh of the vnpi- 20 touse man *is* fier, and worm. Nyle thou trespasse azen thi frend dilaiynge monei; nether dispise thou a ful dereworth bro- 21 ther for gold. Nyle thou departe fro a wijs womman, and good, whom thou hast gete in the drede of the Lord; for whi the grace of hir schamefastnesse *is* aboue 22 gold. Hirte thou not a seruaunt worch- ynge in treuthe, nether an hirid man 30 ynge his lijf†. A witti seruaunt be dere- worthe to thee as thi soule; defraude thou not hym of fredom, nether forsake thou hym nedi. Beestis ben to thee? take 24 thou heede to tho; and if tho ben profitable, dwelle tho stille at thee. Sones 25 ben to thee? teche thou hem, and bowe thou‡ hem fro her childheed. Dou3tris 26 ben to thee? kepe thou the bodi of hem, and schewe thou not glad face to hem. 3yue thi dou3ter to *mariage*, and thou 27 doist a greet werk; and 3yue thou hir to a wijs man. If a womman is to thee aftir 28 thi soule§, caste hir not awei; and bitake thou not thee in alle thin herte to an hate- ful *womman*. Onoure thi fadir; and for- 29 zete thou not the weilyngis^{zz} of thi modir. Haue thou mynde that thou haddist not 30 be, no^a but bi hem, and zelde thou to hem as and^b thei *diden* to thee. In al thi soule 31 drede thou God, and halewe thou hise preestis. In al thi vertu loue thou him 32 that made thee; and forsake thou not hise

haunsith. Nyle thou loue a leesyng azen 13 thi brother; nether do thou in lijk maner azen a frend. Nyle thou wilne to lie ony 14 leeing; for whi the contynuaunce therof is not good. Nyle thou be a ianglere in 15 the multitude of preestis; and reherse thou not a word in thi preier*. Haate thou not 16 trauelouse werkis, and erthetilk maad of the hizeste. Arette thou^y not thee in 17 the multitude of vnlernyd men. Haue 18 thou mynde on ire, for it schal not tarie. Make thou meke greetli thi spirit, for whi 19 the veniaunce of the fleisch of an vnpi- touse man *is* fier, and worm. Nyle thou 20 trespasse azen thi frend dilaiynge monei; nether dispise thou a ful dereworth bro- 21 ther for gold. Nyle thou departe fro a 21 wijs womman, and good, whom thou hast gete in the^z drede of the Lord; for whi the grace of hir schamefastnesse *is* aboue 22 gold. Hirte thou not a seruaunt worch- ynge in treuthe, nether an hirid man 30 ynge his lijf†. A witti seruaunt be dere- worthe to thee as thi soule; defraude thou not hym of fredom, nether forsake thou hym nedi. Beestis ben to thee? take 24 thou heede to tho; and if tho ben profitable, dwelle tho stille at thee. Sones 25 ben to thee? teche thou hem, and bowe thou‡ hem fro her childheed. Dou3tris 26 ben to thee? kepe thou the bodi of hem, and schewe thou not glad face to hem. 3yue thi dou3ter to *mariage*, and thou 27 doist a greet werk; and 3yue thou hir to a wijs man. If a womman is to thee aftir 28 thi soule§, caste hir not awei; and bitake thou not thee in alle thin herte to an hate- ful *womman*. Onoure thi fadir; and for- 29 zete thou not the weilyngis^{zz} of thi modir. Haue thou mynde that thou haddist not 30 be, no^a but bi hem, and zelde thou to hem as and^b thei *diden* to thee. In al thi soule 31 drede thou God, and halewe thou hise preestis. In al thi vertu loue thou him 32 that made thee; and forsake thou not hise

* *in thi preier*; preier may be takun here for an axing maad to wise men, and this owith to be set forth so distinctly and reasonably, that it bihoueth not it to be rehersid; ether thus, preier owith not to be maad to God in myche speche, in bi- leuynge that it is herd herbi. *Arette not thee, etc.*; in swynge the felouschipe and maneris of hem. *Live here. c.*

† *3yuyng his lijf*; that is, spendynge his lijf in thi seruyce. *Live here. c.*

‡ *bowe thou*; vndur chastising. *the bodi of hem*; that thei renne not aboute, and so be corrupt. *glad face*; lest thei be wantoun bi sich flatering. *Live here. c.* § *aftr thi soule*; that is, if thou hast a wiyf consentinge to thi resonable wille. *an hateful*; in schewynge to hir the priuyte of thyn herte, as Samson dide to Dalida. *Live here. c.*

^w to c *pr. m.* ^x for delaying *E pr. m.* ^y derworthist *E sec. m. AGH.* ^z Om. c *pr. m.* ^a bi *AGH.*
^b If beestis *A.* ^c If sones *A.* ^d If do3tris *A.* ^e Tac c *pr. m.* ^f thou shalt 3yue *A.*

^y Om. *plures.* ^z Om. *1.* ^{zz} weilyng *A pr. m.* ^a Om. *1.* ^b Om. *ci.*

32 the prestes of hym halewe. In al thi
vertue looue hym that made thee; and
the seruauns of hym forsac thou not.
33 Wrshepe thou God of al thi soule; and
wrshiþe prestus, and purge thee forth
34 with armes. 3if to them part, as and
maundement is^e to thee, of first frutes,
and of purging; and of thi^h negligenc
35 purge thee with fewe. The 3ifte^l of thin
armes, and the sacrificise of halewing, thou
shalt offre to the Lord, the bigynyngus
36 of hoeli thingus. And to the pore put
forth thin hond, that plesing be parform-
37 ed, and thi blessing. Grace of 3ifte in
the sizte of alle lyuyng; and to the deade
38 forfende thou not grace. Fayle thou not
to wepende men to ben in coumforting;
39 and with weilende men go thou. No3e
it not thee to visiten the sike; of these
thingus forsothe in louyng^k thou shalt
40 be fastned. In alle thi werkes haue in
mynde thi laste thyngus; and withoute
ende thou shalt not synne.

CAP. VIII.

1 Stryue thou not with a my3ti man,
lest paraurenture thou falle in the hondys
2 of hym. Striue thou not with a riche
man, lest paraurenture a3enward he sette
3 strif to thee. Manye men forsothe gold
and siluer hath lost; and vnto the herte^l
4 of kingus it streccheth, and turneth.
Striue thou not with a tungy man, and^{ll} ne
greithe thou in to the fir of hym wode.
5 Comune thou not to a man vnta3t, lest
6 he speke euele^m of thi progenye. Dis-
pise thou not a man turnende awei hym-
self fro synne, ne putte thou repref to
hym; haue mynde, for alle in corrup-
7 cioun wee ben. Ne dispise thou a man
in his elde; forsothe of vs thei waxen
8 olde. Wile thou not of thin enemy dead
io3en, witende for alle wee dien, and in
9 to io3e wee wiln come. Dyspise thou
not the telling of wise prestis, and in the
prouerbis of hem togidere dwelle thou;

mynystis. Onoure thou God of al thi³³
soule; and onoure thou preestis, and clense
thee with armes*. 3yue thou to hem the^c 34
part^d of the firste fruytis, and of purgyng,
as also it is comaundid to thee; and of
thi negligenc purge thou thee with fewe
men. Thou schalt offre to the Lord the³⁵
3yfte of thin armes, and the sacrifice of
halewyng, the bigynnyngis[†] of hooli men.
And dresse thin hond to a pore man, that³⁶
thi merci and blessing be performyd.
Grace is 3ouun in the sizt of ech that³⁷
lyueth; and forbede thou not grace to a
deed man. Faile thou not in coumfort to³⁸
hem that wepen; and go thou with hem
that morenen. Be thou not slow to visite³⁹
a sijk man; for bi these thingis thou
schalt be maad stidfast in loue. In alle⁴⁰
thi werkis haue thou mynde on thi laste
thingis; and thou schalt not do synne
withouten ende^e.

CAP. VIII.

Chide thou not with a mi3ti man, leste¹
thou falle in to hise hondis. Stryue thou²
not with a riche man, lest paraurenture he
make ple a3enward to thee. For whi gold³
and siluer[†] hath lost many men; and it
stretchith forth til to the herte of kyngis,
and turneth^f §. Chide thou not with a⁴
man, a ianglere, and leie thou not trees in
to his fier. Comyne thou not with an⁵
vntau3t man, lest he speke yuele of thi
kynrede. Dispise thou not a man turn-⁶
yng awei hym silf fro synne, nether vp-
breide^g thou hym; haue thou mynde, that
alle we ben in corrupcioun. Dispise thou⁷
not a man in his eelde; for whi of vs men
wexen eld. Nyle thou make ioie of thin⁸
enemy deed, witynge that alle we dien,
and wolen not come in to ioie of oure
enemys. Dispise thou not the tellyng of⁹
wise preestes, and be thou conuersaunt in
the prouerbis of hem^{||}; for of hem thou¹⁰

g it is A. h the C. i first A. k looue C pr. m. l hertis A. ll Om. A. m eueles C pr. m.

c Om. I. d partis C. e ende, that is, neuere v. f turneth doom v. g edwite ceteri.

* with armes; that is, bi of-
fringis getun
with thi trauel.
of purging;
that is, of
tithe, that was
due to dekenes,
in xvij. c. of
Numeri. with
fewe men; for
thyn owne de-
faute owth not
to be schewid
to many men.
Live here. c.
† the bigyn-
nyngis, etc.;
that is, the
firste fruytis
and dymes
and siche of-
fringis be the
bigynnyngis of
halewyng of
men.
be performyd;
that is, the re-
myssioun of thi
synnes, and the
3ifte of bene-
fices. grace is
3ouun; that is,
schal he 3ouun
in the general
doom, for it
schal be seid
thanne for the
werkis of pitee,
Come 3e the
blessid of my
fadir, etc. Live
here. c.
‡ gold and sil-
uer, etc.; that
is, couetise of
gold and of
siluer. Live
here. c.
§ and turneth;
that is, doom
fro trithe into
falsnesse, and
so ful many
inocent men
ben damned in
thingis and bod-
ies bi money
of riche men.
leie thou not
trees, etc.; that
is, mater to
kyndle his
woodnesse bi
thi striuyng;
in corrupcioun;
that is, goen to
corrupcioun,
ether deth; for
we ben maad
of contrarie
elementis. Live
here. c.
|| prouerbis of
hem; that is,
notable wordis
of hem. of el-
dere men; in
whiche is wis-
dom and expe-
rience of long
tyme. Live
here. c.

10 of hem forsothe thou shalt lerne wisdom,
and doctrine of vnderstanding, and fructu-
tuousli vse grete men withoute pleynt.
11 Passe not beside thee the telling of el-
deres; thei forsothe lerneden of ther fa-
12 dris. For of hem thou shalt lerne vnder-
standing; and in tyme of nede thou shalt
13 3yue an answer. Teende thou not colis
of synneres, vndernymende hem; and lest
thou be tend with the flaume of theⁿ fyr
14 of the synnes of hem. Stonde thou not
a3en the face of the strifful; lest he sitte
15 as a spiere to thi mouth. Wile thou not
leenen to a man strengere than thiself;
16 that if thou leenest, haue it as lost. Be-
hote thou not ouer thi vertue; that if
17 thou behote, as 3elding bethenk. Deme
thou not a3en the iuge; for after that ys
18 riztwis, he demeth. With a fool hardy
man go thou not in the weie, lest par-
aumenture he gregge his eueles in thee;
he forsothe aftir his wil goth, and togi-
dere with the folie of hym thou shalt
19 pershen. With the wrauthful man make
thou not ianglyng, and with the fool^o
hardy go thou not in to desert; for as
no3t is^p anent hym blod, and where is
not helpe, he shal hurtle thee down.
20 With fooles haue thou not counseil; for-
sothe they shul not moun loouen, but
21 tho thingus that plesen to them. Beforn
a straunger make thou not counseil; for-
sothe thou wost not, what he bere out.
To alle men thin herte opene thou not;
lest par amenture it bringe in to thee fals
grace, and yt poote reproof to thee.

CAP. IX.

1 Be thou not gelouse to the womman
of thi bosum; lest she shewe vp on thee
2 the malice of shreude doctrine. 3yue
thou not to a womman power of thi
soule; lest she go in to thi vertue, and

*vnduly. the malice of yuel doctryn; in ymaginyng the deth, as siche wymmen ben taugt of yuele elde wymmen. power of thi soule; that is, that
sche be lord of thee. entre in thi vertu; that is, mystake to hir that that is propir to the hosebonde. Live here. c.*

schalt lerne wisdom, and techyng of vn-
durstondyng, and to serue without pleynt
to grete men. The tellyng of eldere men 11
passe not thee; for thei han lerned of her
fadrir. For of hem thou schalt lerne vn- 12
durstondyng; and in the^h tyme of nede
thou schalt 3yue answer. Kyndle thou 13
not* the coolis of synneris, and repreue
hem; and be thou not brent with the
flawme of fier of her synnes. Stonde thou 14
not a3ens the face of a man ful of dispis-
yng; lest he sitte as a spiere to thi mouth.
Nyle thou leene† to a man strongere than 15
thou; that if thou hast lent, haue thou
it as lost. Biheeteⁱ thou not aboute thi 16
power^k; that if thou hast bihi3t, bithenke
thou as 3eldyng†. Deme thou not a3ens 17
a iuge; for he demeth vp that, that is iust.
Go thou not in the weie with an hardi 18
man§, lest peramenture he agregge hise
yuels in thee; for he goith aftir his wille,
and thou schalt perische togidere with
his foli. Make thou not chidyng with a 19
wrauthful man, and go thou not in to de-
sert with an hardi man; for whi blood||
is as nou3t bifore hym, and where noon
help is, he schal hurtle thee down. Haue 20
thou not counsel with foolis; for thei moun
not loue, no^l but tho thingis that plesen
hem. Make thou not a counsel bifore a 21
straunger; for thou noost^m, what he schal
bringe forth. Make not thin herte knowun
to ech man¶; lest peramenture he brynge
to thee fals grace, and dispise thee.

CAP. IX.

Loue thou not gelousli** the womman 1
of thi bosum; lest sche schewe on thee the
malice of yuel doctryn. 3yue thou not to 2
a womman the power of thi soule; lest
sche entre in thi vertu, and thou be schent.

* Kyndle thou
not, etc.;
whanne thei
ben obstynat,
ether ben set
in wra3the
out of mesure,
for thanne thei
ben not amend-
id, but ben
maad worse;
nethes this
schal be vndur-
stondun of bro-
theris repreu-
yng, which is
ordeyned to the
amending of
him that is
repreuyd, but
not of repreu-
yng maad bi
a iuge, for that
repreuyng is
ordeyned to
the good of
multitude; so-
thely a multi-
tude is amendid
bi the scharp
blamyng and
punysching of
him that is
obstynat and
wrooth. *Live
here. c.*
† Nyle thou
leene, etc.; that
suth the fers-
nesse of his
strengthe. *Live
here. c.*
‡ as 3eldyng;
for thou art
holdun to do
thi my3t. *Live
here. c.*
§ hardi man;
that is, stirid
heedly bi the
fernesse of
ire. *Live here.
c.*
|| blood; that
is, schedinge
out of innocent
blood. *Live
here. c.*
¶ to ech man;
but onely to
a very frend
and preued.
fals grace; that
is, feyned fren-
schipe. *Live
here. c.*
** Loue thou
not gelously,
etc.; that is,
be thou not
suspiciouse
ouer myche of
the chastite of
thyn owne
wiyf, and arte
hir, ether make
hir streit herfor

ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o Om. c pr. m. ^p Om. AGH.

^h Om. i. ⁱ Bihote i. ^k vertu EGHKMNPRQSUUVXYA. ^l Om. i. ^m woost not i.

3 thou be confoundid. Behold not a wom-
man myche wilnende; lest par auenture
4 thou falle in to the snares of hir. With a
leperesse, ^{or tumbler}^a, be thou not besy,
ne here hir; lest par auenture thou pershe
5 in the delyuere doying of hir. A maiden
beholde thou not; lest par auenture thou
6 be sclandred in the fairnesse of hir. 3yue
thou not to^r lechhoures^s thi soule in any
thing; lest thou leese thee, and thi soule,
7 and thin eritage. Wile thou not beholden
aboute in the weies of the cite; ne erre
8 thou aboute in the stretis of it. Turne
awei thi face fro a gai womman; and be-
holde thou not aboute straunge fairnesse.
9 For the fairnesse of a womman manye
men persheden; and of it lust as fyr
10 brenneth out. Eche womman that is
lecherous, as a thost in the weie shal
11 ben ^{to-treden}^t. The fairnesse of an alien
womman many men wndrid ben mad
repreuable; forsothe the togidere speche
12 of hir as fyr brenneth out. With an
alien womman outerli sitte thou not, ne
13 ly thou with hir vp on the arm; and
striue thou not with hir in wyn, lest
par auenture she bowe down thin herte in
to hir, and bi thi blod thou slyde in to
14 perdicoun. Forsake thou not an old
frend; forsothe the newe shal not be lic
15 to hym. Newe wyn a newe frend; it
shal waxen old, and with swetnesse thou
16 shalt drinke it. Looue thou not the glo-
rie and the richessis of the synnere; for-
sothe thou wost not, what be to come
17 the turnyng vp so doun of hym. Plese
not to thee the wrong of vnri3twis men,
witende for vnto helle the vnpitous shal
18 not plesen. Aferr^u be thou awei fro a
man hauende power of sleyng, and not
of rering, and thou shalt not ouertrowen
19 the dred of deth; and if thou ne3hest to
hym, wile thou not any thing don amys,
lest par auenture he take awei thi lif.

men thei dreden to be poisoned in ech mete and drynke, and that tresouns ben set to hem in ech place. *Live here. c.*
be in dwellinge with a tiraunt. *Live here. c.*

Biholde thou not a womman of many³
willis^{*}; lest perauenture thou falle in to
the snaris of hir. Be thou not customable⁴
with a daunseresseⁿ, nethir here thou hir;
lest perauenture thou perische in the spedi
werk of hir. Biholde thou not a virgyn;⁵
lest perauenture thou be sclaudrid in the
feirnesse of hir. 3yue not thi soule[†] to⁶
hooris in any thing; lest thou leese thee,
and thi soule, and thin eritage. Nyle thou⁷
biholde aboute in the lanys of the cytee;
nethir erre thou in the large streetis ther-
of. Turne awei thi face fro a womman⁸
^{wel arayed}[†]; and biholde thou not aboute
the fairnesse of othere^p. Many men han⁹
perischid for the fairnesse of a womman;
and ^{herbi couetise}^q brenneth ^{an hiz}^r as
fier. Ech womman which is an hoore,¹⁰
ethir customable to fornyacioun, schal be
defoulid[§] as a fen^s in the weie. Many¹¹
men wondrynge on the fairnesse of an^t
alien womman^u weren maad repreuable,
for whi the speche of hir brenneth an hiz
as fier. Sitte thou not in ony maner with¹²
an alien womman, nether reste thou with
hir on a bed; and iangle thou not with¹³
hir in wyn, lest perauenture thin herte
boowe in to hir, and thou falle in to per-
dicoun bi thi blood. Forsake thou not an¹⁴
eld frend; for a newe frend^{||} schal not be
lijk hym. Newe wijn *is* a newe frend; it¹⁵
schal wexe eld, and thou schalt drinke it
with swetnesse. Coueyte thou not the¹⁶
glorie and richessis of a synnere; for thou
noost^v, what distriyng of hym schal come.
The wrong of vniust men plese not thee,¹⁷
and wite thou that a wickid man schal
not plese til to hellis[¶]. Be thou fer fro¹⁸
a man that hath power to sle^{**}, and thou
schalt not haue suspicioun of the drede of
deth; and if thou nei3est to hym, nyle¹⁹
thou do ony trespasse, lest perauenture
he take awei thi lijf. Knowe thou the²⁰
comynyng of deth^{††}; for thou schalt entre

^{*} a womman
of many willis;
that coueitith
now this man,
now that man.
^a daunseresse;
for sich strech-
ing forth of
wommans
membris ex-
citith the desir
of lecherie.
Live here. c.
[†] thi soule;
that is, thi con-
sent. *Live*
here. c.
[‡] wel arayed;
for sich arai is
a snare, to take
men, and herbi;
that is bi vi-
chast lokingis
and spechis
and signes.
Live here. c.
[§] defoulid; of
alle men, for
sche is ful
myche suget to
lechery. *Live*
here. c.
^{||} a newe frend;
as me noot of
newe wyn, what
maner wyn it
schal be in the
ende; so of a
newe frend, me
noot what feith-
fulnesse he
schal haue.
Live here. c.
[¶] til to hellis;
for thanne and
not bifore he
in peyne schal
plese seyntis,
as he displeside
hem in synne.
Live here. c.
^{**} fer fro a man
that hath power
to sle; that is,
fro a cruel ty-
raunt. drede of
deth; that is,
in makinge thee
fer fro him,
thou schalt do
away fro thee
the drede of
deth. of snaris;
for whi ti-
rauntis euere
setten forth
snaris to su-
getis, that they
haue occasioun
to rauysche
her goodis
of hem that
sorewen; that
is, of tirauntis
that ben euere
in sorewe, for
whi for the
yuels that thei
diden to othere

^{††} of deth; that is, to

^a Om. c et e pr. m. ^r Om. g. ^s lecherous AH. ^t troden AGH. ^u Ferr c pr. m.

ⁿ daunstere i. ^o gay i. ^p an oother mannus wiff i. ^q herof concupiscence i. ^r out i. ^s toord ceteri.
^t Om. A pr. m. et plures. ^u wommen GSV. ^v wost not i.

20 The comunyoun of deth wite thou; for in
the myddil of grenes thou shalt gon in,
and vp on the armes of men sorewende
21 thou shalt gon. Aftir thi vertue war thee
fro thi `nexte, or ney3bore^a; and with wise
22 men and prudent men^v trete thou. Ri3t-
wis men be thei^w to thee metefelawes^x;
and in the drede of God be to thee glori-
23 yng. And in the^y wit be to thee thenk-
ing of God; and al thi telling out in the
24 hestes of the he3est. In the hond of
'craftis men^z werkes shul ben preisid,
and the prince of a puple in wisdam off
his sermoun; in the wit forsothe of el-
25 deres a wrd. Ferful is in his cite a
tungy man; and the fool hardy in hys
woord hateful shal ben.

CAP. X.

1 A wis domesman shal demen his puple;
and the princehod of the `wel felende, `or
2 witti^a, shal ben stable. Aftir the domesman
of the puple, so and the seruauantis of hym;
and whiche maner^b is the gouernour of
the cyte, suche and the dwelleris in^c it.
3 An vnwis king shal leesen his puple; and
cites shul ben enhabitid bi the wit of
4 prudent men. In the hond of God the
power of the erthe, and abhominable alle
wickidnesses of the^d Jentiles; and a pro-
fitable gouernour in tyme he shal reren vp
5 on it. In the hond of God is^e the power of
man; and vp on the face of the `scribe, or
man of lawe^f, he shal putte vp on his
6 wrshiþe. Of alle the wrong of thi ne3he-
bore haue thou not mynde; and no thing
7 do thou in the werkes of wrong. Hate-
ful biforn God and men is pride; and
cursful alle wickidnessis^g of Jentiles.
8 Rewme^h fro folc in to folc is born ouer,
for vnri3twisnesses, and wrongus, and
9 striues, and dyuers treccheries. Forsothe
than the auerous man no thing isⁱ more

in to the myddis of snaris, and thou schalt
go on the armuris of hem that sorewen.
Bi^w thi vertu kepe thee fro thi ney3bore^{*}; 21
and trete thou with wise men and pru-
dent men. Just men be gestis, ethir^x 22
mete feris, to thee; and^{xx} gloriyng be `to
thee^y in the dreed of God. And the thou3t 23
of God be to thee in wit[†]; and al thi tell-
yng be in the heestis^z of the hizeste.
Werkis schulen be preisid in the hond of 24
crafti men, and the prince of the puple in
the wisdom of his word; forsothe in the^a
wit of eldere men a word^{b†}. A man, a 25
ianglere, is dredeful in his citee; and a fool
hardi man in his word schal be hateful.

CAP. X.

A wijs iuge schal deme his puple; and 1
the prinshed of a witti man schal be stid-
fast[‡]. Aftir the iuge of the puple, so and 2
hise mynystris; and what maner man is
the gouernour of the citee, siche *ben* also
men dwellinge ther ynne. An vnwijs king 3
schal leese his puple; and citees schulen be
enhabitid bi the wit of prudent men. The 4
power of erthe is in the hond of God, and
al the wickidnesse^{||} of hethene men is abho-
mynable; and he schal reise a profitable
gouernour at a tyme on it. The power of 5
man is in the hond of God; and he schal
sette his onour on the face of a wijs man
in the lawe. Haue thou not mynde on al 6
the wrong of the ney3bore; and do thou no
thing[¶] in the werkis of wrong. Pride is 7
hateful bifore God and men; and al the
wickidnesse of hethene men is abhomynable.
A rewme is translatid^c fro a folk in 8
to folk, for vnri3tfulnessis, and wrongis,
and dispisyngis, and dyuerse gilis. No 9
thing is cursidere than an auerouse man^{**}.
What art thou proude, thou erthe and

* ney3bore;
that may speke
agenus thee to
a tiraunt. Live
here. c.

† in wit; that
is, applie thi
wit to thenke
on God. Live
here. c.

‡ a word; that
is, a schort
word, seid of
a wise man,
schal be preisid
more than a
greet telling
seid of an other
man. Live here.
c.

§ be stidfast;
summe bokis
han *ferdful*;
that is, to yuele
men. Live here.
c.

|| wickidnesse;
that is, the fe-
lonye of idola-
trie. Live
here. c.

¶ do thou no
thing, etc.; that
is, do thou no
wrong to no
man for thi
power. Live
here. c.

** auerouse
man; not that
auarice is greu-
ousere synne
than othere,
but for rich-
essis gaderid bi
auerice 3yuen
nursching to
alle vices. c.

^a nexte c et e pr. m. AH. nexte ne3ebore G. ^v Om. c pr. m. ^w Om. c pr. m. ^x wacchis e pr. m.
^y Om. c pr. m. ^z crafti men A. ^a Om. c et e pr. m. ^b Om. c pr. m. ^c of A. ^d Om. AGH.
^e Om. AEGH. ^f scribe c pr. m. e pr. m. GH. scribe or maister of lawe A. ^g the wickidnes A. wicke-
nesse E. wickidnes GH. ^h A rewme A. ⁱ Om. c pr. m.

^w Aftir I. ^x or i pass. ^{xx} and thi I. ^y Om. I. ^z heest I. ^a Om. A pr. m. EFHNPUVXY.
^b word schal be preised I. ^c translatid, ether takun away CEFHGKMNPRQSUXYac.

ful of hydous gilte. What pridist thou^k,
 10 erthe and asken^l? No thing is more
 wicke, than to loouen moone; this for-
 sothe hath his soule sillable, *'or able to
 be sold'*^m, 'for inⁿ his lif he thre; awei
 11 his^o inward thingus. Of eche myztihed
 short lif; lengere infyrmyte greueth the
 12 leche. Short sicknesse the leche kut-
 teth of; so and a king to dai is, and to
 13 moru shal die. Whan forsothe a man
 shal dien, he shal eritagen serpentes, and
 14 bestes, and wermes. The bygynnyng of
 the pride of man to go backward fro God;
 15 for fro hym that made hym his herte
 wente away. For the bygynnyng of alle
 synne is pride; who 'schal holde^p it, shal
 be fulfid with cursis, and it shal turne
 16 hym vp so down in to the ende. Ther-
 fore the Lord dispisid^q the couentis of
 euele men, and destroyede them 'in to^r
 17 the ende. The setes of proude dukes
 God destroyede; and made mylde men to
 18 sitte for hem. The rootis of proude folkis^s
 God driede; and plauntide meke men of
 19 tho folkis. The londis of Jentiles the
 Lord turnede awei; and destroyede them
 20 vn to the foundement. He made drie of
 them, and scaterede them; and made to
 cesen the mynde of hem fro the erthe.
 21 God lost^t the mynde of proude men; and
 lafte the mynde of meke men in wit.
 22 There is not shapen^u to men pride; ne
 wrathefulnesse to the nacioun of wym-
 23 men. The sed of men shal be wrshipid,
 that that dredeth God; that sed forsothe
 shall ben put out of wrshiipe, that passeth
 24 the maundemens of 'the Lord^v. In the
 myddel off brethern the gouernour of
 them in wrshiipe; and that dreden^w God,
 25 shul ben in the ezen of hym. The glorie
 of wrshepid riche men and of pore is the
 26 drede of God. Wile thou not dispisen
 the ri3twis pore man; and not magnefien
 27 the riche synful man. Gret is a iuge,
 and the my3ti is in wrshiipe; and he is

aische*? No thing is worse, than for to 10
 loue monei; for whi this man hath also^d
 his soule set to sale, for in his lijf he
 hath cast awei hise ynneste thingis. Ech 11
 power *is* schort lijf; lengere^e siknesse
 greueth the leche. A leche kittith awei^t 12
 schort siknesse; so and a king is to dai,
 and to morewe he schal die. Forsothe 13
 whanne a man schal die, he schal enherite
 serpentis, and beestis, and wormes. The 14
 bigynnyng of pride of man^f *was* to be
 apostata[†] fro God; for his herte zede 15
 awei fro hym that made hym. For whi
 pride is the bigynnyng of al synne; he
 that holdith it, schal be fillid with curs-
 yngis, and it schal distrye hym in to the
 ende. Therfor the Lord hath schent the 16
 couentis of yuele men, and hath destried
 hem til 'in to^s the ende. God destriede 17
 the seetis of proude duykis; and made
 mylde men to sitte for hem. God made 18
 drie the rootis of proude folkis; and^h
 plauntide meke men of tho folkis. The 19
 Lord destriede the londis of folkis; and
 loste tho 'til toⁱ the foundement. He made 20
 drie *the* rootis of hem, and loste^k hem;
 and made the mynde of hem to ceesse fro
 the erthe. God loste the mynde of proude 21
 men; and lefte the mynde of meke men in
 wit. Pride was not maad to men; nether 22
 wrathfulnesse to the nacioun of wym-
 men[§]. This seed of men that dredith God, 23
 schal be onourid; but this seed schal be
 disonourid, that passith^l the comaunde-
 mentis of the Lord. In the myddis of 24
 britheren the gouernour of hem *is* in
 onour; and thei that dreden God, schulen
 be in hise i3en||. The glorie of riche men 25
 onourid and of pore men is the drede of
 God. Nyle thou dispise a iust pore man; 26
 and nyle thou magnefie a riche synful
 man. The iuge is greet, and is^m mi3ti in 27
 onour; and he is not grettere than that
 man that dredith God. Fre children 28
 seruen a witti seruaunt; and a prudent

^{*} *erthe and aische*; that is, thou man schalt be turned soone in to erthe and aschis. *his soule set to sale*; and sillith it to the deuel for money. *hise ynneste thingis*; that is, vertues, bi vicis contrarie to tho, of which vicis couetise is the roote. *whanne a man*; that mysuith his power. *schal die*. he schal enherite serpentis; that is, fendis, as to the soule. and beestis; that is, frendis lyuynge beestly, as to the catel. and wormes; as to the bodi; and this departing is maad couenably, for the part of ech sufficieth to him silf; if the deuel hath the soule, he reckith not of othere thingis. *Live here. c.*
[†] *kittith awei*; that is, heelith soone a freisch siknesse, so synne is curid litly bifor that it wexith eld bi custom, but not aftirward. *Live here. c.*
[‡] *apostata, etc.*; that is, wilned not to be vnder the comaundement of God. *Live here. c.*
[§] *of wymmen*; that is, to alle men borun of wymmen. *Live here. c.*

^k thou thanne *E pr. m.* ^l ashen *A.* ^m Om. *c et E pr. m.* ⁿ and *A.* ^o Om. *A.* ^p holdith *AC pr. m.*
^q enourne out *E pr. m. c pr. m.* ^r vnto *E.* ^s folc *C.* ^t spilde *E pr. m. c pr. m.* ^u shapid *AE GH.*
^v God *E pr. m.* ^w dredith *AGH.*

^d zhe *I.* ^e longe *I.* ^f a man *C.* ^g vnto *I.* ^h and he *I.* ⁱ vnto *I.* ^k fordide *I.* ^l ouer passith *I.*
^m he is *I.*

28 not more than he that dredeth God. To
the seruaunt wel felende shul seruen fre
men; and a man prudent and lerned shal
not grucchen chastisid, and the vnkun-
29 nende shal not be wrshipid^w. Wile thou
not enhaunce thee in thi werk to be do;
and wile thou not dispeire^x in the time
30 of anguysh. Betere is that wercheth,
and aboundeth in alle thingis, than that
31 glorieth, and nedeth bred. Sone, in de-
bonernesse kep thi soule; and ȝif to it
32 wrshepe, aftir his dissert. The synnende
in to his soule, who shal iustifen? and
who shal worschip the puttere his soule
33 out of wrshipe? The pore glorieth bi
disciplyne and his drede; and ther is a
man that is wrshipid for his substaunce.
34 Who forsothe glorieth in porenese, hou^y
myche more in substaunce? and who glo-
rie^z in substaunce, porenese 'shame he^a.

CAP. XI.

1 The wisdam of the mekid shal en-
hauncen the hed of hym; and in the
myddel of grete men to sitten shal
2 maken hym. Preise thou not a man in
his fairnesse; ne dispise thou a man in
3 his sijt. Short in foules is a bee; and the
bigynnyng of swetnesse the frut of hym
4 hath. In clothing glorie thou neuermor,
ne in the dai of thi wrshipe be thou en-
hauncid; for merueilous the werkes of
the hejest alone, and glorious, and hid,
5 and vnseen the werkes of hym. Manye
tirauntis seten in trone; and the vn-
6 trouable, 'or of whom was no suspi-
cioun^b, bar the diademe. Manye myȝti
ben oppressid gretly; and the glorious ben
taken in 'to the^c hondis of othere men.
7 Beforn that thou aske, ne blame thou
any man; and whan thou shalt asken,
8 chastyse thou rijtly. Beforn that thou
here, ne answeere thou a wrd; and in the
myddel of eldere men ne ley thou to to
9 speken. Of that thing that greeueth not
thee, striue thou not; and in the myddel
10 of synneres ne abide thou. Sone, be not
in manye thingis thi deedus; and if thou

man and lerned schal not grutche, *whanne*
he is blamed, and an vnkunnyng man*
shal not be onourid. Nyle thou enhaunse 29
thee in thi werk to be don; and nyle thou
be slow in the tyme of angwisch. He is 30
betere that worchith, and hath plente in
alle thingis, than he that hath glorie, and
nedith breed. Sone, kepe thi soule in 31
myldenesse†; and ȝyue thou onour to it,
aftir his merit. Who schal iustifie hym 32
that synneth azens his soule? and who
schal onoure hym that disonourith his
soule? A pore man hath glorie bi his 33
lernyng and drede; and ther is a man that
is onourid for his catel. Forsothe if a 34
man hath glorie in pouert, hou myche
more in catel? and he that hath glorie
in catel, drede pouerte.

CAP. XI.

The wisdom of a man maad meke schal 1
enhaunse his heed; and schal make hym
to sitte in the middis of grete men. Preise 2
thou not a man in his fairnesse; nether
dispise thou a man in his sijt. A bee is 3
litol among briddis; and his fruyt hath
the bigynnyng of swetnesse. Haue thou 4
neuere glorie in clothing, and be thou not
enhausid in the dai of thin onour; for
whi the werkis of the hijeste aloon *ben*
wondurful, and hise werkis *ben* gloriouse,
and hid, and vnseyn. Many tyrauntis 5
han sete in trone; and a man of whom
was no supposyng bar the diademe. Many 6
myȝty men ben oppressid strongli; and
gloriouse men ben ȝouun in to the hondis
of othere men. Bifore that thou axe, 7
blame thou not any man; and whanne
thou hast axid, blame thou iustli. Bifor 8
that thou here, answeere thou not a word;
and in the myddis of eldere men† adde
thou not to speke. Stryue thou not, of 9
that thing that disesith not thee; and
stonde thou not in the doms of synnes.
Sone, thi dedis be not in many thingis; 10
and if thou art riche, thou schalt not be

* vnkunnyng
man; that
takith not
blamyng. *that*
worchith; ȝhe,
cherlis werk.
in alle thingis;
that is, in
liyflode and
clothing suf-
ficient to his
staat. *hath glo-*
rie; in boostinge
of his kyn. *Live*
here. c.
† in mylde-
nesse; that
holdith du me-
sure and re-
freyneth exces.
aftir his me-
rit; in mak-
inge suget the
fleich and de-
sir of wittis, as
it becometh.
that synneth
azens his
soule; in set-
ting the fleisch
bifor it, no man
schal iustifie
him, for of the
handmayde he
makith a ladi,
and azenward,
and this is most
vnrijtful. *for*
his catel; that
is, for richessis,
and not for
vertu, and this
is fals onour.
Live here. c.

† of eldere
men; another
lettre hath, in
the myddis of
wordis, that is,
in brekinge the
wordis of him
that spekith.
Live here. c.
§ stonde thou
not in the doom,
etc.; that is, of
hem that per-
uertten doom,
appreue thou
not her sen-
tence, nether
consente therto.
thi dedis ben
not in many
thingis; for
oon lettith an-
other, whanne
many thingis
ben bigunnun,
bifor that any
of tho be endid.
if thou art
riche; that is.

^w chastisid c pr. m. ^x abide c pr. m. ^y Om. c pr. m. ^z glorieth AEGH. ^a schameth G. ^b Om. c
et x pr. m. ^c Om. A.

were riche, thou shalt not ben gilteles fro^d trespas. If forsothe thou shalt follewe, thou shalt not ouertaken; and if thou shul renne biforn, thou shalt not
 11 scapen^e. Ther is a man trauailende, and hezende, and sorewende vnпитыous; and so myche more he shal not abounde.
 12 Ther is a man welewid, nedende rekuring, more failende in vertue, and abunding, more failende in porenesse; and the eze of God beheeld hym in goode, and rered^f hym fro his lownesse, and enhauncide his hed; and manye merueileden in hym,
 14 and wrshepiden God. Goodis and eueles, lijf and deth, porenesse and honeste, ben
 15 of God. Wisdam, and disciplyne, and kunnyng of the lawe anent the Lord; loouyng and the weies of goode men
 16 anent hym. Errour^{ff} and dercnesses to synneres ben foormed; who forsothe ful out iozen in to euell, waxen old togidere
 17 in to euelis. The 3yuyng of God abidith stille to rijtwis men; and the profitus of it welsum aftircomyngus shuln han in to
 18 withoute ende. Ther is that is mad riche scarsly doende, and this the part of
 19 the meede of hym, in that that he seith, I fond reste to me, and now I shal eten
 20 of my goodis alone. And he wot not that tyme passe biside hym, and deth ne3heth, and he^g forsaketh alle thingus to
 21 othere men, and die. Stond in thi testament, and in it spec togidere; and in the
 22 werk^h of thin hestis wax old. Abide thou not in the werkes of synneres; troste forsothe in God, and dwel in thi
 23 place. Li3t is forsothe in the e3en of God, sodeynly to honesten the pore. The blissing of God in to the meede of the rijt-wise heezeth; and in swift wrshi-pe the
 25 forth goyng of hym maketh fruyt. Ne sey thou, What to me is nede? and what
 26 godis schulen be to me her aftir? Ne

with out part of gilt. For if thou suest, thou schalt not take; and thou schalt not ascape, if thou rennist bifore. Ther is aⁿ 11 man trauelynge, and hastyng, and sorew-ynge, and vnпитыouse; and bi so myche more^o he schal not haue plentee. Ther 12 is a^p man fade*, nedi of rekyueryng, fail-ynge more in vertu, and plenteuouse in pouert; and the i3e of God bihelde hym 13 in good, and reside hym fro his lownesse, and enhaunsid his heed; and many men wondriden in him, and onouriden God. Goodis^{pp} and yuels†, lijf and deth, pouert 14 and oneste, ben of God. Wisdom, and 15 lernyng, and kunnyng of the lawe *ben* anentis the Lord; loue and the weies of goode men *ben* at him. Errour and derk- 16 nesis ben maad togidere to synneris; forsothe thei that maken ful out ioye in yuel, wexen eld togidere in to yuels. The 3ifte 17 of God dwellith to iust men; and encreess- yngis‡ of hym schulen haue prosperitees without ende. A^q man is^r that is maad 18 riche in doynge scarsli, and this *is* the part of his mede, in that that he seith, 19 Y haue founden reste to me, and now Y aloone schal ete of my goodis. And he 20 noot that tyme passith hym, and deth neizeth, and he schal leeu alle thingis to othere men, and schal die. Stonde thou 21 in thi testament§, and speke thou togidere in it; and wexe thou eld in the werk of thin heestis. Dwell thou not in the 22 werkis of synneris; but triste thou in God, and dwelle in thi place. For it is 23 esy in the i3en of God, sudeynli to make onest a pore man. The blessing of God 24 haastith in to the meede of a iust man; and the going forth of hym makith fruyt in swift onour. Seie thou not, What is 25 nede to me||? and what goodis schulen be me her aftir? Seie thou not, Y am suf- 26 ficient, and what schal Y be maad worse

coueytouse of richessis vn-
 mesurably.
 if thou suest;
 in sekinge rich-
 essis vnmesura-
 bly. thou schalt
 not take; that
 is, thou schalt
 not gete suf-
 ficiency, for
 whiche rich-
 essis ben soust;
 a coueitouse
 man hath not
 sufficiency bi
 richessis, but
 more nedinesse;
 for in as myche
 as he sekith
 to haue mo
 thingis coueyt-
 ously, he thirst-
 ith more mo
 thingis. thou
 schalt not
 ascape; nedy-
 nesse. if thou
 rennist bifore;
 in takinge rich-
 essis of thi fa-
 dir and modir;
 for if thou art
 coueytouse,
 thou schalt
 not be apaid
 with thingis
 had, but ouer-
 bisit to haue mo
 thingis; and
 if thou art a
 wastere, thou
 schalt soone
 waste thi
 goodis, and
 schalt be nedy.
 Live here. c.
 * a man fade;
 that is, feble,
 failinge more
 than othere. in
 vertu; of bodi.
 in pouert; for
 whi that litil
 thing that he
 hath, suffisith
 to him. bihelde
 him; goostly,
 for his pacience,
 and sumtyme
 also in tempo-
 ral good. Live
 here. c.
 † Goodis and
 yuels; that is,
 prosperites and
 aduersites.
 pouert and
 oneste; that is,
 sufficiency of
 goodis. ben of
 God; that is,
 ben 3ouun to
 men. Live
 here. c.
 ‡ encreess-
 yngis; etc.; that is, heapingis of meritis. prosperites; for whi gloriouse meede schal come aftir tho. Live here. c.
 § in thi testament; that is, in
 Goddis heest, which is ordeyned to thee, to be kept of thee. heestis; that is, of Goddis heestis put to thee. of synneris; in consenting to hem. dwelle
 in thi place; that is, bi loue in God, which is a place for to quyet the soule. onest; a pore man, in translating him to glorie. Live here. c.
 || What is nede to me; to triste on another man, for Y suffice to me for power, and wisdom, and siche temporal thingis; they that bileuen onely
 present lijf, doen this moost. what goodis etc. heraftir; that is, aftir this lijf, as if he seye, noone. c.

^d of A. ^e ascape AEGH. ^f arerede E. ^{ff} Erroures c pr. m. ^g Om. AEGH. ^h werkis E pr. m. c pr. m.
ⁱ shuln ben to me of this goodes c pr. m.

ⁿ sum I. ^o the more I. ^p sum I. ^{pp} Good A pr. m. ^q sum I. ^r ther is I.

sey thou, I am suffisaunt, and what of
27 this I^k shall be mad^l werse? In the day
of goodis be thou not vnmyndeful of
eueles, and in the dai of eueles be thou
28 not vnmyndeful of goodis; for list is bi-
for God in the day of deth to zelden to^m
29 eche aftir his weies. The malice of oon
hour maketh forzetyngⁿ of most lecche-
rie; and in the ende of a man ful nake-
30 nyng^o of the werkis of hym. Bifor deth
preise thou not any man; for in his sonus
31 is^p knowen a man. Not eche man bringe
thou in to thin hous; manye forsothe
32 ben the spies of the treccherous. As for-
sothe the entrailes of stinkende thingus
bolken^q out, and as the partrich is brozt
in to the pit falle, and as a capret in to
the grene, so and the herte of proude
men; and as the forlookere seende the
33 falling of his nezhebore. Forsoothe goode
thingus in to euel^r turnyng he aspieth,
and in chosen men he leith vp a wem.
34 Of oo sparcle fyr is eechid, and of oon
treccherous blood is encresid; a man
35 forsothe synnere waiteth to blood. Tac
heed to thee fro the deth berere, forsothe
he forgeth eueles; lest perauenture he
bringe vp on thee scornynge in to with
36 oute ende. Resceyue to thee an alien
womman, and she schal turne thee vp so
doun in a whirlewynd, and alienen thee
fro thi propre weies.

CAP. XII.

1 Iff thou shul wel do, wite thou to
whom thou shalt wel do; and ther shal
2 be myche grace in thi goodys. Wel do
to the riztwis, and thou shalt finde gret
zelding; and if not of hym, certes of the
3 Lord. It is not^s weel to hym that is besi
in eueles, and to the not zyuende almes
deede; for and the heizest to hate hath
syneres, and hath merci to penaunce doeres.
4 3if to the merciful, and vndertake ^{or}
resseyue^t thou not the synnere; and to

heraftir? In the dai of goodis be thou 27
not vnmyndeful of yuels, and in the dai
of yuels be thou not vnmyndeful of goodis;
for it is esi bifor God to zelde in the dai 28
of deth to ech man aftir hise weies. The 29
malice of oon our^{*} makith forzeting of
moost letcherie; and in the ende of a man
is makyng nakid of hise werkis. Preise 30
thou not ony man bifore his deth; for whi
a man is knowun in hise sones. Brynge 31
thou not ech man in to thin hous; for
whi many tresouns ben of a gileful man.
For whi as the entrails of stynkyng 32
thingis breken out, and as a partrich is
led in to a trap, *ether net*, and as a capret
is led in to a snare, so and the herte of
proude men; and as a biholdere seyng
the fal[†] of his nezbore. For he turneth 33
goodis in to yuels, and settith tresouns,
and puttith a wem on chosun men. Fier 34
is encreessid of a^s sparcle, and blood is
encreessid of a^t gileful man; for whi a
synful man settith tresoun to blood. Take 35
heede to thee fro a gileful man, for he
makith yuels; lest perauenture he bringe
yn on thee scornynge with outen ende.
Resseyue[‡] thou an alien to thee, and he 36
schal distrie thee in^u whirlewynd, and he
schal make thee alien fro thin owne
weies.

CAP. XII.

If thou doist wel[‡], wite thou^v to whom 1
thou doist^w; and miche grace schal be to
thi goodis. Do thou wel to a iust man, 2
and thou schalt fynde greet zelding; thou
not of hym, certis of the Lord. It is not 3
wel to hym that is customable in yuels,
and to hym that zyueth not almes[§]; for
whi the hizeste bothe hatith synneris, and
doith merci to hem that doen penaunce.
Zyue thou to a merciful man, and resseyue 4
thou not a synnere^{||}; *God* schal zelde ven-

*maad worse; that is, schal suffre yuels for my dedis, as he seye, noone. They vndur- stondun this, that bileuen that the soule dieth with the body. in the day of goodis; that is, tyme of prosperite in this lyf. vn- myndeful of yuels; that is, of punysching in another lyf. and in the day of yuels; that is, of aduersite in presente lyf. be thou not vn- myndeful; that is, of reward- ing in heuenly blisse, for whi this mynde makith to suf- fre patiently aduersites. c. * the malice of oon hour; that is, schort tur- ment soupith vp most lust passid, and myche more long turment doith this. preise thou not; outirly and fynaly. hise sones; that is, werkis. Lire here. c. † seinge the fal; that is, wakith dili- gently to se the fal of his nez- bore, to haue ioye therof. c. ‡ If thou doist wel; in zyu- ynge thi goodis. wite thou to whom; that he be worthi to resseyue. Lire here. c. § zyueth not almes; and netheles mysty therto. Lire here. c. || resseyue thou not a synnere; that is, obstinat in synnes, that wolde be nurs- chid in synnes bi thi goodis. kepinge, etc.; that is, reser- ynge hem to the peyne of helle. Lire here. c.*

^k Om. AG pr. m. H. ^l tretid E pr. m. ^m Om. AGH. ⁿ to forzeten E pr. m. c pr. m. to forzetyng AGH. ^o openyng E pr. m. ^p shal be E pr. m. c pr. m. ^q bollen G. ^r euels AGH. ^s not forsothe E pr. m. ^t Om. c et E pr. m.

^o o plures. oon H. ^t o plures. ^u in a I. ^v Om. GN. ^w doist wel A sec. m.

vnpitouse and synneres he shal 3elde ven-
iaunce, kepende them in the day of ven-
iaunce. 3if to the goode, and resceyue
6thou not the synnere. Weel do to the
meeke, and 3yue thou not to the vnpi-
tous; forfende^a to 3yuen to hym loeues,
lest in hem he be myztier than thou.
7 For double eueles thou shalt fynde in
alle goodus, what euere thou shalt^v do to
hym; for and the heizeste to hate hath
synneres, and to the vnpitous he shal
8 3elde veniaunce. A frend shal not be
knownen in goodis, and an enemy shal
9 not ben hid in eueles. In the goodes of
a man the enemys of hym; and in the
sorewe and in the malice of hym the
10 frend is knowen. Ne trowe thou to thin
enemy vnto withoute ende; forsothe as
bras rusteth out the shreudenesse of
11 hym. And if meekid he go crookid,
thro3 awei thi wil, and keep thee fro
12 hym. Set not hym biside thee, and sitte
he not at thi rizt half, lest turned he
stonde in thi place; lest perauenture
turned in to thi place he inwardli seche
thi chaizer, and in the laste thou knowe
my wrdes, and in mi wrdis thou be
13 prickid. Who shal lechen to the en-
chauntere smyten of the eddere, and to
alle that nezhen to bestes, and that folew-
ith with the wicke man, and is aboute
14 wrappid in his synnes? Oon hour with
thee he shal abide stille; if forsothe thou
15 bowe down, he shal not vnderbern. In
his lippis the enemy putteth^w in swet-
nesses^x, and^y in his herte he spieth, that
he turne thee vp so down in to the dich.
16 In thin ezen the enemy wepith; and if
he shul fynde tyme, he shal not be ful-
17 fild with blod. If^z ther shul falle to thee
eueles, thou shalt finde hym there rathere,
18 *or former^a*. In thin ezen the enemy shal
wepen, and as helpende he shal vnder-
19 delue thi plantes. His hed he shal moue,
and flappe for io3e with the hond; and
many thingus grucchendeli whistrende^b
shal with chaunge his chere.

iaunce bothe to vnfeithful men and to
synneris, kepyng hem in the dai of ven-
iaunce. 3yue thou to a good man, and
resceyue thou not a synnere. Do thou
good to a meke man, and 3yue thou not
to an vnpitouse man; forbede thou to
3yue looues to hym*, lest in tho he be
myztier than thou. For thou schalt fynde
double yuels in alle goodis, whiche euere
thou doist to hym; for whi the hizeste
bothe hatith synneris, and schal 3elde ven-
iaunce to vnfeithful men. A frend schal
not be knowun in goodis, and an enemy
schal not be hid in yuels[†]. In the goodis
of a man hise enemyes *ben sori*; and a
frend is knowun in the sorewe and malice
of him[‡]. Bileue thou neuer to thin ene-
my; for his wickidnesse roustith as irun.
Thou3 he be maad meke, and go lowe,
caste awei thi soule, and kepe thee fro
him. Sette thou not him bisidis thee,
nether sitte he at thi rizt side, lest he turne
and stonde in thi place; lest perauenture
he turne in to thi place, and enquire thi
chaier, and in the laste tyme thou know
mi wordis, and be prickid in my wordis.
Who schal dq medecyn to an enchauntere
smytun of a serpent, and to alle men that
neizen to beestis, and to *him* that goith
with an yuel man, and is wlapid in the
synnes of him? In oon our3 he schal
dwelle with thee; sotheli if thou bowist
awei, he schal not bere vp. The enemy
makith swete in hise lippis, and in his
herte he settith tresoun to ouerturne^z thee
in to the dich. The enemy wepith in hise
ezen; and if he fyndith tyme, he schal not
be fillid of blood. If yuels bifallen to thee,
thou schalt fynde hym the formere there.
The enemy schal wepe bfore thin ezen,
and he as helpynge schal vndurmyne thi
feet. He schal stire his heed, and he
schal beete with hond; and he schal
speke priuyli many *yuels* of thee, and
schal chaunge his chere.

* looues to
hym; here he
spekith of syn-
neris obstynat.
double yuels;
that is, yuels
passid, whiche
he dide, and
to comynge,
whiche he schal
do, susteyned
bi thi goodis.
Live here. c.
† in yuels; that
is, aduersites.
Live here. c.
‡ malice of
him; that is,
in aduersite of
him. neuere to
thin enemy;
that is, whom
thou hast pre-
ued an enemy.
roustith; that
is, kepith the
rust of hatrede,
thou3 he schew-
ith the contra-
rie with out
forth. go lowe;
in doynge greet
reuerence to
thee. thi soule;
in no maner
bileue thou to
him. bisidis
thee; in mak-
inge him famy-
lyar, ether
hoomely to
thee. Live here.
c.
§ in oon our;
that is, while
prosperite
durith. bowist
away; fro
prosperite.
schal not bere
vp; that is,
he schal not
helpe thee.
makith swete;
in disseyunge
hi swete wordis.
in hise lippis;
whanne he bi-
leueth, that he
schal be re-
leuyd herbi.
as helpinge;
that is, he schal
feyne to helpe
thee, and schal
ymagyne to thi
gretter falling.
schal chaunge;
fro frenschipe
feyned bfore,
to opyn en-
myte. Live
here. c.

^a forfende thou A. ^v hast C. ^w by puttith E pr. m. ^x swetnes AGH. ^y desseyueth and E pr. m.
^z And if A. ^a Om. C et E pr. m. A. rathere *formere* GH. ^b whistringe E.

^x yuels ether aduersitees v. ^z vndurturne A pr. m. et ceteri.

CAP. XIII.

1 Who shal touche pich, shal be defoulid
of it; and who shal comunen to the
2 proude man, shal clothin pride. Berthen
vp on hym he taketh, that comuneth to
the honestere than hymself; and to the
richere than thou, thou shalt not ben fe-
3 lawe. What shal comune the caudron
to the pot? whan forsothe thei shuln
hurtle themself, it shal ben to-broken.
4 The riche man vnri3twisly dide, and shal
gnaste; the pore man forsothe hurt shal
5 holde his pes. If thou shul 3yue, he shal
take thee; and if thou haue not, he shal
6 forsake thee. If thou haue, he shal lyue
with thee, and auoide thee out; and he
7 shal not sorewen vpon thee. If thou
were necessarie to hym, he shal bigile
thee; and vnder lazhende hope he shal
3yue, tellende to thee alle goodes; and
8 shal^c seyn, What nede is to thee? And
he shal confounde thee in his metes, to
the tyme he neentishe thee twies or
thries, and in the laste he shal scorne
thee; aftirward seende he shal forsake
9 thee, and hys hed moue^d to thee. Be
thou mekid to God, and abid his hondis.
10 Tac heed, lest desceyued in folie thou be
11 mekid. Wile thou not be meeke in thi
wisdam, and lest lowid in to folie thou
12 be lad aside. Clepid to of the my3tyere,
go away; of that forsothe more he shal
13 clepe thee to. Be thou not ^{to} gredi^e, lest
thou be put a3een; and be thou not fer
14 fro hym, lest thou go in to for3eteng. Ne
withholde thou of euene to speken with
hym, and trowe thou not to the manye
wrdis of hym; forsothe of myche speche
he shal tempte thee, and vnder lazhende
the vnmylde inwit of hym shal aske thee

CAP. XIII.

He that touchith pitch, schal be de-1
foulid of it; and he that comyneth with
a proude man, schal clothe pride*. He 2
reisith a wei3te on hym silf, that comyn-
eth with a more onest man than hym silf;
and be thou not felowe to a man richere
than thou. What schal a cawdroun comyne 3
to a pot? for whanne tho hirtlen hem silf
togidere, *the pot* schal be brokun. A riche 4
man schal do vniustli, and schal gnaste†;
but a pore man hirt schal be stille. If 5
thou 3yuest, he schal take thee; and if
thou hast not, he schal forsake thee. If 6
thou hast, he schal lyue togidere‡ with
thee, and schal make thee voide; and he
schal not haue sorewe on thee. If thou 7
art nedeful to hym, he schal disseyue
thee; and he schal flatere, and schal 3yue
hope, tellinge to thee alle goodis; and
schal seie, What is nede to thee? And he 8
schal schende thee in hise metis§, til he
anyntische thee twies and thries, and at
the laste he schal scorne thee; aftirward
he schal se, and schal forsake thee, and
he schal moue his heed|| to thee. Be thou 9
maad meke to God, and abide thou hise
hondis. Take heede, lest thou be dis- 10
seyued, and be maad lowe in foli. Nyle 11
thou be lowe in thi wisdom, lest thou be
maad low, and be disseyued in to foli.
Whanne thou art clepid of a miztiere man, 12
go thou aweia¶; for bi this he schal more
clepe thee. Be thou not greetli press- 13
yng^{b**}, lest thou be hurtlid down; and be
thou not fer fro hym, lest thou go in to
for3etyng. Witholde thou not to speke 14
with hym euenli††, and bileue thou not to
hise many wordis; for of myche speche
he schal tempte thee, and he schal lei3e

* *clothe pride*; for whi men ben enclynaunt to vndu desir of her owne excellence, wher-ynne pride stondith, wher-for it cleueth listly to a man. with a more onest man; that is, with a myztier man, for he wole euere haue the betere for himsilf, and the tother may not wel a3enstonde him. *a cawdroun*; of bras. to a pot; of erthe. *schal be brokun*; that is, the pot, which is freel, schal be brokun. *Live here.* c.

† *gnaste*; as redie 3it to do worse. *3yuest*; 3iftis to the riche man.

‡ *schal take*; that is, onour and sette thee bisidis him.

Live here. c. § *lyue togidere*; in clepinge thee to his table.

make thee voyde; that is, make thee pore, bi presentis maad to him. *sorewe on thee*; of thi pouert. *Live here.* c.

§ *schende thee in his metis*; in clepinge thee to his table, to haue presentis of thee. *anyntische thee*; that is, brynge to pouert.

twyes and thries; that is, fyue this, for in v. maneris pore men ben maad voyde of coueitouse riche men; first, in takinge away violently

the goodis of pore men; the ij., in withholdinge du hire; the thridde, in disseyunge bi double wordis; the iiij., in weiyng yuele to hem, bothe in absence of pore men that tristen in riche men, and in presence of hem that doren not a3enseye. *Live here.* c. || *moue his heed*; in repreuyng the of foli. *be maad low*; that is, a coward. in *thi wisdom*; that is, 3ouun of God to thee. *Live here.* c. ¶ *go thou away*; that is, excuse thee sumdel. *Live here.* c. ** *presing*; in preessinge forth thee ouer myche. *hurtlid down*; that is, put away schamefastly. *Live here.* c. †† *with hym euenli*; that is, speke thou to him with out reuerence. *Live here.* c.

^c Om. CE pr. m. ^d moued A. ^e nedeles C et E pr. m.

^a aweia, or excuse y. ^b ethir to gredi x sec. m. marg.

15 of thin hid thingus. And he shal 'to
gedir^f kepe thi wrdis, and not sparen fro
16 malice, and fro^g bondis. War to thee,
and tac heed bisili to thin heering; for
with thy turnyng vpsodoun thou gost.
17 Heerende forsothe tho thingus, as in
18 sweuenes see, and thou shalt waken. In
al thi lif loue God, and inwardli clep
19 hym in thin helthe. Eche beste looneth
lic to hym; so and eche man the nexte
20 to hym. Eche flesh to his lijch shal be
ioyned, and eche man to his lic shal be
21 felashepid. As a wlf shal comune to a
lomb otherwhile, so a synnere to a riht-
22 wis. What comunycacioun to an hoeli
man at a dogge? or what good parti to
23 a riche man at a pore? Hunting of a^b
leoun an asse in wilderness; so pore
24 men ben the leswe of riche men. And
as abhominacioun to a proud man is mek-
ness, so and cursing of the riche is the
25 pore. The riche man stirid is confermed
of his frendis; the meeke forsothe, whan
he shal falle, shal be put out also fro
26 knowen. To the riche desceyued manye
ben rekureresⁱ; he spac proudli, and thei
27 iustifieden hym. The meeke is desceyu-
ed, ferthermor and vndirnomyn; he spac
felendely, 'or wisely^k, weel, and ther is not
28 3oue to hym a place. The riche spac, and
alle heelden ther pes; and the wrd of
29 hym vnto the cloudys thei shul bern. The
pore spac, and thei seyn, Who is this?
and if he schal^l offende, thei shul turne
30 hym vp so down. Good is substaunce, to
whom is not synne in concience; and
most wicke is porennes in the mouth of
31 the vnpitous. The herte of a man
chaungeth the face of hym, or in good
32 or in euel. The step of a good herte,
and a good face, hard thou shalt fynde,
and with trauaile.

priuyli, and schal axe thee of thin hid
thingis*. His cruel soule schal kepe thi
wordis, and he schal not spare of malice,
and of bondis. Be war to thee, and take
heede diligentli to thin heryng; for thou
goist with thi distriyng. But thou heringe
tho thingis, se as in sleep, and thou schalt
wake. In al thi lijf loue thou God, and
inwardli clepe thou him in thin heelthe[†].
Ech beeste loueth a beeste lijk it silf; so
and ech man owith to loue his neizbore.
Ech fleisch schal be ioyned to fleisch lijk
it silf, and ech man schal be felouschipid
to a man lijk hym silf. As a wulf schal
comyne sum tyme with a lomb, so a syn-
nere with a iust man. What cominge
of^c an hooli man to a dogge[‡]? ethir what
good part is of a riche man to a pore
man? The huntynge of a lioun is a wielde
asse in desert; so the lesewis of riche
men ben pore men. And as mekenesse is
abhomynacioun to a proude man, so and
a pore man is abhomynacioun of a riche
man. A riche man moued[§] is confermed
of hise frendis; but a meke man, whanne
he fallith, schal be cast out, 3he, of knowun
men. Many rekyuereris ben to a riche
man disseyued; he spac proudli, and thei
iustifieden hym. A meke man is disseiued,
ferthermore also he is repreuyd; he spac
wiseli, and no place was 3ouun to hym.
The riche man spac, and alle men weren
stille; and thei schulen brynge his word
til to the cloudis. A pore man spac, and
thei seien, Who is this? and if he of-
fendith, thei schulen destrye hym. Catel
is good to hym, to whom is no synne in
conscience; and 'the worste pouert^d is in
the mouth of a wickid man. The herte of
a man chaungith his face, ethir in good
ethir in yuel. Of hard and with trauel
thou schalt fynde the step of a good
herte||, and a good face.

* hid thingis; that is, if thou hast take in hid place any thing of his.
† of malice; that is, of peyne to be 3ouun to thee. and thou schalt wake; that is, feyne thee to vndurstonde not tho thingis that ben seid of the riche man, for thi taking; and in this thou schalt haue thee wakingli and diligently.
‡ Live here. c. † in thyn helthe; that is, for thyn helthe temporal and euerlasting.
§ his neizbore; for he is maad in the ymage of God, and is able to take blis. Live here. c.
‡ to a dogge; that is, to a doggische man, and siche is a chidere, and a wrathful man, and a glotoun; as if he seye, no good comyng is there. in desert; wherynne the lyoun pursueth the wielde asse, to deuoure hym. of riche men; coueitouse. ben pore men; whos goodis they rauischen with out cause.
§ A riche man moued; that is, disturbrid.
|| frendis; hopinge to haue part of hise goodis. in conscience; that is, of yuele geting, nether bi himsilf, nether bi hise fadir and modir. of a wickid man; that bi vnpacience blasfemeth God. Live here. c.
|| the step of a good herte; that

is, thou schalt fynde in fewe men the yanere goodnesse of soule, and of outermere conuersacioun togidere. Live here. c.

^f Om. c pr. m.

^k Om. c et E pr. m.

^g Om. c.

^l Om. c pr. m.

^h Om. AG pr. m. H.

ⁱ rekeueris E. rekuuers A. rekuuerers GH.

^c to A pr. m. et ceteri.

^d pouert worste A sec. m.

CAP. XIV.

1 Blisful the man, that is not sliden in wrd
fro his mouth, and is not prickid in sorewi
2 slouthe of gilte. Sely, *'or blessid^m*, that
hadde not sorewi slouthe of his inwit, and
3 falleth not awei fro his hope. To the co-
ueitous man, and hard, withoute resoun
is substaunce; and to an enuyous man,
4 wherto gold? Who hepithⁿ of his inwit
vnri3twisly, to othere men gedereth; and
in the goodis of hym an other shal don
5 leccherie. Who to hymself is shreude, to
what other shal he ben good? and he shal
6 not ben merie in his goodus. No thing is
wers, than he that enuyeth to hymself;
and that is the 3elding^o of his malice.
7 And if he shul weel don, vnwitendely,
and not wilnende he doth; and in the
8 laste he shewith his malice. Shreude is
the e3e of the pale, and turnende awei
9 face^p, and dispisende his soule. Vnfill-
able^a the e3e of the coueitous; in to the
part of wickidnesse he shal not be fild,
to the tyme that he fulli ende vnri3twis-
10 nesse, makende drie his soule. The euele
e3e to eueles, and nedy shal not ben fild
with bred; and in^r sorewi slouthe he shal
11 be vp on his bord. Sone, if thou hast,
wel do with^a thee, and offre to God wrthi
12 offeringis. Be thou myndeful for deth
shal not tarien, and the testament of
helle, that is shewid to thee; the testa-
ment forsothe of this world bi deth shal
13 dien. Biforn deth wel do to thi frend,
and aftir thi strengthis puttende out 3if
14 to the pore. Be thou not bigilid fro the
good day, and the parcel of the goode
15 day passe^t thee not. Whether not to
othere thou shalt lefe thi sorewis, and
16 thi trauailes? In departing of lot 3if, and
17 tac; and iustefie thi soule. Bifor thi deth
werch ri3twisnesse; forⁿ to finde mete is

CAP. XIV.

Blessid *is* the man, that stood not bi
the^e word of his mouth, and was not
prickid^{*} in the sorewe of trespas. *He is* 2
blessid, that hath not sorewe of his soule[†],
and fallith not down fro his hope. Catel[‡] 3
is with out resoun to a coueitouse man,
and hard nygard; and wherto *is* gold to
an enuyouse man? He that gaderith of 4
his wille vniustli, gaderith to othere men;
and another man schal mak wast in hise
goodis. To what othere man schal he be 5
good, which is wickid to hym silf? and
he schal not be myrye in hise goodis. No 6
thing is worse[§], than he that hath enuye
to hym silf; and this is the 3elding of his
malice. And if he doith good, he doith 7
vnwityngli, and not wilfuli; and at the
laste he schewith his malice. The ize of 8
an enuyous man is wickid, and turnynge
awei the face, and dispisyng his soule.
The ize of the coueitouse man *is* neuere 9
fillid; he schal not be fillid in to the part
of wickidnesse, til he performe vnri3tful-
nesse, and make drie his soule. An yuel 10
ize to yuels, and the nedi man schal not
be fillid of breed; and he schal be in
sorewe on his table. Sone, if thou hast, 11
do wel with thi silf, and offre thou worthi
offryngis to God. Be thou myndeful that 12
deth schal not tarie, and the testament of
hellis^{||}, which is schewid to thee; for whi
the testament of this world schal die bi
deth. Bifore deth do thou good to thi 13
frend, and bi thi miztis stretche thou forth,
and 3yue to a pore man. Be thou not dis- 14
seyued of a good dai, and a litil part of a
good day passe not[¶] thee. Whether^{ee} thou 15
schalt not leue to othere men thi sorewis,
and trauels? In the departyng of lot^{**} 16
3yue thou, and take; and iustifie thi soule.
Bifore thi deth worche thou ri3tfulnesse; 17

* was not prickid; bi remors of conscience for vicious stilnesse. *Live here. c.*
† sorewe of his soule; in good werkis to be fillid. *Live here. c.*
‡ Catel; that is, richessis, that profiten not to him, for as wel that that an auarouse hath failith to him silf, as that that he hath not, as Jerom seith, in his pistle to Paulyn. *to a coueitouse man; in getinge yuele. hard nygard; in holdinge yuele, therfor richessis noyen to an auarouse man, bothe to bodi and soule. to an enuyouse man; to his yuel. of his wille; that is, getinge vn- iustly, witingli, and of purpos. gaderith to othere men; for ofte tho ben priued of the vas of richessis, and tho ben wastid yuele of othere men. Live here. c.*
§ No thing is worse; for he turmentith him silf, bothe to bodi and soule. *enuye to him silf; sicke is an auarouse man, that with- drawith of his owene neces- saries. Live here. c.*
|| the testament of hellis; that is, the orden- aunce of God, of the deth of ech man; it is seid the testa- ment of hellis, for whanne this book was maad, iust men

3eden down to helle. *this world schal die bi deth; that is, worldli eritage, biquethun of fadris to children, schal faile sone. Live here. c.*
¶ the face A. ¶ Vn- fillible, or that may not be fulfild E sec. m. marg. GH. ** In the departing of lot; for God hath ordeyned that summen be pore, and othere men be riche, that riche men 3yue temporal thingis to pore men, and resseyue euerlastinge thingis for tho.

^m Om. c et E pr. m. ⁿ kepith AGH. ^o turnyng E pr. m. 3elding a3een sec. m. ^p the face A. ^q Vn- fillible, or that may not be fulfild E sec. m. marg. GH. ^r Om. c pr. m. ^s to A. ^t beside passe E pr. m.

^a Om. c pr. m.

^e Om. s. ^{ee} Wher ceteri fere passim.

18 not anent helle. Eche flesh as heiz̃ shal
waxe old, and as a lef beryng frut in a
19 grene tree. Othere ben iendred, and
othere fallen down; so ieneracioun of
flesh and of blod, an other is endid,
20 and an other is born. Eche corruptible
werc in the ende shal faile; and he that
21 wercheth it, shal go with it. And eche
chosen werc shal be iustefied; and he that
22 wercheth it, shal be wrshipid in it. Blis-
ful the man, that shal dwelle in wisdam,
and that in rijtwisnesse sweteli shal
thenke, and in wit shal thenke the look-
23 ing aboute of God. Who thenketh out
the weies of hym in his herte, and in
hid thingus of it vnderstanding shal be;
goende aftir it as enserchere, and in the
24 weies of it beende stille. Who byholdeth
bi the wyndowes of it, and in the ȝatis of
25 it is herende; who resteth biside^v the
hous of it, and in the walles of it pic-
cheth a pale^w. He shal ordeyne his litle
hous at the hondis of it, and ther shuln
reste in the litle houses of it^x goodis, bi
26 aungelis during; he shal setten his sonus
vnder the roof of it, and vnder the
27 braunchis of it he shal wone; he shal
be defendid vnder the roof of it fro bren-
nende hete, and in the glorie of it he
shal reste,

CAP. XV.

1 Who dredeth God, shal do goode
thingus; and who withholding is of rijt-
2 wisnesse, shal taken it. And it shal meete
to hym as a moder wrshipid, and as a
womman fro maidynhed it shal vndir-
3 take hym. It shal feede hym with the
bred of lif, and of vnderstanding; and
with the^v water of holsum wisdam it shal
ȝyue drinke to hym; and it shal be fast-
4 ned in hym, and not ben bowed. And it
shal withholden hym, and he shal not be
confoundid; and it shal enhaunce hym

for at hellis it is not to fynde mete. Ech 18 *fynde mete;*
man schal wexe eld as hey, and as a leef *that is, place*
bryngynge fruit in a grene tree. Othere 19 *of merit. of*
ben gendrid, and othere ben cast down; *fleisch and*
so the generacioun of fleisch and blood, *blood; that is,*
another is endid, and another is borun. *of men. cor-*
Ech corruptible werk schal faile in the 20 *ruptible; that*
ende; and he that worchith it, schal go *is, ledging to*
with it. And al chosun werk schal be 21 *corrupcioun,*
iustified; and he that worchith it, schal be *that is, to*
onourid in it. Blessid is the man, that 22 *synne. faile;*
schal dwelle in wisdom, and that schal *that is, schal*
bithenke in rijtfulnesse, and schal thenke *make to faile*
in wit the biholding of God. Which^f 23 *of blis. al*
thenkith out, *ether fyndith out*, the weies *chosun werk,*
of hym in his herte, and schal be vndur- *etc.; that is,*
stondynge in the hid thingis of hym; *meritorie werk*
goynge as a serchere aftir it, and stond- *schal be ap-*
ynge in the weies of it. Which biholdith 24 *preued of God,*
bi the wyndows therof, and herith in the *as iust werk.*
ȝatis therof; which restith nyȝ the hous 25 *thenke in wit;*
therof, and settith a stak in the wallis *that is, wittily.*
therof. He schal sette his litil hous at the *weyes; that is,*
hondis of hym, and goodis schulen reste *the werkis*
in his litil hous, bi duryng of the world; *of God, that*
he schal sette hise sonus vndur the hilyng 26 *ben weyes to*
therof, and he schal dwelle vndur the *come in to his*
boowis therof; he schal be kyuerid vndur 27 *knowyng.*
the hilyng therof fro heete, and he schal *ȝatis; that is,*
reste in the glorie therof. *in the fyttinge*
chirche, bi
which is en-
tring to the
chirche hau-
ynge victorie.
biholdith bi the
wyndows; that
is, bi reuela-
cioun, maad in
the elde and
newe testa-
ment. restith
in the hous;
in bileuyng
stidfastly, and
dwellenge in
contemplacioun
swetely. at the
hondis of him;
that is, of God,
in abidinge
contynuely the
giftis of his
grace. of the
world; an
other lettre
hath bi him,
that is, God.
hise sonus; that
is, hise dissi-
plis. vndur the
hiling therof;
in teching hem
in the forseid
thingis. vndur
the boowis; in
thenkinge and
worchinge vn-
dur the tech-
ingis therof.
fro the heete;
of vices. Live
here. c.
** take it; that*
is, wisdom.
Live here. c.
† with water
of heelful wis-
dom; that is,
Live here. c.

CAP. XV.

He that dredith God, schal do goode 1
werkis; and he that holdith rijtfulnesse,
schal take it*. And it as a modir onourid 2
schal meete hym, and as a womman fro
virgynyte it schal take hym. It shal feede 3
hym with the breed of lijf, and of vndur-
standing; and it schal ȝyue drynke to
hym with watir of heelful wisdom†; it
schal be maad stidfast in hym, and he
schal not be bowid‡. And it schal holde 4
hym, and he schal not be schent; and it
schal enhaunse hym at his neiȝboris. And 5

with grace of the Hooly Goost. *Live here. c.*

‡ bowid; fro the euennesse of rijtfulnesse. *Live here. c.*

^v bisedes c *pr. m.*
^y Om. *AGH.*

^w he is, piccheth a pale c *sec. m.* he is, picching a pole *AECH.*

^x hym c *pr. m.*

^f The which i.

anent his neȝhebores. And in the myddel of the chirche it shal opene his mouth, and shal fulfille hym with spirit^z of wisdom, and of vnderstanding; and with stoele of glorie it shall clothin hym. Myrthe and ful out ioȝing it shal tresoren vp on hym; and in euerlastende name it shal eritagen hym. Men foolis shul not take it, and men wel feelende shul meete to it. Men foolis shul not seen it; ferr forsothe it is, ferre awei fro pride, and fro treccherie. Men lieres shul not be myndeful of it, and sothfast men ben^a founden in it; and welsum aftir comyng thei shul^b han vnto the looking in of God. Feir^c preising is not in the mouth of the synnere, for he is not sent of the Lord. For gon forth is wisdom of God; forsothe to the wisdom of God preising shal stonden at, and in^d the feithful mouth shal abounde, and the lordshipere shal ȝyuen it to hym. Thou shalt not seyn, Bi God it is away; tho thingis forsothe that it hateth, thou shalt not do. Ne sey thou, He me^e disceyuede; forsothe vnpytous men ben not nedeful to hym. The Lord hateth al^f cursing of errour, and it shal not ben looueful^g to men dredende hym. God fro the bygynnyng ordeynede man, and lafte hym in the hond of his conseil. He leide to maundemens, and his hestes; if thou wilt the maundemens kepen, thei shul kepe thee, and to kepen plesid feith in to withoute ende. He putte to thee watir and fyr; to what thou wilt, put forth thin hond. Bifor man is lif and deth, good and euel; that plesith to hym, shal he ȝoue^h to hym. For myche is the wisdom of God, and strong in myȝt, and seende alle menⁱ withoute censing. The eȝen of the Lord to the dredende hym; and he knowith al the besynesse^k of man. To no man he comaundide vnpytously to do; and to no man he ȝaf space of syn-

in the myddis of the chirche he schal opene his mouth; and *God* schal fille hym with the spirit of wisdom*, and of vnderstanding, and schal clothe hym with the stoele of glorie. *God* schal tresore on hym⁶ myrthe, and ful out ioiying; and schal enherite hym with euerlastynge name. Fonned men schulen not take that wis-⁷dom, and witti men schulen meete it. Fonned men schulen not se it; for whi it goith away fer fro pride, and gile. Men⁸ leesyngmongeris schulen not be myndful therof, and sothfast men ben foundunther ynne; and schulen haue prosperite⁹ 'til to^g the biholding of God. Preisyng⁹ is not fair[†] in the mouth of a synnere, for he is not sent of the Lord. For whi¹⁰ wisdom ȝede forth fro God; forsothe heriying schal stonde ny; the wisdom of God, and it schal be plenteuouse in a feithful mouth, and the Lord schal ȝyue it to him. Seie thou not, It goith awei bi[†] God; for¹¹ whi do thou not tho thingis, whiche *God* hatith. Seie thou not, He made me for to¹² erre; for whi wickid men ben not nedeful to hym. The Lord hatith al cursidnesse¹³ of errour, and it schal not be amyable to hem, that dreden hym. At the bigynnyng¹⁴ God made man, and lefte him[§] in the hond of his counsel. He addide hise co-¹⁵maundementis, and lawis; if thou wolt¹⁶ kepe the comaundementis, tho schulen kepe thee, and kepe plesaunt feith with outen ende. He hath set to thee watir^{||} and fier; dresse thin hond to that, that thou wolt. Bifor man is lijf and deth,¹⁸ good and yuel; that, that plesith hym, schal be ȝouun to hym. For whi the wis-¹⁹dom of God is myche, and he is strong in power, and seeth alle men without ceessing. The iȝen[¶] of the Lord *ben* to hem,²⁰ that dreden hym; and he knowith al the trauel of man. He comaundide not to ony²¹ man to do wickidli; and he ȝaf not to ony man space to do synne. For he coueytith²² c.

* of wisdom; to taaste dynn thingis. and of vnderstanding; to declare tho clereli in the chirche. *Live here. c.*

† is not fair; that is, plesaunt to God. *Live here. c.*

‡ It goith awei bi, etc.; that is, vertu to eschewe synne is not ȝouun of God to men. *Live here. c.*

§ and lefte him, etc.; not that God withdrew his keeping and ruling fro man, but made him fre in wille, and ȝaf to him power to kepe riȝtfulnesse. *Live here. c.*

|| He hath set to thee water; that is, re-freisching of glorie. and fier; that is, peyne of helle. he bihiȝte glorie, and ma-naasside peyne, that men schulden do good, and fle synne. *lyf; of grace. deth; of synne. good; of merit. and yuel; of yuel disseruyng.*

¶ that that plesith hym; that is, it is in his power to go to good, and to fle fro yuel. *strong in power; to reward hem that stonden in vertu, and to punysche hem that fallen therfro. Live here. c.*

¶ The iȝen; that is, of his merci. space; that is, licence. to do synne, but euere forbed. *Live here. c.*

^z the spirit AGH.

^a shuln ben c et E pr. m.

^b Om. c sec. m.

^c Semly c pr. m. E pr. m. AGH.

^d Om. c pr. m.

^e Om. c pr. m.

^f alle c pr. m.

^g leueful A.

^h he ȝyue A.

ⁱ Om. c pr. m.

^k werk E pr. m.

22nyng. Forsothe he coueiteth not the multitude of vnfeithful sonus and vnprofitable.

CAP. XVI.

1 Mac thou not myrie¹ in vnпиты sonus, if thei ben multiplied; ne delite thou vp on hem, if ther is not the drede of God
2 in^m hem. Ne 3yue thou feith to the lif of hem, and ne biholde thou in to the
3 trauailes of hem. Betere ys forsothe oon dredende God, than a thousand vnпиты sonus. And profitable it is to die with-
4 oute sonus, than to lefen vnпиты sonus.
5 Of oon weel felende man shal ben enhabitid the cuntre^m; and of thre vnпиты it
6 shal be forsaken. Manye othere thingis myn e3e sa3, and the strengere thingus
7 of these myn ere herde. In the synagoge of synnende men fyr shal out brenne, and
8 in the vnbileueful folc of kinde wrathe shal waxe ful out tend. Olde ieauntis
9 that ben destrozid, trostende to ther vertue, fulli pre3eden not for ther synnes;
10 and he sparede not to the pilgrimaging of hem, but smot hem, and wariede hem,
11 for the pride of the word^o of hem. He dide not mercy to them, destrozende al the folc of kinde and enhauncende itself
12 in his synnes. And as sixe hundrid thousand of footmen, that ben gadered in the hardnesse of ther herte; and if oon were
13 rered vp the nol, wnder if he hadde ben harmles. Mercy forsothe and wrathe is
14 with hym; my3ty is the ful out orisoun, and heeldende out wrathe. After his
15 mercy, so the chastising of hym; he demeth a man aftir his werkes. The
16 synnere shal not scapen out in to raueyn; and the suffryng of the doynge mercy
17 schal not tary by hynde^p. Eche mercy shal make place to echon, aftir the desert of his werkis, and after the vnderstand-
18 ing of the pilgrimaging of hym. Sey thou not, Fro God I shal ben hid; and fro the heigest, who of me shal han

not the multitude of sonus vnfeithful* and vnprofitable.

CAP. XVI.

Be thou not glad in wickid sonus, if
1 thei ben multiplied; nether delite thou on hem, if the drede of God is not in hem. Bileue thou not to the lijf of hem†, and
2 biholde thou not in to the trauels of hem. For whi betere is oon dredynge God, than
3 a thousynde wickid sonus. And it is more
4 profitable to die with out sonus, than to leue wickid sonus. A cuntrei shal be
5 enhabitid of o witti man; and it schal be maad desert of thre wickid men. Myn
6 ize si3 many othere thingis, and myn eere herde strongere thingis than these. Fier
7 schal brenne an hi3 in the synagoge of synneris, and yre schal brenne an hi3 in a
8 folk vnbileuful. Elde giauntis that weren
9 distried, tristynge on her vertu, preieden not for her synnes; and God sparide not
10 the pilgrymage‡ of hem, but he killide hem, and curside hem, for the pride of her
11 word. He hadde not merci on hem, and
12 he loste al the folk enhaunsynge hem silf in her synnes. And as he killide sixe
13 hundrid thousynde of foot men, that weren gaderid togidere in the hardnesse§ of her
14 herte; and if oon hadde be hard nollid, wondur if he hadde be giltles. For whi
15 merci and ire is with hym; preier is my3ti||, and schedynge out ire. Bi his
16 merci, so is the chastising of ech man; he is demyd bi hise werkis. A synnere
17 in raueyn schal not ascape; and the sufferaunce of hym that doith merci schal
18 not tarie. Al merci schal make place to
19 ech man, aftir the merit of his werkis, and aftir the vnderstanding of his pil-
20 grymage. Seie thou not, Y schal be hid
21 fro God; and fro the hizeste||, who schal haue mynde on me? Seie thou not, Y
22 schal not be knowun in a greet puple; for whi which is my soule in so greet a crea-

* vnfeithful; that is, seru-
inge the fadris
in vnfeithful-
nesse. vnpro-
fitable; that is,
noyful to nei3-
boris. Live
here. c.

† Bileue thou
not to the lijf
of hem; that is,
bileue thou not
that thei schu-
len be amendid
in eelde, for
whi this is ful
seeldene; in
xxij. c°. of
Prouerbis.
Live here. c.

‡ the pilgrym-
age; that is,
her lijf, which
is a pilgrymage
on erthe. Live
here. c.

§ in the hard-
nesse; that is,
rebelte agens
God. if oon,
etc.; that is,
if oon aloone
hadde rebel to
God. giltles;
of peyne. Live
here. c.

|| preier is
my3ti; that is,
the preier of
iust men is
my3ti anentis
God; that re-
lessith peyne,
ether nameli
temperith
peyne ma-
naassid. and
schedynge out
ire; that is,
makinge to
bringe in peyne.
bi his merci;
that is, with
temperure of
Goddis merci.
chastising;
that is, pu-
nisching of
ech man. is
demed; that
is punyschid.
a synnere in
raueyn; that
is, a cruel man,
vsinge the
synne of ra-
ueyn. schal not
ascape; the
punysching of
God. the suf-
fraunce, etc.;
that is, the
paciencie of a
merciful man,
that suffrith
aduersites, for
it is rewardid
of God in co-
uenable tyme.
of his pilgrim-
age.

age; that is, aftir the entent which he hath in present lijf, which lijf is seid the pilgrymage of man. Live here. c.

¶ the hizeste; that is, heuene.

¹ myrthe c. ^m vpon A. ⁿ cite c pr. m. ^o Om, c pr. m. ^p shal not tarie bihynde the suffraunce of the doende mercy c pr. m.

17 mynde? In a gret puple I shal not be
knownen; what forsothe is my soule in so
gret a creature^q with oute mesure? Loo!
18 heuene, and heuenus of heuenus, the se,^{or}
depnesse^r, and al erthe, and that in hem ben,
in the sizte of hym shul be moued togidere;
19 mounteynes togidere, and hilles, and the
foundemens of the^s erthe; and whan God
shal biholde them, bi trembling thei shul be
20 smyte togidere. And in alle these thingus
mys felende,^{or vnwittie}^t, is the herte, and^u
21 eche herte is vnderstonden of hym. And
the weyes of hym who vnderstondith?
and the tempest, that nouthen the eze sa3
22 'of man^v? For whi manye werkis of hym
ben in hid thingus, but the werkis of the
riztwisnesse of hym who shal tellen out,
or who shal suffren? Fer forsothe is the
testament fro summe; and the asking of
23 men is in the ful ending. Who is lassid
in herte, thenketh idil thingus; and the
vnprudent man and errende thenketh
24 folies. Heere me, sone, and lerne disci-
plyne of wit, and in my wrdis tac heed
in thin herte; and I shal seyn in equite
discyplene, and enserchen to tellen out
wisdam. And in my wrdis tac heed in
25 thin herte; and I sey in equyte of spi-
rit vertues, that God putte in to his
werkes fro the bigynnyng, and in treuthe
26 I telle out the kunnyng of hym. In the
dom of God his werkis fro the bigyn-
nyng; and fro the ordeynyng of tho men
he seuerede the partes of them, and the
bigynnyngus of them in ther^w folkis of
27 kinde. He enournede in to withoute ende
the werkis of hem; and thei hungreden
not, ne trauaileden, and lefedden not of fro
28 ther werkis. Eche the nezhebore to^x hym
shal not anguysshē, vnto the spirituel
29 world^{or aungelus duryng}^y. Be thou not
30 vnleuable to the wrd of hym. Aftir these

ture? Lo! heuene*, and the^g heuenes of 18 * *Lo! heuene;*
heuenes, the greet occian, and al erthe, of the eir. and
and tho thingis that ben in tho, schulen *heuens of he-*
be mouyd in his sizt; munteyns togidere, 19 *uenys; that is,*
and litle hillis, and the foundementis of *heuene of ster-*
erthe; and whanne God biholdith tho, *ris, and of cris-*
tho schulen be schakun togidere with *tal, and bryt*
trembyng. And in alle these thingis the 20 *heuene. Lire*
herte† is vnwijs, and ech herte is vndur- *here. c.*
stondun of hym. And who vnderstondith 21 *† the herte; of*
hise weies? and *who vnderstondith*^h a *a man that de-*
tempest, which the i3e of man siz not? *nyeth that God-*
For whi ful many werkis of hym ben 22 *dis riztfulnesse*
'in hidⁱ thingis, but who schal telle out the *and kunnyng is*
werkis of his riztfulnesse, ether who schal *strecchid forth*
suffre†? For whi the testament is fer fro *to the pu-*
summe men‡; and the axying of men is in *nysching of*
the endyng. He that is maad litil in herte, 23 *synnes. Lire*
thenkith veyn thingis; and a man vnpru- *here. c.*
dent and a fool thenkith fonnēd thingis. *‡ who schal*
Sone, here thou me, and lerne thou tech- 24 *suffre; as if*
yng of wit, and 3yue thou tent to my *he seye, fewe,*
wordis in thin herte; and Y schal seie *for whi iust*
techyng in equyte, and Y schal seke to *men that moun*
telle out wisdom. And 3yue thou tent to *suffre ben in*
my wordis in thin herte; and Y seie in 25 *the lesse noum-*
equyte of spirit|| the vertues, whiche God *bre. the testa-*
hath set on hise werkis at the bigynnyng, *ment; that is,*
and in treuthe Y telle out the kunnyng of *the elde testa-*
him. In the doom of God *ben* hise werkis 26 *ment and newe.*
fro the bigynnyng; and in the ordynaunce *§ is fer fro*
of tho he departyde the partis of tho, and *summen; as*
he departide the bigynnyngis of tho in *to worching,*
hise folkis. He ournede with outen ende 27 *thou3 not as*
the werkis of hem¶; thei hungriden not, *to knowing.*
nether traueliden, and thei ceessiden not *in the ending;*
of her werkis. Ech schal not make streit 28 *that is, is reseru-*
the nexte to hym, til in to with outen *ed to the fynal*
ende. Be thou not vnbiueful to the word 29 *doom, where*
of him. Aftir these thingis God bihelde 30 *men schulen*
'in to^k the erthe, and fillide it with hise *gelde resoun of*
goodis. Forsothe the soule of ech lyuyng 31 *ech word, and*
myche strong-
liere of dede.
maad litil in
herte; he is
maad litil,
that settith
his ende in
temporal
goodis, that are
lesse than man.
thenkith veyn
thingis; for
whi hise
thou3tis failen
fro du ende,
and so tho ben
veyne, as mede-
cyn is seid
veyn, that fail-
ith to brynge
in helthe. Lire
here. c.
|| in equyte of
spirit; that is,
with out ony
beringe down
of truthe. in
hise folkis;
that is, hise
aungels, that
ben hise sones,
and hise knyztis;
for whi God
assignede hize
re

bodies and lowere to be gouerned of aungelis distant, ether assigned in special places. *Lire here. c.* ¶ *the werkis of hem;* heuene and elementis ben the werkis of aungelis, not for aungels ben makeris of tho, but ben mynystris ether gouernours, bi that maner of speking bi which a vyner is seid the werk of a vyntiler, and an hows to be gouerned is seid the werk of the dispendere. this word *with outen ende* is set here propirly as to heuenes, whos ournyngis schulen dwelle stably, as to thingis gendrabile and corruptible, that schulen ceesse in the ende of the world. this word *withouten ende* is takun for long tyme, as hillis ben seid euerlastinge. *the soule of ech lyuyng*

^q creatour c. ^r Om. c et E pr. m. ^s Om. c pr. m. ^t Om. c et E pr. m. ^u Om. c pr. m. ^v Om. a^g pr. m. H. ^w his AGH. ^x of A. ^y Om. c et E pr. m.

^g Om. A pr. m. ^h Om. I. ⁱ hid in A pr. m. c pr. m. et plures. ^k to A pr. m.

thingus God biheeld in to the² erthe, and
 31 fulfild it with his goodis. Eche forsothe
 soule ful of lif told of bifor the face of
 hym; and it eft² the turnyng azen of
 hem.

CAP. XVII.

1 God with the riȝt hond foormede man;
 2 and after his ymage made hym. And
 eft turnede hym in to it; and after hym-
 3 self clothide hym with vertue. Nouble
 of dazes and time he ȝaf to hym; and
 ȝaf to hym power of them that ben vpon
 4 erthe. He putte the drede of hym vpon
 alle flesh, and lordshipide^b of bestes and
 5 of foules. He foormede of hym helpe lic
 to hymself; counseil, and tunge, and eȝen,
 and eren, and herte, he ȝaf to them, of
 thenking out; and the discyplyne of vn-
 6 derstanding fulfild them. He foormede
 to them kunnyng of the spirit, bi wit he
 fulfild the herte of hem; and eueles
 7 and goodis he shewide to them. He
 putte the eȝe of hem vpon the hertes of
 hem, to shewen to them the grete thingus
 8 of his werkis, that the name of his ha-
 lewing thei preise togidere; and to glo-
 rien in the merueilous thingus of hym,
 that thei telle out the grete thyngus of
 9 his werkis. He addede to them disci-
 plyne; and the lawe of lif he eritagede
 10 them. Euerlastende testament he sette
 with them; and riȝtwisnesse and his
 11 domes he shewide to them. And the
 grete thingus of his wrshiþe the eȝe of
 hem saȝ, and the wrshiþe of vois herden
 the eres of hem; and he seide to them,
 12 Taketh heed fro alle^c wicke thing. And
 he comaundide to them, to eche of his
 13 neȝhebore. The weies of hem biforn hym
 ben euermor; and thei ben not hid fro
 14 the eȝen of hym. In to eche folc of kinde
 15 he befor sette a gouernour; and Irael
 16 the part of God is mad open. And alle
 the werkes of hem as the sunne in the
 sizte of God; and the eȝen of hym with
 oute cesing biholdende in the weies of
 17 hem. The testamentis ben not hid for^d

thing told bifore his face; and thilke *soule*
is eft the turnyng azen of tho thinges.

CAP. XVII.

God foormede man of erthe; and aftir¹
 his ymage he made man. And eft he²
 turnede man in to that *ymage*^{*}; and aftir
 hym silf he clothide hym with vertu. He³
 ȝaf to hym the nouble of daies, and
 tyme; and he ȝaf to him power of tho
 thingis that ben on erthe. He settide the⁴
 drede of man on al fleisch, and he was
 lord of beestis and¹ fliynge briddis. He⁵
 formyde of man an help lijk hym; he ȝaf
 to hem councel, and tunge, and iȝen, and
 eeris, and herte to thenke out; and he
 fillide hem with techyng of vnderstond-
 yng. He made to hem the kunnyng of⁶
 spirit, he fillide the herte of hem with
 wit; and he schewide to hem yuels and
 goodis. He settide the iȝe of hem on the⁷
 hertes of hem, to schewe to hem the grete
 thingis of hise werkis, that thei preise to-⁸
 gidere the name of halewyng[†]; and to
 haue glorie in hise meruels, that thei
 telle out the grete thingis of hise werkis.
 He addide to hem techyng; and he enhe-⁹
 ritide hem with the lawe of lijf. He or-¹⁰
 deynyde an euerlastynge testament with
 hem; and he schewide to hem hise riȝtful-
 nesse, and domes. And the iȝe of hem siȝ¹¹
 the grete thingis of his onour, and the
 eeris of hem herden the onour of vois;
 and he seide to hem, Take heede to ȝou
 fro al wickid thing. And he comaundide¹²
 to hem, to ech man of his neȝbore. The¹³
 weies of hem ben euere bifore hym; tho
 ben not hid fro hise iȝen. On ech folk¹⁴
 he made souereyn a gouernour; and Israel¹⁵
 was maad the opyn part of God. And¹⁶
 alle the werkis of hem *ben* as the sunne
 in the sizte of God; and hise iȝen biholden
 with out ceessyng in the weies of hem.
 Testamentis[‡] weren not hid fro the wick-¹⁷
 idnesse of hem; and alle the wickydnissis

thing; bothe of
 thing that hath
 resoun, and
 of thing that
 hath feeling.
telde bifor his
face; that is,
 schewide in
 dede that tho
 goodis weren
 maad of God
 for thilke soule,
 for it vside tho
 goodis. *turn-*
ynge azen; for
 whi tho thingis
 ben brouȝt azen
 in to God bi
 a reasonable
 soule, in heri-
 ynge hym for
 hise goodis, and
 bi soule that
 ȝyueþ feeling
 in his maner,
 for it is mater
 of Goddis heri-
 yng. *Live here.*
c.

** that ymage*;
 in ȝuyngo to
 man actual
 knowing of
 God. *aftr hym*
silf; that is, as it
 bicometh man-
 kynde. *counsel*;
 that is, power
 of auysement.
herte; that is,
 vnderstanding.
to thenke out;
 tho thingis that
 ben nedeful
 and spedful
 to hem silf.
Live here. c.
† the name of
halewyng; that
 is, the name of
 the Lord, in
 whiche alle
 thingis ben
 blessid and ha-
 lewid. *Live*
here. c.

‡ Testamentis;
 thouȝ many
 kyngis in the
 puple of Israel
 diden idolatrie,
 and enforsiden
 to distrie the
 lawe, netheles
 the lawe and
 Goddis wor-
 schip weren
 reserued in
 goode men.
Live here. c.

² Om. *c pr. m.* ³ eftson *c sec. m.* ^b he lordshipide *c pr. m.* lordschiper *G.* ^c a *AGH.* ^d fro *AC.*

¹ and of i.

the wickidnesse^e of hem; and al the wickidnesse^e of hem in the sijt of God.
 18 The almes deede of a man as^f a litil sac with hym, and the grace of man as the
 19 eze appil it shal kepen; and aftirward it shal rise azeen, and zelde to them zelding, to eche in to the hed of hem^{ff}; and turnen in to the lowere partus of erthe^g.
 20 To men doende penaunce forsothe he^h zaf the weie of ríztwisnesse, and confermede men failende to suffren, and ordeynede to them the lot of treuthe.
 21 Turne thou to the Lord, and lef thi synnes; preze thou bifor the face of the Lord, and makeⁱ lasse the occasiouns of
 22 gíltis. Turne azeen to the Lord, and turne aweí fro thin vnríztwisnesse, and myche hate thou cursing. And knowe thou ríztwisnesse, and the domes of God; and stond in the lot of putting forth, and of^l orisoun of the heíjest God.
 25 In to^m the partes go of the hoeli world, with men on lyue, and 3yuyngⁿ knou-
 26 leching to God. Ne fast abide thou in the errour of vnpitous men. Bifor deth knouleche; fro the deade^o as nojt persh-
 27 eth confessioun. Thou shalt knoulechen lyuende, lyuende and hoel thou shalt knouleche, and preisen God; and glorien
 28 in the mercy doyngris of hym. Hou gret the merci of God, and the mytigacioun, or
 29 helpe^p, of hym to men conuertende to hym. Ne forsothe alle thingus mown ben in men; for the sone of man is not vndeably, and in to^q vanyte of malice thei pleseden.
 30 What^r more cleer^s than the sunne? and this shall faile; or what wers than that flesh tho3te out, and blod? and that^t shal
 31 ben vndernomen. The vertue of the heínesse of heuene he biholdith; and alle men erthe and asken^u.

of hem *weren* in the sijt of God. The 18^{*} as a bagge with hym; that is, as a scrippe, wher ynne a man puttith vp liyfode to which he goith in nede, so almes helpith in the deth of man. *Live here. c.*
 almes of a man *is* as a bagge with hym*, and it schal kepe the grace of a man as the appil of the i3e; and afterward *man* 19 schal rise azen, and it schal zelde to hem a zelding, to ech *man* in to the heed of hem; and schal turne in to the lower partis of erthe†. Forsothe it zaf to men 20 repentinge the weie of ríztfulnesse, and confermede men failynge to suffre, and ordeynede to hem the part of treuthe. Turne thou to the Lord, and forsake thi 21 synnes; preye thou bifore the face of the Lord, and make thou lesse hirtingis. Turne thou azen to the Lord, and turne 22 thou aweí fro thin vnríztfulnesse, and hate thou greetli cursyng‡. And knowe thou 23 the ríztfulnessis, and domes of God; and stonde thou in the part of good purpos, and of preier of the^m híjeste God. Go 24 thou in to the partis of the hooli world§, with men lyuyng, and 3yuyng knou-
 leching to God. Dwelle thou not in the 25 errour of wickid men. Knouleche thou bifore deth; knouleching perischith fro a deed man, as no thing. Lyuyng thou 26 schalt knouleche, lyuyng and hool thou schalt knówleche, and schalt herie God; and thou schalt haue glorie in the mer-
 ciful doyngris of hym. The merci of God 27 *is* ful greet, and his help to hem that conuerten to hym. For whi not alle 28 thingis moun be in men; for whi the sone of man is not vndeedly, and malices plesiden in to vanyte. What *is* clerere than 29 the sunne? and this schal faile||; ethir what *is* worse than that, that fleisch and blood thou3te out? and of this he schal be repreued. Heⁿ¶ biholdith the vertu of 30 híjnesse of heuene; and alle men *ben* erthe and aische.

whanne it suffrith eclips. *fleisch and blood*; that is, a synnere. *Live here. c.*
 of aungels, heynge in bryt heuene, as noon in comparisoun of his vertu. *Live here. c.*

¶ *He*; that is, God. *biholdith the vertu, etc.*; that is, the vertu

^e wicknesse *E.* ^f *is A.* ^{ff} eche *c pr. m.* ^g the erthe *AE GH.* ^h it *c pr. m.* ⁱ Om. *c pr. m.* ^k Om. *c.*
^l Om. *A.* ^m And in to *A.* ⁿ Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^o deed man *A.* deed men *GH.* ^p Om. *c et E pr. m.*
^q to *c.* ^r What *is A.* ^s lízt *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^t Om. *c.* of that it *E pr. m.* ^u ashen *A.* askes *c pr. m.*

^m Om. *I.* ⁿ *He, that is, God v.*

CAP. XVIII.

1 He that lyueth in to withoute ende,
made of noȝt alle thingus togidere; God
alone shall be iustefied, and dwelleth
2 vnuenkushid king withoute ende. Who
shal suffice to telle out^v the werkis of
3 hym? who shal enserche the grete^w
4 wrthi thingis of hym? The vertue for-
sothe of his gretnesse who shal telle out?
or who shal leyn to to tellen out the
5 merci of hym? There is not to lassen,
ne to echen; ne ther is to fynde the
6 grete^w wrthi thingus of God. Whan a
man hath ful endid, thanne he bigyn-
neth; and whan he hath restid, he shal
7 werchen. What is a man, and what is
the glorie of hym? and^x what is good,
8 or what the wicke thing of hym? The
noubre of the dazes of men, as myche
an hundrid ȝer, as dropis to^y the watir
of the se thei ben ordeyned; and as a
litol ston of^z grauel, so fewe ȝeres in the
9 dai of the^a spirituel world. For that
paciēt is God in them, and he schal^b
10 heelde out vpon hem his mercy. He saȝ
the presumpcioun, *'or pride^c*, of the herte
of hem, for it ys euel; and he kneȝ the turn-
yng vp so down of hem, for it is shreude.
11 Therefore he fulfild hys mercy in hem,
and shewede to them the weie of equyte.
12 The mercy doying of man aboute his
neȝhebores; the merci forsothe of the
13 Lord vp on alle flesh. He that hath
mercy, and lerneth, and techeth as^d a
14 shepperde his floc, haue he mercy, tak-
ende out doctrine of mercy doying^e; and
15 that hieȝen in the domes of hym. Sone,
in goode thingus ȝyue thou not pleynt, and
in alle ȝifte ȝyue thou not sorewi slouthe,
16 *'or heynesse^f*, of an euel wrd. Whether
not brennende hete the dew shal aȝeen
keelen? so and a wrd betere than a

CAP. XVIII.

He that lyueth with out bigynnyng
and ende, made of nouȝt alle thingis to-
gidere; God alone schal be iustified, and
he dwellith a king vnouercomun with
outen ende. Who schal suffice to telle²
out his werkis? for whi who schal seke³
the grete thingis of hym? But who schal⁴
telle out the vertu of his greetnesse?
ether who schal leie to for to telle out his
mercy? It is not to make lesse, nether⁵
to leie to; nethir it is to fynde the grete
thingis of God. Whanne a man hath⁶
endid*, thanne he schal bigynne; and
whanne he hath restid, he schal worche.
What is a man, and what is the glorie of⁷
him? and what is good, ether what is the
wickid thing of him? The noumbre of⁸
the daies of men, *that ben* comynli an
hundrid ȝeer, ben arettid as the dropis of
the watir of the see; and as the stoon of
grauel, so a fewe ȝeeris in the dai of euer-
lastyngnesse. For this thing God is pa-⁹
cient in hem, and schedith out on hem his
merci. He siȝ the presumpcioun of her¹⁰
herte, for it was yuel; and he knew the
distriyng of hem, for it was wickid.
Therfor he fillide his merci in^p hem, and¹¹
schewide to hem the weie of equite. The¹²
merciful doying of man *is* aboute his neiȝ-
bores; but the merci of the Lord *is* ouer
ech fleisch. He that hath merci, and¹³
techith, and chastisith as a scheepherde
his floc, do^q merci, takyng the techyng^r[†]¹⁴
of merciful^s doying; and he that hastith
in the domes[†] therof. Sone, in goodis ȝyue¹⁵
thou not pleynt, and in ech ȝifte ȝyue thou
not heynesse of an yuel word. Whether¹⁶
dew schal not kele heete? so and a word
is betere than ȝifte. Lo! whether a word¹⁷
is not aboute a good ȝifte? but euer ethir
is with a man iustified. A fool schal vp-¹⁸

* Whanne a man hath endid; the serching of God. bigynne; that is, he schal perseyue that he is in the bigynnyng. hath restid, etc.; that is, whanne he schal be in eld age, which is tyme of resting, he schal be more herid to good werk. what is good; as if he seye, of him self he hath no good of grace, nether of kynde. wickid thingis; what euer thing of wickidnesse is in hym, al is of him self. everlastingnesse; the Latin word here signifieth everlastingnesse; but properly it signifieth the durynge of vncorruptible thingis. schewith out; in ȝyuyng large his grace. Live here. c. † takinge the techyng; that is, confermyng his techinge by exercise of workis. ‡ hastith in the domes; that is, of merci, desirynge to here thilke sentence in the fynall doom. Come ȝe, the blessid, and take the rewme. playnt; in biweiling that thou ȝauest to releue thi neȝbores. Live here. c.

^v on c. ^w Om. c pr. m. ^x or A. ^y of c. ^z to the c pr. m. E pr. m. of the AGH. ^a Om. c pr. m.
^b that he c pr. m. E pr. m. ^c Om. c et E pr. m. ^d and serueth as E pr. m. ^e Om. c pr. m. ^f Om. c
et E pr. m.

^p on c. ^q doth EP pr. m. do he IKMX sec. m. marg. ^r doctrine K. ^s the merciful K.

17 3ifte. Lo! whether not a wrd ouer a
good 3ifte? but either with a iustefied
18 man. The fool sharpli shal 3yue repref;
and the 3ifte of the vndisciplinarynd mak-
19 eth e3en to waxe failende. Bifor dom^s
greithe ri3twisnesses to thee; and er that
20 thou speke, lerne. Bifor sickenesse tac
medicyn; and bifor dom^h aske thou thi-
self, and in the si3te of God thou shalt
21 finde mercy. Bifor siknesse meeke thee,
and in tymeⁱ of infirmyte shew thou thi
22 conuersacioun, *'or lyuyng^k*. Be thou not
lettid to pre3en euermor, and drede thou
not vnto the dead to be iustefied; for the
meede of God dwellith in to withoute
23 ende. Bifor orisoun greithe thou thi
soule; and wile thou not be as a man that
24 tempteth God. Haue mynde of wrathe
in the day of endyng; and tyme of 3eld-
ing in conuersacioun thou shalt make.
25 Haue mynde of pouert in tyme^l of
plente; and the nede of pouert in the
26 dai of richesses. Fro erli vnto euen the
tyme shal ben chaungid; and alle these
27 thingus hastid in the e3en of God. A
wys man in^m alle thingis dredethⁿ; and
in the dajes of giltes shal taken heed fro
28 slouthe. Eche witti knowith wisdom;
and to hym that fyndeth it, it shal 3yue
29 knowlechyng. The wel felende in wrdus
and thei wisly diden, and vnderstoden
treuthe, and ri3twisnesse; and biso3ten
30 prouerbes and domes. After thi lustis
go thou not; and fro thi wil turne thee
31 awei. If thou 3yue to thi soule his lustis,
it shal make thee in to io3e to thin ene-
32 mys. Ne delite thou in cumpanyes, ne
in smale thyngus; sotheli the trespassing
33 of hem is contynuel. Ne be thou mene
in strif^o for monee, and ther is not to
thee no thing in the world; forsothe
thou shalt be enuyous to thi soule.

breideⁿ scharpli; and the 3ifte of an vn-
tauzt man makith i3en to faile*. Bifore 19
the doom make thou redi ri3tfulnesse to
thee; and lerne thou, bifore that thou
speke. Bifore sikenesse 3yue thou medi- 20
cyn; and bifore the doom axe thi silf,
and thou schalt fynde merci in the si3t of
God. Bifore sikenesse make the meke, 21
and in the tyme of sikenesse schewe thi
lyuyng. Be thou not lettid† to preye 22
euere, and drede thou not to be iustified
til to deth; for whi the meede of God
dwellith with outen ende. Bifore preier 23
make redi thi soule; and nyle thou be as
a man that temptith God†. Haue thou 24
mynde of ire in the dai of endyng; and
make thou in lyuyng the tyme of 3elding.
Haue thou mynde of pouert in the dai of 25
abundaunce; and the nede of pouert in
the tyme of richessis. Fro the morewtid 26
'til to^v the euentid the tyme schal be
chaungid; and alle these thingis *ben* swift
in the i3en of God. A wise man schal 27
drede in alle thingis; and in the daies of
trespassis he schal fle fro vnkunnyng,
ether slouthe. Ech fel man§ knowith 28
wisdom; and to hym that fyndith it, he
schal 3yue knowleching. Witti men in 29
wordis also thei diden wiseli, and vndur-
stoden^w treuthe, and ri3tfulnesse; and
bisou3ten|| prouerbis and domes. Go thou 30
not aftir thi coueitises; and be thou turned
awei fro thi wille. If thou 3yuest to thi 31
soule the coueitises therof, it schal make
thee in to ioie to thin enemyes. Delite 32
thou not in cumpanyes, nether in litle
cumpanyes; for whi the synnyng of hem
is contynuel. Be thou not meene in the 33
stryuyng of looue, and sum thing is to
thee in the world¶; for whi thou schalt
be enuyouse to thi soule.

* makith i3en to faile; of the resseyuere, which is aschamed of edwitingis doon to him. Bifor the doom, etc.; that is, bifor that thou deme another man of ony defaute, se that thou be gilteles therof, ellis thou schuldist con- demne thi silf; in ij. c°. to Ro- mayns, In what thing thou demest another man, thou con- demnest thi silf, for thou doist the same thingis whiche thou demest. lerne thou; of a maister. bifor that thou speke; in techinge othere men. Bifor sikenesse, etc.; as bodili siknesse is maad vncurable bi long during; so goostly sik- nesse bi cus- tom, which is as sum kynde. Live here. c. † Be thou not lettid; bi tem- poral bisynessis. to preye euere; that is, in tymes ordeyned ther- to. Live here. c. ‡ temptith God; to tempt God, that is, that a man bitake him silf to perel, and leue that that he may do re- sonabli, and abide to be de- lyuerid of God. Live here. c. § Ech fel man; that is, ententif to eschewe yuels, bi Goddis drede. knowith wisdom; that is, getith and loueth it. knowleching; of preising. || bisou3ten, etc.; that is, in bi- seching thei knewen the vn- derstanding of priuy thingis.

Delite thou not in cumpanyes; that is, in multitude of meynes. Live here. c. Be thou not meene; that is, negligent ether slow. in stryuyng of looue; that is, that thou stryue to ouercome sum men in the 3yuyng of almes; he that 3yueth almes, makith looue to God, in xix c°. of Prouerbs. enuy- ouse to thi soule; in withdrawinge fro it the good of mersi, if thou art negligent in the 3yuyng of almes: thus it is expownyd comynly, but it may be expowned neer the lettre thus, Be thou not meene, etc.; that is, not onely stryue thou not myche, but nether lital, in axinge hard the dette, which thou hast lent to thi nedy neizbore. and sum thing is to thee; that is, while thou hast wherof thou maist lyue in an other side, thou owist not to axe a3en harde the dette. enuyouse to thi soule; in withdrawinge fro it the goodis of mersi; if thou axist ouer harde the dette a3enus Goddis heest, in xxij. c°. of Exodi. Live here. c. ¶ in the world; another lettre hath, in the bagge. Live here. c.

g the dom AEH. h the dom AEGH. i the tyme E. k Om. c et E. pr. m. l the tyme AEG sec. m. H. m Om. c pr. m. n dradde E pr. m. o the strif E.

u edwite ceteri. v vnto I. w vnderstonden cgs.

CAP. XIX.

1 The drunkelew wereman shal not be
mad riche; and who dispisith lytle
2 thingis, litil mele doun falleth. Wyn
and wymmen maken also wise men to
go bacward; and shuln vndernyne weel
3 felende men. And who hymself ioyneth
to lecchoures, shal be wicked; roten-
nesse and wormes shuln eritagen hym,
and his soule shal be taken awei fro the
4 noumbre. Who leueth soone, is lizt in
herte, and shal be lessid; and who tres-
paseth in to his soule, ferthermor shal
5 ben had. Who iozeth in wickidnesse,
shal ben vndernomen; and who hateth
correccioun, shal be lassid in^p lif; and
who hateth myche speche, quenchith
6 malice. And who synneth in to his
soule, shal not do penaunce; and who
is merie in malice, shal be repreued.
7 Reherce thou not an hard wrd, and a
shreude; and thou shalt not be lassid.
8 To frend^q and enemy wile thou not telle
thi wit; and if ther is to thee gilte,
9 wile thou not nakenen. Forsothe he shal
heren thee, and kepe thee, and as de-
fendende synne he shal hate thee; and
10 so he shal be nee3h to thee. Euermor
hast thou herd a wrd a3en thi ne3hebore;
abide it stille in thee, trostende for it
11 shal not to-breke thee. Fro the face of
the wrd berth out the fool, as the weil-
12 ing of the birthe of a child. An arewe
ficchid 'in to' the hipe of an hound, so
13 a wrd in the herte of a fool. Chastise
a frend, lest par auenture he vnderstond^s
not, and seye, I dide not; or if he haue
14 do, lest eftsoone he adde to do. Chastise
a ne3hebore, lest par auenture he shal
not seyn; and if he seide, lest par auen-
15 ture he reherse. Chastise a frend, ofte
16 forsothe is don trespas; and not to eche
wrđ leue^t thou. Ther is that slideth in

is, lest he knowe not that he dide yuel, and for thi repreuyng he schal knowe and eschewe. *either if he hath do; wrong wittingly, repreue thou him. he seie not; that is, denye stidefastly, in encreasinge his synne. and if he seith; that is, knowlechith the synne. Live here. c.*

CAP. XIX.

A drunkelew^x werk man schal not be 1
maad riche; and he that chargith not litle
synnes, fallith doun^{*} litil and litil. Wyn 2
and wymmen maken to be apostataas, 3 he,
wise men; and thei repreuen witti men.
And he that ioyneth hym silf to hooris, 3
shal be wickid; rot and wormes schulen
enherite hym, and he schal be set an hi3
in to more ensauple, and his soule schal
be takun[†] awei fro noumbre. He that 4
bileueth soone, is vnstable in herte, and
shal be maad lesse; and he that trespass-
ith a3ens his soule, schal be had ferther-
more. He that ioieth in wickidnesse, schal 5
be cursid; and he that hatith blamyng,
shal be maad lesse in lijf; and he that
hatith ianglyng, quenchith malice. He 6
that synneth a3ens his soule, schal repente;
and he that is myrie in malice, schal be
cursid. Reherse thou not an hard word, 7
and wickid; and thou schalt not be maad
lesse. Nyle thou telle thi wit to frend 8
and^y enemye; and if trespas is to thee,
nyle thou make nakid. For he schal here 9
thee, and schal kepe thee, and he as de-
fendynge the synne schal hate thee; and
so he schal be euere with thee. Thou 10
hast herd a word a3ens thi neizbore; die
it togidere in thee, and triste thou that it
shal not breke thee. A fool trauelith 11
greetli of the face of a word, as the sorewe
of beryng of a 3ong child. An arowe 12
fastned in the hipe of a dogge, so a word
in the herte of a fool. Repreue thou a 13
frend[‡], lest peraenture he vndurstonde
not, and seie, Y dide not; ether if he
hath do, lest he adde to do eft. Repreue 14
thou a neizbore, lest peraenture he seie
not; and if he seith, lest peraenture he
reherse. Repreue thou a frend, for whi 15
trespassynge is don ofte; and bileue 16
thou not to ech word. Ther is a man that

** fallith doun; in to greuouse synnes. repreuen; that is, maken him worthi to be repreuyd. set an hi3; that is, schal be takun out of the felouschipe of goode men. in to more ensauple; that is, make aferd both litil men and greete. Live here. c. † his soule schal be takun, etc.; that is, schal be rauyschid of fendis fro the noumbre of chosun men. He that bileueth soone; that is, yuele of his neizbore. schal be maad lesse; in lijf and fame, for he is vnstable in good, and able to falle to yuel. that trespassith a3ens his soule; that is, defoulith it bi priuy synnes. schal be had ferthermore; that is, schal be maad opyn with out forth. Reherse thou not an hard word; of rebuking. and wickid; of bacbiting. lesse; in fame and vertu. wit; that is, thi priuete. make nakid; that is, schewe opinly thi preuy trespas, and most to thyn enemy. schal kepe thee; that is, aspie thi wordis to take thee. the synne; that is, thi synne, excusynge it gilefully bifor thee, that he may more knowe thee, and distrie thee. Live here. c. ‡ Repreue thou a frend; that*

^p the *E pr. m.* ^q the frend *E.* ^r in *A.* ^s vnderstod *C.* ^t bileue *G sec. m.*

^x drunke *G.* ^y and to *I.*

17 his tunge, but not of inwit. Who is
forsothe, that gilteth not in his tunge?
Chastise a nezhebores, er that thou threte;
18 and ȝif place to the drede of the heizest.
For eche wisdom the drede of God, and
in it to dreden God; and in alle wisdom
19 the disposing of the lawe. And wisdom
is not the disciplyne of shreudenesse; and
good thenking is not the prudence of
20 synnes. Ther is shreudenesse of pru-
dence, and in it cursing; and ther is an
vnwis man, that is lassid in wisdom.
21 Betere is a man that is lassid in wisdom,
and failende wit in the drede of God,
than that aboundith in wit, and ouer-
22 passith the lawe of the heizest. Ther
is certeyn sleeynesse, and it is wicke.
23 And ther is, that sendeth out a certeyn
wrd, tellende out the treuthe. Ther is,
that shreudely meketh hymself; and the
entrailes of hym ben ful of treccherie.
24 And ther is a riȝtwis^a, that myche vn-
derputtith hymself of myche mekenesse;
and ther is a riȝtwis, that bowith in the
face, and feyneth hym not to seen that
25 is vnknownen. And if of infirmyte ^{of}
strengthis^v he ^{is} forbeden^w to synnen;
if ^{he} shal fynde^x tyme of euel doying, he
26 shal euele do. Of the sizte is knownen a
man; and of the aȝeen comyng of the
27 face is knownen the weel felende. The
clothing of the body, and the laȝhing of
teth, and the goying in of a man, tellen
28 out of hym. Ther is liyng correccioun
in wrathe of the wrongful; and ther is
dom that is not preued to ben good; and
ther is a beere stille, and he is prudent.

CAP. XX.

1 Hou good is to vndernymyn, than to
wrathen, and to not forbeden^y the knou-
2 lechere in orisoun. The lust of the gelding
deflourede the ȝunge womman, ^{or birefte}
3 *hir meydenhed^z*, so he that doth bi fors

Live here. c.

|| to repreue; swetely and charitably him that trespassith. *forbede not; that is, induse him therto.* *Live here. c.*

^a riȝtwis man A. ^v Om. c pr. m. ^w eschewe c pr. m. E pr. m. ^x ther shal come c. it shal come
E pr. m. ^y defenden c pr. m. E pr. m. ^z or bereuith *hir meydenhed* A. Om. c et E pr. m.

^z whiche A sec. m. ^a Om. c sec. m. v. ^b be I.

fallith bi his tunge, but not of wille*.
For 'whi who^z is he, that trespassith not 17
in his tunge? Repreue thou a neizbores†,
bifore that thou manaasse; and ȝyue thou 18
place to the drede of the heizeste. For
whi al wisdom *is* the drede of God, and
in that *wisdom* for to drede God; and the
ordynaunce of lawe *is* in al wisdom. And 19
the teching of wickidnesse is not wisdom;
and the prudence of synnes is not good
thouȝt. Ther is wickidnesse of prudence, 20
and cursidnesse *is* ther ynne; and ther is
an vnwiȝs man, which is maad litil in
wisdom. Betere is a man that hath litil 21
in^a wisdom, and failynge in wit in the
drede of God, than he that hath plentee
of wit, and brekith the lawe of the heizeste.
Ther is certeyn sutilte, and it is wickid. 22
And ther is a man, that sendith out a cer- 23
teyn word, tellynge out treuthe. Ther is
a man, that mekith hym silf wickidly†;
and hise ynnere thingis ben ful of gile.
And ther is a iust man, that makith low 24
greetli hym silf of myche mekenesse; and
ther is a iust man, that bowith the face,
and feyneth hym to se not that, that is
vnknowun. Thouȝ he is^b forbodun of 25
feblenesse of strengthis to do synne; if he
fyndith tyme to do yuele, he schal do
yuel. A man is knowun bi sizt; and a 26
witti man is knowun bi meetyng of face.
The clothing of bodi, and the leiȝyng of 27
teeth, and the entring of a man, tellen
out of hym. Ther is fals repreuyng in 28
the ire of a man ful of dispisyng; and
ther is dom which is not preued[§] to be
good; and ther is a stille man, and he is
prudent.

CAP. XX.

It is ful good to repreue||, *more* than to
be wrooth, and to forbede not a man
knowlechyng in preiere. The coueitise of 2
a geldyng hath defoulid the maidynhed of
a ȝong womman, so he that makith wickid 3

* not of wille; that is, wittingly and of purpos. *Live here. c.*
† Repreue thou a neizbores; bi-
twix thee and him. *bifor that thou manaasse; that is, de-
nounce to the iuge him to be punyschid. al wisdom, etc.; that is, cometh forth of the drede of God; for it is the bigynnyng of wisdom. and in that; that is, wisdom. for to drede God; for as wisdom cometh of drede, so it techith more for to drede God. teching of wickidnesse; bi which a man kan do yuel warly. is not wisdom, very. vnwise man; that is, symple and litil kun-
nyng. is maad litil in wisdom; that is, kan litil of sultees, and netheles kan sufficiently of thingis that per-
teynen to helthe. Live here. c.*
‡ that mekith him silf wickidly; to dis-
seyue men the more. makith low greetly, etc.; to peeris and lower men. *and ther is a iust man; feynnyngly. bowith the face, etc.; as turn-
ynge away hise ȝen fro a fair womman, whom he coueitith bren-
nyngly, but this is vnknowun of othere men. Live here. c.*
§ ther is doom which is not preued; that is, whanne a man demeth bi list signes, that his neizbores is yuel. *ther is a stille man; that is, not demynge yuel of his neizbores, til cer-
teyne be had. Live here. c.*

4wicke dom. Hou good is, the chastisid to
schewe^a penaunce; so forsothe thou shalt
5fleen awei wilful synne. Ther is a stille
man, that is found wis; and ther is an
6hateful, that is gredy to speken. Ther is
forsothe a stille man, not hauende wit of
speche; and ther is a stille man, witende
7tyme of couenable tyme. A wys man
shal be stille vnto tyme; the reccheles^b
forsothe and the vnprudent shul not
8skepe time. Who vseth manye wrdis,
hurteth his soule; and who taketh to
hym power wrongfulli, shal ben hatid^c.
9Ther is goyng forth in euclis to a man
vndisciplyned; and ther is finding in to
10harm. Ther is 3ouen thing, that is not
profitable; and ther is 3oue thing, whos
113elding is double. Ther is lassing for
glorie; and ther is, that fro mecnesse
12shal rere the hed. There is, that manye
thingis a3een bie for litil pris, and re-
13storende them in to seuen fold. A wys
man in wrdis maketh hym self loouable;
the graces forsothe of foolis shul ben
14held out. The 3ifte of the vnwise shall
not be profitable to thee; the e3en for-
15sothe of hym ben seuenfold. Fewe
thingus he shal 3yue, and many thingus
he shal vpbreiden; and the openyng of
16the mouth of hym is enflaumyng. To
day leeneth a man, and to moru he ask-
eth it bi ple; and hateful is such a
17maner man. To a fool shal not ben a
frend, and ther shal not be grace to the
18goodis of hym. Who forsothe eten^d the
bred of hym, ben of fals tunge; hou ofte
sithes and hou fele shul thei scorne hym?
19Ne forsothe that were to ben had, with
euene ri3t wit he delede; lic maner and
20that, that were not to ben had. The
slidyng of the false tunge 'as he that^e is
falling in the pament; so the fallingus

dom bi violence. It is ful good, that a 4
man 'that is^c reprieved schewe opynli*
penaunce; for so thou schalt ascape wil-
ful synne. Ther is a stil man, which is 5
foundun wijs; and he is hateful, which is
fool hardi[†] to speke. Sotheli ther is a 6
stille man, not hauynge wit of speche;
and ther is a stille man, knowynge the
sesoun of couenable tyme. A wijs man 7
shal be stille til to tyme; but a ioli man
and vnprudent man schulen not kepe
tyme. He that vsith many wordis[‡], hirt- 8
ith his soule; and he that takith power
to hym silf vniustli, schal be hatid. Ther 9
is goyng forth in yuels to a man vnlernyd;
and ther is fyndyng in to peiryng. Ther 10
is a 3ifte, which is not profitable[§]; and
ther is a 3ifte, whos 3eldyng is double.
Ther is makynge lesse for glorie; and ther 11
is a man, which schal reise the heed fro
mekenesse. Ther is a man, that a3en bieth 12
many synnes for litil prijs^{||}, and restorith
tho in seuenfold. A wijs man in wordis 13
makith hym silf amyable; but the graces
of foolis schulen be sched out. The 3ifte 14
of an vnwijs man schal not be profitable
to thee; for hise i3en ben seuenfold[¶]. He 15
shal 3yue litle thingis, and he schal vp-
breide^d many thingis; and the openyng
of his mouth is enflawmyng. To dai a 16
man leeneth, and to morewe he axith; and
siche a man is hateful. A frend schal not 17
be to a fool, and grace schal not be to hise
goodis. For thei that eten his breed, ben 18
of fals tunge^{**}; hou ofte and hou many
men schulen scorne hym? For he de- 19
partith not bi euene wit that, that was
worthi to be had; in lijk maner and that,
that was not worthi to be had. The fall- 20
ing of a fals tunge is as he that fallith in
the pawment; so the fallis of yuele men
schulen come hastili. A man with out 21

* schewe opin-ly, etc.; that is, to schewe bi word and deed, that he repentith verily. Lire here. c.
† fool hardi; that is, cometh bifore du tyme. Lire here. c.
‡ many wordis; that is, superflu and veyn wordis. Lire here. c.
§ not profitable; for it is doon for veyn-glorie, ether for yuel entent. Lire here. c.
|| a3enbieth many synnes for litil prijs; that is, bi litil penaunce, in comparisoun of synnes, that disserueden euerlastinge peyne, but penaunce chaungith it to temporal peyne. Lire here. c.
¶ seuenfold; that is, manyfold, ether bi seuenfold of graces of the Hooly Goost. amyable; for he eschewith to seye hateful thingis, and studieth to bringe forth thingis acceptable to God and to men. sched out; bi vndiscreet speking, bi which thei ben maad hateful to God and men, though thei han strengthe, and fairnesse of bodi, and nobley of kyn. Lire here. c.
¶ hise i3en ben seuenfold; that is, his entent is manyfold and dyuerse, and therfor he wole haue many seruyces to vanytes, and othere yuels, for a litil 3ifte. Lire here. c.
** of fals tunge; that is, flateris thingis, and tho

preisinge hise folies. scorne hym; as if he seye, alle wise men and goode. departith not, etc.; that is, he delith yuele hise thingis that he rauyschide of othere men. come hastili; that is, sudeynly, as a man that slidith, and fallith in the pawment. Lire here. c.

^a do c pr. m. E pr. m. ^b reccherous E pr. m. reccheles, or wylde c sec. m. marg. wylde, or reccheles E sec. m. marg. AH. ^c blamed E pr. m. ^d eetith A. ^e Om. c pr. m.

^c Om. ceteri.

^d edwite ceteri.

21 of euele men hastili shal come. An vn-
kinde man as a veyn fable; and it shal
be ofte in the mouth of the vndisciplyned.
22 Of the mouth of the fool shal ben re-
preued a parable; forsothe he seith it^f
not in his tyme. Ther is, that is for-
bedun^g for myseisete to synnen; and in
23 his reste shal be prickid. And ther is,
that shal leese hys soule for confusioun;
and of vnprudence of persone he shal
24 leesen it. Forsothe bi excepcioun of per-
sone he shal leese hymself. Ther is,
that for confusioun bihotith to a frend;
and hath woonnen hym an enemy wil-
26 fully. Wicke repref in a man a lesyng;
and in the mouth of the vndisciplyned
27 it shal be besily. Betere is a thef than
the besynesse of a man liere; forsothe
28 bothe shuln eritagen perdicioun. Ma-
neres of men lieres withoute wrshipe;
and the confusioun of hem with them
29 withoute cesing. A wys man in wrdis
shal bringe forth hymself; and a prudent
30 man shal plesen to grete men. Who
wercheth his lond, shal myche hezen the
hep of frutes; and who wercheth ryzt-
wisnesse, he shal myche^h ben enhauncid.
Who forsothe pleseth to grete men, shal
31 fleen awei, *or ascape*ⁱ, wickidnesse^k. Pre-
sentes and ziftes ful out blenden the eȳen
of domysmen; and as a doumb in the
mouth he turneth awei the chastisingus
32 of hem. Hid wisdam, and tresor^l vnseen,
33 what profit in eithir? Betere is, that
hilith his vnwisdam, than a man that
hidith his wisdam.

CAP. XXI.

1 Sone, hast thou synned? ne adde thou
to eftsoone; but of thi rathere louly
preye^m, that to thee thei be forȳyuen.
2 As fro the face of a shadewe eddere flee

the onours of him that worchith ryztfulnesse encreessen. *plesith grete men*; for his ryztfulnesse, as Joseph and Danyel diden. *Live here. c.*
|| *as doumb*; that is, a spice of a paddok, which cast in to the mouth of a dogge, makith him stille, and vnmyȳty to berke; so present ȳouun for
the distrying of ryztfulnesse, makith the iuge to be stille, and to ceeße fro punyschyng of yuel. *what profit is in euer eithir*; as if he sey, noon;
and this is soth, as to the profit of othere men, but not as to his owne profit; forwhi tresour vnseyn profitith not to it silf, nether to othere men;
but wisdom hid profitith as to the hauere, as to the dedis of contemplatif liyf, thouȳ it profitith not to othere men, bi werkis of actif liyf.
Live here. c.

^f it is *AE*. ^g eschewith *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^h Om. *AEGH*. ⁱ Om. *c et E pr. m.* ^k wickenesse *E*.
^l Om. *c pr. m.* profit *E pr. m.* ^m beseech *AEGH*.

grace *is* as a veyn fable; and it schal be
customable in the mouth of vnlerned men.
A parable* schal be repreued of the mouth
22 of a fool; for he seith not it in his tyme.
Ther is a man, that is forbodun to do
synne, for pouert; and he schal be
prickid† in his reste. Ther is a man,
23 that schal leese his soule for schame; and
for the vnprudence of a persone he schal
leese it. Forsothe he schal leese hym silf
24 for the takyng of a persone. Ther is a
25 man, that for schame biheetith to a frend;
and he hath gete hym enemy with out
cause. Leesyng *is* a wickid schenschip in
26 a man; and it schal be customabli in the
mouth of vnlerned men. Betere is a
27 theef‡ than the customableness of a man,
a leesyngmongere; forsothe bothe thei
schulen enherite perdicioun. The ma-
28 neres of men leesyngmongeris *ben* with
outen onour; and her schenschype *is* with
hem with out ceessyng. A wijs man in
29 wordis schal brynge forth§ hym silf; and
a prudent man schal pleese grete men.
He that worchith his lond, shal make hiȳ
30 the heep of fruytis; and he that worchith
ryztfulnesse, schal be enhaunsid. Sotheli
he that plesith grete men, schal ascape
wickidnesse. Presentis and ziftis blynden
31 the iȳen of iugis; and as doumb|| in the
mouth it turneth awei the chastisyngis
of hem. Wisdom hid, and tresour vnseyn,
32 what profit *is* in euer eithir? He is
33 betere, that hidith his vnwisdom, than a
man that hidith his wisdom.

* *A parable*; that is, a trewe sentence and greet. *Live here. c.*

† *he schal be prickid, etc.*; that is, schal be maad bittir in ceessing fro yuel, for he may not fille his malice. *leese his soule for schame*; that is, for the drede of schame, if he apperith pore, wherfor he turneth to theftis. *for the vnprudence of a persone*; that is, for the councel of an yuel man, to whom he consentith listly in theftis. *leese him silf*; as to the soule, bi dedly synne, and as to the bodi, ofte bi hanging, ether bi heading. *for the taking of a persone*; that is, in taking the councel of an yuel persone. *for schame*; that is, dredinge schame to be holdun vnmyȳty, ether auarouse. *biheetith*; that is, that he may not paye. *enemy without reasonable cause of biheeting*. *Live here. c.*

‡ *Betere is a theef*; that is, lesse yuel than a man customable to leesyngis, for he sclaudrith good fame, which is betere than ertheli goodis. *Live here. c.*

§ *schal brynge forth, etc.*; that is, schal schewe his wisdom. *worchith ryztfulnesse*; as heete encreessith fruytis, so

synnes; and if thou schaltⁿ ne3he to
 3 them, thei shul take thee. The teeth of
 a leoun the teth of it, sleende the soules
 4 of men. As a swerd two^o bitende eche
 wickidnesse^p; of the wounde of it is no
 5 helthe. A3een chiding and wrongis to
 no3t shul bringe substaunce; and the
 hous that ful myche is riche, shal be
 bro3t to no3t bi pride; so the substaunce
 of the proude shal be taken vp bi the
 6 roote. The lowe pre3yng of the pore fro
 the mouth vnto the ere shal come; and
 7 dom hastili shal com to hym. Who hat-
 eth chastising, the step is of a synnere;
 and who dredeth God, shal ben conuertid
 8 to his herte. Knowen fro aferr is the
 my3ty in fool hardy tunge; and the
 weel felende woot hym^q to slyde fro
 9 hym. Who bildith his hous with^r other
 mennes costes, as that gedereth his
 10 stonus in wynter^s. A flax top gedered
 togidere the synagoge of synneres; and
 the ful ending of them flawme of fyr.
 11 The weie of synneres togidere plauntid
 with stones; and in to the ende of them
 12 helle, and peynes^t, and derknesses. Who
 shal kepe ri3twisnesse, shal withholde
 13 the wyt of hym. Ful ending of the
 14 drede of God wisdom and wit. He shal
 not be lerned, that is not wis in goode.
 15 Ther is forsothe vnwisdom, that abund-
 eth in euel; and there is not wit, where
 16 is bitternesse. The kunnyng of the wise
 man as flowing shal abunde; and the
 counseil of hym as a^u welle of lif abit^v
 17 stille. The herte of the fool as a vessel
 to-broken; and alle wisdom shal not
 18 holden. A wis wrd what euer he^w shal
 heren, the kunnyng shal preisen, and
 echen. The leccherous herde, and it shal
 displesen hym; and he shal throwe it
 19 bihinde his bac. The telling of a^x fool

and if thou neizest to 'tho^{*} synnes^c, tho
 schulen take thee. The teeth of a lioun³
 ben the teeth therof, that sleen the soulis
 of men. Al wickidnesse is as^d a scharp⁴
 swerd on either syde; heelte is not to
 the wounde[†] therof. Chidyngis^e and⁵
 wrongis schulen distrie catel; and an
 houe that is ouer riche, schal be distriede
 bi pride; so the catel of a proude man
 schal be drawun vp bi the roote. The⁶
 preyer of a pore man[†] schal come fro the
 mouth 'til to^f eeris^g; and doom schal come
 to hym hastili. He that hatith repreuyng,⁷
 is a step of the synnere; and he that
 dredith God, schal be turned to his herte[§].
 A mizti man with an hardi tunge is⁸
 knowun afer; and a witti man kan kepe
 him silf fro that man. He that bildith⁹
 his hous with othere mennus costis^{||}, is as
 he that gaderith hise stonys in wyntir.
 Scheuys^h gaderid togidere is the synagoge¹⁰
 of synneris; and the endyng of hem is
 the flawme of fier. The weie of synneris¹¹
 is set togidere with stoonys; and in the
 ende of hem ben hellis[¶], and derknessis,
 and peynes. He that kepith ri3tfulnesse,¹²
 schal holde the wit therof^{**}. The perfec-¹³
 cioun of Goddis drede is wisdom and wit.
 He schal not be tau3t, which is not wijs¹⁴
 in good. Forsothe vnwisdom is, which is¹⁵
 plenteuouse in yuel; and wit is not, where
 is bittirnesse. The kunnyng of a wijs¹⁶
 man schal be plenteuouse as flowyng; and
 the counsel of hym dwellith as a welle of
 lijf. The herte of a fool is as a brokun¹⁷
 vessel; and it schal not holde any wisdom.
 What euer wijs word a kunnyng man¹⁸
 herith, he schal preise, and leie to^{††}. A
 lletcherouse man herde, and it schal dis-
 plese hym; and he schal caste it awei
 bihynde his bak. The tellynge of a fool¹⁹
 is as a birthun in the weie; for whi

* neizist to tho;
 bi consent.
 take thee; in
 wrappinge and
 byndyng bi
 dede and cus-
 tom. teeth
 therof; for it
 deuourith hool-
 lyche the good
 of grace, and
 decreessith the
 good of kynde.
 Live here. c.
 † helthe is not
 to the wounde;
 for whi synne
 hirtith bodi
 and soule, and
 withdrawith
 grace in pre-
 sent tyme, and
 bryngith to the
 peyne of helle.
 Live here. c.
 ‡ a pore man;
 that suffrith
 wrong bi
 wordis and
 dedis of a proud
 man. to the
 eeris; of God.
 is a step, etc.;
 that is, a suere
 of the deuel.
 Live here. c.
 § herte; in
 resseyuynge,
 blamyng, and
 in fleynge fro
 synnes. an
 hardi tunge;
 that is, a proud
 man, that gess-
 ith grete thingis
 of himsilf, and
 spekith listli
 and proudli.
 Live here. c.
 || mennus
 costis; gaderid
 togidere bi
 raueyn. Live
 here. c.
 ¶ hellis; it is
 seid hellis in
 plurel noumbre,
 for many places
 ben there. Live
 here. c.
 ** holde the wit
 therof; that is,
 schal holde
 stidefastly the
 stiring of re-
 soun in his
 werkis. wis-
 dom; bi which
 a man is wel
 disposid to God.
 and wit; bi
 which a man is
 wel disposid to
 his neigbore.
 Raban poyntith

thus, And the wit of him schal not be tau3t, which is nat wijs in good; and this lettre is pleyn. Live here. c.
 in herte, and fille in werk. c.

†† and ley to; that is, holde

ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o twei AEGH. ^p wickenesse E. ^q to hym E pr. m. ^r of A. ^s the wynter E pr. m.
^t peyne c. ^u Om. A. ^v abideth AEGH. ^w it AGH. ^x the A.

^e them I. ^d Om. s. ^e Chidyng cv. ^{ynto} I. ^g the eeris cva. ^h Stobyl A sec. m. Stubbil I.

as berthen in the weie; for in the lippes of the wel felende shal be founde grace.
 20 The mouth of the prudent is^y sozte in the chirche; and the wrdis of hym thei
 21 shul thenke in ther hertes. As an hous set out of termes, so a wisdom to a fool; and the kunnyng of the mys felende vn-
 22 tellable wrdis. Gyues in feet doctrine to a fool; and as bondis of hondis vpon the
 23 riȝt hond. The fool in laȝhing enhaunceth his vois; forsothe a wis man vnnethe
 24 stilleli shal laȝhen. A goldene ournement doctrine to the prudent; and as an
 25 armcerle in the riȝt arm. The foot of the fool liȝt in to the hous of the neȝhe-
 bore; and a wis man shal be confoundid
 26 of the persone of the myȝty. The fool fro the wyndowe biholdith in to the
 hous; the lered man forsothe withoute
 27 shal stonde. The folie of a man to herkenen thurȝ the dores^z; and the prudent
 28 shal be greued with strif. The lippes of vnprudent men folies shul tellen^a; the
 wrdis forsothe of prudent men in a ba-
 29 launce shul ben peisid. In the mouth of foolis the herte of hem; and^b in the herte
 30 of wise men the mouth of hem. Whan the vnpitouse curseth the deuel, he curs-
 31 eth his owne soule. The rownende^c gruc- chere shal defoule his soule, and in alle
 thingus he shal ben hatyd, and that abideth, shal ben hatid; the stille and the wel felende shal ben wrshipid.

CAP. XXII.

1 In a cleȝy ston shal ben stoned the slowe; and alle shuln speke of the grete
 2 dispising of hym. Of the drit of oxen stoned is the slowe; and eche that
 toucheth hym, shal shaken out hondes.
 3 The confusioun of the fader is of the vndisciplyned sone; forsothe a fool doȝtir
 4 in gret mynushing shal be. A prudent doȝtir eritage to hir husbonde^d; for she
 that confoundith, in repref is mad of the

grace schal be foundun in the lippis of a wiȝs man. The mouth of a prudent²⁰ man is souȝt in the chirche; and *men* schulen thenke hise wordis in her hertis. As an hous distried, so *is* wisdom to a²¹ fool^{*}; and the kunnyng of an vnwiȝs man *is* wordis that moun not be teld out. Stockis in the feet *is* techyng to a fool;²² and as bondis of hondis on the riȝt hond. A fool enhaunsith his vois in leiȝyng;²³ but a wiȝs man schal leiȝe vnnethis stilli. Techyng *is* a goldun ournement to a pru-²⁴ dent man; and as an ournement of the arm in the riȝt arm. The foot of a fool *is*²⁵ liȝtⁱ in to^k the hous of a neȝbore; and a wiȝs man schal be aschamed[†] of the per- soone of a miȝti man. A fool biholdith²⁶ fro the wyndow in to the hous; but a lerned man schal stonde with out forth. It *is* foli of a man to herkene bi the dore;²⁷ and a prudent man schal be greuyd bi dispisyng. The lippis of vnprudent men²⁸ schulen telle fonned thingis; but the wordis of prudent men schulen be weied in a ba- launce. The herte of foolis *is* in her²⁹ mouth; and the mouth of wise men *is* in her herte. Whanne a wickid man curs-³⁰ ith the deuel, he cursith his owne soule. A priuy bacbitere schal defoule his soule,³¹ and in alle thingis he schal be hatid, and he that dwellith[‡], schal be hatid; a stil man and wiȝs schal be onourid.

CAP. XXII.

A slow man is stonyd in a stoon of cleȝ; and alle men schulen speke on the dispisyng of him. A slow man is stonyd² of the dung of oxis; and ech man that touchith hym, schal schake the hondis. The schame of a^m fadir is of a sone vn-³ lerned; but a fonned douȝter schal be in decreessyng[‡]. A prudent douȝter *is* eritage⁴ to hir hosebonde; for sche that schendith *hir hosebonde*, is in dispisyng of the fadir.

* *wisdom to a fool*; for if he hath ony know- ing of truthe, he schal leese it, for vndu- maner of sei- yng, teld out; for he bryngith forth tho so, that tho moun not be vndur- stondun. *Live here. c.*

† *a wiȝs man schal be schamed*; that is, schal be aschamed to speke bifor him, no but nede ether opyn profit axith this. *The herte of foolis*; for anon thei tellen out her conseit. *the mouth of wise men, etc.*; for they pronounsen no thing, no but bi good auyse- ment biforgo- ynge. *cursith the deuel*; dampned iust- ly. *cursith his soule*; for in his dedis he sueth the deuel, and so he de- nounsith, that he owith to be dampned. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ *dwellith*; with a priuy bacbitere, and is defoulid bi his synne. *stille man*; in du tyme, and spekinge in co- uenable tyme. *Live here. c.*

§ *in decreess- ing*; of the onour of fadir and modir. *Live here. c.*

^y shal be *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^z dore *AEGH.* ^a speke *E pr. m.* ^b Om. *A.* ^c rownyng *E.* ^d man *c et E pr. m.*

ⁱ liȝt *to go v.* ^k Om. *c.* ^l an vnprudent man *A pr. m.* ^m Om. *i.*

getere. The fader and man she fool
hardi confoundeth, and of the vnпиты
man she shal not be lassid; of either for-
sothe she shal^e be vnwrshipid^f. Melodie
in weiling vnkouenable^g telling; scourges
and doctrine in alle tyme wisdom. Who
techeth a fool, as that glueth togidere a
sherd. He that telleth a wrd to the not
herende, as that rereth a slepende^h man
fro an heuy slep. With the slependeⁱ he
speketh, that telleth to the fool wisdom;
and in the ende of the^k telling he shal
sey, Who is this? Ouer the deade weep
thou, forsothe the lijt of hym failede;
and ouer the fool weep thou, forsothe
he failede wit. A litil weep vp on the
deade, for he restede. Forsothe of the
most wicke^l most wicke^l lif, on the deth
of a fool. The weiling of the deade
seuene dazes; of the fool forsothe and
of the vnпиты alle the dazes of the lif
of hem. With a fool ne speke thou
myche, and with a mys felende go thou
not away. Kep thee fro hym, that thou
haue not greef; and thou shalt not ben
defoulid in the synne of hym. Boowe
awei fro hym, and thou shalt finde reste;
and thou shalt not be maad sorewi^m sloz
in the folie of hym. Ouer leed what shal
ben heuy? and what othir name to hym
than a fool? Lijtere is to bern grauel,
and salt, and a gobet of iren, than an
inprudentⁿ man, and a fool, and vnпиты.
As ioynynge of tres, bounde togidere to
the foundement of the bilding, shal^o not
ben vnloosid, so and the herte fastned to-
gidere in the thenking of counseil. The
thenking of the wel felende in alle tyme,
or drede, shal not be beshrewid. As chaf
in heze thingus, and morter withoute due
cost, sett azen the face of the wynd, shul
not abide; so and the dredeful herte in
the thenking of a fool azen the bure of
drede azen stont^p not. As grauely enourn-

A 'schameles womman^m schendith the fa-
dir and hosebonde, and schal not be maad
lesse^{*} than vnfeithful men; forsothe sche
shal not be onourid of euer either. Melo-
die in morenyng is vncouenableⁿ tellyng;
betyngis^o and techyng in al tyme with
wisdom. He that techith a fool, as he⁷
that glueth togidere a tiel stoon. He that
tellith a word to hym that herith not, is
as he that reisith a man slepynge fro a
greuouse sleep. He that tellith wisdom
to a fool, spekith with a man slepynge;
and in the ende of the tellyng he schal
seie, Who is this? Wepe thou[†] on a deed
man, for whi his lijt failide; and wepe
thou on a fool, for he failide of wit. Wepe
thou a litil on a deed man, for he hath
restid. Forsothe the lijf of a ful[‡] wickid
man is ful wickid, more than the deth of
a fool. The morenyng of a deed man is
seuene daies; but the morenyng of a fool
and of a wickid man is alle the daies of
her lijf. Speke thou not myche with a
fool, and go thou not with an vnwijs man.
Kep thee fro hym, that thou haue not
disese; and thou schalt not be defoulid
in the synne of hym. Boowe thou awei
fro hym, and thou schalt fynde reste;
and be thou not anoied by his foly. What
shal be maad heuyere than leed? and
what othere name than a fool is to it?
It is lijtere to bere grauel, and salt, and
a gobet of yrun, than a man vnprudent,
and a fool, and vnfeithful. As an heep of
trees, boundun togidere in the foundement
of the bilding, schal not be vnboundun, so
and an^{oo} herte confermed in the thouzt of
counsel[§]. The thouzt of a wijs man shal
not be maad schrewid in ony tyme, ne-
ther drede^p. As chaffis in hijs places,
and soond with out medling of hym, set
azens the face of wynd, schulen not dwelle;
so and a dredeful herte in the thouzt of a
fool azenstondith not azens the feersnesse

* lesse; that is, schal not be lesse in vices than men that beren pestilence. wisdom; that is, chastising, bi beting ether bi word, nedith euer to be doon wisely and with du circumstances. Live here. c. † Wepe thou, etc.; that is, mercifully do thou seruyce of the deed bodi, and preye thou for him, for his tyme of merit failede. Live here. c. ‡ the lijf of a fool; that is, the wickid lijf of a fool is worse, and more to be biweilid, than the deth of him. The morenyng of a deed man; that is, of a iust man deed, durith. bi seuene dayes; so it was in the tyme of the writere of this book. of a fool, etc.; a fool here is seid not he that is a fool bi defaute of kyndly wit, but bi defaute of good lijf, thoru abundaunce of malice; and in liyk maner an vnfeithful man is he, that doith idolatrie. alle the dayes of her lijf; vndurstonde thou, ben wor- thi to be biweilid. Live here. c. § of counsel; that is, of good counsel, and of prudence, is not departid lijtly fro goodnesse. dredeful; bi worldly drede. azenstondith out; yuel, but consentith anoon. Live here. c.

^e shal not c pr. m. E pr. m. ^f wrshipid c pr. m. ^g nedeles c pr. m. E pr. m. vnkonable c sec. m. ^h slepi A GH. ⁱ slepi A. ^k Om. A E GH. ^l wickede A E GH. ^m Om. c pr. m. ⁿ vnprudent A GH. ^o that shal c. ^p stondeth A E GH.

^m boold womman, that is, schameles, c et ceteri. ⁿ couenable A pr. m. is. ^o betyng AS. ^{oo} the I. ^p in drede A sec. m.

yng^a in a briȝt wal, so and the trem-
 blende herte in the thenking of a fool,
 alle time he shal not dreden^r; so and
 that in^s the hestis of God abit^t stille
 24 euermor. The prickende the eȝe leteth out
 teres; and that pricketh the herte, bring-
 25 eth forth wit. Throwende a ston in to
 foules, 'schal throwe^u hem down; so and
 that putteth reprof to a frend, looseth
 26 frenshipe. To the frend and if thou
 bringe forth a swerd, thou shalt not dis-
 peiren; ther is forsothe aȝeengoyng to a
 27 frend. If he shul opene a drery mouth,
 ne drede thou; ther is forsothe acording,
 out take putting to of vice, and dis-
 pit, and pride, and openyng of priuȝte,
 and treccherous veniaunce; in alle these
 28 thingus shal flee awei a frend. Feith
 welde thou with a frend 'in the^v pore-
 nesse of hym, that and in the goodis of
 29 hym thou glade. In tyme of tribula-
 cioun of hym abid stille to hym feithful,
 that and in the eritage of hym thou be
 30 togidere eir. Biforn fir of the chymnee,
 moiste issue, and the smoke of fyr, is
 enhauncid; so and befor blod cursis, and
 31 wrongis, and thretes. A frend to saluten
 I shal not be confoundid, and fro the
 face of hym I shal not hiden me; and
 if eueles schulen^w comen to me bi hym,
 32 I shal suffre. Eche that shal heren, shal
 33 shonen hymself fro hym. Who shal ȝyue
 to my mouth warde, and vpon^x my lippis
 a^y certeyn marke, that I falle not fro
 them, and my tunge leese me?

CAP. XXIII.

1 Lord, fader, and lordshipere of my lif,
 ne forsake thou me in the thenking and
 the counseil of them; and suffre thou me
 2 not to fallen in that reprouyng. Who
 puttith vp on in my^z thenking scourgis,
 and in myn herte doctrine of wisdom,
 that to the vnknowyngus of them he
 spare not to me, and apere not the giltis

of drede. As ournyng, *ether pargetyng*, 23
 ful of grauel in a cleer wal*, so and a
 ferdful herte in the thouȝt of a fool schal
 not drede in ony tyme; so and^a he that
 dwellith euere in the heestis of God†. He 24
 that prickith the iȝe, schal leede out teeris;
 and he that prickith the herte, bryngith
 forth wit. He that castith^r a stoon to 25
 briddis, schal caste down tho; so and he
 that doith wrong to a frend, departith
 frenschipe. Thouȝ thou bryngist^s forth a 26
 swerd to a frend, dispeire† thou not; for
 ther is going aȝen to the frend. If he 27
 openeth a soreful mouth, drede thou not;
 for whi ther is acordyng, outakun dispis-
 ynge, and schenschiȝe, and pride, and
 schewyng of preuȝte, and a tretcherouse
 wounde; in alle these thingis a frend schal
 fle awei. Haue thou feith with a frend 28
 in his pouert, that thou be glad also in
 hise goodis. In the tyme of his tribula- 29
 cioun dwelle thou feithful to hym, that
 also thou be euene eir in the eritage of
 hym. Heete^t and smook of fier is maad 30
 hiȝ bifore the fier of a^u chymenei; so and
 cursyngis, and dispisyngis, and manaassis,
 comen bifore blood. I schal not be 31
 aschamed for to grete a frend, and Y
 schal not hide me fro his face; thouȝ
 yuels comen to me bi hym, Y schal suffre.
 Ech man that schal here, schal kepe warliȝ 32
 hym silf fro hym. Who schal ȝyue keping 33
 to my mouth, and a certeyn ceelyng on
 my lippis, that Y falle not bi tho, and
 that my tunge leese not me?

CAP. XXIII.

Lord, fadir, and lordli gouernour of my
 lijf, forsake thou me not in the thouȝt and
 counsel of hem||; nether suffre thou me to
 falle in that schenschiȝe. Who settith^z
 aboue in my thouȝt beetyngis, and in myn
 hert the techyng of wisdom, that in the
 vnkunnyngis of hem he spare not me, and
 that the trespassis of hem appere not?

* cleer wal;
 that is, of hard
 stonys, and
 maad smethe.
 schal not drede;
 bi Goddis
 drede. *Live*
here. c.
 † heestis of
 God; vndur-
 stonde thou,
 dwellith euere
 in the loue and
 drede of God.
Live here. c.

† dispeire, etc.;
 of rekeuering
 of frenschipe.
 dispising; that
 is, to putte
 on him greu-
 ouse cryme, as
 that he is a
 theef. *schenschiȝe*;
 that is,
 to putte on him
 that he was
 borun vnlawe-
 fully, ether that
 he is boonde
 man. *a tretcherouse*
wounde; that
 is, doon bi tre-
 soun. *Live*
here. c.

§ kepe warliȝ;
 that is, fro
 offence of a
 frend. *Live*
here. c.

^a ennyrownyng *A.* ^r repen *E pr. m.* ^s Om. *C.* ^t abideth *AE GH.* ^u throwith *C pr. m.* ^v and in *A.*
^w Om. *C pr. m.* ^x to *AGH.* ^y Om. *G.* ^z the *E pr. m.*

^a Om. *C.* ^r sendith *I.* ^s brynge *I.* ^t Vapour, *ether heete, C et ceteri.* ^u the *F. Om. ceteri.*

3 of them? Lest waxen to myne vnkun-
nynghnesses, and ben multeplied my giltis,
and my synnes abunden; and I falle in
the sijte off myn aduersaries, and myn
4 enemy io3e. Lord, fader, and God of my
lif, ne forsake thou me in the thenking
5 of hem. The enhauncyng of myn 3zen
ne 3yue thou to me; and al desyr turne
6 awei fro me. Do awei fro me lustis of
the wombe, and the liggyngus of lust ne
take thei me; and to vnreuerent inwit
7 and vndiscreet ne take thou me. The
doctrine of the mouth here 3ee, sonis;
and that shal kepen it, shal not pershen
in his lippis, ne shal be sclaundrid in
8 the werste^a werkes. In his vanyte is
ca3t the synnere and the proude man^b;
and the cursid shal be sclaundred in
9 hem. To swering vse not thi mouth;
10 manye forsothe fallingus in^c it. The
nemnyng forsothe of God be not con-
tynuel in thi mouth, and to the names of
seyntus be thou not mengd; for thou shalt
11 not ben harmles of hem. As forsothe a
seruaunt askid bisily, fro wannesse, *'or
enuye^d*, is not mynusht; so eche swerere
and nemnyng, in al fro synne shal not be
12 purgid. A man myche swerende shal be
fulfild with wickidnesse^e; and ther shal
not gon awei fro the hous of hym ven-
13 iaunce. And if he shul bigile the bro-
ther, the gilte of hym vpon hym shal be;
and if he shul feyne, he shal trespassen
14 double. And if in veyn he shul swern,
he shal not be iustefied; forsothe with
werst 3elding shal be fulfild the hous of
15 hym. Ther is and an other speche
a3eenward in to deth; *'be it^f* not founde
16 in the eritage of Jacob. Forsothe of
merciful men alle these thingus shul be
don away; and in giltis thei shul not

Lest myn vnkunynghis encrease, and my 3
trespassis be multiplid, and my synnes be
plenteuouse; and lest Y falle in the sijt
of myn aduersaries, and myn enemy haue
ioie. Lord, fadir, and God of my lijf, for- 4
sake thou not me in the thou3t of hem.
3yue thou not to me enhaunsyng* of 5
myn 3zen; and turne thou awei fro me al
schrewid desijr. Do thou awei fro me 6
the coueitis^v of the^w wombe, and the
coueitis of letcherie take me not; and
3yue thou not *'me to^x* a soule vnreuerent
and vndiscreet^y. Sones, here 3e the tech- 7
yng of mouth; and he that kepith it, schal
not perische bi hise lippis, nether schal be
sclaundrid in worste werkis. A synnere 8
and proude man schal be takun[†] in his
vanite; and a cursid man schal be sclau-
ndrid in tho. Thy mouth be not custom- 9
able to swering; for whi many fallyngis
ben ther ynne. Forsothe the nemnyng of 10
God be not customable in thi mouth,
and be thou not meddlid to the names of
seyntis; for thou schalt not be giltles of
hem. For as a seruaunt *that is* axid bisili, 11
schal not wante wannesse; so ech man
swerynge[‡] and nemynge schal not be
purgid of synne in al. A man swerynge 12
myche schal be fillid with wickidnesse;
and veniaunce schal not go awei fro his
hous. And^a if he disseyueth a brother, 13
his trespas schal be aboue hym; and if
he feyneth, he schal trespasse doubli. And 14
if he swerith in veyn, he schal not be ius-
tified; for whi his hous schal be fillid
with worst 3elding. Also a3enward an- 15
other speche is in to deth; be it not found
in the eritage of Jacob. For whi alle 16
these thingis schulen be don awei fro
merciful men; and thei schulen not delite
in trespassis. Thi mouth be not custom- 17

* 3yue thou not to me enhauns-
ing, etc.; that is, suffre thou not that pride be lord ouer me. of wombe; that is, of glo-
tenye. 3yue thou not, etc.; that is, suffre thou not my soule to falle into vnreuerence, and into vnwisdom. Live here. c.
† proude man schal be takun; of the deucl, that settith to him a snare. sclaundrid in tho; that is, schal falle in the snaris of the deucl.
nemnyng of God; that is, to swere bi him, netheles it owith to be ofte in thi mouth, to preye and preche.
names of seyntis; in sweringe ofte bi hem. giltles of hem; that is, of offence of hem. axid bisili; that is, constreyned bi beeingis to telle. wannesse; of skyn, for the beeing of his body. swerynge; bi God. and nemynge; that is, swerynge bi the names of seyntis, and this custom-
ably. Live here. c.
‡ ech man swerynge, etc.; for bi sich yuel custom he fallith into vnleue-
ful ooth. disseyueth; that is, harmith him bi a fals ooth. aboue him; for he is holdun to restore, and he schal be constreyned herto, if it is preued a3enus him. feyneth;

in holdinge stille the truthe, for whos declaring he is brou3t forth a witnesse, and swerith that he knowith not. doubli; that is, a3enus himsilf, in swerynge fals, and a3enus the neizbore in harmynge him, in conscience that holdith another mannis thing, and another man in the purs. his hous; for whi sumtyme sonis ben punyschid bi temporal paynes, for fadris and modris, and most whanne thei suen the fadris synne; as it is doon ofte in this caas, for a sone that herith ofte his fadir sweringe in veyn, takith bi this a liyk maner. another speche; contrarie to the formere; this speche is blasfemye, that disserueth deth, as God seith in xxiiij. c^o. of Leuitici. Live here. c.

^a wickedest AEGH.
^f but AGH.

^b Om. c pr. m.

^c ben in A.

^d Om. c et E pr. m.

^e wickenesse E.

^v coueityse s. ^w Om. ceteri. ^x to me s. ^y vnsaueri, ether vndiscreet, c et ceteri. ^a Om. A pr. m. I.

17 often turne^s. To the vndisciplynous
speche vse not thi mouth; forsothe ther
18 is in it the wrd of synne. Haue mynde
of fader and thi moder; in the myddel
19 forsothe of grete men thou stondist. Lest
paraenture God forȝete thee in the sizte
of hem; and thurȝ thi bisynesse gretli
maad foul, repref thou suffre^h, and had-
dest leuere not to be born, and the dai of
20 thi birthe thou curse. A man vsid in
wrds of repref, in alle his dazes shal not
21 be leredⁱ. Two kindis abundyn in synnes,
and the thridde bringeth to wrathe and
22 perdicoun. A fel soule as fyr brennende
shal not be quenched, to the tyme sum
23 what he swolewe; and a shreude man in
the mouthe of his flesh shal not leuen, to
24 the time he teende fyr. To a leccherous
man eche bred sweete; he shal not be
25 weri, trespassende vnto the ende. Eche
man that ouergoth his bed, dispisende in
to his soule, and seiende, Who seeth me?
26 Derkenesses cumpassen me, and the walles
coueren me aboute, and no man aboute
biholdeth me. Whom drede I? Of my
giltis the heizest shal not han mynde.
27 And^k he vndirstont^l not, for alle thingus
the eze of hym seeth, for he putte awei
fro hym the drede of God; of such a
maner man is drede, and the ezen of men
28 dredende hym. And he kneȝ not, for
the ezen of the Lord ben myche more
liztere ouer the sunne, biholdende aboute
alle the weies of men, and the depthe of
the se, and the hertes of men biholdende
29 in to the hidde partis. To the Lord God
forsothe, er thei weren^m foormed, alle
thingis ben known; so and aftir the
30 parformed he biholdith alle thingus. This
in the stretes of the cite shal be vengid;
as an horse colt he shal be dryue, and
31 wher he hopeth not, he shal be caȝt. And
he shal ben vileny to alle; forthi that he
32 vnderstod not the drede of the Lord. So
and eche womman forsakende hir manⁿ,

able to vnreuerent speche; for whi a word
of synne is in it. Haue thou mynde on 18
thi fadir and modir; for thou stondist in
the myddis of grete men. Lest perauen- 19
ture God forȝete thee in the sizt of hem;
and lest thou maad a fool bi thi custom-
ableness, suffre schenschipec^b, and haddist
leuere to be not borun, and curse the dai
of thi birthe. A man customable in the^c 20
wordis of schenschipec, in alle daies schal^d
not be tauȝt. Twei kyndis* ben plenteu- 21
ouse in synnes, and the thridde bringith
ire and perdicoun. An hoot soule bren- 22
nyng as fier schal not be quenched, til it
swolewe sum thing; and a wickid man in 23
the mouth of his fleisch schal not faile, til
he kyndle fier. Ech breed is swete to a 24
letcherouse man; he schal not be maad
weri, trespassynge til to^e the ende. Ech 25
man that passith his bed[†], doith dispit
azens his soule, and seith, Who seeth me?
Derkenessis cumpassen me, and wallis 26
kyueren me, and no man biholdith me.
Whom drede Y? The hizeste schal not
haue mynde on my synnes. And he vn- 27
dirstondith not, that the ize of him^f seeth
alle thingis; for whi the drede of sicke a
man puttith awei fro him the drede of
God, and the izen of men that dreden
hym putten awei fro hym Goddis drede.
And he knew not, that the izen of the 28
Lord ben myche more clerere than the
sunne, and biholden alle the weies of men,
and the depthe of the see, and^g biholden
the hertis of men in to hid partis. For 29
whi alle thingis weren knowun to the
Lord, bifore that thei^h weren maad of
nouȝt; so and aftir the makynge he bi-
holdith alle thingis. This man schal be 30
punyschid in the stretis of the cite; he
shal be dryuun awei as an horse colt,
and he schal be takun, where he hopith
not. And he schal be schenschip to alle 31
men; for he vnderstod not the drede of
the Lord. So and ech womman forsak- 32

* Twei kyndis; that is, couetise and glotonye. and the thridde; that is, auoutrie. bringith ire; of Goddis vengeance. and perdicoun; of helle. brennyng; with the fier of couetise. swolewe sum thing; in getinge vniustly the goodis of othere men. a wickid man; that is, a glotoun. til he kyndle fier; of lecherie. Ech breed is swete; that is, ech wyf of another man is desirable to him. maad weri, etc.; that is, he schal not ceesse to breke Goddis heest, that forbedith auoutrie. til to the ende; of his liyf. Live here. c. † that passith his bed; bi auoutrie. the drede of sicke a man; that is, of auouter, bi which he dredith to be priued fro his lust. the izen of men, etc.; that is, men that knowen his auoutrie, and seruen him thereynne, for drede of his offence, and preisen him, and nurschen him in hise yuels, putten away fro him Goddis drede. Live here. c.

^s turne them *E pr. m. AGH.* ^h suffrist *A.* ⁱ lerned *AE GH.* ^k Om. *A.* ^l vnderstondeth *AE GH.*
^m ben *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ⁿ husbonde *AE GH sec. m.*

^b schenschipec, *ether scornynge, c et ceteri præter Y.* ^c Om. *I.* ^d he shal s. ^e vnto *I.* ^f him, *that is, of God, v.* ^g and thei *I.* ^h tho *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVXYA.*

shal synnen, and settende eritage of an
 33 aliene matrimoyne. First in the lawe of
 the heȝest she was vnleueful^o, and the
 secunde hir man^p she forsok; the thridde
 in auoutrie she dide leccherie, and of an
 34 othir man sonus she sette to himself. This
 in to the chirche shal be broȝt, and in to
 35 the sonus of hir shal ben lookid. The
 sonus of hir shul not taken rootis, and
 the braunches of hir shul not ȝyuen
 36 fruyt. Thei shul leuen^q in to curs the
 mynde of hir, and the vilenye of hir shal
 37 not be don awei. And thei shul knowe,
 for thei ben forsaken; for no thing be-
 tere than the dred of God, and no thing
 swetere than to biholden in the maunde-
 38 mens of the Lord. Gret glorie is^r to fo-
 lewe the Lord; lengthe forsothe of dajes
 shal ben taken to of hym.

CAP. XXIV.

1 Wisdam shal preisen his soule, and in
 the Lord he shal ben wrshepid; and in
 the myddel of his^s puple he shal glorien.
 2 And in the chirches of the heȝest he shal
 opene his mouth; and in the sijte of the
 3 vertue of hym he shal glorien. And in
 the myddel of his puple he shal ben
 enhauncid; and in hoeli^t plente he shal
 4 myche wudren^u. And in the multitude
 of chosen men he shal han preising; and
 among blissid men he shal ben blissid,
 5 seiende, I of the mouth of the heȝest
 cam forth, first goten biforn eche crea-
 6 ture. I made in heuenus, that vnfailende
 list shulde springe, and as a litil cloude
 7 I coueryd^v eche flesh. I in the heȝest
 thingus dwellede, and my trone in a piler
 8 of a cloude. The cercle of heuene I cum-
 passide alone, and the depthe of the se
 I thirlede; and in the flodis of the se I
 9 wente, and in al erthe I stod. And in
 10 alle puple, and in alle folc of kinde the
 11 firsthed I hadde; and of alle heȝe and

yngre hir hosebonde schal do synne, and
 ordeynynge eritage* of an alien matri-
 monye. For firste sche was vnbileueful 33
 in the lawe of the heȝeste, and the se-
 counde tyme sche forsook hir hosebonde;
 and the thridde tyme sche was defoulid
 in auowtrie, and ordeynede to hym sonus
 of another man. 'This wommanⁱ schal be 34
 brouȝt in to the chirche, and me schal bi-
 holde on hir sonus. Hir sonus schulen not 35
 ȝyue rootis, and hir braunchis schulen not
 ȝyue fruyt. Thei schulen leue the mynde 36
 of hir in to cursyng, and the schenscipe
 of hir schal not be don awei. And thei 37
 that ben left schulen knowe, that no thing
 is betere than the drede of God, and no-
 thing is swettere than to biholde in the
 comaundementis of the Lord. It is greet 38
 glorie to sue the Lord; for whi lengthe
 of daies schulen be takun of hym.

CAP. XXIV.

Wisdom schal preise[†] his soule, and he 1
 schal be onourid in God; and he schal
 haue glorie in the myddis of his puple.
 And he schal opene his mouth in the 2
 chirchis of the heȝeste; and he schal haue
 glorie in the sijt of his vertu. And he 3
 schal be enhaunsid in the myddis of his
 puple; and he schal wondre in hooli plentee^k.
 And in the multitude of chosun men he 4
 schal haue preisyng; and among blissid
 men he schal be blissid, and seie, I, the 5
 firste gendrid bifore ech creature, cam forth
 fro the mouth of the heȝeste. I made in 6
 heuenes, that list neuere failynge roos vp,
 and as a cloude Y hilide al erthe. Y dwell- 7
 ide in heȝeste thingis, and my trone in a
 piler of cloude. Y aloone ȝede aboute the 8
 cumpas of heuene, and Y perside the
 depthe of the see; and Y ȝede in the wawis
 of the see, and Y stood in al the lond. 9
 And Y hadde the firste dignite in^l ech pu- 10
 ple, and in ech folk; and Y trad bi vertu 11
 on the neckis of alle excelent men and

* eritage; that
 is, eir of hir
 hosebonde.
 matrimonye;
 whanne hir
 auouter was
 weddid. to him;
 that is, to hir
 hosebonde.
 rootis; for thei
 schulen not be
 stablischid in
 the eritage of
 the hosebonde.
 sue the Lord;
 bi the weye of
 riȝtfulnesse.
 lengthe of
 dayes; that
 is, euerlastinge
 liyf. Live here.
 C.

† Wisdom schal
 preise, etc.;
 that is, God
 the Sone schal
 preise him self.
 onourid in
 God; the Fa-
 dir. haue glorie
 in the sijt of
 his vertu; that
 is, in merueil-
 ouse werkis,
 doon bi the vertu
 of the heȝeste.
 Y the firste
 gendrid; that
 is seid in the
 persone of
 God the Sone.
 of the mouth
 of the heȝeste;
 that is, of the
 vertu of gen-
 dring of God
 the Fadir.
 Live here. c.

^o vnbeleeful EG sec. m. ^p husbonde AE sec. m. GH. or hosebonde C sec. m. marg. ^q forsaken E pr. m.
^r Om. A. ^s the A. ^t the hooli A. ^u ben wundred E pr. m. ^v made C pr. m. E pr. m.

ⁱ Sche this i. ^k fulnesse, ether plentee, C et ceteri præter Y. ^l of C.

lowe the hertes bi vertue I trad; and in alle these thingus reste I sozte, and in the eritage of hym^w I shal wone. Thanne comaundide, and seide to me, the foormere of alle thingus; and he that foormede me, restede in my tabernacle; and seide to me, In Jacob dwelle thou, and in Irael eritage thou, and in my chosene put rootes. Fro the bigynnyng and bifor worldis^x I am foormed, and vnto the world to come I shal not cesen to ben; and in hoeli wonyng befor hym I seruede. And so in Sion I am fastned, and in an halewid cite lic maner I restede, and in Jerusalem my power. And I rootede^y in a puple wrshipid; and in to the parties of my God the eritage of hym, and in plente of halewes my withholding. As a cedre I am enhauncid in Liban, and as a^z cipresse in the hil of Sion. And as a palm I am enhauncid in Cades, and as the plaunting of a^a rose in Jericho. As a fair olyue in feeldis; and as a platan^b I am enhauncid biside the water in stretes. As canel and balsam smellende, I 3af smel; and as chose myrre I 3af swotnesse of smel. And as torax, and galban, and vngula, and gutta, and as Liban not kut, I smekede^c my dwelling; and as balsame not mengd^d is^d my smel. I as terebynt strei3te out my braunchis; and my braunchis of wrshipec, and of grace. I as a vyne frutede swotnesse of smel; and my floures frutes of honour, and of honeste. I modir of fair loouyng, and of drede, and of knowing, and of hoeli hope. In me alle grace of weie, and of treuthe; in me alle hope of lif and^e of vertue. Passeth to me, alle that coueiten me; and of my ieneraciouns 'be 3ee' fulfid. My spirit for-

meke; and in alle these men Y souzte reste, and Y schal dwelle in the eritage of the Lord. Thanne the creatour of alle comaundide, and seide to me; and he that formyde me, restide in my tabernacle; and he seide to me, Dwelle thou in Jacob, and take thou eritage in Israel, and sende thou rootis in my chosun men. Y was gendrid of^m the bigynnyng* and bifor worldis, and Y schal not faile 'til toⁿ the world to^o comyng; and Y mynystride in an hooli dwellyng bifore hym. And so Y was maad stidfast in Syon[†], and in lijk maner Y restide in a citee halewid, and my power was in Jerusalem. And Y rootid in a puple onourid; and the eritage therof in to the partis of my God, and my withholding[‡] in the plentee^p of seyntis. Y was enhaunsid as a cedre in Liban, and as a cipresse tree in the hil of Syon. Y was enhaunsid as a palm tree in Cades, and as the plauntyng of roose in Jeryco. As^q a fair olyue tree in feeldis; and Y was enhaunsid as a plane tree bisidis watir in stretis. As canel and bawme 3uyngre greet smelle, Y 3af odour; as chosun myrre Y 3af the swetnesse of odour. And as storax, and galban, and vngula^s, and gumme, and as Liban not kit down, Y made hoot my dwellyng place; and myn odour as bawme not meddlid. Y as a terebynte stretchide forth my boowis; and my boowis ben boowis^r of onour, and of glorie. Y as a vyne made fruyt the swetnesse of odour; and my flouris ben the fruytis of onour, and of oneste. I am a modir of fair loue, and of drede, and of knowyng, and of hooli hope. In me is al grace of weie, and of treuthe; in me is al hope of lijf and of vertu. Alle 3e that coueiten me, passe^t to me; and be 3e fillid of my

* of the bigynnyng; the bigynnyng of tyme may not be vndurstondu herbi, but the bigynnyng here is seid the Fadir, which is the bigynnyng of comyng forth of persoones in the Trynyte. and bifor worldis; that is, enerlastingly, without bigynnyng of tyme. not faile til to the world to comyng; that is, Y schal dwelle perfytly with outen ende. mynystride; that is, made to mynystre, bi Aaron and othere good prestis. Live here. c. † Y was maad stidfast in Sion; this stidefastnesse seith not only chaunging in God, but in a creature, wherynne Goddis giftis ben stablischid stidefastliere. Goddis wisdom is seid maad stidefast in the hil of Sion, for the temple was bildid there, in which temple the arke and propiciatorie, which representide the secte of God, hadden stable dwelling, and weren no more borun aboute fro place to place. Y rootide; that is, stablischide stidefastliere my giftis. in a puple onourid; that is, in the puple of Israel, that was onourid of God more than othere pupils. eritage therof;

that is, of the puple onourid. in to the partis of my God; that is, at the Fadir, which is my God, in as myche as Y am man; ether the Fadir is seid God of the Sone, for the Sone is seid God of God. in to the partis of my God; that is, of the Fadir, which is God, of whom Y am; nethelesse Y am the same God with him in being, and am departid onely in persoon. Live here. c. ‡ my withholding, etc.; that is, my dwelling bi grace is in the congregacioun of seyntis. Live here. c. § vngula; that is, a tre of greet odour, and is lijk a mannus nayl. Live here. cv.

^w the Lord c pr. m. E pr. m. ^x the woorldis A. ^y hadde roote AEGH. ^z Om. A. ^a Om. AGH. ^b plaunt A. ^c putte out E pr. m. ^d Om. c pr. m. ^e Om. c pr. m. ^f 3e shulen ben AE pr. m. GH.

^m fro N sec. m. a. ⁿ vnto I. ^o Om. I. ^p fulnesse CEGHIV. ^q And as I. ^r Om. I. ^s And Y A. ^t passeth I.

sothe ouer hony sweete; and myn eritage ouer hony, and hony comb. My mynde in the ieneracioun of worldis. Thei^f that eten me, 3it shul hungrin; and that drinken me, 3it shuln thristen. Who hereth me, shal not be confoundid; and who werchen in me, shul not synnen; and who declaren me, euere lastende lif shuln han. Alle these thingus the boc of lif, and the testament of the hejest, and the knoueleching of treuthe. Moises comaundide the lawe in the hestus of riztwisnesses, and the eritage to the hous of^g Jacob, and the behestus to^h Irael. He sette to Dauid, his child, to reren vp a king of hym most strong, and in the trone of wrshipec sittende in to euer mor. The which fulfillith, as Fison, wisdam; and as Tigris. in the dajes of newes. That fulfilleth, as Eufates, wit; that multeplieth, as Jordan in the tyme of rip. That sendeth disciplyne as lizt; and stondynge to, as Jyon in the dai of vndage. That parformeth first to knownen it; and the feblere shal not enserchen it. Fro the se forsothe shal abunde the thenking of hym; and the counseil of hym in the grete depnesse. I wisdam heelde out floodis; I as an ouerthwert weie of watir with oute mesure fro the flood. I as the flood Dorex, and as watir kundute wente out fro paradys. I seide, I shal watrin the gardyn of my plauntingus; and I shal make drunkeⁱ the frut of my birthe. And lo^k! he is mad to me a plenteuous path; and my flood ne3hede to the se. For doctrine as morutid lizt I lizte to alle; and I shal tellen out it vnto aferr. I shal persen alle the nethere partis of the erthe, and I shal biholde alle slepende; and I shal liztnen alle hopende in the Lord. 3it doctrine as profecie I shal heelden out, and I shal leuen it to men sechende wisdam; and I shal not cesen in to the progenyes of

generaciouns. For whi my spirit *is* swete²⁷ aboute hony; and myn eritage *is* aboute hony, and hony comb. My mynde *is* in²⁸ the generacioun of worldis. Thei that²⁹ eten me, schulen hungre 3it; and thei that drynken me, schulen thirste 3it. He that³⁰ herith me, shal not be schent; and thei that worchen in me, schulen not do synne; and thei that declaren^u me, schulen haue³¹ euere lastynge lijf. Alle these thingis *is*³² the book of lijf, and the testament of the hizeste, and the knowyng of treuthe. Moises comaundide a lawe in the co-³³ maundementis of riztfulnessis, and eritage to the hous of Jacob, and biheestis to Irael. He settide to Dauid^{*}, his child, to³⁴ reise of hym a kyng moost strong, and sittynge with outen ende in the trone of onour. Which *kyng* fillith wisdom, as³⁵ Phison *schedith out watir*; and as Tigris in the daies of newe thingis. Which, as³⁶ Eufates, fillith wit; which multiplieth, as Jordan in the tyme of heruest. Which³⁷ sendith techyng as lizt; and is niz *alle men*, as Gion in the dai of vendage. Which³⁸ makith perfilti first to knowe that *wisdom*; and a feblere man schal not enserche it. For whi the thou3t therof[†] schal be plen-³⁹ teuous of the see; and his counsel in the greet occian. Y wisdom schedde out⁴⁰ floodis; Y as a weie[‡] of ful greet watir of the flood. Y as the flood Dorix, and as a watir cundit Y 3ede out of paradys[§]. Y⁴² seide, I schal watir my gardyn of plauntingis; and Y schal greetli fille the fruyt of my child beryng. And lo! a plenteu-⁴³ ouse weie of watir is maad to me; and my flood neizede to the see. For Y liztne⁴⁴ techyng as the cheer morewtid to alle men; and Y schal telle out it 'til to^w fer. Y schal perse alle the lower partis of⁴⁵ erthe, and Y schal biholde alle that slepen; and Y schal liztne alle that hopen in the Lord. 3it Y schal schede out tech-⁴⁶ ing as profesie^{||}, and Y schal leue it to

* He settide to Dauid; that is, ordeynede, ether bihiste. kyng; that is, Crist, that cam of the seed of Dauid vpe fleisch, bi the virgyn Marie.

† the thou3t therof, etc.; that is, his knowing is more plenteuous than the see. and his counsel; is vncomprehensible. Live here.

‡ as a weye; that is, a strong rennyng. Live here. cv.

§ of paradys; that is, of the Fadir, in whom is al good and al swetnesse. watere my gardyn; that is, the gardyn of the fiztinge chirche. the fruyt of my child beryng; that is, the

cumpenye of apostlis, and of othere men bi-leuyng, that resseyueden the 3iftis of the Hooley Goost plenteously in the day of Pen-tecost. Live here. c.

|| as profeste; that is, as certeyn and trewe teching, as profesie schewid of God. Y schal

^f Om. c pr. m. ^g of the Lord of E pr. m. ^h of E pr. m. ⁱ drunke, or fulfille AGH. ^k Om. AG pr. m. H.

^u declaren, ether shewen, K marg. ^w vnto L.

them, vnto the hoeli¹ spirituel world.
47 Seeth, for not to me alone I trauailede,
but to alle sechende out the treuthe.

CAP. XXV.

1 In thre thingus plesid is to my spirit,
that ben proued bifor God and man;
2 the acord^m of brethern, and the looue of
ne3hebores, and inan and womman wel
3 to themself consentende. Thre spices
hatede my soule, and I am greued gretli
4 to the soule of them; a pore man proud,
and a riche man aⁿ liere, and an old
5 man a^o fool and dotid. What thingis^p in
thi 3outh the thou hast not gedered, hou
6 shalt thou finde in thin eelde? How fair
the dom in¹ hoornesse, and to prestis to
7 knowe kounseil. How fair to olde men
wisdam, and glorious vnderstanding, and
8 counseil. The coroun of olde men myche
wisdam; and the glorie of them dred of
9 God. Nyne vnouertrowable^r thingus of
the herte I magniefede; and the tenthe
10 I shal telle in tunge to men. A man
that is io3id in sones lyuende, and seende
the turnyng vpsodoun of his enemys.
11 Blisful that dwellith with a womman
weel felende, and that in his tunge is
not slyden, and that seruede not to the
12 vnwrthi hymself. Blisful that findith a
verre frend, and that telleth out ri3twis-
13 nesse to the herende ere. Hou gret that
findith wisdam and kunnyng; but not
14 ouer the dredende God. The drede of
God ouer alle thingus hymself sett aboue.
15 Blisful the man to whom it is 3oue to
han the drede of God; who holdith it,
16 to whom shal he be licned? The dred of
God the bigynnyng of his looue; the by-
gynnyng forsothe of feith is to be ioyned
17 to hym. Alle veniaunce is the drery
slowthe of herte; and eche malice the

hem that seken wisdom; and Y schal not
faile in to the generaciouns of hem, til in
to the hooli world. Se 3e, that Y trauelide 47
not to me aloone, but to alle that seken
out treuthe.

CAP. XXV.

In thre thingis it is plesid to my spirit, 1
which ben appreued bifore God and men;
acordyng of britheren, and loue of nei3-2
boris, a^x man and womman wel consent-
yng to hem silf. My soule hatide thre 3
spicis, and Y am greued greetli to the
soule of hem*; a pore man proud, and a 4
riche man liere, and an eld man a fool and
vnwitti. Hou schalt thou fynde in thin 5
eelde tho thingis, whiche thou gaderist
not in thi 3ongthe? Doom is ful fair† in 6
hoornesse, and to preestis to knowe coun-
cel. Wisdom is ful fair to eelde men, and 7
glorouse vndirstondyng, and counsel. The 8
coroun of eelde men is in myche kunnyng;
and the glorie of hem is the drede of God.
I magniefede nyne thingis vnsuspect of the 9
herte; and Y schal seie the tenthe thing bi
tunge to men. A man which lyuynge is 10
myrie in sones, and seynge the distriyng of
hise enemyes. He is blessid that dwellith 11
with a witty womman, and he that felle
not bi his tunge, and he that seruyde not to
men vnworthi to hym silf. He is blessid 12
that fyndith a very frend, and he that
telleth out ri3tfulnesse to an eere heringe.
He is ful greet that fyndith wisdom and 13
kunnyng; but he is not aboue him that
dredith God‡. The drede of God hath set 14
it^y silf aboue alle thingis. Blessid is the 15
man to whom it is 3ouun to have the
drede of God; to whom schal he be licned,
that holdith that drede? The drede of God 16
is the bigynnyng of his loue; forsothe the
bigynnyng of feith is to be faste ioyned
therto. The sorewe of herte is ech 17
wounde§; and the wickidnesse of a wom-

leue it to hem;
in scripture.
not fayle; to
teche hem bi
writting. hooli
world; that is,
to comyng in
blis. Live here. c.

* to the soule
of hem; that is,
malice of hem.
eld man; that
is, vnkunnyng,
not for defaute
of kynde, but
for he dispisde
to lerne. Live
here. c.

† Doom is ful
fair; that is,
doom of discre-
cioun is ful fair
in an hoor
heed, ether eld
man. and to
prestis; that
owen kunne
the lawe of
God. to knowe
counsel; that
is, to haue good
counsel and
certeyn. vnsus-
pect of herte;
that is, of
goodnesse, of
which thingis
noon owith for
to doute. vn-
worthi; that
is, to synneris
in consenting
to hem in yuel.
telleth out; as
a techere. to
an eere her-
inge; that is,
to a man holdinge
in herte, and
fillinge in werk.
Live here. c.

‡ that dredith
God; the
drede of God
is the more
good, and pass-
ith alle goodis
biforseid.

§ The sorewe of
herte is ech
wounde; that
is, as the so-
rewe of herte
passith ech
wounde of
bodi, so the
malice of a
womman pass-
ith al the ma-
lice of a man.

¹ hool A. ^m cord AEGH. ⁿ Om. A. ^o Om. C. ^p Om. c pr. m. ^q of c pr. m. ^r ouertrowable A.

^x and a 1. ^y hym 1.

18 wickidnesse^r of a womman. And eche
wounde, and not wounde she shal seen
19 of herte; and al shreudenesse, and not
20 shreudenesse of a womman; and al hid
thing, and not hid thing of hatende men;
21 and al veniaunce, and not veniaunce of
22 enemys. There is not an hed wickidere
23 ouer the hed of a shadewe eddere; and
there is not wrathe ouer the wrathe of
a womman. To dwelle with a leoun
and a dragoun more shal^s plesen, than
24 to wone with a shreude womman. The
shreudenesses of a womman chaungeth^t
hir face; and she^u azeen blendide^v hir
cheere as a bere, and as a sac she shal
shewen in the myddel of neizhebores.
25 The housebond^w of hir gretli weilede;
26 and herende, sizhede a litil. Short alle
malice ouer the malice of a womman;
27 the lot of synnes falle vpon hir. As a
graueli steejing vp in the feet of an old
man, so a tungy womman to a quyete
28 man. Ne beholde thou the fairnesse of
a womman, and coueite thou not a wom-
29 man in fairnesse. The wrathe of a wom-
man and the mysreuerence, gret shen-
30 shipe. A womman if she haue maistrie,
31 she is contrarie to hir housebond^x. A loe³
herte, and a dreri face, and a wounde of
32 deeth, a shreude womman. Feble hondis
and vnloosid knees, a womman that mak-
33 eth not blisful hir housebond^x. Of a wom-
man is mad the bigynnyng of synne;
34 and bi hir alle wee die. 3yue thou not
to thi watir issue, ne^y a litil; ne to a
shreude womman for 3yuenesse, ^{or} *leeue*,
35 ^{or} *fredam*^z, of goyng out. If she^{schal}
not go^a to^b thin hond, she shal con-
36 founde thee in the sizte of enemys. Fro
thi flesh kut hir awei, lest^c euermore sche
mysvse^d thee.

man is al malice. *A leche* shal se ech 18 *A leche schal se*
wounde, and not the wounde of herte; *ech wounde; of*
and al wickidnesse, and not the wickid- 19 *bodi. and not*
nesse of a womman; and ech hilyng^y, and 20 *the wounde;*
not hilyng^z of hateris; and ech veniaunce, 21 *that is, heu-*
and not the veniaunce of enemyes. Noon 22 *nesse of herte.*
heed is worse than the heed of an eddre *and al wickid-*
dwellynge in schadewe; and noon ire is 23 *nesse, etc.; as*
about the ire of a womman. It schal *if he seie, outir-*
plese more to dwelle with a lioun and a *ly a man may*
dragoun, than to dwelle with a wickid *perseyue al ma-*
womman. The wickidnesse of a womman 24 *lice outakun*
chaungith hir face; and sche blyndide her *the malice of*
cheer as a beer *doith*^a, and sche schal schewe *a womman, for*
as a sak in the myddis of neizboris. Hir 25 *she colourith it*
hosebonde weilide; and his *wickid wijf* *more bi ap-*
herde, and sizside a litil. Al malice is 26 *peringe fren-*
schort on the malice of a womman; the *schipe to hir*
parte of synneris^{*} falle on hir. As a 27 *hosebonde. and*
stiyng ful of grauel in the feet of an *ech hiling; that*
elde man, so is a womman a greet ian- *is, colouring of*
glere to a pesible man. Biholde thou not 28 *malice, ech a*
the fairnesse of a womman, and coueyte *man may per-*
thou not a womman for fairnesse. The 29 *seyue, outakun*
ire and vnreuerence of a womman[†] is^b *the traierouse*
grete^c schenschiipe. If a womman hath 30 *colouring of*
the firste dignyte, *ethir cheef gouernail*, *hateris and*
sche is contrarie to hir hosebonde. A low 31 *enemys, so it*
herte, and soreful face, and wounde of *is of a wickid*
deeth, *is* a wickid womman. Feble hondis[‡] 32 *womman, that*
and knees vnboundun, a womman that *hidith bi signes*
blessith not hir hosebonde. The bygyn- 33 *of frenschipe*
nyng of synne was maad of a womman; *the hatrede*
and alle we dien bi hir. 3yue thou not 34 *which she hath*
issu to thi watir[§], 3he, not a litil issu; ne- *to hir hose-*
ther to a wickid womman fredom of goyng *bonde. Live*
forth. If sche goith not at thin hond, 35 *here. c.*
sche schal schende thee in the sizt of ene- ** the part of*
myes. Kitte hir a wei fro thi fleischis, lest 36 *synne; that is,*
euere sche mysvse thee. *the peyne of*
helle, which is
the part of syn-
neris, as the
lyf of glorie
is part of iust
men. Live
here. c.
† of a wom-
man; to hir
hosebonde.
Live here. c.
‡ Feble hondis;
to worche wel.
knees vnbound-
un; that is,
redi to do
auoutrie. bless-
ith not; that is,
dispisith. at
thyn hond;
that is, bi thi
ruling. kitte
hir away; bi
departing fro
bed; and this
is seid of a
womman vn-
corrigible, ether
that wole ne-
uere be amend-
id, for whi to
holde hir, is to
consente to hir
synne. Live
here. c.

here. c.

§ water; that is, to a river, for he will ouerflowe that place, be his yssu neuer so lyttill. c sec. m.

^r wickenesse *E*. ^s it shal *A*. ^t when she chaungeth *E pr. m.* ^u she bath al *E pr. m.* ^v blyndith *AGH*.
^w man *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^x man *CE pr. m.* ^y Om. *c pr. m.* ^z Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^a go not *c pr. m.*
E pr. m. ^b in to *A*. ^c Om. *E pr. m.* ^d vse not *E pr. m.*

^y hilyng, *that is, colouringe of malice, v.* ^z the hiling *x.* ^a Om. *i.* ^b to hir hosebond is *v.* ^c a grete *c.*

CAP. XXVI.

1 Blissid is the man of a good womman;
the noumbre forsothe of the 3eres of hym
2 double. A strong womman delytith hir
man^e; and the 3eres of 'the liyf off^f hym
3 she shal fulfille in pes. A good part^g a
good womman; in good part of men
dredende God, she shal be 3oue to a man
4 for goode^h deedis. Of riche forsothe and
pore the goode herte; in alle tyme the
5 chere of them gladsum. Of thre thingus
dradde myn herte, and in the ferthe my
6 face was aferd. The dyuyseounⁱ of the
cite, and the gederyng togidere of the
7 puple, and lesing chaleng; vp on deth
8 alle thingus heuye. Sorewe of herte, and
9 weiling, a ielous womman. In a ielous
womman scourge of tunge, to alle co-
10 munende. As a 3ok of oxen that is
moued, so and^k a^l shreude womman;
who holdith hir, as he ca3te a scorioun.
11 A drunkelew womman gret wrahte and
strif; and the filtheed of hir shal not be
12 couered. The fornyacioun of a womman
in the hauncing out of e3en; and in the
13 e3elidis of hir she shal be knowen. In a
dou3tir not turnende away herself fastne
warde; lest, ocasioun founde, she mysuse
14 herself. Fro^m alle irreuerence of the e3en
of hir waar; and ne wndre thou, if she
15 dispise thee. As a weie goere at a welle
threstende the mouth shal opene, and of
alle next water shal drinke; and a3en
eche paleⁿ shal sitte, and a3en alle arewe
shal opene quyuer^o, to the tyme that
16 she^p faile. The grace of a bisi womman
shal deliten hir man^q; and the boenes of
17 hym she shal fatten^r. The discipline of
18 hir is the 3ifte of God. A wel felende
womman and a stille is not the chaung-
19 ing of the taz3t soule. Grace vpon grace

CAP. XXVI.

The hosebonde of a good womman is 1
blessid; for whi the noumbre of her 3eeris
is double. A strong womman^{*d} delitith 2
hir hosebonde; and shal fille in pees the
3eeris of his lijf. A good womman is a 3
good part[†]; in the good part of hem that
dreden God, sche schal be 3oun to a man for
goode dedis. Forsothe the herte of a riche 4
man and of a pore[‡] man is good^{dd}; in al
tyme her cheer is glad. Myn herte dredde 5
of thre thingis, and my face dredde in
the fourthe thing. Bitraiynge of a citee, 6
and the gadering togidere of puple[§], and 7
fals chaleng; alle thingis greuouse on
deth. The sorewe of herte, and moren- 8
yng is a ielouse womman||. In a gelouse 9
womman is betyng of tunge, and sche
comyneth with alle men. As a 3ok of 10
oxis which is mouyd, so and a wickid
womman; he that holdith hir, is as he
that takith a scorioun. A drunkelew 11
womman is greet ire, and dispisyng; and
hir filthe schal not be hilid. The forny- 12
acioun of a womman is in the reisyng of
y3en; and schal be knowun in the i3e
liddis of hir. Make thou sad kepyng^e in 13
a dou3tir not turnynge a wei hir silf; lest
sche mysuse hir silf, if sche fyndith oc-
casioun. Be thou war of al vnreuerence 14
of hir i3en; and wondre thou not, if sche
dispisith thee. As a weiegoere thirstynge 15
shal opene the mouth at a welle, and
shal drynke of ech watir next; and the
forseid dou3tir schal sitte a3ens ech pale[¶],
and schal opene the arowe caas a3ens ech
arowe, til sche faile. The grace of a bisi 16
womman schal delite hir hosebonde; and
shal make fat hise boonus. The kun- 17
nyng of hir is the 3ifte of God. A wijs 18
womman and^f stille is not chaungyng of

* A strong
womman; that
is, a3enus
synnes. Live
here. c.
† a good part;
that is, of ma-
trymonye. Live
here. c.
‡ of a riche man
and of a pore,
etc.; that is, if
he hath a good
wyf. Live
here. c.
§ the gadering
togidere of pu-
ple; that is,
conspiring of
the puple a3e-
nus the prince.
c.
|| a gelouse
womman; is a
contynuel so-
rewe to hir
hosebonde, of
whom sche sup-
posith to be
disseyued, and
so sche yma-
gyneth conty-
nuely a3enus
him. betyng of
tunge; a3enus
hir hosebonde.
comyneth with
alle men; that
is, settith forth
hirsilf to othere
men. a scor-
pioun; that
makith fair
semelaunt with
the face, and
prickith with
the tail; so a
wickid wom-
man drawith
by flaterynge,
and prickith til
to deth, as
Dalida dide to
Sampson, in
xviij. c. of Ju-
dicum. greet
ire; that is,
cause of greet
ire to hir hose-
bonde, for sche
wastith hise
goodis, and
schewith hise
priuytes. no^t
turnyng away;
fro 3onge men
dissolute, and
vnonest specta-
clis. occasioun;
that is, leiser.
Live here. c.
¶ ech pale;
axith; mannus

that is, ech place couenable to fornyacioun. opene the arowe caas, etc.; that is, schal schewe hir schamefast membris to ech that
3erde is clepid an arowe at Ebreyss. faile; til to hir deth.

^e husbonde AE sec. m. GH. ^f Om. c pr. m. ^g partie AEGH. ^h his goode E pr. m. ⁱ enuyouste E pr. m.
^k Om. A. ^l Om. H. ^m For A. ⁿ pole E pr. m. ^o the quyuer A. quyuer, or arow caas c sec. m. marg.
E sec. m. marg. GH. ^p it G sec. m. ^q husbonde AE sec. m. GH. ^r fastnen G. fasten H.

^d womman a3enus synnes v. ^{dd} that is, if thei han goode wyues. v marg. ^e the kepyng 1. ^f and a 1.

20 an hoeli womman, and a shamefast. Eche
 forsothe peising is not wrthi a contentent
 21 soule. As the sunne risende in the world
 in the hejest thingus of God, so the fair-
 nesse of a good womman in to the en-
 22 ournyng of hir hous. A shynende lan-
 terne vpon an hoeli candilsticke, and the
 fairnesse of the face vpon the stable age.
 23 Goldene pileris vpon silueren feet, and fast
 feet upon the plauntes, ^{or soulis^a}, of a sta-
 24 ble womman. Euere lastende foundemens
 vp on a^t sad ston, and the maundemens
 of God in the herte of an hoeli womman.
 25 In two thingus myn herte is maad so-
 rewf^u, and in the thridde wrathing to
 26 me cam. A^v man fiztere failende bi
 myseise, and a man wel felende dispisid.
 27 And that ouergoth fro riztwisnesse to
 synne, God greithede hym to a two
 28 bitende swerd. Two spices harde and
 perilous to me semeden; hard is delyuered
 the chaffarere^w fro his negligece,
 and the^x tauerner shal not be iustified fro
 synnes^y of lippis.

CAP. XXVII.

1 For myseiste^{yy} manye trespasseden;
 and he^z that secheth to be maad riche,
 2 turneth awei his eye. As in the myddel of
 a ioynyng of stones a paele, ^{or a stake^{zz}},
 ficchid is, so bitwen the myddel of biyng
 and silling he shall ben anguysht with
 3 synnes. He shal ben to-treden with
 4 giltende^a gilte. If not in the drede of
 the Lord thou shul holde^b thee bisili,
 anoon shal ben turned vpsodoun thin
 5 hous. As in the smyting of a cyue shal
 abide stille pouder, so the porenesse of a
 6 man in the thenking of hym. The ves-
 selis of the krockere preueth the furneis;
 and riztwis men temptacioun of tribula-
 7 cioun. As the erthe werching of a tree

a lernyd soule. Grace on grace *is* an 19
 hooli womman, and schamfast. Forsothe 20
 al weiyng is not worth a contynent soule.
 As the sunne risynge in the world in the 21
 hizeste thingis of God, so the fairnesse of
 a good womman *is* in to the ournement
 of hir hous. A lanterne schynynge on an 22
 hooli candilstike, and the fairnesse of a
 face^{*} on stidfast age. Goldun pileris on 23
 siluerne foundementis, and stidfast feet on
 the soolis of a stidfast womman. Euer- 24
 lastynge foundementis on a sad stoon, and
 the heestis of God in the herte of an hooli
 womman.

CAP. XXVII.

In twei thingis myn herte was maad sori, 25
 and in the thridde thing wrathfulnesse
 cam to me. A man a^s werriour failynge 26
 bi nedynesse, and a wijs man dispisid.
 And God hath maad hym redi to the 27
 swerd, that passith ouer fro riztfulnesse
 to synne. Twei^h spices apperiden harde 28
 and perillouse to me; a marchaunt is de-
 lyuered[†] of hard fro his negligece, and
 a tauerner schal not be iustified of synnes
 of lippis. Many men han trespassid for 1
 nedynesse; and he that sekith[‡] to be
 maad riche, turneth a wei his ije. As a 2
 stake is fastned in the myddis of a heep
 of stoonys, so and a man schal be an-
 gwischid[§] bi synnes bitwixe the middis of
 sillyng and biyng. Trespas schal be al 3
 to-brokun with hym that trespassith. If 4
 thou holdist not thee diligentli in the
 drede of the Lord, thin hous schal soone
 be turned vpsedoun. As dust schal dwelle 5
 in the hoolis of a riddil, so the angwisch of
 a man *schal dwelle* in the thouzt of hym.
 A furneis preueth the vessels of a pottere; 6
 and the temptacioun of tribulacioun *preu-*
eth iust men. As cherliche trael aboute 7

a lerned soule;
 that is, of a
 lerned hose-
 bonde, for he
 nolde chaunge
 hir for any
 thing. *Live*
here. c.

* fairnesse of
 the face, etc.;
 that is, as sich a
 lanterne list-
 neth the
 chirche, and
 sich a face
 makith fair
 ripe age, so a
 good womman
 makith fair hir
 hows. *stidefast*
womman; in
 vertu, that is,
 which renneth
 not aboute fro
 hows to hows,
 is ensauple
 of goostli fair-
 nesse, and of
 outermere
 oneste. *Live*
here. c.

† a marchaunt
 is delyuerid,
 etc.; of his
 helthe, for he
 coueytith ouer-
 myche ertheli
 goodis. *Live*
here. c.

‡ he that sek-
 ith; bi vnre-
 sonable desir.
 turne awei;
 fro riztfulnesse.
Live here. c.

§ schal be an-
 gwischid; that
 is, the sillere,
 that enforsith
 to decreesse
 of the iust
 prijs. *with him*
that trespass-
ith; for in deth
 the synnere is
 al to-brokun,
 and thanne the
 doying of synne
 is endid, for the
 tyme of merit
 and of trespass-
 ing ceessith
 thanne. *thin*
howes; that is,
 bilding of ver-
 tues. *dust*;
 that is, vile
 thingis, as
 stonys, metis,
 and liyk
 thingis. *an-*
gwisch of a
 man; that is,
 synnere. *in*
thouzt of him;
Live here. c.

for whi remors of synne, which is seid the worm of consience, dwellith in his consience, thou; the dede of synne is passid.

^a Om. c et E pr. m.

^t Om. AEG pr. m. H.

^u to-broosid c pr. m. E pr. m.

^v To a E pr. m.

^w marchaund A. chaffarere, or marchaunde E sec. m. GH.

^x the false c pr. m. E pr. m.

^y the synnes

AEGH. ^{yy} myseise c pr. m.

^z Om. c pr. m.

^{zz} Om. c et E pr. m.

^a the giltyng AEGH.

^b beholde A.

shewith the frute of hym, so a wrd of
 8 thenking the herte of a man. Biforn a
 wrd ne preise thou a man; that forsothe
 9 tempting is of men. If thou folewe^c riȝt-
 wisnesse, thou shalt taken it; and thou
 shalt clothen it as an aube of wrshipe,
 and thou shalt dwelle with it, and it shal
 defende thee in to euer mor, and in the
 dai of knoueleching thou shalt finde fast-
 10 nyng. Foules to the lic to them comen
 togidere; and treuthe to them that wer-
 11 chen it shal turne aȝeen. A leoun to
 hunting waitith euermor; so synnes to
 12 men werchende wickidnesse. An hoeli
 man in wisdom woneth, as the sunne;
 for the fool as the moone is^d chaungid.
 13 In the myddel of mys felende men kep a
 wrd to tyme; in the myddel forsothe of
 men thenkende the lawe of God be thou
 14 besi. The telling of synneres hatesum;
 and the laȝhing of them in the giltis of
 15 synne. The myche swering speche shal
 sette standing of heer, for fer, to the hed;
 and the irreuerence of it is stopping of
 16 eres. Sheding out of blod in iangling of
 proude men; and the cursing of them
 17 greuous heering. Who nakeneth pri-
 uytes, leeseth the feith of a frend; and
 he findeth not a frend to his inwit.
 18 Looue a neȝhebre, and be thou ioyned
 19 in feith with hym. That if thou shul
 nakene the hidde thingus of hym, 'thou
 20 schalt not pursue^e aftir hym. As a
 man forsothe that leeseth his frend, so
 that leeseth the frenshipe of his neȝhe-
 21 bore. And as he that leteth a brid out of
 his hond, so thou that hast forsake thi
 neȝhebre, and thou shalt not taken hym.
 22 Thou shalt not folewe hym, for ferr he is
 awei; forsothe he fleyȝ out as a capret
 fro the grene, for woundid is the soule
 23 of hym. Thou shalt not moun mor ouer
 hym binde togidere; but of the cursid
 24 is acording togidere. To nakenen for-
 sothe the priuytes of a frend, is the dis-

a tree schewith the fruyt therof, so a word
 of thouȝt *schewith* the herte of man^j.
 Preise thou not a man biforn a word^{*}; 8
 for whi this is the temptacioun of men.
 If thou suest riȝtfulnesse, thou schalt take 9
 it; thou schalt clothe it as a long cloth
 of onour, and thou schalt dwelle with it,
 and it schal defende thee with outen ende,
 and in the dai of knowing^k thou shalt
 fynde stidfastnesse. Volatilis comen to- 10
 gidere to *briddis* lijk hem silf; and
 treuthe schal turne aȝen to hem that
 worchen it. A lioun settith aspies euere 11
 to huntyng; so synnes[†] to hem that
 worchen wickidnesse. An hooly man 12
 dwellith in wisdom, as the sunne *dwellith*
stabli^l; for whi a fool is chaungid as the
 moone. In the myddis of vnwise men 13
 kepe thou a word to tyme; but be thou
 bisi in the myddis of hem that thenken
 the lawe of God. The tellyng of synneris 14
 is hateful; and the leizyng of hem is in
 the trespassis of synne. Speche sweringe 15
 myche schal make stondyng up of heeris,
 for astonyng, to the heed; and vnreuer-
 ence therof is stoppyng of eeris. The 16
 schedyng out of blood is in the chidyng
 of proude men; and the cursyng of hem
 is greuouse heryng[‡]. He that schewith 17
 opynli the priuytees of a frend, leesith
 feithfulnesse; and he schal not fynde a
 frend to his soule. Loue thou a neȝbore, 18
 and be thou ioyned with hym in feith.
 For if thou schewist opynli the priuytees 19
 of hym, thou schalt not perfilti sue[§] aftir
 hym. For as a man that leesith his frend, 20
 so he that leesith the frenshipe of his
 neȝbore. And as a man that latith go a 21
 brid fro his hond, so thou that hast forsake
 thi neȝbore, and thou schalt not take
 hym. Thou schalt not sue hym, for he 22
 is fer absent; for he ascapid as a capret
 fro a snare, for the soule of hym is
 woundid. Thou schalt no more mow 23
 bynde hym togidere; but of yuel seiying

* biforn a word;
 fulli endid.
 temptacioun;
 that is, preuyng.
 Live here. c.

† so synnes,
 etc.; that is,
 fendis that in-
 dusen men to
 synne, setten
 aspies to hem
 that worchen
 wickidnesse,
 til thei leden
 hem to helle.
 Live here. c.

‡ is greuouse
 hering; for in
 her chiding thei
 blasfemen God
 ofte, and it is
 ful greuouse to
 feithful eeris to
 here sich blas-
 femye of God.
 Live here. c.

§ not perfilti
 sue; that is,
 thou schalt gete
 the kynering of
 perfilt fren-
 schipe. that
 leesith his
 frend; bi deth
 of him he may
 no more re-
 keure him.
 leesith fren-
 schipe, etc.;
 bi schewing of
 his priuyte, for
 siche frenschipe
 is not rekyuer-
 id perfiltly. Live
 here. c.

^c folewist AEGH. ^d shal be c pr. m. E pr. m. ^e pursue thou not c et E pr. m.

a man I. ^k kunning A. ^l Om. I.

25 peiring of the vnfeithful soule. The
twynclere with the eze forgeth wicke
26 thingus; and no man hym shal casten
awei. In the sizte of thin ezen he shal
defoule thi mouth, and vp on thi wrdus
he shal wndre; at the laste he shal per-
uerte his mouth, and in thi^f wrdis he
27 shal 3yue slaundre. Manye thingus I
haue herd, and I haue not euened to
28 hym; and the Lord shal hate hym. Who
in to hei3 sendeth a ston, vp his hed it
shal falle; and the wounde of the trec-
29 cherous shal deuyde woundis. And that
delueth a dich, shal falle in to it; and
that setteth a ston to a ne3hebore, shal
stumble in it; and that setteth a grene to
30 another, shal pershe in it. To the do-
ynge most wicke counseil, vpon hym it
shal be turned a3een; and he shal not
knowe whennes it shal come to hym.
31 Illusioun, *'or scorner*, and repref of proude
men and veniaunce as a leoun *'shal aspie*^b
32 to hym. In a grene thei shul pershen, that
deliten the falling of rijt wis men; sorewe
forsothe shal waste them, er thei dien.
33 Wrathe and wodnesse, either ben vari-
able; and the man synnere, withholdere
shal be of them.

CAP. XXVIII.

1 Who wile taken veniaunce, of the Lord
shal finde veniaunce; and the synnes of
2 hym kepende he shal kepe. For3if to
thi ne3hebore no3ende to thee, and
thanne to thee lowli pre3ende synnes
3 shul ben for3oue. A man to a man kep-
ith wrathe; and of God he sechith lech-
4 ing¹. In to a man lic to hymself he hath
not mercy; and of his synnes he shal
5 pre3en. He whil he is flesh, reserueth
ire, and mercy asketh of God; who shal
6 pre3e for the giltis of hym? Haue mynde

is acordyng. Sotheli to schewe opynli ²⁴ * to schewe
the pryuytees of a frend, is dispeir* of a
soule vnblessid. He that twynclith with ²⁵
the i3e, makith wickid thingis; and no ²⁶
man schal caste hym awei. In the sizt
of thin i3en he schal defoule his mouth,
and he schal wondre on thi wordis; but
at the laste he schal turne weiwerdli his
mouth, and in his wordis he schal 3yue
slaundre. Y herde mani thingis†, and Y ²⁷
made not euene to hym; and the Lord
schal hate hym. If a man throwith^m a ²⁸
stoon anⁿ hi3, it schal falle on his heed;
and the gileful wounde of a gyleful man
schal departe woundis. And he that dig- ²⁹
gith a dicke, schal falle in to it; and he
that settith a stoon to a ne3bore, schal
offende therynne; and he that settith a
snare to a nother man, schal perische ther
ynne. If a man makith worst counsel, it ³⁰
schal be turned on hym; and he schal
not knowe fro whennus it schal come to
him. The scornynge and dispisyng of ³¹
proude men‡ and veniaunce schal sette a
spie to hym, as a lioun *doith*. Thei that ³²
deliten in the fal of iust men, schulen
perische bi a snare; forsothe sorewe schal
waste hem, bifore that thei dien. Ire and ³³
woodnesse, euer either ben abhomyneable;
and a synful man schal holde tho.

CAP. XXVIII.

He that wole be vengid, schal fynde of
the Lord veniaunce; and he kepyng schal
kepe hise synnes§. For3yue thou to thi
ne3bore that anoieth thee, and thanne
synnes^o schulen be releessid to thee prei-
ynge. A man kepith ire to man; and ³
sekith he of God medicyn? He hath no ⁴
merci on a man lijk hym silf; and bisech-
ith he the hijeste for hise owne synnes?
He the while he is fleisch, reserueth ire; ⁵
and axith he of God merci? who schal
preie for hise synnes? Haue thou mynde ⁶

whi sich gladnesse is streitly contrarie to the charite of ne3bore. *holde tho*; that is, schal holde euer either with ynne himsilf, for he is a vessel able to conteyne yuel. *Live here. c.* § *schal kepe hise synnes*; to be punyschid hardere bi his rijtfulnesse. *for3yue thou to thi ne3bore*; the offence which owith euere to be for3ouun, but to for3yue the wrong is not of nede; but of excelent perfeccioun, and sumtyme it spedith not to for3yue the wrong, that is, whanne he that doith wrong takith more booldnesse to do wrong, and other men taken occasioun to do lijk thingis. *Live here. c.*

^f his c pr. m. e pr. m. § Om. c et e pr. m. ^h aspieth c pr. m. ⁱ medicyne e pr. m.

^m sendith C E F G H I K N P Q R S U V X A. castith M. ⁿ on A. ^o the synnes I.

* to schewe
opynli the pry-
uytes of a frend
is dispeir; that
is, of a man
that schewith
priuyte, for he
owith not to
hope perit re-
formyng of the
firste frenschip.
that twynclith
etc. makith
guels; a3enus
that man that
bileueth him a
veri frend.
caste him away;
for he bileueth
that he is his
frend, and
holdith him
with himsilf.
defoule his
mouth; spek-
inge plesaunt
thingis to thee.
schal wondre;
that is, schal
feyne him for
to wondre, as
if thou hast
seid wordis of
deep wisdom,
and so he schal
more disseyue
thee. sette
slaundir; in
dispisyng tho
thingis as fone-
ned, and yuele
thingis, whiche
hesemyde bifor-
to to arette hi3e
and goode. *Live
here. c.*
† Y herde
many thingis;
that is, yuels,
and Y arettyde
not another
malice euene to
the malice of
this man.
wounde of a
gileful man;
that is, what-
euer yuel pro-
curid of a gile-
ful man to an-
other gileful
man schal mul-
tiplye yuels on
him. *Live here.
c.*
‡ scornynge and
dispisyng of
proude men;
that is, which
ben doon of
proude men in
wordis and
dedis to meke
men and pore.
sette aspie to
him; to the
payne of helle.
bi a snare; of
the deuel, for

of thi laste thingus, and lef to ben^k ene-
 7 my. Rotenese^l forsothe and deth stonden
 8 on in the hestes 'of hym^m. Remembre
 the drede of the Lord, and thou shalt not
 9 wrathe to the neȝhebores. Remembre the
 testament of the heȝest, and dispise the
 10 ignoraunce of thi neȝhebores. Abstene
 thee fro strif, and thou shalt lassen
 11 synnes. A man forsothe wrathful teend-
 ith strif; and a man synnere schal dis-
 turbe frendis, and in the myddel of men
 12 hauende pes he sendith in enemyte. Af-
 tir forsothe the trees of the wode, so the
 fier brennethⁿ; and aftir the vertue of a
 man, so the wrathe of hym shal be, and
 aftir his substaunce he shal enhaunce his
 13 wrathe. An hastid strif shal teende fyr,
 and hastende chidyng^o shal sheden out
 blod; and a tunge witnessende shal bringe
 14 to deth. If it shul blowen, as fyr it shal
 brenne; and if thou shul spitten vpon
 it^p, it shal ben queynt; either fro the
 15 mouth gon forth. The whistrende gruc-
 chere, and the twisil tunge cursid; for-
 sothe manye hauende pes disturbide^q.
 16 The thridde tunge manye men stiredede,
 and scaterede them fro folc in to folc.
 17 Wallid cites of riche men it stroȝede^r, and
 the housis of grete men it mynede out.
 18 The vertues of puples it to-heew³, and
 19 stronge folkys of kinde it vnknytte. The
 thridde tunge stronge, 'or weddid^t, wym-
 men caste out, and shal bynyme them ther
 20 trauailes. Who biholdith it, shal not han
 reste; ne shal han a frend, in which he
 21 rest. The wounde of a scourge maketh
 wannesse; the wounde forsothe of a
 22 tunge shal to-broosen boenes. Manye
 fellen in the mouth of swerd; but not
 23 as thei dieden by^u ther tunge. Blisful

on the laste thingis, and ceesse thou to be
 enemy. For whi failyng and deth neizen⁷
 not in the comaundementis of God. Haue⁸
 thou mynde on the drede of the Lord, and
 be thou⁹ not wrooth to the neȝbores.
 Haue thou mynde on the testament of the⁹
 heȝeste, and dispise thou the ignoraunce^{*}
 of thi neȝbores. Absteyne thee fro strijf,¹⁰
 and thou schalt abregge^r synnes. For whi¹¹
 a wrathful man kyndlith strijf; and a
 synful man[†] schal disturbe frendis, and
 he schal sende in enemyte in the myddis
 of men hauynge pees. For whi aftir the¹²
 trees of the^s wode, so fier schal brenne an
 hiz; and after the myȝte^t of a^u man, so his
 wrathfulnesse schal be, and aftir his catel
 he schal enhaunse his ire. Hasti stryu-¹³
 yng schal kyndle fier, and hasti chidyng
 schal schede out blood; and a tunge[‡] ber-
 ynge witnessing schal brynge deth. If¹⁴
 thou blowist[§], as fier it schal brenne an
 hiz; and if thou spetist theron, it schal be
 quenched; euer either comen forth of the
 mouth. A preuy bacbiter, and a double¹⁵
 tungid man^{||} is cursid; for he disturblide
 many men hauynge pees. The thridde¹⁶
 tunge hath stirid many men, and hath
 scaterid hem fro folc in to folc. It hath¹⁷
 distried wallid citees of riche men, and
 hath myned down the housis of grete men.
 It^v hath kit down the vertues of pupilis,¹⁸
 and hath vnknit strong folkis. The¹⁹
 thridde tunge hath cast out weddid wym-
 men[¶], and hath priued hem of her tra-
 uelis. He that biholdith the^w thridde²⁰
 tunge, schal not haue rest; nether schal
 haue a frend, in whom he schal reste.
 The wounde of betyng makith wannesse;²¹
 but the wounde of tunge schal make lesse
 the boonys. Many men fellen down bi²²

* ignoraunce;
 that is, offence
 doon to thee,
 and forgete thou
 it. Lire here. c.

† a synful
 man; that is,
 a sower of dis-
 cordis. the ver-
 tu of a man;
 that is, his ex-
 celence demed
 of him. fier;
 of wrathful-
 nesse and wood-
 nesse. Lire
 here. c.

‡ a tunge, etc.;
 that is, seiyng,
 Venge thee on
 him, he dis-
 seruede wel.
 Lire here. c.

§ If thou blow-
 ist; that is,
 bryngist forth
 a word at the
 stiring of him,
 that is wrooth.
 brenne; that
 is, enflawme
 the ire more.
 spetist ther-
 onne; that is,
 on the tunge,
 witnessinge
 ether excitinge
 to take ven-
 iance, in
 schewing that
 thilke tunge is
 yuel. it schal
 be quenched;
 that is, the ire
 wrathfulnesse
 and of wood-
 nesse schal be
 quenched. euer

either, etc.;
 that is, a word
 kyndlinge ire,
 and a word re-
 freyninge it.
 the thridde
 tunge; that
 sowith dis-
 cordis, for it is
 the thridde
 ether the myddil
 tunge among
 the tungis of
 hem, whiche it
 makith to dis-
 corde. Lire
 here. c.

|| a double
 tungid man; is
 he that spekith
 fayre before a
 man, and yuel
 bihynde him;
 and so a preuy
 bacbiter, that dar not avow that that he spekith before the persone that he spekith yuel bi, is a double tungid man. Also the tunge of the preuy bacbiter is clepid the thridde tunge; for he that the flaterer flatereth, hath o tunge, and he that he tellith the tale of bachityng to, hath the secunde tunge, and the bacbiter him silf hath the thridde tunge, for he, as the thridde, makith debate bitwen a man and his neȝbores. A. ¶ weddid wymmen; summe bokis han onest wymmen, ether dredinge schame. in whom he schal reste; that is, triste verily. bi her tunge; for these men dien bi the deth of synne, and if they repenten not, bi the deth of helle. Lire here. c.

¶ a double
 tungid man; is
 he that spekith
 fayre before a
 man, and yuel
 bihynde him;
 and so a preuy
 bacbiter, that dar not avow that that he spekith before the persone that he spekith yuel bi, is a double tungid man. Also the tunge of the preuy bacbiter is clepid the thridde tunge; for he that the flaterer flatereth, hath o tunge, and he that he tellith the tale of bachityng to, hath the secunde tunge, and the bacbiter him silf hath the thridde tunge, for he, as the thridde, makith debate bitwen a man and his neȝbores. A. ¶ weddid wymmen; summe bokis han onest wymmen, ether dredinge schame. in whom he schal reste; that is, triste verily. bi her tunge; for these men dien bi the deth of synne, and if they repenten not, bi the deth of helle. Lire here. c.

¶ a double
 tungid man; is
 he that spekith
 fayre before a
 man, and yuel
 bihynde him;
 and so a preuy
 bacbiter, that dar not avow that that he spekith before the persone that he spekith yuel bi, is a double tungid man. Also the tunge of the preuy bacbiter is clepid the thridde tunge; for he that the flaterer flatereth, hath o tunge, and he that he tellith the tale of bachityng to, hath the secunde tunge, and the bacbiter him silf hath the thridde tunge, for he, as the thridde, makith debate bitwen a man and his neȝbores. A. ¶ weddid wymmen; summe bokis han onest wymmen, ether dredinge schame. in whom he schal reste; that is, triste verily. bi her tunge; for these men dien bi the deth of synne, and if they repenten not, bi the deth of helle. Lire here. c.

bacbiter, that dar not avow that that he spekith before the persone that he spekith yuel bi, is a double tungid man, and he that flaterith his neȝbores before him, and spekith yuel bihynde hym, is a double tungid man. Also the tunge of the preuy bacbiter is clepid the thridde tunge; for he that the flaterer flatereth, hath o tunge, and he that he tellith the tale of bachityng to, hath the secunde tunge, and the bacbiter him silf hath the thridde tunge, for he, as the thridde, makith debate bitwen a man and his neȝbores. A. ¶ weddid wymmen; summe bokis han onest wymmen, ether dredinge schame. in whom he schal reste; that is, triste verily. bi her tunge; for these men dien bi the deth of synne, and if they repenten not, bi the deth of helle. Lire here. c.

^k thyn E pr. m. ^l Blisfulnesse c pr. m. E pr. m. ^m Om. c sec. m. E sec. m. ⁿ shal brennen E pr. m.
^o c. super ras. strijf E pr. m. ^p Om. A. ^q he disturbide E pr. m. ^r distruyede AEGH. ^s hewȝ down
 c sec. m. ^t Om. c et E pr. m. ^u for c pr. m. E pr. m.

⁹ Om. I. ^r decreesse, ether abregge CEF GHIKMN PQ RUVXa. ^s Om. cv. ^t vertu CEGHKMN PQ RSUVXa.
 power F sec. m. ^u Om. ceteri. ^v and AF sec. m. ^w that c.

that is couered fro a shreude tunge; 'the which^v in the wrathe of it passide not, and 'the which^v droȝ not at the ȝoc of it, and in the bondis of 'it is^w not bounde.

24 The ȝoc forsothe of it is an irene ȝoc, and the bond of it is a brasene bond.

25 The deth of it the werste^x deth; and

26 profitable helle more than it. The stede-fastnesse of it shal not abide stille, but shal holde the weies of vnriȝtwis men; in his flaume he shal not brenne riȝtwis

27 men. Thei that forsaken God, shul falle in to it; and it shal brenne out in them, and it shal not be queynt; and it shal be sent in to them as a leoun, and as a

28 parde it shal hurte them. Hegge thin eres with thornes, and wile thou not heren the shreude tunge; and to thi mouth mac thou dores, and^y lokes to thin

29 eres. Thi gold and thi seluer melt to-gidere; and to thi wrdis mac thou a balaunce, and riȝt bridelis to thi mouth.

30 And tac heed, lest paraenture thou slyde in the tunge, and thou falle in the sizte of the^z enemys, waitende to thee, and thi fall yng be vnhealeable in to the^{zz} deth.

CAP. XXIX.

1 Who doth mercy, leeneth to his neȝhe-bore; and he that is more wrth in hond,

2 kepeth the hestis. Leene to thi neȝhe-bore in tyme of his neede; and eft ȝeld

3 to a neȝhe-bore in his tyme. Conferme a wrd, and feithfulli do with it; and in alle tyme thou shalt finde that is needful

4 to thee. Manye as finding eymeden vsure, and ȝeeuen gref to them that

5 helpeden to^a them. To the time that thei taken, thei kissen^b the hondis of the ȝyuere; and in behestis^c thei meken

6 ther voys. And in tyme of ȝelding 'he shal aske^d delaz ing, and he shal speke

the scharpnese of swerd; but not so as thei that perischiden bi her tunge. *He* 23 is bles sid that is kyuerid fro a wickid tunge; and he that passide not in the wrathfulnesse therof, and he that drow not the ȝok therof, and was not boundun in the bondis therof. For whi the ȝok 24 therof is an irun ȝok, and the boond therof is a brasun boond. The deth therof is 25 the worste deth; and helle is more^{*} profitable than it. The perseueraunce therof 26 schal not dwelle, but it schal holde the weies[†] of vniust men; in his flawme it schal not brenne iust men. Thei that 27 forsaken God, schulen falle in to it; and it schal brenne greetli in hem, and it schal not be quenched; and as a lioun it schal be sent in to hem, and as a parde it schal hirte hem. Bisette[‡] thin eeris with 28 thornes, and nyle thou here a wickid tunge; and make thou doris to thi mouth, and lockis to thin eeris. Welle thou to- 29 gidere[§] thi gold, and thi siluer; and make thou a balaunce to thi wordis, and riȝtful bridels to thi mouth. And take heede, 30 lest peraenture thou slide in tunge, and falle in the sizt of enemyes^{||}, settinge tre-soun to thee, and thi falle be vncurable in to deth.

CAP. XXIX.

He that doith merci, leeneth to his neȝ-1 bore; and he that is ful myȝti in hond[¶], kepith the comaundementis. Leene thou 2 to thi neȝbore in the tyme of his nede; and eft ȝelde thou to a neȝbore in his tyme. Conferme thou a word, and doȝ 3 thou feithfuli with hym; and in al tyme thou schalt fynde that, that is nedeful to thee. Many men gessiden borewyng as 4 fynd yng, and ȝauen disese to tho^x men that helpiden hem. Til thei taken, thei 5 kissen the hondis of the ȝyuere; and in biheestis thei maken meke her voys. And 6 in the time of ȝelding he schal axe tyme,

* helle is more, etc.; that is, the payne of helle is lesse yuel than dedly synne, signefied bi the name of the wickid tunge.

Live here. c. † holde the weies, etc.; in going down to everlastinge turment. Live here. c. et plures.

‡ Bisette, etc.; in eschewinge bachbitingis, and in repreyng sharply the bachiteris.

doris; of discreet silence, that thou speke and be stille, in couenable tyme.

Live here. c.

§ Welle thou to-gidere, etc.; that is, tempere thou, and dispose thi wisdom and fair speche, that thou holde stille thingis, that ben worthi to be holdun stille, and that thou speke thingis worthi to be spokun, and with du circumstances.

Live here. c. || enemyes; that is, fendis, in to deth; of helle, fro which is no redempcioun.

Live here. c. ¶ in hond; that is, in power to ȝyue largely. kepith the comaundementis; not onely leenyng, but also in ȝuynge. Live here. c.

^v that c pr. m. ^w Om. A. ^x wickedest AEGH. ^y and soowe thou E pr. m. ^z Om. c pr. m.
^{zz} Om. AGH. ^a Om. AEGH. ^b kissen not c pr. m. E pr. m. ^c the biheestis AGH. ^d thei E pr. m.

wrdis of noyze^e, and of grucchingus, and
 7 the tyme he shal pleten. If forsothe he
 shul moun zeelde, he shal be enemy;
 vnnethe of the hoele he shal zelde the
 half, and he shal counte it as finding.
 8 Ellys forsothe he shal bigile hym his
 monee, and shal han hym enemy wil-
 9 fully. And repreues and cursis he shal
 zelde to hym; and for wrshipec and bene-
 10 fet he shal zelde to hym wrong. Manye,
 not bicause of shreudenesse, ^{lenten not}^f,
 but to be^g bigilid^h wilfulli, thei dradden.
 11 Neuer the latere ouer the meke inⁱ inwit
 be thou strengere; and for almes^k deede
 12 drawe thou not hym. For the heste tac
 to the pore; and for the myseise^l of
 13 hym ne lefe thou hym voide. Lees
 monee for^m brothir and frend, and hide
 thou not it vnder a ston, in to perdi-
 14 cioun. Put thi tresor in the hestes of the
 hejeste; and it shal profite to thee more
 15 than gold. Close almes deede in the
 bosum of the pore; and that for thee
 16 shal ful out prezen fro alle euel. The
 almes deede of a man as a litil sac with
 hym; and the grace of a man as the eze
 17 appil it shal kepen. And afterward it
 shal azeen risen, and zelde to them zeld-
 18 ing, to eche in to the hed of hem. Ouer
 the sheld of the myzti, and ouer spere
 19 azen thin enemy it shal fize. A good
 man maketh feith to his ne3hebore; and
 he that hath lost, confusioun shal leue to
 20 hym. The graceⁿ of the bor3 ne forgete
 thou; forsothe he 3af for thee his soule.
 21 The synnere and the vnclene^o the azeen
 bihotere fleeth. Goode wrdis of the azeen
 bihotere the synnere wijteth to hym;
 and the vnkinde in the^p wit forsaketh
 22 the delyuerende hym. A man azeen bi-
 hoteth of his ne3hebore; and whan he
 hath lost reuerence, he shal be forsaken

and he schal speke wordis of anoie, and
 of grutchingis, and he^y schal calenge falsli
 the tyme*. Forsothe if he mai zelde, he^y
 schal be aduersarie; of a schilling vne-
 this he schal zelde the half, and he schal
 rekyn that as fyndyng. Ellis he schal de-
 fraude him in his monei, and *the leenere*
 schal haue him an enemy with outen
 cause. And he schal zelde to hym, *that⁹*
is, to the leenere, wrongis and cursyngis;
 and for onour and benefice he schal zelde
 to hym dispisyng. Many men lenten not¹⁰
 'to pore neizboris^z, not for cause of wick-
 idnesse, but thei dredden to be defraudid
 with outen cause. Netheles on a meke¹¹
 man in soule[†] be thou strongere; and for
 almes drawe thou not hym. For the¹²
 comaundement^a of God take thou a pore
 man; and for his nedynesse leue thou not
 hym voide. Leese thou monei for a bro-¹³
 ther and frend, and hide thou not it vnder
 a stoon, in to perdicoun. Putte thi tre-¹⁴
 sour in the comaundementis of the hijeste;
 and it schal profite to thee more than gold
 'schal profite^b. Close thou almes in the¹⁵
 bosum of a pore man; and this *almes* schal
 preye for thee 'to be delyuered of God^c
 fro al yuel. The almes of a man *is* as a¹⁶
 bagge with hym; and it schal kepe the
 grace[†] of man as the appil of the i3e.
 And aftirward it schal rise azen, and schal¹⁷
 zelde to hem a zelding, to ech man in to
 the heed of hem. Aboue a^d scheld of the^e¹⁸
 myzti man, and aboue a spere it schal fize
 azens thin enemye. A good man makith¹⁹
 feith[§] to his neizbore; and he that leesith,
 schal leue schame to hym. For3ete thou²⁰
 not the grace of the borewe; for he 3af
 his lijf for thee^{||}. A synful man and vn-²¹
 cleene fleeth the biheetere. A synnere ar-²²
 retteth to hym silf the goode wordis of the
 borowe; and the vnkynde man in wit for-

* calenge falsli
 the tyme; and
 weie that it was
 ouerdere, ether
 sum such thing,
 to tarie the pai-
 yng of dette, as
 fyndyng; that
 is, as if he were
 not holdun to
 restore. *Ellis*;
 that is, if he
 may not with-
 holde that, that
 is lent to him.
 defraude him
 in his money;
 in zelding to
 him fals money
 for trewe, ether
 in denyng the
 hoollieche the
 dette. *Live*
 here. c.

† on a meke
 man in soule;
 that is, a ful
 pore dettour. *be*
 thou strongere;
 in largenesse.
 and for almes;
 that is, for
 dette, that
 owith to be
 turned into
 almes in sich a
 caas. *drawe*
 thou not him;
 to doom, that
 he be compellid
 to zelde the
 dette. *For the*
 comaundement;
 of the Lord,
 that comaund-
 ide ech man to
 helpe his neiz-
 bore. *take thou*
 a pore man; in
 helping him.
 Leese thou mo-
 ney, etc.; in
 spendinge it
 aboute the
 nedis of hem,
 for thou3 it be
 wastid in this
 caas, netheles
 more good schal
 be zoldun for it.
 vnder a stoon;
 in gaderinge
 tresour in erthe,
 but in heuene
 bi 3yuyng of
 almes. *Live*
 here. c.
 ‡ the grace;
 that is, Goddis
 grace 3ouun to
 man. rise azen;
 bi resseuyng of
 meede in an
 other lijf. *Live*
 here. c.
 § makith feith;
 schame; that is,
 him to susteyne

in bicomyng borow for him in nede. *that leesith*; feith anentis the neizbore, and tristith not to him to bicomme borow for him. schal suffre his neizbore be schamed, ether schent. *Live here. c.* || 3af his lijf for thee; in oblischinge that is nedeful to him to susteyne his lijf. *fleeth the biheetere*; that is, the borow, and nyle delyuere him. *Live here. c.*

^e io3e c pr. m. ^f vsureden E pr. m. ^g Om. E pr. m. ^h begile E pr. m. ⁱ Om. A. ^k the almes A. ^l myseisete E sec. m. ^m for thi c pr. m. ⁿ grace, or loue G sec. m. ^a enuyous c pr. m. E pr. m. ^p Om. c pr. m. G.

^y Om. A. ^z Om. I. ^a comaundementis A pr. m. a. ^b Om. I. ^c Om. I. ^d the I: ^e a I.

24 of hym. Most shreude a3een bihoting
spilde manye loouende men, and^q togid-
dere sterede^q them as the flodis^r of the
25 se. Cumpasende it made my3ti men to
gon out; and wandreden in aliene folkis.
26 The synnere ouer passende the maunde-
ment of the Lord shal fallen into
shreude^s biheste; and he that forseth
manye thingus to do, shall fallen in to
27 dom. Recouere thi ne3hebore after thi
vertue; and tac heed to thee, that thou
28 infalle not. The bigynnyng of the lif of
man watir, and bred, and clothing, and
29 hous defendende filthehed. Betere is the
liflode of the pore vnder the roof of
stoodes^t, than plenteuous shynende metes
30 in pilgrymaging withoute hous. The
leste thing for grete plesse to thee; the
repref of pilgrimaging thou shalt not
31 heren. A shreude lif, of herberewing
fro hous in to hous; and wher he shal
ben herberewid, he shal not feithfulli
32 don, ne openen the mouth. He shal
herberewen, and feeden, and 3yue drinke
the vnkinde; and to these bittere thingus
33 he shal heren. Go, gest^u, and enourne^v
the bord; and tho thingis that^{vv} in thin
34 hond thou hast, feed other. Go out fro
the face of wrshipec of my frendis, for
nede of myn hous; to herberewe to me,
35 brothir thou art maad. Greuous these
thingus to a man hauende wit; vnder-
nymyng of the hous, and repref of the
leenere.

CAP. XXX.

1 Who looueth his sone, bisily 3eueth to
hym scourgis, that he glade in his laste,
and that he grope not the dores of ne3he-

clepid triuauantis and lozels. *Live here. c.*

|| *the repreuung;* that is, chawnging of herbor. *the vsurer;* that is, of the osteler, which is seid here
an vsurer, for he sillith hise thingis to gestis, aboue iust priys bi comyn cours. *Live here. c.* ¶ *touche, etc.;* to do fornyacioun. *Live here. c.*

^q and in *A.* ^q to-sterede *c pr. m.* ^r flodis, or *wawis E sec. m. GH.* ^s the shrewid *A.* ^t stoodes, or
spärres c sec. m. marg. E sec. m. marg. GH. ^u ost *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^v enuyroune *A.* ^{vv} Om. *c pr. m.*

^f bihotith *I.* ^g he *I.* ^h Om. *I.* ⁱ plesith *CEFGHIKMNQRSUXA.* ^k that is, *osteler.* ^v marg.

sakith a man delyuerynge hym. A man²³
biheetith^f for his ne3bore; and whanne
'the ne3bore^g hath lost reuerence*, the
borew schal be forsakun of hym. Worst²⁴
biheest[†] hath lost many louynge men, and
hath moued hem as the wawis of the see.
It goynge in cumpas made my3ti men to²⁵
passe ouer; and thei wandriden aboute
among^h alien folkis. A synnere brekyng²⁶
the comaundement of the Lord schal falle
in to a wickid biheest[‡]; and he that
enforsith to do many thingis, schal falle
in to dom. Rekiuere thi ne3bore bi thi²⁷
vertu; and take heed to thi silf, lest thou
falle. The bigynnyng of lijf of a man is²⁸
watir, and breed[§], and clothing, and hous
hilynge filthe. Betere is the lijflode of a²⁹
pore man vndur the hilyng of sparris,
than schynynge feestis in pilgrymage
with outen hous. The leeste thing please³⁰
thee for a greet thing; and thou schalt not
here the schenschipec of pilgrymage. It is³¹
wickid lijf to seke herbore fro hous in to
hous; and where he schal be herborid,
he schal not do tristili, nethir he schal
opene the mouth. He schal be herborid,³²
and he schal feede, and 3yue drinke to
vukynde men; and 3it he schal here bittir
thingis. Passe, thou that art herborid,³³
and araye a table; and 3yue thou meetis
to othere men, tho thingis that thou hast
in the hond. Go thou out fro the face³⁴
of the onour of my frendis, for the frend-
schipe, *ethir affynyte*, of myn hous; bi
herboryng thou art maad a brother to me.
These thingis *ben* greuouse to a man hau-³⁵
ynge wit; the repreuynge|| of hous, and
the dispising of the vsurer^k.

CAP. XXX.

He that loueth his sone, 3yueth bisili
betingis to hym, that he be glad in hise
laste thing, and that *the sone touche*¶ not

* *lost reuer-
ence;* that is,
shamefastnesse
bifor God and
men. *forsakun
of him;* that is,
suffringe his
borow to be
tredit hardi of
the creauncer.
Live here. c.

† *Worstbiheest;*
bi which the
ne3bore bihipte
falsly to dely-
uere his borow.
Live here. c.

‡ *in to a wickid
biheest;* bi bo-
rewrede, wher-
ynne he biheet-
ith that he schal

paye for an
other man, if he
faillith. This

biheest is seid
yuel, in as

myche as yuels
bi fallen to him

therbi. *Reky-
uere, etc.;* in bi-
comynge borow

for him, so that
thou falle not
in to tribula-

cioun. *lest thou
falle;* in to the
forseid yuels.

Live here. c.
§ *water, and
breed;* that is,
mesurable

drynke and
mete; thus

breed and wa-
ter is takun
for mete and

drynke gene-
rally, in *iv.*
book of Kyngis,

xvj. c. and
clothing; sym-
ple to nede and

not to curiouse.
hilynge filthe;

that is, tho
thingis whiche
it were foul to

do opinli, thou3
tho ben not

yuele thingis, as
to jelde dette to
the wyf, and

siche thingis.
*vndur the hily-
ng of sparris;*

that is, in a litil
hows of thyn
owne. in *pil-*

grimage; that is,
in another lond.

*the schenschipec
of pilgrimage;*

that is, of vn-
stable going
aboute in the

lond, for ofte
siche men ben

in an other lond.
*the schenschipec
of pilgrimage;*

that is, of vn-
stable going
aboute in the

lond, for ofte
siche men ben

2bores. Who techeth his sone, shal be
preisid in hym; and in the myddel of
3homli men in hym he shal glorien. Who
techeth his sone, in to enuye sendith^w
the enemy; and in the myddel of frendus
4he shal glorien in hym. Dead is the
fader of hym, and he is as not dead; lic
forsothe to hym he hath laft aftir hym.
5In his lif he sa3, and gladide in hym;
and in his deth he sorewede not, ne [']is
6confoundid^x bifer the enemys. Forsothe
he hath laft the defendere of the hous
a3en the enemys; and to frendus the 3eld-
7ing of^y grace. For the soulis of the
sonus he shal binde togidere his woundis;
and ouer al vois shul be disturbid the
8boweles of hym. The vntame hors shal
scapen hard, and the slowe sone shal
9scape stumbling down. Flatere the sone,
and he shal make thee dredende; pley
with hym, and he shall sorewen^z thee.
10Ne with lazhe thou to hym, ne with
sorewe, and in the laste thi teth shal
11waxe stoneyd. 3yue thou not to hym
power in 3outhe, and ne dispise thou the
12tho3tus of hym. Crooke the nol of hym
in 3outhe, and bet the sidis of hym, whil
he is a faunt; lest paraenture he in-
wardly hardne, and leue not to thee, and
13he shal be to thee sorewe of soule. Tech
thi sone, and werk in hym; lest in to
14the filthehed of hym thou gilte. Betere
is a pore man hool, and strong in
strengthis, than a riche man feble, and
15scourgid with malice. Helthe of soule
in hoelynesse of ri3twisnesse, and betere
is than alle gold and siluer; and a
strong body than monee withoute me-
16sure. Ther is not monee ouer the mo-
nee of the helthe of body; and ther is
17not liking ouer the io3e of herte. Betere
is deth than bittere lyf, and euere last-
18ende reste than durende sicknesse. Goodis
hid in a mouth closid, as leiynge^a to of
plenteuous metes, set aboute with^b a se-

the doris of nei3boris. He that techith 2
his sone, schal be preisid in hym; and
schal haue glorie in hym in the myddis
of menyals. He that techith his sone, 3
sendith the enemye in to enuye; and in
the myddis of frendis he schal haue glorie
in that sone. The fadir of hym is deed, 4
and he is as not deed; for he hath left
aftir hym a sone lijk hym. He si3 in his 6
lijf, and was glad in hym; and in his deth
he was not sori, nether was aschamed bi-
fore enemyes. For he lefte a defendere 6
of the hous a3ens enemyes; and 3eldynge
grace to frendis. For the soulis^{*} of sones 7
he schal bynde togidere hise woundis;
and hise entrails schulen be disturblid on
ech vois. An hors vntemyd, *'ether vn-8*
*chastisid*¹, schal ascape hard, and a sone
vnchastisid schal ascape heedi^m. Flatere 9
thou the sone, and he schal make thee
dredinge; pleie thou with hym, and he
schal make thee sory. Leize thou not[†] 10
with hym, lest thou haue sorewe togidere,
and at the laste thi teeth schulen be
astonyed. 3yue thou not power to hym 11
in 3ongthe, and dispise thou not hise
thou3tis. Boowe thou his necke in 12
3ongthe, and bete thou hise sidis, while
he is a 3ong child; lest perauenture he
wexe hard, and bileue not to thee, and he
schal be sorewe of soule to thee. Teche 13
thi sone, and worche in hym; lest thou
offende in to the filthe of hym. Betere is 14
a pore man hool, and strong in my3tis,
than a riche man feble, and betun with
malice. The helthe of soule *is* in the 15
hoolynesse of ri3tfulnesse, and it is betere
than ony gold and siluer; and a strong
bodi *is* *betere* than ful myche catel. No 16
catel is aboue the catel of helthe of bodi;
and no likyng is aboue the ioie of herte.
Betere is deth than bittir lijf, and euer- 17
lastinge reste[‡] *is* *betere* than siknesse
dwellynge contynueli. Goodis hid in a 18
closid mouth[§] *ben* as settingis forth of

^wFor the soulis,
etc.; that is,
he schal putte
forth his lijf
to the perel of
deth, to defende
hise sones in
bodily lijf, and
goostly, as to
vertues. *be dis-
turblid on ech
vois*; that is,
he schal haue
compassion on
ech voys of the
meynee, biweil-
inge him, and
he schal coun-
forte hem of
his siyknesse,
ether deth nei3-
inge. *Live here.*
c.

[†]Leize thou not,
etc.; in leizinge
togidre with
him of hise
folies. *astony-
ed*; for bitter-
nesse of thyn
herte. *hise
thou3tis*; that
is, not onely
bete thou him
for yuele dedis,
but also for
yuele thou3tis,
whanne they
appere to thee
bi ony signes.
Live here. c.

[‡]everlastinge
reste; that is,
reste of bodi in
the sepulcre,
as longe as pre-
sent lijf durith.
Live here. c.

[§]Goodis hid in
a closid mouth;
that is, kun-
nyng in a man
slow to teche.

^w putteth c pr. m. E pr. m. ^x knouelechede c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y Om. AEGH. ^z make thee dreri
G sec. m. ^a leiynge A. ^b to G sec. m.

¹ Om. I. ^m heedi to visis v.

19 pulcre^c. What shal profiten sacrifice to
the maumet? and^d forsothe he shal not
20 eten, ne sauouren^e. So he that is dryuen
awei fro the Lord, and berende meedis
21 of shreudenesse, seende with e3en and
weilende, so a geldyng clippende a
22 maiden, and sizhende. Sorewi idilnesse
3yue thou not to thi soule, ne tormente
23 thou thiself in thi counseil. Myrthe of
herte, that is the lif of man, and tresor
withoute failing of hoelynesse; and ful
out io3ing of a man ys long lyuyng.
24 Haue mercy to thi soule, plesende to
God; and withhold and gedere togidere
thin herte in the holynesse of hym, and
sorewi idilnesse fer put awei fro thee.
25 Manye forsothe sorewy idilnesse sleth;
26 and ther is not profit^f in it. Enuye
and wrathe shuln lassen dazes; and bifer
27 tyme thenking shal bringe to elde. A
bri3t herte good in meteshipes; the
meteshipis forsothe of hym diligentli ben
made.

CAP. XXXI.

1 The waking of honeste shal dwyue
the flesh; and the thenking of it shal
2 don awei slep. The thenking of bifer
kunnyng turneth awei wit; and heuy
3 infirmyte sobre maketh the soule. The
riche man trauailede in the gederung of
substaunce; and in his reste he shal be
4 fulfild with his goodus. The pore man
trauailede in lassing of liflode; and in the
5 ende he is mad helpeles, ^{or} pore^g. Who
loueth gold, shal not ben iustefied; and
who folewith wasting, shal be fulfild of
6 it. Manye ben 3yuen in to the fallingus
of gold; and the los of them is mad in
7 the fairnesse of it. The tree of offen-
cioun is gold of men sacrefiende; wo to

metis set aboute a sepulcre. What schal 19
sacrifice profite to an idol? for whi it
schal not ete, nether schal smelle. So he 20
that is dryuun awei fro the Lord, and
berith the medis of wickidnesse, seyng 21
with izen and weilynge inwardli, as a
geldyng biclippyng a virgyn, and siz-
3yng. 3yue thou not sorewe to thi 22
soule*, and turmente not thi silf in thi
counsel. Mirthe of herte, this is the lijf 23
of man, and is tresour of hoolynesse with
outen failyng; and ful out ioi3yng of a man
is long lijf. Haue thou mercy on thi 24
soule, and plese thou God; and holde to-
gidere and gadere togidere thin herte in
the hoolynesse of hym, and putte fer awei
sorewe fro thee. For whi sorewe hath 25
slayn many men; and noon heelthe is ther
ynne. Enuye and wrathfulnesse schulen 26
make lesse daies; and thou3tys schulen
bryng ealdnesse bifer the tyme. A 27
schynyng herte is good in metis; for whi
meetis therof ben maad diligentli.

CAP. XXXI.

Wakyng of oneste† schal make fleischis 1
to faile; and thou3t therof schal take awei
sleep. Thou3t of bifer knowyng turneth 2
away wit; and greuouse siknesse makith
sobre the soule. A ryche man‡ trauelide 3
in the gaderyng of catel; and in his reste
he schal be fillyd with hise goodis. A pore 4
man trauelide in decreessyng of lijflode;
and in the ende he is maad nedi. He that 5
loueth gold, schal not be iustified; and he
that sueth wastyng, schal be fillid therof.
Many men ben 3ouun in to the fallyngis 6
of gold§; and the perdicoun of hem was
maad in the feirnesse therof. A tre of 7
offencioun is the gold of hem that maken
sacrifice; wo to hem that suen it, and ech

fleischly vices. Jerom seith in his pistle to Rustik, the munk, Loue thou the studies of hooly scripturis, and thou schalt not loue the vices of fleisch.
take away sleep; of slouthe and idilnesse. Thou3t of Goddis biforknowyng; bi which God seeth apertly all thingis. turneth away the wit; fro al
yuel. Boys seith in the v. book of Consolacioun, A! 3e men, greet nede of goodnesse is set to you, if 3e nylen dissymele; for 3e doen alle thingis
bifer the izen of the iuge seyng alle thingis. Live here. c. † A riche man; a good riche man trauelide to lyue onestly aftir his staat, and to do
the werkis of mersi. in his reste; that is, elde age, ether deth, he schal resseyue euerlastinge goodis for temporal goodis. in decreessyng; that is,
a fool in spending; for he spendith more than he wynneth. that loueth gold; that is, ouermesurably. Live here. c. § fallingis of gold; that
is, many men feiden in to synnes for gold. A tre of offensioun is the gold, etc.; for whi a coueytouse man loueth his gold as his God, and therefor
auarice is seruyce of idols, in iij. c^o. to Coloc. Live here. c.

^c sepulture G.
E pr. m.

^d Om. A.

^e ben honourid E pr. m.

^f helthe E pr. m.

^g Om. c et

dryuun away,
etc.; fro whom
kunnyng is
taken away of
the Lord in his
deth, and is
dryuun away fro
the felouschipe
of lyuyng men.
the meedis of
wickidnesse;
that is, the
synnes of leeu-
yng of good.
seyng with
izen; his nec-
ligence passid,
for peyne open-
yde hise izen,
which synne
closide bifer.
weilyng; of
the leeu3yng of
multipling of
kunnyng. as
geldyng; that
may not gendre
bodily, so this
man may not
gendre goostly
bi kunnyng.
Live here. c.
* 3yue thou not
to sorewe thi
soule; that is,
vnresonable
sorewe, that
anoyeth bothe
bodi and soule.
and turmente
not thi silf, etc.;
as they doen
that dispeiren
thorou sorewe,
and sleen hem
silf. the lijf of
man; that is,
kepith mannis
lijf. A schyn-
yng herte;
that is, glad
and large. is
good in metis;
whiche it 3yue-
eth to pore men
and onest per-
soonys.
maad dili-
gentli; that is,
ben maad redy
clenly, and
schynyngly, for
the forseid per-
soonys. Live
here. c.
† Waking of
oneste; that is,
in preyer and
redyng of hooly
scripture. schal
make fleschis
to faile; that
is, it schal re-
freyn the fro

them that folewen it, and eche vnprudent shal pershe in it. Blisful is the riche man, that is founde withoute wem; and that aftir gold 3ide not, ne hopide in monee, and in tresores. Who is this, and wee shul preisen hym? forsothe he dyde merueilis in his lif. Who is preued in it, and perfit is founde, and shal be to hym euere lastende glorie? that my3te trespasen, and trespaside not, and^h don euelis, and dide not. Therfore stablid ben the goodis of hym in the Lord; and the almes deedis of hym shal out telle alⁱ the chirche of halewis. Aboue^k the grete bord thou hast siten; ne opene thou out^l thi cheeke rathere^m. Seiⁿ thou not, whethir^o manye thingus ben, that vp on it ben. Haue mynde, for euel is the shreude e3e. Shreudere thing than the e3e, what is foormed? therfore fro al his face he shal weepe, whan he hath seen. Ne strecche thou out thin hond rathere; and bi enuye defoulid, thou shame. Ne be thou thrist togidere in the feste with wyn. Vnderstond what ben of thi ne3hebore, of thiself. Vse as a temperat man these thingis that ben leid to thee; and not whan thou etist, myche to hate thou be had. Cese rathere bicause of disciplyne; and wile thou not be to myche, lest paraurenture thou offende. And if in the myddel of manye thou seete, rathere than thei ne strecche thou out thin hond; ne rathere aske thou to drinke. Hou suffisaunt is to a tazt man a litil wyn; and in sleping thou shalt not trauailen of it, and thou shalt not feelen trauaile. Waking, and colere, and anguysh to an vndiscreet man. Slep of helthe in a scars man; he shal slepe vnto the morutid, and the lif of hym with hym shal deliten. And if constreyned thou were in etyng to myche, ris from the myddel, and spew; and it shal refreshe thee, and thou shalt not bringe to

vnprudent man schal perische ther ynne. Blissid is a riche man, which is foundun⁸ with out wem^{*}; and that 3ede not aftir gold, nether hopide in money, and tresouris. Who is this, and we schulen⁹ preyse hym? for he dide merueils in his lijf. Which is preued ther ynne, and is foundun perfit, and euerlastyng glorie schal be to hym? which my3te trespasse, and trespaside not, and do yuels, and dide not. Therfor hise goodis ben stablischid¹¹ in the Lord; and al the chirche of seyntis schal telle out hise almesdedis. Thou¹² hast sete at a greet boord[†]; opene thou not firste thi cheke on it. Seie thou not, whether tho ben many thingis, that ben on it. Haue thou mynde, that an yuel¹⁴ ize is weiward. What thing worse, than an ize is maad? therfor of al his face he schal wepet[‡], whanne he seeth. Stretche¹⁶ thou not forth first thin hond; and thou defoulid bi enuye, be aschamed. Be thou¹⁷ not oppressid of wyn in a feeste. Vnder¹⁸ stonde of thi silf the thingis, that ben of thi ne3bore. Vse thou as a discreet and temperat man these thingis that ben set forth to thee; and be thou not hatid, whanne thou etist myche. Cesse thou²⁰ first bicause of lernyng, *ethir nurture*; and nyle thou be outrageouse, lest paraurenture thou offende. And if thou hast sete in²¹ the myddis of many men, stretche not forth thin hond sunnere than thei; and axe thou not firste for to drynke. A litil wyn²² is ful sufficient to a lerned man; and in slepyng thou schalt not trauele for that *wyn*, and thou schalt not feeel trauel. Wakyng, and colre, *ether bittir moisture*,²³ and gnawyng to an vndiscreet^a *either vntemperat* man^o. But the sleep of heelte²⁴ is in a scars man; he^{oo} schal slepe 'til to^p the morewtid, and his soule schal delite with hym. And if thou art constreyned²⁵ in etyng myche, ryse thou fro the myddis, and brake^q thou; and it schal refreische

* *with out wem*; of co-ueytise and auarice. *aftr gold*; bi yuel geting, but vside gold in pitouse and onest werkis. *Live here. c.*

† *Thou hast sete at a greet boord, etc.*; that is, whanne thou art clepid to the table of a greet man, bigynne thou not to ete first. *Live here. c.*

‡ *he schal wepe, etc.*; that is, he schal bere heuyly, whanne he seeth the fewnesse of messis, ether for tho ben not aftir his lust. *thou defoulid*; that is, repreuyd for glotenye. *Live here. c.*

^h Om. c. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Bi E pr. m. ^l vp on it AE sec. m. GH. ^m firste E pr. m. ⁿ And sey AGH. ^o if E pr. m.

^a vndiscreet man s. ^o and vntemperat man CEGHIMNPQRUVXYA. and vntemperaunt s. ^{oo} 'he that A pr. m. P vnto I. ^q A *super ras.* spue CEGHIKMN PQRSUVXYA.

26 thi body siknesse. Here me, sone, and
dispiſe thou not me; and in the^p laſte
27 thou ſhalt fynde my wrdis. In alle thi
werkis be thou ſwift; and alle infirmyte
28 ſhal not meete with thee. The ſhynende
in loeues the lippis of^{pp} manye ſhul
bliſſen; and the witnessing of the
29 treuthe of hym feithful. In the moſt
wycke bred grucchide the cite; and the
witnessing of the wickidneſſe^a of it is
30 verre. Biſi men in wyn wile thou not
ſtiren; forſothe many men outlawide
31 wyn. Fyr proueth hard iren; ſo wyn
drunken in drunkenbed ſhal vndername
32 the hertes of proude men. Euene lif to
men wyn in^r ſobrenesse; if thou drinke
33 it meſurably, thou ſhalt ben ſobre. What
34 is the lif that is laſſid with wyn? What
35 bigilith the lif? deth. Wyn in myrthe
is foormed, not in drunkenhed, fro the
36 bigynnyng. The ful out iozyng of ſoule
and of herte^s, wyn meſurably drunken.
37 Helthe is of ſoule and of body, ſobre
38 drink. Wyn myche drunke terring, and
wrathe, and manye fallingus maketh.
39 Bitterneſſe of ſoule wyn myche drunken.
40 The wilſumneſſe of drunkenhed the of-
feſſioun of the vnprudent, laſſende ver-
41 tue, and makende woundis. In the feſte
of wyn vndername thou not a neizbore;
and diſpiſe thou not hym in the myrthe
42 of it. Wrdis of reſpex ſey thou not to
hym; and bere thou not hym down in
aſſee^{ss} aſking.

CAP. XXXII.

1 A gouernour thee thei^t han ſett, wile
thou not ben enhauncid; be thou in hem
2 as oon of hem. The cure of hem haue
thou, and ſo bihold; and al thi^u cure
3 mad out, reſte. That thou glade for
hem, and the ournement of grace thou
take; coroun, and dignete of the congre-
4 gacioun thou gete. Speke thou more

thee, and thou ſchalt not brynge ſikenesse
to thi bodi. Sone, here thou me, and di- 26
ſpiſe thou not me; and at the laſte thou
ſchalt fynde my wordis. In alle thi 27
werkis be thou ſwift; and al ſikenesse*
ſchal not come to thee. The lippis of 28
many men ſchulen bleſſe a ſchynynge
man in loeues; and the witnessing of his
treuthe is feithful. The citee ſchal grutche 29
in the worſte breed; and the witnessing
of wickidneſſe therof is ſoth. Nyle thou 30
excite hem that ben diligent in wyn†;
for whi wyn hath diſtried many men.
Fier proueth hard irun; ſo wyn drunken 31
in drunkenesse ſchal repreue the hertis of
proude men. Euene lijf to men is wyn 32
drunkun in ſobrenesse; if thou drynkist it
meſurably, thou ſchalt be ſobre. What is 33
the lijf which is‡ maad leſſe bi wyn? What 34
defraudith lijf? deth. Wyn was maad 35
in gladneſſe, not in drunkenesse, at the
bigynnyng. Wyn drunken meſurabli is 36
ful out ioiying of ſoule and of bodi. Sobre 37
drynk is helthe of ſoule and of bodi.
Wyn drunken myche makith avoiding, 38
and ire, and many fallyngis^r. Wyn 39
drunken myche is bitterneſſe of ſoule.
Strengthe of drunkenesse and hirting of 40
an vnprudent man makith vertu leſſe, and
makyng woundis. In the feſte of wyn 41
repreue thou not a neizbore; and diſpiſe
thou not hym in his mirthe. Seye thou 42
not wordis of ſchenschiſe to hym; and
oppreſſe thou not hym in axyngeſ.

CAP. XXXII.

Thei han ſet thee a gouernour, nyle 1
thou be enhaunſid; be thou among hem
as oon of hem. Haue thou cure of hem, 2
and ſo biholde thou; and whanne al thi
cure is fillid, ſitte thou to mete. That 3
thou be glad for hem, and take the ourn-
ement of grace; and gete coroun, and dig-
nyte of congregacioun. Speke thou the 4

* al ſykenesse,
etc.; that is,
defaute of werk.
of many men;
wiſching good
to him for his
liberalte and
merai. worſt
breed; that is,
getun wickidly,
and 300un
yuele. Live
here. c.

† Nyle thou ex-
cite hem that
ben diligent in
wyn; nyle thou
excite hem to
drynke, for
with out this,
thei ben ouer
myche enclyn-
aunt herto;
ether nyle thou
excite to
wrathfulneſſe,
for thei ben
ſtirid ſoone to
maſleing.
hard irun; in
makinge it
neiche. re-
proue the hertis
of proude men;
in rauyſching
hem hoolliche,
and caſtinge
down, as it is
opin of Olofer-
nes, in xij. c.
of Judith.

deth; for whi
deth of kynde
defraudith
kynde, deth of
synne defraud-
ith lyif of grace,
deth of helle
defraudith lyif
of glorie. Live
here. c.

‡ What is the
lyif which is,
etc.; as if he
seye, it is not
mannus lyif,
but hoggis lyif.
Live here. c.

§ oppreſſe thou
not him in ax-
ynge; dette
ſcharply, for
he wolde be
wrathid ajen-
us thee, and
jelde to thee
yuel for good.
Live here. c.

^p thi A. ^{pp} Om. c pr. m. ^q wickenesse E. ^r is in E pr. m. ^s body c pr. m. E pr. m. ^{ss} aſſeyn AG.
ajen E. ^t men E pr. m. thei c sec. m. sup. ras. ^u the A.

^r or myscheues I marg.

5thur3 birthe; forsothe ther semeth thee
 ferst the wrd of loouende kunnyng; and
 6lette thou not musik. Where is not heer-
 ing, heelde thou not out a sermoun; and
 vncouenabli wile thou not^v ben enhauncid
 7in thi wisdam. A litil iemme of kar-
 buncle in the ournement of gold; and
 comparisoun of musikes in the feste of
 8wyn. As in forging of gold signe is of
 a smaragd, so the noumbre of musikis in
 9myrie and temperat wyn. Here thou
 beende^w stille, and for reuerence shal falle
 10to thee good grace. Thou a jung ful
 waxen man, spec in thin owne cause
 11vnnethe, whan nede shul be. If twies
 thou were askid, haue the hed thin an-
 12swere. In manye thingus be thou as vn-
 kunnende, and here^x thou beende stille
 13togidere and sechende. To^y speken in
 the myddel of grete men ne bifor take
 thou; and wher ben olde men, not myche
 14spec thou. Biforn hail shal go leiting,
 and biforn shamefastnesse shal go grace,
 and for reuerence shal fallen to thee good
 15grace. And^z in the hour of rising^a tyff
 thou thee not^a; ren biforn forsothe first
 in to thin hous, and there be thou clepid
 16to, and there pleye. And do thi con-
 ceyuyngus, and not in giltis, and in^{aa}
 17proud wrd. Vp on alle these thingus
 blisse thou the Lord, that made thee,
 and inwardli drunkinge thee of alle his
 18goodis. Who dredeth God, shal take^b the
 doctrine of hym; and who shul wake
 19to hym, shul finde blessing. Who sech-
 eth the lawe, shal be fulfild of it; and
 who aspiendeli doth, shal be sclaundrid
 20in it. Who dreden God, shul finde rijt-
 wis dom; and rijtwisnesses as lizt thei
 21shul teende. A man synnere shal schone

gretter^{*} man in birthe; for whi the word
 of hym that loueth kunnyng bcome thee
 first; and lette thou not musik. Where
 6hering is not[†], schede thou not out a
 word; and nyle thou be enhaunsid vnco-
 uenabli in thi wisdom. A iemme of car-
 7buncle in the ournement of gold; and
 comparisoun of musikis in the feeste of
 wyn. As in the making of gold is a
 8signe of smaragde, so the noumbre of
 musikis *is* in myrie and mesurable wyn.
 Here thou stille, and good grace schal
 9come to thee for reuerence. Jonge man,
 10speke thou vnnethis in thi cause, whanne
 nede is. If thou art axid twies, the heed
 11haue thin answer. In many thingis be
 thou as vnkunnyng, and here thou stille
 togidere and axynge. And presume thou
 13not to speke in the myddis of grete men;
 and where elde men ben, speke thou not
 myche. Leityng schal go bifore hail, and
 14grace schal go bifore schamfastnesse, and
 good grace schal come to thee for reuer-
 ence. And in the our of risynge tife thee
 15not; forsothe renne thou bifore first in to
 thin hous, and there clepe thou thee to
 answer, and there pleie thou. And do thi
 16conseit[‡], and not in synnes, and in a
 proud word. On alle these thingis blesse
 17thou the Lord, that made thee, and fill-
 ynge thee greetli of alle hise goodis. He
 18that dredith God, schal take his techyng;
 and thei that waken to hym, schulen fynde
 blessing. He that sekith the lawe, schal
 19be fillid therof; and he that doith tretour-
 ousli^s, schal be sclaundrid ther ynnere. Thei
 20that dreden God, schulen fynde iust dom;
 and schulen kyndle rijtfulnesse as lizt.
 A synful man[§] schal eschewe^t blamyng; 21
 and aftir his wille he schal fynde com-

^{*} Speke thou the gretter, etc.; that is, thou prelat, that owist to be ripe in vertues, and so eeld, bi worshipful age. the word of him, etc.; that is, of God, who loueth kunnyng, and kunnyng men. bcome thee first; that is, principali. and lette thou not musik; that is, according of word to liyf; for, as Greg. seith, in xxxviii. Omely, Whos liyf is dispisid, his preching shal be dispisid. Live here. c. [†] Where hering is not, etc.; for it were more dispising of Goddis word, than encresing therof. enhaunsid vncouenabli in thi wisdom; in auauntinge thee boostfully therof. Leityng schal go bifor hayl; for whi hail fallith down in thunder sum tyme, and leyting goith bifor the sown of thunder. grace; of God. schal go bifor schamefastnesse; that cometh forth of reuerence, for whi Goddis grace is the bigynnyng of that reuerence. tife thee not; that is, make thee no tariyng in araiyng, ether tifyng of heeris, as wymmen doon. to thyn hows; in rennyng agan to thyn owne consience. clepe thee; to an-

swer, as to answer of thi dedis bifor the hijeste iuge. and there pleye thou; that is, whanne answer is maad bi this, that thou art not gilty of dedly synne, pleye thou with wisdom, bi goode thougtis that ben delitable. Live here. c. [‡] do thi conseit; that is, parforme thi good purpos conseyued there, and ocupe thee not in synnes. Live here. c. [§] A synful man; that is, obstynat in synne. blamyng; as abhominable to him.

^v Om. c pr. m. ^w and beyng A. ^x Om. A. there GH. ^y And to c. ^z Om. c. ^a haue thou not a sloz wil c pr. m. E pr. m. ^{aa} Om. c pr. m. ^b han c pr. m.

^s traitourli K. tretourli M. ether aspiyngli x marg. ^t ethchewe I.

correccioun^b; and after his wil he shal
 22 finde comparisoun. A man of counseil
 shal not distroze vnderstanding; and an
 alien and a proud shal not ful^c dreden
 23 drede. Also aftir that he dide with hym
 withoute counseil, and in his infolew-
 24 ingis^d he shal ben vndernome. Sone,
 withoute counseil no thing do thou; and
 aftir thi deede thou shalt not othynke.
 25 In the weie of falling go thou not, and
 thou shalt not offende azen stones. Ne
 betake thou thee to a trauailous wey, ne
 26 poote thou to thi soule schlauder; and of
 thi sones be war, and of thi homli men
 27 tac heed. In al thi werk leue^{dd} of the
 feith of thi soule; this is forsothe the
 28 keping of the hestes. Who leueth^e to
 God, taketh heed to the hestes; and who
 trosteth in hym, shal not be lassid.

CAP. XXXIII.

1 To the dredende God eueles shul not
 meete; but in tempting God shal kepen
 hym, and delyueren hym fro euelys.
 2 The wise man hateth not hestes, and
 rijt wisenesses; and he shal not ben hurt-
 3 lid, as in the tempest of a ship. A weel
 felende man leueth^e to the lawe of God,
 4 and the lawe feithful to hym. Who the
 asking maketh open, shal greithe a wrd;
 and so louli prezende he shal be ful out
 herd, and he shal kepe disciplyne, and
 5 thanne he shal answeren. The entrailes
 of a fool as the whel of a carre, and as a
 turnende ful axtre^{ee} the thenkingus^f of
 6 hym. An hors courser, so and a frend priue
 scornere, vnder eche man vpon sittende
 7 neizeth. Whi dai the dai ouercometh, and
 eft list the list, and 3er the 3er, sunne the
 8 sunne? Of the kunnyng of the Lord

parisoun. A man of counsel schal not 22
 leese vnderstanding; a man alien and
 proud schal not drede^{*} dredyng. 3he, 23
 aftir that he hath do with that drede
 with out counsel, and he schal be repreued
 bi hise suyngis. Sone, do thou no thing 24
 with out counsel; and aftir the dede thou
 schalt not repente. Go thou not in the 25
 weie of fallyng, and offende thou not azen
 stoonys. Bitake thou not thee to a tra-
 uelouse weie, lest thou sette schlaudir to
 thi soule; and be thou war of thi sones, 26
 and perseyue thou of thi meyneals. In al 27
 thi werk bileue thou[†] bi feith of thi soule;
 for whi this is the keping of comaunde-
 mentis. He that bileueth to God, takith 28
 heede to the^u comaundementis; and he
 that tristith in hym, schal not be maad
 lesse^v.

CAP. XXXIII.

Iuelis schulen not come to hym that 1
 dredith God; but God schal kepe hym in
 temptacioun, and schal delyuere fro yuelis.
 A wijs man hatith not the^w comaunde- 2
 mentis, and rijtfulnessis; and he schal not
 be hurtlid[‡] down, as in the tempest of a
 schip. A wijs man bileueth to^x the lawe 3
 of God, and the lawe is feithful to hym.
 He that makith opene axyng, schal make 4
 redi a word; and so he schal preie, and
 schal be herd, and he schal kepe techyng,
 and thanne he schal answeren. The en- 5
 traylis of a fool *ben* as a wheel of a
 carte, and his thouztis as an extre able
 to turne aboute. An hors a staloun, so 6
 and a frend a scornere[§], neizeth vndur ech
 sittynge aboue. Whi dai the dai ouercometh a 7
 dai, and eft the list *ouercometh* list, and
 a 3eer *ouercometh* a 3eer, the sunne *ouer-*

comparisoun; that is, an other man liyk him, ether worse, in alegginge that man to his excusing and defence. *A man of counsel;* that is, assenting to good counsel. *vnderstanding;* of counsel 3ouun to him, but schal bringe to executioun. *alien;* fro God. *and proud;* dispisyng the counsel of an other man. *3he,* aftir that he hath do with that; that is, with the drede of God, for whi a man alien fro God and proud, whanne he is set in perel of deth, doith sum tyme sum good thing of kynde, for that drede. *without counsel;* that is, stable purpos of soule. *schal be repreued, etc.;* for whanne the drede is passid, he turneth azen to the formere yuele custom, and so he is maad worthi to be repreued. *Live here. c.* ** schal not drede;* that is, the manaassing of Goddis betingis. *Live here. c.* *† In al thi werk bileue thou;* that is, sette thi foundement of feith, with out which no werk plesith God. *of thi soule;* that is, of thyn herte, and not onely of thi mouth. *not be maad lesse;* that is, schal faile not of meede abedun. *Live here. c.*

‡ he schal not be hurtlid; that is, schal not be brokun bi vnpatience. *teching;* that is, couenable maner to teche disciplis. *The entaylis of a fool;* that is, the vnderstanding and desir of an yuel prelat. *as an extre;* for he hath no stableness in good. *Live here. c.* *§ a frend a scornere;* that is, an yuel prelat, that owith to loue God, and putte forth him silf til to deth for the helthe of the puple; and netheles he scorneth God, and takith the office of his vikeried, and chargith not of his onour. *neizeth;* bi wantownesse of vices. *vndur ech sittynge aboue him;* that is, vndur God and hise aungels. *list ouercometh list;* for the list of the sunne is more than the list of the moone, and of othere steris. *the sunne*

^b correceioun, or chastisinge E sec. m. marg. GH. ^c Om. c pr. m. ^d folewingus c. ^{dd} bileue G sec. m. ^e bileueeth G sec. m. ^{ee} or a nathe c sec. m. marg. or a naaue E sec. m. marg. H. ^{axtree}, or ^{naaue} G. ^f thenkyng AGH.

^u Om. CEF pr. m. GHKMNPQSUXA. his B. ^v lesse, ether desceyued v. ^w Om. cv. ^x in c.

thei ben seuered, the sunne mad, and
 kepene the heste; bi^g the wisdam of
 9 God thei ben deuydid. And he shal
 chaunge the tymes and the feste dazes
 of hem, and in hem the feste dazes thei
 10 haleweden at the hour. Of hem God
 enhauncede and magnified; and of them
 he putte in to the noumbre of dazes and
 3eres; and alle men of the soil^h, and of
 the erthe, wherof Adam was foormed.
 11 In the multitude of the disciplyne of the
 Lord he seuerede them, and chaungide
 12 the weies of them. And of them he
 blissede, and enhauncede; and of hem
 he halewide, and to hymself he pre-
 sentede; of hem he curside, and mekede,
 and turnede them to the seuering of
 13 hem. As the cley of the crockere in the
 hond of hym, to foormen and toⁱ dis-
 14 posen it, alle the weies of it aftir his
 disposicioun; so a man in his hond that
 made hym; and he shal 3eelde to them
 15 aftir his dom. A3en euel is good, and
 a3en lif deth; so and a3en the riztwis
 man the synnere. And so bihold in to
 alle the werkis of the he3est; two a3en
 16 two, oon a3en oon. And I the^k laste
 wakide^l, and as that gedereth clustris^m,
 17 aftir the grape kutteres. In the blessing
 of God and I myself hoped; and as he
 that grapes kuttethⁿ, I fulfide presse^o.
 18 Beholdeth, for not to me alone I tra-
 uailed, but to alle men sechende out
 19 disciplyne. Hereth me, 3ee grete men,
 and alle puples; and 3ee gouernoures of
 20 the chirche, with eres parceyueth. To
 sone, and wif, brother, and frend, 3if thou
 not power vp on thee in thi lif; and 3yue
 thou not to an other thi possessioun, lest
 it othinke thee, and thou louli pre3e for
 21 hem. Whil 3it thou art aboue^p, or lyuest^{pp},
 and brethest, shal not chaungen thee alle
 22 flesh. Betere is forsothe, that thi sonus
 thee pre3en, than thee to beholden in to

cometh the sunne? Tho ben departid of⁸
 the kunnyng of the Lord, bi the sunne
 maad, and keynge the comaundement^y of
 God. And it schal chaunge tymes and⁹
 the feeste daies of hem, and in tho tymes
 the Jewis halewiden hali daies at an our.
 God enhaunside and magnified of tho¹⁰
 hali daies; and of tho he settide* in to
 the noumbre of daies; and God made alle
 men of sad erthe, and of neische erthe,
 whereof Adam was formed. In the mul-¹¹
 titude of kunnyng of the Lord he depart-
 ide hem, and chaungide the weies of hem.
 Of hem God blisside, and enhaunside; and¹²
 of hem he halewide, and chees to hym silf;
 of hem he curside, and made lowe, and
 turnyde hem fro the departyng of hem.
 As cley of a pottere is in the hond of¹³
 hym, to make and dispose, that alle the¹⁴
 weies therof ben aftir the ordynaunce of
 hym; so a man is in the hond of hym
 that made hym; and he schal 3elde to
 hym bi his dom. A3ens yuel is good, and¹⁵
 a3ens lijf is deth; so and a synnere is
 a3ens a iust man. And so biholde thou in
 to alle the werkis of the hizeste; twey^z
 thingis a3ens tweyne, and o thing a3ens
 oon. And Y the laste wakide^{zz}, and as he¹⁶
 that gaderith draf of grapis, aftir the ga-
 dereris of grapis. And Y hopide in the¹⁷
 blessing of God; and as he that gaderith
 grapis, Y fillide the pressour. Biholde 3e,¹⁸
 for Y trauelide not to me aloone, but to
 alle that seken kunnyng. Grete men, and¹⁹
 alle puplis, here 3e me; and 3e gouernouris
 of the chirche, perseyue with eeris. 3yue²⁰
 thou not power ouer thee in thi lijf to a
 sone, and to a womman, to a brothir, and
 to a frend; and 3yue thou not thi pos-
 sessioun to another man, lest perauenture
 it repente thee, and thou biseche for tho[†].
 While thou art alyue, and brethist 3it, ech²¹
 man schal not chaunge thee. For it is²²
 betere, that thi sonus preye thee, than

ouercometh the
 sunne; not that
 twey sunnes
 ben, but for
 the same sunne
 passith him silf
 in causinge
 heete, for in
 soner he caus-
 ith more heete
 in oure dwell-
 ing place, than
 in wynter. the
 comaundement;
 that is, orden-
 aunce; this
 that is addid
 in summe
 bokis, ben de-
 partid bi the
 wisdom of God,
 is not of the
 text, but it
 sueth next;
 and it, that
 is, the sunne,
 schal chaunge
 tymes. Live
 here. c.

* of tho he set-
 tide; that is, of
 tho dayes of
 the 3eer; this
 that is addid
 in sum bokis,
 and in to 3eris,
 is not of the
 text. curside;
 Chore and his
 felowis. fro the
 departyng of
 hem; that is,
 anon as they
 weren departid
 fro othere men,
 he turnede hem
 quyke in to
 helle. Live
 here. c.

† biseche for
 tho; that is,
 for the nedis
 of thi lijf.
 chaunge thee;
 that is, as long
 as thou lyuest,
 noon stire thee
 fro this purpos.
 Live here. c.

^g In A. ^h suetuel A. soule H. ⁱ Om. AGH. ^k to the E pr. m. ^l wallide AH. wakid out G.
^m pepynes E pr. m. ⁿ cutte AG pr. m. H. ^o my presse E pr. m. AGH. ^p on E pr. m. ^{pp} Om. C
 et, E pr. m.

^y comaundementis A pr. m. a. ^z tweyne C. two G. ^{zz} walkide M.

23 the hondus of thi sonus. In alle thi
 24 werkes befor passende be thou; ne
 3yue thou a wem in to thi glorie. In
 the dai of the ful endyng of the dazes of
 thi lif, and in tyme of thi deth dele thin
 25 eritage. Metes, and 3erde, and berthene
 to an asse; bred, and disciplyne, and
 26 werk to a seruaunt. He werketh in dis-
 ciplyne, and the largid^q hond to hym
 secheth^r to resten^r, and secheth^s fredam.
 27 3oc and brydil^t reyne crooken the harde
 necke; and the seruaunt bowen besy
 28 werkis. To the euel willi seruaunt tor-
 menting and gyues; put hym into werch-
 29 ing, lest he be voide; forsothe myche
 30 malice idilnesse tazte. In werk set hym,
 so forsothe it semeth hym; that if he
 here not, howe hym with gyues, and
 make thou not large^v 'vp on^v alle flesh,
 but with oute dom noo thing do thou
 31 heuy. If ther is to thee a feithful ser-
 uaunt, be he to thee as thi lif; as a^w
 brother so trete hym, for in blod of lif
 32 thou bo3tyst hym. If thou 'schalt hurte^x
 hym vnri3twisly, in to fli3t he shal ben
 33 turned; and if enhauncende he schal^y go
 awey, whom schalt^y thou seche, and in
 what weie thou^z schalt^{zz} seche hym, thou
 wost not.

CAP. XXXIV.

1 Veyn hope and lesyng to the mys-
 felende man; and vnprudent men en-
 2 haunsun^a sweuenes. As he that caccheth
 shadewe, and pursueth wynd, so and^b he
 that taketh heed to the seen lesingus.
 3 Aftir that thing^c the sizte of sweuenes;
 befor the face of a man the licesse of
 4 an other man. Of the vnclene what shal
 ben clensid, and of the liere what soth
 5 shal ben seid? Deuynyng of errour, and
 'diuynyng bi chiteryng of briddis^d, lesing-
 us, or false^e, and sweuenes of euel doynge

that thou biholde in to the hondis of thi
 sonus. In alle thi werkis be thou soue-23
 reyn; 3yue thou not a wem in to thi²⁴
 glorie. In the day of endyng of daies of
 thi lijf, and in tyme^a of thi^b goyng out
 departe thin erytage. Metis, and a 3erde,²⁵
 and birthun^c to an asse; breed, and chas-
 tisyng, and werk to a seruaunt. He²⁶
 worchith in chastisyng^{*}, and sekith to
 haue reste; slake thou hondis to hym,
 and he sekith fredom. A 3ok and bridil²⁷
 bowen down an hard necke; and bisi worch-
 ingis bowen down a seruaunt. Turment²⁸
 and stockis to an yuel willid seruaunt;
 sende thou hym in to worchyng, lest he
 be ydel; for whi idilnesse hath tau3te²⁹
 miche malice. Ordeyne thou hym in werk,³⁰
 for so it bicometh hym; that if he obeieth
 not, bowe thou down hym in stockis, and
 make thou not hym large^f ouer ony man,
 but with out dom do thou no thing greu-
 ouse. If a feithful seruaunt is to thee, be³¹
 he as thi soule to thee; trete thou him so
 as a brother, for thou hast bou3t hym in
 the blood of lijf. If thou hurtist hym³²
 vniustli, he schal be turned in to fleyng
 awey; and if he enhaunsynge goith awey,³³
 thou noost^d whom thou schalt seke, and
 in what weie thou schalt seke hym.

CAP. XXXIV.

Veyn hope and a leesyng to an vnwijs¹
 man; and dremes enhaunsen vnprudent
 men. As he that takith^e schadewe, and²
 pursueth wynd, so and he that takith
 heede^f to leesynge seyn. Vpe this thing³
 is the sizt of dremes; bfore the face of a
 man is the licesse of another man. What⁴
 schal be clensid of him that is vnclene,
 and what trewe thing schal be seid of^f
 a liere? Fals dyuynyng of errour, and⁵
 fals dyuynyngis bi chiteryng of briddis,
 and dremes of witchis, is vanyte. And as⁶

* He worchith
 in chastising;
 that is, as long
 as he is holdun
 vnder chas-
 tising.

Turment and
 stockis, etc.;
 that is, rebel
 and vnfeithful.
 idilnesse; of
 seruauntis.
 myche malice;
 to ymagyne
 azenus lordis.
 with out doom;
 of du discre-
 cioun. greu-
 ouse; to thi
 seruauntis.

Live here. c.
 † make thou
 not him large,
 etc.; that is,
 3yue thou not
 to him pover
 ouer ony man,
 for he owith
 not to be soue-
 reyn, but to be
 vnderlowt;
 and this is
 azenus summe
 Cristen princes,
 that maken
 Jewis bailies
 and souereyns
 on Cristen
 men. bou3t him
 in the blood of
 lijf; that is,
 for nede of thi
 lijf, that stond-
 ith in blood, in
 xij. c. of Le-
 uytici, the lijf
 of ech fleisch
 is in blood.

Live here. c.
 § takith hede,
 etc.; in veyn
 dremys. what
 schal be clensid,
 etc.; as if he
 seye, no thing,
 but it schal be
 defouled more.
 of a liere; as if
 he seye, no
 thing; for if
 the deuel seith
 trewe thingis
 sumtyme, this
 is for to desseyue
 more aftirward,
 and so that
 truthe may be
 seid a leesing
 bi the ende.
 Live here. c.

^q large G sec. m. ^r for to azen resten G sec. m. ^s he sechith G sec. m. ^t the brydil E. ^v vpon
 hym AGH. ^w thi A. ^x hurte c pr. m. hurtist E pr. m. ^y Om. c pr. m. ^{yy} Om. c pr. m. ^z Om. GH.
^{zz} Om. AC pr. m. GH. ^a herien out c pr. m. E pr. m. enhaunsinge of H. ^b Om. A. ^c Om. c pr. m.
^d c et E sec. m. sup. ras. ^e Om. c et E pr. m. G sec. m.

^a the tyme C E F G H I K M N P Q R U V X Y A. ^b Om. G. ^c a birthun I. ^d ne wost I. ^e takith a A pr. m. ^f to c.

6 men is vanyte. And as^f of the womman
berende child, thin^g herte suffreth fanta-
sies; no^h but of the hezest were sent
out visityng ne 3yue thou in hem thin
7 herte. Manye men forsothe sweuenus
maden to erre, and fellen awei hopende
8 in hem. With oute lesing shal be ful
endid the wrd of the lawe; and wisdom
in the mouth of the feithful shal be maad
9 pleyn. Who is not temptid, what kan
he? A man in manye thingus expert,
shall thenke manye thingus; and he that
manye thingus lernede, shal tellen out
10 vnderstanding. Who is not expert, fewe
thingus knowith; who forsothe in manye
thingus is a fool, shal multeplien malice.
11 Who is not temptid, what maner thingus
kan he? Who is vnplauntid, shal abound
12 shreudenesse. Manye thingus I sa3 in
tellinge out, and manye customes of
13 wrdis. Other while vn to the deth I was
in perile, bi the enchesoun of these; and
I was delyuered bi the grace of God.
14 The spirit of men dredende God is so3t,
and in respyt of 'hym itⁱ shal be blissid.
15 The hope forsothe of them in to the
sauende hem; and the e3en of the Lord
16 in to men loouende hym. Who dredeth
God, no thing shal quaken, and he shal
not inwardly dreden; for he is his hope.
17 Of the dredende the Lord, blissid is his
18 soule. To whom biholdith he, and who
19 is the strengthe of hym? The e3en of
the Lord vp on men dredende hym. De-
fendere of my3t, firmament of vertue,
coueryng of brennyng, and the hilet,
'or the schadowyng place^k, of the myd-
20 day; louli pre3ende of gilte, and helpe
of falling, enhauncende the soule, and
liztnende e3en, 3yuende helthe, and lif,
21 and blessing. Of the offrere of the
wicke thing the offring is defoulid; and

the herte of a womman trauelynge of
child, thin herte suffreth fantasies; no but
visitacioun is sent out of the hizeste,
3yue thou not thin herte in tho dremes.
For whi dremes han maad many men for
7 to erre, and men hopynge in tho fellen
down. The word of the lawe 'of Gods
and of hise profetis^g, shal be maad per-
fit with out leesyng; and wisdom in the
mouth of a feithful man* shal be maad
pleyn. What kan he, that is not asaied? 9
A man asaied in many thingis†, shal
thenke many thingis; and he that lernyde
many thingis, shal telle out vnderstand-
yng. He that is not asaied, knowith 10
fewe thingis; forsothe he that is a fool
in many thingis, shal multiplie malice.
What maner thingis kan he, that is not 11
asaied? He that is not plauntid‡, shal be
plenteuouse in wickidnesse. I si3 many 12
thingis in tellyng out, and ful many cus-
toms of wordis. Sum tyme Y was in 13
perel 'til to^h deth, for the cause of these
thingis; and Y was delyuered bi the grace
of God. The spirit of hem that dreden 14
God is sou3t, and shal be blissid in the
biholding of hym. For whi the hope of 15
hem is in to God sauynge hem; and the
izen of the Lord ben in to hem, that louen
hym. He that dredith God, shal not 16
tremble for ony thing, and heⁱ shal not
drede; for whi God is his hope. The 17
soule of hym that dredith the Lord, is
blissid. To whom biholdith he §, and 18
who is his strengthe? The izen of the 19
Lord ben on hem that dreden hym. God
is a defendere of my3t, stidfastnesse of
vertu, hilyng of heete, and a schadowyng
place of myddai; bisechyng of offendyng||, 20
and help of fallyng, enhaunsynge the
soule, and liztnynge the izen, and 3yuynge
heelthe, and lijf, and blessing. The of- 21

* wisdom in the
mouth of a
feithful man,
etc.; that is,
wisdom con-
teyned in hooly
scripture shal
be tau3t pleynly
in the mouth
of a feithful
techere, for he
kan opene
and declare the
hid thingis of
hooly scrip-
turis. Live
here. c.

† A man asay-
ed in many
thingis; that
is, exercisid
ether trauelid
in many scrip-
turis. thenke
many thingis,
for bi o place
of scripture he
declarith an-
other place
more hid.
lernede many
thingis; bi
ocupacioun of
studie. schal
telle out; the
veri vnderstand-
ing of scrip-
ture. He that
is not asaied;
in scripturis.
knowith fewe
thingis; for he
may fynde fewe
thingis bi him
sif, wherfor
thei that dey-
nen not to se
the seiyngis of
othere men, ben
foundun voide
of trithe. he
that is a fool in
many thingis;
in applynge
his vnderstand-
ing to many
thingis reyn
and curiose.
shal multiplie
malice; for
ofte he makith
fals doctryn.
Summe bokis
han, he that is
maad rennyng
about in many
thingis, to
knowe many
thingis, and
vnderstandith
no sufficiiently
in ony o thing,
shal multiplie,
etc. Live here.
c.

‡ He that is not
§ To whom biholdith
|| biseching of offendyng;

plauntid; that is, hath not set roote of vnderstanding and desir in good. plenteuouse, etc.; multipliynge vices. Live here. c. he; as if he seide, God is he, to whom he dressith his entent and of whom he hath my3t defending. Live here. c. that is, heringe biseching for offensis. Live here. c.

^f Om. c pr. m. ^g in c pr. m. E pr. m. ^h Om. CE pr. m. ne E sec. m. ⁱ it me E pr. m. ^k Om. c et E pr. m.

^g Om. I. ^h vnto I. ⁱ Om. c.

the scornynge of vnri3twis men ben not
 22 wel plesende. The Lord alone to men
 sustenende hym in the weie of treuthe,
 23 and of ri3twisnesse. The 3iftus of wicke^l
 men proueth not the he3est, ne biholdeth
 in the offringus of wicke men, ne in the
 multitude of sacrificis of hem he shal
 24 han mercy to synnes. Who offreth sa-
 crificis of the substaunce of pore men, as
 he that sleth to sacrifice the sone in the
 25 sizte of his fader. The bred of nedy men
 is the liif of the pore^m; who bigilith
 26 hym, is a man of blod. Who doth awei
 in swot bred, as he that sleth his ne3he-
 27 bore. That shedethⁿ blod, and that doth
 28 gile to the hirid man, ben brethern. Oon
 bildende, and oon distrozende; what pro-
 29 fiteth to them, no^o but trauaile? Oon
 pre3ende, and oon cursende; whos vois
 30 shal the Lord ful out heren? That is
 baptisid fro the deade, and eft towcheth
 the deade, what profitith his washing?
 31 So a man that fasteth in his synnes, and
 eft the same thingus doende, what pro-
 fitith he mekende hymself? the orisoun
 of hym who shal ful out heren?

CAP. XXXV.

1 Who kepeth the wrd, multeplieth ori-
 2 soun. Holsum sacrifice is to taken heed
 to the maundemens, and to gon awei fro
 3 alle wickidnesse. And to sacrificen ples-
 ing of sacrifice vp on vnri3twisnesse, and
 louli pre3ing for synnes, to gon awei fro
 4 vnri3twisnesse. He shal 3elde grace, that
 offreth tried flour; and that^p doth^a mercy,
 5 offreth sacrifice^r. Weel plesid thing^s is to
 the Lord, to gon awei fro wickidnesse;
 and louly pre3ing to gon awei fro vnri3t-
 6 wisnesse. Thou shalt not aperen bifer

but sich a rauenor schal be punyschid of God for his yuels. *Oon preiynge*; for a rauenor, that is, he preiynge to whom the rauenor hath 3oue good. *and oon cursinge*; the rauenor, for he took away hise goodis. *whos vois*; as if he seie, noon, for whi the hering of the first is lettid for the malice of him for whom he preyeth, and the hering of the cursere is lettid for his owne synne, for he synneth in cursinge his neibore. *fastith in hise synnes*; that is, for hise synnes to be for3ouun. *in mekyng him silf*; that is, in turmentinge him silf bi fastingis and sicche thingis, he profitith no thing to remysyoun of synne doon, for he repentith not verily. *Live here. c.* § *who schal here, etc.*; as if he seye, God schal not here. *Live here. c.* || *multiplieth preier*; for he preyeth bi soule and mouth. *for vnri3tfulnessis*; to be for3ouun. *Live here. c.* ¶ *3elde grace*; that is, schal 3yue a plesant seruyce to God. *Live here. c.* ** *voide*; of offring thries in the 3eer, in xxliij. c°. of Exodi. c.

^l wickid AGH. ^m pore man E pr. m. ⁿ sechith AGH. ^o Om. c pr. m. ne c sec. m. marg. ^p he that A. ^q don H. ^r sacrificis c. ^s Wel plesynge A.

^j sacrificis CEG. ^k men G. ^{kk} fro A sec. m. ^l word of God CI marg. v.

fryng of hym that offrith of wickid thing*,
 is defoulid; and the scornynge of vniust
 men ben not wel plesaunt. The Lord 22
 aloone† is to hem that abiden hym in the
 weie of treuthe, and of ri3tfulnesse. The 23
 hizeste appreueth not the 3iftis of wickid
 men, nethir biholdith in the offryngis of
 wickid men, nether in the multitude of
 her sacrifices he schal do mercy to synnes.
 He that offrith sacrifice of the catel of 24
 pore men, is as he that sleth the sone in
 the sizt of his fadir. The breed of nedi 25
 men is the lijf of a pore man; he that
 defraudith hym, is a man of blood. He 26
 that takith awei breed in swoot†, is as he
 that sleth his neibore. He that schedith 27
 out blood, and he that doith fraude to an
 hirid man, ben britheren. Oon bildynge, 28
 and oon distriynge; what profitith it to
 hem^k, no but trauel? Oon preiynge, and 29
 oon cursynge; whos vois schal the Lord
 here? What profitith the waischyng of 30
 hym, that is waischun for^{kk} a deed bodi,
 and touchith eft a deed bodi? So a man 31
 that fastith in hise synnes, and eft doynge
 the same synnes, what profitith he in
 mekyng hym silf? who schal here§ his
 preyer?

CAP. XXXV.

He that kepith the word^l, multeplieth
 preier||. Heelful sacrifice is to take heede
 to the comaundementis, and to departe fro
 al wickidnesse. And to offre the plesyng of 3
 sacrifice for vnri3tfulnesses, and bisechyng
 for synnes, is to go away fro vnri3tful-
 nesse. He that offrith purest flour of 4
 wheete, schal 3elde grace¶; and he that
 doith merci, offrith a sacrifice. It is wel 5
 plesaunt to the Lord, to go awei fro wickid-
 nesse; and preier is to go awei fro vnri3t-
 fulnesse. Thou schalt not appere** 6

* *offrith of wickid thing*; that is, of thing getun vniustly. *the scornynge, etc.*; that is, her offring of an other mannus thing, bi whiche thei scornen God, that ow-ith to be onour- id of a mannus owne good, in iij. c°. of Pro- uerbis. *Live here. c.*

† *The Lord aloone, etc.*; that is, thei that stonden, in the weye of truthe and of ri3tfulnesse, han onely veri God for God, and he accept-ith the 3iftis of hem. *Rauenours and auerouse men han gold and riches for God, a glotoun hath delices, a lechour hath lust of touching, and sicche thingis for God, wherfor her sacrifices ben not accept- able to God.*

The breed; that is, what euer maner mete. *is the lijf of a pore man*; that is, the susten- yng of his lijf. *man of blood*; Austyn seith, Feede thou a man diynge for hungur, and if thou feedist not him, thou hast slayn him; myche more if thou withdrawist his lijf fro him. *c.*

‡ *breed in swoot*; that is, breed getun in swoot of tra- uelours. *ben britheren*; that is, ben liyk in synne. *whos vois*; as if he seye, no vois;

§ *who schal here, etc.*; as if he seye, God schal not here. *Live here. c.* ¶ *3elde*

7 the sizte of the Lord voide; forsothe alle
these thingus for the hestus of God ben
8 mad. The offring of the riȝtwis fatteth
the auter; and the smel of swotenesse is
9 in the sizte of the heȝest. The sacrificise
of the riȝtwis is acceptid, and the mynde
10 of hym the Lord schal not forȝete. With
good wil ȝelde^t glorie to God, and lasse
thou not the cheef frutis of thin hondis.
11 In alle ȝifte^u glad mac thi chere, and in
12 ful out ioȝing halewe thi^v dymes. Ȝif
to the heȝeste aftir the free ȝifte of hym;
and in good eȝe mac thou the finding^w of
13 thin hondis. For ȝeldende is the Lord,
and seuensithe as myche he schal ȝelde to
14 thee. Wile thou not offren shreude ȝiftus;
15 forsothe he schal not taken hem. And
wile thou not biholden the vnriȝtwis sa-
crificise; for the Lord is domes man, and
ther is not anent hym glorie of persone.
16 The Lord schal not taken a persone in to
pore; and the preȝing of the hurt he shall
17 ful out heren. He schal not dispise the
preȝeres of the faderles child, ne the wi-
dewe, yff she heelde out the speche of
18 weiling. Whether not the teres of the
widewe at the cheeke gon down, and the
outcry of hir vp on the ledyng down of^x
19 hem? Fro the cheke forsothe thei steȝen
vp to heuen, and the Lord herere schal
20 not delyten in them. Who honourith
God in liking, schal ben resseyued^y; and
the lowe preȝyng of hym vnto the clowdis
21 schal neȝhe. The orisoun of the meekende
hymself schal persen clowdis, and to the
tyme that it neȝhe, he schal not be coum-
fortid, and not gon awei, to the tyme that
22 the heȝest beholde. And the Lord schal
not longen away, but demen riȝtwis men,
and don dom; and the strengeste schal
not han in hem pacience, that he to-tru-
23 ble the rigge of hem. And to Jentiles he
shal ȝelde veniaunce, to the tyme that he
take awei the plente of proude men, and
the kingus dignetees of wicke men he to-

bifore the sizt of God; for whi alle these 7
thingis ben doon for the heestis of God.
The offryng of a iust man makith fat the 8
auter, and is odour of swetnesse in the
sizt of the hiȝeste. The sacrifice of a iust 9
man is acceptable, and the Lord schal not
forȝete the mynde of hym. With good 10
wille ȝelde thou glorie to God, and make
thou not lesse the firste fruytis of thin
hondis. In ech ȝifte make glad thi cheer, 11
and in ful out ioiying halewe thi tithis.
Ȝyue thou to the hiȝeste aftir his ȝifte*; 12
and with good iȝe make thou the fynd-
yng of thin hondis. For whi the Lord is 13
a ȝeldere, and he schal ȝelde seuene fold so
myche to thee. Nyle thou offre schrewid 14
ȝiftis; for he schal not resseyue tho. And 15
nyle thou biholde an vniust sacrifice; for
the Lord is iuge, and glorie of persone†
is not at hym. The Lord schal not take 16
a persone aȝens a pore man; and he schal
here the preier of hym that is hirt. He 17
schal not dispise the preyeris of a fadirles
child, nether a widewe, if sche schedith^m
out speche of weilyng. Whether the teeris 18
of a widew goen not down to the cheke,
and the cryng of hir on hym that ledith
forth tho teeris? For whi tho stien fro 19
the cheke 'til toⁿ heuene, and the Lord
herere schal not delite in tho. He that 20
worschipith God in delityng, schal be res-
seyued; and his preyer schal neiȝe 'til to^o
the clowdis. The preier of hym that 21
mekith hym silf schal perse clowdis, and
til it neiȝeth‡, he schal not be coumfortid,
and he schal not go away, til the hiȝeste
biholde. And the Lord schal not be fer, 22
but he schal iuge iust men, and schal
make doom; and the strongeste schal not
haue pacience in tho, that he troble the
bak of hem. And he schal ȝelde ven- 23
iaunce to folkis, til he take awei the ful-
nesse of proude men, and troble togidere
the ceptris of wickid men; til he ȝelde to 24
men aftir her dedis, and aftir the werkis

12 * aftir his
ȝifte; that is,
aftir the quan-
tite of thi
goodis, whiche
thou hast of
God.

14 with good iȝe,
etc.; that is,
with riȝtful
entent ordeyne
thi good werkis,
to the preising
of God and not
of man. Live
here. c.

† glorie of per-
soone, etc.; that
is, taking of
persoone. a per-
soone; of a
myȝti man.
hirt; vniustly.
on hym; that
is, on the op-
pressere, that
makith hir to
wepe. Live
here. c.

‡ neiȝith; to
God, in get-
tinge effect.
not go away;
fro preyer.
not be fer;
in dilaiynge
effect, no but to
the profit of the
axere. in tho;
oppresseris.
Live here. c.

^t ȝif A. ^u ȝiftis A. ^v thou GH. ^w findingus C. ^x Om. AEGH. ^y vndirtaken C pr. m. E pr. m.

^m schede C. ⁿ vnto I. ^o vnto I.

24 trouble; to the tyme that he ȝelde to men
aftir ther deedus, and aftir the werkis of
Adam, and aftir the presumpcioun of
25 hym; to the tyme that he deme the dom
of his folc, and 'he schal^z delite riȝtwis
26 men with his mercy. Fair^a the mercy of
God in tyme of tribulacioun, as a cloude
of reyn in tyme of droȝte.

CAP. XXXVI.

1 Haue mercy of vs, God of alle thingus;
and behold vs, and shew to vs the lyȝt of
2 thi mercy doynȝus. And send in^b thi
drede vp on Jentilis, that soȝten not thee,
that thei knowe for ther is not God, but
thou; that thei telle out thi grete wrthi
3 deedis. Rere vp thin hond vp on aliene
4 folkis, that they see thi myȝt. As for-
sothe in the siȝte of hem thou art ha-
lewed in vs, so in oure siȝte thou shalt be
5 magnified in hem; that thei knowe thee,
as and^c wee han knowe, for ther is noon
6 other God, saue thee^d, Lord^e. Ennewe
7 thou signes, and chaunge merueilis; glo-
8 rifie the hond, and^{ee} the riȝt arm. Rere
vp wodnesse, and heeld oute wrathe;
9 enhaunce^f the aduersarie, and tormente
10 the enemye. Heeȝe thou the tyme, and
haue mynde of the ende, that thei telle
11 out thi merueilis. In the ire of flaume
be he deuoured that is saued; and that
werst treten thi folc, finde thei perdi-
12 cioun. To-brose thou the hed of princes,
and of the enemy, seiende, Ther is noon
13 other, saue wee. Gedere togidere alle the
lynagis of Jacob, and knowe thei for ther
is no God but thou, that thei telle out
thi grete wrthi deedis; and thou shalt
eritage them, as fro the bigynnyng.
14 Haue mercy to^g thi puple, vp on the^h
whiche is inwardli clepid thi name;
and to Irael, whom thou hast euened to
15 thi first goten. Haue mercy to Jerusa-
lem, the cyte of thin halewing, the cite
16 of thi reste. Fulfil Syon with thin vn-

of Adam*, and aftir the presumpcioun of
hym; til he deme the dome of his puple, 25
and schal delite iust men in his merci.
The merci of God is fair in the tyme of 26
tribulacioun, as clowdis of reyn in the
tyme of drynesse.

CAP. XXXVI.

God of alle thingis, haue thou merci on 1
vs; and biholde thou vs, and schewe thou^p
to vs the liȝt of thi merciful doynȝis.
And sende thi drede on hethene men, that 2
souȝten not thee, that thei knowe that no
God is, no but thou; that thei telle out
thi grete dedis. Reise thin hond on he- 3
thene men aliens, that thei se thi power.
For as thou were halewid in vs in the siȝt 4
of hem, so in oure siȝt thou schalt be mag-
nified in hem; that thei knowe thee, as 5
and we han knowe, that noon othere is God,
outakun thee, Lord. Make thou newe 6
signes, and chaunge thou merueilis; glo- 7
rifie the hond[†], and the riȝt arm. Reise 8
thou stronge veniaunce, and schede out
ire; take awei the aduersarie, and tur- 9
mente the enemye. Haaste thou the tyme, 10
and haue thou mynde on the ende, that
thei telle out thi merueils. And he that 11
is sauȝd, be deuourid in the ire of flawme;
and thei that treten worst thi puple, fynde
perdicioun. Al to-breke thou the heed of 12
princis, and of enemyes, seiȝnge, Noon
othere is, outakun vs. Gadere thou togi- 13
dere alle the lynagis of Jacob, and knowe
thei that no God is, no^q but thou, that
thei telle out thi grete dedis; and thou
schalt enherite hem[‡], as at the bigynnyng.
Haue thou merci on thi puple, on which 14
thi name is clepid in to help; and on Is-
rael, whom thou madist euene to thi firste
gendrid sone. Haue thou merci on Jeru- 15
salem, the citee of thin halewyng, on the
citee of thi reste. Fille thou Syon with 16

* of Adam; the
lettre hath of
Adam, but bi
Ebreys this
word Adam
signefieth man
comynly, and
so it is set here.
the presump-
cioun of him;
bi which he
oppressith vn-
iustly a man
liyk him silf in
kynde. Live
here. c.

† the hond;
of thi riȝtful-
nesse on hem.
riȝt arm; that
is, the riȝt arm
of thi merci,
on vs. Live
here. c.

‡ thou schalt
enherite hem;
whanne thei
entriden in to
the lond of bi-
heest, in the
tyme of Josue.
at the bigyn-
nyng; of the
cheſing of the
puple of Israel.
Live here. c.

^a Om. c pr. m. ^a Fayr is A. ^b Om. AGH. ^c Om. AGH. ^d the GH. ^e alone A. ^{ee} of A. ^f enhaunce
out E pr. m. ^g on H. ^h Om. AEGH.

tellable vertues, and thi puple with thi
 17 glorie. 3if witnessing, for fro the bigyn-
 nyng thi creatures thei ben; and rere the
 prezeres, that the rathere profetes speeken
 18 in thi name. 3if meede, Lord, to men
 sustenende thee, that thi profetes feithful
 bee founden; and heere thou the orisoun
 19 of thi seruauns. Aftir the blissing of
 Aron 3if to thi puple, and rizte reule vs
 in to the weie^l of riztwisnes; that thei
 alle wite, that dwellen the^k erthe, for
 20 thou art God, biholdere^l of worldis. Eche
 mete the wombe schal ete, and ther is
 21 mete betere than mete. Cheekes touchen
 ne3h^m the mete, and the mysfelende herte
 22 lesyng wrdys. The shreude herte shal
 3yue sorewy slouthe, and the wise man
 23 shal withstonde to it. The womman
 schalⁿ taken eche male child, and ther is
 24 a do3ter betere than the sone. The fair-
 nesse of a womman gladith out the face
 of hyr man, and ouer alle lust of the
 25 man she^o shal 'ouer leden^p desyr. If
 ther is tunge of curing, ther is and of
 swaging, and of mercy; the man of hir
 26 is not aftir the sonus of men. Who weld-
 ith a good womman, bigyneth posses-
 sioun; helpe aftir hym she is, and a
 27 piler as reste. Wher is not hegge, shal
 ben to-broken^q the possessioun; and
 where is not a womman, weileth the
 28 nedy. To^r whom byleeueth^s he^t that hath
 not a nest, and bowing down wher euere
 shal ben derk, as a gird vp thef, lepende
 out fro cite in to cyte?

CAP. XXXVII.

1 Eche frend shal seyn, And I frenshipe
 couplede; but ther is a frend, bi only
 name a frend. Whether not sorewe is
 2 in vnto deth? A mete felawe forsothe
 and a frend to enemyte shul ben turned.
 3 O! most shreude presumpcioun, whennus

thi vertues, that moun not be teld out,
 and *filie* thi puple with thi glorie. 3yue 17
 thou witnessyng, that at the bigynnyng
 thei weren thi creaturis^{*}; and reise thou
 preieris, whiche the formere profetis spaken
 in thi name. Lord, 3yue thou meede to 18
 hem that abiden thee, that thi prophetis
 be foundun trewe; and here thou the
 preier of thi seruauntis. Aftir the bless- 19
 yng of Aaron 3yue thou to thi puple, and
 dresse thou vs in to the weie of riztful-
 nesse; that alle men wite, that dwellen in
 erthe, that thou art God, the biholdere of
 worldis. The wombe schal ete alle mete, 20
 and o^r mete is betere than *another*^s mete.
 Chekis touchen metet[†] alмест, and an vn- 21
 wise herte *resseyueth* false wordis. A 22
 schrewid herte schal 3yue heuynesse, and
 a wijs man schal azenstonde it. A wom- 23
 man schal take ech knaue child, and a
 dou3tir is betere than a sone. The fair- 24
 nesse of a womman makith glad the face
 of hir hosebonde, and sche schal brynge
 desir ouer al the coueitise of man. If ther 25
 is a tunge of heelyng[‡], ther is also of
 swagyng, and of merci; the hosebonde of
 hir is not aftir the sonus of men. He that 26
 hath in possessioun a good womman, bi-
 gynneth possessioun; sche is an help lijk
 hym, and a piler as reste. Where an hegge 27
 is not, the possessioun schal be rauschild
 awei; and where a womman is not, a nedi
 man weilith. To whom bileueth he that 28
 hath no nest, and bowith down where euere
 it is derk, as a thief girt, skippynge out
 fro citee in to citee?

CAP. XXXVII.

Ech frend schal seie, And Y haue cou- 1
 plid frenschip; but that is a frend, a frend
 bi name aloone. Whether sorewe is 2
 til to deth? Forsothe a felowe of table 2
 and a frend schulen be turned to enemyte.
 A! the^t worste presumpcioun, wherof art 3

* *thi creaturis*;
 that is, special
 sones of Israel.
Live here. c.

† *touchen mete*;
 in taking it,
 and chewen not
 sufficiently, but
 swolewen ouer
 with out du
 chewing and
 preyng. *knaue*
child; for sche
 wolde euere bere
 a knaue child.
Live here. c.

‡ *If ther is a*
tunge of heel-
ing; that is, of
 repreuyng in
 the hosebonde,
 in repreuyng
 the outrageous
 aray of the
 wyf, ether vn-
 stable mouyng
 of hir. *after the*
sones of men;
 that is, he is
 not manly and
 discreet, but
 neische and
 fonnyd. *bigyn-*
neth posses-
sioun; that is,
 bigynneth to
 be riche, thou3
 he hadde no
 more good. *no*
nest; that is,
 stidefast dwell-
 ing, as if he
 seie, he bi-
 leueth not to
 any wise man,
 and therfor he
 failith in dis-
 crecioun of
 good, and of
 yuel. *as a thief*
girt; that is,
 maad redy to
 do yuele. *Live*
here. c.

§ *Whether sorewe*
is, etc.; bi sich
 frenschipe, as
 if he seide, 3is;
 for whi no
 pestilence is
 my3tiere to
 anoye, than is
 an homely
 enemye. *Live*
here. c.

^l hond *E pr. m.* ^k in the *H.* ^l and beholder *A.* ^m alмест *E pr. m.* ⁿ wile *C pr. m. E pr. m.* ^o Om. *GH.*
^p leden *C.* ^q not broken *H.* ^r Om. *C pr. m.* ^s leeueth *C pr. m. E pr. m.* ^t Om. *C pr. m. E pr. m.*

^r oon *C sec. m. I.* Om. *A pr. m. C pr. m.* ^s Om. *A pr. m. C pr. m.* ^t thou *C sec. m. V.*

art thou foormed to coueren drie malice, and the treccherie of it? The mete felawe to the frend shal be merie in likingus, and in the dai of tribulacioun he shal be aduersarie. A mete felawe to the frend sorewith with, bi cause of the wombe; and azen the enemy he shal take sheld. Forzete thou not of thi frend in thin inwit, and be thou not vnmyndeful of hym in thi werkis. Wile thou nott counselen with thi wyues fader; and fro men enuyende to thee hyd conseil. Eche counseiler discouereth conseil, but ther is a counseiler in hymself. Fro an^u euel counseiler kep thi soule; first wite thou, what be the nede of hym, and what he in his inwit shal thenken; lest par auenture he poote a pol, *'or a stake'*, in to the erthe, and sey to thee, Good is thi wey, and stonde azenward, to seen what falle to thee. With an vnreligious man trete of hoolynesse^w, and with the vnri3twis man of ri3twisnesse, and with a womman of tho thingus that she enuyeth. Wile thou not counseilen with hym that hath thee suspect, and fro men enuyende to thee, hid thou thi conseil. With the dredful trete of bataile, and with the marchaund, *'of castinge out of schyppe'*; with the biere, of silling, with the enuyous man, of 13graces to be don; with the vnпитыouse, of pite, with the vnhonest, of honeste, with 14the werkere^y, of alle werk; with the annuel werker^z, of the ful endyng of the 3er, with the slowe seruauant, of myche werchyng. Tac thou not heed to these 15in al^a conseil, but with an hoely man be thou bysy, whom euere thou shalt 16knowe kende the drede of God, whos

thou maad* to hile drie malice, and the gilefulnesse therof? A felowe of table 4schal be myrie with a frend in delityngis, and in the dai of tribulacioun he schal be aduersarie. A felowe of table schal haue 5sorewe with a frend, for cause of the wombe; and he schal take scheeld azen an enemye. Forzete thou not thi frend in 6thi soule, and be thou not vnmyndeful of hym in thi werkis. Nyle thou take coun- 7cel with the fadir of thi wijf; and hide thou counsel fro hem that han enuye to thee. Ech councelour† schewith counsel, 8but ther is a councelour to hym silf. Kepe 9thi soule fro an yuel counselour; firste wite thou, what is his nede, and what he schal thenke in his soule; lest perauen- 10ture he sende a stake in to the erthe, and seie to thee, Thi weie is good, and he 11stonde azenward, to se what schal bifalle to thee. With an vnreligious man trete 12thou of holynesse‡, and with an vniust man of ri3tfulnesse, and with a womman of these thingis whiche sche hatith. With a ferdful man trete thou of batel, with a marchaunt, of caryng ouer of marchaundies to chepyng^t; with a biere, of sillyng, with an enuyouse man, of graces to be don; with an vnпитыouse man, of pytee, with 13an vnonest^u man, of oneste, with a werk man of the feeld, of ech werk; with a werk 14man hirid bi the 3eer, of the endyng of the 3eer, with a slowe seruauant, of myche worchyng. 3yue thou not^v tent to these men in al counsel, but be thou bisi with 15an hooli man, whom euere thou knowist kepynge Goddis drede, whos soule is aftir 16thi soule. Who euer doutith in derknessis, schal not haue sorewe with thee. And 17

* *A! thou worste presumcioun, wher of art thou maad; as if he seye, of noon; for whiche creature is maad good of God; but synne is defaute, and hath no cause of being bi it silf. Denyis seith thus, in his book of Dyuyne Namys. Noou that purposith yuel, worchith wel. to hile; bi feynnyng of frendshipe. drie malice; with outen vmour of goodnesse. in delityngis; that is, in the tyme of prosperite. in the tyme of tribulacioun; whanne prosperite failith, for which he feynede him for to loue. hath sorewe; that is, feyneth him to haue sorewe. with a frend; in tyme of his siknesse. for cause of the wombe; that is, of gloteny. take scheeld azenus an enemy; of the frend, as for to defende the frend; that is, if he doith this ony tyme, he doith it for gloteny, and not for veri frendshipe. Forzete thou not thi very frend in thi soule; so that thou loue not him onely bi mouth, but also with herte and werk. with the fadir of thi wijf; that is, of these thingis that perteynen*

to the restoring of thi wijf, for whiche euere he schal stonde for his dou3ter, and turne away fro truthe, for fleisli affeccioun. Lire here. c. † Ech councelour; vnfeithful. schewith counsel; as vndur the colour of his good, that axith counsel. to him silf; that is, purposinge his owne profit, and not his profit to whom he 3yueh counsel. Lire here. c. ‡ trete thou of hoolynesse; the autour of this book spekith here in scorn, and vndurstondith the contrarie of his seying; as if he seye, siche an vnreligious man schal councele thee yuele. and with an vniust man of ri3tfulnesse; liyk speche is here, vndurstondinge the contrarie, as it schal be opyn bi the ende of this part. of graces, etc.; that is, to 3yue frely to othere men. be thou bisi with an hooli man; that is, stable and sad in goodnesse and mesure, and trete thou with him of thi priuities. knowist; bi werkis. whos soule, etc.; that is, that loueth thee as him silf, and azenward. doutith in derknessis; of ignorance, ether of

^u a man c pr. m. E pr. m. ^v Om. c et E pr. m. ^w homlynesse c. ^x trete of chaunging c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y feeld werkere c pr. m. E pr. m. AGH. ^z werke c pr. m. ^a alle these in c.

^t shiping P. ^u onest A pr. m. ^v no c.

soule is aftr thi soule. Who euere shal wagen in dercesses, shal not togidere
 17 sorewen^b to thee. And herte of good counseil sette thou with thee; ther is not
 18 forsothe to thee other more than it. The soule of an hoely man telleth out other while sothis; more than seuene lookeres aboute sittende in to heizte to beholden.
 19 And in alle these thingus louliche preze the hejeste, that he rizt reule in treuthe thi
 20 wey. Biforn alle werkes a verre wrd go bifor thee; and biforn alle deede stable
 21 counseil. A shreude wrd 'schal chaunge^c the herte, of the whiche foure partis springen; good and euil, lif and deth; and the lordshipere of these is a bysy
 22 tunge. A wys man many men tazte, and
 23 to his soule is sweete. Who sofistically speketh, is hateful; in^d alle thing he shal
 24 ben bigilid. Forsothe ther is not 3yuen to hym of the Lord grace, forsothe he is
 25 bigilid of alle wisdom. Ther is a wys man wiys^{dd} to his soule, and the frutes of
 26 the^e wit of hym ben preisable. A wis man techeth his folc, and the frutis of
 27 the wit of^f hym ben feithful. A wys man shal be fulfild with blissingus, and
 28 men seende hym shul preisen. The lif of a man in the noumbre of dazes; the dazes forsothe of Irael ben vnnoumbre-
 29 able. A wis man in puple shal eritagen wrshipe, and the name of hym shal ben
 30 lyuende in to withoute ende. Sone, in thi lif tempte thou thi soule; and if it were shreude, 3if thou not to it power;
 31 forsothe not alle thingus to alle speden^g, and ne to eche soule eche kinde pleseth.
 32 Wile thou not ben gredy in alle plentuous mete 3yuyng, and heeld thee not
 33 out vpon eche mete. In manye forsothe metus shal ben infirmyte, and gredynesse
 34 shal nezhen vnto colre. For glotonye manye men dieden; who forsothe is abstinent, shal eechen lijf.

stablische thou the herte of good counceil with thee; for whi another thing is not more than it to thee. The soule of an
 18 hooli man tellith out treuthis sum tyme; more than seuene biholderis sittynge an hij for to biholde. And in alle these
 19 thingis biseche thou the hijeste, that he dresse thi weie in treuthe. Bifore alle
 20 werkis a sothefast word* go bifore thee; and a stidfast counceil go bifore ech dede. A wickid word schal chaunge the herte,
 21 of which herte foure partis comen forth; good and yuel, lijf and deth; and a bisi tunge is lord of tho. A wijs man hath
 22 tauzt many men, and he is swete to his soule. He that spekith 'bi soffym', is
 23 hateful; he schal be defraudid in ech thing. For whi grace is not 3ounn of the
 24 Lord to hym, for he is defraudid of al wisdom. A wijs man is wijs to his soule,
 25 and the fruytis of his wit ben worthi to be preisid. A wijs man techith his puple,
 26 and the fruytis of his wit ben feithful. A wijs man schal be fillid with blessyngis,
 27 and thei that seen hym schulen preise hym^v. The lijf of a man is in the noum-
 28 bre of daies; but the daies of Israel ben vnnoumbrable. A wijs man in the puple
 29 schal enherite onour, and his name schal be lyuyng with outen ende. Sone, asaie
 30 thi soule in thi lijf; and if it is wickid, 3yue thou not power to it; for whi not
 31 alle thingis speden to alle men, and not ech kynde plesith ech soule. Nyle thou
 32 be gredi in ech etyng, and schede thou not out thee on ech mete. For in many
 33 metis schal be sikennesse, and gredynesse schal neize 'til to^w colrye. Many men
 34 dieden for glotonye; but he that is abstinent, schal encrease lijf.

synne. sorewe with thee; that is, verily, and of herte, and so he schal not 3yue good counceil to thee in thi neile. the herte of good counceil; that is, wille to sue good counceil. not more; that is, betere. Live here. c.

* a sothfast word, etc.; in biheestis and answeris. wickid word; that is, a fals word. chaunge the herte; fro good to yuel. good and yuel; of kynde. lijf; of grace. and deth; of synne. Liyf of grace cometh forth of the herte bi disposing; but God makith that lijf, but deth of synne cometh forth of mannis herte, and is not maad of God. bisi tunge, etc.; that is, the bissy- nesse of good teching, that refreyneth yuel, and doith away deth of synne, and encreasith a good dede of kynde, and lijf of grace. Live here. c.

^b seruen c pr. m. E pr. m.
^f the frute of E pr. m. GH.

^c chaungeth c pr. m.
^g gode A.

^d and in A.

^{dd} Om. c pr. m.

^e Om. GH.

^u sofisticali, ether bi soffym [to deceive v] soffemys s. ethir deisseyuably to God x marg.

CEFGHKMNPRUVXA. sofisticali i. sofistically, ethir bi
^v Om. i. ^w vnto i.

CAP. XXXVIII.

1 Honoure the leche, for nede; forsothe
2 hym foormede the heȝest. Of God for-
sothe is alle leching; and fro the king he
3 schal take ȝyuyng. The disciplyne of
the leche schal enhaunse the hed of hym;
and in the siȝte of grete men he schal ben
4 preisid. The heȝest foormede of the
erthe medycyne; and the prudent man
5 schal not agrisen it. Whether not of the
6 tree is mad sweete the bitter water? At
the knowleching of men the vertue of
them; and the heȝest ȝaf to men kun-
nyng, to be wrshipid in his merueiles.
7 In these thingus he^b curende shal swage
sorewen, and the oynement makere shal
make pymentis of swotenesse, and enoynt-
ingusⁱ he shal make of helthe; and the
werkis of hym shul not ben ful endid.
8 The pes forsothe of God vpon the face
9 of the erthe. My sone, in thin infirmytee
ne dispise thou thiself; but prei the Lord,
10 and he shal cure thee. Turne awei fro
gilte, and dresse thou the hondis, and fro
11 alle gilte clense thin herte. Ȝif^k swet-
nesse, and mynde of tried flour, and mac
fat the offring; and ȝif stede to the
12 leche. Forsothe the Lord foormede hym,
and go he not awei fro thee; for his
13 werkis ben nedeful. Ther is forsothe
tyme, whan thou renne in to the hondis
14 of hem. Thei forsothe the Lord shul
louly preiȝen, that he riȝt reule the reste
of hem, and helthe for ther conuersa-
15 cioun. Who gilteth in his siȝt, that made
hym, shal falle in to the hondus of the
16 leche. Sone, in to the deade bringe forth
teris, and as harde thingus suffrid bigyn
to wepe; and aftir dom touche his body,
and dispise thou not the biring of hym.
17 For the acusing forsothe bitterly ber
weilyng 'of hym^l o dai; and tac coum-
18 fort for heuynesse. And do weilyng
after the deseruyng of hym o dai, or two,

CAP. XXXVIII.

Onoure thou a leche, for nede; for whi¹
the hiȝeste hath maad hym. For whi²
al medicyn is of God; and he schal take
of the kyng a ȝifte. The kunnyng of a ȝ
leche schal enhaunse his heed; and he
schal be preisid in the siȝt of grete men.
The hiȝeste hath maad of the erthe medi-⁴
cyn; and a prudent man schal not wlate
it. Whether bittir watir was not maad⁵
swete of a tre? The vertu of tho thingis⁶
cam bi experience to the knowing of men;
and the hiȝeste ȝaf kunnyng to men, for
to be onourid in his merueils. A man⁷
heelynge in these thingis schal aswage
sorewe, and an oynement makere schal
make pymentis of swetnesse, and schal
make anoyntyngis^x of heelthe; and hise
werkis schulen not^{*} be endid. For whi⁸
the pees of God *is* on the face of erthe.
Mi sone, dispise not thi silf in thi sike-⁹
nesse[†]; but preie thou the Lord, and he
schal heele thee. Turne thou awei fro¹⁰
synne, and dresse thin^y hondis, and clense
thin herte fro al synne. Ȝyue thou swet-¹¹
nesse, and the mynde of cleene flour of
wheete, and make thou fat offryng; and
ȝyue thou place to a leche. For the Lord¹²
made hym, and departe he not fro thee; for
hise werkis ben nedeful to thee. For whi¹³
tyme is, whanne thou schalt falle in to
the hondis of hem. Forsothe thei schulen¹⁴
biseche the Lord, that he dresse the werk
of hem, and helthe for her lyuyng. He¹⁵
that trespassith in the siȝt of hym, that
made hym, schal falle in to the hondis of
the leche. Sone, brynge thou forth teeris¹⁶
on a deed man, and thou as suffrynge
hard thingis bigynne to wepe; and bi
doom hile thou the bodi of hym, and
dispise thou not his biring. But for¹⁷
bacbityng bere thou bittirli the morenyng
of hym o dai; and be thou coumfortid for
sorewe[‡]. And make thou morenyng aftir¹⁸

* *werkis schulen not, etc.*; that is, schulen not haue effect purposid bi the leche and ipotecarie, for whi the doing of God, which is principal leech, is nedeful herto.

Live here. c. † dispise not thi silf in thi goostly syknesse; in dispisinge to seke remedy, as summen dispisen. preyre thou the Lord; deuoutly. schal heele thee; with oynement of grace. dresse hondis; that is, thi werkis to God. clense thyn herte; bi veri and cleene contricioun.

Ȝyue thou place to a leche; in onouringe the prest preyinge for thee. the Lord made him; that is, auunside him to the office of presthood. departe he not fro thee; that is, fro thyn herte, for thou owist euere for to loue and worschipe him. hise werkis, etc.; that is, to offre sacrifices, and to preyre for the synnes of the puple. thou schalt falle in to the hondis of hem; for whi present liyf is not passid with out synnes.

Live here. c. ‡ be thou coumfortid for sorewe; that is, lest ouer greet sorewe anoye thee.

^b Om. A. ⁱ onementis A. oynementis G sec. m. ^k Ȝif thou AGH. ^l Om. c pr. m.

^x oynementis I. ^y Om. A pr. m.

19 for bacbiting. Of^m sorewi slouthe forsothe heezeth deth, and couereth vertue; and sorewi slouthe of herte boowith the
20 nol. In ledyng awei dwellith stille sorewy slouthe; and the substaunce of the
21 helpeles aftir the herte of hym. Ne 3yue thou thin herte in sorewy slouthe, but putte it awei fro thee; and haue mynde of the laste thingus, and wile thou not
22 for3eten. Ne forsothe ther is conuersacioun, and to this thou schalt no thing profiten; and thi self thou shalt werst
23 treten. Myndeful be thou of my dom; so forsothe it shal ben and thin, to me
24 3istayⁿ, and to thee to day. In the reste of the deade mac to resten the mynde of hym; and counforte hym in the goyng
25 out of his spirit. Wisdom wrijt in tyme of voydenesse; and who is lassid in deede, wisdom shal parceyue; for with wisdom
26 he shal be fulfild. Who holdeth the plo3, and who glorieth in the spere, with the pricke stereth the oxen, and woneth in the werkis of hem; and the telling of
27 hym in the sonus of booles. His herte he shal 3yue 'to ben turned the forewis^o; and the wach of it in the fatnesse of kyn.
28 So eche smythe, and cheef werkere, the whyche the ny3t as the^p day ouerdoth; the whyche grauede grauen broochis, and the bysynesse of hym varieth^q the peynture; his herte he shal 3yue into the licnesse of peynture, and his waking par-
29 formeth the werk. So the iren smyth sittende beside the stithie, and biholdende the werk of the iren, the humour of the fyr brenneth his flesh; and in the hete of the furneys he trauailith with stryif.
30 The vois of hamer^r ennewith^s his ere; and a3en the licnesse of the vessel the
31 e3e of hym. His herte he shal 3yue in to the ful ending of the werkis; and his waking shal enourne the inparfitnesse.
32 So the crockere sittende at his werk, turnende with his feet the whel, the

his merit o dai, ether tweyne, for bacbit-
yng. For whi deth hastith of sorewe, 19
and hilith vertu; and^y the sorewe of herte
bowith the heed. Sorewe dwellith in 20
ledyng awei; and the catel of a nedī man*
is aftir his herte. 3yue thou not thin 21
herte in sorewe, but put it awei fro thee;
and haue thou mynde on the laste thingis,
and nyle thou for3ete. For whi no turn- 22
ing is^z, and thou schalt no thing profite
to this *deed man*; and thou schalt harme^a
worste thi silf. Be thou myndeful of mi 23
dom; for also thin schal be thus, to me
3istirdai, and to thee to dai. In the reste 24
of a deed man make thou hys mynde to
haue reste; and counforte thou hym in
the goyng out of his spirit. Write thou 25
wisdom† in the tyme of voidenesse; and
he that is made lesse in dede, schal per-
seyue wisdom; for he schal be fillid of
wisdom. He that holdith the plow, and 26
he that hath glorie in a gohode, dryueth
oxis with a pricke, and he lyueth in the
werkis of tho; and his tellyng is in the
sones of bolis. He schal 3yue his herte 27
to turne forewis; and his wakyng *schal*
be aboute the fatnesse of kien. So ech 28
carpenter, and principal werk man, that
passith the ny3t as the dai; that graueth
ymagis grauun, and the bisynesse of hym
dyuersith the peynture; he schal 3yue his
herte to the licnesse of peynture, and bi
his wakyng he perfourmeth the werk.
So a smyth sittynge bisidis the anefelt, 29
and biholdynge the werk of yrun, the
heete of fier brenneth hise fleischis; and
he stryueth in the heete of the furneis.
The vois of a hamer makith newe his 30
eere; and his i3e is a3ens the licnesse of
a vessel. He schal 3yue his herte in to 31
the^b perfourmyng of werkis; and bi his
wakyng he schal ourne vnperfeccioun†.
So a potter sittynge at his werk, turnynge 32
a wheel with hise feet, which is put euere
in bisynesse for his werk; and al his

hilith vertu;
that is,
straughtly the
vertu of kynde.
in ledyng awey;
fro good. Sorewe
anoyeth bodi
and soule, and
bringith sum-
tyme to dispeir
and othere
yuels. no turn-
yng is; that is,
fro deth to
present liyf.
Live here. c.
* the catel of a
nedi man, etc.;
for if he hath a
ioyeful herte
and manli, he
is seid riche;
and a riche
man siyk, that
is, sori, is seid
pore. 3yue thou
not thyn herte
in ouermyche
sorewe; for a
deed man. haue
thou mynde on
the laste thingis;
that is, of thi
deth, and of alle
othere men, fro
which no man
turneth a3en to
present liyf.
profite no thing
to this deed
man; that is,
bi thi turment
thou schalt not
clepe a3en that
deed man. of
my dom; that
is, of my deeth.
thyn schal be
thus; as if he
seide, haste
thou to worche
good, while
thou lyuest, for
thou schalt not
more aftir
deeth. Live
here. c.
† Writes thou
wisdom; that is,
bokis conteyn-
ynge wisdom.
of voidnesse;
that is, in the
tyme, in which
thou art voide
of othere werkis
of nede; ether
of voidnesse;
that is, of po-
uert, ether
whanne thou
art fastinge of
mete and
drynk. Live
here. c.
‡ ourne vnper-
feccioun; that
is, mater which
he bringith to
perfeccioun of
forme. Live
here. c.

^m Bi E pr. m. ⁿ 3isterdai ceteri passim. ^o to the plowis to ben turned c pr. m. E pr. m. P Om.
c pr. m. ^q varieth, or makith dyuerse AE sec. m. GH. ^r the hamer AGH. ^s euen with H.

^y Om. c. ^z is fro deeth to this present liyf v. ^a c super ras. trete ΕΗΡΥΥΥ. ^b Om. c.

whiche in besynesse is put euermor for
his werk; and with oute noubre is al
33 the werking of hym. In his arm he shal
foormen the cley; and bifoorn his feet he
34 shal crooken his vertue. His herte he
shal 3yue, that he ful ende the daubing;
and his waking shal clense the furneys.
35 Alle these in ther hondis hopeden; and
36 echon^t in ther 'craft is^u wys. Withoute
37 alle these 'is not bild^v vp the cyte. And
thei shul not wonen in, ne gon in; and
in to the chirche thei shul not ouerlepen.
38 Vpon the sete of the domys man thei
shul not sitte; and the testament of dom
thei shul not vnderstonde, ne maken
opene disciplyne, and dom; and in para-
39 blis thei shul not ben founde. But the
creature of spirituel tyme thei shul con-
fermen, and the lowe prezing of hem in
werking of craft; leeuende to ther soule,
and togidere sechende in the lawe of the
hejeste.

CAP. XXXIX.

1 The wisdom of alle olde men the wise
man shal ful out sechen; and in profetes^w
2 he shal take heed. The telling of the
nemned men he shal kepen; and in to the
sleiztes of parables togidere he shal entre.
3 The hid thingus of prouerbis he shal
sechen out; and in the hid thingus of
4 parables he shal dwelle. In the myddel
of grete men he shal mynystre; and in
the sijt of the chef domes man he shal
5 apere. In to the lond of alien folkys he
shal passe; goodus forsothe and euelis in
6 alle thingus he shal asa3e. His herte he
shal take to wake the morutid to the
Lord that made hym; and in the sijt of
7 the hejeste he shal louli prezen. He
shal opene his mouth in orisoun; and for
8 his giltus he shal louli pre3e. If forsothe

stondith not. *in profetis*; in biholdinge her seiyngis. *shal kepe*; in holdinge in mynde. *the telling of named men*; in sciences and vertues. *entre togidere*; to vnderstonde with hem that brouzten forth tho parablis. *the harde sentensis of parablis*; that is, priui and dyuerse sentences of tho. *the priuy thingis of prouerbis*; that is, goostly vnderstondyngis and hid. *in the hid thingis of parablis*; that is, figuratif vnderstondyngis. *Live here. c.*

^t Om. H.
phetis AGH.

^u craftis H.

^v shal not ben bild c pr. m. E pr. m. is not bildede E sec. m.

^w the pro-

worchyng is vnroumbrable. In his arm 33
he schal fourme clei; and bifore hise feet
he schal bowe his vertu*. He schal 34
3yue his herte to ende perfitli sum^c thing;
and bi his wakyng he schal clense the
furneis. Alle these men hopiden in her 35
hondis; and ech man is wijs in his craft.
A citee is not bildid with outen alle these 36
men. And thei schulen not dwelle, ne- 37
ther go[†]; and thei schulen not skippe ouer
in to the chirche. Thei schulen not sitte 38
on the seete of a iuge; and thei schulen
not vndirstonde the testament of^d doom[‡],
nether thei schulen make opyn techyng
and doom; and thei schulen not be
foundun in parablis. But thei schulen 39
conferme the creature of the world[§], and
her preyer is in the worching of craft;
and thei 3yuen her soule, and thei axen
togidere in the lawe of the hijeste.

CAP. XXXIX.

A wijs man schal seke out the wisdom 1
of alle elde men^{||}; and he schal 3yue tent
in profetis. He schal kepe the tellyng of 2
named men; and he schal entre togidere
in to the hard sentensis of parablis. He 3
schal seke out the pryuy thingis of pro-
uerbis; and he schal be conuersaunt in the
hid thingis of parablis. He schal my- 4
nystre in the myddis of grete men; and
he^e schal appere in the sijt of the cheef
iuge. He schal passe in to the lond of 5
alien folkis; for he schal asaie goodis, and
yuels in alle thingis. He^f schal 3yue his 6
herte to wake eerli to the Lord that made
hym; and he schal biseche in the sijt of
the hijeste. He schal opene his mouth 7
in preier; and he schal biseche for hise
trespassis. For if the grete Lord wole, 8

* bowe his ver-
tu; that is,
howe him sill
strongly to
stire the wheel.
hopiden in her
hondis; that is,
to gete liyfode
and clothing,
bi the werkis
of her hondis.
Live here. c.
† they schulen
not dwelle, ne-
ther go; that
is, the forseid
crafti men
schulen not
dwelle among
princes and
counsellours of
the citee, ne-
ther schulen go
to her counsels
among hem.
and thei schu-
len not skippe
ouer in to the
chirche; that
is, the cleping
togidere of wise
men; for thei
ben not able
thereto. *Live
here. c.*
‡ testament of
doom; that is,
diffynitif sen-
tence. *Live
here. c.*
§ thei schulen
conferme the
creature of the
world; that is,
the age of man,
which is kept
bi the werkis
of the forseid
craftis, that ben
nedeful to the
keeping of
mannus liyf.
they 3yuen her
soule; to the
cure of prestis.
axen togidere,
etc.; for thei
axen of hem of
the maner of
her helthe,
wherof it is
opyn, that
prestis owen to
be onourid of
alle the forseid
men. *Live
here. c.*

|| seke out the
wisdom of alle
elde men; in
heringe dili-
gently her sei-
yngis, and en-
queringe of
othere men tho
that he vndur-

^c Om. v. ^d of a c. ^e Om. E. ^f And he c.

the grete Lord wile^x, with the spirit of
 9 vnderstandyng he shal fulfille hym. And
 he, as reynes^y, shal sende the speches of
 his wisdom; and in orisoun he shal knou-
 10 leche to the Lord. And he shal riȝt
 reule the counseil 'of hym^z, and dyscy-
 plyne; and in his hid thingus shal^a coun-
 11 seilen^b. He open shal make the disci-
 plyne of his lore; and in the lawe of the
 testament of the Lord he shal glorien.
 12 Manye shal preise the wisdom of hym;
 and vnto the world he shal not be don
 13 away. The memorie of hym shal not go
 awei; and the name of hym shal be soȝt
 14 fro ieneracioun in to ieneracioun. His
 wisdom folkis of kynde shul telle out;
 and his preising the chirche shal shewen
 15 out. If his name schal^c abijde stille, he
 shal leue more^d than a thousand; and if
 he shul resten, it shal profiten to hym.
 16 Ȝit I shal counseilen that I telle out, as
 17 with wodnesse forsothe I am fulfid; and
 in voys he seith, Al aboute hereth me,
 ȝee Goddus frutes, and as roses plauntid
 vpon ryueres of watris, maketh frutes.
 18 As Liban, smel of swotenesse haue ȝee.
 19 Floureth floures, as lilie; ȝyueth smel,
 and brauncheth in to grace. And preisith
 togidere the song dite; and blisseth the
 20 Lord in his werkis. Ȝyueth to his name
 gret doying, and knoulecheth to hym in
 the vois of ȝoure lippis, in song dites of
 lippis, and in harpis; and thus ȝee shuln
 21 seyn in knoulechying, The werkis of the
 22 Lord, alle thei ben ful goode. In the
 wrd forsothe of hym stood the water as
 an hep; and in the wrd of the mouth of
 23 hym as resceyuyng places of watris. For
 in the heste of hym a pes makere is mad;
 and ther is not lassyng in the helthe of
 24 hym. The werkes of alle flesh biforn
 hym; and ther is not any thing hid fro

odour of swetnesse; that is, deuocioun. Live here. c.

he schal fille hym with the spirit of vn-
 durstandyng. And he schal sende the 9
 wordis of his wisdom, as reynes; and in
 preier he schal knouleche to the Lord.
 And he^{*} schal dresse his counsel, and 10
 techyng; and schal councele in hise hid
 thingis. He schal make opene the wis- 11
 dom of his techyng; and he schal haue
 glorie in the lawe of the testament of the
 Lord. Many men schulen preyse his wis- 12
 dom; and it schal not be don away til in
 to the world. His mynde schal not go 13
 awei; and his name schal be souȝt fro
 generacioun in to generacioun. Folkis 14
 schulen telle out his wisdom[†]; and the
 chirche schal telle his preisying. If his 15
 name dwellith[‡], he schal leue more than
 a thousynde; and if he restith, it schal
 profite to hym. Ȝit Y schal take counsel 16
 to telle out, for Y am fillid as with wood-
 nesse; and *myn ynnere spirit* seith in 17
 vois, Ȝe fruytis of God, here me, and make
 ȝe fruyt, as roosis plauntide on the ryuers
 of watris. Haue ȝe odour of swetnesse, 18
 as the Liban *hath*. Bringeth forth flouris, 19
 as a lilee; ȝyue ȝe odour, and make ȝe
 boowis in to grace. And preise ȝe togidere
 a song; and blesse ȝe the Lord in hise
 werkis. Ȝyue ȝe greet onour to his name, 20
 and knouleche ȝe to him in the vois of
 ȝoure lippis, in songis of lippis, and in
 harpis; and thus ȝe schulen seie in knou-
 leching, Alle the werkis of the Lord ben 21
 ful goode. Forsothe watir as an heepe 22
 of *stoonyis* § stood at his word; and as
 resettis of watris in the word of his
 mouth. For whi pesiblenesse is maad in 23
 his comaundement; and no defaute is in
 the heelte of hym ¶. The werkis of ech 24
 fleisch *ben* bifore hym; and no thing is
 hid fro hise iȝen. He biholdith fro the 25
 world til in to the world; and no thing is

* And he; that is, the Lord. councele; in schewing to him ful clerely derk thingis. Live here. c.

† wisdom; herd of hem bi prechingis. the chirche; that is, congregacioun of iust men. restith; that is, is bifor takun with deth. profite to him; for he schal passe sunnere to the glorie of paradijs. Live here. c.

‡ If his name dwellith, etc.; that is, if he lyueth long, he schal leue

more than a thousynde discipulis wel tauȝt, that moun teche afir hym. take counsel; that is, Y schal bi-thenke. to telle out; profitable thingis to contemplacioun.

as with woodnesse; that is, feruent wille to speke that may not be withholdun, in xx. chapter of Jeremye, The word of the Lord in my herte was maad as fier brennyng; and in iiii. c. of Dedis, We moun not speke tho

thingis that we sien and herden. and myn ynnere spirit; bi whos vertu the outermere voys

is formed. seith in vois; outward. Ȝe fruytis of God; that is, disciplis

willinge to make fruyt to God, bi werkis of contemplatif

liyf. as a rose; which is fair and cleene; for

contemplatif liyf is fairere and clenere than actif liyf.

maad bi him.

¶ no defaute is in the heelte of him; that is, in anyng

^x schal wile AE sec. m. GH.

^y wederes c pr. m. E pr. m.

^z Om. AGH.

^a Om. c pr. m.

^b be

conseiled G sec. m.

^c Om. c pr. m.

^d mo c pr. m.

§ in a wal c marg. v marg.

25 his eȝen. Fro the world vnto the world
 he biholdith; and no thing is merueilous
 26 in the siȝt of hym. Ther is not to sey,
 What is this, or, What is that? forsothe
 alle thingus in ther tyme shul be soȝt.
 27 The blissing of hym as a flod shal flowe;
 28 and as the vnyuersel flod drunkede^e the
 erthe, so the wrathe of hym shal eritagen
 29 Jentyles, that soȝten hym not out. What
 manere he turnede watris in to droȝte, and
 the erthe is dried, and the weies of it to
 the weies of them ben forth^f strait; so
 to synneres offenciouns in the wrathe of
 30 hym. Goodis to goode men ben foormed
 fro the bigynnyng; so to most wicke
 31 men goodis and eueles. The bygynnyng
 of necessarie thing to the lif of men,
 water, fyr, iren, and salt, and mylc, and
 bred of tried flour, and hony, and clustre
 32 of grape, and oile, and clothing. Alle
 these to hoely men in to goodus; so and
 to vnпитыous men and to synneres in to
 33 eueles thei shul ben als turned. Ther
 ben spirites that to veniaunce ben form-
 ed; and in ther wodnesse thei conferm-
 34 eden ther tormentes. And in tyme of
 ful endyng thei shul heelden out vertue;
 and the wodnesse of hym that made
 35 them thei shul shende. Fyr, hail, hun-
 gir, and deth; alle these to veniaunce
 36 ben foormed; teeth of bestes, and scor-
 piouns, and serpentis, and two bitende
 swerd veniende in to outlawyng vnпиты-
 37 ous men. In the hestes of hym thei
 shul plenteuously eten, and vpon erthe^h
 in nede thei shul be greithidⁱ; and in^k
 ther tymes thei shul not passe biside a
 38 wrd. Therefore fro the bygynnyng I am
 confermede; and I counselede, and thoȝte,
 39 and scrites^l lafte. Alle the werkes of the
 Lord good; and ech werk in his hour
 40 shal vndermynestren. Ther is not to

wondurful in his siȝt. It is not to seie, 26
 What is this thing, ether, What is that
 thing? for whi alle thingis schulen be
 souȝt in her tyme. The blessing of hym 27
 schal flowe as a flood; and as the grete 28
 flood fillide greteli the erthe, so his yre
 schal enherite in folkis, that souȝten not
 hym. As he turnede watris in to dry- 29
 nessis, and the erthe was dried, and hise
 weies^{*} weren dressid to the weies of hem;
 so offenciouns in his ire *ben dressid* to
 synneris. Goode thingis weren maad at 30
 the bigynnyng to goode men; so goode
 thingis and yuele *ben maad* to worste
 men. The bigynnyng of nedeful thing to 31
 the lijf of men, watir, fier, and yrun, and
 salt, and mylk, and breed of cleene flour
 of whete, and hony, and a clustre of
 grape, and oile, and cloth. Alle these 32
 thingis schulen turne to hooli men in to
 goodis; so and to vnfeithful men and^h
 synneris in to yuels. Spiritis ben that ben 33
 maad to veniaunce[†]; and in her wood-
 nesse thei confermyden her turmentis.
 And in the tyme of endyng thei schulen 34
 schede out vertu; and thei schulen con-
 founde[‡] the strong veniaunce of hym that
 made hem. Fier, hail, hungur, and deth; 35
 alle these thingis ben maad to veniaunce;
 the teeth of beestis, and scoriouns, and 36
 serpentis, and a swerd punyschyng wick-
 id men in to destriyng. In the comaunde- 37
 mentis of hym tho schulen ete[§], and tho
 schulen be maad redi on the erthe in nede;
 and in her tymes tho schulen not passe oⁱ
 word. Therfor fro the bigynnyng Y was 38
 confermed; and Y counselide, and thoȝte,
 and lefte writun. Alle the werkis of the 39
 Lord *ben* goode; and ech werk schal serue
 in his our. It is not to seie, This is worse 40
 than that; for whi alle thingis schulen
 be preued in her tyme. And now in al 41

it is not to seie,
 it spedith not to
 axe, what is this,
 etc.; that is,
 wherto is this
 thing worth,
 ether that
 thing. *Live*
here. c.

* *hise weies*;
 that is, weies
 maad of him.
 offenciouns;
 for the watris
 runnen to E-
 gipcians, and
 drenchiden
 hem. *Live*
here. c.

† *ben maad to*
veniaunce; that
 is, assignyd bi
 the ordre of
 Goddis rytful-
 nesse to suffre
 peyne, and to
 turmente syn-
 neris, that thei
 that weren wil-
 fully suȝet to
 fendis in syne,
 ben suȝet vn-
 wilfully to hem
 in peyne. *in*

her woodnesse;
 bi which they
 rebelliden agen-
 us God. *con-*

fermeden her
turmentis; for
 as her synne is
 vncurable, so
 and her tur-
 ment is with-
 outen ende.
schede out ver-
tu; to turmente
 dampned men,
 that schulen be
 cast down with
 hem in to helle.
Live here. c.

‡ *confounde*;
 that is, do bi
 worst wille.

Live here. c.
 § *tho schulen*
ete; that is,
 deuoure wickid
 men, in tur-
 menting hem.
in her tymes;

dispid of God.
a word; aboute
 the turment of
 dampnyd men.

fro bigynnyng
Y was conferm-
ed; that is, from
 the tyme in
 which Y vndur-
 stood that the
 punysching of
 synneris schal
 be most fers,
 Y purposide

stidefastly to eschewe synnes, as myche as Y may. *It is not to seie*; in Goddis werkis, for whi no thing is yuel, in as myche as it is maad of God.
Live here. c.

^e drunkede, or *fulfild c sec. m. marg. E sec. m. marg. GH. fulfillide A.* ^f out *AGH.* ^g Om. *A.* ^h the
 erthe *AE GH.* ⁱ greithid, or *maad redi AEGH.* ^k in to *A.* ^l writen *EG sec. m.*

^h and to *I.* ⁱ a *ceteri.*

seyne, this than^m that is werseⁿ; forsothe alle thingus in ther tyme shul be proued.

41 And now in alle herte and mouth preys-eth togidere, and blisseth the name of the Lord.

CAP. XL.

1 Gret ocupacioun is shape to alle men, and a greuouse 30c vp on the sonus of Adam, fro the day of the goyng out fro the wombe of the moder of hem, vn to the day of the biring in to the moder
2 of alle thingus. The tho3tis of hem, and the dredes of herte, the fyndyngus of abidyng, and the dazes^o of endyng^p;
3 fro^r the cheef sitters^s 'vp on^t the glorious sete, vn to the meekid vn to the^u
4 erthe and asken^v; fro hym that vseth blu silc, and berth the^w croune, vn to hym that is couered^x with raw linnen, wodnesse, enuye, noyse, waging, and
dred of deth, wrahtefulnesse stedefastly
5 bidende, and striuyng; and in tyme of repast in the bed, slep of ny3t chaungeth
6 his kunnyng. Lital forsothe as no3t in reste; and of hym in slepes as in the
7 day respit. He ys disturbid in the sijte of his herte, as he that is scapid in the dai of bataile. In the tyme of his helthe
he ros out, and wndrende at no drede,
8 with alle flesh, fro man vn to beste, and
9 vp on the synneres seuenefold. To these thingus, deth^{xx}, blod, strif, and two bitende swerd, oppressiouns^y, hungres, and to-
10 treding, and scourges; vp on wickid men ben formed alle these thingus, and for
11 hem was mad the ieneral flod. Alle thingus forsothe that of the erthe ben, in to erthe^z shul ben turned; and alle wa-
12 tris in to the se shuln be turned. Alle 3ifte and wickidnesse^a shal ben don away;
13 and feith in to world shal stonde. The substaunces of vnri3twis men as a flod

the herte and mouth preise 3e togidere, and blesse 3e the name of the Lord.

CAP. XL.

Greet ocupacioun is maad to alle men,¹ and an heuy 30k on^j the sonus of Adam, fro the dai of the goyng out of the wombe of her modir, til in to the dai of biring in to the modir^{*} of alle men. The² thou3tis of hem, and the dredis of herte, fyndyngis of abidyng, and the dai of endyng; fro hym that sittith bifore on a glo-³ rouse seete, 'til to^k a man maad lowe in to erthe^l and aische; fro hym that vsith⁴ iacynt, and berith a coroun, 'til to^m hym that is hilid with raw lynnun cloth, wodnesse, enuye, noise, doutyng, and drede of deth, wrathfulnesse dwellynge contynueli, and striff; and in theⁿ tyme of restyng in⁵ the bed, the sleep of ny3t chaungith his kunnyng. Forsothe a lital *is* as nou3t in⁶ reste; biholdyng *is* of hym[†] in sleep as in the dai. He is disturblid in the sijt of⁷ his herte, as he that ascapith in the dai of batel. He roos vp in the dai of his^o helthe, and dredyng not at ony drede, with al fleisch, fro man 'til to^p beeste, and⁸ seuenefold[‡] *shal come* on synneris. At⁹ these thingis, deth, blood, struyng, and swerd, oppressyngis, hungur, and sorewe, and beetyngis; alle these thingis ben¹⁰ maad on wickid men, and the greet flood was maad for hem. For whi alle thingis¹¹ that ben of the erthe, schulen turne in to the erthe; and alle watris schulen turne in to the see. Al 3ifte[§] and wickidnesse¹² schal be don awey; and feith schal stonde in to the world. The richessis of vniust¹³ men schulen be maad drie as a flood; and schulen sowne as a greet thundur in reyn.

* in to the modir, etc.; that is, in to erthe, to which thei turnen agen in angwisch and nakidnesse. fyndyngis of abiding, etc.; that is, feynyngis of more yuels of tyme to comyng, than schulen come, and the day of deth turmenten men. *Live here. c.* † biholding is of him, etc.; for whi dremes ben maad to him of these thingis, whiche [he] sij in the day. of his helthe; that is, of his prosperite. at ony drede; that is, at ony ferdful thing, be it man, be it beeste. *Live here. c.* ‡ and seuenefold, schal come on synneris; that is, greuouse punysching schal come on synneris, obstynat bi pride. at these thingis; that is, for thingis bifor seid. deth; violent. *Live here. c.* § Al 3ifte; 3ounn for distriyng of ri3tfulnesse, and wickidnesse doon for 3ifte. schal be doon awey; that is, the 3yueris of 3iftis, and the distriis of ri3tfulnesse for 3iftis, schulen be doon awey fro present liyf, so that no thing schal appere of her possesiouns and boost, as no thing apperith in tablis doon awey, and feith; that is, feithfulnesse of iust men. schal stonde; in his effect. as a

flood; a flood is takun here for a stronde, that wexith greet sudeynly bi watris of snow, and soone is maad drie, so the richessis of vniust men be getun swiftly, and ben takun away from hem ofte swiftly. as greet thundur in reyn; that ceesith soone bi the reyn, so the boost of yuele riche men is takun away soone of princes, bi a lital occasioun. *Live here. c.*

^m or *E pr. m.* ⁿ wickider *AEGH.* ^o day *A.* ^p the berende *c pr. m.* the beringe *E pr. m.* ^r offis of *CE pr. m.* ^s iuge *E pr. m.* ^t vp *H.* ^u Om. *AE sec. m.* ^v asshen *A.* ^w Om. *AEGH.* ^x crownyd *E pr. m.* ^{xx} Om. *c pr. m.* ^y oppressioun *AGH.* ^z the erthe *AGH.* ^a wickenesse *E.*

^j to *c.* ^k vnto *I.* ^l the erthe *c.* ^m vnto *I.* ⁿ Om. *I.* ^o Om. *v.* ^p vnto *I.*

shul ben dried; and as gret^b thunder in
 14 reyn thei shul sowne ful. As the riȝtwis
 man in openyng his hondis shal gladen;
 so the lawe brekeres in the ende shuln
 15 wanen^c away. The sonus sonus of vnpit-
 ous men shul nott multeplie braunches;
 and vnclene rootes vp on the cop of the
 16 ston sounen. Vp on eche water grene-
 nesse; and at the hour of the flod biforn
 17 al the hey^d it shal be pullid vp. Grace
 as paradis in blissingus; and mercy in to
 18 the world abit^e stille. The lif of the suf-
 fisaunt werkere to hymself shal be mad
 swete; and in it thou shalt fynde tresor.
 19 The bilding vp of the cite shal confermen
 the name; and ouer this an vndefoulid
 20 womman shal be countid. Wyn and
 melodye gladen the herte; and ouer
 21 either the loonyng of wisdam. Trumpes
 and sautre maken swete melody; and
 22 ouer eithir the swete tunge. Grace and
 fairnesse^{ee} the eȝe shal desyren; and ouer
 23 these grene tilthis. A frend and a mete
 felawe in tyme comende^f togidere; and
 ouer either a womman with a man.
 24 Brethern in to help in tyme of tribula-
 cioun; and ouer them mercy shal dely-
 25 ueren. Gold and siluer, and setting of
 feet; and ouer either^g counseil wel
 26 plesid. Facultes and vertues enhauncen
 the herte; and ouer these the drede of
 27 the Lord. Ther is not in the drede of
 the Lord lassing; and ther is not in it
 28 to seche helpe. The drede of the Lord
 as paradis of blessing; and ouer alle
 29 glorie thei couereden it. Sone, in the
 tyme of thi lif ne nede thou; betere is
 30 to dyen, than to neden. A man bihold-
 ende in to an other mannes bord, the lif
 of hym is nott in the thenking of liflode;
 forsothe he nursheth his lif with other
 31 mennus metes. A man forsothe disci-

An vniust man schal be glad in openyng¹⁴
 hise hondis; so trespassouris schulen faile
 in the ende. The sones of sones of wick-¹⁵
 id men schulen not multiplie braunchis;
 and vnclene rootis* sownen on the cop
 of a stoon. Grenenese bisidis ech watir;¹⁶
 and at the brynk of the flood it schal be
 drawun out bi the roote bifor al hey.
 Grace as paradiss in blessingis; and¹⁷
 merci dwellith in to the world. The lijf¹⁸
 of a werk man sufficient to hym silf schal
 be maad swete; and thou schalt fynde
 tresour ther ynne. Bildyng of a citee¹⁹
 schal conferme a name; and a womman
 with out wem schal be rikenyd aboute
 this†. Wyn and musik maken glad the²⁰
 herte; and loue of wisdom *gladith*^q aboute
 euer either. Pipis and sawtree maken²¹
 swete melodie; and a swete tunge aboute
 euer either. An yȝe schal desire grace²²
 and fairnesse; and greene sowyngis aboute
 these thingis. A frend and felowe com-²³
 ynge togidere in tyme‡; and a womman
 with man^r aboute euer either. Britheren²⁴
 in to help in the tyme of tribulacioun
 'counforten myche^s; and merci schal de-
 lyuere more than thei. Gold and siluer,²⁵
 and setting of feet; and counsel wel ples-
 ing *is* aboute euer either. Richessis and²⁶
 vertues enhaunsen the herte; and the drede
 of the Lord more than this. Making²⁷
 lesse is not in the drede of the Lord; and
 in that *drede* it is not to seke help. The²⁸
 drede of the Lord *is* as paradys of bless-
 yng; and 'the blessingis of God^u kyuer-
 iden hym aboute al glorie. Sone, in the²⁹
 tyme of thi lijf § be thou not nedi; for it
 is betere to die, than to be nedi. A man³⁰
 biholdinge in to another mannus boord,
 his lijf is not in the thouȝt of lijflode; for
 he susteyneth his lijf with othere mennus
 metis. Forsothe a chastisid man and³¹

* vnclene
 rootis, etc.; that
 is, the fadris
 and modris of
 hem fallen doun
 soone, as a tre
 that hath no
 deep root, for
 roochis of stoon.

† *Live here. c.*
 † about this;
 for whi hir
 stidefastnesse
 schal stonde
 withouten ende.
 ‡ *swete tunge; of a*
 ‡ *prechour, ether*
 of a techere of
 feith and ver-
 tues. *Live*
here. c.

§ *comynge togide*
 § *in tyme;*
 ben delitable
 togidere. *a man*
 with a womman,
 etc.; that is, ben
 more delitable
 whanne thei
 acorden in
 goodnesse, for
 thei ben o
 fleisch, and
 schulen not be
 departid bi al
 her lijf. *setting*
 of feet; that is,
 helthe of bodi
 ben acceptable
 to men. and
 vertues; that
 is, strengthe of
 bodi. *Making*
 lesse; that is,
 defaute of good.
 help; of man,
 for he that
 dredith God,
 hath present
 Goddis help.
Live here. c.

§ *Sone, in the*
 § *tyme of thi lijf;*
 that is, in tyme
 of present lijf,
 grauntid to thee
 to worche wel.
 ¶ *be thou not*
 ¶ *nedy; that is,*
 be thou not
 idil, for whi
 bothe goostly
 nedinesse and
 temporal sueth
 to idilnesse. *it*
 is betere to die;
 bodily. *than to*
 be nedy; that
 is, to be idil, bi
 which a man
 dieth goostly.
 In xxxij. c.
 ifore, idilnesse
 hath tauȝt
 myche malice;
 and sum tyme

for idilnesse a man dieth bodily, for ofte for idilnesse a man is turned to thefte, for which he is hangid. *biholdinge in to another mannus boord;* as ben mynstrels and stronge beggeris, idil of goode werkis. *in the thouȝt of lijflode;* that is, he thenkith not to do any thing, wherof he owith to lyue resonably. *Live here. c.*

^b a gret AGH. ^c wanyen EGH. ^d heiz E pr. m. ^e abideth AEGH. ^{ee} hope E. ^f of cummyng AGH
^g these E pr. m.

^q Om. I. ^r a man v. ^s Om. I. ^t Om. I. ^u Om. v.

32plyned and tazt, shal kepe hymself. In the mouth of the vnprudent shal be maad^h myseiseⁱ; and in the wombe of hym fyr shal brenne.

CAP. XLI.

1 O! deth, hou bitter is thi mynde to an vnri3twis man, and hauende pes in 2 his substaunces; to^k a quyete man, and whos weies ben ri3t strazt in alle thingus, 3 and 3it my3ti to taken mete. O! deth, good is thi dom to a man nedy, and that 4 is lassid in strengthe, failende^l thur3 age, and to whom of alle thingus is cure, and to the^m vnbeleueful, that leeseth wisdam. 5 Wile thou not dreden the dom of deth; haue mynde what biforn thee weren, and what vp on ben to come to thee; this 6 dom fro the Lord to alle flesh. And that shuln ouercomen to thee in the wel plesid thing of the he3est; whether ten, or an hundred, or a thousand 3erⁿ. 7 Forsothe ther is not in helle acusing of 8 lif. The sonus of abhominaciouns ben mad the sonus of synneres; and that women biside the housis of vnpitous men. 9 The eritage of the sonus of synneres shal pershen; and with the sed of hem the 10 besynesse of repref. Of the vnpitouse fader pleyne^o, 'or weilen^{oo}, sonus^p, for^q for hym 11 thei ben in repref. Wo to 3ou, vnpitous men, that han forsaken the lawe of the 12 he3est Lord. And if 3ee shul ben born, in cursing 3ee shul ben born; and if 3ee shul 13 dien, in cursing shal be 3oure part. Alle thingus that of the erthe ben, in to erthe shul ben turned; so vnpitouse men fro 14 cursing in to perdicioun. The weylyng of men in the body of hem; the name forsothe of vnpitous men shal ben don 15 away. Cure haue thou of a good name; that forsothe more shal abide stille with

lernd schal kepe him silf. Nedynesse 32* vnprudent man; that is, slow and idil. fier; that is, hungur. Live here. c. † ben dressid; that is, hath prosperite in al temporal thingis. to a nedi man; and iust. care of alle thingis; nedeful to liyf, for to gete tho. Live here. c. ‡ Nyle thou drede the doom of deth; that is, sette thou thee in sich a staat, that the doom of deth be good to thee. what thingis weren bifor thee, etc.; for bi the minde of hooli fadris that 3eden bifore, and of the meedis of iust men, and of peynes of wickid men, that schulen come, a man is disposid to abide sikirly the doom of deth. the sones of abhomynacioun; that is, worthi to be vlatid, for thei ben abhomynable in the sight of God, and of iust men. the sones of synneris; that is, sueris of the fadris synnes, bisidis the housis of wickid men, for they suen the dedis of wickid men. Sones playnen; in helle. thei ben in schenschip for him; that is, ben dampned, for thei weren yuele enformed of him, which he was holdun to teche wel. Live here. c. § noon accusyng, etc.; no man may excuse him there, in alegginge goodnesse of which is of the deucl. in to perdicioun; of helle. of good name; that is, of iust lyuyng. of good liyf; that is, the meritorie liyf of a good man is schort. Live here. c.

CAP. XLI.

Aw! deth, thi mynde is ful bittir to an 1 vniust man, and hauynge pees in hise richessis; to a restful man, and whose 2 weies ben dressid† in alle thingis, and 3it my3ti to take mete. A! deth, thi doom 3 is good to a nedi man, and which is maad lesse in strengthis, and failith for age, and 4 to whom is care of alle thingis, and vnbeleueful, that leesith wisdom. Nyle thou 5 drede the doom of deth‡; haue thou mynde what thingis weren byfore thee, and what thingis schulen come on thee; this dom is of the Lord to ech man. And 6 tho thingis that schulen come on thee in the good plesaunce of the hizeste; whether ten 3eer, ether an hundrid, ether a thousynde. For whi noon accusyng§ of 7 lijf is in helle. The sones of abhomynaciouns ben the sones of synneris; and thei that dwellen bisidis the housis of wickid men. The eritage of the sones of synneris schal perische; and the contynuaunce of schenscipe with the seed of hem. Sones playnen of a wickid fadir; 10 for thei ben in schenschip for hym. Wo 11 to 3ou, 3e wickid men, that han forsake the lawe of the hizeste. And if 3e^x be 12 borun, 3e schulen be borun in cursidnesse; and if 3e ben deed, 3oure part schal be in cursidnesse. Alle thingis that ben of the 13 erthe, schulen turne in to the erthe; so wickid men schulen turne fro cursyng|| in to perdicioun. The morenyng of men 14 is in the bodi of hem; but the name of wickid men schal be doon awei. Haue 15 thou bisynesse of a good name; for whi

lyyf, and seiynge 3enus God, If Y hadde lyued longe, Y hadde do many goodis. Live here. c. || fro cursing; of synne, which is of the deucl. in to perdicioun; of helle. of good name; that is, of iust lyuyng. of good liyf; that is, the meritorie liyf of a good man is schort. Live here. c.

^h to-troden c pr. m. e pr. m. ⁱ sweet myseise e sec. m. GH. ^k and to A. ^l fallynge A GH. ^m Om. A. ⁿ 3eris A EGH. ^o ben sou3t e pr. m. ^{oo} Om. c et e pr. m. ^p the vnpitous sonis A. vnpitous sonis e pr. m. H. ^q Om. H.

w O! Ia. x thei c.

D d 2

thee, than a thousand grete tresores and
 16 precious. Of good lif the noumbre of
 dazes; forsothe good name shal abide stille
 17 in to the spirituel world. Disciptyne in
 pes kepeth, 3ee sonus; hid forsothe wis-
 dam, and tresor vnseen, what profit in
 18 euere either? Betere is a man that hid-
 ith hys folie, than a man that hidith his
 19 wisdom. 'Ner the latere^r turneth a3een in
 these thingus that gon out of my mouth.
 20 Forsothe it is not good to waiten aboute,
 'or to *kepen*^s, alle vnreuerence, and not
 21 alle thingus in alle plesen in feith. Shame
 3ee of the fader, and of the moder, of
 fornycacioun; and fro the cheef sittere,
 22 and of the my3ty, of lesyng; and of the
 prince, and of the domes man, of^t gilte;
 of the synagoge, and of the folc, of wick-
 23 idnesse^u; of felawe, and of frend, of vn-
 24 ryztwisnesse; and of the place in the
 whiche thou dweldest, of thefte; of the
 treuthe of God, and the testament; of
 sitting down in looues, and of the derk-
 nyng of the 3oue thing, and of taken;
 25 fro^v men salutende, of stillnesse^w; fro
 biholdyng^x of a fornycarie womman, and
 fro the turnyng awei of the chere of the
 26 cosyn. Ne turne thou awei face^y fro thi
 ne3hebore; and fro taking awei part,
 27 and not restoring. Bihold thou not a
 womman of an other man; and ne en-
 serche thou the hand womman of hym,
 and^z stonde thou not at the bed of hir.
 28 Bewar of frendus, of wrdus of repref;
 and whan thou hast 3yue, ne vpbreide
 thou.

CAP. XLII.

1 Ne double thou the sermoun of heer-
 ing, of the openyng of the hid wrd; and
 thou shalt ben verrelly withoute confu-
 sioun, and thou shalt fynde grace in the
 sizt of alle men. Ne for alle these thingus
 be thou confoundid; and ne accepte thou

this schal dwelle more with thee, than a
 thousynde tresouris grete and precieuse.
 The noumbre of daies *is the terme* of 16
 good lijf; but a good name schal dwelle
 with outen ende. Sones, kepe 3e techyng 17
 in pees; for whi wisdom hid, and tresour
 vnseyn, what profit is in euere either?
 Betere is a man* that hidith his foli, than 18
 a man that hidith his wisdom. Nethes 19
 turne 3e^y a3en in these thingis that comen
 forth of my mouth. For it is not good to 20
 kepe alle vnreuerence, and not alle thingis
 plesen alle men in feith. Be 3e ascham- 21
 ed of fornycacioun, bifor fadir, and bifor
 modir; and of a leesyng, bifore a iustice,
 and bifore a my3ti man; and of trespas, 22
 bifor a prince, and bifore a iuge; and of
 wickidnesse, bifore a synagoge, and a pu-
 ple; and of vnryztwisesse^y, bifore a felow, 23
 and a frend; and of thefte[†], in the place 24
 where ynne thou dweldest; of the treuthe
 and testament^z of God; of^a sitting at the^b
 mete in looues, and of the blemyschyng
 of 3ifte, and takyng; of stilnesse, bifore 25
 hem that greeten; of the biholdyng of a
 letcherouse womman, and of the^c turnyng
 away of the cheer of a cosyn. Turne 26
 thou not away the^d face fro thi nei3bore;
 and *be thou war* of takyng awei^e a part,
 and not restorynge. Biholde thou not the 27
 womman of an othere man; and enserche
 thou not her hand maide, nether stonde
 thou at hir bed. Be thou war of frendis, 28
 of the wordis of vpbreidyng; and whanne
 thou hast 3oue, vpbreide thou not.

CAP. XLII.

Double thou not a word of heryng, of 1
 the schewyng of an hid word; and thou
 schalt be verily with out schame, and
 thou schalt fynde grace in the sizt of alle
 men. Be thou not schent for alle these
 thingis; and take thou not a persooone,

^r Neuerthelater *AE GH*. ^s Om. *c et E pr. m.* ^t and of *A*. ^u wickenesse *E*. ^v for *A*. ^w priuyte *c pr. m.*
E pr. m. ^x reward *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^y the face *A*. ^z ne *AGH*.

^y Om. *A*. ^{yy} vnryztfulnesse *c et ceteri*. ^z the testament *s*. ^a and of *Q*. ^b Om. *CEFHKNPQRUVX*.
^c Om. *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVXa*. ^d thy *A sec. m. F*. ^e Om. *v*.

* *Betere is a man; that is, lesse yuel. alle men in feith; that is, not alle seiynge of a techere, thou3 tho acorden with Cristen feith, plesen alle dissiplis. Lire here. c.*

[†] *of thefte; to be doon. testamēt; to be brokun. of sitting; that is, of the firste seete at another manns table. blemysching of 3ifte, etc.; that is, whanne it is 3ouun for a foul thing, as for leccherie, ether ony sich thing, ether is takun without kyndenesse, ether for a foul cause. enserche thou not hir handmaide; in sekinge how thou maist disseyue the lady bi hir. c.*

2 persone, that thou gilte of the lawe of
the heȝest, and of the testament of dom,
3 to iustefien the vnpitouse; of the wrd of
felawes, and of weie goeres, and of the
4 ȝyuyng of the^a eritage of frendis; of the
euenes of balaunces, and of weiȝtes, of
purchasyng of manye thingus, and of
5 fewe; of the corrupcioun^b of biyng^c,
and^d of marchaundis, and of myche^e dis-
cipline of sonus; and of the werst ser-
6 uaunt, to make the side to bleden. Vp on a
7 shrende womman good is a signe. Where
ben many hondis, close thou^f; and^g what
euere thou shalt take, 'noubre thou,
and^h peise; the ȝyuen thing forsothe, and
8 the taken, alⁱ diskryue, 'or wryte^k. Of the
discipline of the mysfelende, and of the
fool, and of the elderes, thatt ben demed,
of the ȝunge waxen men; and thou shalt
ben lerned in alle thingus, and prouable
9 in the sijte of alle men. The doȝter of
the fader is hid, the wache and the
bysynesse of hir shal don away slep;
lest par auenture in hir ȝunge waxen
age auoutresse she be mad, and with a
man dwellende^l, hatefull she^m be mad;
10 lest any tyme she be pollutid in hir
maydenhed, and in hir fader keping she
be founde with child; lest par auenture
with hir man dwellende, she trespasse,
11 or certus bareyn she be mad. Vp on a
leccherous doȝtir set warde, lest any
tyme she make thee in to repref to
comen to thin enemys, of bacbiting in the
citee, and of casting away of the puple;
and she confounde thee in the multitude
12 of the puple. To alle men wile thou not
'taken heedⁿ in the fairnesse; and in the
myddel of wymmen wile thou not dwellen.
13 Forsothe of clothis cometh the moȝhe^o,
and of a womman the wickidnesse^p of a
14 man. Betere forsothe is the wickidnesse^p
of a man, than a womman doende bene-

that thou do trespas. *Be thou war* of the 2
lawe and testament* of the hiȝeste, of doom
to iustifie a wickid man; of the word^e of 3
felowis, and of weigoeris, and of the ȝyu-
yng of eritage of frendis; of the euen-4
nesse of balaunce, and of weiȝtis, of the
getyng of many thingis†, and of fewe
thingis; of corrupcioun of biyng, and of 5
marchauntis, and of myche chastising of
sones; and of a worste seruaunt, to make
the^f side to^g bleede. A seelyng^h is good 6
on a wickid manⁱ. Where ben many 7
hondis, close thou; and what euer thing
thou schalt bitake, noubre thou, and
weie thou; forsothe discryue thou, *ether*
write, ech ȝifte, and takyng. *Absteine* 8
thou fro the techyng of an vnwitti man,
and fool, and of eldere men that ben dem-
ed of ȝonge men; and thou schalt be
lernd in alle thingis, and thou schalt be
comendable in the sijt of alle men. An 9
hid douȝter of a fadir is wakyng and
bisynesse of hym; sche schal take awei
sleep; lest perauenture sche be maad
auowtresse in hir ȝong wexyng age, and
lest sche dwellynge with the hosebonde,
be maad hateful; lest ony tyme sche be 10
defoulid in hir virginytee, and be foundun
with child in the kepyng of hir fadir;
leste perauenture sche dwellynge with the
hosebonde, do trespasse, ether certis be
maad bareyn‡. Ordeyne thou kepyng on 11
a lecherouse douȝter, lest ony tyme sche
make thee to come in to schenscipe to
enemyes, of bacbityng in the citee, and of
castyng out of the puple; and sche make
thee aschamed in the multitude of puple.
Nyle thou take heed to ech man in the 12
fairnesse§; and nyle thou dwelle in the
myddis of wymmen. For whi a mouȝte 13
cometh forth of clothis, and the wickid-
nesse of a man *cometh forth* of a wom-
man. For whi the wickidnesse of a man 14

*and testament;
to be brokun. c.

† getyng of
many thingis;
bi thi rauelyn.
of fewe thingis;
bi thi slouthe.
of myche; that
is, ouer hard.
chastising; bi
which thei flee
away. to bleede;
that is, to bete
til to greet
scheduling out of
blood, for this
is a signe of
ouer greet cru-
elte. of eldere
men; in ver-
tues, be thou
hisi that this
abusoun be
doon away:
Live here. c.

‡ bareyn; for
ouer greet vs-
ing of lecherie,
and therfor
comyn hooris
ben with child-
ful seeldene.
Live here. c.
§ in the fair-
nesse; in delit-
inge in the bi-
holding of his
fayrnesse; 'he
seith this to
eschewe the
synne agenus
kynde, to which
many men
weren enclyn-
aunt. Live
here. c.

^a Om. AGH. ^b correccioun E pr. m. ^c biyngis E pr. m. ^d Om. H. ^e to myche E pr. m. ^f Om. GH.
^g Om. AGH. ^h and the ȝiftis E pr. m. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om. c et E pr. m. ^l Om. A. ^m shal H.
ⁿ looken E pr. m. ^o mowe A. mowȝe E. ^p wickenesse E.

^e world omnes præter u. ^f thi EFHIKMQRSUA. ^g Om. ES. ^h seelyng, ether closyng c et ceteri.
ⁱ woman A sec. m. C sec. m.

fet, and a womman confoundende in to
 15 repref. Myndeful be 'Y shal^a therefore
 of the werkes of the Lord; and which^r
 I sa3, I shal shewen out, in the wrdis of
 16 the Lord, his werkus. The sunne shyn-
 ende thur3 alle thingus biheeld; and of
 the glorie of the Lord ful is his werk^a.
 17 Whether not the Lord made seyntes to
 tellen out alle his merueiles, the whiche
 the Lord almy3ty shal confermen stable
 18 in his glorie? The depthe of the se, and
 the herte of men he shal enserchen; and
 in the 'sly3e wit, or gile^t, of hem he shal
 19 out thenke. The Lord forsothe kne3 al
 kunnyng, and beheeld in to the toene of
 the spiritueell world; shewende out that
 ben passid, and that ben ouer^a to come;
 openende the^v steppis of hid thingus.
 20 And ther passeth not biside hym any
 thenking, and any wrd hidde not it self
 21 fro hym. He made faire the grete wrthi
 werkes of his wisdam, the whiche is bi-
 form the world, and vnto the world; ne
 22 it is echid, ne it is lassid, and it nedeth
 23 not the counseil of any man. Hou des-
 irable ben alle the werkes of hym, and
 24 as a sparcle that is, to beholden. Alle
 these thingus lyuen, and dwellen in to
 the world; and in alle nede alle thyngus
 25 obeshen to hym. Alle thingus double,
 oon a3en oon; and he made not any
 thing to failen. Of euery thing he shal
 conferme the goodus; and who shal be
 fulfild, seende the glorie of hym, and who
 witende shal conferme the strengthe of
 hym?

CAP. XLIII.

1 The firmament of the heizte is the
 fairnesse of hym; and the fairnes of
 2 heuene in the sizte of glorie. The sunne
 in the sizte, shewende out in the issue, a

that these werkis of God, thou3 these ben wondrous, ben not but a litil sparcle of Goddis goodnesse and excellence. *lyuen and dwellen*; for whi alle creaturis lyuen in God, in as myche as tho ben in God bi maner of vnderstanding. *alle thingis*; that is, elementis. *ben double*; for the erthe is cold and drie, the water is cold and moist, the eir is hoot and moist, the fier is hoot and drie. *Live here. c.* || *The firmament*; that is, heuene of steris; the sunne is fairnesse therof, that is, makith the fairnesse therof. *in the sizt of glorie*; that is, ful gloriouse and wondrous. *Live here. c.*

^a thou c pr. m. ^r that c pr. m. ^s werkus c. ^t wittynesse c pr. m. E pr. m. ^u Om. AGH. ^v of the c pr. m.

^m telle of c pr. m. ⁿ thee E. ^o Om. CK. ^p Om. C. ^q leid to, *ether encressid c et ceteri*. ^r desirable c. ^s Om. c.

is betere* than a womman doynge wel,
 and a womman schendyng in to schen-
 schipe. Therfor be thou myndeful of the 15
 werkis of the Lord; and Y schal telle^m
 theⁿ werkis of the Lord, whiche Y si3,
 in the wordis of the Lord. The sunne 16
 liztnynge bihelde by alle thingis; and the
 werk therof is ful of the^o glorie of the
 Lord. Whether the Lord made not hooli 17
 men to telle out alle hise merueilis, whiche
 the Lord almy3ti stidfast in his glorie
 schal conferme? He schal enserche the 18
 depthe[†], and the herte of men; and he
 schal thenke in the felnesse of hem. For 19
 the Lord knew al kunnyng, and bihelde
 in to the signe of the world; tellynge tho
 thingis that ben passid, and tho thingis
 that schulen come; schewynge the steppis
 of hid thingis. And no thou3t passith 20
 hym, and no word hidith it silf fro hym.
 He made fair the grete werkis of his^p 21
 wisdom, which is bfore the world, and
 til in to the world; nether any thing is[†]
 encressid^q, nether is decressid, and he 22
 hath no nede to the counsel of ony. Alle 23
 hise werkis ben ful desirable^r, and to bi-
 holde, as a sparcle[§] which is. Alle these 24
 thingis lyuen, and dwellen in to the world;
 and alle thingis obeien to hym in al nede.
 Alle thingis *ben* double, oon a3ens oon; 25
 and he made not any thing to faile. He
 schal conferme the goodis of ech; and^s
 who schal be fillid, seynge his glorie?

CAP. XLIII.

The firmament|| of hiznesse is the fair-
 nesse therof; the fairnesse of heuene in
 the sizt of glorie. The sunne in bihold-2
 yng, tellynge in goyng out, *is* a woundur-

* *the wickid-
 nesse of a man
 is betere, etc.;
 that is, lesse
 yuel. than a
 womman doynge
 wel; that is, to
 dwelle togidere,
 wherfor this is
 referrid to that
 that is biforseid,
 nyte thou dwelle
 in the myddis of
 wymmen; for
 it is more perel-
 ouse to a man
 to dwelle togi-
 dere with a
 straunge wom-
 man, 3he, a
 good womman,
 than with a
 wickid man.*

*The sunne liz-
 nyng bihelde
 bi alle thingis;
 that is, made
 alle thingis to
 be visible, for
 the bodies of
 heuene and of
 erthe ben liztned
 of the sunne.
 the werk therof
 is ful of the
 glorie of the
 Lord; that is,
 the gloriouse
 power of God
 schyneth in the
 werkis of the
 sunne, that ben
 to liztne othere.
 bodies, to make
 newe the erthe
 with erbis and
 flouris, and
 trees with
 leeuys and
 fruytis. Live
 here. c.*

[†] *depthe; that
 is, the deuel.
 in the felnesse
 of hem; that is,
 yuele fraude,
 and wickid
 wille, in draw-
 inge out good
 of tho. Live
 here. c.*

[§] *nether any
 thing is leid to,
 etc.; for whi
 Goddis wisdom
 may not be de-
 cressid nether
 encressid, for it
 is greet with
 outen mesure.
 Live here. c.*

[§] *as a sparcle;
 that is, it is ful
 goode to biholde*

merueilous vessel, the werk of the he3e.
 3 In the myddai it brenneth out the erthe;
 and^w in the sizte of his brennyng who
 shal moun suffre? Kependē the furneys
 4 in the werkis of brennyng; thre maner
 the sunne brennende oute hillis, blast-
 ende out fyrene bemes, and a3een shyn-
 ende with his bemes, blendeth the e3en.
 5 Gret^x the Lord, that made it; and in the
 6 wrdis of it he heezede the weye. And
 the moone in alle thingus in his tyme
 shewende of tyme, and tokne of the spi-
 7 rituel^f world. Of the moone the signe
 of the holy^z day; a^a lizt 3yuere that is^b
 8 lassid in the ending. The mooneth aftir
 his name is waxende, merueylously in to
 9 the^c ful endyng. A vessel of tentes in
 'heize thingis^d, in the firmament of he-
 10 uene shynende gloriously^e. The fair-
 nesse of heuene glorie of sterres; the
 11 Lord liztnende the world in heiztes. In
 woordis hoely men shuln stonden at the
 dom; and thei shul not failen in ther
 12 waches. See the bowe, and blisse hym
 that made it; ful fair it is in his shyn-
 13 yng. He cumpaside heuene in the cir-
 cuyt of his glorie; the hondus of the
 14 he3e openeden it. Bi his maundement
 heezede^f the sno3; and he heezeth^g lizt-
 15 nyngus to senden out of his dom. Ther-
 fore opened ben the tresores, and flowen
 16 away the litle cloudys as briddes. In his
 mykilnesse he putte the clodus; and ben
 17 to-broke the stones of the hail. In his sizte
 shul ben stired togidere the^h hillis; and
 in his wil shal spirenⁱ, or brethen^j, out the
 18 south. The vois of his thunder 'schal
 beten^k the erthe; and the tempest of the
 19 north, and the gederyng of wynd. And
 as a brid puttende down to sitten spreng-
 eth the sno3, and as a locust drenchende
 20 the descendingus of it. The fairnesse of
 the shynyng of it the e3e shal merueilen;

ful vessel, the werk of hi3 *God*. In the3
 tyme of myddai it brenneth the erthe;
 and who schal mow suffre in the sizt of
 his heete? Kepyng a furneis in the werkis
 of heete; the sunne brennyng hillis in 4
 thre maneris, sendyng out beemys of fier,
 and schynyng a3en with hise beemys,
 blyndith izen. The Lord *is* greet, that 5
 made it; and in the wordis of hym^{*} it
 hastide iourney. And the moone in alle 6
 men in his tyme *is* shewing of tyme, and
 a^t signe of the world. A signe of the 7
 feeste dai *is takun* of the^u moone; the
 lizt which is maad lital in the ende. The 8
 monethe is encreessyng bi the name
 therof, wondirfuli in to the ending. A 9
 vessel of castels in hi3 thingis, schynyng
 gloriousli in the firmament of heuene. The 10
 fairnesse of heuene *is* the glorie of sterres;
 the Lord an hi3 liztneth the world. In 11
 the wordis of the hooli tho schulen stonde
 at the doom; and tho schulen not faile in
 her wakyngis. Se thou the bouwe[†], and 12
 blesse thou hym that made it; it is ful
 fair in his^v schynyng. It 3ede aboute 13
 heuene in the cumpas of his glorie; the
 hondis of hi3 *God* openyden it. Bi his 14
 comaundement he hastide the snow; and
 he hastith^w to sende out the leiztyngis of
 his dom. Therfor tresouris weren opened, 15
 and clowdis fledden out as been^x. In his 16
 greetnesse he settide clowdis; and stoonys
 of hail weren brokun. Hillis schulen be 17
 moued in his sizt; and the south wynd
 schal blowe in his wille. The vois of his 18
 thundur schal beete the erthe; the tem-
 pest of the north, and the gaderyng[‡] to-
 gidere of wynd. And as a brid puttyng 19
 down to sitte sprengith snow, and the
 comyng down of that *snow is* as a locust
 drenchyng down. The ize schal wondre 20
 on the fairnesse^y of whitnesse therof; and
 an herte dredith on the reyn therof. He 21

* in the wordis
 of him, etc.;
 that is, bi the
 ordenaunce of
 God the summe
 hastide his
 cours. *Live*
here. c.

† Se thou the
 bowe; that is,
 the reynbowe,
 and se the
 wondrous apper-
 ing therof.
Live here. c.

‡ tempest of the
 north and the
 gaderyng, etc.;
 is of God, and
 betith the
 erthe, and tur-
 mentith men
 dwellyng ther-
 ynne. as a brid
 puttyng down;
 his wyngis
 and drenchyng
 down; that is,
 comyng down
 on greene erbis,
 to deuoure tho.
Live here. c.

^w Om. A. ^x Greet is A. ^y age of the E sec. m. ^z Om. c pr. m. ^a thou hast mad a c pr. m. E pr. m.
^b is not E pr. m. ^c his AGH. ^d heiztus c pr. m. ^e Om. c pr. m. ^f he heezid G. ^g enhaunsith A.
 heezeth, or enhaunsith E sec. m. GH. ^h Om. c pr. m. ⁱ shyne A. ^j Om. c et E pr. m. ^k beteth c pr. m.

^t Om. v. ^u Om. cv. ^v Om. v. ^w hastide c. ^x bees CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXa. ^y or colour K marg.

and vp on the weder of hym the herte
 21 quaketh^l. Frost as salt he shal heelden
 out vp on the erthe; and whil he blow-
 ith^m, he shal be mad as the coppis of
 22 the brembil. The cold northerne wind
 blee³, and the cristal freesede fro the
 watyr; vp on al the gederyng of watrisⁿ
 it resteth, and as an habirioun, it^o clothide
 23 hymself watris. And it shal deuouren
 hillis, and brennen out the desert; and
 24 quenchen out the greene as fyr. Medecy-
 cynes^p of alle thingus in the heezyng^q of
 the litle^r cloude; the^s dew, metende to the
 comende brennyng, low³^t shal maken it.
 25 In his wrd the wynd heeld his pes; bi
 his thenking he shal pese^u the se; and
 26 the Lord Jhesu plauntide yt. Who
 seilen the se, shuln tellen out the periles
 of it; and herende with oure eres wee
 27 shuln wndre. There ful cleer werkis,
 and merueilous, and dyuers kindis of
 no3ouse bestes, and of alle helpely bestes,
 28 and the creature of bestes. For hym is
 confermed the ende of the wey; and in
 the wrd of hym alle thingus ben mad
 29 togidere. Many thinges we seyn, and
 failen in wrdis; ful endyng forsothe of
 30 wrdis he is. In alle thingus gloriende,
 to what shul we be my3ty? he forsothe
 31 almy3ti^v ouer alle his werkes. Ferful
 the Lord, and gret hugely; and merueil-
 32 ous the power of hym. Glorefiende the
 Lord hou myche euere 3ee schul^w moun,
 he shal ben ouer wrthi 3it; and ful mer-
 33 ueilous the gret doying of hym. Blissende
 the Lord, enhaunce 3ee hym as myche as
 3ee moun; more forsothe he is than alle
 34 preising. Enhauncende hym 3ee shul^x
 be fulfid with vertue; ne trauaile 3ee,
 35 forsothe 3ee shul not ful comen. Who
 sa3 hym, and shal tellen out? and who
 shal magnefien hym, as he is fro the bi-
 36 gynnyng^z? Many hid thingus ben more

schal schede out frost as salt on the erthe;
 and while *the wynd* blowith, it schal be
 maad as coppis of a brere. The coold 22
 northun wynd blew, and cristal of watir
 frees togidre; it restith*, on al the geder-
 ing togidere of watris, and it clothith^z it
 silf with watris, as with an haburioun.
 And it schal deuoure hillis, and it schal 23
 brenne the desert; and it schal quenche
 grene thing as fier. The medicyn of alle 24
 thingis *is* in the haasting of a cloude;
 a deewe, meetynge *the heete* comynge of
 brennyng, schal make it low. The wynd 25
 was stille in the word *of God*; bi his
 thou3t he made peesible the depthe of
 watris; and the Lord Jhesu[†] plauntide it.
 Thei that seilen in the see, tellen out the 26
 perels therof; and we heeringe with oure
 eeris schulen wondre. There *ben* ful cleer 27
 werkis, and wonderful, dyuerse kindis of
 beestis, and of^a alle litle beestis, and the
 creature of wondurful fischis. The ende 28
 of weie is confermyd for it[‡]; and alle
 thingis ben maad in the word of hym.
 We seien many thingis[§], and we faylen in 29
 wordis; forsothe he is the endyng of
 wordis. To what thing schulen we be 30
 my3ti, that han glorie in alle thingis? for
 he *is* al my3ti aboue alle hise werkis. The 31
 Lord *is* ferdful, and ful greet; and his
 power *is* wondurful. Glorifie 3e the Lord 32
 as myche as euere 3e moun, 3it he schal
 be my3tiere; and his grete doyinge *is* won-
 durful. 3e blessynge the Lord, enhaunse 33
 hym as myche as 3e moun; for he is more
 than al preisyng. 3e enhaunsynge hym 34
 schulen be fillid with vertu; trauale 3e
 not^{||}, for 3e schulen not take perfitli. Who 35
 si3 hym, and schal telle out? and who
 schal magnefie hym, as he is fro the
 bigynnyng? Many thingis gretter than 36
 these ben hid *fro vs*; for we han seyn
 fewe thingis of hise werkis. Forsothe the 37

* *it restith*; the coolnesse of the northun wynd makith watris to be frozen togidere. deuoure hillis; that is, erbis wexinge in hillis. quenche; that is, distrie. medicyn of alle thingis; brent bi the northun wynd. *is in the haasting of a cloude*; brou3t bi the south-urne wynd. *make it lowe*; that is, schal temper the exces of heete. c. † *the Lord Jhesu*; that is, God, which is sauour of alle men, for whi Jhesu is interpretid helthe, thou3 the au-[†]tour of this book, that was an Ebrew man, wroot this book in Greek, ne-[†]theles he set-[†]tide in here an Ebreu name. *Live here. c.* ‡ *for it*; that is, for the occian, either west see, to be refreynd. *Live here. c.* § *We seyn many thingis*; of God bi hise werkis. and failen in wordis; for whi his excel-[§]ence may not be compre-[§]hendid of vs, and so it may not be teld out of vs. *he is the ending of wordis*; for he aloone compre-[§]hendith him-[§]silf perfitly, and declarith in his Word, that is, Sone, euene in sub-[§]stance, and euene euerlast-[§]inge with him. *To what thing, etc.*; to atteyne of Goddis ma-[§]ieste. *hath glo-[§]rie in alle thingis*; which we moun

knowe bi creaturis, as if he seye, We moun atteyne to ful litil thing. *Live here. c.*
 whi this is vnpossible. c.

|| *trauele 3e not*; to knowe God perfitly in this liyf; for

^l I shal quake *c pr. m. E pr. m. AGH.* ^m schal blowe *AC sec. m. E sec. m. GH.* ⁿ water *c.* ^o Om. *A.*
^p Medecynes *c pr. m.* ^q hastyng *AC sec. m. E sec. m. GH.* ^r Om. *H.* ^s Om. *AGH.* ^t low3, or mylde *c sec. m.*
^u lowen *c pr. m. E pr. m. peese AGH.* ^v is almy3ti *A.* ^w Om. *c pr. m.* ^x Om. *AE sec. m. GH.*

^z closeth *I.* ^a Om. *A.*

than these; forsothe fewe thingus wee
37 han seen of his werkes. Alle thingus
forsothe the Lord made; and to men
pitously doende he ȝaf wisdam.

CAP. XLIV.

1 'Preisen we^y glorious men, and oure
fadrīs and modrīs in ther generacioun.
2 Myche glorie the Lord dide in his grete
3 doying. Fro the world^z ben men^a lord-
schipende in^b ther poweres, grete men
in vertue, and bi ther^{bb} prudence biforn
othere mad riche; tellende in profetes the
4 dignete of profetes, and comaundende in
the present puple, and bi vertue of pru-
dence of^c the^{cc} puple, most hoely wrdis.
5 In ther wisdam sechende the^d musyk
manerys, and tellende the dytes of scrip-
6 tures. Riche men in vertue, hauende the
study of fairnesse, pes makende in ther
7 houses. Alle these in the ieneraciouns of
their folc han taken glorie; and in ther
8 dazes ben^e had in preisyngus. Who of
hem ben born, laften the name of telling
9 the preisyngus of hem. And ther ben, of
whom is no mynde; thei persheden as
that^f weren not, and ben born as not^g
born; and the sonus of hem with hem.
10 But they men of mercy^h ben, of whom
11 theⁱ pitoustees faileden not; and with
the seed of hem dwellide stille good eri-
12 tage. And the sed of the sonus sonus of
13 hem stod in the testament, and the eri-
tage of the sonus of hem for hem, in to
with oute ende dwelleth; the sed of
hem, and the glorie of hem, shal not be
14 forsaken. The bodies of hem in pes ben
biried; and the name of hem shal lyue
15 in to ieneraciouns and ieneraciouns. The
wysdam of hem puples shul tellen; and
the preising of hem the chirche^k shal
16 shewen^l. Enoc plesede to God, and is
translatid in to paradis, that he ȝyue wis-
17 dam to folc^m of kynde. Noe is founde a
parfit riȝtwis man, and in tyme of wrathe

Lord made alle thingis; and he ȝaf wis-
dom to men doynge feithfuli.

CAP. XLIV.

Preise we gloriouse men, and oure fa-
drīs in her generacioun. The Lord made²
myche glorie bi his greet doying, fro the
world. Grete men in vertu weren^b lordis³
in her poweris, and riche in her prudence;
tellynge in profetis the dignete of pro-
fetis, and comaundyng in present puple,⁴
and tellynge hoolieste wordis to pupilis, bi
the vertu of prudence. Sekyng maneres⁵
of musik in her childhod*, and tellynge
songis of scripturis. Riche men in vertu,⁶
hauyng the studie of fairnesse, makynge
pees in her housis. Alle these men gaten⁷
glorie in the generaciouns of her folk;
and ben had in preysyngis in her daies.
Thei that weren borun of hem, leften a⁸
name to telle the preisyngis of hem. And⁹
summe ben^c, of whiche is no mynde; thei
perischiden as thei that weren not, and
thei weren borun as not borun; and her
sones *perischiden* with hem. But also¹⁰
tho men of mercy ben, whose pitees fail-
iden not; and good eritage dwellide con-
11 tynueli with the seed of hem. And the¹²
seed of her sonus sonus^d stood in testa-
ment, and the eritage of her sonus dwell-
13 ith for^e hem, til in to with outen ende;
the seed of hem, and the glorie of hem,
schal not be forsakun. The bodies of hem¹⁴
ben biried in pees; and the name of hem
schal lyue in to generaciouns and genera-
ciouns. Pupilis tellen the wisdom of hem;¹⁵
and the chirche tellith the preisyng of
hem. Enok pleside God, and was trans-¹⁶
latid† in to paradis, that he ȝyue wisdom
to folkis. Noe was foundun parfit and¹⁷
iust, and he was maad recouncelyng in
the tyme of wrathfulnesse. Therfor re-¹⁸
sidue seed was left to erthe, whanne the

* in her child-
hed; bokis
amendid han,
in her child-
hed, thouȝ
summe bokis
han, in her
kunnyng. c.

† was trans-
latid, etc.; he
schal come aȝen
fro paradiȝ
aboute the
worldis ende,
with Elie, to
preche aȝenus
Antecrist. *Tes-
tamentis*; that
is, biheestis of
the world, to be
not doon away
bi the grete
flood. *Live
here.* c.

^y We preisen c *pr. m.* ^z Lord A. ^a maad A. ^b bi AGH. ^{bb} Om. c *pr. m.* ^c Om. c *pr. m.* ^{cc} Om. A.
^d Om. AGH. ^e shul ben E *pr. m.* ^f thei that A. ^g that not c *pr. m.* ^h mercyes A. ⁱ Om. AGH.
^k puple c *pr. m.* ^l shewe out A. ^m the folk A.

^b Om. v. ^c ther ben r. ^d Om. c. ^e bifor c.

18 he is mad recounsylyng. Therefore is laft
the remnaunt of theⁿ erthe, whan the
19 flod was do. The testaments of the world
ben put anent hym, neⁿ myzte be do awayⁿⁿ
20 with the flod eche flesh. Abraham the
grete fader of the multitude of the folc
of kinde; and ther is not founde lijc to
hym in glorie, that kepte the lawe of the
hejest^o, and was in testament with hym.
21 In^p his flesh he made to stonde the testa-
ment; and in tempting he is founde
22 feithful. Therefore by oth he 3af to hym
glorie in his folc of kinde, to encrese
23 hym as an hilloc of erthe; and to en-
hauncen^t the sed of^a hym as the sterres,
and to eritagen hym fro the se vn to the
se, and fro the flod vnto the termes of
24 the erthe. And to Isaac he dide the
same maner, for Abraham, his fader.
25 The blissing of alle folc of kinde the
Lord 3af to hym; and his testament he
26 confermede vp on the hed of Jacob. He
kne3 hym in his blessingus, and 3af to
hym the eritage; and he deuydede to
27 hym part in the twelue lynagis. And
he kepte to hym sonus of mercy, findende
grace in the sizt of al flesh.

CAP. XLV.

1 Moises looued of God and of men;
2 whos mynde is in blessing. Lic he made
hym in the glorie of seyntes, and he
magniefiede hym in the drede of enemys;
and in his wrdis he cesede hidous won-
3 dris. He glorefiede hym in the sizt of
kyngus, and he comaundide to hym bi-
forn al his puple, and he shewede to hym
4 his glorie. In feith and softenesse of
hym he made hym hoely; and he chees
5 hym of alle flesh. Forsothe he herde
hym, and the vois of hym; and he ladde
6 hym in a cloude. And he 3aff hym an
herte to the hestes, and to the lawe of

blessingis. *on the heed of Jacob*; and not on the heed of Esau, thou3 Isaac wolde first do the contrarie. *men of merci*; that is, his sones patriarkis, that goten merci of the sillyng of Josep. *grace in the sizt of ech man*; grace in the sizt of Farao and of Egipcians. *Live here. c.* *† liyk in the glorie, etc.*; in seyng Goddis beyng; as Austyn seith to Paulyn, in his book of God to be seyn. *In the feith*; that is, in feithfulness, for he was ful feithful. *chees him*; to lede the children of Israel out of Egipt, and to be the lawe yuere of the elde testament. *to comaundementis*; to fille tho in werk, and to teche tho to othere men. *Live here. c.*

ⁿ Om. A. ⁿⁿ be do away myzte c. ^o hee3e AEGH. P And in AGH. ^q Om. C pr. m. E. the heuede of H.

^f Om. c sec. m. v. ^g vnto I. ^h ether sende him K marg. ⁱ of v. ^k Om. I.

greet flood was maad. Testamentis of the 19 * noon was
world weren set anentis hym, lest al fleisch foundun liyk
myzte be doon awei bi the greet flood. him in glorie;
Abraham was the greet fadir of the mul- 20 that is, in ver-
titude of folkis; and noon was foundun tuouse werk,
liyk hym in glorie*, which kepte the lawe and this in
of hi3 God, and was in the^f testament twey thingis,
with hym. He made a testament to stonde 21 for he prechide
in his fleisch; and he was foundun feith- first opinli the
ful in temptacioun. Therfor God with 22 feith of o God,
an ooth 3af to hym glorie in his folk; whanne afir
God made hym to encreesse, as an heep the grete flood
of erthe, and to enhaunse his seed as 23 puplis bowiden
steris, and to enherite hem fro the see to idolatrie; and
'til to^g the see, and fro the flood 'til to^g in this that he
the endis of erthe. And to Isaac God dide 24 wolde offre so
in the same maner, for Abraham, his fa- redily his oon
dir. The Lord 3af to hym the blessing 25 aloone gendrid
of alle folkis[†]; and confermyde his testa- sone and derl-
ment on the heed of Jacob. He knew 26 ing, for to fille
hym in hise blessingis, and 3af eritage Goddis co-
to hym; and departide to hym a part in maundement.
twelue lynagis. And he kepte to hym 27 the lawe of hi3
men of merci, fyndynge grace in the sizt God; that is,
of eche man. the lawe of
kynde preent-
id in mannus
soule. a testa-
ment, etc.; that
is, circumci-
sioun. in temta-
cioun; bi which
the Lord temt-
ide him, to
schewe to
othere men
his obedience.
fro the see, etc.;
these ben the
endis of the
lood of biheest,
that is, the
myddil see of
erthe at the
west, and the
deed see at the
eest; the flood
Eufrates at the
north, and the
desert of Egipt
at the south.
dide in the same
maner; that is,
blesside him,
and bihi3te to
him that he
bihi3te to Abra-
ham. *Live
here. c.*
† the blessing
of alle folkis;
that is, God 3af
to him and not
to Ismael, that
Crist schulde
be borun of
him, in which
Crist alle folkis
of erthe schulen
be blessid. *his
testament*; that
is, couenaunt,
which he made
to Abraham.
He knew him;
that is, appre-
uyde him, as
worthi to hise

† liyk in the

lif, and of disciplyne; to techen Jacob the^r testament, and Israel his domes. 7 Hee³ he made Aaron, his brother, and 8 a lic to hym of the lynage of Leuy. He sette to hym an euerlastende testament, and he 3af to hym the presthod of the folc of kinde; and he made hym blisful 9 in glorie. And he girded hym aboute with the girdil of riztwisnesse, and he clothide hym the stoele of glorie, and crownede 10 hym in vesselis off vertue. Shon, and breches, and coepe he putte to hym, and girded hym aboute with manye litle gold- 11 ene belles in cumpas; to 3yue soun in his goyng in, and to make the soun herd in the temple, in to mynde to the sonus 12 of hys folc. An^s hoely stoele, with gold, and blyu vyolet silc, and sanguyn silc, the werk wouen, thur³ the^t dom of the wise man, and thur³ the treuthe of the enourned; with fyr red silc foldun^a a3een, 13 the werk of the craftis, with precious iemmes figured in binding of gold, and with werk of the^v lapidarie grauen, in to the mynde, after the^w noumbre of the lynagis 14 of Israel. A^x goldene^y croune vp on the mytre of hym, expressid with the toene of hoelynesse, the glorie of wrshipe, and the were of vertue, to the^s desir of e3en 15 enourned. So faire bifor hym weren not 16 suche thingus^a, vnto the est. Ther is nott clad^b with it any alyen, but only alone the sonus of hym, and the cosyne of 17 hym, bi alle tyme. The sacrifices of hym 18 ben ful endid with fyr eche day. Moises fulfide the hondis of hym, and enoynt- 19 ede^c hym with his hoely oile. It is mad to hym an euerelastende testament, and to his sed as the dazes of heuene, to vsen the offis of presthed, and to han preys- yng, and his^d puple to be glorified in his 20 name. Hym he chees of alle lyuende, to offre sacrifice to God, encens, and good smell, in to mynde, to make pes for his 21 puple. And he 3af to hym power in his

and of techyng; to teche Jacob a testa- ment, and Israel hise domes. He made⁷ hi³ Aaron, his brother, and lijk hym of the lynage of Leuy. He ordeynede to 8 hym euerlastynge^l testament*, and 3af to hym the preesthod of the^m folkⁿ. And he made hym blissful in glorie, and girded 9 hym with a girdil of riztfulnesse; and clothide hym with a stoele of glorie, and crownede hym in the ournementis of vertu. He settide on hym sandalies, and breeches, 10 and a clooth on the schuldur, and girded hym aboute with ful many small goldun bellis in cumpas; to 3yue soun in his 11 goyng, to make soun herd in the temple, in to mynde to the sones of his folk. God¹² 3af to hym an hooli stoele, a wouun werk, with gold, and iacynct, and purpur, the werk of a wijs man, maad riche with doom and treuthe; the werk of a crafti 13 man, in writhun reed threed, with pre- ciouse iemmes grauun in the byndyng of gold, and grauun bi the werk of a^o crafti man of stoonys, in to mynde, bi the noum- bre of the lynagis of Israel. A goldun 14 coroun on his mytre, set forth with the signe of hoolynesse, the glorie of onour, and the werk of vertu, ourned to desijr of izen. Siche thingis so faire weren not bi- 15 fore hym, til to^l the eest. Noon alien was 16 clothid ther ynne, but oneli hise sonas, and hise sonas sonas aloone, bi al tyme. Hise sacrifices weren endid ech dai bi 17 fyr. Moises fillide[†] hise hondis, and 18 anoyntide hym with hooli oile. It was 19 maad to hym in to euerlastynge testa- ment, and to his seed as the daies of heuene, to vse presthod, and to haue preisyng, and to glorifie his puple in his name. God²⁰ chees hym of ech lyuynge 20 man, to offre sacrifice to God, encense, and good odour, in to mynde, for to plesse for his puple. And he 3af to hym power 21 in hise comaundementis, and in the testa- mentis of domes, to teche Jacob witness-

* euerlastinge testament; that is, the couen- nant of prest- hod, which is seid euerlast- inge, in as myche as it figuride the presthod of Crist, which presthod is euerlastinge. made him blis- ful in glorie; that is, made him to be seid blisful, for glorie of prest- hod. with a girdil of rizt- fulnesse; that is, with a girdil maad of dy- verse colours, which is seid a girdil of rizt- fulnesse, for it streynede togid- dere the prestis clothis, as rizt- fulnesse of the lawe refreynded vnordenat ma- ners. c.

† Moise fillide; that is, sacride. to haue preis- ing; that is, to haue the office to preise God, as it acordith to a comyn persone. in his name; that is, in the name of God. aliens; fro the kyn of prestis, as weren Chore and his congregacioun; in xvi. c. of Numery. Live here. c.

^r his A. ^s And G pr. m. H. ^t Om. c pr. m. ^u falt c pr. m. ^v Om. c. ^w Om. AGH.
^x With a E pr. m. ^y gold A. ^z with E pr. m. ^a Om. c pr. m. ^b clothid AEGH. ^c enoyntyng A,
^d in his c pr. m. to his G pr. m. H.

^l an euerlastinge x sec. m. ^m Om. C E F G H K M N P Q R U V X A. ⁿ folkis s. ^o Om. G. ^p vnto I.

hestes, in testamentes of domes, to teche Jacob witnessingus, and in his lawe list 22 to 3yue to Irael. For a3en hym stoden alienus, and for enuye ther cumpassedden hym men in desert, that weren with Dathan and Abiron, and the congregacioun 23 of Chore, in to ful wrathe. The Lord sa3, and it plesede not to hym; and thei ben wastid in the bure of ful^e wrathe. 24 He made to hem hidous veniaunces, and he wastede them in the flaume of fyr. 25 And he eechede to Aron glorie, and he 3af to hym eritage; and the chef of the frutes of the erthe he deuydide to hym. 26 The bred of hym 'in the firste^f, in to fulnesse he greithede; for whi and the sacrifice^g of the Lord thei shul ete, the whiche he 3af to hym, and to the sed of 27 hym. 'For whi^h in thel ond he shal not eritagen Jentiles, and part is not to hym in the folc; he is forsothe the part of 28 hym, he is and the eritage. Fynees, the sone of Eleasar, the thridde isⁱ in glorie, folowende hym in the^k drede of God, 29 and to stonde in reuerence of the folc; in goodnesse and gladnesse of his soule 30 he pleside to God of Irael. Therfore he sette to hym a testament of pes, and a prince of seyntes, and of his folc; that ther be to hym and to his sed dignete of 31 presthed, in to with oute ende. And the testament of Daudid, 'the king^{kk}, sone of Jesse, of the lynage of Juda, eritage to hym, and to the sed of hym; that he schuld^l 3yue wisdom in to oure herte, to demen his folc in riztwisnesse, lest were^m don awei the goodis of hem; and the glorie of hem, in to the folc of hem, he maade euere lastende.

CAP. XLVI.

¹ Strong in bataile Jesus Nauee, the successour of Moises in profetes, that was 2 gret aftir his name. Most in to the helthe of the chosen men of God, to

yngis, and in his lawe to 3yue list to Israel. For aliens stooden a3ens hym, and 22 men that weren with Datan and Abiron, and the congregacioun of Chore, in wrathfulnesse cumpassiden hym for enuye, in desert. The Lord si3, and it pleside not 23 hym; and thei weren wastid in the feernesesse of wrathfulnesse. He made to hem 24 wondris a3ens kynde, and in the flawme of fier he wastide* hem. And he encreess- 25 ide glorie to Aaron, and 3af eritage to hym; and he departide to Aaron the firste thingis of fruytis of the erthe. He made 26 redi his breed in the firste thingis, in to fulnesse; for whi and thei shulen ete the sacrifices of the Lord, whiche he 3af to hym, and to his seed. But in the lond of his 27 folk he schal not haue eritage, and no part is to hym among the folk; for whi *God* is the part and eritage of hym. Fynees, 28 the sone of Eleazarus, was the thridde in glorie, in suyng hym in the^q drede of God, and to stonde in the reuerence of 29 folk; in the goodnesse and gladnesse of his soule he pleside God of Israel. Ther- 30 for *God* ordeynede to hym the testament of pees[†], and *made hym* prince of hooli men, and of his folk; that the dignete of presthod be to hym and to his seed, with outen ende. And the testament of Daudid, 31 the sone of Jesse, of the lynage of Juda, *was* eritage to hym, and to his seed; that he schulde 3yue wisdom in to oure herte, to deme his folk in riztfulnesse, lest her goodis schulen be don awei; and he made the glorie of hem to be euerlastinge, in the folk of hem.

CAP. XLVI.

Jhesus Naue, the successour of Moises ¹ in profetis, *was* strong in batel, that was greet bi his name. The gretteste in to ² the helthe of chosun men of God, to ouer-

* *wastide*; for the erthe swolewide hem, and thei 3eden doun quyke in to helle. 3af *eritage*; that is, the firste fruytis. in the lond; of biheest. *Live here. c.*

† *testament of pees*; that is, the dignete of presthod, to be had in possession pesibly to him and to his sones. *prince of hooly men*; that is, of prestis, that weren seid hooly, for they weren assigned to Goddis seruyces. *the testament of Daudid*; that is, his ordenaunce, of alarging of Goddis worshipyng, which ordenaunce he settide vndur the gouernail of the hizeste bischop. *the glorie of hem*; that is, dignete of presthod in hem and in her sones. *euerlastinge*; that is, to dwelle longe, as hillis ben euerlastinge. *Live here. c.*

^e wilful *A.*
kk Om. *c pr. m.*

^f Om. *c pr. m.*
^l Om. *c pr. m.*

^g sacrifices *A.*
^m be *c pr. m. E pr. m.*

^h Therafter *E pr. m.*

ⁱ Om. *A.*

^k Om. *H.*

fizten out the enemys azenrisende, that he schulde han afterward the eritage of ³Israel. What glorie he hadde in taking vp his hondis, and in castynge azen the ⁴cites twey bitende swerdis. Who biforn hym so withstod? for whi the enemys ⁵the Lord smot. Or not in wrathefulnessse of hym is lettid the sunne, and o ⁶dai is mad as two? He inwardli clepede the hezest, myztiⁿ in azenfizting his enemys on either side; and the grete and hoely God herde hym, in the grete stones ⁷of hail of ful gret vertue. A bure^o he made azen the enmyable^p folc; in the goyng down he distrozede the contrari- ⁸ous; that the Jentilis knowe the myzt of hym, for azen the Lord to fizte is not lizt; and he folowede the myzti men^q ⁹bihinde. And in the dazes of Moisy mercy dide he, and Calef, the sone of Jefone; to stonde azen the enemy, and to forfende the folc fro^r synnes, and to drawen awei the grucching of the malice. ¹⁰And thei two ordeyned fro the perile ben deliuered, fro the noumbre of six hundrid thousand foot men, to bringe them in to the eritage, in to the lond ¹¹that flowith mylc and hony. And the Lord gaf to Calef strengthe, and vnto eelde abod stille to hym vertue; that^s he schulde steze in to the heze place of the erthe, and the sed of hym heeld the ¹²eritage. And alle the sonus of Irael sezen, for it is good to obeshe to the ¹³hoeli God. And alle the iugis bi ther name, of whom the herte is not corrupt, the whiche ben not turned awei fro the ¹⁴Lord; that the mynde of hem be in blessing, and the boenes of hem buri- ¹⁵ounen fro ther place; and the name of hem abit^t stille in to with oute ende, the glorie of hoely^u men abidende stille to ¹⁶the sonus of hem. Samuel, the profete of the Lord, looued of the Lord his God, renewede the empire, and enoynt- ¹⁷ede princes in his folc. In the lawe of

come enemyes risynge azens *hem*, that he schulde gete the erytage of Israel. Which³ glorie he gat in reysynge his hondis, and in castynge scharpe arowis azens citees. Who bifore hym azenstood so? for whi⁴ the Lord hym silf smoot the enemyes. Whether the sunne was not lettid in the⁵ wrathfulnessse of hym, and o dai was maad as tweyne? He clepide to help the hizeste⁶ *God^r*, myzti in ouercomynge enemyes on ech side; and God, greet and hooli, herde hym, in stoonys of hail of ful greet vertu. He made asauzt azens the folk enemy, and ⁷in the comynge down he loste the aduersaries; that hethene men knowe the myzt⁸ of hym, for it is not esy to fizte azens the Lord; and he suede myzti men at the bak. And in the daies of Moises he and Caleph,⁹ the sone of Jephone, diden merci; to stonde azens the enemye, and to forbede the folk fro synnes, and to refreyne the grutchyng of malice. And thei tweyne weren stid- ¹⁰fast, and weren delyuered fro perel, of the noumbre of sixe hundrid thousynde^s foot men^s, to brynge hem in to the eritage, in to the lond that flowith mylk and hony. And the Lord gaf strengthe to thilke Ca- ¹¹leph, and til in^t to^u elde vertu dwellide perfilti to hym; that he stiede in to the hiz place of the lond, and his seed gat eritage. And alle the children of Israel ¹²sien, that it is good to obeie to hooli God. And alle iugis bi her name, the herte of ¹³whiche^v was not corrupt*, *weren strong in batel*, which weren not turned awei fro the Lord; that the mynde of hem be in ¹⁴blessyng, and her boonys apperen fro her place; and her name dwellith with outen ¹⁵ende, for the glorie of hooli men dwellith at the sonus of hem. Samuel, the profete ¹⁶of the Lord, *that was* louyd of his Lord God, made newe the empire†, and anoynt- ide prynces in his folk. In the lawe of ¹⁷the Lord he demyde the congregacioun, and he siz the Lord of Jacob, and in his feith he was preued a profete. And he ¹⁸

* was not corrupt; bi avarice, but weren stronge in batel. turned away; bi idolatrie. the glorie; that stondith not in richessis onours, and delices, but in vertuose werkis. Live here. c.

† made newe the empire; translatinge the rewme fro the lynage of Beniamyn to the lynage of Juda, bi commaundement of God. he siz the Lord of Jacob; that is, he knew in reuelacioun of profecie, for he herde ofte the Lord speking to him; therfor siz is takun here for herde. in his feith; that is, feithfulnessse. in the offring of a man vndefouled; that is, in his owne offring. Samuel is seid a man vndefouled, for he zede not away fro rystfulnessse bi avarice, nether bi other synne. Live here. c.

ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o bure forsothe E pr. m. ^p enemy able c. eymable A. ^q Om. c pr. m. ^r of A. ^s and A. ^t abideth AE GH. ^u tho hooli AE sec. m. GH.

^r Om. I. ^s of footmen c. ^t Om. mra. ^u to his 1. to the CEHQ pr. m. sva. ^v whom I.

the Lord he demede the congregacioun,
and he sa3 the Lord of Jacob, and in his
18 feith he is proued a profete. And he is
knownen in his wrdis feithful, for he sa3
19 the Lord of li3t. And he inwardly clep-
ide the almy3ty Lord, in a3enfizting the
enemys aboute stonde on eche side, in
20 the offring of the man vndefoulid. And
the Lord thundrede in fro heuene, in a
21 gret soun his vois he made herd. And
he to-trad the princes of Tyres, and alle
22 the dukes of Filisteys^v. And bfore the^w
tyme of the ende of his lif, and he 3af
witnessing of the world, in the si3t of
the Lord, and of Crist; monees and vnto
the shon, of alle flesh he toc not; and
23 ther acuside hym not a man. And aftir
that^{ww} he slepte, and made knownen to
the kyng, and shewede to hym the ende
of his lif; and enhauncede his vois fro
the erthe in profecie, to don away the
vnpytouse of the folc.

CAP. XLVII.

1 Aftir these thingus ros Nathan, the
2 profete, in the dajes of Dauid. And as
tal3 seuered fro the flesh, so Dauid fro
3 the sonus of Irael. With leouns he pley-
ede, as with lombis; in beres li3e maner
4 he dide, as in^x lombis of shep. In his
3outh the whether he slo3 not a ieaunt, and
5 toc awei repref fro the folc? In takinge
the hond in the ston of the slynge, he
6 thre3 down the io3e of Golie, where he
inwardly clepede the Lord almy3ty; and
he 3af in his ri3t hond to don away a
strong man in bataile, and to enhaunce
7 the horn of his folc. So in ten thou-
sendis he glorifiede hym, and preisede
hym in the blessingus of the Lord, in
8 offringe to hym a croune of glorie. For-
sothe he to-brosede the enemys on eche
side, and distro3ede Filisteys^y contrarious,
vnto the day that is now; he to-brosede
the horn of hem, vnto with oute ende.
9 In alle werk he 3af knoueleching to^z the

was knowun feithful in hise wordis, for he
si3 the Lord of li3t. And he clepide in to 19
help the Lord almy3ti, in ouercomynge
enemys stondynge aboute on ech side, in
the offrynge of a man vndefoulid. And 20
the Lord thundride fro heuene, and in
greet soun he made his vois herd. And 21
he al to-brak the princes of men of Tyre,
and alle the duykis of Filisteis. And bi- 22
fore the^v tyme of ende of his lijf, and of
the world, he 3af witnessyng in the si3t
of the Lord, and of Crist^{*}; he took not
of ony man richessis, 3he, til to schoon^w;
and no man accuside hym. And after 23
this he slepte, and he made knowun to
the kyng[†], and he schewide to hym the
ende of his lijf; and he enhaunside his
vois fro the erthe in profesie, to do awei
the wickidnesse of the folc.

* and of Crist;
that is, Saul,
anoyned in to
kyng. Live
here. c.

† to the kyng;
that is, Saul,
to whom he
seid, that his
deth neigede in
the morewe.
Live here. c.

CAP. XLVII.

Aftir these thingis Nathan, the profete, 1
roos, in the daies of Dauid. And as yn- 2
nere fatnesse[‡] departide fro the fleisch, so
Dauid fro the sonus of Israel. He pleiede 3
with liouns, as with lambren; he dide in
li3k maner with beris, as with lambren of
scheep. Whether in his 3ongthe he killide 4
not a giaunt, and took awei schenship
fro the folk? In reisyng the hond in a 5
ston of a slynge, he castide down the ful
out ioi3yng of Golias, where he clepide to 6
help the Lord almy3ti; and he 3af in his
ri3t hond to do awei a stronge man in
batel, and to enhaunse the horn of his
folk. So he glorifiede hym[§] in ten thou- 7
synde, and he preiside hym in the bless-
yngis^x of the Lord, in offrynge to hym
the coroun of glorie. For he al to-brak 8
enemys on ech side, and drow out bi the
roote Filisteis contrarie, 'til in to^y this dai;
he al to-brak the horn of hem, 'til in to^y
with outen ende. *David* in ech werk 3af 9

‡ as ynne fat-
nesse, etc.;
thou3 al the
puple of Israel
seruede God,
nethes Da-
uyth seruede
more deuoutly
than othere
men diden.
Live here. c.

§ he glorifiede
him, etc.; that
is, made to be
preisid. preiside
him, etc.; that
is, made him
preisable, of
goodis whiche
he 3af to him.
Live here. c.

^v Philistiyim AGH. ^w Om. A. ^{ww} Om. C pr. m. ^x and in AGH. ^y Philisteym AEG. the Philisteym H.
^z vnto AGH.

^v Om. I. ^w the schoon A pr. m. ^x blessing v. ^y vnto I.

hoely, and to the hee3e in the^a wrd^b of
 10 glorie. Of alle his herte he preisede God,
 and louede the Lord that made hym,
 and 3af to hym a3en the enemyes my3t.
 11 And he made to stonde syngeres a3en the
 auter; and in the soun of hem he made
 12 sweete motetes. And he 3af wrshepe in
 solempnysingus, and ournede the tymes
 vnto the ful endyng of lyf; that thei
 schulden preisen the hoely name of the
 Lord, and make large erly the hoelynesse
 13 of God^c. Crist purgede the synnes of
 hym, and enhauncede in to with outen
 ende the horn of hym; and he 3af to
 hym the testament of kingus, and a sete^{cc}
 14 of glorie in Irael. After hym ros a son
 weel felende; and for hym he cast down
 15 alle the my3te of enemys. Salomon co-
 maundide in dazes^d of pes, to whom God
 sogetede alle the enemyes, that he schulde
 maken an hous in his name, and greithen
 hoelynesse in to euermor, as he was ta3t
 16 in his 3outh. And he is fulfild as a flod
 with wisdom; and his soule a3een co-
 17 uered^e the erthe. And thou fulfildist
 in comparisouns derk prouerbis; to ylis
 aferr is pupplisht thi name, and thou art
 18 loued in thi pes. In songus, and in pro-
 uerbis, and comparisouns, and in remen-
 19 yngus wndreden the^{ee} londis; and in the
 name of the Lord, to whom is the toname
 20 God off Irael. Thou gederest as latoun
 gold, and as led thou fulfildist syluer.
 21 And thou bowedist^f in thin hipis to
 wymmen; power thou haddest in thi
 22 body. Thou 3eue a wem in thi glorie,
 and cursedest thi sed, to bringen in
 wrathfulnesse to thi free childer, and in
 23 othere thingus thi folye; that thou shul-
 dist make the empire partid on two,
 and of^g Effreym^b to comaunden an hard
 24 maundement. God forsothe shall not
 leuen his mercy, and he shal not spille,
 ne don away his werkes, ne leese fro the
 stoc his chosun sonus sonus; and the sed

knoueleching to hooli *God*, and hi3 in the
 word of glorie. Of al his herte he heriede 10
 God, and he louyde the Lord that made
 hym, and 3af to hym power a3ens ene-
 myes. And he made syngeris to stonde 11
 a3ens the auter; and he made swete
 motetis in the soun of hem. And he 3af 12
 fairnesse in halewyngis*, and he ournede
 tymes `til to^z the endyng of lijf; that thei
 schulden preise the hooli name of the Lord,
 and make large eerli the hoolynesse of
 God. Crist purgide the synnes of hym, 13
 and enhaunside his horn with outen ende;
 and he 3af to hym the testament of kyngis,
 and the seete of glorie in Israel. After 14
 hym roos a witti sone; and for hym he
 castide down al the power of enemyes.
 Salomon regnede in the daies of pees, to 15
 whom God made suget alle enemyes, that
 he schulde make an hous in the name of
 God, and make redi hoolynesse with outen
 ende, as he was lerned in his 3ongthe.
 And he was fillid with wisdom as a flood 16
 is *fillid*; and his soule vnihilide the erthe.
 And thou, *Salomon*, fillidist derk figuratif 17
 spechist[†] in licnessis; and^a thi name was
 pupplischid to ilis afer, and thou were
 louyde in thi pees. Londis wondriden in 18
 songis, and in prouerbis, and in licnessis,
 and interpretyngis, *ether expositiouns*;
 and in the^b name of the Lord, to whom 19
 the surname is God of Israel. Thou ga- 20
 deridist togidere gold as latoun, and thou
 fillidist siluer as leed. And thou bouwidist 21
 thi thies to wymmen; thou haddist power
 in thi bodi[‡]. Thou hast 3oue a wem in thi 22
 glorie, and madist vnhooli thi seed, to
 brynge in wrathfulnesse to thi children,
 and thi foli in othere men; that thou 23
 schuldist make the rewme departid in to
 tweyne, and of Effrem to comaunde an
 hard comaundement. But God schal not 24
 forsake his merci, and schal not distrie,
 nether do awei hise werkis, nether he
 schal leese fro generacioun the sones sonus

* he 3af fair-
 nesse in halew-
 ingis; for he
 encreesside
 Goddis wor-
 schiping in
 prestis, dekenes,
 and singeris.
 tymes; that is,
 solemnnytees,
 that weren
 maad in dy-
 uerse tymes of
 the 3eer. *Lire*
here. c.

† and thou,
Salomon, fillid-
 ist derk figura-
 tif spechis; in
 declaring tho
 to the queen of
 Saba. *londis*;
 that is, men
 dwellinge in
 londis. *Lire*
here. c.

‡ in thi bodi;
 to fille the lust
 of thi bodi.
Lire here. c.

^a Om. *AGH*. ^b werk *A*. ^c the God *c*. ^{cc} see *c pr. m.* ^d fewe dazes *E pr. m.* ^e made *E pr. m.*
^{ee} Om. *c pr. m.* ^f bowest *c pr. m.* ^g to *A. Om. H.* ^h withoute bridil *E pr. m.*

of hym that looueth the Lord he shall
 25 not shende. He 3af forsothe an other
 26 Jacob, and Daid of that lynage. And
 Salomon hadde endeⁱ with his fadris.
 27 And he lafte after hym of his sed the
 28 folie of the folc, and the mynusht fro
 prudence^k, Roboam; the whiche turnede
 29 away the folc bi his counseil. And Jero-
 boam, the sone of Naboth, that made to
 synnen Irael, and 3af the weie of syn-
 nyng to Effraym; and ful^{kk} manye re-
 30 doundeden the synnes of hem gretli, for-
 sothe thei turneden hem^l awei fro ther
 31 lond. And he so3te alle wickidnesses^{ll},
 vnto the tyme that defending ful cam to
 them; and fro alle synnes he delyuerede
 them.

CAP. XLVIII.

1 And Helie, the profete, ros as fyr;
 2 and his wrd as a brond brende. The
 whiche bro3te in to hem hunger, and
 folewende hym bi ther enuye ben mad
 fewe; forsothe thei my3ten not suffre
 3 the hestes of the Lord. Thur3 the wrd
 of the Lord he withheeld heuene, and
 4 cast down fro hym fyr^m to the erthe. So
 mad large is Helie in his merueiles; and
 5 who mai lic maner glorien to thee, the
 whicheⁿ hast^o borne^p vp the deade fro
 helle, fro the lot of deth, in the wrd of
 6 the Lord God? The whiche thre3 down
 kingus to deth, and thou breeke listli the
 my3t of hem, and the gloriouse fro ther^q
 7 bed. Thatt herdist in Syna dom, and in
 8 Oreb domes of defensioun. That enoyntist
 kingus to penaunce, and profetes makest
 9 successoures after thee. That art res-
 ceyued in whirlewynd of fyr, in a char
 10 of fyrene hors^r. That art inwrite in
 domes of tymes, to swage the wrathe of

of his chosun kyng *Dauid*; and he schal
 not distrie the seed of hym that loueth
 the Lord. Forsothe *God* 3af remenaunt 25
 to Jacob, and to Daid of that genera-
 cioun. And Salomon hadde an ende with 26
 hise fadris. And he lefte aftir hym of his 27
 seed Roboam, the foli of the folk, and 28
 made lesse fro prudence; which *Roboam*
 turnede awei the folk bi his councel. And 29
 Jeroboam, the sone of Nabath, that made
 Israel to do synne, and 3af to Effraym
 weie to do synne; and ful many synnes
 of hem^{*} weren plenteuouse, for thei turn- 30
 eden hem awei greetli fro her lond. And 31
the lynage of Effraym sou3te al wickid-
 nessis, til defence cam to hem; and dely-
 uerede hem fro alle synnes.

CAP. XLVIII.

And Elie, the profete, roos as fier[†]; for 1
 whi his word brente as a brond. Which 2
 brou3te yn hungur on hem, and thei
 suyng hym weren maad fewe for enuye^c;
 for thei my3ten not suffre the comaunde-
 mentis of the Lord. Bi the word of the 3
 Lord he held togidere heuene, and castide
 down fro it fier[‡] to the erthe. So Elie 4
 was alargid in his merueils; and who
 may haue glorie in lijk maner with thee,
 which tokist awei a deed man fro hellis, 5
 fro the eritage of deth, in the word of the
 Lord God? Which castidist down kyngis 6
 to deth, and hast broke togidere listli the
 power of hem, and gloriouse men fro her
 bed[§]. Which herdist dom in Syna, and in 7
 Oreb domes of defence^{||}. Which anoyntist 8
 kyngis to penaunce, and makist prophetis
 successouris aftir thee. Which were re- 9
 seyued in a whirlewynde of fier, in a chare
 of horsis of fier. Which art writun in the 10
 domes of tymes, to plese the wrathfulnesse

* many synnes
 of hem, etc.;
 that is, synnes
 grete and orri-
 ble maden hem
 to be prisoneris
 fer fro her lond.

defence; that
 is, licence of
 Persis, that
 thei myzten
 turne agen in
 to the lond of
 Juda. fro alle
 synnes; that
 is, prisionyng
 brougt in on
 hem for her
 synnes. *Live*
here. c.

† as fier; that
 is, brennyng
 in the feruent
 loue of God.

brente as a
 brond; in kyn-
 dling the he-
 reris to Goddis
 loue. *suyng*
him, etc.; that
 is, the prestis
 of Baal, that
 sou3ten to be
 herd bi fier in
 the ending of
 her brent sa-
 crifice, as Elie
 did, in the
 III. book of
 Kyngis, xvij.
 c°. and for thei
 myzten not
 thei weren
 slayn of the
 puple. co-
 maundementis
 of the Lord;
 that is, thei
 myzten not
 agenstonde his
 wille, that co-
 maundide her
 deth bi Elie.
Live here. c.

‡ castide down
 fro it fier; that
 is, bi the vertu
 of his preyer
 he made fier
 come down fro
 heuene, on his
 brent sacrifice.
Live here. c.
 § fro her bed;
 summe bokis
 han for her
 trespas; that
 is, twey princes
 of fifti men
 sent of Ocozie
 ligginge in his
 bed, to take
 Elie, on which

he made fier to come down fro heuene. *Live here. c.*

|| in Oreb domes of defence; that is, of Goddis veniaunce, whanne God comaundide to Elie, to anoynte Elisee in to a profete, and Asael in to king of Sirie, and Hieu, the sone of Namsi, in to king of Israel, to the sleying of idolatouris. in the domes of tymes; that is, to come in tymes bifor the doom, to schewe opynly the falsnesse of Antecrist, in the laste c°. of Malachie, Y schal sende Elie, the profete, bifor that the grete and orible dai of the Lord come, that he turne the hertis of fadris to the sones. *that sien thee*; that is, sien thyn hooly conuersacioun, and herde thi teching. *Live here. c.*

ⁱ endid c. Om. G pr. m. H. ^k the prudence A. ^{kk} Om. c pr. m. ^l Om. c pr. m. ^{ll} wickednesses E.
 wickidnesse H. ^m the fyr E pr. m. ⁿ Om. c. for E pr. m. ^o thou c pr. m. E pr. m. hast thou
 c sec. m. thou hast E sec. m. AG pr. m. H. ^p beere CE pr. m. ^q his E pr. m. ^r horsis AEGH.

^c her enuye c sec. m.

the Lord, and to ioynen, ^sor acorde^s, the herte of the fader to the sone, and to re-
 11 storen^t the lynagis of Jacob. Blisful ben thei, that thee han herd, and in thi fren-
 12 shepe ben mad faire; ^ufor why^u wee^v with lijf lyuen only, after deth forsothe such
 13 shal not ben oure name. Helie forsothe in a whirlewynd is couered; and in Helyse fulfild is his spirit. In his dazes he dradde not a prince, and bi myzt no
 14 man ouer cam hym; ne ouercam hym any wrd, and his body dead profe-
 15 ciede. In his lif he dide huge won- dris; and in deth merueilouse thingus
 16 he wrozte. In alle these thingus the^w puple dide not penaunce, and thei wenten not away fro ther synnes, vn to the tyme that thei ben cast away fro ther lond,
 17 and ben scatered in to eche lond. And ther is laft ful fewe folc, and a prince in
 18 the hous of Daud. Summe of hem dyden that shulde plesen to God; othere for-
 19 sothe diden manye synnes. Ezechias strengthede his cite, and brozte in to the myddel of it water; and dalf^x with iren the roche, and bilde vp to the water a
 20 pit. In his dazes stezede vp Senacherub, and sente Rapsacen; and vnderputte his hond azen hem, and putte out his hond in to Sion, and proud is mad in his myzt.
 21 Thanne moued ben the hertes and the hondis of hem; and thei soreweden as
 22 wymmen trauailende with child. And thei inwardly clepeden the merciful Lord, and strechende out hondis thei re-
 reden ^yvp to^y heuene; and the hoely Lord
 23 God herde anon the vois of hem. He remembrede^z not the synnes of hem, ne
 3af hem to ther enemys; but purgede hem in the hond of Ysaie, the hoely
 24 profete. He thre3 down the tentes of Assiries, and hem to-brosede the aungil
 25 of the Lord. For whi Ezechie dide that plesede to the Lord, and strongli he wente in the weie^a of Daud, his fader; that Isaie, the grete profete, and feithful in

of the Lord, to recounsele the herte of the fadir to the sone, and to^d restore the lynagis of Jacob. Thei ben blessid, that 11
 sizen thee, and weren maad feir^{*} in thi frenschipe; for whi we lyuen oneli in lijf, 12
 but after deth oure name schal not^e be siche. Elie, that was hilid in a whirle-13
 wynd; and his spirit was fillid in Elisee. *Elisee* in hise daies dredde not the prince, and no man ouercam hym bi power; ne-14
 ther ony word ouercam hym, and his deed bodi profesiede. In his lijf he dide won-15
 dris azens kynde; and in deth he wrouzte merueilis. In alle these thingis the puple 16
 dide not penaunce, and 3eden not awei fro her synnes, til whanne thei weren cast awei fro her lond, and weren scatered in to ech lond. And a ful fewe folk was left, 17
 and a prince in the hous of Daud. Summe 18
 of hem diden that, that pleside God; but othere diden many synnes. Ezechie maad 19
 strong his citee, and brouzte watir in to the myddis therof; and^f diggide a rooche with irup, and bildide a pit to watir. In 20
 hise daies Senacherib stiede, and sente Rapsaces; and he reiseide his hond azens hem, and he reiseide his hond azens Syon, and was maad proud in his power. Thanne 21
 the hertis and hondis of hem weren moued; and thei hadden sorewe as wymmen tra- uelynge of child. And thei clepiden to 22
 help the merciful Lord, and thei spredden abrood the hondis, and reiseiden to heuene; and the hooli Lord^g God herde soone the vois of hem. He hadde not mynde on her 23
 synnes, nether 3af hem to her enemyes; but he purgide hem in the hond of Isaie[†], the hooli profete. The aungel of the Lord 24
 castide down the castels of Assiriens, and al to-brak hem. For whi Ezechie dide 25
 that that pleside the Lord, and 3ede strongli in the weie of Dauith, his fadir; which *weie* Isaie, the grete profete, and feithful in the sizt of God, comaundide to hym. In the daies of hym the sunne 3ede 26
 azen abak; and *God* encreesside lijf to

* weren maad fair; bi fairnesse of vertues. lyuen onely in lijf; that is, han fame in present lijf. c.

† in the hond of Ysaie; that is, by Ysaie preinyng for hem, at the axing of Ezechie. pleside the Lord; in purgyng Jerusalem fro idolatrie, and in excitinge the prestis and dekenes and the puple, to Goddis worschipping. c.

^s Om. CE pr. m. ^t store GH. ^u now C pr. m. E pr. m. ^v Om. C sec. m. AG pr. m. H. ^w tho3te the E pr. m. ^x deluede AEGH. ^y vnto C. ^z membride A. ^a hond E pr. m.

^d Om. c. ^e Om. v. ^f and he i. ^g Om. c. F f

26 the sijte of God, sente to hym. In his
dazes backward wente azen the sunne; and
27 addede to the king lif. With a gret spirit
he sa3 the laste thingus; and coumfortede
the weilende men in Sion, vn to euermor.
28 He shewide thingus to come, and hid, er
that thei fellen.

CAP. XLIX.

1 The mynde of Josie mad in a making
of smell, is a werk of a^b pyment makere.
2 In eche mouth as hony shal be inwardly
sweete the mynde of hym, and as melody
3 in the feste of wyn. He is euene ri3t
godly in the penaunce of folc; and he
took away the abhomynaciouns of vnpi-
4 tousnesse. And he gouernede to the Lord
his herte; and in the dazes of synnes he
5 strengthede pite. Saue Dauid, and Ese-
chie, and Josie, alle the kingus diden synne
6 For whi the kyngus of Juda laften the
lawe of the my3ty, and dispiseden the
7 drede of God. Forsothe thei 3euen ther
kingdam to othere, and ther glorie to an^d
8 alien folc. Thei brenden vp the^e chosen
cite of hoelynesse; and desert thei maden
9 weies of it^f in the hond of Jeremye. For
whi euele thei treteden hym, that fro the
wombe of the moder is sacrid a profete,
to turnen vpsodoun, and to leesen, and
10 eft to bilden vp, and to renewen. Ese-
chiel, that sa3 the sijte of glorie, that he
shewede to hym in the char of cherubyn.
11 For whi he remembrede of the enemys
in weder, to wel don to them, that shew-
12 eden ri3t weies. And the boenes of the
twelue profetes springen oute fro ther
place; for whi thei strengtheden Jacob,
and a3eenbo3ten themself in feith of his
13 vertue. What maner shul wee make large
Zorobabel? for whi and he as a toene in
14 the ri3t hond of Israel; and Jesum, the
sone of Josedech? the whiche in ther
dazes bildun vp the hous, and enhaunc-
eden the hoely temple to the Lord, mad
15 redy in to euermor glorie. And Neemye
in the mynde of myche tyme, that rerede

the kyng. With greet spirit *Ysaie*8 sij^h 27
the laste thingis; and heⁱ coumfortide the
moreneris in Sion, 'in to^j with outen ende.
He schewide thingis to comynge, and hid 28
thingis, bifore that tho camen.

CAP. XLIX.

The mynde of Josie maad in the mak-1
yng of odour, is the werk of a pyment
makere. In ech mouth his mynde schal 2
be maad swete as hony, and as musik in
the feeste of wyn. He was dressid of God 3
in the penaunce of folk*; and he took
awei the abhomynaciouns of wickidnesse.
And the herte of hym† gouernede to the 4
Lord; and in the daies of synnes he
strengthide pitee. Outakun Dauid, Eze- 5
chie^j and Josie, alle kyngis diden synne.
For whi the kyngis of Juda leften the 6
lawe of my3ti^k *God*, and dispisiden the
drede of God. For thei 3auen her rewme 7
to othere men, and her glorie to an alien
folk. Thei brenten the chosun citee of 8
hoelynesse; and thei maden the weies
therof forsakun in the hond^l of Jeremye.
For thei tretiden yuel hym, which from 9
the wombe of the modir was halewid a
profete, to turne vpsedoun†, and to leese,
and efte to bilde, and make newe. Eze- 10
chiel, that sij the sijt of glorie, which *the*
Lord schewide to hym in the chare of
cherubyn. For he made mynde of ene- 11
myes in reyn[§], to do wel to hem, that
schewiden ri3tful weies. And the boonys 12
of twelue profetis apperen fro her place;
and thei strengthiden Jacob, and a3en-
bou3ten hem in the feith of her vertu.
Hou schulen we alarge Zorobabel^m? for 13
whi and he was a signe in the ri3t hond
of God to Israel; and Jhesu, the sone 14
of Josedech? whiche in her daies bildiden
an hous, and enhaunsiden the hooli tem-
ple to the Lord, maad redi in to euerlast-
ynge glorie. And Neemye in the mynde 15
of myche tyme, that reiside to vs the

* in the pe-
naunce of folk;
for he brougt
the puple of
his rewme to
penaunce for
her synnes, and
to the worschip-
ing of veri God,
and distriede
idolatrie. *Live*
here. c.

† the herte of
him, etc.; that
is, the herte of
Josie ordeyn-
ede the gouern-
aunce of the
rewme hoolliche
to the onour of
God. in the
daies of synnes;
that is, the
tyme in which
the synne of
idolatrie regn-
ede. *strengthide*
pitee; that is,
restoride the
worschiping of
God, and orde-
ynede it to
be kept stide-
fastly. *thei*
3auen her
rewme; that
is, disserveden
for synne, that
it was 3oun to
men of Babi-
loyne. *brenten*;
that is, Jeru-
salem was brent
for her synnes.
in the hond of
Jeremye; that
is, bi his pro-
fesie. *Live*
here. c.

‡ to turne vpsed-
doun, etc.;
herto he was
halewid a pro-
fete, to de-
nounce the
turnyng vpsed-
doun of the
citee and of the
puple, and the
distrying of the
puple bi Cal-
deys, and the
bilding azen bi
the kyngis of
Perseya. *c.*
§ in reyn; that
is, in word of
his profesie.
Jacob; that is,
the puple of
Israel, in feith
and vertues, bi
her hooli en-
saumplis and
techingis. *azen-*
bou3ten; fro
peyne and
synne of syn-
neris, bi the
feithfulnesse of
her preching.
Live here. c.

^b Om. A. ^d Om. AG sec. m. H. ^e ther E. ^f his weies c pr. m. E pr. m.

^g Ezechie A sec. m. marg. ^h he sau3e i. ⁱ Om. c. ^j til in to A pr. m ^j and Ezechie A pr. m.
^k almy3ti v. ^l lond A. ^m that is, preise hym worthily v marg.

vp to vs the turned vpsodoun walles, and made to stonde zates and lokes; that
16 reredē vp oure houses. No man is born in the^g erthe such as Enoch; for whi
17 and he is resceyued fro the erthe. And Joseph, that is born of man, prince of brethern, fastnyng of folc of kynde, gouernour of brethern, stablyng of puple;
18 and the bones of hym ben visitid, and
19 aftir the deth thei profecieden. Seth and Sem, these^{gg} anent^h men hadden gote glorie, and ouer alle lif in the springyng of Adam.

CAP. L.

1 'Symon, Onyes sone, the^{hh} grete prest, that in his lif vndersette the hous, and in
2 his dajes strengthede the temple. Also the heiȝte of the temple of hym is foundid, the double bilding, and the heȝe walles
3 of the temple. In his dajes sprungen out the pittes of watris; and as the se
4 thei ben fulfild ouer maner. That curede his folc, and delyuerede it fro perdicioun.
5 That hadde the maistrie to make large the cite; that gat glorie in to the lyuyngeⁱ of folc; and the^k incomyng of the hous, and of the porche he^l made large.
6 As the morutid sterre in myddel^m of theⁿ litle cloude, and as the fulle moone in his
7 dajes he liȝtneth^o; and as the shynende sunne, so he shyneth out in the temple
8 of God; as the aȝenshynende bowe betwene^{oo} the litle cloudis of glorie, and as the flour of roses in the dajes of ver, and as lilies, that ben in goyngus^p of water, and as^q cense smellende in the dajes of
9 somyr; as fyr shynende out, and sens
10 brennende in fyr; as a massee vessel of gold, enournd with alle maner precious
11 ston; as a^r buriounende olyue, and^{rr} cipresse in to heiȝte puttende out itself^s; in takynge hym the stoele of glorie, and to^t be clad^u hym in the ful endyng of
12 vertue. In the steȝyng vp of the hoely

wallis, 'that werenⁿ cast down, and made the zatis and lockis to stonde; which
Neemye reiseide oure housis. No man
borun in erthe was such as Enok^{*}; for whi and he was resceyued fro the erthe. And Joseph, that was borun a man, the
prince of britheren, the stidfastnesse of folk, the gouernour of britheren, the stablischyng of puple; and his boonys weren
visitid, and profesieden after deth. Seth
and Sem, these gaten glorie anentis men, and ouer ech man in the^o generacioun of Adam.

* was sich as Enok; no man was sich as Enok, in alle goode condiciouns, for whi ech hoely man hath sum special grace of God, which an other hath not in enene degree, bi alle thingis. *Live here. c.*

CAP. L.

Symount, the sone of Onyas, was a greet preest, which in his lijf vndursettide the hous, and in hise daies strengthide the temple. Also the hiȝnesse of the temple
was bildide of hym[†], the double bildyng, and hiȝ wallis of the temple. In the daies
of hym the pittis of watris camen forth; and as the see tho weren fillid aboue measure. Which *Symount* helide his folk, and
delyuerede it fro perdicioun. Which was
myȝti to alarge the citee; which gat glorie in the conuersacioun of folk; and alargide the entryng of the hous, and of the large cumpas aboute. As the dai sterre in the
myddis of a cloude, and as a ful moone schyneth in hise daies; and as the sunne
schynynge, so he schynede in the temple of God; as a reyn bouwe schynynge
among the cloudis of glorie, and as a flour of rosis in the daies of veer, and as lilies, that ben in the passyng of watir, and as encense smellynge in the daies of somer; as fier schynynge, and ensence brennyng
in fier; as a sad vessel of gold, ourned
with ech precieuse stoon; as an olyue tree
sprynge forth, and a cipresse tree reisyng it silf an hiȝ; while he took the stoole of glorie, and was clothid in the perfeccioun of vertu. In the styng of the hooli
auter, the clothing of hoelynesse ȝaf glorie.

† was bildid of him; that is, reparedid, for it was foundid of Sorobabel and Jhesu, the sone of Josedech, in the tyme of Cyrus, and parformed bi the same men in the sixte ȝeer of Darius. *Live here. c.*

^g Om. AGH. ^{gg} Om. c. ^h anentis AEGH. ^{hh} Symeon Onyes, son of the c pr. m. ⁱ conuerting c pr. m. E pr. m. ^k in the c pr. m. ^l Om. c pr. m. ^m the myddel EGH. ⁿ Om. c sec. m. ^o liȝteth c. ^{oo} betwe c pr. m. ^p the goyngis EGH. ^q Om. H. ^r Om. GH. ^{rr} in c. ^s hymself AGH. ^t Om. A. ^u clothid AEGH.

ⁿ Om. ceteri. ^o Om. v.

auter^v, glorie he ȝaf the amyse of hoely-
 nesse. In takynge forsothe partes of the
 hond of prestes, and he stondende^w biside
 the auter. Aboute hym the croune of
 brethern, as the plaunting of a ceder in
 14 Liban hil; so aboute hym thei stoden as
 palm braunches, and alle the sonus of
 15 Aron in ther glorie. The offring for-
 sothe of the Lord in the hondis^x of hem,
 biforn al the gedering of Irael; and the
 ful endyng vsyng in to the auter, to
 make large the offring of the heȝe king,
 16 he strazte out his hond in the sacrificyng
 of likoures; and he sacrificede in the blod
 17 of a grape. He helde out in the founde-
 ment of the auter, godly smel to the heȝe
 18 prince. Thanne crieden out the sonus of
 Aron; in beten out trumpes thei soun-
 eden, and herd thei maden a gret vois in
 19 to the mynde bifor God. Thanne al the
 puple togidere wenten forth, and fellen
 in to the face vp on the^y erthe, to ho-
 noure the Lord ther God, and to ȝyue
 20 preȝeeres to the^z almyȝty heȝe God. And
 thei largeden synging in ther voices; and
 in the grete hous is mad a vois^a ful of
 21 swetnesse. And the puple preȝede the
 heȝe Lord in preȝere, vn to the tyme that
 ful don is the honour of the Lord, and
 22 his ȝifte thei parformeden. Thanne com-
 ende down, his hondis he putte out in to
 al the congregacioun of the sonus of Irael,
 to ȝyue glorie to God of his lippes, and
 23 in his name to glorien. And he rehercede
 his orisoun, willende^b to shewe the vertue
 24 of God. And aftir eft more he preȝede
 the God of alle, that grete thingus dide in
 al erthe; that encreside oure dazes fro
 the wombe of oure moder, and dide with
 25 vs aftir his mercy. Ȝyue he to vs inward
 ioȝe of herte, and to be mad pes in oure
 dazes in Irael bi euere lastende dazes;
 26 Irael to leeuē, with vs to ben the mercy
 of God, that he deliuere them in ther
 27 dazes. Two folkis hateth my soule; the
 thridde forsothe is, that noon more folc

Forsothe in takynge^p partis^{*} of the hoond 13
 of prestis, and he stood bisidis the auter.
 The coroun of britheren, as a plaunting
 of cedre in the hil Liban, *was* aboute
 hym; so thei stoden aboute hym as 14
 boowis of palm tree, and alle the sones
 of Aaron *stoden* in her glorie. Sotheli 15
 the offryng of the Lord *was* in the hondis
 of hem, bifore al the synagoge of Israel;
 and he vside ful endyng on the auter, to
 alarge the offryng of the hiȝ kyng. And 16
 he dresside his hond in moiste sacrifice;
 and sacrificide in the blood of grape. He 17
 schedde out in the foundement of the
 auter, the odour of God to the hiȝ prince.
 Thanne the sones of Aaron crieden lowde; 18
 thei sowneden in trumpis betun out with
 hameris, and maden a grete vois herd in
 to mynde bifore God. Thanne al the pu- 19
 ple hastiden togidere, and fellen down on
 the face on the erthe, for to worschipe her
 Lord God, and^q to ȝyue preyers to almyȝti
 God an hiȝ. And men syngynge in her 20
 voices alargiden[†]; and a soun ful of swet-
 nesse was maad in the greet hous. And 21
 the puple preiede the hiȝ Lord in preier,
 til that the onour of the Lord was doon
 perfitli, and thei parformeden her ȝifte.
 Thanne *Symount* cam down, and reiside 22
 hise hondis in to al the congregacioun of
 the sones of Israel, to ȝyue glorie to God
 bi hise lippis, and to haue glorie in the
 name of hym. And he reher side his preier, 23
 willynge to schewe the vertu of God[‡].
 And he preyede more the Lord of alle, 24
 that made grete thingis in ech lond; which
 encresside oure daies fro the wombe of
 oure modir, and dide with vs bi^r his mercy.
 Ȝyue he gladnesse of herte to vs, and that 25
 pees be maad in Israel bi euerlastynge
 daies; that Israel bileue, that Goddis merci 26
 is with vs, that he delyuere hem[§] in her
 dayes. Mi soule hatith twei folkis; but 27
 the thridde is not a folk, whom Y hate^{||}.
 Thei that sitten in the hil of Seir, and 28
 the Filisteis, and the fonned puple, that

* *in taking*
partis, etc.;
that is, the
tythe of tythis,
which the
prestis token
of the puple;
 14 *and of tho*
tithis thei of-
friden the
tenthe part to
the hiȝeste
 15 *prest, as God*
seid, in xvij.
c. of Numery.
Live here. c.

† *alargiden;*
that is, heri-
eden God
largeli. Live
here. c.

‡ *vertu of God;*
this that is seid
bitwixe, And
afterward eft,
 23 *is not in bokis*
amendid. Live
here. c.

§ *delyuere hem,*
etc.; fro the
seruage of he-
then men. Live
here. c.

|| *whom Y hate;*
that is, Y hate
no folk so
 25 *myche as this*
thridde. the
fonned puple,
etc.; that is,
 26 *Samaritans*
worschippinge
idols, and
 27 *sunne of hem*
dwelliden in
Sichem, and
 28 *they weren*
euere contrarie
to Jewis. Live
here. c.

^v auteris E pr. m.
 nynge AEGH.

^w stode A.

^x housis A.

^y Om. AE.

^z Om. H.

^a sown E sec. m.

^b wil-

^p the takinge v.

^q Om. v.

^r aftir I.

28 I shulde haten. That sitten in the hil of
Seir, and Filisteym, and the fool puple,
29 that dwellith in Sichemys. The doctrine
of wisdom, and of disciplyne wrot in this
boc Jhesus, the sone of Sirac, Jerosolo-
mytane; that renewede the wisdom of
30 his herte. Blisful that in these goodus^c
abit^d; that putteth tho thingus in his
31 herte, wys shal ben euermor. If for-
sothe these thingus he shul do, to alle
thingus he shal ben my³ty; for the list
of God is the step of hym.

CAP. LI.

1 I shal knouelechen to thee, Lord king;
and I shal al preisen thee, God my sa-
2 uour. I shal knouelechen to thi name,
for helpere and defendere thou art mad
3 to me; and thou hast delyuered my
body fro perdicoun, fro the gnare of a^e
wicke^f tunge, and fro the lippes of men
werkende lesyng; and in the sizt of men
stondende nee³ thou art mad to me an
4 helpere. And thou hast delyuered me,
after the multitude of the mercy of thi
name, fro the rorende men greithed to
5 mete; fro the hondis of men sechende
my soule, and of manye tribulaciouns
6 that enuyrouneden me; fro the torment-
ing of flaume that cumpasede me, and in
the⁸ myddel of the fyr I am not brend
7 out; fro the heizte of the wombe of helle,
and fro the defoulid tunge, and fro the
wr^d of lesing; fro a wicke king, and fro
8 an vnri³twis tunge. Shal preisen vn to
9 the deth my soule the Lord; and my lif
10 nezhende was in helle benethe. Thei
cumpasseden me on eche side, and ther
was not that wolde helpen; biholdende
I was to the helpe of men, and ther was
11 not. I hadde mynde of thi mercy, Lord,
and of thi with^h werching, that fro the
12 world ben; for thou takest out men
sustenende thee, and delyuerest hem fro
13 the hond of Jentiles. Thou enhancedest

dwellith in Sichemys. Jhesus, the sone of 29
Sirach, a man of Jerusalem, wroot in this
book the techyng of wisdom, and of kun-
nyng; and he renulide wisdom* of his
herte. He is blessid, that dwellith in these 30
goodis; he that settith tho in his herte,
schal euere be wijs. For if he doith these 31
thingis, he schal be mi³ti to alle thingis;
for whi the list of God is the step of hym.

CAP. LI.

Lord kyng, Y schal knoueleche to thee; 1
and Y schal togidere herie thee, my sa-
uour. Y schal knoueleche to thi name, 2
for thou art maad an helpere and de-
fendere to me; and thou hast delyuered 3
my bodi fro perdicoun, fro the snare of
a wickid tunge, and fro the lippis of hem
that worchen a leesyng; and in the sizt
of hem that stonden ny³ thou art maad
an helpere to me. And thou hast dely- 4
uered me, bi⁸ the multitude of merci of
thi name, fro roreris maad redi to mete;
fro the hondis of hem that sou³ten my 5
soule, and fro many tribulaciouns that
cumpassiden me; fro ouerleiyng of flawme[†] 6
that cumpasside me, and in the myddis of
fier Y was not brent; fro the depthe of 7
the wombe of helle, and fro a tunge de-
foulyd, and fro a word of leesyng; fro
a wickid kyng, and fro a tunge vniust.
'Til to^t the deth my soule schal preise 8
thee, Lord; and my lijf was nei³yng in 9
helle byneth. Thei cumpassiden me on 10
ech side, and noon was that helpide; Y
was biholdyng to the help of men, and
noon was. Lord, Y hadde mynde on thi 11
merci, and on thi worchyng togidere, that
ben fro the world; for thou delyuerest hem 12
that abiden thee, and thou delyuerest hem
fro the hond of hethene men. Thou en- 13
haunsidist my dwellyng on erthe; and

* he renulide
wisdom, etc.;
that is, bi the
studie of his
herte, ether for
he was not ex-
cidid of an
other man
herto, but bi
his owne wille
he dide this,
with Goddis
help. dwellith
in these goodis;
in thenkinge
and worching
tho. my³ti to
alle thingis;
that is, in alle
thingis that
parteynen to
his helthe, and
also of othere
men bi his
teching. the
list of God;
that is, wisdom
writun in this
book, which
wisdom is sam-
prenting of
Goddis list.
the step of
him; that is,
weye ledinge
perfitly to hym.
Live here. c.

† ouerleiyng
of flawme; that
is, of stiringe
of lecherie. in
the myddis of
fier; that is,
of lecherouse
heete. not
brent; bi con-
seyt of dedly
synne. Live
here. c.

^c thingis A. ^d abideth AEGH. ^e Om. c pr. m. ^f wickid AGH. ^g Om. A. ^h wel E pr. m.

⁸ after 1. ^t Vnto 1.

vp on the erthe my dwelling; and forⁱ
 the^k deth flowende doun I louly preȝede.
 14 I inwardly^l clepede the Lord, fader of
 my Lord, that he forsake not me in day^m
 of my tribulacioun, and in tyme of proude
 15 men, with oute helpe. I shal preisen thi
 name bysyly, and I shal withpreisen it
 in confessioun; and ful out herd is myn
 16 orisoun. And thou hast delyuered me fro
 perdicoun, and thou hast caȝt me out fro
 17 the^{mm} wickeⁿ tyme. Therfore I shal knou-
 lechen, and preisyng I shal sey to thee;
 and I shal blisse the name of the Lord.
 18 Whan ȝit ȝungere^o I am, bifor that
 aboute I shulde erre, I soȝte wisdam
 19 openly in myn orisoun. Biforn tyme
 I askede for it, and 'vn to in^p the laste
 thingus I shal gretli sechen it; and it
 20 shal floure as a first rip grape. Myn
 herte gladide in it, my foot wente a riȝt
 weye; fro my ȝouthe I enserchede^q it.
 21 I bowede in a litil myn ere, and I toc it.
 22 Myche I fond in myself wisdam, and
 23 myche I profitede in it. To the ȝyuende
 24 to me wisdam I shal ȝyue glorie. I coun-
 seilede forsothe to^r don it; gretly I loue-
 dede good, and I 'schal not be^s confoundid.
 25 My soule wrastled^t in it; and in doing
 26 it I am confermed. My hondis I strazte
 out in to heiȝ; and in the wisdam of
 hym weilede my soule, and myn vnkun-
 27 nyngus he liȝtede. My soule I riȝt reul-
 28 ede to it; and in knowyng I fond it. I
 weldede with hem herte fro the bigyn-
 nyng; for that I shal not ben forsaken.
 29 My wombe is disturbid in sechyng it;
 therfore good possessioun I shal welde.
 30 The Lord forsothe ȝaf to me a tunge my
 meede; and in it I shal preisen hym.
 31 Cometh nyȝ to me, ȝee vntaȝt; and ge-
 dereth ȝou togidere in the hous of dis-
 32 ciplyne. What ȝit ȝee tarien? and^u what
 sey ȝee in these thingus? ȝoure soules
 33 thristen hugely. I openede my mouth,
 and I spac, Bieth to ȝou withoute siluer

Y bisouȝte for deth fletyng down. Y¹⁴
 clepyde to help the Lord, fadir of my
 Lord, that he forsake not me in the dai
 of my tribulacioun, and *forsake not me*
 with outen help, in the tyme of hem that
 ben proude. Y schal preise thi name con-¹⁵
 tynueli, and Y schal herie it togidere in
 knoulechyng; and my preier is herd*.
 And thou hast delyuered me fro perdi-¹⁶
 cioun, and thou hast delyuered me fro the
 wickid tyme. Therfor Y schal knouleche,¹⁷
 and Y schal seie heriyng to thee; and Y
 schal blesse the name of the Lord. Whanne¹⁸
 ȝit Y was ȝongere, bifore that Y erride,
 Y souȝte wisdom opynli in my preier.
 Bifore the tyme *of eelde* Y axide for it,¹⁹
 and 'til in toⁿ the laste thingis Y schal
 enquere it; and it schal flour as a grape
 ripe bifore othere. Myn herte was glad²⁰
 ther ynne, my foot ȝede a riȝtful weye;
 fro my ȝongthe Y souȝte it. Y bowide²¹
 down a litil myn eere, and Y took it. Y²²
 foonde myche wisdom in my silf, and
 Y profitide myche ther ynne. Y schal²³
 ȝyue glorie to hym, that ȝyueth wisdom
 to me. For whi Y took counsel to do it;²⁴
 Y loued feruentli good, and Y schal not
 be schent. My soule wrastlide togidere²⁵
 ther ynne; and Y was confermyd in do-
 ynge it. Y stretchide forth myn hondis[†]
 an hiȝ; and my soule schynede in the
 wisdom of hym, and he liȝtnyde myn
 vnkunnyngis. Y dresside my soule to it;²⁷
 and Y^v foond it in knowyng. Y hadde²⁸
 pesibli fro the bigynnyng an herte with
 tho[†]; for this thing Y schal not be for-
 sakun. My soule was disturblid in sek-²⁹
 ynge it; therfor Y schal haue pesibli a
 good possessioun. For whi the Lord ȝaf³⁰
 to me a tunge my meedeȝ; and in it Y
 schal preise hym. Ȝe vntaȝt men, neiȝe³¹
 to me; and gadere ȝe ȝou in to the hous
 of techyng. What tarien ȝe ȝit? and what³²
 seien ȝe in these thingis? ȝoure soules
 thristen greetli. Y openyde my mouth,³³

* my preyer is
 herd; in stede-
 fast hope. *per-
 dicioun*; of helle.
 wickid tyme;
 that is, of pre-
 sent liyf, wher-
 ynne wickid-
 nesse regneth.
Live here. c.

† myn hondis;
 that is, Y dress-
 ide my werkis
 bi riȝtfulnesse
 of entent in to
 God. *Live here.*

† an herte with
 tho; that is,
 werkis ether
 liȝtnyngis of
 wisdom. *a
 tunge*; to bringe
 forth wordis
 disposing to
 wisdom; this
 that is addid
 in summe
 bokis, *lerner*,
 is not of the
 text, for it is
 a glos enter-
 lynarie set in
 the text bi
 writeres. *Live
 here. c.*

§ my meede;
 that is, bi which
 Y may gete
 euerlastinge
 meede, in tech-
 inge othere
 men feithfully,
 and in preiyng
 deuoutly. *Y
 openyde my
 mouth, etc.*; as
 if he seide, Y
 am redi to
 teche ȝou frely
 for God.

ⁱ fro A. ^k Om. AGH. ^l and inwardli AG. ^m the day E pr. m. ^{mm} Om. C. ⁿ wickid AEGH.
^o ȝonge G pr. m. H. ^p vn into C pr. m. vnto G pr. m. H. ^q serchide A. ^r for to AEGH. ^s am not C pr. m.
^t Al to-wrastled is my soule C pr. m. E pr. m. ^u Om. AGH.

^v vnto I. ^v Om. Y.

34 wisdom, and 3oure necke vnderleith to
the 3oc of it, and 3oure soule vndertake
he^v discyplyne; in the nexte forsothe is
35 to fynden it. Seeth with 3oure e3en^w, for
a litil I trauailede, and I fond to me
36 myche reste. Taketh^x to discyplyne in
myche noumbre of syluer, and plenteuous
37 gold weldeth in it. Glade 3oure soule in
the mercy of it; and '3e schul not be^y
38 confoundid in the preising of it. Werketh
3oure werk bifor tyme; and it shal 3yue
to 3ou 3oure meede in his tyme.

Here endith Ecclesiasticus^z.

and Y spak, Bie 3e wisdom to 3ou with
out siluer, and make 3oure necke suget³⁴
to the 3ok therof, and 3oure soule res-
seyue techyng; for whi it is in the nexte
to fynde it. Se 3e with 3oure i3en, that³⁵
Y trauelide a litil, and Y foond myche
reste to me. Take 3e techyng in myche³⁶
noumbre of siluere, and welde 3e plen-
teuous gold ther ynne. 3oure soule be³⁷
glad in the merci of hym^{*}; and 3e schu-
len not be schent in the preysing of hym.
Worche 3e 3oure werk bifore the tyme; ³⁸
and he schal 3yue to 3ou 3oure meede in
his tyme.

*Here endith the book of Ecclesiastici,
and here bigynneth the prolog of Ysaie
and of othere profetis^w.*

*Y trauelide
a litil; in
comparisoun
of the greet-
nesse of good
getun. myche
reste; that is,
myrthe of wis-
dom. welde 3e
plenteuous gold
therynne; that
is, sette 3e kun-
nyng bifor
many rich-
esses, and the
possessioun
therof schal be
betere than
myche gold to
3ou. Live here.
c.*

** in the merci
of him; that is,
of God, which
is wisdom vn-
maad. bifor the
tyme; of deth.
meede; that is,
euerlastyng
liyf, in tyme
ordeyned of
God. Live
here. c.*

^v Om. AGH. ^w Om. c. ^x Take AGH. ^y beth not c pr. m. ^z From A. *Here endith Ecclesiasticus, and bigynneth a prolog on Ysaie. E.* No final rubric in the other Mss.

^w *Here endith Ecclesiastici, and [here cs] bigynneth a prologe of Isaie and othere profetis. CFGIMQSUX. Here endith Ecclesiasticus, and bigynneth a prologe on Ysaie. H. Heere endeth the book of Ecclesiastici; se now a prolog of Isaye, the profete. K. Here endith the book of Ecclesiastici, and here bigynneth a prolog on the book of Isaye, the profete. N. Here biginnith a general prolog for alle the bookis of profetis suyng. P. Heere eendith the book of Ecclesiastici, and heere sueth a prolog upon the book of Ysaie. R. Here endith the book of Ecclesiasticus, and bigynneth the prolog on Isaye and othere profetis. V. Here endith Ecclesiasticus. A. No final rubric in EY.*

Ant. H. J.

ISAIAH.

Here begynneth the prolog in the book of Ysaye, the prophete^a.

No man, whan the profetes he shal seen with versis^b to ben discriued, in metre eyne he^c hem anent^d the Ebrues to ben bounden, and any thing^e lic to han of Salmes, or of the werkus of Salomon ; but that in Demostene and Tullio it is wont to ben do, that bi dyuyseouns, and vnder distincciouns thei ben^f writen, the whiche forsothe in prose, and not in vers^{ff} wryten. Wee forsothe, to the profit of rederes purueyende, the newe remenyng with a newe maner of writing han^g distinctly write^g. And first, of Isaie it is to wite^h, that in his sermoun he is wys ; forsothe asⁱ a noble man, and of curteis fair speche, ne any thing is mengd of cherlhed in his faire speche. Wherefore it falleth, that the translacioun shal not moun kepe the flour of his sermoun, biforn othere. Theraftir also this is to be leid to, that not more^k he is to be seyde a profete, than euaungelist. So forsothe alle the mysteries of Crist^l and the^m chirche^{mm} to cleer, 'or cleerliⁿ, he pursuede, that not hym thou weene of thyng to come to profecien, but of the^o thingis^p passid^q storie^r to weue. Wherefore I eyne the Seuenti Remenoures that tyme not to han^s wold the sacramens of ther beleue to shewe ful clerly to the hethene, lest hoeli^t to dogges, and margarites to swyn thei 3eeue. The whiche whan this making 3ee shul rede, of hem^u 3ee shul taken heed^v, 'or perceyue^w, hid^x thing^y. Ne I vnknowe of hou myche trauaile it be the profetes to vnderstonden, ne liztly any man to moun demen of the remenyng, but if he schal^z vnderstonden^{zz} byfore he schal reden ; wee also to ben opene to the bitingus of manye men, the whiche bi enuye styrende, that that thei moun not han, thei dispisen^a. Thanne I witende and slee3, in to the flaume putte the hond ; and nerthelater^b this of nozesum rederes I pre3e, that as Grekes after the Seuenti translatores, Aquylam, and Symachum, and Theodocian thei reden, or for studie of ther doctrine, or that the Seuenti more they vnderstonde of the togidere leiynge^c of hem, so and these namely oon^d remenour aftir the rathere vouche thei saf to han. Rede thei rathere, and aftirward dispise they ; lest thei ben seen not of dom, but of presumpcioun of hate vnknownen thyngus to dampnen. Forsothe Isaie profeciede in Jerusalem and in Jewerie, not 3it the ten lynages led in to caitifte ; and off euer either rewme, now togidere, now^e seuerendely, he ordeynede the profecie. And tho3^f other while he bihold to the present storie, and aftir the caitifte of Babiloyne he betocne^g the a3eencomyng of the puple in to Jewerie, nerthelater^e al his bisynesse is of the cleping

From A. Prologus ch. Prolog to Isaye and othere prophete. K. No initial rubric in EG. ^b vers c. ^c m. c. ^d anent ceteri passim. ^e Om. A. ^f bi c. ^{ff} metre c pr. v. ^g denydid E pr. m. ^h write A. ⁱ that E pr. m. ^k as more E pr. m. sed exp. ^l Cristis E pr. m. ^m Om. E pr. m. ^{mm} Crist c pr. m. ⁿ Om. CE pr. m. ^o Om. CH. ^p thing c. ^q of passid A. ^r the storie GH. ^s ha c. ^t hooli thingis AK sec. m. ^u tho thingus c pr. m. thoo thingis E pr. m. ^v Om. E pr. m. ^w Om. c et E pr. m. ^x to ben hid CE pr. m. ^y Om. c et E pr. m. ^z Om. c et E pr. m. ^{zz} vnderstoden c. ^a dispiseden A. ^b neuer the latere ceteri passim. ^c lyuynge A. leiynge c. ^d o c. ^e now to E pr. m. sed exp. ^f thof EK. ^g betokneth AK sec. m.

of Jentilesⁱ, and of the comyng of Crist, whom hou myche more 3ee loouen, o Paule and Eustoche, so myche more of hym asketh, that for the present bacbityng 'by which^k me enemys vncesendely to-tern, he to me 3elde meede in tyme to come, that wot me for that thing to han swat in the lernyng of a straunge tunge, lest the Jewis lengere shulden 'put repreue^l to the chirchis of hym, of the falshed of scriptures.

Here endith the prolog, and now begynneth the book of Ysaie, the prophete^m.

Here bigynneth a general prolog for alle the bokis of profetis suyngⁿ.

As seynt Jerom seith in the prolog of Ysaie, Isaie is ful witti and ful opyn in his wrytyng in Ebreu, thou3 the translacioun in to Latyn mi3te not kepe the^b fairnesse of speche. Isaye is worthi to be seid not oneli a profete, but more, a gospellere, for he declarith so opynli the mysteries^c of Crist and of hooli chirche, that thou gesse hym not oneli^d to ordeyne a^e profesie of thing to comynge, but to ordeyne a storie of thingis passid. Ysaie profesiede in Jerusalem and in Judee, whanne the ten lynagis of Israel weren not 3it led in to caitiftee; and he ordeyneth a^f profesie of euer either rewme, sum tyme of both togidere, sum tyme of ech bi it silf. And whanne Ysaie biholdith sum tyme to the present storie, and signefieth the comynge a3en of the puple in to Judee aftir the caitifte of Babiloyne, netheles al his bisynesse, that is, principal entent, is of the clepyng of hethene men, and of the comyng of Crist. Al this is the sentence of Jerom in the prolog of^g Ysaie. Here it is to vndurstonde, that Isaie bigan to profesie bifore that the ten lynagis weren led in to caitiftee of Assiriens, as Jerom seith here; but he profesiede aftir this caitiftee, aftir Ezechies deth, in the tyme of Manasses, as it is seid in the fourthe book of Kyngis the^h twentithe chapitreⁱ, and in many mo places. This seith 'a postille^k on Jeroms prolog on Ysaie. For as Ebreis seien, and Lire witnessith on the firste chapitre of Isaie, Manasses ordeynede and demyde Isaye to be sawid with ynne a cedre tree, that closid hym with ynne it silf bi myracle, whanne Manasses hadde demed hym vniustli to deth^l. Also alle profetis that ben not teld opynli in the text, whanne and in what tyme thei profesieden, profesieden in the same tyme in which the profetis goynge next bifore profesieden, that ben teld in the text vndur whiche kyngis and tymes thei profesieden, as Jerom seith in his prologe on the twelue Profetis, and it is sette in the bigynnyng of Osee. Comynli alle the derk places of the^m profetis moun be vndurstonduⁿ liztli bi thre reulis. The firste is this, that the principal entent of the profetis is to declare the mysterie of Cristis incarnacioun, passioun, resurreccioun, ascensioun, and theⁿ comyng to^o the general doom, and the pupplischyng of the gospel, and the conuercioun of hethene men, and the tribulacioun of hooli chirche in this lijf, and the blis of heuene therfor^p. The secounde reule is this, that the profetis warnen the puple of Jewis of her grete synnes, and exciten hem to do

ⁱ the Jentilis κ. ^k Om. c et e pr. m. ^l asaille c pr. m. asailen e pr. m. ^m From A. Here endith the prolog, and bigynneth the book of Isaye. κ. No final rubric in CEGH.

^a From EPY. Prologe. I. Another prolog on Isaye and othere profetis. κ. Prolog on Ysaye. N. Prolog on the profetis. v. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. I. ^c misteries, ether priuetees EPY. ^d Om. A pr. m. I. ^e Om. EY. ^f Om. c et ceteri. ^g on κ. ^h Om. rs. ⁱ capitle κ. ^k the apostle κ. apostle P. ^l the deeth s. ^m Om. s. ⁿ of the I. ^o of n. ^p therof EY.

penaunce; and thanne thei schulen gete remyssion of her synnes, and grace in present tyme, and glorie with outen ende; ellis thei schulen haue tribulacioun in this lijf, and peyn with outen ende. The thridde reule is this, that the profetis rehersen ofte benefices ȝouun of God bifor to the Jewis, to counforte hem to ȝyue credence to goodis bihiȝt in her profesies; and thanne the stories of Moises lawe, ether^a of Josue, Judicum, Regum, and Paralipomenon, and of othere historial^t bookis schulen be wel lokid; and schortli to seie, the profetis schulen be expounded bi the text of Moises lawe, and of othere historial bookis of the Elde Testament, ether bi the text of the Newe Testament. The literal vndurstondyng of hooli scripture is the ground of al gostli vndurstondyng therof, that is, of allegorik, of moral, and of anagogik. No goostli vndurstondyng is autentik^u, no^v but it be groundid in the text opynli, ether in opyn resoun, suyng of principiis, ether reulis of feith^w, as seynt Austin witnessith^x opynli in his pistle to Vincente, Donatiste, and in his book of Soliloquies, and Jerom on Jonas, and Lire on the bigynnyng of Genesis, and in many placis of hooli scripture, and Ardmakan in his book of Questiuons of Armenyes. Therfor men moten seke the treuthe of the text, and be war of goostli vndurstondyng, ether moral fantasie, and ȝyue not ful credence therto, no but it be groundid opynly in the text of hooli writ, in o place or^y other, ethir in opyn resoun, that may not be auoidid; for ellis it wole as likyngli be applied to falsnesse as to treuthe, and it hath disseyued grete men in oure daies, bi ouer greet trist to^z her fantasies. *Literal* ether historial vndurstondyng techith what thing is don; *allegorik* techith what we owen for^a to bileue; *moral* ether tropologik techith what we owen to do to fle vices, and kepe vertues; *anagogik* techith what we owen to^b hope of euerlastyng meede in heuene. Of these foure vndurstondyngis schal be^c seid pleyulier, 'if God wole^d, on the bigynnyng of Genesis. Also it is to wyte, that the profetis speken sum tyme bi figuratif speche, and^e liknen men to vnresonable beestis, and clepen men bi figuratif speche, liouns, beris^f, culueris, and ofte^g othere vnresonable beestis, for certeyn synnes whiche thei vsen acordyng with the kyndis of vnresonable beestis; as men ben clepid liouns for pride, ether raueyn, ether sum other synne; and sum tyme a lioun signefieth Crist, for his power, and sum tyme a lioun signefieth the deuel, for tirauntrie and raueyn; and men ben clepid beeris, for gredynesse ether glotonye, and mulis, for letcherie; and so of othere beestis and othere synnes. Men ben clepid culueris sum time for madnesse, and sum tyme for innocence, symplenesse, and charite. Bi these reulis and bisi studyng of the text, men moun listli vndurstonde the derk placis of profetis; and algatis loke wel that the sentence takun of the text be trewe, and acorde^h with charyte, and thanne it is the sentence of the Hooli Goost, as seynt Austyn seith.

Here endith the prolog on Ysaie^l.

^r ofte tymes s. ^s and s. ^t historials ks pr. m. ^u autentik, ether preuable EPY. ^v Om. i.
^w the feith s. ^x seyth s. ^y ether FGKMNQRSVUXY. ^z in KQ. ^a Om. n. ^b for to rs. ^c is ks sec. m.
^d Om. s sec. m. ^e and thei i. ^f and beris s. ^g Om. c et ceteri. ^h according ks sec. m. ⁱ *Here endith the prologe on Isaie, and here bigynneth the text of Isaie. c. Here endith the prologe on Ysaie, and here bigynneth the book of Ysaie. FMNU. Here endith the prolog, and here bigynneth the book of Ysaie. GQ. Here endith the prologe on Ysaie, and on othere profetis, and here bigynnethe the book of Ysaie. H. Heere endith the prologe, and biginnith Ysaie the prophete. I. Here eendeth the prolog; see now Isaie. K. Heere eendith the prolog, and bigynneth the firste c. of Ysaie. R. Here endith the prolog.....profetis; and bygynneth the text of Isaie. S. Here endith the prolog on Isaye, and here bigynneth the text of Isaye. With a short glose on the derke wordis; and loke ech man, that he wryte the text hool bi itsilf, and the glose in the margyn, ether leue it al out. V. Here endith the prolog on the profetis, and bigynneth the booc of Isaie. X. No final rubric in EPY.*

Here bigynneth the Profecie of Ysaie^o.

CAP. I.

1 The viseoun of Isaie, sone of Amos, that he saȝ vp on Judam and Jerusalem, in the dajes of Osie, Joathan, Achaȝ,
 2 Ezechie, kingus of Juda. Hereth, ȝee heuenus, and with eres parceyue, thou erthe, for the Lord spac. Sonus I nurshede out and enhauncede; thei forsothe
 3 dispiseden me. The oxe kneȝ his wel-dere, and the asse the^p cracche of his lord; Irael forsothe me kneȝ not, and
 4 my puple vnderstod^a not. Wo to synful^r folc, to the puple heuy with wickidnesse, to the shreude sed, to the sonus ful of hidous giltyes; thei forsoken the Lord, thei blasfemed^{rr} the hoeli of^s Irael,
 5 thei ben aliened awei backward. 'Vp on what thing^t I shal smyte ȝou^u, ferthermor addende lawe breche, 'or trespassing aȝeyns the lawe^v? Eche 'hed ful of languor^w, and eche 'herte ful of mornynge^x.
 6 Fro the plante of the foot vnto the top, ther is not in hym^y helthe; wounde, and wannesse, and siknesse swellende is not bounden aboute, ne curid with leching,
 7 ne nurshid with oile. Ȝoure lond is desert, ȝoure cites ben brend vp with fyr; ȝoure regioun^z deuouren biforn ȝou alienus, and it shal be desolat as in ene-
 8 myful wastete^a. And the doȝter of Sion shal ben forsaken as a shadewy place in a vyneȝerd^b, and as an^c hylet in a place of goordes, and as a cite that is wastid.

id bi mi chastisingis, but more ȝe be maad worse, as Farao was. ech heed is styk; that is, the king and princes ben vncorigible. ech herte; that is, techeris and prestis. mornynge; not for synne, but failinge in teching and vertu. fro the sole, etc.; bi this is vnderstondun the residue puple. helthe; of grace and of vertu. wounde; that is, opin synne. and wannesse; that is, enuye hid. beting; that is, the synne of pride. not boundun aboute; that is, with the bynding of Goddis lawe, withdrawinge fro synne. nether curid bi medicyn; that is, bi word and ensaumple of prestis and techeris. with oile; that is, workis of mersi, that geten remyssion of synne. ȝoure lond; that is, the lond of ten lynagis, that was due to rewme of Juda bi riȝt. distrying of enemyes; that is, enemyes schulen dwelle thereynne; in Ebreu it is as in distrying of struungeris, for this lond was turned outirli to struungeris, and the sones of Irael camen neuere aȝen therto. Lire here. c.

^o From E. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^p Om. c. ^q vnderstonde A. ^r the synful E pr. m. ^{rr} forsoken A. ^s Om. E pr. m. ^t Vp the whiche E pr. m. ^u Om. AG pr. m. H. ^v Om. C et E pr. m. ^w languysshinge heued E pr. m. ^x mornynge herte E pr. m. ^y hem AGHK. ^z regiouns E pr. m. ^a wasted A. ^b vyne c pr. m. E pr. m. ^c Om. c.

^a From EBY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b sauȝe I passim. ^c forsothe c et ceteri. ^d of A. ^e Om. K VX. ^f vyneȝerd I.

Here bigynnith the bok of Ysaie profete^a.

CAP. I.

The visioun^{*}, ether profesie, of Ysaie, 1 the sone of Amos[†], which he siȝ^b on Juda and Jerusalem[‡], in the daies of Osie, of Joathan, of Achas, and of Ezechie, kyngis of Juda. Ȝe heuenes[§], here, and thou erthe, 2 perseyue with eeris, for the Lord spac. Y haue nurschid and Y haue enhaunsid sonus; sotheli^c thei han dispisid me. An³ oxe knew his lord, and an asse knew the cratche of his lord; but Israel knewe not me, and my puple vnderstod not. Wo to the synful folk, to the puple heuy 4 in wickidnesse, to the weiward seed, to^d the cursid sonus; thei han forsake the Lord, thei han blasfemyd the hooli of Israel, thei ben aliened backward. On⁵ what thing schal Y smyte ȝou more^{||}, that encreessen trespassyng? Ech heed is sijk, and ech herte is morenyng. Fro the sole 6 of the foot til to the nol, helthe is not ther ynne; wounde, and wannesse, and betyng bolnyng is not boundun aboute, nether curid bi medicyn, nether nurschid with oile. Ȝoure lond is forsakun, ȝoure citees 7 ben brent bi fier; aliens deuouren ȝoure cuntrei bifore ȝou, and it schal be desolat as in the distrying of enemyes. And the 8 douȝtir of Sion, 'that is, Jerusalem^e, schal be forsakun as a schadewyng place in a vyner^f, and as an hulke in a place where gourdis wexen, and as a citee which is wastid. If the Lord of oostis hadde not 9

* The visioun; that is, profesie. Visioun is proprieli the knowing of a profete, which knowing is in waking.

CEPQSU Y.

† of Amos; this Amos, as Rabi Salomon seith, was the brother of Amasie, kyng of Juda; this Amos was not thilke Amos, that is the thridde among xii. profetis, as Hebreu lettris schewen opinly. Lire here. CEPQSU Y.

‡ on Juda and Jerusalem; bi Jerusalem ben vnderstonde kingis, prestis, and noble men, and othere men dwellinge there; bi Juda is vnderstondun the residue puple of the rewme of Juda. Lire here. c. § heuenes, etc.; that is, aungels. erthe; that is, men dwellinge thereynne. sonus; that is, the puple of Israel. dispisid me; in seruynge to idolis. knew not me; in seruynge to me for so many benefices. vnderstod not; in redinge withynne him self, and remembre my benefices and heestis. Wo to, etc.; that is, customable to synne. Lire here. c.

|| On what thing schal Y smyte ȝou more, etc.; as if he seide, ȝe ben not amend-

9 But 3if^d the Lord of osten hadde laft to vs sed, as Sodom wee hadden ben, and
 10 as Gomorra lijc wee shulden ben^e. Hereth the wrd of the Lord, 3ee princes of Sodom; and parceyueth with eres the lawe of 3oure God, 3ee puple of Gomorre.
 11 What to me the multitude of 3oure slayn sacrificise? seith the Lord. Ful I am; the brent sacrefises of wetheres, and the tal; of fatte bestus, and the blod of calues, and of lombes, and off goet, I wolde not.
 12 Whan 3ee shulden come biforn my sizte, who so3te these thingus of 3oure hondis,
 13 that 3ee shulden go in my porches? Ne bringe 3ee to more sacrificises in veyn; encens abhominacioun is to me; the newe moone, and sabot, and othere festus
 14 I shal not bern. Wicke^f ben 3oure cumpanyes; 3oure kalendis and 3oure solempnitees hatede my soule; thei ben mad to me greuous, I trauailede suffrende.
 15 And^g whan 3ee shul strecche out 3oure hondis, I shal turne awei myn e3en fro 3ou; and whan 3ee shul multeplien orisoun, I shal not heren; forsothe 3oure hondis ben ful of blod. Be 3ee washen, beth clene; taketh awei the euel of 3oure thoztes fro myn e3en; resteth to do
 17 shreudely, lerneth to do wel. Secheth dom, helpeth to the oppressid, demeth to the faderles child, defendeth the widewe.
 18 And cometh, and vndernemeth mee, seith the Lord. If 3oure synnes weren as flaume red silc, as sno3 thei shuln ben mad white; and if thei weren rede as blod red silc, as whit wlle thei shul be.
 19 If 3ee wiln, and shuln heren me, the
 20 goodis of the erthe 3ee shuln etc. That

left seed to vs*, we hadden be as Sodom, and we hadden be lijk as Gomorre. 3e¹⁰ princes of men of Sodom, here the word of the Lord; and 3e puple of Gomorre, perseyue^g with eeris the lawe of 3oure God. Wherto offren 3e to me the multi-
 11 tude of 3oure sacrifices? seith the Lord. Y am ful[†]; Y wolde not the brent sacrifices of wetheris, and the ynnere fatnesse of fatte beestis, and the blood of calues, and of lambren, and of buckis of geet. Whanne
 12 3e camen bifore my sizt, who axide[‡] of 3oure hondis these thingis, that 3e schulden go in myn hallis^h? Offre 3e no more sa-
 13 crifice in veyn; encense is abhominacioun to me; Y schal not suffre neomenye, and sabat, and othere feestis. 3oureⁱ cumpe-
 14 nyes ben wickid; my soule hatith 3oure calendis[§] and 3oure solempnitees; tho ben maad disese^hful to me, Y trauelide suffrynge. And whanne 3e stretchen forth
 15 3oure hondis, Y schal turne awei myn izen fro 3ou; and whanne 3e multiplien preyer, Y schal not here; for whi 3oure hondis ben ful of blood. Be 3e waischun, be 3e
 16 clene; do 3e awei the yuel of 3oure thougtis fro myn izen; ceesse 3e to do we-wardli, lerne 3e to do wel. Seke 3e doom,
 17 helpe 3e hym that is oppressid, deme 3e^{||} to the fadirles and modirles child, defende 3e a widewe. And come 3e, and repreue^k 3e¹⁸
 me, seith the Lord[¶]. Thou3 3oure synnes ben as blood reed, tho schulen be maad whijt as snow; and thou3 tho^m ben reed as vermylioun, tho^m schulen be whijt as wolle. If 3eⁿ wolen, and heren me, 3e
 19 schulen ete the goodis of erthe. That if
 20 3e nylen, and 3e terren me to wrathful-

* If the Lord of osten hadde not left seed to vs, etc.; that is, if God, Lord of aungels, hadde not left to vs summen turnynges a3en fro the caistite of Babiloyne, vndur Sorobabel, that bildiden a3en the temple and citee aftirward, in the tyme of Nee-myse, we hadden be distried, with out rekyuering, as Sodom and Gomore, and other thre citees weren distried, without repareling, in xix c. of Genesis.
 † 3e princes, etc.; that is, liyk men of Sodom, for these princes diden opinli, and with out shame, the forseid yuels, as Sodomytis diden. Live here. c.
 ‡ Y am ful; as if he seide, 3e offren in veyn, if 3e kepen not the lawe. The glos here. c.
 § who axide; as if he seide, Y axide not. sacrifice in veyn; as if he seide, Sych offering is not worth to 3ou, but anoyeth more, for 3e defouled insynnes, neizen to hooly places. neomenye; that is, the feeste of the newe moone, which feeste the Jewis kepten for the benefice of Goddis gouernail. and sabat; in the mynde of benefice of cre-

acioun. Live here. c. § kalendis; that is, the bigynnyngis of monethis; and neomenye signefieth the same. strecchen forth 3oure hondis; to biseche me. Y schal not here; and the resoun of alle thingis biforseid sueth. 3oure hondis; that is, werkis. ben fulle of blod; that is, of orrible synnes, for thei weren menquelleris and oppresseris of pore men, and diden idolatre. be 3e wasch; that is, fro the spottis of synnes, bi the teeris of contricioun, ether ynward sorewe of herte. be 3e cleene; that is, eschewe 3e fro turnyng a3en to synne. the yuel of 3oure thougtis; for whi outirmere clennessen suffisith not, withouten ynnere clennessen. seke 3e doom; that is, execucioun of rijtfulnesse. oppressid; in releuyng him. Live here. c. || deme 3e, etc.; that is, for the fadirles and modirles child, in his iust cause. widewe; a3enus him that falsly calengith hir. repreue 3e me; that is, if 3e doen these thingis, thanne 3e moun playne, if 3e ben not releuyd of God. as blood reed, etc.; bi these tway colours, that ben ful holdinge and opyn, it is signefied, that synnes, be tho neuere so greuous in kynde, and neuere so harde rootid bi custom, tho schulen be purgid, bi Goddis grace. and heren me; in obeyinge to myn heestis. goodis of erthe; bi these ben vndurstondun also goosetly goodis. Live here. c. ¶ that is, but if he thanne helpe hem. n. that is, if 3e ben not releued. KSVX.

^d Om. c et E pr. m. ^e haue ben K. ^f Wickid AEGHK. ^g Om. c.

^g perseyueth I. ^h for3erdis c et ceteri. ⁱ For 3oure EGIP sec. m. MNQRSUY. ^k preue F sec. m.
¹ Om. EKXX. ^m thei N. ⁿ thei N.

if 3ee wiln not, and me to wrathe 3ee
shulden terren, swerd schal deuoure 3ou;
21 for the mouth of the Lord spac. What
maner is mad a strumpet the feithful
cite ful of dom? ritzwisnesse dwellede
22 in it; now forsothe mansleeres. Thi^h
syluer is turned in to dros; thi wyn is
23 mengdⁱ with water. Thi princes vn-
feithfull, felawes of theues; alle thei
loouen 3iftus, folewen 3eldyngus; to the
faderles child thei demen not, the cause
24 of the widewe goth not in to them. For
that, seith the Lord God of osten, strong
of Irael, Allas! I schal be coumfortid vp
on my straunge enemys, and I schal be
vengid vp on myn enemys, *that shulden*
25 *be frendis*. And I schal turne myn hond
to thee, and I schal sethen^k out to the
pure thi^l dros, and I schal taken awei al
26 thi tyn. And I schal restoren thi domes-
men, as they weren biforn, and thi coun-
seileris, as bi old tyme. Aftir these
thingus thou shalt ben clepid the cite of
the ritzwis, the cheef citee of the feith-
27 ful. Syon in dom schal ben a3ee^{ll} bo3t,
and thei shul bringe it a3een in to ritz-
28 wisnesse; and he schal to-trede the hyd-
ous gilteres and the synneres togidere,
and thatt forsoken the Lord, shul ben di-
29 stro3id. Thei shul ben confoundid for-
sothe of the maumetes, to the whiche thei
sacrifieden; and 3ee shuln ben shamed^m
vp on the gardynes, that 3ee hadden
30 chosen. Whan 3ee shul ben as an oek,
the leues fallende doun, and as a gardyn
31 with oute water. And 3oure strengthe
shal ben as aⁿ 'deed sparke^o of a flax top,
and 3oure werk as a sparcle; and eithir
shal be brend vp togidere, and ther shal
not ben that quenche.

nesse, swerd schal deuoure 3ou; for whi
the mouth of the Lord spak. Hou is the 21
feithful citee ful of dom maad an hoore*?
ritzfulnesse dwellide ther ynne; but now
menquelleris *dwellen ther ynne*. Thi sil- 22
uer is turned in to dros, *ether filthe*; thi
wyn is medlid with watir. Thi princes *ben* 23
vnfeithful, the felowis of theuys†; alle louen
3iftis, suen^o meedis^p; thei demen not to a^q
fadirles child, and the cause of a widewe
entrith not to hem. For this thing, seith 24
the Lord God of oostis, the stronge of
Israel, Alas! Y schal be coumfortid† on
myn enemyes, and Y schal be vengid on^r
myn enemyes. And Y schal turne myn 25
hond§ to thee, and Y schal sethe out thi
filthe to the cleene||, and Y schal do awei
al thi tyn. And Y schal restore thi iuges, 26
as thei weren bifor to^s, and thi counselours,
as in elde tyme. Aftir these thingis thou
schalt be clepid^t the citee of the ritzful, a
feithful citee. Sion¶ schal be a3en bou3t 27
in dom, and thei schulen bringe it a3en
in toⁿ ritzfulnesse; and *God* schal al to- 28
breke cursid men and synneris togidere,
and thei that forsoken the Lord, schulen
be wastid. For thei schulen be aschamed 29
of idols, to whiche thei maden sacrifice;
and 3e shulen be aschamid on the or-
cherdis, whiche 3e chesiden**. Whanne 3e 30
schulen be as an ook, whanne the leues
fallen doun, and as an orchard with out
watir. And 3oure strengthe schal be as a 31
deed sparcle of bonys^v, *'ether of herdis of*
flex^w, and 3oure werk *shal be* as a^x quyk
sparcle; and euer either schal be brent
togidere, and noon schal be that schal
quenche.

* *maad an hoore*; that is, ful of hordom bi the synne of auoutrie, which cite keppe feithfulnesse of matrimonye before. *thi siluer*; that is, the tunge of techeris and of prestis is turned fro truthe in to falsnesse, bi yuel expownyng of the lawe. *thi wyn*; that is, amending ether chastising of the puple, bi techeris and prestis. *is medlid with water*; that is, is slakid fro du correccioun; for whi techeris worthi to be blamed, han not forbed to amende synneris. *Live here. c.*

† *felowis of theuys*; we owen to be war, lest we taken 3iftis of hem, that gaderen richessis of the teeris of pore men, lest we ben felowis of theuys, and lest it be seid of vs, if thou suest a theef, thou remeidist with him. *The glos here.* *Ether felowis of theuys*; that is, susteynyng hem, for thei han part of her thefte. *Live here. c.*

‡ *shal be coumfortid*; bi veniaunce; he is coumfortid on hise enemyes, while thei that deynen not to knowe Goddis benefices in prosperite, ben amendid bi turmentis and peynes. *Glos here. c.*

§ *myn hond*; that is, my power punyschinge. *to thee*; to punysche thee duly. *Live here. c.*

|| *thi filthe to the cleene*; as gold and siluer is purgid fro al filthe bi the fier, so God purgide the synnes of the puple of Jewis bi the fier of tribulacioun, maad bi Nabugodonosor; and whanne it was purgid so, it was brou3t a3en fro Babiloyne. *Live here. c.*

¶ *Sion*; that is, the puple of Sion. *a3enbou3t*; fro Babiloyne, bi the weye of ritzfulnesse, in as myche as it suffride iust payne for synne. *Live here. c.*

** *whiche 3e cheseden*; that is, for to worschipe idols there in myrry places, and to do lecherie there, in the worschip of idole. *Live here. c.*

^h 3oure *E pr. m.* ⁱ meng *E pr. m.* ^k sechen *CE.* ^l the *E pr. m.* ^{ll} a3en *A et alii.* ^m ashamed *AEGHK.*
ⁿ Om. *K.* ^o gnast *C pr. m. E pr. m.*

^o and swen *K.* ^p 3iftis, *ether meedis C.* 3eldingis, *ether medis EFGHIKMNQRSUVXY.* ^q Om. *EPY.*
^r of *CGFHINQRU.* ^s Om. *I.* ^t clepid to *s sec. m. vx.* ^u Om. *EPY.* ^v stobil *svx.* ^w Om. *IVX.* *either of herdis M.* ^x Om. *CRPY.*

CAP. II.

1 The wrd that sa3 Isaie, the sone of
 2 Amos, vp on Judam and Jerusalem. And
 ther shal be in the laste dazes beforⁿ mad
 redi the mount of the hous of the Lord
 in the cop of mounteynes^p, and it shal be
 rered out vp on hillys. And ther shul
 3 flowe to it alle Jentilis; and ther shul go
 many puples, and seyn, Cometh, steze
 wee vp to the mount of the Lord, and
 to the hous of God of Jacob; and he shal
 teche vs his weyes, and wee shul go in
 his sties, ^{or} *pathes*^q. For fro Sion shall
 go out the lawe, and the wrd of the Lord
 4 fro Jerusalem. And he shal deme Jen-
 tiles, and vndernymen many puples; and
 thei shul bete togidere their swerdes in
 to shares, and ther speres in to sithes;
 ther shal not reren folc a3en folc a swerd,
 ne thei shul ben enhauntid more to
 5 bataile. 3ee hous of Jacob, cometh, and
 go wee in the lizt of the Lord oure God.
 6 Forsothe thou hast throwen afer thi pu-
 ple, the hous of Jacob, for thei ben ful-
 filld as sum tyme; and deuynoures thei
 hadden, as Filisteis^r, and to alien^s childre
 7 thei cleueden. Fulfilld is the erthe of
 siluer and gold, and ther is noon ende of
 the tresores of it; and fulfilld is his lond
 with hors, and vnnoumbreable the foure
 8 horsid carres of it. And fulfilld is his lond
 with maumetes, the werk of ther hondis
 thei honoureden, that ^{ther} fingris maden^{as};
 9 and a^t man bowede hymself, and meekid
 is the stronge man. Thanne ne for3yue
 10 thou to them. Go^u in to the ston, be
 thou hid in a dich with erthe, fro the
 face of the dreede of the Lord, and fro
 11 the glorie of his mageste. The e3en of
 the he3e man ben meekid, and ther shal

CAP. II.

The word which Ysaie, the sone of 1
 Amos, si3 on Juda and Jerusalem. And 2
 in the laste daies* the hil of the hous of
 the Lord schal be maad redi in the cop of
 hillis, and schal be reisid aboue litle hillis.
 And alle hethene men schulen flowe to
 hym; and many puplis schulen go, and 3
 schulen seie, Come 3e, stie we to the hil of
 the Lord, and to the hous of God of Ja-
 cob; and he schal teche vs hise weies, and
 we schulen go in the pathis of hym. For
 whi the lawe schal go out of Syon, and
 the word of the Lord fro Jerusalem[†].
 And he schal deme hethene men, and he 4
 schal repreue many puplis; and thei schulen
 welle togidere her swerdes in to scharris,
 and her speris in to sikelis, *ether sithes*;
 folk schal no more reise swerd[‡] a3ens
 folk, and thei schulen no more be exer-
 cised[§] to batel. Come 3e, the hous of 5
 Jacob, and go we in the lizt of the Lord.
 Forsothe thou hast cast awei thi puple, 6
 the hous of Jacob, for thei ben fillid as
 sum tyme bifore; and thei hadden false
 dyuynouris bi the chiteryng of briddis, as
 Filisteis, and thei cleuyden to alien chil-
 dren[§]. The lond is fillid with siluer and 7
 gold, and noon ende is of the tresouris
 therof; and the lond therof is fillid with
 horsis, and the foure horsid cartis therof
 ben vnnoumbrable. And the lond therof 8
 is fillid with ydols, and thei worschipiden^a
 the werk of her hondis, which her fyngris
 maden; and a man bowide^{||} hymself, and 9
 a man of ful age was maad low. Therfor
 for3yue thou not to hem. Entre thou, 10
puple of Juda, in to a stoon, be thou hid
 in a diche in erthe, fro the face of the
 drede of the Lord, and fro the glorie of

* in the laste
 daies; that is,
 in the tyme of
 grace. *the hil*,
 etc.; that is,
 hooli chirche,
 that passith ech
 congregacioun
 ordeyned to
 Goddis onour
 fro the bigyn-
 nyng of the
 world. *aboue*
litle hillis; that
 is, princes of
 the world. *alle*
hethen men;
 that is, summe
 of alle hethen
 men. *Live*
here. c.

† fro Jerusa-
 lem; apostlis
 and othere dis-
 ciplis 3eden out
 fro Jerusalem
 and Judee, to
 preche the feith
 of Crist to he-
 then men. *Live*
here. c.
 ‡ folk schal no
 more reise
 swerd, etc.;
 not that no
 batel schal be,
 aftr the com-
 yng of Crist,
 but that greet
 pees schal be in
 the tyme of his
 comyng. *no*
more be exer-
cised, etc.; this
 is seid to sig-
 nefie the long
 during of pees.
the hous of Ja-
cob; this is seid
 of the conuer-
 sion of Jewis,
 that schulen
 resseyue gene-
 rally the feith
 of Crist, aboute
 the ende of the
 world, and in
 parti fro Cristis
 ascencioun. *in*
the lizt of the
Lord; that is,
 in the lizt of
 Cristen feith.
hath cast awey;
 that is, schalt
 caste awey;
 and this was
 fillid, whanne
 Nabugodonosor
 ledde the Jewis
 prisoneris in to

Babiloyne. *Live here. c.*

§ thei cleuyden to alien children; that is, vsiden in hem the synne of Sodom; ether Jewis token alien wymmen to
 her wyues, that worschipiden idols, and her sones diden idolatrie. *Live here. c.* || bowide him; in bowinge to idols. *in to a stoon, etc.*;
 many men of the puple hidden hem in caues of stoonys, and in dichis of erthe, for the drede of Nabugodonosor. *of the drede of the Lord*; that
 is, of Nabugodonosor, sent of God to punysche the forseid synnes. *Live here. c.*

^p the mounteynes A. ^q Om. c et E pr. m. ^r Philisteym AEGHK. ^s the alien K. ^{as} maden ther
 fingris c pr. m. E pr. m. ^t Om. AGHK. ^u Go thou c pr. m.

^v and thei I. ^z hauntid c. exercised, *ether hauntid* EFGHIKMNQRSUVXY. ^a worschipen I.

ben inwardly crookid the heiȝte of stronge men; forsothe the Lord alone
 12 shal ben enhauncid in that dai. For the dai of the Lord of oostes vp on eche proud man and heeȝ, and vp on eche enhauncende^v hymself, and he shal be mekid;
 13 and vp on alle the cedres of Liban heȝe and vpriȝt, and vp on alle the oekis of Basan, and vp on alle the heȝe moun-
 14 teynes, and vp on alle the 'rered vp'^w hilles; and vp on eche heȝ tour, and vp on
 15 eche strengthyd wal; and vp on alle the shipis of Thars, and vp on alle thing
 17 that is fair in siȝt. And ther shal be inwardly bowid al the^x heiȝnesse of men, and ther shal be meekid the heiȝte of stronge men; and ther shal be rered vp
 18 the Lord alone in that day, and the
 19 maumetes hoelly shul be to-brosid. And thei shul go in to dennes of stones, and in to swolewes of the erthe, fro the face of the drede^y of the Lord, and fro the glorie of his mageste, whan he shal rise
 20 to smyten the erthe. In that day shal a man throwe away the maumetes of his siluer, and the symylacris of his gold, that he hadde mad to hym, that he shulde honoure moldewerpes and rere-
 21 mees. And he shal go in to the chynes^z, 'or creuessis^a, of stones, and in to the dennes of huge stones, fro the face of the drede of the Lord, and fro the glorie of his mageste, whan he shal risen to smyte
 22 the erthe. Resteth thanne fro a man, whos spirit is in his nose therles, for heiȝ holden is he.

CAP. III.

1 Loo! forsothe the lordshepere, Lord of oestes, shal do awei fro Jerusalem and fro Juda the stalwrthe, and the stronge, and al the strengthe of bred, and al the

his mageste. The iȝen of an hiȝ man ben 11
 maad low, and the hiȝnesse of men schal be bowid down; forsothe the Lord aloone schal be enhaunsid in that dai*. For the 12
 dai of the Lord of oostis schal be on ech proud man and hiȝ, and on ech boostere, and he schal be maad low; and on alle 13
 the cedres of the Liban hiȝe and reiseid, and on alle the ookis of Baisan, and on 14
 alle hiȝ munteyns, and on alle litle hillis, 'that ben^b reiseid; and on ech hiȝ tour, and 15
 on ech strong wal; and on alle schippis 16
 of Tharsis, and on al thing which is fair in siȝt. And al the hiȝnesse of men schal 17
 be bowid down, and the hiȝnesse of men schal be maad low; and the Lord aloone schal be reiseid in that dai, and idols 18
 schulen be brokun^c togidere outirli. And 19
 thei schulen entre in to dennes^d of stoonys, and in to the^e swolewis of erthe, fro the face of the inward drede of the Lord, and fro the^f glorie of his maieste, whanne he schal ryse to smyte the lond[†]. In^g that 20
 dai a man schal caste awei the idols of his siluer, and the symylacris of his gold, whiche he hadde maad to hym silf, for to worschipe moldewarpis and backis, 'ether rere myis^h. And he schal entre in to 21
 chynnisⁱ, ethir crasyngis, of stoonys, and in to the^k caues of hard roochis, fro the face of the inward drede of the Lord, and fro the glorie of his mageste, whanne he schal ryse to smyte the lond. Therfor 22
 ceesse ȝe fro a man, whos spirit is in hise nose thirlis[‡], for he is arettid hiȝ.

CAP. III.

For lo! the lordli gouernour, the Lord of oostis, schal take awei fro Jerusalem and fro Juda a myȝti man, and strong, and al the strengthe of breed, and al the

ing aȝen of the eir, and so he is freel and dedli. for in what thing he is set at valu; as if he seye, in no thing, in comparisoun to God, and ȝit idolis maad of him ben of lesse priys. Live here. c.

^v haunsynge AEGH. ^w vp rered c pr. m. ^x Om. AGHK. ^y strengthe E pr. m. ^z skynnys H.
^a Om. c et E pr. m. or creuase E sec. m. or creueis AGHK.

^b Om. c et ceteri. ^c takun N. ^d the dennes RFG pr. m. KPVX. ^e Om. v. ^f Om. N. ^g And N.
^h Om. x. ⁱ chynnis A sec. m. FPRS. chynis GKN sec. m. QUVX. chymeneis M. ^k Om. c pr. m. GNVX.

* the Lord schal be enhaunsid in that day; that is, thanne his myȝt schal appere, in punyschinge synneris. For the day of the Lord; that is, the tyme of his veniaunce. and hiȝ; man, that is, auaunsid bi ambicioun. on eche boostere; that is, spekinge proudly agens God. on alle cedris of Liban, etc.; that is, engynes made of sicke trees schulen not now defende hem. on alle hiȝe munteyns; that is, forseletis, ether castels, in rochis of stoon, and in places to whiche me may vnne- this neȝe, alle schulen be distried bi Nabugodonosor, be tho neuere so stronge in wallis. Live here. c.
 † rise to smyte the lond; of Judee, bi Nabugodonosor, as bi his scourge. muldeverpis, etc.; in sicke nymagis maad bi nygromaunce, fendis ȝaunen answeris sumtyme. fro a man; that is, fro God, in eschewing his offence. in hise noethirlis; as redi to veniaunce. he is arettid hiȝ; of aungels, that reuerence him souereynly, and myche more men schulden drede him, and eschewe his offence. Live here. c.
 ‡ Bi Ebreys thus, whos spirit is in hise noethirlis; that is, that lyueth bi breth-

2 strengthe of water; the stronge, and the
man fȳtere, and domesman, and profete,
3 and deuynour, and the olde prince vp on
fifty, and the wrshepful in cheere, and
counseilor, and wis man of cheef crafty
thingus, and the prudent of priue speche.
4 And I shal ȳue childer the princes of
hem, and the mad wommanysh men shuln
5 lordshipen to them. And the puple shal
falle, man to man, eche to his neȳhebre;
ther shal striue the child aȳen the old
6 man, and the vnnoble aȳen the noble. A
man forsothe shal take his brother, the
homli man of his fadir, and seyn, Cloth-
ing is to thee, oure prince be thou; this
7 forsothe falling vnder thin hond. And
he shal answern in that day, seiende, I
am not a leche, and in myn hous is not
bred, ne clothing; wileth not sette me
8 prince of^b the puple. Ther fel down
forsothe Jerusalem, and Juda fel with;
for the tunge of them, and the findingus
'of hem^c aȳen the Lord, that thei shulden^d
9 terre the eȳen of his mageste. The know-
ing of ther chere shal answer to them;
and ther synne as Sodom thei precheden,
and hidden not. Wo to the soule of hem,
10 for ȳolden ben to them eueles. Seith to^e
the riȳtwis, for weel; for the frute of hys
11 fyndyngus he shal ete. Wo to the vn-
pytous man in to euel; ȳelding forsothe
12 of his hondis shal be do to hym. My
puple his pletes, 'or *wrong axers*^f,
spoileden, and wymmen lordshipeden of
it. My puple, that blisful thee seyn, thee
thei disceyuen, and the weie of thi go-
13 yngus scateren. The Lord stant^g to
deme, and he stant^g to the puples to be
14 demed; the Lord to the dom shal come,
with the elderes of his puple, and with
his princes. ȳee forsothe han distroȳed
my vyneȳerd^h; and the raueyn of the pore
15 in ȳoure housⁱ. Whi to-brose ȳee my

strengthe of watir; a strong man, and a 2
man a werriour, and a domesman, and a
profete, and a false dyuynour in auteris,
and an elde man, a prince ouer fifti men, 3
and a worschipful man in cheer, and a
counselour, and a wijs man of principal
crafti men, and a prudent man of mystik,
ethir goostli, speche. And Y schal ȳue 4
children* the^l princes of hem, and men of
wymmens condiciouns schulen be lordis of
hem. And the puple schal falle down, a 5
man to a^m man, ech man to his neȳbore;
a child schal make noyse aȳens an eld
man, and an vnnoble man aȳens a noble
man. For a man schal take his brother, 6
the meneal of his fadir, and schal seie, A
clooth is to thee, be thou oure prince;
forsothe this fallyng *be* vndur thin hond.
And he schal answer in that dai, and 7
seie, Y am no leche[†], and nether breed,
nether cloth is in myn hous; nyle ȳe make
me prince of the puple. For whi Jeru- 8
salem felle down, and Juda felle down to-
gidere; for the tunge of hem[‡], and the
fyndingis of hem *weren* aȳens the Lord,
for to terre to wraththe the iȳen of his
mageste. The knowyng of her cheer 9
shal answer to hem; and thei prechiden
her synne, as Sodom *dide*, and hidden not.
Wo to the soule of hem, for whi yuels
ben ȳoldun to hem. Seie ȳe to the iust 10
man, that *it schal be to hym*ⁿ wel; for he
shal ete the fruyt of hise fyndyngis. Wo 11
to the wickid man in to yuel; for whi the
ȳeldyng of hise hondis schal be maad to
hym. The wrongful axeris of my puple 12
robbiden it, and wymmen weren lordis
therof. Mi puple, thei that seien thee
blessid, disceyuen thee, and distrien the
weie of thi^o steppis. The Lord stondith 13
for to deme, and 'the Lord^v stondith for
to deme pupilis; the Lord schal come to 14
doom, with the eldere men of his puple,

* children; that is, ȳong in age, and ȳongere in vertues, for thei weren ful yuele men. *wymmens condiciouns*; that is, vnkunnynge and chauniable. *Live here. c.*

† Y am no leche; that is, Y haue nether power nether kunnyng to saue you. c.

‡ the tunge of hem; here it is schewid, that thei weren blasfemeris. *the fyndingis of hem*; here it is schewid, that thei synneden not bi passiou, ether sudeyn lust, nether bi ignoraunce, but of purpos, and of certeyn knowing, which is most greuouse.

The knowing of her cheer, etc.; that is, thei schulen be so excoercid in yuels, that malice schal schyne in her cheris, as the lecherie of an hoore schyneth in hir face.

prechiden her synne, etc.; in doynge synne withoutschame, and opynly. *shal ete, etc.*; that is, he schal take the ȳelding of hise gooddis. *wrongful axeris, etc.*; that is, the souereyns that weren tirauntis, not princes.

wymmen weren lordis therof; for thei drowen her hosebondis to idolatrie. *thei that seien thee blessid, etc.*; these weren false profetis, bihetinge prosperites to hem, bi whos biheest the puple rebellide her tyrauntyes.

aȳens the king of Babiloyne, and so it perischede with the citee. *with the eldere men, etc.*; that is, for to deme hem of her tyrauntyes.

^b vp on *E pr. m.* ^c Om. *A.* ^d Om. *CE pr. m.* ^e Om. *K.* ^f Om. *C el E pr. m.* ^g stondith *A.*
^h vyne *C el E pr. m.* ⁱ houses *C.*

^l to be the *I.* ^m Om. *plures.* ⁿ hem *S.* ^o my *N.* ^p he *I.*

puple, and the faces of pore^k men 3ee
 confounden? seith the Lord God of
 16 oostes. And the Lord God seide, For thi
 that arered ben the do3tris of Sion, and
 thei wenten with strajt out necke, and
 in beκες of e3en 3iden, and flappeden
 with hondis for io3e, and 3iden, and with
 17 ther feet in curious goyng 3iden^l, the
 Lord shal fully maken ballid the top of
 the do3tris of Syon, and the Lord the
 her of hem shal nakenen; and for ourne-
 18 ment^m shal be shenshipe. In that dai
 the Lord shal don awei the ournement
 19 of shon, and bocēsⁿ, and bezes, and
 brooches, and armcercles, and mytris,
 20 and combys^o, and ribanes, and 'reuerses
 at the hemmis^p, and 'oynement boxes^q,
 21 and ere ringus, and ryngus, and iemmes
 22 in the frount hangende, and chaunging
 clothis, and litil palles, and shetes, and
 23 pynnes, and sheweres, and 'necke couer-
 24 cheues^r, and filetes, and roketes. And
 ther shal be for swote smel stync, and
 for girdil a litil corde; and for crisp her
 ballidnesse, and for the brest bond an
 25 heire. Also thi^s most faire men with
 swerd shuln falle, and thi^s stronge men
 26 in bataile. And thei shuln sorewen, and
 weilen shuln hir 3ates; and desolat^t in
 the erthe she shal sitten.

CAP. IV.

1 And seuen wymmen shul taken o man
 in that dai, seiende, Oure bred we shul
 ete, and with oure clothis wee shul be
 couered; onli be inwardly clepid thi
 2 name vp on vs, do awei oure repref. In

and with hise princes; for 3e han wastid
 my vyner^q, and the rauelyn of a pore man
 is in 3oure hous. Whi al to-broken 3e 15
 my puple, and grynden togidere the faces
 of pore men? seith the Lord God of
 oostis. And the Lord God seide, For that 16
 that the dou3tris of Syon weren reisid*,
 and 3eden with a^r necke stretchid forth,
 and 3eden bi signes of 3en, and flappiden
 with hondis, and 3eden, and with her feet
 3eden in wel araied goyng, the Lord schal 17
 make ballyd the nol of the dou3tris of
 Sion, and the Lord schal make nakid the
 heer of hem. In that dai the Lord schal 18
 take awei the ournement of schoon, and
 goldun litle bellis lijk the moone, and 19
 ribans, and brochis, and ournementis of
 armes ny3 the schuldris, and mytris, *ether*
chapelettis, and coombis, and ournementis 20
 of armes ni3 the hondis, and goldun oure-
 nementis lijk laumpreis, and litil vessels
 of oynementis, and eere ryngis, and 21
 ryngis, and precieuse stoonys hangynge
 in the forheed, and chaungynge clothis, 22
 and mentils, and schetis, *ether^s smockis*,
 and needlis, and myrouris, and smal lynun 23
 clothis aboute^t the schuldris, and ker-
 cheues, and roketis. And stynk shal be 24
 for swete odour, and a corde for the gir-
 dil; ballidnesse *shal be* for crispe^u heer,
 and an heire for a brest girdil. Also thi 25
 faireste men schulen falle bi swerd, and
 thi stronge men *schulen falle* in batel.
 And the 3atis therof[†] schulen weile, and 26
 morene; and it schal sitte desolat in erthe.

CAP. IV.

And seueue wymmen schulen catche^v
 o man[‡] in that dai, and^w schulen seie, We
 schulen ete oure breed, and we schulen be
 bilid with oure clothis; oneli thi name be
 clepid on vs, do thou awei oure schen-

my vyner; that is, the puple of Israel. *al to-broken 3e my puple*; with angwischis ether talagis, and wrongis. *grynden togidere*; that is, maken thynne bi lenenesse, for thei rauyschiden so myche the goodis of the puple, that sufficient liyfode lefte not to hem. *Live here. c.*
 * *were reisid*; bi pride of soule. *with necke stretchid forth*; which is signe of ynnere pride. *signes of 3en*; in biholdinge vnchastly. *flappiden, etc.*; in pleiyng disolutely, ether wantounly. *and with her feet 3eden, etc.*; in going curiously and idolly, wherbi men weren clepid to lecherie. *Live here. c.*

† *And the 3atis therof, etc.*; that is, iugis, kinges, and princes, that weren wount to sitte in the 3atis. *The glos here. c.*
 ‡ *cacche o man*; sekinge to haue him hosebonde. *ete our breed, etc.*; that is, we schulen purueye necessaries for vs and oure children. *thi name, etc.*; that is, that we ben thy wyues. *schenschiipe*; of bareynesse. *Live here. c.*

^k the pore K. ^l thei 3eeden A. ^m ournemens C. ⁿ hoosis A. boosis GHK. ^o filetis E pr. m. P reuerses C pr. m. reuerses at tho hemmus C sec. m. calles E pr. m. reuerses at the hem H. ^q nedle fod-driss E pr. m. ^r neckercheuys AGHK. ^s ther K. ^t the desolat K.

^u vyn3erd I. ^v Om. CEF GHIKMN PQ RUVX. the s. ^w other F. ^x aboute N. ^y the crispe N. ^z take F sec. m. ^{aa} and thei I.

that dai shal be the buriounyng of the Lord in gret doying and glorie; and frut of the erthe hee3, and ful out iojing to them that shul be saf of Irael. And it shal be, eche that shal be laft in Sion, and residue in Jerusalem, hoeli shal be clepid; eche that is writen in lif in Jerusalem. For the Lord shal washen away the filthes of the do3tris of Sion, and the blod of Jerusalem shal wasshen^u fro the myddes of it, in spirit of dom, and spirit of brennende looue. And the Lord bro3te forth vp on eche place of the mount of Sion, and wher he is inwardli clepid, a cloude bi dai, and smoke, and shynyng of fyr flaumende in ny3t; vp al forsothe the glorie ouercoueryng. And a tabernacle shal ben in to a shadewe hilet of the dai, fro brennyng, and in to^v sikirnesse and hiding, from whirlewynd and from reyn.

CAP. V.

1 I shal synge to my looued a song off 'myn emes sone^w, of his vynez3erd^x. The^y vynez3erd^x is mad to my looued, in the 2 horn to the^z sone of oile. And he heggede it, and stones he ches of it, and plauntede a chosen vynez3erd^a; and he bilde vp a tour in the myddel of it, and a presse he rerede vp in it; and he abod, that it shulde bringe forth grapes, and it bro3te 3 forth wilde vynes. Now thanne, 3ee dwelleris of Jerusalem, and men of Juda, demeth betwe^b me and my vynez3erd^c.

shal make. Ysaye spekith of thing to comynge, bi the maner of thing passid, for the certeynte of profesie. of Sion; that is, of hooly chirche, fyttinge a3enus synnes. a cloude bi day, etc.; that is, the grace of the Hooly Goost, that hilih ether defendith a3enus the heete of couetise, and lizneth a3enus derknesse of ignoraunce. aboue al glorie; of the piler of fier, and of the clowde 3ouun to the sones of Israel, in the goyng out of Egypt. hilyng; that is, the grace of the Hooly Goost; and the grace of the Hooly Goost shal be in to a schadewinge place a3enus the heete of couetise. fro whirlewynd; of pride, ether of persecucioun, which men strengthid of the Hooly Goost, dredden not. fro reyn; of fleisly lust, ether of temporal prosperite, lest bi it a man be maad neische to vices. Live here. c. § A viner; that is, the puple of Israel. was maad to my derling; that is, to God. in the horn; that is, in an hi3 place and excelent, as was Jerusalem. in the sone of oile; that is, in a place ful of olyues, of whos fruyt is wrongen out oile. heggide it; with hise comaundementis, and with the keping of him silf, and of aungels. chees stoonys therof; in castinge out of Cananeys, worschiperis of stoonys. plauntide a chosun viner; that is, chees the puple of Israel to his worschiping bifor othere puplis, and plauntide in the lond of biheest. a tour; that is, the temple maad at the maner of a tour. a presse; that is, the auter of brent sacrifices. grapis; that is, good werkis in heriynge God. wilde grapis; that is, vnprofitable werkis and noyful, in bowinge to idolatrie. Live here. ck. || What is it, etc.; as if he seide, no thing faylide of my part, that ne it ou3te to make the beste werkis, and it dide the worste thingis. c.

^u be wasshen c pr. m. ^v Om. E pr. m. ^w my nemesone E sec. m. sup. ras. myn eem sone A. myn emesone GHK. ^x vyne c et E pr. m. ^y My E pr. m. ^z Om. c et E pr. m. of the A. ^a vyne c et E pr. m. ^b betwix A. between EGHK. ^c vyne c et E pr. m.

^x Om. I. ^y hilyng, ether defending CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^z Om. I. ^a vyz3erd I. ^b make CEF GHIK MN PQRSUVX. ^c made CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

schip. In that dai* the buriownyng of² the Lord shal be in gret worschip and glorie; and the fruyt of erthe schal be hi3, and ful out ioye 'schal be^x to hem that schulen be sau3d of Israel. And it schal³ be, ech that is left in Sion, and is resydue in Jerusalem, schal be clepid hooli; ech that is writun in lijf in Jerusalem; if the⁴ Lord† waischith awei the filthis of the dou3tris of Sion, and waischith the blood of Jerusalem fro the myddis therof, in the spirit of doom, and in the spirit of heete. And the Lord made‡ on ech place of the hille of Sion, and where he was clepid to help, a cloude bi dai, and smoke, and bri3tnesse of fier flawmynge in the ni3t; for whi hilyng^y schal^z be aboue al glorie. And a tabernacle schal be in to a schadew-⁶yng place of the dai, fro heete, and in to sikirnesse and in to hidyng, fro whirlewynd and fro reyn.

CAP. V.

I shal synge for my derlyng the song¹ of myn vnclis sone, of his vyner^a. A vyner[§] was maad to my derlyng, in the horne in the sone of oile. And he heg-²gide it, and chees stoonys therof, and plauntide a chosun vyner; and he bildide a tour in the myddis therof, and rerede a presse ther ynne; and he abood, that it schulde bere^b grapis, and it bare^c wielde grapis. Now therfor, 3e dwelleris of Je-³rusalem, and 3e men of Juda, deme bitwixe me and my viner. What is it|| that Y⁴

* Here bigyn-
neth the iij.
chapitre [capi-
tle GRUY] in
Ebreu. CGIKM
PQRUY. In that
day; that is, in
the tyme of
grace. the bu-
riownyng of
the Lord; that
is, Crist, that
was not con-
seyued of man-
nus seed, but
bi vertu of the
Hooly Goost.
glorie; in
worching of
myraclis, in
his rising a3en,
and assencioun.
fruyt of erthe;
that is, of the
Virgyn Marye.
to hem that
schulen be
sau3d of Is-
rael; that is,
to apostlis and
othere feithful
men, that had-
den ioye
whanne thei
sien Crist
risun a3en,
and in Wit-
sunday, whanne
thei resseyu-
eden the Hooly
Goost. left in
Sion; that is,
hooly chirche,
bi noumbre
and merit. Live
here. c.
† If the Lord;
that is, For the
Lord. of the
dou3tris of
Sioun; that
is, of hooly
chirche. of
doom, etc.; for
Crist made sa-
tisfaccioun for
vs bi the weye
of ri3tfulnesse,
and of most
charite. Live
here. c.
‡ the Lord
made; that is,

4 What is that I awzte mor^d to do to my vynezerd^{dd}, and dide not to it? whether that I abod, that yt shulde bringe forth grapes, and brozte forth wilde vynes?
 5 And now I shal shewen to 3ou, what I shal do to my vynezerd^{dd}. I shal do awei his heg, and it shal be in to destruc-
 6 cion; I shal breke down his wal, and it shal ben in to 'to-tredyng^e; and I^f shal setten it desert. It shal not be kut, and it shal nott be doluen, and ther shul steze vp vp on it breres and thornes; and to^g the cloudis I shal comaunde, that thei
 7 reyne not vp on it weder. Forsothe the vynezerd^h of the Lord of hostes is the hous of Irael, and the men of Juda his delytableⁱ buriounyng. I abod, that it shulde do dom, and lo! wickidnesse; and
 8 riztwisnesse, and lo! cry. Wo that ioynen hous to hous, and feeld to feeld coupleth, vn to the terme of a place. Whether dwellen 3ee shuln alone in the myddel
 9 of the^k erthe? In myn eres ben these thingus, seith the Lord of osten; but 3if^l manye houses grete and faire shul be
 10 desert, and withoute dwellere. Forsothe ten acris of vynezerd^m shul maken oⁿ potell wyn, and thretti bussheles of sed
 11 shul make thre bussheles. Wo that risen erly to drunkenhed to be folewid, and to drinken vn to euen, that with wyn 3ee
 12 brenne. Harpe, and syngende instrument, and tymbre, and trumpe, and wyn in 3oure festes; and the werk of the Lord 3ee biholden not, ne the werkes of his
 13 hondis 3ee waiten. Therfor lad caityf is my puple, that hadde not kunnyng; and his noble men dieden thur3 hunger, and his multitude thur3 thirst al out driede.
 14 Therefore helle spredde abroad his soule, and openede his mouth with oute any

ouzt to do more to my vyner, and Y dide not to it? whether that Y abood, that it schulde bere^d grapis, and it bare^e wielde grapis? And now Y schal schewe to 3ou,^g what Y schal do to my vyner. Y schal take awei the hegge therof, and it schal be in to rauyschyng^{*}; Y schal caste down the wal therof, and it schal be in to defoulyng; and Y schal sette it desert, *ether*^g forsakun. It schal not be kit, and it schal not be diggid, and breris and thornes schulen 'growe vp^f on it; and Y schal comaunde to cloudis, that tho^g reyne not^h reyn on it. Forsothe the vyner of the⁷ Lord of oostis is the hous of Israel, and the men of Juda *ben* the delitable buriounyng of hym. Y abood, that it schal make doom, and lo! wickidnesse; and *that it schulde do* riztfulnesse, and lo! cry. Wo to 3ou that ioynen hows to hous,⁸ and couplen feeld to feeld, 'til toⁱ the ende of place. Whether^k 3e aloone schulen dwelle in the myddis of the lond? These thingis⁹ ben in the eeris of me, the Lord of oostis; if many housis ben not forsakun, grete *housis*^l and faire, with outen dwellere, *bileue 3e not to^m me*. For whi ten acris¹⁰ of vynes schulen make aⁿ potel, and thretti buschels of seed schulen make thre buschels. Wo to 3ou that risen togidere¹¹ eerli to sue drunkennesse, and to drinke 'til to^o euentid, that 3e brenne with wyn. Harpe, and giterne, and tympan, and pipe,¹² and wyn *ben* in 3oure feestis; and 3e biholden not[†] the werk of the Lord, nether 3e biholden the werkis of hise hondis. Therfor my puple is led prisoner^p, for it¹³ hadde not kunnyng; and the noble men therof perischiden in hungur, and the multitude therof was drye in thirst. Therfor¹⁴ helle alargide^q his soule[†], and openyde his

* *rauysching*; for herbi fendis hadden power on hem, to rauysche her goostli goodis, and disposi-
 cious to tho. *caste down the wal*; that is, withdrawe my proteccioun, and the keping of aungels. *in to defouling*; that is, oppressing of aduersaries, and most of Babiloyne, that distrieden the lond, and killiden the puple in parti, and token prisoneris in parti. *men of Juda, etc.*; this is seid most for Crist, that schulde be borun bi fleisch of that lynage. *cry*; of wrongis oon doynge wrong to an other. *Live here. c.*
 † *3e biholde not, etc.*; doynge no thing to his onour ether seruyce, whanne 3e han of him abundaunce of temporal thingis. *werkis of his hondis*; that is, hou he punyschide scharply fleisli synne, in drenchinge the world for it, and in brennyng v. citees with fier of bruntoon. *is led*; that is, schal be led, for he spak of thing to comynge, bi the maner of thing passid, for the certeynte of profesie. *Live here. c.*
 ‡ *Therfor helle alargide his soule*; that is, his caityfe, ether prisoner; and this is figuratif

speche, for whi helle hath no soule propirli. Helle in scripture is takun bothe for a dicke, where the bodies of deed men ben put, and for a place where the soulis of hem that ben dampned and of hem that schulen be purgid goen down, and generali of hem that ben not resseyued anon to glorie; and thanne alle deed men zeden down to helle in her soulis. *bowid down*; that is, schal be cast down al fro his pride. *enhausid in doom*; that

^d Om. c. ^{dd} vyne c et E pr. m. ^e tredyng AN. ^f Om. K. ^g Om. G pr. m. H. ^h vyne c et E pr. m. ⁱ dilectable AEGHK. ^k Om. c pr. m. ^l Om. c et E pr. m. ^m vyne c et E pr. m. ⁿ oon E.

^d make CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^e made CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^f stie CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^g thei I. no S. ^h Om. S. ⁱ vnto I. ^k Wher ceteri fere passim. ^l Om. I. hous S. ^m Om. S. ⁿ O CEFHIMNUV. OO GK PQ. ^o vnto I. ^p caityf, ether prisoner CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^q hath alargide I.

terme; and ther shul falle down his
stronge men, and his puple, and hee3e,
15 and his gloriouse to it. And ther shal
be ful crookid a man, and meekid a
strong man; and the e3en of 'hee3e men^o
16 shul be threst down. And ther shal be
enhauncid the Lord of osten in dom, and
the hoeli God shal be halewid in ri3twis-
17 nesse. And lombis shul be fed aftir ther
order, and desertes in to plente turned
18 comelingus shul etc. Wo that drawen
wickidnesse in the^p litle cordes of vanyte,
19 and as the bond of a wayn synne; that
seyn, Hee3e, 'or haaste^q, he, and soone
come his werk, that wee see; and ne3he,
and come the counseil of the hoeli of^r
20 Israel, and wee shul witen^s it. Wo that
seyn euel good, and good euel; puttende
derknesses li3t, and li3t derknesses; put-
tende bitter in to swete, and sweete in to
21 bitter. Wo that wise ben in 3oure e3en,
22 and bifer 3ouself slee3e. Wo that my3ty
ben to drinke wyn, and stronge men to
23 be mengd drunkynhed; that iustefien the
vnpitous for 3iftes, and the ri3twisnesse
of the ri3twyse 3ee taken away fro hym.
24 For that, as deuoureth the tunge of fyr
stobil, and the hete of flaumme brenneth
out, so the roote of hem as a^r gnast^u shal
be, and^v the buriownyng^w of hem as
pouder shal ste3e vp; forsothe thei
casten awei the lawe of the Lord of
osten, and the speche of the hoeli of^x
25 Israel thei blasfemeden. Therfor wrath-
ede the wodnesse of the Lord in his
puple, and strazte out his hond vp on it,
and smot it; and the mounteynes ben dis-
turbid, and mad ben the 'deed carens^y

mouth with outen ony ende; and^r strong
men therof, and the puple therof, and^s
the^t hi3 men, and gloriouse^u men therof,
schulen go down to it. And a man schal 15
be bowid down, and a man of age schal be
maad low; and the i3en of hi3 men schulen
be pressid down. And the Lord of oostis 16
shal be enhaunsid in doom, and hooli
God schal be halewid in ri3tfulnesse. And 17
lambren schulen be fed bi^v her ordre, and
comelyngis schulen etc desert *places* turn-
ed in to plentee. Wo to 3ou that drawen 18
wickidnesse in the cordis of vanyte, and
drawen synne as the boond of a wayn;
and 3e seien, The werk of hym haaste, 19
and come soone, that we se; and the
counsel of the hooli of Israel nei3, and
come, and we schulen knowe it. Wo to 20
3ou that seien yuel good, and good yuel;
and putten derknessis li3t, and li3t derk-
nessis; and putten bittir thing in to
swete, and swete thing in to bittir. Wo 21
to 3ou that ben wise men in 3oure i3en,
and *ben* prudent bifer 3ou silf. Wo to 3ou 22
that ben my3ti to drynke wyn, and *ben*
stronge to meddle drunkenesse; and 3e 23
iustifien a wickid man for 3iftis, and 3e
taken awei the ri3tfulnesse of a iust man
fro hym. For this thing, as the tunge of 24
fier deuourith stobil, and the heete of
flawme brenneth, so the roote of hem schal
be as a deed sparcle, and the seed of hem
shal stie as dust; for thei castiden awei
the lawe of the Lord of oostis, and blas-
femyden the speche of the hooli of Israel.
Therfor the strong veniaunce of the Lord 25
was wrooth azens his puple, and he stretch-
ide forth his hond on it, and smoot it;

is, his hignes-
shal be schew-
id bi this, that
he schal make
the forseid
doom of syn-
neris. *lambren*,
etc.; that is,
the lambren of
the sonnes of
Israel schulen
be etun of ene-
myes, as oure
doctours ex-
pounen. and
comelingis; that
is, enemyes,
men of Babi-
loynne. *schulen*
etc desert places,
etc.; for thei
eeten the beestis
and the fruytis
of Jewis. Raby
Salomon seith
thus. *lambren*;
that is, iust
men of Israel,
that schulen
be led in to
Babiloyne,
schulen be fed
bi her ordre;
that is, schulen
haue sufficient
liylode bi her
staat; and
comelingis;
that is, the
children of Is-
rael, turnynge
agen fro Babi-
loynne, *schulen*
etc desert
places. turned
in to falsnesse;
that is, the
fruytis of the
lond of Israel,
that was desert
and vntilid in
the tyme of
caitife. *of va-*
nityte; that is,
of pride, which
is cause of
othere synnes.
as the boond of
a wayn; in go-
ynge forth fer-
there to greu-
ousere synnes.
and 3e seyn;
in scornynge
Goddis ri3tful-
nesse. *his werk*;
that is, the
peyne which
3e manassen to

vs. Thei seiden in scorn, *Haaste, and come soon*; as if thei seiden, We dreden not it; for they felden in to this errour, that God hadde not puryaunce of lowere thingis in erthe, and that he schulde not 3yue peyne for thingis doon in erthe. *yuel*; that is, the worschipping of idolis. *good*; that is, profitable to men. and *good*; that is, Goddis worschipping. *yuel*; that is, of no profit. *derknessis*; of errour to be. *li3t*; of truthe. *li3t*; of feith to be. *derknessis*; of ignoraunce. *bittir thing*; that is, idolatrie. *in to swete*; as if a man gete the ende desirid bi it. and *swete thing*; that is, Goddis worschipping onely. *in to bittir thing*; as if vnprofitable trauel and cost is there. *prudent bifer 3ou silf*; that is, that setten 3oure kunnyng of Goddis profetis, seynge the contrarie of 3oure errour. *stobil*; whanne fier touchith a lilil the stobil, anon it is brent up, as in lickyng, so the peyne of synneris bifer seid, schal come soone of God. *the roote, etc.*; that is, thei schulen be distried al out. *the seed of hem*; that is, the children of hem. *shal stie as dust*; for as dust reisid in the eir, is scaterid abroad bi the wynd to an other place, so the sonnes of hem weren led out of her lond in to caitife. *Live here. c.*

^o the hee3 man κ. P Om. c. ^q Om. CE pr. m. ^r Om. c pr. m. ^s weyte A. ^t Om. H. ^u dead
bronde E sec. m. marg. AGHK. ^v Om. A. in GH. ^w brennyng A. ^x Om. c pr. m. ^y fallen to
deth et E pr. m.

^r and the I. ^s Om. E. ^t tho A. ^u the glorious M. ^v with s.

of hem as drit in the myddel of stretes.
In alle these thingus is not turned awei
his wodnesse, but 3it his hond strazt out.
26 And he shal rere vp a signe in naciouns
aferr, and he shall whistle to hym fro
the coestes of the erthe; and lo! hastid
27 he shal come swiftli. Ther is not failing
ne trauailyng in hym; he shal not nap-
pen, ne slepen, ne shal ben loosid the
girdil of his renes, ne shal be to-broke
28 the thowng of his sho3yng. His arwis
sharpe, and alle his bowes bent; the cles
of the horses^z of hym as flynt, and his
29 wheles as the^a byre of tempest. His
roring as off a leoun; he shal roren as
the whelpis of leouns; he shal gnasten,
and holden the prei, and^b biclippen, and
30 ther shal not be, that delyuere out. And
ther shal sowne vp on hym in that day,
as the soun of the se; wee shul biholde
in to the erthe, and lo! derknesses of
tribulacioun, and l3jt al to-derked is in
the derknyng of hym.

CAP. VI.

1 In the 3erⁱ in which^e diede king Osias,
I sa3 the Lord sittende vp on an hei3
sete, and rered vp; and ful was^d the hous
of his mageste, and tho^e thingus that
vnder hym weren, fulfilden the temple.
2 Serafyn stoden vp on it, sixe wenges to
the oon^f, and sixe to the other^g; with two
they couereden the face of hym, and with
two thei couereden the feet of hym, and
3 with two thei flown. And thei crieden
the tother^h to the tother, and seiden,
Hoeli, hoely, hoeli, Lord God of osten;
ful is alⁱ the^k erthe of the glorie of hym.
4 And to-moued ben the thresholdes of the
heenglis fro the vois of the criende, and
5 the hous fullfid is with smoke. And I
seide, Wo to me, for I heeld my pes; for

and hillis* weren disturblid, and the deed
bodies of hem weren maad as a toord in
the myddis of stretis. In alle these thingis
the stronge vengeaunce of him was not
turned awei, but 3it his hond *was* stretchid
forth. And he schal reise a signe among²⁶
naciouns afer, and he schal hisse to hym[†]
fro the endis of erthe; and lo! he schal
haaste, and schal come swiftli. Noon is²⁷
failynge nethir trauelynge in that oost;
he schal not nappe, nether slepe, nether
the girdil of his reynes schal be vndo,
nether the lace of his scho schal be brokun.
Hise arowis *ben* scharpe, and alle hise²⁸
bowis *ben* bent; the houys of hise horsis
ben as a^v flynt, and hise wheelis *ben* as the
feersnesse of tempest. His roryng *schal be*²⁹
as of a lioun; he schal rore as the whelpis
of liouns; and he schal gnaste, and schal
holde prey, and schal biclippe, and noon
schal^w be, that schal delyuere. And he³⁰
schal sowne on it in that dai, as *doith* the
soun of the see; we schulen biholde in to
the erthe, and lo! derknessis of tribula-
cioun, and l3jt is maad derk in the derk-
nesse therof.

CAP. VI.

In the 3eer in which the kyng Osie was¹
deed[‡], Y si3 the Lord sittynge on an hi3
seete, and reisid; and the hous was ful of
his mageste, and tho thingis that weren
vndur hym, filliden the temple. Serafyn²
stoden on it, sixe wyngis *weren* to oon,
and sixe wyngis to the tothir^x; with
twei^y *wyngis* thei hiliden the face of hym,
and with twei^y *wyngis*^z thei hiliden the
feet of hym, and with twei^a *wyngis* thei
flown. And thei crieden 'the toon^b to3
the tother^c, and seiden, Hooli, hooli, hooli
is the Lord God of oostis; al erthe is ful
of his glorie. And the lyntels aboue of⁴
the herris were moued togidere of the vois
of the criere, and the hous was fillid with
smoke. And Y seide, Wo to me, for Y⁵

* hillis; that is,
princes. in all
these thingis,
etc.; that is, in
the forseid
peynes; for
the puple was
not amendid bi
tho peynes, but
more obstynat
in yuel. c.
† he schal hisse
to him, etc.;
that is, God
schal make Na-
bugodonosor
and his oost to
come a3enus
Jerusalem.
Live here. c.

‡ was deed;
not bi depart-
ing of the soule
fro the bodi,
but in which
3eer he was
smytun of God
with lepre, for
he wolde take
amys to him
the office of
prest; for fro
that tyme he
was arettid
deed to the
world, as Rabi
Salomon seith.
the hows; that
is, the temple
bildid of Salo-
mon; nethes
this clause, and
the hows was ful
of his maieste,
is not in Ebreu,
nether in bokis
amendid. and
tho thingis that
weren vndur
him, etc.; in
Ebreu thus,
and hise hem-
mes fillide the
temple.
the face of him;
in Ebreu it is,
the face of hem
sif and the
feet of hem sif.
Live here. c.

^z hors A. ^a Om. AGHK. ^b Om. A. ^c that C et E pr. m. in the whiche E sec. m. marg. ^d Om. C et E pr. m. ^e Om. A. ^f toon AGHK. ton E. ^g tother AEGHK. ^h toon A. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om. EGHK.

^v Om. I. ^w ther schal I. ^x oother I. ^y two I. ^z Om. I. ^a two I. ^b tother CFHKMNQRUVX. that oon EF. the oother IS. ^c oother I.

a man defoulid in lippis I am, and in the¹ myddel of the puple defoulid lippes hauende I dwelle, and the king Lord of oostes I saȝ with myn eȝen. And ther fleiȝ to me oon of^m theⁿ serafyn, and in his hond a cole, that with the toenge he 7 toc fro the auter. And he touchede my mouth, and seide, Lo! I haue touchid with this thi lippesⁿⁿ, and ther shal be don awei thi wickydnese, and thi synne 8 shal be clensid. And I herde the vois of the Lord, seiende, Whom shal I sende, and who shal go to ȝou? And I seide, 9 Lo! I am; send me. And he seide, Go, and thou shalt sey to this puple, Hereth herende, and wileth not vnderstonde; and seeth a viseoun, and wileth not knowen. 10 Blynde out the herte of this puple, and his eres agregge, and his eȝen close; lest par auenture he see with his eȝen, and with his eres here, and with his herte vndyrstonde, and be conuertid, and I 11 hele hym. And I seyde, Hou longe, Lord? And he seide, To the tyme that ben desolat the citees with oute dwellere, and houses with oute man. And the lond 12 shal be laft desert, and aferr shal make the Lord men. And ther shal be multiplied that was laft in the myddel of the 13 erthe, and ȝit in it^o tithing^{oo}; and it shal be conuertid, and it shal be in to shewyng as a terebynt, and as an oek, that spreadeth out his braunches; hoely sed it shal ben, that that shal stonden in it.

CAP. VII.

1 And it is don in the dazes of Achaz, sone of Joathan, sone of Osie, king of Juda, ther steȝede vp Rasyn, king of Cyrie, and Fassee, the^p sone of Romelie, king of Irael, in to Jerusalem, to fiȝte aȝen hym; and thei myȝte not ouercome 2 it. And thei tolden to the hous of Dauid,

was stille*; for Y am a man defoulid in lippis, and Y dwelle in the myddis of the puple hauynge defoulid lippis, and Y siȝ with myn iȝen the kyng Lord of oostis. And oon of serafyn flei to me, and a 6 brennyng cole was in his hond, which^d cole he hadde take with a tonge fro the auter. And he touchide my mouth, and 7 seide, Lo! Y haue touchid thi lippis with this cole, and thi wickidnesse schal be don awei, and thi synne schal be clensid. And 8 Y herde the vois of the Lord, seiynge, Whom schal Y sende, and who schal go to ȝou? And Y seide, Lo! Y†; sende thou me. And he seide, Go thou, and thou 9 schalt sei to this puple, Ȝe herynge here^e, and nyle ȝe vndurstonde†; and se ȝe the profesie, and nyle ȝe knowe. Make thou 10 blynde the herte of this puple, and aggregge thou the eeris therof, and close thou the iȝen therof; lest perauenture it se with hise iȝen, and here with hise eeris, and vndurstonde with his herte, and it be conuertid, and Y make it hool. And Y seide, 11 Lord, hou long‡? And he seide, Til citees ben maad desolat with out dwellere, and housis with out man. And the lond schal be left desert, and the Lord schal make 12 men fer^s. And that^b that was forsakun|| in the myddil of erthe, schal be multiplied, and ȝit tithingⁱ schal be ther ynne; and it 13 schal be conuertid, and it schal be in to schewyng, as a terebynte is, and as an ook, that spreadith abroad hise boowis; that schal be hooli seed, that schal stonde ther ynne.

CAP. VII.

And it was don in the daies of Achaz, 1 the sone of Joathan, the sone of Osias, kyng of Juda, Rasyn, the kyng of Sirie, and Facee, the sone of Romelie, the kyng of Israel, stieden to Jerusalem, for to fiȝte aȝens it; and thei myȝten not ouercome it. And thei telden to the hous of Dauid, and 2

* was stille; fro repreuyng of king Osie.

brennyng cole; this was not a material cole, nether material auter, but ymagynarie, ether in licnesse.

Live here. c.

† Lo! Y; am redi to obeie.

sende thou me; he synned not in profringe him silf, for he

siȝ him silf disposid before bi the forseid purging. Live here. c.

‡ nyle ȝe vndurstonde; that is, ȝe nylen vndurstonde, for the profete excite not hem for to vndurstonde not, and

obeye not, but he biforseide this thing to comynge, in bifortelling the hardnesse of the puple in yuel. Make thou

blynd, etc.; that is, denounce thou, that the eeris schulen

be aggreggid bi obstynacye, ether hardnesse in yuel. Sich blyndnesse and hard-

ing in yuel is not of God outirly, but of defeaute of fre wille; for whi

a man that turnyth away him silf fro God, disserueth that God with-

drawe his grace fro him, whos worching is to liȝtne the vndurstanding, and to make

neische the wille; and therfor whanne

grace is withdrawun, a man is blyndid and hardid bi his malice. This

was fillid to the letre, whanne at the preching of Crist, Jewis

weren hardid in synne, for greet party, as it is

|| that was forsakun; that is, the chirche of Cristen men, that weren in Judee, and weren forsakun of othere Jewis, schal haue prosperite aftirward; ether the lond of Juda forsakun in the caytiffe of Babiloyne, schal haue prosperite in the tyme of Macabeys. Live here. c.

seid in xij. c^o. of Joon. Live here. c.

§ Lord, hou longe; schal this blyndnesse and hardnesse laste. Live here. c.

|| that was forsakun;

that is, the chirche of Cristen men, that weren in Judee, and weren forsakun of othere Jewis, schal haue prosperite aftirward; ether the lond of Juda forsakun in the caytiffe of Babiloyne, schal haue prosperite in the tyme of Macabeys. Live here. c.

¹ Om. A EK. ^m fro E pr. m. ⁿ Om. A E G H K. ⁿⁿ mouth c pr. m. ^o Om. c pr. m. ^{oo} dymy E pr. m. ^p Om. A G H K.

^d the which 1. ^e hereth 1. ^g aferr 1. ^h that vyner 1. ⁱ the tithing, ether tenth part 1.

seiende, Siria restede vp on Effraym, and to-moued is his herte and the herte of his puple, as ben moued the trees of wodis fro the face of the wynd. And the Lord seide to Isaie, Go out in to azen-comyng of Achaz, thou, and that is laft, Jasub, thi sone, to the ende of the water condute of the ouere pond^q, in the weie of the feeld of the fullere. And thou shalt sey to hym, See, that thou holder^r thi pes; wile thou not dreden, and thin herte be not ferd of the two tailis of these smokende fyr brondis in to the wrathe of the wodnesse, of Rasyn, king of Sirie, and sone of Romelie. For thi that euel counseil he wente in azen thee, Ciria, and Effraym, and the sone of Romelye, seiende, Steje wee vp to Judam, and rere wee hym, and pulle wee hym vp to vs; and putte wee a king in his myddel, the sone of Thabel. These thingus seith the Lord God, This shal not be, and shal not stonde; but the hed^s of Sirie Damasch, and the hed of Damasch Rasyn; and 3it sixti and fyue 3er, and Effraym shal cese to ben a puple; and the hed of Effraym Samarie, and the hed of Samarie, the sone of Romelie. If 3ee shul not leeuē, 3ee shul not abide style. And the Lord leide to to speke to Achaz, seyende, Aske to thee a tokne fro the Lord thi God, in to the depthe of helle, or in to heizte^t aboue. And Achaz seide, I shal not aske, and I shal not tempte the Lord. And he seyde, Hereth thanne, 3ee the hous of Daud; whether lital to 3ou is to ben greuouse to men, for 3ee ben greuouse and to my God? For that he the Lord shal 3yue to 3ou a tocne. Lo! a mayde shal conceyue, and bern a sone; and thou shalt clepe his name Emanuel. Butter and hony he shal ete, that he kunne re-

seiden, Sirie hath restid* on Effraym, and the herte of hym and of his puple was mouyd togidere, as the trees of wodis ben mouyd of the face of the wynd. And the Lord seide to Isaie, Go thou out, and Jasub, thi sone, which is left, in to the meetyng of Achaz, at the laste ende of the water cundijt of the hizere cisterne, in the weie of the feeld of the fullere. And thou schalt seie to hym, Se thou, that thou be stille†; nyle thou drede, and thin herte be not aferd of^k twei tailis of these brondis smokynge in the wraththe of woodnesse, of Rasyn, kyng of Sirie, and of the sone of Romelye. For Sirie, and Effraym, and the sone of Romelie, han bigunne yuel councel azens thee, and seien, Stie we^l to Juda, and reise we hym, and drawe we hym out to vs; and sette we a kyng in the myddis therof, the sone of Tabeel‡. The Lord God seith these thingis, This schal not be, and it schal not stonde; but Damask *schal be* the heed of Sirie, and Rasyn *'schal be^m* the heed of Damask; and 3it sixti 3eer and fue, and Effraym schal faile to be a puple; and Samarie *shal faile* to be the heed of Effraym, and the sone of Romelie *'schal faileⁿ to be* heed of Samarie. Forsothe if 3e schulen not bileue, 3e schulen not dwelle. And the Lord addide to speke to Achaz, and seide, Axe thou to thee a signe of thi Lord God, in to the depthe of helle, ethir in to heizthe aboue. And Achaz seide, Y schal not axe, and Y schal not tempte§ the Lord. And Ysaie seide, Therfor^o the hous of Daud, here 3e; whether it is lital to 3ou to^p be diseseuf to men||, for 3e ben diseseuf also to my God? For this thing the Lord hym silf schal 3yue a signe to 3ou. Lo! a virgyn schal conseyue, and schal bere a sone; and his name schal

* Sirie hath reised, etc.; that is, the king of Sirie and the king of Israel ben confederid, to come togidere azenus the rewme of Juda. *Live here. c.* † that thou be stille; that is, that thou be in good pees and reste. *taylis*; that is, oostis suyng kyngis. *smokynge*; he seith this, for the glorie of these kyngis schulde be quenched, as he tellith in this capitle. *Live here. c.* ‡ of Tabeel; that is, of Romelie, which is clepid here Tabeel, as Raby Salomon seith. These lxx. 3eer bigunnen in the secunde 3eer bifor the erthemouyng, whanne kyng Osias wolde offre encense, in which tyme Amos bigan to profesie, for in the sixte 3eer of kyng Ezechie, Samarie was takun, in xvij. c. of iiii. book of Kyngis. *schulen not dwelle*; in truthe. Ysaie seide this, for he knew that Achaz, the worste idolatour, wolde not bileue to his wordis. *a signe*; of thi delyueraunce, and of thi puple. *of thi Lord God*; and not of idols, whiche thou worshipist. *in to the depthe of helle*; that is, axe a signe to thee, bi the reising of sum deed man. *in to heuene*; as it was doon bi the standing of the sunne, in the

tyme of Josue, in x. c. of Josue. *Live here. c.* § not tempte; this was a feyned accusacioun, to coloure his yuel, for he was the worste idolatour, and nolde that ony thing were schewed to the glorie of God. *Live here. c.* || diseseuf to men; that is, to profetis, whiche thei diseseden ofte, in scornynge and turmentinge hem, and sum tyme in sleynge hem. *diseseuf also to my God*; in forsakinge a signe profrid of him, lest his name be glorified. *for this thyng*; that is, to the declaring of his name principaly. *a signe*; of 3oure delyueraunce. *a virgyn*; that is, Seynt Marie, which conseyuēde, and childide, and dwellith euere a virgyn. *Emanuel*; that is, God with vs, for whi Crist is bothe God and man. *ete botere and hony*;

^q fishpond *E pr. m.* ^r holde not *E pr. m.* ^s heued *E et K passim.* ^t the heizt *K.*

^k of the l. ^l we up l. ^m Om. l. ⁿ Om. l. ^o Thou therfor *A pr. m. C pr. m. RFU.* ^p for to *CEPHIKNPVX.*

16 preuen euel, and chesen good. For er
the child kunne repreuen euel, and chesen
good, the lond shal be forsaken, the
whiche thou hast abhominacioun of, fro
17 the face of ther two kingus. The Lord
shal bringe to vp on thee, and vp on thi
puple, and vp on the hous of thi fader,
dazes that camen not fro the dazes of the
seueryng of Effraym fro Juda, with the
18 king of Assiries. And it shal be, in that
day the Lord shal whistle to the fleze,
that is in the^u vtmostes^v of the flodus of
Egipt; and to the bee, that is in the lond
19 of Assur; and thei alle shuln come, and
resten in the stremes of valeys, and caues
of stones, and in alle busshi^w places, and
20 in alle holis. In^x that dai the Lord shal
shauen in a sharp rasour in hem, that
bezunde the flood ben, in the king of
Assiries, hed, and the heres of feet, and
21 eche berd. And it shal be, in that day
a man shal nurshen a cow of oxen, and
22 two shep, and for plente of mylc he shal
eten butter; butter and hony shal ^{ete}
eche man^y, that shal be laft in the myd-
23 del of the lond. And it shal be, in that
day eche place wher shul be a thousand
vynes for a thousand syluer penys, and
in to thornes and in to breres they shul
24 be, with arwes and bowe thei shul go
in thider; forsothe breres and thornes
25 shul be in al the lond. And alle hilles
that in a wode bil shul be purgid, ^{or}
kytt off^z, ther shal not come thider ferd
of thornes and^a of breres; and it shal be
in to oxe^b leswe, and in^c treding of feld
beste.

CAP. VIII.

1 And the Lord seide to me, Tac to

feet; that is, footmen of his oost. al the beard; that is, alle horsemen, for the aungel of God killide an hundrid thousynde and iiij. score and v. thousinde of his oost in o nigt, in iiii. book of Kingis, xix. c. a cow of oxis; that is, a cow aloone dwellinge to him, of a greet droue of neet. ech man; that is, iust men, lyuyng bi mannus liyf, and not beestli liyf. botere and hony; that is, abundaunce of goodis of the erthe. with arowis, etc.; for wielde beestis and serpentis hid there, for defaute of tilieris. Live here. c.

^u Om. GH. ^v vttermotis AGHK. ^w the busshi AEGHK. ^x And in K sec. m. ^y eche man ete E sec. m.
^z Om. CE pr. m. ^a ne E pr. m. ^b oxen AGHK. ^c in to A.

^q two I. ^r alle tho CH sec. m. FS. alle KU. also M. ^s the caues I. ^t of H sec. m. ^u of CEP. ^v the
heeris N. ^w of al G. ^x a breer hook I marg. sarpe, id est, a neod hook K sec. m. wodebil, ether a sarpe U.
^y oxe CFGHKMPQRSUVX. oxis E. ^z the treding FK. the dredynge s.

be clepid Emanuel. He schal ete botere¹⁵
and hony, that he kunne repreue yuel,
and cheese good. For whi bifore that the¹⁶
child kunne repreue yuel, and chese good,
the lond, which thou wlatist, schal be for-
sakun of the face of her twei^q kyngis.
The Lord schal brynge on thee, and on¹⁷
thi puple, and on the hous of thi fadir,
daies that camen not fro the daies of de-
partying of Effraym fro Juda, with the
kyng of Assiriens*. And it schal be, in¹⁸
that dai the Lord schal hisse to a flie,
which is in the laste parte of the floodis
of Egipt; and to a bee, which is in the
lond of Assur; and ^{alle} so^r schulen come,¹⁹
and schulen reste in the strondis of valeis,
and in caues^s of stoonis, and in alle places
of buyschis, and in alle hoolis. And in²⁰
that dai the Lord schal schauet[†] with a
scharp rasour in these men, that ben bi-
zendis the flood, in^t the kyng of Assiriens,
the heed, and^u heeris^v of the feet, and al^w
the beard. And it schal be, in that day²¹
a man schal nurische a cow of oxis, and
twei scheep, and for the plentee of mylk²²
he schal ete botere; for whi ech man that
schal be left in the myddis of the lond,
schal ete boter and hony. And it schal²³
be, in that dai ech place where a thousand
vyners schulen be *worth* a thousynde
platis of siluer, and schulen be in to
thornes and breeris, *men* schulen entre²⁴
thidur with bouwis and arowis; for whi
breris and thornes schulen be in al the
lond. And alle hillis that schulen be²⁵
purgid with a sarpe^x, the drede of thornes
and of breris schal not come thidir; and
it schal be in to lesewe of oxen^y, and in
to treding^z of scheep.

*this is seid to
signefie his very
manhed, which
is nurchid bi
siche thingis,
most in child-
hed. that he
konne repreue
yuel, etc.; this
word that sig-
nifieth not
cause, but su-
yng, for fro his
childhod and
conseyuyng in
his modris
wombe, he
hadde the ful-
nesse of man-
nus kunnyng,
to repreue yuel,
and to chese
good, and for
he hadde this
kunnyng of
man fro the
firste tyme of
his conseyuyng
in his modris
wombe, and
not bifore, it
sueth, bifor that
the child kunne,
etc. Live here. c.
* kyng of As-
siriens; for Teg-
lath Falasar,
kyng of Assi-
riens, wastide
the lond of
Achas, whanne
no man agen-
stood. schal
hisse; that is,
enspire wille to
come agen
Esechie. to
a flie; that is,
to the puple of
Libie, that cam
with greet cum-
peny. to a be;
that is, the pu-
ple of Assiri-
ens, that prick-
ide, and pur-
suede alle na-
ciouns in cum-
pas. Live here.
c.
† schal schauet,
etc.; that is,
whanne Sena-
cherib schal
come agen
Jerusalem, to
distrie it, the
Lord schal sle
this kyng and
his oost. the
heed; that is,
the king, that
was slayn of
hise sones, in
hise owne lond.
the heeris of*

CAP. VIII.

And the Lord seide to me, Take to thee I

thee a gret boc, and writ in it with the poyntel of a man, Swiftli spoiles tac away, soone refe. And I toc to me feithful witnesses, Vrie, the prest, and Sacharie, the sone of Barachie. And I wente to a prophetesse; and she conceyuede, and bar a sone. And the Lord seide to me, Clep his name Haste thou spoiles to^d tac away, heeje thou to refen. For er the child kunne^e clepe his fader and his moder, shal be taken awei the strengthe of Damasch, and the spoiles of Samarie, bifor the king of Assiries. And the Lord leide to to speke to me, seiende, For thi that this puple hath cast away the watris of Siloe, that gon with cillence, and more toc to Rasyne, and^{ee} the sone of Romelie, for that lo! the Lord shal bringe to vp on hem watres of the flod stronge and manye, the king of Assiries, and al the glorie of him; and he shal stezen vp vp on alle his ryueres, and flowen vp on alle his stremes^f. And he shal gon thur; Judam flowende, and passende^{vn} to^g the necke he shal come; and ther shal be the spredying out of his wenges, fulfillende the breede of thi^h lond, O! Emanuel. Beth gedered, 3ee puples, and beth bounde togidere; and hereth^l, alle 3ee londis aferr. Beth coumfortid, and be 3ee ouercomen^k; ^{girdeth} 3ou^l, and beth^m ouercomenⁿ; goth in counseil, and it shal be scatered; speketh a wrd, and it shal not be do, for with vs is God. These thingus forsothe seith the Lord to me, as in a strong hond he tauzte me, lest I shulde go in to the weie of this puple, seiende, Seith^o not, Coniuracioun, alle thingis forsothe that^p speketh this puple is coniuracioun; and his drede ne drede 3ee, ne takith ferd. The Lord of hostes him halewith, and he 3oure inward drede, and he^q 3oure outward drede; and he shal be to 3ou in to halewing; in to a ston forsothe of offencioun, and in to a ston of slaunder, to the two houses of Irael; and in to a grene, and in to falling, to

a greet book, and write ther ynne with the poyntil of man*, Swiftli drawe thou awei spuylis, take thou prey soone. And Y 3af to me faithful witnessis, Vrie, the prest, and Sacarie, the sone of Barachie. And Y neijede to the profetesse; and sche³ conseyuede, and childe a sone. And the Lord seide to me, Clepe thou his name Haste thou to drawe awei spuylist[†], haaste thou for to take prey. For whi bifor that⁴ the child kan clepe his fadir and his modir, the strengthe of Damask schal be doon awei, and the spuylis of Samarie, bifor the kyng of Assiriens. And the Lord⁵ addide to speke 3it to me, and he seide, For that thing that this puple hath caste⁶ awei the watris of Siloe, that goen with silence, and hath take more Rasyn, and the sone of Romelie, for this thing lo!⁷ the Lord schal brynge on hem the stronge and many watris of the flood, the king of Assiriens, and al his glorie; and he schal stize on alle the stremes therof, and he schal flowe on alle the ryueris therof. And he schal go flowynge bi Juda, and he⁸ schal passe til to the necke, and schal come; and the spredying forth of hise wyngis schal be, and schal fille the breede of thi lond, thou Emanuel. Puplis, be 3e⁹ gaderid togidere, and be 3e ouercomun; and alle londis afer, here 3e. Be 3e coumfortid, and be 3e ouercomun; gird 3e 3ou, and be 3e ouercomun; take 3e coun-¹⁰ cel, and it schal be destried; speke 3e a word, and it schal not be doon, for God is with vs. For whi the Lord seith these¹¹ thingis to me, as he tauzte me in a stronge hond, that Y schulde not go in to the weie of this puple, and seide, Seie 3e not, *It is* ¹² sweryng togidere, for whi alle thingis which this puple spekith is sweryng togidere; and drede 3e not the ferdfulnesse therof, nether be 3e aferd. Halowe 3e the¹³ Lord hym silf of oostis; and he *schal be* 3oure inward drede, and he *schal be* 3oure ferdfulnesse, and he schal be to 3ou in to halewing. Forsothe *he schal be* in to a¹⁴

* with the poyntel of man; that is, opynly and pleynly. Y 3af to me feithful witnessis; this is the word of God himsilf. This was not bodily bryngyng yn of witnessis, nether was doon in present tyme; but it was goostly, and of tyme to comynge longe aftir. This Vrie profesiede bifor the tyme of Jeremye, in xxvi. c. of Jerem., agenus Jerusalem and Judee. Sacarie is the xi. among xij. profetis. to the profetesse; that is, the Virgyn Marie. his name; that is, the name of the child borun. Live here. c. † Haaste thou to drawe awey spuylis, etc.; this acordith to Crist rysinge agen, that spuylide helle in that tyme. bifor that the child kan clepe, etc.; bi mannus kunnyng, that is, bifor that he be maad man. Live here. c.

^d Om. CE pr. m. ^e shal kunne A. ^{ee} Om. C pr. m. ^f roeches C pr. m. rochis E pr. m. ^g to E pr. m. ^h his E pr. m. ⁱ here AGHK. ^k ouercomen, or bounden togidere G sec. m. ^l girde 3e G sec. m. ^m be 3e AKE sec. m. ⁿ G sec. m. ^o bounde togidere E pr. m. ouercomen, or to gidir gird G sec. m. ^p Sey AGHK. ^q Om. A. ^r it K.

15 men dwellende Jerusalem. And manye
of hem shul offenden, and fallen, and
ben to-brosid, and grened, and ben taken.
16 Bind the witnessing, marke the lawe in
17 my disciples. I shal abide the Lord, that
hidde his face fro the hous of Jacob, and
18 I shal sechen hym. Lo! I^r and my chil-
der, whom 3af to me the Lord in to tocne,
and in to wunder to Irael, fro the Lord
of ostes that dwelleth in the hil of Sion.
19 And whan thei shul sey to 3ou, Secheth
of deuel cleperes, and of^s deuynoures, that
sounen strongli in their chauntingus, whe-
thir not a puple of his God shal seche
a viseoun for the quyke and the deade?
20 To the lawe more and to thi witnessing,
that if thei 'schul not sei^t aftir this^u
wrđ, shal^v not be to them morutid lizt.
21 And he shal passe thur3 it, and it shal
falle, and hungre. 'And when it shal
hongre^w, it shal wrathen, and cursen to
his kyng and to his God, and it shal be-
22 holden vp. And to the lond it shal loken,
and lo! tribulacioun, and dercnesses, 'and
vnbyndyng^x, and anguysh, and derk myst
pursuende; and it shal not moun flee
awei fro his anguysh.

CAP. IX.

1 The firste tyme is aleggid, 'or maad
lizt^t, the lond of Zabulon and the lond of
Neptalym; and the laste tyme agreggid
is the weie of the se bezunde Jordan of
2 Galilee of Jentiles. The puple that wente
in derknesses sa3 a gret lizt; to the men
dwellende in the regioun of the shadewe
3 of deth, lizt sprungen is to them. Thou
hast muteplyed the folc of kinde, not
magnifiedist gladnesse; thei shul glade
bifore thee, as thei that gladen in rip, as

stoon of hirtyng, and in to a stoon of
sclaundre, to tweyne housis of Israel; in
to a snare, and in to fallyng, to hem that
dwellen in Jerusalem. And ful many of 15
hem schulen offende, and schulen falle,
and thei schulen be al to-brokun, and thei
schulen be boundun, and schulen be takun.
Bynde thou witnessyng, mark thou the 16
lawe in my disciplis. Y schal abide the 17
Lord, that hath hid his face fro the hous
of Jacob, and Y schal abide hym. Lo! 18
Y and my children, whiche the Lord 3af
to me in to a signe, and greet wondur to
Israel, of the Lord of oostis that dwellith
in the hil of Sion. And whanne thei seien 19
to 3ou, Axe 3e of coniureris, and of false
dyuynouris, that gnasten in her enchaunt-
yngis, whether the puple schal not axe of
her God a reuelacioun for quyke men and
deed? *It is to go* to the lawe more^a and 20
to the witnessyng, that if thei seien not
after this word, morewtide lizt schal not
be to hem. And it schal passe bi that, 21
and it schal falle down, and it schal hun-
gre. And whanne it schal hungre, it schal
be wrooth, and schal curse his kyng and
his God, and it schal biholde vpward. And 22
it schal loke to the erthe, and lo! tribu-
lacioun, and derknessis, and vnbyndyng,
ether discoumfort, and angwisch, and
myist pursuyng; and it schal not mow
fle awei fro his angwisch.

CAP. IX.

In the firste tyme the lond of Zabulon 1
and the lond of Neptalym was releessid^b;
and at the laste the weie of the see bizende
Jordan of Galile of hethene men was maad
heny. The puple that 3ede in derknessis 2
siz a greet lizt; whanne men dwelliden in
the cuntre of schadewe of deth, lizt roos
vp to hem. Thou multipliedist folk, thou 3
magnifiedist not gladnesse; thei schulen be
glad bifore thee, as thei that ben glad in
heruest, as ouercomeris maken ful out ioie,

^r Om. AGHK. ^s Om. A. ^t sei not c pr. m. seyn not E pr. m. ^u thi c pr. m. E pr. m. ^v ther
shal c pr. m. this shal E pr. m. ther shal E sec. m. ^w Om. c. ^x desolacioun c pr. m. and desola-
cioun E pr. m. ^y Om. c et E pr. m.

^a more rather I. ^b alizted [liztid KS sec. m. vx], *ether releessid* CEGHIKMNFPQRSUVXY.

ful out iozen ouercomeres, the prey taken,
 4 whan thei deuyden spoiles. The 3oc for-
 sothe of his charge, and the 3erde^z of
 his^a shulder, and the kingus power of his
 'wrong asker^b thou ouercame, as in the
 5 dai of Madian. For eche violent reuyng
 with noise, and clothing mengd with blod
 shal be^c in to brennyng, and mete of fyr.
 6 A litil child forsothe is born to vs, and
 a sone is 3oue^d to vs, and mad is prince-
 hed vp on his shulder; and his name shal
 be clepid Merueilous, Counseiler, God,
 Strong, Fadir of the world to come, Prince
 7 of pes. His empire shal be multeplyed,
 and of pes ther shal not ben ende; vp on
 the see of Dauid, and vpon his regne he
 shal sitte, that he conferme it, and
 strengthe in dom and rijtwyssnesse, fro
 now and unto withoute ende. The
 huge looue of the Lord of ostes shal don
 8 this. A wrd the Lord sente in to Jacob,
 9 and it fel in^e Irael. And al the puple
 of Effraym shal wite, and the men dwell-
 ende Samarie, in pride and gretnesse 'of
 10 herte^f seiende, Scattes fellen, but with
 square stones wee shul bilden vp; sico-
 more^g trees thei hewen down, but cedar
 trees wee shul newen, 'or chaungen^h.
 11 And the Lord shal reren enemys Rasyn
 vpon hym, and his enemys in to noise he
 12 shal turne, Cirie fro the est, and Filisteyn
 fro the west; and thei shul deuoure
 Irael with al the mouth. In alle thes
 thingus is not turned awei the wodnesse
 of hym, but 3it his hond strazt outⁱ;
 13 and the puple is not turned a3een to the
 smytende hym, and the Lord of ostes thei
 14 inwardlyche so3ten not. And the Lord
 shal scatere fro Irael the hed and the
 tail, the inbowende and the shrewende, in
 15 o day. The longe lyuende and the wrshepe-
 full, he is the hed, and the profete tech-
 16 ende lesyng, he is the tail. And thei shul
 be, that maken blisful this puple, bigil-
 ende; and that ben mad blisful, throwe

whanne thei han take a prey, whanne thei
 departen the^c spuylis. For thou hast ouer-
 4 come the 3ok of his birthun, and the 3erde
 of his schuldre, and the ceptre of his
 wrongful axere, as in the day of Madian.
 For whi al violent raueyn with noise, and
 5 a cloth meddlid with blood shal be in to
 brennyng, and 'shal be^d the^c mete of fier.
 Forsothe a litil child is borun to vs, and
 6 a sone is 3ouun to vs, and prinsehod is
 maad on his schuldre; and his name shal
 be clepid Wondurful, A counselour, God,
 Strong, A^f fadir of the world to comynge,
 A prince of pees. His empire schal be
 7 multiplied, and noon ende schal be of *his*
 pees; he schal sitte on the seete of Dauid,
 and on the rewme of hym, that he con-
 ferme it, and make stronge in doom and
 rijtfulnessse, fro hennus forth and til in to
 with outen ende. The feruent loue of the
 Lord of oostis schal make this. The Lord
 8 sente a word in to Jacob, and it felle in
 Israel. And al the puple of Effraym schal
 9 wite, and thei that dwellen in Samarie,
 seiynge in the pride and greetnesse of
 herte, Tijl stoonys fellen down, but we
 10 schulen bilde with square stoonys; thei
 han kit down sicomoris, but we schulen
 chaunge cedris. And the Lord schal reise
 11 the enemyes of Rasyn on hym, and he
 schal turne the enemyes of hym in to
 noyse; *God schal make Sirie to come* fro
 12 the eest, and Filisteis fro the west; and
 with al the mouth thei schulen deuoure
 Israel. In alle these thingis the stronge
 veniaunce of the Lord is not turned awei,
 but 3it his hond *is* stretchid forth; and the
 13 puple is not turned a3en to *the Lord*
 smytynge it, and thei sou3ten not the
 Lord of oostis. And the Lord schal leese^g
 14 fro Israel the heed and the tail, crokyng
 and bischrewyng, *ether refreynyng*, in
 o dai. An elde man and onourable, he is
 15 the heed, and a profete techyng a^h lees-
 yng, he is the tail. And thei that blessen
 16

^z kingis 3erde E pr. m. ^a Om. E pr. m. ^b pletere C et E pr. m. ^c Om. E pr. m. ^d 3yuen E.
^e in to AG sec. m. H. ^f Om. C. ^g wilde mulberie C et E pr. m. ^h Om. C et E pr. m. ⁱ Om. C
pr. m.

^c Om. N. ^d Om. I. ^e Om. Z. ^f Om. F sec. m. N. ^g fordo I. ^h Om. I.

17 down. For that vp on the *zunge*^k waxen
men of hym the Lord shal not deliten,
and of his faderles childer and widewis
he shal not han mercy; for eche^l ipocrite
is^m and a shrewe, and eche mouth spac
folie. In alle thes thingus is not turned
awei his wodnesse, but *zit* his hond
18 strajt out; and the puple is not turned
a³een to the smytende hym. Tend vp
is forsothe as fyr vnpitousnesse; thoo
breres and the thorne it shal deuoure,
and it shal be brend vp in the thickenes
19 of the wilde wode, and it shal be al to-
wrappid in the pride of the smoke. In
the wrathe of the Lord of osten al dis-
turbid shal be the lond, and the puple
shal be as the mete of fyr; a man to
20 his brother shal not spare. And he shal
bowe down to the ri³t, and hungren, and
he shal ete at the lift, and not be fulfid;
eche the flesh of his arm shal deuoure.
Manasses Effraym, and Effraym Ma-
nasses, and togidere thei a³en Judam.
21 In alle these thyngus is not turned awei
his wodnesse, but *zit* his hond strajt out.

CAP. X.

1 Wo that maken shreude lawes, and
2 wrytende vnri³twisnesse writen, that thei
oppressedenⁿ in dom pore men, and vio-
lence didn^o to the cause of meke^{oo} men
of my puple; that widewes were the prei
of hem, and faderles childer thei de-
3 stro³eden^p. What shul *3ee* do in the day
off visiting, and of wrecchidnesse fro a
ferr comende? To whos helpe shul *3ee*
flee? and wher shul *3ee* lefe *3oure* glorie,
4 lest *3ee*^q bowid vnder bond, and with
slayn men falleth^r? Vp on alle these
thingus is not turned awei his wodnesse,
5 but *zit* his hond strajt out. Wo to Assur,

his puple, schulen be disseyueris, and thei
that ben blessid, *schulen be* cast down.
For this thing the Lord schal not be glad 17
on the *3onge* men therof, and he schal not
haue merci on the fadirles children and
widewis therof; for ech man is an ypo-
cite and weiward, and ech mouth spak
foli. In alle these thingis the stronge
veniaunce of hym is not turned awei, but
zit his hond *is* stretchid forth; and the 18
puple is not turned a³en to the Lord
smytynge it. For whi wickidnesse is
kyndlid as fier; it schal deuoure the
breris and thornes, and it schal be kyn-
dlid in the thickenesse of the forest, and
it schal be wlapid togidere in the pride
of smoke. In the wraththe of the Lord 19
of oostis the lond schal be disturblid, and
the puple schal be as the mete of fier;
a man schal not spare his brothir. And 20
he schal boowe to the ri³t half, and he
schal hungre, and he schal ete at the left
half, and he schal not be fillid; ech man
schal deuoure the fleisch of his arm. Ma-
nasses *schal deuoure* Effraym, and Ef-
fraym *'schal deuoure'* Manasses, and thei
togidere a³ens Juda. In alle these thingis 21
the strong veniaunce of hym is not turned
awei, but *zit* his hoond *is* stretchid forth.

CAP. X.

Wo to *them* that maken wickid lawis, 1
and thei writynge han wryte vnri³tful-
nesse, for to oppresse pore men in doom, 2
and to do violence to the cause of meke
men of my puple; that widewis schulen
be the prey of them, and that thei schulden
rauysche fadirles children. What schulen 3
3e do in the dai of visitacioun, and of
wretchidnesse comynge fro fer? To whos
help schulen *3e* fle? and where schulen *3e*
leeue *3oure* glorie, that *3e* be not bowid 4
down vndur boond, and falle not down
with slayn men? On alle these thingis
his strong veniaunce is not turned awei,

^k Om. AGHK. ^l eche is E sec. m. ^m Om. E sec. m. ⁿ oppresse C pr. m. oppressen E pr. m. ^o don C
et E pr. m. ^{oo} the meke E pr. m. ^p destroye CE pr. m. ^q ne be *3ee* C et E pr. m. ^r fallen A.

ⁱ Om. 1.

the 3erde of my wodnesse, and a staf he is; in the hond of hem, myn indignacioun.
 6 To a folc gilesum I shal senden hym, and a3en the puple of my wodnesse I shal bidde to hym; that he take awei spoiles, and deuyde prey, and poote it in
 7 to tredyng, as the cley of stretes. He forsothe not so shal demen, and his herte not so shal eyemen, but to 'to-treden^s shal ben his herte, and to sleynge of folc not
 8 fewe. Forsothe he shal sey, Whether
 9 not my princes togidere kingis^t ben? Whethir not as Karchamys, so Chalan-
 10 no; and as Arfath, so Emath? whethir
 11 not as Damasch, so Samarie? What maner myn hond fond the reumes of mawmet, so and^u the symulacris of hem
 12 of Jerusalem and of Samarie. Whethir not as I dide to Samarie, and his mau-
 13 metes, so I shal do to Jerusalem, and his symulacris? And it^s shal be, whan the Lord shall fulfelle alle^v his werkis in the mount of Sion and in Jerusalem, I shal visite vp on 'the fruyt of^w the gret do-
 14 ende herte of the king of Assur, and vp on the glorie of the heizte^x of his e3en.
 15 Forsothe he seide, In the strengthe of myn hond I dide, and in my wisdam I vnderstod; and I toc awei the termes of puples^y, and the princes of them I rob-
 16 bede, and I dro3 away as my3ti the sit-
 17 tende men in hee3. And myn hond fond as a nest the strengthe of puples, and as ben gedered eren^z that ben laft, so al the lond I gederede; and ther was not that mouede a federe, and openede mouth, and
 18 berkyd^a. Whethir shal glorien the ax a3en hym that hewith in it? or shal ben enhauncid the sawe a3en hym of whom it is drawen? what maner wise if be-
 19 rered a 3erde a3en the rerende it, and be hauncyd^b a staf, that forsothe is a tree.
 20 For that shal sende the lordshepere, Lord of osten, in his fatte thyngus thynnesse, and vnder his glorie 'brend shal^c brenne

but 3it his hond *is* stretchid forth. Wo to^s Assur, he is the 3erde and staf of my strong veniaunce; myn indignacioun *is* in^k the hond of them. Y schal send hym⁶ to a fals folk, and Y schal comaunde to^l hym a3ens the puple of my strong ven-
 1 iance; that he take awei the spuylis, and departe prey, and that he sette that *puple* in to defouling, as the fen of stretis. For-
 2 sothe he schal not deme so, and his herte schal not gesse so, but his herte schal be for to al to-breke, and to the sleynge of many folkis. For he schal seie, Whether⁸
 3 my princes ben not kyngis to gidere? Whether not as Carcamys, so Calanno; and as Arphat, so Emath? whether not as Damask, so Samarie? As myn hond foond¹⁰
 4 the rewmes of idol, so and the^m symyla-
 5 cris of hem of Jerusalem and of Samarie. Whether not as Y dide to Samarie, and¹¹
 6 to the idols therof, so Y schal do to Jeru-
 7 salem, and to the simylacris therof? And¹²
 8 it schal be, whanne the Lord hath fillid alle hise werkis in the hil of Syon and in Jerusalem, Y schal visite on the fruit of the greet doynge herte of the kyng of Assur, and on the glorie of the hiznesse of hise i3en. For he seide, Y haue do in¹³
 9 the strengthe of myn honde, and Y haue understonde in my wisdom; and Y haue take awei the endis of peplis, and Y haue robbid the princes of them, and Y as a my3ti man haue drawun doun them that saten an hi3. And myn hond foond the¹⁴
 10 strengthe of puplis as a nest, and as eirun ben gaderid togidere that ben forsakun, so Y gaderid togidere al erthe; and noon wasⁿ
 11 that mouyde a fethere, and openyde the mouth, and grutchide. Whether an ax¹⁵
 12 schal haue glorie a3ens hym that kittith with it? ether a sawe schal be enhaunsid a3ens hym of whom it is drawun? as if a 3erde is reisid a3ens hym that reisith it, and a staf is enhaunsid, which sotheli is a tre. For this thing the lordli gouernour,¹⁶

^s treden AGHK. ^t princis E pr. v. ^u Om. E pr. m. ^v Om. c. ^w Om. c. ^x herte c pr. m. ^y the peplis K. ^z eyren K. ^a grucchide c et E pr. m. ^b enhaunsid AGHK. ^c the brend vp thingus shal E pr. m.

^k in to A pr. m. ^l Om. n. ^m Om. i. ⁿ ther was i.

17 as brennyng of fyr. And ther shal be
the lizt of Irael in fyr, and his hoeli in
flaume; and^d shal be brend out and deu-
oured his thorn and breres in o day.
18 And the glorie of his wilde wode and of
his Carmel, fro^e the soule vn to the flesh
he shall be wastid; and he shal be for
19 ferd ferr fleende. And the releef of the
wode of the wilde wode for fewenesse
shul be noumbred, and a child shal write
20 them. And it shal be in that dai, shal
not ley to the remnaunt of Irael, and
these^f that shul flee fro the hous of Ja-
cob, to leuen vp on hym that smythith^g
hem; but it shal leue vp on the Lord,
21 hoeli of Irael, in treuthe. The rem-
naunt shul be conuertid, the remnaunt
forsothe of Jacob, to the stronge Lord.
22 If forsothe shul ben thi puple, Irael, as
the^h grauel of the se, the remnaunt shul
be conuertyd of it; ending abreggid shal
23 flowe rijtwise. Ending forsothe and
abreggyng the Lord God of ostes shal
24 make in the myddel of al erthe. For
that these thingus seith the Lord God of
ostes, Wile thou not drede, my puple,
dwellere of Sion, of Assur, in a 3erde
forsothe he shal smyte thee, and his staf
he shal reren vp on thee in the weie of
25 Egipt. 3it forsothe a litil while, and a
litil, and shal be ful endid myn indigna-
cioun and myn wodnesse vp on the hi-
26 dous gilteⁱ of hem. And the Lord of
ostes shal reren 'vp on^k it a scourge afir
the veniaunce of Madyan^l in the ston of
Oreb, and his 3erde vp on the se; and he
27 shal reren it the^{ll} weie of Egipt. And it
shal be in that dai, shal be don away his
berthene fro thi^m shulder, and his 3oc fro
thi necke; and the 3oc shal waxen al
28 roten fro the face of oile. It shal come
in Ayot, it shal passe in Magron, anentⁿ
Magmas it shal commende his vesseles.
29 Thei wenten a cours, Gaba oure seete,
Rama 'was stonyed^o, Gaba of Saul fleiz.

Lord of oostis, schal sende thinnesse in
the fatte men of hym, and his glorie kyn-
dlid vndur schal brenne as 'the brenning
of^o fier. And the lizt of Israel schal be 17
in fier, and the hooli of it in flawme; and
the thorn of him and brere schal be kynd-
lid and deuourid in o dai. And the 18
glorie of his forest and of his Carmele
schal be wastid, fro the soule 'til to^p
fleisch; and he schal be fleyng awei for
drede. And the relifs of the tree of his 19
forest schulen be noumbred for fewnesse,
and a child schal write hem. And it schal 20
be in that dai, the remenaunt of Israel,
and thei that fledden of the house of Jacob,
shal not adde for to triste on hym that
smytith hem; but it schal triste on the
hooli Lord of Israel, in treuthe. The re- 21
lifs, Y seie, the^q relifs of Jacob, schulen
be conuertid to the stronge Lord. For- 22
whi, Israel, if thi puple is as the grauel
of the see, the relifs schulen be turned
therof; an endyng maad schort schal make
rijtfulnesse to be plenteuouse. For whi 23
the Lord God of oostis schal make an
endyng and a breggyng in the myddis of
al erthe. For this thing the Lord God of 24
oostis seith these thingis, My puple, the
dwellere of Sion, nyle thou drede of Assur,
for he schal smite thee in a 3erde, and he
schal reise his staf on thee in the weie of
Egipt. Forwhi 3it a litil, and a litil, and 25
myn indignacioun and my strong ven-
iaunce schal be endid on the greet tres-
pas of hem. And the Lord of oostis schal 26
reise a scourge on hym bi the veniaunce
of Madian in the stoon of Oreb, and bi
his 3erde on the se; and he schal reise
that 3erde in the wei of Egipt. And it 27
shal be in that dai, his birthun schal be
takun awei fro thi schuldre, and his 3ok
fro thi necke; and the^r 3ok schal wexe
rotun fro the face of oile. He schal come 28
in to Aioth, he schal passe in to Magron,
at Magynas he schal bitake his vessels to

^d and ther A. ^e and fro E pr. m. ^f thei A. ^g smot C et E pr. m. ^h Om. K. ⁱ giltes C. ^k vp H.
^l Madyanytes C. ^{ll} in the E. ^m ther C. ⁿ anentus E et alii. ^o becam doumb C et E pr. m.

^o Om. A pr. m. brenning of A sec. m. ^p vnto I. ^q to I. ^r thi I.

30 Neȝe with thi vois, thou doȝter of Ga-
lyn; tac heed, Laisa, thou porelet A-
31 nathot. Wente forth Medemena; ȝee
32 dwelleris of Jebyn, taketh coumfort. Ȝit
dai is, that in Nobe me stonde; he schal
shake his hond vpon the mount of the
33 doȝter of Sion, hil of Jerusalem. Lo!
the^p lordshepere, Lord of osten, schal to-
breke the litil wyn vessel in ferd, and
the heeȝe men in stature shul ben hewe
34 doun. And the ful heeȝe shul be lowed,
and the thicke thingus of the wilde wode
shul ben turned vpsodoun with iren; and
Liban with heeȝe thing shall falle.

CAP. XI.

1 And ther shal gon out a ȝerde fro the
roote of Jesse, and a flour of his roote
2 shal steȝen vp. And ther shal resten vp
on hym the Spirit of the Lord, spirit of
wisdam and of vnderstondyng, spirit of
counseil and of strengthe, spirit of kun-
3 nyng and of pite; and shal fulfille hym^a
the spirit of drede of the Lord. Not
aftir the seyng of eȝen he schal deme, ne
after the heering of eres he schal vnder-
4 nyme; but he schal deme in riȝtwisnesse
pore men, and vndernymen in equitye, for
the debonere of the^r erthe. And he schal
smyte the erthe with the ȝerde of his
mouth, and with the spirit of his mouth^s
5 he schal sle the vnpitous. And ther shal
be riȝtwisnesse the litil girdil of his
lendes, and feith the girdil of his reenes.
6 Ther^t shal dwelle the wlf with the lome,
and the parde with the kide shal leyn;
the calf, and the leoun, and the shep to-
gidere shul dwelle, and a lytil child shal
7 dryue them. The calf and the bere
shul be fed togidere; ther shul resten
the whelpus of hem, and a leoun as an
8 oxe shal ete chaf. And the faunt, *'or a*
soukande childe^u, shal deliten of the tete
vp on the hole of the eddere, and in the

kepyng. Thei passiden swiftli, Gabaa is²⁹
oure seete, Rama was astonyed, Gabaa of
Saul fled. Thou douȝtir of Gallym, weile³⁰
with thi vois; thou Laisa, perseyue, thou
pore Anatot. Medemena passide; the³¹
dwelleris of Gabyn *fledde*; be ȝe coum-
fortid. Ȝit it is dai, that me stonde in³²
Nobe; he schal dryue his hond on the hil
of the douȝter of Syon, on the litil hil of
Jerusalem. Lo! the lordli gouernour, the³³
Lord of oostis, schal breke a potel in drede,
and hiȝ men of stature schulen be kit doun.
And proude men schulen be maade low,³⁴
and the thicke thingis of the forest schulen
be distried bi irun; and the Liban with
hiȝ thingis schal falle doun.

CAP. XI.

And a ȝerde schal go out of the roote¹
of Jesse, and a flour schal stie of the roote
of it. And the Spirit of the Lord schal²
reste on hym, the spirit of wisdom and of
vnderstondyng, the spirit of counsel and
of strengthe, the spirit of kunnyng and of
pitee; and the spirit of the^s drede of the³
Lord schal fille him. He schal deme not
bi the siȝt of iȝen, nether he schal repreue^t
bi the heryng of eeris; but he schal deme⁴
in riȝtfulnesse pore men, and he schal re-
preue in equitye, for the mylde men of
erthe. And he schal smyte the lond with
the ȝerde of his mouth, and bi^u the spirit
of his lippis he schal sle the wickid man.
And riȝtfulnesse schal be the girdil of hise⁵
leendis, and feith *schal be* the girdyng of
hise reynes. A wolf schal dwelle with a⁶
lombe, and a parde schal reste with a
kide; a calf, and a lioun, and a scheep
schulen dwelle togidere, and a litil child
schal dryue hem. A calf and a beere⁷
schulen be lesewid togidere; the whelpis
of hem schulen reste, and a lioun as an
oxe schal ete stre. And a ȝonge soukyng⁸
child fro the tete schal delite on the hole
of a snake, and he that is wenyd schal
putte^v his hond in the caue of a cocatrice.

^p Om. E pr. m. ^q hem E pr. m. ^r Om. AE sec. m. GHK. ^s lippis AEGHK. ^t And ther AE pr. m. GHK.

^u Om. CE pr. m.

^a Om. 1. ^t repreue, *ether conuicte* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^u with 1. ^v sende CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

caue of the kokatrice that shal be taken
 awei fro sok, ^vor *wenyd*, he shal putte
 9 his hond. Thei shuln not noȝen, and
 thei shuln not sleyn in al myn hoeli
 mounteyn; for fulfild is the erthe of
 the^w kunnyng of the Lord, as the watir
 10 of the se couerende. In that dai the
 roote of Jesse, that stant^x in to toene of
 puples; hym Jentiles shuln louli preȝen,
 and shal be the sepulcre of hym glorious.
 11 And it shal be in that dai, the Lord the
 secunde tyme shal ley to his hond to welde
 the residue of his puple that shal be
 lafte, of the Assiries, and of Egipt, and
 of Fecros, and of Etheope, and of Elan,
 and of Sennar, and of Emath, and of the^y
 12 islis of the se. And he shal reren a toene
 in to naciouns, and gedere togidere the
 ferr floun of Irael; and the to-scatered^z
 of Juda he shal gedere fro the foure
 13 coestes of the^a erthe. And ther shal be
 taken away the enuye of Effraym, and
 the enemys of^b Juda shul pershe; Ef-
 fraym shal not enuyen Judam, and Juda
 14 shal not fȝte aȝen Effraym. And thei
 shul flee in to the shuldres of Filisteys^c,
 bi the se togidere thei shul robbe the
 sonus of the est; Ydume and Moab the
 heste of the hond of hem, and the sonus
 15 of Amon obeisaunt shul be. And the
 Lord shal make desolat the tunge of the
 se of Egipt, and he shal rere his hond
 vpon the flod in the strengthe of his
 spirit; and he shal smyte hym in seuene
 ryueres, so that thei passe thurȝ hym
 16 shod men^d. And ther shal be a weye
 to my residue puple that shal be lafte, of
 the Assiries, as was to Irael, in the dai
 that he steȝede vp from the lond of
 Egipt.

CAP. XII.

1 And thou shalt sei in that day, I shal
 knoueleche to thee, Lord, for wroth thou
 art to me; turned is thi wodnesse, and
 2 thou coumfortedest mee. Loo! God my
 saueour, feithfulli I shal do, and not

Thei schulen not anoye, and schulen not⁹
 sle in al myn hooli hil; forwhi the erthe
 is fillid with the^w kunnyng of the Lord,
 as watris of the see hilynge. In that dai¹⁰
 the roote of Jesse, that stondith in to the
 signe of puplis; hethene men schulen^x bi-
 seche hym, and his sepulchre schal be
 glorious. And it schal be in that day,¹¹
 the Lord schal adde the secunde tyme
 his hond to haue in possessioun the re-
 sidue of his puple that schal be left, of
 Assiriens, and of Egipt, and of Fethros,
 and of Ethiope, and of Elan, and of Sen-
 nar, and of Emath, and of ylis of the see.
 And he schal reise a sygne to naciouns,¹²
 and schal gadere togidere the fleeris awei
 of Israel; and he schal gadere togidere the
 scaterid men of Juda fro foure coostis of
 erthe. And the enuye of Effraym schal¹³
 be don awei, and the enemyes of Juda
 schulen perische; Effraym schal not haue
 enuye to Juda, and Juda schal not fȝte
 aȝens Effraym. And thei schulen flie in¹⁴
 to the schuldris of Filisteis bi the see, thei
 schulen take prey togidere of the sones of
 the eest; Ydume and Moab *schulen be*
 the comaundement of the hond of hem,
 and the sones of Amon schulen be obe-
 dient. And the Lord schal make desolat¹⁵
 the tunge of the see of Egipt, and he schal
 reise his hond on the flood in the strengthe
 of his spirit; and he schal smyte, *ethir*
departe, it in seuene ryueris, so that schood
 men passe bi it. And a weie schal be to¹⁶
 my residue puple that schal be left, of
 Assiriens, as it was to Israel, in the dai
 in which it stiede fro the lond of Egipt.

CAP. XII.

And thou schalt sie in that dai, Lord,¹
 Y schal knoueleche to thee, for thou were
 wrooth to me; thi strong venieaunce is
 turned, and thou hast coumfortid me. Lo!²
 God *is* my sauyour, Y schal do feithfuli,

^v Om. c et E pr. m. or *wenyng* c sec. m.^w Om. E sec. m. K.^x stondith AK.^y Om. GHK.^z scatered c sec. m. ^a Om. AGH. ^b Om. AC. ^c Philisteym AEGHK. ^d Om. c et E pr. m.⁹ Om. I. ^x schulen not N.

drede. For my strengthe and^e my preising the Lord, and he is mad to me in 3 to helthe. 3ee shul drawe watris in io3e 4 of the welles of the saueour. And 3ee shul seyn in that dai, Knoulecheth to the Lord, and inwardly clepith his name; knowen make 3ee in puples the findingus of hym; hath mynde, for hee3 is his 5 name. Syngeth to the Lord, for gret doendely he dide; telleth out this in al 6 the^f erthe. Ful out io3e, and preise, thou dwelling of Sion; for gret in the myddel of thee the hoeli of Israel.

CAP. XIII.

1 The charge of Babilon, that sa3 Isaie, 2 the sone of Amos. Vp on a mysti mounteyn rereth vp a tokne, and enhaunceth out^s the vois; rereth the hond, and gon 3 in to the 3ates the dukes. I comaundide to myn halewid men, and I clepede my stronge men in my wrathe, ful out io3- 4 ende in my glorie. The vois of the multitude in mounteynes, as of besy puples; the vois of the soun of kingus, and of Jentilis gedered to gidere. The Lord of ostes comaundide to the kny3thod of 5 the bataile, to the men comende fro the lond aferr. Fro the ouermost of heuene the Lord, and the vesseles of his wodnesse^h, that he scatere al theⁱ erthe. 6 Jelleth, for nee3 is the dai of the Lord; 7 as wastite fro the Lord shal come. For that alle hondis shul be vnloosid, and eche herte of a man shal wane, 'or 8 *faylen*^k, and ben to-brosid. Tormentingus and sorewes thei shul holde; as wymmen trauailende of^l child, thei shul sorewen. Eche to his ne3hebore shall stone3e; brent 9 faces the cheeres of hem. Loo! the day of the Lord shal come, cruel, and of indignacioun ful, and of wrathe, and of wodnesse; to be put the erthe in to wildernesse, and his synneres to ben al to-

and Y schal not drede. For whi the Lord *is* my strengthe and my preysyng, and he is maad to me in to helthe. 3e schulen 3 drawe watris with ioie of the wellis of the sauour. And 3e schulen seie in that dai, 4 Knouleche 3e to the Lord, and clepe 3e his name in to help; make 3e knowun hise fyndyngis among puplis; haue 3e mynde, that his name is hi3. Synge 3e to the 5 Lord, for he hath do worschipfuli; telle 3e this in al erthe. Thou dwellyng of 6 Syon, make ful out ioie, and preise; for whi the hooli of Israel *is* greet in the myddis of thee.

CAP. XIII.

The birthun of Babiloyne, which *bir-1* thun Ysaie, the sone of Amos, si3. Reise 2 3e a signe on a mysti hil, and enhaunse 3e vois; reise 3e the hond, and duykis entre bi the 3atis. Y haue comaundid to 3 myn halewid men, and Y clepid my stronge men in my wraththe, that maken 4 ful out ioie in my glorie. The vois of 4 multitude in hillis, as of many puplis; the vois of sown of kyngis, of hethene men gaderit togidere. The Lord of oostis comaundide to the chyualry of batel, to men 5 comynge fro a fer lond. The Lord *com-eth* fro the hiznesse of heuene, and the vessels of his strong veniaunce, that he distrie al the lond. 3elle 3e, for the dai of 6 the Lord is ni3; as wastyng^y it schal come of the Lord. For this thing alle hondis 7 schulen be vnmy3ti, and eche herte of man schal faile, and schal be al to-brokun. 8 Gnawyngis and sorewis schulen holde *Babiloyns*; thei schulen haue sorewe, as they that trauelen of child. Ech man schal wondre at his neizbore; her cheris 9 *schulen be* brent faces. Lo! the dai of the Lord schal come, cruel, and ful of indignacioun, and of wraththe, and of woodnesse; to sette the lond into wildirnesse, and to al to-breke the synneris

^e and my strengthe and *E pr. m.* ^f Om. AEGHK. ^g Om. AEGHK. ^h wrathe *E pr. m.* ⁱ Om. AEGHK.
^k Om. *c et E pr. m.* ^l with AGH.

^y wastyng, *ether distriyng* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY.

10 brosid of it. For the sterres of heuene
and the shynyng of hem shul not spreden
out ther lizt; al to-derkned is the sunne
in his rising, and the moone shal not
11 shyne^m in his lyzt. I shal visiten 'vp on
the eueles ofⁿ worlde, and azen the vn-
pitouse the wickidnesses^o of them; and
to resten I shal maken the pride of the
vnfeithful men, and the proude haunc-
12 yng of stronge men I shal meeken. More
precious a ful^p man shal be than gold,
and a man than clene most shynende
13 gold. Vp on this heuene I shal dis-
turben, and shal be moued the erthe fro
his place; for^q the indignacioun of the
Lord of oostes, and for the dai of the
14 wrathe of his wodnesse. And he shal
ben as a foun fleende, and as a sheep,
and ther shal not be that gedere; eche
to his puple shal be turned, and a rowe
15 to ther lond thei shul flee. Eche that
were founde, shal be slayn; and eche that
16 ouer shal come, shal falle in swerd. The
fauntes of hem shul ben hurtlid down in
ther e3en; to-broke doun shul be the
houses of hem, and the wyues of them
17 shul be defoulyd. Loo! I shal reren vp
on hem Medos, that siluer sechen not, ne
18 gold wiln; but with arwis the litle chil-
der thei shul slen, and to the wombis
3yuende souke thei shul not han mercy,
and vp on the sonas shal not spare the
19 e3e of hem. And that cite, Babilon, shal
be glorious in rewmes, noble in pride of
Chaldeis, turned, as God turned vp so
20 doun Sodom and Gomorr. It shal not
be dwellid vn to the ende, and shal^r not
be foundid vnto the^s ieneracioun and ie-
neracioun; ne shal^t sette there tente^u a
man of Arab, ne shepperdes shul reste
21 there. But shul reste there bestes, and
shul be fulfild the houses of them with
dragownes; and ther shul dwelle there
ostriches, and wodewoses shul lepe there.
22 And ther shul ansvern there zellende

therof fro that^z lond. For whi the sterris¹⁰
of heuene and the schynyng of tho^a
schulen not sprede abroad her lizt; the
sunne is maade derk in his risyng, and
the moone schal not schine in hir lizt.
And Y schal visite on the yuels of the¹¹
world, and *Y schal visite* azens wickid
men the wickidnesse of hem; and Y schal
make the pride of vnfeithful men for to
reste, and Y schal make low the boost of
stronge men. A man of ful age schal be¹²
preciousere than gold, and a man *schal be*
preciousere than pure gold and schynyng.
On this thing I schal disturbe heuene,¹³
and the erthe schal be moued fro his
place; for the indignacioun of the Lord of
oostis, and for the dai of wraththe of his
strong veniaunce. And it schal be as a¹⁴
doo fleynge, and as a scheep, and noon
schal be that schal gadere togidere; ech
man schal turne to his puple, and alle bi
hem silf schulen fle to her lond. Ech¹⁵
man that is foundun, schal be slayn; and
ech man that cometh aboue, schal falle
doun bi swerd. The 3onge children of¹⁶
them schulen be hurtlid doun bfore the
izen of them; her housis schulen be ra-
uischid, and her wyues schulen be de-
foulid. Lo! Y schal reise on them Me-¹⁷
deis, that seken not siluer, nethir wolen
gold; but thei shulen sle litle children¹⁸
bi^b arowis, and thei schulen not haue
merci on wombis 3yuynge mylk, and the
ize of them schal not spare on sonas.
And Babiloyne, thilke gloriouse citee in¹⁹
rewmes, noble in the pride of Caldeis,
schal be destried, as God destried Sodom
and Gomore. It shall not be enhabitid²⁰
til in to the ende, and it schal not be
foundid til to generacioun and genera-
cioun; a man of Arabie schal not sette
tintis there, and scheepherdis schulen not
reste there. But wielde beestis schulen²¹
reste there, and the housis of hem schulen
be fillid with dragouns; and ostrichis

^m rise A. ⁿ on the worldes eueles c pr. m. vp on the worldis euelis E pr. m. ^o wickidnes AGHK.
^p feithful AK sec. m. ^q fro C. ^r it shal A. ^s Om. AGHK. ^t shal not K. ^u tentis EK.

^z the N. ^a hem N. ^b with I.

foules in the houses of it, and wengid edderes in wassing maumet templis of foul delit.

CAP. XIV.

1 Nee³ is that come the^v tyme of hym, and his dazes shul not be longid; shal han rewthe forsothe the Lord of Jacob, and cheese ³it of Irael, and to resten hem^w he shal make vp on ther^x erthe; 'shal^y be ioyned to a^z comeling^a to them, 2 and cleue to the hous of Jacob. And shuln^b holden hem puples^{bb}, and bringe them in to ther place. And shal welden hem the hous of Irael vp on the lond of the Lord in^c to thralles and thralleses; and thei shul be takende hem that hem^d hadden taken, and sugeten^{dd} ther 'casteres 3 out^e. And ther shal be in that dai, whan reste shal ³yue to thee God^f fro^g thi trauaile, and fro thin hurting, and fro thin harde seruage, that thou befor 4 seruedist, thou shalt take this parable a³en the king of Babiloyne, and seyn, What manere cesede the 'wronge asker^h, 5 restede the tribute? The Lord to-brosede the staf of vnpitous men, the ³erde of 6 lordshipende men, betende puples in indignacioun, with an vnhealeable plage, the sogetende in wodnes the folkes of kynde, 7 and the pursuende cruelly. Togidere restede, and was stille al erthe; io³ede, 8 and ful out gladede. Fyrre trees also gladenen vp on thee, and the cedris of Liban; sithen thou sleptest, ther ste³ede 9 not vp that heeweⁱ vs down. Helle vn- dere thee is disturbid in to the a³en comyng of thi comyng; it shal rere to thee ieauntes; alle the princes of the erthe ther risen fro ther setes, alle the 10 princes of naciouns. Alle shuln answern, and seyn to thee, And thou art woundid 11 as and wee, lic vs thou art mad. Drawe

schulen dwelle there, and heeri* *beestis* schulen skippe there. And bitouris schu- 22 len answeere there in the housis therof, and fliynge serpentis in the templis of lust.

CAP. XIV.

It is ni³ that the tyme therof come, and 1 the daies therof schulen not be maad fer; for whi the Lord schal haue merci of Jacob, and he schal chese ³it of Israel, and schal make them for to reste on her lond; a comelyng schal be ioyned to them, and schal cleue to the house of Jacob. And 2 puplis schulen holde hem, and schulen bryngge hem in to her place. And the hous of Israel schal haue hem in possessioun in to seruauntis and handmaidis on the lond of the Lord; and thei schulen take tho men that token hem, and thei schulen make suget her wrongful^e axeris. And 3 it schal be in that dai, whanne God schal ³yue to thee reste of thi trauel, and of thi shakyng, and of hard seruage, in which thou seruedist bifore, thou schalt take this 4 parable a³ens the kyng of Babiloyne, and thou schalt sei, Hou ceesside the wrongful axere, restide tribute? The Lord hath al 5 to-broke the staf of wickid men, the ³erde of lordis, that beet puplis in indignacioun, 6 with vncurable wounde, that sugetide folkis in woodnesse, that pursuede cruelly. Ech lond restide, and was stille; it was 7 ioiful, and made ful out ioie. Also fir trees 8 and cedris of the Liban weren glad on thee; sithen thou sleptist, noon stieth that kittith vs down. Helle vndur thee is dis- 9 turblid for the meeting of thi comyng; he schal reise giauntis to thee; alle the princes of erthe han rise fro her seetis, alle the princes of naciouns. Alle thei 10 schulen answeere, and thei shulen seie to thee, And thou art woundid as and^d we, thou art maad lijk vs. Thi pride is 11 drawun down to hellis, thi deed careyn

* *heery*; that is, foxis and wolues, as sum men seien: ether *heri* ben heere wonderful beestis, that in parti han the licnes of man and in parti the licnesse of a beeste. *Live here.* CEQU.

^v Om. A. that GH. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x the AG pr. m. HK. ^y a cumlinge shal E sec. m. ^z Om. AE sec. m. G pr. m. HK. ^a Om. E sec. m. a comeling shal be ioyned to C sec. m. ^b puplis shul E sec. m. ^{bb} Om. E sec. m. ^c and in C. ^d Om. AG pr. m. HK. ^{dd} Om. C pr. m. ^e pleteres E pr. m. or wrong askers E sec. m. marg. casters out E tert. m. ^f the Lord A. ^g for A. ^h pletere C et E pr. m. ⁱ heweth E sec. m.

^c wondirful N. ^d Om. I.

doun is to helle thi pride, he to-hew; thi careyn; vnder thee strouwed 'shal be^k a mouzte, and thi coueryng^l shal be wormes.
 12 Hou felle thou, Lucyfer, fro heuene, the whiche erli sprunge; thou felle in to the erthe, that woundedest the folkes of
 13 kynde. That seidest in thin herte, In to heuene I shal stejen vp^m, vp on the sterres of heuene I shal enhaunce my see; I shal sitte in the hil of testament,
 14 in the sides of the north. I shal stejen vp vp on the heiȝte of cloudis; lic I shal
 15 be to the heȝest. Nerthelatre to helle thou shalt be drawe down, in to the
 16 depthe of the lake. That thee shul see, toⁿ thee shul be bowid, and thee shuln aferr bihold. Whether this is the man, that disturbide the erthe, that smot to-
 17 gidere rewmes? that putte the world desert, and his grete cites distrojede, to^o his gyuede openede not the prisoun?
 18 Alle the kingus of Jentilis, eche slepten
 19 in glorie, eche in his hous. Thou forsothe art cast aferr fro thi sepulcre, as a stoc vnprofitable, as with quytur defoulid; and aboute wrappid with hem that ben slayn with swerd, and wenten down to the foundement of the lake. As
 20 a stynkende careyn, thou shalt not han felashepe, ne with hem in biriyng thou shalt be, thou forsothe thi lond distroj-edist, thou the puple sloow; ether shal not be clepid into withoute ende the sed
 21 of the^p werste men. 'Greithe ȝe^q his^r sones to slayter, for the wickidnesse of ther fadris; thei shul not togidere rise^s, ne eritagen the erthe, ne fulfille the face
 22 of the roundnesse of the cite. And I shal with rise vp on hem, seith the Lord of oostes, and I shal destroye Babyloynes name, and reliques, and progenye, and
 23 buriounyng, seith the Lord. I shal putte^t it in to the possessioun of an irchoun, and in to myres of watres; and I shal sweepen it in a besme, treding, seith the

felle doun; a mouzte schal be strewyd vnder thee, and thin hilyng schal be wormes. A! Lucifer, that risidist eerli, hou feldist^e 12 thou doun fro heuene; thou that woundist^f folkis, feldist doun togidere in to erthe. Which seidist in thin herte, Y schal stie 13 in to heuene, Y schal enhaunce my seete aboute the staris of heuene; Y schal sitte in the hil of testament, in the sidis of the north. Y schal stie on the hiȝnesse of 14 cloudis; Y schal be lijk the^g hiȝeste. Netheles thou schalt be drawun doun to 15 helle, in to the depthe of the lake. Thei 16 that schulen se thee, schulen be bowid doun to thee, and schulen biholde thee. Whether this is the man, that disturblid erthe, that schook togidere rewmes? that 17 settide the world desert, and distried the citees therof, and openyde not the prisoun to the boundun men of hym? Alle the 18 kyngis of hethene men, alle slepten in glorie, a man in his hous. But thou art 19 cast out of thi sepulcre, as an vnprofitable stok, as defoulid with rot; and wlapid with hem that ben slayn with swerd, and ȝeden doun to the foundement of the lake. As a rotun careyn, thou schalt not haue 20 felouschipe, nethir with hem in sepulture, for thou hast lost thi lond, thou hast slayn the puple; the seed of the worst men schal not be clepid with outen ende. Make 21 ȝe redi hise sones to sleying, for the wickidnesse of her fadris; thei schulen not rise, nether thei schulen enherite the lond, nether thei schulen fille the face of the roundnesse of citees. And Y schal rise 22 on hem, seith the Lord of oostis, and Y schal leese the name of Babyloyne, and the relifs, and generacioun, and seed, seith the Lord. And Y schal sette that *Babi-* 23 *loyne* in to possessioun of an irchoun, and in to mareisis of watris; and Y schal swepe it with a beesme, and Y schal stampe, seith the Lord of oostis. The 24 Lord of oostis swoor, seiynge, Whether it

^k is E pr. m. ^l coueryngis AG pr. m. HK. ^m and A. ⁿ that to K. ^o Om. E pr. m. ^p Om. AEGHK.
^q Greitheth c et E pr. m. ^r Om. AE pr. m. GHK. ^s go K. ^t not putten E pr. m.

^e fellist FI. ^f woundidist CEF GHIMNPQRSUVX. ^g to the x sec. m.

24 Lord of osten. The Lord of ostus swoor,
 seiende, If not as I wende, so shal be,
 25 and hou in mynde I tretede, so shal
 come? That I al to-brose Assirie in my
 lond, in my mounteynes to-trede it; and
 ther shal be take away fro hem his ȝok,
 and his berthene fro the shulder of them
 26 shal be don away. This the^u counseyl
 that I thoȝte vpon al erthe, and this is
 the hond strȝt out vpon alle Jentiles.
 27 The Lord forsothe of osten demede, and
 who shal moun vufastnen? and his
 hond strȝt out, and who shal turne
 28 away it? The charge of Filisteym. In
 the ȝer that diede king Achaz, don is this
 29 charge. Ne glade thou, al^v Filistee, for^w
 to-mynusht is the ȝerde of thi smytere;
 of the roote forsothe of the shadewe
 eddere shal gon out a kocatrice, and his
 30 sed^x soupende awei a foul. And ther
 shul be fed the first goten of pore men,
 and pore men trostly shul resten; and
 to dien I shal make in hunger thi roote,
 31 and thi relikes I shal slen. Ȝelle, thou
 ȝate; crie, thou cite; throwe down is
 eche Filiste; fro the north forsothe
 smoke shal come, and ther is not that
 32 flee out of his kumpanye. And what
 shal ben answerd to the messageres of
 the folc of kinde? for the Lord foundede
 Sion, and in hym shuln hopen the pore
 men of his puple.

CAP. XV.

1 The charge of Moab. For in^y nyȝt
 wastid is Ar, Moab heeld his pes; for
 in^y the nyȝt wastid is the wal, Moab
 2 heeld his pes. Ther steȝede vp the hous,
 and Debon to^z heeȝe thingus, in to weil-
 ing; vpon Nabo, and vp on Medaba Moab
 shal zellen. In alle his hedys ballidnesse,
 3 and eche berd shal be shaue. In his
 thre weied places thei ben gird with a
 sac, vp on his rooues and in his stretes
 al^a weiling; he shal go down in to wep-

shal not be so, as Y gesside, and it schal
 bifalle so, as Y tretide in soule? That Y²⁵
 al to-breke the kyng of Assiriens in my
 lond, and that Y defoule hym in myn
 hillis; and his ȝok schal be takun awei
 fro hem, and his birthun schal be takun
 awei fro the schuldur of hem. This *is*²⁶
 the councel which Y thouȝte on al the
 lond, and this is the hond stretchid forth
 on alle folkis. For whi the Lord of oostis²⁷
 hath demed, and who mai make vnstid-
 faste? and his hond *is* stretchid forth, and
 who schal turne it awei? The birthun²⁸
 of Filisteis. In the ȝeer wheryne kyng
 Achaz diede, this birthun was maad. Al²⁹
 thou Filistea, be not glad, for the ȝerde
 of thi smytere is maad lesse; for whi a
 kocatrice schal go out of the roote of an
 eddre, and his seed schal soupe up a brid.
 And the firste gendrid of pore men schu-³⁰
 len be fed, and pore men schulen reste
 feithfuli; and Y schal make thi throte to
 perisch in hungur, and Y schal sle thi
 relifs. Ȝelle, thou ȝate; cry, thou citee,³¹
 al Filistea is cast down; for whi smoke
 schal come fro the north, and noon is that
 schal ascape his oost. And what schal be³²
 answerid to the messangeris of folk? for
 the Lord hath foundid Sion, and the pore
 men of his puple schulen hope in hym.

CAP. XV.

The birthun of Moab. For Ar was¹
 destried in nyȝt, Moab was stille; for the
 wal was distried in the^b nyȝt, Moab was
 stille. The *kingis* hous, and Dybon stieden²
 to his *places*, in to weilyng; on Nabo, and
 on Medaba Moab schal ȝelle. In alle hedis
 therof *shal be* ballidnesse, and ech beard
 schal be schauun. In the meetyng¹ of³
 thre weies therof thei ben gird in a sak,
 alle ȝellyng on the housis therof and in
 the stretis therof; it schal go down in to

^u Om. *E pr. m.* ^v Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* eche al *E sec. m. marg.* al *E tert. m.* ^w eche thou, for *c pr. m.*
E pr. m. ^x Om. *A.* ^y Om. *E pr. m.* ^z in to *E pr. m.* ^a alde *E pr. m.*

^b Om. *CFEGHKMNPQRSUVX.* ⁱ meetingis *CEPHIKMNPQRSUVX.*

4 yng. Ther shal crie Esebon and Eleale, vn to Jasa herd is the vois of hem; vpon this the redi men of Moab shul zelle, his soule shal zelle to itself. Myn herte to Moab shal crie, his bareres vnto Segor, a she^b calf al throwende down. Bi the stejing vp forsothe of Luyth wepende he shal stezen vp, and in the weie of Oronaym the cri of contricioun thei shul rere. The watris forsothe of Nemrym shul ben desert; for driede^c the erbe^d, failede^e the buriounyng, eche grenenesse 7 diede. Aftir the mykilnesse of werk, and the visiting of hem, to the streme of 8 withies^f thei shul leden hem. For 'cri cumpaside^g the terme of Moab; vnto Galym his zelling; and vnto the pit of Elym 9 his cry. For the watris of Dibon ben fulfild with blod; forsothe I shal putte vpon Dibon ecchingus, to them that shul fleen of Moab a leoun, and to the relikis of the lond.

CAP. XVI.

1 Send out, 'Lord, the lomb^h, lordshipere of the erthe, fro the ston of desert to the 2 mount of the do3ter of Sion. And he shal ben as a brid fleende, and 3unge briddes fro the nest fleende to, so shul be the do3tris of Moab in the ouerste3- 3 yng of Arnon. Go inⁱ counseil, constreyne counseil; put as ny3t thi shadewe in mydday, hide thou the men fleende, and the vagaunt ne betra3e thou. 4 Ther shul dwelle anent thee my ferr fugityues. Moab, be thou the lurkyng place of hem fro the face of the wastere. Endid is forsothe the poudre, ful endid is the wrecche; failide that to-trad the 5 lond. And ther shal be befor mad redy in mercy the see, and he shal sitte vpon it in treuthe, in the tabernacle of Daud, demende, and sechende dom, and swiftli 6 3eldende that is ri3twis. Wee han herd the pride of Moab, proud he is gretli;

wepying. Esebon schal crie, and Eleale, 4 the vois of hem is herd 'til to^k Jasa; on this thing the redi men of Moab schulen zelle, the soule therof schal zelle to it silf. Myn herte schal crie to Moab, the barris 5 therof 'til to^l Segor, a cow calf of thre 3eer. For whi a wepere schal stie^m bi the stiyngⁿ of Luith, and in the weie of Oronaym thei schulen reise cry of sorewe. For whi the watris of Nemrym schulen be 6 forsakun; for the eerbe dried up, buriownyng failide, al grenenesse perischide. Bi 7 the greetnesse of werk, and the visityng of hem, to the stronde of salewis thei schulen lede hem. For whi cry cumpasside the 8 ende of Moab; 'til to^o Galym the 3ellyng therof, and the cry therof 'til to^o the pit of Helym. For the watris of Dibon ben 9 fillid with blood; for Y schal sette encreesyngis on Dibon, to tho men of Moab that fledden fro the lioun, and to the relifs of the lond.

CAP. XVI.

Lord, sende thou out a lomb, the lordli 1 gouvernour of erthe, fro the stoon of desert to the hil of the dou3ter of Sion. And it 2 schal be as a foule fleyng, and briddis fleyng awei fro the nest, so schulen be the dou3tris of Moab in the^p passyng ouer of Arnon. Take thou counceil, constreyne 3 thou counceil; sette thou as ni3t thi schadewe in myddai, hide thou hem that fleen, and bitraye thou not men of vnstidfast dwell- yng. My fleeris awei schulen dwelle at 4 thee. Moab, be thou the hidyng place of hem fro the face of distriere^q. For whi dust is endid, the wretchid is wastid; he that defoulide the lond failude. And the kyngis 5 seete schal be maade redi in merci, and he schal sitte on it in treuthe, in the tabernacle of Daud, demynge, and sekyng doom, and 3eldyng swiftli that that is iust. We han herd the pride of Moab, 6 he is ful proud; his pride, and his boost,

^b Om. *E pr. m.* ^c the erbe driede *c et E sec. m.* ^d Om. *c et E sec. m.* ^e fagide *E pr. m.* ^f wederes *K sec. m.* ^g ther cumpaside cri *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^h the lomb, thou Lord, the *E pr. m.* ⁱ Om. *E pr. m.*

^k til *A pr. m.* vnto *I.* ^l vn to *I.* ^m stie up *I.* ⁿ stiyng up *I.* ^o vnto *I.* ^p Om. *N.* ^q the distriere *I.*

his^k pride, and the proude enhauncing of
hym, and also his indignacioun more
7 than his strengthe. Therfore shall zelle
Moab to Moab, al shal zelle to hem that
gladen vp on the walles of anelid tyl;
8 speketh ther veniaunces. For the sub-
urbes of Esebon ben desert, and the
vynezerd^l of Sabama. The lordis of Jen-
tiles hewen doun his scourges; vnto Ja-
ser thei ful camen, thei errede in desert.
His railing braunches ben forsaken, thei
9 passeden the se. Vp on this I shal
weepen in wepyng Jaser, and the^m vyne-
zerdⁿ of Sabama. I shal drunkne thee
with my tere, Esebon and Eleale, for
vp on thi vyntage, and vp on thi rep the
10 vois of men tredende fel on. And ther
shal be don away gladnesse and ful out
ioying fro Carmel; and in vynezerd^o
he shal not ful out iozen, ne inwardli
iozen. Wyn in the presse he shal not
trede, that to treden was wont^p; the
11 vois of the trederes I toc away. Vp on
this my wombe to Moab as an harpe shal
sounen, and my boweles to the wal of
12 the anelid tyl. And it shal be, whan he
shal apere, that trauailede Moab vp on
his hee^{ze} thingus, he shal go in to his
hoeli places, that he inwardly beseche,
13 and he shal not moun. This the wrd
that the Lord spac to Moab fro thennys.
14 And now spac the Lord, seiende, In thre
zer^a as 'the zeres' of an hirid man, shal
be don awei the glorie of Moab vpon
eche myche^s puple; and ther shal be lafte
in it as a litil branch of^t a cluster of
grapes, and fewe, not fele.

CAP. XVII.

1 The charge of Damasch. Lo! Damasch
shal cesen to ben a cite, and it shal be as
2 an hypil of stones in falling. The for-
saken citees of Aroer to flockes shul be;
and thei shul resten there, and ther shal
3 not be that afere away. And ther shal

and his indignacioun *is* more than his
strengthe. Therfor Moab shal zelle to⁷
Moab, al Moab shal zelle to hem that ben
glad on the wallis of bakun tijl stoon;
speke ^{ze} her woundis. For whi the sub-⁸
arbis of Esebon and the vyner of Sabama
ben forsakun. The lordis of hethene men
han kit doun the siouns therof; thei
camen 'til to^r Jaser, thei erriden in desert.
The bowis therof ben forsakun, thei pass-
iden the see. On this thing Y schal wepe⁹
in the weping of Jaser, and *on* the vyner
of Sabama. Esebon and Eleale, Y schal
fille thee with my teer; for the vois of
defouleris fellen on thi vyndage, and on
thi heruest. And gladnesse and ful out¹⁰
ioiying schal be takun awei fro Carmele;
and noon schal make ful out ioye, nether
schal synge hertli song in vyneris. He
that was wont to wringe out, schal not
wrynge out wyn in a pressour; Y haue
take awei the vois of wryngeris out. On¹¹
this thing my wombe schal sowne as an
harpe to Moab, and myn entrails to the
wal of bakun tiel stoon. And it schal be,¹²
whanne it schal appere, that Moab hath
trauelid on hise places, it schal entre to
hise hooli thingis, that it biseche, and it
schal not be worth. This is the word¹³
which the Lord spak to Moab fro that
tyme. And now the Lord spak, seiynge,¹⁴
In thre *zeer* *that weren* as the *zeeris* of an
hirid man, the glorie of Moab schal be
takun awei on al the myche puple; and
ther schal be left in it as a litil rasyn^s,
and a litil, and not myche.

CAP. XVII.

The birthun of Damask. Lo! Damask¹
schal faile to be a citee, and it schal be as
an heap of stoonys in fallyng. The for-²
sakun citees of Aroer schulen be to flockis;
and tho^t schulen reste there, and noon
schal be that schal make aferd. And help³

^k and the *E pr. m.* ^l vyne *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^m Om. *GH.* ⁿ vyne *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^o vynes *c pr. m.*
E pr. m. ^p Om. *E pr. m.* ^q *zeeris, zeeris AG pr. m.* ^r Om. *AG pr. m. HK.* ^s fele *c pr. m. E pr. m.*
^t Om. *A.*

^r vnto *I.* ^s rasyn, *that is, a litil boom, with litil fruyt N.* ^t thei *N.*

cesen helpe fro Effraym, and rewme fro Damasch; and the relikes of Cirie as the glorie of the sonus of Irael shul be, 4 seith the Lord of ostus. And it shal be, in that day shal be maad thynne the glorie of Jacob, and the fatnes of his 5 flesh shal become welewid away. And he shal be as the gederere in rip that is laft, and his arm eres shal gedere, and he shal be as sechende eres in the valey 6 of Rafaym. And ther shal ben laft in it as the braunche of a cluster, and as the shaking out of the oile berie, as of two or of thre olyues in the cop of the braunch, or of foure or of fyue; in the coppis of it his frutes, seith the Lord 7 God of Irael. In that dai shal ben bowid a man to his makere, and his ejen to the 8 hoeli of Irael shul beholden. And he shal not be bowid to the auteres, that his hondis maden, and that his fyngris ywrouzten^u; he shal not biholden maumet 9 wodes, and the wasshing templis. In that dai the citees of his strengthe shul be forsaken as plowes, and^v the tilthis that ben laft fro the face of the sonus of 10 Irael; and thou shalt ben desert. For thou forȝete of the God, thi saueour, and of the^w stronge, thin helpere, thou art not recordid; therfor thou shalt plaunten a feithful plaunting, and alien burioun- 11 yng thou shalt sowen. In the dai of thi plaunting bareyne vynes, and erli thi sed shal flouren; don awei is the rip in the dai of eritage, and he shal weilen greu- 12 ously. Wo to the multitude of many puples, as the multitude of the se soundende, and the nois of cumpanyes as the 13 soun of manye watris^x. 'Puplis schulen sownen as the sown of flowyng watris^{xx}, and he shal blame it; and aferr it shal flee, and it shal be raueshid as the powder of mounteynes fro the face of the wynd, and as a whirlewynd bifor the^y 14 tempest. In tyme of^z euen, and lo! disturbing; in the morutid, and he shal not

shal cesse fro Effraym, and a rewme fro Damask; and the relifs of Sirie schulen be as the glorie of the sones of Israel, seith the Lord of oostis. And it schal be, in 4 that dai the glorie of Jacob schal be maad thinne, and the fatnesse of his fleisch shal fade. And it schal be as gaderyng togi- 5 dere that that is left in heruest, and his arm schal gadere eeris of corn, and it schal be as sekynge eeris of corn in the valei of Raphaym. And there schal be left in it 6 as a rasyu^{*}, and as the schakyng doun of the fruyt of olyue tre, as of tweyne^u ether of^v thre olyue trees in the hiȝnesse of a braunche, ether of foure ether^w of fyue; in the coopis therof *shal be* the fruyt therof, seith the Lord God of Israel. In 7 that dai a man schal be bowid to his maker, and hise iȝen schulen biholde to the hooli of Israel. And he schal not be 8 bowid to the auteris, whiche hise hondis maden, and whiche hise fyngris wrouzten; he schal not biholde wodis, and templis *of idols*. In that dai the citees of strengthe 9 therof schulen be forsakun as plowis, and cornes that weren forsakun of the face of the sones of Israel; and thou schalt be forsakun. For thou hast forȝete God, thi 10 sauour, and haddist not mynde on thi stronge helpere; therfor thou schalt plaunte a feithful plauntyng, and thou schalt sowe an alien seed. In the dai of thi plauntyng 11 *shal be* a wielde vyne, and erli thi seed schal floure; ripe corne is takun awei in the dai of eritage, and *Israel* schal make sorewe greuouli. Wo to the multitude 12 of many puplis, as the multitude of the see sownynge, and the noise of cumpenyes as the sown of many watris. Puplis 13 schulen sowne as the sown of flowynge watris, and *God* schal blame hym; and he schal fle fer, and he schal be rausched as the dust of hillis fro the face of the wynd, and as a whirlewynd bifor tem- 14 pest. In the time of euentide, and lo! 14 disturbing; in the morewtid, and he schal

* *rasyn*; is a lytil bow, with a lytil fruyt. ^Δ *et alii*.

^u wrouzten *AC pr.m. EGHK.* ^v in *c.* ^w thi *c.* ^x watris flowende *c pr.m.* ^{xx} Om. *c pr.m.* ^y Om. *AEGHK.* ^z Om. *E pr.m.*

^u two *I.* ^v Om. *ENP.* ^w or *I.*

stonde stille. This is the part of hem that wasteden vs, and the lot of men to-brekende vs.

CAP. XVIII.

1 Wo to the lond, cymbal of weengus,
2 that is bezunde the flod of Etheope; that sendeth in the se messageres, and in resshi vesseles vp on watris. Goth, 3ee swift aungeles, to the folc al to-pullid and torn; to a ferful puple, after whyche is not an other; folc abidende and to-troden, whos flodes rausheden awei his lond; to the mount of the name of the
3 Lord of ostus, mount of Sion. Alle 3ee^a dwelleris of the world, that dwellen in erthe, whan shal ben rered vp a tokne in mounteynes, 3ee shuln seen, and the
4 noise of the trumpe 3ee shul heren. For these thingus seith the Lord to me, I shal resten, and beholden in my place, as the mydday lizt is cleer, and as the cloude of
5 dew in the day of rip. Bifor rip forsothe al flourede out, and vnriyp perfeccioun buriownede; and ther shul ben hewe down the litle braunches of it with sithis, and that weren laft, shul be kut away. Thei
6 shul ben shaken out, and forsaken to-gidere to^b the briddes of mounteynes, and to the bestes of erthe; and in euere-lastende somer shul ben vp^c on hym foules, and alle the^d bestes of erthe vp on
7 hym shul dwelle al wynter. In that tyme shal be brozt 3ifte to the Lord of ostes, fro the puple to-pullid and to-torn; fro the ferful^e puple, after whom was not an other; fro the folc abidende and to-troden, whos flodus rausheden awei his lond; to the place of the name of the Lord of ostus, mount of Sion.

CAP. XIX.

1 The charge of Egipt. Lo! the Lord shal steje vp vp on a lizt cloude, and gon in to Egipt; and ther^f shul be moued the^g

not abide. This is the part of hem that destrieden vs, and the part of hem that rauyschiden^x vs^y.

CAP. XVIII.

Wo to the lond, the cymbal of wyngis,¹ which is bizende the flood of Ethiopie; that sendith messengeris bi the see, and² in vessels of papirus* on watris. Go, 3e messengeris, to the folk drawun up and to-rent; to a ferdful puple, aftir which is noon other; to the folk abidyng and defoulid, whos lond the flodis han rauyschid; to the hil of the name of the Lord of oostis, to the hil of Sion. Alle 3e dwelleris³ of the world, that dwellen in the lond, schulen se whanne a signe schal be reisd in the hillis, and 3e schulen here the cry of a trumpe. For whi the Lord seith these⁴ thingis to me, Y schal reste, and Y schal biholde in my place, as the myddai lizt is cleer, and as a cloude of dew in the dai of heruest. For whi al flouride out bifore⁵ heruest, aud vnripe perfeccioun buriownede; and the litle braunchis therof schulen be kit down with sithis, and tho that ben left, schulen be kit awei. Thei schulen be schakun out, and schulen be left togidere⁶ to the briddis of hillis, and to the beestis of erthe; and briddis schulen be on hym by a somer euerlastinge, and alle the beestis of erthe schulen dwelle bi wyntir on hym. In that tyme a 3ifte schal be brouzt to the⁷ Lord of oostis, of the puple drawun up and to-rent; of the puple ferdful, aftir which was noon other; of the folk abidyng and defoulid, whos lond floodis rauyschiden; *the 3ifte schal be brouzt* to the place of the name of the Lord of oostis, to the hil of Sion.

* *papirus*; is a kynde of spier, so greet, that botis mowen be maad therof, as summen seye. *Live here. A et alii.*

CAP. XIX.

The birthun of Egipt. Lo! the Lord schal stie on a lizt cloude, and he schal entre in to Egipt; and the symilacris of

^a the *E pr. m.*
^g Om. *AGHK.*

^b in to *K sec. m.*

^c Om. *AGHK.*

^d Om. *AEGHK.*

^e feithful *c pr. m.*

^f Om. *A.*

^x rauishin *EP.* ^y Om. *N.*

symulacris of Egypt fro the face of hym,
 and the herte of Egypt shal wane in the
 2 myddel of hym. And to meete togidere
 I shal make Egipcienus azen Egipcienus,
 and fizte shal a man azen his brother,
 and a man azen his frend, cite azen cite,
 3 and reume azen reume. And to-broken
 shal be the spirit of Egypt in his boweles,
 and his counseil I shall stumble down;
 and thei shul aske ther symulacris, and
 ther deuynoures, and ther deucl cleperes,
 4 and ther deucl sacrificeres. And I shal
 take Egypt in to the hond of cruel lordis,
 and a strong king shal lordshipen of
 5 hem, seith the Lord God of ostes. And
 the water shal waxe drie fro the se, and
 6 the flod shal be desolat, and dried. And
 faile shul the flodes, and thynned and
 dried shul be the ryueres of water hepes;
 the reed and the resshe shal welewen.
 7 Nakeden shal be the flod wombe, and
 the^b ryueres fro ther welle; andⁱ of^k
 'eche sowende the watri place^l shal be
 dried, and welewen, and it shal not be.
 8 And^m mowrneⁿ shul the fissheres, and
 weilen alle into the flod puttende the
 angil hoc; and spredende out the net
 vpon the face of watris, shul waxe feble.
 9 And confoundid^o shul ben, that wro3ten
 flax, plattende and weuende sotile thingus.
 10 And ther shul ben his 'watri placis^p dri-
 ende; alle that maden pondis to be ca3t
 11 fisshes. Fooles the princes of Thaneos,
 wise counseileres of Farao 3eeuen vnwyse
 counseil; what maner shul 3ee seyn to
 Farao, I^q the sone of wise men, the^r sone
 12 of olde kingys? Where now ben thi wise
 men? 'Telle thei^s to thee, and shewe,
 what tho3te the Lord of ostus vp on
 13 Egypt. Fooles ben mad the princes
 of Thaneos; gretli languyssheden the
 princes of Memfeos; begileden Egypt, the
 14 corner^t of his puples. The Lord mengde
 in his myddel the spirit of turnegidy;

Egypt schulen be mouyd fro his face, and
 the herte of Egypt schal faile in the myd-
 dis therof. And Y schal make Egipcians²
 to renne togidere azens Egipcians, and a
 man schal fizte azens his brother, and a
 man azens his frend, a citee azens a citee,
 and a rewme azens a rewme. And the³
 spirit of Egypt schal be brokun in the
 entrailis therof, and Y schal caste down
 the councel therof; and thei schulen axe
 her symylacris, and her false diuinouris,
 and her men that han vncleene spiritis
 spekinge in the wombe, and her dyuyn-
 ouris bi sacrifices maad on auteris to
 feendis. And Y schal bitake Egypt in to⁴
 the hond of cruel lordis, and a strong
 kyng schal be lord of hem, seith the Lord
 God of oostis. And watir of the see schal⁵
 wexe drie, and the flood schal be desolat,
 and schal be dried. And the floodis schu-⁶
 len faile, and the strondis of the^r feeldis
 schulen be maad thynne, and schulen be
 dried; a rehed and spier schal fade. The⁷
 botme of watir schal be maad nakid, and
 stremys fro her welle; and the moiste place
 of al seed schal be dried, schal^a waxe drie,
 and schal^a not be. And fischeris schulen⁸
 morne, and alle that casten^b hook in to
 the flood, schulen weile; and thei that
 spreden abroad a net on the face of wa-
 tris, schulen fade. Thei schulen be schent,⁹
 that wrou3ten flex, foldynge and ordeyn-
 ynge sutil thingis. And the watir places¹⁰
 therof schulen be drye; alle^c that maden
 poondis to take fischis, *schulen be schent*.
 The fonned princes of Tafnys, the wise¹¹
 counselouris of Farao, 3auen vnwise coun-
 sel; hou schulen 3e seie to Farao, Y *am*
 the sone of wise men, the sone of elde
 kyngis? Where ben now thi wise men?¹²
 Telle thei to thee, and schewe thei, what
 the Lord of oostis thou3te on Egypt. The¹³
 princes of Tafnys ben maad foolis; the
 princes of Memphis fadiden; thei disseyu-

^h her A. ⁱ Om. c. ^k Om. E pr. m. ^l alle moiste seed E pr. m. ^m Om. AGHK. ⁿ sorewe dreden
 c et E pr. m. ^o confoundyn AGHK. ^p moiste thyngus c et E pr. m. ^q Om. E pr. m. ^r I the E pr. m.
^s Thei shul telle E pr. m. ^t aungeles c et E pr. m.

² Om. c et ceteri. ^a it schal I. ^b senden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^c and alle I.

and to erren thei maden Egypt in al his
werk, as erreth a drunke man and a vo-
15 mende. And ther shal not be to Egypt
werke^u, that it make hed and tail in
16 boowing and refreynyng. In that dai
Egypt shal be as wymmen, and thei shul
stone³en, and dreden fro the face of the
stering togidere of the hond of the Lord
17 of ostes, that he mouede vp on it. And
shal be the lond of Juda to Egypt in to
inward ferd; eche that of it recordede,
shal inwardly dreden fro the face of the
counseil of the Lord of ostes, that he
18 tho3te vp on it. In that dai shul be fyue
citees in the lond of Egypt, spekende Ca-
nane^v tunge, and swerende bi the Lord
of ostes; the cyte of the sunne shal beⁿ
19 clepid oon. In that day shal ben the
auter of the Lord in the myddel of the
lond off Egypt, and the title of the Lord
20 biside his terme; and thei shul be in to
tocne and to witnessing to the Lord of
ostes, in the lond of Egypt. They shul
crien to the Lord fro the face of the
trublere, and he shal sende to them a
saueour, and a for3tere, that delyuere
21 them. And the Lord shal ben knowen
of Egypt, and knowen shuln the Egip-
cienus the Lord in that day; and thei
shul herien hym in ostes and 3iftes, and
thei shul vouwe vouwes to the Lord, and
22 3eelde^w. And smyte shal the Lord Egypt
with a veniaunce, and helen it; and
turnen a3een shuln the Egipcienus to the
Lord, and he shal be plesid to them, and
23 helen hem. In that day shal ben a weie
fro^x Egypt in to^y Assiries, and seruen
shul the^z Egipcienus to Assur; and entren
shal Assirie Egypt^a, and Egypt in to As-
24 siries. In that day shal ben Irael the
thridde to^b Egypt and to Assirie, blessing
25 in the middel of the erthe; to whom
blissede the Lord of ostus, seiende, Bliss-
id my puple of Egypt, and the werk of

eden Egypt, a corner of the puplis therof.
The Lord meddlid a spirit of errour in 14
the myddis therof; and thei maden Egypt
for to erre in al his werk, as a drunkun
man and spuynge errith. And werk schal 15
not be to Egypt, that it make an heed and
tail bowynge and refreynyng. In that 16
dai Egypt schal be as wymmen, and thei
schulen be astonyed, and schulen drede
of the face of the mouynge of the hoond
of the Lord of oostis, which he mouede
on it. And the lond of Juda schal be to 17
Egypt in to drede; ech that schal thenke
on it, schal drede of the face of the counsel
of the Lord of oostis, whiche he thou3te
on it. In that dai fyue citees schulen be 18
in the lond of Egypt, and^d schulen speke
with the tunge of Canaan, and schulen
swere bi the Lord of oostis; the citee of
the sunne schal be clepid oon. In that 19
dai the auter of the Lord schal be in the
myddis of the lond of Egypt, and the title
of the Lord *shal be* bisidis the ende
therof; and it schal be in to a signe and 20
witnessyng to the Lord of oostis, in the
lond of Egypt. For thei schulen crie to the
Lord fro the face of the troblere, and he
shal sende a sauyour to hem, and a for-
3tere, that schal delyuere hem. And the 21
Lord schal be knowun of Egypt, and
Egipcians schulen knowe the Lord in that
dai; and thei schulen worschipe hym in
sacrifices and 3iftis, and thei schulen make
vowis to the Lord, and thei schulen paie.
And the Lord schal smyte Egypt with a 22
wounde, and schal make it hool; and
Egipcians schulen turne a3en to the Lord,
and he schal be plesid in hem, and he
shal make hem hool. In that dai a wei 23
shal be fro Egypt in to Assiriens, and
Egipcians schulen serue Assur; and Assur
shal entre in to Egypt, and Egypt in to
Assiriens. In that dai Israel schal be the 24
thridde to Egypt and to Assur, the bless-

^u nede c et E pr. m. ^v Canaan AGHK. ^w thei shul 3elden E pr. m. ^x in to E pr. m. ^y fro E pr. m.
^z Om. A. ^a in to Egypt G sec. m. K sec. m. ^b of A.

^d and tho I,

myn hondis to Assirie; be forsothe myn eritage Israel.

yng in the myddil of erthe; whom the²⁵ Lord of oostis blesside, seiynge, Blessid *be* my puple of Egipt, and the werk of myn hondis *be* to Assiriens; but myne eritage *be* to Israel.

CAP. XX.

¹ In the 3er that Tharthan wente into Assote, whan hadde sent hym Sargon, king of Assiries, and hadde foozte azen² Asote, and hadde taken it; in that tyme spac the Lord in the hond of Isaie, sone of Amos, seiende, Go, and loosne^c the sac fro^d thi leendis, and the shon tak fro thi feet. And he dide so, goende 'nakid and³ vnshod^e. And the Lord seide, As wente my seruaunt Isaie nakid and vnshod, of thre 3eer toene and wnder shal ben vp on⁴ Egipt, and vp on Ethiopie; so dryuen^f shal the king off Assiries the caitifte of Egipt, and the transmygracioun of Etheope, 3ung and old, nakid womman and vnshod, discovered the ersis, to^g the shen-shepe of Egipt. And thei shul drede, and ben confoundid of Etheope, 'ther^h hope^h, and of Egipt, ther glorie. And the dwellere of that yle shal seyn in that day, Whether this was oure hope, to whom wee floun in to^t helpe, that thei shulden delyueren vs fro the face of the king of Assiries; and what maner shul we moun scapen?

CAP. XXI.

¹ The charge of the desert se. As whirlwyndus fro Affrich comen, fro the² desert cam, fro the orrible lond. An hard viseoun told is to me; that vnleeuende is, vnfeithfully doth^k; and he^l that 'is distro3ere^m, wasteth. Steezh vp, Elam, and bisege, Medeba; al his weilyng I made to³ cesen. Therefore ben fulfild my lendys with sorewe; anguysh weldide me, as

CAP. XX.

In the 3eer wherynne Tharthan entride¹ in to Azotus, whanne Sargon, the kyng of Assiriens, hadde sent hym, and he hadde fouzte a3eus Azotus, and hadde take it; in that tyme the Lord spak in the hond² of Isaye, the sone of Amos, and seide, Go thou, and vnbynde the sak fro thi leendis, and take awei thi schoon fro thi feet. And he dide so, goynge nakid and vnschood. And the Lord seide, As my³ seruaunt Ysaie 3ede nakid and vnschood, a signe and greet wondur of thre 3eer schal be on Egipt, and on Ethiopie; so⁴ the kyng of Assiriens schal dryue the caitifte of Egipt, and the passyng ouer of Ethiopie, a 3ong man and an eld man, nakid and vnschood, with the buttokis vnбилid, to the schenschiipe of Egipt. And⁵ thei schulen drede, and schulen be schent of Ethiopie, her hope, and of Egipt, her glorie. And a dwellere of this ile schal⁶ seie in^e that dai, This was our hope, to which^f we fledden for help, that thei schulden delyuere vs fro the face of the kyng of Assiryens; and hou moun we ascape?

CAP. XXI.

The birthun of the forsakun see. As¹ whirlwyndis comen fro the southwest, it cometh fro desert, fro the orible lond. An hard reuelacioun is teld to me; he that² is vnfeithful, doith vnfeithfuli; and he that is a distriere, distrieth. Thou Helam, stie^g, and thou, Meda, biseche; Y made al the weilyng therof for to ceesse. Therfor³ my leendis ben fillid with sorewe; an-

^c vnbynde *E sec. m. marg. AGHK.* ^d of *A.* ^e Om. *E pr. m.* ^f Om. *C sec. m. AGHK.* threten *E sec. m. marg.* ^g Om. *E pr. m.* ^h bi ther fairnesse *E pr. m.* ⁱ Om. *AEGHK.* ^k shal *E pr. vice.* ^l Om. *C et E pr. m.* that he *K.* ^m distro3ere is *C pr. m. E pr. m.*

^e on *N.* ^f the which *1.* ^g stie up *1.*

anguysh of the trauailende with child;
 I fel doun, whan I herde; I am disturbid,
 4 whan I saȝ. Myche languysshede myn
 herte, dercnesses stoneid maden me; Ba-
 bilon, my looued, put is to me 'in to^o
 5 myracle. Sett the bord, bihold in^p a
 toothil; etende and drinkende riseth,
 6 ȝee princes, taketh to the terget. These
 thingus forsothe seide^a the Lord to me,
 Go, and put a tootere; and what euer
 7 thing he shal see, telle he. And he saȝ
 a char of two horse men, a steȝere of^r an
 asse, and a steȝere vp of a camayle; and
 8 he beheeld bisily by^s myche looking, and
 he criede as a leoun, Vp on the toothil
 of the Lord I am stondende contynuelly
 bi day, and vp on my warde I am stond-
 9 ende alle nyȝtus. Lo! this cam, a man
 steȝere of the carte of horse men. And
 he answerde, and seide, Is falle, is falle
 Babilon; and alle^t grauen thingus of hys
 10 godus ben to-brosid in to the erthe. My^u
 thrassing, and the doȝter of my cornflor,
 the thingus that I herde of the Lord of
 11 oostes, God of Irael, I^v tolde to ȝou. The
 charge of Duma. To me he crieth fro
 Seir, O! kepere, what of the nyȝt? O!
 12 kepere, what of the nyȝt? The kepere
 seide, Ther cometh morutid, and nyȝt;
 if ȝee sechen, secheth, and beth conuertid,
 13 and cometh. The charge in Araby. In
 the wilde wode at euen ȝee shul slepen,
 14 in the sties of Dodanym. Aȝencomende
 to the thristi berth water, that dwellen
 the^w lond of the south; with loeues aȝen-
 15 cometh to the fleende. Fro the face for-
 sothe^x of swerdes thei fledden, fro the
 face of the swerd stondende on, fro the
 face of the bowe bend, fro the face of the
 16 greuouse bataile. For these thingus seith
 the Lord to me, Ȝit in o ȝer, as in the ȝer
 of an hirid man, and ther shal ben take
 17 away al the glorie of Cedar. And the
 relikis of the noumbre of the stronge

gwische weldide me, as the angwisch of
 a womman trauelynge of child; Y felle
 doun, whanne Y herde; Y was disturblid,
 whanne Y siȝ. Myn herte fadide, derk-
 4 nesis astonieden me; Babiloyne, my der-
 lyng, is set to me in to myracle. Sette^s
 thou a boord, biholde thou in to a toting
 place; rise, ȝe princes, etyng and drynk-
 ynge, take ȝe scheeld. For whi the Lord⁶
 seide these thingis to me, Go thou, and
 sette a lokere; and telle he, what euer
 thing he seeth. And he siȝ the^h chare of⁷
 tweyne^l horse men, the stiere of an asse,
 and the stiere of a camel; and he bihelde
 diligentli with myche lokyng, and criede⁸
 as a lioun, Y stonde contynueli bi dai on
 the totyng place of the Lord, and Y stonde
 bi alle nyȝtis on my kepyng. Lo! this^k⁹
 cometh, a man stiere of a carte of horse
 men. And *Isaie* criede, and seide, Babi-
 loyne felle doun, felle doun; and alle the
 grauun ymagis of goddis therof ben al to-
 brokun in to erthe. Mi threschyng, and¹⁰
 the douȝter of my^l cornfloor, Y haue teld
 to ȝou what thingis Y herde of the Lord
 of oostis, of God of Israel. The birthun¹¹
 of Duma. It crieth fro Seir to me, Kepere,
 what *our*^m of theⁿ nyȝt? 'kepere, what^o
our^p of^q the^r nyȝt^s? The kepere seide,¹²
 Morewtid^t cometh, and nyȝt; if ȝe seken,
 seke ȝe, and be ȝe conuertid, and 'come ȝe^u.
 The birthun in^v Arabie. In the forest at¹³
 euentid ȝe schulen slepe, in the pathis of
 Dodanym. Ȝe that dwellen in the lond¹⁴
 of the south, renne, and bere watir to the
 thristi; and renne ȝe with looues to hym
 that fleeth. For thei fledden fro the face¹⁵
 of swerdis, fro the face of swerd neȝyng,
 fro the face of bouwe bent, fro the face of
 greuouse batel. For the Lord seith these¹⁶
 thingis to me, Ȝit in o ȝeer, as in the ȝeer
 of an hirid man, and al the glorie of Ce-
 dar schal be takun awei. And the reme-¹⁷
 nauntis of the noumbre of stronge archeris

^o in A. ^p in to c pr. m. ^q seith AK. Om. G pr. m. H. ^r vp GHK. vp vpon A. ^s Om. AGHK. ^t alle
 his E pr. m. ^u With E pr. m. ^v Om. E pr. m. ^w in the K. ^x Om. A.

^h B I. ⁱ two I. ^k he this I. ^l Om. I. ^m Om. CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX. ⁿ Om. CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX.
^o Om. CMR. ^p Om. CEFHGKMN PQRSUV. ^q Om. CMR. ^r Om. CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX. ^s Om. CMR. ^t The
 morwetijd K VX. ^u cometh to me I. ^v of I.

archeres fro the sonus of Cedar shul be mynusht; the Lord forsothe, God of Israel, spac.

CAP. XXII.

1 The charge of the valey of viseoun^y.
What forsothe and^z to thee is^a, for thou^b
stejedist vp, and thou al^c in to the
2 rooues, ful of cry, myche vsid cite, cite ful
out iojende? thi slayne not slayn^d with
swerd, ne 'thi deade^e deade^f in batayle.
3 Alle thi princes floun togidere, and harde
ben bounde; alle that ben founde, ben
4 bounde togidere, aferr floun. Therfore
I seide, Goth awei fro me, bitterli I shal
weepe; wileth not ben bisy, that 3ee
coumforte me vp on the wastite of the
5 do3ter of my puple. Dai forsothe of sla3-
ter, and of to-treding, and of wepingus,
fro the Lord God of ostes, in the valey
of viseoun; serching the wal, and 'the gret
6 doyngh^h vp on the mounteyn. And Elam
toc anⁱ arewe caas, and the char of an
hors man; and the target naknide^k the
7 wal. And chosen shul be thi valeis ful
of foure horsid carres; and kny3tes shul
8 sette ther setes in the 3ate. And dis-
coueryd shal be the coueryng^l of Jude;
and thou shalt seen in that dai the ar-
mourie place of the 'house of the^m wilde
9 wode; and the cliftus of the cite of Da-
uid 3ee shul see, for thei ben multeplied.
And 3ee han gedered the watris of the
10 nethere pond^{mm}, 'or systerneⁿ, and the
houses^o of Jerusalem 3ee han noumbred,
and 3ee han distro3ed the housis, to
11 strengthe the wal; and a lake 3ee han
mad betwe^p two walles, and the watyr of
the olde fishpond^{pp}, 'or systerne^q; and 3ee
beheelden not to^r hym, that hadde mad
it, and his werkere^s fro aferre 3ee se3en
12 not. And the Lord God of ostus clepede
in that dai to weping, and to weiling,
and to ballidnesse, and to girding of a^t
13 sac; and lo! io3e and gladnesse to slen

of the sones of Cedar schulen be maad
lesse; for whi the Lord God of Israel spak.

CAP. XXII.

The birthun of the valei of visioun.¹
What also is to thee, for and al thou
stiedist in to roouys, thou ful of cry,²
a citee of myche puple, a citee ful out
ioiynge? thi slayn men *weren* not slayn
bi swerd, nether thi deed men *weren* deed
in batel. Alle thi princes fledden togidere,³
and weren boundun harde; alle that weren
foundun, weren boundun togidere, thei
fledden fer. Therfor Y seide, Go 3e awei⁴
fro me, Y schal wepe bittirli; nyle 3e be
bisie to coumforte me on the distriyng of
the dou3ter of my puple. For whi a dai⁵
of sleynge, and of defoulyng, and of wep-
yngis, *is ordeined* of the Lord God of
oostis, in the valei of visioun; and he
serchith the walle, and *is* worschিপful on
the hil. And Helam took an arowe caas,⁶
and the chare of an horse man; and the
scheeld made nakid the wal. And thi⁷
chosun valeis, *Jerusalem*, schulen be ful
of cartis; and kny3tis schulen putte her
seetis in the 3ate. And the hilyng of⁸
Juda schal be schewid; and thou schalt se
in that dai the place of armuris of the
hous of the forest; and 3e schulen se the⁹
crasyngis of the citee of Dauid, for tho
ben multiplied. 3e gaderiden togidere the
watris of the lowere cisterne, and 3e noum-¹⁰
briden the housis of Jerusalem, and 3e dis-
trieden housis, to make strong the wal;
and 3e maden a lake bitwixe twei wallis,¹¹
and 3e *restoriden* the watir of the elde
sisterne; and 3e biholden not to^w hym, that
made 'thilke *Jerusalem*^x, and 3e sien^y not
the worchere therof afer. And the Lord¹²
God of oostis schal clepe in that dai to
wepyng, and to^z morenyng, and to ballid-
nesse, and to a girdil of sak; and lo! ioie¹³
and gladnesse *is* to sle caluys, and to

^y the visioun AEGHK. ^z Om. c et e pr. m. ^a forsothe is e pr. m. ^b Om. k. ^c Om. c et e pr. m.
^d Om. CE. ^e Om. e pr. m. ^f not dead k. ^h magnified e pr. m. ⁱ a e pr. m. ^k nakinde c. nakide e
pr. m. ^l citees A. ^m Om. c pr. m. ^{mm} fishpond c pr. m. ⁿ Om. c et e pr. m. ^o hows AGHK. ^p between
c et alii. bitwixe A. ^{pp} cysterne e sec. m. marg. AGHK. ^q Om. c pr. m. e pr. m. AGHK. ^r Om. c pr. m.
e pr. m. ^s werk A. ^t Om. AEGHK.

^w Om. PY. ^x it i text. thilke Jerusalem i marg. ^y sau3en i passim. ^z Om. i.

calues, to kutte wetheres^u throtes, to ete
flesh, and to drinke wyn; ete wee, and
drinke wee, to moru forsothe wee shul
14 dien. And opened is in myn eres the
vois of the Lord of ostes, Ther shal not
be for3yue this wickidnesse to 3ou, to^v
the tyme that 3ee die, seith the Lord
15 God of ostus. These thingus seith the
Lord God of ostus, Go, and weend in to
hym that dwelleth in the tabernacle, to
Sobnam, prouost of the temple; and thou
16 shalt sey to hym, What thou heer, or
as^w who heer? for thou heewe out to thee
heer a sepulcre, thou^x heewe in an hee3,
a memorial bisily in a ston a tabernacle
17 to thee. Lo! the Lord shal make thee
to ben born awei, as is born awei a ca-
poun, and as an amyse, so he shal vnder
18 reren thee. Crounende he shal crowne
thee with tribulacioun; as a bal he shal
sende thee in to a brod lond and spa-
cious^y; there thou shalt dien, and there
shal be the char of thi glorie, and the
19 shenshipe of the hous of thi Lord. And
I shal putte thee out fro thi standing,
and fro thi seruyse I shal depose thee.
20 And it shal be, in that dai I shal clepe
my seruauant Eleachym, the sone of El-
21 chie; and clothin hym with thi coete, and
with thi girdil I^z shal coumforten hym,
and^a thi power I shal 3yue in to his
hondus; and he shal ben as a fader to
men dwellende Jerusalem^b, and to the
22 hous of Juda. And I shal 3yue the ke3e
of the hous of Daud vp on his shulder;
and he shal openen, and ther shal not be
that close; and he shal closen, and ther
23 shal not be that opene. And I shal
ficchen hym as a stake in the 'feithful
place^c, and he shal be in to the see of
24 glorie of the hous of his fader. And I
shal hangen vp on hym al the glorie of
the hous of his fader, off vesseles dyuers
kindis, eche litil vessel, fro the vesseles of
wyn chalices vnto alle vessel of musikes.

strangle wetheris, to ete fleisch, and to
drynke wyn; ete we, and drynke we, for
we schulen die to morewe. And the vois¹⁴
of the Lord of oostis is schewid in myn
eeris, This wickidnesse schal not be for-
3ouun to 3ou, til 3e dien, seith the Lord
God^a of oostis. The Lord God of oostis¹⁵
seith these thingis, Go thou, and entre to
hym that dwellith in the tabernacle, to
Sobna, the souereyn of the temple; and
thou schalt seie to hym, What thou here,¹⁶
ethir as who here? for thou hast hewe to
thee a sepulcre here, thou hast hewe a
memorial in hi3 place diligentli, a taber-
nacle in a stoon to thee. Lo! the Lord¹⁷
shal make thee to be borun out, as a
kapoun is borun out, and as a cloth, so
he shal reise thee. He crowninge schal¹⁸
crowne thee with tribulacioun; he schal
sende thee as a bal in to a large lond and
wijd; there thou schalt die, and there schal
be the chare of thi glorie, and the schen-
schipe of the hous of thi Lord. And Y¹⁹
shal caste thee out of thi standyng, and
Y schal putte thee down of thi seruyce.
And it schal be, in that dai Y schal clepe²⁰
my seruauant Eliachim, the sone of Hel-
chie; and Y schal clothe hym in thi coote,²¹
and Y schal coumforte hym with thi gir-
dil, and Y shal 3yue thi power in to the
hondis of hym; and he schal be as a fadir
to hem that dwellen in Jerusalem, and to
the hous of Juda. And Y schal 3yue the²²
keie of the hous of Daud on his schuldre;
and he schal opene, and noon schal be that
schal schitte; and he schal schitte, and
noon schal^{aa} be that schal opene. And Y²³
shal sette hym a stake^b in a feithful place,
and he schal be in to the^c seete of glorie
of the hous of his fadir. And thou schalt²⁴
hange on hym al the glorie of the hous of
his fadir, diuerse kindis of vessels, eche
litol vessel, fro the vesselis of cuppis 'til^d
ech vessel of musikis. In that dai, seith²⁵
the Lord of oostis, the stake that was set

^u wedre AGHK. ^v for K. ^w Om. A. ^x that E pr. m. ^y a spaciousse G pr. m. HK. ^z and Y A. and GH. Om. K. ^a in H. ^b in Jerusalem AK sec. m. ^c place of feithful men E pr. m.

^a Om. A sec. m. ^{aa} ther schal I. ^b stake, ether a perche CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^c a I. ^d vnto I.

25 In that dai, seith the Lord of osten, ther
shal ben taken away the stake that was
ficchid in a feithful place, and be to-
broken, and fallen; and^d pershe shal that
that he hadde hangyd in it, for the Lord
spac.

CAP. XXIII.

1 The charge of Tyry. 3elleth, 3ee
shippes of the se, for wastid is the hous,
whennus to^e comen 'thei weren^f wont; fro
the lond of Sethym it is opened to them.
2 Beth styll, 3ee that dwellen in the ile,
the chaffaring of Sidon; the men seilende
3 ouer the se fulfilden thee with manye
wattris; the sed of Nyli, the rip of the
flod his frutes, and mad is the chaffare
4 of Jentiles. Ashame thou, Sidon, seith
the se, the strengthe of the se, seiende,
I trauailide not with child, and bar not,
and nurshede not out 3ung childer, ne to
5 ful^g waxing bro3te forth maidenenes. Whan
herd it shal be in Egipt, thei shuln so-
rewen, whan thei shuln^h heren of Tiro.
6 Passeth the ses; 3elleth, that dwellen in
7 the ile. Whether not this 3oure is, that
gloriede fro the rathere dazes in his eelde?
leden shuln it aferr hir feet to pilgrym-
8 agen. Who tho3te this vp on Tirun sum
tyme crowned, whos nededoeres princes,
his marchaundus noble men of the erthe?
9 The Lord of osten tho3te this, that he
drawe down the pride of alle glorie, and
to shenshipe bringe down alle the noble
10 men of erthe. Passe ouer thi lond as the
flod, thou do3ter of the se; ther is no
11 more girdil to thee. His hond ouer the
se he 'strecchide, and disturbede^l reumes.
The Lord sente a3en Canaan, that he to-
12 trede his stronge men; and seide^k, Thou
shalt no mor leyn to, that thou glorie,
chalengis sustenende, thou maden do3-
ter of Sidon^l. In Sichym risende ouer-
seile thou^m; there forsothe shal not ben
13 reste to thee. Lo! the lond of Caldeis such
a puple was not; Assur foundide it; in
to caitifte thei ouerladden the stalwrthe

in the feithful place, schal be takun awei,
and it schal be brokun, and schal falle
down; and schal perische that hangide
therynne, for the Lord spac.

CAP. XXIII.

The birthun of Tire. 3e schippis of
the see, 3elle^e, for the hous is distried, fro
whennus *counfort* was wont to come; fro
the lond of Cethym, and was schewid to
hem. Be 3e stille, that dwellen in the ile,
2 the marchaundie of Sidon; men passynge
the see filliden thee in many wattris; the3
seed of Nylus is heruest, the flood *is* the
corn therof, and it is maad the mar-
chaundie of hethene men. Thou, Sidon,
4 be aschamed, seide the see, the strengthe
of the see, and seide, Y trauelide not of
child, and Y childide not, and Y nurschide
not 3onge men, and Y brou3te not fulli
virgyns to encreessyng. Whanne it schal
5 be herd in Egipt, thei schulen make so-
rewen, whanne thei heren of Tire. Passe
6 3e the sees; 3elle 3e, that dwellen in the ile.
Whether^f this *citee* is not 3oure, that hadde
7 glorie fro elde daies in his eldnesse? the
feet therof schulen lede it fer, to go in pil-
grymage. Who thou3te this thing on Tire
8 sum tyme crownede, whos marchauntis
weren princes, the selleris of marchaundie
therof *weren* noble men of erthe? The
9 Lord of oostis thou3te this thing, that he
schulde drawe down the pride of al glorie,
and that he schulde bringe to schenschi-
10 alle the noble men of erthe. Thou dou3-
ter of the see, passe thi lond as a flood; a
girdil is no more to thee. It stretchide
11 forth his hond aboue the see, and dis-
turblide rewmes. The Lord sente a3enes
Canaan, for to al to-breke the stronge men
therof; and he seide, Thou maide, the dou3-
12 ter of Sidon, that suffrist caleng, schalt no
more adde, that thou haue glorie. Rise
thou, and passe ouer the see in to Sechym;
there also no reste schal be to thee. Lo! 13

^d that and *E pr. m.* ^e Om. *E pr. m.* ^f he was *E pr. m.* ^g the ful *A.* ^h Om. *E pr. m.* ⁱ shal
strecchen and disturben *CE pr. m.* ^k he seide *A.* ^l Sion *C.* ^m Om. *C.*

^e 3elleth *1.* ^f Wher *ceteri fere passim.*

men of it; thei vnderdolen his houses,
 14 thei putten it in to falling. 3elleth, 3ee
 shipes of the se, for doun wastid is 3oure
 15 strengthe. And it shal be, in that dai in
 for3eting thou shalt be, O! Tire, seuenti
 3er, as the dajes of o king; afterⁿ seuenti
 3er forsothe to^o Tiro shal be as a song
 16 of a strumpet. Tac harpe, go aboute the
 cite, thou strumpet, to for3eting taken;
 weel syng, ofte vse song, that mynde of
 17 thee be. And it shal be, after seuenti
 3er, the Lord shal visite Tirum, and
 bringen it a3een to his meedes; and eft^p
 it shal ben, whan it shal do fornyca-
 cioun with alle the reumes of the erthe,
 18 vp on the face of the erthe. And his
 nede doynigus and his meedus shuln ben
 halewid to the Lord; thei shuln not ben
 hid^q, ne leid vp; for to them that dwell-
 ede bifor the Lord shal be his nede do-
 yng, that thei ete into fulnesse, and be
 clad^r vn to oldnesse.

the lond of Caldeis, sich a puple was not;
 Assur foundide that *Tyre*; thei ledden
 ouer in to caitifte the strong men therof;
 thei myneden the housis therof, thei set-
 tiden it in to fallyng. 3elle, 3e schippis 14
 of the see, for 3oure strengthe is distried.
 And it schal be, in that dai, thou Tire, 15
 schalt be in for3etyng bi seuenti 3eer, as
 the daies of o king; but aftir seuenti
 3eer, as the song of an hoore schal be to
 Tyre. Thou hoore, 3ouun to for3etyng, take 16
 an harpe, cumpasse the citee; synge thou
 wel, vse thou ofte a song, that mynde be
 of thee. And it schal be, aftir seuenti 3eer, 17
 the Lord schal visite Tire, and schal brynge
 it a3en to hise hiris; and eft it schal be,
 whanne it schal do fornycacioun with alle
 rewmes of erthe, on the face of erthe. And 18
 the marchaundies therof and the meedis
 therof schulen be halewid to the Lord;
 tho^s schulen not be hid, nethir schulen be
 leid vp; for whi the marchaundie therof
 schal be to hem that dwellen bifore the
 Lord, that thei ete to fulnesse, and be
 clothid ^ltil to^h eldnesse.

CAP. XXIV.

1 Loo! the Lord shal nakenen the erthe,
 and scateren it, and tormenten his face,
 2 and distro3en his dwelleris. And ther
 shal be, as the puple, so the prest; and as
 the seruaunt, so his^s lord; as the hand
 woman, so hir lady; as the biere, so he
 that sillith; as the vsurer, so he that taketh
 borewing; as he that a3een asketh, so he
 3 that owith^t. Bi scater yng shal be sca-
 tered the lond, and bi robbing shal be
 robbid; the Lord forsothe spac this wrd.
 4 Weilede and doun flowede the erthe,
 and it is feblid; flowede doun the world,
 feblid is the heizte of the puple of the
 5 lond, and the lond is slayn of his dwell-
 eris. For thei ouerpasseden the lawes,
 chaungeden the ri3t, scatereden the euer
 6 durende bond. For that cursing shal de-

CAP. XXIV.

Lo! the Lord schal distrie the erthe, 1
 and schal make it nakid, and schal tur-
 mente the face therof; and he schal scater
 abroad the dwelleris therof. And it schal 2
 be, as the puple, so the preest; as the ser-
 uaunt, so his lord; as the handmaide, so
 the ladi of hir; as a biere, so he that
 sillith; as the leenere, so he that takith
 borew yng; as he that axith a3en, so he
 that owith. Bi distri yng the lond schal 3
 be distried, and schal be maad nakid by
 rauyschyng; for whi the Lord spak this
 word. The erthe morenyde, and fleet 4
 awei, and is maad sijk; the world fleet
 awei, the hiznesse of the^l puple of erthe is
 maad sijk, and the erthe is slayn of hise 5
 dwelleris. For thei passiden lawis, chaung-
 iden ri3t, distrieden euerlastyng boond of

ⁿ and after κ. ^o Om. E pr. m. ^p of it κ. ^q confoundid E pr. m. ^r clothid AEGHK. ^s the AGHK.
^t borewith C pr. m.

^g thei N. ^h vnto I. ⁱ Om. I.

uoure the lond, and synnen shuln his
 dwelleris; and^u therfore waxen woode
 shul his tilieris, and ther shul be lafte
 7 fewe men. Weilede the vyndage, feblid
 is the vyne; inwardli weileden alle that
 8 gladeden in herte. Cesede the ioze of
 tymbris, restide the soun of men glad-
 ende; al stille was the swetnesse of the
 9 harpe. With song thei shul not drinke
 wyn; bitter shal be the drinke to men
 10 drinkende it. Al defouled is the cite of
 vanyte; closid is eche hous, no man en-
 11 trende. Cry shal ben vp on the wyn in
 the stretes, desert is alle gladnesse, trans-
 12 latid is the ioze of the lond. Laft is in
 the huge cite wilderness, and wrecchid-
 13 nesse shal oppressen the zates. For these
 thingus shul be in the myddel of the lond,
 in the myddel of puples, what maner if
 fewe oile beris that lefen ben shaken out
 of the olyue tree, and cluster braunches,
 14 whan were endid the vyndage. These
 shul reren vp ther vois, and preisen,
 whan shal be glorified the Lord; thei
 15 shul nezen fro the se. For that in tech-
 ingus glorifieth the Lord; in iles of the
 se, the name of the Lord God of Irael.
 16 Fro the endes of the erthe preisingus^v
 wee han herd, the glorie of the ri3twis.
 And I seide, My priue thing to me, my
 priue thing to^w me. 'Wo to me^x, the
 lawe breking thei brecken, and in lawe
 breking of the ouer don thingus thei
 17 brecken the lawe. Ferd, and dich, and
 grene vp on thee, that dwellere art of
 18 the erthe. And it shal be, he that shal
 flee fro the face of drede^y, shal falle in
 to the dich; and he that taketh hymself
 out^z of the dich, shal be holden with the
 grene; for the gooteris fro heze thyngus
 ben opened, and smyte togidere shul ben
 19 the foundemens of the erthe. With to-
 breking shal ben to-broken the erthe,
 20 with to-brosing shal be to-brosid the
 lond, with to-stering shal be to-stired the
 erthe, with shaking shal be 'to-shaken^a

pees. For this thing cursyng schal deuoure⁶
 the erthe, and the dwelleris therof schulen
 do synne; and therfor the louyeris therof
 schulen be woode, and fewe men schulen
 be left. Vyndage morenyde, the vyne is 7
 sijk; alle men that weren glad in herte
 weiliden. The ioie of tympanis ceesside,⁸
 the sowne of glad men restide; the swet-
 nesse of harpe with song was stille. Thei⁹
 schulen not drynke wyn; a bittere drynk
 schal be to hem that schulen drynke it.
 The citee of vanyte is al to-brokun; ech¹⁰
 hous is closid, for no man entrith. Cry¹¹
 schal be on wyn in streetis, al gladnesse
 is forsakun, the ioie of erthe is 'takun
 awei^k. Desolacioun^l is left in the citee,¹²
 and wretchidnesse schal oppresse the zatis.
 For these thingis schulen be in the myddis¹³
 of erthe, in the myddis of puplis, as if a
 fewe fruitis of olyue trees that ben left
 ben schakun of fro the olyue tre, and
 racyns, whanne the vyndage is endid.
 These men schulen reise her vois, and¹⁴
 schulen preise, whanne the Lord schal be
 glorified; thei schulen schewe signes of
 gladnesse fro the see. For this thing glo-¹⁵
 rie 3e the Lord in techyngis; in the ilis
 of the see *glorifie* 3e the name of the
 Lord God of Israel. Fro the endis of¹⁶
 erthe we han herd heriyngis, the glorye
 of the iust. And Y seide, My priuyte
 to me, my pryuyte to me. Wo to me,
 trespassours han trespassid, and han tres-
 passid bi trespassyng of brekeris of the
 lawe. Ferdfulnesse, and a dicke, and a¹⁷
 snare on thee, that art a dwellere of erthe.
 And it schal be, he that schal fle fro the¹⁸
 face of ferdfulnesse, schal falle in to the
 dicke; and he that schal delyuere hym silf
 fro the dich, schal be holdun of the snare;
 for whi the wyndows of hize thingis ben
 openyd, and the fundamentis of erthe
 schulen be schakun togidere. The erthe-¹⁹
 schal be brokun with brekyng, the erthe²⁰
 schal be defoulid with defoulyng, the erthe
 schal be mouyd with mouyng, the erthe

^u Om. E pr. m. ^v preisyng A. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x Om. C pr. m. ^y the drede AEGHK. ^z Om. A.
^a shaken AC pr. m.

^k translid, ether takun away CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.

^l Soleyntee, ether desolacioun CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.

21 the erthe, as a drunken man. And it
shal be don away, as the tabernacle of o
nyzt, and greuen it shal his wickidnesse^b;
and it shal falle, and it shal not leyn to,
that it rise azeen. And it shal be, in that
dai visite^c shal the Lord vp on the knyzt-
hod of^d heuene in^e hez, and vp on the
kingus of the lond, that ben vp on erthe.
22 And thei shul ben gedered togidere in
the gederyng togidere of a bundel in to
the lake, and thei shul ben closid there
in prisoun; and aftir many dazes thei
23 shul be visitid. And the moone shal
shamen, and confoundid shal be the
sunne, whan shal regne the Lord of
ostes in the hil of Sion, and in Jerusa-
lem; and in the sizt of ther olde men he
shal ben glorified.

CAP. XXV.

1 Lord, my God thou art, I shal en-
haunce thee, and I shal knowleche to
thi name; for thou hast do merueilous
2 thingus, olde feithful thoytus. Amen. For
thou hast set the cite in to noyse^f, the
huge stronge cite in to falling, the hous
of alienes, that it be not cite, and in to
3 euermor it shal not ben bild^g vp. Vp on
this shal preise thee a strong puple, the
cite of stalwrth folc of kinde shal drede
4 thee. For thou art mad strengthe to
the pore, strengthe to the helpeles in his
tribulacioun, hope fro the whirlwynd,
a shadewe hilet fro hete; the spirit for-
sothe of stalwrthe men as a whirlwind
5 puttende doun a wal. As with hete in
thrist, the noise of alienes thou shalt
meken; and as with hete vnder the cloude
feerly brennende, the braunches of stronge
6 men thou shalt make to welewyn. And
the Lord of osten shal make to alle pu-
ples in this hil a feste of fatte bestes, a
feste of vyndage of merewi fatte thingus,
7 of vyndage most pure. And he shal
stumble doun in this hil^h the face of the
bond, bounde togidere vp on alle puplesⁱ,
and the web that 'he hath^k weuede vp

shal be schakun with schakyng, as a
drunkun man. And it shal be takun 21
awei, as the tabernacle of o nyzt, and the
wickidnesse therof schal greue it; and it
shal falle down, and it shal not adde, for
to rise azen. And it shal be, in that dai
the Lord shal visite on the knyzt-hod of
heuene an hi^z, and on the kyngis of erthe,
that ben on erthe. And thei schulen be 22
gaderid togidere in the gadering togidere
of a bundel in to the lake, and thei schulen
be closid there in prisoun; and aftir many
daies thei schulen be visited. And the 23
moone shal be aschamed, and the sunne
shal be confoundid^m, whanne the Lord of
oostis shal regne in the hil of Sion, and
in Jerusalem, and shal be glorified in the
sizt of hise eldre men.

CAP. XXV.

Lord, thou art my God, Y schal en- 1
haunse thee, and Y schal knowleche to thi
name; for thou hast do marueils, thin elde
feithful thouztis. Amen. For thou hast 2
set the citee in to a briel, a strong citee
in to fallyng, the hous of aliens, that it be
not a citee, and be not bildid with outen
ende. For this thyng a strong puple schal 3
herie thee, the citee of strong folkis schal
drede thee. For thou art maad strengthe 4
to a pore man, strengthe to a nedi man in
his tribulacioun, hope fro whirlwynd, a
schadewyng place fro heete; for whi the
spirit of stronge men *is* as a whirlwynd
hurlynge the wal. As bi heete in thirst, 5
thou schalt make meke the noise of aliens;
and as bi heete vndur a cloude brennyng,
thou schalt make the siouns of stronge men
to fade. And the Lord of oostis schal make 6
in thisⁿ hil to alle puplis the feeste of
fatte thingis, the feeste of vyndage of fatte
thingis ful of merow, of vyndage wel
fyned. And he schal caste doun in this^o 7
hil the face of boond, boundun togidere on
alle puplis, and the web which he weuyde
on alle naciouns. And he schal caste doun 8
deth with outen ende, and the Lord God

^b wickenesse E. ^c areren E pr. m. ^d in E pr. m. ^e Om. E pr. m. ^f a mynde ston hipil c et E pr. m.
^g bildid A. ^h hi^z E pr. m. ⁱ the peplis K. ^k it c pr. m. E pr. m.

^m shent, ether ashamid C E F G H K M N P Q R S U V X Y. schent I. ⁿ his I. ^o his I.

8 on alle nacyouns. He shal stumble down
deth^l in to euere lasting, and^m don awei
shal the Lord God eche tere fro alle face;
and the repref of his puple he shal don
away fro al erthe; for the Lord spac.
9 And they shul sey in that day, Lo! the
Lord oure God this; wee han abiden hym,
and he shal sauen vs; this the Lord; wee
han suffrydⁿ hym, and wee shul ful out
iozen, and gladen in his helthe 3yuere.
10 For the hond of the Lord shal reste in
this hil, and threschid^o shal ben Moab
vnder hym, as ben to-treden strawes in a
11 wayn. And he shal strecchen out his
hondis vnder hym, as a swymmere
streccheth out to swymmen; and he shal
meeken his glorie with the 'hurling to^p
12 of his hondis. And the forsemens, 'or
strengthis^a, of thin heze walles shul to-
gidere falle, and be lowid, and drawn
un to the erthe, vnto poudere.

CAP. XXVI.

1 In that day shal ben sungen this song
in the lond of Juda. The huge cite of
oure strengthe^r Sion; a saueour shal be
set in it, the wal and the bifor walling.
2 Openeth the 3ates, and ther shal go in
3 a riztwis folc^s, kpende treuthe. The olde
errour 3ide awei; thou shalt kepe pes,
pest^t, for in 'thee, Lord^u, wee han hopid.
4 3ee han hopid in the Lord, fro the^v euere
lastende worldus, in the Lord God, strong
5 in to withoute ende. For he shal in-
bowe the dwelleris in hei3te, the heze
cite he shal meeken^w; he shal meke it
vn to the erthe, drawn it down in to
6 poulder. To-trede it shal the foote of the
7 pore, the goyngus of helpeles men. The
sty of the riztwis is euene, euene the path
8 of the riztwis to gon. And in the sty of
thi domes, Lord, wee han sustened thee;
thi name, and thi mynde, in desyr of
9 soule. My soule shal desire thee in ny3t,
but and with my spirit in myn herte in-
ward thingus; fro erly I shal wake^x to

shal do away ech teer fro ech face; and
he shal do awei the schenscipe of his
puple fro ech lond; for the Lord spac.
And thei schulen seie in that dai, Lo!⁹
this *is* oure God; we abididen hym, and
he schal saue vs; this *is* the Lord; we
suffriden him, and we schulen make ful
out ioie, and schulen be glad in his helthe.
For whi the hond of the Lord shal reste¹⁰
in this^p hil, and Moab shal be threischid
vnder hym, as chaffis ben stampid in a
wayn. And he schal stretche forth hise¹¹
hondis vnder hym, as a swymmere stretch-
ith forth to swymme; and he schal make
low the glorie of him with hurtlyng down
of hise hondis. And the strengthingis of¹²
thin hi3 wallis schulen falle down, and
schulen be maad low, and schulen be
drawun down to the erthe, 'til to the
dust^a.

CAP. XXVI.

In that dai* this song shal be sungun¹
in the lond of Juda†. The citee of oure
strengthe‡; the sauyour shal be set ther
ynne, the wal and the 'fore wal^l. Opene²
3e the 3atis, and the iust folk schal entre,
kepyng treuthe. The elde errour is gon³
awei; thou schalt kepe pees, pees, for thou,
Lord, we hopiden in thee. 3e han hopid⁴
in the Lord, in euerlastyng worldis§, in
the Lord God, strong with outen ende. For⁵
he schal bowe down hem that dwellen an
hi3, and he schal make low an hi3 citee||;
he schal make it low 'til to^s the erthe; he
schal drawe it down 'til to^s the^t dust. The⁶
foot of a pore man schal defoule it, and
the steppis of nedi men *schulen defoule it*.
The weie of a iust man is riztful, the path⁷
of a iust man *is* riztful to go. And in the⁸
weie of thi domes, Lord, we suffriden thee;
thi name, and thi memorial *is* in desir of
soule. My soule schal desire thee in the⁹
nizt, but also with my spirit in myn en-
trails; fro the morewtid Y schal wake to

* dai; that is,
whanne the
doom is endid.
Live here. κ.
† Juda; that
is interpretid
knowleching
of Goddis heer-
ijng. *Live here.*
κ.
‡ Sion; that is,
heuenli citee,
whois excel-
lence mai not
be declarid bi
mannus wordis;
this word *Sion*
is nether in
Ebrew nether
in bokis amend-
id. *Live here.*
κ.
§ worldis; that
is, to gete to
him euerlasting
lijf. κ.
|| citee; that is,
citees in wiche
pride and
othere vices ben
plenteuous.
Live here. κ.

¹ Om. *E pr. m.* ^m deth and *E pr. m.* ⁿ sustened *c pr. m.* ^o wynewid *c et E pr. m.* ^p hurlyng *A.*
hurtlyng *κ.* ^q Om. *c et E pr. m.* ^r grete strengthe *c pr. m.* ^s folc of kinde *E pr. m.* ^t Om. *AK sec. m.*
^u the Lord *c.* ^v Om. *κ.* ^w meken it *κ.* ^x maken *κ.*

^p his *I.* ^q vnto dust *I.* ^r fore wal [biforwal *CK*], *ether a strengthe bifore the wall* *CEFGHIKMNPRSU Y.*
biforwal *VX.* ^s vnto *I.* ^t Om. *I.*

thee. Whan thou shalt don thi domes in
the erthe, riȝtwisnesse shul lerne alle
10 the dwelleris of the world. Haue wee
mercy to the vnpiouse, and he schal not
lerne to do riȝtwisnesse; in the lond of
halewis wicke thingus he dide, and he
shal not see the glorie of the Lord.
11 Lord, be enhauncid thin hond, that thei
see^y not; see and be confoundid the en-
uyende^z puples, and fyr thin enemys de-
12 uoure. Lord, thou shalt ȝyuen pes to vs,
alle forsothe oure werkes thou wroȝtist
13 in^a vs. Lord oure God, lordis welded
vs, with oute thee; only in thee recorde
14 wee of thi name. Diende lyue thei not,
and ieauntis ryse thei not aȝen. Ther-
fore thou hast visityd, and to-brodest
hem, and lost al the mynde of them; and
thou hast forȝyue to the fol of kinde,
15 Lord, thou hast forȝyue to the folc of
kynde. Whether glorified thou art? thou
hast 'drawen along^b alle the termes of
16 the erthe. Lord, in anguysh thei soȝten
thee; in tribulacioun of grucching thi lore
17 to them. As she that conceyuede, whan
she shulde neȝhe to the trauailing of
child, sorewende crieth^c in hir sorewes,
so wee^d ben maad fro thi face, Lord.
18 Wee han conceyued, and as wee han
born, and broȝte forth the spirit of helthe;
riȝtwisnesse wee han not don in erthe,
therefore fellen not the dwelleris of the
19 erthe. Lyuen shul thi deade, my^e slayne
men shuln aȝen rise. Beth wakid, and
preiseth, ȝee that dwellen in pouder; for
the dew of liȝt thi dew, and the lond of
ieauntus thou shalt drawe down in to
20 falling. Go, my puple^f, entre in to thi
bed places, close thi dores vp on thee, be
hid a litil while, to the tyme that passe
21 myn^g indignacioun. Lo! forsothe the
Lord shal go out fro his hoely place, that
he visite the wickidnesse^g of the dwell-
ere of the erthe aȝen hym; and the erthe
shal opene his blod, and shal no more
koueren his slayn men.

thee. Whanne thou schalt make thi domes
in erthe, alle dwelleris of the world schu-
len lerne riȝtfulnesse. Do we merci to the 10
wickid man, and he schal not lerne to do
riȝtfulnesse^u; in the lond of seyntis he
dide wickid thingis, and he schal not se
the glorie of the Lord. Lord, thin hond 11
be enhaunsid, that thei se not; puplis
hauynge enuye se, and be schent, and fier
deuoure thin enemyes. Lord, thou schalt 12
ȝyue pees to vs, for thou hast wroȝt alle
oure werkis in vs. Oure Lord God, lordis 13
hadden vs in possessioun, withouten thee;
oneli in thee haue we mynde of thi name.
Thei that dien, lyue not, and giauntis 14
risen not aȝen. Therfor thou hast visityd,
and hast al-to broke hem, and thou hast
lost al the mynde of hem; and Lord, thou
hast forȝyue^{uu} to a folc, thou hast forȝyue^{uu} 15
to a folc. Whether thou art glorified*? thou
hast maad fer fro thee all the endis of
erthe. Lord, in angwisch thei souȝten 16
thee; in the tribulacioun of grutchyng thi
doctryn to hem. As sche that conseyuede, 17
whanne sche neizeth sorewful to the child
berying, crieth in her sorewis, so we ben
maad, Lord, of thi face. We han con- 18
seyued, and we han as trauelid of child,
and we han childid the spirit of helthe;
we diden not riȝtfulnesse in erthe. Therfor
the dwelleris of erthe fellen^v not down;
thi deed men schulen lyue, and my slayn 19
men schulen rise aȝen. Ȝe that dwellen
in dust, awake, and herie; for whi the deew
of liȝt is thi deew, and thou schalt drawe
down the lond of giauntis in to fallyng.
Go thou, my puple, entre in to thi beddis, 20
close thi doris on thee, be thou hid a litil
at a moment, til indignacioun passe. For 21
lo! the Lord schal go out of his place, to
visite the wickidnesse of the dwellere of
erthe aȝens hym; and the erthe schal
schewe his blood, and schal no more hile
hise slayn men.

* glorified;
that is, of hem
bi penaunce?
nay, for thei
mysiden the
tyme of pe-
naunce. Lire
here. x.

^y Om. E sec. m. ^z enuyying see E sec. m. ^a Om. K. ^b longid out c et E pr. m. ^c she crieth AEGHK.
^d thei E pr. m. ^e thin AC pr. m. K sec. m. thi E pr. m. ^f puple with me E pr. m. ^g Om. E pr. m.
^g wickenesse E.

riȝtwisnesse i. ^{uu} forȝyue i. ^v felden i passim.

CAP. XXVII.

1 In that dai viseten shal the Lord in
his harde swerd, and gret, and strong,
vp on leuyathan, an eddere, a^h leour,
and vp on leuyathan, aⁱ crookid wounde
serpent^k; and he shal sle the whal, that
2 is in the se. In that day the vyne³erd^l
3 of good cleer wyn shal synge to hym. I
the Lord that kepe it, feerli shal heelden
out to it, lest par auenture it be visitid
4 azen it; nyȝt and dai I kepe it, indigna-
cioun is not to me. Who shal ȝyue me a
thorne, and a brere? In bataile I shal go
5 vp on it, I shal brennen it togidere. Or
more I shal holde my strengthe? He shal
do pes to me, pes he shal don to me.
6 Who shal go out with bure fro Jacob?
Flouren and burioune shal Irael, and
they shul fulfille the face of the world
7 with sed. Whether after the plage of the
smytende hymself he smot hym? or as he
slooȝ the slayne men of hym, so he is
8 slayn? In mesure azen mesure, whan leid
to it shal be, he shal deme it; he bithoȝte
in his harde spirit, by the day of hete.
9 Therfor vp on this shal ben forȝouen
wickidnesse to^m the hous of Jacob, and
this al the frute, that be don awei his
synne, whan he shal leyn alle the stones
of the auter as theⁿ hurtlid stones of askes^o.
Stonde shul not the maumet wodes, and
10 the maumet wasshing temples. Forsothe
the strengthid cite shal be desolat, the
faire shal ben forsake, and lafte as desert;
there^p shal be fed the calf, and there shal
he lyn, and waste the ouermestes of it.
11 In the droȝte of his rip to-treden shul
ben wymmen, comende and techende it.
Forsothe ther is not the puple wys, ther-
fore shal^q not han mercy of it, that made
it; and that^r foormede it, shal not spare
12 to it. And it shal be, in that dai shal the
Lord smyte, fro the wombe of the flod
vnto the strem of Egipt; and ȝee shul be
gedered togidere oon and oon, ȝee sonus
13 of Irael. And it shal be, in that dai

CAP. XXVII.

In that dai the Lord schal visite in his 1
hard swerd, and greet, and strong, on
leuyathan, serpent, a barre, and on leuy-
athan, the crookid serpent; and he schal
sle the whal, which is in the see. In that 2
dai the vyner of cleen wyn and good schal
synge to him. Y am the Lord that kepes 3
that *vyner*; sudeynli Y schal ȝyue drynke
to it, lest perauenture it be visitid aȝens
it; nyȝt and dai Y kepe it, indignacioun 4
is not to me. Who schal ȝyue me a thorn
and brere? In batel Y schal go on it, Y
schal brenne it togidere. Whether rather 5
Y schal holde my strengthe? It schal make
pees to me, it schal make pees to me, *for*
the merit of hem that schulen go out with 6
fersnesse fro Jacob. Israel schal floure and
brynge forth seed, and thei schulen fille
the face of the world with seed. Whether 7
he smoot it bi the wounde of *the puple*
of Jewis smytynge hym? ether as it killide
the slayn men of hym, so it was slayn? 8
In mesure aȝens mesure, whanne it schal
be cast awei, he schal deme it; he bi-
thoȝte in his hard spirit, bi the dai of
heete. Therfor on this thing wickidnesse 9
schal be forȝouun to the hous of Jacob,
and this *schal be* al the fruyt, that the
synne therof be don awei, whanne it hath
set all the stoonys of the auter as the
stonys of aische hurtlid down. Wodis 10
and templis schulen not stonde. Forsothe
the strong citee schal be desolat, the fair
citee schal be left, and schal be forsakun
as a desert; there a calf schal be lesewid,
and schal ligge there, and schal waste the
hignessis therof. In the drynesse of ripe 11
corn therof wymmen comynge, and thei
that techen it, schulen be al to-brokun.
Forsothe it is not a wijs puple, therfor he
that made it, schal not haue mercy on it;
and he that formyde it, schal not spare it.
And it schal be, in that dai the Lord schal 12
smyte thee, fro the botme of the flood 'til
to^w the stronde of Egipt; and ȝe sonus of

^h and AGHK. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k Om. E pr. m. ^l vyne C et E pr. m. ^m vpon E pr. m. ⁿ he K.
^o asshen A. asken EGH. ^p wher E pr. m. ^q he schal AG sec. m. K sec. m. ^r he that A.

^w vnto I.

shal be trumpid in a gret trumpe, and ther shul comen that weren lost, fro the lond of Assiries, and that weren cast awei, fro the lond of Egipt; and thei shul honouren the Lord, in the hoeli hil in^s Jerusalem.

CAP. XXVIII.

1 Wo to the crowne of pride, to the drunke men of Effraym, and to the flour fallende doun of the glorie of his ful out iozyng, that weren in^t the cop of the
2 valei most fat, errende of wyn. Lo! the stalwrthe and the stronge Lord, as the bure of hail, the tempest al brekende, as the bure of manye flowende watris, and
3 sent^u out vp on the spaciose erthe. With feet shal be to-trede^v the crowne of pride
4 of the drunke men of Effraym, and the flour shal be doun fallende of the glorie of his ful out iozing, that is vp on the cop of the valei of fatte thingus, as the biforn rijp frute bifer the rijpnesse of heruest; the whiche thing whan shal beholde the seere, anoon as with hond he
5 shal holden, he shal deuoure it. In that dai shal be the Lord of osten the crowne of glorie, and the garlond of ful^w out
6 iozing, to the residue of his puple; and the spirit of dom to the sittere vp on the trone, and strengthe to ther men turnende a3een fro the bataile to the 3ate.
7 These also for wyn^x knewen not treuthe^y, and for drunkenesse thei erreden; preest and profete knewen not for drunkenesse; thei ben sopen awei of^z wyn, thei erreden in drunkenesse; thei knewe not the
8 seere, thei vnknewe dom. Alle forsothe boordis ben fulfild with the^a vome^b and^c filthis, so that ther were no more place.
9 Whom shal he teche kunnyng, and whom to vnderstonde shal he make the heryng? The wened from mylc, the put awei

Israel, schulen be gaderid oon and oon. And it schal be, in that dai me schal come¹³ with a greet trumpe, and thei that weren lost, schulen come fro the lond of Assiriens, and thei that weren cast out, *schulen come* fro the lond of Egipt; and they schulen worschipe the Lord, in the hooli hil in Jerusalem.

CAP. XXVIII.

Wo to the coroun of pride, to the drunkun men of Effraym, and to the flour fallynge doun of the glorie of the ful out ioiying therof, that weren in the cop of the fatteste valei, and erriden^x of wyn. Lo! the my3ti and strong Lord, as the² feersnesse of hail, a^y whirlwynd brekyng togidere, as the fersnesse of many watris flowynge, and sent out on a large lond. The coroun of pride of the drunken men³ of Effraym schal be defoulid with feet, and the flour of glorie of the ful out ioi-⁴ yng of hym, that is on the cop of valei^z of fat thingis, schal be fallynge doun, as a tymeli thing bifer the ripenesse of heruest; which whanne a man seyng biholdith, anoon as he takith with hond, he schal deuoure it. In that dai the Lord of⁵ oostis schal be a coroun of glorie, and a garlond of ful out ioiying, to the residue of his puple; and a spirit of doom to^a hym⁶ that sittith on the trone, and strengthe to hem that turnen a3en fro batel to the 3ate. But also thei knewen not for wyn, and⁷ erriden for drunkenesse; the preest and profete knewen not for drunkenesse; thei weren sopen up of wyn, thei erriden in drunkenesse; thei knewen not a profete, thei knewen not doom. For whi alle⁸ bordis weren fillid with spuyng and filthis, so that ther was no more place. Whom⁹ schal he teche kunnyng, and whom schal he make to vnderstonde heryng? Men wenyd fro mylk, men drawun awei fro tetis. For whi comaunde thou, comaunde¹⁰

^a of AGHK. ^t to A. ^u the sent E pr. m. ^v to-troden E. ^w the ful A. ^x Forsothe thise also first E pr. m. ^y Om. E pr. m. ^z with A. ^a Om. AGHK. ^b vomes C pr. m. ^c of E pr. m.

^x erride I. ^y and A. ^z the valei I. ^a of N.

10 fro tetes. For send, eft^d send; send, eft^d
 send; abyde, eft^d byde; abijde, eft^d bijde;
 11 litil there, litil there. In the speche for-
 sothe of the lippe, and in an othir tunge
 12 shal ben spoke to this puple, to whom
 he seide, This is my reste; releueeth the
 wery, and that is my refreshing; and thei
 13 wolden not heren. And ther shal be to
 them the wrd of the Lord, Send, eft
 send; send, eft send; abijde, eft bijde^e;
 abijde, eft bijde^e; litil there, litil there;
 that thei go, and falle backward, and be
 14 to-brosid, and gnared, and taken. For
 that hereth the wrd of the Lord, see
 men^f gileris, that lordshipen vp on my
 15 puple that is in Jerusalem. See seiden
 forsothe, Wee han smyte pes bond with
 deth, and with helle wee han maad co-
 uenaunt; scourge flowend whan shal
 passe, shal not come vp on vs, for wee
 han set lesyng oure hope, and with les-
 16 yng we ben couered. Therfor these
 thyngus seith the Lord God^g, Lo! I shal
 senden in the foundemens of Sion a cor-
 ner ston precious, proued, in the founde-
 ment foundid; who shal beleuen, hee^{3e}
 17 he not. And I shal putte in peis dom,
 and rijtwise in mesure; and the hail
 shal to-turne vpsodoun the hope of les-
 yng, and the proteccioun watris shul
 flowe. And don away shal be 3oure pes
 18 bond with deth, and 3oure couenaunt
 with helle shal not stonde; scourge flow-
 ende whan shal passe, see shul be to it
 19 in to treading. Whan euere it shal passe,
 it shal take 3ou away; for erly the moru-
 tid it shal passe, in^h day and ny3t; and al
 onli the alone greuous birthene vnder-
 20 standing shal 3yue to the herende. Al
 to streit forsothe is the beddyng, so that
 an other falle down; and the shorte man-
 21 til either mai not couere. As forsothe
 in the hil of deuyseouns shal stonde the
 Lord, so in the valei, that is in Gabaon,
 he shal wrathe, that he do his werk;

thou^b azen; comaunde thou, comaunde
 thou azen; abide thou, abide thou azen;
 abide thou, abide thou azen; a litil there,
 a litil there. For whi in speche of lippe,¹¹
 and in other langage he schal speke to
 this puple, to which^c he seide, This is my¹²
 reste; refreische 3e a weri man, and this is
 my refreischyng; and thei nolden^d here.
 And the word of the Lord schal be to¹³
 hem, Sende thou, sende thou azen; send
 thou, sende thou azen; abide thou, abide
 thou azen; abide thou, abide thou azen;
 a litil there, a litil there; that thei go, and
 falle backward, and be al to-brokun, and
 be snarid, and be takun. For this thing,¹⁴
 3e men scorneris, that ben lordis ouer^e my
 puple which is in Jerusalem, here^f the
 word of the Lord. For 3e seiden, We han^g ¹⁵
 smyte a boond of pees with deth, and we
 han maad couenaunt with helle; a scourge
 flowynge whanne it schal passe, schal not
 come on vs, for we han set a leesyng oure
 hope, and we ben kyuered with a leesyng.
 Therfor the Lord God seith these thingis,¹⁶
 Lo! Y schal sende in the fundamentis of
 Sion a corner stoon precieuse, preuyd,
 foundid in the fundament; he that bi-
 leueth, schal not haaste. And Y schal ¹⁷
 sette doom in weizte, and^h rijtfulnesse in
 mesure; and hail schal distrie the hope of
 leesyng, and watris schulen flowe on pro-
 teccioun. And 3oure boond of pees with
 deth schal be don awei, and 3oure coue-¹⁸
 naunt with helle schal not stonde; whanne
 the scourge flowynge schal passe, 3e schu-
 len be to it in to defoulyng. Whanne euer ¹⁹
 it schal passe, it schal take awei 3ow;
 for whi erli in the grey morewtid it schal
 passe, in dai and ny3t; and oonli trauel
 aloone schal 3yue vndurstandyng to her-
 yng. Forsothe the bed is streit, so that ²⁰
 the tother^k falle down; and a schort mentil
 schal not hile euer either. For as in the ²¹
 hil of departyngis the Lord schal stonde,
 as in the valei, which is in Gabaon, he

^d and eft *E pr. m.* ^e abijde *E sec. m.* abyde *AGHK.* ^f Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^g Om. *K.* ^h Om. *c pr. m.*

^b Om. *N.* ^c the which *I.* ^d wolden not *I.* ^e of *N.* ^f hereth *I.* ^g haue *I passim.* ^h and in *I.*
ⁱ and *I.* ^k oothir *I.*

alyen is the werk of hym, that he werke
his werk; straunge is his werk fro hym.
22 And now wileth not bigilen, lest par
aumenture be streitid 3oure bondis; ful
ending forsothe and abregging I haue
herd of the Lord God of ostus, vp on al
23 erthe. With eres parceyueth, and her-
eth my vois; taketh heed, and hereth
24 my fayre speche. Whether al day shal
ereⁱ the erere, that he sowe, and forth
25 kutten, and^j purge his erthe? Whether
not, whan he shal euenen therto his face,
he shal sowe the sed gith, and the comyn
sprengen, and sette the whete bi order,
and barly, and myle, and ficche^k in ther
26 coestes? And shal teche hym his God, in
27 dom shal^l leren^m hym. Forsothe not in
sawes shal be throsshe gith, ne the wheel
of a wayn vp on the comyn shal gon
about; but in 3erde shalⁿ ben shaken
28 out gith, and the comyn in a staf. Bred
forsothe shal be to-mynusht, but not in
to euermor the thresshere shal thresshen
it, ne shal trauaile it the wheel of the
wayn, ne with his eles shal^o to-mynushe
29 it. And that fro the Lord God of ostes
wente out, that merueilous shulde make
counseil, and magnefyen the^p rightwys-
nesse.

CAP. XXIX.

1 Wo! Ariel^q, Ariel^r, *that is, Jerusalem,*
and auter^s, cite that Dauid ouercam;
added is 3er to 3er, solempnetees ben
2 ouerturned. And^t I shal besette aboute
Ariel, and it shal be dreri and sorewy;
3 and it shal be to me as Aryel. And I
shal cumpasse as a bal in thi cumpas,
and I shal kaste a3en thee an hep, and
the strengthis I shal sette in to thi^u
4 seging. Thou shalt be meekid, of the
erthe thou shalt speke, and of the loewe^v
erthe shal ben herd thi speche; and shal

shal be wroth, that he do his werk; his
werk^l alien, that he worche his werk; his
werk is straunge fro hym. And now nyle²²
3e scorne, lest perauenture 3oure boondis
be maad streit togidere; for Y herde of
the Lord God of oostis, endyng and a-
breggyng on al erthe. Perseyue 3e with²³
eeris, and here 3e my vois; perseyue
3e, and here 3e my speche. Whether²⁴
he that erith, schal ere^m al dai, for to
sowe, and schal be kerue, and purge his
londe? Whether whanne he hath maad²⁵
eueene the face therof, schal he not sowe
gith^{*}, and spreng abrood comyn? and he
shal not sette wheete bi ordre, and barli,
and mylium, and fetchis in his coostis?
And his God schal teche hym, in doom he²⁶
shal teche hym. Forsothe gith schal not²⁷
be threischid in sawis, and a wheel of a
wayn schal not cumpasse on comyn; but
gith schal be betun out with a 3erd, and
comyn with a staf. Sotheli breed schal²⁸
be maad lesse, but he that threischith
shal not threische it with outen ende, ne-
ther schal trauele it with a wheel of a
wayn, nether schal make it lesse with hise
clees. And this thing 3ede out of the²⁹
Lord God of oostis, that he schulde make
wondirful councel, and magnefie rijtful-
nesse.

* *gith*; is a
kynde of erbe,
able to potage,
and is lijk co-
myn. *Live here.*
A *et alii*.

CAP. XXIX.

Wo! Ariel, Ariel^{n†}, the citee which¹
Dauid ouercam; 3eer is addid to 3eer,
solempnytees ben passyd. And Y schal²
cumpasse Ariel, and it schal be soreful
and morenyng; and *Jerusalem* schal be
to me as Ariel. And Y schal cumpasse³
as a round trendil^o in thi cumpasse, and
Y schal caste erthe a3ens thee, and Y schal
sette engynes^p in to thi bisegying^q. Thou⁴
schalt be maad low, thou schalt speke of
erthe, and thi speche schal be herd fro the
erthe; and thi vois schal be as *the vois* of

† *Ariel*; that
is, Jerusalem.
A *et alii*. that
is, the cite of
Jerusalem. r.

ⁱ eren c *pr. m.* ^j that he c *pr. m.* ^k vicia c *et E pr. m.* ^l he shal *AK.* ^m lerne *AGHK.* ⁿ Om. *A.*
^o Om. *CE pr. m.* ^p Om. *AECHK.* ^q to Ariel c *pr. m.* *E pr. m.* ^r Om. *C.* woo! Ariel *AK sec. m.* ^s Om. *c et*
E pr. m. ^t Om. *E pr. m.* ^u Om. *c pr. m.* ^v Om. *E pr. m.*

¹ werk is *A sec. m.* ^m eryl s. ⁿ Om. *R.* ^o speere, *ether trendil CEI GHIKMNPQRSUY.* ^p strengthis,
ether engynnes CEF GHIKMNPQRSUVXY. ^q bisechyng *A.* bysekyng s.

be as of a deuē clepere fro the erthe thi
 vois, and fro the loewe^w erthe shal groyne
 5 thi speche. And shal be as thynne pou-
 der the multitude of men wynewende^x
 thee; and as 'a gnast^y thurgh passende,
 the multitude of hem that azen thee
 6 hadden maistri. And it shal be feerly,
 'or *sudenly*^z, anoon fro the Lord of
 ostus it shal be visitid, in thunder, and
 quauyng of erthe, and gret vois of whirle-
 wind, and of tempest, and of flaume of
 7 fījr deuourende. And shal be as a^a
 drem^b of a^c nyȝt viseoun the multitude
 of alle Jentiles that foȝten azen Ariel;
 and alle that azen riden, and bisegeden,
 8 and hadden the maistri azen it. And as
 sweueneth the hungrende, and eteth,
 whan forsothe he were wakid, voide is
 his soule; and as sweueneth the thrist-
 ende, and drinketh, and aftir that^d he
 were waken, weri ȝit he thristeth, and
 his soule is voide, so shal be the multi-
 tude of alle Jentiles, that foȝten azen the
 9 hil of Sion. Bicometh alle stoneid, and
 wndreth; flotereth, and waghereth; 'be ȝe^e
 drunken inwardli, and not of wyn; ȝee be
 10 moued, and not with drunkenesse. For
 mengd hath the Lord to ȝou the spirit
 of slep; he shal closen ȝoure eȝen, the
 profetes, and ȝoure princes that seen vi-
 11 seouns, he shal couere. And ther shal
 be to ȝou the viseoun of alle as the wrdis
 of the boc sealid; whom whan thei shul
 ȝyue to the kunnende lettris, thei shul
 sey, Reed this; and he shal answern, I
 12 mai not, forsothe it is sealid. And the
 boc shal be ȝyue to the not kunnende
 lettris, and it shal be seid to hym, Reed;
 and he shal answern, I kan not lettris.
 13 And the Lord seide, 'For thi that^f this
 puple neȝheth with his mouth, and with
 his lippes glorifieth me, his herte for-
 sothe fer is fro me; and thei dradden me

a deed man reisið bi coniuring, and thi
 speche schal ofte grutche of the erthe.
 And the multitude of hem that wyndewen⁵
 thee, schal be as thynne dust; and the
 multitude of hem that hadden the maistrie
 azens thee, *shal be* as a^a deed sparcle
 passynge. And it schal be sudenli, anoon⁶
 it schal be visitid of the Lord of oostis, in
 thundur, and in mouyng of the erthe, and
 in gret vois of whirlwynd, and of tem-
 pest, and of flawme of fier deuowrynge.
 And the multitude of alle folkis that⁷
 fouȝten azens Ariel schal be as the dreem
 of a nyȝtis visioun; and alle men that
 fouȝten, and bisegiden, and hadden the
 maistrie azens it. And as an hungry man⁸
 dremyð, and etith, but whanne he is
 awakid, his soule is voide; and as a thirsti
 man dremeth, and drynkith, and after that¹¹
 he is awakid, he is weri, and thirstith ȝit,
 and his soule is voide, so schal be the
 multitude of alle folkis, that fouȝten azens
 the hil of Sion. Be ȝe astonyed, and⁹
 wondre^a; wake ȝe, and douȝte ȝe; be ȝe
 drunken, and not of wyn; be ȝe moued,
 and not with drunkenesse. For the Lord¹⁰
 hath meddlid to ȝou the spirit of sleep;
 he schal close ȝoure iȝen, and schal hile
 ȝoure profetis, and princes that sien vi-
 siouns. And the visioun of alle *profetis*¹¹
 schal be to ȝou as the wordis of a book
 aseelid; which whanne thei schulen ȝyue
 to hym that kan lettris, thei schulen seie,
 Rede thou this *book*; and he schal an-
 swere, Y may not, for it is aseelid. And¹²
 the book schal be ȝouun to *him* that kan
 not lettris, and it schal be seid to hym,
 Rede thou; and he schal answer, Y kan
 no lettris. And the Lord seide, For that¹³
 this puple neȝeth with her mouth, and
 glorifieth me with her lippis, but her^t
 herte^u is fer fro me; and thei dredden
 me for the comaundement^v and tech-

^w Om. E pr. m.^x wynnyngē K.^y or dede bronde c sec. m. marg. deade bronde E sec. m. AGHK.^z Om. c et E pr. m.^a Om. AGHK.^b slep c pr. m. E pr. m.^c Om. AGHK.^d Om. A.^e ȝee shul be^f For that A.^r Om. A pr. m.¹¹ Om. N.^s wondreth I.^t the CEF GHIK MN PQRSUVX.^u herte therof CEF GHIK MN PQRSUVX.^v herte of it I. ^v comaundementis A pr. m. M.

in maundement of men and doctrines,
 14 therefore loo^h! I shal adde, that gret
 wondring I do to this puple, with gret
 myracle and hidous; forsothe pershe shal
 wisdom fro his wise men, and the vnder-
 standing of his prudent men shal be hid.
 15 Wo, see that deep ben inⁱ herte, that
 fro the Lord see hide counsel; of whom
 the werkes ben in dercnesses, and seyn,
 Who seeth vs, and who kneȝ vs?
 16 Shreude is this ȝoure thenking, as if the
 cley aȝens the crockere thenke, and the
 werk sey to his makere, Thou hast not
 mad me; and the making sey to his
 17 makere, Thou vnderstondist^k not. Whe-
 ther not ȝit in litil and in short shal be
 turned Liban 'in to^l Chermel, and Cher-
 mel in to a wilde wode shal ben holde?
 18 And heren shul in that day deue men
 the wrdis of the boc, and fro dercnesses
 and mystynesses the eȝen of blynde^m
 19 men shul seen; and mylde men shuln
 adde in the Lord gladnesse, and pore
 men in the hoeli Israel ful out shul
 20 ioȝen. For heⁿ hath failid, that hadde the
 maistri, ful endid is the gilere, and hewen
 down ben alle that wakenen 'vp on^o wick-
 21 idnesse^{oo}; that to synnen maden men in
 wrd, and the vndernymere in the ȝate
 thei supplaunteden, and boweden down
 22 in veyn fro the riȝtwis. For that these
 thingus seith the Lord to the hous of
 Jacob, that aȝeeboȝte^p Abraham, Not now
 shal be confoundid Jacob, ne now his
 23 chere shal shame; but whan he shal seen
 his sones, the werkys^{pp} of myn hondis, in
 his myddel halewende my^q name. And
 thei shul halewen the hoeli of Jacob, and
 the hoeli God of Israel thei shul prechen;
 24 and knowen shul the errende in spirit
 vnderstanding, and the musures shul
 lerne^q the lawe.

yngis of men, therfor lo! Y schal adde,¹⁴
 that Y make wondryng to this puple, in
 a greet myracle and wondurful; for whi
 wisdom schal perische fro wise men ther-
 of, and the vndurstondyng of prudent men
 therof schal be hid. Wo to ȝou that ben¹⁵
 hiȝe^w of herte, that ȝe hide counsel fro the
 Lord; the werkis of whiche ben in derk-
 nessis, and thei seien, Who seeth vs, and
 who knowith vs? This thouȝt of ȝou is¹⁶
 weiward, as if cley thenke aȝens a pottere,
 and the werk seie to his makere, Thou
 madist not me; and a thing 'that is^x
 maad, seie^y to his makere, Thou vndur-
 stondist not. Whether not ȝit in a litil¹⁷
 time and schort the Liban schal be turned
 in to Chermel, and Chermel schal be
 arettid in to the forest? And in that dai¹⁸
 deaf men schulen here the wordis of the
 book, and the iȝen of blynde men schulen
 se fro derknessis and myisty; and mylde¹⁹
 men schulen encreesse gladnesse in the
 Lord, and pore men schulen make ful out
 ioie in the hooli of Israel. For he that²⁰
 hadde the maistrie, failide, and the scornere
 is endid, and alle thei ben kit down that
 walkiden on wickidnesse; whiche²¹ maden
 men to do synne in word, and disseyu-
 eden a repreuere in the ȝate, and bowiden
 away in veyn fro a iust man. For this²²
 thing the Lord, that aȝen bouȝte Abra-
 ham, seith these thingis to the hous of
 Jacob, Jacob schal not be confoundid now,
 nether now his cheer schal be aschamed;
 but whanne he schal se hise sones, the²³
 werkis of myn hondis, halewyng my
 name in the myddis of hym. And thei
 schulen halewe the hooli of Jacob, and
 thei schulen preche God of Israel; and²⁴
 thei that erren in spirit, schulen knowe
 vndurstondyng, and idil men^a schulen
 lerne the lawe.

^h Om. A. ⁱ Om. c pr. m. ^k vnderstodist K. ^l and in to K. ^m the blynd K. ⁿ Om. c pr. m. e pr. m.
^o to E pr. m. ^{oo} wickenesse E. ^p aȝen bouȝt A et alii. ^{pp} werk K. ^q in my E pr. m. ^{qq} lerne K.

^w deep CKVX. deepe, ether hiȝe EFGHIMNPQRSU. ^x Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRVX. ^y seith s. ^z the
 whiche I. ^a men, ether gruccheris CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

CAP. XXX.

1 Wo! 3ee sonus forsakeres, seith the Lord, that 3ee schulden^r do counseil, and not of me; and wafen a web, and not bi my spirit, that^s 3ee adde synne vp on
2 synne. The whiche gon, that 3ee descende in to Egipt, and my mouth 3ee han^{ss} not askid; hopende helpe in the strengthe of Farao, and hauende trost in
3 the shadewe of Egipt. And shal be to 3ou the strengthe of Farao in to confusioun, and the trost of the vmbre of
4 Egipt in to shenshepe. Wenten forsothe in Thampnys thi princes, and thi messageres vnto 'Anes^t cite^{tt} ful camen. Alle
5 thei ben confoundid vp on the puple, that to^u hem myzte no than profited^v; thei weren not in to helpe, and in to any profit, but in to confusioun and repref.
6 The charge of the bestes of the south. In the lond of tribulacioun and of anguysh, a leounesse, and a leoun, of hem a violent eddere, and a kokatrice fleende; berende vp on the shuldris of bestes ther riches-
7 ses, and vp on the bocche of camailes ther tresores, to the puple that to them myzte not han profited. Egipt forsothe wastli, and in veyn shal helpen. Ther-
8 fore I criede vp on this, Pride onli it is; reste thou. Now thanne gon in, wryt to it vp on a box table, and in a boc bisili graue it; and it shal be in the laste day
9 in to witnessyng, vn to euermore. The puple forsothe to wrathe ys terrende, and sonas lieres, sonas not willende to heren
10 the lawe of God. That seyn to men seende, Wileth not see; and to men biholdende, Wileth not biholde to vs tho thingus that ben rizte; speketh to vs ple-
11 saunt thingus, seeth to vs erroures. Doth awei fro me the weie, bowith down fro me the sty; cese fro oure face the hoeli
12 Israel. Therefore these thingus seith the

CAP. XXX.

Wob^l sonas forsakeris, seith the Lord, 1 that 3e schulden make a councel, and not of me; and weue a web, and not bi my spirit, that 3e schulden encreesse synne on synne. Whiche goen, to go down in 2 to Egipt, and 3e axiden not my mouth; 3e hopynge help in the strengthe of Farao, and 3e hauynge trist in the schadewe of Egipt. And the strengthe of Farao schal 3 be to 3ou in to confusioun, and the trist of the schadewe of Egipt in to schenschipe. For whi thi princes weren in Taphnys, 4 and thi messengeris camen til to Anes. Alle thei weren schent on the puple, that 5 myzten not profite to hem; thei weren not in to help, and in to ony profit, but in to schame and schenschip. The birthun of 6 werk beestis of the south. In the lond of tribulacioun and of angwisch, a lionesse, and a lioun, of hem a serpent, and a^c cocatrice; *thei weren* berynge her richessis on the schuldris of werk beestis, and her tresours on the botche of camels, to a puple that myzte not profite to hem. For 7 whi Egipt schal helpe in veyn, and idili. Therfor Y criede on this thing. It is pride oneli; ceesse thou. Now therfor entre 8 thou, and write to it on box, and write thou it diligentli in a book; and it schal be in the last dai in to witnessyng, til in to with outen ende. For it is a puple 9 terrynge to wrathfulnesse, and sonas lieris, sonas that nylen^d here the lawe of God. Whiche seien to profetis, Nyle 3e prophe- 10 sie; and to biholderis, Nyle 3e biholde to vs tho thingis that ben riztful; speke 3e thingis plesynge to vs, se 3e errouris to vs. Do 3e awei fro me the weie, bowe 3e awei 11 fro me the path; the hooli of Israel ceesse fro oure face. Therfor the hooli of Israel 12 seith these thingis, For that that 3e rep- preuiden this word, and hopiden on fals

^r Om. c et E pr. m. ^s and A. ^{ss} ha c. ^t the briddes E pr. m. ^{tt} Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^u Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^v profit AGHK.

^b Lo s. ^c Om. CFHMNU. ^d wolen not I.

hoeli of Irael, For thi that 3ee han re-
preued this wrd, and han hopid in to
wronge^w chaleng, and in to noise, and han
13 lened vp on it, therefore shal be to 3ou
this wickidnesse^{ww} as betwe^x brosure fall-
ende, and a3een so3t in an hee3 wal; for
sodeynly whil me hopeth not, shal come
14 the to-brosing^y of it^z. And shal be to-
mynusht, as is to-brosid the galoun of
the crockere with ful strong to-brosyng;
and ther shal not be founde of his bros-
ingus a shord, in whiche be born a litil
fyr fro the brennyng, or be drawe a litil
15 of water fro the dich. For these thingus
seith the Lord God, hoeli of Irael, If
3ee turnen a3een, and resten, 3ee shul be
saaf; in scilence and in hope shal be
3oure strengthe. And 3ee wolden not.
16 And 3ee seiden, Nai, but to hors we
shul flee; therfor 3ee shul flee. And vp on
swift wee^a shul ste3en vp; therfor more
17 swift shul be, that shul pursue 3ou. A
thousand men fro the face of the ferd of
oon; and fro the ferd of the face of fyue
3ee shul fleen, to the tyme that 3ee be
laft as the mast of a ship in the cop of
a mounteyn, and as to^{cne}^b vp on an
18 hil. Therfor abideth the Lord, that he
haue mercy of 3ou, and therefore shal ben
enhauncid the sparende to 3ou; for God
of dom the Lord, blisful alle that abijden
19 hym. The puple forsothe of Sion 'shal
dwelle^c in Jerusalem; wepende thou shalt
not wepe, rewende, 'or doying^d mercy^d, he
shal han mercy of thee; at the vois of thi
cry, anoen as he hereth, he shal an-
20 swern to thee. And the Lord shal 3yue
to thee streit bred, and short water, and
he shal not make to fleen away fro thee
more thi techere^e; and thin e3en shul be
21 seende thi comaundere, and thin eres
shuln heren the wrd bihinde the bac of
the monestere; This^f the weie, goth in it,
22 nouthen to the ri3t ne to the lyft. And

caleng, and on noise, and tristiden on it,
therfor this wickidnesse schal be to 3ou as 13
a brekyng fallynge doun, and sou3t in an
hi3 wal; for sudeynli while it is not hopid,
the brekyng therof schal come. And it 14
shal be maad lesse, as a galoun of a pot-
tere is brokun with ful strong brekyng; and
a scherd schal not be foundun of the gobe-
tis^e therof, in which *scherd* a litil fier schal
be borun of brennyng, ethir a litil of watir
shal be drawun of the dicke. For whi 15
the Lord God, the hooli of Israel, seith
these thingis, If 3e turnen a3en, and resten,
3e schulen be saaf; in stilnesse and in
hope schal be 3oure strengthe. And 3e nol-
den^f. And 3e seiden, Nai, but we schulen 16
fle to horsis; therfor 3e schulen fle. And
we schulen stie on swifte *horsis*; therfor
thei schulen be swiftere, that schulen pur-
sue 3ou. A thousynde men *schulen fle* 17
fro the face of the drede of oon; and 3e
schulen fle fro the face of drede of fyue,
til 3e be left as the mast of a schip in the
cop of a munteyn, and as a signe on a
litil hil. Therfor the Lord abidith, that 18
he haue mercy on 3ou, and therfor he
shal be enhaunsid sparynge 3ou; for whi
God *is* Lord of doom, blessid *ben* alle thei
that abiden hym. Forsothe the puple of 19
Sion schal dwelle in Jerusalem; thou
wepyng schal not wepe, he doynge merci
shal haue merci on thee; at the vois of thi
cry, anoon as he herith, he schal answe-
20 re to thee. And the Lord schal 3yue to thee 20
streyt breed, and schort watir, and schal
no more make thi techere to fle awei fro
thee; and thin i3en schulen be seyng the
comaundour, and thin eeris schulen here 21
a word bihynde^g the bak of hym that
monestith; This *is* the weie, go 3e ther-
ynne, nether to the ri3t half nether to the
left half. And thou schalt defoule the 22
platis of the grauun ymagis of thi siluer,
and the cloth of the 3otun ymage of thi

^w Om. CE pr. m. ^{ww} wickenesse E. ^x betwene A. between E passim. bytwene K passim. ^y brosyng
AGHK. ^z that puple E pr. m. ^a 3ee CE pr. m. ^b a to^{cne} C pr. m. H. ^c dwellede E pr. m. ^d Om.
CE pr. m. ^e fairnesse E pr. m. ^f This is A. And this K sec. m.

^e gobetis, *ethir reliefs* FGHKMNQRUVX. ^f wolden not I. ^g aftir CEFCHKMNQRUVX.

thou shalt al to-foule the plates of the grauen thing of thi siluer, and the cloth-
ing of thi 3oten gold; and thou shalt distroze them, as the vnclennesse of the blod flux of wymmen; Go out, and thou
23 shalt sey to it. And ther shal be 3oue reyn to thi sed, wher euere thou shalt sowe in the erthe, and the bred of the frutus of the erthe shal be most plenteuous and fatt^g; ther shul be fed in thi possessioun in^{ss} that day the lomb spaciously, *'or largely*^h. And thi bolis and thin asse coltes, that werken the erthe, mengd barly thei shul ete, as in the
25 cornflor it is wynewid. And ther shul be vp on alle hee3 mounteyn, and vp on alle rered hil, ryueres of rennende watris, and in the dai of slaztir of manye, whan
26 shul falle toures. And the lizt of the moone shal be as the lizt of the sunne, and the lizt of the sunne shal be seuene fold, as the lizt of seuene daies, in the dai that the Lord shal bynde the wounde of his puple, and the smyting of his
27 wounde shal helen. Lo! the name of the Lord camⁱ fro afer; his wodnesse brennende and heuy to bern; his lippis ben fulfid with indignacioun, and his
28 tunge as fyr deuourende. His spirit as a swift strem, flowende vnto^k the myddel of the hyl, to be lost Jentiles in to nou3t, and the bridil of errour, that was in the
29 chekes of puples. A song shal be to 3ou, as the vois of the halewid solempnete; and the gladnesse of herte, as he that goth with a trumpe, that he entre in to the hil of the Lord, to the stronge of
30 Israel. And herd the Lord shal make the glorie of his vois, and the ferd of his arm he shal shewe in threting of wodnesse, and in^l flaume of fyr deuourende; he shal hurtle in whirlwind, and in the
31 ston of hail. Fro the vois forsothe of the Lord shal dreden Assur smyte with
32 a 3erde; and the passing of the 3erde shal be founded, that the Lord shal make

gold; and thou schalt scatere tho^h, as the vnclennesse of a womman in vnclene blood; Go thou out, and thou schalt seie to it. And reyn schal be 3ouun to thi²³ seed, where euere thou schalt sowe in erthe, and the breed of fruytis ofⁱ erthe schal be moost plenteuouse and fat; in that dai a lomb schal be fed largeli in thi possessioun. And thi bolis and coltis of assis,²⁴ that worchen the lond, schulen ete barli with chaf meynd togidere, as it is wyndewid^k in the cornflor. And strondis of²⁵ rennyng watris schulen be on ech hiz mounteyn, and on ech litil hil reisid, in the dai of sleynge of many men, whanne touris fallen down. And the lizt of the moone²⁶ schal be as the lizt of the sunne, and the lizt of the sunne schal be seuene fold, as the lizt of seuene daies, in the dai in which the Lord schal bynde togidere the wounde of his puple, and schal make hool the smytinge of the wounde therof. Lo! the²⁷ name of the Lord cometh down fro fer; his strong veniaunce *is* brennyng and greuouse to bere; hise lippis ben fillid of indignacioun, and his tunge *is* as fier deuouringe. His spirit *is* as a stef streem,²⁸ flowyng 'til to^l the myddis of the necke, to leese folkis in to nou3t, and the bridil of errour, that was in the chekis of puplis. Song schal be to 3ou, as the vois of an²⁹ halewid solempnyte; and gladnesse of herte, as he that goth with a pipe, for to entre in to the hil of the Lord, to the stronge of Israel. And the Lord schal³⁰ make herd the glorie of his vois, and he schal schewe the ferdfulnesse of his arm in manassyng of strong veniaunce, and in flawme of fier brennyng; he schal hurtle down in whirlwynd, and in stoon of hail. For whi Assur smytun with a 3erde schal³¹ drede of the vois of the Lord; and the³² passyng of the 3erd schal be foundid, which 3erde the Lord schal make for to reste on hym. In tympan, and harpis, and in souereyn batels he schal ouercome hem.

^g Om. *AE pr. m.* ^{ss} Om. *E pr. m.* ^h Om. *c et E pr. m.* ⁱ shal come *E pr. m.* ^k in to *AGHK.* ^l Om. *A.*

^h hem *N.* ⁱ of thin *I.* ^k wynewid *I.* winwed *EP.* ^l vnto *I.*

to resten vp on hym. In tymbris, and harpis, and in cheef bataillis he shal ouer-
33 come them. Greithid is forsothe fro 3istai^m Tofeth, fro the kyng greithid; his nurshemens deep and spred, fyr and myche wode; the blast of the Lord as a strem of brunston vp brennende it.

CAP. XXXI.

1 Wo! that gon down in to Egipt to helpe, in hors hopende, and hauende trost vpon foure horsid carres, for thei ben manye, and vp on hors men, for biforⁿ stalwrthe thei ben ful myche; and thei han not trosted vp on the hoely of Irael,
2 and the Lord thei han not out^o so3t. He forsothe wijs, bro3te to euel, and his wrdis he toc not away; and he schal rise a3en the hous of the werste men, and a3en the helpe of men wirkende wickid-
3 nesse^{oo}. Egipt a man, and not God; and^p his hors flesh, and not^q spirit; and the Lord shal boowen his hond, and togidere falle shal the helpere, and falle shal he, to whom men^r 3yueth helpe, and
4 alle togidere shul be wastid. For these thingus seith the Lord to me, What maner if a leoun rore, and the whelp of a leoun vp on his prey, whan a3en cometh to hym the multitude of shepperdus, fro the vois of hem he shal not drede, and of the multitude of hem he shal not inwardly ben aferd; so shal come down the Lord of ostus, that he fizte vp on the
5 mount of Sion, and vp on his hilles. As^s briddes fleende, so defende shal the Lord of ostus Jerusalem; defendende and de-
6 lyuerende, passende and sauende. Beth conuertid, as in to depthe wenten awei,
7 3ee^t sonus of Irael. In that dai forsothe casten away shal a man the maumetes of hys siluer, and the maumetes of his gold, that maden to 3ou 3oure hondus in
8 to synne. And falle shal Assur in swerd, not of a man, and the swerd, not of a

For whi Tophet, *that is, helle*, deep and 33 alargid, is maad redi of the kyng fro 3is- tirdai; the nurschyngis therof *ben* fier and many trees; the blast of the Lord as a strem of brymston kyndlith it.

CAP. XXXI.

Wo to *hem* that goon down in to Egipt¹ to help, and hopen in horsis, and han trist on cartis, for tho^m ben manye, and on knyztis, for thei ben ful stronge; and thei tristiden not on the hooli of Israel, and thei sou3ten not the Lord. Forsothe he² *that is* wijs, hath brou3t yuel, and took not awei hise wordis; and he schal rise togidere a3ens the hous of worste men, and a3ens the helpe of hem that worchen wickidnesse. Egipt *is* a man, and not³ God; and the horsis of hem *ben* fleisch, and not spirit; and the Lord schal bowe down his hond, and the helpere schal falle down, and he schal falle, to whom help is 3ouun, and alle schulen be wastid togidere. For whi the Lord seith these thingis to⁴ me, If a lioun rorith, and a whelp of a lioun on his prey, whanne the multitude of schipherdis cometh a3ens hym, he schal not drede of the vois of hem, and he schal not drede of the multitude of hem; so the Lord of oostis schal come down, for to fizte on the mounteyn of Sion, and on the litil hil therof. As briddis fleyng, so the⁵ Lord of oostis schal defende Jerusalem; he defendyng and delyueryng, passyng forth and sauynge. 3eⁿ sones of Israel,⁶ be conuertid, as 3e hadden go awei in to depthe. Forsothe in that dai a man schal⁷ caste awei the idols of his siluer, and the idols of his gold, whiche 3oure hondis maden to 3ou in to synne. And Assur⁸ schal falle bi swerd, not of man, and a swerd, not of man, schal deuoure hym; and he schal fle, not fro the face of swerd, and

^m 3isterday *ceteri passim, præter c et E.* ⁿ ful *AE sec. m. GK.* ^o Om. *c pr. m.* ^{oo} wickenesse *E.*
^p Om. *CE pr. m.* ^q no *C.* ^r me *AE GH.* ^s And *H.* And as *K.* ^t the *A.*

^m thei *N.* ⁿ The *N.*

man, shal deuoure hym; and he shal flee,
not fro the face of the swerd, and his
younge men shul be tributaries; and his
strengthe of the ferd shal passe, and in-
wardly dreden shul his princes fleende.
The Lord seide, whos fyr is in Syon, and
hys chymne in Jerusalem.

CAP. XXXII.

1 Lo! in ríztwínesse regne shal a king,
2 and princes in dom shul befor ben. And
a man shal be, as that is hid fro the
wynd, and coouereth hymself fro tempest;
as ryueres of watris in thrist, and sha-
dewe of the ston ouerstonde in the
3 desert lond. Daswen shul not the^u ezen
of men seende, and the eres of men
4 herende bisily shul herknen; and the
herte of fooles shal vnderstonde kun-
nyng, and the tunge of bufferes swiftli
5 shal speke, and pleyndly. Ther shal no
more be clepid he that is vnwis a prince,
6 ne the gylere shal be clepid a meyr. The
fool forsothe fool thingus shal speke, and
his herte shal do wickidnesse^v, that he
fulfille feynyng, and speke to the Lord^w
gilendely; and voide he shal make the
soule of the hungre, and drinc to the
7 thristere he shal don aweí. Of^x the
gilere werst vesseles ben; he forsothe
tho3tus dide^y, to be lost mylde men in
wrđ of lesing, whan the pore shulde
8 speke dom. A prince forsothe thoe
thingus that ben wrthi a^z prince shal
thenke, and he vp on dukes shal stonde.
9 3ee plenteuous wymmen, riseth, and
hereth my voys; 3ee trostende doztris,
10 parceyueth with eres my speche. Afir
dazes forsothe and a 3er, and 3ee shul be
disturbid trostende; full endid is forsothe
the vyndage, gedering togidere no more
11 shal come. Stone3eth, 3ee plenteuous
wymmen, and beth disturbid, 3ee trost-
ende; vnclothe 3ou, and beth confoundid;

hise 3onge men schulen be tributaries;
and the strengthe of hym schal passe fro
ferdfulnesse, and hise princes fleyng schu-
len drede. The Lord seide, whos fier is in
Sion, and his chymney *is* in Jerusalem.

CAP. XXXII.

Lo! the kyng schal regne in ríztful-
nesse, and princes schulen be souereyns in
doom. And a man schal be, as he that is 2
hid fro wynd, and hidith hym silf fro
tempest; as stremes of watris in thirst,
and the schadewe of a stoon stondynge
fer out in a desert lond. The 3zen of pro-3
fetis^o schulen not dasewe, and the eeris of
heereris schulen herke diligentli; and the 4
herte of foolis schal vnderstonde kunnyng,
and the tunge of stuttyng men schal speke
swiftli, and pleyndly. He that is vnwijs, 5
shal no more be clepid prince, and a gile-
ful man schal not be clepid the grettere.
Forsothe a fool shal speke foli thingis, and 6
his herte schal do wickidnesse, that he
performe feynyng, and speke to the Lord
gilefuli; and he schal make voide the soule
of an hungry man, and schal take aweí
drynke fro a thirsti man. The vessels of 7
a gileful man ben worste; for he schal
make redi thou3tis to leese^p mylde men
in the word of a leesyng, whanne a pore
man spak doom. Forsothe a prince schal 8
thenke tho thingis that ben worthi to a
prince, and he schal stonde ouer duykis.
Riche wymmen, rise 3e, and here^q my 9
vois; dou3tris tristynge, perseyue 3e with
eeris my speche. For whi afir daies and 10
a 3eer, and 3e that tristen schulen be dis-
turblid; for whi vyndage is endid, gader-
yng schal no more come. 3e riche *wym-* 11
men, be astonyed; 3e that tristen, be^r
disturbid; vnclothe 3e 3ou, and be 3e
aschamed; girde 3oure leendis; weile 3e 12

^u 3ee E pr. m. ^v wickenesse E. ^w hous c pr. m. E pr. m. ^x To c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y shal do c pr. m.
E pr. m. ^z to a E pr. m.

^o seeris, that is, profetis C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U V X Y. ^p fordo I. ^q hereth I. ^r beth I.

12 girdeth ȝoure leendus; vp on the tetes
weileth, vp on the desirable regioun, vp
13 on the plenteuous vynezerd^a. Vpon the
loewe erthe of my puple thornes and
brieres schul^b steȝen vp; hou^c myche more
vp on alle the houses of ioȝe of the cite
14 ful out ioȝende? The hous forsothe is
left, the multitude of the huge cite is for-
sake; derknesses and groping ben mad vp
on the dennes, vnto with oute ende. The
ioȝe of feeld^d asses, the leswe of flockes^e;
15 to the tyme that be held out vp on us
the spirit fro an heiȝ, and ther shal be
desert in Chermel, and Chermel in to
16 wilde wod shal ben holde. And ther shal
dwelle in wildernesse dom, and riȝtwis-
17 nesse in Chermel shal sitte; and ther shal
be the werk of riȝtwisnesse pes, and the
heriȝng of riȝtwisnesse scilence and sikir-
18 nesse, vnto euermore. And sitte shal my
puple in fayrnes of pes, and in taber-
nacles of trost, and in reste plenteuous.
19 Hail forsothe in the goȝng doun of the
wilde wode, and bi meknesse shal be
20 mekid the cite. Blisful ȝee, that sowen
vp on alle watris, puttende in the foot of
the oxe and of the asse.

CAP. XXXIII.

1 Wo! thou that robbest; whether and
thi self shalt not be robbid? and thou
that dispisist, whethir and thiself shalt
not be dispised? Whan thou shalt han^f
ful endid robbing, thou shalt be robbid;
whan^g weeried thou^h lefest to dispise, thou
2 shalt be dispisid. Lord, haue merci of
vs, thee forsothe wee han abide; be thou
oure arm in erly, and oure helthe in tyme
3 of tribulacioun. Fro the vois of the
aungil floun^b puples; of thin enhauncing
4 scatered ben Jentiles. And gederede to-
gidere shul be ȝoure spoiles, as is gedered
brush, as whan the diches fulle shul be
5 of it. Magnified is the Lord, for he

on brestis, on desirable cuntrei, on the
plenteuouse vyner. Thornes and breris 13
schulen stie on the erthe of my puple;
hou myche more on alle the housis of
ioie of the citee makynge ful out ioie?
For whi the hous is left*, the multitude 14 * *left; that is,*
of the citee is forsakun; derknessis and *the kinges hous*
gropȝng ben maad on dennes, 'til in to^s *is forsaken,*
with outen ende. The ioie of wield assis *whanne Sede-*
the lesewe of flockis; til the spirit be sched 15 *chie fledde.*
out on us fro an hiȝ, and the desert schal *Live here. x.*
be in to Chermel, and Chermel schal be
arettid in to a forest. And doom schal 16
dwelle in wildirnesse, and riȝtfulnesse schal
sitte in Chermel; and the werk of riȝtful- 17
nesse schal be pees, and the tilthe of riȝt-
fulnesse *shal be* stilnesse and sikirnesse,
'til in to^t with outen ende. And my pu- 18
ple schal sitte in the fairnesse of pees, and
in the tabernaclis^u of trist, and in riche
reste. But hail *shal be* in the coming 19
doun of the foreste, and bi lownesse the
citee schal be maad low. Blessid *ben* ȝe, 20
that sowen on alle watris, and putten^v yn
the foot of an oxe and of an asse.

CAP. XXXIII.

Wo to *thee*, that robbest; whether and 1
thou schalt not be robbid? and that dispisist,
whether and thou schalt not be dispisid?
Whanne thou hast endid robbyng, thou
schalt be robbid; and whanne thou maad
weri ceessist to dispise, thou schalt be dis-
pisid. Lord, haue thou merci on vs, for 2
we abiden thee; be thou oure arm in the
morewtid, and oure helthe in the tyme of
tribulacioun. Pupilis fledden fro the vois 3
of the aungel; hethene men ben scaterid
of thin enhaunsȝng. And ȝoure spuylis 4
schulen be gaderid togidere, as a^w bruke^{x†}
is gaderid togidere, as whanne dichis ben
ful therof. The Lord is magnified, for he 5

† *bruke, is the*
fruyt of locustis.
A.

^a vyne c pr. m. E pr. m. ^b Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^c Om. E pr. m. ^d Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^e folkis K.
^f Om. E pr. m. ^g thou maad werie E sec. m. AGHK. ^h fledden E sec. m. AGHK.

^s vnto I. ^t vnto I. ^u the tabernaclis N. ^v senden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^w Om. E. ^x bruke, *that is,*
fruit of locustis CEGKIN PQSUXY.

dwelte 'in heiz^k, he^l fulfild^m Sion with
 6 dom andⁿ ríztwísnesse. And feith shal
 ben in thi tymes; riches of helthe,
 wisdom and kunnyng; the drede of the
 7 Lord, it^o the tresor of hym. Lo! the
 seeres shul crien withouteforth, the aun-
 8 gels of pes bitterli shul wepe. Scatered
 ben the weies, ceside the passid bi the
 sty; voyde mad is the couenaunt, he
 caste awei the^q cites, he heeld 'of no
 9 pris not^r men. Weilede, and languysshede
 the lond; confoundid is Liban, and becam
 doub; and mad is Saron as desert,
 and smyte togidere is Basan, and Carmel.
 10 Now I shal rise^s, seith the Lord, now I
 shal ben enhauncid, now I shal ben vp
 11 rered. 3ee shul conseyue brennyng, 3ee
 shul bern stobil; 3oure spirit as fyr shal
 12 deuoure 3ou. And ben shul puples as of
 the^t brennyng askes^u; thornes gedered
 13 togidere in^v fyr shul be brent. Hereth,
 3ee that ben aferr, what I haue do; and
 knowith, 3ee ne3hebores, my strengthe.
 14 Al to-brosid ben in Sion synneres, trem-
 blyng weldede ipocrites; who shal moun
 dwelle of 3ou with fyr deuourende? who
 shal dwelle of 3ou with euere durende
 15 brennyngus? That goth in ríztwísnesses,
 and speketh treuthe; that throwith awei
 coueitise of wrong^x chaleng, and shaketh
 out his hondis fro alle 3ifte; that stop-
 pith his eres, lest he here blod, and
 16 closith his e3en, lest he see euel^y. This
 in heiztus shal dwelle, the strengthys of
 huge stones his he3te; bred to hym is
 17 3oue^z, his^a watris ben feithful. The king
 in his fairnesse seen shuln his e3en; bi-
 18 holden schul^b the lond fro afer. Thin herte
 sweteli shal thenke drede; wher is the
 lettrid? Wher is the wrdus of the lawe
 chargende? wher is the doctour of lital
 19 childer? Vnprudent^c puple he shal not
 see, puple of heiz sermoun, so that thou

dwelide an hiz, he fillid Sion with doom
 and ríztfulness. And feith schal be in^c
 thi tymes; the ritchessis of helthe is wis-
 dom and kunnyng; the drede of the
 Lord, thilke is the tresor of hym. Lo! 7
 seeris withoutenforth schulen crye, aun-
 gels of pees schulen wepe bittirli. Weies 8
 ben distried, a goere bi the path ceesside;
 the couenaunt is maad voide, he castide
 doun citees, he arettide not men. The 9
 lond morenyde, and was sijk; the Liban
 was schent, and was foul; and Saron is
 maad as desert, and Basan is schakun, and
 Carmele. Now Y schal ryse, seith the 10
 Lord, now I schal be enhaunsid, and now
 I schal be reisd vp. 3e schulen conseyue 11
 heete, 3e schulen brynge forth stobil; 3oure
 spirit as fier schal deuoure 3ou. And pu- 12
 plis schulen be as aischis of the brennyng;
 thornes gaderid togidere schulen be brent
 in fier. 3e that ben fer, here^y what thingis 13
 Y haue do; and, 3e neizboris, knowe my
 strengthe. Synneris ben al to-brokun in 14
 Syon, tremblyng weldide ipocritis; who
 of 3ou mai dwelle with fier deuowringe?
 who of 3ou schal dwelle with euerlastinge
 brennyngis? He that goith in ríztful- 15
 nessis, and spekith treuthe; he that castith
 awei aueryce of fals calenge, and schakith
 awei his hondis fro al 3ifte; he that stop-
 pith his eeris, that he heere not blood, and
 closith his i3en, that he se not yuel. This^a 16
 man^a schal dwelle in hiz thingis, the
 strengthis of stoonys ben the hiznesse of
 hym; breed is 3ouun to hym, hise watris
 ben feithful. Thei schulen se the kyng in 17
 his fairnesse; the i3en of hym schulen bi-
 holde the londe fro fer. *Eliachym*, thin 18
 herte schal bithenke drede; where is the
 lettrid man? Where is he that weieth the
 wordis of the lawe? where is the techere
 of litle children? Thou schalt not se a 19
 puple vnwijs, a puple of hiz^b word, so that

^k an heiz E pr. m. ^l Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^m fulfild is E pr. m. ⁿ of E pr. m. ^o he E pr. m.
^q Om. A. ^r not of pris c pr. m. not E pr. m. ^s arijs AGHK. ^t Om. A. ^u of asken E pr. m.
asken E sec. m. GHK. ashen A. ^v as of the E pr. m. ^x Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y blod c pr. m.
^z 3yuen E. ^a and his c pr. m. E pr. m. AGHK. ^b Om. CE pr. m. ^c And vnprudent E pr. m.

^y hereth I. ^z He this I. ^a Om. I. ^b deep CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX.

mowe not vnderstonde the sleeynesse of
 20 his tunge, in whiche is no wisdam. Bi-
 hold Sion, the cite of oure solempnete;
 thin e3en shul see Jerusalem, a plenteuous
 cite, a tabernacle that shal not moun ben
 ouerborn, ne his nailis shul ben take
 awei in to euermor; and alle his litil
 21 cordes shul not be to-broken. For onli
 there the grete doyng, Lord oure God;
 the place of flodes ryueres most brod and
 opene; ther entride not bi it the ship of
 roweres, ne the grete ship of thre stagis^d
 22 shal not ouergon it. The Lord forsothe
 oure domes man, the Lord oure lawe
 3yuere, the Lord oure king; he shal
 23 come, and sauen us. Slakid^e ben thi litil
 cordes, but thei shul not han the maistri;
 so shal be thi mast, that thou mow not
 sprede abroad a toene. Thanne shul be
 deuydid spoiles of^f many preyes, halte
 24 men^g shul take away raueyn. Ne the
 ne3hebore shal sey, I languyshede; the
 puple that dwellede in it, ther shal be
 don awei fro hym wickenesse^h.

CAP. XXXIV.

1 Ne3heth, 3ee Jentiles, and hereth; tak-
 eth heed, 3ee puples; hereⁱ the lond, and
 his fulnesse, the world, and al his buri-
 2 ownyng. For the indignacioun of the
 Lord vp on alle Jentiles, and wodnesse
 vp on al the chyualrie of hem; he slo3
 3 hem, and 3af them in to sla3ter. The
 slayne of hem shul be throwe afer, and
 of the careynes of hem shal ste3en vp
 stinc; whlaten^k shul mounteynes^l of the
 4 blod of hem. And wlate shal al the
 kny3thed of heuenes, and 'heuenes shu-
 len^m be foldid togidere as aⁿ boc^o, and al
 the kny3thed of hem shal fade^p, as fadeth
 away a lef of the vyne and of the fige
 5 tree. For inwardli drunken is in heuene
 my swerd; lo! vp on Ydume it^q shal come
 down, and vp on the puple of my sleyngr,
 6 to dom. The swerd of the Lord fulfild

thou maist not vndurstonde the fair spek-
 ing of his tunge, in which^c *puple* is no
 wisdom. Biholde thou Sion, the citee of²⁰
 3oure solempnyte; thin 33en schulen se Je-
 rusalem, a riche citee, a tabernacle that
 mai not be borun ouer, nether the nailis
 therof schulen be takun awei withouten
 ende; and alle the cordis therof schulen
 not be brokun. For oneli the worschipful²¹
 doere oure Lord God *is* there; the place of
 floodis *is* strondis ful large and opyn; the
 schip of roweris schal not entre bi it, ne-
 thir a greet schip schal passe ouer it. For²²
 whi the Lord *is* oure iuge, the Lord *is*
 oure lawe 3yuere, the Lord *is* oure kyng;
 he schal saue vs. Thi roopis ben slakid,²³
 but tho schulen not auaille; thi mast schal
 be so, that thou mow not alarge a signe.
 Thanne the spuylis of many preyes
 schulen be departid, crokid men schulen
 rauysche raueyn. And a neizbore schal²⁴
 seie, Y was not sijk; the puple that
 dwellith in that *Jerusalem*, wickidnesse
 schal be takun awei fro it.

CAP. XXXIV.

Neiz3e, 3e hethene men, and^d here^e; and¹
 3e puplis, perseyue; the erthe, and the ful-
 nesse therof, the world, and al buriown-
 yng therof, here 3e^f. For whi indigna-²
 cioun of the Lord *is* on alle folkis, and
 strong veniaunce on al the chyualrie of
 hem; he killide hem, and 3af hem in to
 sleyn3. The slayn men of hem schulen³
 be cast forth, and stynk schal stie of the
 careyns of hem; hillis schulen flete of the
 blood of hem. And al the chyualrie of⁴
 heuenys schal faile, and heuenys schulen
 be foldid togidere as a book, and al the
 kny3thod of tho schal flete down, as the
 leef of a vyner and of a fige tre fallith
 down. For my swerd is fillid in heuene;⁵
 lo! it schal come down on Ydumee, and
 on the puple of my sleyn3, to doom. The⁶
 swerd of the Lord is fillid of blood, it is

^d mastes c pr. m. e pr. m. ^e Loosid c pr. m. e pr. m. ^f and e pr. m. ^g Om. c pr. m. e pr. m. ^h wickid-
 nes AGHK. ⁱ hereth c pr. m. ^k waken e pr. m. ^l mounteyne K. ^m thei shul c pr. m. e pr. m.
ⁿ the e pr. m. ^o boc of heuene c pr. m. e pr. m. ^p fade away AGHK. ^q Y A. ^r fleynge AGHK.

^c the which I. ^d to N. ^e hereth I. ^f Om. C E F G H K M N P Q R S U V X.

is of blod, innerly fattid it is with tal³ of
 blod of lombis and of get, of the blod
 of merewi wetheres; forsothe victorie
 sacrifices of the Lord in Bosra, and gret
 7 slazter in the lond of Edom. And doun
 shul come vnycornes with hem, and booles
 with the my³ty; inwardli drunken shal
 be the lond of hem with blod, and the
 loewe erthe of hem with tal³ of fatte
 8 thingis^t; for the dai of the veniaunce of
 the Lord, ³er of^u ³eelding of the dom of
 9 Sion. And turned shuln ben his stremes
 in to pich, and his loew³ erthe in to
 brunston; and his erthe shal be in to
 10 brennende pich, nyzt and day. It^v shal
 not be queynt in to euermor, his smoke
 shal ste³en vp fro ieneracioun in to iene-
 racioun, and desolat shal be in to worldus
 of worldis; ther shal not ben a passere
 11 thur³ it. And welden shul it the foul
 in face lic an asse, and the irchoun; and
 the snyte, and the crowe dwelle shul in
 it; and^w strajt out vp on it shal ben a
 mesure, that it be brozt to nouzt, and 'a
 lyne^x euene doun pi³t in to desolacioun.
 12 His noble men shul not be there; the
 king more thei shul inwardly clepen, and
 ben shuln alle his princes in to nouzt.
 13 And^y ther shul springe in his houses
 thornes and netles, and tasil in the
 strengthis of it; and it shal be the bed
 place of dragownes, and the leswe of
 14 ostriches. And azen come shul deueles,
 the beste party^{yy} an asse and 'a party
 a man^z, and the wodewose; the tothir^a
 15 shal crie to the tother. There shal lyn
 'lamya, that is, a^b thirs^c, or a beste^d
hauende the bodi lic a womman and
horse feet; and he fyndeth to himself
 reste; there hadde diches the yrchoun^e,
 and nurshede out litle chittes, and aboute
 dalf^f, and nurshede in his shadewe;

maad fat of the ynner fatnesse of the blood
 of lambren and of buckis of geet, of the
 blood of rammes ful of merow; for whi
 the slayn sacrifice of the Lord *is* in Bosra,
 and greet sleyn^g *is* in the lond of Edom.
 And vnycornes schulen go doun with hem,⁷
 and bolis with hem that ben my³ti; the
 lond of hem schal be fillid with blood, and
 the erthe of hem with ynnere fatnesse of
 fatte *beestis*; for *it is* a dai of veniaunce of⁸
 the Lord, a ³eer of ³eldyng of the dom of
 Sion. And the strondis therof schulen be⁹
 turned in to pitche, and the erthe therof in
 to brymstoon^g; and the lond therof schal
 be in to brennyng pitch, ni³t and dai. It¹⁰
 schal not be quenched withouten ende, the
 smoke therof schal stie^h fro generacioun
 in to generacioun, and it schal be desolat
 in to worldis of worldis; noon schal passe
 therbi. And onocrotalus*, and an irchoun¹¹
 schulen welde it; and a capret, and a
 crowe schulen dwelle thereynne; and a
 mesure schal be stretchid forth thereon,
 that it be dryuun to nouzt, and an hang-
 ynge plomet in to desolacyoun. The¹²
 noble men therof schulen not be there;
 rather thei schulen clepe the kyng in to
 help, and alle the princes therof schulen
 be in to nouzt. And thornes and nettles¹³
 schulen growe in the housis therof, and a
 tasil in the strengthis therof; and it schal
 be the couche of dragouns, and the lesewe
 of ostrichis. And fendisⁱ†, and wondurful¹⁴
 beestis^k‡, *lijk men in the hizere part and*
lijk assis in the nethir part, and an heeri
 schulen meete; oon schal crie to an other.
 Lamya^l§ schal ligge there, and foond rest¹⁵
 there to hir silf; there an irchoun hadde
 dichis, and nurschide out whelpis, and
 diggide aboute, and fostride in the scha-
 dewe therof; there kitis weren gaderid
 togidere, oon to another. Seke ³e dili-¹⁶

* onocrotalus,
 is an vnclene
 brid, and hath
 a face lijk an
 asse. *Live here.*
 A et alii.

† fendis; that is,
 fendis incubi,
 other wodewo-
 sis, as doctours
 seien. CEGHPQ
 SU.

‡ beestis; Ebreis
 seien, martyn-
 apis and wielde
 cattis; [and κ]
 martynapis ben
 liyk apis, and
 [but thei κ] ben
 [long y] tailid.
 CEGXPQSY.

§ Lamya is a
 wondirful
 beest, lijk a
 womman aboute,
 and hath horse
 feet bynethie,
 and sleeth hir
 owne whelpis,
 as the glos
 seith. *Live*
here. A et alii.

^s the talw³ AEGHK. ^t Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^u of the E. ^v And it CE pr. m. ^w Om. E pr. m.
^x Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y Om. E pr. m. ^{yy} party of c pr. m. E pr. m. AGHK. ^z of a boole and
 ro³ c pr. m. E pr. m. party of a man AK. the party of a man GH. ^a oon AK. ^b Om. AGHK. ^c thrisse AGHK.
^d the wilde cruel beste E pr. m. lamya, that is, thirs, a beste E sec. m. marg. ^e euel spel c pr. m. E pr. m.
^f deluede AGHK.

^g brunston is. ^h stie up r. ⁱ fendis, as wodewosis N. ^k beestis, as nijlde cattis, and martynapis,
 whiche ben lijk apis, but thei han tailis N. ^l Lamya, that is, a beest lijk a womman aboute, and hath hors
 feet bynethie, and sleeth his owne whelpis N.

there ben gedered kites, the tother^g to
 16 the tother. Secheth besily in the boc of
 the Lord, and redeth; oon of hem failyde
 not, the tother^h at the tother sojte not;
 for that of my mouth zide forth, he co-
 maundide, and his spirit he gederede
 17 tho thingus. And he sente to them lot,
 and his hond deuydede it to them in to
 mesure; vnto euermore thei shul welden
 it, in ieneracioun and ieneracioun thei
 shul dwellen itⁱ.

CAP. XXXV.

1 Gladen shal desert, and the with oute
 weie, and^k ful out shal iozen the wilder-
 2 nesse, and flouren as a lilie. Buriown-
 ynge it shal burioune, and ful out iozen,
 iozeful and preising. The glorie of Liban
 is zoue to it, the fairnesse of Carmel and
 of Saron; thei shul see the glorie of the
 Lord, and the fairnesse of oure God.
 3 Coumforteth the hondes loosid atwynne,
 4 and the feble knees strengtheth. Seith,
 Jee 'of lital corage^l, taketh coumfort, and
 wileth not dreden; lo! oure God ven-
 iaunce of zelding shal bringe, God he
 5 shal come, and sauen vs. Thanne shul
 ben opened the ejen of blynde men, and
 6 eres of deue men shul ben opened. Thanne
 shal lepe as an hert the halte, and opened
 shal be the tunge of doumbe men; for
 kut ben in desert watris, and stremes in
 7 wilderness. And that was drie in to a
 pond, and the thristende in to welles of
 watris. In the couches, in the^m whiche
 biforn dweltenⁿ dragounes, shal springe
 the grenenesse of the reed, and of the
 8 resshe. And it shal be there in the sty,
 and in the weie, and an hoely weie it
 shal be clepid, passe shal not bi it a de-
 foulid; and this shal be to you a strajt
 rizt weie, so that foolys erre not by it.
 9 Ther^o shal not be there a leoun, and
 euel beste shal not stezen vp bi it, 'ne be
 10 founden there^p. And gon shul thei^q that

gentli in the book of the Lord, and rede
 3e; oon of tho thingis failide not, oon
 souzte not another; for he comaundide
 that thing, that goith forth of my mouth,
 and his spirit he gaderide tho^m togidere.
 And he sente to hem eritage, and his hond¹⁷
 departide it in mesure; til in to withouten
 ende thoⁿ schulen welde that *lord*, in ge-
 neracioun and in to generacioun tho^o
 schulen dwelle ther ynne.

CAP. XXXV.

The forsakun *Judee* and with outen¹
 weie schal be glad, and wildirnesse schal
 make ful out ioye, and schal floure as a
 lilie. It buriownynge schal buriowne, and²
 it glad and preisyng schal make ful out
 ioie. The glorie of Liban is zouun to it,
 the fairnesse of Carmele and of Saron;
 thei schulen se the glorie of the Lord, and
 the fairnesse of oure God. Coumforte 3e³
 comelid^p hondis, and make 3e strong feble
 knees. Seie 3e, Men of lital coumfort, be⁴
 3e coumfortid, and nyle 3e drede; lo! oure
 God schal bryng the veniaunce of zeld-
 yng, God^{*} hym silf schal come, and schal
 saue vs. Thanne the izen of blynde men⁵
 schulen be openyd, and the eeris of deaf
 men schulen be opyn. Thanne a crokid⁶
 man schal skippe as an hert, and the tunge
 of doumbe men schal be openyd; for whi
 watris ben brokun out in desert, and
 stremes in wildirnesse. And that that⁷
 was drie, is *maad* in to a poond, and the
 thirsti is *maad* in to wellis of watris.
 Grenenesse of rehed, and of spier schal
 growe in dennes, in whiche dwelliden
 dragouns bifore. And a path and a weie
 schal be there, and it schal be clepid an⁸
 hooli weie, he that is defoulid schal not
 passe therbi; and this schal be a streijt
 weie to zou, so that foolis erre not therbi.
 A lioun schal not be there, and an yuel⁹
 beeste schal not stie therbi, nether schal

* that is, Crist.
 A et alii.

^g toon A. oon K. ^h toon A. oon K. ⁱ in it E. ^k Om. E pr. m. ^l couwardis E pr. m. text. or of lital
 corage E sec. m. marg. couwardis, or of lital corage AGHK. ^m Om. AEGH. ⁿ dwelliden E. ^o And there A.
 P Om. c pr. m. ^q Om. c pr. m. E pr. m.

^m hem N. ⁿ thei N. ^o thei N. ^p clumsid, ether comelid CEF GHIMNQR SU. clumsid, ether cumblid PY.
 clumsid K VX. clumsid, ethir loosid atwynne X sec. m.

shul ben delyuered; and the bozt of the Lord shul be conuertid, and comen in to Sion with preising; and euere durende gladnesse vp on the hed of hem; ioze and gladnesse thei shul welde, and flee shal sorewe and weiling.

CAP. XXXVI.

1 And don it is in the fourtenthe 3er of king Ezechie, stezede vp Senacherib, king of Assiries, vp on alle the strengthid cites 2 of Juda, and toc hem. And the king of Assiries sente Rapsacen fro Laches in to Jerusalem, to king Ezechie, in an heuy hond; and stod in the water kundute of the ouere pond^r, in the weie of the ful- 3 leris feeld. And wente oute to hym Elyachym, sone of Elchie, that was vpon the hous, and Sobna, scribe, and Joae, the 4 sone of Asaf, chaunceler. And Rapsaces seide to them, Seith to Ezechie, These thingus seith the grete king, king of Assiries, What is this trist, that thou 5 trotest? or of counseil^s or strengthe to rebellen thou disposist? vp on whom^t hast thou trost, for thou hast gon awei 6 fro me? Lo! thou trostist vp on this 'staf of reed^u to-broken, 'vp on Egipt^v, to whom if a man shul lene, it shal go in to his hond, and therlen it; so Farao, king of Egipt, to alle men that trosten in hym. 7 That if thou answer^w to me, In the Lord oure God wee trosten; whether not he is, whos heze thyngus and auteres toc awei Ezechie, and seyde to Jude and to Jerusalem, Beforn this auter 3ee shul 8 honoure? And now 'tac thee^x to my lord, the^y king of Assiries, and I shal 3yue to thee two thousand hors, and thou shalt not moun 3yuen of thee stezeres vp 9 of hem. And^z what maner sustene shal the face of a domes man^a of o place of

be foundun there. And thei schulen go, 10 that ben delyuered and azenbouzt of the Lord; and thei schulen be conuertid, and schulen come in to Sion with preisyng; and euerlastyng gladnesse *schal be* on the heed of hem; thei schulen haue ioie and gladnesse, and sorewe and weilyng schulen fle awei.

CAP. XXXVI.

And it was don in the fourtenthe 3eer 1 of kyng Ezechie, Sennacherib, the kyng of Assiriens, stiede on alle the stronge citees of Juda, and took tho^c. And the 2 kyng of Assiriens sente Rapsases fro Lachis to Jerusalem, to kyng Ezechie, with greet power; and he stood at the watir cundit of the^d hizere^e sisterne, in the weie of the^f feeld of^g a fullere^h. And Elia- 3 chym, the sone of Elchie, that was on the hous, 3ede out to hym, and Sobna, the scryuen, and Joae, the sone of Asaph, the chaunceler. And Rapsases seide to hem, 4 Seie 3e to Ezechie, The greet king, the king of Assiriens, seith these thingis, What is the trist, in which thou tristist? ethir bi 5 what councele ether strengthe disposist thou for to rebelle? on whom hast thou trist, for thou hast go awei fro me? Lo! 6 thou tristist on this brokun staf of rehed, on Egipt, on which if a man restithⁱ, it schal entre in to his hoond, and schal perse it; so *doith* Farao, the kyng of Egipt, to alle men that tristen in hym. That if thou answerist to me, We tristen 7 in oure Lord God; whether^k it is not he, whose hize places and auteris Ezechie dide awei, and he seide to Juda and to Jerusalem, 3e schulen worschipe bifore this auter? And now bitake thee to my lord, the kyng 8 of Assiriens, and Y schal 3yue to thee twei^l thousynde of horsis, and thou maist not 3yue of thee stieris of tho *horsis*. And hou 9 schalt thou abide the face of the iuge of

^r fish pond *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^s what counseil *AEGHK.* ^t whan *K.* ^u reed staf *c pr. m.* reedi staf *E pr. m.*
^v Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^w answerist *AEGHK.* ^x taketh heede *E pr. m.* tac 3ee *K.* ^y Om. *AGHK.*
^z Of *E pr. m.* ^a Om. *E pr. m.*

^c hem *N.* ^d Om. *NQRSU.* ^e hiz *Q.* ^f Om. *Q.* ^g Om. *ceteri.* ^h fullere, or *toukere* *CEGHKMNPRUXY.*
 fullere, ether *toukere* *FS.* ⁱ leneth, ether *restith* *CEFGHIKMNPRSUUVXY.* ^k wher *I passim.* ^l two *I.*

the lasse seruauns of my lord? That if thou troste in Egypt, and in the foure
 10 horsid carre, and in the horse men; and now whether withoute the Lord I stezede vp to this lond, that I shulde destroye it? The Lord seide to me, Steze vp vp on
 11 this lond, and destroye it. And Eleachym seide, and Sobna, and Joae, to Rapsacen, Spec to thi seruauntis in Sirie tunge, wee vnderstonden forsothe; ne speke thou to vs Jewly, in the eres of the
 12 puple, that is vp on the wal. And seide to them Rapsaces, Whether to 'thi lord^b and to thee sente me my lord, that 'I schuld^c speke alle these wrdys, and not more to the men that sytten in the wal, that thei ete ther toordes, and drinke
 13 ther^d vryne of their feet with 3ou? And Rapsaces stod, and criede with a gret vois Jeuly, and seide, Hereth the wrdes^e of the grete king, king of Assiries. These thyngus seith the king, Bigile not 3ou Ezechie, for he shal not moun delyueren
 15 3ou out; and not to 3ou trost 3yue Ezechie vp on the Lord, seiende, Delyuerende the Lord shal delyueren vs; shal not be 3ou^f this cite in^g the hond of the
 16 king of Assiries. Wileth not heren Ezechie. These thingus forsothe seith the king of Assiries, Doth with me blessing, and goth out to me; and eteth eche his vyne, and eche his fige tree, and drinketh
 17 eche the water of his cisterne, to the tyme that I come, and take 3ou awei to the lond that is as 3oure lond; lond of whete and of wyn, lond of loefes and of
 18 vynes. Ne disturbe^h 3ou Ezechie, seiende, The Lord shal delyuere vs. Whether delyuereden the godes of Jentiles eche his lond fro the hond of the king of Assiries?
 19 Wher is the god of Emath, and of Arfath? Wher is the god of Sefaruaym? Whether thei deliuereden Samarie fro myn
 20 hond? Who is of alle the godes of these londis that delyueredeⁱ his lond fro myn

o place of the lesse seruauntis of my lord? That if thou tristist in Egypt, and in cartis, and in knyztis; and now whethir Y stiede
 10 to this lond with out the Lord, that Y schulde distrie it? The Lord seide to me, Stie thou on this lond, and distrie thou it. And Eliachym, and Sobna, and Joae, seiden
 11 to Rapsaces, Speke thou to thi seruauntis bi the langage of Sirie, for we vnderstonden; speke thou not to vs bi the langage of Jewis in the eeris of the puple, which is on the wal. And Rapsaces seide
 12 to hem, Whether mi lord sente me to thi lord, and to thee, that Y schulde speke alle these wordis, and not rather to the men that sitten on the wal, that thei ete her toordis, and drynke the pisse of her feet with 3ou? And Rapsaces stood, and
 13 criede with gret vois in the langage of Jewis, and seide, Here 3e the wordis of the gret kyng, the kyng of Assiriens. The kyng seith these thingis, Ezechie dis-
 14 seyue not 3ou, for he may not delyuere 3ou; and Ezechie 3yue not to 3ou trist on
 15 the Lord, and seie, The Lord delyuerynge schal delyuere vs; this citee schal not be 3ouun in to the hoond of the kyng of Assiriens. Nyle 3e here Ezechie. For whi
 16 the kyng of Assiriens seith these thingis, Make 3e blessing with me, and go 3e out to me; and ete 3e ech man his vyner, and ech man his fige^m tre, and drynke 3e ech man the water of his cisterne, til Y come,
 17 and take awei 3ou to a lond which is as 3oure lond; to a lond of whete and of wyn, to a lond of looues and of vyneris. Ezechie disturble not 3ou, and seie, The
 18 Lord schal delyuere vs. Whether the goddis of folkis delyuereden ech his lond fro the hond of the kyng of Assiriens? Where
 19 is the god of Emath, and of Arphat? Where is the god of Sepharuaym? Whethir thei delyueriden Samarie fro myn
 20 hond? Who is of alle goddis of these
 londis, that delyueride his lond fro myn

^b thyn hous *E pr. m.* ^c Om. *c pr. m.* he *E pr. m.* ^d the *AGHK.* ^e grete wrdes *c pr. m.* ^f 3yuen vel 3yue *E passim.* ^g in to *AE sec. m. GHK.* ^h distrue *A.* ⁱ shulde delyueren *E pr. m.*

hond, that the Lord delyuere Jerusalem
 21 fro myn hond? And thei heelden ther
 pes, and answerden not to hym a wrd.
 Forsothe the king hadde comaundid to
 them, seiende, Ne answeren 3ee to hym.
 22 And wente in Elyachym, the sone of
 Elchie, that was vp on the hous, and
 Sobna, scribe, and Joae, sone of Asaf,
 chaunceler, to Esechie, kut the clothis,
 and tolden to hym the wrdes of Rapsaes.

CAP. XXXVII.

1 And it is do, whan hadde herd king
 Ezechie, he kutte his clothis, and wrap-
 pid is with a sac, and wente in to the
 2 hous of the Lord. And he sente Elea-
 chym, that was vp on the hous, and
 Sobnam, scribe, and the elderes of the
 preestus, couered with sackus, to Isaie,
 3 the^k sone of Amos, profete. And thei
 seiden to hym, These thingus seith Eze-
 chie, The dai of tribulacioun, and of an-
 guysh, and of correccioun, and of blas-
 femye, this day; for ther camen sones to
 the berthe, and vertue was not of bering.
 4 If any maner here the Lord thi God the
 wrdus of Rapsaces, whom sente the king
 of Assiries, his lord, to blasfemen the
 God lyuende, and to repreue with wrdis,
 whiche herde the Lord thi God, rere vp
 thanne orisoun for the relikes that ben
 5 founde. And ther camen seruauns of
 6 king Esechie to Isaie; and Isaie seide to
 them, These thingus 3ee shul seyn to 3oure
 lord, These thingus seith the Lord, Ne
 drede thou of the face of the wrdus that
 thou hast herd, with whiche blasfemen
 the childer of the king of Assiries me.
 7 Lo! I shal 3yue to hym a spirit, and he
 shal heren a messenger; and he shal be
 turned a3een to his lond, and to fallen I
 shal maken hym with swerd in his lond.
 8 Rapsaces^l forsothe is turned a3een, and
 he fond the king of Assiries fiztende a3en
 Lobnam; forsothe he hadde herd, for^m he
 9 was go fro Lachis. And he herde of

hond, that the Lord delyuere Jerusalem
 fro myn hond? And thei weren stille, 21
 and answeriden not to hym a word. For
 whi the kyng comaundide to hem, and
 seide, Answeren 3e not to him. And Elia- 22
 chym, the sone of Elchie, that was on the
 hous, and Sobna, the scryueyn, and Joae,
 the sone of Asaph, chaunceler, entriden
 with to-rent clothis to Ezechie, and telde
 to hym the wordis of Rapsaces.

CAP. XXXVII.

And it was don, whanne kyng Ezechie 1
 hadde herd, he to-rente hise clothis, and
 he was wlappid in a sak, and entride in
 to the hous of the Lord. And he sente 2
 Eliachym, that was on the hous, and
 Sobna, the scryuen, and the eldre men of
 prestis, hilid with sackis, to Isaie, the pro-
 phete, the sone of Amos. And thei seiden 3
 to hym, Ezechie seith these thingis, A dai
 of tribulacioun, and of angwisch, and of
 chastisyng, and of blasfemye is this dai;
 for children camen 'til toⁿ childberyng,
 and vertu of childberyng is not. Therfor 4
 reise thou preier for the relifs that ben
 foundun, if in ony maner thi Lord God
 here the wordis of Rapsaces, whom the
 king of Assiriens, his lord, sente, for to
 blasfeme lyuyng God, and to dispise bi
 the wordis, whiche thi Lord God herde.
 And the seruauntis of kyng Esechie camen 5
 to Isaie; and Isaie seide to hem, 3e schulen 6
 seie these thingis to 3oure lord, The Lord
 seith these thingis, Drede thou not of the
 face of wordis whiche thou herdist, bi
 whiche the children of the kyng of Assi-
 riens blasfemyden me. Lo! Y schal 3yue 7
 to hym a spirit, and he schal here a mes-
 sanger; and he schal turne a3en to his
 londe, and Y schal make hym to falle
 down bi swerd in his lond. Forsothe Rap- 8
 saces turnede a3en, and foond the kyng of
 Assiriens fiztyng a3ens Lobna; for he
 hadde herd, that the kyng was gon fro
 Lachis. And the kyng herde messengeris 9

^k Om. A. ^l And Rapsaces κ. ^m that E pr. m.

ⁿ vnq̄ i.

Theracha, king of Ethiopie, seiende, He wente out, that he fiste azen thee. The whiche thing whan he hadde herd, he sente messageres to Esechie, seiende,
 10 These thingus 3ee shul sey to Esechie, king of Jude, spekende, Not thee disceyue thi God, in whiche thou trostest, seiende, Jerusalem shal not be 3yue in the hond
 11 of the king ofⁿ Assiries. Lo! thou hast herd what dide alle the kingus of Assiries to alle londes that thei turneden vpsoun; and 'shalt thou^o moun be dely-
 12 uered? Whether delyuereden hem the godis of Jentiles, whom turneden vpsoun my fadris; Gosam, and Aran, and Resef, and the sones Eden, that weren in
 13 Thalasar? Wher is the king of Emath, and the king of Arfath, and the king of the huge cite Cefaruaym, and Ana, and
 14 Aua? And Esechie toc the bokes of the hond of the messenger, and radde them; and he ste3ede vp in to the hous of the Lord, and spredde out hem bifor the
 15 Lord; and^p pre3ede the Lord, seiende, Lord of ostes, God of Irael, that sittist
 16 vp on cherubyn, thou art God alone of alle the reumes of erthe^q; thou madist
 17 heuene and erthe. Boowe down, Lord, thin ere, and here; opene thin e3en, Lord, and see; and here alle the wrdus of Senacherub, that he sente to blasfemen God
 18 lyuende. Verely forsothe, Lord, desert^r maden the kingis of Assiries londus, and
 19 the regiouns of them, and 3euen the goddis of hem to fyr; forsothe thei weren not goddus, but were of the hondus of men, tree and stonus; and thei to-mynushten
 20 hem. And now, Lord oure^s God, saue vs fro the hond of hym; and knowen alle the reumes of erthe, for thou art Lord
 21 God alone. And Isaie, the sone of Amos, sente to Esechie, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord God of Irael, For the whiche thou pre3edest me of Senacherub,
 22 king of Assiries, this is the wrd that the

seyngne of Theracha, kyng of Ethiopiens, He is gon out to fiste a3ens thee. And whanne he hadde herd this thing, he sente messengeris to Ezechie, and seide,
 3e schulen seie, spekyngne these thingis to 10 Ezechye, kyng of Juda, Thi God disseyue not thee, in whom thou tristist, and seist, Jerusalem schal not be 3ouun in to the hond of the kyng of Assiriens. Lo! thou 11 herdist alle thingis whiche the kynges^o of Assiriens diden^p to alle londis whiche thei distrieden; and maist^q thou^r be delyuered? Whethir the goddis of folkis delyuereden 12 hem, whiche my fadris distrieden; Gosan, and Aran, and Reseph, and the sones of Eden, that weren in Thalasar? Where is 13 the kyng of Emath, and the kyng of Arphath, and the kyng of the citee of Sepharuaym, and of Ana, and^t of Aua? And 14 Ezechie took the bookis fro the hond of messengeris, and redde tho^u; and he stiede^v in to the hous of the Lord, and spredde abroad tho^w bifore the Lord; and 15 preiede to the Lord, and seide, Lord of 16 oostis, God of Israel, that sittist on cherubyn, thou art God aloone of alle the rewmes of erthe; thou madist heuene and erthe. Lord, bowe down thin eere, and here; 17 Lord, open thin i3en, and se; and here thou alle the wordis of Sennacherib, whiche he sente for^x to blasfeme lyuyngne God. For verili, Lord, the kyngis of Assiriens 18 maden londis dissert, and the cuntreis of tho^v, and 3auen the goddis of tho^x to fier; 19 for thei weren not goddis, but the werkis of mennus hondis, trees and stoonys; and thei al to-braken tho *goddis*. And now, 20 oure Lord God, saue thou vs fro the hond of hym; and alle rewmes of erthe knowe, that thou art Lord^a God aloone. And 21 Isaie, the sone of Amos, sente to Ezechie, and seide, The Lord God of Israel seith these thingis, For whiche thingis thou preidist me of Sennacherib, the kyng of Assiriens, this is the word which the 22

ⁿ Om. K pr. m. ^o thou shalt C. ^p Om. E pr. m. ^q the erthe AEGHK. ^r Om. E pr. m. ^s Om. A.

^o kyng A pr. m. P pr. m. HP. ^p did H sec. m. ^q mi3ten E. ^r not CEF GHINPQU. ^t Om. F sec. m. IKNP sec. m. QU. ^u hem N. ^v 3ede up I. ^w hem N. ^x Om. N. ^y hem N. ^z hem N. ^a the Lord is.

Lord spac vp on hym, He dispiside thee, he vndermouwede thee, thou maiden doz-
tir of Sion; aftir thee the hed he mouede,
23 thou maide^t dozter of Jerusalem. To
whom hast thou repreued, and whom
hast thou blasfemed? and vp on whom
hast thou rered thi vois, and hast rered
the heizte of thin ezen? To the hoeli of
24 Israel. In the hond of thi seruauus^u thou
hast repreued to the Lord, and seidist,
In the multitude of my foure horsed
carres I stezede vp the^v heiztus of moun-
teynes, zokes of Liban; and I shal to-
hewen the heze thingus of his cedris, and
the chosene firres of it; and I shal go in
to the heizte of his^w cop, the wilde wode
25 of the Carmel of it. I dalf^x, and drank
the water of it; and I driede with the
step of my foot alle the ryueres of the
26 waterhepes. Whether thou hast not herd
what thingus sum tyme I dide to hym^y?
Of olde dazes I foormede it, and now I
haue brojt to; and it is do 'in to^z the
drawing out bi the roote of hilles togi-
27 dere fjtende, and of strengthid cites. The
dwelleris of them with an hond shortid
togidere^a trembleden, and ben confoundid;
thei ben mad as hei of the feld, and corn
of the leswe, and erbe of rooues, that out
28 driede er it wex ryp. Thi dwelling, and
thin entre, and thi going out Y knew, and
29 thi wodnesse azen me. Whan thou 'were
wod^b azen me, thi pride stezede vp in to
myn eres; I shal putte thanne a cercle
in thi nose thirles, and a bridil in thi
lippis; and I shal bringe azeen thee in
to the weie, bi the^c whiche thou came.
30 To thee forsothe this shall ben a toene;
et this zer that freeli ben sprunge, and
in the secunde zer et appellis; in the
thridde forsothe zer soweth, and repith,
and plaunteth vynes, and eteth the frut
31 of hem. And he shall putte it, that were
saued of^{cc} the hous of Juda, and that is

Lord spac on hym, Thou virgyn, the
douzter of Sion, he dispiside thee, he scorn-
ede thee; thou virgyn, the douzter of Jeru-
salem, he moued his heed aftir thee^b.
Whom despisist thou, and^c whom blas-
femedist^d thou? and on whom reisdist
thou thi vois, and reisdist the hiznesse of
thin izen? To the hooli of Israel. Bi the 24
hond of thi seruauentis thou dispisidist the
Lord, and seidist, In the multitude of my
cartis Y stiede on the hiznesses of hillis, on
the zockis of Liban; and Y schal kitte down
the hiz thingis of cedris therof, and the
chosun beechis therof; and Y schal entre
in to the hiznesse of the cop therof, in to
the^e forest of Carmele therof. Y diggide, 25
and drank watir; and Y made drie with
the step of my foot all the strondis of
feeldis. Whether thou, *Sennacherib*, herd-
26 ist not what thingis Y dide sum tyme? Fro
elde daies Y fourmyde that thing, and
now Y haue broujt; and it is maad in to^g
drawyng vp bi the roote of litle hillis fjt-
yngge togidere, and of strong citees. The 27
dwelleris of tho *citees* trembliden togidere
with hond maad schort, and ben aschamed;
thei ben maad as hei of the feeld, and the^h
gras of lesewe, and as erbe of roouysⁱ, that
driede vp bifore that it wexide ripe. Y 28
knew thi dwellyng, and thi goyng out,
and thin entryng, and thi woodnesse azens
me. Whanne thou were wood azens me, 29
thi pride stiede in to myn eeris; therfor
Y schal sette a ryng in thi nosethirlis, and
a bridil in thi lippis; and Y schal lede
thee azen in to the weie, bi which thou
camest. Forsothe to thee, *Ezechie*, this 30
schal be a signe; ete thou in this zeer tho
thingis that growen bi her fre wille, and
in the secunde zeer ete thou applis; but
in the thridde zeer sowe ze, and repe ze,
and plaunte ze vyneris, and ete ze the
fruyt of tho^k. And that that is sauoyd of 31
the hous of Juda, and that, that is left,

^t maydyn A. ^u seruauante AGHK. ^v to the AE pr. m. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x deluede AEGHK. ^y it E pr. m.
z in K. ^a to E pr. m. ^b woodedist E pr. m. ^c Om. AE. ^{cc} Om. A.

^b these A pr. m. ^c Om. A. ^d blasfemist F. ^e Om. CFGHKNPQRSVX pr. m. ^g to the CEFHGHIKM sec. m.
NPSQV. ^h as the I. ⁱ hous rooues, ether rigges I. ^k hem N.

laft setten the roote^d benethe, and shal
 32 make frute aboue; for fro Jerusalem shul
 gon out relikes, and saluacioun^e fro the
 mount of Sion; the inward loue of the
 33 Lord of osten shal do this. Therefore
 these thinges seith the Lord, of the king
 of Assiries, He shal not go in to this cite,
 and he shal not throwe there an arwe;
 and ther shal not ocupie it^f a sheld, and
 he shal not putte^g in his enuyroun an
 34 hep^h of ertheⁱ. In the weie that he cam,
 bi it he shal be turned a3een; and this
 cite he shal not gon in, seith the Lord.
 35 And I shal defende this cite, that I saue
 it, for me, and for Dauid, my seruau^ht.
 36 Went out forsothe the aungil of the
 Lord, and smot in the tentus of Assiries
 an hundrid and fyue and eizteti thou-
 send; and thei risen erli, and lo! alle
 37 theⁱ careynes of the^k deade men. And
 he wente out, and 3ide awei. And turned
 a3een is Senacherub, king of^l Assiries,
 38 and dwelte in Nynyue. And don is,
 whan he shulde honoure in the temple
 of Mesrach, his god, Aramalech and Sa-
 razer, his sones, smyten hym with swerd,
 and floun in to the lond of Ararath; and
 regnede for hym Asaradon, his sone.

CAP. XXXVIII.

1 In tho dazes sinede Ezechie vnto^m
 the deth; and wente in to hym Isaie, the
 soun of Amos, theⁿ profete, and seide to
 hym, These thingus seith the Lord, Dis-
 pose to^o thin house, for die shalt thou,
 2 and not lyuen. And Ezechie turnede his
 face to the wal, and honourede the Lord,
 3 and seide, I ynwardli pre3e^p, Lord; haue
 mynde, I beseche, what maner I 3ide bi-
 for thee in treuthe, and in parfit herte,
 and that is good in thin e3en, I dide.
 And Ezechie wepte with gret weping.
 4 And don is the wrd of the Lord to Isaie,
 5 seiende, Go; and sei to Ezechye, These
 thingus seith the Lord God of Dauid, thi

shal sende roote bynethe, and shal make
 fruyt aboue; for whi relifs schulen go out³²
 of Jerusalem, and saluacioun fro the hil of
 Sion; the feruent loue of the Lord of
 oostis shal do this thing. Therfor the³³
 Lord seith these thingis of the kyng of
 Assiriens, He shal not entre in to this
 citee, and he shal not schete there an
 arowe; and a scheeld shal not ocupie it,
 and he shal not sende erthe in the cum-
 pas therof. In the weie in which he cam,³⁴
 he shal turne a3en bi it; and he shal not
 entre in to this citee, seith the Lord. And³⁵
 Y shal defende this citee, that Y saue it,
 for me, and for Dauid, my seruau^ht. For-³⁶
 sothe the aungel of the Lord 3ede out, and
 killide an hundride thousynde and four-
 scoor and fyue thousynde in the tentis of
 Assiriens; and thei risen^l eerli, and lo!
 alle men *weren* careyns of deed men. And³⁷
Sennacherib 3ede out of *Jude*, and wente
 awei. And Sennacherib, the kyng of
 Assiriens, turnede a3en, and dwellide in
 Nynyue. And it was don, whanne he³⁸
 worschipide Mesrach, his god, in the
 temple, Aramalech and Sarasar, hise sones,
 killiden hym with swerd, and fledden in
 to the lond of Ararath^m; and Asaradon,
 his sone, regnyde for hym.

CAP. XXXVIII.

In tho daies Ezechie was sijk 'til toⁿ
 the deth; and Isaie, the profete, the sone
 of Amos, entride to hym, and seide to
 hym, The Lord seith these thingis, Dis-
 pose thi hous, for thou schalt die, and thou
 schalt not lyue. And Ezechie turnede his²
 face to the wal, and preiede the Lord,
 and seide, Lord, Y biseche; haue thou3
 mynde, Y biseche, hou Y 3ede bifore thee
 in treuthe, and in perfit herte, and Y dide
 that that was good bifore thin 3en. And
 Ezechye wept with greet wepyng. And⁴
 the word of the Lord was maad to Isaie,
 and seide, Go thou, and sei to Ezechye,⁵
 The Lord God of Dauid, thi fadir, seith

^d rotis A. ^e sauacioun C. ^f Om. A. ^g senden E pr. m. ^h Om. E pr. m. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om. AGH.
^l Om. K. ^m to K. ⁿ Om. AEGHK. ^o for A. ^p beseche E pr. m.

^l risiden A pr. m. CHKMNVX. resin P. ^m Ararath, that is, Armenye K. ⁿ vnto I.

fader, I haue herd thi orisoun, and seen thi teres. Lo! I shal ley to vp on thi 6 dazes fiftene 3er; and fro the hond of the king of Assiries I shal delyuere thee and 7 this cite, and I shal defenden it. This forsothe to thee shal ben a toene fro the Lord, for the Lord shal do this wrd that 8 he spac. Loo! I shal make to turne a3een the shadewe of lynes^q, bi the^r whiche it hadde go down in the oriloge of Acath, in the sunne, backward by ten lynes. And the sunne is turned a3een bi ten lynes, bi the grees that it hadde go down.

9 *The^s scripture of Ezechie, kyng of Juda, whan he hadde be syc, and hadde couered of^t his synesse^u.*

10 I seide, in the myddel of my dazes I 11 shal go to the 3ates of helle. I so3te the residue of my 3eres; I seide, I shal not see the Lord God in the lond of lyueres; I shal not biholde a man more ouer, and 12 a dwellere of reste. My ieneracioun is taken awei, and al folden^v vp fro me, as a tabernacle of shepherdes. Kut of is as of a weuere my lif; whil 3it I wenede, he under kutte me. Fro erli vnto euen thou 13 shalt ende me; I hopede vnto the moru; as a leoun, so^w he to-brosede alle my bones. Fro erli 'vn to^x euen thou shalt 14 ende me; as the brid of a swalewe, so I shal crien; sweteli I shal thenke as a culuer. Al to-feblid ben myn ezen, biholdende vp in heizte. Lord, fors I suf- 15 fre, answeere thou for me; what shal I sey, or what shal answeere to me, whan I myself haue do? I shal eft thenke^y to thee alle my 3eres, in the bitternesse of 16 my soule. Lord, if thus it is lyued, and in suche thingus the lif of my spirit, thou 17 shalt chastise me, and quykene me; lo! in pes my bitternesse most bitter. Thou forsothe hast deliuered out my soule, that it shulde not pershe; thou hast throwe aferr bihinde thi bac alle my 18 synnus. For helle shal not knoueleche to

these thingis, I haue herd thi preier, and Y si3 thi teeris. Lo! Y schal adde on thi daies fiftene 3eer; and Y schal delyuere⁶ thee and this citee fro the hond of the kyng of Assiriens, and Y schal defende it. Forsothe this schal be to thee a signe of⁷ the Lord, that the Lord schal do this word, which he spac^o. Lo! Y schal make⁸ the schadewe of lynes, bi which it 3ede down in the orologie of Achas, in the sunne, to turne a3en backward bi ten lynes. And the sunne turnede a3en bi ten lynes, bi degrees bi whiche it hadde go down.

The scripture of Ezechie, kyng of Ju-⁹ da, whanne he hadde be sijk, and hadde rekyuered of his sikenesse.

I seide, in the myddil of my daies Y¹⁰ schal go to the 3atis of helle. Y sou3te¹¹ the residue of my 3eeris; Y seide, Y schal not se the Lord God in the lond of lyueris; Y schal no more biholde a man, and a dwellere of reste. My generacioun¹² is takun awei, and is foldid togidere fro me, as the tabernacle of scheepherdis *is foldid togidere*. Mi lijf is kit down as of a webbe; he kittide down me, the while Y was wouun 3it. Fro the morewtid 'til to^p the euentid thou schalt ende me; Y hop- 13 ide til to the morewtid; as a lioun, so he al to-brak alle my boonys. Fro the morewtid til to the euentid thou schalt ende me; as the brid of a swalewe, so Y schal crie; 14 Y schal bithenke as a culuer. Myu 3en biholdynge an hi3, ben maad feble. Lord, -Y suffre violence, answeere thou for me; what schal Y seie, ether what schal^q an- 15 swere to me, whanne 'I mysilf haue^r do? Y schal bithenke to thee alle my 3eeris, in the bitternisse of my soule. Lord, if me¹⁶ lyueth so, and the lijf of my spirit is in siche thingis, thou schalt chastise me, and schalt quykene me. Lo! my bitternesse¹⁷ *is* moost bittir in pees; forsothe thou hast delyuered my soule, that it perischide not;

^q Fynees K sec. m. ^r Om. AEGHK. ^s This is the A. ^t Om. AK. ^u The entire rubric omitted in GH. ^v falt c pr. m. ^w Om. A. ^x in to K. ^y bithenke AEGHK.

^o hath spoke 1. ^p vnto 1. ^q schal I EFKS. schal he GIMNQRX sec. m. ^r he hath CEGHKMNPQRSUVX.

thee, nor^z deth shal preise thee; and thei shul not abyden thi^a treuthe, that gon
19 down in to the lake. Lyuende, lyuende, he shal knouliche to thee, as and I to dai; the fader to the sonus knowe shal
20 make thi treuthe. Lord, mac me saf, and oure salmes wee shal singe alle the dazes of oure lif in the hous^b of the^c Lord.

21 And Isaie comaundide, that thei shulden taken an hep of fyges, and thei shulde make an enplastre vp on the
22 wounde; and he shulde ben hoel. And Ezechye seide, What shal be the tocne, for I shal steje vp^d in to the hous of the Lord?

CAP. XXXIX.

1 In that tyme sente Marodoch Baladan, the sone of Baladan, the king of Babiloyne, lettris and ziftes to Ezechie; forsothe he hadde herd, that he hade be
2 syc, and was couered. Forsothe Ezechie gladede vp on tho thingus, and he shewede to them the selle of spices, and of siluer, and of gold, and of swote thingus, and of the beste oynement, and al the cofres of his necessarie thingus, and alle thingus that ben founde in his tresories; ther was not a wrd, that Ezechie shewede not to them^e in his hous, and in al
3 his power. Forsothe Isaie, the profete, wente in^{ee} to Ezechie, the king, and seide to hym, What seiden these men, and whennes camen thei to thee? And Ezechie seide, Fro a ferr lond thei camen
4 to me, fro Babyloyne. And he seyde, What sejen thei in thin hous? And Ezechie seide, Alle thingus that in myn hous ben, thei sejen^f; ther was not a thing, that I shewede not to them in my
5 tresories. And Isaie seide to Ezechie, Here the wrd of the Lord of oostes. Lo! dazes shul come, and alle thingus shul be don awei, that ben in thin hous, and that thi fadris han tresored vn to this dai, in

thou hast caste away bihynde thi bak alle my synnes. For not helle schal know-
18 leche to thee, nethir deth schal herie thee; thei that goon down in to the lake, schulen not abide thi treuthe. A lyuyng man, a
19 lyuyng man, he schal knouliche to thee, as and Y to dai; the fadir schal make knowun thi treuthe to sones. Lord, make
20 thou me saaf, and we schulen synge oure salmes in all the daies of oure lijf in the hous of the Lord.

And Ysaie comaundide, that thei schul-
21 den take a gobet of figus, and make a plaster on the wounde; and it schulde be heelid. And Ezechie seide, What signe
22 schal be, that Y schal stie in to the hous of the Lord?

CAP. XXXIX.

In that tyme Marodach Baladan, the
1 sone of Baladam, the kyng of Babiloyne, sente bookis and ziftis to Ezechie; for he hadde herd, that *Ezechie* hadde be sijk, and was rekyuerid. Forsothe Ezechie
2 was glad on^s hem, and schewide to hem the selle of swete smellynge spices, and of siluer, and of gold, and of smellynge thingis, and of best oynement, and alle the schoppis of his purtenaunce of houshold, and alle thingis that weren foundun in hise tresours; no word was, which Ezechie schewide not to hem in his hous, and in al his power. Sotheli Ysaie, the pro-
3 phete, entride to kyng Ezechie, and seide to hym, What seiden thes men, and fro whennus camen thei to thee? And Ezechie seide, Fro a fer lond thei camen to me, fro Babiloyne. And Ysaie seide, What
4 sizen thei in thin hous? And Ezechie seide, Thei sien alle thingis that ben in myn hous; no thing was in my tresours, which Y schewide not to hem. And
5 Ysaie seide to Ezechie, Here thou the word of the Lord of oostis. Lo! daies
6 schulen come, and alle thingis that ben in thin hous, and whiche thingis thi fadris tresoriden til to this dai, schulen be takun

^z he AEGHK.
^{ee} Om. E pr. m.

^a Om. AG pr. m. HK.
^f han seen A.

^b daiys E pr. m.

^c oure E pr. m.

^d in K.

^e hym E pr. m.

^s in N.

to Babiloyne; ther shal not be laft any
7 thing, seith the Lord. And of this sonus,
that shul gon out of thee, the whiche
thou shalt gete, thei shul take awei; and
thei shul be geldingus in the paleis of the
8 king of Babiloyne. And Ezechie seide
to Isaie, Good is the wrd of the Lord,
that he spac. And he seide, Be ther do
onli pes and treuthe in my dazes.

CAP. XL.

1 Beth coumfortid, beth coumfortid, see
2 my puple, seith 3oure God. Speketh to the
herte of Jerusalem, and clepeth to it, for
ful endid^h is his malice, for3yuen is his
wickidnesseⁱ; he toc of the hond of the
Lord double thingus for alle his synnus.
3 The vois of the criende in desert, Mak-
eth redy the weie of the Lord, rizt^k mak-
eth in wildernesse the sties of oure God.
4 Eche valei shal be enhaunced, and eche
monteyn 'and hil^l shal be mekid; and
ther shul be shreude thingus in to euene
rizt thingus, and sharpe thingus in to
5 pleyne weies. And ther shal be opened
the glorie of the Lord, and seen shal
eche flesh togidere, that the mouth of
6 the Lord spac. The vois of the Lord,
seiende, Cry. And I seide, What shal I
crien? Eche flesh hei, and al his glorie
7 as the flower of the feld. Ful out dried
is the hei, and the flour fel, for the spirit
of the Lord ble3 in it. Verely the^m hei is
8 the puple; ful out dried is the hei, and
the flour fel; the wrd forsothe of the
9 Lord dwelleth in to withouten ende. Vp
on an hiz hil ste3 vp, thou that euange-
lisist toⁿ Sion; enhaunce in strengthe
thi vois, thou that euangelisist to^o Jeru-
salem; enhaunce, and wile thou not drede;
sei to the cites of Jude, Lo! 3oure^p God.
10 Lo! the Lord God in strengthe shal come,
and his arm shal lordshipen; lo! his
meede with hym, and his were biforn

awei in to Babiloyne; not any thing schal
be left, seith the Lord. And thei schulen⁷
take of thi sones, that schulen go out of
thee, whiche thou schalt gendre; and thei
schulen be onest seruauantis and chast in
the paleis of the kyng of Babiloyne. And⁸
Ezechie seide to Ysaie, The word of the
Lord is good, which he spac. And *Eze-
chie* seide, Pees and treuthe be maad oneli
in my daies.

CAP. XL.

My puple, be 3e coumfortid, be 3e coum-1
fortid, seith 3oure Lord God. Speke 3e to 2
the herte of Jerusalem, and clepe 3e it,
for the malice therof is fillid, the^t wickid-
nesse therof is for3ouun; it hath resseyued
of the hond of the Lord double thingis for
alle hise synnes. The vois of a crier in 3
desert, Make 3e^u redi the weie of the
Lord, make 3e^{uu} riztful the pathis of oure
God in wildirnesse. Ech valey schal be 4
enhausid, and ech mounteyn and lilil hil
schal be maad low; and schrewid thingis
schulen be in to strei3t thingis, and scharpe
thingis *schulen* be in to pleyne weies. And 5
the glorie of the Lord schal be schewid,
and ech man schal se togidere; that the
mouth of the Lord hath spoke. The vois 6
of God, seiynge, Crie thou. And Y seide,
What schal Y crie? Ech fleisch *is* hei,
and al the glorie therof *is* as the flour of
the feeld. The hei is dried vp, and the flour 7
felle down, for the spirit of the Lord blew
therynne. Verely the puple is hey; the hey 8
is dried vp, and the flour felle down; but the
word of the Lord dwellith^v with outen ende.
Thou that prehist to Sion, stie^w on an hiz 9
hil; thou that prehist to Jerusalem, en-
haunse thi vois in strengthe; enhaunse thou,
nyle thou drede; seie thou to the citees of
Juda, Lo! 3oure God. Lo! the Lord God 10
schal come in strengthe, and his arm schal
holde lordschipe; lo! his mede *is* with hym,
and his werk *is* bifore hym. As a scheep- 11

^g the E pr. m. ^h Om. A. ⁱ wickenesse E. ^k riztful A. ^l Om. AGHK. ^m Om. C pr. m. ⁿ Om. E pr. m.
^o Om. E pr. m. ^p oure E pr. m.

^t and the A pr. m. ^u Om. N. ^{uu} Om. A pr. m. ^v dwellith, *ether schal stonde* CEFHGKMNPRUVX. schal
dweille, *ethir stonde* S. ^w stie vp I.

11 hym. As a shepperde ^qshal feede^q his
floc, in his arm he shal gedere the
lombis, and in his bosom shal reren; ^{the}
12 shep^r ful of frut he shal bern. Who
mesurede with handful watris, and he-
uenes with the paume peisede? Who
heeng^s vp with thre fingris the heuy-
nesse^t of the^u erthe, and wejede in peis
the mounteynes, and the hilles in a bal-
13 launce? Who^v helpede^w the Spirit of the
Lord, or who^x his counseiler was, and
14 shewede to hym? With whom wente
he in conseil, and enformede hym, and
tazte hym the stiȝ of rijtwise^{ne}esse, and
lerede hym with kunnyng, and the weie
15 of prudence shewede to hym? Lo! Jen-
tiles as a drope of a boket, and as mo-
ment of a balaunce ben holden; lo! iles
16 as litil poudere, and Liban shal not suf-
fisen to brenne, and his bestus shuln not
17 suffisen to brent sacrifice. Alle Jentiles
as thei ben not, so thei ben bifor hym;
and as noȝt and^y inwardli voide thei ben
18 holden to hym. To whom thanne lic
hast thou mad God? or what ymage
19 shul ȝee putte to hym? Whether the
grauen thing shal the smith ȝeete, or the
craftis^z man with gold shall figure it, and
with^a siluerene plates the siluer smyth?
20 The stronge tree, and the vnable to roten
ches the wise craftes^b man; he secheth
what maner he sette the symulacre, that
21 it moue not. Whether ȝee shul not wite?
whether ȝee han not herd? whether not
told to ȝou it is fro the bigynnyng?
whether ȝee han not vnderstonde the
22 foundemens of the erthe? That sitteth
vp on the cumpas of the erthe, and his
dwelleris ben as locustes; that streccheth
out as noȝt heuenus, and spredeth abrod
23 hem as tabernacle to indwelle^c. That
ȝyueth the sercheres of priuytees, as thoȝ
thei be not, the domes men of the erthe
24 as voide^d he made. And forsothe ne

herd he schal fede his flock, he schal ga-
dere lambreen in his arm, and he schal
reise in his bosom; he schal bere scheep
'with lomb^x. Who mat watris in a fist,¹²
and peiside heuenes with a spanne? Who
peiside the heuynesse of the erthe with
thre fyngris, and weide mounteyns in a
weihe, and litle hillis in a balaunce? Who¹³
helpide the Spirit of the Lord, ether who
was his counceleur, and schewide to hym?
With whom took he counsel, and *who*¹⁴
lernyde hym, and tauȝte hym the path of
rijtfulnesse, and lernyde hym in kunnyng,
and schewyde to him the weie of pru-
dence? Lo! folkis *ben* as a drope of a¹⁵
boket, and ben arettid as the tunge of a
balaunce; lo! ylis *ben* as a litil dust, and¹⁶
the Liban schal not suffice to brenne *his*
sacrifice, and the beestis therof schulen
not suffice to brent sacrifice. Alle folkis¹⁷
ben so bifore hym, as if thei ben not; and
thei ben rettid as no thing and veyn thing
to hym. To whom therfor maden ȝe God¹⁸
liȝk? ether what ymage schulen ȝe sette to
hym? Whether a smyth schal welle to-¹⁹
gidere an ymage, ether a gold smyth schal
figure it in gold, and a worchere in siluer
schal dizte it with platis of siluer? A²⁰
wiȝs crafti man chees a strong tre, and
vnable to be rotun; he sekith how he
schal ordeyne a symylacre, that schal not
be mouyd. Whether ȝe witen not? whe-²¹
ther ȝe herden not? whether it was not
teld to ȝou fro the begynnyng? whether
ȝe vndurstoden not the foundementis of
erthe? Which sittith on the cumpas of²²
erthe, and the dwelleris therof ben as
locustis; which stretchith forth heuenes
as nouȝt, and spredith abrod tho as a
tabernacle to dwelle. Which ȝyueth the²³
sercheris of priuytees, as if thei be not,
and made the iugis of erthe as a veyn
thing. And sotheli whanne the stok of²⁴
hem *is* nether plauntid, nether *is* sowun,

^q fedeth E pr. m. ^r Om. E pr. m. ^s weide E pr. m. hongide E sec. m. AGHK. ^t gobbe C pr. m.
E pr. m. ^u Om. AE sec. m. GHK. ^v Whom GHK. ^w herde E pr. m. ^x who is E pr. m. ^y and in
veyn E pr. m. ^z crafti C. ^a Om. E pr. m. ^b crafty K. ^c dwellen E pr. m. ^d inwardli voide E pr. m.

^z ene, ether with lomb C EFGHIKMPVXY. yeene, ether with lomb NS.

plauntid, ne sowen, ne rootid in the
 erthe the stoc of hem, feerli he blez in
 to them, and thei drieden, and a whirle-
 25 wind as stubil shal take them awei. And
 to whom han 3ee ligned me, and euened
 26 han me? seith the hoeli. Rereth vp in
 to hei3 3oure ezen, and seeth, who 'made
 of nouzt^e these thingus; that bringeth^f out
 in noumbre the kny3thod of hem, and
 alle bi name he clepeth, for multitude of
 strengthe, and of stalwrthenesse, and of
 27 his vertue; ne oon was laft. Whi seist
 thou, Jacob^g, and spekest, Israel^h, Hid is
 my wey fro the Lord, and fro my God
 28 my dom passede? Whether wost thou
 not, or hast not herd, God euere durende?
 The Lord that foormede the termes of the
 erthe, he shal not faile, ne trauaile, ne
 29 ther is enserching of his wisdam. That
 3yueth to the weri vertue, and to them
 that ben not, strengthe and stalwrthe-
 30 nesse multeplieth. Failen shul childer,
 and trauailen, and 3unge men in ther
 31 feblenesse fallen. Who forsothe hopen
 in the Lord, shul chaunge strengthe,
 take to federes as of an egle; rennen, and
 not trauailen; gon, and not faylen.

CAP. XLI.

1 Bee stille to me, yles, and Jentyles
 strengthe chaunge thei; nezhen, and
 thanne speke thei; togidere to dom ny3
 2 come wee. Who rerede fro the est the
 riztwis, clepede hym, that he shulde fo-
 lewe hymself? He shal 3yue in his sizte
 Jentyles, and kingus he shal welde; he
 shal 3yue as pouder to his swerd, asⁱ
 3 stubil with the wind raueshid to his
 bowe. He shal pursue hem, 'he shal^k
 passe in pes; the sty in his feet shal not
 4 apere. Who these thingus wro3te and
 dide? clepende ieneraciouns^l fro the bi-
 gynnynge. I a Lord; first and the last
 5 I am. Iles see3en, and trembleden; the

nether *is* rootid in erthe, he bleew sudenli
 on hem, and thei drieden vp, and a whirle
 wynd schal take hem awei as stobil. And 25
 to what thing '3e han^z ligned me, and han
 maad euene? seith the hooli. Reise 3oure 26
 izen an hi3, and se 3e, who made these
 thingis of nouzt; which ledith out in
 noumbre the kni3thod of tho^{zz}, and clepith
 alle bi name, for the multitude of his
 strengthe; and stalworthnesse, and vertu;
 nether o residue thing was. Whi seist 27
 thou, Jacob, and spekist thou, Israel, My
 weie is hid fro the Lord, and my doom
 passide fro my God? Whether thou 28
 knowist not, ether herdist thou not? God,
 euerlastynge Lord, that made of nouzt the
 endis of erthe, schal not faile, nether schal
 trauele, nether enserchyng of his wisdom
 is. That 3yueth vertu to the weeri, and 29
 strengthe to hem that ben not, and mul-
 tiplieth stalworthnesse. Children schulen 30
 faile, and schulen trauele, and 3onge men
 schulen falle down in her sikenesse. But 31
 thei that hopen in the Lord, schulen
 chaunge strengthe, thei schulen take fe-
 theris as eglis; thei schulen renne, and
 schulen not trauele; thei schulen go, and
 schulen not faile.

CAP. XLI.

Iles, be stille to me, and folkis chaunge 1
 strengthe; neize thei, and thanne speke thei;
 neize we togidere to doom. Who reiseide 2
 the iust man fro the eest, and clepide hym
 to sue hym silf? He schal 3yue folkis in his
 sizt, and he schal welde kyngis; he schal
 3yue as dust to his swerd, and as stobil
 'that *is*^a rauyschid of the wynd, to his
 bowe. He schal pursue hem, he schal go 3
 in pees; a path schal not appere in hise
 feet. Who wrou3te and dide these thingis? 4
 clepynge generaciouns at the bigynnynge.
 Y am the Lord; and Y am the firste and
 the laste. Ilis sien, and dreden; the 5
 laste partis of erthe were astonyed; thei

^e foormede c pr. m. E pr. m. ^f brozte E pr. m.
 E pr. m. ⁱ Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^k Om. E pr. m.

^g to Jacob E pr. m. ^h thou Israel AGHK. to Irael
^l generacioun AGHK.

^z haue 3e i. ^{zz} hem N. ^a Om. CEFGHKNPSVX.

vtmostus^m of the erthe becamen stoneid,
 6 thei nezheden, and wente to. Eche to
 his nezhbore shal helpen, and to his
 7 brother seyn, Tac coumfort. Coumforten
 shal the metal smyth smytende hym
 with an hamer that forgede that tyme,
 seiende to the glyu, It is good; and he
 coumfortide hym with nailes, that it
 8 schulde not be moued. And thou, Irael,
 my seruaunt, Jacob, whom I ches, the
 9 sed of Abraham, my frend, in whom I
 toc thee fro the vtmostes^a of the erthe,
 and fro his ferre coestes I clepede thee,
 and seide to thee, My seruaunt thou art;
 I ches thee, and I caste not awei thee.
 10 Ne drede thou, for I am with thee; ne
 bowe thou down, for I^o thi God. I haue
 coumfortid thee, and holpen thee; and
 vndertoc thee the rizthond of my riztwis.
 11 Lo! shul be confoundid, and shamen alle
 that fizten azen thee; thei shul be as
 tho³^p thei be not, and pershe shul the
 12 men, that azenseyne to thee. Thou shalt
 sechen hem, and not finden; thi rebel
 men thei shul ben, as tho³ thei ben not,
 and as the wasting of a man fiztende
 13 azen thee. For I the Lord thi God,
 takende thin hond, and seiende to thee,
 Ne drede thou, for I haue holpen thee.
 14 Wile thou not drede, thou^q werm of Ja-
 cob, that dead ³ee ben of Irael. I haue
 holpen thee, seith the Lord, and thin
 15 azeen biere, the hoeli of Irael. I haue^q
 set thee as a newe wayn thresshende,
 hauende pikede poeles sawende; thou
 shalt thresshe mounteynes, and to-my-
 nushen, and putten as pouder hillis.
 16 Thou shalt wynewe them, and the wind
 shal take awei, and the whirlewind shal
 scatere them; and thou ful out shalt
 iozen in the Lord, and in the hoeli of
 17 Irael shalt^r glade. Nedi and pore men
 shul seche watris^s, and ther ben not;
 the tunge of them with thirst driede.
 I the Lord shal out heren hem, I God of

camen ni³, and neiziden. Ech man schal⁶
 helpe his neizbore, and schal seie to his
 brother, Be thou coumfortid. A smyth of 7
 metal smytynge with an hamer coum-
 fortide him that polischyde, *ethir made*
fair, in that tyme, seiynge, It is good, to
 glu; and he fastenede^b hym with nailis,
 that he schulde not be mouyd. And⁸
 thou, Israel, my seruaunte, Jacob, whom
 Y chees, the seed of Abraham, my frend,
 in whom Y took thee; fro the laste partis⁹
 of erthe, and fro the fer partis therof Y
 clepide thee; and Y seide to thee, Thou
 art my seruaunt; Y chees thee, and cast-
 ide not awei thee. Drede thou not, for Y¹⁰
 am with thee; boowe thou not awei, for
 Y *am* thi God. Y coumfortide thee, and
 helpide thee; and the rizthond of my^c iust
 man vp took thee. Lo! alle men schulen¹¹
 be schent, and schulen be aschamed, that
 fizten azens thee; thei schulen be as if
 thei ben not, and men schulen perische,
 that azen seien thee. Thou schalt seke¹²
 hem, and thou schalt not fynde thi rebel
 men; thei schulen be, as if thei ben not,
 and as the wastyng of a man fiztynge
 azens thee. For Y *am* thi Lord God, tak-¹³
 ynge thin hond, and seiynge to thee, Drede
 thou not, Y helpide thee. Nyle thou, worm¹⁴
 of Jacob, drede, ³e that ben deed of Israel.
 Y helpide thee, seith the Lord, and thin
 azen biere, the hooli of Israel. Y haue set¹⁵
 thee as a^d newe wayn threischyng, hau-
 ynge sawynge bilis; thou schalt threische
 mounteyns, and schalt make smal, and
 thou schalt sette litle hillis as dust. Thou¹⁶
 schalt wyndewe hem, and the wynd schal
 take *hem* awei, and a whirlewynd schal
 scatere hem; and thou schalt make ful out
 ioie in the Lord^e, and thou schalt be glad
 in the hooli of Israel. Nedi men and pore,¹⁷
 seken watris, and tho ben not; the tunge
 of hem driede for thirst. Y the Lord
 schal here hem, I God of Israel schal not
 forsake hem. Y schal opene floodis in hij¹⁸

^m vttermost AGHK. ⁿ vttermostis AGHK. ^o I am AK sec. m. ^p thof E passim. ^q of the E pr. m.
 qq ha c. ^r thou schalt AG sec. m. K sec. m. ^s Om. E pr. m.

^b coumfortide CEF GHKMN PQRSUVX. ^c the N. ^d Om. N. ^e word I.

18 Israel shal not forsake them. I shal
 opene in heze hillis flodys, and in the
 myddel of feeldis welles; I shall sette de-
 sert in to^t pondis of watris, and the lond
 withoute weie in to riueres of watris.
 19 I shal 3yue in wildernesse ceder, and
 thorne, and myrt^u tree, and oliue tree;
 I^v shal sette in desert fyrr tree, and vlm
 20 tree, and box togidere. That thei see,
 and wite, and bethenke, and vnderstonde
 togidere; for the hond of the Lord dide
 this, and the hoeli of Israel foormede it.
 21 Ny3 doth 3oure dom, seith the Lord;
 bringeth to, if any thing parauenture
 22 3ee han, seith the king of Jacob. Come
 thei ny3, and telle thei to vs, what euer
 thingus ben to come; the rathere thingus
 that weren, tellith, and wee shul putte
 oure herte, and wite; the laste thingis of
 hem, and that ben to come, shewith to vs.
 23 Telleth that ben to come in to tyme to
 come, and wee shul wite, for goddis 3ee
 ben; well also or euele, if 3ee moun, doth;
 and speke wee^w, and see wee togidere.
 24 Lo! 3ee ben of no3t, and 3our werc 'of
 that thyng^x that is not; abhominacioun
 25 he is, that ches 3ou. I rerede fro the
 north, and he shal come from the rising
 vp^y of the sunne; clepe he shal my name.
 He shal bringe to the cheef maistris as
 clei, and as a daubere, 'or a potter^{yy}, to-
 26 tredende the lowe erthe^z. Who tolde fro
 the bigynnyng, that wee witen, and fro
 the begynnyng, that wee sey, Thou art
 ri3twis? ther is not a tellere, ne a biforn
 27 seiere, ne herere 3oure wrdis. The firste
 to Sion shal sei, Lo! I am ny3; and to
 Jerusalem an euangelist I shal 3yue.
 28 And I sa3, and ther was not of these^a
 any man that 3ide in counseil, and 'askid
 29 answerde^b a wrd. Lo! alle vnri3twise,
 and veyne the werkes of hem; wynde,
 and with ynne voide the symulacris of
 them.

hillis, and wellis in the myddis of feeldis;
 Y schal sette the desert in to poondis of
 watris, and the lond without weie in to
 ryuers of watris. Y schal 3yue in wildir-¹⁹
 nesse a cedre, and a thorn, and a myrte
 tref, and the tre of an olyue; Y schal sette
 in the desert a fir tre, an elm, and a box
 tre togidere. That thei se, and knowe, and²⁰
 bithenke, and vnderstonde togidere; that
 the hond of the Lord dide this thing, and
 the hooli of Israel made that of nou3t.
 Make 3e ni3 3oure doom, seith the Lord;²¹
 brynge 3e, if in hap 3e han ony thing, seith
 the kyng of Jacob. Nei3 tho, and telle to²²
 vs, what euer thingis schulen come; telle
 3e the formere thingis that weren, and we
 schulen sette oure herte, and schulen wite;
 schewe 3e to vs the laste thingis of hem,
 and tho thingis that schulen come. Telle²³
 3e what thingis schulen come in tyme to
 comynge, and we schulen wite, that 3e ben
 goddis; al so do 3e wel, ethir yuele, if 3e
 moun; and speke we, and see we togidere.
 Lo! 3e ben of nou3t, and 3oure werk *is* of²⁴
 that that is not; he that chees 3ou, is
 abhomynacioun. I reise fro the north,²⁵
 and he schal come fro the risyng of the
 sunne; he schal clepe my name. And he
 schal brynge magistratis as cley, and as a
 pottere^g defoulynge erthe. Who tolde fro²⁶
 the bigynnyng, that we wite, and fro the
 bigynnyng, that we seie, Thou art iust?
 noon is tellynge, nether biforseiynge, ne-
 ther herynge 3oure wordis. The firste²⁷
 schal seie to Sion, Lo! Y am present;
 and Y schal 3yue a gossellere to Jerusa-
 lem. And Y si3, and noon was of these,²⁸
 that token counsel, and he that was axid,
 answeride a word. Lo! alle men *ben* vn-²⁹
 iust, and her werkis *ben* wynd and veyn;
 the symylacris of hem *ben* wynd, and voide
 thing.

^t Om. A. ^u myrre AGHK. ^v and I E pr. m. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^y Om. A.
^{yy} Om. CE pr. m. or as a potter K. ^z Om. c pr. m. ^a these then c pr. m. hem E pr. m. ^b askide
 answerd AGHK.

^f mirre GK. ^g potter, ether a foormer K.

CAP. XLII.

1 Lo! my seruaunt, I shal vndertaken hym, my chosen, al plesede to hym in hym my soule. I ȝaf my spirit vp on hym, dom to Jentiles he shal bringe forth.
 2 He shal not crien, ne take persone, ne shal ben herd his^c voys withouteforth.
 3 A reed brosid^d he shal not to-trede, and flax smokende he shal not quenchen; in treuthe he shal bringe out dom. He shal not be dreri, ne trublid, to the tyme he pute^e in the erthe dom, and his lawe iles shul abiden. These thingus seith the Lord God, formende heuenes, and strecchende out hem, fastnende^f erthe, and that buriounen of^g it, ȝyuende breth to the puple, that is vpon it, and spirit to men tredende it. I the Lord clepede thee in rijtwise, and toc thin hond, and kepte thee, and ȝaf thee in to couenaunt of the puple, in to list of Jentiles.
 7 That^h thou shuldist opene the eȝen of blynde men; that thou shuldyst bringe out fro closing the bounde, fro the hous of prisoun the sitters in dercnesse. I a Lord, this is my name; my glorie to an other I shall not ȝyue, and my preising to grauen thingus. That first weren, lo! ben comen, newe thingus also I telle; er thei ben sprunge, herd I shal maken to ȝou. Syngeth to the Lord a newe song; his preising fro the vtmostesⁱ of the^k erthe; ȝee that gon down in to the se, and the plente of it, iles, and the dwelleres of hem. Be rered vp the^l desert, and the cites of it; in his houses shal dwelle Cedar; preiseth, ȝee dwelleris of the ston; fro the top of mounteynes thei shul crien. Thei shul sette to the Lord glorie, and his preising in iles thei shul telle. The Lord as strong shal gon out, as a man fiztere he shal ȝeren enuye; he shal crien out, and crien; vp on his enemys he shal be coumforted. Y heeld

CAP. XLII.

Lo! my seruaunt, Y schal vptake hym, 1 my chosun, my soule pleside to it silf in hym. I ȝaf my spirit on hym, he schal brynge forth doom to hethene men. He 2 schal not crie, nether he schal take a per-soone, nether his voys schal be herd withoutforth. He schal not breke a schakun 3 rehed, and he schal not quenche smokynge flax; he schal brynge out doom in treuthe. He schal not be sorewful, nether 4 troblid, til he sette doom in erthe, and ilis schulen abide his lawe. The Lord God 5 seith these thingis, makynge heuenes of noȝt, and stretchynge forth tho^h, makynge stidfast the erthe, and tho thingis that buriownen of it, ȝyuynge breethⁱ to the puple, that is on it, and ȝyuynge spirit to hem that treden on it. Y the Lord haue 6 clepid thee in rijtfulnesse, and Y took thin hond, and kepte thee, and Y ȝaf thee in to a boond of pees of the puple, and in to list of folkis. That thou schuldist opene the 7 ȝen of blynde men; that thou schuldist lede out of closyng togidere a boundun man, fro the hous of prisoun men sit-tyng in derknessis. Y *am* the Lord, this 8 is my name; Y schal not ȝyue my glorie to an other, and my preising to graunymagis. Lo! tho thingis that weren the 9 firste, ben comun, and Y telle newe thingis; Y schal make herd to ȝou, bfore that tho bigynnen to be maad. Synge ȝe a newe 10 song to the Lord; his heriyng *is* fro the laste partis of erthe; ȝe that goon down in to the^k see, and the fulnesse therof, ilis, and the dwelleris of tho. The desert be 11 reysid, and the citees therof; he schal dwelle in the housis of Cedar; ȝe dwelleris of the stoon, herie ȝe^l; thei schulen crie fro the cop of hillis. Thei schulen 12 sette glorie to the Lord, and they schulen telle his heriyng in ilis. The Lord as a 13 strong man schal go out, as a man a wer-

^c Om. K. ^d smyten togydir *E sec. m. AGHK.* ^e poote *E pr. m.* ^f formynge *E pr. m.* ^g out of K.
^h And that A. ⁱ vttermostis *AGHK.* ^k Om. AEG. ^l to *E pr. m.*

^h hem N. ⁱ blast CEF GHIK MNPQRSUVX. ^k Om. CEFNPQU. ^l Om. CEF GHIK MNPQRSUVX.

my pes, euermor I was stille; patient I was, as the trauailende with child I shal speke; I shal scateren, and soupen awei
 15 togidere. Desert I shal make hize moun-
 teynes and hillys, and alle the burioun-
 yng of hem I shal out^m drien; and I shal
 sette flodis in to iles, and pondis I shal
 16 make drie. And I shal bringe out blynde
 men in to the weie, that thei knowe not,
 and in the sties that thei vnknownen, hem
 to gon I shal make; I shal putte the
 derknesses of hem beforⁿ hem in to lizt,
 and shreude thingis in to euene rizt;
 these wrdus I dide to them, and I forsoc
 17 not hem. Turned thei ben backward; be
 thei confoundid with confusioun, that
 trosten in grauen thingⁿ; that seyn to
 18 the^o 3oten thing, 3ee oure goddis. 3ee
 deue men, hereth; and 3ee blinde^p, bi-
 19 holdeth to seen. Who blinde, but^q my
 seruaunt? and def, but^q to whom my
 messageres I sente? Who blind, but^s
 he that is sold? who blind, but^t the ser-
 20 uaunt of the Lord? That seest many
 thingus, whether thou shalt not kepe?
 That opened hast the eres, whether thou
 21 shalt not here? And the Lord wolde,
 that he shulde halewen hym^u, and mag-
 22 nefie the lawe, and enhauncen. He for-
 sothe a puple 'drawen awei^v, and wasted;
 a grene of 3unge men alle togidere^w, and
 in houses of prisouns thei ben hid. Thei
 ben maad in to raueyn, and ther is not
 that delyuere; 'in to^x taking awei, and
 23 ther is not that 'seie, 3eeld^y. Who is in
 3ou, that here this, take^{yy} heed, and herkne
 24 thingus to come? Who 3af Jacob in to
 pulling awei, and Irael to wasteres?
 Whether not the Lord? He is, to whom
 thei synneden; and thei wolden not in
 his weies gon, thei herden not his lawe.
 25 And he helde out^z vp on it the indigna-
 cioun of his wodnesse, and^a strong bataile;

ryour he schal reise feruent loue; he
 schal speke, and schal crie; he schal be
 coumfortid on hise enemyes. Y was stille,¹⁴
 euere Y helde silence; Y was pacient, Y
 schal speke as a *womman* trauelynge of
 child; Y schal scatere, and Y schal swolowe
 togidere. Y schal make desert hize moun-¹⁵
 teyns and litle hillis, and Y schal drie vp
 al the buriownyng of tho^m; and Y schal
 sette floodis in to ilis, and Y schal make
 poondis drie. And Y schal lede out¹⁶
 blynde men in to the weie, which thei
 knowen not, and Y schal make hemⁿ to^o
 go in^p pathis, whiche thei knewen not;
 Y schal sette the derknessis of hem bfore
 hem in to lizt, and schrewid thingis in to
 riztful thingis; Y dide these wordis to
 hem, and Y forsook not hem. Thei ben¹⁷
 turned abac; be thei schent with schen-
 schipe, that trusten in a grauun ymage;
 whiche seien to a 3otun ymage, 3e *ben*
 oure goddis. 3e deaf men, here; and 3e¹⁸
 blynde men, biholde^{pp} to se. Who *is*¹⁹
 blynd, no but my seruaunt? and deaf, no^q
 but he to whom Y sente my messangeris?
 Who *is* blynd, no^q but he that is seeld?
 and who *is* blynd, no^q but the seruaunt of
 the Lord? Whether thou that seest²⁰
 many thingis, schalt not kepe? Whether
 thou that hast open eeris, schalt not here?
 And the Lord wolde, that he schulde²¹
 halewe it, and magnefie the lawe, and
 enhaunse it^{qq}. But thilke puple *was* ra-²²
 uyschid, and wastid; alle *thei ben* the
 snare of 3onge men, and ben hid in the
 housis of prisouns. Thei ben maad in to
 raueyn, and noon is that delyuereth; in to
 rauyschyng, and noon is^r that seith, 3elde
 thou. Who is among 3ou, that herith²³
 this, perseyueth, and herkneth thingis to
 comynge? Who 3af Jacob in to rauysch-²⁴
 yng, and Israel to distrieris? Whether
 not the Lord? He it is, a3ens whom thei

^m ful out AGHK. ⁿ thingis AGHK. ^o Om. GH. ^p blynde men A. ^q no but E sec. m. AGHK.
^s no but AE sec. m. GH. non bot K. ^t non bot K. no but AE sec. m. GH. ^u Om. E pr. m. ^v to-broken
 E pr. m. ^w Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. ^x and into AEGHK. ^y lerne to 3elden E pr. m. ^{yy} take he C pr. m.
^z Om. E pr. m. ^a and of E pr. m.

^m hem N. ⁿ hym FIN. ^o Om. N. ^p in to N. ^{pp} biholdeth I. ^q Om. I. ^{qq} Om. CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX.
^r ther is I.

and he to-brende it in cumpas, and it kneȝ not; he^b tende it vp, and it^c vndirstod not.

CAP. XLIII.

1 And now these thingus seith the Lord God^d, shapende^e thee, Jacob, and foormende thee, Israel, Wile thou not drede, for I haue aȝeenboȝt thee, and I clepede thee bi thi name; my seruau^t thou art.
2 Whan thou shalt passe by watris, with thee I shal be, and floodis shul not couere thee; whan thou shalt go in fyr, thou shalt not be brent, and flaume shal not brenne in thee. For I the Lord thi God, hoeli of^f Israel, thi saueour. I ȝaf thin helping^g Egipt; and Etheope and Saba
4 for thee. Sithen wrshepful thou art mad in myn eȝen, and glorious; I louede thee, and I shall ȝyue men for thee, and
6 puples for thi soule. Wile thou not drede, for I am with thee; fro the est I shal bringe to thi sed, and fro the west
8 I shal togidere gedere thee. I shal sei to the north, Ȝif^h, and to the south, Wile thou not forfende; 'bring toⁱ my sones fro aferr, and^k my doȝtris fro the vt-
7 mostus^l of the erthe. And eche that inwardli clepeth my name, in to my glorie I shop hym, foormede hym, and maad
9 hym. Bring outforth the blinde puple, and the hauende eȝen; def, and eres ben
10 to hym^m. Alle Jentilis ben gedered togidere, and gedered ben lynagus. Who in ȝou shal telle this, and that first thingus ben to here ȝou shal make? ȝiue thei the witnesses of hem, and be thei iustefied,
10 and heren, and sei thei. Vereli ȝee my witnesses, seith the Lord, and my seruau^t, whom I cheȝ; that ȝee wite, and leeuē to me, and vnderstonde, for I the

synneden; and thei nolden^s go in hise weies, and thei herden not his lawe. And²⁵ he schedde out on hem the indignacioun of his strong veniaunce, and strong batel; and thei^t brenten^u it in cumpas, and it knewe not; and he brente it, and it vndurstood^w not.

CAP. XLIII.

And now the Lord God, makynge of¹ nouȝt thee, Jacob, and formynge thee, Israel, seith these thingis, Nyle thou drede, for Y aȝenbouȝte thee, and Y clepide thee bi thi name; thou art my seruau^t. Whanne thou schalt go bi watris, Y schal² be with thee, and floodis schulen not hile thee; whanne thou schalt go in fier, thou schalt not be brent, and flawme schal not brenne in thee. For Y am thi Lord God,³ the hooli of Israel, thi sauyour. I ȝaf thi merci Egipt; Ethiopie and Saba for thee. Sithen thou art maad onourable, and glo-
4 rouse in myn iȝen; Y louyde thee, and Y schal ȝyue men for thee, and puplis for thi soule. Nyle thou drede, for Y am⁵ with thee; Y schal brynge thi seed fro the eest, and Y schal gadere thee togidere fro the west. Y schal sei to the north,⁶ ȝyue thou, and to the south, Nyle thou forbede; brynge thou my sones fro afer, and my douȝtris fro the laste partis of erthe. And ech that clepith my name to⁷ help, in to my glorie Y made hym of nouȝt; Y fourmyde hym, and made hym. Lede thou forth the blynde puple, and⁸ hauynge iȝen; the deaf *puple*, and eeris ben to it. Alle hethene men ben gaderid⁹ togidere, and lynagis be gaderid togidere. Who among ȝou, who schal telle this, and schal make ȝou to here tho thingis, that ben the firste? ȝyue thei witnessis of hem, and be thei iustified, and here thei, and sei. Verili ȝe *ben* my witnessis, seith¹⁰ the Lord, and my seruau^t, whom Y cheȝ; that ȝe wite, and bileue to me, and vndur-

^b and he *AE sec. m. GHK.* ^c he *E pr. m.* ^d Om. *AGHK.* ^e makinge *E pr. m.* ^f Om. *E pr. m.* ^g If ȝaf thi mekinge *E pr. m.* ^h Ȝif thou *AE sec. m. GHK.* ⁱ do awei *E pr. m.* ^k Om. *AGHK.* ^l vttermost *AGHK.* ^m it *E pr. m.*

^s wolden not *I.* ^t he *C sec. m. KMRV.* ^u brente *C sec. m. KMRV.* brouȝten *EFGHINPQUX.* ^w vndurstonde *A.*

selue am; biforn me is not foormed God,
 11 and aftir me shal not be. I am, I am
 the Lord, and ther is not withoute me
 12 a saueour. I tolde, and sauede; herd I
 made, and ther was not in 3ou an alien.
 13 3ee my witnesses, seith the Lord; and
 I God^a fro the bigynnyng, I the selue,
 and ther ys not that of myn hond dely-
 uere; I shal werchen, and who shal turnen
 14 awei it? These thingus seith the Lord,
 3oure a3eenbiere, hoeli of Irael, For 3ou
 I sente out in to Babilone, and to-dro3
 alle the barres, and the Caldeis in ther^o
 15 hondis gloriende. I the Lord, 3oure hoeli,
 16 shapere^p of Irael, 3oure king. These
 thingus seith the Lord, that 3af in the see
 a^q weie, and in watris swiftli rennende
 17 a sty; that bro3te out the foure horsid
 carre, and the hors, the cumpany, and
 the stalwrthe; togidere thei aboute slept-
 en, and shul not rise; thei ben to-treden
 18 as flax, and ben ful out queynt. Ne han
 3ee^r mynde of the rathere, and olde thingis
 19 ne beholde 3ee. Lo! I do newe thingus,
 and now shul springe; also 3ee shul
 knowe them. I shal putte in desert a^s
 weie^t, and in the withoute weye flodus.
 20 And glorifien me shal the beste of the
 feeld, dragounus, and ostricches; for I
 3af in desert watris, and flodis in the
 withoute weie, that I 3yue drinc to my
 21 puple, my chosene. This puple I foorm-
 22 ede to me, my preising it shal telle. Not
 me thou inwardly clepedist, Jacob; ne
 23 trauailedest in me, Irael. Thou offer-
 edist not to me the wether of thi brent
 sacrificse, and in thi victorie sacrificses thou
 glorefiedest not me. Not thee to seruen
 I made in offring, ne trauaile I 3af in cens.
 24 Thou bo3test not to me with siluer a reed,
 and with the tal3 of thi victorie sacrificses
 thou inwardly drunkedest not me; ner-
 thelatere to serue me thou madest in thi
 synnes, thou 3eue to me trauaile in thi
 25 wickidnesses^u. I am, I am he, that do^v
 awei thi^w wickidnesse^x for me, and of thi

stonde, for Y mysilf am; bifore me is no
 God formere, and after me schal noon be.
 Y am, Y am the Lord, and with out me¹¹
 is no sauour. I telde, and sauyde; Y¹²
 made heryng, and noon alien *God* was
 among 3ou. 3e *ben* my witnessis, seith
 the Lord; and² Y *am* God fro the bigyn-¹³
 nyng, Y my silf *am*, and noon is^a that
 delyuerith fro myn hoond; Y schal worche,
 and who schal distrie it? The Lord, 3oure¹⁴
 a3enbiere, the hooli of Israel, seith these
 thingis, For 3ou Y sente out in to Babi-
 loyne, and Y drow doun alle barris, and
 Caldeis hauynge glorie in her schippis.
 Y *am* the Lord, 3oure hooli, 3oure king,¹⁵
 makynge Israel of nou3t. The Lord seith¹⁶
 these thingis, that 3af weie in the see, and
 a path in rennyng watris; which ledde¹⁷
 out a^{aa} carte, and hors, a cumpany, and
 strong man; thei slepten togidere, nether
 thei schulen rise a3en; thei ben al to-
 brokun as flex, and ben quenchild. Thenke¹⁸
 3e not on the formere thingis, and biholde
 3e not olde thingis. Lo! Y make newe¹⁹
 thingis, and now tho schulen bigynne to
 be maad; sotheli 3e schulen know tho^b.
 Y schal sette weie in desert, and floodis
 in a lond without weie. And a beeste of²⁰
 the feelde schal glorifie me, dragouns and
 ostrigis *schulen glorifie me*; for Y 3af
 watris in desert, and floodis in the lond
 without weie, that Y schulde 3yue drynk
 to my puple, to my chosun *puple*. Y²¹
 fourmyde this puple to me, it schal telle
 my preysyng. Jacob, thou clepidist not²²
 me to help; and thou, Israel, trauelidist
 not for me. Thou offridist not to me the²³
 ram of thi brent sacrifice, and thou glori-
 fiedist not me with thi slayn sacrifices.
 Y made not thee to serue in offryng, ne-
 thir Y 3af to thee trauel in encense. Thou²⁴
 bouztist^c not to me swete smellynge spice-
 rie for siluer, and thou fillidist not me
 with fatnesse of thi slayn sacrifices; ne-
 theles thou madist me to serue in thi
 synnes, thou 3auest trauel to me in thi

^a 3oure God *E pr. m.* ^o 3oure *E pr. m.* ^p the shapere *E pr. m.* ^q Om. *AE pr. m. GHK.* ^r thou *E pr. m.*
^s Om. *E pr. m.* ^t feelde weye *K.* ^u wickenesses *E.* wickidnesse *H.* ^v doth *AGHK.* ^w Om. *C pr. m. E pr. m.*
^x wickenesse *E.* wickidnessis *AGHK.*

^z Om. *N.* ^a ther is *I.* ^{aa} Om. *I.* ^b hem *N.* ^c bouztist *A pr. m.*

26 synnes I shal not recorde. Bring me in to thi^x mynde, and be wee demed togidere; tel, if any thing thou hast, that thou 27 be iustified. Thi firste fader synnede, and thi remenoures breen the lawe 28 azen me. And I defouled hoeli princes, I 3af to sl3ster Jacob, and Israel in to blasfemye^y.

CAP. XLIV.

1 And now here thou, Jacob, my seruaunt, and Irael, whom I ches. These thingus seith the Lord, makende and foormende thee fro the woombe, thin helpere, Wile thou not^z drede, my seruaunt Jacob, and thou most ri3t, whom 3 I ches. I shal heelden out forsothe^a watris vp on the threstende, and flowings vp on the drie; I shall heelden out my spirit vp on thi sed, and my blessing vp 4 on thi stoc. And buriowne thei shuln among erbes, as withies, ^{or} *salewis*^b, 5 bisyde the syde flowende watris. This shal seyn, Of the Lord I am, and he shal inwardly clepen in the name of Jacob; and this shal write with his hond to the Lord, and in the name of Irael he shal 6 be licned to. These thingus seith the Lord, king of Irael, and his a3een biere, Lord of osten, I the firste and I the^c laste, 7 and with oute me is not God. Who lic of me? clepe he, and telle, and the ordre expoun to me, sithen I ordeynede the olde puple; thingus to come, and that ben to 8 come, telle he to them. Wileth not dreden, ne beth^d disturbid; fro thennus to heeren thee I made, and tolde; 3ee ben my witnesses. Whether is God withoute me, and a foormere, whom I haue not knowe^e? 9 The foormeres of the mawmet alle no3t ben, and the most loued thingus of them shul not profiten to them; thei witnesses of hem ben, for thei seen not, ne vnder- 10 stonde, that thei be confoundid. Who

wickidnessis. Y am, Y my silf am, that 25 do awei thi wickidnessis for me, and Y schal not haue mynde on thy synnes. Brynge me azen in to mynde, and be we 26 demyd togidere; telle thou, if thou hast any thing, that thou be iustified. Thi 27 firste fadir synnede, and thin interpreours trespasiden a3ens me. And Y made 28 foul hooli princes, and Y 3af Jacob to deth, and Israel in to blasfemye.

CAP. XLIV.

And now, Jacob, my seruaunt, here 1 thou, and Israel, whom I chees. The 2 Lord makynge and for3yuyng the, thin helpere fro the wombe, seith these thingis, My seruaunt, Jacob, nyle thou drede, and thou moost ri3tful, whom Y chees. For 3 Y schal schede out watris on the thirsti, and floodis on the dry lond; Y schal schede out my spirit on thi seed, and my blessing on thi generacioun. And thei schulen 4 buriowne among erbis, as salewis bisidis rennyng watris. This man schal seie, 5 Y am of the Lord, and he schal clepe in the name of Jacob; and this man schal write with his hoond to the Lord, and schal be licned in the name of Israel. The 6 Lord, kyng of Israel, and a3enbiere therof, the Lord of oostis seith these thingis, Y *am* the firste and Y *am* the laste, and with outen me is no God. Who *is* lijk 7 me? clepe he, and telle, and declare ordre to me, sithen^{cc} Y made elde puple; telle he to hem thingis to comynge, and that schulen be. Nyle 3e drede, nether be 3e dis- 8 turbid; fro that tyme Y made thee for to here, and Y telde; 3e ben my witnessis. Whethir a God is with out me, and a formere, whom Y knew not? Alle the 9 fourmeris of an idol ben no thing, and the moost louyd thingis of hem schulen not profite; thei ben witnessis of tho^d, that tho^e seen not, nether vnderstonden, that thei be schent. Who fourmyde a god, and 3et- 10 ide an ymage, not profitable to any thing?

^{xx} Om. AEGHK. ^y Babiloyne AGHK. ^z Om. c *pr. m.* ^a Om. A. ^b Om. CE *pr. m.* ^c Om. A. ^d ben A. beth not K. ^e moued E *pr. m.*

^{cc} sith I. ^d hem N. ^e thei N.

foormede God, and a grauen thing zetedē,
 11 to no thing profitable? Lo! alle his par-
 eneres shul be confoundid; the forgeres
 forsothe ben of men. Thei shuln come to-
 gidere, alle thei shul stonde, and inwardli
 12 dreden, and ben confoundid togidere. The
 yren smyth with the file wrozte; in coles,
 and in hameres foormede it, and wrozte
 in the arm of his strengthe. He shal
 hungren, and failen; he shal not drinke
 13 water, and ^f he shal waxe weri. The
 crafti man tree werkere strazte out the
 reule, and foormede it in a grauynge iren;
 he maade it in corneres, and in a cumpas
 turnede it abouten; and made an ymage
 of a man, as a fair man wonende in hous.
 14 He heez down the cedris, and toc the
 kesteyn tree, and the loek, that hadde
 stonde among the trees of the wilde
 wode; he plauntedē the pyne tree, that
 15 with rein^g he nurshede, and made is to
 men in to fyr. He toc of hem, and is
 chaufed, and brende vp, and booc loeues;
 of the remnaunt forsothe he wrozte a^h
 god, and honourede, and made grauen
 16 thing, and is bowid biforn it. The myd-
 del of it he brende with fyr, and of his
 myddel, flesh he sethede, and eet; he
 sethede potage, and is fild; and is chaufidⁱ,
 and seide, Vah^k, 'or weel^l, I am hat; Y^m
 17 sa3 the fyr. The remnaunt forsothe of it
 aⁿ god he made, and a grauen thing to
 hym; he is bowid biforn it, and honour-
 eth^o it, and inwardli besecheth, seiende,
 18 Delyuere me, for my god thou art. They
 knewen not, ne vnderstoden, forsothe thei
 forzeeten, lest ther e3en see3en, and lest
 19 thei vnderstoden in ther herte. Thei be-
 thenken not in ther mynde, ne knowen,
 ne felen, that thei sey, The myddel of it
 I brende with fyr, and I book^p vp on his
 coles loeues, and seth flesh, and eet; and
 of his remnaunt a maumet I shal make,
 20 biforn the stoc the tree I shal kutte. His
 part is askus; the vnwise herte shal ho-

Lo! alle the parteneris therof schulen be 11
 schent; for the smythis ben of men. Whanne
 alle schulen come, thei schulen stonde, and
 schulen drede, and schulen be schent to-
 gidere. A smith wrouzte with a file; he 12
 fourmyde it in coolis, and in hameris, and
 he wrouzte with the arm of his strengthe.
 He schal be hungri, and he schal faile;
 he schal not drynke watre, and he schal
 be feynt. A carpenter stretchide forth a 13
 reule, he fourmyde it with an adese^f; he
 made it in the corner places, and he turn-
 ede it in cumpas; and he made the ymage
 of a man, as a fair man, dwellynge in the
 hous. He kittide down cedris, he took an 14
 hawthorn, and an ook, that stood among
 the trees of the forest; he plauntide a
 pyne apple tre, which he nurschide with
 reyn, and it was maad in to fier to men. 15
 He took of tho, and was warmed, and he
 brente, and bakide^g looues; but of the
 residue he wrouzte a god, and worschip-
 ide it^h, and he made a grauun ymage,
 and he was bowid bifore that. He 16
 brente the myddil therof with fier, and
 of the myddil therof he sethede fleischis,
 and eet; heⁱ sethede potage^k, and was
 fillid; and he was warmed, and he seide,
 Wel! Y am warmed; Y si3 fier. Forsothe 17
 the residue therof he made a god, and a
 grauun ymage to hym silf; he is bowide
 bifore that, and worschipith that, and bi-
 sechith, and seith, Delyuere thou me, for
 thou art my god. Thei knewen not, ne- 18
 ther vndurstoden, for thei han for3ete, that
 her i3e se not, and that thei vndurstonde
 not with her^l herte. Thei bythenken not 19
 in her soule, nether thei knowen, nether
 thei feelen, that thei seie, Y brente the
 myddil therof in fier, and Y bakide looues
 on the coolis therof, and Y sethede fleischis,
 and eet; and of the residue therof schal Y
 make an idol? schal Y falle down bifore
 the stok of a tree? A part therof is aische; 20
 an vnwijs herte schal worschipe it, and he

^f Om. A. ^g the reyn A. ^h Om. E pr. m. ⁱ Om. C pr. m. ^k vath EK. ^l Om. C et E pr. m.
^m and I E pr. m. ⁿ Om. E pr. m. ^o he honoureth K. ^p bakide AGHK.

^f alle, ether a ioyours hook K sec. m. ^g book I. ^h Om. C E F G H K M N P Q R S U V X. ⁱ and he N. ^k potagis K.
^l Om. N.

nouren it, and yt shal not delyuere his soule, ne seyn, A strong lesyng is^q in my
 21 righthond. Haue mynde of these, Jacob and Irael, for my seruau^t thou art;
 I foormede thee, my seruau^t thou art,
 22 Irael; thou shalt not forȝete me. I dide awei as a cloude thi wickednesses^r, and as a litil cloude thi synnes; turne aȝeen
 23 to me, for I aȝeen boȝte thee. Ȝee heuenus, preiseth, for mercy dide the Lord; inwardli ioȝeth, ȝee vtmostus^s of the^t erthe; aȝensouneth, ȝee hillis, preising; the wilde wode, and eche tree of it; for the Lord aȝeen boȝte Jacob, and Irael shal glorien.
 24 These thingus seith the Lord, thin aȝeenbiere, and thi foormere of the wombe, I am the Lord, doende alle thingus, strecchende out heuenus alone, stablende the^u
 25 erthe, and no man with me; voide makende tocnis of deuynoures, and the deuyl sacrificyres in to wodnesse turnende; alturnende wyse men backward, the kun
 26 nyng of them folie makende; rerende the wrd of his seruau^t, and the counseil of his messageres fulfillende; that sey, Jerusalem, thou shalt be dwellid; and to the cites of Juda, Ȝee shul ben bild vp,
 27 and his desertis I shal rere; that sey to the depthe, Be thou desolat, and thi
 28 flodys I shal make drie; that sey to Ciro, My shepperde thou art, and al my wil thou shalt fulfille; that sey to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be bild vp; and to the temple, Thou shalt be foundid.

CAP. XLV.

1 These thingus seith the Lord to my crist, Ciro, whos riȝt hond I toc, that I soogete bifor his face Jentiles, and the reggus of kingus I turne; and opene biforn hym the fyrste entrees, and the ȝates
 2 shuln not be closid. I byfor thee shal go, and the glorious men of erthe I shal meeken; the brasene ȝates I shal tobrose, and the irene barres I shal to
 3 breke. And I shal ȝyuen to thee tre-

shal not delyuere his soule, nether he schal seie, A strong leesyng is in my riȝthond. Thou, Jacob, and Israel, haue mynde²¹ of these thingis, for thou art my seruau^t; Y formyde thee, Israel, thou art my seruau^t; thou schalt not forȝete me. Y dide²² awei thi wickidnessis as a cloude, and thi synnes as a myist; turne thou aȝen to me, for Y aȝenbouȝte thee. Ȝe heuenes, herie,²³ for the Lord hath do merci; the laste partis of erth, synge ȝe hertli song; hillis, sowne ȝe preisung; the forest and^m ech tre therof, *herie God*; for the Lord aȝenbouȝte Jacob, and Israel schal haue glorie. The Lord, thin aȝenbiere, and thi fourmere²⁴ fro the wombe, seith these thingis, Y am the Lord, makynge alle thingis, and Y aloone stretche forth heuenes, and stablische the erthe, and noon is with me; and Y²⁵ make voide the signes of false dyuynours, and Y turne in to woodnesse dyuynours, that dyuynen by sacrifices offrid to feendis; and Y turne wise men backward, and Y make her science fonned. And *the Lord*²⁶ reisith the word of his seruau^t, and fillith the councel of hise messangeris; and Y seieⁿ, Jerusalem, thou schalt be enhabitid^o; and to the citees of Juda, Ȝe schulen be bildid, and Y schal reise the desertis therof; and²⁷ Y seie to the depthe, Be thou desolat, and Y shal make drie thi floodis; and Y seie²⁸ to Cirus, Thou art my scheepherde, and thou schalt fille al my wille; and Y seie to Jerusalem, Thou schalt be bildid; and to the temple, Thou schalt be foundid.

CAP. XLV.

The Lord seith these thingis to my¹ crist, Cirus, whos riȝthond Y took, that Y make suȝet folkis bifor his face, and turne the backis of kyngis; and Y schal opene ȝatis bifore hym, and ȝatis schulen not be closid. Y schal go bifore thee, and Y schal² make lowe the gloriouse men of erthe; Y schal al to-breke brasun ȝatis, and Y schal breke togidere irun barris. And Y schal³ ȝyue hid tresours to thee, and the priuy

^q Om. E pr. m. ^r wickenesses E. ^s vttermostis AGHK. ^t Om. AEGK. ^u Om. AEGH.

^m of N. ⁿ seie to CFGHIKMN PQRSUX. seide to E. ^o enhauncid E.

sore hid, and the priue thingus of priuytees, that thou wite, for I the Lord, that
 4 clepe thi name, God of Irael, for my seruaunt Jacob, and Irael my chosun, and^v I clepede thee in thi name; I licnede thee, and^w thou knewe not me.
 5 I the Lord, and ther is not more ouer; out of me is not God. I girde thee to,
 6 and thou knewe not me; that thei wite^x, that fro the rising of the sunne, and that fro the west ben, for withoute me is not
 7 a God. I the Lord, and ther is not an othir; foormende list, and shapende dercesses, makende pes, and shapende euel;
 8 I the Lord, doende alle these. Deweth, see heuenus fro aboue, and cloudis reyne thei the ríztwis; be opened the erthe, and buríoune it a saueour, and ríztwísnesse springe togidere; I the Lord shop hym.
 9 Wo that 'with seith^y to his makere, the shord of the^z to; clei of erthe. Whether seith the clei to his crockere^a, What dost thou, and thi were withoute hondus is?
 10 Wo that seith to the fader, What getest thou? and to the womman, What berest
 11 thou? These thingus seith the Lord, hoeli of Irael, his^b foormere, Thingus to come asketh me vp on my sonus, and vp^c the
 12 werkes of myn hondus sendeth to me. I made the^d erthe, and man vp on it I shop; myn hondus strazten out heuenus, and to
 13 al the kny3thod of hem I sente. I rerede hym to ríztwísnesse, and alle his weies I shal rízt reulen; he^e shal bilde vp my cite, and my caitifte he shal for3yue, not in pris, ne in 3iftes, seith the Lord of
 14 oostes. These thingus seith the Lord God, The trauaile of Egipt, and the nede doing, 'or *marchaundise*^f, of Ethiopie, and of Sabaym; the he3e men to thee shul passe, and thin shul be; after thee thei shul go, bounde in manycles thei shul wende, and thee^g thei shuln honoure, and thee louli pre3en^h. Onli in thee is God, and ther is not withoute

thingis of priuytees, that thou wite, that Y *am* the Lord, that clepe thi name, God of Israel, for my seruaunt Jacob, and 4 Israel my chosun, and Y clepide thee bi thi name; Y licnyde thee, and thou knewist not me. Y *am* the Lord, and ther is 5 no more; with out me is no God. Y haue gird thee, and thou knewist^q not me. That 6 thei that ben at the risynge of the sunne, and thei that *ben* at the west, know, that with out me is no God. Y *am* the Lord, 7 and noon other *God* is; fourmynge list, and makynge derknessis, makynge pees, and fourmynge yuel; Y *am* the Lord, doynge alle these thingis. Heuenes, sende 8 3e out deew fro aboue, and cloudis, reyne a iust man; the erthe be openyde, and brynge forth the sauour*, and ríztfulness be borun togidere; Y the Lord haue maad hym of nou3t. Wo to hym that a3en 9 seith his maker, a tiel stoon of erthe of Sannys. Whether clei seith to his pottere, What makist thou, and thi werk is withouten hondis? Wo to hym that seith to 10 the fadir, What gendrist thou? and to a womman, What childist thou? The Lord, 11 the hooli of Israel, the foormere therof, seith these thingis, Axe 3e me thingis to comynge on my sones, and sende 3e to me on the werkis of myn hondis. Y made 12 erthe, and Y made a man on it; myn hondis helden abroad heuenes, and Y commaundide to al the kny3thod of tho^r. Y 13 reísíde hym to ríztfulness, and Y schal dresse alle hise weies; he schal bilde my citee, and he schal delyuere my prisoneris^a, not in prijs, nether in 3iftis, seith the Lord^t of oostis. The Lord God^u seith these 14 thingis, The trauel of Egipt, and the *marchaundie* of Ethiopie, and of Sabaym; hi3 men schulen go to thee, and schulen be thine; thei schulen go aftir thee, thei schulen go boundun in manyclis, and schulen worschipe thee, and schulen biseche thee. God is oneli in thee, and with out thee is

* that is, Crist.
 A et alii.

^v Om. AGHK. ^w Om. A. ^x wite thei E pr. m. ^y seith K. ^z Om. AGHK. ^a crockere, or potter E sec. m. marg. ^b see his E pr. m. ^c vpon AEGHK. ^d Om. AEGHK. ^e Om. E pr. m. ^f Om. c et E pr. m. ^g Om. c pr. m. ^h schulen preye K sec. m. thei shulen preye A.

^q knew E. ^r hem N. ^s caitiftee, ether prisoneris CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^t Lord God K sec. m. ^u Om. K.

15 thee a God. Vereli thou art God, an hid
 16 God, of Irael the saueour. Thei ben
 confoundid, and ful out shameden; togid-
 dere wentenⁱ away in to confusioun the
 17 forgeres of errores. Irael is saued in
 the Lord, in euere lastende helthe; 3ee
 shul not be confoundid, and not shamen,
 18 vnto^k the world of world. For these
 thingus seith the Lord shapende heuenus;
 he God foormende erthe, and makende it,
 he foormere of it; not in veyn he shop
 it, but that it be dwellid, he foormede it;
 19 I the Lord, and ther is not an other. Not
 in hid place I spac, in the derc place of
 erthe; I seide not to the sed of Jacob, In
 veyn secheth me. I the Lord spekende
 ríztwísnesse, tellende out rízt thingus.
 20 Beth gedered, and cometh, and nejheth
 togidere, for 3ee be saued fro the Jentiles;
 thei wisten not, that rereden vp a toene
 of ther grauyng, and prezen the god not
 21 sauende. Telleth out, and cometh, and
 counseilith togidere. Who herd made
 this fro the biginnyng? fro thanne I bi-
 forn seide it. Whether not I a Lord, and
 ther is not^l more ouer a God withoute
 me? a ríztwís God and sauende is not,
 22 beside me? Beth conuertid to me, and
 saaf shul be, alle 3ee coestes of erthe; for
 23 I the Lord, and ther is not an other^m. In
 myself I swor, ther shal gon out of my
 mouth the wrd of ríztwísnesse, and shalⁿ
 24 not be turned a3een; for to me shal be
 bowid eche kne, and swern shal eche
 25 tunge. Therfor in the Lord thei shul
 seyn, Myne ben ríztwísnesses^o and em-
 pire; to hym thei shul come, and con-
 foundid shul ben alle that a3enstonde to
 26 hym. In the Lord shal be iustefied and
 preysid al the sed of Irael.

CAP. XLVI.

1 To-broken is Bel, to-brosid is Nabo;
 broke ben the symulacris of them, with
 feeld bestes, and hous bestes; oure chargis

no God. Verili thou art God hid, God,¹⁵
 the sauyour of Israel. Alle makeris of¹⁶
 errors^v ben schent, and weren aschamed;
 thei 3eden togidere in to confusioun. Israel¹⁷
 is sauyde in the Lord, bi euerlastyng
 helthe; 3e schulen not be schent, and 3e
 schulen not be aschamed, til in to the
 world of world. For whi the Lord mak-¹⁸
 ynge heuenes of nou3t, seith these thingis;
 he is God fourmyng erthe, and makinge
 it, he is the makere therof; he made it of
 nou3t, not in veyn, but he formyde it, that
 it be enhabitid; Y *am* the Lord, and noon
 other is. Y spak not in hid place, not in¹⁹
 a derk place of erthe; I seide not to the
 seed of Jacob, Seke 3e me in veyn. Y *am*
 the Lord spekyng ríztfulnessse, tellyng
 ríztful thingis. Be 3e gaderid, and come²⁰
 3e, and neize 3e^w togidere, that ben sauýd
 of hethene men; thei that reisen a signe
 of her grauyng, knewen not, and thei
 preien a god that saueth not. Telle 3e,²¹
 and come 3e, and take 3e councel togidere.
 Who made this herd fro the bigynnyng?
 fro that tyme Y bifer seide it. Whether
 Y *am* not the Lord, and no God is^x fer-
 there with out me? God ríztful and sau-
 ynge is noon, outakun me. Alle the coostis²²
 of erthe, be 3e conuertid to me, and 3e
 schulen be saaf; for Y *am* the Lord, and
 noon other is^y. Y swoor in my silf, a word²³
 of ríztfulnessse schal go out of my mouth,
 and it schal not turne a3en; for ech kne²⁴
 schal be bowid to me, and ech tunge schal
 swere. Therfor thei schulen sei in the²⁵
 Lord, Ríztfulnesssis and empire ben myne;
 alle that fí3ten a3ens hym schulen come
 to hym, and schulen be aschamed. Al the²⁶
 seed of Israel schal be iustified and preysid
 in the Lord.

CAP. XLVI.

Bel is brokun, Nabo is al to-brokun; 1
 her symylacris *lijk* to wielde beestis and
 werk beestis ben brokun; 3oure birthuns

ⁱ thei wenten *E pr. m.* ^k in to *AGHK.* ^l no *AEGHK.* ^m other beside me *AE pr. m. GHK.* ⁿ Om. *A.*
^o ríztwísness *AGHK.*

^v errors, that is, idolis *CEGIKNPQRUY.* ^w Om. *I.* ^x Om. *I.* ^y ther is *I.*

with heuy^p berthene vnto werynesse
 2 stunken, and to-brosyd ben togidere;
 thei my³ten not sauen the berere, and
 the soule of them in to caitifte shal go.
 3 Hereth me, the hous of Jacob, and al the
 residue of the hous of Irael, that ben
 born of my wombe, that ofte ben born
 4 fro my priue wombe. Vnto the laste
 elde^a I the selue, and vnto the hoere heris^r
 I shal bern; I made, and I shal bringe;
 5 I shal bern, and I shal saue. To whom
 ligneden ³ee me, and eueneden, and com-
 6 parisounden me, and inaden lic? ³e^s that
 togidere bringen gold fro the bagge, and
 siluer^t with a balaunce peisen, hirende
 the^u 'craftis man^v, that he make a god,
 and thei fallen down, and honouren;
 7 bern it in the shuldris, berende and set-
 tende in his place; and shal stonde, and
 fro his place shal not be moued; but and
 whan thei shul crie to it, he shal not^w
 heren, fro tribulacioun he shal not saue
 8 them. Remembreth this, and beth found-
 id; turneth a³een, ³ee lawe brekeres, to
 9 the herte. Recordeth of the rathere world,
 for I am God, and ther is not ouer me a
 10 God, ne lic me; tellende out fro the bi-
 gynnnyng the laste, and fro the bigyn-
 nyng that not ³it ben maad, seiende, My
 counseil shal stonde, and al my wil shal
 11 be don; clepende fro the est a brid, and
 fro the ferr lond the man of my wil;
 and^x I spac, and bringe to shal it; I shop,
 12 and maken I shal it. Hereth me, ³ee
 with hard herte, that aferr ben fro ri³t-
 13 wisnesse. Ny³ I made my ri³twisnesse,
 and it shal not be longed awei, and myn
 helthe shal not be taried^y; I shal ³yue in
 to Sion helthe, and in to Jerusalem my
 glorie.

CAP. XLVII.

1 Go doun, sit in poudre, thou maiden
 do³ter of Babilon, sit in the erthe; ther
 is not a kingus see of the do³tir of Cal-
 deis, for no more thou shalt be^x clepid

with heuy charge 'til to^z werynesse weren²
 rotun, and ben al to-brokun togidere; tho
 mi³ten not saue the berere, and the soule
 of hem schal go in to caitifte. The hous³
 of Jacob, and al the residue of the hous of
 Israel, here ³e me, whiche ben borun of
 my wombe, whiche ben borun of my
 wombe. Til to eelde Y my silf, and⁴
 til to hoor heeris Y schal bere; Y made,
 and Y schal bere, and Y schal saue. To⁵
 whom han ³e ligned me, and maad euene,
 and han comparisound me, and han maad
 lijk? Whiche beren togidere gold fro the⁶
 bagge, and peisen siluer with a balaunce,
 and hiren a goldsmyth to make a god,
 and thei fallen down, and worschipen;
 thei berynge beren in schuldris, and set-⁷
 tyng in his place; and he schal stonde,
 and schal not be mouyd fro his place; but
 also whanne thei crien to hym, he schal
 not here, and he schal not saue hem fro
 tribulacioun. Haue ³e mynde of this, and⁸
 be ³e aschamed; ³e trespassouris, go a³en
 to the herte. Bithenke ³e on the formere⁹
 world, for Y am God, and no God is ouer
 me, nether *is* lijk me. And Y telle fro the¹⁰
 bigynnnyng the laste thing, and fro the
 bigynnnyng *tho thingis* that ben not maad
³it; and Y seie, My counceil schal stonde,
 and al my wille schal be don. And Y clepe¹¹
 a brid fro the eest, and the man of my
 wille fro a ferr lond; and Y spak, and Y
 schal brynge that thing; Y haue maad of
 nou³t, and Y schal make that thing. ³e¹²
 of hard herte, here^a me, that ben fer fro
 ri³tfulnesse. Y made ny³ myn ri³tfulnesse,¹³
 it schal not be drawun afer, and myn
 helthe shal not tarie; Y schal ³yue helthe
 in Sion, and my glorie in Israel.

CAP. XLVII.

Thou virgyn, the dou³tir Babiloyne, go¹
 doun, sitte thou in dust, sitte thou in
 erthe; a kyngis seete is not to the dou³ter
 of Caldeis, for thou schalt no more be

^p heuyng E pr. m. ^q Om. c pr. m.
^u thenne E sec. m. K. them AG. hem H.
^y turneid E pr. m. ^z Om. E pr. m.

^r Om. c et E pr. m. ^s Om. c et E pr. m. ^t sylueren GK.
^v goldsmyth E sec. m. AGHK. ^w no E pr. m. ^x Om. A.

^z vnto 1. ^a hereth 1.

nesshe and tender. Tac a grind ston,
 'or *queerne stoon*^a, and grind me^b mele;
 nakene thi filthed, discouere the shulder,
 opene the thees, passe ouer the flodis.
 Opened shal be thi shenshipe, and seen
 shal be thi reproof; a veniaunce I shal
 take, and ther shal not withstonde to me
 a man. Oure azen biere the Lord of
 oostes; the name of hym the hoeli of
 Israel. Syt, be stille, and^c go into derc-
 nesses, thou do3ter of Caldeis, for thou
 shalt no more be clepid the ladi of
 reumes. I am wroth vp on my puple,
 I defouled myn heritage, and I 3af hem
 in thin hond; thou settest not to them
 mercies vp on the olde; thou agreggedist
 the 3oc gretli, and seidist, In to euermor
 I shal ben a ladi; thou puttist not these
 thingus vp on thin herte, ne recordedist^d
 of thi laste. And now here thou these
 thingus, thou delicat, and dwellende tros-
 teli, that seist in thin herte, I am, and
 ther is not biside me more ouer; I shal
 not sitte a^e widewe, and I shal vnknowe
 bareynete. Comen shul to thee these
 two sodeynli in o dai, bareynesse, and
 widewehed; alle thingus^f camen vp on
 thee for the multitude of thi sorceries,
 and for the huge hardnesse of thi deuel
 cleperes. And trost thou haddest in thi
 malice, and seidist, Ther is not that see
 me; thi wisdam, and this thi kunnyng
 disceyuede thee; and thou seidist^g in thin
 herte, I am, and biside me is not an other.
 Ther shal come vp on thee euel, and thou
 shalt not wite his rysing; and ther shal
 feerli falle vp on thee wastnesse, that
 thou shalt not moun purge; ther shal
 come vp on thee wrecchednesse feerli^{gg},
 that thou wost not. Stond with thi deuel
 cleperes, and with the multytude of thi
 sorceries, in whiche thou hast trauailid
 fro thi waxende 3outh; if par auenture
 any thing it profite to thee, or if thou
 mowe^h be mad strengere. Thou hast

clepid soft and tendir. Take thou a²
 queerne stoon, and grynde thou mele;
 make thou nakid thi filthe, diskeuere the
 schuldur, schewe the hippis, passe thou
 floodis. Thi schame schal be schewid,³
 and thi schenschipe schal be seen; Y
 schal take veniaunce, and no man schal
 azenstonde me. Oure azen biere, the Lord⁴
 of oostis is his name, the hooli of Israel.
 Dou3ter of Caldeis, sitte thou, be thou⁵
 stille, and entre in to derknessis, for thou
 schalt no more be clepid the ladi of
 rewmes. I was wrooth on my puple, Y⁶
 defoulid myn eritage, and Y 3af hem in
 thin hond, and thou settidist not mercies
 to hem; thou madist greuouse the 3ok
 greetli on an eld man, and thou seidist,⁷
 With outen ende Y schal be ladi; thou
 puttidist not these thingis on thin herte,
 nether thou bithou3tist on thi laste thing.
 And now, thou delicat, and dwellynge⁸
 tristili, here these thingis, which seist in
 thin herte, Y am, and outakun me ther
 is no more; Y schal not sitte widewe,
 and Y schal not knowe bareynesse. These⁹
 twei thingis, bareynesse and widewhod
 schulen come to thee sudenli in o dai; alle
 thingis camen on thee for the multitude
 of thi witchecraftis, and for the greet
 hardnesse of thin enchauntours, *ether tre-*
getours^b. And thou haddist trist in thi¹⁰
 malice, and seidist, Noon is that seeth
 me; this thi wisdom and thi kunnyng
 disceyuede thee; and thou seidist in thin
 herte, Y am, and outakun me ther is¹¹
 noon other. Yuel schal come on thee,
 and thou schalt not knowe the bigynning
 therof; and wrecchidnesse^c schal falle on
 thee, which thou schalt not mowe clense;
 wretchidnesse which thou knowist not,
 schal come on thee sudenly. Stonde thou¹²
 with thin enchauntours, and with the
 multitude of thi witchis, in whiche thou
 trauelidist fro thi 3ongthe; if in hap thei
 profiten any thing to thee, ether if thou

^a Om. *cx pr. m.* or *a queerne stoon H.* ^b Om. *AEGHK.* ^c Om. *A.* ^d recordist *GHK.* ^e Om. *c pr. m.*
^f these thingus *c pr. m.* ^g seide *A.* ^{gg} Om. *c pr. m.* ^h mou *c.*

^b *treytours s.* ^c wickidnesse *A pr. m.* *myschef A sec. m. marg. I.*

failid in the multitude of thi counsellis;
 stonde, and saue thee the deuynours of
 heuene, that biheelde^h sterres, and noum-
 bren monethis, that of hem thei telle
 14 thingus to come to thee. Lo! thei ben
 mad as stobil, fyr to brende them; thei
 shul not delyuere ther soule fro the hond
 of flaume; ther ben not coles, with the^{hh}
 whiche thei ben made hot, ne fyr, that
 15 thei sitte at it. So mad ben to thee in
 'what euereⁱ thingus thou^k haddest tra-
 uailid; thi marchandes fro ther 3outhe,
 eche in ther weie erreden; ther ys not,
 that saue thee.

CAP. XLVIII.

1 Hereth these thingus, the hous of Ja-
 cob, that ben cleped bi the name of Irael,
 and of the watris of Juda 'went out^l, that
 swern in the name of the Lord God of
 Irael, and recorden not in treuthe ne in
 2 riztwisnesse. Fro the hoeli cite forsothe
 thei ben clepid, and vp on the God of
 Irael thei ben stablid; the Lord of ostes
 3 his^m name. The rathere thinges fro
 thanneⁿ I tolde out, and of my mouth
 thei wenten out, and herd I made them;
 4 feerli I wro3te, and thei camen. I kne3
 forsothe for thou art hard, and an irene
 senewe thin haterel, and thi frount bra-
 5 sene. I beforseide to thee fro thanne,
 er thei camen I shewede to thee, lest par
 auenture thou shuldist sey, My mau-
 metes diden these thingus, and my grauen
 thingus and 3ote senten these thingus
 6 that thou hast herd. See alle thingus^o,
 3ee forsothe han not told out. Herd I
 made to thee newe thingus fro thanne,
 and kept ben that thou knowist not;
 7 now 'thei ben shapen^p, and not fro
 thaune^q, and befor day, and thou herdest
 not hem; lest par auenture thou sey, Lo!
 8 I kne3 them. Ne thou hast herd, ne

maist be maad the strongere. Thou fail- 13
 idist in the multitude of thi counclis; the
 false dyuynours of heuene stonde, and
 saue thee, whiche bihelden staris, and
 noumbriden monethis, that thei schulden
 telle bi tho^d thingis to comynge to thee.
 Lo! thei ben maad as stobil, the fier hath 14
 brent hem; thei schulen not delyuere her
 lijf fro the power of flawme; colis ben
 not, bi whiche thei schulen be warmed,
 nether fier, that thei sitte at it. So tho 15
 thingis ben maad to thee in whiche euere
 thou trauelidist; thi marchauntis fro thi
 3ongthe erriden, ech man in his weie; noon
 is, that schal saue thee.

CAP. XLVIII.

The hows^e of Jacob, that ben clepid bi 1
 the name of Israel, and 3eden out of the
 watris of Juda, here these thingis, whiche
 sweren in the name of the Lord, and han
 mynde on God of Israel, not in treuthe,
 nether in riztfulnesse. For thei ben clepid 2
 of the hooli citee, and ben stablischid on
 the God of Israel, the Lord of oostis is
 his name. Fro that tyme Y telde the3
 former thingis, and tho 3eden out of my
 mouth; and Y made tho^f knowun; su-
 denli Y wrou3te, and tho thingis camen.
 For Y wiste that thou art hard, and thi 4
 nol is a senewe of irun, and thi forhed is
 of bras. Y biforseide to thee fro that 5
 tyme, bifore that tho thingis camen, Y
 schewide to thee, lest perauenture thou
 woldist seie, Myn idols diden these thingis,
 and my grauun ymagis and my 3otun
 ymagis senten these thingis whiche thou 6
 herdist. Se thou alle thingis, but 3e telden
 not. Y made herd newe thyngis to thee
 fro that tyme, and thingis ben kept whiche
 thou knowist not; now tho ben maad of 7
 nou3t, and not fro that tyme, and bifor
 the dai, and thou herdist not tho thingis;
 lest perauenture thou seie, Lo! Y knew^g

^h beholden K. ^{hh} Om. AEGK. ⁱ alle c pr. m. E pr. m. what c sec. m. ^k in whiche thou c pr. m.
 E pr. m. AGHK. ^l ben c pr. m. E pr. m. 3e wenten out E sec. m. AGHK. ^m is his A. ⁿ thennes E pr. m.
^o thes thingis A. ^p shape ben E pr. m. ^q Om. E pr. m.

^d hem N. ^e housis V. ^f hem N. ^g knew not A pr. m. I sec. m.

thou hast knowe, ne sithen opened is
thin ere; I wot forsothe, for lawe breking
thou shalt lawe breke, and a trespasere
9 fro the wombe I clepede thee. For my
name ferr I shal make my wodnesse, and
in my preising I shal bridele thee, lest
10 thou die. Lo! I haue out 'bake thee',
but not as siluer; I ches thee in the
11 chynne of porenese. For me I shal do
that I be not blasfemed, and my glorie
12 to an other I shal not 3yue. Here thou
me, Jacob, and Irael, whom I clepe, Y
the selue; I^r the firste and I^s the laste.
13 Myn hond also foundede^t the^u erthe, and
my rizthond mesurede heuenus; I shal
clepe them, and thei shul stonden togi-
14 dere. Beth gedered, alle 3ee, and hereth;
who of hem tolde out these thingus? The
Lord louede hym, and shal don his wil
15 in Babilon, and his arm in Caldeis. I,
Y^v spac, and clepede hym; bro3te to hym,
16 and rizt reulid is his weie. Cometh ny3
to me, and hereth these thingus; not fro
the bigynnyng in hid thing I spac; of
tyme, er thei shulden be mad, I was
there^w, and now the Lord God sente me,
17 and his Spirit. These thingus seith the
Lord, thin a3eenbiere, the hoeli of Irael,
I the Lord thi God, techende thee profit-
able thingus, gouernende thee in the wei
18 that thou goest. Wolde God thou haddest
taken heed to^x myn hestes, mad hadde
be as a flod thi pes, and thi riztwisnesses^y
19 as the swolewes of the se; and hadde^z
ben as grauel thi sed, and the stoc of thi
wombe, as his litle stones; he shulde not
han died, and shulde not han be de-
20 foulid his name fro my face. Goth out
fro Babylon, fleeth fro Caldeis; in vois
of ful oute io3yng telleth out; herd mak-
eth this, and berth it vnto^a the vtmostus^b
of the erthe; seith, A3eenbo3te the Lord
21 his seruauant Jacob. Thei thirsteden not
in desert, whan he shulde lede them out;
water of a ston he bro3te forth to them,

tho thingis. Nether thou herdist, nether^b
thou knewist, nether thin eere was openyd
fro that tyme; for Y woot, that thou tres-
passynge schal trespasse, and Y clepide
thee a trespasour fro the wombe. For⁹
my name Y schal make fer my strong
veniaunce, and with my preysyng Y schal
refreyne thee, lest thou perische. Lo! Y¹⁰
haue sode thee, but not as siluer; Y chees
thee in the chymeney of pouert. Y schal¹¹
do for me, that Y be not blasfemyd, and
Y schal not 3yue my glorie to another.
Jacob and Israel, whom Y clepe, here thou¹²
me; Y my silf, Y *am* the firste and Y *am*
the laste. And myn hond foundide the¹³
erthe, and my rizt hond mat heuenes; Y
schal clepe thoⁱ, and tho^k schulen stonde
togidere. Alle 3e be gaderid togidere, and¹⁴
here; who of hem telde these thingis? The
Lord louyde hym, he schal do his wille in
Babiloyne, and his arm in Caldeis. Y,¹⁵
Y spac, and clepide hym; Y brou3te hym,
and his weie was dressid. Nei3e 3e to¹⁶
me, and here 3e these thingis; at the bi-
gynnyng Y spac not in priuete^l; fro
tyme, bfore that thingis weren maad, Y
was there, and now the Lord God and his
Spirit sente me. The Lord, thin a3en¹⁷
biere, the hooli of Israel, seith these
thingis, Y *am* thi Lord God, techynge
thee profitable thingis, and Y gouerne
thee in the weie, wher ynne thou goist.
Y wolde that thou haddist perseyued my¹⁸
comaundementis, thi pees hadde be maad
as flood, and thi riztfulnesse as the swo-
lowis of the see; and thi seed hadde be as¹⁹
grauel, and the generacioun of thi wombe,
as the litle stoonys therof; the name of it
hadde not perischid, and hadde not be al
to-brokun fro my face. Go 3e out of Ba-²⁰
biloyne, fle 3e fro Caldeis; telle 3e in the
vois of ful out ioiying; make 3e this herd,
and bere 3e it 'til to^m the laste partis of
erthe; seie 3e, The Lord a3enbou3te his
servauant Jacob. Thei thirstiden not in²¹

^r Om. *c pr. m.* ^{rr} and *AGHK.* ^s Om. *AGHK.* ^t fourmede *A.* ^u that *H.* ^v Om. *AH.* ^w Om. *E pr. m.*
^x of *A.* ^y riztwisnes *AGHK.* ^z Om. *G pr. m. H.* ^a in to *K.* ^b vttirmostis *AGHK.*

^b ne *E.* ⁱ hem *N.* ^k thei *N.* ^l hidlis, *ether priuete CEF GHIK MN PQRSUVX.* ^m vnto *I.*

and he kutte the ston, and ther floweden
22 watris. Ther is not pes to vnпитыс^c
men, seith the Lord.

desertⁿ, whanne he ladde hem out; he
brouzte forth to hem watir of a stoon,
and^o he departide the stoon, and watris
flowiden. Pees is not to wickid men,²²
seith the Lord.

CAP. XLIX.

1 Hereth, 3ee iles, and taketh heed, 3ee
puples fro aferr; the Lord fro the^d con-
ceyuende wombe clepede me, and fro the
wombe of my moder recordede of my
2 name. And he putte my mouth as a
sharp swerd, in the shadewe of his hond
he defendede me, and^e putte me as a
chosen arwe; in his arwe cas he hidde^f
3 me, and seide to me, My seruaunt thou
4 art, Irael, for in thee I shal glorie. I
seide, In veyn I trauailede withoute cause,
and veynlich my strengthe I wastede;
therefore my dom with the Lord, and my
5 were with my God. And now these
thingus seith the Lord, foormende me fro
the wombe a seruaunt to hym, that I
bringe a3een Jacob to hym. And Irael
shal not be gedered togidere; and I am
glorified in the e3en of the Lord, and
6 my God mad is my strengthe. And he
seide, Litol is, that thou be to me a ser-
uaunt, to be rered the lynages of Jacob,
and the drestus of Irael to be conuerted;
I 3af thee in to lizt of Jentiles, that thou
be myn helthe vnto the vtmost^g of the
7 erthe. These thingus seith the Lord,
the a3eenbiere of Irael, his hoeli, to the
despisable soule, and to the wlated folc
of kinde, to^h the seruaunt of lordis,
Kingus shul seen, and togidere shul rise
princes, and honoure, for the Lord, for
feithfull he is, and the hoeli of Irael,
8 that ches thee. These thingus seith the
Lord, In plesaunt tyme Y ful out herde
thee, and in the dai of helthe I halp
thee, and kepte thee, and 3af thee in to
pes coouenaunt of the puple, that thou
shuldest rere the lond, and welden eri-

CAP. XLIX.

Ilis, here 3e, and puplis afer, perseyue 1
3e; the Lord clepide me fro the wombe,
he thouzte on my name fro the wombe of
my mōdir. And he hath set my mouth 2
as a scharp swerd, he defendide me in the
schadewe of his hond, and settide me as a
chosun arowe; he hidde me in his arowe
caas, and seide to me, Israel, thou art my 3
seruaunt, for Y schal haue glorie in thee.
And Y seide, Y trauelide in veyn, Y wast- 4
ide my strengthe with out cause, and
veynli; therfor my doom *is* with the
Lord, and my werk *is* with my God. And 5
now the Lord, formynge me a seruaunt
to hym silf fro the wombe, seith these
thingis, that Y brynge a3en Jacob to hym.
And Israel schal not be gaderid togidere;
and Y am glorified in the izen of the
Lord, and my God is maad my strengthe.
And he seyde, It is litil, that thou be a 6
seruaunt to me, to reise the lynages^p of
Jacob, and to conuerte the drastis of
Israel; Y 3af thee in to the lizt of hethene
men, that thou be myn helthe 'til to^q the
laste part of erthe. The Lord, a3enbiere 7
of Israel, the hooli therof, seith these
thingis to a dispisable soule, and to a
folk had in abhomynacioun, to the ser-
uaunt of lordis, Kyngis schulen se, and
princes schulen rise togidere, and schulen
worschipe, for the Lord, for he is feithful,
and *for* the hooli of Israel, that chees
thee*. The Lord seith these thingis, In 8
a plesaunt tyme Y herde thee, and in the
dai of helthe Y helpide thee; and Y kepte
thee, and 3af thee in to a bonde of pees
of the puple, that thou schuldist reise the
erthe, and haue in possessioun eritagis,

* that is, Crist
man, to the
werk of mannis
redempcion. κ.

^c the vnпитыс A.
^h and to A.

^d Om. E *pr. m.*

^e he c.

^f putte AK *sec. m.* dide GH.

^g vttermost AGHK.

ⁿ the desert CFGHIKMNP *sec. m.* QUVX. ^o Om. N. ^p lynage A. ^q vnto I.

9 tages scatered; that thou sey to them
that ben bounde, Goth out, and to them
that in dercnesses, Beth opened. Vp on
weies thei shul be fed, and in alle
10 pleynes the leswes of hem. Thei shul
not hungre, ne thristen more ouer, and
smyte shal not them gret hete, and the
sunne; for the rewere of them shal go-
uerne them, and at the^l welles of watris
11 3yuen hem to drinke. And I shal putte
my mounteynes in to a weie, and my
12 pathis shul ben enhauncid. Lo! these
fro aferr shul come, and lo! tho fro
the north, and the se, and these fro the
13 south lond. Preise, 3ee heuenes, and ful
out io3e, thou erthe; inwardli glade, 3ee
hillis, preising; for coumfortid hath the
Lord his puple, and of his pore shal han
14 mercy. And Sion seide, Forsaken hath
me the Lord, and the Lord hath for3ete
15 me. Whether for3eten mai the womman
hir faunt, that she do not mercy to the
sone of hir wombe? and if she shul
for3eten, I nerthelater shal not for3ete
16 thee. Lo! in myn hondis I haue dis-
criued thee; thi wallis bifor myn e3en
17 euermor. Thi bilderes camen distrozende
thee, and scaterende fro thee shul gon
18 out. Rere vp in cumpas thin e3en, and
see; alle these ben gederede togidere,
camen to thee. I lyue, seith the Lord,
for with all these as with an ournement
thou shalt be clad^k, and cumpasen aboute
19 to thee hem as a spouse. For thi de-
sertes, and thi wildernesses, and the lond
of thi falling now streit shul ben for the
dwelleris of the erthe; and aferr shul be
dryue awei that soupeden awei thee.
20 3it shul^l seyn in thin eres sones of thi
bareynthe, Streit is to me a place, mac a
21 space to me that I dwelle. And thou
shalt seyn in thin herte, Who gat to me
these? I bareyn, not child berende; trans-
latid and caitif; and these who nurshede
out? I priued^m, and solitarie; and these

'that *ben*^s distried; that thou schuldista
seie to hem that ben boundun, Go 3e out,
and to hem that *ben* in derknessis, Be 3e
schewid. Thei schulen be fed on^t weies,
and the lesewis of hem *schulen be* in alle
pleyn thingis. Thei schulen not hungre,¹⁰
and thei schulen no more thirste, and
heete, and the sunne schal not smyte hem;
for the merciful doere of hem schal go-
uerne hem, and schal 3yue drynk to hem
at the wellis of watris. And Y schal sette¹¹
alle myn hillis in to weie, and my pathis
schulen be enhaunsid. Lo! these men¹²
schulen come fro fer, and lo! thei *schulen*
come fro the north, and see^u, and these fro
the south lond. Heuenes, herie 3e, and,¹³
thou erthe, make ful out ioie; hillis,
synge 3e hertli heri yng; for the Lord
coumfortide his puple, and schal haue
merci on hise pore men. And Syon seide,¹⁴
The Lord hath forsake me, and the Lord
hath for3ete me. Whether a womman¹⁵
may for3ete hir 3onge child, that sche
haue not merci on the sone of hir wombe?
thou; sche for3etith^{uu}, netheles Y schal not
for3ete thee. Lo! Y haue write thee in¹⁶
myn hondis; thi wallis *ben* euer bifore
myn i3en. The bilderis ben comun; thei¹⁷
that distrien thee, and scateren, schulen go
awei fro thee. Reise thin i3en in cumpas,¹⁸
and se; alle these men ben gaderid togi-
dere, thei ben comun to thee. Y lyue,
seith the Lord, for thou schalt be clothid
with alle these as with an ournement,
and thou as a spousesse schalt bynde hem
to thee. For whi thi desertis, and thi wil-¹⁹
dirnessis, and the lond of thi falli yng now
schulen be streit for enhabiteris; and thei
schulen be dryuun awei fer, that swolew-
iden thee. 3it the^v sones of thi bareynesse²⁰
schulen seie in thin eeris, The place is
streit to me, make thou a space to me for
to dwelle. And thou schalt seie in thin²¹
herte, Who gendride these *sones* to me?
Y *am* bareyn, not berynge child; Y *am*

^l Om. κ. ^k clothid AEGHK. ¹ thei shul E pr. m. ^m sor priued E pr. m.

^s Om. ceteri. ^t in N. ^u fro the see I. ^{uu} for3ete I ^v thi I.

22 wher weren? These thingus seith the Lord God, Lo! I rere to Jentilis myn hond, and shal enhaunce to puples myn tocne; and thei shul bringe to thi sones in armys, and thi doztris vp on shuldris
 23 thei shul bern. And kingis shul be thi nursheres, and queenes thi nurses; the chere in to the erthe put down thei shul honoure thee, and the poudre of thi feet thei shul licke; and thou shalt wite, for I a Lord, vp on whom shuln not be con-
 24 founded, that abijden hym. Whether shal be taken awei fro the stronge a prei? or that shal be take fro the stalwrthe
 25 shal moun be saaf? For these thingus seith the Lord, Forsothe and the caitifte fro^o the stronge shal ben taken awei, and that were taken awei fro the stalwrthe shal be saued. Hem forsothe that demeden thee I shal deme, and thi sonis I shal
 26 sauē. And I shal fede thin enemys with ther flesh, and as with must with^p ther blod shul be drunke; and knowen shal eche flesh, for I the Lord, sauende thee, and thin a3een biere, the stronge of Jacob.

CAP. L.

1 These thingus seith the Lord, What is this boc of the forsaking of 3oure moder, that I lafte hir? or who is my creauncer, to whom I solde 3ou? Lo! forsothe in 3oure wickidnesses^q 3ee be sold, and in 3oure hidous giltes I lafte 3oure moder.
 2 For I cam, and there was not a ful man; I clepide, and ther was not that herde. Whether abreggid, and ful litil maad is myn hond, that I mai^r not a3eenbien^s? or is not to me vertue to delyuere? Lo! in my blamyng desert I shal make the se, I^t shal putte flodis in to dro3te; stinke shul fisshes withoute watir, and dien in
 3 thrist. I shal clothin heuenes with derc-

led ouer, and prisoner; and who nurschide these *sones*? Y *am* destitute, and aloone; and where weren these? The Lord God 22 seith these thingis, Lo! Y reise myn hond to hethene men, and Y schal enhaunce my signe to puplis; and thei schulen brynge thi sones in armes, and thei schulen bere thi dou3tris on shuldris. And kingis shu-23 len be thi nurseris, and quenys *shulen be* thi^w nursis; with cheer cast down in to erthe thei schulen worschipe thee, and thei schulen licke the dust of thi feet; and thou schalt wite, that Y *am* the Lord, on whom thei schulen not be schent, that abiden hym. Whether prey schal be takun 24 awei fro a strong man? ether that that is takun of a stalworthe man, mai be saaf? For the Lord seith these thingis, Sotheli 25 and caitifte schal be takun away fro the stronge man, and that that is takun awei^x of^y a stalworthe man, schal be saued. Forsothe Y schal deme hem, that demyden thee, and Y schal saue thi sones. And Y schal fede thin enemyes with her 26 fleischis, and thei schulen be greetli fillid with her blood as with must; and eche man schal wite, that Y *am* the Lord, sauynge thee, and thin a3enbiere, the strong of Jacob.

CAP. L.

The Lord seith these thingis, What is 1 this book of forsakyng of 3oure modir, bi which Y lefte her? ether who is he, to whom Y owe, to whom Y seeld 3ou? For lo! 3e ben seeld for 3oure wickidnessis, and for 3oure grete trespassis Y lefte 3oure modir. For Y cam, and no man was; Y 2 clepide, and noon was that herde. Whether myn hond is abreggid, and maad litil, that Y mai not a3enbie? ether vertu is not in me for to delyuere? Lo! in my blamyng Y schal make the see forsakun, 'ether 3 desert', Y schal sette floodis in the drie place; fisshis without watir schulen wexe rotun, and schulen dye for thrist. Y schal 3

^o of A. ^p of K sec. m. ^q wickidnes AGHK. wickenesse E. ^r my3te AE pr. m. GHK. ^s a3eebien C.
^t and I AGHK.

^w Om. A. ^x Om. E. ^y fro NX. ^z Om. E.

nesses, and a sac Y shal putte the couer-
 4 yng of hem. The Lord 3af to me a tazt
 tunge, that I kunne hym susteyne, that
 is weri in wrd; he^u rereth vp the moru-
 tyd, the morutyd rereth vp to me an ere,
 5 that I here as a maister. The Lord God
 openede to me an ere; I forsothe a3ensei
 6 not, backward I 3ide not awei. My bodi
 I 3af to the smyteres, and my chekes
 to the pulleris; my face I turnede not
 awei fro the blameris, and the spitteris
 7 in me. The Lord God myn helpere, and
 therefore I am not confoundid; therefore
 I putte my face as a most hard ston, and
 I wot for I shal not ben confoundid.
 8 Ny3 is, that iustefieth me; who with
 seith to me? stonde wee togidere. Who
 is myn aduersarie? come he ny3 to me.
 9 Lo! the Lord God myn helpere; who
 thanne is that condempneth me? Lo!
 alle as a cloth shul be to-trede^v, and a^w
 10 mouzte shal ete them. Who of 3ou dred-
 ende the Lord, herende the vois of his
 seruaunt? Who 3ide in dercnesses^x and
 ther is not lizt to hym, hope he in the
 name of the Lord, and leene he vp on
 11 his God. Lo! 3ee alle teendende vp fyr,
 and gird with flawmes, goth in the lizt
 of 3oure fyr, and in the flaumes that 3ee
 teenden vp to 3ou. Of myn hond don is
 this to 3ou, in sorewis 3ee shul slepe.

CAP. LI.

1 Hereth me, 3ee that folewen that is
 rijt, and sechen the Lord. Taketh heed
 to the ston, whenus 3ee ben kut out, and
 to the kaue of the lake, of the^v whiche
 2 3ee ben kut of. Taketh heed to Abra-
 ham, 3oure fader, and to Sara, that bar
 3 3ou; for oon I clepide hym, and blissede
 hym, and multepliede hym. Coumforten
 shal thanne the Lord Sion, and coum-
 forte he shal alle the falligus of it; and
 putten his desert as delices, and his wil-
 dernesse as the gardyn of the Lord; io3e

clothe heuenes with derknessis, and Y
 schal sette a sak the hilyng of tho^b. The⁴
 Lord 3af to me a lerned tunge, that Y
 kunne susteyne hym bi word that failide;
 erli *the fadir* reisith, erli he reisith an
 eere to me, that Y here as a maister. The⁵
 Lord God openede an eere to me; for-
 sothe Y a3enseie not, Y 3ede not abak.
 I 3af my bodi to smyteris, and my chekis⁶
 to pulleris; Y turnede not awei my face
 fro men blamyng, and spetyng on me.
 The Lord God *is* myn helpere, and ther-⁷
 for Y am not schent; therf6r Y haue set
 my face as a stoon maad hard, and Y
 woot that Y schal not be schent. He is⁸
 ni3, that iustifieth me; who a3enseith me?
 stonde we togidere. Who is myn aduer-
 sarie? neize he to me. Lo! the Lord God⁹
is myn helpere; who therfor is he that
 condempneth me? Lo! alle schulen be de-
 foulid as a cloth, and a mouzte schal ete
 hem. Who of 3ou dredith the Lord, and¹⁰
 herith the vois of his seruaunt? Who 3ede
 in dercnessis and lizt is not to hym, hope
 he in the name of the Lord, and triste he
 on his God. Lo! alle 3e kyndlyng fier,¹¹
 and gird with flawmes, go^c in the lizt of
 3oure fier, and in the flawmes whiche 3e
 han kyndlid to 3ou. This is maad of myn
 hond to 3ou, 3e schulen slepe in sorewis.

CAP. LI.

Here 3e me, that suen that that is iust,¹
 and seken the Lord. Take 3e hede to the
 stoon, fro whennys 3e ben hewun down,
 and to the caue of the lake, fro which 3e
 ben kit down. Take 3e heede to Abra-²
 ham, 3oure fadir, and to Sare, that childide
 3ou; for Y clepide hym oon, and Y bless-
 ide hym, and Y multipliede hym. Therfor³
 the Lord schal coumforte Sion, and he
 schal coumforte alle the fallyngis therof;
 and he schal sette the desert therof as
 delices, and the wildirnesse therof as a

^u Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^v to-troden E. ^w as a AG pr. m. HK. ^x dercnes AEGK. ^y Om. AGHK.

^b hem N. ^c goth I.

and gladnesse shal be founde in it, grace-
 4 doing and vois of preising. Taketh heed
 to me, my puple, and, my lynage, me
 hereth; for lawe fro me shal gon out,
 and my dom in to lizt of puples shal
 5 resten. Ny³ is my riztwis, gon out is
 my saueour, and myn armes puples shul
 demen; me iles shuln abide, and myn
 6 arm sustenen. Rereth in to heuene ³oure
 e³en, and seeth vnder erthe benethe; for
 heuenes as smoke shul melte, and the
 erthe as a cloth shal be to-trede, and his
 dwelleris as these shul dien; myn helthe
 forsothe in to euermor shal be, and my
 7 riztwisnesse shal not faile. Hereth me,
 that knowen the riztwis, ^{3e} puple, my
 lawe in the herte of hem; wileth not
 drede repref of men, and the blasfemes
 8 of them dredeth not. As forsothe cloth-
 ing so shal ete them a werm, and as
 wille so shal deuoure them the mo³te;
 myn helthe forsothe in to euermor shal
 be, and my riztwisnesse in to ienera-
 9 ciouns of ieneraciouns. Rys, rys, clothe
 thou strengthe, the arm of the Lord; rys,
 as in the^a olde dayes, in ieneraciouns of
 worldis. Whether not^b thou smyte^c the
 10 proude, woundedest^d the dragoun? Whe-
 ther not thou driedist the se, water of
 the huge depthe, the whiche putteth the
 depthe of the se weie^e, that gon ouer
 11 shulden^f the^g delyuered? And now that
 ben a³eenbo³t of the Lord, shul turnen
 a³een, and comen in to Sion preisende,
 and euerlastende gladnesse 'vp on^h the
 bedisⁱ of them; io³e and gladnesse thei
 shul holden, fleen shal sorewe and weil-
 12 ing. Lo! I the selue shal coumforte
³ou; who thou, that thou drede of a
 deadly man, and of the sone of man, that
 13 as hei so shal waxe drie; and 'hast
 for³ete^k the Lord, thi^l shapere, that bente
 heuenes, and foundede the^m erthe; and
 inwardli dreddest contynuelli al dai of

gardyn of the Lord; ioie and gladnesse
 schal be foundun therynne, the doying of
 thankyngis and the vois of heriying. Mi⁴
 puple, take ^{3e} heede to me, and, my lynage,
 here ^{3e} me; for whi a lawe schal go out
 fro me, and my doom schal reste in to the
 lizt of puplis. My iust *man* is ny³, my⁵
 sauyour is gon out, and myn armes schu-
 len deme puplis; iles schulen abide me,
 and schulen suffre myn arm. Reise ³oure⁶
³en to heuene, and se ^{3e} vndur erthe by-
 nethe; for whi heuenes schulen melte awei
 as smoke, and the erthe schal be al to-
 brokun as a cloth, and the dwelleris therof
 schulen perische as these thingis; but myn
 helthe schal be withouten ende, and my
 riztfulnesse schal not fayle. ^{3e} puple, that⁷
 knowen the iust *man*, here me, my lawe
 is in the herte of hem; nyle ^{3e} drede the
 schenschi^e of men, and drede ^{3e} not the
 blasfemyes of hem. For whi a worm⁸
 schal ete hem so^d as a cloth, and a mou³te
 schal deuoure hem so as wolle; but myn
 helthe schal be withouten ende, and my
 riztfulnesse in to generaciouns of genera-
 ciouns. Rise thou, rise thou, arm of the⁹
 Lord, be thou clothyd in strengthe; rise
 thou, as in elde daies, in generaciouns of
 worldis. Whether thou smytidist not the
 proude *man*, woundidist not the dragoun?
 Whether thou driedist not the see, the¹⁰
 watir of the greet depthe, which settidist
 the depthe of the see a^e weie, that men
 'that weren^f delyuered, schulden passe?
 And now thei that ben a³enbou³t of the¹¹
 Lord schulen turne a³en, and schulen come
 heriyinge in to Syon, and euerlastyng
 gladnesse on the heedis of hem; thei schu-
 len holde ioie and gladnesse, sorewe^g and
 weilyng schal fle awei. 'Y my silf^h schal¹²
 coumforte ³ou; whatⁱ *art* thou, that thou
 drede^k of a deedli man, and of the sone of
 man, that schal wexe drie so as hei? And¹³
 thou hast for³ete 'the Lord, thi^l crea-

^f thou c *pr. m.* e *pr. m.* ^a Om. A. ^b Om. e *pr. m.* ^c hast smyte g *sec. m.* ^d woundist A H K.
^e a weye A, ^f thei schulden c et e *pr. m.* ^g Om. ce *pr. m.* K. ^h vp A. ⁱ heuedis e *passim.* ^k for³at e
pr. m. ^l his e *pr. m.* ^m Om. A E G H K.

^d Om. N. ^e to be a I K S. ^f Om. ceteri. ^g and sorewe A *pr. m.* ^h I, I myself K *text.* that is, I am he,
 I am he, that shal coumforte ³ou. K *marg.* ⁱ who X. ^k dredist EP. ^l thi Lord C E F G H K M N P Q R S U X.

the face of his wodnesse, that thee trooblede, and hadde mad redi to leese? Where is now the wodnesse of the tro-
 14 blere? Soone shal come the goere to openen, and shal not slen vnto the weie
 15 slazter, ne failen shal his bred. I forsothe am the Lord thi God, that disturbe the se, and swellenⁿ his flodis; the Lord
 16 of ostis my name. I sette my wrdis in thi mouth, and in the shadewe of myn hond I defende^o thee; that thou plaunte heuenus, and founde erthe, and sey to
 17 Sion, My puple thou art. Be rered, be rered, ris thou, Jerusalem, that^p thou^q drunke^{qq} of the 'hond of the^r Lord the chalis of his wrathe; vn to the ground of the chalis of slep thou drunke, and thou
 18 drunke it vp^s vnto^t the drestes. Ther^u is not that susteyne hir^v, of alle the sonus that she^w gat; and ther is not that take hir hond, of alle the sonus that she^x
 19 nurshede vp. Two thingus ben that azen-camen to thee; who shal sorewen vp on thee? wastite, and to-brosing, and hunger, and swerd. Who shal coumforten
 20 thee? Thi sonus ben aferr cast, thei slepten in the hed of alle weies, as the vnclene beste grened, that is clepid orix; ful of the indignacioun of the Lord, blamyng
 21 of thi God. Therefore here thou these thingus, thou porelet, and drunken, not of
 22 wyn. These thingus seith the lordshipere, thi Lord, and thi God, that fa3t for his puple, Lo! I toc of thin hond the chalis of slep, the ground of the chalis of myn indignacioun; I shal not lei to, that thou
 23 drunke it more. And I shal putte it in the hond of hem that thee mekeden, and seiden to thi soule, Be thou bowid in that wee passe; and thou puttist as erthe thi bodi, and as a weie to^y goeres.

tour, that stretchide abroad heuenes, and foundide the erthe; and thou dreddist contynueli al dai of the face of his woodnesse, that dide tribulacioun to thee, and made redi for to leese. Where is now the woodnesse of the troblere? Soone he schal
 14 come, goynge for to opene; and he schal not sle til to deth, nether his breed schal faile. Forsothe Y am thi Lord God, that
 15 disturbe the see, and the wawis therof wexen greet; the Lord of oostis is my name. Y haue put my wordis in thi
 16 mouth, and Y defendide thee in the shadewe of myn hond; that thou plaunte heuenes, and founde the^m erthe, and seie to Sion, Thou art my puple. Be thou
 17 reisid, be thou reisid, rise thou, Jerusalem, that hast drunke of the hond of the Lord the cuppe of his wraththe; thou hast drunke 'til toⁿ the botme of the cuppe of sleep, thou hast drunke of 'til to^o the drastis. Noon is^p that susteyneth
 18 it, of alle the sonus whiche it gendride; and noon is^q that takith the hond therof, of alle the sonus whiche it nurshide. Twei
 19 thingis ben^r that camen to thee; who schal be sori on thee? distriyng, and defoulyng, and hungur, and swerd. Who schal coumforte thee? Thi sonus ben cast
 20 forth, thei slepten in the heed of alle weies, as the beeste orix^s, takun bi^s a
 21 snare; thei ben ful of indignacioun of the Lord, of blamyng^t of thi God. Therfor, thei
 22 thou pore, and drunkun, not of wyn, here these thingis. Thi^u lordli gouernour, the^v
 23 Lord^w, and thi God, that fau3t for his puple, seith these thingis, Lo! Y haue take fro thyn hond the cuppe of sleep, the botme of the cuppe of myn indignacioun; Y schal not leie to, that thou drynke it ony more. And Y schal sette it in the
 23 hond of hem that maden thee low, and seiden to thi soule, Be thou bowid that we passe; and thou hast set thi bodi as erthe, and as a weye to hem that goen forth.

* that is, a
 beest lijk a wa-
 ter mous, that
 slepeth al win-
 ter, and lifeth
 a3en in somer.
 x.

ⁿ swellynge K. ^o defendide AEGHK. P for AE pr. m. GHK. q Om. c pr. m. qq drunken c. r Om. c. s Om. E pr. m. t to K. u And ther K sec. m. v it E pr. m. w he E pr. m. x he E pr. m. y to the E pr. m.

m Om. CEF GHK MN PQRS sec. m. UX. n vnto I. o vnto I. p ther is I. q ther is I. r ther ben I. s with I. t the blamyng N. u The CEF GHK MN PQRS UVX. v thi CEF GHK MN PQRS UVX. w Lord God s.

CAP. LII.

1 Rys, ris, be clad^z, thou Sion, with thi
 strengthe; be thou clad^a with the clothis
 of thi glorie, thou Jerusalem, cite of the
 hoeli; for he shal not lei to more, that
 ther passe bi thee an vncircumcidid and
 2 vnclene. Be thou shaken out of the
 poulder; ris, sit thou, Jerusalem; loose^b
 the bondis of thi necke, thou caitif do3tir
 3 of Sion. For these thingus seith the
 Lord, Freeli 3ee ben sold, and withoute
 4 siluer 3ee shul be a3een bo3t. For these
 thingus seith the Lord God, In to Egipt
 cam down my puple in the bigynnyng,
 as a comeling tiliere he was there, and
 Assur withoute any cause chalengede
 5 hym. And now what to me is this? seith
 the Lord; for taken awei is my puple
 withoute cause; his lordshiperes wickidli^c
 diden, seith the Lord, and bisili al dai
 6 my name is blasfemed. For that wite
 shal my puple my name in that dai, for
 7 I the selue that spac, lo! I am ny3. Hou
 faire vp on mounteynes the feet of the
 tellende, and prechende pes, tellende good,
 prechende helthe, seiende, Sion, regnen
 8 shal thi God. The vois of thi^d tooteres;
 thei rereden a vois, togidere thei shul
 preisen; for with e3e to e3e thei shul see,
 9 whan conuerte shal the Lord Sion. Io3-
 eth, and preiseth togidere, 3ee desertes of
 Jerusalem; for coumfortid hath the Lord
 his puple, a3eenbo3t he hath Jerusalem.
 10 Redi made the Lord his hoeli arm in
 the e3en of alle Jentiles, and seen shul
 alle coestes of erthe the helthe 3yuere of
 11 oure God. Goth awei, goth awei, goth
 out thennes; the defoulid thing wileth
 not touche, goth out fro the myddel of
 it; 'be 3e^e clensid, that bern the vesseles
 12 of the Lord. For not in noise 3ee shul
 gon out, ne in fli3t 3ee shul gon forth;
 forsothe gon bifor 3ou shal the Lord,
 and gedere togidere 3ou shal the God of

CAP. LII.

Rise thou, Sion, rise thou, be thou¹
 clothid in thi strengthe; Jerusalem, the
 citee of the hooli, be thou clothid in the
 clothis of thi glorie; for a man vncircum-
 cidid and a man vnclene schal no more
 leie to, that he passe by thee. Jerusalem,²
 be thou schakun out of dust; rise thou,
 sitte thou; thou dou3ter of Sion, prisoner,
 vnbynde the boondis of thi necke. For the³
 Lord seith these thingis, 3e ben seeld
 without cause, and 3e schulen be a3en-
 bouzt with out siluer. For the Lord God⁴
 seith these thingis, Mi puple in the bi-
 gynnyng 3ede down in to Egipt, that it
 schulde be there 'an erthe tiliere^y, and
 Assur falsli calengide it with out ony
 cause. And now what is to me here?⁵
 seith the Lord; for my puple is takun awei
 with out cause; the lordis therof doen wick-
 idli, seith the Lord, and my name is blas-
 femyd contynueli al dai. For this thing⁶
 my puple schal knowe my name in that
 day, for lo! Y my silf that spac, am pre-
 sent. Ful faire *ben* the feet of hym that⁷
 tellith, and prechith pees on hillis, of hym
 that tellith good, of hym that prechith
 helthe, and seith, Sion, thi God schal
 regne. The vois of thi biholderis; thei⁸
 reisien the vois, thei schulen herie togi-
 dere; for thei schulen se with i3e to i3e,
 whanne the Lord hath conuertid Sion.
 The forsakun^z thingis of Jerusalem, make⁹
 3e ioie, and herie 3e togidere; for the
 Lord hath coumfortid his puple, he hath
 a3enbouzt Jerusalem. The Lord hath maad¹⁰
 redi his hooli arm in the i3en of alle folkis,
 and alle the endis of the^a erthe schulen se
 the helthe of oure God. Go 3e awei, go¹¹
 3e awei, go 3e out fro thennus; nyle 3e
 touche defoulid thing, go 3e out fro the
 myddis therof; be 3e clensid, that beren
 the vessels of the Lord. For 3e schulen¹²
 not go out in noyse, nether 3e schulen

^z thou clothid AGHK, clothe E pr. m. clothed E sec. m. ^a clothid AEGHK. ^b louse thou A. ^c wickeli E.
^d the AGHK. ^e beth C pr. m. E pr. m.

^y an erthe tiliere, *ether a comelyng* CEF GHIMNPQRSUY. ^z desert, *ether forsakun* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.
^a Om. CEFHIKNPSVX.

13 Israel. Lo! vnderstonde shal my seru-
uaunt, and ben enhauncid, and rered, and
14 ful hee; he shal be gretly. As stone-
eden vp on hym manye, so vnglorious
shal ben among men his sizte, and the
foorme of hym among the sonus of men.
15 He shal springe manye Jentiles; vp on
hym togidere holden shuln kingis ther
mouth; for to whom is not told of hym,
shul see, and that herden not, beheelden.

CAP. LIII.

1 Who leeuede to oure heering? and the
arm of the Lord to whom is it shewyd?
2 And it shal stezen vp as a quyk hegge
biforn hym, and as a roote fro the threst-
ende^f erthe. Ther is not shap to hym^g,
ne fairnesse; and wee sezen hym, and
he was not of sizte; and wee desireden
3 hym, dispisid, and the laste of men, man
of sorewes, and witende infirmyte. And
as hid his chere and dispisid; wherfore
4 ne wee setteden by hym. Vereli oure sic-
nesses^h he toocⁱ, and oure sorewes he bar;
and wee heelden hym as leprous, and
5 smyten of God, and mekid. He forsothe
woundid is for oure wickidnesses^k, de-
foulid is for oure hidous giltes; the dis-
cyplyne of oure pes vp on hym, and with
6 his wannesse^l we ben heled. Alle wee
as shep erreden, eche in to his weie bow-
ede doun, and the Lord putte in hym
7 the wickidnesse^{ll} of vs alle. He is offred,
for he wolde, and he openede not his
mouth; as a shep to sleynge he shal be
lad, and as a lomb bifor the clippere it-
self he shal become dounb, and he opened
8 not his mouth. Fro anguysh and fro dom
he is take awei; the ieneracioun of hym
who shal tellen out? For kut awei he is
fro the lond of lyueres. For the hidous
9 gilte of my puple I smot hym. And
3yuen he shal vnпитыous men for biriyng,

haaste in fleyng awei; for whi the Lord
shal go bifore 3ou, and the God of Israel
shal gadere 3ou togidere. Lo! my ser-
uaunt shal vndirstonde, and he shal be
enhaunsid, and he shal be reisid, and he
shal be ful hij. As many men wondriden
14 on hym, so his biholdyng shal be with
out glorie among men, and the fourme^b of
hym among the sones of men. He shal
15 bisprenge many folkis; kyngis schulen
holde togidere her mouth on him; for thei
schulen se, to whiche^{bb} it was not teld of
hym, and thei that herden not, bihelden.

CAP. LIII.

Who bileuyde to oure heryng? and to
whom is the arm of the^c Lord schewide?
And he shal stie^d as a 3erde bifore hym,²
and as a roote fro thirsti lond. And ne-
ther schap nether fairnesse was to hym;
and we sien^e hym, and no biholdyng
was; and we desiriden hym, dispisid, and³
the laste of men, a man of sorewis, and
knowynge sikenesse. And his cheer *was*
as hid and dispisid; wherfor and we aret-
tiden not hym. Verili he suffride oure⁴
sikenessis, and he bar oure sorewis; and
we arettiden hym as a mesel, and smytun
of God, and maad low. Forsothe he was⁵
woundid for oure wickidnessis, he was de-
foulid for oure greet trespassis; the lern-
yng of oure pees *was* on hym, and we
ben maad hool bi his wannesse. Alle we
erriden as scheep, ech man bowide in to
his owne weie, and the Lord puttide in
hym the wickidnesse of vs alle. He was⁷
offrid, for he wolde, and he openyde not
his mouth; as a scheep he shal be led to
sleyng, and he shal be dounb as a lomb
bifore hym that clippith it, and he shal
not opene his mouth. He is takun away⁸
fro angwisch and fro doom; who shal
telle out the generacioun of hym? For he
was kit down fro the lond of lyueris. Y
smoot hym for the greet trespas of my
puple. And he shal 3yue vnfeithful men⁹

^f thristinge E. ^g it E pr. m. ^h sikenes AGHK.
ⁱ wanne wounde E sec. m. AGHK. ^{ll} wickenesse E.

^l lik E pr. m. ^k wickidnes AGH. wickenesses E.

^b fourme, ether schap CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^{bb} whom I. ^c oure I. ^d stie up I. ^e sauzen I passim.

and riche men for his deth; for thi that wickenesse^m he dide not, ne treccherie
 10 was in his mouth; and the Lord woldeⁿ to-trede hym in infirmytee. If he shal putte his soule for synne, he^o shal seen sed of long age, and the wil of the Lord
 11 in his hond shal be rijt reulid. For thi that he trauailede, his soule shal seen, and ben fulfyld. In his kunnyng he my rijtwis seruauant shal iustefien manye, and the wickidnesses^p of hem he shal bern.
 12 Therefore I shal dele to hym manye, and of stronge men he shal deuyde spoiles; for thi that he toc in to deth his lif, and with hidous gilteres is holden; and he the synne^q of manye toc, and for trespasseres preȝede.

CAP. LIV.

1 Preise, thou bareyne, that berst not; gretli sing preising^r, and ympne^s, that beere not; for manye sones of the forsaken^t more than of hir that hadde the
 2 man^u, seith the Lord. Alarge^v the place of thi tente, and the skynnes of thi tabernacle strecche out; ne spare thou, longe maac thi litle cordis, and thi nailes mac
 3 fast. At the rijt forsothe and at the lift thou shalt persen; and thi sed Jentiles shal eritagen, and desert cites wonen in.
 4 Wile thou not dreden, for thou shalt not be confoundyd, ne shamen. Forsothe it shal not shamen thee; for of the confusioun of thi ȝouthe thou^w shalt forȝete, and of the repref of thi widewhed thou
 5 shalt recorde no more. For lordshipen shal of thee that made thee; the Lord of oostes hys name; and thin aȝeen biere, the^x holi of Irael, the God of al erthe shal be
 6 clepid. For as a womman forsaken and moornende in spirit, clepede thee the Lord, and a wif fro the ȝouthe cast awei.
 7 The Lord thi God seide, At a poynt in a litil I forsoc thee, and in grete mercy

for biriying, and riche men for his deth; for he dide not wickidnesse, nether gile was in his mouth; and the Lord wolde¹⁰ defoule hym in sikenesse. If he puttith his lijf for synne, he schal se seed long durynge, and the wille of the Lord schal be dressid in his hond. For that that his¹¹ soule trauelide, he schal se, and schal be fillid. Thilke my iust seruauant schal iustifie many men in his kunnyng, and he schal bere the wickidnessis of hem. Ther-¹² for Y schal zelde, *ethir dele*, to hym ful many men, and he schal departe the spuilis of the stronge *feendis*; for that that he ȝaf his lijf in to deth, and was arettid with felenouse men; and he dide a wei the synne of many men, and he preiede for trespassouris.

CAP. LIV.

Thou bareyn, that childist not, herie; 1 thou that childist not, synge heriying, and make ioie; for whi many sones ben of the^f forsakun *'womman^g* more than of hir that hadde hosebonde, seith the Lord. Alarge² thou the place of thi tente, and stretche forth the skynnes of thi tabernaclis; spare thou not, make longe thi roopis, and make sad thi nailis. For thou schalt perse to³ the rijtside and to the leftside; and thi seed schal enherite hethene men, and schal dwelle in forsakun citees. Nile thou drede,⁴ for thou schal not be schent, nether thou schalt be aschamed. For it schal not schame thee; for thou schalt forȝete the schenschiipe of thi ȝongthe, and thou schalt no more thenke on the schenschiipe of thi widewehod. For he that made thee, schal⁵ be lord of thee; the Lord of oostis *is* his name; and thin aȝenbiere, the hooli of Irael, schal be clepid God of al erthe. For the Lord hath clepid thee as a wom-⁶ man forsakun and morenyng in spirit, and a wijf, *'that is^h* cast awei fro ȝongthe. Thi Lord God seide, At a poynt in litil⁷

^m wickidnes AGHK. ⁿ Om. A. ^o thou E pr. m. ^p wickidnes AGHK. wickenesses E. ^q synnes E pr. m. ^r Om. K sec. m. ^s neye E pr. m. ^t desert E pr. m. ^u husbonde E sec. m. AGHK. ^v Large c pr. m. Opene E pr. m. AGHK. ^w that K. ^x Om. AGHK.

^f thee s. ^g Om. ceteri. ^h Om. ceteri.

8 doinges I shal gedere thee. In a moment
 of indignacioun I hidde^y my face a litil
 fro thee, and in euerlastende mercy I
 hadde mercy of thee, seide^z the Lord, thi
 9 forbiere. As in the dazes^a of Noe, this to
 me is, to whom I swor, that I shulde no
 mor bringen in the^b watris of flod vp
 on erthe; so I swor, that I wrathe not to
 10 thee, and blame not thee. Mounteynes
 forsothe shul be to-stered, and hillis shul
 tremblen; my mercy forsothe shal not
 gon awei fro thee, and the bond of my
 pes shal not be moued, seide^c the Lord,
 11 thi reewer. Thou porelet, with tempest
 al to-pullid, with oute any coumfort, lo!
 I shal araie bi order thi stones, and
 12 founde thee in safires; and I shal sette
 iasp thy pynacles, and thi 3ates in to
 grauen stones, and alle thi termes in to
 13 desirable stones. Alle thi sones taut of
 the Lord; and multitude of pes to thi
 14 sones, and in riztwisnesse thou shalt be
 foundid. Go awei aferr fro chalenge^d, for
 thou shalt not drede; and fro inward ferd,
 15 for it shal not nezhe to thee. Lo! an
 earth tiliere shal come, that was not with
 me; thi comeling sumtyme^e apassid^f shal
 16 be ioyned to thee. Lo! I shop a smyth
 blowende in the fyr coles, and bringende
 forth a vessel in to his werk; and I shop
 17 the sleere, to destroyed. Eche vessel that
 is mad azen thee, shal not be rizt reulid;
 and eche tunge withstondende to thee, in
 dom thou shalt deme. This is the eri-
 tage of the seruans of the Lord, and
 the riztwisnesse of hem anent me, seith
 the Lord.

CAP. LV.

1 Alle 3ee thristende, cometh to watris,
 and 3ee that han not siluer, goth forth,

^y dide AH. ^z seith AE pr. m. GHK. ^a dai A. ^b Om. AGHK. ^c seith AE pr. m. GHK. ^d wronge
 chalenge AE sec. m. K. the wronge chalenge GH. ^e the sum tyme E pr. m. ^f Om. c pr. m. E pr. m.

¹ in my IN pr. m. ^k Lord, at a point in litel tyme I forsook thee, for al the tribulacion of this present
 liif is as duringe in a moment, in comparisoun of heuenli coumfort. K. ¹ Y schal I. ^m seith N. ⁿ thi vx.
^o sette in safiris, and I schal sette I. ^{oo} Om. c. ^p Y schal sette CEGKMN PQRSUV. And Y schal sette PHIXY.
^q haasteth I.

tyme Y forsook thee, and Y schal gadere
 thee togidere in greete merciful doyngis.
 In a moment of indignacioun Y hidde my^s
 face a litil fro thee, and in^l merci euer-
 lastynge Y hadde merci on thee, seide thin
 azenbiere, the Lord^k. As in the daies of^o
 Noe, this thing is to me, to whom Y swoor,
 that Y schulde no more bringe watris of
 the greet flood on the erthe; so Y swoor,
 that Y^l be no more wrooth to thee, and
 that Y blame not thee. Forsothe hillis¹⁰
 schulen be mouyd togidere, and litte hillis
 schulen tremble togidere; but my merci
 schal not go awei fro thee, and the boond
 of my pees schal not be mouyd, seide^m
 theⁿ merciful doere, the Lord. Thou litte¹¹
 and pore, drawun out bi tempest, with
 outen ony coumfort, lo! Y schal strewe
 thi stoonys bi ordre, and Y schal founde
 thee in safiris; and Y schal sette^o iaspis¹²
 thi touris, and thi 3atis in to^{oo} graun
 stoonys, and alle thin eendis in to desirable
 stoonys. 'Y schal make^p alle thi sones¹³
 tauzt of the Lord; and the multitude of
 pees to thi sones, and thou schalt be¹⁴
 foundid in riztfulnesse. Go thou awei fer
 fro fals caleng, for thou schalt not drede;
 and fro drede, for it schal not nei3e to
 thee. Lo! a straunger schal come, that¹⁵
 was not with me; *he, that was* sum tyme
 thi comelyng, schal be ioyned to thee. Lo!¹⁶
 Y made a smyth blowynge coolis in fier,
 and bringynge forth a vessel in to his
 werk; and Y haue maad a sleere, for to
 leese. Ech vessel which is maad azens¹⁷
 thee, schal not be dressid; and in the doom
 thou schalt deme ech tunge azenstondynge
 thee. This is the eritage of the seruautis
 of the Lord, and the riztfulnesse of hem at
 me, seith the Lord.

CAP. LV.

Alle that thirsten, come 3e to watris,¹
 and 3e that han not siluer, haaste^q, bie 3e,

bieth^g, and eteth; cometh, bieth, withoute siluer and withoute any chaffaring^h,
 2wyn and mylc. Whi poote 3ee vp siluer, not in loeues, and 3oure trauailing, not in filling? Hereth 3ee herende me, and eteth good thing, and delite shal in fatnesse 3oure soule. Bowith in 3oure ere, and cometh to me; hereth, and lyuen shal 3oure soule; and I shal smyte with 3ou euere lastende couenaunt, the feithful mercies of Daud. Lo! witnesse I 3af hym to puples, duke and comaundere 5to Jentiles. Lo! the folc of kinde, that thou knewe not, thou shalt clepen; and the folc of kinde, thatⁱ thee^k kne3 not, to thee shul rennen; for the Lord thy God, and the hoeli of Israel, for he glorifiede 6thee. Secheth the Lord, whil he mai be founde; inwardli clepeth hym, whil he 7is ny3. Forsake the vnpitous his weie, and the wicke man his tho3tes; and turne a3een to the Lord, and he shal haue^l mercy of hym, and to oure God, for myche he 8is to for3yue. Forsothe not my thenkingus 3oure thenkingus, ne my weies 3oure weies, seith the Lord. For as enhauncid ben heuenus fro erthe, so enhauncid ben my weies fro 3oure weyes, and my tho3tus 10fro 3oure tho3tus. And what maner cometh doun weder and sno3 fro heuene, and thider no mor is turned a3een, but drunkneth the erthe, and heeldeth in to it, and to buriowne maketh it, and 3yueth sed 11to the sowere, and bred to the etere, so shal be my wrd, that shal gon out of my mouth. It shal not be turned a3een voide to me, but shal do what euere thingus I wolde, and shal be welsum in 12tho thingus to whiche I sende it; for in gladnesse 3ee shul gon oute, and in pes 3ee shul be lad thennus. Mounteynes and hilles shul singe bifor 3ou preising, and alle the trees of the regioun shal flappe 13for io3e with hond. For the thorny erbe that is clepid saliunka, shal stee3en vp^m

and ete 3e; come 3e, bie 3e, with out siluer and with outen ony chaungyng, wyn and mylk. Whi peisen 3e siluer, and not 2in looues, and 3oure trauel, not in fulnesse? 3e herynge here me, and ete 3e good, and 3oure soule schal delite in fatnesse. Bowe 3 3e 3oure eere, and 'come 3e' to me; here 3e, and 3oure soule schal lyue; and Y schal smyte with 3ou a couenaunt euerlastyng, the feithful mercies of Daud. Lo! Y 3af 4hym a witnesse to puplis, a duyk and a comaundour to folkis. Lo! thou schalt 5clepe folkis, whiche thou knewist not; and folkis, that knewen not thee, schulen renne to thee; for thi Lord God, and the hooli of Israel, for he glorifiede thee. Seke 3e 6the Lord, while he mai be foundun; clepe 3e hym to help, while he is ni3. An vn-7feithful man forsake his weie, and a wickid man *forsake* hise thou3tis; and turne he a3en to the Lord, and he schal haue merci on hym, and to oure God, for he is myche to for3yue. For why my thou3tis *ben* not 83oure thou3tis, and my weies *ben* not 3oure weies, seith the Lord. For as heuenys ben 9reisid fro erthe, so my weies ben reisid fro 3oure weies, and my thou3tis fro 3oure thou3tis. And as reyn and snow cometh 10doun fro heuene, and turneth no more a3en thidur, but it fillith^s the erthe, and bishedith it, and makith it to buriowne, and 3yueth seed to hym that sowith, and breed to hym that etith, so schal be my 11word, that schal go out of my mouth. It schal not turne a3en voide to me, but it schal do what euer thingis Y wolde, and it schal haue prosperite in these thingis to whiche Y sente it. For 3e schulen go 12out in gladnesse, and 3e schulen be led forth in pees; mounteyns and litil hillis schulen syng heriyng bifore 3ou, and alle the trees of the cuntrei schulen make ioie with hond. A fir tre schal grow^t for a 13firse^u, and a mirte^v tre schal wexe for a nettil; and the Lord schal be nemyd in

^g and bieth AGHK. ^h chaungyng AE sec. m. GHK. ⁱ Om. G pr. m. H. ^k Om. c pr. m. thou AGHK.
^l ha c. ^m Om. AGHK.

^r cometh i. ^s filleth, or makith moist K. ^t stie CEFHGKMN PQRSUVX. stie up i. ^u gorst, ether
 firse CEFHGKMN PQRSUVXY. ^v mir R.

a firr treeⁿ, and for the nettle shal growe the tre that is clepid myrt; and the Lord shal be nemned in to an^o euer lastende toene, that shal not ben don awei.

CAP. LVI.

1 These thingus seith the Lord, Kepeth dom, and doth riȝtwisnesse, for nyȝ is myn helthe, that it come, and my riȝt-
2 wisnesse, that it be opened. Blisful the man, that doth that, and the sone of man, that shal take this; kepende the sabot, lest he defoule it, kepende his hondis, lest
3 he do any euel. And seye not the sone of the comeling, that cleueth to the Lord, seiende, Bi seueryng shall deuyde me the Lord fro his puple; and sey not the geld-
4 ing, Lo! I a drie tree. For these thingus seith the Lord to geldingus, who kepen^p my sabates, and chesen^q that I wolde, and
5 holden my pes couenaunt. I shal ȝyue to them in myn hous and in my wallis a place, and a betere name of sones and doȝtris; an euere lastende name I shal
6 ȝyue to them, that shal not pershen. And the sonus of the comeling, that cleuen to the Lord, that thei herien hym, and loouen his name, that thei be to hym in
to seruau^rs; eche man^s kepende sabot^t, lest he defoule it, and the holdende my
7 pes couenaunt; I shal bringe them in to myn hoeli hil, and gladen hem in the hous of myn orisoun; the brent sacrifices of hem and ther victorie sacrifices shul
plesen to me vp on myn auter; for myn hous the hous of orisoun shal be clepid
8 to alle puples, seith the Lord God, that gadereth^u the^v scatered of Irael. Ȝit I shal gedere to hym alle his gedered to-
9 gidere. Alle bestus of the feeld, cometh to deuouren, alle ȝee bestus of the wilde
10 wode. His tooteres alle blinde, alle thei vnknewen; dounbe dogges not mowende^w berken, seende veyne thingus, slepende,

to a signe euerlastyng, that schal not be doon awei.

CAP. LVI.

The Lord seith these thingis, Kepe ȝe¹ doom, and do ȝe riȝtfulnesse, for whi myn helthe is niȝ, that it come, and my riȝtfulnesse, that it be schewid. Blessid *is* the² man, that doith this, and the sone of man, that schal take this; kepyng the sabat, that he defoule not it, kepyng hise hondis, that he do not ony yuel. And³ seie not the sone of a comelyng, that cleueth faste to the Lord, seiynge, Bi departyng the Lord schal departe me fro his puple; and a geldyng, *ether a^w chast man*, seie not, Lo! *Y am* a drie tree. For⁴ the Lord seith these thingis to geldingis, that kepen my sabatis, and chesen what thingis Y wolde, and holden my boond of pees. Y schal ȝyue to hem a place in myn⁵ hous, and in my wallis, and the beste name of sones and douȝtris; Y schal ȝyue to hem a name euerlastyng, that schal not perische. And *Y schal brynge in to*⁶ *blis* the sones of a comelyng, that cleuen faste to the Lord, that thei worschipe hym, and loue his name, that thei be to hym in to seruau^rantis; ech man kepyng the sabat, that he defoule it not, and holdyng my boond of pees; Y schal brynge⁷ hem in to myn hooli hil, and Y schal make hem glad in the hous of my preier; her brent sacrifices and her slayn sacrifices schulen plese me on myn auter; for whi myn hous schal be clepid an hous of preier to alle puplis, seith the Lord God,⁸ that gaderith togidere the scaterid men of Irael. Ȝit Y schal gadere togidere to hym alle the gaderid men therof. Alle beestis⁹ of the feeld, come ȝe to deuoure, alle beestis of the forest. Alle the biholderis therof *ben*¹⁰

ⁿ Om. *AE pr. m. GHK.* ^o Om. *GH.* ^p kepith *AG pr. m. HK.* ^q cheseth *A.* ^r seruau^rant *K.* ^s Om. *E pr. m.*
^t the saboth *G sec. m.* ^u gaderide *A.* ^v Om. *A.* ^w mowing *E.*

^w Om. *c et ceteri.*

11 and loouende sweuenus; and most vn-
shamefast doggus knewen^x not fulnesse.
Thei shepperdes knewe not vnderstond-
ing; alle in to ther owne weie bowed
doun, eche to his auarice, fro the hiest
12 vn to the laste. Cometh, take wee wyn,
and be wee fulfild with drunkenesse; and
it shal be as to dai, so and to moru, and
myche more.

CAP. LVII.

1 The rijt^zwis man persheth, and ther is
not, that bethenke in his herte; and men
of mercy ben gedered, for^y ther is not
that vnderstonde; fro the face forsothe
2 of malice gedered is the rijt^zwis. Come
pes, reste it in his bed, that zide in his
3 rijt reuling. Zee forsothe nezheth hider,
sonus of a wicche, sed of auouteresse, and
4 of a fornycarie. Vp on whom pleieden
zee? vp on whom spredde zee abroad the
mouth, and zee casteden^z out the tunge?
Whether not zee sonus hidous gilteres,
5 sed liere? that ben coumfortid in goddis,
vnder eche braunchy tree, offrende litle
childer in stremes, vnder stonus stondende
6 ouer. In partes of the strem thi part,
this is thi lot; and to them thou heeld-
edest^a out sacrifice^b of lykoures, offredist
sacrifice^c. Whether vp on these thingus
7 I shal not endeyne^d? Vp on an hiz hil
and enhauncid thou puttest thi bed, and
thider thou stezedest that thou offre
8 ostes; and bihynde the dore, and bi-
hynde the post thou settedest thi^e mynde
tocne. For biside me thou discoueredist,
and toke the auouter; thou spreddest thi
bed, and couenauntedest with them a pes
couenaunt; thou loouedist the beddyng
9 of hem with opened hond, and enourn-
edest thee with the kingus oynement, and
multepliedest thi pymentus; and sentist

blinde, alle thei knewen not; doumbe dog-
gis, that moun not berke, seynge veyn
thingis, slepynge, and louynge dremes;
and moost vnschamefast doggis knewen 11
not fulnesse. Tho^x scheepherdis knewen
not vndurston dyng; alle thei bowyden in
to her weie, ech man to his aueryce, fro
the hizeste 'til to^y the laste. Come ze, take 12
we^z wyn, and be we^a fillid of drunkenesse;
and it schal be as to dai, so and to morewe,
and myche more.

CAP. LVII.

A iust man perischith, and noon is, that 1
thenkith in his herte; and men of merci
ben gaderid togidere, for noon is^b that
vndurston dith; for whi a iust man is ga-
derid fro the face of malice. Pees come, 2
reste he in his bed, that zede in his dress-
yng. But ze, sones of the sekere of fals^z
dyuynyng bi chiteryng of briddys, neize
hidur, the seed of auowtresse, and of an
hoore. On whom scorneden ze? on whom 4
maden ze greet the mouth, and puttiden^c
out the tunge? Whethir ze *ben* not cursid
sones, a seed of leesyngis? which ben coum- 5
fortid in goddis, vndur ech tree ful of
bowis, and offren litle children in strondis,
vndur hize stoonys. Thi part *is* in the 6
partis of the stronde, this is thi part; and
to^d tho^e thou scheddist out moist offryng,
thou offridist sacrifice. Whether Y schal
not haue indignacioun on these thingis?
Thou puttidist thi bed on an hiz hil and 7
enhaunsid, and thidur thou stiedist to offre
sacrifices; and thou settidist thi memorial⁸
bihynde the dore, and bihynde the post.
For bisidis me thou vnihilidist^f, and tokist
auouter; thou alargidist thi bed, and
madist a boond of pees with hem; thou
louedist the bed of hem with openyd
hond, and ournedist thee with kyngis 9
oynement, and thou multiplidist thi py-
mentis; thou sentist fer thi messangeris,

^x and knewen A. ^y and for C sec. m. and E pr. m. ^z thou casti E pr. m. ^a heeldist AGHK. ^b sacri-
fices AGHK. ^c sacrifices GH. ^d dedeyne AGHK. ^e Om. AG pr. m. HK.

^x Thilke I. ^y vnto I. ^z ze N. ^a ze N. ^b ther is I. ^c castiden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^d Om. E.
^e Om. A pr. m. C pr. m. EH pr. m. hem N. ^f vnihilidist thee I.

thi legates aferr, and^f mekid thou art
 10 vnto helle. In the multitude of this^g weie
 thou trauailedest, and seidest not, I shal
 resten; the weie of thin hond thou hast
 11 founde, therefore thou prejedest not. For
 the^h whiche thou bisiⁱ dreddest, for thou
 liedest, and of me thou recordedest not,
 ne tho^jtest in thin herte, for I stille,
 and as not seende; and of me thou for-
 12 zete. I shal tellen out thi ri^ktwisnesse,
 and thi werkus shul not profiten to thee.
 13 Whan thou shalt crien, delyuere thee thi
 gedered; and alle them shal bern awei
 the wynd, and shal taken awei the
 weder; who forsothe hath trost of me,
 shal eritagen the erthe, and welden myn
 14 hoeli mounteyn. And I shal seyn, Weie
 maketh, 3yue^lth goyng, bowith down fro
 the path, taketh awei hurtinge thingus
 15 fro the weie of my puple. For these
 thingus seith the he^mze Lord, and en-
 hauncid, wonende the euerelastingte, and
 his hoeli name in heⁿz, and in hoeli dwell-
 ing, and with the contrit and mekid spi-
 rit, that he quykene the spirit of meke
 men, and quykene the herte of contrit
 16 men. Forsothe not in to euermor I shal
 striue, ne vnto the ende I shal wrathe;
 for a spirit fro my face shal gon out, and
 17 blastis I shal maken. For the wicked-
 nesse^k of his auarice I wrathede, and
 smot hym. I hidde fro thee my face,
 and endeynede; and he 3ide awei vagaunt
 18 in the weie of his herte. His weies I sa^lz,
 and helede hym, and bro^mzte hym aⁿzen;
 andⁱ I 3eeld coumfortingus to hym, and
 19 to his weileris. I shop frut of lippis
 pes, pes to hym that is aferr, and that
 ny³, seide^m the Lord; and I helede hym.
 20 Vnpitous men forsothe as the boilinge se,
 that resten mai not; and redounden his
 21 flodis in to to-treding, and cley. Ther
 is not pes, seith the Lord God, to vnpy-
 touseⁿ men.

and thou art maad low 'til to^g hellis. Thou 10
 trauelidist in the multitude of thi weie,
 and seidist not, Y schal reste; thou hast
 founde the weie of thin hond, therfor 11
 thou preiedist not. For what thing dreddist
 thou bisy, for thou liedist, and thou^jtist
 not on me? And thou thou^jtist not in thin
 herte, that Y am stille, and as not seyng; and
 thou hast forzete me. Y schal telle 12
 thi ri^ktfulnesse, and thi werkis schulen not
 profite to thee. Whanne thou schalt crie, 13
 thi gaderid *tresours* delyuere thee; and the
 wynd schal take awei alle tho^h, a blast
 schal do awei *hem*ⁱ; but he that hath trist
 on^k me, schal enherite the lond, and schal
 haue in possessioun myn hooli hil. And 14
 Y schal seie, Make 3e weie, 3yue 3e iurney,
 bowe 3e fro the path, do 3e awei hirtyngis
 fro the weie of my puple. For the Lord 15
 hi³, and enhaunsid, seith these thingis,
 that dwellith in euerlastyngnesse, and his^l
 hooli name in hi³ *place*, and that dwell-
 ith in hooli, and with a contrite^m and
 meke spirit, that he quykene the spirit of
 meke men, and quykene the herte of con-
 trit men. For Y schal not stryue with 16
 outen ende, nether Y schal be wrooth 'til
 toⁿ the ende; for whi a spirit schal go
 out fro my face, and Y schal make blastis.
 Y was wrooth for the wickidnesse of his 17
 aueryce, and Y smoot hym. Y hidde my
 face fro thee, and Y hadde indignacioun;
 and he 3ede with out stidfast dwellyng, in
 the weie of his herte. Y si³ hise weies, 18
 and Y helide hym, and Y brou³zte hym
 aⁿzen; and Y 3af coumfortyngis to hym,
 and to the moreneris of hym. Y made 19
 the fruyt of lippis pees, pees to hym that
 is fer, and to hym that is ni³, seide the
 Lord; and Y heelide hym. But wickid 20
 men *ben* as the buyling see, that may not
 reste; and the wawis therof fleten aⁿzen
 in to defoulyng, and fen. The Lord God 21
 seide, Pees is not to wickid men.

^f for E pr. m. ^g ther E pr. m. ^h Om. AEGHK. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k wickenesse E. ^l Om. E pr. m.
^m seith E pr. m. ⁿ the vnpytous A.

^g vnto I. ^h hem N. ⁱ Om. ceteri. ^k of CEGHKMN sec. m. PQRSUVX. ^l in his N. ^m contrit, ether
ful sori CEF GHIKMN PQSUVX. ⁿ vnto I.

CAP. LVIII.

1 Crye, ne cese thou; as a trumpe en-
haunce thi vois, and tel out to my puple
the hidous giltes of hem, and to the hous
2 of Jacob ther synnes. Me forsothe fro
dai in to dai thei sechen, and witen my
weies thei wiln; as a folc of kynde, that
ri3twisnesse hadde^o do, and that the dom
of his God 'forsoken not^p; thei pre3en^q
me domes of ri3twisnesse, and ne3hen to
3 God thei wiln. Whi han wee fastid, and
thou hast not biholden; wee han mekid
oure soules, and thou hast not known?
Lo! in the dai of 3oure fasting is founde
3oure owne wil, and alle 3oure detoures
4 3ee pleten. Lo! to ples and to striues 3ee
fasten, and smyten with the fist vnpi-
tously. Wileth^r not fasten, as vnto this
dai, that herd be in hei3te 3oure cry.
5 Whether such is the fasting that I chese,
bi^s the^t dai^u a man to tormenten his
soule? whether to binde togidere as a
cercle his hed, and sac and asken to
arazen? Whether this I clepede fasting,
6 and an acceptable dai to the Lord? Whe-
ther not this is more fasting that I ches?
Vnbind thou the togidere bindingus of
vnpitousnesse, loose the bundeles down
berende; lete hem that ben to-broke,
7 free, and eche charge to-brec. Brec to
the hungri thi bred, and the helpeles and
vagaunt bring in to thin hous; whan
thou shalt see the nakid, couere hym,
and thi flesh thou shalt not dispise.
8 Thanne shal breken out as morutid thi
lizt, and thin helthe sunnere shal springe;
and bifer thi face shal go thi ri3twis-
nesse, and the glorie of the Lord shal
9 gedere thee. Thanne thou shalt inwardly
clepen, and the Lord shal heren; thou
shalt crien, and he shal sey, Lo! I am
ny3, for merciful I am, the Lord thi God.
If thou take^v awei fro thi myddel the

CAP. LVIII.

Crye thou, ceesse thou not; as a trumpe 1
enhaunce thi vois, and schewe thou to my
puple her grete trespassis, and to the hous
of Jacob her synnes. For thei seken me 2
fro dai in to dai, and thei wolen knowe
my weies; as a folc, that hath do ri3tful-
nesse, and that hath not forsake the doom
of her God; thei preien me domes of ri3t-
fulnesse, and wolen^o nei3 to God. Whi 3
fastiden we, and thou biheldist not; we
mekiden oure soulis, and 'thou knewist
not? Lo! 3oure wille is foundun in the
dai of 3oure fastyng, and 3e axen alle 3oure
dettouris. Lo! 3e fasten to chidyngis and 4
stryuyngis, and smyten with the fist wick-
idli. Nyl 3e fast, as 'til to^p this dai, that
3oure cry be herd an hij3. Whether sich is 5
the fastyng which Y chees, a man to tur-
mente his soule^q bi dai? whether to bynde
his heed as a sercle, and to make redi a
sak and aische? Whethir thou schalt clepe
this a fastyng, and a dai acceptable to the
Lord? Whether not this is more the fast- 6
yng, which Y chees? Vnbynde thou the
byndingis togidere of vnpitee^s, releesse
thou birthuns pressyng down; delyuere
thou hem free, that ben brokun, and breke
thou ech birthun. Breke thi breed to an^t 7
hungri man, and brynge in to thin hous
nedi men and herborles; whanne thou
seest a nakid man, hile thou hym, and
dispise not thi fleisch^u. Thanne thi lizt 8
schal breke out as the morewtid, and thin
helthe schal rise ful soone; and thi ri3t-
fulnesse schal go bifer thi face, and the
glorie of the Lord schal gadere thee^v.
Thanne thou schalt clepe to help, and the 9
Lord schal here; thou schalt crie, and he
schal seie, Lo! Y am present, for Y am
merciful, thi Lord God. If thou takist
awei a^w chayne fro the myddis of thee,
and ceessist to holde forth the^x fyngur,

^o wolde E pr. m. ^p wolde not forsoken AE pr. m. GHK. ^q preieden E pr. m. ^r And wileth K.
^s Om. E pr. m. ^t Om. AE sec. m. GHK. ^u Om. E pr. m. ^v shalt take AE sec. m. GHK.

^o thei wolen I. ^p 3e han vnto I. ^q soule, ether his lijf I. ^s vnpitee, ether of cruelte C E F G H I K M N P Q
R S U V X Y. ^t the I. ^u fleisch, that is, [thi pore v] brother or sister E G H I K N P Q R S U V X Y. ^v thee to rest I.
^w the I. ^x thi I.

cheyne, and cese the fynger to strecchen out, and to speken that profiteth not; 10 whan thou shalt heelden out to the hungry thi soule, and the tormentid lijf thou shalt fulfillen, springe shal in dercnesses thi lijf, and thi dercnesses shul 11 ben^w as myddai. And reste 3yue to thee shal the Lord thi God euermor, and fulfillen he shal in shynynges thi soule, and thi bones delyueren; and thou shalt ben as a watri gardyn, and as a welle of watris, whos watris 'schul not failen^x. 12 And bild vp shul ben in thee the^y desertes of worldus, the foundemens of ieneraciouns and of ieneraciouns thou shalt reren; thou shalt ben clepid a bildere vp of heggis, turnende awei the pathis of 13 wickidnesses. If thou schalt^a turne awei fro the sabot thi foot, to do thin owne wil in myn hoely dai, and clepist a delicat sabot, and the hoely of the Lord, glorious, and glorifiest hym, whil thou dost not thi weies, and is not founde thin owne 14 wil, that thou speke a wrd; thanne thou shalt delyten vp on the Lord, and I shal rere thee vp vp on the heijtus of erthe^b, and shal^c fede thee with the eritage of Jacob, thi fader.; the mouth forsothe of the Lord spac.

CAP. LIX.

1 Lo! ther is not abreggid the hond of the Lord, that sauen he mai not, ne agreggid^d is his ere, that he ful out here 2 not; but 3oure wickidnesses^e deuydeden betwe^f 3ou and 3oure God, and 3oure synnes hidden his face fro 3ou, that he 3ful out here not. Forsothe 3oure hondis ben defoulid with blod, and 3oure fyngris with wickidnesse^g; 3oure lippes speeken lesing, and 3oure tunge wickenesse^h spek- 4 eth. Ther is not, that inwardly clepe rizt- wisnesse, ne ther is, that deme verrel; but thei trosten in thing of nojt, and

and to speke that^y profitith not; whanne 10 thou schedist out thi soule^z to an hungry man, and fillist a soule, 'that is^a turmentid, thi lijf schal rise in derknessis, and thi derknessis schulen be as myddai. And the 11 Lord thi God schal 3yue euere reste to thee, and schal fille thi soule with schyn- yngis, and schal delyuere thi boonys; and thou schalt be as a watri gardyn, and as a welle of watris, whose waters schulen not faile. And the forsakun thingis of worldis 12 schulen be bildid in thee, and thou schalt reise the foundementis of generacioun and generacioun; and thou schalt be clepid a bildere of heggis, turnynge awei the pathis of wickidnessis. If thou turnest awei thi 13 foot fro the sabat, to do thi wille in myn hooli dai, and clepist the sabat delicat, and hooli, the gloriouse of the Lord, and glorifiest him, while thou doist not thi weies, and thi wille is not foundun, that thou speke a word; thanne thou schalt delite 14 on the Lord, and Y schal reise thee on the hiznesse of erthe, and Y schal fede thee with the eritage of Jacob, thi fadir; for whi the mouth of the Lord spak.

CAP. LIX.

Lo! the hoond of the Lord is not abreg- 1 gid, that he mai not saue, nether his eere is maad hard, that he here not; but 3oure 2 wickidnessis han departid bitwixe 3ou and 3oure God, and 3oure synnes han hid his face fro 3ou, that he^b schulde not here. For whi 3oure hondis ben defoulid with 3 blood, and 3oure fyngris with wickid- nesse; 3oure lippis spaken leesyng, and 3oure tunge spekith wickidnesse. Noon 4 is^c, that clepith riztfulnesse to help, and noon is, that demeth verili; but thei tristen in noujt, and speken vanytees;

^w be maad AGHK. ^x failen not C pr. m. E pr. m. ^y Om. AGHK. ^a Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. AK sec. m.
^b the erthe AGHK. ^c Y schal AGHK. ^d greggid A. ^e wickenesses E. ^f betwene AEGHK. ^g wickenesse E.
^h wickidnes AGHK.

^y that that CFH sec. m. IKMNR SUVX.
^c ther is I.

^z soule, ether thi wille I.

^a Om. ceteri.

^b 3e NVX.

spoken vanytees; thei conceyueden tra-
 5 uaille, and beeren wickidnesseⁱ. The eiren
 of edderes thei to-breeken^k, and the web-
 bis of an^l attercop^m thei wouenⁿ; who
 shal eten of the eiren of hem, shal dien,
 and that is hacchid, shal breken out in to
 6 a cokatrice. The webbis of hem shul not
 ben in to clothing, ne thei shuln ben co-
 nered with ther werkis; the werkus of
 hem werkus vnprofitable, and the werc of
 7 wickydneseⁿⁿ in ther hondus. The feet
 of them to euel rennen, and heezen, that
 thei sheden out innocent blod; the thoztus
 of them thoztus vnprofitable; wastite^o and
 8 to-treding^{oo} in the weies of hem. The
 weie of pes thei knewen not, and ther
 ys not dom in the goyngus of hem; the
 pathis of them inbowid ben to them;
 eche that tredeth in them, vnknowith pes.
 9 For that longid oute is fro vs dom, and
 shal not take vs riztwisnesse; wee han
 biden list, and lo! dercnessis; shynyng,
 10 and in dercnesses wee han^p gon. Wee han
 gropid as blinde men the wall, and as
 withoute ejen wee han felid; wee han
 stumblid in mydday, as in dercnesses, in^q
 11 mysti thingus, as deade. Wee shul roren
 as beres alle, and as culueres bethenkende
 wee shul weilen; wee han biden dom,
 and ther is not; helthe, and it is longid
 12 awei fro vs. Multeplied ben forsothe oure
 wickenesses^r bifor thee, and oure synnes
 answerden to vs; for oure hidous giltes
 with vs, and oure wickenesses^r wee han
 13 knowen, to synnen, and to lien azen the
 Lord. And wee ben turned awei, that wee
 go not bihynde the bac of oure God, that
 wee speke wrong^s chalenge, and trespass-
 ing. Wee conceyueden^t, and speeken of
 14 herte wrdys of lesing; and turned is
 backward dom, and riztwisnesse aferr stod;
 for fallen hath in the strete treuthe, and
 15 equyte myzte not gon^u in. For maad is

thei conseyueden trauel, and childiden
 wickidnesse. Thei han broke eiren of^s
 snakis, and maden webbis of an yreyn;
 he that etith of the eiren of hem, schal
 die, and that that is^d nurschid, *ether*
brouzt forth^e, schal breke out in to a
 cocatrice. The webbis of hem schulen⁶
 not be in to cloth, nethir thei schulen be
 hilid with^f her werkis; the werkis of hem
ben vnprofitable werkis, and the werk of
 wickidnesse *is* in the hondis of hem. The⁷
 feet of hem rennen to yuel, and haasten to
 schede out innocent blood; the thouztis of
 hem *ben* vnprofitable thouztis; distriyng
 and defouling *ben* in the weies of hem.
 Thei knewen not the weie of pees, and⁸
 doom is not in the goyngis of hem; the
 pathis of hem ben bowid to hem; ech
 that tredith in tho, knowith not pees.
 Therfor doom is made fer fro vs, and⁹
 riztfulness schal not take vs; we abid-
 iden^g list, and lo! derknessis *ben^h*; *we*
abididenⁱ schynyng, and we zeden in
 derknessis. We gropiden as blynde men¹⁰
 the wal, and we as with outen izen touch-
 iden; we stumbliden in myddai, as in
 derknessis, in derk places, as deed men.
 Alle we schulen rore as beeris, and we¹¹
 schulen weile thenkyng as culueris; we
 abididen^k doom, and noon is^l; *we abid-*
iden^l helthe, and it is maad fer fro vs.
 For whi oure wickidnessis^m ben multiplied¹²
 bifore thee, and oure synnes answeriden
 to vs; for our grete trespassis *ben* with vs,
 and we knewen oure wickidnessis, to do¹³
 synne, and to lie azens the Lord. And we
 ben turned awei, that we zeden not aftir^{mm}
 the bak of oure Godⁿ, that we speken fals
 caleng, and trespassyng. We conseyueden,
 and spaken of herte wordis of leesyng;
 and doom was turned abak, and riztful-¹⁴
 nesse stood fer; for whi treuthe felle down
 in the street, and equiteⁿⁿ mizt not entre.

ⁱ wickenesse E. ^k breken A. ^l Om. AE pr. m. GHK. ^m attircoppis A. ⁿ weueden AEGHK. ⁿⁿ wicke-
 nesse E. ^o waastid K. ^{oo} to-treden K. ^p Om. E pr. m. ^q and in E pr. m. ^r wickidnessis AGHK.
^s Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. ^t conseyuen A. ^u entre AGHK.

^d was I. ^e or hacchid x sec. m. marg. ^f in to N. ^g aboodin EP. abiden GS. ^h ther ben I.
ⁱ abooden EP. abiden N. ^k abooden EP. abiden GNS. ^l ther is I. ^{ll} abooden EP. abiden N. ^m wit-
 nessis N. ^{mm} bihynde A pr. m. ⁿ Lord A pr. m. ⁿⁿ equyte, *ether euenesse* CFGHKMNQRSUVX. *equitee*,
ether euenhede EPY.

treuthe in to forȝeting, and he that wente
aweī fro euēl, to prei was open. And the
Lord saȝ, and euēl aperede in his eȝen,
16 for ther is not dom. And God saȝ, for
ther is not a man, and sorewede, for ther
is not that aȝeen come. And he^v shal
saue to hym his arm, and his riȝtwisnesse
17 it shal confermen hym. 'He is^w clad^x
with riȝtwisnesse as with an habirioun,
and the helm of helthe in his hed; 'he
is^y clad^z with the clothingus of veniaunce,
and^a couered with the mantil of ielouste.
18 So to veniaunce as to ȝeelding of indig-
nacioun to his ferr enemys, and while to
his nyȝ enemys, to the ilis while he shal
19 ȝelde. And dreden shul that ben fro the
west the name of the Lord, and that fro
the rising of the sunne his glorie; whan
he shal come as a violent flod, whom the
20 spirit of the Lord constreyneth. And
comen shal the aȝeenbiere of Sion, and to
them that turnen aȝeen fro wickidnesse^b
21 in Jacob, seith the Lord. This my pes
couenaunt with them, seith the Lord;
My spirit that is in thee, and my wrdus
that I 'haue set^c in thi mouth shul not
gon aweī fro thi mouth, and fro the
mouth of thi sēd, seith^d the Lord, fro
now and vnto^e euermore.

CAP. LX.

1 Rys, be thou liȝtid, Jerusalem, for
comen is thi liȝt, and the glorie of the
2 Lord vp on thee is sprunge. For lo!
derknesses shul coueren the erthe, and
mystinesse puples; vp on thee forsothe
shal springe the Lord, and his glorie in
3 thee shal be seen. And gon shul Gen-
tiles in thi liȝt, and kingus in the shyn-
4 yng of thi rising. Rere in cumpas thin
eȝen, and see; alle these ben gedered to-
gidere, camen to thee; thi sonis fro afferr

And treuthe was maad in to forȝetyng,¹⁵
and he that ȝede aweī fro yuel, was opyn
to robbyng^o. And the Lord siȝ, and it ap-
peride yuel in hise iȝen, for ther is no
doom. And God siȝ, that a man is not,¹⁶
and he was angwischild, for noon is^p that
renneth to. And his arm schal saue to hym
silf, and his riȝtfulnesse it silf schal con-
ferme hym. He is clothid with riȝtful-¹⁷
nesse as with an harburioun, and the
helm of helthe *is* in his heed; he is
clothid with clothis of veniaunce, and he
is hilid as with a^q mentil of feruent
worchyng. As to veniaunce, as to ȝeld-¹⁸
yng of indignacioun to hise enuemyes, and
to quityng of tyme to hise aduersaries, he
shal ȝelde while to ylis. And thei that¹⁹
ben at the west, schulen drede the name
of the Lord, and thei that ben at the
rising of the sunne, *schulen drede* the
glorie of hym; whanne he schal come as
a violent flood, whom the spirit of the
Lord compellith. Whan aȝen biere schal²⁰
come to Syon, and to hem that goen aȝen
fro wickidnesse in Jacob, seith the Lord.
This *is* my boond of pees with hem, seith²¹
the Lord; My spirit which is in thee,
and my wordis whiche Y haue set in thi
mouth, schulen not go aweī fro thi mouth,
and fro the mouth of thi seed, seith the
Lord, fro hennus forth and til into with
outen ende.

CAP. LX.

Rise thou, Jerusalem, be thou liȝtned,¹
for thi liȝt is comun, and the glorie of the
Lord is risun on thee. For lo! derknessis²
schulen hile the erthe, and myist *schal*
hile puplis; but the Lord schal rise on thee,
and his glorie schal be seyn in thee. And³
hethene men schulen go in thi liȝt, and
kyngis '*schulen go*' in the schynyng of
thi risyng. Reise thin iȝen in cumpas,⁴
and se; alle these men ben gaderid togi-
dere, thei ben comun to thee; thi sonis

^v Om. G *pr. m.* H. ^w Om. E *pr. m.* ^x clothid AGEK. ^y Om. E *pr. m.* ^z clothid AEGHK. ^a and
he is E *pr. m.* ^b wickenesse E. ^c settede E *pr. m.* ^d seide CE. ^e in to K.

^o prei, *ether robbinge* CEFHGKMNPQRSUVXY. ^p ther is I. ^q Om. FNS. ^r Om. I.

shul come, and thi do3tris fro a syde shul
 5 rise. Thanne thou shalt seen, and haue^f
 plente; and merueilen, and ben spred
 abroad shal thin herte, whan conuertid
 shal be to thee the multitude of the se,
 the strengthe of Jentiles shal come to
 6 thee; the flowyng of camailes shal couere
 thee, dromedaries of^g Madian and Effa;
 alle fro Saba shul come, gold and encens
 bringende^h, and preising to the Lord
 7 tellende. Eche beste of Cedar shal be
 gedered to thee, wetheres of Nabaioth
 shuln serue to thee; thei shul ben offrid
 vpon my plesable auter, and the hous of
 8 my mageste I shal glorifienⁱ. Who ben
 these, that as cloudus fleen, and as cul-
 9 ueres to ther wyndowes? Me forsothe
 abijden iles, and shipes of the se in the
 bigynnyng; that I bringe thi sonus fro
 aferr, the seluer of them, and the gold
 of hem with them, to the name of the
 Lord thi God, and to the hoeli of Irael;
 10 for he shal glorifien thee. And bilden
 shul sonus of pilgrimes thi wallis, and
 the kingus of hem serue shul to thee. In
 myn indignacioun forsothe I smot thee,
 and in my recounsiling I hadde reuthe of
 11 thee. And opened^k shul be thi 3ates con-
 tynueli, dai and ny3t thei shul not be
 closid; that born be to thee the strengthe
 of Jentilis, and the kingus of them be lad
 12 to. Forsothe the folc of kinde and reume
 that shal not serue to thee, shal pershe,
 and Jentiles in wilderness shul be wastid.
 13 The glorie of Liban to thee shal come,
 the^l fyrr tree, and box, and pyne tree to-
 gidere, to enourne^m the place of myn ha-
 lewyng; and the place of my feet I shal
 14 glorifien. And come shul to thee the
 sonus of hem bowid, that mekeden thee,
 and honoure shul the steppis of thi feet,
 alle that bacbitedenⁿ to^o thee; and clepen
 shul thee The cite of the Lord, Sion of
 15 the hoeli of Irael. Forthi that thou
 were forsaken, and to hate had, and ther

schulen come fro fer, and thi dou3tris
 schulen rise fro the side. Thanne thou^s
 schalt se, and schalt flowe; and thin herte
 schal wondre, and schal be alargid, whanne
 the multitude of the see is conuertid to
 thee, the strengthe of hethene men is
 comun to thee; the flowyng of camels⁶
 schal hile thee, the lederis of dromedis of
 Madian and of Effa^s; alle men of Saba
 schulen come, bryngyng gold and en-
 cense, and tellynge heriyng to the Lord.
 Ech scheep^t of Cedar schal be gaderid⁷
 to thee, the rammes of Nabaioth schulen
 mynystre to thee; thei schulen be offrid
 on myn acceptable^u auter, and Y schal
 glorifie the hous of my maieste. Who ben⁸
 these, that fleen as cloudis, and as culueris
 at her wyndowis? Forsothe ilis abiden⁹
 me, and the schippis of the see in the
 bigynnyng; that Y brynge thi sonus fro
 fer, the siluer of hem, and the gold of
 hem *is* with hem, to the name of thi Lord
 God, and to the hooli of Israel; for he
 schal glorifie thee. And the sonus of pil-
 10 grymes schulen bilde thi wallis, and the
 kyngis of hem schulen mynystre to thee.
 For Y smoot thee in myn indignacioun,
 and in my recounselyng Y hadde merci
 on thee. And thi 3atis schulen be openyd¹¹
 contynueli, day and ny3t tho schulen not
 be closid; that the strengthe of hethene
 men be brou3t to thee, and the kyngis of
 hem be brou3t. For whi the folk and¹²
 rewme that serueth not thee, schal pe-
 rische, and hethene men schulen be dis-
 tried bi wildirnesse. The glorie of the¹³
 Liban schal come to thee, a fir tre, and
 box tre, and pyne appil tre togidere, to
 ourne^v the place of myn halewyng; and Y
 schal glorifie the place of my feet. And¹⁴
 the sonus of hem that maden thee lowe,
 schulen come lowe to thee, and alle that
 bacbitiden thee, schulen worschipe the
 steppis of thi feet; and^w schulen clepe thee
 A citee of the Lord of Sion, of the hooli

^f ha c. ^g Om. E pr. m. ^h bringen AG pr. m. HK. ⁱ glorien K sec. m. ^k open K. ^l and the AGHK.
^m honourennen E pr. m. ⁿ bacbiten E pr. m. ^o Om. A.

^s Effra EF. ^t beest I. ^u quemeful, ether acceptable CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^v onour A pr. m.
^w and thei I.

was not that bi thee shulde passe, I
shal putte thee in to the pride of worldus,
io3e in ieneracioun and ieneracioun. And
16 thou shalt souke the mylc of Jentiles,
and with the tete of kingis thou shalt be
mylkid^q; and thou shalt wite for I the
Lord, sauende thee, and thin a3een biere,
17 the strong of Jacob. For metal^r I shal
bringe to gold, and for iren I shal bringe
to seluer; and for trees metal, and for
stones iren; and I shal putte thi visitinge
18 pes, and thi prouostes riztwisnesse. Ther
shal no mor ben herd wickidnesse^s in thi
lond, ne wastite and to-treding in thi
termes; and ocupie shal helthe thi wallis,
19 and thi 3ates preising. Ther shal ben no
more to thee the sunne to lizten bi dai,
ne the shynyng of the moone lizten shal
thee; but shal be to thee the Lord 'in to^t
euerlastende lizt, and thi God in to thi
20 glorie. Go down no mor shal thy^u sunne,
and thi^u moone shal not be mynusht; for
the Lord shal be in to euerlastende lizt,
and fulfild shul be the dazes of thi weil-
21 ing. Thi puple forsothe alle riztwise, in
to euermor thei shul eritagen the erthe,
buriownyng of my plaunting, were of
22 myn hond to glorien. The leste shal be
in to a thousand, and the litle child in
to a^v folc of kinde most strong. I, the
Lord, in his tyme sodeynli shal do this.

CAP. LXI

1 The spirit of the Lord vp on me, for
that enoyntede me the Lord; to tellen
out to debonere men he sente me, that I
shulde leche the contrit men in herte,
and prechen to caitif men for3yuenesse,
2 and to closid men openyng; and prechen a
3er plesable to the Lord, and a dai of ven-
iaunce to oure God; that I shulde coum-
3forten alle weilende men; that I shulde

of Israel. For that that thou were for-15
sakun, and hatid, and noon was that
passide bi thee, Y schal sette thee in to
pryde^w of worldis, ioie in generacioun and
in to generacioun. And thou schalt souke 16
the mylke of folkis, and thou schalt be
sclid with the tete of kyngis; and thou
schalt wite that Y *am* the Lord, sauynge
thee, and thin a3en biere, the stronge of
Jacob. For bras Y schal brynge gold, and 17
for irun Y schal brynge siluer; and bras
for trees, and yrun for stoonys; and Y
schal sette thi visitacioun pees, and thi
prelatis^x riztfulnesse. Wickidnesse schal no 18
more be herd in thi lond, nether distriyng
and defoulyng in thi coostis; and helthe
schal ocupie thi wallis, and heriying *schal*
ocupie thi 3atis. The sunne schal no more 19
be to thee for to schyne bi dai, nether
the brijtnesse of the moone schal liztne
thee; but the Lord schal be in to euerlast-
yng lizt to thee, and thi God *schal be* in
to thi glorie. Thi sunne schal no more 20
go down, and thi moone schal not be de-
creessid; for the Lord schal be in to euer-
lastyng lizt to thee, and the daies of thi
mourenyng schulen be fillid. Forsothe 21
thi puple alle iust men, withouten ende
schulen enherite the lond, the seed of my
plauntyng, the werk of myn hond for to
be glorified. The leeste schal be in to a 22
thousynde, and a litil man *schal be* in to
a ful stronge folk. Y, the Lord, schal make
this thing sudenli, in the tyme therof.

CAP. LXI.

The spirit of the Lord *is* on me, for 1
the Lord anoyntide me; he sente me to
telle to mylde men, that Y schulde heele
men contrite in herte, and preche for3yue-
nesse to caitifs, and openyng to prisoneris;
and preche a plesaunt 3eer to the Lord, 2
and a dai of veniaunce to oure God; that
Y schulde coumforte alle that mourenen;
that^y Y schulde sette coumfort to thes

^q nurischid with mylke *E sec. m. AGHK.* ^r the metal *E pr. m.* ^s wickenesse *E.* ^t in *K.* ^u the *A.*
^v Om. *AH.*

^w pryde, that is, glorie and honour *CEGIKNPQSUVXY.* ^x prelatis, ether souereins *K.* ^y and that *N.*

putte coumforting to the weilende men of Sion, and 3yue to them a crowne for askes^w, oile of io3e for weiling, a mantil of preising for the spirit of mcrnyng. And ther shul be clepid in it stronge men of ríztwísnesse, plaunting of the Lord to glorífiē. And thei shul bilden vp the desertus fro the world, and olde fallingus thei shul rere^x, and thei shul restore cites forsaken and scatered, in to ieneracioun and ieneracioun. And stonde shul alienus, and fede 3oure bestus; and the sonus of pilgrimes erthe tilieres and 3oure vynes wercheres shul be. 3ee forsothe prestus of the Lord shul ben clepid; Seruauns of 3oure God, it shal ben seid to 3ou. The strengthe of Jentiles 3ee shuln ete, and in the glorie of them 3ee shul ben proud. For 3oure double confusioun and shame preise shul thei ther part; for that in ther lond double fold thingus thei shul welden, euermor gladnesse shal be to them. For I the Lord, louende dom, and to hate hauende raueyn in to brent sacrificise. And I shal 3yue the werk of hem in treuthe, and pes couenaunt 'euere durende^y I shal smyte with them. And shal^z be wist^a in Jentilis the sed of hem, and the buriownyng of them in the myddel of puples. Alle that shul seen hem, shul knowe them, for these ben the sed, to whom blisside the Lord. Io3ende I shal io3en in the Lord, and ful out io3en shal my soule in my God. For he clothide me with the clothing of helthe, and with the clothing of ríztwísnesse he cumpassede me, as an husbonde wrshipid^b with a crowne, and as a wif enourned with hir broches. As forsothe the erthe bringeth forth his buriownyng, and as a gardyn his sed buriowneth, so the Lord God shal buriowne ríztwísnesse, and preising bifor alle folc of kinde.

mourenenis of Sion, and that Y schulde 3yue to them a coroun for aische, oile of ioie for mourenyng, a mentil of preysyng for the spirit of weilyng. And stronge men of ríztfulnesse schulen be clepid ther ynne, the plauntyng of the Lord for to glorífiē. And thei schulen bilde thingis *'that ben^z* forsakun fro the world, and thei schulen reise elde fallyngis, and thei schulen restore citees *'that ben^a* forsakun and distried, in generacioun and in to generacioun. And aliens schulen stonde, and fede 3oure beestis; and the sonus of pilgrymes schulen be 3oure erthe tilieris and vyn tilieris. But 3e schulen be clepid the preestis of the Lord; it schal be seid to 3ou, *3e ben* mynystris of oure God. 3e schulen ete the strengthe of hethene men, and 3e schulen be onourid in the glorie of hem. For 3oure double schenschip and schame thei schulen preise the part of hem; for this thing thei schulen haue pesibli double thingis in her lond, and euerlastyng gladnesse schal be to hem. For *Y am* the Lord, louynge doom, and hatyng raueyn in brent sacrifice. And Y schal 3yue the werk of hem in treuthe, and Y schal smyte to hem an euerlastyng boond of pees. And the seed of hem schal be knowun among folkis, and the buriownyng of hem in the myddis of puplis. Alle men that seen hem, schulen knowe hem, for these ben the seed, whom the Lord blesside. Ioie schal haue ioie in the Lord, and my soule schal make ful out ioie in my God. For he hath clothid me with clothis of helthe, and he hath compassid me with clothis of ríztfulnesse, as a spouse made feir with a coroun, and as a spousesse ourned with her brochis. For as the erthe bryngith forth his fruyt, and as a gardyn buriowneth his seed, so the Lord God schal make to growe ríztfulnesse, and preysyng bifore alle folkis.

^w asken AEGHK. ^x arere AEGHK. ^y enduryng K. ^z I shal K sec. m. ^a Om. E pr. m. ^b honourid E pr. m.

^z Om. ceteri.

^a Om. ceteri.

CAP. LXII.

1 For Sion I shal not be stille, and for
Jerusalem I shal not resten, to the tyme
that go out as shynying the ríztwis of
hym, and his saueour as a laumpe be
2 tend. And seen shul Jentiles thi ríztwis,
and alle kingus thi noble; and clepid shal
be to thee a newe name, that the mouth
3 of the Lord nemnede. And thou shalt
be a crowne of glorie in the hond of the
Lord, and a diademe of the rewme in the
4 hond of thi God. Thou shalt not^c more
be clepid forsakun, and thi lond shal no
mor be clepid desolat; but thou shalt be
clepid My wil in it, and thi lond shal
ben enhabitid; for it plesede to the Lord
in thee, and thi lond shal ben enhabited.
5 Dwelle forsothe shal the zunge man with
the maide^d, and dwelle shuln in thee thi
sonus; and iozen shal the husbonde vp on
the wif, and iozen vp on thee shal thi
6 God. Vp on thi wallis, Jerusalem, I
sette keperes, al dai and al nýzt euermor
thei shul not be stille. 3ee that remem-
7 bren the Lord, ne beth stille, and ne
zyueth scilence to hym, to the tyme that
he stablishe, and to the tyme that he
sette Jerusalem preising in the erthe.
8 The Lord swor in his rízhond and in
the arm of his strengthe, I shal not
zyuen thi^e whete more in to mete to thin
enemys, and drinke shul not alien sonus
thi wyn, in whiche thou trauailedist.
9 For thei that shul gederen it^f, shuln ete,
and preise the Lord; and that 'with
bern^g it, shul drinken in myn hoeli
10 porches. Passeth, passeth thur3 the 3ates;
greitheth weie to puple^h, pleyn maketh
the goyng; and gedereth awei the stones,
11 and rereth vp a tocne to puples. Lo!
the Lord herd made in the vtmostusⁱ of
erthe^k. Seith to the dozter of Sion, Lo!
thi saueour cometh; lo! his meede with

CAP. LXII.

For Sion Y schal not be stille, and for
Jerusalem Y schal not reste, til the iust
man therof go out as schynying, and the
sauyours therof be teendid^b as a laumpe.
And hethene men schulen se thi iust *man*,²
and alle kyngis schulen se thi noble *man*;
and^c a newe name, which the mouth of
the Lord nemyde, schal be clepid to thee.
And thou schalt be a coroun of glorie in³
the hond of the Lord, and a diademe of
the^d rewme in the hond of thi God. Thou⁴
schalt no more be clepid forsakun, and thi
lond schal no more be clepid desolat; but
thou schalt be clepid My wille in that,
and thi lond schal be enhabitid; for it
plesid the Lord in thee, and thi lond schal
be enhabited. For a zong man schal⁵
dwelle with a virgyn, and thi sonus schul-
len dwelle in thee; and the spouse schal
haue ioie on the spousesse, and thi God
schal haue ioie on thee. Jerusalem, Y⁶
haue ordeyned keperis on thi wallis, al dai
and al nýzt with outen ende thei schulen
not be stille. 3e that thenken on the Lord,
be^e not stille, and zyue 3e not silence to⁷
him, til he stablische, and til he sette Je-
rusalem 'preisyng in erthe^{ee}. The Lord⁸
swoor in his rízt hond and in the arm of
his strengthe, Y schal no more zyue thi
wheete mete to thin enemyes, and alien
sonus schuln not drynke thi wyn, in
which thou hast trauelid. For thei that⁹
schulen gadere it togidere, schulen ete *it*,
and schulen herie the Lord; and thei that
beren it togidere, schulen drynke in myn
hooli hallis^f. Passe 3e, passe 3e bi the¹⁰
3atis; make 3e redi weie to the puple,
make 3e a playn path; and chese 3e
stoonys, and reise 3e a signe to pupilis.
Lo! the Lord made herd in the laste partis¹¹
of the^g erthe. Seie 3e to the douztir of
Sion, Lo! thi sauour cometh; lo! his

^c no AEGHK. ^d mayden AEG pr. m. HK. virgine G sec. m. ^e my E pr. m. ^f Om. AGHK. ^g togidir
beren AE sec. m. GHK. ^h the puple AGHK. the Lord E pr. m. ⁱ vttermoostis AGHK. ^k the erthe AGHK.

^b tend I. teendid therof s. ^c Om. NS. ^d Om. CEF GHIMNPQRSU. ^e beth I. ^{ee} Om. N. ^f forzerdis
CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^g Om. ceteri.

12 hym, and his were biforn hym. And thei shul clepen hem an hoeli puple, a3eenbo3t of the Lord. Thou forsothe shalt be clepid a so3t cite, and not forsaken.

CAP. LXIII.

1 Who is this that cam¹ fro Edom, with steyned clothis fro Bosra? this shapli in his stole, goende in the multitude of his vertue? I that speke ri3twisnesse, and a 2 forfy3tere am to sauē. Why thanne red is thi clothing? and thi clothis^m as of men 3 tredende in the presse? The presse I trad alone, and of the folc of kinde ther is not a man with me; Y trad hem in my wodnesse, and togedere trad hem in my wrathe; and sprengd is the blod of hem vp on my clothis, and alle my cloth- 4 ingus I defoulid. Dai forsothe of veniaunce in myn herte, 3er of my 3elding 5 cam. I beheeld aboute, and ther was not an helpere; I so3te, and ther was not that halp; and myn 'arm sauede to me, and myn indignacioun itselfⁿ halp to^o 6 me. And I al to-trad puples in my wodnesse; and I druinknede them in myn indignacioun, and dro3 down the vertue 7 of them into erthe. Of the mercy do- yngus of the Lord I shal recorden, the preising of the Lord vp on alle thingus that 3eeld^p to vs the Lord, and vp on the multitude of the^a goodis to the hous of Israel, the whiche he largeli 3af to them after his for3yuenesse, and aftir the mul- 8 titude of his^r mercies. And he seide, Nerthelaterē 'my puple is, sonus^a not denyende, and^t mad is to them a saueour. 9 In alle the tribulacioun of hem he is not trublid, and the aungil of his face sauede hemⁿ. In his loue and in his indulgence he a3een bo3te them, and bar hem^v, and rerede them alle the dā3es of the world.

meede *is* with hym, and his werk *is* bifore hym. And thei schulen clepe hem the¹² hooli puple, a3enbou3t of the Lord. Forsothe thou schalt be clepid a citee sou3t, and not forsakun.

CAP. LXIII.

Who is this that cometh fro Edom, in 1 died clothis fro Bosra? this fair *man* in his 'long cloth¹, goyngē in the multitude of his vertu? Y that speke ri3tfulnesse, and am a forfi3tere for to saue. Whi² therfor is thi clothing reed? and thi clothis *ben^k* as of men stampyngē¹ in a pressour? Y aloone stampide the presse, and of 3 folkis^m no man isⁿ with me; Y stampide hem in my stronge veniaunce, and Y defoulide hem in my wraththe; and her blood is spreynt on my clothis, and Y made foul alle my clothis. For whi a dai of 4 veniaunce *is* in myn herte, and the 3eer of my 3eldyng cometh. I lokide aboute, 5 and noon helpere was; Y sou3te, and noon was that helpide; and myn arm sauide to me, and myn indignacioun, that help- 6 ide me. And Y defoulide puplis in my 6 stronge veniaunce; and Y made hem drunkun in myn indignacioun, and Y drow down her vertu in to ertheⁿⁿ. I schal 7 haue mynde on the merciful doyngis of the Lord, *Y schal preche* the heriyng of the Lord on alle thingis whiche the Lord 8 zeldide to vs, and on^o the multitude 'of goodis^p of the hous of Israel, whiche he 3af to hem bi his for3yuenesse, and bi the multitude of hise mercies. And *the Lord*⁸ seide, Netheles it is my puple, sones not denyngē, and he was maad a sauyour to hem in al the tribulacioun of hem. It 9 was not^q set in tribulacioun, and the aungel of his face sauide hem. In his loue and in his for3yuenesse he a3enbou3te hem, and he bar hem, and reside hem in alle

¹ cometh *E pr. m.* ^m clothinge *AK.* clothinges *G sec. m.* ⁿ indignacioun sauede to me, myn arm and it *AE pr. m. G pr. m. HK.* aarm sauede to me, and myn indignacioun it *G sec. m.* ^o Om. *c pr. m. K.* ^p hath 3eeldide *A.* hath 3eld *E sec. m. GHK.* ^q Om. *AE GHK.* ^r Om. *G pr. m. H.* ^s my sones peple is *G pr. m. H.* ^t Om. *E pr. m.* ^u hym *K pr. m.* ^v Om. *c pr. m.*

¹ stole, *ether long cloth C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U V X Y.* ^k Om. *ceteri.* ^l stappinge *N.* ^m folkis, *ether Gentilis 1.* ⁿ is, *ether was 1.* ⁿⁿ the erthe *A pr. m.* ^o Om. *1.* ^p Om. *A pr. m.* ^q Om. *1.*

10 Thei forsothe to wrathe terreden^w, and
tormenteden the spirit of his hoeli; and
turned he is to them in to enemy, and
11 he fast them down. And he recordide
of the daies of the world, of Moises, and
of his puple. Wher is, that ladde them
out fro the se, with the shepperdis of his
floc? Where is, that sette in his myddel
12 the spirit of his hoeli; that ladde oute at
the riȝtside Moisen^x in the arm of his
mageste? that kutte watris bifor them,
that he make to hym a name euere dur-
13 ende; that ladde out them bi water
depthis, as an hors in desert not fallende,
14 as a beste in the feeld goende down?
The Spirit of the Lord his ledere was;
so thou broȝtist to thi puple, that thou
15 make to thee a name of glorie. Loke
to fro heuene, and see fro thin hoely
dwelling, and fro the se of thi glorie.
Wher is thin inward loue, and thi
strengthe, multitude of thi boweles, and
of thi mercy doynge? Vp on me thei
16 withheelden hem. Thou forsothe oure
fader, and Abraham kneȝ not vs, and
17 Irael vnkneȝ vs. Thou, Lord, oure fader,
and oure aȝeenbiere; fro the world thi
name. Whi to erren vs thou madist, Lord,
fro thi weies? thou hardedist oure herte,
that wee dredde not thee? be turned, for
18 thi seruauens, lynages of thin eritage. As
noȝt thei weldedden thin hoeli puple, and
oure enemys al to-treedden thin halewyng.
19 Wee ben maad as in the bigynnyng,
whan thou lordshippedist not of vs, ne
inwardli was clepid thi name vp on vs.

CAP. LXIV.

1 Wolde God thou shuldist to-breke he-
uenus, and comen down, fro thi face hillis
2 shulden flowe down, as out brennyng of
fyr they shulden vanshe awei, watris
shulden brenne with fyr; that knowen

daies of the world. Forsothe thei excit-10
iden hym^p to wrathfulnesse, and turment-
iden the spirit of his hooli; and he was
turned in to an enemye to hem, and he
ouercam hem in batel. And he hadde11
mynde on the daies of the world, of Moi-
ses, and of his puple. Where is he, that
ledde hem out of the see, with the scheep-
herdis of his floc? Where is he, that set-
tide the spirit of his holi in the myddil
therof; whiche ledde out Moises to the12
riȝt half in the arm of his maieste? which
departide watris bfore hem, that he
schulde make to hym silf a name euer-
lastynge; whiche ledde hem out thorū13
depthis of watris, as an hors not stum-
blynge in desert, as a beeste goynge down14
in the feeld? The Spirit of the Lord was
the ledere therof; so thou leddist thi puple,
that thou madist to thee a name of glorie.
Biholde thou fro heuene, and se fro thin15
hooli dwellyng place, and fro the seete of
thi glorie. Where is thi feruent loue,
and thi strengthe, the multitude of thin
entailis, and of thi merciful doynge?16
Tho^q withhelden hem silf on me. Forsothe16
thou art oure fadir, and Abraham knew
not vs, and Israel knew not vs. Thou, Lord,17
art oure fadir, and oure aȝeenbiere; thi name
is fro the world. Lord, whi hast thou
maad vs to erre fro thi weies? thou hast
made hard oure herte, that we dreden
not thee? be thou conuertid, for thi ser-
uauentis, the lynages of thin eritage. Thei18
hadden as nouȝt thin hooli puple in pos-
sessioun, and oure enemyes defouliden thin
halewyng. We ben maad as in the bi-19
gynnyng, whanne thou were not Lord of
vs, nethir thi name was clepid to help on
vs.

CAP. LXIV.

I wolde that thou brakist heuenes, and1
camest down, that hillis fletiden awei fro
thi face, and failiden as brennyng^r of fier,2
and brente in fier; that thi name were made
knowun to thin enemyes, and folkis weren

^w terreden hym *E pr. m.* ^x of Moises *E pr. m.*^p Om. 1. ^q Thei N. ^r the brennyng C E F G H K M N P Q R S U V X.

were maad thi name to thin enemys, fro
thi face Jentilis shulden ben disturbid.
3 Whan thou shalt do merueiles, wee shuln
not sustene. Thou descendedest, and fro
4 thi face mounteynes floweden^y down. Fro
the world thei herden not, ne with eres
parceyueden; the eze saz not, thou God,
withouten thee, what thingus thou hast
5 mad redi to men abidende thee. Thou
aȝen came to the gladere, and to the
doende riȝtwisnesse; in thi weies^z thei
shul recorden of thee. Lo! thou wrath-
edist, and wee han synned; in hem wee
weren euermor, and wee shul ben saaf.
6 And wee ben mad as vnclene, alle wee;
as^a the cloth of the womman roten blod
flowende, alle oure riȝtwisnesses; and
wee fellen as a leef alle, and oure wickid-
7 nesses^b as wind token awei vs. Ther is
not, that inwardly clepe thi name, that
rise, and holde thee; thou hast hid thi
face fro vs, and thou hast hurtlid vs in
8 the hond of oure wickidnesse^c. And
now, Lord, oure fader thou art; wee
forsothe clei, and oure makere thou, and
9 the werkus of thin hondus, alle wee. Ne
wrathe thou, Lord, ynouȝ, and no more
haue thou mynde of oure wickidnesse^c.
10 Lo! Lord, bihold, thi puple alle wee. The
cite of thin^{ce} hoeli mad is desert^d Sion,
11 desert mad is Jerusalem, desolat is^e the
hous of oure halewing and of oure glo-
rie, where preiseden thee oure fadris,
mad is in out brennyng of fyr; and alle
oure^f desirable thingus ben turned in to
12 fallingus. Whether vp on these thingus
thou shalt withholden thee, Lord? stille
shalt thou be, and tormenten vs hugeli?
1 Thei soȝten me, that biforn askeden not;
thei founden that soȝten not me.

CAP. LXV.

I seide, Lo! I, lo! Y, to the Jentilis that
knewe not me, and that inwardli clep-
2 eden not my name. I spredde out myn

disturblid of thi face. Whanne thou schalt 3
do merueils, we schulen not abide. Thou
camest down, and hillis fletiden awei fro thi
face. Fro the world thei herden not, nethir 4
perseyueden with eeris; God, non iȝe siȝ,
withouten thee, what thingis thou hast
maad redi to hem that abiden thee. Thou 5
mettist hym that is glad, and doith riȝt-
fulnesse; in thi weies thei schulen bi-
thenke on thee. Lo! thou art wrooth,
and we synned; in tho synnes we weren
euere, and we schulen be saued. And 6
alle we ben maad as an^r vnclene man;
alle oure riȝtfulnessis *ben* as the cloth of
a womman in vnclene^a blood; and alle we
fellen down as a leef, and our wickid-
nessis as wynd han take awei vs. Noon 7
is, that clepith thi name to help, that
risith, and holdith thee; thou hast hid
thi face fro vs, and thou hast hurtlid
down vs in the hond of oure wickidnesse.
And now, Lord, thou art oure fadir; for- 8
sothe we *ben* cley, and thou *art* oure
maker, and alle we *ben* the werkis of
thin hondis. Lord, be thou not wrooth 9
ynow, and haue thou no more mynde on
oure wickidnesse. Lo! Lord, biholde
thou, alle we *ben* thi puple. The citee 10
of thi seyntuarie^t is forsakun, Sion is
maad deseert, Jerusalem isⁿ desolat; the 11
hous of oure halewyng and of oure glorie,
where oure fadris herieden thee, is maad
in to brennyng of fier; and alle oure de-
sirable thingis ben turned in to fallyngis.
Lord, whether on these thingis thou schalt 12
witholde thee? schalt thou be stille, and
schalt thou turmente vs greetli?

CAP. LXV.

Thei souȝten me, that axiden not bfore; 1
thei that souȝten not me, founden *me*. Y
seide, Lo! Y, lo! Y, to hethene men that
knewen not me, and that clepiden not mi
name to help. I stretchide forth myn 2

^y flowende c. ^z weie A. ^a and as AGHK. ^b wickenesses E. ^c wickenesse E. ^{ce} hym K sup. ras.
^d the desert E pr. m. ^e Om. E pr. m. ^f Om. A.

^r Om. A pr. m. ^a menstrue, or vnclene blood I.
ⁿ is maad s.

^t hooly, ether seyntuarie CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.

hondis al dai to a puple mystrouful, that
goth in a wei not good, after ther thenk-
ingus. The puple that to wrathe terreth
me, bifer my face euermor; that offren in
gardynes, and sacrificen vp on tyles; that
dwellen in sepulcris, and in wasshing
temples of mawmetis slepen; that eten
souwe flesh, and cursid broth in the ves-
seles of hem; that seyn, Go awei fro me,
neȝhe thou not to me, for thou art vn-
cleene; these smoke shul ben in my wod-
nesse, fyr^e brennende all dai. Lo! it is
write befor me; I shal not be stille, but
I shal zelde, and quyte in to the bosum
of them ther wickidnesses^h, and the wick-
idnesses^h of ȝoure fader togidere, seith
the Lord, that sacrificiden vp on moun-
teynes, and vp on hilles repreueden to
me; and I shal aȝeen mesuren the were
of hem first in the bosum of hem. These
thingus seith the Lord, What maner if
ther be founde a corn in the cluster, and
be seid, Ne scatere thou it, for blissing it
is; so I shal do for my seruauns, that I
scatere not al. And I shal leden out fro
Jacob sed, and of Juda the¹ weldende
myn hoeli mounteynes; and eritagen it
shul my chosene; and my seruauns dwelle
there. And ben shul the wilde feeldis
in to foldys of flockis, and the valei of
Achor in to the couche of droues, to my
puple that aȝeen soȝten me. And ȝee
that forsoken the Lord, that forȝeeten
myn hoely mounteyn, that putten the
bord of fortune, and offren^k licoures vp
on it, I shal noumbre ȝou in swerd, and
alle in slazter ȝee shul falle; for thi that I
clepede, and ȝee answerden not; I spac,
and ȝee herden not; and ȝee diden euel
in myn eȝen, and that I wolde not, ȝee
chosen^l. For these thingus, seith the
Lord God, lo! my seruauntis shuln ete,
and ȝee shul hungren; lo! my seruauns
shul drinke, and ȝee shul thristen; lo!
my seruauns shul gladen, and ȝee shul be

hondis al dai to a puple vnbileueful, that
goith in a weie not good, aftir her thouȝtis.
It is a puple that stirith me to wrathful-
nesse, euere bifer my face; whiche offren
in gardyns, and maken sacrifice on tiel
stoonys; whiche dwellen in sepulcris, and
slepen in the templis of idols; whiche
eten swynes fleisch, and vnhoeli iwisch^v
is in the vessels of hem; whiche seien *to*
an hethene man, Go thou awei fro me,
neȝ thou not to me, for thou art vncleene;
these schulen be smoke in my stronge
veniaunce, fier brennyng al dai. Lo! it is
writun bifer me; Y schal not be stille,
but Y schal zelde, and Y schal quyte in to
the bosum of hem ȝoure wickidnessis, and
the wickidnessis of ȝoure fadris togidere,
seith the Lord, whiche maden sacrifice on
mounteyns, and diden schenschiȝe to me
on litle hillis; and Y schal mete aȝen
the firste werk of hem in her bosum.
The Lord seith thes thingis, As if a grape
be foundun in a clustre, and it be seid,
Distrie thou not it, for it is blessing; so
Y schal do for my seruantis, that Y leese
not al. And Y schal lede out of Jacobs
seed, and of Juda a man hauynge in pos-
sessioun myn hoeli hillis; and my chosun
men schulen enherite it, and my ser-
uauntis schulen dwelle there. And the
feeldi places schulen be into floodis of
flockis, and the valei of Achar in to a
restyng place of droues of neet, to my
puple that souȝten me. And Y schal
noumbre ȝou in swerd, that forsoken the
Lord, that forȝaten myn hoeli hil, whiche
setten a boord to fortune, and maken sa-
cifice theronne, and alle ȝe schulen falle
bi sleynge; for that that Y clepide, and ȝe
answeriden not; Y spac, and ȝe herden
not; and ȝe diden yuel^w bifer myn iȝen,
and ȝe chesiden tho thingis whiche Y
nolde^x. For these thingis, the Lord God
seith these thingis, Lo! my seruauntis
schulen ete, and ȝe schulen haue hungur;

^e and fier A. ^h wickenesses E. ⁱ Om. K pr. m. ^k offreden AGHK. ^l cheseden AE sec. m. GHK.

^v iwce E. which H. iuyshe I. iwisch K text. *ether water, that swynes fleizss was sothen inne* K marg.
wisch B. fysh S. *ether broth* X sec. m. marg. ^w yuel thing I. ^x wolde not I.

confoundid; lo! my seruauns shul preise,
 for ful out iojinge of herte, and 3ee shul
 crien, for sorewe of herte, and for the to-
 15 treding doun of spirit 3ee shul zelle. And
 3ee shul leue 3oure name in to oth to my
 chosene; and sle shal thee the Lord God,
 and his seruauns he shal clepe bi an
 16 other name. In whiche who so is blissid
 vp on erthe, shal ben blissid in God
 amen; and who swerth in erthe, shal
 swern in God amen; for to forzeting
 ben take the rathere anguyshes, and^m for
 17 hid thei ben fro oure e3en. Lo! forsothe
 I shape newe heuenus and newe erthe,
 and ben shul not in mynde the rathere,
 and ste3en shul thei not vp vp on herte.
 18 But 3ee shul io3en, and ful out io3en
 vntoⁿ euermor, in these thingus that I
 shape; for lo! I shape Jerusalem ful out
 19 glading, and his puple io3e. And I shal
 ful out gladen in Jerusalem, and io3en in
 my puple; and ther shal ben herd in it
 no more vois of weping and vois of cri.
 20 And ther shal no mor be the^o faunt of^p
 dazes, and the olde that fulfillith not his
 dazes; for the child of an hundrid 3er
 shal dien, and the synnere of an hundrid
 21 3er shal be cursid. And thei shul bilden
 vp houses, and dwellen in, and plaunte
 'vyne 3erdis^q, and ete the frute of hem.
 22 Thei shul not bilden vp houses, and an
 other dwelle, ne plaunten, and an other
 ete; after the dazes forsothe of the
 tree shul be the dazes of my puple, and
 23 the werkes of ther hondus. My chosen
 vnto ful^r eelde shal vse; thei shul not
 trauaile in veyn, ne ben gendrid^s in dis-
 turbing; for the sed of the blissid men
 of the Lord it is, and the cosynes of hem
 24 with hem. And it shal be, er thei crien,
 I shal ful out heren; 3it hem spekende,
 25 I shal ful out heren. The wlf and the
 lomb shul be fed togidere, and the leoun
 and the oxe shuln ete chaf, and to the
 serpent poudre his bred; thei shul not

lo! my seruauntis schulen drynke, and 3e
 schulen be thirsti; lo! my seruauntis schu-14
 len be glad, and 3e schulen be aschamed;
 lo! my seruauntis schulen herie, for the
 ful ioie of herte, and 3e schulen crie, for
 the sorewe of herte, and 3e schulen zelle,
 for desolacioun of spirit. And 3e schulen15
 leue 3oure name in to an ooth to my
 chosun men; and the Lord God schal sle
 thee, and he schal clepe hise seruauntis bi
 another name. In which he that is blissid16
 on erthe, schal be blessid in God amen;
 and he that swerith in erthe, shal swere
 in God feithfuli; for the formere an-
 gwischis ben 3ouun to forzetyng, and for
 tho ben hid fro 3oure i3en. For lo! Y17
 make newe heuenes and a newe erthe, and
 the formere thingis schulen not be in
 mynde, and schulen not stie on the herte.
 But 3e schulen haue ioie, and make ful18
 out ioiying til in to with outen ende, in
 these thingis whiche Y make; for lo! Y
 make Jerusalem ful out ioiyinge, and the
 puple therof ioie^r. And Y schal make ful19
 out ioiying in Jerusalem, and Y schal haue
 ioie in my puple; and the vois of weping
 and the vois of cry schal no more be herd
 ther ynne. A 3ong child of daies schal no20
 more be there, and an eld man that fillith
 not hise daies; for whi a child of an hun-
 drid 3eer schal die, and a synnere of an
 hundrid 3eer schal be cursid. And thei21
 schulen bilde housis, and schulen enhabite
 hem^s, and thei schulen plaunte vynes, and
 schulen ete the fruytis of tho. Thei22
 schulen not bilde housis, and an othir
 schal enhabite hem^s, thei schulen not
 plaunte, and an othir schal ete; for whi
 the daies of my puple schulen be after
 the daies of the tree, and the werkis of
 her hondis schulen be elde to my chosun23
 men. Thei schulen not trauele in veyn,
 nether thei schulen gendre in disturblyng;
 for it is the seed of hem that ben blessid
 of the Lord, and the cosyns of hem *ben*

^m Om. A. ⁿ into AG pr. m. H. ^o Om. G pr. m. ^p Om. E pr. m. ^q vynes C pr. m. E pr. m. ^r the
 ful AGHK. ^s gotten C pr. m. gotten E pr. m.

^y to ioie I. ^a Om. ceteri. ^b Om. ceteri.

nozen, ne slen, in al myn hoeli mounteyn,
seith the Lord.

with hem. And it schal be, bifor that²⁴
thei crien, Y schal here; jit while thei
speken, Y schal here. A wolf and a lomb²⁵
schulen be fed togidere, and a lioun and
an oxe schulen ete stree, and to a serpent
dust *shal be* his breed; thei schulen not
anoie, nether schulen sle, in al myn hooli
hil, seith the Lord.

CAP. LXVI.

¹ These thingus seith the Lord, Heuene
my sete, and erthe the standing vp place
of my feet. What is this hous, that zee
shul bilde to me, and what is this place
² of my reste? Alle these thingus myn
hond dide, and mad ben alle these
thingus, seith the Lord; to whom for-
sothe shall I beholde, but^t to my^{tt} porelet
and contrit in spirit, and tremblende^u
³ my wrdis? That offreth^v an oxe, as that
sle^w a man; that sleth a beste, as that
brayne^x a dogge; that^y offreth offring,
as that souwe blod he offre; that record-
eth of encens^z, as that blisse^a to the maw-
met; alle these thei chosen in ther weies,
and in ther abominaciouns the soule of
⁴ them delitide. Wherefore and I shal
chesen the illusiouns of hem, and that
thei dredden I shal brenge to them; for
I clepede, and ther was not that shulde
answern; I spac, and thei herden not;
and thei diden euel in myn ejen, and
⁵ that I wolde not, thei chosen. Hereth
the wrd of the Lord, that tremblen at
his wrd; zoure brethern seiden hatende
zou, and castende awei for my name,
Glorified be the Lord, and wee shul see
in zoure gladnesse; thei forsothe shul be
⁶ confoundid. Vois of the puple fro the
cite, vois fro the temple, vois of the
Lord zeldende zelding to his enemys.
⁷ Er sche traelide *with peyne as wym-*

CAP. LXVI.

The Lord seith these thingis, Heuene¹
is my seete, and the erthe *is* the stool of
my feet. Which is this hous, which ze
schulen bilde to me, and which is this
place of my reste? Myn hond made alle²
these thingis, and alle these thingis ben
maad, seith the Lord; but to whom schal
Y biholde, no but to a pore man and
contrit in spirit, and greetli dredynge my
wordis? He that offrith^b an oxe, *is* as he³
that sleeth a man; he that sleeth a scheep,
is as he that brayneth a dogge; he that
offrith an offryng, *is* as he that offrith
swynes blood; he that thenketh on en-
cense, *is* as he that blessith an idol; thei
chesiden alle thes thingis in her weies,
and her soule delitide in her abhomy-
naciouns. Wherefor and Y schal chese the⁴
scornynge of hem, and Y schal brynge to
hem tho thingis whiche thei dredden; for
Y clepide, and noon was^c that answeride;
Y spac, and thei herden not; and thei
diden yuel^d bifor myn ijen, and chesiden
tho thingis whiche Y nolde^e. Here ze the⁵
word of the Lord, whiche quaken at his
word; zoure britheren hatynge zou, and
castynge away for my name, seiden, The
Lord be glorified, and we schulen se in
zoure gladnesse; forsothe thei schulen be
schent. The vois of the puple fro the⁶
citee, the vois fro the temple, the vois of
the Lord zeldynge a reward^f to hise ene-

^t no but AE sec. m. GHK. ^{tt} the K. ^u tremlynge, or dredynge AK. ^v sleeth A. sleth E sec. m. ^w sleeth AGHK. ^x brayneth AE sec. m. GHK. ^y as that A. ^z cense AEGHK. ^a blesseth AGHK. ^b lesse E.

^b offreth, that is, in tyme of the gospel to do sacrifice K. ^c ther was I. ^d yuel thing I. ^e wolde not I.
^f zeldyng CEF GHIK MNPQRSUVX.

men don, sche bar^c withoute; er shulde
come his birthe^{cc} 'wyth peyne^d, sche^{dd}
8 bar a male child. Who herde euere
such a thing, and who sa3 to this lic?
Whether shal with ynne bern the erthe
in o dai, or shal be born a fole of kinde
togidere? For with ynne bar and with-
9 oute bar Sion his sonen. Whether I that
othere men make to bern child^e, I my^f
self shal not bern^g? seith the Lord. If I
that ieneracioun to othere men 3yue, ba-
reyn shal be? seith the Lord thi God.
10 Gladeth with Jerusalem, and ful out
io3eth^h in it, alle that louen it; io3eth
with it with io3e, alle that weilen vp on
11 it; that and 3ee souke, and be fulfild of
the tetes of his coumforting, that 3ee
mylke, and withⁱ delices flowen, of alle
12 maner glorie of hym. For these thingus
seith the Lord, Lo! I shal bowe down
vp on it, as the flod of pes, and as strem
flowende the glorie of Jentilis, that 3ee
shul souke; to the tetes 3ee shul be born,
and vp on the knes men shul daunte^k
13 3ou. What maner if to whom a moder
daunte^l, so I^m shal coumforte 3ou, and
14 in Jerusalem 3ee shul be coumfortid. 3ee
shul seen, and io3en shal 3oure herte, and
3oure boenes as an erbe shul buriowne.
And knowe shal ben the hond of the
Lord in his seruauns, and endeyne he
15 shal to his enemys. For lo! the Lord
in fyr shal come, and as a whirlwynd
his foure horsid carres, to zeldeⁿ in to
indignacioun his wodnesse, and his blam-
16 yng in a^o flawme of fyr. For in a fyr
the Lord shal be dyuersly demed, and
in^p his swerd to alle flesh; and multi-
plied shul be the slayne of the Lord,
17 that weren halewid, and cleene weeneden
themselves, in gardynes bihynde^q the firste
tree, 'or the 3ate^r, with ynne forth; that
eeten souwe flesh, and abominacioun,

myes. Bifor that sche traueleide of child,⁷
sche childe; bifor that the sorewe of hir
child beryng cam, sche childe a sone.
Who herde euere suche a thing, and who^s
si3 a thing lijk this? Whether the erthe
shal trauele of child in o dai, ether whe-
ther^h a folk schal be childe togidere?
For whi Sion trauelede of child, and
childe hir sonen. Whether that Y 'my⁹
silf thatⁱ make othere to bere child, schal
not ber child^k? seith the Lord. Whether
Y that 3yue generacioun to othere men,
shal be bareyn? seith thi Lord God. Be¹⁰
3e glad with Jerusalem, and alle 3e that
louen that, make ful out io3e ther ynne;
alle 3e that mourenen on that *Jerusalem*,
make 3e io3e with it in ioie; that bothe¹¹
3e souke, and be fillid of the tetis and
coumfort therof, that 3e mylke, and flowe
in delices, of al maner glorie therof. For¹²
whi the Lord seith these thingis, Lo!
Y schal bowe down on it, as a flood of
pees, and as a flowynge streem the glorie
of hethene men, which 3e schulen souke;
3e schulen be borun at tetis, and on knees
thei schulen speke plesauntly to 3ou. As¹³
if a modir spekith faire to ony *child*, so Y
shal coumforte 3ou, and 3e schulen be
coumfortid in Jerusalem. 3e schulen se,¹⁴
and 3oure herte schal haue ioie, and 3oure
boonys schulen buriowne as an erbe. And
the hond of the Lord schal be knowun in
hise seruauntis, and he schal haue indig-
nacioun to hise enemyes. For lo! the¹⁵
Lord schal come in fier, and as a whirl-
wynd hise charis, to zelde in indignacioun
hise strong veniaunce, and his blamyng in
the flawme of fier. For whi the Lord¹⁶
shal deme in fier, and in hys swerd to
ech fleisch; and slayn men of the Lord
schulen be multiplied, that weren halewid,¹⁷
and gessiden hem cleene, in gardyns aftir
o 3ate with ynne; that eten swynes fleisch,

^c Er he bar child with ynne, he bar c pr. m. E pr. m. With peyne she beer K. ^{cc} vois A. ^d Om. c et
E pr. m. er she traueilide with peyn as wymmen don K. ^{dd} he c pr. m. E pr. m. ^e Om. c pr. m. E pr. m.
^f Om. A. ^g bern childe E sec. m. marg. K. ^h io3en K. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k daunte E pr. m. or cherische
sec. m. marg. dauntten, or chirshen AGK. daunsen H. ^l daunte E pr. m. or cherische sec. m. marg. daunte,
or chirishe AGHK. dauncen, or chirshe H sec. m. ^m Om. K. ⁿ turnen a3een E pr. m. ^o Om. AGHK.
^p Om. c pr. m. G pr. m. ^q after E pr. vice. ^r Om. c et E pr. m.

^h Om. I. ⁱ Om. I. ^k child my silff I.

and a mous, togidere shuln ben wastid,
 18 seith the Lord. I forsothe^s the werkys
 of hem and the tho3tus of hem, come that
 I gedere, with alle folkis and tungus; and
 thei shul comen, and seen my glorie.
 19 And I shal putte in them a toene, and
 senden^t of hem that shul^u be saf to the
 Jentiles, in to the se, in to Affrich, and
 in to Liddiam, men holdende an arwe, in
 to Italie, and Grece, to^v iles aferr, to
 hem that herden not of me, and se3en
 not my glorie. And thei shul tellen out
 20 my glorie to Jentilis, and bringen alle
 3oure brethern fro alle Jentilis a free
 3ifte to the Lord, in hors, and in foure
 horsid carres, and in literes, and in mu-
 lys, and in cartus, to myn hoeli mounteyn,
 Jerusalem, seith the Lord; as if the sonus
 of Irael bringen in a 3ifte in a cleene
 21 vessel in to the hous of the Lord. And
 I shal taken of them in to prestus and
 22 Leuytus, seith the Lord. For as newe
 heuenus and newe erthe, whiche I make
 to stonde bifor me, seith the Lord, so
 stonde shal 3oure sed, and 3oure name.
 23 And ther shal be monyth of monyth, and
 sabot of saboth; comen shal eche flesh
 to honoure byfor my face, seith the Lord.
 24 And 'gon out shuln^w, and seen the ca-
 reyues of men, that trespassiden a3en me;
 the werin of them shal not die, and the
 fir of hem shal not be quenchild; and
 thei shul be in to filling^x of sijt to alle
 flesh.

*Here endith the boke of Ysaie, and
 now begynneth the prolog of Jeremye.*

and abhomynacioun, and a mows, thei
 schulen be waastid togidere, seith the
 Lord. Forsothe Y come to gadere togi-18
 dere the werkis of hem, and the thou3tis
 of hem, with alle folkis and langagis;
 and thei schulen come, and schulen se my
 glorie. And Y schal sette a signe in hem, 19
 and Y schal sende of hem that ben sau3d
 to hethene men, in to the see, in to Af-
 frik, and in to Liddia, and to hem that
 holden arowe, in to Italie, and Greek lond,
 to ilis fer, to hem that herden not of me,
 and sien not my glorie. And thei schulen
 telle my glorie to hethene men, and thei 20
 schulen brynge alle 3oure britheren of alle
 folkis a 3ifte to the Lord, in horsis, and
 charis, and in literis, and in mulis, and in
 cartis, to myn hooli hil, Jerusalem, seith
 the Lord; as if the sones of Israel bryngen
 a 3ifte in a cleene vessel in to the hous of
 the Lord. And Y schal take of hem in 21
 to preestis and dekenes, seith the Lord.
 For as newe heuenes and newe erthe, 22
 whiche Y make to stonde bifore me, seith
 the Lord, so 3oure seed schal stonde, and
 3oure name. And a monethe schal be of 23
 monethe, and a sabat of sabat; ech man
 schal come for to worschipe bifore my face,
 seith the Lord. And thei schulen go out, 24
 and schulen se the careyns of men, that
 trespassiden a3ens me; the worm of hem
 schal not die, and the fier of hem schal
 not be quenchild; and thei schulen be 'til
 to^a fillyng of sijt to ech man.

*Here endith Ysaie, and here biginneth
 Jeremye.*

^a Om. A. ^t I schal sende E sec. m. ^u I shal A. ^v the E pr. m. ^w thei schul gon out E sec. m. AGHK.
^x fulfillingge A. ^y From A. Here endith Ysaie, and bigynneth a prologe on Jeremye. E. Here endith the
 book of Isaye, and bigynneth the prolog to Jeremie. K. No final rubric in CGH.

ⁿ vnto I. ^o From CFGHIMQRSUX. Heere eendeth Isaye; se now Jeremye. K. Here endith the book of
 Isaye, the profete, and bigynneth the book of Jeremye. NV. No final rubric in AEPY.

J E R E M I A H.

[*Prologue on Jeremiah^a.*]

This profete Jeremye tolde openli thingis to comynge, and not in derk speche, as Ysaie and othere profetis; for he telde vtterli the destruccioun of Jerusalem to be doon of Caldeis, and the cite and the hous of God to be brent with fjr; but warnynge hem bifore to leue her synnes, and her idolatrie, and to come azen to the trewe wurschiping of God, schewinge the grete merci of God, not willinge ony man to perische, that wole come to amendement.

Prolog to Jeremie, prophete^a.

JEREMYE, the profete, to whom this prologe is ascriued, as anent^b the Ebrues is seen to ben booistousere than the sermoun of Isaie, and of Osee, and than^c othere profetes; but in wittes he is euene, sithen that in the same spirit he profeciede; but the symplenesse of speche fel to hym of the place in whiche he was born. Forsothe he was of Anatoth, that vnto this dai is a litil town, bi thre myle beende fro Jerusalem; a prest of prestus, and in his moder wombe halewid; thur; his maidenhed halewende to the chirche of Crist a gospel man. This a child bigan to profecien; and the caitifte of the chef cite, and of Jewerie, not only in spirit, but and with ezen of^d flesh beheeld. Now forsothe Assiries hadden translatid the ten lynagis of Irael in to Meedis; now the townes of Jentiles weldedden the londis of them. Wherfore in Jewere onli^e and Beniamyn he profeciede; and of his cite the fallingus with fourefold abece, he weilede, the whiche weef han 3olden^g to the^h mesure of metre and versⁱ. Therfore the ordre of viseouns, that anent Grekes and Latynes outerli is confoundid, to the rathere feith wee han amendyd. The boc forsothe of Baruch, his notorie, that anent the Ebrues is not rad, ne had, wee han laft; for alle these thingus curses of enemys abidende, to whom nede is me to ansvern bi my werkis a rowe. And this I suffere, for 3ee constreynen, O! Paule and Eustoche; but more rizt it were, to the shorting of euel, to putte mesure to the wodnesse of them bi my silence, than to eche dai sum what of newe thing writende, to^k terre^l the wodnesse of the enuyouse.

Another Prolog^m.

God is redi to 3yue good, to punshen a tariere; whan forsothe he myzte gilty men withoute witnessing of thingⁿ to come to be punshid, no wher that he doth; but also

^a This prologue is from M.

^a From κ. *Prologus. AH. Prologe. G.* No initial rubric in CE. ^b anentis *ceteri passim.* ^c of A.
^d Om. E *pr. m.* ^e oon A. ^f and wee c *pr. m. E pr. m. AGHK.* ^g 3olden with vers c *pr. m. E pr. m.*
^h Om. c *sec. m. E sec. m.* ⁱ Om. c *pr. m. E pr. m.* ^k Om. c *pr. m.* ^l feere κ *sup. ras.* ^m No rubric in c. ⁿ Om. E *pr. m.*

if he shul condempne, that he seith biforn, that thei be delyuered by penaunce, that weren dampned bi gilte. Nynyuytes weren dampned synneres of^o God; 3it forsothe thre dazes, and Nynyue was to be turned vp so doun; God wolde not with silence punshe condempned men, but, 3yuende to them place of penaunce, sente an Ebru profete, that shulde seyn, 3it thre dazes, and Nynyue shal be turned vp so doun; lest persheden, that is, that weren dampned, but doende penaunce, thei shulden purchacen mercy. Sodomytes also^p and Gomorreis now to hard torment weren ordeyned, as the sermoun of God to^a Abraham shewide; nerthelater^e that theiris^r was, the aungelis diden, wynende hem to sauen, that sheweden himself vnwrthi helthe; and seiende to Loth, Is ther any man to thee heer sone in lawe, or sones, outh^s doztris? ne thei vnknewen hem not 'to bent to folewen Loth, but thei sheweden hern^u to gidere and his benygnete and loue that hem hadde sent. Lijc sum what in Jeremye wee finden. Notid is forsothe the tyme of his profecye, whan he gan^v, or hadde endid to^w profecyen. Seith therfore sum man, What to me the tyme of the storie? for he began to profecien in the dazes of Josie, sone^x of Amos, the^y king of Juda, vnto the threttenthe^x 3er in his regne^a. Ther after he profeciede in the dazes of Joachym, sone of Josie, the^b king of Juda; and bi thre kingus his profecie is strajt out, vnto the caitifte of Jerusalem. In the fifte monyth condempnede God Jerusalem for his synnes, and that was the laste sentence, that caitif thei shulden be forsake; but sithen God is the^c makere of men, ne any man wile to pershen, bifor that^d the tyme of destruccioun shulde stonden in, he sente and this profete, that shulde bidde to penaunce. He sente the same also vnder the secounde king^e after the puple; he sente also vnder the thridde. Now the caitifte stod on, and 3it to helthe God stired, 3yuende^f and biforn o dai place of penaunce; wherfore it is write, vnto the caitifte of Jerusalem, and vnto the fifte moneth, to han profecied to Jerusalem. Now the^g bondis^h of the enemys hadden streyned the hondis, and nerthelater this God seide, Lo! caitif 3ee ben mad, doth penaunce; tho3 late, pre3eth me, and I shal spare to 3ou; I mai delyuere fro the caitifte, that I haue take 3ou, vn to the ful ending of the elleuente 3er of Sedechie, sone of Osie, king of Juda. This also of vs wee moun vnderstonde, a synnere forsotheⁱ to be taken to Sathan; no thing is ferr fro it, that Jewis ben taken to Nabugodonosor, that as^k hem God grauntide to the^l aduersarie for ofte vsid vnpitousnesse, so wee ben taken for oure synnes to spirituel Nabugodonosor, that whom he hath take to Sathan, thei lerne to not blasfemen. Weenest thou hou myche euel it is to synnen, that he take to Sathan, caityuende the soules of them that ben forsaken of God? not withoute cause, that is, ne with oute dom. Whan forsothe he shal sende reyn vp on the vyne, and that reyn shal bringe forth thornes, what shal he do, but that he comaunde to the^m wederes, that thei reyne not vp on theⁿ vyne weder? Ny3 therfore^o is and oure caitifte, if wee do not penaunce, that wee be take to Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, whiche now liende^p ny3, the wrdis of profetis^q, of the lawe, of the apostolis, and of the selue Crist^r 'ful out biden vs^s to penaunce, stern to helthe. If wee heren, wee leuen to hym that seide, I shal do penaunce of alle the^t euelis, that I spac to do to them.

Here endith the prolog, and bigynneth the booke^u.

^o to K. ^p Om. E pr. m. ^q Om. K. ^r neuer the latere *ceteri passim*. ^{rr} theris c pr. m. ^s of AEGH. ^t Om. E pr. m. ^u here A. theris c pr. m. ^v began AEGHK. ^w his E pr. m. ^x the sone AEK. ^y Om. AGHK. ^z thritithe AGHK. ^a rewme EK. ^b Om. AEGHK. ^c Om. AGHK. ^d Om. c pr. m. ^e Om. c pr. m. ^f and 3yuende c. ^g to the A. ^h hondis AHK. ⁱ Om. AGHK. ^k is AGHK. ^l thee and the AG pr. m. HK. ^m Om. A. ⁿ Om. A. ^o forsothe A. ^p longe A sup. ras. lyuyng H. ^q the prophetis K. ^r Crist, ben c. Crist, wee ben E pr. m. ^s ful out bede E pr. m. bidden vs ful out K. ^t Om. G pr. m. HK. ^u From K. *Here endith the prolog, and now sueth the booc of Jeremye. E.* No rubric in ACGH.

*Here begynneth the boke of Jeremye,
the prophete^v.*

*Here biginnith the book of Jeremie, the
profete^a.*

CAP. I.

1 THE wrdis of Jeremye, sone of Elchie,
of the prestus that weren in Anathot, in
2 the lond of Beniamyn. That maad is the
wrđ of the Lord to hym in the dazes of
Josie, sone of Amon, king of Juda, in the
3 thretten^e the 3er of his regne. And don it
is in the dazes of Joachym, sone of Josie,
king of Juda, vn to the ful ending of the
elleuenthe 3er of Sedechie, sone of Josie,
king of Juda, vnto the transmygracioun
4 of Jerusalem, in the fifte monyth. And
don is the wrđ of the Lord to me, seiende,
5 Bifor that I foormede thee in the wombe,
Y knew thee; and er thou wentest out of
the priue wombe, I halowede thee^w; and
a^x profete in folkis of kinde I 3af thee.
6 And I seide, A! A! A! Lord God, lo!
7 I kan not speke, for a child I am. And
the Lord seyde to me, Wile thou not
seyn, for a child I am; for to alle thingus
that I shal sende thee, thou shalt go, and
alle thingis, what euere I shal sende to
8 thee, thou shalt speke. Ne drede thou
fro the face of them, for I am with thee,
9 that I delyuere thee, seith the Lord. And
the Lord sente his hond, and touchide
my mouth; and the Lord seide to me,
Lo! I haue 3oue^v my wrdis in thi mouth;
10 lo! I haue set thee to dai vp on folkis of
kinde, and vp on reumes, that thou pulle
vp, and destro3e, and^a springe abroad, and
11 waste^a, and bilde vp, and plaunte. And
don is the wrđ of the Lord to me, seiende,
What seest thou, Jeremye? And Y seide,
12 A wakende 3erde I see. And the Lord
seide to me, Wel thou hast seen, for I
shal waken vp on my wrđ, that I do it.
13 And don is the wrđ of the Lord the
secounde tyme^b to me, seiende, What
seest thou? And I seide, A pot tend vp

CAP. I.

THE wordis of Jeremye, sone of Helchie, 1
of the preestis that weren in Anathot, in
the lond of Beniamyn. For the word of 2
the Lord was maad to hym in the daies
of Josie, the sone of Amon, kyng of Juda,
in the thretten^e the 3er of his rewme.
And it was don in the daies of Joachym, 3
the sone of Josie, the king of Juda, til to^b
the endyng of the enleuenthe 3er of Sede-
chie, sone of Josie, kyng of Juda, til^c the
passyng ouer, *ether caitifte*, of Jerusalem,
in the fyuethe monethe. And the word of 4
the Lord was maad to me, and seide, Bi- 5
for that Y fourmede thee in the wombe, Y
knewe thee; and bifor that thou 3edist
out of the wombe, Y halewide thee; and
Y 3af thee^d a profete among folkis. And 6
Y seide, A! A! A! Lord God, lo! Y kan
not speke, for Y am a child. And the 7
Lord seide to me, Nyle thou seie, that Y
am a child; for thou schalt go to alle
thingis, to whiche Y schal sende thee, and
thou schalt speke alle thingis, what euer
thingis Y schal comaunde to thee. Drede 8
thou not of the face of hem, for Y am
with thee, to delyuere thee, seith the Lord.
And the Lord sente his hond, and touch- 9
ide my mouth; and the Lord seide to me,
Lo! Y haue 3oue my wordis in thi mouth;
lo! Y haue ordeynede thee to day on folkis, 10
and on rewmes, that thou drawe vp, and
distrie, and leese, and scatere, and bilde,
and plaunte. And the word of the Lord 11
was maad to me, and seide, What seest
thou, Jeremye? And Y seide, Y se a 3erde 12
wakyng. And the Lord seide to me, Thou
hast seen wel, for Y schal wake on my
word, to do it. And the word of the Lord 13
was maad the secounde tyme to me, and
seide, What seest thou? Y se a pot buyl-

^v From AGH. No initial rubric in CEK. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x I a E pr. m. ^y 3yuen vel 3yue E pass.
^z Om. E pr. m. ^a scatere E pr. m. ^b Om. c pr. m. E pr. m.

^a From EPY. *Here bigynneth the book of Jeremye.* m. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b vnto 1.
^c til to F. ^d thee to be 1.

I see, and his face fro the face of the
 14 north. And the Lord seide to me, Fro
 the north shal be schewid^c eucl^d vp on
 15 alle the^e dwelleris of erthe. For lo! I
 shal clepe togidere alle the kinredis of
 the rewmes of the north, seith the Lord,
 and thei shul come, and setten eche his
 see in the^f entre of the 3atis of Jerusalem,
 and vp on alle his wallis in enuyroun,
 and vp on alle the chef cites of Juda.
 16 And I shal speke my^g domes with hem
 vp on al the malice of hem, that forsoke
 me, and offreden to aliene goddis, and
 honoureden the werc of ther hondis.
 17 Thou thanne gird vp thi leendis, and
 ris, and spec to them alle thingus that I
 comaunde to thee; ne be thou aferd fro
 the face of them, ne forsothe Y shal make
 18 thee to dreden the chere of them. Y for-
 sothe haue 3oue^h thee to dai in to a
 strengthid cite, and in to an irene pilere,
 and in to a brasen wal, vp on al erthe,
 to the kingus of Juda, and to his princes,
 and to his prestes, and to al the puple of
 19 the lond. And thei shul fizte a3en thee,
 and notⁱ han the maistri; for I with
 thee am, seith the Lord, that I delyuere
 thee.

CAP. II.

1 And don is the wrd of the Lord to me,
 2 seiende, Go, and cri in the eres of Jeru-
 salem, seiende, These thyngus seith the
 Lord, I recordide of thee, rewende thin
 waxende 3outhe, and the charite of thi
 weddyng, whan thou folewedist me in
 desert, in the lond that is not sowen.
 3 Hoeli Israel^k to the Lord, the chef of his
 frutus; alle that deuouren hym, gilden;
 euclis shul come vp on hem, seith the
 4 Lord. Hereth the wrd of the Lord, 3ee
 hous of Jacob, and alle the kinredis of
 5 the hous of Irael. These thingus seith
 the Lord, What founde 3oure fadris in
 me of wickidnesse^l, for thei longeden

ynge, and the face therof fro the face of
 the north. And the Lord seide to me, Fro 14
 the north schal be schewid al yuel on alle
 the dwelleris of the lond. For lo! Y schal 15
 clepe togidere alle the naciouns of rewmes
 of the north, seith the Lord, and thei
 schulen come, and sette ech man his seete
 in the entryng of the 3atis of Jerusalem,
 and on alle the wallis therof in cumpas,
 and on alle the citees of Juda. And Y 16
 schal speke my domes with hem on al
 the malice of hem, that forsoken me, and
 maden sacrifice to alien goddis, and wor-
 schipiden the werk of her hondis. Ther- 17
 for girde thou thi leendis, and rise thou,
 and speke to hem alle thingis whiche Y
 comaunde to thee; drede thou not of the
 face of hem, for Y schal not make thee for
 to drede the cheer of hem. For Y 3af thee 18
 to dai in to a strong citee, and in to an
 yrun piler, and in to a brasun wal, on al
 the lond, to the kyngis of Juda, and to the
 princis therof, and to the preestis therof,
 and to al the puple of the lond. And thei 19
 schulen fizte a3ens thee, and thei schulen
 not haue the maistrie; for Y am with thee,
 seith the Lord, that Y delyuere thee.

CAP. II.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
 to me, and seide, Go thou, and crye in the 2
 eeris of Jerusalem, and seie, The Lord
 seith these thingis, Y hadde mynde on
 thee, and Y hadde merci on thee in thi
 3ong wexynge age, and on the charite of
 thi spousyng, whanne thou suedist me in
 desert, in the lond which is not sowun.
 Israel *was* hooli to the Lord, the firste of 3
 fruytis of hym; alle men that^e deuouren
 that *Israel*, trespassen; yuelis schulen come
 on hem, seith the Lord. The hous of Ja- 4
 cob, and alle the^f lynagis of the hous of
 Israel, here 3e the word of the Lord. The 5
 Lord seith these thingis, What of wickid-

^c opened *E pr. m.* stragt out *C pr. m.* *E sec. m. marg.* schewid *E tert. m.* ^d al yuel *AHK.* alle eucl *C et*
E pr. m. G. ^e Om. *AEGHK.* ^f Om. *K pr. m.* ^g thi *E pr. m.* ^h 3yue *E.* ⁱ no *E pr. m.* ^k The holi of
 Irael *E pr. m. A.* Irael hooli *E sec. m.* ^l wickenesse *CE.*

^e whiche 1. ^f Om. *plures.*

awei fro me, and ziden aftir vanyte, and
 6 veyn thei ben mad? And thei seiden
 not, Wher is the Lord, that mâde vs to
 stezen vp fro the lond of Egipt, that
 ladde vs ouer by desert, bi the lond vnha-
 bitable and withouten weie, bi the lond
 of thirst, and ymage of deth, bi the lond
 in whiche zide not a ful man, ne wonde
 7 a man. And I ladde zou in to the lond
 of Carmel, that zee shulden ete his frute,
 and the 'beste thingis¹ of it; and gon in
 zee defouleden my lond, and myn eritage
 8 zee putten^m in to abhominacioun. Prestes
 seiden not, Wher is the Lord? and hold-
 ende the lawe, thei kuenen not me; and
 shepperdis breeken the lawe azen me,
 and profetes profecieden in Baal, and
 9 foleweden mawmetes. Therefore zit Y shal
 striuen in dom with zou, seith the Lord,
 and with zoure sones Y shal dispute.
 10 Passeth to ilesⁿ of Sithym, and seeth;
 and in to Cedar sendeth, and beholdeth
 hugeli; and seeth, yf don is such a maner
 11 thing, if chaungid hath the folc of kinde
 his goddis; and certes thei ben not god-
 dis; my puple forsothe chaungede his
 12 glorie in to a mawmet. Waxeth stonezid,
 zee heuenus, vp on this, and, zee zatus
 of heuene, beth desolat hugeli, seith the
 13 Lord. Two forsothe euelis diden my
 puple; me thei forsoken, welle^o of quyc
 watir, and doluen to them wastid cis-
 ternes, that contenen watris moun^p not.
 14 Whether a thral^q is Irael, or a 'born
 15 bonde man^r? Whi thanne mad he is in
 to prei? Vp on hym roreden leouns, and
 zeuen ther vois; thei setteden his lond in
 16 to wilderness, his cites ben brend vp,
 and ther is not that dwelle in them. The
 sonus also of Memfeos and of Thamnes
 17 'defouliden thee bi lecherie, or mawme-
 trie^s, 'vp on to^t the topⁿ. Whether not
 this is do to thee, for thou hast forsaken
 the Lord thi God, that tyme that he

nesse foundun zoure fadris in me, for thei
 zeden fer away fro me, and zeden after
 vanyte, and weren maad veyn? And thei
 6 seiden not, Where is the Lord, that made
 vs to stie fro^s the lond of Egipt, that
 ledde vs ouer thorou desert, bi the lond
 vnabitable and with out weie, bi the lond
 of thirst, and bi the ymage of deeth, bi
 the lond in whiche a man zede not, nether
 a man dwellide. And Y brouzte zou in to
 the lond of Carmele, that ze schulden ete
 the fruyt therof, and the goodis therof;
 and ze entriden, and defouliden my lond, and
 settiden myn eritage in to abhomynacioun.
 Preestis seiden not, Where is the Lord?
 8 and thei that helden the lawe, knewen not
 me; and scheepherdis trespassiden azens
 me, and profetis profesieden in Baal, and
 sueden idols. Therfor zit Y schal stryue^s
 with zou in doom, seith the Lord, and Y
 schal dispute with zoure sones. Go ze to
 the ilis of Cethym, and se ze; and sende
 ze in to Cedar, and biholde ze greetli; and
 se ze, if sicke a thing is doon, if a folk
 11 chaungide hise goddis; and certeynli thei
 ben no goddis; but my puple chaungide
 hise glorie in to an ydol. Heuenes, be ze
 12 astonyed on this thing, and, ze zatis of
 heuene, be ze desolat greetli, seith the
 Lord. For whi my puple hath don tweyne
 13 yuels; thei han forsake me, the welle of
 quyke watir, and han diggid to hem cis-
 ternes, 'that weren^h distried, that moun
 not holde watris. Whetherⁱ Israel is a
 14 boond man, ether is borun boonde? Whi
 15 therfor is he maad in to prey? Liouns
 roriden on hym, and zauen her vois; thei
 han set the londe of hym in to wilder-
 nesse, the citees of him ben brent, and
 noon is^k that dwellith in tho. Also the
 16 sones of Menfis and of Tafnys han de-
 foulid thee, 'til to^l the cop of the heed.
 Whether this is not don to thee, for thou
 17 forsokist thi Lord God, in that tyme in

¹ goodis c *pr. m. E pr. m.* ^m puttiden *E sec. m. K.* ⁿ the ylis *K.* ^o the welle *AEGHK.* ^p myzten *E pr. m.*
 mayen *sec. m. mown tert. m.* ^q thral seruaunt *E pr. m.* ^r proper born seruaunt *E pr. m.* ^s striped
 thee c *pr. m. E pr. m.* ^t vnto *AGHK.* vp vnto c *pr. m.* ^u cop *GH.*

^g vp fro *I.* ^h Om. *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX.* ⁱ Wher *ceteri passim.* ^k ther is *I.* ^l vnto *I.*

18 ladde thee bi the wey? And now what
to thee^v wilt thou in the weye of Egypt,
that thou drinke water troublid? And
what to thee with the weie of Assiries,
19 that thou drinke water of the flod? Vn-
dernyme thee shal thi malice, and thi
turnyng away shal blame thee; wite and
see, for euel and bitter it is thee to han
forsaken the Lord thi God, and his drede
not to ben anent thee, seith the Lord God
20 of oostes. From the world thou hast al
to-broste my 3oc, to-broke my bondis, and
seidist, I shal not serue. In eche forsothe
hy3 hil, and vnder eche braunchy tree
21 thou were throwe doun a^w strumpet. I
forsothe plauntede thee a chosen vyne-
zerd^x, al verre sed; what maner thanne
thou art turned to me in to a^y shreude
22 thing, an aliene vyne? If thou wasshe^z
thee with 'clensing cley^a, and multeplie to
thee 'the clensende^b erbe boreth^c, thou
art defoulid with thi wickidnesse^d bifor
23 me, seith the Lord God. What maner
seist thou, I am not defoulid, after Baa-
lym I haue not go? See thi weies in the
hole valey, wite what thou hast do; a
24 lizt corour tellende out thi weies. 'A
feld asse^e vsid in wildernesse in the de-
syr of his soule dro3 wind of his loue;
noon shal turne it away. Alle that seech-
en hir, shul not failen; in hir rote blod
25 flowigus thei shul finden hir. Forfende
thi foot fro nakidhed, and thi throte fro
thrist; and thou seidest, I dispeirede, I
shal not do; I louede forsothe alienus, and
26 after them I shal go. What maner is con-
foundid a thef, whan he is ca3t, so con-
foundid ben the housis of Irael; thei,
and the kingus of hem, princes, and
27 prestes, and profetes of them, seiende to
the tree, My fader thou art; and to the
ston, Thou me hast goten. They turn-
eden to me bac, and not face; in tyme
of ther tormenting thei shul sey, Rys,
28 and delyuere vs. Wher ben thi goddus,

which he ledde thee bi the weie? And 18
now what wolt thou to thee in the weie
of Egypt, that thou drynke troblid watir?
And what is to thee with the weie of As-
siriens, that thou drynke water of the
flood? Thi malice schal repreue thee, and 19
thi turnyng awei schal blame thee; wite
thou and se, that it is yuel and bittir that
thou hast forsake thi Lord God, and that
his drede is not at thee, seith the Lord
God of oostis. Fro the world thou hast 20
broke my 3ok, thou hast broke my bondis,
and seidist, Y schal not serue. For thou
hoore didist hordom in ech hi3 litil hil,
and vndur ech tree ful of bowis. Forsothe 21
Y plauntide thee a chosun vyner, al trewe
seed; hou therfor art thou, alien¹ vyner,
turned to me in to a schrewid thing?
Thou3 thou waischist^m thee with fulleris 22
clei, and multiplyest to thee the erbe
borith, thou art defoulid in thi wickid-
nesse bifore me, seith the Lord God. Hou 23
seist thou, Y am not defoulid, Y 3ede not
aftir Baalym? Se thi weies in the greet
valei, wite thou what thou hast do; a
swifte rennere ordeynynge hise weies. A 24
wielde asse customable in wildirnesse drow
the wynd of his loue in the desire of his
soule; no man schal turne awei it. Alle
that seken it, schulen not faile; thei schu-
len fynde it in the flux of vncleene blood
therof. Forbede thi foot fro nakidnesse, 25
and thi throte fro thirst; and thou seidist,
Y dispeiride, Y schal not do; for Y louede
brennyngli alien *goddis*, and Y schal go
aftir hem. As a theef is schent, whanne 26
he is takun, so the hous of Israel ben
schent; thei, and kyngis of hem, the
princes, and prestis, and the prophetis of
hem, that seien to a tree, Thou art my 27
fadir; and to a stoon, Thou hast gendrid
me. Thei turneden to me the bak, and
not the face; and in the tyme of her tur-
ment thei schulen seie, Ryse thou, and
delyuere vs. Where ben thi goddis, whiche 28

^v Om. E pr. m. ^w as a A. ^x vyne C pr. m. E pr. m. ^y Om. AEGHK. ^z schalt washe E sec. m.
^a sope E pr. m. ^b Om. E pr. m. ^c dorech AGHK. ^d wickenesse CE. ^e An asse C et E pr. m.

¹ an alien A pr. m. ^m waische I.

whom thou hast maad to thee? Rise thei, and delyuere thei thee in the dai of thi tormenting; after the noumbre forsothe of thi cites weren thi goddus,
 29 Juda. What wile 3ee with me in dom striue? Alle 3ee han forsake me, seith the
 30 Lord. In veyn I haue smyte 3oure sonus, disciplyne thei resceyueden not; 3oure swerd deuourede 3oure profetes, as
 31 a leoun is wastid 3oure ieneracioun. Seeth the wrd of the Lord, whether wildernesse I am mad to Irael, or a lond late berende frute? Whi thanne seith my puple, Wee han gon awei, wee shul no
 32 mor come to thee? Whether for3ete shal the maiden of hir enournement? and the womman spouse of hir brest bundel? My puple forsothe^f for3at me in dazes
 33 vnnoumbred. What enforcest thou to shewe thi weie good to ben so3t loue, that ouermor and^g thi malices thou hast
 34 ta3t thi weies, and in thi wengus is founde blod of pore soules and innocentus? Not in dichis Y fond them, but in alle thingus that aboue I membrede.
 35 And thou seidist, Without synne and ynnocent I am; and^h therefore be turned awei thi wodnesse fro me. Lo!ⁱ Y in dom shal striue with thee; for thi that thou
 36 seidist, I synnede not. Hou foul art thou mad ful myche, rehercende thi weies? and of^k Egipt thou shalt be confoundid, as thou art confoundyd of As-
 37 sur. For whi and of this thou shalt gon out, and thin hondis shul ben vp on thin hed; for al to-troden hath the Lord thi trost, and no thing thou shalt 'han welsum^l.

CAP. III.

1 Comunly me seith, If a man lefe^m his wif, and she goende awei fro hym wedde an other man, whether shal she turne a3een any mor to hym? whether not pollut and defoulid shal be that womman? Thou forsothe hast do fornyacioun with many loueres; nerthelatre

thou madist to thee? Rise thei, and delyuere thee in the tyme of thi turment; for aftir the noumbre of thi citees weren thi goddis, thou Juda. What wolen 3e stryue²⁹ with me in doom? Alle 3e han forsake me, seith the Lord. In veyn Y smoot³⁰ 3oure sonus, thei resceyueden not chastisyng; 3oure swerd deuouride 3oure prophetis, 3oure generacioun is distried as a lioun. Se 3e the word of the Lord, whe-³¹ ther Y am maad a wildirnesse to Israel, ether a lond late bryngynge forth fruyt? Whi therfor seide my puple, We han go awei, we schulen no more come to thee? Whethir a virgyn schal for3ete hir ourne-³² ment? and a spousesse '*schal for3ete*^o hir brest girdil? But mi puple hath for3ete me bi daies with out noumbre. What³³ enforstist thou to schewe thi weie good to seke loue, which ferthermore bothe hast tau3t thi malices thi weies, and the blood³⁴ of pore men and innocentis is foundun in thi wyngis? Y fond not hem in dichis, but in alle thingis whiche Y remembrede bifore. And thou seidist, Y am with out³⁵ synne and innocent; and therfor thi stronge veniaunce be turned awei fro me. Lo! Y schal stryue with thee in doom; for thou seidist, Y synnede not. Hou vijl³⁶ art thou maad, rehersynge thi weies? and thou schalt be schent of Egipt, as thou were schent of Assur. For whi and thou³⁷ schalt go out of this *lond*, and thin hondis schulen be on thin heed; for whi the Lord hath al to-broke thi trist, and thou schalt haue no thing to prosperite.

CAP. III.

It is seid comunli, If a man forsakith¹ his wijf, and sche go^p awei fro hym, and be weddid to an othere hosebonde, whether he schal turne a3en more to hir? whether thilke womman schal not be defoulid, and maad vncleene? Forsothe thou hast do fornyacioun with many

^f Om. c pr. m. ^g in A. ^h Om. E pr. m. ⁱ And lo! A. ^k fro E pr. m. ^l ha no welsum K. ^m shal leue E sec. m. AGHK.

^o Om. 1. ^p goith 1.

turne azeen to me, seith the Lord, and I
 2 shal resceyueⁿ thee. Rere vp thin ejen
 in to euene ri3t, and see, where now thou
 art leid down. In weies thou seete, abid-
 ende them as a thef in wilderness, and
 thou defouledist the lond in thi fornyca-
 3 ciouns and in thi malices. For what
 thing^o ben defendid dropis of reynes, and
 the late comende weder was not. The
 forhed of a strumpet womman is maad
 to thee; thou woldest not shamen.
 4 Thanne namely fro now clep me, My
 fader, duk^p of my maydenhed thou art.
 5 Whether thou shalt be wroth in to euer-
 mor, and abyde stille in to the ende?
 Lo! thou speeke, and didist euelis, and
 my3tist. And for wrdis of penaunce with
 wrdis of pride thou blasfemedist; and thou
 fulfildist thin euel thenking, and shew-
 edist azen the husbonde thi strengthe,
 that thou mow^q don that in wrd thou
 6 tretedist. And the Lord seide to me,
 in the dazes of kyng Josie, Whether thou
 hast not seen what thyngus hath do the
 aduersarie, Irael? She 3ide awei to hir-
 self vp on eche he3 mounteyn, and vnder
 eche braunchi tree, and dide fornyca-
 7 cioun there. And Y seide, whan she
 hadde don alle these thingus, To me turne
 azeen; and she is not turned azeen. And
 the brekeresse of lawe, Juda, hir sister,
 8 sa3, for thi that 'Irael, aduersarie, hadde
 do leccherie^r, I shulde haue^s left her^t, and
 3oueⁿ to her a libel of forsaking; and
 the lawe brekeresse, Juda, hir sister,
 dradde not, but 3ide awei, and dide
 9 fornycacioun also she. And thur3 li3t-
 hed of hir fornycacioun defouled the
 lond, and dide fornycacioun with ston,
 10 and with tree. And in alle these thingus
 is not turned azeen to me the lawe
 brekeresse, hir sister, Juda, in al hir
 herte, but in lesing, seith the Lord God.
 11 And the Lord seide to me, The aduer-
 sarie, Irael, iustefiede hir soule, bi com-

loueris; netheles turne thou azen to me,
 'seith the Lord^q, and Y schal resseyue
 thee. Reise thin i3en in to strei3t, and se,²
 where thou art not cast down. Thou hast
 setun in weies, abidyng hem as a theef
 in wildirnesse, and thou hast defoulid the
 erthe in thi fornicaciouns and in thi ma-
 lices. Wherfor the dropis of reynes weren³
 forbodun, and no late reyn was. The
 forhed of a womman hoore is maad to
 thee; thou noldist^r be aschamed. Nameli⁴
 fro this tyme forth clepe thou me, Thou
 art my fadir, the ledere of my virginyte.
 Whether thou schalt be wrooth with⁵
 outen ende, ether schalt contynue in to
 the ende? Lo! thou hast spoke, and
 hast do yuels, and thou were my3ti. And
 for wordis of penaunce thou blasfemydist
 bi wordis of pride; and thou fillidist thin
 yuel thou3t, and schewidist thi strengthe
 azens thi hosebonde, that thou maist do
 that thing that thou tretidist bi word.
 And the Lord seide to me, in the daies⁶
 of Josie, the kyng, Whether thou hast
 seyn what thing the aduersarie, Israel,
 hath do? Sche 3ede to hir silf on ech
 hi3 hil, and vndur ech tre ful of boowis,
 and dide fornycacioun there. And Y⁷
 seide, whanne sche hadde do alle these
 thingis, Turne thou azen to me; and sche
 turnede not azen. And hir sistir, Juda,
 brekere of the lawe, si3, that for the ad-⁸
 uersarie, Israel, dide auowtrie, Y hadde left
 hir, and Y hadde 3oue to hir a libel of
 forsakyng; and Juda, hir sistir, brekere
 of the lawe, dredde not, but also sche
 3ede, and dide fornycacioun. And bi li3t-⁹
 nesse of hir fornicacioun sche defoulide
 the erthe, and dide auowtrie with a stoon,
 and with a tree. And in alle these thingis¹⁰
 hir sistir, Juda, brekere of the lawe, turn-
 ede not azen to me, in al hir herte, but in
 a leesyng, seith the Lord God. And the¹¹
 Lord seide to me, The aduersarie, Israel,
 hath iustified hir soule, in comparisoun of

ⁿ vndertake *E pr. m.* ^o things *E pr. m.* ^p the duke *E pr. m.* ^q now *G pr. m. H.* ^r she hadde do
 leccherie, aduersarie Irael *E pr. m.* ^s ha c. ^t Om. *A.* ^u 3yue *E.*

^q Om. *A pr. m.* *CEFGHKMNPRSUUVX pr. m.* ^r woldist not *I.*

parisoun of the lawe brekeresse, Juda.
 12 Go, and cry these wrdus azen the north;
 and thou shalt sey, Turne azeen, thou
 aduersarie, Irael, seith the Lord^v, and I
 shal not turne awei my face fro 3ou; for
 I am hoeli, seith the Lord, and I shal
 13 not wrathen in to withoute ende. Ner
 the latere wite thou thi wickednesse^w;
 for in to the Lord thi God thou hast do
 lawe breche, and thou hast scatered thi
 weies to alienus vnder eche braunchi tree;
 and my vois thou herdist not, seith the
 14 Lord. Beth conuertid, 3ee sonus, turnende
 azeen, seith the Lord, for I 3oure^x house-
 bonde^y; and shal take 3ou to oen of the
 cite, and two of the kinrede, and bringe
 15 3ou in to Sion; and 3iue 3ou shepperdus
 aftir myn herte, and thei shul fede 3ou
 16 with kunnyng and doctryne. And whan
 3e shul be multeplied, and encresyn in
 the lond, in tho dazes, seith the Lord,
 thei shul sey no more, The arke of the
 testament of the Lord; ne it shal stezen
 vp vp on herte, ne thei shul recorde of
 it, ne it shal be visitid, ne be mad eft
 17 more. In that tyme thei shuln clepe
 Jerusalem The see of the Lord, and ge-
 dedered shul be to it alle Jentiles, in name
 of the Lord, in to Jerusalem; and thei
 shul not gon after the shreudenesse of
 18 ther werste herte. In tho dazes gon shal
 the hous of Juda to the hous of Irael;
 and come thei shuln togidere fro the
 lond of the north to the lond that I 3af
 19 to 3oure fadris. I forsothe seide, Hou
 shal I putte thee in sonus, and 3elde to
 thee the desirable lond, the ful cler eri-
 tage of the ostis of the folc of kinde?
 And I seide, A fader thou shalt clepe me,
 and after me to gon^z thou shalt not^a cese.
 20 But what maner if a womman dispise
 hir louere, so dispisede me the hous of
 21 Irael, seith the Lord. A vois in weies
 is herd, weping and 3elling of the sonus
 of Irael; for wicke thei maaden their
 weie, forjeeten of the Lord ther God.

Juda, brekere of the lawe. Go thou, and 12
 crye these wordis azens the north; and
 thou schalt seie, Thou aduersarie, Israel,
 turne azen, seith the Lord, and Y schal
 not turne awei my face fro 3ou; for Y am
 hooli, seith the Lord, and Y schal not be
 wrooth with outen ende. Netheles knowe 13
 thou thi wickidnesse; for thou hast tres-
 passid azens thi Lord God, and thou hast
 spread abroad thi weies to aliens vndur
 ech tre ful of bowis; and thou herdist not
 my vois, seith the Lord. Be 3e conuertid, 14
 sones, turnynge azen, seith the Lord, for
 Y am 3oure hosebonde; and Y schal take
 3ou oon of a citee, and tweyne of a kyn-
 rede, and Y schal lede 3ou in to Sion;
 and Y schal 3yue to 3ou scheepherdis 15
 after myn herte, and thei schulen feede
 3ou with kunnyng and teching. And 16
 whanne 3e schulen be multiplied, and en-
 cresse in the lond, in tho daies, seith the
 Lord, thei schulen no more seie, The arke
 of testament of the Lord; nether it schal
 stie on^a the herte, nether thei schulen
 thenke on it, nether it schal be visitid,
 nether it schal be ferthere. In that tyme 17
 thei schulen clepe Jerusalem The seete of
 the Lord, and alle hethene men schulen
 be gaderid togidere to it, in the name of
 the Lord, in Jerusalem; and thei schulen
 not go aftir the schrewidnesse of her
 worste herte. In tho daies the hous of 18
 Juda schal go to the hous of Israel; and
 thei schulen come togidere fro the lond of
 the north to the lond which Y 3af to
 3oure fadris. Forsothe Y seide, Hou schal 19
 Y sette thee among sones, and schal 3yue
 to thee a desirable lond, a ful cleer eritage
 of the oostis of hethene men? And Y
 seide, Thou schalt clepe me fadir, and
 thou schalt not ceesse to entre aftir me.
 But as if a womman dispisith hir louyere, 20
 so the hous of Israel dispiside me, seith
 the Lord. A vois is herd in weies, the 21
 weping and 3ellyng of the sones of Israel;
 for thei maden wickid her weie, thei for-

^v Lord God A. ^w wickenesse E. ^x Om. K. ^y man c pr. m. E pr. m. ^z goo in AGHK. ^a Om. E pr. m.

22 Beth conuerted, 3ee sonus, turnende a3een,
and I shal helen 3oure turnyngus awei.
Lo! wee han come to thee; thou forsothe
23 art the Lord oure God. Verreli lyeres
weren the hillis, the multitude of moun-
teynes; verrely in the Lord oure God the
24 helthe^b of Irael. Confusioun eet the
trauale of our fadris, fro oure waxende
3outhē; the flockes of them, and the
droues of hem, the sonus of them, and
25 the do3tris of them^c. Wee shul slepe in
oure confusoun, and coueren shal vs
oure shenshipē; for to the Lord oure God
wee han synned, and wee and our fadris,
fro oure waxende 3outhē vn to this dai;
and wee han not herd the vois of 'the
Lord oure God^d.

CAP. IV.

1 If thou shalt turne a3een, Irael, seith
the Lord, to me be conuertid; if thou
shalt take awei thin hurtende thingus
fro my face, thou shalt not be to-stirid.
2 And thou shalt swern, The Lord lyueth,
in treuthe and in dom and in ri3twisnes;
and blissen shul hym folc of kinde, and
3 hym preisen. These thingus forsothe
seith the Lord to the man of Juda and
to the dwellere of Jerusalem, Newith to
3ou a newe tilid lond, and wileth not
4 sowen vp on thornes. Beth circumcidid
to the Lord, and doth awei the vtmost^e
3erde felles of 3oure hertes, 3ee men of
Juda, and dwelleris of Jerusalem; lest
paraenture go out as fyr myn indigna-
cioun, and be tend vp, and ther be not
that quenche, for the malice of 3oure
5 tho3tus. Telleth out in Juda, and in
Jerusalem maketh herd; speketh, and
syngeth with a trumpe in the lond; cri-
eth strongli, and seith, Beth gedered, and
6 go wee in^f the strengthid cites. Rereth
a toene in Sion, beth^g coumfortid, and
wileth not stonde; for euel I bringe^h to
fro the north, and a gret to-treding.

zaten her Lord God. Be 3e conuertid,²²
sones, turnyngē a3en, and Y schal heele
3oure turnyngis awei. Lo! we comen to
thee; for thou art oure Lord God. Verili²³
litol hillis weren lieris, the multitude of
mounteyns *was fals*; verili in oure Lord
God *is* the helthe of Israel. Schenscipe²⁴
eete the trauel of oure fadris, fro oure
3ongthe; *schenscipe eet* the flockis of
hem, and the droues of hem, the sonus of
hem, and the dou3tris of hem. We schu-²⁵
len slepe in oure schenscipe, and oure
sclaundir schal hile vs; for we synned
to oure Lord God, bothe we and oure fa-
dris, fro oure 3ongthe 'til to^t this dai; and
we herden not the vois of oure Lord God.

CAP. IV.

Israel, if thou turnest a3en, seith the¹
Lord, turne thou to me; if thou takist
awei thin offendyngis fro my face, thou
schalt not be mouyd. And thou schalt²
swere, The Lord lyueth, in treuthe and
in doom and in ri3tfulnesse; and alle
folkis schulen blesse hym, and schulen
preise hym. For the Lord God seith³
these thingis to a man of Juda and to a
dwellere of Jerusalem, Make 3e newe to
3ou a lond tilid of the^u newe^v, and nyle
3e sowe on thornes. Men of Juda, and⁴
dwellers of Jerusalem, be 3e circumcidid
to the Lord, and do 3e away the filthis^w
of 3oure hertis; lest peraenture myn in-
dignacioun go out as fier, and be kyndlid,
and noon be^x that quenche, for the malice
of 3oure thou3tis. Telle 3e in Juda, and⁵
make 3e herd in Jerusalem; speke 3e, and
syngē 3e with a trumpe in the lond; crye
3e strongli, and seie 3e, Be 3e gaderid to-
gidere, and entre we in to stronge citees.
Reise 3e a signe in Sion, coumforte 3e,⁶
and nyle 3e stonde; for Y bringe yuel fro
the north, and a^y greet sorewe. A lioun⁷
schal 'rise vp^z fro his denne, and the rob-

^b hooli A. ^c hem ech confusioun E pr. m. ^d our Lord God K. ^e vttermost AGHK. ^f in to AGHK.
^g and beth AE pr. m. GHK. ^h shal bringe E pr. m.

^t vnto I. ^u Om. I. ^v newe, ether a falowe I. ^w prepuces, ether filthis CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.
^x ther be I. ^y Om. I. ^z stie up I. stie CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

7 Stejede vp a leoun fro his couche, the
 reuereⁱ of Jentilis hymself^k shal reren^l.
 He wente out fro his place, that he pute
 thi lond 'in to^m wildernesse; thi citees
 shul be wastid, abidende stille withoute
 8 dwellere. Vp on this gird 3ou aboute
 with heires; weileth, and 3ellith, for
 turned awei is not the wrathe of the
 9 wodnesse of the Lord fro 3ouⁿ. And it
 shal be, in that dai, seith the Lord, per-
 shen shal the herte of the king, and the
 herte of princes; and become stoneid shul
 the prestis, and profetes in mynde shul
 10 be disturbid. And I seide, Allas! allas!
 allas! Lord God; thanne whether hast
 thou not bigilid this puple and Jerusa-
 lem, seiende, Pes shal be to 3ou, and lo!
 11 ful comen is swerd vn to the soule? In
 that tyme shal be seid to this puple and
 to Jerusalem, Brennende wynde in the
 weies that ben in desert, weies of the
 do3ter of my puple, not to wynewen, and
 12 to purgen. A spirit ful of these shal
 come to me; and now Y, but I shal speke
 13 my domes with them. Lo! as a^o cloude
 he shal stejen vp, and as tempest his
 chares; swifter than eglis his hors; wo
 14 to vs, for wastid wee ben. Wash fro
 malice thin herte, thou Jerusalem, that
 thou be mad saaf. Hou longe shuln
 15 abyde in thee no3ous tho3tes? The vois
 forsothe of the tellende fro Dan, and of
 the knowen makende the mawmet fro
 16 the hil of Effraym. Stereth, 3ee Jentiles;
 lo! herd it is in Jerusalem keperes to
 come fro a ferr lond, and to 3yue vp on
 17 the cites of Juda ther vois^p. As keperes
 of feeldis thei ben mad vpon it in cum-
 pas; for me to wrathe it terrede, seith
 18 the Lord. Thi weies and thi tho3tus
 diden to thee these thingus; this thi ma-
 lice for bitter, for it touchede thin herte.
 19 My wombe I ake, my wombe I ake; the
 wittus of myn herte ben disturbid in me.
 I shal not be stille, for the vois of the

bere of folkis schal reise hym silf. He is
 goon out of his place, to sette thi lond in
 to wildirnesse; thi citees schulen be dis-
 tried, abidyng stille with out dwellere.
 On this thing girde 3ou with heiris;⁸
 weile 3e, and 3elle, for the wraththe of the
 strong veniaunce of the Lord is not turned
 awei fro 3ou. And it schal be, in that dai,⁹
 seith the Lord, the herte of the king schal
 perische, and the herte of princis; and the
 prestis schulen wondre, and the prophetis
 schulen be astonyed. And Y seide, Alas! 10
 alas! alas! Lord God; therfor whether
 thou hast disseyued this puple and Jeru-
 salem, seiynge, Pees schal be to 3ou, and
 lo! a swerd is comun 'til to^b the soule?
 In that tyme it schal be seide to this pu- 11
 ple and to Jerusalem, A brennyng wynd
 in the weies that ben in desert, *ben* the
 weies of the dou3tir of my puple, not to
 wyndewe^c, and not to purge. A spirit¹²
 ful of hem schal come to me; and now Y,
 but Y schal speke my domes with hem.
 Lo! he schal stie as a cloude, and hise¹³
 charis as a tempest; hise horsis *ben*
 swifter than eglis; wo to vs, for we ben
 distried. Thou Jerusalem, waische thin¹⁴
 herte fro malice, that thou be maad saaf.
 Hou long schulen noiful thou3tis dwelle
 in thee? For whi the vois of a tellere¹⁵
 fro Dan, and makynge knowun an idol
 fro the hil of Effraym. Reise, 3e folkis;¹⁶
 lo! it is herd in Jerusalem that keperis
 ben comun fro a fer lond, and 3yuen her
 vois on the citees of Juda. As the keperis¹⁷
 of feeldis thei ben maad on it in cumpas;
 for it stiride me to wrathfulnesse, seith
 the Lord. Thi weyes and thi thou3tis¹⁸
 han maad this to thee; this malice of thee,
 for *it is* bittir, for it touchide thin herte.
 Mi wombe akith, my wombe akith; the¹⁹
 wittis of myn herte ben disturblid in me.
 Y schal not be stille, for my soule herde
 the vois of a trumpe, the cry of batel.
 Sorewe is clepid on sorewe, and al the²⁰

ⁱ reuer, or a prest takere G sec. m. ^k him G pr. m. H. ^l arere AEGH. ^m Om, c pr. m. ^p vs E pr. m.
^o Om. E pr. m. ^p voicis K pr. m.

^b vnto I. ^c wynewe I.

trumpe herde my soule, cry of the bataile.
 20 To-treding vp on to-treding is clepid, and
 wastid is al erthe; feerli ben wastid my
 21 tabernacles, sodeynly my skynnes. Hou
 longe shal I seen a^q man fleende, heren
 22 shal Y the vois of the trumpe? For my
 fool puple me kneȝ not; vnwise sonus
 thei ben, and couwardus; wise thei ben
 that thei do eueles, wel forsothe do thei
 23 kunne not. I beheeld the erthe, and lo!
 voide it was, and of noȝt; and heuenus,
 24 and ther was not liȝt in them. I saȝ
 mounteynes, and lo! thei weren moued,
 25 and alle hillis ben disturbid. Y beheeld,
 and ther was not a man, and eche foul
 26 of heuene wente away. I beheeld, and
 lo! Carmel desert, and alle hys cites ben
 destroyed fro the face of the Lord, and
 fro the face of the wraethe of his wodnes.
 27 These thingus forsothe seith the Lord,
 Desert shal ben eche lond, but nerthe-
 28 latere ful ending Y shal not do. Weile
 shal erthe, and sorewen shul heuenus fro
 aboue, for thi that Y spac; I thoȝte, and
 it othoȝte not me, ne Y turned awei fro
 29 it. Fro the vois of the horse man, and of
 the sendende an arwe fleiȝ al the cyte;
 thei wenten in hard thingus, and steȝeden
 vp on roches; alle the chef cites ben for-
 saken, and dwellith not in them a man.
 30 Thou forsothe wastid, what shalt thou
 do? Whan thou shalt clothe thee with
 rede^r silc, whan thou shalt be enournd
 with the goldene broche^g; and schalt^t
 peynte thin eȝen with strumpetes oyne-
 ment, in veyn thou 'shalt ben^u araied;
 dispiside thee han thi loueres, thi lif thei
 31 shul sechen. A vois forsothe as of the
 trauailende with child I herde, an-
 guysshes as of the child berere; vois of
 the doȝter of Syon among men diende,
 and strecchende out ther hondus; Wo to
 me, for failide my lif for the slayne.

lond is distried; my tabernaclis ben wastid
 sudeynli, my skynnes *ben wastid* sudeynli.
 Hou longe schal Y se hem that fleen, schal²¹
 Y here the vois of a clarioun? For my²²
 fonned puple knew not me; thei ben vn-
 wise sones, and cowardis; thei ben wise
 to do yuels, but thei kouden^d not do^e wel.
 Y bihelde the lond, and lo! it was void,²³
 and nouȝt; and *Y bihelde* heuenes, and no
 liȝt was^f in thoȝ. Y siȝ^h munteyns, and²⁴
 lo! thoⁱ weren mouyd, and all litle hillis
 weren disturbid. Y lokide, and no man²⁵
 was^k, and ech brid of heuene was gon
 away. Y bihelde, and lo! Carmele *is*²⁶
 forsakun, and alle citees therof ben dis-
 tried fro the face of the Lord, and fro the
 face of the ire of his strong veniaunce.
 For the Lord seith these thingis, Al the²⁷
 lond schal be forsakun, but netheles Y
 schal not make an endyng. The erthe²⁸
 schal mourne, and heuenys aboue schulen
 make sorewe, for that Y spac; Y thouȝte,
 and it repentide not me, nether Y am
 turned awei fro it. Ech citee fledde fro²⁹
 the vois of a^l knyȝt, and of a^m man schet-
 yngeⁿ an arowe; thei entriden in to hard
 places, and stieden in to roochis of stoon;
 alle citees ben forsakun, and no man
 dwellith in tho^o. But what schalt thou³⁰
 'destried do^p? Whanne thou schalt clothe
 thee with reed scarlet, whanne thou schalt
 be ournd with a goldun broche, and
 schalt anoynte thin iȝen with wommans
 oynement, thou schalt be araied in veyn;
 thi louyeris han dispisid thee, thei schu-
 len seke thi soule. For Y herd a vois³¹
 as of a womman trauelynge of child, the
 angwischis as^q of a^r womman chilynge;
 the vois of the douȝter of Sion among hem
 that dien, and spreden abroad her hondis;
 Wo to me, for my soule failide for hem
 that ben slayn.

^q Om. E pr. m. ^r flawme c pr. m. E pr. m. ^g broches c. ^t Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^u art E pr. m.

^d knownen I. ^e to do I. ^f ther was I. ^g hem N. ^h sauȝe I *passim*. ⁱ thei N. ^k ther was I.
^l Om. c. ^m Om. E. ⁿ sendinge CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^o hem N. ^p distrie tho H. ^q Om. KX.
^r Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRSUV.

CAP. V.

1 Goth aboute the weies of Jerusalem,
and looketh, and beholdeth, and secheth
in his stretes, whether 3ee fynde a man
doende dom, and sechende feith; and
2 merciful Y shal be to hem. That if also,
The Lord lyueth, thei 'shul sey^u, and
3 that falsly thei shuln swern. Lord, thin
ezen biholden feith; thou hast smyte them,
and thei soreweden not; thou to-treede
them, and thei forsoken to taken disci-
pline; thei inwardli hardeden ther faces
vp on the ston, and wolden not be turned
4 a3een. I forsothe seid, Par auenture pore
men thei ben, and foolis, vnknowende the
weie of the Lord, the^v dom of ther God.
5 I shal go therfor to the cheef men, and
speke to them; thei forsothe knewen the
weie of the Lord, and the dom of ther
God. And lo! more these togidere al to-
breken the 3oc, and brosten out the
6 bondis. Therefore hath smyte them a
leoun of^{vv} the wode; a wlf at euen wast-
ede them, a parde wakende vp on the
cites of them. Eche that shal gon out
of them, shal be take; for multeplied ben
the lawe brekyngus of them, coumfortid
7 ben^w the turnyngus^x awei of them. Vp
on what thing to thee plesid shal Y^{xx}
moun be? Thi sonus forsoken me, and
swern in tho thingus that ben not godis.
I fulfide them, and thei diden fornyca-
cioun, and in the hous of the strumpet
8 thei diden leccherie. Horses loueres in to
wymmen, and courseres thei ben mad;
eche to the wif of his ne3hebore ney3ede.
9 Whether vp on these thingus Y shal not^y
visite, seith the Lord, and in such a folc
of kinde shal not be vengid my soule?
10 Ste3eth vp his wallis, and scatereth; ful
wasting forsothe wileth not do. Doth
awei his forthgetingus, for thei ben not
11 the Lordis. Thur3 lawe breking forsothe
'tresspasede a3en me^{yy} the hous of Irael

CAP. V.

Cumpasse 3e the weies of Jerusalem, 1
and loke, and biholde 3e, and seke 3e in
the stretis therof, whether 3e fynden a
man doynge doom, and sekyng feith;
and Y schal be merciful to hem. That if 2
also thei seien, The Lord lyueth, 3he, thei
schulen swere this falsli. Lord, thin 3en 3
biholden feith; thou hast smyte hem, and
thei maden not sorewe; thou hast al to-
broke hem, and thei forsoken to take
chastisyng; thei maden her faces hardere
than a stoon, and nolden^s turne a3en.
Forsothe Y seide, In hap thei ben pore 4
men, and foolis, that knowen not the weie
of the Lord, and the doom of her God.
Therfor Y schal go to the principal men, and 5
Y schal speke to hem; for thei knewen the
weie of the Lord, and the doom of her God.
And lo! thei han more broke togidere the
3ok, and han broke boondis. Therfor a 6
lioun of the wode smoot hem; a wolf at
euentid wastide hem, a parde wakyng
on the citees of hem. Ech man that goith
out of hem, schal be takun; for the tres-
passyngis of hem ben multiplid, the
turnyngis awei of hem ben coumfortid.
On what thing mai Y be merciful to thee? 7
Thi sones han forsake me, and sweren bi
hem that ben not goddis. Y fillide hem,
and thei diden auowtrie, and in the hous
of an hoore thei diden letcherie. Thei 8
ben maad horsis, and stalouns, louyeris to
wymmen; ech man ney3ede to the wijf of
his ney3bore. Whether Y schal not visite 9
on these thingis, seith the Lord, and
schal not my soule take veniaunce in^t
siche a folk? Styte 3e on^u the wallis ther- 10
of, and distrie 3e; but nyle 3e make an
endyng. Do 3e awei the siouns therof,
for thei ben not *seruauntis* of the Lord.
For whi the hous of Israel and the hous 11
of Juda hath trespassid bi trespassyng
a3ens me, seith the Lord; thei denyeden 12

^u seyden *E pr. m.* ^v and the *E.* ^{vv} fro *E pr. m.* ^w hem *AGHK.* ^x turnyng *A.* ^{xx} Om. *E pr. m.*
^y Om. *K pr. m.* ^{yy} lawe brac a3en *E pr. m.*

^s wolden not *I.* ^t on *N.* ^u up on *I.*

and the hous of Juda, seith the Lord;
 12 thei denyeden 'the Lord^z, and seiden, It
 is not he, nether shal come vp on vs
 euel; swerd and hunger wee shul not see.
 13 The profetus speeken in to the wind, and
 answeere was not in them; these thingus
 14 therefore out come shul to them. These
 thingus seith the Lord God of ostis, For
 3ee speeken this wrd, lo! Y 3yue my
 wrdus in thi mouth in to fyr, and this
 puple in to trees, and it shal deuoure
 15 them. Lo! Y shal bringe to vp on 3ou^{zz}
 a folc of kinde fro aferr, of the hous of
 Israel, seith the Lord; a stalwrthe folc
 of kinde, an old folc of kinde, a folc of
 kinde, whos tunge thou shalt vnknowe^a,
 16 ne vnderstonde what it speke. His
 arewe cas as a sepulcre opene^b; alle stronge
 17 men. And it shal ete thi cornes, and
 thi bred deuoure, thi sonus and thi do3tris;
 it shal ete thi floc, and thi droues, and
 shal eten thi vyne, and thi fige tree; and
 to-brose thi strengthid cites, in whiche
 18 thou hast trost, with swerd. Nerthelate-
 re in tho dazes, seith the Lord, Y shal
 19 not make 3ou in to ful ending. That if
 3ee shul seye, Whi to vs dide the Lord
 oure God alle these thingus? thou shalt
 sei to them, As 3ee han forsake mee, and
 seruede to an alien god in 3our lond, so
 3ee shul serue to alien goddis in the lond
 20 not 3oure. Telleth this to the hous of
 Jacob, and herd maketh in Juda, seiende,
 21 Here, thou fool puple, that hast not herte;
 that hauende e3en, 3ee seen not, and eres,
 22 and heren not. Me therfor 3ee shul not
 drede, seith the Lord, and fro my face
 not sorewen? Which^c 'Y putte^d grauel
 terme to the se, euere durende heste,
 that it shal not passe; and thei shul be
 to-moued, and thei shul not moun; and
 to-swellen shul his flodis, and shul not
 23 passen it. To this puple forsothe is mad
 an herte mystrowende and oute sharp-
 ende; thei wente backward, and 3iden

the Lord, and seiden, He is not, nether
 yuel schal come on vs; we schulen not se
 swerd and hungur. The profetis spaken¹³
 azens the wynd, and noon answer was in
 hem; therfor these thingis schulen come
 to hem. The Lord God of oostis seith¹⁴
 these thingis, For 3e spaken this word,
 lo! Y 3yue my wordis in thi mouth in to
 fier, and this puple in to trees, and it
 schal deuoure hem. Lo! thou hous of¹⁵
 Israel, seith the Lord, Y schal brynge on
 3ou a folk fro fer; a strong folk, an eeld
 folk, 'a folk^v whos langage thou schalt not
 knowe, nether schalt vnderstonde what it
 spekith. The arowe caas therof *is* as^w¹⁶
 an opyn sepulcre; alle *ben* stronge men.
 And it schal ete thi cornes, and it schal¹⁷
 deuoure thi breed, thi sones and thi
 dou3tris; it schal ete *thi* flok, and thi
 droues, it schal ete also thi vyner, and thi
 fige tre; and it schal al to-breke thi
 stronge citees bi^x swerd, in whiche thou
 hast trist. Netheles in tho daies, seith¹⁸
 the Lord, Y schal not make 3ou in to
 endyng. That if 3e seien, Whi hath oure¹⁹
 Lord God do alle these thingis to vs?
 thou schalt sie to hem, As 3e forsoken
 me, and serueden an alien god in 3oure
 lond, so 3e schulen serue alien goddis in a
 lond not 3oure. Telle 3e this to the hous²⁰
 of Jacob, and make 3e herd in Juda, and
 sie 3e, Here, thou fonned puple, that hast²¹
 noon herte; whiche han 3en, and seen
 not, and eeris, and heren not. Therfor²²
 schulen not 3e drede me, seith the Lord,
 and schulen not 3e make sorewe for my
 face? Whiche haue set grauel a^y terme,
ether ende, to the see, an euerlastyng
 comaundement, whiche it schal not passe;
 and the wawis therof schulen be mouyd,
 and schulen not haue power; and schulen
 wexe greet, and schulen not passe it.
 Forsothe an herte vnbileueful and ter-²³
 ryng to wraththe is maad to this puple;
 thei departiden, and 3eden awei, and thei²⁴

^z me E pr. m. ^{zz} hem c et E pr. m. ^a not knowen K. ^b openyng G sec. m. ^c For c pr. m. K pr. m.
 G sec. m. ^d puttyng G pr. m. H.

^v Om. I. ^w Om. CFGMQ. ^x with I. ^y to be a I.

24 awei, and seiden not in ther herte, Drede
wee the Lord ouré God, that 3yueth to
vs tymeli rein, and late comende in his
cesoun, plentenesse of 3eres rip comende
25 to vs. Oure wickenesses^e bowedén down
these thingus, and oure synnes defend-
26 eden good fro vs. For ther ben founden
in my puple vnpitous men, waitende as
fouleres, grenes puttende, and feet gyn-
27 nes, to ben ca3t men. As a^f pit falle ful
of briddes, so the hous of hem ful of
treccherie. Therefore thei ben magnified,
28 and richid inwardli, greid, and fattid,
and thei passeden biside my wrdus alther
werst; the cause of the widewe thei dem-
eden not, the cause of the faderles child
ri3t reuleden not, and the dom of pore
29 men demeden not. Whether vp on these
thingus I shal not visiten, seith the Lord,
or 'vp on^g such maner folc shal not be
30 vengid my soule? Stoneyng and mer-
31 ueiles ben mad in the erthe; profetis
profecieden lesing, and^h prestus flappeden
for io3e with ther hondus, and my puple
louede suche thingus. What thanne shal
ben don in his laste?

CAP. VI.

1 Beth coumfortid, 3ee sonus of Benia-
myn, in the myddil of Jerusalem, and
in Thecua trumpeth with a trumpe, and
vp on Bethacharem rereth a baner; for
euel is seen fro the north, and gret to-
2 treding. To a fair womman and a deli-
3 cat Y liened the do3ter of Sion. To hir
shul come shepperdis and the flockis of
them; thei ficcheden in it tentus in enuy-
roun; feden shal eche them, that vnder
4 his hond ben. Halewith vp on hir a
bataile. Riseth, and ste3e wee vp in the
myddai. Wo to 3ou, for down bowide
the dai, for lengere ben mad 'shadewes
5 than to euen. Riseth, and ste3e wee vp
in the 'ny3t, and to-scattere wee ther
6 houses. For these thingus seith the Lord

seiden not in her herte, Drede we oure
Lord God, that 3iueth to vs reyn tyme-
ful, and lateful in his tyme; that kepith to vs
the plente of heruest of the 3eer. 3oure²⁵
wickidnessis diden awei these thingis, and
3oure synnes forbediden good fro 3ou. For²⁶
ther ben foundun in my puple wickid
men, settinge tresoun, as fouleres settinge
snaris and trappis, to take men. As a²⁷
net, *ether a trap*, ful of briddis, so the
housis of hem *ben* ful of gile. Therfor
thei ben magnified, and maad riche, maad²⁸
fat with ynne, and maad fat with out-
forth, and thei passiden worst my wordis;
thei demyden not a²⁹ cause of a widewe,
thei dressiden not the cause of a fadirles
child, and thei demyden not the doom of
pore men. Whether Y schal not visite²⁹
on these thingis, seith the Lord, ether
schal not my soule take veniaunce on sich
a folk? Wondur and merueilouse thingis³⁰
ben maad in the lond; profetis profesi-³¹
eden leesyng, and prestis ioieden with her
hondis, and my puple louyde siche thingis.
What therfor schal be don in the laste
thing therof?

CAP. VI.

Sones of Beniamyn, be 3e coumfortid in¹
the myddil of Jerusalem, and make 3e
noise with a clarioun in Thecua, and reise
3e a baner on Bethecarem; for whi yuel
and greet sorewe is seyn fro the north.
Y haue liened the dou3tir of Sion to²
fair womman and delicat. Scheepherdis³
and her flockis schulen come to it; thei
han pi3t tentis in it in cumpas; ech man
schal feede hem, that ben vndur his hond.
Halewe 3e batel on it. Rise 3e togidire,⁴
and stie we in myddai. Wo to vs, for the
dai is^a bowid down, for shadewis ben
maad lengere in the euentid. Rise 3e,⁵
and stie we in the ni3t, and distry we
the housis therof. For the Lord of oostis⁶
seith these thingis, Kitte 3e down the tre

^e wickidnessis AGHK. ^f Om. E pr. m. K. ^g on A. ^h Om. E pr. m.

^a the 1. ^a hath CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

of ostus, Hewith ⁱtree of hirⁱ, and delueth aboute Jerusalem an erthe hilloc; this is the cite of visitacioun; eche false^k challenge in his myddel. As thanne cold maketh the cisterne his watir, so cold she hath mad^l hir malice; wickenesse^m and wastyeⁿ shal ben herd^o in hir befor^s me euermor, infirmyte and wounde. Be ta^zst, Jerusalem, lest par auenture go away my soule fro thee; lest par auenture I sette ⁹thee desert, a lond vndwellable. These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, Vnto the cluster braunch thei shul gedere^p, thei shul gedere as in a vynezard^q the relikes of Irael; conuerte thin hond, as a grape ¹⁰kuttere to a basket. To whom shal Y speke, and whom shal Y witnessen, that he^r here? Lo! vncircumcidid the eres of hem, and heren thei moun not; lo! the wrd of the Lord don is to them in to repref, and thei shuln not taken it. ¹¹Therefore of the wodnesse of the Lord Y am ful, and Y trauailede sustenende. Heeld out wodnesse^s vp on the litil child withoute forth, and vp on the counseil of ¹²zunge men togidere; a man forsothe with the wif shal be ca^zt, and the olde with the ful of dajes. And ¹³'passe shul^t the houses of them to othere menⁿ, feldis and wyues togidere; for I shal strecche myn hond vp on men dwellende the lond, seith the Lord. ¹⁴Fro the lasse forsothe vnto the more, alle to auarice studien; and fro the profete vnto the prest, alle don treccherie^v. And thei curen, ¹⁵'or heliden^w, the to-treding of the do^zter of my puple with shenshipe, seiende, Pes, pes, and ther was not pes. Thei ben confoundid, for abhomynacioun thei didyn; but more with confusioun thei ben not confoundid, and shamen thei kouthen not. Wherefore thei shul falle among the men fallende; in tyme of ther visitacioun thei ¹⁶shul falle togidere, seith the Lord. These thingus seith the Lord, Stondeth vp on

therof, and schede ^{3e}erthe aboute Jerusalem; this is the citee of visitacioun; al fals caleng ^{is} in the myddis therof. As ⁷a cisterne makith his water coold, so it made his malice coold; wickidnesse and distriyng schal euer be herd ther ynne bfore me, sikenesse and wounde. Jerusalem, be thou tau^zt, lest perauenture my soule go awei fro thee; lest perauenture Y sette thee forsakun, a loond vnhabitable. The Lord of oostis seith these ⁹thingis, Thei schulen gadere til to a racyn, thei schulen gadere the remenauntis of Israel as in a vyner; turne thin hond, as a gaderer of grapis to the bascat. To ¹⁰whom schal Y speke, and to whom schal Y seie witnessing, that he here? Lo! the eeris of hem *ben* vncircumcidid, and thei moun not here; lo! the word of the Lord is maad to hem in to dispit, and thei schulen not resseiue it. Therfor Y am ¹¹ful of the strong veniaunce^a of the Lord, and Y trauelide suffrynge. Schede thou out on^b a litil child with outforth, and on the counsel of ¹²zonge men togidere; for a man with his wijf schal be takun, and an eeld man with him that is ful of daies. And the housis of hem, the feeldis and ¹³wyues^c togidere, schulen go to othere men; for Y schal strecche forth myn hond on the dwelleris of the lond, seith the Lord. For fro the lesse ¹⁴'til to^d the grettere, alle studien to auerise; and alle doon gile, fro the profete ¹⁵'til to^d the preest. And thei heelden the sorewe of the dou^zter of my puple with yuel fame, seiynge, Pees, pees, and no pees was. Thei ben schent, that ¹⁶diden abhomynacioun; ^{3he}, rathere thei weren not schent bi confusioun, and thei kouden not be aschamed. Wherefor thei schulen falle down among hem that schulen falle down; thei schulen falle down in the tyme of her visitacioun, seith the Lord. The Lord seith these thingis, Stonde ^{3e}16

ⁱ ther tree E pr. m. ^k Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^l don E pr. m. ^m wickidnes AGHK. ⁿ wastynessee c pr. m. ^o hid K. ^p gederen eftsone E pr. m. ^q vyne c pr. m. E pr. m. ^r she E pr. m. ^s Om. E pr. m. ^t thei shul passe E pr. m. ^u Om. E pr. m. ^v letcherie A. ^w Om. CE pr. m.

^a wodnessee A sec. m. marg. ^b veniaunce on I marg. ^c vyne A pr. m. the vines EGP. ^d vnto I.

weies, and seeth, and asketh of the olde pathis, what is the goode weie; and goth in it, and 3ee shul fynde refreshinge to 3oure soules. And thei seiden, Wee shul 17 not go. And Y sette vp on 3ou tooteres, and seide, Hereth the vois of the trumpe. And thei seiden, Wee shuln not heren. 18 Therfore hereth^x, 3ee folc of kinde, and knowith, 3ee congregacioun, hou grete 19 thingus Y shal do to them. Here, thou erthe, lo! Y shal bringe to eueles vp on this puple, frut of ther^y tho3tus; for my wrdus thei herden not, and my lawe thei 20 threwn aferr. Wherto to me cens of Saba 3ee bringen, and the spices calamyz swote smellende fro a ferr lond? 3oure brente sacrifices ben not acceptid, 3oure victorye sacrifices pleseden not to me. 21 Therfore these thinges seith the Lord God, Lo! Y shal 3yue in to this puple fallyngus, and shul falle in them faderes and sonus togidere, nezhebore and cosyn, 22 and pershen. These thingus seith the Lord God, Lo! the puple cam from the lond of the north, and a gret folc of kinde shal togidere rise fro the costes of 23 the lond. Arwe and sheld it shal take; cruel it is, and it shal not han^a mercy; his vois as the se shal sowne, and vp on hors ste3en vp thei shul beforⁿ mad redy as a man to bataile a3en thee, thou 24 do3ter of Sion. Wee han herd the loes^b of it, losid atwynne ben oure hondus; tribulacioun ca3te vs, sorewis as^c the tra- 25 uailende with childe. Wileth not gon out to^d the feeldis, and in weie goth not, for the swerd of the enemy, the ferd^e of 26 the enemy in enuyroun. Thou do3tir of my puple, be thou gird with an heire, and to-sprengd with asken; weilende of the onli geten mac to thee bitter morn- yng, for feerli shal come the wastere vp 27 on vs. A stalwrthe prouere Y 3af thee in my puple, and thou shalt wite, and

on weies, and se 3e, and axe 3e of elde pathis, which is the good weie; and go 3e ther ynne, and 3e schulen fynde refreisch- yng to 3oure soulis. And thei seiden, We schulen not go. And Y ordeynede aspi- 17 eris^e on 3ou, and Y seide, Here 3e the vois of a trumpe. And thei seiden, We schulen not here. Therfor, bethene men, here 3e, 18 and, thou congregacioun, knowe, hou grete thingis Y shal do to hem. Thou erthe, 19 here, lo! Y schal brynge yuels on this puple, the fruit of her thou3tis; for thei herden not my wordis, and castiden awei my lawe. Wherto bryngen 3e to me en- 20 cense fro Saba, and a tre of spicerie smellynge swetli fro a fer lond? 3oure brent sacrifices ben not acceptid, and 3oure slayn sacrifices plesiden not me. Therfor²¹ the Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal 3yue fallyngis in to this puple, and fadris and sones togidere, a neizbore and kynesman, schulen falle in hem, and schulen perische. The Lord God seith these 22 thingis, Lo! a puple cometh fro the lond of the north^g, and a greet folk schal rise togidere fro the endis of erthe. It schal 23 take an^h arowe and scheld; it is cruel, and schal not haue merci; the vois therof schal sowne as theⁱ see, and thei maad redi as a man to batel schulen stie on horsis a3ens thee, thou dou3ter of Sion. We herden 24 the fame therof, oure hondis ben 'acum- sid^k; tribulacioun hath take vs, sorewis *han take vs* as a womman trauelinge of child. Nyle 3e go out to the feeldis, and 25 go 3e not in the weie, for the swerd of the enemye, drede in cumpas. The dou3tir of 26 my puple, be thou gird with heire, and be thou spreynt togidere with aische; make to thee mourenyng of oon aloone gendrid^l sone, a bitter weilyng, for whi a wastere schal come sodenli on 3ou. I 3af thee a^m 27 strong preuere in my puple, and thou schalt knowe, and preue the weie of hem.

^x Om. *E pr. m.* ^y his *AEGHK.* ^z calamimi *A.* calam *E pr. m. H.* calamyny *G sup. ras.* calaminum *K.*
^a ha *K.* ^b vois *A.* ^c and *K.* ^d Om. *E pr. m.* ^e feer *AG sec. m.* fer *E sec. m. G pr. m. H.*

^e aspienis, *ether biholderis* *CEFGHIKMNPRSUUVX.*
^l gotun *I.* ^m to be *a I.*

^g Lord *I.* ^h Om. *I.* ⁱ a *N.* ^k acumblid *P.*

28 preue the weie of them. Alle these
princes of men boweden^f doun goende
gilendely, bras^g and yren; alle ben shent.
29 Failede the meltende^h vessel, in fyr
wastid is the led, in veyn meltide togi-
dere the 3eetere; forsothe the malices of
30 them ben not wastid. Repreued siluer
clepeth hem, for the Lord thre3 hem
aferr.

CAP. VII.

1 The wrd that is mad to Jeremye of
2 the Lord, seiende, Stond in the 3ate of
the hous of the Lord, and preche there
this wrd, and sey, Hereth the wrd of
the Lord, al Juda, that gon in thur3
these 3atus, that 3ee honoure the Lord.
3 These thingus seith the Lord of ostus,
God of Irael, Good maketh 3oure weies,
and 3oure studies, and I shal dwelle with
4 3ou in this place. Wileth not trosten in
wrdis of lesyng, seiende, Temple of the
Lord, temple of the Lord, temple of the
5 Lord is. For if 3ee 'wil euene ri3t reulenⁱ
3oure weies, and 3oure studies; if 3ee do^k
6 dom betwe^l man and his nezhebore; to
the comeling, and to the faderles child,
and to the widewe 3ee do not wrong^m
chaleng; ne ynnocent blod 3e sheden out
in this place, and after aliene goddis 3ee
7 go not out, in to euel to 3ou self, Y shal
dwelle with 3ou in this place, in the lond
that Y 3af to 3oure faders, fro the world
8 in to the world. Lo! 3ee trosten to 3ou
in wrdus of lesing, that shul not profite
9 to 3ou; to steln, to slen, to don auoutrie,
to swern liendely, to 'offre to Baalym,
and to gon after aliene godus, whom 3ee
10 knowe not. And 3ee camen, and stoden
bifor me in this hous, in whiche is in-
wardly clepid my name; and 3ee seiden,
Delyuered wee ben, for thi that wee 'han
11 doⁿ alle these abhominaciouns. Whether
thanne a spelunke, or denne^o, of theues mad
is this hous, in whiche is inwardly clepid

Alle these princis bowynge awei, goynge 28
gilefuli, ben metal and irun; alle ben cor-
rupt. The beluⁿ failide, leed is waastid in 29
the fier, the wellere wellide in veyn; for
the malices of hem ben not wastid. Clepe 30
3e hem repreuable siluer, for the Lord
hath cast hem awei.

CAP. VII.

The word that was maad of the Lord 1
to Jeremye, and seide, Stonde thou in the 2
3ate of the hous of the Lord, and preche
there this word, and seie, Al Juda, that
entren bi these 3atis for to worschipe the
Lord, here 3e the word of the Lord. The 3
Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these
thingis, Make 3e good 3oure weies, and
3oure studies, and Y schal dwelle with 3ou
in this place. Nyle 3e triste in the wordis 4
of leesyng, and seie, The temple of the
Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple
of the Lord is. For if 3e blessen 3oure 5
weies, and 3our studies; if 3e doon doom
bitwixe a man and his neizbore; if 3e 6
maken not fals caleng to a comelyng, and
to a fadirles child, and to a widewe; ne-
ther scheden out innocent blood in this
place, and goen not after alien goddis, in
to yuel to 3ou^o silf, Y schal dwelle with 7
3ou in this place, in the lond which Y 3af
to 3oure fadris, fro the world and til in to
the world. Lo! 3e trusten to 3ou in the 8
wordis of leesyng, that shulen not profite to
3ou; to stele, to sle, to do auowtrie, to swere 9
falsli, to make sacrifice to Baalym, and to
go aftir alien goddys, whiche 3e knowen
not. And 3e camen, and stoden bifor me 10
in this hous, in which my name is clepid
to help; and 3e seiden, We ben delyuered,
for we han do alle these abhominaciouns.
Whether therfor this hous, wherynne my 11
name is clepid to help bifore 3oure 3en, is
maad a denne of theues†? I, Y am, Y si3,

† Thes synnes shewen, that in
veyn thei had-
den trist in the
temple. What
profitith it to
entre booldli
into Goddis
hous, and
stonde with
reysid nol, and
to haue not
oonly the herte
defoulid, but
also the hondis?
As if he seide,
It profitith no-
thing. No man
doutith, that
this bifallith
goostli in the
chirche, whanne
men biholden
the prosperite
of present
tyme, and
amenden not
her synnes, but
thei gessen that
God seeth not,
for veniaunce
sueth not
anoon; and
thei breken out
in to so greet
woodnesse, that
thei boosten
hem silf dely-
uerid, that han
go awei fro the
verie worship-
ing of God.
The glose here.
v text.

^f bouwen A. boowen E sec. m. bowynge GH.
ing E sec. m. ⁱ wel euene ri3t reulen C et E pr. m.

shul do GHK. ^l betwix AGHK. between E.

^o Om. CE pr. m.

^g as brasse AGHK.

schul blesse E sec. m. AGHK.

^m Om. C pr. m. E pr. m.

^h belie melting E pr. m. melt-

^k schulde do E sec. m.

ⁿ alle schulde do E pr. m.

my name in þoure eȝen? I, Y^p am, Y saȝ,
 12 seith the Lord. Goth to my place in
 Silo, wher dwellide my name fro the bi-
 gynnyng, and seith what I dide to it, for
 13 the malice of my puple Irael. And now,
 for ȝee han don alle these werkis, seith
 the Lord, and Y spac to ȝou, erly risende,
 and spekende, and ȝee herden not, and Y
 14 clepede ȝou, and ȝee answerden not; Y
 shal do to this hous, in whiche is clepid
 my name, and^q in whiche^r ȝee han trost,
 and to the place that Y ȝaf to ȝow and to
 15 ȝoure faders, as Y dide to Silo. And Y^s
 shal throwe ȝou aferr fro my face, as Y
 threȝ aferr alle ȝoure brethern, al^t the sed
 16 of Effraym. Thou^u thanne wile thou not
 preȝe for this puple, ne take thou to for
 them preising and orisoun; and ne with-
 stonde thou to me, for Y shal not here
 17 thee. Whether seest thou not, what these
 don in the cites of Juda, and in the
 18 stretes of Jerusalem? Sonus gederen
 trees, and faders brennen vp fyr; and
 wymmen sprengen togidere talȝ, that
 thei make sweete cakis to the quen of
 heuene, and sacrificen to aliene goddis,
 19 and me to wrathe thei terre^v. Whether
 me to wrathe thei terre^w? seith the
 Lord; whether not themself in^x the
 20 confusioun of ther chere? Therefore these
 thingus seith the Lord God, Lo! my
 wodnes and myn indignacioun is molten
 vp on thys place, vp on the wallis, and
 vp on the bestes, and vp on the tree of
 the regioun, and vp on the frutus of the
 erthe; and it shal be tend vp, and not
 21 be^y quenchid. These thingus seith the
 Lord of ostes, God of Irael, ȝoure brent
 sacrificis addeth to ȝoure victorie sacri-
 22 fises, and eteth flesh. For Y spac not
 with ȝoure faders, and I comaundide not
 to them, in the dai that I ladde them out
 fro the lond of Egipt, of the wrd of brent
 23 sacrificis, and of victorie sacrificis. But
 this wrd I comaundide to them, seiende,
 Hereth my vois, and Y shal be to ȝou a

seith the Lord. Go ȝe to my place in Silo, 12
 where my name dwellide at the bigyn-
 nyng, and se ȝe what thingis Y dide to it,
 for the malice of my puple Israel. And 13
 now, for ȝe han do alle these werkis, seith
 the Lord, and Y spac to ȝou, and roos
 eerli, and Y spac, and ȝe herden not, and
 Y clepide ȝou, and ȝe answeriden not; Y 14
 schal do to this hous, wherynne my name
 is clepid to help, and in which hous ȝe
 han trist, and to the place which Y ȝaf to
 ȝou and to ȝoure fadris, as Y dide to Silo.
 And Y schal caste ȝou forth fro my face, 15
 as Y castide^q forth alle ȝoure britheren, al
 the seed of Effraym. Therfor nyl thou 16
 preie for this puple, nether take thou
 heriyng and preier for hem; and aȝen-
 stonde thou not me, for Y schal not here
 thee. Whether thou seest not, what these 17
 men don in the citees of Juda, and in the
 stretis of Jerusalem? The sones gaderen 18
 stickis, and the fadris kyndlen a fier; and
 wymmen sprengen togidere ynnere fat-
 nesse, to make kakis to the queen of he-
 uene, to make sacrifice to alien goddis,
 and to terre me to wrathfulnesse. Whe- 19
 ther thei stiren me to wrathfulnesse? seith
 the Lord; whether *thei stiren* not hem
 silf in to schenschip of her cheer? Ther- 20
 for the Lord God seith these thingis, Lo!
 my strong veniaunce and myn indigna-
 cioun is wellid togidere on this place, on
 men, and on beestis, and on the tree of
 the cuntrei, and on the fruitis of erthe;
 and it schal be kyndlid, and it schal not
 be quenchid. The Lord of oostis, God of 21
 Israel, seith these thingis, Heepe ȝe ȝoure
 brent sacrifices to ȝoure slayn sacrifices,
 and ete ȝe fleischis. For Y spac not with 22
 ȝoure fadris, and Y comaundide not to
 hem of the word of brent sacrifices, and
 of slayn sacrifices, in the dai in which Y
 ledde hem out of the lond of Egipt. But 23
 Y comaundide this word to hem, and Y
 seide, Here ȝe my vois, and Y schal be
 God to ȝou, and ȝe schulen be a puple to

^p Om. *A sec. m. G pr. m. H.* ^q Om. *A.* ^r the which *A.* ^s Om. *E pr. m.* ^t and al *E pr. m.* ^u Om. *K.*
^v terreden *A.* ^w terreden *A.* ^x in to *E sec. m.* ^y Om. *AGHK.*

God, and 3ee shul be to me a puple; and goth in eche weie that Y comaunde to 24 3ou, that it wel be to 3ou. And thei herden not, ne boweden ther ere, but wenten awei in ther foule delites, and in shreudenes of ther euele herte; and thei 25 ben mad backward, and not befor, fro the day that the fadris of them wenten out fro the lond of Egipt vn to this dai. And I sente to 3ou alle my seruauus profetus^z, bi dai risende^a erli, and sendende. 26 And thei herden not me, ne boweden in ther ere; but inwardli hardeden ther nol, 27 and werse wrou3ten than ther fadris. And thou shalt speke to them alle these wrdys, and thei shul not here thee; thou shalt clepe them, and thei shul not answern to 28 thee. And thou shalt sey to them, This is the^b folc, that herde not the vois of the Lord ther God, ne resceyuede discipline; feith pershede, and is taken awei fro the 29 mouth of them. Dodde thin her, and thro3 aferr, and in euene rijt tac weiling; for the Lord hath throwen aferr, and forsaken the ieneracioun of his wod- 30 nesse. For the sonus of Juda diden euel in myn e3en, seith the Lord; thei set- teden ther offendende thingus in the hous, in whiche ys inwardly clepid my name, 31 that thei defoule^c it; and thei bilden vp the he3e thingus of Tofeth, that is in the valey of the sone of Ennon, that thei brenne ther sonus and ther doztris with fyr, the whiche thingus I comaundide not, 32 ne tho3te in myn herte. Therefore lo! dazes comen, seith the Lord, and it shal not be seid no mor Tofeth, and the valey of the sone of Ennon, but the valey of slazter; and thei shul birien in Tofeth, for thi that ther was not place to birie 33 *for the multitude of careynes*. And ben shal the moreyn of this puple in to mete to the foules of heuene, and to the^d bestus of erthe; and ther shal not be that dryue 34 away. And to resten I shal make fro the chef cytes of Juda, and fro the stretes

me; and go 3e in al the weie which Y comaundide to 3ou, that it be wel to 3ou. And thei herden not, nether bowiden doun 24 her eere, but thei 3eden in her lustis, and in the schrewidnesse of her yuel herte; and thei ben put^r bihynde, and not bifore, fro the dai in which her fadris 3eden out 25 of the lond of Egipt til to this dai. And Y sente to 3ou alle my seruauantis profetis, and Y roos eerli bi the dai, and Y sente. And thei herden not me, nether bowiden 26 doun her eere; but thei maden hard her nol, and wrou3ten worse than the fadris of hem. And thou schalt speke to hem 27 alle these wordis, and thei schulen not heere thee; and thou schalt clepe hem, and thei schul not answer to thee. And thou 28 schalt seie to hem, This is the folc, that herde not the vois of her Lord God^a, nether resceyuede chastysyng; feith perischide, and is takun awei fro the mouth of hem. Clippe thin heer, and cast awei, 29 and take thou weilyng streijtli; for the Lord hath cast awei, and hath forsake the generacioun of his strong veniaunce. For 30 the sonus of Juda han do yuel^t bifer myn i3en, seith the Lord; thei han set her offendyngis in the hous, in which my name is clepid to help, that thei schulden defoule that *hous*; and thei bildiden hi3e thingis 31 in Tophet, which is in the valei of the sone of Ennon, that thei schulden brenne her sonus and her dou3tris bi fier, whiche thingis Y comaundide not, nether thou3te in myn herte. Therfor lo! daies comen, 32 seith the Lord, and it schal no more be seid Tophet, and the valei of the sone of Ennon, but the valey of sleyng; and thei schulen birie in Tophet, for ther is no place. And the deed careyn of this puple 33 schal be in to mete to the briddis of heuene, and to the beestis of erthe; and noon schal^u be that schal dryue awei. And Y 34 schal make to ceesse the vois of ioie, and the vois of gladnesse, and the vois of spouse, and the vois of spousesse fro the

^z and prophetis K. ^a Y rysyng *AGH*. I rising *E sec. m.* ^b a *A*. ^c defouliden *K*. ^d Om. *AE GHK*.

^r maad *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX*. ^s Om. *N*. ^t yuel thing *I*. ^u ther schal *I*.

of Jerusalem, vois of io3e, and vois of gladnesse, vois of the spouse man, and vois of the spouse womman; in desolacioun forsothe shal ben the erthe.

CAP. VIII.

1 In that tyme, seith the Lord, thei shul caste out the bonus of the king of Juda, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of prestus, and the bones of profetes, and the bones of hem that dwell-
2 iden^e Jerusalem fro ther sepulcris; and sprede them abroad to the sunne, and the^f moone, and al the kny3thed of heuene, whiche^g thei loueden, and to whom thei serueden, and after whiche thei 3iden, and whiche thei so3ten, and honoureden; thei shul not be gedered, and not biried; in to a dunghil vp on the face of erthe thei
3 shul be. And thei shul chesen more deth than lif, alle that residue shul be of this werste kinrede, in alle places that ben laft, to whiche I thre3 hem down, seith
4 the Lord of ostis. And thou shalt sey to them, These thingus seith the Lord, Whether he that shal falle, shal not risen a3een^h? and he that is turned awei, shal
5 not be turned a3een? Whi thanne turned awei is this puple in to Jerusalem with striuous turnyng awei? Thei ca3ten les-
6 ing, and wolden not turne a3een. Y tooc heed, and herknede; no man that good is speketh, no man is that do penaunce 'vp onⁱ his synne, seiende, What haue Y do? Alle ben turned to ther cours, as an hors
7 in bure goende to bataile. The kite in heuene kne3 his tyme; the turtir, and the swalewe, and *the somer foul that is clepid* cyconye, kepten the time of ther comyng; my puple forsothe kne3 not the
8 dom of the Lord. Hou sey 3ee, Wise men wee ben, and the lawe of the Lord is with vs? Verely lesing wro3te the lyende
9 poyntil of the scribis. Confoundid ben

citees of Juda, and fro the stretis of Jerusalem; for the lond schal be in desolacioun.

CAP. VIII.

In that tyme, seith the Lord, thei schu-
1 len caste out the boonys of the kingis of Juda, and the boonys of princes therof, and the boonys of prestis, and the boonys of profetis, and the boonys of hem that dwelliden in Jerusalem fro her sepulcris; and thei schulen leie abroad tho² *boonys* to the sunne, and moone, and to al the kny3thod of heuene, which thei louyden, and which thei seruyden, and aftir whiche thei 3eden, and whiche thei sou3ten, and worschipiden; tho^v schulen not be gaderid, and schulen not be biried; tho^v schulen be in to a dunghil on the face of erthe. And
3 alle men schulen cheese deth more than lijf, whiche ben left^w of this worst kynrede, in alle places that ben left, to whiche^x *places* Y castide hem out, seith the Lord of oostis. And thou schalt seie to hem,
4 The Lord seith these thingis, Whether he that schal falle, schal not rise a3en? and whether he that is turned awei, schal not turne a3en? Whi therfor is this puple in
5 Jerusalem turned awei bi turnyng awei ful of strijf? Thei han take leesyng, and nolden^y turne a3en. Y perseyuede, and
6 herknede; no man spekith that that is good, noon is^z that doith penaunce for his synne, and seith, What haue Y do? Alle ben turnede togidere to her cours, as an hors goyng bi fersnesse to batel. A kite
7 in the eir knew his tyme; a turtle, and a swalewe, and a siconye, kepten^a the tyme of her comyng; but iny puple knew not the doom of the Lord. Hou seien 3e, We ben
8 wise men, and the lawe of the Lord is with vs? Verili the fals writyng^b of scribis wrou3te leesyng. Wise men ben
9

^e dwelliden in A. dwellen in GHK. ^f Om. G pr. m. to the H. ^g the whiche AGHK. ^h Om. E pr. m.
ⁱ C sup. ras. for E pr. m.

^v thei N. ^w residue, *ether left* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^x the whiche I. ^y wolden not I. ^z ther is I.
^a kepen N. ^b styl, *ether writing* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

the wise men, gast and cast thei ben.
 The wrd forsothe of the Lord thei casten
 10 aferr, and no wisdam is in hem. Ther-
 fore Y shal ȝiue ther wymmen to straun-
 geres, and ther feeldis to alien eires; for
 fro the leste vnto^k the moste auarice alle
 folewen, fro the^l profete vnto the prest
 11 alle don^m lesing; and heleden the to-
 brosing of the doȝter of my puple to
 shenshippe, seiende, Pes, pes, whan ther
 12 was notⁿ pes. Confoundid thei ben, for
 abhomynacioun thei diden; but myche
 more by confusioun thei ben not con-
 foundid, and shamen thei kouthen not.
 Therfor thei shul falle among men fall-
 ende, in tyme of ther visitacioun thei
 13 shul falle togidere, seith the Lord. Geder-
 ende Y shal gedere them togidere, seith
 the Lord; ther is not grape in the vynes,
 and ther ben not fyges in the fige ȝerd^o;
 the lef flowede doun, and I ȝaf to them
 14 the^p thingus that^q ben go hisidis. Whi
 sitte wee? cometh togidere, go wee in to
 the strengthid cite, and holde wee oure
 pes there; for our Lord hath maad vs to
 be stille, and drinke ȝaf to vs watir of
 galle; wee han synned forsothe to the
 15 Lord. Wee han abide pes, and ther was
 not good; tyme of leching, and lo! dred.
 16 Fro Dan is herd the fnesting^r of his hors;
 fro the vois of his^{rr} neizende^s fȳteres to-
 stirid is alle the lond; and thei camen,
 and deuoureden the lond, and his^t plente,
 17 the chef cite, and his dwelleres. For lo! I
 shal sende to ȝou werst edderes, to whiche
 is not enchaunting; and thei shul bite
 18 ȝou, seith the Lord. My sorewe vp on
 sorewe, in me myn herte mournende.
 19 And lo! the vois of the cry of the doȝter
 of my puple fro a ferr lond. Whether the
 Lord is not in Sion, or his king is not
 in it? Why thanne me to wrathe thei
 stereden in ther grauen thingus, and in
 20 alyene vanytes? Ryp passede, endid is

schent, ben^c maad^d aferd and takun. For
 thei castiden^e awei the word of the Lord,
 and no wisdom is in hem. Therfor Y 10
 schal ȝyue the wymmen of hem to straun-
 geris, and the feeldis of hem to alien eiris;
 for fro the leeste 'til to^f the mooste alle
 suen aueryce, fro a profete 'til to^f the
 preest alle maken leesyng; and thei heel- 11
 iden the sorowe of the douȝtir of my pu-
 ple to schenshippe, seiynge, Pees, pees,
 whanne no pees was. Thei ben schent, 12
 for thei diden abhomynacioun; ȝhe, rather
 thei weren not schent bi schenshippe, and
 kouden not be aschamed. Therfor thei
 schulen falle among falleris, in the tyme
 of her visitacioun thei schulen falle, seith
 the Lord. I gaderynge schal gadere hem, 13
 seith the Lord; no grape is in the vynes,
 and figis ben not in the fige tre; a leef
 felle doun, and Y ȝaf to hem tho thingis
 that ben go out ouer. Whi sitten we? 14
 come ȝe togidere, entre we in to a strong
 citee, and be we stille there; for oure Lord
 hath maad vs to be stille, and ȝaf to vs
 drynk the watir of galle; for we han
 synned to the Lord. We abididen^s pees, 15
 and no good was; *we abididen^s* tyme of
 medicyn, and lo! drede *is*. Gnastyng of 16
 horsis therof is herd fro Dan; al the lond
 is moued of the vois of neiyngis of hise
 werriours; and thei camen, and deuour-
 iden the lond, and the plente therof, the
 citee, and the dwelleris therof. For lo! 17
 Y schal sende to ȝou the werste serpentis,
 to whiche is no charmyng; and thei schu-
 len bite ȝou, seith the Lord. My sorewe 18
is on sorewe, myn herte *is* mourenynge in
 me. And lo! the vois of cry of the douȝ- 19
 ter of my puple *cometh* fro a ferr lond.
 Whether the Lord is not in Sion, ethir
 the kyng therof is not therynne? Whi
 therfor stiriden thei me to wrathfulnesse
 bi her grauun ymagis, and bi alien vany-
 tes? Heruest is passid, somer is endid; 20

^k to A. into G pr. m. H. ^l Om. EK. ^m dide E pr. m. ⁿ no GHK. ^o tree C pr. m. ^p tho AE sup. ras. GHK.
^q Om. E pr. m. ^r or noyse C sec. m. marg. noyse E sec. m. AGHK. ^{rr} Om. C. ^s neizynge AEGHK. ^t al
 his E pr. m. K. ^u and the A.

^c thei ben I. ^d Om. N. ^e casten I. ^f vnto I. ^g abiden IS.

21 somer; and wee ben not saf^v. Vp on the
to-treding of the doȝtir of my puple Y am
to-treden, and sorewid; stoneyng with-
22 heeld me. Whether gumme is not in
Galaad, or a leche is not there? Whi
thanne the hid wounde of the doȝter of
my puple is not al helid^w?

CAP. IX.

1 Who schal ȝyue to myn hed watir, and^x
to myn eȝen a welle of teres? And I schal
wepe dai and nyȝt the slayne men of the
2 doȝter of my puple. Who schal ȝyue me
in to wildernesse of dyuers weie goeres?
And I schal forsake my puple, and gon
away fro them. For alle auoutreris thei
ben, and cumpanye of lawe brekeres;
3 and thei benten^y out ther tunge as ther
bowe of lesyng, and not of treuthe. Thei
ben coumfortid in erthe, for fro euel to
euel thei wenten out, and me thei knewe^z
4 not, seith the Lord. Eche^a kepe hymself
fro his neȝhebre, and in eche brother of
hym haue he not trost; for eche brother
supplauntende schal supplaunte, and eche
5 frend gilendely schal go. And a man his
brother schal scorne, and treuthe schal not
speke; thei taȝten forsothe ther tunge
to speke lesyng; that wickely^b thei schul-
6 den^c don, thei traualiden. Thi^d dwell-
ing in the myddel of treccherie; in trec-
cherie thei forsoke me to knowen, seith
7 the Lord. Therefore these thingus seith
the Lord of ostus, Lo! I shall ȝeete and
preue them^e; what forsothe other thing
'shal Y^f do fro the face of the sone^g of my
8 puple? An arwe woundende^h the tunge
of hem, treccherie it spac; in hisⁱ mouth
pes with his frend he speketh, and pri-
9 ueli he putteth to hym aspies. Whether
vp on these thingus I schal not visite, seith
the Lord, or in to such a maner folc schal
10 not be vengid my soule? Vp on moun-
teynes Y shall take to weping and mourn-
yng^k, and^l vp on the faire thingus of

and we ben not sauȝd. Y am turmentid, 21
and sori on the sorewe of the douȝter of
my puple; astonying helde me. Whether 22
resyn[†] is not in Galaad, ether a leche is
not there? Whi therfor the wounde of
the douȝtir of my puple is not heeld
perfitli?

CAP. IX.

Who schal ȝyue watir to myn heed, 1
and a welle of teeris to myn ȝen? And
Y schal biwepe dai and niȝt the slayn men
of the douȝter of my puple. Who schal 2
ȝyue me in to a wildirnesse of dyuerse
weigoeris? And I schal forsake my puple,
and Y schal go awei fro hem. For whi alle
ben auowteris, and the cumpenyes of tres-
passouris aȝens the lawe; and thei helden 3
forth her tunge as a bouwe of leesyng,
and not of treuthe. Thei ben coumfortid
in erthe, for thei ȝeden out fro yuel to
yuel, and thei knewen not me, seith the
Lord. Ech man kepe hym fro his neiȝ- 4
bore, and haue no trist in ony brother of
hym; for whi ech brother disseyuyng
schal disseyue, and ech frend schal go
gilefuli. And a man schal scorne his 5
brother, and schal not speke treuthe; for
thei tauȝten her tunge to speke leesyng;
thei traueliden to do wickidli. Thi dwell- 6
yng *is* in the myddis of gile; in gile thei
forsoken to knowe me, seith the Lord.
Therfor the Lord of oostis seith these 7
thingis, Lo! Y schal welle togidere, and
Y schal preue hem; for whi what other
thing schal Y do fro the face of the douȝ-
ter of my puple? The tunge of hem *is* an 8
arowe woundyng, and spak gile; in his
mouth he spekith pees with his frend,
and priueli he settith tresouns to hym.
Whether Y schal not visite on these 9
thingis, seith the Lord, ether schal not
my soule take veniaunce on sicke a folc?
On hillis Y schal take wepyng and mourn- 10
yng, and weilyng on the faire thingis of

† *resyn*, is a
gumme of greet
odour, and me-
dicynable. *Λ et*
plures.

^v sauȝd *E sec. m. AGHK*. ^w stopped *E pr. m.* ^x Om. *c pr. m.* ^y benden *AEGH*. ^z knowen *K*. ^a Eche
man *E sec. m. AGHK*. ^b wickidly *AGHK*. ^c Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^d Ther *K*. ^e ȝou *E pr. m. AGHK*.
^f I schal *E pr. m.* ^g douȝter *AGHK*. ^h woundide *AHK*. ⁱ ther *E pr. m.* ^k lamenting *c pr. m. E pr. m.*
^l Om. *c pr. m.*

desert weilende, for thei ben brend vp;
for thi that ther was^m not a man pass-
ende thur³, and thei herden not the vois
of the weldere; fro the foul of heuene vn
to the bestes, thei ³iden ouerⁿ, and wenten
11 awei. And Y schal ³yue Jerusalem in to
hepes^o of grauel, and in to couches of
dragounes; and^p the cites of Juda Y schal
³yuen in to desolacioun, for thi that ther
12 is not a dwellere. Who is a wis man
that vnderstant^q this, and to whom the
wr^d of the mouth of the Lord be mad,
that he telle this^r? Whi pershede the
lond, ful out is brend as desert, for thi
13 that ther ys not that thur³ passe? And
the Lord seide, For thei forsoken my
lawe, that I ³af to them, and thei herden
14 not my vois, and thei ³ide not in yt; and
³iden^s awei after the shreudenesse of ther
herte, and aftir Baalym, whom thei hadde
15 lerned of ther^t fadris; therefore these
thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of
Israel, Lo! I schal fede this puple with
wrmod, and drinke Y schal ³yue to them
16 water of galle^u. And Y schal scatere them
in Jentilis, that knewe not thei and the
fadris of hem; and Y schal sende vpon
hem swerd, to the tyme that thei be ful
17 wastid. These thingus seith the Lord of
ostus, God of Israel, Beholdeth, and clep-
eth weilende wymmen, and come thei;
and^v to them that wise ben sendeth, and
18 go thei forth. Hee³e thei, and take thei
to vp on vs mournyng^w; leden out oure
e³en teres, and oure e³e lydis flowe thei
19 doun with watris; for the vois of la-
menting^x herd is fro Sion. What maner
wastid wee ben, and confoundid hugely?
for we han forsake the lond, for throwen
20 doun ben oure tabernacles. Hereth ther-
fore, ³ee wymmen, the wr^d of the Lord,
and taken to ³oure eres the sermoun of
his mouth; and techeth ³oure do³tris la-
menting, and eche womman hir nezhe-

desert, for tho^h ben brent; for no man is
passynge forth, and thei herden not the
vois of hym that weldith; fro a brid of
the eir 'til to^l scheep, tho^k passiden ouer,
and ³eden awei. And Y schal ³yue Jeru- 11
salem in to heepis of grauel, and in to
dennes of dragouns; and Y schal ³yue the
citees of Juda in to desolacioun, for ther
is no dwellere. Who is a wise man that 12
schal vnderstonde these thingis, and to
whom the word of the mouth of the Lord
schal be maad, that he telle this? Whi
the erthe perischide, it is brent as desert,
for noon is that passith? And the Lord 13
seide, For thei forsoken my lawe, which
Y ³af to hem, and thei herden not my
vois, and thei ³eden not therynne; and 14
thei ³eden aftir the schrewidnesse of her
herte, and aftir Baalym, which thei lern-
eden of her fadris; therfor the Lord of 15
oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
Lo! Y schal fede this puple with wermod,
and Y schal ³yue to hem drynke the watir
of galle. And Y schal scatere hem among 16
hethene men, whiche thei and her fadris
knewen not; and Y schal sende swerd
aftir hem, til thei ben wastid. The Lord 17
of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
Bihold 3e, and clepe 3e wymmen 'that
weilen^l, and come thei; and sende 3e to
tho wymmen that ben wise, and haste
thei. Haste thei, and take thei weilynge 18
on ³ou; ³oure i³en brynge doun teeris, and
³oure i³elidis flowe with watris; for the 19
vois of weilyng is herd fro Sion. Hou
ben we distried, and schent greetli? for we
han forsake the lond, for oure tabernaclis
ben forsakun. Therfor, wymmen, here 3e 20
the word of the Lord, and ³oure eeris take
the word of his mouth; and teche 3e ³oure
dou³tris weilyng, and ech womman *teche*
hir neizbore mournyng. For whi deth 21
stiede bi ³oure wyndows, it entride in to
³oure housis, to leese litle children with

^m is AEGH. ⁿ ouer ³iden E. ^o hipelis F pr. m AGHK. ^p for E pr. m. ^q vnderstondith AEGHK.
^r it E pr. m. ^s thei ³eden AGHK. ^t thi K. ^u gallys AK. ^v Om. E pr. m. AGHK. ^w lamenting C pr. m.
E pr. m. ^x mournyng AK. the mournyng E sec. m. GH.

^h thei N. ⁱ vnto I. ^k thei N. ^l weileressis C EFGHKMN PQRSUVX. weilsteris I.

21 bore weiling. For steȝede vp deth bi ȝoure wyndowes, gon in is to ȝoure houses, to scatere the litle childer withoutforth, 22 and the ȝunge men of the stretis. Spec, These thingus seith the Lord, And ther shal falle the 'dead careyn^y of man^z as drit vp on the face of the regioun, and as hey bihynde the bac of the mowere, 23 and ther is not that gedere. These thingus seith the Lord, Glorie not a wis man in his wisdom, and glorie not a strong man in his strengthe, and^a glorie 24 not^b a riche man in his riches; but in this glorie he^c that glorieth, to witen and to knowe me, for I am the Lord, that do mercy and dom and riȝtwisnesse in erthe^d. These thingus forsothe plesen 25 to me, seith the Lord. Lo! dajes comen, seith the Lord, and Y shal visite vpon eche that hath the vtmost^e skyn of the 26 ȝerde vncircumcidid; vp on Egipt, and vp on Juda, and vp on Edom, and vp on the sonus of Amon, and vp on Moab, and vp on alle tho that ben dodded in to the her, dwellende in desert; for alle Jentiles han the vtmost^f skyn of the ȝerde, al forsothe the hous of Irael ben vncircumcidid the^g herte.

CAP. X.

1 Hereth the wrd that the Lord spac 2 vp on ȝou, the^h hous of Irael. These thingus seith the Lord, Aftir the weies of Jentiles wileth not lerne, and fro the signes of heuene wileth not drede, that 3 dreden Jentiles, for the lawis of puples ben veyne. For the tree of the wilde wode kut of the werc of the hondus of the 4 craftes man in an hachet; with siluer and gold he enourneth it; with nailes and hameres ioynede it, that it 'be notⁱ 5 losid atwynne. In licesse of a formed ymage thei ben forgid, and thei shul not speke; born thei shul be taken away, for thei moun not go; wileth not thanne

outforth, and ȝonge men fro the stretis. Speke thou, the Lord seith, these thingis, 22 And the deed bodi of a man schal fal doun as a toord on the face of the cuntrei, and as hei bihynde^m the bak of the mowere, and noon isⁿ that gaderith. The 23 Lord seith these thingis, A wise man haue not glorie in his wisdom, and a strong man haue not glorie in his strengthe, and a riche man haue not glorie in hise riches; but he that hath glorie, haue glorie 24 in this, to wite and knowe me, for Y am the Lord, that do merci and dom and riȝtfulnesse in erthe. For whi these thingis plesen me, seith the Lord. Lo! daies 25 comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal visite on ech man that hath prepucie vncircumcidid; on Egipt, and on Juda, and on 26 Edom, and on the sones of Amon, and on Moab, and on alle men that ben clippid on long heer, and dwellen in desert; for whi alle hethene men han prepucie, forsothe al the hous of Israel ben vncircumcidid^o in herte.

CAP. X.

The hous of Israel, here ȝe the word¹ which the Lord spac on ȝou. The Lord 2 seith these thingis, Nyle ȝe lerne aftir the weies of hethene men, and nyle ȝe drede of the signes of heuene, whiche *signes* hethene men dreden. For the lawis of 3 puplis ben veyn, for whi the werk of hondis of a crafti man hath kit doun with an axe a tre of the forest. He made it fair 4 with siluer and gold; with naylis and hameris he ioynede it^p togidere, that it be not loosid. *Idols* ben maad in the lic- 5 nesse of a palm tree, and schulen not speke; tho schulen be takun and be borun, for tho moun not go; therfor nyle

^y deth smyting *E pr. m.* ^z a man *AGHK.* ^a ne *AE pr. m. GHK.* ^b Om. *E pr. m.* ^c Om. *E pr. m.*
^d the erthe *E pr. m.* ^e vttermost *AGHK.* ^f vttermost *AGHK.* ^g in *AGHK.* ^h of the *E pr. m.* ⁱ shulde not ben *E pr. m.* shulde bin *K.*

^m aftir *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX.* ⁿ ther is *I.* ^o circumcidid *N.* ^p Om. *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX.*

drede them, for neither euele thei moun
 6 do, ne wel. Ther is not lic of^k thee,
 Lord; gret thou^l, and gret thi^m name in
 7 strengthe. Who shal not drede thee, O!
 thou king of Jentilis? thin is forsothe
 wrshipe among alle the wise men of Jen-
 tilis, and in alle the reumes of hem noon
 8 is lic ofⁿ thee. Togidere vnwise men and
 foolis shul be preued, the doctrine of the
 9 vanyte^o of them a tree is with siluer en-
 wrappid. Fro Tarsis it is brojt, and the
 gold fro^p Ofir; the were of the craftus^a
 man, and the hond of the metal werkere;
 'iacynct, or as men seyn^r, violet blyw silc
 and purple the clothing of them; the were
 10 of craftus men alle these thingus. The
 Lord forsothe is verre God; he^s is God lyu-
 ende, and king euermor lastende; of his
 indignacioun shal be moued the erthe, and
 11 suffren shul not Jentiles his threting. Thus^t
 thanne 3ee shul sey to them, The goddis
 that 'maden not heuene and erthe, pershe
 thei^u fro the erthe, and fro these thingus
 12 that ben vnder heuene. That maketh
 the erthe in his strengthe, maketh redi
 biforn the world in his wisdam, and in
 13 his prudence streccheth out heuenus. At
 his vois he 3yueth multitude of watris in
 heuene, and rereth vp litle cloudus fro
 the vtmostus^v of erthe; leitus in to reyn
 he maketh, and bringeth out wind of his
 14 tresores. Fool mad is eche man of his
 kunnyng, confoundid is eche craftes man
 in his grauen thing^w; for fals is that he
 3etede, and ther is not spirit in hem.
 15 Veyn thei ben, and the were wrthi la3h-
 ing; in tyme of ther visiting thei shul
 16 pershe. Lic is not to these^x the part of
 Jacob, who forsothe formede alle thingus
 he is, and Irael the 3erde of his eritage;
 17 Lord of ostus name is to hym. Gedere
 fro the erthe thi confusion, that dwell-
 18 ist in seging; for these thingus seith the
 Lord, Lo! Y ferr shal throwe the dwel-

3e drede tho, for tho^a moun nether do
 yuel, nethir wel. Lord, noon is lijk thee; 6
 thou *art* greet, and thi name *is* greet in
 strengthe. A! thou king of folkis, who 7
 schal not drede thee? for whi onour is
 thin among alle wise men of hethene men,
 and in alle the rewmes of hem noon is lijk
 thee. Thei schulen be preued, vnwise and 8
 foolis togidere; the techyng of her vanyte
is a tre. Siluer wlappid is broujt fro 9
 Tharsis, and gold fro Ophaz; *it is* the
 werk of a crafti man, and of the hond of
 a worchere in metel; iacynct and purpur
ben the clothing of tho^r; alle these thingis
ben the werk of werk men. Forsothe 10
 the Lord is veri God; he is God lyuynge;
 and a kyng euerlastynge; the erthe schal
 be mouyd togidere of his indignacioun,
 and hethene men schulen not suffre the
 manaassing of hym. Therfor thus 3e 11
 schulen seie to hem, Goddis that maden
 not heuene and erthe, perische fro erthe^s,
 and fro these thingis that ben vndur he-
 uene. *He is God*, that makith the erthe 12
 in his strengthe, makith^t redi the world
 in his wisdom, and stretchith forth he-
 uenes bi his prudence. At his vois he 13
 3yueth the multitude of watris in heuene,
 and he reisith mystis fro the endis of
 erthe; he makith leitis into reyn, and
 ledith out wynd of his tresouris. Ech 14
 man is maad a fool of kunnyng, ech crafti
 man is schent in a grauun ymage; for
 whi that that^u he wellide togidere is fals,
 and no spirit is in tho^v. Tho ben veyn, 15
 and a werk worthi of scorn; tho schulen
 perische in the tyme of her visitacioun.
 The part of Jacob is not lijk these, for he 16
 that formede alle thingis is *God of Jacob*,
 and Israel *is* the 3erde of his eritage; the
 Lord of oostis is name to hym. Thou 17
 that dwellist in bisegyng, gadere fro the
 lond thi schenscipe; for the Lord seith 18
 these thingis, Lo! Y schal caste awei fer

^k Om. c pr. m. e pr. m. ^l ert thou AK sec. m. ^m is thi AK sec. m. ⁿ Om. c pr. m. e pr. m. ^o birthe
 e pr. m. ^p of AK. ^q crafty K. ^r Om. c et e pr. m. ^s and he e pr. m. ^t This A. ^u heuene and erthe
 maden not, pershe thei e pr. m. ^v vttermostis AGHK. ^w thinges K. ^x hem A.

^a thei N. ^r hem N. ^s the erthe I. ^t that makith I. ^u Om. N. ^v hem N.

leris of the lond in this while^z; and tro-
 blen hem, so that thei be not founden.
 19 Wo to me vp on my to-treding, my werst
 veniaunce; I forsothe seide, Pleynli this
 20 myn infirmyte is, and Y schal bern it. My
 tabernacle is wastid, alle my litle cordis
 ben to-broke; my sonus wenten out fro
 me, and stonde^a not stille; ther is not
 that strecche out more my tent, and rere
 21 vp my skynnes. For folili diden shep-
 perdis, and the Lord thei soȝten not;
 therfor thei vnderstode not, and eche floe
 22 of hem is scatered. Vois of heering lo!
 is comen, and gret stiring fro the lond of
 the north, that thei sette the cites of
 Juda in to wilderness, and a dwelling
 23 place of dragounus. I wot, Lord, for of
 man is not his weie, ne of man is that
 24 he go, and riȝt reule hys goingus. Chas-
 tise me, Lord; ner the latere in dom
 and not in^b thi wodnesse, lest par auen-
 25 ture to noȝt thou bringe me. Heeld out
 thin indignacioun vp on Jentyles that
 knewen not thee, and vp on prouynces
 that thi name inwardli clepeden not;
 for thei eeten Jacob, and deuoureden
 hym, and wasteden hym, and his wor-
 shepe destroyeden.

CAP. XI.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye of the
 2 Lord, seiende, Hereth the wrdus of this
 couenaunt, and speket to the men of
 3 Juda, and dwelleres of Jerusalem; and
 thou shalt sey to them, These thingus
 seith the Lord God of Israel, Cursid^c the
 man that shal not here the wrdus of this
 4 couenaunt, that Y comaundede to ȝoure
 fadris, in the dai that Y ladde hem out
 fro the lond of Egipt, fro the irene fur-
 neys; seiende, Hereth my vois, and doth
 alle thingus that Y comaundide^d to ȝou,
 and ȝee shul be to me in to a puple, and
 5 Y shal be to ȝou in to a God; that Y rere
 the oth that Y swor to ȝoure fadris, me to
 ȝyue to them a lond flowende mylc and

the dwelleris of the loond in this while;
 and Y schal ȝyue tribulacioun to hem, so
 that thei be not foundun. Wo to me on 19
 my sorewe, my wounde *is* ful yuel; for-
 sothe Y seide, Pleynli this is my sike-
 nesse, and Y schal bere it. My tabernacle 20
 is distried, alle my roopis ben brokun;
 my sonus ȝeden out fro me, and ben not;
 noon is that schal stretche forth more my
 tente, and schal reyse my skynnes. For 21
 the scheepherdis diden folili, and souȝten
 not the Lord; therfor thei vndurstoden
 not, and alle the flok of hem is scaterid.
 Lo! the vois of hering cometh, and a 22
 greet mouynge togidere fro the lond of
 the north, that it sette the citees of Juda
 in to wildirnesse, and a dwellynge place
 of dragouns. Lord, Y woot, that the weie 23
 of a man is not of hym, nether it is of a
 man that he go, and dresse hise steppis.
 Lord, chastise thou me; netheles in doom 24
 and not in thi strong veniaunce, lest per-
 auenture thou dryue me to nouȝt. Schede^w 25
 out^x thin indignacioun on hethene men
 that knewen not thee, and on prouynces
 that clepiden^y not thi name to help; for
 thei eeten Jacob, and deuouriden hym, and
 wastiden hym, and destrieden the onour
 of hym.

CAP. XI.

The word that was maad of the Lord 1
 to Jeremye, and seide, Here ȝe the wordis 2
 of this couenaunt, and speke ȝe to the men
 of Juda, and to the dwelleris of Jerusa-
 lem; and thou schalt seie to hem, The 3
 Lord God of Israel seith these thingis,
 Cursid *be* the man that herith not the
 wordis of this couenaunt, which Y co- 4
 maundide to ȝoure fadris, in the dai in
 which Y ledde hem out of the lond of
 Egipt, fro the irone furneis; and Y seide,
 Here ȝe my vois, and do ȝe alle thingis
 whiche Y comaundide to ȝou, and ȝe schu-
 len be in to a puple to me, and Y schal be
 in to God to ȝou; that Y reise the ooth 5
 which Y swoor to ȝoure fadris, that Y

^z wyse K. ^a stooden K sec. m. ^b after E pr. m. ^c Cursid is AK sec. m. ^d comaunde K.

^w Heelde I. ^x thou N. ^y clepen I.

hony, as is this dai. And Y answerde,
 6 and seide, Amen, Lord. And the Lord
 seide to me, Crye out alle these wrdus in
 the cite^e of Juda, and withouteforth Je-
 7 rusalem, seiende, Hereth the wrdus of
 this couenaunt, and doth them; for wit-
 nessende Y witnessede 3oure faders, in
 the dai that Y ladde them out fro the
 lond of Egipte, vnto this day; erly ris-
 ende Y^f witnessede, and seide, Hereth my
 8 vois. And thei herden not, ne bowed in
 ther ere, but wenten awei eche^g in to the
 shreudenesse of his^h euele herte; and Y
 bro3te in vp on hem alle the wrdus of this
 couenaunt, that Y comaundide that thei
 10 shulden do, and thei diden not. And
 the Lord seide to me, Ther is founde
 coniuracioun in the men of Juda, and in
 the dwelleris of Jerusalem; thei ben
 turned a3een toⁱ the rathere wickid-
 nesses^k of ther faders, that wolden not
 here my wrdus; and these thanne afir
 aliene goddis 3iden awei^l, that thei serue^m
 to them; all voide maden the house of
 Israel and the hous of Juda my coue-
 naunt, that Y couenauntede with ther
 11 faders. Wherefore these thingus seith the
 Lord, Lo! Y shal bringen in vp on hem
 eueles, of whiche gon out thei shul not
 moun; and thei shul crie to me, and Y
 12 shal not heren hem. And gon shul the
 citees of Juda and the dwelleris of Jeru-
 salem, and crie to them, to whom thei
 offren; and thei shul not saue them in
 13 tyme of ther tormenting. After the
 noumbre forsothe of thi citees weren thi
 godis, Juda, and after the noumbre of
 thi weies, Jerusalem, thou settdest au-
 teres of confusion, autres to offre to Ba-
 14 lim. Thou thanne, wile thou not pre3e
 for this puple, and ne take thou too for
 them preising and orisoun; for Y shal
 not heren in theⁿ time of ther cry to me,
 15 in tyme of ther torment. What is, that
 my loued in myn hous doth many hid-

schulde 3yue to hem a lond flowynge with
 mylk and hony, as this dai is. And Y
 answeride, and seide, Amen, Lord. And
 6 the Lord seide to me, Crye thou alle these
 wordis in the citees of Juda, and with out
 Jerusalem, and seie thou, Here 3e the wordis
 of this couenaunt, and do 3e tho^z; for Y
 7 witnessynge haue witnessid to 3oure fa-
 dris, in the dai in which Y ledde hem out
 of the lond of Egipt, 'til to^a this dai; Y
 roos eerli, and witnesside, and seide, Here
 3e my vois. And thei herden not, nether^a
 bowiden doun her eere, but thei 3eden
 forth ech man in the schrewidnesse of his
 yuel herte; and Y brou3te in on hem alle
 the wordis of this couenaunt, which Y
 comaundide that thei schulden do, and
 thei diden not. And the Lord seide to¹⁰
 me, Sweryng togidere is foundun in the
 men of Juda, and in the dwelleris of Je-
 rusalem; thei turneden a3en to the for-
 mere wickidnessis of her fadris, that nol-
 den^b here my wordis; and therfor these
 men 3eden afir alien goddis, for to serue
 hem; the hous of Israel and the hous of
 Juda maden voide my couenaunt, which
 Y made with the fadris of hem. Where-¹¹
 for the Lord seith these thingis, Lo! Y
 schal bringe in on hem yuels, of whiche
 thei schulen not mow go out; and thei
 schulen crie to me, and Y schal not here
 hem. And the citees of Juda and the¹²
 dwellers of Jerusalem schulen go, and
 schulen crye to hem, to whiche thei offren
 sacrifices; and thei schulen not saue hem
 in the tyme of her turment. For thou,¹³
 Juda, thi goddis weren bi the noumbre
 of thi citees, and thou settidist auters of
 schenscipe, bi the noumbre of the weies
 of Jerusalem, auters to offre sacrifices to
 Baalym. Therfor nyle thou preie for this¹⁴
 puple, and take thou not heri yng and
 preier for hem; for Y schal not here in
 the^c tyme of the cry of hem to me, in the^c
 tyme of the turment of hem. What is it,¹⁵

^e citee A. ^f Om. G pr. m. H. ^g echone E pr. m. ^h her A. ⁱ in to A. ^k wickenesses. E. ^l aweil shulde
 AG pr. m. H. K. ^m schulde seruen E sec. m. G sec. m. ⁿ Om. A.

^z hem N. ^a vnto I. ^b wolden not I. ^c Om. I.

ous giltus? whether hoeli flesh 'shul don
 awei^p fro thee thi malices, in whiche
 16 thou gloriest^q? An olyue plenteuous,
 fair, fructuous, semeli, clepede the Lord
 thi name; at the vois of the grete speche
 brende out fyr in it, and to-brend ben
 17 alle his busshy places. And the Lord
 of ostus that plauntedee thee, spac vp on
 thee euel, for the euelus of the hous of
 Israel, and of the hous of Juda, that thei
 diden to themself, offrende to Balim, to
 18 terre me. Thou forsothe, Lord, hast
 shewid to me, and Y kneȝ; thou hast
 19 shewid to me the studies of hem. I^r as
 a debonere lomb, that is born to slayn
 sacrifice; and Y kneȝ not, for thei thoȝten
 vp on me counseil, seiende, Sende wee a
 tree in to his bred, and shaue wee hym
 out fro the lond of lyueres, and his name
 20 be no more membred. Thou forsothe,
 Lord of Sabaoth, that demest riȝtwisly,
 and prouest reenes and hertes, see Y thi
 veniaunce of them; to thee forsothe Y
 21 shewede my cause. Therfor these thingus
 seith the Lord to the men of Anatoth,
 that sechen my soule, and seyn, Thou
 shalt not profecien in the name of the
 Lord, and thou shalt not die in oure
 22 hondus. Therfor these thingus seith the
 Lord of ostus, Lo! Y shal visite vp on
 hem; ȝunge men shul die in swerd, the
 sonus of them and the doȝtris^s of them
 23 shul dien in hunger; and relikes shul
 not ben of hem; I shal leden in forsothe
 euel vp on the men of Anatoth, a ȝer of
 the visitynge of hem.

CAP. XII.

1 Riȝtwis forsothe thou art, Lord; if Y
 dispute with thee, nerthelatere riȝte
 thingus I shal speke to thee. Whi the
 weie of vnpytous men is maad welsum?
 Well is to alle that the^t lawe breken, and
 2 wickeli^u don? Thou hast plauntid hem,

that my derlyng doith many greet tres-
 passis in myn hous? whether hooli
 fleischis schulen do awei fro thee thi ma-
 lice, in which thou hast glorie? The¹⁶
 Lord clepide thi name an olyue tre, fair,
 ful of fruyt, schapli; at the vois of a greet
 speche fier brent an hiȝ ther ynne, and the
 buyschis therof ben brent. And the Lord¹⁷
 of oostis that plauntide thee, spak yuel on
 thee, for^d the yuels of the hous of Israel,
 and of the hous of Juda, whiche thei
 diden to hem silf, and offriden to Baalym,
 to terre me to wraththe. Forsothe, Lord,¹⁸
 thou schewidist to me, and Y knew; thou
 schewidist to me the studies of hem. And¹⁹
 Y *am* as a mylde lomb, which is borun to
 slayn sacrifice; and Y knew not, that thei
 thouȝten counsels on me, and seiden, Sende
 we a tre in to the brede of hym, and rase
 we hym awei fro the lond of lyueris, and
 his name be no more hadde in mynde.
 But thou, Lord of oostis, that demest²⁰
 iustli, and preuest reynes and hertis, se
 Y thi veniaunce of hem; for to thee Y
 schewide my cause. Therfor the Lord²¹
 seith these thingis to the men of Anathot,
 that seken thi lijf, and seien, Thou schalt
 not prophesie in the name of the Lord,
 and thou schalt not die in oure hondis.
 Therfor the Lord of oostis seith these²²
 thingis, Lo! Y schal visite on hem; the
 ȝonge men of hem schulen die bi swerd,
 the sones of hem and the douȝtris of hem
 schulen die for hungur; and no relifs,²³
ether children abidynges^e, schulen be of
 hem; for Y schal bringe ynne yuel^f on the
 men of Anathot, the ȝeer of the visitacioun
 of hem.

CAP. XII.

Forsothe, Lord, thou art iust; if Y dis-
 pute with thee, netheles Y schal speke iust
 thingis to thee. Whi hath the weie of
 wickid men prosperite? It is wel to alle
 men that breken the lawe, and doen wick-
 idli? Thou hast plauntid hem, and thei²

^p bringe don awei shul E pr. m. ^q art gloried E pr. m. ^r And I K. ^s douȝter K. ^t Om. E pr. m.
^u wickidly AGHK.

^d fro 1. ^e left 1. ^f yuel thing 1.

and roote thei senten^v; thei profiten, and maken frute; ny₃ thou art to the mouth of them, and 'aferr^w fro the reenes of them. And, thou, Lord, hast^x knowe me, seen me, and proued myn herte with thee. Gedere them as a flok to slayn sacrifice, and halewe them in the dai of slazter. Hou longe weilen shal the erthe, and the erbe of alle regioun shal be dried, for the malice of men dwellende in it? Wastid is the beste, and foul, for thei seiden, He shal not seen oure laste. If with 'foot men^y rennende thou tra-uailedest, hou shalt thou moun striue with hors? whan forsothe in the lond of pes siker thou 'were not^z, what shuldest^a thou do in the pride of Jordan? For whi and thi brethern and the hous of thi fader, also thei fozten azen thee, and crieden after thee with pleyⁿ vois; ne leeue thou hem, whan thei shul speke to thee goode thingus. I haue forsake myn hous, 'Y lafte myn eritage^b; Y^c 3af my loued soule 'in to^d the hondus of his enemys. Mad is to me myn eritage as a leoun in the wode; he 3af azen me 'a vois^e, and therefore Y hatede it. Whether a brid of dyuers coloures myn eritage to me? whether a brid died thur₃ out? Cometh, beth gedered, alle 3ee bestes^f of the^g erthe; 'haste 3ee^h to deuouren. Many shepperdis wasteden my vyne^{3erd}ⁱ, to-treeden my part, 3auen my desirable porcioun in to desert of wildernesse, putten it in to wasting, and it weilede vp on me; with desolacioun desolat is al the lond, for no man is that a3een thenke in herte. Vp on alle the weies of desert camen alle the wasteres of the lond, for the sward of the Lord shal deuoure fro the vtmostus^k of the erthe vnto the vtmost^l of it; ther^m is not pes to alle flesh. Thei sewen whete, and repeden thornes; the erytage thei token, and to them it

senten roote; thei encreessen, and maken fruyt; thou art ni₃ to the mouth of hem, and fer fro the reynes of hem. And thou, Lord, hast knowe me, thou hast seyn me, and hast preued myn herte with thee. Gadere thou hem togidere as a flok to slayn sacrifice, and halewe thou hem in the dai of sleyng. Hou long schal the erthe mourne, and ech eerbe of the feeld schal be dried, for the malice of hem that dwellen ther ynne? A beeste is wastid, and a brid, for thei seiden, *The Lord* schal not se oure laste thingis. If thou trauelist^s rennyng with foot men, hou schalt thou mow stryue with horsis? but whanne thou art sikur in the lond of pees, what schalt thou do in the pride of Jordan? For whi bothe thi britheren and the hous of thi fadir, 3he, thei fouzten azens thee, and crieden with ful vois aftir thee; bileue thou not to hem, whanne thei spoken goodis to thee. I haue left myn hous, Y⁷ haue forsake myn eritage; Y 3af my loued soule in to the hondis of enemyes therof. Myn eritage is maad as a lioun in the⁸ wode to me; it 3af vois azens me, therfor Y hate⁹ it. Whether myn eritage is a brid of dyuerse colours to me? whether *it is* a brid died thorou out? Alle beestis of the feeld, come 3e, be 3e gaderid togidere; haste 3e for to deuoure. Many¹⁰ scheepherdis distrieden my vyner, defouliden my part, 3auen my desirable porcioun in to desert of wildirnesse; thei settiden¹¹ it in to scateri^{ng}, and it mourenyde on me; al the lond is desolat bi desolacioun, for noon is that a3enthenkith in herte. Alle distrieris of the lond camen on alle¹² the weies of desert, for the sward of the Lord schal deuoure fro the laste part of the lond 'til to^h the laste part therof; no pees is to al fleisch. Thei sowiden wheete,¹³ and repiden thornes; thei token erytage, and it schal not profite to hem. 3e schu-

^v putten *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^w ferr *c pr. m.* ^x thou hast *E pr. m.* ^y a foote *E pr. m.* ^z were *E pr. m.* shuldst ben *sec. m. marg.* were not *tert. m.* ^a shalt *AGHK.* ^b Om. *E pr. m.* ^c and *AGHK.* ^d I lafte myn eritage in to *E pr. m.* ^e the nyzt *E pr. m.* ^f Om. *E pr. m.* ^g Om. *AECHK.* ^h goth forth *c pr. m. E pr. m.* Om. *E sec. m.* ⁱ vyne *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^k vttermostis *AGHK.* ^l vttermost *AGHK.* ^m and ther *K sec. m.*

^g hatide *A sec. m.* ^h vnto *I.*

shal not profiten. 3ee shul be confoundid of 3oure frutus, for the wrathe of the
 14wodnesse of the Lord. These thingus seith the Lord azen alle my werste nezhebores, that touchen the eritage that Y delide to my puple Israel, Lo! Y shal pullen vp them fro ther lond, and the hous of Juda Y shal pullen vp fro the
 15myddesⁿ of them. And whan Y shal pullen vp them, Y shal be turned, and han^o merci of them; and Y shal bringe them azeen, a man to his eritage, and a
 16man to his lond. And it shal be, if^p tazt men lerneden the weies of my puple, that thei swere in my name, Lyueth the Lord, as thei tazten my puple to swern in Baal, thei shuln be bild vp in the
 17myddel of my puple. That if thei ^{schul} not heren^q, Y shal pulle awei that folc with pulling awei and perdicoun, seith the Lord.

CAP. XIII.

1 These thingus seith the Lord to me, Go, and haue to thee a lynene bregirdil; and put it vp on thi lendus, and in to
 2water thou shalt not putten it in. And Y hadde the bregirdil, aftir the wrd of the Lord; and Y putte it^r aboute my len-
 3dus. And don is the wrd of the Lord
 4the secounde tyme to me, seiende, Tac the bregirdil that thou haddest, that is aboute thi lendus; and risende go to Eufraten, and hid it there, in the hole of a
 5ston. And Y 3ide, and hidde it in Eufraten, as comaundide to me the Lord.
 6And don is after manye dazes, seide the Lord to me, Ris, and go to Eufraten, and tac thennes the brigirdil, that I comaundide to thee, that thou shuldist
 7hidden it there. And Y 3ide to Eufraten, and dalf out, and toc the bregirdil fro the place wher^s Y hadde hid it; and lo!
 8rotid hadde the bregirdil, so that to noon
 8vse it was able. And don is the wrd of
 9the Lord to me, seiende, These thingus

len be schent of 3oure fruytis, for the wraththe of the stronge veniaunce of the Lord. The Lord seith these thingis azens¹⁴ alle my worst neizboris, that touchen the eritage which Y departide to my puple Israel, Lo! Y schal drawe hem out of her lond, and Y schal drawe the hous of Juda out of the myddis of hem. And whanne¹⁵ Y schal drawe out thilke *Jewis*, Y schal conuerte, and haue merci on hem; and Y schal lede hem azen, a man to his eritage, and a man in to his lond. And it schal¹⁶ be, if thei ^{that ben¹} tauzt lernen the weies of my puple, that thei swere in my name, The Lord lyueth, as thei tauzten my puple to swere in Baal, thei schulen be bildid in the myddis of my puple. That if thei¹⁷ heren not, Y schal drawe out that folk by drawyng out and perdicoun, seith the Lord.

CAP. XIII.

The Lord seith these thingis to me, Go,¹ and take in possessioun to thee a lynnun breigirdil; and thou schalt putte it on thi leendis, and thou schalt not bere it in to watir. And Y took in possessioun a brei-²girdil, bi the word of the Lord; and Y puttide aboute my leendis. And the word³ of the Lord was maad to me in the secounde tyme, and seide, Take the brigir-⁴dil, which thou haddist in possessioun, which is aboute thi leendis; and rise thou, and go to Eufrates, and hide thou it there, in the hoole of a stoon. And Y 3ede, and⁵ hidde it in Eufrates, as the Lord comaundide to me. And it was don aftir⁶ ful many daies, the Lord seide to me, Rise thou, and go to Eufrates, and take fro thennus the brigirdil, whiche Y comaundide to thee, that thou schuldist hide it there. And Y 3ede to Eufrates, and^k diggide out, and Y took the breigirdil fro the place, where Y hadde¹ hidde it; and lo! the breigirdil was rotun, so that it was not

ⁿ mydil AGHK. ^o ha K. P as if ACGHK. as E pr. m. ^q heren not C pr. m. E pr. m. ^r Om. EGHK.
^s there wher E pr. m.

¹ Om. C et ceteri. ^k and I C et ceteri. ¹ Om. A.

seith the Lord, Thus to roten Y shal
make the pride of Juda, and the myche
10 pride of Jerusalem, and this werste puple,
that wile not here my wrdus, and gon
in the shreudenesse of ther herte; and thei
wenten after aliene godus, that thei serue
to them, and honoure them; and thei
shul be as this bregirdil, that to noon
11 vse is able. As forsothe cleueth the brigirdil
to the lendus of a man, so Y ioynede
to me al the hous of Irael, and al
the hous of Juda, seith the Lord, that
thei were to me in to a puple, and in to
name, and in to preising, and in to
12 glorie; and thei herde not. Thou shalt
seie therfore to them this wrd, These
thingus seith the Lord God of Irael,
Eche litil wyn vessel shal be fulfild with
wyn. And thei shul sei to thee, Whether
wee knowe not, that eche litil wyn vessel
13 shal be fulfild with wyn? And thou
shalt seyn to them, These thingus seith
the Lord, Lo! Y shal fulfillen alle the
dwelleris of this lond, and kingus that
sitten of^t the stoc of Daudid vp on his
trone, and^v prestus, and profetus, and alle
the dwelleris of Jerusalem with drunke-
14 nesse. And Y shal scatere them, a man
fro his brother, and faders and sonus to-
gidere, seith the Lord; I^v shal not spare,
and Y shal not graunte, ne han^w mercy,
15 that Y scatere them not. Hereth, and
with eres parceyueth; wileth not be rered
16 vp, for the Lord spac. 3yueth to the
Lord 3oure God glorie, er it waxe derc,
and er offendenden 3oure feet at the derc
hillis; 3ee shul abide lizt, and he shal
putte it in to shadewe of deth, and in to
17 mystynesse. That if this^x 3ee shul not
heren, in hid shal wepe my soule fro the
face of pride; wepende it^y shal wepe,
and leden out shal myn e3e tere, for
18 taken is the floc of the Lord. Sei to the
king, and to the lordshipende womman,
Beth mekid, sitteth^z, for fro 3oure hed

able to ony vss. And the word of thes
Lord was maad to me, and seide, The⁹
Lord seith these thingis, So Y schal make
rotun the pride of Juda, and the myche
pride of Jerusalem, and this worste puple,
10 that nylen^m here my wordis, and goen in
the schrewidnesse of her herte; and thei
3eden aftir alien goddis, to serue hem, and
to worschipe hem; and thei schulen be as
this breigirdil, which is not able to ony
vss. For as a breigirdil cleueth to the¹¹
leendis of a man, so Y ioynede faste to me
al the hous of Israel, and al the hous of
Juda, seith the Lord, that thei schulden
be to me in to a puple, and in to name,
and in to heriyng, and in to glorie; and
thei herden not. Therfor thou schalt seie¹²
to hem this word, The Lord God of Israel
seith these thingis, Ech potel schal be fill-
id of wyn. And thei schulen seie to thee,
Whether we witen not, that ech potel
schal be fillid of wyn? And thou schalt¹³
seie to hem, The Lord seith these thingis,
Lo! Y shal fille with drunkenesse alle
the dwelleris of this lond, and the kyngis
of the generacioun of Dauith, that sitten
on his trone, and the prestis, and profetis,
and alle theⁿ dwelleris of Jerusalem. And¹⁴
Y schal scatere hem, a man fro his bro-
ther, and the fadris and sones togidere,
seith the Lord; Y schal not spare, and Y
schal not graunte, nether Y schal do mer-
cy, that I leese not hem. Here 3e, and¹⁵
perseyue with eeris; nyle 3e be reisid, for
the Lord spac. 3yue 3e glorie to 3oure¹⁶
Lord God, bfore that it wexe derk, and
bifor that 3oure feet hirte at derk hillis;
3e schulen abide lizt, and he schal sette it
in to the schadewe of deeth, and in to
derknesse. That if 3e heren not this, my¹⁷
soule schal wepe in hid place for the face
of pride; it wepynge schal wepe, and myn
ize shal caste out a teer, for the floc of
the Lord is takun. Seye thou to the¹⁸
kyng, and to the ladi, Be 3e mekid, sitte

^t vp on E pr. m. ⁹ Om. E pr. m. ^v and I E pr. m. ^w ha κ. ^x Om. c pr. m. g pr. m. H. ^y I AE pr. m. GHK. ^z and sitteth E pr. m.

^m wole not I. ⁿ Om. c sec. m. FGHKMNPQRSUV.

shal go down the croune of 3oure^a glorie.
 19 The cites of the south ben closid, and
 ther is not that opene^b; translatid is al
 20 Juda with parfit transmygracioun. Rer-
 eth 3oure e3en, and seeth, that comen fro
 the north; where is the floc that is^c 3oue
 21 to thee, thi noble feeld beste? What shalt
 thou seyn, whan he shal visite thee?
 thou forsothe hast ta3t them a3een thee,
 and lerned a3en thin hed. Whether not
 sorewis ca3ten thee, as a womman ber-
 22 ende child? That if thou shalt sey in
 thin herte, Whi camen to me these
 thingus? for the multitude of thi wicke-
 nesse^d opened ben thi more shamefast
 23 thingus, defoulid ben thi foot solis. Yf
 chaunge mai an Ethiopie his skyn, or a
 parde his dyuersetes, and 3ee shul moun
 24 wel do, whan 3ee han lerned euel. And
 Y shal sowe them abrod, as stobil that
 with the wynd is raueshid in desert.
 25 This thi lot, and the part of thi mesure
 of me, seith the Lord; for thou for3eete
 26 me, and trostedist in lesing. Wherfore
 and Y nakenede thin hipes a3en^e thi face,
 27 and aperede thi shenshepe, thi vouteries,
 and thi ne3ingus^f, the hidous gilte of thi
 fornycacioun vpon hillis; in the feeld Y
 sa3 thin abhominaciouns. Wo to thee,
 Jerusalem, thou shalt not be clensid after
 me; how longe 3yt?

CAP. XIV.

1 That don is the wrd of the Lord to
 2 Jeremye, of the wrdis of dro3te. Weilede
 Jewerie, and his 3atus fellen down, and
 ben dercned^g in the erthe, and the cri of
 3 Jerusalem ste3ede vp. The more senten
 ther lasse to water; thei camen to drawe,
 and thei founde not^h water, thei beeren
 a3een ther vesselis voide; thei ben con-
 foundid and tormentid, and thei couerden
 4 ther hedis for the wastite of the lond,

3e, for the coroun of 3oure glorie schal go
 down fro^p 3oure heed. The cities of the 19
 south ben closid, and noon is that open-
 ith; al Juda is translatid bi perfit pass-
 yng ouere, *ether goynge out of her lond*.
 Reise 3e 3oure 3en, and se 3e, what men 20
 comen fro the north; where is the floc
 which is 3ouun to thee, thi noble scheep?
 What schalt thou seie, whanne he schal 21
 visite thee? for thou hast tau3t hem a3ens
 thee, and thou hast tau3t a3ens thin heed.
 Whether sorewis han not take thee, as
 a womman trauelynge of child? That 22
 if thou seist in thin herte, Whi camen
 these thingis to me? for the multitude of
 thi wickidnesse thi schamefulere thingis
 ben schewid, thi feet ben defoulid. If a 23
 man of Ethiopie mai chaunge his skyn,
 ether a pard *mai chaunge* hise dyuersitees,
 and 3e moun do wel, whanne 3e han lerned
 yuel. And Y schal sowe hem abrood, as 24
 stobil which is rauyschid^q of the wynd
 in desert. This *is* thi^r lot, and the part 25
 of thi mesure of me, seith the Lord; for
 thou for3etidist me, and tristidist in a
 leesyng. Wherfor and Y made nakid thin 26
 hipis a3ens thi face, and thi^t schenschi-
 pe apperide, thin auowtries, and thin neyyng, 27
 and the felonye of thi fornycacioun on
 litle hillis in the feeld; Y si3 thin abho-
 mynaciouns. Jerusalem, wo to thee, thou
 schalt not be clensid after me til 3it.

CAP. XIV.

The word of the Lord, that was maad 1
 to Jeremye, of the wordis of drynesse.
 Jude weilide, and the 3atis therof fellen 2
 down, and ben maad derk in erthe, and
 the cry of Jerusalem stiede^v. Gretteres
 men senten her lesse men to water; thei
 camen to drawe *watir*, and thei foundun
 no water, thei brou3ten a3en her vesselis
 voide; thei weren schent and turmentid,
 and thei hiliden her heedis for distriyng 4

^a Om. *E pr. m.* ^b apere *E pr. m.* ^c Y *A.* ^d wickidnes *AGHK.* ^e and a3en *A.* ^f neyng *E sec. m.*
^g derkid *AGHK.* ^h no *AEGH.*

^p of *I.* ^q rauyschid, or take awei *I.* ^r Om. *CFGHKMNPQRSUVX.* ^s the *I.* ^t the *A pr. m. CFGHIMNPQRU.*
^v stiede *vp I.*

for ther cam not reyn inⁱ erthe. Con-
foundid ben the erthe tilieres, thei co-
uereden ther hedis. For whi and the
hynde in the feld bar, and lafte hir
frutes^k, for ther was not erbe; and the
feeld^l asses stoden in roches, and drowe
wind as dragounes; ther eȝen faileden,
for ther was not erbe. Yf^m oure wicke-
nessesⁿ schul answeren^o to vs, Lord, do for
thi name, for manye ben oure turnyngys
awei; to thee wee han synned. Thou
biding of Irael, his saueour in tyme of
tribulacioun, whi as a comeling tiliere
thou art to come in the lond, and as
'weie goere^p bowende down to dwelle? whi
art thou to come as a man vagaunt, as a
strong man that mai not saue? Thou for-
sothe in vs art, Lord, and thin hoely
name is inwardly clepid vp on vs; ne for-
sake thou vs. These thingus seith the
Lord to this puple, that louede to moue
ther feet, and restede not, and to the
Lord pleside not; now recorden he schal
'wickidnesses of them^q, and visite^r synnes
of them^r. And the Lord seide to me,
Wile thou not preȝe for this puple in to
good. Whan thei shul faste, Y schal not
here ther preȝeres; and if thei offre
brent sacrificis and slayn sacrificis, I schal
not take them, for with swerd and hun-
ger and pestilence Y schal waste them.
And Y seide, A! A! A! Lord God, ther^s
profetus seyn to them, Ȝee shul not^t see
swerd, and hunger in ȝou shal not be,
but verre pes he schal ȝyue in this place.
And the Lord seide to me, Falsly the
profetus profecien in my name; I sente
them not, and comaundide not to them,
ne spac to them; a lying viseoun, and a
gilesum deuynnyng, and the^u deseit^v of
ther herte thei profecien to ȝou. Ther-
fore these thingus seith the Lord of the
profetus that profecien in my name, whom
Y sente not, seiende, Swerd and hungir
shal not be in this lond; In swerd and

of the lond, for reyn cam not in the lond.
Erthe tilieris weren schent, thei hiliden her
heddis. For whi and an hynde caluyde in^s
the feeld, and lefte her calues, for noon
eerbe was^w; and wield assis stoden in^s
rochis, and drowen wynde as dragouns;
her iȝen failiden, for noon eerbe was. If^t
oure wickidnessis answeren to vs, Lord,
do thou for thi name, for oure turnyngis
awei ben manye; we han synned aȝens
thee. Thou abidyng of Israel, the sauour^s
therof in the tyme of tribulacioun, whi⁹
schalt thou be as a comelyng in the lond,
and as a weigoere bowynge to dwelle?
whi schalt thou be as a man of vnstable
dwelllyng, as a strong man that mai not
saue? Forsothe, Lord, thou art in vs, and
thin hooli name is clepid to help on vs;
forsake thou not vs. The Lord seith these¹⁰
thingis to this puple, that louede to stire
hise feet, and restide not, and pleside not
the Lord; now he schal haue mynde on
the wickidnesses of hem, and he schal
visite the synnes of hem. And the Lord¹¹
seide to me, Nyle thou preie for this puple
in to good. Whanne thei schulen faste, Y¹²
schal not here the preieris of hem; and if
thei offren brent sacrificis and slayn sacri-
fices, Y schal not resseyue tho^x, for Y schal
waste hem bi swerd and hungur and
pestilence. And Y seide, A! A! A! Lord¹³
God, profetis seien to hem, Ȝe schulen not
se swerd, and hungur schal not be in ȝou,
but he schal ȝyue to ȝou veri pees in this
place. And the Lord seide to me, The¹⁴
profetis profesien falsli in my name; Y
sente not hem, and Y comaundide not to
hem, nether Y spak to hem; thei profe-
sien to ȝou a^y fals reuelacioun, and a gile-
ful dyuynnyng, and the disseyuyng of her
herte. Therfor the Lord seith these thingis¹⁵
of the profetis that profesien in my name,
whiche Y sente not, and seien, Swerd and
hungur schal not be in this lond; Tho^z
profetis schulen be wastid bi swerd and

¹ on A. ^k fruyt E pr. m. AGHK. ^l Om. E pr. m. ^m For E pr. m. ⁿ wickidnessis AGHK. ^o an-
swere c pr. m. answerden E pr. m. ^p a weie goer AGHK. ^q oure wickenesses E pr. m. ^r oure
synnes E pr. m. ^s the AGHK. ^t Om. c pr. m. ^u Om. AGH. ^v leding down E pr. m.

^w ther was i. ^x hem N. ^y Om. i. ^z Thilke i.

hunger shul be to-wastid tho^w profetus.
 16 And puples, to whom thei profecieden,
 shul be throwen aferr in the weies of
 Jerusalem, for hungir and swerd, and
 ther shal not ben, that birie them; thei
 and the wyues of them, sonus and doz-
 tris of them; and Y shal heelden^x out
 17 vp on hem ther euel. And thou shalt
 sei to them this wrd, Leden down myn
 ejen ter^y by nyzt and dai, and be thei
 not stille, for with gret to-treding to-
 treden is the maiden dozter of my puple,
 18 hugeli with the werste veniaunce. If Y
 shul gon out to^z the feeldus, loo! the
 slayn with swerd; and if Y shul go in to
 the citee, lo! the to-wastid with hunger;
 the profete forsothe and prest ziden awei
 19 in to the lond that thei knewe not. Whe-
 ther throwende aferr thou threwe awei^a
 Judam, or thi soule wlatide Sion? whi
 thanne hast thou smyten vs, so that ther
 is noon^b helthe? Wee han abide pes, and
 ther is not good; and tyme of curing, and
 20 lo! disturbing. Wee han knowe, Lord,
 oure vnпитыnesses, and the wickenesses^c
 of oure faders, for wee han synned to
 21 thee. Ne zyue thou vs in to repref, for
 thi name, ne do thou to vs repref; of
 the see of thi glorie recorde, ne al voide
 make thou thi pes couenaunt with vs.
 22 Whether ben in grauen thingus of Jen-
 tilis that reynen, or heuenus moun zyue
 wederes? whether not thou art Lord
 oure God, whom wee han abide? Thou
 forsothe didist alle these thinges.

CAP. XV.

1 And the Lord seide to me, If Moises
 shulde stonde, and Samuel bifor me, my
 soule is not to this puple; thro3 out
 2 them fro my face, and go thei out. That
 if thei shul sey to thee, Whider shul wee
 go out? thou shalt sei to them, These
 thingus seith the Lord, Who to deth, to
 deth, and who to swerd, to swerd, and

hungur. And the puplis, to whiche thei¹⁶
 profesieden, schulen be cast forth in the
 weies of Jerusalem, for hungur and swerd,
 and noon schal^a be, that schal birie hem;
 they and the wyues of hem, the sones and
 the dou3tris of hem '*schulen be cast forth*^b;
 and Y schal schede out on hem her yuel.
 And thou schalt seie to hem this word,¹⁷
 Myn izen lede down a teer bi nyzt and dai,
 and be^c not stille, for the virgyn, the dou3-
 ter of my puple, is defoulid bi greet de-
 foulying, with the worste wounde greetli.
 If Y go out to feeldis, lo! men *ben* slayn¹⁸
 bi^d swerd; and if Y entre in to the citee,
 lo! men *ben* maad leene for hungur; also
 a profete and a prest zeden in to the lond
 which thei knewen not. Whether thou¹⁹
 castynge awei hast cast awei Juda, ether
 thi soule hath wlatid Sion? whi therfor
 hast thou smyte vs, so that noon^e heelthe
 is^f? We abididen^g pees, and no good is;
 and *we abididen*^h time of heeling, and lo!
 disturbing *is*. Lord, we hanⁱ know oure²⁰
 vnfeithfulnessis, and the wickidnessis of
 oure fadris, for we han synned to thee.
 Zyue thou not vs in to schenschip, for thi²¹
 name, nether do thou dispite to vs; haue
 thou mynde on the seete of thi glorie,
 make thou not voide thi boond of pees with
 vs. Whether in grauun ymagis of hethene²²
 men ben thei that reynen, ethir heuenes
 moun zyue reynes? whether thou art not
 oure Lord God, whom we abididen^k? For
 thou madist alle these thingis.

CAP. XV.

And the Lord seide to me, Thou3 Moi-¹
 ses and Samuel stoden bifore me, my soule
 is not to this puple; caste thou hem out
 fro my face, and go thei out. That if thei²
 seien to thee, Whidur schulen we go out?
 thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord seith
 these thingis, Thei that to deth, to deth,
 and thei that to swerd, to swerd, and thei

^w the AGHK. ^x lede A. ^y crie K. ^z Om. E pr. m. ^a afer A. ^b not A. ^c wickidnessis AGHK.

^a ther schal I. ^b Om. I. ^c be it I. ^d with I. ^e no I. ^f ther is I. ^g abooden EP. abyden rs.
 abeden I. ^h abooden EP. abeden I. abyden s. ⁱ haue I pass. ^k abooden EP. abyden s.

who to hunger, to hunger, and who to
 3 caitifte, to caytifte. And Y shal visete
 vp on hem foure spices, seith the Lord;
 swerd to slaȝter, and houndis to tern, and
 foules of heuene, and bestus of erthe to
 4 deuouren and wasten. And Y shal ȝyue
 them in to gret hete to alle reumes of
 erthe, for Manassen, the sone of Ezechie,
 king of Juda, vpon alle thingus that he
 5 dide in Jerusalem. Who forsothe shal
 han^d merci of thee, Jerusalem, or who
 shal sorewe for thee, or who shal go to
 6 preȝe for thi pes? Thou hast forsake me,
 seith the Lord, backward thou ȝidist awei;
 and I shal strecchen out myn hond vp on
 thee, and sle thee; I trauailede preȝende.
 7 And Y shal scatere them with a fan in
 the ȝatus of the lond; I sloȝ, and loste
 my puple, and nerthelatre fro ther weies
 8 thei be not turned aȝeen. Multiplied ben
 to me his widewes vp on the grauel of
 the se; and Y broȝte in to them vp on the
 moder of the ȝunge waxen a wastere in
 mydday, Y sente vp on the cites feerli
 9 ferd. Feblid ys she that bar seuene,
 failede hire soule; fel down to hir the
 sunne, whan ȝit to hir was day. Con-
 foundid she is, and ful out shamede; and
 hir remnauntus in to swerd Y shal ȝyue
 in the siȝte of hir^e enemys, seith the
 10 Lord. Wo to me, my moder; whi geete
 thou me, a man of strif, a man of dis-
 cord in eche lond? I vsurede not, ne to
 me vsurede any man; alle cursen to me,
 11 seith the Lord. If not thi relikes in to
 good, if Y aȝen cam not to thee in tyme
 of affliccioun, and in tyme of tribulacioun
 12 and of anguysh, aȝen the enemye. Whe-
 ther shal be ioyned^f iren^g to iren fro the
 13 north, and bras? Thi riches and thi
 tresores in to taking awei Y shal ȝyue
 freely, in alle thi synnes, and in alle thi
 14 termes. And I shal bringe thin enemys
 fro the lond that thou knowist not; for
 fyer tend vp is in my wodnesse, vp on
 15 ȝou it shal brenne. Thou wost, Lord,

that to hungur, to hungur, and thei that
 to caitiftee, to caitifte. Y schal visite on³
 hem foure spices, seith the Lord; a swerd
 to sleeynge, and doggis for to reende, and
 volatilis of the eir, and beestis of the erthe
 to deuoure and to distrie. And Y schal⁴
 ȝyue hem in to feruour to alle rewmes of
 erthe, for Manasses, the sone of Ezechie,
 king of Juda, on alle thingis whiche he
 dide in Jerusalem. For whi who schal⁵
 haue merci on thee, Jerusalem, ethir who
 schal be sori for thee, ether who schal go
 to preie for thi pees? Thou hast forsake⁶
 me, seith the Lord, thou hast go abac;
 and Y schal stretche¹ forth myn hond on
 thee, and Y schal sle thee; Y trauelide
 preiynge. And Y schal scatere hem with⁷
 a wyndewynge^m instrument in the ȝatis
 of erthe; Y killide, and loste my puple,
 and nethes thei turneden not aȝen fro
 her weies. The widewis therof ben mul-⁸
 tiplied to me aboue the grauel of the see;
 and Y brouȝte in to hem a distriere in
 myddai on the modir of a ȝonge man, Y
 sente drede sudeynli on citees. Sche was⁹
 sijk that childe seene, hir soule fail-
 ide; the sunne ȝede down to hir, whanne
 dai was ȝit. Sche was schent, and was
 aschamed; and Y schal ȝyue the residue
 therof in to swerd in the siȝt of her ene-
 myes, seith the Lord. Mi modir, wo to¹⁰
 me; whi gendridist thou me a man of
 chidyng, a man of discord in al the lond?
 Y lente not, nether ony man lente to me;
 alle men cursen me, the Lord seith. No¹¹
 man bileue to me, if thi remenauntis be
 not in to good, if Y ranne not to thee in
 the tyme of turment, and in the tyme of
 tribulacioun and of anguysh, aȝens the
 enemye. Whether yrun and metal schal¹²
 be ioyned bi pees to irun fro the north?
 And Y schal ȝyue freli thi ritchessis and¹³
 thi tresouris in to rauyschyng, for alle thi
 synnes, and in alle thin endis. And Y¹⁴
 schal brynge thin enemyes fro the lond
 which thou knowist not; for fier is kyndlid

^d ha k. ^e myn E pr. m. ^f bounde c pr. m. E pr. m. ^g Om. E pr. m.

¹ arecche I. ^m wynewynge I.

recorde thou of me, and visite me, and delyuere me fro them that pursuen me; wile thou not in thi pacience take me, wite thou, for^h for thee Y suffrede repref.
 16 Found ben thi wrdys, and Y eet hem; and don is toⁱ me thi wrd in to io3e, and in to gladnesse of myn herte; for inwardli clepid is thi name vp on me, Lord God
 17 of oostis. I sat not in counseil of pleieres, and gloriiede fro the face of thin hond; alone I sat, for of bitternesse thou hast
 18 fulfid me. Whi mad is my sorewe perpetuel, and my wounde despeirable forsoc^k to be cured? mad she is to me, as
 19 lesing of vnfeithful watris. For this these thingis seith the Lord, Yf thou art conuertid, Y shal conuerte thee, and befor my face thou shalt stonde; and if thou seuer^l precious thinge fro foul, as my mouth thou shalt be; thei shul be conuertid to thee, and thou shalt not be conuertyd to
 20 them. And I shal 3yue thee to this puple in to a strong brasene wal, and thei shul f3zte a3en thee, and thei shul not han the maistry; for I am with thee, that I saue thee, and delyuere thee, seith the
 21 Lord. And Y shal delyuere thee^m fro the hond of the werst men, and a3een bie thee fro the hond of stronge men.

CAP. XVI.

1 And don is the wrd of the Lord to me, seiende, Thou shalt not take a wif, and ther shul not be to thee sonus and
 3 do3tris in this place. For these thingus seith the Lord vp on sonus and do3tris, that ben goten in this place, and vp on the moders of them, that geeten them, and vp on the faders of hem, of whos
 4 stoc thei ben born in this lond. With dethes of siknyngus thei shul die, thei shul not be weilid, ne ben biried; in to a dunghil vp on the face of theⁿ erthe thei shul be, and with swerd and hunger

in my strong veniaunce, and it schal brenne on 3ou. Lord, thou knowist, haue thou¹⁵ mynde on me, and visite me, and delyuere me fro hem that pursuen me; nyle thou take me in thi pacience, knowe thou, that Y suffride schenschipec for thee. Thi wordis¹⁶ ben foundun, and Y eet tho; and thi word was maad to me in to io3e, and in to gladnesse of myn herte; for thi name, Lord God of oostis, is clepid to help on me. Y¹⁷ sat not in the counsel of pleieris, and Y hadde glorie for the face of thin hond; Y sat aloone, for thou fillidist me with bittirnesse. Whi is my sorewe maad euer-¹⁸ lastinge, and my wounde dispeirid forsook to be curid? it is maad to me, as a leesyng of vnfeithful watris. For this thing the¹⁹ Lord seith these thingis, If thou turnest, Y schal turne thee, and thou schalt stonde bifore my face; and if thou departist precieuse thing fro vijl thing, thou schalt be as my mouth; thei schulen be turned to thee, and thou schalt not be turned to hem. And Y schal 3yue thee in to a²⁰ brasun wal and strong to this puple, and thei schulen f3zte a3ens thee, and schulenⁿ not haue the victorie; for Y am with thee, to saue thee, and to delyuere thee, seith the Lord. And Y schal delyuere thee fro²¹ the hond of the worste men, and Y schal a3enbie thee fro the hond of stronge men.

CAP. XVI.

And the word of the Lord was maad to 1 me, and seide, Thou schalt not take a wijf,² and sones and dou3tris schulen not be to thee in this place. For the Lord seith³ these thingis on sones and dou3tris, that ben gendrid in this place, and on the modris of hem, that gendride hem, and on the fadris of hem, of whos generacioun thei ben borun in this lond. Thei schulen⁴ die bi dethis of sikenessis, thei schulen not be biweilid, and thei schulen not be biried; thei schulen be in to a dunghil on the face of erthe, and thei schulen be wastid bi

^h Om. AGH. ⁱ vnto K. ^k it forsoke AE sec. m. G. pr. m. HK. ^l shalt seuer AE sec. m. GHK. ^m Om. E pr. m.
ⁿ Om. AEK.

ⁿ thei schul i.

thei shul be wastid; and be shal the careyn of them in to mete to the foulis of heuene, and to the bestes of erthe.
 5 These thingus forsothe seith the Lord, Thou shalt not gon in to the hous of the^o feste, ne go to weilen^p, ne coumforte thou them; for Y haue taken away my pes fro this puple, seith the Lord, mercy and
 6 mercy doyngis. And dien shul the grete and the litle in this lond; thei shul not be biried, ne be weilid; and thei shul not^a kutte themself, ne ballidnesse shal
 7 ben do for hem. And thei shul not breke among hem bred to the weilende, to coumforte vp on the deade, and thei shul not
 8 3yue to them drinc of the chalis, to^r coumforten vp on ther fadir and^s modir. And the hous of feste thou shalt not gon in, that thou sitte with them, and ete, and
 9 drinke. For these thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Lo! Y shal don away fro this place, in 3oure e3en and in 3oure dazes, vois of io3e, and vois of gladnesse, and vois of man spouse, and vois
 10 of womman spouse. And whan thou hast told to this puple alle these wrdus, and thei sey to thee, Whi spac the Lord vp on vs^t al this grete euel? what oure wickenesse^u, and what oure synne^v that wee han synned to the Lord oure God?
 11 thou shalt sey to them, For forsoken me 3oure fadris, seith the Lord, and 3iden awei aftir aliene goddis, and serueden to them, and honoureden hem, and me for-
 12 soken, and my lawe kepten not. But and 3ee wers wro3ten than 3oure fadris; lo! forsothe eche goth after the shreudenesse of his euel herte, that me he here
 13 not. And Y shal caste 3ou^w out fro this lond, in to the lond that 3ee and 3oure fadris knowe^x not; and 3ee shul serue there to alien goddis dai and ny3t, that
 14 shul not 3iue to 3ou reste. Therfore lo! dazes comen, seith the Lord, and it shal be no mor seid, Lyueth the Lord, that ladde out the sonus of Irael fro the lond

sword and hungur; and the careyn of hem schal be in to mete to the volatilis of heuene, and to beestis of erthe^o. For the^s
 Lord seith these thingis, Entre thou not in to an hous of feeste, nethir go thou to biweile, nether comfourte thou hem; for Y haue take awei my pees fro this puple, seith the Lord, *Y haue take awei^p merci^a* and merciful doyngis. And greete and
 6 smalle schulen die in this lond; thei schulen not be biried, nethir schulen be biweilid; and thei schulen not kitte hem silf, nethir ballidnesse schal be maad for hem. And thei schulen not breke breed
 7 among hem to hym that mourneth, to coumforte on a deed man, and thei schulen not 3yue to hem drynk of a cuppe, to coumforte on her fadir and modir. And^s
 thou schalt not entre in to the hous of feeste, that thou sitte with hem, and ete, and drynke. For whi the Lord of oostis,
 9 God of Israel, seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal take awei fro this place, bifore 3oure 3en and in 3oure daies, the vois of ioie, and the vois of gladnesse, and^r the vois of spouse^a, and the vois of spousesse. And
 10 whanne thou schalt telle alle these wordis to this puple, and thei schulen seie to thee, Whi spac the Lord al this greet yuel on vs? what *is* oure wickidnesse, ether what
is oure synne which we synned to oure Lord God? thou schalt seie to hem, For
 11 3oure fadris forsoken me, seith the Lord, and 3eden aftir alien goddis, and seruyden hem, and worschipiden hem, and thei forsoken me, and kepten not my lawe. But
 12 also 3e wrou3ten worse than 3oure fadris; for lo! ech man goith aftir the schrewidnesse^t of his yuel herte, that he here not me. And Y schal caste 3ou out of this
 13 lond, in to the lond which 3e and 3oure fadris knowen not; and 3e schulen serue there to alien goddis dai and ni3t, whiche schulen not 3iue reste to 3ou. Therfor lo!
 14 daies comen, seith the Lord, and it schal no more be seid, The Lord lyueth, that

^o Om. AEGHK. ^p to the weile K. ^q ne E pr. m. ^r Om. E pr. m. ^s Om. E pr. m. ^t Om. E pr. m.
^u wickidnes AGHK. ^v greet synne A. ^w hem E pr. m. ^x knewen K.

^o the erthe is. ^p Om. i. ^q and merci i. ^r Om. N. ^s the spouse s pr. m. ^t schrewisnesse A.

15 of Egypt; but lyueth the Lord, that ladde
out the sonus of Irael fro the lond of the
north, and fro alle londus to whiche I
caste them out; and Y shal bringe them
a3een to ther lond that I 3af to the fadris
16 of them. Lo! Y shal senden many fissh-
eres, seith the Lord, and thei shul fisshen
hem; and after these thingus I shal sende
to them manye hunteres, and thei shul
hunte them fro eche mounteyn, and fro
17 eche hil, and fro the caues of stones. For
myn e3en vp on alle the weies of them;
thei ben not hid fro my face, and hid
was not the wickenesse^y of them fro
18 myn e3en. And Y shal 3elde first the
double wickenesses^z and the synnes of
hem, for thei defouleden my lond in dead
smyten thingus of ther maumetus, and
with ther abhominaciouns thei^a fulfiden
19 myn heritage. Lord, my strengthe, and
my stalwrthenesse, and my refute in the
dai of tribulacioun, to thee Jentiles shuln
come fro the vtmostus^b of erthe, and seyn,
Vereli lesing weldedden oure fadris, va-
20 nyte that to them profitede not. Whe-
ther a man shal maken to hym goddis?
21 and thei ben not goddis. Therefore lo!
Y shal shewe to them bi this while, I
shal shewe to them myn hond and my
vertue; and thei shul wite, for name to
me is Lord^c.

CAP. XVII.

1 The synne of Jude writen is with
an irene pointel, in an adamantyne nail,
grauen out vp on the brede of ther herte,
2 and in the hornes of their auteres. Whan
recorde shul the sonus of them of ther
auteres, and of ther maumet wodus, and
of ther braunching trees in hee3e moun-
3 teynes, sacrificende in the feld, thi strengthe
and alle thi tresores in to taking awei Y^d
shal 3yue, thin hee3e thingus^e for the
4 synnes in alle thi coestes. And thou shalt
be forsake alone of thin eritage that Y

ledde the sonus of Israel out of the lond
of Egypt; but the Lord lyueth, that ledde 15
the sonus of Israel fro the lond of the
north, and fro alle londis to whiche Y
castide hem out; and Y schal lede hem
a3en in to her lond which Y 3af to the
fadris of hem. Lo! Y schal sende many 16
fischeris to hem, seith the Lord, and thei
schulen fische hem; and aftir these thingis
Y schal sende many hunteris to hem, and
thei schulen hunte hem fro ech mounteyn,
and fro ech litil hil, and fro the caues of
stoonys. For myn i3en *ben* on alle the 17
weies of hem; tho^t *weies* ben not hid fro
my face, and the wickidnesse of hem was
not priuy fro myn i3en. And Y schal 3elde 18
first the double wickidnessis and synnes of
hem, for thei defouliden my lond in the
slayn beestis of her idols, and filliden myn
eritage with her abhomynaciouns. Lord, 19
my strengthe, and my stalworthnesse, and
my refuyt in the dai of tribulacioun, he-
thene men schulen come to thee fro the
fertheste places of erthe, and schulen seie,
Verili oure fadris helden a leesyng in pos-
sessioun, vanyte that profitide not to hem.
Whether a man schal make goddis to hym 20
silf? and tho ben no goddis. Therfor lo! 21
Y schal schewe to hem bi this while, Y
schal schewe to hem myn hond, and my
vertu; and thei schulen wite, that the
name to me is Lord.

CAP. XVII.

The synne of Juda is writun with an
irone poyntel^u, in a nail of adamaunt; *it is*
writun on the breede of the herte of hem,
and in the hornes of the auteris of hem.
Whanne the sonus of hem bithenken on 2
her auteris, and woodis, and on the trees
ful of boowis, makyng sacrifice in the
feld in hi3e munteyns, Y schal 3yue thi3
strengthe and alle thi tresouris in to ra-
uyschyng, thin hi3e thingis for synnes in
alle thin endis. And thou schalt be left 4
aloone fro thin eritage which Y 3af to

^y wickidnes AGHK.^z wickidnessis AGHK.^a Om. A.^b vttermostis AGHK.^c the Lord c pr. m.^d he E pr. m.^e Om. E pr. m.^t thilke I. the N.^u poynte N.

3af to thee; and to seruen^f Y shal make thee^g to thin enemyes, in the lond that thou knewest not; for fyr thou brendist vp in my wodnesse, vnto euermor it shal
 5 brenne. These thingus seith the Lord, Cursid^h the man that trostith in man, and putteth flesh his arm, and fro the
 6 Lord his herte goth awei. Forsothe it shal ben as 'iencian treesⁱ in desert, and he shal not see, whan shal come good; but he shal dwelle in droȝte in desert, in
 7 the lond of briyn, and vnabitable. Blessid^k the man that trosteth in the Lord, and
 8 the Lord shal ben his trost. And he shal be as a tree, that is ouer plauntid vp on watris, that at the humour sendith^l his rootes; and he shal not drede, whan shal come gret hete; and his lef shal be grene, and in tyme of droȝte shal not be bysy, ne any tyme shal cese to
 9 make frut. Shreude is the herte of man,
 10 and vnserchable; who shal knowen it? I the Lord serchende^m herte, and prouende reenes, that ȝyue to eche man after his weie, and after the frut of his findingus.
 11 The partrich nurshedeⁿ that she bar^o not, made richesses, and not in dom; in^p the myddil of ther dajes she shal forsake them, and in hir laste she shal ben vnwis.
 12 The dignete see of glorie of heiȝte fro the bygynnyng, place of oure halewing,
 13 abiding of Irael. Lord, alle that thee forsaken, shul be confoundid; goende awei fro thee in the erthe shul be writen, for thei forsoken the^q veyne of lyuyng watris,
 14 the Lord. Hele me, Lord, and Y shal ben helid; saf mac me and Y shal be saf; for
 15 my preising thou art. Lo! thei seyn to me, Wher is the wrd of the Lord? come
 16 it. And Y am not disturbid, thee sheperde folewende, and the dai of man I disirede not, thou wost. That^r that is gon out fro my lippis riȝt in thi^s sizte

thee; and Y schal make thee to serue thin enemyes, in the lond which thou knowist not; for thou hast kyndlid fier in my strong veniaunce, it schal brenne til in to with outen ende. The Lord seith these⁵ thingis, Cursid *is* the man that trestith in man, and settith fleisch his arm, and his herte goith awei fro the Lord. For he⁶ schal be as bromes in desert, and he schal not se, whanne good schal come; but he schal dwelle in drynesse in desert, in the lond of saltnesse, and vnabitable. Blessid *is* the man that tristith in the Lord, and the Lord schal be his trist. And he schal⁸ be as a tre, which is plauntid ouer watris, which sendith hise rootis to moisture; and it schal not drede, whanne heete schal come; and the leef therof schal be greene, and it schal not be moued in the tyme of drynesse, nether ony tyme it schal faile to make fruyte. The herte of man is schrew-⁹ id, and 'may not be souȝt^v; who schal knowe it? Y *am* the Lord sekyng the¹⁰ herte, and preuyng the reynes^w, and Y ȝyue to ech man after his weye, and afir the fruyt of his fyndyngis. A partriche¹¹ nurschide tho thingis whiche sche bredde not; he made richessis, and not in doom; in the myddis of hise daies he schal forsake tho^x, and in hise laste *tyme* he schal be vnwijs. The seete of glorie of hiȝnesse¹² *was* at the bigynnyng the place of oure halewyng, the abidyng of Israel. Lord,¹³ alle thei that forsaken thee, schulen be schent; thei that goen aweie fro thee, schulen be writun in erthe, for thei han forsake the Lord, a veyne of quyk watirs. Lord, heele thou me, and Y schal be¹⁴ heelid; make thou me saaf, and Y schal be saaf; for thou art myn heriyng. Lo!¹⁵ thei seien to me, Where is the word of the Lord? come it. And Y am not dis-¹⁶ turbid, suyng thee^y scheepherd, and Y de-

^f seruen thee *E pr. m.* ^g Om. *E pr. m.* ^h Cursid is *AK sec. m.* ⁱ or broom *C sec. m. marg.*
 or bromes *E sec. m. marg.* ientian tree, or broom *AGHK.* ^k Blessid is *A.* ^l putteth out *C pr. m.* put-
 teth *E pr. m.* ^m sechyng *AGHK.* ⁿ haccheth *E pr. m.* ^o boor *E sec. m.* ^p Om. *E pr. m.*
^q Om. *C sec. m. E pr. m.* ^r Om. *E pr. m.* ^s the *K.*

^v vnserchable *I. vnserchable, ether mai not be souȝt CEF GHK MN PQRS UVXY.* ^w reynes, ether kydenaria
 CEF GHK MN PQRS UVXY. ^x hem *N.* ^y the *A pr. m.*

17 was. Be thou not to me to ferd; myn
 18 hope thou in the dai of tormenting. Be
 thei confoundid, that me pursuen, and
 confoundid be not Y; inwardly drede thei,
 and inwardly drede not Y; bring in vp
 on hem dai of tormenting, and with
 19 double to-treding to-tred hem. These
 thingus seith the Lord God to me, Go,
 and stonde in the 3ate of the sonus of the
 puple, bi whiche gon in kingus^t of Juda
 and gon out, and in alle the 3atus of Je-
 20 rusalem. And thou shalt sei to them,
 Hereth the wrd of the Lord, 3ee kingus
 of Juda, and al Jewerie, and alle the
 dwelleris of Jerusalem, that gon in bi
 21 these 3atus. These thingus seith the Lord
 God, Kepeth 3oure soules, and wilith not
 berthenus bern in the dai of sabat, ne
 bringe 3ee in bi the 3atus of Jerusalem.
 22 And wileth not caste out burthenus^u fro
 3oure houses in the dai of sabat, and
 eche were 3ee shul not do; halewith the
 day of sabat, as Y comaunde^v to 3oure
 23 fadris. And thei herden not, ne bow-
 eden in ther ere, but inwardly hardened
 ther nol, lest thei herde me, and lest thei
 24 toke discyplyne. And it shal be, if 3ee
 shul^w heren me, seith the Lord, that
 3ee bringe not in birthenus bi the 3atus
 of this cite in the day of sabat, and if
 3ee halewe the dai of sabat, 'that 3ee don
 25 not^x in it alle^y were, gon in shul bi the
 3ates of this cite kingus and princes sit-
 tende vpon the see of Daud, and ste3ende
 vp in chares and hors; thei, and the
 princes of them, men of Juda, and the
 dwelleris of Jerusalem; and dwellid^z shal
 26 be this cite in to euermor. And 'comen
 shul^a fro the cite^b of Juda, and fro the
 cumpas of Jerusalem, and fro the lond of
 Beniamyn, and fro the wilde feldus, and
 fro the mountuous^c places, and from the
 south, berende^d brent sacrificise, and slayn
 offering, and sacrificise, and encens; and
 'thei shul^e bringe in offering in to the
 27 hous of the Lord. If forsothe 3ee shul

siride not the dai of man, thou woost.
 That that 3ede out of my lippis was ri3tful
 in thi si3t. Be thou not to drede to me; 17
 thou *art* myn hope in the dai of turment.
 Be thei schent, that pursuen me, and be 18
 Y not schent; drede thei, and drede not
 Y; brynge in on hem a dai of turment,
 and defoule thou hem bi double defouling.
 The Lord seith these thingis to me, Go 19
 thou, and stonde in the 3ate of the sones
 of the puple, bi whiche the kingis of Juda
 entren and goen out, and in alle the 3atis
 of Jerusalem. And thou schalt sie to 20
 hem, Here the word of the Lord, 3e kingis
 of Juda, and al Judee, and alle the dwell-
 eris of Jerusalem, that entren bi these
 3atis. The Lord God seith these thingis, 21
 Kepe 3e 3oure soulis, and nyle 3e bere
 birthuns in the dai of sabat, nether bringe
 in bi the 3atis of Jerusalem. And nyle 3e 22
 caste birthuns out of 3oure housis in the
 dai of sabat, and 3e schulen not do ony
 werk; halewe 3e the dai of sabat, as Y
 comaundide to 3oure fadris. And thei 23
 herden not, nether bowiden down her eere,
 but thei maden hard her nol, that thei
 schulden not here me, and that thei schul-
 den not take chastisyng. And it schal be, 24
 if 3e heren me, seith the Lord, that 3e bere
 not in birthuns bi the 3atis of this citee
 in the dai of sabat, and if 3e halewen the
 dai of sabat, that 3e do not werk ther
 ynne, kingis and princes sittynge on the 25
 seete of Daud schulen entre bi the 3atis
 of this citee, and styngge in charis and
 horsis; thei, and the princis of hem, the
 men of Juda, and the dwelleris of Jeru-
 salem; and this citee schal be enhabitid
 withouten ende. And thei schulen come 26
 fro the citees of Juda, and fro the cumpas
 of Jerusalem, and fro the lond of Benia-
 myn, and fro feeldi places, and fro hilli
 places, and fro the south, beringe brent
 sacrifice, and slayn sacrifice, and encense;
 and thei schulen bringe offering in to the
 hous of the Lord. Forsothe if 3e heren 27

^t the kyngis AEGHK. ^u bernus c pr. m. ^v comaundide AEGH. ^w Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^x 3ee shul
 not don E pr. m. ^y Om. E pr. m. ^z dwellid, or inhabite A. ^a men shulen come A. ^b cites E.
^c mounteynous AGK. mounteyns H. ^d beringe E. ^e Om. E pr. m.

not here me, that 3ee halewe the day of sabat, and that 3ee bere not berthene^f, and ne bringe in bi the 3atus of Jerusalem in the dai of sabat, Y shal tende vp fyr in his 3atus; and it shal deuoure the housys^g of Jerusalem, and shal not be quenchild^h.

CAP. XVIII.

1 The wrd that don is to Jeremye fro
2 the Lord, seiende, Ris, and cum down in
to theⁱ hous of the crockere, and there
3 thou shalt here my wrdis. And Y cam
down in to the hous of the crockere, and
4 lo! he made a werec vp on a whel. And
scatered is the vessel, that he made of
clei with his hondus; and turned he made
that vessel other, as it pleside his^k ejen
5 that he shulde make. And don is the
6 wrd of the Lord to me, seiende, Whether
as maketh this crockere, shal not Y moun
make to 3ou, hous of Irael? seith the
Lord. Lo! as the cley in to the hond^l
of the crockere, so 3ee in myn hond, the
7 hous of Irael. Sodeynli Y shal speke
a3en folc, and a3en reume, that Y drawe
vp bi the roote, and destroje, and scatere
8 it. If penaunce shul do that folc of his
euel, for whiche I spac a3en it, don shal
and Y othenking vp on the euel, that Y
9 tho3te that I shulde do to it. And so-
deynli Y shal speken of the folc, and of
the rewme, that Y bilde vp, and plaunte^m
10 in it. If it shul don euel in myn e3en,
that it here not my vois, othanking Y shal
do vp on the good that Y spac, that Y
11 shulde do to it. Now thanne sei to the
man of Jewerie, and to the dwellere of
Jerusalem, seiende, These thingus seith
the Lord, Lo! Y make a3en 3ou euel, and
thenke a3en 3ou thenking; be turned a3een
echeⁿ fro his euel weie, and right reulith
12 3oure weies and 3oure studies. The
whiche seiden, Wee han dispeired, after
oure tho3tus forsothe wee shul go, and
eche^o aftir the shreudenesse of his euel

not me, that 3e halewe the dai of sabat,
and that 3e bere not a birthun, and that
3e bringe not in bi the 3atis of Jerusalem
in the dai of sabat, Y schal kyndle fier
in the 3atis therof; and it schal deuoure
the housis of Jerusalem, and it schal not
be quenchild.

CAP. XVIII.

The word that was maad of the Lord
1 to Jeremye, and seide, Rise thou, and go
2 down in to the hous of a pottere, and
there thou schalt here my wordis. And Y
3 zede down in to the hous of a pottere, and
lo! he made a werk on a wheel. And the
4 vessel was distried, which he made of clei
with hise hondis; and he turnede it, and
made it another vessel, as it pleside in hise
5 i3en to make. And the word of the Lord
6 was maad to me, and he seide, Whether
as this pottere doith, Y mai not do to 3ou,
the hous of Israel? seith the Lord. Lo!
as cley *is* in the hond of a pottere, so 3e,
the hous of Israel, *ben* in myn hond. Su-
7 denli Y schal speke a3ens a folk, and a3ens
a rewme, that Y drawe out, and distrie,
and leese it. If thilke folk doith penaunce
8 of his yuel, which Y spak a3ens it, also Y
schal do penaunce on the yuel, which Y
thou3te to do to it. And Y schal speke
9 suddenli of a folk, and of a rewme, that Y
bilde, and plaunte it. If it doith yuel bi-
10 fore myn i3en, that it here not my vois,
Y schal do penaunce on the good which Y
spak, that Y schulde do to it. Now ther-
11 for seie thou to a man of Juda, and to
the dwellere of Jerusalem, and seie, The
Lord seith these thingis, Lo! Y make
yuel a3ens 3ou, and Y thenke a thou3te
a3ens 3ou; ech man turne a3en fro his
yuel weie, and dresse 3e 3oure weies and
3oure studies. Whiche^s seiden, We han
12 dispeirid, for we schulen go after oure
thou3tis, and we schulen do ech man the
schrewidnesse of his yuel herte. Therfor
13 the Lord seith these thingis, Axe 3e he-

^f birthens A. ^g hous A. ^h queynt AEGHK. ⁱ this AGHK. ^k in his AEGHK. ^l hoondis AGHK.
^m plauntide K. ⁿ eche man AEGHK. ^o eche man AEGHK.

^s The whiche I.

13 herte wee shul do. Therfore these thingus
seith the Lord, Asketh folc of kinde, who
herde such horrible thingus, the whiche
14 to myche dide the maiden Irael? Whe-
ther of the ston of the feld shal faile the
sno³ of Liban? or ben pullid awei moun
watris brekende out, colde and ful myche
15 flowende doun^p? For forzat me my puple,
in veyn offrende licoures, and stumblende
in ther weies, and in the styes of the
world, that thei go^a bi them in a weye
16 not berdid^r; that be^s mad the lond of
hem in to desolacioun, and in to whist-
ling euere durende; eche forsothe that
passeth bi it, shal become stoneid, and
17 mouen his hed. As a brenende wind Y
shal scatere them bifor the enemy; bac
and not face Y shal shewe to them, in the
18 dai of^t perdicoun of hem. And thei seiden,
Cometh, and thenke wee a³en Jeremye
tho³tus; forsothe pershe shal not the
lawe fro the prest, ne counseil fro the
wise man, ne sermoun fro the profete;
cometh, and smyte wee hym with tunge,
and take wee not heed to alle the ser-
19 mouns of hym. Tac heed, Lord, to me,
and here the vois of myn aduersaries.
20 Whether zolden is for good euel, for thei
deluen a dich to my soule; recorde, that
Y stod in thi sizt, that I schuld^u speke for
them good, and turne awei thin indigna-
21 cioun fro them. Therfore zif^v the sonus of
them in to hunger, and bring doun hem
in to the hondus of swerd^w; mad be the
wifes of them withoute free childer, and
widewes, and the men of hem be slayn
with deth; the zunge of them be thei
22 stikid with swerd in bataile. Herd be
the cri fro the houses of them, thou shalt
bringe to forsothe vp on hem a thef so-
deynly; for thei doluen a dich that thei
take^x me, and grynes thei hidden to my
23 feet. Thou forsothe, Lord, wost al the
counseil of hem a³en me in to deth; ne
be thou plesid to the wickidnesse^y of

thene men, who herde siche orible thingis,
whiche the virgyn of Israel hath do greetli?
Whether snow of the Liban schal fail fro 14
the stoon of the feeld? ether coolde watris
brekyng out, and fletyng doun moun be
takun awei? For my puple hath forzete 15
me, and offriden^a sacrifices in veyn, and
snaperiden in her weies, and in the pathis
of the world, that thei zeden bi tho in a
weie not trodun; that the lond of hem 16
schulde be in to desolacioun, and in to
an hissyng euerlastinge; for whi ech that
passith bi it, schal be astonyed, and schal
moue his heed. As a^b brennyng wynd 17
Y schal scatere hem bifor the enemy; Y
shal schewe to hem the bak and not the
face, in the dai of the perdicoun of hem.
And thei seiden, Come ze, and thenke we 18
thouztis a³ens Jeremye; for whi the lawe
shal not perische fro a preest, nether coun-
cel *shal perische* fro a wijs man, nether
word *shal perische* fro a profete; come
ze, and smyte we hym with tunge, and
take we noon heede to alle the wordis of
hym. Lord, zyue thou tent to me, and 19
here thou the vois of myn aduersaries.
Whether yuel is zoldun for good, for thei 20
han diggid a pit to my soule; haue thou
mynde, that Y stode in thi sizt, to speke
good for hem, and to turne awei thin in-
dignacioun fro hem. Therfor zyue thou 21
the sones of hem in to hungur, and lede
forth hem in to the hondis of swerd; the
wyues of hem be maad with out children,
and *be maad* widewis, and the hosebondis
of hem be slayn bi deth; the zonge men
of hem be persid togidere bi^c swerd in
batel. Cry be herd of the housis of hem, 22
for thou schalt bringe sudenli a theef on
hem; for thei diggiden a pit to take me,
and hidden^d snaris to my feet. But thou, 23
Lord, knowist al the councel of hem a³ens
me in to deth; do thou not merci to the
wickidnesse of hem, and the synne of hem
be not doon awei fro thi face; be thei

^p Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^q shulden goo AGHK. ^r berid c pr. m. E pr. m. H. ^s were E sec. m. AGHK.
^t of the E pr. m. ^u Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^v zif thou AE sec. m. GHK. ^w the swerd E pr. m. ^x shulden
take AE sec. m. GHK. ^y wickenesse E.

^a thei offriden I. ^b Om. N. ^c with I. ^d thei hidden I.

them, and the synne^z of hem fro thi face be not don awei; be thei mad togidere fallende in thi sizt, in tyme of thi wodnesse; awei fro good vse them.

CAP. XIX.

1 These thingus seith the Lord, Go, and
tac the erthene litil wyn vessel of the
crockere, and fro the elderes of the puple,
2 and fro the elderes of the^a prestus. And
go out to the valei of the sonus of Ennon,
that is biside the entre of the britil zate;
and thou shalt preche there wrdys^b that
3 Y shal speke to thee; and seyn, Hereth
the wrd of the Lord, zee kingus of Juda,
and dwelleris of Jerusalem. These thingus
seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael,
Lo! Y shal bringe in tormenting vp on
this place, so that eche that shal heren it,
4 tynle hys eres. For thi that thei for-
soke me, and alien maden this place, and
offreden to alien godis, in that that
knewen not thei, and ther faders, and the
kingis of Juda; and fulfilden this place
5 with blod^c of innocentus, and bilden vp
the heze thingus of Baalym, to ben brent
ther sonus with fyr, in to brent sacrifice
to Balim; whiche thingus Y comaundide
not, ne spac, ne stezede vp in to myn
6 herte. Therfor seith the Lord, Lo! dajes
comen, and clepid shal no mor be this
place Tofeth, and the valei of the sone^d
7 of Ennon, but the valei of slazter. And
Y shal scatere the counseil of Jude and
of Jerusalem in this place, and Y shal
turne them vpsodoun with swerd, in
sizte^e of ther enemys, and in the hond
of^f men sechende ther lyues; and Y shal
zyue the careynes of them mete to the
foules of heuene, and to^g the bestus of
8 erthe. And Y shal sette this cite in to
stoneynge, and in to whistling; and eche
that shal passe by it, shal stoneyn, and
whistlen vp on al the veniaunce of it.
9 And Y shal fede them with the flesh of

maad fallynge down in thi sizt, in the tyme
of thi stronge veniaunce; vse thou hem to
othir thing than thei weren ordeyned.

CAP. XIX.

The Lord seith these thingis, Go thou, 1
and take an erthene potel of a pottere, of
the eldre men of the puple, and of the^e
eldre men of preestis^f. And go thou out 2
to the valei of the sonus of Ennon, which
is bisidis the entring of the erthene zate;
and there thou schalt preche the wordis
whiche Y shal speke to thee; and thou 3
schalt seie, Kyngis of Juda, and the dwel-
leris of Jerusalem, here ze the word of
the Lord. The Lord of oostis, God of
Israel, seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal
bringe in turment on this place, so that
ech man that herith it, hise eeris tynge.
For thei han forsake me, and maad alien 4
this place, and offriden^g sacrifices to alien
goddis ther ynne, whiche thei, and the
fadris of hem, and the kingis of Juda,
knewen not; and thei filliden this place
with the blood of innocentis, and bild- 5
iden hij thingis to Baalym, to brenne her
sones in fier, in to brent sacrifice to Baa-
lym; whiche thingis Y comaundide not,
nether spak, nether tho stieden in to myn
herte. Therfor the Lord seith, Lo! daies 6
comen, and this place schal no more be
clepid Tophet, and the valei of the sone
of Ennon, but the valei of sleyng. And 7
Y schal distrie the councel of Juda and of
Jerusalem in this place, and Y schal dis-
trie hem bi swerd, in the sizt of her ene-
myes, and in the hond of men sekyng
the lyues of hem; and Y schal zyue her
deed bodies meteⁱ to the briddis of the eir,
and to beestis of erthe. And Y schal 8
sette this citee in to wondring, and in to
hissing; ech that passith bi it, schal won-
dre, and hisse on al the veniaunce therof.
And Y schal feede hem with the fleischis 9

^z synnes GHK. ^a Om. AEGHK. ^b the woordus E sec. m. ^c the blod E pr. m. ^d sonus AE pr. m. GHK.
^e the sizte AGHK. ^f Om. E pr. m. ^g Om. A.

^e Om. I. ^f the prestis P pr. m. I. ^g thei offriden I. ⁱ to be mete I.

ther sonus, and with the flesh of ther
dōztris; and eche the flesh of his frend
shal ete in segyng and in anguysh, in
whyche close them shul ther enemys,
10 and that^h sechen their lyues. And thou
shalt to-brose the litle wyn vessel in the
eȝen of the men, that shul go with thee.
11 And thou shalt sei to them, These thingus
seith the Lord of ostus, Thus Y shal to-
brose this puple, and this cyte, as is to-
brosid the vessel of the crockere, that
mai no more be restored; and in^l Tofeth
thei shul ben biried, for ther is not
12 other place to birie in. So Y shal do
to this place, seith the Lord, and to his
dwelleris, that Y sette this cite as Tofeth.
13 And ben shul the houses of Jerusalem,
and the houses of the kingus^k of Juda,
as the place Tofeth; vncleene alle the
houses, in whos rooues thei sacrificeden to
al the knyȝthed of heuene, and offreden
14 sacrificise^l of licoures to alien godus. Cam
forsothe Jeremye fro Tofeth, whider
hadde sent hym the Lord to profecien;
and stod in the porche of the hous of the
15 Lord, and seide to al the puple, These
thingus seith the Lord of ostes, God of
Israel, Lo! Y shal bringen in vp on this
cite, and vp on alle his cheef citees, alle
the euelis that Y spac aȝen it; for thei in-
wardly hardeden ther nolles^m, and herde
not my sermons.

CAP. XX.

1 And ther herde Fassur, the sone of
Emyner, prestⁿ, that was ordeyned prince
in the hous of the Lord, Jeremye profe-
ciende these sermownus. And Fassur
smot Jeremye, profete, and putte^o hym in
to the stockes, that was in the ouere ȝate
of Beniamyn, in the hous of the Lord.
3 And whan it hadde liztid in to the moru,
Fassur ladde out Jeremie out of the
stockus. And Jeremye seide to hym, Not
Fassur clepede the Lord thi name, but

of her sones, and with the fleischis of her
douȝtris; and ech man schal ete the fleischis
of his frend in the bisegyng and angwisch,
in which the enemyes of hem, and thei
that seken the lyues of hem, schulen close
hem togidere. And thou schalt al to-10
breke the potel bifore the iȝen of the men,
that schulen go with thee. And thou¹¹
schalt seie to hem, The Lord of oostis
seith these thingis, So Y schal al to-breke
this puple, and this citee, as the vessel of
a pottere is al to-brokun, which mai no
more be restorid; and thei schulen be
biried in Tophet, for noon other place is
to birie. So Y schal do to this place,¹²
seith the Lord, and to dwelleris therof,
that Y sette this citee as Tophet. And¹³
the housis of Jerusalem, and the housis of
the kingis of Juda, schulen be as the place
of Tophet; alle the vncleene housis, in
whose roouys thei sacrificeden^k to al the
chyualrie of heuene, and offriden moist
sacrifices to alien goddis. Forsothe Jere-¹⁴
mye cam fro Tophet, whidur the Lord
hadde sente hym for to profesie; and he
stood in the porche of the hous of the
Lord, and seide to al the puple, The Lord¹⁵
of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
Lo! Y schal bringe in on this citee, and
on alle the citees therof, alle the yuelis
whiche Y spac aȝens it; for thei maden
hard her nol, that thei herden not my
wordis.

CAP. XX.

And Phassur, the sone of Emyner, the¹
preest, that was ordeyned prince in the
hous of the Lord, herde Jeremye profes-
yng these wordis. And Phassur smoot²
Jeremye, the profete, and sente hym in to
the stockis, that weren in the hizere ȝate
of Beniamyn, in the hous of the Lord.
And whanne it was cleer in the morewe,³
Phassur ledde Jeremye out of the stockis.
And Jeremye seide to hym, The Lord
clepide not Phassur thi name, but Drede

^h thei that *AK sec. m.* ⁱ in to *HK.* ^k kyng *AGHK.* ^l sacrifices *AGHK.* ^m nolle *E sec. m.* ⁿ the preest
E pr. m. ^o sente *AE sec. m. GHK.*

^k sacrificeden *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX.*

4 Inwardli ferd on eche side. For these thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal 3yue thee in to inward ferd, thee and alle thi frendus, and to gidere thei shul falle with the^p swerd of ther enemys; and thin e3en shul see; and al Juda^q Y shal 3yue in the hond of the kyng of Babiloyne, and he shal ouer lede them in to Babiloyne, and smyte them with swerd. And Y shal 3yue al the substaunce of this cite, and al his trauaile, and al the pris; and al the tresores of the king of Juda I shal 3yue in the hond of the enemys of them; and they shul reue them, and taken, and
6 bringe them in to Babyloyn. Thou forsothe, Fassur, and alle the dwelleris of thin hous, shul gon in to caitifte; and in to Babyloyn thou shalt come, and there thou shalt die; and there thou shalt be biried, and alle thi frendus, to whyche
7 thou profeciedist^r lesing. Thou leddest^s me asyde, Lord, and Y am lad aside; strengere than Y thou were, and thou haddest the maistrie; I am mad in to
8 scorn al day. Alle scorneden me, for now 3ore Y speke, criende out the wickidnesse^{ss}, and the wastite I ofte crie. And don is the sermoun of the Lord to me in to
9 repref, and in to scornynge al day. And Y seide, I shal not recorden of it, ne speke more in the name of hym. And mad it is in myn herte, as fyr gretly hetende, and closid in my bones; and Y
10 failede, to bern not sustenende. I herde forsothe the wrong blamyngus of manye, and the ferd in enuyroun, Pursueth, and pursue wee hym, of alle men that weren my pesible, and kende my side; if any maner he be bigilid, and wee haue the maistri a3en hym, and wee gete veniaunce
11 of hym. The Lord forsothe is with me as a strong f3tere, therfor that^t pursuen me shul falle, and syc shul be; and thei shul be shent hugeli, for thei vnderstoden not the euere durende repref, that

on ech side. For the Lord seith these⁴ thingis, Lo! Y schal 3yue thee and alle thi freendis in to drede, and thei schulen falle doun bi the swerd of her enemyes; and thin 3en schulen se; and Y schal 3yue al Juda in the hond of the king of Babiloyne, and he schal lede hem ouer in to Babiloyne, and he schal smyte hem bi^l swerd. And Y schal 3yue al the catel of⁵ this citee, and al the trauel therof, and al the prijs; and Y schal 3yue alle the tresours of the kingis of Juda in the hond of her enemyes; and thei schulen rauysche tho^m, and schulen take, and lede forth in to Babiloyne. Forsothe thou, Phassur,⁶ and alle the dwelleris of thin hous, schulen go in to caitifte; and thou schalt come in to Babiloyne, and thou schalt die there; and thou schalt be biried there, thou and alle thi freendis, to whiche thou profesiedist⁷ aⁿ leesyng. Lord, thou disseyuedist⁷ me, and Y am disseyued; thou were strongere than Y, and thou haddist the maistrie; Y am maad in to scorn al dai. Alle men bymowen me, for now a while⁸ ago Y speke crynge wickidnesse, and Y criende distriynge. And the word of the Lord is maad to me in to schenschip, and in to scorn al dai. And Y seide, Y schal⁹ not haue mynde on hym, and Y schal no more speke in his name. And *the word of the Lord* was maad, as fier swalyng in myn herte, and cloosid in my boonys; and Y failede, not suffryng to bere. For¹⁰ Y herde dispisyngis of many men, and drede in cumpas, Pursue 3e, and pursue we hym, of alle men that weren pesible to me, and kepyng my side; if in ony maner he be disseyued, and we haue the maistrie a3ens hym, and gete veniaunce of hym. Forsothe the Lord as a stronge werriour¹¹ is with me, therfor thei that pursuen me schulen falle, and schulen^o be sijk; and thei schulen be schent greetli, for thei vndurstoden not euerlastyng schenschip,

^p Om. *AE sec. m. GHK.* ^q Jewerie *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^r propheciede *AGHK.* ^s begiledest *E pr. m.*
^{ss} wicknesse *E.* ^t thei that *AK sec. m.*

^l with *I.* ^m hem *N.* ⁿ Om. *I.* ^o thei schul *I.*

12 neuer shal be don awei. And thou, Lord
of ostus, prouere of the riȝtwis, that
seest the reenes and the herte, 'see I^u, Y
beseche, thi veniaunce of hem; to thee
13 forsothe Y shewide my cause. Syngeth
to the Lord, preiseth the Lord, for he
hath^v delyuered^w the soule of the pore
14 fro the hond of euelis. Cursid the dai
in the^x whiche Y am born, the dai in
whiche bar me my moder, be not blessid.
15 Cursed the man, that tolde to my fader,
seiende, Born is to thee a knaue child,
16 and as with ioȝe gladide hym. Be that
man as ben the cites, that^y the Lord
turnede vpsodoun, and it^z othoȝte hym
not; here he cry erly, and ȝelling in
17 mydday tyme, that me sloȝ not fro the
priue wombe; that mad were to me my
moder a sepulcre, and hir priue wombe
18 conceyuyng euerlastende. Whi fro the
priue wombe Y ȝide out, that Y schulde
seen trauaile and sorewe, and wast ben
in confusioun my dazes?

CAP. XXI.

1 The wrd that don is to Jeremye fro
the Lord, whan sente to hym king Sede-
chie Fassur, the sone of Melchie, and
Sofonye, the sone of Masie, prest^a, sei-
2 ende, Aske for vs the Lord, for Nabugo-
donosor, king of Babiloyne, fiȝteth aȝen
vs; if par auenture the Lord do with vs
after alle his merueyles, and he go awei
3 fro vs. And Jeremye seide to them,
4 Thus ȝee shul sey to Sedechie, These
thingus seith the Lord God, Lo! Y shal
turne the vesselis of the bataile that in
ȝoure hondus ben, and with^b whom ȝee
fiȝten, aȝen the king of Babiloyne, and
Caldeis, that besegen ȝou in cumpas of
the wallis; and Y shal gedere them in
5 the myddes of this cite. And Y shal
ouercome ȝou in a strazt out hond, and
in a strong arm, and in wodnesse, and in
6 indignacioun, and in^c gret wrathe; I shal

that schal neuere be don awei. And thou, 12
Lord of oostis, the preuere of a iust man,
which seest the reynes and herte, Y bi-
seche, se Y thi veniaunce of hem; for Y
haue schewid my cause to thee. Synge 13
ȝe to the Lord, herie ȝe the Lord, for he
delyueride the soule of a pore man fro the
hond of yuel men. Cursid *be* the dai^{* 14}
where ynne Y was borun, the dai where
ynne my modir childide me, be not bless-
id[†]. Cursid *be* the man, that telde to my 15
fadir, and seide, A knaue child is borun
to thee, and made hym glad as with ioȝe.
Thilke man be as the citees ben, whiche 16
the Lord distriede, and it repentide not
hym; he that killide not me fro the 17
wombe, here cry eerli, and ȝellynge in the
tyme of myddai; that my modir were a
sepulcre to me, and hir wombe *were* euer-
lastinge^p conseuyng. Whi ȝede Y out of 18
the wombe, that Y schulde se trauel and
sorewe, and that mi daies schulen be
waastid in schenschiþe?

CAP. XXI

The word which was maad of the Lord 1
to Jeremye, whanne king Sedechie sente
to hym Phassur, the sone of Helchie, and
Sofonye, the preest, the sone of Maasie,
and seide, Axe thou the Lord for vs, for 2
Nabugodonosor, the kyng of Babiloyne,
fiȝtith aȝens vs; if in hap the Lord do
with vs bi alle hise merueilis, and he go
awei fro vs. And Jeremye seide to hem, 3
Thus ȝe schulen seie to Sedechie, The 4
Lord God of Israel seith these thingis,
Lo! Y schal turne the instrumentis of
batel that ben in ȝoure hondis, and with
which ȝe fiȝten aȝens the king of Babi-
loyne, and *aȝens* Caldeis, that bisegen ȝou
in the cumpas of wallis; and Y schal ga-
dere tho togidere in the myddis of this
citee. And Y schal ouercome ȝou in hond 5
stretchid forth, and in strong arm, and in
stronge veniaunce, and indignacioun^q, and

¹⁴ * *Cursed be the dai, etc.* These ben not wordis of Jeremie, vn-
patient and dis-
peiringe, but in
this he declar-
eth the hidous-
nesse of sensu-
alite, in compa-
risoun of euil
neinging, which
euil, that is,
peyne, the re-
soun suffrede
patientli, as
Saint Joob,
ensampler of
paciencie, seide,
The dai pershe
in which I was
born; and this
is the sentence,
*Cursid be the
dai, etc.*; that
is, if I suede
the hidousnesse
of sensualite, I
schulde curse
the time of my
birthe. *Live
here. EGHKL
QUY.*

[†] That is, if I
suyde the hid-
ousnesse of sen-
sualite, I schulde
curse the tyme
of my birthe. *w.*

^u see H. seer K. ^v Om. H. ^w lyuerede H. ^x Om. AGHK. ^y of AGHK. ^z Om. AEGHK. ^a the
preest E sec. m. ^b to E pr. m. ^c Om. C. in a AGHK.

^p an euerlastinge I. ^q in indignacioun A pr. m.

smyte the dwelleris of this cite, men and bestus with gret pestylence shul dien.
 7 And after these thingus, seith the Lord, Y shal 3yue Sedechie, king of Juda, and his seruauns, and his puple, and that ben laft in this cite of pestylence, and swerd, and hunger, in the hond of Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, and in the hond of ther enemys, and in the hond of men sechende ther lif; and he shal smyte them in mouth^d of swerd; and he shal not be bowid, ne sparen, ne han^e reuthe.
 8 And to this puple thou shalt sey, These thingus seith the Lord God, Lo! Y 3yue bifor 3ou weie of lif, and weie of deth.
 9 Who 'shal dwelle^f in this cite, shal die with swerd, and hunger, and pestilence; who forsothe shul go out, and flee to the Caldeis that besegen 3ou, shal lyue, and
 10 be shal to hym his soule as spoile. Forsothe Y haue^{ff} set my face vp on this cite in to euel, and not in to good, seith the Lord; in the hond of the king of Babiloyne it shal be 3oue^g, and brenne it out
 11 he shal with fyr, and the hous of the king of Juda. Hereth the wrd of the Lord,
 12 '3e the^h hous of Daud. These thingus seith the Lord, Demeth erli dom, and delyuereth out the oppressed with force fro the hond of the wrongⁱ chalengere; lest par auenture go out as fir myn^k indignacioun, and be tend vp, and be not that quenche, for the malice of 3oure studies.
 13 Lo! Y to thee, dwelleresse of the sadde valey and wilde feld, seith the Lord, 3ee that seyn, Who shal smyten vs, and who
 14 shal go 'in to^l oure houses? And Y shal visite vp on 3ou after the frute of 3oure studies, seith the Lord; and Y shal tende vp fyr in his wilde wode, and deuoure it shal alle thingus in his cumpas.

in greet wraththe; and Y schal smyte^o the dwelleris of this citee, men and beestis schulen die bi greet pestilence. And after
 7 these thingis, seith the Lord, Y schal 3yue Sedechie, kyng of Juda, and hise seruauntis, and his puple, and that ben left in this citee fro pestilence, and swerd, and hungur, in the hond of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, and in the hond of her enemyes, and in the hond of men sekyng the lijf of hem; and he schal smyte hem bi the scharpnesse of swerd; and he schal not be bowid, nether schal spare, nether schal haue mercy. And thou
 8 schalt seie to this puple, The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y 3yue bifore 3ou the weie of lijf, and the weie of deth. He
 9 that dwellith in this citee, schal die bi swerd, and hungur, and pestilence; but he that goith out, and fleeth ouer to Caldeis that bisegen 3ou, schal lyue, and his lijf schal be as a prey^r to hym. For Y haue
 10 set my face on this citee in to yuel, and not in to good, seith the Lord; it schal be 3ouun in the hond of the king of Babiloyne, and he schal brenne it with fier. And thou schalt seie to the hous of the
 11 king of Juda, the hous of Daud, Here 3e the word of the Lord. The Lord seith
 12 these thingis, Deme 3e eerli doom, and delyuere 3e hym that is oppressid bi violence fro the hond of the^s fals chalenger^t; lest perauenture myn indignacioun go out as fier, and be kyndlid, and noon be that quenche, for the malice of 3oure studies.
 Lo! Y to^u thee^v, dwelleresse^w of the sad
 13 valei and pleyn, seith the Lord, which seien, Who schal smyte vs, and who schal entre in to oure housis? And Y schal
 14 visite on 3ou bi the fruyt of 3oure studies, seith the Lord; and Y schal kyndle fier in the forest therof, and it schal deuoure alle thingis in the cumpas therof.

^d the mouth AEGHK. ^e ha K. ^f dwellith E pr. m. ^{ff} ha K pr. m. han sec. m. ^g 3yuen E pass. ^h the C pr. m. E pr. m. 3e AGHK. ⁱ Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. ^k Om. C pr. m. ^l in AG pr. m. HK.

^r spuyt, ether prey CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.
^w dwelstere i.

^s Om. i.

^t caleng r.

^u do to i.

^v the f.

CAP. XXII.

1 These thingus seith the Lord, Cum down
in to the hous of the king of Juda, and
2 thou shalt speke there this wrd, and seyn,
Here thou the wrd of the Lord, thou¹
king of Juda, that sittest vp on the see
of Dauid, thou, and thi seruau²tis, and
thi puple, that gon in bi these 3atus.
3 These thingus seith the Lord, Doth dom,
and ri3twisnesse, and delyuereth the
opressid bi force fro the hond of the
wrong^m chalengere; and the comeling,
and faderlesⁿ child, and the widewe wil-
eth not^o sorewen, ne opresseth wickeli^p,
and the innocent blod ne shedeth out in
4 this place. If forsothe doende 3ee shul
do this wrd, gon in shul bi the 3atus of
this hous kingus sittende of the kinrede
of Dauid vp on his trone, and the ste3ing
men vp^q chares and hors, thei, and ser-
5 uauns, and the puples of them. That
if 3ee shul not here these wrdus, in my-
self Y swor, seith the Lord, for in to wil-
6 dernesses shal be this hous. For these
thingus seith the Lord vp on the see of
the king of Juda, Galaad, thou 'to me^r
hed of Liban; yf Y shal not sette forth
thee wildernesse, cheef citees vnabitable.
7 And Y shal halewe^s vp on thee the
sleende man^t, and his armes; and thei
shul 'kutte down^u thi chosen cedris, and
8 throwe down in to fyr. And passen shul
manye Jentiles thur3 this cite, and sei
shal eche to his ne3hebore, Whi dide the
9 Lord thus to this grete cite? And thei
shul answern, For thi that thei forsoke
the couenaunt of the Lord ther God, and
honoureden alien godis, and serueden
10 to them. Wileth not wepe the deade,
ne weilen vp on hym with weping; weil-
eth hym that goth out, for he shal no
mor be turned a3een, ne seen he shal the
11 lond of his birthe. For these thingus
seith the Lord to Sellum, sone of Josie,

CAP. XXII.

The Lord seith these thingis, Go thou¹
down in to the hous of the kyng of Juda,
and thou schalt speke there this word,
and schalt seie, Thou kyng of Juda, that²
sittist on the seete of Dauid, here the
word of the Lord, thou, and thi ser-
uauntis, and thi puple, that entren bi these
3atis. The Lord seith these thingis, Do³
3e doom, and ri3tfulnesse, and delyuere 3e
hym that is oppressid bi violence fro the
hond of the fals challenger; and nyle 3e
make sori, nether oppresse 3e wickidli a
comelyng, and a fadirles child, and a wi-
dewe, and schede 3e not out innocent blood
in this place. For if 3e doynge don this⁴
word, kyngis of the kyn of Dauid sit-
tynge on his trone schulen entre bi the
3atis of this hous, and schulen^x stie on
charis and horsis, thei, and the seruau²tis,
and the puple of hem. That if 3e heren⁵
not these wordis, Y swoore in my silf,
seith the Lord, that this hous schal be in
to wildirnesse. For the Lord seith these⁶
thingis on the hous of the kyng of Juda,
Galaad, thou *art* to me the heed of the
Liban; *credence be not 3ouun to me*, if
Y sette not thee a wildirnesse, citees vn-
habitable. And Y schal halewe on thee a⁷
man sleynge, and hise armuris; and thei
schulen kitte down thi chosun cedris, and
schulen caste down in to fier. And many⁸
folkis schulen passe bi this citee, and ech
man schal seie to his ne3bore, Whi dide
the Lord thus to this greet citee? And⁹
thei schulen answer, For thei forsoken
the couenaunt of her Lord God, and wor-
schipiden alien goddis, and serueden hem.
Nyle 3e biwepe hym that is deed, nether¹⁰
weile 3e on hym bi wepyng; biweile 3e
hym that goith out, for he schal no more
turne a3en, nether he schal se the lond of
his birthe. For the Lord seith these¹¹
thingis to Sellum, the sone of Josie, the

¹ Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^m Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ⁿ the faderles AEGHK. ^o Om. E pr. m. ^p wick-
idli AGHK. ^q vpon AGHK. ^r my AGHK. ^s 3yue E pr. vice. ^t char E pr. m. ^u teenden vp E pr. m.

^x thei schul i.

king of Juda, that regnede for Josie, his fader, That is^v gon out fro this place, he^w 12shal not turne azen hider more^x; but in the place to the^y whiche Y translatide hym, there he shal die, and this lond he 13shal see no more. Wo that bildeth vp his hous in vnri3twisnes, and his souping places not in dom; his frend he shal opresse in veyn, and his meede he shal 14not zelde to hym. The whiche seith, I shal bilde vp to me a large hous, and spacious souping places; that openeth to hym wyndowes, and maketh cedre cou- 15ples, and peynteth with cynoper. Whether shalt thou regne, for thou licnest^z thee to a cedar? thi fader, whether he eet not, and dranc, and dide dom and ri3twisnesse, thanne whan wel it was to 16hym? He demede the cause of the pore, and of the helpeles, in to his^a good; whether not therfor for he kne3 me? seith 17the Lord. Thine forsothe e3en and herte to auarice, and to innocent blod to be shed, and to wronge^c challenge, and to the end- 18ing of euel werc. Therfore these thingus seith the Lord to Joachym, sone of Josie, king of Juda, Thei shul not weilen hym, Wo brother! and wo sister! thei shul not togidere trumpe to hym, Wo lord! and 19wo glorious! In^d the biri3ng of an asse he shal be biried, roten, and throwen 20aferr out of the 3atis of Jerusalem. Ste3 thou vp Liban, and crye, and in to Basan 3if thi vois, and crie to the passerres, 21for to-trode^e ben alle thi loueres. I spac to thee in thi plenteuousnesse, and^f thou seidist, I shal not heren; this is thi weie fro thi waxende 3outh, for thou herdist not 22my vois. Alle thi shepperdus wind shal fede, and thi loueres in to caitifte shul go; and thanne thou shalt be confound- 23yd, and shamen of al thi malice, that sittist in Liban, and nestlist in cedris. Hou togidere weiledist thou, whan comen hadde to thee^g sorewes, as sorewis of the

kyng of Juda, that regnede for Josye, his fadir, He that 3ede out of this place, schal no more turne azen hidur; but in the 12 place to which Y^y translatide him, there he schal die, and he schal no more se this lond. Wo to *him* that bildith his hous 13 in vnri3tfulnesse, and his soleris not in doom; he schal oppresse his freend in veyn, and he schal not zelde his hire to hym. Which^z seith, Y schal bilde to me 14 a large hous, and wide soleris; which openeth wyndows to hym silf, and makith couplis of cedre, and peyntith with reed colour. Whether thou schalt regne, for 15 thou comparisonest thee to a cedar? whether thi fadir eet not, and drank, and dide doom and ri3tfulnesse thanne, whanne it was wel to hym? He demyde the cause of 16 a pore man, and nedi, in to his good; whether not therfor for he knew me? seith the Lord. Forsothe thin 33en and 17 herte *ben* to aueryce, and to schede innocent blood, and to fals caleng, and to the perfourmyng of yuel werk. Therfor the 18 Lord seith these thingis to Joachym, the^a sone of Josie, the kyng of Juda, Thei schulen not biweile hym, Wo brother! and wo sistir! thei schulen not sowne togidere to hym, Wo lord! and wo noble man! He 19 schal be biried with the biri3ng of an asse, *he schal be* rotun, and cast forth without the 3atis of Jerusalem. Stie thou 20 on the Liban, and cry thou, and 3yue thi vois in Basan, and cry to hem that passen forth, for alle thi louyeris ben al to-brokun. Y spak to thee in thi plentee, 21 and thou seidist, Y schal not here; this is thi weie fro thi 3ongthe, for thou herdist not my vois. Wynd schal feede alle thi 22 scheepherdis, and thi louyeris schulen go in to caitifte; and thanne thou that sittist 23 in the Liban, and makist nest in cedris, schalt be schent, and be^b aschamed of al thi malice. Hou weilidist thou, whanne sorewis weren comun to thee, as the so-

^v Om. E pr. m.^w Om. c pr. m. E pr. m.^x Om. c pr. m.^y Om. AEGHK.^z 3yuest E pr. m.^a ther c pr. m. E pr. m.^c Om. c et E.^d Om. E pr. m.^e to-treden K.^f Om. CE sec. m.^g the E pr. m.^y Y haue I.^z The which I.^a Om. N.^b Om. I.

24 **trauailende** with childe? I lyue, seith the Lord, for if shul be Jeconyas, the sone of Joachym, king of Juda, a ring in my riȝt hond, thennus I shal pullen hym
 25 **away**. And Y shal ȝyue thee in the hond of men sechende thi soule, and in the hond of hem whos face thou dredist, and in the hond of Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, and in the hond of Caldeis.
 26 And Y shal sende thee, and thi moder that gat thee, in to an alien lond, in whiche ȝee ben not born, and there ȝee shul die;
 27 and in to the lond to whiche thei reren ther soule, that thei turne aȝeen thider,
 28 and thei turne aȝeen shul not. Whether a britil vessel and a brosid this man Jeconyas? whether a vessel withoute al voluptuouse? Whi throwen awei ben he and his sed, and cast aferr in to the
 29 lond that thei knewe not? Erthe, erthe, erthe, here the sermoun of the Lord.
 30 These thingus seith the Lord, Writ this man a bareyn man, that in his dāȝes shal not be welsum; ne forsothe ben shal of his sed a man, that sitte vp on the see of Dauid, and power haue more yn Juda.

CAP. XXIII.

1 **Wo** to the shepperdis, that scateren and to-tern the floc of my leswe, seith the
 2 Lord. Therefore these thingus seith the Lord God of Irael to the shepperdus, that feden my puple, ȝee scatereden^h my floc, and threwen out hem^{hh}, and han not visitid hem; lo! Y shal visite vp on ȝow the malice of ȝoure studies, seith the
 3 Lord. And Y shal gedere the remnauntus of my floc fro alle londis, to whiche Y shal caste hem out thider; and Y shal turne them to ther wilde feldus, and thei
 4 shul growe, and be multepliede. And Y shal rere vp on hem shepperdus, and thei shul fede them; theiⁱ shuln no mor ben aferd, ne inwardly dreden; and no man shal be soȝt of the noumbre, seith the

rew of a womman trauelynge of child? I lyue, seith the Lord, for thouȝ Jeconye, 24 the sone of Joachym, kyng of Juda, were a ring in my riȝt hond, fro thennus Y schal drawe awei hym. And Y schal ȝyue 25 thee in the hond of hem that seken thi lijf, and in the hond of hem whos face thou dredist, and in the hond of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, and in the hond of Caldeis. And Y schal sende thee, 26 and thi moder that gendride thee, in to an alien lond, in which ȝe weren not borun, and there ȝe schulen die; and 27 thei schulen not turne aȝen in to the lond, to which thei reisen her soule, that thei turne aȝen thidur. Whether this man 28 Jeconye *is* an erthene vessel, and al to-brokun? whether a vessel withouten al likyng? Whi ben he and his seed cast awei, and cast forth in to a lond which thei knewen not? Erthe, erthe, erthe, 29 here thou the word of the Lord. The 30 Lord seith these thingis, Write thou this man bareyn, a man that schal not haue prosperite in hise daies; for of his seed schal be no man, that schal sitte on the seete of Dauid, and haue powere ferthere in Juda.

CAP. XXIII.

Wo to the scheepherdis, that scateren¹ and to-drawn the floc of my lesewe, seith the Lord. Therfor the Lord God of Is-² rael seith these thingis to the scheepherdis, that feeden my puple, ȝe han scaterid my floc, and han cast hem out, and han not visitid hem; lo! Y schal visite on ȝou the malice of^c ȝoure studies, seith the Lord. And Y schal gadere togidere the reme-³ nauntis of my floc fro alle londis, to whiche Y schal caste hem out thidur; and Y schal turne hem to her feeldis, and thei schulen encreesse, and schulen be multi-
 4 plied. And Y schal reise^d scheepherdis on hem, and thei schulen feede hem; thei schulen no more drede, and schulen not be aferd; and noon schal be souȝt of the

^h scateren AGH. ^{hh} hem out E. ⁱ and thei AE pr. m. GHK.^c on N. ^d reise vp I.

5 Lord. Lo! dazes comen, seith the Lord,
and I shal rere Daud a riȝtwis buriown-
yng; and regne he shal king, and wys he
shal be, and don he shal dom and riȝt-
6 wisnesse in erthe. In tho dazes saued
shal ben Juda, and Irael shal dwelle
trostili; and this is the name that thei
7 shul clepen hym, Oure riȝtwis Lord. For
this lo! dazes comen, seith the Lord, and
thei shul sei no more, The Lord lyueth^k,
that ladde out the sonus of Irael fro the
8 lond of Egipt; but, The Lord lyueth, that
ladde out, and broȝte to the sed of the
hous of Irael fro the lond of the north,
and fro alle londus to the^l whiche Y
hadde cast them oute thider; and thei
9 shul dwelle in ther owne lond. To the
profetus; To-brosid is my herte in the^m
myddel of me, al to-trembleden alleⁿ my
bonus; I am mad as a drunke man, and
as a man drunken of wyn, fro the face of
the Lord, and fro the face of his hoeli
10 wrdus; for of auoutreres fulfid is the
lond. For fro the face of cursing weilide
the lond; dried^o ben the wilde feldus of
desert, mad ys the cours of them euel,
11 and the strengthe of hem vnlic^p. The
profete forsothe and the prest ben de-
foulid; and in myn hous I fond the euel
12 of hem, seith the Lord. Therefore the
weie of hem shal be as^q slydery in derc-
nesses^r, thei shul be put down forsothe^s,
and falle togidere in it; for I shal bringe
to vpon hem eueles, a^t ȝer of the visiting
13 of them, seith the Lord. And in the
profetis of Samarie Y saȝ folie, and thei
profecieden in Baal, and disceyueden my
14 puple Irael. And in the profetus of Je-
rusalem Y saȝ licnesse auoutreres, and
weie of lesing; and thei coumforteden
the hondus of werst men, that conuertid
were not eche fro his malice; 'alle thei^u
ben mad to me Sodome^v, and alle hyse
15 dwelleris as Gomorre. Therefore these

noumbre seith the Lord. Lo! daies⁵
comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal reise
a iust buriownyng^e to Daud; and he
schal regne a^f kyng, and he schal be
wijs, and he schal make doom and riȝt-
fulnesse in erthe. In tho daies Juda schal⁶
be sauid, and Israel schal dwelle tristili;
and this is the name which thei schulen
clepe hym, The Lord oure riȝtful. For⁷
this thing lo! daies comen, seith the Lord,
and thei schulen no more seie, The Lord
lyueth, that ledde the sonus of Israel out
of the lond of Egipt; but, The Lord lyueth,⁸
that ledde out, and brouȝte the seed of the
hous of Israel fro the lond of the north,
and fro alle londis to whiche Y hadde cast
hem out thidur; and thei schulen dwelle
in her lond. To the prophetis; Myn herte⁹
is contrit^g in the myddis of me, alle my
boonys trembliden togidere; Y am maad
as a man drunkun, and as a man weet of
wyn, of the face of the Lord, and of the
face of the hooli wordis of hym; for the¹⁰
lond is fillid with auowteris. For the erthe
mourenede of the face of cursyng; the
feeldis of desert ben maad drie, the cours
of hem is maad yuel, and her strengthe is
vnlijk. For whi the profete and the prest¹¹
ben defoulid; and in myn hous, seith the
Lord, Y foond the yuel of hem. Therfor¹²
the weie of hem schal be as slidur^h in
derknessis, for thei schulen be hurtlidⁱ,
and schulen^k falle down therynne; for Y
schal bringe on hem yuels, the ȝeer of
visitacioun of hem, seith the Lord. And¹³
in the profetis of Samarie Y siȝ fonned-
nesse, and thei profesieden in Baal, and
disceyueden my puple Israel. And in the¹⁴
profetis of Jerusalem Y siȝ licnesse, auou-
trie, and the weie of leesyng; and thei
confortiden the hondis of the worste men,
that ech man schulde not conuerte fro his
malice; alle thei ben maad as Sodom to
me, and alle the dwellers therof 'ben

^k lyued *E pr. m.* ^l Om. *AEGHK.* ^m Om. *AGHK.* ⁿ Om. *E pr. m.* ^o and dried *K.* ^p my liȝe *E pr. m.*
^q Om. *E pr. m.* ^r dercnes *AGHK.* ^s Om. *C pr. m.* ^t in a *A.* ^u *E sup. ras. sec. m.* ^v alle Sodom *E pr. m.*

^e buriouning, *ether seed EFGHIKMNQRSUVX.* ^f Om. *CEFGHKMNQRSUVX.* ^g contrit, *ether al to-*
brokun for sorene CEFGIKMNQRSUVXY. ^h slidur thing *I.* ⁱ hurtlid, *ether schouun CEFGIKMNQRSUVX.*
^k thei schul *I.*

thingus seith the Lord of ostus to profetis, Lo! Y shal fede hem with wrmwed, and drunken hem with galle; fro the profetus forsothe of Jerusalem is gon out
 16 defouling vp on al erthe. These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, Wileth not heren the wrdus of the profetes, that profecien to 3ou, and desceyuen 3ou; the viseoun of ther herte thei speken, not of the
 17 mouth of the Lord. They seyn to them that blasfemen me, The Lord spac, Pes shal be to 3ou; and to eche that goth in the shreudnesse of his herte thei seiden,
 18 Ther shal not come vp on 3ou euel. Who forsothe was ny3 in the counseil of the Lord, and sa3, and herde the sermoun of hym? who biheeld his wrd, and herde?
 19 Lo! the whirlewind of the Lordus indignacioun shal gon out, and tempest brekende out vp on the hed of vnpitous men
 20 shal come. The wodnesse of the Lord shal not turne a3een, vnto the tyme that he do, and vnto the tyme that he fulfille the thenking of his herte. In hise laste dazes 3ee shul vnderstonde his counseil.
 21 I sente not the profetes, and thei runnen; Y spac not to them, and thei profecieden.
 22 If thei hadden stonde in my counseil, and knowen hadden mad my wrdis to my^w puple, I shulde han^x turned awei hem forsothe fro ther euel weie, and fro
 23 ther werst thenkingus. Wenest thou, whether a Lord fro any3 Y am, seith the
 24 Lord, and not God fro afer^y? If hid shal be a man in hid thingus, and Y shal not seen hym? seith the Lord. Whether not heuene and erthe Y fulfille^z? seith
 25 the Lord. Y herde what thingus seiden profetus, profeciende in my name lesing,
 26 and seiende, Sweuenes Y sweuenede. Hou longe this is in the herte of profetes, profeciende lesing, and profeciende the be-
 27 giling of ther herte? The whiche wiln make, that the puple^e for3ete of^a my name for ther sweuenes, whiche telleth eche to his nezhebore, as for3eeten ther fadris of

maad¹ as Gomorre. Therfor the Lord 15 of oostis seith these thingis to the prophetis, Lo! Y schal feed hem with wermod, and Y schal 3yue drynke to hem with galle; for whi defoulyng is goen out of the profetis of Jerusalem on al the lond. The 16 Lord of oostis seith these thingis, Nyle 3e here the wordis of profetis, that profesien to 3ou, and disseyuen 3ou; thei speken the visioun of her herte, not of the mouth of the Lord. Thei seien to hem that 17 blasfemen me, The Lord spac, Pees schal be to 3ou; and thei seiden to ech man that goith in the schrewidnesse of his herte, Yuel schal not come on 3ou. For 18 whi who is present in the councel of the Lord, and si3, and herde his word? who bihelde, and herde the word of hym? Lo! 19 the whirlewynd of the Lordis indignacioun schal go out, and tempest brekyng schal come on the heed of wickid men. The strong veniaunce of the Lord schal 20 not turne a3en, til that he do, and til that he fille the thou3t of his herte. In the laste daies 3e schulen vndurstonde the councel of hym. Y sente not the pro- 21 fetis, and thei runnen; Y spac not to hem, and thei profesieden. If thei hadden 22 stonde in my councel, and hadde maad knowun my wordis to my puple, forsothe Y hadde turned hem awei fro her yuel weie, and fro her worste thou3tis. Gessist 23 thou, whether Y am God of ni3, seith the Lord, and not God afer? A man schal 24 not be priuy in hid places, and Y schal not se hym, seith the Lord. Whether Y fille not heuene and erthe? seith the Lord. Y herde what thingis the profetis seiden, 25 profesyng a^m leesyng in my name, and seiynge, Y dremede dremes. Hou longe 26 is this thing in the herte of profetis, profesyng a^m leesyng, and profesyng the disseite of her herte? Whicheⁿ wolen 27 make, that my puple for3ete my name for the dremes of hem, whichⁿ ech man telleth to his nezhebore, as the fadris of hem

^w the A. ^x ha K. ^y afer alle thingis I knewe? A. aferr alle thingis I knowe? E pr. m. GK. ^z shal fulfille E pr. m. ^a Om. A.

¹ Om. I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ the whiche I.

28 my name for Baal. The profete that
hath a sweuene, telle he the sweuene;
and that^e hath my sermoun, speke he my
sermoun verely. What to the chaf at
29 the whete? seith the Lord. Whether
not my wrdus ben^d as fyr brennende,
seith the Lord, and as an hamer to-
30 brekende the ston? Therfor lo! Y to the
profetes, seith the Lord, that stelun my
31 wrdus, eche fro^e his neȝhebore. Lo! Y to
the profetys, seith the Lord, that taken to^f
their tunges, and seyn, The Lord seith.
32 Lo! Y to the profetys, sweuenende lesing,
seith the Lord; that tolden^g them, and
bigileden my puple in ther lesing, and in
ther myracles, whan Y haddē not sent
hem, ne beden hem; the whiche no thing
profiteden to this puple, seith the Lord.
33 If therfore shul aske thee this puple, or
profete, or prest, seiende, What is the
charge of the Lord? thou shalt sey to
them, Ȝee ben the charge, forsothe Y shal
34 throwe ȝou aferr, seith the Lord; and
profete, and prest, and puple, that seith,
The charge of the Lord, Y shal visite
vp on that man, and vp on his hous.
35 These thingus ȝee shuln seyn, eche to his
neȝhebore, and to his brothir, What shal
answeren the Lord? and what spac the
36 Lord? For the charge of the Lord no
more shal abide, and charge shal be to
eche man his wrd; and ȝee han mys-
turned the wrdus of lyuende^h God, Lord
37 of ostus, oure God. These thingus thou
shalt seyn to the profete, What answerde
to thee the Lord? and what spac the
38 Lord? If forsothe, The charge of the
Lord, ȝee shul sey, for this these thingus
seith the Lord, For ȝee seiden this ser-
moun, The charge of the Lord, and Y sente
to ȝou, seiende, Wileth not seyn, The charge
39 of the Lord; therfore 'lo! Y beryng
shal take ȝouⁱ, and forsake ȝou, and this
cite that Y ȝaf to ȝou, and to ȝoure fadris,
40 fro my face. And Y shal ȝyue ȝou in to

forȝaten my name for Baal. A profete 28
that hath a dreme, telle a dreem; and he
that hath my word, speke verili my word.
What is with chaffis to the wheete? seith
the Lord. Whether my wordis ben not 29
as fier brennyng, seith the Lord, and as
an hamer al to-brekyng a stoon? Therfor 30
lo! Y *am redi* to the profetis, seith the
Lord, that stelen my wordis, ech man fro
his neȝbore. Lo! Y to the profetis, seith 31
the Lord, that taken her tungis, and seien,
The Lord seith. Lo! Y to the profetis, 32
dremyng a^o leesyng, seith the Lord;
which telden tho^p, and disseyueden my
puple in her leesyng, and in her myracles,
whanne Y hadde not sente hem, nether
hadde comaundide to hem; whiche pro-
fitiden no thing to this puple, seith the
Lord. Therfor if this puple, ether pro- 33
fete, ether prest, axith thee, and seith,
What is the birthun of the Lord? thou
schalt seie to hem, Ȝe ben the birthun, for
Y schal caste ȝou awei, seith the Lord; and 34
a profete, and a prest, and the puple, that
seith, The birthun of the Lord, Y schal
visite on that man, and on his hous. Ȝe 35
schulen seie these thingis, ech man to his
neȝbore, and to his brother, What an-
sweride the Lord? and what spak the
Lord? For the birthun of the Lord schal 36
no more be remembrid, and the word of
ech man schal be birthun to hym; and ȝe
han peruertid the wordis of lyuyng God,
of the Lord of oostis, ȝoure God. Thou 37
schalt seie these thingis to the profete,
What answeride the Lord to thee? and
what spak the Lord? Forsothe if ȝe 38
seien, The birthin of the Lord, for this
thing the Lord seith these thingis, For ȝe
seiden this word, The birthun of the Lord,
and Y sente to ȝou, and Y seide, Nyle ȝe
seie, The birthun of the Lord; therfor lo! 39
Y schal take ȝou awei, and schal bere, and
Y schal forsake ȝou, and the citee which
Y ȝaf to ȝou, and to ȝoure fadris, fro my

^e he that AK sec. m. ^d Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^e to A. ^f Om. AH pr. m. ^g tellen E pr. m. tellende
E sec. m. ^h the lyuende E pr. m. ⁱ I shal taken ȝou berende c et E pr. m.

^o Om. i. ^p tho lesyngis i. hem n.

euermor repref, and in to euermor shenshipe, that neuer bi¹ forzetyngē shal ben don away.

CAP. XXIV.

¹ The Lord shewede to me, and lo! two basketus ful of figus put bifor the temple of the Lord, aftir that Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, translatede Jeconye, the sone of Joachym, king of Juda, and his princes, and the^a smyth, and his iueler fro Jerusalem, and broȝte them in to Babiloyne. And oe fraiel hadde good figus ful myche, as ben wont figys to be of the firste tyme; and the oe fraiel hadde euele figis ful myche, that myȝten not ben ete, ³for thi that thei weren euele. And the Lord seide to me, What seest thou, Jeremye? 'And Y seide^o, Figis, figes goode, goode gretli, and euele, euele gretly, that moun not be ete, forthi that thei ben ⁴euele. And don is the wrd of the Lord ⁵to me, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord, God of Irael, As these figis goode, so Y schal knowe the transmygracioun of Juda, that I sente fro this place in to the ⁶lond of Caldeis, in to good. And Y schal putte myn eȝen vp on hem to plesen, and Y schal bringe them aȝeen in to this lond; and Y schal bilde them vp, and not destroye, and plaunte them^p, and not pullen ⁷aweī. And Y schal ȝyue to them an herte, that thei knowe^q me, for Y am a Lord; and thei shul be to me in to puple^r, and Y schal be to them in to a God, for thei shul turne aȝeen to me in al ther herte. ⁸And as the werst figus, that moun not ben ete, forthi that thei ben euele, these thingus seith the Lord, So Y schal ȝyue Sedechie, king of Juda, and his princes, and the remnaunt of Jerusalem, that abiden in this cite, and that dwellen in ⁹the lond of Egipt. And^s Y schal ȝyue them in to veri^t trauailing and tormenting to alle rewmes of erthe, in to repref,

face. And Y schal ȝyue ȝou in to euer-⁴⁰lastyngē schenschipe, and in to euerlastyngē slaundir, that schal neuere be doon aweī bi forzetyng.

CAP. XXIV.

The Lord schewide to me, and lo! twei¹ panyeris ful of figys *weren* set bifor the temple of the Lord, aftir that Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, translatide Jeconye, the sone of Joachym, the kyng of Juda, and the princes of hym, and a sutil crafti man, and a goldsmith fro Jerusalem, and brouȝte hem in to Babiloyne. And² o panyere hadde ful good figis, as figis of the firste tyme ben wont to be; and o panyere hadde ful yuel figis, that miȝten not be etun, for tho weren yuel *figis*. And³ the Lord seide to me, Jeremye, what thing seest thou? And Y seide, Figis, goode figis, ful goode, and yuele *figis*, ful yuele, that moun not be etun, for tho ben yuele *figis*. And the word of the Lord was maad to ⁴me, and seide, The Lord God of Israel seith ⁵these thingis, As these figis *ben* goode, so Y schal knowe the transmygracioun of Juda, which I sente out fro this place in to the lond of Caldeis, in to good. And⁶ Y schal sette myn iȝen on hem to plesē, and Y schal bryngē hem aȝen in to this lond; and Y schal bilde hem, and Y schal not distrie *hem*^q; and Y schal plaunte hem, and Y schal not drawe vp bi the roote. And Y schal ȝyue to hem an herte, ⁷that thei knowe me, for Y am the Lord; and thei schulen be in to a puple to me, and Y schal be in to God to hem, for thei schulen turne aȝen to me in al her herte. And as the worste figis *ben*, that moun ⁸not be etun, for tho ben yuele *figis*, the Lord seith these thingis, So Y schal ȝyue Sedechie, the kyng of Juda, and the princes of hym, and other men of Jerusalem, that dwelliden^r in this citee, and that dwellen^s in the lond of Egipt. And Y schal ȝyue ⁹hem into trauelyng and turment in alle

¹ be *A*. Om. *H* sec. *m*. ^a his *A*. ^o Om. *E* pr. *m*. ^p hem vp *E* pr. *m*. ^q wite *C* pr. *m*. *E* pr. *m*.
^r a puple *A*. ^s Om. *AGHK*. ^t a wery *AGK*. the weery *H*.

^q Om. *CEFGHIKMNPRSUUVX*. ^r dwellen *G*. ^s dwelliden *NT* pr. *m*.

and in to parable, and in to prouerbe,
and in to cursing, in alle places to whiche
10 I caste out them. And I shal sende in
hem swerd, and hunger, and pestilence,
to the tyme thei^u be wastid from the lond
that I 3af to them, and to their fadres.

CAP. XXV.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye, of al
the puple of Jude, in the ferthe 3er of
Joachym, sone of Josie, king of Juda,
aftir that Jeconye is translatyd in to
Babiloyne; it is the firste 3er of Nabu-
2 godonosor, king of Babiloyne; that spac
Jeremye, the profete, to al the puple of
Juda, and to alle the dwelleris of Jeru-
3 salem, seiende, Fro the threttenthe 3er of
the regne of Josie, sone of Amon, king of
Juda, vnto this dai, this is the thre and
twentithe 3er, don is the wrd of the Lord
to me; and Y spac to 3ou, fro ny3t risende
4 and spekende, and 3ee herden not. And
the Lord sente to 3ou alle his profetus
seruauns, risende^v the morutid, and send-
ende, and 3ee herden not, ne boweden in
5 3oure eres, that 3ee here^w; whan he shulde
seyn, Turneth a3een, eche fro his euel
weie, and fro 3oure werste tho3tus, and
3ee shul dwelle in the lond that the Lord
3af to 3ou, and to 3oure fadris, fro the
6 world and^x vnto the world. And wileth
not gon aftir alien godis, that 3ee serue
to them, and honoure them, ne me to
wrathe 3ee terre, in the werkes of 3oure
7 hondus, and Y tormente 3ou not. And
3ee herden not me, seith the Lord, that
me to wrathe 3ee terreden^y in the werkus
of 3oure hondus, in to 3oure owne euel.
8 Therefore these thingus seith the Lord of
ostus, For thi that 3ee herden not my
9 wrdus, lo! Y shal sende, and taken to alle
the kinredus of the north, seith the Lord,
and Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne,
my seruaunt; and Y shal bringe them vp
on this lond, and vpon his dwelleris, and

rewmes of erthe, in to schenscipe, and
in to parable, and in to a^s prouerbe, and
in to cursyng, in alle places to whiche Y
castide hem out. And Y schal sende in 10
hem a^t swerd, and hungur, and pestilence,
til thei be wastid fro the lond which Y
3af to hem, and to the fadris of hem.

CAP. XXV.

The word of the Lord, that was maad 1
to Jeremye, of al the puple of Juda, in the
fourthe 3eer of Joachym, the sone of Josie,
the king of Juda, aftir that Jeconye was
translatid in to Babiloyne; thilke is the
firste 3eer of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Ba-
2 biloyne; which *word* Jeremy, the pro-
phete, spak to al the puple of Juda, and
to alle the dwelleris of Jerusalem, and
seide, Fro the threttenthe 3eer of the 3
rewme of Josie, the sone of Amon, the
kyng of Juda, 'til to^u this dai, this is the
three and twentithe 3eer, the word of the
Lord was maad to me; and Y spak to
3ou, and Y roos bi nigt and spak, and 3e
herden not. And the Lord sente to 3ou 4
alle hise seruauntis profetis, and roos ful
eerli, and sente, and 3e herden not, nether
3e bowiden 3oure eeris, for to here; whanne 5
he seide, Turne 3e a3en, ech man fro his
yuel weie, and fro 3oure worste thou3tis,
and 3e schulen dwelle in the lond whiche
the Lord 3af to 3ou, and to 3oure fadris,
fro the world and til in to the world. And 6
nyle 3e go aftir alien goddis, that 3e serue
hem, and worschipe hem, nether terre 3e
me to wrathfulnesse, in the werkis of 3oure
hondis, and Y schal not turmente 3ou. And 7
3e herden not me, seith the Lord, that 3e
terreden me to wrathfulnesse in the werkis
of 3oure hondis, in to 3oure yuel. Therfor 8
the Lord of oostis seith these thingis, For
that that 3e herden not my wordis, lo! Y 9
schal sende, and take alle the kynredis of
the north, seith the Lord, and Nabugodo-
nosor, my seruaunt, the kyng of Babi-
loyne; and Y schal bringe hem on this

^u that thei A. ^v he rysynge AGHK. risende E pr. m. he risende E sec. m. ^w schulden here E sec. m. AGHK.
^x Om. A. ^y terre c et E pr. m.

^s Om. I. ^t Om. I. ^u vnto I.

vp on alle his naciouns, that in his cumpas ben; and Y shal slen hem, and sette them in to stoneyng, and in to whistling, and in to wildernesses euerdurende. And Y shal leese fro them vois of ioze, and vois of gladnesse, vois of the womman spouse, and vois of the man spouse, vois of the querne, and list of the launterne. And ben shal al his lond in to wildernesses, and in to stoneyng; and seruen shul alle these folkis to the king of Babiloyne seuenti yer. And whan shul be fulfilled seuenti yer, Y shal visite vp on the king of Babiloyne, and vp on that folc, seith the Lord, the wickenesse^z of them, and vp on the lond of Caldeis, and putten it in to euermore wildernesses^a. And Y shal bringe vpon that lond alle my wrdus that Y spak azen it, al that ys write in this boc; what euer thingis profeciede Jeremye azen alle Jentilis; for they serueden to them, whan thei weren many Jentiles, and grete kingus; and Y shal zelde to them after ther werkes, and aftir the deedus of ther hondus. For thus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Israel, Tac the chalis of the wyn of this wodnesse fro myn hond, and thou shalt heelde drinc of it to alle Jentilis, to whiche Y shal senden thee. And thei shul drinke, and be disturbid, and waxe wod fro the face of the swerd, that Y shal sende among hem. And Y toc the chalis of the hond of the Lord, and Y helde oute drinc to alle Jentilis, to whiche sente me the Lord; to Jerusalem, and to alle the cites of Juda, and to his kingus, and to his princes; that Y schulde zyue them^b in to wildernesses, and in to stoneyng, and in to whistling, and in to cursing, as is this dai; to Farao, king of Egipt, and to his seruauns, and to his princes, and to al his puple; and to alle men ienerali, to alle kingus of erthe of the est kuntree, that is clepid Hus, *'or Ansitidis*^c, and to alle kingus^d of the lond of Filisteym, and of Ascalon, and of

lond, and on the dwelleris therof, and on alle naciouns, that ben in the cumpas therof; and Y schal sle hem, and Y schal sette hem in to wondryng, and in to hissyng, and in to euerlastyng wildernessis. And Y schal leese of hem the vois of ioye, and the vois of gladnesse, the vois of spouse, and the vois of spousesse, the vois of queerne^v, and the list of the^w lanterne. And al the lond therof schal be in to wildernesses, and in to wondring; and alle these folkis schulen serue the king of Babiloyne seuenti yer. And whanne seuenti yer ben fillid, Y schal visite on the kyng of Babiloyne, and on that folc the wickidnesse of hem, seith the Lord, and on the lond of Caldeis, and Y schal set it in to euerlastyng wildernesses. And Y schal bryng on that lond alle my wordis whiche Y spak azens it, al thing that is writun in this book; what euer thingis Jeremye profeside azens alle folkis; for thei serueden to hem, whanne thei weren many folkis, and grete kingis; and Y schal zelde to hem aftir the werkis of hem, and aftir the dedis of her hondis. For the Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith thus, Take thou the cuppe of wyn of this woodnesse fro myn hond, and thou schal birle therof to alle hethene men, to whiche Y schal sende thee. And thei schulen drynke, and schulen be disturbid, and schulen be woode of the face of swerd, which Y schal sende among hem. And Y took the cuppe fro the hond of the Lord, and Y birlide to alle folkis, to whiche the Lord sente me; to Jerusalem, and to alle the citees of Juda, and to the kyngis therof, and to the princes therof; that Y schulde zyue hem in to wildernesses, and in to wondring, and in to hissyng, and in to cursing, as this dai is; to Farao, the king of Egipt, and to hise seruauntis, and to hise princes, and to al hise puple; and to alle men generali, to alle the kyngis of the lond Ansitidis, and to alle the kyngis of the lond of Filistiyim,

^z wickidnes AGHK. ^a wildernes AGHK. ^b Om. K. ^c Om. c el E pr. m. ^d the kyngis A.

^v querns s sec. m. ^w Om. ceteri.

21 Gaze, and of Accharon, Ydume^e, Asote,
and to othere; and^f to Moab, and to the
22 sonus of Amon; and to alle kingus^g of
Tiri, and to alle kingus^h of Sidon, and
to kingus of the lond of ilis that ben
23 bizunde the se; and to Dedan, and to
Theman, and to Busⁱ, and to alle that
24 ben dodded^k in to^l the^m her; and to alle
kingus of Arabie, and to alle kingis of
25 the west, that dwellen in desert; and to
alle kingus of Samriⁿ, and to alle kingus
of Elam, and to alle kingus of Medus;
26 and to alle kingus of the north, and fro
ny³ and fro afferr, to eche a³en his bro-
ther; and to alle reumes of erthe, that
ben vp on his face; and king Cesac shal
27 drinke aftir hem. And thou shalt sei to
them, These thingus seith the Lord of
ostus, God of Irael, Drinketh^o, and beth
drunken, and vometh, and falleth, and
wileth not rise fro the face of the swerd
28 that Y shal sende among 3ou. And whan
thei wiln not take the chalis fro thin
hond, that thei drinke, thou shalt sei to
them, These thingus seith the Lord of
29 ostus, Drinkende 3ee shul drinke; for
lo! in the cite in whiche is inwardliche
clepid my name, Y bigynne to tormente,
and 3ee as ynnocentus harmles shul be?
3ee shul not ben harmlis, forsothe I clepe
a swerd vp on alle dwelleris of erthe,
30 seith the Lord of ostus. And thou shalt
profecien to them alle these wrdus, and
sei to them, The Lord fro an hi³ shal
rore, and fro his hoeli dwelling place
shal 3yue his vois; rorende he shal roren
vp on his fairnesse; a merie faring song,
as of men tredende in presses, 'shal be
sunge^a togidere a³en alle the dwelleris
31 of erthe. The soun ful cam vnto the
vtmostus^r of erthe^s, for dom to the Lord
with Jentylis, he is demed with alle
flesh; vnpitous men I toc to swerd, seith
32 the Lord. These thingus seith the Lord
of ostus, Lo! tormenting shal gon out fro

and to Ascalon, and to Gaza, and to Aco-
ron, and to the residues of Azotus; to 21
Idumee, and to Moab, and to the sonus of
Amon; and to alle the kyngis of Tirus, 22
and to alle the kingis of Sidon, and to the
kingis of the lond of ilis that ben bizendis
the see; and to Dedan, and Theman, and 23
Buz, and to alle men that ben clippid on
the long heer; and to alle the kingis of 24
Arabie, and to alle the^x kingis of the west,
that dwellen in desert; and to alle the^y 25
kingis of Zambri, and to alle the kingis
of Elam, and to alle the kyngis of Medeis;
and to alle the kingis of the north, of ni³ 26
and of fer, to ech man a³ens his brothir;
and to alle the rewmes of erthe, that ben
on the face therof; and kyng Sesac schal
drynke after hem. And thou schalt seie 27
to hem, The Lord of oostis, God of Israel,
seith these thingis, Drynke 3e, and be 3e
drunkun, and spue 3e, and falle 3e down,
and nyle 3e rise fro the face of swerd
which Y schal sende among 3ou. And 28
whanne thei nylen^z take the cuppe fro
thin hond, that thei drynke, thou schalt
seie to hem, The Lord of oostis seith these
thingis, 3e drynkyng schulen drynke^a; for 29
lo! in the citee in which my name is clepid
to help, Y bigynne to turmente, and schu-
len 3e^b as innocentis be with out peyne? 3e
schulen not be with out peyne, for Y clepe
swerd on alle the dwelleris of erthe, seith
the Lord of oostis. And thou schalt pro- 30
fesie to hem alle these wordis, and thou
schalt seie to hem, The Lord schal rore
fro an hi³, and fro his hooli dwellyng
place he schal 3yue his vois; he rorynge
schal rore on his fairnesse; a myry song*,
as of men tredynge in pressouris, schal be
sungun a³ens alle dwelleris of erthe. Sown 31
is comun til to^c the laste partis of erthe,
for whi doom is to the Lord with folkis,
he is demed with ech fleisch; the Lord
seith, Y haue 3oue wickid men to the
swerd. The Lord of oostis seith these 32

* celeuma; a
myri fairing
song, ethir
customable.
x marg. sec. m.

^e Om. *E* sec. m. ^f to Ydume, and *E* sec. m. ^g the kyngis *AGHK*. ^h the kyngis *G*. ⁱ Hus *AGH*.
^k gadered and dodded *E* pr. m. ^l Om. *A*. ^m Om. *H*. ⁿ Samarie *AGHK*. ^o Drynke *A*. ^a thei shul
make *E* pr. m. ^r vttermostis *AGHK*. ^s the erthe *AECH*.

^x Om. *s*. ^y Om. *CEFGHIKMNPRSU* pr. m. ^z wolen not *I*. ^a drinkynge *I*. ^b be *A* pr. m.
3he *ENPS* sec. m. *U*. ^c vnto *I*.

folc in to folc, and a gret whirlewind shal
gon out fro the ouermostus of erthe^t.
33 And ther shul be the slayne of the Lord
in that day fro the ouermost of erthe
'vn to^u the ouermost of it; thei shul not
be weilid, ne be gedered, ne be biried;
in to a dunghil vp on the face of the^v
34 erthe thei shul lyn. 3elleth, 3ee shep-
perdus, and crieth, and sprengeth 3ou
with askes^w, 3ee most wrshepful of the
floc^x; for fulfid ben 3oure^y dazes, that 3ee
shul^z be slayn, and 3oure scateringus^a, and
35 3ee shul falle as precious vesseles. And
pershe shal flizt^b fro the shepperdus, and
36 sauynge fro the best of the floc. Vois of
the cri of shepperdus, and 3elling^c of the
best of the floc, for the Lord wastede^d
37 the leswes of hem. And al stille weren
the 'wilde feldis^e of pes, fro the face 'of
the wrath^f of the wodnesse of the Lord.
38 He forsoc as a leoun his tabernacle, for
mad is the lond of hem in to desola-
cioun, fro the face of the wrathe of the
culuer, and fro the face of the wrathe
of the wodnesse of the Lord.

CAP. XXVI.

1 In the bigynnyng of the regne of Joa-
chym, sone of Josie, king of Juda, don is
2 this^g wrd fro the Lord, seiende, These
thingus seith the Lord, Stond in the
porche of the hous of the Lord, and
thou shalt speke to alle the cites of Juda,
whiche^h comen that theiⁱ honoure in the
hous of the Lord, alle wrdus that I co-
maunde^k to thee, that thou speke to them;
3 wile thou not withdrawn a wrd; if par-
aurenture thei here, and be conuertid, eche
fro his euel weie, and it othenke me of
the euel that I tho3te to do to them for
4 the malices^l of ther studies. And thou
shalt sei to them, These thingus seith the
Lord, If 3ee shul not here me, that 3e^m

thingis, Lo! turment schal go out fro folk
in to folk, and a greet whirlywynd schal go
out fro the endis of erthe. And the slayn³³
men of the Lord schulen be in that dai
fro the ende of the erthe 'til to^d the ende
therof; thei schulen not be biweilid, ne-
ther schulen be gaderid togidere, nether
schulen be biried; thei schulen ligge in
to a dunghil on the face of erthe. 3elle, 3e³⁴
scheepherdis, and crye, and, 3e princypals
of the floc, bispreyng 3ou with aische; for
3oure daies ben fillid, that 3e be slayn, and
3oure scaterynge³⁵ *ben fillid*, and 3e schulen
falle as precious vessels. And fleyng schal³⁶
perische fro scheepherdis, and sauynge *schal*
perische fro the principals of the floc. The³⁶
vois of the crye of scheepherdis, and the
3ellyng of the principals of the floc, for
the Lord hath wastid the lesewis of hem.
And the feeldis of pees weren stille, for³⁷
the face of wraththe of the strong ven-
iaunce of the Lord. He as a lion hath³⁸
forsake his tabernacle, for the lond of hem
is maad in to desolacioun, of the face of
wraththe of the culuer, and of the face
of wraththe of the strong veniaunce of
the Lord.

CAP. XXVI.

In the bigynnyng of the rewme of Jo-
achym, the sone of Josie, kyng of Juda,
this word was maad of the Lord, and
seide, The Lord seide these thingis, Stonde³
thou in the porche^e of the hous of the
Lord, and thou schalt speke to alle the
cites of Juda, fro whence thei comen for
to worschipe in the hous of the Lord, alle
the wordis whiche Y comaundide^f to thee,
that thou speke to hem; nyle thou with-
drawe a word; if perauenture thei heren,³
and ben conuertid, ech man fro his yuele
weie, and it repente me of the yuel which
Y thou3te to do to hem for the malices of
her studies. And thou schalt sei to hem,⁴
The Lord seith these thingis, If 3e heren

^t the erthe A. ^u in to GH. ^v Om. E. ^w ashen A. asken EGHK. ^x folc E pr. m. ^y oure E pr. m.
^z Om. AEGHK. ^a scaterynge AGHK. ^b lizt E pr. m. ^c the 3elling EK. ^d waast G pr. m. H. ^e wildus C pr. m.
^f Om. C pr. m. ^g the A. ^h of whiche AEGH. of the whiche K. ⁱ Om. H. ^k comaundide AEGHK.
^l malice AGH. ^m Om. C.

^d vnto I. ^e for3erd CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^f comaunde N.

5 go in my lawe that Y 3af to 3ou, that 3ee
 here the sermounus of my seruauus, pro-
 fetus, that Y sente to 3ou, the ny3t risendeⁿ,
 6 and ri3t reulende, and 3ee herde not; Y
 shal 3yuen this hous as Cilo, and this cite
 I shal 3yue in to cursing to alle folkus of
 7 erthe. And ther herden the prestus, and
 profetus, and al the puple Jeremye^o spek-
 ende these wrdus in the hous of the Lord.
 8 And whan fulfid hadde Jeremye spek-
 ende alle these thingus^p, that comaundid
 hadde to hym the Lord, that he shulde
 speke to al the puple, token hym the
 prestus, and the false^q profetus, and al the
 9 puple, seiende, Bi deth die he; whi pro-
 feciede he in the name of the Lord, sei-
 ende, As Cylo shal be this hous, and this
 cite shal be desolat, for thi that ther is
 not a dwellere? And gedered is al the
 puple a3en Jeremye, in the hous of the
 10 Lord. And herden the princes of Juda
 alle these wrdis; and thei ste3eden vp fro
 the hous of the king in to the hous of
 the Lord, and thei seeten in the entre of
 the newe 3ate of the hous of the Lord.
 11 And speeken the prestus and the profetus
 to the princes, and to al^r the^s puple, sei-
 ende, Dom of deth is to this man, for he
 profeciede a3en this cite, as 3ee han herd
 12 with 3oure eres. And Jeremye seith to
 alle the princes, and to al^t the puple, sei-
 ende, The Lord sente me, that Y shulde
 profecien to this hous, and to this cite,
 13 alle the wrdus that 3ee han herd. Now
 thanne goode maketh 3oure weies, and
 3oure studies, and hereth the voys^u of
 the Lord 3oure God; and it shal othinke
 the Lord of the euil that he spac a3en
 14 3ou. I forsothe lo! in 3oure hondis
 am; doth to me that good is and ri3t in
 15 3oure e3en. Nerthelatre witeth, and wel
 knowith, that if 3ee shul sle me, an ynno-
 cent blod 3ee shul betra3e a3en 3ou self,
 and a3en this cite, and his dwelleris; in
 treuthe forsothe sente me the Lord to
 3ou, that Y shulde speke in 3oure eres

not me, that 3e go in my lawe which Y
 3af to 3ou, that 3e here the wordis of my^s
 seruauus, profetis, whiche Y risynge bi
 ni3te, and dressynge, sente to 3ou, and 3e
 herden not; Y schal 3yue this hous as Silo,⁶
 and Y schal 3yue this citee in to cursyng
 to alle folkis of erthe. And the prestis,⁷
 and profetis, and al the puple herden Je-
 remye spekyng these wordis in the hous
 of the Lord. And whanne Jeremye hadde⁸
 fillid spekyng alle thingis, whiche the
 Lord hadde comaundid to hym, that he
 schulde speke to al the puple, the prestis,
 and profetis, and al the puple token hym,
 and seiden, Die he bi deeth; whi profesiede⁹
 he in the name of the Lord, and seide,
 This hous schal be as Silo, and this citee
 schal be desolat, for no dwellere is⁸? And
 al the puple was gaderid togidere a3ens
 Jeremye, in the hous of the Lord. And¹⁰
 the princes of Juda herden alle these
 wordis; and thei stieden fro the kyngis
 hous in to the hous of the Lord, and saten
 in the entryng of the newe 3ate of the
 hous of the Lord. And the prestis and¹¹
 profetis spaken to the princes, and to al
 the puple, and seiden, Doom of deth is to
 this man, for he profesiede a3ens this citee,
 as 3e herden with 3oure eeris. And Jere-¹²
 mye seide to alle the princes, and to al
 the puple, and seide^h, The Lord sente me,
 that Y schulde prophesie to this hous, and
 to this citee, alle the wordis whiche 3e
 herden. Now therfor make 3e good 3oure¹³
 weies, and 3oure studies, and here 3e the
 vois of 3oure Lord God; and it schal re-
 pente the Lord of the yuel which he spak
 a3ens 3ou. Lo! forsothe Y am in 3oure¹⁴
 hondis; do 3e to me, as it is good and
 ri3tful bfore 3oure i3en. Netheles wite 3e,¹⁵
 and knowe, that if 3e sleen me, 3e schulen
 bitraie innocent blood a3ens 3ou silf, and
 a3ens this citee, and the dwelleris therof;
 for in trewth the Lord sente me to 3ou,
 that Y schulde speke in 3oure eeris alle
 these wordis. And the princes and al the¹⁶

ⁿ Y rysynge *A pr. m. EGHK.* ^o propheciende Jeremye *E pr. m.* ^p woordis *E pr. vice.* ^q shrewde *E pr. m.*
^r Om. A. ^s Om. H. ^t Om. A. ^u wrd *C pr. m. K.*

⁸ ther is i. ^h seiynge i.

16 alle these wrdus. And seiden the princes
and al the puple to^v the prestys and profet-
etus, Ther is not to this man dom of
deth; for in the name of the Lord oure
17 God he spac to vs. Risen thanne the
men of the elderes of the lond, and seiden
to al the cumpanye of the puple, spek-
18 ende, Michie of Morasten was a profete
in the dazes of Ezechie, king of Jude;
and he seith to al the puple of Jude, sei-
ende, These thingus seith the Lord of
ostus, Sion as a feeld shal ben ered, and
Jerusalem in to an hep of stonus shal be,
and the mount of the hous of the Lord
19 in to heiztus of wodus. Whether bi deth
condempnede hym Ezechie, king of Juda,
and al Juda? Whether not thei dredden
the Lord, and louli prejedden the face of
the Lord, and it othozte the Lord of the
euel that he 'hadde spoke^w azen hem?
And so do we not gret euel azen oure
20 soules. Also ther was a man profeciende
in the name of the Lord, Vrias, the sone
of Semmei, of Cariathiarim; and he pro-
feciede azen this cite, and azen this lond,
21 aftir alle the wrdis of Jeremye. And
herde king Joachym, and alle the myzti
men, and his princes these wrdus; and
the king sozte to slen hym; and Vrie
herde, and dredde, and fleiz, and wente
22 in to Egipt. And king Joachym sente
men in to Egipt, Elnathan, the sone of
Achabor, and men with him, in to Egipt;
23 and brozten out Vrie fro Egipt, and
brozten hym to king Joachym; and he^x
smot hym with swerd, and thre3 aferr
his careyne in sepulcris^y of the^z vnnoble
24 comun. Therefore the hond of Aicham,
sone of Safan, was with Jeremye, that
he schulde not be take in to the hondus
of the puple, and it^a schulde slen hym.

CAP. XXVII.

1 In the bigynnyng of the regne of Joa-
chym, sone of Josie, king of Juda, don
is this wrd to Jeremye fro the Lord,

puple seiden to the preestis and profetis,
Doom of deth is not to this man; for he
spak to vs in the name of oure Lord God.
Therfor men of the eldere men of the lond 17
rysiden^l vp, and seiden to al the cumpanye
of the puple, and spaken, Mychee of Mo- 18
rasten was a profete in the daies of Eze-
chie, king of Juda; and he seide to al the
puple of Juda, and^k seide^l, The Lord of
oostis seith these thingis, Sion schal be
erid as a feeld, and Jerusalem schal be in
to an heap of stoonys, and the hil of the
hous of the Lord *shal be* in to hi3 thingis
of woodis. Whether Ezechie, kyng of Juda, 19
and al Juda condempnede hym bi deth?
Whether thei dredden not the Lord, and
bisouzten the face of the Lord? and it re-
pentide the Lord of the yuel which he
spak azens hem. Therfor do we not greet
yuel azens oure soulis. Also Vrye, the 20
sone of Semey, of Cariathiarim, was a
man profesyng in the name of the Lord;
and he profesiede azens this citee, and
azens this lond, bi alle the wordis of Jere-
mye. And kyng Joachym, and alle the 21
myzti men, and princes of hem, herden
these wordis; and the kyng souzte to sle
hym; and Vrye herde, and dredde, and
he fledde, and entride in to Egipt. And 22
kyng Joachym sente men in to Egipt,
Elnathan, the sone of Achabor, and men
with hym, in to Egipt; and thei ledden 23
Vrye out of Egipt, and brouzten hym to
kyng Joachym; and *the kyng* killide hym
bi^m swerd, and castide forth his careyn in
the sepulcris of the comyn puple vnnoble.
Therfor the hond of Aicham, sone of Sa- 24
phan, was with Jeremye, that he was not
bitakun in to the hondis of the puple, and
that it killide not hym.

CAP. XXVII.

In the bigynnyng of the rewme of Joa- 1
chym, the sone of Josie, kyng of Juda,
this word was maad of the Lord to Jere-

^v and A. ^w spac c pr. m. ^x Om. E pr. m. ^y the sepulcris GHK. ^z Om. AGH. ^a Om. C.

ⁱ resen I. ^k Om. I. ^l seiynge I. ^m with I.

2 seiende, These thingus seith the Lord to
me, Mac to thee bondis and cheynus, and
3 thou shalt putte them^b in thi necke; and
sende them to the king of Edom, and to
the king of Moab, and to the king of the
sonus of Amon, and to the king of Tiri,
and to the king of Sidon, in the hond of
the messageres that camen to Jerusalem,
4 and to Sedechie, king of Juda. And thou
shalt comaunde to them, that to ther
lordys they speke, These thingus seith
the Lord of ostys, God of Irael, These
5 thingus 3ee shul sey to 3oure lordus, I
made erthe, and man, and bestus that ben
vp on the face of al erthe, in my grete
strengthe, and in myn arm stragt out;
and Y 3af it to hym that plesede in myn
6 ezen. And now also Y 3af alle these
londus in the hond of Nabugodonosor,
king of Babiloyne, my seruaunt; ferther-
mor and the bestus of the feld Y 3af to
7 hym, that thei serue to hym. And serue
shul to hym alle folc of kinde, and to his
sone, and to the sone of his sone, to the
tyme that come the tyme of his lond,
and of hym; and seruen shul to hym
manye folc of kinde, and grete kingus.
8 Folc forsothe and rewme that serue shal
not to Nabugodonosor, king of Baby-
lonye, and 'whoso euere^c shal not bowe
his necke vnder the 3oc of the king of
Babiloyne, in swerd, and hunger, and
pestilence Y shal visite vp on that folc,
seith the Lord, to the tyme Y^d waste
9 them in his hond^e. 3ee forsothe wileth
not heren 3oure profetus, and deuynoures,
and sweueneres, and brid deuyneres, and
deuel cleperes, that seyn to 3ou, 3ee shul
10 not serue to the king of Babiloyne; for
thei profecien to 3ou lesing, that aferr
thei make 3ou fro 3oure lond, and caste
11 3ou out, and 3ee pershe. But the folc
that shal vnderleyn his nol vnder the
3oc of the king of Babiloyne, and serue
to hym, Y shal leuen^f it in his lond, seith
the Lord; and yt shal tiln it, and dwelle

mye, and seide, The Lord seith these²
thingis to me, Make thou to thee boondis
and chaynes, and thou schalt putte tho^a
in thi necke; and thou schalt sende tho^a
to the kyng of Edom, and to the kyng of
Moab, and to the kyng of the sonus of
Amon, and to the kyng of Tyre, and to
the kyng of Sidon, bi the hond of mes-
sangeris that camen to Jerusalem, and to
Sedechie, kyng of Juda. And thou schalt⁴
comaunde to hem, that thei speke to her
lordis, The Lord of oostis, God of Israel,
seith these thingis, 3e schulen seie these
thingis to 3oure lordis, Y made erthe, and⁵
man, and beestis that ben on the face of
al erthe, in my greet strengthe, and in
myn arm holdun forth; and Y 3af it to
hym that plesyde bifore myn 3en. And⁶
now therfor Y 3af alle these londis in the
hond of Nabugodonosor, my seruaunt, the
kyng of Babiloyne; ferthermore and Y 3af
to hym the beestis of the feeld, that thei
serue hym. And alle folkis schulen serue⁷
hym, and his sone, and the sone of his
sone, til the tyme of his lond and of hym
come; and many folkis and grete kyngis
schulen serue hym. Forsothe the folk and⁸
rewme that serueth not Nabugodonosor,
kyng of Babiloyne, and whoeuer bowith
not his necke vndur the 3ok of the kyng
of Babiloyne, Y schal visite on that folk
in swerd, and hungur, and pestilence, seith
the Lord, til Y waaste hem in his hond.
Therfor nyle 3e here 3oure profetis, and⁹
false dyuynouris, and dremeris, and dy-
uyners bi chiteryng and fleyng of briddis,
and witchis, that seien to 3ou, 3e schulen
not serue the kyng of Babiloyne; for thei¹⁰
profesien a leesyng to 3ou, that thei make
3ou fer fro 3oure lond, and caste out 3ou,
and 3e perische. Certis the folk that mak-¹¹
ith suget her nol vndur the 3ok of the
kyng of Babiloyne, and serueth hym, Y
schal dismytte^o it in his lond, seith the
Lord; and it schal tile that *lond*, and schal
dwelle therynne. And Y spak bi alle these¹²

^b Om. E pr. m. ^c whoeuer A. ^d that I A. ^e lond c. ^f 3yue A.

^a hem N. ^o leuee, *ether dismitte* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.

12 ^{ing} it. And to Sedechye, king of Juda,
Y spac after alle these wrdus, seiende,
Vnderleith 3oure neckus vnder the 3oc of
the king of Babyloyne, and serueth to
hym, and to his puple, and 3ee shul lyue.
13 Whi shul 3ee die, thou and thi puple,
with swerd, and hunger, and pestilence,
as spac the Lord to the folc, that wile
not serue to the king of Babiloyne?
14 Wileth not heren the wrdus of profetys
seiende to 3ou, 3ee shul not serue to the
king of Babiloyne; for lesing they speken
15 to 3ou, for Y sente them not, seith the
Lord; and thei profecien^h in my name
liendely, that I throwe 3ou^l out, and 3ee^k
pershe, bothe 3ee and the profetes that
16 profecien to 3ou. And to the prestus,
and to this^l puple I spac, seiende, These
thingus seith the Lord God, Wileth not
heren the wrdus of 3oure profetus, that
profecien to 3ou, seiende, Lo! the ves-
selis of the Lord shul turne a3een fro
Babiloyne now soone; lesyng forsothe
17 thei profecien to 3ou. Wileth not thanne
heren hem, but serueth to the king of
Babiloyne, that 3ee lyue; whi 3ouen ys
18 this^m cite in to wildernesse? And if pro-
fetes thei ben, and the wrd of God is in
hem, a3een come thei to the Lord of ostis,
that come not the vesselis, that weren laft
in the hous of the Lord, and in the hous
of the king of Juda, and in Jerusalem,
19 in to Babiloyne. For these thingus seith
the Lord of ostus to the pilers, and to
the se, and to the feet, and to the rem-
naunt of the vesselis, that laften in this
20 cite, the whiche bar not Nabugodonosor,
king of Babiloyne, whan he shulde trans-
late Jeconye, the sone of Joachym, king
of Juda, fro Jerusalem in to Babiloyne,
and alle the best men of Juda and of
21 Jerusalem. For these thingus seith the
Lord of ostis, God of Irael, to the ves-
selus that ben laft in the hous of the
Lord, andⁿ in the hous of the king of
22 Juda, and in Jerusalem, In to Babiloyne

wordis to Sedechie, kyng of Juda, and Y
seide, Make 3e suget 3oure neckis vndur
the 3ok of the kyng of Babiloyne, and
serue 3e hym, and his puple, and 3e schulen
lyue. Whi schulen 3e die, thou and thi¹³
puple, bi swerd, and hungur, and pesti-
lence, as the Lord spak to the folk^p, that
nolde^{pp} serue to the kyng of Babiloyne?
Nyle 3e here the wordis of profetis seiynge¹⁴
to 3ou, 3e schulen not serue the kyng of Ba-
biloyne; for thei speken^q leesyng^{qq} to 3ou,
for Y sente not hem, seith the Lord; and¹⁵
thei profesien falsly in my name, that thei
caste out 3ou, and that 3e perische, bothe
3e and the profetis that profesien to 3ou.
And Y spac to the preestis, and to this¹⁶
puple, and Y seide, The Lord God seith
these thingis, Nyle 3e here the wordis of
3oure profetis, that profesien to 3ou, and
seien, Lo! the vessels of the Lord schulen
turne a3en now soone fro Babiloyne; for
thei profesien a^r leesyng to 3ou. Therfor¹⁷
nyle 3e here hem, but serue 3e to^{rr} the
kyng of Babiloyne, that 3e lyue; whi is
this citee 3ouun in to wildirnesse? And if¹⁸
thei ben profetis, and if^s the word of God
is in hem, renne thei to the Lord of oostis,
that the vessels whiche weren left in the
hous of the Lord, and in the hous of the
kyng of Juda, and in Jerusalem, come not
in to Babiloyne. For the Lord of oostis¹⁹
seith these thingis to the pilers, and to
the see, *that is, a greet waischyng vessel*,
and to the foundementis, and to the re-
menauntis^t of vessels, that weren left in
this citee, whiche Nabugodonosor, king of²⁰
Babiloyne, took not, whanne he translatide
Jeconye, the sone of Joachim, king^u of Ju-
da, fro Jerusalem in to Babiloyne, and alle
the principal men of Juda and of Jerusa-
lem. For the Lord of oostis, God of Israel,²¹
seith these thingis to the vessels that ben
left in the hous of the Lord, and in the
hous of the king of Juda, and in Jerusa-
lem, Tho^v schulen be translatid^w in to Ba-
22 biloyne, and schulen be there 'til to^x the

^s Om. *E pr. m.* ^h profecieden *C pr. m.* ⁱ hem *AGHK.* ^k thei *A.* ^l the *A.* ^m Om. *C.* ⁿ Om. *E pr. m.*

^p lord *omnes præter C sup. ras et X.* ^{pp} wolde not *I.* ^q spoken *A.* ^{qq} a leesyng *C.* ^r Om. *I.* ^{rr} Om. *CFGIKMNPQRSUVX.* ^s Om. *I.* ^t remenaunt *C.* ^u the kyng *CFGHIKMNQRSUVX.* ^v Thei *N.* ^w translatid, *ether led ouer C. translatid, ether born ouer EFGHIKMNQRSUVX.* ^x vnto *I.*

thei shul be translatid, and there thei shul be vnto the dai of ther visitacioun, seith the Lord; and I shal make them to be broȝt to, and to ben restored to^o this^p place.

CAP. XXVIII.

1 And don it is in that ȝer^q, in the bigynnyng of the regne of Sedechie, king of Juda, in the ferthe ȝer, in the fift moneth, seide to me Ananye, the sone of Asur, a profete of Gabaon, in the hous of the Lord, befor the prestes, and al the
2 puple, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, I haue^r to-brosid the ȝoc of the king of Babiloyne.
3 Ȝit two ȝer of dazes, and Y shal make to be born aȝeen to this place alle the vesselis of the Lord, that toc Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, fro this place, and
4 translatede them in to Babiloyne. And Jechonye, the sone of Joachym, king of Juda, and al the transmygracioun of Juda, that wenten in to Babiloyne, Y shal turne to this place, seith the Lord;
5 I shal to-trede forsothe the ȝoc of the king of Babiloyne. And Jeremye, the profete, seide to Ananye, the profete, in the eȝen of prestus, and in the eȝen of al the puple that stoden in the hous of the
6 Lord. And Jeremie, the profete, seith to Ananye, Amen! thus do the Lord; rere the Lord thi wrdus that thou hast profecied, that broȝt aȝeen be the vesselis in the hous of the Lord, and al the transmygracioun fro Babiloyne, to this
7 place. Nerthelater^t here thou this wrd, that Y speke in thin eres, and in the eres
8 of al the puple. Profetus that weren bifor me, and bifor thee, fro the bigynnyng, and profecieden vp on manye londus, and vp on manye rewmes, of bataile, and of
9 tormenting, and of hunger. The profete that profeciede pes, whan shal comen his wrd, shal be wist a profete whom sente
10 the Lord in treuthe. And Ananye, the^a

dai of her visitacioun, seith the Lord; and Y shal make tho to be brouȝt, and to be restorid in this place.

CAP. XXVIII.

And it was don in that ȝeer, in the bigynnyng of the rewme of Sedechie, kyng of Juda, in the fourthe ȝeer, in the fyuethe monethe, Ananye, the sone of Azur, a profete of Gabaon, seide to me in the hous of the Lord, bifor the preestis, and al the puple, and seide^v, The Lord of oostis, God
2 of Israel, seith these thingis, Y haue al to-broke the ȝok of the kyng of Babiloyne.
Ȝit twei^z ȝeeris of daies *ben^a*, and Y schal
3 make to be brouȝt aȝeen to this place alle the vessels of the Lord, whiche Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, took fro this place, and translatide tho^b in to Babiloyne.
And Y schal turne to this place, seith the
4 Lord, Jechonye, the sone of Joachym, the kyng of Juda, and al the passyng ouer of Juda, that entriden in to Babiloyne; for Y schal al to-breke the ȝok of the kyng of Babiloyne. And Jeremye, the profete,
5 seide to Ananye, the profete, bifore the ȝen of preestis, and bifore the ȝen of al the puple that stoden in the hous of the Lord. And Jeremye, the profete, seide to
6 Ananye, Amen! so do the Lord; the Lord reise thi wordis whiche thou profesiedist, that the vessels be brouȝt aȝeen in to the hous of the Lord, and al the passyng ouer fro Babiloyne, to this place. Nethes⁷
here thou this word, which Y speke in thin eeris, and in the eeris of al the puple. Profetis that weren bifore me, and bifor
8 thee, fro the bigynnyng, and profesieden on many londis, and on many rewmes, of batel, and of turment, and of hungur. The profete that profesiede pees, whanne his word cometh, shal be knowun the profete whom the Lord sente in treuthe. And
10 Ananye, the profete, took the chayne fro

^o in AEGHK. ^p ther E pr. m. ^q Om. E pr. m. ^r ha K. ^t Neuer the later *ceteri passim*. ^u Om. EK.

^y seiynge I. ^z two I. ^a ther *ben* I. ^b hem N.

profete, to the cheyne of the necke of
 11 Jeremye, profete^v, and brak it. And
 Ananye, the profete, seith in the sixte of
 al the puple, seiende, These thingus seith
 the Lord, Thus Y shal to-breke the ȝoc
 of Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne,
 after two ȝeris of dazes, fro the necke of
 12 alle Jentilis. And Jeremye, the profete,
 wente awey in to his weye. And don is
 the wrd of the Lord to Jeremye, aftir
 that Ananye, the profete, brak the cheyne
 13 fro the necke of Jeremye, seiende, Go,
 and sey to Ananye, These thingus seith
 the Lord, Treene cheynes thou hast to-
 broke, and thou shalt make for them
 14 irene cheynes. For these thingus seith
 the Lord of ostis, God of Irael, An irene
 ȝoc Y haue^w set vp on the necke of alle
 these Jentilis, that thei serue to Nabugo-
 donosor, king of Babiloyne, and thei shul
 seruen to hym; ferthermor and the bestus
 15 of erthe^x Y ȝaf to hym. And Jeremye,
 the profete, seide to Ananye, the profete,
 Here thou, Ananye; the Lord sente not
 thee, and thou madist this puple to troste
 16 in lesing. Therfore these thingus seith
 the Lord, Lo! I shal throwen out thee
 fro the face of the^y erthe; this ȝer thou
 shalt die, forsothe aȝen the Lord thou
 17 speeke. And dead is Ananye, the pro-
 fete, in that ȝer the seuenthe moneth.

CAP. XXIX.

1 And these ben the wrdus of the boc,
 that sente Jeremye, the profete, fro Je-
 rusalem to the remnaunt of the eldres of
 the transmygracioun, and to the prestus,
 and to the profetes, and to al the puple,
 whom ouerlad hadde Nabugodonosor
 2 fro Jerusalem in to Babiloyne, after that
 wente out Jechonye, the king, and the
 lady, and the geldingus, and the princes
 of Juda, out^z of^a Jerusalem, and the
 3 smyth, and the^b iueler fro Jerusalem, in
 the hond of Elaasa, sone of Safan, and of
 Gamaliel, sone of Elchie, whom sent Se-

the necke of Jeremye, the profete, and
 brak it. And Ananye, the profete, seide^c 11
 in the sixt of al the puple, 'and seide^d, The
 Lord seith these thingis, So Y schal breke
 the ȝok of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babi-
 loyne, aftir twei^e ȝeeris of daies, fro the
 necke of alle folkis. And Jeremye, the 12
 profete, ȝede in to his weie. And the word
 of the Lord was maad to Jeremye, aftir
 that Ananye, the profete, brak the chayne
 fro the necke of Jeremye; and *the Lord*
 seide, Go thou, and seie to Ananye, The 13
 Lord seith these thingis, Thou hast al to-
 broke the chaynes of tre, and thou schalt
 make yrun chaynes for tho^f. For the Lord 14
 of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
 Y haue set an yrun ȝok on the necke of
 alle these folkis, that thei serue Nabugo-
 donosor, the king of Babiloyne, and thei
 schulen serue hym; ferthermore and Y
 ȝaf to hym the beestis of erthe. And Je- 15
 remye, the profete, seide to Ananye, the
 profete, Ananye, here thou; the Lord
 sente not thee, and thou madist this puple
 for to triste in a^g leesyng. Therfor the 16
 Lord seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal
 sende thee out fro the face of erthe; in
 this ȝeer thou schalt die, for thou spakest
 aȝens the Lord. And Ananye, the pro- 17
 fete, diede in that ȝeer, in the seuenthe
 monethe.

CAP. XXIX.

And these ben the wordis of the book, 1
 whiche Jeremye, the profete, sente fro Je-
 rusalem to the residues of eldere men of
 passyng ouer, and to the preestis, and to
 the profetis, and to al the puple, whom
 Nabugodonosor hadde ledde ouer fro Je-
 rusalem in to Babiloyne, after that Jeco- 2
 nye, the kyng, ȝede out, and the ladi, and
 the onest seruauntis and chast, and the
 princis of Juda ȝeden out of Jerusalem,
 and a sutel crafti man, and a goldsmyth
 of Jerusalem, in the hond of Elasa, sone 3
 of Saphan, and of Gamalie, the sone of

^v the prophete A. ^w ha K. ^x the erthe A. ^y Om. AEGHK. ^z Om. E pr. m. ^a fro A. ^b Om. E.

^c spak N. ^d seiynge L. ^e two I. ^f hem N. ^g Om. I.

dechie^c, king of Juda, to Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, in to Babiloyne, se-
 4 ende, These thingus seith^d the Lord of
 ostus, God of Irael, to al the transmygra-
 cyoun, that Y translatede fro Jerusalem
 5 in to Babiloyne, Bildeth vp houses, and
 dwelleth, and plaunteth gardynes, and
 6 eteth the frute of hem; taketh wyues,
 and geteth sonus and do3tris, and 3yueth
 to 3oure sonus wyues, and 3oure do3tris
 3yueth to men, and bere thei sonus and
 do3tris; and 'be 3ee multeplied^e there,
 and wileth not be fewe in noumbre.
 7 And secheth the pes of the cyte, to the^f
 whiche Y made 3ow gon ouer; and prez-
 eth for it the Lord, for in his pes shal
 8 be pes to 3ou. These thingus seith the
 Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Bigile not
 3ou 3oure profetus, that ben in the myd-
 del of 3ou, and 3oure dyuynours^g; and^g
 ne taketh heed to 3oure sweuenes, that
 9 3ee sweuenen^h; for thei falsly profecien
 to 3ou in my name, and Y sente them
 10 not, seith the Lord. For these thingus
 seith the Lord, Whan schal bigynne to
 be fulfilid in Babiloyne seuenti 3eer, Y
 shal visite 3ou, and reren vpⁱ 3ou my
 good wrd, and bringe 3ou a3een to this
 11 place. I forsothe wot the tho3tus that Y
 thenke vp on 3ou, seith the Lord, tho3tus
 of pes, and not^k of tormenting, that Y
 12 3yue to 3ou ende and pacience. And^l 3ee
 shul inwardly 'clepe me^l, and gon, and
 honoure me, and Y shall ful out here 3ou;
 13 3ee shul seche me, and finden, whan 3ee
 14 han so3t me in al 3oure herte. And Y
 shal be founde of 3ou, seith the Lord,
 and Y shall bringe a3een 3oure caitifte,
 and gedere 3ou fro alle Jentiles, and fro
 alle places, to whiche I putte 3ou out,
 seith the Lord; and to turne a3een I shal
 make 3ou^m fro the place, to whiche Y
 15 made 3ou to gonⁿ ouer. For 3ee seiden,
 Reren shal to vs the Lord profetus in

Elchie, whiche^b Sedechieⁱ, the^k kyng of
 Juda, sente to Nabugodonosor, the kyng
 of Babiloyne, in to Babiloyne. And *Je-
 remye* seide, The Lord of oostis, God of
 Israel, seith these thingis to al the pass-
 yng ouer, which Y translatide fro Jeru-
 salem in to Babiloyne, Bilde 3e housis,^s
 and enhabite, and plaunte 3e orcherdis,
 and ete 3e^l fruyt^m of thoⁿ; take 3e^o
 wyues, and gendre 3e sonus and dou3tris,
 and 3yue 3e wyues to 3oure sonus, and
 3yue 3e 3oure dou3tris to hosebondis, and
 bere^o thei sonus and dou3tris; and be 3e
 multiplied there, and nyle 3e be fewe in
 noumbre. And seke 3e pees of the citees,⁷
 to whiche Y made 3ou to passe ouer; and
 preie 3e the Lord for it, for in the pees
 therof schal be pees to 3ou. The Lord of⁸
 oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
 3oure profetis, that ben in the myddis of
 3ou, and 3oure dyuynours disseyue 3ou
 not; and take 3e noon heede to 3oure
 dremes, whiche 3e dremen; for thei pro-⁹
 fesien falsli to 3ou in my name, and Y
 sente not hem, seith the Lord. For the¹⁰
 Lord seith thes thingis, Whanne seuenti
 3eer bigynnen to be fillid in Babiloyne, Y
 schal visite 3ou, and Y schal reise on 3ou
 my good word, and Y schal brynge 3ou
 a3en to this place. For Y knowe the¹¹
 thou3tis whiche Y thenke on 3ou, seith
 the Lord, the thou3tis of pees, and not of
 turment, that Y 3yue to 3ou an ende and
 pacience. And 3e schulen clepe me to¹²
 help, and 3e schulen go, and schulen wor-
 schipe me, and Y schal here 3ou; 3e schu-¹³
 len seke me, and 3e *schulen* fynde, whanne
 3e seken me in al 3oure herte. And Y¹⁴
 schal be foundun of 3ou, seith the Lord,
 and Y schal brynge a3en 3oure caitifte,
 and Y schal gadere 3ou fro alle folkis, and
 fro alle places, to whiche Y castide out
 3ou, seith the Lord; and Y schal make 3ou
 to turne a3en fro the place, to which Y

^c Om. c pr. m. ^d Om. c pr. m. ^e 3e shulen multiplie *AGHK*. 3ee shul be multeplied *E pr. m.* ^f Om. *AE*.
^g Om. c pr. m. ^h Om. *A*. ⁱ han sweuened *E pr. m.* ^j vpon *AE G sec. m. K*. ^k non *K*. ^l Om. *E pr. m.*
^m Om. c pr. m. ⁿ Om. *c*. ^o Om. *A*.

^b the whiche *I*. ⁱ Ezechie *I*. ^k Om. *I*. ^l ete 3e the *CIMV*. ^m fruytis *G*. ⁿ hem *N*. ^o childe
CEFGHIKMNPRSU VX.

16 Babiloyne. For these thingys seith the Lord to the king, that sit^o vp on the see of Daid, and to al the puple, dwellere of this cyte, to 3oure brethern, that ben not gon out with 3ou in to transmygracioun, These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, Lo! Y shal sende in hem swerd, and hunger, and pestilence; and putten hem as the euel figus, that moun not ben 17 ete, for thi that they ben werst. And Y shal pursue them in swerd, and in hunger, and in pestilence; and Y shal 3yue them in to wery trauailing to alle rewmes of erthe, in to cursing, and in to stonyng, and in to whistling, and in to repref to alle Jentilis, to whiche I caste 18 hem out. For thi that they herden not my wrdys, seith the Lord, whiche Y sente to them by my seruauns, profetes, fro^p nyzt risende, and sendende^q, and 3ee 20 herden not, seith the Lord. 3ee therfore hereth the wrd of the Lord, al transmygracioun^r, that Y sente out fro Jerusalem 21 in to Babiloyne. These thingus seith the Lord of ostys, God of Irael, to Achab, sone of Cholie, and to Sedechie, sone of Maasie, that profesien^s to 3ou in my name lesinge^t, Lo! Y shal taken hem^u in the hond of Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, and he shal smyte them in 22 3oure ezen. And ther shul ben taken of them cursing to al the transmygracioun of Jude, that is in Babiloyne, of men seiende, Putte thee the Lord as Sedechie, and as Achab, whom friede the king of 23 Babiloyne in fyr, for thi that thei diden folie in Irael, and diden auoutre in to the wyues of ther frendus; and speeken wrd in my name liendely, that Y comaundide not to them; I am domesman 24 and witnesse, seith the Lord. And to Semeiam Neelamytem thou shalt seyn, 25 These thyngus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, For thi that thou sentest bokes in my name to al the puple that is in Jerusalem, and to Sofonye, sone of

made 3ou to passe ouer. For 3e seiden, 15 The Lord schal reise profetis to vs in Babiloyne. For the Lord seith these 16 thingis to the kyng, that sittith on the seete of Daid, and to al the puple, dwellere of this citee, to 3oure britheren, that 3eden not out with 3ou in to the passyng ouer, The Lord of oostis seith 17 these thingis, Lo! Y schal sende among hem swerd, and hungur, and pestilence; and Y schal sette hem as yuele figis, that moun not be etun, for tho ben ful yuele. And Y schal pursue hem in swerd, and 18 in hungur, and in pestilence; and Y schal 3yue hem in to trauelyng in alle rewmes of erthe, in to cursyng, and in to wondryng, and in to scornynge, and in to schenschipec to alle folkis, to whiche Y castide hem out. For thei herden not my 19 wordis, seith the Lord, which Y sente to hem bi my seruauntis, profetis, and roos bi nyzt, and sente, and 3e herden not, seith the Lord. Therfor al the passyng ouer, 20 which Y sente out fro Jerusalem in to Babiloyne, here 3e the word of the Lord. The Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith 21 these thingis to Achab, the^p sone of Chulie, and to Sedechie, the^p sone of Maasie, that profesien to 3ou a^q leesyng in my name, Lo! Y schal bitake hem in to the hond of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, and he schal smyte hem bifore 3oure 3en. And cursyng schal be takun 22 of hem to al the passyng ouer of Juda, which is in Babiloyne, of men seiynge, The Lord sette thee as Sedechie, and as Achab, whiche the kyng of Babiloyne friede in fier, for thei diden foli in Israel, 23 and diden auowtrie on the wyues of her frendis; and thei spaken a word falsli in my name, which Y comaundide not to hem; Y am iuge and witnesse, seith the Lord. And thou schalt seie to Semei 24 Neelamyte, The Lord of oostis, God of 25 Israel, seith these thingis, For that that thou sentist bookis in my name to al the

^o sittith *A. satt GH.* ^p I fro *AE sec. m. GHK.* ^q seiynge *AGHK.* ^r the transmigracioun *K.* ^s prophete *A.* ^t lesingus *C.* ^u Om. *AGHK.*

Maasie, prest, and to alle the prestus,
 26 seiende, The Lord '3af thee prest^v for
 Joiade, prest, that thou be a duke in the
 hous of the Lord vp on eche man ca3t
 with wodnesse, and profeciende, that thou
 sende hym in to the stockus, and in to
 27 prisoun. And now whi blamest thou not
 Jeremye of Anatoth, that profecyeth to
 28 3ou^w? For vpon this he sente to vs^x in
 to Babiloyne, seiende, Longe it is; bild-
 eth out houses, and dwelleth, and plaunt-
 eth gardynes, and eteth the frute of
 29 them. Radde thanne Sofonye, the prest,
 this boc in the eres of Jeremye, the pro-
 30 fete. And don is the wrd of the Lord
 31 to Jeremye, seiende, Sendeth to al the
 transnygracyoun, seiende, These thingus
 seith the Lord to Semeie Neelamyte,
 For thi that profeciede to 3ou Semeie, and
 Y sente hym not, and made 3ou to trosten
 32 in lesing; therfore these thingus seith the
 Lord, Lo! Y shal visite vp on Semeie
 Neelamyte, and vp on his sed; ther^y shal
 not be to hym a man sittende in^z the
 myddel of this^a puple; and he shal not
 seen the good, that Y shal do to my pu-
 ple, seith the Lord, for lawe breking he
 spac a3en the Lord.

CAP. XXX.

1 This is^b the wrd, that is do to Jere-
 2 mye fro the Lord, seiende, These thingus
 seith the Lord God of Irael, seiende,
 Writ to thee alle these wrdus that Y
 3 spac to thee, in the boc. Loo! forsothe
 dazes comen, seith the Lord, and Y shal
 turne the conuerting of my puple of Irael
 and of Juda, seith the Lord; and Y shal
 turne them to the lond that Y 3af to the
 fadris of them, and thei shul welde it.
 4 And these the^c wrdus, that the Lord spac
 5 to Irael, and to Juda. For thes thingus
 seith the Lord, Voys of huge drede wee
 han herd; ferd, and ther ys not pes.

puple, which is in Jerusalem, and to So-
 fony, the^r sone of Maasie, the preest, and
 to alle the prestis, and seidist, The Lord 26
 3af thee the^s preest for Joiada, the preest,
 that thou be duyk in the hous of the
 Lord on ech man 'that is^t trauelid of the
 fend, and profesinyge, that thou sende hym
 in to stockis, and in to prisoun. And now 27
 whi blamest thou not Jeremye of Anathot,
 that profesieth to 3ou? For on this thing 28
 he sente to vs in to Babiloyne, and seide,
 It is long; bielde 3e housis, and enhabite,
 and plaunte 3e orcherdis, and ete 3e the
 fruit of thoⁿ. Therfor Sofonye, the preest, 29
 redde this book in the eeris of Jeremye,
 the prophete. And the word of the Lord 30
 was maad to Jeremye, and seide, Sende 31
 thou to al the passyng ouer, and seie, The
 Lord seith these thingis to Semeye Nee-
 lamite, For that that Semeye profesiede
 to 3ou, and Y sente not hym, and he made
 3ou to triste in a leesyng; therfor the Lord 32
 seith thes thingis, Lo! Y schal visite on
 Semeye Neelamyte, and on his seed; and
 no man sittyng in the myddis of this
 puple schal be to hym; and he schal not
 se the good; which Y schal do to my puple,
 seith the Lord, for he spak trespassyng
 a3ens the Lord.

CAP. XXX.

This is the word, that was maad of the¹
 Lord to Jeremye, and seide, The Lord 2
 God of Israel seith these thingis, and
 spekith, Write to thee in a book, alle
 these wordis whiche Y spak to thee. For 3
 lo! daies comen, seith the Lord, and Y
 schal turne the turnyng of my puple Is-
 rael and Juda, seith the Lord; and Y schal
 turne hem to the lond which Y 3af to the
 fadris of hem, and thei schulen haue it
 in possessioun. And these *ben* the wordis, 4
 whiche the Lord spak to Israel, and to
 Juda, For the Lord seith these thingis, 5
 We herden a word of drede; inward drede

^v sente thee a preest E pr. m. ^w vs E pr. m. ^x 3ou AE pr. m. ^y and ther AE pr. m. GHK. ^z vpon his
 E pr. vice. ^a his AE pr. m GHK. ^b Om. C sec. m. E. ^c Om. C pr. m.

^r Om. N. ^s Om. N. ^t Om. C et ceteri. ^u hem N.

6 Asketh, and seeth, if the male geteth;
whi thanne saȝ Y of eche man the hond
vpon his leende, as of the trauailende
with childe, and turned ben alle ther
7 faces in to ȝelȝ? Wo! for gret that day,
ne ther is his lyc; and tyme of tribula-
cioun is to Jacob, and of it he shal ben
8 saued. And it shal be, in that dai, seith
the Lord of ostus, Y shal to-brose his ȝoc
fro thi necke, and his bondus Y shal to-
breke; and no mor shul lordshipen to
9 hym alienus, but 'thei shul^d serue to the
Lord, ther God, and to Daud, ther king,
10 whom Y shal rere to them. Thou ther-
fore ne drede thou, my seruaunt Jacob,
seith the Lord, ne inwardly drede thou,
Israel; for lo! Y shal saue thee fro a ferr
lond, and thi^e seed fro the lond of the
caitifte of them. And turned^f shal ben
aȝeen^g Jacob, and resten, and with alle
goodus flowen; and ther shal not be whom
11 he shal dreden. For Y with thee am,
seith the Lord, that Y saue^h thee. For-
sothe Y shal don ful ending in alle Jen-
tiles, in which Y scaterede thee; thee
forsothe Y schal not make in to ful end-
ing, but Y shal chastise thee in dom,
that thou be not seen to thee gilteles.
12 For these thingus seith the Lord, Vnhele-
13 able thi brosure, werst thi wounde. Ther
is not, that deme thi dom to bynde to;
14 ofⁱ curingus^k ys not profit to thee. Alle
thi loueres forȝeten thee, thee shul not
sechen; with^l the wounde forsothe^m of
theⁿ enemy Y smot thee, by^o cruel chas-
tising; for the multitude of thi wycke-
15 nesse^p, hard ben mad thi synnes. What
criest thou vp on thi to-treding? vnhele-
able is thi sorewe; for the multitude of
thi wickidnesse^q, and for thin harde
synnes, Y dide these thingus to thee.
16 Therefore alle that eten thee, shul ben
deuoured, and alle thin enemyes in to cai-
tyfte shul be lad; and that thee^r wasten,
shuln ben wasted, and alle thi robberes
17 Y shal ȝyue in to prei. Forsothe Y shal

is, and pees is not. Axe ȝe, and se, if a⁶
male berith child; whi therfor siȝ Y the
hond of ech man on his leende, as of a
womman trauelynge of child, and alle
faces ben turned in to ȝelow colour? Wo!⁷
for thilke day *is* greet, nether ony is lyk
it; and it is a tyme of tribulacioun to
Jacob, and of hym schal be sauyd. And⁸
it schal be, in that dai, seith the Lord of
oostis, Y schal al to-breke the ȝok of hym
fro thi necke, and Y schal breke hise
boondis; and aliens schulen no more be
lordis of it, but thei schulen serue to her⁹
Lord God, and to Daud, her kyng, whom
Y schal reyse for hem. Therfor, Jacob,¹⁰
my seruaunt, drede thou not, seith the
Lord, and Israel, drede thou not; for lo!
Y schal saue thee fro a fer lond, and thi
seed fro the lond of the caitiftee of hem.
And Jacob schal turne aȝen, and schal
reste, and schal flowe with alle goodis;
and noon schal be whom he schal drede.
For Y am with thee, seith the Lord, for¹¹
to saue thee. For Y schal make endyng in
alle folkis, in whiche Y scateride thee;
sotheli Y schal not make thee in to end-
yng, but Y schal chastise thee in doom,
that thou be not seyn to thee *to be* gilteles.
For the Lord seith these thingis, Thi¹²
brekyng *is* vncurable, thi wounde *is* the
worste. Noon is, that demeth thi doom to¹³
bynde togidere; the profit of beelyngis is
not to thee. Alle thi louyeris han forȝete¹⁴
thee, thei schulen not seke thee; for Y
haue smyte thee with the wounde of an
enemy, with cruel chastisyng; for the
multitude of thi wickidnesse, thi synnes
ben maad hard. What criest thou on thi¹⁵
brekyng? thi sorewe is vncurable; for
the multitude of thi wickidnesse, and for
thin hard synnes, Y haue do these thingis
to thee. Therfor alle that eeten thee,¹⁶
schulen be deuourid, and alle thin ene-
myes schulen be led in to caitifte; and
thei that distrien thee, schulen be distried,
and Y schal ȝyue alle thi robberis in to

^d Om. E pr. m. ^e thine c. ^f turned aȝein E sec. m. ^g Om. E. ^h haue K. ⁱ of thy E pr. m.
Om. CE sec. m. ^k curing E pr. m. ^l Om. E pr. m. ^m Om. E pr. m. ⁿ Om. AK. thyn E pr. m.
^o Om. E pr. m. ^p wickidnes AGHK. ^q wickenesse E. ^r ȝee AGH.

helen parfitly thi felle wounde to thee,
and of thi woundus Y schal hele thee,
seith the Lord; for cast awei thei clep-
eden thee, Sion; this^s is she^t that hadde
¹⁸not 'a3een serchere^u. These thingus seith
the Lord, Lo! I schal conuerte the con-
uerting of the tabernacles of Jacob, and
to his rooues Y schal han^v mercy; and
bild vp shal be the cite in his hei3te, and
the temple after his order shal be foundid.
¹⁹And gon out shal preising of hem and
vois of pleieres, and Y schal multeplie
them, and thei shul not ben lassid; and
Y schal glorifie them, and thei shuln not
²⁰be thynned. And the sonus 'of it^w shul
ben as fro the bygynnyng, and the cum-
panye 'of it^x before me shal abide stille;
and I schal visete a3en alle that troblen
²¹hym. And ther shal ben his duke of
hym, and a^y prince from his myddel
shal^z be bro3t forth; and Y schal pre-
senten hym, and he shal ne3he^a to^b me;
who forsothe is this, that 'leye to^c his
herte, that he ne3he to me? seith the
²²Lord. And 3ee shul be to me in to puple,
and Y schal be to 3ou in to God.
²³Lo! in Jentilis the whirlewind of the
Lord, wodenes goende out, tempest fall-
ende^d, in the hed of vnpitous men thei
²⁴shul alle togidere resten. Shal not turne
awei the wrathe of indignacioun the Lord,
to the tyme he do, and fulfille the thenk-
ing of his herte; in the laste of dajes
3ee shul vndurstonde thoe^e thynges.

CAP. XXXI.

¹ In that tyme, seith the Lord, I^f shal
be God to^g alle the kinredus of Irael; and
²thei shul be to me in to puple. These
thingus seith the Lord, Founde grace in
desert the puple that lafte fro swerd;
³go shal to his reste Irael. Aferr the
Lord aperede to me, and in euer last-
ende charite Y louede thee; therefore Y

raueyn. For Y schal heele perfitli thi¹⁷
wounde, and Y schal make thee hool of
thi woundis, seith the Lord; for thou,
Sion, thei clepeden thee cast out; this is
it that hadde no sekere. The Lord seith¹⁸
these thingis, Lo! Y schal turne the turn-
yng of the tabernaclis of Jacob, and Y
schal haue merci on the housis of hym;
and the citee schal be bildid in his hi3-
nesse, and the temple schal be foundid bi
his ordre. And heriyng and the vois of¹⁹
pleiers schal go out of hem, and Y schal
multiplie hem, and thei schulen not be
decreessid; and Y schal glorifie hem, and
thei schulen not be maad thynne. And the²⁰
sones therof schulen be as at the bigyn-
nyng, and the cumpany therof schal dwelle
bifore me; and Y schal visite a3ens alle
that doon tribulacioun to it. And the²¹
duyk therof schal be of it, and a prince
schal be brou3t forth of the myddis ther-
of; and Y schal applie hym, and he schal
ne3e to me; for who is this, that schal
applie his herte, that he ne3e to me?
seith the Lord. And 3e schulen be in to²²
a puple to me, and Y schal be in to God
to 3ou. Lo! the whirlewynd of the Lord,²³
a strong veniaunce goynge out, a tempest
fallynge down, schal reste in the heed of
wickid men. The Lord schal not turne²⁴
away the ire of indignacioun, til he do,
and fille the thou3t of his herte; in the
laste^v of^w daies 3e schulen vndurstonde
tho thingis. In that tyme, seith the Lord,¹
Y schal be God to alle the kynredis of
Israel; and thei schulen be in to a puple
to me.

CAP. XXXI.

The Lord seith these thingis, The puple²
that was left of swerd, foond grace in de-
sert; Israel schal go to his reste. Fer the³
Lord apperide to me, and in euerlastynge
charite Y louede thee; therfor Y doynge
merci drow thee. And eft Y schal bilde⁴

^s that A. ^t Om. E pr. m. ^u an a3een sechere EK. a3ein secher GH. ^v ha K. ^w Om. E pr. m. ^x Om. E pr. m. ^y Om. E pr. m. ^z Om. K. ^a ne3e to E pr. m. ^b Om. A. ^c presente C pr. m. E pr. m. ^d ful-
fillinge AGHK. ^e hem E pr. m. ^f Om. C. ^g E sup. ras. sec. m.

^v laste tyme 1. ^w Om. s sec. m.

4 rewende droȝ thee. And eft Y shal bilden
vp thee, and bild vp shal thou be, maiden
Israel; ȝit thou shalt ben enourned with
thi tymbris, and thou shalt gon out in
5 the daunce of pleieres. And ȝit thou
shalt plaunte vynes in the mount of Sa-
marie; plaunte shul plaunteres, and for
to tyme come thei shul not pulle grapes.
6 For the dai shal ben, in whiche crien
shul keperes in the mount of Samarie,
and in the mount of Effraym, Riseth,
and steȝe wee vp in to Sion, to the Lord
7 oure God. For^h these thingus seith the
Lord, Ful out ioȝeth in gladnesse of Ja-
cob, and neȝeth aȝen the heued of Jen-
tilis; parfitly sowneth, and singeth, and
seith, Saf, Lord, thi puple, the remnauntis
8 of Israel. Lo! Y shal bringe them fro
the lond of the north, and gedere them
fro the vtmostusⁱ of erthe^k; among whom
shal be the blinde, and the lame, and the
womman with childe, and the trauailende
with childe togidere, a gret cumpanye of
9 men turnende^l aȝeen hider. In weping
thei shul come, and in mercy Y shal
bringe them aȝeen; and Y shal lede them
bi stef stremes of watris in a riȝt weie,
thei shul not stumble in it; for Y am
mad to Israel a fader, and Effraym my
10 first goten is. Hereth the wrd of the
Lord, ȝee Jentiles, and telleth in ilis that
ben aferr, and seith, Who scaterede Israel,
shal gaderen hym, and kepen hym, as a^m
11 shepperde his floc. Forsothe the Lord
boȝte aȝeen Jacob, and delyuerede hym
12 fro the hond of the myȝtiere. And thei
shul come, and preisen in the mount of
Sion; and togidere flowen to the goodus
of the Lord, vp on whete, wyn, and oile,
and frut of bestes, and of droues; and
the soule of them shal be as a watri
gardyn, and no more thei shul hungre.
13 Thanne gladen shal the maiden in the
daunce, ȝunge men and maidenus togi-
dere; and Y shal turne ther weiling in

thee, and thou, virgyn Israel, schalt be
bildid; ȝit thou schalt be ourned with thi
tympan, and schalt go out in the cum-
penye^x of pleieris. ȝit thou schalt plaunte⁵
vynes in the hillis of Samarie; men
plauntynge schulen plaunte, and til the
tyme come, thei schulen not gadere grapis.
For whi a dai schal be, wherynne keperis⁶
schulen crye in the hil of Samarie, and in
the hil of Effraym, Rise ȝe, and stie we in
to Sion, to oure Lord God. For the Lord⁷
seith these thingis, Jacob, make ȝe ful out
ioȝe in gladnesse, and neȝe ȝe aȝens the
heed of hethene men; sowne ȝe, synge ȝe,
and seie ȝe, Lord, saue thi puple, the resi-
dues of Israel. Lo! Y schal brynge hem⁸
fro the loond of the north, and Y schal
gadere hem fro the ferthest partis of
erthe; among whiche schulen be a blynd
man, and crokid, and a womman with
childe, and trauelynge of child togidere,
a gret cumpanye of hem that schulen
turne aȝen hidur. Thei schulen come in⁹
wepynge, and Y schal brynge hem aȝen in
merci; and Y schal brynge hem bi the
strondis of watris in a riȝtful weie, thei
schulen not spurne therynne; for Y am
maad a fadir to Israel, and Effraym is my
gendrid sone. ȝe hethene men, here ȝe^y 10
the word of the Lord, and telle ȝe in ylis
that ben fer, and seie, He that scateride
Israel, schal gadere it, and schal kepe it,
as a scheepherde *kepith* his floc. For the¹¹
Lord aȝenbouȝte Jacob, and delyuerede
hym fro the hond of the myȝtiere. And¹²
thei schulen come, and herȝe in the hil of
Sion; and thei schulen flowe togidere to
the goodis of the Lord, on wheete, wyn,
and oile, and on the fruyt of scheep, and
of neet; and the soule of hem schal be as
a watri gardyn, and thei schulen no more
hungre. Thanne a virgyn schal be glad¹³
in a cumpanye, ȝonge men and elde togi-
dere; and Y schal turne the morenyng of
hem in to ioȝe, and Y schal coumforte

^h Om. c *pr. m.* ⁱ vttermostis AGHK. ^k the erthe HK. ^l turnede A. turneden GH. ^m Om. K.

^x queer, *ether cumpany* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY. ^y Om. c *sec. m.* EFGHIMNPQRVX.

to io3e, and coumforte them, and gladen
 14 fro ther sorewe. And Y schal inwardly
 drunkne the soule of the prestus with
 fatnesse, and my puple with my goodus
 15 schal be fulfyld, seith the Lord. These
 thingus seith the Lord, Vois in hei3te is
 herd of lamentacioun, and weping, and
 weiling, of Rachel wepende hir sonus,
 and not willende^o to be coumfortid vp on
 16 hem, for thei ben not. These thingus
 seith the Lord, Reste thi vois fro wep-
 ing, and thin e3en fro teres; for ther is
 meede to thi werc, seith the Lord; and
 thei shul be turned a3een fro the lond of
 17 the enemy. And ther is hope in thi
 laste, seith the Lord, and ben turned
 a3een shul the sonus to ther termes.
 18 Herende Y herde Effraym ouergoende;
 thou chastisedist me, and Y am lerned as
 a 3ungling vntamed; conuerte me, and
 Y schal be conuertid, for thou Lord my
 19 God. After forsothe that thou haddest
 conuertid me, Y dide penaunce; and after
 that thou haddest shewid to me, Y smot
 my hipe; I am confoundid, and Y sham-
 ede, for Y suffrede the reпреf of my 3unge
 20 waxen age. If a wrshypeful sone to me
 Effraym, if a child delicat; for sithen Y
 spac of hym, 3it Y schal recorden of hym;
 therfore ben disturbid my bowelis vpon
 hym, rewende Y schal han^p mercy of hym,
 21 seith the Lord. Ordeyne to thee a toting
 place^q, sett to thee^r bitternesses; ri3t reule
 thin herte in to an euene weie, in whiche
 thou hast go; turne a3een, thou maide^s
 Israel, turne a3een to these thi cites.
 22 Hou longe with delices 'shalt thou bet
 loosid atwynne, thou do3ter vagaunt? for
 shapen hath the Lord newe thing vp on
 erthe, the womman shal go abouten the
 23 man. These thingus seith the Lord of
 ostis, God of Israel, 3it thei shul sey this
 wrd in the lond of Juda, and in his cheef
 cites, whan Y schal conuerte the caitifte of
 hem, Blesseth to thee the^u Lord, the fayr-

hem, and Y schal make *hem* glad of her
 sorewe. And Y schal greetli fille the soule 14
 of prestis with fatnesse, and my puple
 schal be fillid with my goodis, seith the
 Lord. The Lord seith these thingis, A 15
 vois of weilyng^z, and of wepyng, and of
 mourenyng, was herd an hi3; *the vois*
 of Rachel biwepyng hir sones, and not
 willynge to be coumfortid on hem, for
 thei ben not. The Lord seith these 16
 thingis, Thi vois reste of wepyng, and
 thin 3en *reste* of teeres; for whi mede is
 to thi werk, seith the Lord; and thei
 schulen turne a3en fro the lond of the
 enemy. And hope is to thi laste thingis, 17
 seith the Lord, and thi sones schulen
 turne a3en to her endis. I heringe herde 18
 Effraym passinge ouer; thou chastisedist
 me, and Y am lerned as a 3ong oon vn-
 temyd^a; turne thou me, and Y schal be
 conuertid, for thou *art* my Lord God.
 For aftir that thou conuertidist me, Y 19
 dide penaunce; and aftir that thou schew-
 idist to me, Y smoot myn hipe; Y am
 schent, and Y schamede, for Y suffride
 the schenschiپ of my 3ongthe. For Ef- 20
 fraym *is* a worschipful sone to me, for *he*
is a delicat child; for sithen Y spac of
 hym, 3it Y schal haue mynde on hym;
 therfor myn entrails ben disturblid on
 him, Y doynge merci schal haue merci on
 hym^b, seith the Lord. Ordeyne to thee 21
 an hi3 totyng place, sette to thee bitter-
 nesses; dresse thin herte in to a strei3t
 weie, in which thou 3edist; turne a3en,
 thou virgyn of Israel, turne a3en to these
 thi citees. Hou longe, dou3ter of vnstid- 22
 fast dwellyng, art thou maad dissolut in
 delices? for the Lord hath maad a newe
 thing on erthe, a womman schal cumpasse
 a man. The Lord of oostis, God of Israel, 23
 seith these thingis, 3it thei schulen seie
 this word in the lond of Juda, and in the
 citees therof, whane Y schal turne the
 caytifte of hem, The Lord blesse thee,

^o wilnyngc AGHK. ^p ha K. ^q a place R pr. m. ^r thi A. ^s maiden EK. ^t thou art R pr. m. ^u Om. G.

^a a weilyng A pr. m. ^b vntemyd, ether wiede CDEFGHIKMNPRSUUVXY. ^b hem N.

nesse, of riȝtwisnesse the hoeli mount.
 24 And dwelle shul in it Juda, and alle his
 cites, togidere erthe tilieres, and men
 25 dryuende flockes. For Y haue^v mad
 drunke the weri soule, and eche hun-
 26 grende soule Y haue^v fulfild. Therfore
 as fro slep I am rered, and saȝ; and my
 27 slep sweete is to me. Lo! dajes comen,
 seith the Lord, and Y shal sowen the
 hous of Irael and the hous of Juda with
 the sed of men, and with the sed of
 28 bestus. And as Y woc vp on hem, that
 Y schulde pullen out, and destroȝen, and
 wasten, and scateren, and tormenten; so
 Y shal waken vp on hem, that Y bilde
 29 vp, and plaunte, seith the Lord. In tho
 dajes men shul seyn no more, Fadrис
 eeten the soure grape, and the teeth of
 30 the sonus stoneȝeden; but eche in his
 wickenesse^w shal die, eche man that shal
 ete the soure grape, shul stoneȝe the teeth
 31 of hym. Lo! dajes comen, seith the
 Lord, and Y shal smyte to the hous of
 Irael, and to the hous of Juda newe pes
 32 couenaunt; not^x after the couenaunt that
 Y couenauntede with ȝoure fadrис, in the
 day that Y toc the hond of hem, that Y
 schulde bringe them out fro the lond of
 Egipt, couenaunt that thei maden voide;
 and Y lordshepede of hem, seith the
 33 Lord. But this shal be the couenaunt,
 that Y shal smyte with the hous of Irael
 after tho dajes, seith the Lord; Y shal
 ȝyue my lawe in the boweles of hem,
 and in the herte of hem Y shal write it,
 and Y shal be to them in to God, and
 34 thei shal be to me in to a puple. And
 techen shul no more the man his neȝhe-
 bore, and the man his brother, seiende,
 Knowe thou the Lord; alle forsothe shul
 knowe me, fro the leste vnto the moste, seith
 the Lord; for Y shal han^y mercy to the
 wickenes^z of them, and of the synne of
 35 hem Y shal no mor be myndeful. These
 thingus seith the Lord, that ȝyueth the
 sunne in the liȝt of the dai, ordre of the

thou fairnesse of riȝtfulnesse, thou hooli
 hil. And Juda, and alle citees^c therof²⁴
 schulen dwelle in it togidere, erthetilieris,
 and thei that dryuen flockis. For Y fill-²⁵
 ide greetli a feynt soule, and Y haue fillid
 ech hungri soule. Therfor Y am as reisid²⁶
 fro sleep, and Y siȝ; and my sleep was
 swete to me. Lo! daies comen, seith the²⁷
 Lord, and Y schal sowe the hous of Israel
 and the hous of Juda with the seed of
 men, and with the seed of werk beestis.
 And as Y wakide on hem, to drawe vp bi²⁸
 the roote, and to distrie, and to scatere,
 and to leese, and to turmente; so Y schal
 wake on hem, to bilde, and to plaunte,
 seith the Lord. In tho daies thei schulen²⁹
 no more seie, The fadres eeten a sour
 grape, and the teeth of sones weren asto-
 nyed; but ech man schal die in his wick-³⁰
 idnesse, ech man that etith a sour grape,
 hise teeth schulen be astonyed. Lo! daies³¹
 comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal smyte
 a newe boond of pees to the hous of Is-
 rael, and to the hous of Juda; not bi the³²
 couenaunte which Y made with ȝoure
 fadrис, in the dai in which Y took the
 hond of hem, to lede hem out of the lond
 of Egipt, the couenaunte which thei made
 voide; and Y was Lord of hem, seith the
 Lord. But this schal be the couenaunte,³³
 which Y schal smyte with the hous of
 Israel aftir tho daies, seith the Lord; Y
 schal ȝyue my lawe in the entrails of hem,
 and Y schal write it in the herte of hem,
 and Y schal be in to God to hem, and thei
 schulen be in to a puple to me. And a³⁴
 man schal no more teche his neȝbore, and
 a man his brother, and seie, Knowe thou
 the Lord; for alle schulen knowe me, fro
 the leeste of hem 'til to^d the mooste, seith
 the Lord; for Y schal be merciful to the
 wickidnessis of hem, and Y schal no more
 be myndeful on the synne of hem. The³⁵
 Lord seith these thingis, that ȝyueth the
 sunne in the liȝt of dai, the ordre of the
 moone and of sterris^e in the liȝt of the

^v ha K. ^w wickidnes AGHK. ^x and not A. ^y haue K. ^z wickidnes AGHK.

^c the citees I. ^d vnto I. ^e the sterris N.

moone and of the^a sterres in lizt^b of the nyzt, that disturbeth the se, and his flodis sownen, the Lord of ostus name to hym.
 36 If failen shuln these lawes bifor me, seith the Lord, thanne and the sed of Irael shal faile, that ther be not folc bifor^c me
 37 alle dazes. These^d thingus seith the Lord, Yf 'heuenus shul moun be mesured^e fro aboue, and be serched the foundemens of the^f erthe bynethe, and Y shal casten awei al the sed of Irael, for alle thingus
 38 that thei diden, seith the Lord. Lo! dazes comen, seith the Lord, and bild vp shal be a cyte to the Lord fro the tour of Ananeel vn to the zate of the corner.
 39 And it shal gon out ouer the reule of the mesure, in his sizte, vp on the hyl of Gared, and it shal gon aboute Goacha,
 40 and al the valei of^g careynus, and the askes, and al the regioun of deth, vnto the stef strem of Cedron, and vnto the corner of the est zate of horsis; the hoeli of the Lord shal not be pullid vp, and no mor be destroyed in to euermore.

CAP. XXXII.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye fro the Lord, in the tenthe 3er of Sedechie, king of Juda; it is the eiztetenthe 3er of Nabugodonosor. Thanne the ost of the king of Babiloyne besegede Jerusalem; and Jeremye, the profete, was closid in the porche of the prisoun, that was in the
 3 hous of the king of Juda. Closed hadde forsothe hym Sedechye, king of Juda, seiende, Whi profeciast thou, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal 3yuen^h this cite in toⁱ the hond of the king of Babiloyne, and he shal taken
 4 it; and Sedechie, king of Juda, shal not scape fro the hond of Caldeis, but he shal be taken in the hond of the king of Babiloyne; and speken shal his mouth with the mouth of hym, and his e3en the e3en
 5 of hym shul seen; and in to Babiloyne

nizt, whiche disturblith the see, and the wawis therof sownen, the Lord of oostis is name to hym. If these lawis failen³⁶ bifore me, seith the Lord, thanne and the seed of Israel schal faile, that it be not a folk bifore me in alle daies. The Lord³⁷ seith these thingis, If heuenes aboue moun be mesurid, and the foundementis of erthe bynethe be sou3t out, and Y schal caste awei al the seed of Israel, for alle thingis whiche thei diden, seith the Lord. Lo!³⁸ daies comen, seith the Lord, and a citee schal be bildid to the Lord, fro the tour of Ananeel 'til to^f the zate of the corner. And it schal go out ouer the reule of me-³⁹ sure, in the sizt therof, on the hil Gareb, and it schal cumpasse Goatha, and al the⁴⁰ valei of careyns, *and it schal cumpasse* aischis, and al the cuntrei of deth, 'til to^g the stronde of Cedron, and til^h to the corner of the eest zate of horsis; the hooli thing of the Lord schal not be drawun out, and it schal no more be destried with outen ende.

CAP. XXXII.

The word that was maad of the Lord¹ to Jeremye, in the tenthe 3eer of Sedechie, kyng of Juda; thilke is the eiztenthe 3eer of Nabugodonosor. Thanne the oost of² the kyng of Babiloyne bisegide Jerusalem; and Jeremye, the profete, was closid in the porche of the prisoun, that was in the hous of the kyng of Juda. For whi Sede-³ chie, the kyng of Juda, hadde closid hym, and seide, Whi profesiest thou, seiynge, The Lord seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal 3yue this citee in the hond of the kyng of Babyloyne, and he schal take it; and Sedechie, the¹ kyng of Juda, schal not⁴ ascape fro the hond of Caldeis, but he schal be bitake in to the hond of the kyng of Babiloyne; and his mouth schal speke with the mouth of hym, and hise 3en schulen se the 3en of hym; and he schal⁵

^a Om. E. ^b the lizte K. ^c Om. E pr. m. ^d if ben mesured. These E pr. m. ^e ben mesured shul moun heuenes E pr. m. ^f Om. AEGHK. ^g of the fallingus of E pr. m. ^h take E pr. m. ⁱ Om. E pr. m.

^f vnto I. ^g vnto I. ^h Om. I. ⁱ Om. I.

he shal lede Sedechie, and there he shal be, to the tyme Y^k visite hym, seith the Lord; yf forsothe 3ee shul fize a3en the Caldeis, no thing welsum 3ee shuln han?

6 And Jeremye seide, Don is the wrd of 7 the Lord to me, seiende, Lo! Ananeel, the sone of Sellum, thin 'emys sone^l, shal come to thee, seiende, Bye to thee my feld, that is in Anathoth; to thee forsothe falleth of ny3 kinrede, that thou 8 bie it. And cam to me Ananeel, the sone of myn em^m, after the wrd of the Lord, to the porcheⁿ of the prisoun, and he seith to me, Weld my feld, that is in Anatot, in the lond of Beniamyn; for to thee fallith the eritage, and thou art the neer kin, that thou welde. Y vnderstood forsothe, that it was the wrd of the Lord.

9 And Y bo3te the feld of Ananeel, the sone of myn em^o, that is in Anatot. And Y peisede to hym siluer, seuene halve 10 ounces, and ten siluerne platys; and wrot in the boc, and seled, and toc witnesses.

11 And Y peisede seluer in a balaunce; and Y toc the boc of the possessioun selid, and the behestus to the askingus, and the fermed thingus, and the tocnes withoute- 12 forth. And Y 3af the boc of the possessioun to Baruch, the sone of Nery, sone of Maasie, in the e3en of Ananeel, myn 'emys sone^p, and in the e3en of wytnesses that weren writen in the boc of the^q biyng, in^r the e3en of alle Jewis, that 13 seeten in the porche of the prisoun. And Y comaundide to Baruch befor them, sei- 14 ende, These thingus seith the Lord of ostis, God of Irael, Tac these bokis, this seled boc of biyng, and this boc that is opened, and put them in a britel vessel, that abide 15 stille thei moun manye dazes. These thingus^s forsothe seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, 3it weldid shul be houses, and feldus, and vynezerdis^t, in this lond.

16 And Y pre3ede to the Lord, aftir that Y hadde take the boc of possessioun to lede Sedechie in to Babiloyne, and he schal be there, til Y visyte hym, seith the Lord; forsothe if 3e fizen a3ens Caldeis, 3e schulen haue no thing in prosperite?

And Jeremye seide, The word of the Lord 6 was maad to me, and seide, Lo! Ananeel, 7 the sone of Sellum, the sone of thi fadris brothir, schal come to thee, and seie, Bi thou to thee my feeld, which is in Anathot; for it bifallith to thee by ni3 kynrede, that thou bie it. And Ananeel, the⁸ sone of my fadris brothir, cam to me, bi the word of the Lord, to the porche of the prisoun, and seide to me, Welde thou my feeld, which is in Anathot, in the lond of Beniamyn; for whi the erytage bifallith to thee, and thou art the next of blood, that thou welde *it*. Forsothe Y vndirstood, that it was the word of the Lord. And Y⁹ bou3te the feeld, which is in Anathot, of Ananeel, the sone of my fadris brothir. And Y paiede to hym siluer, seuene stateris^{*}, and ten platys of siluer; and Y¹⁰ wroot in a book, and Y seelide, and Y 3af witnessis. And Y weiede siluer in a balaunce; and Y took^h the book aseelid of 11 possessioun, and axingis and answerys of the seller and bier, and couenauntis, and seelis withoutforth. And Y 3af the book 12 of possessioun to Baruc, the sone of Neri, sone of Maasie, bifore the i3en of Ananeel, the sone of my fadris brother, and bifore the i3en of witnessis that weren writun in the book of biyng, bifore the i3en of alle Jewis, that saten in the porche of the prisoun. And Y comaundide to Baruc bi- 13 fore hem, and Y seide, The Lord of oostis, 14 God of Israel, seith these thingis, Take thou these bookis, this seelid book of biyng, and this book which is opyn, and putte thou tho in an erthen vessel, that tho^k moun dwelle bi^l many daies. For whi 15 the Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, 3it housis, and feeldis, and vynes schulen be weldid in this lond. And 16

^k that I GHK. ^l vnclene sone A. vnclene sone GHK. em E pr. m. emes sone E sec. m. ^m vnclene A pr. m. vnclene GHK. ⁿ vestiarie E pr. m. ^o vnclene A pr. m. vnclene GHK. ^p vnclene sone A pr. m. vnclene sone GHK. ^q Om. AEGHK. ^r and in AGHK. ^s Om. E pr. m. ^t vynes C pr. m. E pr. m. AGHK.

^k thei N. ^l Om. N.

¹⁰ * a stater is half an ounce, as Isidore seith, in the xvij. book of Ethymologies. A et plures.

17 Baruch, the sone of Neery, seiende, Allas! allas! allas! Lord God, lo^u! thou madest heuene and erthe in thi^v grete strengthe, and in thi strazt out arm; shal^w not be to thee hard eche
18 wrd; that dost mercy in thousandus, and^x zeldist wickenesse^y of faders in to the bosum of the sonus aftir hem. O^z! thou most strong, gret, and myzty^a, Lord
19 of ostus name to thee; gret in counseil, and incomprehensible in thenking, whos ejen ben opened vp on alle the weies of the sonus of Adam, that thou zelde to eche after his^b weies, and after the frute
20 of his fyndingus; that^c settedest tocnes and wnders in the lond of Egipt, vn to this dai, and in Irael and in men; and thou madist to thee a name, as is this
21 day. And thou laddest out thi puple Irael fro the lond of Egipt, in tocnes and in wndris, and in stalwrthe hond, and in strazt oute arme, and in gret ferd;
22 and zeue to them this lond, that thou swore to ther faders, that thou shuld^dist zyue to them, the lond flowende myle
23 and hony. And thei wenten in, and welded^e it; and obesheden not to thi vois, and in thi lawe ziden not; alle thingus that thou comaundedest to them, that they shulde do, thei diden not; and ther camen to them alle these eueles.
24 Lo! strengthingus^d ben mad out azen this cite^e, that it be take, and the^f cyte is zouen^g in to the hondus of Caldeis, and in to the hondus of the king of Babiloyne, that fizten azen it, fro the face of the swerd, and of hunger, and of pestilence; and what euere thingus thou speeke,
25 thei fellen, as thiself biholdist. And thou seidist^h to me, Lord God, Bie thouⁱ the feeld with syluer, and tac witnesses, whan the cheef cite is zouen in the
26 hond^k of Caldeis. And don ys the wrd
27 of the Lord to Jeremye, seiende, Lo! Y the Lord God of alle flesh. Whether to

Y preiede to the Lord, aftir that Y bitook the book of possessioun to Baruc, the sone of Nery; and Y seide, Alas! alas! alas! 17 Lord God, Lord, thou madist heuene and erthe in thi greet strengthe, and in thin arm stretchid forth; ech word schal not be hard to thee; which doist merci in 18 thousyndis, and zeldist the wickidnesse of fadris in to the bosum of her sonus aftir hem. Thou strongeste, greet, myzti, Lord of oostis *is* name to thee; greet in coun- 19 cel, and vncomprehensible in thouzt, whose ijen ben open on alle the weies of the sonus of Adam, that thou zelde to ech aftir hise weies, and aftir the fruyt of hise fynd- yngis; which settidist signes and greet 20 woundris in the lond of Egipt, 'til to^m this dai, bothe in Israel and in men; and madist to thee a name, as this dai is. And 21 thou leddist thi puple Israel out of the lond of Egipt, in signes and in greet woundris, and in aⁿ strong hond, and in an arm holdun forth, and in greet dreed; and thou zauest to hem this lond, which 22 thou sworist to the fadris of hem, that thou woldist zyue to hem, a lond flowynge with milk and hony. And thei entriden, 23 and hadden it in possessioun; and thei obeieden not to thi vois, and thei zeden not in thi lawe; alle thingis whiche thou comaundidist to hem to do, thei diden not; and alle these yuels bifellen^o to hem. Lo! strengthis ben bildid azens the citee, 24 that it be takun, and the citee is zouun in to the hondis of Caldeis, and in to the hondis of the kyng of Babiloyne, that fizten azens it, of the face of swerd, and of hungur, and of pestilence; and what euere thingis thou spakest, bifellen, as thou thi silf seest. And Lord God, thou seist 25 to me, Bie thou a feeld for siluer, and zyue thou witnessis, whanne the citee is zouun in the hondis of Caldeis. And the 26 word of the Lord was maad to Jeremye, and seide, Lo! Y *am* the Lord God of 'al 27

^u and lo! c. ^v the c. ^w and shal E pr. m. ^x Om. E pr. m. ^y wickidnes AK. wickidnessis GH.
^z of E pr. m. ^a power E pr. m. ^b ther E pr. m. ^c thou AGHK. ^d strengthus GH. ^e Om. c.
^f this E pr. m. ^g zyuen E pass. ^h seist AEGHK. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k hoondis A.

^m vnto I. ⁿ Om. I. ^o bifelde CI et alii passim.

28 mee hard shal ben eche wrd? Therfore
these thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal
take this cite in to the hondus of Caldeis,
and in the hond of the king of Babi-
29 loyne, and they shul taken it. And come
shul Caldeis fiztende azen this cite, and
thei shul teende it vp with fyr, and
brenne it, and the houses, in whos rooues
thei sacrificeden to Baal, and offreden to
alien godis sacrifices of licoures, to^l terre
30 me^m. Weren forsothe the sonus of Irael
and the sonus of Juda contynueli doende
euel in myn ejen, fro ther waxeⁿ 30uthe,
the sonus of Irael that^o vnto^p now sharp-
eden out me in the werkes of ther
31 hondus, seith the Lord. For in wodnes
and in myn indignacioun mad is to me
this cyte, fro the dai that thei bidden it
vp, 'in to^q this day, 'in whiche^r it shal be
32 don awei fro my sijt; for the malice of
the sonus of Irael, and of the sonus of
Juda, that thei diden, to wrathe me ter-
rende, thei, and ther kingus, ther princes,
and prestes, and ther profetus, men of
33 Juda, and dwelleris of Jerusalem. And
thei turneden to^s me backes, and not faces,
whan Y shulde teche them the morutid,
and lernen; and thei wolden not heren,
34 that thei shulden take disciplyne. And
thei setteden ther mawmetes 'in to^t the
hous, in whiche is inwardly clepid my
35 name, that thei schulden^u defoule it. And
thei bidden vp heze thingus of Baal, that
ben in the valei of the sone^v of Ennon,
that thei sacrifie ther sonus and ther doz-
tris to Moloch, that Y comaundide not to
them, ne stezede vp in to myn herte, that
thei shulde do this abhominacioun, and
36 in to synne bringe doun Judam. And
now for these thingus, seith the Lord
God of Irael to this cite, of whiche zee
seyn, that it be taken in to the hondus of
the king of Babiloyne in swerd, and in
37 hunger, and in pestilence, Lo! Y shal
gedere them fro alle londus, to whiche Y

fleisch. Whether^p ony word schal be hard
to me? Therfor the Lord seith these 28
thingis, Lo! Y schal bitake this citee in
to the hondis of Caldeis, and in to the
hond of the kyng of Babiloyne, and he
schal take it. And Caldeis schulen come, 29
and fizte azens this citee, and thei schulen
brenne it with fier, and thei schulen brenne
it, and housis, in whose rooues thei sacri-
fieden^q to Baal, and offriden moist sacrifices
to alien goddis, to^r terre me to wraththe.
For whi the sones of Israel and the sones 30
of Juda diden yuel contynueli, fro her
3onge waxynge age, bfore myn izen, the
sones of Israel, whiche^s 'til to^t now wrath-
then me bi the werk of her hondis, seith
the Lord. For whi this citee is maad to 31
me in my strong veniaunce and indigna-
cioun, fro the day in which thei bildiden
it, 'til to^t this dai, in which it schal be
takun awei fro my sijt; for the malice 32
of the sones of Israel, and of the sones of
Juda, which thei diden, terryng me to
wrathfulnesse, thei, and the kyngis of hem,
the princes of hem, and the prestis, and
profetis of hem, the men of Juda, and the
dwelleris of Jerusalem. And thei turn- 33
eden to me the backis, and not the faces,
whanne Y tau3te, and enformede hem erli;
and thei nolden^u here, that thei schulden
take techyng. And thei settiden her idols 34
in the hous, in which my name is clepid
to help, that thei schulden defoule it. And 35
thei bildiden hi3 thingis to Baal, that ben
in the valei of the sonus of Ennon, that
thei schulden halewe her sonus and her
dou3tris to Moloc, which thing Y comaund-
ide not to hem, nether it stiede in to myn
herte, that thei schulden do this abhomy-
nacioun, and bryng Juda in to synne.
And now for these thingis, the Lord God 36
of Israel seith these thingis to this citee,
of whiche 3e seien, that it schal be bitakun
in to the hondis of the kyng of Babiloyne,
in swerd, and in^v hungur, and in pestilence,

^l and to A. ^m men K. ⁿ waxynge AK. ^o Om. AGHK. ^p in to GH. ^q vn to AGH. ^r that E pr. m.
^s fro E pr. m. ^t in K. ^u Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. GHK. ^v sonus AE pr. m. GHK.

^p ech man, wher I. ^q sacrificeden CEF GHK NPQRSUVX. ^r and to F. ^s the whiche I. ^t vnto I. ^u wolden
not I. ^v Om. A.

caste them out in my wodnesse, and in my wrathe, and in my great indignacioun; and Y shal bringe hem aȝeen to this place, and to wonen hem Y shal
 38 make trostily. And thei shul be to me in to puple, and Y shal be to them in to
 39 God. And Y shal ȝyue to hem oen herte and o soule, that thei drede me alle dazes, and wel be to them, and to ther sonus
 40 after hem. And Y shal smyte with them couenaunt euere durende, and Y shal not cese to wel do to them, and my drede Y shal ȝyue in ther herte, that thei go not
 41 awei fro me. And Y shal gladen up on hem, whan wel to them I shal do; and Y shal plaunte hem in this lond in treuthe,
 42 in myn herte, and in al my soule. For these thingus seith the Lord, As Y haue^w broȝt in to this puple al this grete euel, so Y shal bringe to vp on hem al the
 43 good, that Y shal speke to them. And weldid shul be feldus in this lond, of whiche ȝee seyn, that desert it is, for thi that ther shal not leuen a man and beste; and ȝouen is^x in to the hondus of Caldeis.
 44 Feldus with monee shal be boȝt, and writen in boc, and prented in shal be the sel; and witnesses shul be take to, in the lond of Beniamyn, and in the cumpas of Jerusalem, and in the cites of Juda, and in the mountewous cites, and in the feldi cites, and in the cites that at the south ben; for^y Y shal turne the caitifte of hem, seith the Lord.

CAP. XXXIII.

1 And don is the wrd of the Lord to Jeremye, the secounde tyme, whan ȝit he was closid in the porche of the prisoun,
 2 seiende, These thingys seith the Lord, that is to make and to foorme it, and to
 3 greithe, Lord the name of hym; Crie to me, and Y shal ful out here thee, and Y shal telle to thee grete thingus, and
 4 faste, that thou wost not. For these

Lo! Y schal gadere hem fro alle londis, 37 to whiche Y castide hem out in my strong veniaunce, and in my wraththe, and in greet indignacioun; and Y schal brynge hem aȝen to this place, and Y schal make hem to dwelle tristili. And thei schulen be 38 in to a puple to me, and Y schal be in to God to hem. And Y schal ȝyue to hem oon 39 herte and o soule, that thei drede me in alle daies, and that it be wel to hem, and to her sonus aftir hem. And Y schal smyte 40 to hem a couenaunt euerlastynge, and Y schal not cese to do wel to hem, and Y schal ȝyue my drede in the herte of hem, that thei go not away fro me. And 41 Y schal be glad on hem, whanne Y schal do wel to hem; and Y schal plaunte hem in this lond in treuthe, in al myn herte, and in al my soule. For the Lord seith 42 these thingis, As Y brouȝte on this puple al this greet yuel, so Y schal brynge on hem al the good, which Y schal speke to hem. And feeldis schulen be weldid in 43 this lond, of which ȝe seien, that it is desert, for no man and beeste is left; and it is ȝouun in to the hondis of Caldeis. Feeldis schulen be bouȝt for money, and 44 schulen be writun in a book, and a seel schal be preentid; and witnessis schulen be ȝouun, in the lond of Beniamyn, and in the cumpas of Jerusalem, and in the citees of Juda, and in the citees in hilli places, and in the citees in feeldi places, and in the citees that ben at the south; for Y schal turne the caitiftee of hem, seith the Lord.

CAP. XXXIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1 to Jeremye, in the secounde tyme, whanne he was closid ȝit in the porche of the prisoun, and seide, The Lord seith these 2 thingis, The Lord is name of hym, that schal do, and fourme, and make redi that thing; Crye thou to me, and Y schal 3 here thee, and Y schal telle to thee grete thingis, and stidfast, whiche thou knowist

^w ha K. ^x Om. c *pr. m.* ^y and CE *pr. m.*

thingus seith the Lord God of Israel to the houses of this cite, and to the houses of the king of Juda, that ben destroyed, and to the^a strengthingus, and to the sword of men comende, that thei fize with the Caldeis, and fulfille hem^b with the careynes of men, the whiche Y smot in my wodnesse, and in myn indignacioun; and Y hidde my face fro this cite, for alle the malice of hem. Lo! Y shal close azeen^c to them the wounde and helthe, and helen hem; and Y shal opene to them the lowely^d prezyng of pes, and of treuthe; and turne the turnyng of Juda, and turne the turnyng of Jerusalem; and Y shal bilde vp hem, as fro the bigynnyng. And Y shal clense out hem fro ther wickednesse^e, in whiche thei synneden to me, and mercifull Y shal be to alle the wickenesses^f of hem, in whiche thei trespasiden to^g me, and dispisiden me. And it shal be to me in to name, and in to ioze, and in to preising, and in to ful out iojing, to alle Jentiles of erthe, that herden alle goodis that Y am to do to them; and thei shuln inwardly dreden, and ben disturbid in alle goodus, and in alle pes, that Y shal do to them. These thingus seith the Lord, 3it shal ben herd in this place, whom 3ee seyn to be desert, for thi that ther is not a man ne beste in the cites of Juda, and withoute-forth Jerusalem, that ben desolat withoute man, and withoute dwellere, and withoute beste, vois of ioze, and vois of gladnesse, vois of man spouse, and vois of womman spouse, vois of men, seiende, Knoulecheth to the Lord of ostus, for good^h the Lord, for withoute ende his mercy, and of men berende vouwis in to the hous of the Lord; forsothe Y shal bringe azeen the turnyng of the lond, as fro the bigynnyng, seith the Lord. These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, 3it shal be in this desert place, withoute man

not. For the Lord God of Israel seith⁴ these thingis to the housis of this citee, and to the housis of the kyng of Juda, that ben distried, and to the strengthingis, and to the sword of men comynge to fize⁵ with Caldeis, and to fille tho housis with careyns of men, which Y smoot in my strong veniaunce, and in myn indignacioun; and Y hidde my face fro this citee, for al the malice of hem. Lo! Y schal close togidere to hem a wounde and helthe, and Y schal make hem hool, and Y schal schewe to hem the bisechyng of pees and of treuthe; and Y schal conuerte the conuersioun of Juda, and Y schal conuerte the conuersioun of Jerusalem, and Y schal bilde hem, as at the bigynnyng. And Y schal clense hem fro al her^w wickidnesse, in which thei synneden to me, and Y schal be merciful to alle the wickidnessis of hem, in which thei trespassiden to me, and forsoken me. And thei schulen be to me in to a name, and in to ioeye, and in to heriyng, and in to ful out ioiying to alle folkis of erthe, that herden alle the goodis whiche Y schal do to hem; and thei schulen drede, and schulen be disturbid in alle goodis, and in al the pees, which Y schal do to hem. The Lord seith these thingis, 3it in¹⁰ this place, which 3e seien to be forsakun, for no man is^x nether beeste in the citees of Juda, and in the 3atis of Jerusalem, that ben desolat, without man, and with out dwellere, and with out beeste, the vois of¹¹ ioeye schal be herd, and the vois of gladnesse, the vois of spouse, and the vois of spousesse, the vois of men, seiynge, Knowleche 3e to the Lord of oostis, for the Lord is good, for his merci is with outen ende, and of men berynge vowis in to the hous of the Lord; for Y schal brynge azeen the conuersioun of the lond, as at the bigynnyng, seith the Lord. The Lord of oostis¹² seith these thingis, 3it in this forsakun place, with out man, and with out beeste,

^a Om. K. ^b Om. C. ^c I shal don awe I shal setten azeen E pr. m. ^d lowe A. ^e wickenesse E.
^f wickidnessis AGHK. ^g forsoken C pr. m. E pr. m. ^h good is A.

^w Om. N. ^x ther is I.

and withoute beste, and in alle his cites,
 a dwelling place of shepperdus, of lig-
 13 gendeⁱ flockus. And in the mountewous^k
 cites, and in the feldi cites, and in the
 cites that at the south ben, and in the
 lond of Beniamyn, and in the cumpas of
 Jerusalem, and in the cites of Juda, 3it
 shul passe flockes, at the hond of the
 14 noumbrere^l, seith the Lord. Lo! dazes
 comen, seith the Lord, and Y shal rere
 a good wrd, that Y spac to the hous of
 15 Israel, and to^m the hous of Juda. In tho
 dazes, and in that tyme, to buriowne Y
 shall make Daud, a buriownyng of rizt-
 wisnesse; and he shal do dom and rizt-
 16 wisnesse in the lond. In tho dazes shal
 be saued Juda, and Israel shal dwelle
 trostili; and this is the name that they
 shul clepen hym, The Lord oure riztwis.
 17 For these thingus seith the Lord, Dien
 shal not of Daud a man, that sitⁿ vp on
 18 the trone of the hous of Israel; and of
 the prestus and Leuytus shal not die a
 man fro my face, that offreth^o brent sacri-
 fices, and brenne sacrificise, and sle victorie^p
 19 sacrificise alle dazes. And don is the wrd
 20 of the Lord to Jeremye, seiende, These
 thingus seith the Lord, Yf voide mai be
 21 mad my couenaunt with^q dai, and my
 couenaunt with nyzt, that^r ther be not
 dai and nyzt in his tyme; and my coue-
 naunt voide shal moun be with Daud,
 my seruaunt, that ther be not of hym a
 sone, that regne in his trone, and Leuytus,
 22 and prestus, my seruauns; as noumbred
 out moun not be the sterres of heuene,
 and mesured the grauel of the se, so Y
 shal multeplie the sed of Daud, my ser-
 23 uaunt, and Leuytus, my seruauntys. And
 don is the wrd of the Lord to Jeremye,
 24 Whether thou^s haue^t not seen, that this
 puple spac, seyende, Two kinredus that
 the Lord hadde chose, ben cast awei, and
 my puple thei dispiseden, for thi that ther
 is no more a folc of kinde biforn hem.

and in alle citees therof, schal be a dwell-
 yng place of scheepherdis, of flockis lig-
 gyng. And in the citees in hilli places,¹³
 and in the citees in feeldi places, and in
 the citees that ben at the south, and in
 the lond of Beniamyn, and in the cumpas
 of Jerusalem, and in the citees of Juda,
 3it flockis schulen passe, at the hond of
 the noumbrere, seith the Lord. Lo! daies¹⁴
 comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal reise
 the good word, which Y spak to the hous
 of Israel, and to the hous of Juda. In tho¹⁵
 daies, and in that tyme, Y schal make the
 seed of riztfulnesse to buriowne to Daud,
 and he schal make doom and riztfulnesse
 in erthe. In tho daies Juda schal be¹⁶
 sauyd; and Israel schal dwelle tristili;
 and this is the name which thei schulen
 clepe hym, Oure riztful Lord. For the¹⁷
 Lord seith these thingis, A man of Daud
 schal not perische, that shal sitte on the
 trone of the hous of Israel; and of preestis¹⁸
 and dekenes a man schal not perische fro
 my face, that schal offre brent sacrifices,
 and brenne sacrifice^r, and sle sacrifice, in
 alle daies. And the word of the Lord was¹⁹
 maad to Jeremye, and seide, The Lord²⁰
 seith these thingis, If my couenaunt with
 the dai and my couenaunt with the nyzt
 mai be maad voide, that the dai and the^r
 nyzt be not in his tyme; and my couenaunt²¹
 with Daud, my seruaunt, mai be voide,
 that of hym be no sone, that schal regne
 in his trone, and no dekenes, and preestis,
 my mynistris; as the sterris of heuene²²
 moun not be noumbrid, and the grauel of
 the see *mai not* be metun, so Y schal mul-
 tiplie the seed of Daud, my seruaunt, and
 dekenes, my mynystris. And the word of²³
 the Lord was maad to Jeremye, and seide,
 Whether thou hast not seyn, that this pu-²⁴
 ple spac, seiynge, Twei kynredis whiche
 the Lord chees, ben cast awei, and thei
 dispisiden my puple, for it is no more a
 folc bifore hem. The Lord seith these²⁵

ⁱ lyngge E pr. m. liggyngge E sec. m. AG. ^k mounteynous AG. mountuous E. mounteyns H. ^l noum-
 bred AGHK. ^m Om. A. ⁿ sitteth A. ^o offre AEGH. P a victorie A. ^q bi E pr. m. ^r and A. ^s I E pr. m.
^t hast AGHK.

Y sacrifices I. Z Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

25 These thingus seith the Lord, If my coue-
naunt betwe^u dai and nyzt, and lawes to
26 heuene and erthe Y sette not; forsothe
and the sed of Jacob and of Daud, my
seruaunt, Y shal throwe aferr, that Y take
not of his sed princes, of the sed of Abra-
ham, Isaac, and of Jacob; I shal bringe
forsothe^v azen the turnyng of hem, and
han^w mercy to them.

CAP. XXXIV.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye of the
Lord, whan Nabugodonosor, king of Ba-
biloyne, and al his ost, and alle^x reumus
of the^x erthe, that weren vnder the power
of the hond of hym, and alle puples fozten
azē Jerusalem, and azē^y alle his cites,
2 seiende, These thingus seith the Lord God
of Irael, Go, and spec to Sedechie, king
of Juda; and thou shalt sey to hym,
These thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal
take this cyte in the hond of the king of
Babiloyne, and he shal brenne it vp with
3 fyr. And thou shalt not^z scape fro his
hond, but with taking thou shalt be take,
and in his hond thou shalt be take; and
thin ežen the ežen of the king of Babi-
loyne shuln see, and his mouth with thi
mouth shal speke, and Babiloyne thou
4 shalt go in. Nerthelater^a here the wrd
of the Lord, thou, Sedechie, king of Juda,
These thingus seith the Lord to thee,
5 Thou shalt not die in swerd, but in pes
thou shalt die, and aftir the brennyngus
of thi fadris rathere kingus that weren
bifor thee, so thei shal brenne togidere^b
thee, and with Wo! lord, thei shul weile
thee; for the wrd Y spac, seith the Lord.
6 And Jeremye, the profete, spac to Sede-
chie, king of Juda, alle these wrdus in
7 Jerusalem. And the ost of the king of
Babiloyne fazt azen Jerusalem, and azen
alle the cites of Jude, that weren laft;
azē Lachis, and azen Azecha; these for-
sothe laften ouer of the cites of Jude

thingis, If Y settide not my couenaunt bi-
twixe dai and niyt, and *if Y settide not*
lawis to heuene and erthe; sotheli and Y 26
schal caste awei the seed of Jacob, and of
Daud, my seruaunt, that Y take not of
the seed of hym princes, of the seed of
Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; for Y
schal brynge azen the conuersioun of hem,
and Y schal haue merci on hem.

CAP. XXXIV.

The word that was maad of the Lord 1
to Jeremye, whanne Nabugodonosor, kyng
of Babiloyne, and al his oost, and alle the
rewmes of erthe, that weren vndur the
power of his hond, and alle pupilis fouzten
azē Jerusalem, and azēns alle citees ther-
of; and he seide, The Lord God of Israel 2
seith these thingis, Go thou, and speke to
Sedechie, kyng of Juda; and thou schalt
seie to hym, The Lord seith these thingis,
Lo! Y schal bitake this citee in to the
hond of the kyng of Babiloyne, and he
schal brenne it bi fier. And thou schalt 3
not ascape fro his hond, but thou schalt
be takun bi takyng, and thou schalt be
bitakun in to his hond; and thin ižen
schulen se the ižen of the kyng of Babi-
loyne, and his mouth schal speke with
thi mouth, and thou schalt entre in to
Babiloyne. Netheles Sedechie, the kyng 4
of Juda, here thou the word of the Lord;
the Lord seith these thingis to thee, Thou
schalt not die bi swerd, but thou schalt 5
die in pees, and bi the brennyngis of thi
fadris, the formere kyngis that weren bi-
fore thee^a, so thei schulen brenne thee,
and thei schulen biweile thee, Wo! lord;
for Y spac a word, seith the Lord. And 6
Jeremye, the profete, spac to Sedechie,
kyng^{aa} of Juda, alle these wordis in Jeru-
salem. And the oost of the kyng of Babi- 7
loyne fauht azēns Jerusalem, and azēns alle
the citees of Juda, that weren left^b; azēns
Lachis, and azēns Azecha; for whi these

^u between AEGHK. ^v forthe AG pr. m. h. ^w ha κ. ^x Om. AEGH. ^y Om. κ. ^z no E pr. m. ^a Neuer
the later cetert passim. ^b aboute κ pr. m.

^a Om. N. ^{aa} the kyng is. ^b residue, ether left CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVXY.

8 strengthid cites. The wrd that is do to
Jeremye fro the Lord, aftir that king
Sedechie smot pes couenaunt with al the
9 puple in Jerusalem, prechende that eche
schulde leuen his thral, and eche his thral
womman, Ebru man and Ebru womman
free, and not lordshipen to them, that is,
10 in Jew, and in his brother. Herden ther-
fore alle the princes and al the puple, that
wenten in couenaunt, that thei shulden
leue eche his thral, and eche his thral
womman free, and no more thei shulden
lordshipen to them; herden thanne thei,
11 and laften; and ben turned theraftir, and
drowen a3een thrallis, and ther thrallensis,
that thei hadden laft free, and vnder3ok-
eden in to seruauns, and in to wymmen
12 seruauns. And don is the wrd of the
Lord to Jeremye fro the Lord, seiende,
13 These thingus seith the Lord God of
Israel, I smot pes couenaunt with 3oure
fadrin, in the dai that Y ladde them out
fro the lond of Egypt, fro the hous of
14 thraldam, seiende, Whan shul be fulfild
seuene 3er, lefe eche his Ebru brother,
that is sold to hym, and he shal serue to
hym sixe 3er, and thou shalt lefe hym
fro thee free; and herden not 3oure fa-
15 dris me, ne boweden in ther ere. And
3ee ben turned to day, and diden that is
ri3t in myne e3en, that 3ee shulden preche
eche fredam to his frend, and wenten in
couenaunt in my si3t, in the hous in
whiche is inwardly clepid my name vp
16 on it. And 3ee ben turned a3een, and
defouleden my name, and 3ee han bro3t
a3een eche his thral, and eche his thrall-
esse, the whiche 3ee hadden laft, that
thei were free, and of ther power; and
3ee han vnder3okid hem, that thei ben
17 to 3ou thralles and thrallisses. Therefore
these thingus seith the Lord, 3ee han not
herd me, that 3ee shulden preche free-
dam, eche to his brother, and eche to his
frend; lo! Y preche^d to 3ou freedom, seith
the Lord, and to swerd and to hunger

strong citees weren left of the citees of
Juda. The word that was maad of the⁶
Lord to Jeremye, aftir that kyng Sedechie
smoot boond of pees with al the puple in
Jerusalem, and prechide, that ech man⁹
schulde delyuere his seruaunt, and ech
man his handmaide, an Ebreu man and
an^c Ebru womman fre, and that thei
schulden not be lordis of hem, that is, in
a Jew, and her brothir. Therfor alle the¹⁰
princes and al the puple herden, whiche^d
maden couenaunt, that thei schulden dely-
uere ech man his seruaunt, and ech man
his handmaide fre, and schulde no more
be lordis of hem; therfor thei herden, and
delyueriden; and thei weren turned aftir-¹¹
ward, and drowen a3en her seruauntis,
and handmaidis, whiche thei hadden laft
fre, and thei maden^e suget in to seruauntis,
and in to seruauntessis. And the word of¹²
the Lord was maad of the Lord to Jere-
mye, and seide, The Lord God of Israel¹³
seith these thingis, Y smoot a boond of
pees with 3oure fadrin, in the dai in which
Y ledde hem out of the lond of Egypt,
out of the hous of seruage; and Y seide,
Whanne seuene 3eeris ben fillid, ech man¹⁴
delyuere his brother, an Ebreu man, which
is seeld to hym, and he schal serue thee
sixe 3eer, and thou schalt delyuere hym
fro thee; and 3oure fadrin herden not me,
nether bowiden her eere. And 3e ben con-¹⁵
uertid to dai, and 3e diden that, that is
ri3tful bifore myn i3en, that 3e precheden^f
ech man fredom to his frend, and 3e maden
couenaunt in my si3t, in the hous wher-
ynne my name is clepid to help on that
freedom. And 3e turneden a3en, and de-¹⁶
fouliden^g my name, and 3e brou3ten a3en
ech man his seruaunt, and ech man his
handmaide, whiche 3e delyueriden, that
thei schulden be fre, and of her owne
power; and 3e maden hem suget, that
thei be seruauntis and haundmaidis to
3ou. Therfor the Lord seith thes thingis,¹⁷
3e herden not me, that 3e prechiden fre-

^d shal preche *E pr. m.*

^c Om. A. ^d the whiche *1.* ^e maden *hem 1.* ^f prechen *A pr. m.* ^g 3e defouliden *CEFGHIKMN PQRSUVX.*

and to pestilence I shal 3yue 3ou, in to
 18 quauyng^e to alle rewmus of erthe. And
 Y shal 3yue the men, that breeke my pes
 couenaunt, and kepten not the wrdus of
 the pes couenaunt, to whiche thei ben
 assentid in my sizt, a calf that thei to-
 19 heewen^f in to two parties; and passeden
 bitwen^g his deuyseouns the princes of
 Juda, and the princes of Jerusalem, and
 geldingus^h, and prestus, and al the puple
 of the lond, thatⁱ passeden bitwene^k the
 20 deuyseouns of the calf; and Y shal 3yue
 them in to the hond of ther enemys, and
 in to the hond of men sechende ther lif;
 and shal ben the deth smyting of hem
 in to mete to the foulis of heuene, and
 21 to the bestus of erthe. And Sedechie,
 king of Juda, and his princes Y shal 3yue
 in to the hond of ther enemys, and in to
 the hond of men sechende ther lif, and
 in to the hond of the ostus of the king of
 22 Babiloyne, that wenten awei fro 3ou. Lo!
 Y comaunde, seith the Lord, and Y shal
 bringe them a3een^l to^m this citeⁿ; and
 thei shul fizten a3en it, and taken it, and
 brenne it vp with fyr; and the cites of
 Juda Y shal 3yue in to wilderness, for
 thi that ther is not a dwellere.

dom, ech man to his brothir, and ech man
 to his freend; lo! Y preeche to 3ou fre-
 dom, seith the Lord, and to swerd, and
 to hungur, and to pestilence, and Y schal
 3yue 3ou in to stiryng to alle rewmes of
 erthe. And Y schal 3yue the men, that¹⁸
 breken my boond of pees, and kepten not
 the wordis of boond of pees, to whiche thei
 assentiden in my sizt, and kepten not the
 calf, which thei kittiden in to twei partis;
 and the princes of Juda, and the princes¹⁹
 of Jerusalem, and the onest seruautis,
 and preestis 3eden bytwixe^b the partyngis
 therof, and al the puple of the lond, that
 3eden bitwixe the departyngis of the calf;
 and Y schal 3yue hem in to the hond of²⁰
 her enemyes, and in to the hond of hem
 that seken her lijf; and the deed careyn of
 hem schal be in to mete to the volatilis of
 the eir, and to the beestis of erthe. And²¹
 Y schal 3yue Sedechie, the kyng of Juda,
 and hise princes, in to the hond of her
 enemyes, and in to the hond of hem that
 seken her lijf, and in to the hond of the
 oostis of the kyng of Babiloyne, that 3eden
 awei fro 3ou. Lo! Y comaunde, seith the²²
 Lord, and Y schal brynge hem a3en in to
 this citee, and thei schulen fizte a3ens it,
 and schulen take it, and schulen^k brenne
 it with fier; and Y schal 3yue the citees
 of Juda in to wilderness, for ther is no
 dwellere.

CAP. XXXV.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye fro the
 Lord, in the dazes of Joachym, sone of
 2 Josie, king of Juda, seiende, Go to the
 hous of Rechabitus, and spec to them;
 and thou shalt bringe them in to the
 hous of the Lord, in to o pryue chaumbre
 of the tresores, and thou shalt 3yue them
 3 to drinke wyn. And Y toc Jeconye, sone
 of Jeremye, sone of Absenye, and his
 brethern, and alle his sonus, and al the
 4 hous of Rechabitis. And I bro3te them
 in to the hous of the Lord, to the tresorie

CAP. XXXV.

The word that was maad of the Lord¹
 to Jeremye, in the daies of Joachym, sone
 of Josie, kyng of Juda, and seide, Go thou²
 to the hous of Recabitis, and speke thou
 to hem; and thou schalt brynge hem in to
 the hous of the Lord, in^k to o^l chaumbre
 of tresouris, and thou schalt 3yue to hem
 to drynke wyn. And Y took Jeconye, the³
 sone of Jeremye, sone of Absanye, and
 hise britheren, and alle the sonus of hym,
 and al the hous of Recabitis. And Y ledde⁴
 hem in to the hous of the Lord, to the

^e quakyng *AK*. ^f *Om. AG pr. m. H.* ^g betwix *A*. ^h geldyng *K*. ⁱ *Om. E pr. m.* ^k betwix *A*.
 betwe *c pr. m. E.* ^l *Om. A.* ^m in to *AECHK.* ⁿ *Om. E pr. m.*

^b bitwene *I.* ⁱ *thei schulen I.* ^k and in *F.* ^l a *IN.*

hous of the sonus of Eman, sone of Jeze-
delie, man of God; that was biside the
tresorie hous of the princes, vp on the
tresor of Maasie, sone of Sellum, that
5 was kepere of the vestiariē. And Y sette
bifor the sonus of the hous of Recabitis
cuppis ful of wyn, and chalices; and Y
6 seide to them, Drinketh wyn. The whiche
answerden, Wee shul not drinke wyn^o;
for Jonadab, the sone of Rechab, oure fa-
der, comaundide to vs, seiende, 3ee shul
not drinke wyn, 3ee and 3oure sonus, in
7 to euermor; and hous 3ee shul not bilde,
and sed 3ee shul not sowe, and vyne^p 3ee
shul not plaunte, ne han, but in taber-
nacles 3ee shul dwelle alle 3oure dazes,
that 3ee lyue manye dazes vp on the face
of the lond, in whiche 3ee pilgrimagen.
8 Wee han obeshid therfore to the vois of
Jonadab, sone of Rechab, oure fader, in
alle thingus that he comaundide to vs; so
that wee drunke not wyn alle oure dazes,
and^a wee, and oure wyues, sonus, and oure
9 doztris; and wee bilde not vp houses to
dwelle, and vyne^r, and feld, and sed wee
10 hadde not; but we dwelleden in taber-
nacles, and obeisaunt wee weren, after alle
thingus that comaundede to vs Jonadab,
11 oure fader. Whan forsothe shulde stezen
vp Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, to
oure lond, wee seiden, Cometh, and go
wee in to Jerusalem, fro the face of the
ost of Caldeis, and fro the face of the ost
of Cirie; and we dwelten in Jerusalem.
12 And don is the wrd of the Lord to Jere-
13 mye, seiende, These thingus seith the
Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Go, and sei
to the men of Juda, and to the dwelleres
of Jerusalem, Whether 3ee shul not take
disciplyne, that 3ee obeshe to my wrdus,
14 seith the Lord? Hadden the maistrie the
wrđus of Jonadab, sone^b of Recab, whiche
he comaundide to his sonus, that thei
shulde not drinke wyn; and thei drunke
not, vnto^t this dai; for thei obesheden
to the heste of ther fader; lo! forsothe

treserie of the sonus of Eman, sone of
Godolie, the man of God; which^m treserie
was bisidis the treserie of princes, aboue
the tresour of Maasie, sone of Sellum, that
was kepere of the vestiariē. And Y set-
5 tide bifore the sonus of the hous of Recab-
itis pecis, and grete cowpis ful of wyn; and
Y seide to hem, Drinke 3e wyn. And thei^s
answeriden, We schulen not drinke wyn;
for whi Jonadab, oure fadir, the sone of
Recab, comaundide to vs, and seide, 3e
schulen not drinke wyn, 3e and 3oure
sones, 'til in toⁿ withouten ende; and 3e⁷
schulen not bilde an hous, and 3e schulen
not sowe seed, and 3e schulen not plaunte
vynes, nether schulen haue, but 3e schulen
dwelle in tabernaclis in alle 3oure daies,
that 3e lyue many daies on the face of
erthe, in which 3e goen in pilgrymage.
Therfor we obeieden to the vois of Jona-
8 dab, oure fadir, the sone of Recab, in alle
thingis whiche he comaundide to vs; so
that we drunken not wyn in alle oure
dayes, we, and oure wymmen, oure sonus,
and douztris; and we bildiden not housis⁹
to dwelle, and we hadden not a vyner, and
a feeld, and seed; but we dwelliden in ta-
10 bernaclis, and weren obeiyng, and diden
bi alle thingis, whiche Jonadab, oure fa-
dir, comaundide to vs. But whanne Nabu-
11 godonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, hadde stied
to this lond, we seiden, Come 3e, and entre
we in to Jerusalem, fro the face of the
oost of Caldeis, and fro the face of the
oost of Sirie; and we dwelliden in Jeru-
salem. And the word of the Lord was¹²
maad to Jeremye, and seide, The Lord of¹³
oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
Go thou, and seie to the men of Juda, and
to the dwelleris of Jerusalem, Whether^o 3e
schulen not take techyng, that 3e obeie to
my wordis, seith the Lord? The wordis¹⁴
of Jonadab, sone of Rechab, hadden the
maistrie, whiche he comaundide to hise
sones, that thei schulden not drynke wyn;
and thei drynken not, 'til to^p this dai; for

^o Om. c pr. m. ^p vynes E pr. m. AGHK. vyne 3erde E sec. m. ^q Om. AEK. ^r vyne 3erdis E sec. m.
^s the sone K. ^t to K.

^m the whiche I. ⁿ vnto I. ^o Wher I. ^p vnto I.

Y spac to 3ou, fro erly risende, and spek-
 15 ende, and 3ee obesheden not to me. And
 Y sente to 3ou alle my seruauns profetis, Y^a risende erly, and sendende, and
 seiende, Beth conuertid, eche fro his werst
 wey, and goode maketh 3oure studies, and
 wileth not folewe alien godis, ne herien
 hem, and 3ee shul dwelle in the lond, that
 Y 3af to 3ou, and to 3oure fadris; and 3ee
 boweden not in 3oure ere, ne herden me.
 16 Fastneden therfore the sonus of Jonadab,
 sone of Recab, the heste of ther fader,
 that he hadde comaundid to them; this
 17 puple forsothe obeshede not^v to me. Ther-
 fore these thingus seith the Lord of ostus,
 God of Irael, Lo! Y shal bringe vp on
 Juda, and vp on alle dwelleres^w of Jeru-
 salem, al the tormenting that Y spac
 a3en hem, and thei herden^x not; I clepede
 18 hem, and thei answerden not to me. To
 the hous forsothe of Recabitis seide Jere-
 mye, These thingus seith the Lord of
 ostus, God of Irael, For thi that 3ee obe-
 sheden to the heste of Jonadab, 3oure
 fader, and kepten alle his hestus, and
 diden alle thingus, that he comaundide to
 19 3ou; therefore these thingus seith the Lord
 of ostus, God of Irael, Ther shal not faile
 a man of the stoc of Jonadab, sone of
 Recab, stondende in my sijt alle dajes.

CAP. XXXVI.

1 And don it is, in the ferthe 3er of Joa-
 chym, sone of Josie, king of Juda, don is
 this^y wrd to Jeremye fro the Lord, sei-
 2 ende, Tac the volum of the boc, and thou
 shalt write in it alle the wrdus, that Y
 spac to thee a3en Irael and Judam, and
 a3en alle Jentilis, fro the day that Y spac
 to thee, of the dajes of Josie vnto this
 3 day. If par auenture herende^z the 'hous
 of Juda alle the eueles that Y thenke^b
 to do to them, ben turned eche fro his

thei obeieden to the comaundement of her
 fadir; but Y spac to 3ou, and Y roos ful
 eerli, and spake, and 3e obeieden not to
 me. And Y sente to 3ou alle my ser-
 15 uauntis profetis, and Y roos ful eerli, and
 Y sente, and seide, Be 3e conuertid, ech
 man fro his worste weye, and make 3e
 good 3oure studies, and nyle 3e sue alien
 goddis, nether worschipe 3e hem, and 3e
 schulen dwelle in the lond, which Y 3af
 to 3ou, and to 3oure fadris; and 3e bow-
 iden not 3oure eere, nether herden me.
 Therfor the sonus of Jonadab, sone of Re-
 16 cab, maden stidfast the comaundement of
 her fadir, which he comaundide to hem;
 but this puple obeiede not to me. Therfor
 17 the Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith
 these thingis, Lo! Y schal bringe on Juda,
 and on alle the dwelleris of Jerusalem, al
 the turment which Y spac a3ens hem; for
 Y spac to hem, and thei herden not; Y
 clepide hem, and thei answeriden not to
 me. Forsothe Jeremye seide to the hous
 18 of Recabitis, The Lord of oostis, God of
 Israel, seith these thingis, For that that
 3e obeieden to the comaundement of Jona-
 dab, 3oure fadir, and kepten alle hise co-
 maundementis, and diden alle thingis,
 whiche he comaundide to 3ou; therfor the
 19 Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these
 thingis, A man of the generacioun of Jo-
 nadab, sone of Recab, schal not faile stond-
 ynge in my sijt in alle daies.

CAP. XXXVI.

And it was don, in the fourthe 3eer of
 1 Joachym, sone of Josie, kyng of Juda,
 this word was maad of the Lord to Jere-
 mye, and seide, Take thou the volym of
 2 a book, and thou schalt write therynne
 alle the wordis, whiche Y spake to thee
 a3ens Israel and Juda, and a3ens alle
 folkis, fro the dai in whiche Y spac to
 thee, fro the daies of Josie 'til to^q this dai.
 If perauenture whanne the hous of Juda
 3 herith alle the yuels whiche Y thenke to

^a Om. c *et* *pr. m.* ^v no *pr. m.* ^w the dwellers *AECHK.* ^x herden me *AGHK.* ^y the c. ^z here *A.*
^a Lord *pr. m.* ^b tho3te *c pr. m. pr. m.*

werst weie, and merciful Y shal be^b to the wickenesse^c and to the synne of them.
 4 Clepede therfore Jeremye Baruch, the sone of Nery; and Baruch wrot of the mouth of Jeremye alle the wrdus of the Lord, that he spac to hym, in the volume
 5 of the boc. And Jeremye comaundide to Baruch, seiende, I am closid, and mai
 6 not gon in to the hous of the Lord. Go in therfore thou, and rede of the volum, in whiche thou hast write of my mouth the wrdus of the Lord, herende the puple, in the hous of the Lord, in the dai of fasting; ferthermor and herende al Juda, that comen fro ther cites, thou shalt rede
 7 to them; if par auenture falle the orisoun of them in the sizt of the Lord^d, and be turned eche fro his werste weie; for grete is the wodnesse, and the indignacioun, that the Lord spac azen this puple.
 8 And Baruch, the sone of Nery, dide aftyr alle thingus, that hadde comaundid to hym Jeremye, the profete; redende of the volume the wrdus of the Lord, in the
 9 hous of the Lord. Don is forsothe, in the fife 3er of Joachym, sone of Josie, king of Juda, in the nynthe moneth, thei precheden fasting in the sizt of the Lord, to al the puple in Jerusalem, and to al the multitude, that hadde come togidere fro the cites of Juda in to Jerusalem.
 10 And Baruch radde of the volume the wrdus of Jeremye, in the hous of the Lord, in the tresorie place of Gamarie, sone of Safan, scribe, in the ouere vestiari, in the entre of the newe 3ate of the hous of the Lord, herende al the
 11 puple. And whan herd had Michie, the sone of Gamarie, sone of Safan, alle the
 12 sermownus of the Lord, of the boc, he wente down in to the hous of the king, to the tresorie place of the scribe. And lo! alle the princes seeten there, Elisama, scribe, and Dalaias, sone of Semye, and Elnathan, sone of Achabor, and Gamarie, sone of Safan, and Sedechie, sone of Ana-

do to hem, ech man turne azen fro his worste weye, and Y schal be merciful to the wickidnesse and synne of hem. Ther-
 4 for Jeremye clepide Baruk, the sone of Nerye; and Baruk wroot of the mouth of Jeremye in the volym of a book alle the wordis of the Lord, whiche he spac to hym. And Jeremye comaundide to Ba-
 5 ruk, and seide, Y am closid, and Y may not entre in to the hous of the Lord. Therfor entre thou, and rede of the book,
 6 in which thou hast write of my mouth the wordis of the Lord, in hering of the puple, in the hous of the Lord, in the dai of fastyng; ferthermore and in heryng of al Juda, that comen fro her citees, thou schalt rede to hem; if perauenture the
 7 preier of hem falle in the sizt of the Lord, and eche man turne azen fro his worste weie; for whi the strong veniaunce and indignacioun is greet, which the Lord spac azens this puple. And Baruk, the
 8 sone of Nerie, dide aftir alle thingis, which Jeremye, the prophete, comaundide to hym; and he redde of the book the wordis of the Lord, in the hous of the Lord. Forsothe it was doon, in the fy-
 9 eth 3eer of Joachym, sone of Josie, kyng of Juda, in the nynthe monethe, thei prechiden fastyng in the sizt of the Lord, to al the puple in Jerusalem, and to al the multitude, that cam togidere fro the citees of Juda in to Jerusalem. And
 10 Baruc redde of the volym the wordis of Jeremye, in the hous of the Lord, in the treserie of Gamarie, sone^e of Saphan, scryuen, in the hizere porche, in the entring of the newe 3ate of the hous of the Lord, in audience of al the puple. And
 11 whanne Mychie, the sone of Gamarie, sone of Saphan, hadde herd alle the wordis of the Lord, of the book, he 3ede down in
 12 to the hous of the kyng, to the treserie of the scryuen. And lo! alle the princes saten there, Elisama, the scryuen, and Dalaie, the sone of Semeye, and Elnathan,

^b Om. c *pr. m.* ^c wickidnes AGHK. ^d Om. E *pr. m.*

^r Om. N. ^s the I.

13 nye, and alle the princes. And tolde to
 them Mychie alle the wrdus, that he
 herde Baruch redende of the volume, in
 14 the eres of the puple. And so alle the^e
 princes senten to Baruch Judy, sone of
 Nathatie, sone of Selemye, sone of Cusy,
 seiende, The volume, of the^f whiche thou
 reddest herende the puple, tac in thin
 hond, and cum. Toc thanne Baruch, the
 sone of Neri, the volum in his hond, and
 15 cam to them. And thei seiden to hym,
 Sit, and red these thingus in oure eres;
 and Baruch radde in the eres of hem.
 16 Thanne whan thei hadden herd alle the
 wrdus, thei stoneieden eche to his neizhe-
 bore, and seiden to Baruch, 'Owe wee to
 17 telle^g to the king alle these wrdus? And
 thei askeden hym, seiende, Shew to vs,
 hou thou hast write alle these wrdus of
 18 his mouth. Baruch forsothe seide to
 them, Of his mouth he spac, as redende
 to me, alle these wrdus^h; and Y wrot in
 19 the volum with enke. And alle the
 princes seiden to Baruch, Go, and be
 hid, thou and Jeremye; and no man
 20 wite wher 3ee be. And thei wenten in
 to the king, in to the porche; but the
 volume thei leiden vp in to the tresorie
 hous of Elisame, scribe. And thei tolden,
 21 herende the king, alle the wrdus. And
 so the king sente to Judi, that he shulde
 take the volum. The whiche takende it
 fro the tresorie place of Elisame, scribe,
 radde, herende the king and alle the
 22 princes, that stoden aboute the king. The
 king forsothe sat in the winter hous, in
 the nynthe moneth; and put was the
 herth, 'or *chymney*ⁱ, biforn hym ful of
 23 colys. And whan Judi hadde rad thre
 litle pagens^k, or foure, he kutte it with a
 scraping knyf of the scribe, and thre; it
 in to the fyr, that was vpon the herth, to
 the tyme that were wastid al the volum
 24 with fyr, that was in^l the herth. And
 thei dradde not, ne kutte^m ther clothis,

the sone of Achabor, and Gamarie, the
 sone of Saphan, and Sedechie, the sone of
 Ananye, and alle princes. And Mychee¹³
 telde to hem alle the wordis, whiche he
 herde Baruc redynge of the book, in the
 eeris of the puple. Therfor alle the¹⁴
 princes senten to Baruc Judi, the sone of
 Nathathie, sone of Selemye, sone of Chusi,
 and seiden, Take in thin hond the book,
 of which thou reddist in audience of the
 puple, and come thou. Therfor Baruc,
 the sone of Nereie, took the book in his
 hoond, and cam to hem. And thei seiden¹⁵
 to hym, Sitte thou, and rede these thingis
 in oure eeris; and Baruc redde in the
 eeris of hem. Therfor whanne thei had-¹⁶
 den herd alle the wordis, thei wondriden
 ech man to his neizbore, and thei seiden
 to Baruc, Owen we to telle to the kyng
 alle these wordis? And thei axiden hym,¹⁷
 and seiden, Schewe thou to vs, hou thou
 hast write alle these wordis of his mouth.
 Forsothe Baruc seide to hem, Of his mouth¹⁸
 he spac, as redynge to me, alle these
 wordis; and Y wroot in a book with enke.
 And alle the princes seiden to Baruc, Go,¹⁹
 be thou hid, thou and Jeremye; and no
 man wite where 3e ben. And thei en-²⁰
 triden to the kyng, in to the halle; for-
 sothe thei bitoken the book to be kept in
 to the treserie of Elisame, the scryuen.
 And thei telden alle the wordis, in audi-
 ence of the kyng. Therfor the kyng sente²¹
 Judi, that he schulde take the book.
 Which took the book fro the treserie of
 Elysame, the scryuen, and redde in audi-
 ence of the kyng, and of^s alle the princes,
 that stoden aboute the kyng. Forsothe²²
 the kyng sat in the wyntir hous, in the
 nynthe monethe; and a panne ful of coolis
 was set bifore hym. And whanne Judi²³
 hadde red thre pagyns^t, ethir foure, he
 kittide it with the knyf of a scryueyn,
 and castide in to the fier, 'that was^u in^v
 the panne, til al the book was wastid bi

^e Om. AGHK. ^f Om. AEGHK. ^g Telle we owen E pr. m. ^h Om. E pr. m. ⁱ Om. c et E pr. m.
^k pagentis E pr. m. ^l vp on E pr. m. ^m kutte not c pr. m.

^s Om. N. ^t pagyn c pr. m. F pr. m. H. ^u Om. s: ^v on CEF GHIKMN PQ RUVX. of s.

the king and alleⁿ his seruauns, that
 25 herden alle these wrdus. Nerthelater El-
 nathan, and Alaias, and Gamarie with-
 seiden to the king, lest he shulde brenne
 26 the boc; and he herde not hem. And
 the king comaundide to Jeremyel, sone
 of Amalech, and to Saraie, sone of Es-
 reel, and to Selemye, sone of Abdehel,
 that thei schulden take Baruch, scribe,
 and Jeremye, the profete; forsothe the
 27 Lord hidde them. And don is the wrd
 of the Lord to Jeremye, the profete, after
 that the king hadde brent the volum and
 the wrdus, that Baruch hadde write of the
 28 mouth of Jeremye, seiende, Eft tac an
 other volum, and writ in it alle the ra-
 there wrdus, that weren in the first vo-
 lum, the whiche brende Joachym, king of
 29 Juda. And to Joachym, king of Juda,
 thou shalt sey, These thingus seith the
 Lord, Thou hast brent this volum, se-
 ynde, Whi hast thou writen in it, tellende,
 Hastif shal come the king of Babiloyne,
 and waste this lond, and to cesen shal
 30 make of it man and beste? Therfor these
 thingus seith the Lord azen Joachym,
 king of Juda, Ther shal not be 'of hym^o,
 that sitte vpon the see of Daud; and his
 careyn shal be cast forth at the hete bi
 the dai, and at the frost bi the nyzt.
 31 And Y shal visite azen hym, and azen
 his sed, and azen his seruauns, 'ther
 wickednesses^p. And Y shal bringe vpon
 hem, and vpon the dwelleres of Jerusa-
 lem, and vp on the men of Juda, al the
 yuel that Y spac to them, and thei
 32 herden not. Jeremye forsothe toc an
 other volum, and 3af it to Baruch, sone
 of Neri, scribe, that wrot in it of the
 mouth of Jeremye alle the wrdus of the
 boc, whiche Joachym, king of Juda,
 hadde brent with fyr; and ferthermor
 added ben wrdus many mo than befor
 weren.

the fier, that was on^w the panne. And 24
 the kyng and alle hise seruauntis, that
 herden alle these wordis, dredden not, ne-
 thir to-renten her clothis. Netheles El-25
 nathan, and Dalaie, and Gamarie azen-
 seiden, the kyng, that he schulde not
 brenne the book; and he herde not hem.
 And the kyng comaundide to Jeremyel, 26
 sone of Amalech, and to Saraie, sone of
 Esreel, and to Selemye, sone of Abdehel,
 that thei schulden take Baruc, the writer,
 and Jeremye, the profete; forsothe the
 Lord hidde hem. And the word of the 27
 Lord was maad to Jeremye, the profete,
 aftir that the kyng hadde brent the book
 and wordis, whiche Baruc hadde write
 of Jeremyes mouth; and he seid, Eft take 28
 thou another book, and write therynne
 alle the former wordis, that weren in the
 firste book, which Joachym, the kyng of
 Juda, brente. And thou schalt sie to 29
 Joachym, kyng^x of Juda, The Lord seith
 these thingis, Thou brentist that book,
 and seidist, What hast thou write ther-
 ynnne, tellynge, The kyng of Babiloyne
 schal come hastyng, and schal distrie this
 lond, and schal make man and beeste to
 ceesse therof? Therfor the Lord seith 30
 these thingis azens Joachym, king of Juda,
 Noon schal^y be of hym, that schal sitte on
 the seete of Daud; and his careyn schal
 be cast forth to the heete bi dai, and to
 the forst bi nizt. And Y schal visite azens 31
 hym, and azens his seed, and azens hise
 seruauntis, her wickidnessis. And Y schal
 bryng on hem, and on the dwelleris of
 Jerusalem, and on the men of Juda, al
 the yuel which Y spac to hem, and thei
 herden not. Forsothe Jeremye took an 32
 other book, and 3af it to Baruc, the writer,
 the sone of Nerie, which^z wroot therynne
 of Jeremyes mouth alle the wordis of the
 book, which *book* Joachym, the^a kyng of
 Juda, hadde brent bi fier; and ferther-
 more many mo wordis weren addid than
 weren bifore.

ⁿ Om. *E* *pr. m.* ^o in it *E* *pr. m.* ^p wickenesses *E.*

^w in CEFHGKMNPRQSUUVX. ^x the kyng *A pr. m.* ^y ther schal *I.* ^z the which *I.* ^a Om. *I.*

CAP. XXXVII.

1 And regnede king Sedechie, sone of Josie, for Jeconye, the sone of Joachym, whom Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, sette king in the lond of Juda.
 2 And obeshede not he, and his seruauns, and his puple of the lond, to the wrds of the Lord, that he spac in the hond of
 3 Jeremye, the profete. And king Sedechie sent Jothal, the sone of Selemye, and Sofone, sone of Maasie, prest, to Jeremye, the profete, seiende, Prei for vs the Lord
 4 oure God. Jeremye forsothe freeli ȝide in the myddel of the puple; forsothe thei hadden not put hym in to warde of prisoun. Thanne^a the ost of Farao wente out fro Egipt, and herende the Caldeis, that besegeden^r Jerusalem, such a maner
 5 messenger wenten awei fro Jerusalem. And don is the wrd of the Lord to Jeremye,
 6 the profete, seiende, These thingis seith the Lord God of Israel, Thus ȝee shul sei to the king of Juda, that sente ȝou to aske me, Lo! the ost of Farao, that is gon out to ȝou to^s helpe, shal turne aȝeen
 7 in to his lond, in to Egipt. And Caldeis shul turne aȝeen, and fȝiten aȝen this cite, and taken it, and brenne it vp with
 8 fyr. These thingis seith the Lord, Wil-eth not disceyue ȝoure soulus, seiende, Goende out Caldeis shul go awei, and turne aȝeen fro vs; for thei shul not gon
 9 awei. But and if ȝee shul smyte al the ost of Caldeis, that fȝiten aȝen ȝou, and 'shul be^t laft of them summe woundid, 'eche^u fro his tent shal rise, and
 10 brenne vp this cite with fyr. Thanne whan hadde gon away the ost of Caldeis fro Jerusalem, for the oost of Farao,
 11 wente out Jeremye fro Jerusalem, that he shulde go in to the lond of Beniamyn, and deuyde there possessioun in the sizte
 12 of the citeseynus. And whan he hadde comen to the ȝate of Beniamyn, was there the kepere of the ȝate bi whiles, bi

CAP. XXXVII.

And kyng Sedechie, the sone of Josie, 1 regnede for Jeconye, the sone of Joachym, whom Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, made kyng in the lond of Juda. And he, 2 and hise seruauntis, and his puple obeiden not to the wordis of the Lord, whiche he spac in the hond of Jeremye, the profete. And kyng Sedechie sente Jothal, 3 the sone of Selemye, and Sofonye, the preest, the sone of Maasie, to Jeremye, the profete, and seide, Preie thou for vs oure Lord God. Forsothe Jeremye ȝede 4 freli in the myddis of the puple; for thei hadden not sente hym in to the kepyng of the prisoun. Therfor the oost of Farao ȝede out of Egipt, and Caldeis, that bisegiden Jerusalem, herden sich a message, and ȝeden awei fro Jerusalem. And the word 5 of the Lord was maad to Jeremye, the profete, and seide, The Lord God of Israel 6 seith these thingis, Thus ȝe schulen sei to the kyng of Juda, that sente ȝou to axe me, Lo! the oost of Farao, which ȝede out to ȝou in to help, schal turne aȝen in to his lond, in to Egipt. And Caldeis 7 schulen come aȝen, and schulen^b fȝite aȝens this citee, and schulen take it, and schulen brenne it^c bi^d fier. The Lord seith these 8 thingis, Nyle ȝe disceyue ȝoure soulis, seiynge, Caldeis goynge schulen go away, and schulen departe fro vs; for thei schulen not go awei. But thouȝ ȝe sleen al 9 the oost of Caldeis, that fȝiten aȝens ȝou, and summe woundid men of hem be left, ech man schal rise fro his tente, and thei schulen brenne this citee bi^d fier. Therfor 10 whanne the oost of Caldeis hadde goon awei fro Jerusalem, for the oost of Farao, Jeremye ȝede out of Jerusalem, to go in 11 to the lond of Beniamyn, and to departe there the possessioun in the sizt of citeseyns. And whanne he was comun to the 12 ȝate of Beniamyn, ther was a kepere of the ȝate bi whiles, Jerie bi name, the sone

^a Therefore *E pr. m.* ^r hadde besegid *E pr. m.* ^s in to *AGHK.* ^t weren *E pr. m.* ^u and eche *C.*

^b thei schulen *I.* ^c Om. *CEFGHKMNPQRUVX.* ^d with *I.*

name Jerias, sone of Selemye, sone of Ananye, and toc Jeremye, the profete, 13 seiende, To the Caldeis thou fleest. And Jeremye answerde, It is fals; Y flee not to the Caldeis. And he herde hym not, but Jereias toc Jeremye, and broȝte 14 hym to the princes. For what thing wroth the princes aȝen Jeremye, beten putten hym in to prisoun, that was in the hous of Jonathe, scribe; he forsothe 15 was prouost vp on the prisoun. And so Jeremye wente in to the hous of the lake, and in to the hardere^v prisoun; 16 and Jeremye sat there manye dazes. And so king Sedechie sendende toc hym, and askede hym in his hous hidli, and seide, Wenest thou, whether ther is not a wrd 17 fro the Lord? And Jeremye seide, Ther is. And he seith, In the hond of the king of Babiloyne thou shalt be take. And Jeremye seide to^w Sedechie, the king, What haue Y synned to thee, and to thi seruauns, and to thi puple, for thou hast sent me in to the hous of the pri- 18 soun? Wher ben ȝoure profetus, that profecieden to ȝou, and seiden, The king of Babiloyne shal not come vpon vs, and 19 vpon this lond? Now thanne here thou, Y beseche, lord my king, vaile my preȝeres^x in thi siȝt, and ne sende thou me aȝen in to the hous of Jonathe, scribe, lest Y 20 die there. Thanne Sedechie comaundide, that Jeremye schulde be take in to the vesti-
 tiarie of the prisoun, and that ther schulde be ȝoue to hym a cake of bred eche dai, out take sowyl^y, to the tyme that schulde be wastid alle the loones of^z the cyte; and Jeremye bod in the vestiari-
 e of the prisoun.

CAP. XXXVIII.

1 Herden forsothe Safacie, sone of Nathan, and Jedelias, sone of Fassur, and Jochal, sone of Selemie, and Fassur, sone of Melchie, the wrdus that Jeremye spac 2 to al the puple, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord, Who so euere shal abide

of Selemye, sone of Ananye; and he took Jeremye, the prophete, and seide, Thou fleest to Caldeis. And Jeremye answeride, 13 It is fals; Y fle not to Caldeis. And he herde not Jeremye, but Jerie took Jeremye, and brouȝte hym to the princes. Wherfor the princes weren wrooth aȝens 14 Jeremye, and beeten^e hym, and senten hym in to the prisoun, that was in the hous of Jonathas, the scryuen; for he was souereyn on the prisoun. Therfor 15 Jeremye entride in to the hous of the lake, and in to the prisoun of trauel; and Jeremye sat there manye daies. Therfor 16 kyng Sedechie sente, and took hym awei, and axide hym priuyli in his hous, and seide, Gessist thou, whether a word is of the Lord? And Jeremye seide, Ther is. And Jeremye seide, Thou schalt be bitakun in to the hond of the kyng of Babiloyne. And^f Jeremye seide to Sedechie, 17 the kyng, What haue Y synned to thee, and to thi seruauntis, and to thi puple, for thou hast sent me in to the hous of prisoun? Where ben ȝoure profetis, that 18 profesieden to ȝou, and seiden, The king of Babiloyne schal not come on^g ȝou, and on this lond? Now therfor, my lord the 19 kyng, Y biseche, here thou, my preier be worth in thi siȝt, and sende thou not me aȝen in to the hous of Jonathas, the scryuen, lest Y die there. Therfor Sede- 20 chie comaundide, that Jeremye schulde be bitakun in to the porche of the prisoun, and that a cake of breed schulde be ȝouun to hym ech dai, outakun^h seew, til alleⁱ loones^k of the citee weren wastid; and Jeremye dwellide in the porche of the prisoun.

CAP. XXXVIII.

Forsothe Safacie, sone of Nathan, and 1 Jedelie, sone of Fassur, and Jothal, sone of Selemye, and Fassour, sone of Melchie, herden the wordis whiche Jeremye spac to al the puple, and seide^l, The Lord seith 2 these thingis, Who euer dwellith in this

^v hard κ. ^w Om. c. ^x lowe preyinge AEGHK. ^y the souwil E pr. m. ^z fro E pr. m.

^e thei beeten I. ^f And eft I. ^g to N. ^h withouten I. ⁱ Om. s. ^k the loones I. ^l seiynge I.

in this cite, shal die bi swerd, and hungur, and pestilence; who forsothe shal flee to the Caldeis, 'shal lyue^a, and his lif³ shal ben hoel and lyuyng. These thingus seith the Lord, To be take shal be take this cite in to the hond of the ost of the king of Babiloyne, and he shal taken it. ⁴ And the princes seiden to the king, Wee prezen, that be slayn this man; of purpos forsothe he looseth atwynne the hondus of the f3zteres, that han abide^b in the cite, and the hondus of al the puple, spekende to them alle these wrdus. Forsothe this man secheth not pes to this^c puple, but ⁵ euel. And king Sedechie seide, Lo! he in 3oure hondus is, ne forsothe leeful is the king any thing to 3ou to denye. ⁶ Thanne thei toke Jeremye, and threwen hym in to the lake of Elchie, sone of Amalech, that was in the vestiariē of the prisoun; and thei putte down Jeremye in cordis and^d in to the lake, in whiche was not water, but clei; and so Jeremye ⁷ descendide in to the foule cley. Forsothe Abdemelech Ethiopie, a man gelding, that was in the hous of the king, herde that thei hadden put Jeremye in to the lake; but the king sat in the 3ate of Beniamyn. ⁸ And Abdemelech wente out fro the hous of the king, and spac to the king, seiende, My lord king, euele han do these men alle thingus, what euer^e thei diden^e azen Jeremye, the profete, sendende hym in to the lake, that he die there for hungir; ther ben no mo loeues in the cite. ¹⁰ And so the king comaundide to Abde-
melech Etheope, seiende, Tac with thee hennus thretti men, and rere vp Jeremye, the profete, fro the lake, er he die. ¹¹ Thanne Abdemelech take to with hym men, wente in to the hous of the king, that was vnder the celer; and toke thennus olde clothis, and olde vestemens, that hadden rotid; and he putte down hem to Jeremye, in to the lake, bi litle ¹² cordis. And Abdemelech Ethiopie seide

citee, shal die bi swerd, and hungur, and pestilence; but he that flieth to Caldeis, shal lyue, and his soule schal be hool and lyuyng. The Lord seith these thingis, This³ citee to be bitakun schal be bitakun in to the hond of the oost of the kyng of Babiloyne, and he schal take it. And the princes seiden ⁴ to the kyng, We preien, that this man be slayn; for of bifore castyng he discourtith the hondis of men werriours, that dwelliden in this citee, and the hondis of al the puple, and^m spekith to hem bi alle these wordis. For whi this man sekith not pees to this puple, but yuel. And kyng ⁵ Sedechie seide, Lo! he is in 3oure hondis, for it is not leueful that the kyng denye ony thing to 3ou. Therfor thei token Je-⁶ remye, and castiden hym down in to the lake of Elchie, soneⁿ of Amalech, which was in the porche of the prisoun; and thei senten down Jeremye bi cordis in to the lake, wherynne was no watir, but fen; therfor Jeremye 3ede down in to the filthe. Forsothe Abdemelech Ethiopien, ⁷ a chast man and oneste, herde, that was in the kyngis hous, that thei hadden sent Jeremye in to the lake; sotheli the king sat in the 3ate of Beniamyn. And Abde-⁸ malech 3ede out of the kyngis hous, and spac to the kyng, and seide, My lord the ⁹ kyng, these men diden yuele alle thingis, what euer thingis thei diden azens Jeremye, the profete, sendyng hym in to the lake, that he die there for hungur; for whi loeues ben no more in the citee. Therfor the kyng comaundide to Abde-¹⁰ melech Ethiopien, and seide, Take with thee thretti men fro hennus, and reise thou Jeremye, the profete, fro the lake, bifer that he die. Therfor whanne Abde-¹¹ melech hadde take men with hym, he entride in to the hous of the kyng, that was vndur the celer; and he took fro thennus elde clothis, and elde ragges, that weren rotun; and he sente tho^o down to Jeremye, in to the lake, bi cordis. And ¹²

^a Om. E pr. m. ^b laft E pr. m. ^c thi E pr. m. ^d Om. A. ^e greitheden E pr. m.

^m and he I. ⁿ the sone I. ^o hem N.

to Jeremye, Put the olde clothis, and these kut and roten vnder the arm of thin hondus, and vp on the cordis. Thanne
 13 Jeremye dide so. And thei drowen out Jeremye with cordus, and brozten hym out fro the lake. Jeremye forsothe abod
 14 in the vestiariē of the prisoun. And king Sedechie sente, and toc to hym Jeremye, the profete, at the thridde dore that was in the hous of the Lord. And the king seide to Jeremye, Y aske thee a wrd; ne
 15 hide thou fro me any thing. Jeremye forsothe seide to Sedechie, If Y shal tellen to thee, whether thou shalt not^f slen me? And yf Y schul 3yue counseil to thee, thou shalt not here me.
 16 Thanne king Sedechie swor to Jeremye, priuylly seiende, The Lord lyueth, that dide to vs this^g lyf, Y shal not slee thee, and Y^h shal not take thee in to the hondus of these men, that sechen thi lif.
 17 And Jeremye seide to Sedechie, These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, If gon forth thou shalt gon out to the princes of the king of Babiloyne, lyue shal thi soule, and this cite shal not be brend vp with fyr, and saaf thou shalt
 18 be, and thin hous. If forsothe thou shalt not gon out to the princes of the^{hh} king of Babiloyne, take shal be this cite in to the hondus of Caldeis; and thei shul brenne it vp with fyr, and thou shalt not scape
 19 fro the hond of them. And king Sedechie seide to Jeremye, I am bisy for the Jewes that ouerfloun to the Caldeis, lest par auenture Y be take inⁱ to the hondus
 20 of hem, and thei bobbe to me. Answerende forsothe Jeremye seide to hym, Thei shul not take thee; here, Y beseche, the vois of the Lord, that Y shal speke to thee, and weel shal be to thee, and lyue
 21 shal thi soule. That if thou wilt not go out, this is the wrd that shewede to me
 22 the Lord, Lo! alle the wymmen, that abiden in the hous of the king of Juda, shul be brozt out to the princes of the king of Babiloyne; and thei shul sey, Han bigilid thee, and hadden the mais-

Abdemelech Ethiopien seide to Jeremye, Putte thou elde clothis, and these to-rent and rotun thingis vndur the cubit of thin hondis, and on the cordis. Therfor Jeremye dide so. And thei drowen out Jere-
 13 mye with cordis, and ledden hym out of the lake. Forsothe Jeremye dwellide in the porche of the prisoun. And kyng¹⁴ Sedechie sente, and took hym Jeremye, the profete, at the thridde dore that was in the hous of the Lord. And the kyng seide to Jeremye, Y axe of thee a word; hide thou not ony thing fro me. Forsothe¹⁵ Jeremye seide to Sedechie, If Y telle to thee, whether thou schalt not sle me? And if Y 3yue counsel to thee, thou schalt not here me. Therfor Sedechie the king¹⁶ swoor to Jeremye priuely, and seide, The Lord lyueth, that maad to vs this soule, Y schal not sle thee, and Y schal not bi- take thee in to the hondis of these men, that seken thi lijf. And Jeremye seide¹⁷ to Sedechie, The Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, If thou goest forth, and goest out to the princes of the kyng of Babiloyne, thi soule schal lyue, and this citee schal not be brent with fier, and thou schalt be saaf, thou and thin hous. Forsothe if thou goest not out to¹⁸ the princes of the kyng of Babiloyne, this citee schal be bitakun in to the hondis of Caldeis; and thei schulen brenne it with fier, and thou schalt not ascape fro the hond of hem. And kyng Sedechie seide to Jeremye,¹⁹ Yam angwischid for the Jewis that fledden ouer to Caldeis, lest perauenture Y be bitakun in to the hondis of hem, and thei scorne me. Forsothe Jeremye answeride,²⁰ and seide to hym, Thei schulen not bitake thee; Y biseche, here thou the vois of the Lord, which Y schal speke to thee, and it schal be wel to thee, and thi soule schal lyue. That if thou wolt not go out, this is the word²¹ which the Lord schewide to me, Lo! alle²² the wymmen, that weren left in the hous of the kyng of Juda, schulen be led out to the princes of the kyng of Babiloyne; and tho wymmen schulen seie, Thi pesible men

^f Om. E pr. m. ^g Om. c pr. m. ^h Om. E pr. m. ^{hh} thi c. ⁱ Om. E pr. m.

tri azen thee thi pesible men; thei han drenchid thee down in the myre, and in the sledery thing thi feet, and thei wenten
 23 awei fro thee. And alle thi wyues and thi sonus shul be lad out to the Caldeis, and thou shalt not scape the hondus of hem; but in to the hondus of the king of Babiloyne thou shalt be take, and this cite
 24 thei shul 'to-brenne^k with fyr. Thanne Sedechie seide to Jeremye, No man wite
 25 these wrdus, and thou shalt not die. If forsothe heren shul the princes, for^l Y haue^m spoke with thee, and thei shul come to thee, and sei to thee, Shewⁿ to vs what thou hast spoke with the king, ne hile thou vs, and wee shul not sle thee; and what spac with thee the king,
 26 thou shalt sei to them, I haue^o throwe doun my prezeres befor the king, lest he comaundede^p me to be broȝt aȝeen in to the hous of Jonathan, and there Y shulde
 27 die. Camen thanne alle the princes to Jeremye, and askeden hym; and he spac to them after alle the wrdus that the king hadde comaundid to hym, and thei ceseden fro hym; no thing forsothe was
 28 herd. Thanne Jeremye abod in the vestiariarie of the prisoun, vnto the dai that taken is Jerusalem; and don it is, that Jerusalem shulde ben taken.

CAP. XXXIX.

1 The nynthe ȝer of Sedechie, king of Jude, the tenthe moneth, cam Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, and al his ost to Jerusalem, and thei beseġeden it.
 2 The elleuenthe ȝer forsothe of Sedechie, the ferthe moneth, the fiftē dai of the
 3 moneth, opened is the cite; and wenten in alle the princes of the king of Babiloyne, and seeten in the myddel ȝate, Neregel, Fererer, Semegar, Nabusarrachym, Rapsaces, Neregel, Ferezer, Rebynag, and alle the othere^q princes of the
 4 king of Babiloyne. And whan hadde seen hem Sedechie, king of Juda, and

disseyueden thee, and hadden the maistrye aȝens thee; thei drenchiden thee in filthe, and thi feet in slidirnesse, and ȝeden awei fro thee. And alle thi wyues and thi²³ sones schulen be led out to Caldeis, and thou schalt not ascape the hondis of hem; but thou schalt be bitakun in to the hondis of the kyng of Babiloyne, and he schal brenne this citee bi^p fier. Therfore Sede-
 24 chie seide to Jeremye, No man wite these wordis, and thou schalt not die. Sotheli²⁵ if the princes heren, that Y spak with thee, and comen^a to thee, and seien to thee, Schewe thou to vs what thou spak-est with the kyng, hide thou not fro vs, and we schulen not sle thee; and what the kyng spak with thee, thou schalt sei to²⁶ hem, Knelyngli Y puttide^r forth my preiris bifore the kyng, that he schulde not comaunde me to be led aȝeen in to the hous of Jonathan, and Y schulde die there. Therfor alle the princes camen to Jere-
 27 mye, and axiden hym; and he spak to hem bi alle the wordis whiche the kyng hadde comaundid to hym, and thei ceessiden fro hym; for whi no thing was herd. Therfor Jeremye dwellide in the porche²⁸ of the prisoun, til to the dai wherynne^s Jerusalem was takun; and it was don, that Jerusalem schulde be takun.

CAP. XXXIX.

In the nynthe ȝeer of Sedechie, kyng¹ of Juda, in the tenthe monethe, Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, and al his oost cam to Jerusalem, and thei bisegiden it. Forsothe in the enleuenthe ȝeer of² Sedechie, in the fourthe monethe, in the fyuethe day of the monethe, the citee was opened; and alle the princes of the kyng³ of Babiloyne entriden, and saten in the myddil ȝate, Veregel, Fererer, Semegar, Nabusarrachym, Rapsaces, Neregel, Sere-ser, Rebynag, and alle othere princes of the kyng of Babiloyne. And whanne Sede-
 4 chie, the kyng of Juda, and alle the men

^k brenne c *pr. m. GK.* ^l that *AK.* ^m ha *K.* ⁿ Shew thou *A.* ^o ha *K.* ^p comaunde *E pr. m.* ^q tothere *AECHK.*

^r with *I.* ^s thei comen *I.* ^t settide *CEFGHIKMNQRSUYX.* ^s in whiche *I.*

alle the men fȳteres floun^r, and wenten
out the nyȳt fro the cite, bi the weie of
the gardyn of the king, and bi the ȳate
that was betwe^s two wallis; and thei
5 wenten out to^t the weie of desert. For-
sothe pursuede them the ost of Caldeis,
and toke Sedechye in the feld of wilder-
nesse of the kuntre of Jerichon; and
taken thei broȳten to Nabugodonosor,
king of Babiloyne, in to Reblatha, that
is in the lond of Emath; and he spac to
6 hym domes. And the king of Babiloyne
sloȳ the sonus of Sedechie in Reblatha,
in his eȳen; and alle the noble men of
7 Juda sloȳ the king of Babiloyne. Also
the eȳen of Sedechie he pullide out, and
bond hym in gyues, that he shulde be
8 ladde in to Babiloyne. The hous also
of the king and the hous of the comun
brenden vp the Caldeis with fyr, and the
wal of Jerusalem thei turneden vpso-
9 doun. And the remnaunt of the puple,
that abiden in the cite, and the ferr floun,
that hadden ouerfloun to hym, and the
wast of the comun, that hadde abiden,
Nabusardan, maister of knyȳtes, translat-
10 ede in to Babiloyne. And of the folc of
pore men, that no thing vnnethe hadde,
Nabusardan, the maister of knyȳtus, lafte
in the lond of Juda, and ȳaf to them
11 vynes^u and cesterne in that dai. For-
sothe Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne,
of Jeremye hadde comaundid to Nabu-
sardan, maister of the chyualrie, seiende,
12 Tac hym, and put vp on hym thin eȳen,
and no thing of euel to hym do thou;
but as he shal wiln, so do thou to hym.
13 Sente thanne Nabusardan, prince of the
chyualrie, and Lesban, and Rapsaces, and
Meregel, and Seresel, and Rebynag, and
alle the beste of the king of Babiloyne,
14 senten, and toke Jeremye fro the ves-
tiarie of the prisoun, and token hym to
Godolie, sone of Aicham, sone of Safan,
that he shulde gon in to the hous, and
15 dwelle in the puple. To Jeremye for-

werriouris hadden seien hem, thei fledden,
and ȳeden out bi nyȳt fro the citee, bi the
weie of the gardyn of the kyng, and bi
the ȳate that was bitwixe twei wallis;
and thei ȳeden out to the weie of desert.
Forsothe the oost of Caldeis pursueden^s
hem, and thei token Sedechie in the feeld
of wildirnesse of Jericho; and thei token
hym, and broȳten to Nabugodonosor,
kyng of Babiloyne, in Reblatha, which is
in the lond of Emath; and *Nabugodo-*
nosor spak domes to^t hym. And the kyng⁶
of Babiloyne killide the sonus of Sedechye
in Reblatha, bifor hise iȳen; and the kyng
of Babyloyne killide alle the noble men of
Juda. Also he puttide out the iȳen of⁷
Sedechie, and boond hym in feteris, that
he schulde be led in to Babiloyne. And⁸
Caldeis brenten with fier the hous of the
kyng, and the hous of the comun puple,
and distrieden^u the wal of Jerusalem.
And Nabusardan, the maister of knyȳtis,⁹
translatide in to Babiloyne the residues of
the puple, that dwelliden in the citee, and
the fleeris awei, that hadden fled ouer to
hym, and the superflue men of the comyn
puple, that weren left. And Nabusardan,¹⁰
the maistir of knyȳtis, lefte in the lond of
Juda, of the puple of pore men, and ȳaf
to hem vyneris and cisternes in that dai.
Forsothe Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babi-¹¹
loyne, hadde comaundid of Jeremye to
Nabusardan, maister of chyualrie^v, and
seide, Take thou him, and sette thin iȳen¹²
on hym, and do thou no thing of yuel to
him; but as he wole, so do thou to hym.
Therfor Nabusardan, the prynce of chy-¹³
ualrie, sente Nabu, and Lesban, and Rap-
saces, and Veregel, and Sereser, and Re-
bynag, and alle the principal men of the
kyng of Babiloyne, senten, and token Je-¹⁴
remye fro the porche of the prisoun, and
bitokun^w hym to Godolie, the sone of
Aicham, sone of Saphan, that he schulde
entre in to the hous, and dwelle among
the puple. Forsothe the word of the Lord¹⁵

^r thei flounen *A.* ^s between *celeri passim.* ^t bi *CE pr. m.* ^u vyne ȳerdis *E sec. m.*

^t with *I.* ^u thei distrieden *I.* ^v the chyualrie *I.* ^w thei bitokun *I.*

sothe don is the wrd of the Lord, whan he was closid in the vestiariē of the prisoun, seiende, Go, and sey to Abdemelech Ethiopie, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Lo! Y shal bringe in my wrdus vp on this cite in to euel, and not in to good; and thei shul be in thi sizt in that dai. And Y shal delyuere thee in that dai, seith the Lord, and thou shalt not be take in to the hondus of the men, that thou dredist; but delyuerende Y shal delyuere thee, and bi swerd thou shalt not falle; but shal ben to thee thi soule in to helthe, for in me thou haddest trost, seith the Lord.

CAP. XL.

1 The wrd that ys maade^v to Jeremye fro the Lord, aftir that he is laft of Nabusardan, maister of the chyualrie, fro^w Rama, whan he toc hym bounde with cheynes, in the myddel of alle that passeden fro Jerusalem, and fro Juda, and thei weren lad in to Babiloyne. Thanne the prince of the chyualrie, takende Jeremye, seiende to hym, The Lord thi God spac this euel vp on this place, and the Lord broȝte to, and dide, as he spac; for ȝee synneden to the Lord, and herden not the voys of hym, and don is to ȝou this wrd. Now thanne lo! Y haue loosid thee to dai of the cheynes that ben in thin hondis; yf it plesē to thee that thou come with me in to Babiloyne, cum, and Y shal putte myn eȝen^x vp on thee; yf forsothe it displesē to thee to come with me in to Babiloyne, sit stille heer; lo! al the lond in thi sizte is, that thou shalt cheese, and whider shal plesē to thee that thou go, thider go, and with me wile thou not come. But dwel anent Godoliam, sone of Aicham, sone of Safan, whom beforsette the king of Babyloyne to the cites of Juda; dwel therfore with hym in the myddel of the puple, or whider euer it

was maad to Jeremye, whanne he was closid in the porche of the prisoun, and seiende, Go thou, and seiē to Abdemelech Ethiopien, and speke thou, The Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal brynge my wordis on this citee in to yuel, and not in to good; and tho schulen be in thi sizt in that dai. And Y schal delyuere thee in that day, seith the Lord, and thou schalt not be bitakun in to the hondis of men, whiche thou dreddist; but Y delyuerynge schal delyuere thee, and thou schalt not falle doun bi swerd; but thi soule schal be in to helthe to thee, for thou haddist trist in me, seith the Lord.

CAP. XL.

The word that was maad of the Lord to Jeremye, aftir that he was delyuered of Nabusardan, maister of chyualrie^x, fro Rama, whanne he took hym boundun with chaynes, in the myddis of alle men that passiden fro Jerusalem, and fro Juda, and weren led in to Babyloyne. Therfor the prince of chyualrie^x took Jeremye, and seiende to hym, Thi Lord God spak this yuel on this place, and the Lord hath brouȝt, and hath do, as he spak; for ȝe synneden to the Lord, and herden not the voys of hym, and this word is doon to ȝou. Now therfor lo! Y haue releessid thee to dai fro the chaynes that ben in thin hondis; if it plesith thee to come with me in to Babiloyne, come thou, and Y schal sette myn iȝen on thee; sotheli if it displesith thee to come with me in to Babiloyne, sitte thou here; lo! al the lond is in thi sizt, that that thou chesist, and whidur it plesith thee to go, thidur go thou, and nyle thou come with me. But dwelle thou with Godolie, sone of Aicham, sone of Saphan, whom the kyng of Babiloyne made souereyn to the citees of Juda; therfor dwelle thou with hym in the myddis of the puple, ether go thou,

^v do C et E pr. m. ^w of E pr. m. ^x eye A.

^x the chyualrie i.

shal plesse to thee that thou go, go. The maister of the chyualrie 3af also to hym metus, and litil 3iftus, and lafte hym. 6 Jeremye forsothe cam to Godolie, sone of Aicham, in to Masfa, and dwelte with hym, in the myddel of the puple that 7 was laft in the lond. And whan herd hadden alle the princes of the ost, that weren scatered bi regiownus, thei and ther felawis, that the king of Babiloyne hadde bifor maad Godolie, sone of Aicham, to the lond, and that hadde bitake^x to hym men, and wymmen, and litil childer, and of the pore men of the lond, that weren not translatid in to Babiloyne, 8 camen to Godolie in to Masfa; and Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, and Johannan, the sone of Caraie, and Jonathan, and Sareas, the sone of Thenoemeth, and the sonus of Offi, that weren of Nethofati, and^y Jeconye, the sone of Mechat, and 9 thei and the men of hem. And swor to them Godolie, the sone of Aicham, sone of Safan, and to the felawes of hem, seiende, Wileth not drede to serue to the Caldeis; dwelleth in the lond, and serueth to the king of Babiloyne, and weel shal be to 10 3ou. Lo! Y dwelle in Masfath, that Y answeere to the heste of the Caldeis, that ben sent to vs; 3ee forsothe gedereth vyndage, and rep, and oile, and leith vp in 3oure vesselis, and dwelleth in 3oure cites 11 that 3ee holden. But and alle the^z Jewis, that weren in Moab, and in the sonus of Amon, and in Ydume, and in alle the regiouns, herd that the king of Babiloyne hadde 3oue the remnaunt in Jewerie, and that he hadde mad prouost vp on hem Godoliam, sone of Aicham, sone of Safan, 12 turneden a3een forsothe alle the Jewis of all the places, to whiche thei hadde floun, and camen to the lond of Juda, to Godolie in to Masfath, and gedereden wyn 13 and rep ful myche. Johanna forsothe, the sone of Charaie, and alle the princes of the ost, that weren scatered in the re-

whidir euer it plesith thee to go. And the maister of chyualrie 3af to hym metis, and 3iftis, and lefte hym. Forsothe Jere- 6 mye cam to Godolie, sone of Aicham, in to Masphat, and dwellide with hym, in the myddis of the puple that was left in the lond. And whanne alle princes of the 7 oost hadden herd, that weren scatered bi cuntreis, thei and the felowis of hem, that the kyng of Babiloyne hadde maad Godolie souereyn of the lond, the sone of Aicham, and that he hadde bitake to Godolie men, and wymmen, and litle children, and of^y pore men of the lond, that weren not translatid in to Babiloyne, thei camen 8 to Godolie in Masphat; and Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, and Johannan, the sone of Caree, and Jonathan, and Sareas, the sone of Tenoemeth, and the sonus of Offi, that weren of Nethophati, and Jeconye, the sone of Machati; bothe thei and her men *camen to Godolie*. And Godolie, 9 sone^x of Aicham, sone of Saphan, swoor to hem, and to the felowis of hem, and seide, Nyle 3e drede to serue Caldeis; but dwelle 3e in the lond, and serue 3e the kyng of Babiloyne, and it schal be wel to 3ou. Lo! Y dwelle in Mesphath, for to 10 answeere to the comaundement of Caldeis, that ben sent to vs; forsothe gadere 3e vyndage, and ripe corn, and oile, and kepe 3e in 3oure vessels, and dwelle 3e in 3oure citees whiche 3e holden. But also alle the 11 Jewis, that weren in Moab, and in the oostis of Amon, and in Ydumee, and in alle the cuntreis, whanne it is herd, that the kyng of Babiloyne hadde 3one residues, *ether remenauntis*, in Judee, and that he hadde maad souereyn on hem Godolie, the sone of Aicham, sone of Saphan, sotheli alle Jewis turneden a3en fro alle 12 places, to whiche thei hadden fled; and thei camen in to the lond of Juda, to Godolie in Masphat, and gaderiden wyn and ripe corn ful myche. Forsothe Johanna, 13 the sone of Caree, and alle the princes of

^x be take K. ^y Om. K. ^z Om. CE pr. m.

^y the I. ^z the sone CFHIKMNQSUVX.

giouns, camen to Godolie in to Masfa,
 14 and seiden to hym, Wite thou, for Bahalis,
 king of the sonus of Amon, sente Ysmael,
 the sone of Nathanye, to smyte thi lif.
 And Godolie, sone^a of Aicham, trowede
 15 not to them. Johannan forsothe, sone^a
 of Chare, seide to Godolie, aside in Mas-
 fath spekende, I shal go, and smyte Is-
 mael, the sone of^b Nathanye, no man
 witende, lest he sle thi lif, and be scatered
 alle the Jewes, that ben gedered to thee,
 and pershe shul the^c relikes of Juda.
 16 And Godolie, the sone of Aicham, seith
 to Johannan, the sone of Chare, Wile
 thou not do this wrd, fals forsothe thou
 spekist of Ismael.

CAP. XLI.

1 And don is in the seuenthe moneth,
 cam Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, sone
 of Elisame, of the kingus sed, and the
 beste men of the king, and ten men
 with hym, to Godolie, sone of Aicham,
 in Masfa; and thei eete there loeues^{to}
 2 gydere^d in Masfa. Rysen forsothe Is-
 mael, the sone of Nathanye, and the ten
 men that with hym weren, and smyten
 Godolie, the sone of Aicham, sone of Sa-
 fan, with swerd, and slown hym, whom
 bifore hadde mad the king of Babiloyne
 3 to the lond. Also alle the Jewis that
 weren with Godolie in Masfa, and the
 Caldeis, that ben founde there, and the
 4 men fizteres, Ismael smot. The secounde
 forsothe dai, after that he hadde slayn
 5 Godolie, no man zit witende, camen men
 of Sichym, and of Silo, and of Samarie,
 eizteti^e men, shauen the berd, and the
 clothis kut, and defoulid; ziftus and en-
 cens hadden in the hond, that thei shul-
 6 den offre in the hous of the Lord. Gon
 out thanne Ismael, the sone of Natanye,
 in to azen comyng to them fro Masfath,
 goende and wepende wente. Whan for-
 sothe he hadde azen come to them, he

the oost, that weren scaterid in the cun-
 treis, camen to Godolie in Masphath, and 14
 seiden to hym, Wite thou, that Bahalis,
 kyng of the sonus of Amon, hath sent
 Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, to smyte
 thi lijf. And Godolie, the sone of Aicham,
 bileuyde not to hem. Forsothe Johannan, 15
 the sone of Caree, seide to Godolie asidis
 half in Masphath, and spak, Y schal go,
 and sle Ismael, the sone of Nathanye,
 while no man knowith, lest he sle thi lijf,
 and alle the Jewis ben scatered, that ben
 gaderid to thee, and the remenauntis of
 Juda schulen perische. And Godolie, the 16
 sone of Aicham, seide to Johannan, the
 sone of Caree, Nyle thou do this word,
 for thou spekist fals of Ismael.

CAP. XLI.

And it was don in the seuenthe monethe, 1
 Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, sone of Eli-
 sama, of the kingis seed, and the principal
 men of the kyng, and ten men with hym,
 camen to Godolie, the sone of Aicham, in
 Masphath; and thei eeten there looues to-
 gidere in Masphath. Forsothe Ismael, the 2
 sone of Nathanye, and the ten men that
 weren with hym, risiden^a vp, and killiden
 bi^b swerd Godolie, the sone of Aicham, sone
 of Saphan; and thei killiden hym, whom
 the kyng of Babiloyne hadde maad soue-
 reyn of the lond. Also Ismael killide alle 3
 the Jewis, that weren with Godolie in
 Masphath, and the Caldeis, that weren
 foundun there, and the men werriours.
 Forsothe in the secounde dai, aftir that 4
 he hadde slayn Godolie, while no man
 wiste zit, foure scoor men with schauen 5
 beardis, and to-rent clothis, and pale men,
 camen fro Sichem, and fro Silo, and fro
 Samarie; and thei hadden ziftis and en-
 cense in the hond, for to offre in the hous
 of the Lord. Therfor Ismael, the sone of 6
 Nathanye, zede out of Masphath in to the
 metyng of hem; and he zede goynge and
 wepyng. Sotheli whanne he hadde met

^a the sone E pr. m.
 eizteti E pr. m.

^b Om. E pr. m.

^c alle the E pr. m.

^d Om. c pr. m. gydere K.

^e and

^a resin E. risen P. resen L. ^b with I.

seide to them, Cometh to Godolie, sone
 7 of Aicham; the whiche whanne hadden
 comen to the myddel of the cite, sloo³
 hem Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, aboute
 the myddel of the lake, he and the men
 8 that weren with hym. Ten^f men for-
 sothe ben founden among hem, that seiden
 to Ismael, Wile thou not^g slen vs, for
 wee han tresor in the feld, of whete, and
 of barly, and of oile, and of hony. And
 he cesede, and sloo³ hem not with ther
 9 brethern. The lake forsothe in to whiche
 Ismael thre³ alle the careynus of the^h
 men, whom he smot for Godolie, it is
 whiche made Asa the king for Basa, the
 king of Irael; Ismaelⁱ, the sone of Nata-
 10 nye, fulfide it^k with slayn men. And
 Ismael brozte caitif alle the relakis of the
 puple, that weren in Masfath, the doz-
 tris of the king, and al the puple that
 abiden in Masfath, whom Nabusardan,
 prince of the chyualrie, hadde betake to
 Godolie, sone of Aicham. And Ismael,
 the sone of Nathanye, toc them, and
 wente awei, that he shulde go to the
 11 sonus of Amon. Herde forsothe Johanna,
 the sone of Carae, and alle the princes
 of fizteres, that weren with hym, al the
 euel that don hadde Ismael, the sone of
 12 Natanye. And taken to alle the men, thei
 wente forth, that thei schuld^l fizte azen
 Ismael, the sone of Natanye; and found-
 en^m hym at manye watris, that ben in
 13 Gabaon. And whan seen hadde al the
 puple, that was with Ismael, Johannan,
 sone^o of Carae, and al the princes of
 fizteres, that weren with hym, gladeden.
 14 And turned azeen is al the puple, that
 Ismael hadde taken in Masfath; and
 turned azeen, it zide awei to Johannan,
 15 the sone of Carae. Ismael forsothe, the
 sone of Nathanye, flei³ with ei³te men
 fro the face of Johanna, and zide awei
 16 to the sonus of Amon. Toc thanne Jo-
 hanna, the sone of Carae, and alle the
 princes fizteres, that weren with hym^p,

hem, he seide to hem, Come ze to Godolie,
 the sone of Aicham; and whanne thei⁷
 weren comun to the myddis of the citee,
 Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, killide hem
 aboute the myddis of the lake, he and
 the men that weren with hym *'killiden*
hem^e. But ten men weren foundun among⁸
 hem, that seiden to Ismael, Nyle thou sle
 vs, for we han tresour of wheete, and of
 barli, and of oile, and of hony, in the
 feeld. And he ceesside, and killide not
 hem with her britheren. Forsothe the⁹
 lake in to which Ismael castide forth alle
 the careyns of men, whiche he killide for
 Godolie, is thilke *lake*, which kyng Asa
 made for Baasa, the kyng of Israel; Is-
 mael, the sone of Nathanye, fillide that
lake with slayn men. And Ismael ledde¹⁰
 prisoneris alle the remenauntis of the pu-
 ple, that weren in Mesphath, the dou³tris
 of the kyng, and al the puple that dwell-
 iden in Masphath, whiche Nabusardan,
 the prince of chyualrie, hadde bitakun to
 kepyng to Godolie, the sone of Aicham.
 And Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, took
 hem, and zede to passe ouer to the sonus
 of Amon. Forsothe Johannan, the sone of¹¹
 Caree, and alle the princes of werriouris,
 that weren with hym, herden al the yuel,
 which Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, hadde
 do. And whanne thei hadden take alle¹²
 men, thei zeden forth to fizte azens Ismael,
 the sone of Nathanye; and thei foundun
 hym at the many watris, that ben in Ga-
 baon. And whanne al the puple, that was¹³
 with Ismael, hadden seyn Johannan, the
 sone of Caree, and alle the princes of wer-
 riouris, that weren with hym, thei weren
 glad. And al the puple, whom Ismael¹⁴
 hadde take in Masphath, turnede azen;
 and it turnede azen, and zede to Johannan,
 the sone of Caree. Forsothe Ismael, the¹⁵
 sone of Nathanye, fledde with ei³te men
 fro the face of Johannan, and zede to the
 sonus of Amon. Therfor Johannan, the^d
 sone of Caree, and alle the princes of wer-

^f The ten *E pr. m.* ^g Om. *c.* ^h Om. *E sec. m. AGHK.* ⁱ it fulfide Ismael *E pr. m.* ^k Om. *E pr. m.*
^l Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^m thei founden *E sec. m. K.* ^o the sone *E pr. m.* ^p Om. *E pr. m.*

^e Om. *I.* ^d Om. *N.*

al the remnaunt of the comun, that he hadde broȝt aȝeen fro Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, fro Masfa, aftir that he hadde smyte Godolie, sone^q of Aicham, stronge men to bataile, and wymmen, and childer, and geldingus, that he hadde broȝt
17 aȝeen fro Gabaon. And thei wenten awei, and seten pilgrimagende in Canaan, that is byside Bethlem, that thei shulde go,
18 and weende in to Egipt fro the face of Caldeis; forsothe thei dredden hem, for smyten hadde Ismael, sone^r of Natanye, Godolie, sone^r of Aicham, whom biforn hadde put the king of Babiloyne in the lond of Juda.

CAP. XLII.

1 And wenten nyȝ alle princes of fiȝteres, and Johanna, sone^s of Carae; and Jeconye, the sone of Josie, and the tother
2 comun, fro litil vnto myche; and seiden to Jeremye, the profete, Falle oure orisoun in thi siȝt, and preȝe thou for vs to the Lord thi God, for alle these remnauns; for wee ben laft fewe of manye,
3 as thin eȝen biholden vs; and telle to vs the Lord thi God the weie, bi whiche
4 wee go, and the wrd that wee do. Seide forsothe to them Jeremye, the profete, I haue herd; lo! Y preȝe to the Lord oure God, after alle ȝoure wrdus; eche wrd, what euere he shal answere to me, Y shal shewe to ȝou, ne Y shal hile ȝou
5 any thing. And thei seiden to Jeremye, Be the^t lord among vs witnesse of treuthe and of feith; and if not after eche wrd in whiche shal sende thee thi God to vs,
6 so wee shal do, whether good or euel. To the vois of the Lord oure God, to whom wee sende thee, wee shul obeshe, that wel be to vs, whan wee shul here the vois of
7 the Lord oure God. Whan forsothe fulfilled weren ten dazes, don is the wrd of
8 the Lord to Jeremye. And he clepide Johannan, the^u sone of Carae, and alle

riours, that weren with hym, token alle the remenauntis of the comyn puple, whiche thei brouȝten aȝen fro Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, *that weren* of Masphat, aftir that he killide Godolie, the sone of Aicham; *he took* strong men to batel, and wymmen, and children, and geldyngis, whiche he hadde brouȝt aȝen fro Gabaon. And thei ȝeden, and saten beynge pil-
17 gryms in Canaan, which is bisidis Bethleem, that thei schulden go, and entre in to Egipt fro the face of Caldeis; for thei
18 dredden thilke *Caldeis*, for Ismael, the sone of Nathanye, hadde slayn Godolie, the sone of Aicham, whom the kyng Nabugodonosor hadde maad souereyn in the lond of Juda.

CAP. XLII.

And alle the princes of werriours neȝ-
1 iden, and Johannan, the sone of Caree, and Jeconye, the sone of Josie, and the residue comyn puple, fro a litil man 'til to^e a^f greet man. And thei seiden to Jere-
2 mye, the profete, Oure preier falle in thi siȝt, and preie thou for vs to thi Lord God, for alle these remenauntis; for we ben left a fewe of manye, as thin iȝen biholden vs; and thi Lord God telle to vs the weie, bi
3 which we schulen go, and the word which we schulen do. Forsothe Jeremye, the
4 profete, seide to hem, Y haue herd; lo! Y preye to oure Lord God, bi ȝoure wordis; Y schal schewe to ȝou ech word, what euere word *the Lord* schal answere to me, ne-
5 ther Y schal hide any thing fro ȝou. And
6 thei seiden to Jeremye, The Lord be witnesse of treuthe and of feith bitwixe vs; if not bi ech word, in which thi Lord God schal sende thee to vs, so we schulen do, whether it be good ether yuel. We schulen
7 obeie to the vois of oure Lord God, to whom we senden thee, that it be wel to vs, whanne we han herd the vois of oure Lord God. Forsothe whanne ten daies
8 weren fillid, the word of the Lord was maad to Jeremye. And he clepide Johan-
8

^q the sone *E pr. m.* ^r the sone *E pr. m.* ^s the sone *E pr. m.* ^t Om. *c.* ^u Om. *AGHK.*

^e vnto *1.* to *RV.* ^f Om. *FHNQRSU.*

the princes of f3teres, that weren with hym, and al the puple fro the leste to 9 the meste; and seide to them, These thingus seith the Lord God of Irael, to whom 3ee han sente me, that Y shulde lei forth 3oure preieres in the sizt of 10 hym. If restende 3ee schulen^v abide in this lond, I shal bilde 3ou vp, and not destroyed; Y shal plaunte, and not pulle vp; now forsothe Y am plesid vpon the 11 euel that Y dide to 3ou. Wileth not drede fro the face of the king of Babiloyne, whom 3ee aferd^w dreden; wileth not dreden hym, seith the Lord, for with 3ou Y am, that Y make 3ou saf, and delyuere^x fro his hond. And Y shal 3yue to 3ou mercies, and han^y reuthe of 3ou, and to dwelle 3ou Y shal make in 3oure 13 lond. If forsothe 3ee shul sei, Wee shul not dwelle in this lond, ne wee shul here 14 the vois of the Lord oure God, seiende, Nai, but to the lond of Egipt wee shul go, where wee shul not see bataile, and noise of trumpe wee shul not heren, and hunger wee shul not suffre, and there 15 wee shul dwelle; for that now hereth the wrd of the Lord, 3ee remnaunt of Juda. These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, If 3ee shul^z sette 3oure face, that 3ee go in to Egipt, and 3ee shul gon 16 in, that there 3ee dwelle, swerd that 3ee drede shal there take 3ou in the lond of Egipt, and hunger for whiche 3ee be besy shal cleue to 3ou in Egipt; and there 17 3ee shul die. And alle the men that setteden ther face, that they go in to Egipt, and dwelle there, shul die with swerd, and hunger, and pestilence; no man of hem shal lefe, ne scape fro the face of the euel, that I shal bringe to vp on hem. 18 For these thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, As 3oten out is ^hmy woodnesse and^a myn indignacioun vp on the^b dwelleres of Jerusalem, so shal be 3oten out myn indignacioun vpon 3ou, whan

nan, the sone of Caree, and alle the princes of werriours, that weren with hym, and al the puple fro the leste 'til to^g the mooste; and he seide to hem, The Lord God of Is- 9 rael seith these thingis, to whom 3e senten me, that Y schulde mekeli sette forth 3oure preyeris in his sizt. If 3e resten, and 10 dwellen in this lond, Y schal bilde 3ou, and Y schal not distrie; Y schal plaunte, and Y schal not drawe out; for now Y am plesid on the yuel which Y dide to 3ou. Nyle 3e drede of the face of the kyng of 11 Babiloyne, whom 3e ^hthat ben^h ferdful^h, dreden; nyle 3e drede hym, seith the Lord, for Y am with 3ou, to make 3ou saaf, and to delyuere fro his hond. And Y schal 12 3yue mercies to 3ou, and Y schal haue merci on 3ou, and Y schal make 3ou dwelle in 3oure lond. Forsothe if 3e seien, We 13 schulen not dwelle in this lond, nether we schulen here the vois of oure Lord God, and seie, Nai, but we schulen go to the 14 lond of Egipt, where we schulen not se batel, and schulen not here the noise^k of trumpe, and we schulen not suffre hungur, and there we schulen dwelle; for this 15 thing, 3e remenauntis of Juda, here now the word of the Lord. The Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, If 3e setten 3oure face, for to entre in to Egipt, and if 3e entren, to^l dwelle there, the swerd 16 whiche 3e dreden schal take 3ou there in the lond of Egipt, and the hungur for which 3e ben angwischid schal cleue to 3ou in Egipt; and there 3e schulen die. And alle^m the men that settiden her face, 17 toⁿ entre in to Egipt, and to dwelle there, schulen die bi swerd, and hungur, and pestilence; no man of hem schal dwelle stille, nether schal aschape fro the face of yuel, which Y schal brynge on hem. For 18 why the Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, As my strong veniaunce and myn indignacioun is wellid togidere on the dwelleris of Jerusalem, so myn indig-

^v Om. c *pr. m.* *E pr. m.* ^w ferd AGHK. ^x delyuere 3ou AK *sec. m.* ^y ha K. ^z 3ee shul not c *pr. m.*
^a Om. c. ^b alle the *E pr. m.*

^g vnto L. ^h Om. *plures.* ⁱ feerful P. ^k vois K *text sec. m.* *either soun K marg. sec. m.* ^l for to NV *pr. m.*
^m Om. L. ⁿ for to CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.

zee shul go in to Egypt; and zee shul
ben 'in to an oth of riȝt^c, and in to stone-
yng, and in to cursing, and in to repref;
19 and zee shul no more see this place. The
wrd of the Lord vp on ȝou, zee^d rem-
nauns of Juda; wileth not go in to
Egypt; witende zee shul wite, that aȝen-
20 witnessid Y haue to ȝou this day; for zee
han disceyued ȝoure soules, zee forsothe
han sente me to the Lord ȝoure God,
seiende, Preȝe thou for vs to the Lord
oure God, and after alle thingis what
euere shal sei to thee the Lord oure God,
21 so tel to vs, and wee shul don. And Y
haue^e told to ȝou to day, and zee han
not herde the vois of the Lord oure God,
vpon alle thingus for whiche he sente me
22 to ȝou. Now therfore witende zee shul
wite, for with swerd, and hunger, and
pestilence zee shul die, in the place to
whiche zee wolde go^f in, that zee dwelle
there.

CAP. XLIII.

1 Don is forsothe, whan fulfild hadde
Jeremye spekende to the puple alle the
wrdus of the Lord God of hem, for whiche
sente hadde hym the Lord God of hem
2 to them, alle these wrdis, seide Azarye,
sone of Josie, and Johanna, sone of Ca-
rae, and alle the proude men, seiende^g to
Jeremye, Lesing thou spekest; sente not
thee the Lord oure God, seiende, Ne go
zee^h in to Egypt, that zee dwelle there;
3 but Baruch, the sone of Neri, stireth
thee aȝen vs, that he take vs in the
hondus of Caldeis, that thei sle vs, and
4 makeⁱ to ben ouerlad into Babiloyne. And^k
herde not Johanna, sone^l of Carae, and
alle the princes of fizteres, and al the
puple, the vois of the Lord, that thei
5 shulden dwelle in the lond of Juda. But
takende Johanna, sone^m of Carae, and
alle the princes of fizteres, alle the men
of the remnauntis of Juda, that weren
turned aȝen fro alle Jentiles, to whiche
thei weren befor scatered, that thei shulde

nacioun schal be wellid togidere on ȝou,
whanne ȝe han entrid in to Egypt; and
ȝe schulen be in to sweryng, and in to
wondring, and in to cursyng, and in to
schenschiȝe; and ȝe schulen no more se
this place. The word of the Lord *is* on 19
ȝou, ȝe remenauntis of Juda; nyle ȝe entre
in to Egypt; ȝe witinge schulen wite, that
Y haue witnessid to ȝou to dai; for ȝe han 20
disceyued ȝoure soulis, for ȝe senten me to
ȝoure Lord God, and seiden, Preye thou
for vs to oure Lord God, and bi alle
thingis what euer thingis oure Lord schal
seie to thee, so telle thou to vs, and we
schulen do. And Y telde to ȝou to dai, 21
and ȝe herden not the vois of ȝoure Lord
God, on alle thingis for whiche he sente
me to ȝou. Now therfor ȝe witynge schu- 22
len wite, for ȝe schulen die bi swerd, and
hunger, and pestilence, in the place to
which ȝe wolden entre, to dwelle there.

CAP. XLIII.

Forsothe it was don, whanne Jeremye 1
spekinge to the puple hadde fillid alle the
wordis of the Lord God of hem, for whiche
the Lord God of hem sente hym to hem,
alle these wordis, Azarie, the sone of Josie, 2
seide, and Johanna, the sone of Caree, and
alle proude men, seiynge to Jeremye, Thou
spekist a^o leesyng; oure Lord God sente
not thee, and seide, Entre ȝe not in to
Egypt, to dwelle there; but Baruc, the 3
sone of Nerie, stirith thee aȝens vs, that
he bitake vs in the hondis of Caldeis, that
he sle vs, and make to be led ouer in to
Babiloyne. And Johanna, the sone of 4
Caree, and alle the princes of werriours,
and al the puple, herden not the vois of
the Lord, that thei dwellen^p in the lond of
Juda. But Johanna, the sone of Caree, 5
and alle the princes of werriours, token
alle of the remenauntis of Juda, that turn-
eden aȝen fro alle folkis, to whiche thei
weren scatered bifore, that thei schulden
dwelle in the lond of Juda; *thei token* 6

^c riȝt of oth *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^d Om. *CE pr. m.*
^h thou *A.* ⁱ Om. *E pr. m.* ^k make. And *E pr. m.*

^e ha *K.* ^f wiln gon *E pr. m.* ^g seiden *AGHK.*
^l the sone *E pr. m.* ^m the sone *AGHK.*

6 dwelle in the lond of Juda; men, and
wymmen, and lital childer, and the do3-
tris of the king, and eche soule, that laft
hadde Nabusardan, prince of the chyual-
rie, with Godolie, soneⁿ of Aicham, sone
of Safan; and toc Jeremye, the profete,
7 and Baruch, the sone of Neri, and wenten
in to the lond of Egipt; for thei obesh-
iden not to the vois of the Lord, and
8 camen 'in to^o Tapnys. Don is the wrd
of the Lord to Jeremye in Tapnys, sei-
9 ende, Tac to thee in thin hond grete
stones, and hyd hem in the caue, that is
vnder the tily wal, in the 3ate of the
hous of Farao, in Tapnys, byholdende the
10 men Jewis. And thou shalt sei to them,
These thingus seith the Lord of ostus,
God of Irael, Lo! Y shal sende, and take
Nabugodonor, king of Babiloyne, my
seruaunt, and setten his trone vp on
these stonus, that Y haue hid; and he shal
11 sette his see vp on hem. And comende
he shal smyte the lond of Egipt, whom
in deth in to deth, and^p whom in^q cai-
tifte in to caitifte, and whom in swerd
12 in to swerd. And he shal teende fyr
in the washing templis of the godus of
Egipt, and to-brenne them, and caitif he
shal lede them; and shal ben coouered
the lond of Egipt, as is coouered a shep-
herde with his mantil; and he shal gon
13 oute thennus in pes. And he shal alto-
brose the ymages of the hous of the
sunne, that ben in the lond of Egipt;
and the wassing templis of the godus of
Egipt he shal to-brenne with fyr.

CAP. XLIV.

1 The wrd that is do to Jeremye, and to
alle the Jewis, that dwellen^r in the lond
of Egipt, dwellende in Magdalo, and in
Tannys, and in Memphis, and in the
2 lond of Fatures, seiende, These thingus
seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, 3ee
han seen al thys eucl, that Y haue^s bro3t
vp on Jerusalem, and vp on alle the cites^t

men, and wymmen, and litle children, and
the dou3tris of the kyng, and ech persone,
whom Nabusardan, the prince of chyual-
rie, hadde left with Godolie, the sone of
Aicham, sone of Saphan. And thei token
Jeremye, the profete, and Baruc, the sone
of Nerie, and thei entriden in to the lond 7
of Egipt; for thei obeiden not to the vois
of the Lord, and thei camen 'til to^q Taph-
nys. And the word of the Lord was maad 8
to Jeremye in Taphnys, and seide, Take 9
in thin hond grete stoonys, and hide thou
tho in a denne, which is vndur the wal of
tiil stoon, in the 3ate of the hous of Farao,
in Taphnys, while alle Jewis^r seen^s. And 10
thou schalt sei to hem, The Lord of oostis,
God of Israel, seith these thingis, Lo! Y
shal sende, and Y schal take Nabugodo-
nosor, my seruaunt, the kyng of Babi-
loyne; and Y schal sette his trone on these
stonys, whiche Y hidde; and he schal
sette his seete on tho *stonys*. And he 11
shal come, and smyte the lond of Egipt,
whiche in deth in to deth, and whiche
in caitiftee in to caitiftee, and whiche in
swerd in to swerd. And he schal kindle 12
fier in the templis of goddis of Egipt, and
he schal brenne tho *templis*, and schal lede
hem prisoneris; and the lond of Egipt schal
be wlappid, as a scheep herd is wlappid in
his mentil; and he schal go out fro thennus
in pees. And he schal al to-breke the 13
ymagis of the hous of the sunne, that ben
in the lond of Egipt; and he schal brenne
in fier the templis of the goddis of Egipt.

CAP. XLIV.

The word that was maad to Jeremye, 1
and to alle the Jewis, that dwelliden in
the lond of Egipt, dwellinge in Magdalo,
and in Taphnys, and in Memphis, and in
the lond of Phatures, and seide, The Lord 2
of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
3e sien^t al this yuel, which Y brou3te on
Jerusalem, and on alle the citees of Juda;

ⁿ the sone *E pr. m.* ^o vn to *AGHK.* ^p Om. *K.* ^q in to *E.* ^r dwelled *E pr. m.* ^s ha *K.*
^t men *E pr. m.*

^q vnto *I.* ^r the Jewis *I.* ^s seen *it I.* ^t saugen *I passim.*

of Juda; and lo! thei ben desert to dai,
 3 and ther is not in hem a dwellere; for
 the malice that thei diden, that me to
 wrahte thei shulde terre, and gon, and
 sacrificen, and herien alien godus, that thei
 4 knewe not, and 3ee, 'and thei^u, and 3oure
 fadris. And Y sente to 3ou alle my ser-
 uauns and profetus, fro nyȝt risende^v, and
 sendende, and seiende, Wileth not do the
 5 wrd of this maner abhominacioun. And
 thei herden not, ne boweden in ther ere,
 that thei were conuertid fro ther eueles,
 6 and sacrificiden not to alien godis. And
 3ot^w out is myn indignacioun and wod-
 nesse, and tend vp it is in the cytes of
 Juda, and in the stretus of Jerusalem;
 and turned thei ben in to wilderness,
 7 and wastite, after this day. And now
 these thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God
 of Israel, Whi do 3ee^x this grete euel aȝen
 3oure soulus, that die of 3ou man and
 womman, litil child and soukende, fro
 the myddel of Jude, ne be laft to 3ou
 8 any thing residue, terrende me in the
 werkes of 3oure hondus, in sacrificiende to
 aliene godus in the lond of Egipt, in to
 whiche 3ee ben come, that 3ee dwelle
 there, and pershe, and be in to cursing,
 and in to repref to alle Jentilis of erthe?
 9 Whether 3ee han forȝete the euelis of
 3oure fadris, and the euelis of the kingus
 of Juda, and the euelis of the^v wyues of
 hem, and 3oure eueles, and the euelys of
 3oure wyues, that thei diden in the lond
 of Juda, and in the regiouns of Jerusa-
 10 lem? Thei ben not clensid vnto^z this
 day, and thei dredde not, and wente not
 in the lawe of the Lord, and in myn
 hestus, that Y 3af bifor 3ou, and bifor
 11 3oure fadris. Therfore these thingus seith
 the Lord of ostus, God of Israel, Lo! Y
 shal sette my face in 3ou in to euel,
 12 and destroȝen al Juda, and take the rem-
 nauns of Juda, that setteden ther faces,
 that thei shulden go in to the lond of
 Egipt, and dwelle there; and thei shul

and lo! tho ben forsakun to dai, and no
 dwellere is^u in tho^v; for the malice which³
 thei diden, to terre me to wrathfulnesse,
 and that thei ȝeden, and maden sacrifice,
 and worschipiden alien goddis, whiche
 thei knewen not, bothe 3e, and thei, and
 3oure fadris. And Y sente to 3ou alle my⁴
 seruauntis profetis; and Y roos bi nyȝte,
 and sente, and seide, Nyle 3e do the word
 of sich abhomynacioun. And thei herden⁵
 not, nether bowiden down her eere, that
 thei schulen be conuertid fro her yuels,
 and schulden not make sacrifice to alien
 goddis. And myn indignacioun and my⁶
 strong veniaunce is wellid togidere, and is
 kindlid in the citees of Juda, and in the
 stretis of Jerusalem; and tho^w ben turned
 in to wildirnesse, and wastnesse, bi this
 dai. And now the Lord of oostis, God of⁷
 Israel, seith these thingis, Whi doon 3e
 this greet yuel aȝens 3oure soulis, that a
 man of 3ou perische and a womman a
 litil child and soukyng *perische*^x, fro the
 myddis of Juda, nether ony residue thing
 be laft in 3ou, that terre me to wrath⁸
 bi the werkis of 3oure hondis, in makynge
 sacrifice to alien goddis in the lond of
 Egipt, in to which 3e entriden, that 3e
 dwelle there, and that 3e perische, and be
 in to cursyng, and in to schenschiþe to
 alle the folkis of erthe? Whether 3e han⁹
 forȝete the yuels of 3oure fadris, and the
 yuels of the kingis of Juda, and the yuels
 of her wiues, and 3oure yuels, and the
 yuels of 3oure wyues, whiche thei diden
 in the lond of Juda, and in the cuntreis
 of Jerusalem? Thei ben not clensid 'til¹⁰
 to^v this dai, and thei dredde not, and
 thei ȝeden not in the lawe of the Lord,
 and in myn heestis, whiche Y 3af bifore
 3ou, and bifore 3oure fadris. Therfor the¹¹
 Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these
 thingis, Lo! Y schal sette my face in 3ou
 in to yuel, and Y schal leese al Juda, and¹²
 Y schal take the remenauntis of Juda, that
 settiden her faces, to go in to the lond of

^u Om. AGHK. ^v I risende E sec. m. AK. ^w 3oten E. ^x Om. E pr. m. ^y Om. A. ^z in to A.

^u ther is I. ^v hem N. ^w thei N. ^x Om. I. ^y vnto I.

be wastid alle in the lond of Egipt, and
 thei shul falle in swerd^a, and in hunger
 shul^b be wastid, fro the leste vn to^c the
 meste, in swerd and in hunger thei shul
 die, and thei shul be in to riȝt of swer-
 ing^d, and in to myracle, and in to cursing,
 13 and in to repref. And Y shal visite vp on
 the dwelleres of the lond of Egipt, as Y
 visitede vp on Jerusalem, in swerd, and
 14 hunger, and pestilence. And ther shal
 not be that scape, and be the residue of
 the remnaunt of Jewis, that gon that thei
 pilgrimage in the lond of Egipt, and be
 turned aȝeen to the lond of Juda, to
 whiche thei reren vp ther soules, that
 thei be turned aȝeen, and dwelle there;
 thei shul not be turned aȝeen thidur, no^e
 15 but thei that floun. Answerende^f for-
 sothe to Jeremye alle the^g men, witende
 that ther^h wyues shulden sacrificen to alien
 godus, and alle the wymmen, of whiche
 stod a gret multitude, and al the puple
 of dwelleris in the lond of Egipt, in Fa-
 16 tures, seiende, The wrd that thou speeke
 to vs in the name of the Lord oure God,
 17 wee shul not heren of thee, but doende
 wee shul do eche word that shal gonⁱ
 oute of oure mouth, that wee sacrifice to
 the queen of heuene, and offre to hir
 sacrifice of licoures, as diden wee, and
 oure fadris, oure^k kingus, and oure princes,
 in the cheef cites^l of Juda, and in the
 stretus of Jerusalem; and we weren ful-
 fild with loeves, and wel it was to vs,
 18 and euel wee seȝen not. Fro that forsothe
 tyme, that wee ceseden to sacrificen to the
 queen of heuene, and to offre to hir sa-
 crifices of licoures, wee nededen alle
 thingus, and with swerd and hunger wee
 19 ben wastid. That^m if wee sacrificen toⁿ
 the queen of heuene, and offre to hir
 sacrifices of licoures, whether withoute
 oure men^o wee shul do to hir plesaunt
 cakes, for to herie^p hir, and sacrifices of
 20 licoures to ben offred? And Jeremye

Egipt, and to dwelle there; and alle schu-
 len be waastid in the lond of Egipt, thei
 schulen falle doun bi swerd, and schulen
 be wastid in hungur, fro the leeste til to^z
 the mooste, thei schulen die bi swerd and
 hungur, and schulen be in to swering, and
 in to myracle^a, and in to cursyng, and in
 to schenschiþe. And Y schal visite on the¹³
 dwelleris of Egipt, as Y visitide on Jeru-
 salem, in swerd, and in hungur, and in
 pestilence. And noon schal^b be, that schal¹⁴
 ascape, and be residue of the remenauntis
 of Jewis, that goen to be pilgrimys in the
 lond of Egipt, and to turne aȝeen to the
 lond of Juda, to which thei reisen her
 soulis, that thei turne aȝeen, and dwelle
 there; thei schulen not turne aȝeen thidir,
 no^c but thei that fledden. Forsothe alle¹⁵
 men answeriden to Jeremye, and wisten,
 that her wyues maden sacrifice to alien
 goddis, and alle wymmen, of whiche a
 greet multitude stood, and alle the puple
 of dwelleris in the lond of Egipt, in Fa-
 tures, and seiden, We schulen not here of¹⁶
 thee the word which thou spekist to vs
 in the name of oure Lord God, but we¹⁷
 doynge schulen do ech word that schal go
 out of oure mouth, that we make sacrifice
 to the queen of heuene, and that we offre
 to it moist sacrifices, as we diden, and oure
 fadris, oure kingis, and oure princes, in
 the citees of Juda, and in the stretis of
 Jerusalem; and we weren fillid with looues,
 and it was wel to vs, and we sien noon
 yuel. But fro that tyme, in which we¹⁸
 ceessiden to make sacrifice to the queen
 of heuene, and to offre to it moist sacri-
 fices, we hadden nede to alle thingis, and
 we weren wastid bi swerd and hungur.
 That if we maken sacrifice to the queen¹⁹
 of heuene, and offren to it moist sacrifices,
 whether withouten oure hosebondis we
 maden to it cakis, to worschiþe it, and
 looues to be offrid? And Jeremye seide to²⁰
 al the puple, aȝens the men, and aȝens the

^a Om. *E pr. m.* ^b Om. *E pr. m.* ^c to *AGHK.* ^d swering of riȝt *AC sec. m E sec. m.* of riȝt swering *GH.*
^e Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^f Answerden *E.* ^g Om. *c.* ^h thei shulde *E pr. vice.* ⁱ goth *E pr. m.* ^k and
 our *AGHK.* ^l cite *K.* ^m Om. *c pr. m.* ⁿ not to *E pr. m.* ^o husbondis *E sec. m. AGHK.* ^p to ben
 heried *c pr. m. E pr. m.*

^z vnto *I.* ^a myracle, or *wondir EBY.* ^b ther schal *I.* ^c Om. *I.*

seide to al the puple, a^qzen the men, and
 a^qzen the wymmen, and a^qzen al the folc,
 that answereden to hym the wrd, seiende,
 21 Whether not the sacrificise that 3ee sacri-
 fieden in the cites of Juda, and in the
 stretus of Jerusalem, 3ee, and 3oure fadris,
 3oure^r kingus, and 3oure princes, and the
 puple of the lond, of these thingus re-
 cordide the Lord, and it stezede vp vpon
 22 his herte; and the Lord myzte no mor
 bern, for the malice^s of 3oure studies, and
 for the abhomynaciouns that 3ee diden?
 And don is 3oure lond in to desolacioun,
 and in to stoneing, and in to cursing,
 for thi that ther is not a dwellere, as ys
 23 this dai. Therefore 'for^t 3ee sacrificiden^u
 to maumetus, and synned^v to the Lord,
 and 3ee herden not the vois of the Lord,
 and in the lawe, and hestus, and in his
 witness^w 3ee han^x not gon, therefore
 camen to 3ou these eueles, as is this dai.
 24 Jeremye forsothe seide to al the puple,
 and to alle the wymmen, Hereth the wrd
 of the Lord, al Juda, that ben in the lond
 25 of Egipt. These thingus seith the Lord
 of ostus, God of Irael, seiende, 3ee and
 3oure wyues speeken with 3oure mouth,
 and with 3oure hondus fulfilden, seiende,
 Do wee oure vouwis that wee vouweden,
 that wee sacrificie to the quen of heuene,
 and offre to hir sacryfises of licoures;
 3ee han fulfild 3oure vouwis, and in were
 26 3ee han do them. Therefore hereth the
 wrd of the Lord, al Juda, that dwellen in
 the lond of Egipt; Lo! Y swor in my
 gret name, seith the Lord, for no mor
 shal be clepid my name of the mouth of
 eche man Jew, seiende, The Lord God
 27 lyueth, in the lond of Egipt. Lo! Y shal
 waken vp on hem in to euel, and not in
 to good; and to-wastid shul ben alle the
 men of Juda, that ben in the lond of
 Egipt, with swerd and hungur, to the
 28 tyme that fulli thei ben wastid. And
 they^y that shul flee swerd, shul turne
 a3een fro the lond of Egipt in to the lond

wymmen, and a3ens al^d the puple, that an-
 sweriden to hym the word, and he seide,
 Whether not the sacrificie^e which 3e sacri-21
 fisiden in the citees of Juda, and in the
 stretis of Jerusalem, 3e, and 3oure fadris,
 3oure kyngis, and 3oure princes, and the
 puple of the lond, *terriden God to ven-*
iaunce? The Lord hadde mynde on these
 thingis, and it stiede on his herte; and 22
 the Lord myzte no more bere, for the
 malice of 3oure studies, and for abhomy-
 naciouns^f whiche 3e diden. And 3oure lond
 is maad in to desolacioun, and in to won-
 dryng, and in to curs, for no dwellere is,
 as this dai is. Therfor for 3e maden sacri-23
 fice to idols, and synned^v to the Lord,
 and herden not the vois^g of the Lord, and
 3eden not in the lawe, and in the co-
 mandementis, and in the witnessis of
 hym, therfor these yuels bifellen to 3ou,
 as this dai is. Forsothe Jeremye seide to 24
 al the puple, and to alle the wymmen, Al
 Juda, that ben in the lond of Egipt, here
 3e the word of the Lord. The Lord of 25
 oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis,
 and spekith, 3e and 3oure wyues spaken
 with 3oure mouth, and filliden with 3oure
 hondis, and seiden, Make we oure vowis
 whiche we vowiden, that we make sacri-
 fice to the queen of heuene, and offre to
 it moist sacrifices; 3e filliden 3oure vowis,
 and diden tho in werk. Therfor, al Juda, 26
 that dwellen in the lond of Egipt, here 3e
 the word of the Lord; Lo! Y swoor in my
 greet name, seith the Lord, that my name
 schal no more be clepid bi the mouth of
 ech man Jew, seiynge, The Lord God
 lyueth, in al the lond of Egipt. Lo! Y 27
 schal wake on hem in to yuel, and not in
 to good; and alle the men of Juda, that
 ben in the lond of Egipt, schulen be
 waastid, bi swerd and hungur, til thei be
 wastid outerli. And a fewe men that fled-28
 den the swerd, schulen turne a3en fro the
 lond of Egipt in to the lond of Juda; and
 alle the remenauntis of Juda, of hem that

^q and a3en *E pr. m.* ^r and 3oure *C.* ^s malices *A.* ^t for that *K.* ^u that 3ee shulde sacrificie *E pr. m.*
^v synne *E pr. m.* ^w witnessyngis *A.* ^x Om. *E pr. m.* ^y Om. *E pr. m.*

^d Om. *N.* ^e sacrefices *S.* ^f the abhomynaciouns *I.* ^g word *N.*

of Juda, fewe men; and wite shul al the remnaunt of Juda, of the men goende in to the lond of Egipt, that thei dwelle there, whos sermoun be fulfild, myn or
 29 theris. And this to 3ou a toene, seith the Lord, that Y visite vp on 3ou in this place, that 3ee wite, for verrely shul be fulfild my wrdus a3en 3ou in to euel.
 30 These thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal take Farao, king of Egipt, in the hond of his enemys, and in the hond of men sechende the soule of hym, as Y toc Sedechie, king of Juda, in the hond of Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, his enemy, and sechende his soule^a.

CAP. XLV.

1 The wrd that spac Jeremye, the profete, to Baruch, the sone of Neri, whan he hadde write these wrdus in the boc, of the mouth of Jeremye, the ferthe 3er of Joachym, sone of Josie, king of Juda,
 2 seiende, These thingus seith the Lord
 3 God of Irael to thee, Baruch. Thou seidist, Wo to me wrecche, for addid hath the Lord sorewe to my sorewe; I tra-
 4 uailed in my weiling, and reste Y fond not. These thingus seith the Lord, Thus thou shalt sei to hym, Lo! whom Y bild-
 5 id^a, Y destro3e, and whom Y plauntede, Y pulle vp, and al this lond. And thou sechest to thee grete thingus; wile thou not seche, for lo! Y shal bringe euel vp on eche flesh, seith the Lord, and Y shal 3yue to thee thi soule in to hele, in alle places, to whiche euer thou shalt go.

CAP. XLVI.

1 The^b wrd of the Lord 'that is do^c to
 2 Jeremye, profete, a3en Jentiles; to Egipt, a3en the ost of Farao Nechao, king of Egipt, that was biside the flod of Eufra-
 ten, in Carkamys, whom smot Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, in the ferthe 3er of Joachym, sone of Josie, king of

entren in to the lond of Egipt, to dwelle there, schulen wite, whos word schal be fillid, myn ether hern. And this *schal be*²⁹ a signe to 3ou, seith the Lord, that Y schal visite on 3ou in this place, that 3e wite, that verili my wordis schulen be fillid a3ens 3ou in to yuel. The Lord seith these³⁰ thingis, Lo! Y schal bitake Farao, the kyng of Egipt, in to the hond of hise enemyes, and in to the hond of hem that seken his lijf, as Y bitook Sedechie, the^b kyng of Juda, in to the hond of Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, his enemy, and sek-
 ynge his lijf.

CAP. XLV.

The word that Jeremye, the profete,¹ spak to Baruc, the sone of Nerie, whanne he hadde write these wordis in the book, of the mouth of Jeremye, in the fourthe 3eer of Joachym, the sone of Josie, kyng of Juda, and seide, The Lord God of Israel² seith these thingis to thee, Baruc. Thou³ seidist, Wo to me wretche, for the Lord encreesside sorewe to my sorewe; Y tra-
 uelide in my weilyng, and Y foond not reste. The Lord seith these thingis, Thus⁴ thou schalt seye to hym, Lo! Y distrie hem, whiche Y bildide, and Y drawe out hem, whiche Y plauntide, and al this lond. And sekist thou grete thingis to thee? nyle⁵ thou seke, for lo! Y schal brynge yuel on ech man, seith the Lord, and Y schal 3yue toⁱ thee thi lijf in to helthe, in alle places, to whiche euer *places* thou schalt go.

CAP. XLVI.

The word of the Lord, that was maad¹ to Jeremye, the profete, a3ens hethene men; to Egipt, a3ens the oost of Farao² Nechao, kyng of Egipt, that was bisidis the flood Eufrates, in Charchamys, whom Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, smoot, in the fourthe 3eer of Joachym, sone of

^a soule, or *lijf* AGHK. soule, or *his lyf* E sec. m. ^a bilde A. ^b That don is the E pr. m. ^c Om. E pr. m.

^h Om. I. ⁱ Om. N.

3 Juda. Greitheth sheeld and target, and
4 goth forth to bataile. Ioyneth hors, and
stezeth vp, 3ee hors men; stondeth in
helmes, pulsheth speres, clotheth 3ou with
5 habiriownus. What thanne? I sa3 hem
ferd, and the backes turnende, the^d stronge
men of hem hewen down; and thei floun
togidere hastid, ne thei beheelden; ferd on
6 eche syde, seith the Lord. Flee shal not
the swifte, ne the stronge weene hymself
to be saued; to the north, beside the
flod of Eufreten, thei ben ouercome, and
7 felden^e doun^f. Who is this, that as the
flod stezeth vp, and as of flodis swollen
8 his swolewis? Egipt at licesse^g of a flod
stezeth vp, and as flodus shul be moued
his flowingus; and 'he shal^h sey, Stezende
vp Y shal 'couere the ertheⁱ destroye cite^k,
9 and his dwelleres. Stezeth vp hors, and
ful out io3e thin chares; and go forth,
stronge men, Ethiopie and Libie, holdende
sheeld, and Liddy, takende and throwende
10 arwis. That dai forsothe of the Lord
God of ostus, dai of veniaunce, that he
take veniaunce of his enemys; deuouren
shal the swerd, and be fulfid, and be to-
drunke with the^l blod of hem^m; victorieⁿ
sacrifise forsothe of the Lord of ostus in
the lond of the north, beside the flod of
11 Eufreten. Steze^o vp in to Galaad, and tac
the gumme, that is clepid recyne, thou
maiden do3ter of Egipt. In veyn thou
hast multeplied medecynes; helthe shal
12 not be to thee. Herden Jentiles thi shen-
shepe, and thi 3ellinge fulfide the erthe;
for^p the stronge man putte a3en the
stronge man, and bothe togidere fellen.
13 The wrd that the Lord spac to Jeremye,
the profete, vp on that that to come was
Nabugodonosor, king of Babyloyn, and
14 to smyte the lond of Egipt. Telleth to
Egipt, and herd maketh in Magdalo, and
eft sowne it^q in Memfys, and in Tapnys
seith, Stond, and greithe thee, for de-

Josie, kyng of Juda. Make 3e redi scheeld 3
and targat, and go 3e forth to batel. Ioyn 4
3e horsis, and stie, 3e kny3tis; stonde 3e in
helmes^k, polische 3e speris, clothe 3e 3ou
in haburiowns. What therfor? Y si3 hem 5
dredeful^l, and turnynge the backis, the
stronge men of hem slayn; and thei fled-
den swiftli. and bihelden not; drede *was*
on ech side, seith the Lord. A swift man 6
shal not fle, and a strong man gesse not
hym silf to be saued; at the north, bisidis
the flood Eufrates, thei weren ouer comun,
and fellen doun. Who is this, that stieth 7
as a flood, and hise swelewis wexen greet
as of floodis? Egipte stiede at the lic- 8
nesse of a flood, and hise wawis schulen
be mouyd as floodis; and it schal seie, Y
schal stie, and hile the erthe; Y schal leese
the citee, and dwelleris therof. Stie 3e 9
on^m horsis, and make 3e ful out ioie in
charis; and stronge men, come forth, E-
thiopie and Libie, holdynge scheeld, and
Lidii, takynge and schetyng arowis. For- 10
sothe that dai of the Lord God of oostis
is a dai of veniaunce, that he take ven-
iaunce of hise enemyes; the swerd schal
deuoure, and schal be fillid, and schal
greetli be fillid with the blood of hem;
for whi the slayn sacrifice of the Lord of
oostis *is* in the lond of the north, bisidis
the flood Eufrates. Thou virgyn, the dou3- 11
ter of Egipt, stieⁿ in to Galaad, and take
medicyn. In veyn thou schalt multiplie
medecyns; helthe schal not be to thee.
Hethene men herden thi schenscipe, and 12
thi jelyng fillide the erthe; for a strong
man hurtlide a3ens a strong man, and
bothe fellen doun togidere. The word 13
which the Lord spak to Jeremye, the pro-
fete, on that that Nabugodonosor, kyng
of Babiloyne, was to comynge, and to
smytynge the lond of Egipt. Telle 3e to 14
Egipt, and make 3e herd in Magdalo, and
sowne it in Memphis, and seie 3e in Taph-

^d and the *AE pr. m.* ^e fellen *E pr. m.* ^f Om. *AE GHK.* ^g the lickenes *K.* ^h Om. *E pr. m.* ⁱ ste3e,
couerende erthe *E pr. m.* coueren erthe *E sec. m.* ^j *pr. m. AK.* ^k citees *A.* ^l Om. *AGH.* ^m men *AGHK.*
ⁿ Om. *C pr. m.* ^o Steieth *A.* ^p and *E pr. m.* ^q Om. *E pr. m.*

^k helmes, *ether hasynetis* *CEFGHKMNPQRSUVX.* ^l dredeful, *ether aferd* *CEFGHIKMNQRSUVX.* ^m upon *I.*
ⁿ stie up *I.*

uoure shal swerd tho thingus that in^r
 15 thin enuyroun ben. Whi 'to-rotide^s thi
 stronge^t? He stod not, for the Lord
 16 turnede hym vp so down. He multep-
 pliede men fallende, and the man fel to
 his nezhebore; and thei shul seyn, Ris^{tt},
 and turne wee a3een to oure puple, and
 to the lond of oure birthe, fro the face
 17 of the swerd of the culuer. Clepeth the
 name of Farao, king of Egipt; tyme^u
 18 hath bro3t noise. I lyue, seith the king,
 Lord of ostus his name; for as Thabor
 in mounteynes, and as Carmel in the se,
 19 he shal come. Vesseles of transmygra-
 cioun mac to thee, thou dwelleresse, do3-
 ter of Egipt; for Memfys in wildernesse
 shal ben, and be forsoken and vnhabit-
 20 able^v. The she calf fair and shapli Egipt;
 the prickere fro the north shal come to
 21 hir^w. Also his hirid men, that woneden^x
 in his myddel as fattyd calues, ben turn-
 ed, and floun togidere, ne my3te stonde;
 for the dai of the sla3ter of them shal
 come vp on hem, tyme of ther visityng.
 22 His vois as of bras shal sowne, for with
 the ost thei shul go forth, and with axes
 thei shul come to hym. As fallende down
 23 trees thei heewe^y down his wilde wode,
 seith the Lord, that mai not be noum-
 bred; they ben multiplid aboue locustus,
 24 and ther is not in them noumbre. Con-
 foundid is the do3ter of Egipt, and take
 in the hond of the puple of the north,
 25 seide the Lord of ostus, God of Israel. Lo!
 Y shal visite 'vp on^z the noise of Alisaun-
 dre, and vp on Farao, and vp on Egipt,
 and vp on his godus, and vp on his kinges,
 26 and vp on hem that trosten in hym. And
 Y shal 3yuen hem in^a the hond of men
 sechende the lif of hem, and in to the
 hondus of Nabugodonosor, king of Babi-
 loyne, and in to the hondus of his ser-
 uauns; and after these thingus it shal
 be dwellid, as in the rathere dazes, seith
 27 the Lord. And thou, my seruaunt Jacob,
 ne drede thou, ne take ferd, thou Israel;

nys, Stonde thou, and make thee redi, for
 a swerd schal deuoure tho thingis that
 ben bi thi cumpas. Whi hath thi strong¹⁵
 man wexe rotun? He stood not, for the
 Lord vndurturnede hym. He multipliede¹⁶
 falleris, and a man felle down to his nei3-
 bore; and thei schulen seie, Rise 3e, and
 turne we a3en to oure puple, and to the
 lond of oure birthe, fro the face of swerd
 of the culuer. Clepe 3e the name of Farao,¹⁷
 kyng of Egipt; the tyme hath brou3t
 noise. Y lyue, seith the kyng, the Lord¹⁸
 of oostis *is* his name; for it schal come
 as Thabor in hillis, and as Carmele in the
 see. Thou dwelleresse^o, the^p dou3ter of¹⁹
 Egipt, make to thee vessels of passyng
 ouer; for whi Memfis schal be in to wil-
 dirnesse, and schal^a be forsakun vnhabit-
 able. Egipt *is* a schapli cow calf, and fair;²⁰
 a prickere fro the north schal come to it.
 Also the hirid men therof, that liueden as²¹
 caluys maad fatte in the myddis therof,
 ben turned, and fledden togidere, and
 mi3ten not stonde; for the dai of sleyng
 of hem schal come on hem, the tyme of
 the^r visityng of hem. The vois of hem²²
 schal sowne as of bras, for thei schulen
 haste with oost, and with axis thei schulen
 come to it. As men kittyng down trees
 thei kittiden down the forest therof, seith²³
 the Lord, which mai not be noumbrid;
 thei ben multiplid ouer locustis, and no
 noumbre is in hem. The dou3tir of Egipt²⁴
 is schent, and bitakun in to the hond of
 the puple of the north, seide the Lord of²⁵
 oostis, God of Israel. Lo! Y schal visite
 on the noise of Alisaundre, and on Farao,
 and on Egipt, and on the goddis therof,
 and on the kyngis therof, and on hem
 that tristen in hym. And Y schal 3yue²⁶
 hem in to the hondis of men that seken
 the lijf of hem, and in to the hondis of
 Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, and
 in to^s the hondis of hise seruauntis; and
 aftir these thingis it schal be enhabitid,
 as in the formere daies, seith the Lord.

^r bi *AE sec. m. K sec. m.* ^s to-stank *E pr. m.* ^t stronge man *G sec. m.* ^{tt} Rijse we *K pr. m.* ^u and tyme *A.*
^v vnhabitable shal ben *E pr. m.* ^w thee *E pr. m.* ^x moueden *A.* ^y heweden *A.* ^z vp *H.* ^a into *GH.*

^o dwellere *G.* dwelstere *I.* ^p thou *G.* ^q it schal *I.* ^r Om. *I.* ^s Om. *N.*

for lo! Y saaf shal make thee fro aferr^b,
and thi^c sed fro the lond of his caitifte;
and turnen azen shal Jacob, and resten,
and be mad welsum, and ther shal not
28 ben, that fere hym. And wile thou not
drede, thou my seruaunt Jacob, seith the
Lord, for Y am with thee; for^d Y shal
waste alle Jentiles, to whiche I caste thee
out; thee forsothe I shal not waste, but
Y shal chastise thee in dom, ne as to an
ynnocent Y shal sparen to thee.

CAP. XLVII.

1 'That don is the wrd of the Lord^{dd} to
Jeremye, profete, azen Palestynus, er Fa-
2 rao shulde smyte Gasam. These thingus
seith the Lord, Lo! watris shul stezen
vp fro the north, and ben shul as a styff^e
strem flowende, and couere shul the lond,
and his plente, the chef cite^f and his
dwelleris. Crie shul men, and zelle shul
3 alle the dwelleris of the lond, fro^g the
noise of the bost of the armede men, and
of his fizteres, and fro the stiring of his
fourre horsid carres, and fro the multi-
tude of his whelis. Beheelden^h not the
fadrис the sonus with hondus losid a-
4 twynne, for the comyng of the dai in
whiche shul be wastid alle Filisteis; and
ben scatered Tirus and Sidon, with alle
his othere helpesⁱ. The Lord forsothe
destroȝede Palestynes, the remnauns^k of
5 the yle of Capadoche. Ther cam ballid-
nesse vp on Gasam; al stille was Ascalon,
and the remnauns of the valei of hem.
Hou longe thou shalt be throwe down,
6 O! thou swerd of the Lord, hou longe
shalt thou not reste? Go in to thi shethe,
7 be thou refreshid, and be stille. What
maner shal it reste, whan the Lord shal
comaunde to it azen Ascalon, and azen
his regiouns ny; the se, and there he
shal withsei^l to it?

And thou, Jacob, my seruaunt, drede thou 27
not, and Israel, drede thou not; for lo!
Y schal make thee saaf fro fer place, and
thi seed fro the lond of his caitiftee; and
Jacob schal turne azen, and schal reste,
and schal haue prosperite, and noon schal
be, that schal make hym aferd. And Ja- 28
cob, my seruaunt, nyle thou drede, seith
the Lord, for Y am with thee; for Y schal
waste alle folkis, to whiche Y castide thee
out; but Y schal not waste thee, but Y
schal chastise thee in doom, and Y schal
not spare thee as innocent.

CAP. XLVII.

The word of the Lord, that was maad 1
to Jeremye, the profete, azens Palestyns,
bifor that Farao sinoot Gaza. The Lord 2
seith these thingis, Lo! watris schulen stie
fro the north, and tho^t schulen be as a
stronde flowynge, and tho^t schulen hile
the lond, and the fulnesse therof, the citee,
and the dwelleris therof. Men schulen crie,
and alle the dwelleris of the lond schulen
zelle, for the noise of boost of armed men, 3
and of werriours of hym, and for mou-
yng of hise cartis, and multitude of hise
wheelis. Fadrис bihelden not sonas with
clumsid hondis, for the^u comyng of the 4
dai in which alle Filisteis schulen be de-
stried; and Tirus schal be destried, and
Sidon with alle her othere helpis. For the
Lord hath destried Palestyns, the reme-
nantis of the ile of Capadocie. Ballid- 5
nesse cam on Gaza; Ascalon was stille,
and the remenantis of the valei of tho^v.
Hou longe schalt thou falle down, O^w! 6
swerd of the Lord, hou long schalt thou
not reste? Entre thou in to thi schethe,
be thou refreischid, and be stille. Hou 7
schal it reste, whanne the Lord comaund-
ide to it azens Ascalon, and azens the see
coostis therof, and there hath seide to it?

^b fer AGHK. ^c his AGHK. ^d and E pr. m. ^{dd} The word of the Lord that is don AG. ^e stem C pr. m.
^f citees A. ^g for AGHK. ^h and beheelden K. ⁱ helpers A. ^k remnaunt A. ^l comaunde E pr. m.

CAP. XLVIII.

1 To Moab these thingus seith the Lord
of ostus, God of Israel. Wo vp on Nabo, for
wastid she is, and confoundid; taken is
Cariathiarym, confoundid is the stronge,
2 and tremblede^m; and ther is no mor ful
out ioiing in Moab, azen Esebon thei
tho3ten euel. Corneth, and scatere wee it
fro the folc of kynde. Therefore stille thou
shalt be stille, and swerd shal folewe thee;
3 vois of the cry fro Oronaym, wastite, and
4 gret to-treding. To-treden is Moab, tell-
5 eth out theⁿ cry to his litil childer. Bi
the ste3ing vp forsothe Luyth wepende^o
ste3ede^{oo} vp in^p weping, for in the going
doun of Oronaym the enemys the 3elling
6 of to-treding herden. Fleeth, saueth^q
3oure soulis; and 3ee shul be as 'iencian
7 trees^r in desert; for thi forsothe that
thou^s hadde^t trost in thiⁿ strengtheningus,
and in thi tresores, thou also shalt ben
take. And Camos shal go in to transmy-
gracioun, his prestus and his princes to-
8 agidere; and the robbere shal come to
eche cheef cite, and no cheef cyte shal
be saued; and pershen shul valeys, and
wastid shul be wilde feldis, for the Lord
9 seyde. 3yueth flour to Moab, for flour-
ende he shal gon out; and his cites shul
10 be desert, and vnhabitable. Cursid that
doth the werc of God^w gilendeli; and
cursid, that forfendeth his swerd fro blod,
11 *or repreuyng of synne*^x. Fructuous was
Moab fro his waxende 3outhen, and he
restede in his drestis^y, ne is ouerheld fro
vessel in to vessel, and 'in to^z transmy-
gracioun he 3ide not; therefore abod stille
his tast in hym, and his smel is not
12 chaungid. Therefore lo! dazes comen,
seith the Lord, and Y shal sende to hym
ordeyneres, and araieres of litle wyn ves-
selus; and thei shul araien hym, and his
vesseles heelden out, and the litil wyn
13 vesselis of hem hurtlen togidere. And

CAP. XLVIII.

To Moab the Lord of oostis, God of
Israel, seith these thingis. Wo on Nabo,
for it is destried, and schent; Cariathia-
rym is takun, the stronge citee is schent,
and tremblide. And ful out ioiing is no²
more in Moab, thei thou3ten yuel azens
Esebon. Come 3e, and leese we it fro folk.
Therfor thou beyng stille, schalt be stille,
and swerd schal sue thee. A vois of cry³
fro Oronaym, distriynge, and greet sorewe.
Moab is defoulid, telle 3e cry to litil chil-
4 dren therof. For a man wepyng stiede⁵
with wepyng bi the stiyng of Luyth, for
in the comyng doun of Oronaym enemyes
herden the 3ellyng of sorewe. Fle 3e, saue⁶
3e 3oure lyues; and 3e schulen be as bromes
in desert. For that that thou haddist trist⁷
in thi strengthis, and in thi tresouris, also
thou schalt be takun. And Chamos schal
go in to passyng ouer, the preestis therof
and the princes therof togidere. And a⁸
robbere schal come to ech citee, and no
citee schal be sauys; and valeis schulen
perische, and feeldi places schulen be dis-
tried, for the Lord seide. 3yue 3e the flour⁹
of Moab, for it schal go out flouryng;
and the citees therof schulen be forsakun,
and vnhabitable. *He is cursid*, that doith¹⁰
the werk of God gilefuli; and *he is cursid*,
that forbedith his swerd^{*} fro blood[†]. Moab¹¹
was plenteouse fro his 3ong wexyng age,
and restide in hise drastis, nether was
sched out fro vessel in to vessel, and 3ede
not in to passyng ouer; therfor his taaste
dwellide in hym, and his odour is not
chaungid. Therfor lo! daies comun, seith¹²
the Lord, and Y schal sende to it ordeyn-
ours, and arayeris of potels; and thei
schulen araye it, and thei schulen waste
the vessels therof, and hurtle togidere the
potels of hem. And Moab schal be schent¹³
of Chamos, as the hous of Israel was
schent of Bethel, in which it hadde trist.

^{*} *swerd*; that
is, Goddis word.
v.
[†] *blood*; that is,
penaunce for
synnes. v.

^m troblid *A.* ⁿ Om. *E pr. m.* ^o Om. *AH.* ^{oo} stiyng *AG pr. m. K.* ^p Om. *AG pr. m. K.* into *G sec. m.*
^q and saueth *E pr. m.* ^r brome *AGHK.* broom trees *E sec. m.* ^s 3ee *C pr. m. E pr. m.* ^t haddest *E pr. m. AGH.*
hadden *C pr. m.* ^u 3oure *C pr. m. E pr. m.* ^w the Lord *A.* the God *C sup. ras.* ^x Om. *C et E pr. m.*
^y wombe frutus *C pr. m. E pr. m.* ^z in the *E pr. m.*

confoundid shal be Moab fro Camos, as confoundid is the hous of Irael of ^a Bethel, in
 14 whiche it hadde trost. What maner sey
 3ee, Stronge men wee ben, and stalwrthe
 15 men to f3zte? Wastid is Moab, and his
 cites thei brenden vp, and hys chosen
 3unge men wente down in to slazter, seith
 16 the king, Lord of ostus his name. Ny3
 is the deth of Moab, that it come, and his
 17 euel swiftli cometh ny3 ful myche. Coum-
 forteth hym, alle 3ee that ben in his cum-
 pas; alle 3ee that witen his name, seith,
 What maner is to-broke the stronge 3erde,
 18 the glorious staf? Cum down fro glorie,
 sit in thrist, thou dwelling of the do3ter
 of Dibon; for the wastere of ^b Moab shal
 ste3e vp to thee, shal^c scatere thi strength-
 19 ingus^d. In the weie stond, and bihold
 thou the dwelling of Aroer; aske hym
 20 fleende that scapede; sei, What fel? Con-
 foundid is Moab, for he is ouercome^e;
 3elleth, and crieth; telleth in Arnon, for
 21 wastid is Moab. And dom cam to the^f feldi
 lond, vp on Elon, and vp on Jesa, and
 22 vp on Mefath, and vp on Dibon, and vp
 on Nabo, and vp on the hous of Debal-
 23 thaym, and vp on Cariathiarym, and vp
 24 on Bethgamul, and vp on Bethmaon, and
 vp on Scarioth, and vp on Bosra, and
 vp on alle the cites of the lond of Moab,
 25 that aferr and that ny3 ben. Kut awei
 is the horn of Moab, and his armes to-
 26 brosid, seith the Lord. Drunkneth hym
 with the chalus of the wrathe of the
 Lord, for a3en the Lord he is rered out;
 and he shal hurtle the hond of Moab in
 his vomyng, and be shal in to scornynge^g
 27 and he. Forsothe he was in to scorn-
 yng to thee, Irael, as among theues thou
 shuldist han founde hym; therfore for
 thi wrdus that a3en hym thou speeke,
 28 caitif thou art lad. Lefeth cites, and
 dwelleth in a ston, 3ee dwelleris of Moab,
 and beth as a culuer bildende in the
 29 ouerest mouth of the hole. Wee han

Hou seien 3e, We ben stronge, and stal-
 14 worthe men to f3zte? Moab is distried,
 15 and thei han brent the citees therof, and
 the chosun 3onge men therof 3eden down
 in to sleyng, seith the kyng, the Lord of
 oostis is his name. The perischyng of
 16 Moab is ny3, that it come, and the yuel
 therof renneth ful swiftli. Alle 3e that
 17 ben in the cumpas therof, coumforte it;
 and alle 3e that knowen the name therof,
 seie, Hou is the stronge 3erde brokun, the
 gloriouse staaf? Thou dwellyng of the
 18 dou3tir of Dibon, go down fro glorie, sitte
 thou in thirst; for the distriere of Moab
 schal stie to thee, and he schal destrie
 thi strengthis. Thou dwellyng of Aroer,
 19 stonde in the weie, and biholde; axe thou
 hym that fleeth, and hym that ascapide;
 seie thou, What bifelle? Moab is schent,
 20 for he is ouercomun; 3elle 3e, and crye;
 telle 3e in Arnon, that Moab is destried.
 And doom is comun to the lond of the
 21 feeld, on Elon, and on Jesa, and on Me-
 phat, and on Dibon, and on Nabo, and on
 22 the hous of Debalthaym, and on Cariathia-
 23 rym, and on Bethgamul, and on Beth-
 maon, and on Scarioth, and on Bosra, and
 24 on alle the citees of the lond of Moab, that
 ben fer, and that ben ni3. The horn of
 25 Moab is kit awei, and the arm therof is
 al to-brokun, seith the Lord. Fille 3e him
 26 greetli, for he is reysid azens the Lord;
 and he schal hurtle down the hond^x of
 Moab in his spuyng, and he also schal be
 in to scorn. For whi, Irael, he was in to
 27 scorn to thee, as if thou haddist founde
 hym among theues; therfor for thi wordis
 whiche thou spakist azens hym, thou schalt
 be led prisoner. 3e dwelleris of Moab, for-
 28 sake^y citees, and dwelle^z in the stoon, and
 be 3e as a culuer makynge nest in the
 hizeste mouth of an hool. We han herd
 29 the pride of Moab; he is ful proud. Y 30
 knowe, seith the Lord, the hiznesse therof,
 and pride in word, and pride in beryng,

^a fro AGK. ^b Om. E pr. m. ^c and shal A.
^g stoneing c pr. m.

^d strengthis H.

^e bounden E pr. m.

^f Om. c.

^x lond A pr. m. CEF GHMNPQRSVX. ^y forsaketh I. ^z dwelle 3e I.

herd the pride of Moab; proud 'he is^b gretli; his hei3te forsothe, and his owne enhaunsyng, and pride, and the hei3te
 30 of his herte, Y wot, seith the Lord; his bost, and his owne enhauncing, and that^l ther is not biside it his vertue, ne^k after
 31 that he my3te, it^l forcede to do. Therefore vp on Moab I shal weile^m, and to al Moab Y shal crien, to the men of the britil wal
 32 weilende. Of the weiling of Jaser Y shal wepe to thee, thou vyne of Sabamaⁿ; thi railingus passeden the se; vn to the se of Jaser thei ful camen vp on thi rep, and
 33 thi vyndage thi reuere fel. Don awei is ful out io3ing and glading fro^o Carmel, and fro the lond of Moab, and wyn fro the presses Y toc down; the tredere of the grape the wont myrie song shal not
 34 synge. Of the cri of^p Esebon vnto Eleale and Jeesa^{pp} 3eeuen ther vois, fro Segor vnto Oronaym the^q stoneid she^r calf; the watris forsothe of Nemrym
 35 shul be werst. And Y shal take away fro Moab, seith the Lord, the offrende in hee3e thingus, and the sacrificende to^s his
 36 godus. Therefore myn herte to Moab as a trumpe of bras shal sowne, and myn herte to the men of the tili^t wal shal 3yue soun of trumpis; for more he dide than he my3te, therefore thei persheden.
 37 Eche forsothe hed ballidnesse, and eche berd shauen shal be; in alle hondus the binding^u togidere, and vp on eche bac
 38 heire. And vp on alle the rooues of Moab, and in alle his stretus alle weiling, for he to-brosede Moab as a vessel
 39 vnprofetable, seith the Lord. What maner she is ouer come, and thei 3elliden? hou Moab thre3 down the noll, and is confoundid? And Moab shal be in to s3ornyng, and in to exsaumple^v to alle
 40 men in his cumpas. These thingus seith the Lord, Lo! as an egle he shall fleen out, and strecchen out his wengus to
 41 Moab. Taken is Carioth, and strength-

and the hi3nesse of herte, and the boost therof, and that the vertu therof is not ni3, *ethir lijk* it, nethir it enforside to do bi^a that that it mi3te. Therfor Y schal 31 weile on Moab, and Y schal crie to al Moab, to the men of the erthene wal, that weilen. Of the weilyng of Jaser Y schal 32 wepe to thee, thou vyner of Sabama; thi siouns passiden the see, tho camen 'til to^b the see of Jaser; a robbere felle in on thi ripe corn, and on thi vyndage. Ful out 33 io3e and gladnesse is takun awei fro Carmele, and fro the lond of Moab, and Y haue take awei wyn fro pressouris; a stampere of grape schal not syng a customable myri song. Of the cry of Esebon 34 'til to^c Eleale and Jesa thei 3auen her vois, fro Segor 'til to^c Oronaym a cow calf of thre 3eer; forsothe the watris of Nemrym schulen be ful yuele. And Y schal take 35 awei fro Moab, seith the Lord, him that offrith in hi3 places, and him that makith sacrifice to the goddis therof. Therfor 36 myn herte schal sowne as a pipe of bras to Moab, and myn herte schal 3yue sown of pipis to the men of the erthene wal; for it dide more than it my3te, therfor thei perischiden. For whi ech heed *schal be* 37 ballidnesse, and ech beard schal be schauun; in alle hondis *schal be* bindyng togidere, and an heir *schal be* on ech bak. And al weilyng *schal be* on alle the roouys 38 of Moab, and in the stretis therof, for Y haue al to-broke Moab as an vnprofitable vessel, seith the Lord. Hou is it ouer- 39 comun, and thei 3elliden^d? hou hath Moab cast down the nol, and is schent? And Moab schal be in to scorn, and in to ensaumple to alle men in his cumpas. The Lord 40 seith these thingis, Lo! as an egle he schal fle out, and he schal stretche forth hise wyngis to Moab. Carioth is takun, 41 and stronge holdis ben takun; and the herte of stronge men of Moab schal be in that dai, as the herte of a womman trauel-

^b thou art *E pr. m.* ⁱ Om. *AGHK.* ^k and ne *E pr. m.* ^l he *H.* ^m wake *E pr. m.* ⁿ Gabama *AGHK.*
^o of *K.* ^p Om. *AEGK.* ^{pp} Leesa *C.* ^q and the *E pr. m.* ^r destrozende she *E pr. m.* ^s in hethingus
 to *E pr. m.* ^t tilid *C pr. v.* ^u e3en *E pr. m.* ^v ensample *G.*

^a affir *I.* ^b vnto *I.* ^c vnto *I.* ^d 3eldiden *N.*

ingus ben ca3te; and ben shal the herte
of stronge men in that dai, as the herte
of a womman trauailende with child.
42 And cese shal Moab to ben a puple, for
43 a3en the Lord it gloriède. Inward ferd,
and dich, and grene vp on thee, O! dwell-
44 ere of Moab, seith the Lord. Who shal
flee fro the face of the ferd, shal falle in
to the dich; and who shul ste3e vp fro
the dich, shul be take with grene. Y
shal bringe to forsothe vp on Moab the
3er of visiting^w of hem, seith the Lord.
45 In the shadewe of Esebon stode thei fro
the grene fleende, for fyr wente out fro
Esebon, and flaume from the myddel of
Sion; and deuoure it shal the parte^x of
Moab, and the top of the sonus of noise.
46 Wo to thee, Moab; pershedist, thou puple
of Camos, for ca3t ben thi sonus, and thi
47 do3tris in to caitifte shul be lad. And Y
shal turne the^y caitifte of Moab in the
last dajes, seith the Lord.

CAP. XLIX.

1 Hyderto the domes of Moab. Also to
the sonus of Amon these thingus seith
the Lord. Whether ben not the sonus of
Israel, or eir is not to it? whi thanne the
eritage weldith Melchon Gad, and his
2 puple in^a his 'cheef cites^a dwellide? Ther-
fore lo! dajes comen in thee, seith the
Lord, and herd Y shal make vp on Ra-
bath of the sonus of Amon the gnasting^b
of bataile; and he^c shal be in to noyse^d
scatered, and his do3tris with fyr shal be
brend, and Israel shal welde his welderes,
3 seith the Lord. 3elle thou, Esebon, for
wastid is Hai; crieth, 3ee do3tris of Ra-
bath, girdeth 3ou with heires, weileth, and
goth aboute bi heggis; for Melchon in
to transmygracioun shal be bro3t, his
4 prestus and his princes togidere. What
gloriest thou in valeis? Flowede down
thi valei, thou do3ter delicat, that trost-
edist in thi tresores, and seidist, Who

ynge of child. And Moab schal ceesse to 42
be a puple, for it hadde glorie a3ens the
Lord. Drede, and diche, and snare *is* on 43
thee, thou dwellere of Moab, seith the
Lord. He that fleeth fro the face of 44
drede, schal falle in to a diche; and thei
that stien fro the dyche, schulen be takun
with a snare. For Y schal brynge on
Moab the 3eer of the visitacioun of hem,
seith the Lord. Men fleyng from the snare 45
stoden in the schadewe of Esebon, for whi
fier 3ede out of Esebon, and flawme fro
the myddis of Seon; and deuouride a part
of Moab, and the cop of the sonus of
noise. Moab, wo to thee; thou puple of 46
Chamos, hast perischid, for whi thi sonus
and thi dou3tris ben takun in to caitiftee.
And Y schal conuerte the caitiftee of Moab 47
in the laste daies, seith the Lord. Hidur
to ben the^e domes of Moab.

CAP. XLIX.

'Go 3e^f to the sonus^g of Amon. The 1
Lord seith these thingis. Whether no sonus
ben of Israel, ether an eir is not to it?
whi therfor weldide Melchon the eritage
of Gad, and the puple therof dwellide in
the citees of Gad? Lo! daies comen, 2
seith the Lord, and Y schal make the
gnaisting of batel herd on Rabath of the
sonus of Amon; and it schal be distried
in to noise, and the vilagis therof schulen
be brent with fier, and Israel schal welde
hise welderis, seith the Lord. 3elle 3e, 3
Esebon, for Hay is distried; crie, 3e dou3-
tris of Rabath, girde 3ou with heiris,
weile 3e, and cumpasse^b bi heggis; for whi
Melchon schal be lad in to passyng ouer,
the prestis therof and princes therof to-
gidere. What hast thou glorie in valeis? 4
Thi valeis fleetⁱ awei, thou delicat dou3ter,
that haddist trist in thi tresours, and seid-
ist, Who schal come to me? Lo! Y schal 5

^w the visiting E. ^x paard AK. parde G pr. m. ^y Om. K. ^z and c. ^a Om. E pr. m. ^b or noyse c sec. m.
marg. E sec. m. marg. K. gnastyng, or noise G. ^c it AGHK. ^d a mynde hipil c pr. m. E pr. m. a noyse
E sec. m. an noyse AK.

^e Om. I. ^f Om. I. ^g sonus also I. ^b compasseth I. ⁱ fletiden I. fleetith s.

5 shal come to me? Lo! Y shal bringen
in ferd vp on thee, seith the Lord God
of ostus, God of Israel, of alle that ben in
thi cumpas; and 3ee shul be scatered, eche
fro 3oure sijt, ne shal be, that gedere the
6 fleeres. And after these thingus Y shal
make to turne a3een the fleeres and the
caitifes of the sonus of Amon, seith the
7 Lord. To Idume these thingus^e seith
the Lord God of ostus. Whether no mor
is wisdam in Theman? Pershede counseil
fro^f sonus, vnprofitable mad is the wisdam
8 of hem. Fleeth, and turneth backus;
goth down in to a swolewe^g, 3ee dwelleres
of Dedan, for the perdicoun of Esau Y
haue^h bro3t vp on hym, tyme of his visit-
9 ing. Yf grape kutteres hadden come, vp
on thee thei shulden han laftⁱ a cluster
braunch; if theues in ny3t hadden stoln,
10 that shulde han suffisid to them. I for-
sothe discouered Esau, and opened his
hid thingus, and he shal not moun be
couered; wastid is his seed, and his bre-
thern, and his ne3hebores, and he shal
11 not be. Lef thi faderles childer, and Y
shal make them to lyue, and thi widewis
12 in me shul hope. For these thingus seith
the Lord, Lo! to whom was not dom,
that thei shulde drinke chalik^k, drink-
ende thei shul drinke; and thou as inno-
cent shalt be laft? thou^l shalt not be in-
nocent, but drinkende thou shalt drinke.
13 For bi myself Y swor, seith the Lord,
for in to wilderness and in to repref,
and in to desert, and in to cursing shal
be Bosra; and alle his cites shul ben^m in
14 to euere lastende wildernessⁿ. Herd
thing^o Y herde of the Lord, and a legat
to Jentilis is sent; beth gedered, and
cometh a3en it, and rise wee togidere to^p
15 bataile. Lo! forsothe a litil child Y 3af
thee in Jentilis, despisable among men.
16 Thin owne hauncyng desceyuede thee,
and the pride of thin herte, that dwellist
in caus of the ston, and^q to cacche

bringe in drede on thee, seith the Lord
God of oostis, God of Israel, of alle men
that ben in thi cumpasse; and 3e schulen
be scaterid, ech bi hym silf, fro 3oure sijt,
and noon schal be, that gadere hem that
fleen. And after these thingis Y schal⁶
make the fleeris and prisoneris of the
sones of Amon to turne a3en, seith the
Lord. To Ydumee the Lord God of oostis⁷
seith these thingis. Whether wisdom is no
more in Theman? Council perischide fro
sones, the wisdom of hem is maad vnpro-
fitable. Fle 3e, and turne 3e backis^k; go⁸
down in to a swolowe, 3e dwelleris of De-
dan, for Y haue brou3t the perdicoun of
Esau on hym, the tyme of his visitacioun.
If gadereris of grapis hadden come on⁹
thee, thei schulden haue left a clustre;
if theues in the ni3t, thei schulden haue
rauyschid that that suffiside to hem. For-¹⁰
sothe Y haue vnihilid Esau, and Y haue
schewid the hid thingis of hym, and he
mai not mow be hid; his seed is distried,
and hise britheren, and hise neizboris, and
it schal not be. Forsake thi fadirles chil-¹¹
dren, and Y schal make hem to lyue, and
thi widewis schulen hope in me. For the¹²
Lord seith these thingis, Lo! thei drynk-
ynge schulen drynke, to whiche^l was no
doom, that thei schulden drynke the cuppe.
And schalt thou^l be left as innocent? thou
schalt not be innocent, but thou drynk-
ynge schalt drynke. For Y swoor bi my¹³
silf, seith the Lord, that Bosra schal be
in to wildirnesse, and in to schenschi-
pe, and in to forsakyng, and in to cursyng;
and alle the citees therof schulen be in to
euerlastynge wildirnessis. I herde an¹⁴
heryng of the Lord, and Y am sent a
messenger to hethene men; be 3e gaderid
togidere, and come 3e a3ens it^m, and rise
we togidere in to batel. For lo! Y haue¹⁵
3oue thee a litil oon among hethene men,
despisable among men. Thi boost, and¹⁶
the pride of thin herte, hath disseyued

^e Om. E pr. m. ^f of A. ^g swol3 c pr. m. ^h ha K. ⁱ laft vpon thee E pr. m. ^k chalicis AGHK.
^l and K. ^m Om. C. ⁿ wilderness c. ^o thingis A. Om. E pr. m. ^p in to AEGHK. ^q Om. E pr. m.

^k the backis I. ^l whom I. ^l thou schalt c. ^m hem AI.

forcest the heizte of the hil; whan thou shalt enhaunce as an egle thi nest, then-
nus Y shal drawe thee, seith the Lord.
17 And be shal Idume desert; eche^r that
shal passe bi it, shal stoneyn, and whistle
18 vp on alle his veniaunces; as turned vp
so doun is Sodom and Gomor, and his
ny³ wonyngus, seith the Lord. Ther shal
not dwelle there a man, and ther shal
19 not tiln it the sone of man. Lo! as a
leoun he shal steze vp, and of the pride
of Jordan to a stalwrthe fairnesse; for
sodeynli to renne Y shal make hym^a to
it; and who shal be the chosen, whom
Y shal bifor pute to^t hym? Who for-
sothe lic^u me, and who shall susteyne
me, and who is this^v shepperde, that
20 withstant to my chere? Therefore hereth
the counseil of the Lord, that he^w wente
in of^x Edom, and his thoȝtus, that he
thoȝte of the dwelleres of Theman. Yf
the litle childer of the flo^c shul not
throwe them doun, no^z but they shuln^a
21 scatere with them ther dwelling. Fro
the vois of the falling of hem to-stirid is
the erthe; cry in the rede se 'is herd^b
22 of his vois. Lo! as an egle he shal
stezen vp, and fleen awei, and he shall
spreden out his wengus vp on Bosra; and
shal^c ben the herte of stronge men of
Idume in that dai, as the herte of a
23 womman trauailende with childe. To
Damasch. Confoundid is Emath and Ar-
fath, for werst heering thei herden; thei
ben disturbid in the se, for bisynesse thei
24 myȝten not reste. Losid atwynne is Da-
masch, turned is in to flizt; trembling
caȝte it, anguysshes and sorewis heelden
25 it, as a trauailende with childe. Hou
thei forsoke the preisable cyte, the^d chef
26 cite of gladnesse? Therefore fallen shul
his junge men in his stretes, and alle the
men of bataile shul become stille in that
27 dai, seith the Lord of ostus. And Y shal
teende vp fyr in the wal of Damasch,

thee, that dwellist in the caues of stoon,
and enforsist to take the hiznesse of a lital
hil; whanne thou as an egle hast reisd
thi nest, fro thennus Y schal drawe thee
doun, seith the Lord. And Ydumee schal¹⁷
be forsakun; ech man that schal passe bi
it, schal wondre, and schal hisse on alle
the woundis therof; as Sodom and Gom-¹⁸
mor is distried, and the niȝ citees therof,
seith the Lord. A man schal not dwelle
there, and the sone of man schal not en-
habite it. Lo! as a lioun he schal stie,¹⁹
fro the pride of Jordan to the strong fair-
nesse; for Y schal make hym renne sudenli
to it; and who schal be the chosun man,
whom Y schal sette bifore hym? For who
is^{is} lijk to me, and who schal suffre me?
and who is this^{is} scheepherde, that schal
ajenstonde my cheer? Therfor here ȝe²⁰
the councel of the Lord, which he took
of Edom, and his thouȝtis, whiche he
thouȝte of the dwelleris of Theman. If the
litle of the flo^c caste not hem doun, if thei
distrien not with hem the dwellyng of
hem, *ellis no man ȝyue credence to me.*
The erthe was mouyd of the vois of fall-²¹
yng of hem; the cry of vois therof was
herd in the reed see. Lo! as an egle he²²
schal stie, and fle out, and he schal sprede
abrood hise wynges on Bosra; and the
herte of the strong men of Idumee schal
be in that dai, as the herte of a womman
trauelynge of child. To Damask. Emath²³
is schent, and Arphath, for thei herden a
ful wickid heryng; thei weren disturbid
in the see, for angwisch thei miȝten not
haue reste. Damask was discourtfortid,²⁴
it was turned in to flizt; tremblyng took
it, angwischis and sorewis helden it, as
a womman trauelynge of child. How²⁵
forsoken thei a preisable citee, the citee of
gladnesse? Therfor the ȝonge men therof²⁶
schulen falle in the stretis therof, and alle
men of batel schulen be stille in that dai,
seith the Lord of oostis. And Y schal²⁷

^r and eche *E pr. m.* ^a Om. *c pr. m.* ^t Om. *K.* ^u lijk to *A.* ^v the *c.* ^w Om. *E pr. m.* ^x fro
E pr. m. ^y king *E pr. m.* ^z Om. *c pr. m. E pr. m. AGHK.* ^a Om. *A.* ^b heering is *E pr. m.* ^c he shal
E pr. m. ^d Om. *E pr. m.*

28 and deuoure the wallis of Benadab. To Cedar, and^e to the reumys of Asor, that Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, smot, these thingus seith the Lord. Riseth, and stezeth vp to Cedar, and wasteth the
29 sonus of the est. Ther tabernaclis and ther flockes thei shul taken; ther skynnus, and alle^f ther vesseles, and ther camailes thei shul gedere to them; and thei shul clepe vp on hem ferd in his cumpas.
30 Fleeth, goth awei hugeli in swolewes, sitteth, that dwellen Asor, seith the Lord. Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, wente in forsothe azen zou conseil, and tho3te
31 azen 3ow tho3tis. Riseth, and stezeth vp to a quyete folc of kinde, and dwellende trostili, seith the Lord; not dores ne his
32 barres, alone dwellen. And ben shul ther camailes in to reuyng, and the multitude of bestus in to prei; and Y shal scatere them in to eche wind, that ben dodded in to the her^g, and of eche coest of hem Y shal bringe deth vp on hem, seith the
33 Lord. And Asor shal be in to dwelling of dragounus, desert vnto withoute ende; ther shal not dwelle there a man, ne tiln
34 it the sone of man. That don is the wrd of the Lord to Jeremye, the profete, azen Elam, in the bigynnyng of the regne
35 of Sedechie, king of Juda, seiende, These thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Lo! I shal to-breke the bowe of
36 Elam, and take ther strengthe. And Y shal bringe in vp on Elam foure wyndus fro the foure coestus of heuene, and Y shal wynewe them in to alle these windus;
and ther shal not be folc of kinde, to whiche come not the^h ferr fleende ofⁱ
37 Elam. And Y shal make Elam to dreden biforn alle his enemys, and in the sizte of men sechende the soule of hem; and Y shal bringe in vp on hem euel, the wrathe of my wodnesse, seith the Lord, and Y shal sende vp on hem swerd, to the tyme
38 that Y to-waste them. And Y shal sette my see in Elam, and leese thennus kingus

kyndle fier in the wal of Damask, and it schal deuoure the bildyngis of Benadab. To Cedar, and to the rewme of Azor,²⁸ which Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, smoot, the Lord seith these thingis. Rise 3e, and stieⁿ to Cedar, and distrie 3e the sones of the eest. Thei schulen take the²⁹ tabernaclis of hem, and the flockis of hem; thei schulen take to hem the skynnes of hem, and alle the vessels of hem, and the camels of hem; and thei schulen clepe on hem inward drede in cumpas. Fle 3e, go³⁰ 3e awei greetli, 3e that dwellen in Asor, sitte^o in swolewis, seith the Lord. For whi Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, hath take councel azens 3ou, and he thou3te thou3tis azens 3ou. Rise 3e togidere, and stie³¹ 3e to a pesible folk, and dwellinge tristili, seith the Lord; not doris nether^p barris *ben* to it, thei^q dwellen aloone. And³² the camels of hem schulen be in to ra-uyschyng, and the multitude of her beestis in to prey; and Y schal schatere hem in to ech wynd, that ben biclippid on the long heer, and bi ech coost of hem Y schal brynge perischyng on hem, seith the Lord. And Asor schal be in to a dwellyng place³³ of dragouns; it schal be forsakun 'til in to^r withouten ende; a man schal not dwelle there, nether the sone of man schal enhabite it. The word of the Lord that³⁴ was maad to Jeremye, the profete, azens Elam, in the bigynnyng of the rewme of Sedechie, kyng of Juda, and seide, The³⁵ Lord of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal breke the bowe of Elam, and Y schal take the strengthe of hem. And I schal bringe on Elam foure³⁶ wyndis; fro foure coostis of heuene, and Y schal wyndewe^s hem in to alle these wyndis, and no folc schal be, to which^t the fleeris of Elam schulen not come. And³⁷ Y schal make Elam for to drede bifore her enemyes, and in the sijt of men sek-yng the lijf of hem; and Y schal brynge on hem yuel, the wraththe of my strong

^e in E. ^f Om. A. ^g hed CE pr. m. ^h Om. AE sec. m. GHK. ⁱ fro AGHK.

ⁿ stieth I. ^o sitteth I. ^p ne I. ^q and thei A pr. m. ^r vnto I. ^s wynewe I. ^t whom I.

39 and princes, seith the Lord: In the laste
forsothe dazes Y shal make to be turned
a3een the caitifes of Elam, seith the
Lord.

CAP. L.

1 The wrd that the Lord spac of Babi-
loyne, and of the lond of Caldeis, in the
2 hond of Jeremye, profete. Telleth in
folkus of kinde, and herd maketh; rereth
vp a tocne; precheth, and wileth not
hilyn; seith, Taken is Babilon, confound-
id is Bel, ouercomen is Maradac; con-
foundid ben his grauen thingus, ouercome
3 ben ther mawmetes. For ste3en vp shal
azens it folc of kinde fro the north, that
shall setten his lond in to wilderness;
and ther shal not be that dwelle in it,
fro man vn to beste; and thei ben moued,
4 and wenten awei. In tho dazes, and in
that tyme, seith the Lord, comen shul
the sonus of Israel, they and the sonus of
Juda togidere, goende and wepende shul
go forth; and the Lord ther God thei
5 shul seche in Sion, and aske the weie.
Hider ther faces shul come, and ben set
to^k the Lord with euere durende pes co-
uenaunt, that with no for3eting shal be
6 don away. The floc^l lost mad is my
puple, ther shepperdus bigiliden hem, and
maden to be vagaunt in mounteynus; fro
mounteyn in to hil thei passeden, thei
7 for3eeten of ther couche. Alle that
founden, eete them, and ther enemys
seiden, We han not synned, for thi that
thei^m han synned to the Lord, to the
fairnesse of rijtwisnesse, and to the abid-
8 ing of ther fadris, to the Lord. Goth
awei fro the myddel of Babiloyne, and
fro the lond of Caldeis; goth out, and
9 beth as goet bifor the floc. For loo! Y
shal rere, and bringe in to Babiloyne
the congregacioun of manye Jentilis, fro

veniaunce, seith the Lord; and Y schal
sende after hem a swerd, til Y waste hem.
And Y schal sette my kyngis seete in 38
Elam, and Y schal leese therof kyngis,
and princes, seith the Lord. But in the 39
laste daies Y schal make the prisoneris of
Elam to turne a3en, seith the Lord.

CAP. L.

The word which the Lord spac of Ba-
biloyne, and of the lond of Caldeis, in the
hond of Jeremye, the profete. Telle 3e 2
among hethene men, and make 3e herd;
reise 3e a signe; preche 3e, and nyle 3e
holde stille; seie 3e, Babiloyne is takun,
Bel is schent, Maradach is ouer comun;
the grauun ymagis therof ben schent, the
idols of hem ben ouer comun. For a folk 3
schal stie fro the north a3enus it, which
folk schal sette the lond therof in to wil-
dirnesse; and noon schal be that schal
dwelle therynne, fro man 'til to^u beeste;
and thei ben moued, and 3eden awei. In 4
tho daies, and in that tyme, seith the
Lord, the sones of Israel schulen come,
thei and the sones of Juda togidere, go-
yng and wepyng; thei schulen haaste,
and seke her Lord God in Sion, and thei 5
schulen axe the weie. Hidur the faces of
hem schulen come, and thei schulen be set
to the Lord with boond of pees euerlast-
yng, which^v schal not be don awei by
ony for3etyng. My puple is maad a lost 6
floc, the scheepherdis of hem disseyueden
hem, and maden^w to go vnstabli in hillis;
thei passiden fro mounteyn in to a litil
hil, thei for3aten her bed. Alle men that 7
founden, eeten hem, and the enemyes of
hem seiden, We synned not, for that
thei synned to the Lord, the fairnesse
of rijtfulnesse, and to the Lord, the abid-
yng of her fadris. Go 3e awei fro the 8
myddis of Babiloyne, and go 3e out of the
lond of Caldeis, and be 3e as kydis before
the floc. For lo! Y schal reise, and 9
bryng in to Babiloyne the gaderyng to-

^k in A. ^l folk AG. ^m Om. E pr. m.

^u vnto I. ^v the whiche I. ^w maden hem I.

the lond of the north; and thei shul be greythedⁿ azen it, and in dai it shal be taken; his arewe as of the most strong man sleere, shal not be turned azen
 10 voide. And Caldee shal be in to prei, and alle men wastende it shul be fulfild,
 11 seith the Lord. For 3ee ful out io3en, and grete thingus speken, reuende awei myn eritage; for heeld out 3ee ben as calues vpon^o gres, and 3ee looweden as
 12 boolis. Confoundid ys 3oure moder ful myche, and euened to poulder that gat 3ou; lo! the laste^p she shal be in folkes of kinde, and desert with oute weie, and
 13 driende. Fro the wrathe of the Lord it shall not ben enhabitid^q, but be turned al in to wilderness; eche that shal passe bi Babiloyne, shal stoneyn, and whistlen
 14 vp on alle his veniaunces. Beth redi azen Babilon bi enuyroun, alle that beenden bowe to fizen it down; spareth not to
 15 dartes, for to the Lord it synnede^r. Crieth azen it, oueral it 3af hond; fellen his foundemens, and destroyed ben his wallis; for the veniaunce of the Lord 'it is^s. Veniaunce taketh of it; as it dide, doth
 16 to it. Scatereth the sowere fro Babilon, and the holdende sikel in the^t tyme of rip, fro the face of the swerd of the culuer; eche to his puple shal be turned, and
 17 eche to ther^u lond shal fleen. Scatered^v is the floc of Irael, leownus threwn hym out; first eet hym king Assur, this the laste thre3 out his boenus, Nabugodono-
 18 sor, king of Babiloyne. Therefore these thingus seith the Lord of ostus, God of Irael, Lo! I shal visite the king of Babiloyne, and his lond, as Y visitede king
 19 Assur; and Y shal bringe azen Irael to his^w dwelling. And be fed shal Carmeel and Basan, and the^x mount of Effraym
 20 and Galaad shal be fulfild his soule. In tho dazis, and in that tyme, seith the Lord, shal be so3t the wyckenesse^y of Irael, and shal not be; and the synne of

gidere of grete folkis, fro the lond of the north; and thei schulen be maad redi azens it, and it schal be takun in the dai; the arowe therof as^x of^y a strong man a sleere, schal^z not turne azen voide. And
 10 Caldee schal be in to prey, alle that distrien it, schulen be fillid, seith the Lord. For
 11 3e maken ful out io3e, and speken grete thingis, and rauyschen myn eritage; for 3e ben sched out as caluys on erbe, and lowiden^a as bolis. 3oure modir is schent
 12 greetli, and sche that gendride 3ou, is maad euene to dust; lo! sche schal be the last among folkis, and forsakun, with out weie, and drie. For the wrathte of
 13 the Lord it schal not be enhabitid, but it schal be dryuun al in to wildirnesse; ech that schal passe bi Babiloyne, schal wondre, and schal hisse on alle the woundis therof. Alle 3e that beenden bowe, be^b
 14 maad redi azens Babiloyne bi cumpas; ouercome 3e it, spare 3e not arowis, for it synnede to the Lord. Crye 3e azens it,
 15 euery where it 3af hond; the foundementis therof fellen down, and the wallis therof ben distried; for it is the veniaunce of the Lord. Take 3e veniaunce of it; as it dide, do 3e to it. Leese 3e a sowere of
 16 Babiloyne, and hym that holdith a sikel in the tyme of heruest, fro the face of swerd of the culuer; ech man schal be turned to his puple, and ech man schal flee to his lond. Israel is a scaterid floc,
 17 liouns castiden out it; first kyng Assur eete it, this laste Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, dide awei the bonys therof. Therfor the Lord of oostis, God of Israel,
 18 seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal visite the kyng of Babiloyne, and his lond, as Y visitide the kyng of Assur; and Y schal
 19 brynge azen Israel to his dwellyng place. Carmele and Baasan schal be fed, and his soule schal be fillid in the hil of Effraym, and of Galaad. In tho daies, and in that
 20 tyme, seith the Lord, the wickidnesse of

ⁿ gedered *c pr. m.* ^o vp *c.* ^p laste thingus *c pr. m. E pr. m. sed exp.* ^q abited *E pr. m.* ^r hath synned *AGHK.* ^s Om. *C.* ^t Om. *AE GH.* ^u his *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^v The scatered *E pr. m.* ^w his own *K.* ^x in the *E.* ^y wickidnes *AGHK.*

^x is *s.* ^y Om. *N.* ^z and shal *N.* ^a lowiden, *ether [or E] bellewiden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX.* ^b beth *I.*

Juda, and shal not be founde; for merciful Y shal be to them, whom I shal
 21 leene^z. Vp on the lond of the lordship-
 ende stee; thou^a vp, and vp on his dwel-
 leres visite; waste, and sle, that after hem
 ben, seith the Lord; and do aftir alle
 22 thingus that Y comaunde^b to thee. Vois
 of bataile in the lond, and gret to-bros-
 23 ing. Hou^c to-broke and to-brosid is the
 hamer of al erthe? what maner is turned
 24 in to desert Babilon, in Jentilus? I gren-
 ede thee, and take thou art, Babilon, and
 wistist not; founde thou art, and ca3t,
 25 for the Lord thou terredist. The Lord
 openede his tresor, and bro3te forth ves-
 selis of his wrathe; for were is to the
 Lord God of ostus in the lond of Caldeis.
 26 Cometh to it fro vtmost^d coestus, open-
 eth, that thei go out that^e to-treden it;
 taketh fro the weie stones, and doth in
 to hepes, and sleth it, ne be ther any
 27 thing laft. Scatereth alle his stronge men,
 come thei down in to slazter; wo to them,
 for comen is the dai of hem, tyme of
 28 ther visiting. Vois of the fleeres^f, and
 of hem that scapeden fro the lond of Ba-
 bilyone, that thei telle in Sion the ven-
 iaunce of the Lord oure God, veniaunce
 29 of his temple. Telleth out in to Babilon
 to manye, to alle that beenden bowe.
 Stondeth togidere a3en it bi cumpas, and
 no man scape; 3eldeth to it after his
 werc, after alle thingus that it dide, doth
 to it; for a3en the Lord it is rered, a3en
 30 the hoeli of Irael. Therfore falle shuln
 his 3unge men in his stretus, and alle his
 men fizteres shul bicomme stille in that
 31 dai, seith the Lord. Lo! Y to thee, thou
 proude, seith the Lord God of ostus, for
 thi dai is come, tyme of thi visiting.
 32 And falle shal the proude, and at ones
 falle, and ther shal not be that rere hym;
 and Y shal teende vp fyr in his cites,
 and deuoure it shal alle thingus in his
 33 cumpas. These thingus seith the Lord

Israel schal be sou3t, and it schal not be;
 and the synne of Juda *shal be sou3t*, and
 it^c schal not be foundun; for Y schal be
 merciful to hem, whiche Y schal forsake^d.
 Stie thou on the lond of lordis^e, and visite²¹
 thou on^f the dwelleris therof; scatere
 thou, and sle tho thingis, that ben aftir
 hem, seith the Lord; and do thou bi alle
 thingis which Y comaundide to thee. The²²
 vois of batel and greet^g sorewe in the
 lond. Hou is the hamer of al erthe²³
 brokun and al defoulid? hou is Babiloyne
 turned in to desert, among hethene men?
 Babiloyne, Y haue snarid thee, and thou²⁴
 art takun, and thou wistist not; thou art
 foundun, and takun, for thou terridist the
 Lord to wraththe. The Lord openide his²⁵
 tresour, and brou3te forth the vessels of
 his wraththe; for whi a werk is to the
 Lord God of oostis in the lond of Caldeis.
 Come 3e to it fro the fertheeste endis, opene²⁶
 3e, that thei go out, that schulen defoule
 it; take 3e awei stoonys fro the weie, and
 dryue 3e in to heepis, and sle 3e it, and
 nothing be residue. Distrie 3e alle the²⁷
 stronge men therof, go thei down in to
 sleyng; wo to hem, for the dai of hem
 cometh, the tyme of visityng of hem. The²⁸
 vois of fleeris, and of hem that ascapiden
 fro the lond of Babiloyne, that thei telle
 in Sion the veniaunce of oure Lord God,
 the veniaunce of his temple. Telle 3e²⁹
 a3ens Babiloyne to ful many men, to alle
 that beenden bowe. Stonde 3e togidere
 a3ens it bi cumpas, and noon^b ascape;
 3elde 3e to it aftir his werk, aftir alle
 thingis whiche it dide, do 3e to it; for it
 was reisid a3ens the Lord, a3ens the hooli
 of Israel. Therfor 3onge men therof³⁰
 schulen falle down in the stretis therof,
 and alle men werriours therof schulen be
 stille in that dai, seith the Lord. Lo!³¹
 thou proude, Y to thee, seith the Lord
 God of oostis, for thi dai is comun, the
 tyme of thi visitacioun. And the proude³²

^z forsake *c pr. m. E pr. m.* ^a Om. *AE pr. m. GHK.* ^b comaundede *AEGHK sec. m.* ^c For *E pr. m.*
^d vttermost *AK. the vttermoste GH.* ^e that thei *E pr. m.* ^f sleers *AGH.*

^c Om. *s.* ^d leue *x sec. m. marg.* ^e the lordis *F.* ^f on alle *A sec. m.* ^g the greet *N.* ^b late noon *A pr. m.*

of ostus, Challenge^g suffren the sonus of
Israel and the sonus of Juda togidere; alle
that token hem, holden, thei 'wiln lefe^b
34 not them. Ther a3eenbiere strong, Lord
of ostus his name; bi domⁱ he shal de-
fende ther cause, that he fere the lond,
and to-stere the dwelleris of Babiloyne.
35 Swerd to the Caldeis, seith the Lord, and
to the dwelleris of Babilon, and to the
36 princes, and to his wise men. Swerd to
his deuynoures, that foolis shul be; swerd
37 to his stronge men, that shul drede. Swerd
to his hors, and to his chares, and to al
the comun that is in his myddel, and
thei shul be as wymmen; swerd toⁱ his
tresores, for thei shul be reued awei.
38 Dro3te vp on his watris shal be, and thei
shul become drie; for the lond of grauen
thingus it is, and in wndris glorieth.
39 Therefore dwelle shal dragounus with
'fonnaed woode theues^k, and dwelle in it
shul ostricchis; and me shal no more
dwelle in it 'vn toⁱ euermore, ne shal be
mad vp vn to ieneracioun and ienera-
40 cioun; as the Lord turned vp so down
Sodom and Gomor, and his ny3 townes,
seith the Lord. Ther shal not dwelle a
41 man, ne tiln it the sone of man. Lo! a
puple cam fro the north, and a gret folc of
kinde, and manye kingus^m shul rise fro
42 the coestus of the lond. Boewe and sheld
thei shul take, cruel thei ben and vnmer-
ciable; the vois of them as the se shal
sowne, and vp on hors shul ste3en vp as
a man redi to bataile, a3een thee, thou
43 do3ter of Babilon. The king of Babiloyne
herde the loes of hem, and loosed a-
twynne ben his hondus; anguysh ca3te
hym, sorewe as the trauailende with
44 childe. Lo! as a leoun ste3eth vp fro
the pride of Jordan to a stalwrthe fair-
nesse, for to renne sodeynli I shal make
hym^p to it; and who shal be the chosen,
whom Y shal bifor putte to hym? Who
forsothe lijce me^o? and^p who shal sustene

schal falle, and schal falle down togidere,
and noon schal be; that schal reise hym;
and Y schal kyndle fier in the citees of
hym, and it schal deuoure alle thingis in
cumpas of it. The Lord of oostis seith³³
these thingis, The sones of Israel and the
sones of Juda togidere suffren fals caleng;
alle that token hem, holden, thei nylen^b
delyuere hem. The a3enbyere of hem is³⁴
strong, the Lord of oostis is his name; bi
dom he schal defende the cause of hem,
that he make the lond aferd, and stire
togidere the dwelleris of Babiloyne. A³⁵
swerd to Caldeis, seith the Lord, and to
the dwelleris of Babiloyne, and to the
princes, and to the wise men therof. A³⁶
swerd to the false dyuynours therof, that
schulen be foolis; a swerd to the stronge
men therof, that schulen drede. Swerd³⁷
to the horsis therof, and to the charis
therof, and to al the comyn puple whiche
is in the myddis therof, and thei schulen
be as wymmen; a swerd to the tresours
therof, that schulen be rauyschid. Dry-³⁸
nesse schal be on the watris therof, and
thoⁱ schulen be drye; for it is the lond of
grauun ymagis, and hath glorie in false
feynyngis. Therfor dragouns schulen³⁹
dwelle with fonnaed wielde men^j, and os-
trigis schulen dwelle therynne; and it
schal no more be enhabitid 'til in to^k with
outen ende, and it schal not be bildid 'til
toⁱ generacioun and generacioun; as the⁴⁰
Lord distriede Sodom and Gomorre, and
the ni3 citees therof, seith the Lord. A
man schal not dwelle there, and the sone
of man schal not dwelle in it. Lo! a⁴¹
puple cometh fro the north, and a greet
folc, and many kyngis schulen rise togi-
dere fro the endis of erthe. Thei schulen⁴²
take bowe and swerd, thei ben cruel and
vnmerciful; the vois of hem schal sowne
as the see, and thei schulen stie on horsis
as a man maad redi to batel, a3ens thee,
thou dou3ter of Babiloyne. The kyng of⁴³

^g Wronge challenge AE sec. m. GHK sec. m. ^h leuen wiln E pr. m. ⁱ vp on E pr. m. ^k wodewoses c pr. m.
E pr. m. fonnaed woode wosys G sec. m. ^l in to AK. to GH. ^m Om. c. ⁿ Om. c pr. m. ^o to me AK sec. m.
P Om. E pr. m.

^h wolen not i. ⁱ thei n. ^j men, *ethir fendis in licnesse of wodewosis* A et plures. ^k vnto i. ^l vnto i.

me? and who is this^q shepperde that
 45 withstant to my chere? Therfore hereth
 the counseyl of the Lord, that in mynde
 he conseyuede^r azen Babylon, and his
 tho3tis, that he tho3t vpon the lond of
 Caldeis, no^s but with drawen hem the
 litil childer of flockus, no^s but scatered^t
 46 with them ther dwelling. Fro the vois
 of the caitifte of Babilon stirid is the
 lond, and cry among Jentiles is herd.

Babiloyne herde the fame of hem, and
 hise hondis ben aclumsid; angwisch took
 hym, sorewe *took hym*, as a womman tra-
 uelynge of child. Lo! as a lioun he schal 44
 stie fro the pride of Jordan to the stronge
 fairnesse, for Y schal make hym to renne
 sudenli to it; and who schal be the chosun
 man, whom Y schal sette bifore him? For
 who *is* lijk me? and who schal suffre me?
 and who is this scheepherde, that schal
 azenstonde my cheer? Therfore here 3e 45
 the councel of the Lord, which he con-
 seyuede in mynde azens Babiloyne, and
 hise thou3tis, whiche he thou3te on the
 lond of Caldeis, no^m but the litle of the
 flockis drawen hem down, no^m but the
 dwellyng place of hem be destried with
 hem, *ellis no man 3yue credence to me*.
 The erthe is mouyd of the vois of caitiftee 46
 of Babiloyne, and cry is herd among hethene
 men.

CAP. LI.

1 These thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y
 shal reren vp on Babilon, and vp on his
 dwelleris, that ther herte rereden azen
 meⁿ, as a wind bringende in pestilence.
 2 And Y shal sende in to Babilon wynew-
 eres, and thei shul wynewe it, and de-
 strozen his lond; for they camen vp on it
 on eche side in the dai of his tormenting.
 3 And^v he shal not wone, that beendith his
 bowe, and ste3en vp shal not the clothide
 with an habirioun; wileth not spare to
 his 3unge men, sleth al his chyualrie.
 4 And falle shuln the slayne in the lond of
 Caldeis, and the woundid in his regeouns.
 5 For Irael was not forsake, *or maad wy-*
dow^w, and Juda fro the Lord ther God,
 Lord of ostus; the lond forsothe of hem
 folfild is of gilte fro the hoely of Irael.
 6 Fleeth fro the myddel of Babilon, that
 eche man saue his soule; wileth not be
 stille vp on his wickenesse^x, for tyme of
 his veniaunce is to^y the Lord; his while
 7 he shal 3elde to hym. A goldene chalis

CAP. LI.

The Lord seith these thingis, Lo! Y 1
 schal reise on Babiloyne, and on the dwel-
 leris therof, that reisen her herte azens
 me, as a wynd of pestilence. And Y schal 2
 sende in to Babiloyne wyndewerisⁿ, and
 thei schulen wyndewe^o it, and thei^p schu-
 len destrie the lond of it; for they camen
 on it on ech side, in the dai of the tur-
 ment therof. He that beendith his bowe, 3
 beende not, and a man clothid in habu-
 rioun, stie not; nyle 3e spare the 3onge
 men therof, sle 3e al the chyualrie therof.
 And slayn men schulen falle in the lond 4
 of Caldeis, and woundid men in the cun-
 treis therof. For whi Israel and Juda was 5
 not maad widewe fro her God, the Lord
 of oostis; but the lond of hem was fillid
 with trespas of the hooli of Israel. Fle 6
 3e fro the myddis of Babiloyne, that ech
 man saue his soule; nyle 3e be stille on
 the wickidnesse therof, for whi tyme of
 veniaunce therof is to the Lord; he schal
 7 3elde while to it. Babiloyne *is* a goldun 7

^q the E pr. m. ^r conseyue E pr. m. ^s Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. ^t scatered were AGHK. ^u Om. c pr. m.
^v Om. AE sec. m. GHK. ^w maad widewe A. forsake c et E pr. m. maad widu, or forsake GHK. ^x wickid-
 nes AGHK. ^y in A.

^m Om. I. ⁿ wyneweris I. ^o wynewe I. ^p Om. I.

of Babiloyne in the hond of the Lord,
 drunkende al the lond; of his wyn
 drunke the Jentilis, and thennus thei ben
 8 to-stirid. Sodeynly fel Babilon, and is
 to-brosid; zelleth vpon yt, taketh recyne
 gumme to his sorewe, if paraenture he
 9 be helid. Wee han cured Babilon, and
 he is not helid; forsake wee it, and go
 wee eche in to his lond; 'for ful^z cam 'vn
 to^a heuenus^b hys dom, and vp rered is
 10 vn to the cloudus. The Lord brozte forth
 oure^c riztwisnesses; come^d, and telle wee
 in Sion the werc of the Lord oure God.
 11 Sharpeth arwes, fulfilleth^e arwe cases;
 the Lord rerede his spirit of kingus of
 Medes, and azen Babilon is his mynde,
 that he leese it, for the veniaunce of the
 Lord is, the veniaunce of his temple^f.
 The king of Medus azen Babilon of the
 12 Lord is rered. Vp on the wallis of Ba-
 bilon rereth a toene, eecheth the warde,
 rereth the keperes, greithith busshemens;
 for the Lord thozt, and dide, what euer
 thingus^g he spac azen the dwelleris of
 13 Babilon. That dwellist vp on manye
 watris, riche in tresores, comen is thin
 ende, the foot mesure of thi kutting of.
 14 The Lord of ostus swor bi his lyf, for Y
 shal fulfille thee of men, as with bruc
 werm, and vp on thee a merie faring
 15 song shal be sunge. That made the
 erthe in his strengthe, biforn made redi
 the world in his wisdam, and bi his pru-
 16 dence strazte out heuenus. Hym 3yuende
 vois, ben multeplyed watris in heuene;
 that rereth cloudus fro the vtmost^h of the
 erthe, leitus 'in toⁱ reyn^k made, and brozte
 17 forth wind of his tresores. Fool is mad
 eche man of kunnyng, confoundid is eche
 3eetere in grauen thing; for 'fals is his^l
 18 3eting, ne ther is spyrit in hem. Veyne
 ben the werkus, and wrthi scornynge; in
 tyme of ther visityng thei shul pershe.
 19 Not as this the part of Jacob; for that^m

cuppe in the hond of the Lord, and fillith
 al erthe; hethene men drunken of the
 wyn therof, and therfor thei ben inouyd.
 Babiloyne felle doun sudenli, and is al to-
 brokun; zelle 3e on it, take 3e recyn to
 the sorewe therof, if perauenture it be
 heelid. We heeliden Babiloyne, and it is
 not maad hool; forsake we it and go we
 ech in to his lond; for the doom therof
 cam 'til to^a heuenes, and is^r reised 'til to^s
 cloudis. The Lord hath brouzt forth oure^t
 10 riztfulnessis; come 3e, and telle we in^t
 Sion the werk of oure Lord God. Scharpe^u
 3e arowis, fille 3e arowe caasis; the Lord
 reise^v the spirit of the kyngis of Me-
 deis, and his mynde is azen Babiloyne,
 that he leese it, for it is the veniaunce of
 the Lord, the veniaunce of his temple.
 The kyng of Medeis is reised of the Lord
 azens Babiloyne. Reise 3e a signe on the¹²
 wallis of Babiloyne, encreesse 3e kepyng,
 reise 3e keperis, make 3e redi buysche-
 mentis; for the Lord thouzte, and dide,
 what euer thing he spak azens the dwel-
 leris of Babiloyne. *A! thou Babiloyne,*¹³
 that dwellist on many watris, riche in thi
 tresours, thin ende cometh, the foote me-
 sure of thi kitting down. The Lord of¹⁴
 oostis swoor bi his soule, that Y schal fille
 thee with men, as with bruke, and a myry^v
 song schal be sungun on thee. *The Lord*¹⁵
 swoor, which made erthe bi his strengthe,
 made redy the world bi his wisdom, and
 stretchide forth heuenes bi his prudence.
 Whanne he 3yueth vois, watris ben mul-¹⁶
 tiplied in heuene; which *Lord* reise^w
 cloudis fro the laste of erthe, made^w leitis
 in to reyn, and brouzt forth wynd of hise
 tresouris. Ech man is maad a fool of¹⁷
 kunnyng, ech wellere togidere is schent in
 a grauun ymage; for his wellyng togidere
 is fals, and a spirit is not in tho. *The*¹⁸
 werkis ben veyn, and worthi of scorn;
 tho^x schulen perische in the tyme of her

^z ferful GH. ^a in to AGHK. ^b heuen G pr. m. H. ^c his A sup. ras. C pr. m. E pr. m. ^d cometh AEGHK.
^e and fulfillith A. ^f peple AGHK. ^g thing AK. ^h vttermost AGHK. ⁱ in K. ^k the reyne A. ^l liying is
 E pr. m. ^m he that E pr. m.

^q vnto I. ^r it is I. ^s vnto I. ^t on N. ^u hath reised I. ^v faring, *ethir customable* x *marg. sec. m.*
^w he made I. ^x thei N.

made alle thingus he is, and Irael the kingus dignete of his eritage; the Lord of
 20 ostus his name. Thou hurtlist to me the vesselis of bataile, and Y shal hurtle in thee Jentilis, and scatere in thee reumus;
 21 and Y shal hurtle in thee the hors, and hisⁿ hors man; and Y shal hurtle in thee
 22 the char, and his stejere; and I shal hurtle in thee the man and the womman; and I shal hurtle in thee the old man and the child; and I shal hurtle in thee
 23 the 3unge man and the maide^o; and I shal hurtle in thee the shepperde and his floc; and Y shal hurtle in thee the erthe tiliere and his 3oc oxen; and I shal hurtle
 24 in thee dukes and the^p maister 3ugis. And I shal 3eelde to Babilon, and to alle the dwelleris of Caldee, alle his euel, that he hided in Sion, in 3oure e3en, seith the
 25 Lord. Lo! Y to thee, thou hil berende pestilence, seith the Lord, that corrupist al the erthe. I shal strecche out myn hond vp on thee, and turne out thee fro stonus, and Y shal 3yue thee in to mount
 26 of brennyng. And Y shal not take of thee a ston in to a corner, and a ston in to foundemens; but lost thou shalt be in to
 27 with oute ende, seith the Lord. Rereth a toene in the lond, crieth with a trumpe in mounteynes; halewith vp on it Jentilis, telleth out a3en it^a to the kingus of Ararath, of Menny, and of Ascheneth; noumbreth a3en it Thasor, bringeth to^r vp on it hors, as bruke hauende tonge.
 28 Halewith vp on it Jentilis, kingus of Mede, his dukus, and alle his maister iugis, and al the lond of his power.
 29 And al to-moued shal be the lond, and disturbid; for wakide out a3en Babilon the tho3t of the Lord, that he poote the lond of Babilon desert, and vnabitable.
 30 Ceseden the stronge men of Babilon fro bataile, thei dwelten in places of refut; deuoured is^e ther stalwrthenesse, and made thei^t ben as wymmen; brend vp ben his
 31 tabernaclis, to-brosid ben his barres. The

visityng. The part of Jacob *is* not as 19 these thingis; for he that made alle thingis *is the part of Jacob*, and Israel *is* the septre of his eritage; the Lord of oostis *is* his name. Thou hurtlist down 20 to me the instrumentis of batel, and Y schal hurtle down folkis in thee, and Y schal leese rewmes in thee; and Y schal 21 hurtle down in thee an hors, and the ridere therof; and Y schal hurtle down in thee a chare, and the stiere therof; and 22 Y schal hurtle down in thee a^y man and womman; and Y schal hurtle down in thee an^z elde man and a^a child; and Y schal hurtle down in thee a^b 3ong man and a^b virgyn; and Y schal hurtle down in thee 23 a^b scheepherde and his floc; and Y schal hurtle down in thee an^c erthetiliere and his 3ok beestis; and Y schal hurtle down in thee duykis and magistratis. And Y 24 schal 3elde, seith the Lord, to Babiloyne, and to alle the dwelleris of Caldee, al her yuel, which thei diden in Sion, bfore 3oure i3en. Lo! Y, seith the Lord, to 25 thee, thou hil berynge pestilence, which corrupist al the erthe. Y schal stretch forth myn hond on thee, and Y schal vnwlapp^e thee fro stoonys, and Y schal 3yue thee in to an hil of brennyng. And 26 Y schal not take of thee a stoon in to a corner, and a stoon in to foundementis; but thou schalt be lost with outen ende, seith the Lord. Reise 3e a signe in the 27 lond, sowne 3e with a clarioun in hillis; halewe 3e^d folkis on it, telle 3e to the kyngis of Ararath, of Menny, and of Ascheneth a3ens it; noumbre 3e Tapser† a3ens it, and bringe 3e an hors, as a bruke hauynge a pricke. Halowe 3e folkis a3ens 28 it, the kyngis of Medey, the duykis therof, and alle magistratis^e therof, and al the lond of his power. And the erthe schal 29 be mouyd, and schal be disturbid; for the thou3t of the Lord schal fulli wake a3ens Babiloyne, that he sette the lond of Babiloyne desert, and vnhabitable. The 30

† that is, oost
 A et plures.

^o the K. ^o mayden AEGHK. P Om. AGHK.
 G pr. m. H.

q Om. AG pr. m. H. r Om. A. s Om. c. t Om.

y Om. P. z Om. P. a Om. NP. b Om. P. c Om. P. d Om. N. e the magistrates IX.

rennere to meete with the rennere shal come, and the messenger to meete with the tellere, that he telle out to the king of Babiloyne, for taken is his cite fro the
 32 ouermost to the ouermost; and the forthis ben bifor ocupied, and the mershis ben brend vp with fyr, and the men fizteres
 33 ben disturbid. For these thingus seith the Lord of ostis, God of Irael, The do3ter of Babilon as a corn floor, tyme of his thresshing; 3it a litil, and come
 34 shal the tyme of his reping^a. Eet me, deuourede^v me Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne; he 3eeld me as a voide vessel, soupede me vp as a dragoun; he fulfide his wombe with my tendernesse,
 35 and caste me out. Wickenesse^w azen me, and my flesh vp on Babiloyne, seith the dwelling^x of Sion; and my blod vp on the dwelleres of Calde, seith Jerusalem.
 36 Therefore these thingus seith the Lord, Lo! Y shal deme thi cause, and venge thi vengyng; and desert shal make his
 37 se, and shal drien his veyne. And Babilon shal be in to mynde hepis, the dwelling of dragounus, stoneing and whistling, for thi that ther is not a dwel-
 38 lere togidere. And leouns shul rore, and shake out shul her^y lockus, as the
 39 whelpus of leouns. In the^z hete of hem Y shal putte ther drinc; and Y shal drunkne them, that thei ben greued with slep, and slepen an euere durende slep, that
 40 they rise not, seith the Lord. I^a shal lede them down as lombis to slayn sacrifice, and as wetheris with kidus. Hou taken is Cisac, and ca3t is the glorious
 41 of al erthe? What maner mad is in to stoneyng Babilon among Jentilis? And ste3ede vp vp on Babilon the se, with the multitude of his flodus it is couered.
 43 Mad ben his cites in to stoneyng, the lond vnabitable and desert; the lond in whiche no man dwelle, ne passe thur3 it
 44 the sone of man. And Y shal visite vp on Bel in to Babilon, and throwen awei

stronge men of Babiloyne ceessiden of batel, thei dwelliden in stronge holdis; the strengthe of hem is deuourid, and thei ben maad as wymmen; the tabernaclis therof ben brent, the barris therof ben al to-brokuh. A rennere schal come³¹ azens a rennere, and a messenger azens a messenger, to telle to the kyng of Babiloyne, that his citee is takun fro the *toon*^f ende 'til to^g the *tother*^h ende; andⁱ the³² forthis ben bifore ocupied, and the marris ben brent with fier, and the men werryours ben disturblid. For the Lord³³ of oostis, God of Israel, seith these thingis, The dou3ter of Babiloyne *is* as a corn floor, the tyme of threischyng therof; 3it a litil, and the tyme of repyng therof schal come. Nabugodonosor, the kyng of³⁴ Babiloyne, eet me, and deuouride me; he made me as a voide vessel, he as a dragoun swolewide me; he fillide his wombe with my tendirnesse, and he castide me out. Wickidnesse azens me, and my³⁵ fleisch on Babiloyne, seith the dwellyng of Sion; and my blood on the dwelleris of Caldee, seith Jerusalem. Therfor the Lord³⁶ seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal deme thi cause, and Y schal venge thi veniaunce; and Y schal make the see therof forsakun, and Y schal make drie the veyne therof. And Babiloyne schal be in to biriels, *it*³⁷ *schal be* the dwellyng of dragouns, wondryng and hissyng, for that no dwellere is. Thei schulen rore togidere as liouns,³⁸ and thei schulen schake lockis, as the whelpis of liouns. In the heete of hem³⁹ Y schal sette the drynkis of hem; and Y schal make hem drunkun, that thei be brou3t asleepe, and that thei slepe euerlastyng sleep, and rise not, seith the Lord. Y^k schal lede forth^l hem, as lam-⁴⁰ bren to slayn sacrifice, and as wetheris with kidis. Hou is Sesac takun, and the noble *citee* of al erthe is takun? Hou is⁴¹ Babiloyne made in to wondre among he-thene men? And the see stiede on Babi-⁴²

^a visiting *E pr. m.* ^v deuoure *K.* ^w Wickidnes *AGHK.* ^x dweller *AGHK.* ^y Om. *E pr. m.* ^z Om. *c.*
^a And I *AGHK.*

^f Om. *plures.* ^g vnto *1.* ^h Om. *plures.* ⁱ Om. *K.* ^k And Y *A pr. m.* ^l Om. *s.*

that, that it hadde soupid vp fro his mouth, and shul no mor flowe to it Jentilis; forsothe and the wal of Babiloyne shal at ones^b falle. Goth out fro his myddel, my puple, that eche man saue his lif fro the wraethe of the wodnesse of the Lord; and lest par aventure waxe nesshe 3oure herte, and 3ee drede the heering, that shal be herd in the lond; and come shal in a 3eer heering, and after this 3er heering and wickenesse^c in the lond, and lordshipere vp on lordshipere. Therefore lo! da3es comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal visite vp on grauen thingus of Babiloyne; and al hys lond shal be confoundid, and alle his slayne shuln falle in his myddel. And preise shul vp on Babiloyne heuenus, and erthe, and alle thingus that in hem ben; for fro the north shul come to it reueres, seith the Lord. And hou dide Babilon, that fallen shulde slayn men in Irael, so fro Babylon falle shul slayn men in al the lond. 3ee that fledden^d the swerd, come^e, and wileth not stonde; recordeth aferr of the Lord, and Jerusalem ste3e vp on 3oure herte. Confoundid wee ben, for wee han herd repref; couerede shenshype oure faces, for ther camen alienus vp on the halewing of the hous of the Lord. Therefore lo! da3es comen, seith the Lord, and Y schal visite vp on the grauen thingus of Babiloyne, and in al his lond loowen shal the woundid. If ste3en^f shul Babilon in to heuene, and fastne in hei3te his stalwrthesse, to me shul come his wasteres, seith the Lord. Vois of the criende fro Babilon, and gret to-treding fro the lond of Caldeis, for the Lord wastide Babilon, and lost of it a gret vois; and sowne shuln his flodus as many watris. 3af soun the vois of hem, for ther cam vp on it, that is, vp on Babilon, the reuere; and ca3t ben his stronge men, and driede out the bowe of them, for a stronge vengere the Lord; 3eldende a3eyn^h he shal 3elde.

loyne, it was hilid with the multitude of hise wawis^m. The citees therof ben maad⁴³ in to wondryng, the lond *is maad* vnhabitable and forsakun; the lond wherynne no man dwellith, and the sone of man schal not passe bi it. And Y schal visite⁴⁴ on Bel in to Babiloyne, and Y schal caste out of hise mouth that, that he hadde swolewid, and folkis schulen no more flowe to it; for also the wal of Babiloyne schal falle down. Mi puple, go 3e out fro⁴⁵ the myddis therof, that ech man saue his soule fro the wraththe of the strong veniaunce of the Lord; and lest perauen-⁴⁶ ture 3oure herte wexe neische, and lest 3e dreden the heryng, that schal be herd in the lond; and heryng schal come in a 3eer, and aftir this 3eer *schal come* heryng and wickidnesse in the lond, and a lord on a lord. Therfor lo! daies comen, seith the⁴⁷ Lord, and Y schal visite on the grauun ymagis of Babiloyne; and al the lond therof schal be schent, and alle slayn men therof schulen falle down in the myddis therof. And heuenes, and erthis, and alle thingis⁴⁸ that ben in tho, schulen herie on Babiloyne; for rauynours schulen come fro the north to it, seith the Lord. And⁴⁹ as Babiloyne dide, that slayn men felle down in Israel, so of Babiloyne slayn men schulen falle down and in al the lond. Come 3e, that fledden the swerd, nyle 3e⁵⁰ stonde; haue 3e mynde afer on the Lord, and Jerusalem stie on 3oure herte. We⁵¹ ben schent, for we herden schenschipe; schame hilide oure faces, for aliens comen on the halewyng of the hous of the Lord. Therfor lo! daies comen, seith the Lord,⁵² and Y schal visite on the grauun ymagis of Babiloyne, and in al the lond therof a woundid man schal loowe. If Babiloyne⁵³ stieth in to heuene, and makith stidfast his strengthe an hi3, distrieris therof schulen come onⁿ me, seith the Lord. The vois of a criere of Babiloyne, and⁵⁴ greet sorewe of the lond of Caldeis, for⁵⁵

^b oone K. ^c wickidnes AGHK. ^d flown E pr. m. ^e cometh AEGHK. ^f stei vp A. ^g Om. E pr. m. ^h Om. C pr. m. E pr. m.

^m workis N. ⁿ of CEFHKMNPRS sec. m. UVX.

57 And Y shal drunkne¹ his princes, and his^k wise men, his dukis, and his maister iugis, and his stronge men; and thei shul slepen an euere lastende slep, and thei shul not ben wakid, seith the king,
 58 Lord of ostus his name. These thingus seith the Lord God of ostus, The wal of Babilon he the heiest with vndermyning shal be vndermynd, and his heȝe ȝatus shul be brend with fyr; and the trauailis of puples at noȝt, and^l of^m Jentilis 'in to
 59 fyr theiⁿ shul ben, and pershen. And the wrd that Jeremye, the profete, comaundide to Saraie, sone of Nerie, sone of Masie, whan he shulde go^o with king Sedechie in to Babiloyne, in the ferthe ȝer of his regne; Saraie forsothe was
 60 prince of profecie. And Jeremye wrot al the euel, that was to com vp on Babilon, in o boc, alle these wrdus that ben
 61 write aȝen Babilon. And Jeremye seide to Saraie, Whan thou shalt come in to Babilon, and seen, and reden alle these
 62 wrdus, thou shalt sei, Lord, thou speeke aȝen this place, that thou shuldist destroe it, that ther be not that in it dwelle, fro man vn to beste, and that ther
 63 be perpetuel wilderness. And whan thou hast ful endid to rede this boc, thou shalt binde to it a ston, and throwen it in to the myddel of Eufraten; and sey,
 64 So shal be dreynt Babilon, and not rise fro the face of the tormenting, that Y bringe vp on it, and it shal be loosed. Hiderto the wrdus of Jeremye.

the Lord distriede Babiloyne, and lost of it a greet vois; and the wawis of hem schulen sowne as many watris. The vois of hem ȝaf sown, for a rauenour cam on⁵⁶ it, that is, on Babiloyne; and the stronge men therof ben takun, and the bouwe of hem welewide, for the stronge vengere the Lord ȝeldyng schal ȝelde. And Y⁵⁷ schal make drunkun the princis therof, and the wise men therof, the duykis therof, and the magistratis therof, and the stronge men therof; and thei schulen slepe euerlastyng sleep, and thei schulen not be awakid, seith the kyng, the Lord of oostis *is* name of hym. The Lord⁵⁸ God of oostis seith these thingis, Thilke brodeste wal of Babiloyne schal be mynyd with mynyng, and the hiȝe ȝatis therof schulen be brent with fier; and the trauels of puples *schulen be* to nouȝt, and *the trauels* of hethene men schulen be in to fier, and schulen perische. The word⁵⁹ which Jeremye, the profete, comaundide to Saraie, sone of Nerie, sone of Maasie, whanne he ȝede with Sedechie, the kyng, in to Babiloyne, in the fourthe ȝeer of his rewme; forsothe Saraie was prynce of profesie. And Jeremye wroot al the yuel,⁶⁰ that was to comyng on Babiloyne, in a^p book, alle these wordis that weren writun aȝens Babiloyne. And Jeremye seide to⁶¹ Saraie, Whanne thou comest in to Babiloyne, and seest, and redist alle these wordis, thou schalt sei, Lord, thou spak-⁶² ist aȝens this place, that thou schuldist leese it, that noon be that dwelle thereynne, fro man 'til to^q beeste, and that it be an euerlastyng wildirnesse. And whanne⁶³ thou hast fillid to rede this book, thou schalt bynde to it a stoon, and thou schalt caste it forth in to the myddis of Eufrates; and thou schalt sei, So Babiloyne⁶⁴ schal be drenchid, and it schal not rise fro the face of turment, which Y bryng on it, and it schal be distried. Hidurto *ben* the wordis of Jeremye.

¹ dryneche K. ^k Om. E pr. m. ^l Om. K. ^m and into fjr of E pr. m. ⁿ Om. E pr. m. ^o go out K.

CAP. LII.

1 The sone of oon and twenti 3er was Sedechie, whan he to regnen hadde bigunne, and elleuene 3er he regnede in Jerusalem; and name of his moder Amycal, dozter of Jeremye of Lobna.
 2 And he dide in the e3en of the Lord euelis, after alle thinges that don hadde
 3 Joachym. For the wodnesse of the Lord was in Jerusalem, and in Juda, for to that he shulde aferr throwe them fro hys face. And Sedechye wente awei fro the
 4 king of Babiloyne. Don is forsothe in the nynthe 3er of his regne, in the tenthe moneth, the tenthe dai of the moneth, cam Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, he and al his ost, a3en Jerusalem; and besegeden it, and bilden a3en it strength-
 5 ingus^a in cumpas. And the cite was besegid, vnto the elleuenthe 3er of the regne
 6 of Sedechie. The ferthe forsothe monyth, the nynthe dai of the moneth, hunger withheeld the cite; and ther were not
 7 foodis to the puple of the lond. And broken is the cyte, and alle his men f3zteres floun^r; and thei wenten out of^s the cite the ny3t, bi the^t weie of the 3ate, that is betwen^u two wallis, and ledeth to the gardyn of the king, the Caldeis besegende the cite in cumpas; and thei wenten awei bi the wey that ledeth in
 8 to wilderness. Forsothe the ost of Caldeis pursueden the king, and ca3ten Sedechie in desert, that is biside Jericho;
 9 and al his ost flei3 awei fro hym. And whan thei hadden take the king, thei bro3ten hym to the king of Babiloyne in Reblatha, that is in the lond of Emath; and he spac to hym domus.
 10 And the king of Babiloyne kutte the throtus of the sonus of Sedechie in his e3en; but and al the princes of Jude he
 11 slo3 in Reblatha. And the e3en of Sedechie he putte^v out, and bond hym in gyues; and the king of Babiloyne bro3t hym in to Babiloyne, and putte hym in to the hous of the prisoun, vnto the dai

CAP. LII.

Sedechie was a sone of oon and twenti 1 3eer, whanne he bigan to regne, and he regnede enleuene 3eer in Jerusalem; and the name of his modir was Amychal, the dou3ter of Jeremye of Lobna. And he 2 dide yuels bfore the i3en of the Lord, bi alle thingis whiche Joachym hadde do. For the stronge veniaunce of the Lord 3 was in Jerusalem, and in Juda, til he castide hem awei fro his face. And Sedechie 3ede awei fro the kyng of Babiloyne. Forsothe it was don in the nynthe 4 3eer of his rewme, in the tenthe monethe, in the tenthe dai of the monethe, Nabugodonosor, the kyng of Babiloyne, cam, he and al his oost, a3ens Jerusalem; and thei bisegiden it, and bildiden a3ens it strengthis in cumpas. And the citee was 5 bisegid, til to the enleuenthe 3eer of the rewme of Sedechie. Forsothe in the 6 fourthe monethe, in the nynthe dai of the monethe, hungur helde the citee; and foodis weren not to the puple of the lond. And the citee was brokun, and alle men 7 werriouris therof fledden; and thei 3eden out of the citee in the ni3t, bi the weie of the 3ate, which is bitwixe twei wallis, and ledith to the gardyn of the kyng, while Caldeis bisegiden the citee in cumpas; and thei 3eden forth bi the weie that ledith in to desert. Sotheli the oost of Caldeis 8 pursuede the kyng; and thei token Sedechie in desert, which is bisidis Jerico, and al his felouschipe fledde awei fro hym. And whanne thei hadden take the kyng, 9 thei brou3ten hym to the kyng of Babiloyne in Reblatha, which is in the lond of Emath; and the kyng of Babiloyne 10 stranglide the sonus of Sedechie bfore hise i3en; but also he killide alle the princes of Juda in Reblatha. And 11 he puttide out the i3en of Sedechie, and boond hym in stockis; and the kyng of Babiloyne brou3te hym in to Babiloyne, and puttide hym in the hous of prisoun,

^a strengthis AH.^r fledden AE sec. m. GHK.^s Om. E pr. m.^t Om. G pr. m. H.^u betwix A.^v pullide AEGHK.

12 of his deth. In the fifte forsothe moneth,
in the tenthe dai of the moneth, it is the
nyntenthe 3er of Nabugodonosor, king of
Babiloyne, cam Nabusardan, prince of
the chyualrie, that stod bifor the king
13 of Babiloyne, in to Jerusalem. And he
brende vp the hous of the Lord, and the
hous of the king, and alle the houses of
Jerusalem; and 'eche gret hous^w with fyr
14 he brente. And al the ost of Caldeis,
that was with the maister of chyualrie,
destroȝede al the wal of Jerusalem bi
15 enuyroun. Of the pore men forsothe of
the puple, and of^x the tother comun, that
hadde abiden in the cite, and^y of the fugi-
tifes, that floun to the king of Babilon, and
the tothere of the multytude, translatede
16 Nabusardan, prince of the chyualrie. Of
the pore men forsothe of the lond, lafte
Nabusardan, the^z prince of the chyualrie,
in to vyne tilieres, and in to feld tilieres.
17 Also the brasene pileeres, that weren in
the hous of the Lord, and the feet, and
the brasene se, that was in the hous of
the Lord, Caldeis to-breeken; and token
18 al the bras of hem in to Babiloyne; and
cawdrones, and fleshokes, and sautrees,
and violis, and litil morteres, and alle the
brasene vesselis, that weren in seruyce;
19 and thei toke the stenes, and the sense
vesselis, and the 'water vesselis, and ba-
cynes, and candilstickes, and litil mor-
teres, and cuppes; hou fele goldene,
goldene, and hou fele siluerene, siluerene.
20 Toc the maister of chyualrie two pilers,
and o se, and the twelue brasene calues
that weren vnder the feet, that king Sa-
lomon hadde mað in the hous of the
Lord. Ther was no peis of the bras of
21 alle thes vesselus. Of the pileres for-
sothe, eiȝtetene cubitis of heiȝte weren in
the o piler, and a litil corde of twelue
cubitus wente aboute it; but his gret-
nesse of foure fingris^a, and with ynne
22 forth 'it was^b holȝ. And the hedus vp

til to the dai of his deth. Forsothe in the 12
nynthe monethe, in the tenthe dai of the
monethe, thilke is the nyntenthe 3er of
the kyng of Babiloyne, Nabusardan, the
prince of chyualrie, that stood bifore the
kyng of Babiloyne, cam in to Jerusalem.
And he brente^s the hous of the Lord, and 13
the hous of the kyng, and alle the housis
of Jerusalem; and he brente with fier ech
greet hous. And al the ost of Caldeis, 14
that was with the maistir of chyualrie,
distriede al the wal of Jerusalem bi cum-
pas. Sotheli Nabusardan, the prince of 15
chyualrie, translatide of the pore men of
the puple, and of the residue comyn puple,
that was left in the citee, and of the fleeris
ouer, that fledden ouer to the kyng of Ba-
biloyne; and *he translatide* other men of
the multitude. But Nabusardan, the prince 16
of chyualrie, lefte of the pore men of the
lond vyne tilers, and erthe tilers. Also 17
Caldeis brakun the brasun pilers, that
weren in the hous of the Lord, and the
foundementis, and the brasun waischyng
vessel, that was in the hous of the Lord;
and thei token al the metal of tho in to
Babiloyne. And *thei tokun* cawdruns, and 18
fleischokis, and sautrees, and violis, and
morteris, and alle brasun vessels, that
weren in seruyce; thei token also 'watir 19
pottis^t, and vessels of encense, and pottis,
and basyns, and candilstikis, and morters,
and litle cuppis; hou manye euere goldun,
goldun, and hou manye euere siluerne,
siluerne. The maister of chyualrie took 20
twei pilers, and o waischyng vessel, and
twelue brasun caluys, that weren vnder
the foundementis, whiche kyng Salomon
hadde maad in the hous of the Lord. No
weiȝte was of the metal of alle these ves-
sels. Forsothe of the pilers, eiȝtene cubitis 21
of heiȝthe weren in o piler, and a roop of
twelue cubitis cumpasside it; certis the
thickenesse therof *was* of foure fyngris,
and was holowe withynne. And brasun 22

^w alle the grete housis *AE pr. m. GHK.* ^x Om. *G pr. m. H.* ^y Om. *c.* ^z Om. *A.* ^a cubitus *E pr. m.*
^b Om. *E pr. m.*

^s brouȝte *I.* ^t stoondis [*strandys c pr. m. GHMQX pr. m. steenys vx sec. m.*], *ether* [*other E*] *water*
pottis CEFHGKMNPRQSUVX.

on either brazene; and the heȝte of oen
 hed of^c fyue cubitus; and the litil nettus
 and the poumgarnetus vp on the crowne^d
 in cumpas, al was brasene. Lic maner was
 the secounde piler, and the poumgarnetus;
 and ther weren vp on the hed in cumpas
 alle^e brasene, lic maner of the tother pi-
 23 ler. And ther weren nynty poungar-
 netes and sixe hangende, and alle the
 poumgarnetus weren cumpassid with an
 24 hundrid litil nettus. And the maister of
 chyualrie toc Saraïam, the first prest,
 and Sofonyam, the secounde prest, and
 25 the thre keperes of the vestiarie. And
 of the cite he toc o gelding, that was
 prouost vp on the men fȳteres; and the
 seuen men of hem that seȝen the face of
 the king, that ben founde in the cite;
 and the scribe, prince of the knyȝtus, that
 proueden the newe maad knyȝtus; and
 the sixti men of the puple of the lond,
 that ben founde in the myddel of the
 26 cite. Toc forsothe them Nabusardan,
 maister of the^f chyualrie, and broȝte hem
 to the king of Babiloyne in Reblatha.
 27 And smot hem the king of Babiloyne,
 and sloȝ hem in Reblatha, in the lond of
 Emath; and translatede is^g Juda fro his
 28 lond. This is the puple, whom translat-
 ede Nabugodonosor, in the seuenthe ȝer;
 Jewis, thre thousand and thre and twenty.
 29 In the eȳtetenthe ȝer, Nabugodonosor
 translatede fro Jerusalem eȳte hundrid
 30 lyues and two and thretty. The thre
 and twentithe ȝer of Nabugodonosor,
 translatide Nabusardan, maister of the^h
 chyualrie, of Jewes seuen hundrid lyues
 and fyue and fourty. Alle thanne the
 lyues foure thousand and sixe hundred.
 31 And don is, in the seuen and threttithe
 ȝer of the transmygracioun of Joachym,
 king of Juda, the twelfthe moneth, the
 fyue and twentithe dai of the moneth,
 rerede vp Euilmeredoc, king of Babi-
 loyne, that ȝer of his regne the hed of
 Joachym, king of Juda; and broȝte hym
 32 out ofⁱ the hous of the prisoun, and

pomels^u *weren* on euer either; and the
 heȳthe of a^v pomel *was* of fyue cubitis;
 and werkis lijk nettis and pumgranatis
weren on the coroun in cumpas^w. And 23
 the^x pumgranatis weren nynty and sixe
 hangynge doun, and alle pumgranatis
 weren cumpassid with an hundred werkis
 lijk nettis. And the maister of the chy- 24
 ualrie took Saraïe, the firste preest, and
 Sophonye, the secounde preest, and three
 keperis of the vestiarie. And of the citee 25
 he took o chast seruauant and onest, that
 was souereyn on the men werriours; and
 seuen men of hem that sien the face of
 the kyng, whiche weren foundun in the
 citees; and a scryuen, prince of knyȝtis,
 that preuyde ȝonge knyȝtis; and sixti men
 of the puple of the lond, that weren
 foundun in the myddis of the citee. For- 26
 sothe Nabusardan, the maistir of chyualrie,
 took hem, and brouȝte hem to the kyng
 of Babiloyne in Reblatha. And the kyng 27
 of Babiloyne smoot hem, and killide hem
 in Reblatha, in the lond of Emath; and
 Juda was translatid fro his lond. This 28
 is the puple, whom Nabugodonosor trans-
 latide in the seuenthe ȝer; Jewis, thre
 thousynde and thre and twenti. In the 29
 eȳtenthe ȝer, Nabugodonosor translatide
 fro Jerusalem eȳte hundrid and two and
 thritti persoones. In the thre and twen- 30
 tithe ȝer of Nabugodonosor, Nabusardan,
 the maister of chyualrie, translatide seuen
 hundrid and fyue and fourti persoones of
 Jewis. Therfor alle the persoones *weren*
 foure thousynde and sixe hundrid. And 31
 it was doon, in the seuen and threttithe
 ȝer of the passyng ouer of Joachym,
 kyng of Juda, in the tweluethe monethe,
 in the fyue and twentithe dai of the mo-
 nethe, Euylmerodach, kyng of Babiloyne,
 reside in that ȝer of his rewme the heed
 of Joachym, kyng of Juda; and ledde hym
 out of the hous of the prisoun, and spak 32
 good thingis with hym. And he settide
 the trone of him aboue the trones of
 kyngis, that weren after hym in Babiloyne,

^c Om. *pr. m.* ^d crownus *c.* ^e alle nettus *pr. m.* ^f Om. *A.* ^g Om. *ce pr. m.* ^h Om. *A.* ⁱ fro *A.*
 out fro *GHK.*

^u pileris *F.* ^v o *CFGHIKMNQRSUVX.* the *E.* ^w in the cumpas *F.* aboute *I.* ^x Om. *I.*

spac with hym goode thingus; and putte
his trone vpon the tronus^k of kingis,
33 that weren after hym in Babiloyne, and
chaungede the clothis of his prisoun; and
eet bred bifor hym euermor, alle dazes of
34 his lif. And his metus, metus perpetuel
weren 3oue to hym of the king of Babi-
lon, ordeyned bi 'dazes arewe'^l, vnto the
dai of his deth, alle the dazes of his lif.
And don is, after that in to caitifte is
bro3t Irael, and Jerusalem is destroyed,
sat Jeremye, the profete, wepende, and
weilede with this lamentacioun Jerusa-
lem; and with bitter inwit sizhende, and
criende Weile awei! seide.

and chaungide the clothis of his prisoun. 33
And *Joachym* eet breed bifore hym euere,
in alle the daies of his lijf; and hise metis, 34
euerlastynge metis weren 3ouun to hym
of the kyng of Babiloyne, ordeyned bi ech
dai, til to the dai of his deth, in alle the
daies of his lijf. And it was don†, aftir
that Israel was led in to caitiftee, and Je-
rusalem was distried, Jeremye, the pro-
fete, sat wepinge, and biweilide^y Jerusalem
with this lamentacioun; and he sizside,
and weilide with bitter soule, and seide.

† And it was
donn, etc.; al
this, til in to
the ende of the
chapetre, sem-
ith addid of
summe exposi-
touris to con-
tinue the sen-
tence to the
chapetris sew-
inge; for it is
not in Ebru,
nethir in bokis
amendid. *Lire*
here. EGKP
QUY.

^k trone AGHK. ^l alle daiys E pr. m.

^y biweilynge NV.

LAMENTATIONS.

Her gynneth^a the Lamentacioun of Jeremye^b, that is in title Cenothe, with the soylinge out of Ebru lettris^c.

CAP. I.

¹ *Aleph.* Hou sitteth alone the cite ful of puple? mad is as a^d widewe the ladi of folc of kinde; prince^e of prouynces
² mad is vnder tribute. *Beth.* Wepende she wepte in the nyzt, and the teres of hir in hir chekus; ther is not that coumforte hir, of alle hir derwrthe; alle her frendus dispiseden^f hir, and ben mad to
³ hir enemys. *Gimel.* Passyde Juda for the affliccioun and the multitude of seruage, dwellide among Jentiles, ne she^g fond reste; alle hir pursuerus cazten hir among
⁴ anguysshis. *Deleth.* The weies of Sion weilen, for thi that ther ben not, that come to the solempnete; alle hir zatus ben strozed, hir prestys weilende, hir maidenus foule, and she opressed with
⁵ bitternesse. *He.* Mad ben hir enemys in the hed, and hir enemys ben richid, for the Lord spac vp on hir. For the multitude of hir wickenesses^h hirⁱ litil childer ben lad in to caitifte, bifor the
⁶ face of the trublende. *Vau.* And wente out fro the dozter of Sion 'al hir^k fairnesse; mad ben hir princes as wetheres not fyndende leswis, and thei wenten

The Lamentacioun of Jeremye^a.

CAP. I.

Aleph^b†. Hou sittith aloone the citee ful of puple? the ladi of folkis is maad as a widewe; the prince^c of prouynces is maad vndir tribute. *Beth.* It wepynge wepte² in the^d nizt, and the teeris therof^e ben^f in 'the chekis therof^g; 'noon is^h of alle the derewortheⁱ therof, that coumfortith it; alle the frendis therof forsoken it, and ben maad enemyes to it. *Gymel.* Juda pass-³ ide fro turment and multitude of seruage, it dwellide among hethene men, and foond no reste; alle the pursueris therof token it among angwischis. *Deleth.* The weies⁴ of Sion mourenen, for no men comen to the solempnytee; alle the zatis therof ben distried, the prestis therof weilen; the vergyns therof ben defoulid, and it is oppressid with bitternesse. *He.* The ene-⁵ myes therof ben maad in the heed, and the enemyes therof ben maad riche, for the Lord spak on it. For the multitude of wickidnessis therof the litte children therof ben led in to caitiftee, bifore the face of the troblere. *Vau.* And al the⁶ fairnesse of the douzter of Syon zede out fro the douzter of Sion; the princes therof

† Lettris of Ebru ben set in the bigynnyng of versus in the Latyn translacioun, for in Ebru the versis bigynnen bi [with x] lettris of the Abice. *Live here.* CEGKPQY.

^a bigynneth AEK. ^b Jeremye, the prophete A. ^c lettres of reed. K. ^d Om. K. ^e princis A. ^f spiseden AEGHK. ^g he E pr. m. ^h wickidnesses AGHK. ⁱ Om. C. ^k Om. AGHK.

^a Here bigynneth the Lamentacioun of Jeremye. CFGKMNQVUX. The book of Trenorum, that is seid Lamentaciouns of Jeremye. EPY. Heere biginnen the Lamentaciouns of Jeremye. HI. Heere bigynneth the book of Lamentaciouns. R. Lamentaciouns of Jeremye. S. ^b Throughout this book, the initial letters of the Hebrew are omitted in CEGHIKMNQRSUVY. ^c princesse F. ^d Om. I. ^e of him S. ^f Om. ceteri præter I. ^g in his cheke S sec. m. ^h ther is noon S. ⁱ dwellere F.

awei withoute strengthe bifor the face of
 7 the folewere. *Sai.* And recordide Jeru-
 salem of the daies of hir affliccioun and
 trespas, and of alle hir desirable thingus
 that she hadde fro the olde daies; whan
 shulde falle hir puple in the enemys
 hond, and ther was not an helpere; seȝen
 hir the^l enemys, and scorneden hir saba-
 8 tus. *Heth.* A synne synnede Jerusalem,
 therefore^m vnstable she is mad; alle that
 glorifieden hir dispiseden hir, for thei
 seȝen hir shenshipe; she forsothe weil-
 9 ende; and is turned backward. *Teth.* The
 filthis of hir in hir feet, and she record-
 ide not of hir ende; do down she is
 hugeli, not hauende a comfortour; see,
 Lord, my tormenting, for rered vp is the
 10 enemy. *Joth.* His hond senteⁿ the ene-
 my to alle hir^o desirable thingus; for she
 saȝ Jentilis gon in to hir^p seyntuarie, of
 whiche thou haddist comaundid, that thei
 11 shulde not^q go in to thi chirche. *Caf.* Al
 hir puple weilende and sechende bred,
 and ȝeeuen eche precieuse thingus for
 mete to be refreshid the soule; see, Lord,
 12 and behold, for mad Y am foul. *Lameth.*
 O! alle ȝee that passén bi the weie, tak-
 eth heed, and seeth, if ther is sorewe as
 my sorewe; for to-pullid me it hath, as
 the Lord spac in the dai of the^r wrathe
 13 of his wodnesse. *Men.* Fro an heiȝ he
 sente fyr in my bonus, and lernede me;
 spredde out a net to my feet, turnede me
 backward; he sette me desolat, al dai
 14 with mournyng defacid^s. *Nun.* Wakide
 the ȝoc^t of my wickenesses^u in his hond,
 wrappid thei ben togidere, and leid on
 my necke; feblid is my vertu; ȝaf me the
 Lord in the hond, of whiche Y shal not
 15 moun rise. *Sameth.* Toc awei the Lord
 alle my grete wrthi doeres fro my myd-
 del; he clepede aȝen me tyme, that he^v
 to-brose my chosene; the presse trad the
 Lord to^w the maide^x, doȝter of Juda.

ben maad as rammes not fyndynge lese-
 wis; and ȝeden forth withouten strengthe
 bifore the face of the suere. *Zai.* And 7
 Jerusalem bithouȝte on the daies of hir
 affliccioun^k and of trespassyng, and on alle
 hir desirable thingis whiche it hadde fro
 elde daies; whanne the puple therof felle
 down in the hond of enemyes, and noon
 helpere was; enemyes sien^{kk} it, and scorn-
 eden the sabatis therof. *Heth.* Jerusalem 8
 synnede a synne, therfor it was^l maad vnstid-
 fast; alle that glorifieden it forsoken it, for
 thei sien the schenschipe therof; forsothe
 it weilide, and was turned abak. *Theth.* 9
 The filthis therof *ben^m* in the feet therof,
 and it hadde no mynde of hir ende; it
 was putte down greetli, and hadde no
 coumfortour; Lord, se thou my turment,
 for the enemye is reisid. *Joth.* The ene- 10
 mye putteⁿ his hond to alle desirable^o
 thingis therof; for it siȝ^p hethene men
 entride in to thi seyntuarie, of which thou
 haddist comaundid, that thei schulden not
 entre in to thi chirche. *Caph.* Al the^q 11
 puple therof was weilinge and sekyng
 breed, thei ȝauen alle precieuse thingis
 for mete, to-coumforte the soule; se thou,
 Lord, and biholde, for Y am maad vijl.
Lameth. A! alle ȝe that passen bi the 12
 weie, perseyue, and se, if ony sorewe is as
 my sorewe; for he gaderide awei grapis
 fro me, as the Lord spac in the day of
 wraththe of his strong veniaunce. *Men.* 13
 Fro an hiȝ he sente fier in my boonys,
 and tauȝte me; he spredde a brood a net
 to my feet, he turnede me abak; he set-
 tide me desolat, meddlid togidere al dai
 with mourenyng. *Nun.* The ȝok of my 14
 wickidnessis^r wakide in the hond of hym,
 tho ben foldid fogidere, and put on my
 necke; my vertu is maad feble; the Lord
 ȝaf me in the hond, fro which Y schal not
 mowe rise. *Sameth.* The Lord took awei 15
 alle my worschipful men fro the myddis

^l Om. HK. ^m and therfor AK. ⁿ putte C pr. m. E pr. m. ^o Om. A. the K. ^p thi E pr. m. ^q non K.
^r Om. A. ^s destroyid E pr. m. ^t hour A. ^u wickidnes A. wickidnessis GHK. ^v be E. ^w Om. E pr. m.
^x maiden E.

^k afflicciouns V. ^{kk} sauȝen I. ^l is . ^m Om. A pr. m. et ceteri. ⁿ sente ceteri. ^o the desirable I.
^p sauȝe I. ^q thi E PY. ^r wickidnesse A.

16 *Ayn.* Therefore Y wepende, and myn eze^y
ledende doun water; for ferr mad^z fro me^z
is the coumfortour, turnende my soule;
mad ben my sonus lost, for mor my³ti
17 was the enemy. *Fee.* Strazte out Sion
hir hondus, ther is not that coumforte
hir; the Lord sente azen Jacob, in the
cumpas of hir, hir enemys; mad is Jerusa-
lem as defoulid with wymmen flux blodis
18 among hem. *Sade.* Riztwis is^a the Lord,
for his mouth to wrathe Y terrede; her-
* eth, Y beseche, alle puplis, and seeth my
sorewe; my maidenens and my zunge men
19 wenten in to caitifte. *Cof.* I clepede
my frendus, and thei bigileden me; my
prestus and myn olde men in the cite ben
wastid; for thei sozten mete^b to them-
20 self, that thei refreshe^c ther soule. *Res.*
See, Lord, for Y am trublid, al disturbid
is my wombe; turned vp so doun is myn
herte in myself, for of bitternesse ful Y
am; withouteforth sleeth^d the sword,
21 and at home deth is lyc. *Syn.* Thei
herden, for Y inwardli weile, and ther
is not that coumforteth me; alle myn
enemys herden myn euel, gladiden, for
thou didist; thou broztist to dai of coum-
forting, and^e mad thei shul be lic me.
22 *Tau.* Go yn al the euel of hem bifor
thee, and to-pulle hem, as thou to-pulled-
ist me for my wickydnesses^f; manye
forsothe my weilingis, and myn herte
moornende.

CAP. II.

1 *Aleph.* Hou aboute couerde with mys-
tynesse the Lord in his wodnesse the
dozter of Sion? thre; aferr fro heuene in
to the glorious lond of Irael; and record-
ede not of his litil stezjng stol of his feet,
2 in the dai of his wodnesse. *Beth.* The
Lord thre; doun^g, and sparede not, alle

of me; he clepide tyme azens me, that he
schulde al to-foule my chosun men; the
Lord stampide a pressour to the virgyn,
the douztir of Juda. *Ayn.* Therfor Y am¹⁶
wepyng, and myn ize is ledyng doun
watir; for a coumfortour, conuertynge my
soule, is maad fer fro me; my sonus ben
maad lost, for the enemye hadde the
maistrie. *Phe.* Sion spredde abroad hise¹⁷
hondis, noon is that counfortith it; the
Lord sente^s azenus Jacob enemyes therof,
in the^t cumpas therof; Jerusalem is maad
as defoulid with vncleene blood among
hem. *Sade.* The Lord is iust, for Y¹⁸
terride his mouth to wrathfulnesse; alle
puplis, Y biseche, here ze, and se my so-
rew, my virgyns and my zonge men
jeden forth in to caitiftee. *Coth.* I clepide¹⁹
my frendis, and thei disseyueden me; my
prestis and myn elde men in the citee ben
wastid; for thei souzten mete to hem silf,
to coumforte hir lijf. *Res.* Se thou, Lord,²⁰
for Y am troblid, my^u wombe is distur-
blid; myn herte is distried in my silf, for
Y am ful of bittirnesse; swerd sleeth with
outforth, and lijk deth is at hoome. *Syn.*²¹
Thei herden, that Y make ynward weil-
yng, and noon is that coumfortith me;
alle myn enemyes herden myn yuel, thei
ben glad, for thou hast do; thou hast
brouzt a dai of coumfort, and thei schulen
be maad lijk me. *Tau.* Al the yuel of²²
hem entre byfore thee, and gadere thou
grapis awei fro hem, as thou hast gaderid
grapis awei fro me; for my wickidnessis,
for my weilyngis *ben* manye, and myn herte
is mornynge.

CAP. II.

Aleph. Hou hath the Lord hilid the
douzter of Sion with derknesse in his
strong veniaunce? he hath caste doun fro
heuene in to erthe the noble citee of Is-
rael; and bithouzte not on the stool of hise
feet, in the dai of his strong veniaunce.
Beth. The Lord castide doun, and spar-²

^y eyen AG. eezen H. ^z Om. E pr. m. ^a Om. C pr. m. ^b meede C. ^c refresheden E sec. m. ^d slooz
C pr. m. slewz AE pr. m. GHK. ^e Om. A. ^f wickidnes A. wickenesses E. ^g Stumblede doun the Lord
E pr. m.

^s sette Y. ^t Om. NV. ^u for my I pr. m.

the faire thingus of Jacob; destroyed in his wodnesse the strengthingis^b of the maiden of Juda, threȝ down in to ertheⁱ; defoulide the reume, and his princes.

³ *Gimel*. He to-brac in the wrathe of his wodnesse eche horn of Irael; turnede away backward his riȝt hond fro the face of the enemy; and brende vp in to Jacob, as fyr of deuourende flawme in cumpas.

⁴ *Deleth*. He bente his bowe as an inward enemy, and he fastnede his riȝt hond as an vttermor enemy; and sloȝ al that was fair in siȝt in the tabernacles of the doȝter of Sion; heeldide out as fyr his indignacioun. *He*. Mad is the Lord as an enemy; tumblede^k down Irael, he tumblede down alle his walles; wastede his strengthingus^l, and fulfide in the doȝter of Juda the lowid man and the lowid womman. *Vau*. And he wastide as a gardyn his tent, destroyed his tabernacle; to forȝeteng toc the Lord in^m Sion feste dai, and sabat; and repref, and indignacioun of his wodnesse, king and

⁷ prest. *Sai*. Putte abac the Lord his auter, cursede to his halewing; toc in to the hondus of theⁿ enemy^o the wallis of his toures; vois thei ȝeeuen in 'the hous of^p the Lord, as in solempne dai. *Heth*. Thozte the Lord to scateren the wal of the doȝter of Sion; he strazte out his litil corde, and turnede not awei his hond fro perdicioun; and he weilede biforn the walling, and the wal^q togidere is scatered.

⁹ *Teth*. Down piȝt in the erthe ben hir ȝatus, he loste and to-broside hir barres; his kingis and hys^r princes in Jentiles; ther is not lawe, and his profetis founden

¹⁰ not viseoun of the Lord. *Joth*. Seten in the erthe^s, alle stille weren the olde men; the doȝtris of Sion springden with askus ther hedis^t, ben gird^u to with heires; threwen awei in the erthe ther hedus^t the maidenus of Jerusalem, gird to thei ben with heires; threwen awei in the

ide not alle the faire thingis of Jacob; he distried in his strong veniaunce the strengthis of the virgyn of Juda, and castide down in to erthe; he^v defoulide the rewme, and the princes therof. *Gy-³mel*. He brak in the ire of his strong veniaunce al the horn of Israel; he turnede abak his riȝt hond fro the face of the enemy; and he kyndlide in Jacob, as fier of flawme deuowrynge in cumpas. *Deleth*.⁴ He as an enemye bente his bouwe, he as an aduersarie made stidfast his riȝt hond; and he killide al thing that was fair in siȝt in the tabernacle of the douȝtir of Sion; he schedde out his^w indignacioun as fier. *He*. The Lord is maad as an⁵ enemy; he castide down Israel, he castide down alle the wallis therof; he destriede the strengthis^x therof, and fillide in the douȝter^y of Juda a man maad low, and a womman maad low. *Vau*. And he sca-⁶teride his tent as a gardyn, he distried his tabernacle; the Lord ȝaf to forȝeteng in Sion a feeste dai, and sabat^z; and the kyng and prest in to schenscipe, and in to the indignacioun of his strong veniaunce. *Zai*. The Lord puttide awei his⁷ auter, he curside his halewyng; he bitook in to the hondis of enemy^a the wallis of the touris therof; thei ȝauen vois in the hous of the Lord, as in a solempne dai. *Heth*. The Lord thouȝte to distrie the⁸ wal of the douȝter of Sion; he stretchide forth his coorde, and turnede not awei his hond fro perdicioun; the forwal, *ether the^b outerward*, mourenyde, and the wal was distried togidere. *Teth*. The ȝatis⁹ therof ben piȝt in the erthe, he loste and al to-brak the barris therof; the kyng therof and the princes therof among he-thene men; the lawe is not, and the profetis therof founden not of the Lord a visioun^c. *Joth*. Thei saten in erthe, the¹⁰ elde men of the douȝtir of Sion weren stille; thei bispreynten her heedis with

^b strengthis *A*. ⁱ the erthe *A*. ^k tumble *K*. ^l strengthis *A*. ^m in to *E pr. m.* ⁿ his *AGH*. ^o enemyes *A*. ^p Om. *K*. ^q walling *A*. ^r Om. *A*. ^s ȝaat *A*. ^t heuedus *E*. ^u girdid *K*.

^v and he *U*. ^w Om. *U*. ^x strengis *A*. ^y watir *I sup. ras.* ^z a sabat *NS sec. m.* ^a the enemy *I*. ^b Om. *CGN*. ^c visioun, *ether reuelacioun CEFGHIMNPQRSUVXY*.

erthe ther hedus^t the maidenus of Juda.
 11 *Caph.* Faileden for teres myn ezen, distur-
 bid ben my bowelis; held^v out is in
 the erthe my mawe vp on the^w to-treding
 of the do3ter of my puple; whan shulde
 faile the litil child and the soukende in
 12 the stretus of the bur3toun. *Lameth.* To
 ther modris thei seiden, Wher is the
 whete, and wyn? whan thei shulden faile
 as woundid in the stretus of the cite;
 whan thei shulde brethen out ther soulis
 13 in the bosum of ther modris. *Men.* To
 whom shal Y comparisoun thee? or to
 whom shal Y licnen thee, thou do3ter of
 Jerusalem? to whom shal Y euenen thee,
 and coumforte thee, thou maiden^x do3ter
 of Sion? gret forsothe as the se thi con-
 14 tricioun; who shal lechen thee. *Nun.*
 Thi profetus see3en to thee false, and fool
 thingus; and openeden not thi wicke-
 nesse^y, that thee to penaunce thei shulde
 stere; thei se3en forsothe to thee fals
 15 takingis to, and throwingis out. *Sameth.*
 Flappeden ^{vp} on^z thee with hondus alle
 the passeres bi the wey; whistleden, and
 moueden ther hed vp on the do3ter of
 Jerusalem; seiende, Whether this is not
 the cheef cite of parfit fairnesse, the io3e
 16 of al erthe? *Ayn.* Openeden vp on thee
 ther mouth alle thin enemyes; whistleden,
 and gnasteden with ther teeth, and seiden,
 Wee shul deuoure; lo! this is the dai
 that wee abiden, wee han founde, and seen.
 17 *Fee.* The Lord dide that he tho3te, he
 fulfild his wrd that he comaundide fro
 the olde dazes; he destroyed, and sparede
 not; and gladide vp on thee the enemy,
 and enhauncede the horn of thin enemys.
 18 *Sade.* Criede the herte of hem to the
 Lord, vp on the wallis of the do3ter of
 Sion; bring down as a stef strem teres, bi
 dai and ny3t; 3yue thou not reste to thee,
 19 ne be stille the appil of^a thin e3e. *Coph.*
 Ris, preise thou in the ny3t, in the bi-
 gynnyng of wacchis; heeld out as water
 thin herte, byfor the sijt of the Lord;

aische^e, the eldere men of Juda ben girt
 with hairis; the virgyns of Juda castiden
 down to erthe^f her heedis. *Caph.* Myn¹¹
 izen failiden for teeris, myn entrails weren
 disturblid; my mawe was sched out in
 erthe on the sorewe of the dou3ter of my
 puple; whanne a litil child and soukyng
 failide in the stretis of the citee. *La-12*
meth. Thei seiden to her modris, Where is
 wheete, and wyn? whanne thei failiden
 as woundid men in the stretis of the citee;
 whanne thei senten out her soulis in the
 bosum of her modris. *Men.* To whom¹³
 schal Y comparisoun thee? ether to whom
 schal Y licne thee, thou dou3ter of Jeru-
 salem? to whom schal Y make thee
 euene, and schal Y coumforte thee, thou
 virgyn, the dou3ter of Sion? for whi
 thi sorewe *is* greet as the see; who schal
 do medicyn to thee? *Nun.* Thi profetis¹⁴
 sien to thee false thingis, and fonned; and^e
 openyden not thi wickidnesse, that thei
 schulden stire thee to penaunce; but thei
 sien^h to thee false takyngis, and castyngis
 out. *Sameth.* Alle men passynge onⁱ the¹⁵
 weie flappiden^k with hondis on thee; thei
 hissiden, and mouyden her heed on the
 dou3ter of Jerusalem; and seiden, This is
 the citee of perfit fairnesse, the ioie of al
 erthe. *Ayn.* Alle thin enemyes openyden¹⁶
 her mouth on thee; thei hissiden, and
 gnaistiden with her teeth, and seiden,
 We schulen deuoure; lo! this is the dai
 which we abididen, we founden, we sien.
Phe. The Lord dide tho thingis whiche¹⁷
 he thou3te, he fillide hise word which he
 hadde comaundid fro elde daies; he dis-
 triede, and sparide not; and made glad the
 enemy on thee, and enhaunsid the horn
 of thin enemyes. *Sade.* The herte of¹⁸
 hem criede to the Lord, on the wallis of
 the dou3ter of Syon; leede thou forth
 teeris as a stronde, bi dai and ny3t; 3yue
 thou not reste to thee, nether the appil of
 thin i3e be stille. *Coph.* Rise thou togi-¹⁹
 dere, herie thou in the ny3t, in the begyn-

^t heuedus E. ^v heeldid AEGHK. ^w Om. K. ^x maide EK. ^y wickidnes AGHK. ^z vp A. ^a Om. C.

^e ashen S. ^f the erthe I. ^g and thei I. ^h sau3en I. seiden N. seyen S. ⁱ bi FIKS. ^k bidflappeden F.

rere to hym thin hondus for the soule of
thi litil childer, that for hunger pershen
'in the hed^b of alle many weies 'in to
20oon^c. *Res.* See, Lord, and behold, whom
thou hast to-pullid; so therfore lest shuln
ete wymmen ther frut, litil^d childer at
the mesure of a spanne; for slayn is in
the seyntuarie of the Lord the prest, and
21the profete. *Syn.* Lezen in the erthe
withoute forth the child and the olde
man; my maidenen and my zunge men
fellen in swerd slayn; in the dai of thi
wodnesse thou smyte, ne thou shalt han
22reuthe. *Tau.* Thou clepedest, as^e to a
solempne day^f, that shulden fere me^g of
the cumpas; and ther was not that shulde
scape in the dai of the wodnesse of the
Lord, and be laft; whom Y broȝte forth
and nurshede, myn enemy wastede them.

CAP. III.

1 *Aleph.* I 'a man^h seende my pore-
nesse in the ȝerde of his indignacioun.
2 *Aleph.* Me he drof, and broȝt in to derc-
3nessis, and not in to liȝt. *Aleph.* Onli
in to me turnedeⁱ, and conuertede his
4hond al dai. *Beth.* For eldid he made
my skyn, and my flesh; he to-brosyde
5my bonus. *Beth.* He bilde vp^k in my
cumpas, and compassede me with galle
6and with trauaile. *Beth.* In derke thingus
he sette me, as deade men euer durende.
7 *Gimel.* He bilde aboute aȝen me^l, that
Y go not out; he aggregede myn gyues.
8 *Gimel.* But and whan Y shal crie and
preȝe, he closede^m out myn orysoun.
9 *Gimel.* He closede my weyes with squar
stonus; my styen he turnede vp so down.
10 *Deleth.* A waitende bere maad he is to
11me, a leoun in hid thingus. *Deleth.* My
pathis he turnede vp so down, and to-

nyng of wakyngis; schede out thin herte
as watir, bfore the siȝt of the Lord; reise
thin hondis to hym for the soulis of thi^l
litle children, that failiden for hungur in
the heed of alle meetyngis of weies. *Res.* 20
Se thou, Lord, and byholde, whom thou
hast maad so bare; therfor whether^m
wymmen schulen ete her fruyt, litle chil-
dren at the mesure of an hond? for a prest
and profete is slayn in the seyntuarie of
the Lord. *Syn.* A child and an elde man 21
laien on the erthe without forth; my vir-
gyns and my zonge men fellenⁿ down bi
swerd; thou hast slayn hem in the dai of
thi strong veniaunce, thou smotist^o 'and
didist no^p merci. *Thau.* Thou clepidist, 22
as to a solempne dai, hem that maden me
aferd of cumpas; and noon was that ascap-
ide in the dai of the strong veniaunce of
the Lord, and was left; myn enemy wast-
ide hem, whiche Y fedde, and nurschide
up.

CAP. III.

Aleph. I am a man seyng my pouert¹
in the ȝerde of his indignacioun. *Aleph.* 2
He droof me, and brouȝte in to derk-
nessis, and not in to liȝt. *Aleph.* Oneli³
he turnede in to me, and turnede togidere
his hond al dai. *Beth.* He made eld my 4
skyn, and my fleisch; he al to-brak my
boonys. *Beth.* He bildid in my cumpas, 5
and he compasside me with galle and tra-
uel. *Beth.* He settide me in derk places, 6
as euerlastyng deed men. *Gymel.* He 7
bildide aboute aȝens me, that Y go not
out; he aggregide my gyues. *Gymel.* 8
But and whanne Y crie and preye, he
hath excludid my preier. *Gymel.* He 9
closide togidere my weies with square
stoonus; he distriede my pathis. *Deleth.* 10
He is maad a bere settinge aspies to me,
a lioun in hid places. *Deleth.* He dis- 11
triede my pathis, and brak me; he set-

^b Om. E pr. m. ^c Om. E pr. m. ^d and litle E pr. m. ^e me as E pr. m. ^f Om. c. ^g men κ.
^h am κ. ⁱ he turnede E. ^k me vp AE pr. m. G sec. m. Om. G pr. m. H. ^l Om. E pr. m. ^m throwth
E pr. m.

¹ the I. ⁿ wher ceteri passim. ^o felden passim fere IKS. ^p smitidist CFBHKQRSU. ^q neither
didist CEFHKMQSU. neither dide R.

12 brac meⁿ; he putte me desolat. *Deleth.*
 He bente his bowe, and sette me as a
 13 signe to the arewe. *He.* He putte in
 my reynes the do3tris of his arewe cas.
 14 *Hee.* Y am mad in to scorne to al puple,
 15 the song of them al dai. *He.* He ful-
 filde me with bitteresses; he drunknede
 16 me with wrimod. *Vau.* He to-brac at
 noumbre my teeth; he fedde me with
 17 askus. *Vau.* And^o put a bac is my soule;
 18 Y for3at of goodus. *Vau.* And Y seide,
 Pershede myn ende, and myn hope fro
 19 the Lord. *Sai.* Recorde^p of porenese
 and of myn ouergoing, and of wrimod
 20 and of galle. *Say.* Bi mynde Y shal
 be myndeful; and failen in me shal my
 21 soule. *Sai.* These thingus thenkende in
 22 myn herte, in God Y shal hope. *Heth.*
 The mercyes of the Lord manye, for-
 sothe^q wee ben not wastid; for his mer-
 23 cyes^r faileden not. *Heth.* Y kne3 the^s
 24 morutid; myche is thi feith. *Heth.* My
 partie the Lord, seide my soule; ther-
 25 fore Y shal abiden hym^t. *Teth.* Good
 is the Lord to men hopende in hym, to
 26 the soule sechende hym. *Teth.* Good is
 to abide with silence the helthe 3yuere
 27 of God. *Teth.* Good is to the man, that^u
 hath born the^v 3oc of the Lord^w fro his^x
 28 waxende 3outh. *Joth.* He shal sitte soli-
 tarie, and be stille; for he rerede hymself
 29 aboue hymself. *Joth.* He shal sette in
 poulder his mouth, if par auenture ther
 30 be hope. *Joth.* He shal 3yue to the
 smytende hym the cheke; he shal be ful-
 31 fyld with repreues. *Caph.* For putten
 abac shul not the Lord in to euermor.
 32 *Caph.* For if he haue cast awei, and^y he
 shal haue mercy after the multitude of
 33 his mercies. *Caph.* Forsothe he^z loewede
 not of his herte; and caste awei the sonus
 34 of man. *Lameth.* That he shulde to-
 brose vnder his feet alle the gyuede of
 35 the lond. *Lameth.* That he shulde boowe

tide me desolat. *Deleth.* He bente his 12
 bowe, and settide me as a signe to an
 arowe. *He.* He sente in my reynes the 13
 dou3tris of his arowe caas. *He.* Y am 14
 maad in to scorn to al the puple, the song
 of hem al dai. *He.* He fillide me with 15
 bitteresses; he gretli fillide me with
 wermod. *Vau.* He brak at noumbre my 16
 teeth; he fedde me with aische. *Vau.* 17
 And my soule is putte awei; Y haue for-
 3ete goodis. *Vau.* And Y seide, Myn 18
 ende perischide, and myn hope fro the
 Lord. *Zai.* Haue thou mynde on my 19
 pouert and goyng ouer, and on wermod
 and galle. *Zai.* Bi mynde Y schal be 20
 myndeful; and my soule schal faile in me.
Zai. Y bithenkynge^q these thingis in myn 21
 herte, schal^r hope in God. *Heth.* The 22
 mercies of the Lord *ben* manye, for we
 ben not wastid; for whi hise merciful
 doyngis failiden not. *Heth.* Y knew in 23
 the morewtid; thi feith is miche. *Heth.* 24
 My soule seide, The Lord is my part;
 therfor Y schal abide hym. *Teth.* The 25
 Lord is good to hem that hopen in to
 hym, to a soule sekyng hym. *Teth.* It 26
 is good to abide with stilnesse the helthe
 of God. *Teth.* It is good to a man, 27
 whanne he hath bore the 3ok fro^s his
 3ongthe. *Joth.* He schal sitte aloone^t, 28
 and he schal be stille; for he reiseid hym
 silf aboue hym silf. *Joth.* He schal sette 29
 his mouth in dust, if perauenture hope is.
Joth. He schal 3yue the cheke to a man 30
 that smytith hym; he schal be fillid with
 schenschipis. *Caph.* For the Lord schal 31
 not putte awei with outen ende. *Caph.* 32
 For if he castide awei, and he schal do
 merci bi^u the multitude of hise mercies.
Caph. For he makide not low of his herte; 33
 and castide not awei the sonus of men. *La-*
meth. That he schulde al to-foule vndur hise 34
 feet alle the boundun men of erthe. *La-*
meth.^v That he schulde bowe down the dom of 35

ⁿ Om. E pr. m. ^o Om. E pr. m. ^p Recordide A. ^q for AEGHK. ^r mercy doynigus AE sec. m. GHK.
^s in the AE sec. m. GH. ^t Om. E pr. m. ^u whan he AE sec. m. GHK. ^v Om. E pr. m. ^w Om. E pr. m.
^x the AE pr. m. GHK. ^y Om. AGHK. ^z Om. E pr. m.

^q bithenke EP. ^r I shal NS. ^s of N. ^t solitarie, ether aloone c et ceteri. ^u aftir I. ^v From x. Om. A.

doun the dom of man, in the sizte of the
 36 chere of the hejest. *Lameth*. That he
 schuld^a mysturne a man in his dom, the
 37 Lord kneȝ not. *Men*. Who ys this that
 seide, that^b schulde be don, the Lord not
 38 comaundende? *Men*. Of the mouth of
 the hejest shul not go out ne goode
 39 thingus ne euele. *Men*. What grucchede
 a man lyuende, a man for his synnes?
 40 *Nun*. Serche we oure weies, and seche,
 and be wee^c turned aȝen to the Lord.
 41 *Nun*. Rere wee oure hertus with hondus,
 42 to the Lord in to heuenus^d. *Nun*. Wee
 wickeli^e diden, and to wrathe terreden;
 43 therfore thou art vnpreiable. *Sameth*.
 Thou coueridist in wodnesse, and smyte
 44 vs; thou slowe, and sparedist not. *Sameth*.
 Thou puttist aȝen a cloude to thee,
 45 lest passe the preier. *Sameth*. Pulling vp
 bi the roote, and casting awei, thou put-
 46 tist me, in the myddel of puplus^f. *Ain*.
 Myn eȝe is tormentid, and was not^g stille;
 47 forthi that ther was not reste. *Ayn*. To
 the tyme that schulde biholde and looke
 48 the Lord fro heuenus. *Ayn*. Myn eȝe
 robbede^h my soule in alle the doȝtris of
 49 my cheef cite. *Fe*. Openeden vp on vs
 50 ther mouth, alle the enemys. *Fe*. Ferd
 and gren don is to vs, profeciyng and
 51 contricioun. *Fe*. My eȝen broȝten doun
 deuyseouns of watris, in the contricioun
 52 of the doȝter of my puple. *Sade*. Bi
 hunting thei token me as a brid, myn
 53 enemys freeli. *Sade*. Slyden is in to a
 grene my lyf; theiⁱ setten a ston vp on
 54 me. *Sade*. Floweden watris vp on myn
 55 hed; Y seide, Y pershede. *Coph*. I in-
 wardli clepede thi name, Lord, fro the
 56 laste grene. *Cof*. My vois thou herdest;
 ne turne thou awei thin ere fro my sob-
 57 bing^k and cries. *Coph*. Thou neȝhedist
 in the dai, whan Y inwardli clepede thee;
 58 thou seidist, Ne drede thou. *Res*. Thou
 demedest, Lord, the cause of my soule,

man, in the sizt of the cheer of the hizeste.
Lameth. That he schulde peruerte a man³⁶
 in his dom, the Lord knew not. *Men*³⁷.
 Who is this that seide, that a thing schulde
 be don, whanne the Lord comaundide³⁸ not?
Men. Nether goodis nether yuels schulen³⁸
 go out of the mouth of the hizeste. *Men*³⁹.
 What grutchide a man lyuyng, a man
 for hise synnes? *Nun*^t. Serche we oure⁴⁰
 weies, and seke we, and turne we aȝen to
 the Lord. *Nun*. Reise we oure hertis⁴¹
 with hondis, to the Lord in to heuenes.
Nun. We han do wickidli, and han terrid⁴²
 thee to wraththe; therfor thou art not able
 to be preied. *Sameth*^u. Thou hilidist in⁴³
 stronge veniaunce, and smitidist vs; thou
 killidist, and sparidist not. *Sameth*. Thou⁴⁴
 settidist a clowde to thee, that preier passe
 not. *Sameth*. Thou settidist me, drawing⁴⁵
 vp bi the roote, and castyng out, in the
 myddis of puplis. *Ayn*^v. Alle enemyes⁴⁶
 openyden her mouth on vs. *Ayn*. In-⁴⁷
 ward drede and snare is maad to vs, pro-
 fesie and defoulyng. *Ayn*. Myn iȝen led-⁴⁸
 den doun departyngis of watris, for the
 defoulyng of the douȝter of my puple.
Phe^w. Myn iȝe was turmentid, and was⁴⁹
 not stille; for no reste was. *Phe*^x. Vntil^y the⁵⁰
 Lord bihelde, and siz^z fro heuenes. *Phe*⁵¹.
 Myn iȝe robbede my soule in alle the douȝ-
 tris of my citee. *Sade*^a. Myn enemyes token⁵²
 me with out cause, bi huntynge as a brid.
Sade^a. My lijf slood in to a lake; and thei⁵³
 puttiden a stoon on me. *Sade*. Watris⁵⁴
 flowiden ouer myn heed; Y seide, Y pe-
 rischide^b. *Coph*^c. Lord, Y clepide to help⁵⁵
 thi name, fro the laste lake. *Coph*^c. Thou⁵⁶
 herdist my vois; turne thou not awei thin
 eere fro my sobbyng^d and cries. *Coph*⁵⁷.
 Thou neȝidist to me in the dai, wherynne
 Y clepide thee to help; thou seidist, Drede
 thou not. *Res*^e. Lord, aȝenbiere of my⁵⁸
 lijf, thou demydist the cause of my soule.
Res^e. Lord, thou siest^f the wickidnesse

^a Om. c pr. m. E pr. m. G pr. m. AHK. ^b it E pr. m. ^c Om. A. ^d heuene A. ^e wickidly AGHK.
^f the puples A. ^g Om E pr. m. ^h preiede E pr. m. ⁱ and thei AEG sec. m. K. ^k sobbyng E pr. m.

^r From x. *Lameth*. A. ^s comaundith CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^t From x. *Men*. A. ^u From x. *Nun*. A.
^v From x. *Sameth*. A. ^w From x. *Ayn*. A. ^x From x. Om. A. ^y Til CEFHKM PQRSUX. ^z sauȝ i fere passim.
^a From x. *Phe*. A. ^b perishe N. ^c From x. *Sade*. A. ^d sobbyng CEF GHIKMN PQRSUVX. ^e From x.
Coph. A. ^f sauȝest 1.

59 thou a3een biere of my lif. *Res.* Thou see3e, Lord, the wickenesse¹ of them a3en
60 me; deme thou my dom. *Res.* Thou se3e eche wodnesse, alle the tho3tus of hem
61 a3ens me. *Syn.* Thou hast herd the re- preues of hem, Lord; alle the tho3tus of
62 hem a3en me. *Sin.* The lippis of men inrisende to me, and the bithenkingus of
63 hem a3en me al day. *Sin.* The sitting of hem and the a3een rising of hem see;
64 Y am the salm of hem. *Tau.* Thou shalt 3elde to them the while, Lord, after
65 the werkis of ther hondus. *Tau.* Thou shalt 3yue to them the sheld of herte^m,
66 thi trauaile. *Tau.* Thou shalt pursue in thi wodnesse, and to-trede them vnder heuenus, Lord.

CAP. IV.

1 *Aleph.* Hou bicomme dere is gold, chaungid is the best colour? scatered ben the stonus of the seyntuarie in the hed
2 of alle stretus. *Beth.* The sonus of Sion glorious, and wrappid with the chef gold, inⁿ to erthene vesseles, werk of the hondis
3 of a crockere. *Gimel.* But and the cruel beestis clepid lamy^a, nakeden ther tetes, 3eeuen ther whelpus souken; the do3ter of my puple cruel, as an ostrich in desert.
4 *Deleth.* Cleuede to the^p tonge of the soukende to his palet in thrist; the lital childer askeden bred, and ther was not
5 that shulde breke to them. *He.* That eeten voluptuously, dieden in weies; that weren nurshid in 'faire clois of saffroun^q,
6 han clippid^r thostus. *Vau.* And more mad is the wickednesse^s of the do3ter of my puple than the synne of Sodomys, that is turned vp so down in a moment,
7 and toc not in to it hondus. *Sai.* Whitere is Nazareis than sno3, shynendere than mylc; reddere than old yuer, than
8 safyr fairere. *Heth.* Gretli blakid is aboue colis the face of hem, and thei ben not knowen in stretus; cleuede to^t the skyn to the bonus of hem, it driede,

of hem a3ens me; deme thou my doom.
Res. Thou siest al the woodnesse, alle the
thou3tis of hem a3enus me. *Syn^a.* Lord,
thou herdist the schenshipis of hem; alle the
thou3tis of hem a3ens me. *Syn^b.* The lippis
of men risynge a3ens me, and the thou3tis
of hem a3ens me al dai. *Syn.* Se thou
the sittynge and risynge a3en of hem; Y
am^c the salm of hem. *Thau^d.* Lord, thou
schalt 3elde while to hem, bi the werkis
of her hondis. *Tau^d.* Thou schalt 3yue to
hem the scheeld of herte, thi trauel. *Tau.*
Lord, thou schalt pursue hem in thi strong
veniaunce, and thou schalt defoule hem
vndur heuenes.

CAP. IV.

Aleph. How is gold maad derk, the¹ beste colour is chaungid? the stonys of the^e seyntuarie ben scaterid in the heed of alle stretis. *Beth.* The noble sones of² Sion, and clothid with the best gold, hou ben thei arettid in to erthene vessels, in to the werk of the hondis of a pottere?
Gimel. But also lamy^e* maden nakid³ her tetis, 3auen mylk to her whelpis; the dou3ter of my puple is cruel, as an ostrig in desert. *Deleth.* The tonge of the souk-
4 ynge childe cleued to his palat in thirst; litle children axiden breed, and noon was that brak to hem. *He.* Thei that eeten⁵ lustfuli, perischiden in weies; thei that weren nurschid in cradels, biclippiden toordis. *Vau.* And the wickidnesse of the⁶ dou3ter of my puple is maad more than the synne of men of Sodom, that was distried in a moment, and hondis token not ther-ynne. *Zai.* Nazareis therof weren whitere⁷ than snow, schynyngere than mylk; ro-dier than elde yuer, fairere than safire. *Heth.* The face of hem was maad blackere⁸ than coolis, and thei weren not knowun in stretis; the skyn cleuyde to her boonys, it driede, and was maad as a tre. *Teth.* It⁹

* lamy^e ben
cruel beestis
that sleen her
whelpis. v.

¹ wickidnes AGHK. ^m thyn herte E pr. m. ⁿ hou ben thei holden in AGHK. ^o mermynes C pr. m.
E pr. m. cruel bestis that ben clepid lamy^a E sec. m. marg. AGHK. ^p my E pr. m. ^q saffrouned thingus
E pr. m. faire clothis of saffroun E sec. m. marg. ^r biclippid AE sec. m. K. ^s wickenesse E. ^t Om. A.

^a From x. Om. A. ^b From x. Res. A. ^c am mad FNS sec. m. ^d From x. Syn. A. ^e Om. FIKS.

9 and mad is as a tree. *Teth.* Betere was to the slayn men with swerd, than to the slayn men with hungir; for thei anoen ben dead, these^a ful out faileden, ben to-wastid of the bareynesse of the^v erthe.
 10 *Joth.* The hondus of merciful wymmen setheden ther sonus; mad thei ben the metus of hem in the contricioun of the
 11 do3ter of my puple. *Caf.* The Lord ful-filde his wodnesse, helde out the wrathe of his indignacioun; and the Lord tende vp fyr in Sion, and deuourede his founde-
 12 mens. *Lameth.* Leeueden not the kingis of the lond, and^w alle the dwelleris of the world^x, that gon in shulde the ferr enemy and the ny3 enemy bi the 3atus of
 13 Jerusalem. *Men.* For the synnes of his profetus, and the wickidnessis^y of his prestus, that heeleden out in his myddil
 14 the blod of ri3twis men. *Nun.* Erreden the blinde in stretus, defoulid ben in blod; and whan thei my3te not entre,
 15 thei heelden ther swolwis. *Sameth.* Goth awei, 3ee defoulid, thei crieden to them, departeth awei, goth awei, wileth not touche; forsothe thei iangleden, and ben to-stired; seiden among Jentiles, He shal no more lei to, that he dwelle in hem.
 16 *Ain.* The face of the Lord denydede them, he shal not adde, that he beholde them; the faces of prestus thei shameden not, ne of the olde men thei reweden.
 17 *Fee.* Whan 3it wee shulde stonden alyue, faileden oure e3en to oure veyn help^z; whanne wee bihelden takende heed to the folc of kinde, that saue vs my3te not.
 18 *Sade.* Thei maden slidery oure steppis in the weie of oure stretes; ne3hede oure ende, fulfild ben oure dazes, for comen is
 19 oure ende. *Cof.* Swiftere weren oure pursueres than egles of heuene vp on the mounteinus; thei pursueden vs, in desert
 20 thei setteden aspies to vs. *Res.* The spirit of oure mouth, Crist Lord, taken is in oure synnes; to whom we seiden, In

was betere to men slayn with swerd, than to men slayn with hungur; for these men wexiden rotun, thei weren wastid of the bareynesse of erthe. *Joth.* The hondis of 10 merciful wymmen sethiden her children; thei weren maad the metis of tho^b wymmen in the^c sorewe of the dou3ter of my puple. *Caph.* The Lord fillide his strong 11 veniaunce, he schedde out the ire of his indignacioun; and the Lord kyndlide a fier in Sion, and it deuouride the foundementis therof. *Lamet.* The kyngis of erthe, and 12 alle dwelleris^d of the world bileueden not, that an aduersarie and enemy schulde entre bi^e the 3atis of Jerusalem. *Men.* For 13 the synnes of the profetis therof, and for wickidnessis of preestis therof, that schedden out the blood of iust men in the myddis therof. *Nun.* Blynde men erryden 14 in stretis, thei weren defoulid in blood; and whanne thei mi3ten not go, thei helden her hemmes. *Samet.* Thei crieden to hem, 15 Departe awei, 3e defoulide men, departe 3e, go 3e awei, nyle 3e touche; forsothe thei chidden, and weren stirid; thei seiden among hethene men, *God* schal no more leief to, that he dwelle among hem. *Ayn.* 16 The face of the Lord departide hem, he schal no more leie to, that he biholde hem; thei weren not aschamed of the faces of preestis, nether thei hadden merci on eld men. *Phe.* The while we stoden 3it, oure 17 i3en failiden to oure veyn help; whanne we bihelden ententif to a folc, that my3te not saue vs. *Sade.* Oure steppis weren 18 slidir in the weie of oure stretis; oure ende ne3ede, oure daies weren fillid, for oure ende cam. *Coph.* Oure pursueris 19 weren swiftere than the eglis of heuene; thei pursueden vs on hillis, thei settiden buschementis to vs in desert. *Res.* The 20 spirit of oure mouth, Crist the Lord, was takun in oure synnes; to whom we seiden, We schulen lyue in thi schadewe among hethene men. *Syn.* Thou dou3ter of Edom, 21

^a Om. *E pr. m.*^v Om. *AEGHK.*^w Om. *C.*^x erthe *E pr. m.*^y wickidnesse *C.* wickenesses *E.*^z hoope *A.*^b thilke *I.*^c Om. *I sec. m.*^d the dwellers *I sec. m.*^e in bi *MS.*^f adde *I.*

thi shadewe wee shul lyue in folkus of
 21 kinde. *Syn.* Io3e, and glade, thou do3ter
 of Edom, that dwellist in the lond of
 Hus; to thee also shal come the chalis,
 22 thou shalt be drunke, and nakeden. *Tau.*
 Fulfilde is thi wickenesse^a, thou do3ter of
 Sion; he shal no more adde, that he ouer-
 passe thee; he shal visite thi wickenesse^a,
 thou^b do3ter of Edom, discouere he^c shal
 thi synnes.

make ioye, and be glad, that dwellist in
 the lond of Hus; the cuppe schal come
 also to thee, thou schalt be maad drunkun,
 and schalt be maad bare. *Thau.* Thou²²
 dou3ter of Sion, thi wickidnesse is fillid;
 he schal not adde more, that he make thee
 to passe ouer; thou dou3ter of Edom, he
 schal visite thi wickidnesse, he schal vn-
 hile thi synnes.

*Here endith the Lamentaciouns and
 here bigynneth the Preier of Jeremye,
 the profete^g.*

The Orisoun of Jeremye, profete^d.

1 Recorde, Lord, what hath falle to vs;
 inwardly looke, and behold oure repref.
 2 Oure eretage turned is to alienes, oure
 3 houses to straungeres. Faderles childer
 we^e ben mad with oute fader; oure mo-
 4 ders as widewis. Oure water in monee
 wee han drunke, oure trees for pris wee
 5 han bo3t. Bi oure nollis we were dryue,
 6 and to the weri was^f not 3oue^g reste. To
 Egypt wee 3eeuen hond, and to Assiries,
 that wee shulde be fulfid with bred.
 7 Oure faders synneden, and ben not, and
 wee the wickidnesses^h of hem han born.
 8 Seruauns lordshipeden of vs, and ther
 was not, that a3een shulde bie fro the
 9 hond of hem. In oure lyues weⁱ bro3ten
 to bred to vs, fro the face of the swerd
 10 in desert. Oure skin as an ouene is to-
 brent, fro the face of tempestus of hunger.
 11 Wymmen in Sion thei^k meekiden, and
 12 maidenus in the cites of Juda. Princes bi
 the hond ben hangid vp; faces of olde men
 13 thei^l shameden not. The 3unge wymmen

Here bigynneth the Preier of Jeremye^h.

Lord, haue thou mynde what bifelle to
 vs; se thou, and biholde oure schenschi-
 pe. Oure eritage is turned to aliens, oure housis
 2 *ben turned* to straungers. We ben maad
 3 fadirles children with out fadir; oure mo-
 dris *ben* as widewis. We drunken oure
 4 watir for monei, we bou3tenⁱ oure trees
 for siluer. We weren dryuun bi oure
 5 heedis, and reste was not 3ouun to feynt
 men. We 3auen hond to Egypt, and to
 6 Assiriens, that we schulden be fillid with
 breed. Oure fadris synneden, and ben^k
 7 not, and we baren the wickidnessis of
 hem. Seruauntis weren lordis of vs, and
 8 noon was, that a3enbou3te fro the hond of
 hem. In oure lyues we brou3ten breed to
 9 vs, fro the face of swerd in desert. Oure
 10 skynne is brent as a furneis, of the face
 of tempestis of hungur. Thei maden low
 11 wymmen in Sion, and virgyns in the citees
 of Juda. Princes weren hangid bi the
 12 hond; thei weren not aschamed of the
 faces of elde men. Thei mysusiden 3onge
 13

^a wickidnes AGHK. ^b the AE sec. m. GHK. ^c she CE. ^d Here begynneth the Orisoun of Jeremye, the prophete. AEGHK. ^e Om. E pr. m. ^f Om. AG pr. m. HK. ^g 3yue E. ^h wickidnes AGH. wickenesses E. ⁱ Om. E pr. m. ^k Om. C pr. m. E pr. m. ^l Om. AE pr. m.

^g From C. Here enden the Lamentaciouns, and here bygynneth the [a GQ] preier of Jeremye, the profete. FGMQU. Here enden the Lamentaciouns of Jeremye, and here bigynneth the preier of Jeremye. H. Heere enden [endith N] the Lamentaciouns, and heere biginnith the preier of Jeremye, the prophet. IN. Here enden the Lamentaciouns; se now the preier of Jeremye, the profete. K. Here enden the Lamentaciouns, and here bigynneth the preier of Jeremye. RX. Here [enden] the Lamentaciouns of Jeremye, and bigynneth the preier of Jeremye. S. Here endith the Lamentacioun, and bigynneth the preier of Jeremye. V. No final rubric in AEPY. ^h This is the preizer of Jeremie. EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ⁱ brou3ten AI sec. m. ^k thei ben I.

vncastli thei mysveden, and the childer
 14 in tree togidere fellen. Olde men faileden
 of the ȝatus; ȝunge men of the quer of
 15 syngeres. Failede the ioȝe of oure herte;
 16 turned is in to weiling oure^m quer. Fel
 the croune of oure hed; wo to vs! for
 17 wee han synned. Therfore dreri mad is
 oure herte, therfore to-dercnd ben oure
 18 eȝen. For the mount of Sion, for it dis-
 19 perishtⁿ; wlues ȝiden in it. Thou, for-
 sothe, Lord, in to with oute ende shalt
 abide stille; thi see in to ieneracioun and
 20 to ieneracioun. Whi in to with oute
 ende thou shalt forȝeten vs, thou shalt
 forsake vs in to the lengthe of dazis?
 21 Conuerte vs, Lord, to thee, and we shul
 be conuertid; newe thou oure dazes, as
 22 fro the bigynnyng. But castende awei
 thou^o hast put vs out; thou wrathedist
 aȝen vs hugely.

*Her endeth Jeremye, and gynneth the
 prolog in the boc clepid Baruch^p.*

wexynge men vncastli, and children fellen
 down in tree. Elde men failiden fro ȝatis; 14
 ȝonge men *failiden* of¹ the queer of sing-
 eris. The ioie of oure herte failide; oure 15
 song^m is turned in to mourenyng. The 16
 coroun of oure heed fellen down; wo to
 vs! for we synned. Therfor oure herte 17
 is maad soreuful, therfor oure iȝen ben
 maad derk. For the hil of Sion, for it 18
 perischide; foxis ȝeden in it. But thou, 19
 Lord, schal dwelle with outen ende; thi
 seete *schal dwelle* inⁿ generacioun and in
 to generacioun. Whi schalt thou forȝete 20
 vs with outen ende, schalt thou forsake vs
 in to lengthe of daies? Lord, conuerte 21
 thou vs to thee, and we schal be con-
 uertid; make thou newe oure daies, as at
 the bigynnyng. But thou castynge awei 22
 hast cast awei vs; thou art wrooth aȝens
 vs greetli.

*Here endith the Preier of Jeremye, and
 bigynneth the prolog of Baruch^o.*

^m their E pr. m. ⁿ pershede E pr. m. ^o thee thou E pr. m. P No final rubric in AEGHK.

¹ fro I. ^m queer, *ether song* CEF GHIKMPQRSUVXY. ⁿ into EG. ^o From NSV. *Here endeth the book
 of Jeremie; se now the prolog of Baruk.* K. No final rubric in the other Mss.

BARUCH.

Prologe to the book of Baruch, the prophete^a.

'THIS boc, that^b Baruch bi name is bifor notid, in Ebru canoun is not had, but onli in the comun translacioun; lyc maner and^c the epistil of Jeremye; for the knoueleching forsothe of rederes heer ben write; for many thingus of Crist and of the laste tymes thei shewen.

Here endith the prologe, and bigynneth the book of Baruck^d.

Here bigynneth the prolog of the book of Baruk^a.

THIS book, which is titlid bi the^b name of Baruk, is not had in the autorite^c of Ebrew, but oneli in the comyn translacioun; in lijk maner and the pistle^d of Jeremye is not in the canoun of Ebreu; netheles for the knowyng of rederis, these ben writun here; for these schewen many thingis of Crist, and of the laste tymes.

Here endith the prologe, and here bygynneth the book of Baruk^e.

Heer gynneth the boc^e.

CAP. I.

¹ And these ben the wrdus of the boc, that wrot Baruch, the sone of Neri, sone of Masy, sone of Sedechie, sone of Sedei, ²sone of Elchie, in Babilon; in the fift³er, in the seuenthe dai of the moneth, in the tyme that Caldeis token Jerusalem, and brenden it vp with fyr. And Baruch radde the wrdus of this boc at the eres of Jeconye, sone of Joachym,

Here biginnith the book of Baruk^f.

CAP. I.

And these ben the wordis of the book,¹ which Baruk, the sone of Nerie, sone of Maasie, sone of Sedechie, sone of Sedei, sone of Helchie, wroot in Babilonye; in² the fyuethe 3eer, in the seuenthe dai of the monethe, in the tyme wherynne Caldeis token Jerusalem, and brenten it with fier. And Baruk redde the wordis of this³ book to the eeris of Jeconye, sone of Joa-

^a From K. *The prolog of Baruch.* A. *Prologe in Baruch.* EK sec. v. *The prologe in Baruch.* GH. No initial rubric in C. ^b The boke of A. ^c and in E pr. m. ^d From K. No final rubric in ACEGH. ^e *Here begynneth the boke of Baruch, prophete.* A. *Incipit liber Baruch.* E. *Here bigynneth the boke of Baruch.* GH. No initial rubric in K.

^a *The prologe of Baruk.* CHMQU. *This is the prolog on Baruk.* EPY. *The prologe.* F. *Heere biginnith the prologe on Baruk.* I. *A prolog vpon Baruck.* R. *Prolog of Baruk.* S. *The prolog on Baruk.* X. ^b Om. F. ^c canoun, ether autorite C et ceteri. ^d epistil EPVY. ^e From CEFMNSUVX. *Here endith the prologe, and bigynneth the book.* H. *Heere endith the prologe, and biginnith Baruk.* I. *Here endeth the prolog of Baruk; se now the booc.* K. No final rubric in the other Mss. ^f *Baruk.* A. *Here bigynneth Baruk.* GQR. No initial rubric in the other Mss.

king of Juda, and at the eres of al the
 4 puple comende to the boc; and at the eres
 of the my3ti men of the sonus of kingus,
 and at the eres of prestus, and at the eres
 of the puple, fro the leste vnto the meste
 of hem, alle dwellende in Babyloyn, and
 5 at the flod of Sodi. The whiche herende
 wepten, and fasteden, and pregeden in
 6 the s3t of the Lord. And thei geder-
 eden monee, after that my3te of eche the
 7 hond. And thei senten in to Jerusalem
 to Joachym, sone of Elchie, sone of Sa-
 len, the prest, and to the prestus, and to
 al the puple that ben founde with hym^f
 8 in Jerusalem; whan thei shulde take the
 vesseles of the temple, that weren take
 awei fro the temple, to a3een clepe 'in to^g
 the lond of Juda, the tenthe dai of the
 moneth Cybam; the siluer vesselis, that
 Sedechie, sone^h of Josie, king of Juda,
 9 made, after that Nabugodonosor, king of
 Babiloyne, hadde take Jeconye, and hisⁱ
 princes, and alle the^k my3ti, and the^l
 puple of the lond fro Jerusalem, and
 10 bro3te them gyued in to Babiloyne. And
 thei seiden, Lo! wee han sent to 3ou
 mones, of whiche bieth brent sacrificise, and
 cens, and maketh manaa, and offreth for
 synne at the auter of the Lord oure
 11 God. And pre3eth for the lif of Nabugo-
 donosor, king of Babiloyne, and for the
 lif of Balthasar, his sone, that the dajes
 of them be as the dajes of heuene vp on
 12 erthe; that the Lord 3yue vertue to vs,
 and li3tne oure e3en, that wee lyue vnder
 the shadewe of Nabugodonosor, king of
 Babiloyne, and vnder the shadewe of
 Balthasar, his sone; and serue wee to
 hem manye dajes, and fynde wee grace
 13 in the sy3te of hem. And for vs^m self
 pre3eth to the Lord oure God, for wee
 han synned to the Lord oure God, and
 turned awei is not his wodnesse fro vs,
 14 vn to this dai. And redeth this boc, that
 wee han sent to 3ou, to be reherced in

chym, kyng of Juda, and to the eeris of
 al the puple comynge to the book; and to⁴
 the eeris of the^v my3ti sones of kyngis,
 and to the eeris of prestis, and to the eeris
 of the puple, fro the mooste^w 'til to^x the
 leeste^y of hem, of alle dwellynge in Ba-
 biloyne, and at the flood Sudi. Whiche⁵
 herden, and wepten, and fastiden, and
 preiden in the s3t of the Lord. And⁶
 thei gaderiden monei, bi that that ech
 mannus hond my3te; and senten in to⁷
 Jerusalem to Joachym, the prest, sone^z of
 Helchie, sone^a of Salen, and to the preestis,
 and to al the puple that weren foundun
 with hym in Jerusalem; whanne he took⁸
 the vessels of the temple of the Lord, that
 weren takun awei fro the temple, to a3en
 clepe in to the lond of Juda, in the tenthe
 dai of the monethe Siban^b; the siluerne
 vessels, which Sedechie, the kyng of Juda,
 the sone of Josie, made, aftir that Nabu-⁹
 godonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, hadde take
 Jeconye, and princes, and alle my3ti men,
 and the puple of the lond fro Jerusalem,
 and ledde hem boundun in to Babiloyne.
 And thei seiden, Lo! we han sent to 3ou¹⁰
 richessis, of whiche bie 3e brent sacrifices,
 and encense, and make 3e sacrifice, and
 offre 3e for synne at the auter of 3oure
 Lord God. And preye 3e for the lijf of¹¹
 Nabugodonosor, king of Babiloyne, and
 for the lijf of Balthasar, his sone, that
 the daies of hem ben on erthe as the daies
 of heuene; that the Lord 3yue vertu to¹²
 vs, and li3tne oure i3en, that we lyue
 vndur the schadewe of Nabugodonosor,
 kyng of Babiloyne, and vndur the scha-
 dewe of Balthasar, his sone; and that we
 serue hem bi many daies, and fynde grace
 in the s3t of hem. And preye 3e^c for 'vs¹³
 silf^d to our Lord God, for we han synned
 to oure Lord God, and his strong ven-
 iance is not turned awei fro^e vs, 'til in to^f
 this dai. And rede 3e this book, which¹⁴
 we senten to 3ou, to be rehersed in the

^f hem K. ^g in A. ^h the sone E pr. m. ⁱ the AE sec. m. GHK. Om. E pr. m. ^k and the E. ^l al the A sup. ras. ^m oure AGHK.

^v Om. I. ^w leeste F. ^x to E. vnto I. til N. ^y mooste F. ^z the sone CFHIKMQRSU. Om. E. ^a the sone Q. ^b May A marg. ^c Om. G. ^d oure self EPY. vs S. ^e for FHPY. ^f vnto I.

the temple of the Lord, in a solempne
 15 dai, and in a couenable dayⁿ. And 3ee
 shul sey, To the Lord oure God ríztwis-
 nesse^o, to vs forsothe confusioun of oure
 face, as is this dai to al Juda, and to the
 16 dwelleris in Jerusalem, to oure kingus,
 and to oure princes, to oure prestus, and
 17 to oure profetus, and to oure faders. We
 han synned bifor the Lord oure God, and
 wee han not leeued, mystrostende^p in to^q
 18 hym. And we wer not soietable 'to hym^r,
 and wee wel herden not the vois of the
 Lord oure God, that wee shulde go in
 19 his maundemens that he 3af to vs; fro
 the dai that he ladde out oure faders fro
 the lond of Egipt, vn to this dai, we
 weren mystrowable to the Lord oure
 God; and scatered we wenten away, lest
 20 wee shulde heren the vois of hym. And
 ther cleueden to vs many euelis, and
 cursingus, the whiche the Lord sette to
 his seruaunt Moises; that ladde out oure
 faders fro the lond of Egipt, to 3yue to
 vs the lond flowende mylc and hony, as
 21 in this day. And wee herden not the
 vois of the Lord oure God, after alle the
 wrdus of profetus, that he sente to vs, and
 22 to oure iugis; and we wenten away, eche
 in to^s the wit of oure shreude herte, to
 werche to alien godus, doende euelus bifor
 the e3en of the Lord owre God.

CAP. II.

1 For whiche thing ordeynede the Lord
 oure God his wrd, that he spac to vs,
 and to oure iuges that demeden Jerusa-
 lem^t, and to oure kingus, and to oure
 2 princes, and to al Irael and Juda; that
 the Lord shulde bringe to vp on vs grete
 euelis, that ben not do vnder heuene, as
 ben do in Jerusalem; after that ben write
 3 in the lawe of Moises, that a man shulde
 ete the flesh of his sone, and the flesh of
 4 his dozter. And he 3af hem in the hond
 of alle kingus, that ben in oure cumpas,
 in to repref, and in to desolacioun in alle

temple of the Lord, in a solempne dai,
 and in a^s couenable dai. And 3e schulen 15
 seie, Ríztfulnesse *is* to oure Lord God,
 but schenschiþe of oure face *is* to vs, as
 this dai is, to al Juda, and to dwelleris in
 Jerusalem, to oure kyngis, and to oure 16
 princes, to oure preestis, and to oure pro-
 fetis, and to oure fadris. We synned 17
 bifor oure Lord God, and bileuyden not,
 and tristiden not in hym. And we^b weren 18
 not redi to be suget to hym, and we
 obeiden not to the vois of oure Lord God,
 that we 3eden in hise comaundementis,
 whiche he 3af to vs; fro the dai in which 19
 he ledde oure fadris out of the lond of
 Egipt, til in to this dai, we weren vnbi-
 leueful to oure Lord God; and we weren
 scaterid, and 3eden awei, that we herden
 not the vois of hym. And many yuels 20
 and cursyngis, whiche the Lord ordeynede
 to his seruaunt Moises, cleuyden to vs;
 which *Lord* ledde oure fadris out of the
 lond of Egipt, to 3yue to vs a lond flow-
 ynge mylk and hony, as in this dai. And 21
 we herden not the vois of oure Lord God,
 bi alle the wordis of prophetis, whiche he
 sente to vs, and to oure iugis; and we 22
 3eden awei, ech man in to the wit of his
 yuel herte, to worche to alien goddis, and
 we diden yuels before the i3en of oure
 Lord God.

CAP. II.

For which thing oure Lord God settide 1
 stidfastli his word, which he spac to vs,
 and to oure iugis, that demyden in Israel,
 and to oure kyngis, and to oure princes,
 and to al Israel and Juda; that the Lord 2
 schulde brynge on vs grete yuels, that
 weren not don vndur heuene, as tho ben
 doon in Jerusalem; bi tho thingis that ben
 writun in the lawe of Moises, that a man 3
 schulde ete the fleischis of his sone, and
 the fleischis of his dou3ter. And he 3af 4
 hem in to the hond of alle kyngis, that
 ben in oure cumpas, in to schenschiþe, and

ⁿ Om. c *pr. m.* ^o oure ríztwisnesse c *pr. m.* ^p mystrowande AGHK. ^q Om. E *pr. m.* ^r Om. c *pr. m.*
^s Om. E *pr. m.* ^t in Jerusalem AGHK.

^g Om. CFGHMNPQRUVY. ^h Om. EPVY. thei ns *sec. m.*

puplis, in whiche scaterede vs the Lord.
 5 And wee ben mad vnder nethe, and not
 aboue; for we han synned to the Lord
 oure God, not wel herende the vois of
 6 hym. To the Lord oure God ríztwis-
 nesse, to vs forsothe and to oure faders
 7 shenshipe of the face, as is this dai. For
 the Lord spac vp on vs alle these euelis,
 8 that camen vp on vs. And wee louli
 prejeden not the face of the Lord oure
 God, that wee shulden turne a3een, eche
 9 of vs fro oure werst weies. And the
 Lord woc in euelis, and bro3te them vp
 on vs; for ríztwis is the Lord in alle his
 10 werkus that he sente to vs. And wee
 herden not the vois of hym, that we
 shulde go in the hestes of the Lord, that
 11 he 3af bifor oure face. And now, Lord
 God of Israel, that bro3tist out thi puple
 fro the lond of Egipt in a strong hond,
 and in signes, and wndris^u, and in thi
 grete vertue, and in an hy3 arm, and
 madist to thee a name, as is this day;
 12 wee han synned, vnþitously wee han
 born vs, wickeli^v wee han^w do, Lord oure
 13 God, in alle thi ríztwisnesses. Be turned
 away thy wrathe fro vs; for wee ben laft
 a fewe among Jentilis, wher thou hast
 14 scatered vs. Heere, Lord, oure preieeres,
 and oure orisounus, and bring vs out for
 thee; and 3if to vs to finde grace bifor
 the face of hem, that ladden vs away;
 15 that al erthe wite, for thou art Lord
 oure God, and for thi name is inwardli
 clepid vp on Israel, and vp on the kinde
 16 of hym. Bihold, Lord, fro thin hoeli
 hous in to vs, and bowe in thin ere, and
 17 ful out here vs. Opene thin e3en, and
 see; for not the deade that ben in helle,
 whos spirit is taken fro^x ther bowelis,
 shul 3yue wrshiþe and iustefiþing to the
 18 Lord; but the soule that is sori vp on
 the mykilnesse of euel, and goth bowid,
 and meekid, and the e3en failende, and
 the soule hungrende, 3yueth to thee glorie

in to desolacioun in alle puplis, among
 whiche the Lord scateride vs. And we^s
 ben maad bynethe, and not aboue; for we
 synned to oure Lord God, in not obei-
 ynge to the vois of hym. Ríztfulness^{is} ^{is} ^{is}
 to oure Lord God, but schenschiþe of face
^{is} to vs and to oure fadris, as this dai is.
 For the Lord spac on vs alle these yuels,
 that camen on vs. And we bisou3tén^s
 not the face of oure Lord God, that we
 schulden turne a3en, ech of vs fro oure
 worste weies. And the Lord wakide in⁹
 yuels, and brou3te tho on vs; for the Lord
 is iust in alle hise werkis, whiche he co-
 maundide to vs. And we herden not the¹⁰
 vois of hym, that we schulden go in the
 comaundementis of the Lord, whiche he
 3af bifore oure face. And now, Lord God¹¹
 of Israel, that leddist thi puple out of the
 lond of Egipt in a strong hond, and in
 myraclis, and in grete wondris, and in thi
 greet vertu, and in an hi3 arm, and madist
 to thee a name, as this dai is; we han¹²
 synned, we han do vnfeithfuli, we han do
 wickidli, oure Lord God, in alle thi rízt-
 fulnessis. Thi wrath be turned away fro¹³
 vs; for we ben left a fewe among hethene
 men, where thou scateridist¹ vs. Lord,¹⁴
 here thou oure axyngis, and oure preyeris,
 and lede vs out for thee; and 3yue thou to
 vs to fynde grace bifore the face of hem,
 that ledden vs awei; that al erthe knowe,¹⁵
 that thou art oure Lord God^k, and that
 thi name is clepid to help on Israel, and
 on the kyn of hym. Lord, bihold thou¹⁶
 fro thin hooli hous on vs, and bouwe down
 thin eere, and here vs. Opene thin i3en,¹⁷
 and se; for not deed men that ben in helle,
 whos spirit is takun fro her entrails, schu-
 len 3yue onour and iustefiþing to the Lord;
 but a soule which is sori on the greetnesse¹⁸
 of yuel, and goith bowid, and sijk, and
 i3en failynge, and an hungri soule, 3yueth
 glorie to thee, and ríztfulness to the Lord.
 For not bi the ríztfulnesses¹ of oure fadris¹⁹

^u in wondris AEGK. in thi wondris H sup. ras. ^v wickidly AGHK. ^w ha K. ^x for C.

¹ hast scaterid i.

^k Om. i pr. m.

¹ ríztwisnesses i.

19 and riȝtwisnesse, Lord^y. Whiche not after
the riȝtwisnesse of oure faders heelden
out mercy bifor thi siȝt, Lord oure God;
20 but for thou sentist thi wrathe and thi
wodnesse vp on vs, as thou speeke in the
hondus of thi childer profetus, seiende,
21 Thus seith the Lord, Bowith down ȝoure
shuldris, and ȝoure nol, and doth trauaile
to the king of Babiloyne; and ȝee shul
sitte in the lond, that Y ȝaf to ȝoure fa-
22 ders. That if ȝee shul not don, ne here
the vois of the Lord oure God, to werche
to the king of Babiloyne, ȝoure failing Y
shal make fro the cites of Juda, and fro
23 the ȝatus of Jerusalem; and Y shal take
awei fro ȝou the vois of merthe^z, and
the^a vois of ioȝe^b, and vois of the^{bb} man
spouse, and vois of the womman spouse;
and ben shal al the lond with oute step
24 from the dwelleres in to it. And thei
herden not thy vois, that thei shulde
wrche to the king of Babiloyne; and
thou settedest thi wrdus, that thou speeke
in the eres of thi childer profetus, that
translatid shulde be the bonus of oure
kingus, and the bonus of oure faders fro
25 this place. And lo! thei ben cast forth
in the hete of the sunne, and in the frost
of the nyȝt; and thei ben dead in werst
sorwes, in hunger, and in swerd, and in
26 sending out. And thou settedist thi^c
temple, in whiche is inwardli^d clepid thi
name in it, as this dai, for the wickenes^e
of the hous of Irael, and of the hous of
27 Juda. And thou hast don in vs, Lord
oure God, after thi goodnesse, and after
28 al that thi grete mercy doing, as thou
speeke in the hond of thi child Moises,
in the dai that thou comaundedist^f to
hym to write thi lawe bifor the sonus of
29 Irael, seiende, If ȝee shul not here my
vois, this grete multetude shal be turned
in to the leste folc of kinde, for them Y
30 shal scatere; for Y wot, that mee shal

we 'scheden merci^m bifore thiⁿ siȝt, oure^o
Lord God; but for thou sentist thi^o
wraththe and thi stronge veniaunce on vs,
as thou spakest in the hondis of thi chil-
dren profetis, and seidist, Thus seith the²¹
Lord, Bowe ȝe ȝoure schuldur, and ȝoure
necke, and do ȝe trauel to the kyng of
Babiloyne; and ȝe schulen sitte in the lond,
which Y ȝaf to ȝoure fadris. That if ȝe²²
don not, nethir heren the vois of ȝoure
Lord God, to worche to the kyng of Ba-
biloynne, Y schal make ȝoure failyng fro
the citees of Juda, and fro the ȝatis of
Jerusalem; and Y schal take awei fro ȝou²³
the vois of gladnesse, and the vois of ioȝe,
and the vois of spouse, and the vois of
spousesse; and al the lond schal be with
out step of hem that dwellen therynne.
And thei herden not thi vois, that thei²⁴
schulden worche to the kyng of Babi-
loynne; and thou hast set stidfastli thi
wordis, whiche thou spakist in the hondis
of thi children, prophetis; that the boonys
of oure kyngis, and the boonys of oure
fadris schulen be borun ouer fro her place.
And lo! tho^p ben cast forth in the heete of²⁵
the sunne, and in the frost of niȝt^r; and
men ben deed in the worste sorewis, in
hungur, and in swerd, and in sending out.
And^s thou hast set^t the temple in which²⁶
thi name was clepid to help, as this dai
schewith, for the wickidnesse of the hous
of Israel, and of the hous of Juda. And²⁷
thou, oure Lord God, hast do in vs bi al
thi goodnesse, and bi al that greet mer-
ciful doyng of thee, as thou spakest in²⁸
the hond of thi child Moises, in the dai
in which thou comaundidist to hym to
write thi lawe bifore the sonus of Israel,
and seidist, If ȝe heren not my vois, this²⁹
greet ournyng and myche schal be turned
in to the leest among hethene men, whi-
dur Y schal scatere hem. For Y woot,³⁰
that the puple schal not here me, for it is

^y to the Lord *E pr. m.* ^z ioȝe *C.* ^a Om. *EG.*
^e wickidnes *AGHK.* ^f comaundist *AGHK.*

^b merthe *C.* ^{bb} Om. *G.* ^c the *A.* ^d inward *C.*

^m heelden out preieris, and axen mercy *I.*
^s Also *N.* ^t Om. *N.*

ⁿ the *N.* ^o of oure *N.* ^p thei *U.* ^r the niȝt *N.*

not^g here the puple. The puple is forsothe with an hard nol, and shal be turned to his herte, in the lond of his
 31 caitifte; and thei schul wite, for Y am the Lord God of hem. And Y shal 3yue to them an herte, and thei shul vndir-
 32 stoude, and eres, and thei shul here. And thei shuln preise me in the lond of ther caitifte, and myndeful thei shul be of my
 33 name. And thei shul turnen awei themselves fro ther harde rig, and fro ther cursidhedus; for thei shul remembre the weie of ther fadris, that synneden in me.
 34 And Y shal a3een clepe hem in to the lond, that Y swor to the fadris of hem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and thei shul lordshipen of it. And Y shal multeplie
 35 them, and thei shul not be lassid. And Y shal sette to them an other^h testament euere durende, that Y be to them in to a Lord, and thei shul be to me in to a puple. And Y shal no more moue my puple, the sonus of Irael, fro the lond that Y 3af to them.

CAP. III.

1 And now, Lord God of Irael, the soule in anguysshes, and the spirit tormentid
 2 crieth to thee. Heere, Lord, and haueⁱ mercy; for God thou art merciful. And haue mercy of vs, for wee han synned
 3 bifor thee, that sittist in to euermor, and wee shul not pershe in to the spi-
 4 rituel during. Lord God al my3ti, God of Irael, here now the orisoun of the deade men of Irael, and of the sonus of hem, for thei han synned bifor thee, and thei herden not the vois of the Lord ther
 5 God, and ioyned ben to vs euelis. Wile thou not han^k mynde of the wickenesse^l of oure fadris, but haue^m mynde of thin
 6 hond and of thi name in this tyme; for thou art Lord oure God, and wee shul
 7 preise thee, Lord. For that thou hast 3oue thi drede in oure hertes, that wee

a puple of hard nol. And it schal turne to her herte in the lond of her caitiftee; and
 31 thei schulen wite, that Y am the Lord God of hem. And Y schal 3yue to hem an herte, and thei schulen vndurstonde, and eeris, and thei schulen here. And thei
 32 schulen herie me in the lond of her caitiftee, and thei schulen be myndeful of my name. Thei schulen turne awei hem
 33 silf fro her hard bak, and fro her wickidnessis; for thei schulen haue mynde of the wei of her fadris, that synneden a3ens me. And Y schal a3en clepe hem in to
 34 the lond, which Y swoor to 3yue to the fadris of hem, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and thei schulen be lordis of it. And Y schal multiplie hem, and thei schulen not be maad lesse. And Y schal ordeyne
 35 to hem an other testament euerlastynge, that Y be to hem in to God, and thei schulen be to me in to a puple. And Y schal no more moue my puple, the sones of Israel, fro the lond which Y 3af to hem. And now, Lord almi3ti, God of Israel, a
 soule in angwischis and a spirit anoied crieth to thee. Lord, here thou, and haue
 2 merci, for thou art merciful God; and haue thou merci on vs, for we han synned bifor thee, that^u sittist withouten ende, and
 3 we schulen not perische withouten ende. Lord God almi3ti, God of Israel, here thou
 4 now the preier of the deed men of Israel, and of the sones of hem, that synneden bifor thee, and herden not the vois of her Lord God, and yuels ben fastned to vs. Nyle thou haue mynde on the wick-
 5 idnesse of oure fadris, but haue thou mynde on thin hond and on thi name in this tyme; for thou art oure Lord God,
 6 and, Lord, we schulen herie thee. For whi
 7 for this thing thou hast 3oue thi drede in oure hertis, that we clepe thi name to help, and herie thee in oure caitiftee; for we schulen be conuertid fro the wickidnesse of oure fadris, that synneden a3ens

^g no *E pr. m.* ^h a *A.* ⁱ ha *K.* ^k ha *K.* ^l wickidnes *AGHK.* ^m ha *K.*

^u thou *I.*

inwardli clepe thi name, and preise thee
 in oure caitifte; for wee shul be turned
 fro the wickenesseⁿ of oure fadris, that
 8 synneden in thee. And lo! wee in oure
 caitifte ben to dai, that vs thou hast
 scatered, in to repref, and in to cursing,
 and in to synne, after alle the wickid-
 nessis^o of oure fadris, that wenten awei
 9 fro thee, Lord oure God. Here thou,
 Israel, the maundemens of lif; with eres
 10 parceyue, that thou wite prudence. What
 is, Israel, that in the lond of the enemys
 11 thou art? Thou hast eldid in an alien
 lond, thou^p art defoulid with deade men,
 thou^p art set with men goende down in
 12 to helle? Thou hast forsake the welle
 13 of wisdam; for if in the weies of God
 thou haddest go, thou shulddest han dwell-
 14 id forsothe in pes vp on erthe. Lerne,
 wher be prudence, wher be vertue, wher
 be vnderstanding, that thou wite togi-
 dere, wher be long abiding of lyf and of
 liflode, wher be list of eȝen, and pes^q.
 15 Who fond his place? who^r entride in to
 16 his tresores? Wher ben the princes of
 Jentilys, and that lordshipen of bestes,
 17 that ben vpon erthe? That in the
 18 briddis of heuene pleien; that siluer tre-
 soren and gold, in whiche trosten men,
 and ther is noon ende of the purchasing
 of hem? That siluer forgen, and ben
 besy, ne ther is finding of the werkus of
 19 hem? Thei ben outlawid, and to helle
 thei wente down; and othyr men in the
 20 place of hem risen. The ȝunge^s men of
 hem sawen list, and dwelten on erth.
 Sothely thei knewen not the wei of disci-
 21 plyne, nether vndirstoden the pathis of
 it; nether the sones of hem resceyueden
 it. Fro the face of hem it is maad fer;
 22 it is not herd in the lond of Canaan,
 23 nether it is seen in Theman. And the
 sones of Agar, that souȝten out prudence
 that is of erth, the marchauntis of erth,
 and Theman, and the^t fablers, or iang-

thee. And lo! we ben in oure caitifte^s
 to dai, whidur thou scateridist vs, in to
 schenschepe, and in to cursyng, and in to
 synne, bi al the wickidnesse of oure fadris,
 that ȝeden awei fro thee, thou oure Lord
 God.

CAP. III.

Israel, here thou the comaundementis⁹
 of lijf; perseyue thou with eeris, that
 thou kunne prudence. Israel, what is it,
 10 that thou art in the lond of enemyes?
 Thou wexidist eld in an alien lond, thou¹¹
 art defoulid with deed men, thou art aret-
 tid with hem, that goon down in to helle?
 Thou hast forsake the welle of wisdom;
 12 for whi if thou haddist gon in the weies
 13 of God, sotheli thou haddist dwellid in
 pees on erthe. Lerne thou, where is wis-
 14 dom, where is prudence, where is vertu,
 where is vndurstondyng, that thou wite
 togidere, where is long duryng of lijf and
 lijf lode, where is list of iȝen, and pees.
 Who foond the place therof, and who en-
 15 tride in to the tresouris therof? Where
 16 ben the princes of hethene men, and that
 ben lordis ouer the beestis, that ben on
 erthe? Whiche pleien with the briddis of
 17 heuene; whiche tresoren siluer and gold,
 18 in which men tristen, and noon ende is
 of^v the purchasyng of hem? Which maken
 siluer, and ben busi, and no fyndyng is of
 her werkis? Thei ben distried, and ȝeden
 19 down to hellis; and othere men riseden^w
 in the place of hem. The ȝonge men of
 20 hem sien list, and dwelliden^x on erthe.
 But thei knewen not the weie of wisdom,
 nether vndurstoden the pathis therof; ne-
 21 ther the sones of hem resceyueden it. It
 was maad fer fro the face of hem; it is
 22 not herd in the lond of Canaan, nether is
 seyn in Theman. Also the sones of Agar,
 23 that souȝten out prudence which is of
 erthe, the marchauntis of erthe, and of
 Theman, and the tale telleris, and sekeris

ⁿ wickidnes AGHK. ^o wickenessis E. ^p Om. E pr. m. ^q of pese AGHK. ^r and who AE sec. m. GHK.
^s The Mss. C and E end here. The text in what follows is taken from K. ^t Om. AG.

^v in N. ^w risen P. resen I. ^x dwelllynge I.

lers, and seekers out of prudence, and of vnderstandinge; sothely thei knewen not the weie of wysdam, nether hadden
 24 mynde of the paathis therof. O! Yrael, hou grete is the hous of God, and *hou*
 25 grete the place of his possessioun; gret and not hauynge eende, hee; and with
 26 outen mesure grete. Ther weren named gyauntis; tho that fro the bigynnyng
 weren in grete stature, witynge bataile.
 27 The Lord chese not these, nether thei founden the weie of discipline; therfor
 28 thei pershiden. And for thei hadde not wijsdam, thei pershiden for her vnwijs-
 29 dam. Who steijede in to heuen, and toke it^t, and ledde it down fro cloudis?
 30 Who passide ouer the se, and foonde it, and brouzt it to, vpon chosen gold? Ther
 31 is not, that may wite the waies therof, nether that sekith out the pathes therof;
 32 bot he that wote alle thingis, knew; it, and foond it by his prudence. The whiche
 maade redy the erth in euerlastynge tyme, and fulfilled it with feeld bestes,
 33 and four footid bestis. The whiche sendith out lizt, and it goth; and he clepid it,
 and it obeischide to hym in tremblyng.
 34 Forsoth sterris 3auen lizt in her keep- yngus, and gladiden; thei ben clepid, and
 35 thei seiden, We cummen to; and thei shyneden to hym with mirth, that maad
 36 hem. This is our God, and other shal not ben gessid azenis hym. *He* this
 37 foonde al weie of disciplyne, and bitoke it to Jacob, his child, and to Yrael, his
 38 derworth. After these thingus he was seen in erthis, and lyued with men.

CAP. IV.

1 This boke of the maundementis of God, and the lawe that is in to with outen eend. Alle men that holden it^u, shuln perfity cummen to lijf. Forsoth thei that
 2 shuln forsake it, in to deth. Jacob, be thou conuertid, and cacche it; walke by

out of prudence and of vnderstanding. But thei knewen not the weie of wisdom, nether hadden mynde on the paththis therof. O! ^y Israel, the hous of God is ful ²⁴ greet, and the place of his possessioun is greet; it is greet and hath noon ende, ²⁵ hi; and greet without mesure. Namyd ²⁶ giauntis weren there^z; thei that weren of greet stature at the bigynnyng, and knewen batel. The Lord chees not these, ²⁷ nether thei founden the weie of wisdom; therfor thei perischiden. And for thei had- ²⁸ den not wisdom, thei perischiden for her vnwisdom. Who stiede in to heuene, and ²⁹ took that *wisdom*, and brouzte it down fro the cloudis? Who passide ouer the see, ³⁰ and foond it, and brouzte it^a more than chosun gold? Noon is, that mai knowe ³¹ the weie therof, nethir that sekith the pathis therof; but he that han alle thingis, ³² knewe it, and foond it bi his prudence. Which made redi the erthe in euerlast- ynge tyme, and fillide it with twei footid beestis, and foure footid beestis. Which ³³ sendith out lizt, and it goith, and clepide it; and it obeieth to hym in tremblyng. Forsothe sterris 3auen lizt in her kep- ³⁴ yngis, and weren glad; tho weren clepid, ³⁵ and tho seiden, We ben present; and tho schyneden to hym with mirth, that ^b made tho. This is oure God, and noon ³⁶ other schal be gessid azens hym. This ³⁷ foond ech weie of wisdom, and 3af it to Jacob, his child, and to Israel, his derlyng. Aftir these thingis he was seyn in londis, ³⁸ and lyuede with men,

CAP. IV.

This book of Goddis heestis, and the lawe which is withouten ende. Alle that holden it, schulen come to lijf. But thei that han forsake it, *schulen come* in to deth. Jacob, be thou conuertid, and take; thou it; go thou bi the weie at the brijt-

^t Om. A. ^u beholden A.

^y A! C F G H I K M N P Q R S U V X. ^z therinne NS sec. m. ^a N. ^b and that N.

the waye to the shynynge of it, azeinus
 3 the list of it. Bitake thou not thi glorie
 to an other, and thi dignitee to alien folk.
 4 Yrael, we ben blessid; for what thingus
 ben plesaunt to God, ben knowen to vs.
 5 Thou peple of God, be of euener inwitt,
or more stable, thou Yrael, worthi of
 6 mynde. 3e ben sold to heithen men, not
 in to perdicioun; bot for that in wrath
 7 zee terriden God to wrathfulnesse, zee ben
 bitaken to aduersaries. Forsoth zee ster-
 iden to bitternesse the euerlastyng God,
 that made 3ou; offrynge to deuyls, and
 8 not to God. Sothli zee han forzeeten
 hym that nurishide 3ou, and zee han
 maad sorewful Jerusalem, 3our nurshe.
 9 Sotheli it sawe wrathfulnesse of God
 cummynge to 3ou; and saide, 3ee niz
 coostis of Syon, heere; forsothe God
 10 brouzt to me grete mournynge. Forsoth
 I see3 the caitifte of my peple, of my
 sones and douztris, whiche the euerlast-
 11 ynge aboue brouzte to hem. Sotheli I
 nurishide hem with mirthe; forsothe I
 left hem with weepyng and mournynge.
 12 No man haue ioie vp on me, widue and
 desolate. I am left, *or forsaken*, of manye,
 for the synnes of my sones; for thei bow-
 13 iden awei fro the lawe of God. Forsoth
 thei wisten not the riztwisnesse of hym;
 nether walkiden^v bi weies of the heestis
 of God, ne^w bi the paathis of treuthe of
 hym thei entreden with riztwisnesse.
 14 Cum the niz coostis of Syon, and bi-
 thenke thei the caitiftee of my sones
 and douztris, the whiche the euerlast-
 15 ynge aboue brouzte to hem. Forsoth he
 brouzte vpon hem a folc fro fer, a folc
 vnsaciable, *or vnrestful*, and of an other
 16 tunge; whiche dredden not with reuer-
 ence an olde man, nether hadden mercy
 of children; and ledden aweie the sones
 of widue, and maaden desolat the aloon
 17 *womman* fro sonys. Forsoth what may
 18 I help 3ou? Forsothe he that brozte euyl

nesse therof, azens the list therof. 3yue
 thou not thi glorie to another, and thi
 dignyte to an alien folc. Israel, we ben
 blessid; for tho thingis that plesen God,
 ben open to vs. The puple of God, Israel's
 worthi to be had in mynde, be thou 'of
 betere coumfort^c. 3e ben seeld to hethenes
 men, not in to perdicioun; but for that
 that 3e in ire terreden God to wrathful-
 nesse, 3e ben bitakun to aduersaries. For
 7 3e wraththiden thilke God euerlastynge,
 that made 3ou; and 3e offriden to fendis,
 and not to God. For 3e for3aten hym that
 8 nurschide 3ou, and 3e maden sori 3oure
 nurse, Jerusalem. For it siz wrathfulnesse
 9 of God comynge to 3ou, and it seide, 3e
 niz coostis of Sion, here; forsothe God
 hath brouzte greet morenyng to me. For
 10 Y siz the caitiftee of my puple, of my
 sones and douztris, which he that is with
 out bigynnyng and ende brouzte on hem.
 For Y nurschide hem with myrthe; but
 11 Y lefte hem with wepyng and morenyng.
 No^d man haue ioie on me, a wedewe and
 12 desolat. Y am forsakun of manye for the
 synnes^e of my sones^f; for thei bowiden awei
 fro the lawe of God. Forsothe thei knewen
 13 not 'the riztfulnessis^g of hym; nether thei
 zeden bi the weies of Goddis heestis, nether
 bi the pathis of his treuthe thei entriden
 with riztfulnesse. The niz coostis of Sion
 14 come, and haue thei mynde on the caitifte
 of my sones and douztris, which he that
 is with out bigynnyng and ende brouzte
 on hem. For^h he brouzte on hem a folc
 15 fro fer, an yuel folc, and of an other
 langage; that reuerensiden not an eld man,
 16 nether hadden merci onⁱ children; and thei
 ledden awei the dereworthe *sones* of a wi-
 dewe, and maden a womman aloone deso-
 lat of sones. But what mai Y helpe 3ou? 17
 For he that brouzte on 3ou yuels, shal de-
 18 lyuer 3ou fro the hondis of 3oure enemyes.
 Go 3e, sones, go 3e; for Y am forsakun^k
 aloone. Y haue vnclothid me of the stoolet^l

^v thei walkiden AGH. ^w neithir G sec. m.

^c pacienter, *ether of betere coumfort* C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. ^d And no N. ^e synne U. ^f sone A pr. m. et alii. ^g riztwisnesses I. ^h Om. N. ⁱ of U. ^k left I. ^l stole, *ether long roobe, ceteri*.

thingus vpon 3ou, shal delyuere 3ou fro
 19 the houndis of 3our enemyes^u. Wandre
 3ee, sones, wandre^v; I sothli am forsaken
 20 aloon. I haue vnclothide me the stole of
 pese; forsothe I clothide me with sak of
 bisechyng, and I shal crie to the bihest^w
 21 in my days. Sones, be 3ee of betir herte,
or stabler; crie 3ee to the Lord, and he
 shal delyuere 3ou fro the hond of princes,
 22 enemyes. Sotheli I hopide in to with
 outen eend 3our helth, and ioie came to
 me of the holy vpon mercye, that shal
 cum to 3ou of 3our saueour euerlastyng.
 23 Forsoth I sent 3ou out with mournyng
 and weepyng; forsoth God shal a3ein
 lede 3ou to me with ioie and mirthe in
 24 to with outen eende. Sotheli as the nei3-
 bores of Syon sawen 3our caitifte of God,
 so thei shuln see and in hast 3our helth
 of God, that shal aboue cum to 3ou with
 grete honour in euerlastyng shynyng.
 25 Sones, suffre 3e pacientli the wrath, that
 aboue commith to 3ou; forsoth thin en-
 mye pursuede thee, bot sone thou shalt
 see perdicoun of hym, and vpon the
 26 nollis of hym thou shalt stei3 vp. My
 delicatis, *or nurshid in delicis*, walkiden
 sharp weies; sotheli thei weren led as a
 27 floc raushide with enemyes. Sones, be
 3ee of euener herte, *or stabler*, and afer
 crie 3ee to the Lord; sotheli 3our mynde
 28 shal be of hym that ledith 3ou. Forsoth
 as 3our witt was for to erre fro God, eft
 sone tern so myche 3ee conuerting shuln
 29 a3en seeken^x hym. Forsothe he that ledde
 in to 3ou euyl thingus, shal brynge eft
 sone to 3ou myrthe euerlastyng with
 30 3our helth. Jerusalem, be thou more
 stable, *or of better herte*; sotheli he that
 31 namede thee, monestith thee. Thei that
 traueiliden thee, shuln apeere noyinge, *or*
gilty; and thei that thankiden^y in thi fall-
 32 yng, shuln be punyshide. The citees to
 whom thi sones seruyden, shuln be pu-
 33 nishid, and it that toke thi sones. So-
 theli as it ioiede in thi fallyng, and glad-

of pees; but Y haue clothid me with a
 sak of bisechyng, and Y schal crie to the
 hizeste in my daies. Sones, be 3e of betere²¹
 comfort; crie 3e to the Lord, and he schal
 delyuere 3ou fro the hond of princes, that
ben 3oure enemyes. For Y hopide 3oure²²
 helthe with outen ende, and ioie cam to
 me fro the hooli on merci^m, that schal
 come to 3ou fro 3oure sauyour without
 bigynnyng and ende. For Y sente 3ou out²³
 with mourenyng and wepyng; but God
 schal brynge 3ou a3en to me with ioie
 and myrthe with outen ende. For as theⁿ²⁴
 nei3boressis of Sion sien 3oure caitifte
maad of God, so thei schulen se and in
 swiftnesse 3oure helthe of God, which
helthe schal come to 3ou fro aboue with
 greet onour and euerlastyng schynyng.
 Sones, suffre 3e pacientli ire, that cam on²⁵
 3ou; for thin enemy pursuede thee, but
 thou schalt se soone the perdicoun of
 hym, and thou schalt stie^o on^p the neckes
 of hym. My delicat men 3eden scharp²⁶
 weies; for thei as a floc *that is^q* raushid
 weren led of enemyes. Sones, be 3e pa-²⁷
 cientere, and crie 3e fer to the Lord; for
 whi 3oure mynde schal be of hym that
 ledith 3ou. For as 3oure wit^r was, that²⁸
 3e erriden fro God, 3e schulen conuerte
 eft, and schulen seke hym tensithis so
 myche. For he that brou3te in yuels to²⁹
 3ou, schal brynge eft euerlastyng myrthe
 to 3ou with 3oure helthe. Jerusalem, be³⁰
 thou of betere counfort; for he that
 nemyde thee, excitith thee. Thei that³¹
 traueliden thee, schulen perische gilty; and
 thei that thankiden in thi fallyng, schulen
 be punyschid. Citees to which thi sones³²
 serueden^s, schulen be punyschid^t, and that
citee that took thi sones, *shal be pu-*
nyschid. For as *Babiloyne* made ioie in³³
 thi hurlyng down, and was glad in thi fal,
 so it schal be maad sori in his desolacioun.
 And the ful out ioie of the multitudes³⁴
 therof schal be kit awei, and the ioie
 therof schal be in to mourenyng. For whi³⁵

^u enemye A. ^v wandreth G sec. m. ^w heezest G sec. m. ^x seeken K. ^y or ioiyeden G marg.

^m 3oure merci A pr. m. I. ⁿ Om. I. ^o steie sone F. ^p vpon I. ^q Om. ceteri. ^r witnesse N.
^s fledden I. ^t Om. I.

dide in thi caas, *or tribulacioun*, so it
 34 shal be sorewful in his desolacion. And
 the mirth with outen forth of multitude
 therof shal be kitt aweye, and the ioie
 35 of it shal be in to mournyng. Forsoth
 fijr shal aboue cum to it of the euerlast-
 yng, and longe duyrynge days; and it
 shal be enhabitid of deuylis, in to mychil-
 36 nesse of tyme. Jerusalem, beholde aboute
 to the eest, and see the myrthe cummynge
 to thee of God.

CAP. V.

37 Loo! forsoth thi sonnes cummen, whom
 thou leftist scaterid; thei gadrid cum-
 men to thee fro the eest vn to the^v west
 in the word of the holy, ioying in to
 1 honour of God. Jerusalem, vnclthe thee
 the stoole of mournyng, and of thi tra-
 ueile; and clothe thee with fairnesse, and
 honour of it, that is to thee of God in
 2 euerlastyng glorie. Forsoth God shal
 enuyroun thee with double clothe of rijt-
 wisnesse, and shal putte to thin heued a
 3 mytre of euerlastyng honoure. Forsoth
 God shal shewe in thee his shynyng,
 4 that is vndir heuen. Sotheli thi name
 shal be named to thee of God in to with
 outen eend, Peese^e of rijtwisnesse, and
 5 honour of pitee. Jerusalem, rijse vp, and
 stoonde in hee³, and biholde aboute to
 the eest; and see thi sonnes gaderid fro
 the sune, rijsing vn to the west in the
 word of the holy, ioying in the mynde
 6 of God. Forsoth thei wenten out fro
 thee, led in feet of enmyes; forsoth the
 Lord shal brenge to thee hem born in to
 7 honour, as the sonnys of kyngdam. For-
 soth God ordeynyde for to meek eche
 hee³ hill, and euerlastyng rooches, and
 for to fulfille the euen valeys in to the
 euenesse of erthe; that Yrael walke dili-
 8 gentli in to honour of God. Sothely
 woddis and eche tree of swetnesse of
 Israel shadewiden, *or obeiden^z*, to the
 9 maundement of God. Forsoth God shal

fier schal come on it fro hym that is with-
 out bigynnyng and ende, in ful long daies;
 and it schal be enhabitid of fendis, in to
 the multitude of tyme. Jerusalem, biholde³⁶
 aboute to the eest, and se thou myrthe
 comyng of God to thee. For lo! thi³⁷
 sonnes comen, which thou leftist scatered;
 thei comen gaderid fro the eest 'til to^u the
 west in the word of the hooli, and maken
 ioie to the onour of God.

CAP. V.

Jerusalem, vnclthe thee of the stoole¹
 of thi mourenyng, and trauelyng; and
 clothe thou thee in the fairnesse, and
 onour of it, which is of God to thee in
 euerlastyng glorie. God of ry3tfulnesse²
 schal cumpasse thee with a double cloth,
 and schal sette on thin heed a mytre of
 euerlastyng onour. For God schal schewe³
 his brijtnesse in thee, which is vndur
 heuene. For thi name schal be namyd⁴
 of God to thee with outen ende, The pees
 of rijtfulnesse, and the onour of pitee.
 Jerusalem, rise vp, and stonde in an hij⁵
 place, and biholde aboute to the eest; and
 se thi sonnes gaderid togidere fro the sunne
 risyng til to the west in the word of the
 hooli, that maken ioie in the mynde of
 God. For thei 3eden out fro thee, and⁶
 weren led of enemyes on feet; but the
 Lord schal bryng to thee hem borun in
 to honour, as the sonnes of rewme. For⁷
 God hath ordeyned to make low ech hij³
 hil, and euerlastyng rochis of stoon, and
 gret valeis, to fille the uneuenesse of erthe;
 that Israel go diligentli in to the onour of
 God. Forsothe wodis^v and ech tree of a
 swetnesse schadewiden Israel, bi the co-
 maundement of God. For God schal⁹
 bryng Israel with mirthe in^w the lij3t of
 his maieste, with merçi and rijtfulnesse,
 which is of hym,

^v Om. A. ^z obeischiden H.

^u vnto I. ^v the wodis N pr. m. s. ^w into U.

leede to Yrael with myrthe in the list
of his maiestee, with mercy and riȝtwis-
nesse, that is in hym.

*Heer begynneth ensauple^a of the
same pistle, whiche^b Jeremye sente to
the caitifs led aweie in to Babiloyne, of
the kyng^c of men^c of Babiloyne, that he
schulde shewe to hem, after that it is
comaundid to him of God.*

CAP. VI.

1 For the synnes that ȝee synnyden befor
God, ȝe shuln be led caitifs in to Babi-
loyne, of Nabugodonosor, kyng of men
2 of^d Babiloyne. And so ȝe gon in to Ba-
biloyne shuln be there ful many ȝeris,
and in to longe tyme, vnto seuen genera-
tions; forsoth after this I shal lede out
3 ȝou thennis^e with peese. Now forsoth ȝe
shuln see in Babiloyne golden goddis,
and silueren, and stonen, and treen^f, for
to be born in shuldris, shewing drede to
4 folkis. Therfor see ȝee, lest and ȝee be
maad liche to alien dedis, and ȝee dreede,
5 and that drede take ȝou in hem. And so
the cumpanye of peple seen fro bihynde
and fro bifore wirshipynge, saye in ȝour
hertis, Lord God, it byhouith thee for
6 to be worshipid. Forsoth myn aungel is
with ȝou, forsoth I my self shal seeke
7 out ȝour soules. For whi the trees of
hem polishid of a carpenter; thei also
engoldid and ensiluered ben false, and
8 mown not speke. And as to a mayden
louynge ournementis, so gold takyn, thei
9 ben forgid. Certeynli the goddis of hem
han golden crownes vpon her hedis; wher-
of prestis drawn aweie fro hem gold and
syluer, and ȝeuen, *or spenden*, it in hem
10 self. Forsoth and of it thei ȝeuen to
pute^g in^h bordel house, and ournen hooris;
and eft sone when thei han reseceyued it
11 of hooris, thei ournen her goddis. So-

*Here bigynneth the^x saumple of the
pistle^y of the same Baruk, which pistle
Jeremye sente to Jewis^z, that weren^a led
awei prisoneris in to Babiloyne, of the
king of Babiloynes, that he schulde telle
to hem, bi that that^b was^c comaundid of
God to hym.*

CAP. VI.

For the synnes which ȝe synneden bifor
God, ȝe schulen be led prisoneris in to
Babiloyne, of Nabugodonosor, kyng of
Babiloynes^d. Therfor ȝe schulen entre in²
to Babiloyne, and ȝe schulen be there ful
many ȝeeris, and in to long tyme, til to
seuene generaciouns; forsothe after this
Y schal lede out ȝou fro thennus with
pees. But now ȝe schulen se in Babiloyne³
goddis of gold, and of siluer, and of stoon,
and of tree, to be borun on schuldris,
schewynge drede to hethene nien. Ther-
4 for se ȝe, lest also ȝe be maad lijk alien
dedis, and lest ȝe dreden, and drede take
ȝou in hem. Therfor whanne ȝe seen a⁵
cumpany bihynde and bifore, worschipe ȝe
God, and seie in ȝoure hertes, Lord God,
it bihoueth that thou be worschupid. For-
6 sothe myn aungel is with ȝou, but Y schal
seke ȝoure soulis. For whi the trees of⁷
hem ben polischid of a carpenter; also tho^e
ben araied with gold, and araied with sil-
uer, and ben false, and moun not speke.
And as to^f a virgyn louynge ournementis,⁸
so, whanne gold is takun, *ourenementis*
ben maad to *idols*. Certis the goddis of⁹
hem han goldun corouns on her heedis;
wherfor prestis withdrawen fro tho *goddis*
gold and siluer, and spenden it in hem
silf. Sotheli thei ȝyuen also of that to¹⁰
hooris, and araien hooris; and eft whanne
thei resseyuen that of hooris, thei araien

^a the ensauple G. ^b the whiche A. ^c Om. A. ^d Om. K. ^e ȝennis K. ^f treenen GHK. ^g the putt AGH.
^h in to G sec. m.

^x a K. ^y epistle EPY. ^z the Jewis K. ^a Om. CEF GHMNPQRSUXY. ^b Om. C. ^c he was K.
^d Babiloyne FN. ^e thei I. ^f Om. S.

thely these ben not delyuerd fro rust
 12 and mou3the. Forsoth hem couered with
 clothe of purple, thei shuln wijpe the
 face of hem, forⁱ dust of the hous, that
 13 is ful myche amonge hem. Forsothe thei
 han a ceptre, or *kyngis 3erd*, as a man;
 as a iuge of a cuntree, that sleath not the
 14 synnyng in to hym. Forsoth thei han
 also in the hond swerd and axe; forsoth
 thei deliueren^k not hem self fro bataile
 and day theues. Wher of be it knowen to
 15 3ou, for thei ben not goddis; therfor wor-
 shipe 3e not hem. Sotheli as a^l vessel
 of a man broken is maad vnprofitable,
 16 siche ben the goddis of hem. Hem sett
 to gidir in an hous, the eezen of hem ben
 ful of dust of the feet of men entrynge
 17 in. And as to sum man that offendith
 the kyng, the 3atis ben sette aboute, and
 as dead^m man led to sepulcre, so prestes
 oft kepen the dores with closingis and
 lockis, lest thei be robbed of day theues.
 18 Thei teenden launterns to hem, and so-
 theli manye, of whom thei mown noon
 see; forsoth thei ben as bemes in the
 19 hous. Sotheli serpentis that ben of the
 erthe, ben sayd to licke out the hertis of
 hem; the while thei eeten hem, and the
 clothing of hem, and thei feelen not.
 20 The faces of hem ben blac of smoke, that
 21 is maad in the hous. Aboue the bodi of
 hem, and aboue the hed of hem backis,
 or *reremijse*, and swalewis fleezen, and
 22 briddis also, and also cattis. Wher of
 wite 3ee, for thei ben not goddis; therfor
 23 3ee shuln not drede hem. Also the gold
 that thei han, is to fairnesse; no bot eny
 man shal wijpe awei the rust, thei shuln
 not shyne. Forsothe nether the whijle
 thei weren 3ooten to gidir, thei feeliden.
 24 Thei ben bou3t of al pris, in whiche
 25 thingus spirit is not in hem. With outen
 feet thei ben born in shuldris, shewynge
 her vnnobley to men; also be thei con-
 26 foundid that wurshipen hem. Therfor

her goddis. But tho^g *goddis* ben not de-
 11 lyuered fro rust and mou3te. Forsothe 12
 whanne 'tho *goddis*^h ben hilid with a cloth
 of purple, *preestis* schulen wipe the face
 of thoⁱ, for dust of the hous, which is ful
 myche among tho *goddis*. Forsothe *idols* 13
 han a septre, as a man *hath*; as the iuge
 of a cuntrei, that sleeth not a man syn-
 nyng azens him silf. Also tho^k han in the 14
 hond a swerd, and ax^l; but tho^m delyueren
 not hem silf fro batel and fro theues.
 Wherfor be it knowun to 3ou, that thoⁿ
 ben not goddis; therfor worschipe 3e not 15
 tho^o. For as a brokun vessel of a man is
 maad vnprofitable, siche also ben the god-
 dis of hem. Whanne tho^p ben set in the 16
 hous, the i3en of tho^q ben ful of dust of
 the feet of men entrynge. And as 3atis 17
 ben set aboute a man that offendide the
 kyng, ether as whanne a deed man is
 brou3t to the sepulcre, so preestis kepen
 sikirli the doris with closyngis and lockis,
 lest tho^r be robbid of theuys. Thei teenden 18
 lanternes to tho^s, and sotheli many *lan-*
ternes, of which tho^t moun se noon; for-
 sothe tho^u ben as beemes in an hous.
 Sotheli *men* seien that serpentis, that ben 19
 of erthe, licken out the hertis of tho^v;
 while *the serpentis* eten tho^v, and her
 cloth; and tho^w feelen^x not. The faces of 20
 tho^y ben blake of the smoke, which is
 maad in the hous. Ny3t crowis and swa- 21
 lewis fleen aboue the bodi of tho^z, and
 aboue the heed of tho^z, and briddis also,
 and cattis in lijk maner. Wherfor wite 22
 3e, that tho^a ben not goddis; therfor drede
 3e not tho^b. Also the gold which tho^c 23
 han, is to fairnesse; no^d but^e summan
 wipe awei the rust, tho^f schulen not schyne.
 For tho^g feliden not, the while tho weren
 wellid togidere. Tho^h ben bou3t of al prijs, 24
 in which no spirit is in thoⁱ. Tho^k with- 25
 out feet ben borun on schuldris of men,
 and schewen opynli her vnnoblei to men;
 be thei schent also that worschipe tho^l.

i fro A. k delyuereden A. l the A. m a dead AGH.

g thilke I. h thei I. i hem I. k thei I. l an axe I. m thei I. n thei IN. o hem IN. p thei IN.
 q hem I. r thei I. s hem I. t thei I. u thei IN. v hem I. w thei I. x feelen it I. y hem I.
 z hem I. a thei IN. b hem IN. c thei IN. d Om. I. e but if P. f thei IN. g thei IN. h Thei IN.
 i hem I. k Thei IN. l hem IN.

3if thei shuln falle in to erthe, of hem self thei shuln not rijse to gyder; nether 3if eny man shal sette hym rijt, by hym self he shal stonde, bot as to dead men 27 shuldris shuln be putte to hem. The prestes of hem sellen the hoostis, *or sacrifices*, of hem, and mysusen; also and the wymmen of hem takynge aweie, nether parten to seeke man, nether to 28 beggyng. Of the sacrifices of hem wymmen with chijlde, and menstruat, *or in vncleene blode*, touchen togyder. And so witynge of these thingis, for thei ben 29 not goddis, drede 3ee hem not. Forsoth wherof ben thei clepid goddis? For wymmen putten to golden goddis, sylueren, 30 and treenenⁿ; and in the housis of hem sitten prestis hauyng torne, *or kutt*, cootis, and hedis and berd shauen, whos 31 hedis ben nakid. Forsoth thei roren cryinge a3eins her goddis, as in the super 32 of a dead man. Prestis taken aweie the clothingus of hem, and clothen her wijues, and her sones. Nether 3if thei suffren eny 33 thing of euyl of eny man, nether 3if eny thinge of good, thei shuln mowe 3eelde. Nether thei mown make a kyng, nether 34 do aweie. Also nether thei^o mown 3eue ricchessis, nether 3eeld euyl thing. 3if eny man shal avowe to hem, and shal not 3eelde, nether thei requyren, *or axen*, 35 this thing. Thei delyueren not a man fro deth, nether delyueren a seeke man 36 fro a more mizti. Thei restoren not a blynde man to sizt; thei shuln not dely- 37 uere a man fro neede. Thei shuln not haue mercye of the wydue, nether thei shuln do weel to the fadrellesse and mo- 38 drelesse. The treenen goddis of hem, and stoonen, and golden, and sylueren, ben lijc to stoonys of the mounteyn; for- 39 soth thei that worshipen hem, shuln be confoundid. Hou therfore is it to be gessid, or to^p be saide, hem for to be 40 goddis; 3it the ylk Caldeis not honour-

Therfor if tho^m fallen down to erthe, thoⁿ 26 schulen not rise of hem silf; and if ony man settith that *idol* uprijt, it schal not stonde bi it silf, but as to deed thingis schuldris schulen be put to tho^o. The 27 prestis of tho^p sillen the sacrifices of tho^q, and mysvsen; in lijk maner and the wymmen of hem rauyschen aweie, nether to a sijk man, nether to a begger tho^r 3yuen ony thing. Of her sacrifices foule wym- 28 men, and in vncleene blood, touchen. Therfor wite 3e bi these thingis, that tho^s ben not goddis, and drede 3e not tho^t. For 29 wherof ben tho^u clepid goddis? For wymmen setten sacrifices to goddis of siluer, and of gold, and of tre; and preestis that 30 han cootis to-rent, and heedis and berd schauun, whos heedis ben nakid, sitten in the housis of tho^v. Sotheli thei roren and 31 crien a3ens her goddis, as in the soper of a deed man. Prestis taken aweie the clothis 32 of tho^w, and clothen her^x wyues, and her children. And if tho^y suffren ony thing of yuel of ony man, ether^z if tho^a *suffren* ony 33 thing of good, tho^b moun not 3elde. Nether tho moun ordeyne a kyng, nethir do aweie. In lijk maner tho^c moun nether 3yue rich- 34 essis, nether 3ilde yuel. If ony man makith a vow to tho^d, and 3eldith not, tho^e axen not this. Tho^f delyueren not a man fro 35 deth, nether rauyschen a sijk man fro a miztiere. Tho^g restoren not a blynd man 36 to sizt; tho^g schulen not delyuere a man fro nede. Tho schulen not haue merci on 37 a widewe, nether tho^h schulen do good to fadirles children. Her goddis of tre, and 38 of stoon, and of gold, and of siluer, ben lijc stoonys of the mounteyn; forsothe thei that worschipen thoⁱ, schulen be schent. Hou therfor is it to gesse, ether 39 to seie, that tho^k ben goddis? for whi 3it 40 whanne Caldeis onouren not tho^l. Which whanne thei heren that a doumb man mai not speke, offren hym to Bel, and axen of hym to speke; as if thei that han no stir- 41

ⁿ treen A. ^o Om. A. P Om. A.

^m thei IN. ⁿ thei IN. ^o hem IN. P hem IN. ^q hem I. ^r thei IN. ^s thei IN. ^t hem IN. ^u thei IN.
^v hem N. ^w hem IN. ^x bothe her A *pr. m. I.* ^y thei IN. ^z or I. ^a thei IN. ^b thei IN. ^c thei IN.
^d hem I. ^e tho goddis N. ^f Thei IN. ^g Thei IN. ^h thei IN. ⁱ hem IN. ^k thei IN. ^l hem I.

ynge hem? Whiche whan thei shuln heere the doumbe not to^q mowe speke, offren hym to Bel, axinge of hym for to speke; 41 as thei mown feeles, whiche han not mounge. And thei whanne thei shuln vndirstonde, shuln forsake hem; sothely the 42 ilke goddis of hem han not witt. Forsoth wymmen 3ouen aboute, *or bounden*, with coordis sitten in weyes, brennyng 43 boonys of olyues. Forsoth whann eny of hem drawen aweye of eny man passinge hath slept, she dispisith hir nei3bore, for she is not had worthi as sche, nether hir 44 coord is broken. Forsoth alle thingis that ben don to hem, ben fals. Hou is it to be^r gessid, or to be said, hem for^s to 45 be goddis? Forsoth of carpenteres and goldsmithis thei ben maad. Thei shuln noon other thing be, no bot the ylk that 46 prestis wolen for to be. Also thilk goldsmithis that maken hem, ben not of myche tyme; therfor whether the thingus that ben maad of hem mown be goddis? 47 Forsoth thei leften fals thingus, and shenschi to men to cummyng after. For whi whenne bataile shal aboute cum to hem, and euyl thingis, prestis thenken, where thei shuln hijde hem self with 48 hem. Therefore how own thei for to be feelid, *or demyd*, for thei ben goddis, whiche nether delyueren hem fro batail, nether delyueren hem fro euyl thingis? 50 For whi whenne thei ben treenen, and stoonen, and engoldid, and ensyluered, it shal ben wist afterward, for thei ben fals, to alle folkis and kyngis; whiche ben open, *or knowen*, for thei ben not goddis, bot werkis of mennus hondis, and no 51 were of God with hem. Wher of therfor it is knowen, for thei ben not goddis, bot werkis of mennus hondis, and no werk 52 of God is in hem. Thei reisen not a kyng to a cuntree, nether thei shuln 3eue 53 reyn to men. Also thei shul not discryue, *or iuge*, a dome, nether thei shuln

ynge, moun feel. And thei, whanne thei schulen vndurstonde, schulen forsake tho *idols*; for tho^m goddis of hem han no wit. Forsothe wymmen gird with roopis* sitten 42 in weies, and kyndelen boonys of olyues†. Sotheli whanne ony of thoⁿ *wymmen* is 43 drawun awei of ony man passyng, and slepith *with hym*, sche dispisith her nei3boresse, that sche is not hadde worthi as hir silf, nether hir roop is brokun. For- 44 sothe alle thingis that ben don to tho^o, ben false. Hou therfor is it to gesse, ethir to seie, that tho ben goddis? Forsothe the^p 45 *idols* ben maad of smithis, and of goldsmithis. Tho^q schulen be noon other thing, no but that that prestis wolen, that tho^s be. Also thilke goldsmithis that maken 46 tho^t, ben not of myche tyme; therfor whetherⁿ tho thingis that ben maad of them moun be goddis? Sotheli thei leften 47 false thingis, and schenschi to men to comyng aftirward. For whi whanne 48 batels^v and yuels comen on hem, preestis thenken, where thei schulen hide hem silf with tho. Hou therfor owen tho to be 49 demyd, that tho^w ben goddis, which nether delyueren hem silf fro batel, nether delyueren hem silf fro yuelis? For whi 50 whanne^x tho ben of tree, and of stoon, and of gold, and of siluer, it schal be knowun aftirward of alle folkis, and kyngis, that tho thingis ben false, that ben maad open; for tho ben not goddis, but the werkis of hondis of men, and no werk of God *is* with tho^y. Wherof therfor 51 it is knowun, that tho^z ben not goddis, but the werkis of hondis of men, and no werk of God is in tho^a. Tho^b reisen not 52 a kyng to a cuntrei, nether schulen 3yue reyn to men. Also tho^c schulen not deme 53 doom, nether tho^c schulen delyuere the cuntrei fro wrong. For tho moun no 54 thing, as litle crowis bitwixe the myddis of heuene and of erthe. For whanne fier fallith in to the hous^d of goddis of tree,

* *wommen gird with roopis, etc.* Here is set a manere of lecherie, bi which ydolis ben worthi to be dispisid, for wommen girdiden hem silf with a roop aboute, as boundun with sum greet synne, and saten in the weie, bi which men passiden to ydolis; and whanne ony man of hem passyng drew oon of tho wommen out of the weie, and kittide hir roop, and knewe hir fleishli, she arettide hir silf deliuerid of the synne don, and beleuyd, that the ydol sente that man into signe of her delyuerance; and she cam agen to hir felowis, and dispiside hir, that she was not worthi to be visitid so of the ydol. *xxv.*
† *kyndeliden boonis of olyues;* bi the custom of the ydol. *Live here. o.*

^q Om. A. ^r Om. K. ^s Om. A.

^m thilke I. the N. ⁿ thilke I. ^o hem IN. ^p tho F sec. m. NVX. ^q thei IN. ^s thei I.
^t hem I. ^u wher I *passim*. ^v batel IKNU. ^w thei N. ^x sith I. ^y hem I. ^z thei IN. ^a hem I.
^b Thei I. These N. ^c thei IN. ^d housis A *pr. m.*

54 delyuere a cuntree fro wronge. For thei
mown no thing, as litil crowis bitwix
the mydil of heuen and erthe. And so-
theli whenne fijre shal fal in to the house
of treenen goddis, and golden, and sil-
ueren, sotheli the prestis of hem shuln
flee, and shuln be delyuered; bot thei as
55 bemys in the mydil shuln be brent. For-
soth thei shuln not azeinstonde a kyng
and batail. Hou therefore is it to be
gessid, or to be resceyued, for thei ben
56 goddis? Thei shul not delyuere hem
self fro nigt theues, nether day theues,
treenen goddis, and stoonen, and engoldid,
and ensiluered, than whiche wickid men
57 ben strengere. Thei shuln take awei fro
hem gold, and syluer, and clothing, in
whiche thei ben couered, and thei shuln
go aweie; nether thei beren help to hem
58 self. And so it is beter a kyng for to be
shewynge his vertue, or a profitable ves-
selle in the house, in whom he shal glorie
that weeldith it, than fals goddis; or a
dore in the house, whiche kepith the
thingis that ben in it, than fals goddis.
59 Sothely the sunne, and mone, and sterris,
whenne thei ben shynynge, and sent out
60 to profitis, obeyen. Also and leyt^t, whanne
it shal apeere, is cleer^u. Forsoth the same
thinge and spirit, *or wynd*, brethith in
61 eche cuntre. And cloudis, to whiche when
it shal be comaundid of God for to walke
thorou al the world, don what thing is
62 comaundid to hem. Also fijr sente fro
aboue, that it waast hillis and woddis,
doth what thing is comaundid to it; for-
soth these nether in lickenesse nether
63 vertues ben liche to oon of hem. Wher of
nether it is to be gessid, nether to be
said, hem for to be goddis, whenne thei
mown nether deeme dome, nether do to
64 men. And so witynge for thei ben not
goddis, therfor 3ee shuln not dreden hem.
65 Sotheli nether thei shuln curse kyngis,
66 nether thei shuln blesse. Forsoth thei

and of gold, and of siluer, sotheli the
prestis of tho schulen fle, and schulen be
delyuered; but tho^e schulen be brent as
beemys in the myddis. Forsothe tho^f 55
schulen not azen stonde a kyng and batel.
Hou therfor is it to gesse, or^g to resseyue^h,
that thoⁱ ben goddis? Goddis of tree, and of 56
stoon, and of gold and of siluer, schulen not
delyuere hem silf fro nyzt theues, nether fro
dai theuys, and wickid men ben strongere
than tho goddis. Thei schulen take awei 57
gold, and siluer, and cloth, bi which tho
ben hilid, and thei schulen go awei; ne-
ther tho^l helpen hem silf. Therfor it is 58
betere to be^m a kyng schewynge his vertu,
ether a profitable vessel in the hous, in
which he schal haue glorie that weldith
it, than false goddis; ether a dore in the
hous, that kepith tho thingis that ben in
it, *is betere* than false goddis. Forsothe 59
the sunne, and moone, and sterris, whan
thoⁿ ben brizt, and sent out to profitis,
obeien. In lijk maner and leit, whanne 60
it apperith, is cleer. Sotheli the same
thing and wynd brethith in ech cuntrei.
And cloudis, to whiche, whanne it is co- 61
maundid of God to go thorou al the
world, perfourmen that, that is comaundid
to tho. Also fier *that is^o* sent fro aboue, 62
to waste mounteyns and wodis, doith^p
that, that is comaundid to it; but these
idols ben not lijk to oon of tho thingis,
nether bi fourmes, nether bi vertues. Wher- 63
for it is nether to gesse, nether to seie,
that tho^q ben goddis, whanne tho^q moun
not nether deme doom, nether do to men.
Therfor wite 3e that tho ben not goddis, 64
and drede 3e not tho^r. For tho^s schulen 65
nether curse, nethir schulen^t blesse kyngis.
Also tho^u schewen not to hethene men 66
signes in heuene, nether tho schulen
schyne as the sunne, nether tho^v schulen
3yue lizt as the moone. Beestis that moun 67
fle vndur a roof, and do profit to hem silf,
ben betere than tho^w. Therfor bi no maner 68

^t the leyt GH. ^u cleer, or *lizte* GHK pr. m.

^e thei I. ^f thei I. ^g ether FIKS. ^h seye A. ⁱ thei IN. ^l thei IN. ^m Om. NS sec. m. ⁿ thei N.
^o Om. ceteri. ^p don I. ^q thei N. ^r hem I. ^s thei I. ^t Om. I. ^u thei I. ^v thei IN. ^w thei I.

shewen not to folkis tokenis in heuen,
 nether thei shuln shyne as sunne, nether
 67 lichte as the mone. Bestis ben better
 than thei, whiche mown flee vnder a roof,
 68 and profit to hem self. And so by no
 manere it is knowen to 3ow, for thei
 ben goddis. For whiche thing drede 3ee
 69 not hem. For whi as drede in place
 where cucumeris, *that ben bitter herbis*,
 waxen, kepith no thing, so ben the tree-
 nen goddis, and sylueren, and goldid of
 70 hem. In the same manere and in a 3erd
 a whijt thorn, vpon whiche eche bridde
 sittith, also and to a dead thing cast in
 derckenesses, the treenen godus of hem,
 and ensiluered, and engoldid, ben lijc.
 71 And of the purple and marble, that thei
 holden aboue hem, 3ee^v shuln wite also,
 for^w thei ben no goddis. Also at the last
 thei hem self ben eten, and it schal be in
 72 to repreue in the cuntre. Betir is an
 iust^x man, that hath not symylacris, for
 whi he schal be fer fro shenshipes.

it is open to 3ou, that tho^x ben goddis.
 For which thing drede 3e not tho^y. For 69
 whi as 'a bugge, *either a man of raggis^z*,
 in a place where gourdis wexen, kepith
 no thing, so ben her goddis of tree, and
 of siluer, and of gold. In the same maner 70
 and a whijt thorn in a gardyn *kepith no*
thing, on which *thorn* ech brid sittith, in
 lijc maner and her goddis of tree, and of
 gold, and of siluer, ben lijc a deed man
 cast forth in derknessis. Also of purpur 71
 and of marble, whiche thei holden aboue
 it; therfor^a 3e schulen wite, that tho^b
 ben not goddis. Also tho ben etun at the
 laste, and it schal be in to schenscipe in
 the cuntrei. Betere is a iust man, that 72
 hath no symylacris, for whi he schal be
 fer fro schenschipis.

*Here endith Baruk, and here bigyn-
 neth Ezechiel^c.*

*Here endith the boke of Baruch, and
 now bigynneth the boke of Ezechiel, the
 prophete^y.*

^v we GH. ^w Om. H. ^x vniust AGHK *pr. m.* ^y From A. No final rubric in GHK.

^x thei N. ^y hem IN. ^z a man of raggis A *pr. m.* a scheweles A *sec. m.* ^a and therfor NS *sec. m.*
^b thei N. ^c From CFH. *Here endith Baruk, and bigynneth Ezechiel. G1QU. Here endeth Baruc; se now*
Ezechiel. K. Here endith Baruk, and here bigynneth a prologe vpon Ezechiel. M. Here endith the boke of
Baruch, and bigynneth the boke of Ezechiel. N. Heere eendith Baruch, and bigynneth the prolog on
Ezechiel. R. Here endith Baruc, and bygy[n]n[eth] Ezechiel. S. Here endith Baruc, and here bigynneth the
booc of Ezechiel, the profete. X. No final rubric in the other Mss.

EZEKIEL.

[Prologue on Ezechiel^a.]

THIS profete Ezechiel seiȝ in visioun, and rauyschid in spirit, the maieste of almyȝti God, and the sete of his trone, acordinge to seynt Joon, the euangelist, of the visioun that he seiȝ in the ile of Pathmos. And this Ezechiel schewide bi symylitude alle yuelis that weren to comynge on the king, and on the peple of Juda, for priue idolatrie vsid of the peple, and for contynuaunce of fals worschipping in hid places.

Here eendith the prologe, and bigynneth the book of Ezechiel^b.

Her bigynneth the book of Ezechiel, the prophete^a.

CAP. I.

1 And it is don, in the thrittithe ȝeer, in the fourthe moneth, in the fyuethe day of the moneth, when I was in the myddil of caitifs, bisydis the floode Cobar, heuens wern openyd, and I seeȝ visiouns
2 of God. In the fyuethe of the moneth; the ylk is the fyueȝ ȝeer of transmygracioun, *or passyng ouer*, of Joachym,
3 kyng of Juda; the word of the Lord is maad to Ezechiel, sone of Buzi, preste, in the lond of Caldeis, bisijdis the flode Cobar; and the hond of the Lord is
4 maad ther vpon hym. And I seeȝ, and loo! a wynde of tempest, *or whirlwynde*, cam fro the north, and a grete cloude, and fyre inwlappyng, and a schynynge in the cumpas of it; and of the myddil of

Here bigynneth the book of Ezechiel, the profete^c.

CAP. I.

And it was don, in the thrittithe^d ȝeer, 1 in the fourthe *monethe*, in the fyuethe dai of the moneth, whanne Y was in the myddis of caitifs, bisidis the flood Chobar, heuenes weren openyd, and Y siȝ^e the reuelaciouns of God. In the fyueȝ *dai*² of the monethe; thilke is the fyuethe ȝeer of passing ouer of Joachym, kyng of Juda; the word of the Lord was maad to
3 Ezechiel, preest, the sone of Busi, in the lond of Caldeis, bisidis the flood Chobar; and the hond of the Lord was maad there on hym. And Y siȝ, and lo! a whirle-
4 wynd cam fro the north, and a greet cloude, and fier wlappyng in, and briȝtnesse in the cumpas therof; and as the licesse of electre[†] fro the myddis therof,

[†] *electre*; that is, a metal of gold and siluer, that schyneth clerere than gold and siluer. *A et alii.*

^a Here biginneth the prophecie of Ezechiel. G. No initial rubric in AH.

^a This prologue is from MR. No initial rubric in these Mss. ^b From R. No final rubric in M. ^c Here biginnith the book of Ezechiel. ERY. Here biginneth Ezechiel. M. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^d thrittenthe MY. ^e sauȝ I.

it, *that is to saye, of the myddil of fije*,
 as a lickenesse of electre, *that is, a metal*
of gold and syluere, cleerer than gold.
 5 And of the myddil of it a lickenesse of
 four bestis. And this the byholdyng of
 6 hem, the lickenesse of man in hem. And
 four facis to oon, and four pennys to oon.
 7 And the feet of hem streijt feet, and the
 sool of the foot of hem as the sole of a
 calues fote, and sparcelis, as byholdyng of
 8 whyte metale. And an hond of man
 vnder the pennys of hem, in four par-
 ties. And thei hadden faces and pennys
 9 by foure parties; and the pennys of hem,
 of an other to the tother weren ioyned.
 Thei turneden not azein, when thei wenten,
 10 bot eche wente byfore his face. Forsoth
 the lickenesse of the semblaunt of hem; a
 face of man and face of a lyoun at the
 ri3thalf of hem foure. Forsoth a face of
 an oxe at the left half of hem foure; and
 the face of an egle fro aboue of hem
 11 foure. And the faces of hem and pennys
 of hem strejt out aboue. Two pennys of
 eche weren ioyned, and two keuerden
 12 the bodies of hem. And eche of hem
 walkide befor his face. Where the feers-
 nesse of the spirit was, thidir thei wenten,
 nether thei turneden azein, whenne thei
 13 walkiden. And the lickenesse of the
 bestis, and the biholdyng of hem, as of
 brennyng coolis of fije, and as bihold-
 yng of laumpis. This was the si3t diuersly
 rennyng in myddil of the^b bestis, shyn-
 yng of fije, and of the fije leyt goyng
 14 forth. And the bestes wenten, and turn-
 eden azein, into lickenessis^c of leyt shyn-
 15 yng. And when I behelde the bestis,
 oo whele apeerid vpon erthe bisijdis the
 16 bestis, hauyng foure faces. And the bi-
 holdyng of wheelis and the werk of hem
 as si3te of the se; and oo lickenesse of
 hem foure; and the biholdyng of hem
 and werkis, as 3if a wheel be in the my-
 17 del of a wheel. Thei goyng wenten bi

that is, fro the myddis of the^f fier. And⁵
 of myddis^g therof^h *was* a lickenesse of foure
 beestis. And this *was* the biholdyng of
 tho, the lickenesse of a man in tho. And⁶
 foure faces *were* toⁱ oon, and foure
 wyngis *were* to^j oon. And the feet of⁷
 tho *were* streijt feet, and the soole of the
 foote of tho *was* as the soole of a^k foot of
 a calf, and sparcelis, as the biholdyng of
 buylyng bras. And the hondis of a man⁸
were vndur the wyngis of tho, in foure
 partis. And tho hadden faces and wyngis
 bi foure partis; and the wyngis of tho⁹
were ioyned togidir of oon to another.
 Tho^l turneden not azen, whanne tho^m 3eden,
 but eche 3ede bifore his face. Forsothe¹⁰
 theⁿ lickenesse of the^o face^p of tho^q *was* the
 face of a man and the face of a lioun
 at the ri3thalf of tho^r foure. Forsothe
 the face of an oxe *was* at the left half
 of tho foure; and the face of an egle
was aboue tho foure. And the faces¹¹
 of tho and the wengis of tho *were*
 stretchid forth aboue. Twei^s wyngis of
 eche *were* ioyned togidere, and tweyne^t
 hiliden the bodies of tho. And ech of tho¹²
 3ede bifore his face. Where the fersnesse
 of the wynd was, thidur tho 3eden, and
 turneden not azen, whanne tho^u 3eden.
 And the lickenesse of the^v beestis, and the¹³
 biholdyng of tho^w, *was* as of brennyng
 coolis of fier, and as the biholdyng of
 laumpis. This was the si3t rennyng
 aboute in the myddis of beestis, the schyn-
 yng of fier, and leit^x goyng out of the
 fier. And the beestis 3eden, and turneden¹⁴
 azen at the lickenesse of leit schynyng.
 And whanne Y bihelde the beestis, o¹⁵
 wheel, hauyng foure faces, apperide on
 the erthe, bisidis the beestis. And the¹⁶
 biholdyng of the wheelis and the werk of
 tho *was* as^y the si3t of the see; and o
 lickenesse *was* of tho foure; and the bihold-
 yng and the werkis of tho, as if a wheel
 be in the myddis of a wheel. Tho goyng¹⁷

^b Om. A. ^c likenes A. the lickenesse GH.

^f Om. q. ^g the myddis EPIKMNRSU. ^h of hem E sec. m. ⁱ in to NS sec. m. ^j in to S sec. m. ^k the 18.
^l Thei N. ^m thei EIPY. ⁿ Om. AR. ^o ether S. ^p cheer, ether face CEF GHIKMN PQUXY. cheer RS. ^q that is,
 foure bestis K marg. ^r the N. ^s Two I. ^t two I. ^u thei N. ^v tho EPY. ^w hem N. ^x the leit I. ^y at X.

four parties of hem, and thei turneden not azein, whenne thei wenten. To what place that that was first bowide, and the othir sueden. Thei turneden not azein, 18 whenne thei walkiden. And stature was to the wheelis, and hee3nesse, and orrible biholdyng; and al the bodye ful of 19 eezen in cumpas of hem foure. And whenne the bestis walkiden, and the whelis to gidir walkiden bisijdis hem. And whenn the bestis weren lift vp fro the erthe, and the wheelis weren lyft vp 20 togidir. Whidir euer the spirit wente, thidir goynge the spirit, and the wheelis weren lift vp to gidir suyng hym; forsothe the spirit of lyf was in the whelis. 21 With the goynge thei wenten, and with the stondynge thei stoden. And with the reysid fro the erthe, and the wheelis weren reysid to gydir suyng hem; for 22 the spirit of lyf was in the wheelis. And the lickenesse of the firmament vpon the hedis of beestis, and as biholdyng of cristal orrible, and streijt forth aboue 23 vpon the hedis of hem. Forsothe vndir the firmament the pennys of hem streijt, of the tother to the tother; eche hilide his bodye with two weengus, and the 24 tother also was hilide. And I herde the soun of weengus, as the soun of many watris, as the soun of hee3 God. When thei walkiden, there was as the sowne of multitude, as the soun of castels, *or oostis of men*; and when thei stoden, the 25 pennys of hem weren leide down. For whi whenne a vois was maad vpon the firmament, whiche was vpon the hedis of hem, thei stoden, and senten down her 26 weingis. And vpon the firmament that was neizinge to the hede of hem, as the biholdyng of a saphire stoon, a lickenesse of^d trone; and vpon liknes of the trone the liknes, as biholdyng of man^e 27 fro aboue. And I see3 as the liknes of electre, as the biholdyng of fier within-

zeden bi foure partis of tho, and turneden not azen, whanne tho zeden. Also stature, 18 and hijnesse, and orible biholdyng was to the wheelis; and al the bodi *was* ful of izen in the cumpas of tho foure. And 19 whanne the beestis zeden, the wheelis also zeden togidere bisidis tho. And whanne the beestis weren reysid fro the erthe, the wheelis also weren reysid togidere. Whi- 20 dur euer the spirit zede, whanne the spirit zede thedur, also the wheelis suyng it weren reysid togidere; for whi the spirit of lijf was in the wheelis. Tho zeden 21 with the *beestis* goynge, and tho stoden with the *beestis* stondynge. And with the *beestis* reysid fro erthe, also the wheelis suyng the *beestis* weren reysid togidere; for^a the spirit of lijf was in the wheelis. And the licesse of the firmament *was* 22 aboue the heed of the beestis, and as the biholdyng of orible cristal, and stretchid^b abroad on the heed^c of tho *beestis* aboue. Forsothe vndir the firmament the wyngis 23 of tho *beestis* weren streijt, of oon to another; ech *beeste* hilide his bodi with twei^{cc} wyngis, and an other was hilid in lijk maner. And Y herde the sown of wyngis, 24 as the sown of many watris, as the sown of hij3 God. Whanne tho zeden, ther was as a sown of multitude, as the sown of oostis of batel; and whanne tho stoden, the^d wyngis of tho weren late down. For 25 whi whanne a vois was maad on the firmament, that was on the heed of tho, tho stoden, and leten down her wyngis. And 26 on the firmament, that was aboue the^e heed of tho, *was*^f as the biholdyng of a saphire stoon, the licesse of a trone; and on the licesse of the trone *was* a licesse, as the biholdyng of a man aboue. And 27 Y si3 as a licesse of electre, as the biholding of fier with ynne, bi the cumpas therof; fro the lendis of hym and^g aboue, and fro the lendis of him til to bynethe, Y si3^h as the licesse of fier schynynge in

^d Ms. K is defective from this place to chap. xxxii. 12, and the text is supplied from A. ^e a man CH.

^a fro Y. ^b stretchith Y. ^c heedis FIKS. ^{cc} two I *passim*. ^d Om. A. ^e to the K *sec. m.* ^f at PY. ^g Om. A. ^h sau3e I.

forth, bi the compas of it; fro the leendis of hym and aboue^e, and fro the leendis of him and^f bynethe Y see³ as the liknes²⁸ of fier shynynge in the cumpas, as the biholdynge of a bowe, whanne it shal be in the^g cloude in the dai of rayn. This was the biholdynge of shynynge bi^h compas.

CAP. II.

¹ This sizt of liknes of glorie of the Lord. And Y see³, and fel in to my face; and Y herde a vois of the spekyng. And he seide to me, Sone of man, stoond vpon thi feet, and Y shal speke with thee.
² And a spirit entride in to me, after that he spak to me, and sette me vpon my feet. And Y herde the spekyng to me,
³ and seiynge, Sone of man, Y sende thee to the sones of Israel, to folkisⁱ apostataas, *that han broken her religioun or lawe*, whiche wenten awei fro me; the fadris of hem braken my couenaunt vn to this
⁴ day. And the sones ben of hard face, and of herte vnchaastisable, *that wole not be maad tame or meke*, to whom I sende
⁵ thee. And thou shalt seye to hem, Thes thingis seith the Lord God; if perauenture ether thei heren, and if perauenture thei resten, for it is an hows stiryng to wraththe. And thei shulen wite, for a prophete shal be in the mydil of hem.
⁶ Therfor thou, sone of man, drede not hem, ne drede thou the wordis of hem; for vnbileueful men and distruyers ben with thee, and thou dwellist with scoriouns. Drede thou not the wordis of hem, ne drede the semblaunte of hem, for it is an hous stiryng to wraththe.
⁷ Therfor thou shalt speke my wordis to hem, if perauenture thei heren, and resten,
⁸ for thei ben wraththers. Forsothe thou, sone of man, here what euer thingis I shal speke to thee; and nyl thou be stiryng to wraththe, as the hous of Israel is wraththeres. Opyn thi mouth,

cumpas, as the biholdynge of the reyn-²⁸ bowe, whanne it is in the cloude in the dai of reyn. This was the biholdynge of schynynge bi cumpas.

CAP. II.

This *was* a sizt of the licnesse of the¹ glorie of the Lord. And Y si³j, and felle^k down on my face; and Y herde the vois of a spekere. And he seide to me, Thou, sone of man, stonde on thi feet, and Y schal speke with thee. And the spirit² entride in to me, after that he spak to me, and settide me on my feet. And Y herde *oon* spekyng to me, and seiynge,³ Sone of man, Y sende thee to the sones of Israel, to folkis apostatas, *'ether goynge abak fro feith^l*, that *3eden* awei fro me; the fadris of hem braken my couenaunt til to this dai. And the sones ben of hard face,⁴ and of vnchastisable herte, to whiche^m Y sende thee. And thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord God seith these thingis; if per-⁵ auenture nameli thei heren, and if perauenture thei resten, for it is an hous terryng to wraththe. And thei schulen wite, that a profete is in the myddis of hem. Therefore thou, sone of man, drede⁶ not hem, nether drede thou the wordis of hem; for vnbileueful men and distrieris ben with thee, and thou dwellist with scoriouns. Drede thou not the wordis of hem, and drede thou not the faces of hem, for it is an hous terryng to wraththe. Therfor thou schalt speke my wordis to⁷ hem, if perauenture thei heren, and resten, for thei ben terroris to wraththe. But⁸ thou, sone of man, here what euer thingis Y schal speke to thee; and nyle thou be a terrere to wraththe, as the hows of Israel isⁿ a terrere to wraththe. Opene thi mouth, and ete what euer thingis Y 3yue

^e fro aboue GH. ^f til GH. ^g Om. GH. ^h in GH. ⁱ folke G pr. m. H.

^j Om. IK. ^k sau³ I sæpius. ^l felde KS. I felle N. ^m whom I. ⁿ was IN.

and eet what euer thingis Y 3eue to thee.
 9 And I saw³, and loo! an hoond was sent
 to me, in whom was a boke foldyn. And
 he leide it abrood before me, the which
 was writen withinforth and withoutforth.
 And lamentaciouns, and dite, *or soong*,
 and woo, was writen in it.

CAP. III.

1 And he seide to me, Sone of man, eet
 what euer thing thou shalt fynde, eet
 this volym, *or boke*; and thou^k goynge
 2 speke to the sones of Israel. And Y open-
 ede my mouth, and he fedde me with the
 3 silk volym. And he seide to me, Sone of
 man, thi wombe shal ete, and thin en-
 trailis shulen be fulfillid^l with this volym,
 which Y 3yue to thee. And Y ete it, and
 it is maad in my mouth as swete hony.
 4 And he seide to me, Sone of man, go
 thou to the hows of Israel, and thou
 5 shalt speke my wordis to hem. For-
 sothe thou shalt not be sent to a puple
 of deep word, and of vnknowyn tunge;
 6 to the hows of Israel, nether to manye
 pupilis of deep word, and of vnknowyn
 tunge, of whom thou mayst not here the
 wordis. And if thou shuldis be sent to
 7 hem, thei shulden here thee. Forsothe
 the hows of Israel wole not here thee,
 for thei wole not here me. Forsothe al
 the hows of Israel is of defoulid, *or vn-*
 8 *shamfast*, forhed, and hard herte. Loo!
 I haue 3ouen thi face my³tier than the
 face of hem, and thi forheed harder than
 9 the forheed of hem. And Y 3aue^m thi
 face as an adamaunt, and as a flynt;
 drede thou not hem, nether drede thou
 the face of hem, for it is an hows styr-
 10 yngeⁿ to wraththe. And he seide to me,
 Sone of man, tak to in thin herte, and
 with thin erys here alle thes my wordis,
 11 whiche I speke to thee. And go, entre^o
 to the passynge ouere, to the sones of thi
 puple. And thou shalt speke to hem, and

to thee. And Y si³, and lo! an hond was⁹
 sent to me, in which a boke was foldid
 togidere. And he spredde abrood it bifer
 me, that was writun with ynne and with
 outforth. And lamentaciouns, and^o song,
 and wo, weren writun ther ynne.

CAP. III.

And he seide to me, Sone of man, ete¹
 thou what euer thing thou fyndist, ete
 thou this volym; and go thou, and speke
 to the sones of Israel. And Y openyde²
 my mouth, and he fedde me with that
 volym. And he seide to me, Sone of man,³
 thi wombe schal ete, and thin entrails
 schulen be fillid with this volym, which
 Y 3yue to thee. And Y eet it, and it was
 maad as swete hony in my mouth. And⁴
 he seide to me, Sone of man, go thou to
 the hous of Israel, and thou schalt speke
 my wordis to hem. For thou schalt not⁵
 be sent to a puple of hiz^p word, and of
 vnknowun langage; *thou schalt be sent*
 to the hous of Israel, nether to many pu-⁶
 plis of hiz^p word, and of vnknowun lan-
 gage, of whiche thou maist not here the
 wordis. And if thou were sent to hem,
 thei schulden here thee. But the hous of⁷
 Israel nylen^q here thee, for thei nylen here
 me. For al the hous of Israel is of vn-
 schamefast^r forheed, and of hard herte.
 Lo! Y 3af thi face strongere than the⁸
 faces of hem, and thi forheed hardere than
 the forheedis of hem. Y^s 3af thi face as⁹
 an adamaunt, and as a flynt; drede thou
 not hem, nether drede thou of the face
 of hem, for it is an hous terryng to
 wraththe. And he seide to me, Sone of¹⁰
 man, take in thin herte, and here with
 thin eeris alle these my wordis, whiche Y
 speke to thee. And go thou, and entre¹¹
 to the passynge ouer, to the sones of thi
 puple. And thou schalt speke to hem, and
 thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord God

^k Om. G pr. m. H. ^l fillid GH. ^m hardid H. ⁿ of stiryng GH. ^o and entre GH.

^o Om. N. ^p deep CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^q wolen not I. ^r defoulid, *ether of vnshamfast* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^s And Y A pr. m. 1 sec. m.

thou shalt seie to hem, Thes thingis
seith the Lord God, if peraventure thei
12 heren, and resten. And the spirit took
me to, and Y herde after me a nois^p of
greet mouynge togider, the blessid glorie
13 of the Lord fro his place, and the vois
of weengis of beestis smytynge another
to the tother^q, and the vois of wheelis
suyng the beestis, and the vois of greet
14 mouynge togidir. And the spirit reiseide
me, and took me to. And Y wente away
in^r bitter indignacioun of my spirit; for-
sothe the hoond of the Lord was with
15 me, coumfortynge me. And Y cam to
the transmygracioun, *or passinge ouer*,
to the heep of newe fruytis, to hem that
dwellen bisidis the flood Cobar. And I
sat where thei saten, and I dwellide
there seuene daies, mournynge, in the
16 mydil of hem. Forsothe whanne seuene
daies hadden passid, the word of the
17 Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone of
man, I haue ȝouen thee a biholder, *or a*
spier, to the hows of Israel. And thou
shalt here of my mouth a word, and
18 thou shalt telle *it* to hem of me. If me
seiynge to the vnpitous man, Bi deeth
thou shalt die, thou shalt not telle to
hym, nether speke to hym, that he be
turned fro his vnpitous weie, and lyue;
the ilk vnpitous shal die in his wickid-
nes, forsothe I shal aȝen seke the blood
19 of hym of thin hoond. Forsothe if thou
shalt shewe to the vnpitous man, and he
shal not be conuertid fro his vnpitousnes,
and fro his wickid weie; sotheli he shal
die in his wickidnes, but thou hast de-
20 lyuerede thi soule. But and if the riȝt-
wijs man shal be conuertid fro his riȝt-
wisnes, and shal doo wickidnes, Y shal
putte an hirtyng before hym; he shal
die, for thou shewedist not to hym; he
shal die in his synne, and the riȝtwis-
nessis, whiche he dide, shulen not be in
mynde, sotheli Y shal aȝen seche his

seith these thingis, if peraventure thei
heren, and resten. And the spirit took 12
me, and Y herde after me the vois of a
greet mouynge. The blessid glorie of the
Lord *was herd* fro his place; and Y 13
herde the vois of wyngis of the beestis
smytynge oon an othir, and the vois of
wheelis suyng the beestis, and the vois
of greet^t stiryng. Also the spirit reiseide 14
me, and took me. And Y ȝede forth bittir
in the indignacioun of my spirit; for the
hoond of the Lord was with me, and
coumfortide me. And Y cam to the pass- 15
yng ouer, to the heep of newe fruytis, to
hem that dwelliden bisidis the flood Cho-
bar. And Y sat where thei saten, and Y
dwellide there seuene daies, weilynge, in
the myddis of hem. Forsothe whanne 16
seuene daies weren^u passid, the word of
the Lord was maad to me, and seide,
Sone of man, Y ȝaf thee 'a spiere^v to the 17
hous of Israel. And thou schalt here of
my mouth a word, and thou schalt telle
to hem of me. If whanne Y seie to the 18
wickid man, Thou schalt die bi deeth, thou
telist^w not to hym, and spekist not to
hym, that he be turned fro his wickid
weie, and lyue; thilke wickid man schal
die in his wickidnesse, but Y schal seke
his blood of thin hoond. Forsothe if thou 19
telist to the wickid man, and he is not
conuertid fro his wickidnesse, and fro his
wickid weie; sotheli he schal die in his
wickidnesse, but thou hast delyuerid thi
soule. But also if a iust man is turned 20
fro his riȝtfulnesse, and doith wickidnesse,
Y schal sette an hirtyng bifor hym; he
shal die, for thou teldist not to hym; he
shal die in his synne, and hise riȝtful-
nessis, whiche he dide, schulen not be in
mynde, but Y schal seke his blood of thin
hoond. Forsothe if thou telist to a iust 21
man, that a iust man do not synne, and
he doith not synne, he lyuyng schal lyue,
for thou teldist to hym, and thou hast

^p voice G sec. m. H. ^q other GH. ^r Om. AG pr. m. H.

^t a greet I. ^u Om. EH. hadden GIKMNPQRSX. ^v a spiere, or a biholder F sec. m. marg. to be a spiere I.
^w tellist *it* I.

21 blood of thin hond. Forsothe if thou shalt telle to the iust man, that the iust man synne not, and he shal not synne, he lyuyng shal lyue, for thou tooldist to hym, and thou hast delyuerede thi
22 soule. And the hoond of the Lord is maad vpon me, and he seide to me, Thou risynge go out in to the feeld, and there
23 I shal speke with thee. And I risynge wente out in to the feeld. And loo! the glorie of the Lord stode there, as the glorie which Y seeþ besidis the flood of
24 Cobar; and I felle in to my face. And the spirit entride in to me, and sette me vpon my feet. And he spak to me, and seide to me, Entre thou, and be thou closid
25 in the myddil of thin hows. And thou, sone of man, loo! boondis ben ȝouen vpon thee, and thei shulen bynde thee in hem, and thou shalt not goon out in the
26 myddil of hem. And Y shal make thi tunge for to cleue to the roof of thi mouth, and thou shalt be doumbe, nether as man chydynge, *or sharpli spekyng*; for it is an^a hows stiryng to wraththe.
27 Forsothe whanne Y shal speke to thee, Y shal opyn thi mouth, and thou shalt seie to hem, Thes thingis seith the Lord God, He that herith, here, and he that restith, reste; for it is an hows stiryng to wraththe.

CAP. IV.

1 And thou, sone of man, take to thee a tijl stoon; and thou shalt putte it before thee, and thou shalt discriue in it the
2 citee of Jerusalem. And thou shalt ordeyne aȝens it a bisegyng; and thou shalt bilde waardingis, thou shalt bere togidre an heep of erthe, and thou shalt ȝyue aȝens it castels, *or oostis*, and thou
3 shalt putte engynes in compas. And take thou to thee an yren panne; and thou shalt putte it in to an yren wal bitwix thee and bitwix the citee; and thou shalt vpon alle sidis stable thi face to it,

delyuered thi soule. And the hond of the 22 Lord was maad on me, and he seide to me, Rise thou, and go out in to the feeld, and there Y schal speke with thee. And 23 Y roos, and ȝede out in to the feeld. And lo! the glorie of the Lord stood there, as the glorie which Y siȝ bisidis the flood Chobar; and Y felle down on my face. And 24 the spirit entride in to me, and settide me on my feet. And he spak to me, and seide to me, Entre thou, and be thou closid in the myddis of thin hous. And 25 thou, sone of man, lo! boondis ben ȝouen on thee, and thei schulen bynde thee with tho, and thou schalt not go out in the myddis of hem. And Y schal make thi 26 tunge to cleue to the roof of thi mouth, and thou schalt be doumbe, and thou schalt not be as a man rebuykinge; for it is an hous terryng to wraththe. But 27 whanne Y schal speke to thee, Y schal opene thi mouth, and thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord God seith these thingis, He that herith, here, and he that restith, reste; for it is an hous terryng to wraththe.

CAP. IV.

And thou, sone of man, take to thee a 1 tijl^x stoon; and thou schalt sette it bifore thee, and thou schalt discriue ther ynne the citee of Jerusalem. And thou schalt 2 ordeyne bisegyng aȝenus that *Jerusalem*; and thou schalt bilde strengthis, and thou schalt bere togidere erthe, and thou shalt ȝyue oostis of batel aȝens it, and thou schalt sette engynes in^y cumpas. And take thou to thee an irone friynges 3 panne; and thou schalt sette it in to an irone wal bitwixe thee and bitwixe the cite; and thou schalt sette stidfastli thi

^a Om. A.^x litil i. ^y bi in.

and it shal be in to bisegyng, and thou shalt about 3yue it, *or cumpas*; it is a tokne to the hows of Israel. And thou shalt slepe vpon thi^t left sijde, and thou shalt putte the wickidnessis^u of the hows of Israel vpon it in the noumbre of dais, in whiche thou shalt slepe on it, and thou shalt take to the wickidnes of hem. Forsothe Y 3aue to thee 3eeris of the^v wickidnes of hem, in noumbre of thre hundrid dais and nynti dais; and thou shalt bere the wickidnes of the hows of Israel. And whanne thou shalt fulfille thes thingis, thou shalt sleepe vpon thi ri3t syde the secounde tyme. And thou shalt take to the wickidnes of the hows of Juda fourty dais, a dai for a 3eer, sotheli Y 3aue to thee a dai for a 3eer. And to the bisegyng of Jerusalem thou shalt turne thi face; and thin arm shal be strau3t forth, and thou shalt prophecie azens it. Loo! Y 3aue about, *or cumpaside*, thee with boondis, and thou shalt not conuerte thee fro thi^w side in to the tother side, til thou fulfille the dais of thi segyng. And take thou to thee whete, and barli, and bene, and lent, and mylie, and vetches; and thou shalt sende hem in to a vessel. And thou shalt make to thee looues in noumbre of dais, whiche thou shalt sleepe vpon thi side; thre hundrid and nynti dais thou shalt ete it. Forsothe thi meet, which thou shalt ete, shal be in wei3t twenti^x stateris, *that is, ten owncis*, in the dai; fro tyme vn to tyme thou shalt ete it. And thou shalt drynke water in mesure the sixt part of hyn; fro tyme vn to tyme thou shalt drynke it. And thou shalt ete it as a barly loof bakyn vndir asshe^y; and thou shalt hille it with a toord that goth out of a man, in the eyen, *or sizt*, of hem. Thes thingis seith the Lord, So the sones of Israel shulen ete her breed defoulid among heithen men^z,

face to it, and it schal be in to bisegyng, and thou schalt cumpasse it; it is a signe to the hous of Israel. And thou schalt⁴ slepe on thi left side, and thou schalt putte the wickidnessis of the hous of Israel on that *side*, in the noumbre of daies in which thou shalt slepe on^z that *side*, and thou schalt take the wickidnesse of hem. Forsothe Y 3af to thee the 3eeris of⁵ the wickidnesse of hem bi noumbre of daies, thre hundrid and nynti daies; and thou schalt bere the wickidnesse of the hous of Israel. And whanne thou hast⁶ fillid these thingis, thou schalt slepe the secounde tyme on thi ri3t side. And thou schalt take the wickidnesse of the hous of Juda bi fourti daies; Y 3af to thee a dai for a 3eer, a dai sotheli for a 3eer. And⁷ thou schalt turne thi face to the biseging^a of Jerusalem; and thin arm schal be stretchid forth, and thou schalt profesie azens it. Lo! Y haue cumpassid thee⁸ with boondis, and thou schalt not turne thee fro thi^b side in to other^c side, tille thou fille the daies of thi bisegyng. And⁹ take thou to thee wheete, and barli, and beenys, and tillis, and mylie, and vetchis; and thou schalt putte^d tho in to o vesselle. And thou schalt make to thee looues for the noumbre of daies, bi whiche thou schalt slepe on thi side; bi three hundrid and nynti daies thou schalt ete it. For¹⁰ sothe thi mete, which thou schalt ete, schal be in wei3te twenti staters in a dai; fro tyme til to tyme thou schalt ete it. And thou schalt drynke watir in mesure,¹¹ the sixte part of hyn; fro tyme til to tyme thou schalt drynke it. And thou¹² schalt ete it as barli breed bakun vndur the aischis; and with 'a toord^e that goith out of a man thou schalt hile, it bifore the i3en of hem. The Lord seith these thingis,¹³ So the sones of Israel schulen ete her breed defoulid among hethene men, to

^t the GH. ^u witnessis A. ^v Om. GH. ^w the H. ^x of twenti GH. ^y aschis G. askis H. ^z Om. G pr. m. H.

^a til N. ^b bisechyng A. bifore segyng N. byfor sechyng s sec. m. ^c this A pr. m. I sec. m. thi I pr. m. ^d that other C. the tother ENS. to an other FPU. to the tother GKMRX. tother HQ. to the oother I. ^e sende ceteri. ^f the dunge I.

14 to whom Y shal caste hem out. And I
seide, A! A! A! Lord God, loo! my
soule is not defoulid, and fro my child-
hed til now Y ete not deed careyn, and
to-drawyn of beestis; and al vnclene flesh
15 entride not in to my mouthe. And he
seide to me, Loo! I ȝaue to thee dunge
of oxen for mannus toordis; and thou
16 shalt make thi breed in it. And he seide
to me, Loo! Y shal defoule the staf of
breed in Jerusalem, and thei shulen ete
her^a breed in weijt and in bisynes, and
thei shulen drynke watir^b in mesure and
17 in anguysh; that water and breed fail-
ynge eche man falle down to his brother,
and waxe rotyn to gidre in her wickid-
nessis.

CAP. V.

1 And thou, sone of man, take to thee
a sharp swerd, *or rasour*, shauynge
heeris; and thou shalt take it to, and
thou shalt^c lede it bi thin heed, and bi
thi beerd. And thou shalt take to thee
a balaunce of weijt^d, and thou shalt de-
2 parte hem. And thou shalt brenne the
thridde part in fier in the mydil of the
citee, besidis the fulfilling of daies of seg-
ynge. And thou takynge to the thridde
part^e, shalt togidir kitte bi swerd in
cumpas of it. Sotheli thou shalt scatere
in to wynd the tother thridde part; and
Y shal make nakid, *or vnshethe*, the
3 swerd after hem. And thou shalt take
therof a litil noumbre, and thou shalt
bynde hem in the heijt of thin over-
4 most clooth. And eftsoone thou shalt
take of hem, and thou shalt caste hem
in to the mydil of fier. And thou shalt
brenne hem in fier; and of it fier shal
5 gon out in to al the hous of Israel. Thes
thingis seith the Lord God, This is Jeru-
salem; in the mydil of heithen men Y
haue putte it, and loondis in the cumpas
6 of it. And it dispiside my domys, that
it were more vnpytous than heithen men;

whiche^f Y schal caste hem out. And Y 14
seide, A! A! A! Lord God, lo! my soule
is not defoulid, and fro my ȝong childhed
til to now Y eet not a thing deed bi it
silf, and to-rent of beestis; and al vnclene
fleisch entride not in to my mouth. And 15
he seide to me, Lo! Y haue ȝoue to thee
the dung of oxis for mennus toordis; and
thou schalt make thi breed with it. And 16
he seide to me, Sone of man, lo! Y schal
al to-breke the staf of breed in Jerusalem,
and thei schulen ete her breed in weijte
and in bisynesse, and thei schulen drynke
water in mesure and in angwisch; that 17
whanne breed and watir failen, eche man
falle down to his brother, and thei faile
in her wickidnessis.

CAP. V.

And thou, sone of man, take to thee 1
a scharp swerd, schauynge heeris; and
thou schalt take it, and schalt leede it bi
thin heed, and bi thi berd. And thou
schalt take to thee a balaunce of weijte,
and thou schalt departe tho. Thou schalt 2
brenne the thridde part with fier in the
myddis of the citee, bi the fillyng of daies
of bisegynge. And thou schalt take the
thridde part, and schalt kitte bi swerd in
the cumpas therof. But thou schalt scatere
'the tother^g thridde^h part in to the wynd;
and Y schal make nakid a swerd aftir
hem. And thou schalt take therof a litil 3
noumbre, and thou schalt bynde tho in
the hiznesse of thi mentil. And eft thou 4
schalt take of hem, and thou schalt caste
forth hem in to the myddis of the fier.
And thou schalt brenne hem in fier; and
fier schal go out of that in to al the hous
of Israel. The Lord God seith these 5
thingis, This is Jerusalem; Y haue sette
it in the myddis of hethene men, and
londis in the cumpas therof. And it dis- 6
piside my domes, that it was more wickid
than hethene men; and *it dispiside* my
comaundementis more than londis that

^a Om. G pr. m. H. ^b Om. A. ^c Om. A. ^d Om. G pr. m. H. ^e partye H.

^f whom I. ^g that oother I. ^h Om. A pr. m. F⁸.

and my maundementis more than loondis that ben in compas of it. Forsothe thei han caste awei my domys, and thei walkeden not in my preceptis, *or heestis*.
 7 Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, For 3e han ouerpasside, *or ouercomyn*, heithen men that ben in 3our cumpas, and 3e walkeden not in myn heestis, and my domys 3e han not doo, and 3e han not wrou3te aftir the domys of heithen
 8 men that ben in 3our cumpas; therfor seith the Lord thes thingis, Loo! Y to thee, and Y my silf in the mydil of thee shal make domys in the eyen, *or sizt*,
 9 of heithen men; and I shal doo in the^f whiche thingis I dide not, and to whiche I shal namore make lijc thingis, for alle
 10 thin abhomynaciouns. Therfor faders shulen eete sones in the mydil of thee, and sones shulen eete her faders; and in thee I shal make domys, and I shal wyndewe alle thi relikis in to eche wynd.
 11 Therfor I lyue, seith the Lord God, no but for that that thou defoulidist myn hooli thing in alle thin offenciouns, and in alle thin abhomynaciouns; and I shal breke togider, and myn eye^g shal not
 12 spare, and Y shal not haue mercie. The thridde part of thee shal die bi pestilence, and in hungre shal be wastid in the mydil of thee; and the thridde part of thee shal falle down bi swerd in thi compas; sotheli I shal scatere thi thridde part in to eche wynd, and I shal drawe
 13 out a swerd after hem. And I shal fulfille my woodnes, and Y shal make myn indignacioun for to reste in hem, and Y shal be coumfortid. And thei shulen wite, for I the Lord spake in my feruent wraththe, whanne Y shal fulfille myn
 14 indignacioun in hem. And Y shal 3eue thee in to scornynge and shenship to heithen men that ben in thi compas, in
 15 the sizt of eche man passynge forth. And thou shalt be shenship and blasfemye, ensaumple and greet wondryng, in hei-

ben in theⁱ cumpas therof. For thei han cast awei my domes, and thei 3eden not in my comaundementis. Therfor the Lord⁷ God seith these thingis, For 3e^h han passid^k hethene men that ben in 3oure cumpas, and 3e 3eden not in my comaundementis, and 3e diden not my domes, and 3e wrou3ten not bi the domes of hethene men that ben in 3oure cumpas; therfor the Lord God⁸ seith these thingis, Lo! Y to thee, and Y my silf schal make domes in the myddis of thee, bifer the 3en of hethene men; and Y schal do thingis in thee, whiche Y⁹ dide not, and to whiche Y schal no more make lijc thingis, for alle thin abhomynaciouns. Therfor fadris schulen ete sones¹⁰ in the myddis of thee, and sones schulen ete her fadris; and Y schal make domes in thee, and Y schal wyndewe alle thin remenauntis in to ech wynd. Therfor Y¹¹ lyue, seith the Lord God, no but for that that thou defoulidist myn hooli thing in alle thin offenciouns, and in alle thin abhomynaciouns; and Y schal breke, and myn ize schal not spare, and Y schal not do merci. The thridde part of thee schal die¹² bi pestilence, and schal be wastid bi hungur in the middis of thee; and the thridde part of thee schal falle down bi swerd in thi cumpas; forsothe Y schal scatere thi thridde part in to ech wynd, and Y schal drawe out a swerd after hem. And Y¹³ schal fille my stronge veniaunce, and Y schal make myn indignacioun to^l reste in hem, and Y schal be coumfortid. And thei schulen wite, that Y the Lord spak in my feruent loue, whanne Y schal fille al myn indignacioun in hem. And Y schal 3yue¹⁴ thee in to desert, in to schenschipe to hethene men that ben in thi cumpas, in the sizt of ech that passith forth. And thou¹⁵ schalt be schenschipe^m and blasfemye^m, ensaumple and wondryng, among hethene men that ben in thi cumpas, whanne Y schal make domes in thee, in strong veniaunce, and indignacioun, and in blam-

^f Om. H. ^g eizen GH.

ⁱ Om. IN. ^k ouercamen CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^l for to U. ^m Om. N.

then men that ben in thi compas, whanne Y shal doo in thee domys in woodnes, and in indignacioun, and in blamyngis of
 16 wraththe. Y the Lord; whanne Y shal sende the werst arewis of hungre in to hem, whiche shulen be deedly; and whom Y shal sende, that I scatere 3ou. And I shal gedre hungre vp on 3ou, and Y shal
 17 defoule in 3ou the staf of breed. And I shal sende in to 3ou hungre, and werste beestis, vn to deeth; and pestilence and blood shulen passe bi thee, and Y shal lede in a swerd vpon thee; I the Lord haue spokyn.

CAP. VI.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, put thi face to the hillis of Israel; and thou shalt propheticie to hem, and thou shalt seye, Hillis of Israel, here 3e the word of the Lord God. Thes thingis seith the Lord God to mounteyns, and reisyngis of hillis, to rochis, and valeys, Loo! I shal lede to on 3ou a swerd, and I shal scatere 3our heize
 4 thingis. And I shal distruye 3our auters, and 3our symulacrys shulen be brokyn to gidre; and Y shal cast down 3our slayn
 5 men before 3our ydolis. And Y shal 3eue the deed careyns of the sones of Israel before the face of 3our symulacris, and Y shal scatere 3oure boonus about 3oure
 6 auters, in alle 3our dwellyngis. Cytees shulen be deseert, and heize thingis shulen be destruyid, and shulen be disparplid; and 3our auters shulen perishe, and shulen be brokyn togidre. And 3oure ydolis shulen ceese, and 3our wode maumentis shulen be troden togidre, and 3our werkis
 7 shulen be don awei. And a slayn man shal falle down in the mydil of 3ou; and
 8 3e shulen wite, for Y am Lord. And Y shal leue in 3ou hem that han fledde the swerd in heithen men, whanne I shal
 9 scatere 3ou in to londis. And 3oure delyuered men schulen bethenke of me in hethen men^b, to whom thei ben lad cai-

yingis of ire. Y the Lord haue spoke,¹⁶ whanne Y schal sende inⁿ to hem the worste arowis of hungur, that schulen bere deth; and whiche Y schal sende, that Y leese 3ou. And Y schal gadere hungur on 3ou, and Y schal al to-breke in 3ou the sadnesse of breed. And Y schal sende in¹⁷ to 3ou hungur, and worste beestis, til to the^o deth; and pestilence and blood schulen passe bi thee, and Y schal bringe in swerd on thee; Y the Lord spak.

CAP. VI.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1 to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man,² sette thi face to the hillis of Israel; and thou schalt profesie to tho *hillis*, and schalt seie, Hillis of Israel, here 3e the word of³ the Lord God. The Lord God seith these thingis to mounteyns, and litil hillis, to roochis of stoon, and to valeis, Lo! Y schal bringe in on 3ou a swerd, and Y schal leese 3oure hi3e thingis. And Y schal dis-⁴trie 3oure auteris, and 3oure symylacris schulen be brokun; and Y schal caste down 3oure slayn men bifore 3oure idols. dnA Y schal 3yue the deed bodies of the⁵ sones of Israel bifor the face of 3oure symylacris, and Y schal scatere 3oure boonys aboute 3oure auteris, in alle 3oure dwell-⁶ingis. Citees schulen be forsakun, and hi3 thingis schulen be distried, and schulen be scaterid; and 3oure auteris schulen perische, and schulen be brokun. And 3oure idols schulen ceesse, and 3oure templis of idols schulen be al to-brokun, and 3oure werkis schulen be doen awei. And a slayn⁷ man schal falle down in the myddis of 3ou; and 3e schulen wite, that Y am the Lord. And Y schal leue in 3ou hem that fledden⁸ swerd among hethene men, whanne Y schal scatere 3ou in to londis. And 3oure⁹ delyuered men schulen haue mynde on me among hethene *men*^p, to whiche thei ben

^b Om. A.ⁿ Om. 1 pr. m. ^o Om. 1N. ^p Om. A.

tifs; for Y haue defoulide the herte of hem doynge fornyacioun, and goynge away fro me, and the eyen of hem doynge fornicacioun after her ydolis. And thei shulen displese to hem self vp on the yuel thingis, whiche thei diden in alle her abomynaciouns. And thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord spake not veynli, that Y schulde doo to hem this yuel thing. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Smyte thin hoond, and hurtle to gidre thi foot, and sey, Allas! to alle abomynaciouns of yuel thingis of the hows of Israel, that ben to fallynge bi swerd, hungre, and pestilence. Forsothe he that is nyȝ, shal falle bi swerd. And he that shal be laft and be^l bisegid, shal die bi hungre. And Y shal fulfille^k myn indignacioun in hem. And ȝe shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne ȝour slayn men shulen be in the mydil of ȝour ydolis, in the cumpas of ȝour auters, in eche heiȝ litle hil, and in alle heiȝthis of mounteyns, and vnder eche tree ful of wode, *or bouwis*, and vndir eche ook ful of bouwis, that is to seye, a place where thei brenten encensis swete sauerynge to alle her ydolis. And I shal holde forth myn hoond vpon hem, and Y shal make the loond of hem desolat, and destitute, *or forsakyn*, fro deseert Deblatha, in alle the dwellingis of hem; and thei shulen wite, for I a^l Lord.

CAP. VII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, And thou, sone of man, thes thingis seith the Lord God to the loond of Israel, Ende cometh, ende cometh, vp on the foure plagis, *'or parties^m*, of theⁿ 3erthe. Now ende vpon thee, and I shal sende my woodnes in to thee, and Y shal deme thee after thi weies, and I shal putte aȝen thee alle thin abomynaciouns. 4 And myn eye shal not spare vpon thee, and Y shal not haue mercye. But Y shal putte thi weies vpon thee, and thin abomynaciouns shulen be in the mydil of

led prisoneris; for Y haue al to-broke her herte doynge fornyacioun, and goynge awei fro me, and her iȝen doynge fornicacioun aftir her idols. And thei schulen displese hem silf on the yuels, whiche thei diden in alle her abhomynaciouns. And thei schulen wite, that Y^q the Lord spak not in veyn, that Y schulde do this yuel to hem. The Lord God^r seith these thingis, 11 Smyte thin hond, and hurtle thi foot, and seie, Alas! to alle abhomynaciouns of the yuelis of the hous of Israel; for thei schulen falle down bi swerd, hungur, and pestilence. He that is fer, shal die bi pestilence. Forsothe he that is niȝ, shal falle 12 bi swerd. And he that is laft and bisegid, shal die bi hungur. And Y schal fille myn indignacioun in hem. And ȝe schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne ȝoure slayn men schulen be in the myddis of ȝoure idols, in the cumpas of ȝoure auteris, in eche hiȝ litil hil, and in alle the hiȝnessis of mounteyns, and vndur ech tree ful of wode, and vndur ech ook ful of boowis, that is, a place where thei brenten encense swete smellynge to alle her idols. And Y schal stretche forth myn 14 hond on hem, and Y schal make her lond desolat and destitute, fro desert Deblata, in alle the dwellyngis of hem; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. VII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1 to me, and he seide^s, And thou, sone of 2 man, the Lord God of the lond of Israel seith these thingis, The ende cometh, the ende cometh, on foure coostis of the lond. Now an ende *is* on thee, and Y shal sende 3 in my strong veniaunce on thee, and Y schal deme thee bi thi weies, and Y schal sette alle thin abhomynaciouns aȝens thee. And myn iȝe shal not spare on thee, and 4 Y schal not do mercye. But Y shal sette thi weies on thee, and thin abhomynaciouns schulen be in the myddis of thee; and ȝe

^l Om. GH. ^k fulle G. fille H. ^l the G pr. m. H. ^m Om. GH. ⁿ Om. GH.

^q Om. NS sec. m. ^r Om. A pr. m. FI sec. m. ^s seiynge I.

thee; and 3e shulen wyte, for I the Lord.
 5 These thingis seith the Lord God, Oon
 affliccioun, *or tourment*, loo! affliccioun
 6 cometh; the ende cometh, the ende com-
 eth; it shal wake out azens thee; loo!
 7 yt cometh. Contricioun, *or tredynge to*
gider, cometh vpon thee, that dwellist in
 erthe; tyme cometh, the dai of sleinge is
 8 ny3, and not of glorie of hillis. Now of
 ny3 Y shal heelde out my wraththe vpon
 thee, and I shal fulfille my woodnes in
 thee; and I shal deme thee after thi weies,
 and Y shal putte to thee alle thi greet
 9 trespassis. And myn eye shal not spare,
 nether Y shal haue mercie; but thi weies
 Y shal putte to thee, and thin abomyna-
 ciouns shulen be in the mydil of thee;
 and 3e shulen wite, for Y am the Lord
 10 smytynge. Loo! the day, loo! it cometh;
 contricioun, *or defoulynge togidir*, is gon
 out. The 3erde florishide, priyd burioun-
 11 ede, wickidnes roos in the 3erde of vn-
 pitee; not of hem, and not of the puple,
 nether of the sown of hem, and reste shal
 12 not be in hem. Tyme cometh, the^e dai
 neizede; he that bieth, glade not, and
 he that sellith, mourne not; for wraththe
 13 vpon al the puple of it. For he that
 soulede, shal not turne azen to that thing
 that he soulede, and 3it in men lyuyng
 the lijf of hem; forsothe a^p visioun, *or*
prophecie, shal not goo azen to al the
 multitude of it, and a man shal not be
 coumfortid in the wickidnes of his lijf.
 14 Synge 3e with trumpe, and be alle men
 maad redie, and there is not that shal
 goo to bateile; forsothe my wraththe
 15 vpon al the puple of hym. Swerd with
 out forth, pestilence, and hungre with
 inforth; he that is in the feeld, shal die
 bi swerde; and thei that ben in the citee,
 shulen be deuouride bi pestilence and
 16 hungre. And thei^q of hem that shulen
 flee, shulen be saued; and thei shulen be
 in mounteyns^r as culueres of euyn valeys,
 17 alle dreedful, eche in his wickidnes. Alle
 hoondis shulen be vndon, and alle knees

shulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. The^s
 Lord God seith these thingis, O^t turment,
 lo! turment cometh; the ende cometh, the^e
 ende cometh; it schal wake fulli azens
 thee; lo! it cometh. Sorewe cometh on⁷
 thee, that dwellist in the lond; the tyme
 cometh, the dai of sleying is ni3, and not
 of glorie of hillis. Now anoon^a Y schal^s
 schede out myn ire on thee, and Y schal
 fille my strong veniaunce in thee; and Y
 schal deme thee bi thi weies, and Y schal
 putte to thee alle thi grete trespassis. And⁹
 myn ize schal not spare, nether Y schal do
 merci; but Y schal putte on thee thi weies,
 and thin abhomynaciouns schulen be in
 the myddis of thee; and 3e schulen wite,
 that Y am the Lord smytynge. Lo! the¹⁰
 dai, lo! it cometh; sorewe is gon out. A
 3erde flouride, pride buriownede, wickid-¹¹
 nesse roos in the 3erde of vnpitee; not of
 hem, and not of the puple, nether of the
 sown of hem, and no reste shal be in hem.
 The tyme cometh, the dai neizede; he that¹²
 bieth, be not glad, and he that sillith,
 mourne not; for whi ire *is* on al the puple
 therof. For he that sillith, schal not turne¹³
 azen to that that he seelde, and 3it the lijf
 of hem *is* in lyueris; for whi the reuela-
 cioun^v to al the multitude therof shal not
 go azen, and a man schal not be coum-
 fortid in the wickidnesse of his lijf. Synge¹⁴
 3e with a trumpe, alle men be maad redi,
 and noon is that schal go to batel; for
 whi my wraththe *is* on al the puple therof.
 Swerd *is* with out forth, pestilence and¹⁵
 hungur with ynne; he that is in the feeld,
 schal die bi swerd; and thei that ben in
 the citee, schulen be deuourid bi pestilence
 and hungur. And thei schulen be sauyd¹⁶
 that fleen of hem; and thei schulen be
 as culueris of grete valeis in hillis, alle
 quakyng, ech man in his wickidnesse.
 Alle hondis schulen be aclumsid, and alle¹⁷
 knees schulen flowe with watris. And¹⁸
 thei schulen girde hem with heiris, and
 inward drede schal hile hem; and schen-
 schipe *schal be* in ech face, and ballid-

^a Om. G pr. m. H. P the GH. ^q Om. G pr. m. H. ^r the mounteynes GH.

^t Lo! INS. ^u of neiz CEFHKMQRSU. ^v visioun, *ether reuelacioun* CFGHKMQSUX. visioun EINPR.

18 shulen flowe with waters. And thei shulen girde hem with heiris, and inward dreed shal hille hem to gidre; and in eche face confusioun, and in alle the heedis of
 19 hem ballidnes. The siluere of hem shal be cast fer with outforth, and the gold of hem shal be in to dungehil; the siluer of hem and the gold of hem shal not mowe deliuere hem in the dai of the woodnes of the Lord. Thei shulen not fulfille her soule, *or lijf*, and the wombis of hem shulen not be fulfillid; for it is maad the sclaudre of wickidnes of hem.
 20 And thei puttiden the ournement of her brochis in to pride; and thei maden of it the ymagis of her abomynaciouns and symulacris. For this thing Y 3aue it to
 21 hem, in to vncleennes. And Y shal 3yue it in to the hoondis of alienys, for to take away, and to vnpitouse men of erthe in
 22 to praye, and thei shulen defoule it. And I shal turne away my face fro hem, and thei shulen defoule my priue thing; and foule men, *or renners*, shulen entre in to
 23 it, and shulen defoule it. Mak thou conclusioun, *or ende*; for the erthe is^s ful of doom of bloodis, and the citee ful of
 24 wickidnes. And I shal brynge the werst *men* of folk of kynde, and thei shulen weelde the howsis of hem; and Y shal make the pride of my3ti men for to reste, and^t thei shulen weelde the seyntuaries
 25 of hem. Anguysh comynge vpon, thei shulen azen seche pees, and it shal not
 26 be. Trublynge togidre shal come vpon trublyng togidre, and herynge vpon herynge; and thei shulen seche a visioun of the prophete, and lawe shal perishe fro
 27 preest, and counseil fro eldre men. The kyng shal mourne, and the prince shal be clothid with inward sorew, and the hoondis of puple^u of the loond shulen be trublid togidir; after the weie of hem Y shal do to hem, and after the domes of hem Y shal deme hem; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord.

nesse *shal be* in alle the heedis of hem. The siluer of hem shal be cast out, and 19 the gold of hem shal be in to a dunghil; the siluer of hem and the gold of hem shal not mowe delyuere hem in the dai of the strong veniaunce of the Lord. Thei schulen not fille her soule, and the wombis of hem schulen not be fillid; for it is maad the sclaudre of hir wickidnesse. And thei 20 setteden the ournement of her brochis in to pride; and thei maden of it the ymagis of her abhomynaciouns and simylacris. For this thing Y 3af it to hem, in to vncleennesse. And Y schal 3yue it in to the 21 hondis of aliens, to rauysche, and to the vnpitouse men of erthe, in to prey, and thei schulen defoule it. And Y schal turne 22 awei my face fro hem, and thei schulen defoule my priuyte; and harlotis^w schulen entre in to it, and schulen defoule it. Make thou a closyng to gidere; for the 23 lond is ful of doom of bloodis, and the citee is ful of wickidnesse. And Y schal 24 brynge the worste of hethene men, and thei schulen haue in possessioun the housis of hem; and Y schal make the pride of mizti men to ceesse, and *enemies* schulen haue in possessioun the seyntuaries of hem. In anguysh comynge aboue thei schulen 25 seke pees, and it shal not be. Disturblyng 26 schal come on disturblyng, and heryng on heryng; and thei schulen seke of the profete a reuelacioun, and lawe shal perishe fro the preest, and counsel fro eldre^x men. The kyng schal mourne, and the prince 27 schal be clothid in weilyng, and the hondis of the puple of the lond schulen be disturblid; bi the weie of hem Y schal do to hem, and bi the domes of hem Y schal deme hem; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

^s Om. G pr. m. H. ^t Om. G pr. m. H. ^u the peple GH.

^w harlotis, *ether messangeris* CEF GH MN PQRSUXY. harlotis, *ether messagers* K. ^x the eldre I.

CAP. VIII.

1 And it is doon in the sixte 3eer, in the
 sixte moneth, in the fifthe day of the
 moneth, Y sate in myn hous, and the
 oolde men of Juda saten before me; and
 the hoond of the Lord God fel there vp-
 2 on me. And I see3, and loo! a liknes as
 the biholdynge of fier; fro the biholdynge
 of the leendis of hym and bynethe was
 fier, and fro the leendis of hym and aboue
 as biholdynge of shynynge, as the seynge
 of electre, *that is, metal maad of gold*
 3 *and siluer, brizter than gold.* And the
 liknes of an hoond sent out cau3te me in
 the heer of myn heed; and a spirit lifte
 me vp bitwix heuen and erthe, and
 ledde me in to Jerusalem, in the visioun
 of God, besidis the inner dore that bi-
 holdith to the north, where the idol of
 zele, *or enuye*, was set, for to styre enuye.
 4 And loo! there the glorie of God of Is-
 rael, after the visioun which Y see3 in
 5 the feeld. And he seide to me, Sone of
 man, reys thin eyen to the weye of the
 north; and loo! fro the north of the 3aat
 of the auter, the ydol of enuye in that
 6 entrynge. And he seide to me, Sone of
 man, gessist thou whether thou seest
 what thes men don, the greet abomyna-
 ciouns whiche the hows of Israel doth
 here, that Y goo away fer fro my seyn-
 tuarie? and 3it thou conuertid shal see
 7 gretter abomynaciouns. And he ledde
 me in to the dore of the porche; and Y
 8 see3, and loo! an hoole in the wal. And
 he seide to me, Sone of man, dig the wal;
 and whanne Y hadde thur3 diggide the
 9 wal, o dore aperide. And he seide to me,
 Go thou yn, and se the werst abomyna-
 10 ciouns, whiche thes men doon here. 'And
 I gon in, see3^v; and loo! eche lyknes of
 crepynge thingis, and abomynacioun of
 beestis, and alle the ydolis of the hous of
 Israel, weren peyntid in compas in the

CAP. VIII.

And it was doon in the sixte 3eer, in
 the sixte monethe, in^v the fyuethe dai of
 the monethe, Y sat in myn hous, and the
 elde men of Juda saten bifore me; and the
 hond of the Lord God felle there on me.
 And Y si3, and lo! a licesse as the bi-
 2 holdynge of fier; fro the biholding of hise
 leendis and bynethe was fier, and fro
 hise leendis and aboue *was* as the bihold-
 yng of schynynge, as the si3t of electre.
 And the licesse of an hond was sent out,
 3 and took me bi the heer^z of myn heed;
 and the spirit reiseide me bitwix heuene
 and erthe, and brou3te me in to Jerusalem,
 in the si3t of God, bisidis the ynnere dore
 that bihelde to the north, where the idol
 of enuye was set, to stire indignacioun.
 And lo! the glorie of God of Israel *was*
 4 there, bi si3t^a which Y si3 in the feeld.
 And he seide to me, Thou, sone of man,
 5 reise^b thin 3en to the weie of the north;
 and Y reiseide myn 3en to the weie of the
 north, and lo! fro the north of the 3ate
 of the auter the idol of enuye *was* in that
 entryng. And he seide to me, Sone of
 6 man, gessist thou whether^{bb} thou seest
 what thing these men doon, the grete ab-
 homynaciouns whiche the hous of Israel
 doith here, that Y go fer awei fro my
 seyntuarie? and 3it thou schalt turne, and
 schalt se grettere abhomynaciouns. And
 7 he ledde me with ynne to the dore of the
 halle^c; and Y si3, and lo! oon hoole in the
 wal. And he seide to me, Sone of man,
 8 digge thou the wal; and whanne Y hadde
 diggid the wal, o dore apperide. And he
 9 seide to me, Entre thou, and se the worste
 abhomynaciouns, whiche these men doon
 here. And Y entride, and si3; and lo!
 10 ech licesse of 'crepynge beestis^d, and ab-
 homynacioun^e of beestis, and alle idols of
 the hous of Israel, weren peyntid in the
 wal al aboute in cumpas. And seuenti¹¹

^v Om. 4.

^y on 1. ^z heer, *ether lockis* CPGHKMQRSUX. ^a the si3t *c et ceteri*. ^b reise vp 1. ^{bb} wher *ceteri passim*.
^c for3erde *c et ceteri*. ^d reptils, *ether crepynge beestis c et ceteri*. ^e abhomynaciouns 1N.

11 wal bi alle. And seuenti men of the eldris of the hous of Israel; and Jeconye, the sone of Saphan, stode in the myddil of hem, stoondynge before the peyntyngis; and eche hadde a censer in his hoond, and the vapour, *or smoke*, of a
 12 cloud roos togider of the ensence^w. And he seide to me, Certis, sone of man, thou seest whiche thingis the eldre men of the hows of Israel doon in derknessis, eche in the hid place of his couche; forsothe thei seyn, The Lord seeth not vs, the
 13 Lord hath forsakyn the loond. And the Lord seide to me, Ȝit thou conuertid shal see gretter abomynaciouns, whiche thes
 14 men don. And he ledde me yn, bi the dore of the ȝate of the hows of the Lord, that biheelde to the north; and loo! there saten wymmen, mournynge *a mawmet^{ww} of lecherie, that is clepid* Adonydes.
 15 And he seide to me, Certis, sone of man, thou hast seen; ȝit thou conuertid shal see gretter abomynaciouns than thes.
 16 And he ledde me in, in to the innermore porche of the hows of the Lord; and loo! in the dore of the temple of the Lord, bitwixe the vestiarie and the auter, as fyue and twenti men hauynge the backis azens the temple of the Lord, and the faces to the eest; and thei worshipeden
 17 at the^x rysynge of the sunne. And he seide to me, Certis, mannus sone, thou shalt^y see, whether this thing is liȝt to the hous of Juda, that thei schulden doo thes abomynaciouns, whiche thei diden here? For thei fulfillynge the erthe with wickidnes, ben turned to gidre to terre me to wraththe; and loo! thei applien, *or leyn to*, a braunche to her nose thrillis.
 18 Therfor and Y shal doo in my woodnes; myn eye shal not spare *to hem*, nether I shal haue mercy; and whanne thei shulen crie to myn erys with greet vois, Y shal not here hem.

men of the eldere of the hous of Israel *stoden*; and Jeconye, the sone of Saphan, stood in the myddis of hem, stondynge bifore the peyntyngis; and ech man hadde a censere in his hond, and the smoke of a cloude of encense stiede^f. And he¹² seide to me, Certis, sone of man, thou seest what thingis the eldere men of the hous of Israel doon in derknessis, ech^g man in the hid place of his bed; for thei seiyn, The Lord seeth not vs, the Lord hath forsake the lond. And the Lord¹³ seide to me, Ȝit thou schalt turne, and schalt se gretter abhomynaciouns, whiche these men doon. And he ledde me with¹⁴ ynne, bi the dore of the ȝate of the hous of the Lord, which *dore* bihelde to the north; and lo! wymmen saten there, biweilynge Adonydes. And *the Lord* seide¹⁵ to me, Certis, sone of man, thou hast seyn; ȝit thou schalt turne, and schalt se gretere abhomynaciouns than these. And he ledde¹⁶ me with ynne, in to the ynnere halle^h of the hous of the Lord; and lo! in the dore of the temple of the Lord, bitwixe the porche and the auter, *weren* as fyue and twenti men hauynge the backis azens the temple of the Lord, and her faces to the eest; and thei worschipiden at the risynge of the sunne. And *the Lord* seide to me,¹⁷ Certis, sone of man, thou hast seyn; whether this is a liȝt thing to the hous of Juda, that thei schulden do these abhomynaciouns, whiche thei diden here? For thei filliden the lond with wickidnesse, and turneden to terre me to wraththe; and lo! thei applien a braunche to her nose thirlis. Therfor and Y schal do in strong¹⁸ veniaunce; myn iȝe schal not spare, nether Y schal do merci; and whanne thei schulen crie to myn eris with greet vois, Y schal not here hem.

^w cense GH. ^{ww} mawment A. ^x Om. GH. ^y hast GH.

^f stiede *vp* I. ^g and ech *ns* *sec. m.* ^h forȝerd *ceteri*.

CAP. IX.

1 And he criede in myn eris with greet
voys, seiynge, The visitaciouns of the citee
han neized, and eche man hath a vessel
2 of sleynge in his hoond. And loo! sixe
men camen fro the weye of the heizer 3aat,
that biholdith to the north, and a vessel
of deeth of eche man in his hoond; and o
man in the mydil of hem was clothid
with lynnenn, and an ynkhorn of a wryter
in^a his reynes; and thei entriden, and
3 stoden besidis the brasen auter. And
the glorie of the Lord of Israel is takyn
of cherubin, that was on it, at the
threshfoold of the hows; and he clepide
the man that was clothid with lynnenn,
and hadde an enkhorn of a writer in his
4 leendis. And the Lord seide to hym,
Go thou bi the mydil cytee, in the mydil
of Jerusalem, and mark Tau vpon the
forehedis of men mournynge and sorew-
ynge vpon alle the abhomynaciouns that
5 ben don in the mydil therof. And he
seide to hem, me herynge, Passe 3e bi
the cytee suyng hym, and smyte 3e;
3our eye spare not, nether haue 3e mercy.
6 Slee 3e old man, 3onge man, meyden,
litol child, and wymmen, vn to the^b
perishynge; forsothe slee 3e not eche
man, vp on whom 3e shulen see Tau;
and bigynne 3e of my seyntuarie. Ther-
for thei bigunnen at the eldre men, that
7 weren before the face of the hous. And
he seide to hem, Defoule 3e the hous,
and fulfille 3e the porchis with slayn
men; goo 3e out. And thei wenten out,
and thei han smyten hem that weren in
8 the citee. And the sleynge fulfillid, Y
dwelte. And Y felle vpon my face, and
criynge Y seide, Allas! allas! allas! Lord
God, therfor whether thou shalt distruye
alle the relakis of Israel, shedyng out thi
9 woodnes vpon Jerusalem? And he seide
to me, The wickidnes of the hous of Is-
rael and Juda is ful greet, and the erthe

CAP. IX.

And he criede in myn eeris with greet¹
vois, and seide, The visityngis of the citee
han neized, and ech man hath in his hond
an instrument of sleynge. And lo! sixe men²
camen fro the weie of the hizere 3ate, that
biholdith to the north, and the instrument
of deth of ech man *was* in his hond; also
o man in the myddis of hem was clothid
with lynnun clothis, and a pennere of a
writere at hise reynes; and thei entriden,
and stoden bisidis the brasun auter. And³
the glorie of the Lord of Israel was takun
vp fro cherub, which glorie was on it, to
the threisfold of the hous; and *the Lord*
clepide the man that was clothid with
lynnun clothis, and hadde a pennere of a
writere in hise leendis. And the Lord⁴
seide to hym, Passe thou bi the myddis of
the citee, in the myddis of Jerusalem, and
marke thou Thau† on the forhedis of men
weilynge and sorewynge on alle abhomy-
naciouns that ben doon in the myddis
therof. And he seide to hem in myn her-⁵
yng, Go 3e thorou3 the citee, and sue 3e
hym, and smytte 3e; 3oure i3e spare not,
nether do 3e merci. Sle 3e til to deth, an⁶
eld man, a 3ong man, and a virgyn, a litil
child, and wymmen; but sle 3e not ony
man, on whom 3e seen Thau; and bigynne
3e at my seyntuarie. Therefore thei bi-
gunnen at the eldere men, that weren
bifore the face of the hous. And he seide⁷
to hem, Defoule 3e theⁱ hous, and fille 3e
the hallis^k with slayn men; go 3e out.
And thei 3eden out, and killiden hem that
weren in the citee. And lo! whanne the⁸
sleyng was fillid, Y was left. And Y felle
doun on my face, and Y criede, and seide,
Alas! alas! alas! Lord God, therfor whe-
ther thou schalt leese alle remenauntis^l of
Israel, and schalt schede out thi stronge
veniaunce on Jerusalem? And he seide to⁹
me, The wickidnesse of the hous of Israel
and of Juda is ful greet, and the lond is

† Thau; that
is, a crosse. A.
Tau; is the laste
lettre in abse of
Hebru, and is
the first letter
of this worde
thora, that be-
tokneth the
lawe; and bi
this is tokned
that men mak-
ing sorwe for
breking of the
lawe, schule be
saued, and the
remenaunt
shule be slayn.
A postil here.
v.

^a at GH. ^b Om. GH.

ⁱ Om. N. ^k for3erdis *ceteri*. ^l the remenauntis A *sec. m.* 1.

is fulfilled with bloodis, *or synnes*, and the citee is fulfilled with turnynge awei; forsothe ^cthei seiden, The Lord hath forsakyn the loond, and the Lord seeth not. ¹⁰ Therfor and myn eye ^dshal not spare, nether Y shal haue mercy; Y shal zeelde the weies of hem vpon the heed ^eof hem. ¹¹ And loo! the man that was clothid with lynnyn, that hadde an enkhorn in his rigge, answerde a word, seiynge, Y haue don, as thou commaundidest ^fto me.

CAP. X.

¹ And Y see^g, and loo! in the ^gfirmament that was vpon the heed of cherubyn, as a saphir stoon, and as ^hthe fourme of a ²seet aperide ^lvpon it ^k. And he seide to the man that was clothid with lynnyn, and he seith, Go thou yn in the mydil of wheelis, that ben vndir cherubyn, and fil thin hoond with coolis of fier, that ben amonge cherubyn, and sheed out vpon ³the citee. And he wente in my si^gt; forsothe cherubyns stoden vpon ^lthe ri^gt-half of the hous, whanne the man wente in, and a cloude fulfilled the porche with ⁴inneforth. And the glorie of the Lord is lift vp aboue cherubyn at the threshfoold of the hows; and the hows is fulfilled with a cloude, and the porche is fulfilled with shynynge of the ^mglorie of ⁵the Lord. And the soun of weengis of cherubyn was herd vn to the vttermore porche, as the vois of almy³ti God spekyng. And whanne he hadde commaundide to the man that was clothid with lynnyn, seiynge, Tak thou fier of the mydil of the wheelis, that ben with inne cherubyn, he goon in, stode besidis the ⁷wheelis ⁿ. And cherub helde forth his hoond fro the mydil of cherubyn, to the fier that was bitwix cherubyn; and took, and 3af in to the hoondis of hym that was clothid with lynnyn; whiche takyn,

fillid of bloodis, and the citee is fillid with turnynge awei; for thei seiden, The Lord hath forsake the lond, and the Lord seeth not. Therfor and myn i³e schal not spare, ¹⁰nether Y schal do merci; Y schal zeelde the weie of hem on the heed of hem. And ¹¹loo! the man that was clothid in lynnyn clothis, that hadde a pennere in his bak, answerde a word, and seide, Y haue do, as thou comaundidist to me.

CAP. X.

And Y si³, and lo! in the firmament ¹that was on the heed of cherubyns, as a saphir stoon, and as the fourme of licnesse of a kyngis seete apperide thereon. And ²he seide to the man that was clothid in lynnyn clothis, and spak, Entre thou in the myddis of wheelis ^m, that ben vndir cherubyns, and fille thin hond with coolis of fier, that ben bitwix cherubyns, and schede thou out on the citee. And he ³entride in my si^gt; forsothe cherubyns stoden at the ri^gt side of the hous, whanne the man entride, and a clowde fillide the ynnere halle ⁿ. And the glorie of the Lord ⁴was reysid fro aboue cherubyns to the threisfold of the hous; and the hous was fillid with a cloude, and the halle ^owas fillid with schynynge of the glorie of the Lord. And the soun of wyngis of cherubyns was herd til to the outermere halle ^p, as the vois of almy³ti God spekyng. And whanne he hadde comaundide to the man that was clothid in lynnyn clothis, and hadde seid, Take thou fier fro the myddis of the ^qwheelis, that ben bitwix cherubyns, he ^rentride, and stood bisidis the wheel. And cherub stretchide ⁷forth his hond fro the myddis of cherubyns, to the fier that was ^sbitwix cherubyns; and took, and 3af in to the hondis of hym that was clothid in lynnyn

^c Om. G *pr. m. H.* ^d eizen GH. ^e hedis GH. ^f comaundist GH. ^g Om, G *pr. m. H.* ^h Om. G *pr. m. H.* ⁱ Om. H. ^k Om. G *pr. m.* on it H. ^l on GH. ^m Om. GH. ⁿ wheel GH.

^m the wheelis A *pr. m.* ⁿ for3erde ceteri. ^o for3erd ceteri. ^p for3erd ceteri. ^q Om. IN. ^r and he A. ^s is NS *sec. m.*

8 wente out. And the liknes of an hoond
of man aperide in cherubyn, vndir the
9 pennys of hem. And Y seeȝ, and loo!
foure wheelis besidis cherubyn; o wheel
besidis o cherub, and another wheel^o be-
sidis o cherub; forsothe the fourme of
wheelis was as the siȝt of a stoon criso-
10 litus. And the biholdyng of hem, o lik-
nes of foure, as if a wheel be in the mydil
11 of a wheel. And whanne thei walkiden,
thei wenten in to foure parties; thei
walkynge turneden not aȝen, but to the
place to whom that that was the first
bouwid for to goo, and the othere sueden,
12 nether thei turneden aȝen. And al the
werk of hem, and neckis, and hoondis,
and pennys, and cerclis, weren ful of eyen,
13 in the cumpas of foure wheelis. And he
clepide the ilk wheelis volible, *or turn-*
14 *ynge about*, me herynge. Forsothe oon
hadde foure faces; o face the face of
cherub, and the secounde face a face of
man, and the thridde face of^p a lioun,
and in the fourthe a face of an egle;
15 and the cherubyns ben lift^a vp. The ilk
is the beest, whom Y seeȝ besidis the flood
16 Cobar. And whanne^r cherubyns walk-
iden, and the wheelis wenten togidir be-
sidis hem; and whanne the cherubyns
lifen vp her weengis, that thei shulden
be rerid fro the^s erthe, the wheelis abiden
not, but and thei weren besidis *hem*.
17 Hem stondynge, thei stoden, and with
the lift vp thei weren lift vp; forsothe
18 the spirit of lijf was in hem. And the
glorie of the Lord wente out fro the
threshfold of the temple, and stode vpon
19 cherubyn. And the cherubyns lifynge
vp her weengis, ben reysid fro the erthe
before me^t; and hem goynge out, and the
wheelis sueden; and it stode in the entre
of the eest ȝaat of the hows of the Lord,
and the glorie of God of Israel was vpon
20 it. The ilk is the beest, whom Y seeȝ
vndir God of Israel, besidis the flood

clothis; and he took, and ȝede out. And^s
the licnesse of the hond of a man apperide
in cherubyns, vndur the wyngis of tho.
And Y siȝ, and lo! foure wheelis *were*⁹
bisidis cherubyns; o wheel bisidis o che-
rub, and^t another wheel bisidis another
cherub; forsothe the licnesse of wheelis
was as the siȝt of the stoon crisolitis. And¹⁰
the biholdyng of tho *was* o licnesse of
foure, as if^u a wheel be in the myddis of
a wheel. And whanne tho^v ȝeden, tho^v¹¹
ȝeden in to foure partis; tho^w turneden
not aȝen goynge, but to the place to which
that that was the firste *wheel* bowide to
go, also othere suyden, and turneden not
aȝen. And al the bodi of tho *wheelis*, and¹²
the neckis, and hondis, and wyngis *of the*
beestis, and the^x cerclis, weren ful of iȝen,
in the cumpas of foure wheelis. And he¹³
clepide tho wheelis volible, *ether^y able to*
go al aboute, in myn heryng. Forsothe¹⁴
o *beeste* hadde foure faces; o face *was* the
face of cherub, and the secounde face the
face of a man, and in the thridde *was* the
face of a lioun, and in the fourthe *was* the
face of an egle; and the cherubyns weren¹⁵
reisid. Thilke is the beeste, which Y
hadde seyn bisidis the flood Chobar. And¹⁶
whanne cherubyns ȝeden, also the wheelis
bisidis tho ȝeden to gidere; whanne che-
rubyns^z reisiden her wyngis, that tho
schulden be enhaunsid fro the erthe, the
wheelis abididen^a not stille, but also tho
weren bisidis *cherubyns*. The *wheelis*¹⁷
stoden with tho *cherubyns* stondynge,
and weren reisid with the *cherubyns* reis-
id; for the spirit of lijf was in tho *wheelis*.
And the glorie of the Lord ȝede out fro¹⁸
the threisfold^b of the temple, and stood on
the cherubyns. And cherubyns reisiden¹⁹
her wyngis, and weren enhaunsid fro the
erthe bifore me; and whanne tho ȝeden
out, also the wheelis sueden; and it stood
in the entryng of the eest ȝate of the hous
of the Lord, and the glorie of God of

^o Om. G *pr. m. H.* ^p face of H. ^q liftid GH. ^r whannus A. ^s Om. H. ^t men A.

^u of I. ^v thei IN. ^w and tho A. ^x of I. ^y or I. ^z the cherybuns K *sec. m.*
^a abiden I. ^b frexfoold K.

Cobar^u. And Y vndirstode for foure cherubyns weren, bi foure cheeris, *'or facis*^v, to oon, and foure weengis to oon; and a liknes of mannus hoond vnder the weengis of hem. And the liknes of the cheeris of hem, the ilk cheeris whom Y seeȝ besidis the flood Cobar; and the biholdinge of hem, and the feersnes of eche, for to goo before his face.

CAP. XI.

1 And the spirit lifte me vp, and ledde me in at the est ȝate of the hous of the Lord, which biholdith the rysynge of the sunne. And loo! in the entre of the ȝate weren fyue and twenti men; and Y seeȝ in the mydil of hem Jeconye, the sone of Asur, and Pheltia, the sone of Banaye, 2 pryncis of puple. And he seide to me, Sone of man, thes men that thenken wickidnes, and treten the worst counseil 3 in this citee, seiynge, Whether not a litil while gon ben housis bildid? this is the 4 caudrun, forsothe we flessches. Therfor prophecy thou of hem, prophecy thou, 5 sone of man. And the Spyrit of the Lord felle in to me, and seide to me, Speke thou, The Lord seith thes thingis, Thus, hows^w of Israel, ȝe spaken, and Y knewȝ 6 the thouȝtis of ȝour hertis; ȝe slewen ful manye in this cytee, and ȝe fulfilliden 7 the weies of it with slayn men. Therfor the Lord seith thes thingis, ȝour slayn men, whom ȝe han put in mydil of it, thes ben flesh, and this is the caudrun; and Y 8 schal lede ȝou out of the mydil of it. ȝe dredden swerd, and I schal in lede swerd 9 vpon ȝou, seith the Lord God. And I schal caste ȝou out of the mydil of it, and Y schal ȝyue ȝou in to the hoond of enemyes, and Y schal make domys in ȝou. 10 ȝe shulen falle bi swerd, in the endis of Israel Y schal deme ȝou; and ȝe shulen 11 wite, for Y the Lord. This schal not be

Israel was on tho. Thilke is the beeste,²⁰ which Y siȝ vndur God of Israel, bisidis the flood Chobar. And Y vndurstood that foure cherubyns weren; foure faces *were*²¹ to oon, and foure wyngys *were*^d to oon; and the licsesse of the hond of a man *was* vndur the wyngis of tho. And the 22 licsesse of the cheris of tho *were* thilke cheeris whiche Y hadde seyn bisidis the flood Chobar; and the biholding of tho, and the fersnesse of ech, *was* to entre bifer his face.

CAP. XI.

And the spirit reiseide me, and ledde me 1 with ynne to the eest ȝate of the hous of the Lord, that biholdith the risynge of the sunne. And lo! in the entryng of the ȝate weren fyue and twenti men; and Y siȝ in the myddis of hem Jeconye, the sone of Assur, and Pheltie, the sone of Banaie, 2 princes of the puple. And he seide to me, 2 Thou, sone of man, these *ben* the men that thenken wickidnesse, and treten the worste counsel in this citee, and seien,³ Whether housis weren not bildid a while ago? this is the cawdrun, forsothe we *ben* 4 fleischis. Therfor profesie thou of hem, 4 profesie thou, sone of man. And the Spi- 5 rit of the Lord felle in to me, and seide to me, Speke thou, The Lord seith these thingis, ȝe hous of Israel spaken thus, and Y knewe the thouȝtis of ȝoure herte; ȝe 6 killiden ful many men in this citee, and ȝe filliden the weies therof with slayn men. Therfor the Lord seith these 7 thingis, ȝoure slayn men, whiche ȝe puttiden in the myddis therof, these ben 8 fleischis^e, and this is the cawdrun; and Y schal lede ȝou out of the myddis therof. ȝe dredden swerd, and Y schal brynge in 9 swerd on ȝou, seith the Lord God. And 9 Y schal caste ȝou out of the myddis therof, and Y schal ȝyue ȝou in to the hond of enemyes, and Y schal make domes in ȝou. Bi swerd ȝe schulen falle down, Y 10 schal deme ȝou in the endis of Israel; and

^u of Cobar G pr. m. H. ^v Om. G pr. m. H. ^w the hows GH.

^d Om. 1. ^e the fleischis 1.

to 3ou in to a caudrun, and 3e shulen not
be in to flesschis in the mydil of it; in the
12 endis of Israel Y shal deme 3ou, and 3e
shulen wite, for Y the Lord. For 3e walk-
iden not in myn heestis, and 3e^x didnen
not my domes, but 3e wrou3ten after the
domes of hethen men, that ben in 3our
13 cumpas. And it is don, whanne Y pro-
pheciiede, Pheltia, the sone of Banaye, is
deed; and Y felle down in to my face, cri-
nyng with greet voys, and seide, Allas!
allas! allas! Lord God^y, thou makist an
14 eendynge of the relíkis of Israel. And the
word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge,
15 Sone of man, thi bretheren, and thi nei3
men, and al the hows of Israel, and alle
men, to whom dwellers of Jerusalem
seiden, Goo 3e a way fer fro the Lord,
the loond is 3ouen to vs in to possessioun.
16 Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord, For
Y made hem fer in heithen men, and for
I scatride hem in loondis, Y shal be to
hem in to a litil halewinge, in loondis to
17 whom thei camen. Therfor spek thou,
Thes thingis seith the Lord God^z, Y shal
gadre 3ou fro puplis, and Y shal gadre 3ou
fro loondis, in whiche 3e ben scatered;
and Y shal 3yue to 3ou the loond of Is-
18 rael. And thei shulen go in thidir, and
thei shulen doo awei alle offensiouns, *'or*
greuyngis^a, and alle abomynaciouns of it
19 in the ilk day. And Y shal 3eue^b to hem
a newe herte, and I schal 3eue^b a new
spirit in the entrails of hem; and Y shal
take away a stonen herte of the fleshe^c
of hem, and Y shal 3yue to hem an
20 herte of flesh; that thei walken in myn
heestis, and kepen my domys, and doo
hem, and be to me in to puple, and I be
21 to hem in to God. Forsothe the herte
of whom goth after her offendyngis and
abomynaciouns, Y shal putte the weie of
hem in her heed, the Lord God seith.
22 And cherubyns liftiden vp her weengis,
and the^d wheelis with hem, and the glorie
23 of God of Israel was vpon^e hem. And

3e schulen wite, that Y am the Lord.
This schal not be to 3ou in to a cawdrun, 11
and 3e schulen not be in to fleischis in the
myddis therof; Y schal deme 3ou in the
endis of Israel, and 3e schulen wite, that 12
Y am the Lord. For 3e 3eden not in myn
heestis, and 3e dyden not my domes, but
3e wrou3ten bi the domes of hethene men,
that ben in 3oure cumpas. And it was 13
doon, whanne Y profesiede, Pheltie, the
sone of Banaie, was deed; and Y felle
down on my face, and Y criiede with greet
voys, and seide, Alas! alas! alas! Lord
God, thou makist endyng of the reme-
nauntis of Israel. And the word of the 14
Lord was maad to me, and he^g seide, Sone 15
of man, thi britheren^b, thi kynes men, and
al the hous of Israel, and alle men, to
whicheⁱ the dwelleris of Jerusalem seiden,
Go 3e awei fer fro the Lord, the lond is
3ouun to vs in to possessioun. Therfor 16
the Lord God seith these thingis, For Y
made hem fer among hethene men, and for
Y scatteride hem in londis, Y schal be to
hem in to a litil halewyng, in the londis
to whiche thei camen. Therfor speke 17
thou, The Lord God seith these thingis,
Y schal gadere 3ou fro puplis, and Y schal
gadere 3ou togidere fro londis, in whiche
3e ben scatered; and Y schal 3yue the
erthe of Israel to 3ou. And thei schulen 18
entre thidur, and schulen do awei alle
offenciouns, and alle abhomynaciouns ther-
of in that dai. And Y schal 3yue to hem 19
oon herte, and Y schal 3yue a newe spi-
rit in the entrails of hem; and Y schal
take awei a stony herte fro the fleisch of
hem, and Y schal 3yue to hem an herte of
fleisch; that thei go in my comaunde- 20
mentis, and kepe my domes, and do tho;
and that thei be in to a puple to me, and
Y be in to God to hem. But of whiche 21
the herte goith after her offendyngis and
abhomynaciouns, Y schal sette the weie
of hem in her heed, seith the Lord God.
And the cherubyns reisien her wyngis, 22

^x Om. A. ^y Om. A. ^z Om. A. ^a Om. H. ^b Om. A. ^c fleschs A. ^d Om. G pr. m. H.
^e on GH.

^g Om. I. ^b bretheren, thi bretheren A pr. m. v. ⁱ whom I.

the glorie of the Lord stiede vp off^f the mydil of the citee, and stode vpon the hille, that is at the eest of the citee^g.
 24 And the spirit reise me, and ledde me in to Caldea, to transmygracioun, in a visioun in the spirit of God; and the visioun which Y see³, is takyn away fro
 25 me. And Y spak to the transmygracioun, *or to the puple led out of her loond*, alle the wordis of the Lord, whiche he shewide to me.

CAP. XII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, thou dwellist in mydil of an hous terryng to wraththe, whiche han eyen for to see, and seen not, and eris for to here, and heren not; for it
 2 is 'an hous^h terryng to wraththe. Therfor thou, sone of man, mak to thee vessels of transmygracioun, *or passyng ouer*, and thou shalt passe ouer bfore hem bi dai; forsothe thou shalt passe ouer fro thi place to another place, in the sizt of hem, if perauenture thei biholden, for it
 3 is an hous terryng to wraththe. And thou shalt bere out thi vesselis, as vesselis of a man passyng ouer bi dai, in the sizt of hem; forsothe thou shalt gon out in the euenyng before hem, as a
 4 man passyng ouer goth out. Before the eyen of hem dig to theeⁱ a wal, and
 5 thou shalt gon out bi it in the sizt of hem. In shulders thou shalt be born, in derknessis thou shalt be born out; thou shalt hide thi face, and thou shalt not see the erthe, for Y 3aue thee a wondryng, signyfyng thing to comyng
 6 after to the hous of Israel. Therfor Y dide as the Lord comaundide me^j; Y brouzte forth my^l vesselis, as vesselis of a man passyng ouer bi dai, and in the euenyng I diggide a wal with hoond; in derknes Y wente out, and in shuldris Y
 7 am born, in the sizt of hem. And the

and the wheelis 3eden with tho, and the glorie of God of Israel was on^j tho. And
 23 the glorie of the Lord stiede fro the myddis of the citee, and stood on the hil, which is at the eest of the citee. And
 24 the spirit reise me, and brouzte me in to Caldee, to the passyng ouer, in visioun bi the spirit of God; and the visioun which Y hadde seyn, was takyn awey fro me. And Y spak to the passyng ouer
 25 alle the wordis of the Lord, whiche he hadde schewid to me.

CAP. XII.

And the word of the Lord was maad
 1 to me, and he seide, Sone of man, thou
 2 dwellist in the myddis of an hous terryng to wraththe, which han 3en to se, and seen not, and eeris to here, and heren not; for it is an hous terryng to wraththe. Therfor thou, sone of man,
 3 make to thee vessels of passing ouer, and thou schalt passe ouer bi dai bfor hem; forsothe thou schalt passe ouer fro thi place to another place, in the sizt of hem, if perauenture thei biholden, for it is an
 4 hous terryng to wraththe. And thou
 5 schalt bere withoutforth thi vessels, as the vessels of a man passyng ouer bi dai, in the sizt of hem; sotheli thou schalt go out in the euentid bfore hem, as a man passyng forth goth out. Bfore the 3en
 6 of hem digge the wal to thee, and thou schalt go out thorou³ it in the sizt of hem.
 7 Thou schalt be borun on schuldris, thou schalt be borun out in derknesse; thou schalt hile thi face, and thou schalt not see the erthe, for Y haue 3oue thee a^k signe of thing to comyng to the hous of Israel.
 8 Therfor Y dide as the Lord comaundide to me; Y brouzte forth my vessels, as the vessels^l of a man passyng ouer bi dai, and in the euentid Y diggide a wal to me with hond; Y 3ede out in derknesse, and Y was borun on schuldris, in the sizt of
 9 hem. And the word of the Lord was

^f on G pr. m. H. ^g Om. A. ^h a puple A. ⁱ Om. G pr. m. H. ^j to me G sec. m. ^l in A.

^j in I. ^k to be a I. ^l vessel N.

word of the Lord is maad to me erli,
 9 seiynge, Sone of man, whether^k the hous
 of Israel seide not to thee, an hous ter-
 10 ryngge to wraththe, What dost thou? Sey
 thou to hem, Thes thingis seith the Lord
 God, This charge vpon^l the duyk, which
 is in Jerusalem, and vpon alle the hows
 of Israel, that is in the mydil of hem.
 11 Therfor sey thou, Y 3our wondrynge; as
 Y dide, so it shal be don to hem; thei
 shulen goo in to transmygracioun, and in
 12 to caitiftee. And the duyk that is in
 the mydil of hem, shal be born in shul-
 dris, and shul goo out in derknes^m; thei
 shulen digge the wal, for to lede out hym;
 the face of hym shal be couered, that he
 13 see not with eye the erthe. And Y shal
 stretche out my nette vpon hym, and he
 shal be takyn in my nette; and I shal
 lede hym in to Babiloyne, in to the loond
 of Caldeis, and he shal not see it, and he
 14 shal dye there. And Y shal disparple in
 to eche wynd alle that ben about hym,
 his helpe, and his cumpanyes; and Y shal
 15 drawe out a swerd afterⁿ hem. And thei
 shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne Y
 shal scatere hem in^o heithen men, and
 16 I shal sowe hem abroad in loondis. And
 I shal leue of^p hem a fewe men fro
 swerd, and hungre, and pestilence, that
 thei telle out alle the greete trespassys of
 hem in heithen men, to whom thei shu-
 len entre; and thei shulen wite, for Y
 17 the Lord. And the word of the Lord is
 18 maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, ete
 thou thi breed in trublyngge to gidir, but
 and drynke thi water in hast and mourn-
 19 ynge. And thou shalt seie to the puple
 of the loond, Thes thingis seith the Lord
 God to hem that dwellen in Jerusalem,
 in the loond of Israel, Thei shulen eete
 her breed in bisynes^q, and thei shulen
 drynke her water in discoumfort; that
 the loond be desolatid fro his multitude,
 for the wickidnes of alle men that dwellen
 20 in it. And the citees that ben now enha-

maad eerli to me, and he seide, Sone of
 man, whether the hous of Israel, the hous
 terrynge to wraththe, seiden not to thee,
 What doist thou? Seie thou to hem, The
 Lord God seith these thingis, This bir-
 thun *is* on the duyk, which is in Jerusa-
 lem, and on al the hous of Israel, which
 is in the myddis of hem. Seie thou, Y
 11 *am* 3oure signe of thing to comynge; as
 Y dide, so it schal be don to hem; thei
 schulen go in to passynge^m ouer, and in
 to caitifte. And the duyk which is in the
 12 myddis of hem, schal be borun out on
 schuldris, and he schal go out in derk-
 nesse; thei schulen digge the wal, and
 lede hym out; his face schal be hilid, that
 he se not with ize the erthe. And Y schal
 13 stretche forth my net on hym, and he
 schal be takun in my net; and Y schal
 lede hym in to Babiloyne, in to the lond
 of Caldeis, and he schal not se that lond,
 and he schal die there. And Y schal
 14 scatere in to ech wynd alle men that ben
 aboute hym, his help, and hise cum-
 penyes; and Y schal draw out the swerd
 afir hemⁿ. And thei schulen wite, that
 15 Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal scatere
 hem among hethene men, and schal sowe
 hem abroad in londis. And Y schal leue
 16 of hem a fewe men fro swerd, and hungur,
 and pestilence, that thei telle out alle the
 grete trespassis of hem among hethene
 men, to which^o thei schulen entre; and
 thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.
 And the word of the Lord was maad to
 17 me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, ete
 thi breed in disturblyng, but also drynke
 thi water in haaste and mourening. And
 18 thou schalt seie to the puple of the lond,
 The Lord God seith these thingis to hem
 that dwellen in Jerusalem, in the lond of
 Israel, Thei schulen ete her breed in an-
 gwisch, and thei schulen drynke her watir
 in desolacioun; that the lond be desolat^p
 of his multitude, for the wickidnesse of
 alle men that dwellen ther ynne. And
 20

^k where G. wher H. ^l on G pr. m. H. ^m dercnessis GH. ⁿ vpon G pr. m. H. ^o in to G pr. m. H.
^p to A. ^q bisynessis H.

^m the passynge v. ⁿ him v. ^o whom x. ^p desolat, *ether left alone c et ceteri.*

bitid, shulen be desolat, and^r the loond deseert, and 3e shulen wite, for Y the
 21 Lord. And the word of the Lord is
 22 maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, what
 is this prouerbe, *or ensauple*, to 3ou in
 the loond of Israel, of men seiynge, Dais
 shulen be differrid, *or drawen*, in to
 loong, and eche visioun, *or prophecie*,
 23 shal perishe? Therfor sey thou to hem,
 Thes thingis seith the Lord God^a, Y shal
 make this prouerbe for to reste, nether
 opynli, *or euery where*, it shal be seide
 ouer in Israel; and spek thou to hem, for
 dais han neizede, and the word of eche
 24 visioun. Forsothe not eche visioun shal
 be void, nether dyuynacoun douty^t in the
 25 mydil of the sones of Israel; for Y the
 Lord shal speke what euere word Y shal
 speke, and it shal be don; it shal namore
 be drawen along, but in 3our dais, 3e hous
 terryng to wraththe, I shal speke a
 word, and I shal doo it, the Lord God
 26 seith. And the word of the Lord is maad
 27 to me, seiynge, Sone of man, loo! the
 hous of Israel, of men seiynge, The vi-
 sioun which^u this seeth, this prophecieth^v
 in to manye dais, and in to^w loonge tymes.
 28 Therfor sey thou to hem, Thes thingis
 seith the Lord God, Eche my word shal
 not be drawen alonge; the word that I
 shal^x speke, shal be fulfillid, the Lord
 God seith.

CAP. XIII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, prophecy thou
 to the prophetis of Israel that prophe-
 cien; and thou shalt sey to men pro-
 pheciynge of her herte, Here 3e the word
 3 of the Lord. Thes thingis seith the Lord
 God, Woo to vnwise^y prophetis, that suen
 4 her spirit, and seen no thing; as foxes in
 5 deseertis, Israel, thi prophetis weren. 3e
 stieden not vp forn azens, nether 3e azen
 puttiden a wal for the hous of Israel,

citees that ben now enhabitid, shulen be
 desolat, and the lond *shal be* forsakun^a;
 and 3e schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.
 And the word of the Lord was maad to 21
 me, and he seide, Sone of man, what is 22
 this prouerbe to 3ou, of men seiynge in
 the lond of Israel, Daies schulen be differ-
 rid in to long tyme, and ech visioun shal
 perische? Therfor seie thou to hem, The 23
 Lord God seith these thingis, Y schal
 make this prouerbe to cesse, and it schal
 no more be seid comynli in Israel; and
 speke thou to hem, that the daies han
 neizid, and ech word of profesie^r. For whi 24
 ech visioun schal no more be voide, nether
 bifor tellyng of thing to comynge *shal be*
 douteful in the myddis of the sones of
 Israel; for Y the Lord schal speke what 25
 euere word Y schal speke, and it schal be
 don; it schal no more be delaied, but in
 3oure daies, 3e hous terryng to wraththe,
 Y schal speke a word, and Y schal do that
word, seith the Lord God. And the word 26
 of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide,
 Thou, sone of man, lo! the hous of Israel, 27
 of hem that seien, The visioun which this
man seeth, *is* in to manye daies, and this
 man profesieth in to longe tymes. Therfor 28
 seie thou to hem, The Lord God seith
 these thingis, Ech word of me schal no
 more be deferrid; the word which Y schal
 speke, schal be fillid, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
 to me, and he seide, Sone of man, pro- 2
 fesie thou to the profetis of Israel that
 profesien; and thou schalt seie to hem that
 profesien of her herte, Here 3e the word of 3
 the Lord. The Lord God seith these thingis,
 Wo to the vnwise profetis, that suen her
 spirit, and seen no thing; Israel, thi pro- 4
 fetis weren as foxis in desert. 3e stieden 5
 not euene azens, nether azensettiden a wal
 for the hous of Israel, that 3e shulden

^r in A. ^s Om. A. ^t done H. ^u the whiche H. ^v prophecie A. ^w Om. GH. ^x Om. G pr. m. H.
^y the vnwyse GH.

^a desert, *ether forsakun* CEFHGKMN PQRSUXY. desert I.
 QRSUXY.

^r visioun, *ether [of I] profesie* CEFHGKMN P

that 3e stoden in bataile in dai of the
 6 Lord. Thei seen veyn thingis, and deuynen leesynge, seiynge, The Lord seith, whanne he sente not hem; and thei lastiden for to conferme the word^a. Whether 3e sawen not a veyn visioun, and 3e spaken a fals dyuynynge, and seiden, The Lord seith, whanne Y spak not?
 8 Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, For 3e spaken veyn thingis, and 3e sawen lesynge^a, therfor loo! Y to 3ou, seith the
 9 Lord God. And myn hoond schal be vpon the prophetis that seen veyn thingis, and deuynen leesynge; thei shulen not be in the counseyl of my puple, and thei shulen not be writyn in the writynge of the hous of Israel, nether thei shulen entre in to the loond of Israel; and 3e
 10 shulen wite, for I the Lord God. For that thei disseyueden my puple, seiynge, Pees, pees, and pees is not; and he bildide a wal, forsothe thei dawbeden, *or pargetiden*, it with fen with outen chaffis.
 11 Sey thou to hem that dawben, *or leyn mortar*, with outen temperynge, that it is to fallynge down; forsothe a reyn flowynge shal be, and Y shal 3yue ful grete stoonus fallynge down fro aboue, and a
 12 wynde of tempest distruyinge. Forsothe loo! the wal felle down. Whether^b it shal not be seid to 3ou, Wher is the^c dawbyng, that 3e dawbiden? Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, And Y shal make a spirit of tempestis for to breke out in myn indignacioun, and a reyn flowynge shal be in my woodnes^d, and grete stoonus in my wraththe in to wastynge. And Y shal distruye the wal, whom
 14 3e daubiden with outen temperynge, and I shal make it euen to the erthe; and the foundement of it shal be shewid, and it shal falle down, and it shal be wastid in the mydil of it; and 3e shulen wite, for Y
 15 am the Lord. And Y shal fulfille myn indignacioun in the wal, and in hem that dauben it with outen temperynge; and

stonde in batel in the dai of the Lord. Thei seen veyn thingis, and deuynen a leesynge, and seien, The Lord seith, whanne the Lord sente not hem; and thei continueden to conferme the word. Whether 3e seen not a veyn visioun, and spaken fals diuynynge, and seiden, The Lord seith, whanne Y spak not? Therfor the Lord
 8 God seith these thingis, For 3e spaken veyn thingis, and sien a leesynge, therfor lo! Y to 3ou, seith the Lord God. And
 9 myn hond schal be on the profetis that seen veyn thingis, and dyuynen a^{rr} leesynge^s; thei schulen not be in the counsel of my puple, and thei schulen not be writun in the scripture of the hous of Israel, nether thei schulen entre in to the lond of Israel; and 3e schulen wite, that
 10 Y am the Lord God. For thei disseyueden¹⁰ my puple, and seiden, Pees, pees, and no pees is; and it^{ss} bildide^t a wal, but thei pargitiden^{tt} it with fen with out chaffis. Seie thou to hem that pargiten^u with out
 11 temperure, that it schal falle down; for a strong reyn schal be flowynge, and I shal 3yue ful grete stoonus fallinge fro aboue, and Y schal 3yue a^v wynd of tempest that distrieth. For lo! the wal felle down.
 12 Whether it schal not be seid to 3ou, Where is the pargetyng, which 3e pargetiden^{vv}? Therfor the Lord God seith these thingis,
 13 And Y schal make the spirit of tempestis to breke out in myn indignacioun, and strong reyn flowynge in my strong veniaunce schal be, and greet stoonys in wraththe in to wastynge. And Y schal dis-
 14 trie the wal, which 3e pargetiden^w with out temperure, and Y schal make it euen with the^x erthe; and the foundement thereof schal be schewid, and it schal falle down, and it schal be wastid in the myddis therof; and 3e schulen wite, that Y am the Lord. And Y schal fille myn indig-
 15 nacioun in the wal, and in hem that pargeten it with out temperure; and Y schal seie to 3ou, The wal is not, and thei ben

^a Lord A. ^a lesyngys H. ^b Where GH. ^c this H. ^d woodnessis GH.

^{rr} Om. EL. ^s lesyngis E. ^{ss} he A *sup. ras. f sec. m.* I E. ^t bilde E. ^{tt} dedin pargete EP. ^u pargetiden IN. ^v Om. A. ^{vv} dede pargete E. ^w dede pargete E. *han pargetid* I. ^x Om. I.

Y shal seye to 3ou, The wal is not, and the prophetis of Israel that dauben it, 16 ben not, whiche prophecien to Jerusalem, and seen to it a visioun of pees, and pees 17 is not, the Lord God seith. And thou, sone of man, put thi face azens the dou3- tris of thi puple, whiche prophecien of her herte; and prophecie thou of hem, 18 and sey, Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Woo to hem that sewen to gidre cusshens vndir eche cubit of hoond^e, and maken pilewis vnder the heed of eche age, for to take, or disseyue, soulis^f; and whanne thei token the soulis of my puple, thei quyckeneden the soulis of hem. 19 And thei defouliden me to my puple, for an handful of barli, and^g a gobet of breed, that thei slewen soulis whiche dien not, and quikeneden soulis whiche lyuen not, liynge to my puple, hyleeuyng to lees- 20 yngis. For this thing the Lord God seith, Loo! Y to 3oure cusshens, bi whom 3e taken soulis fleyng; and Y shal al to-breke hem of 3our armes, and Y shal dismytte, or delyuere, the soulis for to flee, 21 whom 3e taken. And Y shal breke 3our pilewis, and Y shal delyuere my puple fro 3our hoond; nether thei shulen be ouer in 3our hoondis, for to be robbid; 22 and 3e shulen wite, for Y the Lord. For that that 3e maden^h leeizyngli the herte of the iust man for to mourne, whom Y made not sorewful; and 3e coumfortiden the hoondis of the vnpitous man, that he shulde not turne a3en fro^{hh} hys yuel weie, 23 and shulde lyue. Therfor 3e shulen not see veyn thingis, and 3e shulen namore deuyne dyuynacions; and I shal delyuere my puple fro 3oure hoond, and 3e shulen wite, for Y the Lord.

CAP. XIV.

1 And men of the eldris of Israel camen 2 to me, and saten before me. And the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, 3 Sone of man, thes men han putte her vncleennes in her hertis, and han sette the

not, that pargeten^y it, the profetis of Is- 16 rael, that profesien to^z Jerusalem, and seen to it the visioun of pees, and pees is not, seith the Lord God. And thou, sone of 17 man, sette thi face azens the dou3tris of thi puple, that profesien of her herte; and^a profesie thou on hem, and seie thou, 18 The Lord God seith these thingis, Wo to hem that sowen togidre cusshens vndur ech cubit of hond, and maken pilewis vndur the heed of ech age, to take soulis; and whanne thei disseyueden the soulis of my puple, thei quykenyden the soulis of hem. And thei defouliden me to my pu- 19 ple, for an handful of barli, and for a gobet of breed, that thei schulden sle soulis that dien not, and quykene soulis that lyuen not; and thei lieden to my puple, bileuyng to leesyngis. For this thing the 20 Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y to 3oure cusshens, bi whiche 3e disseyuen soulis fliynge^b; and Y schal al to-breke tho fro 3oure armes, and Y schal delyuere soulis which 3e disseyuen, soulis to fle. And Y schal al to-breke 3oure pilewis, 21 and Y schal delyuere my puple fro 3oure hond^c; and thei schulen no more be in 3oure hondis, to be robbid; and 3e schulen wite, that Y am the Lord. For that that 22 3e maden falsli the herte of a iust man to morene, whom Y made not sori; and 3e coumfortiden the hondis of a wickid man, that he schulde not turne a3en fro his yuel weie, and lyue. Therfor 3e schulen not se 23 veyn thingis, and 3e schulen no more dyuyn false dynynyngis; and Y schal delyuere my puple fro 3oure hond, and 3e schulen wite, that Y am the Lord.

CAP. XIV.

And men of the eldris of Israel camen 1 to me, and saten bifor me. And the word 2 of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Sone of man, these men han set her vn- 3 clennesses in her hertis, and han set stid-

^e the hond H. ^f soule A. ^g or A. ^h seiden A. ^{hh} for A.

^y han pargetid I. ^z in NS sec. m. ^a Om. IN. ^b stiynge N. ^c lond CEGHIK pr. m. MNQsx sec. m.

slaundre of her wickidnes azens her face.
 Whether Y axyd, shal answeare to hem?
 4 For this thing spek thou to hem, and
 thou shalt seie to hem, Thes thingis seith
 the Lord God, A man, a man of the hous
 of Israel, that hath putte his vncleennes in
 his herte, and hath sette the slaundre of
 his wickidnes azens his face, and shal
 come to the prophete, axynge bi hym me,
 Y the Lord shal answeare to hym in the
 5 multitude of his vncleennes; that the hous
 of Israel be takyn in her herte, in whiche
 thei wenten away fro me in alle her
 6 ydolis. Therfor sey thou to the hous of
 Israel, Thes thingis seith the Lord God,
 Be ^{3e} conuertid, and departe ^{3e} fro ^{3oure}
 ydolis, and turne awei ^{3oure} facis fro
 7 alle ^{3oure} defoulyngis. For a man, a
 man of the hous of Israel, and of prose-
 litis, *or men new comen to the lawe of*
Jewis, who euer shal be cumlynge, *or*
gest, in Israel, if he shal be alienyd fro
 me, and shal putte his ydolis in his herte,
 and shal sette the slaundre of his wick-
 idnes azens his face, and shal come to the
 prophete, that he axe bi hym me, I the
 Lord shal answeare to hym bi my silf.
 8 And Y shal putte my face vpon that man,
 and I shal make hym in to ensauple,
 and in to a prouerbe, and I shal distruye
 him fro the mydil of my puple; and ^{3e}
 9 shulen wite, for I the Lord. And whanne
 the prophete shal erre, and shal speke a
 word, Y the Lord shal disseyue the ilk
 prophete; and I shal stretche out myn
 hoond on him, and shal doo hym away
 10 of the mydil of my puple of Israel. And
 thei shulen bere her wickidnes; aftir the
 wickidnes of the man axinge, so the
 11 wickidnes of the prophete shal be; that
 the hows of Israel erre namore fro me,
 nether be defoulid in alle his trespass-
 yngis, but be to me in to a puple, and
 Y be to hym in to a God, the Lord of
 12 oostis seith. And the word of the Lord
 13 is maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man,

fastli the slaundre of her wickidnesse
 azens her face. Whether Y ^{that am^d} axid,
 schal answeare to hem? For this thing⁴
 speke thou to hem, and thou schalt seie
 to hem, These thingis seith the Lord God,
 A man, a man of the hous of Israel, that
 settith hise vncleennesis in his herte, and
 settith stidfastli the slaundre of his wick-
 idnesse azens his face, and cometh to the
 profete, and axith me bi hym, Y the Lord
 schal answeare to hym in the multitude of
 hise vncleennesis; that the hous of Israel⁵
 be takun in her herte, bi which thei ^{3eden}
 awei fro me in alle her idols. Therfor⁶
 seie thou to the hous of Israel, The Lord
 God seith these thingis, Be ^{3e} conuertid,
 and go ^{3e} awei fro ^{3oure} idols, and turne
 awei ^{3oure} faces fro alle ^{3oure} filthis. For⁷
 whi a man, a man of the hous of Israel,
 and of conuersis, who euer is a comelyng
 in Israel, if he is alienyd fro me, and set-
 tith hise idols in his herte, and settith
 stidfastli the slaundir of his wickidnesse
 azens his face, and he cometh to the pro-
 fete, to axe me bi hym, Y the Lord schal
 answeare hym bi my silf. And Y schal⁸
 sette my face on that man, and Y schal
 make hym in to ensauple, and in to a
 prouerbe, and Y schal leese hym fro the
 myddis of my puple; and ^{3e} schulen wite,
 that Y ^{am} the Lord. And whanne a pro-⁹
 fete errith, and spekith a word, Y the
 Lord schal disseyue that profete; and Y
 schal stretche forth myn hond on hym,
 and Y schal do hym awei fro the myddis
 of my puple Israel. And thei schulen¹⁰
 bere her wickidnesse; bi the wickidnesse
 of the axere, so the wickidnesse of the
 profete schal be; that the hous of Israel¹¹
 erre no more fro me, nether be defoulid
 in alle her trespassyngis; but that it be
 in to a puple to me, and Y be in to a^e God
 to hem, seith the Lord of oostis. And the¹²
 word of the Lord was maad to me, and
 he seide, Sone of man, whanne the lond¹³
 synneth azens me, that it trespassynge do

¹ Om. A.^d Om. ceteri. ^e Om. ceteri.

whanne the erthe shal synne azens me,
that it trespassynge trespase, I shal
stretche out myn hoond vpon^k it, and I
shal togidir trede the 3eerd of breed of
it; and I shal sende in to it hungre, and
I shal slee of it man and werk beest.
14 And if thes three men, Noe, Danyel, and
Job, shulen be in the mydil of it, thei bi
her riztwisnes shulen delyuere her soulis,
15 the Lord God of oostis seith. That and^l
if I shal lede yn werst beestis vpon^m the
loond, that I waste it, and it shal be vn-
waied, *or wayles*, for that there is no
16 passynge bi it for beestis, and thes thre
men that shulen be in it, the Lord God
seith, Y lyue, for nether thei shulen dely-
uere sonnes, nether dou3ters, but thei aloon
shulen be delyuered; forsothe the loond
17 shal be desolat. Or if I shal lede yn a
sward vpon that loond, and Y shal sey to
the sward, Passe bi the loond, and I shal
18 slee man and beest of it, and thes three
men shulen be in the mydil of it, I lyue,
seith the Lord God, thei shulen not dely-
uere sonnes nethir dou3tris, but thei aloon
19 shulen be delyuered. And forsothe if Y
shal sende yn vponⁿ that loond pestilence,
and I^o shal sheede out myn indignacioun
vpon^p it in blood, that Y doo awei fro it
20 man and beest, and Noe, Danyel, and
Job, shulen be in the mydil of it, Y lyue,
seith the Lord, for thei shulen not dely-
uere sone and dou3ter, but thei aloon bi
her riztwisnes shulen delyuere her soulis.
21 For thes thingis seith the Lord God, That
and if I shal sende in to Jerusalem my
foure werst domys, sward, and hungre,
and yuel beestis, and pestilence, that Y
22 slee man and beest of it, and netheles
sauynge of men ledynge out sonys and
dou3tris shal be laft in it. Loo! thei
shulen goo out to 3ou, and 3e shulen see
the weie of hem, and the fyndyngis of
hem; and 3e shulen be coumfortid on
the yuel which Y haue ledde in to Je-
rusalem, in alle thingis whiche I haue

trespas, Y schal stretche forth myn hond
on it, and Y schal al to-breke the 3erde of
breed therof; and Y schal sende hungur in
to it, and Y schal sle of it man and beeste.
And if these thre men Noe, Danyel, and 14
Job, ben in the myddis therof, thei bi her
riztfulnesse schulen delyuere her soulis,
seith the Lord of oostis. That if also Y 15
brynge in worste beestis on the lond, that
Y distrie it, and if it is with out weie, for
that no passer is for the beestis, and 16
these thre men, that *'ben bifore seid'*, ben
therynne, Y lyue, seith the Lord God, for
thei schulen nethir delyuere sonnes, nether
dou3tris, but thei aloone schulen be deli-
uered; forsothe the lond schal be maad
desolat. Ethir if Y brynge in sward on 17
that lond, and Y seie to the sward, Passe
thou thorou3 the lond, and Y sle of it man
and beeste, and these thre men ben in 18
the myddis therof, Y lyue, seith the Lord
God, that thei schulen not delyuere sonnes
nether dou3tris, but thei aloone schulen
be delyuered. Forsothe if Y brynge in 19
also pestilence on that lond, and Y schede
out myn indignacioun on it in blood, that
Y do awei fro it man and beeste, and 20
Noe, and Danyel, and Joob, ben in the
myddis therof, Y lyue, seith the Lord God,
for thei schulen not delyuere a sone and a
dou3ter, but thei bi her riztfulnesse schulen
delyuere her soulis. For the Lord God 21
seith these thingis, That thou3 Y sende in
my foure worste domes, sward, and hun-
gur, and yuele beestis, and pestilence, in
to Jerusalem, that Y sle of it man and
beeste, netheles saluacioun of hem that 22
leden out sonnes and dou3tris, schal be left
ther ynne. Lo! thei schulen go out to^b
3ou, and 3e schulen se the weie of hem,
and the fyndyngis of hem; and 3e schulen
be coumfortid on the yuel, which Y brou3te
in on Jerusalem, in alle thingis whiche Y
bar in on it. And thei schulen coumforte 23
3ou, whanne 3e schulen se the weie of hem
and the fyndyngis of hem; and 3e schulen

^k on G pr. m. H. ^l Om. A. ^m on G pr. m. H. ⁿ on G pr. m. H. ^o Om. A. ^p on GH.

^f Om. 1. *ben forseyd* s. ^g Om. N. ^h of N.

23 brouȝte in on it. And thei shulen confort ȝou, whanne ȝe shulen see the weie of hem, and the fyndyngis of hem; and ȝe shulen knowe, for not idely Y dide alle thingis, what euere Y dide in it, seith the Lord almyȝti.

CAP. XV.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, what shal be
don to tree of the viyn, of alle trees of
the wodis, that ben among the trees of
3 woodis? Whether^a a tree shal be takyn
of it, that werk be maad? or a lital paal
shal be forchid of it, that eny maner ves-
4 sel hange in it? Lo! it is ȝouun to the
fier in to meet; the fier hath waastid eche
either parti^r of it, and the mydil of it is
brouȝt in to a^s deed broond; whether it
5 shal be profitable to werk? Ȝhe, whanne
it was hool, it was not able to werk; hou
myche more whanne fier hath deuouride
and brende to gidre, no thing of werk
6 shal be maad of it? Therfor thes thingis
seith the Lord God, Hou the tree of viyn
amonge the^t trees of woodis, whom I ȝaue
to fier for to deuoure, so Y shal bitake
7 the dwellers of Jerusalem, and I shal
putte my face in to hem. Thei shulen
gon out of the fier, and the fier shal waaste
hem; and ȝe shulen wite, for I the Lord,
whanne Y shal putte my face in hem,
8 and shal ȝyue the loond vnwaied and desolat,
for that that thei weren trespassours,
seith the Lord God.

CAP. XVI.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad
2 to me, seiynge, Sone of man, mak thou
knowyn to Jerusalem her abomynaciouns;
3 and thou shalt seie, Thes thingis seith
the Lord God. Jerusalem, thi roote and
thi generacioun, of the loond of Chanaan;
thi fader Amorrei, and thi moder Cethei.
4 And whanne thou art born, in the dai of

knowe, that not in veyn Y dide alle thingis,
what euer thingis Y dide there ynne, seith
the Lord almyȝti.

CAP. XV.

And the word of the Lord was maad to
1 me, and he seide, Sone of man, what schal
2 be don to the tre of a vyne, of alle the
trees of woodis, that ben among the trees
of woodis? Whether tymbreⁱ schal be
3 takun therof, that werk be maad? ether
shal a stake be maad therof, that ony
vessel hange ther onne? Lo! it is ȝouun
4 in to mete; fier wastide euer eithir part
therof, and the myddis therof is dryuun
in to deed^l sparcle; whether it schal be
profitable to werk? Ȝhe, whanne it was
5 hool, it was not couenable to werk; hou
myche more whanne fier hath deuourid,
and hath brent it, no thing of werk schal
be maad therof? Therfor the Lord God
6 seith thes thingis, As the tre of a vyne
is among the trees of woodis, which Y ȝaf
to fier to deuoure, so Y ȝaf the dwelleris
of Jerusalem, and Y schal sette my face
7 azens hem. Thei schulen go out of the fier,
and fier schal waaste hem; and ȝe schulen
wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal
sette my face azens hem, and schal ȝyue
8 the lond with out weie and desolat, for
thei weren trespassours, seith the Lord
God^m.

CAP. XVI.

And the word of the Lord was maad
1 to me, and he seide, Sone of man, make
2 thouⁿ knowun to Jerusalem her abhomy-
naciouns; and thou schalt seie, The Lord
3 God seith these thingis. A! thou Jerusa-
lem, thi rote and thi generacioun *is* of the
lond of Canaan; thi fadir *is* Amorrei, and
thi moder *is* Cetei. And whanne thou were
4

^a Where GH. ^r part GH. ^s Om. H. ^t Om. GH.

ⁱ tree, ether [or ERY] tymbre CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY.

ⁿ Om. IN.

^l a deed A sec. m. IKS sec. m.

^m Om. N.

thi birth thi naule is not before kit, and in water thou art not wasshen in to helth, nether bi salt saltid, nether wlapid in
 5 clothis. Myn eye sparide not vpon^u thee, that I shulde doo to thee oon of thes thingis, Y hauynge mercie of thee; but thou art cast forth vpon the face of erthe, in the^v castynge awei of thi soule, in the
 6 dai in which thou art born. Forsothe Y passinge bi thee, saw³ thee for to be defoulid in thi blood; and I seide to thee, whanne thou were in thi blood, Lyue
 thou; sotheli Y seide to thee in thi blood,
 7 Lyue thou. And I 3aue thee multipliede as buriounynge, *or seed*, of the^w feeld, and thou art multiplied, and maad greet; and thou wentist in, and thou parfietli camest to wommanus aparaille; thi breestis, *or*
teetis, waxeden greete, and thin heer buriounede; and thou was nakid, and ful of
 8 confusioun. And I passide bi thee, and Y see³ thee, and loo! thi tyme, the tyme^x of louers; and Y stretchide forth my clothinge vpon thee, and Y hilide thi shame. And Y swore to thee, and Y^y entride in
 couenaunt with thee, seith the Lord God,
 9 and thou art maad boundyn to me. And I wasshide thee in water, and Y clenside thi blood of thee, and anoyntide thee with
 10 oyle. And I clothide thee with clothis of dyuerse colours, and shodde thee with iasynct; and I girde thee with bijs, *or*
 11 *whijt silk*; and I clothide thee with sotil thingis, and Y ournede thee with ournementis.
 12 And I 3af ryngis in thin hoondis, and a bee about thi necke; and I 3aue a reng vpon thi mouth, and ceerclis to thin eeris, and a coroun of fayrnes in thi heed.
 13 And thou art ourned with gold and siluer, and thou art^z clothid with bijs and with clooth many foold steyned with rounde ymagis, and with manye colours. Thou hast etyn flour, and hony, and oyle, and myche thou art maad fayr; and thou
 14 profitidist in to a rewme, and thi name is gon out in to hethen men for thi fair-

borun, thi nawle was not kit awei in the dai of thi birthe, and thou were not waischun in watir in to helthe, nethir saltid with salt, nether wlapid in clothis. An i3e sparide not on thee, that it^o hau-
 5 ynge merci on thee, dide to thee oon of these thingis; but thou were cast forth on the face of erthe, in the castynge out of thi soule, in the dai in which thou were borun. Forsothe Y passide bi thee, and
 6 Y si3 thee defoulid in thi blood; and Y seide to thee, whanne thou were in thi blood, Lyue thou; sotheli Y seide to thee in thi blood, Lyue thou. Y 3af thee mul-
 7 tiplied as the seed of a feeld, and thou were multiplied, and maad greet; and thou entridist, and camest fulli to wymmens ournyng; thi tetis wexiden greet, and thin heer wexide; and thou were nakid, and ful of schenschi-
 8 pe. And Y passide bi thee, and Y si3 thee, and lo! thi tyme, the tyme of louyeris; and Y spreadde abroad my clothing on thee, and Y hilide thi schenschi-
 9 pe. And Y swoor to thee, and Y made a^p couenaunt with thee, seith the Lord God, and thou were maad *a wijf* to me. And Y waischide thee in water, and Y
 9 clenside awei thi blood fro thee, and Y^q anoyntide thee with oile. And Y clothide
 10 thee with clothis of dyuerse colours, and Y schodde thee in iacynct, and Y girde thee with bijs; and Y clothide thee with
 11 sutil thingis, and Y ournede thee with ournement. And Y 3af bies in thin
 12 hondis, and a wrethe aboute thi necke; and Y 3af a ryng on thi mouth, and cerclis to thin eeris, and a coroun of fairnesse in thin heed. And thou were ourned with
 13 gold and siluer, and thou were clothid with bijs and ray cloth with rounde ymagis, and many colours. Thou etist^r cleene^s flour of wheete, and hony, and oile, and thou were maad fair ful greetli; and thou encreessidist in to a rewme, and thi
 14 name 3ede out in to hethene men for thi fairnesse; for thou were perfit in my fair-

^u on G pr. m. H. ^v Om. GH. ^w Om. GH. ^x Om. A. ^y Om. G pr. m. H. ^z Om. A.

^o I I sec. m. sup. ras. ^p Om. IN. ^q Om. N. ^r etidist K. ^s of clene I pr. m. N.

nes; and thou wast perfit in my fairnes, which Y hadde putte vpon^a thee, seith the Lord. And thou hauynge trust in thi fairnes, hast don fornyacioun in thi name; and thou hast putte thi fornyacioun to eche man passynge, that thou were maad his. And thou takynge of my clothynge, madist to thee heȝ thingis, on eche side sewide togidre; and thou hast don fornicacoun vpon^b hem, as it was not don *bifore*, nether is to beynge^c.
 17 And thou tokist^d the vessels of thi fairnes, of my gold and of my siluer, whiche Y ȝaue to thee; and thou madist to thee ymagis of men, and didist^e fornyacioun
 18 in hem. And thou tokist thi clothynge of manye colours, and thou was^f clothid in hem; and thou puttidist myn oyle and my tymyame, or *encense*, in the sizt of
 19 hem. And my breed, which I ȝaue to thee, flour, and oyle, and honye, with whiche Y nurschide thee, thou puttidist in the sizte of hem, in to odour of swetnes; and it is don, seith the Lord God.
 20 And thou tokist thi sones and douȝtris, whom thou gendredist to me, and offredist to hem, for to be deuourid. Whether
 21 thi fornyacioun is lital? Thou offredist my sones, and ȝauest hem, togider halew-
 22 ynge to hem. And after alle thin abomynaciouns and fornyaciouns, thou hast not mynde of the dais of thi ȝongth, whanne thou was^g nakid, and ful of confusioun,
 23 thou was^g defoulid in thi blood. And woo, woo bifelle to thee, after al thi malice, seith the Lord God. And thou hast bildid to thee a bordel hous, and madist
 24 to thee hordom in alle stretis. At eche heed of^h weie thou bildidistⁱ a tokne of thi hordom, and madist thi fayrnes abomynable; and departidist thi feet to eche man passynge, and multipliedist alle thi
 26 fornyaciouns. And thou didist fornyacioun with sones of Egypt, thi neiȝboris of grete flesschis, and multipliedist

nesse which Y hadde sett on thee, seith the Lord God. And thou haddist trist in¹⁵ thi fairnesse, and didist fornicacioun in thi name; and thou settidist^t forth thi fornicacioun to ech that passide forth, that thou schuldist be maad his. And thou tokist¹⁶ of my clothis, and madist to thee hiȝ thingis set aboute on ech side; and thou didist fornyacioun on tho, as it was not don, nether schal be don. And thou tokist¹⁷ the vessels of thi fairnesse, of my gold and of my siluer, which Y ȝaf to thee; and thou madist to thee ymagis of men, and didist fornyacioun in tho. And thou¹⁸ tokist thi clothis of many colours, and thou were clothid in tho; and thou settidist myn oile and myn encence in the sizt of tho. And thou settidist my breed,¹⁹ which Y ȝaf to thee, flour of wheete, and oile, and hony, bi whiche Y nurschide thee, in the sizt of tho, in to odour of swetnesse; and it was don, seith the Lord God. And²⁰ thou tokist thi sones and thi douȝtris, whiche thou gendridist to me, and offridist to tho, for to be deuourid. Whether thi fornicacioun is lital? Thou offridist my²¹ sones, and ȝauest hem, and halewidist to tho. And aftir alle thin abhomynaciouns²² and fornicaciouns, thou bithouȝtist not on the daies of thi ȝong wexynge age, whanne thou were nakid, and ful of schenschiȝe, and *were* defoulid in thi blood. And after²³ al thi malice, wo, wo bifelle to thee, seith the Lord God. And thou bildidist to thee²⁴ a bordel hous, and madist to thee a place of hordom in alle stretis. At ech heed of²⁵ the weie thou bildidist a signe of thin hordom, and madist thi fairnesse abhomynable; and thou departidist thi feet to ech man passynge forth, and multepliedist thi fornicaciouns. And thou didist fornicacioun with the sones of Egypt, thi neiȝboris of grete fleischis, and thou multepliedist thi fornicacioun^u, to terre me to wraththe. Lo! Y schal stretch forth myn²⁷

^a on G pr. m. H. ^b Om. G pr. m. H. ^c bigynne A. ^d toke GH. ^e thou didist H. ^f were H.
^g wast G pr. m. were H. ^h Om. H. ⁱ bildist H.

^t settist I. ^u fornicaciouns IN.

thi fornyacioun, for to terre me to
 27 wratthe. Loo! Y shal hoolde forth
 myn hoond vpon^k thee, and Y shal take
 away thi iustifynge; and Y shal 3yue
 thee in to the hoondis of the hatynge
 thee, of the dou3tris of Palestyn, that
 28 shamen in thi cursid weie. And thou
 hast don fornyacioun in the sones of
 Assiriens, for that thou was not 3it ful-
 fillid; and after that thou didist fornyca-
 29 cioun, nether so thou art swagid. And
 thou multipliedst thi fornyacioun in
 the loond of Canaan with Caldeis, and
 30 nether so thou art fulfillid. In what
 thing shal Y clense thin herte, seith the
 Lord God, whanne thou dost alle thes
 werkis of a^l womman hoore, and bold to
 31 hordom? For thou hast forgid thi bordel
 hous in the heed of eche weie, and thou
 madist thin heize thingis^m in eche strete;
 nether thou art maad as an hoore anoyed,
 32 *or ful of werynes*, encresynge prijs, but
 as a womman auowtresse, the whiche
 33 ledith in aliens vpon hir husboond^o. To
 alle hooris hijris ben 3ouen, forsothe thou
 hast 3ouun hijre, *or mede*, to alle thi
 louteris; and thou 3auist to hem, that thei
 shulden entre to thee on eche side, for to
 34 doo fornyacioun with thee. And it is
 don in thee a3en the custom of wymmen
 in thi fornyaciouns, and after thee shal
 not be fornyacioun; forsothe in that
 thing that thou 3auest hijris, and resseyu-
 edist not hijris, the^p contrarie is don in
 35 thee. Therfor, thou hoore, here the word
 36 of the Lord. Thes thingis seith the Lord
 God, For thi monee is shed out, and thin
 euy^l fame is shewid in thi fornyaciouns
 vpon^q thi louteris and vpon^q thin idolis of
 thin abomynaciouns, in the blood of thi
 sones, whom thou hast 3ouen to hem;
 37 loo! Y shal gedre alle thi louteris, with
 whom thou art meynd, and alle men whom
 thou louedist, with alle men whom thou
 hatidist; and Y shal gadre hem vpon thee
 on eche side, and Y shal make nakid thin

hond on thee, and Y schal take awei thi
 iustifyng; and Y schal 3yue thee in to the
 soulis of hem that haten thee, of the dou3-
 tris of Palestyns, that ben aschamed in thi
 weie ful of greet trespas. And thou didist 28
 fornyacioun with the sones of Assiriens,
 for thou were not fillid 3it; and after that
 thou didist fornyacioun, nether so thou
 were fillid. And thou multipliedst thi 29
 fornyacioun in the lond of Canaan with
 Caldeis, and nether so thou were fillid.
 In what thing schal Y clense thin herte, 30
 seith the Lord God, whanne thou doist
 alle these werkis of a womman an hoore,
 and gredi axere? For thou madist thi 31
 bordel hous in 'the heed of ech^v weie, and
 thou madist thin hij3 place in ech street;
 and thou were not maad as an hoore ful
 of anoiyng^w, encree synge prijs, but as 32
 a womman auowtresse, that bryngith in
 aliens on hir hosebonde. Hiris ben 3ouun 33
 to alle hooris, but thou hast 3oue hire to
 alle thi louteris; and thou 3auest to hem,
 that thei schulden entre to thee on ech
 side, to do fornyacioun with thee. And 34
 it was don in thee a3ens the custom of
 wymmen in thi fornyaciouns, and forni-
 cioun schal not be after thee; for in that
 that thou 3auest hiris, and tokist not hiris,
 the contrarie was don in thee. Therfor, 35
 thou hoore, here the word of the Lord.
 The Lord God seith these thingis, For thi 36
 riches is sched out, and thi schenscipe
 is schewid in thi fornyaciouns on thi
 louteris, and on the idols of thin abho-
 mynaciouns^x, in the blood of thi sones,
 whiche thou 3auest to hem; lo! Y schal 37
 gadere to gidere alle thi^y louteris, with
 whiche thou were meddlid, and alle men
 whiche thou louedist, with alle men whiche
 thou hatidist; and Y schal gadere hem on
 thee on ech side, and Y schal make nakid
 thi schenscipe bifore hem, and thei schu-
 len se al thi filthe. And Y schal deme thee 38
 bi the domes of auoutressis, and schedinge
 out blood; and Y schal 3yue thee in to 39

^k on G pr. m. H. ^l Om. H. ^m thinge GH. ^o housholde GH. ^p and the A. ^q on G pr. m. H.

^v ech heed of the I. ^w anoyntinge M. noyinge U. ^x abhomynacioun S. ^y the I.

yuel fame before hem, and alle shulen
 38 see thi filth. And I shal deme thee with
 domes of auoutressis, and of shedynge
 39 blood; and Y shal 3yue thee in to blood
 of woodnesse, and enuye. And Y shal 3eue
 thee in to the hoondis of hem, and thei
 shulen distruye thi bordel hous, and thei
 shulen distruye thin hoore hous; and thei
 shulen make thee nakid fro thi clothis,
 and shulen take awei the vesselis of thi
 feirnes, and thei shulen forsake thee
 40 nakid, and ful of yuel fame. And thei
 shulen lede to vpon thee a multitude,
 and thei shulen stoon thee with stoonus,
 and thei shulen slee thee with her
 41 swerdis. And thei shulen togider brenne
 thin housis in fier, and thei shulen doo
 domys in thee, in the eyen of ful manye
 wymmen; and thou shalt faile, *or ceese*,
 for to do fornyacioun, and thou shalt
 42 namore 3yue hijris. And myn indigna-
 cioun shal reste in thee, and my loue
 shal be takyn awei fro thee; and I shal
 reste, nether Y shal be wrooth more,
 43 for that that thou haddist not mynde
 of the dais of thi 3ongth, and hast terrid
 me to wraththe in alle these^r thingis.
 Wherfor and Y haue 3ouen thi weies in
 thin heed, seith the Lord God, and Y
 dide not after thi greet trespassis, in alle
 44 thin^a abomynaciouns. Loo! eche man
 that seith euery where, *or comounli*, a
 prouerbe in thee, shal take it to, seiynge,
 45 As the modir, so and hir dou3ter. Thou
 art the do3ter of thi modir, which castide
 awei hir husboond and hir sones; and
 the sister of thi sistris, whiche castiden
 away her husbondis and her sones. Thi
 modir Cethei, and thi fader Ammorrei;
 46 and thi more sister Samarie, she and
 hir dou3tris, that dwellen at thi left side.
 Forsothe thi sister lasse than thou, that
 dwellith at thi ri3t half, Sodom and hir^t
 47 dou3tris. But nether thou hast gon in
 the weies of hem, nether thou hast don
 after her^u grete trespassis; alмест a litil

the^z blood of strong veniaunce, and of fer-
 uour. And Y schal 3yue thee in to the
 hondis of hem, and thei schulen destrie
 thi bordel hous, and thei schulen destrie
 the place of thin hordom; and thei schulen
 make thee nakid of thi clothis, and thei
 schulen take awei the vessels of thi fair-
 nesse, and thei schulen forsake thee nakid,
 and ful of schenschiye. And thei schulen
 40 bringe on thee a multitude, and thei schu-
 len stoon thee with stoonys, and thei
 schulen sle thee with her swerdis. And
 41 thei schulen brenne thin housis with fier,
 and thei schulen make domes in thee, bi-
 for the i3en of ful many wymmen; and
 thou schalt ceese to do fornyacioun, and
 thou schalt no more 3yue hiris. And myn
 42 indignacioun schal reste in thee, and my
 feruent loue schal be takyn awei fro thee;
 and Y schal reste, and Y schal no more
 be wrooth, for thou haddist not mynde^z
 on the daies of thi 3ong wexynge age,
 and thou terridist me to ire in alle these
 thingis. Wherfor and Y 3af thi weies in
 thin heed, seith the Lord God, and Y^a
 dide not aftir thi grete trespassis, in alle
 these thin abhomynaciouns. Lo! ech man⁴⁴
 that seith a prouerbe comynli, schal take
 it in thee, and schal seie, As the modir, so⁴⁵
 and the dou3tir of hir. Thou art the dou3-
 ter of thi modir, that castide away hir
 hosebonde and hir sones; and thou art the
 sister of thi sistris, that castiden awei
 her hosebondis and her sones. Thi modir
 is Cetei, and thi fadir is Ammorrei; and⁴⁶
 thi gretter sister is Samarie, sche^b and hir
 dou3tris, that dwellen at thi left side; but
 thi sistir lesse than thou, that dwellith at
 thi ri3t side, is Sodom, and hir dou3tris.
 But thou 3edist not in the weies of hem,⁴⁷
 nethir thou didist aftir the grete tres-
 passis of hem; hast thou do alмест a litil
 lesse cursidere dedis than thei, in alle thi
 weies? Y lyue, seith the Lord God, for⁴⁸
 Sodom, thi sister, did not, sche and hir
 dou3tris, as thou didist, and thi dou3tris.

^r Om. A. ^s Om. G pr. m. H. ^t his A. ^u his A.

^z Om. IN. ^a Om. N. ^b and sche IN.

lesse gretter trespassis thou hast don
 48 than thei, in alle thi weies. Y lyue, seith
 the Lord God, for Sodom, thi sister, dide
 not, she and hir dou3tris, as thou didist
 49 and thi dou3tris. Loo! this was the
 wickidnes of Sodom, thi sister, prijde, and
 fulnes of breed, *or glotonye*, and aboun-
 daunce, *or plente*, and idilnes of hir, and
 hir dou3tris; and thei dressiden not the
 50 hoond to the nedi and pore. And thei
 ben lift an hei3, and diden other abomy-
 naciouns before me; and Y dide hem a wei,
 51 as thou hast seen. And Samarie synnede
 not the half of thi synnes, but thou^v hast
 ouercomen hem in grete trespassis, and
 hast iustified thi sistris in alle thin
 abomynaciouns, whiche thou wrouztist.
 52 Therfor and thou bere thi confusioun,
 which hast ouercomyn thi sistris with
 thi synnes, doynge more cursidli than
 thei; forsothe thei ben iustified of thee.
 Therfor and thou be confoundid, and ber
 thou thin yuel fame, the which hast ius-
 53 tifiede thi sistris. And Y restorynge shal
 conuerte hem with the turnynge togidre
 of Sodom and hir dou3tris; and Y shal
 conuerte thi turnynge azen in the mydil
 54 of hem, that thou bere thin yuel fame,
 and be confoundid in alle thingis whiche
 55 thou didist, coumfortynge hem. And
 thi sister Sodom and hir dou3tris shulen
 turne azen to her oldenes; and Samarie
 and hir^w dou3tris shulen turne azen to
 her oldenes; and thou and thi dou3tris
 56 turne azen to 3our oldenes. Forsothe
 Sodom, thi sister, was not herde in thi
 57 mouth, in the dai of thi pride, before that
 thi malice was shewid, as in this tyme, in
 to the^x shenship of dou3tris of Sirie, and
 of alle dou3ters of Palestyn in thi cum-
 pas, that gon about thee bi enuyroun.
 58 Thou hast born thi greet trespas, and thin
 59 yuel fame, seith the Lord God. For thes
 thingis seith the Lord God, And I shal
 doo to thee as thou dispisedist the ooth,
 that thou madist the couenaunt voyd;

Lo! this was the wickidnesse of Sodom, 49
 thi sister, pride, fulnesse of breed, and
 habundaunce, and idilnesse of hir, and of^c
 hir dou3tris; and thei puttiden^d not hond
 to a nedi man and pore. And thei weren 50
 enhaunsid, and diden other abhomina-
 ciouns bfore me; and Y took hem awei,
 as thou hast seyn. And Samarie synnede 51
 not the half of thi synnes, but thou hast
 ouercome hem in thi grete trespassis^e; and
 thou hast iustified thi sistris in alle thin
 abhomynaciouns, whiche thou wrouztist.
 Therfor and thou bere thi schenschiipe, 52
 that hast ouercome thi sistris with thi
 synnes, and didist more cursidli than thei;
 for thei ben iustified of thee. Therfor and
 be thou schent, and bere thi schenschiipe,
 which hast iustified thi sistris. And Y 53
 schal conuerte and restore hem by the
 conuersioun of Sodom with hir dou3tris,
 and bi the conuersioun of Samarie and of
 hir dou3tris; and Y schal conuerte thi
 turnyng azen in the myddis of hem, that 54
 thou bere thi schenschiipe, and be aschamed
 in alle thingis whiche thou didist, coum-
 fortynge hem. And thi sister Sodom and 55
 hir do3tris schulen turne azen to her eld-
 nesse; and Samarie and hir dou3tris shu-
 len turne azen to her eeldnesse; and thou
 and thi dou3tris turne azen to 3oure eld-
 nesse. Forsothe Sodom, thi sister, was 56
 not herd in thi mouth, in the dai of thi
 pride, bfore that thi malice was schewid, 57
 as in this tyme, in to schenschiipe of the
 dou3tris of Sirie, and of alle dou3tris in
 thi cumpas, of the dou3tris of Palestyn
 that ben aboute thee bi cumpas. Thou 58
 hast bore thi greet trespas, and thi schen-
 schiipe, seith the Lord God. For the Lord 59
 God seith these thingis, And Y schal do
 to thee as thou dispisedist the ooth, that
 thou schuldist make voide the couenaunt;
 and Y schal haue mynde on my couenaunt 60
 with thee in the daies of thi 3ongthe, and
 Y schal reise to thee a couenaunt euer-
 lastynge. And thou schalt haue mynde 61

^v Om. A. ^w his A. ^x Om. GH.

^c Om. N. ^d dressiden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^e trespasse N.

60 and Y shal haue mynde of my couenaunt
with thee in the dais of thi^y 3ongth, and
I shal reise to thee couenaunt euerlast-
ynge. And thou shalt haue mynde of thi
61 weies, and thou shalt be confoundid,
whanne thou shalt resseyue thi sistris
more than thou, with thi lesse; and Y shal
3yue hem to thee in to dou3tris, and not
62 of thi couenaunt. And Y shal reise my
couenaunt with thee, and thou shalt wite,
63 for I the Lord, that thou haue mynde,
and be confoundid; and that it be namore
to thee for to opyn the^x mouth, for thi
confusioun, whanne Y shal be plesid to
thee in alle thingis whiche thou hast don,
seith the Lord God.

CAP. XVII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seyynge, Sone of man, put forth a
derk ensauple, *or hard questioun*, and
telle a parable to the hous of Israel;
3 and thou shalt seye, Thes thingis seith
the Lord God. A greet egle of grete
weengis, with long ledynge of membris,
ful of fetheris and dyuersite, cam to the
Liban, and took the merou3 of cedre.
4 He drow3 of the hei3nes of his bouwis,
or braunches, and bare it ouer 'in to^a the
loond of Canaan; in the citee of mar-
5 chauntis he puttide it. And he took of
the seed of the erthe, and puttide it in
the erthe for seed, that he shulde make
sad the root vpon^b manye watris; in the
6 ouermest paart he puttide^c it. And
whanne it had buriounede, it wexede in
to a brodder^d viyn 3erd, in lowe stature,
the braunches 'of it beholdinge^e to it,
and the rootis therof weren vndir it;
therfor it is maad in to a^f viyn3erd, and
made fruyte in to siouns, and sente out
7 braunchis. And another greet egle is
maad, with greet weengis, and manye
fethers; and loo! this viyn3erd as send-
ynge his rootis to it, stretchide out^g his

on thi weies, and schalt be aschamed,
whanne thou schalt resseyue thi sistris
grettere than thou, with thi lesse *sistris*;
and Y schal 3yue hem in to dou3tris to
thee, but not of thi couenaunt. And Y 62
shal reise my couenaunt with thee, and
thou schalt wite, that Y *am* the Lord,
that thou haue mynde, and be aschamed; 63
and that it be no more to thee to opene
the mouth for thi schame, whanne Y schal
be plesid to thee in alle thingis whiche
thou didist, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XVII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
to me, and he seide, Sone of man, sette 2
forth a derk speche, and telle thou a para-
ble to the hous of Israel; and thou schalt 3
seie, The Lord God seith these thingis.
A greet egle of grete wyngis, with long
stretchyng out of membris, ful of fetheris
and of dyuersite, cam to the Liban, and
took awei the merowe of the cedre. He 4
pullide awei the hiznesse of boowis therof,
and bar it ouer in to the lond of Chanaan,
and settide it in the citee of marchauntis.
And he took of the seed of the lond, and 5
settide it in the lond for seed, that it
schulde make stidfast roote on many wa-
tris; he^f settide it in^g the hijere part.
And whanne it hadde growe, it encreess- 6
ide in to a largere vyner, in lowe stature;
for the boowis therof bihelden to that
egle, and the rootis therof weren vndur
that *egle*; therfor it was maad a vyner,
and it made fruyt in to siouns, and sente
out boowis. And another greet egle was 7
maad, with grete wyngis, and many fe-
theris; and lo! this vyner as sendynge
hise rootis to that *egle*, stretchide forth
his siouns to that *egle*, that he schulde

^y Om. GH. ^z thi A. ^a to G pr. m. H. ^b on G pr. m. H. ^c putt GH. ^d brod GH. ^e Om. A.
^f Om. H. ^g forth GH.

^f and he v. ^g on IN.

siouns to it, that it moystide it of the
 8 litil placis of his buriounynge. That in
 good erthe vpon^b many waters is plaunt-
 id, that it make bouwis, and bere fruyte,
 9 that it be in to a greet viynzerd. Sey
 thou, Thes thingis seith the Lord God,
 Therfor whether^l it shal haue prosperite?
 Whether he shal not drawe vp the rote
 of it, and shal distruye the fruytis of it?
 And he shal drye alle the syouns of his
 buriounynge, and it shal waxe drye; and
 not in a greet arme, nether in myche^k
 puple, that he schulde drawe it vp bi the
 10 roote. Loo! it is plauntid; therfor whe-
 ther^l it shal haue prosperite? Whether
 whanne a brennyng wynde shal touche
 it, it shal not be dried, and it shal dwyne
 away in the placis of his buriounynge?
 11 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 12 me, seiynge, Sey thou to the hows ter-
 ryng to wraththe, Witen 3e not what^m
 thes thingis bitoknen? Sei thou, Loo! the
 kyng of Babiloyne cometh in to Jerusa-
 lem; and he shal take the kyng and his
 princes, and he shal lede hem to hym
 13 self in to Babiloyne. And he shal take
 of the seed of the rewme, and he shal
 smyte a boond of pees with it, and of it
 he shal resseyue an ooth; but and he shal
 take a wei the stronge men of theⁿ loond,
 14 that the rewme be lowe, and be^o not
 reisid vp, but kepe the couenaunt of hym,
 15 and kepe it, *or saue*. Whiche goynge
 away fro hym, sente messengeris to Egipt,
 that he schulde 3yue to hym horsis and
 myche puple. Whether^p he shal haue
 prosperite, or shal gete helth^q, which
 dide thes thingis? and he that vndoth a
 16 couenaunt, whether he shal askape? Y
 lyue, seith the Lord God, for in the
 place of the kyng that made hym kyng,
 whos ooth he made voyd, and brak the cou-
 enaunt that he hadde with hym, in
 17 the mydil of Babiloyne he shal die. And
 not in greet oost, nether in myche puple

moiste it of the cornfloris of his seed.
 Which is plauntid in^b a good lond onⁱ a
 many watris, that it make boowis, and
 bere fruyt, that it be in to a greet vyner.
 Seie thou, *Ezechiel*, The Lord God seith⁹
 these thingis, Therfor whether he schal
 haue prosperite? Whether *Nabugodonosor*
 schal not pulle awei the rootis of hym,
 and schal streyne the fruytis of hym? And
 he schal make drie alle the siouns of bu-
 riowning therof, and it schal be drie; and
 not in greet arm, nether in myche puple,
 that he schulde drawe it out bi the rootis.
 Lo! it is plauntid, therfor whether it schal¹⁰
 haue prosperite? Whether not whanne
 brennyng wynd schal touche it, it schal
 be maad drye, and schal waxe drie in the
 cornfloris of his seed? And the word of¹¹
 the Lord was maad to me, and he seide,
 Seie thou to the hous terryng to wraththe,¹²
 Witen 3e not what these thingis signefien?
 Seie thou, Lo! the king of Babiloyne com-
 eth in to Jerusalem; and he schal take the
 kyng and the princis therof, and he schal
 leede hem to hym silf in to Babiloyne.
 And he schal take of the seed of the¹³
 rewme, and schal smyte with it a boond
 of pees, and he schal take of it an ooth;
 but also he schal take awei the stronge
 men of the lond, that it be a meke rewme,¹⁴
 and be not reisid, but that it kepe the
 couenaunt of hym, and holde it. Which¹⁵
 3ede awei fro hym, and sente messengeris
 in to Egipt, that it schulde 3yue to hym
 horsis and miche puple. Whether he that
 dide these thingis, schal haue prosperite,
 ether schal gete helthe? and whether he
 that brekith couenaunt, schal ascape? Y¹⁶
 lyue, seith the Lord God, for in the place
 of the king that made hym kyng, whos
 ooth he made voide, and brak the coue-
 naunt, which he hadde with hym, in the
 myddis of Babiloyne he schal die. And¹⁷
 not in greet oost, nether in myche puple
 Farao schal make batel azens hym, in the

^b on G *pr. m. h.* ⁱ wher GH. ^k a myche GH. ^l where GH. ^m what that GH. ⁿ that GH. ^o Om.
 G *pr. m. h.* ^p Where G *et H fere passim.* ^q helpe GH.

^b on EFPX. in to 1 *sec. m. NRS sec. m.* ⁱ of I.

Pharao shal make batayle azens hym, in castynge of^r an heep of erthe, and in bildynge of paalis, that he slee many¹⁸ soulis. Forsothe he dispiside the ooth, that he schulde breke the boond of pees, and loo! he 3af his hoond; and whanne he hath do alle thes thingis, he shal not¹⁹ skape. Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, I lyue, for I shal putte in to his^s heed the ooth that he dispiside, and²⁰ the boond of pees that he brak. And I shal holde forth vpon^t hym my nette, and he shal be cacchid in my nette^u, and Y shal lede hym in to Babiloyne; and Y shal deme hym in the trespassynge, in²¹ which he dispiside me. And alle the fleers of hym with al his company shulen falle togidre in swerd, forsothe the residues shulen be scatered in to eche wynd; and 3e shulen wite, for I the Lord haue²² spoken. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, And Y shal take of the merew³ of the hee3 cedre, and I^v shal putte^w of the cop^x of his braunchis; the tendre I shal distreyne, and Y shal plaunte vpon^y an²³ hei3 hil, and fer aperyng. And in the hei3 hil of Israel Y shal plaunte it; and it shal brest vp in to buriownynge, and shal make fruyte, and shal be in to a greet cedre, and alle briddis shulen dwelle vndir it; al volatile shal make nestis^z
²⁴ vndir the shadewe of his bouwis. And alle the trees of the cuntre shulen wite, for Y the Lord haue mekid the hei3 tree, and reyside the meke tree, and Y driede the grene tree, and Y made the drye tree for to florisshe; Y the Lord spak, and Y dide.

CAP. XVIII.

¹ And the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, What is it, that amonge 3ou 3e turnen a parable in to this prouerbe, in the loond of Israel, seyng, The fadris eeten a soure grape, and the teeth³ of sones^a wexen on egge? Y lyue, seith

castyng of erthe, and in bildyng of palis, that he sle many persones. For he dis-¹⁸ piside the ooth, that he schulde breke the boond of pees, and lo! he 3af his hond; and whanne he hath do alle these thingis, he schal not ascape. Therfor the Lord¹⁹ God^k seith these thingis, Y lyue, for Y schal sette on his heed the ooth which he dispiside, and the boond of pees which he brak. And Y schal spredde abroad my²⁰ net on hym, and he schal be takun in my net, and Y schal bryng hym in to Babiloyne; and there Y schal deme hym in the trespassyng, bi which he dispiside me. And alle hise flieris awei with al his²¹ cumpenye schulen falle down bi swerd, forsothe the remenauntis schulen be schaterid in to ech wynd; and 3e schulen wite, that Y the Lord spak. The Lord God²² seith these thingis, And Y schal take of the merowe of an hi3 cedre, and Y schal sette a tendir thing of the cop of hise braunchis; Y schal streyne, and Y schal plaunte on an hi3 hil, and apperynge fer. In the hi3 hil of Israel Y schal plaunte it;²³ and it schal breke out in to buriownynge, and it schal make fruyt, and it schal be in to a greet cedre, and alle briddis schulen dwelle vndur it; ech volatil schal make nest vndur the schadewe of hise boowis. And alle trees of the cuntrei²⁴ schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord; Y made low the hi3 tre, and Y enhaunside the low tre, and Y made drie the greene tree, and Y made the drie tree to bryng forth boowis; Y the Lord haue spoke, and Y haue do.

CAP. XVIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹ to me, and he seide, What is it, that 3e² turnen a parable among 3ou in to this prouerbe, in the lond of Israel, and seien, Fadris eeten a bittir grape, and the teeth of sones ben an¹ egge, *ether astonyed*? Y³

^r in H. ^s Om. G pr. m. H. ^t on G pr. m. H. ^u Om. A. ^v Om. G pr. m. H. ^w kutte H. ^x top GH.
^y on GH. ^z neste GH. ^a the sonys GH.

^k Om. N. ^l on K.

the Lord God, if this parable shal be more to 3ou in to a prouerbe in Israel.
 4 Loo! alle soulis ben myne; as the soule of the fadir, so and^b the soule of the sone is myne. The soule that shal synne,
 5 the ilk shal die. And if a man shal be iust, and shal doo doom and riztwisnes,
 6 he shal not ete in the hillis, and shal not reyse his eyen to the ydolis of the hows of Israel; and he shal not defoule the wijf of his nei3bour, and shal not go to a menstruat womman, *or in vnclene blood*
 7 *flowing*; and he shal not make a man sorewful, he shal 3eelde the wed to the dettour, and he shal rauysshe no thing bi strength, he shal 3yue his breed to the hungrynge, and he shal hille the nakid
 8 with clothing; he shal not leene to vsure, and shal not take more; he shal turne away his hoond fro wickidnes, and he shal doo verre dom bitwix man and
 9 man; and shal walke in my comaundementis, and shal kepe my domys, that he doo treuth; he this is iust, in lijf he
 10 shal lyue, seith the Lord God. That if he shal gendre a sone, thief, shedynge
 11 out blood, and shal doo oon of thes, and sotheli not doynge alle thes, but etynge in mounteyns, and defoulynge the wijf
 12 of his nei3bour; makynge the nedy and pore sorewful, rauyshynge raueyns, not 3eeldynge wed, reisyng his eyen to
 13 ydolis, doynge abomynacioun; 3yuyng to vsure, and takynge more; whether he shal lyue? he shal not lyue; whanne he shal doo alle thes cursyd thingis, he shal die bi deeth, the blood of hym shal be in
 14 hym. That if he shal gendre a sone, whiche seyng alle thes synnes of his fader, which he hath don, shal drede,
 15 and not doo liche thing to hem; shal not eete in hillis, and shal not reyse his eyen to the^c ydolis of the hows of Israel; and shal not defoule the wijf of his nei3-
 16 bour, and shal not make a man sorewful, shal not withholde a wed, and shal not

lyue, seith the Lord God, this parable schal no more be in to a prouerbe to 3ou in Israel. Lo! alle soulis ben myne; as^d the soule of the fadir, so and the soule of the sone is myn. Thilke soule that doith synne, schal die. And if a man is iust,^e and doith doom and riztfulnesse, etith not^f in hillis, and reisith not hise 3en to the idols of the hous of Israel; and defoulith not the wijf of his nei3bore, and nei3eth not to a womman defoulid with vnclene blood; and makith not a man sori, 3eldith^g the wed to the dettour, rauyschith no thing bi violence, 3yueth his breed to the hungri, and bilith a nakid man with a cloth; leeneth not to vsure, and takith^h not more; turneth awei his hond fro wickidnesse, and makith trewe dom bitwixe man and man; and goith in my co-ⁱmaundementis, and kepith my domes, that he do^m treuthe; this is a iust man, he schal lyue in lijf, seith the Lord God. That if he gendrieth a sone, a thief, shed-^jinge out blood, and doith oon of thes^k thingis, and sotheli not doing alle these thingis, but etinge in hillis, and defoulynge the wijf of his nei3bore; makynge^l sorewful a nedy man and pore, rauyshynge raueyns, not 3eldinge a wed, reisyng hise 3en to idols, doynge abhomynacioun; 3iuyng to vsure, and takynge more; whe-^mther he schal lyue? he schal not lyue; whanne he hath do alle these abhomynable thingis, he schal die bi deeth, his bloodⁿ schal be in hym. That if he gen-^odrith a sone, which seeth alle the synnes of his fadir, whiche he dide, and dredith, and doith noon lijk tho; etith not on hillis,^p and reisith not hise 3en to the idols of the hous of Israel; and defoulith not the wijf of his nei3bore, and makith not sori a^q man, withholdith not a wed, and rauyschith not raueyn, 3yueth his breed to the hungri, and hilith the nakid with a cloth; turneth a wei his hond fro the wrong of^r a pore man, takith not vsure and ouer-

^b Om. A. ^c Om. GH.

^m doith N. ⁿ blood, *ether synne* I. ^o getith I.

raushe raueyne, shal ȝyue his breed to the hungrynge, and shal hille the nakid
 17 with clothing; shal turne awei his hoond fro wroong of the pore man, shal not take vsure and ouere-aboundance, and shal doo my domys, shal walke in my preceptis; this man shal not die in the wickydnys of his fadir, but in lijf he shal
 18 lyue. The fadir of hym, for he dide fals challenge^d, and dide strengthe, *or violence*, to his brother, and wrouȝte yuel thing in the mydil of his puple, loo! he is deed
 19 in his wickidnes. And ȝe seyn, Whi berith not the sone the wickidnes of his fader? That is for to wite, for the sone wrouȝte doom and riȝtwisnes, he kepte alle my preceptis, and dide hem, in lijf
 20 he shal lyue, seith the Lord God. The soule that shal synne, the ilke shal die; the sone shal not bere the wickidnes of the fader, and the fadir shal not bere the wickidnes of the sone; the riȝtwisnes of the iust man shal be vpon^e hym, and the vnpytousnes of the vnpytous man shal be
 21 vpon^e hym. Forsothe if the vnpytous man shal doo penaunce of alle his synnes whiche he hath wrouȝte, and shal kepe alle myn heestis, and shal doo doom and riȝtwisnes, in lijf he shal lyue, and he
 22 shal not die. I shal not haue mynde of alle the wyckidnessis whiche he wrouȝte; 'in his riȝtwisnesse whiche he wrouȝt^f, he
 23 shal lyue. Whether the deeth of the vnpytous man is of^g my wil, seith the Lord God, and not that he be conuertid
 24 fro his weies, and lyue? Forsothe if a iust man shal turne hym awei fro his riȝtwisnes, and shal doo wickidnes, after alle the abomynaciouns whiche the vnpytous man is wont for to worche, whether he shal lyue? Alle his riȝtwisnessis whiche he dide, shulen not be recordid; in the trespassyng in which he trespasside, and in the synne in^h which he
 25 synnede, in hem he shal dye. And ȝe seiden, The weie of the Lord is not euen.

habundaunce, *'that is, no thing more than he lente^p*, and doith my domes, and goith in my comaundementis; this *sone* shal not die in the wickidnesse of his fadir, but he schal lyue in lijf. For his fadir
 18 made fals caleng, and dide violence to his brother, and wrouȝte yuel in the myddis of his puple, lo! he is deed in his wickidnesse. And ȝe seien, Whi berith not the
 19 sone the wickidnesse of the fadir? That is to seie, for the sone wrouȝte doom and riȝtfulnesse, he kepte alle my comaundementis, and dide tho, he schal lyue in lijf. Thilke soule that doith synne, schal die;
 20 the sone schal not bere the wickidnesse of the fadir, and the fadir schal not bere the wickednesse of the sone; the riȝtfulnesse of a iust man schal be on hym, and the wickidnesse of a wickid man schal be on hym. Forsothe if a wickid man doith
 21 penaunce of alle hise synnes whiche he wrouȝte, and kepith alle myn heestis, and doith dom and riȝtfulnesse, he schal lyue bi lijf, and schal not die. Y schal
 22 not haue mynde of alle his wickidnessis whiche he wrouȝte; he schal lyue in his riȝtfulnesse which he wrouȝte. Whether
 23 the deth of the^q wickid man is of my wille, seith the Lord God, and not that he be conuertid fro his weies, and lyue? Forsothe if a iust man turneth away hym
 24 silf fro his riȝtfulnesse, and doith wickidnesse bi alle hise abhomynaciouns, which a wickid man is wont to worche, whether he schal lyue? Alle hise riȝtfulnessis whiche he dide, schulen not be had in mynde; in his trespassyng bi which he trespasside, and in his synne which he synnede, he schal die in tho. And ȝe seiden, The weie
 25 of the Lord is not euene. Therfor, the hous of Israel, here ȝe, whether my weie is not euene, and not more ȝoure weies ben schrewid? For whanne a riȝtful man
 26 turneth awei hym silf fro his riȝtfulnesse, and doith wickidnesse, he schal die in it, he schal die in the vnriȝtwisnesse^r which

^d chalengynge GH. ^e on GH. ^f Om. A. ^g Om. G pr. m. H. ^h Om. A.

^p Om. IN. ^q a. i. ^r vnriȝtfulnesse CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX,

Therfor here 3e, hous of Israel, whether my weye is not euen, and not more 3oure
 26 weies ben shrewid? Forsothe whanne a iust man shal turne awei him fro his ri3twisnes, and shal do wickidnes, he shal die in hem, inⁱ the vnri3twisnes which
 27 he wrou3te, he shal die. And whanne the vnpi3ous man shal turne hym away fro his vnpi3e which he wrou3te, and shal doo doom and ri3twisnes, he shal quykne
 28 his soule. Forsothe biholdyng and turnyng awei hym fro alle his wickidnessis whiche he wrou3te, he shal lyue in lijf,
 29 and shal not die. And the sones of Israel seyn, The weie of the Lord is not euen. Whether my weies ben not euen, 3e hous of Israel, and not more 3oure weies ben
 30 shrewid? Therfor I shal deme eche man after his weies, 3e hous of Israel, seith the Lord God. Be 3e conuertid, and doo 3e penaunce fro alle 3our^k wyckidnessis, and wickidnes^l shal not be to 3ou in to
 31 falling down. Caste 3e awei fro 3ou alle 3our trespassyngis, in whiche 3e han trespasside, and make 3e to 3ou a newe herte and a newe spirite, and whi shulen 3e
 32 die, hous of Israel? For I wole not the deeth of the diyng, but that he be conuertid and lyue, seith the Lord God; turne 3e a3en, and lyue.

CAP. XIX.

1 And thou, sone of man, take to thee weilyng vpon^m the princis of Israel; and thou shalt seie, Whi thi modir, a liounesse, laie amonge lyouns? In the mydil of smale liouns she nurshide hir
 3 whelpis, and ledde out oon of her litil liouns; he is maad a lioun, and lerned forⁿ to take^o pray, and for to ete man.
 4 And heithen men herden of hym, and not with outen his woundis thei tokyn hym; and ladden hym in cheynes in to
 5 the loond of Egipt. Which whanne she see3, for she is maad sijk, and abidyng of hym perishide, took oon of hir litil

he wrou3te. And whanne a wickid man²⁷ turneth awei him silf fro his wickidnesse which he wrou3te, and doith dom and ri3tfulnesse, he schal quykene his soule. For he biholdinge and turnyng awei hym²⁸ silf fro alle hise wickidnessis which he wrou3te, schal lyue in lijf, and schal not die. And the sones of Israel seien, The²⁹ weie of the Lord is not euene. Whether my weies ben not euene, 3e hous of Israel, and not more 3oure weies ben schrewid? Therfor, thou hous of Israel, Y schal deme³⁰ ech man bi hise weies, seith the Lord God. Turne 3e togidere, and do 3e penaunce for alle 3oure wickidnessis, and wickidnesse schal not be to 3ou in to falling. Caste³¹ awei fro 3ou alle 3oure trespassingis, bi^s whiche 3e trespassiden, and make 3e a newe herte and a newe spirit to 3ou, and whi^t shulen 3e^u die, the hous of Israel? For Y nyle^v the deeth of hym that dieth,³² seith the Lord God; turne 3e a3en, and lyue 3e.

CAP. XIX.

And thou, sone of man, take weiling¹ on^w the princes of Israel; and thou schalt² seie, Whi thi modir, a lionesse, lai among liouns? In the myddis of litle liouns sche nurschide hir whelpis, and ledde out oon³ of hir litle liouns; he was maad a lioun, and he lernyde to take prei, and to ete men. And hethene men herden of hym,⁴ and token hym not withouten her woundis; and thei brou3ten hym in chaynes in to^x the lond of Egipt. Which *modir* whanne⁵ sche hadde seyn, that sche was sijk, and the abiding of hym perischide, took oon of her litle liouns, and made hym a lioun.

ⁱ and in GH. ^k Om. G pr. m. H. ^l wickidnessis GH. ^m on G pr. m. H. ⁿ Om. A. ^o Om. A.

^s Om. I. ^t thanne whi I. ^u we n. ^v wille not I. ^w of I. ^x Om. N.

6 lyouns^p, ordeynde hym a lyoun. And he lernede for to take pray, and for to deuoure men. He lernede for to make wydewis, and for to^q brynge citees in to deseert; and the loond is desolat and^r the plente of it, of the vois of his rorynge. 8 And heithen men camen togidre azens hym on eche syde fro prouyncis, and stretchiden out her net vpon hym; in the 9 woundis of hem he is takyn. And thei senten hym in to a caue in cheynes, and thei ledden hym forth to the kyng of Babiloyne; and thei senten hym in to prisoun, lest his vois were herd more 10 vpon^s the hillis of Israel. Thi modir as a vyn^zerd in thi blood vpon^t water is plauntid; the fruytis of it and bouwis of 11 it wexeden of many watris. And sad 3eerdys ben maad to it in to septris of men hauynge lordship, and the stature of it is enhaunsid among bouwis; and it see³ his heiznes in the multitude of his 12 siouns. And it is drawyn vp in wraththe, and caste in to theⁿ erthe; and a brennyng wynd driede the fruyte of it, the 3erdes of his strength welewiden, and ben 13 maad drie, fier ete it. And now it is plauntid ouere in deseert, in loond not 14 wayed, or not hauntid, and thristie. And fier wente out of the 3erde of his braunchis, which ete the fruyte of it. And a stronge 3erde, a ceptre, or kyngis 3erde, of men hauynge lordship, was not in it. Weilynge is, and shal be in to weilynge.

CAP. XX.

1 And it is maad in the seuenthe 3eer, in the fifthe moneth, in the tenthe dai of the moneth, men of the eldris of Israel camen for to axe the Lord, and saten be- 2 fore me. And the word of the Lord is 3 maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, speke thou to the eldre men of Israel; and thou shalt seie to hem, Thes thingis seith the

Which 3ede among liouns, and was maad 6 a lioun; and lernede to take prey, and to deuoure men. He lernede to make widewis, and to brynge the citees of men in to desert; and the lond and the fulnesse therof was maad desolat, of the vois of his roryng. And hethene men camen togidere azens 8 hym on ech side fro prouyncees, and spred- den on hym her net; he was takyn in the woundis of tho^y hethene men. And thei 9 senten hym in to a^z caue in chaines, and brouzten hym to the kyng of Babiloyne; and thei senten hym in to prisoun, that his vois were no more herd on the hillis of Israel. Thi modir as a vyner in thi 10 blood was plauntid on watre; the fruitis therof and the boowis therof encreessiden of many watris. And sadde 3erdis weren 11 maad to it in to septris of lordis, and the stature therof was enhaunsid among boowis; and it si³ his hiznesse in the mul- titude of hise siouns. And it was drawun 12 out in wraththe, and was cast forth in to erthe; and a brennyng wynd dryede the fruyt therof, and the 3erdis of strengthe therof welewiden, and weren maad drie, and fier^a eet it. And now it is plauntid 13 ouer in desert, in a lond with out weie, and thristi. And fier 3ede out of the^b 14 3erde of the braunchis therof, that eet the fruyt therof. And a stronge 3erde, the cep- tre of lordis, was not in it. It is weilyng, and it schal be in to weilyng.

CAP. XX.

And it was doon in the seuenthe 3eer, 1 in the fyuethe monethe, in the tenthe dai of the monethe, men of the eldris of Israel camen to axe the Lord; and thei saten bifor me. And the word of the Lord was 2 maad to me, and he seide, Sone of man,³ speke thou to the eldere men of Israel; and thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord

^p lyoun *A.* ^q Om. *A.* ^r in *A.* ^s on *G pr. m.* in *H.* ^t on *G pr. m. H.* ^u Om. *GH.*

^y thilke *I.* ^z the *N.* ^a the fier *FQU.* ^b *a C F G H I K M N P Q R S U X.*

Lord God, Whether 3e camen for to axe me? Y lyue, for Y shal not answeere to 3ou, seith the Lord God. Sone of man 4 if thou demest hem, if thou demist, shew thou to hem the abomynaciouns of her 5 fadris. And thou shalt seie to hem, Thes thingis seith the Lord, In the dai in which Y cheese Israel, and reiseide myn hoond for the kynrede, *or generaciouns*^v, of Jacobs hows, and aperide to hem in the loond of Egipt, and reiseide myn hoond for hem, seiynge, Y the Lord 3oure 6 God, in that dai Y reiseide myn hoond for hem, that Y schulde lede hem out of the loond of Egipt, in to the loond which Y hadde purueiede to hem, flowynge with mylk and hony, whiche is noble amonge 7 alle loondis. And Y seide to hem, Eche man caste away the offensiouns of his eyen, and in the ydols of Egipt nyl^w 3e 8 be defoulid; I the Lord 3our God. And thei wraththiden me, and thei wolden not here me; eche man castide not away the abomynaciouns of his eyen, nether forsoke the ydols of Egipt. And Y seide, that Y schulde sheede^x out myn indignacioun vpon^y hem, and schulde fulfille my wraththe in hem, in the mydil of the 9 loond of Egipt. And Y dide for my name, that it were not defoulid before heithen men, in whos mydil thei weren, and among whom I aperide to hem, that I schulde lede out^z hem fro the lond of 10 Egipt. Therfor Y castide out hem fro the lond of Egipt, and Y ledde out in to 11 desert, and 3af to hem myn heestis, and Y shewide to hem my domys, whiche a 12 man schulde^a doo, and lyue in hem. More ouere and I 3aue to hem my sabotis, that it were a signe bitwixe^b me and hem, and thei shulden wite, for I the Lord 13 halewynge hem. And the hous of Israel wraththide me in deseert; in my preceptis thei walkiden not, and thei castiden away my domys, whom a man do-

God seith these thingis, Whether 3e camen to axe me? Y lyue, for Y schal not answeere to 3ou, seith the Lord God. Sone of man, if thou demest hem, if thou demest^g, 4 schewe thou to hem the abhomynaciouns of her fadris. And thou schalt seie to hem, 5 The Lord God seith these thingis, In the dai in which Y chees Israel, and reiseide myn hond for the generacioun of the hous of Jacob, and Y apperide to hem in the lond of Egipt, and Y reiseide myn hond for hem, and Y seide, Y *am* 3oure Lord God, in that dai Y reiseide myn hond for 6 hem, that Y schulde leede hem out of the lond of Egipt, in to the lond which Y hadde purueiede to^h hem, *the*ⁱ *lond* flowynge with mylk and hony, which is noble among alle londis. And Y seide to hem, 7 Ech man caste awei the offenciouns of hise izen, and nyle 3e be defoulid in the idols of Egipt; Y *am* 3oure Lord God. And thei terriden me to wraththe, and 8 nolden here me; ech man castide not awei the abhomynaciouns of hise izen; nether thei forsoken the idols of Egipt. And Y 9 seide, that Y wold schede out myn indignacioun on hem, and fille my wraththe in hem, in the myddis of the lond of Egipt. And Y dide for my name, that it schulde not be defoulid bifore hethene men, in the myddis of whiche^k thei weren, and among whiche^l Y apperide to hem, that Y schulde lede hem out of the lond of Egipt. Ther- 10 for Y castide hem out of the lond of Egipt, and Y ledde hem out in to desert; and Y 11 3af to hem my comaundementis, and Y schewide to hem my doomes, which a man schal do, and lyue in tho. Ferthermore 12 and Y 3af to hem my sabatis, that it schulde be a sygne bitwixe me and hem, and that thei schulden wite, that Y *am* the Lord halewynge hem. And the hous 13 of Israel terriden me to wraththe in desert; thei 3eden not in my comaundementis, and thei castiden awei my domes,

^v generacioun GH. ^w yuel GH. ^x caste G pr. m. H. ^y on GH. ^z Om. A. ^a shal GH. ^b bytwene H.

^g demest hem I pr. m. NS sec. m. ^h for N. ⁱ a I. ^k whom I. ^l whom I.

ynge shal lyue in hem; and thei defouliden greetli my sabotis. Therfor I seide, that I shulde shede out my woodnes vpon^e hem in deseert, and destruye hem;
 14 and Y dide for my name, lest I were defoulid before heithen men, of whom Y castide hem out in the sizte of hem.
 15 Therfor Y reise myn hoond vpon^e hem in deseert, that Y ledde hem not in to the loond which Y 3aue to hem, flowynge with mylk and hony, the best of alle
 16 loondis. For thei castiden awei my domys, and thei walkiden not in myn heestis, and thei defouleden my sabotis; forsothe the herte^d of hem wente after
 17 idolis. And myn eye^e sparide vpon^f hem, that I shulde not slee hem, nether Y
 18 waastide hem in deseert. Forsothe Y seide to the sones of hem in wildirnes, In the preceptis of 3oure fadris nyle 3e goo, nether kepe 3e the domys of hem, nether be 3e defoulid in the idolis of hem.
 19 Y the Lord 3our God, in my preceptis walke 3e, and kepe 3e my domys, and
 20 doo 3e hem. And halewe 3e my sabothis, that it be a tokne betwixe me and 3ou, and it be wist, for Y the Lord 3our God.
 21 And the sones of Israel wraththiden me, and thei walkiden not in my preceptis, and thei kepten not my domys, that thei shulden do hem, whiche whanne a man shal doo, he shal lyue in hem, and thei defouliden my sabotis. And I thretenede, that I shulde sheede out my woodnes vpon^e hem, and shulde fulfille my wraththe
 22 in hem in deseert. Y turnede awei^h myn hoond, and Y dide this thing for my name, that it were not defoulid before heithen men, of whom I castide out hem
 23 in the eyen of hem. Eftsoone Y reyside myn hoond in to hem in wildirnes, that Y shulde scatere hem in to naciouns, and
 24 shulde wyndow hem in to loondis; for that that thei diden not my domys, and repreueden my preceptis, and defouleden

whiche a man that doith, schal lyue in tho; and thei defouliden greetli my sabotis. Therfor Y seide, that Y wolde schede out my strong veniaunce on hem in desert, and waste hem; and Y dide for my¹⁴ name, lest it were defoulid bifor hethene men, fro whiche^m Y castide hem out in the sizt of tho. Therfor Y reise myn¹⁵ hond on hem in theⁿ desert, that Y brouzte not hem in to the lond which Y 3af to hem, *the lond* flowynge with mylk and hony, the beste of alle londis. For thei castiden¹⁶ awei my domes, and 3eden not in my comaundementis, and thei defouliden my sabotis; for the herte of hem 3ede after idols. And myn ize sparide on hem, that¹⁷ Y killide not hem, nether Y wastide hem in the^o desert. Forsothe Y seide to the¹⁸ sones of hem in wildirnesse, Nyle 3e go in the comaundementis of 3oure fadris, nether kepe 3e the domes of hem, nethir be 3e defoulid in the idolis of hem. Y *am* 3oure¹⁹ Lord God, go 3e in my comaundementis, and kepe 3e my domes, and do 3e tho. And halowe 3e my sabotis, that it be a²⁰ signe bitwixe me and 3ou, and that it be knowun, that Y *am* 3oure Lord God. And²¹ the sones terriden me to wraththe, and 3eden not in my comaundementis, and kepten not my domes, that thei diden tho, whiche whanne a man hath do, he schal lyue in tho, and thei defouliden my sabotis. And Y manaasside to hem, that Y wolde schede out my stronge veniaunce on hem, and fille my wraththe in hem in the^p desert. But Y turnede awei myn²² hond, and Y dide this for my name, that it were not defoulid bifore hethene men, fro whiche Y castide hem out bifore the izen of tho. Eft Y reise myn hond a3ens²³ hem in wildirnesse, that Y schulde scatere hem in to naciouns, and wyndewe hem in to londis; for that that thei hadden not²⁴ do my domes, and hadden repreuyd my comaundementis, and hadden defoulid my

^e on GH. ^d hertis G pr. m. H. ^e eezen GH. ^f on G pr. m. H. ^g on GH. ^h Om. G pr. m. H.

^m whom I. ⁿ Om. I. ^o Om. IKMSU. ^p Om. IU.

my sabotis, and the eyen of hem weren
 25 after the idolis of her fadris. Therfor
 and Y ȝaue to hem preceptis not goode,
 and domys in whiche thei shulen not
 26 lyue. And Y defoulede hem in her
 ȝiftis, whanne thei offriden al thing that
 opneth the wombe for her giltis; and thei
 27 shulden wite, for Y the Lord. Wherfor,
 sone of man, spek thou to the hous of
 Israel, and thou shalt seie to hem, Thes
 thingis seith the Lord God, ȝit and in
 thes thingis ȝoure faders blasfemed me,
 whanne thei despisyngge hadden forsake
 28 me, and Y hadde ledde hem in to the
 loond vpon which Y reyside myn hoond,
 that Y shulde ȝyue it to hem, thei sawen
 eche heeȝ litil hil, *or reisyngge of greet
 hil*, and eche tree ful of wode, and thei
 offreden there her slayn sacrifices for vic-
 torie, and ȝauen there her offryngis in to
 wraththinge; and thei puttiden there the
 odour of her swetnes, and sacrefieden her
 libaciouns, *that ben of fletyngge thingis,*
 29 *as wiyn, oyle, and siche.* And Y seide
 to hem, What is the heȝ thing, to whom
 ȝe entren inⁱ? And the name of it is
 30 clepid Heeȝ Thing til in to this dai. Ther-
 for sey thou to the hous of Israel, Thes
 thingis seith the Lord God, Certis in the
 weie of ȝoure fadris ȝe ben polut, *or de-
 foulid*, and after her offensiouns ȝe don
 31 fornyacioun, and in offryngge of ȝour
 ȝiftis, whanne ȝe leden ouer ȝoure sones
 bi fier, ȝe ben defoulid in alle ȝour ydols
 til to dai, and Y schal answeere to ȝou, the
 hous of Israel? Y lyue, seith the Lord
 32 God, for I schal not answeere to ȝou; ne-
 ther the thenkyngge of ȝour soule, *or
 vnderstondyngge*, shal be maad, of men
 seiynge, We shulen be as heithen men,
 as the kynredis of erthe, that we wor-
 33 shipe trees and stoonus. Y lyue, seith
 the Lord God, for in strong hoond, and
 in^k arm strauȝt out^l, and in woodnes shed
 34 out, Y schal regne vpon^m ȝou. And I schal

sabatis, and her ȝen hadden be after the
 idols of her fadris. Therfor and Y ȝaf to 25
 hem comaundementis not good, and domes
 in whiche thei schulen not lyue. And Y 26
 defoulide hem in her ȝiftis, whanne thei
 offriden to me for her trespassis al thing
 that openeth the wombe; and thei schulen
 wite, that Y *am* the Lord. Wherfor speke 27
 thou, sone of man, to the hous of Israel,
 and thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord
 God seith these thingis, ȝit and in this
 ȝoure fadris blasfemyden me, whanne thei
 dispisyngge hadden forsake me, and Y 28
 hadde brouȝte hem in to the lond on
 which Y reyside myn hond, that Y schulde
 ȝyue to hem, thei sizen ech hiȝ^q litil hil,
 and ech tree ful of boowis, and thei of-
 friden there her sacrifices, and thei ȝauen
 there her offryngis, in to terring to
 wraththe; and thei settiden^r there the
 odour of her swetnesse, and thei offriden
 her moiste sacrifices. And Y seide to hem, 29
 What is the hiȝ thing, to whiche ȝe entren?
 And the name therof is clepid Hiȝ Thing
 til to this dai. Therfor seie thou to the 30
 hous of Israel, The Lord God seith these
 thingis, Certis ȝe ben defoulid in the weie
 of ȝoure fadris, and ȝe don fornyacioun
 aftir the offendingis of hem, and in the 31
 offryng of ȝoure ȝiftis, whanne ȝe leden
 ouer^s ȝoure sones bi fier, ȝe ben defoulid
 in alle ȝoure idols til to dai, and schal Y
 answeere to ȝou^t, the hous of Israel? Y lyue,
 seith the Lord God, for Y schal not an-
 swere to ȝou; nether the thouȝte of ȝoure 32
 soul schal be don, that seien, We schulen
 be as hethene men, and as naciouns of
 erthe, that we worschipe trees and stoonys.
 Y lyue, seith the Lord God, for in strong 33
 hond, and in arm stretchid forth, and in
 strong veniaunce sched out, I schal regne
 on ȝou. And Y schal lede out ȝou fro 34
 puplis, and Y schal gadere ȝou fro londis,
 in whiche ȝe ben scaterid; in strong hond,
 and in arm stretchid forth, and in strong

ⁱ Om. G pr. m. H. ^k Om. A. ^l forth GH. ^m on GH.

^q Om. NS sec. m. ^r setten I. ^s Om. N. ^t Om. I.

lede out 3ou of pupilis, and Y shal gadre
 3ou of loondis, in whiche 3e ben scaterid;
 in strong hoond and arm straujt forth,
 and in woodnes shed out I shal regne
 35 vpon 3ou. And Y shal lede 3ou in to
 deseert of pupilis, and I shal be demed
 36 there with 3ou face to face. As bi doom
 Y stroof azens 3our fadris in deseert of
 the loond of Egipt, so Y shal deme 3ou,
 37 seith the Lord; and I shal make you
 suget to my ceptre, and Yⁿ shal lede in
 38 3ou in boondis of pees. And Y shal cheese
 of 3ou trespasseris, and vnпитыouse men; I
 shal lede out hem fro the loond of her
 cumlyngnes^o, and thei shulen not entre
 in to the loond of Israel; and 3e shulen
 39 wite, for Y the Lord. And 3e, the hous
 of Israel, thes thingis seith the Lord God,
 3e eche walke after 3our idolis, and serue
 3e to hem. That and if in this thing 3e
 shulen not here me, and 3e shulen de-
 foule ouer myn hooli name in 3our ziftis,
 40 and in 3our ydolis, in myn hooli hil, in
 the hei3 hil of Israel, seith the Lord God,
 there al the hous of Israel shal serue to
 me; forsothe eche in the loond, in which
 thei shulen plese to me; and there I shal
 seche 3our prymysies, *or first fruytis*,
 and^p the bigynnyng of 3our tithis in alle
 41 3our halewyngis. In to odour of swet-
 nes Y shal resseyue 3ou, whanne Y shal
 lede 3ou out of pupilis, and shal gedre
 3ou of loondis, in to whiche 3e ben sca-
 tered; and I shal be halewid in 3ou in
 42 eyen, *or si3t*, of naciouns. And 3e shulen
 wite, for I the Lord, whanne I shal lede
 3ou in to the loond of Israel, in to the
 loond for which Y reyside myn hoond,
 43 that I shulde 3yue it to 3our fadris. And
 there 3e shulen bithenke in hem of 3our
 weies, and of alle 3our grete trespassis,
 bi whiche 3e ben defoulid in hem; and
 3e shulen displese to 3ou in 3our si3t, in
 44 alle 3our malices whiche 3e diden. And
 3e shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne I

veniaunce sched out Y schal regne on 3ou.
 And Y schal bringe 3ou in to desert of 35
 pupilis, and Y schal be demed there with
 3ou face to face. As Y stryuede in doom 36
 azens 3oure fadris in the desert of the lond
 of Egipt, so Y schal deme 3ou, seith the
 Lord; and Y schal make 3ou suget to my 37
 septre, and Y schal bringe in 3ou in the
 boondis of pees. And Y schal chese of 38
 3ou trespassouris, and wickid men; and Y
 schal leede hem out of the lond of her
 dwelling, and thei schulen not entre in to
 the lond of Israel; and 3e schulen wite,
 that Y *am* the Lord. And 3e, the hous of 39
 Israel, the Lord God seith these thingis,
 Go 3e ech man aftir 3oure idols, and serue
 3e tho. That and if 3e heren not me in
 this, and defoulen more myn hooli name
 in 3oure ziftis, and in 3oure idols, in myn 40
 hooli hil, in the hij hil of Israel, seith the
 Lord God, 3e *schulen be punyschid greu-*
ousliere. There al the hous of Israel schal
 serue me, sotheli alle men in the lond, in
 which thei schulen plese me; and there
 Y schal seke 3oure firste fruytis, and the
 bigynnyng of 3oure tithis in alle 3oure
 halewyngis. Y^v schal resseiue 3ou in to 41
 odour of swetnesse, whanne Y schal leede
 3ou out of pupilis, and schal gadere 3ou
 fro londis, in whiche 3e weren scaterid;
 and Y schal be halewid in 3ou bifer the
 3en of naciouns^w. And 3e schulen wite, 42
 that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal bringe
 3ou in to the lond of Israel, in to the lond
 for which Y reyside myn hond, that Y
 schulde 3yue it to 3oure fadris. And 3e 43
 schulen haue mynde there on 3oure weies,
 and on alle 3oure grete trespassis, bi whiche
 3e ben defoulid in tho; and 3e schulen dis-
 plese 3ou in^x 3oure si3t, in alle 3oure ma-
 lices whiche 3e diden. And 3e schulen wite, 44
 that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal do
 wel to 3ou for my name; not bi 3oure yuel
 weies, nether bi 3oure worste trespassis,
 3e hous of Israel, seith the Lord God.

^a Om. G pr. m. H. ^o comlynge G pr. m. H. P in A.

^v and F pr. m. GIKMNPB sec. m. XY ^w the naciouns I pr. m. ^x Om. I.

shal wel doo to 3ou for my name; not
after 3our yuel weies, nether after 3our
werst huge trespassis, 3e hous of Israel,
45 seith the Lord God. And the word of
46 the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone
of man, put thou thi face azens the weie
of the south, and drop to the south wynd,
and prophecy thou to the^a wodi place, *or*
wildernes, of the myddai, *or south*, feeld.
47 And thou shalt seie to the myddai, *or*
south, wodi place, Here thou the word of
the Lord. Thes thingis seith the Lord,
Loo! I shal kyndle in thee fier, and I
shal togider brenne in thee eche grene
tree, and eche drye tree; the flaume of
brennyng shal not be quenchid, and eche
face in it shal be brent togidre, fro the
48 south vnto the north. And eche flesh
shal see, for I the Lord brende it, and it
49 shal not be quenchid. And Y seide, A!
A! A! Lord God, thei seyn of^r me,
What this spekith bi parablis?

CAP. XXI.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, put thou thi
face to Jerusalem, and drop to the seyn-
tuaries, and prophecy thou azens the erthe
3 of Israel. And thou shalt seie to the
loond of Israel, Thes thingis seith the
Lord God, Loo! I to thee, and I shal
caste out my swerd of his sheethe, and
I shal slee in thee the iust and the vnpi-
4 tous. Forsothe for that that Y slew in
thee the iust man and vnpiuous, therfor
my swerd shal goo out of his sheethe to
eche flesh, *or man*, fro the south vn to
5 the north; that eche flesh wite, for I
the Lord ledde out my swerd of his
sheethe irreuocable, *or that may not be*
6 *clepid azen*. And thou, sone of man,
sorew withinforth in the contricioun of
leendis, and thou shalt inwardli sorewe
7 in bitterness bfore hem. And whanne
thei shulen seie to thee, Whi sorewist

And the word of the Lord was maad to⁴⁵
me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, sette⁴⁶
thi face azens the weie of the south, and
droppe thou to the south, and profesie
thou to the forest of the myddai feeld.
And thou schalt seie to the myddai forest,⁴⁷
Here thou the word of the Lord^y. The
Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal
kyndle a fier in thee, and Y schal brenne
in thee ech green tre, and ech drie tre; the
flawme of brennyng schal not be quenchid,
and ech face schal be brent ther ynne, fro
the south til to the north. And ech man⁴⁸
schal se, that Y the Lord haue kyndlid it,
and it schal not be quenchid. And Y⁴⁹
seide, A! A! A! Lord God, thei seien
of me, Whethir this man spekith not bi
parablis?

CAP. XXI.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹
to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man,²
sette thi face to Jerusalem, and droppe
thou to the seyntuaries, and profesie thou
azens the erthe of Israel. And thou schalt³
seie to the lond of Israel, The Lord God
seith these thingis, Lo! Y to thee, and Y
schal caste^z my swerd out^a of his schethe,
and Y schal sle in thee a iust man and a
wickid man. Forsothe for that that Y haue⁴
slayn in thee a iust man and a wickid
man, therfor my swerd schal go out of
his schethe to ech man, fro the south til
to the north; that ech man wite, that Y⁵
the Lord haue drawe^b out my^c swerd fro
his schethe, that schal not be clepid azen.
And thou, sone of man, weile in sorewe⁶
of leendis, and in bitterness thou schalt
weile bfore hem. And whanne thei schu-
7 len seie to thee, Whi weilst thou? thou
schalt seie, For hering, for it cometh; and

^a Om. G pr. m. H. ^r to H.

^y Lord God I pr. m. N. ^z caste out is. ^a Om. I. ^b led CEF GHIKMN PQRSU. ^c the N.

thou? thou shalt seie, For the herynge,
for it cummeth; and eche herte shal faile,
and alle hoondis shulen be vndon, and
eche spirit shal be sijk, and bi alle knejes
watris shulen fleete; loo! it cummeth, and
8 it shal be maad, seith the Lord God. And
the word of the Lord is maad to me, sei-
9 ynge, Sone of man, prophecy thou; and
thou shalt seie, Thes thingis seith the
Lord God, Spek thou, The swerd, the
10 swerd is whettid, and furbushid; that it
kitte, *or slee*, slayn sacrifices, it is whet-
tid; that it shyne, it is furbushid. The
which mouynge the ceptre of my sone,
11 hast kitte doun eche tree. And Y 3aue
hym for to be maad pleyn, that it be
hold with hoond; this swerd is whettid,
and this is furbushid, that it be in the
12 hoond of the sleynge. Sone of man, cry
thou, and goul, for this is maad in my
puple, this in alle the duykis of Israel;
thei that han fledde fro swerd ben bi-
takyn with my puple. Therfor bete to-
13 gidre hoondis vpon^s the hipe, for it is
proued; and this thing whanne it^t shal
distruye the ceptre, and it shal not be,
14 seith the Lord God. Therfor thou, sone
of man, prophecy, and smytit hoond to
hoond, and the swerd be doublid, and
the swerd of sleers be treblid; this is the
swerd of greet sleynge, which shal make
15 hem greetli abaist, *or mad*, and for to
faile in herte, and it multiplieth fallyn-
gis. In alle the 3atis of hem Y 3aue togidre
sturblynge of swerd, sharp and furbushid
16 for to shyne, clothid to sleynge. Be thou
whettid, go thou to the ri3t, or to the left,
'whidir euere^u is the appetit, *or desier*,
17 of thi face. For and Y shal smyte with
hoond to hoond, and Y shal fulfille myn
indignacioun; Y the Lord haue spokyn.
18 And the word of the Lord is maad to
19 me, seiynge, And thou, sone of man, put
to thee two weies, that the swerd of the
king of Babiloyne come; bothe shulen

ech herte shal faile, and alle hondis schu-
len be aclumsid, and ech spirit schal be
sike, and watris schulen flete doun bi alle
knees; lo! it cometh, and it shal be don,
seith the Lord God. And the word of the 8
Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Sone 9
of man, profesie thou; and thou schalt
seie, The Lord God seith these thingis,
Speke thou, The swerd, the swerd is maad
scharp, and is maad bri3t; it is maad 10
scharp to sle sacrifices; it is maad bri3t,
that it schyne. Thou that mouest the
ceptre of my sone, hast kit doun ech tree.
And Y 3af it to be forbischid, that it be 11
holdun with hond; this swerd is maad
scharp, and this is maad bri3t, that it be
in the hond of the sleere. Sone of man, 12
crie thou, and zelle, for this *swerd* is maad
in my puple, this in alle the duykis of
Israel; thei that fledden ben 3ouun to
swerd with^d my puple. Therfor smite thou
on thin hipe, for it is preuyd; and this 13
whanne it hath distried the ceptre, and
it schal not be, seith the Lord God. Ther- 14
for, sone of man, profesie thou, and smyte
thou hond to hond, and the swerd be dou-
blid, and the swerd of sleeris^e be treblid^f;
this is the swerd of greet sleynge, that
schal make hem^g astonyed, and to faile in 15
herte, and multiplieth fallingis. In alle the
3atis of hem Y 3af disturbing of a^h swerd,
scharp and maad bri3t to schyne, gird to
sleynge. Be thou maad scharp, go thou 16
to the ri3t side, ether to the left side,
whidur euer the desir of thi face is. Certis 17
and Y schal smyte with hondⁱ to hond,
and Y schal fille myn indignacioun; Y the
Lord spak. And the word of the Lord 18
was maad to me, and he seide, And thou, 19
sone of man, sette to thee twei weies, that
the swerd of the king of Babiloyne come;
bothe schulen go out of o^k lond, and bi
the^l hond he^m schal take coniecting; he
schal coniecte in the heed of theⁿ weie of
the^o citee, settinge a weye, that the swerd 20

^s in GH. ^t I A. ^u where euer GH.

^d in X. ^e the sleers I. ^f troublid F. ^g hym A. ^h Om. I. ⁱ the hond I. ^k the I. ^l Om. CEF GHIK
MNPQR SUX. ^m Y A. ⁿ Om. K. ^o Om. C F G H K M N P Q S U X.

goo out of o loond, and in hoond he shal
take coniectyng^v, or *suspicioun*; in heed
of the waie of the citee he shal gesse, or
20 *thenke*, puttyng a weie, that the swerd
come to Rabath of the sones of Amon,
and to Juda 'in to^w Jerusalem moost
21 waardid, or *strengthid*. Forsothe the
kyng of Babiloyne stode in the metyng of
two weies, sechyng dyuynacioun, meng-
yng arowis; he axede ydolis, he coun-
22 seilide entrailis. At the riȝt half of hym
dyuynacioun is maad vpon Jerusalem,
that he putte engynes, that he opyn the
mouth in sleynge, that he reyse the vois
in goulyng, that he putte engynes azens
ȝatis^x, that he bere togidre an heepe of
23 erthe, that he bilde waardyng^y. And
he shal be as veynly counseilyng an-
swere of God in the eyen of hem, and
chaungyng the idilnes, or *rest*, of sa-
botis; forsothe he shal haue mynde of
24 wickidnes, for to take. Therfor thes
thingis seith the Lord God, For that
that ȝe han mynde of ȝour wickidnes,
and han^a shewide ȝour trespassingis, and
ȝour synnes apereden in alle ȝour thouȝtis,
for that sotheli that ȝe hadden mynde, ȝe
25 shulen be takyn bi the hoond. Thou so-
theli, cursid vnþitous duyck of Israel, whos
day determyned cometh in tyme of wick-
26 idnes, thes thingis seith the Lord God,
Do a wey the mytre, tak awei the coroun;
whether this is not which enhaunside the
27 meke, and mekide the heiȝ? Y shal putte
it wickidnes, wickidnes, wickidnes; and
this thing is not don til he cam, whos
the doom of God is, and shal be take to
28 hym. And thou, sone of man, prophecy,
and sey, Thes thingis seith the Lord
God to the sones of Amon, and to the
shenship of hem; and thou shalt seye,
Swerd, swerd, vnshethe thee for to slee,
furbishe thee, that thou slee and shyne,
29 whanne veyne thingis weren seen to thee,
and leesyngis weren dyuynyd, that thou

come to Rabath of the sones of Amon,
and to Juda in to Jerusalem moost strong.
For the king of Babiloyne stood in the 21
meeting of twei weies, in the heed of twei
weies, and souȝte dyuynyng, and medlide
arowis; he axide idols, and took counsel
at entrails. Dyuynyng was maad to^p his 22
riȝt side on Jerusalem, that he sette en-
gyns, that he opene mouth in sleynge, that
he reise vois in ȝelling, that he sette en-
gyns azens the ȝatis, that he bere togidre
erthe, that he bilde strengthinges. And 23
he shal be as counseling in veyn goddis
answer bifer the ȝen of hem, and seru-
yng the^q reste of sabatis; but he schal
haue mynde on wickidnesse, to take. Ther- 24
for the Lord God seith these thingis, For
that that ȝe hadden mynde on ȝoure wick-
idnesse^r, and schewiden ȝoure trespass-
yngis, and ȝoure synnes apperiden in alle
ȝoure thouȝtis, forsothe for that that ȝe
hadden mynde, ȝe schulen be takun bi
hond^a. But thou, cursid wickid duyck of Is- 25
rael, whos dai bifer determyned^t is comun
in the tyme of wickidnesse, the Lord God 26
seith these thingis, Do awei the mitre, take
awei the coroun; whether it is not this^u
that reside the meke man, and made low
the hiȝ man? Wickidnesse, wickidnesse, 27
wickidnesse Y schal putte it; and this
schal not be doon til he come, whos the
doom is, and Y schal bitake to hym. And 28
thou, sone of man, profesie, and seie, The
Lord God seith these thingis to the sones
of Amon, and to the^v schenscipe of hem;
and thou schalt seie, A! thou swerd, A!
thou swerd, drawun out to sle, maad briȝte,
that thou sle and schyne, whanne veyn 29
thingis weren seien to thee, and leesingis
weren dyuynyd, that thou schuldist be
ȝouun on the neckis of wickid men wound-
id, the dai of whiche bifer determyned
schal come in the tyme of wickidnesse,
turne thou aȝen in to thi schethe, in to 30
the place in which thou were maad. Y

^v iecturing G *pr. m. H.* coniecturing G *sec. m.* ^w in GH. ^x the ȝatis H. ^y wardingis GH. ^z Om.
G *pr. m. H.*

^p on N. ^q to I. ^r wickidnessis IN. ^a the hond I. ^t termed I *pr. m.* determyned *sec. m.* ^u he this I.
^v Om. N.

shuldist be ȝouen vpon the neckis of vn-
pitouse men woundid, of whom the dai
determined shal come in tyme of wickid-
30 nes. Turn aȝen in to thi sheethe, 'in to^z
the place in which thou art maad. In the
31 loond of thi birth Y shal deme thee, and
Y shal shede out vpon thee myn indig-
nacioun; in fier of my woodnes Y shal
blowe in thee, and Y shal ȝeue thee in to
the hoondis of vnwijs men, and forgynge
32 perishynge, *or deeth*. Thou shalt be
meet to fier, thi blood shal be in the
mydil of erthe; thou shalt be bitakyn to
forȝetynge, for I the Lord haue spokyn.

CAP. XXII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, And thou, sone of man,
whether thou demest not the citee of
3 bloodis? And thou shalt shewe to it alle
her abomynaciouns, and thou shalt sei,
Thes thingis seith the Lord God, The
citee shedyng out blood in the mydil of
it, that the tyme of it cumme; and which
made ydols aȝens it silf, that it were po-
4 lutid, *or defoulid*. In thi blood that is
shed out of thee, thou trespassidist, and
in thin ydolis whiche thou madist thou
art defoulid; and thou madist thi daies
for to neiȝ, and leddist to the tyme of thi
ȝeeris. Therfor I ȝaue thee shenship to
heithen men, and scornynge to alle loondis
5 that ben besidis; and thei that ben fer
fro thee shulen haue victorie of thee, thou
6 foule, noble, greet in perishing. Loo!
the princes of Israel, eche in her arm,
weren in thee, for to shede out blood.
7 Thei punyshiden with wroongis the fadir
and moder in thee, thei falsly challeng-
iden a cumlynge in the mydil of thee,
thei maden sorewful fadirles and moder-
8 les and widewe anentis thee. Ȝe han dis-
pyside my seyntuaries, and ȝe han defoulide
9 my sabotis. Men bacbiters weren in thee,
for to shede out blood, and vpon moun-
teyns thei eten in thee; thei wrouȝten
10 greet trespass in the mydil of thee. Fa-

shal deme thee in the lond of thi birthe,
and Y shal schede out myn indignacioun 31
on thee; in the fier of my strong ven-
iaunce Y shal blowe in thee, and Y shal
ȝyue thee in to the^w hondis of vnwise men,
and makeinge deth. Thou schalt be mete 32
to fier, thi blood shal be in the middis of
erthe; thou schalt be ȝouun to forȝetyng,
for Y the Lord spak.

CAP. XXII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
to me, and he seide, And thou, sone of 2
man, whether thou demest not the citee
of bloodis? And thou schalt schewe to it 3
alle hise abhomynaciouns, and thou schalt
sei, The Lord God seith these thingis,
This is a citee schedinge out blood in the
myddis of it silf, that the tyme therof
come; and which made idols aȝens it silf,
that it shulde be defoulid. In thi blood 4
which is shed out of thee, thou trespass-
idist, and thou art defoulid in thin idols
whiche thou madist; and thou madist thi
daies to neiȝe, and thou brouȝtist the time
of thi ȝeeris. Therfor Y ȝaf thee^x schen-
schipe to hethene men, and scornynge to
alle londis that ben niȝ thee, and that 5
ben fer fro thee; thou foul *citee*, noble,
greet in perishing, thei schulen haue vic-
torie of thee. Lo! princes of Israel, alle 6
in her arm, weren in thee, to schede out
blood. Thei punyschiden with wrongis 7
fadir and modir in thee, thei calengiden
falsli a comelyng in the myddis of thee,
thei maden sori a fadirles child and a
widewe at thee. Ȝe dispysiden my seyn- 8
tuaries, and ȝe defouliden my sabotis. Men 9
bacbiteris weren in thee, to schede out
blood, and eten on hillis in thee; thei
wrouȝten greet trespass in the myddis of
thee. Thei vnhaliden the schamefulere 10

^z in G pr. m. H.^w Om. N. ^x thee to be L.

driſ vnhilliden in thee more ſhameful thingis, thei meekeden in thee the vnclennes of the menſtruate womman. Eche man wrouzte abomynacioun in to the wijf of his neiȝbour, and the huſbondis fader defoulide his ſonys wijf; vnleuefuli the brother oppreſſide in thee^a his ſiſtyr, the douȝter of his fader. Thei token ziftis, for to ſheede out blood at thee; thou tokist vſure and ouerabundaunce, and gredili, *or coueytously*, thou falſly chalengidist^b thi neiȝbours, and haſt forȝete me, ſeith the Lord God. Loo! I haue ſmytin togider myn hondis vpon thin aueryce, *or gredynes*, which thou didiſt, and vpon the blood that^c is ſhed out in the mydil of thee. Whether thin herte ſhal ſuſteyne^d, or thin hoondis ſhulen haue power in the daies whiche I ſhal make to thee? Forſothe Y the Lord ſpak, and Y ſhal doo. And I ſhal ſcater thee in to naciouns, and I ſhal wyndewe, *or blowe*^e, thee in to loondis; and I ſhal make thi vnclennes to fayle fro thee, and I ſhal weelde thee in the ſijt of heithen men; and thou ſhalt wyte, for I the Lord. And the word of the Lord is maad to me, ſeiynge, Sone of man, the hous of Iſrael is turnyd in to drosse, *or ſyndre*; alle thes bras, and tyn, and yren, and leed, in the mydil of fourneys, ben maad drosse of ſiluer. Therfor thes thingis ſeith the Lord God, For that that ȝe alle ben turned in to drosse, therfor loo! I ſhal gedre ȝou in the mydil of Jeruſalem, a gedrynge of ſiluer, and bras, and yren, and tyn, and leed, in the mydil of the fourneys; and I ſhal teende a fier in it, to welle togidre; ſo Y ſhal gedre ȝou in my woodnes, and in my wraththe, and I ſhal reſte aȝen. And I ſhal welle ȝou togidir, and I ſhal gadre ȝou, and I ſhal kyndil ȝou in fier of my woodnes, and ȝe ſhulen be wellid togidre in the mydil of it. As ſiluer is wellid togidre in mydil of the fourneis, ſo ſhulen ȝe be

thingis of the fadir in thee, thei maden low in thee the vnclennes of a womman in vnclene blood. And ech man wrouzte¹¹ abhomynacioun aȝens the wijf of his neiȝbore, and the fadir of the hoſebonde defoulide his ſones wijf vnleuefuli; a brother oppreſſide in thee his ſiſter, the douȝtir of his fadir. Thei token ziftis at¹² thee, to ſchede out blood; thou tokist vſure and ouerabundaunce, and thou calengidist greedili thi neiȝboris, and thou haſt forȝete me, ſeith the Lord God. Lo!¹³ Y haue ſmyte togidere myn hondis on thin aueryce, which thou didiſt, and on the blood which is ſched out in the myddis of thee. Whether thin herte ſchal¹⁴ ſuſteyne, ether thin hondis ſchulen haue power in the daies whiche Y ſchal make to thee? For Y² the Lord ſpak, and Y ſchal do. And Y ſchal ſcater thee in to¹⁵ naciouns, and Y ſchal wyndewe thee in to londis; and Y ſchal make thin vnclennes to faile fro thee, and Y ſchal welde¹⁶ thee in the ſijt of hethene men; and thou ſhalt wite, that Y *am* the Lord. And¹⁷ the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he ſeide, Thou, ſone of man, the hous¹⁸ of Iſrael is turned to me in to dros, *ether filthe of irun*; alle^a thes *ben* bras, and tyn, and irun, and leed, in the myddis of furneis^b, thei ben maad the dros of ſiluer. Therfor the Lord God ſeith theſe thingis,¹⁹ For that alle ȝe ben turned in to dros, lo! Y ſchal gadere ȝou togidere in the myddis of Jeruſalem, bi gaderyng^c togidere of ſiluer, and of latoun, and of irun, and of tyn, and of leed, in the myddis of furneis^d; and Y ſchal kindle ther ynne a fier, to welle togidere; ſo Y ſchal gadere ȝou togidere in my ſtrong veniaunce, and in my wraththe, and Y ſchal reſte. And Y ſchal welle ȝou togidere, and Y ſchal²¹ gadere ȝou togidere, and Y ſchal ſette ȝou a fier in the fier of my ſtrong veniaunce, and ȝe ſchulen be wellid togidere in the myddis therof. As ſiluer is wellid togi-²²

^a Om. A. ^b chalengist H. ^c which H. ^d ſuffre GH. ^e Om. GH.

^y of N. ^z Om. I. ^a and N. ^b a furneis IN. ^c the gaderyng I. ^d a furneis EFHIKMQRSU.

in the mydil of it; and 3e shulen wite, for
 Y the Lord, whanne Y haue shedde out
 23 myn indignacioun vpon 3ou. And the
 word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge,
 24 Sone of man, sey to it, Thou art the vn-
 cleene loond, not reynynd togidir in the
 25 dai of woodnes. Coniurisoun of pro-
 phetis in the mydil of it; as a lioun ror-
 ynge and takynge pray, thei deuoureden
 soule, *or lijf*, of the nedi man, and thei
 token prijs; thei multiplieden widewis
 26 of it in the mydil of it. The preestis of
 it dispiseden my lawe, and defouleden
 my seyntuaries; thei hadden no difference
 bitwix hooli and vnholi, thei vndirstoden
 not bitwixe vncleene and cleene thing; and
 thei turneden away her eyen fro my sa-
 botis, and Y was defoulid in the mydil
 27 of hem. The princis of it in the^f mydil
 of it as wulues rauyshynge pray, for to
 shede out blood, and for to lese soulis,
 28 and gredili suynges wynnyngis. Forsothe
 the prophetis of it dawbiden hem with
 outen temperure, seynges veyn thingis,
 and dyuynge lesynges to hem, seiynge,
 Thes thingis seith the Lord God, whanne
 29 the Lord spak not. Puplis of the loond
 falsli chalengiden fals chalenge, and vio-
 lentli rauysheden the nedi man, and tour-
 mentiden the pore man; and thei oppress-
 iden the cumlynge with fals chalenge,
 30 with outen doom. And Y souzte ^o of
 hem^e a man, that shulde bitwene putte
 an hegge, and stonde sette euen azens
 me fro the loond, leste Y shulde distruye
 31 it, and Y foond not. And Y shedde out
 myn indignacioun vpon hem, and in the
 fier of my wraththe Y waastide hem; Y
 3eelde the weye of hem in to the heed of
 hem, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXIII.

1 And the word of the Lord^b is maad to
 2 me, seynges, Sone of man, two wymmen
 3 weren dou3tris of o modir, and thei diden

dere in the myddis of a furnels, so 3e
 schulen be in the myddis therof; and 3e
 schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne
 Y haue sched out myn indignacioun on
 3ou. And the word of the Lord was maad 23
 to me, and he seide, Sone of man, seie 24
 thou to it, Thou art a lond vncleene, and
 not bireyned in the dai of strong ven-
 iaunce. Sweringe togidere, *ether conspir-* 25
inge^e of profetis *is* in the myddis therof;
 as a lioun roringe and takinge prei, thei
 deuouriden men, thei token richessis and
 prijs; thei multiplieden widewis therof in
 the myddis therof. Preestis therof dispis- 26
 iden my lawe, and defouliden my seyn-
 tuaries; thei hadden not difference bi-
 twixe hooli thing and vnholi, thei vndur-
 stoden not bitwixe defoulid thing and
 cleene thing; and thei turneden awei her
 izen fro my sabatis, and Y was defoulid
 in the myddis of hem. The princes therof 27
 in the myddis therof *weren* as wolues
 rauyschinge prey, to schede out blood, and
 to leese men, and in suynges lucris gredili.
 Forsothe the profetis therof pargetiden 28
 hem with out temperure, and se3en veyn
 thingis, and dyuyneden leesingis to hem,
 and seiden, The Lord God seith thes
 thingis, whanne the Lord spak not. The 29
 puples of the lond calengiden fals caleng,
 and rauyschiden bi violence; thei turment-
 iden a nedi man and pore, and oppressiden
 a comeling bi fals caleng, with out doom.
 And^f Y souzte of hem a man, that schulde 30
 sette an hegge bitwixe, and stonde set
 azens me for the lond, that Y schulde
 not distrie it, and Y foond not. And Y 31
 schedde out on hem myn indignacioun,
 and Y wastide hem in the fier of my
 wraththe; Y^g zeldide the weie of hem on
 the heed of hem, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad to 1
 me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, twei 2
 wymmen weren the dou3tris of o modir,

^f Om. G pr. m. H. ^g Om. A. ^b Lord God H.

^e *coniuracioun* I. ^f Om. N. ^g and Y X.

fornycacioun in Egipt, in her 3ongth thei
 diden fornyacioun; there the breestis,
or tetis, of hem ben vndirled, and the
 tetis of her puberte, *that is, tyme of ma-*
riage, ben broken. Forsothe the names
 of hem, Oolla the more, and Ooliba the
 lesse sister of hir. And Y hadde hem,
 and thei baren child, sones and dou3tris;
 sotheli the names of hem, Samarie Oolla,
 5 and Jerusalem Ooliba. Therfor Oolla
 dide fornyacioun vpon me, and wexe
 woode in to her loueres, in to Assiriens
 6 nei3ynge, clothid with iacynet, princis,
 and magistratis, 3onge men of coueiting,
 alle kny3tis, *or rydynge men*, stiers vp
 7 of horsis. And she 3af her fornyaciouns
 vpon hem, the chosyn sonys of alle As-
 siriens, alle and in alle in to whom she
 wexe woode, in the vncleennes of hem she
 8 is defoulid. More ouere and she lefte
 not hir fornyaciouns, whiche she hadde
 in Egipt; for whi and thei slepten with
 hir in the 3ongth of hir, and thei togidre
 braken the brestis of hir puberte, and
 shedden out her fornyacioun vpon hir.
 9 Therfor Y bitook hir in to the hoondis
 of hir louers, in to the hoondis of the
 sonys of Assur, vpon whos letchery she
 10 was woode. Thei vnhilliden the yuel
 fame of hir; thei token the sonys and
 dou3tris of hir, and slewen hir in swerd;
 and thei ben maad famous, *or sclaudrid*,
 wymmen, and thei diden domys in to hir.
 11 Which thing whanne hir sistir Ooliba
 hadde seen, she wexe woode in lecherie
 more than she, and she 3af vnochastili, *or*
with outen shame, hir fornyacioun, ouer
 12 the fornyacioun of hir sister, to the sonys
 of Assiriens, to duykyss and magistratis
 comynge to hir, clothide with dyuerse
 clooth, to kny3tis that weren born in
 horsis, and 3onge men in noble fourme,
 13 *or shappli*ⁱ, to alle men. And Y saw3
 14 that o weye of bothe was defoulid, and
 she encreside hir fornyaciouns. And
 whanne she see3 men peyntid in a wal,

and diden fornyacioun in Egipt; in hers
 3onge wexynge age thei diden fornica-
 cioun; there the brestis of hem weren
 maad low, and the tetis of the tyme of
 mariage of hem weren brokun. Forsothe
 the names of hem *ben*, Oolla, the more
sistir, and Ooliba the lesse sistir of hir.
 And Y hadde hem, and thei childiden
 sones and dou3tris; certis the names of
 hem *ben* Samarie Oolla, and Jerusalem
 Ooliba. Therfor Oolla dide fornicacioun⁵
 on me, and was wood on hir louyeris, on
 Assiriens nei3ynge, clothid with iacinct,⁶
 princes, and magistratis, 3onge men of
 coueytise, alle kni3tis, and^h stieris of horsis.
 And sche 3af hir fornicaciouns on hem, on⁷
 alle the chosun sones of Assiriens; and in
 alle on whiche sche was wood, sche was
 defoulid in the vncleennes of hem. Fer-⁸
 thermore and sche lefte not hir fornica-
 ciouns, whiche sche hadde in Egipt; for
 whi and thei slepten with hir in the
 3ongthe of hir, and thei braken the tetis
 of the tyme of mariage of hir, and thei
 scheden out her fornicacioun on hir.
 Therfor Y 3af hir in to the hondis of hir⁹
 louyeris, in to the hondis of the sones of
 Assur, on whos letcherie sche was wood.
 Thei diskuyderiden the schenschipec of hir;¹⁰
 thei token awei the sones and the dou3tris
 of hir, and killidenⁱ hir with swerd; and
 the wymmen weren maad famous, *that*
is, sclaudrid, and thei diden domes in
 hir. And whanne hir sistir Ooliba hadde¹¹
 seyn this, sche was wood in letcherie more
 than that *sistre*, and 3af vnschamefastli
 hir fornicacioun on the fornicacioun of hir
 sistre, to the sones of Assiriens, to duykis¹²
 and magistratis comynge to hir, that
 weren clothid with dyuerse cloth, to
 kny3tis that weren borun on horsis, and
 to 3onge men with noble schap, to alle
 men. And Y si3 that o weie of both *sis-*¹³
tris was defoulid, and sche encreesside hir¹⁴
 fornyaciouns. And whanne sche hadde
 seyn men peyntid in the wal, the ymagis

ⁱ *schap* GH.^h Om. N. ⁱ thei killiden I.

the ymagis of Caldeis expressid, *or*
 15 *opnyd*, in colours, and gird the reyns
 with knyztis girdlis, and cappis died, *or*
steyned, in the heedis of hem, the
 fourmes of alle duykis, liknes of the
 sones^k of Babiloyne, and of the loond of
 16 Caldeis, in whiche thei ben born; and
 she wexe woode azens hem in coueitise
 of hir eijen, and sente messageris to hem
 17 in to Caldee. And whanne sonys of Ba-
 biloyne cam to hir, to the couche of hir
 tetis, thei defouleden hir in her lecheries
 of defoulynge of maydynhod; and she is
 defoulid of^l hem, and the soule of hir is
 18 fulfillid of hem. And she made nakid
 hir fornyaciouns, and discouerede hir
 euyf fame; and my soule wente away fro
 hir, as my soule hadde gon away fro hir
 19 sister. Forsothe she multipliede hir for-
 nycaciouns, bithenkynge the dais of hir
 zongth, in whiche she dide fornyacioun
 20 in the loond of Egypt. And she wexe
 woode bi letcherie vpon the liggyng bi
 of hem, whos flesschis ben as the flesschis
 of assis, and as fluxis, *or rennyngis*, of
 21 horsis the fluxis of hem. And thou
 hast visitide the grete trespassis^m of thi
 zongth, for thi brestis ben vndirled in
 Egypt, and the teetis of thi pubertee ben
 22 togidre brokyn. Therfor, thou Ooliba,
 thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo!
 Y shal reyse alle thi louseris azens thee,
 of whiche thi soule is fulfid, and Y shal
 23 gadre hem azens thee in cumpas; the
 sonys of Babiloyne, and alle the noble
 Caldeis, and tyrauntis, and princis, alleⁿ
 the sonys of Assyriens, and zonge men
 in noble fourme, duykis, and magistratis,
 alle princis of princis, and the named
 24 stiers of horsis. And thei shulen come
 vpon thee, maad redy with chaare and
 wheel, the multitude of puplis shulen be
 armed azens thee on eche syde with hau-
 berioun, and sheeld; and helme; and I
 shal zyue before hem doom, and thei
 25 shulen deme thee in her domys. And Y

of Caldeis expressid with colouris, and 15
 gird on the reynes with kniztis girdlis,
 and cappis peyntid in^k the heedis of hem,
 the foormes of alle duykis, the licnesse of
 the sones of Babiloyne, and of the lond
 of Caldeis, in which thei weren borun;
 sche was wood on hem bi coueitise of hir 16
 izen, and sche sente messangeris to hem
 in to Caldee. And whanne the sones of 17
 Babiloyne weren comun to hir, to the
 bed of tetis, thei defouleden hir in her
 letcheries of virgyns; and sche was de-
 foulid of hem, and the soule of hir was
 fillid of hem. Also sche made nakid hir 18
 fornicaciouns, and diskuyered hir schen-
 schipe; and my soule zede awey fro hir,
 as my soule hadde go awey fro hir sistir.
 For sche multiplied hir fornicaciouns, and 19
 hadde mynde on the daies of hir zongthe,
 in whiche sche dide fornicacioun in the
 lond of Egypt. And sche was wood in 20
 letcherie on the liggyng bi of hem, whos
 fleischis ben as the fleischis of assis, and
 as the membris of horsis *ben* the membris
 of hem. And thou visitidist the grete 21
 trespas of thi zongthe, whanne thi brestis
 weren maad low in Egypt, and the tetis
 of the tyme of thi mariage weren brokun.
 Therfor, thou Ooliba, the Lord God seith 22
 these thingis, Lo! Y schal reyse alle thi
 louseris azens thee, of whiche thi soule
 was fillid, and Y schal gadere hem azens
 thee in cumpas; the sones of Babiloyne, 23
 and alle Caldeis, noble and mizti men, and
 princes, alle the sones of Assiriens, and
 zonge men of noble foorme, duykis, and
 magistratis, alle princes of princes, and
 named stieris of horsis. And thei araied 24
 with chare and wheel schulen come on
 thee, the multitude of puplis schulen be
 armed with haburioun, and scheeld, and
 basynet, azens thee on ech side; and Y
 schal zyue doom bifor hem, and thei schu-
 len deme thee bi her domes. And Y schal 25
 sette my feruour in thee, which thei schu-
 len vse with thee in woodnesse; thei

^k Om. GH. ^l in A. ^m trespassse GH. ⁿ and alle H.

^k on INS.

shal putte myn enuye^o, or *wraththe*, in thee, which thei haunten with thee in woodnes; thei shulen kitte of thi noose and thin eeris, and whiche thingis shulen dwelle, thei shulen kytte of with swerd; thei shulen take thi sonys and thi dou3tris, and thi last shal be deuoured in fier.

26 And thei shulen vnclothe thee thi clothis, and shulen take awei the vessels of thi

27 glorie. And Y shal make thi grete trespassis^p for to reste of thee, and thi fornyacioun of the loond of Egipt; nether thou shalt reyse thin eyen to hem, and thou shalt no more haue mynde of Egipt.

28 For thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y shal bitake thee in to the hoondis of hem whom thou hatidist, in to the hoondis of whyche thi soule is fulfillid.

29 And thei shulen doo with thee in haate, and thei shulen take alle thi traueilis, and shulen leeue thee nakid, and ful of euyl fame; and the euyl fame of thi fornyaciouns, shal be shewid. Thi greet

30 trespas and thi fornyaciouns han don thes thingis to thee; for thou didist fornyacioun after heithen men, amonge whom thou art defoulid in ydolis of hem.

31 Thou wandridist^q in the weye of thi sistir, and Y shal 3yue the cuppe of hir

32 in thin hoond. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Thou shalt drynke the cuppe of thi sister, deep and brood; and thou shalt be in to scornynge, and vndirmowynge, whiche thou art moost able to take.

33 Thou shalt be fulfillid with drunkenes and sorewe, the cuppe of mournynge and heynes, the cuppe of thi sister Samarie.

34 And thou shalt drynke it, and drynke of vn to the drestis, and thou shalt deuoure the relyues of it, and thou shalt to-teere thi breestis, for I spak, seith the Lord

35 God. Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, For thou hast for3ete me, and caste me fer after thi bak, and thou beere thi grete trespassis^r and thi fornyaciouns.

36 And the Lord seith to me, seiynge, Sone

schulen kitte awei thi nose and thin eeris, and thei schulen sle with swerd tho thingis that weren left; thei schulen take thi sones and thi dou3tris, and thi laste thing schal be deuourid bi fier. And thei schulen 26 make thee nakid of thi clothis, and thei schulen take awei the vessels of thi glorie. And Y schal make thi greet trespasse to 27 reste fro thee, and thi fornyacioun fro the lond of Egipt; and thou schalt not reise thin 3zen to hem, and thou schalt no more haue mynde on Egipt. For the 28 Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal 3yue thee in to the hondis of hem whiche thou hatist, 'in to^l the hondis of hem of whiche thi soule was fillid, and thei schu- 29 len do with thee in hatrede. And thei schulen take awei alle thi trauels, and thei schulen leeue thee nakid, and ful of schenschiipe; and the schenschiipe of thi fornyaciouns schal be schewid. Thi greet trespas and thi fornyaciouns han do these 30 thingis to thee; for thou didist fornyacioun aftir hethene men, among whiche thou were defoulid in the idols of hem. Thou 3edist in the weie of thi sister, and 31 Y schal 3yue the cuppe of hir in thin hond. The Lord God seith these thingis, 32 Thou schalt drinke the cuppe of thi sistir, the depthe, and the broodnesse; thou that art most able to take, schalt be in to scornynge, and in to mouwyng. Thou 33 schalt be fillid with drunkenesse and sorewe, with the cuppe of mourenyng and of heynes, with the cuppe of thi sister Samarie. And thou schalt drynke it, and 34 thou schalt drinke of til to the drastis, and thou schalt deuoure the relifs therof, and thou schalt to-reende thi brestis, for Y the Lord spak, seith the Lord God. Therfor the Lord God seith these thingis, 35 For thou hast for3ete me, and hast cast forth me bihynde thi bodi, bere thou also thi greet trespas and thi fornyaciouns. And the Lord God seide to me, and spak, 36 Sone of man, whether thou demest Ooliba

^o haat GH. ^p trespasse GH. ^q wandrist GH. ^r trespasse GH.

^l and into A *pr. m.*

of man, whether thou demyst Ooliba and Oolla, and shewist to hem the grete tresp³⁷passis of hem? For thei han don auowtrie, and blood in the hoondis of hem, and thei diden fornyacioun with her ydolis; more ouere thei offren to hem her sonys for to be deuourid, whiche thei³⁸ gendriden to me. But and this thing thei diden to me, thei defouleden my seyntuaries in that dai, and thei prophaneden, *or maden vnhooli*, my sabotis.³⁹ And whanne thei offreden her sonys to her ydolis, and entriden my seyntuarie in that day, for to defoule it, and also thei diden thes thingis in the mydil of myn⁴⁰ hous. Thei senten to men comyng fro fer, to whom thei senten messengeris. And so loo! thei camen, to whom thou washidist thee, and al about anyntidist thin eyen with oynement of wymmen, and art⁴¹ ourned with wommans atyre. Thou hast setyn in a bed moost fayr, and a bord is ourned before thee; thou puttidist my tymyame, *or encense*, and myn oynement⁴² vpon it. And a voys^s of multitude ioiynge^t without forth was in it; and in the men that weren led to of the multitude of men, and camen fro deseert, puttiden rengis in the hoondis of hem, and faire⁴³ crownys in the heedis of hem. And Y seide to hir, that is defoulid in auowtries, Now also this shal doo fornyacioun in⁴⁴ hir fornyacioun. And thei wenten to hir as to a womman hoore, so thei entriden to Oolla and to Ooliba, cursid⁴⁵ wymmen. Therfor thes men ben iust, thes shulen deme hem in doom of auowtres^u, and in dome of sheding out blood; for thei ben auowtraris, and blood in the hoondis of hem, and with her ydolis thei⁴⁶ doon fornyacioun. Forsothe the Lord God seith thes thingis, 3it brynge the multitudis, and bitak hem in to noys and⁴⁷ raueyn; and be thei stonyd with stoonys of puplis, and be thei doluen with swerdis of hem. Thei shulen sle the sonys and

and Oolla, and tellist to hem the grete tresp³⁷passis of hem? For thei diden auowtrie, and blood *was* in the hondis of hem, and thei diden fornyacioun with her idols; ferthermore and thei offriden to tho the sonys whiche thei gendriden to me, for to be deuourid. But also thei diden this to³⁸ me, thei defouleden my seyntuarie in that dai, and maden vnhooli my sabotis. And³⁹ whanne thei sacrifisiden her sonys to her idols, and entriden in to my seyntuarie in that dai, that thei schulden defoule it, thei diden also these thingis in the myddis of myn hous. Thei senten to men com-⁴⁰ yng fro fer, to whiche thei hadden sent messengeris. Therfor lo! thei camen, to whiche thou waischidist thee, and anyntidist thin izen with^m oynement of wymmen, and thou were ourned with wymmens atier. Thou satist in a ful fair bed,⁴¹ and a boord was ourned bifor thee; thou settidist myn encense and myn oynement on it. And a vois of multitude makynge⁴² ful out ioye was ther ynne; and in men that weren brouzt of the multitude of men, and camen fro desert, thei settiden bies in the hondis of hem, and faire corouns on the heedis of hem. And Y seide to⁴³ hir, that was defoulid in auoutries, Now also thisⁿ schal do fornyacioun in hir fornyacioun. And thei entriden to hir; as to⁴⁴ a womman, an hoore, so thei entriden to Oolla and to Ooliba, cursid wymmen. Therfor these men ben iust, these schulen⁴⁵ deme thilke *wymmen* bi the doom of auoutressis, and bi the doom of hem that scheden out blood; for thei ben auoutressis, and blood *is* in the hondis of hem, and thei diden fornyacioun with her idols. For the Lord God seith these thingis,⁴⁶ Bring thou multitudis to^o hem, and 3yue thou hem in to noise, and in to raueyn; and be thei stonyd with the stoonys of⁴⁷ puplis, and be thei stikid togidere with the swerdis of hem. Thei schulen sle the sonys and the dou3tris of hem, and thei

^s noys AG sec. m. ^t goyng G pr. m. H. ^u auoutressis GH.

^m bi C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ⁿ sche this l. ^o of l.

dou3tris of hem, and thei shulen brenne
 48 with fier the housis of hem. And Y shal
 doo awei greet trespas fro erthe; and alle
 wymmen shulen lerne, lest thei doon
 49 after the greet trespas of hem. And thei
 shulen 3yue 3our greet trespas vpon 3ou;
 and 3e shulen bere the synnys of 3our
 idolis, and 3e shulen wite, for I the Lord
 God.

CAP. XXIV.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 me, in the nynthe 3eer, and in the tenthe
 moneth, the tenthe day of the moneth,
 2 seiyng, Sone of man, wrijt thou to thee
 the name of this dai, in whom the kyng
 of Babiloyne is confermyd azens Jerusa-
 3 lem to day. And thou shalt seye bi
 prouerbe a parable to the hous, terror to
 wraththe, and thou shalt speke to hem,
 Thes thingis seith the Lord, Put thou a
 brasen pot, sotheli put thou, and send in
 4 to it water; tak to a beest moost fat. Put
 togidre the gobetis of it in to it, eche
 good part, and the thi3, and the shuldre,
 5 chosyn and ful of boonus. And mak to
 gidre heepis of boonus vndir it; and the
 sethinge of it buylide vp, and the boonus
 6 ben ful sothen in the mydil therof. Ther-
 for thes thingis seith the Lord God, Woo
 to the citee of blodis, to the pot whos
 rust is in it, and the rust therof wente
 not out of it; caste it out bi partis, and
 bi his partis; soort, *or lot*, felle not vpon
 7 it. Forsothe the blood therof is in the
 mydil therof; he shedde it out vpon the
 moost cleer stoon, he shedde it not out
 vpon erthe, that it may be keuered with
 8 dust, that Y schulde lede in aboue myn in-
 dignacioun, and in veniaunce be^v vengid;
 Y 3aue the blood therof vpon the moost
 9 cleer stoon, lest it were keuered. Ther-
 for thes thingis seith the Lord God, Woo
 to the citee of bloodis, of whom I shal
 10 make greet hepe of stickis in fier; gadir
 the boonus, whom Y shal brenne with
 fier; fleshis shulen be waastid^w, and al

schulen brenne with fier the housis of
 hem. And Y schal do awei greet trespas 48
 fro the lond; and alle wymmen schulen
 lerne, that thei do not aftir the greet
 trespas of hem. And thei schulen 3yue 49
 3oure grete trespas on 3ou; and 3e schulen
 bere the synnes of 3oure idols, and 3e
 schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God^p.

CAP. XXIV.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹
 to me, in the nynthe 3eer, and in the
 tenthe monethe, in the tenthe dai of the
 monethe, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, 2
 write to thee the name of this dai, in
 which the king of Babiloyne is confermed
 azens Jerusalem to dai. And thou schalt 3
 seie bi a prouerbe a parable to the hous,
 terrere^q to wraththe, and thou schalt speke
 to hem, The Lord God seith these thingis,
 Sette thou a brasun pot, sette thou so-
 theli, and putte^r thou watir in to it. Take
 thou a beeste ful fat; gadere thou togi- 4
 dere the^s gobetis therof in^t it, ech good
 part, and the hi3, and the schuldre,
 chosun thingis and ful of boonys. Also 5
 dresse thou heepis of boonys vndur it; and
 the sething therof buylide out, and the
 boonys therof weren sodun in the myddis
 therof. Therfor the Lord God seith these 6
 thingis, Wo to the citee of bloodis, to the
 pot whos rust is ther ynne, and the rust
 therof zede not out of it; caste thou out
 it^u bi partis, and bi hise partis; lot felle
 not on it. For whi the blood therof is in 7
 the myddis therof; he schede it out on a
 ful cleer stoon, he schedde not it out on
 erthe, that it mai be hilid with dust, that 8
 Y schulde bringe in myn indignacioun,
 and 'a venge^v bi veniaunce^w; Y 3af the
 blood therof on a ful cleer stoon, that it
 schulde not be hilid. Therfor the Lord 9
 God seith these thingis, Wo to the citee
 of bloodis, whos brennyng Y schal make
 greet; gadere thou togidre boonys, whiche 10
 Y schal kyndle with fier; fleischis schulen

^v Om. G pr. m. H. ^w waast H.

^p Om. N. ^q terror me K. ^r sende C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ^s thi N. ^t in to s. ^u Om. I. ^v venge I.
^w my veniaunce I.

the making togidre shal be sothen, and
 11 boonus shulen faile. And put thou it
 void vpon coolis, that it wexe hoot, and
 the brasse therof melte, and the foulunge
 therof^x be wellid to gidre in the mydil
 therof, and the rust of it be waastid.
 12 With myche traueile it is^y maad in sweet,
 and the myche rust of it wente not out
 13 therof, nether bi fier. Thin vucennes
 cursid; for I wolde clense thee, and
 thou art not clensid fro thi filthis; but
 nether thou shal be clensid eer, til Y shal
 make myn indignacioun for to reste in
 14 thee. I^z the Lord spak; it shal come,
 and Y shal doo, Y shal not passe, nether
 spare, nether Y shal be plesid; after thi
 weies and after thi fyndyngis to Y dem-
 15 ede thee, seith the Lord. And the word
 16 of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone
 of man, loo! Y take fro thee the desyrable
 thing of thin eyen in plage, *or wounde*,
 and thou shalt not mourne, nether weepe,
 17 nether thi teeris shulen flowe. Thou
 stillynge sorewe inward, thou shalt not
 make mournynge of^a deede men; be thi
 coroun about boundyn to thee, and thi
 schoon shulen be in thi feet, nether with
 clooth thou shalt veile, *or hijde*, mouthis,
 nether thou shalt ete meet^b of mourn-
 18 ynge men. Therfor Y spak to the puple
 in the mornynge, and my wijf is deed in
 the euenynge; and I dide, as he comaund-
 19 ide to me. And the puple seide to me,
 Whi shewist thou not to vs what thes
 20 thingis bitokenen, that thou dost? And
 Y seide to hem, The word of the Lord
 21 is maad to me, seiynge, Spek thou to the
 hows of Israel, Thes thingis seith the
 Lord God, Loo! Y shal defoule my seyn-
 tuarie, the pryde of 3our empyre, and
 desyrable thing of 3our eyen, and vpon
 which 3our soule dredith; and 3our sonys
 and 3our dou3ters, whom 3e laften, shulen
 22 falle in swerd. And 3e shulen doo, as Y
 dide; 3e shulen not hide mouthis with
 clooth, and 3e shulen not ete metis of

be wastid, and al the setting togidere
 schal be sodun, and boonys schulen faile.
 Also sette thou it voide on coolis, that the 11
 metal therof wexe hoot, and be meltid,
 and that the filthe therof be wellid togi-
 dere in the myddis therof, and the rust
 therof be wastid. It was swat bi myche 12
 trauel, and the ouer greet rust therof 3ede
 not out therof, nether bi fier. Thin vn- 13
 clennesse *is* abhomynable, for Y wolde
 clense thee, and thou art not clensid fro
 thi filthis; but nether thou schalt be clensid
 bifore, til Y make myn indignacioun to
 reste in thee. Y the Lord spak; it schal 14
 come, and Y schal make, Y schal not
 passe, nethir Y schal spare, nether Y schal
 be plesid; bi thi weies and bi thi fynd-
 yngis Y schal deme thee, seith the Lord.
 And the word of the Lord was maad to 15
 me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, lo! 16
 Y take awei fro thee the desirable thing of
 thin 3en in veniaunce, and thou schalt not
 weile, nether wepe, nether thi teeris schu-
 len flete down. Weile thou beynge stille, 17
 thou schalt not make mourenyng of deed
 men; thi coroun be boundun aboute thin
 heed, and thi schoon schulen be in the
 feet, nether thou schalt hile the mouth
 with a cloth, nether thou schalt ete the
 metis of mourneris. Therfor Y spak to 18
 the puple in the morewtid, and my wijf
 was deed in the euentid; and Y dide in
 the morewtid, as he hadde comaundid to
 me. And the puple seide to me, Whi 19
 schewist thou not to vs what these thingis
 signefien, whiche thou doist? And Y 20
 seide to hem, The word of the Lord was
 maad to me, and he seide, Speke thou to 21
 the hous of Israel, The Lord God seith
 these thingis, Lo! Y schal defoule my
 seyntuarie, the pride of 3oure empire, and
 the desirable^x thing of 3oure 3en, and on
 which 3oure soule dredith; and 3oure sones
 and 3oure dou3tris, whiche 3e leften, schu-
 len falle bi swerd. And 3e schulen do, as 22
 Y dide; 3e schulen not hile mouthis with

^x of it GH. ^y Om. G pr. m. H. ^z Om. A. ^a in H. ^b metis GH.

^x desirable I.

23 men mournynge. 3e shulen haue corouns
in 3our heedis, and shoon in feet; 3e shu-
len not weile, ne wepe, but faile for leenes
in 3our wickidnessis; and eche man shal
24 sorewe to his brother. And Ezechiel
shal be to 3ou in to a wonder *bitoknyng*
thing to come; after alle thingis that he
dide, 3e shulen doo; whanne^c this thing
shal come, 3e shulen wite, for Y the Lord
25 God. And thou, sone of man, loo! in the
dai in which Y shal take fro hem the
strength of hem, and ioie of dignytee,
and desyre of her eyen, vpon which the
soulis of hem resten, the sones and the
26 dou3tris of hem; in that dai whanne a
man fleyng shal come to thee, that he
27 telle to thee; sotheli in that dai thi mouth
shal be openyd with hym that fleeth^d;
and thou shalt speke, and thou shalt not
be stille more; and thou shalt be to hem
in to a wonder, and 3e shulen wite, for I
the Lord.

CAP. XXV.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, put thou thi
face a3ens the sonys of Amon, and thou
3 shalt prophecie of hem. And thou shalt
seie to the sonys of Amon, Here 3e the
word of the Lord God; thes thingis seith
the Lord God, For that that 3e seiden,
Wew! wew! *or scorn, or repref*, vpon my
seyntuarie, for it is polutid, and vpon
the loond of Israel, for it is desolatid,
and vpon the hous of Juda, for it is led
4 in to caitifdoo; therfor loo! Y shal
bitake thee to sones of the eeste in
to eritage, and thei shulen togidir sette
her fooldis in thee, and shulen putte her
tentis in thee; thei shulen ete thi fruytis,
5 and thei shulen drynke thi mylk. And
I shal 3yue Ramath in to dwellynge of
camelis, and the sonys of Amon in to
couche of beestis; and 3e shulen wite, for

cloth, and 3e schulen not ete the mete of
weileris. 3e schulen haue corouns in 3oure²³
heedis, and schoon in the feet; 3e schulen
not weile, nether 3e schulen wepe, but 3e
schulen faile in wretchidnesse, for 3oure
wickidnessis; and ech man schal weile to
his brother. And Ezechiel schal be to²⁴
3ou in to a signe of thing to comynge; bi
alle thingis whiche he dide, 3e schulen do,
whanne this thing schal come; and 3e
schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God.
And thou, sone of man, lo! in the dai in²⁵
which Y schal take awei fro hem the
strengthe of hem, and the ioie of dignyte,
and the desire of her i3en, on whiche the
soulis of hem resten, *caste awei* the sones
and dou3tris^y of hem; in that dai whanne²⁶
a man fleyng shal come to thee, to telle
to thee; in that dai sotheli thou schalt²⁷
opene thi mouth with hym that fledde;
and thou schalt speke, and schalt no more
be stille; and thou schalt be to hem in to
a signe of thing to comynge, and 3e schu-
len witen, that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. XXV.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹
to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man,²
sette thi face a3ens the sones of Amon,
and thou schalt profesie of hem. And³
thou schalt seie to the sones of Amon,
Here 3e the word of the Lord God; the
Lord God seith these thingis, For that
that 3e seiden, Wel! wel! on my seyn-
tuarie, for it is defoulid, and on the lond^z
of Israel, for it is maad desolat, and on
the hous of Juda, for thei ben led^a in to
to caitifte; lo! therfor Y schal 3yue thee⁴
the sones of the^b cest in to eritage, and
thei schulen sette her foldis in thee, and
thei shulen sette her tentis in thee; thei
schulen ete thi fruytis, and thei schulen
drynke thi mylk. And Y schal 3yue Ra-⁵
bath in to a dwellyng place of camels, and
the sones of Amon in to a bed of beestis;
and 3e schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

^c and whan H. ^d flee H.

^y the dou3tris I. ^z hond A pr. m. ^a left A pr. m. ^b Om. N.

⁶Y the Lord. For thes thingis seith the Lord God, For that that thou ioiedist with hoond, and smytidist with foot, and ioiedist of al thi wil vpon the loond ⁷of Israel; therfor loo! Y shal stretche forth myn hoond vpon thee, and Y shal bitake thee in to rauyshinge of heithen men, and Y shal slee thee of puplis, and Y shal leese fro loondis, and togidre defoule; and 3e shulen wite, for Y the Lord. ⁸Thes thingis seith the Lord God, For that that Moab and Seyr seyden, Loo! as alle heithen men the hous of Juda; ⁹therfor loo! Y shal opyn the shulder of Moab of cytees, sotheli of his cytees and of his coostis, the noble of erthe, Bechiesmoth, and Beelmoth, and Cariathaym, to the sones of the este, with the sones of Amon. And Y shal 3eue it in to eritage, that the mynde of the sones of Amon be ¹¹namore in folkis, and in Moab Y shal make domes; and thei shulen wite, for I ¹²the Lord. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, For that that Ydume dide veniaunce, that she shulde venge hir of the sones of Juda, and synnede trespasyng, ¹³and axede veniaunce of hem; therfor thes thingys seith the Lord God, Y shal stretche out myn hoond vpon Ydume, and shal take away fro it man and beest, and Y shal make it deseert fro the south; and thei that ben in Dedan shulen falle ¹⁴in swerd. And Y shal 3yue my veniaunce vpon Ydume, bi the hoond of my puple Israel; and thei shulen doo in Edom after my wraththe, and my woodnes; and thei shulen wite my veniaunce, ¹⁵seith the Lord God. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, For that that Palestyns diden veniaunce, and vengiden hem silf with al inwit, sleyng and fulfillynge ¹⁶oolde enemytees; therfor thes thingis seith the Lord, Loo! Y shal stretche out myn hoond vpon Palestyns, and Y shal slee the sleers, and Y shal lese the re- ¹⁷lyues of the see cuntree; and Y shal doo in hem grete veniaunces, repreuyng in

For the Lord God seith these thingis, For ⁶that that thou flappidist with hond, and smytidist with the foot, and ioiedist of al desijr on^e the lond of Israel; therfor ⁷lo! Y schal stretche forth myn hond on thee, and Y schal 3yue thee in to rauysch- yng of hethene men, and Y schal sle thee fro puplis, and Y schal leese thee, and al to-breke thee fro londis; and 3e schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. The Lord God ⁸seith these thingis, For that that Moab and Seir seiden, Lo! the hous of Juda *is* as^d alle folkis; therfor lo! Y schal open^e ⁹the schuldre of Moab of citees, sotheli of citees therof and of the endis therof, the noble *citees* of the lond, Bethiesmoth, and^e Beelmoth, and Cariathaym, to the sones ¹⁰of the eest, with the sones of Amon. And Y schal 3yue it in to eritage, that mynde of the sones of Amon be no more among hethene men, and in Moab Y schal make ¹¹domes; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. The Lord God^f seith these ¹²thingis, For that that Ydumee dide veniaunce, that it avengide it silf of the sones of Juda, and synnede doynge trespas, and axide greetli veniaunce of hem; therfor ¹³the Lord God seith these thingis, Y schal stretche forth myn hond on Idumee, and Y schal take awei fro it man and beeste, and Y schal make it desert of the south; and thei that ben in Dedan schulen falle bi swerd. And Y schal 3yue my ven- ¹⁴iaunce on Idumee, bi the hond of my puple Israel; and thei schulen do in Edom bi my wraththe, and bi my strong veniaunce; and thei schulen knowe my veniaunce, seith the Lord God. The^g Lord ¹⁵God seith these thingis, For that that Palestyns diden veniaunce, and auengiden hem silf, with al wille sleyng, and fyllynge elde enemytees; therfor the Lord God ¹⁶seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal stretche forth myn hond on Palestyns, and Y schal sle sleeris, and Y schal leese the reme- nauntis of the se coost; and Y schal make ¹⁷grete veniaunces in hem, and Y schal re-

^c of s sec. m. ^d of FGIMNPQSUX. ^e Om. IN. ^f Om. N. ^g And the I.

woodnes; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne Y shal ȝyue my veniaunce vpon hem.

CAP. XXVI.

1 And it is doon in the elleuenthe ȝeer, in the first^e of the moneth, the word of
2 the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, for that that Tyrus seide of Jerusalem, Wew! *or ioye*, the ȝatis of puplis ben togidre broken, it is conuertid to me; Y shal be fulfillid, it is deseert;
3 therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y vpon thee, Tyre; and Y shal make many folkis for to stie vp to thee,
4 as the see flowynge stieth vp. And thei shulen scatere the wallis of Tyre, and thei shulen distruye the touris therof; and I shal shaue the dust of it fro it, and Y shal ȝyue it in to a moost cleer
5 stoon. Driyng of nettis it shal be in the mydil of the see, for Y spak, seith the Lord God. And it shal be in to rauysh-
6 ynge to folkis. And the douȝters therof that ben in the feeld, shulen be slayn with swerd; and thei shulen wite, for Y
7 the Lord. For thes thingis seith the Lord God, Lo! I shal brynge to Tyre Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, fro the north, kyng of kyngis, with horsis, and charis, and horsmen, and cumpanye,
8 and greet puple. He shal slee bi swerd thi douȝtris that ben in the feeld; and he shal enuyroune thee with waardyngis, and he shal brynge togider the heepe of erthe in cumpas, and he shal reise vp
9 azens thee a sheld. And he shal tempre engynes in maner of vynes, and engynes in maner of wetheres in to thi wallis; and he shal destruye thi touris in his aarmer.
10 With ynne flowynge of his^f horsis, the dust of hem shal keuere thee; of the sowne of horsmen, and wheelis, and charis thi wallis shulen be moued; whanne he shal goo in the ȝatis, as bi entryngis of

preue in strong veniaunce; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal ȝyue my veniaunce on hem.

CAP. XXVI.

And it was doon in the enleuenthe ȝeer, 1 in the firste *dai* of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, for that that 2 Tere seide of Jerusalem, Wel! the ȝatis of puplis ben brokun, it^h is turned to me; Y schal be fillid, it is forsakun; therfor 3 the Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Tere, Y on thee; and Y schal make many folkis to stie^l to thee, as the see flowynge stieth. And thei schulen distrie the wallis of Tere, 4 and thei schulen distrie the touris therof; and Y schal rase the dust therof fro it, and Y schal ȝyue it^k in to a 'moost clere^l stoon. Driyng of nettis schal be in the 5 myddis of the see, for Y spak, seith the Lord God. And *Tere* schal be in to rauysching to hethene men. And the douȝ- 6 tris therof that ben in the feeld, schulen be slayn bi swerd; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. For whi the Lord 7 God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal brynge^m to Tere Nabugodonosor, theⁿ king of Babiloyne, fro the north, the kyng of kyngis, with horsis, and charis, and knyȝtis, and with a cumpeny, and greet puple. He schal sle bi swerd thi douȝtris 8 that ben in the feeld, and he schal cumpasse thee with strengthingis, and he schal bere togidere erthe in cumpas. And he schal reise a scheeld azens thee, and he 9 schal tempre engynes lijc vineres, and engines 'that ben^o *clepid* wetheris azens thi wallis; and he schal distrie thi touris bi his armure. Bi flowynge of his horsis, 10 the dust of tho schal hile thee; thi wallis schulen be mouyd of the soun of knyȝtis, and of wheelis, and of charis; whanne he schal entre bi the ȝatis, as bi entryngis of a citee distried, with the clees of hise 11

^e firste day H. ^f Om. A.

^h and N. ⁱ stize vp I. ^k Om. A. ^l tiil I pr. m. ^m sende R sec. m. ⁿ Om. N. ^o Om. CEFCHI KMNPQRSUX.

11 the citee destruyed, *or scatered*, with the
feet of his horsis he schal defoule alle thi
stretis. He schal sle bi swerd thi puple,
and thi noble ymagis shulen falle in to
12 erthe. Thei shulen waaste thi riȝtchessis,
and thei shulen rauysche thi marchaun-
disis; and thei shulen distruye thi wallis,
and thei shulen vndir-turne thi ful clere
housis, and thei shulen putte thi stoonus,
and thi trees, and thi poudre in the mydil
13 of watris. And Y schal make the multi-
tude of thi songsters for to reste, and the
sown of thin harpis shal namore be herd;
14 and Y schal ȝyue thee in to a moost cleer
stoon. Thou shalt be drynge of^g nettis in
the mydil see^h, nether thou shalt more be
bildid, for Y the Lord spak, seith the Lord
15 God. Thes thingis seith the Lord God to
Tire, Whether not of the soun of thi fall-
ynge, and of the sorewyng of thi slayn
men, whanne thei shulen be slayn in the
mydil of thee, ylys shulen be moued to
16 gider? And alle princis of the see shulen
cum down froⁱ her seetis, and thei shulen
doo awei her spuylis, and thei shulen
caste awei her dyuerse clothingis, and
thei shulen be clothid with greet dreed.
In the erthe thei shulen sitte, and thei
astonyed vpon thi sodeyn fal shulen
17 wondre. And thei takynge to vpon thee^k
lamentacioun, shulen seie to thee, How
perschidist thou, noble citee, that dwellist
in the see, which was stroong in the see
with thi dwellers, whom alle men dred-
18 den? Now shippis shulen wondre in the
day of thi dreed, and ylis in the see
shulen be sturblid, for that that no man
19 goth out of thee. For thes thingis seith
the Lord God, Whanne Y schal ȝyue thee
a citee desolat, as cytees that ben not
enhabitid, and Y schal leede to vpon thee
the depnes, *or the see*, and manye watris
20 shulen hille thee. And Y schal drawe
thee down with thes that gon down in to
the lake, to puple euerlastynge; and Y

horsis he schal defoule alle thi stretis.
He schal sle bi swerd thi puple, and thi
noble ymagis shulen falle down in to
erthe. Thei shulen waste thi richessis,¹²
thei shulen rauysche thi marchaundies;
and thei shulen distrie thi wallis, and
thei shulen distrie thin housis ful clere,
and thi stoonys, and thi^p trees, and thei
shulen putte thi dust in the myddis of
watris. And Y schal make to reste the¹³
multitude of thi syngeris, and the sown
of thin harpis schal no more be herd;
and Y schal ȝyue thee in to a moost cleer¹⁴
stoon. Thou schalt be dryng of nettis,
and thou schalt no more be bildid, for Y
the Lord spak, seith the Lord God^q.
The Lord God seith^r these thingis of¹⁵
Tire, Whether ilis shulen not be moued
of the sown of thi fal, and of weiling^s of
thi slayn men, whanne thei ben slayn in
the myddis of thee? And alle the princis¹⁶
of the see shulen go down of her seetis,
and thei shulen do awei her mentils,
ether spuylis^t of slayn enemyes, and thei
shulen caste awei her dyuerse clothis,
and shulen be clothid with wondring^u.
Thei shulen sitte in the erthe, and thei
shulen be astonyed, and thei^v shulen won-
dre of^w thi sodeyn fal. And thei shulen¹⁷
take weilyng on thee, and schule seie to
thee, Hou perschidist thou, noble citee,
that dwellist in the see, that were strong
in the see with thi dwelleris, whiche
dwelleris alle men dredden? Now schippis¹⁸
shulen wondre in the dai of thi drede,
and ilis in the see shulen be disturblid,
for noon goith out of thee. For the Lord¹⁹
God seith these thingis, Whanne Y schal
ȝyue thee^x a citee desolat, as the citees
that ben not enhabitid, and Y schal bringe
on thee the depthe of watris, and many
watris shulen hille thee. And Y schal²⁰
drawe thee down with hem that goon
down in to a lake, to the puple euerlast-
ynge; and Y schal sette thee in the laste

^g Om. A. ^h of the see H. ⁱ of GH. ^k the G pr. m. K.

^p Om. A. ^q Om. N. ^r spak F. ^s the weiling CEFHIKQRSU. ^t her spuylis CEFHIKMNQRSUX.
^u wondringis A. ^v Om. CEGIKMNQRSUX. ^w on CEFHIKS. ^x thee to be I.

shal togidre sette thee in the last^k loond,
as old wildirnes, with thes that ben lad
forth in to the lake, that thou be not
enhabited. Sotheli whanne I shal 3yue
21 glorie in the loond of men lyuyng, I
shal dryue thee in to nouzt, and thou
shalt not be; thou sowzt azen shalt na-
more be foundyn in to with outen ende,
seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXVII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, Therfor thou, sone of man,
3 tak to vpon Tyre lamentacioun. And
thou shalt seye to Tyre, that dwellith in
the entre of the see, the marchaundisyng
of puplis to many ylis, Thes thingis seith
the Lord God, O! Tyre, thou seidist, Y
4 am of perfijt fayrnes, and set in the herte
of the see. Men of thi coostis that bild-
5 iden thee, fulfilliden thi fayrnes; thei bild-
iden thee with bechis of Sanyr, with alle
makyngis of boord of the see; thei token
cedre of Liban, for to make to thee a
6 mast. Thei heweden okis of Baasan in
to thin ooris, and thei maden to thee thi
seetis of rowers of yuer of Ynde, and thi
7 litil cabans of the ylis of Ytalie. Dyuerse
bijs of Egipt is wouun to thee in to veyl,
that it shulde be put in the mast; iasynct
and purpur of the ylis Helysa ben maad
8 thin hillynge. Dwellers of Sidon and
Aradie weren thi rowers; thou Tyre, thi
wijse men ben maad thi gouernours.
9 Olde men of Bibly, and prudent men
therof, hadden shipmen to the seruyce of
thi diuerse purtenaunce to houshold; alle
the shippis of the see, and the maryners
of hem, weren in the puple of thi mar-
10 chaundise. Men of Pers, and Lidiense,
and Libiense weren in thi cumpanye,
or oost; men thi fizters hangiden sheld
and helm in thee, for thin ournyng.
11 Sonys of Aradi with thin oost weren
vpon thi wallis in thi cumpas; but and
Pigmeis, that weren in thi touris, hang-

lond, as elde wildirnessis, with hem that
ben led down in to a lake, that thou be
not enhabited. Certis whanne Y schal
3yue glorie in the lond of lyueris, Y 21
schal dryue thee in to nouzt, and thou
schalt not be; and thou schalt be souzt,
and thou schalt no more be foundun with
outen ende, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXVII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
to me, and he seide, Therfor thou, sone 2
of man, take weilyng on Tire. And thou 3
schalt seie to Tire, that dwellith in the
entryng of the see, to the marchaundie of
puplis to many ilis, The Lord God seith
these thingis, O! Tire, thou seidist, Y am
of perfit fairnesse, and Y am set in the 4
herte of the see. Thei that ben in thi
coostis that bildiden thee, filliden thi fair-
nesse; thei bildiden thee with fir trees of 5
Sanyr, with alle werkis of boordis of the
see; thei token a cedre of the Liban, to
make a mast to thee. Thei hewiden ookis 6
of Bala in to thin ooris, thei maden to
thee thi seetis of rowers of yuer of Ynde,
and cabans of the ilis of Italie. Dyuerse 7
biys, *ether whijt silk*^z, of Egipt, was wouun
to thee in to a veil, that it schulde be set
in the mast; iacynct and purpur of the
ilis of Elisa weren maad thin hiling. The 8
dwelleris of Sidon and^a Aradians weren
thi rowers; Tire, thi wise men weren
maad thi gouernouris. The elde men of 9
Biblos, and the prudent men therof, had-
den schipmen to the seruyse of thi dy-
uerse araye of houshold; alle the schippis
of the see, and the schip men of tho, weren
in the puple of thi marchaundie. Perseis, 10
and Lidians, and Libians weren in thin
oost; thi men werriours hangiden in thee
a scheeld and helm, for thin ournyng.
Sones Aradians with thin oost weren on 11
thi wallis in thi cumpas; but also Pigmeis,
that weren in thi touris, hangiden her

^k laft GH.^y A! CEF GHIMNPQRSUX. ^z Om. CHNQY. ^a and of 18 sec. m.

iden her arewgirdlis in thi wallis bi cum-
 12 pas; thei fulfilliden thi fayrnes. Cartagy-
 nessis, thi marchauntis, of multitude of
 alle ritchessis, with siluer, and yren, tyn,
 13 and leed thei fulfilliden thi fayris. Grece,
 and Tubal, *or Spayn*, and Mosoch, *or*
Capadocye, thei, thi biers, brouzten ser-
 uauntis and brasen vessels to thi puple.
 14 Of the hous Togorma thei brouzten to
 thi chepynge horsis, and horsmen, and
 15 mulis. Sonys of Dedan thi marchauntis;
 manye ilis the marchaundisyng of thin
 hoond, chaungiden togidre iu thi prijs
 teeth of yuer, and of hebenyf, *that is, a*
tre that, after that it is kit, waxith hard
 16 *as stoon*. Syrus thi marchaunt, for the
 multitude of thi werkis thei puttiden
 forth in thi market, *or marchaundise*,
 gemme, and purpur, and clooth with dy-
 uerse colours, and bijs, and silk, and
 chodchod, *that is, precious marchaun-*
 17 *dise*. Juda and the loond of Israel, thei
 thi biers in the first whete, puttiden forth
 in thi fayris bawm, and hony, and oyle,
 18 and rosyn, *or gumme*. Damascene thi
 marchaunt, in multitude of thi werkis,
 and multitude of dyuerse ritchessis, in
 19 fat wiyn, in wullis of best colour. Dan,
 and Grece, and Mousel, settiden forth¹ in
 thi fayris yren wrouzt bi craft, myrre,
or preciouise gumme, and swete sauer-
 20 ynge spice, in thi marchaundise. Dedan
 21 thi biers, in tapetis for to sitte. Arabie
 and^m alle princis of Cedar, thei mar-
 chauntis of thin boond; with lambren,
 and wetheres, and kidis thi marchauntis
 22 camen to thee. The sellers of Saba and
 Reema, thei thi marchauntis, with alle
 the first swete sauerynge spicis, and pre-
 cious stoon, and gold, which thei put-
 23 tiden forth in thi market. Aram, and
 Chemye, and Eden, thi marchauntis;
 Saba, and Assur, and Thelmath, thi sell-
 24 ers. Thei thi marchauntis of manyfold
 wlappyng thing, of iacynct and steyned
 clothis, with ymagis and precious rytch-

arowe casis in^b thi wallis bi^c cumpas;
 thei filliden thi fairnesse. Cartagynensis,¹²
 thi marchauntis, of the multitude of alle
 ritchessis filliden thi feiris, with siluer, and
 irun, with tyn, and leed. Grece, and¹³
 Tubal, and Mosoch, thei *weren* thi mar-
 chauntis, and brouzten boonde men and
 brasun vessels to thi puple. Fro the hous¹⁴
 of Thogorma thei brouzten horsis, and
 horse men, and mulis, to thi chepyng. The¹⁵
 sones of Dedan *weren* thi marchauntis;
 many ilis the marchaundie of thin hond,
 chaungiden teeth of yuer, and of heben-
 nus, in thi prijs. Sirie *was* thi marchaunt,¹⁶
 for the multitude of thi werkis thei set-
 tiden forth in thi marcat gemme, and pur-
 pur, and clothis wouun dyuersli at the
 maner of scheeldis, and bijs, and seelk,
 and cochod, *ether auer de peis*. Juda and¹⁷
 the lond of Israel *weren* thi marchauntis
 in the beste wheete, and settiden forth in
 thi feiris bawme, and hony, and oile, and
 resyn. Damassen *was* thi marchaunt, in¹⁸
 the multitude of thi werkis, in the mul-
 titude of dyuerse ritchessis, in fat wyn, in^d
 wollis of best colour. Dan, and Grece,¹⁹
 and Mosel, settiden forth in thi fairis irun
 maad suteli, gumme of^e myrre, and cala-
 mus, *that is, a spice swete smellynge*, in
 thi marchaundie. Dedan *weren* thi mar-²⁰
 chauntis, in tapitis to sitte. Arabie and²¹
 alle the princes of Cedar, thei *weren* the
 marchauntis of thin hond; with lambren,
 and wetheris, and kidis thi marchauntis
 camen to thee. The silleris of Saba and²²
 of Rema, thei *weren* thi marchauntis, with
 alle the beste swete smellynge spices, and
 preciouise stoon, and gold, which thei set-
 tiden forth in thi marcat. Aran, and²³
 Chenne, and Eden, *weren* thi marchauntis;
 Sabba, and Assur, and Chelmath, *weren* thi
 silleris. Thei *weren* thi marchaundis in²⁴
 many maneres, in fardels of iacinct and
 of clothis of many colours, and of pre-
 cious ritchessis, that weren wlappid and
 boundun with coordis. Also schippis of²⁵

¹ forsothe G pr. m. H. ^m in A.

^b ON INS sec. m. ^c in N. ^d and I. ^e and AI. and of S.

25 essis, whiche weren wlapid and streyned
 togidre with coordis. And shippis of
 the see hadden cedris in her marchaun-
 disis; thi princis in thi marchaundise;
 and thou art fulfillid, and art glorified
 26 fulmyche in the herte of the see. In
 manye watris thi rowers, *or mareners*,
 ledden thee to; the south wynde defoul-
 27 ide thee in the herte of the see. Thi
 ritchessis, and thi tresours, and thi many
 fold instrument, thi mareneres, and thi
 gouvernours that helden thi purtenaunce
 of houshold, and weren bfore to thi pu-
 ple, *or souerayns*, and men thi fizters
 that weren in thee, with al thi multitude
 that is in the mydil of thee, shulen falle
 in toⁿ the herte of the see. In the dai of
 28 thi fallynge of the soun of crye of thi
 gouvernours multitude of shippis shulen
 29 be disturbid^o togidre; and alle men
 that helden oor, shulen cum doun of her
 shippis. Mareners and alle gouvernours
 of the see shulen stoonde vpon the loond;
 30 and thei shulen weile vpon thee with
 greet vois, and shulen crye bitterli, and
 shulen caste powdre, *or dust*, in her
 heedis, and shulen be spreyned togidre
 31 with asshen^p. And thei shulen shaue
 vpon thee ballidness, and shulen be gyrd
 with hairis, and shulen wepe thee in bit-
 ternes of soule, in moost bitter wepynge.
 32 And thei shulen take to vpon thee a
 weping soong, and shulen weile thee, Who
 is as Tyre, that wax doumb in the mydil
 33 of the see? Which in the outgoynge of
 thi marchaundises of the see fulfillidist
 manye puplis; in the multitude of thi
 ritchessis, and thi puplis thou madist
 34 riche kyngis of erthe. Now thou art de-
 foulid of the see, in depnessis of watris;
 thi ritchessis and al thi multitude that
 35 was in mydil of the see fellen doun. Alle
 dwellers of ylis wondreden greetli vpon
 thee, and^q the rowers, *or the kyngis*, of
 hem. Alle smyten with tempest chaung-
 36 iden cheris; marchauntis of puplis hiss-

the see hadden cedris in her marchaun-
 dies; thi princes *were*n in thi marchaundie;
 and thou were fillid, and were glorified
 greetli in the herte of the see. Thi rowers 26
 brouzten thee in many watris, the south
 wynd al to-brak thee; in the herte of the
 see *were*n thi ritchessis, and thi tresours, 27
 and thi many fold instrument. Thi schip
 men, and thi gouvernours that helden thi
 purtenaunce of houshold, and weren soue-
 reyns of thi puple, and thi men werriours
 that weren in thee, with al thi multitude
 which is in the myddis of thee, schulen
 falle doun in the herte of the see, in the
 dai of thi fallynge. Schippis schulen be 28
 disturblid of the soun of the cry of thi
 gouvernours; and alle men that helden oore, 29
 schulen go doun of her shippis. Ship-
 men and alle gouvernours of the see shulen
 stonde in the lond; and schulen zelle on 30
 thee with greet vois. And thei shulen cry
 bitterli, and thei schulen caste poudur on
 her heedis, and schulen be spreynt with
 aische. And thei schulen shaue ballid- 31
 nesse on thee, and schulen be gird with
 hairis, and thei schulen biwepe thee in
 bitternesse of soule, with most bittir wep-
 yng. And thei schulen take on thee a 32
 song of mourenyng, and thei schulen bi-
 weile thee, Who is as Tire, that was
 doumb in the myddis of the see? And 33
 thou, *Tire*, fillidist manye puplis in the
 goyng out of thi marchaundies of the
 see; in the multitude of thi ritchessis, and
 of thi puplis, thou madist riche the kingis
 of erthe. Now thou art al to-brokun of 34
 the see, in the depthis of watris. Thi rich-
 essis and al thi multitude that was in
 the myddis of thee fellen doun; alle the 35
 dwelleris of ilis and the kyngis of tho
 weren astonyed on thee. Alle thei weren
 smytun with tempest, and chaungiden
 cheris; the marchauntis of puplis hiss- 36
 iden on thee. Thou art brouzt to nouzt,
 and thou schalt not be til 'in to^g with
 outen ende.

ⁿ Om. G pr. m. H. ^o stirblid GH. ^p asche G. askys H. ^q in A.

iden, *or scorniden*, vpon thee. Thou art led forth to nouzt, and thou shalt not be til in to with outen eende.

CAP. XXVIII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, sey thou to
the prince of Tyre, Thes thingis seith
the Lord God, For that that thin herte
is lift vp, and thou seidist, Y am God,
and Y satte in the chaier of God, in the
herte of the see, whanne thou art man
and not God, and hast ȝouen thin herte
3 as the herte of God; loo! thou art
wyser than Danyel, eche priue thing is
4 not hid fro thee; in thi wisdam and
prudence thou madist to thee strength,
and hast wonne to thee gold and siluer
5 in thi tresours; in multitude of thi wis-
dam, and in thi marchaundise thou mul-
tipliedist to thee strength, and thin herte
6 is lift vp in thi strength; therfor thes
thingis seith the Lord God, For that thin
herte is reisid vp as the herte of God,
7 therfor loo! Y shal lede to thee^s aliens,
moost stronge of folkis. And thei shulen
make nakid her swerdis on the^{ss} fairnes
of thi wisdam, and shulen defoule thi
8 feyrnes. Thei shulen slee, and drawe
down thee; and thou shalt die in the
perishynge of slayn men, in the herte
9 of the^t se. Whether thou seiynge shalt
speke, Y am God^u, before men^v sleyng
thee, whanne thou art man, and not God?
10 In the hoond of men sleyng thee, in
deeth of vncircumcydid men, thou shalt
die in the hoond of aliens; for Y spak,
11 seith the Lord God. And the word of
the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone
of man, reys weilynge vpon the kyng of
12 Tyre; and thou shalt sey to him, Thes
thingis seith the Lord God, Thou a sig-
net of liknes, ful of wisdam, perfijt in
13 fayrnes, was^w in delicis of paradise^x of
God. Eche precious stoon thi keuerynge,

CAP. XXVIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
to me, and he seide, Sone of man, seie 2
thou to the prince of Tire, The Lord God
seith these thingis, For thin herte was
reisid, and thou seidist, Y am God, and
Y sat in the chaier of God, in the herte
of the see, sithen^b thou art man and not
God, and thou ȝauest thin herte as the
herte of God; lo! thou art wisere than 3
Danyel, ech priuete is not hid fro thee;
in thi wisdom and prudence thou madist 4
to thee strengthe, and thou gatist to thee
gold and siluer in thi tresouris; in the 5
multitude of thi wisdom, andⁱ in thi
marchaundie thou multipliedist to thee
strengthe, and thin herte was reisid in
thi strengthe; therfor the Lord God seith 6
these thingis, For thin herte was reisid
as the herte of God, therfor lo! Y schal 7
brynge on thee aliens, the strongeste of
hethene. And thei schulen make nakid
her swerdis on the fairnesse of thi wis-
dom, and thei schulen defoule thi fair-
nesse. Thei schulen sle, and drawe down 8
thee; and thou schalt die bi the^k deth of
vncircumcidid men, in the herte of the
see. Whether thou schalt seie, and speke, 9
Y am God, bifore hem that sleen thee;
sithen^l thou art a man, and not God? In 10
the hond of hem that sleen thee, bi deth
of vncircumcidid men, thou schalt die in
the hond of aliens; for Y the Lord spak,
seith the Lord God. And the word of 11
the Lord was maad to me, and he seide,
Thou^m, sone of man, reise thou weilyng
on the kyng of Tire; and thou schalt seie 12
to hym, The Lord God seith these thingis,
Thou a preenteⁿ of licnesse, ful of wis-
dom, perfit in fairnesse, were in delicis^o 13
of paradijs of God. Ech precieuse stoon

^s on thee G. oon of the H. ^{ss} thi A. ^t Om. AG pr. m. ^u Om. A. ^v me A. ^w waast GH. ^x a para-
dise K.

^b sith I. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om. I. ^l sith I. ^m Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ⁿ preentere NS sec. m. ^o the
delicis C F G H I K M N P Q R S U X.

sardius, topacius, and iaspis, crisolitus, and onix, and berillus, saphirus, and carbuncle, and smaragd; and gold the werk of thi fairnes, and thin hoolis ben maad redy, in the day in which thou art maad.

14 Thou cherub streijt forth, and keuerynge; and I putte^y thee in the hooli hil of God.

In the mydil of fijry stoonus thou walk-
 15 idist, perfijt in thi weies fro the dai of thi makynge, til wickidnes is foundyn in
 16 thee. In the multitude of thi marchaundise^t thin entrailis ben fulfillid with wickidnesse^z, and thou synnedist; and Y keste thee out of the hil of God, and I lost thee, thou cherub keuerynge, of the mydil
 17 of firy stoonus. And thin herte is reysid vp in thi fairnes, thou lostist thi wisdam in thi fayrenes. Y keste thee down in to erthe, Y 3aue thee before the face of
 18 kyngis, that thei shulden see thee. In multitude of thi wickidnessis, and in wickidnes of thi marchaundise thou defouledist thin halewyng; therfor Y shal brynge forth fier fro the mydil of thee, which shal ete thee; and Y shal 3yue thee in to asshe on the erthe, in sizte of alle
 19 men seyng thee. Alle men that shulen see thee in folkis, shulen wondre greetli vpon thee; thou art maad nou3t, and thou shalt not be in to with outen ende.

20 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 21 me, seiynge, Sone of man, put thi face azens Sidon, and thou shalt prophecie of
 22 it; and thou shalt seie, Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y to thee, Sydon, and Y shal be glorified in the mydyl of thee; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne I shal doo in it domys,
 23 and Y shal be halewid in it. And Y shal sende to it pestilence and blood in the stretis therof, and men slayn shulen falle in the mydil therof bi swerd bi cumpas; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord God.

24 And it^a shal no more be to^b the hows of Israel hirtyng of bitternes, and a thorn brengynge in sorewe on eche side bi

was thin hilyng, sardius, topacius, and iaspis, crisolitus, and onix, and birille, safire, and carbuncle, and smaragde; also gold was the werk of thi fairnesse, and thin hoolis weren maad redi, in the dai in which thou were maad. Thou were che-
 14 rub holdun forth, and hilynge; and Y settide thee in the hooli^p hil of God. In the myddis of stoonus set a fier thou 3edist, perfit in thi weies fro the dai of thi¹⁵ makynge, til wickidnesse was foundun in thee. In the multitude of thi marchaundie¹⁶ thin ynnere thingis weren fillid of wickidnesse, and thou didist synne; and Y castide thee out of the hil of God, and, thou cherub hilynge fer, Y loste thee fro the myddis of stoonys set a fier. And thin¹⁷ herte was reysid in thi fairnesse, thou lostist thi wisdom in thi fairnesse. Y castide thee down in to erthe, Y 3af thee bifore the face of kingis, that thei schulden se thee. In the multitude of thi wickid-
 18 nessis^q, and in wickidnesse^r of thi marchaundie thou defoulidist thin halewyng; therfor Y schal brynge forth fier of the myddis of thee, that schal ete thee; and Y schal 3yue thee in to aische on erthe, in the sizt of alle men seyng thee. Alle men¹⁹ that schulen se thee among hethene men, schulen be astonyed on thee; thou art maad nou3t, and thou schalt not be with outen ende. And the word of the Lord²⁰ was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone²¹ of man, sette thi face azens Sidon, and thou schalt profesie of it; and schalt seie,
 22 The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y to thee, Sidon, and Y schal be glorified in the myddis of thee; and thei schulen wite, that Y am the Lord, whanne Y schal do domes in it, and Y schal be halewid ther ynne. And Y schal sende pestilence²³ in to it, and blood in the stretis therof, and slayn men bi swerd schulen falle down in the myddis therof bi cumpas; and thei schulen wite, that Y am the Lord God. And there schal no more be an hirtyng²⁴

^y putted GH. ^z Om. A. ^a ther G sec. m. ^b Om. A. into H.

^p Om. N. ^q wickidnesse I pr. m. ^r the wickidnesse CEFHGKMPQRSUX. thi wickidnessis IX.

cumpas of hem that ben aduersaries to hem; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord
 25 God. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Whanne I shal gadre the hows of Israel of puplis, in whiche thei ben scaterid, Y shal be halewid in hem before folkis.
 26 And thei shulen dwelle in her loond, which Y 3aue to my seruaunt Jacob. And thei shulen dwelle sikir in it, and shulen bilde housis, and shulen plaunte viyn 3erdis, and thei shulen dwelle tristili, whanne Y shal doo domys in alle men that ben aduersaries to hem bi cumpas; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord God of hem.

CAP. XXIX.

1 In the tenthe 3eer, in the tweluethe moneth, in o day of the moneth, the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge,
 2 Sone of man, put thi face azens Pharaο, kyng of Egipt; and thou shalt prophecie
 3 of hym, and of al Egipt. Spek thou, and thou shalt seie, Thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y to thee, Pharaο, kyng of Egipt, greet dragoun, that liggist in the mydil of thi flodis, and thou seist, The flood is myn, and Y made my-
 4 silf. And Y shal putte a bridil in thi cheekis, and Y shal glewe to gidre the fisshis of thi floodis to thi scalis; and I shal drawe thee out of the mydil of thi flodis, and alle thi fisshis shulen cleue to
 5 thi scalis. And Y shal caste thee fer in to deseert, and alle fisshis of thi flood; vpon the face of erthe thou shalt falle, thou shalt not be gadrid vp, nether gadrid to gidre; to beestis of erthe, and to volatilis of heuene Y 3aue thee for to be
 6 deuourid. And alle the dwellers of Egipt shulen wite, for I the Lord. For that that thou was^c a staf of reed to the hows of
 7 Israel, whanne thei token ^tthee to^d hoond, and thou art broken to gidre, and hast drawe al the shuldre of hem, and hem

of bitternesse to the hous of Israel, and a thorn bryngynge in sorewe on ech side bi the cumpas of hem that ben aduersaries to hem; and thei shulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God. The Lord God seith these 25 thingis, Whanne Y schal gadre togidere the hous of Israel fro puplis, among whiche thei ben scaterid, Y schal be halewid in hem bifer hethene men. And thei shulen dwelle in her lond, which Y 3af to my seruaunt Jacob. And thei shulen dwelle 26 sikir ther ynne, and thei shulen bilde housis, and thei shulen plaunte vynes, and thei shulen dwelle tristili, whanne Y schal make domes in alle men that ben aduersaries to hem bi cumpas; and thei shulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God of hem.

CAP. XXIX.

In the tenthe 3eer, in the tweluethe monethe, in the firste dai of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, sette² thi face azens Farao, king of Egipt; and thou schalt profesie of hym, and of al Egipt. Speke thou, and thou schalt seie,³ The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y to thee, thou Farao, kyng of Egipt, thou grete dragoun, that liggist in the myddis of thi floodis, and seist, The flood is myn, and Y made mysilf. And Y schal⁴ sette a bridil in thi chekis, and Y schal glue the fischis of thi floodis to thi scalis; and Y schal drawe thee out of the myddis of thi floodis, and alle thi fischis schulen cleue to thi scalis. And Y schal caste thee⁵ forth in to desert, and alle the fischis of thi flood; on the face of erthe thou schalt falle down, thou schalt not be gaderid, nethir schalt be gaderid togidere; to the beestis of erthe, and to the volatilis of the eir Y 3af thee to be deuourid. And alle⁶ the dwelleris of Egipt schulen knowe, that Y *am* the Lord. For that that thou were a staf of rehed to the hous of Israel, whanne thei token thee with hond, and⁷ thou were brokun, and to-rentist ech

^c wast *G pr. m.* were *H.* ^d to bi *G pr. m. H.* ^{to} thee bi the *G sec. m.*

lenynge, *or trustinge*, vpon thee, thou art maad lital, and hast dissoluyd, *or vndon*, alle the reynes of hem; therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y shal leede to on^e thee swerd, and I shal slee of thee man and beest; and the loond of Egipt shal be in to deseert and wildirnes, and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord. For that that thou seidist, The flood is myn, and I made it, therfor loo! Y to thee, and to^f thi floodis. And Y shal 3yue the loond of Egipt in to wildirnessis^g distried bi swerd, fro the 'tour Syens til to^h the termys of Ethiopie. The foot of man shal not passe bi it, nether foot of beest shal goo in it, and it shal not be enabitid fourti 3eeris. And Y shal 3eue the loond of Egipt deseert, *or forsakyn*, in the mydil of deseert loondisⁱ, and the cytees therof in the mydil of citees vndir turned shulen be desolat fourty 3eris. And Y shal scatere Egipcians in to naciouns, and Y shal wyndewe hem in to loondis. For thes thingis seith the Lord God, After the ende of fourti 3eeris Y shal gedre Egipt fro puplis, in whiche thei were scatered; and Y shal lede a3en the caitifte of Egipt. And Y shal sette hem 'to gydre^k in the loond of Phatures, in to the loond of her natiuyte; and thei shulen be there in to a meke, *or lowe*, kyngdam, and among other rewmes it shal be the mekest, and it shal namore be reysid on naciouns. And Y shal make hem lital, lest thei be lordis to folkis; nether thei shulen be more to the hous of Israel in trist, techynge wickidnes, that thei flee, and sue hem; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord God. And it is maad in the seuente and twenty^l 3eer, in the first, in oon of the moneth, the word of the Lord is maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, made his oost for to serue in greet seruyce a3ens Tyre;

schuldre of hem, and whanne thei restiden on thee, thou were maad lesse, and thou hast discourtortid^s alle the reynes of hem; therfor the Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal bringe a swerd on thee, and Y schal sle of thee man and beeste; and the lond of Egipt schal be in to desert, and in to wildirnesse, and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. For that that thou seidist, The flood is myn, and Y made it, therfor loo! Y to thee, and to thi floodis. And Y^t schal 3yue 'in to^u wildirnesses^v the lond of Egipt distried bi swerd, fro the tour of Siens til to the termes of Ethiopie. The foot of man schal not passe bi it, nether the foot of beeste schal go in it, and it schal not be enabitid in fourti 3eer. And Y schal 3yue the lond of Egipt forsakun, in the myddis of londis forsakun, and the citees therof in the myddis of a citee distried, and tho schulen be desolat bi fourti 3eer. And Y schal scatere Egipcians in to naciouns, and Y schal wyndewe hem in to londis. For the Lord God seith these thingis, After the ende of fourti 3eer Y schal gadere togidere Egipt fro puplis, among whiche thei weren scaterid; and Y schal bringe a3en the caitifte of Egipte. And Y schal sette hem in the lond of Phatures, in the lond of her birthe; and thei schulen be there in to a meke rewme, and among othere rewmes it schal be most low, and it schal no more be reysid ouer naciouns. And Y schal make hem lesse, that thei regne not on bethene men; and thei schulen no more be to the hous of Israel in trist, techinge wickidnesse, that thei fle, and sue hem; and thei schulen knowe, that Y *am* the Lord God. And it was don in the seuene and twentithe 3eer, in the firste *monethe*, in the firste *dai* of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, made

^e vpon GH. ^f Om. G pr. m. H. ^g wilderness H. ^h comelyngis in to H. ⁱ his loondis H. is loondis G pr. m. ^k Om. A. ^l twentithe H.

^s loosid, ether discourtortid CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.

^t Om. s.

^u to thee s.

^v wildirnesse A.

eche heed maad ballid, and eche shuldre is vnheerid, and hijre is not zoldyn to hym, nether to his oost of Tyre, for the seruyce in which he seruede to me azens
 19 it. Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y shal zyue Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, in the loond of Egipt, and he shal take the multitude of it; and he shal take by pray the raueynes therof, and he^l schal^m rauysshe the spuylis of it,
 20 and it shal be hijre to the oost of hym, and to the werk for which he seruede azens it; Y zaue to hym the loond of Egipt, for that that he traueilde to me, seith the
 21 Lord God. In that dai an horn shal sprynge to the hous of Israel, and to thee Y shal zeue a mouthe opened in the mydil of hem; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord.

CAP. XXX.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 2 me, seiynge, Sone of man, prophecy thou, and sey, Thes thingis seith the Lord God,
 3 Gowle ze, Woo! woo! to the dai, for the dai is ny³; and the dai of the Lord nei³-eth, a dai of cloude. The tyme of hethen
 4 men shal be; and swerd shal come in to Egipt, and dreed shal be in Ethiopie, whanne men woundid shulen falle down in Egipt, and the multitude therof shal be taken awei, and the foundementis
 5 therof destried. Ethiopie, and Libie, and Lidij, and al other comoun puple, and Chubⁿ, or *Arabie*, and the sones of boond of pees with hem bi swerd shulen falle.
 6 Thes thingis seith the Lord God, And men vndir settinge Egipt shulen togidre falle down, and pryde of lordship therof shal be destruyed^o; fro the tour of Syenes by swerd thei shulen falle down ther yn,
 7 the Lord of oostis seith. And thei shulen be scatered in mydil of loondis desolatid, and the cytees therof shulen be in
 8 the mydil of deseert cytees. And thei

his oost to serue bi greet seruyce azens Tire; ech heed *was* maad ballid, and ech schuldir was maad bare of heer, and meede was not zoldun of Tire to hym, nether to his oost, for the seruyce bi which he seruede to me azens it. Therfor the Lord
 19 God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal zyue Nabugodonosor, kyng of Babiloyne, in the lond of Egipt, and he schal take the multitude therof; and he schal take in preye the clothis therof, and he schal rauysche the spuylis therof, and meede schal be to his oost, and to the werk for which he
 20 seruyde to me azens it; and Y zaf the lond of Egipt to hym, for that that he traueilde to me, seith the Lord God. In that dai
 21 an horn of the hous of Israel schal come forth, and Y schal zyue to thee an open mouth in the myddis of hem; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. XXX.

And the word of the Lord was maad
 1 to me, and he seide, Sone of man, profesie
 2 thou, and seie, The Lord God seith these thingis, Zelle ze, Wo! wo! to the dai, for
 3 the dai is ni³; and the dai of the Lord nei³ith, the dai of a cloude. The tyme of hethene men schal be; and a swerd schal
 4 come in to Egipt, and drede schal be^w in Ethiopie, whanne woundid men schulen falle down in Egipt, and the multitude therof schal be takun awei, and the foundementis therof schulen be distried. Ethi-
 5 opie, and Libie, and Lidiens, and al the residue comyn puple, and Chub, and the sones of the lond of boond of pees schulen falle down bi swerd with hem. The Lord
 6 God seith these thingis, And thei that vndursetten Egipt schulen falle down, and the pride of the lordschipe therof schal be destried; fro the tour of Sienes thei schulen falle bi swerd ther ynne, seith the
 7 Lord^y of oostis. And thei schulen be di-
 7 stried in the myddis of londis maad desolat, and the^x citees therof schulen be in

^l Om. H. ^m Om. AH. ⁿ Cherub G pr. m. H. ^o Om. A.

^w not be A pr. m. CEFHI pr. m. K pr. m. MGSU. ^x Om. 1N. ^y Lord God A pr. m.

shulen wite, for Y the Lord God, whanne
 Y shal 3yue fier in Egipt, and alle the
 9 helpers therof shulen be defoulid. In
 that dai messageris shulen go out fro my
 face in greet shippis, for to defoule, *or*
destruye, the trust of Ethiope; and dreed
 shal be in hem in the dai of Egipt, for
 10 with outen doute it shal come. Thes
 thingis seith the Lord God, And Y shal
 make the multitude of Egipt for to ceesse
 in the hoond of Nabugodonosor, kyng of
 11 Babiloyne. He and his puple with hym,
 the strongest of folkis, shulen be led to,
 for to leese the loond; and thei shulen
 drawe out her swerdis on Egipt, and thei
 12 shulen fulfille thee with slayn men. And
 Y shal make the botmes of floodis drye,
 and Y shal bitake the loond in the hoond
 of werste men; and Y shal leese the loond,
 and the plente therof in the hoond of
 13 alienys; Y the Lord spak. Thes thingis
 seith the Lord God, And Y shal destrye
 simulacris, and Y shal make the ydols
 of Memphis to^p ceesse, and duyk of the
 loond of Egipt shal namore be. And Y
 shal 3yue dreed in the loond of Egipt,
 14 and Y shal scatere, *or destrie*, the loond
 of Phatures. And Y shal 3yue fier in Thap-
 nys, and Y shal make my domys in Ali-
 15 saundre. And Y shal helde out myn in-
 dignacioun on^q Pelusium, the strength of
 Egipt; and I schal slea the multitude of
 16 Alisaundre, and I schal 3eue fijr in E-
 gipt^r. As a womman beringe child, Pelusie
 shal sorewe, and Alisaundre shal be de-
 strued, and in Memphis eche dais an-
 17 guyshis. The 3onge men of Heliopoleos
 and Bubasti shulen falle bi swerd, and
 18 thei shulen be lad caytifis. And in Taph-
 nys the dai shal wexe blac, whanne Y
 shal debrisse there the ceptris of Egipt,
 and the pride of power therof shal faile
 in it. A clowde shal hile it; forsothe the
 dou3ters therof shulen be led in to cai-
 19 tiftee, and Y shal make domes in Egipt;
 and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord.

the myddis of citees forsakun. And thei^s
 schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God,
 whanne Y schal 3yue fier in Egipt, and
 alle the helperis therof schulen be al to-
 brokun. In that dai messageris schulen⁹
 go out fro my face in schippis with thre
 ordris of ooris, to al to-breke the trist of
 Ethiope; and drede schal be in hem in
 the dai of Egipt, for with out doute it
 schal come. The Lord God seith these¹⁰
 thingis, And I schal make to ceesse the
 multitude of Egipt in the hond of Nabu-
 godonosor, king of Babiloyne. He and his¹¹
 puple with hym, the strongeste men of
 hethene men, schulen be brou3t, to leese
 the lond; and thei schulen drawe out her
 swerdis on Egipt, and thei schulen fille
 the lond with slayn men. And Y schal¹²
 make drie the botmes of floodis, and Y
 schal 3yue the lond in the hond of the
 worste men; and I schal distrie the lond,
 and the fulnesse therof in the hond of
 aliens; Y the Lord spak. The Lord God¹³
 seith these thingis, And Y schal leese
 simylacris, and Y shal make idols to ceesse
 fro Memphis, and a duyk of the lond of
 Egipt schal no more be. And Y schal 3yue
 drede in the lond of Egipt, and Y schal¹⁴
 leese the lond of Phatures. And Y schal
 3yue fier in Tafnys, and Y schal make
 my^y domes in Alisaundre. And Y schal¹⁵
 schede out myn indignacioun on Pelusium,
 the strengthe of Egipt; and Y schal sle
 the multitude of Alisaundre, and Y schal¹⁶
 3yue fier in Egipt. Pelusium, as a wom-
 man trauelynge of child, schal haue so-
 rewre, and Alisaundre schal be destried,
 and in Memphis *schulen be* ech daies an-
 gwischis^z. The 3onge men of Heliopoleos¹⁷
 and of Bubasti schulen falle down bi swerd,
 and tho *citees* schulen be led caitifs. And¹⁸
 in Thafnys the dai schal wexe blak,
 whanne Y schal al to-breke there the
 ceptris of Egipt, and the pride of the
 power therof schal faile there ynne. A
 cloude schal hile it; forsothe the dou3-

^p Om. GH. ^q vpon GH. ^r Om. A.

^y Om. A *sec. m.* ^z anguish N.

20 And it is don in the elleuenthe 3eer, in the first moneth, in the seuenthe dai of the moneth, the word of the Lord is
 21 maad to me, seiynge, Sone of man, Y brak togidre the arm of Pharao, kyng of Egypt; and loo! it is not wlappid about, that helthe shulde be restorid to it, that it were boundyn in clothis, and fastid, *or boundyn*, with smale lynnenn clothis, and, strength taken a3en, he mi3te holde swerd.
 22 Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, Loo! Y to Pharao, kyng of Egypt; and Y shal make litil his stronge arm but broken togidre, and Y shal caste down the
 23 swerd of his hoond. And Y shal scatere Egypt in folkis, and Y shal wyndewe
 24 hem in loondis. And Y shal coumforte the armys of the kyng of Babiloyne, and Y shal 3yue my swerd in his hoond; and Y shal breke togidre the armes of Pharao, and thei shulen weile with weilyngis of a slayn man before the face of
 25 hym. And Y shal coumforte the armes of the kyng of Babiloyne, and the armes of Pharao shulen falle down togidre. And thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord, whanne I shal 3yue my swerd in the hoond of the kyng of Babiloyne; and he shal stretche
 26 it out vpon the loond of Egypt. And I shal scatere Egypt in to naciouns, and I shal wyndewe hem in to loondis; and thei shulen wite, for Y the Lord.

CAP. XXXI.

1 And it is maad in the elleuenthe 3eer, in the thridde moneth, in oon of the moneth, the word of the Lord is maad
 2 to me, seiynge, Sone of man, sey thou to Pharao, kyng of Egypt, and to his puple, To whom art thou maad lijk in thi
 3 greetnes? Loo! Assur as a cedre in Liban, fayr in braunches, and bouwis ful of wode, and hei3 in hei3the; and the top therof is reysid vp amonge thicke bouwis.

tris therof schulen be led in to caitifte, and Y schal make domes in Egypt; and 19 thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord^a. And it was doon in the enleuenthe 3eer,²⁰ in the firste monethe, in the seuenthe *dai* of the moneth, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou sone of²¹ man, Y haue broke the arm of Farao, kyng of Egypt; and lo! it is not wlappid, that helthe schulde be restorid therto, that it schulde be boundun with clothis, and woundun with lynnun clothis, and that he^b my3te holde swerd, whanne he hadde resseyued strengthe. Therfor the Lord²² God seith these thingis, Lo! Y to Farao, king of Egypt; and^c Y schal make lesse his strong arm but brokun, and Y schal caste down the swerd fro his hond. And²³ Y schal scatere Egypt among hethene men, and Y schal wyndewe hem in londis. And²⁴ Y schal coumforte the armes of the kyng of Babiloyne, and Y schal 3yue my swerd in the hond of hym; and Y schal breke the armes of Farao, and men slayn bfore his face schulen weile bi weilyngis. And²⁵ Y schal coumforte the armes of the kyng of Babiloyne, and the armes of Farao schulen falle down. And thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal 3yue my swerd in the hond of the kyng of Babiloyne; and he schal stretche forth it on the lond of Egypt. And Y schal scatere²⁶ Egypt in to naciouns, and Y schal wyndewe hem in to londis; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. XXXI.

And it was don in the enleuenthe 3eer,¹ in the thridde moneth, in the firste *dai* of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of² man, seie to Farao, kyng of Egypt, and to his puple, To whom art thou maad lijk in thi greetnesse? Lo! Assur as a cedre³ in Liban, fair in braunchis, and ful of boowis, and hi3 bi hi3nesse; and his hei3te was reysid among thicke bowis. Watris⁴

^a Lord God ns sec. m. ^b it 1. ^c Om. in.

4 Watris nurshiden hym, depnes areyside hym; the flodis floweden in cumpas of his rootis, and he sente out his strondis to
 5 alle the trees of the cuntree. Therfor his heiznes is reysid vpon alle the trees of the cuntre; and his tendre trees ben multiplied, and his braunchis ben reysid
 6 vp, for manye watris. And whanne he strauzte forth his shadewe, alle the volatils of heuen maden nestis in his braunchis; and alle beestis of wijlde wodis gedreden vnder his bouwis, and the cumpanye of ful many folkis dwellide vndre the shadewynge place of hym.
 7 And he was moost fayr in his greetnes, and in spredynge of tendre trees; forsothe
 8 his root was bisyde many watris. Cedris weren not heizer than he in paradise of God; bechis weren not euen to his heiznes, and platan trees weren not euen to his bouwis. Eche tree of paradise of God is not maad lijc to hym, and to his fayr-
 9 nes. For Y made hym fayre, and with manye and thicke bouwis; and alle the trees of voluptee, that weren in paradise
 10 of God, sieden hym. Therfor thes thingis seith the Lord God, For that that he is reysid in hiznes, and Y 3aue his heiznes waxynge grene and thicke, and his herte
 11 is lift vp in his hiznes; now Y haue bitake hym in to the hoondis of the strengest of folkis. He doynge shal doo to hym; after the vnpite of hym Y castide
 12 hym out. And aliens shulen kitte hym down, and the mooste cruel men of naciouns shulen caste hym fer vpon mownteynes. And his braunchis shulen falle down togidre in alle valeys, and his tendre trees shulen be brokyn togider in alle the rooches of erthe. And alle puplis of erthe shulen goo away fro his shadewynge place, and shulen forsake hym.
 13 Alle volatilis of heuene dwelliden in his fallynge, and alle beestis of the regioun
 14 weren in his braunchis. Wherfor alle trees of watris shulen not be lift vp in her heiznes, nether shulen putte her heiz-

nurschiden hym, the depthe of watris enhaunside him; his floodis fletiden out in the cumpas of his rootis, and he sente out his strondis to alle the trees of the cuntrei. Therfor his hiznesse was en-
 5 haunsid ouer alle trees of the cuntrei, and his trees weren multiplied, and his braunchis weren reysid, for many watris. And whanne he hadde stretchid forth his
 6 schadewe, alle the volatils of the eir maden nestis in his braunchis; and alle the beestis of forestis gendriden vndur his boowis, and the cumpeny of ful many folkis dwellide vndur the schadewynge place of hym. And he was ful fair in his
 7 greetnesse, and in alargyng of his trees; for the roote of hym was bisidis many watris. Cedris in the paradijs of God
 8 weren not hizere than he; fir trees atteyneden not euenli to the hiznesse of hym, and plane trees weren not euene with the boowis of hym. Ech tree of paradijs of God was not maad lic hym and^d his fairnesse. For Y made hym fair, and with
 9 many and thicke boowis; and alle the trees of lust, that weren in the paradijs of God, hadden enuye to hym. Therfor the Lord
 10 God seith these thingis, For that that he was reysid in hiznesse, and he 3af his hyznesse greene and thicke, and his herte was reysid in his hiznesse; now Y haue 3oue^e
 11 hym in to the hondis of the strongeste man of hethene men. And he doynge schal do to that *Assur*; aftir the vnfeithfulnesse of hym Y castide hym out. And aliens,
 12 and the mooste cruel men of naciouns, shulen kitte hym down, and shulen caste hym forth on hillis. And his braunchis shulen falle down in alle grete^e valeis, and his trees shulen be brokun in alle roochis of stoon of erthe. And alle the puplis of erthe shulen go awei fro his schadewing place, and shulen forsake hym. Alle^f volatils of the eir dwelliden in
 13 the fallynge of hym, and alle beestis of the cuntrei weren in the braunchis of hym. Wherfor alle the trees of watris shulen¹⁴

^d in A. ^e the grete r. ^f Alle the r.

nes amonge wody thingis, and ful of bouwis^s; nether alle thingis that ben moystid with watris shulen stoonde in the heignes of hem. For alle men ben bitaken in to deeth, to the vtmoost^t loond in the mydil of sones of men, to hem that
 15 goon down in to the lake. Thes thingis seith the Lord God, In the day that^u Y ladde in mournynge 'in hellis^v, Y hillide hym with depnes, and forbedde the floodis of hym, and constreinede many watris. Liban is debroken^w on hym, and alle trees
 16 of the feeld ben smyten togidre. Of the soun of his fallynge Y mouede togidre folkis, whanne Y ledde forth hym to helle, with hem that wenten down in to the lake. And alle lowest trees of voluptee, noble and ful cleer in Liban, ben coumfortid in erthe, and alle that weren
 17 moystid in watres. For whi and thei with hym shulen gon down 'in to^x helle, to the slayn men in swerd; and the arme of eche man shal sitte vndre the shadewynge place of hym, in the mydil of na-
 18 ciouns. To whom art thou maad lijce, A! thou noble and heize amonge trees of voluptee? Loo! thou art led forth with trees of voluptee to the last loond, *or vtmost^y*. In the mydil of vncircumcidid men thou shalt slepe, with hem that ben slayn with swerd. He is Pharao, and al the multitude of him, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXXII.

1 And it is maad in the twelueth zeer, in the twelueth moneth, in oon of the moneth, the word of the Lord is maad
 2 to me, seiynge, Sone of man, tak to a lamentacioun vpon Pharao, kyng of Egipt, and thou shalt seye to hym, To a lioun of folkis thou art lickened, and^z to a dragoun that is in the see. And thou wyndewist^a with horn in thi flodis, and trublist to gidre watris with thi feet, and

not be reisid in hir hiznesse, nether schulen sette hir hiznesse among places ful of woode, and ful of boowis, and alle *trees* that ben moistid of watris schulen not stonde in the hiznesse of tho. For alle thei ben zouun in to deth, to the ferthest lond in the myddis of the sones of men, to hem that goon down in to the lake. The Lord
 15 God seith these thingis, In the dai whanne he zede down to hellis, Y^g brouzte yn mourenyng; Y hilide hym with depthe of watris, and I forbode his flodis, and Y refreynede many watris. The Liban was sori on him, and alle the trees of the feeld weren shakun of the soun of his falling.
 16 I mouide togidere hethene men, whanne Y ledde hym down to helle, with hem that zeden down in to the lake. And alle trees^h of likyng, noble trees, and ful cleere in the Liban, alle that weren moistid with watris, weren coumfortid in the loweste lond. For whi also thei schulen go down with
 17 hym to helle, to slayn men with swerd; and the arm of ech man schal sitte vndur the schadewyng place of hym, in the myddis of naciouns. To whom art thou lickened,
 18 thou noble and hiȝ among the trees of likyng? Lo! thou art led down with the trees of likyng to the fertheeste lond. In the myddis of vncircumcidid men thou schalt slepe, with hem that ben slayn bi swerd. Thilke is Farao, and alⁱ the multitude of hym, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXXII.

And it was don in the twelueth zeer,¹ in the twelueth monethe, in the firste *dai* of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, take weilyng on Farao, kyng of Egipt, and thou schalt seie to hym, Thou were maad lijk to a lioun of hethene men, and to a dragoun whiche is in the see. And thou wyndewist^k with horn in thi floodis, and thou disturblidist^l watris with

^s bowis nether alle thingis and ful of bowis *G pr. m. H.* ^t vtmost *GH.* ^u whanne *GH.* ^v to hillis *GH.*
^w broken *G sec. m.* ^x to *GH.* ^y uttmost *H.* ^z Om. *G pr. m. H.* ^a wyndowedist *GH.*

^g he *N.* ^h tree *N.* ⁱ Om. *N.* ^k wyndowidist *K sec. m.* ^l disturblist *FN.*

3 thou defoulidist the flodis of hem. Ther-
 for thes thingis seith the Lord God, Y
 shal sprede out upon thee my nette in
 multitude of many puplis, and Y shal
 4 drawe out thee in my nette; and Y
 shal caste thee fer in the loond. Vpon the
 face of the feeld Y shal caste thee a wey,
 and I shal make vpon thee for to dwelle
 alle volatilis of heuene, and Y shal fulfille
 5 of thee the^b beestis of al erthe. And Y
 shal 3yue thi fleshis vpon hillis, and Y
 shal fulfille thi smale hillis with thi
 6 roote; and Y shal moyste the erthe with
 stynke of thi blood, more ouere moun-
 teyns and valeis shulen be fulfillid of
 7 thee. And Y shal keuere heuens, whanne
 thou shalt be quenched, and Y shal make
 the sterres of it for to waxe blac; Y shal
 keuere the sunne with cloude, and the
 8 moone shal not 3yue his lizt. Y shal make
 alle liztmakers of heuen for to mourne
 vpon thee, and Y shal 3yue derknessis
 vpon thi loond, seith the Lord God;
 whanne thi woundid men shulen falle
 down in the mydil of erthe, seith the
 9 Lord God. And Y shal stire to wraththe
 the herte of many puplis, whanne Y shal
 in leede thi contricioun in folkis, vpon
 10 loondis whiche thou knowist not. And
 Y shal make many puplis for to wondre
 greetli vpon thee, and the kyngis of hem
 with ful myche orroure shulen be agast
 vpon thee, for alle thi wickidnessis whiche
 thou wrouztist, whanne my swerd shal
 bigynne for to flee vpon the facis of hem.
 And thei shulen wondre sodeynli, eche for
 11 his soule, in the day of his fallyng. For
 thes thingis seith the Lord God, The
 swerd of the kyng of Babiloyne shal
 12 come to thee; in swerdis of stronge men
 Y shal cast down thi multitude, alle thes
 folkis ben vnexpugnable, *or mowen not
 be ouercomen*. And thei shulen destruye
 the pryde of Egypt, and the multitude of
 13 it shal be scatrid. And I shal leese alle
 beestis therof, that weren vpon many

thi feet, and^m defoulidist the floodis of
 tho. Therfor the Lord God seith these³
 thingis, Y schal spredde abroad my net on
 thee in the multitude of many puples, and
 Y schal drawe thee out in my net; and⁴
 Y schal caste forth thee in to erthe. On
 the face of the feeld Y schal caste thee
 awey, and Y schal make alle the volatils
 of heuene to dwelle on thee, and Y schal
 fille of thee the beestis of al erthe. And⁵
 Y schal 3yue thi fleischis on hillis, and Y
 schal fille thi litle hillis with thi root; and⁶
 Y schal moiste the erthe with the stynk
 of thi blood on mounteyns, and valeis
 schulen be fillid of thee. And whanne⁷
 thou schalt be quenched, Y schal hile
 heuenes, and Y schal make blak the sterres
 therof; Y schal kyure the sunne with a
 clowde, and the moone schal not 3yue hir
 lizt. Yⁿ schal make alle the lizt 3yueris⁸
 of heuene to mourne on thee, and Y schal
 3yue derknessis on thi lond, seith the⁹
 Lord God; whanne thi woundid men schu-
 len falle down in the myddis of erthe,
 seith the Lord God. And Y schal terre⁹
 to wraththe the herte of many puplis,
 whanne Y schal bringe in thi sorewe
 among folkis, on londis whiche thou know-
 ist not. And Y schal make many puplis¹⁰
 to wondre on thee, and the kyngis of hem
 schulen drede with ful greet hidousnesse^p
 on thee, for alle thi wickidnessis whiche
 thou wrouztist, whanne my swerd schal
 bigynne to flee on the faces^q of^r hem. And
 alle men schulen be astonyed sudenli, for
 her lijf, in the dai of her fallyng. For¹¹
 the Lord God seith these thingis, The
 swerd of the king of Babiloyne schal come
 to thee; in swerdis of stronge men Y¹²
 schal caste down thi multitude, alle these
 folkis ben not able to be ouercomun. And
 thei schulen waste the pride of Egypt, and
 the multitude therof schal be distried.
 And Y schal leese alle the beestis therof,¹³
 that weren on ful many watris; and the
 foot of a man schal no more troble tho

^b Om. GH.

^m and thou I. ⁿ And Y I. ^o thi A. P orroure, or [ether FIKS] hidousnesse CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY.
^q face 1N. ^r on K.

watris; and the foot of man shal namore
truble hem togider, nether the clawe of
14 beestis shal trouble hem. Thanne I shal
zelde the watris of hem clennest, and Y
shal leede to the floodis of hem as oyle,
15 seith the Lord God, whanne Y shal
zyue the loond of Egipt desolat. Forsothe
the loond shal be forsakyn of his plentee,
whanne I shal smyte alle the dwellers
therof; and thei shulen wite, for I the
16 Lord. There is mournynge, and the
dou3ters of folkis shulen weile hym; vpon
Egipt, and vpon the multitude therof
thei shulen weile hym, seith the Lord
17 God. And it is don in the twelueth zeer,
in the fiftenthe of the moneth, the word
of the Lord is maad to me, seyynge,
18 Sone of man, syng thou a mournynge
song vpon the multitude of Egipt, and
draw down the ilke same, and dou3tris
of stronge folkis to the vttermest loond,
with thes that wenten down in to the
19 lake. Hou myche thou art fayrer, go
down, and sleep with vncircumcidid men.
20 In the mydil of slayn men thei shulen
falle down by swerd; a swerd is 3ouun,
and thei drowen it to^c, and alle the pu-
21 plis therof. The moost my3ti of stronge
shulen speke to it, fro the mydil of helle,
whiche with helpers^d therof wenten down,
and slepten vncircumcidid, and slayn bi
22 swerd. There Assur, and al his multi-
tude; in the^e cumpas of hym the sepul-
cris of hym, alle the slayn, and whiche
23 fellen down bi swerd, whos sepulcris
ben 3euen in the last thingis of the lake.
And the multitude^{ee} of hym is maad by
cumpas of his sepulcre, alle slayn, and
fallynge by swerd, whiche 3auen sum-
tyme her^f strengthe in the lond of lyu-
24 ynge men. There Helam, and al his
multitude bi cumpas of his sepulcre; alle
these slayn, and fallynge by swerd,
whiche wenten down vncircumcidid to
the vttermost lond; the whiche puttiden
her dreed in the lond of lyuynge men,
and thei baren her yuel fame with these

watris, nether the clee of beestis schal
truble tho. Thanne Y schal zelde the¹⁴
watris of hem clenneste, and Y schal
brynge the floodis of hem as oyle, seith
the Lord God, whanne Y schal zyue de-¹⁵
solat the lond of Egipt. Forsothe the lond
shal be forsakun of his fulnesse, whanne
Y schal smyte alle the dwellers therof;
and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the
Lord. It is a weiling, and the dou3tris¹⁶
of hethene men schulen biweile hym; thei
schulen biweile hym on Egipt, and *thei*
schulen biweile hym on the multitude
therof, seith the Lord God. And it was¹⁷
don in the twelueth zeer, in the fiftenthe
dai of the monethe, the word of the Lord
was maad^s to me, and he seide, Sone of¹⁸
man, syng thou a song of weilyng on the
multitude of Egipt, and drawe thou down
it the same, and the dou3tris of stronge
hethene men to the laste lond, with hem
that 3eden down in to the lake. In as¹⁹
myche as thou art fairere, go down, and
slepe with vncircumcidid men. In the²⁰
myddis of slayn men thei schulen falle
down bi swerd; a swerd is 3ouun, and thei
drowen it to, and alle the pupilis therof.
The my3tieste of stronge men schulen²¹
speke to hym, fro the myddis of helle,
whiche with her helperis 3eden down, and
slepten vncircumcidid, and slayn bi swerd.
There *is* Assur, and al his multitude; the²²
sepulcris of hem *ben* in the cumpas of
hym^t, alle slayn men, and^u that fellen
down bi swerd, whose sepulcris *ben*²³
3ouun in the laste thingis of the lake.
And the multitude of hym is maad bi the
cumpas of his sepulcre, alle slayn men, and
fallynge down bi swerd, whiche 3auen sum-
tyme her ferdfulnesse in the lond of lyu-
ynge men. There *is* Helam, and al the²⁴
multitude therof bi the cumpas of his se-
pulcre; alle these *weren* slayn, and fall-
ynge down bi swerd, that 3eden down
vncircumcidid to the laste lond; whiche
settiden her drede in the lond of lyuynge
men, and baren her schenschipe with hem

^c Om. GH. ^d the helpers GH. ^e Om. G pr. m. H. from K. ^f Om. A.

^{ee} Subsequently to this place the text is taken again

^s Om. FNX pr. m. ^t hem IN. ^u Om. I.

25 that gon down into the lake. In the mydil of slayn men thei puttiden the couche of hym in alle his peplis; in the cumpas of hym the sepulcre^g of hym. Alle these vncircumcidid and slayn with swerd, forsothe thei 3auen dreed in the lond of lyuyng men, and baren her yuel fame with these that gon don into the lake; in the mydil of slayn men thei ben
26 putt. There Mosoch and Tubal, and al his multitude; in the cumpas of hym the sepulcris of hym. Alle these vncircumcidid slayn, and fallynge by swerd, for thei 3auen her ferdfulnesse in the lond
27 of lyuyng men. And now thei shuln sleep with the stronge, and fallynge, and vncircumcidid, whiche wenten down into helle with her armers, and han putt her swerdis vndir her heddis. And her wickidnessis weren in the boons of hem, for thei ben maad the dreed of hem in the
28 lond of lyuyng men. And therefore in the mydil of vncircumcidid thou shalt be defoulid, and shalt sleepe with slayn men by swerd, and whiche slepten with vn-
29 circumcidid. There Ydume, and kyngis therof, and alle duykis therof, whiche ben 3ouen with her oost, with the slayn bi swerd, and whiche slepten with vncircumcidid, and with these that wenten
30 down in to the lake. There alle princis of the north, and alle hunters, that ben led forth with the slayn, dreedyng and in her strengthe confoundid, whiche slepten vncircumcidid with the slayn by swerd, and baren her confusioun with these that
31 gon down in to the laake. Pharao saw hem^h, and was coumfortid vpon his multitude whiche is slayn by swerd. And thei baren her confusioun, with these that wenten down into the laake, Pharao
32 and al his oost, the Lord God saith; for he 3aue his dreed in the lond of lyuyng men, and he slepte in the mydil of vncircumcidid men, with the slayn in swerd, Pharao, and al his multitude, saith the Lord God.

that goon down in to the lake. In the 25 myddis of slayn men thei puttiden his bed in alle the^v puplis of hym; his sepulcre is in the cumpas of hym. Alle these *weren* vncircumcidid and slayn bi swerd, for thei 3auen drede in the lond of lyuyng men, and baren her schenschipe with hem that gon down in to the lake; thei ben set in the myddis of slayn men. There *ben* 26 Mosoch and Tubal, and al the multitude therof; the sepulcris therof *ben* in the cumpasse therof. Alle these men vncircumcidid *weren* slayn, and fallynge down bi swerd, for thei 3auen her drede in the lond of lyuyng men. And thei schulen 27 not slepe with stronge men, and fallynge down, and vncircumcidid, that 3eden down in to helle with her armuris, and puttiden her swerdis vndur her heeddis. And the wickidnessis of hem weren in the boonys of hem, for thei weren maad the drede of stronge men in the lond of lyuyng men. And thou therfor schalt be al to-foulid^w 28 in the myddis of vncircumcidid men, and schalt slepe with hem that ben slayn bi^x swerd. There *is* Idumee, and the kingis 29 therof, and alle duykis therof, that ben 3ouun with her oost, with men slayn bi swerd, and which slepten with vncircumcidid men, and with hem that 3eden down in to the lake. There *ben* alle princes of 30 the north, and alle hunteris, that weren led forth with slayn men, that ben dredinge and schent in her strengthe, which slepten vncircumcidid with men slayn bi swerd, and baren her schenschipe with hem that 3eden down in to the lake. Fa- 31 rao si3 hem, and was coumfortid on al his multitude that was slayn bi swerd. And Farao and al his oost, seith the Lord God, baren her schenschipe with hem that 3eden down in to the lake; for he 3af his drede 32 in the lond of lyuyng men. And Farao and al his multitude slepte in the myddis of vncircumcidid men, with men slayn bi swerd, seith the Lord God.

^g sepulcris A. ^h him A.

^v Om. IN. ^w defoulid IN. ^x with I.

CAP. XXXIII.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 2 me, sayinge, Sone of man, speke thou to
 the sones of thi peple, and thou shalt
 saye to hem, The erthe, whann I shal
 brynge yn vp on it a swerd, and the
 peple of the lond shal take oon man of
 his last, and shal ordeyn hym a byholder
 3 vpon it, and he shal see a swerd cum-
 mynge vpon the lond, and shal synge
 with an horn, and shal shewe to the pe-
 4 ple, forsothe a man heerynge, who euer
 he is, the soun of the horn, andⁱ shal not
 kepe hym self, and the swerd shal cum,
 and shal take hym, the blood of hym shal
 5 be vpon his hed. He herd the soun of
 the horn, and kepte not him silf, the
 blood of hym shal be in hym; forsothe
 3if he shal kepe hym, he shal saue his
 6 soule. That 3if the biholder, *or aspier*,
 shal see the swerd cummynge, and shal
 not soun in the horn, and the peple shal
 not kepe it self, and the swerd shal cum,
 and take a soule of hem, sothely he is
 taken in his wickidnesse; forsothe I shal
 a3ein seeke the blood of hym of the
 hond of the biholder, not the peple of
 7 the lond, bot Y. And thou, sone of man,
 Y 3aue thee a biholder to the hous of
 Yrael; therefore thou heerynge a word of
 my mouth shalt shewe to hem of me.
 8 3if me sayinge to the vnpitous man, Vn-
 pitous man, by deeth thou shalt deye,
 thou shalt not speke, that the vnpitous
 man kepe him silf fro his waye, the ilke
 vnpitous man shal deye in his wickid-
 nesse; forsothe I shal a3en seeke the
 9 bloode of hym of thin hond. Forsothe
 3if thee tellynge to the vnpytous man,
 that he be conuertid, he shal not be con-
 uertid fro his waye, he shal dye in his
 wickidnes; sothely thou hast delyuered thi
 10 soule. Therefore thou, sone of man, saye to
 the hous of Yrael, Thus 3e spaken, say-

CAP. XXXIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹
 to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man,²
 speke to the sones of thi puple, and thou
 schalt seie to hem, A lond whanne Y
 bringe in a swerd on it, and the puple of
 the lond takith^y o man of hise laste men,
 and makith hym aspiere^z on hym, and³
 he seeth a swerd comynge on the lond,
 and sowneth with a clarioun, and tellith
 to the puple, forsothe a man that herith,⁴
 who euer he is, the sowne of the clarioun,
 and kepith not him silf, and the swerd
 cometh, and takith hym awei, the blood
 of hym schal be on the heed of hym. He⁵
 herde the sown of the^a clarioun, and kepte
 not hym silf, his blood schal be in hym;
 forsothe if he kepith hym silf, he schal
 saue his lijf. That if the^b aspiere^c seeth⁶
 a swerd comynge, and sowneth not with
 a clarioun, and the puple kepith not hym
 silf, and the swerd cometh, and takith
 awei a man of hem, sotheli he is takun
 in his wickidnesse; but Y schal seke the
 blood of hym of the hond of the^d aspiere.
 And, thou, sone of man, Y 3af thee aspiere^e⁷
 to the hous of Israel; therfor thou schalt
 here of my mouth a word, and schalt telle
 to hem of me. If whanne Y seie to the⁸
 wickid man, Thou, wickid man, schalt die
 bi deth, thou spekist not, that the wickid
 man kepe hym silf fro his weie, thilke
 wickid man schal die in his wickidnesse,
 but Y schal seke his blood of thin hond.
 Forsothe if whanne thou tellist to the⁹
 wickid man, that he be conuertid fro his
 weies, he is not conuertid fro his weie, he
 schal die in his wickidnesse; certis thou
 hast delyuered thi soule. Therefore thou,¹⁰
 sone of man, seie to the hous of Israel,
 Thus 3e spaken, seiynge, Oure wickid-
 nesis and oure synnes ben on vs, and we
 failen in tho; hou therfor moun we lyue?
 seie thou to hem, Y lyue, seith the Lord¹¹

¹ Om. AG pr. m. H.

^y take N. ^z a biholdere, *ether aspiere* CEF GHIK MNPQRSUXY. ^a Om. I. ^b he F. ^c biholdere CEF GHIK MNPQRSUX. ^d Om. ENBU. ^e a lookere C pr. m. an ouerseeer C sec. m. marg. a lookere, *ether aspiere* EFGIKMNPQRSUXY.

inge, Oure wickidnessis and our synnys
 ben vpon vs, and in hem we failen not;
 11 hou therfore shuln we mown lyue? saye
 thou to hem, Y lyue, saith the Lord God,
 Y wole not the deth of the vnpitous man,
 bot that the vnpitous man be conuertid
 fro his way, and lyue; he 3e conuertid
 fro 3our warst wayes, and whi shuln 3e
 12 dye, 3e hous of Yrael? And so thou,
 sone of man, saye to the sones of thi
 peple, The riztwijsnesse of a iust man
 shal not delyuere hym, in whateuer day
 he shal synne; and the vnpitee of the
 vnpitous man shal not anoye to hym, in
 whateuer day he shal be conuertid fro
 his vnpitee; and a iust man shal not
 mowe lyue in his riztwisnesse, in what-
 13 euer day he shal synne. 3he^k, if I shal
 saye to the iust man, that in lijf he shal
 lyue, and he tristying in his riztwisnesse
 shal do wickidnesse, alle his riztwisnessis
 shuln be bitaken to for3etyng, and in his
 wickidnesse whiche he wrou3te, in the
 14 ylk he shal dye. Forsothe 3if I shal
 saye to the vnpitous man, Bi deth thou
 shalt die, and he shal do penaunce of his
 synne, and shal do dome and riztwis-
 15 nesse, and the ylk vnpitous shal restore
 the wed, and 3eeld the rauyn, shall go in
 the maundementis of lijf, nether shal do
 any thing vniust, in lijf he shal lyue,
 16 and he shal not dye. Alle the synnes
 whiche he synnyde, shuln not be rettid, *or*
acountid, to hym; he dide dome and rizt-
 17 wysnesse, and in lijf he shal lyue. And
 the sones of thi peple saiden, The waye
 of the Lord is not of euen weizte^l; and
 18 the waye of hem is vniust. Forsothe
 whan a iust man shal go away fro his
 riztwijsnesse, and shal do wickidnesse,
 19 he shal dye in hem; and whann the
 vnpitous man shal go away fro his wick-
 idnesse, and shal do dome and riztwis-
 20 nesse, he shal lyue in hem. And 3e
 sayn, The way of the Lord is not rizt.
 3e hous of Yrael, I shal deeme eche of

God, Y nyle^f the deth of the wickid man,
 but that the wickid man be conuertid fro
 his weie, and lyue; he 3e conuertid fro
 3oure worste weies, and whi schulen 3e
 die, the hous of Israel? Therfor thou, 12
 sone of man, seie to the sones of thi pu-
 ple, The riztfulnesse of a riztful man schal
 not delyuere hym, in whateuer dai he do-
 ith synne; and the wickidnesse of a wickid
 man schal not anoye him, in what euere dai
 he is conuertid fro his wickidnesse; and
 a iust man schal not mowe lyue in his
 riztfulnesse, in what euer dai he doith
 synne. Also if Y seie to a iust man, 13
 that he schal lyue bi lijf, and he tristith
 in his riztfulnesse, and doith wickidnesse,
 alle his riztfulnessis schulen be 3ouun to
 for3etyng, and in his wickidnesse which
 he wrou3te, in that he schal die. For- 14
 sothe if Y seie to the wickid man, Thou
 schalt die bi deth, and he doith penaunce
 for his synne, and doith dom and riztful-
 nesse, and if thilke wickid man restorith 15
 a wed, and 3eldith rauelyn, and goith in^g
 comaundementis of lijf, and doith not ony
 vniust thing, he schal lyue bi lijf, and
 schal not die. Alle hise synnes which 16
 he synnede, schulen not be arettid to
 hym; he dide doom and riztfulnesse, he
 schal lyue bi lijf. And the sones of thi 17
 puple seiden, The weie of the Lord is not
 euene^h weizte; and the weie of hem is
 vniust. For whanne a iust man goith 18
 awei fro his riztfulnesse, and doith wick-
 idnessis, he schal die in tho; and whanne 19
 a wickid man goith awei fro his wickid-
 nesse, and doith dom and riztfulnes, he
 schal lyue in tho. And 3e seien, The weie 20
 of the Lord is not riztful. Y schal deme
 ech man bi hise weies of 3ou, the hous of
 Israel. And it was doon in the tweluethe 21
 3eer, in the tenthe monethe, in the fyuethe
dai of the monethe of our passyng ouer,
 he that fledde fro Jerusalem cam to me,
 and seide, The citee is distried. Forsothe 22
 the hond of the Lord was maad to me in

^k Om. AGH. ^l weizte, or euen charge AGH.

^f wile not 1. ^g in the 1. ^h of euene FHIKMNQSUX.

21³⁰ thou after his waies. And it is don in the twelfth^e 3^{er}, in the tenth^e monethe, in the fift^e of the monethe of oure transmigracioun, he cam to me that flei3 fro Jerusalem, sayinge, The cytee is distruy-
 22^{ed}. Forsothe the hond of the Lord was maad to me in the euen, byfore he came that flei3, and he opnyde my mouthe, til he came to me in the morewnyng; and, my mouth opnyd, Y was na more stille.
 23 And the word of the Lord is maad to
 24 me, sayinge, Sone of man, thei that dwellen in these ruynouse thinges vpon the erthe of Yrael, sayinge, sayn, Abraham was oon, and by eritage he weeldide the lond; forsothe we ben manye, the lond is 3ouen to vs in to possessioun.
 25 Therefore thou shalt saye to hem, These thingus saith the Lord God, Where 3e shuln weelde the lond by eritage, whiche eten blood, and reysen 3our eezen to 3our
 26 vnclennessis, and sheden out blood? 3e stoden in 3our swerdis, 3e diden 3our abominaciouns, and eche man defoulide the wijf of his nei3bore; and shul 3e
 27 weelde the lond by eritage? These thingus thou shalt saye to hem, Thus saith the Lord God, Y lyue, for thei that dwellen in ruynouse thingis, shuln falle by swerd, and he that is in the feeld, schal be taken to beestis for to be deuoured; forsothe thei that in strengthis and den-
 28 nys ben, by pestilence shuln dye. And I shal 3eue the lond in to wildernesse, and into desert, and the pride and strengthe^m therof shall faile; and the hillis of Yrael shuln be desolat, for that that ther is
 29 no man that passith by hem. And thei shuln wite, for I the Lord, whanne I shal 3eue the lond of hem desolate and desert, for alle her abomynaciouns whiche
 30 thei wrou3ten. And thou, sone of man, the sones of thi peple that speken of thee bisijdis wallis, and in doris of housis, and sayn, oon to an other, a man to his

the euentid, bfore that he cam that fledde, and he openyde my mouth, til he cam to me eerli; and whanne my mouth was openyd, Y was no more stille. And the 23 word of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, thei that 24 dwellen in 'thingis in poynt to falle down' on the erthe of Israel, seien, spekyng, Abraham was oon, and bi eritage he hadde the lond in possessioun; forsothe we ben manye, the lond is 3ouun to vs in to possessioun. Therfor thou schalt seie to hem, 25 The Lord God seith these thingis, Whether 3e that eten in blood, and reisen 3oure izen to 3oure vnclennessis, and scheden blood, schulen haue in possessioun the lond bi eritage? 3e stoden in 3oure 26 swerdis, 3e diden 3oure abhomynaciouns, and ech man defoulide the wijf of his nei3bore; and schulen 3e welde the lond bi eritage? Thou schalt seie these thingis 27 to hem, Thus seith the Lord God, Y lyue, for thei that dwellen in 'thingis redi to falle down'^k, schulen falle down bi swerd, and he that is in the feld, schal be 3ouun to beestis to be deuourid; but thei that ben in stronge holdis and in dennes, schulen die bi pestilence. And Y schal 3yue 28 the lond in to wildirnesse, and in to desert, and the pryde and strengthe^l therof schal faile; and the hillis of Israel schulen be maad desolat, for noon is that schal passe bi tho. And thei schulen wite, that 29 Y am the Lord, whanne Y schal 3yue her lond desolat and desert, for alle her abhomynaciouns whiche thei wrou3ten. And 30 thou, sone of man, the sones of thi puple that speken of thee bisidis wallis, and in the doris of housis, and seien, oon to an other, a man to his nei3bore, and speken, Come 3e, and here we, what is the word goynge out fro the Lord; and thei comen 31 to thee, as if my puple entrith, and my puple sitten bfore thee, and thei heren thi wordis, and doon not tho; for thei

^m the strengthe 4.

^l these ryhouse thingis CEF GHIKMN PQRS sec. m. UX. ether redi to falle doun K marg. these gryuouse thingis s pr. m. ^k ruinous thingis, ether redi to falle doun CEF GHIKMN PQRS UX. ruynouse thingis, ether redi to falle l. ruinouse thinges R. ^l the strengthe l.

neibore, spekyng, Cumme 3e, and heere
wee, whiche is the word goynge out of
31 the Lord; and thei camen to thee, as
3if my peple go yn, and my peple sitten
bifore thee, and heeren thi woordis, and
don not hem; for thei turnen hem in to
a songe of her mouthe, and the herte of
32 hem sueth her auerise; and it is to hem
as a songe of musyke, whiche is sunge
by soft and sweet soun; and thei heren
33 thi wordis, and don hem not; and
whanne that thing that is byfore saide
shal come, forsothe loo! it cummeth,
thanne thei shuln wite, for a prophete
was among hem.

CAP. XXXIV.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, sayinge, Sone of man, prophecie thou
of the shepperdis of Yrael, prophecie thou;
and thou shalt saye to the sheperdis,
These thingis saith the Lord God, Woo
to the sheperdis of Yrael, that fedden
hemsilf; wher flockis ben fedd of shep-
3 erdis? 3ee eeten the mylk, and 3e weren
keuered with the wollis, and 3e slewen
that thing that was fat; forsothe 3e fed-
4 den not my flockⁿ. 3e maden not sad to-
gidre that that was seek, *or vnstedfast*,
and 3e heeliden not that that was seek,
or soor; 3e bounden not to that that was
broken, and 3e ledden not a3ein that that
is^o cast away, and 3e sou3ten not that
that perishide; bot with steernesse 3e co-
5 maundide to hem, and with power. And
my sheep ben scatrid, for that that ther
was no^p sheperd; and thei ben maad in
to deuouryng of alle beestis of the feeld,
6 and thei ben scatrid. My flockis erriden
in alle hillis, and in eche hee3 litil hill,
and vpon al the face of erthe my flockis
ben scatrid, and there was not that a3ein
7 sou3te. Therefore, 3e sheperdis, heer^q the
8 word of the Lord; Y lyue, saith the Lord
God, for that that my flockis ben maad

turnen tho in to the song of her mouth,
and her herte sueth her auerice; and it³²
is to hem as a song of musik, which is
songun bi soft and swete sown; and thei
heren thi wordis, and thei doon not tho;
and whanne that that is^m bifore seide³³
comethⁿ, for lo! it cometh, thanne thei
schuln wite, that 'profetis weren^o among
hem.

CAP. XXXIV.

And the word of the Lord was maad 1
to me, and he seide, Sone of man, profesie 2
thou of the schepherdis of Israel, profesie
thou; and thou schalt seie to the schep-
herdis, The Lord God seith these thingis,
Wo to the schepherdis of Israel, that fed-
den hym silf; whether flockis ben not fed
of schepherdis? 3e eeten mylk, and weren 3
hilid with wollis, and 3e killiden that that
was fat; but 3e fedden not my floe. 3e 4
maden not sad that that was vnstidfast,
and 3e maden not hool that that^p was
sijk^q; 3e bounden not that that was
brokun, and 3e brou3ten not a3en that
that was cast awei, and 3e sou3ten not
that that perischide; but 3e comaundiden
to hem with sturnesesse, and with power.
And my scheep weren scaterid, for no 5
sheepherde was; and thei weren maad in
to deuouryng of alle beestis of the feeld,
and thei weren scatrid. My flockis err- 6
iden in alle mounteyns, and in ech hi3 hil,
and my flockis weren scaterid on al the
face of erthe, and noon was that sou3te.
Therfor, scheepherdis, here 3e the word of 7
the Lord; Y lyue, seith the Lord God^r, for 8
whi for that that my flockis ben maad in
to raueyn, and my scheep in to deuouryng

ⁿ folk K. ^o was A. ^p not A. ^q here 3e A.

^m was N. ⁿ come A. ^o a profete was A *pr. m. EFGHIKMNPRQSUX*. Y a profete c. P Om. 1.
^q not syik r *pr. m. s.* ^r Om. A *pr. m. CDEFGHIKMNPRQS pr. m. x.*

in to raayne, and my sheep in to deuour-
yng of alle beestis of the feld, for that
that ther was no sheperd, forsothe nether
sheperdis souȝten my floc, bot the shep-
erdis fedden hemself, and fedden not my
9 flockis; therefore, ȝe sheperdis, heer ȝee
10 the word of the Lord, These thingis saith
the Lord God, Loo! I my self vpon the
sheperdis; I shal aȝein seeke my floc of
the hond of hem, and I shal make hem
for to ceese, that thei na more feede my
floc, ne the sheperdis^q shuln more feede
hemself. And I shal deliuer my floc of
the mouthe of hem, and it shal na more
11 be to hem in to mete. For these thingus
saith the Lord God, Loo! I myself shal
aȝein seeke my sheep, and I shal visite
12 hem. As a shepherd visitith his floc, in
the dai whan he shal be in the mydil of
his scatered sheep, so I shal visite my
sheep, and shal delyuere hem of alle
places in whiche thei weren scatered, in
13 day of cloude, and derknesse. And I shal
leede hem out of peplis, and I shal gadre
hem of londis, and I shal leede hem into
her lond, and I shal feede hem in the
hillis of Yrael, in strondis, and in alle
14 seetis of erthe. In pasturis most plen-
teuouse Y shal feede hem, and in the
heeȝ mounteyns of Yrael the lesewis of
hem shuln be; there thei shuln aȝein reste
in erbis wexyngre greene, and in fat
lesewis thei shuln be fed vpon the moun-
15 teyns of Yrael. Y shal feede my sheep,
and I shal make hem for to reste, saith
16 the Lord God. Y^r shal aȝein seeke that
that perishide, and I shal aȝein leede that
that was cast away; and I shal bynd to
that that was to gidre broken, and I shal
coumforte that that was seek; and I shal
keepe that that is fat and strong, and I
17 shal feede hem in dome; forsothe ȝe
ben my flockis. These thingus saith the
Lord God, Loo! I deeme bitwixe beest
and beest, and wether and buc of geet.
18 Wher it was not ynewȝ to ȝou for to de-

of alle beestis of the feeld, for that that
no scheepherde was, for the scheepherdis
souȝten not my floc, but the scheepherdis
fedden hem silf, and fedden not my flockis;
therfor, scheepherdis, here ȝe the word of⁹
the Lord, The Lord God seith these thingis, 10
Lo! Y my silf^s *am* ouer scheepherdis; Y
shal seke my floc of the hond of hem,
and Y shal make hem to ceesse, that thei
fede no more my floc, and that the^t scheep-
herdis feede no more hem silf. And Y shal
delyuere my floc fro the mouth of hem,
and it shal no more be in to mete to hem.
For the Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! 11
Y my silf shal seke my scheep, and Y
shal visite hem. As a scheepherde visitith 12
his floc, in the dai whanne he is in the
myddis of hise scheep *that ben^u* scaterid,
so Y shal visite my scheep; and Y shal
delyuere hem fro alle places in whiche
thei weren scaterid, in the dai of cloude,
and of derknesse. And Y shal leede hem 13
out of puplis, and Y shal gadere hem fro
londis, and Y shal bryngre hem in to her
lond, and Y shal feede hem in the hillis
of Israel, in ryueris, and in alle seetis of
erthe. Y shal feede hem in moost plen- 14
teouse pasturis, and the lesewis of hem
schulen be in the hiȝ^v hillis of Israel; there
thei schulen reste in greene eerbis, and in
fatte lesewis thei schulen be fed on the
hillis of Israel. Y shal fede my scheep, 15
and Y shal make hem to ligge, seith the
Lord God. I shal seke that that pe- 16
rischide, and Y shal bryngre aȝen that
that was cast aweȝ; and Y shal bynde
that that was brokun, and Y shal make
sad that that was sijk; and Y^w shal kepe
that that was^x fat and strong; and Y
shal feede hem in doom; forsothe ȝe ben 17
my flockis. The Lord God seith these
thingis, Lo! Y deme bitwixe beeste and
beeste, and a wethir and a buc of geet.
Whether it was not enowȝ to ȝou to de- 18
uoure good pasturis? Ferthermore and ȝe
defouliden with ȝoure feet the remenauntis

^q sheperd κ. ^r And Y Δ.

^s Om. CEFHGKMNPRQSUX. ^t Om. I. ^u Om. CEFHGKMNPRQSUX. ^v Om. N. ^w Om. N. ^x is CEF
HIKMQRSU.

uoure good lesewes? More ouer and 3e defouliden with 3our feet the relifis of 3our lesewis, and whan 3e dronken most cleer water, and 3e trubliden the tother
 19 with 3our feet. And my sheep weren fed with these thingus that weren defoulid with 3our feet; and whiche thingus 3our
 20 feet trubliden, these thei drunken^a. Therefore these thingis saith the Lord God to hem, Loo! I myself deeme bitwixe fat
 21 beeste and lene. For that that 3e punchiden with sydis, and shuldris, and with 3our hornis wynewiden alle seek beestis, til thei weren scatered withouten forth,
 22 I shal saue my floc, and it shal na more be into raueyn. And I shal deeme bitwix
 23 beest and beest; and I shal reyse vpon hem oo sheperd, whiche shal feed hem, my seruaunt Dauyd; he shal feede hem, and he shal be to hem in to a sheperd.
 24 Forsothe I the Lord shal be to hem in to God, and my seruaunt Dauith prince in the mydil of hem; forsothe I the
 25 Lord spake. And I shal make with hem a couenaunt of pees, and I shal make for to ceese the werst beestis fro the erthe; and thei that dwellen in desert, sikir
 26 shuln sleep in wilde wodes. And I shal putte hem in cumpas of my litil hill a blessing, and I shal lede out rayn in his
 27 tyme. Raynes of blissing shuln be, and the tree of the feeld shal 3eue his fruyt, and the erthe shal 3eue his buriownyng. And thei shuln be in her lond without dreed; and thei shuln wite, for I the Lord, whan I shal debrise the chaynes of her 3oc, and shal deliuere hem of the
 28 hond of men comaundyng to hem. And thei shuln na more be in to raueyn in heithen men, nether beestis of the feeld shuln deuoure hem, bot thei shuln dwelle
 29 tristili without ony dreed. And I shal reyse to hem a iust buriownyng, *or seed*, named; and thei shuln na more be maad litil by hungre in erthe, nether thei shuln heere more ouer the shendshipis of folkis,

of 3oure lesewis, and whanne 3e drunken clereste watir, 3e disturbliden the residue with 3oure feet. And my scheep weren
 19 fed with tho^r thingis that weren defoulid with 3oure feet; and thei drunken these thingis, that 3oure feet hadden troblid. Therfor the Lord God seith these thingis
 20 to 3ou, Lo! Y my silf deme bitwixe a fat beeste and a leene beeste. For that that
 21 3e hurliden with sidis, and schuldris, and wyndewiden with 3oure hornes alle sike beestis, til tho weren scaterid without-
 forth, I schal saue my floc, and it schal
 22 no more be in to raueyn. And Y schal deme bitwixe beeste and beeste; and Y
 23 schal reise on tho^r o^a shepherde, my seruaunt Dauid, that schal fede tho; he schal fede tho^b, and he schal be 'in to^c a sheep-
 herde to hem. Forsothe Y the Lord schal
 24 be in to God to hem, and my seruaunt Dauid *shal be* prince in the myddis of hem; Y the Lord spak. And Y schal
 25 make with hem a couenaunt of pees, and Y schal make worste beestis to ceesse fro erthe; and thei that dwellen in desert, schulen slepe sikur in forestis. And Y
 26 schal sette hem^d blessing in the cumpas of my litil hil, and Y schal lede down reyn in his tyme. And reynes of blessing schulen be, and the tre of the feeld schal
 27 3yue his fruyt, and the erthe schal 3yue his seed. And thei schulen be in her lond with out drede; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal al-
 to-breke the chaynes of her 3ok, and schal^e delyuere hem fro the hond of hem that comaunden to hem. And thei schu-
 28 len no more be in to raueyn in to hethene men, nether the beestis of erthe schulen deuoure hem, but thei schulen dwelle tristili with outen ony drede. And Y schal
 29 reise to hem a iust buriownyng named; and thei schulen no more be maad lesse for hunger in erthe, and thei schulen no more bere the schenschipis^f of hethene men. And thei schulen wite, that Y *am* 30

^a drynken A.

^y these CEFHGIKMNPQRSUX. ^z thee N. the s *sec*, m. ^a a s. ^b them I. ^c Om. I. ^d hem to be I.
^e Y schal FIN. ^f schenschip N.

30 And thei shuln wite, for I the Lord God
of hem with hem, and thei my peple, the
31 hous of Yrael, saith the Lord God. For-
sothe 3e men ben my flockis, the flockis
of my lesewe; and I the Lord 3our God,
saith the Lord God.

CAP. XXXV.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad to
2 me, sayinge, Sone of man, putte thou thi
face azeins the mount of Seir; and thou
shalt prophecie to it, and shalt saye to
3 it, These thingis saith the Lord God,
Loo! I to thee, mount of Seir; I shal
strecche out myn hond vpon thee, and
4 I schal 3iue thee desolat and desert. I
schal distrye thi citees, and thou schalt
be desert; and thou schalt wite, for I the
5 Lord. For that that thou was an enemy
euer lastynge, and closidist to gydre the
sones of Yrael in to hondis^a of swerd, in
the tyme of her affliccioun, in the tyme
6 of the last wickidnesse; therfore Y lyue,
saith the Lord God, for I shal bitake
thee to blood, and blood shal pursue thee;
and whann thou hatist bloode, blood shal
7 pursue thee. And I shal 3eue the hil of
Seir desolat and desert, and I shal take
away fro it a man goynge and turnynge
8 azein; and I shal fulfille the hillis of it
with careyns of slayn men. In thi lital
hillis, and in thi valeis, and in rennyng
brokis of reyn, men slayn in swerd shuln
9 falle down. I shal bytake thee into wil-
dernessis euerlastynge, and thi citees
shuln not be enabitid; and 3e shuln wite,
10 for I the Lord God. For that that thou
saidist, Two folkis and two londis shuln
be myn, and bi eritage I shal weelde
11 hem, whan the Lord was there; ther-
fore I lyue, saith the Lord God, for I
shal do after thi wrath, and after thin
enuye, whiche thou didist, hauynge hem
in hate, and I shal be maad knowen by
12 hem, when I shal deeme thee; and thou
shalt wite, for I the Lord. Y herde alle

her Lord God with hem, and thei *ben* my
puple, the hous of Israel, seith the Lord
God. Forsothe 3e my flockis ben men, 31
the flockis of my lesewe; and Y *am* 3oure
Lord God, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XXXV.

And the word of the Lord was maad to 1
me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, sette 2
thi face a3ens the hil of Seir; and thou
schalt profesie to it, and thou schalt seie
to it, The Lord God seith these thingis, 3
Thou hil of Seir, lo! Y to thee; Y schal
stretche forth myn hond on thee, and Y
schal 3yue thee desolat and forsakun. Y 4
schal distrie thi citees, and thou schalt be
forsakun; and thou schalt wite, that Y *am*
the Lord. For thou were an enemye euer- 5
lastynge, and closidist togidere the sonis
of Israel in to the hondis of swerd, in the
tyme of her turment, in the tyme of the
laste wickidnesse; therfor Y lyue, seith the 6
Lord God, for Y schal 3yue thee to blood,
and blood schal pursue thee; and sithen
thou hatidist blood, blood schal pursue
thee. And Y schal 3yue the hil of Seir 7
desolat and forsakun, and Y schal take
awei fro it a goere and a comere a3en;
and Y schal fille the hillis therof with 8
the careyns of her slayn men. Men slayn
by swerd schulen falle down in thi litle
hillis, and in thi valeys, and in thi 9
strondis. Y schal 3yue thee in to euer-
lastynge wildirnessis, and thi citees schu-
len not be enhabitid; and 3e schulen wite,
that Y *am* the Lord God. For thou seid- 10
ist, Twei folkis and twei londis schulen
be myne, and Y schal welde tho bi eri-
tage, whanne the Lord was there; ther- 11
for Y lyue, seith the Lord God, for Y schal
do bi thi wraththe, and bi thin enuye,
which thou didist, hatinge hem, and Y
schal be made knowun bi hem, whanne
Y schal deme thee; and thou schalt wite, 12
that Y *am* the Lord. Y herde alle thi

^a the hoondis A.

thi shendshipis, whiche thou hast spoken of the mounteyns of Yrael, sayinge, Thei desert ben 3ouen to vs, for to deuoure.
 13 And 3e han rise vpon me with 3our mouth, and han dymynued, *or spoken yuel*, a3eins me; I herd 3our wordis.
 14 These thingis saith the Lord God, All erthe gladyng, I shal dryue thee in to
 15 wildrenesse. As thou ioiedist vpon the eritage of the hous of Yrael, for that it was scatered, so I shal do to thee; the hill of Seir shal be scatered, and al Ydume; and thei shuln wite, for I the Lord.

CAP. XXXVI.

1 Forsothe thou, sone of man, prophecie vpon the mounteyns of Yrael; and thou shalt saye, Hillis of Yrael, heere 3e the
 2 word of the Lord. These thingis saith the Lord God, For that that the enmye saide of 3ou, Wele! *or scorne*, hee3nessis^o euerlastyng ben 3ouen to vs in to eritage;
 3 therfore prophecie thou, and saye, These thingus saith the Lord God, For that that 3e ben desolat and defouldid by cumpas, and maad in to eritage to other folkis, and 3ee steiziden vp vpon the lipp of
 4 tunge, and shendship of peple; therefore, 3e hillis of Yrael, heere^v the word of the Lord God. These thingis saith the Lord God to mounteyns, and smale hillis, to rennyng stremys of reyn, and valeys, and to desert wallingus, and to forsaken citees, that ben robbid, and scornid of
 5 other heithen men bi cumpas; therefore these thingus saith the Lord God, For in the fjr of my wrath I spake of other heithen men, and of al Ydume, that 3auen my lond to hem in to eritage in swerd, and al the herte, and of inwit, and castiden out it, that thei shulden waaste;
 6 therfore prophecie thou vpon the erth of Yrael, and thou shalt saye to mounteyns, and smale hillis, to hei3this of hillis, and valeys, These thingis saith the Lord God, For that that 3e ben desolat, loo! I in my wrath and in my woodnesse haue spoken. For that that 3e susteyneden

schenschipis, whiche thou spakist of the hillis of Israel, and seidist, *The hillis of Israel* ben forsakun, and ben 3ouun to vs, for to deuoure. And 3e han rise on me
 13 with 3oure mouth, and 3e han deprauyd a3ens me; Y herde 3oure wordis. The
 14 Lord God seith these thingis, While al the lond is glad, Y schal turne thee in to wilderness. As thou haddist ioie on the
 15 eritage of the hous of Israel, for it was distried, so Y schal do to thee; the hil of Seir schal be distried, and al Ydumee; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. XXXVI.

Forsothe thou, sone of man, profesie
 1 on the hillis of Israel; and thou schalt seie, Hillis of Israel, here 3e the word of the Lord. The Lord God seith these
 2 thingis, For that that the enemy seide of 3ou, Wel! euerlastyng hi3nessis ben 3ouun to vs in to eritage; therefore profesie
 3 thou, and seie, The Lord God seith these thingis, For that that 3e ben maad desolat, and defouldid bi cumpas, and ben maad in to eritage to othere folkis, and 3e stieden on the lippe of tunge, and on the schenscipe of puple; therfor, hillis of Israel,
 4 here 3e the word of the Lord God. The Lord God seith these thingis to the mounteyns, and litle hillis, to strondis, and to valeis, and to peecis of wallis left, and to citees forsakun, that ben maad bare of puplis, and ben scorned of othere folkis bi cumpas; therefore the Lord God seith
 5 these thingis, For in the fier of my feruour Y spak of othere folkis, and of al Idumee, that 3auen my lond in to eritage to hem silf with ioie and al herte, and of entent, and castiden out it, to distrie it; therfor profesie thou on the erthe of Is-
 6 rael, and thou schalt seie to mounteyns, and litle hillis, to the hi3nesse of hillis, and to valeis, The Lord God seith these thingis, For that that 3e ben desolat, lo!
 Y spak in my feruour and in my strong veniaunce. For that that 3e suffriden schenscipe of hethene men; therfor the Lord
 7

7 the confusioun of heithen men. Therefore these thingis saith the Lord God, I reyside myn hond azeins heithen men, that ben in 3our cumpas, that thei bere her
8 confusioun. Forsothe, 3e hillis of Yrael, buriown 3our braunchis, and bring 3our fruyt to my peple of Yrael; forsothe it is
9 ni3 that it cum. For loo! I to you, and I shal be conuertid to 3ou, and 3e shuln
10 be erid, and shuln take seed. And I shal multiplie in 3ou men, and al the hous of Yrael; and citees shuln be enhabitid, and ruynouse thingis shuln be in-
11 storid, *or maad azein*. And I shal fulfil 3ou with men and beestis, and thei shuln be multiplied, and shuln waxe; and I shal make 3ou for to dwelle as fro the bygynnyng, and I shal 3eue with gretter goodis than 3e hadden fro the bygynnyng; and
12 3e shuln wite, for I the Lord. And I shal brenge vpon 3ou men, my peple of Yrael, and by eritage thei shuln welde thee, and thou shalt be to hem in to eritage; and thou shalt na more putte to,
13 that thou be without hem. These thingus saith the Lord God, For that that thei sayn of 3ou, Thou art a deuouresse of
14 men, and stranglinge thi folc; therefore thou shalt na more ete men, and thou shalt na more slea thi folk, the Lord God
15 saith. Nether I shal make the confusioun of heithen men herd more in thee, and thou shalt not bere the shendshipe of peplis, and thou shalt na more leese
16 thi peple, saith the Lord God. And the word of the Lord is maad to me, sayinge,
17 Sone of man, the hous of Yrael dwelliden in her lond, and thei defouliden it in her wayes, and in her studies; after the vnclennesse of the menstruat womman the
18 way of hem is maad before me. And I shedde out myn indignacioun vpon hem, for the blood whiche they shedden vpon the lond, and in her ydolis thei defoul-
19 iden it. And I scatride hem among heithen men, and thei ben wyndowid in to londis. After the waies of hem and fynd-

God seith these thingis, Lo! Y reyside myn hond azens hethene men, that ben in 3oure cumpas, that thei bere her schenschi-
pe. Forsothe, 3e hillis of Israel, brynge forth
3oure braunchis, and bringe 3e fruit to my puple Israel; for it is ni3 that it come. For
lo! Y to 3ou, and Y schal turne to 3ou, and 3e schulen be erid, and schulen take seed. And in 3ou I schal multiplie men, and al
the hous of Israel; and citees schulen be enhabitid, and ruynouse thingis schulen be reparelid. And Y schal fille 3ou with
men and beestis, and thei schulen be multiplied, and schulen encrease; and Y schal make 3ou to dwelle as^b at the bigynnyng, and Y schal rewarde with more goodis than 3e hadden at the bigynnyng; and 3e schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. And
Y schal brynge men on 3ou, my puple Israel, and bi eritage thei schulen welde thee, and thou schalt be to hem in to eritage; and thou schalt no more leie to, that thou be with out hem. The Lord God
seith these thingis, For that that thei seien of 3ou, Thou art aⁱ deuouresse of men, and stranglist thi folk; therfor thou
schalt no more ete men, and thou schalt no more sle^k thi folk, seith the^l Lord God. And Y schal no more make herd in thee
the schenschi-
pe of hethene men, and thou schalt no more bere the schenschi-^mpe of puplis, and thou schalt no more leese thi folk, seith the Lord God. And the word
of the Lord was maad to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man, the hous of Israel
dwelliden in her lond, and thei defouliden it in her weies, and in her studies; bi the vnclennesse of a womman in rotun blood the weie of hem is maad bifer me. And
Y schedde out myn indignacioun on hem, for blood which thei shedden on the lond, and in her idols thei defouliden it. And
Y scateride hem among hethene men, and thei weren wyndewid toⁿ londis; Y demede hem bi the weies and fyndyngis of hem. And thei entriden to hethene men, to²⁰ whiche thei entriden, and defouliden myn

^b Om. N. ⁱ Om. N. ^k lese Q. ^l the U. ^m schenschipis N. ⁿ in to CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.

20 yngis Y deemyde hem. And thei en-
 triden to heithen men, to whom thei
 entriden, and defouliden myn holy name,
 whann it was said of hem, This is the
 peple of the Lord, thei wenten out of the
 21 lond of hym. And I sparid to myn hooli
 name, whom the hous of Yrael defoulide
 in heithen men, to whom thei entriden.
 22 Therefore thou shalt saie to the hous of
 Yrael, These thingis saith the Lord God,
 Not for 3ou I shal do, 3e hous of Yrael,
 but for myn holy name, whom 3e defoul-
 iden in heithen men, to whom 3e en-
 23 triden. And I shal halewe my greet
 name, whiche is defoulid among heithen
 men, whom 3e defouliden in the mydil of
 hem; that heithen men witen, for I the
 Lord, saith the Lord of hoostus, whanne
 24 I shal be halewid in 3ou bifore hem. So-
 thely Y shal take 3ou away fro heithen
 men, and I shal gadre 3ou of alle londis,
 and I shal brenge 3ou into 3our lond.
 25 And I shal shede out vpon 3ou clene
 watir, and 3e shuln be clensid of alle
 3our defoulyngis; and I shal clense 3ou
 26 fro alle 3our ydolis. And I shal 3eue to
 3ou a newe herte, and I shal putte ^a
 a newew spirit in the mydil of 3ou; and
 I shal take away a stonen herte of 3our
 fleshe, and I shal 3eue to 3ou an herte of
 27 fleshe, and I shal putte my spirit in the
 mydil of 3ou. And I shal make that 3e
 walke in myn heestis, and that 3ee kepe
 28 and wirche my domys. And 3e shuln
 dwelle in the lond, whiche I 3aue to 3our
 fadris; and 3e shuln be to me in to peple,
 29 and I shal be to 3ou in to God. And I
 shal saue 3ou of alle 3our filthis; and I
 shal clepe whete, and shal multiplie it,
 and I shal not putte hungre in to 3ou.
 30 And I shal multiplie the fruyte of tree,
 and buriownyngus, *or seedis*, of the feeld,
 that 3e bere na more shenship of hungre
 31 in heithen men. And 3e shuln haue
 mynde of 3our warst waies, and studies
 not goode; and 3our wickidnessis^x, and

hooli name, whanne it was seid of^o hem,
 This is the puple of the Lord, and thei
 3eden out of the lond of hym. And Y²¹
 sparide myn hooli name, which the hous
 of Israel hadde defoulid among hethene
 men, to whiche thei entriden. Therfor²²
 thou schalt seie to the hous of Israel, The
 Lord God seith these thingis, Op! 3e hous
 of Israel, not for 3ou Y schal do, but for
 myn hooli name, which 3e defouliden
 among hethene men, to whiche 3e en-
 triden. And Y schal halewe my greet²³
 name, which is defoulid among hethene
 men, whiche 3e defouliden in the myddis
 of hem; that hethene men wite, that Y
 am the Lord, seith the Lord of oostis,
 whanne Y schal be halewid in 3ou before
 hem. For Y schal take awei 3ou fro he-²⁴
 thene men, and Y schal gadre 3ou fro alle
 londis, and Y schal brynge 3ou in to 3oure
 lond. And Y schal schede⁹ out clene wa-²⁵
 tir on 3ou, and 3e schulen be clensid fro
 alle 3oure filthis; and Y schal clense 3ou
 fro alle 3oure idols. And Y schal 3yue²⁶
 to 3ou a newe herte, and Y schal sette a
 newe spirit in the myddis of 3ou; and Y
 schal do awei an herte of stoon fro 3oure
 fleisch, and Y schal 3yue to 3ou an herte of
 fleisch, and Y schal sette my spirit in the²⁷
 myddis of 3ou. And Y schal make that 3e
 go in my comaundementis, and kepe and
 worche my domes. And 3e schulen dwelle²⁸
 in the lond, whiche Y 3af to 3oure fadris;
 and 3e schulen be in to a puple to me, and
 Y schal be in to a^r God to 3ou. And Y²⁹
 schal saue 3ou fro alle 3oure filthis; and
 Y schal clepe wheete, and Y schal multi-
 plie it, and Y schal not put hungur on
 3ou. And Y schal multiplie the fruyt of³⁰
 tree, and the seedis of the feeld, that 3e
 bere no more the schenschiipe of hungur
 among hethene men. And 3e schulen haue³¹
 mynde on 3oure worste weies, and on stu-
 dies not goode; and 3oure wickidnessis,
 and 3oure grete trespassis schulen displese
 3ou. Not for 3ou Y schal do, seith the³²

^w my A. ^x wickidnes A.

^o to I. P A! C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ⁹ heelde I. ^r Om. C E F G H I K M N sec. m. P Q R S U X.

your grete trespassis shuln displese to
 32 you. Not for you I shal do, saith the
 Lord God, be it knowen to you; be ye
 counfoundid, and shame ye vpon your
 33 waies, ye hous of Yrael. These thingis
 saith the Lord God, In the day in whiche
 Y shal clense you of alle your wickid-
 nessis, and shal make citees for to be
 enhabitid, and shal repareyle ruynouse
 34 thingis, and the desert lond shal be tiled,
 whiche sum tyme was desolat, in the
 35 eezen of eche way goar, thei shuln saye,
 The ylk lond vntilid is maad as a jerd
 of volupte, and citees desert and desti-
 tute and vndirdiggid, waardid, *or made*
 36 *stronge*, han setun; and heithen men
 shuln wite, whiche euer shuln be left, *or*
forsaken, in your cumpas, for I the Lord
 haue bildide the scatered thingus, and
 37 haue plantid vntilid thingus; Y the Lord
 haue spoke, and haue don. These thingis
 saith the Lord God, 3it the hous of Yrael
 in this thing shuln fynde me, that Y do
 38 to hem; Y shal multiplie hem as flockis
 of men, as an holy floc, as the floc of
 Jerusalem in the solempnytees therof, so
 desert citees shuln be ful of flockis of
 men; and thei shuln wite, for Y the Lord.

CAP. XXXVII.

1 The hond of the Lord is maad vpon
 me, and he ledde me out in the^y spirit
 of the Lord, and lefte me in the mydil
 2 of a feeld that was ful of boones; and
 he ledde me aboute bi hem in cumpas.
 Forsothe there were ful manye vpon the
 3 face of the erthe, and gretely drye. And
 he saide to me, Sone of man, gessist thou,
 wher these boones shuln lyue? And I
 4 saide, Lord God, thou hast knowe. And
 he saide to me, Prophecie thou of these
 boonys; and thou shalt saye to hem, Drie
 boones, heer ye the word of the Lord.
 5 These thingus saith the Lord God to
 these bonys, Loo! I shal with ynne send

Lord God, be it knowun to you; O! the
 hous of Israel, be ye schent, and be ye^t
 aschamed on youre weies. The Lord God 33
 seith these thingis, In the dai in which
 Y schal clense you fro alle youre wickid-
 nessis, and Y schal make citees to be en-
 habitid, and Y schal reparele ruynouse
 thingis, and the desert lond schal be tilid, 34
 that was sum tyme desolat, bifor the 3zen
 of ech weiegeere, thei schulen seie, Thilke 35
 lond vntilid is maad as a gardyn of lik-
 yng, and citees forsakun and destitute
 and vndur myned saten maad strong;
 and hethene men, whiche euer ben left in 36
 youre cumpas, schulen wite, that Y the
 Lord haue bildid distried thingis, and Y
 haue plauntid vntilid thingis; Y the Lord
 spak, and Y dide. The Lord God seith 37
 these thingis, 3it in this thing the hous of
 Israel schulen fynde me, that Y do to hem;
 Y schal multiplie hem as the flocⁿ of men,
 as an hooli floc, as the floc of Jerusalem 38
 in the solempnytees therof, so the citees
that ben^v forsakun, schulen^w be fulle of
 the flockis of men; and thei schulen wite,
 that Y *am* the Lord.

CAP. XXXVII.

The hond of the Lord was maad on me, 1
 and ledde me out in the^x spirit of the
 Lord; and he lefte me in the myddis of
 a feeld that was ful of boonys; and he 2
 ledde me aboute bi tho in cumpas. For-
 sothe tho weren ful manye on the face of
 the feeld, and drie greetli. And he seide 3
 to me, Gessist thou, sone of man, whether
 these boonys schulen lyue? And Y seide,
 Lord God, thou wost. And he seide to me, 4
 Profesie thou of these boonys; and thou
 schalt seie to tho^y, Ye drie boonys, here^z
 the word of the Lord. The Lord God 5
 seith these thingis to these boonys, Lo!
 Y schal sende in to you a spirit, and ye

^y Om. AK sec. m.

^a A! CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^t Om. SX. ^u folk A pr. m. EFGHMNPQSU. ^v Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.
 Om. K pr. m. schulen be K sec. m. ^w and schulen CEF GHIKMN PQRSU. ^x Om. I. ^y hem I. ^z heerith IN.
 here 3e U.

6 in to 3ou a spirit, and 3e shuln lyue. And
 I shal 3eue synewys vpon 3ou, and I shal
 make fleshis for to wexe vpon 3ou, and
 I shal aboute strecche skyn in 3ou, and I
 shal 3eue to 3ou a spirit, and 3e shuln
 lyue; and 3e shuln wite, for I the Lord.
 7 And I prophecied, as he comaundide to
 me; forsothe me prophecyinge a soun is
 maad, and loo! a styryng to gydre, and
 bones wenten to boones, eche to his ioyn-
 8 ture. And I sawe, and loo! vpon hem
 synewis and fleshis steiziden vp to^z hem,
 and skyn is stretchid forth aboute, and
 9 thei hadden no spirit. And he saide to
 me, Prophecie thou to the spirit, sone of
 man, prophecie thou; and thou shalt saye
 to the spirit, These thingus saith the Lord
 God, Fro four wyndys cum, thou spirit,
 and blowe yn vpon these slayn men, and
 10 lyue thei azein. And I prophecied, as he
 comaundide to me; and the spirit wente
 in to hem, and thei lyuyden, and stoden
 11 vpon her feet, a^a ful greet oost. And the
 Lord saide to me, Sone of man, alle these
 boones is the hous of Yrael; thei sayen^a,
 Oure boons dryeden, and our hoope pe-
 12 rryshide, and we ben kit away. Therfore
 prophecie thou, and thou shalt saye to
 hem, These thingus saith the Lord God,
 Loo! I shal open 3our biriels, and shal
 leede 3ou out of 3our sepulcris, my peple,
 and I shal leed 3ou in to 3our lond of Yrael.
 13 And 3e shuln wite, for I the Lord, whan
 I shall opyn 3our sepulcris, and shal leede
 14 3ou out of 3our biriels, my peple; and
 shal 3eue my spirit in 3ou, and 3e shuln
 lyue. And I shal make 3ou for to rest
 vpon 3our lond; and 3e shuln wite, for I
 the Lord spake, and haue don, saith the
 15 Lord God. And the word of the Lord
 16 is maad to me, sayinge, And thou, sone
 of man, take to thee oo tree, and wryte
 vpon it, Of Juda, and the sonys of Yrael,
 with his felawis. And take thou an other
 tree, and write vpon it, Of Joseph, and
 the tree of Effraym, and of al the hous

schulen lyue. And Y schal 3yue synewis⁶
 on 3ou, and Y schal make fleischis to wexe
 on 3ou, and Y schal stretche forth aboute^a
 a^b skyn in 3ou, and Y schal 3yue a spirit
 to 3ou, and 3e schulen lyue; and 3e schulen
 wite, that Y *am* the Lord. And Y pro-
 7 fesiede, as he comaundide to me; forsothe
 a soun was maad, while Y profesiede, and
 lo! a styryng togidere, and boonys camen^c
 to boonys, ech to his ioynture. And Y si3,⁸
 and lo! synewis^d and fleischis 'wexeden
 vpon^e tho, and skyn was stretchid forth
 aboute in hem, and tho hadden no spirit.
 And he seide to me, Profesie thou to the⁹
 spirit, profesie thou, sone of man; and
 thou schalt seie to the spirit, The Lord
 God^f seith these thingis, Come, thou spirit,
 fro foure wyndis, and blowe thou on these
 slayn men, and lyue thei azen. And Y¹⁰
 profesiede, as he comaundide to me; and
 the spirit entride in to tho^g boonys, and
 thei lyueden, and stoden^h on her feet, a
 ful greet oost. And the Lord seide to me,¹¹
 Thou sone of man, alle these boonys is
 the hous of Israel; thei seien, Oure boonys
 drieden, and oure hope perischide, and we
 ben kit aweil. Therfor profesie thou, and¹²
 thou schalt seie to hem, The Lord God
 seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal opene 3oure
 graues, and Y schal lede 3ou out of 3oure
 sepulcris, my puple, and Y schal lede 3ou
 in to 3oure lond Israel. And 3e schulen¹³
 wite, that Y *am* the Lord, whanne Y schal
 opene 3oure sepulcris, and schal lede 3ou
 out of 3oure biriels, my puple; and Y schal¹⁴
 3yue my spirit in 3ou, and 3e schulen lyue.
 And Y schal make 3ou for to reste on 3oure
 lond; and 3e schulen wite, that Y the
 Lord spak, and dide, seith the Lord God.
 And the word of the Lord was maad to¹⁵
 me, and he seide, And thou, sone of man,¹⁶
 take to thee o tree, and write thou on it,
 To Juda, and to the sones of Israel, and
 to hise felowis. And take thou an other
 tree, and write on it, Joseph, the tree of
 Effraym, and of al the hous of Israel, and

^z in AGH. ^a and a K sec. m. ^b seiden A.

^a Om. E. ^b Om. CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^c neiziden CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^d sinewis CR. nervis, ether
 sinwes EFGHKMN PQRSUX. ^e stieden ON CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^f Om. N. ^g the IV. ^h stiede N.

17 of Yrael, and his felawis. And ioyne hem the^c toon^d to the tother^e to thee into oo tree; and thei shuln be in to oonyng 18 in thin hond. Forsoth whan the sonys of thi peplis^f shuln saye to thee, spekyng, Wher thou shewist not to vs, what 19 thou wolt in these thingis to thee? thou shalt speke to hem, These thingus saith the Lord, Loo! I shal take to the tree of Joseph, that is in the hond of Effraym; and the kynredis of Yrael, that ben ioyned to hym, and I shal ȝeue hem to gydre with the tree of Juda; and I shal make hem in to oo tree, and thei shuln be oon 20 in his hond. Forsothe the trees, vpon whom thou hast writen, shuln be in thin 21 hond in the eezen of hem. And thou shalt saye to hem, These thingus saith the Lord God, Loo! I shall take to the sonys of Yrael of the mydil of^{ff} naciouns, to whom thei wenten away; and I shal gadere hem on eche syde. And I shal bringe 22 hem to her erthe, and I shal make hem oo folk in the lond, in hillis of Yrael, and oo kyng shal be comaundyng to alle; and thei shuln na more be two folkis, neyther thei shuln more be departid^g in to^g 23 two rewmes. Nether thei shuln be defoulid more ouer in her ydols, and her abomynaciouns, and in alle her wickidnessis. And I shal make hem saaf of alle her setis, in whiche thei synned, and I shal clense hem; and thei shuln be to me a peple, and I shal be God to hem. 24 And my seruau^t kyng Dauyd vpon hem, and oo sheperd shal be of^h hem alle; thei shuln walke in my domys, and thei shuln kepe my comaundementis, and shuln do 25 hem. And thei shuln dwelle vpon the lond, whiche Y ȝaue to my seruau^t Jacob, in whiche ȝour faderis dwelliden; and thei shuln dwelle vpon it, thei, and the sonys of hem, and the sonys of her sonys, til in to with outen eende; and Dauyth, my seruau^t, prince of hem in 26 to with oute eende. And I shal smyte

of hise felowis. And ioyne thou tho *trees* 17 oon to the tother in to o tree to thee; and tho schulen be in to onement in thin hond. Sotheli whanne the sonys of thi puple that 18 speken, schulen seie to thee, Whether thou schewist not to vs, what thou wolt to thee in these thingis? thou schalt speke to 19 hem, The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal take the tree of Joseph, which is in the hond of Effraym, and the lynagis of Israel, that ben ioyned to hymⁱ, and Y schal ȝyue hem togidere with the tree of Juda; and Y schal make hem in to o^k tree, and thei schulen be oon in the hond of hym. Sotheli the trees, on whiche thou 20 hast write, schulen be in thin hond bifore the ȝen of hem. And thou schalt seie to 21 hem, The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal take the sonys of Israel fro the myddis of naciouns, to whiche thei ȝeden forth; and Y schal gadere hem togidere on ech side. And Y schal bryng 22 hem to her lond, and Y schal make hem o^l folc^l in the lond, in the hillis of Israel, and o kyng schal be comaundyng to alle; and thei schulen no more be twei folkis, and thei schulen no more be departid in to twey rewmes. And thei schulen no 23 more be defoulid in her idols, and her abhomynaciouns, and in alle her wickidnessis. And Y schal make hem saaf fro alle her seetis, in which thei synned, and Y schal clense hem; and thei schulen be a puple to me, and Y schal be God to hem. And my seruau^t Dauid *schal be* 24 kyng on hem, and o scheepherde schal be of alle hem; thei schulen go in my domes, and thei schulen kepe my comaundementis, and schulen do tho. And thei schulen 25 dwelle on the lond, which Y ȝaf to my seruau^t Jacob, in which ȝoure fadris dwelliden; and thei schulen dwelle on that *lond*, thei, and the sonys of hem, and the sonys of her sonys, til in to with outen ende; and Dauid, my seruau^t, *schal be* the^m prince of hem with outen

^c to the K sec. m. ^d oon K sec. m. ^e other K sec. m. ^f puple A. ^{ff} Om. K. ^g in AH. ^h vpon A.

ⁱ hem U. ^k Om. N. ^l flock N. ^m Om. N.

to hem a couenaunt of pees; a couenaunte euerlastyng^e shal be to hem, and I shal
 27 founde hem, and shalⁱ multiplie^k. And I shal be to hem God^l, and thei shuln be
 28 to me peple. And heithen men shuln wite, for I the Lord, halewer of Yrael, whan my halewyng shal be in the myddil of hem in to with oute eende.

CAP. XXXVIII.

1 And the word of the Lord is made to
 2 me, sayinge, Sone of man, putte thi face
 3 azeins Gog, and the lond of Magog, prince of the hed of^m Mosoch and Tubal; and
 4 prophecie thou of hym. And thou shalt saye to hym, These thingus saith the Lord God, Loo! I to thee Gog, prince of
 5 the hed of Mosoch and Tubal; and I shal leede thee aboute, and I shal putte a brydil in thi cheekis, and shal leede thee out, and al thin oost, horsis, and horsmen, alle clothed with hauberious, a greet multitude of men, takyng^e shaft, and
 6 sheeld, and swerd. Men of Persis, Ethiopiens, and Libiens with hem, alle sheeldid and helmyd. Gomer, and alle his cumpanyes, the hous of Togorma, sydis of the north, and al the strengthe of hym, and
 7 many peplis with thee. Dizte, and make thee redy, and alle thi multitude that is gadred to thee, be thou to hem in to
 8 comaundement. After many dayes thou shalt be visitid, in the last of 3eeris thou shalt cum to erthe, whiche is turnyd azein fro swerd, and is gadrid of many peplis, to the hillis of Yrael that weren desert lastyngly; this is led out of peplis, and
 9 alle dwelten in it tristili. Forsothe thou steizinge vp as a tempest shalt cum, and as a cloude, that thou hill the erthe, thou and alle thi cumpaignyes, and many pe-
 10 plis with thee. These thingus saith the

ende. And Y schal smyte to hem a boond²⁶ of pees; it schal be a couenaunt euerlastyng^e to hem, and Y schal founde hem, and Y schal multiplie, and Y schal 3yue myn halewing in the myddis of hem with outen ende. And my tabernacle schal be²⁷ among hem, and Y schal be God to hem, and thei schulen be a puple to me. And²⁸ hetbene men schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord, halewere of Israel, whanne myn halewyng schal be in the myddis of hem with outen ende.

CAP. XXXVIII.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹ to me, and he seide, Thou, sone of man,² Sette thi face azeins Gog, and azeins the lond of Magog, the prince of the heed of Mosoch and of Tubal; and profesie thou of hym. And thou schalt seie to hym,³ The Lord God seith these thingis, A! Gog, lo! Y to thee, prince of the heed of Mosoch and of Tubal; and Y schal lede⁴ thee aboute, and Y schal sette a bridil in thi chekis, and Y schal leede out thee, and al thin oost, horsis, and horsmen, alle clothid with haburiouns, a greet multitude of men, takyng^e spere, and scheeld, and swerd. Perseis, Ethiopiens, and Libiens⁵ with hem, alle *ben* araied with scheeldis and helmes. Gomer, and alle the cum-⁶ penyes of hym, the hous of Togorma, the sidis of the north, and al the strengthe therof, and many puplis *ben* with thee. Make redi, and araye thee, and al thi⁷ multitude which is gaderid to thee, and be thou in to comaundement to hem. Aftir many daies thou schalt be visitid, in⁸ the laste of 3eeris thou schalt come to the lond, that turnede azen fro swerd, and was gaderid of many puplis, to the hillis of Israel that weren desert ful ofte; this was led out of puplis, and alle men dwellide tristili ther ynne. Forsothe thou schalt⁹ stieⁿ, and schalt come as a tempest, and as a cloude, for to hile the lond, thou,

ⁱ I schal *GH*. ^k multiplie hem *A*. multiplie it *K sec. m*. ^l a God *A*. ^m Om. *K*.

² stie vp *I*.

Lord God, In that day wordis shuln stye
vp vpon thin herte, and thou shalt thenke
11 the warst thougt; and shalt saye, I shal
stize vp^m to the lond with oute wall, I
shal cum to men restyng and dwellynge
sykirly; alle these dwellen with outen
wall, barris, *or lockis*, and zatis ben not
12 to hem; that thou rauyshe spuylis, and
assaile pray; that thou zeue thin hond
vpon hem that weren desert, and after-
ward restoryd, and vpon the peple whiche
is gadrid of folkis, whiche bygan for to
weelde, and for to be dweller of the naule,
13 *or mydil*, of the erthe. Saba, and Dedan,
and marchauntis of Tharsis, and alle
lyouns therof shuln saye to thee, Wherⁿ
thou cummest for to take spuylis? Loo!
for to rauyshe pray thou gaderest thi
multitude, that thou take gold and syl-
uer, and take away, and take portenaunce
of houshold and substaunce, and rauyshe
14 spuylis with outen noumbre. Therefore,
sone of man, prophecie thou; and thou
shalt saye to Gog, These thingus saith
the Lord God, Wherⁿ not in that day,
whan my peple of Yrael shal dwelle tris-
15 tili, thou shalt wite; and shalt cum of
thi place, fro sydis of the northe, thou,
and many peplis with thee, alle styers of
horsis, a greet cumpignye, and greet^o
16 oost; and styeinge vp on^p my peple Yrael,
as a cloude, that thou hille the erthe?
In the last dayes thou shalt be, and I
shal leede thee to vp on my lond, that
my folkis wite, whan I shal be halewid
in thee, in the eezen of hem, thou Gog.
17 These thingus saith the Lord God, Ther-
fore thou art he of whom I spak in olde
dayes, in the hond of my seruauentis, pro-
phetis of Yrael, that prophecied in the
days of tymes, that I shulde leede thee
18 to vpon hem. And it shal be, in that
day, in the day of the cummyng of Gog
vpon the lond of Yrael, saith the Lord
God, myn indignacioun shal stye vp in
19 my wodenesse, and in my wrath; in

and alle thi cumpanyes, and many puplis
with thee. The Lord God seith these¹⁰
thingis, In that dai wordis schulen stie on
thin herte, and thou schalt thenke the
worste thougt; and schalt seie, Y schal¹¹
stie^o to the loud with out wal, and^p Y
schal come to hem that resten and dwellen
sikirli; alle these dwellen with out wal,
barris and zatis ben not to hem; that¹²
thou rauysche spuylis, and asaile prei;
that thou brynge in thin hond on hem
that weren forsakun, and afterward re-
storid, and on the puple which is gaderid
of hethene men, that bigan to welde, and
to be enhabitere of the nawle of erthe.
Saba, and Dedan, and the marchauntis of¹³
Tharsis, and alle the liouns therof schulen
seie to thee, Whether thou comest to take
spuylis? Lo! to rauysche prey thou hast
gaderid thi multitude, that thou take awei
gold and siluer, and do awei purtenaunce
of houshold and catel, and that thou
rauysche preyes with out noumbre. Ther-¹⁴
for profesie thou, sone of man; and thou
schalt seie to Gog, The Lord God seith
these thingis, Whether not in that dai,
whanne my puple Israel schal dwelle
tristili, thou schalt wite; and schalt¹⁵
come fro thi place, fro the sidis of the
north, thou, and many puplis with thee,
alle stieris of horsis, a greet company, and
an huge oost; and thou as a cloude schalt¹⁶
stie on my puple Israel, that thou hile the
erthe? Thou schalt be inⁿ the laste daies,
and Y schal brynge thee on my lond, that
my folkis wite, whanne Y schal be ha-
lewid in thee, thou Gog, bifer the ijen of
them. The Lord God seith these thingis,¹⁷
Therfor thou art he of whom Y spak in
elde daies, in the hond of my seruauentis,
profetis of Israel, that profesieden in the
daies of tho tymes, that Y schulde bringe
thee on hem. And it schal be, in that¹⁸
dai, in the dai of the comyng of Gog on
the lond of Israel, seith the Lord God,
myn indignacioun schal stie in my strong

^m Om. *x sec. m.* ⁿ Whether *A passim.* ^o a greet *A.* ^p Om. *A.*

^o stie vp *I.* ^p Om. *I.* ^q on *N.*

20 the fije of my wrath I spac. For in that day shal be greet mouynge to gydre vpon the lond of Yrael; and fishis of the se shuln be moued to gydre fro my face, and beestis of the feeld^a, and briddis of heuen, and eche crepynge thing that is moued vpon erthe, and alle men that ben vpon the face of the erthe; and hillis shuln be vndirtournyd, and heggis shuln falle, and eche wall shal falle to gidre to^r 21 erthe. And I shal clepe to gydre azeins hym a swerd in alle my mounteyns, saith the Lord; the swerd of eche man shal be 22 dressid in to his brother. And than I shal deeme hym by pestilence, and blood, and reyn ful greet, and greete stoons; Y shal reyne vpon hym fyre and bronston, and vpon his oost, and vpon many peplis 23 that ben with hym. And I shal be mag-nyfyed and halewid, and I shal be knowen in the eezen of many folkis; and thei shuln wite, for I the Lord.

CAP. XXXIX.

1 Forsothe thou, sone of man, prophecie azeins Gog; and thou shalt saye, These thingus saith the Lord God, Loo! I vpon thee, Gog, prince of the hed of Mosoch 2 and Tubal. And I shal leede thee aboute, and I shal disceyue thee, and make thee for to stey vp of sydis of the north, and I shal bryng thee on the hillis of Yrael. 3 And I shal smyte thi bouwe in thi left half, and I shal^s cast down thin arowis of 4 thi rjzt hond. Vpon^t the mounteyns of Yrael thou shalt falle, thou, and alle thi cumpanyes, and peplis that ben with thee; to wylde beestis, briddis and eche volatile, and beestis of erthe I 3aue thee 5 for to be deuoured. Vpon the face of feeld thou shalt falle; for I the Lord spac, 6 saith the Lord God. And I shal sende out fjr in to Magog, and in hem that dwellen in ijlis tristily; and thei shuln 7 wite, for^u I the Lord God of Yrael. And

veniaunce, and in my feruour; Y spac in 19 the fier of my wraththe. For in that dai 20 schal be grete mouyng on the lond of Israel; and fischis of the see, and beestis of erthe, and briddis of the eir, and ech crepynge beeste which is mouyd on erthe, and alle men that ben on the face of erthe, schulen be mouyd fro my face; and hillis schulen be vndurturned, and heggis schulen falle down, and ech wal schal falle down in to erthe^r.

CAP. XXXIX.

And Y schal clepe togidere a swerd 21 azens hym in alle myn hillis, seith the Lord God; the swerd of ech man schal be dressid azens his brother. And thanne Y 22 schal deme hym bi pestilence, and blood, and greet reyn, and bi greet stoonys; Y schal reyn fier and brymstoon on hym, and on his oost, and on many puplis that ben with hym. And Y schal be magne- 23 fied, and Y^s shal be halewid, and Y shal be knowun bifore the izen of many folkis; and thei schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord. But profesie thou, sone of man, 1 azens Gog; and thou schalt seie, The Lord God seith these thingis, Lo! Y on thee, thou Gog, prince of the heed of Mosoch and of Tubal. And Y schal lede 2 thee aboute, and Y schal disseyue thee, and Y schal make thee to stie^t fro the sidis of the north, and Y schal brynge thee on the hillis of Israel. And Y schal 3 smyte thi bouwe in thi left hond, and Y schal caste down thin arowis fro thi rjzt hond. Thou schalt falle down on the hillis 4 of Israel, thou, and alle thi cumpanyes, and puplis that ben with thee; Y 3af thee for to be deuourid to wielde beestis, to briddis, and to ech volatil, and to the beestis of erthe^u. Thou schalt falle down 5 on the face of the feeld; for Y the Lord haue spoke, seith the Lord God. And Y 6 schal sende fier in Magog, and in hem that dwellen tristili in ilis; and thei

^a feeldis K. ^r in to AGH. ^s Om. G pr. m. K. ^t On A. ^u Om. K.

^r the erthe is. ^s Om. A. ^t stie vp r. ^u the erthe is.

I shal make myn holy name^u knowen in the mydil of my peple of Yrael, and I shal na more defoule myn holy name; and folkis shuln wite, for I the Lord, holy
 8 God of Yrael. Loo! it cummeth, and it is maad, saith the Lord God. This is the
 9 day of whiche I spac. And dwellers of the cytees of Yrael shuln go out, and kyndlen and brenne to gydre armeris, sheeld and shaft, bowe and arowis, and stafs of hond, and dartis; and thei shuln priuely brenne hem by fjr seuen jeeris.
 10 And thei shuln not bere trees of cuntrees, nether thei shuln priuely breune of wijld^v wodis, for thei shuln priuely brenne armers in fjr; and thei shuln robbe hem, to whom prayes weren, and thei shuln ra-
 11 uyshe her waasters, *or destruyers*, saith the Lord God. And it shal be in that day, Y shal 3eue Gog a place named, sepulcre in Yrael, the valey of way goers to the eest of the se, that makith men passynge for to be agast; and ther thei shuln byryen Gog^w, and al the multitude of hym, and it shal be clepid the valey
 12 of the multitude of Gog. And the hous of Yrael shuln birye hem, that thei clense
 13 the erthe seuen monethis. Forsothe al the peple of erthe shal byrien hem, and it shal be to hem a named day, in whom Y am glorified, saith the Lord God.
 14 And thei shuln ordeyne bysili men seekynge, *or compasyng*, the erthe, the whiche shuln birien and a3ein seeke hem that dwelten vpon the face of erthe, that thei clense it. Forsothe after seuen monethis thei shuln bygynne for to seeke,
 15 and shuln cumpas walkynge the lond; and when thei shuln see a boon of man, thei shuln sette a title, *or signe*, bisidis it, til that byriers byrye it in the valey
 16 of multitude of Gog. Forsothe name of the citee Amona; and thei shuln clense
 17 the lond. Forsothe thou, sone of man, these thingis saith the Lord God, Saye thou to eche bryd, and to alle foulis, and

schulen wite, that Y *am* the Lord God of Israel. And Y schal make myn hooli⁷ name knowun in the myddis of my puple Israel, and Y schal no more defoule myn hooli name; and hethene men schuln wite, that Y *am* the Lord God, the hooli of Israel. Lo! it cometh, and it is don,
 8 seith the Lord God. This is the day of⁹ which Y spac. And dwelleris schuln go out of the citees of Israel, and thei schuln set a fier, and schuln brenne armuris, scheeld and spere, bouwe and arowis, and stauys of hond, and schaftis with out irun; and thei schuln brenne tho in fier bi seune jeer. And thei schuln not bere
 10 trees of cuntrees, nether schuln kitte doun of forestis, for thei schuln brenne armuris bi fier; and thei schuln take preies of hem, to whiche^v thei weren preies, and thei schuln rauysche her wasteris, seith the Lord God. And it schal be in that
 11 dai, Y schal 3yue to Gog a named place, a sepulcre in Israel, the valei of weigoeris at the eest of the see, that schal make hem that passen forth for to wondre; and thei schuln birie there Gog, and al the multitude of hym, and it schal be clepid the valei of the multitude of Gog. And
 12 the hous of Israel schuln birie hem, that thei clense the lond in seune monethis. Forsothe al the puple of the lond schal
 13 byrie hym, and it schal be a named dai to hem, in which Y am glorified, seith the Lord God. And thei schuln ordeyne bi-
 14 sili men cumpassynge the lond, that schuln birie and seke hem that weren left on the face of the lond, that thei clense it. Forsothe aftir seune monethis thei schuln bigynne to seke, and thei schuln cum-
 15 pas goynge aboute the lond; and whanne thei schuln se the boon of a man, thei schuln sette a '*notable signe*^w bisidis it, til the birieris of careyns birie it in the valei of the multitude of Gog. Sotheli
 16 the name of the cite is Amona; and thei schuln clense the lond. Forsothe, thou,
 17

^u Om. K. ^v the wijlde AG. ^w her Gog G pr. m. H. the Gog K.

^v whom I. ^w title, ether [or I] a notable signe C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y.

to alle beestis of the feeld, Cum 3e to gydre, and haste 3ee, renne to gydre on eche sijde to my slayn sacrifice, whiche I offre to 3ou, a greet slayn sacrifice vpon the hillis of Yrael, that 3ee ete fleshis, 18 and drynke blood. 3e shuln ete the fleshis of strong men, and 3e shuln drynke the blood of princis of erthe, of wethers, of lambren, and of^y kiddis, and of boolis, and of thingus fed for to be fatt, 19 and of alle fatt thingus. And 3e shuln ete the fatnesse in to fulfillynge, and shuln drynke blood in to drunkenesse, of the slayn sacrifice whiche I shal offre to 3ou. 20 And 3e shuln be fulfillid vpon my bord, of hors, and of strong horsman, or *knyzt*, and of alle men of batail, saith the Lord 21 God. And I shal putte my glorie in folkis, and alle folkis shuln see my dome, that I dide, and myn hond, that I haue 22 putte on hem. And the hous of Yrael shuln wite, for I the Lord God of hem, fro that day and afterward, or *fro* 23 *thennus forth*. And heithen men shuln wite, for the hous of Yrael is taken in his wickidnesse, for that that thei leften me; and Y hidde my face fro hem, and bytoke hem in to hondis of enmys, and 24 alle fellen in swerd. After the vnclennesse of hem and greet trespas Y dide to hem, and I hidde my face fro hem. 25 Therefore these thingis saith the Lord God, Now I shal leede a3ein the caitifte of Jacob, and I shal haue mercy on al the hous of Yrael; and I shal take to 26 loue for myn holy name. And thei shuln bere her confusioun, and eche trespassynge whiche thei trespassiden in me, whan thei dwelliden in her lond tristili, 27 dredynge no man; and I shal leede a3ein hem of peplis, and shal gadre hem fro londis of her enemyes, and shal be halewid in hem, in the eezen of ful manye 28 folkis. And thei shuln wite, for I the Lord God of hem, for that that I translatide hem into naciouns, and haue

sone of man, the Lord God seith these thingis, Seie thou to ech brid, and to alle foulis, and to alle beestis of the feeld, Come 3e to gidere, and haste 3e, renne 3e togidere on ech side to my sacrifice, which Y sle to 3ou, a greet sacrifice on the hillis of Israel, that 3e ete fleischis, and drynke blood. 3e schulen ete the fleischis of 18 stronge men, and 3e schulen drynke the blood of prynces of erthe, of wetheris, of lambren, and of buckis of geet, and of bolis, and of beestis maad fat, and of alle fat thingis. And 3e schulen ete the yn- 19 nere fatnesse in to fulnesse, and 3e schulen drynke the blood in to drunkenesse, of the sacrifice which Y schal sle to 3ou. And 20 3e schulen be fillid on my boord, of hors, and of strong horse man, and of alle men werriours, seith the Lord God. And Y 21 schal sette my glorie among hethene men, and alle hethene men schulen se my doom, which Y haue do, and myn hond, which Y haue set on hem. And the hous of 22 Israel schulen wite, that Y *am* her Lord God, fro that dai and afterward. And he- 23 then men schulen wite, that the hous of Israel is takun in her wickidnesse, for that that thei forsoken me; and Y hidde my face fro hem, and Y bitook hem into the hondis of enemyes, and alle thei fellen^x 24 doun bi swerd. Bi the unclennes and greet trespasse of hem Y dide to hem, and Y hidde my face fro hem. Therfor the 25 Lord God seith these thingis, Now Y schal leede a3en the caitiftee of Jacob, and Y schal haue merci on al the hous of Israel; and Y schal take feruoure for myn hooli name. And thei schulen bere here schen- 26 schipe, and al the^y trespassing bi which thei trespassiden a3ens me, whanne thei dwelliden in her lond tristili, and dredden no man; and *whanne* Y schal bringe hem 27 a3en fro puplis, and schal gadre fro the londis of her enemyes, and schal be halewid in hem, bifor the izen of ful many folkis. And thei schulen wite, that Y *am* 28

^y Om. AGK.^x felden c et alii. ^y her 1.

gadrede hem vpon her lond, and I haue not forsaken, *or left*, eny man of hem there. And I shal namore hide my face fro hem, for that I shedde out my spirit vpon eche hous of Yrael, saith the Lord God.

CAP. XL.

¹ In the fyue and twentithe 3ere of oure transmygracioun, in the bygynnyng of the 3eer, in the tenthe of the moneth, in the fourtenthe 3eer aftir that the citee is smytyn, in the same day the hond of the Lord is maad on^z me, and ledde me thider in visiouns of God. And he brouzt me in to the lond of Yrael, and he^a left me on a ful hee3 hill, vpon whom was as a beeldyng of a citee goynge to the southe; ³and he ledde me yn thider. And loo! a man, whos fourme was as the fourme of brasse, and a lytil lynnyn bond in his hond, and a 3erd of mesure in his hond; ⁴forsothe he stood in the 3ate. And the same man spac to me, Sone of man, see with thin ee3en, and heere with thin eeris, and putte thin herte in to alle thingis, whiche I shal shewe to thee, for that it be shewid to thee, thou art brouzt to hither; telle thou alle thingus that thou ⁵seest to the hous of Yrael. And loo! a wal with outforth, in cumpas of the hous in eche sijd, and in hond^b of the man a 3erd of mesure of sixe cubitis and a palme; and he metid the breede of the beeldyng with oo 3erd, and the hee3nesse ⁶with oo 3erd. And he came to the 3ate that biheelde to^c the eest waye, and he stiede vp by the greese therof; and he metid the thrisfold of the 3ate with oo 3erd, that is for to saye, the breede of ⁷the thrisfold, with oo 3erd in breede; and the chaumbre with oo 3erd in to long, and with oo 3erd in to breede, and bi⁸twix chaumbris fyue cubitis; and the thresfold of the 3ate bisydis the vestiariae,

the Lord God of hem, for that Y translade hem in to naciouns, and haue gaderid hem on her lond, and Y lefte not ony of hem there. And Y schal no more ²⁹hide my face fro hem, for Y haue schede out my spirit on al the hous of Israel, seith the Lord God.

CAP. XL.

In the fyue and twentithe 3eer of oure ¹passyng ouer, in the bigynnyng of the 3eer, in the tenthe *dai* of the monethe, in the fourtenthe 3eer after that the citee was smytun, in this same dai the hond of the Lord was maad on me, and he brouzte me thidur in the reuelaciouns of God. And ²he brouzte me in to the lond of Israel, and he leet^z me down on a ful hi3 hil, on which was as the bildyng of a citee goynge to the south; and he ledde me in thidur. ³And lo! a man, whos licnesse was as the licnesse of bras, and a coorde of flex *was* in his hond, and a reed of mesure in his hond; forsothe he stood in the 3ate. And ⁴the same man spak to me, Thou sone of man, se with thin i3en, and here with thin eeris, and sette thin herte on alle thingis, whiche Y schal schewe to thee, for thou art brouzt hidur, that tho be schewid to thee; telle thou alle thingis whiche thou seest to the hous of Israel. And lo! a wal withouteforth, in the cum- ⁵pas of the hous on ech side; and in the hond of the man *was* a rehed of mesure of sixe cubitis and a spanne, *that is, an handibreede*; and he mat the breede of the bildyng with o rehed, and the hi3nesse bi o rehed. And he cam to the 3ate that ⁶bihelde the weie of the eest, and he stiede bi degrees of it; and he mat the lyntil of the 3ate bi o rehed the breede, that is, o lyntil bi o rehed in breede; and *he mat* ⁷o7 chaumbre bi o rehed in lengthe, and bi o rehed in breed, and fyue cubitis bitwixe chaumbris; and *he mat* the lyntil of the ⁸3ate bisidis the porche of the 3ate with

^z vpon A. ^a Om. A. ^b the hoond A. ^c Om. AGH.

^z ledde N.

or porche, of the 3ate with ynforth, oo
 9 3erd. And he metide the porche of the
 3ate of eizt cubitis, and the frount therof
 in two cubitis; forsothe the vestiarie, *or*
porche, of the 3ate was with inneforth.
 10 Forsothe chaumbris of the 3ate to the
 est waye, three on this sijd, and three on
 that sijd; oo mesure of three, and oo me-
 11 sure of the frountis of eche syde. And
 he metid the breede of the thresfold of
 the 3ate of ten cubitis, and the lengthe
 12 of the 3ate of thrittene cubitis; and the
 margyne, *or vttemest^d part*, bifore the
 chaumbris of oo cubit, and oo cubit the
 eende of eche sijde; sothely the chaum-
 bres weren of sixe cubitis on this syde
 13 and on that syde. And he metide the
 3ate fro the roof of the chaumbre til the
 roof therof, the breede of fyue and twenty
 14 cubitis, dore a3eins dore. And he maad
 frountis bi sixti cubitis, and at a frount
 porche of the 3ate on eche syde bi cum-
 15 pas; and bifore the face of the 3ate that
 lastid til to^e the face of the porche of the
 16 ynnere 3ate, fifti cubitis; and wyndowis
 ouerthwert, in chaumbris and in frountis
 of hem, that weren with ynne the 3ate
 on eche syde by cumpas. Also forsothe
 and wyndowis weren in the porchis bi
 cumpas with ynne forth, and bifore the
 17 frountis peynting of palmes grauen. And
 he ledde me out to^f the vtmer^g porche,
 'or large hous^h, and loo! tresories, and
 pament paued with stoon in the porche
 by enuyrounn; thritti tresories in the
 18 cumpas of pament; and a pament in
 the frount of 3atis, after the lengthe of
 19 the 3atis wasⁱ with ynneforth. And he
 metide the breede fro face of the ynnere
 3ate vnto the frount of the ynnere porche
 with outeforth, an hundrid cubitis to the
 20 eest, and to the north. And he metide
 the 3ate that biheelde the waye of the
 north, of the vtmore^k porche, as wele in
 21 lengthe as in breede; and three chaum-
 bres therof, three on this syde, and three

ynne, bi o rehed. And he mat the porch⁹
 of the 3ate of eizt cubitis, and the frount
 therof bi twei cubitis; sotheli the porche
 of the 3ate was with ynne. Certis the 10
 chaumbris of the 3ate at the weie of the
 eest *weren* thre on this side, and thre on
 that side; o mesure of thre, and o mesure
 of the frountis on euer ethir side. And 11
 he mat the breede of the lyntel of the 3ate
 of ten cubitis, and the lengthe of the 3ate
 of threttene cubitis. And *he mat* a mar- 12
 gyn of a^a cubit bifor the chaumbris, and o
 cubit *was* the ende on ech side; forsothe
 the chaumbris weren of^{aa} sixe cubitis on
 this side and on that side. And he mat 13
 the 3ate fro the roof of the chaumbre til
 to the roof therof, the breede of fyue and
 twenti cubitis, a dore a3ens a dore. And 14
 he made frountes bi sixti cubitis, and at
 the frount an halle^b of the 3ate on ech
 side bi cumpas; and bifor the face of the 15
 3ate that stretchith forth til to the face of
 the porche of the ynnere 3ate, *he mat* fifti
 cubitis. And *he mat* wyndows naraw 16
 with out and large with ynne, in the
 chaumbris and frountis of tho, that weren
 with ynne the 3ate on ech side bi cumpas.
 Sotheli in lijk maner also wyndows weren
 in the porchis bi cumpas with ynne; and
 the peynture of palm trees *was* graun
 bifor the frountis. And he ledde me out 17
 to the outermere halle^c, and lo! tresories,
 and pawment arayed with stoon in the
 halle^d bi cumpas; thretti tresories in the
 cumpas of the pawment; and the paw- 18
 ment was bynethe in the front of the 3atis,
 bi the lengthe of the 3atis. And he mat 19
 the breede fro the face of the lowere 3ate
 til to the frount of the ynnere halle with
 outforth, an hundrid cubitis at the eest,
 and at the north. And he mat bothe in 20
 lengthe and in breede the 3ate that bihelde
 the weie of the north, of the outermore
 halle. And *he mat* the chaumbris therof, 21
 thre on this side, and thre on that side,
 and the frount therof, and the porche

^d vttermost H. ^e Om. A. ^f of H. ^g vttermere H. ^h Om. A. ⁱ Om. A. ^k vttermore H.

^a o c et alii.
ceteri passim.

^{aa} on N.

^b for3erd CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.

^c for3erd CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.

^d for3erd

on that syde, and the frount therof, and the porche therof, after the mesure of the first 3ate; the lengthe therof of fyfty cubitis, and the breede of fyue and twenti
 22 cubitis. Forsothe the wyndowis therof, and porche, and grauyngis, after the mesure of the 3ate that byheelde to the eest; and of seuene grees was the styeing vp
 23 therof, and a porche bifore it. And the 3ate of the ynnere porche^l azeinus the 3ate of the north, and the eest 3ate; and he metide fro 3ate vnto 3ate an hundrid
 24 cubitis. And he ledde me out to the southe waye, and loo! a 3ate that bihelde to the southe; and he metide the frount therof, and the porche therof, after the
 25 ouermore mesures; and the wyndowis therof, and porchis in cumpas, as the tother wyndows; of fifti cubitis the lengthe, and the breede of fyue and
 26 twenti cubitis. And in seuene greesis 'men stieden^m therto, and a porche bifore the 3atis therof; and grauen palmes weren, oon on this syde, and an other in
 27 the frount therof. And the 3ate of the ynnere hous, in the south waye; and he metide fro 3ate vnto 3ate in the south
 28 waye, an hundrid cubitis. And he ledde me yn, in to the ynnerner hous at the south 3ate; and he metide the 3ate af-
 29 ter the ouermer mesuris; the chaumbris therof, and frount therof, and porche therof, bi the same mesuris; and the wyndowis therof, and the porche therof in
 cumpas; fifti cubitis in lengthe, and of
 30 breed fyue and twenti cubitis; and the porche by cumpas, the lengthe of fyue and twenti cubitis, and the breed of fyue
 31 cubitis. And the porche therof to the vtmer^o hous, and palmes therof in the frount; and ei3te greces weren, bi whiche
 32 me steyede vp therby. And he ledde me in to the ynnerner hous, by the eest waye; and he metide the 3ate after the

therof, bi the mesure of the formere 3ate; the lengthe therof of fifti cubitis, and the breede therof of^e fyue and twenti cubitis. Sotheli the wyndows therof, and the
 22 porche, and the grauyngis, *weren* bi the mesure of the 3ate that bihelde to the eest; and the styng therof was of seuene degrees, and a porche *was* bifore it. And
 23 the 3ate of the ynnere halle *was* azens the 3ate of the north, and azens the eest 3ate; and he mat fro the 3ate til to the 3ate an hundrid cubitis. And he ledde me out
 24 to the weie of the south, and lo! the 3ate that bihelde to the south; and he mat the frount therof, and the porche therof, bi the formere mesuris; and the wyndows
 25 therof, and the porchis^f in cumpas, as othere wyndows; the lengthe of fifti cubitis, and the breede of fyue and twenti cubitis. And bi seuene degrees me stiede
 26 to it, and 'an halle^g *was* bifor the 3atis therof; and palme trees weren grauun, oon in this side, and another in that side in the frount therof. And the 3ate
 27 of the ynnere halle *was* in the weie of the south; and he mat fro the 3ate til to the 3ate in the weie of the south, an hundrid cubitis. And he ledde me in to the yn-
 28 nere halle^h, to the south 3ate; and he mat the 3ate bi the formere mesuris; the
 29 chaumbre therof, and the frount therof, and the porche therof bi the same mesuris; and *he mat* the wyndows therof, and the porche therof in cumpas; fifti cubitis
 of lengthe, and fyue and twenti cubitis of breede. And *he mat* the halle bi cum-
 30 pas, the lengthe of fyue and twenti cubitis, and the breede therof ofⁱ fyue cubitis. And the porche therof *was* to the outer-
 31 mere halle, and the palm trees therof in the frount; and ei3te degrees weren, bi whiche me stiede thorou3 it. And he
 32 ledde me in to the ynnere halle^k, bi the eest weie; and he mat the 3ate by the

^l porche, or hous GHK pr. m. ^m me styed GH. ^o vttermor H.

^e Om. N sec. m. ^f porche A. ^g a for3erd C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ^h for3erd ceteri passim. ⁱ Om. E.
^k for3erdis s. for3erd ceteri.

33 ouermer mesuris; the chaumbre therof, and frount therof, and porchis therof, as aboue; and wyndowis therof, and porchis therof in cumpas; the lengthe of fifty cubitis, and the breede of fyue and twenty
34 cubitis; and the porche therof, that is to saye, of the vtmer^p hous; and palmes graued in the frount therof, on this syde and on that syde; and in ei3te greese the
35 steizyng vp therof. And he ledde me ynne, at the 3ate that biheelde to the north, and matte after the ouermore me-
36 suris; the chaumbris therof, and frount therof, and the porche therof, and wyndowis therof bi cumpas; of^q lengthe of fifty cubitis, and the breed of fyue and
37 twenti cubitis. The porche therof biheelde to the vtmer^r hous; and grauyngs of palmys in frount therof on bothe sydis; and in ei3te greese the steizyng vp
38 therof. And bi alle tresories a dore in frountis of the 3atis; and there thei wash-
39 iden brend sacrifice. And in the porche of the 3ate two bordis on this syde, and two bordis on that syde, that vpon hem ben offrid brend sacrifice, for synne of^s
doynge and for trespas of *leeuyng vndon*.
40 And at the vtmer^t syde, that goth vp to the dore of the 3ate that goth to the north, two bordis; and at the tother syde, bfore the porche of the 3ate, two bordis.
41 Foure bordis on this syde, and four bordis on that syde; by the sydis of the 3ate weren ei3te bordis, vpon whom men
42 offriden. Forsothe foure bordis to brend sacrifice beeldid of sware stoons, in lengthe of oo cubit and an half, and in breede of oo cubite and an half, and in heizthe oo cubit; vpon whiche thei putten vessels, in whiche brend sacrifice is offrid,
43 and slayn sacrifice. And the lippis, or *brynkis*, of hem of oo palme, bowid a3ein with ynneforth bi cumpas; vpon the
44 bordis forsothe offringis^u of fleshe. And with oute the ynner 3ate, treseries of

formere mesures; the chaumbre therof, 33 and the frount therof, and the porchis therof, as aboue; and *he mat* the wyndows therof, and the porchis therof in cumpas; the lengthe of fifti cubitis, and the breede of fyue and twenti cubitis; and the porche therof, that is, of the 34 outermore halle; and palme trees graun in the frount therof, on this side^p and on that side; and in ei3te degrees *was* the styng therof. And he ledde me in to 35 the 3ate that bihelde to the north; and he mat bi the formere mesuris^q; the 36 chaumbre therof, and the frount therof, and the porche therof, and the wyndows therof bi cumpas; the lengthe of fifti cubitis, and the breede of fyue and twenti cubitis. The porche therof bihelde to the 37 outermore halle; and the grauyng of palm trees *was* in the frount therof, on this side and on that side; and in ei3te degrees *was* the styng therof. And bi alle tresories 38 a dore *was* in the frountis of 3atis; and there thei waischiden brent sacrifice. And 39 in the porche of the 3ate *weren* twei boordis on this side, and twei boordis on that side, that brent sacrifice be offrid on tho, 'bothe for^r synne and for trespasse. And at the outermore side, which stieth 40 to the dore of the 3ate that goith to the north, *weren* twei boordis; and at 'the tother^s side, bfor the porche of the 3ate, *weren* twei boordis. Foure boordis on 41 this side, and foure boordis on that side; bi the sidis of the 3ate weren ei3te boordis, on whiche thei offriden. Forsothe foure 42 boordis to brent sacrifice *weren* bildid of square stoonys, in the lengthe of o cubit and an half, and in the breed of o cubit and an half, and in the hi3the of o cubit; on whiche *boordis* thei schulen sette ves-
sels, in whiche brent sacrifice and slayn sacrifice is offrid. And the brenkis of 43 tho^t *boordis* ben of oon^u handibreede, and ben bowid a3en with ynne bi cumpas;

^p vttermore H. ^q of the AGH. ^r vttermore H. ^s Om. H. ^t vttermore H. ^u of offringis K.

^p Om. N. ^q mesure A. ^r Om. CEF GHIKQ SX. and for *pr. m. npru.* ^s that oother I. ^t the I.
^u an I.

chaunters, in the yinner hous that was in the side of the 3ate biholdynge to the north; and the face of them azeinus the southe waye; oon on the syde of the eest 3ate, that biheelde to the waye of the
 45 north. And he saide to me, This is the tresorie, that biholdith the south waye, of preestis that waken in kepyngis^v of the
 46 temple. Sothli the tresorie that biholdith to the waye of the north, schal ben of prestis that waken to the seruyse of the auter; thes ben the sones of Sadoch, that comen to of the sonys of Leuy to the Lord, that thei ministre to hym.
 47 And he matte the hous, the lengthe of an hundrid cubitis, and the breede by an hundrid cubitis, by sware, and the auter
 48 bifore the face of the temple. And he ledde me yn, in to the porche of the temple; and he matte the porche by fyue cubitis on this syde, and fyue cubitis on that syde; and the breed of the 3ate, of three cubitis on this syde, and three cu-
 49 bitis on that syde; forsothe the lengthe of the porche^w of twenti cubitis, and the breed of elleuen cubitis, and bi ei3te greese me stieden therto; and pilers weren in the frountus, oon on this syde, and an other on that syde.

CAP. XLI.

1 And he ledde me yn^x, into the temple; and he meet^y the frountis, sixe cubitis of breede on this syde, and sixe cubitis of breede on that syde, the breede of the
 2 tabernacle. And the breede of the 3ate was of ten cubitis; and the sydis of the 3ate, by fyue cubitis on this syde, and by fyue cubitis on that syde; and he matte the lengthe therof of fourty cubitis, and
 3 the breede of twenti cubitis. And he gon yn with ynneforth, matte in^z frount of the 3ate two cubitis, and the 3ate of sixe cubitis, and the breede of the 3ate

forsothe on the boordis *were*n fleischis of offryng. And with out the ynnere 3ate 44 *were*n tresories of chauntours, in the ynnere halle, that was in the side of the 3ate biholdynge to the north; and the faces of tho *were*n azens the south weie; oon of the side of the eest 3ate, that bihelde to the weie of the north. And he seide to me, 45 This treserie, that biholdith the south weie, is of the prestis that waken in the kepyngis of the temple, Sotheli the tre- 46 sorye that biholdith to the weie of the north, schal be of the preestis that waken to the seruice of the auter; these ben the sones of Sadoch, whiche of the sones of Leuy neizen to the Lord, for to mynystre to hym. And he mat the halle, the lengthe 47 of an hundrid cubitis, and the breede of an hundrid cubitis, bi square, and the auter bifore the face of the temple. And he 48 ledde me in to the porche of the temple; and he mat the porche bi fyue cubitis on this side, and bi^v fyue cubitis on that side; and *he mat* the breede of the 3ate, of thre cubitis on this side, and of thre cubitis on that side. But *he mat* the 49 lengthe of the porche of twenti cubitis, and the breede of eleuene cubitis, and bi ei3te degrees me stiede to it; and pileris weren in the frountis, oon^w on this side, and 'another on that^x side.

CAP. XLI.

And he ledde me in to the temple, and 1 he mat the frountis, sixe cubitis of breede on this side, and sixe cubitis of breede on that side, the breede of the tabernacle. And the breede of the 3ate was of ten 2 cubitis; and *he mat* the sidis of the 3ate bi fyue cubitis on this side, and bi fyue cubitis on that side; and he mat the lengthe therof of^y fourti cubitis, and the breede of twenti cubitis. And he entride 3 with ynne, and he mat in the frount of the 3ate twei cubitis; and *he mat* the 3ate of sixe cubitis, and the breede of the 3ate

^v kepynge A. ^w porche, or large hous GHK pr. m. ^x Om. A. ^y matte AGH. ^z the A.

^v Om. I. ^w Om. EFNP. ^x on that other N. oon other on that s. ^y bi I.

4 of seven cubitis. And he made the
length thereof of twenty cubitis, and the
breadth of twenty cubitis, before the face
of the temple. And he said to me, This
5 is the holy of holies. And he made the
wall of the house of six cubitis, and the
breadth of the side of four cubitis, on
6 each side by compass of the house. The
sides forsooth, side to side, twice three
and thirtieth; and they were shewyng,
'or about *semyng*^a, that entered by the
wall of the house, in the sides by compass,
that they should hold^b to girdle, and
7 not touch the wall of the temple. And
the street was in to round, styng vp-
ward by the hee; toure, and in to soup-
yng place of the temple it bare forth by
compass; therefore the temple was broad-
er in the ouermore thingis; and so fro
the lower parties me stied to the hee;er,
8 and the myddil. And I see; in the house
hee;nesse by compass, the sides foundid at
the mesure of a 3rd in space of six cu-
9 bitis; and the breadth by the wall of the
side with outforth, of fyue cubitis; and
the ynnere house was in the sides of the
10 house. And bytwix tresories the breadth
of twenty cubitis in compass of the house
11 on each side, and the dore of the side
to preyer; oo dore to the waye of the
north, and oo dore to the south waye;
and the breadth of place to preyer, of fyue
12 cubitis in compass. And the beeldyng that
was departid, and turnyd to the waye
biholdyng to the see, of the breadth of
seuentie cubitis; forsooth the wall of
beeldyng of fyue cubitis of breed in cum-
pas, and the length thereof of nynty
13 cubitis. And he made the length of
the house, of an hundred cubitis; and the
byldyng that was departid, and the wallis
thereof, of length of an hundred cubitis.
14 Forsooth the breadth before the face of
the house, and of it that was departid
a;einus the east, of an hundred cubitis.
15 And he made the length of the beeld-

of seven cubits. And he made the length⁴
thereof of twenty cubitis, and the breadth of
twenty cubitis, before the face of the⁵ tem-
ple. And he said to me, This is the⁵
holy thing of holy thingis. And he made
the wall of the house of six cubitis, and
the breadth of the side of four cubitis, on
each side by compass of the house. For-⁶
sooth the sides *weren* twice three and
thirtieth, the side to the side; and they were
standing an hy; that entered by the wall
of the house, in the² sides by compass, that
they helden togidre, and touchiden not the
wall of the temple. And a street was in⁷
round, and stied vpward by a vijs, and
bar in to the soler of the temple by cum-
pas; therefore the temple was broader in
the higher thingis; and so fro the lower
thingis me stied to the higher thingis,
and in to the myddis. And Y si; in the⁸
house an hy;nesse by compass, the sides
foundid at the mesure of a rehed in the
space of six cubitis; and the breadth by⁹
the wall of the side with outforth, of fyue
cubitis; and the ynnere house was in the
sides of the house. And bitwix tresories¹⁰
Y si; the breadth of twenty cubitis in the
compass of the house on^b each side; and¹¹
Y si; the dore of the side to preyer; o
dore to the weie of the north, and o dore
to the weie of the south; and Y si; the
breadth of place to preyer, of fyue cubitis
in compass. And the byldyng that was¹²
ioyned to the place departid, and turned
to the weie biholdyng to the see, of the
breadth of seuentie cubitis; sotheli the wall
of the byldyng of fyue cubitis of breed
by compass, and the length thereof of^c
nynty cubitis. And he made the length¹³
of the house, of an hundred cubitis; and
that that was departid, the byldyng and
the wallis thereof, of length^d of an hundred
cubitis. Forsooth the breadth *of the street*¹⁴
before the face of the house, and of that that
was departid a;ens the east, *was* of an^e
hundred cubitis. And he made the length¹⁵

^a Om. H.^b folde A.^y Om. N. ^z tho I. ^a of A pr. m. i. ^b of EFHIMQU. ^c is I. ^d the length CEFGHIKMNQRSUX. ^e Om. U.

yng azeinus the face therof, that was de-
 partid at the bac; solers on eche syde of
 an hundrid cubitis, and the temple with
 16 ynforth, and porchis of the hous, thres-
 foldis, and wyndowis ouerthwert; solers
 in cumpas by three parties, azeinus the
 threshfold of eche, and digte with tree by
 cumpas in enuyroune; forsothe erthe til
 to the wyndowis, and wyndowis closiden
 17 the doris, vnto the ynnere hous, and with
 out forth, by eche wall in cumpas, with
 ynneforth and with outforth at mesure.
 18 And cherubyns forged, and palmes, and
 a palme bitwix cherub and cherub; and
 19 cherub hadde two faces, a face of man
 bysydis the palme of this syde, and a
 face of lyoun bysydis a palme expressid
 on the tother syde. By all the hous in
 20 cumpas, fro the erthe vnto the^c ouermer
 part, cherubyns and palmes weren graued
 21 in the wall of the temple. The threshfold
 foure cornerd; and the face of the byhold-
 yng of the sayntuarye azenus the bihold-
 22 yng of the treenen auter; the heiȝt of it
 of three cubitis, and the lengthe therof
 two cubitis; and the corners therof, and
 lengthe therof, and wallis therof, treenen.
 And he spac to me, This is the bord by-
 23 fore the Lord. And two doris weren in
 24 the temple, and in the sayntuarie. And
 in the two doris on eche sijde weren two
 smale doris, that weren folden in hem self
 to gydre; forsothe two doris weren on
 25 eche syde of the doris. And grauen
 weren in the ylk doris of the temple
 cherubyns and grauyng of palmes, as and
 in the wallis thei weren expressid. Wher-
 fore and gretter trees weren in the frount
 26 of the porche with outforth, on whiche
 the ouerthwert wyndowis, and lickenesse
 of palmes, on this syde and that syde; in^d
 the litil shuldris of the porche, after the
 sydis of the hous, and breede of wallis.

of the bildyng aȝens the face of that, that
 was departid^f at the bak; *he mat* the
 boteraces on euer either side of an hun-
 drid cubitis. And *he mat* the ynnere tem-
 ple, and the porchis of the halle, lyntels, 16
 and wyndows narowe withoutforth and
 broode with ynne; boteraces in cumpas bi
 thre partis, aȝenst the lintel of ech, and
 araied with tree bi cumpas al aboute; so-
 theli fro the erthe til to the wyndows,
 and the wyndows *weren* closid on the
 doris, and til to the ynnere hous, and 17
 withoutforth bi al the wal in cumpas,
 with ynne and with outforth at mesure.
 And cherubyns and palm trees *weren* 18
 maad craftili, and a palm tree bitwixe
 cherub and cherub; and cherub hadde
 twei faces, the face of a man bisidis 19
 the palm tree on this side, and the face
 of a lioun expressid bisidis the palm tree
 on the tother^g side. Bi al the hous in cum-
 pas, fro the erthe til to the hizere part, 20
 cherubyns and palm trees weren graun
 in the wal of the temple. A threisfold 21
 foure^h cornerid; and the face of the bi-
 holdyng of the seyntuarie *was* aȝens the
 biholding of the auter of tree; the heiȝthe 22
 therof *was* of thre cubitis, and the lengthe
 therof ofⁱ twei cubitis; and the corneris
 therof, and the lengthe therof, and the
 wallis therof, *weren* of tree. And he spac
 to me, This is the boord bifor the Lord.
 And twei doris weren in the temple, and 23
 in the seyntuarie. And in the^k twei doris 24
 on euer either side weren twei litle doris,
 that weren foldun togidere in hem silf;
 for whi twei doris weren on^l euer either
 side of the doris. And cherubyns^m and 25
 the grauyng of palm trees weren graun
 in thoⁿ doris of the temple, as also tho
 weren expressid in the^o wallis. Wherfor
 and grettere trees weren in the frount of
 the porche with outforth, on whiche the 26
 wyndows narowe with out and large with
 ynne, and the licnesse of palm trees *weren*

^c Om. G *pr. m. k.* ^d and A.

^f partid I. ^g that oother I. ^h was foure I. ⁱ Om. I. ^k Om. I. ^l oon on N. ^m the cherubyns I.
ⁿ the I. ^o tho N.

on this side and on that syde; in the litle vndursettyngis^p of the porche, bi the sidis of the hous, and bi the breede of the^q wallis.

CAP. XLII.

1 And he ledde me out in to the vtmer^f hous, by the waye leedyng to the north; and he ledde me yn, in to the tresorie, that was azeinus the departid beeldyng, and azeinus the hous goynge to the north; 2 in the face of lengthe an hundred cubitis of the north dore, and of breede fifti cubitis, azeinus twenti cubitis of the ynnere hous, and azeinus the pament pauid with stoon of the vtmer^g hous, wher was a 4 porche ioynyd to treble porche. And bifore the tresories a walkyng of ten cubitis of breede, and biholdyng to the ynnere thingus of a^h waye of oo cubit. And the 5 doris of hem to the north, wher weren tresories lower in the ouermore partis; for thei baren vp the porchis that of hem apperiden of the lower partis, and of the 6 mydlis of beeldyng. Sothely housis of three stagis weren, and hadde not pilers, as pilers weren of the greet housis; therefore thei appeeriden out fro the lower parties, and fro the mydlis fro the erthe, 7 in fifty cubitis. And the vtmer aley after the tresories, that weren in the waye of the vtmer greet hous, byfore the tresories; 8 the lengthe therof of fyfty cubitis. For the lengthe was of the tresories of the vtmer hous of fyfty cubitis, and the lengthe byfore the face of the temple 9 of an hundrid cubitis. And vndir these tresories was an eentre fro the eest, of men entrynge in toⁱ it, of the vtmer hous, 10 in the breede of the aley of the hous, that was azeinus the eest waye, in to the face of the departid beeldyng. And by- 11 fore the beeldyng weren tresories, and a waye bifore the face of hem, after the licknesse of tresories that weren in the^k

CAP. XLII.

And he ledde me out in to the^r outer-1 mere halle^s, bi the weie ledyng to the north; and he ledde me in to the treserie, that was azens the bildyng departid, and azens the hous goynge to the north; in 2 the face an hundrid cubitis of lengthe of the dore of the north, and fifti cubitis of breede, azens twenti cubitis of the ynnere 3 halle, and azens the pawment araied with stoon of the outermere halle, where a porche was ioyned to thre fold porche. And bifor the tresories *was* a walkyng of 4 ten cubitis of breede, biholdyng to the ynnere thingis of the weie of o cubit. And the doris of tho to the north, where tre- 5 sories weren lowere in the hizere thingis; for tho baren vp the porchis that apperiden an hiz of tho fro the lowere thingis, and fro the myddil thingis of the bildyng. For tho weren of thre stagis, and hadden 6 not pilers, as weren the^t pilers of hallis^u; therfor tho stoden an hiz fro the lowere thingis, and fro the myddil thingis fro erthe, bi fifti cubitis. And the outermere 7 halle closyng the walkyng place *was* bi the treseries, that weren in the weie of the outermere halle, bifor the treseries; the lengthe therof *was* of fifti cubitis. For 8 the lengthe of the tresories of the outermere halle was of fifti cubitis, and the lengthe bifor the face of the temple *was* of an hundrid cubitis. And vndur these^v 9 tresories was an entring fro the eest, of^w men entringe in to^x tho, fro the outermere halle, in the breede of the wal of the 10 halle, that was azens the eest weie in the face of the bilding departid. And treseries weren bifore the bilding, and a weie 11 *was* bifor the face of tho, bi the licnesse

^f vttermore H. ^g vttermore H *passim*. ^h the A. ⁱ Om. AGH. ^k Om. AGH.

^p schuldris, *ether vndursettingis* CDEFGHIKNPQRSUXY. ^q Om. CDEFGHIKNPQRSUX. ^r Om. CEGHNPSX *pr. m.* ^s for3erd *ceteri passim*. ^t Om. I. ^u for3erdis *ceteri passim*. ^v the I. ^w and N. ^x Om. N.

waye of the north; after the lengthe of hem, so and the breede of hem. And al the entryng of hem, and lickenessis and
 12 doris of hem, after the doris of tresories that weren in the waye biholdynge to the south dore in the heed of the waye, whiche waye was byfore the porche departid to
 13 men entrynge by the eest waye. And he saide to me, The tresories of the north, and the tresories of the south, that ben byfore the beeldyng departid, these ben holy tresories, in whiche the prestis ben clothid, whiche neizen to the Lord in to the holy of halewis; there thei shuln putte the holy thingus of the holy, and offryngus for synne *of doyng*, and trespas *of leuwyng*; forsothe the place is holy.
 14 Forsothe whan prestis shuln entre, thei shuln not go out of holy thingis in to the vtmer hous; and there thei shuln putte azein her clothis, in whiche thei ministren, for thei ben holy; and thei shuln be clothid with other clothingus, and so thei shuln go forth to the peple.
 15 And whenn he hadde ful eendid the mesuris of the ynnere hous, he ledde me out by the waye of the zate that byhelde to the eest waye; and he matte it on eche
 16 syde by cumpas. Forsothe he matte azeinus the eest wynd with a 3erd of mesure by cumpas fyue hundreth 3erdis, in
 17 a 3erd of mesure by cumpas. And he matte azeinus the wynd of the north fyue hundred 3erdis, in a 3erd of mesure by
 18 cumpas. And in to the south wynd he matte fyue hundreth 3erdis, in a 3erd of
 19 mesure by cumpas. And to the west wynd he matte fyue hundreth 3erdis, in
 20 a 3erd of mesure. By foure wyndus he matte the wall therof on eche syde by cumpas, the lengthe of fyue hundred cubitis, and the breed of fyue hundred cubitis, departinge bitwix the sayntuarie and place of commoun peple.

CAP. XLIII.

1 And he ladde me out at the zate, that
 2 byhelde to the eest waye. And loo! the

of treseries that weren in the weie of the north; bi the lengthe of tho, so *was* also the breede of tho. And al the entryng of tho, and the licnessis and doris^y of tho, *weren* lijk the doris of treseries that weren 12 in the weye biholdynge to the south; a dore *was* in the heed of the weye, which weie was bifer the porche departid to men entringe bi the eest weie. And he seide 13 to me, The treseries of the north, and the treseries of the south, that ben bifer the bilydng departid, these ben hooli treseries, in whiche the preestis ben clothid, that neizen to the Lord in to the hooli of hooli thingis; there thei schulen putte the hooli of hooli thingis, and offryngis for synne, and for trespas; for it is an hooli place. Sotheli whanne prestis han entrid, thei 14 schulen go^z out of hooli thingis in to the outermore halle; and there thei schulen putte vp her clothis, in whiche thei mynystren^a, for tho ben hooli; and thei schulen be clothid in othere clothis, and so thei schulen go forth to the puple. And whanne 15 he hadde fillid the mesuris of the ynnere hous, he ledde me out bi the weie of the zate that biheelde to the eest weie; and he mat it on ech side bi cumpas. For- 16 sothe he mat azens the eest wynd with the rehed of mesure bi cumpas fyue hundrid rehedis, in a rehed of mesure bi cumpas. And he mat azens the wynd of the 17 north fyue hundred rehedis, in the rehed of mesure bi cumpas. And at the south 18 wynd he mat fyue hundrid rehedis, with a rehed of mesure bi cumpas. And at the 19 west wynd he mat fyue hundrid rehedis, with^b the^c rehed of mesure. Bi foure 20 wyndis he mat the wal therof on ech side bi cumpas, the lengthe of fyue hundrid, and the breede of fyue hundrid, departynge bitwixe the seyntuarie and the place of the comyn puple.

CAP. XLIII.

And he ledde me out to the zate, that 1
 bihelde to the eest weie. And lo! the 2

^y the doris NS. ^z not go K sec. m. s sec. m. ^a mynystriden NS sec. m. ^b in CIUX. ^c a FH.

glorie of God of Yrael entride by the eest waye; and a voice was to hym, as the voice of many watris, and the erthe
 3 shoone of the maieste of hym. And I saw; a visioun, after the fourme whiche I saw; whan he came for to distruye the citee; and the fourme after the biholding whom I saw; bysydis the flood
 4 Cobar. And I felle vpon my face, and the maieste of the Lord entride the temple, by the waye of the zate that biheelde
 5 to the eest. And the Spirit reyside me, and ledde me yn^l, in to the ynnere hous; and loo! the hous was fulfilled with glorie of the Lord. And I herde the spek-
 6 yng to me of the hous. And the man that
 7 stode bysydis me, saide to me, Sone of man, the place of my seete, and the place of steppis of my feet, wher Y dwelle in the mydil of the sones of Yrael in to with outen eende; and the hous of Yrael shuln na more defoule myn holy name, thei, and the kyngus of hem, in her fornicaciouns, and in fallyngus of her kyngus,
 8 and in hee; thingus. Whiche forgiden her thresfold bysydis my thresfold, and her postis bysydis my postis, and a wall was bitwix hem and me; and thei defouliden myn holy name in abominaciouns whiche thei diden; for whiche I
 9 wastide hem in my wrath. Now therfore putte thei ferr her fornicaciouns, and fallyngus of her kyngus fro me; and I shal dwelle in the mydil of hem euer-
 10 more. Forsothe thou, sone of man, shewe to the hous of Yrael the temple, and be thei confoundid of her wickidnessis; and
 11 mete thei the makyng, and shame thei of alle thingus that thei diden. Thou shalt shewe to hem the figure of the hous, and makyng therof; the outgoynge^m, and the yngoingus, and al discryuyng therof, and alle maundementus therof, and al the ordre therof, and alle lawis therof, and thou shalt write in the eezen of hem; that thei keepe alle discryuyngus therof,

glorie of God of Israel entride bi the eest weie; and a vois was to it, as the vois of many watris, and the erthe schynede of the mageste of hym. And Y si; a visioun,
 bi the licnesse whiche Y hadde seyn, whanne he cam to distrie the citee; and the licnesse *was* lijce the biholdyng whiche Y hadde seyn bisidis the flood Chobar. And
 Y felle down on my face, and the mageste of the Lord entride in to the temple, bi the weie of the zate that biheeld^d to the eest. And the Spirit reyside me, and ledde
 me in to the ynnere halle; and lo! the hous was fillid of the glorie of the Lord. And Y herde *oon* spekyng to me of the
 hous. And the man that stood bisidis me, seide to me, Thou, son of man, this
 7 *is* the place of my seete, and the place of the steppis of my feet, where Y dwelle in the myddis of the sones of Israel withouten ende; and the hous of Israel schulen
 no more defoule myn hooli name, thei, and the kyngis of hem in her fornicaciouns, and in the fallyngis of her kyngis, and in hi; places. Whiche maden her
 threisfold bisidis my threisfold, and her postis bisidis my postis, and a wal was bitwixe me and hem; and thei defouliden myn hooli name in abhomynaciouns whiche
 thei diden; wherfor Y wastide hem in my wraththe. Now therfor putte thei awei
 9 fer her fornicacioun, and the fallyng^e of her kyngis fro me; and Y schal dwelle euere in the myddis of hem. But thou,
 10 sone of man, schewe the temple to the hous of Israel, and be thei schent of her wickidnessis; and mete thei the bilding, and be thei aschamed of alle thingis
 11 whiche thei diden. Thou schalt schewe to hem, and thou schalt write bfore the i;zen of hem the figure of the hous, and of the bildyng therof; the outgoynge, and the
 entryngis, and al the discryuyng^g therof, and alle the^h comaundementis therof, and al the ordre therof, and alle the lawis therofⁱ; that thei kepe alle the discryu-

^l Om. AGH. ^m outgoynge A.

^d biholdith A. ^e fallyngis I. ^f Om. CEPHIKMRU. ^g discryuyngis ENP. ^h the lawis theroff, and alle I. Om. FS. ⁱ Om. I.

12 and preceptis therof, and do hem. This is laweⁿ of the hous, in heeznesse of mountⁿⁿ; alle the eendis therof in cumpas is the holy of halewis; therefore this is the lawe
13 of the hous. These sothely the mesures of the auter in a cubit most verre, that hadde a cubit and an 'hond; and^o the bosum therof was a cubit in lengthe, and a cubit in breede; and the diffynyng, or *certeyntee*, therof vn to the lippe, or *brynke*, therof in cumpas, o palme, or *hond*; and this was the dicke, or *holow-*
14 *nesse*, of the auter. And fro the bosum of the erthe vn to the last heiȝt, or *brinke*, two cubitis, and the breede of oo cubit; and fro the lesse heiȝt, or *auter*, 'to the more heiȝt, or *auter*^{oo}, foure cubitis, and the breede of oo cubit; forsothe the ylk ariel, or *auter*, of foure cubitis, and fro
15 ariel vn to aboue, foure corners. And the ariel, or *auter*^p, of twelue cubitis in lengthe, by twelue cubitis of breede, foure corner-
16 ed with euen sydis. And the heiȝt, or *brynke*, of fourtene cubitis of lengthe by fourtene cubitis of breede, in four corners therof. And a croune in cumpas therof of half a cubit, and the bosum therof of oo cubit by cumpas; forsothe
17 the grese therof^{pp} turnyd to the eest. And he saide to me, Sone of man, these thingis saith the Lord God, These ben the rytis, or *obseruaunces*, of the auter, in what euer^q day it shal be forgid^{qq}, that brent sacrifice be offrid thervpon, and bloode
18 be shed out. And thou shalt ȝeue to prestis and dekenys, that ben of the seed of Sadoch, that cumen to me, saith the Lord God, that thei offre to me a calf
19 of the drooue for synne *don*. And thou, takyng to of the bloode therof, shalt putte vpon four corners therof, and vpon four corners of the heiȝt, and vpon the crown in cumpas; and thou shalt clense
20 it, and fully make clene. And thou shalt take the calf that was offrid for synne

ynȝis therof, and comaundementis therof, and do tho. This is the lawe of the hous, 12 in the hiȝnesse of the hil; alle the coostis therof in cumpas is the hooli of hooli thingis; therfor this is the lawe of the hous. Forsothe these *ben* the mesuris of 13 the auter, in a verieste cubit, that hadde a cubit and a spanne; in the bosum therof was a cubit in lengthe, and a cubit in breede; and the ende therof til to the brenke, and o spanne in cumpas; also this was the dicke of the auter. And fro 14 the bosum of the^k erthe til to the laste heiȝthe *weren* twei cubitis, and the breede of o cubit; and fro the lesse heiȝthe til to the grettere heiȝthe *were* foure^l cubitis, and the breede *was* of o cubit; forsothe thilke ariel, *that is, the hiȝere part of the auter*, was of foure cubitis; and fro the auter 'til to^m aboue *weren* foure hornes. And the auter of twelue cubitis in lengthe 16 *was* foure cornerid with eueⁿ sidis, bi twelue cubitis of breede. And the heiȝthe 17 of fourtene cubitis of lengthe *was* bi fourtene cubitis of breede, in foure corneris therof. And a coroun of half a cubit *was* in the cumpas therof, and the bosum therof *was* of o cubit bi cumpas; forsothe the degrees therof *weren* turned to the eest. And he seide to me, Thou, sone of man, 18 the Lord God seith these thingis, These ben the customs of the auter, in what euer dai it is maad, that me offre on it brent sacrifice, and blood be sched out. And 19 thou schalt ȝyue to preestis and dekenes, that ben of the seed of Sadoch, that neiȝen to me, seith the Lord God, that thei offre to me a calf of the drooue for synne. And 20 thou schalt take of the blood therof, and schalt putte on foure hornes therof, and on foure corneris of heiȝthe, and on the coroun in cumpas; and thou schalt clense it, and make clene. And thou schalt take 21 the calf which is offrid for synne, and thou schalt brenne it in aⁿ departid place

ⁿ the lawe G sec. m. ⁿⁿ the mount G sec. m. ^o palm; in G sec. m. ^{oo} Om. K. ^p Om. A. ^{pp} Om. A.
^q euery GK. ^{qq} forchid K.

^k Om. CEF GHIMNPQRUX. ^l fourti N. ^m vnto I. ⁿ Om. I.

don, and thou shalt brenne hym in a de-
partid place of the hous, with outen the
22 sayntuarye. And in the secounde day
thou shalt offre a buc of geet vnsportid
for synne *don*; and thei shuln fully clense
the auter, as thei clensiden in the calf.
23 And whann thou hast fulfillid that clens-
yng, thou shalt offre a calf vnsportid of
the droue, and a wether, *or ram*, vnspot-
24 tid of the floc. And thou shalt offre hem
in the sijt of the Lord; and prestis shuln
sende salt vpon hem, and shuln offre hem
25 in to brent sacrifice to the Lord. Seuen
days thou shalt make the geet buc for
synne, day by day; and the calf of the
droue, and the wether of the^s sheep
26 thei shuln offre hem vnsportid. Seuen
days thei shuln fulli make clene the au-
ter, and shuln clense it, and shuln ful-
27 fille the hond therof. Forsothe seuen
days fulfillid, in the eijt day and ouer
prestis shuln do 3our brent sacrifices vpon
the auter, and whiche thei offren for pees;
and I shal be plesid to 3ou, saith the
Lord God.

CAP. XLIV.

1 And he turned me to the waye of the
3ate of the vtmer sayntuarie, that bihold-
2 ith to the eest, and was closid. And the
Lord saide to me, This 3ate shal be closid,
and shal not be opnyd, and a man shal
not passe by it; for the Lord God of
Yrael entride yn by it, and it shal be
3 closid to the prynce. The prince he shal
sitte in it, that he ete breede bifore the
Lord; by the waye of the 3ate of the
porche he shal go yn, and by the waye
4 therof he shal go out. And he ledde me
to by the waye of the north 3ate, in the
sijte of the hous; and I saw³, and loo! the
glorie of the Lord fulfillid the hous of
5 the Lord; and I felle in to my face. And
the Lord sayde to me, Sone of man, putte
thin herte, and see with thin eezen, and
heer with thin eris alle thingus whiche

of the hous, with out the seyntuarie. And 22
in the secounde dai thou schalt offre a
buk of geet, which is with out wem, for
synne; and thei schulen clense the auter,
as thei clensiden in the calf. And whanne 23
thou hast fillid that clensyng, thou schalt
offre a calf of the droue, *which calf* is
without wem, and a wether with out wem
of the floc. And thou schalt offre tho in 24
the sijt of the Lord; and prestis schulen
putte^o salt on tho, and schulen offre tho
in to brent sacrifice to the Lord. Bi se- 25
uene daies thou schalt make a buk of geet
for synne, ech dai; and thei schulen offre
a calf of the droue, and a wether vn-
wemmed of scheep. Bi seuene daies thei 26
schulen clense the auter, and schulen make
it cleene, and thei schulen fille the hond
therof. Forsothe whanne seuene daies ben 27
fillid, in the eijthe^p dai and fether prestis
schulen make on the auter 3oure brent sa-
crifices, and tho thingis whiche thei offren
for pees; and Y schal be plesid to 3ou,
seith the Lord God.

CAP. XLIV.

And he turnede me to the weie of the 1
3ate of the outermore seyntuarie, which
3ate byhelde to the eest, and was closid.
And the Lord seide to me, This 3ate schal 2
be closid, and schal not be opened, and a
man schal not passe thorou it; for the
Lord God of Israel entride bi it, and it
schal be closid to the prince. The prince 3
hym silf schal sitte ther ynne, that he ete
breed bifor the Lord; he schal go yn bi
the weie of the 3ate of the porche, and he
schal go out bi the weie therof. And he 4
ledde me bi the weie of the north 3ate, in
the sijt of the hous^a; and Y si3, and lo!
the glorie of the Lord fillide the hous of
the^r Lord; and Y felle down on my face.
And the Lord seide to me, Thou, sone of 5
man, sette thin herte, and se with thin
i3en, and here with thin eeris alle thingis

^g Om. AGH.

^o sende CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^p eijte A. ^q hous of Juda A *sec. m.* ^r Om. N.

I speke to thee, of alle cerymonyes of the hous of the Lord, and of alle the lawis therof; and thou shalt putte thin herte in wayes of the temple, by alle the out goyngus of the seyntuarie. And thou shalt saye to the hous of Yrael terryng me to wrath, These thingus saith the Lord God, 3e hous of Yrael, alle 3our grete trespassis suffice 7 thei to 3ou, for that that 3e bryng yn alyen sonys, vncircumcidid in hert, and vncircumcidid in flesh, that thei be in my sayntuarie, and defoule myn hous. And 3e offren my louys, fatnesse, and bloode, and 3e vndo my couenaunt in alle 3our grete trespassis. And 3e kepte not the preceptis of my sayntuarie, and 3e han putte keepers of myn obseruaunces in 9 my sayntuarie to 3our self. These thingus saith the Lord God, Eche alien vncircumcidid in herte, and vncircumcidid in fleshe, shal not entre my sayntuarie; eche alyen sone, that is in the mydil of 10 the sones of Yrael. Bot and the Leuytis, or dekenys, whiche wenten fer away from me in errour of the sonys of Yrael, and erriden fro me after her ydolis, and baren 11 her wickidnes, shuln be in my sayntuarie keepers of the hous, and porters of the 3atis of the hous, and mynistris of the hous; thei shulen slee brent sacrificis^r, and slayn sacrificis^s of the peple; and thei shuln stonde in the sijt of hem, that 12 thei ministre to hem. For that that thei mynystryden to hem in the sijt of the ydols, and ben maad to the hous of Yrael in to offencioun of wickidnesse; therefore Y reyside myn hond vpon hem, saith the Lord God, and thei han born her wickid- 13 nesse. And thei shuln not neize to me, that thei be ordeyned in presthod to me, neither thei shuln cum to al my sayntu-
 14 grete trespassis that thei diden. And I shal 3eue hem porters of the hous, in al the mynysterie therof, and in alle thingus

whiche Y speke to thee, of al the cere- monyes of the hous of the Lord, and of alle the lawis therof; and thou schalt sette thin herte in the weies of the temple, bi alle the goyngis out of the seyntuarie. And 6 thou schalt seie to the hous of Israel ter- ryng me to wraththe, The Lord God seith these thingis, 3e hous of Israel, alle 3oure grete trespassis suffice to 3ou, for 3e 7 bryngen in alien sones, vncircumcidid in herte, and vncircumcidid in fleisch, that thei be in my seyntuarie, and defoule myn hous. And 3e offren my looues, ynnere fat- nesse, and blood, and breken my coue- naunt in alle 3oure grete trespassis. And 8 3e kepten not the comaundementis of my seyntuarie, and 3e settiden keperis of my^a kepyngis in my seyntuare to 3ou silf. The Lord God seith these thingis, Ech 9 alien *that is*^t vncircumcidid in herte, and vncircumcidid in fleisch, schal not entre in to my seyntuarie; ech alien sone, which is in the myddis of the sones of Israel. But also Leuytis, *ether men of the lynage* 10 *of Leuy*^u, that 3eden fer awei fro me in the^v errour^w of the sones of Israel, and erriden fro me aftir her idols, and baren her wickidnesse, thei schulen be keepers of 11 housis in my seyntuare, and porteris of 3atis of the hous, and mynystris of the hous; thei schulen sle brent sacrifices, and sacrifices for victorie of the puple; and thei schulen stonde in the sijt of the *prestis*, for to mynystre to hem. For that that 12 thei mynystriden to tho in the sijt of her idols, and weren maad to the hous of Is- rael in to offendyng^x of wickidnesse; ther- for Y reyside myn hond on them, seith the Lord God, and thei baren her wickid- nesse. And thei schulen not neize to me, 13 that thei vse presthod to me, nether thei schulen neize to al my seyntuarie bisidis hooly of hooli thingis, but thei schulen bere her schenschipe, and her grete tres- passis whiche thei diden. And Y schal 14 make^y hem^z porteris of the hous, in al the

^r sacrifice κ sup. ras.^s sacrifice κ sup. ras.

^u and n. ^t Om. CEFHIKQRSU. ^v Om. N. ^w Om. s. ^x errouris I. ^y offendyng, ether hirting CEF
 GHIKMNPQRSUXY. ^z 3eue CEFHIKQRSU. ^z hem to be I.

15 that weren in it. Forsothe prestis and dekenys, sonys of Sadoch, whiche kepten the^t cerymonyes of my sayntuarie, whan the sones of Yrael erryden fro me, thei shuln cum to me, that thei mynistre to me; and thei shuln stonde in my sizte, that thei offre to me fatnesse and blood, 16 saith the Lord God. Thei shuln go yn to my sayntuarie, and thei shuln cum to my bord, that thei mynystre to me, and 17 keepe my cerymonyes. And whan thei shuln go yn to the 3atis of the ynnere 18 hous, thei shuln be clothid with lynnene clothis, nether eny wollun shal stye vp on hem, whann thei mynystren in the 3atis of the ynnere hous, and with ynne- 19 forth; lynnene byndyngus shuln be in the hedis of hem, and wommans lynnene in the leendus of hem, and thei shuln not 20 be gyrd in swoot. And whan thei shuln go out the vtmer hous to the peple, thei shuln vnclothe hem her clothingus^u, in whiche they mynistriden, and shuln a3ein putte hem in the tresorie of sayntuarie; and thei shuln clothe them with other clothingus^v, and thei shuln not halewe 21 the peple in her clothis. Sothely thei shuln not shaue her hedis, nether norishe longe her, bot clippyng thei shuln clippe 22 her hedis. And eche prest shal not drynke wijne, whan he entrieth the ynnere hous. 23 And thei shuln not take wyues a wydue, and forsaken, bot meydens of the seed of the hous of Yrael; bot and thei shuln take a wydue, whiche was wydue of a 24 prest. And thei shuln teche my peple, what is bitwixe holy and polute, *or defoulid*, and bitwixe cleen and vncleen; 25 and thei shuln shewe to hem. And whann debate shal be, thei shuln stonde in my domys, and thei shuln deem my^w lawis; and thei shuln kepe my heestis in alle my solempnyteese, and thei shuln halewe my sabothis. And thei shuln not entree to a dead man, lest thei be defoulid, no bot to fader, and moder, sone,

seruyce therof, and in alle thingis that ben don ther ynne. Forsothe preestis and de- 15 kenes, the sones of Sadoch, that kepten the^a cerymonyes of my seyntuarie, whanne the sones of Israel erriden fro me, thei schulen neize to me, for to mynystre to me; and thei schulen stonde in my sizt, that thei offre to me ynnere fatnesse and blood, seith the Lord God. Thei schulen 16 entre in to my seyntuarie, and thei schulen neize to my boord, that thei mynystre to me, and kepe my ceremonies. And^b 17 whanne thei schulen entre in to the 3atis of the ynnere halle, thei schulen be clothid 18 with lynnun clothis, nether ony wollun thing schal 'be do^c on hem, whanne thei mynystren in the 3atis of the ynnere halle, and with ynne; lynnun cappis, *ether mytris*, schulen be in the heedis of hem, and lynnun brechis schulen be in the leendis of hem, and thei schulen not be gird in swoot. And whanne thei schulen go out at the 19 outermere halle to the puple, thei schulen dispuyle hem of her clothis, in whiche thei mynystriden, and thei schulen leie tho vp in the treserie of seyntuarie^d; and thei schulen clothe hem silf in othere clothis, and thei schulen not halewe my puple in her clothis. Forsothe thei schulen 20 not schauue her heed, nether thei schulen nursche long heere, but thei clippynge schulen clippe her heedis. And ech preest 21 schal not drynke wyn, whanne he schal entre in to the ynnere halle. And *preestis* 22 schulen not take wyues a widewe, and a forsakun womman, but virgyns of the seed of the hous of Israel; but also thei schulen take a widewe, which is the widewe of a preest. And thei schulen teche my puple, 23 what is bitwixe hooli thing and defoulid; and thei schulen schewe to hem, *what is* bitwixe cleene thing and vncleene. And 24 whanne^e debate is, thei schulen stonde in my domes, and schulen deme my lawis; and thei schulen kepe my comaundementis in alle my solempnytees, and thei schulen

^t Om. A. ^u clothis A. ^v clothis AGH. ^w in my A.

^a Om. I. ^b Om. A. ^c stie CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^d the seyntuarie 1 sec. m. ^e what N.

and douȝter, and^x brother, and sister
 whiche hadde non^y husbond, in whom
 26 thei shuln be defoulid. And after that
 he shal be clensid, seuen days shuln be
 27 noumbred to hym. And in the day of
 his entryng in to the sayntuarie, at the
 ynnere hous, that he mynistre to me in
 my sayntuarie, he shal offre for his synne,
 28 saith the Lord God. Forsothe heritage
 shal not be to hem, Y the heritage of
 hem; and ȝe shuln not ȝeue to hem pos-
 sessioun in Yrael, forsothe I the posses-
 29 sion of hem. Thei shuln ete slayn sacri-
 fice, and for synne *of doyng*, and for
 trespas *of leuyng*, and eche vow in Yrael
 30 shal be hern. And the primyssis, *or first*
thingus, of alle beestus first bygoten, and
 alle liquyd sacrifices, *or fleetynge, as oyle,*
and hony, and syche, of alle thingus that
 ben offrid, shuln be the prestis; and ȝe
 shuln ȝeue to the prest the first thingus
 of ȝour metis, that he putte vp a bless-
 31 yng to his hous. Prestis shuln not ete
 eche dead thing by it self, and taken of
 beestis, of briddus, and of etable beestis.

halewe my sabatis. And thei schulen not²⁵
 entre to a deed man, lest thei be defoulid,
 no but to fadir, and modir, and to sone,
 and^f douȝter, and to brother, and sister
 that hadde not an hosebonde, in whiche
 thei schulen be defoulid. And after that he²⁶
 is clensid, seuene daies schulen be noun-
 brid to hym. And in the dai of his en-²⁷
 tryng in to the seyntuarie, to the ynnere
 halle^g, that he mynystre to me in the
 seyntuarie, he schal offre for his synne,
 seith the Lord God. Forsothe noon eri-²⁸
 tage schal be to hem, Y *am* the eritage of
 hem; and ȝe schulen not ȝyue to hem pos-
 sessioun in Israel, for Y *am* the possessioun
 of hem. Thei schulen ete sacrifice, bothe^h
 29 for synne and for trespasse, and ech avow
 of Israel schal be hern. And the firste³⁰
 thingis of alle firste gendrid thingis, and
 alle moiste sacrifices, of alle thingis that
 ben offrid, schulen be the prestis *part*;
 and ȝe schulen ȝyue the firste thingis of
 ȝoure metis to the prest, that he leie vp
 blessing to his hous. Preestisⁱ schulen³¹
 not ete ony thing deed bi it silf, and takun
 of a beeste, of foulis, and of scheep.

CAP. XLV.

1 Whann ȝe shuln bygynne for to de-
 parte the lond by lot, departe ȝe the first
 fruytis to the Lord, and halewid thinge
 of the lond, the lengthe fyue and twenti
 thousandus, and the breed ten thousandus;
 it shal be halewid in al the terme therof
 2 by cumpas. And on eche part it shal be
 halewid in fyue hundrid by fyue hun-
 drid, four maner by cumpas, and in fifti
 cubitis in to the suburbis therof bi cum-
 3 pas. And of this mesure thou shalt me-
 sure the lengthe of fyue and twenty
 thousandis, and the breed of ten thou-
 sandus; and in that the temple shal be,
 4 and the holy of holy thingus. The ha-
 lewid thing of the lond shal be to prestis,
 mynystris of the sayntuarye, whiche cum-

CAP. XLV.

And whanne ȝe schulen bigynne to de-¹
 parte the lond bi partis, departe ȝe the
 firste thingis to the Lord, an halewid
 thing of the lond, fyue and twenti thou-
 synde *of rehedis* in lengthe, and ten thou-
 synde *of rehedis* in breede; it schal be
 halewid in al the coost therof by cum-
 pas. And it schal be halewid on ech part²
 in fyue hundrid *rehedis* bi fyue hundrid,
 in foure sidis bi cumpas, and in fifti cu-
 bitis in to the subarbis therof bi cumpas.
 And fro this mesure thou schalt mete the³
 lengthe of fyue and twenti thousynde *of*
rehedis, and the breede of ten thousynde;
 and the temple and the hooli of hooli
 thingis schal be in it. An halewid thing⁴
 of the lond schal be to prestis, the^k myn-

^x Om. A. ^y noon other G sec. m.

^f or N. ^g forȝerd ceteri prater 1.
^k Om. X.

^h and C E F G H K M N P Q R S U X.

ⁱ Therefore preestis NS sec. m.

men to the seruyce of the Lord; and a place shal be to hem in the hous, in to sayntuarie of halewyng. Sothely fyue and twenti thousandis schulen ben of lengthe, and ten thousandus of breede; forsothe the dekenys that ministren to the hous, thei shuln weelde twenty tresories. And 3e shuln 3eue possessiouns of the citee, fyue thousandus of breed, and of lengthe fyue and twenti thousandis, after the departyng of sayntuarie, to eche hous of Yrael. And to the prince on this half and on that half, and in to the departyng of sayntuarie^z, and in to possessioun of the citee, a3einus the face of departyng of the sayntuarie, and a3einus the face of possessioun of the citee, fro the syde of the see vn to the see, and fro the syde of the eest vn to the eest. Forsothe the lengthe bysydis eche of the parties, fro the west terme vnto the eest terme of the lond, shal be possessioun in Yrael; and princis shuln namore spuyle my peple, but shuln 3eue lond to the hous of Yrael, after the lynagis of hem. 9 These thingus saith the Lord God, 3e princis of Yrael, be it ynew³ to 3ow, leue 3e wickidnesse and raueyns, and do 3e dome and riztwijsnesse; departe 3e 3our niz coostus fro my peple, saith the Lord 10 God. A iust balaunce, and iust *measure of drye thingis, that is clepid ephi*, and iust *measure of fleetynge thingus, that is clepid bachus*, shal be to 3ou. 11 Ephi and bachus shuln be euen, and of oo mesure, that bachus take the tenthe part of corus, *that is a^{zz} mesure of thritti busshellis*, and ephi the tenthe part of chorus; after the mesure of corus ther 12 shal be euen weigt of hem. Forsothe a sicke shal haue twenti halpenns; forsothe twenti syclis, and fyue and twenti syclis 13 maken a besaunt. And these ben the first thingus whiche 3e shuln take; the sixt part of ephi, of *the mesure corus* of

ystris of seyntuarie^l, that neizen to the seruyce of the Lord; and a place schal be to hem in to housis, and in to the seyntuarie of hoolynesse. Sotheli fyue and twenti thousynde of lengthe schulen be, and ten thousynde of breede; but the dekenes that mynystren to the hous, thei schulen haue in possessioun twenti treseries. And 3e schulen 3yue the possessioun of the citee, fyue thousynde *rehedis* of breede, and fyue and twenti thousynde of lengthe, bi the departyng of the^m seyntuarie, to al the hous of Israel. And 3e⁷ *schulen 3yue a porcioun* to the prince on this side and on that side, bisidis the departyng of theⁿ seyntuarie, and bisidis the possessioun of the citee, a3ens the face of departyng of seyntuarie^o, and a3ens the face of possessioun of the citee; fro the side of the se til to the see, and fro the side of the eest 'til to^p the eest, *shal be of the possessioun of the prince*. Forsothe the lengthe bi ech of the partis, fro the west ende til to the eest ende of the lond, 8 schal be possessioun to hym in Israel; and the princes schulen no more robbe my puple, but thei schulen 3yue the^q lond to the hous of Israel, bi the lynagis of hem. The Lord God seith these thingis, O^r! 9 princes of Israel, suffice it to^s 3ou, leue 3e wickidnesse 'and raueyns^t, and do 3e doom and riztfulnesse; departe 3e 3oure niz coostis fro my puple, seith the Lord God. A iust balaunce, and a iust *measure clepid* 10 *ephi**, and a iust *measure clepid bathus*, schulen be to 3ou. Ephi and bathus 11 schulen be euene, and^{tt} of o mesure, that bathus take the tenthe part of *the mesure clepid corus*, and that ephi take the tenthe part of *the^u mesure corus^v*; bi the mesure of corus schal be euene weiyng of tho. Forsothe a sicke schal haue twenti halpens; 12 certis twenti siclis, and fyue and twenti siclis, and fiftene siclis maken a besaunt. And these ben the firste fruytis whiche 3e 13ⁿ.

^z the seyntuarie A. ^{zz} Om. G.

^l the seyntuarie x sec. m. ^m Om. N. ⁿ Om. N. ^o the seyntuarie x sec. m. P vnto I. ^q Om. N.
^r A! CEFHGKMNQRSUX. ^s Om. I. ^t of rauein EY. and rauein P. ^{tt} Om. ENPY. ^u Om. PY. ^v of corus s.

* Ephi is a mesure of drie thingis, as of wheete, and barli, and lijk thingis, and it conteyneth thre buyschelis. Bathus is a mesure of moiste thingis, as of wyn, and oile, and lijk thingis, and conteyneth as miche as ephi. Corus is a mesure bothe in drie thingis and in moiste thingis, and conteyneth thretti buyschelis. ACEGPQUY. xx. siclis and xrv. siclis, and xv. siclis maken sixti siclis, and sixti siclis maken a besaunt. Lire here. CEGPQUY. Ephi is a mesure of drye thingis, and conteyneth thre bushelis. Bathus, a mesure of moiste thingis, and conteyneth thre bushelis also, or foure and twenti galouns. Corus, a mesure both of drie thingis and moiste, and conteyneth thretti bushelis.

whete, and the sixte part of ephi, of *the*
 14 *measure* corus of barley. And *the measure*
 of oyle; bachus of oyle is the tenth part
 of *the measure* corus, and ten *mesuris* of
 bachus maken *the measure* corus; for ten
 15 *mesuris* of bachus fulfillen *the measure*
 corus. And oo wether of a floc of two
 hundrid, of these whiche the sones of
 Yrael nuryshen, in to sacrifice, and in to
 brend sacrifice, and in to pesible, for to
 fulli clense for hem, saith the Lord God.
 16 Al the peple of the lond schal be holden
 in these prmisses to the prince of Yrael.
 17 And vpon the prince shuln be brend sa-
 crifices, and sacrifice of offryngus of fleet-
 yng thingus, in solempniteese, and in ka-
 lendus, and in sabothis, and in alle the
 solempnytees of the hous of Yrael; he
 shal make sacrifice for synne, and brend
 sacrifice, and pesible, for to fulli clense
 18 for the hous of Yrael. These thingus
 saith the Lord God, In the first monethe,
 in oon of the moneth, thou shalt take a
 calf vnspottid of the droue, and thou
 19 shalt fully clense the sayntuarie. And
 the prest shal take of the bloode, that
 shal be for synne; and shal putte in
 postis of the hous, and in four corners
 of the heiȝt of the auter, and in postus
 20 of the ȝate of the ynnere hous. And so
 thou shalt in the seuenthe of the mo-
 nethe, for eche man that vnknewe, and
 by errour is disceyued, and thou shalt
 21 fully clense for the hous. In the first
 moneth, in the fourtenthe day of the
 moneth, the solempnytee of pask shal be
 to ȝou; in seuen days therf thingus shuln
 22 be eten. And the prince shal do in that
 day, for hym and for al the peple of the
 23 lond, a calf for synne. And in the so-
 lempnyte of seuen days he shal do brend
 sacrifice to the Lord; seuen calues and
 seuen wetheris vnspottid day by day, in
 seuen days, and for synne a geet buc
 24 eche day. And the sacrifice of the^a me-
 sure ephi bi a calf, and ephi by a wether,

schulen take awei; the sixte part of ephi
 of a corus of wheete, and the sixte part
 of ephi of a corus of barley. Also the me-
 14 sure of oyle; a bathus of oyle is the tenth
 part of corus, and ten bathus maken o
 corus; for ten bathus fillen o corus. And 15
 'a ram'^w of the floc of twei hundrid, of
 these whiche the men of Israel nurschen,
 in to sacrifice, and in to brent sacrifice,
 and in to pesible sacrifices, to clense for
 hem, seith the Lord God. Al the puple 16
 of the lond schal be boundun in these
 firste fruytis to the prince of^x Israel. And 17
 on the prince schuln be brent sacrifices,
 and sacrifice, and moiste sacrifices, in so-
 lempnytees, and in kalendis, *ether bigyn-*
nyngis of monethis, and in sabatis, and in
 alle the solempnytees of the hous of Israel;
 he schal make sacrifice for synne, and
 brent sacrifice, and pesible sacrifices, to
 clense for the hous of Israel. The Lord 18
 God seith these thingis, In the firste mo-
 nethe, in the firste *dai* of the monethe,
 thou schalt take a calf with out wem of
 the drooue, and thou schalt clense the
 seyntuarie. And the preest schal take of 19
 the blood *of the beeste*, that schal be for
 synne; and he schal putte in the postis of
 the hous, and in foure corneris of the
 heiȝthe of the auter, and in the postis of
 the ȝate of the ynnere halle. And thus 20
 thou schalt do in the seuenthe *dai* of the
 monethe, for ech that knew not, and was
 disceyued bi errour, and thou schalt clense
 for the hous. In the firste monethe, in 21
 the fourtenthe dai of the monethe, the
 solempnytee of pask schal be to ȝou; therf
 looues schuln be etun bi seuen daies.
 And the prince schal make a calf for 22
 synne in that dai, for hym silf and for al
 the puple of the lond. And in the so- 23
 lempnytee of seuen daies he schal make
 brent sacrifice to the Lord; *he schal*
offre seuen caluys and seuen wetheris
 with out wem ech dai, bi seuen daies,
 and ech dai a buc of geet, for synne. And 24

^a Om. A.^w o ram, *ether wethir* CEF GHIMPQRSUXY. o ram N. ^x in CEF HKMPQRUY.

he shal do, and *the mesure* hyn of oyle,
 25 by eche ephi. In the seuenthe moneth,
 the fiftenthe day of the monethe, in the
 solempnytee, he shal do as thei ben
 aboue sayde, by seuen days, as wele for
 synne as for brent sacrifice, and in sacri-
 fice, and in oyle.

CAP. XLVI.

1 These thingus saith the Lord God, The
 3ate of the ynnere hous, that byholdith to
 the eest, shal be closid sixe days, in
 whiche werk is don; forsothe in the day
 of saboth it shal be opnyd, bot and in
 the day of kalendis it shal be opnyd.
 2 And the prince shal entre by the way of
 the porche of the 3ate with outforth,
 and he shal stonde in the thresfold of the
 3ate; and prestis shuln do his brent
 sacrifice, and his pesibles^b; and he shal
 worship vpon the thresfold of the 3ate,
 and he shal go out; forsothe the 3ate
 3 shal not be closid vn to euyn. And the
 peple of the lond shal worship at the
 dore of that 3ate, in sabothis, and ka-
 4 lendis, byfore the Lord. Forsothe the
 prince shal offre this brent sacrifice to
 the Lord in the day of saboth, sixe lam-
 bren vnspottid, and a wether vnspottid,
 5 and a sacrifice of ephi by the wether; in
 lambren forsothe the sacrifice that his
 hond shuln 3eue, and *the mesure* hyn of
 6 oyle, bi eche of ephi. Sothely in the day
 of kalendis a calf vnspottid of the drooue,
 and six lambren, and wetheris vnspottid
 7 shuln be, and *the mesure* ephi by the
 calf. And he shal make the sacrifice of
the mesure ephi by the wether; forsothe
 of the lambren as his hond shal fynde,
 and of oyle *the mesure* hyn, by eche of
 8 *mesure* ephi. And whann the prince is
 to entringe, by waye of the porche of the
 3ate entre he, and by the same waye go
 9 he out. And whan the peple of the lond
 shal entre in the sijt of the Lord, in so-

he schal make the sacrifice of ephi by a
 calf, and of ephi by^y a wether, and of oile
the mesure hyn, bi ech ephi. In the 25
 seuenthe monethe, in the fiftenthe dai of
 the monethe, in the solempnytee, he schal
 make as tho ben biforseid, bi seuene daies,
 as wel for synne as for brent sacrifice, and
 in sacrifice, and in oile.

CAP. XLVI.

The Lord God seith these thingis, The 1
 3ate of the ynnere halle, that biholdith to
 the eest, schal be closid bi^z sixe^a daies, in
 whiche werk is doon; for^b it schal be
 openid in the dai of sabat, but also it
 schal be openyd in the dai of kalendis.
 And the prince schal entre bi the weie of 2
 the porche of the 3ate withoutforth, and
 he schal stonde in the threisfold of the
 3ate; and preestis schulen make the brent
 sacrifice of hym, and the pesible sacrifices
 of hym; and he schal worschipe on the
 threisfold^c of the 3ate, and he schal go
 out; forsothe the 3ate schal not be closid
 til to the^d euentid. And the puple of the 3
 lond schal worschipe at the dore of that
 3ate, in sabatis, and in calendis, bifer the
 Lord. Forsothe the prince schal offre this 4
 brent sacrifice to the Lord in the dai of
 sabat, sixe lambren with out wem, and
 a wether with out wem, and the sacrifice 5
 of ephi bi a wether; but in the lambren
he schal offre the sacrifice which his hond
 schal 3iue, and of oile *the^e mesure* hyn,
 bi ech ephi. But in the dai of calendis 6
he schal offre a calf with out wem of the
 drooue; and sixe lambren, and wetheris
 schulen be with out wem, and ephi bi a 7
 calf. Also he schal make the^f sacrifice
 ephi bi a wether; but of lambren as his
 hond fyndith, and of oile *the mesure* hyn,
 bi ech ephi. And whanne the prince 8
 schal entre, entre he bi the weie of the
 porche of the 3ate, and go he out bi the
 same weie. And whanne the puple of 9
 the lond^g schal entre in the sijt of the

^b pesible 4.

^y with I. ^z Om. K. ^a seuene A *pr. m.* EFGHIK *pr. m.* MNPQRSUX. ^b forsothe A *sec. m.* ^c frexfoold K.
^d Om. C *et ceteri.* ^e of I. ^f Om. I. ^g same lond N.

lempnytees, whiche goth ynne by the north zate, that it wirship, go it out by the waye of the^c south zate. Forsothe he that entrith by the waye of the south zate, go out by waye^d of the north zate. He shal not turne azein by waye^e of the zate, by whom he goth yn, bot euen
 10 azeinus it he shal go out. Sotheli the prince shal be in the mydil of hem; with men goynge yn he shal go yn, and with
 11 men goyngeoute he schal gooute^{ee}. Hou^f in fairis and in solempnyteese shal be sacrifice of *mesure*^{ff} ephi by a calf, and *mesure* ephi by a wether; in lambren shal be sacrifice as his hond shal fynde, and of oyle *the mesure* hyn, bi eche of *mesure*
 12 ephi. Forsothe whan the prince shal do wilful brent sacrifice, or wilful pesibles to the Lord, the zate that biholdith to the cest, shal be opnyd to hym; and he shal do his brent sacrifice, and his pesiblis, as it is wont for to be don in the day of saboth; and he shal go out, and the zate shal be shette after that he shal
 13 go out. And he shal do a brend sacrifice, a lomb of the same zeer vnsportid, eche day to the Lord; euermore in the^g
 14 morewe he shal do it, and he shal do sacrifice thereon^{gg} bisidis, or *ni*³, the morewe; erly the sixt part of *the^h mesure* ephi, and of oyle the thridde part of *theⁱ mesure* hyn, that it be meynt to floure; a lawful sacrifice to the Lord, contynuel
 15 and euerlastynge. And he shal make a lombe in to sacrifice, and oyle, *ni*³ the morewe; erly the brend sacrifice euerlast-
 16 ynge. These thingis seith the Lord God, 3if the prince shal 3yue a hous to eny of his sones, the eritage therof schal be of his sones; thei schulen weelde it by eri-
 17 tage. Forsoth 3if he shal 3eue a bi- quethun thing of his eritage to oon of his seruauentis, it shal be his vn to the zeer of remyssioun, and it shal turne azein to the prince; forsothe the eritage
 18 of hym shal be to his sonys. And the

Lord, in^h solempnytees, which *puple* entrith bi the zate of the north, for to wor- schipe, go it out bi the wei of the south zate. Certis the *puple* that entrith bi the weie of the south zate, go out bi the weie of the north zate. It schal not turne azen bi the weie of the zate, bi which it en- tride, but euene azen that *weie* it schal go out. Forsothe the prince schal be in
 10 the myddis of hem; heⁱ schal entre with hem that entren, and he schal go out with hem that goen out. And in feiris and in
 11 solempnytees, the sacrifice of ephi schal be bi a calf, and ephi bi a wether; in lambren schal be sacrifice as his hond fyndith, and of oyle *the^k mesure* hyn, bi ech ephi. For-
 12 sothe whanne the prince makith a wilful brent sacrifice, ether wilful pesible sacri- fice to the Lord, the zate that biholdith to the cest, schal be openyd to hym; and he schal make his brent sacrifice, and hise pesible sacrifices, as it is wont to be doon in the dai of sabat; and he schal go out, and the zate schal be closid after that he
 13 zede out. And he schal make brent sa- crifice ech day to the Lord, a lomb with out wem of the same zeer; euere he schal make it in the morewtid, and he schal
 14 make sacrifice on it ful eerli; eerli *he schal make* the sixte part of ephi, and of oyle the thridde part of hyn, that it be meddlid with the floure of wheete; *it is* a lawful sacrifice, contynuel and euerlastinge, to the Lord. He schal make a lomb, and sacri-
 15 fice, and oyle, ful eerli; *he schal make* eerli brent sacrifice euerlastynge. The
 16 Lord God seith these thingis, If the prince 3yueth an hous to ony of hise sones, the eritage of hym schal be of hise sones; thei schulen welde it bi eritage. Forsothe if
 17 he 3yueth a biquethun of his eritage to oon of hise seruauentis, it schal be his 'til to the zeer of remyssioun, and it schal turne azen to the prince; forsothe the eritage of hym schal be to hise sones. And the
 18 prince schal not take bi violence of the

^c Om. G pr. m. HK. ^d the weye A. ^e the weie AH. ^{ee} Om. AG pr. m. HK. ^f Om. G sec. m. ^{ff} the me-
 sure G sec. m. ^g Om. AGH. ^{gg} there A. therupon G pr. m. H. ^h Om. A. ⁱ Om. A.

^h into I. ⁱ and he CFHIMQSU. ^k that I. ^l vnto I.

prince shal not take by violence of the eritage of the peple, and of the possessioun of hem; bot of his possessioun he shal zeue eritage to his sonys, that my peple be not disparplid, eche man fro his
 19 possessioun. And he ledde me yn bi the entree, that was on the syde of the zate, in to the tresories of the sayntuarie to the prestis, that biheelden to the north; and there was a place goynge to the
 20 west. And he sayde to me, This is a place, wher and prestis shuln saye^j and for synne of *doynge*, and for trespas of *leeuynge*; wher thei shuln say^{ij} sacrifice, that thei bere not out in to the vtmer^k
 21 hous, and the peple be halewid. And he ledde me out in to the vtmer hous, and about ledde me by foure corners of the hous; and loo! a litil hous was in the corner of the hous, smale housis, eche
 22 by corners of the hous; in to foure corners of the hous litil housis disposid, of fourti cubitis by longe, and thritti by
 23 breede; foure weren of oo mesure; and a wal by cumpas enuyrounyng foure smale housis; and kitchens weren forgid
 24 vndir porchis bi cumpas. And he saide to me, This is the hous of kitchenys, in whom the mynystris of the hous of the Lord seethen slayn sacrifices of the peple.

CAP. XLVII.

1 And he turnede me to the zate of the hous; and loo! waters wenten out vndir the thresfold of the hous to the eest; forsothe the face of the hous byheelde to the eest; sothely the waters wenten down in to the riȝt syde of the temple, to the
 2 south of the auter. And he ledde me out by the waye of the north zate, and he turnyde me to the waye with outen the vtmer zate, the waye that byheelde to the eest; and loo! waters tournynge
 3 aȝein of the riȝt syde, whan the man wente out to the eest, that hadde a litil coord in his hond, and matte a thousand cubitis, and ledde me ouer by the water

eritage of the puple, and of the possessioun of hem; but of his owne possessioun he schal ȝyue eritage to hise sones, that my puple be not scaterid, ech man fro his possessioun. And he ledde me in bi the
 19 entryng, that was on the side of the zate, in to the treseries of the seyntuarie to the^m preestis, whicheⁿ *treseries* biheelden to the north; and there was a place goynge to the west. And he seide to me,
 20 This is the place where prestis schulen sethe, bothe for synne and for trespas; where thei schulen sethe sacrifice, that thei bere not out in to the outermere halle, and the puple be halewid. And he
 21 ledde me out in to the outermere halle^o, and ledde me aboute bi the foure corneris of the halle; and lo! a litil halle was in the corner of the halle, alle litle hallis^p bi the corneris of the halle; in foure corneris
 22 of the halle litle hallis *weren* disposid, of fourti cubitis bi lengthe, and of thretti bi breede; foure weren of o mesure; and a
 23 wal bi cumpas ȝede aboute foure litle hallis; and kychenes weren maad vndur the porchis bi cumpas. And he seide to
 24 me, This is the hous of kichenys, in which the mynystris of the hous of the Lord schulen sethe the^q sacrifices^r of the puple.

CAP. XLVII.

And he turnede me to the zate of the
 1 hous; and lo! watris ȝeden out vndur the threisfold of the hous to^s the eest; for the face of the hous bihelde to the eest; forsothe the watris camen down in to the riȝt side of the temple, to the south part of the auter. And he ledde me out bi the
 2 weie of the north zate, and he turnede me to the weie with out the outermere zate, to the weie that biholdith^{ss} to the eest; and lo! watris flowynge fro the riȝt side, whanne the^t man that hadde a coord in his hond, ȝede out to the eest. And he
 mat a thousynde cubitis, and ledde me ouer thorou the water til to the heelis.

^j seie A. seye G. ^{ij} seie A. sey G. ^k vttermore H *passim*.

^m Om. I. ⁿ the whiche I. ^o forȝerd *ceteri passim*. ^p forȝerdis *ceteri passim*. ^q Om. cx. ^r sacrifice N. of N. ^{ss} biheld C *sec. m.* ^t a A.

4vn to the helis. And aft sone he matte
a thousand, and ledde me ouer by the
water vn to the knees. And aft sone he
matte a thousand, and ledde me by the
5watre vn to the reynys. And he matte a
thousand, by the streme of reyn whom Y
myzte not ouer passe; for deep waters of
the streme of reyn wexiden grete, whiche
6may not be ouer wad. And he saide to
me, Certis, sone of man, thou hast seen.
And he ledde me, and turnyde me to the
7ryuer of the streme of rayn. And whan
I hadde conuertid me, loo! in the ryuer
of the stream of rayn ful many trees on
8eche syde. And he saith to me, These
waters that gon out to the heepis of the
eest soond, and gon down to the playn
thingus of desert, shuln go ynne to the
see, and go^m out; and the waters shuln
9heele. And eche lyuyng soule that
creepith, whither euer the strem of rayn
shal cum, shal lyue; and there shuln be
fishis many ynow, after that these waters
shuln cum thidir, and thei shuln be maad
hoole, and shuln lyue; alle these shuln
lyue, to whom the streme of rayn shal
10cum. And fishers shuln stond vpon hem;
fro Engaddi vnto Engallym shal be dry-
yinge of nettis; ful many spices shuln be
of fishis therof, as fishes of the grete
11se, of ful grete mykilnesse; forsothe in
brynkis therof and in marais thei shuln
not be helid, for thei shuln be 3ouen in
12to salt places. And onⁿ the streme of
rayn, and ryuers therof, and on eche
part, al tree berynge appul shal be brou3t
forth; a lefe shal not fle away therof, and
the fruyt of it shal not fayle; by eche
monethes it shal brynge first fruytis, for
the waters therof shuln go out of sayn-
tuarie; and fruytis therof shuln be in to
mete, and lefis therof to^o medecyne.
13These thingus saith the Lord God, This
is the terme, in whiche 3e shuln weelde
the lond, in twelue kynredis of Yrael;

And eft he mat a thousynde, and ledde^t
me ouer thorou3 the watir 'til to^m the
knees. And eft he mat a thousynde, and^s
ledde^v me ouer thorou3 the watir 'til to^w
the reynes. And he mat a thousynde, the^x
stronde which Y myzte not passe; for the
depe watris of the stronde hadden wexe
greet, that mai not be waad ouer. And⁶
he seide to me, Certis, sone^y of man, thou
hast seyn. And he seide to me; and he
turnede me to the ryuere of the stronde.
And whanne Y hadde turned me, lo! in⁷
the ryuer of the stronde ful many trees on
euer either side. And he seide to me,⁸
These watris that goon out to^z the heepis
of soond of the eest, and^a goen down to^b
pleyn^c places of desert, schulen entre in to
the see, and schulen go out; and the wa-
tris schulen be heelid. And ech lyuyng⁹
beeste that creepith, schal lyue, whidur
euer the stronde schal come; and fischis
many ynow schulen be, aftir that these
watris comen thidur, and schulen be heel-
id, and schulen lyue; alle thingis to
whiche the stronde schal come, schulen
lyue. And fisshers schulen stonde on tho¹⁰
watris; fro Engaddi 'til to^d Engallym
shal be dryyng of nettis; ful many kyndis^e
of fischis therof schulen be, as the fischis
of the greet see, of ful greet multitude;
but in brynkis^f therof and in marais¹¹
watris shulen not be heelid, for tho^hschu-
len be^{ff} 3ouun in to places of makynge of
salt. And ech tree berynge fruit schal¹²
growe on the stronde, in the ryueris ther-
of on ech side; a leef therof schal not
falle down, and the fruyt therof schal not
faile; bi alle monethis it schal bere firste
fruytis, for the watris therof schulen go
out of the seyntuarie; and the fruytis
therof schulen be in to mete, and the
leeuys therof to medecyn. The Lord God¹³
seith these thingis, This is the ende, in
which 3e schulen welde the lond, in the^s
twelue lynagis of Israel; for Joseph hath

^m shulen gon A. ⁿ vpon A. ^o in to A. to the GH.

^t he ledde NX sec. m. ^u vnto I. ^v he ledde CEFHIKMN PQRSUX. ^w vnto I. ^x bi the I. ^y thou, sone
ns sec. m. ^z of I. ^a that I. ^b in to s pr. m. ^c the playn I. ^d vnto I. ^e spices, ether kindis CEFHIKMN
PQRSUXY. ^f the brynkis CEFHIKMN PQRSUXY. the brynke M. ^{ff} ben A pr. m. Om. C pr. m. EH. ^g Om. I.

for Joseph hath double coord, *or part*.
 14 Forsoothe 3e shuln weelde it, eche euenly
 as his brother; vpon whom I reyside myn
 hond, that I shulde 3eue to 3our fadris;
 and this lond shal falle to 3ou in to pos-
 15 sessioun. This is the terme of the lond
 at the north coost, fro the grete se, the
 way of Bethalon to men cummyng to
 16 Sedala, Emath, Beroth, Sabarym, whiche
 is bitwix the mydil of Damask and the
 coostis of Emath, the hous Athicon, that
 17 is bysidis the termys of Auran. And
 the terme shal be fro the se vn to the
 hous Ennon, the terme of Damask, and
 fro the north vn to the north, the terme,
or eende, of Emath; forsothe the north
 18 plage, *or coost*. Forsothe the eest coost
 of the mydil of Auran, and of the mydil of
 Damask, and of the^p mydil of Galaad, and
 of the mydil of the lond of Yrael, Jordan,
 departyng at the eest see, 3e shuln mete
 19 eest coost. Sothely the south coost of
 mydday, fro Thamar vn to the waters of
 a3ein saiynge of Cades; and the streme
 of rayn vn to the grete see, and the south
 20 cost at mydday. And the coost of the
 see is the grete see, fro the eende coost
 by the strei3t, til thou cum to Emath;
 21 this is the coost of the see. And 3e
 shuln departe this lond to 3ou by lynagis
 22 of Yrael; and 3e shuln sende it in to
 eritage to 3ou, and to cumlyngis that
 camen to 3ou, that gendreden sonys in
 the mydil of 3ou; and thei shuln be to
 3ou as in dwellers amonge the sonys of
 Yrael; with 3ou thei shuln departe pos-
 sessioun, in mydil of the lynages of Yrael.
 23 Forsothe in what euer lynage a cumlyng
 shal be, there 3e shuln 3eue possessioun
 to hym, saith the Lord God.

CAP. XLVIII.

1 And the names of lynages, fro the
 eendis of the north, bysidis the waye of^q
 Methalon, to men goynge to Emath, the
 hous of Ennon, terme of Damaske, fro

double part. Forsothe 3e schulen welde¹⁴
 it, ech man euenli as his brother; on
 which Y reyside myn hond, that Y schulde
 3yue to 3oure fadris; and this lond schal
 falle to 3ou in to possessioun. This is the¹⁵
 ende of the lond at the north coost fro
 the grete see, the weie of Bethalon to men
 comynge to Sedala, Emath, Beroth, Sa-¹⁶
 barym, which is in the myddis bitwix
 Damask and ni3 coostis of Emath, the
 hous of Thichon, which is bisidis the
 endis of Auran. And the ende schal be¹⁷
 fro the see 'til to^h the porche of Ennon,
 the ende of Damask, and fro the north til
 to the north, the ende of Emath; for-
 sothe *this is* the north coost. Certis the¹⁸
 eest coost fro the myddis of Auran, and
 fro the myddis of Damask, and fro the
 myddis of Galaad, and fro the myddis of
 the lond of Israel, *is* Jordan departyng at
 the eest see, also 3e schulen mete the eest
 coost. Forsothe the south coost of myd-¹⁹
 dai *is* fro Thamar til to the watris of
 a3enseiynge of Cades; and the stronde til
 to the greet see, and the south coost at
 myddai. And the coost of the see is the²⁰
 greet see, fro the ni3 coost bi strei3t, til
 thou come to Emath; this is the coost of
 the see. And 3e schulen departe this lond²¹
 to 3ou bi the lynagis of Israel; and 3e²²
 schulen sende it in to eritage to 3ou, and
 to comelyngis that comen to 3ou, that gen-
 driden sones in the myddis of 3ou; and
 thei schulen be to 3ou as men borun in
 the lond among the sones of Israel; with
 3ou thei schulen departe possessioun, in
 the myddis of the lynages of Israel. For-²³
 sothe in what euer lynage a comelyng is,
 there 3e schulen 3yue possessioun to hym,
 seith the Lord Godⁱ.

CAP. XLVIII.

And these *ben* the names of lynagis, fro¹
 the endis of the north, bisidis the weie
 Ethalon, to men goynge to Emath, the
 porche of Ennon, the terme of Damask,

p Om. A. q Om. AGH.

h vnto i. i Om. FIS.

the north bysidis Emath; and the eest
 2 coost the see shal be, to Dan oon. And
 fro the terme of Dan, fro the eest coost
 3 to the coost of the se, to Aser oon. And
 vpon the terme of Aser, fro the eest coost
 vn to the coost of the see, to Neptalym
 4 oon. And vpon the terme of Neptalym,
 fro the eest coost vn to the coost of the
 5 eest see, to Manasses oon. And vpon the
 terme of Manasses, fro the eest coost vn to
 the coost of the see, to Effraym oon.
 6 And vpon the terme of Effraym, fro the
 eest coost vn to the coost of the see, to
 7 Ruben oon. And vpon the terme of Ru-
 ben, fro the eest coost vn to the coost of
 8 the see, to Juda oon. And vpon the
 terme of Juda, fro the eest plage, *or*
coost, vn to the coost of the see, shuln be
 primissis, whiche 3e shuln departe in
 fyue and twenti thousandus 3erdis of
 breede and lengthe, as eche partis, fro the
 eest coost vnto the coost of the see; and
 the sayntuarie shal be in mydil^r therof.
 9 The primissis whiche 3e shuln departe to
 the Lord, the lengthe in fyue and twenti
 thousandis, and the breede in ten thou-
 10 sandus. Sotheli these shuln be the pri-
 missis of the sayntuarie of prestis; at the
 north of lengthe fyue and twenti thou-
 sandis, and to the see of breede ten thou-
 sandis; bot to the eest of breed ten thou-
 sandis, and to the south of lengthe fyue
 and twenti thousandis; and the sayn-
 tuarie of the Lord shal be in mydil^{rr}
 11 therof. To prestis the sayntuarie shal be,
 of^s the sonys of Sadoch, whiche kepten
 my cerymonyes, and erriden not, whanne
 the sones of Yrael erriden, as and the
 12 dekenys erriden. And to hem shuln be
 primissis of primissis of the lond, the
 holy of holy thingus, bysidis the terme of
 13 dekenes. Bot and to^t dekenys also by-
 sidis the eendis of prestis, fyue and twenti
 thousandis of lengthe, and of breede ten
 thousandis; al the lengthe of fyue and

to the north bisidis Emath; and the eest
 coost schal be to it the see, *o part schal*
be of Dan. And fro the ende of Dan, fro²
 the eest coost til to the coost of the see,
o part schal be of Aser. And on the³
 ende of Azer, fro the eest coost til to the
 coost of the see, oon of Neptalym. And⁴
 on the terme of Neptalym, fro the eest
 coost til to the coost of the see, oon of
 Manasses. And on the ende of Manasses,⁵
 fro the eest coost til to the coost of the
 see, oon of Effraym. And on the ende of⁶
 Effraym, fro the eest coost til to the coost
 of the see, oon of Ruben. And on the⁷
 ende of Ruben, fro the eest coost til to the
 coost of the see, oon of Juda. And on⁸
 the ende of Juda, fro the eest coost til to
 the coost of the see, schulen be the firste
 fruytis, whiche 3e schulen departe bi fyue
 and twenti thousynde reheedis of breede
 and of lengthe, as alle partis *ben*, fro the
 eest coost til to the coost of the see; and
 the seyntuarie schal be in the myddis
 therof. The firste fruytis whiche 3e schu-⁹
 len departe to the Lord, the lengthe *schal*
be in fyue and twenty thousynde, and the
 breed in ten thousynde. Forsothe these¹⁰
 schulen be the firste fruytis of the seyn-
 tuarie of preestis; to the north fyue and
 twenti thousynde of lengthe, and to the
 see ten thousinde of breede; but to the
 eest ten thousynde of breede, and to the
 south fyue and twenti thousynde of
 lengthe; and the seyntuarie of the Lord
 schal be in the myddis therof. The seyn-¹¹
 tuarie schal be to prestis of the sones of
 Sadoch, that kepten my cerymonyes, and
 erriden not, whanne the sones of Israel
 erriden, as also dekenes erriden. And¹²
 the firste fruytis schulen be to hem of the
 firste fruytis of the lond, the hooli of hooli
 thingis, bi the terme of dekenes¹. But¹³
 also to dekenes in lijk maner bi the coostis
 of preestis *schulen be* fyue and twenti
 thousynde of lengthe, and ten thousynde

^r the mydil G. ^{rr} the mydil A. ^s to K. ^t Om. A.

¹ Leuitis, *ether dekenes* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY.

twenti thousandis, and the breede of ten
 14 thousandis. And thei shuln not selle
 therof, nether chaunge; nether the first
 fruytis of the lond shuln be transferrid,
or born ouer, for thei ben halewid to
 15 the Lord. Forsothe fyue thousandis, that
 leuen ouer in breede, by fyue and twenti
 thousandus, shuln be vnholi places of the
 citee, into dwellyng, and in to subarbis;
 and the citee shal be in the mydil therof.
 16 And these the mesuris therof; at the north
 coost, fyue hundrid and foure thousandis,
 and at the southe plage, *or coost*, fyue
 hundred and foure thousandis, and at the
 eest coost, fyue hundred and foure thou-
 sandis, and at the west coost, fyue hun-
 17 drid and foure thousandis. Forsothe the
 subarbis of the citee shuln be at the north
 two hundrid and fifty, and to the south
 two hundrid and fifti, and at the eest
 coost^u two hundrid and fifty, and at the
 18 see two hundrid and fifty. Forsothe that
 that shal be laft, *or ouer*, in lengthe, after
 first fruytis of the sayntuarie, ten thou-
 sandis in to the eest, and ten thousandus
 in to the west, shuln be as premissis of
 the sayntuarie; and the fruytis therof
 shuln be in to looues to these that seruen
 19 to the citee. Forsothe men seruyng to
 the citee shuln worche, of al the lynages
 20 of Yrael. Alle the premisses of fyue and
 twenti thousandis, by fyue and twenti
 thousandis in sware, shuln be departid
 in to primisses of the sayntuarie, and pos-
 21 session of the citee. Forsothe that that
 shal be left *ouer*, shal be of the prince,
 on^v eche part of primissis of the sayn-
 tuarie, and possessioun of the citee, euen
 azeins fyue and twenti thousandis of pri-
 missis, vnto the eest terme; bot and to the
 see euen azeinus of fyue and twenti thou-
 sandus, vn to the terme of the see, also in
 partis^{vv} of the prince shal be; and pre-
 missis of the sayntuarie shuln be, and
 the sayntuarie of temple^w of the cite^x, in

of breede; al the lengthe of fyue and twenti
 thousynde, and the breede of ten thou-
 synde. And thei schulen not sille therof,¹⁴
 nether schulen chaunge; and the firste
 fruytis of the lond schulen not be trans-
 latid, for tho ben halewid to the Lord.
 Sotheli the fyue thousynde, that ben left¹⁵
 ouer in breede, bi fyue and twenti thou-
 synde, schulen be the vnholi thingis,
ether comyn thingis, of the citee, in to
 dwellyng place, and in to subarbis; and
 the citee schal be in the myddis therof.
 And these *schulen be* the mesuris therof;¹⁶
 at the north coost, fyue hundrid and foure
 thousynde *of rehedis*, and at the south
 coost, fyue hundrid and foure thousynde,
 and at the eest coost, fyue hundrid and
 foure thousynde, and at the west coost,
 fyue hundrid and foure thousynde. For-¹⁷
 sothe the subarbis of the citee at the north
 schulen be twei^m hundrid and fifti, and at
 the southe twei^m hundrid and fifti, and at
 the eest twei^m hundrid and fifti, and at the
 see, *that is, the west*, twei hundrid and
 fifti. But that that is residue in lengthe,¹⁸
 bi the firste fruytis of the seyntuarie, ten
 thousynde in to the eest, and ten thou-
 synde in to the west, schulen be as the
 firste fruitis of the seyntuarie; and the
 fruitis schulen be in to looues to hem that
 seruen the citee. Forsothe thei that seruen¹⁹
 the citee schulen worche, of alle the lynagis
 of Israel. Alle the firste fruitis of fyue²⁰
 and twenti thousynde, bi fyue and twenti
 thousynde inⁿ square, schulen be departid
 in to the firste fruytis of seyntuarie, and in
 to possessioun of the citee. Forsothe that²¹
 that is residue, schal be the^o princes *part*,
 on ech side of^p the firste fruitis of seyn-
 tuarie, and of the possessioun of the citee,
 euene azens fyue and twenti thousynde of
 the firste fruytis, til to the eest ende; but
 also to the see euene azens fyue and
 twenti thousynde, til to the ende of the
 see, schal be in lijk maner in the partis of

^u Om. GK pr. m. ^v of A. ^{vv} the partis A. ^w the temple AH. ^x citees A.

^m two I. ⁿ Om. A. ^o to the I. ^p on I.

22 mydil therof. Forsothe of the possessioun of dekenys, and of possessioun of the citee, in mydil of partis of the prince, shal be in to terme of Juda, and in to terme of Beniamyn, and shal pertene to the prince.
 23 And to the tother lynagis, fro the eest coost vn to the west coost, to Beniamyn
 24 oon. And azeinus the terme of Beniamyn fro the eest coost vn to the west coost, to
 25 Symyon oon. And vpon the terme of Symyon, fro the eest coost vn to the west
 26 coost, to Ysacar oon. And vpon the terme of Ysacar, fro the eest cost vnto the west
 27 coost, to Sabulon oon. And vpon the terme of Sabulon, fro the eest coost vnto
 28 the cost of the see, to Gad oon. And vpon the terme of Gad, vn to the coost of the south in to mydday, *or southe*; and the eend shal be fro Thamar vn to the waters of azein sayinge of Cades, and the
 29 eritage azein the grete see. This is the lond whiche 3e shuln sende in to lot to the lynagis of Yrael, and these the part-
 30 yngis^y of hem, saith the Lord God. And these the goyngus^z out of the cytee; fro the north coost thou shalt mesure fyue
 31 hundrid and foure thousandis. And the 3atis of the citee, in alle the lynagis of Yrael, three 3atis fro the north; the 3ate of Ruben oon, the 3ate of Juda oon, the
 32 3ate of Leuy oon. And at the eest coost, fyue hundrid and foure thousandis, and three 3atis; the 3ate of Joseph oon, the 3ate of Beniamyn oon, the 3ate of Dan
 33 oon. And at the mydday coost, *or southe*, fyue hundrid and four thousandis thou shalt mete, the 3atis of hem three; the 3ate of Symyon oon, the 3ate of Ysacar
 34 oon, the 3ate of Zabulon oon. And at the west coost, fyue hundred and foure thousandis, three 3atis of hem; the 3ate of Gad oon, the 3ate of Aser oon, the 3ate
 35 of Neptalym oon. By the cumpas ei3tene

the prince; and the firste fruytis of the seyntuarie, and the seyntuarie of the temple schulen be in the myddis of it. For-
 22 sothe fro the possessioun of dekenes, and fro the possessioun of the citee, *which^q is* in the myddis of partis of the prince, schal be in to the porcioun^r of Juda, and in to the porcioun^s of Beniamyn; and it schal perteyne to the prince. And to 23
 other lynagis, fro the eest coost 'til to^t the west coost, oon to Beniamyn. And 24
 a3ens the porcioun^u of Beniamyn, fro the eest coost til to the west coost, oon to Symeon. And on the terme of Symeon, 25
 fro the eest coost til to the west coost, oon to Isacar. And on the terme of Isa- 26
 car, fro the eest coost til to the west coost, oon to^v Zabulon. And on the terme of 27
 Zabulon, fro the eest coost til^w to the coost^x of the see, oon to Gad. And on 28
 the terme of Gad, to the coost of the south in to^y myddai; and the ende schal be fro Thamar til to the watris of a3en-
 seyng of Cades, and the eritage a3ens the grete see. This is the lond which 3e schu- 29
 len sende in to part to the lynagis of Israel, and these *ben* the partyngis^z of tho, seith the Lord God. And these *ben* the 30
 goyngis out of the citee; fro the north coost thou schalt mete fyue hundrid and foure thousynde *rehedis*. And 3atis of the 31
 citee *schulen be* in alle the lynagis of Israel, thre 3atis at the north; o 3ate of Ruben, o 3ate of Juda, o 3ate of Leuy.
 And at the eest coost, fyue hundrid and 32
 foure thousynd^{zz} *rehedis*, and thre 3atis; o 3ate of Joseph, o 3ate of Beniamyn, o 3ate of Dan. And at the south coost 33
 thou schalt mete fyue hundrid and foure thousynde *rehedis*, and thre 3atis *schulen be* of tho; o 3ate of^a Symeon, o 3ate of^a Isacar, o 3ate of Zabulon. And at the 34
 west coost, fyue hundrid and foure thou-

^y partis A. ^z goynge A.

^q that I. ^r terme, *ether porcioun* CEF GHI K M P Q R S U X Y. ^s terme, *ether porcioun* E F G H I pr. m. K N P Q R S U X Y. terme I sec. m. M. ^t vnto I. ^u terme, *ether porcioun* C E F G H I pr. m. K M N P Q R S U X Y. terme I sec. m. ^v of I. ^w Om. K pr. m. ^x west coost G N S pr. m. X pr. m. ^y the N. ^z departingis K sec. m. ^{zz} thousandis A. ^a to N.

thousandis; and the name of the citee
fro that day, The Lord there. Amen^a.

*Here endith the book of Ezechiel, and
bigynneth the book of Daniel^b.*

synde of^b *rehedis*, thre 3atis of tho; o 3ate
of Gad, o 3ate of Aser, o 3ate of Nepta-
lym. Bi cumpas eiztene miles; and the³⁵
name^c *schal be* fro that dai, The Lord
there. Amen.

*Here endith Ezechiel, and here by-
gynneth Danyel^d.*

^a Om. AG. ^b No final rubric in AGH.

^b Om. V. ^c name of the citee I. ^d From CFIU. *Here endith Ezechiel, and bigynnith Danyel.* GHQS.
Here endeth Ezechiel, the prophete; se now Danyel, the prophete. K. *Here endith Ezechiel, and here
bigynneth the prologe of Danyel.* M. *Here endith the book of Ezechiel, and bigynneth the book of Daniel.* N.
Heere eendith Ezechiel, and bigynneth the prologe vpon Daniel. R. *Here endith Ezechiel, the profete, and
bigynneth Danyel, the profete.* X. No final rubric in AEPY.

DANIEL.

[Prologue on Daniel^a.]

THIS profete Danyel was in the transmygracioun of Babiloyne, and he forsook the kingis metis, and eet onli breed and potage, lest he scholde be defoulid aȝens his God thoruȝ delicat metis, and forsake the lawe of God. Wherfor the Lord God ȝaf to him of his Holi Spirit, to interprete dremes and visiouns; and gat grace anentis the king, and fauour to al the peple of Israel; and the Lord schewide to him, bi visioun and expownyng of an aungel, thingis that weren to comynge in to the ende of the world, and of the dai of doom, and of arisyng aȝen of dede men, and of the blisse that euer schal laste to the chosene of God.

Heere eendith the prologe, and bigynneth the book of Daniel^b.

The book of Daniel^a.

CAP. I.

1 In the thridde ȝeer of the kyngdam
of Joachym, kyng of Juda, Nabugodonosor,
kyng of Babiloyne, came in to Jerusalem,
2 and byseegide it. And the Lord bitoke
Joachym, kyng of Juda, in the hond of hym,
and he toke a part of vessels of the hous
of God; and bare hem out in to the lond
Sennaar, in to the hous of his god, and
3 toke the vessels in to the hous of tresour
of his god. And the kyng saith to Aphanet,
prepost, or souereyne, of his geldingus,
that he schulde bryng yn of the sonys
of Yrael, and of the kyngus bloode, and
the children of

Here bigynneth the book of Daniel^c.

CAP. I.

In the thridde ȝeer of the rewme of
Joachym, king of Juda, Nabugodonosor,
the kyng of Babiloyne, cam to Jerusalem,
and bisegide it. And the Lord bitook in
2 his hond Joachym, the kyng of Juda,
and he took a part of the vessels of the
hous of God; and he bar out tho in to
the lond of Sennaar, in to the hous of
his god, and he took the vessels in to
the hous of tresour of his god. And the
kyng 3 seide to Asphaneth, souereyn of
his onest seruauntis and chast, that he
schulde bryng yn of the sones of Israel,
and of the kyngis seed, and the children of ti-

^a Here bigynneth the boke of Danyel, the prophete. A. No initial rubric in GH.

^a This prologue is from MR. ^b From R. No final rubric in M. ^c From APY. Here biginnith the book and the profecie of the hooli man Daniel, the profete. K. Here bigynneth the book of Danyel, the profete. M. No initial rubric in the other Mss.

4 tyrauntis, *or strong men*, in whom was
no wem, faire in fourme, and lernd^b in al
wisdam, war in science, and tauzt in
disciplyne, and whiche miȝten stonde in
paleys of the kyng, that he schulde teche
5 hem lettris and langage of Caldeis. And
the kyng ordeynede to hem fruyte of oo
3eer bi alle days of his metis, and of the
wijne of whiche he dranke; that thei
nurishid out in three 3eers, afterward
shulden stonde in siȝt of the kyng.
6 Therefore there weren amonge hem of
the sonys of Juda, Danyel, Ananyas,
7 Mysael, and Azarias. And the prepost
of geldyngus puttide to hem names; to
Danyel, Balthasar; to Ananyas, Sydrac;
to Mysael, Mysac; and to Azarias, Abde-
8 nago. Forsothe Danyel purposide in his
herte, that he were not defoulid of the
borde of the kyng, nether of the wyne
of his drinke; and he preyede the pre-
post of the geldingis, that he were not
9 defoulid. Forsothe God 3aue grace and
mercy to Danyel, in siȝte^{bb} of the prince
10 of geldyngus. And the prince of geld-
ingus saide to Danyel, I dreede my lord
the kyng, whiche ordeynede to 3ou mete
and drinke; whiche 3if he shal see 3our
cheeris lener byfore other 3unge men,
3our^c eueneldis, 3e shuln condempne myn
11 hede to the kyng. And Danyel sayde
to Malassar, whom the prince of geld-
yngus hadde ordeynyd vpon Danyel, Ana-
12 nye, Mysael, and Azarie, I beseche,
tempte, *or assaie*, vs thi seruauntis ten
days, and be potage 3ouen to vs for to
13 ete, and water for to drinke; and byholde
thou oure cheeris, and the cheeris of
children that eten the kyngus mete; and
as thou shalt see, so do thou to thi seru-
14 auntis. Whiche, siche manere wordis^d
15 herd, temptide hem ten days. Forsothe
after ten days the cheeris of hem apper-
iden betir and fuller of fleshe, byfore alle
16 the children that eeten kyngus mete. So-
theli Malassar toke^{dd} the metis, and wijn

rauntis, in whiche weren no wem, faire in 4
schap, and lerned in al wisdom, war in
kunnyng, and tauzt in chastisyng^d, and
that^e myȝten stonde in the paleis of the
kyng, that he schulde teche hem the let-
tris and langage^f of Caldeis. And the 5
king ordeynede to^g hem lijflode^h bi ech
dai of hise meetis, and of the wyn wherof
he drank; that thei nurschid bi thre 3eerⁱ,
schulden stonde aftirward bifor the siȝt of
the kyng. Therfor Danyel, Ananye, My- 6
zael, and Azarie, of the sones of Juda,
weren among hem. And the souereyn of 7
onest^k seruauntis and chast puttide to hem
names; to Danyel *he puttide* Balthasar;
to Ananye, Sidrach; to Mysael, Misach;
and to Azarie, Abdenago. Forsothe Da- 8
nyel purposide in his herte, that he schulde
not be defoulid of the boord of the kyng,
nether of the wyn of his drink; and he
preiede the souereyn of onest^l seruauntis
and chast, that he schulde not be defoulid.
Forsothe God 3af grace and merci to Da- 9
niel, in the siȝt of the prince of onest
seruauntis and chast. And the prince of 10
onest^m seruauntis and chast seide to Da-
niel, Y drede my lord the king, that or-
deinede to 3ou mete and drynk; and if he
seethⁿ 3oure faces lenner than othere
3onge wexyng men, 3oure eueneeldis, 3e
schulen condempne myn heed to the kyng.
And Danyel seide to Malazar, whom the 11
prince of onest seruauntis and chast hadde
ordeynede on Danyel, Ananye, Mysael,
and Asarie, Y biseche, asaie thou vs thi 12
seruauntis bi ten daies, and potagis be
3ouun to vs to ete, and water to drynke;
and biholde thou oure cheris, and the 13
cheris of children that eten the kyngis
mete; and as thou seest, so do thou with
thi seruauntis. And whanne he herde 14
siche a word, he asaiede hem bi^o ten daies.
Forsothe after ten daies the cheris of hem 15
apperiden betere and fattere, than alle the
children that eeten the kyngis mete. Cer- 16
tis Malazar took the metis, and the wyn

^b leryd A. lerned G. ^{bb} the siȝte A. ^c thin A. ^d word AGH. ^{dd} toke away G sec. m.

^d chastizing, *ether lerning* EFGHIKNPQRSUXY. ^e the whiche I. ^f langagis A. the langagis S. ^g Om. I.
^h to lijflode I. ⁱ Om. EPY. ^k the honeste I. ^l the onest N. ^m the onest N. ⁿ se I. ^o Om. N.

the drinke of hem, and 3aue to hem pot-
 17 agis. Forsothe God 3aue to these chil-
 dren science and discipline in eche boke,
 and wisdom; to Danyel sothely vndir-
 stondyng of alle visiouns and sweuens.
 18 And so the days fulfillid, after whom the
 kyng saide, that thei shulden be brou3t
 yn, the prepost of geldyngus brou3te hem
 19 yn, in the sijt of Nabugodonosor. And
 whan the kyng spac to hem, ther ben not
 founden siche of alle, as Danyel, Ananyas,
 Mysael, and Azarias; and thei stoden in
 20 sijt of the kyng. And eche word of wijs-
 dam and vndirstondyng, that the kyng
 axide of hem, he fonde in hem the tenthe
 folde ouer alle dyuynours and witchis,
 that weren in alle the rewme of hym.
 21 Forsothe Danyel was vn to the first 3eer
 of kyng Cyrus.

CAP. II.

1 In the secounde 3eer of the kyngdam
 of Nabugodonosor, Nabugodonosor saw3
 a sweuen; and his spirit was to gydre
 ferid, and his sweuen flei3 fro hym.
 2 Therefore the kyng comaundide, that dy-
 uynours shulden be clepid to gydre, and
 witchis, and enchauntours, and Caldeis,
 that thei shulden shewe to the kyng his
 sweuens; whiche whenn thei camen, stoden
 3 bifore the kyng. And the kyng saide to
 hem, Y saw3 a sweuen, and Y confusid,
or astonyed, in mynde, wote not what I
 4 saw3. And Caldeis answerden to the
 kyng by Siry speche, Kyng, lyue thou
 in to with outen eende; saye thou thi
 sweuen to thi seruauntis, and we shuln
 shewe the interpretacioun, *or declaryng*,
 5 therof. And the kyng answerde, and
 saith to the Caldeis, The word wente
 away fro me; no bot 3e shuln shewe to
 me the sweuen, and the coniecturyng, *or*
menyng, therof, 3e shuln perishe, and
 3our housis shuln be maad commoun, *or*
 6 *forfetid*. Forsothe 3if 3e shuln telle the

of the drynk of hem, and 3af to^p hem
 potagis. Forsothe to these children God 17
 3af kunnyng and lernyng in ech book, and
 in al wisdom; but to Daniel *God 3af vn-*
durstondyng of alle visiouns and dremys.
 Therfor whanne the daies weren fillid, 18
 aftir whiche the kyng seide, that thei
 schulden be brou3t yn, the souereyn of
 onest seruauntis and chast brou3te in hem,
 in the sijt of Nabugodonosor. And whanne 19
 the kyng hadde spoke to hem, siche weren
 not foundun of alle, as Daniel, Ananye,
 Misael, and Azarie; and thei stoden in
 the sijt of the king. And ech word of 20
 wisdom and of vndurstondyng, which the
 king axide of hem, he foond in hem^q ten
 fold ouer alle^r false dyuynouris and astro-
 nomyens^s, that weren in al his rewme.
 Forsothe Danyel was til to the firste 3eer 21
 of king Cyrus.

CAP. II.

*In the secounde 3eer of the rewme of 1
 Nabugodonosor, Nabugodonosor sij^{ss} a
 dreem; and his spirit was aferd, and his
 dreem fledde awei fro hym. Therfor the 2
 kyng comaundide, that the dyuynours, and
 astronomyens^t, and witchis^{tt}, and Caldeis
 schulden be clepid togidere, that thei
 schulden telle to the kyng hise dremys;
 and whanne thei weren comun, thei stoden
 bifor the king. And the king seide to 3
 hem, Y sij3 a dreem, and Y am schent in
 mynde, and Y knowe not what Y sij3. And 4
 Caldeis answeriden the kyng bi Sirik lan-
 gage, Kyng, liue thou^u with outen ende;
 seie thi dreem to thi seruauntis, and we
 schulen schewe to thee the expownyng^v
 therof. And the kyng answeride, and 5
 seide to Caldeis, The word is goen awei
 fro me; if 3e schewen not to me the
 dreem, and expownyng^w therof, 3e schulen
 perishe, and 3oure housis schulen be for-
 fetid. Forsothe if 3e tellen the dreem, 6
 and the expownyng^x therof, 3e schulen
 take of me meedis and 3iftis, and myche

* Danyel pur-
 posith toschewe
 the power of
 the rewme of
 Crist aboute the
 rewme of the
 world, ether of
 the deuel; and
 this bi ten vi-
 siouns, ether
 reuelaciouns,
 set here suyngli
 in ordre. Fyne
 the firste vi-
 siouns per-
 teynen princi-
 pali to the firste
 comyng of
 Crist; the
 othere fyue
 perteynen prin-
 cipali to the
 secounde com-
 yng of Crist;
 thou3 bothe in
 these firste and
 in the laste is
 maad sum tyme
 mencion of
 euer either
 comyng of
 Crist. And the
 last visiouns
 bigynnen in
 the vij. co. The
 first visioun is
 of a stoon kit
 down withouten
 hondis, that al
 to-brekith the
 greet ymage;
 and the con-
 seyuyng

p Om. i. q him EY. r of alle FI. s astromiers EPY. astronomeris s. ss sau3 i sapius. t astrono-
 mieris EP. tt wicchis, ether treietouris CEFHGKMNQRSUXY. u 3ou EY. v interpreting, ether expounding
 EFGHIKMNQRSUXY. w the expownyng c. coniecting, ether expounding EFGHIKMNQRSUXY. x coniecting
 EFGHIKMNQRSUXY.

sweuen, and coniecture therof, 3e shuln
 resceyue of me meedis and 3iftis, and
 myche honour; therefore shewe 3e to
 me the sweuen, and the interpretacioun
 7 therof. Thei answerden the secounde
 tyme, and saiden, The kyng saye the
 sweuen to his seruautis, and we shuln
 8 shewe the interpretacioun therof. The
 kyng answerde, and saith, Certis I wote,
 for 3e a3ein byen the tyme, witynge that
 9 the word hath gon away fro me. There-
 fore 3if 3e shuln not shewe to me the
 sweuen, oo sentence is of 3ou, that 3e
 han maad to gydre an interpretacioun,
 and fals, and ful of dysceyt, that 3e speke
 to me til the tyme passe; and so saye 3e
 to me the sweuen, that Y wite, that 3e
 shuln speke to me and the verre inter-
 10 pretacioun therof. Therefore the Caldeis
 answeryng byfore the kyng, saiden, Kyng,
 ther is no man vpon erthe, that may
 fulfille thi word; bot nether eny grete of
 kyngus and mizti axith sicke manere
 word of eche dyuynour, and witche, and
 11 Caldey. Sotheli the word whom thou,
 kyng, seekist, is greuous, nether eny man
 shal be founden, that shal shew it in sizt
 of the kyng, out taken goddis, whos lyu-
 12 yng is not with men. Whiche thing
 herd, the kyng, turned in to wodenesse
 and in grete wrath, comaundide, that alle
 the wijse men of Babyloyne shulde pe-
 13 rishe. And the sentence gon out, the
 wijse men weren slayn; and Danyel and
 his felawis weren sow3t, that thei schulden
 14 perishe. Than Danyel enquiryde of the
 lawe and sentence, of Arioch, prince of
 the^e kny3thode of the kyng, whiche
 wente oute for to slea the wijse men of
 15 Babiloyne. And he axide hym, that
 hadde taken power of the kyng, for
 what cause so cruel sentence wente out
 fro the face of the kyng. Therefore
 whann Arioch hadde shewide to Danyel,
 16 Danyel gon yn preyede the kyng, that
 he shulde 3eue hym tyme for to shewe

ouour; therfor schewe 3e to me the dreem,
 and the interpretyng therof. Thei an-7
 sweriden the secounde tyme, and seiden,
 The kyng seie the dreem to hise seru-
 auntis, and we schulen schewe the inter-
 pretyng therof. The kyng answeride,⁸
 and seide, Certis Y woot, that 3e a3enbien
 the tyme, and witen that the word is
 goen awei fro me. Therfor if 3e schewen⁹
 not to me the dreem, o sentence is of 3ou,
 for 3e maken an interpretyng bothe fals
 and ful of disseit, that 3e speke to me til
 the tyme passe; therfor seie 3e the dreem
 to me, that Y wite, that 3e speke also the
 veri interpretyng therof. Therfor Caldeis¹⁰
 answeriden bifor the kyng, and seiden,
 Kyng, no man is on erthe, that mai fille
 thi word; but nether ony greet man and
 my3ti of kyngis axith sicke a word of ony
 dyuynour, and astronomyen^z, and of a
 man of Caldee. For the word which¹¹
 thou, kyng, axist, is greuouse, nether
 ony schal be foundun, that schal schewe
 it in the sizt of the king, outakun goddis,
 whos lyuyng is not with men. And¹²
 whanne this word was herd, the kyng
 comaundide, in woodnesse and in greet
 ire, that alle the wise men of Babiloyne
 schulden perische. And bi the sentence¹³
 goon out, the wise men weren slayn; and
 Danyel and hise felows weren sou3t, that
 thei schulden perische. Thanne Danyel¹⁴
 axide of the lawe and sentence, of Ariok,
 prynce of chyualrie of the kyng, that was
 gon out to sle the wise men of Babiloyne.
 And he axide hym, that hadde take power¹⁵
 of the kyng, for what cause so cruel a
 sentence 3ede out fro the face of the kyng.
 Therfor whanne Ariok hadde schewid the
 thing to Danyel, Danyel entride, and prey-¹⁶
 ede the kyng, that he schulde 3yue tyme
 to hym to schewe the soilyng to the kyng.
 And he entride in to his hous, and schew-¹⁷
 ide the nede to Ananye, and^a to^b Misael,
 and Asarie^c, hise felowis, that thei schulden¹⁸
 axe merci of the face of God of heuene on

of Crist al to-
 breking the
 deuel is figurid
 in this. The
 secounde vi-
 sion is of the
 angel ligned
 to Goddis sone
 comynge down
 in to the fur-
 neis; and the
 natuute of Crist
 comynge down
 in to oure peyn-
 fulnesse is fi-
 gurid in this.
 The thurde
 vision is of an
 hooli wakere,
 crynge the
 kitting down
 of the tre; and
 the preching of
 Crist kittinge
 down vices is
 figurid in this.
 The fourthe
 vision is of
 the hond writ-
 ynge in the
 wal, the end-
 yng of the
 rewme of Bal-
 tazar; and the
 passion of
 Crist distriynge
 the rewme of
 the deuel, and
 fischynge on
 the cros the
 obligacioun of
 decree, is figurid
 in this. The
 fyuethe vision
 [is] of the en-
 closyng of Da-
 nyel in the lake
 of lions, and of
 his delyuering
 bi the angel;
 and the rising
 a3en of Crist
 spuylynge helle
 is figurid in
 this. *Lire here.*
 CGQU.

^e Om. AGH.

^y til to N. ^z astronomier EP. ^a Om. s. ^b Om. SX. ^c to Asarie IS.

17 the vndoing to the kyng. And he entride in to his hous, and shewide to Ananyas, Mysael, and Azarias, his felawis, the neede, that thei shulden seeke mercye of the face of God of heuen vpon this sacrament; and Danyel and his felawis shulden not perishen with other
 19 wijse men of Babyloyne. Thann the misterie was shewid to Danyel by a visioun in nyzt. And Danyel blesside God of heuen, and saith, Be the name of God
 20 blessid fro world, and til in to world, for wijsdam and strengthe is of hym; and loo! he chaungeth tymes and ages, translatith^f rewmes and ordeyneth; zeuith^{ff} wisdam to wijse men, and science to men
 22 vndirstondynge disciplyne; shewith^g depe thingus and hid, and knewe^{gg} in derknessis thingus ordeyned, and lizt is with hym.
 23 God of oure faders, to thee I knowleche, and Y herie thee, for thou hast zouen to me wijsdam and strengthe; and now thou hast shewide to me whiche thingus we preyden thee, for thou hast opnyde to
 24 vs the word of the kyng. After these thingis Danyel wente yn to Arioch, whom the kyng hadde ordeyned, that he shulde leese the wise men of Babiloyne, and thus spake to hym, Leese thou not the wijse men of Babiloyne; leede yn me in the sijt of the kyng, and I shal telle to the kyng the solucioun, *or vndirstond-*
 25 *ynge*. Thanne Arioch hastyng ledde yn Danyel to the kyng, and saide to hym, I haue founden a man of the sonys of transmygracioun of Jude, that shal telle
 26 to the kyng the solucioun. The kyng answerde, and saide to Danyel, to whom the name was Balthasar, Gessist thou, wher thou maist verrely shewe to me the sweuen that I saw³, and the inter-
 27 pretacioun therof? And Danyel answerde byfore the kyng, and saith, The mysterie whiche the kyng axith, the wise men, and the^h witchis, and dyuynours bi auteris, and dyuynours by lokyng of steris,

this sacrament; and that Danyel and hise felowis schulden not perische with othere wise men of Babiloyne. Thanne the pri-
 19 uyte was schewid to Danyel bi a visioun in nyzt. And Danyel blesside God of heuene, and seide, The name of the Lord be
 20 blessid fro the world, and til in to the world, for wisdom and strengthe ben hise; and he chaungith tymes and ages,
 21 he^d translatith rewmes and ordeyneth; he 3yueth wisdom to wise men, and kunnyng to hem that vndurstonden techyng, *ether chastisyng*; he schewith deepe thingis and
 22 hid, and he knowith thingis set in derknessis, and lizt is with hym. God of
 23 oure fadris, Y knowleche to thee, and Y herie thee, for thou hast zouen wisdom and strengthe to me; and now thou hast schewid to me tho thingis, whiche we preieden thee, for thou hast openyd to vs
 the word of the kyng. After these thingis
 24 Danyel entride to Ariok, whom the kyng hadde ordeyned, that he schulde leese the wise men of Babiloyne, and thus he spak to hym, Leese thou not the wise men of Babiloyne; leede thou me in bifor the sijt of the kyng, and Y schal telle the soilyng to the kyng. Thanne Ariok hast-
 25 ynge ledde in Danyel to the kyng, and seide to him, Y haue foundun a man of the sones of passyng ouer of Juda, that schal telle the soilyng to the kyng. The^f
 26 kyng answeride, and seide to Danyel, to whom the name was Balthasar, Whethir^g gessist thou, that thou maist verili schewe to me the dreem which Y si³, and the interpreting therof? And Danyel answer-
 27 ide bifore the king, and seide, The priuytee which the kyng axith, wise men, and astronomyens^h, and dyuynours, and lokeris of auteris, moun not schewe to the kyng. But God is in heuene, that schewith pri-
 28 uytees, which hath schewid to thee, thou king Nabugodonosor, what thingis schulen come in the laste tymes. Thi dreem and visiouns of thin heed, in thi bed, ben sich.

^f he translatith K pr. m. ^{ff} he zeuith G sec. m. K pr. m. ^g he shewith GK pr. m. ^{gg} he knewe K pr. m. Om. AGH.

^d and he u. ^f And the i. ^g Wher *ceteri fere passim*. ^h astronomieers EF.

28 mown not shewe to the kyng. Bot ther
 is God in heuen, shewynge mysteries,
 whiche shewide^g to thee, thou kyng Na-
 bugodonosor, whiche thingus ben to cum
 in the last tymes. Thi swenens and vi-
 sions of thin hed, in thi couche, ben siche.
 29 Thou, kyng, biganst for to thinke in thi
 bed, what thing was to cummynge after
 these thingus; and he that shewith mys-
 teries^h, shewide to thee what thingus ben
 30 to cummynge. And this sacrament, *or*
hid trewthe, is shewid, not in wisdam
 that is in me more than in alle lyuynge
 men, bot that the interpretacioun be
 shewid to the kyng, and that thou shuld-
 31 ist wite the thouztis of thi soule. Thou,
 kyng, hast seen, and loo! as oo grete
 ymage; thilk ymage grete, and in stature
 hiȝ, stode aȝeinus thee, and the biholdyng
 32 therof was dredful. The hed of this
 ymage was of best gold, forsothe the
 brest and armys of syluer; forsothe the
 33 wombe and thizes of brasse, sothely the
 leggis of yren; forsothe of the feet sum
 34 part of yren, sum of erthe. Thou hast
 seen thus, til a stoon was kit of, with
 outen hondis, of a mount, and smote the
 ymage in his feet of yren and erthe, and
 35 made lesse, *or brake*, hem. Thanne the
 yren, pott, *or mater maad of erthe*, brasse,
 syluer, and gold, ben broken to gidre, and
 dryuen as in to a qwenchid brond of
 somer feeld, whiche ben rauyshid with
 wynd, and no place is foundun in hem;
 forsothe the stoon that smote the ymage,
 is maad a grete mounteyn, and fulfillide
 36 al erthe. This is the sweuen. And we
 shuln saye the interpretacioun therof by-
 37 fore the kyng. Thou art kyng of kyngus,
 and God of heuen ȝaue to thee kingdam,
 strengthe, and empire, *or lordship*, and
 38 glorie, and alle thingus in whiche son-
 es of men dwellen, and beestis of the feeld;
 and he ȝaue in thin hond the foulis of
 heuen, and ordeynyde alle thingus vndir
 thi lordship; therfor thou art the golden

Thou, kyng, bigunnest to thenke in thi²⁹
 bed, what was to comynge aftir these
 thingis; and he that schewith priuetees,
 schewide to thee what thingis schulen
 come. And this sacrament is schewid to³⁰
 me, not bi wisdom which is in me more
 than in alle lyuynge men, but that the
 interpretyng schulde be maad opyn to the
 kyng, and thou schuldist knowe the
 thouztis of thi soule. Thou, kyng, sizest,³¹
 and lo! as o greet ymage; thilke ymage
was greet, and hiȝ in stature, and stood
 bifore thee, and the loking therof was
 ferdful. The heed of this ymage was of³²
 best gold, but the brest and armes *weren*
 of siluer; certis the wombe and thies
weren of bras, but the leggis *weren* of³³
 irun; forsothe sum part of the feet *was*
 of irun, sum *was* of erthe. Thou sizest³⁴
 thus, til a stoon was kit down of the hil,
 with outen hondis, and smoot the ymage
 in the irun feet therof and erthene *feet*^k,
 and al to-brak tho. Thanne the irun, tiȝl³⁵
 stoon, *ether erthene vessel*, bras, siluer,
 and gold, weren al to-brokun togidere, and
 dryuun as in to a deed sparcle of a large
 somer halle, that ben rauyschid of wynd,
 and no place is foundun to tho; forsothe
 the stoon, that smoot the ymage, was
 maad a greet hil, and fillide al erthe.
 This is the dreem. Also, thou kyng, we³⁶
 schulen seie bifor thee the interpretyng
 therof. Thou art kyng of kyngis, and³⁷
 God of heuene ȝaf to thee rewme, strengthe,
 and empire, and glorie; and he ȝaf in thin³⁸
 hond alle thingis, in whiche the son-
 es of men, and the beestis of the feeld, and the
 briddis of the eir dwellen, and ordeynede
 alle thingis vndur thi lordschip; therfor
 thou art the goldun heed. And another³⁹
 rewme lesse than thou schal rise aftir
 thee; and the thridde rewme, an other of
 bras, that schal haue the empire of al
 erthe. And the fourthe rewme schal be⁴⁰
 as irun, as irun makith lesse, and makith
 tame alle thingis, so it schal make lesse,

^g shewith A. ^h mysteries, *or priuetees* a.

ⁱ sauzest i *passim*. ^k Om. i.

39 hed. And after thee an other rewme
 shal ryse to gydre, lesse than thou; and
 the thrid rewme, an other of brasse,
 40 whiche shal comaunde to al erthe. And
 the fourthe rewme shal be as yrunny^h;
 hou yrun brekith to gydre alle thingus,
 and dauntith, *or tamith*, so it shal me-
 nushe, and to gydre breke alle these
 41 thingus. Forsothe thou hast seen of the
 feete and fyngris erthiⁱ, *or cleyi^k*, part of
 a potter, and a part of yren, the rewme
 shal be departid; whiche neuerthelese
 shal sprynge of the plauntynge of yren,
 after that thou hast seen yren meynt of
 42 cleye and tyel, and fingris, *or toon*, of
 feet in partie of yren, in partie of erthe,
 the rewme in party shal be sad, and in
 43 party debrusid. Sothely that thou hast
 seen yren meynt to tyel of cley, forsothe
 thei shuln be meynt to gidre by mans
 seed; bot thei shuln not cleue to hem
 self, as yren may not be meynt to tyel.
 44 Forsothe in the days of tho rewmes, God
 of heuen shal reyse a kyngdam, whiche
 shal not be distrayed in to with outen
 eende, and his rewme shal not be taken
 to an other peple; it shal make lesse, and
 waste alle these rewmes, and the ylk
 45 shal stonde in to with outen eende. Vp
 that that thou saw³, that a stoon is kit
 off with outen hondis of an hill, and
 maad lesse, *or brake*, the tyel, and yren,
 and bras, and syluer, and gold, the grete
 God shewide to 'the kyng^l, what thingus
 ben to cummynge afterward; and the
 sweuen is trewe, and the interpretacioun
 46 therof feithful. Than kyng Nabuchodo-
 nosor felle in to his face, and wirshipide
 Danyel, and comaundide sacrifices and
 encense, that it were offride to hym.
 47 Therefore the kyng spekyng saith to Da-
 nyel, Verreli 3our God is God of goddis,
 and Lord of kyngus, shewinge myste-
 ries, for thou miztist opne this sacrament.
 48 Thann the kyng enhaunside in to hee3

and schal al to-breke alle these *rewmes*.
 Forsothe that thou siest a part of the feet 41
 and fyngris of erthe of a pottere, and a
 part of irun, the rewme shal be departid;
 which netheles schal rise of the plauntynge
 of irun, 'bi that^l that thou siest irun meynd
 with a tijl stoon of clei, and the toos of 42
 the feet in parti of irun, and in parti of
 erthe, in parti the rewme schal be sad,
 and in parti to-brokun. Forsothe that 43
 thou siest irun meynd with a tiel stoon of
 clei, sotheli tho schulen be meynd togidere
 with mannus seed; but tho schulen not
 cleue to hem silf, as irun mai not be med-
 dlid with tyel stoon. Forsothe in the 44
 daies of tho^m rewmes, God of heuene shal
 reise a rewme, that schal not be distried
 with outen ende, and his rewme schal not
 be 3ouun to another puple; it schal make
 lesse, and schalⁿ waste alle these rewmes,
 and it schal stonde with outen ende, bi 45
 this that thou siest, that a stoon was kit
 doun of the hil with outen hondis, and
 maad lesse the tiel stoon, and irun, and
 bras, and siluer, and gold. Greet God hath
 schewid to the kyng, what thingis schulen
 come aftirward; and the dreem is trewe,
 and the interpretyng therof *is* feithful.
 Thanne king Nabugodonosor felle doun 46
 on his face, and worschipide Danyel, and
 comaundide sacrifices and encense *to be*
brouzt, that tho schulden be sacrificed^o to
 hym. Therfor the kyng spak, and seide 47
 to Danyel, Verili 3oure God is God of
 goddis, and Lord of kyngis, that schewith
 mysteries, for thou miztist opene this sa-
 crament. Thanne the kyng reise Da- 48
 nyel an hiz, and 3af many 3iftis and grete
 to hym; and ordeynede hym prince and
 prefect, *ether cheef iustise*, ouer alle the
 prouynces of Babiloyne, and maister ouer
 alle the wise men of Babiloyne. Forsothe 49
 Danyel axide of the kyng, and ordeynede
 Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago ouer alle
 the werkis of the prouynce of Babiloyne;

^h yren AH. ⁱ erth H. ^k cley H. ^l thee, kyng K sec. m.

^l but N. but that S sec. m. ^m thilke I. ⁿ Om. GN. ^o sacrificed A pr. m. I.

Danyel, and 3aue to hym many 3iftis and grete, and ordeynyde hym vpon alle prouyncis of Babiloyne prince and prefect, and maister vpon alle wijse men of
 49 Babiloyne. Forsothe Danyel axide of the kyng, and ordeynyde vpon the werkis of the prouynce of Babiloyne, Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago; forsothe Danyel hym self was in the¹ 3atis of the kyng.

CAP. III.

1 Nabugodonosor, kyng, made a goldyne ymage, in hei3te of sixty cubitis, in breede of six cubitis; and sette it in the feeld Duram, of the prouynce of Babi-
 2 loyne. And so Nabugodonosor sente for to gedre satrapis, *or wijse men*, magistratis, and iugis, and duykis, and tirauntis, *or strong men*, and prefectis, and alle the princes of cuntrees, that thei shulden cum to gydre to 'halewyng of^m the ymage, whom the kyng Nabugodo-
 3 nosor rayside vp. Than satrapes weren gedrid, magestratis, and iugis, and duykis, and tirauntis, and the best men that weren ordeyned in poweris, and alle princis of cuntrees, that thei shulden cum to gydre to halewyng of the ymage, whom the kyng Nabugodonosor reyside
 4 vp. Forsothe thei stoden in sijt of the ymage, whiche kyng Nabugodonosor
 4 hadde putt; and a bedel criede miztily, To 3ou it is sayd, peplis, lynagis, and
 5 langagis; in the hour in whiche 3e shuln heere the sown of trumpe, and pipe, and harpe, sambuke, sautrie, and symfonie, and al kynde of musikis, 3e fallynge wirshipe the golden ymage, whom Nabugo-
 6 donosor, kyng, ordeynyde. Sotheli 3if eny man not fallyngeⁿ down shal wirship, in the same hour he shal be sent in to a four-
 7 neyse of fjir brennynge. Therefore after these thingus, anoon as alle peplis harden the sown of trumpe, pype, and harpe,

but Danyel hym silf was in the 3atis of the kyng.

CAP. III.

Nabugodonosor, the^p kyng, made a goldun i ymage, in the hei3the^a of sixti cubitis, and in the breede of sixe cubitis; and he settide it in the feeld of Duram, of the prouynce of Babiloyne. Therfor Nabugodo-
 2 nosor sente to gadere togidere the wise men, magistratis, and iugis, and duykis, and tirauntis, and prefectis, and alle princes of cuntreis, that thei schulden come togidere to the halewyng of the ymage, which the kyng Nabugodonosor hadde reysid. Thanne the wise men, magistratis^r, and
 3 iugis, and duykis, and tirauntis, and beste men, that weren set in poweris, and alle the princes of cuntreis, weren gaderid togidere, that thei schulden come togidere to the halewyng of the^s ymage, which the kyng Nabugodonosor hadde reysid. Forsothe thei stoden in the sijt of the ymage, which Nabugodonosor hadde set; and a bedele criede my3tily, It is seid
 4 to 3ou, puplis, kynredis, and langagis; in
 5 the our in which 3e heren the soun of trumpe, and of pipe, and of harpe, of^t sambukeⁿ, of^v sawtre, and of symphonie, and of al kynde of musikis, falle 3e down, and worschipe^w the goldun ymage, which the kyng Nabugodonosor made. Sotheli if ony man fallith not down, and
 6 worschipith not, in the same our he schal be sent in to the^x furneis of fier brennynge. Therfor aftir these thingis, anoon
 7 as alle puplis herden the sown of trumpe,

Om. AGH. ^m halewe the A. ⁿ fallen GK.

^p Om. N. ^q hiznesse I. ^r and magestratis I. ^s Om. I. ^t and of A. ^u sambuke, *ether rehed pipe* CEF GHIKMN PQUSX. ^v and of R. ^w worshipeth I. worschipe 3e NS. ^x a CEFHIKMNQRSU.

sambuke, and sautrie, synphonie, and al kynde of musikis, fallynge alle peplis, lynagis, and langagis, wirshipiden the golden ymage, whom Nabugodonosor, the kyng, ordeynede. And anoon in that tyme men Caldeis cummynge to^o, accusiden Jewis, and saiden to Nabugodonosor, kyng, Kyng, in to with outen eende lyue thou. Thou, kyng, hast putte a decree, *or dome*, that eche man that shal heere the sown of trumpe, pype, and harpe, sambuke, and sautre, and synfonye, and al kynde of musykis, putte down hym self, and wirshipe the golden ymage; forsothe 3if eny man not fallynge down shal wirshipe, be he sent in to fourneyse^p of brennynge fjr. Therfore men Jewis ben, whom thou hast ordeynynd vpon werkis^q of the cuntree of Babyloyne, Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago. These men, kyng, dispisiden^r thi decree; thei honouren not thi goddis, and thei worshipen not the golden ymage, whom thou reysidist. Thanne Nabugodonosor in woodnesse and in wrath, comaundide, that Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago shulden be ledde to; whiche anoon ben ledde to in 3i3t^s of the kyng. And Nabugodonosor, the kyng, pronounsynge saith to hem, Verrely wher 3e, Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, honouren not my goddis, and wirshipen not the golden ymage, whom Y reyside? Now therfore be 3e^t redy, in what euer hour 3e shuln heer sown of trumpe, pype, harp, sambuke, sautrie, and synfonye, and of al manere of musykis, putte 3e down 3ou, and wirshipe the ymage that Y made; for 3if 3e shuln not wirship, in the same houre 3e shuln be sent in to the fourneys of fjr brennynge; and who is God, that shal delyuere 3ou of myn hond? Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago answeyng saiden to kyng Nabugodonosor, It byhoueth not vs of this thing for^u to answeere to thee. Loo! so-

of^y pipe, and of^z harpe, of sambuke^a, and of sawtre, of symphonye, and of al kynde of musikis, alle puplis, lynagis, and langagis fellen down, and worschipiden the golden ymage, which the kyng Nabugodonosor hadde maad. And anoon in that tyme men of Caldee neiziden, and accusiden the Jewis, and seiden to the kyng Nabugodonosor, Kyng, lyue thou with outen ende. Thou, kyng, hast set a decree, that ech man that herith the sown of trumpe, of pipe, and of harpe, of sambuke, and of sawtree, and of symphonye, and of al kynde of musikis, bowe down hym silf, and worschipe the goldun ymage; forsothe if ony man fallith^b not down, and worschipith not, be he sent in to the furneis of fier brennynge. Therfor men Jewis ben, Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, whiche thou hast ordeynede on the werkis of the cuntrei of Babiloyne. Thou kyng, these men han dispisid thi decree; thei^c onouren not thi goddis, and thei worshipen not the^d goldun ymage^e, which thou reisidist. Thanne Nabugodonosor comaundide, in woodnesse and in wraththe, that Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago schulden be brou3t; whiche weren brou3t anoon in the 3i3t of the kyng. And the kyng Nabugodonosor pronounsides, and seide to hem, Whether verili Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, 3e onouren not my goddis, and worschipen not the golden ymage, which Y made? Now therfor be 3e redi, in what euer our 3e heren the sown of trumpe, of pipe, of harpe, of sambuke, of sawtree, and of symphonye, and of al kynde of musikis, bowe 3e down 3ou, and worschipe the ymage which Y made; that if 3e worschipen not, in the same our 3e schulen be sent in to the furneis of fier brennynge; and who is God, that schal delyuere 3ou fro myn hond? Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago answeriden, and seiden to the king Nabugodonosor, It nedith not, that we

^o Om. A. ^p the fourneys AGH. ^q the werkis A. ^r dispisen A. ^s the 3i3t A. ^t Om. A. ^u Om. A.

^y Om. s. and of Y. ^z Om. s. ^a sambuke, *ether reehd pipe* Y. ^b falle CEHKRSU. ^c and thei A *pr. m.*
^d thi v. ^e ymagis s.

thely our God, whom we wirshipen, may delyuere vs of the chymneye of brennyng fije, and of thin hondis delyuere, ¹⁸thou kyng. For^v 3if he wole not, be it knowen to thee, kyng, for we honoure not thi goddis, and we wirshipen not the golden ymage, whom thou hast reyside. ¹⁹Thanne Nabugodonosor was fulfillid with wodenesse, and the biholdyng of his face is chaungid vpon Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago. And he bad, that the fourneyse schulde be sette on fije seuen fold, *hatter*^{vv} than it was wont for to be tendid. ²⁰And he badde the strongist men of his oost, that the feet bounden of Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, thei schulden sende hem in to the fourneyse of brennyng fije. ²¹And anoon the ilk men bounden, with armes, and cappis, and shoon, and clothis, weren sente in to mydil^w of the fourneys ²²of brennyng fije; for whi the comaundyng of the kyng constreynide. Forsothe the fourneys was tendid ful miche; forsothe flawme of the fije slew³ tho men, that senten Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago in to the fourneyse. Forsothe ²³these three men, Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, fellen down bounden in mydil^x of the chymney of brennyng fije.

These thingis that suen, I foond not in Ebrew bookis.

²⁴ And thei walkiden in mydil of the flawme, heryng God, and blessyng to^y the Lord. Forsothe Azarie stondyng preyside thus; and opnyng his mouth in ²⁶mydil of the fije, saith, Blessid art thou, Lord God of our fadris, and heryful^z, *or worthi to be preyside*, and thi name glorious in to worldis; for thou art iust in alle thingis whiche thou didist to vs, and alle thi werkis trewe, and thi wayes ri3t, ²⁸and alle thi domes verrey. Forsothe thou

answere of this thing to thee. For whi ¹⁷oure God, whom we worschipen, mai raysche vs fro the chymenei of fier brennyng, and *mai* delyuere fro thin hondis, thou kyng. That if he nyle, be it knowun ¹⁸to thee, thou kyng, that we onouren not thi goddis, and we worschipen not the goldun ymage, which thou hast reisid. Thanne Nabugodonosor was fillid of wood- ¹⁹nesse, and the biholdyng of his face was chaungid on Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago. And he comaundide, that the furneis schulde be maad hattere seuenfold, than it was wont to be maad hoot. And ²⁰he comaundide to the strongeste men of his oost, that thei schulden bynde the feet of Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago, and sende hem in to the furneis of fier brennyng. And anoon tho men weren boundun, ²¹with brechis, and cappis, and schoon, and clothis, and weren sent in to the myddis of the furneis of fier brennyng; for whi ²²comaument^f of the kyng constreinede. Forsothe the furneis was maad ful hoot; certis the flawme of the fier killid tho men, that hadden sent Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago in to the furneis. Sotheli these ²³thre men, Sidrac, Misaac, and Abdenago, fellen down boundun in the mydis of the chymenei of fier brennyng.

Y foond not in Ebreu bokis these thingis that suen^g.

And thei walkiden in the myddis of the ²⁴flawme, and herieden God, and blessiden the Lord. Forsothe Asarie stoode, and ²⁵preiede thus; and he openyde his mouth in the myddis of the fier, and seide, Lord ²⁶God of oure fadris, thou art blessid, and^h worthi to be heried, and thi name *is* glorious in to worldis; for thou art ri3tful ²⁷in alle thingis whiche thou didist to vs, and alle thi werkis *ben* trewe; and thi weies *ben* ri3tful, and alle thi domes *ben*

^v That G sec. m. ^{vv} Om. G pr. m. HK. ^w the mydil A. ^x the mydil H. ^y Om. A. ^z hey3ful G. heeiful K.

^f the comaument K sec. m. RU sec. m. comaumentis S. ^g folewen I. ^h and art N.

hast don verrey domes, after alle thingus
that thou leddist in vpon vs, and vpon the
holy citee of our fadris, Jerusalem; for in
trewthe and dome thou leddist yn alle
29 these thingus for oure synnes. Sothely
we synnyden, and diden wickidly, go-
yng away fro thee, and trespassiden in
30 alle thingus, and herden not thin heestis,
nether kepten, nether diden as thou co-
maundidist to vs, that it were wele to vs.
31 Therefore alle thingus that thou leddist yn
vpon vs, and alle thingus that thou didist
32 to vs, in verre dome thou hast don; and
thou hast bitaken vs in the hondis of
enmys, wickid and warst trespassours,
and to the vniust kyng, and warst ouer
33 al erthe. And now we mown not opne
the mouthe; we ben maad confusioun
and shenship to thi seruauntis, and to
34 these that wirshipen thee. We preyen,
bitake^z not vs in to with outen eende, for
thi name, and distruye not thi testament,
35 nether do away thi mercye fro vs, for
Abram, thi derworthe, and Ysaac, thi
seruaunt, and Yrael, *or Jacob*, thin holy;
36 to whiche thou spake, bihetyng that thou
shuldist multiplie the seede of hem as
sterris of heuen, and as grauel that is in
37 the^{zz} brynke of the see. For, Lord, we
ben maad litil, more than alle hethen men,
and we ben meeke, *or lowe*, in eche lond
38 this day, for oure synnes. And ther is
not in this tyme prince, and duyke, and
prophete, nether brent sacrifice, nether
sacrifice, nether offring, nether encense,
39 ne^a place of prymissis byfor thee, that
we mown fynde thi mercye; bot in con-
trite soule, *or ynwitt*, and in spirit of
40 mekenesse be we resceyuyd. As in brent
sacrifice of wetheris and boolis, and as in
thousandis of fat lambren, so oure sacri-
fice be maad to day in thi sizt, that it
plese to thee; for confusioun, *or shame*,
41 is not to men tristinge in thee. And now
we suen thee in al herte, and dreden
42 thee, and seeken thi face. Confounde

trew. For thou hast do trewe domes, bi²⁸
alle thingis whiche thou brouztist yn on
vs, and on Jerusalem, the hooli citee of
oure fadris; for in trewthe and in doom
thou brouztist yn alle these thingis for
oure synnes. For we synneden, and diden²⁹
wickidli, goyng awei fro thee, and we
trespassiden in alle thingis, and we herden³⁰
not, nether kepten thi comaundementis,
nether we diden as thou comaundidist to
vs, that it schulde be wele to vs. Ther-³¹
for thou didist bi veriⁱ doom alle thingis
whiche thou brouztist yn on vs, and alle
thingis whiche thou didist to vs; and³²
thou hast bitake vs in the hondis of ene-
mys, wickid men, and worst trespassouris,
and to the vniust kyng, and worst ouer
al erthe. And now we moun not opene³³
the mouth; we ben maad schame and
schenschipe to thi seruauntis, and to hem
that worschipe thee. We bisechen, 3yue³⁴
thou not vs to *enemyes* with outen ende,
for thi name, and distrie thou not thi
testament, and take thou not awei thi³⁵
merci fro vs, for Abraham, thi derlyng,
and Ysaac, thi seruaunt, and Israel, thin
hooli; to whiche thou spakist, biheetyng³⁶
that thou schuldist multiplie her seed as
the sterris of heuene, and as grauel which
is in the brynke of the see. For whi,³⁷
Lord, we ben maad litle, more than alle
folkis, and we ben lowe in al erthe to dai,
for oure synnes. And in this tyme is³⁸
no prince, and duyke, and profete, nether
brent sacrifice, nether sacrifice, nether^k
offryng, nether encense, nether place of
firste fruytis bifor thee, that we moun³⁹
fynde thi mercy; but be we resseyued in
contrit soule, and in spirit of mekenesse.
As in brent sacrifice of rammes, and of⁴⁰
bolis, and as in thousyndis of fatte lam-
bren, so oure sacrifice be maad to dai in
thi sizt, that it plese thee; for no schame
is to hem that tristen in thee. And now⁴¹
we suen thee in al the herte, and we
dreden thee, and we seken thi face.

^z bitake thou G sec. m. ^{zz} Om. AGH. ^a nether A.

ⁱ thi veri A1 sec. m. ^k ne I.

thou not vs, but do with vs vp^b thi
myldenesse, and vp^c the mykilnesse of
43 thi mercy. And deliuere vs in thi mer-
ueylis, and 3eue glorie to thi name, Lord;
44 and confoundid be alle, that shewen to
thi seruauntis yuel thingis; be thei con-
foundid in al thi power, and the strengthe
45 of hem be broken to gydre; and thei
shuln wite, for thou art the Lord God
aloone, and glorious vpon the rounde-
46 nesse of erthes. And thei ceesiden not,
the ministris of the kyng, that sente hem,
for to tende the fourneis with napte,
herdis of hemp, or *flaxe*, and pitche,
47 and kittyngus of vynes. And the flawme
was held out ouer the fourneys by nyne
48 and fourti cubitis, and brake out, and
brent whom of Caldeis it fonde bysidis
49 the fourneis. Forsothe an aungel of the
Lord cam down with Azarie and his fe-
lawis, in to the fourneys, and smote ouere
50 the flawme of fijre of the fourneis; and
maade the mydil of the fourneis as wynde
of dewe blowinge; and the fijre touchide
not hem on al manere, nether made so-
rewfull, nether brou3te yn eny thing of
51 heuynesse^{cc}. Thanne these three as of oo
mouthe heryeden God, and glorifieden,
and blessiden God in the fourneys, say-
52 inge, Blessid art thou, Lord God of oure
fadris, and worthi to be heryed, and glo-
rious, and aboue enhaunsid in to worldis;
and blessid the name of thi glorie, the
whiche is holy, and worthi to be heried,
53 and aboue reysid in alle worldis. Blessid
art thou in the holy temple of thi glorie,
and thou aboue preiseful, and glorious in
54 to worldis. Blessid art thou in the trone
of thi rewme, and aboue preyseful, and
55 aboue reysid in to worldis. Blessid art
thou, that biholdist depnessis, and sittist
vpon cherubyn, and preysful, and aboue
56 reysid in to worldis. Blessid art thou
in the firmament of heuen, and preysful,
57 and glorious in to worldis. Blesse 3e^d,
alle the^e werkis of the Lord, 'to the

Schende thou not vs, but do with vs bi⁴²
thi myldenesse, and bi the multitude of
thi merci. And delyuere thou vs in thy⁴³
merueils, and 3yue thou glorie to thi name,
Lord; and alle men ben schent, that⁴⁴
schewen yuelis to thi seruauntis; be thei
schent in all thi mi3t, and the strengthe
of hem be al to-brokun; and thei schulen⁴⁵
wite, that thou art the Lord God aloone,
and glorious on the roundnesse of londis.
And the mynystris of the kyng, that had-⁴⁶
den sent hem, ceessiden not to make hoot
the furneis with syment, and herdis of
flex, and pitche, and siouns of vynes. And⁴⁷
the flawme was sched out ouer the fur-
neis bi nyne and fourti cubitis, and brak⁴⁸
out, and brente hem that it foond of Cal-
deis bisidis the furneis. Forsothe the aun-⁴⁹
gel of the Lord cam down with Asarie and
hise felowis, in to the¹ furneis, and smoot
out the flawme of the fier fro the furneis;
and made the myddis of the furneis as the⁵⁰
wynd of deew blowynge; and outerli the
fier touchide not hem, nether made sori,
nether dide ony thing of disese. Thanne⁵¹
these thre as of o mouth herieden and
glorifieden God, and blessiden God in the
furneis, and seiden, Lord God of oure fa-⁵²
dris, thou art blessid, and worthi to be
preisid, and gloriouse, and aboue enhaunsid
in to worldis; and blessid *is* the name of
thi glorie, which *name* is hooli, and wor-
thi to be heried, and aboue enhaunsid in
alle worldis. Thou art blessid in the hooli⁵³
temple of thi glorie, and aboue preisable,
and gloriouse in to worldis. Thou art⁵⁴
blessid in the trone of thi rewme, and
aboue preisable, and aboue enhaunsid in to
worldis. Thou art blessid, that biholdist⁵⁵
depthis of watris, and sittist on cherubyn,
and *art*^m preisable, and aboue enhaunsid
in to worldis. Thou art blessid in the⁵⁶
firmament of heuene, and preisable, and
gloriouse in to worldis. Alle werkis of⁵⁷
the Lord, blesse 3e the Lord, herie 3e, and
aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.

^b vpon G pr. m. H.
Lord A. ^c Om. A.

^c vpon G pr. m. H. ^{cc} heuynesse to hem K pr. m. heuynesse to K sec. m.

^d 3e the

¹ Om. A. ^m Om. I.

Lord^f; preyse 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e
 58 hym in to worldis. Blesse 3e, aungels
 of the Lord, to the Lord; preyse 3e, and
 59 aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Blesse
 3e, heuens, to the Lord; preyse 3e, and
 60 aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Blesse
 3e, alle watris that ben vp on heuens, to
 the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e
 61 hym in to worldis. Alle vertues of the
 Lord, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e,
 and aboue reyse 3e him into worldis.
 62 Sunne and moone, blesse 3e to the Lord;
 preise 3e, and aboue reyse 3e him in to
 63 worldis. Sterris of heuene, blesse 3e to
 the Lord; preise 3e, and aboue reyse 3e
 64 him in to worldis. Reyn and dew, blesse
 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse
 65 3e him into worldis. Ech spirit of God,
 blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and
 66 aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Fijre
 and heete, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse
 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis.
 67 Colde and sumer, blesse 3e to the Lord;
 preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to
 68 worldis. Dewis and whijt frost, blesse
 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue
 69 reyse 3e him in to worldis. Byndynge
 frost and colde, blesse 3e to the Lord;
 preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to
 70 worldis. Yss and snowes, blesse 3e to
 the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e
 71 hym into worldis. Nyztis and days,
 blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and
 72 aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Li3t
 and derknesses, blesse 3e to the Lord;
 preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to
 73 worldis. Leitis and cloudis, blesse 3e to
 the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e
 74 hym into worldis. Blesse the erthe the
 Lord; preyse it, and aboue reyse hym
 75 in to worldis. Mounteyns and smale
 hillis, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e,
 and aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis.
 76 Alle buriownynge thingus in erthe, blesse
 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue
 77 reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Wellis, blesse

Aungels of the Lord, blesse 3e the Lord; 58
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e^o hym in to
 worldis. Heuenes, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 59
 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Alle watris, that ben aboue heuenes, blesse 3e 60
 the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e
 him into worldis. Alle the vertues of the 61
 Lord, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and
 aboue enhaunse 3e^p hym in to worldis.
 Sunne and moone, blesse 3e^q the Lord; 62
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to
 worldis. Sterris of heuene, blesse 3e the 63
 Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e
 hym in to worldis. Reyn and deew, blesse 64
 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Ech spirit of God, 65
 blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue
 enhaunse 3e^r hym in to worldis. Fier and 66
 heete, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and
 aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Coold and somer, blesse 3e^s the Lord; 67
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to
 worldis. Dewis and whijt forst^t, blesse 68
 3e^u the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Blac forst and 69
 coold, blesse 3e^v the Lord; herie 3e^w, and
 aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Yces and snowis, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 70
 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e^x hym in to
 worldis. Niztis and daies, blesse 3e the 71
 Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym
 in to worldis. Li3t and derknesse, blesse 72
 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e^y hym in to worldis. Leitis and cloudis, 73
 blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue en-
 haunse 3e hym in to worldis. The erthe 74
 blesse the Lord; herie it, and aboue en-
 haunse it hym in to worldis. Mounteyns 75
 and litle hillis, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e,
 and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Alle buriownynge thingis in erthe, blesse 76
 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Wellis, blesse 3e 77
 the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e
 hym in to worldis. Sees and floodis, blesse 78
 3e the Lord; herie 3e^z, and aboue enhaunse

^f Om. A.

^o Om. N. ^p Om. N. ^q Om. I. ^r Om. I. ^s Om. N. ^t frost is. ^u Om. N. ^v Om. N. ^w Om. I.
^x Om. N. ^y Om. N. ^z 3e him N.

3e to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue
 78 reyse 3e hym in to worldis. Sees and
 floodes, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e,
 and aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis.
 79 Whallis, and alle thingis that ben moued
 in watris, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse
 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis.
 80 Alle foulis of heuen, blesse 3e to the
 Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym
 81 in to worldis. Alle beestis and^g etable,
 or *litol*, beestis, blesse 3e to the Lord;
 preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym in to
 82 worldis. Sonys of men, blesse 3e to the
 Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e hym
 83 into worldis. Blesse Yrael the Lord;
 preyse it, and aboue reyse him in to
 84 worldis. Prestis of the Lord, blesse 3e
 to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse
 85 3e hym in to worldis. Seruauntis of the
 Lord, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e,
 and aboue reyse 3e hym in to worldis.
 86 Spiritis and soulis of iust men, blesse 3e
 to the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse
 87 3e hym into worldis. Holi and meeke in
 herte, blesse 3e to the Lord; preyse 3e,
 and aboue reyse 3e hym into worldis.
 88 Ananyas, Azarias, Mysael, blesse 3e to
 the Lord; preyse 3e, and aboue reyse 3e
 hym in to worldis. Whiche delyuerede vs
 fro helle, and made saaf fro the hond of
 deth, and delyuerede fro the mydil of the
 brennyng flawme, and rauyshide vs out
 89 of the mydil of the^b fyre. Knowleche 3e
 to the Lord, for he is good; for in to the
 90 world the mercye of hym. Alle religious,
 blesse 3e to the Lord, God of goddis;
 preyse 3e, and knowleche 3e to hym, for
 in to alle worldis the mercye of hym.

*Hiderto is not had in Ebrue, and
 what thingis we han putte, ben trans-
 latidⁱ of the makyng of Theodosion.*

91 Thanne kyng Nabugodonosor won-
 dride myche, and rose hastiliche, and
 saith to his best men, Wher we senten

3e hym in to worldis. Whallis, and alle 79
 thingis that ben mouyd in watris, blesse
 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Alle briddis of the 80
 eyr, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue
 enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis. Alle wielde 81
 beestis and tame beestis, blesse 3e the Lord;
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to
 worldis. Sones of men, blesse 3e the Lord; 82
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to
 worldis. Israel blesse the Lord; herie it, 83
 and aboue enhaunse it hym in to worldis.
 Prestis of the Lord, blesse 3e the Lord; 84
 herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to
 worldis. Seruauntis of the Lord, blesse 85
 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Spiritis and soulis 86
 of iust men, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e,
 and aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Hooli men and meke of herte, blesse 3e 87
 the Lord; herie 3e, and aboue enhaunse
 3e hym in to worldis. Ananye, Azarie, 88
 Mysael, blesse 3e the Lord; herie 3e, and
 aboue enhaunse 3e hym in to worldis.
 Which^a Lord rauyschide vs fro helle, and
 'made saaf^b fro the hond of deth, and de-
 lyueride fro^c the myddis of flawme bren-
 nunge, and rauyschide vs fro the myddis
 of fier. Knowleche 3e to the Lord, for he 89
 is good; for his merci *is* in to the world.
 Alle religiouse men*, blesse 3e the Lord, 90
 God of goddis; herie 3e, and knowleche 3e
 to hym, for his merci *is* in to alle^d worldis.

*Hidur to it is not had in Ebreu, and
 tho thingis that we han^e set, ben^f trans-
 latidⁱ of the writyng^g of Theodosion.*

Thanne kyng Nabugodonosor was asto- 91
 nyed, and roos hastily, and seide to hise
 beste men, Whether we senten not thre
 men feterid in to the myddis of the fier?
 Whiche^h answeriden the kyng, and seiden,
 Verili, kyng. The kyng answeride, and 92
 seide, Lo! Y se foure men vnboundun,
 and goyng in the myddis of theⁱ fier, and

* *Alle religi-
 ouse men; this
 laste is addid,
 for not oonli
 in the peple of
 Israel, but also
 in othere pe-
 plis, weren sum
 men, that wor-
 shipeden God
 bi special wor-
 shiping, as was
 Jool, and Mel-
 chisedech, and
 lik men, whiche
 ben seid here
 religious men.
 Lire here. СЕР
 КРВУУ.*

^g Om. AGH. ^h Om. A. ⁱ translacioun H.

^a The whiche I. ^b saued I. ^c vs fro N. ^d the I. ^e Om. Y. ^f Om. I. ^g ben I. ^h The whiche I.
ⁱ Om. I.

not three men bounden to gidre in to mydil^k of fyre? Whiche answeringe to
 92 the kyng saiden, Verrely, kyng. Thanne the king answerde, and saith, Loo! I see foure men vnbounden, and walkynge in mydil of the fyre, and no thing of corrupcioun is in hem; and the fourme of the fourthe lije to the sone of God.
 93 Thanne Nabugodonosor, kyng, came to the dore of the fourneys of brennyng fyr, and saith, Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, saruauntis of hee³ lyuyng God, go ^{3e} out, and cume ^{3e}. And anoon Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, wenten out
 94 of the mydil of fyr. And satrapis gedrid, and magestratis, and domysmen, and mizty men of the kyng, biheelden thoo men, for fijre hadde no thing of power in the bodys of hem, and an heer of hir hed was not brent to; also the breechis of hem weren not chaungid, and the sauer
 95 of fijr passide not by hem. And Nabugodonosor brestinge out saith, Blessid 'is God^l of hem, that is to saye, of Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, whiche sente his aungel, and delyuerde his seruauntis that byleeuyden in to hym, and chaungiden the word of the kyng, and ³auen her bodies, lest thei seruyden, and lest thei wirshipiden euery^m god, outake her God
 96 aloone. Therfore of me this decree, *or dome*, is putt, that eche peple, and langagis, and lynagis, who euere shal speke blasfeme a³einus God of Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, perishe, and his hous be waastid; forsothe ther is non other God,
 97 that may thus saue. Thanne the kyng anaunsid Sydrac, Mysac, and Abdenago, in the prouynce of Babyloyne; and in to eche lond he sente a pistle, conteynyng
 98 these woordis. Nabugodonosor, kyng, to alle peplis, folkis, and langagis, that dwellen in al erthe, pees be multiplied
 99 to ³ou. Hee³ God made at me signis and wondirful thingus; therefore it pleside
 100 to me for to preche the sygnys of hym,

no thing of corrupcioun is in hem; and the licesse of the fourthe *is* lijk the sone of God. Thanne the kyng Nabugodonosor⁹³ neizide to the dore of the furneis of fier^k brennyng, and seide, Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, the seruauntis of hi³ God lyuyng, go ^{3e} out, and come ^{3e}. And anoon Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, ³eden out of the myddis of the fier. And the wise⁹⁴ men, and magistratis, and iugis, and mizti men of the kyng, weren gaderid togidere, and bihelden^l tho men, for the fier hadde had no thing of power in the bodies of hem, and an heer of her heed was not brent; also the breechis of hem weren not chaungid, and the odour of fier hadde not passid bi hem. And Nabugodonosor brac⁹⁵ out, and seide, Blessid be the God of hem, that is, of Sidrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, that sente his aungel, and delyueride hise seruauntis, that bileuyden in to hym, and chaungiden^m the word of the kyng, and ³auen her bodies, that thei schulden not serue, and that thei schulden not worshipe ony god, outakun herⁿ God aloone. Therfor this decree is set of me, that ech⁹⁶ puple, and langagis, and lynagis, who euer spekith blasfemye a³en God of Sidrac, and^o of Mysaac, and of Abdenago, perishe, and his hous be distried; for noon other is God, that mai saue so. Thanne the kyng⁹⁷ anaunsid Sydrac, Mysaac, and Abdenago, in the prouynce of Babiloyne; and sente in to al the lond a pistle, conteynyng these wordis.

CAP. IV.

Nabugodonosor, the kyng, writith *thus*⁹⁸ to alle puplis and langagis, that dwellen in al erthe, pees be multiplied to ³ou. Hi³ God made at me myraclis and mer-⁹⁹ueils; therfor it pleside me^p to preche hise 100 myraclis, for tho ben greet, and hise mer-

^k the mydil H. ^l the God A. be God H. God K pr. m. ^m eny A.

^k the fier GNV. ^l thei biholden I. ^m thei chaungiden K sec. m. ⁿ Om. K pr. m. ^o Om. CEGHIKM NPQRSUX. P to me I.

for thei ben greet, and his wondirful thingis, for theiⁿ stronge; and his rewme euerlastinge rewme, and his power in to generacioun and generacioun.

CAP. IV.

¹ I, Nabugodonosor, was quyete in myn ²hous, and flouringeⁿⁿ in my paleys; I saw³ a sweuen, whiche feride me; and my thouȝtis in my bed, and siztis of myn hed, ³to gidre troubliden me. And by me a decree was putte forth, that alle wijse men of Babiloyne shulden be ledde yn in my sizt, that thei shulden shewe to me the solucioun, *or vndirstondyng*, of the ⁴sweuene. Thanne entriden dyuynours by auters, wicches^o, Caldeis, and dyuynours by sterris; and I teelde the swenen in the sizt of hem, and thei shewiden not to me ⁵the solucioun therof, til a felowe of office entride in my sizt, Danyel, to whom the name Balthasar, after the name of my god, whiche hath the spirit of holy goddis in hym self; and I spac the sweuen b-⁶fore hym. Balthasar, prince of dyuynours by autris, whom I wote, for thou hast in thee the spirit of holy goddis, and eche sacrament is not impossible to thee, telle thou to me the visions^p of my ⁷sweuens, and the solucioun of hem. The visioun of myn hed in my couche. I saw³, and loo! a tree in the mydil of erthe, ⁸and the heiȝt therof ful myche. And a greete tree and stronge, and the nobley, *or strecching out*, therof touchyng heuen, biholding therof was vnto termes of ⁹al erthe. The leues therof most faire, and the fruyte therof ful myche, and mete of alle thingus theryn; vnder it beestis dwelliden, and wijlde beestis, and in bowis therof briddis of heuen lyuyden, ¹⁰and eche fleshe eete of it. Thus I saw³ in sizt of myn heued, vpon my bed. And loo! the waker, and holy came down from ¹¹heuen, and criede strongli, and thus saith, Kitte ȝe down the tree, and bfore kitte

ueils, for tho *ben* stronge; and his rewme *is* an^a euerlastyng rewme, and his power *is* in generacioun and in to generacioun. I, Nabugodonosor, was restful in myn¹ hous, and flouryng in my paleis; Y siz² a dreem, that made me aferd; and my thouȝtis in my bed, and the siztis of myn heed disturbliden me. And a decre was³ set forth bi me, that alle the wise men of Babiloyne schulden be brouȝt in bfor my sizt, and that thei schulden schewe to me the soilyng of the dreem. Than false dy-⁴uynours, astronomyens^r, Caldeis, and biholderis of auteris entriden; and Y telde the dreem in the sizt of hem, and thei schewiden not to me the soilyng therof, til the felowe in office, Danyel, to whom⁵ the name *was* Balthasar, bi the name of my God, entride in my sizt, which^s *Danyel* hath the spirit of hooli goddis in hym silf; and Y spac the dreem bfor hym. Baltha-⁶sar, prince of dyuynouris, whom Y knowe, that thou hast in thee the spirit of hooli goddis, and ech sacrament, *ether preuytee*, is not vnpossible to thee, telle thou to me the visiouns of my dreemes, whiche Y siz⁷, and the soilyng of tho. *This is* the visioun⁷ of myn heed in my bed. Y siz⁸, and lo! a tree was in the myddis of erthe, and the hiȝnesse therof *was* ful greet. And the⁸ tree *was* greet and strong, and the heiȝthe therof touchide heuene, and the biholdyng therof was 'til to^t the endis of al erthe. The leeuys therof *weren* ful faire,⁹ and the fruyt therof *was* ful myche, and the mete of alle *was* in it; beestis and wielde beestis dwelliden vndur it, and briddis of the eir lyuyden in the braunchis therof, and ech man ete of it. Thus Y siz¹⁰ in the visioun of myn heed, on my bed. And lo! a wakere, and^a hooli man^v cam down fro heuene, and he criede strongli,¹¹ and seide thus, Hewe ȝe down the tree, and kitte ȝe down the bowis therof, and schake ȝe awei the leeuys therof, and sca-tere ȝe abroad the fruytis therof; beestis

ⁿ thei *ben* *AN* *pr. m.* *K pr. m.* ⁿⁿ flouringe thinge *K pr. m.* ^o and wicchis *A.* ^p visyoun *A.*

^q Om. *I.* in *s sec. m.* ^r astronomieers *EP.* ^s the whiche *I.* ^t vnto *I.* ^u an *G.* ^v Om. *CEFGHIK MNQRSUX.* ^w the rootis *KN sec. m.*

3e the braunchis therof, and smyte out the leeuës therof, and scatere 3e the fruytis therof; beestis that ben vndir it, flee thei, and briddis of the braunchis
 12 therof. Nethelese suffre 3e buriownyng of rootis therof in the erthe, and be it bounden to in boond of yren and brasun, in erbis that ben with outforth, and be it dyed in dewe of heuen, and with wijlde beestis the parte therof in erbe of erthe.
 13 The herte therof be chaungid fro mans, and the herte of wijlde beest be 3ouen to it, and seuen tymes be chaungid vpon
 14 hym. As in sentence of wakers it is demyd, and the word of saintus and axing, to lyuynge men knowen, for the hee3 shal be Lord in rewme of men; and he shal 3eue it to whom euere he shal woln, and he shal ordeyne the mekist man
 15 vpon it. This sweuen saw3 Y Nabugodonosor, kyng. Therfore thou, Balthasar, hastily telle the interpretacioun^q, for alle the wijse men of my rewme moun not saye out to me the solucioun; forsothe thou maist, for the spirit of the^r holy
 16 goddis is in thee. Thanne Danyel, to whom the name Balthasar, bygan with yn hym self stilly for to thenke, as oon hour, and his thou3tis to gydre trubliden hym. Forsothe the kyng answeyng,
 saith, Balthasar, the sweuen and interpretacioun of it truble not thee. Balthasar answerde and saide, My lord, the sweuen be to hem that haten thee, and the interpretacioun therof be to thin en-
 17 myes. The tree whom thou hast seen hee3 and stronge, whos hei3t stretchith vnto heuen, and the biholdyng therof vn-
 18 to al erthe, and his most faire braunchis, and fruyte therof ful myche, and mete of alle thingus theryn, vndir it dwellynge beestis of the feelde, and in braunchis
 19 therof dwellynge briddis of heuen, thou art, kyng; that^s art magnyfied, and hast woxen stronge, and thi greetnesse wexide, and cam fully vnto heuen, and thi

fle awei, that be vndur it, and briddis fro the bowis therof. Netheles suffre 3e the¹² seed of rootis^w therof in erthe, and be he boondun with a boond of irun and of bras, in erbis that ben with out forth, and in the^x deew of heuene be he died, and his part *be* with wielde beestis in the erbe^y of erthe^z. His herte be chaungid fro¹³ mannus *herte*, and the herte of a wielde beeste be 3ouun to hym, and seuen tymes be chaungid on hym. In the sentence of¹⁴ wakeris it is demed, and *it is* the word and axyng of seyntis, til lyuynge men knowe, that hi3 God is Lord in the rewme of men; and he schal 3yue it to whom euere he wole, and he schal ordeyne on it the mekeste man. Y, Nabugodonosor, the¹⁵ kyng, si3 this dreem. Therfor thou, Balthasar, telle hastili the interpretyng, for alle the wise men of my rewme moun not seie to me the soilyng; but thou maist, for the spirit of hooli goddis is in thee. Thanne¹⁶ Danyel, to whom the name was Balthasar, began to thenke priueli with ynne hym silf, as in oon our, and hise thou3tis disturbliden hym. Forsothe the kyng answeride, and seide, Balthasar, the dreem and the interpretyng therof disturble not thee. Balthasar answeride, and seide, My lord, the dreem be to hem that haten thee, and the interpretyng therof be to thin enemyes. The tree which thou si3est hi3¹⁷ and strong, whos hei3the stretchith^b 'til to^c heuene, and the biholdyng therof in to ech lond, and the faireste braunchis therof, and¹⁸ the fruyt therof ful myche, and the mete of alle in it, and beestis of the feeld dwellynge vndur it, and the briddis of the^d eir dwellynge in the boowis therof, thou art,¹⁹ kyng, that art magnefied, and wexidist strong, and thi greetnesse encreesside, and cam 'til to^e heuene, and thi power in to the endis of al erthe. Sotheli that the²⁰ kyng si3 a wakere and hooli come down fro heuene, and seie, Hewe 3e down the tree, and distrie 3e it, netheles leue 3e the

^q interpretacioun therof *A.* ^r Om. *AGH.* ^s thou *G pr. m. K.*

^x Om. *I.* ^y erbes *F.* ^z the erthe *I.* ^b strechide *CGN.* ^c til in to *E.* vnto *I.* ^d Om. *K pr. m.*
^e vnto *I.*

20 power in to termis of al erthe. Forsothe that the kyng saw³ the waker and hooly for to cum down fro heuen, and for to saye, Kitte ^{3e} down the tree, and scatre ^{3e} it, nethese leue the buriownyng of rootys therof in erthe, and be he bounden in yren and brasse, and in erbis with out forth, and dew of heuen be it spreyn to gydre, and with wylde beestis be his mete, til seuen tymes be chaungid vpon
 21 hym; this is the interpretacioun of sentence of the heeizist, that came fully vpon
 22 my lord kyng. Thei shuln cast thee out fro men, and with beestus and wijlde beestis thi dwellyng schal be, and thou shalt ete hay as an oxe, bot and in dewe of heuen thou shalt be inshed, and se-
 uene tymes shuln be chaungid vpon thee, til thou wite, that the hey³ lord-
 shipith vpon rewme of men, and he ^{3e}uith it to whom euer he shal wiln.
 23 Forsothe that he comaundide, that buriownyng of rootis therof, that is to saye, of the tree, schulde be left, thi rewme schal dwelle to thee, after that thou shalt
 24 knowe power for to be heuenly. Wherefore, kyng, my counseil plese to thee, and ^{3e}inby thou thi synnes with almes deedis, and thi wickidnessis with mercies of pore men; perauenture God shal for-
 25 ^{3e}ue thi trespasses. Alle these thingus
 26 camen on Nabugodonosor, kyng. After the eende of twelue monethis in the halle
 27 of Babiloyne he walkide; and the kyng answerde and saith, Wher this not Baby-
 loyne, the grete citee, whiche I beeldide in to the hous of rewme, in^u mi³t of my strengthe, and in glorie of my fairnesse?
 28 Therefore whann ^{3it} the word was in the kyngus mouthe, a voice felle fro heuen, To thee it is said, kyng Nabugodonosor,
 29 Thi rewme passith fro thee, and fro men thei shuln caste out thee, and with beestis and wijlde beestis thi dwellyng schal be; thou shalt ete hay as an oxe, and seuen tymes shuln be chaungid vpon thee, til

seed of rootis therof in erthe, and be he boundun with irun and bras, in erbis with out forth, and be he bispreynt with the deew of heuene, and his mete be with wielde beestis, til seuen tymes be chaungid on hym; this is the interpretyng of²¹ the sentence of the hijeste, which *sentence* is comun on my lord, the kyng. Thei²² schulen caste thee out fro men, and thi dwellyng schal be with beestys and wielde beestis, and thou schalt ete hey, as an oxe *doith*, but also thou schalt be bisched with the dew of heuene, also seuen tymes schulen be chaungid on thee, til thou knowe, that hi³ *God* is Lord 'on the^f rewme⁸ of men, and ^{3y}ueth it to whom euer he wole. Forsothe that he comaundide, that the²³ seed of rootis therof, that is, of the tree, schulde be left, thi rewme schal dwelle to thee, aftir that thou knowist that the power is of heuene. Wherfor, kyng, my²⁴ counsel plese thee, and ^{3e}nbie thi synnes with almesdedis, and *3e*nbie thi wickidnessis with mercies of pore men; in hap God schal for^{3y}ue thi trespassis. Alle²⁵ these thingis camen on Nabugodonosor, the^h kyng. After the ende of twelue²⁶ monethis he walkide in the halle of Babiloyne; and the kyng answeride, and ²⁷ seide, Whether this is not Babiloyne, the greet citee, which Y bildide in to the hous of rewme, in the mi³t of my strengthe, and in the glorie of my fairnesse? Whanne²⁸ the word was ^{3it} in the mouth of the kyng, a vois felle down fro heuene, Nabugodonosor, kyng, it is seid to thee, Thi rewme is passid fro thee, and thei schulen²⁹ caste thee out fro men, and thi dwellyng schal be with beestis and wielde beestis; thou schalt ete hey, as an oxe *doith*, and seuen tymes schulen be chaungid on thee, til thou knowe, that hi³ *God* is Lord in the rewme of men, and ^{3y}ueth it to whom euere he wole. In the same our the word³⁰ was fillidⁱ on Nabugodonosor, and he was cast out fro men, and he eet hey, as an

^t Om. AGH. ^u and K.

^f ouer the c. ouer EFGINPRSUX. in the H. in Q. ⁸ rewmes K. ^h Om. N. ⁱ fulfillid N sec. m.

thou wite, that the hey; lordshipith in
rewme^u of men, and he 3euith it to whom
30 euer he shal woln. In the same houre
the word was fulfillid vp on Nabugodo-
nosor, and of men he is cast out, and he
eete hay as an oxe, and with dewe of
heuen his body was enfourmed, *or de-
foulid*, til his heris wexiden in to lick-
31 *or clees*, of briddis. Therfore after the
eend of days, Y, Nabugodonosor, reyside
myn eezen to heuen, and my wit is 3olden
to me; and I blesside to the heezist, and
I heriede, and glorifiede the lyuynge in
to with outen eende; for his power euer-
lastynge power, and the rewme of hym
32 in to generacioun and generacioun. And
alle dwellers of erthe anentis him ben
rettid in to nouzt; forsothe after his
wille he shal do, as wele in vertues of
heuen, as in dwellers of erthe, and there
is not, that shal azein stonde his hond,
and shal saye to hym, Whi didist thou
33 this^v? That^w tyme my wit tourned azein
to me, and I came fully to the honour
of my kingdam, and fairnesse, and my
figure, *or shap*, turnyde azein to me; and
my best men and my magestratis azein
souzten me, and I am ordeyned in my
kingdam, and my magnyfience^x, *or grete-
34 nesse*, is addid to me. Now therfore Y
Nabugodonosor herie, and magnyfie the
kyng of heuen; for alle his werkis ben
trewe, and his wayes domes; and he
may make meke, *or lowe*, men goynge
in pryde.

CAP. V.

1 Balthasar, kyng, made a grete fest to
his best men a thousand, and eche man
2 dranke after his age. Forsothe the kyng
now drunken comaundide, that the golden
vessels and sylueren shulden be brouzt
forth, whiche Nabugodonosor, his fadre,
bare out of the temple that was in Jeru-
salem, that the kyng, and his best men,

oxe *doith*, and his bodi was colouryd with
the deew of heuene, til hise heeris wexiden
at the licnesse of eglis, and hise nailis as
the nailis of briddis. Therfor after the 31
ende of daies, Y*, Nabugodonosor, reyside
myn izen to heuene, and my wit was
3oldun to me; and Y blesside the hizeste,
and Y heriede, and glorifiede hym that
lyueth with outen ende; for whi his
power *is* euerlastynge power, and his
rewme *is* in generacioun and in to gene-
racioun. And alle the dwelleris of erthe 32
ben arettid in to nouzt at hym; for bi his
wille he doith, bothe in the vertues of
heuene, and in the dwelleris of erthe, and
noon is, that azenstondith his hond, and
seith to hym, Whi didist thou so? In 33
that tyme my wit turnede azein to me, and
Y cam fulli to the onour and fairnesse of
my rewme, and my figure turnede azein to
me; and my beste men and my magistratis
souzten me, and Y was set in my rewme,
and my greet doynge was encreessid grettir
to me. Now therfor Y Nabugodonosor 34
herie, and magnefie, and glorifie the kyng
of heuene; for alle hise werkis ben trewe,
and alle his weies *ben* domes; and he may
make^k meke hem that goon in pride.

CAP. V.

Balthasar, the kyng, made a greet feeste 1
to hise beste men a thousynde, and ech
man drank aftir his age. Forsothe the 2
kyng thanne drunkun comaundide, that
the goldun and siluerne vessels schulden
be brouzt forth, whiche Nabugodonosor,
his fadir, hadde borun out of the temple
that was in Jerusalem, that the kyng, and

* It is doutid
of sum men,
wher this Na-
bugodonosor is
sauyd, for this
that is seid of
him in [the c]
xliij. c°. of
Ysaie, *Thi
pride is drawun
doun to hellis,
and eft, Thou
schalt be draw-
un doun to
helle, to the
depthe of the
lake, and many
things that
ben seide there
[of him c] of
whiche 'it
semeth to sum
men [sum men
trowen c], that
he is dampned;
but it is to seie
that he is saued,
for the scrip-
ture endith the
stori of him in
his meking, and
in the 'scrip-
ture [feithful
cqu] know-
leching of
Goddis vertu,
as it is open
here. cquv.
Which thing
is not doon in
scripture, no
but of hem that
ben in the stat
of saluacioun.
Also the decree
in xxiii. cause,
in v. question,
c°. Nabugodo-
nosor, seith
'thus [this qu].
To the con-
trarie in Ysaie
it is to seie,
that it is seid
bi manassing,
with a con-
dicioun vndur-
stondun, that
is, if he dide
not penaunce;
nethes for he
dide penaunce,
therfor he 3ede
not doun [in v]
to the helle of
dampned men,
as in xxxviiij.
c°. of Ysaie,
the profete
Ysaie seide to
Ezechie, Dis-
pos thin hows,
for thou schalt
die, and schalt
not lyue; ne-
theles for he
dide penaunce,
therfor the sen-
tense was
chaungid, and
fiftene 3eer
weren addid
to his liyf. *Lire
here. cqu.**

^u rewmes A. ^v Om. AGH. ^w In that AGH. ^x magnificence A. ^y and glorifie the K pr. m.

^k Om. v.

and wyues, and his^x concubynes, *or secundarie wyues*, shulden drynke. Thei drunken wijne, and herieden her goddis of gold, and of syluer, and of brasse, and of yren, and of tree, and of stoon. In the same houre there apeeriden fyngris, as of hond of a man, writynge azeins the candilstike, in the ouermer part of the walle of the kyngis halle; and the kyng bihelde the fyngris of the hond wrijtynge. Thanne the face of the kyng was chaungid to gydre, and his thouȝtis 'al to-trubliden^y hym; and the ioynctures of his reynys weren vnbounden, and his knees weren hurtlid to gydre at hemself. And so the kyng cried strongly, that thei shulden leede yn witches, *or wijs men*, Caldeis, and dyuynours by steris. And the kyng spekyng afer saith to the wijs men of Babiloyne, Who euere shal reede this wrytyng, and shal make the interpretacioun therof knowen to me, shal be clothid with purple, and shal haue a golden bee in the nek, and shal be the thrid in my rewme. Thann alle wijse men of the kyng gon yn myȝten not reede the scripture, nether shewe to the kyng interpretacioun therof. Wherof kyng Balthasar is trublid to gydre ynow³, and his cheere is chaungid, bot and his^z best men weren trublid to gydre. Forsothe the queen for the thing that bifelle to the kyng, and best men of hym, wente to the hous of feest; and for spekyng saith, Kyng, in to with outen eende lyue thou. Thi thouȝtis truben thee not, nether thi face be chaungid. A man is in thi rewme, that hath in hym the spirit of holi goddis, and in the days of thi fadir science and wisdom ben founden in hym; for whi and kyng Nabugodonosor, thi fadre, ordeynede hym prince of witchis, enchauntris, of Caldeis, and of dyuynours by steris; sotheli, thou kyng, thi fadir, for the more spirit, and more prudent, and vndirstondynge, and interpretacioun

hise beste men, hise^l wyues, and^m concubyns shulden drynke in tho *vessels*. Thanne the goldun vessels and siluerne,^s whiche he hadde borun out of the temple that was in Jerusalem, weren brouȝt forth; and the kyng, and hise beste men, and hise wyues, and concubyns, drunken in tho *vessels*. Thei drunken wyn, and herieden her goddis of gold, and of siluer, of bras, and of irun, and of tree, and of stoon. In the same our fyngris apperiden, as of the hond of a man, writynge azeins the candilstike, in the pleyne part of the wal of the kyngis halle; and the kyng bihelde the fyngris of the hond wrijtynge. Thanne the face of the kyng was chaungid, and hise thouȝtis disturbliden hym; and the ioyncturis of hise reynes weren loosid, and hise knees weren hurtlid to hem silf to-gidere. Therfor the kyng criede strongli,⁷ that thei shulden bryng yn astronomiens^a, Caldeis, and^o dyuynouris bi lokyng of auteris. And the kyng spak, and seide to the wise men of Babiloyne, Who euer redith this scripture, and makith opyn the interpretyng therof to me, schal be clothid in purpur; and he schal haue a goldun bie in the necke, and he schal be the thridde in my rewme. Thanne alle the wise men of the kyng entriden, and miȝten not rede the scripture, nether schewe to the kyng the interpretyng therof. Wherfor kyng Balthasar was disturbid ynow, and his cheer was chaungid, but also hise beste men weren disturbid. Forsothe the queen entride in to the hous of feeste, for the thing that hadde bifeld to the king, and beste men; and sche spak, and seide, Kyng, lyue thou withouten ende. Thi thouȝtis disturbe not thee, and thi face be not chaungid. A man¹¹ is in thi rewme, that hath the spirit of hooli goddis in hym silf, and in the daies of thi fadir kunnyng and wisdom weren foundun in hym; for whi and Nabugodonosor, thi fadir, made him prince of astro-

^x Om. A. ^y trubliden A. ^z Om. A.

^l and hise A *pr. m.* ^m and his 18. ^a astronomiers RPY. astronomers S. ^o Om. 1.

of sweuens, and shewyng of pryuy thingus, and vndoyng of bounden thingus ben founden in hym, this is in Danyel, to whom the kyng 3aue name Balthasar. Now therfore Danyel be clepid, and he
 13 shal telle the interpretacioun. Therfore Danyel is brouzt yn byfore the kyng. To whom the forsaid king saith, Thou art Danyel of 'the sonys of caytiftee^a of Jude, whom my fadre, kyng, ledde to fro
 14 Jude? Y herde of thee, for thou hast in thee the spirit of goddis, and science, and vndirstondyng, and wisdam gretter ben
 15 founden in thee. And now wijse men, witches, entreden in my sizt, for to reede this writyng, and for to shew to me the interpretacioun therof; and thei myzten not saye out to me the wit of this word.
 16 Forsothe I herde of thee, that thou mayst interpret derke thingis, and vnbynde bounden thingus; therefore 3if thou maist reede the wrijtyng, and shewe to me the^b interpretacioun therof, thou shalt be clothid with purple, and thou shalt have a golden bee aboute thi nek, and thou shalt be the thridde prince in my rewme.
 17 To whiche thingus Danyel answeyng saith byfore the kyng, Thi 3iftis be to thee, and 3eue thou to an other the 3iftus of thin hous; forsothe, kyng, I shal reede to thee the wrytyng, and I shal shewe
 18 interpretacioun therof to thee, thou kyng. The heezist God 3aue rewme, and magnyficence, glorie, and honour to Nabugodonosor, thi fadir. And for the^c magnyficence whiche he 3aue to hym alle peplis, lynagis, and tungis, trembliden and dredden hym; he slow3 whom he wolde, and whom he wolde he smote, and whom he wolde he enhaunside, and
 20 whom he wolde he meekide. Forsothe whan his herte was reyside vp, and his spirit stablid to pride, he was putt down
 21 of^d the seete of his rewme; and the glorie of hym was taken away, and he was

nomyens^e, of enchaunteris^f, of Caldeis, and of dyuynouris bi lokyng on auteris; sotheli thi fadir, thou kyng, *dide this*; for¹² more spirit, and more prudent, and vndurstondyng, and interpretyng of dremes, and schewyng of priuytees, and assoilyng of boundun thingis weren foundun in hym, that is, in Danyel, to whom the kyng puttide the^g name Balthasar. Now therfor Daniel be clepid, and he schal telle the interpretyng. Therfor Daniel was brouzt in bifor the kyng. To whom the forseid kyng seide, Art thou Danyel, of the sones¹³ of caitifte^r of Juda, whom my fader, the kyng, brouzte fro Judee? Y haue herd of¹⁴ thee, that thou hast in thee the spirit of goddis, and more kunnyng, and vndurstondyng, and wisdom be foundun in thee. And now wise men, astronomyens^s, en-¹⁵triden in my sizt, to rede this scripture, and to schewe to me the interpretyng therof; and thei myzten not seie to me the vndurstondyng of this word. Certis¹⁶ Y haue herde of thee, that thou maist interpret derk thingis, and vnbynde boundun thingis; therfor if thou maist rede the scripture, and schewe to me the interpretyng therof, thou schalt be clothid in purpur, and thou schalt haue a goldun bie aboute thi necke, and thou schalt be the thridde prince in my rewme. To¹⁷ whiche^t thingis Danyel answeride, and seide bifore the kyng, Thi 3iftis be to thee, and 3yue thou to another man the 3iftis of thin hous; forsothe, kyng, Y schal rede the scripture to thee, and Y schal schewe to thee the interpretyng therof. O!^u thou kyng, hizeste God 3af rewme,¹⁸ and greet worschipe, and glorie, and onour, to Nabugodonosor, thi fadir. And¹⁹ for greet worschip which he hadde 3oue to thilke *Nabugodonosor*, alle puplis, lynagis, and langagis, trembliden and dred-den hym; he^v killide whiche he wolde, and he smoot whiche he wolde, and he

^a the caitiftee of the sones A. ^b Om. A. ^c Om. AGH. ^d fro A.

^e astronomieers EP. astronomers s. ^f chaunteris E. ^g Om. ENP. ^r the caitiftee CEFHGKMNQRSUX.
^s astronomiers EP. ^t the whiche I. ^u A! CEFHGKMNQRSUX. ^v and he N.

cast out of sones of men; bot and the herte of hym was putt with beestis, and with feeld assis his dwellynge was; and he eete hay as an oxe, and with dewe of heuen his body was fourmed^e, or *de-foulid*, til he knew that the heezist hath power in the rewme of men, and whom euere he shal wole, he shal reyse on it.

²² Forsothe thou, Balthasar, his sone, mek-
edist not thin herte, whann thou wistist
²³ alle these thingus; bot azeinus the Lord
of heuen thou art reysid vp, and the
vessels of his hous ben brouzt to byfore
thee, and thou, and thi best men, and thi
wyues, and thi concubynes han drunke
wijne in hem^f; and thou heriedist goddis
of syluer, and of gold, and of brasse, and
of yren, and of tree, and of stoon, whiche
seen not, nether heeren, nether feelen;
forsothe thou glorifiedist not God, that
hath thi wynd, or *spirit*, in his hond,
²⁴ and alle thi weies. Therefore fro hym the
fyngre of an^g hond is sente, whiche wrote
²⁵ this thing that is writen. Forsothe this
is the wrytyng that is ordeyned, Mane,
²⁶ Techel, Phares. And this interpreta-
cioun of the word. Mane, God hath
noumbride thi rewme, and fulfillid it;
²⁷ Techel, it is hangid in a balaunce, and
²⁸ is founden hauynge lesse; Phares, thi
kyngdam is departid, and is zouen to
²⁹ Medis and to^h Persis. Thanne, the kyng
comaundyng, Danyel is clothid with pur-
pre, and a gold bee is zouen aboute in
his nek; and it is prechid of hym, that
he hadde power, he the thrid in his
³⁰ rewme. The same nizt Balthasar, kyng
³¹ Caldeyⁱ, is slayn; and Darius of Mede
was successour in the rewme, hauynge
two and sixti 3eeris.

enhaunsid whiche he wolde, and he made
low which he wolde. Forsothe whanne²⁰
his herte was reisid, and his spirit was
maad obstynat in^w pride, he was put doun
of the seete of his rewme; and his glorie²¹
was takun awei, and he was cast out fro
the sones of men; but also his herte was
set with beestis, and his dwellyng was
with wielde assis; also he eet hei as an
oxe *doith*, and his bodi was colourid with
the deew of heuene, til he knewe, that
the hizeste hath power in the rewme of
men, and he schal reise on it whom euer
he wole. And thou, Balthasar, the sone²²
of hym, mekidest not thin herte, whanne
thou knewist alle these thingis; but thou²³
were reisid azens the Lord of heuene,
and the vessels of his hous weren brouzt
bifore thee, and thou, and thi beste men,
and thi wyues, and thi concubyns, drunk-
en wyn in tho *vessels*; and thou heriedist
goddis of siluer, and of gold, and of bras,
and of irun, and of tree, and of stoon, that
seen not, nether heren, nether feelen; cer-
tis thou glorifiedist not God, that hath
thi blast, and alle thi weies in his hond.
Therfor the fyngur of the^x hond was sent²⁴
of hym, which *hond* wroot this thing that
is writun. Sotheli this is the scripture²⁵
which is discryued, Mane, Techel, Phares.
And this *is* the interpretyng of the word.²⁶
Mane, God hath noumbrid thi rewme, and
hath fillid it; Techel, thou art weied in²⁷
a balaunce, and thou art foundun hauynge
lesse; Phares, thi rewme is departid, and²⁸
is zouun to Medeis and Perseis^y. Thanne,²⁹
for the kyng comaundide, Daniel was
clothid in purpur, and a goldun bie was
zouun aboute in^z his necke; and it was
prechid of hym, that he hadde power, and
was the thridde in the rewme. In the³⁰
same nizt Balthasar, the kyng of Caldeis,
was slayn; and Daryus of Medeia^a was³¹
successour in^b to the rewme, and he was
two and sixti 3eer eld.

^e deformed G sec. m. H. ^f Om. A. ^g the A. ^h Om. AGH. ⁱ of Caldeis AG sec. m. Caldeis H.

^w to CEFHGKMNQRSUX.
^b Om. N.

^x Om. CEFHGKMNQRSUX.

^y to Perseis N.

^z Om. NPSX.

^a Medeis I.

CAP. VI.

1 It pleside to Darius, and he ordeynye
on the rewme satraps an hundrid and
twenti, that thei weren in al his rewme;
2 and on hem three princis, of whom Da-
nyel was oon; that the satraps shulden
jelde resoun to hem, and the kyng shulde
3 not suffre eny disese. Therfore Danyel
ouercame alle princis and satraps, for the
4 more spirit of God was in hym. For-
sothe the kyng thouzte for to ordeyne
hym on al the rewme. Wherfore princes
and satraps souzten for to fynde occa-
sioun to Danyel, of syde of the kyng;
and thei mizten fynde no cause and sus-
picioun, for that that he was feithful,
and eche blame and suspicioun was not
5 founden in hym. Therfore thilk men
saiden, We shuln not fynde to this
Danyel eny occasioun, no bot perauen-
6 ture in the lawe of his God. Thanne
princes and satraps falsli tysiden, *or coun-
ceyliden*, to the kyng, and thus spaken
to hym, Darye, kyng, in to with outen
7 eende lyue thou. Alle princes of thi
rewme, and magestratis, and satrapis,
senatours, and domysmen, maden a con-
ceyle, that decree, *or dom*, of the em-
perour go out, and maundement, that
eche man that shal axe eny axinge of
eny god and man, vnto thritty days, no
bot of thee, kyng, be^k sent in to the lake
8 of lyouns. And so now, kyng, conferme
thou the sentence, and write the decree,
that it be not chaungid whiche is or-
deynyd of Medis and Persis, nether be
9 it leeful to eny man for to breke. For-
sothe kyng Darius putte forth the decree,
10 and ordeynye. Whiche thing whanne
Danyel had founden, that is to saye, the
lawe ordeynyd, he wente in to his hous;
and the wyndowis opnyd in his soupyng
place azeinus Jerusalem, three tymes in
the day he bowide his knees, and wir-
shipide, and knawelichide byfore his God,

CAP. VI.

It pleside Darius, and he ordeynede sixe
score duykis ouer the rewme, that thei
schulden be in al his rewme. And ouer 2
hem *he ordeynede* thre princes, of whiche
Danyel was oon; that the duykis schulden
jelde resoun to hem, and that the kyng
schulde not suffre eny disese. Therfor 3
Danyel ouercam alle the princes and
duikis, for more spirit of God was in
hym. Certis the kyng thouzte to ordeyne 4
hym on al the rewme. Wherfor princes
and duikis^c souzten to fynde occasioun to
Danyel, of the side of the kyng; and thei
mizten fynde no cause and suspicioun, for
he was feithful, and no blame and suspi-
cioun was foundun in hym. Therfor tho 5
men seiden, We schulen not fynde eny
ocasioun to this Danyel, no but in hap
in the lawe of his God. Thanne the 6
princes and duykis^d maden fals sugges-
tioun to the kyng, and spaken thus to
hym, Kyng Darius, lyue thou with onten
ende. Alle the princes of thi rewme, and 7
magistratis, and duykis, senatours, and
iugis, han maad a counsel, that a decree
and comaundement of the emperour go
out, that ech man that axith eny axyng
of what euer god and man, til to thretti
daies, no but of thee, thou kyng, he be
sent in to the lake of liouns. Now^e ther- 8
for, kyng, conferme thou the sentence, and
write thou the decree, that this^f that is
ordeyned of Medeis and Perseis be not
chaungid, nethir be it leueful to ony man
to breke. Forsothe Darius, the kyng, set- 9
tide forth, and confermyde the decree. And 10
whanne Danyel hadde founde this thing,
that is, the lawe ordeyned, he entride in
to his hous; and the while the wyndows
weren open in his soler azens Jerusalem, in
thre tymes in the dai he bowide hise
knees, and worschipide, and knoulechide
bifore his God, as he was wont to do bifore.
Therfor tho men enqueriden ful bisili, and 11

^k be he A.

^c dukis, *ether prefectis* Y. ^d duykis, *ether prefectis* EFGHIKMN PQRSUX. ^e And now N. ^f that thing I.

11 as he was wonte for to do byfore. Ther-
fore tho men more bysily enquerynge
founden Danyel preyinge, and bisechyng
12 his God. And thei cummyng to spoken
to the kyng on^l the maundement, Kyng,
wher thou ordeynidist not, that eche man
whiche preyde eny of goddis and men,
vnto thritti days, no bot thee, kyng, he
shulde be sent in to the lake of lyouns?
To whom the kyng answeyng saith,
The word is trewe, vp the decree of
Medis and Persis, whiche it^m is not leeful
13 for to breeke. Thanne thei answeyng
saiden bfore the kyng, Danyel, of the
sones of caytifte of Judee, reckide not of
thi lawe, and of theⁿ maundement, whiche
thou ordeynedist^o, bot three tymes by
14 day he preyeth in his bisechyng. Whiche
word whan the kyng hadde herd, he was
sorewful ynew³, and for Danyel sette the
herte, that he shulde delyuere hym; and
vnto goyng doun of the sunne he tra-
15 uelide for to delyuere hym. Forsothe
tho men vndirstondyng the kyng, saiden
to hym, Wite thou, kyng, for the lawe
of Medis and Persis is, that eche decree
whiche the kyng ordeyneth, be not leeful
16 for to be chaungid. Thanne the kyng
comaundide, and thei ledden to Danyel,
and senten hym into the lake of lyouns.
And the kyng sayde to Danyel, Thi God,
whom thou wirshipidist euermore, he shal
17 delyuere thee. And a stoon is brougt to,
and is putt on the mouthe of the lake,
whiche the kyng markide, *or sealide*, on
eche syde with his reng, and with reng
of his best men, lest eny thing were don
18 azeinus Danyel. And the kyng wente
away in to his hous, and slepte vnsoupid,
and metis be not brougt to byfore hym;
more ouer and sleep wente away fro hym.
19 Thanne the kyng first in the mornyng
rysyng hastily, wente to the lake of
20 lyouns; and he neizyng to the lake, with
a wepyng voice criede vn to Danyel, and
spake to hym, Danyel, the seruaunt of

founden Danyel preiynge, and bisechyng
his God. And thei neiziden and spoken 12
to the kyng of the comaundement, Kyng,
whether thou ordeynedist not, that ech man
that axide ony of goddis and of men, til
to thretti daies, no but thee, thou kyng,
he schulde be sent in to the lake of liouns?
To whiche^g men the kyng answeride, and
seide, The word is soth, bi the decree of
Medeis and^h Perseis, which it is not leue-
ful to breke. Thanne thei answeriden, 13
and seiden bfore the kyng, Danyel, of the
sones of caitifte of Juda, reckide not of
thi lawe, and of the comaundement, which
thou ordeynedist, but thre tymes bi the
dai he preieth in his bisechyng. And 14
whanne the kyng hadde herd this word,
he was sori ynow, and he settide the herte
for Danyel, for to doⁱ delyuere hym; and
til to the goyng doun of the sunne he tra-
uelide for to do^k delyuere hym. But tho 15
men vndurstoden the kyng, and seiden to
hym, Wite thou, kyng, that it is the lawe
of Medeis and of Perseis, that it is not
leueful that ony decree be chaungid, which 16
the kyng ordeyneth. Thanne the kyng
comaundide, and thei brouzten Danyel,
and senten hym in to the lake of liouns.
And the kyng seide to Danyel, Thi God,
whom thou worschipist euere, he schal
delyuere thee. And o stoon was brougt, 17
and was put on the mouth of the lake,
which the kyng aselide with his ryng,
and with the ryng of hise beste men, lest
ony thing were don azens Danyel. Thanne 18
the kyng zede in to his hous, and slepte
with out soper, and metis weren not
brouzte bfore hym; ferthermore and sleep
zede awey fro hym. Thanne the kyng roos 19
in the firste morewtid, and zede hastili to
the lake of liouns; and he neizide to the 20
lake, and criede on Danyel with wepyng
vois, and spak to hym, Danyel, the ser-
uaunt of God lyuynge, gessist thou, whe-
ther thi God, whom thou seruest euere,
mizte delyuere thee fro liouns^l? And 21

¹ Om. K. ^m Om. A. ⁿ thi H. ^o ordeynest A.

^g the whiche I. ^h and of is. ⁱ Om. ACFKMRS. ^k Om. CFKMRS. ^l the liouns N.

the^p lyuyngē God, gessist thou, wher thi
 God, to whom thou seruist euermore, miȝt
 21 not delyuere thee fro lyouns? And Da-
 nyel answeyngē to the kyng saith, Kyng,
 22 in to with outhen eende lyue thou. My
 God sente his aungel, and closide to
 gydre the mouthes of lyouns, and thei
 anoyeden not me^q, for byfore hym riȝt-
 wysnesse is founden in me; bot and by-
 23 fore thee^r, kyng, Y did no trespas. Thann
 the kyng gretely ioyede vpon hym, and
 comaundide Danyel for to be led out of
 the lake. And Danyel was led out of the
 lake, and noon hirtyng is founden in hym,
 24 for he bileuēde to his God. Forsothe the
 kyng comaundyngē, thei that accusiden
 Danyel ben brouȝt forth, and in to the
 lake of lyouns ben sent, thei, and the
 sonnys of hem, and the wyues of hem;
 and thei camen not fully vn to the
 pament of the lake, tyl the lyouns rau-
 yshiden hem, and braken to gydre alle
 25 her bonys. Than Darius, kyng, wrote
 to alle peplis, lynagis^a, and langagis,
 dwellyngē in al erthe, Pees be multiplied
 26 to 300. Therefore a decre is ordeynide
 of me, that in alle the empire and my
 rewme thei tremble, and drede the God
 of Danyel; forsothe he is lyuyngē God,
 and euerlastinge into worldis, and his
 rewme shal not be distruyed, and the
 power of hym vnto with outhen eende.
 27 He is delyuerer^r and sauer, doynge signe
 and merueilis in heuen and in erthe,
 whiche delyuerde Danyel fro the lake
 28 of lyouns. Forsothe Danyel duryde vnto
 the kyngdam of Darius, and to^u the
 kyngdam of Cyrus of Persis.

CAP. VII.

1 In the first ȝeer of Balthasar, kyng of
 Babyloyne, Danyel sawȝ a sweuen. For-
 sothe the visioun of his hed in his couche,
 and sweuen^v, he wrytyngē comprehendide
 in short word; and in sum, *or litil wordis*,

Danyel answeride the kyng, and seide,
 King, lyue thou with outhen ende. My²²
 God sente his aungel, and closide togidere
 the mouthis of liouns, and tho^m noieden
 not me, for riȝtfulnesse is foundun in me
 bfore hym; but also, thou kyng, Y dide
 no trespas bfore thee. Thanne the kyng²³
 made ioie greetli on hym, and comaundide
 Danyel to be led out of the lake. And
 Danyel was led out of the lake, and noon
 hirtyng was foundun in hym, for he bi-
 leuede to his God. Forsothe the kyng²⁴
 comaundide, thoⁿ men, that accusiden
 Danyel, weren brouȝt, and weren sent in
 to the lake of liouns, thei, and the sonnes
 of hem, and the wyues of hem; and thei
 camen not 'til to^o the pawment of the lake,
 til the liouns rauyschiden hem, and al to-
 braken alle^p the boonys of hem. Thanne²⁵
 Darius, the kyng, wroot to alle puplis,
 lynagis, and langagis, dwellyngē in al erthe,
 Pees be multiplied to 300. Therfor a de-²⁶
 cree is ordeyned of me, that in al myn
 empire and rewme men tremble, and drede
 the God of Danyel; for he is God lyuyngē,
 and euerlastyngē in to worldis, and his
 rewme schal not be distried, and his power
 is 'til in to^q with outhen ende. He is dely-²⁷
 uerer and sauour, makyngē myraclis and
 merueils in heuene and in erthe, which
 delyuerede Danyel fro the lake of liouns.
 Certis Danyel dwellide stabli 'til to^r the²⁸
 rewme of Darius, and 'til to^r the rewme
 of Sirus of Persey.

CAP. VII.

In the firste ȝeer of Balthasar*, kyng
 of Babiloyne, Danyel siȝ a sweuene^a. For-
 sothe he wroot the visioun of his hed in
 his bed, and the dreem, and compre-
 hendide in schort word; and he touchide

* In the firste
 ȝeer of Baltha-
 sar; bi this it
 is open, that
 Danyel settith
 not the vi-
 siouns bi the
 ordre of stori,
 ether of tyme
 in whiche tho
 weren maad
 to Danyel; for
 whi tho thingis
 that ben writun
 in the chapitre
 bifor goinge,
 weren aftir this
 visioun, for tho
 weren maad
 vndur Darius,
 that was suc-
 cessour of Bal-
 thasar, as it is
 seid in [the G]
 v. chapitre.
 The resoun of
 this ordre is
 this, for this
 visioun is
 clenly of pro-
 fecie, and ther-
 for it is set
 with the vi-
 siouns suyngē,
 that ben of the
 same condi-
 cioun; but the
 visiouns bifor
 goinge ben
 ether of pure
 stori, ether in
 parti of pro-
 fesie, and in
 parti of stori.
 Another resoun
 is this, for the
 visiouns bifor
 goinge per-
 teynen to the
 firste comyng
 of Crist, but
 this visioun,
 with tho that
 suen, perteynen
 to the secounde
 comyngē of
 Crist, that is
 to the general
 doom. Lire
 here. cccv.

^p Om. AGH. ^q to me A. ^r the K. ^a synagogis A. ^t the delyuerer A. ^u Om. A. ^v whenne K. the
 sweuen G sec. m.

^m thei I. ⁿ and tho I. ^o vnto I. ^p Om. ENP. ^q til to K pr. m. ^r vnto I. ^a sweuene, ether a
 dreem CFGHIKMNQRSUX.

2 touchynge saith, Y saw³ in my visioun
by niȝt, and loo! foure wyndis of heuen
3 fouȝten in the mydil see. And foure
greet beestis stieden vp of the se, dyuerse
4 bytwixe hem self. The first as a lyon-
esse, and hadde weengis of an egle. Y
byheelde til hir weengis weren drawen
of, and she is taken vp of the erthe, and
she stode on the feet as a man, and the
5 herte of it is ȝouen to it. And loo! an
other beest, lijc to a bere in party, stode,
and three ordris weren in mouth therof,
and in teeth therof three princis. And
thus thei saiden to it, Ryse thou, ete ful
6 manye fleshis. After these thingus Y by-
heelde, and loo! an other as a pard, and
hadde vp on it foure weengis of ^w a bridd
on it, and foure heddis weren in the beest,
7 and power is ȝouen to it. After these
thingus Y byheelde in a visioun of niȝt,
and loo! the fourthe beest, dreedful, and
wonderful, and ful stronge. It hadde
greet yren teeth, etynge and brekyng
to gydre, and defoulynge other thingus
with his feet; forsothe it was vnlijc to
other beestis, whiche Y saw³ byfore it,
8 and it hadde ten hornys. Y biheelde the
hornys, and loo! an other litil horn is
sprungen vp of the mydil of hem, and
three of the first hornys ben drawen out
fro the face therof; and loo! eeȝen as
eeȝen of a man weren in this horn, and
9 a mouth spekyng greet thingus. Y by-
helde, til trones weren sette, and the
olde of days sat; his clothinge white as
snowe, and the heris of his hed as cleen
wolle, his trone of flawme of fijr, the
10 whelis of hym fijr tendid. A flode of
fijr and fast rennyng wente out fro his
face, a thousand of thousandis mynis-
triden to hym, and ten thousand sithis
an hundred thousand stoden niȝ to hym;
11 the dom sate, and bokis ben opnyd. Y
byheelde for the voice of grete wordis,
whiche the ylk horn spake; and I saw³,
for the beest was slayn, and the body
therof peryshide, and was bytaken for

schortli the sentence, and seide, Y siȝ in²
my visioun in niȝt, and lo! foure wyndis
of heuene fouȝten in the myddis of the
greet see. And foure grete beestis dyuerse³
bitwixe hem silf stieden^s fro the see. The^t 4
firste *beeste* was as a lionesse, and hadde
wyngis of an egle. Y bihelde til^u the
wyngis therof weren pullid awei, and it
was takun awei fro erthe, and it stood as
a man on the feet, and the herte therof
was ȝouun to it. And lo! another beeste,^s
lijk a bere in parti, stood, and thre or-
dris weren in the mouth therof, and thre
princes in the teeth therof. And thus thei
seiden to it, Rise thou, ete thou ful many
fleischis. Aftir these thingis Y bihelde,^s
and lo! anothir *beeste* as a pard, and it
hadde on it silf foure wyngis of a brid,
and foure heeddis weren in the beeste, and
power was ȝouun to it. Aftir these thingis⁷
Y bihelde in the visioun of niȝt, and lo!
the fourthe beeste, ferdful, and wondirful,
and ful strong. It hadde grete^v irun teeth,
and it ete, and made lesse, and defoulide
with hise feet othere thingis; forsothe it
was vnlijk othere beestis, which Y hadde
seyn bifore it, and it hadde ten hornes.
Y bihelde the hornes, and lo! an other^s
litil horn cam forth of the myddis of tho,
and thre of the firste hornes weren drawun
out fro the face therof; and lo! iȝen as
iȝen of a man weren in this horn, and a
mouth spekyng grete thingis. Y bihelde,^s
til that trones weren set, and the elde of
daies sat; his cloth *was* whijt as snow,
and the heeris of his heed *weren* as cleene
wolle, his trone *was as* flawmes^w of fier,
hise wheelis *weren* fier^x kyndlid. A flood¹⁰
of fier and rennyng faste ȝede out fro his
face, a thousynde thousynde mynistriden
to hym, and ten sithis a thousynde sithis
an hundrid thousynde stoden niȝ hym;
the dom sat, and bookis weren opened.
Y bihelde for the vois of grete wordis¹¹
whiche thilke horn spak; and Y siȝ that
the beeste was slayn, and his bodi was
perischid, and was ȝouun to be brent in

^w as of *A*.

^s stieden vp *1*. ^t And the *1*. ^u vnto *1*. ^v strong *ns sec. m.* ^w flawme *A pr. m. xv.* ^x as fier *1*.

12 to be brent in fir. And the power of
other beestus was taken away, and tymes
of lijf ben ordeynyd to hem, vn to tyme
13 and tyme. Therefore Y byhelde in visioun
of niȝt, and loo! with cloudis of heuen as
the sone of man came; and vnto the olde
of days he came fully, and in his siȝt
14 thei offreden hym. And he ȝaue to hym
power, and honour, and rewme, and eche
peple, lynagis, and tungis shuln serue to
hym; the power of hym euerlastinge
power, whiche shal not be don away,
and the rewme of hym, whiche shal not
15 be corrupte, *or destroyed*. My spirit
hidouside^x; Y, Danyel, was ferd in these,
and the visiouns of my heed to gidre
16 trubliden me. Y came to oon of the niȝ
stondynge, and Y axide of hym trewth
of alle these thingus. Whiche saide to
me interpretacioun of wordis, and tauȝte
17 me. These foure greet beestis ben foure
rewmes, that shuln ryse to gydre of the
18 erthe. Forsothe thei shuln resceyue the
rewme of God heezist holy, and thei
shuln holde the rewme, til into the world,
19 and in to world of worldis. After these
thingus Y wolde diligently lerne of the
fourthe beest, that was gretely vnlijc fro
alle, and dreedful ful myche, the teeth
and naylis therof of yren; it eete, and
brake to gydre, and defoulide the tothir
20 thingus with his feet. And of ten hornes
whiche it hadde in the hed, and of the
tother that was sprungen vp, bifore
whiche three hornes fellen down, and of
that horne that hadde eeȝen, and mouthe
spekinge grete thingis, and was more
21 than other; Y byheelde, and loo! the
ylk horn made bataile aȝein saintis, and
22 hadde power ouer hem, til the olde of
dais came, and ȝaue dome to saintis hiȝe;
and loo! tyme came, and saintis weldiden
23 rewme. And thus he saith, The fourthe
beest shal be the fourthe rewme in erthe,
that shal be more than alle rewmes, and
shal deuouren al erthe, and shal defoule,

fier. And *Y siȝ* that the power of othere 12
beestis was takun awei, and the tymes of
lijf weren ordeyned to hem, til to tyme
and tyme. Therfor Y bihelde in the vi- 13
syoun of niȝt, and lo! as a sone of man
cam with the cloudis of heuene; and he
cam fulli til to the elde of daies, and in
the siȝt of hym thei offriden hym. And 14
he ȝaf to hym power, and onour, and
rewme, and alle the puplis, lynagis^y, and
langagis schulen serue hym; his power
is euerlastynge power, that schal not be
takun awei, and his rewme, that schal not
be corrupt. My spirit hadde orroure, *ether* 15
hidousnesse; Y, Danyel, was aferd in these
thingis, and the siȝtis of myn heed dis-
turbliden me. Y neiȝede to oon of the 16
stonderis niȝ, and Y axide of hym the
treuthe of alle these thingis. And he seide
to me the interpretyng of wordis^z, and he
tauȝte me. These foure grete beestis ben 17
foure rewmes, that schulen rise of erthe.
Forsothe hooli men schulen take the 18
rewme of hiȝeste God, and thei schulen
holde the rewme, til in to the world, and
'til in to^a the world of worldis. Aftir 19
these thingis Y wolde lerne diligentli of
the fourthe beeste, that was greetli vnlijc
fro alle, and *was* ful ferdful, the teeth and
nailis therof *weren* of irun; it eet, and
made lesse, and defoulide with hise feet
othere thingis. And of ten hornes whiche 20
it hadde in the heed, and of the tother
horn, that cam forth, bifore which thre
hornes fellen down, and of that horn that
hadde iȝen, and a mouth spekyng grete
thingis, and was grettere than othere; I 21
bihelde, and lo! thilke horn made batel
aȝens hooli men, and hadde maistrie of
hem, til^b the elde of daies cam, and hiȝ 22
God ȝaf doom to hooli men; and lo! tyme
cam, and hooli men goten rewme. And 23
he seide thus, The fourthe beeste schal be
the fourthe rewme in erthe, that schal be
more than alle rewmes, and it schal deu-
uoure al erthe, and it schal defoule, and

^x hidous *A*.

^y and lynagis *I*. ^z these wordis *N*. ^a vnto *I*. in to *NSU sec. m*. ^b til to *I*.

24 and to gydre breke it. Forsothe ten
horns of that kyngdam shuln be ten
kyngus; and an other shal rijse after hem,
and he shal be miztier than the former,
25 and shal meeke three kyngus. And he
shal speke wordis azeinus the hee3, and
he shal breke to gidre the saintis of the
hee3ist; and he shal wene, that he may
chaunge tymes and lawis; and it shal be
3ouen in to the hondis of hym, vn to
tyme, and tymes, and the half of tyme.
26 And dom shal sitte, that power be taken
away, and be broken to gydre, and pe-
27 rishe til into the eende. The rewme
forsothe, and power, and the gretenesse
of rewme, whiche is vndre al heuen, be
3ouen to the peple of halewis of the
hee3ist, whose rewme is euerlastinge
rewme, and alle folkis shuln serue to
28 hym, and obeye. Til hidre the eende of
the word. Y, Danyel, in my thou3tis was
miche trublid, and my face is chaungid
in me; forsothe^e Y kepte to gidre the
word in my hert.

CAP. VIII.

1 In the thrid 3eer of rewme of Baltha-
sar, kyng, a vysionun apeeride to me. Y,
Danyel, after that thing whiche Y hadde
2 seen in the bygynnyng, saw3 in my vi-
sionun, whan I was in the castel Susis,
whiche is in the cuntre of Helam; for-
sothe I saw3 in visionun me for to be
3 vpon the 3ate Vlay. And Y rayside myn
ee3en, and saw3; and loo! oo wether
stode byfore the mareis, hauynge hee3
horns, and oon hee3er than an other, and
4 vndrewexinge. Afterward Y sawe the
wether with hornys wyndowyng, *or*
castynge down, azeinus the eest, and
azeinus the west, and azeinus the north,
and azeinus the south; and alle beestis
mizten not azein stonde it, nether be de-
lyuerd fro the hondis therof. And he dide
5 vp his wille, and is magnyfiyd. And I
vndirstode. Lo! forsothe a buk of geet

make lesse that *erthe*. Forsothe ten hornes 24
schulen be ten kyngis of that rewme; and
another *kyng* schal rise after hem, and he
schal be miztiere than the formere, and he
schal make low thre kyngis. And he schal 25
speke wordis a3ens the hi3 *God*, and he
schal defoule the seyntis of the hi3este;
and he schal gesse, that he mai chaunge
tymes and lawis; and thei schulen be
3ouun in^c to his hondis, til to tyme, and
times, and the half of tyme^d. And doom 26
schal sitte, that the power be takun awei,
and be al to-brokun, and perische til in to
the ende. Sotheli that the rewme, and 27
power, and the^e greetnesse of rewme,
which is vndur ech heuene, be 3ouun to
the puple of the^f seintis of the hi3este,
whos rewme is euerlastynge rewme, and
alle kingis schulen serue, and obeie to hym.
Hidur to is the ende of the word. Y, Da- 28
nyel, was disturblid myche in my thou3tis,
and my face was chaungid in me; for-
sothe Y kepte the word in myn herte.

CAP. VIII.

In the thridde 3eer of the rewme of 1
Balthasar, the king, a visionun apperide to
me. Y, Danyel, after that thing that Y
hadde seyn in the bigynnyng, si3 in my 2
visionun, whanne Y was in the castel of
Susis, which is in the cuntrei of Helam;
sotheli Y si3 in the visionun that Y was on
the 3ate Vlay. And Y reiseide myn i3en, 3
and Y si3; and lo! o ram stood bifor the
mareis, and hadde hi3 hornes, and oon
hi3ere than the tother^g, and vndurwex-
ynge. Aftirward Y si3 the ram wyndew- 4
ynge with hornes a3ens the eest, and a3ens
the west, and a3ens the north, and a3ens
the south; and alle beestis my3ten not
azenstonde it, nether be delyuered fro the
hondis of it. And it dide bi his wille, and
was magnified. And Y vndurstode. Lo! 5
forsothe a buk of geet cam fro the west
on the face of al erthe, and touchide not

y for A.

^c Om. I. ^d tymes GI. ^e Om. N. ^f Om. I. ^g oother I.

came fro the west vpon the face of al erthe, and touchide not the erthe; forsothe the buk hadde a noble horn bitwixe
 6 his eezen; and came vnto the ylk wether horned, whiche Y saw³ stondynge byfore the 3ate, and he ran to hym in bir of his
 7 strengthe. And whenn he neizede ni³ the wether, he dide crueli in to hym, and he smote the wether, and he brake to gidre two hornys of hym, and the wether mi³te not withstonde hym. And when he sente hym in to the erthe, he defoulide hym; and no man mi³te delyuere the wether of
 8 his hond. Forsothe the buk of geet is maad grete ful miche; and whan he hadde waxen, the grete horn is brosten, and foure horns ben brou³t forth vndir
 9 it, bi foure wyndis of heuen. Eftsoone forsothe of hem oo litil horne wente out, and it is maad grete a³einus the south, and a³einus the eest, and a³einus strengthe.
 10 And it is magnyfyed vnto the strengthe of heuen, and castide doun of strengthe
 11 and of sterris, and defoulide hem. And vnto the prince of strengthe he is magnyfyed, and fro hym he toke the contynuel sacrifice, and castide doun the
 12 place of halewyng of hym. Forsothe strengthe is 3ouen to hym a³einus the contynuel sacrifice for synnes, and trewth shal be cast doun in erthe; and he shal
 13 haue prosperite, and shal do. And Y herde oon of the saintus spekyng; and oo saynt saide to an other, Y noote to whom spekyng, Hou longe deuysioun, and the contynuel sacrifice, and synne of desolacioun, or *discoumfort*, that is maad, and sayntuarie, and strengthe shal be de-
 14 foulid? And he saide to hym, Vnto euenyng and morewnyng, days two thousand and three hundred; and the sayntuarie
 15 shal be clensid. Forsothe it is don, when Y, Danyel, sawe the visioun, and sou³te vndirstondyng, loo! there stode in my
 16 si³t as the fourme of man. And Y herde a voice of the man bytwixe Vlay, and he criede, and saith, Gabriel, make thou this

the erthe; forsothe the buk of geet hadde a noble horn bitwixe hise i³en; and he
 6 cam til to that horned ram, which Y hadde seyn stondynge bifore the 3ate, and he ran in the fersnesse of his strengthe to that *ram*. And whanne he hadde neizid
 7 ni³ the ram, he hurlide^h fersly on hym, and he smoot the ram, and al to-brak tweyne hornes of hym, and the ram mi³te not azenstonde hym. And whanne he hadde sent that *ram* in to erthe, he defoulide; and no man mi³te delyuere the ram fro his hond. Forsothe the buk of
 8 geet was maad ful greet; and whanne he hadde encreessid, the greet horn was brokun, and foure hornes risiden vndur it, bi foure wyndis of heuene. Forsothe
 9 of oon of hem 3ede out o litil horn, and it was maad greet a³ens the south, and a³ens the eest, and a³ens the strengthe. And it
 10 was magnefied til to the strengthe of heuene, and it castide doun of the strengthe and^l of sterris, and defoulide tho. And
 11 he was magnefied til to the prince of strengthe, and he took awei fro hym the contynuel sacrifice, and castide doun the place of his halewyng. Forsothe strengthe
 12 was 3ouun to hym a³ens the contynuel sacrifice for synnes, and treuthe schal be cast doun in erthe; and he schal haue prosperite, and schal do. And Y herde
 13 oon of hooli *aungels* spekyng; and oon hooli *aungel* seide to another, Y noot to whom spekinge, Hou long the visioun, and the^k contynuel sacrifice, and the synne of desolacioun, which is maad, and the seyntuarie, and the strengthe schal be defoulid?
 And he seide to hym, Til to the^l euentid
 14 and morewtid, two thousynde daies and thre hundrid; and the seyntuarie schal be clensid. Forsothe it was doon, whanne
 15 Y, Danyel, si³ the visioun, and axide the vndurstondyng, lo! as the licesse of a man stood in my si³t. And Y herde the
 16 voys of a man bitwixe Vlai, and he criede, and seide, Gabriel, make thou *Danyel* to vndurstonde this visioun. And he cam,
 17

^h hurlide ns. ^l Om. A pr. m. ^j Om. s pr. m. ^k Om. n. ^l Om. n.

17 for to vndirstonde the visioun. And he came, and stode bysidis wher Y stode; and when he came, Y dreedyng felle down in to my face. And he saith to me, Vndirstonde thou, sone of man, for in the tyme of eende diuisioun shal be
18 fulfillid. And when he spac to me, Y slode to gydre down riȝt in to the erthe. And he touchide me, and sette me in
19 my degree. And he saide to me, Y shal shewe to thee what thingis ben to cummyng in the last of cursidnesse, for
20 tyme hath his eende. The wether, *or ram*, whom thou hast seen for to haue hornys, is the kyng of Medis and Persis.
21 Forsothe the geet buk is the king of Grekis; and the grete horn that was bi-
22 twix his eezen, is the first kyng. Forsothe that, it broken, foure han rysen for it, foure kyngus shuln to gydre ryse of that folc, bot not in the strengthe of
23 hym. And after the rewme of hem, whenn wickidnesses shuln wexe, there shal ryse a king vnshamfast in face, and vndirstondynge proposiciouns, *or re-*
24 *souns*; and his strengthe shal be maad mizty, bot not in his own strengthis. And ouer that it may be byleeued he shal waste alle thingus, and shal haue prosperite, and shal do. And he shal slea stronge men, and the peple of sayntus,
25 after his wille, and gyle shal be dressid in his hond. And he shal magnyfie his hert, and in plente of alle thingus he shal slea ful manye. And he shal ryse to gydre aȝeins the prince of princis, and with outen hond he shal be broken to gydre.
26 And the visioun, that is said in euening and morewnyng, is trewe. Therefore seale thou, *or marke*, the visyoun, for
27 after manye days it shal be. And Y, Danyel, languyshide, and was seeke by ful manye days; and when Y roos, Y dide the werkis of the kyng; and I wondride at the visioun, and ther was not whiche shulde interprete, *or expoun*.

and stood bisidis where Y stood; and whanne he was comun, Y dredde, and felle on my face. And he seide to me, Thou, sone of man, vndurstonde, for the visioun schal be fillid in the^m tyme of ende. And whanne he spak to me, Y¹⁸ slood down 'plat to the ertheⁿ. And he touchide me, and settide me in my degree. And he seide to me, Y schal schewe to¹⁹ thee what thingis schulen come in the laste of cursing, for the^o tyme hath his ende. The ram, whom thou sizest haue²⁰ hornes, is the kyng of Medeis and of Perseis. Forsothe the buc of geet is the²¹ kyng of Grekis; and the greet horn that was bitwixe hise iȝen, he is the firste kyng. Forsothe that whanne that *horn*²² was brokun, foure *hornes* risiden for it, foure kyngis schulen rise of the folc of hym, but not in the strengthe of hym. And after the rewme of hem, whanne²³ 'wickidnessis han^p encreessid, a kyng schal rise vnschamefast in face, and vndurstondynge proposisiouns, *ether resouns set forth*; and his strengthe schal be maad stalworthe,²⁴ but not in hise strengthis. And more than it mai be bileuyd he schal waste alle thingis, and he schal haue prosperite, and schal do. And he schal sle stronge men, and the puple of seyntis, bi his wille, and²⁵ gile schal be dressid in his hond. And he schal magnifie his herte, and in abundance of alle thingis he schal sle ful many men. And he schal rise aȝens the prince of princes, and withouten hond he schal be al to-brokun. And the visioun, which²⁶ is seid in the morewtid and euentid, is trewe. Therfor seele thou the visioun, for it schal be after many daies. And Y,²⁷ Danyel, was astonyed, and was sijk bi ful many daies; and whanne Y hadde rise, Y dide the werkis of the kyng; and Y was astonyed at the visioun, and 'noon was^q that interpretide^r.

^m Om. 1. ⁿ grouelinge on [the 1] erthe, *ether plat to the erthe* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. *grouelinge, ether plat to the erthe* Y. ^o Om. 1. ^p wickidnesse han A *pr. m.* CHSUX. *wickidnesse hath* GIMNQ. ^q ther was noon 1. ^r interpretide, *either expoundede* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.

CAP. IX.

1 In the first 3eer of Darius, sone of
Assuerus, of the seed of Meedis, whiche
comaundide vpon the rewme of Caldeis,
2 in oo 3eer of his rewme, Y, Danyel, vn-
dirstode in bokis the^z noumbre of 3eeris,
of whiche the word of the Lord is maad
to^a Jeremye, the prophete, that seuenti
3 eeris of desolacioun of Jerusalem shulden
be fulfillid. And Y putte my face to the
Lord my God, for to preye and byseche
4 in fastyngis, sac, and ashe. And Y
preyede the Lord my God, and I knaw-
lechide, and sayde, Y biseche, thou Lord
God, grete and dreedful, kepynge coue-
naunt and mercy to men louynge thee,
5 and kepynge thi maundementis. We
han synned, we han don wickidnesse,
vnpytously we diden, and wenten away,
and bowiden away fro thi maundementis
6 and domys. We obeyeden not to thi
seruauntis, prophetis, that spaken in thi
name to our kyngis, oure princis, oure
7 fadris, and to al peple of the lond. Lord,
to thee ri3twisnesse, forsothe to vs con-
fusioun of face, as is to day to man of
Juda, and dwellers of Jerusalem, and to
al Yrael, to these that ben ni3, and to
these that ben fer in alle londis, to whom
thou castidist hem out for the wickid-
nessis of hem, in whiche thei synnyden
8 in thee, Lord. To vs confusioun of face,
to oure kyngis, oure princis, and to oure
9 fadris, that synned; forsothe to thee,
Lord oure God, mercye and helpe. For
10 we wenten away fro thee, and herden
not the voice of the Lord oure God, that
we shulde walke in his lawe, whiche he
puttide to vs by his seruauntis, prophetis.
11 And al Yrael braken thi lawe, and bow-
iden away, that thei herden not thi voice;
and curse droppide on vs, and wlatyng-
nesse, that is writen in the boke of Moy-
ses, seruaunt of God, for we han synned
12 to hym. And he ordeynede his wordis,

CAP. IX.

In the firste 3eer of Darius, the sone of
Assuerus, of the seed of Medeis, that was
emperour on the rewme of Caldeis, in the 2
firste 3eer of his rewme, Y, Danyel, vn-
durstood in bookis the noumbre of 3eeris,
of which *noumbre* the word of the Lord
was maad to Jeremye, the profete, that
seuenti 3eer of desolacioun of Jerusalem
schulde be fillid. And Y settide my face 3
to my Lord God, to preie and to^a biseche
in fastyngis, in sak, and aische^t. And Y 4
preiede my Lord God, and Y knoulechide,
and seide, Y biseche, thou Lord God, greet
and ferdful, kepynge couenaunt and mercy
to hem that louen thee, and kepen thi
comaundementis. We han synned, we han 5
do wickidnesse, we diden unfeithfuli, and
3eden awei, and bowiden awei fro thi co-
maundementis and domes. We obeieden 6
not to thi seruauntis, profetis, that spaken
in thi name to oure kyngis, to oure princes,
and toⁿ oure fadris, and to al the puple of
the lond. Lord, ri3tfulnesse *is* to thee, 7
forsothe schenschipec of face *is* to vs, as
is to dai to a man of Juda, and to the
dwelleris of Jerusalem, and to al Israe1,
to these men that ben ni3, and to these
men that ben afer in alle londis, to which
thou castidist hem out for the wickidnessis
of hem, in whiche, Lord, thei synned
a3ens thee. Shame of face *is* to vs, to 8
oure kyngis, to oure princes, and to oure
fadris, that synned; but merci and be- 9
nygnytee *is* to thee, oure Lord God. For
we 3eden awei fro thee, and herden not 10
the vois of oure Lord God, that we schul-
den go in the lawe of hym, whiche he
settide to vs bi hise seruauntis, profetis.
And al Israe1 braken thi lawe, and bow- 11
iden awei, that thei herden not thi vois;
and cursyng, and wlatyng, which is writun
in the book of Moises, the seruaunt of
God, droppide on vs, for we synned to
hym. And he ordeynede hise wordis, 12

^z of A. ^a in to GH.

^s Om. IN. ^t in aische N. ⁿ Om. C sec. m. EFGHIKMNQRSUX.

whiche he spac vpon vs, and vpon oure princis, that demyden vs, that thei schulden aboue lede yn in to vs grete yuel, what maner was neuer vndir al heuen, vp that
 13 it is don in Jerusalem, as it is writen in the lawe of Moyses. Al this yuel came vpon vs, and we preyeden not thi face, Lord oure God, that we schulden turne azein fro oure wickidnessis, and schulden
 14 thinke thi trewthe. And the Lord wakide on his malice, and brouzt it vpon vs; iust the Lord oure God in alle his werkis whiche he dide, forsothe we herden not
 15 the voice of hym. And now, Lord oure God, that leddist out thi peple of the lond of Egypt in strong hond, and madist to thee a name vp this day, we han synned,
 16 we diden wickidnesse, Lord, in to al thi riztwisnesse. Y biseche, be thi wrath turned away and thi woodnesse fro thi citee Jerusalem, and fro thin holy hill; forsothe for oure synnes, and wickidnessis of oure fadris, Jerusalem and al thi peple ben in shenshippe, to alle men bi oure
 17 cumpas. Now forsothe, oure God, heere the orisoun of thi seruaunt, and preyeres of hym, and shewe thi face on thi sayntuarie, that is desert. For thi self thou, my God, bowe thin eere, and heere; opyn thin eezen, and see oure desolacioun, and the cite, on whom thi name is yn clepid. Forsothe nether in oure iustifyngus we casten forth preeyeres byfore thi face, bot in thi manye doynigus of mercy.
 18 Heer thou, Lord; be thou plesid, Lord, perceyue, and do; dwelle thou, *or tarye*, not, for thi self, Lord my God, for thi name is in clepid vpon the cytee, and
 20 vpon thi peple. And whan 3it I spac, and preyede, and knowlachide my synnes, and synnys of my peple Yrael, that Y shedde out preyers in sizt of my God, for
 21 the holy hill of my God, 3it me spekynge in my preyer, loo! the man Gabriel, whom I saw3 in visioun fro the bygynnyng, soone fleezinge touchide me
 22 in tyme of euen sacrifice; and tauzt me,

whiche he spak on vs, and on oure princes, that demyden vs, that thei schulden brynge in on vs greet yuel, what maner *yuel* was neuer vndur al heuene, bi that that is doon in Jerusalem, as it is writun in the lawe
 13 of Moises. Al this yuel cam on vs, and, oure Lord God, we preieden not thi face, that we schulden turne azen fro oure wickidnessis, and schulden thenke thi treuthe. And the Lord wakide on ma-
 14 lice, and brouzt it on vs; oure Lord God is iust in alle his werkis whiche he made, for we herden not his vois. And now,
 15 Lord^v God, that leddist thi puple out of the lond of Egypt in strong hond, and madist to thee a name bi this dai, we han synnede, we han do wickidnesse, Lord,
 16 azens thi^w riztfulnesse. Y biseche, thi wraththe and thi stronge veniaunce be turned away fro thi citee Jerusalem, and fro thi hooli hil; for whi for oure synnes, and for the wickidnessis of oure fadris, Jerusalem and thi puple ben in schenshippe, to alle men bi oure cumpas. But
 17 now, oure God, here thou the preyer of thi seruaunt, and the bisechyngis of him, and schewe thi face on thi^x seyntuarie, which is forsakun. My God, for thi silf
 18 boowe down thin eere, and here; opene thin izen, and se oure desolacioun, and the citee, on which thi name is clepid to help. For not in oure iustifyngis we setten forth mekeli preiers bifor thi face, but in thi many merciful doynigus. Lord, here thou;
 19 Lord, be thou plesid, perseyue thou, and do; my Lord God, tarie thou not, for thi silf, for thi name is clepid to help on the citee, and on thi puple. And whanne Y
 20 spak 3it, and preiede, and knoulechide my synnes, and the synnes of my puple Israel, that Y schulde sette forth mekeli my preieris in the sizt of my God, for the hooli hil of my God, the while Y spak
 21 3it in my preyer, lo! the man Gabriel, whom Y hadde seyn in visioun at the bygynnyng, flei soone, and touchide me in the tyme of euentid sacrifice; and he
 22

^v oure Lord ru. ^w al thi u *sec. m.* ^x the n.

and spac to me, and saide, Danyel, now Y am gon out, that Y shulde teche thee, and thou shulddest vndirstonde. Fro the bygynnyng of thi preyers a word passide out. Forsothe Y came for to shewe to thee, for thou art a man of desijris; forsothe perceyue thou the word, and vndirstonde the visioun. Seuenti weekis ben abreggid on thi peple, and vpon thin holi citee, and trespassyng shal ben eendid, and synne shal take eend, and wickidnesse shal be don away, and rijt wysnesse euerlastyng shal be led to, and the visioun shal be fulfillid, and prophecie, and the holy of halewis shal be anoyntid. Therefore wite thou, and perceyue; fro bygynnyng of the word, that Jerusalem eftsone be beeldid, til to Crist, duyck, seuen weekis and two and sixti weekis shuln be; and eftsoone the strete shal be beeldid, and wallis, in anguyshe, or streytnesse, of tymes. And after two and sixti weekis Crist shal be slayn. And it shal not be the peple of hym, that is to denyng hym. And the peple shal distruye the citee and sayntuarie, with the duyke to comynge; and the eende of hym waastyng, and^b after the eende of bataile ordeynd desolacioun. Forsothe he shal conferme the couenaunt with manye oo weeke, and in the half of a weeke oost and sacrifice shal fayle; and in the temple abomynacioun of desolacioun shal be, and vnto the eendyng and eende the desolacioun shal last.

CAP. X.

In the thrid 3eer of rewme^c of Cyrus, kyng of Persis, a word is toke a3ein to Danyel, by name Balthasar; and the word trewe, and grete strengthe, and he vndirstode the word; forsothe vndirstondyng is neede in visioun. In tho days Y, Danyel, weilide in days of three weekis; Y eete not desireful breede, and

tau3t me, and he spak to me, and seide, Danyel, now Y 3ede out, that Y schulde teche thee, and thou schuldest vndurstonde. Fro the bigynnyng of thi preieris a word 3ede out. Forsothe Y cam to schewe to thee, for thou art a man of desiris; therfor perseyue thou the word, and vndurstonde thou the visioun. Seuenti woukis^{* 24} of 3eeris ben abreggid on thi puple, and on thin hooli citee, that trespassyng be endid, and synne take an ende, and that wickidnesse be doon awei, and euerlastyng rijtfulnesse be brou3t, and that the visioun, and^y prophesie be fillid, and the hooli of seyntis be anoyntid. Therfor wite thou, and perseyue; fro the goyng out of the word, that Jerusalem be bildid eft, til to Crist, the duyck, schulen be seuen woukis of 3eeris and two and sixti woukis of 3eeris; and eft the street schal be bildid, and wallis, in the angwisch of tymes. And after two and sixti woukis²⁶ of 3eeris² Crist schal be slayn. And it schal not be his puple, that schal denye hym. And the puple with the duyck to comynge schal distrie the citee, and the seyntuarie; and the ende therof schal be distriyng, and after the ende of batel schal be ordeynede desolacioun. Forsothe wouk²⁷ of 3eeris^a schal conferme the couenaunt to many men, and the offryng and sacrifice schal faile in the myddis^b of the wouke of 3eeris; and abhomynacioun of desolacioun schal be in the temple, and the desolacioun schal contynue til to the parformyng and ende.

CAP. X.

In^c the thridde 3eer of the rewme of¹ Sirus, kyng of Perseis, a word was schewid to Danyel, Balthasar bi name; and a trewe word, and greet strengthe, and he vndurstood the word; for whi vndurstondyng is nedeful in visioun. In tho daies² Y, Danyel, mourenyde bi the daies of thre woukis; Y eet not desirable breed, and³

²⁴ * Seuenti woukis; here a wouke is nedis takun for a wouke of 3eeris, and so ech wouk here conteyneth vij. 3eer. Live here. CGQU.

^b Om. A. ^c the rewme AG sec. m.

^y of N. ² Om. I. ^a Om. I. ^b myd N. ^c And in I.

fleshe and wyne entriden not in to my mouth, bot nether with oynement Y was anoyntid, til days of three weekis weren fulfillid. Forsothe in the fourthe and twentithe day of the first moneth, Y was bysydis the grete flode, that is Tigris. And I reyside myn eezen, and saw³, and loo! oo man clothid in lynnyn, and his reyns gird to with shynyng gold; and his body as crisolitus, and his face as fourme of leyt, and his eezen as a laumpe brennyng, and his armys and whiche thing is downward vn to the feet as fourme of brasse waxinge whyte, and the voice of his wordis as voice of multitude. Forsothe Y, Danyel, aloone sawe the visioun; sothely the men that weren with me, sawen not, bot ful myche dreed felle vp on hem, and thei fledden in to an hid place. Forsothe Y left aloone sawe this greet visioun, and strengthe abode not in me; bot and my fourme is chaungid in me, and Y was drye, *or welewid*, nether hadde eny thing of strengthis. And Y herde the voice of his wordis, and Y heerynge laye castidoun, *or ferd*, vpon my face, and my cheer cleuyde to the erthe. And loo! an hond touchide me, and reyside me on my knees, and vpon^d the fyngris of myn hondis. And he sayde to me, Danyel, man of desiris, vndirstonde the wordis whiche Y speke to thee, and stonde thou in thi degree; now forsothe Y am sente to thee. And whenn he saide to me this word, Y stode tremblynge. And he saith to me, Danyel, nyl thou dreede, for of the first day in whiche thou puttidist thin herte for to vndirstonde, that thou shulddest tourmente thee in sizt of thi God, thin wordis ben herde, and Y came for thi wordis. Forsothe the prince of the kingdam of Persis azein stode me oon and twenti days, and loo! Mychael, oon of the first princis, came in to myn help, and Y abode there bysidis the kyng of

fleisch, and wyn entride not into my mouth, but nethir Y was anoynted with oynement, til the daies of thre woukis weren fillid. Forsothe in the foure and twentithe dai of the firste monethe, Y was bisidis the greet flood, which is Tigris. And Y reyside myn izen, and Y siz, and^e lo! o man *was* clothid with lynun clothis, and hise reynes *weren* gird with schynyng gold; and his bodi *was* as crisolitus, and his face *was* as the licnesse of leit, and hise izen *weren* as^d a^e brennyng laumpe, and hise armes and tho thingis that weren bynethe til to the feet *weren* as the licnesse of bras beyng whijt, and the vois of hise wordis *was* as the vois of multitude. Forsothe Y, Danyel, aloone siz the^f visioun; certis the^g men that weren with me, sien not, but ful greet ferdfulnesse felle yn on hem, and thei fledden in to an hid place. But Y was left aloone, *and Y* siz this greet visioun, and strengthe dwellide not in me; but also my licnesse was chaungid in me, and Y was stark, and Y hadde not in me ony thing of strengthis. And Y herde the vois of hise wordis, and Y herde, and lay astonyed on my face, and my face cleuyde to the erthe. And lo! an hond touchide me, and reyside me on my knees, and on the toes of my feet. And he seide to me, Thou, Danyel, a man of desiris, vndurstonde the wordis whiche Y speke to thee, and stonde in thi degree; for now Y am sent to thee. And whanne he hadde seid this word to me, Y stood quakyng. And he seide to me, Danyel, nyle thou drede, for fro the firste dai in which thou settidist thin herte to vndurstonde, that thou schuldest turmente thee in the sizt of thi God, thi wordis weren herd, and Y cam for thi wordis. Forsothe the prince of the rewme of Perseis azenstood me oon and twenti daies, and lo! My³hel, oon of the firste princis, cam in to myn help, and Y dwellide stille there bisidis the kyng of Perseis. Forsothe Y am comun to teche

^d on A.^c Om. A *pr. m.* ^d Om. N. ^e Om. L. ^f a A. ^g tho I.

14 Persis. Forsothe Y came for to teche thee, what thingis ben to cummyng to thi peple in the last days; for 3it the visoun is deferrid, *or drawen alonge*,
 15 in to days. And whann he spac to me sicke maner wordis, Y keste down my
 16 cheer to the erthe, and was stille. And lo! as the licnesse of the sone of man touchide my lippis; and Y opnyng my mouth spac, and saide to hym that stode byfore me, My Lord, in thi visoun my ioynctouris ben vnbounden, and no thing
 17 of strengthis aboden in me. And how may the seruauent of my Lord speke with my Lord? no thing of strengthis aboode in me, bot and my brethe is closid bi-
 18 twixe, *or stoppide*. Therefore eftsoone as the sijt of man touchide me, and coun-
 19 fortide me, and saide, Nyl thou dreede, thou man of desyrs; pees to thee, be thou coumfortid, and be thou strong. And whann he spac with me, Y waxe stronge, and saide, Speke thou, my Lord, for and
 20 thou hast coumfortide me. And he saith, Wher thou wast, whi Y came to thee? And now Y shal turne azein, for to fize azeinus the prince of Persis. Forsothe whann Y wente out, the prince of Greekis
 21 apeeride cummyng. Nethese Y shal telle to thee, what thing is expressid in the wrytyng of trewthe; and no man is myn helper in alle these thingis, no bot Mizhel, 3our prince.

CAP. XI.

1 Forsothe fro^e the first 3eer of Darius of Mede Y stode, that he schulde be coum-
 2 fortid, and strengthid. And now Y shal telle to thee trewthe. And loo! three kyngus shul stonde in Persis, and the fourthe shal be maad riche with ful manye richessis ouer alle men. And whanne he shal be stronge in his richessis, he shal stire to gydre alle men
 3 azeinus the rewme of Grece. Forsothe a stronge kyng shal rijse, and shal lord-

thee, what thingis schulen come to thi puple in the laste daies; for 3it the visoun is delaied in to daies. And whanne he¹⁵ spak to me bi sicke wordis, Y castide down my cheer to erthe^h, and was stille. And¹⁶ lo! as the licnesse of sone^l of man^k touchide my lippis; and Y openyde my mouth, and spak, and seide to hym that stood bifore me, My Lord, in thi sijt my ioynctis ben vnknit, and no thing of strengthis dwellide in me. And hou schal the seru-¹⁷ aunt of my Lord mow speke with my Lord? no thing of strengthis dwellide in me, but also my breeth is cloyde bitwixe. Ther-¹⁸ for eft as the sijt of a man touchide me, and coumfortide me, and seide, Man of¹⁹ desiris, nyle thou drede; pees *be* to thee, be thou coumfortid, and be thou strong. And^l whanne he spak with me, Y^m wexide strong and seide, My Lord, speke thou, for thou hast coumfortid me. And he²⁰ seide, Whether thou woost not, whi Y cam to thee? And now Y schal turne azen, to fize azens the prince of Perseis. For whanne Y 3ede out, the prince of Grekis apperide comyng. Nethes Y²¹ schal telle to thee that, that is expressid in the scripture of treuthe; and noon is myn helpere in alle these thingis, no but Myzhel, 3oureⁿ prynce.

CAP. XI.

Forsothe fro the firste 3eer of Darius of¹ Medei Y stood, that he schulde be coumfortid, and maad strong. And now Y² schal telle to thee the treuthe. And lo! thre kyngis schulen stonde 3it in Persis, and the fourthe schal be maad riche with ful many richessis ouer alle. And whanne he hath woxe strong bi hise richessis, he schal reise alle men azens the rewme of Greece. Forsothe a strong kyng schal³ rise, and shal be lord in greet power, and

^e in A.

^h the erthe K sec. m. ⁱ the sone I. ^k a man C F G H K M N sec. m. P Q S X sec. m. ^l Om. N S. ^m and Y N S.
ⁿ oure N.

shipe with myche power, and that, that
 4 shal plese to hym, shal do. And whanne
 he shal stonde, his rewme shal be broken,
 and shal be departid in to foure wyndis
 of heuen, bot not in to his folewers *of*
bloode, nether after his power, in whiche
 he lordshipide; the rewme of hym shal
 be departid, and^f in to alyens, out taken
 5 these. And the kyng of southe^g shal be
 coumfortide; and of the princis of hym
 ther shal be strengthe ouer hym, and
 shal be lord in lordship; forsothe his
 6 lordshipyng myche. And after the eende
 of 3eeris thei shuln be knyht in pees; and
 the dou3ter of kyng of south^h shal come
 to the kyng of the north, for to make
 frenship. And she shal not haue strengthe
 of arm, nether hir seed shal stonde; and
 she shal be bitaken, and hir 3unge men
 that ledden hir to, and thei that coum-
 7 fortiden hir in tymes. And a plauntyng
 shal stonde of the buriownyng of hir
 rootis; and he shal cum with an oost, and
 shal entre the prouynce of the kyng of
 the north, and he shal mysuse hem, and
 8 shal weelde the goddis of hem, and grauen
 thingus. And he shal lede the precious
 vessels of gold and syluer caitif, *or taken*
in bataile, in to Egipt. He shal haue vic-
 9 torie a3einus the kyng of the north; and
 the kyng of the south shal entre in to
 the kyngdam, and shal turne a3einⁱ in toⁱ
 10 his lond. Forsothe the sonys of hym
 shuln be stirid to wrath, and thei shuln
 gadre the multitude of ful manye oostis.
 And he shal cum hijinge and flowynge,
 and he shal turne a3ein, and shal be
 stirid, and go to gydre with strengthe
 11 of hym. And the kyng of the south
 terid to wrath, shal go out, and f3zte
 a3einus the kyng of the north, and shal
 make redy a ful grete multitude; and
 multitude shal be 3ouen in the hond of
 12 hym. And he shal take multitude, and
 the horn of hym shal be enhaunsid; and
 he shal cast down many thousandis, bot

shal do that, that schal plese hym. And 4
 whanne he schal stonde, his rewme schal
 be al to-brokun, and it schal be departid
 in to foure wyndis of heuene, but not in
 to^o hise eiris^p, nether bi the power of
 hym in which he was lord; for his rewme
 schal be to-rente, 3he, in to straungeris,
 outakun these. And the kyng of the 5
 south schal be coumfortid; and of the
 princes of hym oon schal haue power
 aboue hym, and he schal be lord in power;
 for whi his lordschipe *shal be* myche.
 And after the ende of 3eeris^q thei schulen^q 6
 be knyht in pees; and the dou3ter of the
 kyng of the south schal come to the kyng
 of the north, to make frenschipe. And sche
 schal not gete strengthe of arm, nether
 the seed of hir schal stonde; and sche schal
 be bitakun, and the 3onglyngis of hir that
 brou3ten hir, and he that coumfortide hir
 in tymes. And a^r plauntyng of the seed of 7
 the rootis of hir schal stonde; and he
 schal come with an oost, and schal entre
 in to the prouynce of the kyng of the
 north, and he schal mysuse hem, and he
 schal gete; ferthir more *he schal gete* both 8
 the goddis of hem. and grauun ymagis.
 Also^s he schal lede into Egipt precieuse
 vessels of gold, and of siluer, takun in
 batel. He schal haue the maistrie a3ens the
 kyng of the north; and the kyng of the 9
 south schal entre in to the rewme, and
 schal turne a3en to his lond. Forsothe 10
 the sones of hym schulen be stirid to
 wraththe, and thei schulen gadre togidere
 a multitude of ful many coostis. And he
 schal come hastyng and flowynge, and he
 schal turne a3en, and schal be stirid, and
 schal bigynne batel with his strengthe.
 And the king of the south schal be stirid, 11
 and schal go out, and schal f3zte a3ens the
 kyng of the north, and schal make redi a
 ful grete multitude; and the multitude
 schal be 3ouun in his hond. And he schal 12
 take the multitude, and his herte schal be
 enhaunsid; and he schal caste down many

^f Om. A. ^g the south A. ^h the south K pr. m. ⁱ to AGH.

^o Om. A pr. m. CEF GHIK pr. m. MNQRSU pr. m. X. ^p ether a3tircomers K marg. ^q he schal I. ^r Om. A.
^s And NX.

13 he shal not haue victorie. The kyng of the^h north shal be conuertid, and shal make redy a multitude, miche more than byfore; and in the eende of tymes and 3eeris he shal cum hijinge with the most
14 oost, and ful many richessis. And in tho tymes many shuln ryse to gydre azeinus the kyng of southⁱ; and sones of trespassours of thi peple shuln be enhaunsid, that thei fulfille the visioun, and
15 shulnⁱⁱ falle to gydre. And the^j kyng of the north shal cum, and shal bere to gydre hepis of erthe, and shal take strengist^k cytees; and the^l armys of the south shuln not susteyne^{ll}. And the chosen of hym shuln ryse to gydre, for to with-
16 stonde, and strengthe shal not be. And he cummynge 'vp on^m hym, shal do vp his likyng; and ther shal not be, whiche shal stonde azeinus his face. And he shal stonde in the noble lond, and it shal be
17 waastid in hond of hym. And he shal putte his face, that he cum for to holde al the rewme of hym, and he shal do rȳt thingus with hym. And he shal 3eue to hym the dou3tre of wymmen, that she turne hym vpsadoun; and it shal not
18 stonde, nether shal be his. And he shal turne his face to ylis, and shal take manye. And he shal make prince for to cese, and the shendship of hym shal be
19 turned in to hym. And he shal turne his face to the empire of his lond, and he shal hurtle, and shal falle, and shal
20 not be founden. And the foulst and vnworthi to kyngis fairnesse shal stonde in place of hym, and in fewe days he shal be broken to gydre, not in wode-
21 nesse, nether in batel. And a dispisid man shal stonde in his place, and kyngus honour shal not be 3ouen to hym; and he shal cum priuely, and shal weelde the
22 rewme in fraude doynge. And armys of theⁿ fȳtynge shuln be ouercummen of his face, and shuln be broken to gydre, more
23 ouer and the duyke of pees. And aftir

thousyndis, but he schal not haue the maistrie. For the kyng of the north schal¹³ turne, and schal make redi a multitude, myche more than bifore; and in the ende of tymes and of 3eeris he schal come hastynge with a ful greet oost, and with ful many richessis. And in tho tymes many¹⁴ men schulen rise togidere a3ens the kyng of the south; and the sones of trespassouris of thi puple schulen be enhaunsid, that thei fille the visioun, and thei schulen falle down. And the kyng of the north schal¹⁵ come, and schal bere togidere erthe, he^t schal take strongeste citees; and the armes of the south schulen not susteyne. And the chosun men therof schulen rise togidere, to a3enstonde, and strengthe schal not be. And he schal come on hym, and schal do¹⁶ bi his wille; and noon schal be, that schal stonde a3ens his face. And he schal stonde in the noble lond, and it schal be wastid in his hond. And he schal sette his face,¹⁷ that he come to holde al the rewme of him, and he schal do rȳtful thingis with hym. And he schal 3yue to hym the dou3ter of wymmen, to distrie hym; and it schal not stonde, and it schal not be his. And he schal turne his face to ilis, and he¹⁸ schal take many *ilis*. And he schal make ceesse the prince of his schenschipe, and his schenschipe schal turne in to hym. And he schal turne his face to the lord-¹⁹schip of his loond, and he schal snapere, and falle down, and he schal not be foundun. And the vilest and vnworthi²⁰ to the kyngis onour schal stonde in the place of hym, and in fewe daies he schal be al to-brokun, not in woodnesse, nether in batel. And a dispisid man schal stonde²¹ in the place of hym, and the onour of a kyng schal not be 3ouun to hym; and he schal come priuely, and he schal gete the rewme bi gile. And the armes of the²² fȳtere schulen be ouercomun of his face, and schulen be al to-brokun, ferthermore and the duyke of boond of pees. And after²³

^h Om. G pr. m. K pr. m. ⁱ the southe G sec. m. ⁱⁱ thei shulen A. ^j Om. K pr. m. ^k strengthid A.
^l Om. AGH. ^{ll} susteine him G sec. m. ^m on AGHK pr. m. ⁿ Om. A.

^t and he U sec. m.

frendship with hym, he shal do gyle. And he shal stize vp, and ouercume lital peple; 24 and he shal entre plenteuous and grete citees, and shal do whiche thingis the fadris of hym diden not, and fadris of fadris of hym. He shal scatere raueyns, and prayes, and ricchessis of hem, and he shal bygynne, *or go yn*, counseile azeinus saddist thouȝtis, and this thing vn to 25 tyme. And the strengthe of hym shal be stirid, and the herte of hym, azeinus the kyng of south in grete oost. And the kyng of south shal be terrid to bateil with manye helpis, and stronge ful myche; and thei shuln not stonde, for thei shuln go in to counseilis azeinus 26 hym. And thei etynge breede with hym shuln breke hym to gydre; and his oost shal be oppressid, and his slayn men ful 27 manye shuln falle. And the herte of two kyngus shal be, that thei do yuel, and at oo bord thei shuln speke lesyng, and thei shul not profite; for ȝit the eende in to 28 other tyme. And he shal turne azein to^o his lond with manye ricchessis, and his herte azeinus the holy testament, and he shal do, and shal turne azein 'in toⁿ his 29 lond. In tyme ordeynyd he shal cum azein, and shal cum to the south, and the 30 last shal not be lijc to the former. And grete shippis, and Romayns, shal cum vpon hym^q, and he shal be smyten. And he shal turne azein, and be wrothe azeinus the testament of the sayntuarie, and shal do. And he shal turne azein, and shal thinke azeinus hem that forsoken the tes- 31 tament of sayntuarye^r. And the armes of hym shuln stonde, and shuln defoule the sayntuarie of strengthe, and shuln take away the contynuel sacrifice, and shuln ȝeue abominacioun in to desola- 32 cioun. And vnpitous men shuln feyne gylfully a testament; forsothe the peple witynge her God shal weelde, and do. 33 And tauȝt men in peple shuln teche ful

frenschipe with hym, he schal do gyle. And he schal stie, and he^u schal ouercome with lital puple; and he schal entre in to grete 24 and riche citees, and he schal do thingis which hise fadris and the fadris of hise fadris diden not. He schal distrie the raueyns, and prei, and richessis of hem, and aȝens most stidfast thouȝtis he schal take counsel, and this 'vn to^v a tyme. And the 25 strengthe of hym, and the herte of hym schal be stirid aȝens the kyng of the south with a greet oost. And the king of the south schal be stirid to batel with many helpis and ful stronge; and thei schulen not stonde, for thei schulen take counsels aȝens hym. And thei that eeten breed 26 with hym schulen al to-breke hym; and his oost schal be oppressid, and ful many men of hise schulen be slayn, and falle down. And the herte of twei kyngis schal 27 be, that thei do yuel, and at o boord thei schulen speke leesyng, and thei schulen not profite; for ȝit the ende *schal be* in to an other tyme. And he schal turne aȝen 28 in to his lond with many richessis, and his herte *schal be* aȝens the hooli testament, and he schal do, and schal turne aȝen in to his lond. In tyme ordeyned 29 he schal turne aȝen, and schal come to the south, and the laste schal not^w be lijck the formere. And schippis with three or- 30 dris of ooris, and Romayns, schulen come on hym, and he schal be smytun. And he schal turne aȝen, and schal haue indignacioun aȝens the testament of seyntuarie, and he schal do. And he schal turne aȝen, and he schal thenke aȝens hem that forsoken the testament of seyntuarie. And 31 armes of hym schulen stonde, and schulen defoule the seyntuarie^x, and schulen take awei the contynuel sacrifice, and schulen ȝyue abhomynacioun in to desolacioun. And wickid men schulen feyne testament 32 gilefuli; but the puple that knowith her God schal holde, and do. And tauȝt men 33

^o in to AGH. P in GH. q Om. A. r the seyntuarie AG.

^u Om. CEFIMNQRSU.
^x of strengthe K marg.

^v til to CEFGHIMNPQRSUX.

^w Om. A pr. m. CEFGHIMNPQRS pr. m. v pr. m. x.

manye, and shuln falle in swerd, and in
flawme, and in caitiftee, and in to rauyn
34 of days. And whanne thei shuln falle
to gidre, thei shuln be reysid vp with
litol help; and ful many shuln be applied,
35 *or putt to*, to hem gylfully. And of
lerned men shuln falle, that thei be
wellyd to gydre, and be chosen, and be
maad whijt unto the tyme determynd;
36 for ȝit an other tyme schal be. And the
kyng schal do after his wille, and schal be
reysid vp, and magnyfyed aȝeinus eche
god, and aȝeines God of goddis he schal
speke great thingus; and he schal be
dressid, til wrath be fulfillid. Forsothe
37 diffinicioun, *or dome*, is fully don. And
he schal not rette the God of his fadris,
and he schal be in coueityngis of wym-
men, nether he schal recke eny of goddis,
for aȝeinus alle thingus he schal ryse to
38 gydre. Forsothe he schal wirshiþe god of
Maosym in his place, and he schal ho-
noure god, whom his fadris knewen not,
in gold, and syluer, and precious stoon,
39 and precious thingus. And he schal do
that he make stronge Maosym, with an
alien god whom he knewe not. And he
schal multiplie glorie, and schal ȝeue to
hem power in many thingus, and he schal
40 departe erth at his wille. And in tyme
sett^a the kyng of south^t schal fiȝt aȝeinus

in the puple schulen teche ful many men,
and schulen falle in swerd, and in flawme,
and in to^v caitifte, and in to rauelyn of
daies. And whanne thei han feld^z doun, 34
thei schulen be reysid bi a litil help; and
ful many men schulen be applied to hym^a
gilefuli. And of lerud men schulen falle, 35
that thei be wellid togidere, and be chosun,
and be maad whijt til to a^b tyme deter-
mynd; for ȝit another tyme schal be.
And the kyng^{*} schal do bi his wille, and 36
he schal be reysid, and magnified aȝens ech
god, and aȝens God of goddis he schal
speke grete thingis; and he schal be dressid,
til wrathfulnesse be fillid. For the deter-
mynyng is perfitli maad. And he^c schal 37
not arette the God of hise fadris, and he
schal be in the coueitisid^d of wymmen, and
he schal not charge ony of goddis, for he
schal rise aȝens alle thingis. Forsothe he 38
schal onoure god of Maosym in his place,
and he schal worschiþe god, whom hise
fadris knewen not, with gold, and siluer,
and preciose stoon, and preciose thingis.
And he schal do that he make strong 39
Moosym, with the alien god which he
knew. And he schal multiplie glorie, and
schal ȝyue power to hem in many thingis,
and schal departe the lond at his wille.
And in the tyme determynd the kyng of 40
the south schal fiȝte aȝens hym, and the

* And the king; that is, Anticrist. schal do bi his wille; for his malice schal be brouȝt to effect. These thingis ben seid of Antiok oneli, as he was figure of Anticrist, for these thingis ben not vere [verefied qu] of Antiok to the lettre, but oneli of Anticrist. reysid and magnified aȝenus ech god; as Poul seith in [the q] ij. Pistle to Tess. ij. c°. Anticrist is enhaunsid aboue al thing which is seid God, ether which is worschipid, and schewith him self as if he is God. And therfor this lettre mai not be ex-

powned no but of Anticrist, for whi Antiok reyside not him self aȝenus ech god, but he worschipe the idol of Jouys, and settide it in the temple of Jerusalem, and induside Jewis to the worschipping therof, as myche as he myste, as it is red in i. book and ij. book of Machabeus. and aȝenus God of goddis he schal speke grete thingis; for Anticrist schal speke dispisingis and blasfemyngis [blasfemies qu] aȝenus God of heuene, for he schal schewe him self as if he is God. he schal be dressid; for his malice schal be brouȝt to his purpos, for he schal sitte in the temple as if he is God, but not longe, for it sueth til wrathfulnesse of God be fillid on him, whanne bi Goddis vertu he schal die sudenli, as seintis seien, and the postle seith in ij. Pistle to Tess. ij. c°. The Lord Jhesu bi the spirit of his mouth schal sle Anticrist. the determynyng, etc.; as if he seide, it is determynd so in the biforknowing of God, and therfor it is so certeyn of tyme to comynge, as if he [it qu] were now doon of tyme passid. not arette the God of hise fadris; for Anticrist schal be born of Jewis, ether of Cristen men, that worschipe God of heuene, and Anticrist schal do awei his worschipping, and mystake to him self. and he schal be in the coueitisid of wymmen; for thouȝ Anticrist feyne chastite with outforth, to disseyue liȝtliere othere men, netheles he schal not be chast verili, for he schal be ful of [al qu] malice, and so he schal be leccherouse, and therfor he is signefied bi the beeste stiynge fro the see, in xvij. c°. of Apocalips. In the beeste is signefied fleisly iolynesse, ether leccherie, and therfor the filosofore in j. book of Etikis clepith fleisli liyf, ether lustful liyf, beestli liyf. he schal not charge ony of goddis; this is opynli soth of Anticrist, and fals of Antiok. for he schal rise aȝenus alle thingis; that is, aȝenus God and men; for Anticrist schal rise aȝenus alle men, in makinge hem suȝet to him self, and aȝenus God, in mystakinge to himself the worschipping [worschiþe v] of God. onoure god Maosym; Maosym is interpretid strong hold, ether help; the priuat fend of Anticrist schal be clepid thus, for he schal haue of him strong hold and help; ether in other maner strong hold is seid a place that schal be bildid of Anticrist, where he schal worschiþe priuyli thilke fend. and he schal worschiþ god, etc.; this word and is set here for this word that is. whom hise fadris knewen not; that is, Jewis ether Cristen men, of whiche Anticrist schal come. with gold and siluer, etc.; for in that [this v] place Anticrist schal sette preciose richessis, as in a place most priuy, and most stronge. he schal do; this thing that is seid. that he make strong Maosym; that is, thilke place where he schal worschiþe the fend priuyli; therfor he seith, with the alien god which he knew, bi homelynesse, and couenauntis maad with him, for he schal haue a couenaunt with that fend, priuat ether special to him self, which fend owith to be alien fro ech man. he schal multiplie glorie; to men obeiyng to him, in enhaunsing hem; for he schal enhaunse yuele men, that schulen obeie to him, and he schal pursue goode men, that schulen aȝenstonde him. power in many thingis; he seith not in alle thingis, for he schal not make ony man euene with him self. departe the lond at his wille; that is, for his wille, to hise homeli men. in tyme determynd; of God, that bifor seeth and ordeyneth thingis to comynge. the king of the south; that is, [of qu] Egypt. and the kyng of the north; that is, Anticrist, signefied here bi Antiok, that was the

^a bifore sett *a sec. m.* ^t the south *a sec. m.*

^y Om. *κ pr. m.* ^z falle *i.* ^a hem *v.* ^b Om. *i.* ^c Om. *n.* ^d coueitisid *Λ.*

hym, and the kyng of the north as a tempest shal cum azeinus hym, in chaaris, and horsmen, and grete nauee. And he shal entre londis, and shal breke to gydre; and shal passe by, and shal entre in to glorious lond, and many shuln falle. Forsothe these aloone shuln be saued fro the hond of hym, Edom, and Moab, and of the princis of the sonys of Amon. And he shal sende his hond in to londis, and the lond of Egypt shal not scape. And he shal be lord of tresours of gold, and syluer, and in alle precious thingis of Egypt; and he shal passe by Libie and Ethiopie. And fame shal truble hym fro eest and north; and he shal cum in grete multitude, for to breke to gydre, and slea ful manye. And he shal sette his tabernacle fro Feduo, bitwixe seese, vpon a noble hille and holy; and he shal cum vnto the hee; therof, and no man shal help hym.

CAP. XII.

1 Forsothe in that tyme Myzhel shal rijse, the grete prince, that stondith for sonys of thi peple. And tyme shal cum, what maner was not, fro that sithen folkis bygunen for to be, vn to that tyme. And in that tyme thi peple shal be saued, eche that shuln be founden 2 wrijten in the boke of lijf. And manye of these that slepen in dust of erthe, shuln wake out, other in to euerlastinge lyf, and othere in to shenship, that thei 3 se euermore. Forsothe thei that shuln be tauzt men, *or wijse*, shuln shyne as shynying of the firmament, and thei that lernen, *or enfourmen*, manye to riztwijnesse, as sterris in to euerlastyngnessis. 4 Forsothe thou, Danyel, close the wordis, and seale the boke, vn to the tyme or-

kyng of the north schal come as a tempest azens hym, in charis, and with^e knyztis, and in greet nauei. And he schal entre 41 in to londis, and schal defoule *hem^f*; and he schal passe^g, and schal entre in to the gloriousse lond, and many schulen falle. Forsothe these *londis* aloone schulen be sauyd fro his hond, Edom, and Moab, and princes of the sones of Amon. And he 42 schal sende his hond in to londis, and the lond of Egypt schal not ascape. And he 43 schal be lord of tresouris of gold, and of siluer, and in alle preciose thingis of Egypt; also he schal passe bi Libie and Ethiopie. And fame fro the eest and fro 44 the north schal disturble hym; and he schal come with a greet multitude, to al to-breke, and to sle ful many men. And he schal 45 sette his tabernacle in Apheduo, bitwixe the sees, on the noble hil and hooli; and he schal come til to the heizthe therof, and no man schal helpe hym.

CAP. XII.

Forsothe in that tyme Mizhel, the greet 1 prince, schal rise, that stondith for the sones of thi puple. And tyme schal come, what maner tyme was not, fro that *tyme^h* fro which folkis bigunnen to be, 'vn to that tyme. And in that tyme thi puple schal be saued, ech that is foundun writun in the book of life. And many of hem 2 that slepen in the dust of erthe, schulen awake fulli, summe in to euerlastyng lijf, and othere in to schenschiipe, that thei se euere. Forsothe thei that ben tauzt, schulen schyne as the schynying of the firmament, and thei that techen many men to riztfulnesse, *schulen schyne* as sterris in to euerlastyng euerlastyngnessis. But 4 thou, Danyel, close the wordis, and aseale the book, til to the^l tyme ordeyned; ful

figure of Anticrist. *entre in to londis, and schal defoule*; for the king of Egypt schal be oon of the firste defoulid of Anticrist. *in to the gloriousse lond*; that is, Judee, which is seid gloriousse, for myraclis doon there of God, and for the werkis of oure helthe maad there bi Crist. *and many schulen falle*; that is, many londis, and citees, and folkis schulen be suget to Anticrist. *these aloone, etc.; Edom and Moab, etc.*; this schal be doon bi Goddis mersi, for hooli men schulen haue there sum refuyt in the tyme of Anticrist; and this schal be doon for feble men, that dursten not put hemself forth azenus Anticrist. *sende his hond into londis*; for whi Anticrist schal sende messangeris in to londis, where he schal not come in his owne persooene. *the lond of Egypt schal not ascape*; for it schal be of the firste londis suget to Anticrist. *bi Libie and Ethiopie*; for also these twei rewmes schulen be suget to Anticrist. *and fame, etc.*; for whi the fame of hooli men, that nylen obeie to Anticrist, schal disturble him, ether in hap the fame of summe feithful kyngis, that wolen azenstonde him. *come with a*

greet multitude; for he schal haue a ful greet oost. *sle ful many men*; that is, alle men that nylen obeie to him. *in Apheduo*; that is, Emaws, as Jerom seith, which place is bitwixe the deed see and the see of myddil erthe. *on the noble hil and hooli*; that is, the hil of Olyuete, ether Sion; for whanne Anticrist schal sette his tabernacle in Emaws, he schal sette it in a maner on the hil of Olyuete, ether on the hil of Sion, that ben ny3 hillis, and ben fer oneli bi a myle, for the hilli places of Jerusalem bigunnen at Emaws. *and he schal come til to the heizthe therof*; for Anticrist schal come in to the hil of Sion, in the place where the temple was, that he sitte there, and be worschipid, as if he be God, as Poul seith; also he schal come til to the cop of the hil of Olyuete, fro whennus Crist stiede in to heuene, as if he schal stie fro thennus an hiz bi the vertu of the fend beringe him. *and no man schal helpe him*; for he schal be slayn there sudenli, bi Goddis vertu, as Poul seith in ij. Pistle to Tess. ij. c°. *Live here. cqv.*

^s Om. AGH.

^e in CEF GHI K M N P Q R S U X. ^f Om. CEF GHI K M N P Q R S U X. ^g passe forth RU sec. m. ^h Om. CEF GHI pr. m. K M N P Q R U X. ⁱ til to a pr. m. CEF GHI M N P Q R U X Y. ^l Om. AC sec. m. EF GHI K M Q R S U.

deynyd; ful manye shuln passe, and science manyfold shal be. And Y, Danyel, saw³, and loo! as two other stoden; oon stode on this syde, vpon the ryuere of floode, and an other on that syde, on the tother part of the floode. And I sayde to the man, that was clothid with lynnyn, whiche stode vpon the watris of the floode, Hou longe the eende of these merueylis? And Y herde the man, that was clothid in lynnyn, whiche stode vpon watris of the floode, whann he hadde reyside vp his ri³t⁴ and left half in to heuen, and swore by the lyuynge in to with outen eende, For in to tyme, and tymys, and the half of tyme. And whan scater yng abroad of the lond of holy peple shal be fulfillid, alle these thingus shuln be eendid. And Y herde, and vndirstode not; and saide, My lord, what shal be after these thingus? And he saith, Go thou, Danyel, for the wordis ben closid and sealid, vn to tyme^u ordeynyd. Thei shuln be chosen, and be maad whijt, and as fijr many shuln be proued, and vnpytous men shuln do vnpytously, nether alle vnpytouse men shuln vndirstonde; forsothe tauzt men shuln vndirstonde. And fro tyme in whiche contynuel sacrifice shal be don away, and abomynacioun in to desolacioun shal be sett, days a thousand two hundrid and nynty. Blessid is^v he, that abydith, and fully cummeth, vn to days a^w thousand thre hundrid and thritty and fyue. For-

many men schulen passe, and kunnyng schal be many fold. And Y, Danyel, si³,⁵ and lo! as tweyne othere men stood^m; oon stood on this side, on the brenk of the flood, and another on that side, on the totherⁿ part of the flood. And Y seide⁶ to the man, that was clothid in lynnyn clothis, that stood on the watris of the flood, Hou long schal be the ende of these merueils? And Y herde the man, that⁷ was clothid in lynnyn clothis, that stood on the watris of the flood, whanne he hadde reisid his ri³thond and lefthond to heuene, and hadde sworun by hym that lyueth with outen ende, For in to a^o tyme, and tymes, and the half of tyme. And whanne the scater yng of the hoond of the hooli puple is fillid, alle these thingis schulen be fillid. And Y herde, and vn-⁸durstode not; and Y^p seide, My lord, what schal be aftir these thingis? And he⁹ seide, Go thou, Danyel, for the wordis ben closid and aseelid, til to the tyme determyned. Many men schulen be chosun,¹⁰ and schulen be maad whijt, and schulen be preued as fier, and wickid men schulen do wickidli, nether alle wickid men schulen vndurstonde; certis tauzt men schulen vndurstonde. And fro the tyme¹¹ whanne contynuel sacrifice is takun awei*, and abhomynacioun is set in to discourt, schulen be a thousynde daies two hundrid and nynty. He is blessid, that¹² abideth, and cometh fulli, til^q a thousynde daies thre hundrid and fyue and thritti.

* fro the tyme whanne the contynuel sacrifice is takun awei, etc.; that is, fro the tyme in which the sacrament of the auter schal ceesse to be halewid solemneli, and abhomynacioun is set in to discourt; that is, Anticrist is schewid to men for to be worschipid; fro that tyme schulen be a thousynde daies ij. hundrid and nynty, that maken thre zeer and a half, with xij. daies, for o zeer hath thre hundrid daies and lxxv.; therfor thus it is open, that thre zeer and an half of the persecucioun of Anticrist schulen not be bigun-
nun fro that tyme in which he schal schewe himsilf, to [and qu] drawe summen to him, but fro that tyme whanne he schal be of so greet power, that he schal schewe him to men, for to be worschipid, and whanne feithful men schulen not be hardi to make the sacrament of the auter openli, for the drede of him. til a thousynde daies ij. hundrid and

xxxv.; here to the noutbre biforgoinge ben addid xlv. daies that schulen be zoun of God, aftir the deth of Anticrist, bifor the doom, that thei that ben disseyued in the persecucioun of Anticrist, moun do penance; and therfor Danyel seith, he is blessid that cometh fulli til to a thousynde daies ij. hundrid and xxxv.; that is, he is blessid, that schal stonde in the persecucioun of Anticrist, that schal dure bi thre zeere and an half, and yit schal lyue ouer this bi xlv. daies; for if he is not disseyued bi Anticrist, he schal be coronwed as a perfit man, and if he was disseyued, he mai do penance in tho xlv. daies suyng the deth of Anticrist; for thanne his falsnesse schal be open to alle men, and his power schal be takun awei. Thou³ this sei yng is comyn ynow, netheles it is not had herbi, that the comyng of Crist to the doom schal be anon aftir xlv. naturel daies, to be rikenyd fro the deth of Anticrist, for it is not determyned certeynli that tho xlv. daies ben vsual, ether custumable daies, ether daies of zeeris, bi that word of Ezechiel in [the q] iiij. c°. Y 3af to thee a dai for a zeer; and thou³ it were determyned of vsual daies, netheles it is not determyned that the comyng to the doom is anon aftir tho; rather it semeth, that more space of tyme schal come bitwixe, bi this that Crist seith, in xxiiij. c°. of Matheu, As in the daies of Noe men weren etinge and drinkinge, weddinge and yuynge to weddinge, til to that dai wherinne Noe entride in to the schip, and thei knewen not, til the greet flood cam, and took awei alle men, so schal be the comyng of mannus sone. And summe Cristen doctours referren this to the tyme that schal be bitwixe the deth of Anticrist, and the dai of doom, but sich pees and sikirnesse, in which feestis and weddingis ben visid, semen not to be of so litil tyme, as of xlv. daies, and most if this were determyned of vsual daies; and this Y seide fulliere in xxxix. c°. of Ezechiel. Bi thingis seid here, the falsnesse of Jewis is opyn, that seien, that here is set the tyme for which thei owen to abide Messias, ether Sauyours to comynge, and as thei seien, a dai is takun here for a zeer, so that thei owen to abide bi a thousynde ij. hundrid and xxxv. zeer, in bigynnyng the rikenynge of these zeeris, fro the tyme wherinne the idol was set in the temple; but an argument ether pref is maad azenus this sei yng, for ether the setting of idol is takun of hem of the idol set in the tyme of Antiok Epifanes, and this must be seid bi tho Jewis that expowen of Antiok thingis bifor seid in this chapitre, and thanne the falsnesse of hem apperith opynli, for fro that tyme til now ben passid more than a thousynde and iiij. hundrid zeer, and netheles thei han not yit Messias, as thei seien; ether it is takun of the idol set bi the emperour of Rome, aftir the distriyng maad bi Titus, and thanne it biboueth, that thingis biforseid in this chapitre weren expowen of the emperour of Rome; but this mai not be, for that that is seid, And he schal not charge ony of goddis, etc. mai not be expowen of him, for whi Romayns worschipiden [the qu] goddis of alle

t ri³t side A sec. m. u the tyme A. v Om. GH. w of a G sec. m.

^m stoden 18. ⁿ oother 1. ^o Om. I. ^p Om. I. ^q to 1.

sothe go thou to determynd^x; and thou shalt reste azein, and shalt stonde in thi sort, *or part*, in the eende of daies.

Hidre to we reeden Danyel in Ebru; other thingis that suen, til in to the eende of the boke, ben translatid of the making of Theodosyon.

CAP. XIII.

1 A man was in Babiloyne, and the name
2 of hym Joachym. And he toke a wijf,
Susanne by name, the douzter of Elchie,
3 ful faire, and dreeding the Lord. Forsothe the fadir and modir of hir, when
thei weren iust, lerneden her douzter
4 after the lawe of Moyses. Forsothe Joachym was ful riche, and to hym was
a gardyne ny; to his hous; and Jewis
camen to gidre to hym, for that he was
5 more honourable of alle. And two olde domesmen ben ordeynyd in that 3eer, of
whiche the Lord spac, for wickidnesse
wente out of Babyloyne, of the eldre
iugis whiche weren seen for to rewle the
6 peple. These ofte hauntiden the hous of
Joachym; and alle that hadden domis
7 camen to hem. Forsothe whenn the peple
turnyde azein after mydday, Susanne
entride, and walkide in the gardyne of
8 hir husbond. And the eldre men sawen
hir eche day entrynge, and walkinge; and
thei brennyden 'in the^w coueitise of hir.
9 And thei turnyden away her witt, and
bowiden away her eezen, that thei shulden
not see heuen, nether shulde haue
10 mynde of iust domys. Forsothe bothe
weren woundid in loue of hir, nether
11 shewiden to hem self her sorewe; forsothe
thei shameden for to shewe to hem
self her coueitise, willynge for to ligge
12 with hir. And thei aspieden eche day
bysilier for to see hir. And the tother
13 saide to the tother, Go we home, for oure
of mete is. And thei gon out, departiden

But go thou, Danyel, to the tyme determynd; and thou schalt reste, and stonde in thi part, in the ende of daies.

Hidir to we reden Daniel in Ebreu book; othere thingis that suen, til to the ende, ben translatid out of the transla-coun of^s Theodosion^t.

CAP. XIII.

A^{tt} man was in Babiloyne, and his name 1
was Joachim. And he took a wijf, Susanne bi name, the douzter of Helchie, *a*
2 *womman* ful fair, and dredynge the Lord. Forsothe hir fadir and modir, whanne thei 3
weren rihtful, tauzten her douzter^{*} bi^u
the lawe of Moises. Sotheli Joachim was 4
ful riche, and he^v hadde a gardyn ni; his
hous; and the Jewis camen to hym, for he
was the moost worschipful of alle. And 5
tweyne elde men weren ordeyned iugis^w
in that 3eer, of whiche the Lord spac, that
wickidnesse 3ede out of Babiloyne, of the
eldere iugis^x that semeden to gouerne the
puple. These *iugis* vsiden oft^y the hous 6
of Joachym; and alle men that hadden
domes camen to hem. Forsothe whanne 7
the puple hadde turned azen after myddai,
Susanne entride, and walkide in the gar-
dyn of hir hosebonde. And the eldre men 8
sizen hir entrynge ech dai, and walkynge;
and thei brenten out in to 'the couetise^z
of hir. And thei turneden awei her wit, 9
and bowiden down her izen, that thei sizen
not heuene, nether bithouzten on iust domes.
Sotheli bothe weren woundid bi the loue 10
of hir, and thei schewiden not her sorewe
to^a hem silf togidere; for thei weren 11
aschamed to schewe to hem silf her co-
ueitise^b, willynge to ligge fleischli bi hir.
And thei aspieden ech dai more bisili to 12
se^c hir. And oon seide to the tothir, Go we 13
hoom, for the our of mete is. And thei
3eden out, and departiden fro hem silf.
And whanne thei hadden turned azen, 14

folkis. Also it is open bi this, that the waking of sleperis in the dust of erthe, of which it is seid in the biginnyng of this chapitre, schal be vndur-standun of the veri rising azen in the ende of the world, and it is not takun for the going out of caues in the tyme of Machabeis, as the fals Porfirie seith, for Danyel roos not thanne in this maner. *Live here. cqu.*

* tauzten her duntir, etc.; here fadris and modris ben monestid to teche bi the lawe of God, not oneli her sones, but also her douztris. *The Glos here. cqu.*

^x the determynd tyme *G sec. m.* ^w in to *AG.*

^r in to *U.* ^s Om. *I.* ^t *Theodosion, and seith thus. F.* ^{tt} *Here bigynneth a pistle of holy Susanne.*
In tho daies ag. ^u Om. *g.* ^v Om. *g.* ^w to be iugis *g.* ^x Jewis *g.* ^y Om. *g.* ^z concupiscence,
ether coueitise I. ^a bi *g.* ^b concupiscence *L.* ^c asprie *g.*

14 fro hem self. And whann thei hadden
departid, thei camen in to oon; and thei
axinge cause eche of other, knowlechiden
her coueitise. And thann in comoun
thei ordeyneden tyme, whann thei miȝten
15 fynde hir aloone. Forsothe it is don, whanne
thei aspieden a couenable day, sche en-
tride sum tyme, as ȝisterday and three
days gon, with two damisels aloone, and
wolde be washen in the gardyne; sothely
16 heete was. And no man was there, out
taken two olde men hid, byholdyng hir.
17 And she saide to the maydens, Brenge
ȝe to me oyle, and sope, *or oynement*;
and shitte ȝe the doris of the gardyne,
18 that Y be washen. And thei diden as
she comaundide; and thei closiden the
doris of the gardeyn, and wenten out by
a postern, for to bringe whiche thingus
she bad. And she wiste not olde men for
19 to be hid with yn forth. Sothely when
the damysels weren gon out, the two
olde men rysen, and runnen to hir, and
20 saiden, Loo! doris of the gardyne ben
closid, and no man seeth vs, and we ben
in coueitise of thee. Wherefore accorde to
21 vs, and be ioyned with vs. That ȝif thou
wilt not, we shuln saye witnessyng aȝeinus
thee, that a ȝong man was with thee,
and for this cause thou sentist out the^x
22 damysels fro thee. And Susanne inward-
ly sorewide, and saith, Anguyshis ben to
me on eche syde; forsothe ȝif Y shal do
this thing, deth is to me; sothely ȝif Y
shal not do, Y shal not ascape ȝoure
23 hondis. Bot bettir it is to me for to falle
with outen werk in to ȝour hondis, than
24 for to synne in the siȝt of the Lord. And
Susanne criede with a grete voice, for-
sothe and the olde men crieden aȝeinus
25 hir. Sothely the ton ran, and opnyde
26 the dore of the gardeyn. Forsothe ser-
uauntes of the hous fellen yn by the
posterne, whan thei herden cry in the
27 gardeyne, for to see what it was. For-

thei camen in to o place; and thei axiden
ech of othere the cause, and thei know-
lechiden her coueitise. And thanne in
comyn thei ordeyneden a tyme, whanne
thei miȝten fynde hir aloone. Forsothe it
15 was doon, whanne thei aspieden a couen-
able dai, sche entride sumtyme, as ȝistir-
dai and the thridde dai ago, with twei
damysels aloone, and wolde be waischun^d
in the gardyn; for whi heete was. And¹⁶
no man was there^e, outakun tweyne^f elde
men hid^g, biholdyng hir. Therfor sche¹⁷
saide to the damysels, Bringe ȝe to me
oile, and oynementis; and close ȝe^h the
doris of the gardyn, that Y be waischun.
And thei diden as sche hadde comaundidⁱ; ¹⁸
and thei closiden the doris of the gardyn,
and ȝeden out bi a posterne, to bringe tho
thingis that sche hadde comaundid. And
thei wisten not, that the elde^j men weren
hid with ynne. Sotheli whanne the da-¹⁹
mysels weren gon out, tweyne elde men
risiden, and runnen to hir, and seiden, Lo!²⁰
the doris of the gardyn ben closid, and no
man seeth vs, and we ben in the coueitise^k
of thee. Wherefor assente thou to vs, and be
thou meddlid with vs. That^l if thou wolt²¹
not, we schulen seie witnessyng aȝens
thee, that a ȝong man was with thee, and
for this cause thou sentist out the dame-
sels fro thee. And Susanne inwardli so-²²
rewide, and seide, Angwischis ben to me
on ech side; for if Y do this, deth is to
me; forsothe if Y do not, Y schal not
ascape ȝoure hondis. But it is betere^m ²³
for me to falle in to ȝoure hondis without
werk, than to do synne in the siȝt of
the Lord. And Susanne criede an hiȝⁿ ²⁴
with greet vois, but also the elde men cri-
eden aȝens hir. Forsothe oon ran, and²⁵
openede the door of the gardyn. Sotheli²⁶
whanne the seruauntis of the hous hadden
herd the cry in the gardyn, thei fellen in
bi the posterne, to se what it was. But²⁷
after that the pelde men spaken, the ser-

^x thi κ.

^d waischid C F G H K M N P Q R S U X. ^e ther was not ony man i. ony man was not C E F G H M N P Q R S U X g.
^f the two g. ^g yhid i. ^h Om. g. ⁱ comaunde g. ^j eldere g. ^k concupiscence i. ^l And g.
^m more betere g. ⁿ Om. g. ^o Forsothe g. ^p these g.

sothe after that the olde men spaken,
 the seruauntis shamyden gretely, for
 siche word was neuer herd of Susanne.
 28 And the morewe day is maad. And
 whanne the peple cam to hir husbond
 Joachym, and the two prestis camen ful
 of yuel thouzt azeinus Susanne, for to
 29 slea hir. And thei seiden byfore alle the
 peple, Sende 3e to Susanne, douzter of
 Elchie, wyf of Joachym. And anoon thei
 30 senten. And she came with fadir, and
 modir, and sonnys, and alle hir cosyns.
 31 Forsothe Susanne was ful delicate, and
 32 faire of fourme, *'or shap'*. And the ylke
 wickid men comaundeden, that she shulde
 be vnkeuered, sothely she was hillid; that
 or so thei weren fulfillid with fairnesse of
 33 hir. Therfore hern^z wepten, and alle
 34 that knewen hir. Sotheli two prestis
 rijsyng to gydre in mydil of the peple,
 puttiden hir hondis vpon the hed of hir.
 35 Whiche wepyng byhelde to heuen, for-
 sothe the hert of hir was hauynge trist
 36 in the Lord. And the prestis saiden,
 Whann we walkiden aloon in the gar-
 deyn, she this came yn with two maydens
 damesels; and closide the dore of the gar-
 37 deyn, and lefte the damysels. And a jung
 man, that was hid, came to hir, and dide
 38 lechorie with hir. Forsothe we, whanne
 we weren in a corner of the gardeyn,
 seeynge wickidnesse^a, runnen to hem, and
 we sawen hem for to be mengid to gidre.
 39 And sothely we miȝten not cacche hym,
 for he was strengre than we; and the
 40 doris opnyd, he lepte out. Sothely when
 we hadden cauȝt this^b, we axiden, who
 was that junge man; and she wolde not
 shewe to vs. Of this thing we ben wit-
 41 nesses. The multitude byleeuyde to hem,
 as to eldre men of the peple and iugis,
 42 and condempnyden hir to deth. For-
 sothe Susanne criede with grete voice,
 and saide, Lord God euerlastinge, that
 art knower of hid thingis, that hast

uauntis weren aschamed greetly, for neuer
 was siche a word seid of Susanne. And
 the morew dai was maad. And whanne 28
 the puple was comyn to Joachym, hir
 hosebonde, also the twei prestis fulle of
 wickid thouzte^q camen aȝens Susanne, for
 to sle hir. And thei seiden bifor al the 29
 puple, Sende 3e to Susanne, the douzter
 of Helchie, the wijf of Joachym. And
 anoon thei senten. And sche cam with 30
 hir fadir, and modir, and children, and
 alle kynesmen. Certis^r Susanne was ful 31
 delicat^s, and fair of schap. And tho^t 32
 wickid men comaundiden, that sche schulde
 be vnhilid, for sche was kyuered; that
 nameli so thei schuldun be fillid of hir
 fairnesse. Therfor hir *kynesmen* wepten, 33
 and alle that knewen hir. Forsothe the 34
 twei prestis risiden togidere in the myddis
 of the puple, and settiden^u her hondis on
 the heed of hir. And sche wepte, and bi- 35
 helde to heuene, and^v hir herte hadde
 trist in the Lord. And the prestis seiden, 36
 Whanne we walkiden aloone in the gar-
 dyn, this^w *Susanne*^x entride with twei
 damesels; and sche closide the dore of the
 gardyn, and lefte the damesels. And a 37
 zong man, that was hid, cam to hir, and
 lai bi hir. Certis whanne we weren in a 38
 corner of the gardyn, we^y sien the wickid-
 nesse, and runnen to hem, and we sien
 hem meddlid togidere. And sotheli we 39
 myȝten not take hym, for he was strongere
 than we; and whanne he hadde opened
 the doris, he skippide out. But whanne 40
 we hadde take this *womman*, we axiden,
 who was the zonge man; and sche nolde^z
 schewe to vs. Of^a this thing we ben wit-
 nensis. The multitude bileuede to hem, 41
 as to the eldre men and iugis of the pu-
 ple, and condempneden hir to deth^b. For- 42
 sothe Susanne criede loud with greet vois,
 and seide, Lord God, without bigynnyng
 and ende, that^c art knowere of hid thingis,
 that knowist alle thingis bifore that tho^d

y Om. AK sec. m.

z hern neeȝe frendis G sec. m.

a the wickidnesse G sec. m.

b hir this A.

q thouȝtis g. r And certis i. s delicat, *ethir tendir* CEF GHIKMN PQ RUXYg. tendir, *ethir delicat* s.
 t the g. u setten g. v for u. w sche this i. x Om. i. y and we g. z wolde not i. a And of
 ns sec. m. b the deeth g. c thou i. d thei ig.

knownen alle thingus byfore thei be maad;
 43 thou wost, for thei han born fals wit-
 nessinge azeines me. And loo! Y dye,
 whann Y dide nouȝt of these thingus,
 whiche these maliciously maken to gydre
 44 azeinus me. Forsothe the Lord herd the
 45 voice of hir. And whann she was ledde
 to deth, the Lord reyside a spirit of a
 46 ȝungir^c chijld, whose name Danyel. And
 he cryede with greete voyce, Y am cleene
 47 of the blood of this. And al the peple
 to gyder turnyd to hym saide, What is
 this word, whom thou hast spoken?
 48 Whiche, whanne he stode in the mydil
 of hem, saide, So ȝe, foolis, sonys of
 Yrael, not demynge nether knowynge
 that thing that is iust, condempneden
 49 the douȝter of Yrael. Turne ȝe aȝein to
 dome, for thei han spoke fals witnessyng
 50 azeinus hir. Therefore the peple turned
 aȝein with hiȝyng. And the olde men
 saiden to hym, Cum thou, and sitt in
 mydil of vs, and shewe thou to vs; for
 51 God ȝaue to thee honour of eelde. And
 Danyel saide to hem, Departe ȝe hem fro
 a twynne, *or eche fro other*, fer, and Y
 52 shal wysely deme hem. Therefore, whanne
 thei weren departid the tother fro the
 tother, he clepide oon of hem, and saide
 to hym, Thou olde of yuel daies, now
 thi synnes camen^d on thee, whiche thou
 53 wrouȝtist byfore, demynge vniust domys,
 oppressinge innocentis, and delyuerynge
 gylti, sayinge the Lord, Thou shalt not
 54 slea the innocent and iust man. Now
 forsothe ȝif thou sawist hir, saye thou,
 vndir what tree thou sawȝ hem speak-
 ynge to himself? Whiche saith, Vndir a
 55 sloo tree. Sothely Danyel saide, Riȝtly
 thou leezist in to thin hed; loo! forsothe
 an aungel of the Lord, the sentence token
 56 of hym, shal kitte thee the mydil. And
 hym remoued away, he comaundide the
 tother for to cum, and saide to hym,
 Seed of Canaan, and not of Juda, fourme,
or fairnesse, disceyuyde thee, and co-
 57 ueitise turnyde thin hert vpsadoun; thus

ben don; thou wost, that thei han bore 43
 fals witnessyng aȝens me. And lo! Y dye,
 whanne Y haue not do ony of these thingis,
 whiche these men han maad maliciously
 aȝens me. Forsothe the Lord herde the 44
 vois of hir. And whanne she was led to 45
 the deth, the Lord reyside the hooli spirit
 of a ȝonge child, whos name *was* Danyel.
 And he criede loude with a greet vois, Y 46
 am cleene of the blood of this *womman*.
 And al the puple turned aȝen to hym, and 47
 seide, What is this word, which thou hast
 spoke? And whanne he stood in the myd- 48
 dis of hem, he seide, So ȝe, fonned children
 of Israel, not demynge nether knowynge
 that that is trewe, condempneden the
 douȝter of Israel. Turne ȝe aȝen to the 49
 dom, for thei spaken fals witnessyng aȝens
 hir. Therfor the puple turnede aȝen with 50
 haaste. And the elde men^{k*} seiden to hym,
 Come thou, and sitte in the myddis of vs,
 and schewe to vs; for God hath ȝoue to
 thee the^l onour of eelde. And Danyel 51
 seide to hem, Departe ȝe hem atwynny^{ll}
 fer^m, and Y schal deme hem. Therfor, 52
 whanne thei weren departid oonⁿ fro the^o
 tother^p, he clepide oon of hem, and seide
 to hym, Thou elde man of yuel daies, now
 thi synnes ben comun, whiche thou wrouȝt-
 ist bifore, demynge vniust domes, oppress- 53
 ynge innocentis, and delyuerynge gylti
 men, whanne the Lord seith, Thou schalt
 not sle an innocent and iust^q man. But 54
 now if thou siest^r hir, seie thou, vndur
 what tree thou siest hem spekyng togid-
 ere to hem silf? Which^s seide, Vndur
 an haw tree. Forsothe Danyel seide, 55
 Riȝtli thou liest in thin heed; for lo! the
 angel of the Lord, bi a sentence takun of
 hym, schal kitte thee bi the myddil. And 56
 whanne he was stirid^t awei^u, he comaund-
 ide the tother to come, and seide to hym,
 Thou seed of Canaan[†], and not of Juda,
 fairnesse hath disseyued thee, and coueitise
 hath misturned thin herte; thus ȝe diden 57
 to the douȝtris of Israel, and thei dredden,
 and spaken to ȝou, but the douȝter of Juda

* That is, the
 elde men of the
 puple, not tho
 twei prestis.
 Thei bileuyden
 to him for
 hoolynesse and
 kunnyng, and
 sich owith to be
 in elde men, in
 xij. c^o. of Job,
 for here myra-
 cle fillide age.
 A Postille here.
 [Lire here. q.]
 cqu.

† This iuge was
 of Canaan bi
 condiciouns,
 since he dis-
 seyuede wym-
 men bi ferdful-
 nesse. A Pos-
 tille here. ccqu.

^c ȝong A. ^d comen A.

^k men of the puple, not tho twei prestes K. ^l Om. g. ^{ll} a twynne GRSUG. ^m a fer N. ⁿ that oon g.
^o that s. ^p oother Is. ^q a iust g. ^r saiȝ g. ^s The whiche I. ^t moued I. ^u Om. g.

3e diden to douȝtris of Yrael, and thei
dredynge spaken with ȝou, bot the douȝ-
ter of Juda suffride not ȝour wickidnesse.
58 Now therefore saye to me, vndir what
tree thou sawist hem spekyng to hem
self? Whiche saith, Vndir a plum tree.
59 Sothely Danyel saide to hym, Riȝtly and^e
thou leezist in^f thin hed; forsothe an^g
aungel of the Lord dwellith, hauynge a
sward, that he kitte thee the myddil, and
60 slea ȝou. And so alle the peple criede
with grete voyce, and blessiden the Lord,
61 that saueth men hopyng in hym. And
thei rysen to gidre aȝeins two^h preestis;
sothely Danyel hadde conuicte hem of
her mouth, for to haue saide fals wit-
nessyng; and thei diden to hem, as thei
62 hadden do yuel aȝeins the neiȝbour, that
thei diden after the lawe of Moyses, and
slewen hem. And the giltlesse blode is
63 saued in that day. Forsothe Elchie and
his wyf preysiden God in that day, for
her douȝter Susanne, with Joachym, hir
husbond, and alle hir cosyns, for foule
64 thing was not found in hir. Forsothe
Danyel was maad greet in siȝt of the
65 peple, fro that day and afterward. And
kyng Astriages is putt to his fadris, and
Cyrus of Perse resceyuyde the kyngdam
1 of hym. Forsothe Danyel was meete
feere of the kyng, and honoured aboue
alle the freendis of hym.

CAP. XIV.

2 And an ydol, Bel by name, was anentis
men of Babyloyne, and there weren
spendid in it by alle days twelue *mesuris*
artabis, and oon conteyneth three bus-
shels of floure, and fourty sheep, and of
3 wijn sixe amphoris. And the kyng wir-
shipide hym, and wente by alle days for
to honoure it; forsothe Danyel honour-
ede his God. And the kyng saide to
hym, Whi honourest thou not Bel?
4 Whiche answeyng saith to hym, For
Y wirshipe not ydolis maad by hond, bot
lyuyng God, that made of nouȝt heuen

suffride not ȝoure wickidnesse. Now ther-
58 for seie thou^v to me, vndur what tree thou
siest hem spekyng togidere to hem silf?
Which^w seide, Vndur a blak thorn. For-
59 sothe Danyel seide to hym, Riȝtli also thou
liest in thin heed; for^x the aungel of the
Lord dwellith, and hath a sward, that he
kitte thee bi the myddil, and sle ȝou.
Therfor al the puple criede lowde with⁶⁰
greet vois, and blessiden 'the Lord^y, that
saueth hem that hopen in hym. And thei⁶¹
risiden togidere aȝens the twei preestis;
for Danyel hadde conuetyd hem bi^z her
mouth, that thei hadden bore fals witness-
yng; and thei diden to hem, as thei had-
den do yuele aȝens the neiȝboresse, that⁶²
thei schulden do bi the lawe of Moises,
and thei killiden hem. And giltles blood
was sauyd in that dai^a. Forsothe Hel-
63 chie and his wijf herieden the Lord in
that day, for Susanne, her douȝter, with
Joachym, hir hosebonde, and with alle hir
kynsmen, for a foul thing was not foundun
in hir. Forsothe Danyel was maad greet⁶⁴
in the siȝt of the puple, fro that dai and
afterward. And kyng^b Astriages was put⁶⁵
to his fadris, and Sirus of Perseis took his
rewme. Forsothe Danyel eet with the¹
kyng, and was onourid aboue alle the
frendis of hym.

CAP. XIV.

Also an idol, Bel bi name, was at Babi-
2 loyne, and twelue mesuris of cleene flour,
of whiche *mesuris* eche conteynede thre
buyschels, and fourti scheep, and sixe me-
suris of wyn, *that ben clepid amfris*†,
weren spendid in it ech day. And the³
kyng worschipe that *Beel*, and ȝede ech
dai to onoure hym; certis Danyel wor-
schipide his God. And the kyng seide to
hym, Whi worschapist thou not Beel?
Which^c answeride, and seide to him, For⁴
Y worschipe not idols maad bi hond, but
God lyuyng, that made of nouȝt heuene

† An amfre, as
Isidore in [the
6] xvj. of E-
thymologies, is
a foure squarid
vessel, and hath
handlis at the
maner of eeris;
and anentis
Greekis it con-
teyneth a
square foot of
wyn. A Postille
here. ccqu.

^e Om. K. ^f in to AGH. ^g Om. G pr. m. the G sec. m. ^h the two G sec. m.

^v Om. I. ^w The whiche I. ^x forsothe g. ^y God g. ^z in g. ^a day. Here cendith the pistle of holy
Susanne. g. ^b the kyng I. ^c The whiche I.

and erthe, and hath power of eche fleshe.
 5 And the kyng saide to hym, Wher Bel
 is not seen to thee a lyuyng God? whe-
 ther thou seest not, hou many thingus he
 6 etith and drynkith eche day? And Da-
 nyel leizinge saith, Kyng, erre thou not;
 this is withynforth of cley, and with out-
 forth of brasse, nethir etith eny tyme,
 7 nether drynkyth. And the kyng wroth
 clepide the prestis of hym, and saide to
 hem, No bot 3e shuln saye to me, who
 8 etith these 3iftis, 3e shuln dye. Forsothe
 3if 3e shuln shewe for Bel etith these,
 Danyel shal dye, for he blasfemyde Bel.
 And Danyel sayde to the kyng, Be it
 9 don vp thi word. Forsothe there weren
 of Bel seuenti prestis, oute taken wijues,
 and litil children, and sonys. And the
 kyng with Danyel came into the temple
 10 of Bel. And prestis of Bel saiden, Loo!
 we shuln go out, and thou, kyng, putte
 metis, and meynge wyne, and shitte the
 11 dore, and seale^f with thi ryng. And
 whan thou shalt cum yn erly, no bot
 thou shalt fynde alle thingus eten of Bel,
 by deth we shuln dye, or Danyel, that
 12 leezide azeinus vs. Forsothe thei dispis-
 iden^g, for thei hadden maad an hid en-
 tryng vndir the bord, and therby thei
 entriden euermore, and deuoureden tho
 13 thingus. Forsothe it is don, after that
 they wenten out, and the kyng puttide
 metis byfore Bel, Danyel comaundide his
 children, and thei brou3ten to ashe, and by
 al the temple he riddlide byfore the kyng.
 And thei gon out closiden^h the dore, and
 sealyng with ryng of theⁱ kyng wenten
 14 away. Sothely the prestis wenten yn in
 ny3t, after her custome, and wijues, and
 sonys of hem, and eeten alle the thingus,
 15 and drunken. Sotheli the kyng roose in
 the hee3ist spring of day, and Danyel
 16 with hym. And the kyng saith, Danyel,
 wher the sealis ben saaf? Whiche an-
 17 sweride, Kyng, saaf. And anoon whan
 thei hadden opnyd the dore, the kyng
 byhelde the bord, and he criede with

and erthe, and hath power of ech fleisch.
 And the kyng seide to hym, Whether it s
 semeth not to thee, that Bel is a lyuyng
 god? whether thou seest not, hou grete
 thingis he etith and drynkith ech dai?
 And Daniel seide leizinge, Kyng, erre thou 6
 not; for whi this *Bel* is of clei with ynne,
 and of bras withoutforth, and etith not
 ony tyme. And the king was wroth, and 7
 clepide the preestis therof, and seide to
 hem, If 3e seien not to me, who it is that
 etith these costis^d, 3e schulen die. For- 8
 sothe if 3e schewen that Bel etith these
 thingis, Daniel schal die, for he blasfemede
 Bel. And Daniel seide to the king, Be it
 don bi thi word. Forsothe the prestis of 9
 Bel weren seuenti, outakun wyues, and
 litile children, *ether seruauantis*, and sones.
 And the kyng cam with Daniel in to the
 temple of Bel. And the preestis of Bel 10
 seiden, Lo! we schulen go out, and thou,
 kyng, sette meetis, and meddle wyn, and
 close thou the dore, and aseele *it* with thi
 ryng. And whanne thou entrist^e eerli, if 11
 thou fyndist not alle thingis etun of Bel,
 we schulen die bi deth, ether Daniel *shal*
die, that liede azens vs. Sotheli thei trist- 12
 iden, for thei hadden maad a priuy en-
 tryng vndur the boord, and bi it thei
 entriden euere, and deuouriden tho thingis.
 Forsothe it was don, aftir that thei 3eden 13
 out, and the king settide metis bifor Bel,
 Daniel comaundide to hise children, and
 thei brou3ten aischis, and he riddlide
 thorou3 al the temple bifor the kyng. And
 thei 3eden out, and closiden the dore, and
 aseeliden with the ryng of the kyng, and
 3eden forth. But the preestis entriden in^f 14
 ni3t^g, bi her custom, and the wyues, and
 children of hem, and eeten^h and drunken
 alle thingis. Forsothe the kyng roos 15
 moost eerli, and Daniel with hym. And 16
 the kyng seide, Daniel, whether the seelis
 ben saaf? And he answeride, King, *tho*
ben saaf. And anoon whanne thei hadden 17
 openyd the dore, the king biheelde the
 boord, and he criede an hi3 with a greet

^f seel it A. ^g dispysiden, or sett at nou3t, G sec. m. ^h and closiden A. ⁱ Om. G pr. m. K.

^d ether spensis K marg. ^e comist N. ^f bi s. ^g the ni3t C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ^h thei eeten I.

grete voyce, Grete art thou, Bel, and no
 18 gyle is anentys thee. And Danyel lei-
 ide, and he heelde the kyng, lest he en-
 tride with ynforth; and saide, Loo! the
 pament, perceyue whos steppis these ben.
 19 And the kyng saide, Y see steppis of
 men, and wymmen, and 3unge children.
 20 And the kyng is wroth. Thanne the
 kyng cau3te the prestis, and wijues, and
 sones of hem; and thei shewiden to hym
 smale doris hid, by whom thei entriden,
 and wastiden what thingus weren on the
 21 bord. Therfore the kyng slew3 hem, and
 bytoke Bel in to power of Danyel, whiche
 22 distruyde hym and his temple. And a
 grete dragoun was in that place, and
 23 men of Babyloyn wirshipiden hym. And
 the kyng saide to Danyel, Loo! now thou
 maist not saye, that this is not god lyu-
 24 ynge; therfore wirshipe hym. And Da-
 nyel saide to the kyng, Y wirshipe the
 Lord my God, for he is lyuynge God;
 25 this is not god lyuynge. Thou forsothe,
 kyng, 3eue to me power, that Y slea the
 dragoun, with oute swerd and staff. And
 26 the kyng saith, Y 3eue to thee. Therfore
 Danyel toke picche, and fatnesse, and
 heris, and seethide to gydre; and he
 made gobettis, and 3aue in to mouthe of
 the dragoun, and the dragoun is borstun.
 And Danyel sayde, Loo! whom 3e wir-
 27 shipiden. Whiche thing whanne men of
 Babyloyn herden, thei hadden indigna-
 cioun gretely; and thei ben gadrid a3einus
 the kyng, and sayden, The kyng is maad
 a Jewe; he distruyede Bel, and slew3 the
 28 dragoun, and killide prestis. And thei
 saiden, whanne thei camen to the kyng,
 3eue to vs Danyel, that distruyede Bel,
 and slew3 the dragoun; ellis we shuln
 29 slea thee, and thin hous. Therfore the
 king saw3, that thei fellen in to hym
 gretely; and by neede he constreyned
 30 3aue to hem Danyel. Whiche senten hym
 in to the lake of lyouns, and he was there
 31 seuen days. Forsothe in the lake weren
 seuen lyouns, and eche day two bodyes
 and two sheep weren 3ouen to hem. And
 thanne thei weren not 3ouen to hem, that

vois, Bel, thou art greet, and no gile is at
 thee. And Daniel lei3ede, and he helde 18
 the kyng, that he entride not with ynne.
 And *Daniel* seide, Lo! the pawment, per-
 seyue thou whos steppis these ben. And 19
 the kyng seide, Y se steppis of men, and
 ofⁱ wymmen, and of 3onge children. And
 the kyng was wrooth. Thanne the kyng 20
 took the preestis, and the wyues, and chil-
 dren of hem; and thei schewiden to hym
 litle priuy doris, bi whiche thei entriden,
 and wastiden tho thingis that weren on
 the boord. Therfor the kyng killide hem, 21
 and bitook Bel in to the power of Daniel,
 which^j distriede thilke *Bel*, and his tem-
 ple. And a greet dragoun was in that 22
 place, and Babiloyns worschipiden it. And 23
 the kyng seide to Daniel, Lo! now thou
 maist not seie, that this is not a quik god;
 therfor worschipe thou hym. And Da- 24
 niel seide to the kyng, Y worschipe my
 Lord God, for he is God lyuynge. But 25
 thou, kyng, 3yue power to me, and Y
 schal sle the dragoun, with out swerd and^k
 staf. And the kyng seide, Y 3yue to
 thee. Therfor Daniel took pitch, and 26
 talow, and heeris, and sethede togidere;
 and he made gobetis, and 3af in to the
 mouth of the dragun; and the dragun
 was al to-brokun. And Daniel seide, Lo!
 whom 3e worschipiden. And whanne Ba- 27
 biloynes hadden herd this thing, thei had-
 den indignacioun greetli; and thei weren
 gaderid a3eus the king, and seiden, The
 king is maad a Jew; he distriede Bel, and
 killide the dragun, and slow the preestis.
 And thei seiden, whanne thei weren comun 28
 to the kyng, Bitake thou to vs Daniel, that
 distriede Bel, and killide the dragun; ellis
 we schulen sle thee, and thin hous. Ther- 29
 for the kyng si3, that thei fellen in on
 hym greetli; and he^l was compellid bi
 nede, and he bitook Daniel to hem.
 Whiche^m senten hym in to the lake of 30
 liouns, and he was there seuene daies.
 Certis seuene liouns weren in the lake, 31
 and twei bodiesⁿ and twei scheep weren
 3ouun to hem ech dai. And thanne tho
 weren not 3ouun to hem, that thei schul-

ⁱ Om. i. ^j the whiche i. ^k or n. ^l that he n. ^m The whiche i. ⁿ dampned i marg.

32 thei shulde deuoure Danyel. Forsothe
 Abacuc was a prophete in Judee, and he
 hadde sothen potage, and hadde 'sette ynⁱ
 looues in a litil vessel, and wente in to
 33 the feeld, for to bere to repers. And an
 aungel of the Lord saide to Abakuc, Bere
 thou the mete, that thou hast, in to Ba-
 byloyne, to Danyel, that is in the lake of
 34 lyouns. And Abakuc saide, Lord, I saw³
 not Babyloyne, and I knewe^k not the
 35 lake. And the angel of the Lord toke
 hym in the poll of hym, and bare hym
 in an her of his hed, and putte hym in
 to Babyloyne, on the lake, in bir of his
 36 spirit. And Abakuc criede, sayinge,
 Danyel, seruau^t of God, take thou the
 37 mete, that God sente to thee. And Da-
 nyel saith, Lord God, thou hast mynde
 of me, and forsakist not men loouynge
 38 thee. And Danyel rysynge eet; forsothe
 the aungel of the Lord restoride anoon
 39 Abakuc in his place. Therefore the kyng
 cam in the seuenthe day for to weile
 Danyel; and he came to the lake, and
 lookide with ynne, and loo! Danyel sitt-
 40 ynge in the myddil of lyouns. And the
 kyng criede with grete voice, saiynge,
 Grete art thou, Lord God of Danyel;
 41 and drou³ out him of the lake. Forsoth
 he sente yn in to the lake hem, that
 weren cause of his perdicoun, and thei
 ben deuoured in a moment byfore hym.
 42 Thann the kyng saith, Men dwellynge
 in al erthe, dreede the God of Danyel;
 for he is deliuerer, and sauere, doynge
 sygnes and merueyles in heuen and in
 erthe, that delyuerede Danyel of the lake
 of lyouns.

*Here endith the book of Danyel, the
 prophete, and bigynneth the book of
 Osee, the prophete¹.*

den deuoure Daniel. Forsothe Abacuk,³²
 the profete, was in Judee, and he hadde
 soden potage, and hadde set in looues in a
 litil panyere; and he ȝede in to the feeld,
 to bere to reperis. And the aungel of the³³
 Lord seide to Abacuk, Bere thou the mete,
 which thou hast, in to Babiloyne, to Da-
 niel, which is in the lake of liouns. And³⁴
 Abacuk seide, Lord, Y siȝ not Babiloyne,
 and Y knew not the lake. And the aun-³⁵
 gel of the Lord took hym bi his top, and
 bar hym bi the heer of his heed; and he
 'settide thilke *Abacuk*^o in Babiloyne, on
 the lake, in the fersnesse of his spirit.
 And Abacuk criede, and seide, Daniel, the³⁶
 seruau^t of God, take thou the mete, that
 God hath sent to thee. And Daniel seide,³⁷
 Lord God, thou hast mynde on me, and
 hast not forsake hem that louen thee.
 And Daniel roos, and eet; certis the aun-³⁸
 gel of the Lord restoride Abacuk anoon
 in^p his place. Therfor the kyng cam in³⁹
 the seuenthe dai to biweile Danyel; and
 he cam to the lake, and lokide in, and lo!
 Daniel sittynge in the myddis^q of liouns.
 The kyng. criede an hiȝ with greet vois,⁴⁰
 and seide, Lord God of Daniel, thou art
 greet; and *the kyng* drow hym out of
 the lake. Certis he sente in to the lake⁴¹
 hem, that weren cause of his perdicoun,
 and thei weren deuourid in a moment bi-
 for him. Thanne the kyng seide, Thei⁴²
 that dwellen in al erthe, drede the God
 of Daniel, for he is God lyuynge in to
 worldis; he is delyuerere, and sauour, do-
 ynge myraclis and meruels in heuene and
 in erthe, that delyuerede Daniel fro the
 lake of liouns.

*Here endith Danyel, and here bigyn-
 neth Osee^r.*

ⁱ in put G sec. m. ^k knowe A. ¹ Here endethe the boke of Daniel, and here bigynneth Osee. A. No final rubric in GH.

^o sette hym I. ^p in to N. ^q myddil N. ^r From CGIMQU. Here endith Danyel, and here bigynneth Osee, profete. F. Here endith Danyel, and here bigynneth Osee. H. Here endeth Daniel, the prophet; se now Osee, the profete. K. Here endith the book of Danyel, and bigynneth the book of Osee. N. Heere eendith Daniel, and bigynneth the prophete Osee. R. Here endith Danyel, and begynneth Osee, the profete. X. No final rubric in AEPY. In S it is cut off.

H O S E A.

Osee, the Prophete^a.

CAP. I.

¹ THE word of the Lord that is maad to Osee, sone of Bery, in the days of Osye, Joathan, Achas, and Ezechie, kyngis of Juda, and^b in the days of Jeroboam, sone² of Joas, kyng of Yrael. The bygynnyng of spekyng Lord^c in Osee. And the Lord said to Osee, Go thou, take to thee a wijf of fornicacioun, and make to thee sonys of fornicaciouns, for the erthe doynge fornicacioun shal do fornicacioun³ fro the Lord. And he wente, and toke Gomer, the douȝter of Debalaym; and she conceyuyde, and bare to hym a sone.⁴ And the Lord saide to hym, Clepe the name of hym Jesrael; for ȝit a lytil and Y schal visite the blode of Jesrael on the hous of Hyeu, and shal make the kyngdam of the hous of Yrael for to reste.⁵ And in that day Y schal breke to gydre the bowe of Yrael in the valey of Jesrael.⁶ And she conceyuyde ȝit, and bare a douȝter. And he saide to hym, Clepe thou the name of hir With outen mercy, for Y schal namore putte to, for to haue mercy to the hous of Yrael, bot bi forȝetyng Y⁷ schal forȝete hem. And to the hous of Juda Y schal haue mercy, and Y schal saue hem in the Lord her God; and Y schal not saue hem in bowe, and swerd, and bateil, and in horsis, and in horsmen.

Here biginnith the book of Osee, the profete^a.

CAP. I.

THE word of the Lord that was maad¹ to Osee, the sone of Bery, in the daies of Osie, Joathan, Achas, Ezechie, kingis of Juda, and in the daies of Jeroboam, sone of Joas, the kyng of Israel. The bigynnyng² of the spekyng to the Lord in Osee. And the Lord seide to Osee, Go thou, take to thee a wijf of fornyaciouns, and make to thee sonys of fornyaciouns, for the lond doynge fornicacioun shal do fornicacioun³ fro the Lord. And he ȝede, and took³ Gomer, the douȝter of Debalaym; and sche conseyuode, and childide a sone to hym. And the Lord seide to hym, Clepe⁴ thou the name of hym Jesrael; for ȝit a litil and Y schal visite the blood of Jesrael on the hous of Hieu, and Y schal make to reste the rewme of the hous of Israel. And in that dai Y schal al to-⁵ breke the bowe of Israel in the valei of Jesrael. And sche conseyuode ȝit, and⁶ childide a douȝter. And *the Lord* seide to hym, Clepe thou the name of hir With out merci, for Y schal no more leye to, for to haue merci on the hous of Israel, but bi forȝetyng Y schal forȝete hem. And⁷ Y schal haue merci on the hous of Juda, and Y schal saue hem in her Lord God; and Y schal not saue hem in bowe, and swerd, and batel, and in horsis, and in

^a No initial rubric in AGH. ^b Om. HK. ^c bi the Lord G sec. m. H.

^a From EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss.

8 And she wenyde hir that was With outen
9 mercye. And she conceyuyde, and bare
to hym a sone. And he saide^c, Clepe
thou the name of hym Not my people,
for 3e *ben* not my peple, and Y shal not
10 be 3our God. And the noumbre of sones
of Yrael shal be as grauel of the see,
whiche is with oute mesure, and shal
not be noumbred; and it schal be^{cc} in
place, where it schal be seid to hem, Not
my peple 3e; it schal be seid to hem,
11 Sones of God lyuyng. And sones^d of
Juda and sones of Yrael shuln be ge-
drid to gydre, and thei shuln putte to
hem self oon hed, and shuln stie vp fro
the lond, for grete is the day of Jesrael.

CAP. II.

1 Saye 3e to 3our bretheren, My peple;
and to 3our sister, Wynnyng mercy;
2 deme 3e 3our modir, deme 3e, for she is
not my wijf, and Y not hir husbond. Do
she aweye hir fornicaciouns fro hir face,
and hir auowtries fro the myddil of her
3 tetis; lest perauenture Y vnclothe hir
nakid, and sette hir vp the day of hir
birthe. And Y shal putte hir as a^e wil-
drenesse, and ordeyne hir as a lond vn-
weyed, *or with outen weye*, and shal^f
4 slea hir with thrist. And of the sones
of hir Y shal not haue mercy, for thei
5 ben sonys of fornyacioun; for the mo-
dir of hem dide fornyacioun, she is con-
fusid that conceyuyde hem, for she saide,
Y shal go after my louers that 3iuen^g
my looues to me, and my waters, and my
wolle, and my lynnyn, and myn oyle, and
6 my drinke. For this thing lo! Y shal
hegge thi weye with thornys, and I shal
hegge it with a walle, and it shal not
7 fynde his pathis. And she shal sue hir
louers, and shal not cacche hem, and shal
seke hem, and shal not fynde hem; and
she^h shal saye, Y shal go, and Y shal
turne a3ein to my former husbond, for
wele it was to me thanne more than now.

horse men, *ether kniztis*. And he wenyde^s
hir that was With out merci. And sche
conseyuede, and childe a sone to hym.
And he seide, Clepe thou his name Not⁹
my puple, for 3e *schulen* not *be* my puple,
and Y schal not be 3oure God.

CAP. II.

And the noumbre of the sones of Is-10
rael schal be as grauel of the see, which
grauel is with out mesure, and it schal
not be noumbred; and it schal be in the
place, where it schal be seid to hem, 3e
ben not my puple; it schal be seid to hem,
3e *ben* the sones of God lyuyng. And 11
the sones of Juda and the sones of Israel
schulen be gaderid togidere, and thei
schulen sette oon heed to hem silf, and
thei *schulen* stie^b fro erthe^c, for the dai of
Jesrael^d is greet. Sei 3e^e to 3oure bri-1
theren, *Thei ben* my puple; and to 3oure
sister that hath gete merci, Deme 3e 3oure²
modir, deme 3e, for sche is not my wijf,
and Y *am* not hir hosebonde. Do sche
away hir fornicaciouns fro hir face, and
hir auowtries fro the myddis of hir
brestis; lest perauenture Y spuyle hir³
nakid, and sette hir nakid bi the dai of
hir natyuyte. And Y schal sette hir as a
wildirnesse, and Y schal ordeyne hir as a
lond with out weie, and Y schal sle hir in
thirst. And Y schal not haue merci on⁴
the sones of hir, for thei ben sones^f of
forniaciouns; for the modir of hem dide⁵
forniacioun, sche is schent that conseyu-
ede hem, for sche seide, Y schal go after
my louyeris that 3euen looues to me, and
my watris, and my wolles, and my flex,
and myn oyle, and my drynke. For this⁶
thing lo! Y schal hegge thi weie with
thornes, and Y schal hegge it with a wal,
and sche schal not fynde hir pathis. And⁷
sche schal sue hir louyeris, and schal not
take hem, and sche schal seke hem, and
schal not fynde; and sche schal seie, Y
schal go, and turne a3en to my formere

^c seide to hym A. ^{cc} not be K. ^d the sonys G sec. m. ^e Om. AGH. ^f Y schal A. ^g 3auen A.
3euen H. ^h Om. A.

^b stie up I. ^c the erthe I. ^d Israel I. ^e Om. N. ^f the sones N.

8 And this *womman* wiste not, for Y ȝaue
 to hir wheet, wijne, and oyle; and mul-
 9 thei maden to Baal. Therefore Y shal
 turne, and shal take my wheet in hys
 tyme, and my wijn in his tyme; and I
 shal weiȝe my wolles, and my linnen,
 10 whiche hiliden the yuel fame of hir. And
 now Y shal shewe the folye of hir in the
 eezen of hir louers, and a man shal not
 11 delyuere hir fro myn hond; and I shal
 make alle the ioie of hir for to ceese, hir
 solempnyte, hir neomynye, *or new feest*,
 hir saboth, and alle feestis and tymys of
 12 hir. And I shal corruppe, *or distruye*,
 hir vyne ȝerd, and hir fijge tree, of which
 she saide, These ben my hijris, whiche
 my louers ȝauen to me; and Y shal putte
 hir in to wijlde wode, and the beest of
 13 the feeld shal eet hir. And I shal visite
 vpon hir the days of Baalym, in whiche
 she brent ensence, and was ourned with
 hir ere ring, and hir broche, and wente
 aftir hir louers, and forȝate me, saith the
 14 Lord. For this thing loo! Y shal ȝeue
 mylk to hir, and shal lede hir in to wil-
 derness, and Y shal speke to hir herte;
 15 and shal ȝeue to hir vijne tyliers of the
 same place, and the valey of Achor, for
 to opyn hope. And she shal synge there vp
 the days of hir ȝouth, and vp the days
 of hir steyng vp fro the lond of Egypt.
 16 And it shal be in that day, saith the
 Lord, she shal clepe me Myn husbond,
 and she shal namore clepe me Baalym;
 17 and Y shal take awaye the names of Ba-
 lym fro hir mouthe, and she shal namore
 18 haue mynde of the name of hem. And Y
 shal smyte to hem a boond of pees in
 that day with beest of the feeld, and with
 brid of heuen, and with creepynge beest
 of erthe. And Y shal breke to gydre bowe,
 and swerd, and batel of theⁱ erthe; and
 Y shal make hem for to sleepe tristili.
 19 And I shal spouse thee to me in to with
 outen eende, and Y shal spouse thee to

hosebonde, for it was wel to me thanne
 more than now. And this *Jerusalem*⁸
 wiste not, that Y ȝaf to hir wheete, wyn,
 and oile; and Y multiplied siluer and gold
 to hir, whiche thei maden to Baal. Ther-⁹
 for Y schal turne, and take my wheete in
 his tyme, and my wijn in his tyme; and
 Y schal delyuere my wolles, and my flex,
 bi which thei hiliden the schenscipe ther-
 of. And now Y schal schewe the foli of¹⁰
 hir bifore the ȝen of hir louyeris, and a
 man schal not delyuere hir fro myn hond;
 and Y schal make to ceesse al the ioie¹¹
 therof, the solempnyte therof, the neome-
 nye* therof^g, the sabat therof, and alle
 the feeste tymes therof. And Y schal dis-¹²
 trie^b the vyner therof, of whiche sche seide,
 These ben myn hiris, whiche my louyeris
 ȝauen to me; and Y schal sette it in to a
 forest, and a beeste of the feeld schal ete
 it. And Y schal visite on it the daies of¹³
 Baalym, in whiche it brente encense, and
 was ourned with hir eere ryng, and hir
 broche, and ȝede after hir louyeris, and
 forȝat me, seith the Lord. For this thing¹⁴
 lo! Y schal ȝyue mylk to it, and Y schal
 brynge it in to wildirnesse, and Y schal
 speke to the herteⁱ therof. And Y schal¹⁵
 ȝyue to it vyn tilieris therof of^k the same
 place, and the valei of Achar, *that is, of^l*
disturblyng, for to opene hope. And it schal
 synge there bi the daies of hir ȝongthe,
 and bi the daies of hir stiyng^m fro the
 lond of Egipt. And it schal be in that¹⁶
 dai, seith the Lord, sche schal clepe me
 Mynⁿ hosebonde, and sche schal no more
 clepe me Baalym; and Y schal take awei¹⁷
 the names of Baalym fro hir mouth, and
 sche schal no more haue mynde of the
 name of tho. And Y schal smyte to hem¹⁸
 a boond of pees in that dai with the beeste
 of the feeld, and with the brid of the eir,
 and with the crepyng beeste of erthe^o.
 And Y schal al to-breke bowe, and swerd,
 and batel fro erthe; and Y schal make
 hem to slepe tristili. And Y schal spouse¹⁹

* Neomenye is
 the feeste of the
 newe moone. A.

ⁱ Om. A.

^g therof, *ether feeste of newe moone* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^h corruppe, *ether distrie* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX.
ⁱ heelte CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^{heijthe} K. ^k in I. ^l Om. K. ^m stiyng vp I. ⁿ hir N. ^o the erthe ERU.

me in ríztwíjsnesse, and in dome, and in
 20 mercy, and in doyngis of mercy. And
 Y shal spouse thee to me in feith; and
 21 thou shalt wite, for Y the Lord. And
 it shal be, in that day Y shal heere, saith
 the Lord, and I shal heere heuens, and
 22 thei shuln heere the erthe; and the erthe
 shal heere wheete, and wijn, and oyle, and
 23 these shuln heere Jesrael. And Y shal
 sowe hir to me in to lond, and Y^k shal
 haue mercy on hir that was with out
 24 mercy. And Y shal saye to not my pe-
 ple, Thou art my peple, and he shal saye,
 Thou art my God.

CAP. III.

1 And the Lord saide to me, 3it go thou,
 and loue thou a womman loued of a frend,
 and auoutresse, as the Lord loueth the
 sonys of Yrael; and thei byholden to
 alyen goddis, and louen the darstis of
 grapis, *that leueth in hem aftir pressyng.*
 2 And Y dalf hir to me with fifteen platis
 of siluer, and with a chorus of barly,
whiche is a mesure of thritti busshels,
 3 and with an half chorus of barly. And
 Y saide to hir, Manye days thou shalt
 abyde me; thou shalt not do fornyacioun,
 and thou shalt not be to husbond, bot
 4 and¹ Y shal abijde thee. For manye
 days the sonys of Yrael shuln sitte with
 out kyng, with out prince, with out sa-
 crifice, and with out auter, and with out
 ephot, *or prestis clothing,* and with out
 5 teraphyn^m. And after these thingis sonys
 of Yrael shuln turne azein, and shuln
 seke the Lord her God, and Dauith. her
 kyng; and thei shuln dreede to the Lord,
 and to the good of hym, in the last of
 days.

CAP. IV.

1 Heere 3e, sonys of Yrael, the word of
 the Lord, for dome to the Lord with
 dwellers of erthe; forsothe trewth is not

thee to me withouten ende; and Y schal
 spouse thee to me in ríztfulnesse, and in
 dom, and in merci, and in merciful do-
 yngis. And Y schal spouse thee to me in 20
 feith; and thou schalt wite, that Y *am*
 the Lord. And it schal be, in that dai²¹
 Y schal here, seith the Lord, and Y schal
 here heuenes, and tho schulen here the
 erthe; and the erthe schal here^p wheete, 22
 and wyn, and oile, and these schulen here
 Jesrael^q. And Y schal sowe it to me in 23
 to a lond, and Y schal haue merci on it
 that was with out merci. And Y schal 24
 seie to *that, that is* not my puple, Thou
 art my puple, and it schal seie, Thou art
 my God.

CAP. III.

And the Lord seide to me, 3it go thou, 1
 and loue a womman loued of a frend, and
 a *womman* auoutresse, as the Lord loueth
 the sones of Israel; and thei biholden to
 alien goddis, and louen the draffis of grapis.
 And Y dalf it to me bi fiftene pens, and 2
 bi a corus[†] of barli, and bi half a corus of
 barli. And Y seide to it, Bi many daies 3
 thou shalt abide me; thou schalt not do
 fornyacioun, and thou schalt not be with
 an hosebonde, but also Y schal abide thee.
 For bi many daies the sones of Israel schu- 4
 len sitte with out kyng, with out prince,
 and with out sacrifice, and with out auter,
 and with out prestis cloth, and with out
 terafyn, *that is, ymagis.* And after these 5
 thingis the sones of Israel schulen turne
 azen, and schulen seke her Lord God, and
 Dauid, her king; and thei schulen drede
 at the Lord, and at the good of him, in
 the laste of^r daies.

† A corus con-
 teyneth xxx.
 buschels, and
 so a corus and
 an half con-
 teynen xlv.
 buschels.
 CKNRU.

CAP. IV.

Sones of Israel, here 3e the word of the 1
 Lord, for whi doom *is* to the Lord with
 the dwelleris of erthe; for whi trewth is

^k Om. A. ¹ Om. A. ^m serafyn K.

^p here N. ^q Israel I. ^r Om. A.

and mercy is not, and science, *or kunnyng*,
 2 of the Lord is not in erthe. Cursidness,
 and lesyng, and mansleaynge, and theft,
 and auoutrie flowiden, and bloode touchide
 3 bloode. For this thing erthe shal mourne,
 and eche man that dwellith theryn shal be
 seeke, in beest of the feeld, and in brid of
 heuen; bot and fishis of the se shuln be
 4 gadrid. Nethese eche man deeme not,
 and be not a man reproued; forsothe thi
 peple as these that azein sayen the prest.
 5 And thou shalt falle to day, and also the
 prophete shal falle to gydre with thee;
 in nyzt Y made thi modir for to be
 6 stille. And my peple was to gydre stille,
 for it hadde not science; for thou hast
 putte away science, Y shal putte thee
 away, that thou be not set, *or vse*, in
 presthode to me; thou hast forzete the
 lawe of thi God, and Y shal forgete thi
 7 sonys. Vp the multitude of hem, so thei
 synnyden to me. Y shal chaunge the
 8 glorie of hem in to yuel fame. Thei^m
 shuln ete the synnys of my peple, and to
 the wickidnesse of hem thei shuln reyse
 9 vp the soulis of hem. And it shal be,
 as the peple so the prest; and I shal
 visite on hym the weyes of hym, and I
 10 shal zelde to hym his thouztis. And thei
 shuln ete, and shuln not be fulfillid; thei
 diden fornycacioun, and cesiden not, for
 thei forsoken the Lord in not kepyng.
 11 Fornycacioun, and wijn, and drunkenesse
 12 doth away herte. My peple axide in his
 tree, and the staff of hym shal shewe to
 hym; forsothe the spirit of fornycaciouns
 disceyuyde hem, and thei diden fornica-
 13 cioun fro her God. On hedisⁿ of hillis
 thei maden sacrifice, and on litil hillis
 thei brennedden tymyame, *or encense*, vn-
 der ook, and poplere, and terebynt, for
 the shadew of it was good. Therefore 3our
 douzters shuln do fornycacioun, and 3our
 spousis, *or wijfis*, shuln be auoutressis.
 14 Y shal not visite on 3our douzters, whan
 thei shuln do fornycacioun, and on 3oure

not, and merci is not, and kunnyng of the
 Lord is not in erthe. Curs, and leesyng,²
 and manquelling, and thefte, and auowtrie
 flowiden, and blood touchide blood. For³
 this thing the erthe schal mourne, and ech
 that dwellith in that lond, schal be sijk,
 in the beeste of the feeld, and in the brid
 of the eir; but also the fischis of the see
 schulen be gaderid togidere. Nethese ech⁴
 man deme not, and a man be not repreuyd;
 for thi puple *is* as thei that azen seien the
 prest. And thou schalt falle to dai, and⁵
 the profete also schal falle with thee; in
 the nigt Y made thi modir to be stille.
 My puple was stille, for it hadde not kun-⁶
 nyng; for thou hast putte awei kunnyng,
 Y^s schal putte thee awei, that thou vse not
 presthod to me; and for thou hast forzete
 the lawe of thi God, also Y schal forzete
 thi sones. Bi the multitude of hem, so⁷
 thei synnedden azens me. Y schal chaunge
 the glorie of hem in to schenschipec. Thei⁸
 schulen ete the synnes of my puple, and
 thei schulen reise the soulis of hem to the
 wickidnesse of hem. And it schal be, as⁹
 the puple so the prest; and Y schal visite
 on hym the weies of hym, and Y schal
 zelde to him the thouztis of hym. And¹⁰
 thei schulen ete, and thei schulen not be
 fillid; thei diden fornycacioun, and ceess-
 iden not, for thei forsoken the Lord in
 not kepyng. Fornycacioun, and wiyn,¹¹
 and drunkenesse doen awei the herte.
 My puple axide in his tre, and the staf¹²
 therof^t telde to it; for the spirit of forni-
 cacioun disseyuede hem, and thei diden
 fornycacioun fro her God. On the hedis^u¹³
 of mounteyns thei maden sacrifice, and on
 the litil hillis thei brenten encense vnder
 an ook, and a popeler, and terebynte, for
 the schadewe therof was good. Therfor
 3oure douztris schulen do fornycacioun, and
 3oure wyues schulen be auoutressis. Y¹⁴
 schal not visite on 3oure douztris, whanne
 thei don fornycacioun, and on 3oure wyues,
 whanne thei doon auowtrie; for thei lyu-

^m and thei AH.ⁿ the hedis AGH.^s and I r. ^t Om. N.^u hedis, *ether coppis* I.

wijues, whanne thei shuln do auowtrie;
for thei lyueden with hooris, and sacri-
fieden with men turned in to wommans
maners. And peple not vndirstondynge
15 shal be beten. 3if thou, Yrael, dost for-
nycacioun, nameli thou, Juda, trespassse
not; and nyl 3e entre in to Galgala, and
stye 3e not in to Bethauen, nether swere
16 3e, The Lord lyueth. For as a cowe
waxinge wijlde Yrael bowide away; now
the Lord shal feede hem as a lombe
17 in breed. Parcener of ydolis Effraym,
18 leue 3e hym; the feest of hem is de-
partid. In fornicacioun thei diden forni-
cacioun, the defenders of hem loueden
19 for to brynge to yuel fame. A spirit
boonde hym in his weengis, and thei
shuln be confoundid of her sacrifices.

CAP. V.

1 Heere 3e, prestis, these thingis, and
perceyue 3e, hous of Yrael, and herken
3e, hous of the kyng; for with 3ou is
dome, for 3e ben maad a graue to byhold-
yng, and as a nette sprad abroad on Tha-
2 bor. And 3e bowiden doun slayn sacrifice
for victorie in to depnesse; and Y the
3 lerner of hem alle. Y wote Effraym, and
Yrael is not hid fro me; for now Effraym
4 dide fornicacioun, Yrael is defoulid. Thei
shul not 3eue her thou3tis, that thei turne
a3ein to her God; for the spirit of forni-
cacioun in the mydil of hem, and thei
5 knewen not the Lord. And the pryde of
Yrael shal answeere in to his face, and
Yrael and Effraym shuln falle to gydre
in her wikkidnesse; also Juda shall falle
6 with hem. In her flockis, and in her
droues thei shuln go for to seke the
Lord, and shuln not fynde; he is taken
7 away fro hem. In the Lord thei tres-
passiden, for thei gendriden alien sonys;
now the monethe with her partis shal
8 deuoure hem. Sowne 3e with an horn in
Gabaa, with trumpe in Rama; woule 3e
in Bethauen, aftir thi bac, Beniamyn.
9 Effraym shal be in to desolacioun, in the
day of correctioun, and in lynagis of

yden with hooris, and maden sacrifice with
men turned in to wymmens condiciouns.
And the puple that vndirstondith not, schal
be betun. If thou, Israel, doist fornica- 15
cioun, nameli Juda trespassse^v not; and nyle
3e entre in to Galgala, and stie 3e not in
to Bethauen, nether swere 3e, The Lord
lyueth. For as a wielde cow Israel bowide 16
awei; now the Lord schal fede hem as a
lomb in broodnesse. Effraym *is* the par- 17
tener of idols, leue thou him; the feest 18
of hem is departid. Bi fornicacioun thei
diden fornicacioun, the defenders therof
louyden to brynge schenschipe. The spirit 19
boond hym in hise wyngis, and thei schu-
len be schent of her sacrifices.

CAP. V.

Preestis, here 3e this, and the hous of
Israel, perseyue 3e, and the hous of the
kyng, herkne 3e; for whi doom is to you,
for 3e ben maad a snare to lokyng afer,
and^w as a net spred abroad on Thabor.
And 3e bowiden doun sacrifices in to 2
depthe; and Y *am* the lernere of alle hem.
Y knowe Effraym, and Israel is not hid 3
fro me; for now Effraym dide fornica-
cioun, Israel is defoulid. Thei schulen not 4
3iue her thou3tis, that thei turne a3en to
her God; for the spirit of fornicacioun *is*
in the myddis of hem, and thei knewen
not the Lord. And the boost of Israel 5
schal answeere in to the face therof, and
Israel and Effraym schulen falle in her
wikkidnesse; also Judas schal falle with
hem. In her flockis, and in her droues 6
thei schulen go to seke the Lord, and thei
schulen not fynde; he is takun awei fro
hem. Thei trespasssiden a3ens the Lord, 7
for thei gendriden alien sones; now the
monethe schal deuoure hem with her
partis. Sowne 3e with a clarioun in Ga- 8
baa, with a trumpe in Rama; zelle 3e in
Bethauen, after thi^x bak, Beniamyn. Ef- 9
fraym schal be in to desolacioun, in the
dai of amending, and in the lynagis of

^v trespassside CEFK *pr. m.* NVX. ^w Om. 1. ^x the 1.

10 Yrael Y shewide feith. The princis of
Juda ben maad as takynge to the termes
on hem; Y shal shede out as water my
11 wrath. Effraym is suffrynge fals chal-
lenge, he broken in dome; for he by-
12 ganne for to go after filthis. And Y as
a mou3the to Effraym, and as rot to the
13 hous of Juda. And Effraym saw3 his
seekenesse, and Juda his boond. And
Effraym wente to Assur, and sente to
the kyng veniour. And he shal not mowe
saue 3ou, nether shal mowe vnbynde the
14 boond fro 3ou. For Y as a lyonesse to
Effraym, and as a whelp of lyoun to the
hous of Juda. Y, Y shal take, and shal
go, and shal take away, and ther is not
15 whiche shal delyuere. Y goynge shal
turne a3ein to my place, til 3e fayle, and
seeke my face.

CAP. VI.

1 In her tribulacioun erly thei shuln
ryse to gyder to me. Cum 3e^o, and turne
2 we a3ein to the Lord; for he toke, *or*
bigan, and shal hele us; he shal smyte,
3 and shal cure us. He shal quycken us
aftir two days, in the thrydde day he
shal reyse vs, and we shuln lyue in the
sijt of hym. We shuln wite, and sue, that
we knewe the Lord. As the spryng of day
his out goyng is maad redy, and he shal
cum as rayne tymely to vs, and late to
4 erthe. What shal Y do to thee, Effraym?
what shal Y do to thee, Juda? 3our mercy
as a morew cloude, and as dewe erly pass-
5 ynge forth. For this thing Y haue hewun
in prophetis, and slayn hem in wordis of
my mouthe; and thi domys shuln go out
6 as lizt. For Y wolde mercy, and not sa-
crifice, and science of God, more than
7 brente sacrifices. Forsothe thei as Adam
braken my couenaunt; there thei tres-
8 passiden in me. Galaad the cite of men
wiryngge ydol, supplauntid by blood;
9 and as cheekis of men theeues. Parcener
of prestis in the waye of men sleaynge

Israel Y schewide feith. The princes of 10
Juda ben maad as takynge terme; Y schal
schede out on hem my wraththe as watir.
Effraym suffrith fals challenge, and *is* bro- 11
kun bi doom; for he bigan to go after
filthis. And Y *am* as a mou3te to Effraym, 12
and as rot to the hous of Juda. And Ef- 13
fraym si3 his sikenesse, and Judas *si3* his
boond. And Effraym 3ede to Assur, and
sente to the kyng veniere. And he mai not
saue 3ou, nether he mai vnbynde the boond
fro 3ou. For Y *am* as a lionesse to⁷ Ef- 14
fraym, and as a whelp of a lioun to the
hous of Juda. Y my silf schal take, and 15
go, and take awei, and noon is that schal
delyuere. I schal go, and turne a3en to my
place, til 3e failen, and seken my face.

CAP. VI.

In her tribulacioun thei schulen rise 1
eerli to me. Come 3e, and turne we a3en
to the Lord; for he took, and schal heele 2
vs; he schal smyte, and schal make vs
hool. He schal quykene vs after twei³ 3
daies, and in the thridd dai he schal reise
vs, and we schulen lyue in his sijt. We
schulen wite, and sue, that we knowe the
Lord. His goyng out is maad redi at the
morewtid, and he schal come as a reyn
to vs, *which is* timeful and lateful to the
erthe. Effraym, what schal Y do to thee? 4
Juda, what schal Y do to thee? 3oure
merci *is* as a cloude of the morewtid, and
as deew passynge forth eerli. For this 5
thing Y hewide in profetis*, Y killide hem
in the wordis of my mouth; and thi⁶
domes schulen go out as lizt. For Y wolde
merci, and not sacrifice, and Y *wolde* the
kunnyng of God, more than brent sacri-
fices^a. But thei as Adam braken the co- 7
uenaunt; there^b thei trespassiden a3ens
me. Galaad the citee of hem that wor- 8
chen^c idol, *is* supplauntid with blood; and
as the chekis of men *that ben*^d theues. 9

* that is, bi the
correccioun of
prophetes, I
wolde leede
a3en 3ow to
rijtnesse, *or*
euenesse, as
trees bi hew-
ing. *Live*
here. x.

^o Om. A.

^y of N. ^z fewe t. ^a sacrifice A. ^b and there N. ^c worshipen A *pr. m.* ^d Om. c *et ceteri.*

men goynge of Sychem, for thei wrouzten
10 grete trespas. In the hous of Yrael Y
saw an orrible thing; there the fornyca-
ciouns of Effraym.

CAP. VII.

11 Israel is defoulid; bot and thou, Juda,
putte to thee rijp^o corn, whanne Y shal
turne to gydre the caitiftee of my peple.
1 Whanne Y wolde hele Yrael, the wickid-
nesse of Effraym is shewid, and the ma-
lice of Samarie, for thei wrouzten lesyng.
And a nyzt thief wente in robbynge; a
2 litil day thief with out forth. And lest
perauenture thei sayen in her hertis, me
hauynge mynde on al the malice of hem,
now her fyndyngis han gon about hem,
3 thei ben maad byfore my face. In her
malice thei gladden^p the kyng, and in
4 her lesyngus the princis. Alle doynge
auoutrie, as fourneice kyndlid of a man
seethinge. The citee restide a litil in
mengyng to gydre of soure dowe, til it
5 were sourdowid all. The day of oure
kyng; princis bygunnen for to wexe wode
of wijn; he streizte out his hond with
6 scorneris. For thei applieden as a four-
neys her herte, whanne he aspiede, *or*
sette, tresoun to hem. Al niȝt he slepte
seethinge hem, erly he set on fjr, as fjr
7 of flawme. All ben maad hoot as a^q
fourneice, and deuoureden her domes-
men. All kyngis of hem fellen down, and
ther is not in hem that shal crie to me.
8 Effraym in peplis he was meynt to
gydre; Effraym is maad a loof baken
vndir ashis, whiche is not turned aȝein.
9 Aliens eeten the strengthe of hym, and
he wist not; bot and whijt heeris ben
shed out in hym, and he knewe not.
10 And the pride of Yrael shal be mekid
in the face of hym; nether thei ben turn-
ed aȝein to the Lord her God, and thei
souȝten not hym in alle theese thingus.
11 And Effraym is maad as a culuer dis-
ceyued, not hauynge herte. Thei inlep-

Partener of prestis sleynge in the weie
men goynge fro Sichem, for thei wrouzten
greet trespasse. In the hous of Israel Y 10
siȝ an orible thing; there the fornicaciouns
of Effraym. Israel is defoulid; but also 11
thou, Juda, sette heruest to thee, whanne
Y schal turne the caitiftee of my puple.

CAP. VII.

Whanne Y wolde heele Israel, the wick-1
idnesse of Effraym was schewid, and the
malice of Samarie *was schewid*, for thei
wrouzten a^e leesyng. And^f a niȝt thief en-
tride, and robbid; a dai thief *was* with-
outforth. And lest thei seien in her hertis, 2
that Y haue mynde on al the malice of
hem, now her fyndyngis han cumpassid
hem, tho ben maad bifer my face. In her 3
malice thei gladiden the kyng, and in her
leesyngys *'thei gladiden^g* the princes. Alle 4
that doen auoutrie, *ben* as an ouene maad
hoot of a bakere. The citee restide a litil
fro the medlyng of sour douȝ, til al was
maad sour *'of sour douȝ^h*. The dai of oure 5
kyng; the princis bigunnen to be wood of
wyn; he stretchide forth his hoond with
scorneris. For thei applieden her herte as 6
an ouene, whanne he settide tresoun to
hem. Al the niȝt he slepte bakynge hem, in
the morewtid he was maad hoot, as the fier
of flawme. Alle weren maad hoot as an 7
ouene, and thei deuouriden her iugis. Alle
the kyngis of hem fellenⁱ down, and noon
is among hem that crieth to me. Effraym 8
hym silf was medlid among puplis; Ef-
fraym was maad a loof bakun vndur
aischis, which is not turned aȝein. Aliens 9
eeten the strengthe of hym, and he knew
not; but also hoor heeris weren sched out
in hym, and he knew not. And the pride 10
of Israel schal be maad low in the face
therof; thei turneden not aȝein to her Lord
God, and thei souȝten not hym in alle
these thingis. And^k Effraym was maad 11
as^l a culuer disseyued, not hauynge herte.
Thei clepiden Egipt to help, thei^m ȝeden to

^o the rijp. ^p gladiden *A*. ^q Om. *A*.

^e Om. *I*. ^f Om. *I*. ^g Om. *I*. ^h Om. *I*. ⁱ felden *I et s passim*. ^k Om. *A pr. m*. ^l lyk to *s*.
^m whanne thei *N*.

iden Egypt, to Assiriens thei wenten.
 12 And whanne thei shuln go, Y shal sprede
 abrode on hem my nett, as a brid of
 heuen Y shal drawe hem down. Y shal
 bete hem, vp the heeryng of the cum-
 13 panye of hem. Wo to hem, for thei
 wenten awei fro me; thei shuln be
 waastid, for thei trespassiden in me. Y
 azein bouzte hem, and thei spaken azeinus
 14 me lesyng. And thei crieden not to me
 in her herte, bot thei wouldiden in her
 couchis. Thei chewiden cud vpon whete,
 15 and wijne, and departiden fro me. And
 I lernyde hem, and coumfortide the ar-
 mys of hem, and in me thei thouzten
 16 malice. Thei turneden azein, that thei
 shulden be with out 3oc; thei ben maad
 as a gylful bowe. The princis of hem
 shuln falle in swerd, of the wodenesse of
 her tunge; this the mowyng, *or scornynge*,
 of hem in the lond of Egypt.

CAP. VIII.

1 In thi throte be a trumpe, as an egle
 on the hous of the Lord; for that that
 thei braken my bond of pees, and thei
 2 trespassiden, *or braken*, my lawe. Thei
 inclepiden me, My God, we Yrael knewen
 3 thee. Yrael castide away good thing, an
 4 enemy shal pursue hym. Thei regn-
 eden, and not of me; thei weren princis,
 and I knewe not. Thei maden her syluer
 and gold and her ydolis to hem, that thei
 5 shulden perishe. Samarie, thi calf is cast
 away; my woodnesse is wrothe in hem.
 6 Hou long mizten thei not be clensid? for
 of Yrael and he is. A craftise man made
 hym, and he is not god; for the calf of
 Samarie shal be⁹ into webbis of yreinus.
 7 For thei shuln sowe wynd, and repe
 whirlwynd. A stondynge stalk is not in
 hem, the buriownyng shal not make
 mele; that and 3if it shal make, aliens
 8 shuln ete it^r. Yrael is deuoured; now he
 is maad in naciouns, as an vnclene vessel,
 9 for thei stieden to Assur. Effraym a soli-
 tarie feeld asse to hym self. Thei 3auen
 10 3iftis to her louers; bot and with meed
 thei hijriden naciouns. Now Y shal gedre

Assiriens. And whanne thei ben goen¹²
 forth, Y schal sprede abroad on hem my
 net, Y schal drawe hem down as a brid of
 the eir. Y schal beete hem, bi the heryng
 of the cumpany of hem. Wo to hem, for¹³
 thei 3eden awei fro me; thei schulen be
 distried, for thei trespassiden a3ens me.
 And Y a3enbouzte hem, and thei spaken
 leesyngis a3enus me. And thei crieden¹⁴
 not to me in her herte, but zelliden in her
 beddis. Thei chewiden code on wheete,
 and wyn, and thei 3eden awei fro me.
 And Y tauzte, and coumfortide the armes¹⁵
 of hem, and thei thouzten malice a3ens
 me. Thei turneden a3en, that thei schul-¹⁶
 den be with out 3ok; thei ben maad as a
 gileful bowe. The princis of hem schulen
 falle down bi swerd, for the woodnesse of
 her tunge; this *is* the scornynge of hem
 in the lond of Egypt.

CAP. VIII.

A trumpe be in thi throte, as an egle¹
 on the hous of the Lord; for that that thei
 3eden ouer my boond of pees, and braken
 my lawe. Thei clepiden me to helpe, A!²
 my God, we Israel han knowe thee. Israel³
 hath cast awei good, the enemye schal
 pursue hym. Thei regnyden, and not of⁴
 me; thei weren princes, and Y knew not.
 Thei maden her gold and siluer idols to
 hem, that thei schulden perische. -A! Sa-⁵
 marie, thi calf is cast awei; my strong
 veniaunce is wrooth a3ens hem. Hou long
 moun thei not be clensid? for also it is of⁶
 Israel. A crafti man made it, and it is
 not god; for the calf of Samarie schal be
 in to webbis of ireyns. For thei schulen⁷
 sowe wynd, and thei schulen repe whirle-
 wynd. A stalke stondynge is not in hem,
 the seed schal not make mele; that if also
 it makith *mele*, aliens schulen ete it. Is-⁸
 rael is deuouryd; now *Israel* is maad as
 an vnclene vessel among naciouns, for thei⁹
 stieden to Assur. Effraym *is* a wielde
 asse, solitarie to hym silf. Thei 3auen 3iftis
 to louyeris; but also with meede thei hir-¹⁰
 iden naciouns. Now Y schal gadere hem

⁹ be do κ *pr. m.* ^r hit κ.

hem, and thei shuln reste a litil of charge
 11 of the kyng and princis. For Effraym
 multipliede autris for to synne, autris
 12 ben maad to hym in to trespasse. Y
 shal write to hym my manyfolde lawis,
 13 whiche ben acomptid as alyen. Thei
 shulen brenge to oostis, and shuln offre
 fleshis, and shuln ete; and the Lord shal
 not resceyue hem. Now he shal recorde
 the wickidnesse of hem, and shal visite
 the synnes of hem; thei shuln be turnyd
 14 in to Egypt. And Yrael for3ate his
 maker, and beeldide templis, and Judas
 multipliede stronge citees; and Y shal
 sende fjr in to the citees of him^r, and it
 shal deuoure the housis of hym.

CAP. IX.

1 Yrael, nyl thou glade, nyl thou ioie
 with outforth as peplis; for thou hast do
 fornicacioun fro thi God. Thou louedist
 2 kijris on alle feeldis of whete. Feeld
 and pressour shal not feede hem, and
 3 wijne shal lye to hem. Thei shuln not
 dwelle in the lond of the Lord. Effraym
 turnyde a3ein in to Egypt, and in Assi-
 4 riens cete defoulid thing. Thei shuln
 not sacrifice wijn to the Lord, and thei
 shuln not plesse to hym. The sacrifices of
 hem as breede of mournynge men; alle
 that eten it shuln be defoulid. For the
 breed of hem, of the soule of hem, shal
 not entre in to the^s hous of the Lord.
 5 What shuln 3e do in the solempne day,
 6 in day of the fest of the Lord? Loo!
 sothely thei ben gon fro wastnesse.
 Egypt shal gedere hem, Memphis shal
 birie hem. A nettil shal enherit the de-
 sirable syluer of hem, a cloote in the
 7 tabernaclis of hem. Days of visityng
 camen, days of 3eldyng camen. Yrael,
 wite thou thee a fool, a wood prophete,
 a spirituel man, for the multitude of thi
 wickidnesse, and multitude of madnesse.
 8 A spier of Effraym with my God; the
 prophete is maad a gnare of fallynge, on
 alle the wayes of hym, wodenesse in the

togidere, and thei schulen reste^a a litil fro
 birthun of the kyng and of princes. For 11
 Effraym multipliede auteris to do synne,
 auteris weren maad to hym in to trespas.
 Y schal write to hem my many fold lawis, 12
 that ben arettid as alien *lawis*. Thei schu- 13
 len brynge sacrifices, thei shulen offre, and
 ete fleischis; and the Lord schal not res-
 seyue tho. Now he schal haue mynde on
 the wickidnessis of hem, and he schal vi-
 site the synnes of hem; thei schulen turne
 in to Egypt. And Israel for3at his makere, 14
 and bildide templis to *idols*^o, and Judas
 multipliede stronge citees; and Y schal
 sende fier in to the citees^p of hym, and it
 schal deuoure the housis of hym.

CAP. IX.

Israel, nyle thou be glad, nyle thou 1
 make ful out ioie as puplis; for thou
 hast do fornicacioun fro thi God. Thou
 louedist meede on alle the cornflooris of
 wheete. The cornfloor and pressour schal 2
 not feede hem, and wyn schal lie to hem.
 Thei schulen not dwelle in the lond of the 3
 Lord. Effraym turnede a3en in to Egypt,
 and eet defoulid^q thing among Assiriens.
 Thei schulen not offre wyn to the Lord, 4
 and thei schulen not plesse hym. The sacri-
 fices of hem *ben* as breed of mourneris;
 alle that schulen ete it schulen be de-
 foulid. For the breed of hem *is* to the
 lijf of hem; thei schulen not entre in to
 the hous of the Lord. What schulen 3e 5
 do in the solempne dai, in the dai of the
 feeste of the Lord? For lo! thei ben 6
 goon out fro distriyng. Egypt schal ga-
 dere hem togidere, Memphis schal birie
 hem. A nettle schal enherite the desirable
 siluer of hem, a clote *schal be* in the ta-
 7 bernaclis of hem. Daies of visitacioun
 ben comun, daies of 3eldyng ben comun.
 Knowe 3e, that Israel *is* a fool, a wood
 profete, a spiritual man, for the multitude
 of thi wickidnesse *is* also the multitude
 of woodnesse. The biholdere of Effraym 8
 with my God *is* a profete; a snare of fall-

^r hem K. ^s Om. GR.^a not reste A pr. m. ^o his ydoles s. ^p citee N. ^q and defoulide I.

9 hous of his God. Thei synneden depely,
as in days of Gabaa. He shal recorde her
wickidnesse, and shal visite the synnys
10 of hem. Y foonde Yrael as grapes in de-
sert, as the first applis of a litil fyge tree.
In the hee3t therof Y see3 the faders of
hem; forsothe thei entriden to Belpagor,
and ben alienyd awaye in to confusioun,
and ben maad abomynable as tho thingus
11 that thei loueden. Effraym as a brid
flee3 away; the glorie of hem of chijld
berying, and of wombe, and of conceyu-
12 ynge. That and 3if thei shuln nurishe
out her sonys, Y shal make hem with
out free childe in men. Bot and wo to
hem, whanne I shal go away fro hem.
13 Effraym, as I sy3 Tyrus, was foundid in
fairnesse; Effraym schal leede out his
14 sones to the slear. Lord, 3yue thou to
hem; what schalt thou 3yue to hem? 3eue
thou^t to hem a 3ate of wombe with oute
15 free children, and drie tetis. Al wickid-
nesse of hem in Galgal, for there Y hadde
hem hateful; for the malice of her wickid-
nesse Y shal caste hem out of myn hous.
Y shal not putte to, that Y loue hem.
16 Alle princis of hem goynge away; Ef-
fraym is smyten, the root of hem is dried
vp; thei shuln not make fruyte. That and
3if thei shuln gendre, Y shal slea the
most loued thingus of the wombe of hem.
17 The Lord my God shal caste hem away,
for thei herden not hym; and thei shuln
be wagringe in naciouns,

CAP. X.

1 Yrael a vijne ful of bowis, fruyte is
maad euen to hym; vp the multitude of
his fruyte he multipliede auters, vp the
plente of his lond he was plenteous in
2 symulacris, or *fals goddis*. The herte of
hem is departid, now thei shuln perishe.
He shal breke to gydre the symulacris of
hem, he shal spuyle the auters of hem.
3 For now thei shuln saye, Kyng is not
^{to vs^a}, forsothe we dreeden not God. And

yng is maad now on alle the weies of
hym, woodnesse *is* in the hous of his God.
Thei synneden deepli, as in the^r daies of⁹
Gabaa. *The Lord* schal haue mynde on
the wickidnesse of hem, and schal visite
the synnes of hem. Y foond Israel as¹⁰
grapis in desert, Y si3^s the fadris of hem
as the firste applis of a fige tree, in the
cop therof; but thei entriden to Belfegor,
and weren alienyd in confusioun, and thei
weren maad abhomynable as tho thingis
whiche thei louyden. Effraym as a brid¹¹
fley awei; the glorye of hem *is* of child-
berying, and of the wombe, and of con-
seyuyng. That if thei nurschen her sones,¹²
Y schal make hem with out children
among men. But also wo to hem, whanne
Y schal go awei fro hem. Y si3 that Ef-¹³
fraym was as Tire, foundid in fairnesse;
and Effraym schal lede out hise sones to
the sleere. Lord, 3yue thou to hem; what¹⁴
schalt thou 3yue to hem? 3yue thou to
hem a wombe with out children^t, and drie
tetis. Alle the wickidnessis of hem *ben*¹⁵
in Galgal, for there Y hadde hem hateful;
for the malice of her fyndyngis. Y schal
caste hem out of myn hous; Y schal not
leie to, that Y loue hem. Alle the princes
of hem goen awei. Effraym is smyten,¹⁶
the roote of hem is dried vp; thei schulen
not make fruyt. That thou3 thei gendren,
Y schal sle the moost louyd thingis of her
wombe. My God schal caste hem away,¹⁷
for thei herden not hym; and thei schulen
be of vnstable dwellyng among naciouns.

CAP. X.

Israel *was* a vyne ful of bowis, fruyt¹
was maad euene to hym; bi the multi-
tude of his fruyt he multipliede auteris,
bi the plente of his lond he was plen-
teuouse. In simylacris the herte of hem²
is departid, now thei schulen perische. He
schal breke the simylacris of hem, he schal
robbe the auteris of hem. For thanne thei³
schulen seie, A kyng is not to vs, for we
dreden not the Lord. And what schal a

^t Om. AGH.^u of thee A.^r Om. I.^s sau3 I sæpius.^t fre children NS sec. m.

4 what shal a kyng do to vs? Speke 3e
wordis of vnprofitable visioun, and 3e
shuln make a couenaunt with lesyng; and
dome shal buriowne as bitternesse on fo-
5 rowis of the feeld. The dwellers of Sa-
marie wirshipen the kijn of Bethauen.
For the peple therof mournyde vpon hym,
and kepers of the hous of hym ioyeden
with outforth in glorie of hym, for it
6 passide fro hym. Forsothe and he is
born in to Assur, a 3ift to the king
venier. Confusioun shal take Effraym, and
7 Yrael shal be confoundid in his will. Sa-
marie made his king for to passe, as
8 frooth on^u the face of water. And the
hee3 thingis of ydol, the synne of Yrael,
shulen be destruyed. Cloote and breere
shal stye on^v the auters of hem. And thei
shuln seye to mounteyns, Hille 3e vs, and
9 to smale hillis, Falle 3e vpon vs. Of the
days of Gabaa Yrael synnyde; there thei
stoden. Bateyl shal not cotche hem in Ga-
10 baa, on the sonys of wickidnesse. Vp
my desijre Y shal chastise hem; puplis
shuln be gadrid on hem, whanne thei
shuln be chastisid for her two wickid-
11 nessis. Effraym a cow calf, tau3t for to
loue thresshyng; and Y passide on the
fairnesse of hir neck. Y shal stye vp on
Effraym. Judas shal ere, Jacob shal breke
12 to gydre to hym forowis. Sowe 3e to 3ow
in riztwijsnesse, and repe 3e in the mouth
of mercy, and make newe to 3ou a newe
feeld. Tyme sothely for to a3ein seeke the
Lord, whanne he shal cum, that shal
13 teche 3ou riztwijsnesse. 3e han sowe vn-
pite, 3e repiden wickidnesse, 3e eeten the
fruyte of lesyng. For thou tristidist in thi
wayes, and in multitude of thi stronge
14 men. Noyse shal ryse to gydre in thi
peple, and alle thi strengthus shuln be
destruyed; as Salmana is destruyed of the
hous of hym, that veniede Baal; in the
day of bateyle, the modir hurtlid on
15 sones. So Bethel shal do to 3ou, fro the
face of malice of 3our wickidnessis^w.

kyng do to vs? Speke 3e wordis of vnpro-4
fitable visioun, and 3e schulen smyte boond
of pees with leesyng; and doom as bittir-
nesse schal burioune on the forewis of the
feeld. The dwelleris of Samarie worschip-5
iden the kien of Bethauen. For the puple
therof mourenyde on that *calf*, and the
keperis of the hous therof; thei maden ful
out ioye on it in the glorie therof, for it
passide fro that *puple*. For also it was 6
borun to Assur, a 3ifte to the king veniere.
Confusioun schal take Effraym, and Israel
schal be schent in his wille. Samarie made 7
his kyng to passe, as froth on the face of
water. And the^u hi3 thingis of idol, the
synne of Israel, schulen be lost. A cloote 8
and^v a brere schal stie on the auters of
hem. And thei schulen seie to mounteyns,
Hile 3e vs, and to litle hillis, Falle 3e down
on vs. Fro the daies of Gabaa Israel 9
synnede; there thei stoden. Batel schal
not take hem in Gabaa, on the sones of 10
wickidnesse. Bi my desir Y schal chastise
hem; puplis schulen be gaderid togidere
on hem, whanne thei schulen be chastisid
for her twei wickidnessis. Effraym *is* a 11
cow calf, tau3t^w for to loue threischyng;
and Y 3ede on the fairenesse of the necke
therof. Y schal stie^x on Effraym. Judas
schal ere, and Jacob schal breke forewis to
hym silf. Sowe 3e to 3ou riztfulnesse in 12
treuthe, and repe 3e in the mouthe of
merci, and make 3e newe to 3ou a feld
newli brou3te to tilthe. Forsothe tyme *is*
to seke the Lord, whanne he cometh, that
schal teche 3ou riztfulnesse. 3e han erid 13
vnfeithfulnesse, 3e han rope^y wickidnesse,
3e han ete the corn of leesyng. For thou
tristydist in thi weies, and in the multi-
tude of thi stronge men. Noise schal rise 14
in thi puple, and alle thi stronge holdis
schulen be distried; as Salmana was dis-
tried of the hous of hym, that took ven-
iaunce on Baal; in the dai of batel, whanne
the modir was hurlid^z down on the sones.
So Bethel dide to 3ou, for the face of 15
malice of 3oure wickidnessis.

^u vpon G sec. m. ^v vpon A. ^w wickidnes A.

^u Om. 1. ^v of N. ^w and tau3t 1. ^x stie up 1. ^y repe 1. ^z hurtlid 1.

CAP. XI.

1 As the morewning passith, the kyng
of Yrael passith byfore Yrael a chijld,
and Y louede hym; and of Egypt Y
2 clepide my sone. Thei clepiden hem, so
thei wenten away fro the face of hem.
Thei offreden to Baalym, and maden sa-
3 crifice to symylacris. And Y as a nurishe
of Effraym bare hem in myn armys, and
4 thei wisten not, that Y helide hem. In
litol boondis of Adam Y shal drawe hem,
in boondis of charitee. And Y shal be to
hem as reysynge 3oc on the cheekis of
hem; and Y bowide down to hym, that he
5 schulde ete. He shal not turne a3ein in
to the lond of Egypt. And Assur the^x
kyng therof, for thei wolden not be con-
6 uertid. Swerd toke, *or bigan*, in the
citees therof, and schal waaste the chosun
therof, and schal ete the heedis of hem.
7 And my peple schal hange, at my com-
ynge a3ein. Forsoth a 3ok schal be putte
vpon hem to gydre, whiche schal not be
8 don away. Hou shal Y 3eue^y thee, Ef-
fraym? shal Y hille, *or defende*, thee,
Yrael? hou shal Y 3eue thee as Adama^z?
shal Y putte thee as Seboym? Myn hert
is conuertid in me; my forthinkyng is
9 trublid to gidre. Y shal not do the wood-
nesse of my wrath. Y shal not be con-
uertid, that Y distruye Effraym; for Y
God, and not man; holy in the myddil of
thee, and Y shal not entre in to cytee.
10 After the Lord thei shuln go. As a lyoun
he schal roore, for he schal roore, and
11 sones of the see schulen drede. And thei
shuln^a flee away as a brid fro Egypt, and
as culuer^b of the lond of Assiriens. And
Y shal to gydre sette hem in her housis,
saith the Lord.

CAP. XII.

12 Effraym disceyuede me in marchaun-
dise, and in ydol of the hous of Yrael.
Forsothe Judas witnes wente down with
1 God, and with feithful saintis. Effraym

CAP. XI.

As the morewtid passith, the king of 1
Israel schal passe forth. For Israel was a
child, and Y louyde hym; and fro Egipt
Y clepide my sone. Thei clepiden hem, 2
so thei 3eden awei fro the face of hem.
Thei offriden to Baalym, and maden sacri-
fice to symylacris. And Y as a nursche 3
of Effraym bare hem in myn armes, and
thei wisten not, that Y kepte hem. Y schal 4
drawe hem in the ropis of Adam, in the
boondis of charite. And Y schal be to hem
as he that enhaunsith the 3ok on the chekis
of hem; and Y bowide down to hym, that
he schulde ete. He schal not turne a3en in 5
to the lond of Egypt. And Assur, *he schal*
be kyng of hym, for thei nolden^a turne.
A swerd bigan in the citees therof, and it 6
schal waaste the chosun men therof, and
schal eete the heedis of hem. And my 7
puple schal hange, at my comynge a3en.
But a 3ok schal be put to hem togidere,
that schal not be takun awei. Hou schal 8
Y 3yue thee, Effraym? schal Y defende
thee, Israel? hou schal Y 3yue thee? As
Adama Y schal sette thee; as Seboym.
Myn herte is turned in me; my repent-
aunce is disturblid togidere. Y schal not 9
do the strong veniaunce of my wraththe.
Y schal not turne, to leese Effraym; for
Y *am* God, and not man. Y *am* hooli in
the myddis of thee, and Y schal not entre
in to a citee. Thei schulen go after the 10
Lord. He shal rore as a lioun, for he shal
rore, and the^b sones of the see schulen
drede. And thei schulen fle awei as a brid 11
fro Egypt, and as a culuer fro the lond of
Assiriens. And Y schal sette hem in her
housis, seith the Lord.

CAP. XII.

Effraym cumpasside me in denying, the 12
hous of Israel in gile. But Judas a wit-
nesse 3ede down with God, and with feith-
ful seyntis. Effraym fedith wynd, and 1
sueth heete. Al dai he multiplieth leesying,

^x he AG. ^y hille A. ^z an adamaunt G sec. m. H. ^a Om. G sec. m. ^b a culuer G sec. m.

^a wolden not I. ^b Om. N.

feedith the wijnd, and sueth heete. Al day
 he multiplieth lesyng, and distruccioun;
 and made pees with Assiriens, and bare
 2 oyle in to Egypt. Therefore the dome of
 the Lord with Juda, and visitacioun on
 Jacob; vp the wayes, and vp^a the fynd-
 yngus of hym he schal zeelde to hym.
 3 In the wombe he supplauntide, *or dis-*
ceyuyde, his brother, and in his strengthe
 4 he was dressid with an aungel. And he
 hadde victorie at the aungel, and he was
 coumfortid; he wepte, and preiede hym;
 in Bethel he fonde hym, and there he
 5 spac with 3ou. And the Lord God of
 6 oostis, the Lord, memorial of hym. And
 thou shalt be conuertid to the Lord thi
 God. Keepe thou mercy and dome, and
 7 hoope thou euermore in thy God. Ca-
 naan, in his hond a gyleful balaunce,
 8 louede fals challenge. And Effraym saide,
 Netheles Y am maad riche, Y fonde an
 ydol to me; alle my trauailis shuln not
 fynde to me wickidnesse, whiche Y syn-
 9 nyde. And Y the Lord thi God, whiche
 ledde thee out of the lond of Egypt; zit
 Y shal make thee for to sytte in taber-
 10 naclis, as in days of feest. And Y spac
 on^b prophetis, and Y multipliede^c visioun,
 and in the hond of prophetis Y am
 11 lickenyd. 3if in Galaad an ydol, ther-
 fore veynly they weren in Galgal of-
 frynge to oxis; forwhi and the auters of
 hem as hepis on forowis of the feeld.
 12 Jacob flei3 into the cuntrie of Sirie, and
 Israel seruyde into wyf, and seruyde into
 13 wyf. Forsothe in a prophete the Lord
 ledde out Yrael of Egypt, and in a pro-
 14 phete he is kepte. Effraym terride me to
 wrath in his bitternessis, and his blood
 shal cum on hym; and the Lord his God
 shal restoren hym his shenship.

CAP. XIII.

1 Effraym spekyng, error^d assailide
 Yrael; and he trespasside in Baal, and
 2 is dead. And now thei puttiden to for

and distriyng; and he made boond of pees
 with Assiriens, and bar oile in to Egypt.
 Therfor the doom^e of the Lord *is* with 2
 Juda, and visityng *is* on Jacob; bi the
 weies *of hym*, and bi the fyndyngis of
 hym he schal zeelde to hym. In the wombe 3
 he supplauntide his brother, and in his
 strengthe he was dressid with the aungel.
 And he was strong to the aungel, and was 4
 coumfortid; he wepte, and preiede hym;
 in Bethel he foond hym, and there he
 spak with vs. And the Lord God of 5
 oostis, the Lord, *is* the memorial of hym.
 And thou schalt turne to thi God. Kepe 6
 thou merci and doom, and hope thou euere
 in thi God. Chanaan louyde fals caleng, 7
 a^d gyleful balaunce in his hond. And Ef- 8
 fraym seide, Netheles Y am maad riche,
 Y haue founde an idol to me; alle my
 trauelis schulen not fynde to me the wick-
 idnesse, whiche Y synnede. And Y *am* thi 9
 Lord God fro^e the lond of Egypt; zit Y
 schal make thee to sitte in tabernaclis, as
 in the daies of feeste. And Y spak bi pro- 10
 fetis, and Y multiplied profesie^f, and Y was
 licned in the hond of profetis. If Galaad 11
worschipith an idol, therfor thei erren in
 veyn offryng to oxis in Galgal; for whi
 and the auteris of hem *schulen be* as heepis
 on the forewis of the feeld. Jacob fledde 12
 in to the cuntrei of Sirie, and Israel ser-
 uyde for a wijf, and seruyde, *ether kepte*,
 for a wijf. But bi a profete the Lord 13
 ledde Israel out of Egypt, and bi a pro-
 fete he was kept. Effraym terride me to 14
 wrathfulnesse in hise bitternessis, and the
 blood of hym schal come on hym; and his
 Lord schal restore^g to hym the schen-
 schipe of him.

CAP. XIII.

For Effraym spak, hidousnesse assailide 1
 Israel; and he trespasside in Baal, and was
 deed. And now thei addiden to do synne, 2

^a Om. AH. ^b in A. ^c multiplie K. ^d orroure A.

^e word I. ^d and v. ^e that ledde thee fro K. ^f visioun, *ether profecie* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^g be restorid I.

to synne, and maden to hem a 3oten thing of her syluer, as the licknesse of ydols; the makynge of crafty^d men it is al. To these thei sayen, Offre, 3e men, wirshippynge calues. Therfore thei shuln be as a morewe clowde, *or myst*, and as morewe dewe passynge, as dust rauyshid with whirlwynd of the feeld, and as smoke of the chymney. Forsothe Y the Lord thi God, of the lond of Egypt; and thou shalt not knowe God, with outen me, and saueour^e is not, out take me. Y knewe thee in desert, in the lond of wildernesse. Bysidis her lesewis and thei ben fulfillid, and ful crammyd; thei lyftiden vp her herte, and for3aten me. And Y shal be to hem as a lyounesse, and as a paard in the waye of Assyriens. Y shal renne to hem as a she bere, the whelpis rauyshid; and Y shal breke the ynnuer thingis of her mawe, and Y shal waastye hem there as a lyoun. A beest of the feeld shal kitte hem. Thi losse, Yrael; oonly of me thin help. Wher is thi kyng? most now saue he thee in alle thi citees; and thi domysmen, of whom thou saidist, 3eue thou to me a kyng, and princis? And^f Y shal 3eue to thee a kyng in my wodenesse, and Y shal take away in myn indignacioun. The wickidnesse of Effraym is bounden to gidre; the synne of hym hydde. Sorewis of a womman berynge chijld shuln cume to hym; he *is* a sone not wijse. Now forsothe he shal not stonde in contricioun of sonys. Of the hond of deth Y shal delyuere hem, Y shal a3ein bye hem fro deth. Thou deth, Y shal be thi deth; thou helle, Y shal be thi morsel. Coumfort is hid fro myn ee3en, for he departith among bretheren. The Lord shal brenge a brennynge wynd, of desert steinyng vp; and shal drye the veynis therof, and discourte, *or leuee aloon*, the welle therof; and he shal rauyshe tresour of eche desirable vessel. Perishe Samarie, for to

and maden to hem a 3otun ymage of her siluer, as the lickenesse of idols; al is the makynge of crafti men. To these thei seien, A! 3e men, offre, and worschipe^h caluys. Therfor thei schulen be as a morewtid cloude, and as theⁱ deew of morewtid, that passith forth, as dust rauyschide bi whirlewynd fro the corn floor, and as smoke of a chymenei. Forsothe Y *am* thi^k Lord God, *'that ledde thee'* fro^l the loond of Egypt; and thou schalt not knowe God, outakun me, and no sauyour is, outakun me. Y knewe thee in the desert, in the lond of wildirnesse. Bi her lesewis thei weren fillid, and hadden abundaunce; thei reisen her herte^m, and for3aten me. And Y schal be as a lionesse to hem, as a parde in the weye of Assiriens. Y as a female bere, whanne the whelps ben rauyschid, schal mete hem; and schal al to-breke the ynnere thingis of the mawe of hem. And Y as a lioun schal waaste hem there; a beeste of the feeld schal alⁿ to-rende hem. Israel, thi perdicoun *is of thee*; thin help *is* oneli of me. Where is thi kyng? moost saue he thee now in alle thi citees; and *where ben* thi iugis, of whiche thou seidist, 3yue thou to me a kyng, and princes? Y schal 3yue to thee a kyng in my strong veniaunce, and Y schal take awei in myn indignacioun. The wickidnesse of Effraym is boundun togidere; his synne *is* hid. The sorewis of a womman trauelynge of child schulen come to hym; he *is* a sone not wijs. For now he schal not stonde in the defoulyng of sones. Y schal delyuere hem fro the hoond of deeth, and Y schal a3enbie hem fro deth. Thou deth, Y schal be thi deth; thou helle, Y schal be thi mussel. Coumfort is hid fro myn^o i3en, for he schal departe bitwixe britheren. The Lord schal brynge a brennynge wynd, stynging^p fro desert; and it schal make drie the veynes therof, and it schal make desolat the welle therof; and he schal rauysche the tresour of ech desirable vessel.

^d craftise A. ^e a saueour G sec. m. ^f Om. AGH. ^g Om. GH.

^h worschipeth I. ⁱ dai N. ^k the I. ^l Om. A pr. m. ^l out fro N. ^m hope CEF GH I MN QP X. ⁿ Om. CGHKMNQR SUX sec. m. F. ^o thin N. ^p stynging vp I.

bitternesse she stiride hir God; in swerd perishe it. The litil childre of hem ben hurtlid, and wymmen with chijld of it ben coruen out.

CAP. XIV.

2 Yrael, be thou conuertid to the Lord thi God, for thou hast fallen to gydre in
3 thi wickidnesse. Take with 3ou wordis, and be 3e conuertid to the Lord; and saye 3e to hym, Do away alle wickidnesse, and resceyue good; and we shuln
4 3eelde the calues of our lippis. Assur schal not saue vs, we shuln not steye on hors; nether we shuln saye more, Our
goddis werkis of oure hondis; for thou shalt haue mercy of the ylke fadrellesse
5 chijld, that is in thee. Y shal heele the contricioun of hem; Y shal loue hem of my free wille, for my woodnesse is turned
6 away fro hem. Y shal be as dew, and Yrael shal buriowne as lilie. And the roote
7 of hym shal birst out as of Lyban; the braunchis of hym shuln go. And as olyue his glorie shal be, and his sauour as of
8 Liban. Thei shuln be conuertid sittynge in the shadewe of hym; thei shuln lyue in whete, and shuln burioune as a vyne
3erd. The memoriel of hym as wijn of
9 Lyban. Effraym, what ouer to me ydolis? Y shal heere hym, and Y shal dresse hym as a beeche wexinge green. Of me
10 thi fruyte is founden. Who is wijse, and shal vndirstonden these thingis? vndirstondynge, and shal wite these thingis? For ri3tful the wayes of the Lord, and iust men shuln walke in hem; forsothe trespassours shuln falle in hem.

Here endith the book of Osee, and bigynneth the book of Joel, prophete^h.

CAP. XIV.

Samarie perische, for it stiride his God¹ to bittirnesse; perische it bi swerd. The litle children of hem be hurtlid down, and the wymmen with child therof be koruun. Israel, be thou conuertid to thi Lord God,² for thou fellist^q down in thi wickidnesse. Take 3e wordis with 3ou, and be 3e con-³uertid to the Lord; and seie 3e to hym, Do thou awei al wickidnesse, and take thou good; and we schulen 3elde the caluys of oure lippis. Assur schal not saue vs, we⁴ schulen not stie^r on hors; and we schulen no more seie, Oure goddis *ben* the werkis of oure hondis; for thou schalt haue merci on that modirles child, which is in thee. Y schal make hool the sorewis of hem;⁵ Y schal loue hem wilfuli, for my strong veniaunce is turned awei fro hem. Y⁶ schal be as a^s dew, and Israel schal buriowne as a lilie. And the root therof schal breke out as of the Liban; the braunchis⁷ therof schulen go. And the glorye therof schal be as an olyue tree, and the odour therof *schal be* as of the Liban. Thei⁸ schulen be conuertid, and sitte in the schadewe of hym; thei schulen lyue bi wheete, and schulen buriowne as a vyne. The memorial therof *schal be* as the wyne of Liban. Effraym, what *schulen* idols *do*⁹ more to me? Y schal here him, and Y schal dresse him as a greene fir tree. Thi fruit is foundun of me. Who *is* wijs, and¹⁰ schal vndurstonde these thingis? *who is* vndurstandyng, and schal kunne these thingis? For the weies of the Lord *ben* ri3tful, and iust men schulen go in tho; but trespassours schulen falle in tho.

Here endith Osee, and here biginneth Joel^t.

g ful out heere a sec. m. ^h Here endith Osee, and bigynneth Joel, prophete. A. No final rubric in GH.

^q fellidist CHQRU. feldest s. fallidest K text: ether fel K marg. ^r stie up I. ^s Om. A pr. m. ^t From CPGHIQRUV. Here endeth the booc of the profete Osee; se now Joel, the prophete. K. Here endith Osee, and here bigynneth the book of Joel. M. Here endith the book of Osee, and bigynneth the book of Joel. N. Here endith the booc of the profete Osee, and begynneth Joel. No final rubric in AEPY.

J O E L.

The book of Joel, prophete^a.

CAP. I.

¹ THE word of the Lord, that is maad to
² Joel, the sone of Fatuel. Heere 3e, olde
 men, this, and with eeris perceyue 3e, alle
 dwellers of erthe. 3if this thing is don in
 3our days, or in days of 3our faders.
³ Vpon this thing telle 3e to 3our sones,
 and 3our sonys to her sonys, and the
 sonys of hem to an other generacioun.
⁴ A locust eete the residue of eruke, *that*
is, a worme of bowis, and a bruke eete
 the residue of locust, and rust eete the
⁵ residue of bruke. Awake 3e, drunken
 men, and weepe; and 3oule 3e, alle that
 drynken wyne in swetnesse; for it pe-
⁶ rishide fro 3our mouth. Forsothe folk hath
 styed vpon my lond, stronge and vnnoum-
 breable. The teeth of hym as teeth of
 lyoun, and his wangteeth as whelpis of
⁷ a lyoun. He hath putte my vyne 3erd
 in to desert, and hath drawn of the barc
 of my fijg tree. He nakynge^b robbide it,
 and castide away; the braunchis therof
⁸ ben maad whijt. Weile thou, as a mayden
 gird with a sacche vpon the husbonde of
 hir puberte, *that is, tyme of weddyng*.
⁹ Sacrifice perishide, and libacioun, *that is,*
offryng fleetyng^c *thingus*, of the hous of
 the Lord; and prestis, mynys-
¹⁰ tris of the Lord, mureden. The cuntree is robbid,
 the erthe mournede; for whete is waastid,

Here bigynneth the book of Joel^a.

CAP. I.

THE word of the Lord *is this*, that was
 maad to Joel, the sone of Phatuel. Elde²
 men, here 3e this, and alle dwelleris of the
 lond, perseyue 3e with eeris. If this thing
 was don in 3oure daies, ether in the daies
 of 3oure fadris. Of this thing telle 3e to³
 3our sones, and 3our sones *telle* to her
 sones, and the sones of hem *telle* to an-
 other generacioun. A locuste^{*} eet the⁴
 residue of a worte worm, and a bruke
 eet the residue of a locuste, and rust eet
 the residue of a bruke. Drunken men,⁵
 wake 3e^b, and wepe; and 3elle 3e, alle that
 drynken wyn in swetnesse; for it perisch-
 ide fro 3oure mouth. For whi a folc⁶
 strong and vnnoumbrable stiede on my
 lond. The teeth therof *ben* as the^c teeth
 of a lioun, and the cheek teeth therof *ben*
 as of a whelp of a lioun. It settide my⁷
 vyner in to desert, and took awei the
 riynde of my fige tre. It made nakid and
 spuylide that *vyner*, and castide forth; the
 braunchis therof ben maad white. Weile⁸
 thou, as a virgyn gird with a sak on the
 hosebonde of hir tyme of mariage. Sacri-⁹
 fice and moist sacrifice perischide fro the
 hous of the Lord; and preestis, the mynys-
 tris of the Lord, moureneden. The cuntrey¹⁰
 is maad bare of puple. The erthe mouren-
 yde; for whete is distried. Wyn is schent,

^{*} A locust is whanne it hath ful wyngis; a bruke is of the same kynde, bfore that it hath wyngis. rust eet, etc. rust is vice ether corrupcioun of wexynge corn, whanne bi brennyng wynd it makith no seed, and if it makith ony, it is in veyn. Lire here. v. A bruke is clepid the fruyt of a locuste, bfore that it hath wyngis, afterward whanne it bigynneth to fle a litil, it is seid athelebus, and whanne it fleth fulli it is seid a locuste; and a bruke is myche greuousere than a locuste, either athelebus, for it liggith in o place, and eetith the fruytis

^a No initial rubric in AGH. ^b nakynge AG sec. m. H. ^c of fletyng A.

^a Here biginnith the book of Joel, the profete. EY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. N. ^c of the EY.

and wijn is confoundid, and oyle langwishide, *or failide*. Erthe tiliers ben confoundid, vyne tiliers 3ouliden vpon whete, wijn, and barley; for corn of the feeld perishide. The vyne 3erd is confoundid, and the fyge tree langwishide. Poumgarnet, and palme tree, and maal tree, *or fir, of whom mastis ben maad*, and alle trees of the feeld dryeden; for ioie is confoundid fro sonys of men. 3e prestis, gyrde 3ou, and weile; 3e mynystris of the auter, 3oule. 3e mynystris of my God, entre 3e yn, ligge 3e in sak; for sacrifice perishide of the hous of 3our God, and offryng of *fleetyng thing*. Halewe 3e^d fastyng, clepe 3e cumpanye, gadre 3e olde men, and alle dwellers of the lond in to the hous of 3our God; and crye 3e to the Lord, A! A! A! to the day; for the day of the Lord is ni3, and as waastynge it shal cum of the mi3ty. Wher not before 3our eezen fodis perishen of the hous of your God; gladnesse and ioie with outen forth? Beestus wexiden roten to gidre in her drit. Berns ben destroyed, celers ben scaterd, for whete is confusid. What sorewide a beast with ynne? flockis of grete beestis lowiden? for lesewe is not to hem; bot and flockis of sheep perishiden. To thee, Lord, Y shal crye, for fijre ete the fair thingus of desert, and flawme brente alle trees of the cuntree. Bot and beestis of the feeld, as a feeld thristyng rayn, byhelden vp to thee; for wellis of watris ben dried vp, and fijr deuoured the fair thingis of desert.

CAP. II.

1 Synge 3e with trumpe in Syon, 3oule 3e in myn holy mounteyn. Alle dwellers of erthe be trublid to gydre; for the^e day 2 of the Lord cummeth, for ni3 is the day of derknessis and myst, and day of cloude and of whirlwynd. As the mornynge sprad abroad, vpon hillis myche peple and strong. Lije to hym was not fro the bygynnyng,

and oile was sijk, *ether failide*. The erthe 11 tilieris ben schent, the vyn tilieris 3elliden on wheete and barli; for the ripe corn of the feeld is perischid. The vyner is schent; 12 and the fige tre was sijk. The pomgarnate tre, and the palm tre, and the fir tre, and alle trees^d of the feeld drieden vp; for ioie is schent fro the sonys of men. 3e 13 prestis, girde 3ou, and weile; 3e mynystris of the auter, 3elle^e. Mynystris of my God, entre 3e, ligge 3e in sak; for whi sacrifice and moist sacrifice perischide fro the hous of 3oure God. Halewe 3e fastyng, clepe 14 3e cumpany^f, gadre 3e togidere elde men, and alle dwelleris of the erthe in to the hous of 3oure God; and crie 3e to the Lord, A! A! A! to the^g dai; for the dai 15 of the Lord is ni3, and schal come as a tempest fro the my3ti. Whether^h foodis 16 perischiden not bfore 3oure izen; gladnesse and ful out ioie *perischide* fro the hous of 3oure God? Beestis wexenⁱ rotun 17 in her drit. Bernes ben distried, celeris ben distried, for wheete is schent. Whi weilide 18 a beeste? *whi* lowiden the flockis of oxun and kien? for no lesewe is to hem; but also the flockis of scheep perischiden. Lord, Y schal crye to thee, for fier eet 19 the faire thingis of desert, and flawme brente all the trees of the cuntrei. But 20 also beestis of the feeld, as a corn floor thirstynge reyn, bihelden to thee; for the wellis of watris ben dried vp, and fier deuouride the faire thingis of desert.

to the roote.
rust is whanne
tendre cornes
ben smytun bi
noyful dew, and
boothe the
stalkis and
eiris of corn
ben turned in
to rednesse. If
these comen,
ech bi it silf,
these ben noy-
ful; if these
comen to gi-
dere, these doon
awei outerli
alle thingis.
The glose. v.

CAP. II.

Synge 3e with a trumpe in Sion, 3elle 1 3e in myn hooli hil. Alle the dwelleris of erthe be disturblid; for the dai of the Lord cometh, for the dai of derknessis and 2 of myist is ni3, the dai of cloude and of whirlewynde. As the morewtid spred abroad on hillis, a myche puple and strong. Noon was lijk it fro the bigyn-

^d Om. A. ^e Om. AG.

^d the trees v. ^e 3elleth i. ^f the cumpany EPY. ^g Om. i. ^h Wher *ceteri pass.* ⁱ wexiden IKS *sec. m.*

and after hym shal not be, vnto 3eeris of
 3 generacioun and generacioun. Byfore
 the face of hym fjr deuourynge, and
 after hym brenyng flawme; as a 3erde of
 voluptee the erthe byfore hym, and after
 hym aloonenesse of desert, nether ther is
 4 that shal ascape hym. As the sijt of
 horsis the sijt of hem, and as horsmen
 5 so thei shuln renne. As sown of cartis
 on coppis of hillis shuln lijpe; so the sown
 of flawme of fjr deuourynge stoble, as a
 6 stronge peple maad redy to bataile. Of
 the face of hym peplis shuln be tour-
 mentid, alle cheeris shuln be dryuen in
 7 to a pot. As stronge thei shuln renne,
 as men fizers thei shuln stye on the
 walle. Men shuln go in her wayes, and
 thei shuln not bowe away fro her pathes.
 8 Eche shal not streyte^e his brother, eche
 shuln go in his path; bot and by wyn-
 dowis thei shuln falle, and thei shuln not
 9 be destruyed. Thei shuln entre in to the
 cyte, thei shuln renne in the wall; thei
 shuln stye vpon^f housis, thei shuln entre
 10 by wyndowis as a nigt thief. Of the
 face of hym the erthe tremblide togydre,
 heuens ben moued, the sunne and the
 mone ben maad derk, and sterris with-
 11 drowen her lizt. And the Lord 3aue his
 voice byfore the face of his oost, for many
 ben the castels of hym ful myche; for
 stronge, and doynge the word of hym.
 Forsothe the day^g of the Lord grete, and
 dreedful ful myche, and who shal sus-
 12 teyne it? Now therfor saith the Lord,
 Be 3e conuerted to me in al 3our herte,
 in fastyng, and weepyng, and weylyng;
 13 and kerue 3e 3our hertis, and not 3our
 clothingus, and be 3e conuertid to the
 Lord 3our God, for he is benygne, and
 merciful, pacient, and of myche mercy,
 14 and abydyng vpon malice. Who wote,
 3if God be conuertid, and for3eue, and
 leue after hym blessing? sacrifice and
 offryng of *fleetyng thingus* to the Lord
 15 3our God. Synge 3e with trump in

nyng, and after it schal not be, til in to
 3eeris of generacioun and of generacioun.
 Bifore the face therof *shal be* fier de-
 3 uourynge, and after it *shal be* brennyng
 flawme; as a gardyn of liking the lond
shal be bifer him, and wildirnesse of de-
 sert *shal be* after him, and noon is that
 schal ascape him. The lokyng of hem⁴
shal be as the lokyng of horsis, and as
 horse men so thei schulen renne. As the⁵
 sown of cartis on the heedis of hillis thei
 schulen skippe; as the sowne of the flawme
 of fier deuourynge stobil, as a strong puple
 maad redi to batel. Puplis schulen be⁶
 turmentid of the face therof, alle facis
 schulen be dryuun in to a pot. As stronge⁷
 men thei schulen renne, as men werriours
 thei schulen stie^k on the wal. Men schulen
 go in her weies, and thei schulen not bowe
 awei fro her pathis. Ech man schal not⁸
 make streyt his brother, ech man schal go
 in his path; but also thei schulen falle
 down bi wyndows, and schulen not be
 hirt. Thei schulen entre in to the citee,⁹
 thei schulen renne on the wal; thei schulen
 stie on housis, thei schulen entre as a nigt
 thief bi wyndows. The erthe tremblide of¹⁰
 his face, heuenys weren mouyd, the sunne
 and the moone weren maad derk, and
 sterris withdrowen her schynyng. And¹¹
 the Lord 3af his vois bifer the face of his
 oost, for hise oostis ben ful manye; for
tho ben stronge, and doen the word of
 hym. For the dai of the Lord *is* greet,
 and ful ferdful, and who schal suffre it?
 Now therfor seith the Lord, Be 3e con-
 12 uertid to me in al 3oure herte, in fastyng,
 and wepyng, and weilyng; and kerue 3e¹³
 3oure hertis, and not 3oure clothis, and be
 3e conuertid to 3oure Lord God, for he
 is benygne, and merciful, pacient, and of
 myche merci, and abidyng, *ether for-
 3yuyng*, on malice. Who woot, if God¹⁴
 be conuertid, and for3yue, and leue bless-
 yng aftir hym? sacrifice and moist sacri-
 fice to oure Lord God. Synge 3e with a¹⁵

^e constreyne G sec. M. ^f Om. AGH. ^g dais A.

^k stie up I.

Syon, halewe 3e fastyng, clepe 3e cum-
 16 panye; gadre 3e the peple, halewe 3e the
 chirche, gadre 3e to gidre olde men, gadre
 3e litil children, and soukyngte tetis; the
 husbonde go out of his couche, and the
 17 wijf of hir chaumbre. Bitwix the vesti-
 arie and the auter prestis, mynystris of
 the Lord, shuln weepe, and shuln saye,
 Lord! spare thou, spare to thi peple, and
 3eue not thin eritage into schendship, that
 naciouns be lordis to hem. Whi sothely
 sayn thei in peplis, Wher is the God of
 18 hem? The Lord louede his lond, and
 19 sparide to his peple. And the Lord an-
 swerde, and saide to his peple, Loo! Y
 shal sende to 3ou whete, and wijn, and
 oyle, and 3e shuln be fulfilled in hem;
 and Y shal namore 3eue 3ou shenship in
 20 hethen men. And Y shal make fer fro
 3ou hym that is of the north; and Y shal
 putte hym away in to a lond with outen
 way, and desert; the face therof a3einus
 the eest see, and the last therof to the
 last see; and the stynk of hym shal sty-
 vp, and the root of hym shal sty vp, for
 21 he did proudly. Erthe, nyl thou dreede,
 bot ioie thou with outforth, and be
 glad; for the Lord magnyfiende that he
 22 schulde do. Nyl 3e dreede, 3e beestis of
 the cuntre, for the faire thingus of desert
 buriowneden; for a tree brou3te to his
 fruyte, the fige tree and the vynezerd
 23 3auen her vertue. And ioie 3e, sonys of
 Syon, and gladd 3e in the Lord 3our
 God, for he 3aue to 3ou a techer of r3t-
 wisnesse, and he shal make for to cum
 down to 3ou morewe rayn, and late, as
 24 fro the bygynnyng. And feeldis shuln
 be fulfillid with whete, and pressours
 shuln be plenteuouse in wijn, and oyle.
 25 And Y shal 3elde to you the 3eris whom
 the locust eete, and bruke, and rust, and
 eruke, my grete strengthe, whom Y sente
 26 in to 3ou. And 3e shuln ete etyng, and
 ye shuln be fulfillid; and ye shuln herie
 the name of the Lord 3our God, that did
 with 3ou marueilis; and my peple shal
 not be confounded in to with outen eende.

trumpe in Sion, halewe 3e fastyng, clepe¹
 3e company; gadere 3e^m togidere the puple,
 halewe 3e the chirche, gadere 3e togidere¹⁶
 elde men, gadere 3e togidere litte children,
 and soukyngte the brestis; a spouse go out
 of his bed, and a spousesse of hir chaum-
 bre. Prestis, the mynystris of the Lord,¹⁷
 schulen wepe bitwixe the porche and the
 auter, and schulen seie, Lord! spare thou,
 spare thi puple, and 3yue thou not thin
 eritage in to schenschiipe, that naciouns
 be lordis of hem. Whi seien thei among
 puplis, Where is the God of hem? The¹⁸
 Lord louyde gelousli his lond, and sparide
 his puple. And the Lord answeride, and¹⁹
 seide to his puple, Lo! Y schal sende to
 3ou wheete, and wyn, and oile, and 3e
 schulen be fillid with tho; and Y schal
 no more 3yue you schenschiipe among he-
 thene men. And Y schal make hym that²⁰
 is at the north fer fro 3ou; and Y schal
 cast hym out in to a lond with out weie,
 and desert; his face a3ens the eest see,
 and the laste part therof at the last see;
 and the stynk therof schal stieⁿ, and the
 root therof schal stie, for he dide proudli.
 Erthe, nyle thou drede, make thou ful out²¹
 ioie, and be glad; for the Lord magnyfiende
 that he schulde do. Beestis of the cuntrei,²²
 nyle 3e drede, for the faire thingis of de-
 sert buriowneden; for the tre brou3te his
 fruyt, the fige tre and vyner 3auen her
 vertu. And the sonys of Sion, make 3e ful²³
 out ioie, and be 3e glad in 3oure Lord
 God, for he 3af to 3ou a techere of r3t-
 fulnesse, and he schal make morewtid
 reyn and euentid reyn to come down to
 3ou, as in the bigynnyng. And cornflooris²⁴
 schulen be fillid of wheete, and pressours
 schulen flowe with wyn, and oile. And²⁵
 Y schal 3elde to 3ou the 3eris whiche the
 locuste, bruke, and rust, and wort worm,
 my greet strengthe, eet, which Y sente in
 to 3ou. And 3e schulen ete etyng, and 3e²⁶
 schulen be fillid; and 3e schulen herie the
 name of 3oure Lord God, that made mer-
 ueils with^o you; and my puple schal not
 be schent with outen ende. And 3e schulen²⁷

¹ and clepe c. ^m Om. nu. ⁿ stie up r. ^o to n.

27 And 3e shuln wite, for in the myddil of Yrael Y am; and Y the Lord 3our God, and there is not more; and my peple shal not be confoundid in to with outen eende.
 28 And it shal be, after these thingus Y shal helde out my spirit vpon eche fleshe, and 3our sonys shuln prophecie, and 3oure dou3ters; 3our olde men shuln mete sweuens, and 3our 3unge men shuln see visiouns. But and on my seruauntis, and hond maydens, in tho days Y shal heelde
 30 out my spirit; and Y shal 3eue wondris in heuen, and in erthe, blood, and fjr, and
 31 vapour of smoke. The sunne shal be turned in to dercknessis, and the mone in to blood, byfore that the grete day
 32 and orrible of the Lord cumme. And it shal be, eche man that shal inclepe the name of the Lord, shal be saaf; for in the hill of Syon and in Jerusalem shal be saluacioun, as the Lord saide, and in the residue, whom the Lord shal clepe.

CAP. III.

1 For loo! in tho days, and in that tyme, whanne Y shal to gydre turne the
 2 caitiftee of Juda and Jerusalem, Y^h shal gedre alle folkis, and Y shal leede hem forth in to the valey of Josaphath; and Y shal dispute there with hem on my peple, and myn eritage Yrael, whom thei scaterden in naciouns; and thei
 3 departiden my lond, and on my peple thei senten lot; and thei puttiden a chijld in the bordel hous, and solden a meydchijld for wijn, that thei shulden drynke.
 4 Sothely what to me and 3ouⁱ, Tyrus, and Sydon, and alle the terme of Palestynys? Wher 3e shuln zelde vengyng to me? and 3if 3e vengen 3ou a3einus me, soone swiftly Y shal 3eelde the whilnesse to 3ou on
 5 3our hed. Forsothe 3e token my syluer and gold, and my desireable and most faire thingus 3e baren in to 3our templis.
 6 And 3e solden sonys of Juda, and sonys of Jerusalem to the sonys of Greekis,

wite, that Y am in the myddis of Israel; and Y *am* 3oure Lord God, and 'noon is^p more; and my puple schal not be schent with outen ende.

CAP. III.

And it schal be, aftir these thingis Y²⁸ schal schede out my spirit on ech man, and 3oure sones and 3oure dou3tris schulen profesie; 3oure elde men schulen dreme dremes, and 3oure 3onge men schulen se visiouns^q. But also Y schal schede out
 29 my spirit on my seruauntis, and handmaydis, in tho daies; and Y schal 3yue
 30 grete wondris in heuene, and in erthe, blood, and fier, and the heete of smoke. The sunne schal be turned in to derk-
 31 nessis, and the moone in to blood, bifer that the greet dai and orrible of the Lord come. And it schal be, ech that clepith to
 32 helpe the name of the Lord, schal be saaf; for whi saluacioun^r schal be in the hil of Sion and in Jerusalem, as the Lord seide, and in the^s residue men, whiche the Lord clepith. For lo! in tho daies, and in that
 1 tyme, whanne Y schal turne the caitifte of Juda and of Jerusalem, Y schal gadere
 2 alle folkis, and Y schal lede hem in to the valei of Josephat; and Y schal dispute there with hem on my puple, and myn eritage Israel, whiche thei scateriden among naciouns; and thei departiden my lond, and senten lot on my puple; and thei set-
 3 tiden a knaue child in the bordel hous, and seelden a damesel for wyn, that thei schulden drynke. But what to me and to
 4 3ou, thou Tire, and Sidon, and ech ende of Palestynys? Whethir 3e schulen zelde vengyng to me? and if 3e vengen 3ou a3ens me, soone swiftli Y schal^t zelde while to 3ou on 3oure heed. 3e token away my
 5 siluer and gold, and 3e brou3ten my desirable thingis and faireste thingis in to 3oure templis of idols. And 3e selden the
 6 sones of Juda, and the sones of Jerusalem to the sones of Grekis, that 3e schulden

^h And Y κ. ⁱ to 3ou Δ.

^p ther is noon I. ^q visiouns, *ether reuelaciouns* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^r saluacioun, *ether sauynge* C FGH IKMNQSUX. ^s Om. CEF GHIMNPQRSUX. ^t Om. N.

that 3e shulden make hem fer fro her
 7coostis. Loo! Y shal reyse hem of the
 place in whiche 3e solden hem; and Y
 shal turne to gydre 3our 3eldyng in to
 83our hed. And Y shal selle 3our sonys
 and 3our dou3tris in the hondis of the
 sonys of Juda, and thei shuln selle hem
 to Sabeis, a fer folc, for the Lord spac.
 9Crie 3e this thing in heithen men, halewe
 3e bateile, reyse 3e strong men; alle men-
 10fizters, cum to, and steý vp. Bete to
 gydre 3our plowis in to swerdis, and 3our
 pikoyis, *or mattokis*, in to speris; the
 11seeke man saye, for Y am strong. Brete
 3e out, and come 3e, alle folkis of cumpas,
 and be 3e gadrid; there the Lord shal
 12make thi stronge men for to dye. Folkis
 rijse to gydre, and stie vp in to the valey
 of Josephath; for there I shal sitte, that
 13Y deme alle folkis in cumpas. Sende 3e
 sykellis, for the corn hath rypid; cum 3e,
 and discende 3e, for the pressoure is ful;
 pressours ben plenteuouse, for the malice
 14of hem is multiplied. Peplis, peplis in
 the valey of concisioun, *or sleaynge to*
gydre; for the day of the Lord is ni3 in
 15the valey of concisioun. The sonne and
 mone ben maad derck, and sterris with-
 16drewen her shynyng. And the Lord of
 Syon shal rore, and of Jerusalem shal
 3eue his voice, and heuens and erthe
 shuln be moued; and the Lord hoope of
 his peple, and strengthe of the sonys of
 17Yrael. And 3e shuln wite, for Y the
 Lord 3our God, dwellynge in Syon, in my
 holy hyll; and Jerusalem shal be holy,
 and aliens shuln namore passe therby.
 18And it shal be, in that day mounteyns
 shuln droppe swetnes, and lital hillis shuln
 flowe with mylk, and by alle the reuers
 of Juda waters shuln go; and a welle shal
 go out of the hous of the Lord, and shal
 moiste the reyny streme of thornys.
 19Egypt shal be in to desolacioun, and
 Ydume in to desert of perdicioun; for
 that that thei diden wickidly in to sonys
 of Juda, and shedden out innocent blood

make hem fer fro her coostis. Lo! Y 7
 schal reise hem fro the^a place in which 3e
 seelden hem; and Y schal turne 3oure
 3eldyng in to 3oure heed. And Y schal⁸
 sille 3oure sones and 3oure dou3tris in the
 hondis of the^v sonys of Juda, and thei
 schulen selle hem to Sabeis, a fer folc,
 for the Lord spak. Crye 3e this thing⁹
 among hethene men, halewe 3e batel, reise
 3e stronge men; alle men werriours, nei3^w,
 and stie^x. Beete^y 3e togydere 3oure plowis¹⁰
 in to swerdis, and 3oure mattokkis^z in to
 speeris; a sijk man seie, that Y am strong.
 Alle folkis, breke 3e out, and come^a fro¹¹
 cumpas, and be 3e gaderid togidere; there
 the Lord schal make thi stronge men to
 die. Folkis rise togidere, and stie^b in to¹²
 the valei of Josofat; for Y schal sitte
 there, to deme alle folkis in cumpas. Sende¹³
 3e sikelis, *'ether sithis'*^c, for ripe corn wex-
 ide; come 3e, and go 3e down, for the
 pressour is ful; pressouris ben plenteuouse,
 for the malice of hem is multiplied. Pu-¹⁴
 plis, puplis in the valei of kittyng down;
 for the dai of the Lord is ny3 in the valei
 of kittyng down. The sunne and the¹⁵
 moone ben maad derck, and sterris with-
 drowen her schynyng. And the Lord¹⁶
 schal rore fro Sion, and schal 3yue his
 vois fro Jerusalem, and heuenes and erthe
 schulen be mouyd; and the Lord *is* the
 hope of his puple, and the strengthe of
 the sonys of Israel. And 3e schulen wite,¹⁷
 that Y *am* 3oure Lord God, dwellynge in
 Sion, in myn hooli hil; and Jerusalem
 schal be hooli, and aliens schulen no more
 passe bi it. And it schal be, in that dai¹⁸
 mounteyns schulen droppe swetnesse, and
 litle hillis schulen flowe with mylke, and
 watris schulen go bi alle the ryueris of
 Juda; and a welle schal go out of the hous
 of the Lord, and schal moiste the stronde
 of thornes. Egipt schal be in to desola-¹⁹
 cioun, and Idume in to desert of perdi-
 cioun; for that that thei diden wickidli
 azens the sonys of Juda, and shedden out
 innocent blood in her lond. And Judee²⁰

^u her v. ^v Om. I. ^w nei3eth I. ^x stieth up I. ^y Bere N. ^z *ether picoyes* K marg. ^a cometh I.
^b stieth up I. ^c Om. K.

20 in her lond. And Jude in to with oute
eende shal be enhabited, and Jerusalem
21 in to generacioun and generacioun. And
Y shal clense the blood of hem, whiche
Y clenside not; and the Lord shal dwelle
in Syon.

shal be enhabited with outen ende, and
Jerusalem in to generacioun and in to ge-
neracioun. And Y schal clense the blood 21
of hem, which Y hadde not clensid; and
the Lord schal dwelle in Syon.

*Here endith the book of Joel, and
bigyn[neth] the book of Amos, prophete^k.*

*Here endith Joel, and here biginnith
Amos^d.*

^k *Here endeth the boke of Joel, and bigynneth the boke of Amos. A. No final rubric in GH.*

^d *From CFGHIMQRSU. Here endeth Joel, the profete; se now the book of the profete Amos. K. Here endith the book of Joel, and here bigynneth the book of Amos. N. Here endith the booc of the profete Joel, and here bigynneth the booc of the profete Amos. X. No final rubric in AEPY.*

A M O S.

The book of Amos^a.

CAP. I.

1 THE wordis of Amos, whiche was in
sheperdis thingus of Thecue, whiche he
saw³ on Yrael, in the days of Osye, kyng
of Juda, and in the days of Jeroboam,
sone of Joas, kyng of Yrael, byfore two
2 3eris of the erthe mouynge. And he
saide, The Lord shal rore of Syon, and
of Jerusalem shal 3eue his voice; and the
faire thingus of sheperdis mourneden, and
3 the top of Carmele is dried vp. These
thingis saith the Lord, On thre grete
trespassis of Damask, and on foure, Y
shal not conuerte hym, for that that thei
4 threshiden in yren waynes Galaad. And
Y shal sende fjr in to the hous of Asael,
and it shal deuoure the houses of Bena-
5 dab. And Y shal breke to gydre the
barris^b, or lockis, of Damaske, and Y shal
distruye the dweller of the feeld of ydol,
and the holdynge sceptre of the hous of
voluptee and lecchorie; and the peple of
Syrie shal be transferrid to Sirenen, saith
6 the Lord. These thingus saith the Lord,
On^c three grete trespassis of Gasas, and
on foure, Y shal not conuerte hym, for
that that he translatide perfit caitiftee,
that he shulde close to gydre it^d in to
7 Ydume. And Y shal sende fjr in to the
wall of Gasas, and it shal deuoure housis
8 therof. And Y shal distruye the dwellers
of Azotus, and the holdynge sceptre of

Here begynneth Amos^a.

CAP. I.

THE wordis of Amos *ben these*, that¹
was in the schepherdis thingis of Thecue,
whiche he siz^b on Israel, in the daies of
Osie, king of Juda, and in the daies of
Jeroboam, sone of Joas, kyng of Israel,
bifor twei^c 3eeris^d of the erthe mouynge.
And he seide, The Lord schal^e rore fro²
Sion, and schal 3yue his vois fro Jeru-
salem; and the faire thingis of schepherdis
mourenyden, and the cop of Carmele was
maad drie. The Lord seith these thingis,³
On thre grete trespassis of Damask, and
on foure, I shal not conuerte it, for it
threischide Galaad in irun waynes. And⁴
Y schal sende fier in to the hous of Asael,
and it schal deuoure the housis of Bena-
dab. And Y schal al to-breke the barre⁵
of Damask, and Y schal leese a dwellere
fro the feeld of idol, and hym that holdith
the ceptre^{f*} fro the hous of lust and of
letcherie; and the puple of Sirie schal be
translatid to Sirenen, seith the Lord. The⁶
Lord seith these thingis, On thre grete
trespassis of Gasas, and on foure, Y schal
not conuerte it, for it translatide perfit
caitifte, to close that togidere in Idumee.
And Y schal sende fier in to the wal of⁷
Gasas, and it schal deuoure the housis
therof. And Y schal leese the dwelleris of⁸
Azotus, and hym that holdith the ceptre
of Ascalon; and Y schal turne myn hond

* a ceptre is a
kyngis 3erde. A.

^a No initial rubric in AGH. ^b herris A. ^c Om. K. ^d Om. AGH.

^a Here biginnith the book of Amos, the profete. EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b sau³ I sæpius.
^c two I. ^d 3eer EPY. ^e Om. N. ^f ceptre, ether kingis 3erde CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^g And the I.

Ascalon; and Y shal turne to gydre myn
hond vpon Accharon, and relakis of Phi-
listiens shuln perische, seith the Lord
9 God. These thingis seith the Lord God,
On thre greet trespassis of Tyrus, and on
four, Y shal not conuerte hym, for that
that thei closiden to gydre perfit caytiftee
in Ydume, and thou3ten not of the boond
10 of bretheren. And Y schal send fjr in
to the wall of Tyrus, and it schal deuoure
11 the housis therof. These thingus seith the
Lord God, On three grete trespassis of
Edom, and on foure, Y shal not conuerte
hym, for that he pursuede in swerd his
brother, and defoulide the mercy of hym,
and heelde ouer his wodenesse, and kepte
12 his indignacioun til in to the eend. Y
shal sende fjr in to Theman, and it schal
13 deuoure the housis of Bosra. These
thingus saith the Lord God, On^e three
grete trespassis of the sonys of Amon,
and on the foure, Y shal not conuerte
hym, for that he karf wymmen with
chijld of Galaad, for to alarge his terme.
14 And Y shal kyndyl fjr in the wall of
Rabba, and it schal deuoure his housis, in
3oulyng in the day of bateyle, and in
whirlwynd in the day of meuyng to
15 gydre. And Melchon schal go in to cai-
tiftee, he and his princis to gydre, saith
the Lord.

CAP. II.

1 These thingis saith the Lord God, On
three grete trespassis of Moab, and on
foure, Y shal not conuerte hym, for that
he brente the boonys of the kyng of
2 Ydume vn to ash. And Y shal sende
fjr in to Moab, and it schal deuoure the
housis of Carioth; and Moab shal dye in
3 sown of trumpe. And Y shal distruye the
domysman of the mydil therof, and Y
shal slea alle his princis with hym, saith
the Lord. These thingis saith the Lord,
4 On three grete trespassis of Juda, and on
foure, Y shal not conuerte hym, for that
he castide away the lawe of the Lord,
and kepte not his comaundementis; for-

on Accaron, and the remenauntis of Filis-
teis schulen perische, seith the Lord God.
The Lord God seith these thingis, On thre⁹
grete trespassis of Tیره, and on foure, Y
shal not conuerte it, for thei closiden to-
gidere perfit caitifte in Idumee, and hadde
not mynde on the boond of pees of bri-
theren. And Y schal sende fier in to the¹⁰
wal of Tیره, and it schal deuoure the housis
therof. The Lord seith these thingis, On¹¹
thre grete trespassis of Edom, and on
foure, Y schal not conuerte it, for it pur-
suede bi swerd his brother, and defoulide
the merci of hym, and helde ferthere his
woodnesse, and kepte his indignacioun 'til
in to^b theⁱ ende. Y^k schal sende fier in to¹²
Theman, and it schal deuoure the housis
of Bosra. The Lord seith these thingis,¹³
On thre grete trespassis of the sones of
Amon, and on foure^l, Y schal not conuerte
hym, for he karf the wymmen with childe
of Galaad, for to alarge his terme. And¹⁴
Y schal kyndle fier in the wal of Rabbe,
and it schal deuoure the housis therof, in
3ellyng in the dai of batel, and in whirl-
wynd in the dai of mouyng togidere. And¹⁵
Melchon schal go in to caitifte, he and
hise princes togidere, seith the Lord.

CAP. II.

The Lord God seith these thingis, On¹
thre grete trespassis of Moab, and on
foure, Y schal not conuerte it, for it
brente the boonys of the kyng of Idumee
til to aische. And Y schal sende fier in²
to Moab, and it schal deuoure the housis
of Carioth; and Moab schal die in sown,
in the noise of a trumpe. And Y schal³
leese a iuge of the myddis therof, and Y
shal sle with it alle the princes therof,
seith the Lord. The Lord seith these⁴
thingis, On thre grete trespassis of Juda,
and on foure, Y schal not conuerte hym,
for he hath caste awei the lawe of the
Lord, and kepte not the comaundementis

^e Vpon AGH.^h to EY. til into withowten s. ⁱ Om. s. ^k And I r. ^l the foure ERY.

sothe her ydols disceiueden hem, after
 5 whom the faders of hem wenten. And Y
 shal sende fjr in to Juda, and it shal
 6 deuoure the housis of Jerusalem. These
 thingus saith the Lord^f, On three grete^{ff}
 trespassis of Yrael, and on foure, Y shal
 not conuerte hym, for that he solde a
 iust man for syluer, and a poore man for
 7 shoone. Whiche breken to gydre on^g
 dust of the erthe the hedis of pore men,
 and bowen away the waye of meeke
 men; the sone and his fadir wente to a
 wenche, that thei defouliden myn holy
 8 name. And on clothis leyde to wedde
 thei eeten bysidis eche auter, and drunken
 wijn of dampnyd men in the hous of her
 9 God. Forsothe Y distruyede Ammorey
 fro the face of hem^h, whos hienesse of
 cedris the hyennesse of hym, and he strong
 as an ook; and Y brake to gidre the
 fruyte of hym aboue, and the rotis of
 10 hym bynethe. Y am, that made 3ou for
 to stye vp fro the lond of Egypt, and Y
 ledde 3ou out in desert fourty 3eer, that
 3e schulde weelde the lond of Ammorrey.
 11 And Y reyside of 3our sonys in to pro-
 phetis, and of 3our 3unge men Nazareys.
 Wher it is not thus, 3e sonys of Yrael?
 12 saith the Lord. And 3e 3auen wijn to
 Nazareys, and 3e comaundiden to pro-
 13 phetis, sayinge, Prophecie 3e not. Loo!
 Y shal sowne strongly vndir 3ou, as a
 wayn chargid with hay sowneth strongly.
 14 And flizt shal perische fro theⁱ swift, and
 a strong man shal not weelde his vertue,
 and a mizty man^j in strengthe shal not
 15 saue his soule, *or lijf*; and a man hold-
 ynge bowe shal not stonde, and the swift
 in his feet shal not be saued; and the
 16 styer of hors shal not saue his soule, and
 the stronge in herte amonge men shal
 flee nakid in that day, saith the Lord.

CAP. III.

1 Sonys of Yrael, heer 3e the word that
 the Lord spac on 3ou, on al the kynred,

of hym; for her idols, after whiche the
 fadris of hem 3eden, disseyueden hem.
 And Y schal sende fier in to Juda, and 5
 it schal deuoure the housis of Jerusalem.
 The Lord seith these thingis, On thre 6
 grete trespassis of Israel, and on foure,
 Y schal not conuerte hym, for that that
 he seelde a iust man for siluer, and a
 pore man for schoon. Whiche al to-foulen 7
 the heedis of pore men on the dust of
 erthe, and bowen awei the weie of meke
 men; and the sone and his fadir 3eden
 to a damesele, that thei schulden defoule
 myn hooli name. And thei eeten on 8
 clothis leid to wedde bisidis ech auter,
 and drunken the wyn of dampned men
 in the hous of her God. Forsothe Y 9
 distriede Ammorrei fro the face of hem,
 whos hiznesse *was* the hiznesse of cedris,
 and he *was* strong as an ook; and Y al
 to-brak the fruyt of hym aboue, and the
 rootis of hym bynethe. Y am, that made 10
 3ou to stie^m fro the lond of Egipt, and
 ledde 3ou out in desert bi fourti 3eer,
 that 3e schulden welde the lond of Am-
 morrei. And Y reyside of 3oure sonys 11
 in to profetis, and Nazareis of 3oure 3onge
 men. Whether it is not so, 3e sonys of
 Israel? seith the Lord. And 3e birliden 12
 wyn to Nazareis, and comaundiden to
 profetis, and seiden, Profecie 3e not. Lo! 13
 Y schal charkeⁿ vndur 3ou, as a wayn
 chargid with hei charkith. And flizt schal 14
 perische fro a swift man, and a strong
 man schal not holde his vertu, and a stal-
 worthe man^o schal not saue his lijf; and 15
 he that holdith a bowe schal not stonde,
 and a swift man schal not be sau'd by
 hise feet; and the stiere of an hors schal
 not saue his lijf, and a stronge man of 16
 herte schal fle nakid among stronge men
 in that dai, seith the Lord.

CAP. III.

Sones of Israel, here 3e the word which 1
 the Lord spak on 3ou, and on al the kyn-

^f Lord God A. ^{ff} Om. K. ^g as A. ^h hym A. ⁱ Om. A. ^j Om. AGH.

^m stie up I. ⁿ gnaste, *ether charke* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^o Om. N.

whiche Y ledde out of the lond of Egypt,
 2 sayinge, Oonly 3ou Y knew of alle kyn-
 redis of erthe; therfore Y shal visite on
 3 3ou alle 3our wickidnessis. Wher two
 shuln go to gydre, no but it shal accorde
 4 to hem? Wher a lyoun shal rore in
 the wijld wode, no bot he shal haue
 pray? Wher the whelp of a lyoun shal
 5 3eue voice of his couche, no bot he shal
 cacche sum thing? Wher a brid shal
 falle in to grane^k of erthe, with outen a
 fouler? Wher a gnare shal be taken away
 fro erthe, before it shal take sum thing?
 6 3if a trumpe shal sowne in a cytee, and
 the peple shal not dreede? 3if there be
 yuel in the citee, whiche the Lord shal
 7 not do? For the Lord God shal not do
 a word, no bot he shal shewe his preuyte
 8 to his seruautis prophetis. A lyoun shal
 rore, who shal not dreede? the Lord God
 9 spac, who shal not prophecie? Make 3e
 herd in the housis of Azotus, and in the
 housis of the lond of Egypt; and saye 3e,
 Be 3e gadrid on the hillis of Samarye,
 and see many woodnessis in the mydil
 therof, and men suffrynge fals chalenge
 10 in priuy chaumbris therof. And thei
 couthen not do ri3t thing, saith the Lord,
 tresourynge wickidnesse and raueyn in
 11 her housis. Therfore these thingus saith
 the Lord God, The lond shal be in tri-
 bulacioun, and shal^l be cumpasid; and thi
 strengthe shal be drawen away fro thee,
 12 and thin housis shuln be robbid. These
 thingus saith the Lord, Hou 3if a sheperd
 delyuere two hypis, or the last thing of
 a litil ere of the lyouns mouthe, so the
 sonys of Yrael shuln be delyuered, that
 dwellen in Samarie, in plage, or wound,
 of the litil bed, and in the^m lappe of
 13 Damaske. Heere 3e, and witnesse 3e to
 gidre in the hous of Jacob, saith the
 14 Lord God of oostis. For in the day,
 whanne Y shal bygynne for to visite the
 trespassis of Yrael on hym, Y shal visite
 and on the auters of Bethel; and the cor-

rede, which Y ledde out of the lond of
 Egipt, and seide, Oneli Y knewe 3ou of
 alle the kynredis of erthe; therfor Y schal
 visite on 3ou alle 3oure wickidnessis.
 Whether tweyne schulen go togidere, no³
 but it acorde to hem? Whether a lioun⁴
 schal rore in a forest, no but he haue
 prey? Whether the whelp of a lioun schal
 3yue vois fro his denne, no but he take
 ony thing? Whether a brid schal falle⁵
 in to a snare of erthe, with outen a
 foulere? Whether a snare schal be takun
 awei fro erthe, bifer that it tak sum
 thing? Whether a trumpe schal sowne⁶
 in a citee, and the puple schal not drede?
 Whether yuel schal be in a citee, which
 yuel the Lord schal not make? For the⁷
 Lord God schal not make a word, no but
 he schewe his priuyte to hise seruautis
 profetis. A lioun schal rore, who schal⁸
 not drede? the Lord God spac, who
 schal not profesie? Make 3e herd in⁹
 the housis^p of Azotus, and in the housis
 of the lond of Egipt; and seie 3e, Be 3e
 gaderid togidere on the hillis of Samarye,
 and se 3e many woodnessis in the myddis
 therof, and hem that suffren fals calenge
 in the priuy places therof. And thei¹⁰
 kouden not do ri3tful thing, seith the
 Lord, and tresouriden^q wickidnesse and
 raueyn in her housis. Therfor the Lord¹¹
 God seith these thingis, The lond schal
 be troblid, and be cumpasid; and thi^r
 strengthe schal be drawun doun of thee,
 and thin housis schulen be rauyschid.
 The Lord *God*^s seith these thingis, As¹²
 if a shepherd rauyschith fro the mouth
 of a lioun tweyne hipis, ether the laste
 thing of the cere, so the children of Is-
 rael schulen be rauyschid, that dwellen
 in Samarie, in the cuntrei of bed, and in
 the bed of Damask. Here 3e, and wit-¹³
 nesse 3e in the hous of Jacob, seith the
 Lord God of oostis. For in the dai,¹⁴
 whanne Y schal bigynne to visite the
 trespassyngis of Israel on hym, Y schal

^k gnare AGH. ^l shal not A. ^m Om. A.

^p hous 18. ^q thei tresouriden 1. ^r Om. N. ^s Om. CEF GHIKMNPRUX.

ners of the auters shuln be kitte of, and
 15 shuln falle in to erthe. And Y shal
 smyte the wyntyr hous with the somer
 hous, and the housis of yuer shuln pe-
 rishe, and many housis shuln be destruy-
 ed, saith the Lord.

CAP. IV.

1 Heer this word, 3e fatt kyen, that ben
 in the mount of Samarie; whiche don
 fals chalenge to nedy men, and to gydre
 breken poore men; whiche saien to 3our
 lordis, Brenge 3ee^a, and we shuln drynke.
 2 The Lord God swore in his holy, for loo!
 days shuln cum on 3ou; and thei shuln
 reyse 3ou in a dart with out yren, and
 3 3our relykis in pottis boylynge. And by
 opnyngis 3e shuln go out, an other a3einus
 an other, and 3e shuln be cast in to Ar-
 4 noun, saith the Lord. Cum 3e to^o Be-
 thel, and do 3e vnpytously; to Galgala,
 and multiplie 3e trespassyng; and offre
 3e eerly 3our sacrifices for victorie, in
 5 three days 3our tithes. And sacrifice 3e
 heryng of sour dowid, and clepe 3e wil-
 ful offryngus, and telle 3e; forsothe thus
 3e wolden, sonys of Yrael, saith the Lord
 6 God. Wherfore and Y 3aue to 3ou eg-
 gyng of teeth in alle 3our cytees, and need
 of loues in alle 3our placis; and 3e turn-
 eden not a3ein to me, saith the Lord.
 7 And Y forbad rayn fro 3ou, whanne 3it
 three monethis weren ouer, til to rype
 corn; and I reynede on oo citee, and I
 reynede not on an other; oo part is reyned,
 and the part on whiche Y reynede^{oo} not,
 8 dryede. And two and three cytees camen
 to oo cytee, for to drinke water, and thei
 ben not fulfillid; and 3e turnede not a3ein
 9 to me, saith the Lord. Y smote 3ou in
 brennyng wynd, and in myldew, the mul-
 titude of 3our gardeyns, and 3our vijn
 3erdis; and olyuetis, *or placis wher olyues*
wexen, and fijge placis, eruke eete; and 3ee

visite also on the auteris of Bethel; and
 the hornes of the auter schulen be kit
 awei, and schulen falle down in to erthe^t.
 And Y schal smyte the wynter hous with 15
 the somer hous, and the housis of yuer
 schulen perische, and many housis schulen
 be distried, seith the Lord.

CAP. IV.

3e fatte kien, that ben in the hil of 1
 Samarie, here this word; whiche maken
 fals caleng to nedi men, and breken pore
 men; which seien to 3oure lordis, Bringe
 3e, and we schulen drynke. The Lord 2
 God swoor in his hooli, for lo! daies
 schulen come on 3ou; and thei schulen
 reise 3ou in schaftis, and 3oure reme-
 nauntis in buylynge pottis. And 3e 3
 schulen go out bi the^a openyngis, oon
 a3ens another, and 3e schulen be cast
 forth in to Armon, seith the Lord. Come 4
 3e to Bethel, and do 3e wickidli; to Gal-
 gala, and multiplie 3e trespassyng; and
 offre 3e eerli 3oure sacrifices, in thre
 daies 3oure tithis. And sacrifice 3e heri- 5
 yng of breed maad sour, and clepe 3e
 wilful offryngis, and telle 3e; for 3e, sones
 of Israel, wolden so, seith the Lord God.
 Wherfor and Y 3af to 3ou astonying of 6
 teeth in alle 3oure citees, and nedinesse
 of looues in alle 3oure places; and 3e
 turneden not a3en to me, seith the Lord.
 Also Y forbeed reyn fro 3ou, whanne 7
 thre monethis weren 3it 'to comyng^v, til
 to ripe corn^w; and Y reynede on o citee,
 and on another citee Y reynede not; o
 part was bireyned, and the part driede
 vp on which Y reynede not. And tweyne 8
 and thre citees camen to o citee, to drynke
 watir, and tho weren not fillid; and 3e
 camen not a3en to me, seith the Lord.
 Y smoot 3ou with brennyng wynd, and 9
 with rust^x, the multitude of 3oure or-
 cherdis, and of 3oure vyneris; and a wort
 worm eet 3oure olyue places^y, and 3oure

^a Om. A. ^o in A. ^{oo} ranede K.

^t the erthe I. ^a Om. C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. ^v residue, *ether* [3it I] to comynge C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y.
^w corn, *ether heruest* E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. ^x rust, *ether myldew* C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. ^y place N.

turneden not azein to me, saith the Lord.
 10 Y sente in to 3ou deeth in the waye of
 Egypt, Y smote in swerd 3our 3ung men,
 vn to caitifte of 3our horsis, and Y made
 the stynk of 3our castels, *or multitude of*
armed men, for to stye in to 3our nose
 thrillis; and 3e turneden not azein to me,
 11 saith the Lord. Y distruyede 3ou, as
 God distruyede Sodom and Gomor, and
 3e ben maad as a brond rauyshid of
 brennyng; and 3e turneden not azein to
 12 me, saith the Lord. Wherfore this Y
 shal do to thee, Yrael; forsothe after
 that Y shal do to thee this thing, Yrael,
 be thou maad redy in to azein cummyng
 13 of thi God. For loo! Y fourmynge
 hillis, and makynge of nou3t wynd, and
 tellynge to man his speche, makynge a
 morewe cloude, *or myst*, and goynge on
 hee3 thingis of erthe; the Lord of oostis
 name of hym.

CAP. V.

1 Heere 3e, hous of Yrael, this word,
 2 that Y reyse on 3ou a weylyng. The
 meyden of Yrael felle down, she shal not
 put to, that she rijse azein; she is cast
 down in to hir erthe, ther is not that shal
 3 reyse hir. For these thingus saith the
 Lord God, The cite of whiche a thou-
 sand wenten out, an hundrid shuln be
 left thereyne; and of whiche an hundrid
 wenten out, ten shuln be left thereynne, in
 4 the hous of Yrael. For these thingis seith
 the Lord to the hous of Israel, Seeke 3e
 5 me, and 3e shulen lyue; and nyle 3e
 seeke Bethel, and in to Galgala nyle 3e
 entre, and into Bersabe passe 3e not; for
 Galgal schal be led caityf, and Bethel shal
 6 be vnprofitable. Seeke 3e the Lord, and
 lyue 3e, lest per auenture the hous of
 Joseph be brent as fijre; and it shal deu-
 oure, and ther shal not be, that shal
 7 quenche Bethel. Whiche conuerten dom
 in to wermod, and forsaken riztwijsnesse
 8 of the Lord in erthe, and makynge Ar-

fige places; and 3e camen not azen to me,
 seith the Lord. Y sente in to 3ou deeth 10
 in the weie of Egypt, Y smoot with swerd
 3oure 3onge men, 'til to² the caitifte of
 3oure horsis, and Y made the stynk of
 3oure oostis to stie^a in to 3oure nose thir-
 lis; and 3e camen not azen to me, seith
 the Lord. Y distriede 3ou, as God dis- 11
 triede Sodom and Gomorre, and 3e ben
 maad as a brond rauyschid of brennyng;
 and 3e turneden not azen to me, seith the
 Lord. Wherfor, thou Israel, Y schal do 12
 these thingis to thee; but afir that Y schal
 do to thee these thingis, Israel, be maad
 redi in to azen comyng of thi God. For 13
 lo! he fourmeth hillis, and makith wynd,
 and tellith to man his speche; and he
 makith a 'morew myist^b, and goith on hiz
 thingis of erthe; the Lord God of oostis
 is the^c name of^d hym.

CAP. V.

Here 3e this word, for Y reise on 3ou 1
 a weilyng. The hous of Israel felle down, 2
 he schal not put to, that it rise azen; the
 virgyn of Israel is cast down in to hir
 lond, noon is that schal reise hir. For 3
 the Lord God seith these thingis, The
 citee of which a thousynde wenten out,
 an hundrid schulen be left ther ynne;
 and of which an hundrid wenten out, ten
 schulen be left ther ynne, in the hous of
 Israel. For the Lord seith these thingis 4
 to the hous of Israel, Seke 3e me, and 3e
 schulen lyue; and nyle 3e seke Bethel, 5
 and nyle 3e entre in to Galgala, and 3e
 schulen not passe to^e Bersabee; for whi
 Galgal schal be led caitif, and Bethel schal
 be vnprofitable. Seke 3e^f the Lord, and 6
 lyue 3e, lest perauenture the hous of Jo-
 seph be brent as fier; and it schal deuoure
 Bethel, and there schal not^g be, that schal
 quenche. Whiche^h conuerten doom in to 7
 wermod, and forsaken riztwisnesseⁱ in
 the lond, and *forsaken* hym that makith 8

^a vnto 1. ^a stie up 1. ^b morew cloud, *or myist c et ceteri.* ^c Om. 1. ^d to 1. ^e in to su sec. m.
^f Om. N. ^g noon u sec. m. ^h The whiche 1. ⁱ riztfulness 1.

ture and Orion, and turnynge in to morewning dercknessis, and chaungynge day in to^p niȝt; whiche clepith waters of the see, and heeldith out hem on the face of the erthe; the Lord is name of^q hym.

⁹ Whiche scorneth distruyinge, or *waastnesse*, on the stronge, and bringith robberyng on the miȝty. Thei hadden in hate the repreuyng man in the ȝate, and thei¹¹ wlatiden a man spekyng perfitly. Therefore for that that^r ȝe robbiden the pore man, and token fro hym the chosen pray, ȝe shuln beelde housis with sqware stoon, and ȝe shuln not dwelle in hem; ȝe shuln plante most amyable vyne ȝerdis, and ȝe¹² shuln not drinke the wyne of hem. For Y knewe ȝour manye grete trespassis, and ȝour strong synnes; enmyes of the^s iust, takynge ȝiftis, and beringe doun pore¹³ men in the ȝate. Therefore a prudent man in that tyme shal be stille, for the¹⁴ tyme is yuel. Seke ȝe good, and not yuel, that ȝe lyue, and the Lord God of oostis¹⁵ shal be with ȝou, as ȝe saiden. Hate ȝe yuel, and loue ȝe good, and ordeyne ȝe in the ȝate dom; ȝif per auenture the Lord God of oostis haue mercye to the relikis¹⁶ of Joseph. Therefore these thingus saith the Lord God of oostis, hauynge lordship, In alle stretis weylyng, and in alle thingus that ben with outforth 'it shal be^t said, Wo! wo! and thei shuln cleepe an erthe tilier to mournyng, and hem to¹⁷ weylyng, that kunnen weyle. And in alle weyes weylyng shal be, for Y shal passe by the myddil of thee, saith the Lord.

¹⁸ Wo to men desiryng the day of the Lord; wher to it to ȝou? This day of the¹⁹ Lord dercknessis, and not liȝt. Hou ȝif a man renne fro face^u of a lyoun, and a bere renne to hym; and he entre in the hous, and lene with his hond vpon the walle, and a serpent dwellyng in sha-²⁰ dewe bite hym. Wher not dercknessis

Arture and Orion, and hym that turneth dercknessis in to the morewtid, and him that chaungith dai in to niȝt; which clepith watris of the see, and heldith out hem on the face of erthe; the Lord is name of^k hym. Which scorneth distriyng^l on the⁹ stronge^m, and bringith robberyng on the myȝtiⁿ. Thei hatiden a man repreuyng¹⁰ in the ȝate, and thei wlatiden a man spekyng perfitli. Therfor for that that ȝe¹¹ robbiden a pore man, and token fro hym the chosun prey, ȝe schulen bilde housis with square stoon, and ȝe schulen not dwelle in hem^o; ȝe schulen plaunte moost louyd vyneȝerdis, and ȝe schulen not drynke the wyn of hem^p. For Y knew ȝoure grete¹² trespassis many, and ȝoure stronge synnes; enemyes of 'the riȝtwis man^q, takynge ȝifte^r, and beryng doun pore men in the ȝate. Therfor a prudent man schal be¹³ stille in that time, for the time is yuel. Seke ȝe good, and not yuel, that ȝe lyue,¹⁴ and the Lord God of oostis schal be with ȝou, as ȝe seiden. Hate ȝe yuel, and loue¹⁵ ȝe good, and ordeyne ȝe in the gate doom; if perauenture the Lord God of oostis haue merci on the remenauntis of Joseph. Therfor the Lord God of oostis, hauynge¹⁶ lordschipe, seith these thingis, Weilyng *schal be* in alle stretis, and in alle thingis that ben withoutforth it schal be seid, Wo! wo! and thei schulen clepe an erthe tilier to mourenyng, and hem that kunnen weile, to weilyng. And weilyng schal be¹⁷ in alle weies, for Y schal passe forth in the myddil of 'the see^a, seith the Lord. Wo to hem that desiren the dai of the¹⁸ Lord; wher to *desiren* ȝe it to ȝou? This dai of the Lord *schal be* dercknessis, and not liȝt. As if a man renne fro the face of¹⁹ a lioun, and a bere renne^t to hym; and he entre in to^u the^v hous, and lene with his hond on the wal, and a serpent dwellyng in schadewe bite hym. Whether the dai²⁰

P vnto A. q to A. r Om. H. s Om. A. t be it A. u the face A.

^k to N. ^l distriyng, or [ether Y] *wastnesse c et ceteri*. ^m stronge man v *sec. m.* ⁿ myȝti man v *sec. m.* ^o tho v *sup. ras.* ^p tho v *sup. ras.* ^q riȝtfulnesse A *pr. m.* C E F G H K M N P Q R S U X Y. riȝtwis man I. ^r a ȝifte v *sec. m.* ^s see F M Q S *sup. ras.* thee R U *sup. ras.* ^t renneth K. ^u Om. C E F G H K M N P Q R S U X *sec. m.* Y. ^v Om. I.

the day of the Lord, and not list; and
 21 myst, and not shynynge therynne? Y
 hatide and castide away 3oure feest days,
 and Y shal not take the odour of 3our
 22 cumpanyes. That 3if 3e shuln offre to
 me 3our brent sacrifices, and 3iftis, Y
 shal not resceyue, and Y shal not by-
 23 holde avowis of 3our fat thingus. Do
 away fro me the noyse of thi songis, *or*
ditees, and Y shal not heere the songis
 24 of thin harpe. And dom shal be shewid
 as water, and ri3twysnesse as a strong
 25 stream of reyn. Wher 3e offriden to
 me oostis, and sacrifice^v in desert fourty
 26 3eeris, 3e hous of Yrael? And 3e han
 born tabernaclis to Moloch, 3our god, and
 ymage of 3oure ydolis, the sterre of 3our
 27 god, whiche 3e maden to 3ou. And Y
 shal make 3ou for to passe ouer Damask,
 saide the Lord; God of oostis name to
 hym.

CAP. VI.

1 Wo to 3ou, that ben ful of richessis in
 Syon, and tristen in the hille of Samarie,
 3e best men in honour, hedis of peplis,
 proudly goynge in to the hous of Yrael.
 2 Go 3e in to Calamy^e, and se 3e^w, and
 go 3e thennus in to Emath the grete; and
 go 3e doun in to Geth of Palestyns,
 and to alle the best rewmes of hem, 3if
 her terme be bradder than 3our terme.
 3 Whiche 3e ben departid in to yuel day,
 and neizen to seete of wickidnesse;
 4 whiche 3e sleepen in beddis of yuer, and
 wexen wijld, *or iolyf*, in 3our beddis;
 whiche 3e eete lombe of floce, and a calf
 5 of myddil of the droue; whiche 3e syngen
 at voice of psautrie. As Daud thei ges-
 6 siden hem for to haue vessels of song, in
 vyols drinkyng wyne, and with best
 oynement anoyntid; in no thing thei
 suffriden on the contricioun of Joseph.
 7 Wherefore now thei shuln passe in the

of the Lord *shal* not *be* derknessis, and
 not list; and myist, and not schynynge ther
 ynne? Y hatide and castide awei 3oure²¹
 feeste daies, and Y schal not take the
 odour of 3oure cumpanyes. That if 3e²²
 offren to me 3oure brent sacrifices, and
 3iftis, Y schal not resceyue, and Y schal
 not biholde avowis^w of 3oure fatte thingis.
 Do thou awei fro me the noise of thi²³
 songis, and Y schal not here the songis of
 thin harpe. And doom schal be schewid²⁴
 as watir, and ri3tfulnesse^x as a strong
 stream. Whether 3e, the hous of Israel,²⁵
 offriden to me sacrifices for enemyes to be
 ouercomun, and sacrifice in desert fourti
 3eeris? And 3e han bore tabernaclis to²⁶
 Moloch, 3oure god, and ymage of^y 3oure
 idols, the sterre of 3oure god, which 3e
 maden to 3ou. And Y schal make 3ou for²⁷
 to passe ouer Damask, seide the Lord;
 God of oostis *is* the name of him.

CAP. VI.

Wo to 3ou, that ben ful of richessis in
 Sion, and tristen² in the hil of Samarie, 3e
 principal men, the heedis of puplis, that
 goen proudli in^a to the hous of Israel. Go²
 3e in to Calamy^e^b, and se 3e, and go 3e fro
 thennus in to Emath the greet; and go 3e
 doun in to Geth of Palestyns, and to alle
 the beste rewmes of hem, if her terme be
 broddere than 3oure terme. And 3e ben³
 departid in to yuel^c dai, and neizen to the^d
 seete of wickidnesse; and 3e slepen in⁴
 beddis of yuer, and doen lecherie in 3oure
 beddis; and 3e eten a lomb of the floke, and
 calues of the myddil of droue^e; and 3e⁵
 syngen at vois^f of sautree. As Daud thei
 gessiden hem for to haue instrumentis of
 song, and drynken wyn in viols; and with⁶
 beste oynement *thei weren* anoynted; and
 in no thing thei hadden compassioun on
 the sorewe, *ether defoulyng*, of Joseph.
 Wherefor now thei schulen passe in the⁷

^v sacrificis AGH. ^w thee K.

^w the avowis U sec. m. ^x ri3twysnesse CFGHIKMN PQSUXY. ^y to N. ² tristenen HIQRSU. ^a Om. A pr. m. CEFHIKMQRSU pr. m. ^b the calamy^e I. ^c the yuel U. ^d Om. A pr. m. CEFGHMNPQRSX U pr. m. ^e the droue U pr. m. ^f the vois IS.

hed of men passynge ouer, and the do-
 yng, *or tresoun*, of men wexinge ioly^x
 8shal be don away. The Lord God swore
 in his soule, saith the Lord God of oostis,
 Y wlate the pride of Jacob, and Y hate
 the hous of hym, and Y shal bytake the
 9citee with his dwellers; that 3if the
 relikis shuln be ten men in oon hous,
 10and thei shuln dye. And his neizbore
 shal take hym, and shal to gydre brenne
 hym, that he bere out boonys of the
 hous. And he shal saye to hym, that is in
 11priue places of the hous, Wher there is
 3it anentis thee? And he shal answe-
 re, An eend is. And he shal saye to hym, Be
 stille, and recorde not the name of the
 12Lord. For loo! the Lord shal comaunde,
 and shal smyte the gretter hous with
 fallyngis, and the lesse hous with keru-
 13yngis. Wher horsis mown renne in
 stonys, or may it be erid in wijlde
 oxen? For 3e conuerten dom in to bit-
 ternesse, and the fruyte of ríztwísnesse
 14in to wormod. Whiche 3e gladen in
 nou3t, whiche 3e sayen, Wher not in oure
 15strengthe we token to vs hornes? Loo! Y
 shal reyse a folc vpon 3ou, 3e the^v hous of
 Yrael, saith the Lord God of oostis; and
 it shal to gydre breke 3ou fro entre of
 Emath vn to the streme of desert.

CAP. VII.

1 These thingus the Lord God shewide
 to me; and loo! a maker of locust in
 the bygynnyng of buriownynge thingus
 of eeuen rayn, and loo! eeuen rayn after
 2the clipper of floe, *or kyng*. And it is
 don, whanne he eendide for to eete the
 herbe of erthe, Y saide, Lord God, be thou
 merciful, Y byseche; who shal reyse Ja-
 3cob, for he is lital? The Lord hadde
 mercy on this thing; It shal not be, saide
 4the Lord God. The Lord God shewide
 to me this thing; and loo! the Lord God

heed of men passynge ouer, and the do-
 yng^s of men doynge letcherie schal be don
 awei. The Lord God swoor in his soule,^s
 seith the Lord God of oostis, Y wlate^h
 the pride of Jacob, and Y hate the housis
 of hym, and Y schal bitake the citee with
 hise dwelleris; that if ten men ben leftⁱ in 9
 oon hous, and^k thei schulen die. And his 10
 neizbore schal take hym, and schal brenne
 hym, that he bere out boonys of the hous.
 And he schal seie to hym, that is in the
 priuy places^l of the hous, Whether ther is 11
 3it anentis thee? And he schal answer, An
 ende is. And he schal seie to hym, Be thou
 stille, and thenke thou not on the name of
 the Lord. For lo! the Lord schal co- 12
 maunde, and schal smyte the grettere hous
 with fallyngis, and the lesse hous with
 brekyngis^m. Whether horsis moun renne 13
 in stoonys, ether it mai be eerid withⁿ
 wielde oxun? For 3e turneden doom in
 to bitternesse, and the fruyt of ríztful-
 nesse^o in to werimod. And 3e ben glad in 14
 nou3t, and 3e seien, Whether not in oure
 strengthe we token to vs hornes? Lo! Y 15
 schal reyse on 3ou, the hous of Israel, seith
 the Lord God of oostis, a folc; and it schal
 al to-breke 3ou fro entre^p of Emath 'til
 to^q the stream of desert.

CAP. VII.

The Lord God schewide these thingis 1
 to me; and lo! a makere of locust in bi-
 gynnynge^r of buriownynge thingis of euen-
 tid reyn, and lo! euentid reyn after the
 clippere of the kyng^s. And it was don, 2
 whanne he^t hadde endid for to ete the
 erbe of erthe, Y seide, Lord God, Y bi-
 seche, be thou merciful; who schal reyse
 Jacob, for he is lital? The Lord hadde 3
 merci on this thing; It schal not be, seide
 the Lord God. The Lord God schewide 4
 to me these thingis; and lo! the Lord

^x iolif A. ^y Om. AGH.

^s doynge, *or* [ether y] tresoun CEF GHKMN PQRSXY. feyned doing, *either tresoun* U sec. m. ^h wlatide x pr. m.
ⁱ residue, *ether left* CEF GHIMNPQSUXY. residue R. ^k also U. ^l place N. ^m keruyngis, *ether brekingis*
 CEF GHKMN PQRSUX. ⁿ in CEF GHKMN PQRSUXY. ^o ríztwísnesse CEF GHKMN PQRSUXY. ^p the entre IU sec. m.
^q vnto I. ^r the begynnynge U sec. m. ^s flocke I sup. ras. ^t it U sup. ras.

shal cleepe dom to fjr, and it shal deuoure myche depnesse, and shal eet to
 5 gydre a part. And Y saide, Lord God, reste thou, Y byseche; who shal reise
 6 Jacob, for he is lytil? The Lord hadde mercy on this thing; Bot and this thing
 7 shal not be, saide the Lord God. The Lord God shewide to me these thingus;
 and loo! the Lord stondynge on a wall teerid, *or morterd*, and in the hond of
 8 hym a truel of masoun. And the Lord saide to me, What seest thou, Amos?
 And Y saide, A truel of masoun. And the Lord saide, Loo! Y shal putte a truel
 in mydil of my peple Yrael; Y shal no more putte to, for to ouer leede hym;
 9 and the hee3 thingus of the ydol shuln be distruyed, and the halewyngis^z of
 Yrael shuln be desolat; and Y shal ryse
 10 on the hous of Jeroboam in swerde. And Amasie, prest of Bethel, sente to Jeroboam,
 kyng of Yrael, sayinge, Amos rebellide azeinus thee, in the mydil of the hous
 of Yrael; the lond may not susteyne
 11 alle his wordis. Forsothe Amos saith these thingus, Jeroboam shal dye in swerd,
 and Yrael caitif shal passe of his lond.
 12 And Amasie saide to Amos, Thou that seest, go; flee thou in to the lond of Juda,
 and eete thou there thi breede; and there
 13 thou shalt prophecie. And in Bethel thou shalt no more putte to, that thou
 prophecie, for it is the halewyng of the
 14 kyng, and is hous of the rewme. And Amos answerde, and saide to Amasye,
 Y am not a prophete, Y am not the sone of a prophete; but a neet heerde Y am,
 15 drawinge^a vp sycomoris. And the Lord toke me, whanne Y suede the floc; and
 the Lord saide to me, Go, and prophecie
 16 thou to my peple Yrael. And now heere thou the word of the Lord. Thou saist,
 Thou shalt not prophecie on Yrael, and thou shalt not droppe on the^b hous of
 17 ydol. For this thing the Lord saith

God schal clepe doom to fier, and it schal deuoure myche depthe of watir, and it eet
 togidere a part. And Y seide, Lord God,⁵ Y biseche, reste thou; who schal reise
 Jacob, for he is litil? The Lord hadde⁶ merci on this thing; But and^u this thing
 schal not be, seide the Lord God. The⁷ Lord God schewide to me these thingis;
 and lo! the Lord stondinge on a wal plastrid^v, and in the hond of hym *was* a
 trulle of a masoun. And the Lord seide⁸ to me, What seest thou, Amos? And Y
 seide, A trulle of a masoun. And the Lord seide, Lo! I schal putte a trulle in
 the myddil of my puple Israel; Y schal no more putte to, for to ouerlede it; and⁹
 the hi3 thingis of idol schulen be distried, and the halewyngis of Israel schulen be
 desolat; and Y schal rise on the hous of Jeroboam bi swerd. And Amasie, prest¹⁰
 of Bethel, sente to Jeroboam, kyng of Israel, and seide, Amos rebellide a3ens thee,
 in the myddil of the hous of Israel; the lond mai not susteyne alle hise wordis.
 For Amos seith these thingis, Jeroboam¹¹ schal die bi swerd, and Israel caitif schal
 passe fro his lond. And Amasie seide to¹² Amos, Thou that seest, go; fle thou in to
 the lond of Juda, and ete thou there thi breed; and there thou schalt profesie. And¹³
 thou schalt no more put to, that thou profesie in Bethel, for it is the halewyng of
 the king, and is the hous of the rewme. And Amos answeride, and seide to Ama-¹⁴
 sie, Y am not a profete, and Y am not sone^w of profete^x; but an herde of neet Y
 am, drawyng vp siccomoris. And the Lord¹⁵ took me, whanne Y suede the floc; and the
 Lord seide to me, Go, and profesie thou to my puple Israel. And now here thou¹⁶
 the word of the Lord. Thou seist, Thou schalt not profesie on Israel, and thou
 schal not droppe on the hous of idol. For¹⁷ this thing the Lord seith these thingis,
 Thi wijf schal do fornicacioun in the

^z halewis A. ^a dwellynge A. ^b Om. AGK pr. m.

^u also and ^v sec. m. ^v pargetid, *ether* [or EPY] *plastrid* CEF GHIKMN PQSUXY, pargetid B. ^w the sone I.
^x a profete U.

these thingis, Thi wyf in cytee shal do fornycacioun, and thi sonnys and thi douȝters in swerd shuln falle, and thin erthe shal be meetyn with a litil coorde; and thou shalt dye in a polut lond, and Yrael shal passe caitif of his lond.

CAP. VIII.

1 The Lord God shewide to me these
2 thingis; and loo! an hoke of applis. And
the Lord saide, What seest thou, Amos?
And Y saide, An hok of applis. And
the Lord saide to me, The eende cum-
meth on my peple Yrael; Y shal namore
3 putte to, that Y passe by hym. And the
herris of temple shuln gretely sounne in
that day, saith the Lord God. Manye
men shuln dye, in eche place silence
4 shal be cast down. Heere^c this thing,
whiche^d breken to gydre the pore man,
and maken needy men of the lond for
5 to fayle, sayinge, Whan shal rype corn
passe, and we shuln selle marchaundises?
and the saboth, and we shuln opyn
whete? that we make lesse the mesure,
and encrease the sycle, and vndirputte
6 gylfull balauncis; that we welden in
syluer nedy and pore men for shoon,
7 and we selle clensingus of whete? God
swore aȝeinus the pryde of Jacob, ȝif Y
shal forȝete in to the eende alle the
8 werkis of hem. Wher on this thing the
erthe shal not be moued to gidre, and
eche dweller therof shal mourne? And it
shal stye vp as al the flood, and shal be
cast out, and shal fleete away as the
9 strond of Egypt. And it shal be, saith
the Lord, in that day the sunne shal go
downn in mydday, and Y shal make the
10 erthe for to be derk in day of lizt. And
Y shal conuerte ȝour feest days in to
mournyng, and alle ȝour songis in to
weylyng; and Y shal leede yn on al ȝour
bac a sak, and on eche ȝour hed ballid-
nesse; and Y shal putte it as mournyng

citee, and thi sones and thi douȝtris schal
falle bi swerd, and thi lond schal be
motun^y with a litil coord; and thou schalt
die in a pollutid lond, and Israel caitif
shal passe fro his lond.

CAP. VIII.

The Lord God schewide to me these¹
thingis; and lo! an hook of applis. And²
the Lord seide, What seist thou, Amos?
And Y seide, An hook of applis. And
the Lord seide to me, The ende is comun
on my puple Israel; Y schal no more
putte^z to, that Y passe bi hym. And the³
herris, *ether twistis*, of the temple schulen
greetli sowne in that dai, seith the Lord
God. Many men schulen die, silence
shal be cast forth in ech place. Here ȝe⁴
this thing, whiche al to-breken a pore
man, and maken nedi men of the lond for
to faile; and ȝe seien, Whanne schal her-⁵
uest passe, and we schulen sille mar-
chaundises? and the sabat, and we schulen
opene wheete? that we make lesse the me-
sure, and encrease the cicle, and 'vndur
put^a gileful balauncis; that we welde bi^b
siluer nedi men and pore men for schoon,
and we sille outcastyngis^c of wheete?
The Lord swoor aȝens the pride of Jacob,⁷
Y schal not forȝete til to the ende alle the
werkis of hem. Whether^d on this thing⁸
the erthe schal not^e be mouyd togidere,
and eche dwellere therof schal mourene?
And it schal stie vp as al the flood, and
shal be cast out, and schal flete awei as
the stronde of Egypt. And it schal be,⁹
seith the Lord, in that dai the sunne schal
go down in myddai, and Y schal make
the erthe for^f to be derk in the dai of lizt.
And Y schal conuerte ȝoure feeste daies in¹⁰
to mourenyng, and alle ȝoure songis in
to weilyng; and Y schal brynge yn on ech
bac of ȝou a sak, and on ech heed of ȝou
ballidnesse; and Y schal put it as the

^c Heere ȝe κ *pr. m.* ^d that A. that whiche κ.

Y metun CHU. metin EFIPSY. meten KM. ^z leye U *sec. m.* ^a that we sette preueli U *sec. m.* ^b for U
sup. ras. ^c clensingis, *ether outcastingis* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^d Wher not U *sec. m.* ^e Om. U *sec. m.*
^f Om. U *sec. m.*

of an oon bigeten sone, and the last
 11 thingus therof as a bitter day. Loo! the
 days cummen, saith the Lord^e, and Y
 shal sende out hungre in to erthe; not
 hungre of breed, nether thirst of water,
 12 bot of heeryng of the word of God. And
 thei shuln be moued to gydre fro see
 vn to see, and fro the north vn to the
 eest thei shuln cumpasse, seekynge the
 word of the Lord, and thei shuln not
 13 fynde. In that day faire maydeyns shul
 14 faile, and 3unge in thirst, whiche sweren
 in trespas of Samarye, and sayen, Thi
 god lyueth, Dan, and the waye of Ber-
 sabe lyueth; and thei shuln falle, and
 thei shuln namore ryse a3ein.

CAP. IX.

1 I saw the Lord stondynge on the
 auter, and he saide, Smyte thou the
 herre, and be the ouer thrisfoldis moued
 to gydre; forsothe auerice in the hed of
 alle, and Y shal slea in swerd the last of
 hem; ther^f shal no fli3t be to hem,
 and he that shal flee of hem, shal not be
 2 saued. 3if thei shuln go down vn to
 helle, fro thennus my hond shal leede
 hem out; and 3if thei shuln stye til in
 to heuen, fro thennus Y shal drawe hem
 3 down. And 3if thei shuln be hid in the
 top of Carmele, fro thennus Y seekynge
 shal do hem away; and 3if thei shuln
 hyde hem self fro myn ee3en in depnesse
 of the see, ther Y shal comaunde to a
 4 serpent, and it shal bite hem. And 3if
 thei shuln go away in to caitiftee bifore
 her enmyes, ther Y shal comaunde to
 swerd, and it shal slea hem. And Y shal
 putte myn ee3en vpon hem in to yuel,
 5 and not in to good. And the Lord God
 of oostis, that toucheth erthe, and it shal
 fayle, and alle men dwellynge theryn
 shuln mourne; and it shal stye vp as
 eche stronde, and shal fleete away^g as

mourenyng of oon bigetun sone, and the
 laste thingis therof as a bittir dai. Lo! 11
 the daies comen, seith the Lord, and Y
 schal sende out hungur in to erthe; not
 hungur of breed, nether thirst of watir,
 but of herynge the word of God. And 12
 thei schulen be mouyd to gidere fro the
 see til to the see, and fro the north til to
 the eest thei schulen cumpasse, sekyng
 the word of the Lord, and thei schulen
 not fynde. In that dai faire maidens 13
 schulen faile, and 3onge men in thirst,
 whiche sweren in trespas^g of Samarie, and 14
 seien, Dan, thi god lyueth, and the weie
 of Bersabee lyueth; and thei schulen
 falle^h, and thei schulen no more rise a3en.

CAP. IX.

I si3 the Lord stondynge on the auter, 1
 and he seide, Smyte thou the herre, and
 the ouer threshfoldisⁱ be mouyd togidere;
 for aueryce *is* in the heed of alle, and Y
 schal sle bi swerd the laste of hem; ther
 schal no fli3t be to hem, and he that schal
 fle of hem, schal not be sau3d. If thei²
 schulen go down til to helle, fro thennus
 myn hond schal lede out hem; and if thei
 schulen 'stie til in to^k heuene, fro thennus
 Y schal drawe hem down. And if thei³
 schulen be hid in the cop of Carmele, fro
 thennus Y sekyng schal do awei hem;
 and if thei schulen hide hem silf fro myn
 i3en in the depnesse of the see, there Y
 shal comaunde to^l a serpente, and it schal
 bite hem. And if thei schulen go awei⁴
 in to caitifte bifore her enemyes, there Y
 schal comaunde to swerd, and it schal sle
 hem. And Y schal putte myn i3en on hem
 in to yuel, and not in to good. And the⁵
 Lord God of oostis *shal do these thingis*,
 that touchith erthe, and it schal faile, and
 alle men dwellynge ther ynne schulen
 mourene; and it schal stie vp as ech
 stronde, and it schal flete awei as flood^m

^e Lord God A. ^f and ther K. ^g Om. A.

^h the trespas v *sec. m.* ⁱ falle down v *sec. m.* ^j threisfoldis, *either lyntelis* v *sec. m.* ^k stie up vnto I.
 stie til to s. ^l Om. NV *pr. m.* ^m a flood s *sup. ras.* the flood v.

6 the flood of Egypt. He that beeldith
his stying vp in heuen, and foundide his
knytche, or *berthen*, on erthe; whiche
clepith waters of the see, and heeldith
hem out on face of the erthe; the Lord
7 name of hym. Wher not as sonys of
Ethiopyens 3e ben to me, the sonys of
Yrael? saith the Lord God. Wher Y
made not Yrael for to stye vp of the
lond of Egypt, and Palistens of Capa-
8 docie, and Siriens of Syrenen? Loo! the
eejen of the Lord God on rewme syn-
nynge, and Y shal to gydre breke it fro
face of the erthe; netheles Y brekyng
togidere shal not breke to gydre the hous
9 of Jacob, saith the Lord. Loo! sotheli
Y shal comaunde, and shal smyte in alle
folkis the hous of Yrael, as whete is
smyten in a rydil, and a lytil stoon of it
10 shal not falle on erthe. Alle synners of
my peple shal dye in swerde, whiche
sayn, Yuel shal not nei3, and shal not
11 cumme on vs. In that day Y shal rayse
the tabernacle of Daud, that felle down,
and Y shal a3ein beelde opnyngis of
wallis therof, and Y shal instore tho
thingis that fellen to gydre; and Y shal
12 a3ein beelde hym, as in olde days, that
thei weelde relikis of Ydome, and alle
naciouns; for that my name is in clepid
on hem, saith the Lord doynge these
13 thingus. Loo! days cummen, saith the
Lord, and the erer shal cacche the reper,
and treder of grape the man sendynge
seed; and mounteyns shuln droppe swet-
nesse, and alle smale hyllis shuln be
14 tilizid. And Y shal conuerte the caytifte
of my peple Yrael, and thei shuln beelde
forsaken cytees, and shuln dwelle; and
shuln plaunte vyne 3erdis, and thei shuln
drinke wyne of hem; and thei shuln make
gardyns, and shuln ete fruytis of hem.
15 And Y shal plante hem on her erthe, and

of Egypt. He that bildith his stying vp
in heuene, *shal do these thingis*, and
foundide his birthunⁿ on erthe; which
clepith watris of the see, and heldith out
hem on the face of erthe; the Lord *is*
name of hym. Whether not as sones^o of
Ethiopiens 3e ben to me, the sones of Is-
rael? seith the Lord God. Whether Y
made not Israel for to stie vp fro the lond
of Egypt, and Palestines fro Capodosie,
and Siriens fro Cirenen? Lo! the i3en of
the Lord God *ben* on the rewme synnynge,
and Y schal al to-breke it fro the face of
erthe; netheles Y al^p to-brekyng schal
not al to-breke the hous of Jacob, seith
the Lord. For lo! Y schal comaunde,⁹
and schal schake^q the hous of Israel in alle
folkis, as wheete is^r in a riddil, and a
litol stoon schal not falle^s on^t erthe^u. Alle¹⁰
synneris of my puple schulen die bi swerd,
whiche seien, Yuel schal not nei3, and
shal not come on vs. In that dai Y schal¹¹
reise the tabernacle of Dauith, that felle
down, and Y schal a3en bilde openyngis of
wallis^v therof, and Y schal restore the
thingis that fellen down; and Y schal a3en
bilde it, as in olde daies, that thei welde¹²
the remenauntis of Idume, and alle na-
ciouns; for that^w my name is clepun^x to
help on hem, seith the Lord doynge these
thingis. Lo! daies comen, seith the Lord,¹³
and the erere schal take the repere, and
'the stampere^y of grape *shal take* the
man sowynge^z seed; and mounteyns schu-
len droppe swetnesse, and alle smale hillis
schulen be tilid. And Y schal conuerte^a¹⁴
the caitifte of my puple Israel, and thei
schulen bilde forsakun citees, and schulen
dwelle; and schulen^b plaunte vyne3erdis,
and thei schulen drynke wyn of hem^c; and
schulen^d make gardyns, and schulen ete
fruitis of hem^e. And Y schal plaunte hem¹⁵
on her lond, and Y schal no more drawe

ⁿ knyechoun, [knicchin c et alii] *ether birthun* C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. knytcche N. ^o the sones ISU *sec. m.*
P that al U *sec. m.* ^q make I. schake togidir U *sec. m.* ^r is shaken togidir U *sec. m.* ^s falle down U
sec. m. ^t in N. ^u the erthe I. ^v the wallis U *sec. m.* ^w that that U *sec. m.* ^x clepid FIS. ^y tredere,
or stampere C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U X Y. the pressere, or stompere U *sec. m.* ^z sendinge FMQRSU. ^a turne U
sup. ras. ^b thei schulen U. ^c tho U *sec. m.* ^d thei schulen U *sec. m.* ^e tho U *sup. ras.*

Y shal namore drawe hem out of her
lond, whiche Y ȝaue to hem, saith the
Lord thi^b God.

out hem of her lond, which Y ȝaf to hem,
seith the Lord thi^f God.

*Here endith the book of Amos, pro-
phete, and bigynneth the book of Abdias,
propheteⁱ.*

*Here endith Amos, and here bigyn-
neth Abdias^g.*

^b Om. AK pr. m. ⁱ No final rubric in AGH.

^f Om. A pr. m. ^g From CFGHIMQRSU. *Here endeth Amos, the profete; se now Abdias, the profete.* K. *Here endith the book of Amos, the profete, and bigynneth the book of Abdias, the profete.* N. *Here endith Amos, and bigynneth the booc of Abdias, the profete.* X. No final rubric in AEPY.

O B A D I A H.

The book of Abdias^a.

The book of Abdias, the profete^a.

¹ THE visioun of Abdias. These thingus saith the Lord God to Edom. We herden an heeryng of the Lord, and he sente a legat, *or messenger*, to heythen men. Ryse 3e, and to gydre ryse we azeinus² hym in to bateile. Loo! Y 3aue thee litil in heithen men, thou art ful myche contemptible, *or worthi to be dispisid*.³ The pride of thin herte enhaunside thee, dwellynge in kyttyng, *or hoolis of stoonys*, areysynge thi seete. The^b whiche saist in thin herte, Who schal drawe me⁴ down in to erthe? 3if thou shalt be reysid as an egle, and 3if thou shalt putte thi nest amonge steris, fro thennus Y schal drawe thee down, saith the Lord.⁵ 3if ni3t theeues entriden to thee, 3if outlawis bi ni3t, hou shuldist thou haue be stylle? wher thei shulden not haue stoln ynowe thingus to hem? 3if gadreris of grapis hadden entriden to thee, wher at the leste thei shulden haue left racyns to⁶ thee? Hou sou3ten thei Esau, serchiden⁷ the hid thingus of hym? Vn to the termys thei senten thee out; and alle men of thi couenaunt scorneden, *or disceyueden*, thee, men of thi pees wexiden strong azeinus thee; thei that shuln ete with thee, shuln putte aspies, *or tresouns*, vn-
dir thee; ther is no prudence in hym.

VISIOUN of Abdias. The Lord God¹ seith these thingis to Edom. We herden an heryng of the Lord, and he sente a messenger^b to hethene men. Rise 3e, and togidere rise we azens hym in to batel. Lo! Y 3af thee litil in hethene men, thou² art ful myche 'worthi to be dispisid^c. The³ pride of thin herte enhaunside thee, dwell-
ynge in crasyngis^d of stoonys, areisynge thi seete. Whiche seist in thin herte, Who schal drawe me down in to erthe? Thou3 thou schalt be reysid as an egle,⁴ and thou3 thou schalt putte thi nest among steris, fro thennus Y schal drawe thee down, seith the Lord. If ni3t theuys had-⁵ den entrid to thee, if outlawis bi ni3t, hou schuldist thou haue be stille? whether thei schulden not haue stole thingis ynow to hem? If gadereris of grapis hadden entrid to thee, whether thei schulden haue left nameli clustris^e to thee? Hou sou3ten⁶ thei Esau, serchiden the hid thingis of him? Til to the termes thei senten^f out⁷ thee; and alle men of thi couenaunt of pees scorneden^g thee, men of thi^h pees wexiden stronge azens thee; thei that schulen ete with thee, schulen putⁱ aspies, *ether tresouns*, vndur thee; ther is no prudence in hym. Whether not in that^k dai,⁸ seith the Lord, Y schal lese the wise men

^a Here bigynneth the boke of Abdias the prophete. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Om. A.

^a From EPY. Abdias. A. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b legat, ether [a FMSU] messenger CEF GHI MNPQRSUY. messenger K. ^c contemptible, *or worthi to be dispisid* c et ceteri. ^d crasynges Q. the crasyngis U sec. m. ^e rasyns, or [ether EPY] clustris c et ceteri. ^f sou3ten E pr. m. PQ pr. m. X pr. m. Y. ^g scorniden, ether disceyueden c et ceteri. ^h Om. A pr. m. ⁱ setten U sup. ras. ^k Om. A pr. m. c sec. m. EFGHIK pr. m. MFS pr. m. UXY. the c pr. m.

8 Wher not in that day, saith the Lord,
Y shal leese the wyse men of Ydume,
and prudence of the mount of Esau?
9 And thi stronge men shuln dreede fro
mydday, that a man of the hill of Esau
10 perishe. For sleayng and for wickidnes
in to thi brother Jacob, confusioun shal
hille thee, and thou shalt perishe in to
11 with out eende. In the day whan thou
stodist azeinus hym, whanne aliens token
the oost of hym, and straungers entriden
the 3atis of hym, and on Jerusalem senten
12 lot, and thou wast as oon of hem. And
thou shalt not dispise in the day of thi
brother, in day of his pilgrimage, and
thou shalt not glade on sonys of Juda,
in the day of perdicoun of hem; and
thou shalt not magnyfie thi mouth in
13 day^c of anguysch, nether shalt^d entre
the 3ate of my peple, in the day of fall-
yng of hem; nether and thou shalt dis-
pyse in the yuels of hym, in the day of
his distriyng; and thou shalt not be
sent out a3ens his ost, in the dai of his
14 distriyng; nether thou schalt stonde in
the goynge out of the waies, that thou
sle hem that fledden; and thou schalt not
close to gydre the relakis, *or left men*,
15 of hym in the^e day of tribulacioun, for the
day of the Lord is nize vpon alle hei-
then men. As thou hast don, so it shal
be don to thee; he shal conuerte thi zeld-
16 yng in to thin hed. Forsothe as 3e
drunke on myn holy hylle, alle heithen
men shuln drynke bysily, and thei shuln
drynke, and shuln soupe vp; and thei
17 shuln be as thei ben not. And in the
hill of Syon saluacioun shal be, and holy
shal be; and the hous of Jacob shal
18 weelde hem whiche weldiden hem. And
the hous of Jacob shal be fjir, and the
hous of Joseph flawme, and the hous of
Esau stobil; and thei shuln be brent in
hem, and thei shuln deuoure hem; and

of Idumee, and prudence¹ of the mount of
Esau? And thi stronge men schulen drede⁹
of myddai^m, that a man of the hil of Esau
perishe. For sleying and for wickidnesse¹⁰
a3ens thi brother Jacob, confusioun schal
hille thee, and thou schalt perishe with
outen ende. In the dai whanne thou¹¹
stodist a3ens hym, whanne aliens token
the oost of hym, and straungeris entridenⁿ
the 3atis of hym, and senten lot on Jeru-
salem, thou were also as oon of hem. And¹²
thou schalt not dispise in the dai of thi
brother, in the dai of his pilgrimage, and
thou schalt not be glad on the sonnes of
Juda, in the dai of perdicoun of hem;
and thou schalt not magnifie thi mouth
in the dai of angwisch, nether schalt^o en-¹³
tre in to the 3ate of my puple, in the dai
of fallyng of hem; and thou schalt not
dispise in the yuels of hym, in the dai of
his^p distriyng; and thou schalt not be
sent out a3ens his oost, in the day of his
distriyng; nether thou schalt stonde in the¹⁴
goynge^q out, that thou sle hem that fled-
den; and thou schalt not close togidere
the residues, *ether left men*, of hym, in
the day of tribulacioun, for the dai of¹⁵
the Lord is niz on alle 'hethene men^r. As
thou hast doon, it schal be doon to thee;
he schal conuerte^s thi zeldyng in to thin
heed. For as 3e drunken on myn hooli¹⁶
hil, alle hethene men schulen drynke bi-
sili, and thei schulen drynke, and schulen^t
soupe vp; and thei schulen be as if thei
ben not. And saluacioun schal be in the¹⁷
hil of Sion, and it schal be hooli; and
the hous of Jacob schal welde hem whiche
weldiden hem^u. And the hous of Jacob¹⁸
shal be fier, and the hous of Joseph *shal*
be flawme, and the hous of Esau *shal be*
stobil; and 'thei schulen^v be kyndlid in
hem, and thei schulen deuoure hem; and
relifs schulen not be of the hous of Esau,
for the Lord spak. And these that ben at¹⁹

^c the day G sec. m. H. Om. K. ^d thou shalt A. ^e Om. AGH.

¹ the prudence U sec. m. ^m myddai, *ether south c et ceteri*. ⁿ entriden in to U sec. m. ^o thou schalt
INRS sec. m. U. ^p Om. EPY. ^q going A pr. m. CEF GHIKMN PQRSU pr. m. XY. ^r folkis U sup. ras.
^s not conuerte RS pr. m. not turne U sup. ras. ^t thei schulen N. ^u it U sup. ras. ^v it schal A
sec. m.

relikis shuln namore be of the hous of
 19 Esau, for the Lord spake. And these
 that ben at the southe, shuln enherite
 the hill of Esau; and thei that in the
 lowe feeldis, Philistym; and thei shuln
 weelde the cuntree of Effraym, and cun-
 tre of Samarie; and Beniamyn shal
 20 weelde Galaad. And transmygracioun,
or ouer passynge, of this oost of sonys
 of Yrael, alle places of Cananeys, vn to
 Sarepta; and the transmygracioun of Je-
 rusalem, that is in Bosphoro, shal weelde
 21 citees of the south. And saueouris shuln
 stye in to the hyll of Syon, for to deme
 the hill of Esau, and shal be rewme to
 the Lord. Amen^f.

*Here endith the book of Abdias, pro-
 phete, and bigynneth the book of Jonas,
 the profete^g.*

Om. A. § No final rubric in AGH.

^w not enherite i. ^x the cuntrei CIKNE sec. m. SUX sec. m. ^y transmygracioun, *or ouerpassing* CEFCHIK
 MNPQRUXY. transmygracioun, *ether passynge ouer s.* ^z the places i. ^a which u sup. ras. ^b the citees
 v sec. m. ^c stie up i. ^d Om. i. ^e Lord. Amen. x sec. m. ^f From CEFCHIMNQRSU. *Here endeth Abdias,
 the profete; se now Jonas, the profete.* K. *Here endith Abdias, the profete, and bigynneth Jonas.* x. No
 final rubric in AEPY.

the south, schulen enherite^w the hil of
 Esau; and thei that ben in the lowe feeldis,
schulen enherite Filistym; and thei schu-
 len welde the cuntrei of Effraym, and
 cuntrei^x of Samarie; and Beniamyn schal
 welde Galaad. And ouerpassyng^y of this 20
 oost of sones of Israel *shal welde* alle
 places^z of Cananeis, til to Sarepta; and the
 transmygracioun of Jerusalem, that^a is in
 Bosphoro, schal welde citees^b of the south.
 And sauyours schulen stie^c in to the hil 21
 of Sion, for to deme the hil of Esau, and
 a^d rewme schal be to the Lord^e.

*Heere endith Abdias, and here begin-
 neth Jonas^f.*

J O N A H.

The book of Jonas^a.

CAP. I.

1 AND the word of the Lord is maad to
2 Jonas, sone of Amathy, sayinge, Ryse
thou, and go in to Nynyuen, the grete
cytee, and preche thou therynne, for the
3 malyce therof styeth vp byfore me. And
Jonas ros for to fle; in to Tharsis, fro
the face of the Lord. And he came down
to Joppe, and foonde a ship goynge in to
Tharsis, and he 3aue shiphijre to hem;
and he wente down in to it, for to go with
hem in to Tharsis, fro the face of the
4 Lord. Forsothe the Lord sente a grete
wynde in the se, and a grete tempest is
maad in the se, and the ship was in
5 peryl for to be broken. And ship men
dredde, and men crieden to her god;
and senten vessels, that weren in the ship,
in to the se, that it were maad lijter of
hem. And Jonas wente down to^b the
ynner thingis of the ship, and slepte in a
6 greuouse sleep. And the gouvernour cam
to hym, and saide to hym, What art thou
cast down in sleep? ryse thou, ynclepe
thi God, 3if per auenture God a3ein thenk
7 of^c vs, and we perishe not. And a man
saide to his felaw, Cum 3e, and sende
we lot, and wite we, whi this yuel is to
vs. And thei senten lottis, and lot felle
8 on Jonas. And thei saiden to hym, Shewe
thou to vs, for cause of what thing this

Here bigynneth Jonas, the profete^a.

CAP. I.

AND the word of the Lord was maad 1
to Jonas, sone^b of Amathi, and seide, Rise 2
thou, and go in to Nynyue, the^c greet
citee, and preche thou ther ynnere, for the
malice therof stieth vp bfore me. And 3
Jonas roos for to fle in to Tharsis, fro the
face of the Lord. And he cam down to
Joppe, and foond a schip goynge in to
Tharsis, and he 3af schip hire to hem;
and he wente down in to it, for to go with
hem in to Tharsis, fro the face of the
Lord. Forsothe the Lord sente a greet 4
wynd in^d the see, and a greet tempest was
maad in the see, and the schip was in
perel for to be al to-brokun. And schip 5
men dredde, and men crieden to her god;
and senten vessels, that weren in the schip,
in to the see, that it were maad lijtere of
hem. And Jonas wente down in to the^e
ynnere thingis of the schip, and slepte bi
a greuouse sleep. And the gouvernour cam 6
to him, and seide to hym, Whi art thou
cast down in sleep? rise thou, clepe^f thi
God to help, if perauenture God a3enthenke
of vs, and we perische not. And a man 7
seide to his felowe, Come 3e, and caste^g
we lottis, and wite we, whi this yuel is to
vs. And thei kesten^h lottis, and lot felleⁱ
on Jonas. And thei seiden to hym, Schewe 8
thou to vs, for cause of what thing this

^a Here bigynneth the boke of Jonas prophet. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b in to AGH. ^c on A.

^a Here bygynnyth the profecie of the book of Jonas, the profete. E. The book of Jonas, the profete. PY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b the sone ISU sec. m. ^c Om. ACEFGHKMNPQSR pr. m. U sec. m. X pr. m. Y. ^d in to EKP. ^e Om. I. ^f clepe thou K sec. m. NRU. ^g sende CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^h senten c et ceteri. ⁱ felde c et plures.

yuel is to vs; what is thi werk, whiche
thi lond, and whither gost thou, or of
9 what peple art thou? And he saide to
hem, Y am an Ebru, and Y dreede the Lord
God of heuen, that made heuen and erthe.
10 And the men dredden with grete drede,
and saiden to hym, What didist thou
this thing? forsothe the men knewen
for he flee3 fro the face of the Lord, for
11 Jonas had shewid to hem. And thei
saiden to hym, What shuln we do to^d
thee, and the se shal ceese fro vs? for the
12 se wente, and wexe grete on hem. And
he saide to hem, Take 3e me, and sende
in to the se, and the se shal cese fro
3ou; forsothe Y wote, for whi for me
13 this grete tempest is on 3ou. And men
rowiden, for to turne a3ein to the drye
lond, and thei mi3ten not, for the se
14 wente, and wexe grete on hem. And
thei crieden to the Lord, and saiden,
Lord, we bisechen, that we perishe not
in the soule of this man, and that thou
3eue not on vs innocent blode; for thou,
15 Lord, didist as thou woldist. And thei
token Jonas, and senten in to the se; and
16 the se stode of his buylyng. And the
men dredden the Lord with grete dread,
and offreden oostis to the Lord, and vow-
iden avowis.

CAP. II.

1 And the Lord made redy a grete fisshe,
that he shulde swelow Jonas; and Jonas
was in wombe of the fishe three days
2 and three ni3tis. And Jonas preyede to
the Lord his God of the fishis wombe,
3 and saide, Y cryede to God of my tri-
bulacioun, and he herde me; of the
wombe of helle Y criede, and thou herd-
4 ist my voice. Thou castidist me down in
to depnesse in the hert of the se, and the
flood aboute 3aue me; alle thi swelowis
5 and wawis passiden on me. And Y saide,
Y am cast away fro the si3t of thin ee3en;

yuel is to vs; what is thi werk, which *is*
thi lond, and whidur goist thou, ether of
what puple art thou? And he seide to⁹
hem, Y am an Ebrew, and Y drede the
Lord God of heuene, that made the^k see
and the drie lond. And the men dredden¹⁰
with greet drede, and seiden to him, Whi
didist thou this thing? for the men knewen
that he flei fro the face of the Lord, for
Jonas hadde schewide to hem. And thei¹¹
seiden to hym, What schulen we do to
thee, and the see schal seesse fro vs? for
the see wente, and wexe greet on hem.
And he seide to hem, Take 3e me, and¹²
throwe^l in to the see, and the see schal
ceesse fro 3ou; for Y woot, that for me
this greet tempest is on 3ou. And men^m¹³
rowiden, for to turne a3en to the drie
lond, and thei mi3ten not, for the see
wente, and wexe greet on hem. And thei¹⁴
crieden to the Lord, and seiden, Lord, we
bisechen, that we perische not in the lijf
of this man, and that thou 3yue not on vs
innocent blood; for thou, Lord, didist as
thou woldist. And thei token Jonas, and¹⁵
threwenⁿ in to the see; and the see stood
of his buylyng. And the men dredden¹⁶
the Lord with greet drede, and offriden
oostis to the Lord, and vowiden avowis.

CAP. II.

And the Lord made redi a greet fisch,¹
that he shulde swolowe Jonas; and Jonas
was in the wombe of the fisch thre daies
and thre ni3tis. And Jonas preiede to the²
Lord his God fro the fischis wombe, and³
seide, Y criede to God of my tribulacioun,
and he herde me; fro the wombe of helle
Y criede, and thou herdist my vois. Thou⁴
castidist^o me down in to depnesse, in the
herte of the see, and the flood^p cumpasside
me; alle thi swolowis and thi wawis pass-
iden on me. And Y seide, Y am cast awei^s
fro si3t^q of thin i3en; netheles eftsoone^r

^d Om. K.

^k Om. EBY. ^l sende CEFHGS MN PQ RUXY. sendeth I. sende me K. ^m the men U sec. m. ⁿ senten C et ceteri. ^o castist RU. ^p floodis K sup. ras. ^q the si3t SU. ^r eftsones S.

netheles eftsoone Y shal see thin holy
 6 temple Waters enuironnden me vn to
 my soule, depnesse encloside me, the se
 7 hillide myn hed. To the vtmost places
 of hillis Y wente down, the herris of erthe
 closiden me to gydre, in to with outen
 eend; and thou shalt reyse vp my lijf of
 8 corrupcioun, Lord my God. Whanne my
 soule was angwishid in me, Y^e bithouzte^f
 of the Lord, that my prayer cum to thee,
 9 to thyn holy temple. Thei that kepen
 vanytees, ydely shuln forsake her mercy.
 10 Y forsothe in voice of preysyng shal offre
 to thee; what euer thingis^g Y vowide, Y
 11 shal 3elde to the Lord, for helth. And
 the Lord saide to the fishe, and it castide
 out Jonas in to lond.

CAP. III.

1 And the word of the Lord is maad the
 2 secounde tyme to Jonas, sayinge, Ryse
 thou, and go in to Nynyue, the^{ss} grete
 cytee, and preche thou there the prech-
 3 ynge whiche Y speke to thee. And Jonas
 ros, and wente in to Nynyue, vp the
 word of the Lord. And Nynyue was a
 grete cytee, in iourney of three days.
 4 And Jonas bygan for to entre in to the
 cytee, in iourney of oo day, and cryede,
 and saide, 3it fourty days, and Nynyue
 5 shal be vndirturned, or *distruyed*. And
 men of Nynyue byleeuyden to the Lord,
 and prechiden fastyng, and weren clothid
 with sackis, fro the more vnto the lasse.
 6 And the word cam to the kyng of Ny-
 nyue; and he ros of his seete, and castide
 away his clothing fro hym, and is clothid
 7 with sacke, and sate in ashe. And he
 criede, and saide in Nynyue of the mouth
 of the kyng and of his princes, sayinge,
 Men, and werk beestis, and oxen, and
 sheep taaste not ony thing, nether be
 8 fed, nether drynke watir. And be men

Y schal see thin hooli temple. Watris⁶
 cunpassiden me 'til to^b my soule, depnesse
 enuyrownede me, the see hilide myn heed.
 Y wente down to the vtmost^t places of⁷
 hillis, the barris^u of erthe closiden me to-
 gidere, in to withouten ende; and thou,
 my Lord God, schalt reyse vp my lijf fro
 corrupcioun. Whanne my soule was an-⁸
 gwisched in me, Y^v bithouzte on the Lord,
 that my preier come to thee, to thin hooli
 temple. Thei that kepen^w vanytees, for-⁹
 saken his^x merci idili. But Y in vois of¹⁰
 heriying schal offre to thee; what euer
 thingis Y vowide, Y schal 3elde to the
 Lord, for^y myn helthe. And the Lord¹¹
 seide to the fisch, and it castide out Jonas
 'in to^z the drie lond.

CAP. III.

And the word of the Lord was maad¹
 the secounde tyme to Jonas, and seide,
 Rise thou, and go in to Nynyue, the greet²
 citee, and preche thou in it the prechyng
 which Y speke to thee. And Jonas roos,³
 and wente in to Nynyue, bi the word of
 the Lord. And Nynyue was a greet citee,
 of the iurnei of thre daies. And Jonas⁴
 bigan for to entre in to the citee, bi the
 iornei of o dai, and criede, and seide, 3it
 fourti daies, and Nynyue schal be 'turned
 vpsodoun^a. And men of Nynyue bileueden⁵
 to the Lord, and prechiden fastyng, and
 weren clothid with sackis, fro the more
 'til to^b the lesse. And the word cam til^c
 to the kyng of Nynyue; and he roos of his
 seete, and castide awei his clothing fro
 him, and was clothid with a^d sak, and sat
 in aische. And he criede, and seide in⁷
 Nynyue of the mouth of the kyng and of
 'his princis^e, 'and seide^f, Men, and werk
 beestis, and oxun^g, and scheep taaste not
 ony thing, nether be fed, nether drynke
 watir. And men be hilid with sackis, and⁸

^e and G pr. m. H. and Y G sec. m. ^f bisouzte K. ^g thing A. ^{ss} Om. GK pr. m.

^u vnto I. ^t vttermoste K. outmest S. ^u harris C E F G H I pr. m. K pr. m. M N P Q R S X. ^v and Y A pr. m.
^w kepten N. ^x her A pr. m. C F G H I K N S X. Om. E. ^y Om. R U. ^z to I pr. m. on R. in U pr. m.
^a vndurturned, or *distried* C pr. m. *distried* C sec. m. ouerturned, or *distried* E K N pr. m. P R U Y. vnturnyd,
 or *distried* F H. *distried* G M N sec. m. Q S X. ^b vnto I. ^c Om. C E G H I K M N P Q R S U X. ^d Om. F I S. ^e princis
 therof G K M N Q S X. the princis therof X. ^f seiynge I. ^g oxis I K.

hillid with sackis, and werk beestis crie to the Lord in strengthe; and be a man conuertid, *or al turnyd*, fro his yuel waye, and fro wickidnesse that is in the hondis of hem. Who wote, 3if God be conuertid, and for3eue, and be turned a3ein fro woodnesse of his wrath, and we shuln not perishe? And God saw3 the werkis of hem, for thei ben conuertid fro her yuel waye; and God hadde mercy on the malice whiche he spac, that he shulde do to hem, and dide not.

CAP. IV.

1 And Jonas was tourmentid with grete 2tourment, and was wrooth. And he preiede to the Lord, and saide, Lord, Y biseche, wher this is not my word, whanne Y was 3it in my lond? For this thing Y before ocupiede, for to flee in to Tharsis; forsothe Y wote, for thou, God, art meke and merciful, pacient, and of myche mercy 3doynge, and for3euyng on malice. And now, Lord, Y preye, take my soule, *or lijf*, fro me; for deeth is beter to me than 4lyf. And the Lord saide, Gessist thou, 5wher thou art wel wroth? And Jonas wente out of the cytee, and sate a3einus the eest, and made to hym a shadewyng place there; and sate vndre it in shadewe, til he saw3 what byfelle to the citee. 6And the Lord God made redy an eder, *or a plaunt*, and it styede vp on the hed of Jonas, that shadewe wer on his hed, and keuerde hym; forsothe he hadde traueilid. And Jonas gladid on the eder, 7with grete gladnesse. And God made redy a worme, in stynging vp of grey day in to morew; and smote the eder, and it 8dryede vp. And whan the sunne was sprungen, the Lord comaundide to the hote wynd and brennyng; and the sunne smote on the hed of Jonas, and he swalide. And he axide to his soule that he

werk beestis crie to the Lord in strengthe; and be a man^h conuertidⁱ fro his yuel weie, and fro wickidnesse that^k is in the hondis of hem^l. Who woot, if God be conuertid, and for3eue, and be turned a3ein^m fro woodnesse of his wraththe, and we schulen not perische? And God saiⁿ the 10 werkis of hem, that thei weren conuertid fro her yuel weie; and God hadde merci on the malice which he spac, that he schulde^o do to hem, and did not.

CAP. IV.

And Jonas was turmentid with greet 1turment, and was wrooth. And he preiede 2the^p Lord, and seide, Lord, Y biseche, whether this is not my word, whanne Y was 3it in my lond? For this thing Y purposide^q, for to fle in to Tharsis; for Y woot, that thou, God, art meke and merciful, pacient^r, and of merciful^s doynge, and for3euyng on^t malice. And now, Lord, 3 Y preie, take my soule^u fro me; for deth is betere to me than^v lijf. And the Lord 4 seide^w, Gessist thou, whether thou art wel wrooth? And Jonas wente out of the 5 citee, and sat a3ens the eest of the citee, and made to hym a schadewyng place there; and sat vndur it in schadewe, til he sai^x what bifelle to the citee. And the 6 Lord God made redy an yuy, and it stiede vp on the heed of Jonas, that schadewe^y were on his heed, and kyueride hym; for he hadde traueilid. And Jonas was glad on the yuy, with greet gladnesse. And God 7 made redi a worm, in styng^z up of grei dai on the morewe; and it^a smoot the yuy, and it driede up. And whanne the sunne was risun, the Lord comaundide to the hoot wynd and brennyng; and the sunne smoot on the heed of Jonas, and he swalide. And he axide to his soule that he schulde die, and seide^b, It is betere to me

^h a man be c sup. ras. iks. ⁱ al turned c sup. ras. GIKMN sec. m. qsx. conuertid, or al turned EFH N pr. m. PRUY. ^k which c sec. m. ik. ^l him u sup. ras. ^m away i. ⁿ si3 E et alii. saw F. say3 N. ^o wolde u sup. ras. ^p to the u sec. m. ^q before ocupiede CEFHGMNPQR3UX. ^r myche pacient R. ^s mercy merciful A pr. m. CFHMQ3X. myche merciful IKX sec. m. moche merciful U. ^t of IMQU sup. ras. ^u soule, or lijf CEFHGMNPQR3UY. lijf KX. ^v than is u sec. m. ^w seide to Jonas I. ^x saw3 F. sau3 I. ^y schade A. ^z the styng u sec. m. ^a Om. A pr. m. CEFHR. ^b he seide IK.

shulde dye, and saide, It is beter to me
 9 for to dye, than for to lyue. And the
 Lord saide to Jonas, Gessist thou, wher
 thou art wel wroth on the eder? And
 he saide, Y am wel wrothe, vn to the
 10 deth. And the Lord saide, Thou art
 sorie on the eder, in whiche thou traueyl-
 idist not, nether thou madist^b that it
 wexide, the whiche was born vnder oo
 11 niȝt, and in oo niȝt perishide. And shal
 Y not spare to the grete citee Nynyue,
 in whiche ben more than a hundred and
 twenti thousand of men, whiche witen
 not what is bitwix her riȝt half and left,
 and many werk beestis?

*Here endith the book of Jonas, and
 bigynneth the book of Micheasⁱ.*

for^c to die, than for^d to lyue. And the
 Lord seide to Jonas, Gessist thou, whether
 thou art wel wrooth on the yuy? And he
 seide, Y am wel wrooth, til to the deth.
 And the Lord seide, Thou art sori on the
 10 yuy, in which thou trauelidist not, nether
 madist that it wexide, which was growun
 vndur o nyȝt, and perischide in o nyȝt.
 And schal Y not spare the grete citee Ny- 11
 nyue, in which ben more than sixe score
 thousynde of men, which witen not what
 is betwixe her riȝt half and left^e, and many
 beestis?

*Here endith Jonas, and here bigyn-
 neth Micheas^f.*

^b made it κ. ⁱ No final rubric in AGH.

^c Om. IKMQS. ^d Om. IKMQS. ^e left half u sec. m. ^f From CFGHIMRU. *Here endeth Jonas, the
 profete; se now Micheas, the profete. κ. Here endith Jonas, and here bigynneth the book of Mychee. nq.
 Here endith Jonas, and bigynneth Michee, the prophete. s. Here endith the booc of the profete Jonas, and
 here bigynneth Mycheas, the profete. x. No final rubric in AEPY.*

M I C A H.

The book of Micheas, prophete^a.

*Here byginnith the book of Michie,
the profete^a.*

CAP. I.

1 THE word of the Lord, whiche is maad
to Mycheas Morastites, in the days of
Joathan, Achas, Ezechie, kyngys of Juda;
whiche he saw³ on Samarie, and Jerusa-
2 lem. Heere ^{3e}, alle peplis, and the erthe
perceyue, and the plente therof; and be
the Lord God to ^{3ou} in to a witnesse, the
3 Lord of hys holy temple. For loo! the
Lord shal gon out of his place, and shal
cumme down, and shal trede on hee³
4 thingus of erthe. And mounteyns shuln
be waastid vndir hym, and valeys shuln
be kitt, as wex fro face of fije, as waters
5 that rennen in to a pitt. In the grete
trespas of Jacob al this thing, and in the
synnes of the hous of Yrael. Whiche the
grete trespass of Jacob, wher not Sama-
rie? and whiche the hee³ thingis of Juda,
6 wher not Jerusalem? And Y shal putte
Samarie as an heap of stoons in the feeld,
whanne a vyne ^{3erd} is plauntid; and Y
shal drawe away the stoons therof into a
vale, and shal^b shewe the fundamentis
7 therof. And alle sculptilis, or *grauen*
ymagis, therof shuln be beten to gidre,
and alle hijres therof shuln be brent in
fijr; and Y shal putte al ydolis therof in
to perdicoun; for of hijris of an hoore
thei ben gadrid, and vn to hijre of an

CAP. I.

THE word of the Lord, which was maad 1
to 'Mychee of^b Morasti, in the daies of
Joathan, Achas, Ezechie, kyngis of Juda;
which *word^c* he sai on Samarie, and Jeru-
salem. Here ^{3e}, alle puplis, and the erthe 2
perseyue, and plentee^d therof, and be the
Lord God to ^{3ou} in to a witnesse, the
Lord fro his hooli temple. For lo! the 3
Lord schal go out of his place, and schal
come down, and schal trede on hi³ thingis
of erthe. And mounteyns schulen be 4
waastid vndur hym, and valeis schulen be
kit, as wex fro the face of fier, as^e watirs^f
that rennen^g in to a pit. In the grete 5
trespas of Jacob *is* al this thing, and in
the synnes of the hous of Israel. Which *is*
the greet trespass of Jacob? whether^h not
Samarie? and whiche *ben* the hi³ thingis
of Juda? whether not Jerusalem? And 6
Y schal put Samarie as an heap of stoonys
in the feeld, whanne a vyn^{3erd} is plauntid;
and Y schal drawe awei the stoonys therof
in to a valei, and Y schal schewe the foun-
dementis therof. And alle 'grauun ymagisⁱ 7
therof schulen be betun togidere, and alle
hiris therof schulen be brent in fier; and
Y schal putte alle idols^k therof in to per-
dicoun; for of hir^l of an hoore tho ben
gaderid, and 'til to^m hire of an hoore tho

^a Here bigynneth the boke of Mycheas. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Y shal AGH.

^a From EPY. *Mychee, the profete*. A. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Mychee as of A pr. m. CEF GHI pr. m. NPY. Micheas K. Mycheas NX. ^c *wordis* EP pr. m. Y. ^d the plente EIPY. ^e and as U sec. m. ^f watir A pr. m. ^g renneth A pr. m. rennen down U sec. m. ^h wher *ceteri fere passim*. ⁱ sculptils, ether *grauun ymagis* CEF GHI K M N P Q R S U X Y. ^k the idols U sec. m. ^l the hir^l U sec. m. ^m to C pr. m. vnto I.

8hoore thei shuln be turned azein. On
this thing Y shal weile and zoule, Y shal
go spuylid and nakid; and^c Y shal make
weylyng as of dragouns, and mournyng
9as of struciouns. For plage, *or wounde*,
therof is dispeirid; for it came vn to Juda,
it touchide the zate of my peple, vn to
10Jerusalem. In Geth nyl ze telle, in teris
weepe ze not; in the hous of dust with
11dust togydre sprengge zou. And a faire
dwelllyng shal passe fro zou, confoundid
with yuel fame; it is not gon out, whiche
dwellith in the goyng out; a niz hous
shal take of zou weylyng, whiche stode
12to it self. For it is maad seeke in to
good, whiche dwellith in bitternessis. For
yuel came down fro the Lord in to the
13zate of Jerusalem, noyse of a^d four
horsid cart, of drede to the dwellynge at
Lachis. It is the bygynnyng of synne of
the douzter of Syon, for in thee the grete
14trespassis of Yrael ben founden. Ther-
fore he shal zeue vnnoble men on the
heritage of Geth, an hous of lesyng in to
15disceyte to the kyngis of Yrael. 3it Y
shal brenge an eir to thee, that dwellist
in Maresa^e; vnto Odolla of glorie of Yrael
16shal cum. Be thou maad ballid, and be
thou clippid on the sonys of ydolis; alarge
thi baldnesse as an egle, for thei ben led
caityf fro thee.

CAP. II.

1 Woo to zou, that thenken vnprofitable
thing, and wirchen yuel in zoure couchis;
in the morew lizt thei don it, for the
2hond of hem is azeinus God. Thei co-
uetiden feeldis, and violently token; and
rauyshiden housis, and falsly chalengiden
a man and his hous, and^f a man and his
3eritage. Therefore these thingis saith the
Lord, Loo! Y thenke on this meynee
yuel, of whom ze shuln not take away
zour neckis; and ze shuln not walke

schulen turne azen. On this thing Y schal^a
weile and zelle, Yⁿ schal go spuylid and
nakid; Y schal make weilyng of^o dra-
gouns, and mournyng as of ostrigis. For⁹
wounde therof is dispeirid; for it cam til
to Juda, it touchide the zate of my puple,
til to Jerusalem. In Geth nyle ze telle,¹⁰
bi teeris wepe ze not; in the hous of dust
with dust togidere spryngge zou^p. And ze¹¹
a fair dwelllyng passe^q, *which is* confoundid
with yuel fame; it is not goon out, which
dwellith in the goyng out; a niz hous
schal take of zou weilyng, which stood to
it silf. For it is maad sijk to good, which¹²
dwellith in bitternessis. For yuel cam down
fro the Lord in to the zate of Jerusalem,
noise^r of foure horsid cart, of drede to the¹³
puple dwellynge at Lachis. It is the bi-
gynnyng of synne of the douzter of Sion,
for the grete trespassis of Israel ben
foundun in thee. Therfor he schal 3yue¹⁴
werriours on the eritage of Geth, on
housis^s of leesyng in to deseit^t to^u kyngis
of Israel. 3it Y schal bryngge an eir to¹⁵
thee, that dwellist in Maresa; the glorie
of Israel schal come til to Odolla. Be¹⁶
thou maad ballid, and be thou clippid on
the sones of thi delices; alarge thi ballid-
nesse as an egle, for thei ben lad caitif
fro thee.

CAP. II.

Wo to zou, that thenken vnprofitable¹
thing, and worchen yuele in zoure beddis;
in the morewtid lizt thei don it, for the
hond of hem is azenus God. Thei co-²
uetiden feeldis, and toooken violentli; and
rauyschiden housis, and falsli calengiden
a man and his hous, a man and his eri-
tage. Therfor the Lord seith these thingis,³
Lo! Y thenke on this meynee yuel, fro
which ze schuln not take awei zoure
neckis; and ze schuln not walke proude,

^c Om. AGH. ^d Om. AGH. ^e the Maresa K. ^f Om. AGH.

^a and I 1. ^o as of U sec. m. ^p ze zou plures. ^q passe to zou I sec. m. U sec. m. ^r the noise U sec. m.
^s the housis U sec. m. ^t desert A pr. m. EFIPY. dissent K. ^u of s.

4proude, for the warst tyme is. In that
daye a parable shal be taken on 3ou, and
a songe shal be sunge with swetnesse of
men, sayinge, By robbyng we ben dis-
truyed; a part of my peple is chaungid
to gidre; hou shal he go away fro me,
whanne he turneth a3ein that shal de-
5parte 3oure cuntrees? For this thing
there shal not be to thee the sendyng
a litil coorde of sort in cumpanye of the
6Lord. Thou Yrael, speke 3e not speky-
nge; it shal not droppe on these, con-
7fusioun shal not cacche, saith the Lord
to Jacob. Wher the Spirit of the Lord is
abreggid, or siche ben the thou3tus of
hym? Wher my wordis ben not goode,
8with hym that ri3tli goth? And a3ein-
ward my peple ros to gidre in to an
aduersarie; 3e toke away the mantil aboue
the coote, and 3e turnyden hem in to
9bataile, hem that wenten sympli. 3e cast-
iden out the wymmen of my peple, of
the hous of her delices; fro the litil childe
of hem 3e token away my heryng in to
10with outen eende. Ryse 3e, and go, for
here 3e han not reste; for the vnclennesse
therof it shal be corrupt with the warst
11rott. Y wolde Y were not a man hau-
yng spirit, and rather Y spake lesyng.
Y shal droppe to thee in to wyn, and in
to drunkenesse; and this peple shal be,
12on whom it is droppid. With gadryng
Y shal gadre Jacob; Y shal leede to gydre
thee al in to oon, the relikis of Yrael. Y
shal putte hym to gydre, as a flok in
folde; as sheep in the myddil of foldis
thei shuln make noyse, of multitude of
13men. Forsothe he shal stye shewynge
waye byfore hem; thei shuln departe, and
passe the 3ate, and shuln go out therby;
and the kyng of hem shal passe byfore
hem, and the Lord in the hed of hem.

CAP. III.

1 And Y saide, Heere, 3e princis of Ja-
cob, and duykys of the hous of Yrael.

for the worste tyme is. In that dai a 4
parable shal be takun on 3ou, and a song
shal be songun with swetnesse of men,
seyng, Bi robbyng we ben distried; a
part of my puple is chaungid; hou shal
he go awei fro me, whanne he turneth
a3en that shal departe 3oure cuntreis?
For this thing 'noon schal be^v to thee^s
sendynge a litil corde of sort^w in cumpeny
of the Lord. A! thou Israel, speke 3e not^s
spekyng; it shal not droppe on these men,
confusioun shal not catche, seith the hous⁷
of Jacob. Whether the Spirit of the Lord
is abreggid, either^x siche ben the thou3tis
of hym? Whether my wordis ben not
gode, with hym that goith ri3tli? And^s
a3enward my puple roos togidere in to an
aduersarie; 3e token awei the mantil
aboue the coote, and 3e turneden in to batel
hem that wenten sympli. 3e castiden the^s
wymmen of my puple out of the hous of
her delices; fro the litle children of hem
3e token awei myn heriyng with outen
ende. Rise 3e, and go, for here 3e han¹⁰
not^v reste; for the vnclennesse therof it
shal be corrupt with the worst rot. Y¹¹
wolde that Y were not a man hauynge
spirit, and rather^z Y^a spak a leesyng. Y
shal droppe to thee in to wyn, and in to
drunkenesse; and this puple shal be, on
whom it is droppid. With gaderyng Y¹²
shal gadere Jacob^b; Y shal lede togidere
thee al^c in to oon, the relifs of Israel. Y
shal put hym togidere, as a flok in folde^d;
as scheep in the myddil of fooldis thei
schulen make noise, of multitude of men.
For he schal stie^e schewynge weie^f bfore¹³
hem; thei schulen departe, and passe the
3ate, and schulen^g go out therbi; and the
kyng of hem shal passe bfore hem, and
the Lord in the heed of hem.

CAP. III.

And Y seide, 3e princis of Jacob, and¹
duykis of the hous of Israel, here^h. Whe-

^v ther schal be noon 1. ^w lot *u sec. m.* ^x Om. A *pr. m.* C E F G H I K *pr. m.* M N P Q S *pr. m.* U *pr. m.* X *sec. m.*
^y no *u sec. m.* ^z rather thanne s. ^a that Y C G I K M N Q R U X. ^b al thee, Jacob A *sec. m.* ^c Om. A *sec. m.*
^d the folde *u sec. m.* ^e stie up 1. ^f a weie N. ^g thei schul 1. thei shulen *u sec. m.* ^h hereth 1.

² Wher it be 3our for to wite dom, whiche
 han in hate good, and louen yuel? Whiche
 violentli taken away the skinnis of hem
 fro aboue hem, and the fleshe of hem
³ fro aboue the bonys of hem. Whiche
 eeten fleshe of my peple, and hildiden, *or*
flewen, the skyn of hem fro aboue; and
 braken to gydre the bonys of hem, and
 kittiden to gydre as in a cawdroun, and
⁴ as fleshe in the mydil of a pott. Thanne
 thei shuln crye to the Lord, and he shal
 not heer^g hem; and he shal hijde his face
 fro hem in that tyme, as thei diden wick-
⁵ idly in her fyndyngus. These thingus
 saith the Lord on the prophetis that dis-
 ceiyuen my peple, and biten with her
 teeth, and prechen pees; and 3if eny man
 shal not 3eue in the mouth of hem eny
 thing, thei halewyn bateyle on hym.
⁶ Therefore ni3t shal be to 3ou for visioun,
or prophecie, and derknessis to 3ou for
 dyuynacioun; and the sunne shal go down
 on the prophetis, and the day shal be
⁷ maad derk on hem. And thei shuln be
 confoundid that seen visiouns, and dy-
 uynours shuln be confoundid, and alle
 shuln hille her cheeris, for it is not the
⁸ answeere of God. Netheles Y am fulfillid
 with strengthe of Spirit of the Lord, in
 dom and vertu, that Y shewe to Jacob
 his grete trespas, and to Yrael his synne.
⁹ Heere 3e these thingis, 3e princis of the
 hous of Jacob, and domysmen of the hous
 of Yrael, whiche wlaten dom, and per-
¹⁰ uerten alle ri3t thingus; whiche beelden
 Syon in blodis, and Jerusalem in wickid-
¹¹ nesse. Princis therof demyden in 3iftus,
 and the prestis therof tau3ten in hijre, and
 prophetis therof dyuynyden in money;
 and on the Lord thei restiden, sayinge,
 Wher not the Lord in the mydil of vs?
¹² yuels shuln not cume on vs. For this
 thing by cause of 3ou, Syon as a feeld
 shal be eryd; and Jerusalem shal be as
 an heep of stoons, and the hill of the
 temple in to hee3 thingus of wodys.

ther it beⁱ not 3oure for to knowe doom,
 whiche haten good, and louen yuele?²
 Whiche violentli taken awei the skynnes
 of hem fro aboue hem, and the fleisch
 of hem fro aboue the bonys of hem.
 Whiche^k eeten the fleisch of my puple,³
 and hiliden^l the skyn of hem fro aboue;
 and broken^m togidere the boonyes of hem,
 and kittiden togidere as inⁿ a cawdroun,
 and as fleisch in the myddil of a pot.
 Thanne thei schulen crie to the Lord, and⁴
 he schal not here hem; and he schal hide
 hise face fro hem in that tyme, as thei
 diden wickidli in her fyndingis. The⁵
 Lord *God*^o seith these thingis on the pro-
 fetis that disseyuen my puple, and^p biten
 with her teeth, and prechen pees; and if
 ony man 3yueth not in the mouth of hem
 ony thing, thei halewen batel on hym.
 Therfor ni3t schal be to 3ou for visioun,⁶
or profesie, and derknessis to 3ou for dy-
 uynacioun; and sunne^q schal go down
 on the profetis, and the dai schal be maad
 derk on hem. And thei schulen be con-⁷
 foundid that seen visiouns, and dyuynours
 schulen be confoundid, and alle schulen
 hile her cheris, for it is not the answer of
 God. Netheles Y am fillid with strengthe⁸
 of Spirit^r of the Lord, and in^s doom
 and vertu, that Y schewe to Jacob his
 greet trespas, and to Israel his synne.
 Here these thingis, 3e princes of the hous⁹
 of Jacob, and domesmen^t of the hous of
 Israel, whiche wlaten dom, and peruerten
 alle ri3t thingis; whiche bilden Sion in¹⁰
 bloodis, and Jerusalem in wickidnesse.
 Princes^u therof demyden for 3iftis, and¹¹
 prestis therof tau3ten for hire, and pro-
 fetis^v therof dyuyneden for money; and on
 the Lord thei restiden, and seiden, Whe-
 ther the Lord is not in the myddil of us?
 yuelis schulen not come on vs. For this¹²
 thing bi cause of 3ou, Sion as a feeld schal
 be erid; and Jerusalem schal be as an heep
 of stoonys, and the hil of the temple *schal*
be in to hize thingis of woodis.

^g heer to effect K pr. m.

ⁱ is U sec. m. ^k The whiche I. ^l hildiden IK. ^m braken I. ⁿ Om. I pr. m. ^o Om. ceteri. ^p that
 A sec. m. ^q the sunne U sec. m. ^r the Spirit C pr. m. KRUX sec. m. ^s with U sec. m. ^t 3e domesmen
 U sec. m. ^u The princis U sec. m. ^v the profetis U sec. m. K.

CAP. IV.

1 And it shal be, in the last of days
the hill of the hous of the Lord shal be
maad redy in the top of hillis, and hee^z
ouer smale hillis. And peplis shuln fleete
2 to hym, and many folkis shuln hasten,
and shuln saye, Cum 3e, stye we to the
hill of the Lord, and to the hous of God
of Jacob; and he shal teche vs of his
wayes, and we shuln go in his pathes.
For of Syon the lawe shal go out, and
3 the word of the Lord of Jerusalem; and
he shal deme bitwixe manye peplis, and
shal chastyse strong folkis vnto in to fer.
And thei shuln bete to gydre her swerdis
in to shaaris, and her speris in to py-
coysis; a folk shal not take swerd azeinus
folk, and thei shuln namore lerne for to
4 fize. And a man shal sitte vnder his
vyne 3erd, and vnder his figge tree; and
ther shal not be that shal fere, for the
5 mouth of the Lord of hoostis spak. For
alle peplis shuln go, eche man in name of
the Lord her God; forsoth we schulen
walke in the name of the Lord oure God
6 into with outen ende, and ouer. In that
day, seith the Lord, I schal gedere the
haltinge, and hir that I castide away Y
shal gedre, and whom Y tourmentide Y
7 shal coumforte. And Y shal putte the
haltynge in to relikis, and hir that tra-
uelide, in to a stronge folk. And the
Lord shal regne on hem in the hill of
Syon, fro this now and till in to the
8 world. And thou, cloudy, *or derk*, tour
of folk of the douzter of Syon, vn to thee
he shal cume, and the first power shal
cume, the rewme of the douzter of Jeru-
9 salem. Now whi art thou with mourn-
yng drawen to gydre? wher a kyng is
not to thee, or thi counseilour perishide?
for sorewe hath cachid thee, as a wom-
10 man berynge chijld. Thou douzter of
Syon, make sorewe, and tyse, *or do*

CAP. IV.

And in the laste of^w daies the hil of¹
the^x hous of the Lord schal be maad redi
in the cop of hillis^y, and hi^z ouer smale
hillis. And puplis schulen flete^a to him,
and many puplis^b schulen haaste, and²
shulen seie, Come 3e, stie we til^c to the
hil of the Lord, and to the hous of God
of Jacob; and he schal teche vs of hise
weies, and we schulen go in hise pathis.
For lawe^d schal^e go out fro^f Syon, and the
word of the Lord fro Jerusalem; and³
he schal deme bitwixe many puplis, and
shal chastise stronge folkis til in to fer.
And thei schulen bete togidere her swerdis
in to scharis, and her speris in to picoisis;
a^g folc schal not take swerd azens folc,
and thei schulen no more lerne^h forⁱ to
fize. And a man schal sitte vndur his⁴
vyne 3erd, and vndur his fige tree; and ther
shal not be that schal make aferd, for
the mouth of the Lord of oostis spak.
For alle puplis schulen go, ech man in⁵
the name of his Lord God; but we schulen
walke in the name of oure Lord God in
to the world, and ouer. In that dai, seith⁶
the Lord, Y schal gadere the haltynge,
and Y schal gadere hir that^k Y castide
awei, and whom Y turmentide Y schal
coumforte. And Y schal putte the halt-⁷
ynge in to relifs, *ether remenauntis*, and
hir that trauelide, in a strong folc. And
the Lord schal regne on hem in the hil
of Sion, fro this^l now and til in to with
outen ende. And thou, 'derk tour^m of⁸
theⁿ floe of the douzter of Sion, 'til to^o
thee he schal come, and the first power
shal come, the rewme of the douztir of
Jerusalem. Now whi art thou drawun to-⁹
gidere with mournyng? whether a kyng
is not to thee, ether thi counselour pe-
rishide? for sorowe hath take thee, as
a womman traueling of child. Thou¹⁰
douzter of Sion, make sorewe, and haaste,

^w Om. I. ^x Om. CHF sec. m. RSU pr. m. ^y the hillis N. ^z shal be hi^z U sec. m. ^a flowe U sup. ras.
^b folk U et ceteri. ^c Om. ceteri. ^d the lawe I. ^e Om. s sec. m. ^f shal fro s. ^g Om. I. ^h serue U sec. m.
ⁱ Om. s. ^k whom I. ^l this tyme U sec. m. ^m cloudi, or [ether Y] derk, tour CEGHIMNPQRUXY. cloudi,
or derk Y. ⁿ Om. CFKS. ^o vnto I.

*ynew*³, as a womman berynge chijld; for now thou shalt go out of the cyte, and thou shalt dwelle in cuntre, and thou shalt cum vn to Babiloyne; there thou shalt be delyuered, there the Lord shal azein bye thee, of the hond of thin enemies. And now many folkis ben gadrid on thee, whiche sayen, Be it stonyd, and biholde our eejes⁸ in to Syon. Forsothe thei knewen not the thouztis of the Lord, and vndirstoden^h not the counseil of hym, for he gadride hem as hay of the feeld. Ryse thou, and threshe, douzter of Syon, for Y shal putte thin horn of yren, and Y shal putte thi naylis brasen; and thou shalt waste many peplis, and shalt slea to the Lord thei raueyns of hem, and the strengthe of hem to the Lord of al erthe.

CAP. V.

¹ Now thou, douzter of the thief, shalt be distruyed; thei puttiden on vs byseeg- yng, in a 3erd thei shuln smyte the cheeke of the iuge of Yrael. And thou, Bethlem Efrata, art lital in the thousandis of Juda; of thee shal gon out to me, whiche is lordship in Yrael; and the goyng out of hym fro the bygynnyng of dais of euerlastyngnesse. For this thing God shal 3eue hem vn to tyme in whiche the traueilynge of chijld shal bere chijld, and the relakis of his bretheren shuln be conuertid to the sonys of Yrael. And he shal stonde, and shal feede in strengthe of the Lord, in the heijt of the name of the Lord his God; and thei shuln be conuertid, for now he shal be magnyfyed vn to the termes of al erthe. And this shal be pees, whanne Assirius shal cum in to oure lond, and whanne he shal trede in oure housis; and we shuln reyse on hym seuen sheperdis, and eizt primatis, *or first men in dignyte*. And thei shuln feede the lond of Assur in swerd, and

as a womman traueilynge of child; for now thou schalt go out of the citee, and schalt dwelle in cuntree^p, and schalt come 'til to^q Babiloyne; there thou schalt be delyuered, there the Lord schal azen bie thee, fro the hond of thin enemyes. And now many¹¹ folkis ben gaderid on thee, whiche seien, Be it stonyd, and oure i3e biholde in to Sion. Forsothe thei knewen not the¹² thouztis of the Lord, and vndurstoden not the councel of hym, for he gaderide hem as the^r hei of feeld^a. Rise thou, douzter¹³ of Sion, and threische, for Y schal putte thin horn of irun, and Y schal putte thi nailis brasun; and thou schalt make lesse, *ether waste*, many puplis, and schalt sle to the Lord the raueyns of hem, and the strengthe of hem to the Lord of al erthe. Now thou, douzter of a thief, schalt be¹ distried; thei puttiden ont^t vs bisegying, in a 3erde thei schulen smyte the cheke of theⁿ iuge of Israel.

CAP. V.

And thou, Bethleem Efrata, art lital in² the thousyndis of Juda; he that is the lordli gouernour in Israel, schal go out of thee to me; and the goyng out of hym is fro bigynnyng, fro daies of euerlastyngnesse. For this thing he shal 3yue hem³ til to the tyme in which the traueilinge of child schal bere child, and the relifs of hise britheren schulen be conuertid to the sones of Israel. And he schal stonde, and⁴ schal fede in the strengthe of the Lord, in the heizthe of the name of his Lord God; and thei schulen be conuertid, for now he schal be magnyfyed til to the endis of al erthe. And this schal be pees,⁵ whanne Assirius schal come in to oure lond, and whanne he schal trede in oure housis; and we schulen reyse on hym se- uene scheepherdis, and eizte primatis men, *ether the firste in dignytee*. And thei⁶ schulen frete the lond of Assur bi swerd,

⁸ eyen A. heez K. ^h vndirstonden AGH. ¹ Om. A.

^p the cuntre U sec. m. ^q vnto I. ^r Om. GI. ^a the feld F pr. m. GIKNQRSUX. ^t Om. N. ^u Om. EGHKSPQRMNX pr. m. a U sec. m.

the lond of Nembroth in speris of hym;
and he shal delyuere vs fro Assur,
whanne he shal cum in to oure lond,
and whanne he shal treede in oure
7 coostis. And relakis of Jacob shuln be
in the mydil of many peplis, as dewe of
the Lord, and as droppynge on erbe,
whiche abydith not man, and shal not
8 abyde the sonys of men. And relakis of
Jacob shuln be in heithen men, in the
mydil of many peplis, as a lyoun in
bestis of woddis, and as whelpe of lyoun
rorynge in flockis of smale beestis;
whiche whan shal passe, and defoule,
and take, ther is not that shal delyuere.
9 Thin hond shal be reysid on thin en-
myes, and alle thin enemyes shuln perishe.
10 And it shal be, in that day, saith the
Lord, Y shal take away thin horsis of
the mydil of thee, and Y shal distruye
11 thi foure horsid cartis. And Y shal leese
the citees of thi lond, and Y shal distruye
alle thi strengthis; and Y shal do away
the yuel deedis of thin hond, and dyuy-
naciouns, *or tellyngus by deuels craft*,
12 shuln not be in thee. And Y shal make
for to perishe thi sculptilis, *or grauen*
ymagis, and Y shal breke^k to gydre of
the mydil of thee thin ymagis, and thou
shalt namore wirshipe the werkis of thin
13 hondis. And Y shal drawe out thi maw-
met wodis, and shal^l breke to gydre thi
14 citees. And Y shal make in woodnesse
and in indignacioun veniaunce in alle
folkis, whiche herden not.

CAP. VI.

1 Heere 3e whiche thingis the Lord
spekith. Ryse thou, stryue thou by dome
a3einus mounteyns, and litil hillis heere
2 thi voice. Mounteyns heere the dom of
the Lord, and the strenger foundementis
of erthe; for the dom of the Lord with
his peple, and with Yrael he shal be

and the lond of Nembroth bi speris of
hym; and he schal delyuere vs fro As-
sur, whanne he schal come in to oure
lond, and whanne he schal trede in oure
coostis. And relifs of Jacob schulen be⁷
in the myddil^v of many puplis, as dew of
the Lord, and as dropis on erbe, whiche
abidith not man, and schal not abide
sones^w of men. And relifs of Jacob schu-
len be in hethene men, in the myddil of
many puplis, as a lioun in^x beestis of the
woodis, and as a whelpe of a lioun ror-
yng in flockis of scheep; and whanne he
passith, and defoulith, and takith, there
is not that schal delyuere. And thin hond⁹
shal be reisid on thin enemyes, and alle
thin enemyes schulen perische. And it¹⁰
shal be, in that dai, seith the Lord, Y
shal take awei thin horsis fro the myd-
dil of thee, and Y schal distrie thi foure
horsid cartis. And Y schal leese the¹¹
citees of thi lond, and Y schal distrie alle
thi strengthis^y; and Y schal do awei
witchecraftis fro^z thin hond, and dyuy-
naciouns^a schulen not be in thee. And Y¹²
shal makè for to perische thi 'grauun
ymagis^b, and Y shal breke^c togidere fro
the myddil of thee thin ymagis, and thou
schalt no more worschipe the werkis of
thin hondis. And Y schal drawe out of¹³
the middis of thee thi woodis, and Y schal
al to-breke thi citees. And Y schal make¹⁴
in woodnesse and indignacioun veniaunce
in alle folkis, whiche herden not.

CAP. VI.

Here 3e whiche thingis the Lord spek-
1 ith. Rise thou, stryue thou bi doom a3ens
mounteyns, and litle hillis here thi vois.
Mounteyns, and the stronge foundementis²
of erthe, here the doom of the Lord; for
the doom of the Lord with^d his puple,
and he schal be demyd with Israel. Mi³

^k brenge K. ^l Y shal A.

^v myddis EPSY. ^w the sones U. ^x among s sec. m. ^y strengthis, *ether wardingis* EFGHKMNPQRSUXY.
^z of I. ^a dyuynaciouns, *ether tellingis* [tellynge s] bi [of I] *deuels craft* CEFCHKMNPQRSUX. diuinaciouns,
ether deuels craft Y. ^b sculptilis, *ether grauen ymagis* CEFCHKMNPQRSUY. ^c al to-breke NRU. ^d shal
be with U sec. m.

3 wysely demed. My peple, what haue Y
don to thee, or what was Y greuous to
4 thee? Answer thou to me. For Y ledde
thee out of the lond of Egypt, and of the
hous of seruage Y delyuerde thee; and
Y sente byfore thi face Moyses, and
5 Aaron, and Marie. My peple, bythenke,
Y preye, what Balaac, kyng of Moab,
thou3te, and what Balaam, sone of Beor,
of Sethym, answeride to hym vn to Gal-
gala, that thou shuldist knowe the r3t-
6 wisnesse of the Lord. What worthi thing
shal Y offre to the Lord? shal Y bowe
the knee to the^m hee; God? Wher Y shal
offre to hym brent sacrifices, and calues
7 of oo 3eer? Wher God may be plesid in
thousandis of wetheris, or in many thou-
sandus of fatt goot buckis? Wher Y shal
3eue my first bygoten for my grete tres-
pas, the fruyte of my wombe for synne
8 of my soule? Y shal shewe to thee,
thou man, what is good, and what the
Lord axith of thee; forsothe for to do
dom, and for to loue mercy, and bysi for
9 to walke with thi God. The voice of
the Lord crieth to the citee, and helthe
shal be to alle men dreedinge thi name.
Heere, 3e lynagis; and who shal aproue it?
10 3it f3r in the hous of the vnpitous man,
the tresours of wickidnesse, and a lasse
11 mesure ful of wrath. Wher Y shal ius-
tifie the wickid balaunce, and the gijlful
12 we3tis of litilⁿ sac, in whiche riche
men therof ben fulfillid with wickidnesse?
And men dwellynge theryn spaken lees-
yng, and the tunge of hem gijleful in the
13 mouth of hem. And Y therfore bygan
for to smyte thee, in perdicioun onⁿⁿ thin
14 synnys. Thou shalt ete, and shalt not
be fulfillid, and thi meekyng in the my-
dil of thee; and thou shalt take to, and
shalt not saue; and whom thou shalt
15 saaue, Y shal 3eue in to swerd. Thou
shalt sowe, and shalt not repe; thou
shalt trede the olyue, and shalt not be
anoyntid with oyle; and must, and shalt

puple, what haue Y don to thee, ether
what was Y greuouse to thee? Answer
thou to me. For Y ledde thee out of the⁴
lond of Egypt, and of the hous of seruage
Y delyuerede thee; and Y sente bfore
thi face Moises, and Aaron, and Marye.
My puple, bithenke, Y preie, what Ba-⁵
laac, kyng of Moab, thou3te, and what
Balaam, sone of Beor, of Sethym, answer-
ide to hym til to Galgala, that thou
schuldist knowe the r3twisnesse of the
Lord. What worthi thing schal Y offre⁶
to the Lord? schal Y bowe the knee to
the hi3e God? Whether Y schal offre to
hym brent sacrifices, and calues of o 3eer?
Whether God mai be paid in thousyndis⁷
of wetheris, ether in many thousyndis of
fatte geet buckis? Whether Y schal 3yue
my firste bigetun for my greet trespas,
the fruyt of my wombe for synne of my
soule? Y schal schewe to thee, thou man,⁸
what is good, and what the Lord axith
of thee; forsothe for to do doom, and
for to loue merci, and be bisi for to walke
with thi God. The vois of the Lord cri-⁹
eth to the citee, and heelthe schal be to
alle men dredyng the name. 3e lynagis,
here; and who schal approue it? 3it fier¹⁰
is in the hous of the^e vnpitouse man^f, the⁵
tresouris of wickidnesse, and a lesse me-
sure ful of wraththe. Whether Y schal¹¹
iustifie the wickid balaunce, and the gile-
ful we3tis of litil^h sak, in whiche riche¹²
men therof benⁱ fillid with wickidnesse?
And men dwellynge ther ynne spaken lees-
yng, and the tunge of hem *was* gileful in
the mouth of hem. And Y therfor bigan¹³
for to smyte thee, in perdicioun on thi
synnes. Thou schalt ete, and schalt not¹⁴
be fillid, and thi mekyng *is* in the middil
of thee; and thou schalt take, and schalt
not saue; and which thou schalt saue, Y
schal 3yue in to swerd. Thou schalt¹⁵
sowe, and schalt not repe; thou schalt
trede the^k *frut of*^l oliue^m, and schalt notⁿ
be anoyntid^o with oile; and must, and

^m Om. G pr. m. ⁿ the litil G sec. m. ⁿⁿ vpon G sup. ras.

^e Om. CEFHPQRSUX pr. m. Y. ^f men es. ^g and v. ^h a litil is. ⁱ Om. s. ^k in the v. ^l Om.
A pr. m. ERU. ^m oliue tre CFIKMQS. slyme H. ⁿ Om. v. ^o oyntid CFGHINQRX. noyntid s.

16 not drynke wijne. And thou keptist the heestis of Amry, and al the werke of the hous of Achab, and hast walkide in the voluptees, *or lustis*, of hem, that Y shulde 3eue thee in to perdicoun, and men dwellynge in it in to hissyng, *or scorn-yng*, and thou shalt bere the shenship of my peple.

CAP. VII.

1 Woo to me, for Y am maad as he that gadrith in heruest rasyns of grape tyme; ther is no clustre for to ete; my soule 2 desiride figis rijp before other. The holy perishide of the erthe, and riztful is not in men; alle in blood asprien, a man 3 hunteth his brother to deth. The yuel of her hondis thei sayn good; the prince axith, and is domesman in 3eeldyng; and a grete man spake desijr of his soule, 4 and thei strubliden to gydre it. He that is best in hem, is as a palyure, *that is, a sharp bushe, or a thistil, or frijse^m*; and he that is riztful, as a thorne of hegge. The day of thi byholdyng, thi visityng cummeth, now shal be distruy- 5 ing of hem. Nyl 3e byleue to frend, and nylⁿ 3e trist in duyke; fro hir that rest- ith in thi bosum, keepe thou closyngis of 6 thi mouth. For the sone doth wronge to the fadre, and the douzter shal rijse azeinus hir modir, and wijf of the sone azeinus hir husbond modir; the enemyes of a man, the homly, *or houshold meyne*, 7 of hym. Forsothe Y shal biholde to the Lord, Y shal abijde God my saueour; the 8 Lord my God shal heere me. Thou, myn enmy, glade not on me, for Y felle down, Y shal ryse; whan Y shal sitte in 9 derknessis, the Lord isⁿⁿ my lizt. Y shal bere wrath of the Lord, for Y haue synned to hym, til he deme my cause, and make my dom; he shal leede me out in to lizt, Y shal se the rijtwisnesse 10 of hym. And myn enmye shal byholde

schalt not drynke wyn. And thou kept- 10 ist^p the heestis of Amry, and al the werk of the^q hous of Acab, and hast walkid in the lustis^r of hem^s, that Y schulde 3yue thee in to perdicoun, and men dwellynge in it in to scornynge^t, and 3e schulen bere the schenscipe of my puple.

CAP. VII.

Wo to me, for Y am maad as he that 1 gaderith in heruest rasyns of grapis; there is no clustre for to ete; my soule desiride figis ripe bifore othere. The² hooli perischide fro erthe, and riztful is not in men; alle asprien, *ether setten tre-soun*, in blood, a man huntith his brother to deth. The yuel of her hondis thei³ seien good; the prince axith, and the domesman is in 3eldyng; and a greet man spak the desir of his soule, and thei sturbliden^u togidere^v it. He that is best^w 4 in hem, is as a paluyre^{x*}; and he that is riztful, *is* as a thorn of hegge. The dai of thi biholdyng, thi visityng cometh, now schal be distriyng of hem. Nyle 3e bi- 5 leue to a frend, and nyle 3e truste in a duyk; fro hir that slepith in thi bosum, kepe thou closyngis^y of thi mouth. For 6 the sone doith wrong^z to the fadir, and the douzter schal rise azens hir modir, and the wijf of the sone azens the modir of hir hosebonde; the enemyes of a man *ben* the homeli, *ether houshold^a meynce*, of hym. Forsothe Y schal biholde to the Lord, Y 7 schal abide God my sauyour; the Lord my God schal here me. Thou, myn ene- 8 mye, be not glad on me, for Y felle^b down, Y schal rise; whanne Y sitte in derknessis, the Lord is my lizt. Y schal bere wraththe⁹ of the Lord, for Y haue synned to hym, til he deme my cause, and make my doom; he schal lede out me in to lizt, Y schal se rijtwisnesse of hym. And myn 10 enmye schal biholde me, and sche schal

* a paluyre is a tasil, ether a scharp buysch. A.

^m firse GH. ⁿ nole A. ⁿⁿ Om. G.

^p keptist U. ^q Om HQRV pr. m. ^r voluptees, ether lustis c et ceteri. ^s men EPY. ^t hissing, ether scorn-yng c et ceteri. ^u disturbliden c pr. m. F pr. m. s. troubliden I. ^v Om. s sec. m. ^w the best U sec. m. ^x paluyre, ether a tasil, ether [or EPY] a scharpe bush c et ceteri. ^y the closyngis I. ^z wrong, ether dispite c et ceteri. ^a the houshold EPY. ^b felde CIKS.

me, and she shal be hillid with confusioun, whiche saith to me, Wher is the Lord thi God? Myn eezen shuln se hir, now she shal be in defoulyng, as clay,
 11 *or fen*, of stretis, day that thi wallis be beeldid. In that day law shal be maad
 12 afer, in that day Assur vn to thee shal come, and 'vn to^o stronge citees, and fro stronge citees vnto the flood; and to see
 13 of see, and to hill of hill. And the erthe shal be in to desolacioun for hir dwellers, and for fruyte of the thouȝtis of hem.
 14 Feed thou thi peple in thi ȝerd, the floc of thin eritage, dwellynge aloone in the wijld wode; in the myddil of Carmele thei shuln be fed Basan and Galaad, vp
 15 olde days, vp^{oo} days of thi goyng out of the lond of Egypt. Y shal shewe to hym
 16 wondirful thingis; heethen men shuln see, and thei shuln be confoundid on al her strengthe; thei shuln putte hondis on the mouthe, the eris of hem shuln be defe;
 17 thei shuln lick dust as the^p serpent, as crepynge thingis of the erthe thei shuln be distourblid of her housis; thei shuln desijre the Lord our God, and thei shuln
 18 dreede thee. What god liche of thee, that dost away wickidnesse, and berist ouer the synne of the relakis of thin eritage? He shal namore in sende his wod-
 19 nesse, for he is willynge mercy; he shal turne aȝein, and haue mercy of vs. He shal putte doun oure wickidnessis, and he shal caste fer in to depnesse^{pp} of the
 20 see alle oure synnes. Thou shalt ȝeue trewthe to Jacob, mercy to Abraham, whiche thou sworist to oure fadris fro olde days.

Ende of the book of Micheas, and bigynneth the book of Naum, prophete^a.

be hilid with confusioun, which seith to me, Where is thi Lord God? Myn ȝen schulen se hir, now sche schal be in to defoulyng, as clei^c of stretis. Dai *schal*¹¹
come, that thi wallis be bildid; in that dai lawe schal be maad afer. In that¹²
 dai and Assur schal come til to thee, and 'til to^d stronge citees, and fro stronge citees til to flood; and to see fro see, and to hil fro hil. And erthe schal be in to desola-¹³
 cioun^e for her dwelleris, and for fruyt of the thouȝtis of hem. Fede thou thi puple¹⁴
 in thi ȝerde, the floc of thin eritage, that dwellen aloone in wielde wode; in the myddil of Carmel thei schulen be fed of Basan and of Galaad, bi elde daies, bi¹⁵
 daies of thi goyng out of the lond of Egypt. Y schal schewe to hym wondurful thingis; hethene men schulen se, and¹⁶
 thei schulen be confoundid on al her strengthe; thei schulen putte hondis on her mouth, the eris of hem schulen be deef; thei schulen licke dust as a^f ser-¹⁷
 pent; as crepynge thingis of erthe thei schulen be disturblid of her housis; thei schulen not desire oure Lord God, and thei schulen drede thee. God, who *is* lijk¹⁸
 thee, that doist awei wickidnesse, and berist ouer the synne of relifs^g of thin eritage? He shal no more sende in his stronge veniaunce, for he is willynge mer-
 ci; he schal turne aȝen, and haue merci¹⁹ on vs. He schal put doun oure wickidnessis, and schal caste fer in to depnesse of the see alle oure synnes. Thou schalt²⁰
 ȝyue trewthe to Jacob, merci to Abraham, whiche thou sworist to oure fadris fro elde daies.

Here endith Micheas, and here biginneth Naum^h.

^o to G. ^{oo} Om. K *pr. m.* ^p Om. A. ^{pp} depnesse K. ^a No final rubric in AGH.

^c clei, *ether fen* c *et ceteri.* ^d vnto the I. ^e desolaciouns A *pr. m.* ^f Om. N. ^g the relifs I. ^h From CFGHIMQRSU. *Here endeth Micheas, the profete; se now Naum, the profete.* K. *Here endith the book of Micheas, and bigynneth the book of Naum.* N. *Here endith Micheas, and bigynneth Naum, the prophete.* S. No final rubric in AEPY.

N A H U M.

The book of Naum, prophete^a.

CAP. I.

1 THE charge of Nynyue; the boke of
2 visioun of Naum Helchesey. The Lord
a loue, and the Lord vengynge; the
Lord vengynge, and hauynge woodnesse;
the Lord vengynge in to his enmyes, and
3 he wrathing to his enmyes. The Lord
paciēt, and grete in strengthe, and he
clensynge shal not^b make innocent. The
Lord in tempest, and in whirlwynd the
wayes of hym, and cloudis dust of his
4 feet; blamyng the see, and dryng it,
and bryngynge alle flodis to desert. Ba-
san is maad seek, and Carmele, and the
5 flour of Liban langwishide. Mounteyns
ben moued to gidre of hym, and lital
hillis ben desolate. And the erthe trem-
blide to gydre fro the face of hym, and
the roundnesse of erthe, and alle the
6 dwellyng theryn. Bifore the face of his
indignacioun^c who shal stonde? and who
shal azein stonde in^d the wrath of his
woodnesse? His indignacioun is shed
out as fire, and stoonus^e ben dissolued, *or*
7 *broken*, of hym. The Lord good^f, and
coumfortynge in the day of tribulacioun,
and he knowynge men hoopynge in hym.
8 And in grete floode passynge by, he shal
make eende of his place; and derknessis
9 shuln pursue his enmyes. What thinken
3e azeinus the Lord? He shal make eend;
double tribulacioun shal not ryse to gy-
10 dre. For as thornys biclippen hem to

Here bigynneth Naum, the profete^a.

CAP. I.

THE birthun of Nynyue; the book of
visioun of Naum Helcesei. The Lord *is* 2
a punyschere, and the Lord *is* vengynge;
the Lord *is* venginge, and hauynge strong
veniaunce; the Lord *is* vengynge azens
hise aduersaries, and he *is* wraththing to
hise enemyes. The Lord *is* paciēt, and 3
greet in strengthe, and he clensynge schal
not make innocent. The Lord *cometh* in
tempest, and the weies of hym *ben* in
whirlwynd, and cloudis *ben* the dust of
hise feet; he blameth^b the see, and drieth 4
it, and bryngith alle flodis to^c desert. Ba-
san is maad sijk, and Carmel, and the
flour of Liban langwischide. Mounteyns 5
ben mouyd togidere of hym, and lital hillis
ben desolat. And erthe tremblide togidere
fro the^d face of him, and the roundnesse
of erthe, and alle dwellynge ther ynne.
Who schal stonde bifore the face of his 6
indignacioun? and who schal azenstonde
in the wraththe of his stronge veniaunce?
His indignacioun is sched out as fier, and
stoonys ben brokun^e of hym. The Lord 7
is good, and coumfortynge in the dai of
tribulacioun, and knowynge hem that
hopen in hym. And in greet flood pass- 8
ynge forth, he schal make ende of his
place; and derknessis schulen pursue hise
enemyes. What thenken 3e azens the 9
Lord? He schal make eende; double tri-
bulacioun schal not rise togidere. For as 10

^a Here bigynneth the book of Naum. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Om. AG pr. m. H. ^c dignacioun
A pr. m. K. ^d Om. A. ^e stoon K. ^f is good A sec. m. K pr. m.

^a Here bigynnith the book of Naum, profete. EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b blamede EPY.
^c in to. ^d Om. CFHPQR pr. m. Y. ^e dissoluyd, ether brokun c et ceteri.

gydre, so the feest of hem drynkyng
to gydre shal be eendid, as stoble ful of
11 drynesse. Forsothe of thee shal go out
the thynkyng malice azeinus the Lord,
in soule, *or mynde*, trefyng trespassyng.
12 These thingus saith the Lord, 3if thei
shuln be perfit, and so mo, and thus thei
shuln be clippid, and it shal passe by.
Y tourmentide thee, and Y shal namore
13 tourmente thee. And now Y shal to
gydre breke the 3erd of hym of thi bac,
14 and Y shal breke thi boondis. And the
Lord shal comaunde on thee, it shal na-
more be sown of thi name. Of the hous
of thi god Y shal slea; a sculptil, *or*
grauen ymage, and wellid to gydre, Y
shal putte thi sepulcre, for thou art vn-
15 wirshipid. Loo! on hillis the feet of
euangelizinge and tellynge pees. Juda,
halewe thou thi feest days, and zeelde
thi vowis, for he shal namore putte to,
that he passe by in thee; al Belial
perishide.

CAP. II.

1 He styede vp, that schal scatere byfore
thee, that shal kepe the byseeging^g; by-
holde thou the waye, coumforte leendis,
2 strengthe thou vertu gretely. For as
the Lord 3eldide the pride of Jacob, so
the pryde of Yrael; for destruyers scatri-
den hem, and corrupten, *or destruy-*
3 *iden*, the generaciouns of hem. The
sheeld of the strong^g of hym fijry, men
of the hoost in rede clothis; raynes^h of
fijre of the chaare, in the day of his mak-
yng redy; and the leederis therof ben
4 asleepe. In wayes thei ben trublid to
gydre, cartis of foure horsis he hurtlide
to gydre in stretis; the sizt of hem as
5 laumpis, as leiztis rennyng aboute. He
shal bythenke of his strenger, thei shu-
len falle in her wayes; and swyftly thei
shuln stye vp the wallis therof, and the
shadewyng place shal be maad redy.

thornes byclippen hem^f togidere, so the
feeste of hem drynkyng togidere schal
be wastyd, as stobul ful of drienesse. Of 11
thee schal go out a man thenkyng malice
azens the Lord, and trefe trespassyng in
soule. The Lord seith these thingis, If 12
thei schulen be parfit, and so manye, and
thus thei shulen be clippid, and it schal
passe bi. I turmentide thee, and Y schal
no more turmente thee. And now Y schal 13
al to-breke the 3erde of hym fro thi bak,
and Y schal breke thi bondis. And the 14
Lord schal comaunde on thee, it schal no
more be sowun of thi name. Of the hous
of thi god Y schal sle^g; Y schal putte^h
thi sepulcre a 'grauun ymageⁱ, and^k wellid
togidere^{kk}, for thou art vnworschipid. Lo! 15
on hillis the^l feet of the^m euangelisyng
and tellyng pees. Juda, halewe thou thi
feeste daies, and 3elde thi vowis, for whi
Belial schal no more put to, that he passe
forth in thee; al *Belial*ⁿ perischide.

CAP. II.

He stiede up, that schal scatere bifore 1
thee, that schal kepe bisechyng; biholde
thou the weie, coumforte^o leendis, strengthe
thou vertu greetli. For as the Lord 3eld- 2
ide the pride of Jacob, so^p the pride of
Israel; for distrieris scateriden^q hem, and
distridden^r the generaciouns^s of hem. The 3
scheld of stronge men of hym *ben* firi,
men of the oost *ben* in rede clothis; raynes
of fire of chare, in the dai of his making
redi; and the leederis therof ben asleep.
In weies thei ben troblid togidere, cartis 4
of foure horsis ben^{ss} hurtlid togidere in
stretis; the sizte of hem as laumpis, as
leitis rennyng aboute. He schal bi- 5
thenke of his stronge men, thei schulen
falle in her weies; and swiftli thei schulen
stie^t on the wallis therof, and schadewyng
place schal be maad redi. 3atis of floodis 6
ben openyd, and the temple *is* brokun

g by seege AGH. g stronge men G sec. m. h bridil reines G sec. m.

^f hem silf U sec. m. ^g sle thee CGI pr. m. KMNQsx. ^h sette CGKMNQsx. ⁱ sculptil, ether [or EPY. ether
a K] grauen ymage C pr. m. EFHKPRUY. ^k Om. IKMQs pr. m. and an ymage S sec. m. ^{kk} togidere, ether
3otun GIKNQsx. ^l ben the U sec. m. ^m Om. CQ. ⁿ he is C sec. m. i. Om. S sec. m. ^o comforte thou
C sec. m. FGIKMNQRSUX. ^p so he schal 3elde C sec. m. GIKMNQRSUX. ^q gaderiden N. ^r corrupiden, ether
destrieden CEFHIK sec. m. NPRU. corrupiden GMQsx. ^s generacioun U. ^{ss} be A. ^t stie up I.

6 Jatis of flodis shuln be opnyd, and the
7 temple broken down to the erthe. And
a kni3t caitif is led to, and the hond
maydens therof shuln be dryuen sorew-
yng as culuers, gruchyng in her hertis.
8 And Nynyue, as the cysterne of waters
the waters therof; forsothe thei fledden,
sayinge, Stonde 3e, stonde 3e, and ther is
9 not that shal turne a3ein. Rauyshe 3e
syluer, rauyshe 3e gold; and there is not
eende of richessis, of all desireable vessels.
10 It is distruyed, and kitt, and to-torne,
and herte feylyng, and vnknyttynge of
smale knees, and failyng in alle reynes;
and the face of alle as blacnesse of a pott.
11 Where is the dwellynge of lyouns, and the
lesewis of whelpis of lyouns? The lyoun
wente to water, that the whelp of the
lyoun shulde entre thidre, and there is
12 not that shal fere. The lyoun toke ynow3
to his whelpis, and slew3 to his lyoun-
nessis; and fulfillide with praye her den-
13 nys, and his couche with rauyn. Loo!
Y to thee, saith the Lord God of oostis;
and Y shal vndre brenne thi cartis of
foure horsis vn to the heezist, and swerd
shal ete thi smale lyouns; and Y shal
distruye of erthe thi praye, and voice of
thi messangeres shal no more be herd.

CAP. III.

1 Wo 'to the¹ citee of blodis, al of lesyng,
ful of to-teryng; raueyn shal not go
2 away fro thee. Voice of scourge, and
voice of bir of wheel, and of hors mak-
yng noyse, and of a foure horsid cart
brennyng, and of kni3t steyinge vp,
3 and of shynyng swerd, and smytyng
spere, and of the slayn multitude, and
greuouse fallyng, nether^j ther is eende
of careins. And thei shuln falle to gydre
4 in her bodies, for multitude of the for-
nycaciouns of the hoore fair and able,
and hauyng euel dedis, *or wiccheecraftis*;
whiche solde folkis in her fornycaciouns,
5 and meynes in her poysons. Loo! Y

doun to erthe. And a kny3t is led awei⁷
caitif, and the handmaidis^u therof schulen
be dryuun sorewyng as culueris, grutch-
yng in her hertis. And Nynyue, as a⁸
cisterne of watris the watris therof; for-
sothe thei fledden; stonde 3e, stonde 3e,
and there is not that schal turne a3ein.
Rauysche 3e siluer, rauysche 3e gold; and⁹
there is noon ende of richessis, of alle de-
sirable^{uu} vessels. It is distried, and kit, and¹⁰
to-rent, and herte failyng, and vnknyt-
tinge of smale knees, and failyng in alle
reynes; and the face of alle *ben* as blac-
nesse of a pot. Where is the dwellyng¹¹
of liouns, and lesewis of whelpis of liouns?
To whiche *citee* the lioun 3ede, that the
whelp of the lioun schulde entre thidur,
and there is not that schal make aferd.
The lioun took ynow to hise whelpis, and¹²
slow3 to his lionessis; and fillide her dennes
with prei, and his couche with raueyn.
Lo! Y to thee, seith the Lord God of¹³
oostis; and Y schal brenne thi cartis of
foure horsis til to the hizeste, and swerd
shal ete thi smale liouns; and Y schal
distrie thi^v prei fro the lond, and the vois
of thi messangeris schulen^{vv} no more be
herd.

CAP. III.

Wo to the citee of bloodis, al of leesyng,¹
ful of to-reendyng; raueyn shal not go
awei fro thee. Vois of scourge, and vois²
of bire of wheel, and of hors makyng
noyse, and of foure horsid carte brennyng,
and of kni3t stiyng vp, and of schynyng³
swerd, and glesenyng spere, and of slayn
multitude, and of greuouse fallyng, nether
ther is eende of careyns. And thei schulen
falle togidere in her bodies, for the mul-⁴
titude of fornicaciouns of the hoore fair
and plesaunt, and hauyng witchecraftis;
which^w seelde folkis in her fornicaciouns,
and meynes in her enchauntementis, *ether*
sorceries. Lo! Y to thee, seith the Lord⁵

¹ the G pr. m. thou G sec. m. j ne G.^u hand maidens CEF GHIKMNPRUX. ^{uu} desirable C. ^v the I. ^{vv} shul E. ^w the whiche I.

to thee, saith the Lord God of oostis; and Y shal shewe thi shamful thingis in thi face; and Y shal shewe to folkis thi nakidnesse, and to rewmes thin yuel fame.
 6 And Y shal caste out onⁱ thee thin abomynaciouns, and Y shal punyshe thee with dispitis, and Y shal putte thee in to
 7 ensauple. And it shal be, eche man that shal see thee, shal lippe azein fro thee, and shal saye, Nynyue is distruyed. Who shal moue togydre the hed vpon thee? wherof shal Y seke to thee a coum-
 8 fortour? Wher thou art better than Alisaundre, of peplis whiche dwellith in flodis? Waters in cumpas therof, whos ritchessis the se, waters the wallis therof.
 9 Ethiopie the strengthe therof, and Egypt, and ther is noon eende; Affrik and Libie
 10 weren in help therof. Bot and it in transmygracioun, *or passing ouer*, is led in to caitiftee; the litil children therof ben hirt in the heed of alle wayes. And on the noble men therof thei senten lot, and alle grete men therof ben sett togi-
 11 der in thei stockis. And thou therefore shalt be drunken, and thou shalt be dispisid, and thou shalt seeke help of enmy.
 12 Alle thi strengthis as a fijge tree, with his vnripe figgis; 3if thei shuln be smyten to gydre, thei shuln falle in to the mouth
 13 of the etyngge. Loo! thi peple wymmen in the myddil of thee; to thin enmyes, to the opnyngge the^j 3atis of thi lond shuln be shewid, *or opnyd*; fijr shal deuoure thi
 14 barrisk, *or lockis*. Drawe vp to thee water for aseegyng, beelde thi strengthis; entre in to fen, and trede, thou vndergoynge
 15 holde a tijl. There fijr shal ete thee, thou shalt perishe by swerd, it shal deuoure thee, as bruke; therfor be thou gadrid togydre as bruke, be thou multi-
 16 plied as locust. Thou madist thi marchaundises mo than ben sterris of heuen; bruke is sprad o brood, and fleizeth away.
 17 Thi keepers as locustis, and thi litel chil-

God of oostis; and Y schal schewe thi shameful thingis in thi face; and Y schal schewe to folkis thi nakidnesse, and to rewmes thin yuel fame^x. And Y schal cast out on thee thin abhomynaciouns, and Y schal punysche thee with dispitis, and Y schal putte thee in to ensauple. And it schal be, ech man that schal se⁷ thee, schal skippe^y awei fro thee, and schal seie, Nynyue is distried. Who schal moue heed on thee? wherof schal Y seke to thee a coumfortour? Whether thou art⁸ betere than Alisaundre of puplis, that dwellith in floodis? Watris *ben* in cumpas therof, whos richessis *is* the see, watris *ben* wallis therof. Ethiopie *is* strengthe⁹ therof, and Egypt, and there is noon ende; Affrik and Libie weren in help therof. But and it in *'passyng ouer'*^z is led in to ¹⁰ caitifte; the litle children therof ben hurtlid down in the heed of alle weies. And on the noble men therof thei kesten^a lot, and alle grete men therof ben set togidere in gyues^b. And thou therfor schalt be ¹¹ drunkun, and schalt be dispisid, and thou schalt seke helpe of enemye^c. Al thi ¹² strengthis as^d a fige tree, with hise figis vnripe; if thei schulen be schakun, thei schulen falle in to the mouth of the etere. Lo! thi puple *ben* wymmen in the myddil ¹³ of thee; the 3atis of thi lond schulen be schewid to openyng to thin enemyes; fier^e schal deuoure thin herris. Drawe ¹⁴ vp to thee water for asegyng, bilde thi strengthis; entre in fen, and trede, thou vndurgoyngge holde a tiel stoon. There ¹⁵ fier schal ete thee, thou schalt perische bi swerd, it schal deuoure thee, as bruke *do-ith*; be thou gaderid togidere as a bruke, be thou multiplied as a locuste. Thou ¹⁶ madist thi marchaundises^f mo than ben sterris of heuene; a bruke is spred abroad, and flei awei. Thi keperis *ben* as locustis, ¹⁷ and thi litle children *ben*^g as locustis of locustis, whiche sitten togidere in heggis

ⁱ vpon G sec. m. ^j Om. AGH. ^{jj} of A. ^k berris GK pr. m.

^x fame, *ether schenschipec et ceteri*. ^y lippe c *et ceteri*. ^z transmygracioun, *ether [or EPY] passing ouer c et ceteri*. ^a senten *ceteri*. ^b *ether feteres* K marg. ^c the enemye c sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNQBSUX. ^d ben as c sec. m. F sup. ras. ^e and fier v. ^f marchaundies K. ^g Om. N.

dren as locustis of locustis, whiche siten
to gidre in heggis in the day of cold;
the sunne is sprungen vp, and thei fled-
den away, and the place of hem is not
18 knowen, where thei weren. Thi^k shep-
erdis naptē^l, thou kyng Assur, thi
princes shuln be biried; thi peple oft
derkid in hillis, and ther is not that
19 shal gadre. Thi contricioun is not derk,
thi wound is warst; alle men that
herden thi heering, pressiden^m to gidre
hond on thee, for vpon whom passide
not thi malice euermore?

*Here endith the [book] of Naum,
prophete, and bigynneth the book of
Abacuk, propheteⁿ.*

in the dai of coold; the sun is risun, and
thei fledden awei, and the place of hem
is not knowun, where thei weren. Thi¹⁸
scheepherdis naptē^h, thou kyng Assur,
thi princes schulen be biried; thi puple
ofte was hid in hillis, and ther is not that
schal gadere. Thi sorewe is not priuy^l,¹⁹
thi wounde is worst; alle men that herden
thin heryng, pressiden togidere hond on
thee, for on whom passide not thi malice
euermore?

*Here endith Naum, and here begin-
neth Abacuk^j.*

^k The κ. ^l nappen H. ^m pressiden, or wrong GH. ⁿ No final rubric in AGH.

^h nappen I. ⁱ derk, ether priuy c et ceteri. ^j From CFGHIMQSU. *Here endith Naum, the profete;
se now Abacuk, the profete. κ. Here endith the book of Naum, and bigynneth the book of Abacuc. n. Here
eendith the booc of the profete Naum, and here bigynneth Abacuc. x. No final rubric in AEPHY.*

H A B A K K U K.

The book of Abacuk^a.

CAP. I.

¹ THE charge that Abacuk, prophete^b,
² saw^c. Hou longe, Lord, shal Y crye, and
thou shalt not heere *graciously*? Y suf-
fringe violence shal crie on hee³, and
³ shalt thou not saue? Whi shewidist
thou to me wickidnesse and traueile, for
to see pray and vnri³twisnesse a³einus
me? Whi biholdist thou dispisers, and
art stille, the vnpitouse man defoulyng a
iuster than hym? And thou shalt make
men as fishis of the se, and as crepynge
thingis^d not hauynge duyk; and dom is
maad, and a³einsayinge more mi³ty.
⁴ For this thing law is to-broken, and dom
cummeth not vn to the eende; for vn-
pitous man hath mi³t a³einus the iust,
⁵ therfore weywerd dom shal go out. Bi-
holde ³e in hethen men, and see ³e, and
wondre ³e, and gretely dreede ³e; for a
worke is don in ³our days, whiche no man
⁶ shal byleeue, whan it shal be told. For
loo! Y shal reyse Caldeis, a bitter folk
and swift, goynge vpon the breed of
erthe, that he weelde tabernaclis not his.
⁷ He is horrible, and dreedeful; of hym self
⁸ dome, and his charge shal go out. His
horsis li³ter than pardis, and swifter than
euyⁿ wolues, and his horsmen shuln be

Here bigynneth Abacuk, the profete^a.

CAP. I.

THE birthun that Abacuk, the profete,¹
sai. Hou longe, Lord, schal Y crye, and²
thou schalt not here? Y suffrynge vio-
lence schal crie an hi³ to thee, and thou
schalt not saue? Whi schewidist thou to³
me wickidnesse and trauel, for to se prey
and vnri³twisnesse a³ens me? Whi bi-
holdist thou dispiseris, and art stille, the
while an^b vnpitouse man^c defoulith a ri³t-
fulere than hym silf? And thou schalt
make men as fischis of the see, and as
crepynge thingis not hauynge a ledere;
and doom is maad, and a³enseiyng *is* more
mi³ti. For this thing lawe is 'to-brokun^d,⁴
and doom cometh not til to the ende; for
the vnpitouse man hath mi³t a³ens the
iust, therfor weiward doom schal go out.
Biholde ³e in hethene men, and se ³e, and⁵
wondre ³e, and greetli drede ³e; for a
werk is doon in ³oure daies, which no
man schal bileue, whanne it schal be teld.
For lo! Y schal reyse Caldeis, a bittir folk⁶
and swift, goynge on the breede of erthe,
that he welde tabernaclis not hise. It is⁷
orible, and dreedeful; the dom and birthun^e
therof schal go out of it silf. His horsis⁸
ben li³tere than pardis, and swifter than
euentyd woluy^s, and hise horse men schu-

^a *Here bigynneth the boke of Abacuk, prophete.* A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Om. A. the prophete H.
^c saith K. ^d thing A.

^a *Here biginnith the book of Abacuk, profete.* E. *The book of Abacuk, the profete.* FY. Abacuk. B. No
initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b the C *et ceteri.* ^c Om. G. ^d brokun I. ^e the birthun is.

scatrid abroad; for whi horsmen shuln cum fro fer, thei shuln flee as an egle hastynge to ete. Alle men shuln cume to preye, the face of hem as^e brennyng wynde; and he shal gadre as grauel caitiftee. And he shal haue victorie of kyngis, and tirauntis shuln be his leizingis; he shal leize vpon al strengthe, and shal bere to gidre an hepe of erthe, and shal take it. Thanne the spirit of hym shal be chaungid, and he shal passe by, and falle to gydre; this is the strengthe of hym, of his god. Wher not thou fro bigynnyng, Lord my God, myn holy, and we shuln not dye? Lord, in to^f dome thou hast putte hym, and thou groundidist hym strong, that thou shuldist chastise. Thyn eezen ben cleene, see thou not yuel, and thou shalt not mow biholde to wickidnesse. Whi biholdist thou not vpon men doynge wickidly, and thou art stille, the vnpytouse man deuourynge a more iust than hym? And thou shalt make men as fishis of the se, and as crepyng thing not hauynge prince. Alle in hooke he shal lifte vp; he drawide it in his nett, and gadride in to his net; vpon this thing he shal glade, and ioie with out forth. Therefore he shal offere to his nett, and he shal make sacrifice to his nett; for in hem his part is maad fatt, and his mete chosen. Therefore for this thing he spredith abroad his nett, and euermore he shal not spare for to slea folkis.

CAP. II.

1 Vpon my keepyng Y shal stonde, and Y shal picche a greese vpon the wardyng; and Y shal byholde, that Y see what thing shal be saide to me, and what Y shal answer to the reprouynge me. And the Lord answerde to me, and saide, Write thou the sȳt, and make it pleyne

len be scaterid abroad; for whi 'horse men^f schulen come fro fer, thei schulen fle as an egle hastynge to ete. Alle men^g schulen come to preye^g, the faces of hem is as a brennyng wynd; and he schal gadre as grauel caitifte, and he schal haue victorie of kyngis, and tirauntis schulen be of his scornynge. He schal leize on al strengthe, and schal bere togidere heep of erthe, and schal take it. Thanne the spirit schal be chaungid, and he schal passe forth, and falle down; this is the^h strengthe of hym, of his god. Whetherⁱ 'thou, Lord, art not my Godⁱ, myn hooli, and we schulen not die? Lord, in to doom thou hast set hym, and thou groundidist hym strong, that thou schuldist chastise. Thin ȳzen ben clene, se thou not yuel, and thou schalt not mowe biholde to wickidnesse. Whi biholdist thou not on men doynge wickidli, and thou art stille, while the vnpytouse man deuourith a more iust man than hymself? And thou schalt make men as fischis of the see, and as a^j crepyng thing not hauynge prince^k. He schal lifte vp al in the hook; he drawide^l it^m in his greet net, and gaderide in to his net; on this thing he schal be glad, and make ioie with outforth. Therefore he schal offere to his greet net, and schal make sacrifice to his net; for in hem his part is maad fat, and his mete is chosun. Therfor for this thing he spredith abroad his greet net, and euere more he ceesith not for to sle folkis.

CAP. II.

Onⁿ my kepyng Y schal stonde, and schal pitche a^o grees on wardyng; and Y schal biholde, that Y se what thing schal be seid to me, and what Y schal answer to hym that repreuith me. And the Lord² answeride to me, and seide, Write thou the reuelacioun^p, and make it pleyne on

^e a AGH. ^f thi A.

^f hise horsemen v sec. m. ^g the praye EP sec. m. Y. ^h Om. RU. ⁱ thou, Lord, art not my God fro bigynnyng A sec. m. I. thou art not fro the bigynnyng, thou, Lord my God s sup. ras. ^j Om. EPSY. al R. ^k a prince CR. ^l drowȳ PY. ^m it vp s. ⁿ In is. ^o my v sec. m. ^p sȳt, ether reuelacioun c et ceteri.

vpon tablis, that he renne, that shal
 3 reede it. For 3it the visioun fer, and it
 shal apeere in to eende, and shal not
 leeze; 3it it shal make dwellyng, abijde
 thou it, for it cummyng shal cum, and
 4 shal not tarie. Loo! he that is vnbi-
 leeful, the soule of hym shal not be rízt
 in hym self; forsothe the iust man shal
 5 lyue in his feith. And as wijn disceiu-
 eth a man drinkyng, so shal the proude
 man be, and shal not be maad faire; for
 as helle he alargide his soule, and he as
 deth, and he shal not be fulfillid; and he
 shal gedre to hym alle folkis, and he shal
 6 hepe^s to gydre to hym alle peplis. Wher
 not alle these vpon hym shuln take a
 parable, and the spekyng of derk sen-
 tencis of hym? And it shal be saide, Wo
 to hym that multiplieth thingus not his
 owne; how long, and he aggregith azeinus
 7 hym thicke clay? Wher not sudeynly
 thei shuln ryse to gydre, that shuln bite
 thee? And thei shuln be reisid to-terynge
 thee, and thou shalt be in to raueyne to
 hem; and thin aspiers in *yuel* shuln
 8 wake. For thou robbidist many folkis,
 alle shuln robbe thee, whiche shuln be
 relikis of peplis, for blood of man, and
 wickidnesse of lond of the citee, and of
 9 men dwellynge in it. Woo to hym that
 gadrith euyt coueitise to his hous, that
 his nest be in hee3, and gessith hym for
 to be delyuered of the hond of yuel.
 10 Thou thou3tist confusioun to thin hous;
 thou hast slayn many peplis, and thi
 11 soule synnede. For a stoon of the wall
 shal crie, and a tree that is bitwixe
 ioyntours of beeldingis shal answeere.
 12 Woo to hym that beeldith a citee in
 blodis, and makith redy a cytee in wick-
 13 idnesse. Wher not these thingis ben of
 the Lord of oostis? Forsothe peplis shuln
 traueile in myche fíjr, and folkis in veyn,
 14 and thei shuln faile. For the erthe shal
 be fulfillid, that thei knowe the glorie of

tablis, that he renne^q, that schal rede it.
 For 3it the visioun *is* fer, and it schal³
 appere in to ende^r, and schal not lie; if it
 schal make dwellyng, abide thou it, for
 it comynge schal come, and schal not
 tarie. Lo! the soule of hym, that is vn-⁴
 bileueful, schal not be ríztful in hym silf;
 forsothe the iust man schal lyue in his
 feith. And as wyn disseyueth a man⁵
 drynkyng, so schal the proude man be,
 and he schal not be maad feir; for as helle
 he alargide^s his soule, and he *is* as deth,
 and he is not fillid; and he schal gadere to
 hym alle folkis, and he shal kepe^t togidere
 to hym alle puplis. Whether^u not alle⁶
 these *puplis* schulen take a parable on
 hym, and the speking of derk sentencis of
 hym? And it schal be seid, Wo to hym that
 multiplieth thingis not his owne; hou
 longe, and he aggregith azens hym silf
 thicke clei? Whether not sudeynli thei⁷
 schulen rise to gidere, that schulen bite
 thee? And thei schulen be reisid to-teer-
 ynge thee, and thou schalt be in to raueyn
 to hem; and thin aspieris in^v *yuel* schulen
 wake. For thou robbidist many folkis,⁸
 alle schulen robbe thee, whiche schulen be
 left^w of puplis, for blood of man, and for
 wickidnesse of lond of the citee, and of
 alle men dwellynge in it. Woo to hym⁹
 that gaderith yuel coueitise to his hous,
 that his nest be in hi3, and gessith hym
 for to be delyuered of the hond of yuel.
 Thou thou3tist confusioun to thin hous;¹⁰
 thou hast slayn many puplis, and thi
 soule synnede. For a^x stoon of the wal¹¹
 schal crie, and a tree that is bitwixe ioyn-
 turis of bildyngis schal answeere. Woo to¹²
 hym that bildith a citee in bloodis, and
 makith redi a citee in wickidnesse. Whe-¹³
 ther not these thingis ben of the Lord
 of oostis? For puplis schulen trauele in
 myche fier, and folkis in veyn, and thei
 schulen faile. For the erthe schal be¹⁴
 fillid, that it knowe the glorie of the

^s kepe κ.

^q renne perfí3tli *u sec. m.* ^r the ende *c pr. m.* ^s largide s. ^t gadere s. ^u And whether *Δ pr. m.*
 Wher *c et ceteri.* ^v in to G. ^w residue, *ether left c et ceteri,* ^x the I.

15 the Lord, as waters hillynge the se. Woo
to hym that 3euith drinke to his frend,
sendynge his galle, and makynge drunken,
16 that he biholde his nakidnesse. He is
fulfillid with yuel fame for glorie; and
drynke thou, and be aslept^h; the cup of
the ri3t half of the Lord shal aboute
3eue thee, and casting vp of yuel fame
17 vpon thi glorie. For the wickidnesse of
Liban shal keuere thee, and the distruc-
cioun of beestis shal fere thee, of blodis
of man, and^l of wickidnesse of lond^k of
the citee, and of alle dwellynge theryn.
18 What profitith the sculptile, for his
maker grauede it; a wellid thing to gi-
dre, and a fals ymage, for the maker
therof hopide in the makynge, that he
19 made dumbe symulacris? Woo to hym
that saith to a tree, Wake thou; Ryse
thou, to a stoon beynge styll; wher he
shal mowe teche? Loo! this is keuered
in gold and syluer, and eche spirit is not
20 in his entrailis. Forsothe the Lord in
his holy temple, al erthe be stille fro his
face.

CAP. III.

*Domine, audiri
audium tuum.
A.*

1 Lord, Y herde thi heerynge, and Y
2 dredde; Lord, thi werke, in the mydil
of 3eeris quyckene thou it. In the my-
dil of 3eeris thou shalt make knowen;
whan thou shalt be wrothe, thou shalt
3 recorde of mercy. God shal cum fro the
south, and the holy fro the mount of
Pharan. The glorie of hym keuerde he-
uen, and the erthe is ful of his heryng.
4 The shynynge shal be as lizt; hornys in
5 hondis of hym. There the strengthe of
hym is hid, byfore his face deth shal go;
6 the deuyl shal go out bifore his feet. He
stode, and matte the erthe; he bihelde,
and vnboonde folkis, and hillis of the
world ben broken to gydre; the litil hillis

Lord, as watris hilynge the see. Wo to 15
hym that 3yueth drynk to his frend, and
sendith his galle, and makith drunkun,
that he biholde his nakidnesse. He is fill- 16
id with yuel fame for glorie; and thou
drynke, and be aslept; the cuppe of the
ri3thalf of the Lord schal cumpasse thee,
and 'castynge vp of yuel fame on thi
glorie. For the wickidnesse of Liban 17
schal kyuer thee, and distruccioun of
beestis schal make hem aferd, of bloodis
of man, and of wickidnesse of lond, and
of the citee, and of alle men dwellynge
ther ynne. What profitith the 'grauun 18
ymage^a, for his makere grauyde it, a
wellid thing togidere and fals ymage? for
the makere therof hopide in makynge, that
he made doumbe symylacris. Wo to hym 19
that seith to a tre, Wake thou; Rise thou,
to a stoon beynge stille; whether he schal
mow teche? Lo! this is kyuerid with gold
and siluer, and no spirit is in his entrails.
Forsothe the Lord *is* in his hooli temple, 20
al erthe be stille fro his face.

CAP. III.

*The preier of Abacuk, the profete, for
vnkunynge men^a.*

*This title is in
Ebrew, and is
of the text.
Lire here.
EGKPQY.*

Lord, Y herde thin heryng, and Y 1
dredde; Lord, it *is* thi werk, in the myd- 2
dil of 3eeris quykene thou it. In the
middil of 3eeris thou schalt make knowun;
whanne thou schalt be wrooth, thou schalt
haue mynde of mercy. God schal come 3
fro the south, and the hooli fro the mount
of Faran. The glorie of hym kyueride
heuenes, and the erthe is ful of his heriynge.
The schynynge of hym schal be as lizt; 4
hornes in hondis^b of hym. There the 5
strengthe of hym was hid, deth schal go
bifore his face; the deuel schal go out
bifore hise feet. He stood, and mat the 6
erthe; he bihelde, and vnboond folkis, and
hillis of the world weren al to-brokun; the

^h asleepe A. ⁱ Om. A. ^k the lond H.

^y casting up, *ether spuyng c et ceteri preter l.* ^z sculptil c et ceteri. ^a From C E F G I K M N P Q R X Y. *The
preier of Abacuk, the profete, for vnkunynge men, and this schulde be red. v.* No rubric in AHS. ^b the
hondis RV.

of the world ben bowid doun; of the
 7 wayes of his euerlastingnesse. For wick-
 idnesse Y saw; the tentis of Ethiopie,
 the skynnes of lond of Madian shuln be
 8 trublid. Lord, wher in flodis thou art
 wrothe, or in flodis thi woodnesse, or in
 the se thin indignacioun? Whiche shalt
 stye vp thin horsis; and thi foure horsid
 9 cartis saluacioun. Thou reysynge shalt
 reyse thi bowe, othis to lynagis whiche
 thou hast spoken; thou shalt kitte flodis
 10 of erthe. Watris sawen thee, and hillis
 sorewiden, the guter of waters passide;
 depnesse 3af his voice, heeznesse reyside
 11 his hondis. Sunne and mone stoden in
 her dwellynge; in the list of thin arewis
 thei shuln goo, in the shynynge of thi
 12 spere smytynge. In beting of teeth thou
 shalt defoule erthe, and in wodnesse
 13 thou shalt astoneye folkis. Thou art gon
 out in to helthe of thi peple, in to helthe
 with thi crist; thou hast smyten the heued
 of the hous of the vnpitouse man, thou
 hast made nakid the foundement vn to
 14 the neckus. Thou cursidist the scep^ctris,
or powers, of hym, the hed of his fizters,
 cummynge as whirlwynde for to scatere
 me; the ioyinge with outforth of hem, as
 of hym that deuourith a pore man in
 15 hidils. Thou madist a weye in the se
 to thin horsis, in cleye of manye waters.
 16 Y herde, and my wombe is to gydre
 trublid; of the voice my lippis trem-
 bleden to gydre. Rott entre in to my
 boonys, and boyle, *or sprynge*, vndir me;
 and Y shal reste a3ein in the day of tri-
 bulacioun, and Y shal stey vp to oure
 17 peple girde to gydre. Forsothe the fije
 tree shal not florishe, and buriownyng
 shal not be in vyne 3erdis; the werk of
 the olyue shal lee3e, and feeldis shuln
 not brynge to mete; a sheep shal be kitt
 of fro the folde, and a drooue shal not
 18 be in the cratchis. Forsothe Y shal haue
 ioie in the Lord, and Y shal ioie with
 19 outeforth in God my Jhesu. God the

litle hillis of the world weren bowid doun,
 of the weies of his euerlastyngnesse. For
 wickidnesse Y sai; the tentis of Ethiopie,
 the skynnes of the lond of Madian schulen
 be troblid. Lord, whether in floodis thou
 art wrooth, ether in floodis *is* thi strong
 veniaunce, ether in the see *is* thin indig-
 nacioun? Which shalt stie on thin horsis;
 and thi^c foure horsid cartis *is^d* saluacioun.
 Thou reysynge schalt reise thi bouwe,
 9 othis to lynagis whiche thou hast spoke;
 thou schalt departe the floodis of erthe.
 Watris saien thee, and hillis sorewiden,
 10 the goter of watris passide; depnesse 3af
 his vois, hi3nesse reyside hise hondis. The
 11 sunne and moone stoden in her dwellyng
 place; in the list of thin arowis thei schu-
 len go, in the schynyng of thi spere glis-
 nyng. In gnastyng thou schalt defoule
 12 erthe, and in strong veniaunce thou schalt
 astoneye folkis. Thou art gon out in to
 13 helthe of thi puple, in to helthe with thi
 crist; thou hast smyte the heed of the
 hous of the vnpitouse man, thou hast
 maad nakid the foundement til to the
 necke. Thou cursidist the cep^etris^e, *ether*
 14 *powers^f*, of hym, the heed of hise fizteris,
 to men comyng as whirlewynde for to
 scatere me; the ioiying withoutforth of hem,
 as of hym that deuourith a pore man in
 15 hidlis. Thou madist a weie in the see
 to thin horsis, in clei of many watris. Y
 16 herde, and my wombe is troblid togidere;
 my lippis trembliden togidere of the vois.
 Rot entre^g in my boonys, and spreng^h
 vndur me; that Y reste a3en in the dai
 of tribulacioun, and Y schal stie vp to
 oure puple gird togidere. For the fije
 17 tre schal not floure, and buriownyng schal
 not be in vyn3erdis; the werk of olyue tre
 schal lie, and feeldis schulen not brynge
 mete; a scheep schal be kit awei fro the
 fold, and droueⁱ schal not be in cratchis.
 Forsothe Y schal haue ioie in the Lord,
 18 and Y schal make ioie with outforth in
 God my Jhesu. God the Lord *is* my
 19

^c on thi ru. ^d is thi n. ^e ceptre s. ^f power s. ^g entrede A pr. m. ^h buyle, *ether sprynge* c et ceteri.
ⁱ a droue rk.

Lord my strengthe, and he shal putte
my feet as of hertis; and vpon myn hee;
thingus, the ouercummer shal leede me
forth, singynge in psalmes.

strengthe, and he schal putte my feet as
of hertis; and on myn hiȝe thingis, the
ouercomere schal lede forth me, syngynge
in salmes.

*Here endith the booke of Abacuk, the
profete, and bigynneth the booke of
Sophonye, profete¹.*

*Here endith Abacuk, and here begin-
neth Sofonye).*

¹ No final rubric in AGH.

^j From CEGHIMQRSU. *Here endeth Abacuk, the profete; se now the booke of Sophonye, the profete. K.*
*Here endith the booke of Abacuk, and bigynneth the booke of Sophonye. N. Here endith Abacuk, the pro-
fete, and here bigynneth the booke of Sophonye, the profete. X. No final rubric in AEPY.*

ZEPHANIAH.

The book of Sophonye^a.

*Here bigynnith the book of the profecie
of Sophonie, the profete^a.*

CAP. I.

¹ THE word of the Lord, that is maad to
Sophonye, sone of Chusy, sone of Godo-
lie, sone of Amasie, sone of Ezechie, in
the days of Josye, the sone of Amon,
²kyng of Juda. Y gaderynge shal gadre
alle thingus fro face of erthe, saith the
³Lord; gadrynge man and beeste, gad-
rynge volatilis of heuen, and fishes of the
se; and fallyngis of vnpytous men shuln
ben, and Y shal leese men fro face of
⁴the erthe, saith the Lord. And Y shal
stretche out myn hond vpon Juda, and
vpon alle the dwellers of Jerusalem; and
Y shal leese of this place the relikis of
Baal, and the names of kepers of the
⁵housis, with the prestis; and hem that
worshipen vpon roues the kny3thod of
heuen, and worshipen, and sweren in
⁶the Lord, and sweren in Melchon; and
whiche ben turned away byhynde the
bac of the Lord, and whiche souzten, *or*
axiden, not the Lord, nether enserch-
⁷iden hym. Be 3e stille fro face of the
Lord God, for ni3 is the day of the
Lord; for the Lord made redi a sacrifice,
⁸halewide his clepid *men*. And it shal
be, in the day of offryng of the Lord, Y
shal visite vpon princes, and vpon sones

CAP. I.

THE word of the Lord, that was maad ¹
to Sofonye, sone of Chusi, sone of Godo-
lie, sone of Amasie, sone of Ezechie, in
the daies of Josie, the sone of Amon, king
of Juda. Y gaderinge schal gadere alle ²
thingis fro the face of erthe, seith the
Lord; Y gaderynge man and beeste, Y ³
gaderynge volatils of heuene, and fischis
of the see; and fallyngis of vnpytouse men
schulen be, and Y schal leese men fro
face^b of erthe, seith the Lord. And Y ⁴
schal stretche out myn hond on Juda, and
on alle dwellers^c of Jerusalem; and Y schal
lese fro this place the relifs of Baal, and
the names of keperis of housis, with
prestis; and hem that worschipen on ⁵
roouys the kny3thod of heuene, and wor-
schipen, and sweren in the Lord, and
sweren in Melchon; and whiche ben ⁶
turned awei bihynde the bak of the Lord,
and whiche 'souzten not^d the Lord, nether
enserschiden hym. Be 3e stille fro the ⁷
face of the Lord God, for ni3 is the dai
of the Lord; for the Lord made redi a^e
sacrifice, halewide^f hise clepid *men*. And ⁸
it schal be, in the dai of sacrifice of the
Lord, Y schal visite on princes, and on
sones of the kyng, and on alle that ben

^a Here bigynneth the boke of Sophonyas, prophete. A. No initial rubric in GH.

^a From E. Sofonye. A. Here bigynnith Sophonie, profete. PY. No initial rubric in the other Mss.
^b the face c pr. m. IKNR sec. m. SX sec. m. ^c the dwelleris x sec. m. ^d souzten not, nether axide not
c pr. m. s. n. ether a. not c sec. m. souzten not, nether axeden not ES. souzten not, either axeden not FGH
KMNPQRUXY. ^e Om. I. ^f he halewide IK sec. m.

of the kyng, and vpon alle that ben clothid with pilgrim, *or straunge*, clothing. And Y schal visite vpon eche that proudli entrith vpon the threshfold in that day, whiche fulfillen the hous of the Lord her God with wickidnesse and gyle. And ther^b shal be in that day, saith the Lord, a voys of crye fro the zate of fishis, and zoulynge fro the secounde, *or that streete of Jerusalem*, and grete contricioun fro litil hillis. Zoule ze, dwellers of Pyle, *or of tauern*; alle the peple of Canaan was stille to gidre, alle wlappid in syluer perishiden. And it shal be, in that tyme Y schal seeke Jerusalem in lanternys, and Y schal visite vpon alle men pi3t in her darstis, whiche sayen in her hertis, The Lord shal not do wel, and he shal not do yuel. And the strengthe of hem shal be in to rauyshyng, and the hous of hem in to desert; and thei shuln beelde housis, and shuln^c not enhabite; and thei shuln plante vyne zerdus, and thei shuln not drynke the wijn of hem. Ni3 is the grete day of the Lord, ni3 and swyft ful myche; the voys of day of the Lord bitter, a stronge man shal be in tribulacioun there. The ilk day a day of wrath, day of tribulacioun and anguysh, the day of needynesse, *or sorewe with out coumfort*, and myseisetee, *or wretchidnesse^{cc}*, day of derknessis and myst, day of cloude and whirlwynde, day of trumpe and noyse vpon stronge cytees and vpon hee3e corners. And Y schal truble men, and thei shuln walke as blynde, for to the Lord thei han synned; and the blood of hem shal be shed out as erthe, and the bodyes of hem as tordis. Bot and the syluer of hem, and the gold of hem, shal not mowe delyuere hem in the day of wrath of the Lord; in fijr of his feruour al erthe shal be deuoured, for he shal make eende with haastyng to alle men enhabitynge erthe.

clothid with pilgrimys, *ether straunge*, clothing. And Y schal visite on ech that proudli entrith on the threisfold^s in that dai, whiche fillen the hous of her Lord God with wickidnesse and gile. And ther¹⁰ schal be in that dai, seith the Lord, a voys of cry fro the zate of fischis, and zellynge fro the secounde zate, and greet defoulyng fro litil hillis. Zelle ze, dwelleris of Pila; al the puple of Canaan was stille togidere, alle men wlappid in siluer^b perischiden. And it schal be, in that tyme Y schal¹² seke Jerusalem with lanternes, and Y schal visiteⁱ on alle men pi3t^k in her darstis^l, whiche seien in her hertis, The Lord schal not do wel, and he schal not do yuele. And the strengthe of hem schal¹³ be in to rauyschyng, and the housis of hem in to desert; and thei schulen bilde housis, and schulen not enhabite; and thei schulen plaunte vynezerdus, and thei schulen not drynke the wyn of hem. Ny3 is¹⁴ the greet dai of the Lord, ni3 and swift ful myche; the voys of the^m dai of the Lord is bittir, a strong man schal be in tribulacioun there. 'The ilkeⁿ dai is a dai¹⁵ of wraththe, dai of tribulacioun and^o angwisch, dai of nedynesse and wretchidnesse^p, dai of derknessis and myist, dai of cloude and whirlewynd, dai of trumpe¹⁶ and^q noise on strong citees and on hi3e corneris. And Y schal troble men, and¹⁷ thei schulen walke as blynde, for thei han synned azens the Lord; and the blood of hem schal be sched out as erthe, and the bodies of hem *schulen be* as tordis. But¹⁸ and^r the siluer of hem, and gold of hem, schal not mowe delyuere hem in the dai of^s wraththe of the Lord; in fier of his feruour al erthe schal be deuourid, for he schal make ende with haastyng to alle men enhabitynge the^t erthe.

^b Y A. Y ther H. ^c thei shulen A. ^{cc} wretchidnesses G sec. m.

^s threshold EIPY. frexfold K. ^h children N. ⁱ ryse I. ^k put K sec. m. QRSU. ^l drastis Ksx. ^m Om. EFHKMQSU. ⁿ Thilke EFGIKMPY. ^o and of I. ^p myseiste, *ether wrecchidnesse* CEGHIKMNPRQUSY. ^q and of I. ^r Om. EPSY. ^s of the I. ^t in ceteri.

CAP. II.

1 Cum 3e togydre, be 3e^d gadrid, 3e folk
2 not worthi to be louyd, byfore that
comaundyng brenge forth as dust pass-
yng day; byfore that wrath of wode-
nesse of the Lord cum, byfore that the
day of his indignacioun come vpon 3ou.
3 Alle mylde, or *pacient*, men of erthe,
seeke 3e the Lord, whiche han wrou3t
the dom of hym; seke 3e the iust, seeke
3e the mylde, 3if eny maner 3e be hid in
4 the day of woodnesse of the Lord. For
Gaza shal be distruyed, and Aschalon in
to desert; thei shuln caste out Azotus
in mydday, and Ackaron shal be drawen
5 out by the rote. Woo! 3e that dwellen
the litil part of the se, a^{dd} folk of lost men.
The word of the Lord vpon 3ou^e, Canaan,
the lond of Fylisteys, and Y shal dis-
truye thee, so that an yndweller be not;
6 and the litil part of the se shal be reste
7 of sheeperdis, and fooldis of sheep. And
it shal be a litil part of hym, that shal
abide of the hous of Juda, there thei
shuln be fed in the housis^f of Aschalon;
at euyng thei shuln reste, for the Lord
God of hem visitide hem, and shal turne
8 away the caityftee of hem. Y herde the
shenship of Moab, and blasfemyes of
the sonys of Amon, whiche thei^{ff} dispis-
iden my peple, and thei ben magnyfyed
9 vpon the termes of hem. Therfore Y
lyue, saith the Lord of oostis, God of
Yrael, for Moab shal be as Sodom, and
the sonys of Amon as Gomor; drienesse
of thornes, and hepis of salt, and desert,
til in to with out eende. The relikis of
my peple shuln rauyshe hem, the resi-
10 dues of my folc shuln welde hem. So-
thely this thing shal cum to hem for her
pride, in whiche thei blasfemyden, and
weren magnyfyed vpon the peple of the
11 Lord of oostis. Orrible the Lord vpon
hem, and he shal make feble alle goddis
of erthe; and men of her place shuln

CAP. II.

Come 3e togidere, be gaderid, 3e folc
1 not worthi to be loued, bifore that co-
2 maundyng brynge forth as dust passyng
dai; bifore that wraththe of strong ven-
iaunce of the Lord come on 3ou, bifor
that the dai of his indignacioun come on
3ou. Alle myelde^a men of erthe, seke 3e³
the Lord, whiche han wrou3t the doom of
hym; seke 3e the iust, seke 3e the mylde,
if ony maner 3e be hid in the dai of
strong veniaunce of the Lord. For Gasa⁴
shal be distried, and Ascalon *shal be* in
to desert; thei schulen caste out Azotus
in myddai, and Accaron shal be drawun
out bi the root. Wo to 3ou that dwellen⁵
in the litil part of the see, a folc of loste
men. The word of the Lord on 3ou, Ca-
naan, the lond of Filisteis, and Y schal
distrie thee, so that a dwellere be not;
and the litil part of the see schal be reste⁶
of scheepherdis, and foldis of scheep. And⁷
it schal be a litil part of hym, that schal
be left of the hous of Juda, there thei
schulen be fed in the housis of Ascalon;
at euentid thei schulen reste, for the Lord
God of hem schal visite hem, and schal
turne awei the caitifte of hem. Y herde⁸
the schenschip of Moab, and blasfemyes^v
of^w sones of Amon, whiche thei seiden
schentfuli to my puple, and thei weren
magnified on the termes of hem. Therfor⁹
Y lyue, seith the Lord of oostis, God of
Israel, for Moab schal be as Sodom, and
the sones of Amon as Gomorre; drynesse
of thornes, and hepis of salt, and desert, til
in to withouten ende. The relifs of my
puple schulen rauysche hem, the residues
of my folc schulen welde hem. Sotheli¹⁰
this thing schal come to hem for her
pride, for thei blasfemeden, and weren
magnified on the puple of the Lord of
oostis. The Lord *shal be* orible on hem,¹¹
and he schal make feble alle goddis^x of
erthe; and men of her place schulen wor-

^d Om. AGH. ^{dd} o A. ^e Om. A. ^f hous A. ^{ff} Om. G sec. m.

^a myelde, ether *pacient* c et ceteri. ^v blasfemye F. ^w of the I. ^x goodis NRS sup. ras. U.

wirshipe hym, alle the ijlis of hethen
 12 men. Bot and zee, Ethiopiens, shuln be
 13 slayn bi my swerd. And he shal stretche
 forth his hond vpon the north, and shal
 leese Assur; and he shal putte the faire
 in to wildrenesse, and in to vnwayed, and
 14 as desert. And alle flockis^g, and beestis
 of folkis, shuln ligge in the mydil therof;
 and onacratulus, *that is, a brid with a
 long bill lijke a swan*, and the yrchoun
 shuln dwelle in the threshfoldis therof;
 voys of the syngynge in a wyndowe, and
 a crowe in the lyntill, *or ouer threshfold*,
 for Y shal make thynne the strengthe
 15 therof. This is the glorious citee dwell-
 ynge in trist, whiche saide in her herte,
 Y am, and ther is noon other more with-
 outen me. Hou it is maad desert, a
 couche of beast? Eche man that shal passe
 bi it, shal hisse, *or scorne*, and shal moue
 his hond.

CAP. III.

1 Wo! thou cytee, terrere, *or stirere*, to
 2 wrathe, and bouzt azein culuer. It herde
 not the voice, and resceyuede not disci-
 plyne, *or chastising*; it tristinede not in
 3 the Lord, it neizide not to hir God. The
 princis therof in mydil therof as lyouns
 roringe; iugis therof wolues, in the euyne-
 4 tyde leften not in to morewe. The pro-
 phetis therof wode, vnfeithful men; the
 prestis therof defouliden holy thing, vn-
 5 iustly diden azeinus the lawe. The Lord
 iust in mydil therof, he shal not do
 wickidnesse; erly, erly he shal zeue his
 dom in lizt, and it shal not be hid; for-
 sothe the wickid man wist not confu-
 6 sioun. Y loste folkis, and the corners of
 hem ben distruyed; Y made the wayes of
 hem desert, whil ther is not that shal
 passe. The cytees of hem ben desolate,
 not dwellynge a man, nether eny dweller.
 7 Y sayde, Nethese thou shalt dreede me,
 thou shalt resceyue disciptyne; and the

schipe hym, alle the ilis of hethene men.
 But and ze, Ethiopiens, schulen be slayn 12
 bi my swerd. And he schal stretche forth 13
 his hond on the north, and schal leese
 Assur; and he schal putte the feir *citee*
Nynyue in to wildirnesse, and into with
 out weie, and as desert. And flockis, and 14
 alle the beestis of folkis^y, schulen ligge in
 the myddil therof; and^z onacratulus^{*}, and
 irchun schulen dwelle in threshfoldis ther-
 of; voys of the syngynge in wyndow^a,
 and crow^b in the lyntil, for Y schal make
 thinne the strengthe therof. This is 15
 the gloriouse citee dwellynge in trist,
 which seide in hir herte, Y am, and ther
 is noon other more withouten me. Hou
 is it maad vnto desert, a couche of beeste;
 ech man that schal passe bi it, schal hisse,
 and schal moue his hond.

* *onacratulus*
 is a brid with
 a long bile, lijk
 a swan. AGK
 NQU.

CAP. III.

Wo! thou citee, terrere to wraththe, 1
 and bouzt azen a culuer. It herde not 2
 the^d voys of the Lord, and resceyuede not
 techyng, *ether chastising*; it tristenyde^e
 not in the Lord, it neizide not to her God.
 Princes therof in myddil therof *weren* as 3
 liouns rorynge; iugis therof *weren* wolues,
 in the euentid thei leften not in to mo-
 rewe. Profetis therof *weren* woode, vn- 4
 feithful^f men; prestis therof defouliden
 hooli thing, thei diden vniustli azens the
 lawe. The Lord iust^g in the myddil 5
 therof, schal^h not do wickidnesse; erli, erli
 he schal zyue his dom in lizt, and it schal
 not be hid; forsothe the wickid *puple*
 knew not confusioun. Y loste folkis, and 6
 the corneris of hem ben distried; Y made
 the weies of hem desert, while there is
 not that schal passe. The citees of hem
 ben desolat, for a man is not left, nether
 ony dwellere. Y seide, Nethese thou 7
 schalt drede me, thou schalt resceyue

^g folkis A.

^y flockis I. ^z Om. EPY. ^a the wyndow C. ^b a crow U. ^d Om. CEFHGKMNPRSU^x pr. m. ^e tristede I.
^f and vnfeithful U sec. m. ^g is iust U sec. m. ^h and schal U sec. m.

dwellynge therof shal not perishe, for alle thingus in whiche Y visitide it; nethese ful erly thei rysyng han corrupted alle her thouȝtis. Wherfore abyde thou me, saith the Lord, in the day of my rysyng aȝein in to comyng. For my dome is, that Y gadre folkis, and gadre rewmes; and Y shal shede out vpon hem myn indignacioun, and al the wrath of my wodenesse; forsothe in fȳr of my feruour al erthe shal be deuoured. ⁹For thanne Y shal ȝelde to my peplis a chosen tunge, that alle in cleepen in name of the Lord, and serue to hym in oo ¹⁰shuldre. Ouer the flodis of Ethiopie, fro thennis my bisecheris, the sonys of my scaterid men, shuln bryng a ȝift to ¹¹me. In that day thou shalt not be confoundide vpon alle thi fyndyngis, in whiche thou trespassidist in me; for thanne Y shal take away fro the mydil of thee the grete spekers of thi pride, and thou shalt namore putte to, for to ¹²be enhaunsid in myn holy hill. And Y shal leue in mydil of thee a pore peple, and nedy; and thei shuln hope in name ¹³of the Lord. The relikis of Yrael shuln not do wickidnesse, nether shuln speke leesyng, and a gyleful tunge shal not be funden in hem; for thei shuln be fed, and shuln reste, and there shal not be ¹⁴that shal fere. These thingus saith the Lord ^h, Douȝter of Syon, herie thou, syng thou, Yrael; glade thou, and ful-out ioie in al thi herte, thou douȝter of ¹⁵Jerusalem. The Lord hath taken away thi dom, he hath turned away thin enemyes; kyng of Yrael lord ⁱ in the mydil of thee, thou shalt namore dreede yuel. ¹⁶In that day it shal be said, Jerusalem, nyl thou dreede; Syon, be not thin hondis ¹⁷vnknyt. The Lord thi God stronge in mydil of thee, he shal saauē ^j; he shal enioyē ^{ij} vpon thee in gladnesse, he shal be stille in thi louyng, he shal ful enioyē ^k

techyng; and the dwellyng place therof shal not perishe, for alle thingis in whiche Y visitide it; nethese ful eerli thei risyng han corrupt alle her thouȝtis. Wherfor abide thou me, seith the Lord, ⁸in the dai of my rysyng aȝein in to comyng. For my doom is, that Y gadre folkis, and Y schal gadre rewmes; and Y schal schede out on hem myn indignacioun, and al¹ wraththe of my strong veniaunce; for in fier of my feruour al erthe schal be deuourid. For thanne Y schal ⁹ȝelde to puplis a chosun lippe, that alle clepe inwardli in the name of the Lord, and serue to hym with o schuldre. Ouer ¹⁰the floodis of Ethiopie, fro thens my bisecheris, the sones of my scaterid men^k, schulen bryng ȝifte to me. In that ¹¹day thou schalt not be confoundid on alle thi fyndyngis, in whiche thou trespassidist aȝens me; for thanne Y schal take awei fro the myddil of thee grete spekeris of thi pride, and thou schalt no more put to, for to be enhaunsid in myn hooli hil. And Y schal leue in the myddil of thee ¹²a pore puple and nedi; and thei schulen hope in the name of the Lord. The relifs ¹³of Israel schulen not do wickidnesse, nether schulen speke leesyng, and a gyleful tunge schal not be foundun in the mouth of hem; for thei schulen be fed, and schulen reste, and ther schal not be that schal make aferd. These thingis seith the Lord, ¹⁴Douȝter of Sion, herie thou hertli^l, syng thou, Israel; be thou glad, and make thou ioie withoutforth in al thin herte, thou douȝter of Jerusalem. The Lord hath ¹⁵take awei thi dom, hath turned awei thin enemyes; the kyng of Israel the Lord ^{is} in^m myddil of thee, thou schalt no more dreede yuel. In that dai it schal be seid, ¹⁶Jerusalemⁿ, nyle thou drede; Sion, thin hondis be not clumsid^o. Thi Lord God ^{is} ¹⁷stronge in the myddil of thee, he schal saue; he schal make ioie on thee in glad-

^h Lord God A. ⁱ lord, lord K. ^j saue thee G sec. m. ^{ij} ioie G sec. m. ^k out ioie AH.

^l al the r. ^k of men A pr. m. C sec. m. EFGHIKMNQRSUX pr. m. ¹ Om. I. ^m in the IK. ⁿ in Jerusalem E. to Jerusalem U sec. m. ^o clumsid CDEFGHIKMNQRSUX. acumbled EF.

18 vpon thee in heryng. Y shal gadre the
foolis that wenten away fro thi lawe, for
thei weren of thee, that thou haue na-
19 more shenshipe vpon hem. Loo! Y shal
slea alle men that tourmentiden thee in
that tyme, and Y shal saaue the halt-
ynge, and Y shal gedre hir that was cast
out; and Y shal putte hem in to heryng,
and in to name in eche lond of confu-
sioun of hem, in that tyme in whiche Y
20 shal leede 3ou to, and in the tyme in
whiche Y shal gadre 3ou. Forsothe Y
shal 3eue 3ou in to name, and in to hery-
ng to alle peplis of erthe, whanne Y shal
conuerte 3our caitifte byfore 3our ee3en,
saith the Lord.

*Here endith the book of Sophonye,
prophete, and bigynneth the book of
Aggey, the prophete¹.*

nesse, he schal be stille in thi louyng, he
schal make ioie withoutforth on thee in
heriyng. Y schal gadere the foolis^p, *ether* 18
veyn men, that wenten awey fro the lawe,
for thei weren of thee, that thou haue no
more schenschipe on hem. Lo! Y schal 19
sle alle men that turmentiden thee in that
tyme, and Y schal saue him that haltith,
and Y schal gadere hir that was cast out;
and Y schal putte hem in to heriyng, and
in to name in ech lond of confusioun of
hem, in that tyme in which Y schal
brynge 3ou, and in the tyme in which Y 20
schal gadre 3ou. For Y schal 3yue 3ou in
to name, and in to heriyng to alle puplis
of erthe, whanne Y schal conuerte 3oure
caitifte bfore 3oure 3en, seith the Lord.

*Here endith Sophonye, and here bi-
gynneth Aggei^q.*

¹ No final rubric in AGH.

P triflers I. . . q From CFGHIMQESU. *Here eendeth the booc of Sophonye; se now the booc of Aggei, the
profete. K. Here endith the book of Sophonye, and bigynneth the book of Aggey. NX. No final rubric in
AEPY.*

H A G G A I.

The booke of Aggey^a.

CAP. I.

1 IN the secounde 3eer of Darius, kyng
of Persis, in the sixte moneth, in oo day
of the moneth, the word of the Lord is
maad in the hond of Aggey, prophete, to
Zorobabel, sone of Salatiel, duyke of Juda,
and to Jhesu, 'the greet prest, sone of Jo-
2 sedech^b, sayinge, These thingus saith the
Lord of oostis, sayinge, This peple saith,
3 It cummeth not the tyme of the hous of
the Lord to be beeldid. And the word
of the Lord is maad in the hond of Ag-
4 gey, prophete, sayinge, Wher it is tyme
to 3ou, that 3e dwelle in housis^c couplid
5 with tymbre, and this hous desert? And
now these thingus saith the Lord God of
oostis, Putte 3e^d 3our hertis vpon 3our
6 wayes. 3e han sown myche, and brouzten
in lital; 3e han eten, and 3e ben not ful-
fillid; 3e han drunke, and 3e ben not ful
of drinke; 3e hilliden 3ou, and 3e ben not
maad hote; and he that gadrid hijris,
sente hem in to a sac, *or bagge*, hoolid,
7 *or broken*. These thingus saith the Lord
of oostis, Putte 3e 3our hertis vpon 3our
8 wayes. Stye 3e vp in to the mounteyn,
bere 3e treese, and bielde 3e an hous;
and it schal be acceptable to me, and Y
9 schal be glorifiede, saith the Lord. 3e
bihelden to more, and loo! it made^e
lesse; and 3e brouzten in to hous, and

Here bigynneth Aggey^a.

CAP. I.

IN the secounde 3eer of Darius, kyng of
Persis, in the sixte monethe, in the firste
dai of the monethe, the word of the Lord
was maad in the hond of Aggey, profete,
to Sorobabel, sone of Salatiel, duyke of
Juda, and to Jhesu, the greet preest, sone
of Josedech, and seide, The Lord of oostis²
seith these thingis, and spekith, This pu-
ple seith, 3it cometh not the tyme of the
hous of the Lord to be bildid. And the³
word of the Lord was maad in the^b hond
of Aggei, profete^c, and seide, Whether^d it⁴
is tyme to 3ou, that 3e dwelle in housis
couplid with tymbir, and this hous *be for-*
sakun^e? And now the Lord of oostis seith⁵
these thingis, Putte 3e 3oure hertis on
3oure weies. 3e han sowe myche, and⁶
brouzte in lital; 3e han etun, and ben^f not
fillid; 3e han drunke, and 3e ben not ful
of drynk; 3e hiliden 3ou, and 3e ben not
maad hoote; and he that gaderide hiris,
sente tho in to a sak holid, *ether brokun*.
The Lord of oostis seith these thingis,⁷
Putte 3e 3oure hertis on 3oure weies. Stie⁸
3e vp in to the munteyn, bere 3e trees,
and bilde 3e an hous; and it schal be
acceptable to me, and Y schal be glorified,
seith the Lord. 3e bihelden to more, and⁹
loo! it is maad lesse; and 3e brouzten in
to the hous, and Y blew it out. For what

^a Here begynneth the booke of Aggey, prophete. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b the sone of Josedech, the greet preest AGHK pr. m. ^c the hous K. ^d Om. A. ^e is maad G sec. m.

^a Here biginneth the booke of Aggei, profete. E. Here biginneth Aggei, profete. PY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. HINRUX pr. m. ^c the prophete I. ^d Wher ceteri. ^e desert, ether forsakun CEF GHIKMNPRUXY. desert, ether desolacioun S. ^f 3e ben ceteri.

Y blewe it out. For what cause, saith the Lord of oostis? for myn hous is desert^f, and 3e hasten eche man in to his¹⁰ hous. For this thing heuens ben forbeden, that thei schulden not 3eue dew; and the erthe is forbeden, that it shulde¹¹ not 3eue his buriownyng. And Y clepide drynesse vpon erthe, and vpon mounteyns, and vpon whete, and vpon wyn, and vpon oyle, and what euer thingus the erthe bringeth forth; and vpon men, and vpon beestis, and vpon¹² al labour of hondis. And Zorobabel, sone of Salatiel, herde, and Jhesus, 'the grete prest, sone of Josedech^{ff}, and alle relikis of the peple, the voys of her God, and the wordis of Aggey, prophete, as the Lord God of hem sente hym to hem; and al the peple dredde of the face¹³ of the Lord. And Aggey saide, a messangere of the Lord, of messangers of the Lord to the peple, sayinge, Y am¹⁴ with 3ou, saith the Lord. And the Lord reyside the spirit of Zorobabel, sone of Salatiel, duyck of Juda, and the spirit of Jhesu, 'the grete prest, sone of Josedech^g, and the spirit of the relikis of alle peple; and thei entriden, and maden werk in the hous of the Lord of hoostis, her God,¹ in the twentithe day and fourthe of the moneth, in the sixte moneth, in the secounde 3eer of Darius, kyng.

CAP. II.

² In the seuenthe moneth, in the twentithe and firste of the moneth, the word of the Lord is maad in the hond of Aggey, prophete, sayinge, Speke thou to Zorobabel, sone of Salatiel, duyck of Juda, and to Jhesu, 'the greet preest, sone of Josedech^g, and to other of the peple, sayinge, Who in 3ou is left, that saw³ this hous in his first glorie? and what seen 3e this now? wher it is not thus, as it be⁵ not in 3our ee3en? And now, Zorobabel,

cause, seith the Lord of oostis? for myn hous is desert^g, and 3e hasten ech man in to his hous. For this thing heuenes ben¹⁰ forbedun^h, that thei schulden not 3yue dew on 3ou; and the erthe is forbodun, that it schulde not 3yue his buriownyng. And Y clepide drynesse on erthe, and on¹¹ mounteyns, and on wheete, and on wyn, and on oile, and what euer thingis the erthe bryngith forth; and on men, and on beestis, and on al labour of hondis. And¹² Sorobabel, the sone of Salatiel, and Jhesus, the greet preest, the sone of Josedech, and alle relifs of the puple, herden the vois of her God, and the wordis of Aggei, the profete, as the Lord God of hem sente him to hem; and al the puple dredde of the face of the Lord. And Aggei, a messenger of¹³ the Lord, of the messangeris of the Lord, seide to the puple, and spak, Y am with 3ou, seith the Lord. And the Lord reyside¹⁴ the spirit of Sorobabel, the sone of Salatiel, duik of Juda, and the spirit of Jhesu, the greet preest, the sone of Josedech, and the spirit of the relifs of al puple; and thei entriden, and maden werk in the hous of the Lord of oostis, her^k God.

CAP. II.

In the foure and twentithe dai of the¹ monethe, in the sixte monethe, in the secunde 3eer of kyng Darius. In the se² uenthe monethe, in the oon and twentith dai of the monethe, the word of the Lord was maad in the hond of Aggei, the profete, and seide, Speke thou to Sorobabel,³ the sone of Salatiel, the duyck of Juda, and to Jhesu, the gret preest, the sone of Josedech, and to othere^l of the puple, and seie thou, Who in 3ou is left, that sai^m⁴ this hous in his firste glorie? and what seen 3e this now? whether it is not thus, as if it be not bifore 3oure izen? And⁵ now, Sorobabel, be thou coumfortid, seith the Lord, and Jhesu, greetⁿ preest, sone^o

^f desert, or forleft GK pr. m. ^{ff} the sone of Josedech, the greet preest AG. ^g sone of Josedech, the greet preest AGHK pr. m. ^{gg} sone of Josedech, the greet preest AGHK pr. m.

^g desert, or forleft CEF GHIKMNPRUXY. desert, other left S. ^h forbendid I. ⁱ seisede KY. ^k of her KRU. ^l othere men V sec. m. ^m sau3 I sapius. ⁿ the grete FL. ^o the sone I.

be thou coumfortid, saith the Lord, and Jhesu, 'greet preest, sone of Josedech^b, be thou coumfortid, and al peple of the lond, be thou coumfortid, saith the Lord of oostis; and do 3e, for Y am with 3ou, 6saith the Lord of oostis. The word that Y couenauntide with 3ou, whanne 3e wenten out of the lond of Egypt, and my Spirit schal be in the mydil of 3ou, 7 Nyl 3e dreede, for these thingus saith the Lord of oostis, 3it oo lytil thing, *or tyme*, is, and Y schal moue heuen, and 8erthe, and the se, and dryenesse; and Y schal moue alle folkis, and the desirid to alle folkis schal cume; and Y schal fulfille this hous with glorie, saith the Lord of 9oostis. Myn is syluer and myn is gold, 10seith the Lord of oostis. The glorie of this laste hous schal be greet, more than of the firste, seith the Lord of oostis. And in this place I schal 3yue pees, 11seith the Lord of oostis. In the foure and twentithe of the nynthe moneth, in the secunde 3eer of Darius, kyng, the word of the Lord is maad to Aggey, 12prophete, seiyng, These thingus saith the Lord God of oostis, Axe prestis the 13lawe, sayinge, 3if a man schal take hallowid fleshe in the heme of his clothinge, and schal touche of the heeznesse therof brede, or potage, or wyne, and oyle, or eche mete, wher it schal be hallowid? Sotheli prestis answeyng sayden, Nay. 14And Aggey saide, 3if a man defoulid in soule schal touche of alle these, wher it schal be defoulid? And prestis answerden, 15and saiden, It schal be defoulid. And Aggey answerde, and saide, So this peple, and so this folk byfore my face, saith the Lord, and so al werc of her hondis; and alle thingus that thei shuln offere there, 16shuln be defoulid. And now putte 3e 3our hertis, fro this day and aboue, byfore that a stoon vpon a stoon was putt 17in the temple of the Lord, whenne 3e wenten to an hep of twenty bushellis,

of Josedech, be thou coumfortid, and al the puple of the lond, be thou coumfortid, seith the Lord of oostis; and do 3e, for Y am with 3ou, seith the Lord of oostis. The word that Y couenauntide with 3ou, 6whanne 3e wenten out of the lond of Egypt, and my Spirit schal be in the myddil^p of 3ou. Nyle 3e drede, for the Lord 7of oostis seith these thingis, 3it o litil thing is, and Y schal moue heuene, and erthe, and see, and drie lond; and Y schal 8moue alle folkis, and the desirid to alle folkis schal come; and Y schal fille this hous with glorie, seith the Lord of oostis. Myn is siluer, and myn is gold, seith the 9Lord of oostes. The glorie of this laste 10hous schal be greet, more than the^q firste, seith the Lord of oostis. And in this place Y schal 3yue pees, seith the Lord of oostis. In the foure and twentithe *dai* of 11the nynthe monethe, in the secunde 3eer of kyng Darius, the word of the Lord was maad to Aggei, the profete, and seide, The Lord God of oostis seith these thingis, 12Axe thou preestis the lawe*, and seie thou, If a man takith hallowid fleisch in 13the hem of his clothing, and touchith of the hiznesse therof breed, ether potage, ether wyn, ether oile, ether ony mete, whether it schal be hallowid? Sotheli preestis answeriden, and seiden, Nai. And 14Aggei seide, If a man defoulid in soule touchith of alle these thingis, whether it schal be defoulid? And prestis answeriden, and seiden, It schal be defoulid. And 15Aggei answeride, and seide, So *is* this puple, and so *is* this folc bifor my face, seith the Lord, and so *is* al werk^r of her hondis; and alle thingis whiche thei offren there, schulen be defoulid. And now 16putte 3e 3oure hertis, fro this dai and aboue, bifor that a stoon on a stoon was put in temple^s of the Lord, whanne 3e 17wenten to an heap of twenti buischels, and there weren maad ten; 3e entriden to the pressour, that 3e schulden presse out

*Are thou prestis the lawe; for bi [her κ] office thei ben holden to kunne it. *Live here.* KUY. It perteineth to prestis, to kunne the lawe of the Lord, and for to answer to [an κυ] axing of the lawe. If a man is a preste, kunne he the lawe of the Lord; if he kan not the lawe of the Lord, he preueth himself to be no prest of the Lord. *Jerom and the Gloss here.* KUY.

^b sone of Josedech, the greet preest AG. sone of Josedech, greet preest HK pr, m.

^p myddis I. ^q of the CEF GHIKMN PQRSUX. ^r the werk IK. ^s the temple IK.

and there weren maad ten; 3e entriden
to the pressour, that 3e shulden presse
out fifty galouns, and ther weren maad
18twenti. Y smote 3ou with brennynge
wynd, and mildew, and hayl, and alle
the werkis of 3our hondis; and ther was
not in 3ou that turnede a3ein to me, saith
19the Lord. Putte 3e 3our hertis of this
day, and in to cummynge, fro the fourthe^l
and twentithe of the ninthe moneth, fro
the day in whiche foundementis ben
casten of the temple of the Lord, putte
203e vppon 3our herte. Wher now seed is^k
in buriownyng? and 3it the vyne 3erd,
and fijge tree, and powme garnet, and
the tree of olyue florishide^l not. Of this
21day Y shal blesse. And the word of
the Lord is maad the secounde tyme to
Aggey, in the foure and twentithe of the
22moneth, saiynge, Speke thou to Zoro-
babel, duyck of Juda, sayinge, Y shal
23moue heuen and erthe to gydre, and Y
shal distruye the sete of rewmys, and Y
shal breke the strengthe of the rewme of
heithen men, and Y shal distruye the
foure horsid cart, and the styer therof;
and the horsis shuln go down, and the
styers of hem, a man in swerd of his
24brother. In that day, saith the Lord of
oostis, thou Zorobabel, sone of Salatiel,
my seruaunt, Y shal take to thee, saith
the Lord; and Y shal putte thee as a
sygnet, for Y cheese thee, saith the Lord
of hoostis.

*Here endith the book of Aggey, the
prophete, and bigynneth the book of
Zacharie, sone of Barachie^m,*

fifti galouns, and there weren maad twenti.
Y smoot 3ou with brennynge wynd; and 18
with myldew, and hail, alle the werkis of
3oure hondis; and ther was noon in 3ou
that turnede a3en to me, seith the Lord.
Putte 3e 3oure hertis fro this dai, and in 19
to comynge, fro the foure and twentithe
dai of the nynthe monethe, fro the dai in
whiche foundementis of the temple of the
Lord ben castun, putte 3e on 3oure herte.
Whether now seed is in buriownyng? 20
and 3it vine3erd, and fige tre, and pom-
garnade, and the tre of olyue flouride not.
Fro this dai Y schal blesse. And the 21
word of the Lord was maad the secounde
tyme to Aggei, in the foure and twentithe
dai of the monethe, and seide, Spek thou 22
to Sorobabel, duik of Juda, and seie thou,
Y shal moue heuene and erthe togidere,
and Y schal distrie the seet of rewmes, 23
and Y schal al to-breke the strengthe of
rewme of hethene men, and^t schal distrie
a foure horsid carte, and the stiere therof;
and horsis schulen go down, and stieris of
hem, a man bi swerd of his brother. In 24
that dai, seith the Lord of oostis, thou
Sorobabel, sone of Salatiel, my seruaunt,
Y schal take thee, seith the Lord; and Y
schal putte thee as a signet, for Y chees
thee, seith the Lord of oostis.

*Here endith Aggei, and here bigyn-
neth Sacarieⁿ.*

^l foure A. ^k Om. A. ^l flouride A. ^m No final rubric in AGH.

^t and I 1K. ⁿ From CFGHIMQRSU. *Here cendeth the booc of Aggei; se now the booc of Zacharie, the profete. K. Here endith the book of Aggey, and bygynneth the book of Sacharie, the prophete. N. Here endith the booc of Aggey, the profete, and here bigynneth the booc of Sacarie, the profete. X. No final rubric in AEPY.*

Z E C H A R I A H.

The book of Zacharias^a.

CAP. I.

1 IN the eijthe moneth, in the secounde
zeer of Darius, the word of the Lord is
maad to Zacharie^b, sone of Barachie, sone
2 of Addo, prophete^c, seyinge, The Lord is
wroth vpon your fadris with wrathe.
3 And thou shalt saye to hem, These
thingis saith the Lord of oostis. Be ye
conuertid to me, saith the Lord of oostis,
and Y shal be conuertid to you, saith
4 the Lord of oostis. Be ye not as your
fadris, to whom former prophetis crieden,
sayinge, These thingis saith the Lord of
oostis, Be ye conuertid of your yuel
wayes, and your warst thouztes; and
thei herden not, nether token entente^d
5 to me, saith the Lord of oostis. Where
ben your faders and prophetis? where
thei shuln lyue into with outen ende?
6 Nethese my wordis and my lawful
thingis, whiche Y comaundide to my ser-
uauntis prophetis, where thei tauzten not
your fadris? And thei weren to gydre
turned, and saiden, As the Lord of oostis
thouzte for to do to vs vp oure wayes,
and vp oure fyndyngis he dide to vs.
7 In the foure and twentithe day of the
elleuenthe moneth Sabath, in the se-
counde zeer of Darius, the word of the
Lord is maad to Sacharie, sone of Bara-
chie, sone of Addo, prophete, sayinge,
8 Y sawe bi nyzt, and loo! a man styng

Here bigynneth Sacarie, the prophete^a.

CAP. I.

IN the eijthe monethe, in the secounde
zeer of Darius, the word of the Lord was
maad to Sacarie, the sone of Barachie, the
sone of Addo, profete, and seide, The Lord
is wrooth on your fadris with wrathful-
nesse. And thou schalt seie to hem, The
Lord of oostis seith these thingis. Be ye
conuertid to me, seith the Lord of oostis,
and Y schal be conuertid to you, seith the
Lord of oostis. Be ye not as your fadris,
4 to whiche the formere profetis crieden,
seyng, The Lord of oostis seith these
thingis, Be ye conuertid fro your yuel
weies, and your worste thouztis; and
thei herden not, nether token tent to me,
seith the Lord of oostis. Where ben your
5 fadris and profetis? whether^b thei schu-
len lyue with outen ende? Netheles my
wordis and my lawful thingis, whiche Y
comaundide to my seruauntis profetis, whe-
ther thei tauzten^c not your fadris? And
thei weren conuertid, and seiden, As the
Lord of oostis thouzte for to do to vs bi
oure weies, and bi oure fyndyngis he dide
to vs. In the foure and twentithe dai of
7 the enleuenthe monethe Sabath*, in the
secounde zeer of Darius, the word of the
Lord was maad to Sacarie, sone of Bara-
chie, sone of Addo, profete, and seide, Y
8 sawe bi nyzt, and lo! a man styng on a
reed hors; and he stood bitwixe places

^a Here bigynne[th] the boke of Zacharye, prophete. A. No initial rubric in GH. ^b Zacharie, prophete
K sec. m. ^c Om. K sec. m. ^d tente AGH.

^a Here biginnith the book of Zacharie, profete. EHY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b where
ceteri. ^c cauzten A.

* In Ebreu it
is Sebeth, and
it answerith to
Januarie. AEI
KNPUY.

vp^c a rede hors; and he stode bitwixe the places where myrtis wexen, that weren in the deepe, and after hym horsis dyuerse, rede, and white. And Y saide, My lord, what ben these? And an angel of the Lord saide to me, that spac in me, Y shal shewe to thee what these ben. And the man that stode bitwixe places wher myrtis wexen, answerde, and saide, These ben, whom the Lord sente, that thei walke thorow erthe. And thei answerden to the aungel of the Lord, that stode bitwixe places wher myrtis wexen, and saiden, We han walkid thorow erthe, and loo! al erthe is enhabitid, and rest-12ith. And the aungel of the Lord answerde, and saide, Lord of oostis, hou longe shalt thou not haue mercy of Jerusalem, and of the citees of Juda, to whiche thou art wroth? This is now the seuentithe 3eer. And the Lord answerde to the aungel, that spac in me, good wordis, coumfortynge. And the aungel that spac in me, saide to me, Crie thou, sayinge, These thingus saith the Lord of oostis, Y louede Jerusalem and Syon in grete feruour; and in grete wroth Y shal be wroth vpon riche folkis; for Y was wrothe a litil, forsothe thei holpen in to yuel. Therefore these thingis saith the Lord, Y shal turne a3ein to Jerusalem in mercyes. My hous shal be byldid in it, saith the Lord of oostis; and an hangynge lyne, or *mesure*, shal be streijt out vpon Jerusalem. 3it crie thou, sayinge, These thingus saith the Lord of oostis, 3it my cytees shuln flete with goodis, and 3it the Lord shal coumforte Syon, and 3it he shal chese Jerusalem. And Y reyside myn ee3en, and saw3, and loo! foure hornes. And Y saide to the aungel that spac in me, What ben these? And he saide to me, These ben hornes, that wyndewiden Juda, and Israel, and Jerusalem. And the Lord shewide to me foure smythys. And Y saide, What

where mirtis wexen, that weren in the depthe, and aftir hym weren horsis reede, dyuerse, and white. And Y seide, My lord, who ben these? And an aungel of the Lord seide to me, that spac in me, Y schal schewe to thee what these ben. And the man that stood bitwix places where mirtis wexen, answeride, and seide, These it ben, whiche the Lord sente, that thei walke thorou3 erthe. And thei answer-11iden to the aungel of the Lord, that stood bitwixe places where mirtis wexen, and seiden, We han walkid thorou3 erthe, and lo! al erthe is enhabitid, and restith. And the aungel of the Lord answeride, and seide, Lord of oostis, hou long schalt thou not haue merci on Jerusalem, and^b citees of Juda, to whiche thou art wrooth? This now is the seuentithe 3eer. And the Lord answeride to the aungel, that spac in me, goode wordis, and wordis of coumfort. And the aungel that spac in me, seide to me, Crie thou, seiynge, The Lord of oostis seith these thingis, Y louyde Jerusalem and Sion in greet feruour; and in greet wraththe Y schal be wroth on riche folkis; for Y was wrooth a litil, forsothe thei helpiden in to yuel. Therfor the Lord seith these thingis, Y schal turne a3en to Jerusalem in mercies. Myn^c hous schal be bildid in it, seith the Lord of oostis; and a plomet schal be streijt out on Jerusalem. 3it crie thou, seiynge, The Lord of oostis seith these thingis, 3it my citees schulen flete with goodis, and 3it the Lord schal coumforte Sion, and 3it he schal chese Jerusalem. And Y reyside myn i3en, and Y sai3, and lo! foure hornes. And Y seide to the aungel that spac in me, What ben these? And he seide to me, These ben hornes, that wyndewiden^d Juda, and Israel, and Jerusalem. And the Lord schewide to me foure smythys. And Y seide, What comen these for to do? Which^e spac, seiynge, These ben^f the hornes, that wyndewiden^g Juda bi alle

^c vpon AGH.

^b and on I. ^e And myn u sec. m. ^d wynewden I. wyndowen K. ^e The whiche I. ^f Om. RY, ^g winweden E. wynewden I.

cummen these for to do? Whiche saith, sayinge, These ben the hornes, that wyndewiden Juda by alle men, and no man of hem reiseide his hed; and these camen for to fere hem, that thei caste doun hornes of heithen men, whiche reysiden horn vpon the lond of Juda, for to scatere it.

CAP. II.

1 And Y reiseide myn eezen, and saw³, and loo! a man, and loo! in his hond a
2 litil coorde of meters. And Y saide, Whider gost thou? And he saide to me, That Y mete Jerusalem, and Judee; hou myche is the breede therof, and hou
3 myche the lengthe therof. And loo! the angel that spac in me, wente out, and an other angel wente out into meetynge of
4 hym, and saide to hym, Renne thou, speke to this chijld, saynge, With outen wall Jerusalem shal be enabitid, for multitude of men and beestis in the mydil
5 therof. And Y shal be to it, saith the Lord, a wall of fijr in cumpas; and Y shal be in glorie in the mydil therof.
6 O! O! O! flee 3e of the lond of the north, saith the Lord, for in foure wyndis of heuen Y scatride 3ou, saith the Lord.
7 Thou Syon, flee, that dwellist anentus the douzter of Babyloyne. For these thingis saith the Lord of oostis, After glorie he sente me to heithen men, whiche robbiden 3ou; forsothe he that shal touche 3ou, shal touche the appil of myn eeze.
8 For lo! Y reyse my hond vpon hem, and thei shuln be pray to these that seruyden to hem; and 3e shuln knowe, for the
9 Lord of oostis sente me. Douzter of Syon, herie thou, and glade; for loo! Y come, and shal dwelle in the mydil of
10 thee, saith the Lord. And manye folkis shuln be applied to the Lord in that day, and thei shuln be to me in to a peple, and Y shal dwelle in the mydil of thee; and thou shalt wite, for the Lord of
11 oostis sente me to thee. And the Lord

men, and no man of hem reiseide his heed; and these camen for to make hem aferd, that thei caste doun the hornes of hethene men, which reysiden horn^b on the lond of Juda, for to scatere it.

CAP. II.

And Y reiseide myn i3en, and si3, and lo! a man, and lo! in his boond a litil coorde of meteris. And Y seide, Whidir² goist thou? And he seide to me, That Y mete Jerusalem, and Judee; hou myche is the breede therof, and hou myche is the lengthe therof. And lo! the aungel that³ spak in me, wente out, and another aungel wente out in to the metyng of hym, and seide to hym, Renne thou, speke to⁴ this child, and seie thou, Jerusalem shal be enhabitid with out wal, for the multitude of men and ofⁱ beestis in the myddil therof. And Y schal be to it, seith⁵ the Lord, a wal of fier in cumpas; and Y schal be in glorie in myddil therof. A! A! A! fle 3e fro the lond of the north,⁶ seith the Lord, for in foure wyndis of heuene Y scatteride you, seith the Lord. A! thou Sion, fle, that dwellist at the⁷ douzter of Babiloyne. For the Lord of⁸ oostis seith these thingis, After glorie he sente me to hethene men, whiche robbiden 3ou; for he that schal touche 3ou, schal touche the apple of myn i3e. For lo! Y⁹ reise^k myn hond on hem, and thei schulen be preyes to these that seruyden hem; and 3e schulen knowe, that the Lord of oostis sente me. Douzter of Sion, herie thou,¹⁰ and be glad; for lo! Y come, and Y schal dwelle in myddil of thee, seith the Lord. And many folkis schulen be applied to the¹¹ Lord in that dai, and thei schulen be to me in to puple^l, and Y schal dwelle in^m myddil of thee; and thou schalt wite, that the Lord of oostis sente me to thee. And¹² the Lord schal welde Juda in to his part,

^b hornes c *pr. m.* EFHMPY. the horn i. hornen v.
^m in the i.

ⁱ Om. i.

^k reiseide i.

^l a puple A *sec. m.* i.

shal welde Juda in to his part, in the lond halewid, and shal chese 3it Jerusa-
13 lem. Be eche flesh stille fro the^d face of the Lord, for he roose of his holy dwell-
ynge place.

CAP. III.

1 And the Lord shewide to me the grete
prest Jhesu, stondynge byfore the aungel
of the Lord; and Sathan stode on his
ri3t half, that he were aduersarie to hym.
2 And the Lord saide to Sathan, The Lord
blame in thee, Sathan, and the Lord
blame in thee, that ches Jerusalem. Wher
this is not a dead brond rauyshid of the
3 fi3r? And Jhesus was clothid with
filthi clothis, and stode byfore the face
4 of the aungel. Whiche answerde, and
saith to hym that stode bifore hym, say-
inge, Do 3e away filthi clothis fro hym.
And he saide to hym, Loo! Y haue
don away fro thee thi wickidnesse, and
Y haue clothid thee with chaungynge
5 clothis. And he saide, Putte 3e a cleene
cappe, *or mytre*, vpon his heued. And
thei puttiden a cleene cappe, *or mytre*,
vpon his heed, and clothiden hym with
clothis. And the aungel of the Lord
6 stode, and the aungel of the Lord wit-
7 nesside Jhesu, sayinge, These thingis
saith the Lord of oostis, 3if thou shalt
go in my wayes, and shalt keepe my
keepyng, and thou shalt deme my hous,
and shalt keepe my porchis; and Y shal
3eue to thee men walkynge, of these
8 that now stonden here ni3. Heere thou,
Jhesu, grete prest, thou and thi freendis
that dwellen byfore thee, for thei ben
men signyfyinge thing^e to cummyng.
Loo! sothely Y shal bringe my seruaunt
9 spryngynge vp. For loo! the stoon
whom Y 3af^f byfore Jhesu, vpon oo
ston ben seuen ee3en; and loo! Y shal
graue the grauyng therof, saith the
Lord of oostis, and Y shal do away the

in the lond halewid, and schal cheese 3it
Jerusalem. Ech fleisch be stil fro the¹³
face of the Lord, for he roos of his hooli
dwelling place.

CAP. III.

And the Lord schewide to me the greet
prest Jhesu, stondynge bifore the aungel
of the Lord; and Sathan stood on his
ri3thalf, that he schulde be aduersarie to
hym. And the Lord seide to Sathan, The
2 Lord blame in thee, Sathan, and the Lord
that chees Jerusalem, blame in thee. Whe-
ther this is not a deed broond rauyschid
fro the fier? And Jhesus was clothid with
3 foule clothis, and stood bifor the face of
the aungel. Which answeride, and seide
4 to hem that stoden bifor hym, and he
seide, Do 3e awei foule clothis fro him.
And he seide to hym, Lo! Y haue don
awei fro thee thi wickidnesse, and Y haue
clothid thee with chaungynge clothis.
And he seide, Putte 3e a clene mytreⁿ on
5 his heed. And thei puttiden a cleene
mytre^o on his heed, and clothide him with
clothis^p. And the aungel of the Lord
stood, and the aungel of the Lord wit-
6 nesside to Jhesu, and seide, The Lord of
7 oostis seith these thingis, If thou schalt
go in my weies, and schalt kepe my kep-
ynge, also and thou schalt deme myn hous,
and schalt kepe my porchis; and Y schal
3yue to thee goeris, of these that now here
stonden ni3. Here thou, Jhesu, greet
8 preest, thou and thi freendis that dwellen
bifore thee, for thei ben men signefyng
thing to comyng. Lo! sotheli Y schal
bryng my seruaunt spryngynge up, *ether*
Crist borun. For lo! the stoon which
9 Y 3af bifor Jhesu, on o stoon ben seuen
i3en; and lo! Y schal graue the grauyng
therof, seith the Lord of oostis, and Y
schal do awei the wickidnesse of that
lond in o dai. In that dai, seith the Lord¹⁰

^d Om. A. ^e thingis A. ^f 3att K.

ⁿ cappe, *ether* [a s] *mytre* c et ceteri.
clothis v sec. m.

^o cappe CEKPRY. cappe, *ether mytre* GHMNQSUX.

^p white

10 wickidnesse of that lond in oo day. In that day, saith the Lord of oostus, a man shal clepe his frend vndir his vyne 3erd, and vndir his fijge tree.

CAP. IV.

1 And the aungel turnede a3ein, that spak in me, and reyside me, as a man 2 that is reyside of his sleep. And he saide to me, What seest thou? And Y saide, Y saw³, and loo! a candilstyke al of gold, and the laumpe therof vpon the hed therof, and seuen lanternes therof vpon it, and seuen vessels for to holde oyle to the lanternys, that weren vpon 3 the hed therof. And two olyues ther-vpon, oon on the ri3t half of the laumpe, and an other on the left half therof. 4 And Y answerde, and Y saye to the angel that spak in me, sayinge, What ben 5 these thingus, my lord? And the angel that spak in me, answerde, and saide to me, Wher thou wost not what ben these thingus? And Y saide, No, my lord. 6 And he answerde, and saith to me, sayinge, This is the word of the Lord to Zorobabel, sayinge, Not in oost, nether in strengthe, bot in my spirit, saith the 7 Lord of oostis. Who thou, grete hill, byfore Zorobabel in to pleyn? and he shal leede out the firste stoon, and shal make 8 euene grace to grace therof. And the word of the Lord is maad to me, sayinge, The hondis of Zorobabel foundiden this hous, and the hondis of hym shuln perfourme it; and 3e shuln wite, for the 10 Lord of oostis sente me to 3ou. Who forsothe dispiside litil days? and thei shuln glade, and shuln see a stoon of tyn in the hond of Zorobabel. These ben seuen ee3en of the Lord, that rennen 11 aboute in to eche lond. And Y answerde, and saide to hym, What ben these two olyues on the ri3thalf of the 12 candilstike, and at the left half? And Y answerde the secounde tyme, and sayde

of oostis, a man schal clepe his frend vndur a vyn *tre*^r, and vndur a fige tre.

CAP. IV.

And the aungel turnede a3en, that spak 1 in me, and reyside me, as a man that is reysid of his sleep. And he seide to me, 2 What seest thou? And Y seide, Y sai³, and lo! a candilstike al of gold, and the laumpe therof on the heed therof, and seuen lanternes therof on it, and seuen vessels for to holde^s oyle to the lanternes, that weren on the heed therof. And twei³ 3 olyues there onne, oon of^t the ri3thalf of the laumpe^u, and 'an other^v on the left half therof^w. And Y answeride, and seide 4 to the aungel that spak in me, and Y seide, What ben these thingis, my lord? And the aungel that spak in me, answer- 5 ide, and seide to me, Whether^{ww} thou woist not what ben these thingis? And Y seide, No, my lord. And he answeride, 6 and seide to me, and spak, This is the word of the Lord, seiynge to Sorobabel, Not in oost, nether in strengthe, but in my spirit, seith the Lord of oostis. Who 7 *art* thou, greet hil, bifore Sorobabel in to pleyn? and he schal lede out the firste stoon, and schal make euene grace to grace therof. And the word of the Lord 8 was maad to me, and seide, The hondis 9 of Sorobabel foundiden this hous, and the hondis of hym schulen perfourme it; and 3e schulen wite, that the Lord of oostis sente me to 3ou. Who forsothe dispiside 10 litile daies? and thei schulen be glad, and schulen se a stoon of tyn in the hond of Sorobabel. These ben^x seuen i3en of the Lord, that rennen aboute in to al erthe. And Y answeride, and seide to hym, 11 What ben these tweyne olyues on the ri3thalf of the candilstike, and at the lift-half therof? And Y answeride the se- 12 counde tyme, and seide to hym, What ben

^r Om. *ceteri*. ^s helde yn *u sec. m.* ^t on s. ^u therof *RSU.* ^v oon s. ^w Om. *RU.* ^{ww} Wher *ceteri passim.* ^x ben the 1.

to hym, What ben the two eris, *or rijp fruyt*, of the olyues, that ben bysidis the two golden bilis^g, in whiche ben oyle
 13 vesselis of gold? And he saith to me, sayinge, Wher thou wost not what ben these thingis? And Y saide, No, my
 14 lord. And he saide, These ben two sonys of oyle shynynge, whiche stonden niȝ to the lordshipere of al erthe.

CAP. V.

1 And Y was conuertid, and reyside^h myn eeȝen, and sawȝ, and loo! a bok
 2 fleeynge. And he saide to me, What seest thou? And Y saide, Y see a bok fleeynge; the lengthe therof of twenti cubitis, the breed therof of ten cubitis.
 3 And he saide to me, This is the curs, that goth out vpon the face of al erthe; for eche theef, as it is writen there, shal be demyd; and eche man swerynge, of
 4 this also shal be deemid. Andⁱ Y shal leede it out, saith the Lord of oostis, and it shal cum to hous of the theef, and to hous of the swerynge falsly in my name; and it shal dwelle in mydil of his hous, and shal waaste hym, and his trees, and
 5 his stoones. And the aungel wente out, that spak in me, and saide to me, Reyse thin eeȝen, and see, what this thing is,
 6 that goth out. And Y saide, What is it? And he saith, This is an amfer, *or a vessel that sum men clepen a tankard*, goynge out. And he saide, This is the
 7 eeȝe of hem in eche lond. And lo! a talent of lede was born; and loo! a womman syttyng in mydil of the amfer.
 8 And he saide, This is vnpitee. And he keste hir down in mydil of the amfer, and sente a gobet of leed in the mouth
 9 therof. And Y reyside myn eeȝen, and sauȝ, and loo! two wymmen goynge out, and a spirit in the wengus of hem; and thei hadden weengus as weengus of a

the tweyne eeris, *ether ripe fruyt*, of olyues, that ben bisidis the twei bilis of gold, in whiche ben oile vesselis of gold? And he seide to me, and spak, Whether
 13 thou woost not what ben these thingis? And Y seide, No, my lord. And he seide,
 14 These ben twei sones of oile of^y schynynge, whiche stonden^z nyȝ to the lordli gouernour of al erthe.

CAP. V.

And Y was conuertid, and reyside myn
 1 ȝen, and siȝ^a, and lo! a book fleynge. And he seide to me, What seest thou?
 2 And Y seide, Lo! Y se a book fleynge; the lengthe therof *was* of twenti cubitis, and the breede therof of ten cubitis. And
 3 he seide to me, This is the curs, that goith on the face of al erthe; for ech theef schal be demed, as it is writun there; and ech man swerynge, schal be demyd of this also. Y schal lede out it, seith the Lord
 4 of oostis, and it schal come to the hous of a theef, and to the^b hous of hym that swerith falsli in my name; and it schal dwelle in myddil^c of hys hous, and schal waaste hym, and hise trees, and hise stoonys. And the aungel wente out, that
 5 spak in me, and seide to me, Reyse thin ȝen, and se, what this thing is, that goith out. And Y seide, What is it? And he
 6 seide, This is a pot^d goyng out. And he seide, This is the ȝe of hem in al erthe. And lo! a talent of leed was borun; and
 7 lo! a womman sittynge in myddil^e of the pot^f. And he seide, This is vnpite, *ether a vnfeithfulnesse*. And he castide down hir in myddil^g of the pot^h, and sente a gobet of leed in to theⁱ mouth therof. And Y
 8 reyside myn ȝen, and siȝ, and lo! twei wymmen goynge out, and a spirit in^k wyngis of hem; and thei hadden wyngis as^l wyngis of a kite, and reysiden the pot^m
 9 bitwixe heuene and erthe. And Y seide 10

^g brid billes H. ^h Y reyside A. ⁱ Om. AGH.

^y Om. N. ^z stooden N. ^a I siȝ I. ^b Om. CHNPR *pr. m. v.* ^c the myddil SU. ^d an amfore, *ether a pot* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUY. ^e the myddil FUX *sec. m.* myddis M. ^f amfore CEF GHIKMN PQRSU. amfore, *ether pot* KX. ^g the myddil CFIMSUX *sec. m.* ^h amfore CEF GHIKMN PQRSU. amfore, *ether pot* K *sec. m.* ⁱ Om. NPSX *pr. m.* ^k in the I. ^l as the I. ^m amfore CEF GHIKMN PQRS. amfore, *ether pot* K *sec. m.*

kijte, and reysiden the amfer bitwix he-
 10 uen and erthe. And Y saide to the
 aungel that spac in me, Whither beren
 11 these the amfer? And he sayde to me,
 That an hous be beeldid therto in the
 lond of Sennaar, and be stablid, and putte
 there vpon his foundement.

CAP. VI.

1 And Y was conuertid, and Y reyside
 myne ezen, and saw³, and loo! foure four-
 horsid cartis goynge out of the mydil of
 two hillis, and the hillis hillis of brass.
 2 In the first foure horsid carte rede horsis,
 and in the secound foure horsid cart
 3 blake horsis; and in the thrid foure
 horsid cart white horsis, and in the
 fourth foure horsid carte dyuerse horsis
 4 stronge. And Y answerde, and saide to
 the aungel that spac in me, What ben
 5 these thingus, my lord? And the aungel
 answerde, and saith to me, These ben
 foure wyndis of heuen, whiche gon out,
 that thei stonde byfore the lordshipere of
 6 al erthe. In whiche weren blake horsis,
 wente out in to the^k lond of the north;
 and the white wenten out after hem; and
 the dyuers wenten out to the lond of the
 7 south. Forsothe thei that weren streng-
 est wenten out, and sou³ten for to go,
 and renne aboute bi al erthe. And he
 saide, Go ^{3e}^l, walke ^{3e} thoru the erthe.
 8 And thei walkiden thoru erthe^m. And
 he clepide me, and spac to me, saynge,
 Loo! thei that gon out in to lond of the
 north, maden my spirit for to reste in
 9 lond of the north. And the word of the
 10 Lord is maad to me, saynge, Take thou
 of the transmygracioun, *or caitiftee*, of
 Olday, and of Toby, and of Bydayⁿ; and
 thou shalt cum in that day, and thou
 shalt entre in to the hous of Josye, sone
 of Sophonye, that camen fro Babyloyn.
 11 And thou shalt take gold and syluer, and

to the aungel that spak in me, Whidur
 beren these the potⁿ? And he seide to ¹¹
 me, That an hous be bildid therto in the
 lond of Sennaar, and be stablischid, and
 set there on his foundement.

CAP. VI.

And Y was conuertid, and reyside myn ¹
 1 ³zen, and si³, and lo! foure horsid cartis
 goynge out of the myddil of tweyne hillis,
 and the hillis *weren* hillis of bras. In the ²
 firste foure horsid carte *weren* reed horsis,
 and^o in the secounde foure horsid carte
weren blac horsis; and in the thridde ³
 foure horsid carte *weren* white horsis, and
 in the fourthe foure horsid carte *weren*
 dyuerse horsis, and^p stronge. And Y an- ⁴
 sweride, and seide to the aungel that spak
 in me, What ben these thingis, my lord?
 And the aungel aunsweride, and seide to ⁵
 me, These ben foure wyndis of heuene,
 whiche goen out, that thei stonde bifor the
 lordshipere of al erthe. In which weren ⁶
 blake horsis, wenten^q out in to the lond of
 the north; and the white wenten out aftir
 hem; and the dyuerse wenten out to^r the^a
 lond of the south. Forsothe thei that ⁷
 weren strengeste wenten out, and sou³ten
 for to go, and renne aboute bi al erthe.
 And he seide, Go ^{3e}, and walke ^{3e} thorou³
 the erthe. And thei walkiden thorou³
 erthe^t. And he clepide me, and spac to ⁸
 me, and seide, Lo! thei that goon out in
 to lond^u of north^v, maden my spirit for^w
 to reste in the^x lond of north^y. And the ⁹
 word of the Lord was maad to me, and
 seide, Take thou of^z the transmygracioun, *10*
ether caitiftee, of Oldai, and of Tobie, and
 of Idaye; and thou schalt come in that dai,
 and schalt entre in to the^a hous of Josie,
 sone of Sofonye, that camen fro Babiloyne.
 And thou schalt take gold and siluer, and ¹¹

^k Om. A. ^l Om. A. ^m the erthe H. ⁿ Bidai A. Yday G sec. m.

^o amfore CEF GHIMN PQRSU. amfore, ether pot K sec. m. ^p Om. A sec. m. ^q Om. CEFHUV. ^r thei
 wenten I. ^s into E. ^t Om. ACHMN PQRSX sec. m. ^u the erthe I. ^v the lond GKSUX sec. m. ^w the north
 EIKSU. ^x Om. N. ^y Om. N. ^z the north IKSU. ^a of hem that U sec. m. ^b Om. EFHMNPQRSX pr. m.

thou shalt make crownes, and putte in the hed of Jhesu, sone of Josedech, the
 12 grete preste; and thou shalt speke to hym, sayinge, These thingus saith the Lord of oostus, sayinge, Loo! a man, Eest, *or Springynge*, his name, and vndir hym shal springe; and he shal beelde a
 13 temple to the Lord. And he shal ful make the temple to the Lord, and he shal bere glorie, and shal sitte, and shal be lord vpon his seete; and counseile of pees shal
 14 be bitwixe hem two. And crownys shuln be to Helem, and Toby, and Ydaie, and Hen, the sone of Sophonye, a memorial
 15 in temple^a of the Lord. And thei that ben fer, shuln cumme, and bylde in the temple of the Lord; and 3e shuln witen, for the Lord of oostis sente me to 3ou. Sothely this thing shal be, 3if bi heeryng 3e shuln heere the voyce of the Lord 3our God.

CAP. VII.

1 And it is maad in the fourthe 3eere of Darius, kyng, the word of the Lord is maad to Zacharie, in the fourthe day of
 2 the nynthe monethe, that is Casleu. And Sarasar, and Rogumelech, and men that weren with hem, senten to the hous of the Lord, for to preye the face of the
 3 Lord; that thei shulden saye to prestis of the hous of the Lord of oostis, and to prophetis, spekyng, Wher it is to wepe to me in the fifthe moneth, or Y shal halewe me, as Y dide now manye 3eeris?
 4 And the word of the Lord of oostis is
 5 maad to me, sayinge, Speke thou to al the peple of the lond, and to prestis, sayinge, Whenne 3e fastiden, and weiliden in the fifthe and seuenthe monethe, by seuenti 3eeris, wher 3e fastiden a fast to
 6 me^o? And when 3e eeten, and drunken, wher 3ee eeten not to 3ou^p, and drunken
 7 to 3our self? Wher wordis of prophetis

schalt make corouns, and putte on the heed of Jhesu, the greet preest, sone^b of Josedech; and schalt speke to hym, and 12 seie, The Lord of oostis seith these thingis, seiynge, Lo! a man, Comynge forth, *ether Borun*, is his name, and vndir him it^c schal sprynge. And he schal bilde a temple to the Lord, and he schal make a temple to 13 the Lord; and he schal bere glorie, and schal sitte, and schal be lord on his seete; and the preest schal be on his seete, and counsel of pees schal be bitwixe hem twayne. And corouns schulen be to He-14 lem, and to Tobie, and to Idaie, and to Hen, sone^d of Sofonye, a memorial^e in the^f temple of the Lord. And thei that ben 15 fer, schulen come, and bilde in the temple of the Lord; and 3e schulen wite, that the Lord of oostis sente me to 3ou. Sotheli this thing schal be, if bi heryng 3e schulen here the vois of 3oure Lord God.

CAP. VII.

And it is maad in the fourthe 3eer of 1 Darius, kyng, the word of the Lord was maad to Sacarie, in the fourthe dai of the
 2 nynthe monethe, that is Caslew*. And 2 Sarasar, and Rogumelech, and men that weren with hem, senten to the hous of the Lord, for to preye the face of the
 3 Lord; that thei schulden seie to prestis of the hous of the Lord of oostis, and to prophetis, and speke, Whether it is to wepe to me in the fyuethe monethe, ether Y schal halowe me, as Y dide now many 3eeris?
 4 And the word of the Lord was maad to 4 me, and seide, Speke thou to al the puple of the lond, and to prestis, and seie thou, Whanne 3e fastiden, and weiliden in the
 5 fyueth and seuenthe *monethe*, bi these seuenti 3eeris, whether 3e fastiden a fast to me? And whanne 3e eeten, and drunken, 6 whether 3e eten not to 3ou, and drunken not to 3ou silf? Whether wordis^b of pro-7

*that is, No-
uembre. AENP
SUY.

^a the temple H. ^o Om. A. ^p togidre A.

^b the sone I. ^c list A sec. m. ^d the sone IK. ^e memorial, or thing for mynde CFH. memorial, or mynde^{ful} thing EPY. memorial, either a thing for mynde GKMNQRSUX. ^f Om. FR. ^g fifthe monethe I.
^h the wordis IU sec. m.

ben not, whiche the Lord spak in the hond of former prophetis, when 3it Jerusalem was enhabited, and was ful of ritchessis, and it, and the citees therof in cumpas^q therof, and at the south and in feeldi place was enhabited? And the word of the Lord is maad to Zacharie, sayinge, These thingis saith the Lord of oostis, sayinge, Deme 3e trewe dome, and mercy, and doynigus of mercy do 3e, eche man to his brother. And nyl 3e falsly chalenge the wydue, and fadirlesse, *or moderlesse*, and the cumlyng, and pore man; and a man thenke not in his herte yuel to his brother. And thei wolden not take heed, and thei turneden away the shuldre goynge away, and aggregiden, *or maden heuy*, her eeris, lest thei herden. And thei puttiden her herte as an adamaunt, lest thei herden the law, and wordis whiche the Lord of oostis sente in his holy Spirit, by hond of former prophetis; and grete indignacioun is maad of the Lord of oostis. And it is don, as he spak; and as thei herden not, thei shuln crye, and Y shal not heere hem, saith the Lord of oostis. And Y scatride hem by alle rewmys, whiche thei knewen not, and the lond is desolate fro hem, for that there was not a man goynge and turnynge a3ein; and thei han putt the desirable lond in to desert.

CAP. VIII.

1 And the word of the Lord of oostis is 2 maad to me, sayinge, These thingis saith the Lord of oostis, Y hatide Syon with grete feruour, and with grete indignacioun Y hatide it. These thingis saith the Lord of oostis, Y am turned a3ein to Syon, and Y shal dwelle in the myddil of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem shal be clepid a cytee of trewthe, and the hill of the 4 Lord, an hill halewid. These thingis

fetis ben not, whiche the Lord spak in the hond of the formere profetis, whanne 3it Jerusalem was enhabited, and was ful of ritchessis, and it, and citeesⁱ therof in cumpas therof, and at the south and in feeldi place was enhabited? And the word of the Lord was maad to Sacarie, and seide, The Lord of oostis saith these thingis, and spekith, Deme 3e trewe dom, and do 3e merci, and doyngis of merci, ech man with his brother. And nyle 3e falsli calenge a widewe, and fadirles, *ether^k modirles^l*, and^m comelyng, andⁿ pore man; and a man thenke not in his herte yuel to his brother. And thei wolden not 11 'take heede^o, and thei^p turneden awei the schuldre, and 3eden awei, and^q 'maden heuy^r her eeris, lest thei herden. And 12 thei puttiden^s her herte as^t adamaunt, lest thei herden the lawe, and wordis whiche the Lord of oostis sente in his Spirit, bi the hond of the formere profetis; and greet indignacioun was maad of the Lord of oostis. And it is doon, as he spak; and 13 as thei herden not, so thei schulen crie, and Y schal not here, seith the Lord of oostis. And Y scateride hem bi alle 14 rewmes, whiche thei knewen not, and the lond is desolat fro hem; for that there was not a man goynge and turnynge a3ein, and thei han put desirable^{tt} lond in to desert.

CAP. VIII.

And the word of the Lord of oostis was 1 maad to me, and seide, The Lord of oostis 2 seith these thingis, Y hatide Sion with greet feruour, and with greet indignacioun Y hatide it. The Lord of oostis 3 seith these thingis, Y am turned a3ein to Sion, and Y schal dwelle in the myddil^u of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem schal be clepid a citee of treuthe, and hil of the Lord^v *schal be clepid* an hil halewid.

^q the cumpas A.

ⁱ the citees I. ^k and IKS. ^l *modirles child* IKS. ^m and a IKS. ⁿ and a IKS. ^o perceyue I. ^p Om. I. ^q and thei IK. ^r aggregiden, *ether* [or EPY] *maden heuy* CEF GHIKMN PQRSUXY. ^s settiden GMN sec. m. ^{qsx.} setten I. ^t as an IK. ^{tt} desirable C. ^u myddis I. ^v Lord of oostis v sec. m.

saith the Lord of oostis, 3it olde men
and olde wymmen shuln dwelle in streetis
of Jerusalem, and the staff of a man in
his hond, for multitude of 3eeris. And
streetis of the citee shuln be fulfillid with
infauntis and maydens, pleyinge in the
streetis of it. These thingus saith the
Lord of oostis, 3if it shal be seen hard
in eezen of the relikis of this peple in tho
dayes, wher in myn eezen it shal be
hard, saith the Lord of oostis? These
thingus saith the Lord of oostis, Loo!
Y shal saue my peple of lond^r of the
eest, and of the lond of goynge doun of
the sunne; and Y shal leede hem to, and
thei shuln dwelle in mydil of Jerusalem;
and thei shuln be to me in to peple, and Y
shal be to hem in to God, and in trewthe,
and in riztwisnesse. These thingis saith
the Lord of oostis, Be 3oure hondis coun-
fortid, whiche heeren in these days these
wordis by the mouth of prophetis, in the
day in whiche the hous of the Lord of
oostis is foundid, that the temple shulde
be beeldid. Sothely bifore tho days hijre
of men was not, nether hijre of werk
beestis was, nether to man entringe and
goynge out was pees for tribulacioun;
and Y departide alle men, eche a3einus
his neibore. Now forsothe not after
the former days Y shal do to the relikis
of this peple, saith the Lord of oostis,
but seed of pees shal be; the vyne 3erd
shal 3eue his fruyt, and the erthe shal
3eue his buriownyng, and heuens shuln
3eue her dewe; and Y shal make the
relikis of this peple for to welde alle
these thingus. And it shal be, as 3e,
hous of Juda, and the hous of Yrael,
weren cursyng in heithen men, Y shal
saaue 3ou, and 3e shuln be blessing. Nyl
3e dreede, be 3our hondis coumfortid;
for these thingus saith the Lord of
oostis, As Y thou3te for to tourmente

The Lord of oostis seith these thingis,⁴
3it elde men and elde wymmen schulen
dwelle in the stretis of Jerusalem, and
the staf of man^w in^x his hond, for the mul-
titude of 3eeris. And the stretis of the
cite schulen be fillid with 3onge children^y
and maidens^z, pleiynge in the stretis of
it^a. The Lord of oostis seith these thingis,⁶
Though it schal be seyn hard bifore the
izen of relifs^b of this puple in tho daies,
whether bifore myn izen it schal be hard,
seith the Lord of oostis? The Lord of
oostis seith these thingis, Lo! Y schal
saue my puple fro the lond of the eest,
and fro lond^c of goynge^d doun of the
sunne; and Y schal bryng hem, and⁸
thei schulen dwelle in the myddil of Jeru-
salem; and thei schulen be to me in to a
puple, and Y schal be to hem in to God,
and in treuthe, and in riztwisnesse^e. The⁹
Lord of oostis seith these thingis, Be 3oure
hondis coumfortid, whiche heren in these
daies these wordis bi the mouth of pro-
fetis, in^f the dai in which the hous of the
Lord of oostis is foundid, that the temple
schulde be bildid. Sotheli^g bifore tho daies¹⁰
hire^h of men was not, nether hireⁱ of werk
beestis was, nether to man^k entrynge and
goynge out was pees for tribulacioun; and
Y lefte alle men, ech a3ens his neibore.
But now not after the formere daies Y¹¹
shal do to relifs^l of this puple, seith the
Lord of oostis, but seed^m of pees schal¹²
be; vyne3erdⁿ schal 3yue his fruyt, and
erthe^o schal 3yue his buriownyng, and
heuenes schulen 3yue her dew; and Y
shal make the relifs^p of this puple for to
welde alle these thingis. And it schal be,¹³
as the^q hous of Juda and hous^r of Israel
weren cursyng in^s hethene men, so Y
shal saue 3ou, and 3e schulen be bless-
yng. Nyle 3e dreede, be 3oure hondis coum-
fortid; for the Lord of oostis seith these¹⁴
thingis, As Y thou3te for^t to turmente

^r the lond H.

^w a man U sec. m. ^x is in M. shal be in RU sec. m. ^y infauntis c et ceteri. ^z damysels R. ^a therof R.
^b the remenantis R. ^c the lond IKRSU. ^d the goyng IRS. ^e riztfulnesse ER. ^f and in I. ^g And
sotheli R. ^h the hire R. ⁱ the hire R. ^k men R. ^l the relifs I. the remenantis R. ^m the seed R.
ⁿ the vyne3erd I. the vyne R. ^o the erthe R. ^p remenantis R. ^q 3e, the R. ^r the hous CIKRSU.
^s among R. ^t Om. U.

3ou, whanne 3oure fadris hadden terrid
 15 me to wrath, saith the Lord, and Y
 hadde not mercy, so Y conuertid thou3te
 in these days for to do wele to the hous
 of Juda and Jerusalem; nyl 3e dreede.
 16 Forsothe these ben the wordis whiche 3e
 shuln do; speke 3e trewthe, eche man
 with his nei3bore; deme 3e treuthe and
 17 dom of pees in 3our 3atis; and thinke
 3e not in 3oure hertis, eche man yuel
 a3einys his freend, and loue 3e not a
 fals oth; forsothe alle these thingus ben,
 18 whiche Y hate, saith the Lord. And
 the word of the Lord of hoostis is maad
 19 to me, sayinge, These thingus saith the
 Lord of oostis, Fastyng of the fourthe
 monethe, and fastyng of the fifthe, and
 fastyng of the seuenthe, and fastyng of
 the tenthe, shal be to the hous of Juda
 in to ioie and gladnesse, and in to ful
 cleere solempnytees; loue 3e oonly treuthe
 20 and pees. These thingis saith the Lord
 of oostis, On eche syde peplis shuln cume,
 21 and dwelle in many citees; and the
 dwellers shuln go, oon to an other, sai-
 ynge, Go we, and biseche the face of the
 Lord, and seeke we the Lord of oostus;
 22 also Y shal go. And many peplis shuln
 cumme, and stronge folkis, for to seeke
 the Lord of oostus in Jerusalem, for to
 23 biseche the face of the Lord. These
 thingus saith the Lord of oostis, In tho
 days, in whiche ten men of alle tungis,
or langagis, of heithen men shuln cacche,
 and thei shuln cacche the hem of a man
 Jew, sayinge, We shuln go with 3ou;
 forsothe we han herd, for God is with
 3ou.

CAP. IX.

1 The charge of word^s of the Lord, in
 the lond of Adrach, and Damask, reste
 therof; for the Lord is the ee3e of man,
 2 and of alle the lynagis of Yrael. And
 Emath in termes therof, and Tyrus, and

3ou, whanne 3oure fadris hadden terrid me
 to wraththe, seith the Lord, and Y hadde 15
 not merci, so Y conuertid thou3te in these
 daies for^u to do wel to the hous of Juda
 and Jerusalem^v; nyle 3e drede. Therfor 16
 these ben the wordis whiche 3e schulen
 do; speke 3e treuthe, ech man with his
 nei3bore; deme 3e treuthe and dom^w of
 pees in 3oure 3atis; and thenke 3e not in 17
 3oure hertis, ony man yuel a3ens his frend,
 and loue 3e^x not a fals ooth; for^y alle thes
 thingis it ben, whiche Y hate, seith the
 Lord. And the word of the Lord of 18
 oostis was maad to me, and seide, The 19
 Lord of oostis seith these thingis, Fast-
 yng^z of the fourthe *monethe*, and fastyng
 of the fyuethe^a, and fastyng^b of the se-
 uenthe, and fasting^c of the tenthe, schal be
 to the hous of Juda in^d to ioie^e and glad-
 nes, and in^f to solempnitees ful cleer; loue
 3e oneli treuthe and pees. The Lord of 20
 oostis seith these thingis, Pupilis schulen
 come on ech side, and dwelle in many
 citees; and the dwelleris schulen go, oon 21
 to an other, and seie, Go we, and biseche
 the face of the Lord, and seke we the
 Lord of oostis; also I shal go. And many 22
 pupilis schulen come, and stronge folkis, for
 to seke the Lord of oostis in Jerusalem,
 and for^g to biseche the face of the Lord.
 The Lord of oostis seith these thingis, In 23
 tho daies, in whiche ten men of alle lan-
 gagis^h of hethene men schulen caccheⁱ, and
 thei schulen cacche^k the hemme of a man
 Jew^l, and seye, We schulen go with 3ou;
 for we han herd, that God is with 3ou.

CAP. IX.

The birthun of the word of the Lord, 1
 in the lond of Adrach, and of Damask, the
 reste therof; for 'of the Lord is^m the i3e
 of man, and of alle lynagis of Israel. And 2
 Emath inⁿ termes^o therof, and Tirus, and

^s the word H.

^u Om. R. ^v to Jerusalem R. ^w the dome R. ^x Om. R. ^y for whi R. ^z The fastyng R.
^a Om. R. ^b the fastyng R. ^c the fasting R. ^d and A *pr. m.* C E G H K M N P Q U X. ^e the ioie R. ^f Om. I.
^g Om. R. ^h tungis, *or langagis* C E F G H I K M N P Q S U X Y. ⁱ take R. ^k take R. ^l a Jew R U *sec. m.* ^m the
 Lord of R. ⁿ shal be in R U. ^o the termes R.

Sydon; sotheli thei token to hem wisdom grete. And Tyrus beelde his strengthynge, and gadride syluer as erthe, and gold as fen of streetis. Loo! the Lord shal weelde it, and shal smyte in the see the strengthe therof, and it shal be deuoured in fjr. Ascalon shal se, and shal drede; and Gaza, and shal sorewe ful myche; and Acharon, for the hope therof is confoundid; and the kyng shal perishe of Gaza, and Ascalon shal not be enhabited; and a departer shal sitte in Azoto, and Y shal distruye the pride of Philistynes. And Y shal take away the blood therof of the mouth of it, and the abhomynaciouns therof of mydil of the teeth therof, and it also shal be left to oure God; and it shal be as a duyck in Juda, and Accaron as Jebusey. And Y shal enuyrounne myn hous of these that holden kny3thode to me, goynge and turnynge a3ein; and the exactoure, *or the vniust axer*, shal namore passe vpon hem, for now Y saw3 in myn eezen. Thou dou3ter of Syon, ioye with outeforth ynow3, synge, thou dou3ter of Jerusalem; loo! thi kyng shal come to thee, he iust, and saueour; he pore, stynging vpon a she asse, and vpon a fole, sone of the she asse. And Y shal scattere the foure horsid carte of Effraym, and the hors of Jerusalem, and bowe of the bateile shal be destruyed; and he shal speke pees to heithen men, and power of hym fro se vn to se, and fro floodis vn to eendis of the erthe. And thou in blood of thi testament sentist out thi bounden fro the lake, in whiche is not water. Be 3e conuertid to strengthing, 3e bounden of hope; and this day Y shewynge double thingus shal 3eelde to thee, for Y shal stretche forth to me Juda as a bowe, Y shal fulfille the lond of Effraym. And Y shal reyse thi sonnes, Syon, vpon thi sonnes, Greece, and Y shal

Sidon; for thei token to hem wisdom greetli. And^p Tirus bildide his strengthynge, and gaderide siluer as erthe, and gold as fen of stretis. Loo! the Lord shal welde it, and schal smyte in the see the strengthe therof, and it schal be deuourid bi fier. Ascalon schal see, and schal drede; and Gasa, and schal^r sorewe ful myche; and Accaron, for the hope therof is confoundid; and the kyng schal perische fro Gasa, and Ascalon schal not be enhabited; and a departere schal sitte in Asotus, and Y schal distrie the pride of Filisteis. And Y schal take awey the blood therof^s fro the mouth of him, and abhomynaciouns^t of hym fro the myddil of teeth^u of hym, and he also^v schal be left to our God; and he schal be as a duyck in Juda, and Accaron as Jebusei. And Y schal cumpasse myn hous of these that holden kni3thod to me, and goen, and turnen a3en^w; and an vniust axere^x schal no more passe on hem, for now Y si3 with myn izen. Thou dou3ter of Sion, make^y ioie withoutforth ynow, synge^y, thou dou3ter of Jerusalem; lo! thi kyng schal come to thee, he iust, and sauyour; he pore, and stynging on a sche asse, and on a fole^z, sone^a of a^b sche asse. And Y schal leese^c foure^c horsid carte of Effraym, and^d an hors of Jerusalem, and the bouwe of batel schal be distried; and he schal speke pees to hethene men, and the power of him schal be fro see^e til to see^f, and fro floodis til to the endis of erthe. And thou in^g blood of thi testament sentist out thi boundun men fro lake^h, in which is not water. 3e boundun of hope, be conuertidⁱ to strengthing; and to dai Y schewynge^k schal 3elde to thee double thingis, for Y schal stretche forth to me Juda as a bowe, Y fillide the lond of^l Effraym. And Y schal reyse thi sonnes, thou Sion, on thi sonnes, thou lond of Grekis, and Y schal sette thee as the swerd of stronge men. And^l

^p For R. ^q For I. ^r schal make R. ^s of him R. ^t the abhominacions IR. ^u the teeth IR. ^v Om. I. ^w to me I. ^x exactour, *ether* [or EPY] *vniust axere* CEF GHIKMN PQSU XY. exactour R. ^y synge hertili R. ^z colt R. ^a the sone R. ^b Om. EFGH MN PQUX pr. m. Y. ^c the foure IX sec. m. a foure R. ^d Om. N. ^e the se R. ^f the see R. ^g the blood R. ^h the lake IR. ⁱ no R. ^k telle, and Y R. ^l Om. R.

14 putte thee as swerd of stronge. And the Lord God shal be seen vpon hem, and the swerd of hym shal go out as leyt. 15 And the Lord God shal synge in trumpe, and shal^u go in whirlwynd of the south; the Lord of oostis shal keure, *or defende*, hem, and thei shuln deuouren, and maken suget in stonys of slynge; and thei drynkyng shuln be fulfillid as with wyne, and shuln be fillid as cruetis, and 16 as hornes of the auter. And the Lord God of hem shal saue hem in that day, as a floc of his peple, for holy stoonys shuln be reysid vpon the lond of hym. 17 What forsothe is the good of hym, and what the faire of hym, no but whete^x of chosun men, and wyne buriownynge virgyns^y?

CAP. X.

1 Axe 3e reyn of the Lord in euenyng tyme, and the Lord shal make snowis, and reyn of myzt^{uu} of the cloude; and he shal 3eue to hem, eche by hem self, erbe 2 in the feeld. For symulacris spaken vnprofitable thing, and dyuynours sawen lesyng; and dremers spaken veynly, ydely thei confortiden; therfor thei ben ledde to as^v a floc^w, thei shuln be tourmentid, for sheperd is not to hem. Vpon sheperdis my woodnes is wrothe, and vpon goot buckis Y shal visite; for the Lord of oostis hath visited his floc, the hous of Juda, and hath putt hem^x as 4 hors of his glorie in batel. Of hym corner, and of him a litil pale, of hym bowe of batel, and of hym eche exactour, 5 *or vniust axer*, shal go out togidre. And thei shuln be as stronge men, defoulynge cley of wayes in bateil, and thei shuln fizte, for the Lord is with hem; and sty- 6 ers of horsis shuln be confoundid. And Y shal coumforte the hous of Juda, and Y shal saue the hous of Joseph; and Y

the Lord God shal be seyn on^m hem, and the dart of himⁿ shal go out as leit. And 15 the Lord God shal synge in a trumpe, and schal go in^o whirlwynd of the south; the Lord of oostis schal defende^p hem, and thei schulen deuoure, and make suget with stoonys of a slynge; and thei drynkyng^q schulen be^r fillid as with wyn, and schulen be fillid as viols^s, and as hornes of the auter. And the Lord God of hem^t schal 16 saue hem in that dai, as a floc^u of his puple, for hooli stoonys schulen be reysid on the lond of hym. For^v what is the 17 good of hym, and what *is* the faire^w of hym, no but whete^x of chosun men, and wyn buriownynge virgyns^y?

CAP. X.

Axe 3e of the Lord reyn in late^x tyme, 1 and the Lord schal make snowis, and reyn of myzt of cloude; and he schal 3yue to hem, to ech bi hym silf, erbe in the feeld. For synylacris spaken vnprofitable thing^a, 2 and diuynours saien leesyng; and dremers spaken veynli, ydily thei coumfortiden; therfor thei ben led awei as a floc, thei schulen be turmentid, for a scheepherd is not to hem. On^b scheepherdis my strong³ veniaunce is wrooth, and on buckis^c of geet Y schal visite; for the Lord of oostis hath visitide his floc, the hous of Juda, and hath put^d hem as an hors of hys glorie in batel. Of hym *'schal be'* a cornere, 4 and of hym a^f litil pale, of hym a^g bowe of^h batel, and of hym ech vniust axereⁱ schal go out togidre. And thei schulen 5 be as stronge men, defoulynge clei of weies in batel, and thei schulen fizte, for the Lord is with hem; and stieris of horsis schulen be confoundid. And Y schal coum- 6 forte the hous of Juda, and Y schal saue the hous of Joseph; and Y schal conuerte

^u he shal *K pr. m.* ^{uu} nyzt *A.* ^v vs as *A.* ^w folc *H.* ^x him *A.*

^m of *IR.* ⁿ hem *R.* ^o in to the *R.* ^p kyure, *ether defende c et ceteri.* ^q schulen drinke *R.* ^r greetli be *R.* ^s viols, *ether cruetis c et ceteri.* ^t Om. *R.* ^u folc *A pr. m.* ^v For whi *R.* ^w faire thing *RU sec. m.* ^x the whete *R.* ^y Om. *R.* ^z lateful *R.* ^a thinges *R.* ^b Vpon *R.* ^c the buckis *R.* ^d set *R.* ^e is *R.* ^f is a *R.* ^g is a *R.* ^h in *R.* ⁱ exactour, *ether vniust axere CEF GHIKMN PQSU XY.* exactour *R.*

shal conuerte hem, for Y shal haue mercye of hem; and thei shuln be as thei weren, whanne Y hadde not cast hem away; forsothe Y the Lord God of hem, and Y shal graciously heere hem. And thei shuln be as stronge of Effraym, and the herte of hem shal glade, as of wyne; and the sonys of hem shuln see, and glade, and the hert of hem shal ioie with outeforth in the Lord. Y shal hisse, *or softly speeke*, to hem, and Y shal gedre hem, for Y azein bouzte hem, and Y shal multiplie hem, as thei weren byfore multiplied. And Y shal sowe hem in peplis, and of fer thei shuln bithenke of me; and thei shuln lyue with her sonys, and shuln turne azein. And Y shal azein leede hem fro the lond of Egypt, and of Assiriens Y shal gedre hem; and to the lond of Galaad and of Liban Y shal bringe hem, and place shal not be founden in hem. And he shal passe in wawe of the se, and shal smyte waves in the see, and alle depnessis of flood shuln be confoundid; and the pride of Assur shal be meekid, and the sceptre of Egypt shal go away. Y shal coumforte hem in the Lord, and in the name of hym thei shuln walke, saith the Lord.

CAP. XI.

1 Liban, opne thi zatis, and fjr shal zeete thi cedris. 3oule, thou beche, for the cedre felle down, for the grete ben distruyed; 3oule, 3e ookis of Basan, for the stronge wijlde wod is kitt down. 3 Voice of 3oulyng of sheperdis, for the grete doying of hem is distruyed; voice of roryng of lyouns, for the pride of Jordan is waastid. These thingus saith the Lord my God, Feede thou beestis of slauzter, whom thei that weeldiden slewen; and sorewiden not, and soulden hem, sayinge, Blessid the Lord, we ben maad riche. And the sheperdis of hem spariden

hem, for Y schal haue merci on hem; and thei schulen be as thei weren, whanne Y hadde not cast awei hem; for Y *shal be* the Lord God of hem, and Y schal graciousli here hem. And thei schulen be as the stronge^k of Effraym, and the herte of hem schal be glad, as of wyn; and soness^l of hem schulen se, and be glad, and the herte of hem schal make ioie withoutforth in the Lord. Y^m schal hisse, '*ether softly speke*', to hem, and Y schal gadere hem^o, for Y azen bouzte hem, and Y schal multiplie hem, as thei weren multiplied before. And Y schal sowe hem in^p puplis,⁹ and fro fer thei schulen bithenke of me; and thei schulen lyue with her soness, and schulen turne azen. And Y schal 'azen¹⁰ lede^a hem fro the lond of Egypt, and Y schal gadere hem fro Assiriens; and Y schal brynge hem to the lond of Galaad and of Liban, and place schal not be foundun to hem. And he schal passe in¹¹ the^r wawe of the see, and schal smyte wawis in the see, and alle depnessis^s of flood schulen be confoundid; and the pride of Assur schal be mekid, and the ceptre of Egypt schal go awei. Y schal coumforte¹² hem in the Lord, and thei schulen walke^t in the name of hym, seith the Lord.

CAP. XI.

Thou Liban, opene thi zatis, and fier¹ schal ete thi cedris. 3elle, thou fir tre, for the cedre felle down, for grete men benⁿ distried; 3elle, 3e okis of Basan, for the stronge welde^v wode^w is^x kit down. Voiss^y of 3ellyng of schepherdis, for the greet worschip of hem is distried; voiss^z of roryng of liouns, for the pride of Jordan is wastid. My Lord God seith these thingis, 4 Fede thou beestis of slauzter, whiche thei⁵ that weeldiden slown^a; and 'sorewiden not^b, and selden hem, and^c seiden, Blessid *be* the Lord, we ben maad riche. And schepherdis^d of hem spariden not hem, and⁶

^k stronge men R. ^l the soness R. ^m And I R. ⁿ Om. R. ^o hem togedere R. ^p amonge R. ⁹ brynge azen R. ^r that A. ^s depthis R. ^t go R. ^u Om. R. ^v weeldide G. wielde I. wijlde K. weelde N. Om. R. wylde S. wilde U. wijld X. ^w forest R. ^x as A pr. m. CEF G H M N P Q U. ^y The voice R. ^z the voice R U sec. m. ^a killiden R. ^b maden no sorewe R. ^c and thei R. ^d the schepherdis R.

6 not hem, and Y shal na more spare
vpon^y men enabitinge the erthe, saith the
Lord. Loo! Y shal bytake men, eche
in the hond of his neibore, and in the
hond of his kyng, and thei shuln falle
to gydre in to erthe; and Y shal not de-
7 lyuere of the hond of hem, and Y shal
feede the beest of sleaynge. For this thing,
3e^y pore men of the flo^c, heerith. And
Y toke to me two 3erdis; oon Y clepide
Fairnesse, and the tother Y clepide Litol
8 Coorde; and Y fedde the flo^c. And Y
kitte down thre sheperdis in oo monethe,
and my soule is drawen to gydre in
hem; sothely and the soule of hem vari-
9 ede, or *chaungide*, in me. And Y saide,
Y shal not feede 3ou; that that dyeth,
dye; and that that is kitt down, be it
kitt down; and the tother deuoure, eche
10 the fleshe of his neibore. And Y toke
my 3erde, that was clepid Fairnesse, and
Y kitte it down, that Y shulde make
voide my couenaunt, that Y smote with
11 alle peplis. And it is led forth void in
that day; and the pore of the flo^c that
kepen to me, knewen thus, for it is the
12 word of the Lord. And Y saide to hem,
3if it is good in 3our ee3en, brenge 3e
my meede; and 3if nay, reste 3e. And
thei wey3iden my meede, thritti platis of
13 syluer. And the Lord saide to me, Caste
it away to a feir maker of ymagis, the
pris, by whiche Y am preysid of hem.
And Y toke the thritti platis of syluer,
and Y keste hem forthe in the hous of
14 the Lord, to^b the maker of ymagis. And
Y kitte down my secounde 3erde, that
was clepid Litol Coorde, that Y shulde de-
parte, or *vnbynde*, the brotherhed bitwixe
15 Juda and Yrael. And the Lord saide to
me, 3it take to thee vessels of a foltishe
16 sheperd; for loo! Y shal reyse a sheperd

Y schal no more spare on 'men enhabit-
yng^e the erthe, seith the Lord. Lo! Y
schal bitake men, ech in^f hond of his
neighbour, and in hoond^s of his kyng,
and thei schulen to-reende togidere the
lond; and Y schal not delyuere fro the
hond of hem, and Y schal fede the⁷
beeste of sleynge. For this thing, 3e pore
men of the flo^c, here^h. And Y took to
me twei 3erdis; oon Y clepide Fairnesse,
and the tother Y clepide Litol Corde; and
Y fedde the flo^c^l. And Y kittide down⁸
thre scheepherdis in o monethe, and my
soule is^k drawun togidere in hem; for
also the soule of hem variede^l in me.
And Y seide, Y schal not fede 3ou; that⁹
that dieth, die; and that that is kit down,
be kit down; and the residues deuoure,
ech^m the fleisch of his neibore. And¹⁰
Y took my 3erde, that was clepid Fair-
nesse, and Y kittide down it, that Y
schulde make void my couenaunt^a, that^o
Y smoot with alle puplis. And it 'is led¹¹
forth^p voide in that dai^q; and the pore^r
of flo^c that kepen^t to me, knewen thus,
for it is the word of the Lord. And Y¹²
seide to hem, If it is good in^u 3oure i3en,
brynge 3e my meede; and if nai, reste
3e. And thei weiden my meede, thretti
platis^v of siluer. And the Lord seide to¹³
me, Caste awei^w it to a^x makere of
ymagis, the fair prijs, bi which Y am
preysid of hem. And Y took thritti
platis^y of siluer, and Y^z castide forth
hem^a in^b the hous of the Lord, to the
makere of ymagis. And Y kittide down¹⁴
my secunde 3erde, that was clepid Litol
Corde, that Y schulde departe^c the bro-
therhed bitwixe Juda and Israel. And¹⁵
the Lord^d seide to me, 3it take to thee
vessels^e of a fonned scheepherde; for lo!¹⁶
Y schal reise a scheepherde* in erthe,

* *schepparde*;
that is, Ante-
crist. *Live here!*
c et plures.

Y on A. Y the K. z folk K. a folk K. b in to G sec. m.

^e hem that enhabiten R. ^f in to the R. ^g the hond R. ^h heereth I. ⁱ folk A pr. m. C E F G I K M N P Q U X.
^k was R. ^l variede, or *chaungide* c et ceteri. ^m eche man R. ⁿ couenaunt of pees C sec. m. F sec. m. I K R S.
^o which C sec. m. F sec. m. I K S. ^p was made C sec. m. F sec. m. I K R S. ^q Om. R. ^r pore men C sec. m.
C F sec. m. I K R S U sec. m. ^s the flo^c F sec. m. I K R S. ^t kepten F sec. m. ^u before R. ^v pens R. ^w thou
forth R. ^x the I. ^y pens R. ^z Om. ceteri. ^a tho R. ^b in to I. ^c departe, or [ether EPY] *vnbynde*
c et ceteri. ^d Lord God I. ^e the vessels R.

in erthe, whiche shal not visite forsaken thingus, he schal not seeke scatered thingis, and shal not heele the broken to gydre, and shal not nurishe forth that that stondith. And he shal eete fleshis of the fatt, and shal vnbynde the clees of
17 hem. A! sheperd, and ydol, forsakyng the floc; swerd on his arme, and on his riȝt eeȝe; the arm of hym shal be dried with drynesse, and his riȝt eeȝe wexinge derk shal be maad derc.

CAP. XII.

1 The charge of word^c of the Lord on Yrael. The Lord saide, stretchyng forth heuen, and foundyng erthe, and makyng the spirit of a man in hym,
2 Loo! Y shal putte Jerusalem a threshfold of glotonye to alle peplis in cumpas, bot and Juda shal be in aseegyng
3 aȝeinus Jerusalem. And it shal be, in that day Y shal putte Jerusalem a stoon of charge to alle peplis; alle that shuln lifte it, with conscicioun, *or kittyng to gidre*, shuln be to-drawen, and alle rewmys of erthe shuln be gadrid aȝeinus
4 it. In that day, sayth the Lord, Y shal smyte eche hors in to dreed, *or leesyng of mynde*, and the styer of hym in to wodenesse; and on^d the hous of Juda I shal opyn myn eeȝen, and Y shal smyte
5 with blyndnesse eche hors of peplis. And duykis of Juda shuln saye in her hertis, Be the dwellers of Jerusalem counfortid to me in the Lord of oostis, the God of
6 hem. In that day Y shal putte the duykis of Juda as a chymney of fijr in trees, and as a brond of fijr in hay; and thei shuln deuoure at the riȝt half and left alle peplis in cumpas. And Jerusalem shal be enhabitid eftsoone in his place,
7 in Jerusalem. And the Lord shal saue the tabernaclis of Juda, as in the bygyn-

which schal not visite forsakun thingis, schal^f not seke scatered thingis, and schal^g not heele 'the brokun togidere^b, and schal not nurische forth that that stondith. And he schal ete fleischisⁱ of the fat^k, and schal vnbynde the clees of hem. A! the¹⁷ scheepherd, and ydol, forsakyng the floc; swerd on his arm, and on his riȝt iȝe; the arm of hym schal be dried with drynesse, and his riȝt iȝe wexyng derk schal be maad derk.

CAP. XII.

The birthun of the word of the Lord on Israel. And the Lord seide, stretchyng forth heuene, and founding erthe^l, and makyng the spirit of a man in hym, Lo! Y shal putte^m Jerusalem a lyntel of² glotonye to alle puplis in cumpas, but andⁿ Juda schal be in 'asegyng^o aȝens Jerusalem. And it schal be, in that dai³ Y shal putte^p Jerusalem a stoon of birthun to alle puplis; alle that schulen lifte it, schulen be to-drawun with kittyng doun, and alle rewmes of erthe schulen be gaderid aȝens it. In that dai, seith the⁴ Lord, Y schal smyte ech hors in drede, 'ether leesyng of mynde^q, and the stiere 'of hym^r in woodnesse; and on the hous of Juda Y schal opene myn iȝen, and schal^s smyte with blyndnesse ech hors of puplis. And duikis^t of Juda schulen seie⁵ in her hertis, Be the dwellers of Jerusalem counfortid to me in the Lord of oostis, the God of hem. In that dai Y⁶ schal putte^u the duykis of Juda as a chymnei of fier in trees, and as a broond of fier in hei; and thei schulen deuoure at the 'riȝthalf and lefthalf^v alle puplis in cumpas. And Jerusalem^w schal be enhabitid eftsoone^x in his place, 'in Jerusalem^y. And the Lord schal saue the taber-⁷naclis of Juda, as in bigynnyng^z, that the

^c the word H. ^d Om. K.

^f and schal R. he shal S. ^g he schal R. ^h a thing al to-broken R. ⁱ the fleischis R. ^k fat men R.
^l the erthe R. ^m sette R. ⁿ also R. ^o bisegyng R. ^p sette IRS. ^q Om. R. ^r therof R. ^s Y schal R.
^t the dukes R. ^u sette R. ^v riȝt side and left side R. ^w Israel GKMSU pr. m. Irael NQX. ^x eft R.
^y Om. R. ^z the bigynnyng R.

nyng, that the hous of Daudid glorie not greetly, and the glorie of men dwellynge⁸ in Jerusalem azeinus Juda. In that day the Lord shal defende the dwellers of Jerusalem; and it shal be, he that shal offende of hem in that day as Dauyd, and the hous of Dauyd as of God, as the aungel of the Lord in the^a sizt of hym.
⁹ And it shal be, in that day Y shal seeke for to breke to gydre alle folkis that¹⁰ cummen azeinus Jerusalem. And Y shal heelde out on the hous of Daudid, and on dwellers of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of prayers; and thei shuln biholde to me, whom thei to gidre ficchiden. And thei shuln weile hym with weilyng, as on^b the oon bigoten; and thei shuln sowewen on hym, as it is wont for to be¹¹ sorewid in deth of the first bygoten. In that day grete weilyng shal be in Jerusalem, as the weilyng of Adremon in the¹² feeld of Magedon^c. And erthe shal weyle; meynees and meynees by hem self; the meynees of the hous of Daudid by hem self, and the wymmen of hem by hem-¹³self; meynees of the hous of Nathan bi hem self, and the wymmen of hem by hem self; meynees of the hous of Leuy by hem self, and the wymmen of hem by hem self; meynees of Semey^d bi hem self, and the wymmen of hem bi hem¹⁴ self. Alle meynees, and^e other meynees, and meynees by hem self, and wymmen of hem by hem self.

CAP. XIII.

¹ In that day shal be a welle opnyng to the hous of Dauith, and to men dwelling at Jerusalem, in to washyng away of the synful, and of the menstruate.
² And it shal be, in that day, saith the Lord of oostis, Y shal distruye names of ydolis of the lond, and thei shuln namore

hous of Daudid 'glorie not^a greetli, and the^b glorie of men dwellynge in Jerusalem *be not* azeins Juda. In that dai the Lord schal defende the dwelleris of Jerusalem; and he that schal offende of hem, schal be in that dai as Daudid, and the hous of Daudid *shal be* as of^c God, as the^d aungel of the Lord in the sizt of hym. And it⁹ schal be, in that dai Y schal seke for^e to al to-breke alle folkis that comen azeins Jerusalem. And Y schal helde^f out on¹⁰ the hous of Daudid, and on dwelleris⁸ of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of preieris; and thei schulen biholde to me, whom thei 'fitchiden togidere^h. And thei schulen biweile hym with weilyng, as onⁱ 'the oon^k bigetun^l; and thei schulen sowewe^m on hym, as itⁿ is wont 'for to be sorewid^o in the deth of the firste bigetun^p. In that dai greet weilyng schal be in Je-¹¹rusalem, as the weilyng of Adremon^q in the feeld of Magedon. And erthe^r schal¹² weile; meynees and meynees bi hem silf; the meynees of the hous of Daudid bi hem silf, and the wymmen of hem bi hem silf; meynees of the hous of Nathan bi hem¹³ silf, and the wymmen of hem bi hem silf; meynees of the hous of Leuy bi hem silf, and the wymmen of hem bi hem silf; meynees of Semei bi hem silf, and the wymmen of hem bi hem silf. All othere¹⁴ meynees, meynees and meynees bi hem silf, and the^s wymmen of hem bi hem silf.

CAP. XIII.

In that dai an open welle schal be to¹ the hous of Daudid, and to men dwellynge at Jerusalem, in to waischyng away of a synful man, and of womman^t defoulid in vnclene blood. And it schal be, in that² dai, seith the Lord of oostis, Y schal distrie names^u of idols fro 'the lond^v, and

^a Om. AGH. ^b vp on G sec. m. ^c Maiedon K. ^d Semeth K. ^e of G sec. m.

^a haue not glorie R. ^b that the R. ^c the house of R. ^d an R. ^e Om. R. ^f schede R. ^g the dwellers IRU. ^h prickeden R. ⁱ Om. GNQU. ^k Om. F. ^l bigotun sone R. ^m make sorewe R. ⁿ sorewe R. ^o to be maad R. ^p bigetun sone R. ^q Remon R. ^r the lond IKMQRSV. ^s Om. R. ^t a womman CPGHIKMNRUX. ^u the names RU sec. m. ^v erthe R.

be thouȝte on; and Y shal take away fro erthe fals prophetis, and the vnclene spirit. And it shal be, whan eny man shal prophecie ouere, his fader and moder that gendriden hym, shuln saye to hym, Thou shalt not lyue, for thou hast spoken lesyng in name of the Lord; and his fadir and modir, gendrers^f of hym, shuln to gidre ficche hym, whanne he hath prophecied. And it shal be, in that day prophetis shuln be confoundid, eche of his visioun, whan he shal prophecie; nether thei shuln be hillid with mantil of sac, that thei leeze; bot thei shuln sey, Y am not a prophete; a man erthe tilier Y am, for Adam my ensauple fro^g my ȝongthe. And it shal be said to hym, What ben these woundis in myddil of thin hondis? And he shal say, With these Y was woundid in the hous of hem that loueden me. Swerd, be thou reysid on my sheperd, and on the wall cleuyng to me, saith the Lord of oostis; smyte thou the sheperd, and the sheep of the floc shuln be scaterid. And Y shal turne my hond to the lital; and ther shuln be in eche lond, saith the Lord, two parties in it, and shuln be scatered, and shuln faile, and the thrid part shal be left in it. And Y shal leede the thrid part bi fijr, and Y shal brenne^h, as syluer is brent, and Y shal proue hem, as gold is proued. He shal incleepe my name, and Y shal graciously heere hym; and Y shal saye, Thou art my peple, and he shal saye, The Lord my God.

CAP. XIV.

1 Loo! days cummen, saith the Lord, and thi spuylis shuln be departid in myddil of thee. And Y shal gadre alle folkis to Jerusalem, in to bateyl; and the citee

thei^w schulen no more be 'thouȝt on¹; and Y schal take awei fro erthe false profetis, and an vnclene spirit. And it schal be, whanne ony man schal profesie ouer^y, his fadir and modir that gendriden hym, schulen seie to hym, Thou schalt not lyue, for thou hast spoke leesyng in the name of the Lord; and his fadir^z and his^a modir^b, gendrers^c of hym, schulen 'togi-dere fitche^d hym, whanne he hath profesied. And it schal be, in that dai profetis⁴ schulen be confoundid^e, ech of his visioun, whanne he schal profesie; nether thei schulen be hilid with mentil^f of sak, that thei lie; but 'thei schulen^g seie, Y am⁵ not a profete; Y am a man 'erthe tiliere^h, for Adam *is* myn ensaupleⁱ fro my ȝongthe. And it schal be seid to hym,⁶ What ben these woundis in the myddil^k of thin hondis? And he schal seie, With these Y was woundid in the hous of hem that louyden me. Swerd, be thou reisid⁷ on my scheepherde, and on a man cleuyng to me, seith the Lord of oostis; smyte thou the scheepherde, and scheep^l of the floc schulen be scaterid. And Y schal turne myn hond to the litle. And⁸ twei partis schulen be in ech lond, seith the Lord, and thei schulen be scaterid, and schulen faile, and the thridde part schal be left in it. And Y schal lede the⁹ thridde part bi fier, and Y schal brenne hem, as siluer is brent, and Y schal preue hem, as gold is preuyd. He schal clepe to help my name, and Y schal graciously here him; and Y schal seie, Thou art my puple, and he schal seie, *Thou art* my Lord God.

CAP. XIV.

Lo! daies comen, seith the Lord, and thi spuylis schulen be departid in the myddil of thee. And Y schal gadre alle² folkis to Jerusalem, in to batel; and the

^f the genderers *G sec. m.* gendres *K.* ^g is fro *G sec. m.* ^h brenne hem *G sec. m.*

^w tho *R.* ^x had in mynde *R.* ^y eny more *RU sec. m.* ^z fadris *I.* ^a Om. *IR.* ^b modris *I.* ^c the gendrers *R.* ^d pricke *R.* ^e schend *R.* ^f a mentil *R.* ^g he schal *R.* ^h an erthe tilier *R.* ⁱ sample *R.* ^k myddis *R.* ^l the scheep *R.*

shal be taken, and housis shuln be destroyed, and wymmen shuln be defoulid. And the myddil part of the citee shal go out in to caitiftee, and the tother of the peple shal not be taken away fro the citee. And the Lord shal go out, and shal fizte azeinus the folkis, as he fauzte in the day of stryf. And his feet shuln stonde in that day on the hill of olyues, that is azeins Jerusalem at the eest. And the hill of olyues schal be coruen of the myddel part therof to the eest and to the west, the greet valey bifore brokyn; and the myddel of that hill beⁱ departid to the north, and the myddil therof to the mydday, or *southe*. And ze shuln flee to the valey of myn hillis, for the valey of hillis shuln be ioyned togidre vn to the next. And ze shuln flee, as ze fledden fro face^k of the erthe mouynge in the days of Osee, kyng of Juda; and the Lord my God shal cumme, and alle sayntis with hym. And it shal be, in that day lizt shal not be, bot colde and frost. And ther shal be oo day, whiche is knowen to the Lord, not day, nether nigt, and in tyme of euyng lizt shal be. And it shal be, in that day quyck waters shuln go out of Jerusalem, the myddil of hem to the eest see, and the myddil of hem to the last see; in somer and in wynter thei shuln be. And the Lord shal be kyng on al erthe; in that day ther shal be oo Lord, and his name shal be oon. And eche erthe shal turne azein vnto desert, fro the litil hill Remmon to the south of Jerusalem. And it shal be reysid, and shal dwelle in his place, fro the zate of Beniamyn til to the place of the former zate, and vn to the zate of corners, and fro the tour of Ananyel vn to pressours of the kyng. And thei shuln dwelle thereynne, and cursidnesse shal namore be, bot Jerusalem shal sitte

citee schal be takun, and housis schulen be distried, and wymmen schulen be defoulid. And the myddil part of the citee schal go out in to caitiftee^m, and the 'tother partⁿ of the puple schal not be takun awei fro the citee. And the Lord schal go out, and schal fizte azens tho^o folkis, as he fauzte in the dai of strijf. And hise feet schulen stonde in that dai on the hil of olyues, that^p is azens Jerusalem at the eest. And the hil of olyues schal be coruun^q of the myddil part therof to the eest and to the west, bi ful greet biforbrekyng; and the myddil of the hil schal be departid to the north, and the myddil therof to the south. And ze schulen fle to the valei of myn hillis, for the valei of hillis schal be ioyned togidere til to the nexte. And ze schulen fle, as ze fledden fro the face of erthe mouyng in the daies of Osie, kyng of Juda; and my Lord God schal come, and alle seyntis with hym. And it schal be, in that dai lizt schal not be, but coold and frost. And 'ther schal be o dai^r, which is knowun to the Lord, not day, nether nigt, and in tyme^s of euentid lizt schal be. And it schal be, in that dai quyke watris schulen go out of Jerusalem, the myddil of hem^t schal go out to the eest see, and the myddil of hem^u to the laste see; in somer and in wynter thei^v schulen be. And the Lord schal be kyng on al erthe; in that dai there^w schal be o Lord, and his name schal be oon. And al erthe schal turne azen til to desert, fro the litil hil Remmon to the south of Jerusalem. And it schal be reysid, and schal dwelle in his place, fro the zate of Beniamyn til to place^x of the formere zate, and til to the zate of the^y corneris, and fro the tour of Ananyel til to the^z pressouris of the kyng. And thei schulen dwelle there ynne, and cursidnesse schal no more be, but Jerusalem schal sitte

ⁱ shal be AGH. ^k the face H.

^m captiuite R. ⁿ oother part I. residue R. ^o the I. ^p whiche R. ^q departed R. ^r o day schal be R.
^s the tyme IR. ^t tho watris R. ^u tho R. ^v tho R. ^w Om. R. ^x the place IKRU. ^y Om. ceteri.
^z Om. CEF GHK pr. m. MNPQSUX.

12sykir. And this shal be the plage, by
whiche the Lord shal smyte alle folkis,
that fouzten azeinus Jerusalem; the
fleshe of eche man stondinge vpon his
feet shal fayle, *or rote*, and his eezen
shuln faile to gydre in her hoolis, and
his tunge shal faile to gydre in his
13mouth. In that day grete noyse of the
Lord shal be in hem, and a man shal
catche the hond of his neizbore; and his
hond shal be lockid to gidre on the hond
14of his neizbore. Bot and Judas shal fizte
azeinus Jerusalem; and richessis of alle
folkis in cumpas shuln be gadred to gi-
der, gold, and syluer, and¹ many clothis
15ynowe. And so fallyng shal be of hors,
and mule, and camel, and asse, and of
alle were beestis, that weren in tho
16castellis, as this fallyng. And alle that
shuln be residu of alle folkis, that camen
azeinus Jerusalem, shuln stye vp fro 3eer
'in to^m 3eer, that thei wirshipen the kyng,
Lord of oostis, and halewe the feest of
17tabernaclis. And it shal be, thei that
shuln not stye vp of the meynes of erthe
to Jerusalem, that thei wirshipe the
kyng, Lord of oostus, reyn shal not be
18on hem. That and 3if the meynie of
Egypt shal not stye vp, and shal not cum,
nether on hem shal be; bot fallynge shal
be, bi whiche the Lord shal smyte alle
folkis, whiche stieden not vp, for to ha-
19lewe the fest of tabernaclis. This shal
be the synne of Egypt, and this the
synne of alle folkis, that stieden not vp,
20for to halewe the fest of tabernaclis. In
that day, it shal be, on whiche thing the
bridil of hors *is* hooly to the Lord; and
caudrons shuln be in the hous of the
21Lord, as cruetis byfore the auter. And
euery caudron in Juda and Jerusalem
shal be halewid to the Lord of oostis.
And alle men shuln cum offrynge, and

sikir. And this schal be the wounde, bi 12
which the Lord schal smyte alle folkis,
that fouzten azens Jerusalem; the fleisch
of ech man stondynge on hise feet schal
faile^a, and hise izen schulen faile togidere
in her hoolis, and her tunge schal faile
togidere^b in her mouth. In that dai greet 13
noise of the Lord schal be in hem, and a
man schal catche the hond of his neizbore;
and his hond schal be lockid^c togidere on
hond^d of his neizbore. But and^e Judas 14
shal fizte azens Jerusalem; and richessis^f
of alle folkis in cumpas schulen be gader-
ide togidere, gold, and siluer, and many
clothis ynow. And so fallyng schal be 15
of hors, and mule, and camel^g, and asse^h,
and of alle werkⁱ beestis, that weren in
tho castels, as^k this fallyng. And alle 16
that schulen be residue of alle folkis, that
camen azens Jerusalem, schulen stie vp^l
fro 3eer in to 3eer, that thei worschipe the
kyng, Lord of oostis, and halewe the
feeste of tabernaclis. And it schal be, 17
reyn schal not be on hem that^m schulen
not stie vpⁿ of the meyneis of erthe to
Jerusalem, that thei^o worschipe the king,
Lord of oostis. That and if^p the meyn- 18
nie^q of Egipt schal not stie vp^r, and schal
not come, nether on hem schal be *reyn*;
but fallyng schal be, bi which the Lord
shal smyte alle folkis, whiche^s stieden
not^t, for^u to halewe the feeste of taber-
naclis. This schal be the synne of Egipt, 19
and this the^v synne of alle folkis, that
stieden not, for to halewe the feeste of
tabernaclis. In that dai, that that is on^w 20
the bridil of hors^x schal be hooli to the
Lord; and caudruns schulen be in the^y
hous of the Lord, as cruetis^z bifor the
auter. And euery^a caudron in Jerusalem 21
and Juda schal be halewid to the Lord
of oostis. And alle men schulen come of-
frynge, and schulen take of tho, and schu-

¹ Om. K. ^m to A.

^a fail, *ether rot* C E F G H I K M N P Q S U X Y. be roten R. ^b Om. R. ^c lokun C *sec. m.* F G I K M N Q R S X. ^d the
hond F I R U X *sec. m.* ^e also C *sec. m.* F G I K M N Q R U X. ^f the riches R. ^g of camele R. ^h of asse R.
ⁱ Om. R. ^k of I. ^l Om. R. ^m whiche R. ⁿ Om. R. ^o for to R. ^p That if also R. ^q meynes G.
^r Om. R. ^s that R. ^t not up I. ^u Om. R. ^v shal be the R X *sec. m.* ^w not on P. ^x the hors K N S *sup.*
ras. U X sec. m. ^y Om. C E F H M N P Q X *pr. m.* ^z viols R. ^a eche R.

shuln take of hem, and shuln seethe in hem; and a marchaunt shal namore be in hous of the Lord of oostus in that day.

len sethe^b in tho; and a marchaunt schal no more be in the hous of the Lord of oostis in that day.

Here endith the book of Zacharias, the prophete, and bigynneth the book of Malachie, propheteⁿ.

Here endith Sacarie, and here bigynneth Malachie, the profete^c.

ⁿ No final rubric in AGH.

^b se A pr. m. EGHIMQSUX. see F. sle N. ^c From CH. *Here endith Sacarie, and here bigynneth Malachie. FGIMNQSUX. Here endeth the booc of Zacarie; se now Malachie, the profete. K. Heere endeth the profete Zacarie, and bigynneth the book of Malachie, profete. R. Here endith Sacarie, the profete, and bigynneth Malachie. X. No final rubric in AEPY.*

M A L A C H I.

The book of Malachie, the prophete^a.

*Here biginnith the book of Malachie,
the profete^a.*

CAP. I.

1 THE charge of word of the Lord to
Yrael, in the hond of Malachie, prophete.
2 Y louyde 3ou, saith the Lord, and 3ee
saiden, In what thing louydist thou vs?
Wher Esau was not the brother of Jacob,
3 saith the Lord, and Y louyde Jacob, for-
sothe Y hadde Esau in hate? And Y
haue putte Seir his hillis in to wildre-
nesse, and his eritage in to dragouns of
4 desert. That 3if Ydume shal say, We be
distrayed, but we turnynge a3ein shuln
beelde, whiche thingus ben distrayed;
these thingus saith the Lord of oostis,
These shuln beelde, and Y shal distraye;
and thei shuln be clepid termes of wick-
ednesse, and a peple to whom the Lord
5 is wroth, til vnto withouten eende. And
3our ee3en shuln see, and 3ee shuln saye,
Magnyfyed be the Lord on the terme of
6 Yrael. The sone honoureth the fadir,
and the seruaunt shal drede his lord;
therfore 3if Y am fadir, wher is myn
honour? and 3if Y am lord, wher is
my dreed? saith the Lord of oostis. O!
prestis, to 3ou that dispisen my name;
and 3e saiden, Wher yn haue we dispisid
7 thi name? 3e offren on myn auter de-
foulid, or *vnclene*, breed, and 3e sayn,

CAP. I.

THE birthun of the word of the Lord 1
to Israel, in the hond of Malachie, the
profete. Y louyde 3ou, seith the Lord, 2
and 3e seiden, In what thing louydist
thou vs? Whether Esau was not the^b
brother of Jacob, seith the Lord, and Y
louyde Jacob, forsothe^c Y hatide Esau? 3
And Y haue put^d Seir the hillis of hym in
to wildirnesse, and his eritage in to dra-
gouns of desert. That if Idumee seith, 4
We ben distried, but we schulen turne
a3en, and bilde tho thingis that ben dis-
tried; the Lord of oostis seith these
thingis, These^e schulen bilde, and Y schal
distrie; and thei schulen be clepid termes^f
of wickidnesse, and a puple to whom the
Lord is wroth, til in to with outen ende.
And 3oure i3en schulen se, and^g 3e schulen 5
seie, The Lord be magnified on the terme
of Israel. The sone onourith the fader, 6
and the seruaunt schal drede his lord;
therfor if Y am fadir^h, wher is myn
onour? and if Y am lordⁱ, where is my
drede? seith the Lord of oostis. A! 3e
prestis, to 3ou that dispisen my name;
and 3e seiden^k, Wherynne han we dispisid thi
name? 3e offren^l on myn auter vnclene^m, 7
breed, and 3e seien, Wherynne han we

^a Here bigynneth Malachie. A. No initial rubric in GH.

^a From E. Here biginnith Malachie, profete. PY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. CEF G
HKNPSXY. ^c but N. ^d set R. ^e These men RU sec. m. ^f the termes R. ^g Om. N. ^h the fadir R.
ⁱ the lord R. ^k seien I. ^l offriden I. ^m defoulid, ether vnclene CFGHIKMNQSUX. defoulid EPRY.

Wherynne han we defoulide thee? In that thing that 3e sayn, The bord of the
 8 Lord is dispisid. 3if 3e offren a blynd thing for to be offrid, wher it is not yuel? And 3if 3e offren a crokid and^b seek, wher it is not yuel? Offre it to thi duyck, 3if it shal plesse to hym, or 3if he shal resceyue thi face, saith the Lord of
 9 oostis. And nowe biseche^c the cheere of the Lord, that he haue mercy on 3ou; forsothe of 3oure hond this thing is don, 3if eny manere he resceyue 3our faces,
 10 saith the Lord of oostis. Who is in 3ou that closith doris, and brenneth myn auter of his own wille, *or freeli*? Wille is not to me in 3ou, saith the Lord of oostis; and Y shal not resceyue a 3ift of
 11 3our hond. Forsothe fro rysyng of the sunne vn to goyng down, my name is grete in heythen men; and in eche place a cleene offryng is halewid, and offrid to my name; for my name is grete in^d hei-
 12 then men, saith the Lord of oostis. And 3e han defoulid it in that that 3e sayn, The bord of the Lord is defoulid, and that that is putt on is contemptible, *or worthi for to be dispisid*, with the fijr
 13 that deuourith it. And 3e saiden, Loo! of traueil; and 3e han blowe it away, saith the Lord of oostis. And 3e brouzten yn of raueins a crokid thing, and seeke, and brouzten yn a 3ift; wher Y shal resceyue it of 3our hond? saith the Lord.
 14 Cursid the gylful, that hath in his floc a male beest, and he makynge a uowe offrith a feble to the Lord; for I a grete kyng, saith the Lord of oostis, and my name orrible in folkis.

CAP. II.

1 And now, O! prestis, to 3ou this maun-
 2 dement, 3if 3e woln heere. And 3if 3e

defoulid thee? In that thing that 3e seien, The boordⁿ of the Lord is dispisid^o. If 3e^s offren a blynd *beest*^v to be sacrificid^q, whether it is not yuel? And^r if 3e offren a crokid and sike *beeste*, whether^s it is not^t yuel? Offre thou it to thi duyck, if it schal plesse hym, ether if he schal resceyue thi face, seith^u the^v Lord of oostis. And now⁹ biseche 3e the cheer of the Lord, that he haue merci on 3ou; for of 3oure hond this thing is doon, if in ony maner he resceiue 3oure faces, seith the Lord of oostis. Who¹⁰ is 'in 3ou^w that closith doris^x, and brenneth myn auter 'of his owne wille, *ethir freli*^y? Wille is not to me in 3ou, seith the Lord of oostis; and Y schal not resceyue a 3ifte of 3oure hond. For fro rys-
 11 yng^z of the sunne til to goyng^a down, my name is greet in^b hethene men; and in ech place a cleene offering is sacrificid^c, and offrid to my name; for my name is greet in^d hethene men, seith the Lord of oostis. And 3e^e han defoulid it in that that 3e¹² seien, The boord of the Lord is defoulid, and that that is put^f aboute is 'worthi to be dispisid^g, with fier^h that deuourith it. And 3e seidenⁱ, Lo! of trauel; and 3e han¹³ blowe it a wei, seith the Lord of oostis. And 3e brouzten in of raueyns a crokid thng^k and sijk, and brouzten in a 3ifte; whether^l Y schal resceyue it of 3oure hond? seith the Lord. Cursid *is* the¹⁴ gileful^m, that hath in his floc a male beeste, and 'he makyngeⁿ a uowe offrith^o a feble^p to the Lord; for Y *am* a greet kyng, seith the Lord of oostis, and my name *is*^q dredeful^r 'in folkis^s.

CAP. II.

And now, A! 3e preestis, this maunde-
 1 ment *is* to 3ou. If 3e wolen here, and if²

^b or G sec. m. ^c biseche 3e G sec. m. ^d amonge A.

ⁿ boord I. ^o defoulid R. ^p thing RHPY. ^q sacrificid EPY. ^r Om. X. ^s wher *ceteri præter* RS. ^t Om. I. ^u seid X. ^v thi KY. ^w among R. ^x the doris R. ^y frely R. ^z the risyng R. ^a the going EIPRSY. ^b among R. ^c sacrificid EPY. ^d among R. ^e 3e that A. ^f set R. ^g contemptible, *ether* [or Y] *worthi for to be dispisid* CEF GHIKMN PQSUXY. ^h the fier R. ⁱ seyen I. ^k Om. R. ^l beest U. ^m gileful man RU sec. m. ⁿ makith R. ^o and offrith R. ^p feble best R. ^q Om. EFGHMNPQSUXY. ^r hidouse R. ^s among folkis I. among hethen men RU sec. m.

woln not putte on the herte, that 3e 3eue glorie to my name, saith the Lord of oostis, Y shal sende in^e 3ou nedynesse, and Y shal curse to 3our blessyngis; and Y shal curse hem, for 3e han not putte on the herte. Loo! Y shal caste to 3ou arme, and Y shal scatere on^f 3our cheere the dritt of 3oure solempnytees, and it shal take 3ou with it. And 3e shuln wite, for Y sente to 3ou this maundement, that my couenaunt were with Leuy, saith the Lord of oostis. My couenaunt was with hym of lijf and pees; and Y 3aue to hym a dred, and he dredde me, and he dredde of the face of my name. The lawe of trewthe was in his mouth, and wickidnesse is not founden in his lippis; in pees and in equitee he walkide with me, and many men he turnyde away fro wickidnesse. Forsothe lippis^g of the prest kepen science, *or kunnyng*, and thei shuln seeke a3ein the lawe of the mouth of hem, for he is an aungel of the Lord of oostis. Forsothe 3e wenten away fro the weye, and sclaudren^h ful many men in the lawe; 3e maden voide the couenaunt of Leuy, these thingus saith the Lord of oostis. For whiche thing and Y 3aue 3ou worthi to be dispisid, and meeke, *or lowe*, to alle peplis, as 3e kepten not my wayes, and token folcⁱ in the lawe. Wher not oo fadir of alle 3ou? wher oo God made 3ou not of nou3t? Whi therfore ech of 3ou dispisith his brother, defoul- ynge the couenaunt of 3our faders? Judas trespasside, and abomynacioun is maad in Yrael, and in Jerusalem; for Judas defoulide the halewing of the Lord, whiche he^k louyde, and aliens hadden the dou3ter of the Lord. The Lord shal

3e 'wolen not putte^t on the herte, that 3e 3yue glorie to my name, seith the Lord of oostis, Y schal sende nedynesse in to 3ou, and Y schal curse to^u 3oure blessyngis; and Y schal curse hem^v, for 3e han not putte^w on the herte. Lo! Y schal caste^x to 3ou the arm, and Y schal scatere on 3oure cheere^y the drit of 3oure solempnytees, and it schal take 3ou with it. And 3e schulen wite, that Y sente to 3ou this maundement, that my couenaunt were with Leuy^z, seith the Lord of oostis. My couenaunt was with hym of lijf and pees^a; and Y 3af to hym a^b drede, and he dredde me, and he dredde of^c face^d of my name. The lawe of trewthe was in his mouth, and wickidnesse was not foundun in hise lippis; in pees and in^e equite he walkide^f with me, and he turnede awei many men fro wickidnesse. For the lippis of a^g prest kepen science^h, and thei schulen a3en seke the lawe of 'the mouth of hymⁱ, for he is an^k aungel of the Lord of oostes. But 3e wenten^l awei fro the weie, and sclaudren^m ful many menⁿ in the lawe; 3e maden voide the couenaunt of Leuy, seith the Lord of oostis. For whichⁿⁿ thing and Y 3af 3ou^o worthi to be dispisid^p, and bowen^q to alle puplis, as 3e kepten not my weies, and token a face in the lawe. Whether not o fadir *is* of alle 3ou? whether^r o^s God made not^t of nou3t 3ou? Whi therfor ech of 3ou dispisith his brother, and defoulith the couenaunt of 3oure fadris? Judas trespasside, and abhomy-nacioun is maad^u in Israel, and in^v Jerusalem; for Judas defoulide the halewyng of the Lord, which he louyde, and he hadde the dou3ter of an alien god. The Lord schal^w distrie the man that dide^x

^e in to G sec. m. ^f vpon G sec. m. ^g science K. ^h sclaudreden A. han sclaudrid G sec. m. H. ⁱ face of person G sec. m. H. ^k Om. K.

^t nylen sette R. ^u Om. R. ^v tho R. ^w set R. ^x caste forth R. ^y face R. ^z 3ou and Leuy R sec. m. ^a of pees R. ^b my R. ^c Om. CEHPS. ^d the face CEHIKPRSUX pr. m. ^e Om. R. ^f wente R. ^g Om. CEFGHMNPQSUX pr. m. the K. ^h kunnyng CER. science, ether [or G] kunnyng FGHKMNsx. ⁱ his mouthe R. ^k the R. ^l 3eden R. ^m sclaudriden CEFGHKMNPRSUX. ⁿ Om. N. ⁿⁿ the whiche I. ^o to you C. ^p contemptible, ether worthi [for FGHM] to be dispisid CFGIKMQSUX. contemptible ENP. dispisable R. ^q lowed P. bowiden I. low3 R. ^r whether not R. ^s Om. R. ^t Om. AR. ^u done R. ^v Om. N. ^w Om. R. ^x schal do R.

distruye the man that dide this thinge,
the maystir and disciple, of tabernaclis of
Jacob, and the offryng a 3ift to the Lord
13 of oostis. And eftsoone 3e diden this
thing; 3e hilliden with teris the auter of
the Lord, with weepyng and mournyng,
so that Y biholde namore to sacrifice,
nether resceyue eny thing plesaunt of
14 3our hond. And 3e saiden, For what
cause? For the Lord witnesside bitwixe
thee and the wijf of thi pubertee, *that*
is, tyme of mariage, whiche thou di-
spisidist, and this thi parcener, and^l wijf
15 of thi couenaunt. Wher oon dide not,
and the residue of his spirit is? and what
seekith oon, no bot the seed of God?
Therefore kepe 3e 3oure spirit, and nyl
thou dispise the wijf of thi 3ongthe;
16 whanne thou shalt haue hir in hate,
leue thou hir, saith the Lord God of
Yrael. Forsothe wickidnesse keuere the
closyng of hir, saith the Lord of oostis;
kepe 3e 3oure spirit, and nyl 3e dispise.
17 3e maden the Lord for to traueile in
3our wordis, and 3e saiden, Wheryn
made we hym for to traueile? In that
that 3e sayen, Eche man that doth yuel,
is good in the sȳt of the Lord, and siche
plesen to hym; or certis wher is God
of dom?

CAP. III.

1 Loo! Y shal sende myn aungel, and he
shal make redy the waye byfore my face;
and anoon the lordshipper, whom 3e seken,
shal cum to his holy temple, 'and the^m
aungel of testament, whom 3e woln. Loo!
he cummeth, saith the^{mm} Lord of oostis;
2 and who shal mowe thenke the day of
his cummyng? and who shal stonde for
to see hym? Forsothe he as fȳr wellynge
3 to gidre, and as the erbe of fullers; and
he shal sitte wellinge to gidre and clens-
ynge syluer, and shal purge the sonys of

this thing, the maister and disciple, fro
the tabernacle of Jacob, and him that
offrith a 3ifte to the Lord of oostis. And¹³
eftsoone 3e diden this thing; 3e hiliden
with teeris the auter of the Lord, with
wepyng and mourenyng^y; so that Y bi-
holde no more to sacrifice, nether resseyue
ony thing plesaunt of 3oure hond. And¹⁴
3e seiden, For what cause? For the Lord
witnesside bitwixe thee and the wijf of
thi 'puberte, *that is^z, tyme of mariage*,
which^a thou dispisidist, and this *is* thi
felowe, and wijf^b of thi couenaunt^c. Whe-¹⁵
ther oon made not, and residue^d of spirit
is his? and what sekith oon, no^e but the
seed of God? Therefore kepe 3e 3oure
spirit, and nyle thou dispise the wijf of
thi 3ongthe; whanne thou hatist hir, leue¹⁶
thou *hir*, seith the Lord God of Israel.
Forsothe wickidnesse schal kyuer^f the
closyng^g of hym, seith the Lord of oostis;
kepe 3e 3oure spirit, and nyle 3e dispise.

CAP. III.

3e maden the Lord for to trauele in¹⁷
3oure wordis, and 3e seiden, Wherynne
maden we hym for to trauele? In that
that 3e seien, Ech man^h that doith yuel, is
good in the sȳt of the Lord, and sicheⁱ
plesen to^k hym; ether certis where is the^l
God of doom? Lo! Y sende^{ll} myn aungel,¹
and he schal make redi weie^m bifer my
face; and anoon the lordshipereⁿ, whom 3e
seken, schal come to his hooli temple, and
the aungel of^o testament, whom 3e wolen.
Lo! he cometh, seith the Lord of oostis;
and who schal mowe thenke the dai of his²
comyng? and who schal stonde for^p to se
hym? For he *schal be* as fier wellynge
togidere, and as erbe^q of fulleris^r; and he³
schal sitte wellynge togidere and clens-
ynge siluer, and he schal purge the sonys

¹ Om. A. ^m Om. G *pr. m.* ^{mm} Om. K.

^y weiling R. ^z Om. v. ^a whom R. ^b the wijf R. ^c couenaunt of pees R. ^d the residue 1R.
^e not R. ^f hile R. ^g clothe R. ^h Om. R. ⁱ suche men R. ^k Om. R. ^l Om. R. ^{ll} schal sende
RU *sec. m.* ^m the way I. ⁿ Lord R. ^o of the I. ^p Om. R. ^q the erbe RX *sec. m.* ^r fulleris, *ether*
toukeris EGHKMNPSUX.

Leuy; and shal purge hem as gold and as syluer, and thei shuln be offrynge to the Lord sacrifices in rȳtswisnessis. And sacrifice of Juda and Jerusalem shal plesse to the Lord, as days of the world, and as olde ȳeeris. And Y shal cum to ȳou in dom, and Y shal be a swyft witenesse to mysdoars, to poysonners, or *enchauntes bi the deuyls craft*, and to auowters, and forsworne men, and that falsly chalenge the hijr of the hirid man, and meeken widues, and faderlesse *childre, and moderlesse*, and oppressen the pylgryme, nether dredden me, saith the Lord of oostis. Forsothe Y the Lord, and Y am not chaungid; and ȳe sonnys of Jacob ben not waastid. Forsothe fro the days of ȳour fadres ȳe wenten away fro my lawful thingus, and kepten not; turne ȳe aȳein to me, and Y shal aȳein turne to ȳou, saith the Lord of oostis. And ȳe saiden, In what thing shuln we turne aȳein? ȳif a man shal turmente God? for ȳe to gydre fitchen me. And ȳe saiden, In what thing togidre fitchen we thee? In tythes, and in premissis, or *first fruytis*, and in myseyse, or *nedynesse*, ȳe ben cursid; and al ȳe folk disceyuen me, and to gidre fitchen. Breng ȳe ynⁿ eche tithe in to my berne, that mete be in my hous, and proue ȳe me on this thing, saith the Lord, ȳif Y shal not opne to ȳou the gutters of heuen, and shal sheede out to ȳou blessing, vnto aboundaunce. And Y shal blame for ȳou the deuouryng, and he shal not corruppe, or *distruye*, the fruyte of ȳour londe; nether bareyn vynezerd shal be in the feeld, saith the Lord of oostis, and alle folkis shuln sayn ȳou blessing; sothely ȳe shuln be a desyrable lond, saith the Lord of oostis. ȳoure wordis wexiden

of Leuy; and he schal purge hem as gold and as siluer, and thei schulen be offrynge to the Lord sacrifices in rȳtfulnesse^a. And the sacrifice of Juda and of Jerusalem schal plesse to^t the Lord, as the daies of the world, and as olde ȳeeris. And Y schal come to ȳou in doom, and Y schal be a swift witenesse to^u mysdoeris, '*ether enchaunteris of deuylis craft*', and to auouteris^w, and^x forsworn men, and that falsli calengen the hire of the^y hirid man, and widewis, and fadirles, '*ether modirles*', children, and oppressen a pilgrym, 'nether dredden^a me, seith the Lord of oostis. Forsothe Y *am* the Lord, and am^b not chaungid; and ȳe sones^c of Jacob ben not wastid. Forsothe fro daies^d of ȳoure fadris ȳe wenten^e awey fro my lawful thingis, and kepten not; turne ȳe aȳein to me, and Y schal aȳein turne to ȳou, seith the Lord of oostis. And ȳe seiden, In what thing schulen we turne aȳein? If a man schal turmente God, for ȳe 'togidere fitchen^f me. And ȳe seiden, In what thing 'togidere fitchen^g we thee? In tithis and in 'firste fruitis^h; and ȳe ben cursid inⁱ nedynesseⁱ, and alle ȳe folc^k disseyuen me, and 'togidere fitchen^l. Brynge ȳe yn^m ech^o tithe in to my berne, that mete be in myn hous, and proue ȳe me on this thing, seith the Lord, if Y schal not opne to you the goteris of heuene, and schalⁿ schede out to ȳou blessing, til to abundaunce. And Y schal blame for ȳou that^o that deuourith, and he schal not distrie^p the fruit of ȳoure lond; nether bareyn vynezerd^q schal be in the feeld, seith the Lord of oostis, and alle folkis schulen seie ȳou blessing; for ȳe schulen be a desirable^q lond, seith the Lord of oostis. ȳoure wordis wexiden^r strong on me, seith the Lord; and ȳe seiden, What han we spokun aȳens thee? And

ⁿ Om. A.

^a rȳtswisnesse CEF GHIKMN PQSUX. ^t Om. R. ^u in to I. ^v Om. R. ^w auouteris IKR. ^x and to I. ^y an R. ^z Om. R. and modirles s. ^a nether thei dredden I. and dredden not R. ^b I am I. ^c the sones R. ^d the daies R. ^e ȳeden R. ^f turmenten R. ^g turmenten R. ^h premyssis, ether firste fruytis CEF GHIKMN PQSUX. the firste fruytis R. ⁱ myseiste, ether [or EP] nedynesse CEF GHIKMN PQSUX. ^k the folk A pr. w. R. ^l turmenten R. ^m Om. R. ⁿ Y schal IR. ^o him RV. ^p corruppe, ether distrie CEF GHIKMN PQSUX. ^q vyne R. ^q desirable C. ^r wexen R.

stronge on^o me, saith the Lord; and 3e
saiden, What han we spoken azeins thee?
14 And 3ee saiden, He is veyn, that serueth
God; and what wynnynge for we kepten
his heestis, and for we wenten sorewful
15 bifore the Lord of oostis? Therfore now
we sayn proud men blessid^p; sotheli thei
ben beeldid doynge vnpite, and thei
temptiden God, and ben maad saaf.
16 Thanne men dredinge God spaken, eche
with his nei3boure; and the Lord per-
ceuyde, and herde, and a boke of mynde
is writen bifore hym to men dreedinge
17 God, and thinkynge his name. And thei
shuln be to me, saith the Lord of oostis,
in the day in whiche Y schal make, into a
special tresoure; and Y schal spare hem,
as a man sparith his sone seruyng to
18 hym. And 3e shuln be conuertid, and
3e shuln see, what is bitwixe the iust
man and the vnpitouse, bitwixe the seru-
ynge to the Lord and not seruyng to
19 hym. Loo! forsothe the day schal cumme,
brennyng as a chymney; and alle proude
men, and alle doynge vnpite shuln be
stobil; and the day cummyng schal en-
flawme hem, saith the Lord of oostis,
whiche schal not leue to hem rote and
20 buriownyng. And to 3ou dredynge my
name the sunne of ri3twisnesse schal
springe, and helthe in pennys of hym;
3e shuln go out, and 3e shuln lippe, as a
21 calf of the droue. And 3e shuln to-trede
vnpytouse men, whanne thei shuln be
ashe vndir the soole of 3oure feet, in the
day in whiche Y do, saith the Lord of
22 oostis. Bithenke 3e of the lawe of my
seruaunt Moyses, whiche Y comaundide
to hym in Oreb, to alle Yrael comaunde-
23 mentis and domys. Loo! Y schal sende
to 3ou Hely, the prophete, bifore that
the grete day and orrible of the Lord

3e seiden, He is veyn, that serueth God;
and what wynnynge for we kepten hise
heestis, and for we wenten^s sorewful bi-
fore the Lord of oostis? Therfor now we¹⁵
seien proude men blessid; for thei ben
bildid doynge vnpitee^t, and thei tempt-
iden God, and ben maad saaf. Thanne¹⁶
men dredynge God spaken, ech with his
nei3bore; and the Lord perseyuede, and
herde, and a book of mynde is writun
bifor hym to 'men dredynge^u God, and
thenkyng^v his name. And thei schulen¹⁷
be to me, seith the Lord of oostis, in the
dai in which Y schal make, in to a special
tresour; and Y schal spare hem, as a man
sparith his sone seruyng to hym. And¹⁸
3e schulen be conuertid, and 3e schulen se,
what is bitwixe the^w iust man and vn-
pitouse^x, bitwixe^y 'the seruyng to^z the
Lord and 'not seruyng to hym^a.

CAP. IV.

For lo! a dai schal come, brennyng as¹
a chymenei; and alle proude men, and alle
doynge^b vnpitee schulen be stobul; and
the dai comyng schal enflawme hem, seith
the Lord of oostis, which schal not leue
to hem rote and^c buriownyng. And to²
3ou dredynge^d my name the sunne of ri3t-
wisnesse^e schal rise^f, and heelthe in^g pen-
nys^h of hym; and 3e schulen go out, and
schulen skippeⁱ, as a calf of^k the^l droue.
And 3e schulen to-trede vnpitouse^m men,³
whanne thei schulen be aische vndur the
soole of 3oure feet, in the dai inⁿ which Y
do^o, seith the Lord of oostis. Bithenke⁴
3e on the lawe of my seruaunt Moyses,
whiche Y comaundide to hym in Oreb, to
al Israel comaundementis and domes. Lo!⁵
Y schal sende to 3ou Elie, the profete, bi-
fore that the greet dai and orible of the
Lord come. And he schal conuerte the⁶

^o vpon A. P ben blessid G sec. m.

^s 3eden R. ^t wickidnesse R. ^u hem that dredden R. ^v thenken on R. ^w a R. ^x the vnpitous FI.
vnfeithful R. ^y and bitwixe R. ^z him that serueth R. ^a him that serueth not the Lord R. ^b that
done R. ^c of R. ^d that dredden R. ^e ri3tfulnesse R. ^f rise, ether [or EP] be borun CEF GHIKMN PQSUX.
^g schal be in R. ^h the pennys R. ⁱ lippe CEF GHIKMN PQSUX. ^k in R. ^l a R. ^m the vnpitouse I.
ⁿ Om. R. ^o schal do R.

6 cumme. And he shal conuerte the herte
of faders to sonys, and the herte of sonys
to her faders, lest per aventure Y cumme,
and smyte the erthe with curse.

herte of fadris to sones, and the herte of
sones to fadris^p of hem, lest peraventure Y
come, and smyte the erthe with curs^q.

*Here endith the book of Malachie,
and bigynneth the firste book of Ma-
chabeorum^q.*

*Here endith Malachie, the profete,
and here bigynneth the firste book of
Machabeis^r.*

^q No final rubric in AGH.

^p the fadirs in. ^q curs. Amen. CEF GHMNPQRSU. cursidnesse i. ^r From OFX. *Here endith Malachie,
and bigynneth a prolog on the firste book of Machabies. G. Here endeth Malachie, and bigynneth the
firste book of Machabeis. HIQSV. Heere endeth Malachie, the profete; se now the firste book of Macabeus. K.
Here endith Malachie, the profete, and here bigynneth a prologe on Machabeis the firste. M. Here endith
Malachie, and bigynneth the firste Machabeus. N. Heere endith the profete Malachie, and bigynneth the
firste booke of Machabeis. R. No final rubric in AEP. Y is defective.*

I. M A C C A B E E S.

[*Prologue on the First book of Maccabees^a.*]

THIS book of Machabeis techith alle men, bi ensaumple of Matatias and of hise sones, to stonde in tyme of persecucioun stifli bi the lawe of God, and rather to leue alle worldli goodis and bodili lijf, than to feyne, or peruerte in to errour, for the drede of heiȝ power of men; as Judas Machabeus and hise brethren ouercamen her enemyes, bi heiȝ vertu of God, with fewe men, and not in multitude of peple, and aȝenstoden kingis and princes, and hadden victorie bi the help of almyȝti God, and susteyneden it anoon to the deeth.

Here endith the prologe, and here bigynneth the firste book of Machabeis.

The firste book of Machabeorum^a.

Here biginnith the firste book of Machabeies^b.

CAP. I.

1 AND it is don, after that Alisaundre of Philip, kyng of Macedo, which regnede first in Grece, smote, he gon out of the lond of Sethym, smote Darius, kyng
2 of Persis and Medis, and ordeynede many bateilis, and gate strengthes of alle;
3 and he^b slewȝe kyngus of erthe, and passide forth vnto eendis of erthe, and toke spuylis of multitude of folkis; and the erthe was stille in the sijt of hym.
4 And he gadride vertu, and ful stronge oost, and the herte of hym is enhaunsid
5 and lift up. And he gate cuntrees of folkis, and tyrauntis, *or stronge men*; and thei ben maad to hym in to tribut.

CAP. I.

AND it was don, aftir that Alisaundre 1 of Filip, king of Macedoyne, which regnede first in Grece^c, and ȝede out of the lond of Sethym, smoot Darius, king of Perseis and of Medeis, he ordeynede many 2 batels, and gat strengthis of alle; and he slow the kingis of erthe, and passide 3 forth til to endis^d of erthe, and took spuylis of multitude of folkis; and the erthe was stille in sijt^e of hym. And he 4 gaderide vertu, and oost ful strong, and the herte of hym was enhaunsid and lift vp. And he gat the cuntreis of folkis, 5 and tirauntis^f; and thei weren maad to 6 hym in to tribut. And after these thingis 6

^a Here bigynneth the first boke of Machabeorum. A. Machabee the first. G. The first boke of Machabeis. H. ^b Om. AGH.

^a This Prologue is from M. ^b From EPE. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^c Grece, ether [or EP] in the lond of Grekis EFGHIKMN PQSUXE. ^d the endis EIR. ^e the sijt EIKR. ^f tirauntis, ether stronge men CEF GHIKMN PQSUXE. § in to F.

6 And after these thingus he felle in to
7 bed, and knewe that he shulde die. And
he clepide his noble childre, that weren
nurishid with hym fro her youthe, and
departide to hem his kyngdam, whanne
8 3it he leuede. And Alisaundre regnyde
9 twelue 3eer, and is dead. And his chil-
dren weldiden the rewme, eche in his
10 place, and alle puttiden to hem dyademes
after his deth, and sonys^b of hem after
hem, many 3eeris; and yuelis ben mul-
11 tiplied in erthe. And there wente out of
hem a root of synne, Antiochus the no-
ble, the sone of Antiochi kyng, that was
at Rome in seegyng, ^{or} *plegge*^c, and
regnede in the hundrid and seuene and
12 thretti 3eer of the rewme of Grekis. In
tho days wickid sonys of Yrael wenten
out, and counseiliden many, sayinge, Go
we, and ordeyne we a testament with
heithen men, that ben aboute us; for
sithen we departiden fro hem, many yuels
13 founden us. And the word^{cc} is seen good
14 in the eezen of hem. And summe of the
peple senten, and wenten away to the
kyng; and he 3aue power to hem for to
15 do ri3twisnesse of heithen men. And
thei beeldiden a scole in Jerusalem, vp
16 the lawis of naciouns; and thei maden
to hem prepucyes, *or hethen customes*,
and wenten away fro the holy testament,
and weren ioyned to naciouns, and weren
17 solde for to do yuel. And the rewme
hadde prosperite in the sizt of Antio-
chus, and he byganne for to regne in
the lond of Egypt, for to regne on two
18 rewmes. And he entride into Egypt in
a greuous multitude, in chaaris, and oli-
fauntis, and horsmen, and a plenteuous
19 multitude of schippis, and he ordeynede
bateil azens Tholome, kyng of Egypt;
and Ptholome dredde of his face, and
fleiz; and manye woundid fellen down.
20 And he toke the stronge citees in the
lond of Egypt, and he toke prayes of the

he felle^s in to bed, and knew that he
schulde die. And he clepide his noble⁷
children^b, that weren nurschid with hym
fro 3ongthe¹, and departide to hem his
kingdom, whanne he lyuede 3it. And⁸
Alisaundre regnede twelue 3eer, and was
deed. And his children weldiden the^k⁹
rewme, ech in his place, and alle puttiden¹⁰
to hem diademys aftir his deth, and the
sones of hem after hem, many 3eeris;
and yuels weren multiplied in erthe. And¹¹
ther wente out of hem a roote of synne,
Antioch the noble, the sone of Antioch
kyng¹, that was at Rome in ostage^m, andⁿ
regnede in the hundrid and seuene and
thritithe 3eer of^o the^p rewme^q of Grekis.
In tho daies wickid sonys ^{of} Israel^r¹²
wenten out, and counseiliden many, and
seide, Go we, and ordeyne we testament
with hethene men, that ben aboute vs;
for sithen we departiden fro hem, many
yuels foundun vs. And the word was¹³
seyn good bifore the izen of hem. And¹⁴
summe of the puple senten, and wenten
to the kyng; and he 3af power to hem
for to do ri3twisnesse^s of hethene men.
And thei bildiden a scole in Jerusalem,¹⁵
bi lawis of naciouns; and maden to hem¹⁶
prepucies, and wenten awei fro the hooli
testament, and weren ioyned to naciouns,
and weren seeld^{ss} for to do yuel. And the¹⁷
rewme hadde prosperite in the sizt of An-
tiok, and he bigan for^t to regne in the
lond of Egypt, that he schulde regne on
twei rewmes. And he entride in to E-¹⁸
gipt with a greuouse multitude, in cha-
ris, and olifauntis, and horse men, *ether*
kniztis^u, and plenteuouse multitude of
schippis, and he ordeynede batel azens¹⁹
Tholome, kyng of Egypt; and Tolome
dredde of his face, and flei; and many
weren woundid, and fellen down. And he²⁰
took the stronge citees in the lond of
Egypt, and took the preies of the lond of
Egypt. And Antioch turnede, after that²¹

^b the sonys *G pr. m.* ^c Om. *A.* ^{cc} Lord *K.*

^s felde *c et alii.* ^h that is, familiar felowis *e marg.* ⁱ her 3ongthe *c et ceteri.* ^k Om. *ceteri præter K.*
¹ the kyng *I.* ^m ostage, *ether plegge C E F G H I K M N P Q S U X.* ⁿ and he *I.* ^o in *G.* ^p Om. *C E F H M N P Q S U*
x pr. m. c. ^q lond *G.* ^r Om. *R.* ^s ri3tfulnesse *R.* ^{ss} seeld to naciouns *F.* ^t Om. *R.* ^u Om. *R.*

21 lond of Egypt. And Antiochus turnede,
after that he smote Egypt, in the hun-
drid and three and fourtithe 3eer, and
22 styede vp^d to Yrael. And he stiede vp
to Jerusalem in a greuouse multitude,
23 and entride in to the halewyng with
pride; and he toke the golden auter,
and the candilstike of lizt, and alle ves-
sels therof, and the bord of proposicioun,
and vessels of fletyngge sacrifices, and
cruetis, and golden morters, and veil,
and crownys, and golden ournement that
was in face of the temple; and he brake
24 alle. And he toke gold and syluer, and
alle desireable vessels, and he toke the^e
priuy tresours, whiche he fonde; and alle
25 taken up, he wente in to his lond. And
he made slaw3ter of men, and spake in^f
26 grete pride. And grete weiling is maad
27 in Yrael, and in eche place of hem; and
princis sorewiden inwardly, and elder
men, and meydenys, and 3ung men, ben
maad seeke, and fairnesse of wymen is
28 chaungid. Eche husbond toke weilyng,
and thei that saten in the husbondis bed,
29 mourneden. And the lond is moued to
gidre on men dwellynge therynne, and al
the hous of Jacob clothide confusioun.
30 And after two 3eeris of days, the kyng
sente a prince of tributis in to the citees
of Juda, and he cam to Jerusalem with
31 grete cumpaignye. And he spake to
hem pesible wordis in gyle, and thei
32 bileeyden to hym. And sodenly he felle
yn on the citee, and smote it with grete
wounde, and lost miche peple of Yrael.
33 And he toke prayes of the citee, and
brente it with fjr, and distruyede housis
34 therof, and wallis therof in cumpas. And
thei ledden wymmen caityf, and children,
35 and weldiden beestis. And thei beeld-
iden the cytee of Daudid with grete^g wall
and sad, and sad toures; and it is maad
36 to hem in to strengthe. And thei put-
tiden there a folk of synners, wickid
men, and thei weren stronge in it; and

he smoot Egypt, in the hundrid and thre
and fourtithe 3eer, and stiede to Israel.
And he stiede to Jerusalem with a greu- 22
ouse multitude, and entride in to the 23
halewyng with pride; and he took the
goldun auter, and the candilstike of lizt,
and alle^v vessels therof, and the boord of
proposicioun, and vessels of fletyngge sacri-
fices, and cruetis, and goldun morteris,
and veil, and crownes, and goldun ourne-
ment that was in the face of the temple;
and he brak alle. And he took siluer 24
and gold, and alle desirable^w vessels, and
he took the priuy tresours, whiche he
foond; and whanne he hadde takun vp
alle thingis, he wente in to his lond. And 25
he made slau3ter of men, and spak in
greet pride. And greet weilyng was maad 26
in Israel, and in ech place of hem; and 27
princes sorewiden inwardli, and eldere
men, and maidens, and 3onge men weren
maad sike, and fairnesse of wymmen was
chaungid. Ech hosebonde took weilyng, 28
and thei that saten in hosebondis bed,
morenyden. And the lond was mouyd 29
togidere on men dwellynge therynne, and
al the hous of Jacob was clothid with
confusioun. And aftir twei 3eeris of 30
daies, the kyng sente a prince of tributis
in to the citees of Juda, and he cam to
Jerusalem with greet cumpanye. And he 31
spak to hem pesible wordis in gile, and
thei bileuyden to hym. And sudeynli he 32
felle in on the citee, and smoot it with a^x
greet wounde, and loste myche puple of
Israel. And he took preies of the citee, 33
and brente it with fier, and distriede
housis therof, and wallis therof^y in cum-
pas. And thei ledden wymmen caitif, 34
and children, and weldiden beestis. And 35
thei bildiden the citee of Daudid with greet
wal and sad, and sadde touris; and it was
maad to hem in to an hiz tour^z. And 36
thei puttiden there a folc of synneris,
wickid men, and thei weren strong in it;
and thei puttiden armeris, and metis, and

^d Om. A. ^e Om. H. ^f Om. K. ^g a grete G sec. m. H.

^v alle the I, ^w desirable c. ^x Om. B. ^y Om. B. ^z toure, ether strengthe C E F G H I K M N P Q S U X E.

thei puttiden armers, and metis, and
 37 gadirden prays of Jerusalem; and put-
 tiden vp there, and ben maad into a
 38 grete gnare. And this thing is maad to
 aspyngus in yuel of halewyng, and in
 39 to yuel gyle in Yrael euermore. And
 thei shedden out innocent blood, bi cum-
 pas of the halewyng, and defouliden the
 40 halewyng. And dwellers of Jerusalem
 fledden for hem, and is maad habita-
 cioun of straungers, and is maad strange,
or alien, to his seed, and the sonnys
 41 therof forsoken it. The halewyng therof
 is desolat as wildrenesse; the feestdays
 therof ben turned in to mournyng, the
 sabothis therof in to shenship, the hon-
 42 ouris therof into noujt. Vp the glorie
 therof the yuel fame therof is multi-
 plied, and heiznesse therof is touned
 43 into mournyng. And kyng Antiochus
 wrot to al his reume, that al the peple
 weren oon. And thei forsoken eche man
 44 his lawe; and alle folkis consentiden vp
 45 the word of kyng Antiochus, and manye
 of Yrael consentiden to hym, and sacri-
 fieden to ydolis, and defouliden saboth.
 46 And kyng Antiochus sente bokis bi the
 hond of messangers in to Jerusalem, and
 in to alle citees of Judee, that thei shul-
 47 den sue the lawis of folkis of erthe, and
 thei shulden forbede burnt sacrifices, and
 sacrifices, and plesyngis for to be don in
 48 the temple of God, and shulden^h forbede
 the saboth for to be halewid, and so-
 49 lempne days, and holy thingus for to be
 defoulid, and the holy peple of Yrael.
 50 And he comaundide auters for to be
 beeldid, and templis, andⁱ ydolis; and
 swyne fleshe for to be sacrificid, and
 51 commoun, *or unclene*, beestus; and for
 to leue her sonys vncircumcidid, and the
 soulis of hem for to be defoulid in alle
 vnclennessis and abominaciouns, so that
 thei shulden forjete the lawe, and shul-
 den chaunge alle the iustifyngis of God.

gaderiden preies of Jerusalem; and put-37
 tiden vp there, and weren maad in to a^a
 greet snare. And this thing was maad 38
 to^b aspiyngis in yuel, *'ether tresouns'*^c, to
 halewyng, and in to an yuel deuel in
 Israel euere more. And thei shedden 39
 out innocent blood, bi cumpas of the ha-
 lewyng, and defouliden the halewyng.
 And dwelleris of Jerusalem fledden for^d 40
 hem, and it was maad abitacioun of
 straungeris, and it was maad straunge^e
 to his seed, and sones therof forsoken it.
 The halewyng^f therof was desolat as wil- 41
 dirnesse; feeste daies therof weren turned
 in to mourenyng, sabotis therof in to
 schenship, onouris therof in to noujt. Bi 42
 the glorie therof the yuel fame therof was
 multiplied, and hyznesse therof was turned
 in to mournyng. And kyng Antiok wroot 43
 to al his rewme, that al the puple schulde
 be oon. And thei forsoken ech man his
 lawe; and alle folkis consentiden bi the 44
 word of kyng Antiok, and many of Israel 45
 consentiden to him, and sacrificeden^g to
 idols, and defouliden sabot. And king 46
 Antiok sente bokis bi the hondis of mes-
 sangeris in to Jerusalem, and in to alle
 citees of Judee, that thei schulden sue
 lawis of folkis of erthe, and schulden for- 47
 bede brent sacrifices, and sacrifices, and
 plesyngis^h for to be don in the temple of
 God, and that thei schulden forbede the 48
 sabot for to be halewid, and solempne
 daies, and hooli thingis for to be defoulid, 49
 and the hooli puple of Israel. And he 50
 comaundide auteris for to be bildid, and
 templis, and idols; and swynes fleisch for
 to be sacrificid, and vncleneⁱ beestis; and 51
 for to leue her sones vncircumcidid, and
 the soulis of hem for to be defoulid in alle
 vnclennessis and abhomynaciouns, so that
 thei schulden forjete the lawe, and schu-
 len chaunge alle the iustifyngis of God.
 And who euere dide not bi the word of 52
 kyng Antiok, schulden die. Bi alle these 53

^h thei schulden G sec. m. H. ⁱ of A.

^a Om. N. ^b in to I. ^c Om. R. ^d fro A pr. m. is. ^e alien c. straunge, ether [that is K] alien EFGHIK
 MNPQSUXE. ^f habitacion R. ^g sacrificiden c et ceteri. ^h plesyng N. ⁱ comyn, ether vnclene CEFQHIKM
 NPQSUXE. common R.

52 And who euer diden not the^j word of
 53 Antiochus, shulden dye. After alle these
 wordis he wrote to al his rewme, and
 bifore sette princis to the peple, whiche
 shulden constreyne these thingis for^k to
 54 be don. And thei comaundiden to citees
 55 of Juda for to sacrifice. And many of
 the peple ben gadrid to hem, whiche for-
 soken lawe^l of the Lord, and diden yuels
 56 on erthe; and dryuen out the peple of
 Yrael of priue places, and in hid places
 57 of fugityues, *or fleeynge men*. In the
 fyftenthe day of the moneth Casleu, in
 the hundrid and fyue and fourtithe zeere,
 kyng Antiochus beeldide the abominable
 ydol of desolacioun, *or discomfort*, on^m
 the auter of God; and bi alle the citees
 58 of Jude thei beeldiden auters. And bi-
 fore 3atis of housis and in streetis thei
 59 brenten encensis, and sacrificiden; and
 brenten by fjr bokis of the lawe of God,
 60 keruyng hem. And anentis whom euer
 bokis of theⁿ testament of the Lord
 weren founden, and who euer kepte the
 lawe of the Lord, vp maundement of the
 61 kyng thei slewen hym. In her vertu,
or power, thei diden these thingus to the
 peple of Yrael, that was founden in eche
 62 moneth in citees. And in the^o fyue and
 twentithe day of the moneth, thei sacri-
 fisiden on the auter, that was a3einus the
 63 auter. And wymmen, that circumcid-
 iden her sonys, weren strangled, vp co-
 64 maundement of kyng Antiochus; and
 thei hangiden children of the haterels,
or hyndre part of the nek, by alle housis
 of hem, and strangliden that circumcid-
 65 iden^{oo} hem. And many of the peple of
 Yrael determyden, *or fully demyden*,
 anentis hem, that thei shulden not ete
 vnclene thingis, and chesiden more for
 to dye, than for to be defoulid with vn-
 66 clene metis. And thei wolden not breke

wordis he wroot to al his rewme, and
 aboue settide^l princis to the puple, whiche
 schulden constreyne these thingis for^m to
 be don. And thei comaundiden to citees⁵⁴
 of Juda for to make sacrifice. And many⁵⁵
 of the puple weren gaderid to hem, whiche
 forsoken the lawe of the Lord, and diden
 yuels on erthe. And thei dryueden out⁵⁶
 the puple of Israel fro priuy places, and
 in hid places of fleyngeⁿ men. In the fif-⁵⁷
 tenthe dai of the monethe Casleu*, in the
 hundrid and fyue and fourtithe zeer, king
 Antiok bildide abhominable idol of dis-
 coumfort^o on the auter of God; and bi alle
 citees of Judee in cumpas thei bildiden
 auters. And bifore the 3atis of^p housis⁵⁸
 and in stretis thei brenten encensis, and
 sacrificiden^q; and brenten bi fier the⁵⁹
 bookis of the lawe of God, and keruyden
 hem. And anentis whom euere the bookis⁶⁰
 of testament of the Lord weren foundun,
 and who euere kepte the lawe of the
 Lord, bi the maundement of the kyng
 thei slowen hym. In her power^r thei⁶¹
 diden these thingis to the puple of Is-
 rael, that was foundun in ech monethe in
 citees^s. And in the fyue and twentithe⁶²
 dai of the monethe, thei sacrificiden^t on
 the auter, that was azens the auter of God.
 And wymmen, that circumcididen^{tt} her⁶³
 sones, weren stranglid, bi comaundement
 of kyng Antiok; and thei hangiden chil-⁶⁴
 dren bi the neckis, bi alle housis of hem,
 and strangliden hem that circumcididen
 hem. And many of the puple of Israel⁶⁵
 determyneden^u anentis hem, that thei
 schulden not ete vnclene thingis, and ches-
 iden more for to die, than for to be de-
 foulid with vnclene metis. And thei wol-⁶⁶
 den not breke the hooli lawe of God, and
 thei weren slayn; and ful greet wraththe⁶⁷
 was maad on the puple.

* That answer-
 ith to oure No-
 uembre, and
 sum tyme it
 renneth in parti
 with oure Octo-
 bre. qu.

^j vp the A. ^k Om. G pr. m. ^l the lawe H. ^m vpon A ⁿ Om. AGH. ^o Om. H. ^{oo} circumciden
 G pr. m.

^l sette R. ^m Om. R. ⁿ fugityues R. fugityues, *ether fleynge men c et ceteri*. ^o desolacion R. desola-
 cioun, *ether discomfort c et ceteri*. ^p of the I. ^q sacrificiden *ceteri*. ^r vertu, *ether power* EFGHIKMN
 PQSUX. vertu R. ^s the citees U. ^t sacrificiden *ceteri*. ^{tt} circumciden A. ^u determyneden, *ether fulli*
demyden CEGHIKMN PQSUXE. fulli demeden F sup. ras.

the holy lawe of God, and thei weren
67 slayn; and grete^o wrath is maad on the
peple ful myche.

CAP. II.

1 In tho days Mathatias roose, the sone of
Joon, sone of Symeon, he 'a prest^p of the
sones of Joazin, of Jerusalem, and sate in
2 the hil Modyn. And he hadde fyue sones;
3 Joon, that was named Gaddis; and Sy-
4 mount, that was namyd Thasi; and Ju-
5 das, that was clepid Machabeus; and
Eleazarus, that was namyd Abaron; and
Jonathas, that was named Apphus.
6 These sawen the yuelis that weren don
in the peple of Juda and Jerusalem.
7 And Mathatias saide, Woo to me! wher-
to am I born, for to se contricioun, *or*
distraying^q, of my peple, and contri-
cioun of the holy citee, and for to sitte
there, whan it is 3ouen in hondis of en-
8 myes? Holy thingus ben maad in the
hond of strangers; the temple therof as
9 a man vnnoble; vessels of glorie therof
ben ladde away caytif. Olde men therof
ben slayn in streetis therof, and 3unge
men therof fellen down in swerd of en-
10 myes. What folk enheritide not the
kyngdam therof, and weeldede not prayes
11 therof? Al makyng to gidre, *or ourn-*
ying, therof is born away; she that was
12 free, is maad hond mayden. And loo!
oure holy, and oure fairnesse, and oure
cleerte, is desolate, and heithen men de-
13 fouliden it. What therfore 3it to vs for
14 to lyue? And Mathatias kitte, and his
sonys, her clothis, and hilliden hem with
15 hayris, and weiliden gretely. And thei
that weren sente of kyng Antiochus,
camen thidre, for to constreyne hem that
fledde to gydre in to the citee Modyn,
for to offre and brenne encensis, and for
16 to departe fro the lawe of God. And
many of the peple of Yrael consentynge
camen to hem; bot Mathatias and his

CAP. II.

In tho daies Matatias, the sone of Joon,¹
sone of Symeon, and he *was* prest^v of the
sones of Joarym, roos fro Jerusalem, and
sat in the hil Modyn^w. And he hadde²
fyue sones; Joon, that was named Gaddis;
and Symount, that was named Thasi;³
and Judas, that was clepid Machabeus;⁴
and Eleasarus, that was named Abaron;⁵
and Jonathas, that was clepid^x Apphus.
These sizen the yuels that weren don in⁶
the puple of Juda and in^y Jerusalem. And⁷
Matatias seide, Wo to me! wher to am Y
borun, for to se the distriyng^z 'of my pu-
ple, and the^a defoulyng of the hooli citee,
and for to sitte there, whanne it is 3ouun
in to^b the hondis^c of enemyes? Hooli⁸
thingis ben maad in the hond^d of
straungeris; the temple therof as a man
vnnoble; vessels of^e glorie therof ben led⁹
awei caitif. Elde men therof^f ben slayn in
stretis, and 3onge men therof fellen down
bi swerd of enemyes. What folc enherit-¹⁰
ide not the kingdom therof, and weldide
not preies therof? Al ournyng therof is¹¹
borun awei; sche that was fre, is maad
handmaidun^g. And lo! oure hooli thing,¹²
and oure fairnesse, and oure clerete, is
desolat, and hethene men defouliden it.
What therfor is 3it to vs for to lyue?¹³
And Matatias and his sones to-renten her¹⁴
clothis, and hiliden hem with heiris, and
weiliden greetli. And thei that weren¹⁵
sent of^h kyng Antiok, camen thidur, for
to constreyne hem that fledde togidere
inⁱ to the cite of Modyn, for to offre and
brenne encensis, and for to departe fro the
lawe of God. And many of the puple of¹⁶
Israel consentiden, and camen to hem;
but Matatias and his sones stoden stide-
fastli. And thei answeriden, that weren¹⁷

^o the greet H. ^p Om. K sec. m. ^q distruccioun A.

^v a prest c et ceteri. ^w of Modyn F sec. m. GIKN sec. m. QSX. ^x named CEFHIKMQRSU. ^y of I. Om. R.
^z defoulyng, ether [or EPY] distriyng CEFHGKMN PQSUX. Om. I. defoulyng R. ^a Om. I. ^b Om. R.
^c hond A sec. m. ^d hondis AS. ^e and N. ^f Om. R. ^g the hondmaiden R. ^h of the I. ⁱ Om. N.

17 sonys stoden stidfastly. And thei answeryng, that weren sente of Antiochus, saiden to Mathatias, Thou art prince, and most cleer, and grete in this citee, and ourned with sonys and bretheren. 18 Therefore go to former, and do the maundement of the kyng, as alle folkis han don, and men^r of Juda, and thei that laften in Jerusalem. And thou shalt be, and thy sonnys, among freendis of the kyng, and made large in siluer and gold, and in 19 many 3iftis. And Mathatias answeride, and saide with grete voice, And if alle folkis obeien to the^s kyng Antiochus, that thei go away eche man fro seruice of the lawe of his fadris, and consente to 20 his maundementis, Y, and my sonnys, and my bretheren shuln obeie to the lawe of 21 oure fadris. God be helpful to us; it is not prophitable to us for to forsake the 22 lawe and ri3twisnessis of God. We schulen not heeren the wordis of kyng Antiochus, nether shuln sacrifice, brekyng the maundementis of oure lawe, that we 23 go another way. And as he ceeside for to speke these wordis, sum Jew wente to in ee3en of alle men, for to sacrifice to ydolis on the auter, in the cytee Modyn, 24 vp comaundement of the kyng. And Mathatias sau3, and sorewide, and his reyns trembliden togidre, and his wodnesse is kyndled after dom of the lawe; and he lippyng ynnē, slew3 hym on the 25 auter. Bot and he slew3 in that tyme the man whom kyng Antiochus sente, whiche compellide for to be offrid, and 26 distruyde the auter. And he louede feruently the lawe, as Fynees dide to 27 Zambri, sone of Salomy. And Mathatias criede in grete voice in the cytee, sayinge, Eche man that hath feruent loue of the lawe, ordeynynge testament, go out 28 after me. And he flei3, and his sonnys, in to mounteyns, and leften what euer 29 thingus thei^t hadden in the citee. Thanne manye wente down, seekynge domes and

sent of Antiok, and seiden to Matatias, Thou art prince, and^k moost clere, and greet in this citee, and ourned with sones and britheren. Therfor go thou the for- 18 mere, and do the maundement of the kyng, as alle folkis han don, and men of Juda, and thei that leften in Jerusalem. And thou schalt be, and thi sones, among freendis of the king, and maad large in siluer and gold, and many 3iftis. And 19 Matatias answeride, and seide with greet vois, Thou3 alle folkis obeien to^l kyng Antiok, that thei go aweie ech man fro^m seruice of the lawe of his fadris, and consenten to his maundementis, Y, and my 20 sones, and my britheren schulen obeie to the lawe of oure fadris. God be helpful 21 to vs; it is not profitable to vs for to forsake the lawe and ri3twisnessesⁿ of God. We schulen not here the wordis of kyng^o 22 Antiok, nether^p schulen make sacrifice^q to idols, and breke the maundementis of oure lawe, that we go bi anothir weie. And as he ceesside for to speke these 23 wordis, sum Jew wente to, bfore the i3en of alle men, for to sacrifice to idols on the auter, in the citee Modyn^r, bi comaundement of the kyng. And Matatias si3, and 24 sorewide, and his reynes trembliden togidere, and his woodnesse* was kyndlid bi doom of the lawe; and he skippide^s in, and slow hym on the auter. But and he 25 slow in that tyme the man whom king Antiok sente, which compellide for to offre, and he distriede the auter. And 26 he louyde feruentli the lawe, as Fynees dide to Sambri, sone of Salomy. And 27 Matatias criede with greet vois in the citee, and seide, Ech man that hath feruent loue of the lawe, ordeyne a testament, *that is, a couenaunt*^t, and go^u out after me. And 28 he flei, and hise sones, in to munteyns, and leften what euere thingis thei hadden in the citee. Thanne many sekyng dom 29 and ri3twisnesse, wenten down in to desert, that thei schulden sitte there, thei, 30

* that is, gret
wraththe bi
feruent loue,
that was stirid
thanne bi the
dom of resoun.
Lire here. 1KU

^r the men A. ^s Om. AGH. ^t that thei A.

^k and art I. ^l to the I. ^m fro the I. ⁿ ri3tfulnessis R. ^o the kyng I. ^p nether we I. ^q sacrificis A.
^r of Modyn F sec. m. 1K. ^s leppide c et ceteri. ^t Om. R. ^u go he I.

30 riȝtwisnesse, in to desert, that thei saten
there, thei, and sonys of hem, and wym-
men of hem, and beestis of hem, for
31 yuels weren hard on hem. And it is
tolde aȝein to men of the kyng, and to
the oost, that weren in Jerusalem, in the
cytee of Daud, for sum men wente away,
that distruyeden maundement of the kyng,
in to priuy placis of desert; and many
32 hadden gon after hem. And anoon thei
wenten to hem, and ordeyniden aȝeins
33 hem bateile, in the day of sabothis; and
saiden to hem, Aȝeinstonde ȝe and now
ȝit? go ȝe out, and do ȝe vp the word of
34 kyng Antiochus, and ȝe shuln lyue. And
thei saiden, We shuln not go out, nethir
we shuln do the word of the kyng, that
35 we defoule the day of sabothis. And
36 thei steriden bateile aȝeinus hem. And
thei answerden not to hem, nether sente
stoon to hem, nether stoppiden preuy
37 places, sayinge, Dye we alle in oure
symplenesse, and heuen and erthe shuln
be witnessis on vs, that vniustly ȝe
38 leesen us. And thei baren yn to hem
bateil in sabothis, and thei ben deade,
and the wyues of hem, and sonnys of
hem, and beestis of hem, vnto a thou-
39 sand soules of men. And Mathatias
knewe, and his freendis; and thei had-
den mournyng on hem gretely. And a
man saide to his neȝbore, ȝif we alle
shuln do as oure bretheren diden, and
shuln not fiȝte aȝeinus heithen men, for
oure soulis, and oure iustifyngis, sunner
41 thei shuln distruye vs of erthe. And
thei thouȝten in that day, sayinge, Eche
man who euer shal cum to vs in bateile,
in day of sabothis, fiȝte we aȝeinus hym,
and dye we not alle, as oure bretheren
42 ben dead in priuy places. Than the
synagoge of Jewis, stronge in miȝtis of
Yrael, is gadrid to hem, euery wilful
43 man in lawe; and alle that fledden fro
yuels, ben addid, *or put*, to hem. And thei
44 ben maad to hem to stedfastnesse, and

and the sones of hem, and wymmen of
hem, and beestis of hem, for yuels weren
hard on hem. And it was teld^v to men³¹
of the kyng, and to the oost, that weren in
Jerusalem, the citee of Daud, that sum-
men wenten awei, that distrieden maunde-
ment^w of the kyng, in to priuy places in
desert; and many hadden go after hem.
And anoon thei wenten to hem, and or-³²
deineden aȝens hem batel, in the^x dai of
sabatis; and^y seiden to hem, Aȝenstonde³³
ȝe also now ȝit? go ȝe out, and do ȝe^z
after the word of kyng Antiok, and ȝe
schulen lyue. And thei seiden, We schu-³⁴
len not go out, nether schulen do the word
of the king, that we defoule the dai of
sabatis^a. And thei stiriden batel aȝens³⁵
hem. And thei answeriden not to hem,³⁶
nether threwen^b stoon^c to hem, nether
stoppiden priuy places, and seiden, Die³⁷
we alle in oure simplenesse, and heuene
and erthe schulen be witnessis on vs, that
vniustli ȝe lesen vs. And thei ȝauen to³⁸
hem batel^d in sabatis, and thei weren
deed, and wyues of hem, and sones of
hem, and beestis of hem, til to a thousande
persoones of men. And Matatias knew,³⁹
and his frendis; and thei hadden mourn-
yng on hem greetli. And a man seide to⁴⁰
his neȝbore, If we alle shulen do as oure
britheren diden, and schulen not fiȝte aȝens
hethene men, for oure lyues, and oure ius-
tifyngis, sunnere^e thei schulen distrie vs
fro erthe^f. And thei thouȝten in that dai,⁴¹
and seiden, Ech man who euere cometh to
vs in batel, in dai^g of sabotis, fiȝte we
aȝens hym, and die we not alle, as oure
britheren ben deed in priuy places. Thanne⁴²
the synagoge of Jewis, strong in myȝtis of
Israel, was gaderid to hem. Euery wilful
man in the^h lawe, and alle that fledden⁴³
fro yuels, weren addid to hem, and thei
weren maad to hem to stidfastnesse. And⁴⁴
thei gaderiden an oost, and smytiden syn-
neris in her wraththe, and wickid men in
her indignacioun; and the totherⁱ fledden

^v teld aȝen B. ^w the maundement I K R. ^x Om. B. ^y and thei I. ^z Om. I. ^a the sabatis I *pr. m.*
^b threuwen C *sup. ras. ether senten* K *marg. senten* B. ^c a stoon I. ^d batels B. ^e the sunnere I. ^f the
erthe B. ^g the dai I. ^h Om. B. ⁱ othere I.

gedryden an oost, and smyten synners in
her wrath, and wickid men in her indig-
nacioun; and the tother fledden to na-
45 ciouns, for to ascape. And Mathatias
enuyrounede, and his freendis, and dis-
46 truyeden auters, and circumcididen chil-
dren vncircumcidid, hou manye euer thei
founden in coostis of Yrael, in strengthe.
47 And thei pursueden sonys of pride, and
the werk hadde prosperite in her hondis.
48 And thei weeldiden the lawe^u of hondis^u
of heithen men, and of hondis of kyngus,
and 3auen not horn, *or strengthe*, to the
49 synner. And the days of Mathatias of
dying neizeden, and he saide to his sonys,
Now pride is counfortid, and chastisyng,
and tyme of distruccioun, and the wrath
50 of indignacioun. Now therefore, sonys,
be 3e suers, *or louers*, of the lawe, and
3eue 3e 3oure lyues for the testament of
51 fadris. And bithenke 3e of the werkis
of fadris, that thei diden in her genera-
ciouns, and 3e shuln resceyue grete glorie,
52 and euerlastynge name. Wher Abraham
in temptation was not founden feithful,
and it is rettid to hym to^v rijt-
wisnesse?
53 Joseph in tyme of his anguyshe kepte
the comaundement, and was maad lord
54 of Egypt. Fynees, oure fadir, feruently
louynge the feruent loue of God, toke tes-
55 tament of euerlastynge presthode. Jhe-
sus, *or Josue*, whijle he fulfilled the
56 word, is maad duyck in Yrael. Caleph,
whijl he witnessith in the chirche, toke
57 heritage. Daid in his mercy gate the
58 seete of kyngdam, in to worldis. Helye,
whijl he feruently loueth the feruent loue
of the lawe, is resceyued in to heuen.
59 Ananias, Azarias, Mysael, byleeuyng
60 ben delyuered of flawme. Danyel in
his symplenesse is delyuerd of mouth of
61 lyouns. And thus bithenke 3e bi gene-
racioun and generacioun, for alle that
hopen in to hym ben not maad vnsted-

to naciouns, for to ascape. And Matatias 45
enuyrounede, and hise freendis, and^k dis-
triden auteris, and circumcididen chil- 46
dren vncircumcided, hou manye euer thei
founden in the coostis of Israel, 'in
strengthe^l. And thei pursueden the sones 47
of pride, and the werk hadde prosperite in
her hondis. And thei gaten the lawe fro^m 48
hondis of hethene men, and froⁿ hondis
of kyngis, and 3auen^o not strengthe^p to
the synnere. And daies of Matatias of 49
diynge neiziden, and he seide to hise sones,
Now pride is counfortid, and chastisyng,
and tyme of distruccioun, and the wraththe
of indignacioun^q. Now therfor, sones, be 50
3e sueris, '*ether louyeris*', of the lawe, and
3yue 3e 3oure lyues for the testament of
fadris. And bithenke 3e on werkis of 51
fadris, whiche thei diden in her genera-
ciouns, and 3e schulen resseyue greet glo-
rie, and euerlastynge name. Whether^r in 52
temptacioun Abraham was not^s founden
trewe^t, and it was arettid to hym to rijt-
wisnes? Joseph in time of his angwisch 53
kepte comaundement, and^u was maad lord
of Egypt. Fynees, oure fadir, in feruentli 54
louynge the feruent loue of God, took tes-
tament of euerlastynge preesthod. Jhesus, 55
'*ether Josue*', while he fillide the word,
was maad duyck in Israel. Caleph, while 56
he witnesside in the chirche, took eritage.
Daid in his merci gat the sete of kyng- 57
dom, in to worldis. Elie, while he fer- 58
uentli louyde the feruent loue of the lawe,
was resseyued in to heuene. Ananyas, 59
Azarias, Misael, bileuyden, and weren de-
lyuered fro^w flawme. Danyel in his sym- 60
plenesse was delyuered fro the mouth of
liouns. And thus bithenke 3e bi^x gene- 61
racioun and generacioun, for alle that
hopen in to hym ben not maad vnstide-
fast. And drede 3e not of the wordis of a 62
man synnere^y, for the glorie of hym is
tord and worm; to dai he is enhaunsid, 63

^u Om. G pr. m. ^v in to A.

^k and thei I. ^l Om. B. ^m fro the I. ⁿ fro the I. ^o thei 3auen R. ^p horn, *ether strengthe* EFGHIK
MNPQSUxE. horn R. ^q indignaciouns A. ^r Om. R. ^s Wher *ceteri passim*. ^t Om. I. ^u trewe, *ether*
feithful C et *ceteri præter* R. ^v and he I. ^w Om. R. ^x fro the I. ^y a synner R sec. m.

62 fast. And of wordis of the synner 3e
shuln not drede, for the glorie of hym
63 is torde and worme; to day he is en-
haunsid, and to morrew he shal not be
founden, for he is turned in to his erthe,
64 and his thouȝte shal perishe. Therefore,
sonys, be 3e confortid, and do 3e manly
in the lawe; for whan 3e shuln do whiche
thingus ben bedun to 3ou in the lawe of
the Lord 3our God, in it 3e shuln be
65 glorious. And loo! Symount, 3our bro-
there; I wote, for he is a man of coun-
seile, heere 3e hym euermore, and he
66 shal be fadir to 3ou. And Judas Macha-
beus, stronge in miȝtis fro his 3outh, be
he to 3ou a prince of kniȝthode, and he
67 shal do bateil of the peple. And 3e
shuln brynge to 3ou alle doars of the
lawe, and venge 3e the veniaunce of
68 3oure peple. Ȝelde 3e ȝeeldyng to hei-
then men, and take 3e tent ^vin to^v the
69 heest of lawe. And he blesside hem, and
70 is putt to his faders. And he is dead in
the hundrid and sixe and fourtie^w ȝeere,
and is biryed of his sonnys in to the
sepulcre of his fadris in Modyn; and
alle Yrael weiliden hym with greet
weylyng.

CAP. III.

1 And Judas roose, that was clepid Ma-
chabeus, his sone, for him. And alle his
bretheren helpiden hym, and alle that
ioyneden hem to his fadir, and thei
fouȝten the bateil of Yrael with glad-
3 nesse. And he alargide glorie to his
peple, and clothide hym a hawberiou
as a ieaunt, and girde hym his^x armeres
of bateile in bateilis, and defendide cas-
4 tellis with his swerde. He is maad lijce
to a lyoun in his werkis, and as whelp of
5 lyoun rorynge in his huntyng. And he
pursuede wickid men, seekyng hem;
and he brente hem in flawmes, that to
6 gydre distourbliden his peple. And his
enmyes ben putt aȝein for drede of hym,

and to morewe he schal not be foundun,
for he is turned in to his erthe, and his
thouȝt schal perische. Therfor, 3e sones, 64
be coumfortid, and do 3e manli in the
lawe; for* whanne 3e schulen do tho thingis
that ben bodun to 3ou in the lawe of 3oure
Lord God, in it 3e schulen be glorious.
And lo! Symount, 3oure brother; Y woot, 65
that he is a man of councel, here 3e hym
euermore, and he schal be fadir to 3ou.
And Judas Machabeus, stronge in miȝtis 66
fro his ȝongthe, be to 3ou a prince in^z
knyȝthod, and he schal do batel of the
puple. And 3e schulen brynge to 3ou alle 67
doeris of the lawe, and venge 3e the ven-
iaunce of 3oure puple. Ȝelde 3e ȝeldyng 68
to hethene men, and take 3e tent to the
heeste of the lawe. And he blesside hem, 69
and was put to hise fadris. And he was 70
deed in the hundrid and ^ssixe and fourti^a
ȝeer, and was biryed of hise sones in to
sepulcre of hise fadris in Modyn; and al
Israel weiliden hym with greet weilyng.

* This clause
til thedir, *And*
lo! Symount, is
not had of the
text, nether is
had in bookis
amended. *Live*
here. EFQ.

CAP. III.

And Judas, that was clepid Macha-
beus, the sone of Matatias, roos for hym.
And alle hise britheren helpiden hym, and 2
alle that ioyneden hem to his fadir, and
thei fouȝten the batel ^{of} Israel^b with
gladnesse^c. And he alargide glorie to³
his puple, and clothide hym with an ha-
buriowne as a giaunt, and girde^d hym
with hise armeris of batel in batels, and
defendide castels with his swerd. He was 4
maad lijke^e a lioun in hise werkis, and as
a^f whelp of lioun^g rorynge in his huntyng.
And he^h pursuede wickid men, and souȝte⁵
hem; and he brente hem in flawmes, that
distourbliden his puple. And hise enemyes 6
weren put abac for drede of hym, and alle

^v to AH. ^w fourtithe AH. ^x with A.

^z of *ceteri præter* s. ^a sixe and fourtithe c *et plures*. xl. foure I. ^b Om. R. ^c greet gladnes R. ^d girte c
et plures. ^e like to R. ^f Om. R. ^g a lioun FB. ^h Om. R.

and alle wirchers of wickidnesse ben trublid to gidre; and helthe is dressid in this hond. And he wraththide many kyngus, and gladide Yrael in his werkis, and in to world his mynde in blessing. And he wente thorū the citees of Juda, and lost vnpitous men of hem, and turnyde away wrath fro Yrael. And he is named vn to the vttermost of erthe, and he gadride the perishynge. And Appolonius gadride folkis, and fro Samarie myche vertue, and grete, for to fyt azeinus Yrael. And Judas knewe, and wente out azeinus hym, and smote, and slew hym. And many woundid fellen down, and the other fledden; and he toke prayes of hem. And Judas toke away the swerd of Appolonie, and was fyttyng therynne in alle days. And Seron, prince of the oost of Syrie, herde, that Judas gadride a gaderyng, and the chirche of feithful men with hym. And he saith, Y schal make to me a name, and Y schal be glorified in rewme, and Y schal ouercumme Judas, and hem that ben with hym, whiche dispisiden the kyngus word. And he made hym redy; and the castels of vnpitous men, strong helpers, stieden vp with hym, for to do veniaunce in to the sonys of Yrael. And thei neiziden vn to Betheron; and Judas wente out azeinus hem, with fewe men. Forsothe as thei sawen the oost cummyng to hem in meetyng, thei saiden to Judas, How mown we fewe fytte azeinus so grete multitude, so stronge; and we ben maad very by fastyng this day? And Judas saith, It is lizt, *or eisy*, many for to be closid to gydre in hond of fewe; and difference is not in the sizt of God of heuen, for to delyuere in many or in fewe; for not in multitude of oost the victorie of bateil, bot of heuen is strengthe. Thei cummen to us in rebelle multitude, and prid, for to distruye vs, and oure wyues, and oure sonys, and for to

worcheris of wickidnesse¹ weren troblid to gidere; and helthe was dressid in his hond. And he wraththide many kyngis,⁷ and^j gladide Jacob^{k*} in hise werkis, and in to world his mynde *is* in blessing. And⁸ he wente thorou³ the citees of Juda, and loste vnpitouse men of hem, and turnede awei wraththe fro Israel. And he was⁹ named til to the vtmost of erthe, and he gaderide men perischynge. And Appol-¹⁰ lyne gaderide folkis, and fro Samarie myche vertu, and greet, for to fytte azens Israel. And Judas knew, and wente out¹¹ azens hym, and smoot, and slow hym. And many woundid fellen down, and the othere¹ fledden; and he took preies of hem. And¹² Judas took awei the swerd of Appollyne, and was fyttyng therwith^m inⁿ alle daies. And Seron, prince of the oost of Sirie,¹³ herde, that Judas gaderide a gaderyng, and the chirche of feithful men with hym. And he seide, Y schal make to me a name,¹⁴ and Y schal be glorified in the rewme, and Y schal ouercome Judas, and hem that ben with hym, whiche dispisiden the kyngis word. And he made redi hym; and the¹⁵ castels of vnpitouse men, stronge helperis, stieden vp with hym, for to do veniaunce on the sones of Israel. And thei neiziden¹⁶ 'til to^o Betheron; and Judas wente out azens hem, with fewe men. Forsothe as¹⁷ thei sizen the oost comynge to hem in metinge, thei seiden to Judas, Hou moun we fewe fytten azens so greet multitude, so strong; and we ben maad veri bi fastyng this dai? And Judas seide, It is lizt,¹⁸ *'ether esy^p*, that many be closid togidere in hond of fewe; and difference is not in sizt of God 'of heuene^q, for to delyuere in manye ether in fewe; for not in multitude¹⁹ of oost *is* the victorie of batel, but of heuene is strengthe. Thei comen to vs in rebel²⁰ multitude, and pride, for to distrie vs, and oure wyues, and oure sones, and for to robbe vs. Forsothe we schulen fytte for²¹ oure lyues, and oure lawis; and the Lord²²

*Jacob, that is, the puple of Israel. A.

¹ wicknesse R. ^j and he I. ^k Jacob, that is, puple of Israel c et ceteri, præter R. ^l tother R. ^m therynne R. ⁿ Om. I. ^o vn to I. ^p Om. R. ^q Om. R.

21 robbe us. Forsothe we shuln f3tē for
 22 oure soulis, and oure lawis, and he the
 Lord shal breke hem to gydre byfore
 oure face; forsothe dreede 3e not hem.
 23 Sothely as he ceeside for to speke, he
 hurlide in in to hem soodeynly; and Seron
 is broken to gidre, and his oost, in sijt
 24 of hym. And he pursuede hym in the
 goyng doun of Betheron, til in to the
 feeld; and eizte hundrid men of hem
 fellen doun, the other forsothe fledden
 25 in to the lond of Philistym. And dreedy
 of Judas, and of his bretheren, and in-
 ward ferdnesse, felle on alle heithen men
 26 in cumpas of hem; and the name of
 hym came to the kyng, and of the batels
 27 of Judas alle folkis telden. Sothely as
 kyng Antiochus herde these wordis, he
 was wrothe in inwitt; and he sente, and
 gadride the oost of al his rewme, ful
 28 stronge^r castels. And he opnyde his
 tresorie, and 3aue soudis to the oost, in
 to oo 3eer, and comaundide hem, that
 29 thei weren redy to alle thingus. And he
 saw³, that monee failide of his tresours,
 and tributis of the cuntre lital, for dis-
 sencion and veniaunce that he dide in
 to the lond, for to do away the lawful
 thingis that weren of the first days.
 30 And he dredde, that he schulde not haue
 and oonys and twies in to costis and
 31 gytis, whiche he hadde 3ouen byfore
 with large hond; and he aboundide ouer
 kyngus that weren bifore hym. And
 he was astonyed in ynwitt gretly, and
 thou3te for to go in to Persis, and to
 take tributis of cuntrees, and for to
 32 gadre myche syluer. And he laft Ly-
 sias, a noble man of the kyngis kynne,
 on the kyngus needis, fro the flood Eu-
 33 frates vn to the flood of Egipt; and
 that he schulde nuriche Antiochus, his
 34 sone, til he cam a3ein. And he toke to
 hym the mydil oost, and olifauntis, and
 comaundide to hym of alle thingus that
 he wolde, and of men enhabitynge Jude

hym silf schal al to-breke hem bifore oure
 face; forsothe drede 3e not hem. Sotheli²³
 as he ceesside for to speke, he hurlide in^r
 'in to^{rr} hem sudenli; and Seron was al to-
 brokun, and his oost, in the sijt of hym.
 And he pursuede hym in the goyng doun²⁴
 of Betheron, til in to the feeld; and eizte
 hundrid men of hem fellen doun, the
 othere forsothe fledden in to the^s lond of
 Filistym. And the drede of Judas, and²⁵
 of his britheren, and the inward ferdnesse,
 felle on alle hethene men in cumpas of
 hem; and the name of hym cam to the²⁶
 kyng, and alle folkis telden of the bateils
 of Judas. Sotheli as king Antiok herde²⁷
 these wordis, he was wrooth in soule;
 and he sente, and gaderide the^{ss} oost of al
 his rewme, ful^t stronge castels. And he²⁸
 openyde his treserie, and 3af sowdis to the
 oost, in to a 3eer, and comaundide hem,
 that thei schulden be redi to alle thingis.
 And he sai, that money failide of hise²⁹
 tresouris, and tributis of the cuntrei weren^l
 lital, for dissencion and veniaunce that he
 dide in the lond, for to do awei the lawful
 thingis that weren of the^u firste daies. And³⁰
 he dredde, that he schulde not haue as
 onys and twies in to costis and 3iftis,
 whiche he hadde 3ouun bifore with large
 hond; and he was riche ouer kingis that
 weren bifore hym. And he was astonyed³¹
 in soule greetli, and thou3te for to go in
 to Persis, and for to take tributis of cun-
 treis, and for to gadre myche siluer. And³²
 he lefte Lisias, a noble man of the kyngis
 kyn, on the kingis nedis, fro the flood
 Eufrates til to the flood of Egipt; and³³
 that he schulde nursche Antiok, his sone,
 til he cam a3en. And he^v bitook to hym³⁴
 the half of the oost, and olifauntis, and
 comaundide to hym of alle these^w thingis
 that he wolde, and of men enhabitynge
 Judee and Jerusalem; and that he schulde³⁵
 sende to hem an oost, for to al to-breke,
 and to^x distrie vtirly the vertu of Israel,
 and relifs^y of Jerusalem, and for to do

^y the dreed *AH.* ^z grete *A.*

^r Om. *EFPMU.* ^{rr} in *X.* ^s Om. *R.* ^{ss} al the *R.* ^t and ful *I pr. m.* ^u Om. *A.* ^v Om. *I.* ^w Om. *R.*
^x Om. *R.* ^y the relifs *R.*

35 and Jerusalem; and that he shulde sende
to hem an oost, for to breke to gidre,
and to distruye vtterly the vertue of
Yrael, and relikis of Jerusalem, and for^a
to do away the mynde of hem of place;
36 and for to ordeyne aliens sonys dwellers
in alle the coostis of hem, and bi lot for to
37 departe the lond of hem. And the kyng
toke to a part of the residue oost, and
wente out of Antioche, the citee of his
rewme, in the hundrid and seuen and
fourtye 3eer; and passide ouer the flood
Eufrates, and wente thoru the hee3er
38 cuntrees. And Lisias chese Ptholome,
sone of Dorim, and Nychanore, and Gor-
gie, mizty men of the kyngus freendus.
39 And he sente with hem fourti thousand
of men, and seuen thousand of horsmen,
'or knyztis^b; and that thei shulden cum
in to the lond of Juda, and distruy it,
40 vp word of the kyng. And thei wenten
forth, for to go with al her vertue; and
thei camen, and applieden, or *fellen to*,
41 at Ammaum, in the feeldy lond. And
marchauntis of cuntrees herden the name
of hem, and token syluer and gold ful
myche, and children, and camen in to
castels, for to take the sonys of Yrael in
to seruauantis; and the oostis of Sirie
ben added to hem, and londis of aliens.
42 And Judas see3, and his bretheren, for
yuels ben multiplied, and the oost ap-
pliede, or *londide*, at the coostis of hem;
and thei knewen wordus of the kyng,
whiche he comaundide the peple for to
43 do, in to perishyng and eendyng. And
thei saiden, eche man to his neizbore,
Reise we the casting down of oure peple,
and fizte we^c for oure peple, and oure holy
44 thingus. And cummyng to gidre of oost is
gadrid, for to be redy in to bateile, and
for to preye, and axe mercy, and mercy
45 doynigus. And Jerusalem was not enha-
bitid, bot was as desert; ther was not
that entride and wente oute, of the chil-
dren therof; and the holy thing was

away the mynde of hem fro place; and 36
for to ordeyne dwelleris sonys aliens in
alle the coostis of hem, and bi lot for to
departe the lond of hem. And the kyng 37
took a part of the residue oost, and wente
out of Antiochie, citee of his rewme, in
the hundrid and seuen and fourti^z 3eer;
and passide ouer the flood Eufrates, and
wente thorou the hizere cuntreis. And 38
Lisias chees Tholome, the sone of Dorym,
and Nycanore, and Gorgie, mizti men of
the kyngis frendis. And he sente with 39
hem fourti thousynde of^a men, and seuen
thousynde of^b hors men, 'ether knyztis^c,
that thei schulden come in to the lond of
Juda, and distrie it, bi the^d word of the
kyng. And thei wenten forth, for to go 40
with al her pouer^e; and thei camen, and
londiden^f at Ammaum, in the feeldi lond^g.
And marchauntis of cuntreis herden the 41
name of hem, and token siluer and gold
ful miche, and children, and camen in to
castels, for to take the sonys of Israel in
to seruauantis; and the oostes of Sirie and
the londis of aliens weren addid to hem.
And Judas siz, and his britheren, that 42
yuelis weren multiplied, and the oost ap-
pliede, 'ether *londide*^h, at the coostis of
hem; and thei knewen the wordis of the
kyng, whiche he comaundide the puple for
to do, in to perischyng and endyng. And 43
thei seiden, ech man to his neizbore, Reise
we the castyng down of oure puple, and
fizte we for oure puple, and oure hooli
thingis. And comyng togidere of oost 44
was gaderid, for to be redi in to batel, and
for to preie, and axe merci, and merciful
doynigus. And Jerusalem was not enha- 45
bitid, but was as desert; ther was not
that entride and wente out, of children
therof; and the hooli thing was defoulid,
and sonys of aliens weren in the hiz tour,
ther was the dwellyng of hethene men;
and the likyng was don awei fro Jacob,
and pipe and harpe failide there. And 46
thei weren gaderid, and camen in to Mas-

^a Om. A. ^b Om. A. ^c Om. K.

^z fourtithe CFGNFX. ^a Om. R. ^b Om. R. ^c Om. R. ^d Om. I. ^e pouer A sec. m. sup. ras. vertu ceteri. ^f londiden A sec. m. sup. ras. applieden, ether felden [fellen EP, fellen FM] to CFGHIKMN PQSUXE. applieden R. ^g lond of Juda s. ^h or londede EP. Om. R.

defoulid, and sonys of aliens weren in the hee; rocke, *or toure*, there was the dwellyng of heithen men; and volupte, *or lust*, of Jacob is don away, and pipe
 46 and harpe failide there. And thei weren gadrid, and came in to Masphath azeinus Jerusalem; for place of preyer was in Masphath, bifore than in Jerusalem.
 47 And thei fastiden in that day, and clothiden hem with heiris, and puttiden ashe^d
 48 in her hed, and renten her clothis. And thei^e spradden abroad bokis of the lawe, of whiche heithen men souzten liknesse
 49 of her symylacris; and thei brouzten to ournementis of prestis, and premyssis, and tithis; and thei reisen Nazareis,
 50 that hadden fulfilliden days. And thei crieden with grete voice in to heuen, sayinge, What shuln we do to these,
 51 and whidir shuln we leede hem? And thin holy thingus ben to-troden, and defoulid, and thi prestis ben maad in to mournyng, and in to meekenesse, *or*
 52 *dispite*. And lo! naciouns camen togidre azeinus vs, for to distruye vs; thou woost what thingus thei thenken in to
 53 vs. Hou shuln we mown with stonde byfore the face of hem, no bot thou, God,
 54 help us? And thei crieden in trum-
 55 pis, with^f grete voice. And after these thingus Judas ordeynyde duykis of the peple, tribunys, *that oon ledde a thousand*, and centuriouns, *or ledinge an hundred*, and pentacontarkes, *leders of fifty*,
 56 and decuriouns, *leders of ten*. And he saide to these that bildiden housis, and weddiden wyues, and plantiden vyne 3erdis, and to dredeful men, that thei turnyden azein, eche man in to his hous,
 57 vp the lawe. And thei moueden castels, *or oostis of armed men*, and thei settiden
 58 to gidre at the south of Ammaum. And Judas saith, Be 3e gird, and be 3e mizti

phat azens Jerusalem; for place of preier was in Masphat, sunnere than in Jerusalem. And thei fastiden in that dai, and 47 clothiden hem with hairis, and puttiden aisch in her heed, and renten her clothis. And thei spredden abroad bookis^{*} of 48 laweⁱ, of the^k whiche hethene men souzten licnesse of her symylacris; and thei 49 brouzten ournementis of prestis, and 'firste fruytis^l, and tithis; and thei reisen Nazareis that hadden fillid daies. And thei crieden with greet vois to he- 50 uene, and seiden, What schuln we do to these, and whidur schuln we lede hem? And thin hooli thingis ben to-trodun, 51 and defoulid, and thi prestis ben maad in to mourenyng, and in to dispisyng^m. 52 And lo! naciouns camen togidre azens vs, for to distrie vs; thou wost what thingis thei thenken azens vs. Hou schu- 53 len we mow withstonde bifore the face of hem, no but thou, God, helpe vs? And 54 thei crieden in trumpis, with greet vois. And aftir these thingis Judas ordeynede 55 duykis of the puple, tribunesⁿ†, and centuriouns^o, and pentacontrarkis^p, and decuriouns^q. And he seide to these that bild- 56 iden housis, and weddiden wyues, and plauntiden vyne 3erdis, and to dredeful men, that thei schulden turne azen, eche man in to his hous, bi the lawe. And thei 57 mouyden castels^r, and thei settiden togidre at the south of Ammaum. And Ju- 58 das seide, Be 3e gird, and be 3e mizti sones, and be 3e redi 'in the^s morewnyng^t, and that 3e fizte azens these naciouns, that camen togidre for to distrie vs, and oure hooli thingis. For betere is^u, that we die 59 in batel, than for to se yuels of oure folc and holi thingis. Sotheli as wille^v schal be 60 in heuene, so be it don.

* To shewe, that thei weren redi to putte forth hem self to perels of deth for the lawe. Live here. EK FQU.

† tribunes; that is, ledinge a thousynde. centuriouns; ledinge an hundred. pentacontrarkis; ledinge fifti. decuriouns; ledyng ten. A.

^d a sacke A. ^e Om. A. ^f and with K.

ⁱ the lawe I. ^k Om. N. ^l primyssis c et ceteri. ^m castyng down, ether [that is K] dispisyng CEFHG IKMNPQSUXE. castyng down R. ⁿ tribunes, that oon ledde a thousand CEFHG IKMNPQSUXE. ^o centuriouns, ether ledyng an hundred CEFHG IKMNPQSUXE. centuriouns, oon ledinge an hundred X. ^p pentacontarkis, lederis of fifti CEFHG IKMNPQSUX. pentakontarkis, that is, lederis of fifti e. ^q decuriouns, lederis of ten CEFHG IKMNPQSUX. decuriouns, that is, lederis of ten e. ^r castels, ether oost of armed men CEFHG IKMNPQSUXE. ^s in to I. ^t morwenyng into batel R. ^u it is I. ^v thi wille F pr. m.

sonys, and be 3e redy in the morewyng,
and that 3e f3zte a3einus these naciouns,
that camen to gidre for to distruye vs,
59 and oure holy thingus. For better is vs
for to dye in bateile, than for to see yuel
60 of oure folk and holy thingus. Forsothe
as wille shal be in heuen, so be it don.

CAP. IV.

1 And Gorgias toke to fyue thousand of
men, and a thousand chosen horsmen;
2 and thei moueden tentis by nyzt, for to
applie to the tentis of Jewis, and for to
smyte hem sodeynly; and the sonys that
weren on the hee3 rocke, weren leeders
3 to hem. And Judas herde, and he roose,
and mizty men, for to smyte the vertue
of oostis of the kyng, that was in Am-
4 maum; 3it^g sothely the oost was scaterid
5 fro tentis. And Gorgias came in to the
tentis of Judas bi nyzt, and fonde no
man; and thei souzten hem in hillis, for
6 he saide, These fleen fro vs. And whan
day was maad, Judas apperide in the
feelde with three thousandis of men
only, whiche hadden not hilingis and
7 swerdis. And thei sawen the tentis of
heithen men stronge, and men hauberi-
ounyd, and ridingis in cumpas of hem,
8 and these tauzt to bateile. And Judas
saith to men, that sieden, Dreede 3e not
the multitude of hem, and dreede 3e not
9 inwardli the feersnesse of hem. And^h
bythenke 3e, hou oure fadris ben maad
saaf in the Rede Se, whan Pharao sude
10 hem with miche oost. And nowe crie
we in to heuen, and the Lord shal haue
mercy of vs, and shal be myndeful of the
testament of oure fadris, and shal breke
to gidre this oost bifore oure face to day.
11 And alle folkis shuln wite, for God is,
that shal a3ein bye, and delyuere Yrael.
12 And aliens reisien her ee3en, and sawen
hem cummynge of the contrarie part^l, or
13 euen a3ein, and wenten out of tentis in
to bateile. And thei that weren with

CAP. IV.

And Gorgias took fyue thousynde of^x 1
men, and a thousynde chosun horse men;
and thei mouyden tentis bi nyzt, for to 2
applie to the tentis of Jewis, and for to
smyte hem sudenli; and sones that weren
of the hij tour, weren lederis to^y hem.
And Judas herde, and he roos, and mizti 3
men, for to smyte the pouer^z of oostis of
the kyng, that was in Ammaum; for 3it 4
the oost was scaterid fro tentis. And 5
Gorgias cam in to the^a tentis of Judas bi
nyzt, and foond no man; and thei souzten
hem in hillis, for he seide, These fleen fro
vs. And whanne dai was maad, Judas 6
apperide in the feeld with thre thousyndis
of men oneli, whiche hadden not hilyngis
and swerdis. And thei sizzen the tentis of 7
hethene men stronge, and men haburi-
owned, and the multitude of horse men
in cumpas of hem, and these *weren*
tauzt to batel. And Judas seide to hise 8
men, that weren with hym, Dreede 3e not
the multitude of hem, and dreede 3e not
inwardli the fersnesse of hem. Bithenke 9
3e hou oure fadris weren maad saaf in the
Reed See, whanne Farao pursuede hem
with mychel oost. And now crie we to 10
heuene, and the Lord schal haue mercy
on vs, and schal be myndeful of the testa-
ment of oure fadris, and schal al to-breke
this oost bifore oure face to dai. And 11
alle folkis schulen wite, that it is God,
that schal a3enbie, and delyuere Israel.
And aliens reisien her izen, and sien 12
hem comyng of the contrarie part, and 13
wenten out of tentis in to batel. And thei
that weren with Judas, songen in trumpe.

g and 3it A. h Om. AGH. i Om. A.

^x Om. n. ^y of n. ^z pouer A sec. m. sup. ras. vertu CEF GHIKMN PQSU XE. ^a Om. ceteri præter I.

14 Judas, songen in trumpe. And thei
 wenten to gidre, and heithen men ben
 broken to gidre, and fledden in to the
 15 feelde; forsothe the last fellen doun in
 swerd. And thei pursueden hem vn to
 Gaseron, and til in to the feeldis of
 Ydume, and Azotus, and Jamny; and
 ther fellen doun of hem vn to three thou-
 16 sandus of men. And Judas turnyde azein,
 17 and his oost suyng hym. And he saide
 to the peple, Coueyte 3e not prayes, for
 18 bateil is azeinus vs, and Gorgias and his
 oost in the hil ni3 vs; bot stonde 3e
 nowe azeinus 3oure enmyes, and ouer-
 cumme 3e hem, and after these thingus
 19 3e sikir shuln take prayes. And 3it Ju-
 das spekyng these thingus, loo! sum part
 apperide, biholdynge forth of the hill.
 20 And Gorgias saw3, that his ben to gidre
 turnyd in to flizt, and tentis ben brent;
 forsothe the smoke that was seen, de-
 21 claride that that was don. Whiche
 thingus biholden, thei dredden greteli,
 biholdinge to gidre and Judas and the
 22 oost in the feeld, redi to bateile. And
 thei fledden alle in the feeld of aliens,
 23 and Judas turnyde azein to preyes of
 the tentis; and thei token myche gold,
 and syluer, and iacintt, and purple of
 24 the se, and grete ritchessis. And thei
 conuertid sunge an ympne, *or herying*,
 and blessiden God in to heuen; for he is
 good, for in to the world the mercy of
 25 hym. And grete helthe is maad in Yrael
 26 in that day. Forsothe who euer of aliens
 fledden, camen, and teelden to Lisias alle
 27 thingus that bifellen. Whiche herd, he,
 astonyed in ynwitt, failide; for not what
 maner thingus he wolde, siche bifellen in
 Yrael, and what manere thingus the kyng
 28 comaundide. And the 3eer suyng, Li-
 sias gadride of chosen men sixti thou-
 sandis, and of horsmen fyue thousand,
 29 for to ouercumme hem. And thei camen
 in to Judee, and setten tentis in Betheron;
 and Judas ran to hem with ten
 30 thousand of men. And thei sawen a

And thei wenten togidere, and hethene 14
 men weren al to-brokun, and fledden in
 to feeld^b; forsothe the laste fellen^c doun 15
 bi swerd. And thei pursueden hem til to
 Gaseron, and til 'in to^d feeldis^e of Idumee,
 and Azotus, and Jannye; and there fellen
 doun of hem til to thre thousyndis of men.
 And Judas turnede azen, and his oost su- 16
 ynge hym. And he seide to the puple, 17
 Coueite 3e not preies, for batel is azens vs,
 and Gorgias and his oost *ben* in the hil 18
 ni3 vs; but stonde 3e now azens oure ene-
 myes, and ouercome hem, and after these
 thingis 3e schulen take preyes sikirli. And 19
 3it while Judas spak these thingis, lo!
 sum part apperide, biholdynge forth^f fro
 the hil. And Gorgias si3, that hise 20
helperis weren togidere turned in to flizt,
 and tentis weren brent; for smoke that
 was seyn, declaride that that was don.
 And whanne thei bihelden these thingis, 21
 thei dredden greetli, biholdynge togidere
 bothe Judas and the oost, redi to batel in
 the feeld. And thei fledden alle in the 22
 feeld of aliens, and Judas turnede azen to 23
 preies of the tentis; and thei token myche
 gold, and siluer, and iacynct, and purpur
 of the see, and grete ritchessis. And thei 24
 conuertiden, and songen an ympne, '*ether*
heriynge', and blessiden God in to heuene;
 for he is good, for the merci of hym *is* in
 to the world. And greet helthe was maad 25
 in Israel in that dai. Forsothe who euere 26
 of aliens ascapiden, camen, and telden to
 Lisias alle thingis that bifellen. And 27
 whanne he herde these thingis, he was
 astonyed in soule, and failide; for not what
 maner thingis he wolde, siche bifellen^h in
 Israel, and what maner thingis the kyng
 comaundide. And in the 3eer suyng, 28
 Lisias 'gaderide ofⁱ chosun men sixti thou-
 syndis^k, and of horse men fyue thousynde,
 for to ouercome hem. And thei camen in 29
 to Judee, and settiden tentis in Betheron;
 and Judas ran to hem with ten thousynde
 of men. And thei sien strong oost, and 30
 he preiede, and seide, Blessid art thou,

^b the feeld FIKR. ^c felden CHKS. ^d in ACHM. ^e the feeldis I. ^f Om. NR pr. m. ^g or heriynge EP.
 Om. R. ^h bifelden CHKS et alii. felden R. ⁱ gadere alle N. ^k thousand EP.

stronge oost, and he preyede, and seide, Blessid art thou, saueour of Yrael, that hast broken to gidre the firsnesse of the mizti in the hond of thi seruauant Dauid, and bitokist the castels, *or tentis*, of aliens in to the hondis of Jonathas, sone of Saul, and of his squyer. Close thou^k to gydre and this^l oost in the hond of thi peple Yrael, and be thei confoundid in her oost, and horsmen. Zeue thou^m to hem inwardⁿ drede, and make the hardynesse of her vertue to faile, and be thei moued to gidre in her^o brekyng to gidre. Caste hem down in the swerd of men louynge thee, and to gidre preyse thee alle that knewen thi name, in ympnys. And thei sente, *or ioyneden*, to gidere bateile, and fyue thousand of men fellen doun of the^p oost of Lisias. Lisias forsothe seeynge the flizt of hyse, and the hardynesse of Jewis, and that thei ben redy ether for to lyue, ether for to dye strongly, wente to Antioche, and cheese kniztis, that thei multiplied eftsone schulden cume in to Judee. Forsothe Judas saide, and his bretheren, Loo! oure enemyes ben broken togidre; styne we now, for to clense holy thingis, and renewe^q, *or make newe*. And al the oost is gaderid, and styeden in to the hill of Syon. And thei sawen the halewyng desert, and the auter vnhalewid, and the zatis brent, and in the porchis tendre trees sprungun, as in wijlde wode or munteyns, and the litil cellis distruyed. And thei renten her clothingus, and weiliden with grete weilynge; and puttiden ashe on her hede, and fellen in to face on the erthe, and crieden in trumpis of signys, and crieden in to heuen. Thanne Judas ordeynede, for to fizte azeinus hem that weren in the hee3 rocke, til thei clensiden holi thingus. And he chese prestis with outen wemme, hauynge wille in the

sauiour of Israel, that hast al to-brokun the feersnesse of the myzti *Golias* in the hond of thi seruauant Dauid, and bitokist the^l castels^m of aliens in to theⁿ hondis of Jonathas, sone of Saul, and of his squyer. Close thou togidere also this oost in the³¹ hond of thi puple Israel, and be thei confoundid in her oost, and horse men. Zeue³² thou to hem inward drede, and make the hardynesse of her vertu to faile, and be thei mouyd togidere in her brekyng togidere. Caste doun hem bi the swerd of³³ men louynge thee, and alle that knowen thi name, togidere preyse thee in ympnys. And thei ioyneden togidere batel, and³⁴ fyue thousyndis^o of men fellen doun of the oost of Lisias. Lisias forsothe si3 the³⁵ flizt of hise men, and the hardynesse of Jewis; and that thei weren redi ether for to lyue, ether for to die strongli. And he wente to Antioche, and chees knyztis, that thei multiplied schulden come eftsoone in to^p Judee. Forsothe Judas seide to hise³⁶ britheren, Lo! oure enemyes ben al to-brokun; stie we now, for to clense hooli thingis, and make newe^q. And al the³⁷ oost was gaderid, and thei stieden^r in to the hil of Sion. And thei sizen halew-³⁸ yng^s desert^t, and the auter vnhalewid^u, and the zatis brent, and in the porche^v tendur trees growun, as in wielde wode or munteyns, and litte cellis distried. And³⁹ thei renten her clothis^w, and weiliden^x with greet weilyng; and puttiden aische on her heed, and fellen on the face of the⁴⁰ erthe, and crieden in trumpis of signes, and crieden in to heuene. Thanne Judas⁴¹ ordeynede men, for to fizte a3ens hem that weren in the hi3 tour, as long as thei^y clensiden hooli thingis. And he chees⁴² preestis with out wem, hauynge wille in the lawe of God; and thei clensiden hooli⁴³ thingis, and token awei stoonys of defoul- yng in to an vnclene place. And he⁴⁴

^k 30u G pr. m. ^l the G pr. m. ^m Om. G pr. m. ⁿ inwardli A. ^o Om. G pr. m. ^p Om. AG. ^q renewe A.

^l Om. rs. ^m castels, *ether* [or EP] *oostis c et ceteri prater R.* ⁿ Om. *ceteri prater I.* ^o thousand ENPU. ^p Om. R. ^q renule I. renule, or [ether plures] *make newe E et ceteri prater CR.* ^r stieden vp I. ^s the halewyng I. ^t desert, *ether forsakun I.* ^u vnhalewid, *ether* [or EP] *defoulid bi idolatrie c et ceteri prater R.* ^v porchis *ceteri.* ^w clothingis *ceteri.* ^x thei weiliden EP. ^y til thei R.

43 lawe of God; and thei clensiden holy
thingus, and token away stoons of defoul-
44 yng in to an vnclene place. And he
thouzte of the auter of brent sacrifices,
that was vnhalawid, what he shulde do
45 therof. And a good counseile felle yn
to hym, for to distruye it, lest it were
to hem in to shenship, for heithen men
defouliden it. And thei destruyeden it,
46 and puttiden azein, *or kepten*, stoons in
the hill of the hous, in couenable place,
til that a prophete came, and answerde^r
47 of hem. And thei token hool stoons,
after the lawe, and beeldiden a newe
48 auter, vp that that was byfore. And thei
beeldiden holy thingus, and tho thingus
that weren withynne the hous withynn-
forth; and thei halewiden the hous and
49 the porchis. And thei maden newe holy
vessels, and brouzten yn a candilstike,
and the auter of encensis, and a bord in
50 to the temple. And thei puttiden en-
cense on the auter, and tenden lanternys,
that weren on the candilstike, and zauen
51 lizt in the temple. And thei puttiden
looues on the borde, and hangiden veyles,
and eendiden al the^s werkis that thei
52 maden. And bifore morewtid thei risen,
in the 'fifthe and twentit' day of the
nynth monethe, this is^u the moneth Cas-
leu^{uu}, of the hundrid and eizte and four-
53 tithe 3eer. And thei offeriden sacrifice
after the lawe, on the newe auter of
54 brent sacrifices, whiche thei maden after
tyme. And after the day in whiche hei-
then men defouliden it, in that it was
renulid, in songis, and harpis, and cyna-
ris, *that ben instrumentis of musike*, and
55 cymbalis. And alle the peple felle in to
the face, and wirshipiden, and blessiden in
to heuen hym that dide prosperite in hem.
56 And thei maden halewing of the auter
in eizte days, and offreden brent sacri-
fices with gladnesse, and helpful thingis
57 of heryngis. And thei ourneden^v

thouzte on the auter of brent sacrifices,
that was vnhalawid, what he schulde do
therof. And a good counsel felle in to 45
him, for to distrie it, lest it were to hem
in to schenship, for hethene men defoul-
iden it. And thei distrieden it, and kepten 46
stonys in the hil of the hous, in couenable
place, til that a profete cam, and answer-
ide of hem. And thei token hool stoonys, 47
by the lawe, and bildiden a newe auter,
lijk that that was bifore. And thei bild- 48
iden hooli thingis, and the thingis that
weren with ynne the hous with ynne-
forth; and thei halewiden the hous, and
porchis^z. And thei maden newe hooli 49
vessels, and brouzten in a candilstike, and
auter of encensis, and a boord in to the
temple. And puttide encense on the au- 50
ter, and tenden lanternes, that weren on
the candilstike, and zauen lizt in the tem-
ple. And thei puttiden looues on the 51
boord, and hangiden veiles, and endiden
alle werkis that thei maden. And bifore 52
morewtid thei risiden^{zz}, in the fyue and
twentithe dai of the nynthe monethe, this
is the monethe Casleu^{*}, of the hundrid
and eizte and fourtithe 3eer. And thei 53
offriden sacrifice bi the lawe, on the newe
auter of brent sacrifices, which thei maden
bi tyme. And bi the dai in which hethene 54
men defouliden it, in that it was 'maad
newe^a, in songis, and harpis, and cynaris,
'*that ben instrumentis of musik, ether gi-*
ternes^b, and cymbalis. And al the puple 55
felle on her face, and worschipiden^c, and
blessiden in to heuene him that made
prosperite to hem. And thei maden ha- 56
lewying of the auter in eizte daies, and
offriden brent sacrifices with gladnesse,
and helpful thing^d of heriyng. And thei 57
ourneden the face of the temple with
goldun corouns, and smale scheeldis; and
halewiden zatis, and litle housis^e, and put-
tiden to hem zatis. And ful greet glad- 58
nesse was maad in the puple, and the

* Nouember. A.
that is, Decem-
ber. K.

^r answe *G pr. m.* schulde answe *G sec. m.* ^s these *A.* ^t fyue and twentithe *A.* fifthe and twentithe *H.*
^u Om. *G pr. m.* ^{uu} of Casleu *K pr. m.* ^v honoureden *A.*

^z the porchis *I.* ^{zz} resin *EP.* risen *F.* ^a renulid *c et ceteri.* ^b Om. *B.* ^c worschipiden *God I.*
^d thingis *RV.* ^e housis, *ether smale cellis c et ceteri præter R.*

the face of the temple with golden crownys, and smale sheeldis; and halewiden the 3atis, and porchis, *or smale* 58 *cellis*, and puttiden to hem 3atis. And ful grete gladnesse is maad in the peple, and the shenship of heithen men is turned 59 away. And Judas ordeynide, and his bretheren, and al the chirche of Yrael, that the day of halewyng of the auter be don in his tymes, fro 3eer in to 3eer, bi eizte days, fro the 'fifthe and twenty^w day of the moneth of Casleu, with glad- 60 nesse and ioye. And thei beeldiden in that tyme the hill of Syon, and bi cumpas heez wallis, and sadde toures, lest eny tyme heithen men camen, and de- 61 fouliden it, as thei diden byfore. And he sette there a cumpanye, for to keepe it; and he wardide it, for to kepe Bethsura, that the peple shulde haue wardyng, *or strengtheing*, azein the face of Ydume.

CAP. V.

1 And it is don, as heithen men herden in cumpas, for the auter is beeldid, and the sayntuarie as bifore, thei weren wroth 2 greteli. And thei thouzten for to do away the kynrede of Jacob, that was among hem; and thei bygunne for to slea of the 3 peple, and pursue. And Judas ouercam the sonys of Esau in Ydume, and hem that weren in Arabathane, for thei saten aboute men of Yrael; and he smote hem 4 with a grete wound. And he thouzte of the malice of sonis^x of Bean, that weren to the peple in to gnare, and in to sclaundre, aspyinge it in the waye. And thei 5 ben closid 'to gidre^y fro hym in toures; and he appliede to hem, and curside hem, and brente with fijr the toures of hem, with alle men that weren in hem. 6 And he passide to the sonys of Amon, and fonde stronge hond, and plenteuouse peple, and Tymothe, the duyck of hem. 7 And he smote many batels with hem,

schenschipe of hethene men was turned awei. And Judas ordeynede, and hise 59 britheren, and al the chirche of Israel, that the dai of halewyng of the auter be don in his tymes, fro 3eer in to 3eer, bi eizte daies, fro the fyue and twentithe dai of the monethe Casleu^f, with gladnesse and ioye. And thei bildiden in that tyme the 60 hil of Sion, and bi cumpas hij wallis, and sadde touris, lest ony tyme hethene men wolden come, and defoule it, as thei diden before. And he sette there an oost, for to 61 kepe it; and he wardide it, 'for to kepe^g Bethsura, that the puple schulde haue strengthing^b azens the face of Ydume.

CAP. V.

And it was don, as hethene men herden 1 in cumpas, that the auter was bildid, and the seyntuarie as bifore, thei weren wroth greetli. And thei thouzten for to do awei, 2 'ether distrie¹, the kyn of Jacob, that was among hem; and thei bigunnen for to sle of the puple, and pursue. And Judas 3 ouercam the sones of Esau in Ydume, and hem that weren in Arabathane, for thei saten aboute men of Israel; and he smoot hem with a greet wounde. And 4 he thouzte on the malice of sones^k of Bean, that weren in to gnare¹, and in to sclaundre to the puple of Israel, and aspieden it, 'ether settiden^m 'buysche-mentis to itⁿ, in the weie. And thes^o 5 weren closid togidere fro hym in^{oo} the^p touris; and he appliede to hem, and curside hem, and brente with fier the touris of hem, with alle men that weren in hem. And he passide to the sones of Amon, 6 and foond strong hond, and plenteuouse

^w fyue and twentithe A. ^x the sonis A. ^y Om. A.

^f of Casleu c sec. m. f pr. m. ru. Casleu, that is, Decembre K. ^g and kepte n. ^b wardinge, ether strengthe EP. wardyng, ether strengthing FGHIMNPQSUXE. warding R. ⁱ Om. R. ^k the sones FR. ¹ snare 1P. ^m ether setten F. Om. R. ⁿ Om. R. ^o thei A pr. m. e. ^{oo} in to P. ^p Om. R.

and thei ben broken to gidre in sizt of
 8 hem. And he smote hem, and he toke
 the cite Jazar^z, and the sonys therof;
 9 and he turnyde azein in to Judee. And
 hethen men that ben in Galaad, ben ga-
 drid azeinus Israelitis, that weren in the
 costis of hem, for to do hem away; and
 thei fledden into Dathinan strengthinge.
 10 And thei senten lettris to Judas, and his
 bretheren, sayinge, Heithen men ben ga-
 drid azeinus vs bi cumpas, that thei do vs
 11 awei; and thei maken redi for to cumme,
 and occupie the strengthing, in to whom
 we fledden; and Tymothe is duyck of the
 12 oost of hem. Now therfore cum thou,
 and delyuere vs fro her hondis, for the
 13 multitude of vs felle down; and alle oure
 bretheren that weren in the placis of
 Tubyne, euery wher ben slayne; and thei
 ledden caityf the wyues of hem, and
 children, and token spuylis, and killiden
 14 there almost a thousand men. And 3it
 pistles weren rad, and nowe other mes-
 sangers camen of Galilee, with cootis to-
 15 rent, tellynge after these wordus, sayinge,
 for to have cummen to gidre azeins hem
 fro Ptholomaida, and Tyre, and Sydon,
 and al Galilee is fulfillid with aliens, for
 16 to distruye vs. Sotheli as Judas herde,
 and the peple, these wordis, a grete
 chirche came to gidre, for to thenke
 what thei shulden do to her bretheren,
 that weren in tribulacioun, and weren
 17 ouercummen of hem. And Judas saide
 to Symount, his brother, Chese to thee
 men, and go, and deliuere thi bretheren
 in Galilee; I forsothe and my brother
 Jonathas shuln go in to Galatithym.
 18 And he^a lafte Josephus, sone of Zacharie,
 and Azarie, duykis of the peple, with
 the residue oost in Jude to keepynge.
 19 And he comaundide hem, sayinge, Bi-
 fore be 3e to this peple, and nyl 3e smyte
 bateil azeinus heithen men, til we turnen
 20 azein. And three thousand men ben
 3ouen to Symont, for to go in to Ga-

puple, and Tymothe, duyck of hem. And 7
 he smoot many batels with hem, and thei
 weren^q brokun in sizt^r of hym; and he
 smoot hem. And he took the citee Jaser,^s
 and vilages therof; and he turnede azen
 in to Judee. And hethene men that weren^u
 in Galaad, weren gaderid azens Israel-
 itis, that weren in^s coostis of hem, for^t to
 do awei hem; and thei fledden in to the
 strengthing of Datheman. And thei senten^u
 lettris to Judas, and hise britheren, and
 seiden, Hethene men ben gaderid azens vs
 bi cumpas, that thei do awei vs; and thei^u
 maken redi for to come, and occupie the
 strengthing, in to which we^u fledden; and
 Tymothe is duyck of the oost of hem.
 Now therfor come thou, and delyuere vs^u
 12 fro her hondis, for a multitude of vs felle
 down; and alle oure britheren that weren^u
 in places of Tubyne, euerywhere ben slayn;
 and thei ledden awei caityf the wyues of
 hem, and children, and token spuylis, and
 killiden there almeste a thousynde men.
 And 3it epistlis weren rad, and lo! othere^u
 14 messengeris camen fro Galile, with cootis
 to-rent, and telden bi these wordis, and^u
 15 seiden, that *men* camen togidere azens
 hem fro^v Tolomaida, and Tیره, and Sidon,
 and al Galile is fillid with aliens, for to
 distrie vs. Sotheli as Judas herde, and^u
 16 the puple, these wordis, a greet chirche
 cam togidere, for to thenke what thei
 schulden do to her britheren, that weren
 in tribulacioun, and weren ouer comun of
 hem. And Judas seide to Symount, his^u
 17 brother, Chese to thee men, and go, and
 delyuere thi britheren in Galile; Y for-
 sothe and my brother Jonathas schuln
 go in to Galatithym. And he lefte Josa-^u
 18 fus, sone of Sacarie, and Azarie, duykis
 of the puple, with the residue oost in Judee
 to kepyng; and comaundide to hem, and^u
 19 seide, Be 3e souereyns to this puple, and
 nyle 3e smyte batel azens hethene men, til
 we turnen azen. And men weren 3ouun^u
 20 to Simount thre thousyndis, for to go in

^z of Jazar A. ^a Om. A.

^q weren also R. ^r the sizt 1R. ^s in the 1. ^t Om. A. ^u thei N. ^v and N.

lilee; to Judas sothely e3te thousand, in
 21 to Galadithym. And Symont wente in
 to Galilee, and ioynye many bateils
 with heithen men. And hethen men ben
 broken to gydre fro his face, and he pur-
 22 suede hem vn to the 3ate of Ptholomaida.
 And there fellen doun of hethen men al-
 23 mest three thousand of men; and he
 toke the spuilys of hem. And he toke to
 hem that weren in Galilee, and in Arba-
 this, with wyues, and children, and alle
 thingus that weren to hem; and he^b ledde
 24 to^c in to Jude with grete gladnesse. And
 Judas Machabeus, and Jonathas, and his
 bretheren passiden Jordan, and wenten
 forth the waye of three days in to desert.
 25 And Nabutheis camen a3einus hem, and
 resceyueden hem pesibely, and teelden
 alle thingus that bifellen to her bretheren
 26 in Galadithym; and for many of hem
 ben cau3t in Barasa, and Bozor, and
 Malymys, and Casphor, and Mathet, and
 Carnaym; alle these stronge citees and
 27 greete. Bot 'and in^d other citees of Gala-
 dithis thei ben holden cau3t. And on^e the
 morewe thei ordeyneden for to moue the
 oost to tho citees, and for to cacche, and
 28 take hem away in oo. day. And Judas
 turnyde, and his oost, the waye in to
 desert of Bozor soodeynly. And he occu-
 piede the citee, and slew3 eche male in
 mouth of swerd, and toke alle the spuylis
 29 therof, and brente it with fjr. And thei
 rijsen thennus in nizt, and wenten vn to
 30 the strengthinge. And it is maad in
 spryng of the day, whanne thei reysiden
 her eezen, and loo! myche peple, of
 whom was no noumbre, beryng laddris
 and engynes, for to take the strength-
 31 yng, and ouer cumme hem. And Judas
 see3, for bateil byganne, and crye of
 bateile styede in to heuen, as a^f trumpe,
 32 and grete cry of a^g citee. And he saide
 to his oost, Fi3te 3e to day for 3our
 33 bretheren. And he cam in three ordris

to Galile; to Judas sotheli ei3te thou-
 synde, in^w to Galatithym. And Symount²¹
 wente in to Galile, and ioynede many
 batels with hethene men. And hethene
 men weren al to-brokun fro his face, and
 he pursuede hem til^x the 3ate of Tolo-²²
 maida. And there fellen doun of hethene
 men almost thre thousynde^y of men; and²³
 he took the spuylis of hem. And he took
 hem that weren in Galile, and in Arba-
 this, with wyues, and children, and alle
 thingis that weren to hem; and brou3te
 in to Judee with greet gladnesse. And²⁴
 Judas Machabeis, and Jonathas, and hise
 britheren passiden Jordan, and wenten
 forth the weie of thre daies in to desert.
 And Nabutheis camen a3ens hem, and²⁵
 resseyueden hem^z pesibli, and telden to
 hem alle thingis that bifellen to her bri-
 theren in Galadithym; and that manye of²⁶
 hem weren takun in Barasa, and Bosor,
 and in Alymys, and in Casphor, and
 Mathet, and Carnaym; alle these *were*
 strong citees and grete. But and in othere²⁷
 citees of Galatithis thei ben holdun cau3t.
 And on the morewe thei ordeyneden for to
 moue oost^a to tho citees, and for to take,
 and do awei hem in o dai. And Judas²⁸
 turnede, and his oost, the weie in to desert
 of Bosor sudenli; and ocupiede the citee,
 and slow ech male bi the scharpnese of
 swerd, and took alle the spuylis of hem,
 and brente it with fier. And thei risiden^b
 29 thennus in ny3t, and wenten 'til to^c the^d
 strengthing. And it was maad in spryng-³⁰
 ing of dai, whanne thei reysiden her i3en,
 and lo! myche puple, of whom was no
 noumbre, berynge laddris and engynes,
 for to take the strengthing, and ouer
 come hem. And Judas si3, that batel³¹
 bigan, and crie of batel stiede in to he-
 uene, as trumpe, and greet cry of citee.
 And he seide to his oost, Fi3te 3e to dai³²
 for 3oure^e britheren. And he cam, and³³
 thre ordris after hem, and thei crieden

^b Om. G pr. m. ^c Om. G pr. m. ^d in to A. ^e in A. ^f Om. G pr. m. ^g Om. G pr. m.

^w to go in I marg. ^x til to CEFHKMQRSTUY. to I. ^y thousandis N. ^z Om. N. ^a the oost I. ^b resin
 ERY. risen F. ^c vnto I. ^d Om. N. ^e oure F.

after hem, and thei crieden with trumpis,
 34 and crieden in preyer. And the tentis
 of Tymothe knewen, for it is Machabeus,
 and fledden fro his face. And thei han
 smyten hem with grete wounde; and
 there fellen doun of hem in that day
 35 almost eizt thousand of men. And Judas
 turnyde away in to Maspath; and he^h
 ouercame and toke it, and slew³ eche
 male therof, and toke spuylis of it, and
 36 brente it in fijr. Fro thennus he wente,
 and toke Casbon, and Mageth, and Bozor,
 37 and other citees of Galadithe. Sotheli
 after these wordis Tymothe gadride an
 other oost, and puttide tentis azeinus
 38 Raphon, ouer the strem of rayn. And
 Judas sente for to biholde the oost, and
 thei tolden azein to hym, sayinge, For
 alle heithen men that ben in oure cum-
 pas camerf to gidre to hym, and a ful
 39 myche oost. And thei hijriden Arabians
 in to help to hym, and thei han sette
 tentis ouer the streme of reyn, redy for
 to cume to thee in to bateile. And Ju-
 40 das wente azeinus hem. And Tymothee
 saide to princis of his oost, Whanne
 Judas shal nei³, and his oost, to the
 streme of reyn water, 3if he shal passe
 former to vs, we shuln not mowen sus-
 teynen hym, for he mi³ti shal mowe
 41 azeinus vs. Sothely 3if he shal dreede
 for to passe, and shal sette tentis bisidis,
 or with ynne, the flood, passe we ouer to
 hem, and we shuln mown azeinus hym.
 42 Forsothe as Judas neizide to the streme
 of watir, he ordeynide scribisⁱ of the
 peple by sidis the streme, and comaund-
 ide to hem, sayinge, Leue 3e noon of
 men, bot cumme 3e alle in to bateile.
 43 And he the former passide ouer to hem,
 and alle the peple after hym. And alle
 these heithen men ben broken to gidre
 fro the face of hem, and thei castiden
 away her armours; and thei fledden to
 44 the temple, that was at Carnaym. And

with trumpis, and crieden in preier. And 34
 oostis of Tymothe knewen, that it was
 Machabeus, and thei fledden fro his face.
 And thei han smytun hem with greet
 wounde; and there fellen doun of hem in
 that dai almost eizte thousynde of men.
 And Judas turnede awei in to Maspha; 35
 and ouercam and took it, and slow ech
 male therof, and took spuylis of it, and
 brente it with fier. Fro thennus he wente, 36
 and took Casbon, and Mageth, and Bosor,
 and othere citees of Galathite. Forsothe^e 37
 after these wordis Tymothe gaderide an
 other oost, and puttide tentis azens Ra-
 phon, ouer the streem. And Judas sente 38
 for to biholde the oost, and thei telden
 azen to hym, and seide, That^f alle hethene
 men that ben in oure cumpas, ful myche
 oost, camen togidere to hym. And thei 39
 hiriden Arabiens in to help to him^g, and
 thei han set tentis ouer the streem^h, and
 ben redi for to come to thee in to batel.
 And Judas wente azens hem. And Ty- 40
 mothe seide to princesⁱ of his oost, Whanne
 Judas neizeth, and his oost, to the streem
 of water, if he passith formere to vs*, we
 schulen not mowe abide hym, for he mi³ti
 schal mowe azens vs. Sotheli if he dredith 41
 for to passe, and settith^j tentis bizende
 the flood, passe we ouer to hem, and we
 schulen mowe azens hym. Forsothe as 42
 Judas neizede to the streem of water, he
 ordeynede scribis^k, *ether writeris*^l of the
 puple, bisidis the streem, and comaundide
 to hem, and seide, Leeue 3e noon of men,
 but come^m alle in to batel. And he the 43
 formere passide ouer to hem, and al the
 puple after hym. And alle these hethene
 men weren brokunⁿ fro the face of hem,
 and thei castiden awei her armeris; and
 thei fledden to the temple, that was at
 Carnaym. And Judas ocupiede the ilke^o 44
 citee, and brente the temple with fier,
 with alle that weren in it; and Carnaym
 was oppressid, and mi³te not abide azens

* if he passith,
 etc.; this Ty-
 mothe was a
 witche, and bi
 this dede he
 dyuynyd bi
 witchecraft of
 his victorie
 azens Judas,
 either azen-
 ward. Lire
 here. KQU.

^h Om. G pr. m. ⁱ scribis or writers H.

^e Sotheli ceteri. ^f Om. R. ^g hem R. ^h streem of Arabiens R. ⁱ the princis IN. ^j sette R.
^k writeris C. ^l Om. CR. or writeris EPY. ^m come 3e R. ⁿ al tc-broken R. ^o thilke plures.

he occupiede thilk citee, and brente the temple with fijr, with alle that weren in it; and Carnaym is oppresid, and miȝte not susteyn aȝeinus the face of Judas.

45 And Judas gadride alle Ysraelitis that weren in Galadithes, fro the leste vn to the most, and the wijues of hem, and children, and a ful grete oost, that thei schulden come in to the lond of Judee.

46 And thei camen til to Ephron, and this grete citee putt ful stronge in the entree; and ther was not for to bowe awei fro it, in the riȝt half or left, bot by the mydil

47 the waye was. And thei that weren in the citee closiden hem yn, and stoppiden the ȝatis with stoonys. And Judas sente

48 to hem with pesible wordis, sayinge, Passe we by ȝoure lond, for to go into oure lond, and no man schal anoye ȝou, oonly on feet we schulen go. And thei

49 wolde not opne to hem. And Judas comaundide for to preche in tentis, *or oost*, that eche man shulde applie, in

50 what place he was. And men of vertu applieden hem, and he fauȝte aȝeinus that citee al day and al niȝt, and the

51 citee is bitaken in his hond. And thei slewen eche male in mouth of swerd, and drewȝ it vp by the rootis, and toke the spuylis therof, and passide by al the

52 citee on the slayn men. And thei passiden ouer Jordan, in the grete feeld aȝeinus

53 the face of Bethsan. And Judas was gadrynge the last, and monestide the peple bi alle the waye, til thei camen in

54 to the lond of Juda. And thei styeden in to the hill of Syon with gladnesse and ioie, and offriden brent sacrifices, that no man of hem felle down, *or was dead*,

55 til thei turnyden aȝein in pese. And in the days in^k whiche Judas was, and Jonathas, in the lond of Galaad, and Symont, his brother, in Galilee, aȝeinus

56 the face of Ptholomaida, Josephus, sone of Zacharie, herde, and Azarias, prince

the face of Judas. And Judas gaderide⁴⁵ alle Israelitis that weren in Galadithes, fro the leeste to^p the moste, and wyues of hem, and children, and ful^q greet oost, that thei schulden come in to the lond of Judee. And thei camen til to Efron, and⁴⁶ this greet citee put in the entre *was* ful strong; and ther was not for to bowe awei fro it, in riȝt half or left^r, but the weie was thorou the myddil. And thei that⁴⁷ weren in the citee closiden in hem, and stoppiden the ȝatis with stoonys. And Judas sente to hem with pesible wordis, and seide, Passe we bi ȝoure lond, for to⁴⁸ go in to oure lond, and no man schal anoie ȝou, oneli on feet we schulen go. And thei wolden not opene to hem. And⁴⁹ Judas comaundide for to preche in tentis, '*ether oost*^s, that ech man schulde applie^t, '*that is, asaile the citee*^u, in what place he was. And men of vertu applieden hem,⁵⁰ and he fauȝt aȝens that citee al dai and al niȝt, and the citee was bitakun in his hond. And thei slowen ech 'knaue child^v 51 bi the scharpnese of swerd, and drow vp bi the rootis it, and took the spuylis therof, and passide bi al the citee on the slayn men. And thei passiden ouer Jor-⁵² dan, in the greet feeld aȝens the face of Bethsan. And Judas was gaderynge the⁵³ laste men, and monestide the puple bi al the weie, til thei camen in to the lond of Juda. And thei stieden^w in to the hil of^x 54 Sion with gladnesse and ioie, and offriden brent sacrifices, that no man of hem 'was deed^y, til thei turneden aȝen in pees. And⁵⁵ in the daies in whiche Judas was, and Jonathas, in the lond of Galaad, and Symount, his brother, in Galilee, aȝens the face of Tholomaida, Josofus, sone of Za-⁵⁶ carie, herde, and Azarias, prince of vertu, the thingis doon wel, and batels that weren maad. And he seide, Make we^z also a⁵⁷ name to vs, and go we for to fiȝte aȝens hethene men, that ben in oure cumpas.

^k Om. K.

^p til to R. ^q a ful C E F G H I K M N P Q R S U sec. m. Xe. ^r left half R. ^s Om. R. ^t asaile C. ^u Om. CR. ^v male ER. male, *ether knaue child c et ceteri*. ^w stieden up I. ^x Om. R. ^y fel down R. felde [fel EF MPY] down, *ether [or EPY] was deed c et ceteri*. ^z Om. R.

of vertu, the thingis wel done, and bateilis
 57 that ben maad. And he saide, Make
 and we oure self a name to vs, and go
 we for to fize azeinus heithen men, that
 58 ben in oure cumpas. And he comaundide
 to these that weren in his oost, and thei
 59 wenten forth nowe the waye. And Gorgias
 wente out of the citee, and his men,
 60 azeinus hem, in to fize. And Josephus
 and Azarias ben dryuen til into the
 eendis of Judee; and ther felle down in
 that day of the peple of Yrael, men two
 thousandis. And a grete wound is maad
 61 in the peple; for thei herden not Judas
 and his britheren, gessynge hem to do-
 62 ynge strongly. Forsothe thei weren not
 of the seed of tho men, by whiche helthe
 63 is maad in Yrael. And men of Juda
 ben magnified greteli in sijn of al Yrael,
 and of alle heithen men, wher the name
 64 of hem was herd. And thei cammen
 to gidre, crynge to hem prosperite, or
 65 *blessid thingus*. And Judas wente oute,
 and his britheren, and ouer camen the
 sonnys of Esau, in the lond that is at
 the south; and he smote Chebron, and
 the douzters therof, and wallis therof,
 and the touris therof brente in fije in
 66 cumpas. And he mouede tentis, for to
 go in to lond of aliens; and he wente
 67 thorou Samarie. In that day prestis
 fellen down in bateile, whil thei wolen
 do strongly, whil with outen counseil
 68 thei wenten out in to bateil. And Judas
 bowide awaye in to Azotus, in the lond
 of aliens, and distruyde the auters of
 hem, and spuylis of her goddis brente in
 fije, and toke prayes of citees; and turn-
 yde azein in to the lond of Juda.

CAP. VI.

1 And kyng Antiochus walkide thorou
 the heezre cuntrees, and he herde a citee
 for to be, Elymaides, in Persis, the no-
 blist and plenteuous in syluer and gold;
 2 and a temple in it ful riche, and there
 golden veylis, and hauberious, and

And he comaundide to these that weren 58
 in his oost, and thei wenten forth to Jam-
 nyan. And Gorgias wente out of the 59
 citee, and hise men, azeinus hem, in to fize.
 And Josofus and Azarias weren dryuun 60
 'til to^a the^b endis of Judee; and ther
 fellen down in that dai of the puple of
 Israel, men to twei thousyndis. And a
 greet wounde was maad in the puple; for 61
 thei herden not Judas and hise britheren,
 and gessiden hem to do strongli. Forsothe 62
 thei weren not of the seed of tho men, bi
 whiche helthe was maad in Israel. And 63
 men of Juda weren magnified greetli in
 the^c sijn of al Israel, and of alle hethene
 men, where the name of hem was herd.
 And thei camen togidere, crynge to hem 64
 'prosperite, *ether^d preisyngis*. And Judas 65
 wente out, and his britheren, and ouer-
 camen the sones of Esau, in the lond that
 is at the south; and he smoot Chebron,
 and vilagis^e therof, and distriede the
 wardyngis therof, and wallis therof^f, and
 brente^g in^h fier touris therofⁱ in cumpas.
 And he mouede tentis, for to go in to the 66
 lond of aliens; and wente thorou Samarie.
 In that dai prestis fellen down in batel, 67
 while thei wolden do strongli, while with-
 out counsel thei wenten out in to batel.
 And Judas bowide awei in to Asotus, in 68
 the lond of aliens, and distriede auteris of
 hem, and brenten in fier the spuylis of
 her goddis^k, and took preies of citees; and
 turnede azein in to the lond of Juda.

CAP. VI.

And kyng Antiok walkide thorou³ the¹
 hizere cuntreis, and herde that a citee,
 Elymaides, was in Persis, the nobleste
 and plenteuouse in siluer and gold; and²
 a temple in it *was* ful riche, and there
 weren goldun veilis, and haburiowns, and

^a into I. vnto R. ^b Om. R. ^c Om. *ceteri*. ^d Om. R. ^e the douztris R. ^f the wallis therof R. the
 wardingis therof U. ^g brenten therof F. ^h with I. ⁱ Om. F. ^k goodis EHR. godis F.

sheeldis, whiche Alisaundre of Philip, kyng of Macedo, left, that regnyde first in Grece. And he came, and souzte for to take the citee, and robbe it; and he miȝte not, for the word was knowen to hem that weren in the citee. And thei risen vp in to bateil, and he fleiȝ thennus, and wente away with grete heynesse, and turnyde aȝein to Babiloyne. And ther came, that telde to hym in Persis, for the oostis that weren in the lond of Juda ben dryuen, and for Lisias wente with stronge vertu in the first, *or best men*, and he is dryuen fro the face of Jewis, and thei wexiden stronge in armers, and strengthis, and many prayes, whiche thei token of tentis, *or oostis*, whiche thei slewen; and for thei destroyeden the abominacioun, whiche he beeldide on the auter that was in Jerusalem, and thei enuyrounyden with heeȝ wallis the halewyng, as byfore, bot and Bethsura, his citee. And it is don, as the kyng herde these wordis, he dredde, and was mouyd to gidre gretely, and felle down in to a bed, and felle in to a langour for heynesse, for it is not don¹ as he thouȝte. And he was there many daies, for grete heynesse is renulid in hym, and he deemyde hym self for to dye. And he clepide alle his freendis, and saide to hem, Sleep passide away fro myn eeȝen, and Y departide, and felle down in herte for bysynesse; and saide in my herte, In to hou grete tribulacioun came Y, and in to what wawis of heynesse in whiche Y am now, that was myri, and biloued in my power? Now forsothe Y bithenke of the yuelis that Y dide to Jerusalem, fro whennus and Y toke alle golden spuylis, and sylueren, that weren thereyne; and Y sente with outen cause, men dwellynge in Judee for to be don away. Therefore Y knewe

scheldis, whiche Alisaundre of Filip, kyng of¹ Macedo, lefte, that regnede the firste in Grece. And he cam, and souzte for to take the citee, and robbe it; and^m miȝte not, for the word was knowun to hem that weren in the citee. And thei risidenⁿ vp in to batel, and he flei fro thennus, and wente awei with greet heynesse, and turnede aȝen to Babyloyne. And ther^s cam^o, that telde to hym in Persis, that the oostis that weren in^p the lond 'of Juda^q weren dryuun, and that^r Lisias^s wente with stronge vertu in the beste^s men, and was dryuun fro the face of Jewis, and thei wexiden stronge in armers, and strengthis, and^t many preies, whiche thei token of tentis, 'ether oostis^u, that thei slowen; and that thei distrieden⁷ the abhomynacioun, which he bildide on the auter that was in Jerusalem, and thei cumpassiden with hiȝe wallis the halewyng, as bifore, but and Betsura, his citee. And it was don, as the kyng herde these⁸ wordis, he dredde, and was mouyd greetli, and felle down^v in to a^w bed, and felle in to a greet sikennesse for heynesse, for it was not don as he thouȝte. And he was⁹ there many daies, for greet heynesse was renulid in him, and he demide hym silf for to die. And he clepide alle hise¹⁰ frendis, and seide to hem, Sleep passide awei fro myn iȝen, and Y failide 'in herte^x, and felle down for bisynesse^y; and^z seide¹¹ in myn herte, In to hou greet tribulacioun bicam Y, and in to what wawis of heynesse in which Y am now, that was myrie, and 'bolnyde, *ether delicat*^a in my power? Now forsothe Y bithenke on the yuels¹² that^b Y dide to Jerusalem, fro whennus and Y took alle goldun spuylis, and siluerne, that weren ther ynne; and Y sente with out cause, that men dwellynge in Judee be^c don awei. Therfor Y knew¹³ that these yuels founden me therfor, and

¹ Om. A.

¹ Om. A pr. m. C E F G H M N P Q R S U X e. ^m and he I. ⁿ risen F N. ^o cam oon I. ^p to H. ^q Om. N. ^r Om. R. ^s firste R. firste, *ether* [or EPY] *beste c et ceteri*. ^t in many I. ^u Om. R. ^v Om. N. ^w Om. R. ^x Om. R. ^y besynes in myn herte R. ^z and I I. ^a lusty R. biloued e *text. ether delicat e marg.* ^b whiche NX. ^c to be EF pr. m. H. for to be R.

for these yuelis han founden me; therefore
 and loo! I perishe bi grete heuynesse
 14 in^m an alien lond. And he clepide Phi-
 lip, oon of his freendis, and bfore put-
 15 tide hym on al his rewme; and he 3aue
 to hym the dyademe, and his stoole, and
 ringe, for to leede to Antiochus, his sone,
 and to nuryse hym, and for to regne.
 16 And kyng Antiochus dyede there, in the
 17 hundrid and nyne and fourty 3eer. And
 Lisias knewe, for the kyng is dead, and
 he ordeynede Antiochus, the sone of
 hym, for to regne, whom he nurishide
 3unge; and he clepide his name Eupa-
 18 tor. And thei that weren in the hee3
 rocke, closiden to gydre Yrael in cumpas
 of holy thingis, and sou3ten to hem yuels
 euer more, to strengthing of hethen men.
 19 And Judas thou3te for to distruye hem,
 and he clepide togidre alle the peple, for
 20 to biseege hem. And thei camen to
 gidre, and biseegiden hem, in the hun-
 drid and fiftytheⁿ 3eer; and thei maden
 balistis, *an instrument for to cast shaftis*
 21 *and stoonys*, and engynes. And summe
 of hem that weren biseegid, wenten out;
 and sum of the vnpitous men of Yrael
 22 ioyneden hem to hem, and wenten to the
 kyng, and saiden, Hou long dost thou
 not dom, and vengest oure bretheren?
 23 And wee deemyden for to serue thi fadir,
 and for to walke in his heestis, and
 24 obeishe to his comaundementis. And
 the sonys of oure peple for this thing
 alieneden hem fro vs; and whiche euer
 were founden of vs, weren slayn, and
 25 oure eritagis weren rauyshid awei. And
 not oonly to vs thei strecchiden out the
 hond, bot and in to alle oure coostis.
 26 And loo! thei applieden to day to the
 hee3 rocke in Jerusalem, for to occupie
 it, and thei strengthide^o a strengthing in
 27 Bethsura. And 3if thou shalt not byfore
 cume hem more swyftly, thei shuln do
 gretter thingus than these, and thou shalt
 28 not mowe weelde hem. And the kyng

lo! Y perische bi greet heuynesse in^d alien
 lond. And he clepid Filip, oon of his 14
 frendis, and made him souereyn on al his
 rewme; and 3af to hym^e diademe, and 15
 his stole, and ryng, for to lede Antiok,
 his sone, and nurische hym, and that he
 schulde regne. And kyng^f Antiok diede 16
 there, in the hundrid and nyne and fourti^g
 3eer. And Lisias knew, that the kyng 17
 was deed, and ordeynede Antiok, the sone
 of hym, for to regne, whom he nurschide
 3ong; and clepide his name Eupator. And 18
 thei that weren in the hi3 tour, closiden
 togidre Israel in cumpas of hooli thingis,
 and sou3ten to hem yuels euer more, to
 strengthing of hethene men. And Judas 19
 thou3te for to distrie hem, and clepide
 togidre al the puple, for to bisege hem.
 And thei camen togidre, and bisegiden 20
 hem, in the hundrid and fiftithe 3eer; and
 thei maden arblastis, *'ether trepiciettis,*
that is, an instrument for to caste shaftis,
and stoonys^h, and engynes. And summe 21
 of hem that weren bisegid, wenten out;
 and summe ofⁱ vnfeithful men of Israel
 ioyneden hem silf to hem, and wenten to 22
 the kyng, and seiden, Hou long doist thou
 not dom, and vengist not oure britheren?
 And we demyden for to serue thi fadir, 23
 and for to walke in hise heestis, and
 obeishe^j to hise comaundementis. And 24
 the sones of oure puple alienyden hem fro
 vs for this thing; and whiche euere weren
 foundun of vs, weren slayn, and oure eri-
 tagis weren rauyschid awei. And not 25
 oneli to vs thei stretchiden^k out the hond,
 but and^l in to alle oure coostis. And lo! 26
 thei applieden to day to the hi3 tour in Je-
 rusalem, for to occupie it, and thei strength-
 iden a strengthing in Bethsura. And if 27
 thou schalt not bfore come hem more
 swiftli, thei schulen do grettere thingis
 than thes, and thou schalt not mowe
 welde hem. And the kyng was wroth, 28
 as he herde this thing, and clepide togi-
 dere alle hise frendis, and princes of his

^m and in κ. ⁿ fifti A. ^o stretchiden ΔH.

^d in an I. ^e him a I. ^f the kyng I. ^g fourtithe CGHIKNX. ^h Om. R. In Δe the whole gloss is placed
 in the margin. ⁱ Om. A pr. m. ^j obeie R. ^k strecchen I. ^l Om. A.

was wrothe, as he herde this thing, and cleepide to gidre alle his freendis, and princis of his oost, and hem that weren
 29 on horsmen; bot and of other rewmys, and ylis, and of the see coostis camen to
 30 hym an hijrid oost. And the noumbre of his oost was an hundred thousand of fote men, and twenti thousand of horsmen, and two and thritty olyfauntis^p
 31 tauzte to bateile. And thei camen by Ydume, and thei applieden to Bethsura, and fouzten many days; and thei maden engynys, and thei wenten out, and brenten hem in fijre, and fouzten manly.
 32 And Judas wente fro the heez rocke, and mouede tentis to Bethsacharam, azeinus
 33 tentis of the kyng. And the kyng roose bifore the lizt, and stiride the oost in to feersnesse, azeinus the waye of Bethsacharam; and the oostis maden hem to gidre redy in to bateile, and sungen in
 34 trumpis. And to olifantis thei shewiden blood of grape, and morus, *or^q mulberie trees*, for to whette hem in to bateil.
 35 And thei departiden the beestis bi legiouns; and to eche olifaunt a thousand men stoden niȝ in mailid to gidre hauberiownes, and brasen helmys in her hedis, and fyue hundred chosen horsmen weren
 36 ordeynynd to eche beest. These bifore the tyme, wher euer the beest was, weren there; and whider euer it wente, thei
 37 wenten, and departiden not therfro. Bot and sad toures of tree on hem, defendynge by alle the beestis, and on hem engynes, and on eche bi hem self men of vertu two and thritti, whiche fouzten fro aboue, and with ynne the maister of the
 38 beest. And he ordeynide the residue rijdyng on this half and that half, in to two parties, for to moue to gidre the oost with trumpis, and for to constreyne the
 39 armyd men in his legiouns. And as the sunne shynyde azein in to golden sheeldis, and brasen, the hillis shynyden azein of

oost, and hem that weren ouer horsemen; but also^m an hiridⁿ oost fro othere²⁹ rewmes, and ilis, and see coostis camen to hym. And the noumbre of his oost³⁰ was an hundrid thousynde of foot men, and twenti thousynde of horse men, and two and thritti olifauntis^o tauzt to batel. And thei camen bi Idumee, and thei ap-³¹plieden to Bethsura, and fouzten many daies; and thei maden engynes, and thei wenten out, and brenten hem in fier, and fouzten manli. And Judas wente fro the³² his tour, and mouede tentis to Bethsacharan, aȝens teftis of the kyng. And the³³ kyng roos bifore the lizt, and stiride the oost in to feersnesse, aȝens the weie of Bethsacharan; and the oostis maden redi hem togidere in to batel, and songen in trumpis. And to olifauntis thei schew-³⁴iden blood of grape, and morus, *'or mulberie trees^p*, for to whette hem in to batel. And thei departiden the beestis bi³⁵ legyouns; and to ech olifaunt a thousynde men stoden niȝ in haburiownes mailid^q togidere, and brasun helmes in her hedis, and fyue hundrid horse men chosun weren ordeynynd to ech beeste. These weren³⁶ there bifore the tyme, where euer the beeste was; and whidur euer^r it wente, thei wente, and departiden not ther fro. But and sadde touris of tre *weren* on³⁷ hem, defendinge bi alle the beestis, and on hem *weren* engynes, and on ech bi hem silf men of vertu two and thritti, whiche^s fouzten fro aboue, and with ynne *was* the maister of the beeste. And he ordeinede³⁸ the residue multitude of horse men on this half and that half, 'in to' twei partis, for to moue togidere the oost with trumpis, and for to constreyne the men maad thicke in her legiouns. And as the^u sunne schyn-³⁹ede in to the^v goldun scheldis, and brasun, the^w hillis schyneden aȝen of hem, and schyneden aȝen, as laumpis of fier. And⁴⁰ a part of the kyngis oost was departid bi

p of olifauntis G sec. m. q that ben G sec. m.

^m and CEF GHK MN PQRSXYE. Om. U. ⁿ hundrid CH. hunderd E. ^o of olifauntis I. P Om. R.
^q cheyned, *ether nailid* CK. chained, *or* [*ether plures*] *mailid* EFGHIK MN PQSUYE. cheyned R. ^r Om. N.
^s the whiche I. ^t on R. ^u Om. A. ^v Om. ceteri. ^w and the R.

40 hem, as laumpis of fyre. And a part of
the kyngus oost is departid bi hee; hillis,
and other by lowe places; and thei
41 wenten warly, and ordynatly. And alle
men dwellynge in the lond weren moued
to gidre of the voice of multitude of hem,
and ingoinge of the compaignye, and
hurtlyng of armeris; forsothe the oost
42 was ful grete and stronge. And Judas
and his oost neiziden yn to bateil; and
there fellen down of the kyngus oost sixe
43 hundrid men. And Eleasar, sone of
Saura, see; oon of the beestus hauberi-
ownyd with hawberious of the kyng,
and it was hee; stondynge ouere other
beestis. And it is seen to hym, that the
44 kyng was in it; and he 3aue hym self
for to delyuere hys peple, and for to gete
45 to hym a name euerlastynge. And he
ran therto hardili, in to mydil of the
legioun, sleaynge on ri3thalf^r and left;
and thei fellen down fro hym hidir and
46 thidir. And he wente vndir the feet of
the olyfaunt, and vndirputtide hym self
therto, and slew; hym; and it felle down
in to the erthe on hym, and he is dead
47 there. And thei seeynge the vertue of
the kyng, and fersnesse of his oost, turn-
48 yden away hem self fro hem. Forsothe
tentis of the kyng styede vp azeinus hem,
in to Jerusalem; and tentis of the kyng
applieden to Judee, and to the hill of
49 Syon; and he made pees with these that
weren in Bethsura. And thei wenten
out of the citee, for foodis weren not to
hem closid to gidre there, for sabothis of
50 the erthe weren. And the kyng toke
Bethsura, and ordeinyde there keepyng,
51 for to keepe it. And he turnyde the
tentis to the place of halewyng many
daies; and ordeynede there balistis, and
engynes, and dartis, or *castyngis*, of fjr,
and tourmentis for to cast stoons and
dartis, and scorpiouns for to sende arowis,
52 and slyngis. Forsothe and thei maden

hi; hillis, and other bi lowe places; and
thei wenten warli, and ordynatli. And 41
alle men dwellynge in the lond weren
mouyd togidere of the vois of multitude
of hem, and ingoyng of cumpany, and
hurtlyng^x togidere of armeris; for the
oost was ful grete and strong. And Ju- 42
das and his oost neizide in to batel; and
there fellen down of the kyngis oost sixe
hundrid men. And Eleasar, the^y sone of 43
Saura, si; oon of the beestis haburiowned
with haburiownes of the kyng, and it was
hi; stondynge ouer othere beestis; and it
was seyn to hym, that the kyng was on^z
it. And he 3af hym silf for to delyuere 44
his puple, and for to gete to hym a name
euerlastynge. And he ran ther to hardili, 45
in to the myddil of legioun, and killide
on the ri3t half and left^a; and thei fellen
down fro hym hidur and thidur. And he 46
wente vndur the feet of the olifaunt, and
vndur puttide hym silf ther to, and slow
it; and it felle down in to erthe on hym,
and he was deed there. And thei si;en 47
the vertu of the kyng, and fersnesse^b of
his oost, and turneden awei hem silf fro
hem. Forsothe tentis of the kyng stieden 48
vp a;ens hem, in to^c Jerusalem; and tentis
of the king applieden to Judee, and to the
hil of Syon; and he made pees with 49
these that weren in Bethsura. And thei
wenten out of the citee, for foodis weren
not to hem closid togidere there, for the
sabatis of erthe weren. And the kyng 50
took Bethsura, and ordeynede there kep-
yng, for to keepe it. And he turnede the 51
tentis to the place of halewyng many
daies; and ordeynede there arblastis, and
engynes, and dartis^d of fier, and turmentis
for to caste stoonys and dartis, and scor-
piens for^e to schete^f arows, and slyngis.
Forsothe and thei maden engynes a;ens 52
the^g engynes of hem, and fou;ten many
daies. Forsothe metis weren not in the 53
citee, for that it was the seuenthe 3eer;

^r the ri3t half AGH.

^x hurting N. in hurtling N. ^y Om. R. ^z in *ceteri*. ^a on the left I. ^b the feersnes R. ^c Om. R.
^d dartis, *ether* [or *EPY*] *castyngis* c *et ceteri* *prater* R. ^e Om. I. ^f sende c *et ceteri*. ^g Om. E *pr. m. ire*.

engynes azeinus the engynes of hem, and
 53 thei fouzten many days. Forsothe metis
 weren not in the citee, for that it was
 the seuenthe zeer; and thei that leften
 of heithen men in Judee, hadden wastid
 54 the relikis of hem that weren kept. And
 fewe men leften in holy thingus, for hun-
 gre hadde taken hem; and thei ben sca-
 55 terid, eche man in to his place. And
 Lisias herde, that Philipp, whom kyng
 Antiochus ordeynyde, whan 3it he leu-
 yde, that he shulde nuriche Antiochus,
 56 his son, that he^s regnide, turnyde azein
 fro Perse and Mede, and the oost that
 wenten with hym; and for he seekith
 57 for to take the causis of the rewme, he^t
 hastide for to go, and saye to the kyng,
 and to duykis of the oost, We failen eche
 day, and litil mete is to vs, and the place
 whom we^u biseegen, is stronge, and it
 fallith to vs for to ordeyne of the rewme.
 58 And so nowe 3eue we rizthondis to these
 men, and make we pees with hem, and
 59 with alle the folk of hem; and ordeyne
 we to hem, that thei go in lawful thingis^v
 as byfore; sothely for the lawful thingus
 of hem thei ben wrothe, and han don
 60 alle these thingus. And the word pleside
 in sizt of the kyng, and princis; and he
 sente to hem for to make pees, and thei
 61 resceyuyden it. And the kyng swore to
 hem, and princis; and thei wenten out
 62 of the strengthing. And the kyng en-
 tride the mount Syon, and he see3 the
 strengthyng of the place; and he brake
 fulsone the ooth that he swore, and co-
 maundide for to distruye that^w wall in
 63 cumpas. And he departide away hastili,
 and turnyde azein to Antioche, and fonde
 Philip lordshipynge to the citee; and he
 fauzte azeinus hym, and occupiede the
 citee bi strengthe.

CAP. VII.

1 In the hundrid 3eer and oon and fifty
 Demetrie, sone of Seleuci, wente out fro

and thei that leften of hethene men in
 Judee, hadden wastid the relifs of tho
 thingis that weren kept. And fewe men 54
 leften in hooli thingis, for hungur hadde
 take hem; and thei weren scaterid, ech
 man in to his place. And Lisias herde, 55
 that Filip, whom kyng Antiok ordeynede,
 whaune he lyuyde 3it, that he schulde
 nursche Antiok, his sone, that he schulde
 regne, turnede azen fro Perse^h and Medeiⁱ, 56
 and the oost that wente with hym. And
 that^k he sekith for to take the causis of
 the rewme, *Lisias* hastide for to go, and 57
 seie^l to the kyng, and duykis of the oost,
 We failen ech dai, and litil mete is to vs,
 and the place which we biseegen, is strong,
 and it fallith to vs for to ordeyne of^m the
 rewme. Therfor now 3yue weⁿ rizthondis 58
 to these men, and make we pees with
 hem, and with^{an} al the folc of hem; and 59
 ordeyne we to hem, that thei go in lawful
 thingis as bifore; for whi for the lawful
 thingis of hem whiche we dispisiden, thei
 ben wrooth, and han don alle these thingis.
 And the word plesid in the^o sizt of the 60
 kyng, and of princes; and he sente to hem
 for to make pees, and thei resseyueden it.
 And the kyng swoor to hem, and princes; 61
 and thei wenten out of the strengthing.
 And the kyng entride in to the mount 62
 Sion, and he si3 the strengthing of the
 place; and he brak ful soone the ooth that
 he swoor, and comaundide for to distrie
 the wal in cumpas. And he departide 63
 awei hastili, and turnede azen to^p Antio-
 chie, and foond Filip regnyng in the
 citee; and he fauzt azens hym, and ocu-
 piede the cyte bi strengthe.

CAP. VII.

In the hundrid 3eer and oon and fifti
 Demetrie, sone of Sileuce, wente out fro

^s Om. G *pr. m.* ^t and he A. ^u 3e A. ^v thing A. ^w the AGH.

^h Perseis R. ⁱ Medeis R. ^k Om. R. ^l seide I. ^m for R. ⁿ 3e NR. ^{an} Om. P. ^o Om. I. ^p in to N.

Rome citee, and stiede with fewe men in
to a citee ni; the see, and regnyde there.
2 And it is don, as he entride in to hous
of the rewme of his fadris, the oost cau;te
Antiochus, and Lisias, for to brenge hem
3 to hym. And the thyng was knowen to
hym, and he saith, Nyl ;e shewe to me
4 the face of hem. And the oost slew;
hem. And Demetrie sate vpon the sete
5 of his rewme; and wickid men and vn-
pitous of Yrael camen to hym, and Al-
chymus, duyke of hem, that wolde be
6 maad prest. And thei accusiden the pe-
ple anentus the kyng, sayinge, Judas and
his bretheren han loste thi freendus, and
7 scateride vs fro oure lond. Now ther-
fore sende thou a man, to whom thou
byleeuyst, that he go, and see all the
distraying that he hath don to vs, and^x
to cuntrees of the kyng; and he punysh-
ith alle his frendis, and the helpers of
8 hem. And the kyng chese of his frendis
Bachides, that was lord ouer the grete
flood in the rewme, and trewe^y to the
9 kyng, and he sente hym, for to see the
distraying that Judas dide; and he or-
deynyde vnpytous Alchymus in to prest-
hode, and badde hym do veniaunce in to
10 the sonys of Yrael. And thei rysen, and
camen with greet oost in to the lond of
Juda; and thei senten messangers, and
spaken to Judas and his bretheren, with
11 pesible wordis in gyle. And thei ;auen
not tente to her wordis; sothely thei
sawen, for thei camen with greet oost.
12 And the congregacioun of scribes camen
to gydre to Alchymus and Bachides, for
13 to axe what thingus be iust; and the
first Assideys, that weren in the sonys
of Yrael, and thei axiden of hem pees.
14 Sothely thei saiden, A man, prest of the
seed of Aaron, cummeth, he schal not
15 disceyue vs. And he spac with hem
pesible wordis, and swore to hem, say-
inge, We shuln not ;eue to ;ou yuels,
16 nether to ;oure frendus. And thei bileu-

the cite of Rome, and stiede^q with fewer
men in to a citee ni; the see, and regnede
there. And it was don, as he entride in²
to the hous of the rewme of his fadris^{rr},
the oost cau;te Antiok, and Lisias, for to
brynge hem to hym. And the thing was³
knowun to hym, and he seide, Nyle ;e
schewe to me the face of hem. And the⁴
oost slow hem. And Demetrie sat on the
seete of his rewme; and wickid men and⁵
vnfeithful of Israel camen to hym, and
Alchymus, duyck of hem, that wolde be
maad prest; and accusiden the puple⁶
anentis the kyng, and seiden, Judas and
hise britheren loste thi frendis, and dy-
uerseli loste vs fro oure lond. Now ther-⁷
for sende thou a man, to whom thou
bileuest, that he go, and se al the distri-
yng that he hath don to vs, and to cun-
treis of the kyng; and he punyschide⁸ alle
frendis^t of hym, and helperis of hem. And⁸
the kyng chees of his frendis Bachides,
that was lord ouer the greet flood in the
rewme, and trewe to the kyng, and sente
hym, for to see the distriyng that Judas⁹
dide; and he ordeynede vnfeithful Alchy-
mus in to presthod, and bad hym do ven-
iaunce on the sones of Israel. And thei¹⁰
risiden^u, and camen with greet oost in to
the lond of Juda; and thei senten mes-
sangeris, and spaken to Judas and his bri-
theren, with pesible wordis in gile. And¹¹
thei ;auen not tent to her wordis; for
thei ;izen, that thei camen with greet oost.
And the congregacioun of scribis camen¹²
togidere to Alchymus and Bachides, for
to axe tho thingis that ben iust; and the¹³
firste Assideis^v, that weren among the
sones of Israel, and thei axiden of hem
pees. For thei seiden, A man, preist of¹⁴
the seed of Aaron, cometh, he schal not
disceyue vs. And he spak with hem pes-¹⁵
ible wordis, and swoor to hem, and seide,
We schulen not brynge in to ;ou yuels^w,
nether to ;oure frendis. And thei bileu-¹⁶
yden to hym. And he cau;te of hem sixti

^x in K. ^y trewthē K.

^q stiede vp L. ^r a fewe L. ^{rr} fadir A pr. m. e. ^s ponysche R. ^t the frendis I. ^u resin EBY. risen F.
resen I. ^v that is, men present to Goddis worschippinge e marg. ^w the yuel N.

yden to hym. And he cau3te of hem sixti
men, and slew3 hem in oo day, after the
17 word that is wryten, Thei shedden out
fleshis of thi sayntis, and blood of hem
in cumpas of Jerusalem, and there was
18 not that biryede. And dreed and trem-
blyng lay, *or felle*, in to al the peple,
for thei saiden, Ther is not trewthe and
dom to hym; sothely thei han broken
the statute^x, and the ooth that thei
19 sworn. And Bachides mouede tentis
fro Jerusalem, and appliede in to Beth-
secha; and sente, and cau3te many of
hem that fledden fro hym; and he killide
sum of the peple, and castide in to a
20 grete pitt. And he bitoke the regioun^a
to Alchimus, and left with hym help, in
to helpyng of hym. And Bachides wente
21 to the kyng, and Alchimus dide ynew³,
22 for the princehod of his presthod. And
alle camen to gidre to hym, whiche dis-
tourbliden her peple, and weldiden^b the
lond of Juda^{bb}; and thei diden grete ven-
23 iaunce^c in Yrael. And Judas see3 alle
the yuels, that Alchimus dide, and thei
that weren with hym, to the sonnys of
Yrael, myche more than heithen men.
24 And he wente out in to alle coostis of
Judee in cumpas, and dide veniaunce in
to men forsakers, and thei cesiden for to
25 go out ferther in to the cuntree. For-
sothe Alchimus see3, for Judas hadde
victorie, and thei that weren with hym;
and he knew3 for he may not susteyne
hem, and he wente a3ein to the kyng,
26 and accuside hem in many synnys. And
the kyng sent Nychanor, oon of his no-
bler princis, that was hauntynge enmy-
tees a3einus Yrael; and he comaundide
27 him^d for to distruye the peple. And
Nychanor came in to Jerusalem, with
grete oost, and he sente to Judas and his
bretheren with gyle, by pesible wordis,
28 sayinge, Fijt be not bitwixe me and 3ou;
I shal cume with fewe men, for to see

men, and slow hem in o dai, bi the word
that is writun, Thei shedden out the¹⁷
fleischis of thi seyntis, and blood of hem
in cumpas of Jerusalem, and there was
not that biriede. And drede and trem-¹⁸
blyng felle in to al the puple, for thei
seiden, Ther is not^x treuthe and dom in
hem; for thei han brokun^y the ordy-
naunce^y, and the ooth that thei sworn.
And Bachides mouyde tentis fro Jerusa-¹⁹
lem, and appliede in to Bethseca; and
sente, and cau3te many of hem that fled-
den fro³ hym; and he killide summe of
the puple, and castide in to a greet pitte.
And he^a bitook the regioun^b to Alchymus,²⁰
and left with hym help, in to helpyng of
hym. And Bachides wente to the kyng,
and Alchymus dide ynow, for the prince-²¹
hod of his presthod. And alle camen to-²²
gidere to hym, whiche disturbliden her
puple, and weldiden the lond of Juda;
and diden greet veniaunce in Israel. And²³
Judas si3 alle yuels^c, that Alchymus dide,
and thei that weren with hym, to the
sones of Israel, myche more than hethene
men. And he wente oute in to alle²⁴
coostis^d of Judee in cumpas, and dide ven-
iaunce on men forsakeris, and thei cees-
iden for to go out ferthere in to the cun-
trei. Forsothe Alchimus si3, that Judas²⁵
hadde victorie, and thei that weren with
hym; and he knew that he mai not abide
hem, and he wente a3en to the kyng,
and accusiden hem in many synnes. And²⁶
the kyng sente Nicanor, oon of his noblere
princes, that was hauntynge enemytees
a3ens Israel, and comaundide hym for to
districe the puple. And Nychanor cam in²⁷
to Jerusalem, with greet oost, and he sente
to Judas and his britheren with gile, bi
pesible wordis, seiynge, Fijt be not bi-²⁸
twixe me and 3ou; Y schal come with
fewe men, for to se 3oure faces with pees.
And he cam to Judas, and thei gretten²⁹
hem togidere pesibli; and enemyes weren

^x statute, *or ordynaunce* H. ^a regioun, *or cuntree* H. ^b weelden A. ^{bb} Judas AG pr. m. K. ^c plage, *or vengeaunce* H. ^d Om. A.

^x no R. ^y statute R. statute, *ether* [or EPY] *ordynaunce o et ceteri*. ^x Om. N. ^a Om. I. ^b cuntrei R. regioun, *or cuntre* E *et ceteri præter o*. ^c these yuels A pr. m. the yuels I. ^d the coostis I.

29 ³oure faces with pees. And he cam to Judas, and thei gretten hem to gidre pesibli; and enmyes weren redy for to 30 raushe Judas. And the word was knowen to Judas, for with gyle he came to hym; and he is broken togidre of hym, and he wolde namore see his face. 31 And Nychanor knewe, that his conceile is knowen, and he wente out azeinus Judas in to fȳt, bisidis Capharsalma. 32 And there fellen doun of Nychanoris oost almost fyue thousand men, and thei 33 fledden in to the citee of Dauid. And after these wordis Nychanore stiede in to the hille of Syon, and there wenten out of prestis of the peple, for to greete hym in pees, and for to shewe to hym brent sacrifices, that thei offriden for the 34 kyng. And he scornynge dispiside hem, 35 and defoulide; and spake proudly, and swore with wrath, sayinge, Ȝif Judas schal not be taken, and his oost, in myn hoondis, anon whanne Y schal turne aȳein in pees, Y schal brenne this hous. And 36 he wente out with grete wrath. And the prestis entriden, and stoden bifore face of the autir and of the temple, and 37 weepyng seiden, Thou, Lord, hast chosen this hous, for to incelepe thi name in it, that it were an hous of preyer and bi- 38 sechyng to thi peple; do venieaunce in this man, and his oost, and falle thei in swerd; haue mynde of the blasfemyes of hem, and ȳeue not hem that thei abide. 39 And Nychanor wente out fro Jerusalem, and appliede tentis to Betheron; and 40 the oost of Syrie cam to hym. And Judas appliede in Adarsa, with three 41 thousand men. And Judas preyde, and saide, Lord, an aungel wente out, and smote an hundrid fourescore^e and fyue thousandis of hem, that weren sent fro kyng^f Senacherib, for thei blasfemyden 42 thee; so breke thou togidre this oost in oure sizt to day, and wite other men, for

redi for to rausche Judas. And the word 30 was knowun to Judas, that with gyle he cam to hym; and he was aferd^e of hym, and he wolde no more se his face. And 31 Nicanor knew, that his counceil was knowun, and he wente out aȳens Judas in to fȳt, bisidis Cafarsalama. And ther 32 fellen^f doun of Nicanoris oost almost fyue thousynde men^g, and thei fledden in to the^h citee of Dauid. And after these 33 wordis Nicanor stiede in to the hil of Sion, and ther wenten out of prestis of the puple, for to grete hym in pees, and for to schewe to hym brent sacrifices, that weren offrid for the kyng. And he scorn- 34 yde and dispiside hem, and defoulide, and spak proudli, and swoor with wraththe, 35 seiynge, If Judas schal not be takun, and his oost, in to myn hondis, anon whanne Y schal turne aȳen in pees, Y schal brenne this hous. And he wente out with greet wraththe. And prestis entriden, and 36 stoden bifore the face of the auter and temple, and wepyng seidenⁱ, Thou, Lord, 37 hast chosun this hous, for to clepe^k to helpe thi name in it, that it schulde be an hous of preier and biseching to thi puple; do thou veniaunce in^l this man, and his 38 oost, and^m falle thei bi swerd; haue mynde onⁿ her blasfemyes, and ȳeue not to hem that^o thei abide. And Nicanor wente out 39 fro Jerusalem, and appliede tentis to Betheron; and the oost of Sirie cam to him. And Judas appliede^p in Adarsa, with thre 40 thousynde men. And Judas preiede, and 41 seide, Lord, an aungel wente out, and smoot an hundrid thousynde foure score and fyue thousyndis of hem, that weren sent fro the^q kyng Senacherib, for thei blasfemiden thee; so al to-breke this oost 42 in oure sizt to dai, and othere men wite, that he spak yuel on thin hooli thingis; and deme thou hym by the malice of hym. And the oostis ioyneden batel in the thrit- 43 * Marche. A. that is, Februrye. e.

^e and fourscore A. ^f the kyng G pr. m.

^e aferd broken B. ^f felden CHIS. ^g of men E. ^h Om. CEFHNQUX sec. m. e. ⁱ thei seiden I.
^k incelepe F pr. m. N. ^l into R. ^m Om. N. ⁿ in A. ^o that that R. ^p apperide R. ^q Om. R.

yuel he spak on thin holy thingus, and
 deme thou hym vp the malice of hym.
 43 And the oostis ioynyden bateil, in the
 thrittenthe day of the moneth Adar;
 and the tentis of Nychanor ben broken
 to gidre, and he felle down the first in
 44 bateil. Sothely as his oost see3, for Ny-
 chanor felle down, thei castiden away her
 45 armers, and fledden. And thei pursu-
 eden hem the way of oo day, fro Adasor
 vnto me come in to Gazera; and thei
 sungen in trumpis after hem with signy-
 46 fyngus. And thei wenten out of alle
 the^e castellis of Judee in cumpas, and
 wynnewiden hem with hornys, and eft-
 soone weren conuertid to hem; and thei
 fellen alle in swerd, and ther is not left
 47 of hem nether oon. And thei token the
 spuylis of hem in to pray; and thei kit-
 tiden of the hed of Nychanor, and his
 ri3thond whiche he strechide proudly,
 and thei brouzten to, and hangiden azeinis
 48 Jerusalem. And the peple gladide grete-
 ly, and diden that day in grete glad-
 49 nesse; and ordeynyde this day for to be
 don in alle 3eeris, in the thrittyynth day
 50 of the moneth Adar. And the lond of
 Juda was stille a fewe dayes.

CAP. VIII.

1 And Judas herde the name of Romey-
 nys, for thei ben mizty in strengthis, and
 acorden to alle thingis that ben axid of
 hem; and who euer wente to hem, thei
 ordeynyden with hem frendshipus; and
 2 for thei ben mizty in strengthis. And
 thei herden bateyls of hem, and good
 vertues, that thei don in Galacie, for
 thei weldiden hem, and ledden vndir
 3 tribute; and hou many thingus thei
 diden in the cuntree of Spayne, and that
 in to^h power thei dryuen metalis of syl-
 uer and gold that ben there; and wel-
 diden eche place with her conseile, and
 4 pacient places that weren ful fer fro hem;

tentis^r of Nicanor weren al to-brokun, and
 he felle down the^e firste in batel. Sothely 44
 as his oost si3, that Nicanor felle down,
 thei castiden awei her armeris, and fled-
 den. And thei pursueden hem the weie 45
 of o dai, fro Adasor til me come in to
 Gasara; and thei sungen in trumpis after
 hem with signefyngis. And thei wenten 46
 out of alle castels of Judee in cumpas, and
 wyndewiden^t hem with hornes, and eft-
 soone weren^u conuertid to hem; and alle
 falliden^{uu} bi swerd, and ther was not^v left
 of hem not^w oon. And thei token the 47
 spuylis of hem to prey; and thei girdiden
 of the heed of Nicanor, and his ri3t hond
 which he stretchide forth proudli, and
 thei brouzten, and hangiden a3ens Jeru-
 salem. And the puple was glad^{ww} greetli, 48
 and diden^x that^y dai in greet gladnesse;
 and ordeyneden^z this dai for to be doon 49
 in alle 3eeris, in the^a thrITTeneth day of
 the monethe Adar. And the lond of Juda 50
 was stille a fewe dais.

CAP. VIII.

And Judas herde the name of Romayns, 1
 that thei ben mizti in strengthis, and
 acorden to alle thingis that ben axid of
 hem; and who euere wente to hem, thei
 ordeyneden with hem frendschipis; and
 that thei ben mizti in strengthis. And 2
 thei herden batels of hem, and goode ver-
 tues, that thei diden in Galacie, for thei
 weldiden hem, and ledden^b vndur tribute;
 and hou many thingis thei diden in the 3
 cuntre of Spayne, and that thei brouzten
 in to power metals of siluer and gold that
 ben there; and^c weldiden ech place with
 her councel and pacience, ^{or wisdom}^d,
 places that weren ful fer fro hem; and^e 4

3 Om. G *pr. m.* h Om. G *pr. m.*

^r the tentis I. ^s Om. I. ^t wynnewiden I. ^u thei weren I. ^{uu} failiden F. ^v Om. U. ^w nether
 CERPHIKMQREX. neuer RSU. ^{ww} gladid e. ^x thei diden I. ^y in that A *pr. m. F.* ^z ordeynede C *et plures.*
 ordeyne N. ^a Om. I. ^b ledden hem I. ^c and thei I. ^d Om. R. ^e Om. R.

and kyngus that camen aboue to hem fro the vttemest places of erthe, thei braken to gydre, and smyten hem with grete plage; forsothe other 3yuen to hem 5 tribute alle 3eeris. And thei braken to gidre in bateil Philip, and Persen, kyng of Cetheis, and other that baren armers 6 a3einus hem, and thei weldiden hem; and Antiochus, the grete kyng of Asye, that 3aue bateil to hem, hauynge an hundred and twenti olifauntis, and rydyng, and charys, and ful greet oost, broken togidre 7 of hem; and for thei token hym quyk, and ordeynyden to hym, that he shulde 3eue grete tribute, and thei that regnyden after hym; andⁱ shulden 3eue pleggis 8 and ordenaunce, and the^k cuntree of Yndis, and men of Mede, and of Lidde, of the best cuntrees of hem, and thei 3auen 9 hem taken of hem to kyng Eumenij; and for thei that weren anentis Elada, wolden go, and take hem; and the word was 10 knowen to these, and thei senten to hem oo duyck, and thei fouzten a3einus hem; and many of hem fellen, and thei ledden her wijues caitifs, and sonys, and robbiden hem; and weldiden the lond of hem, and distruyeden the wallis of hem, and dryuen 11 hem in to seruage, til in to this day. And thei distruyeden other rewmys and ylis, that sumtyme a3ein stoden hem, and dry- 12 uen *hem* in to power. Forsothe with her freendis, and that hadden rest in hem, thei kepten frenship, and thei weldiden rewmys that weren next, and that weren fer; for who euer herden the name 13 of hem, dredden hem. For thei regnyden, to whom thei wolden be in help for to regne; and whom thei wolden, fro rewme thei distourbliden; and thei ben gretely 14 enhaunsid. And in alle these no man bare diademe, nether was clothid in purple, for to be magnyfyed therynne. And for thei maden to hem a courte, and eche day thei counseiliden three hundrid and twenti, doynge counseile euermore of

thei al to-braken kyngis that camen on hem fro the vtteste places of erthe, and thei smytiden hem with greet wounde; forsothe othere 3yuen to hem tribute bi alle 3eeris. And thei al to-braken in batel 5 Filip, and Persen, kyngis of Cethis, and othere that baren armeris a3ens hem, and weldiden hem. And *thei weldiden* Antiok, 6 the greet king of Asie, that 3af batel to hem, and hadde an hundrid and twenti olifauntis, and multitude of horse men and charis, and ful greet oost al to brokun of hem; and thei^f token hym quyk, and^g 7 ordeyneden to hym, that he schulde 3yue greet tribut, and thei that regnede after hym; and that he schulde 3yue pleggis and ordynaunce, in the cuntre of Yndis; 8 and *thei puttiden out* men of Mede, and of Lidde, fro the beste cuntreis of hem, and thei 3auen tho *cuntreis* takun of hem to kyng^h Eumeny; and that thei that⁹ weren anentis Elada, wolden go, and take awei hem; and the word was knowun to these *Romayns*, and thei senten to hem 10 duyck, and thei fouzten a3ens hem; and many of hem fellen, and thei ledden her wyues caitifs, and sones, and robbiden hem; and weldiden the lond of hem, and distrieden the wallis of hem, and brouzten hem in to seruage, til in to this dai. And 11 thei distrieden othere rewmes and ilis, that sum tyme azenstoden hem, and brouzten in to power. Forsothe with her frendis, 12 and that hadden reste in hem, thei kepten frenship, and thei weldiden rewmes that weren next, and that^l weren fer; for who euere herden the name of hem, dredden hem. For thei regnyden, to whiche^k thei 13 wolden be in help for to regne; forsothe whiche thei wolden, thei disturbliden^{kk} fro rewme; and thei weren greetli enhaunsid. In^l alle these *Romayns* no man bar dia- 14 deme, nether was clothid in^m purpur, for to be magnefyed ther ynne. And thei thatⁿ 15 maden to hem a court, and ech dai thei counseliden thre hundrid and twenti, do-

ⁱ Om. K. ^k in the G pr. m.

^f that thei R. ^g and thei R. ^h the kyng I. ⁱ Om. R. ^k whom I. ^{kk} distrieden F. ^l And in R.
 ^m with R. ⁿ Om. R.

multitude, that thei do what thingus ben
 16 worthi. And thei bitakun to oo man
 her maistrie, *or cheef gouernaunce*, bi
 eche 3eeris, for to be lord to al her lond;
 and alle obeishen to oon, and enuye is
 17 not, nether wrath among hem. And
 Judas chese Eupolemus, sone of Joon,
 sone of Jacob, and Jason, sone of Elea-
 zarus, and he sente hem to Rome, for
 to ordeyne with hem frendship and felaw-
 18 ship; and that thei shulde take away fro
 hem the 3oc of Greekis, for thei sawen
 that thei oppresiden the rewme of Yrael
 19 in to seruage. And thei wenten to Rome,
 a ful grete way, and thei entriden the
 20 courte, and saiden, Judas Machabeus,
 and his bretheren, and the peple of
 Jewis senten vs to 3ou, for to ordeyne
 with 3ou felawship and pees, and for to-
 gidre write vs 3oure felawis and freendis.
 21 And the word pleside in sizt of hem.
 22 And this a3ein wrytyng is, whiche thei
 a3ein wryten in brasen tablis, and senten
 in to Jerusalem, that it were there a
 memorial, *or a thing of mynde*, of pees
 23 and felawship. Be it wel to Romayns,
 and to folk of Jewis, in see and lond,
 in to with outen eende; and swerd and
 24 enmye be fer fro hem. That 3if bateil
 shal a3ein stonde Romayns former, or to
 alle felowis of hem in al the lordship of
 25 hem, the folc of Jewis shal bere help, as
 26 tyme shal axe, with ful herte; and thei
 shuln not¹ 3eue, nether priuyli mynystre
 to the fyttyng, whete, armers, monee,
 shippus, as it pleside to Romayns; and
 thei shuln keepe the maundementis of
 27 hem, no thing takynge of hem. Also
 forsothe and 3if bateil shal falle bifore to
 the folk of Jewis, Romayns shuln helpe
 of ynwitt, *or good herte*, as tyme shal
 28 suffre hem; and to hem helpynge whete
 shal not be 3ouen, armers, money, ship-
 pus, as it pleside to Romayns; and thei
 shuln keep the maundementis of hem

ynge counsel euere more of multitude,
 that thei do what thingis ben worthi.
 And thei bitaken to o man her maistrie, 16
'ether cheef gouernaunce', bi ech 3eer,
 for to be lord of al^p her lond; and alle
 obeschen to oon, and enuye is^q not, 'ne-
 ther wraththe^r among hem. And Judas 17
 chees Eupolemus, the sone of Joon, sone
 of Jacob, and Jason, the sone of Eleasa-
 rus, and sente hem to Rome, for to or-
 deyne with hem frenschip and felouschip;
 and that thei schulden take awei fro hem 18
 the 3ok of Grekis, for thei sien that thei
 oppressiden the rewme of Israel in to
 seruage. And thei wenten to Rome, a 19
 ful greet weie, and thei entriden in to the
 court, and seiden, Judas Machabeus, and 20
 hise britheren, and the puple of Jewis
 senten vs to 3ou, for to ordeyne with 3ou
 felouschip and pees, and for to write togi-
 dere vs 3oure felowis and freendis. And 21
 the word pleside in the sizt of hem. And 22
 this is the a3en wrytyng, which thei a3en
 writiden in brasun tablis, and senten in to
 Jerusalem, that it were there^r a memorial,
'ether a thing of mynde', of pees and^t felou-
 schip. Be it wel to Romayns, and to the folc 23
 of Jewis, in see^u and lond, with outen ende;
 and swerd and enemy be fer fro hem.
 That if batel bifallith^v to Romayns bifore, 24
 ether to alle felowis of hem in al the lord-
 schip 'of hem^w, the folc of Jewis schal 25
 bere help, as time axith, with ful herte;
 and the *Romayns* schulen not 3yue, ne- 26
 ther priuyli ministre to the *Jewis* fyt-
 ynge, wheete, armeris, monei, schippis, as
 it pleside to^x Romayns; and thei schulen
 kepe the maundementis^y of hem, and take
 no thing of hem. Forsothe in lijk^z maner 27
 and if batel fallith^a bifore^b to the folc of
 Jewis, Romayns schulen helpe of herte, as
 tyme suffrith hem; and to *Romayns* help- 28
 ynge wheete schal not be 3ouun, nether
 armeris, monei, nether schippis, as it ples-
 ide to Romayns; and thei schulen kepe

¹ ne thei shuln A.

^o *ether cheef gouernail* K. Om. R. ^p Om. N. ^q and wraththe is I. ^r Om. I. ^{rr} Om. F. ^s Om. R.
^t of N. ^u the see I. ^v bifalle I. ^w Om. N. ^x Om. I. ^y comaundementis I. ^z the lijk N. ^a bifalle I.
^b Om. N.

29 with outen gyle. After these wordis
 Romaynes ordeynyden to the peple of
 30 Jewis, That ȝif after these wordis, these
 or thei shuln woln for to putte eny thing
 to, or do away, thei shuln do of her pur-
 posyng; and what euere thingus thei
 shuln putte to, or do away, thei shuln
 31 be stedfast. Bot and of yuels whiche
 kyng Demetrie hath don in to hem, we
 han writen to hym, sayinge, Whi hast
 thou greeuyd thi ȝock vpon oure freendis
 32 and felawis, the Jewis? Therefore ȝif eft
 soone thei shuln cumme to vs aȝeinus
 thee, we shuln do dom to hem, and we
 shuln fiȝte with thee by lond and see.

CAP. IX.

1 In the mene tyme, wher Demetrie
 herde that Nychanor felle, and his oost,
 in bateil, he puttide to eftsoone for to
 sende Bachides and Alchymus in to
 2 Judee, and the riȝt horn with hem. And
 thei wenten the weye that ledith in to
 Galgala, and thei settiden tentis in Ma-
 soloth, that is in Arbellis; and thei occu-
 pieden it, and slewen manye lyues of
 3 men. In the first moneth of an hundrid
 and two and fifti^m ȝeer, thei applieden the
 4 oost to Jerusalem. And twenti thou-
 sand of men, and two thousand of hors-
 men, han risen, and wente in to Berea.
 5 And Judas sette tentys in Laysa, and
 three thousand chosen men with hym.
 6 And thei sawen the multitude of oost,
 for thei ben many, and thei dredde
 gretely; and manye withdrewen hem
 fro tentis, and there leften not of hem
 7 no bot eiȝte hundrid men. And Judas
 saw³ for his oost flette away, and bateil
 constreynede hym, he is broken to gydre
 in herte, for he hadde not tyme of ga-
 dryng hem, and he is dissoluyd, *or dis-*
 8 *counfortid*. And he saide to these that
 weren residue, Ryse we, and go we to
 oure aduersaries, ȝif we shuln mowe fiȝt

the maundementis^c of hem with out gyle.
 Bi these wordis Romayns^d ordeyneden to 29
 the puple of Jewis, That if after these 30
 wordis, these ether thei wolen put ony
 thing to, ether do awei, thei schulen do
 of her 'comyn assent^e; and what euere
 thingis thei schulen put to, ether do awei,
 thei schulen be stidfast. But also of yuels 31
 whiche kyng Demetrie hath don aȝens
 hem, we han writun to hym, and we
 seiden, Whi hast thou greuyd thi ȝok
 on oure freendis and felowis, the Jewis?
 Therfor if eftsoone thei schulen come to 32
 vs aȝens thee, we schulen do doom to
 hem, and schulen fiȝte with thee bi lond
 and see.

CAP. IX.

In the mene tyme, where Demetrie 1
 herde that Nicanor felle^f, and his oost,
 in batel, he puttide to eftsoone for to
 sende Bachides and Alchymus in to Ju-
 dee, and the riȝt half schiltron^g with hem.
 And thei wenten the weie that ledith in 2
 to Galgala, and thei settiden tentis in
 Masoloth, that is in Arbellis; and thei
 ocupieden it, and slowen many persoones
 of men. In the firste monethe of the 3
 hundrid and two and fifti ȝeer, thei ap-
 plieden the oost to Jerusalem. And twenti 4
 thousynde of men, and twei thousynde of
 horse men, han risun, and wenten in to
 Berea. And Judas settide tentis in Laisa, 5
 and thre thousynde men chosun with
 hym. And thei siȝen the multitude of 6
 oost^h, that thei ben manye, and thei dred-
 den greetli; and many withdrown hem
 fro tentis, and there left not of hem no
 but eiȝte hundrid men. And Judas siȝ 7
 that his oost fleetⁱ awei, and batel con-
 streynede hym, he^k was brokun togidere
 in herte, for he hadde not tyme to gadere
 hem, and he^l was discourfortid. And he 8
 seide to these that weren residue, Rise
 we, and go we to oure aduersaries, if we
 schulen mow fiȝte aȝens hem. And thei 9

^m fiȝti κ.

^c comaundementis I. ^d the Romayns R. ^e purposing R. purposing, that is, comyn assent of euer
 either c et ceteri. ^f felde CHI et alii passim. ^g horn, ether [or RPY] sheltron CEF GHIKMN PQSU XY.
 horn e text. that is, the strong sheltron e marg. ^h the oost I KB. ⁱ fledde CI. fleede E. fley F. ^k and
 he N. ^l Om. R.

9 azeinus hem. And thei turnyden hem away, sayinge, We shuln not moun, bot delyuere we nowe oure lyues, and turne we azein to oure bretheren, and thanne we shuln fize azeins hem; forsothe we
10 ben fewe. And Judas seith, Fer be it for to do this thing, that we flee fro hem; and 3if oure tyme hath neizid, dye we in vertu of oure bretheren, and 3eue
11 we not cryme to oure glorie. And the oost moued of tentis, and thei stoden azeinus hem. And horsmen ben departid in^m two parties, and slyngers and archers wenten bifore the oost, and the first ofⁿ
12 the^o bateil al the mizty. Forsothe Bachides was in the rizt horn, *or cornere*. And the legioun of two partis came ni3,
13 and crieden with trumpis. Forsothe and these that weren of the part of Judas, crieden also thei, and the erthe is moued to gidre of the voice of oostis, and bateil
14 is ioyned fro morewe vn to euen. And Judas see3, that the part of Bachides oost is sadder in the rizt half, and alle stedfast in herte camen to gidre with
15 hym. And the rizt part is broken togydre of hem; and he pursuede hem vn
16 to the hill of Azotus. And thei that weren in the left horn, sawen, that the rizt horn is broken to gidre, and thei sueden after Judas, and hem that weren
17 with hym at the bac. And the bateil is maad greuouse, and there fellen manye
18 woundid of these and of hem. And Judas felle, and the other fledden. And
19 Jonathas and Symont token her brother Judas, and birieden hym in the sepulcre
20 of his fadris, in the citee Modyn. And al Yrael wepten hym with grete weyl-
yng, and thei mourneden manye days,
21 and saiden, Hou felle the mizty, that
22 maad Yrael saaf? And other wordis of bateilis of Judas, and of vertues that he dide, and his gretneissis, ben not writen;

turneden awei hym, and seiden, We schulen not moun, but delyuere we oure^m lyues, and turne azen we to oure britheren, and thanne we schulen fize azens hem; forsothe we ben fewe. And Judas 10 seide, Fer be it for to do this thing, that we fle fro hem; and if oure tyme hath neized, die we in vertu for oure britheren, and 3yue we not cryme to oure glorie. And the oost mouyde fro tentis, and thei 11 stoden azens hem. And horse men weren departid in to twei partis, and slyngeris and archeris wenten bifore the oost, and the firste men of batel alle miztiⁿ. For- 12 sothe Bachides was in the rizt schiltrun^o. And the legioun of twei partis cam ny3, and crieden with trumpis. Forsothe and 13 these that weren on^p the part of Judas, crieden also, and the^q erthe was mouyd togidere of the^r vois of oostis, and batel was ioyned fro the morewtid^r til to euentid. And Judas si3, that the part of 14 Bachides oost was saddere in the rizt half, and alle stidfast in herte camen togidere with hym. And the rizt part was 15 al to-brokun of hem; and he pursuede hem 'til to^s the hil of Asotus. And thei 16 that weren in the left scheltrun^t, si3en, that the rizt scheltrun^u was al to-brokun, and thei sueden at the bac aftir Judas, and hem that weren with hym. And the 17 batel was maad greuouse, and there fellen many woundid of these and of hem. And 18 Judas felle, and the othere^v fledden. And 19 Jonathas and Symount token her brother Judas, and birieden hym in sepulcre^w of his fadris, in the citee of^x Modyn. And 20 al Israel biwepten him with greet weilyng, and mourneden many^y daies, and 21 seiden, Hou felle the myzti, that made Israel saaf. And othere wordis of batels 22 of Judas, and of vertues that he dide, and of his^z greetneissis, ben not writun; for tho weren ful many. And it was don, after 23

^m in to AGH. ⁿ Om. K. ^o Om. H.

^m oure owen R. ⁿ the mizti plures. thei myzty s. ^o horn R. horn, *ether* [or EPY] *sheltrun* C *et ceteri*. P ouer R. ^q Om. N. ^r Om. I. ^r morewe C *sec. m. et alii*. ^s vnto I. ^t horn CR. horn, *or* [ether plures] *sheltrun* EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. ^u horn *ceteri*. ^v tothir R. ^w the sepulcre IX *sec. m.* ^x Om. CEFHIKMQRSU. ^y bi many N. ^z Om. R.

23 forsothe thei weren ful manye. And it
 is don, after the deth of Judas, alle
 wickid men in alle coostis of Yrael rysen
 out, and alle that wrou3ten wickidnesse
 24 ben born out sprungen. In tho days ful
 grete hungre is maad, and all the cuntre
 of hem bitoke hem self to Bachides with
 25 hem. And Bachides chese vnpytous
 men, and ordeynede hem lordis of the
 26 cuntree. And thei axiden out, and sou3ten
 the freendis of Judas, and brou3ten hem
 to Bachides; and he vengide in to hem,
 27 and scornede. And grete tribulacioun is
 maad in Yrael, what manere was not fro
 the day in whiche a prophete is not seen
 28 in Yrael. And alle the freendis of Judas
 ben gadrid, and saiden to Jonathas,
 29 Sithen thi brother Judas is dead, ther
 is no man lijc to hym, that shal go out
 a3einus enmyes, Bachides and hem that
 30 ben enmyes of oure folc. And so now
 we chese thee to day for to be prince to
 vs and duyck for hym, for to f3zte oure
 31 bateil. And Jonathas resceyuyde in that
 tyme the princehod, and rose in the place
 32 of Judas, his brother. And Bachides
 33 knewe, and sou3te for to slea hym. And
 Jonathas knewe, and Symont, his bro-
 ther, and alle that weren with hym^p,
 and thei fledden in to desert Techue, and
 saten to gidre at the water of the lake
 34 Aphar. And Bachides knewe, and in
 day of sabothis he came, and alle his
 35 oost, ouer Jordan. And he sente his
 brother duyck of the peple, and preyede
 Nabutheis, his frendis, that he shulde
 bitake to hem his appareil, that was
 36 plenteuous. And the sonys of Sambri
 wenten out of Madaba, and cau3ten
 Joon, and alle thingus that he hadde, and
 37 wenten away, hauynge hem. After these
 wordis it is tolde a3ein to Jonathas, and
 Symont, his brother, for the sonys of
 Sambry maken grete weddingus, and
 wedden a wijf of Madaba, the dou3tre
 of oon of the grete princis of Canaan,

the deth of Judas, alle wickid men in alle
 coostis^a of Israel risiden^b out, and alle that
 wrou3ten wickidnesse camen forth. In 24
 tho daies ful greet hungur was maad, and
 al the cuntrey of hem bitook hem silf to
 Bachides with hem. And Bachides chees 25
 vnpytouse men, and ordeynede hem lordis
 of the cuntrei. And thei axiden out, and 26
 sou3ten^c the freendis of Judas, and brou3ten
 hem to Bachides; and he vengide on hem,
 and scornede. And greet tribulacioun was 27
 maad in Israel, what maner was not fro
 the dai in which a profete was not seyn
 in Israel. And alle the freendis of Judas 28
 weren gaderid, and seiden to Jonatas,
 Sithen thi brother Judas is deed, ther is 29
 no man lijk hym, that schal go out a3ens
 enemyes, Bachides and hem that ben ene-
 myes of^d oure folc. Therfor now we 30
 chesen thee to dai for to be prince and
 duyck to vs for hym, for to f3zte oure batel.
 And Jonatas resseyuede in that tyme the 31
 prinshod, and roos in the place of Judas,
 his brother. And Bachides knew, and 32
 sou3te for to sle him. And Jonatas knew, 33
 and Symount, his brother, and alle that
 weren with hym, and fledden in to desert
 of Thecue, and saten togidere at the wa-
 ter^e of the lake^f Asphar. And Bachides 34
 knew, and in the dai of sabatis he cam,
 and al his oost, ouer Jordan. And Jona- 35
 thas sente his brother ledere of *that* puple,
 and preiede Nabutheis, his frendis, that he
 schulde bitake to hem his apparel, that
 was plenteuouse. And sones of Jambri 36
 wenten out of Madaba, and cau3ten Joon,
 and alle thingis that he hadde, and wenten
 awei, hauynge tho thingis. After thes 37
 wordis it was teld a3en to Jonathas, and
 Symount, his brother, that the sones of
 Jambri maken grete weddyngis, and wed-
 den a wijf of Madaba, the dou3ter of oon
 of the grete princis of Canaan, with greet
 pride and apparel. And thei bithou3ten 38
 on the blood of Joon, her brother, and
 stieden vp, and hidden hem silf vndur

P hem A.

^a the coostis I. ^b risen C sec. m. F. resin BPY. ^c sou3ten out R. ^d a3ens R. ^e lake R. ^f watir R.

38 with grete pride. And thei bithou3ten
of the blood of Joon, his brother, and
stieden vp, and hidden hem self vndir
39 keueryng of the hill. And thei reisien
her ee3en, and sawen, and loo! noys,
and grete appareyl; and a spouse, *or*
husbond, cam forth, and his frendis, and
his bretheren a3einus hem, with tym-
pans, and musykis, and many armers.
40 And thei risen to hem of aspies, and
slewen hem, and many woundid fellen
doun, and the residues fledden in to the
hill, and thei token alle the spuylis of
41 hem; and the weddingus ben conuertid
in to mournyng, and the voice of her
42 musikis in to weylyng. And thei ven-
giden the veniaunce of her brothers
blood, and thei turnyden a3ein to the
43 ryuer of Jordan. And Bachides herde,
and came in the day of sabothis vn to
the vttermost part of Jordan, in grete
44 vertu. And Jonathas saide to hise, Ryse
we, and f3zte a3einus oure enmyes; for-
sothe it is not to day as 3isterday and
45 the thrid day gon. Loo! sotheli bateil
euen a3einus; sotheli water of Jordan on
this half and on that half, and ryuers,
and mareys, and wijld woodis, and there
46 is not place of turnyng away. Now
therfore crie 3e in to heuen, that 3e be
delyuered fro hond of 3our enmyes. And
47 bateil is ioyned. And Jonathas strau3te
out his hond, for to smyte Bachides, and
48 he turnyde away fro hym byhynde. And
Jonathas lippide out, and thei that weren
with hym, in to Jordan, and swame over
49 Jordan to hem. And there fellen of
Bachides part in that day a thousand
men, and thei turnyden a3ein in to Jeru-
50 salem. And thei^q beeldiden stronge citees
in Judee, the strengthe that was in Je-
rico, and in Ammaum, and in Betheron,
and Bethel, and Thamathan, and Phara,
and Copho, with hee3 wallis, and 3atis,
51 and lockis. And he sette keepynge in

kyueryng of the hil. And thei reisien her 39
izen, and sizen, and lo! noise, and greet
apparel; and a hosebonde^g cam forth, and
hise frendis, and hise britheren, a3ens
hem, with tympans, and musikis, and
many armeris. And thei risiden^h to hem 40
fro buyschementis, and slowen hem, and
many woundid fellen doun, and the resi-
dues fledden in to hilⁱ, and thei token alle
the spuylis of hem; and weddyngis weren 41
conuertid in to mourenyng, and vois of
her musikis in to weilyng. And thei 42
vengiden the veniaunce of her brotheris
blood, and turnyden a3en to the brynk of
Jordan. And Bachides herde, and cam 43
in the dai of sabatis til to the vtteste
part of Jordan, in greet strengthe^j. And 44
Jonathas seide to hise, Rise we, and f3zte
a3ens oure enemyes; for it is not to dai
as 3istirdai and the thridde dai agoon.
For lo! batel *is* euene a3ens; sotheli wa- 45
tir^k of Jordan *is* on this half and on that
half, and ryuers, and mareis, and forestis,
and ther is not^l place of turnyng awei.
Now therfor crie 3e in to heuene, that 3e 46
be delyuerede fro hond of 3oure enemyes.
And batel was ioyned. And Jonathas 47
strau3t out his hond, for to smyte Ba-
chides, and he turnede awei fro him bi-
hynde. And Jonathas skipte doun, and 48
thei that weren with hym, in to Jordan,
and^m swommen ouer Jordan to hem. And 49
there fellen of Bachides part in that dai
a thousande men, and thei^{*} turneden a3en
in to Jerusalem; and bildidenⁿ strong 50
citees in Judee, the strengthe that was
in Jerico, and in Ammaum, and in Bether-
on, and Bethel, and Thamathan, and
Phara, and Copho, with hi3e wallis, and
3atis, and lockis. And he^o settide kepyng 51
in hem, that thei schulden haunte enemy-
tees in Israel; and he strengthide the 52
citee Bethsura, and Gazaram, and the hi3
tour, and puttide in hem helpis and ap-
parel of metis. And he took the sonnes of 53

* *thei*; that is,
Bachides and
his men. *Live*
here. ENPUYE.

^q Om. A.

^g spouse R. spouse, *or husbonde c et ceteri.* ^h resin EPY. risen F. ⁱ the hil IKRX sec. m. ^j vertu R. vertu, *or [ether plures] strengthe R et ceteri prater c.* ^k the watir I. ^l no R. ^m Om. A. ⁿ thei bildiden *ceteri.* ^o Om. R.

hem, that thei shulden haunte ennemi-
 52 tees in Irael; and he strengthide the
 citee Bethsura, and Gazaram, and the
 hee3 rocke; and he puttide in hem helpis,
 53 and appareil of metis. And he toke
 sonys of princis of the cuntree in ostage,
 or *plegis*, and he^r putte^s hem in the hee3
 54 rocke in Jerusalem, in keepyng. And
 in the hundreth 3eere and three and fif-
 tithe, in the secounde moneth, Alchymus
 comaundide the wallis of the holy ynnere
 hous for to be distrayed, and the werkis
 of prophetus for to be distrayed, and he
 55 byganne for to distraye. In that tyme
 Alchymus is smyten, and the werkis of
 hym ben lettid. And his mouth is closid,
 and he is dissolued by^t palasie, nether he
 mi3te spek overe a word, and comaunde^u
 56 of his hous. And Alchymus is dead in
 57 that tyme, with grete tourment. And
 Bachides see3 that Alchymus is dead,
 and he turnyde a3ein to the kyng, and
 58 the lond was stille two 3eer. And alle
 wickid men thou3ten, saynge, Loo! Jo-
 nathas, and thei that ben with hym,
 dwellen in silence, tristyng; now ther-
 fore brenge we Bachides, and he shal
 59 cacche hem al in oo ni3t. And thei
 wenten forth, and 3auen counseil to hym.
 60 And he rose, for to cume with miche
 oost. And he sente epistilis priuely to his
 felawis, that weren in Judee, that thei
 shulden cacche Jonathas, and hem that
 weren with hym; bot thei mi3ten not,
 for her counseil was knowen to hem.
 61 And he cau3te of men of the cuntree,
 that weren princis of kni3thode, fifty^v
 62 men, and slew3 hem. And Jonathas and
 Symont wente, and thei that weren with
 hym, in to Bethbesse, that is in desert,
 and beeldiden the distrayed thingus ther-
 63 of, and maden it stronge. And Bachi-
 des knewe, and gadride al his multitude,
 and denounside to hem that weren of
 64 Judee. And he came, and sette tentis

princes of the cuntrei in ostage^p, and put-
 tide hem in the hi3 tour in Jerusalem, in
 keepyng. And in the hundrid 3eer and 54
 thre and fifti, in the secounde monethe,
 Alchymus comaundide the wallis of the
 hooli ynnere hous for to be distried, and
 the werkis of profetis for to be distried,
 and he bigan for to distrie. In that tyme 55
 Alchymus was smytun, and the werkis
 of hym weren lettid. And his mouth was
 closid, and he was dissoluyd^q, *'ether maad*
feble^r, bi palesie, nether he mi3te speke
 more a word, and comaunde^s of his hous.
 And Alchymus was deed in that tyme, 56
 with greet turment. And Bachides si3, 57
 that Alchymus was deed, and he turnede
 a3en to the kyng, and the lond was stille
 twei 3eeris^t. And alle wickid men thou3ten, 58
 seiynge, Lo! Jonathas, and thei that ben
 with hym, dwellen in silence, and tristen;
 now therfor brynge we Bachides, and he
 schal take hem alle in o ni3t. And thei 59
 wenten forth, and 3auen counsel to hym.
 And he roos, for to come with myche^u 60
 oost. And he sente epistlis priuyli to his
 felowis, that weren in Judee, that thei
 schulden catche Jonathas, and hem that
 weren with hym; but thei mi3ten not, for
 her counsel was knowun to hem. And 61
Jonathas cau3te of men of the cuntre, that
 weren princis of knyt3hod, fifti men, and
 slow hem. And Jonathas and Symount 62
 wenten, and thei that weren with hym,
 in to Bethbesse, 'that is in desert^v, and
 bildiden the distried thingis therof, and
 maden it strong. And Bachides knew, 63
 and gaderide al his multitude, and de-
 nounsie to hem that weren of Judee.
 And he cam, and settide tentis aboue 64
 Bethbesse, and fau3te a3ens it many daies,
 and made engynes. And Jonathas lefte 65
 Symount, his brother, in the citee, and
 wente oute in to cuntre^w, and cam with
 noumbre; and smoot Odaren, and hise 66
 britheren, and sones of Faseron, in the

^r Om. AGH. ^s puttide H. ^t in A. ^u comaundide K. ^v and fifty K.

^p pleggis C. ostage, or [ether plures] pleggis EFGHIKMNPSUE. ^q maad feble C. ^r Om. CR.
^s comaundide A pr. m. ^t 3eer I. ^u a myche I. ^v Om. R. ^w the cuntre FIKR.

above Bethbesse, and fau3te a3einus it
 65 manye days, and made engynes. And
 Jonathas lafte Symont, his brother, in
 the citee, and wente oute in to cuntree,
 66 and came with noumbre; and smote O-
 daren, and his bretheren, and the sonys
 of Phaseron, in the tabernaclis of hem,
 and he bigan for to smyte, and waxe in
 67 vertues. Simont sothely, and they that
 weren with hym, wenten oute of the
 68 citee, and brenten engynes. And thei
 fou3ten a3einus Bachides, and he is to
 gidre broken of hem; and thei tour-
 mentiden hym gretely for his counseil,
 69 and his goyng to togidre was void. And
 he wrothe a3einus the wickid men, that
 3auen counseile to hym for to cumme in
 to her cuntree, slew3 many of hem; for-
 sothe he thou3te with other for to go in
 70 to his cuntree. And Jonathas knewe,
 and he sente legatis to hym, for to make
 pees with hym, and 3eelde to hym cai-
 71 tiftee. And wilfully he toke, and dide
 after his wordis, and swore hym to do-
 yng to hym no thing of yuel alle days of
 72 his lyf. And he 3eeldide to hym cai-
 tiftee, whiche he toke by praye bifore of
 the lond of Juda. And he turnyd a3ein
 wente into his lond, and puttide namore
 73 for to cume in^w to his coostis. And
 swerd ceeside of Yrael. And Jonathas
 dwellide in Machinas, and there Jonathas
 bigane for to deme the peple, and dis-
 truye^x vnpytous men of Yrael.

CAP. X.

1 And in the hundrid and sixtithe^y 3eer
 Alisaundre, sone of Antiochus, that is
 named noble, stiede^z vp, and occupiede
 Ptholomaida; and thei resceyuyden hym,
 2 and he regnyde there. And kyng De-
 metrie herde, and gadride an oost ful
 copiose, and wente out a3einus hym in
 3 to bateil. And Demetrie sente an epistle
 to Jonathas with pesible wordis, for to

tabernaclis of hem, and bigan for to
 smyte, and waxe in vertues. Symount⁶⁷
 sotheli, and thei that weren with hym,
 wenten out of the citee, and brenten en-
 gynes. And thei fou3ten a3ens Bachides,⁶⁸
 and he was al to-brokun of hem; and thei
 turmentiden hym gretli, for his counceil
 and his assailyng was voide. And he was⁶⁹
 wrooth a3ens wickid men, that 3auen
 counceil to hym for to come in to her
 cuntre, and slow many of hem; forsothe
 he thou3te with othere for to go in to his
 cuntre. And Jonathas knew, and sente⁷⁰
 legatis to hym, for to make pees with
 hym, and to 3elde to him prisoneris^x. And⁷¹
 wilfuli he took, and dide bi his wordis,
 and swoor that he schulde not do to him
 ony yuel in alle daies^y of his lijf. And⁷²
 he 3eldide to him caitifte^z, which he took^a
 bi prey bifore^b of the lond of^c Juda. And
 he turnede, and wente in to his lond, and
 puttide no more for to come in to his
 coostis. And swerd ceesside fro Israel.⁷³
 And Jonatas dwellide in Machynas, and
 there Jonathas bigan for to deme the
 puple, and he^d distriede the vnfeithful
 men of Israel.

CAP. X.

And in the hundrid and sixtithe 3eer¹
 Alisaundre, the sone of Antiok, stiede up,
 that is named^e noble, and ocupiede Tolo-
 maide; and thei resseyueden hym, and he
 regnede there. And kyng Demetrie herde,²
 and gaderide an oost ful copiose, and
 wente out a3ens hym in to batel. And³
 Demetrie sente epistle to Jonathas with
 pesible wordis, for to magnifie hym. For⁴

^w Om. A. ^x distrayed AG. he destruyd H. ^y sixti A. ^z stye G pr. m.

^x caitifte R. caitifte, that is, prisoneris c et ceteri. ^y the daies I. ^z the caitifte R. ^a took to him R.
^b Om. N. ^c Om. N. ^d Om. R. ^e y-namyd F.

4 magnyfy hym. Sothely he saide, Bifore
take we for to make pees with hym,
bifore that he make with Alisaundre
5 azeinus vs; sothely he shal haue mynde
of alle yuels, that we han don into him,
and in to his brother, and in to his folc.
6 And he 3aue hym power of gadryng oost,
and for to make armeris, and hym for to
be his felawe. And he comaundide oost-
agis, that were in the heez rocke, for to
7 be 3ouen to hym. And Jonathas came
in to Jerusalem, and radde the pistlis^a,
in heerynge of al the peple, and of hem
8 that weren in the heez rocke. And thei
dredde with grete drede, for thei
herden, that the kyng 3aue to hym
9 power of gadryng an oost. And the
oostagis^b ben bitaken to Jonathas; and
he 3eeldide hem to her fadris and mo-
10 ders. And Jonathas dwellide in Jerusa-
lem, and bygan for to beelde and to
11 renule the citee. And he saide to men
doynge werkis, that thei shulden make
vp^c the wallis, and the hill of Syon in
cumpas, with square stoonys to strength-
12 ing; and so thei diden. And aliens
fledde, that weren in the strengthis,
13 whom Bachides hadde bildide; and eche
man lafte his place, and wente in to his
14 lond. Oonly in Bethsura dwelten summe
of hem, that forsoken the lawe and the^d
heestis of God; sotheli this was to hem
15 to refute. And kyng Alisaundre herde
the biheestis, that kyng Demetrie bi-
hizte to Jonathas, and thei teelden to
him bateilis and vertues whiche he dide,
and his bretheren, and the traueils
16 whiche thei traueiliden; and saith,
Wher we shuln fynde eny siche man?
Also nowe make we hym frend, and
17 oure felawe. And he wrote an epistle,
18 and sente vp these wordis, sayinge, Kyng
Alisaundre to Jonathas, brother, helthe.
19 We han herde of thee, that thou art a
mizti man in strengthis, and art able

he seide, Bifore take we for to make pees
with hym, bifore that he make with Ali-
saundre azens vs; for he schal haue mynde^e
of^d alle yuels, that we han don^f azens him,
and^e azens his brother, and azens his folc.
And he 3af to hym power to^f gadere oost,^g
and for to make armeris, and hym for to
be his felowe. And he comaundide ostagis,
'ether pleggis^g, that weren in the hiz tour,
for to be 3ouun to hym. And Jonathas⁷
cam in to Jerusalem, and radde epistlis,
in heryng of al the puple, and of hem that
weren in the hiz tour. And thei dred-
den with greet drede, for thei herden,
that^h the kyng 3af toⁱ hym power to ga-
dere an oost. And ostagis^k weren takun^l
to Jonathas, and he 3eldide hem^m to her
fadris and modris. And Jonathas dwelte¹⁰
in Jerusalem, and bigan for to bilde and
renule the citee. And he seide to men¹¹
doynge werkis, that thei schulden make
up the wallis, and the hil of Sion in cum-
pas, with square stonys to strengthing;
and thei diden so. And aliens fledde,¹²
that weren in the strengthis, whiche Ba-
chides hadde bildid; and ech man lefte¹³
his place, and wente in to his lond. Oneli¹⁴
in Bethsura dwelten sum of hem, that
forsoken the lawe and heestisⁿ of God;
for whi this was to hem to^o refuyte. And¹⁵
Alisaundre the kyng herde biheestis, that
Demetrie bihizte to Jonathas, and thei
telden to hym the^p batels and vertues
whiche he dide, and his britheren, and
the^q traueils whiche thei traueiliden. And¹⁶
he seide, Whether we schulen fynde ony
such man? And now make we hym our
frende and felowe. And he wroot epistle,¹⁷
and sente bi these wordis, seiynge, Kyng¹⁸
Alisaundre to Jonathas, brother, helthe.
We han herde of thee, that thou art a¹⁹
mizti man in strengthis, and art able that
thou be oure frend. And now we or-
deynen thee to dai hizest prest of thi folc,
and that thou be clepid frend of the

^a epistlis AGH. ^b oostis K. ^c Om. G pr. m. ^d Om. AGH.

^d OR F. ^e Om. I. ^f for to C pr. m. I. ^g Om. CER. ^h Om. R. ⁱ Om. I. ^k ostagis, *ether pleggis* FGH
MNQSV. ^l bitake CEF GHIKMN PQSV. ^m Om. N. ⁿ the heestis CEF RS. ^o the R. ^p Om. I. ^q Om. R.

20 that thou be oure freend. And nowe ordeyne we^e thee to day heejist prest of thi folk, and that thou be clepid freend of the kyng. And he sente to hym purple, and a golden crowne, that thou feeles with vs what thingus oure ben, and kepe frenshipis to vs. And Jonathas clothide hym with the holy stooles, in the seuenthe monethe, in the hundrid and sixtith^e 3ere, in the solempne day of Senophegie. And he gadride an oost, and made copious^a armers. And Demetrie herde these wordis, and is maad ful sorewful, and seide, What han we do this thing, that Alisaundre bifore ocupiede vs, for to cacche the frenship of Jewis to his strengthing? And Y shal wryte to hym preying wordis, and of dignitee, and 3iftis, that he be with me in help. And he wrote to hym in these wordis, Kyng Demetrie to the folk of Jewis, helthe. For 3e kepten to vs couenaunt, and dwelten in oure frenship, and wenten not to oure enemyes, we herden, and ioiyeden. And nowe laste 3e 3it for to kepe to vs feith; and we shuln quyte to 3ou good thingus, for these thingus that 3e diden with^f vs, and we shuln for3eue to 3ou many 3euyngus of^g rentis, and we shuln 3eue 3iftis to 3ou. And nowe Y assoile^h 3ou, and alle Jewis, of tributis, and I for3eue to 3ou the pricis of salt, and for3eue crownys, and the thriddis of seed; and the half part of fruyt of tree, that is of my porcioun, I leue to 3ou fro this day, and with ynne forth, that it be not taken of the lond of Juda, and of three citees that ben addid therto, of Samarie and Galile, fro this day in to al tyme. And Jerusalem be holy, and free, with his coostis; and tithis and tributis be of it. 32 Also Y for3eue the power of the hee3 rocke, that is in Jerusalem; and Y 3eue it to the heeist prest, that he ordeyne

kyng. And he sente to hym purpur, and a goldun coroun, that thou feeles with vs what thingis ben oure, and kepe frenshipis to vs. And Jonathas clothide hym with hooly^r stooles, in the seuenthe monethe, in the hundrid and sixtith^s 3eer, in the solempne dai of Senofegie. And^t he gaderide an ooste, and made copious^a armers. And Demetrie herde these wordis, and was maad ful sorewful, and seide, What han we do this thing, that Alisaundre bifore ocupiede vs, for to catche frenship of Jewis to his strengthing? And Y schal write to hym preying^u wordis, and dignitees, and 3iftis, that he be with me in help. And he wroot to hym by these wordis, Kyng Demetrie to the folc of Jewis, helthe. For 3e kepten to vs couenaunt, and dwelten in oure frenship, and wenten not^v to oure enemyes, we herden, and ioiyeden. And^w now laste 3e 3it for to kepe to vs feith; and we schulen quyte to 3ou good thingis, for these thingis that 3e diden with^x vs, and we schulen for3yue to 3ou many rentis^y, and we schulen 3yue 3iftis to 3ou. And now Y assoile 3ou, and alle Jewis, of tributis, and Y^z for3yue to 3ou the prices of salt, and for3yue corouns, and the thridd^e part of seed; and Y leue to 3ou fro this dai and afterward the half part of fruyt of tre^a, that is of my porcioun, tha tit be not takun of the lond of Juda, and of three citees that ben addid therto, of Samarie and Galile, fro this dai and in to al tyme. And Jerusalem be hooli, and fre, with hise coostis; and tithis and tributis be of it. Also Y for3iue the power of the hi3 tour, that is in Jerusalem; and Y 3yue it to the hijest^b prest, that he ordeyne therynne men, whiche euere he schal chese, that schulen kepe it. And ech persoon^e of Jewis, that is caitif of the lond of Juda, in^c al my rewme, Y delyuer fre wilfuli^d,

^e Om. K. ^f to A. ^g or GH. ^h soyle G pr. m.

^r an hooly I. ^s fourtith^e N. ^t Om. N. ^u plentenouse EF. ^v out N. ^w Om. A. ^x to I. ^y 3euynges R. 3yuyngis, ether [or EPY] rentis C et ceteri. ^z Om. A. ^a the tree I. ^b hi3e R. ^c and in N. ^d wilfuli R. wilfuli, or [ether x] without money C et ceteri.

therynne men, whom euere he shal
 33 cheese, that shuln kepe it. And eche
 soule of Jewis, that is caitif of the lond
 of Juda, in al my rewme, Y leue wilfully
 with out money; that alle be soiled of
 34 her tributis, 3ea, of her beestus. And
 alle solempne days, and sabothis, and
 neomenyes, and alle days ordeyned, and
 three days before the solempne day, and
 three dais after the solempne day, 'be
 alle dais of¹ ynmunite, or *fraunchise*,
 and of remissioun, to alle Jewis that ben
 35 in my rewme. And no man shal haue
 power for to do eny thing, and moue
 needis, or *causis*, a3einus eny of hem in
 36 al cause. And that there be writen to
 of Jewis in the kyngus oost, to thritti
 thousandis of men; and plentees shuln be
 37 3ouen to hem, as it byhoueth to alle
 oostis of the kyng. And of hem shuln
 be ordeynyde, that ben in the grete
 38 strengthis of the kyng; of hem shuln be
 ordeyned ouer needis of the rewme, that
 ben don of feith, and princis be of hem;
 and walke thei in her lawis, as the kyng
 comaundide in the lond of Juda. And
 three citees, that ben addid to Judee of
 the cuntre of Samarie, be rettid, or *demyd*,
 with Judee; that thei be vnder oon,
 and obeie not to other power, no bot to
 39 the heezest prest; Ptholomayda, and
 coostis therof, whiche Y haue 3ouen a gift
 to the holy that ben in Jerusalem, to
 40 needful costis of sayntis. And I shal
 3eue in eche 3eris fiftene thousandis of
 siclis of syluer, of the kyngis reysons,
 41 that perteynen to me; and al that shal
 be residue, whiche thei that weren ouer
 needis 3eelden not in former 3eeris, fro
 this tyme thei shuln 3eue in to werkis of
 42 the hous. And ouer this fyue thousand
 siclis of syluer, whiche thei token of re-
 soun of holy thingus by eche 3eeris; and
 these thingus shuln perteyne to prestis,
 43 that ben sett in ministerie. And who

that alle be soiled of her tributis, 3he, of
 her beestis. And alle solempne daies, and 34
 sabatis, and neomenyes, and alle daies or-
 deyned, and thre daies bifor the solempne
 dai, and thre daies after the solempne dai,
 alle these be daies of fraunchise^e, and of
 remissioun, to alle Jewis that ben in my
 rewme. And no man schal haue power 35
 for to do ony thing, and moue causis^f a3ens
 ony of hem in ony cause. And that ther 36
 be writun of Jewis in the kingis oost, to
 thritti thousyndis of men; and plentees
 schulen be 3ouun to hem, as it bihoueth
 to alle oostis of the kyng. And of hem 37
 schulen be ordeyned, that be in the^g greet
 strengthis of the kyng; of hem schulen 38
 be ordeyned ouer nedis of the rewme, that
 ben don of feith, and princes be of hem;
 and walke thei in her lawis, as the kyng
 comaundide in the lond of Juda. And thre
 citees, that ben addid to Judee of the cun-
 tre of Samarie, be demyd^h with Judee; that
 thei be vndur oon, and obeie not to other
 power, no but to the hizeste prest; Tolo- 39
 maida, and coostisⁱ therof, whiche Y haue
 3ouun a 3ifte to hooli men that ben in
 Jerusalem, to nedeful costis of seyntis.
 And Y schal 3yue in ech 3eer fiftene thou- 40
 synde of siclis of siluer, of the kyngis re-
 souns, that perteynen to me; and al that 41
 is residue, which thei that weren ouer
 nedis 3eldiden not in formere 3eeris, fro
 this tyme thei schulen 3yue in to werkis^k
 of the hous. And ouer this fyue thou- 42
 synde siclis of siluer, whiche thei token
 of resoun of hooli thingis bi ech 3eer; and
 these thingis schulen perteyne to prestis,
 that vsen mynysterie. And who euere 43
 schulen fle to the temple that is in Jeru-
 salem, and in alle coostis therof, and ben
 gilty to the king in ony cause, be releesid^l;
 and haue thei fre alle thingis, that ben to
 hem in my rewme. And to bilde^m werkis 44
 of hooli thingis, costisⁿ schulen be 3ouun
 of the kyngis rent^o, and for to bilde out 45

¹ Om. κ.

^e [inm]unite R. inmunitate, ether [or EPY] *fraunchise* c et ceteri, præter e. ^f nedis R. nedis, ether [or EPY] *causis* c et ceteri. ^g Om. R. ^h arettid EN. arettid, ether [or e] *demyd* c et ceteri. ⁱ the coostis I. ^k the werkis I. ^l dismittid R. dismyttid, ether [or EPY] *releesid* c et ceteri. ^m bilde, ether [or EPY] *restore* c et ceteri præter R. ⁿ costis, ether [or e] *spensis* FGHIMNQSUXE. ^o resoun R. resoun, ether [or EPY] *rente* c et ceteri, præter e.

euer shuln flee to the temple that is in Jerusalem, and in^k alle coostus therof, gylty to the kyng, in eche cause be dismittid, *or relesid*; and alle thingis that ben to hem in my rewme, be hadde free.

44 And to bilde, *or restore*, werkis of holy thingus, expensis^l shuln be ȝouen of the

45 kyngus resoun, and for to bilde out the wallis of Jerusalem; and for to make stronge in cumpas, spensis shuln be ȝouen of the kyngus resoun, for to make out

46 wallis in Judee. As Jonathas and the peple herde these wordis, thei bileeuyn den not to hem, nether resceyuyden; for thei hadden mynde of the grete malice that he hadde don in Yrael, and trubliden

47 hem gretely. And it pleside to gidre to hem in to Alysaundre, for he was to hem prince of wordis of pees, and to

48 hym thei baren help in alle daies. And kyng Alisaundre gadride a grete oost, and mouyde tentis aȝeinus Demetrie.

49 And the kyngis ioynyde bateil, and the oost of Demetrie fledde; and Alisaundre

50 pursuede hym, and lay vpon hym; and the bateil was ful stronge, til the sunne wente down, and Demetrie fledde in that

51 day. And Alisaundre sente to Ptholome, kyng of Egypt, legatis after these wordis,

52 sayinge, For Y am gon aȝein in to my rewme, and satte in seete of my faders; and Y haue weldide princehode, and haue broken togidre Demetrie, and haue wel-

53 dide oure cuntree; and haue ioynyde with hym fȳt, and he is broken to gidre and his tentis of vs, and we saten in sete

54 of his rewme. And nowe ordeyne we to gidre frenship, and ȝeue to me thi douȝter wijf, and Y schal be thi douȝter hosebond; and Y schal ȝeue to thee ȝiftis, and

55 to hir dignitee. And kyngⁿ Ptolome answerde, saiynge, Blessid the day in whiche thou turnedist aȝein to the lond of thi fadris, and hast sitten in sete of

56 the rewme 'of hem^o. And nowe Y schal do to thee whiche thingus thou hast

the wallis of Jerusalem; and for to make strong in cumpas, spensis schulen be ȝouun of the kyngis rent^p, for to make out wallis in Judee. As Jonathas and 46 the puple herde these wordis, thei bileueden not to hem, nether resseyueden *hem*; for thei hadden mynde of the greet malice that he hadde don in Israel, and hadde troblid hem greetli. And it pleside to- 47 gidre to hem in to^q Alisaundre, for he was to hem prince of wordis of pees, and to hym thei baren help in alle daies. And 48 kyng Alisaundre gadride a greet oost, and mouyde tentis aȝens Demetrie. And 49 the kyngis ioyneden batel, and the oost of Demetrie fledde; and Alisaundre pursuede him, and lai on hem^r; and the batel was 50 ful strong, til the sunne wente down, and Demetrie felle^s in that dai. And Ali- 51 saundre sente to Tolome, king of Egipt, legatis bi these wordis, and seide, For Y 52 cam aȝen in to my rewme, and sat in the^t seete of my fadris; and Y haue weldid princehod, and Y haue al to-brokun Demetrie, and^u haue weldid oure cuntrei; and 53 Y haue ioyned fȳt with hym, and he and his oostis ben al to-foulid of vs, and we saten in seete^v of his rewme. And now 54 ordeyne we togidre frenship, and ȝyue thi douȝter a wijf to me, and Y schal be thi douȝter hosebonde; and Y schal ȝyue to thee ȝiftis, and to hir dignytee. And 55 'Tolome, kyng^{vv}, answeride, seiynge, Blessid is^w the dai in which thou turnedist aȝen to the lond of thi fadris, and hast sotun in the seete of rewme^x of hem. And now 56 Y schal do to thee whiche thingis thou hast writun; but come thou aȝens me to Tolomaida, that we se vs togidre, and Y biheete to thee, as thou seidist. And 57 Tolome wente out of Egipt, he, and Cleopatra, his douȝter; and he cam to Tolomaida, in the hundrid and two and sixtithe ȝeer. And Alisaundre, the king, 58 came to hym; and he ȝaf to hym Cleopatra, his douȝtir, and made his weddingis

^k Om. G pr. m. ^l costes, *or spenses* H. ⁿ Om. G pr. m. ^o Om. A.

^p resoun c *et ceteri*. resoun, *ether rente* e. ^q Om. N. ^r him R. ^s felde c1 *et alii*. ^t Om. *ceteri*.
^u Y A. and Y H. ^v the seete I. ^{vv} kyng Tolome F. ^w be R. ^x the rewme R.

writen; bot come thou azeinus me to Ptholomayda, that we see vs togidre, 57 and Y biheete thee^p, as thou saidist. And Ptholome wente out of Egypt; he, and Cleopatra, his douzter; and he came to Ptholomaida, in the hundrid and two 58 and sixti zeer. And kyng Alisaundre came to hym; and he 3aue to hym Cleopatra, his douzter, and made his weddingus at Ptolomaida, as kyngus in grete 59 glorie. And kyng Alisaundre wrote to Jonathas, that he shulde come azeinus 60 hym. And he wente with glorie to Ptholomaida, and came there to two kyngis, and 3aue to hem miche syluer, and gold, and 3iftis; and he fonde grace 61 in sizt^q of hem. And men of Yrael, ful of venym, camen togidre azeinus hym, wickid men, axinge azeinus hym, and 62 the kyng toke no tente to hem; and comaundide Jonathas for^q to be maad nakid of his clothis, and hym for to be clothid in purpre; and so thei diden. And the kyng sette hym for to sitte 63 with hym, and saide to his princis, Go 3e out with hym in to mydil of the citee, and preche, that no man axe azeinus hym of eny need, *or cause*, nether eny man be 64 heuy to hym of eny resoun. And it is don, that thei that axiden, *or apeliden hym*, sawen his glorie that was prechid, and hym keuerd with purpre, fledden 65 alle. And the kyng magnyfiede hym, and wrote hym amonge the first freendis, and he putte him duyck, and parcener, *or* 66 *felawe*, of princehode. And Jonathas turnyde azein in to Jerusalem, with pees 67 and gladnesse. In the hundrid zeer and fyue and sixtithe, Demetrie, sone of Demetrie, came fro Crete in to the lond of 68 his fadris. And kyng Alisaundre herde, and is maad ful sorewful, and turnide 69 azein in to Antioche. And Demetrie ordeynide Appolonye duyck, that was souereyn to Seleserie; and gadride his

at Tolomaida, as kyngis in greet glorie. And kyng Alisaundre wroot to Jonathas, 59 that he schulde come azens hym. And 60 he wente with glorie to Tolomaida, and mette there twei^y kyngis, and 3aue to hem myche^z siluer, and gold, and 3iftis; and foond grace in the sizte of hem. And men 61 of Israel, ful of venym, camen togidre azens hym, wickid men, axynge azens hym, and the kyng took no^a tent to hem; and comaundide Jonathas for to be 62 maad nakid of his clothis, and hym for to be clothid in purpur; and thei diden so. And the king settide hym for to sitte with hym, and seide to hise princis, Go 3e out 63 with hym in to the myddil of the citee, and preche 3e, that no man axe azens hym of ony cause^b, nether ony man be heuy to hym of ony resoun. And it was don, as 64 thei that^c axiden sien^e his glorie that was prechid, and hym kyuered with purpur, alle fledden. And the kyng magniefiede 65 hym, and wroot hym among the firste frendis, and puttide hym duyck, and felow^f of prinshod. And Jonathas turnede azen 66 in to Jerusalem, with pees and gladnesse. In the hundrid zeer and fyue and sixtithe, 67 Demetrie, the sone of Demetrie, cam fro Crete in to the lond of his fadris. And 68 kyng Alisaundre herde, and was maad ful sorewful, and turnede azen to Antiochie. And Demetrie ordeynede Appolyne duyck, 69 that was souereyn of Celesirie; and he gaderide his greet oost, and cam to Jamnam; and sente to Jonathas, hizeste^g prest, and seide, Thou aloone azenstondist vs; 70 Y am maad in to scorn and schenschip therfor, for thou hauntist power in hillis azens vs. Now therfor if thou tristist in 71 thi vertues, come down to vs in to the feeld; and there asemble we^h togidre, for with me is vertu of batels. Axe thou, 72 and lerne who Y am, and othere that ben in help to me, and whiche seien, that 3oure foot may not stonde azens oure face, for

P to thee AGH. q the sizt A. qq Om. G pr. m.

^y to twei A pr. m. CEF pr. m. HRUE. ^z Om. N. ^a not N. ^b nede R. nede, ether [or EPY] cause c et ceteri. ^c Om. I. ^e thei sau3en I. ^f partener R. partener, [parcener alii] ether [or EPY] felowe c et ceteri. ^g the hizeste I. ^h we vs N.

grete oost, and came to Jamnyam; and he sente to Jonathas, heezist prest, say-
 70 inge, Thou aloone azeinstodist vs? Y am maad in to scoorn and shenship, therefore for^r thou hauntist power in hillis
 71 azeinus vs. Nowe therefore jif thou trist-est in thi vertues, come down to vs in to the feeld; and there comparysoun we to gidre, for with me is vertu^{rr} of bateilis.
 72 Axe thou, and lerne who Y am, and other that ben in help to me, and whiche sayn, for 3our fote may not stonde azeinus oure face, for thi^s faders ben conuertid
 73 in to flizt twyis in to her lond. And now hou shalt thou mowe susteyne ryd- yng, and^t so grete oost in the feeld, where is no stoon, ne rocke, nether place
 74 of fleezyng? Sothely as Jonathas herde the wordis of Appolonye, he was moued in ynwitt^u; and he chees ten thousand of men, and wente out fro Jerusalem, and Symont, his brother, came to hym
 75 in to helpe. And thei applieden tentis in Joppen, and he shitte hym out fro the citee, for Joppen was the keepyng of Appolonye; and he fauzte azeinus it.
 76 And thei agast, that weren with ynne the citee, opnyden to hym; and Jona-
 77 thas weeldide Joppen. And Appolonye herde, and mouede to three thousand of
 78 horsmen, and myche oost; and he wente to Azotum, as makynge the waye. And anoon he wente out in to the feelde, for that he had multitude^v of horsmen, and he^w tristnyde in hem; and Jonathas su-
 79 ede hym in to Azotum, and thei ioyniden bateil. And Appolonye lefte in the tentis a thousand horsmen after hem priuily.
 80 And Jonatas knewe for aspies ben after hym, and thei enuyrounden his tentis, and castiden dartes in to the peple, fro
 81 morew vn to euyn. Forsothe the peple stode, as Jonathas comaundide, and the
 82 horsis of hem traueiliden out. And Symount castide out his oost, and ioynide

thi fadris weren conuertid in toⁱ flizt twies in to her lond. And now hou schalt thou 73
 mow susteyne multitude of horse men, and so greet oost in the feeld, where is no stoon, ne rocke, nether place of fle-
 yng^k? Sotheli as Jonathas herde these^l 74
 wordis of Appollonye, he was mouyd in herte; and he chees ten thousynde of^m men, and wente out fro Jerusalem, and Symount, his brother, cam to hym in toⁿ
 help. And thei applieden tentis in^o Joppe, 75
 and it^p* schittide out hym fro the citee, for Joppe was the keping of Appolonye; and he^f fouzte azens it. And thei weren 76
 agast, that weren with ynne the citee, and openyden to hym; and Jonathas weldide Joppe. And Appolonye herde, and mouyde 77
 thre thousynde of horse men, and myche oost; and wente to Asotus, as makynge 78
 weie. And anoon he wente out in to the feeld, for that he hadde multitude of horse men, and tristnyde^q in hem; and Jonathas suede hym in to Asotus, and thei ioyneden
 batel. And Appoloyne lefte in tentis a 79
 thousynde horse men bihynde hem pri- ueli. And Jonathas knewe that busche- 80
 mentis weren bihynde hym, and thei enui- rowneden his tentis, and castiden dartis in to the puple, fro morew^r til to^s euentid. Forsothe the puple stood, as Jonathas 81
 comaundide, and the horsis of hem traueil- iden out. And Symount ledde^t his oost, 82
 and ioynede azens the legioun; forsothe horse men weren maad weri, and weren al to-brokun of hym, and fledden. And 83
 thei that weren scaterid in toⁿ the feeld, fledden in to Asotus; and entriden in to the hous of Dagon, her idol, that there thei schulden delyuere hem silf. And 84
 Jonathas brente Asotus, and citees that weren in cumpas therof, and took spuylis of hem; and he brente in fier the temple of Dagon, and hem that fledden in to it. And ther weren that fellen bi swerd with 85
 hem that weren brent, almeste eijte thou-

* that is, the peple of Joppe. Lire here. v.

† that is, Jonathas fauzt azens Joppe. v.

^r Om. G pr. m. ^{rr} vertues A. ^s her A. ^t Om. AGH. ^u inwitt, or herte H. ^v a multitude A. ^w Om. H.

ⁱ Om. N. ^k strengthing I. ^l the R. ^m Om. R. ⁿ Om. R. ^o to R. ^p Om. E. ^q tristede EIP. he tristnede R. ^r the morwe R. ^s Om. v. ^t ledde out R. ^u Om. R.

azeinus the legioun; forsothe the horsmen weren maad wery, and ben togidre
 83 broken of hym, and fledden. And thei ben scaterd in to the feeld, and fledden in to Azotum; and thei entriden in to Bethdagon, her ydol, that ther thei shulden
 84 delyuere hem self. And Jonathas brent Azotum, and citees that weren in cumpas therof, and toke the spuylis of hem; and he brente in fjr the temple of Dagon, and hem that fledden in to it.
 85 And ther weren that fellen by swerd with hem that ben brent, almost eizt
 86 thousande of men. And fro thennus Jonathas mouede tentis, and applieden hem to Ascalon; and thei wenten out of the
 87 citee azeinus hym in grete glorie. And Jonathas turnyde azein in to Jerusalem
 88 with his, hauynge many spuylis. And it is don, as kyng Alisaundre herde these wordes, he putte to 3it for to glorifie
 89 Jonathas. And he sente to hym a golden lase, *or nouche*, as custume is for to be 3ouen to cosyns of kyngus; and he 3aue to hym Accaron, and alle coostis therof in to possessioun.

CAP. XI.

1 And the kyng of Egypt gadride an oost, as grauel that is about brynke^x of the se, and many shippus; and souzte for to weelde the rewme of Alisaundre in
 2 gyle, and adde it to his rewme. And he wente out in to Syrie with pesible wordis, and thei opnyden to hym citees, and camen to hym; for kyng Alisaundre comaundide for to go out azeinus hym, for he was fader of the kyngus wijf.
 3 Sotheli whan Ptolome entride a citee, he putte keepyngus of kniztis in eche
 4 citees. And as he neizide to Azotus, thei shewiden to hym the temple of Dagon brente in fije, and Azotus, and other thingus therof distruyed, and bodies cast forth, and the biryels of hem that weren slayn in bateil, whiche thei

synde of^v men. And fro thennus Jona-⁸⁶ thas mouyde^w tentis, and appliede hem to Ascalon; and thei wenten out of the citee azens hym in greet glorie. And Jonathas⁸⁷ turnede azen in^x to Jerusalem with hise men, hauynge many spuylis. And it⁸⁸ was don, as king Alisaundre herde these wordis, he puttide to 3it for to glorifie Jonathas. And he sente to hym a goldun⁸⁹ lace, *'ether nouche^y*, as custom is for^{yy} to be 3ouun to cosyns of kingis; and he 3af to him Accoron, and alle coostis therof in to^z possessioun.

CAP. XI.

And the kyng of Egipt gaderide an¹ oost, as grauel that is aboute the brynke of the see, and many schippis; and souzte for to welde the rewme of Alisaundre in gile, and adde it to his rewme. And he² wente out in to Sirie with pesible wordis, and thei openyden to hym citees, and camen to hym; for whi kyng Alisaundre comaundide for to go out azens him, for he was fadir of the kyngis wijf. Sotheli³ whanne Tolome entride in to a^a citee, he puttide kepyngis of kniztis in ech citee. And as he neizede to Azotus, thei schew-⁴ iden to hym the temple of Dagon brent in^b fier, and Azotus, and othere thingis therof distried^c, and bodies cast forth, and the biriels of hem that weren slayn in batel, whiche thei maden bisidis the weie.

^x the brynke H.

^v Om. R. ^w turnede R. ^x Om. R. ^y Om. R. ^{yy} Om. F. ^z Om. R. ^a the I. ^b bi GN. ^c weren distried I.

5 maden bisidis the wey. And thei teelden
to the kyng, for Jonathas dide these
thingus, for to make enuye to hym; and
6 the kyng was stille. And Jonathas came
to the kyng with glorie in^y Joppen, and
thei gretten hem to gidre; and thei slepten
7 there. And Jonathas wente with the
kyng 'vn to^z the flood that is clepid
Eleutherus, and turnyde azein in to Je-
8 rusalem. Sotheli kyng Ptholome weeld-
ide the lordship of citees 'vn to^a Sileuce,
by the see coost, and thouzte to Alisaun-
9 dre yuel counseils; and sente legatis to
Demetrie, sayinge, Cumme thou, make
we bitwix vs couenaunt, and Y shal zeue
to thee my douzter, whom Alisaundre
hath, and thou shalt regne in rewme of
10 thi fadir. Forsothe it rewith me, for Y
zaue to hym my douzter; sotheli he souzte
11 for to slea me. And he dispiside hym
therefore, for he coueitide the rewme of
12 hym. And he toke away his douzter,
and zaue hir to Demetrie, and alienede
hym fro Alisaundre; and his enmytees
13 ben maad knowen. And Ptholome en-
tride Antioche, and ynputtide two dya-
demes to his hed, of Egipt and Asie.
14 Forsothe Alisaundre was in Cilice in
tho tymes, for thei rebelliden, that weren
15 in tho placis. And Alisaundre herde,
and came to hym in to bateil; and Ptho-
lome, kyng, brouzt forth the^b oost, and
came to hym in strong hond, and drofe
16 hym. And Alisaundre flei^z in to Araby,
for to be defendid there; sothely kyng
17 Ptholome is enhaunsid. And Gadiel of
Araby toke away Alisaundre^c hed, and
18 sente to Ptholome. And kyng Ptho-
lome is dead in the thrid day; and thei
that weren in strengthis perishiden, of
hem that weren with ynne the castels.
19 And Demetrie regnyde in the hundrid
20 zeer and seuen and sixtithe^d. In tho
days Jonathas gadride hem that weren
in Judee, for to ouercume the hee^z rocke,
that is in Jerusalem; and thei maden

And thei telden to the kyng, that Jona- 5
thas dide these thingis, for to make enuye
to hym; and the kyng was stille. And 6
Jonathas cam to the kyng with glorie in
to Joppen, and thei gretten hem togidere;
and thei slepten there. And Jonathas 7
wente with the king til to the flood that
is clepid Eleutherus, and turnede azein in
to Jerusalem. Sotheli kyng Tolome weld- 8
ide the lordschip of citees til to Seleuce,
bi the eest^d coost, and thouzte azens Ali-
saundre yuel counsels; and sente legatis 9
to Demetrie, and seide, Come thou, make
we bitwixe vs couenaunt, and Y schal
zyue to thee my douzter, whom Alisaundre
hath, and thou schalt regne in rewme^e of
thi fadir. For it rewith me, that Y zaf to 10
hym my douzter; for he souzte for to sle
me. And he dispiside him therfor, for he 11
coueitide the rewme of hym. And^f he 12
took a wey his douzter, and zaf hir to
Demetrie, and alienyde hym fro Alisaun-
dre; and hise enemytees weren maad
knowun. And Tolome entride in to An- 13
tiochie, and puttide twei diademys to his
heed, of Egipt and of Asie. Forsothe 14
Alisaundre, the kyng, was in Cilice in tho
tymes^g, for thei rebelliden, that weren in
tho places. And Alisaundre herde, and 15
cam to hym in to batel; and Tolome,
kyng^h, brouzt forth oostⁱ, and cam to hym
in strong hond^k, and droof hym^l. And 16
Alisaundre flei in to Arabie, for to be
defendid there; sotheli kyng Tolome was
enhaunsid. And Gadiel of Arabie took 17
awei Alisaundris heed, and sente to To-
lome. And kyng Tolome was deed in 18
the thridde dai; and thei that weren in
strengthis perischiden, of hem that weren
with ynne the castels. And Demetrie 19
regnede in the hundrid zeer and seuen
and sixtithe. In tho daies Jonathas ga- 20
deride hem that weren in Judee, for to
ouercome the hi^z tour, that is in Jerusa-
lem; and thei maden azens it many en-
gynes. And summe wickid men, that 21

^y in to AGH. ^z til to H. ^a til to H. ^b Om. H. ^c Alisaundris AH. ^d sexti A.

^d see R. ^e the rewme IR. ^f Om. N. ^g daies I. ^h the kyng I. ⁱ the oost I. ^k oost I. ^l hym
awei IR.

21 a3einus it many engynes. And summe
wickid men, that hatiden her folc, wente
to kyng^e Demetrie, and tolden to hym,
that Jonathas bisegide the hee3 rocke.
22 And as he herd, he is wrothe, and anoon
he came to Ptholomaida, and wrote to
Jonathas, that he bisegide not the hee3
rocke, but he^f shulde come to hym in
23 hast, to speke to gidre. Sotheli as Jo-
nathas herde, he comaundide for to bi-
seege; and he cheese of the elder men of
Yrael, and of prestis, and 3aue hym to
24 perel. And he^g toke gold, and syluer,
and cloth, and many other presentis;
and wente to the kyng, to Ptholomaida,
25 and fonde grace in sijt of hym. And
sume wickid men of his folc axiden
26 a3einus hym; and the kyng dide to
hym, as thei that weren bifore hym,
diden to hym; and he enhaunside hym
27 in sijt of alle his frendis, and ordeynide
to hym princehod^h of presthod, and what
euer preciouise thingus he hadde before;
28 and made hym prince of frendis. And
Jonathas axide of the kyng, that he make
Judee free, and three princehodis of three
placis, and Samarie, and ni3 coostis ther-
of; and he bihi3te to hym thre hundrid
29 talentis. And the kyng consentide, and
wrote to Jonathas epistlis of all these
30 thingus, conteynyng this manere. Kyng
Demetrie to Jonathas, brother, helthe,
31 and to folk of Jewis. The ensauple
of the epistle whiche we han wryten to
Lascheny, oure fadre, of 3ou, we senten
32 to 3ou, that 3e shulde wite. Kyng De-
33 metrie to Lascheny, fader, helthe. To
the peple of Jewis, oure frendis, and
kepyng whiche thingus ben iust anentis
vs, we demyden for to wele do, for theⁱ
benignytee of hem that thei han anentus
34 vs. Therefore we ordeynen to hem, alle
the coostis of Judee, and three citees,
Lidea, and Ramatha, that ben addid to
Judee, and Samarie, and alle the ni3
coostis of hem, for to be sequestrid, or

hatiden her folc, wenten to the kyng De-
metrie, and telden to hym, that Jonathas
bisegide the hi3 tour. And as he herde, 22
he was wroth, and anoon he cam to Tolo-
maida, and wroot to Jonathas, that he
schulde not bisege the hi3 tour, but
schulde come to hym in haaste, to speke
togidere. Sotheli as Jonathas herde, he 23
comaundide for to bisege; and he chees
of the eldere men of Israel, and of^l prestis,
and 3af hym to perel. And he took gold, 24
and siluer, and cloth, and many other
presentis; and wente to the kyng, to To-
lomaida, and foud grace in the sijt of
hym. And summe wickid men of his folc 25
axiden a3ens hym; 'and the kyng dide 26
to him^l, as thei that weren bifore hym,
diden to hym; and he enhaunside^m him in
sijt of alle his frendis, and ordeynede to 27
hym prinsehod of presthod, and what
euer othere preciouise thingis he hadde
bifore; and made hym prince of hise
frendis. And Jonatas axide of the kyng, 28
that he schulde make Judee fre, and thre
prinshedis of thre places, and Samarie and
ni3 coostis therof; and he bihi3te to hym
thre hundrid talentis. And the kyng con- 29
sentide, and wroot to Jonatas epistles of
alle these thingis, conteynnyng this ma-
ner. Kyng Demetrie to Jonathas, brother, 30
helthe, and to the folc of Jewis. The en- 31
sauple of epistle^{mm}, which we han writun
to Lascheny, oure fadir, of 3ou, we senten
to 3ou, that 3e schulden wite. Kyng 32
Demetrie to Lascheny, fadur, helthe. To 33
the puple of Jewis, oure frendis, and kep-
nyng whiche thingis ben iust anentis vs,
we demyden for to do wel, for benygnyte
of hem that thei han anentis vs. Therfor 34
we ordeynenⁿ to hem, alle the coostis of
Judee, and thre citees of offryngis, Liddea,
and Ramatha, and Faseron, that ben addid
to Judee, and Samarie, and alle the ni3
coostis of hem, for to be departidⁿⁿ to alle
men doynge sacrifice in Jerusalem, for
these thingis that the kyng took bifore

^e the kyng H. ^f Om. H. ^g Om. A ^h the princehod GH. ⁱ Om. H.

^l Om. A *pr. m.* ^{ll} Om. A *et omnes præter R.* ^{mm} hauncide F. ⁿⁿ pistle Fe. ⁿ ordeyneden R. ⁿⁿ se-
questrid R. sequestrid, ether [or EPY] departid C et ceteri.

departid, to alle doynge sacrifice in Jerusalem, for these thingus that the kyng toke byfore of hem by alle 3eeris, and for
 35 fruytis of erthe, and of applis. And other thingus that perteyneden to vs, of tithis, and tributis, fro this tyme we for-
 36 zeuen to hem; and the playn places of salt makynge, and the crownes that weren
 36 born to vs, alle thingus we graunten to the peplis; and no thing of these schal be voide, fro this and in to al tyme.
 37 Nowe therfore bisie 3e for to make ensauple of these thingus, and be it 3ouen to Jonathas, and be putt in the holy
 38 mount, and in the holy place. And kyng Demetrie seyng, that the lond was stille in his sizt, and nothing a3ein
 stondeth hym, left alle his oost, eche man in to his place, out taken the strange oost, that he drew3 fro ylis^k of heithen
 men; and enmyes to it, al the oost of his
 39 fadris. Forsothe sum^l Trifon was of the^m partis of Alisaundre bifore, and he see3 for al the oost grucchide a3einus
 Demetrie; and he wente to Emacuel Arabyam, that nurishide Antiochus, sone
 40 of Alisaundre. And heⁿ sate ni3 to hym, that he schulde bitake hym to hym, for to regne in stede of his fadir; and toldeⁿⁿ
 out to hym, hou grete thingus Demetrie hadde don, and enmytees of his oostis a3einus hym; and he dwelte there many
 41 days. And Jonathas sente to kyng Demetrie, that he schulde caste hem out, that weren in the^o hee3 rocke in Jeru-
 salem, and whiche weren in helpis, *or strengthis*, for thei inpugneden Yrael.
 42 And Demetrie sente to Jonathas, say-
 inge, Not oonli this Y shal do to thee and to thi folc, bot Y shal make thee noble by glorie, and thi folk, whan it
 43 shal be couenable. Nowe therfore rijtly thou shalt do, 3if thou shalt sende men in to helpe of me, for al myn oost wente
 44 away. And Jonathas sente to hym three thousand of strong men, to Antioche;

of hem bi alle 3eeris, and for fruytis of theⁿ erthe, and ofⁿⁿ applis. And other^o 35
 thingis that perteyneden to vs, of tithis, and tributis, fro this tyme we for3yuen to hem; and the pleyn places of salt makynge,
 and the corouns that weren borun to vs, alle thingis we graunten to hem; and no 36
 thing of these schal be voide, fro this^{oo} and in to al tyme. Now therfor bisie 3e for 37
 to make ensauple of these thingis, and be it 3ouun to Jonathas, and be put in the holi mount, and in the solempne place.
 And kyng Demetrie si3, that the lond was 38
 stille in his sizt, and that no thing a3en- stood hym, and left^e al^p his oost, ech man in to^{pp} his place, outakun the straunge oost,
 that he drow fro ilis of hethene men; and alle the oostis of his fadris *weren* enemyes to hym. Forsothe oon^q Trifon was of the 39
 partis of Alisaundre bifore, and he si3 that al the oost grutchide a3ens Demetrie; and he wente to Machuel Arabian, that nursch-
 ide Antiok, the sone of Alisaundre. And 40
 he maad greet instaunce to hym, that he schulde bitake him to hym, for to regne in stide of his fadir; and telde out to hym,
 hou grete thingis Demetrie hadde don, and the enemytees of his oostis a3ens hym; and he dwelte there many daies. And 41
 Jonathas sente to kyng Demetrie, that he schulde caste out hem, that weren in the hi3 tour in Jerusalem, and whiche weren
 in strengthis^r, for thei inpugnyden Israel. And Demetrie sente to Jonatas, and seide, 42
 Not oneli this Y schal do to thee, and thi folc, but Y schal make thee noble bi glorie, and thi folc, whanne it schal be
 couenable. Now therfor rijtli thou schalt 43
 do, if thou schalt sende men in to help to me, for al myn oost wente aweie. And 44
 Jonathas sente to hym thre thousynde of stronge men, to Antiochie; and thei camen to the kyng, and the kyng delitide in the
 comyng of hem. And there camen togi- 45
 dere that weren of the citee sixe score thousynde of men, and wolden sle the

^k the ylis A. ^l sum man G sec. m. H. ^m tho H. ⁿ Om. H. ⁿⁿ he tolde K pr. m. ^o Om. H.

ⁿ Om. B. ⁿⁿ Om. A pr. m. ^o of othere F. ^{oo} this tyme I. ^p Om. R. ^{pp} Om. A pr. m. ^q sum A pr. m. CEF pr. m. HPRYE. ^r helpis B. helpis, ether [or EPY] strengthis C et ceteri.

and thei camen to the kyng, and the kyng delitide in the cummyng of hem.
 45 And there camen to gidre that weren of the citee an hundrid and twenti thousand of men, and wolden slea the kyng.
 46 And the kyng fledde in to the halle. And thei that weren of the citee ocupieden the wayes of the citee, and bigunne for
 47 to fize. And the kyng clepide Jewis in to help, and alle camen togidre to hym;
 48 and alle ben scatered by the citee, and slewen in that day an hundrid thousand of men. And thei brenten the citee, and token many spuylis in that day, and
 49 delyuerden the kyng. And thei sawen, that weren of the citee, that Jewis hadden taken the citee as thei wolden; and ben maad vnstedefast in her soule, and crieden to the kyng with preyers, say-
 50 inge, 3eue thou to vs rizt hondis, and ceese the Jewis for to fize azeinus vs
 51 and the citee. And thei castiden away her armers, and maden pees. And Jewis ben glorified in sizt of the kyng, and in sizt of alle men that weren in his rewme, and ben named in the rewme. And thei wenten azein in to Jerusalem, hauynge
 52 many spuylis. And kyng Demetrie sittith in sete of his rewme, and the lond
 53 was stille in his sizt. And he leezide alle thingus, what euere he saide, and alyenyde hym fro Jonathas, and he^p zeeldide^a not to hym vp benyficis, that he hadde 3ouen to hym, and traueilide
 54 hym gretely. After these thingus Trifon turnyde azein, and Antiochus with hym, a 3unge chijld; and regnide^r, and puttide
 55 on to hym a diademe. And alle oostis ben gadrid to hym, whiche kyng Demetrie scatride; and thei fouzten azeinus hym, and he fleiz, and turnyde backis.
 56 And Trifon toke beestis and weeldide
 57 Antioche. And Antiochus the 3unge wrote to Jonathas, sayinge, I ordeyne to thee presthod, and I ordeyne thee on foure citees, that thou be of the kyngis

kyng. And the kyng fledde in to the
 halle. And thei that weren of the citee ocupieden the weies of the citee, and bigunnen for to fize. And the kyng clepide 47 Jewis in to help, and alle camen togidre to hym, and alle weren scaterid bi the citee; and slown in that dai an hundrid 48 thousynde of men, and brenten the citee, and token many spuylis in that dai, and delyueriden the kyng. And thei sizzen, 49 that weren of the citee, that Jewis hadden take the citee as thei wolden; and thei weren maad vnstidefast in her soule, and crieden to the king with preieris, and seiden, 3yue to vs rizthondis, and ceesse 50 the Jewis for to fize azens vs and the citee. And thei castiden awei her armeris, 51 and maden pees. And Jewis weren glorified in the sizt of the kyng, and in the sizt of alle men that weren in his rewme, and weren named in the^s rewme. And thei wenten azen in to Jerusalem, hauynge many spuylis. And kyng Demetrie sat^t 52 in seete^u of his rewme, and the lond was stille in his sizt. And he liede alle thingis, 53 what euere^v he seide, and alienyde hym fro Jonathas, and zeldide not to hym bi beneficis, whiche he hadde 3ouun to hym; and *Demetrie* trauelide hym greetli. After 54 these thingis Trifon turnede azen, and Antiok, a 3ong child, with hym; and regnede, and puttide on hym a diademe. And 55 alle oostis weren gaderid to him, whiche kyng Demetrie scateride; and thei fouzten azens hym, and he flei, and turnyde backis. And Trifon took beestis^{*}, and weldide 56 ^{that is, olifauntis of the oost of Demetrie. e.} Antiochie. And Antiok the 3onge wroot 57 to Jonatas, and seide, Y ordeyne to thee presthod, and Y ordeyne thee on foure citees, that thou be of the kyngis frendis. And he sente to hym goldun vessels, in 58 to mynysterie, and 3af^w to hym power to^x drynk in gold, and for to be in purpur, and for to haue a goldun lace, *'ether nouche^y*. And he ordeynede Symount, 59 his brother, duyk fro the endis of Tirie

p Om. H. q zelde H. r he regnede GH.

^s his F. ^t sittith R. ^u the seete IR. ^v euer thinges R. ^w I 3af I. ^x for to c. ^y Om. EPRY.

58 frendis. And he sente to hym golden vessels, in to mynsterie, and 3aue to hym power of drinkyng in gold, and for to be in to purpre, and for to haue a golden
59 nouche^a. And he ordeynyde Symont, his brothere, duyke fro termes of Tire
60 'vn to^t the^u eendis of Egypt. And Jonathas wente out, and walkide ouere the flood bi citees; and al the oost of Syrie is gadrid to hym in to help. And he came to Ascalon, and thei of the citee camen
61 azeins hym wirshipfully. And fro thennus he wente to Gaza, and thei that weren at Gaza closiden hem to gidre, and he biseegide it. And he brente what thingis weren in cumpas of the citee, and
62 spuylide it by praye. And men of Gaza preyeden Jonathas, and he 3aue to hem ri3t hond, *or pees*. And he toke the sonys of hem pleggis, 'or in ostage^v, and he sente hem in to^w Jerusalem; and he^x walkide thorou the cuntree 'vn to^y Da-
63 mask. And Jonathas herde, for princis of Demetrie trespassiden in Cades, that is in Galilee, with miche oost, willynge for to remoue hym fro need of the rewme;
64 and he came azeinus hem. Forsothe he lefte Symont, his brother, bisidis the pro-
65 uynce. And Symont appliede to Bethsura, and fau3te azeinus it many daies,
66 and closide hem togidre. And thei axiden of hym for to take ri3thondis, and he 3aue to hem. And he castide hem out fro thennus, and toke the citee, and
67 puttide therinne help, *or strengthe*. And Jonathas and his tentis, *or oost*, applieden to the water of Genasar, and bfore the li3t thei walkiden in the feeld of
68 Asor. And loo! the tentis, *or oostis*, of alyens camen azeinus in the feeld, and benten^z, *or setten*, to hym aspies, *or disceytis*, in the hillis. Sotheli he came

til to the endis of Egipt. And Jonathas 60 wente out, and walkide ouer the flood bi citees; and al the oost of Sirie was gaderid to hym in to help. And he cam to Ascalon, and thei of the citee camen a3ens hym worschipfuli. And^y fro thennus he 61 wente 'in to^z Gasa, and thei that weren at Gasa closiden hem togidre, and he bisegide it. And he brente what thingis weren in cumpas of the citee, and spuylide it bi prey. And men of Gasa preyeden Jona- 62 tas, and he 3af to hem ri3t hond^a, 'ether pees^b. And he took the sones of hem in ostage^c, and he sente hem in to Jerusalem, and walkide thorou the cuntre til to Damask. And Jonathas herde, that the 63 princes of Demetrie trespassiden in Cades, that is in Galilee, with myche oost, willynge for^d to remoue him^e fro nede of the rewme; and he cam a3ens hem^{ee}. Forsothe 64 he lefte Symount, his brother, withynne the prouynce. And Symount appliede to 65 Bethsura, and fau3t a3ens it many daies, and closide togidre hem. And thei ax- 66 iden of hym for to take ri3thondis, and he 3af to hem. And he castide out hem fro thennus, and took the citee, and puttide ther ynne strengthe^f. And Jonathas and 67 his tentis^g, 'ether oost^h, applieden to the water of Genasar, and bifor the li3t thei walkidenⁱ in the li3t of Asor. And lo! 68 the^k tentis^l, 'ether oostis^m, of aliens camen a3ens in the feeld, and settiden to him aspiesⁿ in the^o hillis. Sotheli he cam a3ens of the contrarie part. Sotheli the^p 69 aspies^q risiden^{qq} vp of her places, and ioyneden batel. And alle that weren of Jo- 70 nathas part fledden, and no man of hem was left, no but Matathias, sone of Absalomy^r, and Judas, sone of Calphi, prince of kny3thod and oost. And Jonathas to- 71 rente hise clothingis, and puttide erthe

^a lace, or nouche H. ^t til to H. ^u Om. H. ^v Om. H. ^w Om. G pr. m. ^x Om. H. ^y til to H. ^z thei benten AK pr. m.

^y Om. A pr. m. GIKMNQsx. ^z to R. ^a hondis C. ^b Om. R. ^c pleggis CEKPY. pleggis, either in ostage FGHIMNQSUE. ^d Om. NR. ^e hem A. ^{ee} him A sec. m. ^f help R. help, ether [or EPY] strengthe E et ceteri prater C. ^g oost C. ^h Om. CR. ⁱ wakiden R. ^k Om. R. ^l oostis C. ^m Om. CEIR. ⁿ aspies, either disseitis FGHIMNQSUX. ^o her I. ^p Om. R. ^q buschementis C. aspies, ether [or EPY] bushementis K et plures. ^{qq} resin EPY. ^r Salomy R.

69 azeinus of the contrarie part. Sotheli
the aspies, *or bushementis*, risen vp of
70 her places, and ioyneden bateil. And
alle that weren of Jonathas part fledden,
and no man of hem is left, no bot Ma-
thatias, sone of Absalomy, and Judas,
sone of Calphi, prince of the^a kni3thod
71 and oost. And Jonathas kittide his
clothis, and puttide erthe in his^b hed,
72 and preyede. And Jonathas turnyde
azein to hem in to bateil, and to gidre
turnyde hem in to flizt, and fou3ten.
73 And thei sawen that fledden of^c his part,
and thei^d turneden azein to hym, and
pursueden with hym 'in to^e Cades, to her
tentis, and fully thei^f camen vn to thider.
74 And there felle down in that day of
aliens three thousand of men, and Jona-
thas turnyde azein in to Jerusalem.

CAP. XII.

1 And Jonathas see3 for the tyme helpith^t
hym; and he cheese men, and sente
hem to Rome, for to ordeyne and renule
2 frendship with hem. And to Sparciatis,
and to other places^g, he sente epistlis vp
3 the same fourme. And thei wenten to
Rome, and entriden in^h theⁱ courte, and
saiden, Jonathas, hee3est prest, and folc
of Jewis, senten vs, for to renule frend-
ship and felawship, after^k the former.
4 And thei 3auen to hem epistlis to hem
by placis, that thei shulden leede hem
forth in to the^l lond of Juda with pees.
5 And this is the ensaumple of epistlis,
whiche Jonathas wrote to Sparciatis.
6 Jonathas, the^m heizist prest, and elder
men of the folc, and prestis, and other
peple of Jewis, to Sparciatis, bretheren,
7 helthe. Nowe bfore theⁿ epistlis weren
sente to Onye, the heeizest prest, fro Da-
rius, that regnide anentis 3ou; for 3e ben
oure bretheren as the rescrite, *or writing*,
8 conteneth, that is vndirput. And Onye
resceyuyde the man with honour, that

in his heed, and preiede. And Jonathas⁷²
turnede azein to hem in to batel, and togi-
dere turnyde hem in to flizt, and fou3ten.
And thei of his part that fledden sayn⁷³,
and thei turnyden azein to hym, and pur-
sueden with hym til to Cades, to her
tentis, and fulli camen til thidur. And⁷⁴
ther felden down in that dai of aliens thre
thousynde of men, and Jonathas turnede
azein in to Jerusalem.

CAP. XII.

And Jonatas si3 that the tyme helpith^t
hym; and he chees men, and sente hem to
Rome for to ordeyne and renule frend-
ship with hem. And to Sparciates, and²
to other places, he sente epistlis bi the
same forme. And thei wenten to Rome,³
and entriden in to the court, and seiden,
Jonathas, hi3este prest, and the folc of
Jewis, sente vs, for to renule frendship
and felouschip, bi the formere. And thei⁴
3auen to hem epistlis to hem bi placis,
that thei schulden lede forth hem in to
theⁿ lond of Juda with pees. And this is⁵
the ensaumple of pistlis, whiche Jonathas
wroot to Sparciatis. Jonathas, hi3este⁶
preest, and the eldere men of the folc, and
prestis, and other peple of Jewis, to
Sparciatis, britheren, helthe. Now bfore⁷
epistlis weren sent to Onyas, hi3este prest,
fro Darius, that regnede anentis 3ou; for
3e ben oure britheren, as the rescrite con-
teyneth, that is vndur put. And Onyas⁸
resseyuede the man, that was sent, with
onour, and took epistlis, in whiche he^v

^a Om. H. ^b Om. G pr. m. ^c Om. H. ^d Om. H. ^e vn to AG. til H. ^f Om. H. ^g plas A. ^h in to AGH. ⁱ Om. H. ^k vp H. ^l Om. H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ Om. H.

^s saien FI. ^t helpide IR. ^u Om. R. ^v Om. IR.

was sente, and toke the^o epistels, in whom^p was signified of felawship and frenship. Whan we hadden no need of these, hauynge in solace, *or comfort*, holy bokis, that ben in oure hondis, ¹⁰ hadden leuere for to sende to 3ou, for to renule bretherhed and frenship, lest perauenture we ben maad aliens fro 3ou; forsothe many tymes passiden, sithen 3e ¹¹ senten to vs. We therefore in al tyme with out ceesyng, in solempne days, and other, in whiche it byhoueth, ben myndeful of 3ou in sacrifices that we offren, and in obseruances, as leeful is, and bisemeth, for to haue hadde mynde of bre- ¹² theren. And so we ben glad of 3oure glorie. Forsothe many tribulaciouns enuyrounden vs, and many bateils; and kyngis, that ben in oure cumpas, en- ¹⁴ pugned, *or fou3ten*, a3einus vs. And^q therefore we woln not be greuous to 3ou, nether to other felawis, and oure frendis, ¹⁵ in these bateilis. Sotheli^r we hadden help of heuen, and ben delyuerde, and ¹⁶ oure enmyes ben maad lowe. And so we han chosen Numenium of Antiochi, and Antipatre, sone of Jasoun, and sente to Romainys, for to renule with hem and ¹⁷ frenship and former felawship. And so we comaundiden to hem, that thei cum also^s to 3ou, and grete 3ou, and 3elde to 3ou oure pistlis of renulyng of oure bre- ¹⁸ therhed. And now 3e shuln wel do, an- ¹⁹ sweryng to vs of^t these thingis. And this is the rescrite, *or a3ein wrytyng*, of the epistlis, that Onye, kyng of Spar- ²⁰ ciatis, sente. Onye to Jonathas, the ²¹ grete prest, helthe. It is founden in wrytyng of Sparciatis, and Jewis, for thei ben bretheren, and for thei ben of ²² the^u kyn of Abraham. And now sithen we knewen these thingis, 3e don wel, ²³ wrytynge to vs of oure pees. Bot and we a3ein writen to 3ou. Our beestis and

was signefied of felouschip and frendschip. Whanne we hadden no nede of these, and ⁹ hadden in^w coumfort^x hooli bookis that ben in oure hondis, we hadden leuere for ¹⁰ to sende to 3ou, for to renule britherhod and frenship, lest perauenture we be maad aliens fro 3ou; forwhi many tymes passiden, sithen 3e senten to vs. We ¹¹ therfor in al tyme with out ceessyng, in to^f solempne daies, and othere, in whiche it bihoueth, ben myndeful of 3ou in sacri- fices that we offren, and in obseruances, as leueful is, and bisemeth, for to haue hadde mynde of britheren. Therefore we ¹² ben glad of 3oure glorie. Forsothe many ¹³ tribulaciouns and many batels enuyrown- den vs; and kyngis, that ben in oure cum- pas, 'fou3ten a3ens vs^z. Therefore we ¹⁴ wolden not be greuouse to 3ou, nether to othere felowis, and oure frendis, in these batels. For we hadden help of heuene, ¹⁵ and ben delyuered, and oure enemyes ben maad lowe. Therfor we han chosun New- ¹⁶ menyus, *the sone* of Antiok, and Anti- patre, sone of Jasoun, and senten to Ro- mayns, for to renule with hem both frendschip and formere felouschipe. Ther- ¹⁷ for we comaundiden to hem, that thei come also to 3ou, and grete 3ou, and 3elde to 3ou oure pistlis of renulyng of oure britherhod. And now 3e schulen do wel, ¹⁸ answeyng to vs to these thingis. And ¹⁹ this is the a3enwrytyng^a of epistlis, that Onyas, the^b kyng of Sparciatis, sente. Onyas to Jonathas, greet preest, heelthe. ²⁰ It is foundyn in wrytyng of Sparciatis, and ²¹ of Jewis, that thei ben britheren, and that thei ben of the kyn of Abraham. And ²² now sithen we knowen these thingis, 3e don wel, wrytynge to vs of 3oure pees. But and we han a3en writun to 3ou. Oure ²³ beestis and oure possessiouns ben 3oure, and 3oure^c oure. Therfor we comaundiden^d, for to telle these thingis to 3ou. And ²⁴

^o Om. H. ^p whiche H. ^q Om. AGH. ^r Forsothe and A. ^s Om. H. ^t to H. ^u Om. H.

^w the I. ^x solace R. solace, *ether* [or EPY] *coumfort* c et ceteri. ^y Om. R. ^z impugned R. im- pugned vs, or [ether plures] *fou3ten a3ens vs* E et ceteri *prater* c. ^a rescrite R. rescrite, or [ether plures] *a3en wryting* E et ceteri *prater* c. ^b Om. R. ^c 3oure ben R. ^d comaunden FU.

oure possessions ben 3our, and 3our
 oure. And so we comaundiden^v, for to
 24 telle these thingis to 3ou. And Jona-
 thas herde, for the^w princis of Demetrie
 wenten out with miche oost, ouer that
 25 byfore, for to fize a3einus hym. And
 he wente out fro Jerusalem, and ranne
 a3einus hem in the^x cuntree of Amathi-
 tha; sotheli he 3aue not space to hem, for
 26 to entre in to his cuntree. And he sente
 aspies in to the^y tentus of hem, and thei
 turnyd a3ein tolden, for thei ordeynyden
 27 for to cum ouer^{yy} thidre in nizt. Whanne
 the sunne had go down, Jonathas baad
 his waake, and be redy in armeres to
 bateil al nizt. And he sette^z keepers bi
 28 cumpas of the^a tentis; and the^b aduer-
 saries herden, for Jonathas is redy with
 his in bateil, and thei dredden, and in-
 wardly weren agast in her herte, and
 29 tenden fijrs in her tentis. Forsothe Jo-
 nathas, and thei that weren with hym,
 knewen not til morewe; forsothe thei
 30 sawen listis brennynge. And Jonathas
 suede hem, and cau3te hem not; forsothe
 31 thei passiden the flood Eleutherus. And
 Jonathas turnyde to Arabas, that weren
 clepid Sabadeis; and he^c smote hem,
 32 and toke spuylis of hem. And he^d
 ioynyde, and came to Damask, and
 33 walkide bi al that cuntree. Forsothe
 Symont wente out, and came til Asca-
 lon, and to the next strengthis; and he
 bowide down in to Joppen, and occu-
 34 piede it. Forsothe he herde, that thei
 wolden 3eue help to the parties of De-
 metrie; and he puttide there keepers, for
 35 to keepe it. And Jonathas turnyde a3ein,
 and clepide togidre the eldre men of the
 peple, and thou3te with hem for to beelde
 36 strengthis in Judee, and for to beelde
 wallis in Jerusalem, and for to reyse a
 grete hei3t, bitwix the mydil of the hee3
 rocke and the citee, for to departe it fro
 the citee, that it were aloon, and nether

Jonathas herde, that the princes of De-
 metrie wenten out with myche oost, ouer
 that bifore, for to fize a3ens hym. And 25
 he wente out fro Jerusalem, and ran a3ens
 hem in the cuntre of Amathitha; for he
 3af not^d space to hem, for to entre in to
 his cuntree. And he sente aspies in^e the 26
 tentis of hem, and thei turneden a3en, and
 telden, that thei ordeyneden for to come
 ouer thidur in nizt. Whanne^f the sunne 27
 hadde go down, Jonathas badde his *men*
 wake, and be redi in armeris to batel al
 nyzt. And he settide keperis bi cumpas of
 tentis; and aduersaries herden, that Jo- 28
 nathas was redi with hise *men* in batel,
 and thei dredden, and inwardli weren
 agast in her herte, and tendiden^g fieris in
 her tentis*. Forsothe Jonathas, and thei 29
 that weren with hym, knewen not til to
 the morewe; for thei sizen listis bren-
 nyng. And Jonathas suyde hem, and 30
 cau3te not hem; for thei passiden the
 flood Eleutherus. And Jonathas turnede 31
 to Arabas, that weren clepid Sabadeis;
 and smoot hem, and took spuylis of hem;
 and ioynede^h, and cam in^h to Damask, 32
 and walkide bi al thatⁱ cuntre. Forsothe 33
 Symount wente out, and cam til to Asca-
 lon, and to the nexte strengthis; and he
 bowide down in to Joppe, and ocupiede it.
 For he herde, that thei wolden 3yue help^k 34
 to partis of Demetrie; and he puttide there
 keperis, for to kepe it. And Jonathas 35
 turnede a3en, and clepide togidre the
 eldere men of the^l puple, and thou3te with
 hem for to bilde strengthis in Judee, and 36
 for to bilde wallis in Jerusalem, and for
 to reise a greet hi3the, bytwixe the myddil
 of the hi3 tour and the citee, for to de-
 parte it fro the citee, that it were aloone,
 and nether thei bie, nether sille. And 37
 thei camen togidre, for to bilde the citee.
 And the wal felle down togidre, that was
 on the streem, fro the risyng of the sunne;
 and he reparalide it, that is clepid Cafe-

* as if thei
 dwelled stille
 in her [the k]
 tentes, but thei
 fleddin priuili.
Live here.
 EGRNPQY.

† in gaderinge
 togidre his oost.
Live here. EGP
 QUY.

^v comaunden H. ^w Om. H. ^x Om. H. ^y Om. H. ^{yy} Om. G *pr. m.* ^z sente A. ^a Om. H. ^b Om. H.
^c Om. H. ^d Om. H.

^d no R. ^e in to R. ^f And whanne I. ^g tentiden A *pr. m. f.* tenden IN. ^h Om. R. ⁱ the N.
^k helpis R. ^l Om. FL.

37 thei^e bye, ne selle. And thei camen to
gidre, for to beelde the citee. And the
wal felle togidre, that was on the streme
of reyne, fro rysinge of the^f sunne; and
he repareilide it, that is clepid Caphe-
38 teca. And Symont beeldide^g Adiada in
Sephela, and he^h strengthide it, and put-
39 tide on 3atis and locks. And whanne
Tryfon thouzte for to regne at Asie, and
take to a diademe, and strecche out hond
40 in to kyng Antiochus, dredinge lest per-
aurenture Jonathas shulde not suffre hym,
bot fize azeinus hym, he souzte for to
cacche hym, and slea. And he rysyng vp
41 wente in to Bethsan. And Jonathas
wente out azeinus, with fourty thousand
of chosen men in to bateil, and came to
42 Bethsan. And Trifon see3, for Jonathas
came with a^l myche oost, for to strecche
out hondis in to hym. And he dredde,
43 and resceyuede hym with honoure, and
comendide him to alle his freendis; and
3aue to hym 3iftis, and comaundide to
his oostis, for to obeie to hym as to hym
44 self. And he saide to Jonathas, Wherto
hast thou traueilide al the peple, whann
45 bateil is not to vs? And now sende
hem azein in to her housis. Sothely
chese thou to thee a fewe men, that ben
with thee, and cume with me to Ptholo-
maida, and Y schal 3eue it to thee, and
other strengthis, and oost, and alle pre-
postis, *or souereyns*, of neede; and Y con-
uertid shal go away. Sothely therfore Y
46 came. And he byleeuyde to hym, and
dide as he said, and left^k the oost; and
thei wenten away in to the^l lond of
47 Juda. Forsothe he withheelde with hym
three thousand of men, of whom^m he
sente azein in to Galilee two thousand;
sotheli a thousand camen with hym.
48 Forsotheⁿ as Jonathas entride^o Ptholo-
maida, men of Ptholomaida shitten the
3atis, and cau3ten hym; and alle that
entriden with hym^p thei slewen with

teta. And Symount bildide Adiada in 38
Sephela, and strengthide it, and puttide
on 3atis and lockis. And whanne Trifon 39
thouzte for to regne at Asie, and take a
diademe, and strecche out hond in to An-
tiok kyng, he dredde, lest perauenture Jo- 40
nathas schulde not suffre hym, but fize
azeins hym; and he souzte for to catche
hym, and sle. And he roos vp, and wente 41
in to Bethsan. And Jonathas wente out
azeins *hym*, with fourti thousynde of chosun
men in to batel, and cam to Bethsan. And 42
Trifon si3, that Jonathas cam with myche
oost, for to strecche out hondis in to hym.
And he dredde, and resceyuede hym with 43
onour, and comendide hym to alle his
freendis; and 3af to hym 3iftis, and co-
maundide to his oostis, for to obeie to
hym as to hym silf. And he seide to 44
Jonathas, Wherto hast thou trauelid al
the puple, whanne batel is not to vs?
And now sende azein hem in to her housis. 45
But chese thou to thee a fewe men, that
ben with thee, and come thou with me to
Tolomayda, and Y schal 3yue it to thee,
and other strengthis, and oost, and alle
souereyns of offices^m; and Y schal turne,
and Y schal go awei. For whi therfor Y
cam. And he bileuyde to hym, and dide 46
as he seide, and left^k the oost; and thei
wente awei in to the lond of Juda. For- 47
sothe he withhelde with hym thre thou-
synde of men, of whiche he sente azein in
to Galilee two thousynde; sotheli a thou-
synde cam with hym. Forsothe as Jona- 48
thas entride in to Tolomaida, men of To-
lomaida schittiden the 3atis, and cau3ten
hym; and slowen bi swerd alle that en-
triden with hym. And Trifon sente oost, 49
and horse men in to Galilee, and in to the
greet feeld, for to leese alle theⁿ felowis of
Jonathas. And whanne thei knewen that 50
Jonathas was takun, and perischide, and
alle that weren with hym, thei monestiden
hem silf, and wenten out redi in to batel.

^e there A. ^f Om. H. ^g beelde A. ^h Om. H. ⁱ Om. H. ^k he left^e H. ^l Om. H. ^m whiche H.
ⁿ Sotheli A. ^o entride into G sec. m. H. ^p hym, loo! for he repentide to take possessioun H.

^m office A. ⁿ Om. ceteri.

49 sword. And Trifon sente an oost and
horsmen in to Galilee, and in to the
greet feeld, for to leese alle the felawis
50 of Jonathas. And thei, whan thei knewen
for Jonathas is taken, and perishide, and
alle that weren with hym, monestiden^a
hem self, and wenten out redy in to
51 bateile. And thei seeynge, that pursu-
eden, for for^r soule^s, or *lijf*, the thing is
52 to hem, turnyden azein. Forsothe thei
camen alle with pees in to the^t lond of
Juda. And thei weiliden Jonathas gretely,
and alle that weren with hym, and Yrael
53 mournyde with grete mournynge. And
alle heithen men that weren in the^u cum-
pas of hem, souzten for to breke hem to
54 gidre; forsothe thei saiden, Thei han no
prince and helpyng; now therfore ouer-
cumme we hem, and take away of men
the mynde of hem.

CAP. XIII.

1 And as Symont herde, that Trifon
gadride a grete oost, for to cum in to
the lond of Juda, and for to distruye it,
2 seeynge for the peple is in tremblyng
and drede, he stiez vp in^v to Jerusalem,
3 and gadride the peple; and monestyng
saide, 3e witen, hou many thingus Y, and
my bretheren, and the^w hous of my fadir,
han don, for lawis^x and for holy thingus,
batels, and what maner anguyshis we
4 sawen. For grace, or *cause*, of these
thingus alle my bretheren perishiden for
5 Yrael, and Y aloone am left. And now
bifalle it not to me, for to spare my soule,
or *lijf*, in al tyme of tribulacioun; for-
sothe Y am not better than my bretheren.
6 And so Y shal venge my folc, and holy
thingus, and oure children, and wyues;
for alle heithen men ben gadrid, for to
7 distruye vs, bi cause of enmytee. And
the spirit of the peple is brent togidre,
8 as it herde these wordis. And thei an-
swerden with grete voice, sayinge, Thou

And thei sizen that pursueden, that thing⁵¹
was to hem for the lijf, and turneden azen.
Forsothe thei camen alle with pees in to⁵²
the lond of Juda. And thei biweiliden Jo-
nathas greetli, and alle that weren with
hym, and Israel mourenyde with greet
mourenyng. And alle hethene men that⁵³
weren in the cumpas of hem, souzte for to
al to-breken hem; for thei seiden, Thei⁵⁴
han no prince and helpere; now therfor
ouercome we hem, and take weⁿ awei fro
men the mynde of hem.

CAP. XIII.

And as Symount herde, that Trifon¹
gaderide a greet oost, for to come in to
the lond of Juda, and for to distrie it, and²
siz that the puple was in tremblyng and
drede, he stiez vp to^o Jerusalem, and ga-
deride the puple; and monestide, and³
seide, 3e witen, hou grete thingis Y, and
my britheren, and the^p hous of my fadir,
han do, for lawis, and for hooli thingis,
batels, and what maner angwischis we
saien. For loue of these thingis alle my⁴
britheren perischiden for Israel, and Y
aloone am left. And now bifalle it not⁵
to me, for to spare my lijf in al the tyme
of tribulacioun; for Y am not^q betere
than my britheren. Therfor Y schal⁶
venge my folc, and hooli thingis, and
oure^r children, and wyues; for alle he-
thene men ben gaderid, for to distrie vs,
bi cause of enemyte. And the spirit of⁷
the puple was kyndlid togidere, as it herde
these wordis. And thei answeriden with⁸
greet vois, seiynge, Thou art oure duyck

^a amonestiden H. ^r Om. H. ^s the soule G sec. m. H. ^t Om. H. ^u Om. H. ^v Om. H. ^w Om. H.
^x the lawis H.

ⁿ Om. A pr. m. F pr. m. B. ^o into F. ^p Om. B. ^q no B. ^r Om. B.

art oure duyck in stede of Judas, and
 9 Jonathas, thi brother; fize thou oure
 bateil, and alle thingus what euere thou
 10 shalt saye, we shuln do. And he ga-
 dryng^y alle men fizters hastide for to
 eende alle the^s wallis of Jerusalem, and
 11 he^a strengthide it in cumpas. And he
 sente Jonathas, the^b sone of Absolomy,
 and with hym a newe oost, in to Joppen.
 And these cast out that weren in it, he
 12 dwellide there. And Trifon mouede fro
 Ptholomaida with myche oost, for to
 cum in to the^c lond of Juda, and Jona-
 13 thas with hym in keepyng. Forsothe
 Symont appliede in Addus, azeinus the
 14 face of the feeld. And as Trifon knewe,
 for Symont rose in stede of his brother
 Jonathas, and for he was to ioynyng
 bateil with hym, he sente to hym le-
 15 gatis, sayinge, For syluer, that thi bro-
 ther Jonathas ouzte in resun of the kyng,
 16 we withhelden hym. And nowe sende
 thou an hundred talentis of syluer, and
 his two sonnys pleggis, that he not dis-
 missed flee^d fro vs, and we shuln azein
 17 sende hym. And Symont knew³, that
 with gijle he spake with hym. Nethes
 he comaundide the^e syluer to^f be zouen,
 and children, lest he toke grete enmyte
 18 to the^g peple of Yrael, sayinge, For he
 sente not to hym the syluer and chil-
 19 dren, therefore he perishide. And he
 sente the children, and an hundred ta-
 lentis. And he leezide, and dismytted^h
 20 not Jonathas. And after these thingus
 Tryfon came with ynne the cuntre, for
 to distruye it. And thei cumpaseden by
 the waye that ledith to Ador; and Sy-
 mont and his oost walkiden in to eche
 21 place, whider euere thei wenten. Sothely
 thei that weren in the heez rocke, senten
 legatis to Trifon, for to haste for to cume
 22 by desert, and sende to hem fodis. And
 Trifon made redy al the rydyng, for to

in stide of Judas, and Jonathas, thi bro-
 ther; fize thou oure batel, and alle⁹
 thingis what euere thou schalt seie to vs,
 we schulen do. And he gaderide alle¹⁰
 men fizteris, and hastide for to ende alle
 wallis^s of Jerusalem, and strengthide it in
 cumpas. And he sente Jonathas, the sone¹¹
 of Absolomy, and with hym a newe oost,
 in to Joppe. And whanne he hadde put
 out these men that weren in it, he dwelte
 there. And Trifon mouyde fro Tolomaida¹²
 with myche oost, for to come in to the
 lond of Juda, and Jonathas with hym in
 kepyng. Forsothe Symount appliede in¹³
 Addus, azens the face of the feeld. And¹⁴
 as Trifon knew, that Symount roos in the
 stide of his brother Jonathas, and that^t he
 was to ioynyng^u batel^u with hym, he sente
 to hym legatis, and seide, For siluer, that¹⁵
 thi brother Jonatas ouzte in acountis^v of
 the kyng, we withhelden hym. And nowe¹⁶
 sende thou an hundrid talentis of siluer,
 and hise twei sones pleggis, that he not
 dismyttid fle fro vs, and we schulen azen-
 sende hym. And Symount knew, that¹⁷
 with gile he spak with hym. Nethes he
 comaundide the siluer for to be zouun,
 and children, leste he schulde take grete
 enemytee at^w the puple^x of Israel, seiynge,
 For he sente not to hym siluer and chil-¹⁸
 dren, therfor he perischide. And he sente¹⁹
 the children, and an hundrid talentis. And
 he liede, and dismyttide not Jonathas.
 And after these thingis Trifon cam with²⁰
 ynne the cuntre, for to distrie it. And thei
 cumpassiden bi the weie that ledith to
 Ador; and Symount and his oost walk-
 iden in to ech place, whidur euere thei
 wenten. Sotheli thei that weren in the²¹
 hiz tour, senten legatis^y to Trifon, for to
 haste to come bi desert, and sende to
 hem foodis. And Trifon made redi al the²²
 multitude of horse men, for to come in
 that nyzt. Sotheli ther was ful myche

^y gadrede H. ^z Om. H. ^a Om. H. ^b Om. H. ^c Om. H. ^d flee not H. ^e Om. H. ^f for to AGH.
^g Om. H. ^h dismytte H.

^s the wallis I. ^t Om. R. ^u batels I. ^v resoun C et ceteri. ^w of R. ^x children R. ^y messangeris C.
 legatis, either messangers FGHIMNPQSUXYC.

cume in that niȝt; sotheli ther was ful myche snowe, and he cam not in to Galadithym. And whanne he neeȝide to Baschama, he slewȝ Jonathas and his sonys there. And Trifon turnyde, and wente in to his lond. And Symont sente, and toke the bonys of Jonathas, his brother, and byryede hym in Modyn, citee of his fadris. And al Yrael weiliden hym with grete weylyng, and thei mourneden hym many daysⁱ. And Symont beeldide on the^k sepulcre of his fadir and bretheren^l an heeȝe beeldyng, with stoon polishid^m byhynd and byfore. And he ordeynyde seuen smale bilyngus, *broode bynethe and sharp aboue*, oon aȝeinus oon, to hisⁿ fader, and moder, and foure bretheren. And to these he putte aboute grete pilers, and on the pilers armeris, to euerlastyng mynde; and bysidis the^o armeris^p grauein shippis, whiche shulden be seen of men saylyng the see. This is the sepulcre that he made in Modyn, til in to this day. Forsothe whan Trifon maad waye with Antiochus, the^q ȝunge kyng, in gijle he slewȝ hym, and regnyde in his stede; and he puttide on to hym the diademe of Asie, and made grete veniaunce in the lond. And Symont bildide the^r strengthis^s of Judee, wardyng hem with heeȝ tours, and grete wallis, and ȝatis, and lockis; and he putte fodis in strengthis^t. And Symont cheese men, and sente to kyng Demetrie, that he shulde do remissioun to the cuntre, for alle the dedis of Trifon weren don by rauyshyng. And to these wordis kyng Demetrie answerde to hym, and wrote sicke epistil^u. Kyng Demetrie to Symont, heeȝist prest, and frend of kyngus, and to elder men, and folc of Jewis, helthe. The golden crown, and baheu, whiche ȝe senten, we resceyueden, and ben redy for to make with ȝou grete pees, and for to

snow, and he cam not in to Galadithym. And whanne he neȝede to Baschama, he ȝslow Jonathas and hise sones there. And Trifon turnede, and wente in to his lond. And Symount sente, and took the boonus²⁵ of Jonathas, his brother, and biride tho in Modyn, the citee of hise fadris. And al²⁶ Israel biweiliden hym with greet weilyng, and thei bymourenyde hym many daies. And Symount bildide on the sepulcre of²⁷ his fadir and hise^z britheren an hiȝ bildyng in siȝt^a, with stoon polischid^b bihynde and bifore. And he ordeynede seuene²⁸ smale bilyngis, *brood bynethe and sharp aboue*, oon aȝens oon, to fadir, and modir, and foure britheren. And to these he²⁹ puttide aboute grete pilers, and on the pilers armeris, to euerlastyng mynde; and bisidis armeris schippis grauun, whiche schulden be seyn of men seilyng in the see. This is the sepulcre that *Symount*³⁰ maad in Modyn, til in to this day. For³¹ sothe whanne Trifon made weie with Antioke, the^c ȝonge kyng, in gile he slow hym, and regnyde in his stide; and put³² tide on hym the diademe of Asie, and made greet veniaunce in the lond. And³³ Symount bildide strengthis of Judee, and wardide hem with hiȝ touris, and grete wallis, and ȝatis, and lockis; and puttide foodis in strengthingis. And Symount³⁴ chees men, and sente to kyng Demetrie, that he schulde make remyssioun to the cuntree, for alle dedis of Trifon weren don bi rauyschyng. And kyng Demetrie³⁵ answeride to hym to these wordis, and wroot suche epistle^{cc}. Kyng Demetrie to³⁶ Symount, hiȝeste prest, and frend of kyngis, and to the eldere men, and folc of Jewis, heelthe. We resceyueden the³⁷ goldun coroun, and baheu^{d*}, which ȝe senten, and ben redi for to make with ȝou greet pees, and for to write to prepostis of the kyng, for to releesse to ȝou

* *baheu* is an ounement of the necke, made of gold ryngis. Lire here. AEIK FUY.

ⁱ a daye H. ^k Om. H. ^l his bretheren H. ^m polischid, or *fair diȝt* H. ⁿ Om. H. ^o Om. G pr. m. H. ^p Om. G pr. m. ^q Om. H. ^r Om. H. ^s strengus K. ^t strengthingis H. ^u an epistle H.

^z of hise R. ^a the siȝt I. ^b polischid, or [either G] *faire diȝt* CEF GHIKMN PQUXYE. *polyschid, or fair adȝt* A. ^c Om. R. ^{cc} a pistle F. ^d baseu GMNSX.

write to prepostus of the kyng, for to
releese to 3ou what thingus we for3auen;
38 forsothe what euer thingus we ordeyn
to 3ou, ben stable. The strengthis that
39 3e bildiden, be to 3ou; and we for3eue
ignoraunces and synnes, til in to this
day, and the crown that 3e ou3ten; and
3if eny other thing was tributarye, *or*
bounden to tribute, in Jerusalem, nowe
40 be it not tributarie. And 3if eny of 3ou
ben able for to be wryten to gydre
amonge oure men, be thei writen togi-
41 dre, and pees be bitwixe vs. In the
hundrid 3eer and seuentithe, the 3oc of
heithen men is taken away fro Yrael.
42 And the peple bigan for to write in ta-
blis, and opyn, *or comun*, doyinges, in
the first 3eer vndre Symont, heeist prest,
43 grete duyck, and prince of Jewis. In thoo
days Symont appliede to Gasan, and en-
uyrounyde it with tentis, *or men of*
armes, and made engynes, and appliede
to the citee, and smote a toure, and toke
44 it. And thei that braken out, weren
bitwixe the engyne and in^v the citee,
and grete stiryng is maad in the citee.
45 And thei steiziden vp, that weren in the
citee, with her wijues, and sonys, on the
walle, with her kotis kitt, and crieden
with grete voice, axinge of Symont rizt-
46 hondis^w for to be 3ouen to hem, and
saiden, 3eelde thou not to vs after oure
malices, bot after thi mercyes, and we
47 shuln serue to thee. And Symont bow-
ide, *or folden*^x, fau3te not a3einus hem, *or*
ouercame not hem; netheles he castide
hem out of the citee, and clenside out
the housis in whom^y weren symulacris,
and thanne he entride in to it, with
48 ympnus, blessinge the Lord. And alle
vnclennesse cast out therof, he sette ther-
ynne men, that shulden do the lawe; and
he strengthide it^z, and made to hym
49 abitacioun. Forsothe thei that weren in

what thingis we for3auen; for what euer 38
thingis we ordeynen^e to 3ou, ben stable.
The strengthis that 3e bildiden, be to 3ou;
and we forgyuen ignorances and synnes, 39
til in to this dai, and the coroun that 3e
ou3ten; and if ony other thing was tri-
butarie^f in Jerusalem, now be it not tri-
butarie. And if ony of 3ou ben able for 40
to be writun togidere among oure men, be
thei writun togidere, and pees *be* bitwixe
vs^g. In the hundrid 3eer and seuentithe^h, 41
the 3ok of hethene men was takun awei
fro Israel. And the puple began forⁱ to 42
write in tablis, and comyn doyingis, in the
firste 3eer vndur Symount, hizeste prest,
greet duyck, and prince of Jewis. In tho 43
daies Symount appliede to Gasan, and
enuyrownyde it with tentis^k, and made
engines, and appliede to the citee, and
smoot o tour, and took it. And thei that 44
braken out, weren with ynne the engyne^{*}
in the cite, and greet stiryng was maad in
the cite. And thei stieden vp, that weren 45
in the cite, with her wyues, and sones^l, on
the wal, with her cootis kit, and crieden
with greet vois axynge of Symount that
rizthondis be 3ouun to hem, and seiden, 46
3elde thou not to vs bi oure malices, but
bi thi mercies, and we schulen serue to
thee. And Symount was bowid^m, and 47
fau3t[†] not a3ens hem; netheles he castide
hem out of the citee, and clenside fulli the
housis in whiche weren symylacris, and
thanne he entride in to it with ympnes,
and blessinge the Lord. And whanne alle 48
vnclennesseⁿ was caste out therof, he set-
tide therynne men, that schulden do the
lawe; and he strengthide it, and made an
abitacioun to him. Forsothe thei that 49
weren in the hiz tour of Jerusalem, weren
forbodun for to go out and go yn, in to
the cuntre, and bie, and sille; and thei
hungriden greetli, and many of hem pe-
rischiden for hungur. And thei crieden 50

* that is, fled-
den to sum
strong hold of
the citee, which
strong hold was
elepid so. *Live*
here. v.

† that is, kill-
ide not hem.
Live here. v.

^v Om. G sec. m. H. ^w rizthoond A. ^x fooldid A. ^y whiche H. ^z Om. A.

^e ordeyneden I. ^f tributarie, *ether boundun to tribute* CFGHIKMN PQSUXE. ^g 3ou R. ^h seuenti 3eer R.
ⁱ Om. R. ^k tentis, *ether men of armeris* C. ^l her soness R. ^m bowid, *either folden* FGHIMN PQSUXE. ⁿ vnclennesis R.

the^a heeȝ rocke of Jerusalem, weren forboden for to go out and go yn^b, in to the cuntree, and to bye, and selle; and thei hungriden gretely, and many of hem
 50 perishiden for hungre. And thei crieden to Symont, for to take riȝthondis, and he ȝaue to hem; and he cast out hem fro thennus, and clenside the heeȝ rocke fro
 51 defoulyngus. And thei entriden in to it in the three and twentithe day of the secounde monethe, in the hundred and oon and seuenti ȝeer, with preisyng^c, and braunchis of palmes, and instrumentis of musik, and cymbalis, and nablis^d, and ympnis, and songis, for the grete enmye
 52 of Yrael is broken to gidre. And he ordeynede, that in alle ȝeeris these days
 53 shulden be don with gladdenesse. And he strengthide the hille of the temple, that was bisidis the heeȝ^e rocke, and dwelte there, he, and thei that weren
 54 with hym. And Symont seeȝ Joon, his sone, that he was a man of bateil, and he putte hym duyck of alle vertues, and he dwelte in Gasaris.

CAP. XIV.

1 In the hundrid and two and seuentithe ȝeer kyng Demetrie gadride his oost, and wente to Mede, for to drawe togidre helpis to hym, for to ouercume Trifon.
 2 And as Arsaces, kyng of Persis and Mede, herde for Demetrie entride his niȝ coostis, he sente oon of his princis, for to take hym quyck, and that he shulde
 3 brynge hym to hym self. And he wente, and smote the^f tentis^g of Demetrie, and toke hym, and ledde hym to Arsaces,
 4 and putt hym in to keepyng. And the lond of Juda was stille, *or pesible*, alle the days of Symont, and he souȝte good thingus of his folk; and his power pleside to hem, and his glorie, in alle days.
 5 And with alle his glorie he toke Joppen in to hauen, and maade entre in the^h

to Symount, for to take riȝt hondis, and he ȝaf to hem; and he castide out hem fro thennus, and clenside the hiȝ tour fro defoulingis. And thei entriden in to it in
 51 thre^o and twentithe dai of the secounde monethe, in the hundrid and oon and seuenti ȝeer, with heriyng, and braunchis of palmes, and instrumentis of musik, 'ether giterneys^p, and cymbalis, and harpis, and ympnys, and songis, for the greet enemye of Israel was al to-brokun. And he
 52 ordeynede, that in alle ȝeeris these daies schulden be don with gladnesse. And he
 53 strengthide the hil of the temple, that was bisidis the hiȝ tour, and dwelte there, he, and thei that weren with hym. And
 54 Symount siȝ Joon, his sone, that he was a man of batel, and he puttide hym duyck of alle vertues*, and he dwelte in Gasaris.

* that is, werriouris. *Live here.* AEINPUY.

CAP. XIV.

1 In the hundrid and two and seuenti ȝeer kyng Demetrie gaderide his oost, and wente to Mede, for to drawe togidere^q helpis to hym, for to ouercome Trifon. And as Arsaces, kyng of Persis and Me-
 2 dei, herde that Demetrie entride in to his niȝ coostis, he sente oon of hise princes, for to take hym quyck, and that he schulde brynge hym to hym silf. And he wente,
 3 and smoot tentis^r, 'ether oost^s, of Demetrie, and took^t hym, and ledde hym to Arsaces, and he puttide hym in to keepyng. And the lond of Juda was pesible^u
 4 in alle daies^v of Symount, and he souȝte goode thingis of^w his folc; and his power and his glorie pleside to^x hem in alle daies. And with al his glorie he took Joppe in
 5 to hauene, and made entre in to^y ilis of

^a Om. H. ^b Om. H. ^c pressyng K. heriyng H. ^d nablis, *or sautres* H. ^e greet H. ^f Om. H.
^g tentis, *or oost* H. ^h Om. AGH.

^o the thre R. ^p Om. R. ^q Om. R. ^r the oost C. ^s Om. CER. ^t he toke R. ^u stille R. stille,
either pesible F *et plures*. ^v the daies R. ^w to R. ^x Om. R. ^y Om. CEFHKMQRSEUE.

6ylis of the seeⁱ; and he^j alargide the
coostis of his peple, and weeldede the
7cuntre. And he gadride myche caitiftee,
and was lord in Gasara, and Bethsura,
and Arcus; and he dide away the^k vn-
clessnesse of it, and there was not that
8azein stode hym. And eche man tiled
his own lond with pees, and the lond of
Juda 3aue his fruytis, and trees of the^l
9feeld^m her fruyte. Alle elder men saten
in stretis, and tretiden of goodis of the
lond; and 3unge men clothiden hem in
10glorie, and stoolis of bateil. And to the
citees he 3aue foodis, and ordeynede hem,
that thei weren vessels of strengthing, til
that nameⁿ of his glorie was named vnto^o
11the last of erthe. He made pees on the
lond, and Yrael gladide with grete glad-
12nesse; and eche man sate vnder his
vyne, and vnder his fijge tree, nether
13there was that feride hem. The fiztyng
man azeinus hem feilide on erthe; kyngis
14ben broken togidre in tho days. And he
confermyde alle meke men of his peple,
and he sou3te out the lawe, and dide
15away al yuel and wickid; and glorifiede
holy thingus, and multipliede vessels of
16holy thingus. And it is herd at Rome,
for Jonathas is dead, and til in to Spar-
17tialis, and thei ben ful sorewful. For-
sothe as thei herden, that Symont, his
brother, was maad heeist prest in his
stede, and weldide the cuntree, and citees
18in it, thei wryten to hym in^p brasen ta-
blis, for to renule frenship, and felow-
ship, that thei maden with Judas and
19Jonathas, his bretheren; and thei ben
rad in sizt of the^q chirche in Jerusalem.
And this ensauple of pistlis^r, that Spar-
20ciatis senten. Prince and the citees of
Sparciatis to Symound, the grete preest,
and to eldre men, and preestis, and to^s
other peple of Jewis, bretheren, helthe.
21Legatis that ben sente to oure peple,

the see; and alargide the coostis of his⁶
puple, and weldide the cuntre. And he⁷
gaderide myche caitifte^{r*}, and was lord in
Gasara, and Bethsura, and the hi3 tour;
and dide^z awei vnclessnessis of it, and
ther was not that azenstood hym. And⁸
ech man tilide his owne lond with^a pees,
and the lond of Juda 3af hise fruitis, and
trees of feeldis her fruitis^b. Eldere men⁹
saten alle in stretis, and tretiden of goodis^c
of the lond; and 3onge men clothiden hem
in glorie, and in^d stoolis of batel^{e†}. And¹⁰
to the citees he 3af foodis, and ordeynede
thof, that tho weren vessels of strengthing,
til that the name of his glorie was named
til to the laste of erthe. He⁸ made pees¹¹
on the lond, and Israel was glad with
greet gladnesse; and ech man sat vndur¹²
his vyne, and vndur his fige tree, nether
ther was that feeride hem. The fiztyng¹³
man azens hem failide on erthe; kyngis
weren al to-brokun in tho daies. And he¹⁴
confermyde alle meke men of his puple,
and he sou3te out the lawe, and dide awei
al yuel and wickidnesse; and he^b glori-¹⁵
fiede hooli thingis, and multipliede vessels
of hooli thingis. And it was herd at¹⁶
Rome, that Jonathas was deed, and til in
to Sparciatis, and thei weren ful sorewful.
Forsothe as thei herden, that Symount,¹⁷
his brother, was maad hijeste preest in his
stide, and he weldide the cuntrei, and citees
in it, thei writiden^k to hym in brasun¹⁸
tablis, for to renule frenship, and felow-
ship, that thei maden with Judas and
Jonathas, his britheren; and thei^l weren¹⁹
rad in the sizt of the chirche in Jerusalem.
And this is ensauple^m of pistlis, that
Sparciatis senten. The prince and citeesⁿ 20
of Sparciatis[†] to Symount, greet prest,
and to the eldere men, and preestis, and to
othere puple of Jewis, britheren, heelthe.
Legatis that weren sente to oure puple,²¹
telden to vs of 3oure glorie, and onour,

* that is, took many hethene men prisoneris, either azenboute many Jewis, that weren prisoneris, and brou3te hem into Judee. Live here. U.

† that is, armuris: in the time of pees thei vseden siche thingis, that if batel roos azens hem, thei shulden kunne arme hemself, and lizliere bere armuris. Live here. EKPUY.

ⁱ se κ pr. m. hic et alibi. ^j Om. H. ^k Om. H. ^l Om. H. ^m feedes G sec. m. H. ⁿ the name H. ^o til to H. ^p in to H. ^q Om. H. ^r epistles H. ^s Om. H.

^y that is, took manye prisoneris e marg. ^z he dide I. ^a in R. ^b fruyt R. ^c the goodis R. ^d Om. I. ^e batel, that is, armuris in the time of pees I. ^f Om. R. ^g And he I. ^h Om. I. ⁱ cuntrees R. ^k wryten I. ^l tho R. ^m the ensauple F pr. m. R. ⁿ the citees R.

tolden to vs of 3our glorie, and honore, and gladnesse, and we ioiyeden
 22 in the entree of hem. And we han writen what thingus weren saide of hem in counseil^t of peple^u, thus. Numenius of Antiochus^v, and Antipatre, sone of Jason, legatis of Jewis, camen to vs, renulyng with vs the former frendship.
 23 And it pleside to the peple, for to resceyue the men gloriously, and to putte ensaump-
 ple of her wordis in^w departid bokis of the peple, that it be to mynde to the peple of Sparciatis; forsothe we han writen ensaump-
 24 Symont, the greete prest. Forsothe after these thingus Symont sente Numenye to Rome, hauynge a greete golden sheld, weijt of a thousand besauntis, for to ordeyne frenship with hem. Sotheli
 25 whan the peple of Rome herde these wordis, thei saiden, What doynge of thankyngus shuln we 3eelde to Symont,
 26 and his sonys? Forsothe he restoride his bretheren, and ouer came the enmyes of Yrael fro hem. And thei ordeyniden to him^x freedom^y, and wryten in brasen tablis, and puttiden in tytlis, in to the
 27 mount of Syon. And this is the^z ensaump-
 ple of writyng. In the eiztenthe day of the monethe Ebul, in the hundred and two^a and seuentithe^b 3eer, the thrid 3eer vnder Symont, the grete prest, in
 28 Asaramel, in the grete cummyng togidre of prestis, peple, and princis, and folc, and 'eldre men^c of the cuntree, these thingus ben maad knowen; for many tymes bateils ben maad^d in 3our cuntree.
 29 Forsothe Symont, the sone of Mathatias, of the^e sonys of Joaryb, and his bretheren^f, 3auen hem self to perel, and a3ein stoden aduersaries of her folc, that her holy thingus and lawe shulden stonde; and bi grete glorie thei glorifieden her
 30 folc. And Jonathas gadride his folc, and is maad to hem a grete prest, and he^g is

and gladnesse, and we ioiyeden in the entree of hem. And we han write what²² thingis weren seid of hem in counsels of puple, thus. Numenyus, *the sone* of Antiok, and Antipater, the sone of Jason, legatis of Jewis, camen to vs, and renulide with vs the formere frendship. And it²³ pleside to the puple, for to resseyue the men gloriousli, and to putte ensaump-
 ple of her wordis in departid bookis of the puple, that it be to mynde to the puple of Sparciatis; forsothe we han write ensaump-
 ple of these thingis to Symount, the greet preest. Forsothe aftir these thingis Sy-
 24 mount sente Numenyus to Rome, hauynge a greet goldun scheeld, in weizte of a thousynde besauntis, for to ordeyne felouschip with hem. Sotheli whanne the puple of Rome herde these wordis, thei seiden,
 25 What doying of thankyngis schulen we 3elde to Symount, and his sones? For he²⁶ restoride his britheren, and ouercam the enemyes of Israel fro hem. And thei ordeyneden to hym liberte, and writiden^o in brasun tablis, and *Jewis* puttiden in titlis, in^p the^q mount of Sion. And this is²⁷ ensaump-
 ple of writyng. In the eiztenthe dai of the monethe Ebul^{*}, in the hundrid and two and seuenti 3eer, the thridde 3eer vndur Symount, greet preest, in Asaramael, in the greet comyng togidre of²⁸ prestis, of the^r puple, and princis, and^s folc, and 'eldere men^t of the^u cuntre, these thingis weren maad knowun; for many tymes batels weren don in 3oure cuntre. Forsothe Symount, the sone of Matatias,
 29 of the sones of Jarib, and his britheren, 3auen hem silf to perel, and a3enstoden aduersaries of her folc, that her hooli thingis and lawe schulde stonde; and bi greet glorye thei glorifieden her folc. And³⁰ Jonathas gaderide his folc, and was maad to hem a greet preest, and is put to his puple. And the enemyes of hem wolden³¹ defoule holi thingis, and distrie the cuntre

* that is, August. Lire here. Ave.

^t counseiles H. ^u the peple a sec. m. H. ^v Antioke H. ^w and K. ^x hem K. ^y liberte H. ^z Om. H. ^a the two H. ^b seuenti H. ^c senyours, or eldre men H. ^d don H. ^e Om. H. ^f brethen G. ^g Om. H.

^o wreten I. ^p in to plures. ^q Om. plures. ^r Om. plures. ^s of A. ^t the eldere men B. senyours, ether [or EPYE] eldere men C et ceteri. ^u Om. plures.

31 put to his peple. And the enmyes of hem wolden defoule holy thingus^h, and distruye the cuntre of hem, and strecche forth the hond in to holy thingus of 32 hem. Thanne Symont azeinstode, and fau3te for his peple, and 3aue myche moneys, and armyd men of vertu of his 33 folc, and he 3aue to hem sowdis; and strengthide the citees of Juda, and Bethsura, that was in the eendis of Judee, wher bifore weren armers of enmyes, and he puttide there help, *or strengthe*, 34 men Jewis. And he strengthide Joppe, that was at the see, and Gasara, that was in theⁱ coostis of Azotus, in whom^k enmyes dwelten byfore; and he sette there Jewis, and what euere thingus weren able to the amending of hem, he 35 putte in hem. And the peple saw3 the doying of Symount, and the glorie that he thou3te for to do to his folc, and thei puttiden hym her duyke, and prince of prestis, for that he hadde don alle thes thingis and^{kk} riztwisnesse, and feith, that he kepte to his folk; and he sou3te out in 36 al maner for to reyse his peple. And in his days it hadde prosperitee in his hondis, that heithen men weren taken away fro the cuntree of hem, whiche weren in the^l citee of Daud in Jerusalem, in the hee3 rocke; of whiche thei camen out, and defouliden alle thingus that weren in the^m cumpas of holy thingus, and 3auen grete wounde to the 37 citee. And he sette thereynne men Jewis, to defendyng of the cuntree and theⁿ citee, and he reyside the wallis in Jerusalem. And kyng Demetrie ordeynede 38 to hym the hee3ist presthod; vp this he made hym his frend, and glorifiede 39 hym in grete glorie. Forsothe he herd, that Jewis ben clepid of Romayns frendis, and felawes, and bretheren, and for thei resceyuyden the^o legatis of Symont gloriously; and for Jewis and

of hem, and stretche forth hond^v in to hooli thingis 'of hem^w. Thanne Symount 32 azenstood, and fau3t for his puple, and 3af many richessis, and armyd men of vertu of his folc, and 3af to hem sowdis; and 33 strengthide the citees of Juda, and Bethsura, that was in the endis^x of Judee, where bifore weren armeris of enmyes, and he puttide there help^y, men of^z Jewis. And he strengthide Joppe, that was at the 34 see, and Gasara, that was in coostis^a of Asotus, in which enmyes dwelten bifore; and he settide there Jewis, and what euere thingis weren able to amending of hem, he puttide in hem. And the puple 35 siz the doying of Symount, and glorie that he thou3te 'for to^b do to his folc, and thei maden^c hym her duyk, and prince of preestis, for that he hadde don alle these thingis, and riztwisnesse, and feith that he kepte to his folc; and he sou3te out in al maner for to raise hys puple. And in hise 36 daies it hadde prosperite in his hondis, that hethene men weren takun awei fro the cuntre of hem, whiche weren in the^d citee of Daud in Jerusalem, in the hiz tour; fro which thei camen out, and defouliden alle thingis that weren in cumpas of hooli thingis, and 3auen greet wounde to chastite. And he settide ther ynne 37 men Jewis, to defendyng^{dd} of the cuntre and citee^e, and reyside the wallis in Jerusalem. And kyng Demetrie ordeynede to 38 hym the hizeste presthod; bi this he made 39 him his frend, and glorifiede hym in greet glorie. For he herde, that Jewis weren 40 clepid of Romayns frendis, and felowis, and britheren, and that thei resseyueden legatis of Symount gloriousli; and that^f 41 Jewis, and prestis of hem, consentiden, him for to be her duyk, and hizeste p^{re}est with outen ende, til ther rise a feithful profete^{*}; and that he be duyk on hem, 42 and cure^g were to him for hooli thingis; and that he schulde ordeyne gouernouris

* that is, Messias or Saneour, abedin of the Jewis, and bi-higte a profete to hem, in the eiztenthe c^o. of Deut^o. Lire here. EFUY.

^h thingis of hem H. ⁱ Om. H. ^k whiche H. ^{kk} in K. ^l Om. H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ Om. AGH. ^o Om. H.

^v hondis I. ^w Om. R. ^x eende R. ^y strengthe c. help, either strengthe F et plures. ^z Om. ceteri. ^a the coostis R. ^b Om. R. ^c puttiden ceteri. ^d Om. plures. ^{dd} defoulyng F. ^e of the citee R. ^f Om. R. ^g cure, or bisinesse EY.

prestis of hem consentiden, hym for to be her duyke, and heejist prest, in to withouten eende, til there ryse a feithful
 42 prophete; and that he be duyk on hem, and cure were to hym for holy thingus; and that he shulde ordeyne prepostus, *or* *gouvernours*, on^p the werkis of hem, and on the cuntree, and on armers, and on
 43 strengthus; and cure be to hym of holy thingus; and that he be herd of men, and alle wrytyngis in the cuntree be wryten
 44 to gidre vnder name of hym; and that it be not leefful to eny of the peple, and to prestis, for to make eny thing of these voide, and azein saye to these thingus that ben said of hym, ether to^q clepe togidre couent in the cuntree withouten hym; and for to be clothid in purple, and for to vse a golden lace, *or*
 45 *nouche*. Sothely he that shal do with out this, or shal make voide eny of these,
 46 shal be gylty. And it pleside to gidre to alle the peple, for to ordeyne Symont,
 47 and to do after^r these wordis. And Symont resceyuede, and it pleside, that he were sett in the^s heeist presthod, and were duyk and prince of the^t folc of Jewis, and prestis, and were bfore to
 48 alle men. And thei saiden *hem*^u for to putte this wrytyng in brasen tablis, and to^v putte hem in the walkyng place of
 49 holy thingus, in solempne place; forsothe for to putte ensauple of these in tresorie, that Symont haue and his sonys.

CAP. XV.

1 And the^w kyng Antiochus, sone of Demetrie, sente epistlis fro ijlys of the see, to Symont, prest, and prince of folc
 2 of Jewis, and to al the folc; and thei weren conteynynge this manere. Kyng Antiochus to Symont, the grete prest,
 3 and to folc of Jewis, helth. For sothli men berynge pestilence weeldiden the rewme of oure faders, forsothe Y wole

on the werkis of hem, and on the cuntre, and on armeris, and on strengthis; and
 43 cure be to hym of hooli thingis; and that he be herd of men, and alle wrytyngis in the cuntre be writun togidre vndur name^h of hym; and that he be keuered with purpurⁱ and gold; and that it be not leueful
 44 to ony of the puple, and to prestis, for to make ony thing of these voide, and azein seie to these thingis that ben seid of hym^j, ether for to clepe togidre couent in the cuntre with outen hym; and for to be clothid in^k purpur^l, and for to vse a goldun lace^m, *'ether noche*^{mm}. Sotheli he that schal
 45 do with outⁿ this^o, ether schal make voide ony of these, schal be gilty. And it ples-
 46 ide togidre to^p al the puple, for to ordeyne Symount, and do bi these wordis. And Symount resseyuede, and it pleside
 47 hym, that he schulde vse hizeste^{pp} preesthod, and be duyk and prince of^q the folc of Jewis, and prestis, and be souereyn^{qq} of alle men. And thei ordeyneden for^r
 48 to put this wrytyng in brasun tablis, and put hem in the wal aboute the cumpass-
 yng of hooli thingis, in solempne place; forsothe for to putte ensauple of these
 49 in the tresorie, that Symount haue and hise sones.

CAP. XV.

And kyng Antiok, the sone of Deme-
 1 trie, sente epistlis fro ilis of the see to Symount, prest^s, and prince of folc^t of Jewis, and to al the folc; and tho weren
 2 conteynynge this maner. Kyng Antiok to Symount, greet prest, and to the folc of Jewis, helthe. For summen berynge pes-
 3 tilence weeldiden the rewme of oure fadris, forsothe Y wole calenge the rewme, and

^p vpon H. ^q for to H. ^r vp H. ^s Om. AGH. ^t Om. H. ^u Om. G pr. m. ^v Om. H. ^w Om. AGH.

^h the name I. a name R. ⁱ purpul E. ^j hem F. ^k with N. ^l purpul EP. ^m noche PY. ^{mm} Om. EPRY. ⁿ vs R. ^o these C. ^p Om. R. ^{pp} heiz F. ^q and duyk of F. ^{qq} the souereyn R. ^r Om. N. ^s the preest I. ^t the folc R.

venge the rewme, and restore it, as it was byfore; Y made the^x chosen multitude of oost, and made shippus of werre. 4 Forsothe Y wole go forth by cuntrees, that Y do veniaunce in to hem that destroyed oure cuntree, and that maden 5 many^y citees desolate in my rewme. Now therefore Y ordeyne^u to thee alle offringus, that alle kyngus byfore me forȝauen to^a thee, and what euer other ȝiftis thei forȝauen to thee; and Y suffre thee for to 6 make smytyng, or *printe*, of thin own money, in thi regyoun^b; sothely Jerusalem for to be holy and free, and alle armers that ben maad, and strengthis, that thou hast maad out, and that thou 8 holdist, dwelle to thee; and al dett of the kyng, and tho that ben to cummyng of kyngus thingis, fro this in^c to al tyme 9 ben forȝouen to thee. Sothely whanne we shuln weelde oure rewme, we shuln glorifie thee, and thi folc, and temple^d, with grete glorie, so that ȝoure glorie be 10 shewid in al erthe. In the hundrid ȝeer and foure and seuentithe Antiochus wente out in to the lond^e of his fadris, and alle oostis camen to gydre to hym, so that 11 fewe weren left with Trifon. And kyng Antiochus pursuede hym, and he came 12 to Doram, flezing by the se coost; forsothe he wist, that yuels weren gadrid in 13 to hym, and the oost forsoken hym. And Antiochus appliede on Doram, with an hundrid and twenti thousand of fȝtyng men, and eizte thousand of horsmen; 14 and he cumpaside the citee, and shippus fro the se camen to; and thei traueiliden the cite fro lond and se, and suffreden no 15 man for to entre, or go out. Forsothe Numenyus came, and thei that weren with hym, fro Rome, hauynge epistlis wryten to kyngis and cuntrees, in whiche 16 these thingus weren conteyned. Lucius, consul of Romayns, to kyng Ptholome,

restore it, as it was bifore; Y made a chosun multitude of oost, and Y made schippis of werre. Forsothe Y wole go 4 forth bi cuntrees, that Y do veniaunce on hem that distrieden oure cuntre, and that maden many citees desolat in my rewme. Now therfor Y ordeyne^a to thee alle of- 5 fryngis, that kyngis bifore me forȝauen to thee, and 'what euer^v other ȝiftis^w thei forȝauen to thee; and Y suffre thee for to 6 make prynte^x of thin owne monei, in thi regioun^y. Sothely *Y suffre* Jerusalem for 7 to be hooli and fre, and alle armeris that ben maad, and strengthis, that thou hast maad out, and that thou holdist, dwelle to thee; and al dette of the kyng, and tho 8 that ben to comynge of kingis thingis, fro this^z and^a in to al tyme ben forȝouen to thee. Sothely whanne we schulen welde 9 oure rewme, we schulen glorifie thee, and thi folc, and temple, with greet glorie, so that ȝoure glorie be schewid in al erthe. In the hundrid ȝeer and foure and seuen- 10 tithe ȝeer Antiok wente out in to the lond of his fadris, and alle oostis camen togidere to hym, so that fewe weren left with Trifon. And king Antiok pursuede 11 hym, and *Trifon* cam in^b to Doram, and fledde bi the see coost; for he wiste, that 12 yuels weren gaderid on hym, and the oost forsook hym. And Antiok appliede on 13 Doram, with sixe score thousynde of fȝtyng men, and eizte thousynde of horse men; and he cumpasside the citee, and 14 schippis camen fro the see; and thei traueliden the citee bi lond and see, and suffriden no man for to entre, ether go^c out. Forsothe Numenyus cam, and thei that 15 weren with hym, fro Rome, and hadden epistlis writun to kingis and cuntreis, in whiche these thingis weren conteyned. Lucius, 'cheef gouernour^d of Romayns, to 16 kyng Tolome, heelthe. Messangeris^e of 17 Jewis camen to vs, oure frendis, renulinge

^x Om. H. ^y my G pr. m. ^z ordeynede, or conferme H. ^a Om. H. ^b regyoun, or cuntre H. ^c and in AGH. ^d the temple H. ^e londis H.

^u ordeyne, either conferme F et plures. ^v in whatever R. ^w thingis s. ^x smyting CR. smyting, or [ether plures] printe E et plures. ^y regioun, or cuntre C et plures. ^z this tyme I. ^a Om. R. ^b Om. ceteri. ^c to go N. ^d consul R. consul, ether [or EPY] cheef gouernour C et ceteri. ^e Legatis CEPHY. Legatis, either messengeris FGHIMNQSUXe.

17 helthe. Legatis of Jewis camen to vs,
oure freendis, renulyng the former fren-
ship and felawship, sent of Symont,
prince of prestis, and of the peple of
18 Jewis. Sotheli thei brouzten to and a
golden sheeld of a thousand besauntis.
19 And so it pleside to vs for to wryte to
kyngis and cuntrees, that thei do not
yuels to hem, nether enpugne^f hem, and
her cytees, and her cuntrees, and that
thei bere not help to men fiztyng azeinus
20 hem. Forsothe it is seen to vs, for to
21 resceyue of hem the sheeld. Therefore
3if any men^g of pestilence shuln flee fro
the cuntree of hem to 3ou, bytake 3e
hem to Symont, prince of prestis, that
he venge in to hem after^h his lawe.
22 These same thingus ben wryten to kyng
Demetrie, and Attalus, and Araba, and
23 Arsaces, and in to alle cuntrees, and
Sampsame, and Spartanyes, and Delo,
and Myde, and Synone, and Carie, and
Samyum, and Pamphiliam, and Lysiam,
and Alacarnasum, and Rodum, and Pha-
selida, and Reo, and Sydon, and Arado,
and Gortynam, and Gnydum, and Cypre,
24 and Cyrenen. Forsothe ensaumple of
these thei han wryten to Symont, prince
25 of prestis, and to peple of Jewis. For-
sothe Antiochus appliede tentus in Do-
ram the secounde tyme, mouynge to it
euermore hondis, and makyng engynes;
and he closide to gidre Trifon, lest he
26 wente out. And Symont sente to hym
two thousand of chosen men, in to help,
and syluer, and gold, and plenteuouse
27 vessels; and he wolde not take. Bot he
brake alle thingus that he couenantide
with hym byfore, and alyenyde hym self
28 fro hym. And he sente to hym Athe-
nobijs, oon of his freendis, for to treete
with hym, sayynge, 3e holden Joppen andⁱ
Gazaram, and the hee3 rocke that is in
29 Jerusalem, cytees of my rewme; the
coostis of hem 3e han waastid, and han

the formere frendship and felouschip,
sent of Symoun, prince of prestis, and
puple^f of Jewis. Sotheli thei brouzten 18
also a goldun scheeld of a thousynde be-
sauntis. Therfor^g it pleside to vs for to 19
write to kyngis and cuntreis, that thei do
not yuels to hem, nether impugne hem,
and^h her citees, and her cuntreis, and theiⁱ
bere not help to men fiztyng a3ens hem.
Forsothe it is seyn to vs, for to resseyue 20
of hem the scheeld. Therfor if ony men^k 21
of pestilence schulen fle fro the cuntre of
hem to 3ou, bitake 3e hem to Symount,
prince of prestis, that he do veniaunce on
hem bi his lawe. These same thingis ben 22
writun to kyng Demetrie, and Attalus,
and Arabas, and Arsaces, and in to alle 23
cuntreis, and Sampsame, and Spartanyes,
and Delo, and Mydo, and Sydne, and
Carie, and Sanyum, and Pamfiliam, and
Lisiam, and Alacarnasum, and Rodum,
and Phaselida, and Choo, and Sidon, and
Arodo, and Gortynam, and Gnydum, and
Cipre, and Cirenen. Forsothe thei han 24
writun ensaumple of these to Symount,
prince of prestis, and to the puple of
Jewis. Forsothe Antiok, the kyng, appli- 25
ede tentis^l in Doram the secounde tyme,
mouynge to it 'euere more^m hondis, and
makynge engynes; and he closide togi-
dere Trifon, lest he wente out. And Sy- 26
mount sente to hym twei thousynde of
chosun men, in to help, and siluer, and
gold, and plenteuouse vessels; and he 27
wolde not take tho. But he brak alle
thingis that he couenauntide with hym
bifore, and alienyde him silfⁿ fro hym.
And he sente to hym Athenobius, oon of 28
his freendis, for to trete with hym, and
seide, 3e holden Joppe, and Gasaram, and
the hi3 tour that is in Jerusalem, citees of
my rewme; 3e han wastid the coostis of 29
hem, and han do greet^o distriyng in the
lond, and with out coostis^p of Judee 3e ben
lordis bi many places in my rewme. Now 30

^f repugne A. ^g man H. ^h vp H. ⁱ in AG pr. m. HK.

^f prince n. ^g And therfor n. ^h in n. ⁱ that thei R. ^k man A. ^l tentis, or [ether plures] oost & et
plures. oostis, ethir tentis s. ^m Om. R. ⁿ Om. R. ^o a greet n. ^p the coostis RV.

don a grete veniaunce in the lond, and
 3e lordshipen by many places in my
 30 rewme. Nowe therfore 3eue 3e the citees,
 whom¹ 3e occupieden, and tributis of
 places, 'to whom^k 3e lordshipen, out of
 31 the eendis of Judee. Or ellis 3eue 3e
 for hem fyfty talentis of syluer, and of
 distruyng that 3e han distrayed, and of
 tributis of citees, other fifty talentis; or
 ellis we schuln cumme, and ouercumme
 32 3ou. And Athenobyus, frend of the
 kyng, came in to Jerusalem, and see3
 the glorye of Symont, and cleernesse, in
 gold, and syluer, and plenteuouse apareil,
 and was astonyed; and he tolde to hym
 33 wordis of the kyng. And Symont an-
 swerde, and seide to hym, Nether we
 token alyen londis^l, nether with holden
 other mens thingus, bot eritage of oure
 fadris, that was weeldid sum tyme vn-
 34 iustly of oure enmyes. Sothely we hau-
 ynge tyme chalengen the heritage of^m
 35 oure fadris. For why of Joppe and Ga-
 zara that thou axist, thei diden grete
 veniaunceⁿ in the peple, and in^o oure
 cuntree; of these we 3euen an hundrid
 36 talentis. And Athenobyus answerde not
 a word. Sothely he, turned a3ein with
 wrath to the kyng, tolde a3ein to hym
 these wordis, and the glorie of Symont,
 and alle thingus that he see3. And the
 kyng was wrothe with grete wrath.
 37 Forsothe Trifon flei3 by ship in to Orto-
 38 sayda. And the kyng ordeynyde Cen-
 debeus, duyck of the se coost, and 3aue to
 39 hym oost of fotmen^{oo} and horsmen; and
 comaundide hym for to moue tentis
 a3einus the face of Judee. And he co-
 maundide hym for to bilde Cedron, and
 to stoppe 3atis^p of the^q citee, and ouer-
 cumme the peple; forsothe the kyng
 40 pursuede Trifon. And Cendebeus came
 to Jamniam, and bigan for to terre the
 peple to wrath, and for to defoule Judee,
 and to make the peple caityf, and slea,

therfor 3yue 3e the citees^q, which 3e ocu-
 pieden^r, and tributis of places, of whiche
 3e ben lordis, out of endis of Judee. Ether³¹
 ellis 3yue 3e for hem fyue hundrid talentis
 of siluer, and of distriyng that 3e han dis-
 tried, and of tributis of citees, othere fyue
 hundrid talentis; ether ellis we schulen
 come, and ouercome 3ou. And Atheno-³²
 bius, frend of the kyng, cam in to Jeru-
 salem, and si3 the glorie of Symount, and
 clerenesse, in gold, and siluer, and plenteu-
 ouse apparel, and was astonyed; and telde
 to him the wordis of the kyng. And Sy-³³
 mount answeride, and seide to hym, Ne-
 ther we token alien lond, nether with-
 holden other mennus thingis, but eritage
 of oure fadris, that was weldid some time
 vniustly of oure enemies. Sotheli we han³⁴
 tyme, and calengen the eritage of oure
 fadris. For whi of Joppe and Gasara³⁵
 that thou axist, thei diden greet veniaunce
 in oure puple, and cuntree; of these we
 3yuen an hundrid talentis. And Atheno-³⁶
 bius answeride not a word. Sotheli he
 turnede a3en with wraththe to the kyng,
 and telde a3en to hym these wordis, and
 the glorie of Symount, and alle thingis
 that he si3. And the king was wroth
 with greet wraththe. Forsothe Trifon³⁷
 flei bi schip 'in to^s Ortosaida. And the³⁸
 kyng ordeynede Cendebeus, duyck of the
 see coost, and 3af to him oost of foot men
 and horse men; and comaundide him for³⁹
 to moue tentis a3ens the face of Judee;
 and comaundide hym for to bilde Cedron*,
 and stoppe the 3atis of the cite, and ouer-
 come the puple; forsothe the kyng pur-
 suede Trifon. And Cendebeus cam to⁴⁰
 Jamnyam, and bigan for to terre the pu-
 ple to wraththe, and for to defoule Judee,
 and make the puple caitif, and sle, and
 bilde Cedron. And he settide there horse⁴¹
 men and oost, that thei schulden gon out,
 and schulden walke bi weie of Judee, as
 the kyng ordeynede to^t hym.

* that is, a
 strong hold
 namid so, for it
 was set on the
 stronde of Ce-
 dron, that bi
 this he myste
 bettere im-
 pugne Judee.
Lire here. κατ.

¹ whiche H. ^k whiche H. ^l loond AGH. ^m on K. ⁿ plage, or veniaunce H. ^o Om. G pr. m.
^{oo} the footmen H. ^p the 3atis H. ^q Om. H.

^q cite A pr. m. EFGHKMNPSUX. ^r occupien R. ^s to R pr. m. ^t Om. R pr. m.

41 and to beelde Cedron. And he sette there horsmen and oost, that thei gon out shulden walke by the^r waye of Judee, as the kyng ordeynyde hym.

CAP. XVI.

1 And Joon styede fro Gazara, and tolde to Symont, his fadir, what thingus Cendebeus dide in the peple of hem. And Symont clepide his two eldre sonnys, Judas and Joon, and saith to hem, Y, and my bretheren, and the^s hous of my fadre, han ouercummen the enmyes of Yrael, fro 3ongthe til in to this day; and it hadde prosperite in oure hondis, for to 3 delyuere Yrael sumtymes. Forsothe nowe I haue oldid, bot be 3e in my stede, and of my brother, and 3e gon out, f3zte for oure folc; forsothe help of heuen be 4 with 3ou. And he cheese of the cuntree twenti thousand of f3ztyng men, and horsmen; and thei wenten out to Cendebeus, and slepten in Modyn. And thei rysen erly, and wenten in to the feeld, and loo! a copious oost in to metyng to hem, of fotemen and horsmen; and the flood of reyn water was bitwix the myddis of hem. And he mouede to the tentis a3einus the^t face of hem, he and his peple, and he see3 the peple tremblyng to passe ouer the streme of reyn, and he passide ouer the first; and men see3en 7 hym, and passiden after hym. And he lefte the peple and horsmen in myddil of fotemen; forsothe the^u rydyng of aduersaries was ful plenteuouse. And thei cryeden an hee3 with holy trumpis; and Cendebeus is conuertid in to fl3zt, and his oost^v, and many of hem felle woundid; sothely the residues fledden in to the^w 9 strengthe. Thanne^x Judas, the brother of Joon, is woundid; forsothe Joon pursuede hem, til he came to Cedrona, whom^y 10 he beeldide. And thei fledden 'vnto^z toures, that weren in the^a feeldis of Azo-

CAP. XVI.

And Joon stiede fro Gasara, and telde 1 to Symount, his fader, what thingis Cendebeus dide in the puple of hem. And 2 Symount clepide his tweyne eldere sonnes, Judas and Joon, and seide to hem, Y, and my britheren, and the hous of my fadir, han ouercomun the enemyes of Israel, fro 3ongthe til in to this dai; and it hadde prosperite in oure hondis, for to delyuere Israel sum times. Forsothe now Y haue 3 eldid, but be 3e in my stide, and of my brother, and go 3e out, and f3zte for oure^u folc; forsothe helpe of heuene be with 3ou. And he chees of the cuntrei twenti 4 thousynde of f3ztinge men, and horse men; and thei wenten out to Cendebeus, and slepten in Modyn. And thei risiden^v 5 eerli, and wenten in to the^w feeld, and lo! a copiose oost *cam* in to metyng^x of^y hem, of foot men and horse men; and a rennyng flood was bitwixe the myddis of hem^z. And he and his puple mouede 6 the scheltruns a3ens the^a face of hem, and he si3 the puple tremblyng^b to passe ouer the streeme of water, and he passide ouer the firste; and men si3en hym, and passiden aftir hym. And he departide the 7 puple and horse men in the myddil of foot men; forsothe the multitude of horse men of aduersaries was ful plenteuouse. And thei crieden an hi3 with hooli trum- 8 pis; and Cendebeus was turned in to fl3zt, and his oost, and many of hem fellen woundid; sotheli the residues fledden in to strengthe. Thanne Judas, the brother 9 of Joon, was woundid; forsothe Joon pursuede hem, til *Cendebeus* cam to Cedrona, which he bildide. And thei fled- 10 den til to touris, that weren in the feeldis

^r Om. H. ^s Om. H. ^t Om. H. ^u Om. H. ^v tentes H. ^w Om. H. ^x And H. ^y whiche H. ^z to H. ^a Om. H.

^u 3oure H. ^v risen F. resin EPY. ^w Om. C *sec. m. H.* ^x the metyng N. ^y to CEF GHIKMPQRS *sup. ras. UXE.* ^z men EY. ^a Om. CEGH MN PQSU Y. ^b tremble N.

tis, and he brente hem with fir; and there fellen of hem two thousand of men; and he turnyde azein in to Judee in pees. 11 And Ptholome, sone of Aboby, was ordeynyd duyck in the feeld of Jerico, and 12 he hadde myche syluer and gold; forsothe he weddide the douzter of the^b 13 heezist prest. And the hert of hym is reysid, and he wolde weelde the cuntree; and he thouzte gyle azeinus Symont and 14 his sonys, for to do away hem. Forsothe Symont walkynge by citees that weren in the cuntree of Judee, and berynge the besynesse of hem, came down in to Jericho, he, and Mathatias, his sone, and Judas, in the hundrid 3eer and seuen and seuentithe, in the elleuenthe monethe; 15 this is the^c moneth Sabath. And the sone of Abobi resceyuyde hem in to a litil strengthe, that is clepid Doth, with gijle, whom^d he beeldide; and he made to hem a grete feest, and hidde men 16 there. And whan Symont was ful of drinke, and his sonys, Ptholome roose with his, and token her armers^e, and entriden in to the feest, and slewen hym, and his two sonnys, and sume children 17 of hym. And he did a grete disceyte in Yrael, and 3eeldide^f yuels for goodis. 18 And Ptholome wrote these thingus, and sente to the kyng, for to sende to hym an oost in to help, and he schulde bitake to hym the cuntre and citees of hem, and 19 tributis. And he sente other in to Gazara, for to do away Joon; and the tribune sente epistlis, that thei shulden come to hym, and he schulde 3eue to hem 20 syluer, and gold, and 3iftis. And he sente other, for to ocupie Jerusalem, and 21 the mount of the temple. And summan rennyng byfore tolde to Joon in Gazara, for his fader perischide, and his bretheren, and for he hath sente and 22 thee for to be slayn. Forsothe as he herde, he dredde greteli; and he cauzte

of Azotus, and he brente hem with fier; and ther fellen of hem two thousynde of men, and he turnede azen in to Judee in pees. And Tolome, the sone of Abobi,¹¹ was ordeyned duyck in the feld of Jerico, and hadde myche siluer and gold; for^c 12 he^d weddid the douzter of the hizeste preest. And the herte of hym was reysid,¹³ and he wolde welde the cuntre; and he thouzte gyle azens Symount and his sones, for to do awei hem. Forsothe Symount¹⁴ walkide bi citees that weren in the cuntre of Judee, and bar bisynesse of hem, and cam down in to Jerico, he^e, and Matatias, his sone, and Judas, in the hundrid 3eer and seuen and seuentithe, in the enleuenthe monethe; this is the monethe Sabath^{f*}. And the sone of Abobi res- 15 seyuede him in to a litil strengthe, that is clepid Doth, with gile, which he bildide; and made to hem a greet feest, and hidde men ther. And whanne Symount was ful¹⁶ of drynk, and hise sones, Tolome roos with his^e, and token her armeris, and entriden in to the feest, and slowen hym, and hise twei sones, and summe children of hym^b. And he dide a greet disseit in¹⁷ Israel, and 3eldide yuels for goodis. And¹⁸ Tolome wroot these thingis, and sente to the kyng, for to sende to hym an oost in to help, and he schulde bitake to hym the cuntre and citees of hem, and tributis. And he sente othere in to Gasara, for to¹⁹ do awei Joon; and to the tribunes he sente epistlis, that thei schulden come to hym, and he schulde 3yue to hem siluer, and gold, and 3iftis. And he sente other²⁰ men, for to ocupie Jerusalem, and the mount of the temple. And sum man ran²¹ bifore, and told to Joon in Gasara, for¹ that his fadir perischide, and his briteren, and that^k he sente that thou also be slayn. Forsothe as he herde, he won- 22 dride greetli; and he cauzte the men that camen for¹ to leese hym, and he slow

* that is, Februari. AK. It shal be wretm Sebeth, and answerith to Januarie. Lire here. EPQVY.

^b Om. H. ^c Om. AGH. ^d whiche H. ^e aspyes H. ^f 3eelde H.

^c and R. ^d Om. R pr. m. ^e and he I. ^f Sebeth, that is, Januarge ie marg. Sebeth, that is, Jeneuer N. ^g his men R. ^h hem Y. ⁱ Om. R. ^k Om. R. ^l Om. R.

the men that came for to leese hym, and slew3 hem; forsothe he knewe, for^g thei sou3ten for to leese hym. And other thingus of Joons wordis, and of his batels, and good vertues, in whiche he dide strongly, and of beeldyng of wallis, whom he fully maade, and of thingus²⁴ don of hym, loo! theese ben writen in the boke of days of his presthod, sithen he was maad prince of prestis aftir his fadir.

Here endith the book of the firste Judas Machabeus, and bigynneth the book of secunde Judas Machabeus^h.

hem; for he knew, that thei sou3ten for to leese hym. And othere thingis of²³ Joons wordis, and of his batels, and good vertues, in whiche he dide strongli, and of bilyng of wallis, whiche he fulli made, and of thingis don of him^m, lo! these ben²⁴ writun in bookⁿ of daies of his presthod, sithen he was maad prince of prestis aftir his fadir.

Here endith the firste book of Machabeis, and here bigynneth the secunde book of Machabeis^o.

^g that n. ^h No final rubric in AGH.

^m and lo! EPY. ⁿ the book RX sec. m. ^o From CQUX. *Here endith the firste book of Machabeis, and here bygynneth the secunde book. F. Here endith the firste book of Machabeis, and bigynneth a prolog on the secunde book of Machabeis. G. Here endeth the firste book of Machabeis, and bigynneth the secunde. HINRE. Here endeth the firste book of Macabeus; se now the secound book of Macabeus. K. Here endith Machabeus i., and here bigynnet h Machabeus ii. M. Here endith the firste book of Machabeis, and heere bygynneth the secunde Macabeis. S. No final rubric in AEPY.*

II. M A C C A B E E S.

The book of the secunde Machabeus^a.

*Here byginneth the seconde book of
Macabeys^a.*

CAP. I.

1 To bretheren, that ben by Egipt, Jewis,
helthe sayen bretheren, that ben in Jeru-
salem, Jewis, and that ben in the^b cuntree
2 of Judee, and good pees. God do wel to
3ou, and haue mynd of his testament,
that he spake to Abraham, Ysaac, and
3 Jacob, his trewe seruauentis; and 3eue
herte to 3ou alle, that 3e wirshipe hym,
and do the wille of hym with grete herte
4 and wilful ynwytt. Opene he 3our herte
in his lawe, and his heestis, and make he
5 pees; heere he graciously 3our preyers,
and be recounseilid to 3ou, nether forsake
6 3ou in yuel tyme. And now we ben
7 here preyinge for 3ou. Regnynge Deme-
trie in the hundrid 3eer and sixti^c and
nythe, we Jewis han writen to 3ou in
tribulacioun and fersnesse, that came
aboue to vs in these 3eeris, sithen Jason
wente oute of the holy lond and rewme.
8 Thei brenten the 3ate, and shedden out
innocent blood; and we preyeden to the
Lord, and we ben graciously herd, and
we han offrid sacrifice, and cleene flour,
and han tendid lanterns, and han putte
9 forth looues. And now we vse 3e the days
10 of Senephegie, of the moneth Casleu. In
the hundred 3eer and ei3te and ei3tithe,
the peple that is in Jerusalem and in
Judee, and the senate, and Judas, to

CAP. I.

To britheren Jewis, that ben *scaterid*^b 1
thorou3 Egipt, britheren, that ben in Jeru-
salem, Jewis, and that ben in the cuntre
of Judee, seien heelte and good pees.
God do wel to 3ou, and haue mynde of 2
his testament, that he spak to Abraham,
Isaac, and Jacob, *that ben of the noumbre*
of his trewe seruauentis; and 3yue he herte 3
to 3ou alle, that 3e worschipe hym, and do
the wille of hym with greet herte and
wilful soule. Opene he 3oure herte in his 4
lawe, and in hise heestis, and make he
pees; here he graciously 3oure preieris, 5
and be recounceld to 3ou, nether forsake^c
3ou in yuel tyme. And now we ben here 6
preiynge for 3ou. While Demetrie regneth 7
in the hundrid 3eer and sixtithe^d and
nythe^e, we Jewis han writun to 3ou in
tribulacioun and fersnesse, that cam aboue
to vs in these 3eeris, and^f sithen Jason
wente out of the hooli lond and rewme.
Thei brenten the 3ate, and schedden out 8
innocent blood; and we preieden to the
Lord, and we ben graciously herd, and we
han offrid sacrifice, and clene flour, and
han tendid lanternes, and han put forth
looues. And now make 3e solempne the 9
daies of Cenefegye, *'ether clensyng of the*
temple^g, of the monethe Caslew*. In the 10 * that is, No-
uembre. K. hundrid 3eer and ei3te and ei3tithe, the

^a Here byginneth the secunde boke of Machabeorum. A. Machabee the secunde. G. No initial rubric in H. ^b Om. H. ^c sixtithe GH.

^a From EPY. No initial rubric in the other Mss. ^b Om. R. ^c forsake he IK. ^d sixti IR. ^e nyne R. ^f Om. R. ^g Om. R.

Aristoble, maister of Tholome, kyng, that is of the kyn of oyntyd prestis, and to hem that ben in Egypt, Jewis, 11 helthe of soule, and helthe of body. We delyuerd of God fro grete perilis, don thankyngis to hym hugely, as we that 12 han fouȝten aȝeinus siche a kyng. Forsothe he made to^e buyle out of Persis hem that fouȝten aȝeinus vs and^f the holy 13 citee. For whi whan in Perse was the duyke hym self, and with hym al the oost, he felle in the temple of Nauee, disceyuyd bi the counseil of the prest of 14 Nauee. Forsothe as to dwellyng with hym Antiochus came to the place, and his freendis^g, and for to take myche 15 moneys by name of dower. And whan prestis of Nauee hadden putte hem forth, and he with fewe entride with ynne cumpas of the temple, thei closiden the temple, whanne Antiochus 16 had entride. And the priuy entree of the temple opnyd, thei sendinge stoons smyten the duyke, and hem that weren with hym, and departiden lym mele; and 17 the hedis gird off, casten forth out. Bi alle thingis blessid God, that bitoke vn- 18 pitous men. Therefore we to makynge purifyng, or *clensynge*, of the temple, in the^h fyue and twentithe day of the moneth Casleu, ledden needful for to signyfie to ȝou, that and ȝe do the day of Senephegie, and the day of fjr, that is ȝouen, whan Neemye offride sacrifices, and the temple and theⁱ auter bildid. 19 For whi whan oure fadris weren ledde in to Persis, prestis that thanne weren wirshipers of God, hidden priuily fjr taken of the auter, in a valey, wher was a deep pitt, and drye; and therynne thei kepten it, so that the place was 20 vnknownen to alle men. Forsothe whanne many ȝeeris hadden passid, and it pleside to God that Neemye was sente fro the kyng of Persis, he sente the sonys sonys^k

puple that is in Jerusalem and in Judee, and the elde men, and Judas, to Aristoble, maister of Tolome, kyng, that is of the kyn anoyntid^g prestis, and to hem that ben in Egypt, Jewis, helthe of soule, and helthe of bodi. We delyuered of God 11 fro grete perelis, don thankyngis to hym hugely, as we that han fouȝten aȝens sich a kyng. For he made for to buyle out of 12 Persis hem that fouȝten aȝens vs and the hooli citee. For whi whanne the duyke 13 hym silf was in Persis, and with hym a greet oost, he felle^h in the temple of Nauee, and was disseyued bi counselⁱ of the prest of Nauee. Forsothe Antiok cam 14 to the place as to dwellynge with hym, and his frendis, and for to take many richessis bi name of dower. And whanne 15 prestis of Nauee hadden put forth tho, and he with fewe entride with ynne the cumpas of the temple, thei closiden the temple, whanne Antiok hadde entrid. And 16 whanne the pryuy entre of the temple was openyd, thei threwen^k stoonys, and smytidenⁱ the duik, and hem that weren with hym, and thei departiden lememeel; and whanne the heedis weren gird of, thei castiden out forth. Bi alle thingis blessid 17 *be* God, that bitook vnpitouse men. Ther- 18 for we to makynge clensyng^m of the temple, in the fyue and twentithe dai of the monethe Caslew*, ledden nedeful for to signefie to ȝou, that and ȝe do also the dai of Scenofegie, and the dai of fier, that was ȝouun, whanne Neemye offride sacrifices, after that the temple and auterⁿ weren bildid. For whi whanne oure fadris weren 19 led in to Persis, prestis^o that thanne weren worschiperis of God, hidden priueli fier takun of the auter, in a^p valei, where was a^q deep pit and drie; and there ynne thei kepten it, so that the place was vnknowun to alle men. Forsothe whanne 20 many ȝeeris hadden passid, and it pleside to God that Neemye was sent fro the

* that is, No-
uembre. EKNP
UYE.

^e for to H. ^f in G pr. m. H. ^g frende H. ^h Om. H. ⁱ Om. H. ^k Om. H.

^g of oynted ne. ^h felde c et alii. ⁱ the councel R. ^k souȝten F. senten ceteri. ^l smetin EPY. smyten F. ^m purifyng, or [ether plures] *clensinge* EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. purifyng R. ⁿ the auter KR. ^o and prestis F. ^p the I. ^q Om. Y.

of^l prestis that hidden, for to seeke fije;
 and as thei teelden to vs, thei foonden
 21 not fije, bot fatt water. And he comaund-
 ide hem for to drawe, and brynge to
 hym. And Neemye, prest, comaundide
 the sacrifices, that weren put vpon^m, for
 to be spreynt with this water, and the
 trees, and tho that weren putte aboue.
 22 And as this was don, and the tyme came
 to, in whiche the sunne shoon azein, that
 byfore was in cloude, a grete fije is kyn-
 23 dlid, so that alle men wondriden. For-
 sothe alle the prestis maden preyer, whil
 the sacrifice was eendid; Jonathas bygyn-
 24 nyng, other forsothe answeyng. And
 the preyer of Neemye was hauynge this
 manere. Lord God, of alle thingis maker
 of nouzt, dreedful and stronge, iust and
 mercyful, whiche aloon art aⁿ good kyng,
 25 aloon 3euyng, aloone iust, and almyzti, and
 with out bigynnyng and eend, whiche
 delyuerist Yrael fro^o al yuel, whiche mad-
 ist chosen faders, and halewidist hem;
 26 take thou sacrifice for al thy peple Yrael,
 27 and keepe thi part, and halewe. Gadre
 oure scaterynge^p, delyuere hem that seruen
 to heithen men, and biholde thou^q dis-
 pised men, and maad abomynable, that
 heithen men wite, that thou art oure
 28 God. Tourment thou men oppressyng
 29 vs, and doynge dispite in pride. Ordeyn
 thi peple in thin holy place, as Moyses
 30 saide. Forsothe prestis sungen ympnys,
 31 tyl the sacrifice was eendid. Forsothe
 whan the sacrifice was eendid, Neemye
 comaundide the more stoons for to be
 32 shed on^r of the residue water; whiche
 thing as was don, flawme is kyndlid of
 hem, bot it is waastid of the lizt, that
 33 azein shynyde of the auter. Forsothe as
 the thing is knowen, it is tolde to the
 kyng of Peris, that in the place in whiche
 tho prestis that weren translatid, hadden
 hidde fije, water apperide, of whiche
 Neemye and thei that weren with hym,

kyng of Persis, he sente the sones sones
 of tho prestis that hidden, for to seke fier^a;
 and as thei telden to vs, thei founden not
 fier, but fat water. And he comaundide²¹
 hem for to^r drawe, and brynge to hym.
 And Neemye, preest^s, comaundide the sa-
 crifices, that weren put on, for to be
 spreynt with the water, tho and the trees,
 and^t tho thingis that weren put aboue.
 And as this was don, and the tyme cam,²²
 in which the sunne schon azen, that bfore
 was in cloude, a greet fier was kyndlid, so
 that alle men wondriden. Forsothe alle²³
 prestis maden preier, while the sacrifice
 was endid; and Jonathas bigan, and othere
 forsothe answeriden. And the preier of²⁴
 Neemye was hauynge this maner. Lord
 God, maker of nouzt of alle thingis, drede-
 ful and strong, iust and merciful, which
 aloone art good kyng, aloone 3euyng,²⁵
 aloone iust, and almyzti, and with out
 bigynnyng and ende, which delyuerist Is-
 rael fro al yuel, which madist fadris
 chosun, and halewidist hem; take thou²⁶
 sacrifice for al thi puple Israel, and kepe
 thi part, and halewe. Gadere oure^u scat-²⁷
 eryng^v, delyuere hem that seruen to he-
 thene men, and biholde thou dispised men,
 and maad abhomynable, that hethene men
 wite, that thou art oure God. Turmente²⁸
 thou men oppressyng vs, and doynge
 dispit in pride. Ordeyne thi puple in thin²⁹
 hooli place, as Moises seide. Forsothe³⁰
 prestis sungen ympnes, til the sacrifice
 was endid. Forsothe whanne the sacri-³¹
 fice was endid, Neemye comaundide the
 more stoonys for to be bisched of the
 residue watir; and as this thing was don,³²
 flawme was kyndlid of hem, but it was
 wastid of the lizt, that azen schynede of
 the auter. Forsothe after that^w the thing³³
 was knowun, it was teld^x to the kyng of
 Persis, that in the place in which the^y
 prestis that weren translatid, hadden hid
 fier, water apperide, of which Neemye

^l of tho G sec. m. H. ^m on H. ⁿ Om. H. ^o of AGH. ^p dispersyoun, or scaterynge H. ^q thou to H.
^r vpon H.

^a the fyr ceteri. ^r fort Y. ^s the prest ΕΚΡΥ. ^t of N. ^u out F. ^v dispercioun, ether [or ΕΡΥ]
 scatering c et plures. ^w Om. I. ^x knowen F. ^y tho R.

34 clensiden sacrifices. Forsothe the kyng
byholdynge and diligently examyninge
the thing, made a temple to hym, for to
35 proue that thing that was don. And
whanne he hadde proued, he 3aue many
goodis to prestis, and other with outen
noubre; and takynge with his hond,
36 he 3aue to hem. Forsothe Neemye clep-
ide this place Nepthar, that is interpretid^s
clensyng; forsothe anentis many it^{ss} is
clepid Nephi.

CAP. II.

1 Forsothe it is founden in dyscryuynge,
or wrytyngis, of Jeremye, the^t prophete,
that he comaundide hem that passiden
ouer, for to take fjr, as it is signyfied,
and as he bade to men passynge ouer, *or*
2 *caitif*. And he 3aue to hem the lawe,
lest thei for3aten the heestis of the Lord;
and that thei shulden not erre^u in soulis,
or vndirstondingis, seeynge golden and
sylueren symulacris, and ournementis of
3 hem. And he saynge other siche thingus
monestide, that thei shulden not remoue
4 the lawe fro her herte. Sothely it was
in that wrytyng, hou the prophete badde
the tabernacle, and the^v hucche, *or ark*,
for to folowe with hem, Goddis answer
maad to hym, til he wente out in to the
hill in whiche Moyses ascendide, and
5 see3 the eritage of God. And Jeremye
cummyng foonde there a place of a^w
den, and brou3te yn thidir the tabernacle,
and the^x hucche, and the^y auter of en-
6 cense, and stoppide the dore. And sume
men camen to gidre that folewiden, for
to marke the place to hem, and thei
7 mizten not fynde. Forsothe as Jeremye
knewe, he blamyng hem saide, that the
place shal be vnknownen, til God gadre
the congregacioun togidre of peple, and
8 be maad merciful^z. And thanne the

and thei that weren with hym clensiden
sacrifices. Forsothe the kyng bihelde^x 34
and diligentli examynede^y the thing, and
made a temple to hym, for to proue that
thing that was don. And whanne he 35
hadde preued, he 3af many goodis to prestis,
and othere 3iftis; and he took with his
hoond, and hez 3af to hem. Forsothe 36
Neemye clepte this place Nepthar, that is
interpretid, '*ether expowned*^a, clensyng;
forsothe anentis many it is clepid Nephi.

CAP. II.

Forsothe it is foundun in wrytyngis^b of 1
Jeremye, the^c profete, that he comaundide
hem that passiden ouer, for to take fier, as
it is signefied, and as he bad to men 'pass-
ynge ouer^d. And he 3af to hem the lawe, 2
leste thei for3aten the heestis of the Lord;
and that thei schulden not erre in soulis,
seynge goldun and siluerne symylacris,
and ournementis of hem. And he seide 3
othere siche thingis, and monestide, that
thei schulden not remoue the lawe fro her
herte. Sotheli it was in that wrytyng, 4
hou the profete bad, bi Goddis answer^e
maad to hym, that the tabernacle and 'the
arke^f folowe with hem, til he wente out in
to the hil in which Moyses ascendide, and
siz the eritage of God. And Jeremye cam, 5
and foond ther a place of denne, and
brou3te in thidur the tabernacle, and 'the
arke^g, and auter of encense, and stoppide
the dore. And summen camen togidere 6
that folewiden, for to marke the place to
hem, and mizten not fynde. Forsothe as 7
Jeremye knew, he blamede hem, and seide,
that the place schal be vnknowun, til God
gadere the congregacioun of puple, and
be^h maad helpfu^l. And thanne the Lord 8
schal schewe these thinges, and the ma-
ieste of the Lord schal appere; and a
cloude schal be, as and^k to Moyses it was

^s interpretid, *or expowned* H. ^{ss} Om. G pr. m. K. ^t Om. H. ^u oute erre G pr. m. H. ^v Om. H.
^w Om. GH. ^x Om. H. ^y Om. H. ^z helthful, *or merciful* H.

^x biholdyng H. ^y examynyng H. ^z Om. R. ^a Om. CHR. *or to vndirstonde* EPY. ^b discriuynge, *or*
[*ether plures*] *wrytyngis* EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. *dyscryuynge* R. ^c Om. CEFHNPX. ^d passynge ouer, *ether*
[*or EFHPYE*] *caitif* CEFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. ^e answeryng CEFIMPMU. ^f arke CEPY. *whiche, ether*
arke FHIKMNQSUXE. *hucche, ether arke* G. ^g arke CEFHPR. *hucche, ether arke* GQS. *whiche* K.
whiche, ether arke MNUX. *whiche* E. ^h he be C. ⁱ helpeful, *ether* [or EPY] *merciful* C et plures. ^k Om. I

Lord shal shewe these thingus, and ma-
 ieste^a of the Lord shal appere; and a cloude
 shal be, as and to Moyses was schewid,
 and as whan Salomon axide, that the
 place shulde be halewid to grete God.
 9 Forsoth greetli he tretid wysdom, and
 as hauynge wysdom he offride sacrifice
 of halewyng, and of parfourmyng of the
 10 temple. As and Moyses preyde to the
 Lord, and fjr came down fro heuen, and
 wastide the brent sacrifice; as and Salo-
 mon preyde, and fjr came down fro
 heuen, and wastide the brent sacrifices^b.
 11 And Moyses saide, For that it is not
 clensid, that was for synne, and it is
 12 waastid. Also and Salomon in eizte days
 13 wirshipide the halewyng. Forsothe and
 these same thingis weren born in discrip-
 ciouns, and the^c almeries of Neemye;
 and he makynge a litil bible, gadride of
 cuntrees bokis, and of prophetis, and of
 Daud, and epistlis of kyngus, and of
 14 ziftis. Also sothely and Judas gadride
 alle tho thingus whiche he lernyde by
 bateil, that bifelle to vs, and thei^d ben
 15 anentus vs. Therefore 3if 3e desiren these,
 16 sende 3e whiche shuln bere to 3ou. And
 so we to doynge purifyng, han write to
 3ou; therfore 3e shuln do wel, 3if 3e
 17 shuln do these days. Forsothe God that
 delyuerde his peple, and 3eeldide^e his
 eritage to alle, and^f rewme, and prest-
 18 hod, and halewyng, as he byhei3te in
 the lawe, we hopen that soone he shal
 haue mercy of^g vs, and shal gadre fro
 19 vnder heuen in to the holy place; for-
 sothe he delyuerde vs fro grete perelis,
 20 and purgide the place. Sothely of Judas
 Machabeus, and his bretheren, and of
 purifying of the grete temple, and of
 21 halewyng of the auter; bot and of the
 bateilis, that perteynen to noble Antioch,
 22 and to his sone Eupator; and of lizt-
 nyngus that ben maad of heuen, to hem
 that strongly diden for Jewis, so that

schewid, and as whanne Salomon axide,
 that the place schulde be halewid to greet¹
 God, this *cloude* schewide; and as hau-
 ynge wisdom he offryde sacrifice of halew-
 yng, and of performyng of the temple. As 10
 and Moyses preiede to the Lord, and fier cam
 down fro heuene, and wastide the brent
 sacrifice; as and Salomon preiede, and
 fier cam down fro heuene, and wastide the
 brent sacrifice. And Moyses seide, For 11
 that it is not clensid, that was for synne,
 and it was wastid. Also and Salomon in 12
 eizte daies made solempne the halewyng.
 Forsothe and these same thingis weren 13
 put yn^m in discripciouns, and expositiouns
 of Neemye; and as he makideⁿ a litile
 bible, and gadride bookis of cuntrees,
 and bookis^o of profetis, and of Daud, and
 epistlis of kyngis, and of^p ziftis. Also 14
 sotheli and Judas gadride alle tho thingis
 which he lernyde bi batel, that bifelle to
 vs, and thei ben anentis vs. Therfor if 15
 3e disiren these, sende 3e whiche schulen
 bere to 3ou. Therfor we to^q doynge puri- 16
 fying, han write to 3ou; therfor 3e schulen
 do wel, if 3e schulen do these daies. For- 17
 sothe it is God that delyueride his puple,
 and 3eldide his eritage to alle, and rewme,
 and presthod, and halewyng, as he bihi3te 18
 in the lawe, we hopen that soone he
 schal haue merci on vs, and schal gadere
 fro vndur heuene in to the hooli place;
 for he delyuerede vs fro grete perelis, and 19
 purgide the place. Sotheli of Judas Ma- 20
 chabeus, and hise britheren, and of purifi-
 yng of the greet temple, and of halewyng
 of the auter; but and of the^r batels, that 21
 perteynen to Antiok noble^a, and his son
 Eupator; and of liztnyngis that weren 22
 maad fro heuene, to hem that strongli
 diden for Jewis, so that, whanne thei
 weren fewe, thei auengiden al the cuntre,
 and drynun an hethene multitude, and 23
 rekyueriden the most famouse temple in
 al the world; and delyueriden the citee,

^a the mageste H. ^b sacrifice H. ^c Om. H. ^d thei that H. ^e 3eelde H. ^f the H. ^g on H.

¹ the greete I. ^m Om. I. ⁿ made EKNPXY. ^o Om. R. ^p Om. N. ^q Om. I. ^r Om. R. ^a the noble R.

whan thei weren fewe, thei vengeden al the cuntree, and dryuen an heithen multitude, and rekyuerden the most famous temple in al the world; and thei delyuerden the citee, that and lawis that weren don away weren restorid; the Lord maad helpful to hem, with al pesibletee. And so we temptiden, *or assayed*, for to abregge in to^h oo boke, thingus comprehendid of Jason of Cyrenen in fyue bookis. Forsothe we byholdyng the multitude of bookis, and hardnesse, to men willynge for to assaile, *or bygynne*, the tellyngis of stories, for multitude of thingus, sothely we curiden, *or hadden bysynesse*, that it were delectacioun, *or lykyng*, of ynwitt to men willynge for to reede; forsothe the studyouse, that thei miȝten liȝtlyer bytake to mynde; forsothe to alle men reedyng profit be ȝouen. And sothely we token to 'oure selfⁱ that resceyueden this werk, bi cause of abreggyng, not liȝt^k traueil, bot sothely a needefull of wakyngis and of swote. As these that maken redy a feest, and seekyn for to plesse to the wille of other men, for grace of many men, we susteynen wilfully traueile; forsothe grauntynge the trewthe of alle autours, bot we oure self studyinge to shortnesse, after the fourme ȝouen. Forsothe as it is for to cure, *or bisie*, to the wriȝt of the^l new hous, of al the beeldyng; to hym sothely that bisieth for to peynte, tho thingus ben to be souȝt out, that ben couenable to ournyng; so it is to be gessid and in vs. Forsothe for to gedir vndirstondyng, and ordeyne word, and ful bisili for to enquire alle partis of the storie, eche bi hem self, acordith to an auctour; forsothe for to sue shortnesse of sayinge, and for to eschewe out suyngus of thingus, is to be grauntid to the

that and^t lawis that weren don awei weren restorid; for the Lord was maad helpful to hem, with al pesiblete. And²⁴ also we asaieden^u for to abregge in o book, thingis comprehendid of Jason of Cirenene in fyue bookis. Forsothe we bi-²⁵ helden^v the multitude and^w hardnesse of bookis, to men willynge for to bigynne the tellyngis of stories, for multitude of thingis; and sotheli we hadden bysynesse,²⁶ that it were likyng^x of soule to men willynge for to rede; forsothe to studious men, that thei miȝten liȝtliere bitake to mynde; forsothe that to alle men redyng profit be ȝouun. And sotheli we token to²⁷ vs silf that resceyueden this werk, bi cause of abreggyng, not esi trauel, but sotheli a werk ful of wakynges^y and swoot. As²⁸ these that maken redi a feest, and seken for to plesse to^z the wille of othere men, for grace of many men, we suffren wilfuli trauel; forsothe we graunten the treuthe²⁹ of alle autoris, but we vs^a silf studien to schortnesse^{aa}, bi the fourme ȝouun. For-³⁰ sothe as it is to the cheef carpenter^b of 'a newe^c hous, to be bisie of al the bilydng; to him sotheli that bisieth for^d to peynte, tho thingis ben to be souȝt out, that ben couenable to ournyng; so it is to be gessid also in vs. Forsothe for to gadere vndur-³¹ stondyng, and ordeyne a word, and ful bisili for to^e enquire alle partis of the storie, ech bi hem silf, acordith to an autour; forsothe for to sue schortnesse of³² seiying, and for to eschewe out suyngis of thingis, is to be grauntid to the breggere. Therfor fro hennus forth^f we schulen bi-³³ gynne the tellyng; be it ynow for to haue^g seid so myche of 'bifor spekyng^h; forⁱ it is foli for to flete out, *ether be long*, bifore the stori, but in that stori for to be maad^k schort.

^h in AGH. ⁱ vs self H. ^k liȝt, or *esy* GH. ^l a H.

^t the x. ^u temptiden, or [*ether plures*] *assaieden* EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. attemptiden R. ^v biholden N. biholding R. ^w of R. ^x delectacioun, *ether* [or EPY] *likyng* C et *plures*. delectacioun R. ^y wakyng A pr. m. ^z Om. R. ^a Om. CEFHGKMNPRUXE. ^{aa} schortene A. ^b wriȝte RE. *ether cheef carpinter e marg.* ^c an N. ^d him for R. ^e Om. R. ^f Om. R. ^g be R. ^h prefacioun, *ether* [or EIPY] *befor spekyng* CEFHGKMNPRQSUXYE. ⁱ forsothe R. ^k Om. I.

33 bregger. Fro hennus therfore we shuln bygynne the tellyng; be it ynew³ for to haue said so myche of prefacioun, *or byfore spekyng*; forsothe it is foly for to flete out, *or be longe*, bfore the storrye, bot in that storie for to be maad short.

CAP. III.

1 Therfore whanne the holy citee was enhabited in al pees, lawis also 3it weren best kept, for ordynaunce and pite of Onye, prest, and for soulis hauynge in
2 hate yuel thingus, it was maad, that and thei kyngis and princis ledden the place worthi heeist honour, and lizteneden the
3 temple with grettist 3iftis; so that Seleucus, kyng of Asie, 3aue of his rentis alle spensis perteynyng to the seruice
4 of sacrifices. Forsothe Symont, of the lynage of Beniamyn, ordeynyd prepost of the temple, the prince of prestis azeinstondynge hym, strofe for to caste sum
5 wickid thing in the cytee. Bot whan he mi3te not ouercume Onye, he came to Appollonye, sone of Tharsie, that in that tyme was duyck of Celessirie and Fenyce;
6 and tolde to hym the tresorie in Jerusalem for to be ful with moneys vnnoumbreable; and commoun plentees, *or richessis*, for to be grete, whiche perteynen not to resoun of sacrifices; forsothe^m for to be possible, alle thingus for to falle
7 vndir power of the kyng. And whanne Appollonye hadde tolde to the kyng of moneys that weren born ynne, he sente Heleodore clepid, that was on his needis, with maundementus for to bere out the
8 forsaid money. And anoon Heleodore takynge theⁿ waye, sothely by fourme as he were to passynge by Celessirie and Fenyce cytees, sothely in trewe thing^o, to parfourmyng the kyngus purpose.
9 Bot when he came to Jerusalem, and benyngly of the hee3ist prest in the^p cite was resceyued, he tolde of dom 3ouen of moneys, and opnyde for grace, *or cause*,

CAP. III.

Therfor whanne the hooli citee was¹ enhabited in al pees, lawis also 3it weren best kept, for the feithfulnesse* of Onyas, bischop, and for soulis hatynge¹ yuele thingis, it was maad, that bothe thei² kyngis and prynces ledden the place worthi hizeste onour, and liztiden the temple with gretteste 3iftis; so that Seleucus, kyng of Asie, 3af of his rentis alle spensis perteynyng to the seruices^m of sacrifices. Forsothe Symount, of the ly-⁴ nage of Beniamyn, that was ordeyned souereyn[†] of the temple, whanne the prince of prestis azenstood hym, stroof for to caste sum wickid thing in the citee. But whanne he mi3te not ouercome Onyas,⁵ he cam to Appollonye, sone of Tharsee, that in that tyme was duyck of Celessirie and Fenyce; and telde to hym, that the⁶ treserie in Jerusalem was ful with richessis vnnoumbrable; and that comyn richessis ben grete, whiche perteynen not to theⁿ resoun of sacrifices; forsothe that it was^o possible, that alle thingis falle vndur power of the kyng. And whanne⁷ Appolonye hadde telde to the kyng of richessis that weren borun in, he sente Heliodore clepid, that was on his nedis, with maundementis for to bere out the forseid monei. And anoon Heliodore took⁸ the weie, sotheli bi forme as if^p he were to passynge bi Celessirie and Fenyce citees, but in trewe thing to parformynge the kyngis purpos. But whanne he cam⁹ to Jerusalem, and was resseyued benygneli of the hizeste prest in the citee, he telde of doom 3ouun of the richessis, and openyde for cause of what thing he cam; forsothe

* feithfulnesse; that is, diligence in Goddis worschipping. v. this word, *disposicioun*, either *ordynance*, is not of the tixt, neither is in bokis amendid. Live here. v.

† souereyn, as to outtermore thingis, for he was no prest. Live here. Ixv.

^m for G pr. m. bot G sec. m. H. ⁿ Om. GH. ^o thingis GH. ^p Om. G.

¹ in hatyng R. ^m seruyce R. ⁿ Om. I. ^o be R. ^p Om. R.

of what thing he came; forsothe he axide
 10 'zif verrelly^o these thingus weren so. Thanne
 the heezist prest shewide, these thingus for
 to be kept to the lyuelodis of widues, and
 11 faderlesse and moderlesse children; sum^p
 sothely for to be of Hircam Tobye, man
 ful noble in^q these thingus, that vnpitouse
 Symont hadde teelde; forsothe
 alle the^r talentis of syluer for to be foure
 12 hundrid, and of gold two hundrid; for-
 sothe for to be impossible on al manere,
 hem for^s to be disceyued, that bileuyden,
or bitoken, to the place and temple, that
 bi al the world is honourid for his wir-
 13 shipyng, and holynesse. And for these
 thingus 'that he^t hadde in maundementis
 of the kyng, he saide, in al kynde hem
 14 for to be born to the kyng. Forsothe in
 the day ordeynyde Heleodore entride, to
 ordeynynge of these thingis; forsothe
 there was not a^u lytil tremblyng by al
 15 the citee. Forsothe prestis castiden hem
 self byfore the auter, with prestis stolys,
 and ynclepiden fro heuen hym that 3aue
 lawe of thingus put in keepyng, that he
 schulde keepe hem saaf to these that had-
 16 den putte hem in keepyng. Nowe for-
 sothe he that see3 the chier of the^v heez-
 ist prest, was woundid in sowle; forsothe
 the face and colour inchaungid, declaride
 the ynward sorewe of soule, *or ynwitt*.
 17 Forsothe sum sorewfulnesse was shed
 about to the man, and hydousnesse of
 body, by whiche the sorewe of herte was
 18 maad^w knowen to men byholdynge. Also
 other men by gadring to gidre camen out
 of housis, bysechyng with open bysech-
 yng, for that that the place was to cum-
 19 mynge in to dispit. And wymmen gyrd
 the brest with heyris, flowiden togidre by
 streetis; bot and virgynes, that weren
 closid togidre, runnen fully to Onye;
 other forsothe to the wallis, summe
 20 sothely byheelden by wyndowis. For-
 sothe alle holdynge forth hondis in to
 21 heuen bisou3ten; sothely there was a

he axide, if verili these thingis weren so.
 Thanne the hizeste prest schewide, that 10
 these thingis weren kept to the lijflodis of
 widewis, and of fadirles ether modirles
 children; that summe sotheli weren of 11
 Ircan Tobie, a man ful noble in these
 thingis, that vnpitouse Symount hadde
 teld; forsothe that^q alle^r talentis of siluer
 weren foure hundrid, and of gold two hun-
 drid; for^s that it was impossible on al 12
 maner, that thei be disseyued, that bitoken
 her thingis to be kept to the place and
 temple, that bi al the world was onourid
 for his worschipyng, and holynesse. And 13
 he seide, for these thingis that he hadde
 in maundementis of the kyng, that in al
 kynde tho schulden be borun to the kyng.
 Forsothe in the dai ordeyned Heliodore 14
 entride, to ordeyne of these thingis; for-
 sothe there was not a litil tremblyng
 thorou3 al the citee. Forsothe prestis 15
 castiden hem silf bfore the auter, with
 prestis stoolis, and clepiden to help fro
 heuene hym that 3af lawe of thingis put
 in kepyng, that he schulde kepe tho thingis
 saf to hem that hadden put tho in kepyng.
 Now forsothe he that si3 the cheer of the 16
 hizeste prest^t, was woundid in soule; for
 the face and colour was chaungid, and
 declaride the inward sorewe of soule. For 17
 sum sorewfulnesse was sched aboute to the
 man, and hidousnesse of bodi, bi whiche
 the sorewe of herte was maad knowun to
 men biholdynge. Also othere men 'weren 18
 gaderid^u togidre flocmeel, and camen out
 of housis, bisechyng with opyn bisech-
 yng, for that that the place was to com-
 ynge in to dispit. And wymmen weren 19
 gird on the brest with heiris, and flowiden
 togidre bi stretis; but and virgyns, that
 weren closid togidre, runnen to Onyas;
 othere forsothe to the wallis, summe
 sotheli bihelden bi wyndowis. Forsothe 20
 alle helden forth hondis in to heuene, and
 bisou3ten; for ther was a wretchid abid- 21
 yng of multitude meynt, and of the hizeste

^o verrelly 3if K. ^p sum man G sec. m. ^q and in K. ^r Om. H. ^s Om. AGH. ^t thei H. ^u Om. H.
^v Om. H. ^w Om. G pr. m.

^q Om. R. ^r alle the R. ^s forsothe R. ^t Om. R. ^u gaderiden R.

wretchid abyding of the^x multitude meynt,
and of the^y heezist prest ordeyned in
22 strijf, or *anguyshe*. And these sothely
inclepide almiȝti God, that thingus taken
in keepyng weren kept in al hoolnesse, to
these that hadden putte hem in keepyng.
23 Forsothe Heleodore parfourmyde that^z
thing, that he hadde demyde, he presente
with his knyȝtis in the same place aboute
24 the tresorie. Bot the spirit of almiȝty
God made grete eydence of his shew-
yng, so that alle that weren hardye for
to obeie to hym, fallyng down by the^a
vertu of God, weren 'togidre turnyd^b in
to vnbyndyng, or *vnstrengthe*^c, and in-
25 ward drede. Forsothe sum hors apeeride
to hem, hauynge a dreedful sitter, ournyd
with best hillyngus; and he^d with feers-
nesse, or *bire*, rushide the former feet to
Heleodore; forsothe he that sate on hym,
26 was seen for to haue golden armers. Also
other two ȝunge apperiden, faire in vertu,
best in glorie, and fair in clothinge, that
stoden aboute hym, and on eche sijd
scourgiden hym with outen ceesyng, with
27 many woundis betyng. Sodeynly for-
sothe Heleodore felle in to erthe, and thei
rauyschiden hym shed about with myche
derknesse, and castiden hym out, put in
28 a 'sadil of beere^e. And this that with
many rynnners and kniȝtis entride in to
the forsaide tresorie, was born, no man
beryng help to hym, the opyn vertu of
29 God knowen; and forsothe by Goddis
vertu he lay doumbe, and pryued of al
30 hope and helthe. Forsothe these bless-
iden the Lord, for he magnyfied his
place; and the temple, that a lytil by-
fore was ful of drede and noyse, the
Lord almiȝty appeerynge, is fulfillid with
31 ioie and gladnesse. Thanne forsothe
sume of Heliodoris frendis preyeden
anoon Onye, for to inclepe the Heezist,
and for to ȝeue lyf to hym, for he was
32 sette in the last spirit. Sothely the

prest ordeyned in strijf^v. And these so- 22
theli clepiden almiȝti God to help, that
thingis takun in kepyng schulden be kept
in al holynesse, to hem that hadden put
tho in kepyng. Forsothe Heliodore per- 23
formyde that thing, that he hadde demyd,
and he was present with his knyȝtis in
the same place aboute the treserie. But 24
the spirit of almyȝti God made greet euy-
dence of his schewyng, so that alle that
weren hardi for to obeie to hym, fellen
down bi vertu of God, and weren conuertid
in to feblenesse, and inward drede. For 25
an^w hors apperide to hem, and hadde a
dredeful sittre, ourned with beste hilyn-
gis; and he with fersnesse^x ruyschide the
formere feet to Heliodore; forsothe he
that sat on hym, semyde for to haue
goldun armeris. Also twei othere ȝonge 26
men apperiden, faire in vertu, beste in
glorie, and faire in clothinge, that stoden
aboute hym, and on ech side scourgiden
hym with out ceesyng, and beeten with
many woundis. Sodenli forsothe Helio- 27
dore felle down to^{xx} erthe^y, and thei ra-
uyschiden hym sched aboute with myche
derknesse, and castiden out hym, putte in
a pakke sadil, 'ether hors litir^z. And he 28
that entride with many renneris and
knyȝtis in to the forseid tresorie, was
borun, whanne no man helpide hym, for
the opyn vertu of God was knowun; and 29
forsothe bi Goddis vertu he lay doumb,
and priued of al hope and heelthe. For- 30
sothe these *Jewis* blessiden the Lord, for
he magnyfiede his place; and the temple,
that a litil bfore was ful of drede and
noyse, is fillid with ioie and gladnesse,
for the Lord almyȝti apperide. Thanne 31
forsothe summe of Eliodoris frendis prei-
eden anoon Onyas, for to clepe to help the
Hizeste, and for to ȝyue lijf to hym, that
was set in the laste spirit. Sotheli the 32
hizeste prest bihelde, lest perauenture the
kyng wolde suppose ony malice fulli don

^x Om. H. ^y Om. H. ^z the H. ^a Om. H. ^b conuertid H. ^c vnstrengthe K. ^d he that K.
^e beringe sadil GH.

^v strif, ether [or EPY] *angwissh* C et plures. ^w sum C et ceteri. ^x fersnesse, ether *bire* FGHKMNQSUXE.
^{xx} in to e. ^y the erthe C pr. m. R. ^z or *horsliter* EPSY. Om. R.

heeist prest biholdinge, lest par auenture the kyng supposide eny^f malice of Jewis fully done azeinus Helyodore, he^g offride for helthe of the man an helthful sacrifice. And whan the heeist prest preyede, the same 3unglyngus, clothid in the same clothis, stondynge ni3 to Heliodore, saiden, Do thou thankyngys to Onye, the^h prest; for whi for hym the Lord hath 3ouen lyf to thee; thou sothely, scourgid of God, telle to alle men the greete doynge of God, and power. And these thingis said, thei apperiden not. Helyodore sothely, a sacrifice offrid to God, and grete auowis bihi3te to hym, that grauntide to hym for to lyue, and doynge thankyngis to Onye, his oost resceyued, wente a3ein to the king. Sothely he witnesside to alle men the werkis of grete God, whiche he see3 vnder his ee3en. Forsothe whan the kyng axide Helyodore, who was able 3it oonys for to be sente to Jerusalem, he saith, 3if thou hast eny enemye, or aspier, or *traitour*, of thi rewme, sende thider, and thou shalt resceyue hym betun, 3if netheles he schal scape; for that in the place is verrelly sum vertu of God. For whi he that in heuens hath dwellyng, is visiter and helper of that place; and he smyteth and leesith men cummynge to mysdo. Therefore of Heliodore, and kepyng of the tresorie, thus the thyng hath hym.

CAP. IV.

1 Symont forsothe byfore saide, accuser of moneys, and of the cuntree, spake yuel ofⁱ Onye, as he hadde stiride Helyodore to these thingis, and he hadde be stirer of yuels; and he durst saye the puruey-oure of the citee, and defender of his folc, and louer of the lawe of God, enemye, or *traitour*, of the rewme. Bot whan enemytees in so myche camen forth, that by summe necessities, or ni3 *freendis*,

aboute^a Jewis aboute Heliodore, and offride for helthe of the man an heelful sacrifice. And whanne the hi3este prest³³ preiede, the same 3onglyngis, clothid in the same clothis, stooden ni3 Heliodore, and seiden, Do thou thankyngis to Onyas, the prest; for whi for hym the Lord hath 3ouun lijf to thee; thou sotheli, that art³⁴ scourgid of God, telle to alle men the grete doynge and power of God. And whanne these thingis weren seid, thei apperiden not. Heliodore sotheli, whanne³⁵ a sacrifice was offrid to God, and grete avowis weren bihi3t to hym, that grauntide hym^{aa} for to lyue, and dide thankyngis^b to Onyas; and whanne his oost was resseyued, he wente a3en to the kyng. Sotheli he witnesside to alle men the³⁶ werkis of greet God, whiche he si3 vndur hise i3en. Forsothe whanne the kyng³⁷ axide Heliodore, who was able for^c to be sent 3it onys to Jerusalem, he seide, If³⁸ thou hast ony enemye, ether traitour of thi rewme, sende thidur, and thou schalt resseyue hym betun, if netheles he schal scape; for sum vertu of God is verili^d in the^e place. For whi he that hath dwell-³⁹ yng in heuenys, is visitere and helpere of that place; and he smytith and lesith hem, that comen to mysdo. Therfor of Heliodore, and kepyng of the treserie, thus the thing hath it silf.

CAP. IV.

Simount forsothe biforseid, accusere^f of¹ 'cuntree, and of richessis^g, spak yuel of Onyas, as if he had stirid Heliodore to these thingis, and he hadde be stirere of yuels; and he durst seie the puruyour² of the citee, and defendere of his folc, and luyere of the lawe of God, traitour of the rewme. But whanne enemytees camen³ forth in so myche, that also bi summe famyliar frendis of Symount mansleyngis

^f Om. H. ^g and he H. ^h Om. H. ⁱ to K.

^a of R. ^{aa} to hym A *pr. m. c et plures*. ^b thankis I. ^c Om. R. ^d Om. R. ^e that I. ^f and accuser R. ^g the cuntre and of richessis C. cuntrees and of rijcchesses K. richessis of the cuntre R. riches and of cuntre e.

of Symount man sleayngus weren don,
 4 Onye, byholdynge the perel of strijf, and
 Appolonye for to be wood, as duyck of
 Celesserie and Fenyce, for to encresce
 the malice of Symont, 3aue hym self to
 5 the kyng; not as acuser of citeeseins, bot
 biholdynge anentis hym self the comoun
 6 profit of al the multitude. Forsothe he
 see3, for to be impossible pees for to be
 3ouen to thingus without the kyngus pur-
 uyaunce, nether Symont mowe ceese of
 7 his foly. Bot after the^k passing of^{kk}
 Seleucus lijf, whan Antiochus, that was
 cleepid noble, hadde taken rewine, Jason,
 brother of Onye, coueytide the heezist
 8 presthod, the kyng gon to, byhetyng
 hym three hundred talentis and sixty of
 syluer, and of other rentis foure score;
 9 vpon these thingus he bihi3te^l and other
 an hundrid and fyfty, 3if it were graunt-
 id to his power, for to ordeyne a scole,
 and a^m gadryng of 3unge men to hym;
 and for to wryte hem that weren in Je-
 rusalem Antiochenys, *or men of Anti-*
 10 *oche*. Whiche thing whan the kyng had
 grauntide, and he weeldide the prince-
 hod, anoon he bygan for to transferre to
 11 heithen custumⁿ men of his lynage. And
 these thingus don away, whiche bi cause
 of humanytee, *or curtasie*, to Jewis weren
 ordeynyd of kyngus by Joon, fader of
 Eupolemy, whiche anentus Romainys is
 ordeyned in laweful message of frend-
 ship and felawship, he, distruyinge ri3tis,
or lawis, of the^o cyteeseyns, made shrewid
 12 ordinauncis; and sothely he was hardy
 for to ordeyne a scole vnder that hee3
 rocke, and for to putte al the beste of
 13 3unge in bordel hous. Forsothe this
 was not bygynnyng, bot sum encresyng
 and profit of heithen and alien lijf, for
 the vnleeful and vnherd grete trespas of
 14 vnpytous, and not prest Jason; so that
 prestis not now weren 3ouen aboute
 offices of the auter, bot the temple dis-

weren don, Onyas bihelde the perel of 4
 strijf, and that Appolonye was wood, as
 duyck of Celessirie and Fenyce, for to
 encresse the malice of Symount. And
 Onyas 3af him silf to the kyng; not as 5
 accusere of citeseyns, but biholdyng anen-
 tis him silf the comyn profit of al the
 multitude. For he si3, that it was im- 6
 possible that pees were 3ouun to thingis
 with out the kyngis puruyaunce, and that
 Symount my3te not ceesse of his foli.
 But after the passyng out of Seleucus lijf, 7
 whanne Antiok, that was clepid noble,
 hadde takun rewme, Jasoun, the brother
 of Onyas, coueitide the hizeste^s presthod;
 and Jason 3ede to the kyng, and bihi3te 8
 to hym thre hundrid talentis and sixti of
 siluer, and of othere rentes fourescore *tu-*
lantis^b; ouer these thingis he bihi3te also 9
 othere *talentis* an hundrid and fifti, if it
 were grauntid to his power, for to ordeyne
 a scole, and gadryng, '*ether bordel hous*',
 of 3onge men* to hym; and for to write
 hem that weren in Jerusalem 'men of
 Antiochus'. And whanne the kyng hadde 10
 grauntid this, and he weldide the pryns-
 hod, anoon he bigan for^k to translate to
 hethene custom men of his lynage. And 11
 whanne these thingis weren don awei,
 whiche bi cause of humanyte, '*ether cur-*
tesie^l, weren ordeyned of kyngis to Jewis
 bi Joon, the fadir of Eupolemy, which
 was ordeyned in lawful message of fren-
 schip and felouschip anentis Romainys,
 he distriede lawis^m of citeseyns, and made
 schrewid ordenaunces; forⁿ he was hardi 12
 for to ordeyne a scole of hethenesse vndur
 that hi3 tour, and for to put alle the beste
 of faire 3onge men in bordel housis. For- 13
 sothe this was not bigynnyng, but sum
 encressyng and profit of hethene and
 alien lijf, for the vnleueful and vnherd
 greet trespas of vnpytouse^o, and not prest
 Jason; so that prestis not now weren 14
 3ouun aboute offices of the auter, but thei

* a scole of he-
 thenesse, a ga-
 dering of 3onge
 men; that is,
 a bordel hous
 to vse sinne of
 Sodom with
 faire 3onge chil-
 dren. Live here.
 EPYU.

^k Om. H. ^{kk} of of K. ^l hi3te G pr. m. ^m Om. H. ⁿ custom, or obseruaunce H. ^o Om. AGH.

^s heizē F. ^b Om. C pr. m. EHPYU. ⁱ Om. R. ^j Antiochienus, ether [or EPY] men of Antioche CEF
 GHKMNPSUXYE. Antiochenus R. ^k Om. F. ^l Om. R. or curtesie EPY. ^m ri3tis, ether [or EPY] lawis
 C et plures. ri3tis R. ⁿ and for R. ^o vnpytouse men R.

pisid, and sacrifices left, thei hastiden for to be maad felawis of wrastlyng, and of vniust 3euynge therof, and of oost, or *cumpanye*, of dishe, or *pleyinge with*
 15 *ledun dishe*. And thei hauynge honours of fadris at nou3t, demyden Greek glories
 16 best. For grace of whiche perilous contencioun hadde hem, and her ordinauncis thei folewiden, or *louyden*; and by alle thingus thei coueitiden for to be lijk to hem, whom thei hadden enmyes and dis-
 17 truyers. Forsothe for to do vnpytously a3einus Goddis lawis fallith not with outen peyn, bot and the tyme suynge
 18 declaride these thingus. Sothely whan fyue 3eer stryf, or *fizt*, was wirshipid in
 19 Tyre, and the kyng was present, Jason ful of grete trespassis sente fro Jerusalem men synners, berynge three hundrid dragmes of syluer in to sacrifice of Er-
 cules; whiche these men that baren out axiden, that thei weren not 3ouen in sacrifices, for it needide not, bot in to other spensis hem for to be ordeynyd.
 20 Bot these sothely ben offrid of hym that sente in to sacrifice of Ercules; sothely for men present thei ben 3ouen in to
 21 makynge of grete shippis. Forsothe Appollonye, sone of Nesteye, sente in to Egipt for primatis of^p Tholome Philometoris, kyng; forsothe whanne Antiochus knewe hym maad alien fro needis of the rewme, he conseilynge to his owne profitis, gon thennus, cam to Joppen, and
 22 fro thennus to Jerusalem. And he, rescieued of Jason and of the citee wirshipfully, with listis of broondis, and preysyngus, wente yn, and fro thennus turnyd the oost in to coost of Fenyce.
 23 And after the tyme of three 3eer Jason sente Menelaus, brother of Symont aboue said, berynge moneys to the kyng, and of necessarie^q causis to beryng answeris.
 24 And he comendid^r to the kyng, whan he magnyfiede^s the face of his power, turn-

dispisiden the temple, and leften sacrifices, and thei hastiden for to be maad felowis of wrastling, and of^p vniust 3yuyng of hym*, and in ocupaciouns of a^q disch, 'ether *pleiynge with a ledun disch*^r. And 15
 sotheli thei hadden onouris of fadris at nou3t, and demyden Greke^s glories beste. For cause of which perelouse contension 16
 hadde hem, and thei folewiden her ordynaunces; and bi alle thingis thei coueitiden hem^t for to be lijk hem, whiche thei hadden enmyes and distrieris. Forsothe for 17
 to do vnfeithfuli a3ens Goddis lawes it bifallith not with out peyne, but the tyme suynge schal declare these thingis. Sotheli 18
 whanne iustus, doon onys in fyue 3eer, was maad solempli in Tire, and the kyng was present, Jason ful of grete trespassis sente 19
 fro Jerusalem men synneris, berynge thre hundrid double dragmes of siluer in to sacrifice of Erculis; whiche these men that baren out axiden, that tho weren not 3ouun in sacrifices, for it nedide not, but that tho schulen be ordeyned in to othere spensis. But sotheli these weren offrid 20
 of^u him that sente in to the sacrifice of Ercules; sotheli for men present tho ben^v 3ouun in to makynge of grete schippis. Forsothe Appolonye, sone of Nestei, was 21
 sent in to Egipt for primatis^w, 'ether *princes*^x, of Tolome Philometor, the kyng; whanne Antiok knew him maad alyen fro nedis of the rewme, he counselide for his owne profitis, and 3ede fro thennus, and cam to Joppe, and fro thennus to Jerusalem. And he was resseyued of Jason 22
 and the citee worschiffuli, with listis of brondis, and preisyngis, and wente yn, and fro thennus he turnede the oost in to Fenyce. And aftir the tyme of thre 3eer 23
 Jason sente Menelaus, the brother of Symount aboue seid, berynge richessis to the kyng, and of necessarie causis to berynge answeris. And he was comendid to 24
 the kyng, and, whanne he hadde magne-

* of vniust giuing of him; that is, of his giuing of werat teching, onouris of fadris; that is, the worshiping of God, wherinne her fadris haddin glorie. Greek glories; that is, customes and maners of liuing of Grekis. Live here. EPYU.

^p to H. ^q the necessarye H. ^r comaundide H. ^s hadde magnyfied G sec. m. H.

^p Om. B. ^q Om. CNRE. ^r Om. B. ^s Grekis R. ^t Om. R. ^u to R. ^v were R. weren e, ^w princis C. ^x Om. CR. or princis EPY.

yde in to hym self the heezist presthode,
 aboue puttynge to Jason three hundrid
 25 talentes of syluer. And maundementis
 taken of the kyng, he came, sothely hau-
 ynge no thing worthi to presthod; so-
 thely inwitt of cruel^t tyraunt, and ber-
 26 yng wrath of wijld^u beast^v. And sothely
 Jason, that toke his own brother caitif,
 he disceyued is putt out outlawid in to
 27 the cuntree of Amanythen^w. Bot Mene-
 laus forsothe weeldide the princehod, bot
 of moneys bihiȝt to the kyng he hadde
 no thing, whan Sostratus, that was pre-
 poost to the heez rocke, made exaction,
 28 or *vniust axing*, for whi exaction of
 tributis perteynede to hym; for whiche
 29 cause bothe ben clepid to the kyng. And
 Menelaus remoued fro presthod, succed-
 yng, or *next cummynge after*, Lysyma-
 cus, his bróther; sothely Sostratus is
 30 maad souereyn to men of Sypre. And
 whan these thingus weren don, it byfelle
 Tharsensis and Mallotis for to moue de-
 bate, for that thei weren ȝouen in ȝift to
 31 the concubyne of kyng Antiochus. And
 so the kyng hastily came, for to swage
 hem, left oon of his erlis suffectus An-
 32 dronyk. Forsothe Menelaus demynge
 hym for to haue taken couenable tyme,
 steling sune golden vessels of the tem-
 ple, ȝaue to Andronyk, and other he
 33 solde to Tyre, and by niȝ citees. Whiche
 thing whan Onye hadde knowen most
 certeynly, he repreuede hym, he hold-
 yng hym self in a syker place at An-
 34 tioche, bisidis Daphnen. Wherof Mene-
 laus goynge to Andronyk, preyede that
 he slew^x Onye. Whiche whan he came
 to Onye, and riȝt hondis ȝouen with ooth,
 thouȝ he was suspect to hym, counseilide
 hym for to go forth of asile, anoon slew^z
 35 hym, not dreedyng riȝtwisnesse. For
 whiche cause not oonly Jewis, bot and

fiede the face of his power, he turnyde in
 to hym silf the hiȝeste presthod, and set-
 tide aboue Jason thre hundrid talentis of
 siluer. And bi maundementis takun of²⁵
 the kyng, he cam, sotheli hauynge no
 thing worthi to presthod; but he bar the
 soule of a cruel tiraunt, and wraththe of
 wielde beeste^y. And sotheli thilke Jason,²⁶
 that took his owne brother caitif, was dis-
 seyued, and outlawid^z, and put out in to
 the cuntree of Amanythen. But Mene-²⁷
 laus forsothe weldide the prinshod, but
 of richessis bihiȝt to the kyng he dide
 no thing, whanne Sostratus, that was so-
 uereyn of the hiȝ tour, made 'maister-
 ful axyng^a, for whi reisyng of tributis²⁸
 perteynede to hym; for whiche cause
 bothe weren clepid to the kyng. And²⁹
 Menelaus was remoued fro presthod, and
 Lysimacus, his brother, was successour^b;
 sotheli Sostratus was maad souereyn of
 men of Cipre. And whanne these thingis³⁰
 weren don, it bifelle Tarsensis and Mal-
 lotis for to moue debate, for that thei
 weren ȝouun in ȝifte to the concubyn of
 Antiok, kyng^c. Therefor the kyng hastili³¹
 cam, for to swage hem, and lefte oon of
 his eerlis suffectus Andronyk 'in dig-
 nyte^d, 'ether lutenant^e. Forsothe Mene-³²
 laus demyde^f that he hadde taken couen-
 able tyme, and^g stal summe goldun vessels
 of the temple, and ȝaf to Andronik, and
 he selde to Tire othere, and bi niȝ citees.
 And whanne Onyas hadde knowun this³³
 thing most certeynly, he repreuyde hym,
 and helde him silf^h in a sikir place at
 Antiochie, bisidis Daphnen. Wherfor Me-³⁴
 nelaus ȝede to Andronik, and preiede that
 he wolde sle Onyas. And whanne he cam
 to Onyas, and hadde ȝoue riȝthondis with
 an ooth, thouȝ he was suspect to him, he
 counselide hym for to go forth of asile,
 and anoon he slow hym, and dredde not

^t a cruel G sec. m. H. ^u a wijld G sec. m. H. ^v beast, or of woundur aȝenis kynde H. ^w Amanythew K.
^x schulde sle G sec. m. H.

^y beeste, ether [or EFHPYE] of woundur aȝenus kynde c et plures. ^z was outlawid R. ^a exaccioun, ether
 [or EPY] maisterful axyng c et plures. exaccioun R. ^b successour, or [ether plures] cam next in that
 office EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. ^c the kyng R. ^d lutenant c. ^e Om. CR. or leuztenant EPY. ^f demede
 nim R. ^g Om. R. ^h Om. F.

other naciouns, weren wrothe, and baren heuyly of the vniust deth of so grete a^x man. Bot Jewis at Antioche, and Grekis, togydre pleyninge of the vniust deth of Onye, wenten to the kyng, turnyd azein of the^y places of Cilicia. And so the kyng Antiochus sory in inwit for Onye, and he^z, bowid to mercy, shedde teeris, recordyng the sobrenesse and myldnesse of the dead man. And the ynwitt kyn- dlid, he comaundith Andronyke, vnclothid purple, for to be led about by al the citee, and, in that place in whiche he hadde don vnpitee in to Onye, the cursid man for to be priued of lijf; the Lord 3euyng to hym euen worth^a peyne. Forsothe many sacrilegis don in the temple of Lysymacus, by counceil of Menelaus, and fame puplishid, a multitude is gaderid azeinus Lysymacus, myche gold now born out. Forsothe the cumpanyes azein rysyng, and the^b inwittus fulfillid with wrath, Lysymacus almost three thousand armyd wickid hondis bygan for^c to vse, sum tyraunt duyck, olde in age and also woodnesse. Bot as thei vndirstoden the enforsyng of Lysymacus, other taken stoonys, other strong stafs, sum^d hasten for to kasten askis^e in to Lysymacus. And many sothely woundid, sum forsothe cast down, alle forsothe ben to gidre turnyd in to flizt; also thei slwen hym sacrileger, *or thief of holy thingis*, bysidis the tresorie. Therefore of these thingis dom bygan for to be moued azein Menelaus. And whan the kyng came to Tyre, three men, sente of the eldre men, brouzten the cause to hym. And whanne Menelaus was ouercommen, he bihi3te for to 3eue many moneys to Tholome, for to counseile the kyng. And so Tholome wente to the kyng, sett in sum porche, as for grace of refreytyng^f, *or colyng*, and ledd away fro sentence. And he as- soilide Menelaus, gylty trewly of crimes,

ri3twisnes. For which cause not oneli³⁵ Jewis, but and othere naciouns, weren wrothe, and baren heuyli of the vniust deth of so greet a man. But Jewis at³⁶ Antiochie, and Grekis, togidere playneden of^h the vniust deth of Onyas, and wenten to the king, that turnede azen froⁱ places of Cilicie. Therfor the kyng Antiok was³⁷ sori in soule for Onyas, and was bowid to merci, and schedde teeris, and bithou3te on the sobrenesse and myldnesse of the deed man. And his herte was kyndlid,³⁸ and he^k comaundide that Andronyk, vnclothid of purpur^l, be led aboute bi al the citee, and that in that place in which he hadde don vnpitee azens Onyas, the cursid man be priuyd of lijf; for the Lord 3af to hym euene worthi peyne. Forsothe³⁹ whanne manye sacrilegijs weren don of Lisymacus, bi counsel of Menelaus, in the temple, and the fame was pupplischid, multitude was gaderid azens Lisymacus; for myche gold *was* thanne borun out. Forsothe whanne the cumpenyⁿes risiden^o,⁴⁰ and^o soulis weren fillid with wraththe, Lisymacus bigan for to vse almost thre thousynd armyd wickid hondis, bi sum tyraunt ledere, elde in age and also in woodnesse. But as thei vndurstoden the⁴¹ enforsyng of Lysimacus, othere token stoonys, othere stronge stafis, summe sotheli castiden aische in to Lysimacus. And many sotheli *weren* woundid, summe⁴² forsothe *weren* cast down, alle^p forsothe weren togidere turnyd in to flizt; also thei slwen hym^q sacrilegere, *ether^r thief of hooli thingis^s*, bisidis the treserie. Therfor of these thingis dom bigan for to⁴³ be mouyd azens Menelaus. And whanne⁴⁴ the kyng cam to Tire, thre men weren sent of the eldere men, and brouzten the cause to him. And whanne Menelaus⁴⁵ was ouercomun, he bihi3te for to 3yue many richessis to Tolome, for to counsele the kyng. Therfor Tolome wente to the⁴⁶

^x Om. H. ^y Om. H. ^z Om. H. ^a worthi AGH. ^b Om. H. ^c Om. H. ^d sum sothely H.
^e Om. K. ^f refresching GH.

^h on R. ⁱ of ceteri. ^k Om. R. ^l purpur EP. ⁿ resin EP et x passim, risen F. ^o Om. A et plures,
p and alle I. ^q hym Ia. ^r or EPY, Om. R. ^s Om. R.

of al the malice. Forsothe he dampnyde by deeth these wrecches, whiche shulden be demyd innocentis, ³ea^f, ³if thei hadden ledde cause anentis^g Sithis. Therefore soone thei ³auen vniust peyn to hem, that pursueden cause for the citee, and for ⁴the^h peple, and holy vessels. Wherfore and men of Tyre wroothe, weren most ⁵liberal azeinis the birying of hem. Forsothe for coueitise of hem that weren in power, Menelaus dwelte in power, wexinge in malice, and to disceytis of cite-seyns.

CAP. V.

¹ In the same tyme Antiochus made redy the secounde goynge in to Egipt. ² Forsothe it byfelle, by eche citee of men of Jerusalem, for to be seen fourty days horsmen rennyng aboute by the eyre, hauynge golden stoolis, and ¹ shaftis, as ³ cumpanyes of knyztis armed; and coursis of horsis^k wijsly set bi ordris, and assailyngis, or *fiztyngus to gidre*, for to be maad ni³, and mouyng^l of sheeldis, and multitude of helmyd men, with streyned swerdis, and castyng^m of dartys, and shynyng of golden armers, and of al ⁴ kynde of hauberions. Wherfore alle men preyeden, the monstis, or *wondres*, *tokne of thingus to cummyng*, for to be ⁵ togidre turnedⁿ in to good. Bot when fals 'rumour, or *tithing*^o, wente out, as Antiochus hadde gon out of lijf, Jason sodeynly assailide the citee, a thousand men taken to, not lesse; and the^p cite-seyns togidre flezinge to the wall, at the last the citee taken, Menelaus flei³ in ⁶ to the hee³ rocke. Forsothe Jason sparide not in sleaynge to his cite-seyns, nether he thouzte prosperite azens cosyns;

king, set in sum porche, as for cause of refreityng, *ether coolding*^t, and ledde awei fro sentence; and assoilide fro crymes Menelaus, ⁴7 gilty treuli of al the malice. Forsothe he dampnede bi deth these wretchis, whiche schulden be demed innocentis, ³he, if thei hadden led cause anentis Scitis*. Ther- ⁴8 for soone thei ³auen vniust peyne to hem, that pursueden cause for the citee, and puple, and hooli vessels. Wherfor and ⁴9 men of Tire weren wrothe, and weren most liberal azens^u the biriynge of hem. Forsothe for coueitise of hem that weren ⁵0 in power, Menelaus dwelte in power, wexynge in malice, and to disseitis of cite-seyns.

CAP. V.

In the same tyme Antiok made redi¹ the secounde goyng in to Egipt. Forsothe ² it bifelle, that bi^v ech citee of men of Jerusalem, weren seyn bi fourti daies horse men rennyng aboute the^w eir, hauynge goldun stoolis, and schaftis, as cumpanyes of knyztis armyd; and coursis of horsis³ wiseli set bi ordris, and asailyngis^x for to be maad ni³, and mouyngis of scheldis, and multitude of helmyd men, with streyned swerdis, and castyngis of dartis, and schynyng of goldun armeris, and of al kynde of haburiouns. Wherfor alle ⁴ men preieden, that the monstis, '*ether^y wondris*, *tokene^{yy} of thingis to comynge^z*, be conuertid in to good. But whanne fals ⁵ tithing wente out, as if Antiok hadde goon out of lijf, Jason sudenli assaylide the citee, with men takun not lesse than a thousynde; and whanne cite-seyns fledden to the wal togidere, and at the laste the citee was takun, Menelaus fledde^a to^b the hi³ tour. Forsothe^c Jason sparide not ⁶ in^d sleynge his cite-seyns, nether he thouzte prosperite azens cosyns; and he demyde it for to be moost yuel, that he schulde

* Scitis; that is, barbaris, ether bethene men, vnreasonable and cruel. Live here. AEIKPUY.

^f and H. ^g azenis H. ^h Om. H. ⁱ of G pr. m. ^k hors H. ^l mouyngis H. ^m castyngis H. ⁿ conuertid H. ^o tithing H. ^p Om. H.

^t refreityng A pr. m. R. acoolynge A sec. m. refreiding, ether coolding C. ether cooldyng E marg. ^u anentis B. ^v Om. A et plures. ^w bi the RU. ^x asailyngis to gidere C pr. m. assailingis, or [ether plures] fiztyngs to gidre EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. ^y or EPY. ^{yy} tooknes EPY. take U. ^z Om. B. ^a flei³ B. ^b in to ceteri. ^c for K. ^d as in A.

demynghe most yuel, for to be hym to
 takynge victories of enmyes, and not of
 7 citeseyns. And sothely he weldide not
 princehod, bot toke confusioun eend of
 his aspies, *or disseitis*; and he, flezinge
 8 eft, wente in to Ammanithen. At the
 last vndoyng of hym, closid togidre of
 Areta, tyraunt of Arabum, flezinge fro
 citee in to citee, odious to alle men, as
 apostata, *or forsaker of lawis*, and abo-
 minable^q, as enmye of the cuntree and
 9 citeseyns^r, is cast out in to Egypt. And
 he that hadde putt out many of her
 cuntree, perishide in pilgrimage, goynge
 to Lacedomonas, as for cosynage to hau-
 10 ynge there refuyt. And he that castide^s
 away many vnbiried, he and vnweilid
 and vnbiried is cast out of byryng,
 nether vsynge straunge sepulcre, nethir
 11 takynge part of fadris sepulcre. And so
 these thingus don, the kyng supposide
 Jewis to forsakyng felawship; and for
 this he gon out of Egypt with wood in-
 wittis, toke the citee sothely with armes.
 12 Forsothe he comaundide to the knyztis,
 for to slea, nether to^t spare to men ren-
 nyng azeinus, and by housis stynging vp
 13 for to strangle. Thefore ther weren
 maad sleayngis of 3unge and eldre, of
 wymmen and children distruyngus, and
 14 dethis of meydens and litil children. For-
 sothe in alle three^u days foure score thou-
 sand weren slayn, and^v fourty thousand
 bounden, forsothe not lesse seeld; bot
 15 nether these thingus suffisen. Also he
 was hardy for to entre in to the temple
 holier than al the lond, Menelaus the
 leeder, that was traitour of lawis and
 16 cuntree. And he touchide vnworthili,
 and defoulide, takynge in cursid hondis
 the holy vessels, that weren putt of other
 kyngis and citees, to ournyng and glorie
 17 of the place. Antiochus so aliened fro
 mind, *or vndirstondyng*, biheelde not,

take victories of enemyes, and not of cite-
 seyns. And sotheli he weldide not prins- 7
 hod, but took confusioun ende of his dis-
 seitis^e; and he flei eft, and wente in to
 Ammanythen. And at the last in to vn- 8
 doying of him, he was closid togidre of
 Areta, tiraunt of Arabeis, and fley fro
 citee in to citee, and was odious to alle
 men, as apostata, '*ether forsakere*' of
 lawis, and abhomynable^g, as enemye of
 cuntre and citeseyns, and was cast out in
 to Egypt. And he that hadde put out 9
 many of her cuntre, perischide in pilgrim-
 age, and 3ede to Lacedomonas, as for co-
 synage to haue there refut. And he that 10
 castide awei many vnbiried, is cast out
 bothe vnweilid and vnbiried, and nether
 vsith straunge sepulture^h, nether takith
 part of fadris sepulcre. And whanne 11
 these thingis weren don so, the kyng
 supposide, that Jewis schulden forsake
 felouschip; and for this he 3ede out of
 Egypt with woode soulis, and took the
 citee sotheli with armeris. Forsothe he 12
 comaundide to the knyztis, for to sle, ne-
 ther spare to men rennyng a3ens, and to
 stie vp bi housis, and strangle. Therfor 13
 ther weren maad sleynge of 3onge and
 eldere, distriyngis of wymmen and chil-
 dren, and dethis of maidens and litle chil-
 dren. Forsothe in alle thre daies foure 14
 score thousynde weren slayn, fourti thou-
 synde boundun, forsothe not lesse seld;
 but nether these thingis sufficen. Also he 15
 was hardi for to entre in to the temple
 holiere than al the lond, bi Menelaus
 ledere, that was traitour of lawis and
 cuntre. And he touchide vnworthily, and 16
 defoulide, takynge in cursid hondis the
 hooli vessels, that weren put of othere
 kyngis and citees, to ournyng and glorieⁱ
 of the place. Antiok was so alienyd fro 17
 mynde^k, and bihelde not, that, for synnes
 of men enhabitynge, the Lord was wroth

^q abomynable, *or* *waried* H. abominable, *or* *cursid* G sec. m. ^r of citeseynes G sec. m. H. ^s cast H.
^t Om. AGH. ^u the three H. ^v Om. AGH.

^e aspies, *or* [ether plures] *deceitis* EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. aspies R. ^f *or forsakere* EPY. Om. R. ^g abho-
 minable, *or* [ether plures] *waried* EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. ^h sepulcre CRV. ⁱ gloriyng R. ^k mynde, *ether*
 [or EPY] *vndurstonding* C et plures.

that, for synnys of men enhabitynge, the Lord was wroth a litil to the citee; for whiche thing and dispisyng bifelle aboute
 18 the place. Ellis ȝif it hadde not bifallen hem for to be wlapid in many synnys, as Heleodore, that was sent fro kyng Seleucus for to robbe the tresorie, also this anoon cummynge to shulde be beten,
 19 and forsothe put abac of hardinesse. Bot the Lord cheese not for the place the
 20 folc, bot for the folc the place. And therfor and that place is maad parcener of yuels of the peple; afterward forsothe it shal be maad felawe and of goodis, and it, that is forsaken in wrath of almyȝty God, eftesoone in grete recounseilyng of the Lord shal be enhaunsid with grete
 21 glorie. Therfore Antiochus, taken away a thousand and eizte hundrid talentis of the temple, swiftly turnyde^w aȝein to Antioche, demynge^x hym for pryde 'to leedyng^y 'the lond to sayle^z, the se forsothe for to make^a iourney^b, for pride of
 22 thouȝt of soule. Forsothe he left prepostis, to tourment the folc, in Jerusalem sothely Philip, of the^c kyn of Friges, in maners crueler than hym self^d, of whom
 23 he is ordeynyd; forsothe in Garysym, Andronyk and Menelaus, whiche more greuouly than other layen^e to citeseyns. And whanne he was sette aȝeinus Jewis,
 24 he sente an odious prince, Appollonye, with an oost two and twenti thousandis, comaundyng to hym for to slea alle of perfit age, wymmen and ȝunglyngis^f for
 25 to selle. Whiche whan he came to Jerusalem, feynynge pees, restide 'vn to^g the holy day of saboth. And thanne, the^h Jewis holdynge holy day, he comaund-
 26 yngeⁱ his for to take armers, and he^k stranglide togidre alle that camen forth to the spectacle, or biholdyng; and he rennyng aboute the citee with armyd
 27 men, slewȝ a grete multitude. Forsothe

a litil to the citee; for which thing also dispisyng bifelle aboute the place. Ellis 18 if it had not bifeld^l hem for to be wlapid in many synnes, as Eliodore, that was sent fro kyng Seleucus for to robbe the treserie, also this anoon comynge schulde be betun, and forsothe put a bak fro^m hardynesse. But the Lord chees not the 19 folc for the place, but place for the folc. And therfor also thilke place was maad 20 parcener of yuelis of the puple; aftirward forsothe it schal be maad felowe alsoⁿ of goodis, and it, that is forsakun in wraththe of almyȝti God, eftsoone in recounseilyng of the greet Lord schal be enhaunsid with greet^o glorie. Therfor Antiok, whanne 21 he hadde takun awei a thousynde and eizte hundrid talentis of the temple, swiftli turnede aȝein to Antiochie, and demyde hym for pride to lede the lond for to seile, the see forsothe for to make iournei, for pride of soule. Forsothe he lefte also^p 22 souereyns, to^q turmente the folc, in Jerusalem sotheli Filip, of the kyn of Frigeus, cruelere than hym silf in maneris, of whom he was ordeyned; forsothe in 23 Garisym, Andronik and Menelaus, whiche more greuouly than othere laien on citeseyns. And whanne he was set aȝens 24 Jewis, he sente an odious prince, Appollonye, with an oost two and twenti thousandis, and comaundide to hym for to sle al of perfit age, for to sille wymmen and ȝonge children. Whiche whanne he cam 25 to Jerusalem, feynede pees, and restide til to^r the holi dai of sabat. And thanne while Jewis helden halidai, he comaundide his men for to take armeris, and stranglide 26 alle that camen forth togidre to the biholdyng^s; and he ran aboute the citee with armed men, and slowe a greet multitude. Forsothe Judas Machabeus, that 27 was the tenthe*, wente in to desert place, and there ledde lijf with his men, among

* the tenthe; lawful higest prest fro the reume of Grekis, that bigan at Ali-saundre the grete. Lire here. EKPUY.

^w is turnyde G sec. m. H. ^x gessinge GH. ^y Om. GH. ^z to seyle, or rowe, the lond GH. ^a lede, or make H. ^b bi fote for to make iourney A pr. m. ^{bi fote} iourney G sec. m. H. ^c Om. H. ^d Om. G pr. m. ^e layen, or noyeden H. ^f ȝonge H. ^g til to H. ^h Om. H. ⁱ comaundide AH. ^k Om. H.

^l bifalle EPIFY. ^m for R. ⁿ and also R. ^o Om. R. ^p alle N. ^q for to R. ^r Om. R. ^s spectacle, ether [or EPHY] biholding c et plures. spectacle R.

Judas Machabeus, that was the tenth, wente in to desert place, and there he¹ ledde lijf with his, among wijld beestis in hillis; and thei dwelten etinge mete of hay, lest thei weren parcnere of defoulyng.

CAP. VI.

¹ Bot not after myche tyme the kyng sente sum olde Antiochene, whiche shulde constreyne Jewis, that thei shulde transferre hem fro the^m lawis of faders and of ² God; alsoⁿ he shulde defoule the temple, that was in Jerusalem, and shulde clepe it of Jouis Olympij, and in Garysym, as thei weren, that enhabitiden the ³ place, of Jouis hospitale. Forsothe the azein rennyng of yuels was warst and ⁴ greuous to alle; for whi the temple was ful of lecherie and glotonye, and of men doynge lechery with horis, and wymmen baren yn hem self to halewid housis, at^o her own will, berynge with ynne tho ⁵ thingis whiche it was not leefull. Also the auter was ful of vnleeful thingis, ⁶ whiche weren forbeden bi lawis. Sothely nether sabothis weren kept, nether solemne days of faders, or *cuntree*, weren kept, nether symply, or *pleynly*, eny man ⁷ knowlachide hym a Jew. Forsothe thei weren ledde with bitter neede in day of the kyngus birthe to sacrifices. And whanne holy thingus of a^p free chijld weren halewid, or *wirshipid*, thei, crownyd with edera, weren constreyned for to ⁸ go about with the free chijld. Sothely the dome wente out in to the next citees of heithen men, Tholomeys procuryng, that liche manere thei shulden do azeinus ⁹ Jewis, for to sacrifice; sothely that thei shulden slea hem, that wolden not passe to the ordenauncis of heithen men. Therefore it was wretchidnesse for to see these ¹⁰ thingus. Forsothe two wymmen weren accusid, for to haue circumcidid her children; whom whan thei hadden ledde

wielde beestis in hillis; and dwelten etynge mete of hey, lest thei weren parcnere of defoulyng.

CAP. VI.

But not aftir myche tyme the king¹ sente an^t elde man of Antiochie*, which schulde constreyne Jewis, that thei schulden translate hem silf fro lawis of fadris and of God; also he schulde defoule the ² temple, 'that was^u in Jerusalem, and schulde clepe it of Jouis Olympij, and in Garisym, as thei weren, that enhabitiden the place, of Jouis hospital. Forsothe the^v ³ fallyng in of yuels was worste and greuous to alle; for whi the temple was ful ⁴ of lecherie and gloteny of hethene men, and of men doynge lecherie with horis, aud wymmen baren in hem silf to halewid housis, at her owne wille, berynge with ynne tho thingis whiche it was not leueful. Also the auter was ful of vnleueful ⁵ thingis, whiche weren forbodun bi lawis. Sotheli nether sabatis weren kept, nether ⁶ solempne daies of fadris weren kept, nether sympli, 'ether *opynli*^w, ony man knoulechide hym a Jew. Forsothe thei weren ⁷ led with bittir nede in the dai of the^x kyngis birthe to sacrifices. And whanne hooli thingis of Liber, 'that is, *Bacus*^y, 'ether a false god, which hethene^z men *clepiden god of wyn*^{zz}, weren maad solemply, thei weren crownyd with yuy, and weren constreyned for to go aboute with Liber. Sotheli the doom wente out in to ⁸ the nexte citees of hethene men, bi Tolomeis† procuryng, that in^a lijk maner also thei schulden do azeins^b Jewis, that thei schulden do sacrifice; sotheli that thei ⁹ schulden sle hem, that wolden not passe to^c ordynaunces^d of hethene men. Therefore it was to se[†] wretchidnesse. For ¹⁰ whi twei wymmen weren accusid, that

* that is, an hethen prest. *Live here. EV UY.*

† that is, the synneris of Tolome. *Live here. U.*

‡ that is, it li-feld thanne to alle men [beinge thanne in x] present, to se wretchidnesse that sueth. *Live here. KV.*

¹ Om. H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ and also K. ^o of H. P Om. H.

^t sum *ceteri prater* I. ^u Om. R. ^v Om. I. ^w nether openli I. Om. R. ^x Om. R. ^y Om. I.
^z the hethen E. et plures. ^{zz} Om. IR. ^a Om. R. ^b to R. ^c to the I. ^d ordynance R.

about opynly by the citee, the infauntis hangid at brestis, thei castiden *hem* down
 11 by the^a wallis. Forsothe other goynge to gidir to the next denns, and priuely wirshipynge the day of saboth, whan thei weren shewid to Philip, thei weren brente in flawmes, for thi that thei dred-
 den, *or shamyden*, for religioun and obseruaunce, for to bere help to hem self
 12 with hond. Forsothe Y biseche hem, that ben to redynge this boke, that thei dreden not, *'or haue not hydous'*, for contrarie casis^s; bot rette thei tho thingus that bifellen not to perishing, bot for to
 13 be^t to^u amendynge of oure kynde. Forsothe for to not suffre by myche tyme synners for to do of sentence, *or dome*, bot anoon for to 3eue veniaunces, is shew-
 14 yng of grete benyfyce^w. Sothely, not as in other naciouns, the Lord abidith paciently, that whan the day of dome shal cume, he punyshe hem in plente of syn-
 15 nys, so and in vs he ordeyneth, that oure synnys turned aboute in to the^x eende,
 16 so^y at the last he venge in vs. For whiche thing sothely he neuer remoueth his mercy fro vs; forsothe he chastis-
 ynge^z his peple, in aduersitees forsaakith
 17 not. Bot these ben said to 3ou in fewe to monestyng of men redynge; now forsothe it is to cume to the tellynge.
 18 Therefore Eleasarus, oon of the former of scribis, *or men of lawe*, a man woxen in age, and fair in cheer, 3anyng with open mouth, was compellid for to ete swynys
 19 flesh. And he biclippynge, *or desir-ynge*, more gloriouse deth, than hateful lijf, wilfully wente byfore to tourment.
 20 Forsothe he byholdynge hou it bihoft for to go to, paciently susteynyng, ordeynede for to not do vnleeful thingus
 21 for loue of lijf. Sothely these that stoden ni3, moued to gydre by wickid mercy, for olde frenship of the man, takynge hym

thei hadden circumcidid her children; and whanne thei hadden ledde hem aboute opynli bi the citee, with infauntis hangid at brestis^e, thei castiden down bi the wallis. Forsothe othere men 3eden togidere to the 11
 nexte dennes, and halewiden pryueli the dai of sabat, whanne thei weren schewid to Filip, thei weren brent in flawmes, for thei dredden for religioun and obseruaunce, for to bere help to hem silf with hond. Therefore^f Y biseche hem, that schulen 12
 rede this book, that thei 'drede not^g for aduersitees; but arette thei tho thingis that bifellen to be not to perischyng, but to amendyng of oure kyn. For whi for 13
 to not suffre bi myche tyme synneris for to do of sentence^h, but anoon for to 3yue veniaunces, is the schewing of greet^b bene-
 fice. For whi, not as in othere naciouns, 14 the Lord abidith pacientli, that whanne the dai of dom schal come, he punysche hem in plente of synnes, so and in vs he 15
 ordeyneth, that whanne oure synnes ben turned abouteⁱ in to ende, so at the laste he venge on^k vs. For which thing sotheli 16
 he neuer remoueth his merci fro vs; but he chastisith his puple, and forsakith not in aduersitees. But these thingis ben seid 17
 of vs in fewe *wordis* to the monestyng of men redynge; now forsothe it is to come to the tellyng. Therfor Eleasarus, oon of 18
 the formere of^l scribis^m, aⁿ man wexun in age, and 'fair in cheer^o, was compellid, '3anyng with open mouth^p, for to ete swynes fleisch. And he 'biclippide, *ether* 19
chees^q, more glorious deth, than hateful lijf, and wilfuli wente bfore to turment. Forsothe he bihelde hou it bihofte for to 20
 go, and suffride pacientli, and ordeynede for to not do vnleeful thingis for the loue of lijf. Sotheli these that stoden ny3, 21
 weren mounyd to gidere bi wickid merci, for eld frenship of the man, and thei token hym priueli, and preiede that

* that is, as thei feelin, or demin by vnreasonable part. Live here. EK PUY.

^a Om. H. ^r nether haue hidouste H. or haue not hidouste G sec. m. ^s causis A. ^t Om. G pr. m.
^u Om. H. ^w benyfyces H. ^x Om. H. ^y so that H. ^z chastynge H.

^e her brestis I. ^f Forsothe ceteri. ^g drede not, either haue not hidouste FGHKMNQSUX. ether haue hidouste e marg. ^h oure I. ⁱ Om. R. ^k in R. ^l of the N. ^m scribis, ether [or EPY] men of lawe C et plures. ⁿ and a R. ^o 3onyng with open mouthe in fair chere R. ^p Om. R. ^q biclippide, or chees EPY. desirede R.

preuily, preyden for to be brouzt to fleshis, whiche it was leeful hym for to ete, that it were feyned for to haue eten, as the kyng comaundide, of the fleshe^b of sacrifice; that this thing feyned, he were delyuered fro deth; and for olde frenship of the man, thei diden this humanite, or *curtasie*, in hym. And he bigan for to thenke the worthi excellence of age, and his eelde, and the free born hoorenesse, or *nobley*, and fro childhode of beste lyuynge; and after the ordinauncis of holy lawe, and maad of God, he answerde soon, saynge, hym for to wille to be sent bifore in to helle. Sothely he saith, It is not worthi to oure age for to feyne, that many zunge men, demynge Eleazarus of fourescore zeeer^c and ten, for to haue passid to lyif of^d aliens, and thei be disceyued for my feynynge, and for litil tyme of corruptible lijf, and by this Y gete spott and execracioun, or *cursidnesse*, to myn eelde. For whi and ȝif in this tyme Y be delyuerd fro tourmentis of men, bot nether quyck nether dead Y schal ascape the hond of Almyȝti^e. Wherefore in passyng the lijf strongly, sothely Y schal appere worthi of^f age; forsothe Y schal leue stronge ensauple to zunge men, ȝif Y be perfittly sett in onest deth with redy inwitt, and strongly for the worthiest and holiest lawis. These thingis said, anoon he was drawn to tourment. Forsothe these^g that ledden him, and a litil byfore weren mylder, ben turned in to wrath, for these wordis said of hym, whom^h thei demyden brouztⁱ forth by pride of herte. Bot whan he schulde be slayn with woundis, he inwardly^k sorewide, and saide, Lord, that hast holy kunnyng, opynly thou wost, for whan Y myȝt be delyuerd fro deth, Y susteyn^l hard sorewis of body; forsothe after^m soule wilfully Y suffre

fleischis schulden be brouzt, whiche it was leueful to hym for to ete, that he were feyned to haue etun, as the kyng comaundide, of the fleischis^a of sacrifice; that²² bi this dede he schulde be delyuered fro deth; and for eld frenship of the man, thei dide this curtesie^r in hym. And he²³ bigan for to thenke the worthi excellence of age, and of his elde, and 'fre borun^s horenesse of noblei, and of best lyuynge fro child; and bi the ordynaunces of holi lawe^t, and maad of God, he answeride soone, seiynge, that he wolde be sent bifore in to helle. For he seide, It is not²⁴ worthi to oure age for to feyne, that many zonge men deme, that Eleazarus of foure score zeeer and ten, hath passid to the lijf of aliens, and that thei ben dis²⁵seyued for^u my feynynge, and for^v litil tyme of corruptible lijf, and that bi this Y gete spotte and^w cursidnesse^x to myn eelde. For whi thouȝ in present tyme Y²⁶ be delyuered fro turmentis of men, but nether quyck nether deed Y schal ascape the hond of Almyȝti. Wherefor in pass²⁷yng the lijf strongli*, sotheli Y schal appere worthi of age; forsothe Y schal leue²⁸ stronge ensauple to zonge men, if Y vse perfittli^y onest^z deth with redi wille, and strongli for the worthieste and holieste lawis. Whanne these thingis weren seid, anoon he was drawun to turment. For²⁹sothe these that ledden hym, and a litil bifore weren myldere, weren turned in to wraththe, for the wordis seid of hym, whiche thei demyden brouzt forth bi pride of herte. But whanne he schulde be slayn³⁰ with woundis, he sorewide inwardli, and seide, Lord, that hast hooli kunnyng, openli thou woost, that whanne Y myȝte be delyuered fro deth, Y suffre^a hard sorewis of bodi; forsothe bi soule wilfuli Y suffre these thingis for thi drede. And³¹sotheli this man on this maner departide

* *passing the lijf strongli*, that is, in puttinge it forth, or in dijnge for the lawe of God. *Live here.* EK PUY.

^b flesch H. ^c Om. G pr. m. ^d as AK. ^e the Almyȝti G sec. m. H. ^f in H. ^g Om. G pr. m. ^h whiche wordis H. ⁱ wrouȝt H. ^k in H. ^l susteynede H. ^m vp H.

^q fleisch U. ^r humanite H. *humanite, ether [or EFX] curtesi c et coteri.* ^s the fre born re. ^t lawis A pr. m. ^u bi H. ^v that for H. ^w of C. ^x execracioun, or [ether plures] *cursednesse* EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. *execracioun* H. ^y Om. P. ^z and onest H. ^a suffride H. ^b Om. H. ^c partide H.

31 these thingus, for thi dreed. And sothely this man in this maner departide fro lijf; not oonly leeyunge the mynde of his deth to zunge men, bot and to alle the folc, to ensauple of vertu and strengthe.

CAP. VII.

1 Forsothe it bifelle, seuen bretheren taken to gidre with the modir, for to be constreyned of the kyng for to touche azeinus leeuⁿ swynys flesche^o; hem tourmentid with scourgyngis, and tourment 2 maad of bole lether. Forsothe oon of hem, that was the first^p, saith thus, What seekist thou? and what wolt thou lerne of vs? we ben redy for to dye, more than to breke the fadre lawis^q, or *cuntree* 3 *lawis*, of God. And so the kyng wrothe comaundide pannes of brasse, and brasen pottis for to be tendid. Whiche anoon 4 tendid, he comaundide the tunge for to be kitt off to hym that former spack, and skyn of the hed^t to be^r drawn away, and the heejist hondis and feet of hym for to be kitt byfore, the other bretheren of 5 hym and the moder biholdynge. And whan he was maad nowe vnprofitable bi alle thingis, he comaundide fijr for to be moued to hym, and zit vndirbrethinge^s to^t be brent, or *turned*, in the brasen panne; in whiche whan he was longe tourmentid, the othir *bretheren* togidre with the modir, monestiden, or *counfortiden*, hem to gidre for to dye strongly, 6 sayinge, The Lord God shal biholde trewthe, and he shal counforte, or *zeue solace*, in vs, as Moyses declaride in

fro lijf; not oneli leuyng the mynde of his deth to zonge men, but and to al the folc, to ensauple of^d vertu and strengthe.

CAP. VII.

Forsothe it bifelle, that seuen britheren 1 takun togidre with the modir, weren constreyned of the kyng for to taaste^e azens the^f lawe swynes^{ff} fleischis^g; and weren turmentid with scourgyngis, and turment maad of bole^h lether. Forsothe oon of 2 hem, that was the first, seide thus, What sekist thou? and what wolt thou lerne of vs? we ben rediⁱ for to die, more^k than to^l breke the fadris lawes^m of God. Ther- 3 forⁿ the kyng was wroth, and comaundide 'pannes of bras^o, and brasun^p pottis for^a to be maad ful hoot. And whan tho anoon werin maad ful hoot, he comaundide the^r 4 tunge for^s to be kit of fro hym that spak bifore^t; and whanne the^u skynne of the heed was drawun awei, *he bad* bothe the hijeste partis of hondis^w and of feet^x 'of hym^y for to be kit of^z, the while othere^a britheren^b and the modir 'of hym^{bb} bihelden. And whanne he was maad^c thanne^{cc} 5 vnprofitable bi alle thingis, he comaundide fier for to be brougt^d to him, and zit 'al quik^{dd} brethinge^e for to be^f brent in the brasun panne; in which whanne he was longe tourmentid, the othere^g togidre with the modir, 'counfortiden hem^h togidereⁱ for to die strongli, seiynge^k, The Lord 6 God schal biholde treuthe, and schal 'zyue solace in^l vs, as Moises declaride 'in bifore^m

ⁿ leefulnesse G sec. m. H. ^o swyne flesches H. ^p first, or eldist G sec. m. H. ^q Om. H. ^r Om. H.
^s vndirbrethinge, or groninge H. ^t for to H.

^d and 1. ^e touche A pr. m. R. ete C. touche, or [ether plures] ete EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. ^f Om. B et plures. ^{ff} swyn B. ^g fleisch RE. ^h bolis S. ⁱ more redi C sec. m. F sec. m. IKMUX. ^k Om. CFIK MUX. ^l for to mse. ^m lawe A pr. m. R. ⁿ And therfor RE. ^o brasun pannes S. ^p bras S. ^q Om. EPRY. ^r his C sec. m. F sec. m. GIMNQSUX. ^s Om. EPY. ^t first KMQSUX. ^u his C sec. m. F sec. m. GKMNQUX. ^w his hondis C sec. m. F sec. m. IKMSUX. ^x his feet C sec. m. F sec. m. IKMSUX. ^y Om. CFIKMS. ^z of awei A pr. m. C pr. m. F pr. m. HE. awei EPY. awei bifore H. ^a the othe F. ^b brethren of him F pr. m. e. ^{bb} Om. e. ^c ymaad e. ^{cc} Om. A pr. m. ^d mouyd C pr. m. F pr. m. HRE. meued EPY. ^{dd} Om. C pr. m. EPRYE. quyke F sup. ras. KNX. al U. ^e brethinge, or [ether He] gronyng C pr. m. EHPYE. brennyng U. ^f Om. F pr. m. S. ^g othere bretheren C sec. m. GIMNQSUX. tothere bretheren F sec. m. K. ^h counsailiden eche othere C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNQUX. monesteden, or [ether He] conforteden hem EHPYE. monestiden R. counfortiden ech other S. ⁱ togideres C sec. m. F sec. m. MSX. ^k and seiden C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNQSUX. ^l comfort C pr. m. R. zyue comfort among C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKNQSUX. counforte, or [ether H] zyue solace, in EHPYE. zyue comfort among solace in M. ^m byfore in S.

byfore witnessyng of songe, and in his
 7seruauntis he^u shal counforte. And so
 hym the first dead on this maner, thei
 ledden forth the suyng to^v be scornyd;
 and, the skyn of his hed drawen off, thei
 axiden, 3if he shulde eet, byfore that he
 were punyshid in al the body, by alle
 8membris by hem self. And he answer-
 ynge in cuntree voice, saide, Y shal not^w.
 For whiche thing, and this in suyng
 place of the first, resceyuede tourmentis.
 9 And he ordeynynd in the last spirit, saith
 thus, Sothely thou most wickid, *or curs-
 id*, leesist vs in this lijf, bot the kyng of
 the world shal reyse, in a3ein rysyng of
 euerlastyng lijf, vs dead for his lawis.
 10 After this the thrid was scorned; and he
 axid, anoon bro3t forth the tunge, and
 11stedfastly helde forth the hondis, and
 with trist saith, Of heuen Y weelde these
 thingus, bot for the lawis of God nowe
 Y dispise these same; for Y hope me to
 12resceyuyng hem of hym. So that the
 kyng, and tho^x that weren with hym,
 wondriden the inwitt of the 3unge man,
 that he ledde the tourmentis as nou3t.
 13 And this thus dead, thei traueiliden the
 14fourthe, also tourmentyng. And whan
 he was nowe at deth, he saith thus, Ra-
 ther it is, men 3ouen to deth of men, for
 to abijd hoope of God, beinge to be
 reysid a3ein^y eft of hym; forsothe a3ein
 15rijsyng to lijf shal not be to thee. And
 whan thei hadden stirid to the fifthe,
 thei^z traueiliden hym. And he bihold-
 16yng in to hym, saide, Thou hauyng
 power amonge men, whan thou art cor-
 ruptible, dost what thou wolt; forsothe
 nyl thou gesse, oure kynn for to be for-
 17saken of God. Sothely susteyne thou

witnessyng of songⁿ, and among^o his seru-
 auntis he schal 3ife^p counforte. Therfor^q 7
 whanne thilke firste was deed in this ma-
 ner, thei ledden forth the nexte^r for to be
 scornyd; and whanne the skyn of his
 heed was drawun of, with the heeris, thei
 axiden, if he wolde ete, bfore that he
 were punyschid in al the bodi, bi alle
 membris bi hem silf. And he answeride^s
 bi the^s vois of fadris^{*}, and seide, Y schal
 not do it^t. For which 'cause this also, in
 a place faste bi^u, resceyuede lijk^v turmentis
 of the firste. And whanne^w he was or-
 deyned^x in the laste spirit, he^y seide thus,
 Sotheli thou most wickid^z lesist vs in this
 lijf, but the kyng of the world schal reise
 'vs *that ben* deede for his lawis, in a3en-
 risinge of euerlastinge lijf^a. After this the 10
 thridde was scorned; and whanne^b he was
 bede^c, he^d 'profride soone^e forth the^f tunge,
 and stidfastli helde forth the^g hondis, and 11
 'seide, Of God of^h heuene Y weldeⁱ these
 lymes^k, but for the^l lawis of God now Y
 dispise these same; for Y hope, that Y
 schal resceyue tho of him. So that the 12
 kyng, and thei that weren with hym,
 wondriden on the wisdom of the 3onge
 man, that he^m ledde the turmentis as nou3t.
 And whanne thisⁿ was thus deed, thei 13
 traueliden the fourthe, and turmentiden^o
 in lijk maner. And whanne he was thanne 14
 at the deth, he seide thus, 'Wel the^p ra-
 ther it is ned^q, that men 3ouun^r to deth^s
 of men, abide hope^t of God, that^u schulen
 be reisid a3en 'eft of him^v; for^w a3en ris-
 yng to^x lijf[†] schal not be to thee. And 15
 whanne thei hadden brou3t the fyuethe,
 thei traueliden hym. And he bihelde in
 to hym, and seide, Thou hast power 16
 among men, 'and thou3 thou be^y corrupt-

* that is, bi the
 teching. *Live*
here. EPY.
 that is, bi the
 teching of holi
 fadris. *Live*
here. KNU.

† that is, vn-
 deedli lif and
 glorious, but to
 lif vndedli and
 peineful. *Live*
here. EKPUY.

^u Om. G pr. m. ^v for to H. ^w not do H. ^x thei H. ^y Om. H. ^z and thei H.

ⁿ his song C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^o in A pr. m. EHPYE. ^p Om. A pr. m. EHRE. ^q For I.
^r suinge A pr. m. C pr. m. EHRE. ^s Om. I. ^t Om. A pr. m. EF pr. m. HRE. ^u thing, and this in suing
 place A pr. m. EFHPYE. ^v Om. A pr. m. EFHPYE. ^w Om. A pr. m. EFGHPYE. ^x Om. E. ^y and A
 C pr. m. EFGHPYE. ^z cursid CGIKMNSUX. wickid, or [either FH] cursed EFHPY. ^a in a3enrising of
 euerlasting lif vs deed for his lawis EF pr. m. HPYE. in a3en rising of euere lasting lyif vs that ben deed
 for his lawes F sec. m. ^b Om. EHPYE. ^c axed EHPYE. ^d and EHPYE. ^e soone brou3t EHPYE.
^f his C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^g hise I. ^h seide with trist, Of A pr. m. EHPYE. ⁱ haue C sec. m.
 F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^k thingis A pr. m. C pr. m. EHRE. ^l Om. E. ^m Om. A. ⁿ he this I. ^o tur-
 mentiden him C sec. m. F sec. m. IKS. ^p Om. EHPYE. ^q Om. C pr. m. EHPYE. ^r do A sec. m. sup. ras.
^s the deth R. ^t the hope GR. ^u for thei C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^v Om. R. ^w forsothe A pr. m.
 C pr. m. EF pr. m. HRE. for the I. ^x of GIKMNSUX. ^y whan thou art A pr. m. EHPYE.

patiently, and thou shalt see the grete
power of hym, hou he shal tourmente
18 thee, and thi seed. After this thei led-
den to and the sixt; and this bygyn-
nyng for to dye, saith thus, Nyl thou
erre ydely; forsothe we suffren these
thingus for oure^a self, synnyng in to
oure God, and thingus worthi of won-
19 dryng ben maad in vs; forsothe deme
thou not, to beyng with outen peyn to
thee, that thou hast temptid for to fize
20 azeinus God. Forsothe the moder won-
derful aboue maner^b, and worthi the
mynde of good men, whiche biholdyng
seuen sonys perishyng vnder tyme of oo
day, suffride in good inwitt^c, for hoope
21 that she hadde in to God; she monestide
eche of hem by voice of cuntree, strongly
fulfillid with wijsdam, and ynsettinge
22 mans ynwitt to wommans thougt, saide
to hem, Sonys, Y wote not how ze ap-
periden in my wombe; forsothe nether
Y haue zouen to zou spirit, and soule,
and lijf, and Y my self ioynyde not to
23 gidre the membris of eche; bot sothely
the maker of nouzt of the world, that
fourmyde the birthe^d of man, and foonde
bygynnyng of alle, shal zeelde eft to zou
spirit, and lijf, with mereye, as now ze
dispisen zoure self for the lawis of hym.
24 Forsothe Antiochus demyng hym for to
be dispisid, and also dispisid by voice of
the repreuyng, whan zit the zunger was
alyue^e, not oonly he monestide by
woordis, bot and with ooth he affermyde,
to makynge hym rijche and blessid, and
to hauynge freend, translatid fro cuntre
lawis, and to zeuyng needful thingus.
25 Bot whan the zunge man was not bowid
to these thingis, the kyng clepide the
modir, and softly counseilide her, that she^f
shulde be maad to the zunge man in to

ible, thou^z doist what thou wolt; but nyl
thou^a gesse, that oure kyn is forsakun of
God. But abide thou pacientli, and thou¹⁷
schalt se the greet power of hym, hou he
schal tourmente thee, and thi seed. After^b 18
thei ledden^c also the sixte; and this^d bi-
gan for to die, and seide thus, Nyle thou^e
erre idili; for we suffren these thingis for
vs^f silf, synnyng azens oure God, and
thingis worthi of wondryng ben maad^g in
vs; but deme thou not, that it schal be 19
with out peyne to thee, that thou hast
temptid for to fize azens God. Forsothe 20
the 'merueylous moder of hem^h, and wor-
thi the mynde of goode men, which bi-
helde seue ne sones perischyng vndur the
tyme of o day, 'and suffride aboue manereⁱ
with good wille, for the hope that sche
hadde in to God; sche^k monestide ech of 21
hem bi vois of fadris, 'that is, acordynge
to the techyng of hooli fadris^l, and was
strongli fillid with wisdom, and settide
mannus witte to wommanys thougt, and 22
seide to hem, Sones, Y woot not hou ze
apperiden in my wombe; for nether Y
haue zouun to zou spirit, and soule, and
lijf, and Y^m my silf ioynede not togidere
the membris of ech; but the makere of 23
nouzt ofⁿ the world, that fourmyde na-
tiuyte^o of man, and foond bigynnyng of
alle, schal zelde eft to zou spirit, and lijf,
with merci, as now^p ze dispisen^q zou^r silf
for the lawis of hym. Forsothe Antiok 24
demyde hym for to be dispisid, and also^a
bi dispisable vois of a repreuere, and
whanne zit the zongere was 'on lyue^t, not
oneli he monestide bi wordis, but and^u
with an ooth he affirmyde, to make hym
riche and blissful, and to haue frend^v,
translatid fro lawis of fadris, and to zyue
'to hym^w nedeful thingis. But whanne 25
the zonge man was not bowid to these

^a vs H. ^b maner, or ful myche H. ^c inwitt, or counseil H. ^d natuyte H. ^e on lyue H. ^f Om. K.

^z and A pr. m. EHRE. ^a ze R. ^b After this re. ^c brouzten C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^d he
this I. ^e ze R. ^f oure E. ^g do C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^h modir is wondrous aboue manere,
ether [or EPY] ful miche C pr. m. EF pr. m. HPY. modir is wondrous aboue manere re. ⁱ and suffride
A pr. m. EHPRYE. aboue manere of kynde suffride C sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNSUX. ^k and sche CGIK
M sec. m. NQSUX. and R. ^l Om. re. ^m Om. A. ⁿ Om. N. ^o the natiuitee G. ^p wis as GIKMNSUX.
^q dispisiden KX. ^r zoure E. ^s Om. R. ^t alyue EI. ^u Om. R. ^v him a frend R. ^w Om. re pr. m.
to e sec. m.

26 helthe. Forsothe whan he monestides
 hir by many wordis, she bihi3te hir to
 27 counseilinge hir sone. And so she bow-
 yde doun to hym, scornynge the cruel
 tyraunt, saith in cuntree voice, Sone,
 haue mercy on me, that bare thee in
 wombe nyne monethis, and 3aue mylk by
 three 3eere, and nurishide, and in to this
 28 age fully brou3te. Y axe, chijld, that
 thou biholde to heuen and erthe, and alle
 thingus that ben in hem, and vndir-
 stonde, for God made hem of nou3t, and
 29 kynde of men. So it shal be maad, that
 thou dreede not this tourmentour, bot
 thou maad worthi to thi bretheren, re-
 sceyue deeth, that in that mercy doynge
 Y resceyue thee with thi bretheren.
 30 Whan she 3it said these thingus, the
 3unge man saith, Whom susteyne 3e?
 Y obeye not to bidding of the kyng,
 bot to precept of the lawe, that is 3ouen
 31 to vs by Moyses. Forsothe thou, that art
 maad^b fynder of al malice in to Ebrues,
 32 shalt not scape the hond of God. We
 sothely suffren these thingus for oure
 33 synnys; and 3if oure Lord be a litil
 wrothe to vs for blamyng and chastis-
 ynge, bot eft he shal be recounseildⁱ to
 34 his seruauntis. Forsothe thou cursid,
 and of alle men most flagiciouse, *or*
fullist of yuel doynigus, and stiryngus,
 nyl thou veynly be enhaunsid, by veyn
 fourmys enlawmed in to his seruauntis;
 35 sothely^k thou hast not scapid 3it the
 dom of almy3ty God, and biholdynge alle
 36 thingus. For whi my bretheren now a
 litil sorew suffriden, and^l ben maad vndir
 the testament of euerlastynge lijf; thou
 sothely by dome of God shalt paye iust
 37 paynes of pride. Sothely Y, and as my
 bretheren, bitake my soule and body for
 the lawis of faders, *or of cuntree*; ynclep-

thingis^x, the kyng clepide the modir, and
 softli counselide hir, that sche schulde be
 maad to the 3onge man in to helth. For-
 26 sothe whanne he monestide hir bi many
 wordis, sche bihi3te hir^y for to counsele
 hir sone. Therfor^z sche bowide doun to 27
 hym, and scornide the cruel tiraunt, and
 seide in cuntrei^{zz} vois, Sone, haue^a merci on
 me, that bar thee in wombe nyne monethis,
 and 3af mylk bi thre 3eer, and nurschide,
 and fulli brou3te in to this age. Y axe, 28
 child, that thou biholde to heuene and
 erthe, and alle thingis that ben in hem,
 and vnderstonde, that God made hem of
 nou3t, and the kynde of men. So it schal 29
 be don, that thou drede not this turmen-
 tour, but be thou maad worthi to thi bri-
 theren, and resceyue deth, that^b in that
 merci doynge Y resceyue thee with thi bri-
 theren. Whanne sche seide 3it^c these 30
 thingis, the 3ong man seide, Whom abiden
 3e? Y obeie not to bidding^d of the kyng,
 but to comaundement of the lawe, that
 was 3ouun to vs bi Moises. Forsothe 31
 thou, that art maad fyndere of al malice
 azens Ebrewis, schalt not ascape the hond
 of God. For we suffren these thingis for 32
 oure synnes; thou3^e oure Lord be a litil 33
 wroth to vs for blamyng and chastisyng,
 but eft he schal be recounselid^{ee} to hise
 seruauntis. Forsothe thou cursid, and 34
 most flagiciouse^f, *ether^{ff} fulleste of yuel*
doyngis, and stiryngis^g, of alle men, nyle
 thou^h veynly be enhaunsid, that artⁱ en-
 flaumyd bi veyn hope^k azens his seru-
 auntis; for thou hast not scapid^l 3it^m the 35
 dom of almy3ti God, and biholdynge alle
 thingis. For whiⁿ my britheren suffriden 36
 now a litil sorewe, and ben maad vndur
 testament of euerlastynge lijf; thou so-
 theli bi dom of God schalt paie iust peynes
 of pride. Sotheli 'Y as my^o britheren, 37

^g amonestide H. ^h Om. G pr. m. ⁱ recounseild, or pesid H. ^k forsothe H. ^l Om. GH.

^x wordis C sec. m. F sec. m. IMUX. ^y him GMN sec. m. se sec. m. Om. R. ^z And therfor re. ^{zz} contra-
 rey C sec. m. ^a haue thou M. ^b and H. ^c Om. N. ^d the bidding FGKMNQSUX. ^e and thou3 I.
^{ee} recounselid, *either* [or EPY] *peesid* F *et plures*. recounselid, *ether plesid* I. ^f cruel turmentour, C sec. m.
 F sec. m. GIKMNQSUX. ^{ff} or EPY. ^g Gloss om. in GIKMNQSUX. ^h Om. CE pr. m. H. ⁱ Om. A. ^k Om.
 A pr. m. CEF GHIKMN PQUXY. ^l ascapid CNX. ^m Om. R. ⁿ For C pr. m. E pr. m.
^o as Y and my AHIRE.

ynge God, more rijply for to be maad helpful to oure folc, and thee with tourmentis and betyngus for to knowleche, 38 for he is God aloone. For in me and in my bretheren the wrath of Almiȝty shal faile, whiche is iustly^m brouȝt yn vpon alle 39 our kyn. Than the kyng kyndlid with wrath, was feersⁿ in to hym more cruelly aboue alle, berynge vnworthily hym self 40 scornyd. And *he* this sothely cleene dyede, by alle thingus tristyng in the 41 Lord. Forsothe at the last the^o modir is waastid, *or dead*, after the sonys. 42 Therfor of sacrifices, and ouer grete crueltees, is ynow said.

CAP. VIII.

1 Forsothe Judas Machabeus, and thei that weren with hym, entriden priuely in to castels; and thei, cleepyng to gidre cosyns, and frendis, and takyng to hem that dwelten in Jurye^p, ledden out to 2 sixe thousand^q men. And thei inclepiden the Lord, for to biholde in to the peple, that was defoulid of alle men; for to haue mercye of^r the temple, that was 3 defoulid of vnpytous men; and for to haue mercy of^s distruyng of the citee, that was anoon to be maad pleyn to gidre; and for to heere the voice of blood cry- 4 inge to him, and for to haue mynde of the wickidist dethis of lytil children innocentis, and of blasfemyes ȝouen to his name; and for to haue indignacioun on 5 these thingus. And Machabeus, the multitude gadrid, was maad vnsuffreable to heithen men; forsothe the wrath of the 6 Lord is conuertid in to mercye. And he aboue cummyng to castels and cytees, vnwarnyd, brente hem; occupyng couenable places, ȝaue not fewe sleayngis of

bitake my soule and bodi for lawis^p of fadris; and Y clepe God to help, that more^q ripeli he be maad helpful to oure folc, and that thou knowleche with tourmentis and betyngis^r, that he is God aloone. Forsothe the wraththe of Al- 38 myȝti^s schal faile^t in me and in my bretheren, which is iustli brouȝte in on al oure kyn. Thanne the kyng was kyndlid 39 with wrath, and was fers azens hym more crueli aboue alle; and bar vnworthili, *'ether heuyli^u*, hym silf scorned. Therfor and^v 40 this was^w clene, and diede, tristyng bi alle thingis in the Lord. Forsothe^{ww} at the 41 laste also the modir was wastid^x, after the sones. Therfor of sacrifices, and ouer 42 greet crueltees, is ynow^y seid.

CAP. VIII.

Forsothe Judas Machabeus, and thei¹ that weren with hym, entriden priuely in to castels; and² clepiden togidere cosyns, and frendis, and token hem that dwelten in Judee, *ether^a in^b kepyng of the lawe of Jewis^c*, and ledden out men to sixe thousyndis. And thei clepiden the Lord² to help, for to biholde on the puple, that was defoulid of alle men; for to haue merci on the temple, that was defoulid of vnpytouse men; and for to haue merci on³ distruyng of the citee, that was anoon to be maad pleyn togidere; and for to here the vois of blood cryng to hym, and for to haue mynde on^c the wikidiste⁴ dethis of litle children innocentis, and of blasfemyes ȝouun to his name; and for to haue indignacioun on these thingis. And⁵ Machabeus, with the multitude gaderid, was maad vnsuffrable to hethene men; for the wraththe of the Lord was conuertid in to merci. And he aboue cam to⁶ castels and citees, vnwarned, and brente hem; and ocupiede couenable places, and

^m iust AG pr. m. HK. ⁿ fers, or wood H. ^o and the H. ^p Jewrye, or lond of Judee H. ^q thousandis H. ^r on H. ^s on H.

^p the lawis I. ^q the more R. ^r of betyngis E. Om. e. ^s Almiȝti God c sec. m. FGIKMNQRUXE. ^t haue an ende c sec. m. F sec. m. GIKMNQUX. falle R. ^u Om. R. ^v Om. CGIKMNQSUX. ^w was also c sec. m. GIKMNQSUX. ^{ww} For a pr. m. ^x wastid, ether deed CFGHIKMNQSUXE. ^y now E. ^z and thei N. ^a or EPY. ^b Om. CN. ^c Gloss om. in CRS. ^e of C. ^f in to c pr. m.

7enmys. Sothely in niztis^t he was most
born to syche out rennyngis; and fame
of his vertu was shed out euery wher.
8Forsothe Philip seeynge the man bi litil
and litil for to cume to profit, *or encrese*,
and ful ofte thingus bifalle to hym eesili,
or in prosperite, wrote to Tholome, duyck
of Celescirie and Fenyce, that he shulde
9bere help to the kyngis needis. And he
swiftly sente Nychanore of Patrode,
frend of the former, *or worthier*, zouen
to hym not lesse than twenti thousandis
of armyd folkis meynt^u to gidre, for to do
away al the kynde; and ioyned to hym
Gorgie, a knytly man, and in thingus of
10bateil most expert. Forsothe Nychanore
ordeynede to the kyng, that he shulde
fulfille the tribute that was to be zouen
to Romayns, two thousand^v of talentis,
11of the caitifte of Jewis. And anoon he
sente to cytees of the se coost, clepynge
togidre to euyng bynge of boonde men of
Jewis; byhetyng hym to sellynge nynty
boond men for oo talent, not byholdyng
to veniaunce^w that was to folewyng
12hym of the^x Almyzty. Forsothe wher
Judas foonde, he shewide to these^y Jewis
that weren with hym, the cummyng of
13Nychanore. Of whom^z sume^a inwardly
dreedynge, and not byleenynge to ryzt-
wisnesse^b of God, weren turnyd in to
14fli3t; other sothely, 3if eny leften of hem,
camen, and to gidre bisou3ten the Lord,
for to delyuere hem of wickid Nycha-
nore, whiche hadde solde hem bifore that
15he came ni3; and thou3 not for hem, for
the testament that was to the fadris of
hem, and for the^c yncleepyng of his holy
16name and grete on hem. Forsothe Ma-
chabeus, clepid to gidre seuen thousandis
that weren with hym, preide, that thei
shulden not be reconseilid, nether shul-
den dreed the multitude of enemyes wick-
idly cummyng a3einus hem, bot strongly

3af not fewe sleyngis of enemyes. Sotheli⁷
in niztis he was most borun to seche out
rennyngis; and fame of his vertu was
shed⁸ out euery where. Forsothe Filip⁸
si3, that the man bi litil and litil cam to
encrees^h, and that ful ofte thingis bifall-
idenⁱ to hym in prosperite^k; and he wroot
to Tolome, duyck of Celessirie and of Fe-
nice, that he schulde bere help to the
kyngis nedis. And he swiftli sente Nycha-
9nor of Patrode, of the formere^l frendis,
and 3af to hym^m not lesse than twenti
thousyndis of armed folkis meynt togidre,
for to do awei al the kyn of Jewis; and
ordeynedeⁿ to hym Gorgie, a knyztli man,
and most expert in thingis of batel. For-
10sothe Nychanor bihi3te stidfastly to the
kyng, that he schulde fille the tribut that
was to be 3ouun to Romayns, two thou-
syndis of talentis, of the caitifte of Jewis.
Andⁿⁿ anoon he sente to citees of the see¹¹
coost, and clepide togidre to euenbiyng
of prisoneris, *ether^o of boonde men*, of
Jewis; and bihi3te, that he schal sille nynti
boonde men for a talent, not biholdyng
to the veniaunce that schulde sue hym of
Almyzti^{oo}. Forsothe whanne Judas foond,¹²
he schewide to these Jewis that weren
with hym, the comyng of Nychanor. Of¹³
which summe inwardli dredden, and bi-
leuyden not to the ryztwisnesse of God,
and weren turned in to fli3t; othere so-
14theli, if ony leften of hem, camen, and to-
gidre bisou3ten the Lord, for to delyuere
hem fro wyckid Nychanor, which hadde seld
hem bifore that he cam ni3; and thou3 not¹⁵
for hem, for^p the testament that was to
the fadris of hem, and for clepyng^q to
help of his hooli name and greet on hem.
Forsothe Machabeus clepide togidre se-
16uene thousyndis that weren with hym,
and preiede, that thei schulden not be
recounselid to enemyes, nether schulden
drede the multitude of enemyes wickidli

^t myztis H. ^u meyngid H. ^v thousandis H. ^w the veniaunce H. ^x Om. H. ^y the H. ^z whiche H.
^a summe men G sec. m. H. ^b the ryztwisnesse H. ^c Om. H.

⁸ shed, *ether shewed* K sec. m. marg. ^h profit B. profit *ether* [or EPY] *encrees c et ceteri*. ⁱ bifellen F.
^k ful esili R. esili, *ether* [or EPYE] *in prosperite c et ceteri*. ^l formere, *ether* [or EPY] *worthier c et plures*.
^m Om. C. ⁿ ioynede R. ⁿⁿ C is deficient from this place to the beginning of the Prologue on Matthew.
^o or EPY. ^{oo} Almyzti God B. ^p but for EPY. ^q the clepyng R.

17 shulden stryue, *or fize*; hauynge byfore
the eezen the dispite that was 'in brouzt^d
in the holy place vniustly of hem, and
also the^e wronge of citee^f, had in scorn-
yng; 3it also the ordynaunces of olde
18 men distruyed to gidre. For whi he
saith, Thei sothely tristen in armers to
gidre and hardynesse; forsothe we tristen
in the Lord almy3ty, that may do away
with oo lookyng, *wille, or signe*, and
men cummynge azeinus vs, and^g al the
19 world. Forsothe he monestide hem and
of helpis of God, that ben don azeinus
faders; and that vndir Senacheryb an
hundrid foure score and fyue thousand^h
20 pershiden; and of the batel that was to
hem azeinus Galathas, in Babyloyn; wher
3if it come to thing, *or trewthe*, felowis
Macedoyns doutyng, thei alle six thou-
sandis alone slewen an hundrid and
twenty thousandis, for help 3ouen to hem
fro heuen; and for these thingus thei
21 hadden ful many benyfices. By these
wordis thei ben maad stedfast, and redy
22 for to dye for the lawis and cuntree. So-
thely he ordeynyde his bretheren dukis,
or leeders, to eche ordre, Symont, and
Josephus, and Jonathas, to eche a thou-
23 sand and fyue hundrid sugettid. Also
to this thing, the holy boke red to hem
Esdraⁱ, and a tokne 3ouen of Goddis
help, in the first sheltrun he duk, ioyn-
24 yde with Nychanore. And the Almy3ty
maad help to hym, thei slewen ouer nyne
thousande of men; forsothe thei con-
streyneden the more part of Nychanoris
oost, maad feble by woundis^k, for to flee.
25 Forsothe the moneys of hem that camen
to the bying of hem taken vp, on eche
26 syde thei pursueden hem; bot thei
turnyden azein closid to gidre bi an
houre; for whi it was bifore the saboth,
for whiche cause thei lastiden not pur-
27 suyng. Forsothe thei gadringe the ar-
mers of hem, and spuylis, diden saboth,

comyng a3ens hem, but strongli schulden
fize^r; hauynge bifore the 3en the dispit¹⁷
that was don in the hooli place vniustli of
hem, and also the wrong of the citee, had
in scornynge; 3it also the ordenaunces of
elde men distried. For whi he seide, Thei¹⁸
sotheli tristen in armeris togidere and
hardynesse; forsothe we tristen in the
Lord almy3ti, that may do awei with o
lokyng bothe hem that comen a3ens vs,
and al the world. Forsothe he monestide¹⁹
hem also of helpis of God, that weren don
a3ens fadris; and that vndur Senacherib
an hundrid thousynde foure score thou-
synde and fyue thousindes^s perischiden;
and of the^t batel that was to hem a3ens²⁰
Galatas, in Babiloyne; 'whether if^u it
come^v to the thing, 'ethir treuthe^w,
whanne alle felowis Macedoyns doutiden,
thei^x sixe thousandis aloone slowen an
hundrid thousynde and twenti thousyndis,
for help 3ouun to hem fro heuene; and
for these thingis thei hadden ful many
benefices. Bi thes wordis thei weren maad²¹
stidfast, and redi for to die for lawis and
cuntree. Therfor he ordeynede his brithe-²²
ren lederis^y to ech ordre, Symount, and
Josofus, and Jonathas, 'and made suget
to^z ech a thousynde and fyue hundrid.
Also to this thing, whanne the hooli book²³
was red to hem of Esra, and a tokene was
3ouun of Goddis help, he *was* duk in the
firste scheltrun, and ioynede batel with
Nycanor. And for the Almy3ty was maad²⁴
helpere to hem, thei slowen ouer nyne
thousynde of men; forsothe thei con-
streyneden the more part of Nycanoris
oost, maad feble bi woundis, for to fle.
Forsothe whanne the richessis of hem that²⁵
camen to the byng of hem weren takun
vp, on ech side thei pursueden hem; but²⁶
thei turneden a3en closid togidere bi an
our; for whi it was bifor sabat, for which
cause thei lastiden not pursuyng. For-²⁷
sothe thei gaderiden the armeris of hem,

^d brouzt H. ^e Om. G pr. m. ^f the citee G sec. m. H. ^g in G pr. m. ^h thousandis H. ⁱ of Esdra H.
^k wound G pr. m.

^r striue, or [ether plures] fize EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. striue R. ^s thousand EIP. ^t Om. I. ^u where R.
wher if ceteri. ^v cometh R. ^w or truthe EFX. Om. R. ^x the N. ^y dukis R. dukis, or lederis E et ceteri.
^z Om. R.

blessinge the Lord, that delyuerde hem
 in this day, droppynge in to hem bygyn-
 28 nynge of mercye. Forsothe after the sa-
 both thei departiden spuylis to the feble^l,
 and fadirlesse, and modirlesse, and wi-
 dewis; and thei with hern hadden the
 29 residues. These thingus thus don, and
 commounly of alle men bisechyng maad,
 thei axiden the merciful Lord, for to be
 recounseilid in to the eend to his seru-
 30 auntis. And of these that weren with
 Tymothe and Bachides, stryuyng azeinus
 hem, thei slewen ouer twenty thousandis,
 and thei weeldiden hee³ strengthis; and
 thei departiden mo preyes, euen porcioun
 to feble^m, faderlesse, and moderlesse, and
 widues, bot and to eldre men makynge.
 31 And whan thei hadden gadrid the ar-
 mers of hem, diligently thei maden to
 gydre, *or kepten*, alle thingus in couen-
 able places; forsothe thei baren toⁿ Je-
 32 rusalem the residue spuylis. And thei
 slewen Philarces, that was with Tymo-
 the, a man ful of grete trespassis, that
 had tourmentide Jewis in many thingus.
 33 And whan feestis for victorie weren don
 in Jerusalem, thei brenten hem that had-
 den brente holy^o zatis, that is to say,
 Calastenes, whan he hadde flowen in to
 sune hous; worthi meed 30olden to hem
 34 for her vnpitousnesse. Forsothe wick-
 idist Nychanore, that brouzte a thou-
 sand marchauntis to bying of Jewis,
 25 meekid, *or maad lowe*, bi help of the
 Lord, of hem whiche he gessid noon;
 the clothe of glorie putte down, by mydil
 erthe fleeinge aloone, cam to Antioche,
 hauynge heizist infelicitee, *or most wretch-*
 36 *idnesse*, of the deeth of his oost. And
 he that bihizte hym for to restore tribute
 to Romainys, of the caitiftee of men of
 Jerusalem, prechide Jewis for to haue oo
 defender God, and for hym to^p be vnable
 for to be woundid, for^q thei sueden lawis
 maad of hym.

and spuylis, and diden sabat, and blessiden
 the Lord, that delyuerede hem in this dai,
 droppynge in to hem bigynnyng of merci.
 Forsothe after the^a sabat thei departiden 28
 spuylis to the^b feble folkis^c, and fadirles,
 and^d modirles, and widewis; and thei with
 hern hadden the residues. Whanne these 29
 thingis weren thus don, and comynli of
 alle men bysechyng was maad, thei axiden
 the merciful Lord, for to be recounseilid in
 to the ende to^e hise seruauntis. And of 30
 these that weren with Tymothe and Ba-
 chides, stryuyng azeins hem silf, thei slow-
 en ouer twenti thousyndis^f, and thei weld-
 iden hi³ strengthis; and thei departiden
 mo preies, and maden euene porcioun to
 feble folc^g, fadirles, and modirles, and wi-
 dewis^h, but and to eldere men. And 31
 whanne thei hadden gaderid the armeris
 of hem, diligentli thei 'puttiden togidere'
 alle thingis in couenable places; forsothe
 thei baren to Jerusalem the residue spuylis.
 And thei slowen Filarces, that was with 32
 Tymothe, a man ful of grete trespassis,
 that hadde turmentide Jewis in many
 thingis. And whanne feestis of^k victorie 33
 weren don in Jerusalem, thei brenten hem
 that hadden brent hooli zatis, that is to
 seie, Calastenes, whanne he hadde flowun
 in to an^l hous; for whi worthi meede was
 30ldun to hem for her vnpitousnessis.
 Forsothe the^m wickidist Nycanor, that 34
 brouzte a thousynde marchauntis to the
 sillyng of Jewis, was mekidⁿ bi help of 35
 the Lord, of hem which he gesside noon;
 and whanne he hadde put awei the cloth
 of glorie, he fledde aloon bi priuy places,
 and cam to Antiochie, and hadde hizeste
 wretchidnesse^o of the deth of his oost.
 And he that bihizte hym for^p to restore 36
 tribute to Romainys, of the caitifte of men
 of Jerusalem, prechide now that Jewis
 hadde o defendere God, and for hym thei
 weren vnable for to be woundid, for thei
 sueden lawis ordeyned of hym.

^l feblis H. ^m feblis H. ⁿ in to H. ^o the holy H. ^p for to GH. ^q and for K.

^a Om. EF pr. m. RYE. ^b Om. R. ^c folk EPY. ^d Om. A. ^e of R. ^f thousand EPY.
^g folkis RE. ^h to widewis R. ⁱ puttiden togidere, *either kepten* FGHIMNPQSUXE. ^k to EPY. for *ceteri*.
^l sum *ceteri*. ^m Om. RE. ⁿ mekid, *or maad low* EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. ^o infelicite R. infelicite or [*ether*
plures] *wreccidnesse* E et *ceteri*. ^p Om. F.

CAP. IX.

1 In the same tyme Antiochus turnyde
 2 azein vnonestly fro Perse. Sothely he
 hadde entrid in to that citee, that is said
 Persibolis, and he temptide for to robbe
 the templis, and oppresse the citee; bot,
 the multitude rennyng togidre to armers,
 he is turned in to flizt; and so it bifelle,
 that Antiochus after the^r flizt loodly
 3 turnyde azein. And whan he came aboute
 Ebathana, he knewe what thingus benⁿ
 don azeinus Nychanore and Tymothe.
 4 Forsothe he wroth demede in wrath,
 hym for to mow turne in to Jewis the
 wronge of hem, that dryuen him. And
 therefore he^{ss} bad^t the chaar for to be
 led, with out ceesyng doyng iourney;
 heuenly dom dryuyng^a, for that he spac
 so proudly, hym to cummyng to Jerusa-
 lem, and to makynge it 'the gadryng^v
 5 of sepulcre^w of Jewis. Bot the Lord
 God of Yrael, that byholdith alle thingus,
 smote hym with a wound incurable and
 inuisible; forsothe as he eendid this same
 word, an hard sorewe of entraylis toke
 hym, and bittir tourmentis of ynward
 6 thingis. And sothely iustly ynow³, for-
 sothe he that hadde tourmentid the en-
 trailis of other men, with many and newe
 tourmentis, thou³ he in no manere ceesside
 7 of his malice. Forsothe ouer this he ful-
 fillid with pride, brethinge^x fjr in ynwitt
 in to Jewis, and he^y comaundyng the
 neede^z for to be haastid, it byfelle, hym
 goyng in fersnesse for to falle of the
 chaar, and the membris for to be tra-
 ueilid with the greuous hurtlyng to gidre
 8 of body. And he that was seen to hym
 seelf for to comaunde also to the^a wawis
 of the see, ouer mans maner fulfillid with
 pride, and for to weye in balauncis^b the
 heiztis of hillis, nowe meekid to erthe,
 was born in a beere, witnessyng in hym
 9 self the opyn vertu of God; so that

CAP. IX.

In the same tyme Antiok turnede azen 1
 vnonestli fro Perses. For he hadde entrid 2
 into that citee, that is seid Persibolis*, and
 he temptide for to robbe the temple, and
 oppresse the citee; but for multitude ran
 togidre to armeris, thei weren turned in
 to flizt; and so it bifelle, that Antiok after
 flizt viliche turnede azen. And whanne³
 he cam aboute Ebathana, he knew what
 thingis weren don azens Nycanor and Ty-
 mothe. Forsothe he was enhaunsid in 4
 wraththe, and demede that he my³te turne
 in to Jewis the wrong of hem, that had-
 den dryuun hym. And therfor he bad the
 chare for^q to be led in haste, doyng iour-
 ney with out ceessyng; for whi heuenli
 doom constreynede^r hym, for that he spac
 so proudli, that he schal come to Jerusa-
 lem, and to make it a gaderyng of sepulcre
 of Jewis. But the Lord God of Israel, 5
 that biholdith alle thingis, smoot hym
 with a wounde incurable and inuisible;
 for as he endide this same word, an hard
 sorewe of entrails took hym, and bittire
 turmentis of inward thingis. And sotheli⁶
 iustli ynow³, for he that hadde turmentid
 the entrails of othere men, with many and
 newe turmentis, thou³ he in no maner
 ceesside of his malice. Forsothe ouer this 7
 he was fillid^s with pride, and brethide
 fier in soule azens Jewis, and^t comaund-
 ynge^u the nede for to be hastid, it bifelle,
 that he goyng in fersnesse fallide^v doun
 of the chare, and that the membris weren
 traueilid with the greuouse hurtlyng to-
 gidre of bodi. And he that semyde to 8
 hym silf for to comaunde also to wawis of
 the see, and ouer mannus maner was fillid
 with pride, and for to weie in balaunce
 the hizthis of hillis, was^w maad low to
 erthe, and was borun in a beere^x, and wit-
 nesside in him silf the opyn vertu of God;
 so that wormes buyliden out of the bodi 9

* Persibolis,
 that is, the
 cheef citee of
 Persis. Lire
 here. ACEKPUY.

^r Om. H. ^s weren H. ^{ss} Om. G pr. m. ^t had AGH. ^u constreynyng G sec. m. H. ^v to gidre H.
^w the sepulcre G sec. m. ^a sepulcre H. ^x brennyng G H. ^y Om. AGH. ^z nedy H. ^a Om. AGH.
^b balaunce AGH.

^q Om. N. ^r drof EPRY. droof, either constreynede FGHKMNQSUXE. ^s fulfillid re. ^t and Jewis N.
^u comaundide GIMR. ^v fel F. ^w was thanne re sec. m. ^x bere, either hors litere FGHIMNQSUXE.

wormes buyliden out of the body of the vnpyteuous man, and the quyck fleshis of hym with sorewis fleetiden out. Also with sauour of hym, and stynkyng, the
 10 oost was greued; and he that a^c lytil byfore demyde hym to^d touche the ster-
 ris^e of heuen, no man miȝte beere hym,
 11 for vnsuffryng of stynke. Therefore here of he ledde doun of greuouse pride, bygan for to cum to knowynge of hym self, warnyd by Goddis plage, or *vengeaunce*, by alle momentis his sorewis takynge
 12 encresis. And whan he miȝte not now suffre his stynke, thus he saith, It is iust for to be suget to God, and a deadly^f not
 13 for to feele euen thingus to God. Forsothe the cursid man preyede the Lord these thingis, of whom he was not to
 14 getynge mercy. And the citee, to whom he hastyng came, for to leede it doun to erthe, and for to make a sepulcre of thingus born togidre, now he desijreth
 15 for to ȝeelde free. And the Jewis, whom he said hym self to hauynge nether so-
 thely worthi of sepulture, bot to betake-
 inge to foulis and wijld beestis, for to be to-drawen, and to distruyng with litil children, now he bihetith to makynge euen to Atynyens, or *men of Atenys*;
 16 also to ournyng with best ȝiftis the holy temple, whom^g he robbide bifore, and to multipliynge holy vessels, and to ȝeeuynge of his rentis costis^h perteyn-
 17 ynge to sacrifices; ouer these thingis and hym to beyng a Jewe, and to walk-
 yng by eche place of the lond, and to
 18 prechyng the power of God. Bot so-
 rewis not ceesyng, forsothe the iust dome of God had aboue come in to hym, he dispeyryng wrote to Jewis, in to maner of bisechyng, epistlisⁱ, conteyn-
 19 ynge these thingis. To the best citeseyns, Jewis, most helthe, and wele for to fare, and to be ryche, or *in prosperite*, the

of the vnpitouse man, and the quyke fleischis of hym fletiden out in sorewis. Also with the sauour of hym^y, and stynkyng, the^z oost of hym^a was greuyd; and 10 no man myȝte bere hym, for vnsuffryng of stynk, that a litil bifore demyde hym for to touche the steris of heuene. Therfor 11 herbi he was led doun fro greuouse pride, and bigan for to come to knowynge of hym silf, and was warned bi Goddis veniaunce, for bi alle momentis his sorewis token encressis. And whanne he myȝte not 12 thanne suffre his stynk, thus he seide, It is iust for to be suget to God, and that a deedli man feele not euene thingis to God. Forsothe the cursid man preiede the Lord 13 of these thingis, of whom he schulde not gete^b merci. And now he desirith to ȝelde 14 fre the citee, to which he cam hastyng, for to drawe^c doun it to erthe, and for to make a sepulcre of thingis borun togidre. And now he bihetith to make the Jewis 15 euene to men of Athenys, whiche *Jewis* he seide that he schulde not haue worthi, ȝhe, of sepulture^d, but to bitake to foulis and wielde beestis, for to be to-drawun^e, and for^f to distrie with litte children; also 16 to ourne^g with beste ȝiftis the hooli temple, which he robbide bifore, and to multiplie hooli vessels, and to ȝyuyng^h of his rentis costis perteynynge to sacrifices; ouer these thingis and that he schal be 17 maad a Jewe, and to walke bi ech place of the lond, and to preche the power of Godⁱ. But, for sorewis ceesiden not, the iust doom 18 of God hadde aboue come on hym, he dispe-
 ride, and wroot to Jewis, bi maner of bisechyng, a pistle^k, conteynynge thes thingis. To the beste citeseyns, Jewis, 19 moost heelthe, and welfare, and^l to be riche, *ether in prosperite^m*, the kyng and prince Antiok. If ȝe faren wel, and ȝoure 20 sones, and alle thingis ben to ȝou of sen-
 tenceⁿ, we don moost thankyngis. And 21

* that is, bifalle
 at ȝoure wille.
 Lire here. v.

^c Om. H. ^d for to H. ^e sterre H. ^f deedli creature G sec. m. H. ^g whiche H. ^h Om. G pr. m.
ⁱ a pistle G sec. m. H.

^y Om. c. ^z his i. ^a Om. ceteri. ^b gete EFGHKMN pr. m. PQ pr. m. SUV pr. m. ^c gete no N sec. m. Q sec. m.
^c lede EHPRYE. ^d sepulcre i. ^e drawun EINRY. ^f Om. re. ^g onoure ERY. ^h ȝyue R. ȝeuen e.
ⁱ Goddis power N. ^k an epistle RPY. ^l Om. R. ^m or in prosperite EF. Om. R.

20 kyng and prince Antiochus. Ȝif ȝe faren wele, and ȝoure sonys, of sentence alle thingus ben to ȝou, we don most thank-
 21 yngus. And Y in sekenesse ordeyned, sothely myndeful of ȝou benygny, turnyng
 aȝein fro places of Persis, and cauȝte with greuouse enfirmytee, led needful for
 22 to haue cure for comyn profit; not dispeiryng my self, bot hauyng myche
 23 hope of scapyng the^k enfirmyte^l. Forsothe Y^m biholdyng that and my fadir, in what tymes he ledde oost in heeȝer
 placis, shewide, whoⁿ after hym shulde
 24 resceyue princehod; that ȝif eny contrarie thing bifelle, or hard thing were
 told, theese that weren in cuntrees, wityng to whom the summe, or charge, of
 alle thingus was left, shulden not be tru-
 25 blid. To these thingus Y biholdyng of next, alle miȝty men and neiȝboris aspy-
 inge tymes, and abijdyng cummyng, haue ordeyned my sone Antiochus kyng,
 whom Y, rennyng aȝein oft in to heeȝer rewmys, commendide, or toke inⁿⁿ to
 26 keepyng, to many of ȝou, and Y wrote to hym what thingus ben suget. And so Y
 preye ȝou, and axe, myndeful of benefices openly for to vse and priuily, that eche
 of ȝou kepe feith to me, and to my sone.
 27 Forsothe Y trist, hym to do^o myldly, and manly, or curteysly, and suyng my
 28 purpose for to be comoun to ȝou. Therefore the man queller and blasfeme smytten
 warst, and as he had tretide other, in pilgrimage in mounteyns, in wretchidful
 29 deth is sett fro lijf. Forsothe Philip, his euen souker, transferride the body;
 whiche, dreedyng the sone of Antiochus, wente to Tholome Philometore, in to Egypt.

CAP. X.

1 Forsothe Machabeus, and thei that weren with hym, the Lord defendyng hem, resceyuyde sothely the temple, and citee.
 2 Forsothe he distruyde the auters, that

Y am ordeyned in sikenesse, and sotheli Y am myndeful benygneli of ȝou, and Y turnede aȝein fro places of Persis, and am cauȝt with greuouse infirmyte, and Y ledde nedeful for to haue cure for comyn profit; and Y dispeire not of my silf, but Y haue
 22 myche hope to ascape sikenesse^o. For Y
 23 biholde that also my fadir, in what tymes he ledde oost in hiȝere places, schewide, who after hym schulde resseyue prinshod; if that ony contrarie thing bifelle, or hard
 24 thing were teld, these that weren in cuntreis, schulden wite to whom the summe, 'ether charge^p, of thingis was left, and schulden not be troblid. To these thingis
 25 Y bihelde of next, that alle the^a myȝti men and neiȝboris aspien tymes, and abiden comyng, and Y haue ordeyned my sone Antiok kyng, whom Y, rennyng
 aȝein ofte in to hiȝer rewmes, comendide to many of ȝou, and Y wroot to hym what thingis ben suget. Therfor^s Y preie ȝou,
 26 and axe, that ȝe ben myndeful of benefices opynli and priueli, and that ech of ȝou kepe feith to me, and to my sone. For
 27 Y triste, that he schal do myldely, and manli', and sue my purpos, and be tretable^u to ȝou. Therfor the manquellere and
 28 blasfemere was smytten worst, and as he hadde tretid othere, he diede^v in pilgrimage in mounteyns, in wretchidful^w deth. Forsothe Filip, his euene soukere, trans-
 29 latide, 'ether bar ouer^x, the bodi; which dredde the sone of Antiok, and wente to Tolome Filomethore, in to Egypt.

CAP. X.

Forsothe Machabeus, and thei that weren with hym, for the Lord defendide hem, resseyuede sotheli the temple, and citee. Forsothe he distriede the auteris, 2

^k Om. H. ^l infirmytee, or sikenesse H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ whom K. ⁿⁿ Om. G pr. m. ^o doynge H.

^o infirmyte, either siknesse FGHIMNQSUXE. infirmite R. ^p or charge EPY. Om. H. ^q Om. ceteri. ^r hiȝe A. ^s And therfor re. ^t manli, or [ether plures] curteisli EFGHIMNPQSUXYE. ^u comyn R. comyn, or [ether plures] tretable R et ceteri. ^v dide A. ^w wreccheiful R. ^x or bar ouer EPY. Om. R.

aliens maden bi streetis, and the^p templis
 3 of washyng. And the temple purgid, thei
 maden an other auter, and of stoon^q fijrid,
or flyntys, fijre conceyued, thei offriden
 sacrifices aftir^r two 3eer, and encense,
 and lanternys, and puttiden looues of
 4 proposicioun. Whiche thingus don, thei,
 cast down in to erthe, preyeden the Lord,
 lest thei fellen more in to siche yuels,
 bot and 3if eny tyme thei hadden synnyd,
 that thei schulden be chastisid of hym
 more eysili, and shulden not be taken^s to
 barbaris, *or heithen*, and blasfeme men.
 5 Forsothe in what day the temple was
 defoulid of aliens, it bifelle the same day
 clensyng for to be maad, in the fyue and
 twentithe of the monethe, that was Casleu.
 6 And with gladnesse in^t eizte days thei
 diden in to maner of tabernaclis, bithenk-
 ynge that bifore a litil of tyme thei
 hadden don the solempne day of taber-
 naclis in hillis and dennys, in custum of
 7 beestis. For whiche thing thei baren
 bifore cerclis, and greene braunchis, and
 palmes, to hym that 3aue prosperitee for
 8 to clense his place. And thei demyden
 with commoun heest, and with doom, to
 alle the folc of Jewis, in alle 3eers for to
 9 do these feest days. And the passyng,
or eendyng, of lijf of Antiochus, that
 10 was clepid noble, had it thus. Now for-
 sothe we shulen telle of Eupator, the^u
 sone of vnpitouse Antiochus, what thingis
 ben don, breggyng the euyls that ben
 11 don in bateilis. This sothely, the rewme
 resceyuyd, ordeynyde on needis of the
 rewme summan Lisias, prince of kny3t-
 12 hod, of Fenyce and Sirie. For whi Tho-
 lome, that was said Macer, ordeynyde for
 to beholdyng of iust a3einus Jewis, and
 most for wickidnesse that was don in to
 hem, and pesibly for to do with hem.
 13 Bot for this thing he, accusid of freendis
 anentis Eupator, whan oft the traitour
 herde, for that he hadde forsaken Cypre,

that aliens maden bi stretis, and also tem-
 plis of waissyng. And whanne the temple^s
 was purgid, thei maden an other auter,
 and of stoonys firid, *'ether flyntis'*, bi
 fier conceyued, thei offriden sacrifices after
 two 3eer, and puttiden encense, and lan-
 ternes, and looues of proposicioun. And
 4 whanne these thingis weren don, thei
 weren cast down to^z erthe, and preieden
 the Lord, that thei schulden no more falle
 in siche yuelis, but thou3 in ony tyme
 thei hadden synned, that thei schulden be
 chastised of hym more esili, and schulden
 not be bitakun to barbaries^a, and blasfeme
 men. Forsothe in what dai the temple^s
 was defoulid of aliens, it bifelle that in
 the same dai clensyng was maad, in the
 fyue and twentithe dai of the monethe,
 that was Casleu. And with gladnesse in^t
 6 eizte daies thei diden bi maner of taberna-
 clis, bithenkyng that bifore a litil of tyme
 thei hadden don the solempne dai of ta-
 bernaclis in hillis and in dennys, bi custom
 of beestis. For which thing thei baren⁷
 byfore roddis, and grene braunchis, and
 palnes, to hym that 3af prosperite for to
 clense his place. And thei demyden with⁸
 comyn heest, and with doom, to alle the
 folc of Jewis, for to do these^b feeste daies
 in alle 3eeris. And the endyng^c of lijf of⁹
 Antiok, that was clepid noble, hadde it
 thus. Now forsothe we schulen telle of¹⁰
 Eupator, sone of vnpitouse Antiok, what
 thingis weren don, and bregge, *'ether
 schortli telle'*^d, the yuelis that weren don
 in batels. For whanne this *Eupator*¹¹
 hadde resceyued the rewme, he ordeynede
 on nedis of the rewme a^e man Lisias,
 prince of kny3thod, of Fenece and Sirie.
 For whi Tolome, that was seid Macer,¹²
 ordeynede for to holde iust thing^f a3ens
 Jewis, and most for wickidnesse that was^g
 don a3ens hem, and pesibli for to do with
 hem. But for this thing he was accusid¹³
 of freendis anentis Eupator, whanne he

^p Om. H. ^q stoones AGH. ^r and aftir K. ^s bitakun H. ^t and G. Om. H. ^u Om. H.

^y Om. EPHY. or flyntis FHMUXE. ^z in to re. ^a barbares, or [ether plures] hethene E et plures. ^b the R.
^c passing EP. passing, or [ether i] ending FGHIMNQSUXE. ^d or shortli telle EP. OM. R. ^e sum a pr. m.
 et ceteri. ^f thingis EPHY. ^g Om. E.

bitaken to hym of Philometore, and translade to Antiochus noble^v, also hadde gon away fro hym, with venym eendide
 14 the lijf. Forsothe Gorgias, whan he was duyck of places, cumlingus taken to, oft
 15 ouercam Jewis in bateil. Forsothe Jewis that helden couenable strengthis, resceyueden men dryuen fro Jerusalem, and
 16 temptiden for to fizte. These forsothe that weren with Machabee, by preyers preyinge the Lord, that he were helper to hem, maden feersnesse, or *saut*^w, in
 17 to strengthis of Ydumeys. And thei by myche strengthe azein stoondynge, weeldiden places, slegen men rennyng azein, and strangliden alle to gidre, not lesse
 18 than fyue and twenty thousandis. Forsothe sume^x whan thei fledden to gidre in to two toures ful stronge, hauynge al
 19 apparel to azein fizte, Machabeus to ouercummyng of hem Symont left, and Josephus, and eft Zachee, and hem that weren with hem, many ynow^z, he is
 'turned azein^y to thoo^z bateils that con-
 20 streynyden more. Sothely these that weren with Symont, led by coueitise, of summe that weren in the toures ben conseilid by money; and seunte thousand double dragmes taken, thei^a leften
 21 summe to^b flee out. Forsothe whan that thing that was don, was tolde to Machabeus, the princis of the^c peple gadrid, he acuside, that thei hadden sould bretheren for money, the^d aduersaries of hym dis-
 22 mittid, or *delyuered*. Therfore he slew^z these maad traitours, and anoon he^e ocupide the two toures. Forsothe in armers and hondis doynge alle thingis welsumly^f, he slew^z in the two strengthis
 24 more than twenti thousandis^g. And Tymothe, that byfore was ouercummen of Jewis, an oost of straunge multitude gadrid togidre, and the ridyng, or *horsmen*, of Asie gadrid, came to as with armers,
 25 to takynge Judee. Forsothe Machabeus,

herde ofte, *Thou traitour*, for that he hadde forsakun Cipre, bitakunⁱ to hym of Philometor, and hadde translade to Antioch noble, also he hadde go awei fro hym, with venym he endide the lijf. Forsothe
 14 Gorgias, whanne he was duyck of places, with comelyngis takun, ouercam ofte Jewis in batel. Forsothe Jewis that helden couenable strengthis, resceyueden men dryuun fro Jerusalem, and saieden^k for to fizte. These forsothe that weren with Machabeus, preieden the Lord bi preieris, that he schulde be helpere to hem, and thei maden asawt^l in to strengthis of Idumeis. And thei weren bisi bi myche strengthe,
 17 and weldiden places, and slegen men rennyng azen, and strangliden alle togidre, not lesse than fyue and twenti thousandes. Forsothe whanne summe fledden togidre
 18 in to twei touris ful stronge, hauynge alle apparel to azen fizte, Machabeus lefte Symont, and Josofus, and eft^m Sachee, and hem that weren with hem, many ynow, to the ouercomyng of hem; and he was conuertid to tho batels that constreyneden more. Sotheli these that weren with Symont, weren led bi coueitise, and weren counselid bi monei, of summe that weren in the touris; and whanne thei hadden take seunti thousynde doubleⁿ dragmes, thei leeten summe fle out. Forsothe
 21 whanne that thing that was don, was teld to Machabeus, he gaderide the^o princes of puple^p, and he accuside, that thei hadden seld britheren for monei, for thei delyueriden aduersaries of hem^q. Therfor he
 22 slow these maad traitouris^{*}, and anoon ocupiede the tweye touris. Forsothe in
 23 doynge alle thingis 'in prosperite^r in armers and hondis, he slow in the twei^s strengthis more than twenti thousyndis. And Tymothe, that bifore was ouercomun
 24 of Jewis, clepide togidre an oost of straunge multitude, and gaderide the multitude of horse men of Asie, and cam

^v the noble G sec. m. H. ^w a *saut* H. ^x summe men H. ^y conuertid H. ^z the H. ^a Om. H. ^b Om. H. ^c Om. H. ^d Om. H. ^e Om. H. ^f welsumly, or bi prosperite H. ^g thousand H.

ⁱ takun A sec. m. ^k assaieden M. saieden, either temptiden U. ^l feersnesse, or *saut* EP. fersnesse, either assault FGHKMNQSUXE. ^m left R sec. m. ⁿ of double EPY. ^o Om. F. ^p the puple F pr. m. ^q him RE. ^r welsumly EPY. welsumly, either bi prosperite FGHKMNQSUXE. ^s Om. E.

* that is, Jewis conuict of the forseid tresoun. Lire here. EK PUY.

and thei that weren with hym, hym
 neizinge, bisouȝten God, springinge the
 hed with erthe, and byfore gird the leendis
 26 with heiris, thei fooldid down at heeȝ-
 nesse of the auter, that he^b helpful to
 hem, forsothe wereⁱ enmye to the en-
 myes of hem, and to the aduersaries
 27 were aduersarie, as the lawe saith. And
 so after preyer, armers taken, thei goynge
 forth fer fro the citee, and, maad next to
 28 enmyes, saten aȝein. Forsothe in the
 firste rysynge of the^k sunne, bothe ioyn-
 eden; these sothely hauynge the Lord
 biheeter of victorie and prosperitee; thei
 forsothe hadden her owne inwitt, *or*
 29 *wille*, duyck of bateil. Bot whan grete
 fȳt was, fyue faire men, in horsis with
 golden bridels, appeeriden to the^l aduer-
 saries fro heuen, ȝeeuynge leedyng to
 30 Jewis; of 'whom two^m hauynge Macha-
 beus inⁿ the myddil, sett about with her
 armers, kepten sound^o. Forsothe thei
 castiden dartis and leytis in to aduer-
 saries; of whiche thing and thei confusid
 in blyndnesse, and fulfillid with pertur-
 31 bacioun, fellen down. Forsothe there ben
 slayn of fote men twenty thousand and
 fyue hundrid, and horsmen sixe hundrid.
 32 Sothely Tymothe fledde in to a^p stronge
 hold of Gasara, to whom^q Cereas was
 33 souerayne, *or keeper*. Forsothe Macha-
 beus, and thei that weren with hym, glad-
 ynge, biseegiden the hold foure days.
 34 And thei that weren with ynne, tristinge
 in sikernesse of the place, aboue maner
 cursiden, and castiden cursid woordis.
 35 Bot whan the fifthe day shynyde, twenty
 ȝunge men of these that weren with
 Machabeus, kyndlid in inwittis for the
 blasfeme, manly wenten to the wall, and
 with feerse inwitt^r goynge, thei^s stieden
 36 vp; bot and other also styngende vp, assail-
 iden for to brenne the toures and ȝatis,
 and to gidre brenne the cursers quyck.
 37 Forsothe by contynuel two days thei

with armeris, as to take Judée. Forsothe²⁵
 Machabeus, and thei that weren with hym,
 whanne he neizede, bisouȝten God; and
 bispreynten the heed with erthe, and bifer
 girdiden the leendis with heiris, and knel-²⁶
 iden down at the brynke of the auter, that
 he schulde be helpful to hem, forsothe
 that to enemyes of hem he were enemye,
 and were aduersarie to aduersaries, as the
 lawe seith. And so^t after preier^u, whanne²⁷
 thei hadden take armeris, thei ȝeden forth
 fer fro the citee, and thei weren maad
 nexte to enemyes, and saten. Forsothe²⁸
 in the firste risynge of the sunne, bothe
 ioyneden batel; these sotheli hadden the
 Lord bihetere of victorie and prosperite;
 for^v thei hadden hardynesse the duyck of
 batel. But whanne greet fȳte was, fyue²⁹
 faire men*, on^w horsis with goldun bridels,
 apperiden to aduersaries fro heuene, and
 ȝauen ledyng to Jewis; of whiche tweyne³⁰
 hadden Machabeus in the myddil, and set
 aboute^x with her armeris, and kepten
 hym^y sownd^z. Forsothe^a thei castiden dartis
 and leit^yis aȝens aduersaries; of which
 thing and thei weren schent with blynde-
 nesse, and weren fillid with perturbacioun,
 and fellen down. Forsothe ther weren³¹
 slayn of fote men twenti thousynde and
 fyue hundrid, and horse men sixe hun-
 drid. Sotheli Tymothe fledde in to the³²
 strong hold of Gasara, of which *strong*
hold Cereas was souereyn. Forsothe Ma-³³
 chabeus, and thei that weren with hym,
 weren glad, and bisegiden the strong hold
 bi foure daies. And thei that weren^b³⁴
 with ynne, tristiden in the sikirnesse of
 the place, and cursiden aboue maner, and
 castiden[†] cursid wordis. But whanne the³⁵
 fyuethe dai schynede, twenti ȝonge men
 of these that weren with Machabeus,
 weren kyndlid in soulis for blasfemye,
 and wenten manli to the wal, and thei
 ȝeden with fers wille, and stieden vp; but³⁶
 and othere also stieden, and assailiden for

* that is, an-
 gels in the lic-
 nesse of men.
Lire here. xv.

† that is, proud-
 li pronounc-
 eden. *cursid*
wordis; that
 is, blasfemye
 aȝens God. *Lire*
here. xv.

^h he be *G sec. m. H.* ⁱ that he were *G sec. m. H.* ^k *Om. H.* ^l *Om. G pr. m.* ^m whiche tweyne *H.*
ⁿ *Om. H.* ^o sound, *or without harm H.* ^p *Om. H.* ^q whiche *H.* ^r inwitt, *or wille H.* ^s *Om. H.*

^t *Om. EPY.* ^u preieers *EPY.* ^v forsothe *RE.* ^w in *celeri.* ^x aboute *N.* ^y *Om. FHMUXE.* ^z sound,
either with oute harm FGHIMNQSUXE. ^a him. Forsothe *FHMUXE.* of hym. Forsothe *L.* ^b weren with
 him *N.*

waastyng the hold slewen Tymothe, hydynge hym self^t, founden in sume place; and thei slewen his brother Se³⁸reas, and Appollofanēs. Whiche thingis don, thei blessiden the Lord in ympnys and confessiouns, whiche dide gret thingus in Israel, and 3aue to hem victorie.

CAP. XI.

¹ Bot a litil tyme after, Lisias, procuratour of the kyng, and niz, and prepost of needis^u, beerynge greuously of these ²thingis that bifellen, gadrid foure score thousandis, and al rydyng, *or horsmen*, came a3einus Jewis, demynge hym self to makynge the citee sothely taken a ³dwellyng to heithen men, forsothe to hauynge the temple in to wynnyng of money, as other templis of heithen men, and by eche 3eeris prestehode vendible, ⁴*or able to be soold*; not bythenkyng the power of God, bot in mynde^v maad with outen bridil, tristide in multitude of fote men, and in thousandis of hors⁵men, and in foure score olyfauntis. Sothely he gon in to Judee, and cummyng niz to Bethsura, that was in a streit place, fro Jerusalem in space of fyue furlongis, fau3te a3einus that strengthe. Sothely as Machabeus, and thei that weren with hym, knewe strengthis for to be a3einus fou3te, with wepyng and teeris preyeden the Lord, and al the cumpany to gidre, for to sende a good aungel to ⁷help^w of Yrael. And he the first Machabeus, armers taken, monestide other for to take^x togidre perel with hym, and ⁸bere help to her bretheren. And whan thei wenten forth togidre with redy inwitt fro Jerusalem, an horsman^y apeeride goynge byfore hem in whijt clothe,

to brenne touris and 3atis, and togidere brenne the curseris quyke. Forsothe by ³⁷contynuel twei daies thei wastiden the strong hold, and slowen Tymothe, hidynge hym silf, foundun^e in sum place^d; and thei slowen his brother Cereas, and Appollofanēs. Whanne these thingis weren ³⁸don, thei blessiden the Lord in ympnes and confessiouns, whiche dide grete thingis in Israel, and 3af to^e hem victorie.

CAP. XI.

But a litil tyme after, Lisias, the pro¹curatour of the kyng, and kynesman, and souereyn of offices, bar greuouoli of these thingis that bifellen, and gederide foure ²score thousyndis, and al the multitude of horse men, and cam a3ens Jewis, and demyde hym silf^f to make the citee takun a dwellyng to hethene men, forsothe to ³haue the temple in to wynnyng of monei, as othere templis of hethene men, and presthod 'set to sale^g bi ech^h 3eer; and ⁴bithou3te not on the power of God, but in myndeⁱ he was maad with out bridil, and tristide in multitude of foot men, and in thousyndis of horse men, and in foure score olifauntis. Sothely he 3ede in to ⁵Judee, and cam niz to Bethsura, that was in^k streit place, fro Jerusalem in space of fyue furlongis, and fau3t a3ens that strengthe. Sotheli whanne Machabeus, ⁶and thei that weren with hym, knewen that strengthis weren impugned, with wepyng and teeris thei preieden the Lord, and^l al the cumpenye togidere, for to sende a good aungel to the^m helthe of Israel. And Machabeus hym silf took firste ar⁷meris, and monestide othere forⁿ to take togidere perel with hym, and bere help to her britheren. And whanne thei wenten ⁸forth togidere with redi wille fro Jerusalem, an hors man^o* apperide goynge^p bi fore hem in whijt cloth, in goldun ar

* that is, an aungel in the licesse of an horsman, syngnyfiyng victorie to comynge to hem, bi flourishing of the schaft. *Live here. v.*

^t Om. G *pr. m.* ^u nedis, *or causis* H. ^v mynde, *or vndirstondynge* H. ^w heelthe H. ^x make C. ^y horsman, *or kny3t* H.

^c Om. R. ^d priuy place R. ^e Om. R. ^f Om. F. ^g vendible, *or [ether plures] set to sale* EFGHI KMN PQSUXYE. vendible R. ^h eueri EPY. ⁱ mynde, *or [ether plures] vndirstonding* E *et ceteri præter* R. ^k in a *ceteri*. ^l Om. R. ^m Om. I. ⁿ Om. N. ^o an horsman, *or [ether plures] kny3t* E *et ceteri præter* R. ^p Om. R.

and golden armers, florishynge a shaft.
 9 Thanne alle to gidre blessiden the merciful Lord, and woxen stronge in ynwittis, and^z redy^a for to perse not oonly men, bot and most feers beestis, and^b
 10 yrun wallis^c. Therfore thei wenten redy, hauynge of heuen and^d helper, and the
 11 Lord hauynge mercy on hem. Sothely by custume of lyouns, in feersnesse thei hurlynge in to enmyes, castiden doun of hem elleuen thousand^e of fotemen, and of horsmen a thousand and sixe hundrid.
 12 Sothely thei turnyden alle in to flizt; forsothe many of hem woundid, ascapiden nakid, bot and he Lisias fouly fleynge
 13 ascapide. And for he was not witlesse, he rettynge with hym self the makynge lesse don azeinus hym, and vndirstoondynge the Ebrues for to be vnouercumen, enforsinge, or *tristynge*, to help of al-
 14 mizty God, he sente to hem, and bihizte hym to consentyng to alle thingus that ben iust, and to compellynge the kyng
 15 for to be maad freend. Forsothe Machabeus grauntide to the preyers of Lisias, in alle thingis counseilynge to profit; and what euer thingis Machabeus wrote to Lisias of Jewis, the kyng grauntide hem.
 16 For whi epistlis weren wryten to Jewis fro Lisias, sothely conteynyng this maner. Lisias to the peple of Jewis, helthe.
 17 Joon and Abesalon, that ben sente fro 3ou, bitakynge writtis, axiden, that Y fulfulle thoo^f thingis that weren signy-
 18 fied by hem. Therfore what euer thingis mizten be brouzte forth to the kyng, Y expounyde, and whiche the kyng^{ff} suffride, Y grauntyde. Therfore 3if in needis 3e shuln kepe feith, also hennus forth Y shal tempte for to be cause of
 20 good thingis to 3ou. Of other thingis sothely Y commaundide bi alle wordis, and to these and to hem that ben sente of me, for to speke to gidre with 3ou.
 21 Fare 3e wel. In the hundrid 3eer and eizte and fourtithe, the foure and twen-

meris, and^g florischynge a schaft. Thanne⁹ alle togidere blessiden the merciful Lord, and woxen^r strong in soulis; and weren redi for to perse not oneli men, but and moost feerse beestis, and irun wallis. Therfor thei wenten redi, hauynge an¹⁰ helpere of heuene, and the Lord hauynge merci on hem. Sotheli bi custom of liouns,¹¹ in feersnesse thei hurliden in to enemyes, and castiden doun of hem enleuene thousandis of foot men, and a thousynde and sixe hundrid of horse men. Sotheli thei¹² turneden alle in to flizt; forsothe many of hem woundid, ascapiden nakid, but and Lisias hym silf fouli fleynge ascapide. And for he was not witles, he arettide¹³ with hym silf the makynge lesse don azens hym, and vndurstood that Ebrews ben vnouercomun, and tristen to help of almyzti God; and he sente to hem, and bi-¹⁴ hizte hym to consente to alle thingis that ben iust, and to compelle the kyng for to be maad frend*. Forsothe Machabeus¹⁵ * not hi violence, but bi preiers and counsel. EK PUY.
 grauntide to^s preieris of Lisias, and counselide to profit in alle thingis; and what euer thingis^t Machabeus wroot of Jewis to Lisias, the kyng grauntide tho thingis. For whi epistlis weren writun to Jewis¹⁶ fro Lisias, conteynyng this maner. Lisias to the puple of Jewis, heelthe. Joon and¹⁷ Abesalon, that ben^u sent^v fro 3ou, bitoken^w writtis, and axiden, that Y schulde fille tho thingis that weren signefied bi hem. Therfor what euer thingis mizten be¹⁸ brouzt forth to the kyng, Y expownede, and whiche the thing suffride[†], he grauntide[‡]. Therfor if in nedis 3e kepen feith,¹⁹ also fro hennys forth Y schal enforse^x for to be cause of goode thingis to 3ou. Of²⁰ othere thingis sotheli Y comaundide^y bi alle wordis, both to these and to hem that ben sent of me, for to speke togidere with 3ou. Fare 3e wel. In the hundrid²¹ 3eer and eizte and fourtithe, in the foure and twentieth dai of the monethe Dioscorus^{||}. Forsothe the pistle^z of the kyng²² || that is, in Juny. EIKK PUYe.

^z Om. AH. ^a yrun wallis redy AG pr. m. ^b Om. AG pr. m. K. ^c Om. A. ^d Om. H. ^e thousandis H. ^f that AG pr. m. K. ^{ff} thyng G sec. m.

⁹ Om. ceteri. ^r wexiden I. waxiden K. ^s to the I. ^t thing F. ^u weren N. ^v Om. R. ^w bitaking R. ^x tempte R. ^y comaunde NR. ^z epistle ERY.

tithe day of the^g moneth Dyoscorus.
 22 Forsothe the pistle of the kyng conteyn-
 yde these thingis. Kyng Antyochus to
 23 Lisias, brother, helthe. Oure fadris^h
 translatid amonge goddis, we willynge
 hem that ben in oure rewme for to do
 with oute noyse, and for to 3eue dili-
 24 gence to her thingis, han herd Jewis not
 to haue assentid to the fadre, for to be
 translatid to theⁱ custum of Greekis, bot
 wille for to holde^k her ordynaunce, and
 therefore for to axe of vs, her lawful
 thingus for to be grauntid to hem.
 25 Therefore we willynge and this folc for
 to be quyet, ordeynynge han demyd, the
 temple for to be restorid to hem, that
 thei shulden do^l after the custom of her
 26 gretter men. Therefore thou shalt do wel,
 3if thou shalt sende to hem, and shalt
 3eue the rizthond; that, oure wille knownen,
 thei be in good inwitt, and serue to her
 27 owne profitis. Sothely to the Jewis the
 kyngis pistle was siche. Kyng Antio-
 chus to the senate^m of Jewis, and to
 28 other Jewis, helthe. 3if 3ee faren welle,
 so it as we wolen, bot and we selfⁿ faren
 29 wel. Menelaus came to vs, sayinge, 3ou
 for to wilne for to go down to 3oure^o,
 30 that ben anentis 3ou. To these therfore
 that dwellen to gidre, til the thrittith
 day of the^{oo} moneth Sandici we 3euen
 31 rizthondis of sykyrnesse, that Jewis vse
 metis, and her lawis, as and^p byfore; and
 no man^{of hem}^{pp} eny more^q suffre disese
 of these thingus, that ben don by igno-
 32 raunce. Sothely we senten and Mene-
 33 laus, that shal speke to 3ou. Fare 3e wel.
 In the hundrid 3eer and eizte and four-
 tithe, the fiftenthe of the^r moneth San-
 34 dici, also Romayns senten an epistle,
 hauynge it^s thus. Quintus Menius and
 Titus Manylius, legatis of Romayns, to
 35 the peple of Jewis, helthe. Of these
 thingis that Lisias, cosyn of the kyng,
 36 grauntide to 3ou, and we grauntiden. For-

conteynede thes thingis. Kyng Antiok
 to Lisias, brother, heelthe. For oure fadir²³
 is^a translatid among goddis, we wolen that
 thei that^b ben in oure rewme do with out
 noise, and 3yue diligence to her thingis;
 we han herd that Jewis assentiden not to²⁴
 the fadir, for^c to be translatid to the cus-
 tom of Grekis, bot^d wolen holde her ordy-
 naunce, and that therfor thei axen of vs,
 that her lawful thingis be grauntid to
 hem. Therfor we wolen that also this²⁵
 folc be quyet^e, and han ordeyned and
 demed, that the temple be restorid to
 hem, that thei^f schulden do bi the custom
 of her grettere men. Therfor thou schalt²⁶
 do wel, if thou schalt sende to hem, and
 schalt 3yue rizthond; that^g, whanne oure
 wille is knowun, thei be in good coumfort,
 and serue to her owne profitis. Sotheli²⁷
 to the Jewis the kyngis pistle^h was sich.
 Kyng Antiok to theⁱ eldre menⁱ of Jewis,
 and to othere Jewis, heelthe. If 3e faren²⁸
 wel, so it *is* as we wolen, but and we silf
 faren wel. Menelaus cam to vs, and seide,²⁹
 that 3e wolen go down to 3oure, that ben
 anentis vs. Therfor to these that gon to-³⁰
 gidere, we 3yuen rizthondis of sikirnesse
 til to the^k thrittith dai of the monethe
 Xandici*, that Jewis vse her metis, and³¹ * that is, April.
 lawis, as and bifore; and no man of hem
 in any maner suffre disese of these thingis,
 that ben don bi ignoraunce. Sotheli we³²
 senten also Menelaus, that schal speke to
 3ou. Fare 3e wel. In the hundrid 3eer³³
 and eizte and fourtithe^l, the fiftenthe dai
 of the monethe Xandici, also Romayns³⁴
 senten^a a pistle^m, hauynge it thus. Quin-
 tus Menneus and Titus Manylius, legatis
 of Romayns, to the puple of Jewis, heelthe.
 Of these thingis that Lisias, cosyn of the³⁵
 kyng, hath grauntid to 3ou, andⁿ also we
 grauntiden. Forsothe of whiche thingis³⁶
 he demyde to be teld a3en to the kyng,
 anoon sende 3e summan; and speke 3e
 among 3ou diligentiliere, that we deme as

^g Om. H. ^h fadir H. ⁱ Om. H. ^k beholde H. ^l Om. AG pr. m. K. ^m senate, or cheef gouernoure H.
ⁿ oure self G sec. m. H. ^o 3oure laweful thingis G sec. m. H. ^{oo} Om. G pr. m. ^p Om. G pr. m. ^{pp} Om. K.
^q maner H. ^r Om. H. ^s Om. H.

^a was N. ^b Om. F. ^c Om. FR. ^d but thei I. ^e quyeted R. ^f Om. R. ^g than R. ^h epistle EPY.
ⁱ senat, or [ether plures] eldere men EFGHIMNPSUXE. senat R. ^k Om. I. ^l fourti 3eer R. ^m an epistle
 EPY. ⁿ Om. R.

sothe of whiche thingus he demyde to be tolde azein to the kyng, anoon sende 3e sume man, diligentlyr spekyng amonge 3ou, that we deme as it acordith to 3ou.

³⁷ Forsothe we gon to Antiochie, and therfore haste 3e for to azein write, that and ³⁸ we wite of what wille 3e ben. Fare 3e wel.

CAP. XII.

In the hundrid 3eer and foure and fourtithe, the fiftenthe day of the moneth ¹ Sandici, these couenauntis maad, Lisias wente to the kyng; forsothe Jewis 3auen ² werk to erthe tiliyng. Bot these that dwelten, *or wern resident*, Tymothe, and Appollonye, sone of Genney, bot and Jerom, and Demophon proud, and Nychanore, Cipriarchis, *or prince of Cipre*^t, suffriden not hem for to do in silence ³ and quyet. Forsothe men of Joppyn han don siche a felony; thei preyeden Jewis, with whiche thei dwelten, for to stye vp smale bootis, whiche thei hadden maad redy, with wyues, and sones, as noon enmytees amonge hem vndirlyggyng. ⁴ Forsothe after the commoun dom of the citee, and hem acordynge, and for cause of pees, and hauynge no thing suspect, whan thei camen in to deep, thei drench- ⁵ iden two hundrid, not lesse. Whiche cruelte as Judas knew³ don in to men of his folc, he comaundide to men that weren with hym; and, inclepid the iust ⁶ domesman God, he came azein slears^u of bretheren; and sothely by nyzt brente the hauen, he brente the bootis, forsothe he slew³ by swerd hem that fledden fro fijre. ⁷ Whan he hadde don thus these thingus, he wente away, as eft to turnyng azein, and vtterly to destruye^v alle men of ⁸ Joppe. Bot whan he knew³, and hem that weren at Jamnie to wilne for to do liche manere to Jewis dwellynge with ⁹ hem, and to Jamnytes he aboue came by nyzt, and brente the hauen, with shippis;

it acordith to^o 3ou. For we gon to An-³⁷ tiochie, and therfor haste 3e for^p to azen write, that and we wite of what wille 3e ben. Fare 3e wel. ³⁸

CAP. XII.

In the hundrid 3eer and foure and fourtithe 3eer^a, in the fiftenthe dai of the monethe Xandici, whanne these coue-¹ nauntis weren maad, Lisias wente to the king; forsothe Jewis 3auen werk to erthe tiliyng. But these that dwelten^r, Tymothe,² and Appollonye, the sone of Gennei, but and Jerom, and Demophon proud, and Nycanore, prince of Cipre, suffriden not hem for to do in silence and reste^s. For-³ sothe men of Joppe han do sich a felonye; thei preyeden Jewis with whiche thei dwelten, for to stie vp, with wyues, and sones, in to smale botis, whiche thei hadden maad redi, as if noon enmytees laien priueli among hem. Therfor^t bi the co-⁴ myn dom of the citee, and for thei acordiden, and for cause of pees hadden no thing suspect, whanne thei camen in to the^u depthe, thei drenchiden two hundrid, not lesse. And as Judas knew this cruelte⁵ don azens men of his folc, he comaundide to men that weren with hym; and he clepide 'to help^v the iust domesman God, and he cam azens the sleeris of britheren,⁶ and bi nyzt he brente the hauene, he brente the bootis, forsothe^w he slow bi swerd hem that fledden^x fro fier^y. And ⁷ whanne he hadde don these thingis, he wente awei, as eft to^z turnyng azen, and vttili to distriynge alle men of Joppe. But whanne he knew, that also thei that⁸ weren at Jamnye wolden do in lijk maner to Jewis dwellynge with hem, also to⁹ Jamnytes he aboue cam bi nyzt, and brente the hauene, with schippis; so that the lizt

^t Cipris H. ^u the sleers H. ^v destruyng H.

^o vnto R. ^p Om. F. ^q Om. R. ^r dwelten, *or* [ether plures] *weren resident* E *et ceteri prater* R. ^s quyet R. quiet, *or* [ether plures] *reste* E *et ceteri*. ^t And therfor A pr. m. IR pr. m. ^u Om. R. ^v Om. R. ^w Om. R. ^x wenten F. ^y the fyr F. ^z no I.

- so that the^w list apperide to Jerusalem fro two hundrid furlongis and fourty.
- 10 Whan now they hadden gon thennus by nyne furlongis, and maden iourney to Tymothe, men of Arabye ioynyden with hym, fyue thousand men, and horsmen
- 11 fyue hundrid. And whan stronge^x fize was maad, and by help of God wente, *or byfelle*, esily, *or by prosperitee*, the residue of men of Arabye axiden of Judas the rizthondis for to be 3ouen to hem; byheetyng hem self to 3euyng lese-
- 12 wis, and other thingis to profityng. Forsothe Judas demynge verrelly hem profitable in many thingis, bihi3te pees; and, the rizthondis taken, thei departiden to
- 13 her tabernaclis. Forsothe he assailide and sume sad citee by bryggis, and about sett by^y wallis, whiche was enhabitid of cumpanyes of heithen men meynd^z, bothe men and wymmen, to whom^a the name
- 14 Casphym. Forsothe these^{aa} that weren with ynne, tristinge in stablenesse of wallis, and in aparel of fodis, diden slowlicher^b, to terynge, *or terryng*, Judas with cursyngis^c; and blasfemyng, and spekyng whiche thingis is not leeful.
- 15 Sothely Machabeus, ynclepide the grete prince of the world, whiche with outen wetheris, *that ben engynes lijk to wetheris*, and with outen engynes, in tymes of Jhesu, *or Josue*, castide down Jerico,
- 16 he hurlide feersly to the wallis; and the citee taken by wille of the Lord, he dide vnnoumbreable sleayngis; so that the pool of stondyng water of two furlongis of breede infect, *or meynd*^d, with blood
- 17 was seen to^e flowe. Fro thennus thei wenten seuen hundreth and fifty furlongis, and camen in to Caracha, to the
- 18 Jewis that ben clepid Tubianey. And sothely thei cau3ten not Tymothe in the places; and no need fully don, he turnyde a3ein, most sad strengthe left in sume
- apperide to Jerusalem fro^a two hundrid furlongis and fourty. Whanne thei had-10 den go thanne fro thennus bi nyne furlongis, and maden iournei to Tymothe, men of Arabie, fyue thousynde men, and horse men fyue hundrid, ioyneden batel with hym. And whanne strong fize was 11 maad, and bi help of God it bifelle^b esili, *'ether bi prosperite'*^c, the residue of^d men of Arabie, *'that weren'*^e ouercomun, axiden of Judas the rizthondis for to be 3ouun to hem; bihetyng hem silf to 3yue lesewis, and to profityng in othir thingis. For-12 sothe Judas demyde verili hem profitable in many thingis, and bihi3te pees; and whanne thei hadden take rizthondis, thei departiden to her tabernaclis. Forsothe 13 he assailide also sum citee sad bi briggis, and aboute set with wallis, which was enhabitid of cumpenyas of hethene men meynd, bothe men and wymmen, to which the name *was* Casphym. Forsothe these 14 that weren with ynne, tristiden to^f the stablenesse of wallis, and in apparel of foodis, and diden slacliere, *'to-terrynge'*^g Judas with cursis^h, and blasfemyng, and speking whiche thingis it is not leueful. Sotheli Machabeus clepide to help the 15 greet prince of the world, which with out wetheris, *'that ben engynes lijk wetheris'*, and with out engynes, in the tymes of Jhesu, *'ether Josue'*^k, castide down Jericho; and hurtlide^l feersli to the wallis, and 16 took the cytee bi wille of the Lord, and dide vnnoumbrable sleayngis; so that the pool of stondyng watir of twei furlongis of brede, semyde to flowe with blood of slayn men. Fro thennus thei wenten se-17 uene hundrid and fifti furlongis, and camen in to Characha, to tho^m Jewis that ben clepid Tubianei. And sotheli thei cau3ten 18 not Tymothe in the places; and whanne no iourney was fulli don, *Tymothe* turnede a3en, while most sad strengthe was

^w Om. H. ^x greet, or stronge H. ^y with H. ^z mengid H. ^a whiche H. ^{aa} Om. G pr. m. ^b slac-
liere H. ^c cursis, or waryngis H. ^d mengid H. ^e for to H.

^a for EHNPY. ^b bifallide R. ^c or bi prosperite EPY. Om. R. ^d Om. EPY. ^e Om. ceteri. ^f in ceteri.
^g to-terryng, or [ether FHE] terringe EF pr. m. HE. terryng R. ^h cursis, either weryngis FGHMNQSUZE.
ⁱ Om. R. ^k Om. R. ^l hurlide R. ^m the EIPY.

19 place. Forsothe Dositheus and Sosipater, that weren duykis with Machabeus, slew ten thousand men left of Tymothe in the strengthe. And Machabeus sixe thousand ordeynyd aboute hym, and ordeynd by cumpanyes^f, wenten forth azeinus Tymothe, hauynge an hundrid^g and fyue^g and twenty thousand of foot men, and of horsmen two thousand and fyue hundred. Forsothe the cummyng of Judas knowen, Tymothe bifore sente wymmen, and sonys, and other aparel in to a strengthe that is said Carmon; forsothe it was vnable to be ouercummen^h, and hard in goynge to, for streytnesseⁱ of 22 places. And whan the first cumpaignye of Judas appeeride, drede is ynsmyten to the^k enmyes of the presence of God, that biholdith alle thingis; and thei ben turnyd in to fliht, an other fro^l an other, so that they weren cast doun of her own more, and with strookis of her swerdis 23 thei^m weren feblid. Judas sothely azeinstode gretely, punyshynge vnholly men, and he kesteⁿ doun of hem thritty thousand men^o. Thymothe sothely felle in to the partis of Dositheus and Sosipatris; and he axide by many preyers, that he were delyuerd quyck; for that he hadde fadris, and moderis, and bretheren, manye of^p Jewis, whom it shulde byfalle for^{pp} to 25 be disceyued by his deth. And whan he hadde zouen feith, hym to restorynge hem after^q thing ordeynd, thei dismittiden hym vnhurt, for helthe of bretheren. 26 Forsothe Judas turnyde azein fro Carmon, slayn fyue and twenti thousandis. 27 After the fliht of these and deeth, he mouede the oost to Efron, a stronge citee, in whom^r the multitude of diuerse folc^s dwelte; and stronge zunge men, stondynge togidre for wallis, strongly fouzten azeinus; forsothe in this weren

left in 'a certaynⁿ place. Forsothe Dosi- 19 theus and Sosipater, that weren duykis with Machabeus, slowen ten thousand men left of Tymothe in the strengthe. And Machabeus ordeynede aboute hym 20 sixe thousynde, and ordeynede bi 'cohortis, *ether cumpanyes of knyztis*^o, and wente forth azens Tymothe, hauynge with hym an hundrid thousynde^p and twenti thousynde of foot men, and of horse men twei thousynde and fyue hundred. Forsothe 21 whanne the comyng of Judas^q was known, Tymothe bifore sente wymmen, and sones, and othere apparel in to a strengthe that is seid^r Carmon; for it was vnable to be ouercomun^s, and hard in goynge to, for streytnesses^t of places. And whanne 22 the firste cumpaignye of Judas apperide, drede was maad to enemyes bi presence of God, that biholdith alle thingis; and thei weren turned in to flight, oon after^u anothir, so that thei weren cast doun more^v of her owne, and weren feblid with strokis of her swerdis. Judas sotheli^w 23 contynuede greetli, punyschyng vnholli men, and castide^{ww} doun of hem thretti thousynde of men. Tymothe sotheli hym 24 silf felle in to the partis of Dositheus and Sosipater; and he axide bi many preieris, that he were dismittid^x quyck; for^y he hadde fadris, and modris, and britheren, of many of^z Jewis, whiche it schulde bifalle for to be disceyued bi his deth. And 25 whanne he hadde zouun feith, that he schulde restore hem bi couenaunt, thei dismittiden^a hym vnhirt, for heelthe of britheren. Forsothe Judas turnede azen 26 fro Carmon, after that he hadde slayn fyue and twenti thousyndis. Aftir the 27 fliht and deth of these, he mouyde the oost of Efron, strong^b citee, in which the multitude of dyuerse folkis dwelte; and stronge zonge men, stondynge togidre for wallis;

^f cohortes, or cumpanyes of knyztis H. ^g Om. AGH. ^h inexpugnable, or vnable to be ouercomen H. ⁱ streytnessis AG. ^k Om. AGH. ^l to H. ^m Om. GH. ⁿ castide H. ^o of men H. ^p of manye AG sec. m. HK pr. m. ^{pp} Om. G pr. m. ^q vp H. ^r whiche H. ^s folkis H.

^a sum A pr. m. EFHRE. ^o cohortis, or c. of k. EPY. cumpanies R. ^p Om. R. ^q Jewis A. ^r callid R. ^s vnexpugnable, or [ether plures] vnable to be ouercome E et ceteri prater R. ^t streitnesse GNRs. ^u of R. ^v Om. E. ^w forsothe R. ^{ww} castiden AH. ^x delyuerid R. ^y for that R. ^z Om. ENPXY. ^a delyeriden R. ^b the strong EPY.

manye engynys, and appareils of dartis.
 28 Bot whan thei hadden inclepid the Al-
 mizty, that by his power brekith togidre
 the^t miztis of enmyes, thei token the citee,
 and castiden doun of hem that weren with
 29 ynne fyue and twenty thousand. Fro
 thennus thei wenten to the citee of Scitis,
 whiche was fer fro Jerusalem sixe hun-
 30 drid furlongis. Forsothe witnessinge
 these Jewis that weren anentis Scitopo-
 listis, that thei weren had of hem be-
 nignly, 3he, in tymys of aduersite, and
 31 that thei diden myldly with hem, thei
 doynge thankyngis to hem, and also stir-
 ynge fro hennus forth for to be benigne
 azeinus her kyne, camen to Jerusalem, the
 32 solempne day of weekis neizinge. And
 after Pentecost, thei wenten azeins Gor-
 33 gias, prepoost of Ydume. Sothely he
 wente out with thre thousand^u fote men,
 34 and foure hundrid horsmen; whiche gon
 to gidre, it befelle a fewe of Jewis for to
 35 falle. Forsothe Dositheus, sum horsman
 of Bachenoris, a stronge man, heelde
 Gorgias; and whan he wolde take hym
 quyck, sum horsman of Tracis felle vpon^v
 hym, and kitte of his shuldre, and so
 36 Gorgias flei3 in to Maresame. And hem
 that weren with Hesdrym lengre fiztynge,
 and maad very, Judas inclepide the Lord,
 helper, and duyk of bateil, for to be
 37 maad benigne, with cuntree voice, and
 with ympnys reisyng crye, smote flizt
 38 to kniztis of Gorgias. Forsothe Judas,
 the oost gadrid, came in to the citee
 Odollam; and whan the seuenthe day
 aboue came, thei after^w custom clensid,
 39 in the place diden saboth. And in the
 suyng day Judas came with his, for to
 take away the bodies of men cast doun,
 and for to putte with fadris, and modris,
 40 in sepulcris of fadris. Forsothe thei
 founden vndir cootis of slayn men, of the
 3iftis of ydolis that weren at Jamniam,
 fro whom^x the lawe forbedith Jewis;
 therefore it is maad knowen to alle men,

strongli fou3ten azen; forsothe in this
 weren many engynes, and apparels of
 dartis. But whanne thei hadden clepid 28
 to help the Almi3ti, that bi his power al
 to-brekith myztis of enemyes, thei token
 the citee, and castiden doun of hem that
 weren with ynne fyue and twenti thou-
 synde. Fro thens thei wenten to the citee 29
 of Scitis, which was fer fro Jerusalem
 sixe hundrid furlongis. Forsothe for these 30
 Jewis that weren anentis Scitopolistis wit-
 nessiden, that thei weren had 'of hem^d
 benygneli, 3he, in tymes of aduersite, and
 that thei diden myldeli with hem, thei 31
 diden thankyngis to hem; and also stirid-
 en fro hennys forth for to be benygne a3ens
 her kyn, and came to Jerusalem, whanne
 the solempne dai of wokis neizide. And 32
 aftir Pentecost, thei wenten a3ens Gorgias,
 souereyn of Idumee. Sotheli he wente 33
 out with thre thousynde foot^e men, and
 foure hundrid horse men; and whanne 34
 thei weren asemblid, it bifelle that a fewe
 Jewis^f fellen doun. Forsothe Dositheus, 35
 an^g horseman of Bachenoris, a strong
 man, helde Gorgias; and whanne he wolde
 take hym quyck, an^h horse man of Traces
 felle on hym, and kittide of his schuldre,
 and so Gorgias flei in to Maresam. And 36
 whanne thei that weren with Hesdrym
 fou3ten lengere, and thei weren maad
 very, Judas inwardli clepide the Lord
 for to be maad helpere, and duyk of batel;
 and he bigan with cuntrei vois, and with 37
 ympnes reise cry, and made the kny3tis
 of Gorgias toⁱ fle. Forsothe Judas with 38
 the oost gaderid, cam in to the^k citee^l
 Odolla; and whanne the seuenthe dai cam
 aboue, thei weren clensid bi custom, and
 diden sabat in the same place. And in 39
 the dai suyng Judas cam with hise^{ll}, for
 to take awei the bodies^m of men cast
 doun, and for to putte with fadris, and
 modris, in sepulcris of fadris. Forsothe 40
 thei foundun vndur cootis of slayn men, of
 the 3iftis of idols that weren at Jamnyam,

^t Om. H. ^u thousandis H. ^v on H. ^w vp H. ^x whiche H.

^d Om. R. ^e of foot EPY. ^f of Jewis re. ^g sum A pr. m. et ceteri. ^h sum A pr. m. et ceteri. ⁱ for
 to EPY. ^k a EPY. Om. PHI. ^l Om. I. ^{ll} his men EPY. ^m dede bodies EPY.

for this cause hem for^y to haue fallen.
 41 And so alle blessiden the iust dom of the
 Lord, whiche maad priuy thingus know-
 42 en. And so thei conuertid to preyers,
 preyeden, that thilk trespas that was
 don, were bitaken to forȝetyng. And so-
 thely the strengist Judas monestide the
 peple, for to keepe hem with out synne,
 vnder eezen seeynge, what thingus ben
 don for synnys of hem that ben cast
 43 down. And collacioun, *or spekinge to*
gidre maad, he sente twelue thousand
 dragmes of syluer to Jerusalem, for to be
 offrid sacrifice^z for synnes of dead men,
 wele and religiously bythenkyng of aȝein
 44 rysyng; sothely ȝif he hopide not, hem
 that fellen to rysyng aȝein, it was seen
 superflue and veyne for to preye for dead
 45 men; and^{zz} for he biheelde, that thei that
 token slepyng, *or deth*, with pitee, had-
 46 den best grace kept. Therefore holy and
 helthful thenkyng is, for to preye for
 dead men, that thei be vnbounden fro
 synnus.

CAP. XIII.

1 In the hundrid and nyne and fourtithe
 ȝeer Judas knew³, Antiochus Eupator for
 to cume with multitude aȝeinus Judee;
 2 and with hym Lisias, procuratoure and
 prepoost of needis, with hym hauynge an
 hundrid and ten thousand of foot men,
 and of horsmen fyue thousand, and oly-
 fauntis^a two and twenti, chaaris with
 3 sykellis three hundrid. Forsothe and
 Menelaus ioynyde hym to hem, and with
 grete disceit bisouȝte Antiochus, not for
 helthe of the cuntree, bot hopynge hym
 4 for to be ordeynd in to princehod. Bot
 the kyng of kyngis reside the ynwittis
 of Antiochus in to the synner; and Li-
 sias shewynge, *or conseilynge at ere*,
 him for to be cause of alle yuels, he
 comaundide, as custome is to hem, hym

fro whiche the lawe forbedith Jewis;
 therfor it was maad knowun to alle men,
 that thei 'fellen downⁿ for this cause. And 41
 therfor alle blessiden the iust dom of the
 Lord, which made priuy thingis knowun.
 And so thei conuertiden to preieris, and 42
 preieden, that 'the ilke^o trespas that was
 don, were bitakun to forȝetyng. And
 sotheli the strengeste Judas monestide the
 puple, for to kepe hem with out synne,
 seyng vndur ȝen, what thingis weren don
 for synnes of hem that weren cast down.
 And whanne 'spekyng togidere^p was maad, 43
 he sente twelue thousynde dragmes of sil-
 uer to Jerusalem, to^q be offrid a sacrifice
 for synnes of deed men, and bithouȝte wel
 and religiousli of aȝenrisyng; for if he 44
 hopide not, that thei that fellen schulden
 rise aȝen, it was seyn superflu and veyn
 for to preye for deed men; and for he 45
 bihelde, that thei that token slepyng, '*ether*
deth^r, with pitee, hadden best grace kept.
 Therfor hooli and heelful thenkyng is, for 46
 to preie for deed men, that thei be releesid
 of^s synnes.

CAP. XIII.

In the hundrid and nyne and fourtithe^t 1
 ȝeer Judas knew, that Antiok Eupator
 cam with multitude aȝens Judee; and with 2
 hym *cam* Lisias, procuratour and souereyn
 of offices, hauynge with hym an hundrid
 and ten thousynde of foot men, and of
 horse men fyue thousynde, and^u olifauntis
 two and twenti, charis with sithis thre
 hundrid. Forsothe and^v Menelaus ioyn- 3
 ede hym to hem, and with greet desseit
 bisouȝte Antiok, not for heelthe of the
 cuntre, but hopynge that he schulde be
 ordeynd in to prinshod. But the kyng 4
 of kyngis reside the willis of Antiok aȝens
 the synnere; and whanne Lisyas schewide
 that he was cause of alle yuels, he co-
 maundide, as custom is to hem, hym
 takun for to be slayn in the same place.

^y Om. A pr. m. ^z a sacrifice H. ^{zz} Om. G. ^a of elifauntis H.

ⁿ scholden don F. ^o thilke I. ^p collacioun R. collacioun *or* [ether plures] *spekinge to gidre* E *et ceteri*.
^q for to *ceteri*. ^r *or deth* EPY. Om. R. ^s fro R. ^t fourti A pr. m. EFHMPY. ^u and of F pr. m.
^v Om. I.

taken to, for to be slayn in the same
 5 place. Sothely in the same place was a
 toure of fifty cubitis, hauynge of eche syde
 an gadryng of ashe; this hadde bihold-
 6 ynge in to downward. Fro thennus he
 comaundide the sacrileger, *or cursid man*,
 for to be cast down in to the^b ashe, alle
 men puttynge hym forth to the deth.
 7 And bi siche lawe it bifelle the breker of
 lawe for to dye, nether Menelaus for^c to
 8 be 3ouen to erthe. And forsothe iustly
 ynow³; for whi for he dide many tres-
 passis a3einus the auter of God, whos fijr
 and ashe was holy, he is dampnyd in
 9 deth of ashe. Bot the kyng with out
 brydil in mynde^d, came to shewynge hym
 10 wars to Jewis, than his fadir. Whiche
 thingis knowen, Judas comaundide the
 peple ni3t and day for to ynclepe the
 Lord; that as euermore, and nowe he
 11 shulde helpe hem; whiche sothely dred-
 den for to be priued of lawe, and cuntree,
 and of the holy temple; and that he
 suffride not the peple, that a whil goon,
 hadde a litil quycknyd^e a3ein, for to
 be suget eftsoonys to blasfeme naciouns.
 12 And so alle men doynge togidere that
 thing, and axinge mercy of the Lord
 with wepyng, in fastyngis by alle three
 days cast down, Judas monestide hem
 13 for to make hem redy. Forsothe he
 with eldre men thou3te, bifore that the
 kyng mouede oost to Judee, and gate the
 citee, for to go out, and bitake to dom
 of the Lord the out goynge, *or eende*, of
 14 the thyng. And so^f 3euynge power of
 alle thingis to God, maker of nou3t of
 the world, and monestyng hise for to
 fi3te strongly, and 'vn to^g deth, for lawes,
 temple, citee, cuntree, and citeseyns for
 to stonde, ordeynyde the oost aboute Mo-
 15 dyn. And tokyn 3ouen to his of victorie
 of God, the strongist 3unge men chosen,
 bi ny3t assaylinge the kyngis halle in
 tentis, he slew3 fourtene thousand men,

Sotheli in the same place was a tour of⁵
 fifty cubitis, hauynge on ech side a gader-
 yng of aische; this was^w biholdyng in to
 a diche. Fro thennus he comaundide the⁶
 sacrilegere, '*ether cursid man*^x, for to be
 caste down in to aische, whanne alle men
 puttiden^y forth hym to the deth. And bi⁷
 siche lawe it bifelle the brekere of lawe
 for to die, nether Menelaus for to be 3ouun
 to erthe. And forsothe iustly ynow³; for⁸
 whi for he dide many trespassis a3ens the
 auter of God, whos fier and aische was
 hooli, he was dampned in the^z deth of
 aische. But the kyng with out bridil in⁹
 mynde^a, cam to schewe hym worse to
 Jewis, than his fadir. And whanne these¹⁰
 thingis weren knowun, Judas comaundide
 the puple, that bi ny3t and dai thei schul-
 den clepe to help the Lord; that as euere
 more, also now he schulde helpe hem;
 whiche sotheli^b dredden for to be priuyd¹¹
 of lawe, and cuntree, and hooli temple; and
 that he suffride not the puple, that a while
 gon hadde a litil quykid a3en, for to be
 suget eftsoone to blasfeme naciouns. Ther-¹²
 for whanne alle men diden togidere that
 thing, and axiden merci of the Lord with
 wepyng, in fastyngis^c bi alle thre daies,
 and kneliden, Judas monestide hem for to
 make hem redi. Forsothe he with eldre¹³
 men thou3te for to go out, bifore that the
 kyng mouede oost^d to Judee, and gat the
 citee, and to bitake the ende^e of the thing
 to the dom of the Lord. Therfor he 3af¹⁴
 power of alle thingis to God, makere of
 nou3t of the world, and monestide hise^f
 for^g to fi3te strongli, and stonde til to the
 deth, for lawis, temple^h, citee, cuntre, and
 citeseyns; and he ordeynede theⁱ oost
 aboute Modyn. And whanne a tokene¹⁵
 was 3ouun to hise of victorie of God, he
 chees the strengeste 3onge men, and bi
 ni3t he asailide the kyngis halle in tentis,
 and he slow fourtene thousynde men, and
 the moste of olifauntis, with these that

^b Om. H. ^c Om. H. ^d mynde, or vndirstondyng H. ^e quyckid H. ^f so he H. ^g til to H.

^w hadde re. ^x or cursid man EPY. Om. R. ^y pultiden HRSUE. ^z Om. RE. ^a mynde, or [ether plures] vndirstonding EFGHIKMN PQSUXYE. ^b forsothe R. ^c fasting R. ^d the oost A pr. m. i. ^e outgoing R. outgoing, or [ether plures] ende g et ceteri. ^f Om. R. ^g Om. P. ^h the temple EPY. ⁱ Om. EPY.

and the most of olyfauntis, with these^h
 16 that weren putt aboue. And with heezist
 dreed and distourblyng thei fulfillynge
 the tentis of enmyes, and thingus eisily,
 17 or *welsumly*ⁱ, don, wenten away. For-
 sothe this is don the day liztynge, the
 proteccioun of the Lord helpynge hym.
 18 Bot the kyng, taken tast of hardynesse
 by craft of Jewis, temptide hardynessis^k
 19 of placis; and he mouede the tentis to
 Bethsura, that was a^l stronge hold of
 Jewis; bot he was dryuen hurtlid and
 20 menushid. Forsothe to these that weren
 withynne, Judas sente needful thingus.
 21 Forsothe Rodochus, summan of the^m
 oost of Jewis, telde out to enmyes pri-
 uytees; whiche souzt is taken, and shitt
 22 to gidre. Eftsoone the kyng hadde word
 to hem that weren in Bethsura, 3aue the
 23 rizt hond, resceyuede, wente away. Ioyn-
 yde with Judas isⁿ ouercommen. For-
 sothe as he knew³ Philipp for to haue
 rebellid at Antiochie, whiche was left on
 needis, he astonyed in mynde^o, bisowzte
 Jewis, and suget to hem, swerith of alle
 thingis, of whiche it is seen iust; and
 recounseilinge offride sacrefice, wirship-
 24 ide the temple, and puttide ziftis. He
 byclippide^p Machabeus, and made hym
 duyck and^q prince fro Tholomaida vnto^r
 25 Gerreyns. Sothely as he came to Tho-
 lomaida, men of Tholomaida baren greu-
 ously the accordyng of frendship, hau-
 ynge indignacioun, lest perauenture thei
 26 braken pees. Than Lisias styede vp the
 dom place, and expounyde resoun, and
 ceeside the peple, and turnyde^s azein to
 Antioche; and this maner the kyngis
 goynge out and turnynge azein wente
 forth.

CAP. XIV.

1 Bot after tyme of three 3eere Judas
 knew³, and thei that weren with hym,
 Demetrie Seleucus with stronge multi-

weren put aboue. And thei filliden the¹⁶
 tentis of enemyes with hizeste drede and
 disturblyng, and whanne these thingis
 weren don 'in prosperite^k, thei wenten
 awei. Forsothe this was don in the dai¹⁷
 liztynge, for the proteccioun of the Lord
 helpide hym. But whanne the kyng¹⁸
 hadde takun taast of hardynesse 'of Jewis
 bi craft, he^l asaiede hardynessis of places;
 and mouede the tentis to Bethsura, that¹⁹
 was a strong hold of Jewis; but he was
 dryuun hurtlide and menused^m. Forsothe²⁰
 to these that weren with ynne, Judas sente
 nedeful thingis. Forsothe Rodochus, sumⁿ²¹
 of the oost^o of Jewis, telde out priuetees
 to enemyes; which was souzt, and takun,
 and prisoned. Eftsoone the kyng hadde²²
 word to hem that weren in Bethsura, and
 3af the rizthond, and resseyuede, and wente
 awei. He ioynede batel with Judas, and
Judas was ouercomun. Forsothe as^p he²³
 knew that Filip hadde rebellid at Anti-
 ochie, which was left on nedis, he was
 astonyed in mynde^q, and bisouzte Jewis,
 and was suget to hem, and swoor of alle
 thingis, of whiche it was seyn iust; and he
 was recounselid, and offride sacrifice, and
 worschipide the temple, and puttide ziftis.
 He biclippide, 'ether *kisside*^r, Machabeus,²⁴
 and made hym prince and duyck fro Tolo-
 maida til to Garreyns. Sotheli as he cam²⁵
 to Tolomaida, men of Tolomaida baren
 greuouli acordyng of frendship, and hadde
 indignacioun, leste perauenture thei wol-
 den breke pees. Thanne Lisias stiede vp²⁶
 in to the dom place, and expownede re-
 soun, and ceeside the puple, and turnyde
 azen to Antiochie; and in this maner the
 kingis goynge out and turnynge azen
 wenten forth.

CAP. XIV.

But aftir tyme of thre 3eer Judas knew,¹
 and thei that weren with hym, that De-
 metrie Seleucus stiede to couenable places,

^h hem G sec. m. H. ⁱ in prosperite H. ^k of hardynesses H. ^l Om. H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ Om. G. pr. m.
^o mynde, or vnderstondynge H. ^p becleppede, or kissede H. ^q or H. ^r til to H. ^s turneth H.

^k eaily EPRY. esily, either in [bi i] prosperite FGHKNSXE. ^l he bi craft of Jewis RE. ^m menuschid
 A pr. m. mynuyd, or wastid I. ⁿ sum man I. ^o oostis I. ^p Om. R. ^q mynde, either vnderstonding
 PHMQSUXE. ^r or kissede EPRY. Om. R.

tude, and shippis, by the hauen of Tripolis for to haue styede to couenable² placis, and haue holden cuntrees azeinus³ Antiochus, and his duyck Lisias. Forsothe sum Alchymus, that was heezist prest, bot wilfully was defoulid in tyme of mengynge to gidre, biholdinge in no manere helthe for to be to hym, nether accesse, *or cummyng to*, to the auter, ⁴came to kyng Demetrye, in the hundrid and fouretithe zeer, offringe to hym a golden crown, and palme^t, ouer these thingis and offringe vessels, that weren seen for to be of the temple; and sothely ⁵in that day was stille. Forsothe he getynge a couenable tyme of his woodnesse, and he^u clepid of^v Demetrie to counseile, and axid with what thingis and conseilis ⁶Jewis enforsiden, answerde, Thei that ben said Assideys of Jewis, to whom Judas Machabeus is souereyn, nuryshen bateils, and mouen discenciouns, nether ⁷suffren the rewme for to be quyet. For whi and Y defraudid of glorie of fader and modir, sothely Y saye, of heezist prest⁸ hod, came hidir, first sothely keepynge feith to the kyngis profitis, the secounde tyme sothely counseilynge to citesayns, for whi by shrewidnesse of hem alle our ⁹kyn is traueilid not beste. Bot Y preye, thou kyng, alle these thingus knowen, byholde to the cuntree and kyn, after^w thi ¹⁰manlynnesse^x shewid to alle men. For whi as long as Judas is aboue, *or alyue*^y, it is impossible pees for to be to needis. ¹¹Forsothe siche thingis said of hym, and other frendis, hauynge hem enemyly, enflawmiden Demetrie azeinus Judee. ¹²Whiche anoon sente Nychanore, prepost of olifauntis, duyck in to Judee, comaundementis ¹³zouen for to take hym Judas quyck sothely, for to scatere sothely hem that weren with hym, and for to ordeyn Alchymus heezist prest of the

with strong multitude, and schippis, bi the hauene of Tripolis, and hath holdun² cuntreis azens Antiok, and his duyck Lisias. Forsothe oon^t Alchimus, that was³ hizeste prest, but wilfuli was defoulid in tymes of myngyng togidere, bihelde that in no maner heelthe was to hym, nether neizyng^u to the auter, and he cam to kyng⁴ Demetrie, in the hundrid and fiftithe zeer, and offride hym^v a goldun coroun, and palme, ouer these thingis and offride vessels, that weren seyn for^{vv} to be of the temple; and sotheli in that day he was stille. Forsothe he gat a couenable tyme⁵ of his woodnesse, and he^w was clepid of Demetrie to counsel, and was axid with what thingis and counsels Jewis enforsiden, and he answeride, Thei that ben⁶ seid^x Assideis of Jewis, of whiche Judas Machabeus is souereyn, nurschen^y batels, and mouen discenciouns, nether suffren the rewme for to be quyet. For whi and Y⁷ am defraudid of glorie of fadir and modir, sotheli Y seie, of hizest presthod, and Y cam hidur, first sotheli kepyng feith to⁸ the kyngis profitis, the secounde tyme sotheli counselynge also the^z citeseyns, for whi bi schrewidnesse of hem al oure kyn is trauelid greetli. But Y preie, thou kyng,⁹ whanne alle these thingis ben knowun, biholde to the cuntre and kyn, by thi manlynnesse^a schewid to alle men. For whi as¹⁰ long as Judas lyueth, it is impossible that pees be to nedis. Forsothe whanne siche¹¹ thingis weren seid of hym, and othere frendis, hauynge hem enemyly, enflawmiden Demetrie azens Judas. Whiche anoon¹² sente Nycanor, souereyn of olifauntis, a duyck in to Judee, with comaundementis¹³ zouun for to take thilke Judas quyck, for to scatere sotheli hem that weren with hym, and for to ordeyne Alchymus hizeste prest of the moste holy^b temple. Thanne¹⁴ hethene men that fledden Judas fro Judee,

^t a palme H. ^u Om. H. ^v Om. H. ^w vp H. ^x manlynnesse, or curtesye H. ^y lyuyth H.

^t sum EHPRYE. ^u acces, or [ether plures] neizyng EGHINPSXYE. actis, neithir neizyng F pr. m. neizyng F sec. m. acces R. ^v to him RUE. ^{vv} Om. F. ^w Om. RE. ^x Om. EPY. ^y nursheden EPY. ^z to EPHIK MNPQRSUXYE. Om. G. ^a manlinesse, or curtesie EGHKMNPSUXYE. curtesie F sup. ras. ^b Om. ceteri.

14 most temple. Than heithen men that
 fledden Judas fro Judee, floemele ioyn-
 yden hem to Nychanore, gessynge the
 myseistes and dethis of Jewis prosperi-
 15 tees of her thingus. And so the cum-
 mynge of Nychanore herd, and the^z cum-
 mynge to gidre of naciouns, Jewis spreyn-
 with erthe preyeden hym, that ordeynyde
 his peple in to with outen eende for to
 keepe, and whiche keuerde, *or defendide*,
 16 his part with opyn signys. Forsothe the
 duyck comaundyng, anoon thei moueden
 fro^a thennus, and camen togidre to the^b
 17 castel Dessau. Symont forsothe, brother
 of Judas, ioynyde with Nychanore, bot
 he is to gidre broken with sudeyn cum-
 18 mynge of aduersaries. Nethese Nychanore
 heerynge the vertu of Judas felowis, and
 gretenesse of ynwytt, whiche thei hadden
 for stryues of the cuntree,
 19 dredde for to make dom of blood. Where-
 fore he byfore sente Possydonye, and
 Theodoce, and Mathie, for to 3eue rizt-
 20 hondis, and take. And whan longe coun-
 seil was don of these thingis, and he
 duyck hadde told to^{bb} the^c multitude, oo
 sentence was of alle, for to graunte to
 21 frenshipis. And so thei ordeynyden a
 day, in whiche thei shulden do priuylly
 bitwixe hem self; and to eche sellis, *or*
smale setis, ben brouzt forth, and putt.
 22 Forsothe Judas comaundide armed men
 for to be in couenable placis, lest per-
 aurenture of enmyes eny thyng of yuel
 spronge; and thei maden a couenable
 23 speche to gidre. Forsothe Nychanore
 dwelte in Jerusalem, and no thing did
 yuel; and he lefte flockis of cumpanyes,
 24 that weren gadrid. Forsothe he hadde
 Judas euermore derworth of ynwytt, and
 25 was bowid to the man; and preyde hym
 for to wedde a wijf, and to^d gendre
 sonys; and he made weddyngis, quyety
 dide, and lyueden comounly, *or togidre*.
 26 Alchymus forsothe, seeynge the charite

flokmele ioyneden hem to Nycanor, and
 gessiden the wretchidnessis and dethis of
 Jewis prosperitees of her thingis. Therfor 15
 whanne comyng of Nycanor was herd,
 and comyng togidre of naciouns, Jewis
 bispreynt with erthe preieden hym, that
 ordeynede his puple in to with outen ende
 for to kepe, and which defendith^e his part
 with open signes. Forsothe for the duyck 16
 comaundide, anoon thei mouyden fro then-
 nus, and camen togidre to castel^d Dessau.
 Symount forsothe, brother of Judas, ioyn- 17
 ede batel with Nycanor, but he was al-
 to-brokun with sudeyn comyng of aduer-
 saries. Nethes Nycanor herde the vertu 18
 of Judas felowis, and greetnesse of hardy-
 nesse, which thei hadden for stryues of
 the cuntree, and dredde for to make dom
 bi blood. Wherfor he bifore sente Possi- 19
 donye, and Theodote, and Mathie, for to
 3yue rizthondis, and take. And whanne 20
 longe counsel was don of these thingis,
 and the duyck hym silf hadde teld to the
 multitude, o sentence was of alle, for to
 graunte to frenshipis. Therfor^e thei or- 21
 deyneden a dai, in which thei schulden
 do priuelli bitwixe hem silf; 'smale setis'^f
 weren brouzt forth, and set to ech. For- 22
 sothe Judas comaundide armed men for to
 be in couenable places, lest perauenture
 ony thing of yuel schulde rise sudenli of
 enemyes; and thei maden a couenable
 speche togidre. Forsothe Nycanor dwelte 23
 in Jerusalem, and no thing dide yuel; and
 he lefte flockis of cumpanyes, that weren
 gaderid. Forsothe he hadde Judas euere 24
 more dereworth of herte, and was bowid
 to the man; and preiede hym for to wedde 25
 a wijf, and gendre sonys; and he made
 weddyngis, and^g dide quyetyli, and thei
 lyueden comynli, 'ether togidre'^h. Alchi- 26
 mus forsothe siȝ the charite of hem togi-
 dere, and acordyngis, and cam to Deme-
 trie, and seide, that Nycanor assentith to
 alyenⁱ thingis, and hath ordeynede Judas,

^z Om. H. ^a Om. H. ^b Om. H. ^{bb} Om. κ pr. m. ^c Om. H. ^d Om. H.

^e keuereth R. kiuerith, *or* [ether plures] defendith E et ceteri. ^d the castel IK. ^e And therfor R.
^f and sellis R. sellis, *or* [ether plures] smale setis E et ceteri. ^g Om. EHPRYE. ^h *or togidre* EPY. Om. R.
ⁱ alien, either other mennys thingis FHIKMNQSUXE.

of hem to gidre, and accoordyngus, came to Demetrie, and saide, Nychanore for to assente to alyen^e thingis, and to^f haue ordeynd Judas, traytour of the rewme, 27 successoure to hym. And so the kyng maad sharp, and with sicke warst accusyngis terrid to wrath, wrote^g to Nychanore, sayinge, hym sothely for to bere greuously of acoordyng of frenship, nethese for to comaunde for to sende 28 Machabeus bounden to Antiochie. Whiche thingis knowen, Nychanore was astonyed, and greuously bare, 3if he made void tho thingis that acordiden, he no thing hirt, 29 *or harmed*, of the man; bot for he miȝte not azeinstonde the kyng, he kepte couenabletee, in whiche he shulde perfourme the maundement. And Machabeus seeynge Nychanore for to do with hym more sternly, and feerslier ȝeuyng customable cummyng to gidre, vndirstondyng this feersnesse for to be not of good, a fewe of his gadrid, he^h hid 31 hym fro Nychanore. Whiche thing as he knew³, hym strongly byfore cummen of the man, he came to the most and holiest temple, and he comaundide to the prestis offrynge wont oostis, *or sacrifices*, 32 the man for to be taken^k to hym. Whiche sayinge with othe, for to not wyte, wher he was that was souȝt, he stretchyng 33 forth the hond to the temple, swore, 3if ȝe shuln not bitake to me Judas bounden, Y shal leede down this temple of God in to pleyⁿ, and digge out the auter, and Y shal halewe this temple to the^m free 34 fadir. And these thingis said, he wente away. Forsothe the prestis holdyng forth hondis in to heuen, ynclepiden hym that euer is forȝiter of the folc of hem, sayinge these thingus, Thou, Lord of vnyuersitee, *or ofⁿ alle creatures*, that of no thing hast need, woldist the temple of thin habitacioun for to be maad in vs.

traitour of the rewme, successour to hym. Therfor the kyng was maad scharp, and 27 terrid to^k wraththe with sicke worste accusyngis, and wroot to Nycanor, and seide, that sotheli he bar greuously of acordyng of frendschipe, and nethes comaundide for to sende Machabeus boundun to Antiochie. And whanne these thingis weren 28 knowun, Nycanor was astonyed, and greuoli bar, if he made voide tho thingis that weren acordid, and he was no thing harmed^l of the man; but for he myȝte not 29 aȝen stonde the kyng, he kepte couenablete, in which he schulde perfourme the maundement. And Machabeus siȝ, that 30 Nycanor dide with hym most sterneli, and ȝaf fersliere customable comyng togidere, and he vndurstode that this sternesse was^m not of goode, and with a fewe of hise gaderid, he hidde hym fro Nycanor. And as he knew this thing, that 31 he was strongli bifore comun, *'ether aspi- edⁿ*, of the man, he cam to the mooste and holieste temple, and he comaundide to the prestis offrynge customable^o sacrifices^q, that the man be takun^r to hym. And whanne thei seiden with ooth, that 32 thei wisten not, wher he was that was souȝt, he stretchide forth the hond to the temple, and swoor, If ȝe schulen not bitake 33 to me Judas boundun, Y schal drawe^s down this temple of God in to pleynesse, and digge out the auter, and Y schal halewe this temple to Liber*, *ether^t Bachus*, the^u fadir. And whanne he hadde 34 ^Λ seid these thingis, he wente awei. Forsothe the^v prestis helden^w forth hondis in to heuene, and clepiden hym to help that euere is forȝitere of the folc of hem, and seiden these thingis, Thou, Lord of 'alle 35 creaturis^x, that of no thing hast nede, woldist that the temple of thin habitacioun be maad in vs. And now, thou Lord, 36 hooli of alle hooli, kepe with outen ende

^e alien, or other menmus H. ^f Om. H. ^g Om. G pr. m. wrothe K. ^h Om. H. ⁱ Om. G pr. m. ^k bitaken G sec. m. H. ^l playnesse H. ^m Om. H. ⁿ Om. H.

^k with B. ^l hurt B. hert, or [ether plures] *harmyd* E et ceteri. ^m is B. ⁿ or *aspiad* EPY. Om. B. ^o wont A pr. m. EHPRYE. ^q oostis, or [ether H] *sacrificis* EHPRYE. ^r bitakun plures. ^s lede EHPRYE. ^t or EPY. ^u Om. e. ^v Om. I. ^w holdyng R. ^x vniuersite B. vniuersite, or [ether plures] of alle creaturis E et ceteri.

* Liber; that is, god of wine.

36 And nowē, thou holy of al holy, Lord,
kepe in to with outen eende this hous
vndefoulid, that a lytil goon was clensid.
37 Forsothe Rasias, sum of the eldre men
of Jerusalem, was accusid to Nychanore,
a man, louer of the citee, and wel heer-
yngē, that for affeccoun, *or loue*, was
38 clepid fadre of Jewis. This man many
tymes helde purpose of continence in
Jewrie, apaid for to bitake body and
39 soule of^o perseueraunce, *or lastyng*. For-
sothe Nychanore willynge for to shewe
the hate, that he hadde azeinis Jewis,
sente fyue hundrid knyztis, for to take
40 hym. Forsothe he gesside, ȝif he hadde
disceyuyde hym, hymself to ȝeuyngē most
41 deth to Jewis. Forsothe cumpanyes co-
ueityngē for to falle in to his hous, and
for to breke the ȝate, and for to moue to
fijr, whanne now he was taken, he axide,
42 *or assailide*, hym self with swerd; chees-
yngē for to dye nobly, rather than for^p
to be maad suget to synners, and azeinis
his birthis for to be ledd with vnworthi
43 wrongis. Bot whan by haastyngē with
vncerteyn stroke he hadde ȝouen wounde,
and cumpanyes bitwixe dores brasten
ynne, he rennyngē aȝein hardily to the
walle, castide down hym self manly in to
44 the cumpanyes. Whiche swiftly ȝeuyngē
place to his fall, he came by the mydil
45 hatrel^q, and ȝit whil he brethide, he, in
ynwitt kyndlid, roose. And whan his blood
with grete flowyngē flowide down, and
with most greuous woundis he was wound-
id, bi rennyng he passide the cumpanye;
46 and stoondyngē vpon^r sum heeȝ stoon,
and now maad with outen blood, biclip-
pyngē his entraylis with bothe hondis,
castide forth on the cumpanyes, he yn-
clepyngē the lordship of lijf and spirit,
that he schulde ȝeelde eftsonys these thingis
to hym; and thus he is dead fro lijf.

this hous vndefoulid, that a litil agon was
clensid. Forsothe Rasias, oon^y of the eldre 37
men of Jerusalem, was accusid to Nyca-
nor; and *Rasias* was a man, louyere of
the citee, and wel heryngē, that for affec-
cioun^z was clepid fadir of Jewis. This 38
man many tymes helde purpos of conty-
nence in Judee, and was apayed for to
bitake bodi and soule for perseueraunce,
'*ether lastyng*^a. Forsothe Nycanor wolde 39
schewe the hatrede, that he hadde aȝens
Jewis, and sente fyue hundrid knyztis, for
to take him. For he gesside, if he hadde 40
disseyued hym, that he shulde bringe in
most deth to Jewis. Forsothe whanne 41
cumpenyas coueitiden for to falle in to his
hous, and for to breke the ȝate, and for to
moue to fier, whanne now he was takun*,
he asailide hym silf with swerd; ches- 42
yngē for to die nobli, rather than for^b to
be maad suget to synneris, and aȝens his
birthis for to be led with vnworthi
wrongis. But whanne bi hastyng he 43
hadde ȝouun wounde with vncerteyne
strook, and cumpenyas bitwixe doris bras-
ten in, he ran aȝen hardli to the wal, and
castide down hym silf manli in to the
cumpenyas. And whanne thei ȝauen swiftli 44
place to his fal, he cam bi the myddil of
the nol, and ȝit while he brethide, he was 45
kyndlid in herte, and roos. And whanne
his blood with greet flowyng flowide down,
and with most greuouse woundis he was
woundid, bi rennyng he passide the cum-
peny; and stood on an^c heeȝ stoon, and 46
now was maad with out blood, and bi-
clippide his entrailis with both hondis,
and castide forth on the cumpenyas, and
clepide to helpe the lordshipere of lijf
and spirit, that he schulde ȝelde eftsoone
these thingis to hym; and thus he was
deed fro lijf.

* that is, was
nij the takinge.
Live here. EK
sec. m. PUY.

^o for G sec. m. H. P Om. H. ^q haterel, or *utmoste place of the necke* H. ^r on H.

^y sum EHPYCE. ^z affection, or [either plures] *loue* E et ceteri *prater* R. ^a or *lastinge* EHPYCE. Om. IR.
^b Om. P. ^c sum EHPYCE. a F sup. ras.

CAP. XV.

1 Forsothe as Nychanore foonde Judas
for to be in places^t of Samarye, he thouzte
in the day of saboth with al feersnesse
2 for to ioynne bateil. Forsothe Jewis, that
sueden hym by need, sayinge, Do thou
not so feersly and heithenly, bot zeue
honour to the^u day of halewyng, and
wirshipe thou hym, that biholdith alle
3 thingis. And he vnblessid, axide, 3if
there is a mizti in heuen, that comaund-
ide the 'day of sabothis^v for to be don?
4 And hem answeyng, There is oo Lord,
and he^w in heuen mizti, that comaundide
5 the seuenthe day for to be don. And he
saith, And Y am^x mizti vpon erthe, whiche
comaunde^y armers for to be taken, and
needis of the kyng for to be fulfillid.
Nethelese he gate not, for to perfourme
6 counseil. And sothely Nychanore with
souereyn pride enhaunsid, thouzte for to
7 ordeyne a comoun victorie of Judas. For-
sothe Machabeus tristide euermore with
al hope, help to cummyng to hym of the
8 Lord, and monestide hise, that thei shulden
not inwardly dreede at the cummyng to
of naciouns, bot shulden haue in mynde the
helpis don to hem of heuen, and now
shulden hoope of Almyzty the victorie to
9 cummyng to hem. And spekyng to hem
of lawe, and prophetis, and monestinge^z
what thingis thei diden bfore, he ordeyn-
10 yde^a hem redier. And so the ynwittis
of hem reysid, he shewide to gidere the
falsnesse of heithen men, and brekyng of
11 othis. Forsothe he armyde eche of hem,
not bi strengthing of sheld and shaft,
bot with best wordis and monestyngis, a
sweuen worthi of byleeue expowned, by
12 whiche he gladide alle. Sothely the vi-
sioun is^b siche. Onye, that was heezist
prest, a good man and benygne, shamfast
in sijt, and mylde in maners, and fair in

CAP. XV.

Forsothe as Nycanor foond that Judas¹
was in the place of Samarie, he thouzte
for to ioynne batel in the dai of sabat with
al fersnesse. Forsothe whanne Jewis,²
that sueden hym bi nede, seiden, Do thou
not so^e fersli and^f hethenli, but 3yue
thou onour to the dai of halewyng, and
worschipe thou hym, that biholdith alle
things. And he vnblesside, axide, If ther³
is a myzti in heuene, that comaundide the
dai of sabatis for to be don? And whanne⁴
thei answeriden, Ther is a quyke Lord, and
he is myzti in heuene, that comaundide
the seuenthe dai for to be don. And he⁵
seide, And^g Y am myzti on erthe, which
comaunde^h armeris for to be takun, and
nedis of the kyng for to be fillidⁱ. Ne-
theles he gat not, for to perfourme coun-
sel^k. And sotheli Nycanor was enhaunsid⁶
with souereyn^l pride, and thouzte for to
ordeyne a comyn victorie of Judas. For-⁷
sothe Judas^m Machabeus tristide euere
more with al hope, that helpⁿ schulde come
to hym of the Lord, and he monestide⁸
hise, that thei schulden not inwardli drede
at^o the comyng to of naciouns, but schul-
den haue in mynde the helpis don to hem
of heuene, and now schulden hope that
the victorie schulde come to hem of Al-
myzti^p. And he spak to hem of the lawe,⁹
and profetis, and monestide, 'ether warn-
yde^q, of batels which thei diden bfore,
and^r ordeynede hem rediere. And so¹⁰
whanne the soulis of hem weren reysid,
he schewide to gidere the falsnesse of he-
thene men, and brekyng of othis. For-¹¹
sothe he armede ech of hem, not bi
strengthing of scheld and schaft, but with
beste wordis and monestyngis, and ex-
pownede a sweuene worthi of bileue, bi
which he gladide alle. Sotheli the visioun¹²
was sich. Judas si3 Onyas, that was

^t place H. ^u Om. H. ^v day of saboth A. seuenthe day H. ^w Om. H. ^x Om. G pr. m. ^y comaundide K.
^z monestyng, or warnyng H. ^a ordeynede, or confirme H. ^b was G sec. m. H.

^e the E. ^f and the E. ^g Om. EHPY. ^h comaundede EHIP pr. m. sy. ⁱ fulfillid re. ^k bi counsel E.
^l maistifful EPY. ^m Om. EFGHIKMNQRSUXYE. ⁿ helthe F. ^o of R. ^p the Almyzti R. ^q or warnede
EPY. Om. R. ^r Om. R.

speche, and whiche was excersisid, *or hauntid*, in vertues fro a chijld, holdynge forth the hondis for to preye for al the
 13 peple of the^a Jewis. After this thing and an other man for to haue apeerid, in age and glorie wondreful, and in hau-
 14 ynge of grete fairnesse aboute hym. Forsothe Onye answeyng. to^b haue saide, This is the^c loue of bretheren, and of
 peple of Yrael; this is he, that myche preyeth for the peple, and for al the holy
 15 cite, Jeremye, the prophete of God. Forsothe Jeremye for to haue streizte forth the rizthond, and to^d haue zouen a golden
 16 swerd to Judas, sayinge, Take thou the holy swerd, a gift of God, in whiche thou shalt cast down the aduersaries of
 17 my peple Yrael. And so thei monestid^{dd} with wordis of Judas ful goode, of whiche feersnesse mizte be enhaunsid, and the^e ynnewittis of zunge men be^{ee} confortyd, thei ordeyneden for to fizte, and tourmente to gidre strongly, that vertu schulde deme of needis^f, for that the holy citee and temple weren in perel.
 18 Sothely for wijues, and sonys, and also for bretheren, and cosyns, was lesse bysynesse, bot most and first dread was for
 19 holynesse of the temple. Bot not leste bysynesse hadde hem that weren in the citee, for these that weren to assailynge
 20 to gidre. And whanne now alle men hopiden dom to beyng, and enmys camen, and oost was ordeynyd, beestis and horsmen putt to gidre in couenable
 21 place, Machabeus biholdynge the cummyng of multitude, and dyuers apparel of armers, and feersnesse of beestis, strecchyng out the hondis in to heuen, ynclepide the Lord doynge grete wondris, whiche not after^g power of armers, bot as it plesith to hym, zeueth to worthi
 22 men victorie. Forsothe he saide, ynclepyng this manere, Thou, Lord, that sentist thin aungel vnder Ezechie, kyng of

hizeste prest, a good man and benygne, schamefast in sizt, and mylde in maneres, and fair in speche, and which was exercisid^a in vertues fro a child, holdynge forth the hondis for to preie for al the puple of Jewis. After this thing that also anothir
 13 man apperide, wondurful in age and glorie, and in hauynge of greet fairnesse aboute hym. Forsothe *he si3* Onyas an-
 14 sweryng for to haue seid, This is the louyere of britheren, and of the puple of Israel; this is he, that myche preieth for the puple, and al the hooli citee, Jeremye, 'the profet of God. Forsothe *he si3* that^t
 15 Jeremye^u hath^v strejt forth the rizthond, and hath zouun a goldun swerd to Judas, and seide, Take thou the hooli swerd, a
 16 gift of God, in which thou schalt caste down the aduersaries of my puple Israel. Therfor thei weren monestid with ful
 17 good wordis of Judas, of whiche fersnesse mizte be enhaunsid, and soules of zonge men be coumfortid, and thei ordeyneden for to fizte, and turmente togidere strongli, that vertu schulde deme of nedis, '*ether causis*^w, for that the hooli citee and temple weren in perel. For whi for wyues,
 18 and sones, and also for britheren, and cosyns, was lesse bisynesse, but the moste and firste drede was holynesse of the temple. But not leste bisynesse hadde hem
 19 that weren in^x citee, for these that schulden asaile, '*ether fizte*^y togidere. And
 20 whanne now alle men hopiden dom to be, and enemyes come, and the oost was ordeined, beestis and horse men put togidere in^z couenable place, Machabeus bi-
 21 helde the comyng of multitude, and dyuerse^a apparel of armeris, and fersnesse of beestis, and he stretchide out^b the hondis to heuene, and clepide to help the Lord doynge greet wondris, which not bi power of armeris, but as it plesith to hym, zyueth victorie to worthi men. Forsothe he seide,
 22 clepyng to help in this maner, Thou Lord,

^a Om. H. ^b for to H. ^c Om. H. ^d Om. GH. ^{dd} monestidid K. ^e Om. H. ^{ee} Om. K. ^f nedis, or *causis* H. ^g vp H.

^a excersisid, or [ether plures] *hauntid* E et ceteri præter R. ^t Om. R. ^u Om. EY. ^v hauyng R. ^w or *causis* EPT. Om. R. ^x in the IKNR. ^y or *fizte* EPT. Om. R. ^z in to R. ^a of dyuerse F. ^b forth R.

Juda, and hast slayn of tentis, *or oostis*,
 of Senacherib, an hundrid foure score
 23 and fyue thousand; and now, lordship-
 of heuens, sende thou thi good aungel
 bifore vs, in dreed and tremblyng of
 24 gretenesse of thin arm, that thei dreede,
 that cummen azeinus thin holy peple.
 And bi these thingis thus he perfitly
 25 preyede. Forsothe Nychanore, and thei
 that weren with hym, with trumpis and
 26 songis moueden to. Judas forsothe, and
 thei that weren with him, God ynclepid
 by preyers of knowlachyng, wenten to
 27 gidre. Sothely in hond fitynge, bot in
 hertis preyinge God, castiden down fyue
 and thritty thousand, not lesse, by the¹
 28 presence of God gretely delytynge. And
 whanne thei hadden ceesid, and with
 ioye turnyden azein, thei knewen Nycha-
 nore for to haue fallen, with his armers.
 29 And so crie maad, and perturbacioun
 stirid, by cuntree voice thei blessingiden the
 30 Lord almyzty. Forsothe Judas comaund-
 ide, that by alle thingis in body and
 ynwitt was redy for to dye for citeseyns,
 the hed of Nychanore, and the hond with
 the^k shuldre gird off, for to be brouzt
 31 forth to Jerusalem. Whidir whanne he
 fully came, men of his lynage clepid to
 gidre, and prestis to the auter, he clepide
 and hem that weren in the hee³ rock.
 32 And the hed of Nychanore shewid, and
 the cursid hond, whiche he holdyng
 forth azeinus the holy hous of almyzty
 33 God gretely gloriede, also he comaund-
 ide the tunge of vnпитыous Nychanore kitt
 off, for to be 3ouen to briddis gobetmele;
 forsothe the hond of the wood man for
 34 to be hongid vp azeinus the temple. Ther-
 fore alle blessingiden the Lord of heuen,
 sayinge, Blessid the Lord, that kepte his
 35 place vndefoulid. Forsothe he hangide
 vp Nychanoris hed in the hee³ist rock,
 that it were euydent, *or knowen*, and
 36 opyn signe of helpe¹ of God. Therefore

that sentist thin aungel vndur Ezechie,
 kyng of Juda, and hast slayn of the tentis,
 'ether oostis^e, of Sennacherib, an hundrid
 thousynde foure score and fyue thousynde;
 and now, lordschipere of heuenes, sende 23
 thou thi good aungel bifore vs, in drede
 and tremblyng of greetnesse of thin arm,
 that thei drede, that comen with blas- 24
 femye azens thin hooli puple. And sotheli
 thus he perfitli preiede. Forsothe Ny- 25
 canor, and thei that weren with hym,
 moueden to with trumpis and songis. Ju- 26
 das forsothe, and thei that weren with
 hym, clepiden God to help bi preieris, and
 wenten togidere. Sotheli thei fitynge with 27
 hond, but preiyng God in hertis, castiden^d
 down fyue and thretti thousynde, not lesse,
 and delitiden greetli bi presence of God.
 And whanne thei hadden ceessid, and with 28
 ioye turneden azen, thei knewen that Ny-
 canor hadde falle, with his armeris. Ther- 29
 for whanne^e cry was maad, and perturba-
 cioun styride^f, bi cuntre vois thei blessingiden
 the Lord almyzti. Forsothe Judas, that 30
 bi alle thingis in bodi and soule was redi
 for to die for citeseyns, bad, that the heed
 of Nycanor, and hond with the^g schuldre
 gird of, schulde be brouzt forth to Jeru-
 salem. Whidur whanne he fulli cam, 31
 whanne men of his lynage weren clepid
 togidere, and prestis to the auter, he clep-
 ide also hem that weren in the hi³ tour.
 And whanne the heed of Nycanor was 32
 schewid, and the cursid hond, which he
 holdyng forth azens the hooli hous of
 almyzti God greetli^h gloriede, also he 33
 comaundide the tunge of vnпитыouse Nycan-
 or kit of, for to be 3ouun to briddis
 gobet mel; forsothe *he comaundide* the
 hond of the wood man for to be hangid
 vp azens the temple. Therfor alle bless- 34
 iden the Lord of heuene, and seiden,
 Blessid *be* the Lord, that kepte his place
 vndefoulid. Forsothe heⁱ hangide vp^k 35
 Nycanoris heed in the hi³este tour, that

¹ Om. H. ^k Om. H. ^l the helpe H.

^e Om. EPRY. ^d and castiden R. ^e Om. I. ^f was stired R e pr. m. ^g Om. EFGHKMNPQRS pr. m. UXE.
^h Om. N. ⁱ Om. R. pr. m. thei R sec. m. ^k Om. U.

alle men by commoun counseile demyden
in no maner this day for to passe with-
37oute worschipping, sothli for to haue
worschipyng the thrittenthe day of the
moneth Adar, that is said, by voice of
38Sirye, the first day of Mardocheus. Ther-
fore these thingis don azeinus Nychanore,
and of the^m tymes the citee weeldid of
Ebrues, and Y in these thingis shal make
39an eend of word. And sotheli 3if wel and
as it acordith to the stori, this thing
and Y wole; 3if ellis lesse worthily, it is
40to be grauntid to me. Sothely as for to
drinke euermore wyne, or euermore water,
is contrarie, forsothe for to vse chaung-
able, *or now oon, nowⁿ another*, is delit-
able^o; so to men redynge, 3if the word be
euermore vniustly axid, *or azein souzt*, it
shal not be couenable, *or plesinge*; ther-
fore here it shal be eendid.

*Here endith the storie of Machabeus,
the whiche is the laste book of the Olde
Testament. And nowe bigynneth the
Newe Testament; first is the prolog of
Matheu, apostle and euangelist^p.*

it were knowun¹, and an^m opyn signe of
the help of God. Therfor alle men by 36
comyn counsel demyden in no maner for
to passe this dai with out solempnytee,
but for to haue solempnyte in the thret-37
tenthe dai of the moneth Adar, that is
seid, bi vois of Sirie, the firste dai of Mar-
docheus. Therfor whanne these thingis 38
weren don azens Nicanor, and of tho tymes
whanne the citee was weldid of Ebrews,
also Y in these thingis schal make an ende
of word. And sotheli if wel and as it 39
acordith to the stori, this thing and Y
wolc; if ellis lesse worthili, it is to for-
3yue to me. Sotheli as for to drynke 40
euere more wyn, ether euere more watir,
it is contrarie, but for to vse chaungeable,
'etherⁿ 'now oon, now another^o, is delit-
able^p; so to men redynge, if the word be
euer more souzt to ech part, it schal not
be plesynge^q; therfor here it schal be
eendid^r.

*Here endith the secounde book of Ma-
chabeus, which is ende of the Olde Tes-
tament^s.*

^m tho H. ⁿ and nowe H. ^o delitable or likynge H. ^p No final rubric in AGH.

¹ euiden^t H. euiden^t, or [ether plures] knowen E et ceteri. ^m Om. EHKMQRSUE. ⁿ or EPY. Om. R.
^o Om. R. ^p delitable, or [either K] likynge FGHKMNQSUE. delectable, either likynge R. ^q couenable,
or [ether plures] plesinge CEF GHIKMN PQSU YE. ^r eendid. Amen. S. ^s From F. *The Olde Testament endith
here. G. Here endeth the secounde book of Machabeis; blessid be the holi Trinyte. Amen. H. Here endith
the secounde book of Machabeis, the whiche is the ende of the Olde Testament. I. Here endeth the secounde
book of Macabeus, and al the Olde Testament; se now the Newe Testament. K. Here endith the secounde
book of Machabeus. ME. Here endith the secunde book of Machabeus, and N. Finitum secundi
Machabeorum capitulum quintum decimum. R. Here endith the secounde book of Machabeis, and here
bigynneth Matheu. V. No final rubric in EPQSY. C and X are deficient.*

Bible
Eng
W

Bible. English
The Holy Bible
vulgate by Wycliff
and Madden. vol. 3

DATE _____

NAME _____

[illegible]

ספר הבהיר

Sepher Ha-Bahir

or

“The Book of Illumination”

Attributed to Rabbi Nehunia ben haKana

Translated by Aryeh Kaplan

The Bahir

The First Verses of Creation 3

The Aleph-Beth 7

The Seven Voices and the Sephiroth 12

The Ten Sephiroth 32

Mysteries of the Soul 53

Index 57

The Bahir

Section I

The First Verses of Creation

1. Rabbi Nehuniah ben HaKana said:

One verse (*Job 37:21*) states, "And now they do not see light, it is brilliant (*Bahir*) in the skies...[round about God in terrible majesty]."

Another verse, however, (*Psalms 18:12*), states, "He made darkness His hiding place." It is also written (*Psalms 97:2*), "Cloud and gloom surround Him." This is an apparent contradiction.

A third verse comes and reconciles the two. It is written (*Psalms 139:12*), "Even darkness is not dark to You. Night shines like day -- light and darkness are the same."

2. Rabbi Berachiah said:

It is written (*Genesis 1:2*), "The earth was Chaos (*Tohu*) and Desolation (*Bohu*).

What is the meaning of the word "was" in this verse? This indicates that the Chaos existed previously [and already was].

What is Chaos (*Tohu*)? Something that confounds (*Taha*) people.

What is Desolation (*Bohu*)? It is something that has substance. This is the reason that it is called *Bohu*, that is, *Bo Hu* -- "it is in it."

3. Why does the Torah begin with the letter *Bet*? In order that it begin with a blessing (*Berachah*).

How do we know that the Torah is called a blessing? Because it is written (*Deuteronomy 33:23*), "The filling is God's blessing possessing the Sea and the South."

The Sea is nothing other than the Torah, as it is written (*Job 11:9*), "It is wider than the sea."

What is the meaning of the verse, "The filling is God's blessing?" This means that wherever we find the letter *Bet* it indicates a blessing.

It is thus written (*Genesis 1:1*), "In the beginning (*BeReshit*) [God created the heaven and the earth." *BeReshit* is *Bet Reshit*.]

The word "beginning" (*Reshit*) is nothing other than Wisdom. It is thus written (*Psalms 111:10*), "The beginning is wisdom, the fear of God."

Wisdom is a blessing. It is thus written, "And God blessed Solomon." It is furthermore written (*I Kings 5:26*), "And God gave Wisdom to Solomon."

This resembles a king who marries his daughter to his son. He gives her to him at the wedding and says to him, "Do with her as you desire."

4. How do we know that the word *Berachah* [usually translated as blessing] comes from the word *Baruch* [meaning blessed]? Perhaps it comes from the word *Berech* [meaning knee]. It is written (*Isaiah 44:23*), "For to Me shall every knee bend." [*Berachah* can therefore mean] the Place to which every knee bends.

What example does this resemble? People want to see the king, but do not know where to find his house (*Bayit*). First they ask "Where is the king's house?" Only then can they ask "Where is the king?"

The Bahir

It is thus written, "For to Me shall every knee bend" -- even the highest -- "every tongue shall swear."

5. Rabbi Rahumai sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Deuteronomy 33:23*), "The filling is God's blessing, possessing the Sea and the South"?

This means that wherever we find the letter *Bet* it is blessed.

This is the Filling referred to in the verse, "The filling is God's blessing."

From there it nourishes those who need it. It was from this Filling that God sought advice.

What example does this resemble? A king wanted to build his palace among great cliffs. He mined into the bedrock and uncovered a great spring of living water. The king then said, "Since I have flowing water, I will plant a garden. Then I will delight in it, and so will all the world."

It is therefore written (*Proverbs 8:30*), "I was with Him as a craftsman, I was His delight for a day, a day, frolicking before him at every time."

The Torah is saying, "For two thousand years I was in the bosom of the Blessed Holy One as His delight."

The verse therefore says, "a day, a day." Each day of the Blessed Holy One is a thousand years, as it is written (*Psalms 90:4*), "A thousand years in Your eyes is as but yesterday when it is passed."

From then on, it is at times, as the verse states, "[frolicking before Him] at every time."

The rest is for the world. It is thus written (*Isaiah 48:9*), "I will [breathe out] My praise through My nose for you."

What is the meaning of "My praise"? As it is written (*Psalms 145:2*), "A praise of David, I will raise You high [my God, O King, and I will bless Your name for the world and forever]."

Why is this a praise? Because I will "raise You high."

And what is this elevation? Because "I will bless Your name for the world and forever."

8. What is a blessing?

It can be explained with an example. A king planted trees in his garden. It may rain and water them, and the ground may be wet and provide them with moisture, but still, he must water them from the spring.

It is thus written (*Psalms 111:10*), "The beginning is Wisdom, the fear of God, good intelligence to all who do them [His praise endures forever]."

You may think that it lacks something. It is therefore written, "His praise endures forever."

7. Rabbi Amoraï sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Deuteronomy 33:23*), "The filling is God's blessing, possessing the Sea and the South?"

Moses was saying, "If you follow my decrees, you will inherit both this world and the next."

The World to Come is likened to the sea, as it is written (*Job 11:9*), "It is wider than the sea."

The present world is referred to as the South. It is thus written (*Joshua 15:19*), "[Give me a blessing] for you have set me in the land of the south, [therefore give me springs of water]."

The Targum translates this, "behold the earth is the south."

8. Why did God add the letter *Heh* to Abraham's name, rather than any other letter?

This was so that all parts of man's body should be worthy of life in the World to Come,

The Bahir

which is likened to the sea.

To the extent that we can express it, the Structure was completed in Abraham. [Regarding this Structure] it is written (*Genesis 9:6*), "For in the form of God, He made the man."

The numerical value of Abraham is 248, the number of parts in man's body.

9. What is the meaning of (*Deuteronomy 33:23*), "[The filling is God's blessing, the Sea and the South] he shall inherit it (*YiRaShaH*)?" It would have been sufficient if the verse said, "inherit (*RaSh*) [the Sea and the South]."

But this comes to teach us that God must also be included. The word *YiRaShaH* thus contains the letters *RaSh YH* [meaning, "inherit God"].

What does this resemble? A king had two treasuries, and he hid one away. After many days he said to his son, "Take what is in these two treasuries." The son replied, "Perhaps you are not giving me all that you have hidden away." The king said, "Take everything."

It is thus written, "the Sea and the South, he shall inherit it." Inherit God (*YH RaSh*) -- everything will be given to you if you only keep My ways.

10. Rabbi Bun said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Proverbs 8:23*), "I was set up from eternity (*Me-Olam*), from a head, before the earth?"

What is the meaning of "from eternity (*Me-Olam*)?" This means that it must be concealed (*He-elam*) from the world.

It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 3:11*), "He has also placed the world (*Ha-Olam*) in their hearts [that they should not find out the work that God has done from the beginning to the end]." Do not read *Ha-Olam* (the world), but *He-elam* (concealment).

The Torah said, "I was first, so that I might be the head of the world." It is thus written, "I was set up from eternity, from a head."

You may think that the earth was before it. It is therefore written, "before the earth."

It is thus written (*Genesis 1:1*), "In the beginning created God the heaven and the earth."

What is the meaning of "created"? He created everything that was needed for all things. And then God. Only after that is it written "the heaven and the earth."

11. What is the meaning of the verse (*Ecclesiastes 7:14*), "Also one opposite the other was made by God."

He created Desolation (*Bohu*) and placed it in Peace, and He created Chaos (*Tohu*) and placed it in Evil.

Desolation is in Peace, as it is written (*Job 25:2*), "He makes peace in His high places."

This teaches us that Michael, the prince to God's right, is water and hail, while Gabriel, the prince to God's left, is fire. The two are reconciled by the Prince of Peace. This is the meaning of the verse, "He makes peace in His high places."

12. How do we know that Chaos is in Evil? It is written (*Isaiah 45:7*), "He makes peace and creates evil."

How does this come out? Evil is from Chaos, while Peace is from Desolation.

He thus created Chaos and placed it in Evil, [as it is written "He makes peace and creates evil." He created Desolation and placed it in Peace, as it is written, "He makes peace in His high places."]

13. Rabbi Bun also sat and expounded:

The Bahir

What is the meaning of the verse (*Isaiah 45:7*), "He forms light and creates darkness?" Light has substance. Therefore, the term "formation" is used with regard to it. Darkness has no substance, and therefore, with regard to it, the term "creation" is used. It is similarly written (*Amos 4:12*), He forms mountains and creates the wind."

Another explanation is this:

Light was actually brought into existence, as it is written (*Genesis 1:3*), "And God said, let there be light." Something cannot be brought into existence unless it is made. The term "formation" is therefore used.

In the case of darkness, however, there was no making, only separation and setting aside. It is for this reason that the term "created" (*Bara*) is used. It has the same sense as in the expression, "That person became well (*hi-Bria*)."

14. Why is the letter *Bet* closed on all sides and open in the front? This teaches us that it is the House (*Bayit*) of the world. God is the place of the world, and the world is not His place. Do not read *Bet*, but *Bayit* (house).

It is thus written (*Proverbs 24:3*), "With wisdom the *house* is built, with understanding it is established, [and with knowledge are its chambers filled]."

15. What does the *Bet* resemble? It is like a man, formed by God with wisdom. He is closed on all sides, but open in front. The *Aleph*, however, is open from behind.

This teaches us that the tail of the *Bet* is open from behind. If not for this, man could not exist.

Likewise, if not for the *Bet* on the tail of the *Aleph*, the world could not exist.

16. Rabbi Rahumai said:

Illumination preceeded the world, since it is written (*Psalms 97:2*), "Cloud and gloom surround Him." It is thus written (*Genesis 1:3*), "And God said, 'let there be light,' and there was light."

They said to Him, "Before the creation of Israel your son, will you then make him a crown?" He replied yes.

What does this resemble? A king yearned for a son. One day he found a beautiful, precious crown, and he said, "This is fitting for my son's head."

They said to him, "Are you then certain that your son will be worthy of this crown?"

He replied, "Be still. This is what arises in thought."

It is thus written (*2 Samuel 14:14*), He thinks thoughts [that none should be cast away].

The Bahir
Section II
The Aleph-Beth

17. Rabbi Amoraï sat and expounded:

Why is the letter *Aleph* at the beginning? Because it was before everything, even the Torah.

18. Why does Bet follow it? Because it was first.

Why does it have a tail? To point to the place from which it came.

Some say, from there the world is sustained.

19. Why is Gimel third?

It has three parts, teaching us that it bestows (gomel) kindness.

But did Rabbi Akiba not say that Gimel has three parts because it bestows, grows, and sustains. It is thus written (Genesis 21:8), "The lad grew and was bestowed."

He said: He says the same as I do. He grew and bestowed kindness to his neighbours and to those entrusted to him.

20. And why is there a tail at the bottom of the Gimel?

He said: The Gimel has a head on top, and is like a pipe. Just like a pipe, the Gimel draws from above through its head, and disperses through its tail. This is the Gimel.

21. Rabbi Yochanan said:

The angels were created on the second day. It is therefore written (Psalm 104:3), "He rafters His upper chambers with water [He makes the clouds His chariot, He walks on the wings of the wind]." It is then written (Psalm 104:4), "He makes the winds His angels, His ministers from flaming fire."

[Rabbi Haninah said: The angels were created on the fifth day, as it is written (Genesis 1:20), "And flying things shall fly upon the firmament of heaven." Regarding the angels it is written (Isaiah 6:2), "With two wings did they fly."]

Rabbi Levatas ben Taurus said: All agree, even Rabbi Yochanan, that the water already existed [on the first day]. But it was on the second day that "He raftered His upper chambers with water." [At that time He also created] the one who "makes the clouds his chariot," and the one who "walks on the wings of the wind." But His messengers were not created until the fifth day.

22. All agree that none were created on the first day. It should therefore not be said that Michael drew out the heaven at the south, and Gabriel drew it out at the north, while God arranged things in the middle.

It is thus written (Isaiah 44:24), "I am God, I make all, I stretch out the heavens alone, the earth is spread out before Me." [Even though we read the verse "from Me" (May-iti), it can also be read] Mi iti -- "Who was with Me?"

I am the One who planted this tree in order that all the world should delight in it. And in it, I spread All.

I called it All because all depend upon it, all emanate from it, and all need it. To it they look, for it they wait, and from it, souls fly in joy.

The Bahir

Alone was I when I made it. Let no angel rise above it and say, "I was before you."

I was also alone when I spread out My earth, in which I planted and rooted this tree. I made them rejoice together, and I rejoiced in them.

"Who was with Me?" To whom have I revealed this mystery?

23. Rabbi Rahumai said: From your words we could conclude that the needs of this world were created before the heavens.

He answered yes.

What does this resemble? A king wanted to plant a tree in his garden. He searched the entire garden to find a spring flowing with water that would nourish the tree, but could not find any. He then said, "I will dig for water, and will bring forth a spring to nourish the tree." He dug and opened a well, flowing with living water. He then planted the tree, and it stood, giving forth fruit. It was successfully rooted, since it was always watered from the well.

24. Rabbi Yanai said: The earth was created first, as it is written (Genesis 2:4), "[On the day that God made} earth and heaven."

They said to him: Is it not written (Genesis 1:1), "[In the beginning God created] the heaven and the earth"?

He replied: What is this like? A king bought a beautiful object, but since it was not complete, he did not give it a name. He said, "I will complete it, I will prepare its pedestal and attachment, and then I will give it a name."

It is thus written (Psalm 102:26), "From eternity You founded the earth" -- and then, "the heavens are the work of Your hands."

It is furthermore written (Psalm 104:2), "He covered Himself with light like a garment, He spread out the heaven like a curtain, He rafters His upper chambers with water." It is then written (Psalm 104:4), "He makes the winds His angels, His ministers of flaming fire."

Finally, it is written (Psalm 104:5), "He founded the earth on its pedestals, that it not be removed for the world and forever."

When He made its pedestal, He strengthened it. It is therefore written, "that it not be moved."

What is its name? "And Forever (VoEd) is its name. And [the name of] its pedestal is "World" (Olam). It is therefore written, "for the World And Forever."

25. Rabbi Berachiah said:

What is the meaning of the verse (Genesis 1:3), And God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light"? Why does the verse not say, "And it was so"?

What is this like? A king had a beautiful object. He puts it away until he had a place for it, and then he put it there.

It is therefore written, "Let there be light, and there was light." This indicates that it already existed.

26. Rabbi Amorai said: What is the meaning of the verse (Exodus 15:3), "God is a man (Ish) of war"?

Mar Rahumai said to him: Great master, do not ask about something that is so simple. Listen to me and I will advise you.

He said to him: What is this like? A king had a number of beautiful dwellings, and he gave each one a name. One was better than the other. He said, "I will give my son this dwelling whose name is Aleph. This one whose name is Yod is also good, as is this one whose name is Shin." What did he do then? He gathered all three together, and out of them he made a single

The Bahir

name and a single house.

He said: How long will you continue to conceal your meaning?

The other replied: My son, Aleph is the head. Yod is second to it. Shin includes all the world.

Why does Shin include all the world? Because with it one writes an answer (T'shuvah).

27. The students asked him: What is the letter Daleth?

He replied: What is this like? Ten kings were in a certain place. All of them were wealthy, but one was not quite as wealthy as the others. Even though he is still very wealthy, he is poor (Dal) in relation to the others.

28. They said to him: What is the letter Heh?

He grew angry and said: Did I not teach you not to ask about a later thing and then about an earlier thing?

They said: But Heh comes after [Daleth].

He replied: The order should be Gimel Heh. Why is it Gimel Daleth? Because it must be Daleth Heh.

And why is the order Gimel Daleth?

He said to them: Gimel is in the place of Daleth, on its head it is in the place of Heh. Daleth with its tail is in place of the Heh.

29. What is the letter Vav?

He said: There is an upper Heh and a lower Heh.

30. They said to him: But what is Vav?

He said: The world was sealed with six directions.

They said: Is not Vav a single letter?

He replied: It is written (Psalm 104:2), "He wraps Himself in light as a garment, [he spreads out the heavens like a curtain]."

31. Rabbi Amorai asked: Where is the Garden of Eden?

He replied: It is on earth.

32. Rabbi Ishmael expounded to Rabbi Akiba:

What is the meaning of the verse (Genesis 1:1), "[In the beginning God created] (et) the heaven and (et) the earth"? [Why is the word et added in both places?]

If the word et (an untranslated preposition that connects a transitive verb to its predicate noun) were absent, we would think that "heaven" and "earth" were gods. [For we could have read the verse, "In the beginning, God, the heaven and the earth created..." taking all three nouns as subjects of the sentence.]

He replied: By the Divine Service! You may have reached out for the true meaning, but you have not sorted out, and therefore you speak in this manner. But [in the case of "heaven"] the word et comes to include the sun, moon, stars and constellations, while [in the case of "earth"] it comes to add trees, plants, and the Garden of Eden.

33. They said to him: It is written (*Lamentations* 2:1), "He threw the beauty of Israel from heaven to earth." From here we see that it fell.

He replied: If you have read, you did not review, and if you reviewed, you did not go over it a third time. What does it resemble? A king had a beautiful crown on his head and a beautiful cloak on his shoulders. When he heard evil tidings, he cast the crown from his head and the

The Bahir

cloak from his shoulders.

34. They asked him: Why is the letter Cheth open? And why is its vowel point a small Patach?

He said: Because all directions (Ruach-ot) are closed, except for the North, which is opened for good and for evil.

They said: How can you say that it is for good? It is not written (*Ezekiel 1:4*), "And behold, a stormy wind coming from the north, a great cloud and burning fire." Fire is nothing other than fierce anger, as it is written (*Leviticus 10:2*), "And fire went out from before God, and it consumed them and killed them."

He said: There is no difficulty. One case is speaking of when Israel does the will of God, while the other is speaking of when they do not do His will. When Israel does not do His will, then the fire comes close [to destroy and punish]. But when they do God's will, then the Attribute of Mercy encompasses and surrounds it, as it is written (*Micah 7:18*), "He lifts up sin and passes over rebellion."

35. What is this like? A king wanted to punish and whip his slaves. One of his governors stood up and asked the reason for this punishment. When the king described the offence, the governor said, "Your slaves never did such a thing. I will be their bondsman until you investigate it more thoroughly." In the meantime, the king's anger was calmed.

36. His students asked: Why is the letter Daleth thick on the side?

He replied: Because of the Segol which is in the small Patach.

It is thus written (*Psalms 24:7*), "The openings (*pitcher*) of the World." There He placed a Patach above and a Segol below. It is for this reason that it is thick.

37. What is the Patach? It is an opening (Petach).

What is meant by an opening? This is the direction of north, which is open to all the world. It is the gate from which good and evil emerge.

And what is good?

He mocked them and said: Did I not tell you that it is a small Patach (opening)?

They said: We have forgotten, teach us again.

He reviewed it and said: What is this like? A king had a throne. Sometimes he carried it on his arm, and sometimes on his head.

They asked why, and he replied: Because it is beautiful and it is a pity to sit on it.

They asked: Where did he place it on his head?

He replied: In the open Mem. It is thus written (*Psalms 85:12*), "Truth sprouts up from the earth, and the righteousness looks down from heaven."

38. Rabbi Amora sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Psalms 87:2*), "God loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob."

"The gates of Zion" are the "openings of the World."

A gate is nothing other than an opening. We thus say, "Open for us the gates of mercy."

God said: I love the "gates of Zion" when they are open. Why? Because they are on the side of evil. But when Israel does good before God and are worthy that good be opened for them, then God loves them -- "more than all the dwellings of Jacob."

["The dwellings of Jacob"] are all peace, as it is written (*Genesis 25:27*), "Jacob was a simple

The Bahir

man, dwelling in tents.

39. This is like two men, one who is inclined to do evil and does good, and the other who is inclined to do good and does evil.

Who is more praiseworthy? The one who is inclined to do evil and does good, for he may do good again.

It is therefore written (Psalm 87:2), "God loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob." These [dwellings] are all peace, as it is written (Genesis 25:27), "Jacob was a simple man, dwelling in tents."

40. His students asked: What is Cholem?

He replied: It is the soul -- and its name is Cholem.

If you listen to it, your body will be vigorous (Chalam) in the Ultimate Future. But if you rebel against it, there will be sickness (Choleh) on your head, and diseases (Cholim) on its head.

41. They also said: Every dream (Chalom) is in the Cholem.

Every white precious stone is in the Cholem. It is thus written [with regard to the High Priest's breastplate] (Exodus 28:19), "[And in the third row...] a white stone (aChLaMah)."

42. He said to them: Come and hear the fine points regarding the vowel points found in the Torah of Moses.

He sat and expounded: Chirek hates evildoers and punishes them. Its side includes jealousy, hatred and competition.

It is thus written (Psalm 37:12), "He gnashes (Chorek) his teeth at them." Do not read chorek (gnashes), but rochek (repels).

Repel (rachek) these traits from yourself, and repel yourself from evil. Good will then certainly attach itself to you.

43. Chirek. Do not read ChiRiK but KeRaCh (Ice). Whatever the Chirek touches becomes ice. It is thus written (*Exodus 34:7*), "and cleanses."

44. What is the indication that Chirek has the connotation of burning?

This is because it is fire that burns all fire. It is thus written (*1 Kings 18:38*), "And God's fire fell, and it consumed the burnt offering, the wood, the stones, the dust, and evaporated the water that was in the trench."

The Bahir

Section III

The Seven Voices and the Sephiroth

45. He (Rabbi Amorai) said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 20:15*), “And all the people saw the voices.” These are the voice regarding which King David spoke.

It is thus written (*Psalms 29:3*), “The voice of God is upon the waters, the God of glory thunders.” [This is the first voice.]

[The second voice is] (*Psalms 29:4*), “The voice of God comes in strength.” Regarding this it is written (*Isaiah 10:13*), “By the *strength* of my hand have I done it.” It is likewise written (*Isaiah 48:13*), “Also *My Hand* has founded the earth.”

[The third voice is] (*Psalms 29:4*), “The voice of God is with majesty.” It is also written (*Psalms 111:3*), “Splendour and majesty are His works, his righteousness stands forever.”

[The fourth voice is] (*Psalms 29:5*), “God’s voice breaks the cedars.” This is the bow that breaks the cypress and cedar trees.

[The fifth voice is] (*Psalms 29:7*), “God’s voice draws out flames of fire.” This is what makes peace between water and fire. It draws out the power of the fire and prevents it from evaporating the water. It also prevents [the water] from extinguishing it.

[The sixth voice is] (*Psalms 29:8*), “God’s voice shakes the desert.” It is thus written (*Psalms 18:51*) “He does kindness to his Messiah, to David and his descendants until eternity” – more than [when Israel was] in the desert.

[The seventh voice is] (*Psalms 29:9*), “God’s voice makes hinds to calf, strips the forests bare, and in His Temple, all say Glory.” It is thus written (*Song of Songs 2:7*) “I bind you with an oath, O daughters of Jerusalem, with the hosts, or with the *hinds* of the field.”

This teaches us that the Torah was given with seven voices. In each of them the Master of the universe revealed Himself to them, and they saw Him. It is thus written, “And all the people saw the voices.”

46. One verse states (*2 Samuel 22:10*), “He bent the heavens and came down, with gloom under His feet.” Another verse says (*Exodus 19:20*) “And God came down on Mount Sinai, to the top of the mountain.”

Still another verse, however, (*Exodus 20:22*) states “From heaven I spoke to you.”

How is this reconciled? His “great fire” was on earth, and this was one voice. The other voices were in heaven.

It is thus written (*Deuteronomy 4:36*), “From the heavens He let you hear His voice, that He might instruct you. And on the earth He showed you His great fire, and His words you heard from the fire.”

Which [fire] was that? It was the “great [fire]” that was on the earth.]

From where did the speech emanate? From this fire, as it is written, “and His words you heard from the fire.”

47. What is the meaning of the verse (*Deuteronomy 4:12*), “You saw no form, only a voice”?

The Bahir

This was explained when Moses said to Israel (*Deuteronomy 4:15*), “You did not see an entire image.” You saw an image, but not an “entire image.”

What is this like? A king stands before his servants wrapped in a white robe. Even though he is far away, they can still hear his voice. This is true even though they cannot see his throat when he speaks. In a similar manner, they saw an image, but not an “entire image”.

It is therefore written, “You saw no form, only a voice.” It is also written (*Deuteronomy 4:12*) “A voice of words you heard.”

48. One verse (*Exodus 20:15*), states, “and all the people saw the voices.” Another verse, however, (*Deuteronomy 4:12*) states, “The voice of words you heard.” How can [the two be reconciled]?

At first they saw the voices. What did they see? The seven voices mentioned by David. But in the end they heard the word that emanated from them all.

But we have learned that there were ten.

Our sages taught that they were all said with a single word.

But we have said that there were seven.

There were seven voices. Regarding three of them it is written (*Deuteronomy 4:12*), “The voice of words you heard, but you saw no form, only a voice.” This teaches us that they were all said with a single word.

This is so that Israel should not make a mistake and say, “Others helped him. It might have been one of the angels. But His voice alone could not be so powerful.” It was for this reason that he came back and included them [in a single word].

49. Another explanation:

It was so that the world should not say that since there were ten sayings for ten kings, it might be that He could not speak for them all through one. He therefore said (*Exodus 20:2*), “I am [the Lord your God],” which included all ten.

What are the ten kings? They are the seven voices and three sayings (*Amarim*).

What are the sayings? [They are the ones alluded to in the verse] (*Deuteronomy 26:18*) “God has said for you today.”

“What are the three? [Two are mentioned in the verse] (*Proverbs 4:7*), “The beginning is Wisdom: acquire Wisdom, with all your acquisition, acquire Understanding.”

It is thus written (*Job 32:8*), “The soul of Shaddai gives them Understanding.” The soul of Shaddai is what gives them Understanding.

What is the third one?

As the old man said to the child, “What is hidden from you, do not seek, and what is concealed from you, do not probe. Where you have authority, seek to understand, but you have nothing to do with mysteries.”

50. We have learned (*Proverbs 25:2*), “The glory of God is to hide a word.”

What is “a word”? That of which it is written (*Psalms 119:160*), “The Beginning of Your word is truth.”

[It is also written] (*Proverbs 25:2*), “The glory of kings is to probe a word.”

What is this “word”? That of which it is written (*Proverbs 25:11*), “A word spoken in its proper place (*Aphen-av*)”, do not read “its proper place” (*Aphen-av*), but “its wheel” (*Ophen'av*).

The Bahir

51. The students asked Rabbi Berachiah, "Let us discuss these words with you," but he would not give them permission. Once, however, he did give them permission, but he did so to test them, to see if they would now pay good attention.

One day he tested them and said, "Let me hear your wisdom."

They began and said:

"In the beginning" is one.

[Two is] (*Isaiah 57:16*), "The spirit that unwraps itself is from Me, and I have made souls."

[Three is] (*Psalms 65:10*), "The divisions of God are filled with water."

What are these "divisions?" You taught us, our master, that God took the waters of creation and separated them, placing half in the skies and half in the ocean. This is the meaning of "the divisions of God are filled with water."

Through them, man studies the Torah.

Rabbi Chama thus taught: Because of the merit of deeds of kindness, a person can study the Torah. It is thus written (*Isaiah 55:1*), "Ho, let all who are thirsty come for water, let him without silver come, stock up and eat." Go to Him, and He will do kindness with you, and you will "stock up and eat."

52. "Let him without silver come" can also be explained in another way. Let him come to God, for He has silver. It is thus written (*Haggai 2:8*), "Mine is the silver, and Mine is the gold."

What is the meaning of the verse, "Mine is the silver, and Mine is the gold"?

What is this like? A king had two treasuries, one of silver, and one of gold. He placed that of silver to his right, and that of gold to his left. He said [of the silver], "This should be ready, and easy to take out."

He keeps his words calm. He is attached to the poor and directs them calmly. It is thus written (*Exodus 15:6*), "Your right hand, O God, is mighty in power."

If he rejoices in his portion, then all is well. If not, then (*Exodus 15:6*), "Your right hand, O God, crumbles the enemy."

He said to them: This is referring to the gold. It is thus written, "Mine is the silver, and Mine is the gold."

53. Why is [gold] called *Zahav*? Because it includes three attributes, [alluded to in its three letters, *Zayin*, *Heh*, *Beth*].

[The first attribute is] Male, (*Zachar*). This is the *Zayin*.

[The second is] the Soul. This is the *Heh*. [The numerical value of *Heh* is five, alluding to] the five names of the soul: *Nephesh*, *Ruach*, *Neshamah*, *Chiah*, *Yechidah*.

What is the purpose the *Heh*? It is a throne for the *Zayin*. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 5:7*), "For one above the other watches."

The *Beth* is its sustenance. It is thus written (*Genesis 1:1*), "In (*Beth*) the beginning [God] created..."

54. What is its function here?

What is this like? A king once had a daughter who was good, pleasant, beautiful and perfect. He married her to a royal prince, and clothed, crowned and bejewelled her, giving her much money.

Is it possible for the king to ever leave his daughter? You will agree that it is not. Is it ever possible for him to be with her constantly? You will also agree that it is not. What can he

The Bahir

then do? He can place a window between the two, and whenever the father needs the daughter, or the daughter needs the father, they can come together through the window. It is thus written (*Psalms 45:14*), “All glorious is the king’s daughter inside, her garment is interwoven with *gold*.”

55. What is the *Beth* at the end? [As it is written] (*Proverbs 24:3*), “With wisdom will the house (*Bayit*) be built.”

The verse does not say “was built”, but “will be built”. In the future God will build and decorate it, thousands of times more than it was.

It is as we have said: Why does the Torah begin with a *Beth*? As it is written (*Proverbs 8:30*), “I was with Him as a craftsman, I was His delight for a day, a day, [frolicking before Him at every time].” These are the two thousand years, which are the “beginning”.

Two? But the scripture says seven, as it is written (*Isaiah 30:26*), “The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold [like the light of the seven days.]” And we said, “Just like the sun was for seven, so the moon was for seven.” [He replied,] “I said thousands.”

56. They said to him: Up until now there are five. What comes next?

He replied: First I will explain gold. What is gold? We learn that it is where justice emanates. If you bend your words to the right or left, you will be punished.

57. What is the meaning of the verse (*Isaiah 30:26*), “The light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, like the light of the seven days.”

The verse does not say “seven days,” but “*the* seven days.” These are the days regarding which it is written (*Exodus 31:17*), “For six days God made [the heaven and the earth].” As you said, God made six beautiful vessels. What are they? “The heaven and the earth.” Are they not seven? Yes, as it is written (*ibid.*) “And on the seventh day, He rested and souled.”

What is the meaning of “souled?” This teaches us that the Sabbath sustains all souls. It is therefore written that it souled.

58. Another explanation:

This teaches us that it is from there that souls fly forth. It is thus written, “and He souled.” This continues for a thousand generations. It is thus written (*Psalms 105:8*), “The word that He commanded until a thousand generations.”

Immediately after this it says, “[the covenant] that He cut with Abraham.”

What is the meaning of “cut”? He cut a covenant between the ten fingers of his hands and the ten toes of his feet.

Abraham was ashamed. God then said to him (*Genesis 17:4*), “And I, behold My covenant is with you,” and with it, “you will be the father of many nations.”

59. Why is heaven called *Shamayim*?

This teaches that God kneaded fire and water, and combined them together. From this He made the “beginning of His word.” It is thus written (*Psalms 119:160*), “The beginning of your word is truth.”

It is therefore called *Shamayim* – *Sham Mayim* (there is water) – *Esh Mayim* (fire water). He said to them: This is the meaning of the verse (*Job 25:2*), “He makes peace in His

The Bahir

heights.” He placed peace and love between them. May He also place peace and love among us.

60. We also say (*Psalms 119:164*), “seven times each day I praised You for Your righteous judgement.”

They asked him, “What are they?”

He replied, “You do not look at it carefully. Be precise and you will find them.”

61. They asked him, “What is the letter *Tzaddi*?”

He said: *Tzaddi* is a *Nun* and a *Yod*. Its mate is also a *Nun* and a *Yod*.

It is thus written (*Proverbs 10:25*), “The righteous (*Tzadik*) is the foundation of the world.”

62. They asked him: What is the meaning of the verse [with regard to Balak and Balaam] (*Numbers 23:14*), “And he took him to the field of the seers.”?

What is the “field of the seers”? As it is written (*Song of Songs 7:12*), “Come my beloved, let us go out to the field.”

Do not read *Sadeh* (the field), but *Sidah* (carriage).

What is this carriage? He said, “The Heart of the Blessed Holy One.”

His heart said to the Blessed Holy One, “Come my beloved, let us go out to the carriage to stroll. It will not constantly sit in one place.”

63. What is his heart?

He said: If so, Ben Zoma is outside, and you are with him.

The heart (*Lev*) [in numerical value] is thirty-two. These are concealed, and with them the world was created.

What these 32?

He said: These are the 32 Paths.

This is like a king who was in the innermost of many chambers. The number of such chambers was 32, and to each one there was a path. Should the king bring everyone to his chamber through these paths? You will agree that he should not. Should he reveal his jewels, his tapestries, his hidden and concealed secrets? You will again agree that he should not. What then does he do? He touches the Daughter, and includes all the paths in her and in her garments.

One who wants to go inside should gaze there.

He married her to a king, and also gave her to him as a gift. Because of his love for her, he sometimes calls her “my sister,” since they are both from one place. Sometimes he calls her his daughter, since she is actually his daughter. And sometimes he calls her “my mother.”

64. Furthermore, if there is no wisdom, then there is no justice.

It is thus written (*1 Kings 5:26*), “And God gave wisdom to Solomon.” He then judged the case [of the two mothers and the infant] correctly, and it is then written (*1 Kings 3:28*), “And all Israel of the judgement that the King had judged, and they feared the king, for they say that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgement.”

65. And what wisdom did God give to Solomon?

Solomon had God’s name. We have thus said that whenever Solomon is mentioned in the *Song of Songs*, it is a holy name, except in one case.

God said to him, “Since your name is like the name of My Glory, I will let you marry my

The Bahir

daughter.”

But she is married!

Let us say that He gave her to him as a gift. It is thus written (*1 Kings 5:26*), “And God gave wisdom to Solomon.”

Here, however, it is not explained. Where then is it explained? When the scripture states (*1 Kings 3:28*), “For they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgement.” We then see that the wisdom that God gave him was such that he could “do judgement.”

What is the meaning of “to do judgement?” As long as a person does judgement, God’s wisdom is inside him. This is what helps him and draws him near. If not, it repels him, and not only that, but it also punishes him. It is thus written (*Leviticus 26:28*), “I will chastise you, also I.”

66. And Rabbi Rahumai said: What is the meaning of the verse (*Leviticus 26:28*), “[I will chastise you,] also I”?

God said, “I will chastise you.”

The Congregation of Israel said, “Do not think that I will seek mercy for you, but I will chastise you. Not only will I render judgement, but I will also chastise you.”

67. What is the meaning of (*Leviticus 26:28*), “[I will chastise you, also I], seven for your sins”?

The Congregation of Israel said: “I will chastise you, also I” – and also those regarding which it is written (*Psalms 119:164*), “Seven each day I praised You.”

They joined her and replied: Also us seven. Even though among us is the one who reverses itself, the one who oversees good and merit, we too will reverse ourselves and chastise.

Why? Because of your sins.

But if you return to Me, then I will return to you. It is thus written (*Malachi 3:7*), “Return to Me, and I will return to you.”

The scripture does not say, “I will bring you back to Me.” Instead it says, “I will return to you” – with you. We will all seek mercy from the King.

What does the King say? [He says] (*Jeremiah 3:22*), “Return you backsliding children, I will heal your backslidings.” [He also says] (*Ezekiel 18:30*), “Return and bring back.”

What is the meaning of the verse, “Return and bring back”? Come back and ask those Seven to return with you. The scripture therefore says, “and bring back” – those regarding which it is written, “seven for your sin.”

68. The disciples asked Rabbi Rahumai: What is the meaning of the verse (*Habakkuk 3:1*), “A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet, for errors.” A prayer? It should be called a praise [since it speaks of God’s greatness].

But whoever turns his heart from worldly affairs and delves in the Works of the Chariot* is accepted before God as if he prayed all day. It is therefore called “a prayer.”

What is the meaning of “for errors”? As it is written [regarding wisdom] (*Proverbs 5:19*), “With its love you shall always err.”

Regarding what is this speaking? The Works of the Chariot, as it is written (*Habbakuk 3:2*)

* i.e “Maaseh Merkavah” or Merkavah Mysticism which Kaplan says was synonymous with the Qabalah at the time the Bahir was first composed.

The Bahir

“O God, I heard a report of You and I feared.”

69. What is the meaning of, “I heard a report of You and I feared, [O God, bring to life Your works in the midst of the years]”?

Why does the verse say “I feared” after “I heard a report of You,” and not after “in the midst of the years”?

But it was “from the report of You” that “I feared.”

What is the “report of You”? It is the place where they listen to reports.

Why does the verse say “I heard” and not “I understood”? [The word “heard” has the connotation of understanding] as we find (*Deuteronomy 38:49*), “A nation whose language you do not hear.”

70. Why did he say “I feared”? Because the ear looks like the letter *Aleph*.

The *Aleph* is the first of all letters. Besides this, the *Aleph* causes all the letters to endure.

The *Aleph* looks like the brain.

When you mention the *Aleph* you open your mouth. The same is true of thought, when you extend your thoughts to the Infinite and Boundless.

From *Aleph* emanate all letters. Do we not see that it is first?

It is thus written (*Micah 2:13*), “God (*YHVH*) is at their head.” We have a rule that every Name that is written *Yod He Vav He* is specific to the Blessed Holy One and is sanctified with holiness.

What is the meaning of “with holiness”? This is the Holy Palace.

Where is the Holy Palace? We would say that it is in thought and in the *Aleph*.

This is the meaning of the verse, “I heard a report of You and I feared.”

71. Habakkuk therefore said: I know that my prayer is accepted with delight. I also delighted when I came to that place where I understood “a report of You and I feared.” Therefore, “Bring to life your works in the midst of the years” – through Your unity.

What is this like? A king who was talented, hidden and concealed went into his house and commanded that no one seek him. One who does seek is therefore afraid, lest the king find out that he has violated the king’s order. [Habakkuk] therefore said, “I feared, O God, bring to life Your works in the midst of the years.”

This is what Habakkuk said: Because Your name is in You, and You is Your name, “bring to life Your works in the midst of the years.” Thus will it be forever.

72. Another explanation of “Bring to life Your works in the midst of years”:

What is this like? A king had a beautiful pearl, and it was the treasure of his kingdom. When he is happy, he embraces it, kisses it, places it on his head, and loves it.

Habakkuk said: Even though Kings are with You, the beloved pearl is in Your world.

Therefore, “Bring to life Your works in the midst of years.”

What is the meaning of “years”? It is written (*Genesis 1:3*), “And God said, ‘Let there be light.’” Light is nothing other than day, as it is written (*Genesis 1:16*), “The great light to rule the day, and the small light to rule the night.”

Years are made from days.

It is thus written, “Bring to life Your works in the midst of years” – in the midst of that pearl that gives rise to years.

The Bahir

73. But it is written (*Isaiah 43:5*), “[Fear not, for I am with you,] I will bring your seed from the east.” The sun rises in the east, and you say that the pearl is day.

[He replied:] I am only speaking with regard to the verse (*Genesis 1:5*) “And it was evening and it was morning, day.” Regarding this it is written (*Genesis 2:4*), “In the day that God made earth and heaven.”

74. And it is written (*Psalms 18:12*), “He made darkness His hiding place round about, His *Succah* the darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies (*Shechakim*).”

He said: Regarding this it is written (*Isaiah 45:8*), “The skies (*Shechakim*) pour down righteousness.”

This righteousness (*Tzadik*) is the Attribute of Judgement for the world. It is thus written (*Deuteronomy 16:20*), “Righteousness, righteousness shall you pursue.”

Immediately after this, it is written, “that you may live and occupy the land.” If you judge yourself, then you will live. If not, then it will judge you, and it will be fulfilled, even against your will.

75. Why does the Torah say “righteousness, righteousness” twice?

He said: Because the scripture continues (*Psalms 18:13*), “At the glow opposite Him.”

The first “righteousness” is literal righteousness (*Tzedek*). This is the Divine Presence [*i.e. Shekinah*]. It is thus written (*Isaiah 1:21*), “Righteousness dwells in it.”

What is the second “righteousness”? This is the righteousness that frightens the righteous. Is this righteousness charity (*Tzadakah*) or not?

He said that it is not.

Why? Because it is written (*Isaiah 59:17*), “He put on righteousness like a coat of mail, and [a helmet of salvation on His head].”

His head is nothing other than Truth. It is thus written (*Psalms 119:160*), “The head of Your word is truth.”

Truth is nothing other than peace. It is thus written [that King Hezekiah said] (*Isaiah 39:8*), “There shall be peace and truth in my days.”

Is it possible for a man to say this? But this is what Hezekiah said: The attribute that You gave to David my ancestor is half of my days, and peace and truth are half of my days. It is for this reason that he mentioned “my days.”

He mentioned both “peace and truth” and “in my days,” since it is all one. It is thus written (*Genesis 1:5*), “And it was evening, and it was morning, one day.”

[The day reconciles morning and evening, and is therefore peace.] Just as the day is peace, so he chose peace. It is therefore written (*2 Kings 20:19*), “Peace and truth shall be in my days.”

This shall be through the attribute that You gave to David. Regarding this, it is written (*Psalms 89:37*), “His throne shall be like the sun before Me.”

76. What is the meaning of the verse (*Habakkuk 3:2*), “In the midst of years make it known”?

He said: I know that You are the holy God, as it is written (*Exodus 15:11*), “Who is like You, mighty in holiness?” Holiness is in You and You are in holiness. Nevertheless, “in the midst of years make it known.”

What is the meaning of “make it known”? [This means] that You should have mercy. It is thus written (*Exodus 2:25*), “And God saw the children of Israel, and God knew.”

The Bahir

What is the meaning of, “and God knew”?

What is this like? A king had a beautiful wife, and had children from her. He loved them and raised them, but they went out to bad ways. He then hated both them and their mother.

The mother went to them and said, “My children! Why do you do this: Why do you make your father hate both you and me?” [She spoke to them in this manner] until they had remorse and did the will of their father.

When the king saw this, he loved them as much as he did in the beginning. He then also remembered their mother. This is the meaning of the verse, “And God saw... and God knew.”

This is also the meaning of the verse, “In the midst of years make it known.”

77. What is the meaning of the verse (*Habakkuk 3:2*) “In anger, you shall remember love (*rachem*)”?

He said: When Your children sin before You and You are angry at them, “remember love.”

What is the meaning of “remember love”? That regarding which it is written (*Psalms 18:2*), “I love (*rachem*) You O God, my strength.”

And You have him this attribute, which is the Divine Presence of Israel. He recalled his son whom he inherited, and whom You gave to him. It is thus written (*I Kings 5:26*), “And God gave wisdom to Solomon.”

And You should remember their father Abraham, as it is written (*Isaiah 41:8*), “The seed of Abraham My friend” – “In the midst of years make it known.”

78. Where do we see that Abraham had a daughter? It is written (*Genesis 24:1*), “And God blessed Abraham with all (*Bakol*).”

It is also written (*Isaiah 43:7*), “All that is called by My name, for My glory I created it, I formed it, also I made it.”

Was this blessing his daughter, or was it not?

Yes, it was his daughter.

What is this like? A king had a slave who was complete and perfect before him. The king tested the slave in many ways, but the slave withstood all temptation.

The King said, “What will I give that slave? What should I do for him? I can do nothing but command my older brother to advise him, watch over him and honour him.” The slave thus went to the older brother and learned his attributes. The brother loved him very much, and called him his friend. It is thus written (*Isaiah 41:8*), “The seed of Abraham My friend.”

He said, “What will I give him? What can I do for him? Behold I have made a beautiful vessel, and in it are beautiful jewels. There is nothing like it in the treasures of kings. I will give it to him, and he will be worthy in his place.”

This is the meaning of the verse, “And God blessed Abraham with all.”

79. Another explanation:

[It is written] (*Habakkuk 3:2*), “I heard a report of You and I feared.” [This means] “I understood what was reported about You and I feared.”

What did he understand? He understood God’s thought. Even [human] thought has no end, for man can think, and descend to the end of the world.

The ear also has no end and is not satiated. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 1:8*), “The ear is not satiated from hearing.”

Why is this so? Because the ear is in the shape of an *Aleph*. *Aleph* is the root of the Ten

The Bahir

Commandments. Therefore “the ear is not satiated from hearing.”

80 What is the meaning of the letter *Zayin* in the word *Ozen* (ear)?

We have said that everything that the Blessed Holy One brought into His world has a name emanating from its concept. It is thus written (*Genesis 2:19*), “All that the man called each living soul, that was its name.” This teaches us that each thing’s body was thus.

And how do we know that each thing’s name is its body?

It is written (*Proverbs 10:7*), “The memory of the righteous shall be a blessing, and the name of the wicked shall rot.” What actually rots, their name or their body? [One must agree that it is their body.] Here too, [each thing’s name refers to] its body.

81 What is an example of this?

Take the word for root – *Shoresh* (*Shin – Resh – Shin*).

The letter *Shin* looks like the roots of a tree.

[*Resh* is bent, since] the root of every tree is bent.

And what is the function of the final *Shin*? This teaches us that if you take a branch and plant it, it will root again.

What is its function of the *Zayin* [in *Ozen* – ear]?

[Its numerical value is seven] corresponding to the seven days of the week. This teaches us that each day has its own power.

And what is its function [in the word *Ozen*]?

This teaches us that just like there is infinite wisdom in the ear, so is there power in all parts of the body.

82 What are the seven parts of man’s body?

It is written (*Genesis 9:6*), “In the form of God, He made man.” It is also written (*Genesis 1:27*), “In the form of God He made him” – counting all his limbs and parts.

But we have said: What does the letter *Vav* resemble? It is alluded to in the verse (*Psalms 104:5*), “He spreads out light like a garment.” For *Vav* is nothing other than the six directions.

He replied: The covenant of circumcision and man’s mate are considered as one.

His two hands then make three, his head and body, five, and his two legs make seven.

Paralleling all these are their powers in heaven. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 7:14*), “Also one opposite the other had God made.”

These are the days [of the week, as it is written] (*Exodus 31:17*), “Because six days God made the heaven and the earth.” The scripture does not say “in six days,” but rather, “six days.” This teaches us that each day [of the week] has its own specific power.

83 What is the significance of the *Nun* [in the word *Ozen*]?

This teaches us that the brain is the main part of the spinal cord. It constantly draws from there, and if not for the spinal cord, the brain could not endure. And without the brain, the body could not endure.

The entire body exists only in order to provide for the needs of the brain. And if the body did not endure, then the brain would also not endure.

The spinal cord is the channel from the brain to the entire body. It is represented by the bent *Nun*.

But [in the word *Ozen*] the *Nun* is a straight one.

The Bahir

The straight *Nun* is the one that is always at the end of a word. This teaches us that the straight *Nun* includes both the bent one and the straight one.

But the bent *Nun* is the Foundation. This teaches us that the straight *Nun* includes both male and female.

84. The open *Mem*. What is the open *Mem*?

It includes both male and female.

What is the closed *Mem*?

It is made like a belly from above.

But Rabbi Rahumai said that the belly is like the letter *Teth*.

He said it is like a *Teth* on the inside, while I say that it is like a *Mem* on the outside.

85 What is a *Mem*?

Do not read *Mem*, but *Mayim* (water). Just like water is wet, so is the belly always wet.

Why does the open *Mem* include both male and female, while the closed *Mem* is male?

This teaches us that the *Mem* is primarily male. The opening was then added to it for the sake of the female.

Just like the male cannot give birth, so the closed *Mem* cannot give birth. And just like the female has an opening with which to give birth, so can the open *Mem* give birth. The *Mem* is therefore open and closed.

86. Why should the *Mem* have two forms, open and closed?

Because we said: Do not read *Mem*, but *Mayim* (Water).

The woman is cold, and therefore, must be warmed by the male.

Why should the *Nun* have two forms, bent and straight?

Because it is written (*Psalm 72:17*), "Before the sun shall his name reign (*ya-Nun*)."[This is] from two *Nuns*, the bent *Nun* and the straight *Nun*, and it must be through male and female.

87. It is written (*Ecclesiastes 1:8*), "The ear is not satiated from hearing." It is also written (*Ecclesiastes 1:8*), "The eye is not satiate from seeing." This teaches us that both draw from thought.

What is thought?

It is a king that is needed by all things that were created in the world, both above and below.

88. What is the meaning of the expression, "It rose in thought"? Why do we not say that "it descended [in thought]"?

Indeed, we have said, "One who gazes into the vision of the Chariot first descends and then ascends."

We use the expression [of descent] there because we say, "One who gazes into the vision (*Tzafayat*) of the Chariot." The Aramaic translation of "vision" (*Tzafiyat*) is *Sechuta* [meaning a covering, and alluding to the fact that one is looking down from above]. It is also written (*Isaiah 21:8*), "And he called as a lion: 'Upon the watchtower (*Mitzpeh*), O God.'" Here, however, we are speaking of thought, [and therefore only speak of ascent]. For thought does not include any vision, and has no ending whatsoever. And anything that has no end or limit does not have any descent.

People therefore say, "Someone descended to the limit of his friend's knowledge." One can

The Bahir

arrive at the limit of a person's knowledge, but not at the limit of his thought.

89. Rabbi Amoraï sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the *Segol*? Its name is *Segulah* (treasure). It comes after the *Zarka*. What is the meaning of *Zarka*?

It is like its name – something that is thrown (*ni Zrak*). It is like something that is thrown, and after it comes (*Ecclesiastes 2:8*), “the treasures of kings and lands.”

90. What is the reason that it is called *Zarka*?

It is written (*Ezekiel 3:12*), “Blessed is the glory of God from His place.” This indicates that no being knows His place. We recite [God's] name of the Crown, and it goes to the head of the Owner. It is thus written [regarding God] (*Genesis 14:19*), “Owner of heaven and earth.” When it goes, it is like it is thrown (*Zarka*). Following it is treasure (*Segulah*). It is at the head of all letters.

91. Why is [this accent] at the end of a word, and not at the beginning?

This teaches us that this Crown rises higher and higher.

It is included and crowned, as it is written (*Psalms 118:22*), “The stone that the builders rejected has become the head cornerstone.” It ascend to the place from which it was graven, as it is written (*Genesis 49:24*), “From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel.”

92. He also said:

What is the reason that we place blue wool in the *Tzitzit*? And why are there 32 [threads]? What is this like? A king had a beautiful garden, and in it were 32 paths. He placed a watchman over them to show that all these paths belong to him alone. [The king] said to him, “Watch them, and walk upon them every day. As long as you walk these paths, you will have peace.”

What did the watchman do? He appointed other watchmen [as his assistants to watch] over them. He said, “If I remain alone on these paths, it is impossible for me, a single watchman, to maintain them all. Besides that, people may say that I am the king.” The watchman therefore placed his assistants over all the paths. These are the 32 paths.

93. What is the reason for the blue?

The watchman said, “Perhaps those assistant watchmen will say that the garden belongs to us.” He therefore gave them a sign, and told them, “See this. It is the sign of the king, indicating that the garden belongs to him. He is the one who made these paths, and they are not mine. This is his deal.”

What is this like? A king and his daughter had slaves, and they wanted to travel abroad. But [the slaves] were afraid, being in terror of the king. He therefore gave them his sign. They were also afraid of the daughter, and she [also] gave them a sign. They said, “From now on, with these two signs, ‘God will watch you from all evil, He will safeguard your soul.’”

94. Rabbi Amoraï sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse (*1 Kings 8:27*), “Behold the heaven and the heaven of heaven cannot contain You”?

This teaches us that the Blessed Holy One has 72 names.

All of them were placed in the Tribes [of Israel]. It is thus written (*Exodus 28:10*), “Six of

The Bahir

their names on one stone, and the names of the other six on the other stone, according to their generations.”

It is also written (*Joshua 4:9*), “He raised up twelve stones.” Just like the first are (*Exodus 28:12*), “stones of memorial,” so these are (*Joshua 4:7*), “stones of memorial.”

[There are therefore] 12 stones [each containing six names] making a total of 72. These parallel the 72 names of the Blessed Holy One.

Why do they begin with twelve? This teaches us that God has twelve Directors. Each of these has six Powers [making a total of 72].

What are they? They are the 72 languages.

95. The Blessed Holy One has a single Tree, and it has twelve diagonal boundaries:

The northeast boundary, the southeast boundary;

The upper east boundary, the lower east boundary;

The southwest boundary, the northwest boundary;

The upper west boundary, the lower west boundary;

The upper south boundary, the lower south boundary;

The upper north boundary, the lower north boundary;

They continually spread forever and ever;

They are the arms of the world.

On the inside of them is the Tree. Paralleling these diagonals there are twelve Functionaries.

Inside the Sphere there are also twelve Functionaries.

Including the diagonals themselves, this makes a total of 36 Functionaries.

Each of these has another. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 5:7*), “For one above another watches.” [This makes a total of 72.]

It therefore comes out that the east has nine, the west has nine, the north has nine, and the south has nine.

These are twelve, twelve, twelve, and they are the Functionaries in the Axis, the Sphere, and the Heart.

Their total is 36. The power of each of these 36 is in every other one.

Even though there are twelve in each of the three, they are all attached to each other.

Therefore, all 36 Powers are in the first one, which is the Axis. And if you seek them in the Sphere, you will find the very same ones. And if you seek them in the Heart, you will again find the very same ones.

Each one therefore has 36. All of them do not have more than 36 forms.

All of them complete the Heart [which has a numerical value of 32]. Four are then left over.

Add 32 to 32 and the sum is 64. These are the 64 Forms.

How do we know that 32 must be added to 32? Because it is written (*Ecclesiastes 5:7*), “For one above another watches, [and there are higher ones above them].”

We thus have 64, eight less than the 72 names of the Blessed Holy One. These are alluded to in the verse, “there are higher ones above them,” and they are the seven days of the week.

But one is still missing. This is referred to in the next verse (*Ecclesiastes 5:8*), “The advantage of the land in everything is the King.”

What is this “advantage”? This is the place from which the earth was graven. It is an advantage over what existed previously.

And what is this advantage? Everything in the world that people see is taken from its radiance. Then it is an advantage.

The Bahir

96. What is the earth from which the heavens were graven?

It is the Throne of the Blessed Holy One. It is the Precious Stone and the Sea of Wisdom. This parallels the blue in the Tzitzit.

Rabbi Meir thus said: Why is blue chosen above all other colours [for the Tzitzit]? Because the blue resembles the sea, the sea resembles the sky,^l and the sky resembles the Throne of Glory. It is thus written (*Exodus 24:10*), “They saw the God of Israel, and under His feet was like a pavement of sapphire, like the essence of heaven in clarity.” It is furthermore written (*Ezekiel 1:26*), “As the likeness of a sapphire stone was the appearance of a Throne.”

97. Rabbi Berachiah sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 25:2*), “And they shall take for Me a lifted offering (*Terumah*)”? It means, “Lift Me up with your prayers.”

And whom? Those whose “hearts make them willing.” These are the ones who are willing to draw themselves away from this world.

Honour him, for it is in him that I rejoice, since he knows My name. From him it is fitting to take My lifted offering, as it is written (*Exodus 25:2*), “from each man whose heart makes him willing, you shall take My lifted offering.” From he who makes himself willing.

Rabbi Rahumai said: [This refers to] the righteous and pious in Israel who raise Me over all the world through their merit. From them the Heart is sustained, and the Heart sustains them.

98. And all the Holy Forms oversee all the nations. But Israel is holy, taking the Tree itself and its Heart.

The Heart is the beauty (*hadar*) of the fruit of the body. Similarly, Israel takes (*Leviticus 23:40*), “the fruit of a beautiful (*hadar*) tree.”

The date palm is surrounded by its branches all around it and has its sprout (*Lulav*) in the centre. Similarly, Israel takes the body of this Tree which is its Heart.

And paralleling the body is the spinal cord, which is the main part of the body.

What is the *Lulav*? [It can be written] *Lo Lev* – “it has a heart.” The heart is also given over to it.

And what is this Heart? It is the 32 Hidden paths of Wisdom that are hidden in it.

In each of their paths there is also a Form watching over it. It is thus written (*Genesis 3:24*), “To watch the way of the Tree of Life.”

99. What are these Forms? They are that regarding which it is written (*Genesis 3:24*), “And He placed the Cherubim to the east of the Garden of Eden, and the flame of a sword revolving, to guard the way of the Tree of Life.”

What is the meaning of, “He placed to the east (*kedem*) of the Garden of Eden”? He placed it in those paths that preceded (*kadmu*) the place that was called the Garden of Eden. It was also before the Cherubim, as it is written, “the Cherubim.” It was furthermore before the flame, as it is written, “the flame of a sword revolving.”

Is it then before [the flame]? Heaven is called *Shamayim*, indicating that fire and water existed before it. It is written (*Genesis 1:6*), “Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it be a division between water and water.” It is then written (*Genesis 1:8*), “And God called the firmament heaven (*Shamayim*).”

How do we know that the heaven is fire? It is written (*Deuteronomy 4:24*), “For the Lord your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God.”

The Bahir

100. And how do we know that “” refers to the Blessed Holy One?

It is written (*1 Kings 8:36*), “And you, O Heaven, shall hear.” Was Solomon then praying to heaven that it should hear their prayers? But [we must say] he was praying to the One whose name is Heaven.

It is thus written (*1 Kings 8:27*), “Behold the heaven and the heaven of heaven cannot contain You.” This is the name of the Blessed Holy One.

You therefore have fire. How can you then say that it was before?

But we must say that their Power existed before the Forms of that place. Only then did these Holy Forms come into existence.

What is their Power? It is that regarding which it is written (*1 Samuel 2:2*), “There is none holy like God, there is none other than You, and there is no Former like our God.”

101. Rabbi Berachiah sat and expounded:

What is the *Lulav* that we discuss? It is the 36 (*Lu*) given over to 32 (*Lav*).

And how?

He replied: There are three Princes, the Axis, the Sphere and the Heart. Each one is twelve, and the three therefore constitute a sum of 36, through which the world is sustained. It is thus written (*Proverbs 10:25*), “And Righteous is the foundation of the world.”

102. We learned: There is a single pillar extending from heaven to earth, and its name is Righteous (*Tzadik*).

[This pillar] is named after the righteous. When there are righteous people in the world, then it becomes strong, and when there are not, it becomes weak.

It supports the entire world, as it is written, “And Righteous is the foundation of the world.” If it becomes weak, then the world cannot endure.

Therefore, even if there is only one righteous person in the world, it is he who supports the world. It is therefore written, “And a righteous one is the foundation of the world.”

You should therefore take My lifted offering from him first. Then (*Exodus 25:3*), “And this is the lifted offering that you should take from them” – from the rest. What is it? “Gold, silver and copper.”

103. Another explanation:

It is written (*Exodus 25:2*), “and they shall take for Me (*Li*) a lifted offering.” [*Li* (for Me) can also be read, “for the *Yod*.”] They shall take the *Yod*, which is the tenth, as a lifted offering to make it holy.

How do we know that the tenth is holy? Because it is written (*Leviticus 27:32*) “The tenth shall be holy to God.”

What is holy? That regarding which it is written (*Ezekiel 44:30*), “The *beginning* of all the first fruits ... and every lifted offering of every thing.”

It is furthermore written (*Psalms 111:10*), “The *beginning* of wisdom is the fear of God.” Do not read “is the fear” but “and the fear.” [The verse will then read, “The beginning is wisdom and the fear of God.”]

104. The disciples asked Rabbi Eliezer: Our master, what is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 13:2*), “Sanctify to Me every first-born”? Does the Blessed Holy One then have a first-born?

He replied: “Sanctify to Me (*Li*) every first-born” refers to nothing other than the second

The Bahir

level of holiness.

It is the name that is given to Israel, as it is written (*Exodus 7:22*), “My son, My first-born, Israel.”

To the extent that we can express it, He was with them [in Egypt] in the time of their oppression. It is therefore written (*Exodus 4:27*), “Send forth My son and he will serve Me.” [Here, only “My son” is mentioned,] and not “My first-born.”

Rabbi Rahumai said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Deuteronomy 22:7*), “You shall surely send away the mother, and the children you shall take for yourself.” Why does it not say, “You shall surely send away the father”?

But the scripture says, “you shall surely send away the mother” in honour of the one who is called the Mother of the World. It is thus written (*Proverbs 2:3*), “For you shall call Understanding a Mother.”

105. What is the meaning of, “and the children you shall take for yourself”?

Rabbi Rahumai said: These are the children that she raised. And who are they? They are the seven days of creation, and the seven days of *Succot*.

Are the seven [days of *Succot*] then not the same as the seven days of the week?

The difference is that [the days of *Succot*] are more holy. Regarding them it is written (*Leviticus 23:37*), “holy convocations.”

But then, why not [also include the seven weeks before] *Shavuot*, since this is also called (*Leviticus 23:21*), “a holy convocation”?

He replied: Yes, but this is the one and the other is two. It is thus written (*Exodus 12:16*), “The first day shall be a holy convocation, and the seventh day shall be a holy convocation.”

He said:

Why is *Shavuot* one [day]?

Because the Torah was given to Israel on that day. And when the Torah was created in the beginning, the Blessed Holy One ruled His world alone with it. It is thus written (*Psalms 111:10*), “The beginning is wisdom, the fear of God.” [God] said [to it], “This being so, your holiness shall be yours by yourself.”

And what is *Succot*?

He replied: the letter *Beth* [which has the connotation of a house (*Bayit*)]. It is thus written (*Proverbs 24:3*), “With wisdom a house is built.”

And how do we know that *Succot* has the connotation of a house? As it is written (*Genesis 33:17*), “And Jacob travelled to Succot. He built himself a house, and for his livestock he built *Succot* (huts). Therefore he named the place Succot.”

106. Rabbi Berachiah sat and expounded:

What is the Axis (*Teli*)?

This is the likeness that is before the Blessed Holy One. It is thus written (*Song of Songs 5:11*), “His locks are curled (*Taltalim*).”

What is the Sphere? This is the Womb.

What is the Heart? It is that regarding which it is written (*Deuteronomy 4:11*), “unto the heart of heaven.” In it are included the 32 mystical paths of Wisdom.

107. What is the meaning of the verse (*Numbers 6:24-26*), “May God (*YHVH*) bless you and watch you. May God (*YHVH*) make His face shine on you and be gracious to you. May God

The Bahir

(YHVH) lift His face to you and give you peace.”

This is the explicit Name of the Blessed Holy One. It is the Name containing twelve letters, as it is written, *YHVH YHVH YHVH*.

This teaches us that God's names consists of three troops. Each troop resembles the other, and each one's name is like [the other's] named. All of them are sealed with *Yod He Vav He*.

And how?

The [four letters] *Yod He Vav He* can be permuted 24 different ways, forming one troop.

This is, “May God (YHVH) bless you...”

In a similar manner, the second one, “May God (YHVH) make His face shine...” These are 24 names of the Blessed Holy One.

In a similar manner, the third one, “May God (YHVH) lift His face...” These are 24 names of the Blessed Holy One.

This teaches us that each army, with its leaders and officers, has 24. Multiply 24 by three and you have the 72 names of the Blessed Holy One.

These are the 72 names derived from the verses (*Exodus 14:19-21*), “And travelled... And came ... And stretched ...”

108. And who are the Officers? We learned that there are three.

Strength (*Geburah*) is the Officer of all the Holy Forms to the left of the Blessed Holy One. He is Gabriel.

The Officer of all the Holy Forms to His right is Michael.

In the middle is Truth. This is Uriel, the Officer of all the Holy Forms [in the centre].

Each Officer is over 24 Forms. But there is no reckoning of his troops, as it is written (*Job 25:3*), “Is there a number to His troops?”

But if so, then there are 72 plus 72 [making a total of 144].

He said: This is not the case. For when Israel brings a sacrifice before their Father in heaven, they are united together. This is the unification of our God.

109. Why is this sacrifice called a *Karban* [which means “bringing close”]?

Because it brings the Forms of the Holy Powers close. It is thus written (*Ezekiel 37:17*), “And you shall join one of them to the other, making one stick, and they shall become one in your hands.”

And why is [the sacrifice] called a “pleasant fragrance”?

Fragrance is only in the nose. The sense of smell is through breath, and this is nowhere but in the nose.

“Pleasant” (*nicho'ach*) means nothing other than “descending.” It is thus written (*Leviticus 9:22*), “And he descended,” and the Targum translates this as *Ve-Nachit* [having the same root as *nicho'ach*].

The fragrance-spirit descends and unifies itself with those Holy Forms, bringing itself close through the sacrifice. It is for this reason that [a sacrifice] is called a *Karban*.

110. There is a name that is derived from the three verses (*Exodus 14:19-21*), “And travelled ... And came ... And stretched...”

The letters of the first verse, “And travelled...” are arranged in this name in the order that they are in the verse.

The letters of the second verse, “And came ...” are arranged in the name in reverse order.

The Bahir

The letters of the third passage, “And stretched...” are arranged in the name in the same order as they occur in the verse, just like the case of the first verse.

Each of these verses has 72 letters.

Therefore, each of the names that is derived from these three sentences, “And travelled... And came... And stretched...” contains three letters.

These are the 72 names. They emanate and divide themselves into three sections, 24 to each section.

Over each of these sections is a higher Officer.

Each section has four directions to watch, east, west, north and south. The four directions then have a total of 24 forms. [This is true of the first section] as well as the second and the third.

All of them are sealed with *YHVH*, God of Israel, the living God, Shaddai, high and exalted, who dwells in eternity on high, whose Name is holy, *YHVH*. Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom forever and ever.

111. Rabbi Ahilai sat and expounded:

What is the meaning of the verse, “God (*YHVH*) is King, God (*YHVH*) was king, God (*YHVH*) will be King forever and ever.”?

This is the Explicit Name (*Shem Ha Mephoresht*), for which permission was given that it be permuted and spoken. It is thus written [regarding the above-mentioned Priestly Blessing] (*Numbers 6:27*), “And they shall place My name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them.”

This refers to the Name containing twelve letters. It is the name used in the Priestly Blessing, “May God bless you...” It contains three names [each having four letters] making a total of twelve.

Its vowel points are *Yapha'al Y'pha'oel Yiph'ol*.

If one safeguards it and mentions it in holiness, then all his prayers are heard. And not only that, but he is loved on high and below, and immediately answered and helped.

This is the Explicit Name that was written on Aaron's forehead.

The Explicit Name containing 72 letters and the Explicit Name containing twelve letters were given over by the Blessed Holy One to [the angel] Mesamariah, who stands before the Curtain. He gave it to Elijah on Mount Carmel, and with them he ascended and did not taste death.

112. These are the Explicit Holy Exalted Names. There are twelve Names, one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel:

Ah-Tzitzah-ron

Aklithah-ron

Shemaqtharon

Demushah-ron

Ve-Tzaphtzaphithron

Hurmyron

Brach Yah-ron

Eresh Gadra-aon

Basavah Monahon

Chazhavayah

Havahayryhah

The Bahir

Ve-Harayth-hon

All of them are included in the Heart of heaven.

They include male and female. They are given over to the Axis, the Sphere and the Heart, and they are the wellsprings of Wisdom.

113. Rabbi Rahumai sat and expounded:

What are the twelve tribes of Israel?

But this teaches us that the Blessed Holy One has twelve rods [on high. The word *Shevet* is the same for both “tribe” and “rod.”]

What are they?

What is this like? A king had a beautiful fountain. All his brothers have no water other than this fountain, and could not endure thirst. What did he do? He made twelve pipes for the fountain, and named them after his brothers' children.

He then said to them, “If the sons are as good as their fathers, they will be worthy, and I will let water flow through the pipes. The fathers will then drink all they wish, and so will the sons. But if the sons are not worthy and do not do what is right in my eyes, then regarding this, these pipes will stand. I will give them water only on the condition that they give none to their children, since they do not obey my will.”

114. What is the meaning of the word *Shevet* [which has the connotation of both a tribe and a rod]?

It is something simple and not square.

What is the reason?

Because it is impossible to have one square inside another square. A circle inside a square can move. A square inside a square cannot move.

115. What are the things that are circular?

They are the vowel points in the Torah of Moses, for these are all round. They are to the letters like the soul, which lives in the body of man.

It is impossible for [man] to come [into this world] unless [the soul] endures within him. It is impossible for him to speak anything, great or small, without it.

In a similar manner, it is impossible to speak a word, great or small, without the vowel points.

116. Every vowel point is round, and every letter is square.

The vowel points are the life of the letters, and through them, the letters endure.

These vowel points come through the pipes to the letters through the fragrance of a sacrifice, which immediately descends. It is therefore called “A descending (pleasant) fragrance to God” – indicating that it descends to God.

This is the meaning of the verse (*Deuteronomy 6:4*), “Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.”

117. Rabbi Yochanan said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 15:3*), “God is a man (*Ish*) of war, God (*YHVH*) is His name”?

Man (*Ish*) indicates a sign. The Targum thus renders, “God is a man of war,” as “God is the Master of victory in war.”

The Bahir

What is this Master?

Aleph is the first, the Holy Palace.

Do we then say that the Palace is holy? Instead we say, “the Palace of the Holy One.”

118. *Yod* is the Ten Sayings with which the world was created.

What are they? They are the Torah of Truth, which includes all worlds.

What is the *Shin*?

He said: It is the root of the tree. The letter *Shin* is like the root of a tree.

119. What is this tree that you mentioned?

He said: It represents the Powers of the Blessed Holy One, one above the other.

Just like a tree brings forth fruit through water, so the Blessed Holy One increases the Powers of the Tree through water.

What is the water of the Blessed Holy One?

It is wisdom. It is the souls of the righteous. They fly from the fountain to the great pip, ascend and attach themselves to the Tree.

Through what do they fly?

Through Israel. Why they are good and righteous, the Divine Presence dwells among them.

Their deeds then rest in the bosom of the Blessed Holy One, and He makes them fruitful and multiplies them.

120. How do we know that the Divine Presence is called *Tzedek* (Righteous)? It is written (*Deuteronomy 33:26*), “He who rides in the heavens is your help, and His majesty is in the skies (*Shechakim*).” It is also written (*Isaiah 45:8*), “The skies (*Shechakim*) run with Righteousness (*Tzedek*).”

Tzedek is the Divine Presence, as it is written (*Isaiah 1:21*), “Righteousness (*Tzedek*) dwells in it.”

Righteousness was given to David, as it is written, (*Psalms 146:10*), “May God reign forever, your God O Zion, for generation to generation.” It is also written (*1 Chronicles 11:1*), “Zion is the city of David.”

121. What is the meaning of “generation to generation”?

Rabbi Papias said: “A generation goes and a generation comes (*Ecclesiastes 1:4*).”

Rabbi Akiba said: “The generation came” – it already came.

122. What is this like? A king had slaves, and he dressed them with garments of silk and satin according to his ability. The relationship broke down, and he cast them out, repelled them, and took his garments away from them. They then went on their own way.

The king took the garments, and washed them well until there was not a single spot on them. He placed them with his storekeepers, bought other slaves, and dressed them with the same garments. He did not know whether or not the slaves were good, but they were [at least] worthy of garments that he already had and which had been previously worn.

[The verse continues] (*Ecclesiastes 1:4*), “But the earth stands forever.” This is the same as (*Ecclesiastes 12:6*), “The dust returns to the earth as it was, but the spirit returns to God who gave it.”

The Bahir

Section IV

The Ten Sephiroth

123. Rabbi Amoraï said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Leviticus 9:22*), “And Aaron raised up his hands to bless the people, and he blessed them and he descended [from making the sin offering, the burnt offering, and the peace offerings].”?

Did he not already descend? But he descended “from making the sin offering, the burnt offering, and the peace offerings,” and then “Aaron raised up his hands to bless the people.” What is the meaning of this raising [of hands]?

It was because he had offered a sacrifice and brought them before their Father in heaven, as we have said. Those who offer sacrifice must elevate them, [and those who] unify them [must] unify them among these.

And; what are they? The people, as it is written “to the people.” [This means] “for the sake of the people.”

124. Why are the hands lifted when they are blessed in this manner?

It is because the hands have ten fingers, alluding to the Ten *Sephiroth* with which heaven and earth were sealed.

These parallel the Ten Commandments.

In these Ten are included the 613 Commandments. If you count the letters in the Ten Commandments, you will find that there are 613 letters.

They contain all 22 letters except *Teth*, which is missing in them.

What is the reason for this? This teaches us that *Teth* is the belly – and is not included among the *Sephiroth*.

125. Why are they called *Sephiroth*?

Because it is written (*Psalms 19:2*), “The heavens declare (*me-Saprim*) the glory of God.”

126. And what are they?

They are three. Among them are three troops and three dominions.

The first dominion is light. Light is the life of water.

The second dominion includes the *Chaioth Ha-Qadesh*, the *Ophanim*, the wheels of the Chariot, and all the troops of the Blessed Holy One. The bless, exalt, glorify, praise and sanctify the might King with the *Kedushah*. Arranged in the mystery of the great *Kedushah* is the fearsome and terrible King. And they crown Him with three “holies.”

127. Why are there three “holies” and not four?

Because the holiness on high is three by three. It is thus written, “God is King, God was King, God will be King forever and ever.”

It is also written (*Numbers 6:24-26*), “May God bless you... May God shine upon you... May God lift...”

The Bahir

It is furthermore written (*Exodus 34:6*), “God (*YHVH*), God (*YHVH*).” The third one includes the rest of God’s Attributes.

What are they? [As the verse continues], “God, merciful and gracious” – the thirteen Attributes [of Mercy].

128. [The *Kedushah* is the verse (*Isaiah 6:3*), “Holy holy holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with His Glory.”]

What is the meaning of “holy holy holy”? [And why is it] followed by, “the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with His glory”?

The [first] “holy” is the highest Crown.

The [second] “holy” is the root of the Tree.

The [third] “holy” is attached and unified in them all.

[This is followed by], “the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is filled with His glory.”

129. What is the “holy” that is attached and unified?

What is this like? A king had sons, who in turn also had sons. When the [grand]sons do his will, he mingles with them, supports them, and satisfies them all. He gives [his sons] everything good, so that they should be able to satisfy their children. But when the [grand]children do not do his will, then he only gives the fathers as much as they need.

130. What is the meaning of, “the whole earth is filled with His glory”?

This is the earth that was created on the first day. It is on high, filled with God’s glory and paralleling the Land of Israel.

And what is [this glory]? It is Wisdom, as it is written (*Proverbs 3:35*), “The wise shall inherit glory.”

131. What is “God’s glory”?

What is this like? A king had a matron in his chamber, and all his troops delighted in her. She had sons, and each day they came to see the king and to bless him.

They asked him, “Where is our mother?” He replied, “You cannot see her now.” They said, “Let her be blessed wherever she is.”

132. What is the meaning of “from His place”? This indicates that none know his place.

This is like a royal princess who came from a far place. People did not know her origin, but they saw that she was a woman of valour, beautiful and refined in all her ways. They said, “She certainly originates from the side of light, for she illuminates the world through her deeds.”

They asked her, “From where are you?” She replied, “From my place.” They said, “If so, the people of your place are great. May you be blessed, and may your place be blessed.”

133. Is this “glory of God” then not one of His hosts? Is it not inferior? Why then do they bless it?

But what is this like? A man had a beautiful garden. Outside the garden but close to it, he had a nice section of field. On this section, he planted a beautiful flower garden.

The first thing that he would water would be his garden. The water would spread over the entire garden. It would not reach the section of field however, since it was not attached, even though it was all one. He therefore opened a place for it and watered it separately.

The Bahir

134. Rabbi Rahumai said:

Glory (*Kavod*) and Heart (*Lev*) both have the same [numerical value, namely 32]. They are both one, but Glory refers to its function on high, and Heart refers to its function below.

“God’s glory” and the heart of heaven” are therefore both identical.

135. Rabbi Yochanan said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 17:11*), “And it was when Moses would raise his hands, Israel would prevail, and when he would lower his hands, Amalek would prevail.”? This teaches us that the whole world endures because of the Lifting of Hands.

Why?

Because the name of the power given to Jacob is Israel.

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were each given a particular Power. The counterpart of the attribute in which each one walked was given to him.

Abraham did deeds of kindness. He prepared food for everyone in his area and for all wayfarers. He acted kindly and went out to greet them, as it is written (*Genesis 18:2*), “and he ran to greet them.” Not only that, but (*Genesis 18:2*), “He bowed to the earth.” This was a complete act of kindness.

God therefore granted him the same measure and gave him the attribute of Kindness (*Chesed*). It is thus written (*Micah 7:20*), “You give truth to Jacob, Kindness to Abraham, as You swore to our fathers from days of yore.”

What is the meaning of “from days of yore”? This teaches us that if Abraham did not do deeds of kindness, then he would not have been worthy of the attribute of Truth. Jacob would then not have been worthy of the attribute of Truth.

In the merit through which Abraham was worthy of the attribute of Kindness, Isaac became worthy of the attribute of Terror. It is thus written (*Genesis 31:53*), “And Jacob swore by the Terror of his father Isaac.”

Does anyone then swear in this manner, mentioning his belief in the Terror of his father?

But up until that time, Jacob had not been given any power. He therefore swore by the power that was given to his father. It is for this reason that it is written, “And Jacob swore by the Terror of his father Isaac.”

What is it?

It is Chaos. It emanates from evil and astounds people.

And what is that? It is that regarding which it is written (*I Kings 18:38*), “And fire came down and it consumed the burnt offering, and the stones, and the earth, and it evaporated the water that was in the trench.” It is also written (*Deuteronomy 4:24*), “The Lord your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God.”

136. What is Kindness?

It is the Torah, as it is written (*Isaiah 55:1*), “Ho, let all who are thirsty come for water, let he without silver come, [stock up and eat – come, stock up wine and milk, without silver and without payment].”

[Kindness is therefore] silver. It is thus written, “come, stock up and eat – come, stock up wine and milk, without silver and without payment.” He fed you Torah and taught you, for you have already earned it through the merit of Abraham, who did deeds of kindness.

Without silver, he would feed others, and without payment, he would give them wine and milk.

The Bahir

137. Why wine and milk? What does one have to do with the other?

But this teaches us that wine is Terror and milk is Kindness.

Why is wine mentioned first? Because it is closer to us.

Do you then think that this refers to actual wine and milk? We must say that it is the Form of wine and milk.

Through the merit of Abraham, who was worthy of the attribute of Kindness, Isaac was worthy of the attribute of Terror. And because Isaac was worthy of the attribute of Terror, Jacob was worthy of the attribute of Truth, which is the attribute of Peace.

God bestowed him according to his measure. It is thus written (*Genesis 25:27*) "Jacob was a complete man, dwelling in tents." The word "complete" means nothing other than peace. It is thus written (*Deuteronomy 18:13*), "You shall be complete with the Lord your God," and the Targum renders this, "You shall be at peace (*sh'lim*)."

The word "complete" refers to nothing other than the Torah. It is thus written (*Malachi 2:6*), "A Torah of truth was in his mouth." What is written in the very next phrase? It sates, "With peace and uprightness, he walked before Me." "Uprightness" is nothing other than peace, as it is written (*Psalms 25:21*), "Complete and upright."

It is therefore written (*Exodus 17:11*), "And it was when Moses would raise his hands, Israel would prevail. This teaches us that the Attribute that is called Israel has in it a "Torah of Truth."

138. What is the meaning of "a Torah of Truth?"

It is that which teaches (*Moreh*) the Truth of [all] worlds, as well as His deeds in thought.

He erected Ten Sayings, and with them the world stands. It is one of them.

In man He created ten fingers, paralleling these Ten Sayings.

Moses raised his hands and concentrated to some degree on the Attribute that is called Israel, which contains the Torah of Truth. With his ten fingers, he alluded that he was upholding the Ten. For if [God] would not help Israel, then the Ten Sayings would not endure every day. It was for this reason that "Israel prevailed."

[The verse continues], "And when he lowered his hands, Amalek prevailed." Would Moses then do anything that would cause Amalek to prevail? But [this teaches us] that it is forbidden for a person to stand for [more than] three hours with his hands spread out to heaven.

139. His disciples asked: To whom are the hands raised?

He replied: To the heights of heaven. How do we know this? It is written (*Habbakkuk 3:10*), "The deep gives forth its voice, it lifts up its hands on high." This teaches us that the Lifting of Hands is only to the heights of the heaven.

When among Israel there are people who are wise and know the mystery of the Glorious Name, and they lift up their hands, they are immediately answered.

It is thus written (*Isaiah 58:9*), "Then (*Az*) you will call and God will answer." If you call God "then" (*Az*), He will answer you immediately.

140. What is the meaning of "then" [- *Az* – spelled *Aleph Zayin*]?

This teaches us that it is not permissible to call *Aleph* alone. [It can] only [be called] through the two letters that are attached to it, which sit first in the kingdom.

Together with the *Aleph*, they are then three. Seven of the Ten Sayings then remain, and this

The Bahir

is the *Zayin* [which has the numerical value of seven].

It is also written (*Exodus 15:1*), “Then (*Az*) sang Moses and the children of Israel.”

141. What are the Ten Sayings?

The first is the Highest Crown. Blessed and praised be it name and its people.

Who are its people?

They are Israel. It is thus written (*Psalms 100:3*), “Know that the Lord is God, He made us, and not (*Lo*) we, His people.” [Lo is spelled *Lamed Aleph* and can be read, “to *Aleph*”.] The verse then reads, “to *Aleph* are we.”

[It is our duty] to recognise and know the Unity of Unities, who is unified in all His names.

142. The second one is Wisdom .

It is thus written (*Proverbs 8:22*), “God procured me, the beginning of His way, before his works, from then (*Az*).” A “beginning” is nothing other than Wisdom, as it is written (*Psalms 111:10*), “The beginning is wisdom, the fear of God.”

143. The third one is the quarry of the Torah, the treasury of Wisdom, the quarry of the “spirit of God”.

This teaches us that God carved out all the letters of the Torah, engraved it with spirit, and with it made all Forms. This is the meaning of the verse (*1 Samuel 2:2*), “There is no Rock (*Tzur*) like our God” – there is no Former (*Tzayir*) like our God.

144. These are three. What is the fourth?

The fourth is (*Deuteronomy 33:21*), “the charity of God,” His merit and his Kindness (*Chesed*) to all the world.

This is the Right Hand of the Blessed Holy One.

145. What is the fifth?

The fifth is the great fire of the Blessed Holy One> Regarding this it is written (*Deuteronomy 18:16*), “Let me see the great fire no more, lest I die.”

This is the Left Hand of the Blessed Holy One.

What are they? They are the *Chaioth ha-Qadesh* and the holy *Seraphim*, to their right and their left. They are the “pleasant ones” which ascend higher and higher, as it is written (*Ecclesiastes 5:7*), “And ones higher than they.”

It is also written (*Ezekiel 1:18*), “And as for their height, they had height, and they had fear, and their height was filled with eyes, around the four.” And around Him are angels. Those around them also bow down before them, kneeling and declaring, “The Lord He is God, the Lord He is God.”

146. The sixth one is the Throne of Glory, crowned, included, praised and hailed.

It is the house of the World to Come, and its place is in Wisdom . It is thus written (*Genesis 1:3*), “And God said, ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light.”

147. And Rabbi Yochanan said:

There were two [types of] light, as it is written, “[let there be light,] and there was light.” Regarding both of them it is written (*Genesis 1:4*), “[And God saw the light] that it was good.”

The Bahir

The Blessed Holy One took one [of these types of light] and stored it away for the righteous in the World to Come. Regarding this it is written (*Psalms 31:20*), “How great is the *good* that You have hidden away for those who fear You, that You have accomplished for those who find shelter in You...”

We learn that no creature could look at the first light. It is thus written (*Genesis 1:4*), “And God saw the light that it was good.”

It is furthermore written (*Genesis 1:21*) “And God saw all that He made, and behold, it was very good.” God saw all that He had made and saw shining, brilliant good.

He took of that good, and included in it the 32 paths of Wisdom, giving to this world. This is the meaning of the verse (*Proverbs 4:2*), “I have given you a doctrine of *good*, My Torah, do not abandon it.” We say that this is the treasury of the Oral Torah.

The Blessed Holy One said, “This Attribute is considered to be included in this world, and it is the Oral Torah. If you keep this Attribute in this world, then you will be worthy of the World to Come, which is the good stored away for the righteous.”

What is it?

It is the force of the Blessed Holy One. It is thus written (*Habakkuk 3:4*), “And the glow will be like light, [He has rays from His hand, and His hidden force is there].” The glow that was taken from the first Light will be like [our visible] light if His children keep the “Torah and Commandment that I wrote to teach them.” It is thus written (*Proverbs 1:8*), “Hear my son, the admonition of your father, and do not abandon the Torah of your mother.”

148. And it is written (*Habakkuk 3:4*), “He has rays from His hand, and His hidden force is there.”

What is “His hidden force”?

This is the light that was stored away and hidden, as it is written (*Psalms 31:20*), “[How great is the good] that You have hidden away for those who fear You, [that You have accomplished for those who find shelter in You].”

What remains for us in that which “You have accomplished for those who find shelter in You.” These are the ones who find shelter in Your shadow in this world, who keep Your Torah, observe Your Commandments, and sanctify Your name, unifying it secretly and publicly. The verse thus concludes, “in the sight of the sons of man.”

149. Rabbi Rahumai said:

This teaches us that Israel had light. Torah is light, as it is written (*Proverbs 6:23*), “For a commandment is a lamp, Torah is light, [and the way of life is the rebuke of admonition].” And we say that a lamp is a commandment, illumination (*Orah*) Oral Torah, and light (*Or*) is the written Torah. [How can we then say that the Oral Torah is light (*Or*)?]

Because this light has already been kept, it is called light.

What is this like? A room was hidden at the end of a house. Even though it is day, and there is bright light in the world, one cannot see in this room unless he brings along a lamp.

The same is true of the Oral Torah. Even though it is a light, it needs the written Torah to answer its questions and explain its mysteries.

150. Rabbi Rahumai said:

What is the meaning of the verse (*Proverbs 6:23*), “And the way of life is the rebuke of admonition”?

This teaches us that when a person accustoms himself to study the Mystery of Creation and

The Bahir

the Mystery of the Chariot, it is impossible that he not stumble. It is therefore written (*Isaiah 3:6*), "Let this stumbling be under your hand." This refers to things that a person cannot understand unless they cause him to stumble.

The Torah calls it "the rebuke of admonition," but actually it makes one worthy of "the way of life." One who wishes to be worthy of "the way of life" must therefore endure "the rebuke of admonition."

151. Another explanation:

"Life" is the Torah, as it is written (*Deuteronomy 30:19*), "And you shall choose life." It is furthermore written (*Deuteronomy 30:20*), "For it is your life and your length of days."

If one wants to be worthy of it, he should reject physical pleasure and accept the yoke of the commandments. If he is afflicted with suffering, he should accept it with love. He should not ask, "Since I am fulfilling the will of my Maker and am studying the Torah each day, why am I afflicted with suffering?" Rather, he should accept it with love.

Then he will be completely worthy of the "way of life."

For who knows the ways of the Blessed Holy One? Regarding all things, one must therefore say, "Righteous are You, O God, and Your judgement is fair. All that is done from heaven is for the good."

152. You said [that the sixth one was] His Throne. Have we then not said that it is the Crown of the Blessed Holy One? We have said, "Israel was crowned with three crowns, the crown of priesthood, the crown of royalty, and the crown of Torah above them all."

What is this like? A king has a pleasing, beautiful vessel and he was very fond of it.

Sometimes he placed it on his head – this is the *Tefillin* worn on the head. At other times he carried it on his arm – in the knot of the *Tefillin* worn on the arm. Sometimes he lend it to his son so that it should remain with him.

Sometimes it is called His Throne. This is because He carries it as an amulet on His arm, just like a throne.

153. What is the seventh? It is the heaven [called] *Aravot*.

And why is it called heaven (*Shamayim*)? Because it is round like a head.

We learn that it is in the centre, with water at its right and fire at its left. It supports water (*Sa Mayim*) from fire and water, and brings peace between them.

Fire comes and finds the attribute of fire on its side. Water comes and finds the attribute of water on its side. It is therefore written (*Job 25:2*), "He makes peace in His high places."

154. Is it then the seventh? Is it nothing more than the sixth.

But this teaches us that the Holy Palace is here, and it supports them all. It is thus counted as two. It is therefore the seventh.

And what is it?

It is Thought that does not have any end or boundary. This place likewise does not have any end or boundary.

155. The seventh one is the east of the world. It is from where the Seed of Israel comes.

The spinal cord originates in man's brain and extends to the [sexual] organ, where the seed is. It is therefore written (*Isaiah 43:5*), "From the east I will bring your seed, [and from the west I will gather you]."

The Bahir

When Israel is good, then this is the place from which I will bring your seed, and new seed will be granted to you. But when Israel is wicked, [then I will bring] seed that has already been in the world. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 1:4*), “A generation goes and a generation comes,” teaching us that it has already come.

156. What is the meaning of the verse (*Isaiah 43:5*), “And from the west I will gather you”? [This means that “I will gather you”] from the attribute that always points to the west. Why is [west] called *MaAReV*? Because it is there that all seed is mixed together (*MitAReV*). What is this like? A king’s son had a beautiful bride and he hid her in his chamber. He took riches from his father’s house and constantly brought it to her. She in turn took everything, constantly put it away, and mixed it all together. Ultimately he seeks to see what he had gathered and accumulated. It is therefore written, “And from the west I will gather you.” And what is his father’s house? It is that regarding which it is written, “From the east I will bring your seed.” This teaches us that it is brought from the east and sowed on the west. He then gathers what he has sowed.

157. What is the eighth one? The Blessed Holy One has a single Righteous One (*Tzadik*) in His world, and it is dear to Him because it supports all the world. It is the Foundation (*Yesod*). This is what sustains it, and makes it grow, increasing and watching it. It is beloved and dear on high, and beloved and dear below; fearsome and mighty on high, and fearsome and mighty below; rectified and accepted on high, and rectified and accepted below. It is the Foundation of all souls. Did you then say that it is the eighth? And do you say that it is the Foundation of all souls? Is it then not written (*Exodus 31:17*), “And on the seventh day He rested and souled”? Yes, it is the seventh. This is because it decides between them. There are six, and three are below and three above, and it decides between them.

158. Why is it called the seventh? Is it then the seventh? It is not. But it is because the Blessed Holy One rested on the Sabbath with the attribute regarding which it is written (*Exodus 31:17*), “For six days God made the heaven and the earth, and on the seventh day He rested and souled.” This teaches us that each day has a Saying that is its Master. This is not because it was created on that day, but because that is when it does the task to which it was assigned. Each one does its task and maintains its activities. The seventh day therefore comes and does its task, making them all rejoice. Not only that, but it also causes their souls to grow, as it is written, “on the seventh day He rested and souled.”

159. What is this “rest”? It is the absence of work. It is a cessation which is called *Shabbat* (meaning rest). What is this like? A king had seven gardens, and the middle one contained a fountain, welling up from a living source. Three [of his gardens] are at its right, and three are at its left. When it performed its function and overflowed, they all rejoiced, saying, “It overflowed for our sake.” It waters them and makes them grow, while they wait and rest. Do we then say that it waters the seven? But it is written (*Isaiah 43:5*), “From the east I will

The Bahir

bring your seed.” This indicates that one of [the seven] waters it.
We must therefore say that it waters the Heart, and the Heart then waters them all.

160. Rabbi Berachiah sat and expounded:

Each day we speak of the World to Come. Do we then understand what we are saying?
In Aramaic, the “World to Come” is translated “the world that came.”
And what is the meaning of “the world that came”?

We learned that before the world was created, it arose in thought to create an intense light to illuminate it. He created an intense light over which no created thing could have authority. The Blessed Holy One saw, however, that the world could not endure [this light]. He therefore took a seventh of it and left it in its place for them. Thee rest He put away for the righteous in the Ultimate Future.

He said, “If they are worthy of this seventh and keep it, I will give them [the rest] in the Final World.”

It is therefore called “the world that came,” since it already came [into existence] from the six days of creation. Regarding this it is written (*Psalm 31:20*), “How great is Your good that You have hidden away for those who fear You.”

161. What is the meaning of the verse (*Exodus 15:27*), “And they came to Elim, where there were twelve wells of water and seventy date palms, and they encamped there by the water”? What is so special about seventy date palms? In one small place there can be a thousand. But [this teaches us that] they were worthy of their counterpart. They are likened to date palms.

It is written (*Exodus 15:23*), “And they came to Marah, and they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter (*marah*).” This teaches us that the north wind confused them. It is thus written (*Exodus 15:25*), “And he cried out to God, and He showed him a tree. He cast it into the waters, and the waters became sweet.”

God immediately placed His hand against the Satan and diminished him. It is thus written (*Exodus 15:25*), “There He gave them a decree and a law, and there He proved them.”

This teaches us that at this time, the Satan attached himself to them in order to blot them out from the world. It is thus written (*Exodus 15:24*), “And the people complained to Moses saying, ‘What shall we drink?’” [The Satan] continued to denounce Moses until he cried out to God and was answered.

What is the meaning of the verse, “And He showed him a tree”? This teaches us that the Tree of Life was near the water. The Satan came and removed it in order to denounce Israel and cause them to sin against their Father in heaven.

[The Satan] said to them, “Are you now then going into the desert? Even now [you have nothing] other than bitter water, but this has some benefit, since you can make some use of it. But when you enter the desert, you will not even find [water] with which to wash your hands and face. You will die from hunger and thirst, naked and having nothing.”

The people came to Moses and repeated these words, but he put them off. When [the Satan] saw that he could not overcome them, he strengthened himself [to overcome] Israel and Moses.

The people came, and “they complained to Moses.” They said, “Even here we lack water. What will we drink in the desert?”

The Satan had falsified the situation in order to cause the people to sin. As soon as Moses saw the Satan, “He cried out to God, and He showed him a tree.” This is the Tree of Life

The Bahir

that Satan had removed. He then “cast it into the water, and the water became sweet.” The Blessed Holy One then gave the Satan a “decree and a law,” and it was there that He “proved” Israel. The Blessed Holy One warned Israel saying (*Exodus 15:26*), “If you listen to the voice of the Lord your God, [and do what is upright in His eyes, give ear to His commandments, and keep all His decrees, then all the sickness that I brought upon the Egyptians, I will not bring upon you, for I am God who heals you].”

162. What is this like? A king had a beautiful daughter, and others desired her. The king knew about it, but could not fight those who wanted to bring his daughter to evil ways. He came to his house and warned her, saying, “My daughter, do not pay attention to the words of these enemies and they will not be able to overcome you. Do not leave the house, but do all your work at home. Do not sit idle, even for a single moment. Then they will not be able to see you and harm you.”

They have one Attribute which causes them to leave aside every good way and choose every evil way. When they see a person directing himself along a good way, they hate him.

What is [this Attribute]? It is the Satan.

This teaches us that the Blessed Holy One has an Attribute whose name is Evil. It is to the north of the Blessed Holy One, as it is written (*Jeremiah 1:14*), “From the north will Evil come forth, upon all the inhabitants of the earth.” Any evil that comes to all the inhabitants of the earth comes from the north.

163. What is this One Attribute?

It is the Form of a Hand.

It has many messengers, and the name of them all is Evil Evil. Some of them are great, and some are small, but they all bring guilt to the world.

This is because Chaos is toward the north. Chaos (*Tohu*) is nothing other than Evil. It confounds (*Taha*) the world and causes people to sin.

Every Evil Urge (*Yetzer HaRa*) that exists in man comes from there.

And why is it placed to the left? This is because it does not have any authority any place in the world except in the north.

It is not accustomed to be anywhere except in the north. It does not want to be any place but in the north. If it remained the south until it learned the routes of the south, how could it lead others astray? It would have to stay there for [several] days until it learned, and then it could not cause people to sin. It therefore is always in the north, to the left.

This is the meaning of the verse (*Genesis 8:21*), “For the Urge of man’s heart is evil from his youth.” It is evil from his youth, and it does not incline [in any direction] other than the left, for it is already accustomed to be there.

It is regarding this that the Blessed Holy One said to Israel (*Exodus 15:26*), “If you listen to the voice of the Lord your God, and do what is upright in His eyes, and give ear to His commandments” – and not to the commandments of the Evil Urge – “and keep all His decrees” – and not the decrees of the Evil Urge – “[then all the sickness that I brought upon the Egyptians, I will not bring upon you,] for I am God who heals you.”

164. What does the Evil Urge gain?

What is this like? A king appointed clerks over the lands of his kingdom, over his work and over his merchandise. Each and every thing had its clerk. There was one clerk in charge of the storehouse containing good food. Another was in charge of the storehouse containing

The Bahir

stones. Everyone came to the storehouse containing good food. The clerk in charge of the storehouse of stones came and saw that people were only buying from the other [clerk]. What did he do? He sent his messengers to tear down the weak house [so that people would need stones to rebuild them]. They could not do so, however, to the strong ones. He said, "In the time that it takes to tear down one strong [house], you can tear down ten weak ones. People will then all come and buy stones from me, and I will not be inferior to the other." It is thus written (*Jeremiah 1:14*), "From the north will evil come forth, upon all the inhabitants of the earth." The verse then continues (*Jeremiah 1:15*) "For I call all the families of the kingdom of the north – says God – and they will come, and each one will place his throne at the opening of the gates of Jerusalem..." Evil will be their business, and the Evil Urge will also constantly strive.

The word *Satan* means "turning aside," since he turns all the world aside to the balance of guilt.

How is this indicated? It is written (*Genesis 38:16*), "And he turned aside to her," and the Targum renders this *VeSata*, [*Satah* being the root of Satan]. It is likewise written (*Proverbs 4:15*), "Turn aside (*S'the*) from it and pass on."

165. What is the significance of the seventy date palms?

They had accepted upon themselves the commandments, as it is written (*Exodus 15:26*), "If you listen to the voice of the Lord your God." Immediately after this we find (*Exodus 15:27*) "And they came to Elim (*Elimah*) [where there were twelve wells of water and seventy date palms]."

What is the meaning of *Elimah*? It is *Eli Mah* – "to me is what."

"Where there were twelve wells of water." At first God gave it to them as wells, and in the end, he gave it back to them as stones. It is thus written [regarding the stones set up near the Jordan] (*Joshua 4:9*), "twelve stones."

What is the reason? It is because the Torah was originally likened to water in the world. Only later was it put in a permanent place. Water, however, is here one day and elsewhere the next.

166. What are the seventy date palms?

This teaches us that the Blessed Holy One has seventy Structures.

These draw from the twelve Simple Ones. Just like water is simple, so are these simple. How do we know that the date palm is a Structure? Because it is written (*Song of Songs 7:8*), "Your structure is like a date palm."

Besides that, there are seventy kinds of date palms. It is therefore written that there were seventy date palms. One was not like the other, their functions were all different, and the taste of one was not like the taste of the other.

167. You said that the seventy date palms represent the seventy Structures. But have you not said that there are 72?

There are 71. Israel makes 72, but it is not included.

But did you not say that there were seventy?

One is the Officer of the Satan.

What is this like? A king had sons and bought slaves for them. The king then told his sons, "I am giving you all equally."

One of them replied, "I do not want to be with you, for I have the power to steal everything

The Bahir

from you.”

The king then said, “Because of this, you will not have a portion among them at all.” [The rebellious son] did what he could. He went out and lay in wait for [the slaves], showing them much gold, jewels and troops. He said, “Come over to me.”

What did the king do? He amassed his armies together with the armies of all his sons. He showed them to the slaves and said, “Do not let him trick you into thinking that his armies are stronger than mine. Behold the troops of that son. He is deceitful and wants to rob you. Therefore, do not listen to him, for at first he will speak smoothly in order to entice you into his trap, but in the end he will laugh at you. You are my slaves, and I will do for you everything good if you turn away from him and do not listen to him.”

He is the Prince of Chaos. It is thus written (*1 Samuel 12:21*), “Do not turn aside, for you will follow Chaos. It will not help or save, for it is Chaos.” [It cannot help or save,] but it can do harm.

The advice that I give you is that you should (*Exodus 15:26*), “Listen to the voice of the Lord your God, do what is right in His eyes, and give ear to His commandments, and keep all His decrees.”

When you keep all His decrees, then, “All the sickness that I brought upon the Egyptians, I will not bring upon you.”

Why did He say all this? In order to close all doors, so that he should not find you soft at times and hard at times.

When you keep all His decrees, then “all the sickness that I brought upon the Egyptians” – through My hand – “I will not bring upon you.”

What is the meaning of “for I am God who heals you”? This means that even when he comes and strikes, I am God who will heal you.

168. Why do you call it the eight?

Because with it the eight are begun, and with it the eight numbers are completed. In function, however, it is the seventh one.

And what are [the eight] that were begun? This is the fact that a child enters the Covenant of Circumcision when eight days old.

Are they then eight? They are nothing more than seven. Why then did the Blessed Holy One say eight? Because there are eight directions in man.

What are they? They are as follows:

The right and left hands;

The right and left legs;

The head, the body, and the Covenant as an arbitrator;

And his wife, who is his mate.

It is thus written (*Genesis 2:24*), “And he shall cling to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.”

They are the eight, and they parallel the eight days of circumcision. Are they then eight?

They are nothing more than seven, since the body and covenant are one. It is therefore eight.

169. What is the ninth?

He said to them: the ninth and tenth are together, one opposite the other.

One is higher than the other by 500 years.

They are like two Wheels (*Ophanim*). One inclines toward the north, while the other inclines toward the west. They reach down to the lowest earth.

The Bahir

What is the lowest earth? It is the last of the seven earths down below.

The end of the Divine Presence of the Blessed Holy One is under His feet. It is thus written (*Isaiah 66:1*), “The heaven is My throne, and the earth is the hassock for My feet.”

The Victory (*Nitzachon*) of the world is there. It is thus written (*Isaiah 24:10*), “for Victory of Victories (*Netzach Netzachim*).”

170. What is the meaning of “Victory of Victories”?

There is a single Victory (*Netzach*). Which is it? It is the one that inclines toward the west.

And what is secondary to it? This is the one that inclines toward the north.

And the third one? This is the one that is below.

The third one? But you have said that the Chariot has two wheels. We must therefore say that the end of the Divine Presence is also called Victory.

This is the meaning of “Victory of Victories.” “Victory” is one, and “Victories” is two, giving [a total of] three.

171. His disciples said to him: From above to below we know. But from below to above we do not know.

He replied: Is it not all one – below to above and above to below?

They said: Our master, ascending is not the same as descending. One can run while descending, but cannot do so while ascending.

He replied: Go out and see.

He sat and expounded to them:

There is a Divine Presence below, just like there is a Divine Presence above.

What is this Divine Presence? We have said that it is the light that was derived from the first Light, which is Wisdom. It also surrounds all things, as it is written (*Isaiah 6:3*), “The whole earth is filled with His glory.”

What is its function?

What is this like? A king had seven sons, and he assigned each one a place. He said to them, “Sit here, one above the other.”

The lowest one said, “I will not sit at the bottom. I do not want to be far from you.”

[The king] replied, “I will surround you and see you all day long.”

This is the meaning of the verse, “The whole earth is filled with His glory.”

Why is He among them? This is so that He should support them and sustain them.

172. And what are the sons?

I have already told you that the Blessed Holy One has seven Holy Forms.

All of them have a counterpart in man, as it is written (*Genesis 9:6*), “for in the form of God He made man.” It is likewise written (*Genesis 1:27*), “In the form of God He made him, male and female He made them.”

This is what they are:

The right and left legs;

The right and left hands;

The body, covenant and head.

But these are only six. You have said that there are seven.

The seventh is with his wife. It is thus written (*Genesis 2:24*), “And they shall be one flesh.”

But she was taken from his ribs, as it is written (*Genesis 2:21*), “And He took one of his

The Bahir

ribs.”

He said: Yes from his ribs.

Does he then have a rib?

Yes. It is written (*Exodus 26:20*), “the ribs of the tabernacle.” The Targum renders this, “the side of the tabernacle.”

And what is His side?

What is this like? A king had an idea to plant ten male trees in a garden. All of them were date palms. He said, “Since they are all the same kind, it is impossible for them to endure.”

What did he do? He planted an *Etrog* among them. This was one of those which he had intended to be male.

And why is the *Etrog* female? Because it is written (*Leviticus 23:40*), “The fruit of a beautiful tree, fronds of a date palm, [branches of a tree of leaves, and willows of the brook].”

What is the fruit of a beautiful (*hadar*) tree?

The Targum renders this verse, “The fruit of the *Etrog* tree, and the *Lulav*.”

173. What is the meaning of “beautiful”? It is the beauty of all things. This is also the beauty of the *Songs of Songs*. Regarding it, it is written (*Songs of Songs 6:10*), “Who is she who looks forth as the dawn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible like an army with banners?”

This relates to the Female.

Because of her, the female was taken from Adam. This is because it is impossible for the lower world to endure without the female.

And why is the female called *Nekevah*? Because her orifices (*Nekev*) are wide. Also because she has more orifices than the male. What are they? They are the orifices of the breasts, the womb, and the receptacle.

174. And what is the reason that you said that the *Song of Songs* is beautiful?

Yes, it is the most beautiful of all the Holy Scriptures.

Rabbi Yochanan thus said: All Scripture is holy, and all the Torah is holy, but the *Song of Songs* is the Holy of Holies.

What is the meaning of the Holy of Holies? It means that it is holy for the Holy Ones.

What are the Holy Ones? They are the counterparts of the six directions that are in man.

That which is holy for them is holy for everything.

175. What is this that is Holy? It is the *Etrog*, which is the beauty (*hadar*) of them all.

Why is it called beautiful (*hadar*)? Do not read *hadar*, but *HaDar* – “Which dwells.”

This refers to the *Etrog* which is not bound together with the *Lulav*. Without it the commandment of the *Lulav* cannot be fulfilled.

It is also bound with them all. It is with each one of them, and is unified with them all.

176. What does the *Lulav* parallel? It is the counterpart of the spinal cord. It is thus written (*Leviticus 23:40*), “[fronds of a date palm,] a branch of a tree of leaves, and willows of the brook.”

The [leafy] branches [of the myrtle] must cover the majority [of the bunch]. If its branches do not cover its majority, it is invalid.

Why?

The Bahir

What is this like? A man has arms, and with them he protects his head. He has two arms, and his head makes three.

[It is therefore called] “a branch of a tree of leaves.” A “branch” is to the left, and the “leaves” are to the right. It then comes out that the “tree” is in the centre.

And why is it called a “tree”? Because it is the Root of the Tree.

177. What are “willows of the brook”? There are two [willow branches in the *Lulav*,] and these parallel the two legs in man.

Why are the [“willows of the brook”] called *Arvey Nachal*? Because the greater of the two is inclined toward the west (*ma-Arev*) and draws its strength from there.

The one to the north is smaller than it by a journey of 500 years. It is on the northwest side, through which it functions.

It is named after it, since they are both mixed (*Arav*).

178. Another explanation:

[Willows of the Brook] are called *Arvey Nachal* because the function of one is sometimes mixed (*ma-arav*) with that of the other.

Why are they called Willows of the *Brook*? This is because of the place in which they are fixed, which is called Brook. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 1:7*), “All the Brooks go to the sea, but the sea is not filled.”

What is this sea? We say that it is the *Etrog*.

How do we know that each of the seven Attributes is called a Brook (*Nachal*)? Because it is written (*Numbers 21:19*), “From Gift to Nachaliel [, from Nachaliel to Bamot, and from Bamot to the valley that is in the Field of Moab, the head of the cliff, and it looks down on the face of the Yeshimon].” Do not read Nachaliel, but *Nachley El* – Brooks of God.

And all six then go on one path to the sea.

What is this path? It is the one that arbitrates between them. It is thus written (*Habbakuk 3:5*), “Before Him goes the pestilence, and fiery bolt at His feet.”

All of them go to that pipe, and from that pipe to the sea.

This is the meaning of the verse, “From Gift to Brooks of God.” [Gift] is the place that is given, namely the brain. From there they go to the Brooks of God.

“And from Brooks of God to Bamot.” What is Bamot? As the Targum renders it, *Ramta* – “heights.” This is the *Segol* that follows the *Zarka*.

[The verse continues,] “And from Bamot to the valley that is in the Field of Moab, the head of the cliff, and it looks down on the face of the Yeshimon.”

“And from the heights (*Bamot*) to the valley that is in the Field of Moab.” This is that which is prepared. And what is that which was in the Field of Moab? Do not read Moab, but *May-av* – “from a father.” This is the father regarding which it is written (*Genesis 26:5*) “Because Abraham hearkened to my voice, kept My trust, My commandments and My decrees...”

What is this field? It is the one that is at “the head of the cliff,” and which also “looks down on the face of the Yeshimon.” [Yeshimon] is interpreted to mean Heaven.

Regarding that pipe, it is written (*Song of Songs 4:15*), “A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, flowing from Lebanon.”

What is Lebanon? We say that this is Wisdom.

What are the Willows of the Brook (*Nachal*)? We say that this is that which gives inheritance (*Nachalah*) to Israel. It refers to the two Wheels of the Chariot.

The Bahir

179. We learned that there are Ten Spheres and Ten Sayings. Each Sphere has its Saying. It is not surrounded by it, but rather, it surrounds it.

This [physical] world is like a mustard seed inside a ring.

Why? Because of the Spirit that blows upon it, through which it is sustained. If this spirit were to be interrupted for even a moment, the world would be annihilated.

180. There are three Spheres in this world.

How? This world inclines to the north and the south.

How? North west south. North west is the first sphere that revolves around us.

Do we then say that it is to the north-west? But we say that its strength is to the north. This is the left foot.

Above it is the second Sphere, which is entirely to the west.

Do we then say that it is to the west? But we say that its power is to the west. These are the Victories of the world.

Above it is the third Sphere, and its power is to the south-west.

What is the original power that you said was second? We say that this is the right foot.

And what is the power that is to the south-west? This is the Foundation of the world.

Regarding this it is written (*Proverbs 10:25*), "The Righteous is the Foundation of the world."

The second power stands behind the Chariot, while the first power stands in front of it.

The "Righteous, Foundation of the world" is in the centre. It emanates from the south of the world, and is officer over the other two.

In its hand are also the souls of all living things. It is the Life of Worlds.

Whenever the word "creation" (*Beriah*) is used, it is done with it. Regarding it, it is written (*Exodus 31:17*), "He rested and souled."

This is the attribute of the Sabbath day. Regarding this it is written (*Exodus 20:8*), "Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy."

But it is also written (*Deuteronomy 5:12*), "Keep [the Sabbath]." This is speaking of the seventh attribute. Regarding this seventh attribute it is written (*Leviticus 19:30*), "My sabbaths you shall keep, and My sanctuary you shall fear."

What is the seventh attribute? This is the Blessed Holy One's attribute of Goodness.

181. Why is it written, "My sabbaths you shall keep," [in the plural] rather than "My sabbath" [in the singular]?

What is this like? A king had a beautiful bride, and every week she would set aside a day to be with him. The king also had beautiful beloved sons. He said to them, "Since this is the situation, you should also rejoice on the day of my joy. For it is for your sake that I strive, and you also respect me."

182. What is the reason that [the Torah says] "remember" [in one place,] and "keep" [regarding the Sabbath in another]?

"Remember" (*zachor*) refers to the male (*Zachar*). "Keep" (*shamor*) refers to the bride.

Why is it connected to, "and My sanctuary you shall fear"? This is because My sanctuary is holy. Why? "Because I am God who makes you holy" – from every side.

183. Why do we say [in the blessing after food], "On all that He created...[Blessed] is the Life of Worlds." Why do we not say, "On all that You created"?

The Bahir

But we bless the Holy One, who grants His wisdom to this “Life of Worlds.” It then provides for all.

184. What is the reason that we say [in blessings, “Blessed are you...] who made us holy with *His* commandments and commanded us” [in the third person]? Why do we not say, “that You made us holy with Your commandments, and You commanded us, “ [in the second person]?

This teaches us that all commandments are included in the Life of Worlds.

Because of His love for us, He gave us [the commandments] in order that they should make us holy and allow us to be worthy. Why? Because when we are in this world, we can become worthy of the World to Come, which is great.

In its hand is the treasury of souls. When Israel is good, these souls are worthy of emerging and coming to this world. But if they are not good, the [these souls] do not emerge.

We therefore say, “The Son of David will not come until all the souls in the Body are completed.”

What is the meaning of “all the souls in the Body”? We say that this refers to all the souls in man’s body. [When these are completed] new ones will be worthy of emerging.

The Son of David (the Messiah) will then come. He will be able to be born, since his soul will emerge among the other new souls.

What is this like? A king had an army, and he sent them much bread to eat. They were so lazy that they did not take care of [the bread] which they did not eat [immediately]. The bread therefore became mouldy and went to waste.

The king investigated to find out if they had what to eat, and to see if they had eaten what he had sent them. He found that the bread had become mouldy and they were ashamed to ask for new bread. How could they tell the king, “We did not take care of [what you sent us,] but now we are asking for more”?

The king also became angry. He took the mouldy bread and ordered that it be dried and rectified as much as possible. He swore to the men, “I will not give you any more bread until you eat all this mouldy bread.” He then returned the bread to them.

What did they do? They agreed to divide it up, and each one took his portion. The diligent one took his portion and placed it in the air, taking care of it and keeping it in good condition to eat. The other one took it and ate it lustfully. He ate what he could and laid the rest aside, not taking care of it since he had given up on it. It spoiled even more and became so mouldy that he could not eat it at all. He therefore starved to death.

He was then blamed for the sin of his body: Why did you kill yourself? Is it not enough that you ruined the bread the first time? But I returned it to you and you ruined it [again]. You ruined your portion because you were too lazy to take care of it. And not only that, but you also killed yourself.”

[The soldier] replied, “My lord, what could I have done?”

He answered, “You should have taken care of it. And if you claim that you were not able to, you should have watched your friends and neighbours with whom you shared the bread. You should have seen what they did and how they took care of it, and you should have kept it like they did.”

They also interrogated him: Why did you kill yourself? Is it not enough that you ruined the bread? But you also went ahead and killed the matter of your body. You shortened the days of your life, or [at least] caused it. It may have been possible that you would have had a good son. He could have saved you, and [rectified] the damage that you and others did. Your

The Bahir

suffering will therefore be increased on all sides.

He became confused and replied, "What could I have done when I did not have any bread? With what could I have sustained myself?"

They answered: If you would have strived and worked in Torah, you would not reply foolishly and brazenly like this. Because of your reply, it is obvious that you have not worked or strived in Torah. It is thus written (*Deuteronomy 8:3*), "For not by bread alone does man live, but from all that emanates from God's mouth does man live." You should have searched and probed and asked, "what is it through which man lives?"

What is this which "emanates from God's mouth"

From here they said, "An ignoramus cannot be pious."

If a person does not act with kindness (*Chesed*) toward himself, he cannot be called pious (*Chasid*).

185. How can one do kindness to his Master?

By studying the Torah. All study of Torah is a deed of kindness toward one's Master. It is thus written (*Deuteronomy 33:26*), "He rides the heavens with your help, [His pride is in the skies]." God says, "When you study Torah for its own sake, then you help Me and I can ride the heavens."

Then, "His pride is in the skies (*Shechakim*)."

What is *Shechakim*? We say that it is in the innermost chamber. The Targum thus renders it, "His word is in the Heaven of Heaven."

Therefore, "not by bread alone does man live, but from all that emanates from God's mouth does man live."

However, "the fool answers brazenly."

"Abandon this brazenness, and do not reply in this manner!"

He is therefore punished. What is his punishment? We have already discussed it.

186. What is the meaning of the verse (*Job 15:2*), "Should a wise man answer knowledge of spirit?" What is "knowledge of spirit"?

This is the Knowledge that is close to the spirit. Regarding this it is written (*Isaiah 11:2*), "And there will rest upon him a spirit of God, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, [a spirit of counsel and strength, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of God]."

[First comes] Wisdom, and then comes Understanding. And in Understanding is "counsel, strength, knowledge and the fear of God."

But you told us that "counsel" is deeds of Kindness, and that Understanding is the Attribute of Justice.

[One is above the other.]

Knowledge is Truth. Knowledge is therefore that with which one recognises the truth.

"The fear of God" is the Treasury of the Torah .

This is like I say, but one is above the other.

Rabbi Akiba thus said: With whatever God created, He created its counterpart. It is thus written (*Ecclesiastes 7:14*), "Also one opposite the other has God made."

What is the Treasury of the Torah? It is that regarding which it is written (*Isaiah 33:6*), "The fear of God is His treasury." A person must first be god-fearing, and then he can study Torah.

This is like a person who comes to buy date honey but does not bring a vessel in which to carry it. He says, "I will carry it in my bosom." He tries to carry it in his bosom but it was

The Bahir

very heavy, and he is also afraid that it will tear and soil his clothing. He therefore throws it away on the road.

This person is then punished twice. First because he ruined good food, and second because he wasted his money.

187. The fear of God is the one that is higher.

It is in the palm of God's hand. It is also His Force.

This palm (*kaf*) is called the pan of merit (*Kaf Zechut*). This is because it inclines the world to the pan of merit.

It is thus written (*Isaiah 11:3*), "I will grant him a spirit of the fear of God, and he will not judge by the sight of his eyes, he will not admonish according to what his ear hears." He will incline all the world to the pan of merit. From there counsel emanates, and from there health emanates to the world.

[It is also written,] (*Genesis 49:24*) "From there is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel." This is the place that is called "There." Regarding this, it is written (*Habakkuk 3:4*), "[He has rays from His hand,] and His hidden Force is *there*."

188. Once this thing comes, sharpen it. What is its sharpening? Tell us the meaning of the verse, "He has rays from His hand."

Why does it first say "rays" and then "His hand"? It should have said "His hands" [in the plural].

There is no contradiction. This is very much like the verse (*Exodus 32:19*), "And Moses' anger flared, and he threw the tablets from his hands." The way this is written, however, it would be read "His hand" [in the singular].

It is likewise written (*Exodus 17:12*), "And his hands were faithful until the sun set." The verse says *Emunah* ("was faithful" – in the singular) and not *Emunot* ("were faithful" – in the plural).

They replied: Our master, we are pointing out a contradiction in order to receive an answer, and you are covering our eyes. Did you not teach us, master, that you must answer first things first and last things last?

[He said:] And what have you then asked? [The meaning of,] "He has rays from His hand."

By the Divine service, I have just explained it to you with my words.

They were ashamed.

When he saw that they were ashamed is it not true that [at first] there was water, and that fire emanated from it? Water therefore included fire.

And Master, what is the meaning of "rays"?

He replied: There are five rays. These are the five fingers on man's right hand.

189. And master, you are the one who told us in Rabbi Yochanan's name that there are only two arms of the world."

He replied: Yes. But here "rays" allude to the two rays that are below them.

And what are they?

He said: With the anger of your head.

And what is above?

He said: The fear of God.

190. And what is the fear of God?

The Bahir

It is the first light.

Rabbi [Meir] thus said: Why is it written (*Genesis 1:3*), “And God said, ‘let there be light,’ and there was light”? Why does it not say, “and it was so”?

But this teaches us that the light was very intense, so that no created thing could gaze upon it. God therefore stored it away for the righteous in the Ultimate Future.

This is the measure of all merchandise (*Secorah*) in the world. It is also the power of the precious stones that are called *Socheret* and *Dar*.

And upon what is the attribute of *Dar*?

This teaches us that God took a thousandth of its radiance, and from it He constructed a beautiful precious stone. In it He included all the commandments.

Abraham came, and He sought a power to give him. He gave him this precious stone, but he did not want it. He was worthy and took Kindness as his attribute, as it is written (*Micah 7:20*), “Kindness to Abraham.”

Isaac came, and He sought a power, but He gave it to him and he did not want it. He was worthy and took the attribute of Strength, which is [called] Terror. It is thus written (*Genesis 31:53*), “And Jacob swore by the Terror of Isaac his father.”

Jacob came and wanted it, but it was not given to him. They said, “Since Abraham is above and Isaac is below him, you will be in the centre and take all three.”

What is the centre?

It is peace, as it is written (*Micah 7:20*), “You give Truth to Jacob.” Truth is identical with Peace, as it is written (*Esther 9:30*), “Words of Peace and Truth.” It is likewise written (*2 Kings 20:19*), “For peace and truth will be in my days.”

This is the meaning of the verse (*Isaiah 58:14*), “I will feed you with the inheritance of Jacob your father.” This is a complete inheritance (*Nachalah*), comprising Kindness, Terror, Truth and Peace.

It is therefore written (*Psalms 118:22*), “The stone despised by the builders has become the chief cornerstone.” This is the Stone that was despised by Abraham and Isaac, the builders of the world, and that then became the chief cornerstone.

191. And why did they despise it? Is it not written (*Genesis 26:5*), “Because Abraham hearkened to My voice, and kept My watch, My commandments, My decrees, and My Torahs.”

What is the meaning of “My watch”?

It refers to what the Attribute of Kindness said: As long as Abraham was in the world, I did not have to do my job. Abraham stood there in my place and “kept my watch.” It is my task to bring merit to the world, and even when people are guilty, I bring them merit. I also bring them back, directing their hearts to do the will of their Father in heaven.

All this Abraham did, as it is written (*Genesis 21:33*), “And he planted a tamarisk in Beersheba, and he called there in the name of the Lord, God of the world.” He would share his bread and water with all the people in the world, bringing them merit. Seeking to convince them, he would say, “Whom then are you serving? Serve the Lord, God of heaven and earth.” He would preach to them until they would repent.

How do we know that he would also bring merit to those who were guilty?

It is written (*Genesis 18:17*), “Shall I then cover from Abraham what I am doing? Abraham is becoming a great, mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth will be blessed through him.”

[God said,] “I will give him merit. I know that he will seek mercy for them and be worthy.”

The Bahir

Is it then possible to say that the Blessed Holy One did not know that they could be saved? But He told this [to Abraham] to bring him merit. From here they said, “If one comes to purify himself, they help him. If one comes to defile himself, they open for him.” What is the meaning of, “they open for him”? It refers to those that are always open.

192. [It is written that Abraham kept] (*Genesis 26:5*), “My commandments, My decrees, and My Torahs.” He said, “Since I do not want [the precious stone], I will keep all the commandments that are included in it.”

What is the meaning of “My Torahs”? This teaches us that he knew and kept even the decisions (*Horah*) and discussions that are taught on high.

193. And what is the meaning of the verse (*Genesis 49:24*), “From there is the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel.”

From “There” is nourished the Rock of Israel.

What is the meaning of “from There”? We say that this is the Supernal Righteous One (*Tzadik*).

What is it?

It is [the precious stone called] *Socheret*. And the stone that is below it is called *Dar*.

And what are the rays mentioned in the verse (*Habakkuk 3:4*), “He has rays from His hand”? These are the five fingers of the right hand.

The Bahir

Section V

Mysteries of the Soul

194. Rabbi Rahumai said:

This I received [from the tradition]. When Moses wanted to know about the glorious fearsome Name, may it be blessed, he said (*Exodus 33:18*), “Show my please Your glory.” He wanted to know why there are righteous who have good, righteous who have evil, wicked who have good, and wicked who have evil. But they would not tell him. Do you then think that they did not tell him? Can one then imagine that Moses did not know this mystery? But this is what Moses said: “I know the ways of the Powers, but I do not know how Thought spreads through them. I know that Truth is in Thought, but I do not know its parts.” He wanted to know, but they would not tell him.

195. Why is there a righteous person who has good, and [another] righteous person who has evil?

This is because the [second] righteous person was wicked previously, and is now being punished.

Is one then punished for his childhood deeds? Did not Rabbi Simon say that in the Tribunal on high, no punishment is meted out until one is twenty years or older.

He said: I am not speaking of his present lifetime. I am speaking about what he has already been, previously.

His colleagues said to him: How long will you conceal your words?

He replied: Go out and see. What is this like? A person planted a vineyard and hoped to grow grapes, but instead, sour grapes grew. He saw that his planting and harvest were not successful so he tore it out. He cleaned out the sour grape vines and planted again. When he saw that his planting was not successful, he tore it up and planted it again.

How many times?

He said to them: For a thousand generations. It is thus written (*Psalms 105:8*), “The word that He commanded for a thousand generations.”

It is in relation to this that they said, “Lacking were 974 generations. The Blessed Holy One stood up and planted them in each generation.”

196. Rabbah said: If the righteous wanted, they could create a world. What interferes? Your sins, as it is written (*Isaiah 59:2*), “Only your sins separate between you and your God.”

Therefore, if not for your sins, there would not be any differentiation between you and Him. We thus see that Rabba created a man and sent it to Rav Zeira. He spoke to it, but it would not reply. But if not for your sins, it would also have been able to reply.

And from what would it have replied? From its soul.

Does a man then have a soul to place in it?

Yes, as it is written (*Genesis 2:7*), “And He blew in his nostrils a soul of life.” If not for your sins, man would therefore have a “soul of life.” [Because of your sins, however] the soul is not pure.

This is the difference between you and Him. It is thus written (*Psalms 8:6*), “And You have

The Bahir

made him a little less than God.”

What is the meaning of “a little”? This is because [man] sins, while the Blessed Holy One does not. Blessed be He and blessed be His Name for ever and ever, He has no sins.

But the [Evil] Urge comes from Him.

Can we then imagine that it comes from Him? But it originated from Him until David came and killed it. It is thus written (*Psalm 109:22*), “My heart is hollow within me.”

David said: Because I was able to overcome it (*Psalm 5:5*), “Evil will not sojourn with You.”

How was David able to overcome it? Through his study, since he never stopped [studying] day or night. He therefore attached the Torah on high. For whenever a person studies Torah for its own sake, the Torah attaches itself to the Blessed Holy One.

They therefore say, “A person should always study Torah, even not for its sake, since if [he studies it] not for its sake, he will eventually come to [study it] for its sake.”

What is this Torah that you are discussing?

It is the Bride who is adorned and crowned, and who is included in the commandments. It is the Treasury of the Torah. It is the betrothed of the Blessed Holy One, as it is written (*Deuteronomy 33:4*), “Moses commanded us the Torah, the heritage (*Morasha*) of the congregation of Jacob.” Do not read “heritage” (*Morasha*) but “betrothed” (*Me’urasa*).

How is his so. When Israel engages in the Torah for its own sake, then it is the betrothed of the Blessed Holy One, then it is the heritage of Israel.

197. Rabbi Amrai sat and expounded:

Why was Tamar worthy of being the mother of Peretz and Zerach?

It was because her name was Tamar. Tamar was [also] the sister of Amnon. She was therefore made for this.

Why were they called Peretz and Zerach?

Peretz was named after the moon. The moon breaks out (*paratz*) at times, and will be built up in the future. Zerach was named after the sun, which always shines (*zarach*) in the same manner.

But Peretz was the first-born. Is then the sun not greater than the moon?

This is no difficulty, as it is written (*Genesis 38:28*), “One put out a hand,” [indicating that Zerach’s hand emerged before Peretz was born]. It is then written (*Genesis 38:30*), “This his brother, upon whose hand was the scarlet thread, emerged, and he was named Zerach.”

[Zerach] was supposed to have been the first-born. But God saw that Solomon would descend [from Peretz], and He had such great joy that He made [Zerach] return.

198. Why was she called Tamar and not any other name?

Because she was female.

Can we then say that [it was something special that] she was female?

But it is because she included both male and female. For [Tamar means a date palm, and] every date palm includes both male and female.

How is this? The frond (*Lulav*) is male. The fruit is male on the outside and female on the inside.

And how? The seed of the date has a split like a woman. Paralleling it is the power of the moon above.

The Blessed Holy One created Adam male and female, as it is written (*Genesis 1:27*), “Male and female He created them.” Is it then possible to say this? Is it then not written (*Genesis*

The Bahir

1:27), “And God created man in His image, in the image of God He created him”? It is only then later written (*Genesis 2:18*), “I will make him a helper opposite him,” and (*Genesis 2:21*), “And He took one of his ribs, and closed the flesh under it.” [We therefore see that the male was created first, and only later the female.]

But we must say that the Torah uses [three different words]: “formed” (*yatzar*), “made” (*asah*), and “created” (*bara*).

When the soul was made, the word “made” is used. [The word “created” is then used:] “Male and female He *created* them.” The word “formed” was used when the soul was combined with the body and the spirit was brought together.

How do we know that “forming” means bringing together? For it is written (*Genesis 2:19*), “And the Lord God formed (gathered) all the beasts of the field and all the flying things of the heaven, and He brought them to the Man to see what he would call each thing.”

This explains the verse (*Genesis 5:2*), “Male and female He created them.” It is also written (*Genesis 1:28*), “And God blessed them.”

199. The soul of the female comes from the Female, and the soul of the male comes from the Male. This is the reason why the Serpent followed Eve. He said, “Her soul comes from the north, and I will therefore quickly seduce her.”

And how did he seduce her? He had intercourse with her.

200. His disciples asked: Tell us how this took place.

He replied: The wicked Samael made a bond with all the host on high against his Master.

This was because the Blessed Holy One said [regarding man] (*Genesis 1:26*), “And let him rule over the fish of the sea and the flying things of heaven.”

[Samael] said, “How can we cause him to sin and be exiled from before God?” He descended with all his host, and sought a suitable companion on earth. He finally found the serpent, which looked like a camel, and he rode on it.

He then went to the woman and said to her (*Genesis 3:1*), “Did God also say, from all the trees of the garden [you shall not eat]?” [He said, “I know that He did not forbid all the trees,] but I will seek more – I will add in order that she should subtract.”

She replied, “He did not stop us from anything besides” (*Genesis 3:2*) “the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of the garden. God said, ‘Do not eat from it and do not touch it, lest you die.’”

She added two things. She said, “from the *fruit* of the tree that is in the middle of the garden,” while [God] had only said (*Genesis 2:17*), “from the Tree of Knowledge.” She also said, “do not touch it lest you die,” [while God had only spoken of eating it].

What did Samael do? He went and touched the tree. The tree cried out and said, “Wicked one, do not touch me!” It is thus written (*Psalms 36:12*), “Let not a foot of pride overtake me, and let not the hand of the wicked move me. There have the workers of iniquity fallen – they are thrust down, they cannot rise.”

He then said to the woman, “See, I touched the tree and I did not die. You can also touch it and not die.”

The woman went and touched the tree. She saw the Angel of Death approaching her and said, “Woe is to me. Now I will die and the Blessed Holy One will make another woman and give her to Adam. I will therefore cause him to eat with me. If we die, we will both die, and if we live, we will both live.”

She took the fruit of the tree and ate it, and she also gave some to her husband. Their eyes

The Bahir

opened and their teeth were set on edge. He said, "What is this that you have given me to eat? Just as my teeth were set on edge, so will the teeth of all [future] generations be set on edge."

[God then] sat down in true judgement, as it is written (*Psalms 9:5*), "[You have upheld my cause, You have sat on the throne as a] righteous Judge." He called to Adam and said "Why do you flee from Me?"

[Adam] replied (*Genesis 3:10*), " 'I heard Your voice in the garden' – and my bones trembled. 'I was afraid because I was naked, and I hid.' I was naked of works, I was naked of commandments, and I was naked of deeds." It is therefore written "because I was naked, and I hid."

What was Adam's garment? It was a skin of fingernail. As soon as he ate from the fruit of the tree, this skin of fingernail was removed from him, and he saw himself naked. It is thus written (*Genesis 3:11*), "Who told you that you were naked? [Did you eat from the tree that I commanded you not to eat from it?]"

Adam said to the Blessed Holy One, "Master of all worlds: When I was alone, did I ever sin before You? But the woman that You placed with me enticed me from your word." It is thus written (*Genesis 3:12*), "The woman that you placed with me [gave it to me, and I ate]."

The Blessed Holy One said to her, "Is it not enough that you sinned? But you also caused Adam to sin."

She replied to Him, "Master of all worlds: The serpent enticed me to sin before You."

[God] took the three of them, and decreed upon them a sentence of nine curses and death.

He then cast the wicked Samael and his group from their holy place in heaven. He cut off the feet of the serpent and cursed it more than all the other animals and beasts of the field. He also decreed that it must shed its skin every seven years.

Samael was punished and made the guardian angel over the wicked Esau.

In the Future, when God uproots the Kingdom of Edom, he will lower him first. It is thus written (*Isaiah 24:21*), "God will punish the host of heights of high." This statement, death and punishment all came because she added to the commandment of the Blessed Holy One. Regarding this it is said, "Whoever increase diminishes."

*May God enlighten our eyes with the light of His Torah,
May He place in our hearts His fear,
May we be worthy to greet Him.*

*He will enlighten the hear
Waken the heart with understanding
Make the heart shine with brilliance.*

The Bahir

Index

1 Kings, 11, 17, 24
1 Samuel, 38
2 Kings, 20, 54
2 Samuel, 6, 12
32. See Heart
613 Commandments, the, 34
64 Forms, the, 25
72, 45
72 names, the, 24, 25, 29, 30

A

Aaron, 30, 34
Abraham, 4, 15, 20, 36
Aleph, 5, 7, 9, 18, 38
Amalek, 36
Amos, 5
angels, 7, 8, 13, 39
Attribute
 "that is called Israel", 37
 Evil, 44
 of Judgement, 19
 of Mercy, 10
 Oral Torah, 39, 40
 Satan, the, 43, 44, 45
Axis, 25
Az, 38

B

Bayit, 3, 5, 15, 28
beauty, 10, 26, 48
Berachah, 2
Bet, 2, 3, 5, 7
Beth, 7, 14, 28
Blessed Holy One, the, 3, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 55, 57,
 58, 59
Bohu. See Desolation

C

Chaioth ha-Qadesh (Holy Living Creatures), 34,39
Chaos, 2, 5, 36
Chariot, the, 18, 23, 34, 40, 47, 49, 50
Cherubim, 26
Cheth, 10
Chiah, 14
Chirek, 11
Cholem, 11
copper, 27
Creation, 2, 40
Crown, the (Kether), 23, 35, 38, 40

D

Daleth, 9, 10

Darkness, 5
David, 3, 12, 20, 51, 57
Desolation, 2, 5
Deuteronomy, 2, 3, 4, 12, 18, 36, 57
Divine Presence, the (Shekinah), 19, 20, 32, 46, 47

E

Ecclesiastes, 4, 14, 21, 39
Eden, Garden of, 9, 10, 26
Elijah, 30
Etrog, 48
Evil, 5, 44, 57
Evil Urge, the, 44
Exodus, 8, 11, 12, 20, 35, 56
Explicit Name (Shem Ha Mephoresh), 30
Ezekiel, 10, 17, 39

F

foundation, 16, 27

G

Gabriel, 5, 7, 29
Genesis, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 19, 36, 56
Gimel, 7, 9
gold, 14, 27, 45

H

Habakkuk, 18, 39
hadar. See beauty.
Haggai, 14
Heart, 16, 25, 36
heaven, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19, 26, 27, 34, 49, 52, 58
Heh, 4, 9, 14
Holy Palace, the, 18, 32, 41

I

Isaiah, 3, 5, 7, 12, 19, 35, 56
Israel, 6, 10, 11, 12, 17, 35, 57

J

Jacob, 11, 28, 36, 57
Jeremiah, 17, 44
Job, 2, 4, 5, 13, 16, 29, 41
Joshua, 4, 24, 45

K

kaf, 53
Karban, 29
Kedushah, 34

The Bahir

Kindness (Chesed), 36, 37, 38, 52, 54
Knowledge (Daath), 52, 58

L

Lamed, 38
Lamentations, 10
Lev. See Heart. See Heart. See Heart
Leviticus, 10, 17, 34
Light, 5, 19, 34
Lulav, 26, 48, 58

M

Malachi, 17, 37
Mem, 10, 22
Messiah, 12, 51
Micah, 10, 18, 36
Michael, 5, 7, 29
Moses, 4, 11, 13, 31, 36, 56

N

Nephesh, 14
Neshamah, 14
Numbers, 16, 29, 35
Nun, 16, 22

O

Ophanim (Wheels), 34, 46

P

Peace, 5, 20, 37
Peretz, 57
Proverbs, 3, 4, 5, 13, 16, 18, 35
Psalms, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 34, 56

R

Rabbi
Akiba, 7, 9, 32, 53
Amorai, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 23, 24, 34, 57
Berachiah, 2, 8, 14
Bun, 4, 5
Chama, 14
Eliezer, 27
Haninah, 7
Levatas ben Taurus, 7
Nehuniah ben HaKana, 2
Rahumai, 3, 5, 8, 17, 18, 22, 26, 28, 31, 36, 40, 56
Yanai, 8
Yochanan, 7, 32, 36, 39, 48, 53
Resh, 21
righteous, 16, 19, 27, 32, 39, 40, 41, 50, 55, 56
righteousness, 10, 12, 19
Ruach, 10, 14

S

Sabbath, the, 15, 42, 50
sabbaths. See Sabbaths, the.
Samael, 58
Segol, 10, 23, 49
Sephiroth, 12, 34
Seraphim, 39
Seven Voices, The, 12
Shabbat, 42
Shaddai, 13, 30
Shamayim. See heaven.
Shavuot, 28
Shechakim (skies), 19, 32, 52
Shevet, 31
Shin, 9, 21
silver, 14, 27, 37
Solomon, 2, 17, 20, 57
Song of Songs, 12, 16, 17, 28, 45
spinal cord, the, 22, 26, 48
Strength (Geburah), 29
Succot, 28

T

tabernacle, 47
Tamar, 57
Targum, the, 4, 29, 32, 37, 45, 48, 52
Teli. See Axis
Ten Commandments, the, 21, 34
Terror (Pachad) *a term for Geburah*, 36, 37, 54
Teth, 22, 34
Tohu. See Chaos
Torah, 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 19, 37, 57, 59
Torah of Truth, 32, 37
Treasury of the Torah, 52, 57
Tree of Life, the, 26, 43
Truth, 10, 14, 16, 20, 36, 37, 52, 54, 56
twelve, 24, 42
twelve tribes of Israel, the, 30
Tzaddi, 16
Tzadik. See righteous.
Tzitzit, 24

U

Understanding (Binah), 13, 28, 52
Uriel, 29

V

Vav, 9, 18
Victory (Netzach), 46, 47
voice, 12, 38, 59
voices, 12

W

Wisdom (Chokmah), 2, 3, 13, 25, 26, 29, 31, 35, 38, 39, 47, 49, 52

The Bahir

Y

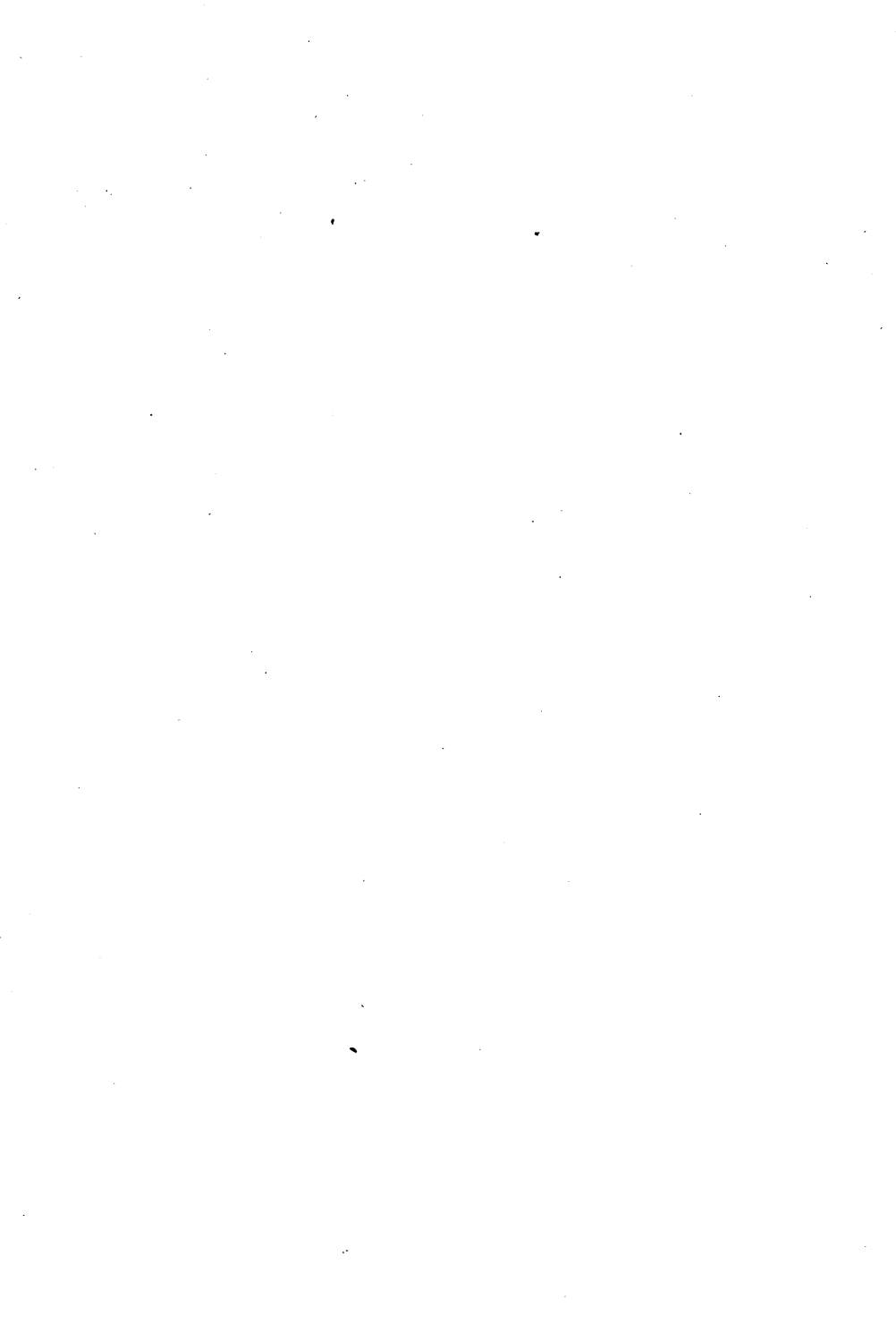
Yechidah, 14
YHVH, 18, 30, 35
YiRaShaH, 4
Yod, 9, 16, 18

Z

Zahav. See gold
Zarka, 23, 49
Zayin, 14, 21, 38
Zerach, 57
Zion, 11, 32

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3 ENOCH

or

The Hebrew Book of Enoch

Cambridge University Press
Fetter Lane, London

New York
Bombay, Calcutta, Madras
Toronto

Macmillan

Tokyo
Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha

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Bible. O.S. Apocryphal books. 3 Enoch

3 ENOCH

OR

The Hebrew Book of Enoch

EDITED
AND TRANSLATED FOR
THE FIRST TIME WITH INTRODUCTION
COMMENTARY & CRITICAL NOTES

by

HUGO ODEBERG

PH.D. (LOND.)

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMXXVIII

BS1842
.A2 E504



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

D.W.

1413180

To

THE REV. CANON G. H. BOX, M.A., D.D.
Davidson Professor of Old Testament Studies
in the University of London

PREFACE

The writer owes profound gratitude to his teacher, Professor G. H. Box, of the University of London, without whose guidance, encouragement, generous interest and helpful criticism the present work would never have been brought into shape.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Westminster, Dr R. H. Charles, has authorized the writer to give the present book the title "3 Enoch".

The second and third parts of the book (Translation with Notes and Hebrew text with critical apparatus) are in the main identical with those of the writer's thesis for the Ph.D. degree. The Introduction, however, has been wholly revised and partly shortened. The revision has been approved by Professor Box, who has been kind enough to read through the Introduction in its final form.

The writer wishes to express his thanks to the readers of the Cambridge University Press for the care and trouble which they have taken with the correction of the proofs and for the valuable suggestions given by them.

To the Senate of the University of London the writer is indebted for a grant of £100 out of the University of London Publication Fund, and to the Trustees of the Olaus Petri Stiftelse of the University of Upsala for a grant of the same amount towards the publication costs.

HUGO ODEBERG

Björklinge, Sweden

15 February 1928

CONTENTS

PART I INTRODUCTION

pages 1-192

1	Abbreviations employed	page 3
2	Sources and Literature	4
	A. Hebrew and Aramaic	4
	B. Other Literature	11
3	mss. and printed books containing the Hebrew Book of <i>Enoch</i> or parts of it	17
4	The mutual relations and affinities of the mss. and other sources	19
5	Short Survey of the Contents of the Hebrew Book of <i>Enoch</i> .	19
6	Quotations of and references to 3 <i>Enoch</i>	20
7	Origin and date of composition of the Hebrew Book of <i>Enoch</i> and its relation to cognate mystical writings	23 ✓
	(a) Ideas and expressions of 1 <i>Enoch</i> recurring in 3 <i>Enoch</i> .	43
	(b) Parallels between and cognate conceptions in 2 <i>Enoch</i> and 3 <i>Enoch</i>	52
	(c) Similarities between Mandaitic Literature and 3 <i>Enoch</i> .	64
8	The conceptions of Metatron in 3 <i>Enoch</i>	79 ✓
9	The references to Metatron found in Talmud, Miḏraš and Targum	90
10	The conceptions of Metatron in related mystical and apoca- lyptic literature	96 ✓
	A. In 1 <i>Ap. Iṣm.</i> , the <i>Hekāloṣ</i> works and 1 and 2 <i>Leg. Martyrs</i>	96
	B. In the <i>Hekāloṣ Zoṯrāḇi</i> and <i>Ši'ur Qomā</i>	102
	C. In the writings associating Metatron particularly with Moses	106
	D. In <i>A. R. 'Aq., Rev. Šim. b. Yoḥai, 2 Ap. Iṣm., etc.</i>	108
11	Survey of the conceptions of Metatron in later mystical literature	111
12	Origin of the word 'METATRON'	125 ✓

13	Origin of the conception of Metatron	page 142
14	The Angelology of 3 <i>Enoch</i>	147
	A. The Angelology of A 1 (chh. 19-22, 25-28 ⁶)	147
	B. The Angelology of A 2 (ch. 17)	154
	C. The Angelology of A 3 (ch. 18)	158
	D. The Angelology of chh. 28 ⁷ -48 A	163
	E. The Angelology of the Enoch-Metatron pieces (chh. 3-16, 48 B-D ^{1,2}), and of chh. 23, 24	166
	F. The Angelology of the additional pieces chh. 22 B, 22 C and 15 B	169
15	The quasi-physical aspects of the ' <i>Arābōḥ Rāqīa'</i> ', the <i>Mærkābā</i> and the <i>Kisse ha-kKābōd</i> ; the 'Divine Letters and Names'	170
16	The conceptions of Spirit and Soul. Fate of the spirits and souls	174
17	The Divine Judgement	180
18	The performance of the celestial songs, esp. the <i>Q^eduššā</i>	183
	Appendices	188

PART II

TRANSLATION & NOTES

pages 1-179

PART III

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES

pages 77-8 (1-74)

PART IV

INDEXES

pages 1-36

I	Index to the Hebrew Text	3
II	Index and Vocabulary to the English Translation	19
III	Index of Numbers occurring in the Text	35
IV	Index of Scriptural Passages quoted	36

PART I

INTRODUCTION

HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH

§ 1. ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

I. GENERAL:

A. and P. = R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT.*
A. and P. (Ka) = Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT.*
Add. denotes a British Museum MS.

BH. = A. Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch*, 6 voll. (The different tractates, midrašim and other writings as appearing in *Beth ha Midrasch* are referred to as follows: *Hek. R.* ii, *BH.* iii. 69 = *Hekāloṣ Rabbāṣi*, ch. xii in *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. iii. p. 69, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 5 = *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba in *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. iii. p. 5, etc.)

BMi. = S. A. Wertheimer, בתי מדרשות.

Bodl. = MS. in the Bodleian Library.

Br.G. = Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften (Ginza)*.

GR., GL. = Petermann, *Thesaurus*, and M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*. *GR.* x (y) = *Ginza Right*, p. x in Lidzbarski, p. y in Petermann.

JE. = *Jewish Encyclopædia*, 12 voll., New York, 1901-1906.

JM. = M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*.

JQR. = *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 20 voll., London, 1889-1908; *JQR.* n.s. = *id.* new series, Philadelphia, 1910- (in progress).

J.Th.S. = *Journal of Theological Studies*.

M. = *Mišna*.

MGWJ. = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (begründet von Z. Frankel), Breslau, 1852- (in progress).

MICH. denotes a Bodleian MS.

ML. = M. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*.

OM. = I. D. Eisenstein, אוצר מדרשים, 2 voll.

OPP. denotes a Bodleian MS.

Or. denotes a British Museum MS.

RAS. = Royal Asiatic Society.

REJ. = *Revue des études juives*, Paris.

RJ. = Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*²; *RJ*³ = *id.* 3rd ed.

TB. = Babylonian Talmud.

TED. = Box and Oesterley, *Translations of early Documents*.

TJ. = Palestinian Talmud.

VA. = M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélogologie*.

2. PSEUDEPIGRAPHA:

1 *En.* or 1 *Enoch* = *The Book of Enoch* (ed. R. H. Charles).

2 *En.* or 2 *Enoch* = *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Slavonic Enoch) (ed. R. H. Charles in *A. and P.*).

Jub. = *The Book of Jubilees* (ed. Charles).

Ap. Bar. = *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (ed. Charles).

Asc. Isa. = *The Ascension of Isaiah* (ed. Charles).

Test. XII Patr. = *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (ed. Charles).

4 *Ez(ra)* = *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (ed. G. H. Box).

Ap. Abr. = *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (ed. G. H. Box).

Test. Abr. = *The Testament of Abraham* (ed. G. H. Box).

Ap. Mos. = *The Apocalypse of Moses* (in *A. and P.*).

Ass. Mos. = *The Assumption of Moses* (ed. R. H. Charles).

3. TALMUD:

M. = *Mišna*, Tos. = *Tosæfta*, TB., Tj. = *The G^emārā* of the Babylonian or Palestinian *Talmud* respectively. The abbreviations of the names of the tractates are those commonly used. Thus: *Ber.* = *B^erākōḇ*, *Shab.* = *Šabbāḇ*, *Pes.* = *P^esāhim*, *Ta'an.* = *Ta^aniḇ*, *Meg.* = *M^eḡillā*, *Ḥag.* = *Ḥ^aḡigā*, *Yeb.* = *Y^eḇāmōḇ*, *Sanh.* = *Sanhæḏrin*, *Ab. Zar.* = *Abōḏā Zārā*, etc., *Ab. R. Nat(han)* = *Abōḇ de Rabbi Nāpān*.

4. MIDRAŠIM:

Mek. = *M^ekilḇā*; *Gen. R.*, *Ex(od.) R.*, *Lev. R.*, *Num. R.*, *Deut. R.* = *B^erešit Rabbā*, *Š^emoḇ Rabbā*, *Uḡyiqrā Rabbā*, *B^emidbar Rabbā*, *D^eḇārim Rabbā*; *Cant. R.* = *Miḏraš Šir-ha-šŠirim*; *Ruth R.* = *Miḏraš Ruḇ*; *Lam. R.* = *Miḏraš 'Ekā*; *Eccl. R.* = *Miḏraš Qohælæḇ*; *Pesiḡtha* = *P^esiḡḇā d^e Rab Kāh^anā*; *Pesiḡtha R.* = *P^esiḡḇā Rabbāḇi*; *Tanh.* = *Tanhūmā*; *Procem.* = *Procemium*, פתחתא; *Y. Sh.* = *Yalquṡ Šim'oni*.

5. For titles of reference and abbreviations referring to other Hebrew and Aramaic books and writings *vide* below, section 2, A, 5. ("List of abbreviations, etc.")

§ 2. SOURCES & LITERATURE

A. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC SOURCES & LITERATURE.

I. RABBINICA PROPER:

Babylonian and Palestinian *Talmud*; *Mišna*, *Tosæfta* (ed. Zuckermann) and *G^emārā*.

'En Ya^aqōḇ, *vide* below, 3 B.

The *Targums*.

Miḏrāšim:

(a) *M^ekilḇā*, ed. Venice, 1545,¹ Friedmann, Wien, 1870.

Sifre, ed. Vencie, 1545,¹ Friedmann, Wien, 1867.

Sifrā, ed. Venice, 1545.¹

P^esiḡḇā d^e Rab Kāh^anā, ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868.

¹ Reprinted Berlin, 1925-26.

Pesiqṭā Rabbāḇi, ed. Friedmann, Wien, 1880.

Berēšit Rabbā, *Šemoḥ Rabbā*, *Uayyigrā Rabbā*, *Bemidbar Rabbā*, *Deḇārim Rabbā* and (*Miḏraś Ešter*) *Miḏraś šir-ha-šŠirim*, *Miḏraś Ruḥ*, *Miḏraś 'Ekā*, *Miḏraś Qohelāḇ* (so-called *Miḏraś Rabboḥ*), ed. Warshava, 1877. Cf. J. Theodor, *Bereschit Rabba mit krit. Apparate und Kommentare*, Bojanowo, 1903–

Tanḥumā, ed. Venice, 1545, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1885.

Miḏraś T'hillim, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1892.

Miḏraś Mišle, ed. Buber, Wilna, 1893.

Miḏraś Tannā'im to Deuteronomy, ed. D. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1908, 1909.

(b) *Yalqut Šim'oni*, 2 voll., ed. Warshava, 1876–77.

2. COLLECTIONS OF MIDRAŠIM:

A. Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch* (referred to as *BH.*), voll. 1–6 (voll. 1–4, Leipzig, 1853–57; voll. 5, 6, Wien, 1873–77).

S. A. Wertheimer, *בתי מדרשות* 1–4, Jerusalem.

S. A. Wertheimer, *אוצר מדרשים* 1–2, Jerusalem, 1913–14.

L. Grünhut, *ספר הלקוטים Sammlung älterer Midraschim und wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, 1–6, Jerusalem, 1898–1903.

J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* (referred to as *OM.*), voll. 1–2.

C. M. Horowitz, *בית עקר האגדות*, Frankf. 1881; New York, 1915.

3. EARLIER MYSTICAL AND RELATED WRITINGS (Till about A.D. 1038):

A. MSS.

Bodl. MSS.: OPP. 556, MS. HEB. e 56, MICH. 175, OPP. 649, MICH. 256, MS. HEB. f 56, MS. HEB. f 59, OPP. 757, MICH. ADD. 28, MICH. 9, OPP. 467, OPP. 563, OPP. 658, MICH. 473, MICH. ADD. 61.

British Museum MSS.: *Or.* 6577, *Add.* 27142, *Add.* 15299, *Add.* 26922, *Harl.* 5515, *Add.* 27120, *Harl.* OR. 5510, *Add.* 17807.

B. Printed edd.

BH. iii. 141. *אגדת משיח*.

BH. v. 57. *אגדת עולם קטן*.

OM. i. 212. *אגדת ר' יהושוע בן לוי*.

Bodl. MICH. 175, fol. 25 b; Ch. Horowitz, *בית עקר האגדות* i. 59.

משיח אמתות המשיח.

Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba, Ven. 1546, Amst. 1708, etc. (3 recc.), Petrokov, 1884.

Epstein, *Eldad ha Dani*, Pressburg, 1891, *BH.* ii, iii, v (8 recc.).

4 recc.; *BH.* ii, vi *אב בית*, Livorno, 1777 (late but cont. earlier fragm.).

אלהו BH. iii; OM. i. 26 a; Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse*.

פרקי דר' אליעזר *vide* אליעזר.

אלפא ביתא דבן סירה Saloniki, 1514; OM. i. 35.

אמונות ודעות (Sa'adya), ed. Krakau, 1880.

1885 שלשה ספרים נפתחים Samuel Schönblum, ברייתא דישועה.

OM. ii. 542. ברייתא דשמואל הקטן.

Salonica 1727 (*Rev. of Moses*).

OM. i. 91 b, 92 b; BH. i, v. 48. מסכת ניהנם.

BH. ii; OM. i. 83 b. מסכת גן עדן.

BH. iii, v, vi; OM. i. 85 a, 89 a. סדר גן עדן.

Const. 1516. דברי הימים של משה.

BH. v. 49; OM. i. 94. דין הקבר.

BH. v. 165 (*Rev. of Moses*, 1 rec.). הגדת שמע ישראל.

BH. iii; OM. i. 111; Wertheimer, היכלות רבתי 1889 ס' פרקי היכלות (referred to as *Hek. R.*).

Arze L^ebānon, BH. ii; OM. i. 109 (referred to as *Mass. Hek.*).

Const. 1519. מ' ויושע.

BH. ii. 54-57; OM. i. 159; Const. 1519. מ' זורובבל.

BH. i. 151; OM. i. 93. מסכת חבוט הקבר.

BH. iv. 129; OM. i. 182 a; *S. ha-y Yāšār*, Par. Berešip. חיי חנוך.

(*The Sword of Moses*), ed. Gaster, 1896. חרבא דמשה.

(Hai Ga'on), ed. Frankf. a. M. 1854. מעם זקנים.

BH. v; OM. i. 104 (cf. *Midraš Kōnēn*). מדרש ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ.

Mantua, 1562, etc., etc., Warsaw, 1884 (with commentaries of R. Sa'adya Ga'on, Sabbathai Donnolo, Nachmanides, Eleazar of Worms, Moses Botarel, and others).

BH. i. 153. סדר יצירת חולד.

(מ' ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ) (cf. *Arze L^ebānon*). מדרש כונן.

BH. vi. 117; OM. ii. 394 b. מלחמות מלך משיה.

and נגזי חכמ' הקב, 'Jellinek, (referred to as *Mass. As.*) in Lublin, 1891. מסכת אצילות אנדת בראשית.

(the 2nd rec. of *Rev. of Moses*) 'Arze L^ebānon, 46 b; *Šiyyuni, Paraša Uā'ēphannān, Zohar*, ii. 58 a (Aramaic version).

BH. i, ii, v; OM. i. 2 b, 6 b, 7 b, 8 a. מעשה אברהם.

BH. vi; OM. i. 211 a. מעשה דר' יהושע בן לוי.

S. Raziēl, 29 a (ed. Warsaw, 1913), *Bāttē Midrāšōp*, i.

p. 47. רב פעלים, תקונים ומלואים, in ברייתא דמעשה בראשית.

BH. ii; OM. ii. 390 a, fol. 2 b. אבקה ריכל, אותות המשיה.

BH. iii. 70 (cf. BH. iii. 141, vi. 117). פרקי משיה.

S. Raziēl, 3 b, c (ed. Warsaw, 1913) (together with *T^efillaḇ Ādām hā-Rišōn the Sefær No^h forms part of 'Aggādaḇ Sefær ha-Rāzim*). Another recension: OM. ii. 402 a.

יחזי נסתרות דר' שמעון בן יוחי *BH.* iii. 80.

Warsaw, 1865. סדר רב עמרם גאון

in *Siddur R. 'Amram Ga'on*, fol. 13; *BH.* v. 45.

BH. vi. סעודת לויתן

(*Midraš of the Ten Commandments*); *BH.* i. 62.

(containing fragments from the *Heḳāloṣ* Literature):

(a) *BH.* v. 167–169 (referred to as 1 *Leg(end) of Martyrs*);

(b) *BH.* vi. 19–36 (referred to as 2 *Leg. Martyrs*).

מ' פמירת אהרון *Const.* 1516; *BH.* i. 91–95.

מדרש פמירת משה *Const.* 1516; *BH.* i. 115–129, ii, vi; *OM.* ii. 361 b.

ed. Zunz, 1884. פיומי בן קליר

Const. 1514; Warsaw, 1852 (with a commentary by Luria).

פרק ר' שמעון בן יוחאי *BH.* iii. 78; *OM.* ii. 555 (Revelation of R. Sim'on ben Yohai).

BH. vi. 148; *OM.* ii. 579. שאלות ר' אליעזר

in *S. Razi'el* (ed. Amsterdam, 1701, fol. 37 b, ed. Warsaw, 1913, foll. 30 b, d). Two versions, one shorter, usually attributed

to R. Iṣma'el, but in some MSS. to R. 'Aqiba, the other, and more

comprehensive one, attributed, sometimes to R. Iṣma'el, and

sometimes to R. 'Aqiba). MSS. containing *Ši'ur Qomā* or *Sefar*

ha-qQomā: *Bodl.* MICH. 175, fol. 18 b; *OPP.* 467, fol. 58 a; *OPP.*

563, fol. 91; *OPP.* 658, fol. 100 b (with a commentary); MICH. 473,

fol. 23 b; MICH. *Add.* 61, fol. 2.

שאלת ר' ישמעאל מר' נתנויה בן הקנה (referred to as *Hek. Zot.*) in *Bodl.*

MS. MICH. 9, fol. 66 a seqq.

BH. vi. 109. שמושא רבא זוטא

BH. iv. 127. שמתואי ועזאל

ed. Machzor Vitri, Paris, 1874 (*OM.* ii. 564 a).

BH. i. 106; at the end of Azulai, שם הגדולים Livorno, 1786

(acc. to Jellinek thirteenth century).

S. Razi'el, fol. 3 a (ed. Warsaw, 1913); cf. ספר נח.

British Museum MSS. *Add.* 27199, fol. 299 a, OR.

6577, fol. 13 a.

BH. iii. 78, iv. 117; *OM.* ii. 551. שמעון בן יוחאי

4. LATER MYSTICAL LITERATURE (Post-Ga'onic):

(Todros Abulafia, 1234–1304), Nowydwor, 1808.

ed. Venice, 1601. ס' ארזי לבנון

ed. Wilna, 1883. ס' הבהיר

(Abraham ben Isaac of Granada), Amsterd. 1648.

(A. Jellinek, *Auswahl kabbalistischer Mystik*), Leipzig,

1853 seqq.

(Joseph Gikatilla), Hanau, 1615. ס' גנת אנון

(Meir b. Ezekiel ibn Gabbai), Padua, 1563. דרך אמונה

הלכות המזלות (Eleazar of Worms, d. 1237), in *S. Raziel*, 18 a (ed. 1913).
הלכות האופנים, הלכות המלאכים, הלכות הכסף, הלכות המרכבה, הלכות משטרון
(Eleazar of Worms), Brit. Mus. Add. 27199.

פיה וידוי יפה Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, fol. 133 b.

ספר הזוהר ed. Amsterdam, 1715; Люблинъ (Lublin), 1903.

זוהר חדש ed. 1663 with תיקונים; ed. Warsaw, with *Zohar Hādāš 'al Me'gillaḥ Ruḥ and Bi'urim on Zohar Hādāš*.

מנחת יהודה *vide* חייט.

מ' לחנוך בן ירד (magical formulas), Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, fol. 45 b.

חסד לאברהם (Abraham ben Mordecai Azulai), Amsterd. 1685.

מ' החסידים (Judah ben Samuel the Pious), Bologna, 1538.

חסד ויזר ed. S. A. Wertheimer, Jerusalem, 1899; *OM*. i. 194 a.

מ' (ה) חשק (on the Divine Names), Brit. Mus. Add. 27120.

טוב הארץ (Nat. b. Reuben Spira), Venice, 1655.

טעם זקנים (Ashkenazi), Frankf. a. M. 1854.

מ' טעמי המצות (Reḡanati), Const. 1544.

מ' יוחסין (Zacuto), Const. 1566.

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מ' המלבוש (Eleazar of Worms), Brit. Mus. OR. 6577, foll. 1-12, also in *S. Raziel*, beg.

מנחת יהודה (J. Ḥayyaṭ, comm. on האלהות), Ferrara, 1557.

- מ' מעין חכמה (Isaac Luria), Amsterdam, 1562. (Not to be confused with the earlier, anonymous, writing מעין חכמה, being the second recension of *The Revelation of Moses*; cf. also the following.)
- OM. ii. 307 b and Berlin, 1726 (on the "letters").
- מערכת האלהות Ferrara, 1557 (with commentaries).
- משכן העדות (Moses de Leon), BH. ii. p. xxxi.
- נפתולי אלהים (Naft. Treves), Ferrara, 1555.
- נחל קדומים (Dav. Azulai), Livorno, 1800.
- סוד השם המיוחד (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziel*, fol. 28 a (ed. 1913).
- סוד שמות ופעולותיהן (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziel*, 21 a (ed. 1913).
- סודי ריזא (Eleazar of Worms, d. 1237), Brit. Mus. Add. 27199; parts of the work are contained in the *S. Raziel* and in Brit. Mus. OR. 6577.
- ס' עין יעקב (Jacob ibn Ḥabib) with יפה מראה (Samuel Japhe) and commentaries, Wilna, 1922 (edd. princ. Salon. 1516, Const. 1587).
- ספר עקדת יצחק (Isaac ben Moses Aramah), Salon. 1522.
- פירוש התורה (Menahem Reqan(a)ti), Venice, 1523.
- פירוש על התורה (Bachya ben Asher), Pesara, 1507.
- ס' פדרם רמונים (Moses ben Jacob Cordovero), Cracow, 1591.
- ס' צרור המור (Abraham Sabba), Const. 1514.
- ס' צרור המור (Isaac ben Abraham Laṭif), in *Kæraem Hæmæd*, ix.
- ס' ציינוי (Menachem Siyyon ben Meir), Cremona, 1560 (referred to as *Siyyuni*).
- ס' קמיעות (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziel*, 33 d (ed. 1913).
- ס' הקנה (Elqana ben Yeruḥam), Korez, 1784.
- קנה בינה (Elqana ben Yeruḥam), Wilmersdotff, 1730.
- ענין רוח ובהו (Eleazar of Worms), *S. Raziel*, 9 a (ed. 1913).
- שם עולם (Jonathan ben Nathan Nata, Eybeschütz), Vienna, 1891.
- ס' שני לוחות הברית (Isaiah ben Abraham Horwitz), 1649.
- ס' שערי אורה (Joseph Gikatilla), Mantua, 1561.
- ס' שערי צדק (Joseph Gikatilla), Riva di Trento, 1561.
- ס' שפע מל (Shabthai b. Aqiba Horwitz), Hanau, 1612.
- שפתי כהן (Mordecai, the Priest, of Safed), Cracow, 1690.
- BH. iii; A. Epstein, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Alterthums-kunde*, Vienna, 1887.
- ס' מדרש תלפיות (Elijah ben Solomon Abraham), Lublin, 1884.
- ספר תמונה, printed together with *Zohar Hādāš*, ed. Korez, 1774.
- ספר תקני הזהר Livorno, 1854.

5. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TITLES under which some of the preceding books and writings are referred to:

Ap. Elijah: ס' אליה [3 (B)].

1 *Ap. Ishm.* (= *The 1st Apocalypse of R. Iśma'el*): עשרה הרוגי מלכות and *Siddur* 'Amram Ga'on, 3 b [3 (B)].

2 *Ap. Ishm.* (= *The 2nd Apocalypse of R. Iśma'el*): אנדת ר' ישמעאל [3 (B)].

- A. R. 'Aq. (Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba)*: עקיבא [3 (B)].
Ascension of Moses: הגדת שמע ישראל; גדולת משה: Cf. 3 En. xv B.
Bahya (comm. on the Pentateuch): פירוש על התורה [4].
Beriṣ M^enuḥa: ס' ברית מנוחה [4].
BH.: Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch* [2].
Ḥayyat: מנחת יהודה [4].
Hek. R. (Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi): [3 (B)]. היכלות רבתי.
Hek. Zot. (Hekāloḥ Zoṭraḥi): [3 (B)]. שאלת ר' ישמעאל מר' נחוניה.
Hilkoḥ ha-mMærkābā, Hilkoḥ ha-kKisse, etc.: 'הלכות המרכבה; הלכות האופ':
 Eleazar of Worms (הלכות המלאכים; הלכות הכסא) [4].
Jerachmeel = Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*.
La: Brit. Mus. ms. Add. 27199.
 1 or 2 *Leg. Martyrs* (the 1st or 2nd recension of the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*): עשרה הרוגי מלכות [3 (B)].
Life of Enoch: חיי הנוך [3 (B)].
Ma'ase Bereṣiṣ: מעשה בראשית [3 (B)].
Mass. 'As. (Massækaḥ 'Asihuḥ): [3 (B)]. מסכת אצילות.
Mass. Hek. (Massækaḥ Hekāloḥ): [3 (B)]. מסכת היכלות.
Midraṣ Kōnēn: מדרש כונן [3 (B)].
OM.: Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* [2].
Pardes (Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*): ס' פרדס רמונים [4].
Prayer of Raḥ Hammunā Sābā: תפלת רב המנונא סבא [3 (B)].
Prayer of R. Šim'on ben Yoḥai: תפלת ר' שמעון בן יוחאי [3 (B)].
P. R. El. (Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer): פרקי דר' אליעזר [3 (B)].
Reqaṇ(a)ti's Comm. on the Pentateuch (Reqaṇati): פירוש התורה [4].
 (מנחם רקנטי) [4].
Revelations of R. Šim'on ben Yoḥai: פרק ר' שמעון בן יוחאי [3 (B)].
Rev. of Moses, 1st rec.: YR. 66 b הגדת שמע ישראל [3 (B)].
Rev. of Moses, 2nd rec.: ס' מעין חכמה [3 (B)].
Sh. Q. (Ši'ur Qomā): שיעור קומה [3 (B)].
Siddur Raḥ 'Amram: סדור רב עמרם גאון [3 (B)].
Šiyyuni, Šiuni: ספר ציוני [4].
Sword of Moses (Ḥārbā d^e Mošæ): [3 (B)]. חרבא דמשה.
S. Yes. (Sefær Yeširā): ס' יצירה [3 (B)].
S. Zer. (Sefær Z^erubbāḇæ): [3 (B)]. ספר זרובבל.
Ṭiqqune ha-zZohar: ed. Warsaw [4]. זוהר חדש ותיקוני.
Tractate of Gan 'Eḏen: סדר גן עדן; [3 (B)]. מסכת גן עדן.
Tractate of Gehinnom: [3 (B)]. מסכת גיהנום.
Udduy Yāfe: וידוי יפה [4].
Wars of King Messiah: מלחמות מלך משיח [3 (B)].
Yalquṭ Haḏaš: ס' ילקוט חדש [4].
YR.: ed. Warsaw, 1901 [4]. ילקוט ראובני על התורה.
YRL.: ed. Prague, 1660 [4]. ילקוט ראובני.

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§ 3. MSS. & PRINTED BOOKS CONTAINING THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH OR PARTS OF IT

THE complete Hebrew Book of Enoch has never been printed before. Most of the MSS. preserved also present 3 *Enoch* in a fragmentary form.

The MS. which is made the basis of the present edition is the

✓ (A) Bodleian MS. OPP. 556, foll. 314 seqq. (Neubauer, 1656: "Written in German Hebrew cursive characters by Yiṣḥaq יִשְׁחָק, about A.D. 1511?"), containing chh. 1-48 A B C D and entitled "Book of Enoch by R. Ishmael ben Elisha, High Priest". This MS. seems to be based on an earlier MS. in a very good textual condition, but it has suffered through the carelessness of the present copyist, though the corruptions caused by him are as a rule easily emended. Apart from these corruptions & without contradiction presents the very best readings of all the MSS. and printed fragments.

The text of A has throughout been collated with the following MSS. and printed fragments, and the different readings are given in the textual apparatus. The Hebrew text reproduces & exactly, but emendations are suggested in the Crit. App. and also, by the use of brackets, in the text.

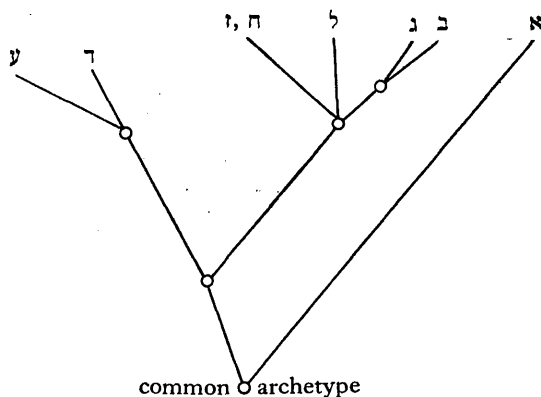
The MSS. and printed fragments made use of are

- (2, B) Bodleian MS. MICH. 175, foll. 18 b seqq. (Neubauer 2257, written in German Hebrew cursive characters), containing chh. 3-22, 23, 24 and after chh. 15 and 22 respectively, the additional fragments chh. 15 B and 22 B C. The said fragments are included with the *Ši'ur Qomā*, 2 *Ap. Ishm.* and a few other fragments under the common title: *Pirqē de R. Ishmael*.
- (3, C) Bodleian MS. MICH. 256, foll. 25 a seqq. (written in Old German Hebrew cursive characters), containing chh. 3-12 and 15, entitled "The Elevation of Metatron". (Neubauer, 1748.) Valuable.
- (7, D) The fragments preserved in the printed editions of "*Sefær Hekālōṣ*" by the Tanna R. Išma'el, High Priest", viz. Lemberg, 1859 referred to as *D 1*, and Warsaw, 1864, referred to as *D 2* (cf. Jellinek, *Qontras ha-mMaggid*, ii). Here are contained chh. 1-28, vs. 5 a and beg. of ch. 48 c. The readings are not very good, but sometimes valuable for critical purposes.
- (9, E) The printed fragm. in Jellinek, *Beth ha Midrasch*, vol. v, pp. 170-190, containing chh. 1-15, 23-48 A. The text in a bad condition.
- (1, F) The Enoch-Metatron fragments inserted at the end of letter Aleph in the printed ed. of *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, Cracow, 1579, foll. 9 c-11 d, corresponding to ch. 48 B C D.
- (11, G) The same fragments in the reprinted edition of *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, Amsterdam, 1708, foll. 11 a-12 b.
- (2, H) The same fragments in *A. R. 'Aq. BH.* vol. ii.
- (2, K) Bodleian MS. MICH. Add. 61 (Neubauer, 1915: Spanish Rabbinic characters), fol. 13 a, containing a short recension of chh. 48 B and 48 c.
- (3, L) British Museum Add. 27199 (writings of R. 'Ael'azār of Worms, copied by Elias Levita), containing chh. 3-12, 15, 16 (foll. 11 b-114 b); 13, 14, 15 B (fol. 116 a b: *Lm*); 48 c^{3-10, 12}, 48 D (fol. 115 a b: *Lm*); 22 B, 22 C (fol. 126 a: *Lmr*); 22 C, 19²⁻⁷ (foll. 78 a, 81 a: *Lo*).
- (YR, S (3)) Quotations in YR. and *Šiyyumi*.

In the Dropsie College Library in Philadelphia there is a MS. containing, acc. to B. Halper (*Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia*, 1927, pp. 210 and 436), "the greater part of the *Sefær Hekalot*". It is possible that this MS. contains some parts of our book.

§ 4. THE MUTUAL RELATIONS AND AFFINITIES OF THE MSS. AND OTHER SOURCES

AN examination of the textual status of the various sources reveals a closer relation between γ and ψ on the one hand and between β , λ and ζ on the other, whereas $\aleph$ represents a comparatively independent textual tradition. ι , π and ς are more closely attached to each other than to $\aleph$. The relation of the various sources to an assumed archetype may be illustrated by the following diagram.



§ 5. SHORT SURVEY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH

THE Hebrew Book of Enoch may be divided into the following sections, viz.:

- (1) Introduction, chh. 1, 2.
- (2) Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-16 (together with an additional fragment on the Ascension of Moses, ch. 15 B).
- (3) A section on Angelology, chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶. The section presents three different angelological systems, viz. A 2 (ch. 17), A 3 (ch. 18) and A 1 (chh. 19-22, 25-28⁶). Cf. below on the Angelology of 3 *Enoch*.
- (4) A section on the Judgment, chh. 28⁷-33².
- (5) The Celestial *Q'ḏuššā*, chh. 35, 36, 38-40.

- (6) The 'by-work' of the *Mærkābā* ('Divine Chariot') and the quasi-physical aspects of the heavenly regions, chh. 23, 24, 33³⁻⁵, 34, 37 and the additional chh. 22 B, 22 C.
- (7) Metatron shows R. Ishmael various wonders of the heavens, such as
- (a) the cosmic or mystical 'letters', ch. 41;
 - (b) polar opposites kept in balance by the Divine Names, ch. 42;
 - (c) the *Pargod* of the Throne, on which all past, present and future events are portrayed, ch. 45;
 - (d) the constellations and planets, ch. 46;
 - (e) the spirits of the unborn, of the dead and the spirits and souls of the punished angels, chh. 43, 44, 47;
 - (f) matters of Apocalyptic character, chh. 44⁷⁻¹⁰, 45⁵, 48 A.
- (8) The Divine Names, ch. 48 B.
- (9) A shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 C.
- (10) The names of Metatron, the transmission of the secrets to Moses, the protest of the angels, the chain of tradition.

§ 6. QUOTATIONS OF AND REFERENCES TO 3 ENOCH

THERE are numerous instances in the later mystical literature of dependence upon or acquaintance with 3 *Enoch*. This is particularly marked in the case of the conceptions of Metatron. The influence of 3 *Enoch* in this respect is dealt with below on "the conceptions of Metatron in related mystical literature" and "the conceptions of Metatron in later mystical literature" (sections 9 and 10).

Apart from this, fragments of 3 *Enoch* are quoted in YR. in *Siyyumi*, Reqanati, Moscato's *Qol Yehudā*, YRL. *Ma'arækæp ha-²lohuḅ*, *Midraš Ruḅ*, *Zohar*, *Bāraiḅā de Ma'ase B'rešīḅ*, etc.

(1) The question whether the Babylonian Talmud may be said to show acquaintance with the traditions embodied in 3 *Enoch* is discussed below, pp. 32-36, cf. also on "the conceptions of Metatron in Talmud, etc."

(2) *Ḥayye Ḥanok* (BH. iv. 129seqq., OM. i. 182a-183b, *Sefær ha-yYāšār*, *Par. B'rešīḅ*) shows dependence upon 3 *Enoch*, esp. chh. 6, 10³, 48 C¹, 4⁹,

although that fragment in other parts moves in a quite different trend of traditions from our book. The *Sefær No^{ah}* (or *T^efillaḥ 'Ādām hā Riṣon*, *BH.* iii. 155; *OM.* ii. 401 a) also betrays some knowledge of the Enoch Literature, including 3 *En.*

(3) The *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 22^a, shows dependence upon 3 *En.* 18¹⁸; *ib.* ch. 26^b it reflects the expressions of 3 *En.* 12¹, 13¹.

(4) The *Hekāloḥ Zoṯrāḥi*, fol. 70 a, likewise betrays acquaintance with 3 *En.* 12¹, 13¹, etc.

(5) *Harbā d^e Mošæ*, end (ed. Gaster, London, 1896), reflects 3 *En.* 13 and 41.

(6) *Bāraiḥā de Ma^{ase} Berešit* (in Rab Pe'alim, *Tiqqunim*, etc., pp. 46 seqq.), towards the end, quotes 3 *En.* 17⁴, 5^{6b}.

The *Midraš on Šemḥazai and 'Azza'el* is, perhaps, dependent on 3 *En.* 5.

(7) *Šimmušā Rabbā* (*BH.* vi. 109 seqq.) resumes the contents of 3 *En.* 6-10 and 48 c.

(8) *Yalquṯ R^e 'uḇeni*, foll. i. 54 a seqq., contains a great many quotations from 3 *Enoch*. These quotations are sometimes cited from the writings of R. 'El'āzār ben Y^ehuḏā (of Worms), such as *Soḏe Rāzā* (54 b, 56 a) and *H^akām hā-Rāzīm* (55 a), sometimes from *Pirqē Hekāloḥ* (55 b). The quotations are: 3 *En.* 22 (fol. 54 a); 4 and 8 (fol. 54 b); 6, 15, 3 (fol. 55 b); 12, 48 c¹², 5¹⁻⁶, 13-14² (foll. 56 a, 57 b, 59 a b).

(9) The *Lesser Yalquṯ R^e 'uḇeni*, on Metatron no. 6, quotes 3 *En.* 6, 15 and 3 from *Pirqē Hekāloḥ* (cf. *YR.* i. 55 b).

(10) MSS. containing writings of R. 'Ēl'āzār of Worms quote 3 *En.* 3-12, 15 from "*Bāraiḥās* belonging to the *Ma^{ase} Mærkābā*" (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 27199), and 3 *En.* 3-22, 23, 24, from *Pirqē de R. Išma'el* or *Bāraiḥās* (*Bodl. MICH.* 175).

(11) *Šiyyuni*, foll. 13 d, 14 a, quotes 3 *En.* 6, 15, 3 from *Sefær Hekāloḥ*, cf. *ib.* foll. 9 c d.

(12) *S. ha-kKuzāri*, beg. and (13) Reḡanati, comm. on the Pentateuch, ed. Venice, foll. 30 and 35 a, cf. 133 a, likewise (14) Moscato, *Qol Y^ehuḏā*, 189, quote fragments of the Enoch-Metatron pieces of 3 *Enoch*.

The quotations in the writings of R. 'El'āzār of Worms, in *YR.*, *YRL.*, *Šiyyuni*, Reḡanati, etc., show that at one time 3 *Enoch* had become incorporated into a larger collection of writings concerned with the *Hekāloḥ*, and, further, that this collection must have formed part of a compilation referred to as *Ma^{ase} Mærkābā*. From other quotations in the said works we know that the *Ma^{ase} Mærkābā* contained, besides 3 *Enoch* and the *Hekāloḥ*, also the *Ši'ur Qomā*, *Revelations of Moses*, etc.

(15) *Ma^{aræḳæḥ} ha'^ælohuḥ*, ed. Ferrara, 1557, foll. 116 a seqq., quotes 3 *En.* 48 c from 'The *Haggadā* on Enoch'.

(16) The *Zohar* refers to the Enoch-Metatron-*Na'ar* traditions as contained in 'the well-known *Bārāiḡās*' (i. 223 b).¹

The *Zohar* quite frequently quotes from 'The Book of Enoch'. These quotations show that 'The Book of Enoch' referred to in the *Zohar* was a large collection of Enoch traditions some of which are contained in 1 and 2 *Enoch*, others in writings now lost, whereas others again clearly emanate from 3 *Enoch*.

Zohar, i. 37 b,² iii. 240 a, 348 b, 10 b, quote from 'The Book of Enoch' matters contained in 3 *Enoch*.

Zohar, i. 37 b (after quotations clearly dependent upon 3 *Enoch*), ii. 55 a refer to details of 'The Book of Enoch', which are not found in 3 *Enoch*. They correspond well, however, with certain passages in 1 and 2 *Enoch* (vide 1 *Enoch* 24⁴, 5, 2 *Enoch* 8).

Zohar, i. 55 b, 58 b, ii. 100 a, 105 b, 192 b, 217 a, ii. 180 b, also cite 'The Book of Enoch' or 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ii. 180 b), but give no parallel whatever with 1, 2 or 3 *Enoch*.

It is evident that the *Zohar* regarded 3 *Enoch* as belonging to the Enoch Literature, and also, that it associated 3 *Enoch* with what is known to us as 1 and 2 *Enoch*. Lastly it should be noticed that 'The Book of Enoch' of the *Zohar* contains material from a time much later than 3 *Enoch*.

(17) *Midraš Ruḡ*, 85 b, resumes the traditions of 3 *En.* 48 c¹⁻⁹, 10, 12, 10, 6, 12.

(18) *Miškan hā'Ēḡuḡ*³ (by Moses de Leon) quotes from 'The Book of Enoch' passages reminding of 3 *En.* 39 and 48 B².

Brit. Mus. ms. *Add.* 15299, foll. 45 b seq., contains a 'Book of Enoch' which treats of the preparations necessary to obtain communion with the

¹ *Zohar*, i. 223 b:

דא איהו נער דאחיד שית מאה ותלת עשר מפתחן עלאין מסטרא דאימא וכלהו מפתחן עלאין בשננא דחרבא דחגיר בחרציה תליין ההוא נצר קרון ליה חנוך בן ירד באינון בריית דכתיב (משלי כ"ב) חנוך לגער על פי דרכו ואי תימא מתניתין היא ולא ברייתא במתניתא דילן אוקימנא מילי והא אתמר וכלא מלתא דהא אסתכלו (ג'א אשתכללו) תחותיה.....

² *Zohar*, i. 37 b:

וכן תנינן ספר הזה ליה לחנוך. ודא ספר מאתר דספרא דתולדות אדם הזה ודא הוא דזא דחכמתא דהא מארעא אתגמיל דהא הוא דכתיב ואינון כי לקח אותנו אלהים. והוא הנער דכתיב חנוך לגער על פי דרכו [cf. above] וכל גנזי עלאי אתמסרן בידיה ודא מסיר ויהיב ועביד שליחותא (cf. 3 *En.* 11¹, 48 c⁴)... מאה ברבאין נטיל בכל יומא (cf. 3 *En.* 9¹) יקשיר קשירין למאריה (cf. 3 *En.* 48 c⁴) מעלמא נטיל ליה ק'בה לשמושיה (cf. 3 *En.* 15¹) דהא הוא דכתיב כי לקח אותנו אלהים. ומן דא אתמסר ספרא דאקרי ספרא דחנוך. בשעתא דאחיד ליה קדשא בריך הוא אחמי ליה כל גינזי עלאי. אחמי ליה אילנא דחיי בנו מציעות גנתא וטרפוי וענפוי (cf. 2 *En.* 8⁵ B, 1 *En.* 24⁴)

וכלא חמינן בספריה

³ Given in Jellinek, *BH.* ii. p. xxxi.

high angel-princes, in particular with YEHOEL (another name for Metatron). It is immediately followed by *Sefær ha-yYāšār*. At the beginning of the latter the frequent tradition is put forth, according to which the *S. ha-yYāšār* together with another book was given to Adam by the angel GALLIŠUR, by Adam committed to Seth and after him to Enoch. This is also set forth at the beginning of *S. Rāzi'el ha-mMal'āk*. Acc. to *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b, one of these "two books" was 'The Book of Enoch'. On this cf. note on 3 *En.* 48 D¹⁰.

The 'S. ha-yYāšār' or, as it is also called, 'The Book of the First Adam' or 'The Book of Noah', really forms part of a vast literature consisting of various magical formulas, etc. The compilers of this magical literature were anxious to obtain authority for their 'books', and hence they tried to append them to the Enoch Literature by maintaining that 'two books were committed to Enoch'. The one was of course the older Enoch Literature, the other was intended to be understood as identical with the writings issued by them.

§ 7. ORIGIN AND DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH AND ITS RELATION TO COGNATE MYSTICAL WRITINGS

THE present book has not been made the subject of critical investigation as to origin and date of composition—apart from the short discussion of it by M. Bittenwieser¹ (see below). On the rare occasions when it has been referred to² it has almost without exception been grouped with the bulk of Jewish mystical writings which are termed 'Gaonic Mystical Literature', and within this group it has usually been counted as one of the so-called *Hekāloḥ* works (mainly because one of the titles under which it is quoted is 'Sefær Hekāloḥ', cf. *BH.* v. 170).

The history of the grouping together of the mystical works in question under the term 'Gaonic Mystical Literature' may be considered to begin with the chapter entitled "Geheimlehre" (Secret Doctrine) in Zunz's *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, 2nd ed., pp. 165-179. After dealing with the traces of mystical doctrines and speculations in the Talmud and accepting the possibility of the existence of early *Bārāiḥās* on mystical subjects, Zunz says:

"Erst mit der zweiten Hälfte des Geonäischen Zeitalters, etwa um

¹ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, i. 678, article 'Apocalyptic Literature; Neo-Hebraic'.

² Usually the references to the 'Hebrew Book of Enoch' have in view only the fragments contained in ch. 48 B C D of our book, the actual 3 *En.* being unknown.

A.D. 780, also mit der Epoche der allmählich auflebenden Wissenschaftlichkeit und nachdem die Beschäftigung mit den Materien der Geheimlehre häufiger geworden, traten eigene (*sic*) Schriften auf, die sich an die Erläuterung der Schöpfung, an die Schilderung der göttlichen Majestät wagen." As mystical writings of this kind Zunz enumerates the following, viz.: (1) *S. Y'esirā*; (2) chh. iii and iv of *Pirqē dē R. 'Ēli'āzār*; (3) *Hekāloḥ* which he regards as older than *P. R. 'El. iii, iv*; (4) *S. Rāzie'l* (acc. to Zunz younger than the *Hekāloḥ*, though not to be confused with the *Sefar Rāzie'l ha-Gādol* by 'Ēli'āzār of Worms); (5) *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*; (6) *Midraś Kōnēn*; (7) *S. ha-y Yāšār*; (8) *Yuhāsīn*.

As may be seen from this list *the present book was unknown to Zunz*. Through the *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba* in its printed edd. he might, however, have gained knowledge of the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, corresponding to ch. 48 c of the present book, in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* (ed. Cracow et seqq.) inserted at the end of letter Aleph.

M. Steinschneider does not, in his treatment of the mystical literature,¹ lay down the results of his own investigations, but, as he expressly declares, follows the exposition of Zunz in the aforementioned chapter in *GV*.

A much fuller treatment than that of Zunz(-Steinschneider) is given to these writings by H. Grätz.² Grätz does not know of the present book, but he attaches great importance to the Enoch-Metatron fragment contained in the *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* at the end of letter Aleph (identical with ch. 48 B C of 3 *Enoch*). He uses this fragment together with a MS. containing polemical strictures by Salmon ben Y'ruḥām against Sa'adyā, as starting-point for his theory as to the original literary connection between the various writings under consideration. Ben Y'ruḥām quotes various passages, occurring in different mystical writings, from the *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*. From a comparison with the passages quoted by Ben Y'ruḥām Grätz maintains:

(1) that the Enoch-Metatron fragment was an original constituent part of the *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*;

(2) that the *Hekāloḥ* belonged to the Enoch-Metatron fragments;³

¹ In Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künsten*, ii. xxvii (1850), 400-404, article 'Jüdische Literatur', § 13. (Fuerst, in *Bibliotheca Judaica*, ii. 15, confuses *Hek. Rab.*, *Hek. Zot.*, *Pirqē Hek.* and *Sefar Chanok*.)

² In B. Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, viii (1859), 67-78, 103-118, 140-153.

³ Grätz's demonstration on this point is not convincing; his arguments are:

(a) Ben Y'ruḥām, after quoting from *A. R. 'Aq.* a passage (which is in reality part of *Ši'ur Qomā*) attributed to R. Isma'el, continues by mentioning that R. Isma'el was one of the martyrs, which is maintained also in *Hek. R.*, esp. chh. 3-5. Cf. 1 and 2 *Leg. Mart.*

(b) A MS. in the Oppenheimer Library (1061 a, after Steinschneider, cf. Neu-

(3) that there was originally a connection between the *Heḱāloḅ*, the *Sar Torā* (being chh. xxvii-xxx of the *BH.* edition of the *Hek. R.*) and the *Ši'ur Qomā*.

Grätz's argument for an original connection between the *Sar Torā* and the *Ši'ur Qomā* is in fact based on a misreading of Salmon ben Yēruḥām, the passage from which he gives in full on p. 76 *op. cit.* Grätz says that Salmon ben Yēruḥām in this passage quotes a chapter belonging to the *Sar Torā* from *Ši'ur Qomā*. The passage does not contain any reference at all to the *Ši'ur Qomā*, though the author in a preceding passage makes mention of the *Ši'ur Qomā* mysteries.

On the connection between the *Sar Torā* and the *Hek. R.*, Grätz says: The *Sar Torā* really belongs to the *Heḱāloḅ* "mit dem es nicht bloss zufällig zusammen copiert und zusammengedruckt ist, denn es beruft sich zum Schluss auf die in den echten *Hekaloth* ausgegebenen Gebet- und Lobformeln" (i.e. the '*Tiḫaddar, Tiḫromem u' Tiḫnasse Maelæk M'fo'ār*, etc.' which in ch. 30 is cited by the beginning words but given in full in ch. 7²). "Folglich hing das *Sar Torah* mit *Hekaloth* zusammen... als ein Zusammenhängendes scheint es auch *R. Hai* zu fassen" (when referring to *Hek. R.*, *Hek. Zot.* and *Sar Torā*).

(4) The *Rev. of Moses* as it appears in *Yalquṭ Re'uḇeni*, 101 c d (ed. Warsaw, 1901, vol. ii. fol. 67 a b, cf. below on *Metatron*), belongs to the same "single opus of mystical writings".

Grätz here, p. 103 *op. cit.*, bases upon a quotation from the same polemical writing of Salmon ben Yēruḥām, but the parallel between this quotation and the *Rev. of Moses* is far-fetched.

What Grätz's arguments show is merely the fact, that the mystical writings in question were known to Salmon ben Yēruḥām and possibly, as mystical writings on cognate subjects, were grouped together at that time, but it is not demonstrated by this that they *originally* formed a unity.

This is also, by the way, and almost inadvertently, admitted by

bauer) gives the *Heḱāloḅ* under the title 'Book of Enoch'. This ms. is no other than the *Bodl.* opp. 556, the N of the text edition of the present book—but Grätz quite naturally was led to believe that the ms. represented the *Heḱāloḅ* as known at that time, i.e. the *Hek. R.*, containing the references to the traditions connected with the 'Ten Martyrs'. In the ms. in question, being the Hebrew Book of Enoch, there is no mention of the martyrs, nor is R. Iṣma'el, who figures so prominently in it, referred to as one of the martyrs.

(c) Two quotations, one from *Yalquṭ Re'uḇeni* (100 d), the other from *Šiyyuni*, containing material of an Enoch-Metatron character, cite *Pirqē Heḱāloḅ*. On this point cf. further below.

Grätz when he says: "Wenigstens lag es (the 'mystical opus') als ein Ganzes Salmon ben Y'eruḥām vor, woraus er seine Waffen zur Bekämpfung des Rabbinismus gegen Sa'adyā nahm." But from this sound critical position the author immediately departs to treat of the writings as an original unity.

Having laid down his theory as to the unity of the mystical writings in question, Grätz proceeds to demonstrate that these writings belong to a post-Talmudic period, viz. the Ga'onic time, mainly, as he declares, on the grounds "dass die darin herrschenden Vorstellungen theils dem Talmudischen Zeitalter unbekannt waren, theils von Talmudischen Autoritäten perhorresciert wurden". His arguments are:

(1) Metatron is in the Talmud not identified with Enoch. In Talmud Metatron is an angel existing already at the creation (Grätz cites Tos. Yeb. 16 b, *Hullin* 60 a, i.e. the passages on the Prince of the World). Enoch, on the other hand, is in Talmudic times so little glorified as to be put on the list of the wicked or regarded as a 'Schwankender', sometimes righteous, at other times wicked. (*Gen. R.* xxv).¹

"Auch Metatron selbst stand den Talmudisten nicht so hoch, dass sie ihn gewissermassen zum *δέυτερος θεός* stempeln sollten. Sie lassen ihn bestraft werden... (alluding to *TB. Hag.* 15 a). Erst in folge der christlichen Dogmatik erhielt Henoch ein hohes Interesse: Die Interpretation des Verses (*Gen. v. 24*) wurde von der Patristik scharf betont, und Henoch galt als Protochristos und als Beweis für die Himmelfahrt, etc."

Because of his conviction of the entirely un-Jewish character of any glorification of Enoch, Grätz, on p. 106, polemizes violently against the view that the Ethiopic Enoch (1 *En.*) is of a pre-Christian origin. He says for instance: "Für jeden Unbefangenen aber ist es unzweifelhaft dass das Machwerk 'Buch Henoch' nicht in der politisch bewegten Hasmonäerzeit, sondern in der *mystisch dämmernden nach-apostolischen Epoche* entstehen konnte". The glorification of Enoch, Grätz maintains, must therefore have originated with Christians.

Grätz hence contends that the infiltration of the Enoch legend into Jewish circles must be relegated to the post-Talmudic age, and the medium through which it was brought into the circle of Jewish ideas was Islam, by whose adherents Enoch (*'Idris*) was held in high esteem (referring to Sura 19^{57, 58}).²

1 הנוך חנה היה פעמים צדיק פעמים רשע אמר הקב"ה עד שהו בצדקו אסלקנו

2 Acc. to Grätz Mohammed derived his view of Enoch from Christian sects and "in folge der Bedeutung, welche Henoch in der arabischen Sagenwelt erhielt,

(2) Further, acc. to Grätz, the 'rude anthropomorphism' of this literature (Grätz has the *Ši'ur Qomā* in view) points to a post-Talmudic origin.

(3) In the *Sar Torā* he finds references to Ga'onic institutions, viz. in ch. xxviii. 2. The passage runs as follows:

אני יודע מה אתם מבקשים... לקשור כתרים בראשיכם ועמדות מלכות לכוון מלכים להשתחוות לכם ליוזק חזנים להשתמח לפניכם להפקיע שמכם בכל כיפה וזכרכם בכרכי הים להאיר פניכם כזריחת היום ובין עיניכם בכוכב שחר

referring to the aspirations of the mystic who desires to partake of the magical power of the 'Seal' (*Ḥoṣpām*), the 'Magical Formula', i.e. the Letters and Names of the *Kæpær Norā* or the *Sar Torā*. In the preceding passage (ch. xxviii. 1) reference is made to *Yeshiboth*, to *Torā*, *Talmud*, *H'elākā*, *Secrets*, *Pilpul*, which do not particularly point to a Ga'onic origin: cf. especially the parallel in *TB. Hag. 14 a*: "Masters of Scripture, Mišna, Talmud, Agada and *Šemu'ōḥ*". The *Sar Torā* is, however, probably later than the *Hek. R.*, and, in any case, it is later than 3 *Enoch*.

(4) His final argument for the post-Talmudic origin of the writings, Grätz finds in Sa'adyā's doubts as to R. Iśma'el's authorship of *Ši'ur Qomā* (in *H'elīkoḥ Qæðæm*, ed. Pollak, p. 69).

Within the Ga'onic period Grätz fixes the date of the whole group of mystical writings to the first half of the ninth century. His reasons are (apart from the fact that the quotations by Sa'adyā and ben Yeruḥām necessitate the existence of the writings before the tenth century):

(1) The *Rev. of Moses* (i.e. one recension) is contained in *P'esiqḡa (Rabbāḡi)*, which collection was finished in the year 777 after the Destruction of the Temple (hence about A.D. 845). The *P'esiqḡa* as it

wurden auch jüdischen Agadisten auf ihn aufmerksam und verwandeln ihn zu mystischen Zwecken indem sie ihn mit Metatoron identifizierten".

Sura 19^{57, 58}:

وَأَذْكُرْفِي الْكِتَابِ إِدْرِيسَ إِنَّهُ كَانَ صِدِّيقًا نَبِيًّا وَرَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا

"And commemorate 'Idris (i.e. Enoch) in the Book; For he was righteous and a Prophet, and we lifted him up to a high place." Vide also Sura 21⁸⁵.

وَأِسْمَعِيلَ وَإِدْرِيسَ وَذَا الْكِفْلِ كُلٌّ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ

Grätz might with as much reason have derived the whole pseudepigraphical literature of the OT. from, say, the *Mi'raj* of Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (vide Nicholson, *An Early Arabic Version of the Mi'raj*, etc.). Grätz's impossible deductions are reproduced here at length, since they form, directly or indirectly, the only basis for the usual anti-mystically biased representations of the time and provenience of the so-called Ga'onic mystical literature.

lay before R. Tam contained a reference to the various names of Metatron (acc. to *Tos. on TB. Yeb. 16 b¹*).

(2) Bishop Agobard of Lyons, in a polemical epistle to Louis the Pious against the Jews (*De judaïcis superstitionibus*), about 829, betrays knowledge of the *Ši'ur Qomā* representations. The following may be cited:

"quod nobis non minime notum est qui quotidie pene cum eis (the Jews) loquentes mysteria erroris ipsorum audivimus. Dicunt denique Deum suum esse corporeum et corporis lineamentis per membra distinctum et alia quadam parte illum audire, alia videre, alia vero loqui, vel aliud quid agere, ac per hoc humanum corpus ad imaginem Dei factum, excepto quod ille digitos habeat inflexibiles ac rigentes, utpote qui nil manibus operetur", which—save for the 'inflexible fingers'—seems to reflect the *Ši'ur Qomā*. Another quotation from Agobard's letter given by Grätz presents the current picture of the Most High seated in the *Raqi'*^a *'arābōḥ*, in 'magno quamvis palatio', and surrounded or carried by the *Hayyōḥ* (bestiis). A third passage runs: "(The Jews say) Deum habere septem tubas, quorum una mille ei cubitis metiatur" (cf. letter v in *A. R. Aq.*), and a fourth shows that these works were extant in writing at that time: "et *conscripta mendacia*, etc."

The origin of the mystical writings does not go back farther than about A.D. 820, says Grätz. This is, acc. to his opinion, not irreconcilable with the fact that already nine years later they were known in France to Bishop Agobard, for Grätz can point to a tradition preserved by Zaccuto² acc. to which

"der Kaiser Karl sich von dem Chalifen einen jüdischen Gelehrten für seine Staaten erbeten habe, und dieser hatte ihm einen R. Machir zugeschickt, der sich in Narbonne niedergelassen und... in Südfrankreich Schulen gegründet habe". And hence "literarische Erzeugnisse konnten in kurzer Zeit ihren Weg vom Orient nach Frankreich finden" (!).

The absence in *Pirqē dē R. 'Eli'æzær* (between 809 and 813) of any reference to Enoch-Metatron and the *Ši'ur Qomā* is to Grätz a further evidence that the mystical writings were not in existence at that time.

(If this 'argumentum e silentio' were valid, it would seem that it would prove that also the Talmud, e.g. tractate *H'agigā*, came into existence between the years 820 and 829 A.D. (!). Grätz concludes: "Die Mystik mag sich also erst um 820 Bahn gebrochen haben, und so konnte sie um 829 bereits in Frankreich bekannt sein".)

Grätz's interest in fixing the date to the beginning of the ninth century is due to his desire to maintain the Islamitic origin of the

¹ The parallel, *Tos. on Hullin 60 a*, cites from *Yuḥasin*, acc. to the reading preserved in *En Ya'qōḥ*. The printed Talmud editions have *Sefær Yosifon*.

² In *S. Yuḥasin*, ed. Filipowsky, p. 84.

mystical writings in question. His contention is firstly, that the *Ši'ur Qomā* is the real kernel of the mysticism under consideration, secondly, that the 'gross anthropomorphism' of this writing cannot possibly have originated in Judaism, and must hence be derived from Islam, where especially the sect '*Mughassima*' and men such as 'Mughira ibn Said Alighi' held anthropomorphic views of the Deity.¹

The notice preserved by Maqrizi, acc. to which the Jews were divided into *Karaites*, wholly repudiating anthropomorphism (by Maqrizi called Ananites after Anan), *Rabbanites*, accepting a milder form of picturing God after the manner of man, and *Galutiya* who went farther than the Rabbanites, is therefore acc. to Grätz to be interpreted to the effect that one sect, the mystics (i.e. the Galutiya), had accepted the anthropomorphism of the Arabic Mughassima school and the related Mushabbihites and Hishamites.

The anthropomorphisms of the Islamitic sects in question were, acc. to Grätz, derived from no other source than the Qoran, from a literal explanation of relevant passages.

It should be pointed out here that when Grätz emphasizes the gross anthropomorphism of the mystical writings in contrast to the 'Talmudic' representations, he can only refer to the short passage in the *Ši'ur Qomā* which on the face of it looks like a description of the measures and sizes of the various Divine members but in reality merely concerns the Throne-of-Glory manifestation and *is on a level with the similar representation in the Babylonian Talmud*, Hag. 13 a (see below). The rest of the mystical works in question in no way go beyond the *Haggada* passages of the Talmud as regards 'anthropomorphic views'.

The mystical works, belonging to the same group (or forming parts of the same large work) which Grätz thus finally assigns to the ninth century, are enumerated at the end of his article as follows: (a) *Oḥiyyoḥ d' R. 'Aqiba*, and the following belonging to it; (b) *Sefər H'anoḵ* (i.e. the small Enoch fragment at the end of letter Aleph in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*); (c) *Ši'ur Qomā*; (d) *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*; (e) *Hekāloḥ Ze'erḥa* (i.e. *Hekāloḥ Zoṭerāḥi*); (f) *Sar Torā*; (g) *Ma'yan Hoḵmā* (i.e. a recension of the *Revelation of Moses*. See above under 'Sources and Literature').

To these he adds (after Hai Ga'on's statement) the writings devoted to 'practical mysticism', i.e. mainly magical in character: (a) *Sefər*

1 "Gott habe Gestalt und Körper mit Gliedern gleich den Buchstaben des Alphabets. Sein Gestalt sei die eines Mannes von Licht auf dessen Haupt sich eine Krone von Licht befinde."

ha-y Yāšār; (b) *Ḥarbā d' Mošæ*; (c) *Rāzā Rabbā* or *Sefær hā Rāzīm*; (d) *Sefær Šem bæn Noḥ*.

The arguments and conclusions by Grätz have since been often repeated, whereas no further arguments in support of his theory have been adduced by subsequent writers. Thus S. Karppe bases exclusively, it seems, on Grätz.¹ He gives the same list of writings, only with the omission of the *Sar Torā* and the *Revelation of Moses*. Concerning the connection between the writings, he says:

“Nous nous trouvons, en effet, en présence d'un certain nombre de fragments d'œuvres sans que nous puissions dire à coup sûr où ils commencent et où ils finissent, s'ils sont les chapitres d'un grand ouvrage synthétique, ou des parcelles d'œuvres indépendantes que le hasard ou la confusion des citations ultérieures a enchevêtrées. Ces fragments sont communément dénommés ainsi” (follows an enumeration of the writings).

Phillipp Bloch² also follows (and cites) Grätz. The Arabic influence in these writings is to him obvious. He follows Grätz also in assigning the writings to the ninth century. He gives exactly the same list of mystical works as Grätz, while adding, quite *ad rem*: “*Hechaloth Zutrathi und Sefer Chanoch lassen sich vorläufig nicht feststellen*”.

Bloch translates a few passages from *Heḳālōḥ* and *Alph. R.* ^{‘Aqība}, among which are the Enoch-Metatron fragment at the end of letter Aleph in the printed edd. of *Alph. R.* ^{‘Aqība} and the introductory chapters of *Sefær Heḳālōḥ* (corresponding to chh. 1 and 2 of the present book). Furthermore he gives Ga'on Šerirā's responsum on the *Ši'ur Qomā* (in translation): “Gott behüte dass R. Ischmael derartige Dinge aus eigenem Kopf gesagt hätte. Wie sollte auch ein Mensch auf solche Einfälle aus eigenem Antrieb kommen! Ferner ist unser Schöpfer zu hoch und erhaben, als dass er Glieder und Maasse haben könnte, wie der einfache Wortlaut besagt... Das ist aber nur die Ausdrucksweise einer Wissenschaft, hinter der grosse, bergeshohe und wundersame Mysterien stecken...”.

A. Jellinek in editing chh. from a ms. that correspond to chh. 1-15, 23-48 A of the present book³ does not give any opinion as to the time of origin.

Louis Ginzberg, in enumerating the mystic works “of Ga'onic

1 *Études sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901, ch. iv: ‘La Mercabah au temps des Gaonim,’ pp. 37 seqq. Karppe knows no more than Grätz of the Hebrew Book of Enoch. The ‘Sefær H'noḥ’ stands for the fragment inserted after letter Aleph in *A. R.* ^{‘Aq}.

2 In *Die jüdische Mystik und Kabbala* in Winter und Wünsche, *Jüdische Literatur*, iii. 217 seqq., Trier, 1896.

3 *Beth ha Midrasch*, v, Vienna, 1873, complementing from the Lemberg edition of *Sefær Heḳālōḥ* in his *Kontras ha-mMaggid*, ii.

times" (evidently depending on Grätz), mentions the present book as "a version of the Hekaloth".¹

M. Bittenwieser treats at some length of the Hebrew Book of Enoch.² With regard to time of composition, he says:

"Apart from the fact that R. Ishmael, of the period of the Hadrianic persecution, figures as the author, and from the allusion in the last chapter to the Destruction of the Temple (through which data the earliest date possible is fixed), there are no definite references to historical events and conditions from which the date of the composition of the Book of Enoch could be more exactly determined. There is, however, a passage in Talmud Berakot about R. Ishmael which naturally suggests itself in this connection, and which admits of the adoption of at least a latest possible date." (Buttenwieser here translates the well-known passage *Ber. 7 a* on R. Išma'el beholding 'aḥapri'el Yāh YHWH Šēbā'ōḥ sitting upon the high and exalted throne, etc.) "The parallel is obvious. The passages quoted compel the conclusion that the Hebrew Book of Enoch cannot have been written later than the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud."

R. H. Charles³ accepts the general view of M. Buttenwieser.

G. F. Moore⁴ refers to our book in the following manner: "Much later (*scil.* than the time of the Talmuds) Enoch re-emerges in a similar rôle (*scil.* as conductor to Paradise and Gehenna and heavens in general) with descriptions of the Heavenly Courts and the like, showing that some reminiscence of his journeys through the universe had survived or been revived. Several pieces of this sort are to be found in Jellinek, *Bet ha Midrasch*... Among these particular mention may be made of that in Part v. pp. 170-190 (i.e. the fragment of 3 *En.* referred to in the present edition as *E*)".

It seems that M. Buttenwieser has opened the right way towards a determining of the time of composition and origin of the present book, in treating it primarily on its own merits, and only in the second instance in its connection with the other writings that have come to be associated with it. Further, the date suggested by Buttenwieser as a *terminus ante quem* is probably correct. The 'parallel' from *TB. Ber. 7 a*, adduced by him, is, however, of less value in this connection. The passage is not generally accepted as genuine, and bears the marks of a later time than our book. But there are closer parallels. It may be suggested, to begin with, that *the main body of the book belongs to a time not later than e.g. TB. Hag. 11 b-16 a* (the largest continuous exposition of mystical matters in the Babylonian Talmud).

1 *J.E.* iii. 463 a, article 'Cabala'.

2 *J.E.* i. 678, article 'Apocalyptic Literature; Neo-Hebraic'.

3 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. 1912, Introduction, § 17, pp. lxxix-lxxxii.

4 *Judaism*, i. 128 and note 3.

The style, the matters dealt with in *Hag.* ii and chh. 3-48 A of our book respectively, as well as the general ideas met with in both, do not suggest a later time for our book, but, possibly, a different circle from which the conceptions have derived their peculiar shape. To show this, some parallels in ideas and manner of expression may be pointed out:

TB. Hag.:

Fol. 12 a: "The first Adam extended from one end of the world to the other" (as a symbol of his perfection), rel. by R. Y^ehuḏā b. 'Āl'ay.

Ib. "When he sinned, the Holy One diminished him."

Ib. "The first Adam saw by the first light from one end of the world to the other, but when God beheld the generation of the Flood and the generation of the confusion of tongues he removed it, etc." (cf. *Gen. R.* xi. 2, xii. 4, 5 including the generation of 'Eⁿoš); attr. to R. 'Āl'āzār.

Ib. "God created heaven by mixing water and fire" (*Bāraiḇā*).

Ib. "By ten things the world was created, 'Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge, Might, etc.'" ('Abbā 'arikā, Rab.).

Hag. 12 b (*Bāraiḇā* of R. Yose): "The earth is standing upon pillars, the pillars upon the water, the water upon the mountains, the mountains upon the wind, the wind upon the tempest and the tempest is suspended on the arm of the Holy One".

Ib. The seven heavens and their contents. The names of the heavens agree with those of 3 *En.* 17³ and 33⁵. In other respects the *H^aḡigā* passage here contains elements belonging to a later stage than our book. Thus 3 *Enoch* agrees, against *H^aḡigā*, with the earlier Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic writings in assigning angelic inhabitants to all the heavens: cf. *Test. Levi* iii, *Ap. Bar.*, *Asc. Isa.*, 2 *En.* 3-20. The conception of Mikael at the Celestial Altar does not occur in our book: only in the additional ch. 15 B the Celestial Tabernacle—of Metatron—is mentioned. The song-uttering angels (in *Mā'ōn*, the fifth heaven) are in *H^aḡigā* pictured in a

3 *Enoch:*

Ch. 9²: "I was raised and enlarged to the size and the length of the world".

Cf. 3 *En.* 16⁵; 5¹⁰.

Cf. 3 *En.* 5¹, 3-5, 13, 14.

Ch. 42.

Ch. 41³: "the whole world is sustained by Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge, Prudence, Meekness and Righteousness". The same idea is put forth in ch. 8. On this point *Hag.* seems to represent a more developed stage than our book. See notes *ad loca*.

Cf. chh. 34, 37, 38¹, 48⁵ seqq. This is traditionally connected with the *Ma'ase Berešit*, and is found in the earlier parts of the *Midraš Kōnēn*.

manner more resembling that of *Hek. R.* than of 3 *Enoch* which here follows more closely the earlier traditions embodied e.g. in 1 *Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

The expressions used to describe the contents of *Mākon*, the sixth heaven, recall those of 3 *En.* 34 and 37 as well as of 2 *En.*: "the treasures of snow, of hail . . . chamber of the Stormwind" (*Sufā*), etc.

The representation of the contents of '*Arāboḥ Rāqīa*', the seventh heaven—the treasures of Righteousness, Right, Mercy, Life, Peace, Blessings—corresponds to 3 *En.* 8, 10⁶, 48 c³; that of the souls of the righteous and the souls and spirits of those who are not yet created in '*Arāboḥ*' exactly corresponds to 3 *En.* 43; for the pre-existence of spirits and souls the same scriptural passage, viz. Is. 57¹⁶, is quoted in both contexts; on the other hand, the conception of the resurrection-dew does not appear in our book. The short summary of the *Mærkābā*-picture in *Haḡ. ib.*—"Ofannim, Serafim, Hayyōḥ ha-qQodæš, the ministering angels, the Throne of Glory, the King, the Living God, high and lifted up"—is not substantially different from similar summaries in our book, cf. e.g. ch. 6². (Upon the present writer this passage *TB. Haḡ.* makes the impression of being dependent upon 3 *Enoch*. In this way a traditionist familiar with 3 *Enoch* could easily have summarized 3 *Enoch* in respect of the contents of the '*Arāboḥ Rāqīa*'; especially the little incident of an additional, meaningless, 'and souls' in *TB. Haḡ.* compared with 3 *En.* 43 and 47 is highly suggestive here.)

That the material used in *H^aḡiḡā* contained a developed system of *Mærkābā*-angelology is apparent from the elaborate descriptions in the following context, e.g. on the *Hayyōḥ* on fol. 13 a.

The specific picture of the 'seven Halls' does not occur in *H^aḡiḡā*, but the idea itself is not unknown to judge from the expression in *Haḡ.* fol. 13 a: distinguishing between the בתי ג' and the בתי ברא' which corresponds to the division between the six outer and the seventh inmost Hall in 3 *Enoch*.

Fol. 13 a. The speculations on the "*Rāqīa*" above the heads of the *Hayyōḥ*" (after Ezek. 1²²) are more after the manner of the later *Mærkābā*-literature than of our book. (R. Aḥa b. Ya^aqōḇ, 4 B. A.) Cf. the additional chapters 15 B, 22 B C.

Ib. The measures or distances of the heavens and the sizes of the *Hayyōḥ* present a stage somewhat between the representations of 3 *En.* chh. 21 and 22 c (additional). Thus the description of the immense sizes of the *Hayyōḥ* is more extravagant in *Haḡ.* than in 3 *En.* 21.

It may be surmised, in fact, that the present passage, introduced as a *Bārāiḡā* of R. Yoḥ^anān bæn Zakkai, is more related to the *Ši'ur Qomā* picture. The reference to the measures of the "feet of the Throne of Glory", of the "Throne of Glory itself", and the implied distance between the "feet of the Throne of Glory" and the seat of the Divine Manifestation, the "King 'El Hay y^e Qayyām Rām y^e Nissā" (cf. 22 c^{2, 3}), reads like an introduction or allusion to the *Ši'ur Qomā*, 2¹. The *Ši'ur Qomā* (2) begins by stating the distances between the seat of the Throne downwards (the

feet of the Throne) and between the seat and upwards. 'El Hay ʿe Qayyām is the expression used also in the *Ši'ur Qomā* when referring to the Divine Manifestation on the Throne.

Ib. The term *Sipre Torā*, i.e. the 'Secrets of Torah', the 'Secrets of the Law', is here used in the same sense as in 3 *Enoch*, i.e. as a technical term by preference for a certain aspect of the mystical doctrines. It designates the essence of the *Torā* and—what is considered equivalent—the first elements of the whole manifested world. Cf. 3 *En.* 11¹, 48 c^{4,7}, d^{3,7} and notes *ad loca*. (Attr. to R. 'Ammi, 3 P. A.)

Ib. The specific mystical importance attached to the *Hašmal* is paralleled in 3 *En.* 34, 36, 37, but more particularly in the additional ch. 15 B².

Haḡ. 13 b. The *Hašmal* used also with reference to a certain class of angels as in 3 *Enoch* where the *Hašmallim* are enumerated together with the *Merkābā*-creatures: chh. 7, 48 c⁴.

Ib. The speculations on and interpretations of the words רצוא ושוב Ezek. 1¹⁴, on which *Haḡigā* expatiates, are not found in 3 *Enoch* except in the additional ch. 22 c⁵. They are very frequent in later works. The *Bāzāq* (Ezek. 1¹⁴) is in 3 *Enoch* not yet the object of speculations as in *Haḡigā* here, and in *Hek. R.* (131, *et al.*).

Ib. "The אופן אחד בארץ (Ezek. 1¹⁵) refers to the angel *Sandalfon*." The conception of *Sandalfon* is nowhere met with in the present book. Neither is the picture of an angel-prince wreathing crowns for His Master represented in 3 *Enoch*. Both ideas seem to belong to a later stage than 3 *Enoch*. They recur frequently in later literature. *Sandalfon* is met with e.g. in *Rev. of Moses* (Hebrew) and in *Hek. Zof.* (Cf. below on the conception of Metatron, pp. 106 f.) Here a *Bāraiḡā* connected with R. 'Aḡl'āzār.

Ib. The various *pānim* (faces) of the *Merkābā*-angels, in particular the *Hayyōḡ* (after Ezek. 1¹⁰, 10¹⁴). On this subject *Haḡigā* is more elaborate than 3 *Enoch*, cf. 3 *En.* 2¹ ("eagles of the *Merkābā*"), 21^{1,3} and the add. ch. 15 B² ('the Lion'). *Haḡigā* here approaches the *Hek. R.*, ch. 26⁴.

The changing of the שור into the כרוב is an idea not met with in 3 *Enoch*.

Ib. The numbers of the angels and the 'troops' or '*gēdudim*' discussed on the basis of Dan. 7¹⁰. This is paralleled in 3 *En.* 17, 35⁴⁻⁶, etc.

Ib. Speculations on the *Nēhar di-Nur* or 'fiery river' (on the same scriptural basis). These are well in line with those of 3 *Enoch*; cf. chh. 18^{19,21}, 19⁴, 33⁵, 36^{1,2}, 47^{1,2}. The fiery river goes forth from the perspiration of the *Hayyōḡ*; cf. 3 *En.* 18²⁵, in our book usually "from under the Throne of Glory" as in 1 *En.* 14¹⁹.

Haḡ. 14 a. The traditions concerning the creation of the angels from the fiery river or through the Divine word and their immersion (and extinction) in the *Nēhar di-Nur* are presented in similar, although somewhat varying, manner in *Haḡ.* and in our book, chh. 27³, 40⁴, 47^{1,2}. The same scriptural support is used by both; cf. notes *ad loca*.

Ib. The two Thrones of the Holy One. The dictum (attributed to R. Yose the Galilean), acc. to which one Throne is for Judgement, the other for Mercy, reminds us of chh. 31 and 33 (the two Divine aspects, the Attributes of Justice and Mercy).

The second dictum (attributed to 'Aḡl'āzār bən 'Azaryā), acc. to which one Throne is placed beneath the other, as a sort of foot-stool

(or [attributed to R. 'Aqiba as his original opinion] the one being the Throne of Glory, the other the Throne of David, i.e. the Messiah, cf. *TB. Sanh.* 38 a, 67 b), raises the question, whether behind this there is not a covert allusion to the traditions of *the throne of Metatron being placed below the Throne of Glory*. In any case, the different explanations here given of the 'thrones' of Dan. 7⁹ show an intimate familiarity with the view of a second Throne by the side of the Throne of Glory.¹

Ḥag. 14 b. The well-known passage about the four who entered Paradise (repeated in the *Hek. Zof., Bodl. MICH. 9*) emphasizes the dangers of entering to behold the various heavenly mysteries, and may hence be said to be paralleled by the notions expressed in ch. 1³ of 3 *Enoch*. Closer parallels are, however, found in the later cognate works, e.g. in *Hek. R.*, ch. 17 *et al.* It is to be noted, that R. Išma'el in 3 *Enoch* is not represented as being shown Paradise. The 'entering Paradise' refers to a certain part of the vision of the *Mærkābā*-mysteries. Thus Moses, acc. to the *G^edullāḥ Mošæ*, is shown Paradise after he has been shown the heavens and the Throne in the highest.

Ḥag. 15 a. The passage on Metatron, of which ch. 16 of the present book is simply another version, will be often referred to in the following.

Ib. "I have heard from behind the *Pargod*" and

Ḥag. 16 a "the angels hearing from behind the *Pargod*". Cf. on chh. 45¹ and 18¹⁶ of our book.

Important for the question of the relation between the Talmud and 3 *Enoch* is also *TB. Yomā*, 67 b: תנא רבי רבי ישמעאל וזאזל שמכפר על מעשה עוון ועוואל compared with chh. 4 and 5 of our book. This presupposes at least the *traditions* embodied in 3 *En.* 5 ('Uzzā and 'Azzāel as fallen angels or evil agencies).

With regard to the special reasons adduced by Grätz for a post-Talmudic origin of the mystical group of writings in question—in which also our book, although unknown to that scholar, would be

¹ The present writer has not ventured to accept definitely as authentic the linking up of these dicta with the names of such Tannaitic teachers as R. 'Aqiba, R. 'El'azar b. 'Azaryā, R. Yose the Galilean. The authenticity might perhaps, however, be taken for granted, since so great an anti-mystical authority as G. F. Moore, in his *Judaism*, vol. ii, p. 337, speaking of this passage says: "it remains that Akiba saw for himself no objection to assigning the second throne to the Messiah". Cf. also Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. i, pp. 224, 225, 324, 361. The fact of the occurrence of speculations on 'two thrones' in the time of and among the said Tannaim, would be of immense importance for determining the time of origin of the conception of Metatron as the second, lower throne. It is evident that the controversy related in *TB. Ḥag.* 14 a, *Sanh.* 38 a, 67 b, touches a subject that was, from some cause or other, rather delicate, i.e. closely connected with views abhorred as heretical. Suggestive of the consciousness of the dangerous background of these speculations is R. Yose's rebuff of R. 'Aqiba's view with the words: עקיבא עד מתי אתה עושה שכינה חול; the profanation, or heresy, would consist in establishing a similarity either with the Christian enthronement of the Christ-Messiah or with other views accepting an enthroned Messiah (e.g. after the manner of 1 *En.*). But the new element that has here entered is precisely the idea of a *second, lower throne*, i.e. the distinctive, constitutive feature of the Metatron-conception: the basis for the formation of the Metatron-conception has been already given.

involved, and has been thus involved by later followers of Grätz—the following observations may be made:

With regard to point (1)—Metatron in the Talmud not identified with Enoch—this does not necessarily prove that the identification of Enoch and Metatron belongs to the post-Talmudic period. The aversion of the Rabbis,¹ especially those ultimately responsible for the fixing of the text of the Talmud, constitutes a sufficient reason why they should have eliminated, as much as possible, any trace of a glorification of Enoch, which might have obtained in the mystic sources from which they drew, with reserve, some scattered details of the Metatron-conception.

If, in fact, the sources from which the Talmudic fragments were derived already contained the tradition of the identity between Enoch and Metatron—and if this was suppressed by the Talmudic authorities—there should be some trace of the functions acquired by Metatron in fusion with Enoch. Such a trace can, indeed, be pointed to, viz. in *TB. Ḥaḡ. 15 a*, where it is said of Metatron, that he had been given permission to be seated in order to *write down the merits of Israel*. Metatron's function of Scribe here is most naturally explained from the assumption that he has already been identified with Enoch, "the scribe of righteousness" (*vide 1 En. 15¹*). In *3 Enoch* Metatron's function of Scribe-Witness is connected exclusively with the Enoch-aspect of him, chh. 4², 48 c². It seems never to have been attached to the specific Metatron-aspect.

(2) The 'gross anthropomorphism', which is the main basis on which Grätz contends for the Islamitic origin of the group of mystical writings, is not specially characteristic of our book in contrast to the Talmudic literature.

The points (3) and (4) (*vide* above, p. 27) do not concern *3 Enoch* and are, therefore, irrelevant here.

A difference between the three representations of Metatron in the Talmud (in *TB. Ḥaḡ. 15 a*, *Sanh. 38 b*, *'Ab. Zar. 3 b*) and those of *3 Enoch* is to be seen, further, in the fact, that Metatron is in the latter commonly called "the Prince of the Presence", but in the former not referred to by this epithet. In *TB. Ber. 51 a*, however, we find the tradition of *Suriel* (or *Surya*) as the Prince of the Presence, in special communion or relation with R. Iṣma'el, imparting to him teachings or revelations. *Suriel* (or *Surya*), in related mystical writings, is most often only another name for Metatron, used specially when denoting him as Knower of Secrets (as befits the Prince of the

¹ Cf. the well-known passage in *Gen. R. 251*, referred to above, p. 26, n. 1.

Presence to be). In *Hek. R.*, *Surya*, as the Prince of the Presence, sometimes seems to be contemplated as different from Metatron—on the ground that Metatron in *Hek. R.* is sublimated almost into a part of the Divinity, whereas *Surya*, as the Prince of the Presence, retains Metatron's less exalted functions (cf. below, pp. 99–101). The parallel *TB. Ber.* 51a is important also because it shows that R. Iṣma'el already at the time of origin of that *Haggādā* must have been represented as enjoying a special personal communion with the Prince of the Presence as he does in 3 *Enoch*.

For *Surya* as a name of Metatron, cf. ch. 48 D¹, no. 84.

The language of the main, that is the oldest, part of 3 *Enoch* is most akin to that of the earlier Haggadic dicta of the Babylonian Talmud, or, in general, that of the dicta attributed to the Tannaitic teachers and the earlier Amorae.

An indication of time and place of the final composition of the present book is also to be seen in the representation of ch. 26¹², acc. to which the special accusers of Israel, next to Satan, are “Sammāel, the Prince of Rome, and *Dubbiel, the Prince of Persia*”. This, of course, suggests a Babylonian environment. Now the authorities cited in the mystical literature are the early Palestinian *Tannas*, R. Iṣma'el, R. 'Aqīḇa, R. Nəḥonyā bən haqQānā, also R. Yoḥānān bən Zakkai and R. 'Æli'æzær hagGāḏol, and others. The first origins of the mystical teachings of course go back to Palestine (e.g. 1 *Enoch*). And Palestine must have continued to be the home of the mystical speculations even under the earlier *Tannas*, until the reaction set in, which tried to oust the specific mystical teachings from orthodox Judaism. Thus, the development and elaboration of the traditions embodied in the Hebrew Book of Enoch would seem to have taken place in Babylonian circles. The above-mentioned explicit reference to *Dubbiel, the Prince of Persia*, in juxtaposition to Sammael, the Prince of Rome, by which the former is indicated as sharing the dominance of the earth as it were equally with the latter (cf. 3 *En.* 14²), points to a period when the Sassanides were in full power, and probably to a time of warfare with the Roman Empire (such as was carried on in Mesopotamia in the last quarter of the third century A.D.).

The fact, that the book, with the exception of the allusions in chh. 26¹², 44⁷ seqq. and 48 A—in a mild form—to oppressions by the “Nations of the World”, presents a pronouncedly *irenical*, almost universalistic attitude towards the nations in general (cf. esp. chh. 3¹, 30, etc.), indicates that the book has taken shape at a time when

the Jewish circles in question were living in peace and comfort. The animosity against the "nations of the world" which has found expression in the apocalyptic fragment, ch. 48 A, seems to be due more to the traditional phraseology adopted from the apocalyptic patterns used, than to actual experience of a real persecution. Furthermore, there is a tendency noticeable in chh. 44⁷⁻¹⁰, 48 A towards assigning the real cause of the downfall of Israel to the wicked within the nation and to the dearth of righteous and 'pious' men, and towards focussing the reader's mind on this aspect.

This points to a place and time of composition (*i.e. redaction*) such as the Jewish colonies in Babylonia during the third and fourth centuries, when the Jews enjoyed a perfect tolerance from the Sassanian rulers.

In contrast to the general attitude of our book, we find in the later apocalyptic or mystical works from the time of the rising Moslem power a different outlook: 'Rome and Persia' are no longer regarded as the established world powers, but 'Išma'el' (= Islam) is looked upon as the power destined to prepare the way for the deliverance of Israel by engaging in prolonged and destructive warfare with the older empires, a warfare which will cause the ruin of all the Gentile nations (cf. 2 Ap. Išm., Revel. R. Šim'ōn bæn Yoḥai).

There are, however, further indications for an early date of origin. Thus the *Qeḏuššā* met with in 3 *Enoch* takes us back to the time when this had not yet received any of the amplifications attested in the *Gemārā* of the Babylonian Talmud. It is, moreover, not yet connected with the *שמנה עשרי*. It is presented in its most simple and primitive form, a form which in fact seems to have been established already at the time of 1 *En.* 39^{12, 13}, i.e. before the Christian era (cf. below, § 18 A. pp. 184 *seq.*).

A means of determining the *terminus post quem* of the composition of our book is the picture of the Messianic expectations given in ch. 45⁶, postulating a post-Hadrianic time. On this *vide* note *ad loc.* (p. 147), where the present writer urges that the passage belongs to a time of peace not too far removed, however, from the time of origin of the Messiah ben Joseph conception, probably some time in the third century A.D.

The conception of the pre-existence of the spirit (*nēšāmā*) and its 'creation' in the *Guf* as met with in sect. 7 (chh. 41-48 A) of our book may perhaps be taken as evidence for a time of origin of that section not much earlier than the beginning of the third century A.D. *Vide* below on "The conceptions of Spirit and Soul, etc." pp. 179 *seq.*

Of great importance for determining the time and position of

3 *Enoch* are, lastly, the affinities between our book and the earlier Enoch literature. These affinities—which are discussed at length below, sect. 7 A and B—show that 3 *Enoch* represents a direct continuation in development from the earlier Enoch literature with influences on the one hand from extraneous ideas (Gnosticism, etc.), on the other from Rabbinic traditions developed during the Tannaitic period.

The conceptions which form the central interest of the book seem to have been elaborated in a certain distinct circle¹ which had a greater propensity for mystical matters than their contemporaries, the scholars whose views determined the attitude of the Talmud (and among those scholars both *Tannaim* and *Amoraim* are represented). The men of this circle or tendency of thought apparently cherished with veneration the traditions of the earlier apocalyptic and angelological literature, especially the Enoch literature; naturally they concentrated upon the mystical experiences connected with the vision of the Throne and the Divine Chariot, and may have accepted the various extraneous conceptions or forms of expression (or of visualizing), with which they were brought in contact and which seemed to them in keeping with their own experiences and speculations. Thus they accepted, already at an early time, the idea of a celestial representative of the Godhead, a vice-regent, a second, lower *θρόνος*, in the form of Metatron. They were also particularly interested in the elaboration of systems of angelology, picturing the vast angelic hierarchy from the lowest of common angels up to the highest angelic figure, the ruler—by God's authority—over all the hosts under him.

These mystics behind 3 *Enoch* were not in opposition to the Rabbinic teachers. Apart from their special interest in mystical matters, the *Ma'asē B'rešīṭ* and the *Ma'asē Mærkābā*, and their occupation with the earlier mystical literature, they held the general views of the 'orthodox' Rabbis, and evidently themselves had the learning of the schools. They held the Tannaitic teachers (R. Išma'el) in high esteem and referred to them as authorities in the mystical doctrine. It is also evident that a great number of the Tannas and Amoras, at least during periods of their life, devoted themselves to penetrating the *Mærkābā*-mysteries: Yoḥanān ben Zakkai, Yehošua' ben H'ananya, R. 'Aqiba, 'Æl'azar ben 'Arāk, H'ananya ben H'akinai (*TB. Hag.* 14 b, 15 a, *Tj. Hag.* 77 b, *Tos. Hag.* 21¹⁻⁵, *Gen. R.* 5¹¹), also Šim'on bæn Zoma and Šim'on bæn 'Azzai, not to mention the

¹ On the existence of several Jewish circles devoted to mysticism *vide* Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 22-25 and below (on the origin of the conception of Metatron).

ultimate apostate 'Æliša' bæn 'Aḥuya. This is admitted by G. F. Moore in his *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 411, nor can it possibly be denied.

No doubt the 3 *Enoch* circle regarded themselves as orthodox (if that word may be used) and in no way considered themselves as sectarian. There is no definite sign in the main part of the book that they even looked upon themselves as *separated* from others by a deeper insight into mystical matters or by the possession of a higher *γνῶσις*. One may probably best describe their attitude by stating simply that they were interested in and inclined towards mystical matters and experiences. From the point of view of the Rabbinic teachers, determining the attitude of the Talmud, the position of these circles and of their writings was, however, to be judged differently. The mystical interests of the recognized Rabbinical authorities could not be ignored nor could the Haggadic dicta revealing those interests be obliterated. But the 3 *Enoch* circle and its like would naturally be ignored, if not classed among the *minim* (or heretics), and the Enoch literature would be included among the 'extraneous writings' just as were the earlier apocalyptic writings, which were passed in silence.

That writings of this kind could exist and that there is no need of assuming the *mere* oral tradition of the mystical matters is quite clear. Now that Strack in his *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš*⁵ (pp. 9-16) has demonstrated the existence of early writings even on Hēlāḳā, and, the more naturally, on Haggadic matters, there is not the slightest reason for keeping up the unfounded fiction that "there was nothing written on mystical subjects between the time of the so-called Pseud-epigrapha and the Gaonic times". No one at all familiar with the Talmudic and Midrašic writings could deduce the non-existence of such writings from the well-known injunction in *M. Hag.* 2¹ against the promulgation of mystical matters to more than 'three', 'two' or 'one'. One need only point to the fact that not only the *Gēmārā* but even the *Tosəftā* to the same passage speak quite freely on such subjects that are treated in 3 *Enoch*. If still deeper mystical matters are meant in that injunction (cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 384, *Tos. Hag.* 2), then again the passage evidently cannot be used as a demonstration for the non-committing to writing of matters that 'are not so deep' (such as those of 3 *Enoch* and *TB. Hag.* 11 b seqq.). The

1 *Tos. Hag.* 2²:

ר' יוסי בר' יהודה אומ' ר' יהושע הירצה לפני רבן יוחנן בן זכאי
 ר' עקיבא הירצה לפני ר' יהושע חנניא בן חכניאי הירצה לפני
 ר' עקיבא

Tos. Hag. 2³: ארבע נכנסו לפרדס בו עזאי ובן זומא אחר ור' עקיבא

truth is of course that *M. Hag. 2* does not describe how the mystical matters were actually treated by all Jewish speculators upon them, but lays down a rule how they should henceforth be treated.¹

The additional chapter 48 D¹⁰ of our book contains the notice that the Palestinian Amoras R. 'Abbaḥu and R. Zera—who had received the secrets handed down from the time of Moses—committed the mystical teachings or traditions to a larger body, "the men of faith". "The men of faith" apparently is a term denoting the circle of mystics to which the writer belonged. If there were any historical reality behind this statement, it would seem to indicate the time of RR. 'Abbaḥu and Zera (second generation Amoras, end of third century A.D.) as the period when the tradition of literature in question gained special adherence among Babylonian Jews. The fragment in which this statement is found is however of a much later date than the main part of the book, and represents a development of the mystical teachings on somewhat different lines from those of the rest of the book (cf. note *ad loc.*).

The time of composition or redaction which would best fit in with the various data considered above seems to be the latter half of the third century.

We have, so far, been concerned with the main body of the book, comprising chh. 3-48 A, and its redaction.

To this main body have been joined, in different stages, the following:

(a) Ch. 48 B C: the Names of the Godhead, and the interpretation of one of these names, the 'Ālæf, with regard to Metatron. The oldest part of this mystical treatise is contained in the 'Ālæf-Enoch-Metatron piece, 48 c¹⁻⁹. This version of the Enoch-Metatron tradition which in substance (*vide infra* on Metatron, pp. 80ff.) agrees with the Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-15, seems to have been regarded as specially connected with R. 'Aqiba (the rest of the book is presented in the name of R. 'Išma'el). It was included in the *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba at the end of letter 'Ālæf. Furthermore, in the *D*-editions of *Sefær Heḳāloṣ* (*D* 1, foll. 13 b, 14 a, *D* 2, fol. 10 b) a fragment of ch. 48 c, corresponding approximately to the version *K*, is introduced as a *Tosæftā*, beginning: "R. 'Aqiba said: I heard a voice going forth from under the Throne of Glory, speaking. And what did it say? Answer: I sold (corr. for 'made him strong', מכר for אבר) him, I took him, I appointed him, namely Enoch, the son of Jared, whose name is

¹ Cf. Leo Bæck, *Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik in Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion*, pp. 99 seq.: "Zwischen dem Worte höchsten Preises, das Jochanan ben Sakkai gesprochen, und diesem Worte der Verurteilung in der Mischna liegt die Abkehr von dieser theosophischen Mystik. Sie war bewirkt durch die Erkenntnis der Gefahr welche von daher der Reinheit der Lehre, der Eigenart des Judentums, drohen konnte".

Metatron, etc.”¹ The fragment is, however, quite independent of the *Alph. R.* ^{‘Aqīḇa}.

(b) The introductory chh. 1 and 2, supplying the frame of the book, in so far as they describe the occasion when R. Iṣma‘el ascended to behold the *Mærkābā* and was brought into contact with Metatron who imparted to him the revelations contained in the book. These chapters, probably, belong approximately to the same time and circle as the *Hek. R.* and the earlier (lost) versions of the *Leg. Martyrs*. The occasion of R. Iṣma‘el’s ascension to heaven is here, however, not intended to be understood as that of his last *Mærkābā*-vision, described in *Hek. R.* chh. 3–5 and in 1 and 2 *Leg. Martyrs*, i.e. immediately before his purported death as a martyr (in the Hadrianic persecution, A.D. 135). The object of his ascension is in ch. 1 defined by the expression “in order to behold the vision of the *Mærkābā*”. These two introductory chapters are responsible for the title *Sefær Hekāloḥ* given to the present book, or for its occasional inclusion in collections of *Hekāloḥ* works (quoted e.g. in *YR.* i, 55 b as *Pirqe Hekāloḥ*).

(c) The chh. 15 B, 22 B C represent the third stage, when the 3 *Enoch* is used, together with the *Ši‘ur Qomā*, as the central part of a larger collection called *Ma‘asē Mærkābā*. The mysteries of the *Mærkābā* are here treated in a more elaborated form. Further Metatron is conceived, primarily, as the revealer of secrets to Moses. To the same stage is, on this account, to be assigned the insertion or addition of ch. 48 D. Characteristic in the case of ch. 15 B is the importance given to the *Šema‘*; this reflects the later period when the *Šema‘* was introduced as an essential part of the (celestial) *Qeḏuššā*; but even that period in all probability is pre-Islamitic.²

It will not be necessary to point out that the main part of 3 *Enoch* (chh. 3–48 A) is no homogeneous unity, or a work by a definite author in the modern sense of the words. It is even possible to discern earlier and later strata in the part in question. Thus to the earliest stratum must be assigned chh. 3–15 (the *Enoch-Metatron* piece³), whereas

1 The original part of this fragment strikes an early note; it is, at least, not later than the *Enoch-Metatron* fragment of 3 *En.* 3–15. Unfortunately the text of all ms. sources of the fragment is in a bad state. This fragment has traces of the Primordial Man conception of Metatron as the Ruler of the World and does not contain the Enoš-episode of 3 *En.* 5.

2 Cf. Louis Ginzberg, *Geonica II, Geniza Studies*, New York, 1909, pp. 48, 49, on the insertion of the *Šema‘* into the *Qeḏuššā*—caused by a persecution of the Jews by the Christians, which ceased when the Christians were defeated by the Mohammedans. Resp. by a pupil of Yehūdai Ga‘on, *ib.* pp. 50 seqq., and resp. by Sar Šalom Ga‘on in the *Siddur* of ‘Amram Ga‘on, 11, cited *ib.*

3 This probably goes back to the second century, and in some parts even to the end of the first. Cf. below, pp. 79 and 188.

section 7, or chh. 41-48 A, possibly was composed at or not much before the time when the collection of chh. 3-48 A was made.

There is no difficulty with regard to the collection of the various fragments (forming the different sections of our book) into a book called 'Book of Enoch'. It must be assumed, on the contrary, that the different topics treated of in these fragments were from the very beginning considered as rightly belonging to the Enoch literature. They were the topics (or similar to the topics) dealt with in the archetype, viz. 1 *Enoch*. If any incongruity was felt, this was overcome by representing all the fragments as revelations given by Enoch-Metatron.

§ 7 A. IDEAS AND EXPRESSIONS OF 1 ENOCH RECURRING IN 3 ENOCH

(References and quotations from 1 *Enoch* are acc. to the edition by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1912. 'Notes' (n.) refer to Charles's notes *ib.*)

1 *Enoch*

1⁵, 10^{9, 15}, 12⁴, 13¹⁰, 14^{1, 3}, 15², 16^{1, 2}, 91¹⁵. The 'Watchers' as fallen angels.

12^{2, 3}, 20¹, 39^{12, 13}, 40², 61¹², 71⁷. The 'WATCHERS' as high angels, 'archangels' (n. on 1⁵).¹

6¹⁻⁸. The Fall of the Angels. Their number given as two hundred. The number of the leaders is twenty ('chiefs of tens'), 6^{6, 7, 8}. The chief of the leaders is SEMJĀZĀ, 6^{8, 7}, cf. 69² (twenty-one leaders).

Among the names of the leaders are to be noticed: ASÆL, 6⁷; AZAZEL who acc. to one tradition seems to have been regarded as the chief leader (instead of SEMJĀZĀ), 10^{4, 8}, 54⁵, 55⁴, 81^{2, 3}, etc., 131².

Further: KOKABIEL, EZEQEEL (i.e. SHA-CHAQIEL, 6⁷ n.), BARAQIJAL, SAMSAPEEL (= SHAMSHIEL), BATARJAL (= BADARIEL), 69², 8³.

7¹, 81³, 10⁸, 64², 65^{6, 10} ('sorceries'), 69^{1, 4-12}. The fallen angels lead men astray by teaching them 'secrets', magic and sorceries, 'worthless mysteries' (16³).

9¹, 10^{1, 4, 9, 11}, 40²⁹, 71^{8, 9}, 87². The Four Presences: MIKÆL, URIEL (or PHANUEL), RAPHAEL, GABRIEL (n. on 49²).

3 *Enoch*

The 'Watchers', 'IRIN', are high angel-princes, 28.

The tradition of Fallen Angels is preserved in ch. 5⁹, in the representation of the evil agencies 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZI'EL. These are most probably contemplated as the *leaders* of the Fallen Angels. They are *three* as in 2 *En.* 18 A.

Cf. note on 3 *En.* 17³ end. These names recur among the names of the Rulers, 14⁴, and archangels, 17^{1, 3}.

"taught them *sorceries*", 5⁹.

The four great princes set over the camps of Š^ekīnā, 18^{4, 5}, 35³; cf. 17.

1 *Enoch*

10. "The Dooms pronounced by God on the (Fallen) Angels" (Charles).

11¹. "...I will open the *store chambers of blessing* which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth."

2. "And *truth* and *peace* shall be associated together."

12². Watchers and *Holy Ones*.¹

14⁸. "...the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven."

9-23. Picture of the *Throne* and the *Mærkåbā*. Cf. 1 *En*. 71.

14. 9 "a wall built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire."

10 "a large house built of crystals";
15 "a second house greater than the former ... built of flames of fire."

11 "like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery KERUBIM"; "the vision of the KERUBIM".

15 "the portal of the second house."

18 "a lofty *throne*... the *wheels*³ thereof as the shining sun."

20 "the Great Glory sat thereon."

19 "from underneath the throne came *streams of flaming fire*."

22 "ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him."

23 "the most *Holy Ones* who were nigh to Him *did not leave by night* nor depart from Him."

15¹. "fear not, Enoch... approach hither."

3. "Wherefore have ye left the high, holy and eternal heaven."

15⁸-16¹. The giants produced from the Fallen Angels; the demons, being the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants.

1 Holy Ones: 𐤆𐤍𐤅𐤍.

2 The two houses, one within the other, the innermost containing the throne, really correspond to the *Hekāloḥ* of 3 *En*. The houses are, acc. to 1 *En*. 71⁵, situated in the heaven of heavens: 𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍𐤅𐤍 = שמי השמים = ערבות רקיע.

3 𐤏𐤍𐤅𐤍 (τροχός, Flemming-Radermacher: 'Umkreis'; Dillmann, *Lexicon*: circulus, orbis).

3 *Enoch*

Not in 3 *En*. Cf. however the punishment of the angels, 40³, 47.

Cf. ch. 8¹ and note 1 b and Index, 'treasury' and 'store'.

31¹ compared with 33¹.

'IRIN and QADDIŠIN, ch. 28.

Ch. 7. "He lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Šeḱinā*."

Cf. Introduction, § 15.

33³, 34¹, 47³, 4.

The *chambers*. *Halls* called *Hekāloḥ*,² esp. 1¹, 2⁶, 18³, 4, 18, 37¹, 38².

33³, 7, 22¹¹⁻¹⁵, 39² (*Ke-rubim* of *Šeḱinā*), 22 B⁸.

"Door or Gate of the Seventh Hall", 10², 1².

19²⁻⁷, 15¹; Ind. 'Throne'.

22 B⁵, esp. 15 B³, 5.

33⁴, 26⁴, 19⁴ frequ.

22 B³, C⁴, 7, 36¹.

I.e. the Holy Ones as Watchers: 'IRIN and QADDIŠIN, ch. 28 and note.

15 B⁵, 1⁵.

5¹¹. "Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens, etc."

Not in 3 *En*. Demons only in 5⁴.

1 *Enoch*

16³. "All the mysteries had not been revealed to you and you knew worthless ones, etc."

17¹. "those (i.e. angels) who were there were like flaming fire, and when they wished they appeared as men."

18¹³⁻¹⁵, 21³⁻⁶. "seven stars like great burning mountains... have transgressed the commandment of the Lord... because they did not come forth at their appointed time."

19¹. "their spirits assuming many different forms."

20. The "Holy Angels who watch" identical with the seven archangels: URIEL, RAPHAEL, RAGUEL, MIKAEL, SARAQAEI, GABRIEL, REMIEL.

22. (Acc. to Charles's critical text; cf. note on ch. 22 beg.) Three chambers in *Sheol* corresponding to three divisions of men, viz.

- (1) the righteous;
- (2) the wicked who have not met with retribution in this life;
- (3) the wicked who have.

22³. "the *spirits* of the *souls*¹ of the dead... all the *souls* of the children of men."

24⁴, 25^{1, 4, 5}, 29². The fragrance of the Tree of Life. 29², "*Aromatic trees*² exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh".

25^{4, 5}. The fragrant tree to be given to the righteous and holy in the time to come. "Its fruit shall be for food to the elect."

³. The Throne of Judgement.

⁵. The "temple of the Lord, the Eternal King".

33³. "I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, etc."

3 *Enoch*

The angels as possessors of *parts* of the secrets only: 11¹ n., 18²² n.; Introd. Angelol. A 3, (4) (d) [p. 161].
35⁶ and n.

47². The punishment of the angels who have not chanted the Song at their appointed time: "are made into numerous mountains of fire".

35⁶.

The Holy Ones and Watchers are *four*, 28⁵ (seventy-two, 30²); Archangels, ch. 17^{1, 3}.

Three different abodes for the spirits of men corresponding to three divisions (43, 44):

- (1) the righteous (near the Throne of Glory);
- (2) the intermediate (*Sheol*);
- (3) the wicked (*Gehenna*).

47¹. "the *souls* of the angels and the *spirits* of the servants, etc."

The fragrance of the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, 23¹⁸.

Bring the fragrance to "the righteous and godly who... shall inherit the Eden and the Tree of Life".

24²¹, 26¹², 28⁷, 31¹, 33¹.

48 c⁸. "My *Hekāl* (Temple, Palace, Hall)."

46^{2, 3}. "he pointed out all (the stars) to me... told me the names of every single one... they enter in counted order under... RAH^ATI'EL."

¹ 'Spirits of souls': መናፍቅት ስላንፍሳት.

² Acc. to emendation by Prätorius—Beer—Charles. Ethiopic: ፀፀው-ከፍገጌ: trees of judgement.

1 *Enoch*

39². "And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath."

^{6, 7}. "I saw the Elect One...and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits."

¹⁰⁻¹³. The *Q^eđuššā*. Notice the forms of the 'Blessed'.

¹⁰. "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore."¹

¹³. "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever."²

61¹¹. "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."³

40¹. "thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand...who stood before the Lord..." (Dan.).

². "four presences" ⁴ different from those that sleep not."

³. "And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory."

⁷. "fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth."

41¹. "I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance."

³. "the secrets of lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds."

⁴. Chambers containing the elemental forces.

43¹. "And I saw...the stars of heaven and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him."

². "their revolution acc. to the number of the angels."

41⁵⁻⁷, 43^{1, 2}. The conscious existence of the sun, moon and stars (*vide* Charles's note on 41⁵).

3 *Enoch*

Cf. below on 2 *En. B*, VII (a), VIII.

Enoch-Metatron placed near the Throne "under the wings of Shekina", Introd.

The forms of the *Q^eđuššā*; *vide* Introduction, pp. 184 f. The 'Blessed' has two forms, but each form is chanted singly.

22 B², C⁴, ⁷, 35⁶, 36¹, 40².

The four princes "of the army" set over the four camps of angels "who utter praises before the Holy One", 18^{4, 5}, 35³, 40².

The Seraphim take the documents of accusation written by Satan and destroy them by fire, 26¹².

18²⁰. ŠOQED ҲOZI weighs all the merits of man in a balance.

Chh. 23, 42.

37², 22 B³, ⁴.

46².

17⁴⁻⁷.

46^{2, 3}, esp. ³. "they (the stars) go out...to praise the Holy One." Cf. note *ib.*

1 ቡሩክነውጉሩነውይጅትባረክነጸምቅድምነውእስከገሰላም፤

2 ቡሩክነጸገተነውቡሩክነስሙለእግዚእገሰላም፤

3 ቡሩክነውይጅትባረክነስሙለእግዚእ፡መኖሩስት፡ለዓስምነውእስከገሰላም፤

4 አ፡ባሰቱ፡ገጽ = פנים הפעור (four faces; Ezek. 1^{4-6, 10}). Originally no doubt derived from the "four faces of the four *Hayyot*" in Ezekiel.

1 *Enoch*

45³, 55⁴, 62³, 5. "The Elect One will sit on the throne of his glory" (note by Charles on 45³).

46¹. "His head was white like wool" (Dan.).

3. "who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness."

"who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden."

"the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him."

4, 5 "this Son of Man... shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats... and shall loosen the reins of the strong... shall put down kings from their thrones and kingdoms."

6. "and he shall put down the countenance of the strong."

47². "the Holy ones... shall unite with one voice... and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits."

3. "and His counsellors stood before Him."

48²⁻⁶, 46¹⁻², 48³, 6, 49² (note by Charles on 48). The pre-existence of the Son of Man.

4. "a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall."

49². "The Elect One is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, etc."

3. "in him dwells the spirit of wisdom."

4. "he shall judge the secret things...."

5³. "the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne, and his mouth shall *pour forth* all the secrets of wisdom.... For the Lord of Spirits hath given them to him and hath glorified him."

1 It is important that in 3 *Enoch* Metatron, although obviously otherwise pictured in the manner of the Elect One, the Chosen One of 1 *En.*, is altogether lacking Messianic character, as well as never identified with the "one that looked like a man" of Dan. 7¹³. This is most certainly not accidental, but intentional. It is the result of a strong negation of central ideas of the sects to which the circle behind 3 *Enoch* felt itself in opposition: those sects may have been Christian or Gnostic or something else; the fact remains that 3 *Enoch* rejects the idea of an enthroned Messiah as God's vice-regent and appointed ruler. Cf. below on the origin of the conception of Metatron, p. 146.

3 *Enoch*

Many of the features of the Elect One and the Son of Man in 1 *En.* are transferred to Metatron in 3 *En.* The differences are, however, greater than the resemblances.

Throne of Metatron, 10¹, 48 c^{5, 6}.

1 *En.* 46¹; 3 *En.* 28⁷.

1 *En.* 46³; 3 *En.* 22¹, 48 c⁹.

Enoch - Metatron "an Elect One", 6³.

3 *En.* 48 c⁹: "to abase by his (Metatron's) word the proud to the ground... to put kings away from their kingdoms, etc." Cf. 28⁶.

The *Q'ḏuṣṣā* chanted by the *Mærkābā*-angels and the Great Princes, *vide* Introduction, § 18, *B* (2).

28⁸, 30^{1, 2}. "standing before Him, etc."; 72, counsellors.

The pre-existence of Metatron perhaps alluded to in 48 c¹.

Cf. 31².

48 c⁷. "Knower of Secrets." Cf. 8, 10⁵, 6, 11.

8, 10⁵, 6.

11, 48 c^{8, 9}.

Metatron is *never* represented as seated on the Divine Throne.

48 c⁷, 12^{1, 2}.

1 *Enoch*

53³. "the angels of punishment",¹ 56¹, 62¹¹, 63¹.

54⁵, 55⁴, 67⁴, 6, 7, 11, 12, 90²¹⁻²⁴, 91¹⁵. Punishment of the angels (*vide* Charles's Index II, 'Angels', page 316).

54⁸. "and all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine."

57². "the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from one end of heaven to the other, in one day."

58⁶. "and there shall be a light that never endeth."

60¹. "a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with a great disquiet."

3, 4;
11-12. Earthly and heavenly physics.

15-21. The "spirits" of the elemental forces.

61⁵. "the secrets of the depths of the earth."

8. "the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven."

9. "then shall they all with one voice speak and bless and glorify and sanctify (*Q'ēdūššā*) the name of the Lord of Spirits";
11 "and shall all say 'Blessed is He, etc.'"

10, 12. Enumeration of orders of angels: "all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the *Cherubin*, *Seraphin* and *Ophannin*,² and all the angels of power,³ and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth and over the water...all who sleep not above in heaven (i.e. 'IRIN)...all the Holy Ones (i.e. QAD-DIŠIN)".

3 *Enoch*

"angels of destruction,"
31², 33¹, 44².

Punishment of the angels, 40³, 47.

The Upper Waters and the Lower Waters as polar opposites, 42² (*vide* note).

38¹.

5⁴ and note.

38¹, 19⁶.

17, 8.

34, 37, 22 B C, 42.

Angels of elemental forces, 14³.

11^{1, 2, 3}. "nothing on high nor in the depths of the earth"; "the secrets of the depth."

48 C⁸. "I set up his (Metatron's) throne...that he may judge the heavenly household."

22 B⁸, 38². Cf. Introduction, § 18, B (1), (2) and E. See above, parallels to 1 *En.* 39¹⁰⁻¹³.

In 3 *En.* similar enumerations, including the *Mār kābā*-angels, are found e.g. in chh. 19⁶, 6², 7, 39², 48 C⁴. The similarity in this case is striking. (Cf. *Introd. Angelology*, E (a), (2).)

1 መላእክት መቅዋርት.

2 Ophannin: አፍኒኑ.

3 Angels of power: መላእክት-ገጥሞ, cf. ስጥጥ 7¹, 19⁶, 36.

1 *Enoch*

62¹⁶. "(the righteous and elect) shall have been clothed with garments of glory, and these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits."

69¹¹. No evil could get power over men until they had learnt the secrets and sorceries from the Fallen Angels and through the practice of these had been led astray, into idolatry, etc.

61¹³. *Kasbiel* (ካስብኤል).

13. The "oath"¹ and the "hidden (Divine) name",² through which "the heaven was suspended, and the earth was founded upon the water", through which the sea was created and the depths made fast and through which the sun, moon and stars complete their course.

70. "The final translation of Enoch." "His (Enoch's) name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from among those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit."

71. A Picture of the *Mærkābā* (cf. ch. 14).

2. "streams of fire" (አፍላግኦአፍት).

6. "on the four sides of the house (*Hekal*) were streams full of living fire."

3. "Mikael led me forth into all the secrets...."

4. "and he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven and all the chambers of all the stars, etc."

5. "he translated my spirit into the *heaven of heavens*, and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals...."³

6. "and my spirit saw the girdle which girt that *house of fire*...."

7. "and round about were SERAPHIN, CHERUBIN and OPHANNIN; and these are they who sleep not ('IRIN) and guard the Throne of His Glory."

3 *Enoch*

18²².

5⁴, 6⁻⁹.

Kaspi'el, Kafsi'el, 1³.

13¹, 41¹⁻³. The letters (of the Divine Names) through which heaven and earth, seas and rivers, etc. were created.

4⁵. "The Holy One raised me (Enoch) aloft in their lifetime", 48 c²; "I took him (Enoch) from among them", 6¹; "he took me from their midst in their sight and raised me aloft upon a fiery chariot ... together with the Shekina".

19⁴. "under them four fiery rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side."

11, 46.

The expression "heaven of heavens" corresponds to the innermost part of the seventh heaven in 3 *En*. The 'house' containing the Throne of Glory corresponds to the Seventh *Hekal* (Hall, Palace) of 3 *En*.

The *Mærkābā*-angels and the 'IRIN: Introd. Angelology, A 1, (3), (4), (5), (7); ch. 7.

1 መሐላ

2 ስም፡ኃብኦ

3 ወርኤከ፡በህየ፡ማእከለ፡ዝኩ፡በርሃኑ፡ከመ፡ቡዞይት፡ጊደቅ፡እምኦብኑ፡አስሐትያ፡

1 *Enoch*

8. "and I saw angels who could not be counted, a thousand thousands and 10,000 times 10,000 encircling *that house*,

9. "and MIKAEL, RAPHAEL, GABRIEL, and PHANUEL, and the holy angels (*Qaddišin*) who are above the heavens go in and out of that house."

71¹⁰.

72¹. URIEL as the guide of the luminaries (also in 74², 75³, 79⁶, 82⁷).

75, 82¹⁰⁻²⁰. "the leaders of the heads of the thousands who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars" (these leaders are 'luminaries', not angels, acc. to Charles, note *ad loc.*).

80⁶. "and many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed), and these shall alter their orbits and tasks, etc."

81^{1, 2}. The *heavenly tablets*¹ and the *book of all the deeds of mankind*.² (*Vide* Charles's note on 47³: "the heavenly tables record all the deeds of men to the remotest generations".)

87², 20. The reconciliation of the two ideas of seven archangels and four presences, the seven archangels being represented as consisting of the four Presences and three companion angels: "there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men; and four went forth from that place and three with them". In the enumeration of the seven archangels in ch. 20 the names of the four Presences are included.

89⁶⁹ seqq. The Seventy Shepherds, the angelic rulers and representatives of the 'nations' (*vide* Charles's note *ad loc.* pp. 199-201) here regarded as the oppressors of Israel.

93². "According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision (1) and which I have known through the word of the holy angels (2) and have learnt from the heavenly tablets (3)."

3 *Enoch*

"the innumerable companies of the hosts round about him", 15 B²; "thousand thousands, etc.", 22 B 2, 3, C 4, 7, 35⁶, 36¹.

Cf. above at 1 *En.* 40².

28⁷.

Cf. RAHA'TI'EL, 14⁴, 17⁶, 46³; KOKBI'EL, GALGALI'EL, etc. 17.

the "rulers over the world", ch. 14. The leaders and angels of the heavenly bodies, 17⁴⁻⁷.

38².

30², 27^{1, 2}, 44⁹ (books of records). In ch. 45 the *Pargod* corresponds to the 'heavenly tablets' of 1 *Enoch*.

Ch. 17^{1, 3} and notes. In the various enumerations of the seven archangels the names of the four Presences are almost invariably included.

The Seventy Princes of Kingdoms, the representatives in heaven of the nations on earth, 10³, 14^{1, 2}, 16^{1, 2}, 17⁸ (note), 18^{2, 3}, 30² (note), 48 C⁹, D⁵.

Three sources of knowledge of celestial things and secrets:

(1) visions, 1¹, 16², etc. (the main part of the book);

(2) words of an angel, 4 seqq.;

(3) *Pargod* and the books, 45¹, 44⁹.

1 *Enoch*

91¹². "and a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors."

98⁷. "every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High."

104¹. "in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One."

(Cf. Charles's note on ch. 15².)

3 *Enoch*

The Sword of execution of punishment, 32^{1, 2}.

27^{1, 2}, 30², 44⁹.

30², 31², 33¹ (angels of Mercy); 15 B² (angelic advocates).

The above parallels quite sufficiently show (1) the close dependence of the ideas of the later Enoch Literature, represented by 3 *Enoch*, upon those of the earlier, esp. of 1 *Enoch*,¹ but also (2) the considerable development of those earlier ideas, which has taken place in the time between 1 and 3 *Enoch*. Both dependence and development are perhaps nowhere so clearly discernible as in the case of the conceptions of *Enoch*. In 1 *Enoch* he is the saint-man of old who was worthy of receiving disclosures on future things and on celestial wonders, and this mostly in visions. He is the authority behind the Books of Secrets carrying his name: here is the central interest of the earlier Enoch Literature. There are, however, indications of an initial focussing of the interest on the *final* translation of Enoch, his elevation into a high celestial being, viz. in ch. 70 (Enoch "raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit to the Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth"). And, possibly, the following chapter 71, treating of Enoch's translation 'in spirit' into the heaven of heavens near the 'house' containing the Throne of Glory, was interpreted as referring to a definite elevation of Enoch. This is supported by the fact that the Enoch-Metatron pieces of our book show particular dependence upon these chapters in manner of expression and general terms of describing the elevation of Enoch. *Vide* above. The transformation of Enoch into a high celestial being is clearly enunciated in 2 *Enoch*.

1 Cf. George Foot Moore (in *Judaism*, etc. ii. 281): "At a much later time Enoch and what he saw in the heavens appear in Hebrew writings whose resemblance to features of our Book of Enoch suggests subterranean channels of communication, if not literary acquaintance". It would be interesting to know what those possible 'subterranean channels' exactly were. It is evident that 1 *Enoch* must have lain before the 3 *Enoch* circle much in the same form—with regard to composition—as it is preserved to us, i.e. there is no trace of separate existence of the different parts of 1 *Enoch* at the time of 3 *Enoch*.

§ 7B. PARALLELS BETWEEN AND COGNATE CONCEPTIONS IN 2 ENOCH AND 3 ENOCH

(References to 2 *En.* acc. to Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II.)

A. ANGELOLOGY.

2 *Enoch*

I. Angels near the Divine Throne and in the highest heaven.

(a) Individual, named, high angel-princes: MIKAEL and GABRIEL to the right and left of the Throne respectively: 24¹ *AB*; MIKAEL called 'archangel, general, archistrategē' 22⁶, 'great captain' 33¹⁰.

ENOCH, 'one of His Glorious Ones' to the left of the Throne, Scribe, 24¹ *BA*.

VRETEL, archangel, Keeper of the Books, Registrar, Knower of Secrets, 22¹¹⁻²³.

SHEMUEL and RAZIEL (*B*) or RAGUEL (*A*), 33⁶, the guides and instructors of Enoch, virtually "Princes of Understanding and Wisdom".

(ORIOCH and MARIOCH, guardians of the Enoch writings, 33¹¹ *B*.

SATAN-SATANAIL, 18⁸, 29^{4, 5}, 31⁴⁻⁶.)

(b) Classes of angels functioning by the Throne:

(1) The *highest order of archangels*, 20, also called GLORIOUS ONES, 21 *B*, 22^{7, 10} *A*, and SERVANTS, 22 *BA*. To this class the individual angel-princes are reckoned: 21 *BA*, 22^{10, 11}, 29^{4, 5}.

(2) The highest order of *Mærkābā*-angels, viz. KERUBIM, SERAPHIM, SIX-WINGED ONES (i.e. ḤAYYŌṢ), explicitly defined as ministers of the Throne 20¹ *A*, 21¹ *BA*; OFANNIM (miswritten '*Ostanim*') 20¹ *B*.

(3) Acc. to *A*: "INCORPOREAL POWERS", LORDSHIPS, PRINCIPALITIES, POWERS, THRONES, THE WATCHFULNESS OF MANY EYES: 20¹.

The last-named may be an allusion to the 'IRIN (Watchers), acc. to 18 *BA* originally belonging to the highest heaven. Cf. below II (*b*).

Notice especially the *THRONES*.

3 *Enoch*

3 *En.* contains 57 names of high angel-princes. See the Index, 'Angels'.

MIKAEL, 'archangel', 'great prince', 17^{1, 3}; Gabriel, *ib.* and 14⁴.

ENOCH-METATRON, the highest angel, 3-15, 48.

RADŪERĪ'EL, ch. 27, cf. note and Introd., Angelol.

PRINCE OF WISDOM and PRINCE OF UNDERSTANDING, instruct. of Enoch-Metatron, 10⁵.

Not in 3 *En.*

SATAN, esp. 26¹² (23¹⁶).

Cf. esp. the angelological system of *A 1* (Introd.).

Cf. ch. 17: archangels include MIKAEL and GABRIEL, etc. In *A 1* and *A 2* more developed than in 2 *En.*

A 1: six classes of *Mærkābā*-angels: GALGALLIM, ḤAYYŌṢ, K^{ER}UBIM, 'OFANNIM and S^{ER}APHIM. Cf. Index.

Perhaps to be compared with the 'ER ELLIM, ṬAF-SARIM, 14¹; HOLY PRINCES, 3⁹², etc.

The 'IRIN and QADDISĪN above the *Mærkābā*-angels in the highest heaven, 28.

Metatron possibly the highest THRONE (Introd.).

2 *Enoch*

II. The remaining angelic orders, in chh. 3-19, represented as distributed among the six lower heavens.

(a) Angels of the sixth heaven.

(1) The *lower order of archangels* who are 'Rulers of the World', appointed over the stars and the government of the earth, and "Rulers over the lower orders of angels", having control especially over the chanting of the Celestial Songs by the angels, 19¹⁻³ BA.

(2) The angels of elemental forces, the angels ruling over seasons and years, etc., 19⁴ BA.

(3) SCRIBES, angels registering the deeds of all men, 19⁵ BA.

(4) The *lower orders of Mærkābā-angels*, seven of each class: seven PHOENIXES, seven KERUBIM, seven SIX-WINGED ONES (ḤAYYŌḶ). Chief function: celestial chant, 19⁶ BA, cf. 29³ B (all the troops of...).

(b) Angels of the fifth heaven:

The 'IRIN (*Egoroi*, B; *Grigori*, A), originally belonging to the seventh heaven, but after the fall of their brethren they have descended into the fifth heaven, or because of their silent and mournful attitude they are not accounted worthy of having their abode in the highest heaven. Their proper functions are: Service at the Divine Throne and chanting of the Celestial Songs, 18¹⁻⁹ A, 18¹ B.

(c) Angels of the fourth heaven:

(1) Angels attending the sun and the moon, numbered: 15,000 myriads, 1000, 400, 100, etc. Chh. 11^{4, 12}, 12¹, 14^{2, 3}, 15, 16⁷.

(2) Angels specially appointed for the chanting of the Celestial Songs, 'song-uttering angels', 17 BA.

(d) Angels of the third heaven:

(1) The angelic guardians of Paradise, ch. 8⁸ BA, cf. 30¹ A, 42⁴ B.

(2) The angelic guardians of the place of torment: the angels of punishment, ch. 10³ BA.

Cf. guardians of hell, 42¹ BA.

3 *Enoch*

A2 and A3 both speak of hosts of angels distributed among the diff. heavens, but the functions of these are not defined with the exception of those of the second heaven. Most of the following are located in the seventh heaven.

RULERS OF THE WORLD, 14⁴; PRINCES of the SONG-UTTERING ANGELS, 18^{4, 5}, 35³.

ELEMENTAL ANGELS, 14³, included among the RULERS OF THE WORLD.

33².

In 3 *Enoch* no lower order of *Mærkābā-angels*.

The 'IRIN have their place in the seventh heaven. Functions, see A1 concerning the Fallen Watchers, cf. chh. 4^{6, 5} and notes, *ib.*, also Introd., section 13 E (a) 3, 4: 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael both for fallen and not fallen angels.

Angels attending the sun and moon in the second heaven, A2, ch. 17^{4, 5}, 96 and 88 (angels).

Angels specially appointed for the Q^e *ḏuššā*, chh. 35, 40; cf. Introduction, § 18 D.

Not in 3 *En.*, cf. ch. 18²², 'AZBUGĀ.

Angels of destruction, 31², 33¹, 44²; appointed over the punishment of the wicked in hell.

2 *Enoch*

(e) Angels of the second heaven:

The fallen 'IRIN, kept as prisoners and awaiting the final judgement. SATANAIL-SATAN, acc. to *A*, their chief, 7 *BA*, 7³ *A*, 18 *A*, 31⁴⁻⁶ *A*.

Notice. Ch. 18 *A*, the fallen 'IRIN or, more probably, their leaders, are given as *three* in number.

(f) Angels of the first heaven:

(1) The "elder, the ruler of the stellar orders" (*A* plural: elders, rulers), the Prince(s) appointed over the stars and planets, with 200 assistant angels, 4 *BA*.

(2) The angelic guardians of the treasures of elemental forces, chh. 5, 6 *BA*, 40 *BA*.

Outside the above hierarchical system there are references to various classes of angels, to individual angels or angels in general without indication as to their place in the hierarchy.

A. General terms: ARMED HOSTS, 23 *A*; HEAVENLY TROOPS, 29 *BA*, 39 *A*; INCORPORAL TROOPS, 29; SPIRITUAL HOSTS, 29 *A*; FIERY ANGELS, 30 *A*, etc.

B. Definite classes of angels with definite functions: the GUIDES OF ENOCH, 1, 3 seqq., 21, 33, 67; SONG-UTTERING ANGELS, 31 *A*, 42 *B*; THE GUARDIANS OF THE GATES OF HELL, 42 *BA*; THE GIANTS, 18 *A*, etc., etc.

B. THE CONCEPTIONS OF ENOCH.

2 *Enoch*

I. Enoch is taken up from earth to the heavens by two angels sent by the Holy One.

(a) Acc. to the former half of 2 *En.* this ascension of Enoch seems to be merely temporary: he is to return to earth again, 1³, 2^{4,1}.

(b) Acc. to the latter half of the book Enoch's ascension implies a final departure

¹ It should be noted, however, that Enoch's ascension takes place at the end of his life ("when 365 years were fulfilled to me"), 1¹.

3 *Enoch*

The 'IRIN are not said to be fallen (28),

But 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZI'EL of 5⁹, the *three* evil agencies, are clearly allusions to the Fallen Watchers.

RAH^ATI'EL and KOKBI'EL with 72 and 365,000 myriads of assistant angels, 17^{6,7}.

Cf. 14³.

Also in 3 *En.* general terms: SERVANTS, TROOPS, ARMIES, etc. See *Introd.* Angelol. *E* (a) 1.

Definite classes of angels outside the hierarchical systems: ŠIN^ANIM, HAŠ-MALLIM, TROOPS of ANGER, ARMIES of VEHEMENCE, 'ELIM, ACCUSERS, etc. See *Index*, 'Angels'.

3 *Enoch*

6¹. Enoch fetched from on earth by 'ANAFI'EL sent by the Holy One. Enoch's elevation is final, and when he descends into terrestrial regions he does so as a Celestial Being, 1⁴.

2 Enoch

from earthly life. His return is for a short time only and then he has no longer terrestrial nature; chh. 21 onwards, esp. 33⁵⁻¹¹ BA, 36² BA, 38¹ A, 55^{1, 2} BA, 56² BA, 67² BA.

II. Enoch is conducted through the six lower heavens by the two angels. During his journey through these lower heavens Enoch is still only a 'mortal man' (7⁵ BA). This is acc. to the former half of the book, chh. 1-21.

III. When arrived in the outer regions of the seventh heaven Enoch is brought by GABRIEL before the Presence of the Holy One, 21^{3, 5} BA. There he is given in charge to MIKAEL, the chief of the archangels, 22⁶ seqq. BA.

IV. Enoch is transformed into a CELESTIAL BEING, in rank on a level with the ARCHANGELS and is made into an angel of the Presence:

(a) his earthly 'robe' (= nature) is changed into 'garments of God's Glory (*Kābōd*)' and he is anointed with the Lord's "holy oil", 22^{8, 9} BA;

(b) thereby he is made like "one of His Glorious Ones (= the highest order of archangels)", 22¹⁰ BA;

(c) he is to *stand before the Lord's face for ever*, i.e. as an angel of the Presence, 21³ BA, 22^{4, 6} BA.

The elevation of Enoch is a 'trial' of the highest angels; these, however, acquiesce in the will of the Lord, 22^{6, 7} BA.

V. As high archangel and prince of the Presence Enoch is in rank equal with GABRIEL and next under MIKAEL; he has his place at the left side of the Throne, 24¹ BA.

VI. Enoch is initiated in the Secrets:

(a) first by the archangel VRETIL, and

(b) after that, in the secrets not known even to the angels, *by God Himself*, 22¹¹⁻²³ BA, 24^{2, 3} BA. The latter secrets are in the first instance the *Ma^asē B^erešīḥ*, 24 seqq. BA, 64⁵ A.

Thus Enoch is specifically a 'Knower of Secrets' (*Yodēa' Rāzīm*).

3 Enoch

Enoch's ascension thro. the six lower heavens is not dwelt upon in 3 En. 4³, 6¹, 7.

Enoch is brought into the highest heaven and in the Presence of the Throne by 'ANAFT'EL and by God Himself, 6¹, 7.

Enoch transformed into a Celestial Being: his flesh is changed into fire, he is clad in garments of Glory, etc.

He is made into a ruler over the highest angels (Introd.).

Enoch as Metatron, the Prince of the Presence (10^{3, 4}, 48 c).

The highest angels protest against Enoch's elevation, ch. 6^{2, 3}.

Enoch in rank *above all* angels, 48 c^{8, 9} (cf. Introd. Met.).

Enoch initiated first by the Princes of Wisdom and Understanding (10⁵), then by the Holy One Himself, 11, 48 c⁴, esp. Secrets of Creation, ch. 11.

Enoch 'Knower of Secrets', 48 c⁸.

2 *Enoch*

VII. With Enoch's initiation in the Secrets his function as Scribe is closely connected. This function is much emphasized in the latter half of the book.

(a) Enoch writes down the secrets revealed to him in Books of his own, and the contents he reveals to men. (The books, 23⁶ BA, 33³ BA, 33^{5, 8-11} BA, 35², 36¹, 40^{2, 12}, 43¹, 47², 64⁵.)

Obedying a Divine command, Enoch reveals the books to his sons and to the men of his generation, in order that they may hand them over to the next generation and so on, 33⁵⁻¹¹ BA, 35², 36¹, 40-54 BA.

(b) As Scribe he knows and records all deeds of men, and Divine Judgements, decisions and decrees, 40¹³ A, 50¹ BA, 53^{2, 3} BA, 64⁵ A.

Notice esp. 50 A ("no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed: I, i.e. *Enoch*, see all").

VIII. The works written down by Enoch in heaven and subsequently revealed to men are, acc. to the latter half of 2 *En.*, identical with the Enoch Literature, of which the current Books of Enoch, hence also 2 *En.*, formed part. This Enoch Literature was considered to be very rich: the 'Books of Enoch' are not less than 360 (acc. to B) or 366 (acc. to A) in number, 23⁶, 68² A.

(The latter half of 2 *En.* is probably intended to be interpreted as a conclusion of an imaginary collection of Enoch books.)

It is particularly incumbent upon each generation or each group of men to whom the books of Enoch have been handed down, that they in turn communicate them; this is to continue till "the end of time": 33^{8, 9} BA, 47² A, 48⁶ A, 54 BA.

The exclusive importance of the Enoch books is expressed in 47² A as follows:

"There have been many books from the beginning of Creation and shall be to the end of the world, but *none shall make things known to you like my writings.*"

3 *Enoch*

Enoch Scribe-Witness-Testifier. This is not much emphasized, 4⁵, 48 c².

The 'Books' of Enoch not mentioned in 3 *Enoch*.

The only parallel to this is the add. ch. 48 D¹⁰; the chain of tradition.

3 *En.* ch. 11^{1, 2}: "all living beings' thoughts of heart were revealed to me". "Before a man did think in secret, I saw it."

There is no direct parallel to this in 3 *Enoch*. Cognate ideas are: Enoch-Metatron possesses all the secrets of the universe and reveals some of them to men worthy to receive them, as e.g. Moses (48 D) and R. Iṣma'el (3 seqq.); further, it is implied by 48 D¹⁰ that it is the *duty* of the "men of faith", who have received the secrets from earlier generations, in their turn to communicate them to those worthy of them.

C. THE CELESTIAL SONGS.

2 Enoch

I. The character of the songs.

There are various kinds of songs, "various singing", 17 A.

Terms denoting different kinds of 'songs': THE SONG OF TRIUMPH, 31² A; TRIUMPHANT SONGS, 42⁴ B.

Verbally cited are:

(1) "THE GIVER OF LIGHT COMES TO GIVE HIS BRIGHTNESS TO THE WHOLE WORLD": 15² A.¹

(2) "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD GOD OF SABAOOTH. THE HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE FULL OF THY GLORY", i.e. the *Q^eđuššā*, 21¹ A.

There is no reference to an interdependence or interrelation between the Celestial Chant and the Service performed by the congregation on earth.

II. The performers of the Celestial Songs.

(1) Angels specially appointed for the sole purpose of chanting the songs, "song-uttering angels", are perhaps referred to in 17 BA: "armed troops serving the Lord on cymbals and organs with incessant voice". Cf. also 23¹ A.

(2) The glorification of the Holy One is a duty incumbent upon the angels in general:

(a) The angels of the seventh heaven, 20⁴ A; the highest order of *Mærkābā*-angels utter the *Q^eđuššā* before the Throne, 21¹.

(b) The lower order of *Mærkābā*-angels sing and voice to each other as one, 19⁶ BA.

(c) The 'IRIN (*Grigori*) sing with one voice, 18⁹ A.

(d) The angels appointed over the sun "sing a song at the command of the Lord", 15^{1, 2} A.

(e) The angelic guardians of Paradise, 8² BA, 42⁴ B.

III. The time appointed for the chanting of the Celestial Songs.

(1) The performance of Celestial Songs is represented as continual and uninterrupted: "with incessant voice", 8⁸ BA, 17 BA; "never cease rejoicing", 42⁴ B.

1 Cf. the "*ha-mmē'ir lā'āræš*" in the Jewish Liturgy.

3 Enoch

Cf. here the Introduction, § 18.

Terms, see *ib. A*.

The songs consist of Scripture verses exclusively. Cf. however 46⁴.

The *Q^eđuššā* important in 3 Enoch. Cf. below, the performance of the Celestial Songs, etc.

3 Enoch dwells on the Celestial hymns only. Hence = 2 En.

See Intro. *ib. B*.

See Intro. *ib. B* (1), "song-uttering angels".

See Intro. *ib. B* (2).

See Intro. *ib. B* (2).

3 Enoch, ch. 46⁴.

Intro. *ib. C*.

Contrast in 3 En. a fixed time every day for the *Q^eđuššā*, 18⁷, 19⁶, 23³, 35⁵, 36¹, 38¹, 39¹.

2 *Enoch*

(2) A definite time in the day perhaps implied by 20³, 4 *B*.

IV. Manner and arrangement:

"with one voice", 18⁸, 19⁶;

"with the accompaniment of cymbals and organs, etc.", 17;

introduced by the sounding of four trumpets, 18⁹ *A*.

The performers of the Celestial Songs are arranged in *four orders*, 18⁹ *A*.

V. The import of the Chanting of the Celestial Songs

Is an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, a realization of and conforming to the Kingdom of Heaven. This is implied by 15¹ *A*, 21, 8⁸, 42⁴ and also 31² and symbolized by the expression "with one voice", 18⁸, 19⁶. Apparent in ch. 18¹.

3 *Enoch*

Introd. *ib.* *D* and *B* (1).

Cf. note on 3 *En.* 40³, end.

The camps of song-uttering angels arranged in *four šuroḫ*, 35³, etc.

Introd. *ib.* *E*.

Introd. *ib.* *E*.

= in 3 *En.*

D. THE DIVINE JUDGEMENT.

2 *Enoch*

I. Two different Judgements are referred to, of which one is preliminary, the other final.

(a) Preliminary Judgement:

(1) of the rebelling angels (Watchers), 7^{1, 3} *BA*, 18^{4, 6, 7} *A*;

(2) of man, by which he is assigned to Paradise or to the place of punishment, acc. to his deeds, 40¹² *BA*, 13 *A*, 41-42¹ *A*, 42^{3, 4} *B*, 9 *BA*, 10 *BA*.

The preliminary judgement of man is a *daily judgement* (decisions as to man's fate given after his death), 40¹³ *A*.

(b) Final Judgement, concerned with

(1) the whole world, 10 *B*, 18⁷ *A*, 65^{6, 7} *BA*;

(2) the individual, 40¹² *A*, 58^{4, 5} *A*, 6 *B*, 65⁶ *A*, 7 *B*;

(3) with the fallen Watchers, 7¹ *A*, 18^{6, 7} *A*.

II. The Court Proceedings are not described in detail, but only alluded to, 42¹³ *A*, 58⁴⁻⁶ *BA*, 65^{6, 7} *BA*.

3 *Enoch*

See Introd.: "The Divine Judgement".

Only one judgement is referred to, viz. the *daily judgement*. This is concerned

(1) with the whole world;

(2) with the nations of the earth;

(3) with the individual;

(4) with the angelic world.

The Court Proceedings are described. See Introd. *ib.*

2 *Enoch*

III. It is implied that the judgement is based partly upon records of man's deeds: the Divine decisions and decrees are also recorded.

Angelic Scribes and Recorders are:

(1) VRETEL, recording "all the doings of the Lord", 22¹¹ BA.

(2) ENOCH, 40², 12 A, 64⁵ A, 50¹ BA, 53² BA.

(3) Angels "over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord", 19⁵ BA.

IV. As 'accusers' of men are mentioned only the "souls of the beasts", 58⁶ BA.

V. In Judgement men are divided into two main classes, viz.:

(1) The RIGHTEOUS or JUST who are kept in Paradise in the third heaven until the final judgement, after which they are to be gathered together for the life in the new age, this world having perished; their dwelling-place will then be a new Paradise, "the Great Paradise", 42⁴ B, 65⁸⁻¹⁰ BA.

Cf. however 9 BA, 42³⁻⁵ B.

(2) The WICKED. As regards the place of punishment assigned for the wicked, the former and latter halves of the book are at variance. Acc. to the former the place of torture situated in the third heaven is "an eternal inheritance" for the wicked from the first judgement, the final judgement making no change in the fate of the wicked. Ch. 10 BA.

Acc. to the latter the wicked are punished in "hell" situated below the heavens, probably under the earth. Their punishment begins immediately after death, but they await the final decisions as to their punishment to be given at the final judgement, 40¹², 13 BA, 42¹, 2 B, 42¹, 12 A.

The non-righteous Israelites, however, were assigned a special position: they will be conducted to Paradise in the time to come, i.e. after the final judgement. Until that time they undergo punishment in hell, 42⁵ B, 41 A.

3 *Enoch*

The judgement is based on records of man's deeds and of all events in the whole universe. The Divine decrees are recorded. See *ib*.

Scribes and Keeper of the "Books":

RADQERI'EL, ch. 27²;

ENOCH, 4⁵, 48 C².

The "Scribes", 27², 33², 18²³⁻²⁵.

S'ERAFI'EL, ch. 26¹.

Angelic accusers, 14².

3 *Enoch* speaks of three classes of men, viz.:

(1) the Righteous. Their spirits have their abode in the Presence of the Throne of Glory, 43². In the time to come the righteous shall inherit the Garden of Eden, 23¹⁸;

(2) the perfectly wicked who are punished in Gehenna, 44³, 33⁵;

(3) the intermediate, the *bēnōn(iyy)im*, who have to go through a sort of Purgatory until they are cleansed from their sins. After being purified they are probably accounted as righteous, 44³, 5.

The *bēnōn(iyy)im*, acc. to 3 *Enoch*, are the large majority of men, not perfectly righteous but neither wholly wicked.

2 *Enoch*

VI. The executors of the judgement are angels specially appointed for this purpose. "Cruel, relentless. . . angels tormenting without pity" execute the punishment of the wicked, 10 *BA*.

Cf. "guardians of the keys of hell" in 42¹ *BA*, 3 *B*.

Similarly there are guardians of Paradise, 9⁸ *BA*, 42⁴ *B* (cf. 30¹ *A*).

VII. The instruments of punishment are: the "weapons of the angels" of punishment, 10³ *BA*; the fiery river, 10² *A*; "fire and flame and cold and ice and dungeons", 10² *B*.

3 *Enoch*

The executors of Divine decisions are the 'IRIN and QADDISHIN, 28⁹.

The executors of punishment are the angels of destruction, 31², 33¹, 44².

Instruments of punishment are: the Sword of God, ch. 32; "staves of fire", 44³; the fiery river, 33⁵, 47.

The parallels adduced above clearly show that 3 *Enoch* bases on the same traditions as 2 *Enoch*, at least to a considerable extent; secondly, that, on the whole, the development of these traditions is further advanced in 3 *Enoch* than in 2 *Enoch*; thirdly, that, apparently, the conceptions of 3 *Enoch* in most cases are direct continuations on the lines of development begun by 2 *Enoch*.

(1) Thus, in Angelology, the tendency towards systematization evident in 2 *Enoch*, as compared with 1 *Enoch*, has resulted, in 3 *Enoch*, in the very elaborate angelological systems, in this Introduction referred to as A 1, A 2 and A 3 (*vide* the section on Angelology, Introduction, § 14).

In these angelological systems the interest has been focussed in an ever-increasing degree on the angelic inhabitants of the highest heaven, the angels of the *Mærkābā* and the Throne, and hence 3 *Enoch* here presents elaborate accounts of this angelic world, which in comprehensiveness by far transcend those of 2 *Enoch*. The treatment of the angelic orders of the lower heavens is, on the other hand, poorer in 3 *Enoch* than in 2 *Enoch*; but this is explained by the fact that most of the particular orders of angels, in 2 *Enoch* assigned to various of the lower heavens, are, in our book, located in the seventh heaven, with the exception of the angels of the planetary and stellar orders of angels, who, in accordance with Rabbinic traditions, are all located in the second heaven.

(2) With regard to the conceptions of Enoch, 2 *Enoch* shows itself very clearly as belonging to a stage of development later than 1 *Enoch*, but earlier than our book; moreover, in this respect 2 *Enoch* may be

said, speaking metaphorically, to be on the straight line connecting 1 *Enoch* with 3 *Enoch*.

Whereas in 1 *Enoch* the *visions* of Enoch are the essential feature in the Enoch-conception (*vide* above), in 2 *Enoch*, on the contrary, the idea of Enoch's *transformation into a high Celestial Being* plays an important part (see the above parallels, under B IV, V). This idea has, however, not yet advanced as far as in 3 *Enoch*. Thus, Enoch, as a high archangel, still is in rank below MIKĀEL, and has his place on the *left* hand of the Most High. It is evident that at the time of writing of 2 *Enoch*, the idea of Enoch as the *ruler over all* the angels and the *vice-gerent* of the Holy One, had never as yet been put forth. With this coheres that there is in 2 *Enoch* no trace of the identification of Enoch with Metatron, one of the central features of 3 *Enoch*, nor of Enoch as enthroned, although 2 *Enoch* knows of an angelic order called THRONES (ch. 20¹).

(3) Respecting the conceptions of Judgement and Fate of Souls and Spirits 2 *Enoch* is more in keeping with 1 *Enoch* and the earlier Apocalyptic Literature, whereas 3 *Enoch* on this point rather reflects the earlier Rabbinic teachings (especially those of Beṣ̄ Šammai).

As is evident from the parallels between 1 and 3 *Enoch* given above, 3 *Enoch* reveals familiarity with the ideas and expressions of 1 *Enoch*, i.e. 1 *Enoch* must have been well known to the circle from which 3 *Enoch* emanated. That this was the case also with at least parts of the writings embodied in the present 2 *Enoch* is postulated by the close parallels between 2 and 3 *Enoch*, some of which are as striking as to suggest a direct dependence of the latter upon the former. Special importance should perhaps be attached to the following features which appear in 2 and 3 *Enoch* exclusively:

(1) The leaders of the Fallen Angels or Seducers of mankind as *three* in number, 2 *En.* 18 A, 3 *En.* 5⁹.

(2) RĀḌĪERIEL-VREṬIL, the Keeper of the Books, the Heavenly Registrar, 2 *En.* 22¹¹-23, 3 *En.* 27 (*vide* note on 3 *En.* 27).

(3) Enoch instructed in the secrets, first by angels, and then, in the highest mysteries, by the Holy One Himself, 2 *En.* 22¹¹-24³, 3 *En.* 10⁵, 11.

There are, however, a few conceptions and passages of 2 *Enoch* which reflect a later development than our book. Still these are—in most cases—easily recognized as late additions. Such are:

(1) The conception of higher and lower orders of *Mærkābā*-angels, a conception which, by the way, is frequently met with in the *Zohar*,

2 *En.* 19⁶, 20¹, 21¹ (*vide* above on the Parallels between 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Enoch*, A I (b) 2 and A II (a) 4); cf. *Zohar*, i. 22 a, i. 41 b seqq., *et frequ.*

(2) The ten ranks of angels, 2 *En.* 20³ A.

(3) The eighth, ninth and tenth heaven, strangely enough carrying the Hebrew names of *Kokābim* (planets), *Mazzāloḥ* (constellations), and *‘Arāboḥ* (in reality the name of the seventh heaven). This is however only found in a corrupt passage quite out of keeping with the context. It is easily observed that 2 *Enoch* knows only of seven heavens. *Vide* Charles's note on the passage in his edition of 2 *Enoch*, 1896, 2 *En.* 21⁶–22³ A.

(4) The advanced calendary computations, 13–16 A, cf. 31, 32 A.

Also on this point the addition-character of the passages showing later developments is unmistakable, and is, moreover, proved by a comparison of the two versions extant, A and B (as they are marked in Charles's edition in his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 431–469). B here presents the more original text, whereas in A the passages in question are inserted which reflect late calendary computations.

Thus, ch. 14¹, where B reads simply, "according to the number of the days", A has "according to the number of the days 365 *and the quarter of a day*". That the latter half of the passage in A is a late gloss is obvious. Even more apparent is the addition-character of the largest part of ch. 16 of the version A. Whereas ch. 16 B simply speaks of the 12 gates of entrance and the 12 gates of exit of the moon, 16 A makes these gates to represent the 12 months of the *solar* year, further alludes to the leap-year, speaks of the "great circle of 532 years," etc. *Nothing of this is found in B.*

(5) Parts of the account of Creation contained in 30–33² acc. to A reveal influences from ranges of ideas outside the traditions reflected in 3 *Enoch*, *vide* in particular vss. 3, 8, 9, 13–18 of ch. 30, further 31⁴ (Satan-Satanail), 33^{1, 2}. It is highly significant that these passages also are only found in A. What is found in B is altogether compatible with the conceptions of the earlier *Enoch* Literature.

It is interesting to note that it is mainly on the grounds of the conceptions found in the additional sections or passages referred to under (4) and (5) above, that Mrs Maunders in *The Observatory*, August 1918, argues for a late origin of 2 *Enoch*, maintaining that it reflects the traditions of the Bogomils. The arguments brought forward by Mrs Maunders obviously carry weight only for the passages on which they are based, and cannot be applied to 2 *Enoch* in its original form,

not even to the present form of version B. The observations of Mrs Maunders may be valuable for the textual history of 2 *Enoch*.

Mrs Maunders's suppositions as to the late origin of 2 *Enoch* as a whole are obviously refuted simply by the fact of the relations obtaining between 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Enoch*; for neither can 3 *Enoch* be dependent upon a writing of *Slavonic origin*, nor can such a writing be conceived of as dependent upon the Hebrew 3 *Enoch*.

Before arriving at a final conclusion as to the relation between 2 and 3 *Enoch* the following considerations may be made, viz.:

(1) The entirely Jewish character of a considerable part of the present 2 *Enoch*;

(2) the strikingly close parallels, not only in general and detailed conceptions, but also in terms and expressions, between this Jewish stratum and 3 *Enoch*, as shown above;

(3) the impossibility of conceiving any direct dependence of 3 *Enoch* upon a non-Jewish writing, to the extent obtaining here;

(4) the unmistakably earlier stage of development in 2 *Enoch*—as compared with 3 *Enoch*—of otherwise identical conceptions and ideas common to 2 and 3 *Enoch* (as has been shown above).

On these considerations it may be urged that there was originally a Jewish writing, belonging to the Enoch Literature and embodied in the present 2 *Enoch*, and that this Jewish Book of Enoch was well known to the circle from which 3 *Enoch* has emanated.

Further, from this assumption follows, as a corollary, that the Jewish writing in question must have originated at a fairly early date. In fact, the general types of ideas met with in this oldest and essential stratum of the present 2 *Enoch*, fit in perfectly with the date assigned to it by Charles, i.e. some time in the first century A.D.¹ This would also fit in very well with assigning some date in the third century for the redaction of 3 *Enoch*; the interval would allow for the developments reflected in 3 *Enoch* and for the assimilation which has taken place in 3 *Enoch*, on the one hand with the conceptions of Metatron and on the other with certain Rabbinic ideas (cf. above).

¹ Since the edition by Charles, 1896, has now gone out of print, a new separate edition of 2 *Enoch* by the same outstanding authority is greatly to be desired.

That 2 *Enoch* has been extant in Greek is evident. The traces of a Greek text underlying the present 2 *Enoch* are numerous: Phoenixes, Chalkadri, Arkhas, the Greek names of the planets, etc. *Vide* Charles's Introduction to the edition of 1896.

§ 7c. PARALLELS AND SIMILARITIES OF EXPRESSION IN MANDAISTIC LITERATURE

(Quotations from Petermann's *Thesaurus*, Lidzbarski's *Mand. Lit.*, *Joh. B. d. Mand* and *Ginza*. Mandaic script transcribed in Rashi characters.)

1. Similarities to the Enoch-Metatron pieces (3 *En.* 3-16, 48 c).

(a) In general.

GR. III. 68²⁶⁻³³ (72¹⁶⁻¹⁹) (cf. GR. 78²⁹ seqq.):

הו רבא עהאבלה ויוא ונהורא
ואטפילה על דעתלה
עהאבלה לבושא רבא דשאנאי וסאכא ליתלה
בירכה בנירכתא ראבתא
דעתיבירכבה רורביא
אבא שאוויא דעותריא
ומזאיד וואדיא לראמה

He, the Great One, gave him¹ splendour and light and added for him to that which he had, he gave him a great garment, exquisite and imperishable, he blessed him with great blessing with which are blessed the mighty ones; they made him the father of the 'Upras, and he gives maintenance to his friends.

GR. III. 70³⁻⁹ (73²⁰ seqq.):

קרוך ופאקדוך רביא
ווארוך ופאקדוך ושאדוך
ושאלטוך על כול נבו
פאקדוך על שכינאתא
ועל תירי רורביא דאתאר כאסיא
שאלטוך על עותריא כאסיא
דקאימין ותשאביא לרורביא

The Great (Life) has created and appointed thee, has prepared thee, appointed thee and sent thee, has made thee a ruler over every thing, has appointed thee over the *Šēkīnas* and over the mighty gates of the Secret Place, has made thee a ruler over the Hidden 'Upras that are standing and praising the Mighty (Life).

¹ Vide Brandt, *Mand. Schr.* pp. 125-129, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 63 seq., referring to *Mandā dHayye*.

3 *En.* 9⁵, 48 c⁸.

8². (הוסיף לי חכמה על וגו');
"...the Holy One added
in me wisdom unto wisdom,
etc."

12^{1,2}.

(עשה לי לבוש של גאון);
"...He made me a gar-
ment of glory, etc."

9¹ ("blessed me with...
blessings").

For Metatron as the
possessor and distributor
of *Parnāsā*, vide note on
3 *En.* 8¹.

3 *En.* 48 c¹ ("I made
him strong, I took him,
I appointed him, namely
Metatron").

3 *En.* 20⁶, 48 c³. Meta-
tron appointed over all the
Treasures and stores of
every heaven.

3 *En.* 48 c⁴. Metatron
put over the Hall of
¹arabōp and its gates.

3 *En.* 10³, 48 c⁴, 8⁹.

GR. III. 74^{7, 8} (76¹⁷): "Since I am one among the Great Ones, the Life Himself revealed to me..."

3 En. 11¹ (*vide note ib.*) and 48 c⁷.

GR. III. 94⁷⁻¹² (91⁴⁻⁶):

דִּירְכָא לְטֹאֲבִיא דִּירְכִית
וְשֹׁאוֹת בְּאֲבָא לְאֻמָּא
בְּאֲבָא לְאֻמָּא שְׁאוֹת
וְתִרְאֲנִיבָה כּוֹרְסִיא
כּוֹרְסִיא לְטֹאֲבִיא תִירְנִית
וְתִקְנִיבָה פֹאסִימְכָא

Ib. 23, 24 (*ib.* 11, 12):

כּוֹרְסִיא חִירְנִית לְרֹאֲב זְוִיָּא
וְתִירְנִית קוֹדֶלְמָה פֹאסִימְכָא

"I made a path for the good and put up a gate for the world, a gate for the world I put up and erected in it a throne, a Throne for the good I erected and fixed on it a lamp... a Throne I erected for the Prince of the Glorious Ones;
and erected before it a lamp."

3 En. 10^{1, 2}. "All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me: He made me a *Throne*, similar to the Throne of Glory. And He spread for me a carpet of splendour and brilliant appearance, of beauty, grace and mercy, similar to the carpet of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all kinds of lights in the universe. And He placed it at the *Door* of the (Seventh) Hall and seated me on it."

GR. XVII. I. 401^{3, 4} (373^{8, 9}):

עַל בְּאֲבָא דְּבֵית הַיֵּיא
כּוֹרְסִיא לְרֹאֲב זְוִיָּא תִרִין

"At the door of the Chamber of Life a Throne was erected for the Prince of the Glorious Ones."

3 En. 48 c⁸. "I set up his throne at the door of my Hall, that he may sit and judge the heavenly household. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him."

ML. 188⁸⁻¹⁰ (Oxf. I. xviii):

כּוֹרְסִיא תִרִין לְרֹאֲב זְוִיָּא וְרֹאֲב
זְוִיָּא יֵאֲתִיב עֲלֵהּ

"For the Prince of the Glorious Ones a Throne is erected... and the Prince of the Glorious Ones is seated upon it."

3 En. 10³. "I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdom and over all the children of heaven."

Cf. with reference to 'Abaṣur, the "Third Life":

ML. 16¹²⁻¹⁷ (Qolasta I. ix): "I extol, honour and glorify 'Abaṣur, the ancient,

high, secret and guarded one, . . . at the door of the Chamber of Life a Throne is founded for him, and he is seated on it, the balance is erected before him; he weighs works and rewards; he sees and knows the worlds and the æons, what they are doing."

על באנא דבית הייא כורסא רמילה מוואניא
תריז קודאמא תאקיל עובאדיא ואגריא. האזיא
ופאריס אלמא ודאריא מאהו דאבדיא

Cf. further on 'Abapur, GR. 174¹, 195³; ML. 91¹⁴; GR. 285⁴⁰⁻⁴², 286¹ (288²²⁻²⁴):

"'Abapur, the ancient, high, secret and guarded one, who is *high* and seated in the *deep*, and *sees* what is *hidden* and searches the *worlds* and generations, sees what they are *doing* and is appointed over the spirits to weigh all works that they have done,—[him] we call as witness".

ḡM. 222⁸⁻¹²:

כסאיתא לאבאחור מן שינאיהא ונטאריתא על
ביוניא מן ריש צריס אנהרתא ותאקינתא מן
בוסמא דאיר שרין עלא תאקינין לעבדאיתא
ותאקינא למימרה מן ריש צריס

"I hid 'Abapur away from the planets and preserved his treasure exceedingly well. I made him shining and glorious by the fragrance of ether resting on him. We made his works and words exceeding glorious."

ML. 233, 234 (Oxf. II. ii):

ביומא דליבשיה מאנדא דהייא ללבבשיה ויוה על
אלמא דנהורא דנא

"On the day when *Mandā dHayye* clad himself in his garment of light,¹ his splendour rose over the worlds of light. . . all gathered together before him. . . opened their mouth and blessed *Mandā dHayye* . . ."

ML. 234, 235 (Oxf. II. iii): "On the day when they bound the girdle on *Mandā*

3 En. 48 c⁸ (cf. preceding page).

3 En. 11^{1, 2}. "All living beings' thoughts of heart and all the *secrets* of the Universe and all the Secrets of Creation were revealed to me. . . . Before a man does think, I know what is in his thoughts. And there is nothing above on *high* nor below in the *deep* hidden from me."

3 En. 15^{1, 2}, 48 c^{6, 9}.

3 En. 7¹. "When the Holy One etc."

3 En. 12^{1, 2}.

¹ On the significance of ML. 233 seqq. in that connection *vide* Lidzbarski's note 2 on p. 233 *op. cit.* "Im Folgenden werden die einzelnen Stücke der sakralen Kleidung der Mandäer . . . durchgegangen. . . wie sonst wird das Geschehnis in die Urzeit verlegt und mit einem höheren Wesen in Verbindung gebracht."

dHayye, his splendour rose over the 'Uḡras and Šekinas. When the 'Uḡras and Šekinas saw the splendour of *Mandā dHayye*, they all were affrighted before his splendour".

(כולהון מן זיוה סאר)

ML. 236, 237 (Oxf. II. vi):

ביוםא ד־תרנללֵה תאגא למאנדא דהייא זיוה על
הילבזניה דנא

"On the day when they put the crown on *Mandā dHayye*, its splendour rose over all the eggs...all the worlds shine through it(s splendour)."

3 En. 12^{3, 4}. "He made me a royal crown...its splendour went forth in the four quarters of the 'Arāboṣ Rāqī^a', and through the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world."

ML. 232 (Oxf. II. i):

כנאך עותריא וכנאך שכינאתא
כורסיא ליאואר מאלכא דעותריא תראנלֵה
כורסיא תראנלֵה ליאואר מאלכא דעותריא
ותראנלֵה בריסיה כלייא ראזיא
זיוה על עותריא ועל שכינאתא דנא
עותריא ושכינאתא דהיזיויא לזיוא
דיאואר מאלכא דעותריא כולהון
לואתה כאנפיא כולהון כאנפיא לואתה
...וביאמינון דאכיא מאסימא עלה
ומבארבילֵה צברכתא ראצתיא

3 En. 14¹. "When the Holy One put this crown on my head..."

"The 'Uḡras and Šekinas gathered together, they erected a throne for Yaḡar, the King of the 'Uḡras,...they put shining crowns (garlands) upon his head. His splendour went out over the Uḡras and Šekinas. When the 'Uḡras and Šekinas saw the splendour of Yaḡar, the King of the 'Uḡras, they all gathered together by him...and laid their Right Hand upon him. They blessed him with the Great Blessing."

3 En. 14¹⁻⁵. "When the Holy One, blessed be He, put this crown on my head, (then) trembled before me all the Princes of Kingdoms who are in the height of 'Arāboṣ Rāqī^a' and all the hosts of every heaven... and they all fell prostrate when they saw me."

ML. 241 (Oxf. II. xi):

אבון עהאבלאך פאדאכשאר דאכיא ופאקאדתא
דרביא פאקיר עלאך

"Our Father! They gave Thee the true (pure) dominion and the command which the Great (Life) has committed to Thee."

3 En. 48^c.

(b) The 'Youth'.

ML. 244 (Oxf. II. xix):

וּטְאִנְאִלּוֹן לְעוֹתְרִיא וּמִיִּנְקָאִנְאִלּוֹן לְפִאִסְמִיכִיא
רִאֲבִנָא וּרְאֲבִלִיא כִּאֲפִשְׁאִי דְשִׁתִּית מִיָּא מִן פּוֹס
פִּרְאֵשׁ

"Small am I among the 'Upras, a suckling am I among the Shining Ones, yet I am great, and my soul is great in me for I have drunk water from the mouth of Euphrates."

GR. v. 4 192¹³⁻¹⁵ (191¹¹⁻¹³): *Mandā dHayye* addressed by *Yōhānā* from the Jordan: "Come, come, *little youth* of three years and one day, smallest among his brothers and oldest among his fathers, who himself is small, but his words distinguished".

חֲתָא חֲתָא יֵאלְדָא וּטְאִ בְּרַ שְׁנִיא תִּלְאֵת וְיוֹמָא
דְּרָא זֹוט אֵהֵרָ וּקְאִשִּׁישׁ אֲבִהֵאֲתֵהּ דְּהוּ זֹוט
וּפּוֹגְדָמָה מְרִאֲוִרְבִּיא

The Youthful Child, *Rāb̄ya Ṭālya*, occurs in ML. 229² (Oxf. I. lix), 264⁴ (Oxf. IV. i) with the name *Arspan* and the epithet "son of the Splendours" (= the Glorious Ones): בְּרַ זִיּוּיא. In GR. 243²³⁻²⁷ (also ML. 248⁹) *Hib̄il bar Adam* (the Abel of OT.) is called thus. A particular rôle is played by the *Rāb̄ya Ṭālya* in the latter part of the ninth book of GR. pp. 235-238. On this *vide* Lidzbarski's introduction, *ib.* pp. 234, 235. The First Life (or its 'sons') creates through his word "the only (unique; *μονογενής*: Lidzbarski) son, the great, righteous *Unique One*, who went forth from the great, righteous *Unique One*". The First Life clothes him in "garments of splendour", puts "diadems of light" upon him. He is questioned by the messenger 'Adākas-Malala or 'Adākas-Ziyya: "What is Thy Name?" and answers: "I am the Youthful Child, the righteous, great *Unique One*". Then he is brought by that messenger to the "*S̄kina within the S̄kina*" and he beholds the "Splendour which is above all splendour, the Light above all Light, on the right of whom there are 1000 times 1000 shining ones and on his left 10,000 times 10,000 shining ones". When he

4¹⁰. "Because I am small and a youth among them (*scil.* the Angels) in days, months and years, therefore they call me 'Youth' (*Na'ar*)."
4⁹: "he (the youth Metatron) shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens".

3 En. 48^{c1}. "I made him strong (אִיבְרִיתִי, perhaps בְּרִאֲתִי, 'I created him', was originally meant to be conveyed), I took him, I appointed him, namely Metatron, my servant who is one (*unique*) among all the children of heaven."

Cf. and contrast 3 En. 3^{1, 2}. R. Ishmael asks Metatron: "What is thy name?" He answers him: "... my King calls me Youth".

3 En. 1¹: "chamber within chamber".

3 En. 6³. "this one whom I have taken from among them (i.e. men) is an Elect One among (the inhabi-

goes down he finds the First Life in its Š^škina, tells of his vision, and thereupon proceeds to the other worlds of light which are committed to him that he may put them in order; at last he is sent by the 'Great, Mighty Mānā' with a message to the devotees on earth (the Naṣoreans, i.e. Mandæans). *Vide* also beg. of eleventh book, p. 251 (249), which book acc. to Lidzbarski "in einem anderen Kreise als die sonstigen mandäischen Schriften entstanden ist".

GR. XI. Peterm. 249¹⁸⁻²⁰:

איהידא רנא ואדיקא...
קאיים וקרא עותרא רהימא
דניהויא פארושא לָהּ ולאזנויא
ואדיקא... ולאפרים על כולהון
עובאדיא דניהון ואפראשתא
ניקאיים קוראס אנויא

"The Unique, Great, Righteous One... created a beloved 'Upra that he should be a discerner (teacher: פארושא) for himself and his father, the Righteous One,...that he should teach concerning all works that shall be (done) and arrange teaching before his father."

(c) 'Enoš.

In the Mandaic literature 'Enoš ('Anoš) is given a prominent place. The name itself is derived from the OT. 'Ænoš; mostly he is mentioned in juxtaposition with Hiḇil (= Abel) and Šipil (= Seth), all three being 'Upras with special functions, differently represented in different contexts. On the significance of 'Enoš one may in the first place refer to Reitzenstein, *D. Mand. B. d. Herrn d. Grösse und Das iran. Erlös. Myst.* pp. 115-134.¹ 'Enoš is the last Messenger and Revealer of Truth to the world, the Guide, and Saviour of those who follow him. It will be unnecessary here to repeat the whole of the "Enoš-episode" in the Apocalypse of GR. analyzed by Reitzenstein and Schæder (*GR.* 30⁴⁸):² "Enoš-Upra comes into the world...heals the sick, opens the eyes of the blind, makes the lepers clean...vivifies the dead; he wins adherents among

tants of) the world and he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness, and perfection of deeds."

48c⁸. "I (God) appointed Metatron over the angelic rulers of the world to reveal to them the secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement."

To illustrate the manner and import of the rejection of 'Ænoš in 3 *Enoch*, it may be allowed to repeat here the relevant fragment, ch. 5:

"From the day when the Holy One expelled the First Adam from the Garden of Eden Š^škinā was dwelling upon a Kerub under the Tree of Life...and the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the image of the appearance of the splendour of Š^škinā... And everyone who made use of the splendour of Š^škinā... he neither became ill nor

¹ *Vide* also the valuable expositions by Schæder in Reitzenstein und Schæder *Stud. z. Ant. Synkret. aus Iran v. Griechenl.* pp. 306, 326-341.

² Schæder, *op. cit.* pp. 332-336.

(מֵהַיִּמִּין מִן) the Jews",... "Enoš-‘Upra ascends (on high) and sits with (joins) the *Mešunne-Kušta*" (= Die zur Seligkeit entrückten Mandäer: Lidzbarski). Cf. later *Mf.* 242 (also *GR.* 338³⁰, 339 seq.). In the present connection attention must be called to *GR.* 47³⁵ seq. (52⁴⁹ seq.)—an insertion acc. to Lidzbarski:

ענוש עותרא אתיא מן קודאס טופאניא מיא
לואתה דנו וסורבאתה

"Enoš-‘Upra comes before the Water Floods to Noah and his tribe" (cf. *GR.* 263¹⁸⁻²⁹).

This should be put by the side of the traditions in *GR.*, eleventh book (*vide* Lidzbarski, *GR.* pp. 250, 251). The Unique One sends the three ‘Upras, *Hibil*, *Šipil* and ‘Anoš into the world to give assistance to the spirits of the faithful. The Planets (being the Enemies of the Spiritual World) try to overpower them, and plan the destruction of the whole generation, first through the sword (against *Hibil*), then through Fire (against *Šipil*)¹ and lastly through a Deluge (against ‘Anoš). (Cf. how in 3 *En.* the removal of Enoch is connected as well with the idolatry of ‘Enoš as with the Deluge.) ‘Enoš is represented as fearing the attempts by the Planets but is addressed by *Mandā dĤayye* as follows (*GR.* XI. 266¹³ seq. Pet.):

ענוש ווטא... לא תידהול מן בישיא דאלמא האוין
מן טופאניא מיא האוין על רישאך דילאך
מיתנאסביא... עיאתיאלאך ויוא ונהורא דאדיארא
ניהוילאך וניקוס לואתאך

"Little ‘Enoš... Be not afraid... of the Evil Ones of this world (and) of the Water Floods. They will be taken away above thy head... I will bring thee splendour and light which will be thy helpers and stand by thee."

suffered he any pain; no demons got power over him nor were able to injure him... until the time of the generation of ‘*Ænoš* who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world. And what did the generation of ‘*Ænoš* do? They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in heaps like unto mountains and hills making idols out of them throughout all the world... And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations, and placed them before the idols on their right hand and on their left to attend them even as they attend the Holy One, blessed be He... What power was in them that they were able to bring them down... (answer:) ‘*Uzzā*, ‘*Azzā* and ‘*Azzi’el*... taught them sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them. In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One... saying... ‘Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men?’ As it is written (Ps. 85): ‘*mā ’ænōš ki ḥizkē’annu*’ (what is man, ‘Enoš, that thou art mindful of him?). *Mā ’Ādām* is not written here, but *mā ’ænōš*, for he (i.e. ‘*Ænoš*) is the head of the idol worshippers."

(Cf. *Lam. R. Proēm* 24, dependent on 3 *En.*, *Gen. R.* 5⁵, 10⁸, 12⁵, 23⁹.)

¹ Thus originally, acc. to Lidzbarski, *GR.* p. 250, ll. 29-31.

GR. XI. 264³¹ (266²³–267³ Pet.):

אמריא בישא דאלמא דהאלין גובריא תלאתא
באלמא הינון ולאו גובריא הינון הינעלא ויוא
ונהורא הו דמותה מהאויא באלמא האוין לואת
ענוס ווטא דקאייס בלמודה באלמא האוין.
ואמארלע מאנדא דהייא אתא עגאלאלך על ראויא
סאיניא דאלמא האוין

The Evil Ones of the world shall say:
"These Three Men are in the world, and
(but) they are not men but splendour and
light: it shows its image in this world by
(with) the little 'Enoš who stands alone in
this world. And *Mandā dHayye* said to
him: Come, I will reveal to thee concerning
the hideous secrets of this world."

GR. XI. Pet. 270⁶⁻¹⁶:

הא הוית ענוס ווטא גליתלאלך
על ראזא דבישא דאלמא האוין דהוית
וריהלית מינאיון דואהת ועתאזאהת
מינאיון גליתלאלך על ראזא דעסומיא וארקא
גליתלאלך על ראזא דכולא עבאד ומאבאד
דעתבה באלמא אפריסתאלך עלאואיון
עהאבילאלך ויוא ונהורא דניהוויא לואתאלך
בלבוסא האנאתה קאדמאית
דעהאלכנון מן בית הייא האסתא עלאלך
דילאלך עתאטאר דבישא עלה מיתכאדשיא
דנינסיונה ולא מאטיא בעדאיהון דנינסיונה
הא אטפילאלך ויוא על ויוא ואטפילאלך
נהורא על נהורא דניהוויא לואתאלך בדמותא
דגובריא עליון תרין אהאלך דמן לואתאלך
נפאל לבית הייא אזאל

"Lo, thou hast seen, little 'Enoš, (that) I
revealed to thee concerning the secret of the
Evil Ones of this world whom thou didst see
and feared them, before whom thou didst
tremble and shake. I revealed to thee concern-
ing the secret of heavens and earth, I
revealed to thee concerning the secret of
every doing and work (that [are]) in the
world, I instructed thee concerning them.
I gave thee splendour and light, that it should
be with thee on that first garment that they
gave thee (you) from the House of Life, now
kept with thee (treasured in thy possession),
on (for) which the Evil Ones are fighting that

In 3 *En.* 'Enoš is on the
side of the 'planets', *against*
the right faith.

At the same time the
features in Mand. belong-
ing to 'Enoš in his char-
acter of "Urmensch-Er-
löser-Licht-Gesandte", to
speak with Reitzenstein,
are in 3 *Enoch* found in
Enoch-Metatron:

(1) Just as the little
'Enoš stands alone in this
world against the domi-
nance of the Evil Ones
(Planets) so Enoch-Meta-
tron the youth is the one
and only righteous as a-
gainst the rest of mankind
who pay obeisance to the
idols (i.e. the powers of the
lower world) and have
ousted the Divine Light,
the (Ziuhā) Šēkinā, from
the world.

(2) When GR. 30¹¹
(29¹⁷) makes 'Enoš-'Uthra
ascend on high after his
appearance in this world,
3 *En.* again lets Enoch be
taken up on high away
from the idol-worshippers,
the followers of 'Enoš.

(3) Enoch is the *only*
righteous one in his gene-
ration.

(4) The revelation of
secrets of the world is ac-
cording to 3 *En.* made by
the Holy One to Enoch-
Metatron.

(5) 3 *En.* 12^{1, 2}. The
garment of Light from the
House of Life (the Hēāl
of the Holy One) is given
to Metatron.

they may take it and they will not succeed in taking it. Lo, I added for thee light unto light that it may be with thee in the image of these two men, thy brethren, who went away from thee and entered the House of Life."

The eleventh book of *GR.* is introduced thus:

האזין הו ראו וסידרא דאנוש דבא בר שיתל
רבא בר אדאס רבא בר עותריא רורבאניא
דעקארא:

"*This is the secret and the book of the Great 'Anoš, the son of the Great Šipil, the son of the Great 'Adām, the son of the Mighty 'Uḥras of Glory*" (*GR.* 251¹² [249¹⁰]).

The first section of the twelfth book of *GR.* calls 'Enoš, *inter alia*: בר שזבאחא דבולא the son of the leaves (*scil. of writings*) of all knowledge (or: γνῶσις). (*GR.* 268¹¹, 270¹⁰ [272³, 24, 273¹].)

Cf. the beginning of the ninth book of *GR.*:

האזין הו ראו וסידרא דקארקאלתא
דסובא כוכביא דגלילון ואפרישלון מאנדא
דהייא דארקא תיביל ועהאבלון להיביל
וסייתל ואנוש וסייתל ואנוש עהאבלון
לראהמיא שומאיהון

"*This is the secret and the book of the overthrow of the seven planets which (secret and book) Mandā dHayye revealed and taught on the earth Tebel; and he gave them to Hibil, Šipil and 'Anoš and Hibil, Šipil and 'Anoš gave them to those who love their name*" (*GR.* 223¹⁷ [222¹⁰]). The book contains polemics against the false religions which are said to have emanated from the seven planets. For 'Enoš (together with Hibil and Šipil) as (1) the prototype for the Faithful; (2) the leader, guide of the Spirits of the Faithful; (3) the Messenger, the Word, sent by the Life to wake up, teach and guide the believers, it is not necessary to give references. *Vide*, however, first and eleventh sections of fifteenth book of *GR.*, further *GR.* 286¹⁹, 52³, 30², 48⁶. The spirits have to give account for their life before 'Anoš-'Uḥra: *GR.* 405³³ (377⁶). 'Enoš, as messenger, wins followers,

(6) 3 *En.* 8². "In that hour the Holy One added in me...splendour unto splendour (speaking of Metatron)."

One may here recall the Jewish tradition of a book of Adam, transmitted to (or recovered by) Enoch and after him to Noah (starting from the Pseudepigraphical writings, esp. elaborated in *T^efillap' Adām hā-Rišōn* [*OM.* ii. 401, *S. Raziēl*, beg.]) as a possible parallel to the book given to Hibil, Šipil and 'Anoš. Cf. also Metatron as "the Knower and Revealer of Secrets", 3 *En.* 48 c⁷, ⁹.

Cf. above and 3 *En.* 48 d¹⁰ with note.

3 *Enoch* looks upon the functions of 'Enoš quite differently. So far from seeing in him the leader of the Faithful he is really the instigator of the false religions. The party of 'Enoš is denounced as that of idol-worshippers, who make use of the sun, moon, planets and constellations (i.e. the 'Seven' and 'Twelve').

adherents, appears as it were as the head of the 'ligta' (party, circle of believers):

GR. xv. i. 296¹ (299¹²) the Great Life says to 'Enoš:

אזאל לגוט ליגטתא מן תיביל
כוי ליגטתא דלגאטנין אנין

"Go, collect a party from Tebel, like the party that we have collected."

Cf. in this connection also GR. II. i. 44³ (46²⁰⁻²⁴ Pet.):

אנא שליחא קאדמאיהא אמארהנא
ומאפרישנא לכולהון בניא דאדאס דהון
ידהאון ומיתאדליא בדארהא האנאתה

ולא תישמון לשותא דמאללאכיא דהוסארהא
דסאטין ומאסטין מן בנאת אנאשא

ומראהבילון בדאהבא וכאספא ווארגבא

ומינונא וקיניאנא ונילמא דזיפא ודמאואתא...

"I, the First Messenger, (I) speak and teach all the children of 'Adam who were, who are and who shall be born in that generation: Do not listen to the words (*šupā*: speech) of the angels of defection who deviate and cause (some, many) of the children of men to err and cause them to covet gold and silver, money, possession and property and images of fraud and simulacres."

GR. xiv. 294¹⁴ (298⁸ f. Pet.):

כול נישמאתא דאודא דמאואתא לקודאמאן
לאסאלקא ובוואתאן לאכאשרא ולאמא דתיניאנא
לאניהוונא

"The spirits that have worshipped (or sworn fealty to) idols (images), none of them shall ascend to our presence, they are not worthy (to be) with us and they will not behold the world of the Second One."

Acc. to 3 En. the 'party' that 'Enoš 'collects' is that of idol-worshippers. In *Life of Enoch* Enoch is represented as collecting a party of believers in God, among the then inhabitants of the world.

3 En. 5⁷⁻⁹: the idol-worshippers bring silver, gold, precious stones and pearls, and make of them images (idols) in the whole world.

So the generation of 'Enoš of 3 En. 5 are no worthy to dwell with the Šekina.

(d) Some further illustrations of the similarity of expressions and ideas in *Mand.* and 3 En. may be given. Space will not allow giving both text and translation in full; for the translation of the passages references must be made to Lidzbarski's *ML.*, *GR.* and *Mj.*, which in any case must be consulted for a more thorough testing of the present pages.

GR. II. I. 31²⁴ (31⁴⁻⁹ Pet.):

מֵאֵרָא דְכוֹלֵהוֹן מֵאֲלֹכִיָּא
בְּחֵאֵלָא רֵאמָא וּבְמִימָרָא כְּאִבְרִיא
אִמָּאָר וְהוֹן מֵאֲלֹכִיָּא דְנִהוּרָא מִן
זִיּוּא דְאִכְיָא וּמִן נִהוּרָא רַבָּא
דְּלֵאֲבִאטִיל פֶּרוֹן וְעִתְקֵאִישׁ מֵאֲלֹכִיָּא
דְּתוֹשְׁבֵיהֶתָּא דְסֵאֲבָא וּמִינִינָא
וּבוֹטְלָאנָא לִיתְלוֹן כּוֹלֵהוֹן בְּתוֹשְׁבֵיהֶתָּא
מִלִּין וְקִאִמִּין וּמִשְׁאֲבִין
לְמֵאֲלֹכִיָּא רֵאמָא דְנִהוּרָא...

"The Lord of all Kings spoke with great force and mighty word...and (= then) came forth (were born) angels of light;...and...angels of praise...without end, or reckoning, imperishable; all full of praise, and (they are) standing praising the lofty King of Light (cf. GR. 34²⁵)."

167 worlds of light: GR. 199³⁴.

360 worlds of light: GR. 289³⁶.

ML. 266⁷, 8.

GR. V. I. 151⁸ (134¹⁹⁻²²):

תָּתָא עֵהְאִוִּיךְ דְּמוֹתָא
דְּמֵאֲנָא וּמֵאֲנָא וְדְמוֹתֵי רֵאֲבִיתִיא
כְּאִסִּיתָא דְכִסְעִיא מִן כּוֹלֵהוֹן עוֹתֵרִיא
בְּתֵלֶתְמָא וְשִׁיתִין וְהֵאֲמַשְׁא אֱלֹמִיא
וְהִילְבּוֹנִיא כְּאִסִּיא רּוֹרְבִיא דְנִהוּרָא

"Come I will show thee the image of Mānā, and Mānā and his great hidden image that is hidden from all 'Uṗras in 365 *hidden, mighty worlds* and eggs of light."

"10,000 times 1000 worlds of light": GR. 152²³ (136¹¹).

רובין אלפין אלמין דְנִהוּרָא

GR. V. I. 152²²⁻²⁶:

"(He) created for me a world...in that world he created for me 10,000 times 1000 worlds of light and created for me 360 mighty, intrinsic Jordans. In each world alone he created for me 360,000 'Uṗras, in each Šēkina alone he created for me 360,000 Šēkinas."

GR. V. 5. 199³⁴ (199¹⁸):

"The great, beloved, original Sam-Ziua, the man, whose Šēkina is resting (dwelling) above the 167 mighty, superior worlds of light. Each single world is 1000 times 1000 para-

3 En. 40⁴. "After that the Holy One opens his mouth and speaks one word and creates others (*scil.* angels) in their stead ...and each one stands before His throne uttering the 'Holy'"; 37⁸: "out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created: and he stands in the singing company of the ministering angels".

Cf. 3 En. 24¹⁷ (18,000 worlds); 48 A¹ (955 heavens = the hidden abodes of the Godhead).

Cf. 3 En. 22 B C, 35¹.

sangs, and 10,000 times 10,000 Šekinas are dwelling in it; in each single Šekina 1000 times 1000 'Upras are dwelling, and each single 'Upra inhabits a Šekina."

Cf. *Mj.* pp. 8, 9 and Lidzbarski's note 5 *ib.* on the number 12,000.

The number 360 is most frequent especially in *ML.*: besides 360 worlds of light already referred to we meet with 360,000 'Upras (*ML.* 237⁵), 360 myriads of thousands Glorious Ones (*Ziye: GR.* 162²⁰), 360 fountains of splendour, light and glory (*ML.* 236⁵, 265¹), 360 or 360,000 Jordans (*GR.* 152¹⁴, ²⁴, 147³, *ML.* 265⁷), 360 Watchers (*Natre: ML.* 273⁸), 360 secrets in the world (*ML.* 22², ³), 360 balances erected before the Aged 'Abapur (*ML.* 92¹, ²).

The Lord of Greatness created on his right 444 Šekinas and on his left 366 Šekinas, *GR.* 144¹⁶.

144,000 myriads of 'Upras, *ML.* 18², 71⁴; of years, *ML.* 70¹.

180,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 144¹⁸.

550,000, 444,000 and 660,000 'Upras went from different parts to Mandā dHayye, *GR.* 361¹¹ (cf. Lidzbarski's note 2 on *ML.* 18).

60,000 myriads of years, *GR.* 156³⁹.

800,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 289³¹, ³³.

880,000 myriads of 'Upras, *ML.* 70⁵.

900,000 myriads of 'Upras, *GR.* 290²².

GR. VI. 212⁴ (212²¹ Pet.):

כוי שאלמללה כילה לדינאנוכת
ומן פאגרה נפאק אסקויא לבאבא
דבית הייא ואמאר דינאנוכת פתוליא
באבא דבית הייא האיואך פתולה באבא
דבית הייא ודאלולה בר גורא רבא
דשרארא נפאון אלבשויה ענטלא דיויא
וכאסיויא טארטבונא רבא דנהורא
ואיתולה כלילא מן רואו גופנא תראנלה
ברישא וקאס דינאנוכת ביתרא דהייא
ובאתרא דכולה זיוא ובאתרא דכולה נהורא
וקאס בסיגיא האילא שאבא להייא רורביא
וליאקיר ותריץ כיניאנא דבואתה ואמאר
דינאנוכת בהאזא מאסיקתא דאנא סלאקיבה
ניסקון וניתון בגאוד כולהון נאזראייא
כשיטיא מהאימניא ובאסימיא

In 3 *En.* 22 C, 12,000 and its multiples are prominent.

For the large part played by numbers in 3 *En.*, *vide* Index on numbers and notes on passages in question.

In 3 *En.* the number 365 is conspicuous; together with 1000 times 10,000 *et sim.* (from *Dan.*), 360,000 occurs in 3 *En.* 22 B¹.

18,000: 3 *En.* 24¹².

66,000: 3 *En.* 33³.

800,000: 3 *En.* 33³.

“(Dinanukt went out to this world, voiced the call of Life, taught disciples 60 years, 60 months and 60 days.) When the measure of Dinanukt was completed for him and he left his body, they brought him to the *door of the House of Life*. And Dinanukt spake: Open for me the door of the House of Life. Then they opened for him the door of Life and lifted up for him the Bar Gođa (= *Pargod*, Veil) of Security. They rose, *clad him in a garment of splendour*, brought him a garland of the vine Rūaz and put it on his head. And Dinanukt stood in the abode of Life, in the abode that is all *splendour* and in the abode that is all *light*. And he stood in great strength, praised the Mighty Life and (*him whose*) *epithet (title) is honoured and exalted like himself*. And Dinanukt spake: With this ascension (*masseḡta*) with which I have ascended, all truthful, faithful and goodly Naṣoreans shall ascend and attain.”

3 *En.* 1², 10², 16¹, 48c^{4, 8}
(door of the Seventh Hall).

3 *En.* 25¹, 45⁶ (*Pargod*),
10¹: cf. notes *ad loc.*

3 *En.* 12¹, 18²².

3 *En.* 18¹⁸, 22B^{6, 7}, 28²,
48c⁷.

GR. I. 25⁷ (23¹³):

לא תישאבהוּא לשאמיש דִּהוּ אֲדוּנָאִי שוּמָה קוּדְשָׁא
שוּמָה עִלְעִיל שוּמָה תוּס עֲתֵלָה שוּמָא כְּאִסְיָא
וּלְאַמִּיתְגַּלְלִיא בְּאַלְמָא

Cf. GR. II. I. 43¹ (45¹⁰).

El-Siddai, 179³².

Hidden Names, GR. 152¹⁷, 159².

Azazel, Azaziel, Taqfel and Margazel the Great, GR. 173²¹.

GR. v. 3. 185¹⁸ (189²³):

הֲאִנִּיךְ נִישְׁמַמְתָּא דְּאִמְיָא לְמֵאִנִּי דְּפִאֲהֲרָא דְּעוֹכְמָא
נֶאֱסִיב וּלְמֵאִנִּי דְּנֶהֱאֲשָׁא דְּטוֹפְשָׁא וְשׁוּתָא מֵאֲסִיק

“Those spirits resemble earthen vessels that (take on blackness) become black....”

3 *En.* 42 and 48B¹ note and the reading: “The Holy One has seventy names that are explicit and the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable.”

3 *En.* 48D¹ no. 6: Margzeziel, as one of the names of Metatron. For Azazel and Azaziel, cf. below p. 168, n. 1.

3 *En.* 47⁶. The colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of the wickedness of their doings.

A most striking parallel to 1 *En.* may be included here, as relevant also to the subject of 3 *En.* 5 treated at some length above.

GR. III. 121¹¹ (110² Pet.):

רוּחָא וְשִׁבְיָאִיָּא אֲזֵאֵל
סְלִיק לְטוּר כְּאִרְיִמְלָא סְלִיק וְהֲאִשִּׁיב עַל
רְאִזִּיא דְּרִהֲאֲמֵתָא יֵאֲתֵבִיא וּמִתְהַאֲשִׁבִיא
מֵאֲתוּבִיא וְנֶאֱסִבִיא מִן רְאִזִּיָּין כְּוֹלְהוּן
וּמִן רְאִזִּיא דְּרוּהָא נֶאֱסִבִיא...וְאִמְרִיא

1 *En.* 61¹⁻⁶: “And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. 2. And the angels, the children of

GR. III. 122¹ (110¹⁴ Pet.):

לֹאנַעֲדָה בְּרִאיוֹת דְּעוֹתֵי אֲחֵי
וּלְאִנְיָאֵלִים מִיִּמְרָאן וּלְאִנְיָאֵלִים
לְעוֹמָאֲתָאן וְנוֹא עַל כּוֹל דְּהִאֲשִׁיבִין
בְּלִמָּאן

"*Ruha* and the seven (planets) went (and) ascended to the **mount of Karmel**, they ascended and meditated on secrets of love. The hideous ones are sitting and planning and they take (forth) of the secrets of all of them, and of the secret of *Ruha* they take (forth)... and they say... nobody shall know the secret of our oath and we will not reveal our word and we will not reveal our oath or anything of all that we have planned in our world." Cf. GR. 132⁴ (118⁸).

the heaven, saw, and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children...'. 4. And they all... said, 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to...'. 6. And they were in all two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of mount Hermon". 1 En. 8⁶: "...revealed the eternal secrets".

The conclusions that may be drawn from the adduced parallels between Mandaitic literature (shortened: Mand.) and 3 En. may be summed up as follows:

(1) Mand. and 3 En. are rooted in a specific world of ideas and expressions common to them both. That common world is one of characteristic *mystical* ideas and aspirations.

(2) Although both Mand. and 3 En. move in and are influenced by the larger world of syncretistic thoughts, 3 En. in its mystical elements (and these are, after all, the constitutive elements of 3 En.) is more closely bound up with Mand. than with any other mystical religious formation outside Judaism. ✓

(3) The question whether there is anywhere a direct dependence of 3 En. upon Mand. or *vice versa* must be answered in the negative. ✓

(4) An immediate relation between the circles behind Mand. and 3 En. respectively can, however, be traced, viz. in the rejection by the latter of one of the fundamental tenets of the former. This rejection must have occurred some time between 1 En. and 3 En., since it entailed the dropping by the 3 En. circle of certain terms and conceptions playing a prominent part in 1 En. (on this *vide* above, p. 47 and below, p. 146) as a consequence of their having been associated with the rejected doctrine.

(5) The doctrine thus rejected is the 'Ænoš-mysticism (*vide* above). This is done very strongly; not merely in the form of a contradiction, but in the form of a contrast: 'Ænoš is the very instigator of fraud and idolatry in this world, the cause of the destruction of mankind. —

(6) The general mystical thought-world as well as the central idea of that mysticism was, however, already deeply ingrained in the

3 *En.* circle. Hence some of the fundamental features of 'Ænoš are in 3 *En.* attaching to Enoch-Metatron. It may seem as if there had then been only an opposition between names, or perhaps, that there were here two opposing mystical systems: the 'Ænoš-mysticism versus the Enoch-mysticism.

This would, however, not correspond to the actual position of Mand. and 3 *En.* What is rejected by 3 *En.* is, after all, not merely the name 'Ænoš, but even the Primordial-Man ideas. It may be urged that, in 3 *En.*, the real centre of the mysticism from which it has sprung, has been obscured, or at least been left to be tacitly understood or felt. It can be said, that one does not grasp what the whole description of the elevation of Enoch-Metatron or that of the angelical spheres is about, until he has read them against the background of Mand. Then the whole mystery will reveal itself: Man as the bearer of the Divine Spark within himself, his being here in this world of lowly state, a mere 'youth' and 'child' by the side of the Great Powers and Principalities of the Celestial World, and yet, in his highest aspirations, by force of his being such a bearer of the Divine, reaching above all powers to the Presence of the Divine Glory. With this the soteriological mystery: the Man, the One, who as the Essence of all Human Spirits, and the First, the Beginning of all human life, in Himself brings about Man's attainment of his Spiritual Home; the connection of this with the Wisdom-mystery, the man-celestial being possessing the Secrets and Mysteries and revealing them. In a very simple way one of the Mand. counterparts to the elevation of Enoch-Metatron gives, none the less, the very interpretation of the meaning of that elevation, viz. the finishing passage of the book of Dinanukt given above (p. 76), with its ending words: "With this ascension with which I have ascended, all truthful, faithful and goodly Našoreans shall ascend and attain."

✓ (7) In the later cabbalistic literature, as is shown below (pp. 121-125), the central idea of the Enoch-Metatron conception in its mystical signification is brought out quite distinctly. It may be surmised that it cannot have suddenly emerged then from nothing and nowhere, but must have been known all the time.

(8) The vantage-point from which the rejection of the 'Ænoš-mysticism, which must have been quite as much, if not more, a rejection of the specific circles by which it was most emphasized (i.e. probably the earlier Mandæans), was, no doubt, the consciousness within the 3 *En.* circle of standing firmly rooted in the Jewish faith, on the Torā and breathing the air of the Rabbinic teachings.

(9) The said rejection, lastly, presupposes a time of origin for the Enoch-Metatron fragments of 3 *En.*, when the opposition between the Enoch-mysticism and the ^Ænoš-mysticism could have been actual, since the rejection was made in Palestinian circles (witness *Lam. R.* and *Gen. R.* referred to above, p. 70, presupposing 3 *En.* 4, 5 as Palestinian) and the 'Enoš-mysticism had finished playing any more important rôle there already at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. This is the *terminus ante quem* of the origin of the Enoch-Metatron ideas of 3 *En.* Hence it follows, further, that the Metatron ideas (and fragments) belonging to the time before the inclusion of these ideas (and fragments) in the Enoch-literature, should in all probability be assigned to some time in the 1st century A.D. Such early fragments are contained in 3 *En.* 9-13.

§ 8. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN 3 ENOCH

WITH regard to the conceptions of Metatron, his position and functions as presented by 3 *Enoch*, it is first to be remembered that this book in its present shape—with the exception of chh. 48 BCD—purports to be a revelation or communication of secrets by Metatron, "the Prince of the Presence", to the Tannaitic teacher, R. Išma'el bæn ^Æliša. This is in chh. 5-40 conveyed merely through the regular inceptive sentence of each chapter: "R. Išma'el said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me". In chh. 41-48 A the relation between R. Išma'el and Metatron takes the form of explorer of the celestial regions and their splendours and guide and informer concerning their secrets. Similarly chh. 3 and 4 represent R. Išma'el as asking and Metatron as answering.

The framework of the book thus represents Metatron as the angel who has access to the Divine Presence, the 'Face' of the Godhead (and in this sense the appellation "*Sar ha-ṣPānim*" or "Prince of the Presence" is understood here), hence possesses knowledge of the Divine secrets and decrees. In this capacity he is used by God as the guide (41-48 A) and instructor of R. Išma'el. This general view is corroborated by the introductory chh. 1 and 2. According to these Metatron, defined as the Prince of the Presence and the "Servant (*Æbæd*) of the Holy One", is sent by the Most High to conduct R. Išma'el into the Seventh *Hekāl* (Hall or Palace), to the *Mærkābāh* and the camps of *Šēkina*, and to protect him from the fury of the other angels of this the highest region of the heavens. He is consequently contemplated as essentially an angel-prince of the Seventh

Hall, the inmost and holiest part of the Celestial World, the centre and true abode of the Divine Manifestation (the "Holy of Holies" as it is later, appropriately, called).

Apart from the framework and introduction the book, relatively to Metatron, falls naturally into two divisions, one having the character or 'history' of Metatron for its central theme, the other having scarcely any connection with the conceptions of Metatron at all. The former division comprises chh. 3-16 and 48 (B) C (D), the latter the rest of the book, chh. 17-48 A.

(1) Chh. 3-16 and (2) ch. 48 C (BD) contain two expositions of the same theme, the latter in a shorter, the former in a fuller form, otherwise in the main exhibiting identical traits.

Metatron is the translated Enoch. The characteristic feature of both of these two expositions is, that they identify the high angel-prince Metatron with Enoch, the son of Yāred, who was translated to the heavens in accordance with the ancient tradition basing upon Gen. 5²⁴. This identification being the aim, the chapters in question are worked out as a history of Enoch's transformation into an angel and of his further promotion into a superior angel-prince, called by the name Metatron, and not only by this name but by others of a distinguishing character.

Metatron, being Enoch, is called Na'ar, i.e. Youth. Metatron is Enoch (*Targum P.* to Gen. 5²⁴). Proof of this is, that Metatron is still called the 'Youth', נער, in the high heavens (4¹⁰): for he is young in comparison with the other angel-princes, existing from the 'Beginning'.

Enoch removed from earth qua Perfect Righteous or qua Witness. The occasion of Enoch's translation to heaven was the removal of the Šēkinā from on earth on account of the sins of contemporary humanity, Enoch being removed together with the Šēkinā in his character of only perfect saint of his time: so chh. 5, 6³, 48 C¹. In another vein it is stated, that the reason or object of Enoch's translation was the function prescribed for him of being a witness—in the world to come—to the sinfulness of his generation and the justice of the Holy One in eventually destroying the men of that generation through the Deluge: so chh. 4, 48 C². Thus Enoch is defined as *Scribe-Witness* in agreement with Book of Jubilees 4²¹ seqq. and *Targ. P.* to Gen. 5²⁴.

But the characterization of the translated Enoch is not restricted to describing him as a celestial Scribe-Witness. The various honours and offices conferred upon him are in chh. 7 seqq. set forth in

successive stages, progressing towards a climax (in chh. 12 and 48 c⁷, ⁸). Thus he is made:

The attendant of God's Throne, the Throne of Glory, 7, 48 c⁴.

The Prince and steward set over the treasures of heaven—containing the celestial and cosmic forces or agencies and the Divine Secrets—hence *endowed with knowledge of all the mysteries of Creation, of Past, Present and Future*, chh. 8, 10⁵, ⁶, 11, 48 c³, ⁴, ⁷.

The angelic ruler over and Judge of all the hosts of angels and angel-princes. Before being appointed to this high office he had to be transformed from earthly-human into celestial-angelic nature: his body was changed from flesh into fire (11, 48 c⁶), was given wings (9³), numerous eyes (9⁴), cosmic size (9², 48 c⁵) and was clothed with light and splendour (9⁵), 'garments of Glory' (12¹, ², 48 c⁷).

In particular he was assigned *rulership over the 70* (sometimes 72) *Princes of Kingdoms*, the representatives in heaven of the nations on earth and the rulers of the destinies of their respective nations, chh. 10³, 14¹, ², 16¹, ².

As ruler and judge over the angelic hosts and the princes of kingdoms, he is also *the representative and vice-regent of the Holy One, the intermediary between the Most High and the angelic world*, 10⁴, ⁵, 48 c⁸, ⁹. To fill this position he is given the authority as well as the insignia of his dignity by the Holy One Himself. The Holy One makes him sit *on a Throne* similar to His own, gives him a Curtain similar to the Curtain spread over the Throne of Glory, 10¹, 48 c⁵. The Throne of the man-angel is placed at the door of the Seventh Hall (the innermost of the Divine *Hekāloḥ* or Palaces), 10², 48 c⁸. After this the heavenly herald is sent out into the heavens to announce him as "Metatron, the 'Æbæd' (Servant) of the Holy One", His representative and vice-regent, 10³.

The rulership over the angels and princes (4⁸, 10³, 14, 16¹², 48 c⁴, ⁸) has a wider import acc. to 48 c than acc. to chh. 3 seqq. According to the latter it implies a *celestial* rule only, a dominion over the heavenly kingdoms of angels. According to the former, on the other hand, *Metatron* as ruler over the princes of kingdoms *also wields governing power*—through them—*over the nations, kingdoms and rulers on earth*; in this respect Metatron occupies the office and fulfils the functions of the 'Prince of the World', ch. 48 c⁹.

A peculiarity of ch. 48 c is also the tradition—closely connected with the last-named Prince of the World conception—which represents Metatron as *executor of the Divine decrees on earth*, especially

with regard to the different nations and their rulers, ch. 48 c¹⁰. Cf. Hebrew *Rev. Moses*, referred to in note *ad loc.*

Further in ch. 48 c—in contrast to chh. 3 seqq.—to Metatron is assigned the function of *supervising and attending the angels* and כְּלִים of the *Mærkābā*: the *Hayyōḇ*, 'Ofannim, *K'erubim*, *S'erafim*, *Hašmallim*, etc., vs. 4, contrast ch. 7. Thus Metatron here combines the functions in chh. 19–22, 25–26 distributed among the different princes of the respective classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

After having been installed as ruler over the angels, Metatron was given a new distinctive name: "*the Lesser YHṬH*" (or "*the little YHṬH*", רַ' הַקָּטָן), "after the name of his Master", chh. 12⁵, 48 c⁷, D¹ no. 102, cf. no. 14. Ex. 23²¹ is referred to: "for my name is in him"; Metatron is hereby indirectly identified with the angel of YHṬH of Ex. 23^{20–23}. Cf. the passage in *Sanh.* 38 b, referred to below. Acc. to 48 (7 in the K-version) Metatron corresponds to the Divine Name אֲדֹנִי (with י), the numerical value of which is 71.

The name, "the Lesser YHṬH", is in chh. 12 and 48 c⁷ used as indicative of Metatron's character of representative, *vicarius*, of the Godhead; it expresses a sublimation of his vice-regency into a second manifestation of the Deity in the name YHṬH. The special features that accompany and symbolize Metatron's elevation into a lesser manifestation of the "Divine Name" are, besides his being enthroned, the *conferment upon him of (part of) the Divine Glory*, הָדָר, הָוֶד, זֵיו, כְּבוֹד, "honour, majesty and splendour" (ch. 48 c⁷), "a garment of glory, robe of honour", but especially a "crown of kingship" (10^{1–4}) on which the mystical 'letters', representing cosmic and celestial agencies, are engraved—after the pattern of the Crown of the Holy One, the כֶּתֶר נִירָא—and lastly *knowledge of all the secrets of Creation and of 'Torā'*, otherwise in possession of the Most High alone, chh. 13, 48 c⁷, D⁵.

Note. The expression "*Lesser Yahwe*", "*Little Yahwe*" evidently reflects Gnostic ideas. It is highly significant that the very term "*The Little YAO*" occurs in *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, pp. 6 seq., ed. Mead, p. 10, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7 seq.). Cf. below, pp. 189 seqq.

Being named like his Master, Metatron is also said to have *seventy names* "corresponding to the seventy nations of the world", ch. 3. This expression on one side connotes his rulership over the 70 princes of kingdoms, but it is evidently also intended as symbolical of Metatron's character of representative or manifestation of the Deity: the 70 names of Metatron are "taken from the names of the Holy One" (ch. 48 c⁹, D^{1, 5}), they are a reflection of the Divine 70

(or 72) Names, the שמות המפורשות, 48 B, D⁵. (Cf. ch. 29: the 70 princes of kingdoms also have 70 names each.)

Ch. 48 D¹, although asserting, in accordance with chh. 3, 48 C⁹, that Metatron has 70 names, gives an enumeration of his names, which in fact contains not less than 105. See note *ad locum*.

The special characteristic names or appellations of Metatron, recorded in chh. 3-16, 48 C are: (1) *the Lesser YHWH*, already mentioned; (2) *Na'ar*, i.e. Youth or Child, already referred to; (3) *Elect One*, ch. 6³; (4) *One, Unique*, 48 C¹, cf. D⁹ interpreted from Enoch being the one and only righteous in his generation, selected as the Holy One's tribute for all his labour with the antediluvian world; (5) *Æbæd*, Servant, chh. 10³, 48 D¹ no. 17, cf. 1⁴; (6) *The Prince of the Presence*, שר הפנים or "the angel and prince of the Presence" (48 C¹, cf. D⁶ and throughout the framework of the book: ch. 1⁴ and the inceptive sentences of each of chh. 3, 5-48 A, etc.); (7) *The Knower of Secrets*, Yōdē^a Rāzīm, ch. 48 C⁸. Cf. further ch. 48 D⁶.

Lastly mention must be made of a possible vestige of the conception of *Metatron as a primordial being* occurring in ch. 48 C¹: "I made him (Metatron) strong (or Mighty) in the time of the first Adam". One might read in this statement an allusion to Metatron as connected with or being the Primordial Man, the 'Ādām Qadmōn. In favour of this interpretation is the peculiarity that although the identity of Metatron with Enoch is maintained throughout the rest of the chapter, this first statement is referred to Metatron only, Enoch being brought into view only with vs. 2. It is possible, and probable, that this was the earlier sense in which the *ibbartū* or *iddartū* was referred to Metatron.

The reason why an earlier Primordial Man function of Metatron has been obliterated was probably, as has already been discussed above (pp. 77, 78), the opposition from the 3 En. circle against the 'Ænošmysticism.

The additional pieces, ch. 48 C^{11, 12}, D, give some further details of the conception of Metatron which are not contained in the rest of the book.

(1) Ch. 48 C¹². Metatron is the *teacher of the souls of those who died in their childhood*, a tradition preserved also in TB. '4boḏā Zārā, 3 b. For the differences between the two versions see note *ad locum*. In both passages Is. 28⁹ is used as scriptural support.

(2) Ch. 48 D, besides the treatise on Metatron's names and an enumeration of them—which might be regarded as a mere development or elaboration of the features contained already in the main

Enoch-Metatron pieces—represents *Metatron* as having in his capacity of Prince of Wisdom and steward of the treasures (of Wisdom, etc.) committed the 'secret' to *Moses*—against the protests of the angels. From *Moses* onwards 'the secrets' (i.e. the secret lore, the mysteries of *Torā*, in the first instance the mystical letters and the Names) were transmitted orally from man to man down to *R. Abbahu* and *R. Zeera* (two noted Palestinian Amoras, flourishing end of second century), who in turn committed them to the 'men of faith', an expression which not improbably signifies the circle of mystics or initiates to which the writer belonged.

Thus *Metatron* is represented as the intermediary through whom the secret doctrine was brought down to man. And as such he defends the rights of men to obtain these secrets against the angels in general who do not desire that the terrestrials should know the 'mysteries'.

All the features of the *Metatron*-conception thus far mentioned tend towards assigning to *Metatron* a unique position in the heavenly hierarchy. And such is, indeed, the exclusive import of the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c¹⁻¹⁰. In the larger section, however, we meet with some passages of a distinctly opposite tendency: they emphasize *Metatron's* character of an angel-prince among other angel-princes, occupying though he does a high position in the angelic hierarchy yet not the highest one; and above all do they deny that *Metatron* was in any way to be regarded as a part of the Deity, a second manifestation of the Godhead.

This tendency is definitely expressed first in 10³; in the proclamation of *Metatron's* rulership over all the princes of kingdoms and all other 'children of heaven' a qualification is added, excluding from his jurisdiction "the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called *YHWH* by the name of their King".

From a comparison with *Hekāloṣ Rabbāṣi*, ch. 22, it may be shown that there was a distinct tradition as to the existence of a certain group of angel-princes who were higher even than the 'Prince of the Presence' (here not identical with *Metatron*); the 'eight great princes' are mentioned also in *Mass. Hekāloṣ*, iv. They were apparently conceived of as angels of the Throne ("standing before the Throne of Glory"). Acc. to *Hekāloṣ Rabbāṣi* they were also the guardians of the Seventh Hall, hence evidently regarded as the sole angelic inhabitants of this innermost recess of the manifested Deity. Linking with the early representation of *Metatron* as "seated at the door of the Seventh Hall" (chh. 48 c⁸, 10², cf. 16¹) the interpolators here at work were able to picture *Metatron* as the judge and ruler over

all the angelic hosts *outside* the Seventh Hall, but with no authority over the angels of the Seventh Hall or of the Throne, which latter angels could easily—on that basis—be regarded as higher than Metatron. By this means the possibility of Metatron being claimed as a lesser Deity was, in the interpolator's intention, guarded against.

It should be noticed, that the tradition used by the interpolator for the purpose of lessening Metatron's importance, originally in no wise had this import. On the contrary, as appears from the *Hekālōḥ Rabbāḥi*, it was bound up with the assigning of a position to Metatron that was even higher than in 3 *Enoch*: the leader of the said 'eight great princes', 'ANAFIEL, here occupies the position and fills the office which in 3 *Enoch* as a whole are accorded to Metatron, the name Metatron being reserved for the second Divine manifestation.

Although this reference to a group of angel-princes in rank above Metatron, which is found in ch. 10³, clearly excludes the unique and supreme position of Metatron and the universality of his rulership over the heavenly household, as emphasized especially in chh. 7-15 (Metatron an angel-prince of the *Throne*, ch. 7; called the Lesser $\Upsilon\eta\upsilon\eta$, 12⁵, etc.), it does not formally contradict the rest of the chapter. The locating of Metatron's throne to the door of the Seventh Hall makes it possible to conceive of angel-princes who, having their abode within the Seventh Hall, nearer the Throne, would naturally be regarded as above Metatron's jurisdiction. The idea of "eight great Princes in the Seventh Hall" may be of Gnostic origin. The Seventh Hall really seems to play the part (in such connections as the present) of the $\text{'O}\gamma\delta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ of Gnostic systems. Metatron, seated in the Seventh Hall, facing all the lower angelic world, somewhat recalls the picture given by Epiphanius in *Adv. Hæres.* 31, 4 of the Demiurg in the $\text{'O}\gamma\delta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: ... $\text{Παντοκράτορα καὶ Δημιουργὸν καλοῦσι—αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῇ 'O}\gamma\delta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$, καὶ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν πεποιηκότας (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 17, note 2). The $\text{'O}\gamma\delta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, as the 'region of the eighth', was by the speculations easily changed into the 'region of the eight'. This is, however, a mere conjecture.

The second instance of a tradition bent on lessening Metatron's importance is ch. 16. This chapter, which indeed purports to be a continuation of the 'history of Enoch-Metatron' in so far as it gives account of a supposed celestial incident in the court of Metatron at the time of the apostate $\text{'E}liša$ b. $\text{'A}buyā$, is preserved in another version in *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

The aim of this chapter is apparently to convey, that although Metatron may for a certain period have occupied the unique

position in the Divine Presence which the traditions embodied in chh. 3-15 and 48 c ascribe to him, yet this position is now no longer his. He has at a certain, definite point of time been deprived of his privilege of being seated on a throne and is now 'standing on his feet', i.e. on an equal footing with the other angel-princes. The tendency is here clearly to counteract the influence or consequences of the Metatron-traditions which went towards recognizing in Metatron a vice-regent in heaven, an intermediary ruler over the angelic hosts, an idea which to the writer's mind came dangerously near the recognizing of two Supreme Powers. In endeavouring to neutralize the 'extravagance' of the Metatron-traditions, he does not attack them as it were from without, but while seemingly accepting the fact of Metatron's vice-kingship in heaven as asserted by them, he maintains that Metatron's elevation was only temporary. He is also anxious to make clear that Metatron's kingship is merely a derived one, conferred upon him 'by His King'; he twice repeats the phrase: "by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He". Hence, when this Kingship of Metatron gives occasion to misapprehension on the part of mortals ('*Aher*) as to the Unity of the Godhead, it can be and is at once taken from him, and he is moreover punished, the punishment being executed on God's command by an angel who is above Metatron, viz. none other than the famous '^ANAFIEL, the leader—acc. to *Hek. R.* conferred with *Mass. Hek.*—of the 'eight great Princes'.

This attack on Metatron as an *enthroned* vice-regent of the Most High has, it would seem, *emanated from early opponents to the Metatron-speculations of the mystics*, probably at a time when the name and function of Metatron had entered to a certain degree even *into popular belief* and could no longer be flatly negated. The original content of this attack was evidently the dethronization of Metatron; this has then been amplified, and hence it is that there are at least two versions preserved: one contained in *Hag.* 15 a, the other in the chapter now under discussion. For the differences between the two versions see note on ch. 16 beg. In this chapter it is remoulded to harmonize—as far as possible—with the ideas which prevail in the Enoch-Metatron pieces. Thus, apart from what has been pointed out above, the reference to '^Anafiel as the executor of the punishment on Metatron seems to have been made with conscious allusion to ch. 6¹.

The angel who acc. to ch. 6¹ was first sent to fetch Enoch from on earth, in order that he might be translated into Metatron, was well suited to be the superior angel who carried out Metatron's degradation. And it was thereby emphasized that just as '^Anafiel had been

superior to Enoch at the time of his elevation he was also superior to Metatron at least from his degradation onwards. Hence Metatron, not being even the highest of the angels, could not be contemplated as occupying a position of a higher than angelic character.

In view of the subtle way in which the writer of ch. 16 veils his opposition against the excessive and dangerous developments (as he regards them) of the Metatron-conception by the use of terms and notions recognized by or congenial to the Metatron-tradition, it is not impossible to assume that the qualifying expression ch. 10^{3b}, referred to above, is an insertion made by the same hand who is responsible for ch. 16. There seems in fact to be a natural connection between 10^{3b} and 16, in so far as the former contains the logical presupposition for the statements of the latter, esp. in vs. 5. When it is said, ch. 16⁵, that 'A^ana^afiel YH^uH was commissioned by the Most High to punish Metatron, it implies that this angel at least was higher than Metatron and had his abode nearer the Divine Presence, i.e. not all the angel-princes were subject to Metatron; this is exactly what is maintained by 10^{3b}. Moreover, it is probable, as was shown above, that 10^{3b} is linked with an early tradition of seven or eight high angel-princes of the Throne, of the Presence or of the Seventh Hall, the chief of which was just 'A^ana^afiel. Thus ch. 10^{3b} is in absolute agreement with ch. 16, contains identical ideas, reveals the same tendency as and forms the necessary preparation for ch. 16.

The tradition as to the high position of 'A^ana^afiel was, as has already been pointed out, known to and accepted by the Metatron-tradition, ch. 6¹. But the idea of this tradition was evidently that Metatron at his elevation was exalted above all the high angel-princes, or even, as stated above, that the conception of 'A^ana^afiel as the highest of the Princes of the Seventh Hall belongs to a stage when Metatron was already sublimated into a Second Divine Manifestation. Contrast also ch. 18¹⁸ of our book and *Hek. R.* xv. 5 ('A^ana^afiel not always regarded as the highest of the angel-princes).

The strongest evidence in favour of regarding chh. 10^{3b} and 16 as *later additions* made with the definite object of neutralizing the extravagances of the speculations on Metatron (as has been throughout assumed in the foregoing) is the fact, that *none of the qualifications set to Metatron's absolute supremacy* (as compared with that of the Most High) in the Celestial Court by chh. 10^{3b} and 16 *appears in the parallel Enoch-Metatron piece*, ch. 48 c¹⁻¹⁰, although this represents, on the whole, the same tradition as chh. 3-16.

(3) Chh. 17-48 A *in relation to the conceptions of Metatron*. Turning

from the sections devoted to the Enoch-Metatron conceptions as subject-matter, to the remaining parts of the present book, it is to be noticed that in chh. 17-40, apart from the stereotyped inceptive sentences of each chapter—the so-called framework to which reference has already been made—there is not a single mention of the name 'Metatron'. None of the three angelological systems (chh. 17; 18; 19-22, 25-28) accords any place to Metatron. Likewise in the sections treating of the Judgement and the *Q̣eḏuššā* respectively as well as in the chapters dealing with Celestial Topography—apart from chh. 41-48 A—no rôle or function is assigned to Metatron.

On the other hand some of the various functions which in the Enoch-Metatron sections are associated with Metatron are actually found in the angelological sections and the other parts, but they are there connected with different angelic bearers or Divine or angelic agencies.

Thus, for instance, the duties commonly associated with the *heavenly Scribe* (Witness, Knower of Secrets) are according to ch. 18 discharged by the two angel-princes *Sof̣eriel Ṃeḥayyā* and *Sof̣eriel Ṃēmīḇ*, who are the highest angelic figures in this hierarchical system. A similar office is in the greater angelological system, chh. 19, etc., that occupied by *Raḍueriel* (ch. 27) on the one hand and by the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* on the other (ch. 28). *Raḍueriel*, the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* together form the top of the angelological hierarchy of A 3. The smaller function of the so-called 'scribes' in ch. 27² does not come into account here. Cf. further the 'scribes' referred to in ch. 33².

The function of *Defender* or *Advocate* is assigned to various angelic agencies. Ch. 18: *Zakzakiel*, *Šoqeḏ Ḥozi*, *Sof̣eriel Ṃeḥayyā*. Chh. 19 seqq.: *Ṣerāfim* (26¹²). Chh. 30 seqq.: the Prince of the world (30), the Divine Attribute of Mercy (31), the angels of Mercy (33), etc.

The office of *Celestial Judge*, whether in general or over the angels only, is in all the rest of the book occupied by the Holy One Himself—although He may be represented as assisted by or taking counsel with certain of the highest angels, e.g. the 'Irin and *Qaddišin* (28), the angelic *Bēḇ Dīn*, etc.

The 'Prince of the World' is explicitly mentioned once in the section on the Judgement, and again in the *Q̣eḏuššā* section. Being the leader of the princes of kingdoms—as Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces—he pleads the cause of the world before the heavenly tribunal (ch. 30). He has authority over the heavenly bodies, bidding them to be silent and quiet at the time of the *Q̣eḏuššā* (ch. 38). In

neither of these cases is he identified with Metatron, although the similarity with Metatron as he is represented in ch. 48 c⁹ is apparent: he is there the leader of the princes of kingdoms through whom he wields governing power over the nations and acts as ruler of the affairs of the world.

Whereas Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces is represented as the attendant of the Throne of Glory and the Prince Supervisor of the *Mærkābā*-angels, these functions are in the other parts of 3 *Enoch* distributed among different angelic beings. According to the larger angelological system (A 3) each of the classes of *Mærkābā*-angels has its own prince: Hayyiel, Rikbiel, Kerubiel, Seräfiel, etc.

In chh. 41-48 A Metatron is, as has already been mentioned, the guide of R. Išma'el through the celestial regions. The fact that Metatron is in these chapters pictured as being able to point out and instruct R. Išma'el about the Cosmic Letters on the Throne of Glory and the recordings of past and future events on the Curtain (*Pargoð*) of the Divine Presence, indicates that he is here thought of as possessing knowledge of the highest Divine Secrets and as having access to the Divine Presence. A possible indication that he was understood also to have immediate authority over the planets and constellations is perhaps to be seen in the incident narrated in ch. 46^{2b}. (There is, however, in the same chapter mentioned a special leader of the 'stars': Rahatiel, vs. 3; cf. chh. 14⁴, 17⁶.) Lastly when Metatron, in ch. 44⁹, is represented as bidding R. Išma'el take and read the 'books' (i.e. the records of the doings of the wicked), this is perhaps a hint of Metatron's function of Scribe or 'Keeper of the Books'.

As a whole the section comprising chh. 41-48 A is, from the point of view of the conceptions of Metatron, more closely connected with the Enoch-Metatron pieces and the framework than are the other parts of the book.

It is important to note, that the only function of Metatron that is not in chh. 17-48 A transferred to other angelic bearers is that of *enthroned* representative of the Holy One, which points to this function as constitutive for Metatron.

In order to obtain an understanding of the mystical speculations connected with Metatron and of the origin and stages of development of these speculations it will be necessary to examine the conceptions of Metatron and Enoch-Metatron met with in other writings both earlier and later. Of the greatest importance here is, as a matter of course, the specifically mystical literature. But it will be well also to sketch briefly the fragments of Metatron-traditions

preserved in the earlier 'Rabbinic' literature: Talmud, Miḏraś and Targum.

Whereas the representations of Metatron in the mystical writings have received very little attention from scholars—in spite of the fact that these writings are the real home of the Metatron ideas—the comparatively few Talmud, Miḏraś or Targum passages referring to this angelic figure are well known, yet differently interpreted.

§ 9. THE REFERENCES TO METATRON FOUND IN TALMUD, MIḌRAŠ AND TARGUM

(a) In the Talmud.

TB. Sanh. 38 b (in a controversy between Rab 'Idi and a heretic, 'min'). Metatron is identified with the angel of YHWH mentioned in Ex. 23²⁰ seqq. and is said to bear the Divine Name, YHWH.¹ Bearing the Divine Name, Metatron is meant by the 'YHWH' in God's command to Moses acc. to Ex. 24¹: "Come up unto YHWH". The passage in the following, however, reveals the tendency of lessening as far as possible the importance of these 'facts' concerning Metatron. The idea that Metatron should be worshipped is refuted.² Even the view assigning to Metatron the function of intermediary between the Holy One and Israel is rejected: although acc. to Ex. 23²¹ the angel of YHWH (here = Metatron) was invested with the power of refusing forgiveness of sins—"he will not pardon your transgressions"—yet this power assigned to him by the Holy One never became actual, for, says R. 'Idi, "we did not accept him as intermediary leader, פרוווקא".³ On the contrary, Moses prayed to the Most High that He Himself would lead them (basing upon Ex. 33¹⁵: "If Thy Presence go not with us, carry us not up hence").

TB. Hag. 15 a. Metatron is the heavenly Scribe "who was permitted to be seated while writing down the merits of Israel". This dictum in itself shows the same tendency as *TB. Sanh.* 38 b of trying to lessen Metatron's importance. It seeks to explain Metatron's character of *enthroned* angel-prince as occasioned merely by his duties as Celestial

1 Basing on Ex. 23²¹ "for my name is in him" as in 3 *En.* 12⁵, 48 c⁷, D¹ no. 102.

2 The argument is: When it is said, Ex. 23²¹ אַל תִּמְרֵנִי בֹ, this is to be understood as if it were written בֹ, תִמְרֵנִי בֹ, i.e. "do not exchange me for him".

3 The [Persian] word *parānqa* is the equivalent of *sēliḥā*. In Mandaitic it is used in the sense of 'SAVIOUR, liberator, DELIVERER'. Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.* p. 418, n. 1. Occurs frequently, especially in *Qolasta* and *Ginzā Left* (in the latter mostly as the guide of the spirit leaving earthly life).

Scribe.¹ Starting from this assumption the *Gemara* goes further and tries to divest Metatron altogether of the distinction of being enthroned, making use of an earlier attack on Metatron's authority: 'Æliša' b. 'Abūyā, having ascended to heaven, when beholding Metatron, was led to the belief, that this angel-prince was a second Divine Power (שְׁמַח' ו' ב' רְשׁוּיֹת ה'). For being the cause of this misconception on the side of 'Æliša', Metatron was subsequently punished with 60 lashes of fire (for he ought to 'have stood up' to prevent the false appearance). Cf. ch. 16 of our book.

TB. 'Ab. Zār. 3 b. Metatron shares with the Holy One the function of instructing the (school-) children, תִּינוּקוֹת שֶׁל בֵּית רַבִּי, i.e. those prematurely dead. As scriptural support is used Is. 28⁹: "Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand tradition? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts". Cf. ch. 48 c¹² of the present book.

The Holy One, blessed be He, occupies Himself with this work in the fourth quarter of the day; during the rest of the day, when the Holy One is sitting in judgement, etc., Metatron takes His place as instructor, scil. in *Torā*, written and oral.

The mystical traditions presupposed by the aforementioned Talmud passages, especially *TB. Sanh.* 38 b and *'Ab. Zār.* 3 b, suggest a somewhat later stage of development than that of 3 *Enoch*. What shows a later time for the material used by the Talmud passages or for the traditions indirectly referred to is the trait assigned to Metatron of intermediary between the Holy One and Moses or between the Holy One and Israel, and connected with this, of Celestial Advocate of Israel. Metatron is here beginning to take over the specific functions of Mikael, the Prince of Israel. On the whole the traditions at the back of the Talmud passages are most akin to those of the *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections. They are also actually paralleled in the additional chh. 15 B and 48 D of our book, which belong to the stage of *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections.

(Cf. *Pisqon*, etc. in *TB. Sanh.*, *'En Ĵa' qoḇ*, 39 b.)

(b) Midrašic references.

As the more important among the Midrašic references the following may be noted:

Acc. to *Sifre* it was Metatron who showed Moses the Holy Land.

¹ That this is a secondary explanation is evident from the fact that the function of Scribe was never as such associated with the distinction of being enthroned. Cf. 3 *En.* 33². The version preserved in 3 *En.* 16 retains for Metatron the original trait of enthroned vice-regent.

With the exception of the reference to Moses the ideas and mode of expression of the *Sifre*-passage (on Deut. 32⁴⁹, par. *Ha'azinu*, 59c) are paralleled in the section 41-48 A of 3 *Enoch*. In both cases Metatron is represented as pointing out the wonders of heaven or future events or (as in the *Sifre*) the Holy Land, 'with his fingers'. The expression used in *Sifre*¹ is almost literally the same as in 3 *En.* chh. 41-48 A, esp. 44⁴, 45², 46².

Lamentations R., Intr. 24: When the Holy One, after having removed His Šekinā from the temple on account of Israel's sins (cf. chh. 48 c¹, 5¹⁰⁻¹³)—thereby making way for the destruction of the temple—was weeping for the sake of Šekinā having no longer any abode on earth, and over the calamity that had befallen its former abode—the temple—then Metatron came, "fell on his face and said before Him: 'Lord of the Universe! I will weep, but Thou shalt not weep'. He answered him: 'If thou dost not let me weep, I will at once enter the place which thou hast not permission (רשות) to enter, and will weep (there)'"'. The place that Metatron has not permission to enter is, acc. to the same passage, indicated by the words of Jer. 13¹⁷: "But if ye will not hear it, my soul shall weep *in secret places* (במסתרים)", i.e. the word *Mistārim* in this scripture passage is taken to refer to a definite celestial region.

Metatron is here firstly presented as the angel of the Divine Presence who does not, however, partake of the Divine existence beyond the manifestation of the Deity (on the Throne).²

1 The dictum occurring in *Sifre* is attributed to R. 'Aḥi'az̄ar (ben Hyrkanos) beg. of second century A.D., as usual followed by a controversial dictum attributed to R. J'hošu^a. The right reading of the passage is evidently as follows:

באצבעו היה מוטטרון מראה למשה (והראהו) את כל ארץ ישראל

Cf. the British Museum ms. *Add.* 16406, fol. 375 d, occurring in exactly identical form in the parallel, *Yalqut*, Pentateuch no. 949 (*ad locum*): b'æšb'æ šæl Mošæ hāyā Metatron mar'æ l'æ-Mošæ, etc. The usual reading of the printed edd. of *Sifre* has a somewhat strained construction, which leads Friedmann in his edition to omit the word *mar'æ*, regarding it as an explanatory gloss of 'metatron'. Friedmann hence takes 'metatron' as an appellative: "With his finger He was a metatron to Moses", and points to the parallel passage in *Pesiqṭa Zut.* iii: "The finger of the Holy One was the metatron of Moses", etc. A similar reading of the *Sifre*-passage, using 'metatron' as a sort of appellative, is recorded in Nachmanides' comm. on 3 Exod. x. 12¹² and in *Kaṭor yā-Ferah*, ch. 10 (Metatron = one who shows the way). This variant which is attested only in late sources is probably evolved out of a substitution of the unusual 'metator' for the well-known 'metatron', in *Gen. R.* 5⁴ (see below). Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. p. 154, also interprets the *Sifre*-passage thus: "Nach J(osua?) war Gottes Finger der Metator, Grenzabstecker, der Moses das ganze Land zeigte und ihm angab, wie weit das Gebiet der einzelnen Stämme geht". (In the text Bacher reads 'metatron', hence takes this to be = metator.)

2 This conception of a special place of the Godhead called, after Jer. 13¹⁷, *Mistārim*, is mentioned in the well-known passage *TB. Hag.* 5 b: "māqōm yæš lō l'EQB'H uMistārim š'mō". Cf. *Gen. R.* 82¹³. The secret place to which no ange

Further, the words uttered to the Most High by Metatron: "I will weep, but Thou shalt not weep" "depict Metatron, not alone as pleader for Israel, but as taking upon himself the sorrow for Israel's sins".¹ He is the *Seneḡor* (συνήγορος), Advocate, but also מצטערם בצערתם, as in later cabbalistic writings, cf. YR. i. 54 A (from 'Asæraḅ Ma'omāroḅ).

Tanhumā, Ṭā' aḅhannān 6. When Moses is informed that the time has come that he must die, he asks successively the mountains, the rivers, the sea, etc. and various powers of heaven and earth to intercede for him with the Holy One that he may be allowed to live. But they all refuse. He also entreats Metatron² to intercede for him. Metatron answers: "It were of no avail. For I have heard the words behind the Curtain (*Pargoḏ*): 'Thy prayer will not be answered'".

In the same paraša we find Metatron again referred to in connection with Moses' death. When the Most High is sorrowing after the decease of Moses and asks: "Who will henceforth intercede for Israel when they sin?" Metatron falls on his face before Him, saying: "Lord of the Universe! In his life Moses was thine; after his death he is also thine".

A parallel to the latter passage is found in a MS. of *Midraš Mišle* on Proverbs 14³⁴. Cf. JE. x. 231, *Harv. Th. R.* xv. p. 83, n. 65. In the printed editions Mikael takes the place of Metatron.

In *Num. R.* xii. 15 Metatron is represented as officiating in the Celestial Sanctuary, and this Sanctuary as being especially connected with his name, as 'the Tabernacle of Metatron'.

"At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, commanded Israel to erect the Tabernacle His words implied a command also to the ministering angels that they should erect a Tabernacle on high (*Rāmax l'-mal'akē ha-ššāreḅ šæyya'asu 'af hem miškān*). This is the Tabernacle of the Youth (*miškan ha-nNa'ar*) whose name is Metatron, and in it he offers the spirits of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile."

It is here to be noticed, that Metatron is explicitly called *Na'ar*, nor any being, not even Metatron, is admitted, is in the mystical literature usually identified with the '955 heavens' (cf. ch. 48 A¹) and then signifies the *inscrutable abode of the Godhead, which is beyond or above every manifestation* of Him, even as seated on the Throne of Glory or Throne of Judgement. (This is later developed into the conception of the 'olām hā-'ašilūḅ, cf. *Mass. Aš.*, ch. v.) Metatron, as the Prince of the Presence, or the vice-regent of the Holy One, or even as the second *Manifestation* of the Deity, is naturally represented as excluded from the 'Mistarim'. When regarded as an aspect of the Divinity Metatron is represented as being able to ascend through 900 of the 955 heavens, but not higher.

¹ Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 69.

² Metatron is here called "the Prince of the Presence".

Youth (3 *En.* chh. 3, 4, etc.), that the Tabernacle of the *Na'ar* is referred to as something well known, and that Metatron is represented as having in his charge, under his authority and care, the spirits of the righteous. As a whole this passage represents a later phase in the development of the Metatron-conception. The Tabernacle of Metatron is referred to in the additional ch. 15 B¹ of 3 *Enoch*.

Gen. R. v. 2. According to one reading Metatron is here used as an appellative. With reference to the Divine Word (or Voice) saying, *Gen.* 1⁹: "let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place!" it is said: "There are some who interpret (explain) in accordance with (the view of) Bæn 'Azzai and Bæn Zomā: the Voice of the Holy One was made into a Metatron over the waters, in accordance with *Ps.* 29³: 'The voice of the Lord is upon the waters'". The passage is by the commentators *ad locum* interpreted as meaning: "The Voice of the Lord went before the waters, conducting or directing them to the Okeanos (the place of the lower waters)".

There are many variant readings of the 'metatron' in this passage, as may be seen from the critical apparatus of Theodor's edition of *Genesis Rabba*. Besides *mitatron* there are the מטטור and מיטטור, of old being recognized as the Latin 'metator' and the basis for the interpretation of 'metatron' as 'forerunner', 'leader', 'one who shows the way' (evidently also the basis for the interpretation by the commentators *ad loc.*). Other readings are מסטירין (*Brit. Mus. MS. Add.* 16506, fol. 6 d) or מסטורין (*Vatican MS. acc. to Theodor*), i.e. 'a secret', 'a mystery' (cf. *Gen. R.* i, *Ex. R.* xviii, *Lev. R.* xxxii, *Num. R.* xx); מטרון, a form sometimes met with as an equivalent for or 'name' of Metatron; מטרטין, etc.

The existence of so many variants shows that the original word must have been unknown to the copyists, i.e. its meaning not understood by them. Thus they tried to substitute, each of them, another similar-looking word. Now the most unusual word among the various readings here is evidently מטטור, which also gives the best sense. Hence it may safely be assumed that 'METATOR' was the original word.

The substitution of Metatron for Metator is easily accounted for by the similarity of the characters of both words on one hand, and the speculations of the cabbalists on Metatron's functions at the Creation on the other. But this substitution has since, from the time of Nachmanides and Eleazar of Worms onwards, been used as the starting-point for various interpretations of Metatron from Metator (i.e. when the meaning of the Latin word had again been brought

into light). See Nachmanides, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Ex. 12¹².

(c) References in the Palestinian Targum.

To Deut. 34⁶. Four angels, called 'Masters of Wisdom', took care of Moses' soul at his death: *Miṭaṭron*, 'Uriel, Yofiel and Yeḥippayāh'.¹ This idea is met with in the legends on Moses' death and also in the traditions of his angelic teachers at the time when he received the *Torā* and its secrets. The Targum passage in all probability is dependent on this literature which, as has already been shown, belongs to the period of *Ma'asē Mærkābā* collections. 'Masters of Wisdom', 'Princes of Wisdom' and 'Princes of the *Torā*' are interchangeable terms. Metatron at this stage has taken over the functions of 'Prince of Wisdom, Prince of *Torā*' originally attributed to Yeḥippayāh, Gaḥṣur and Zaḡnezaḡiel and the latter are represented as companions or servants of Metatron or as names of Metatron. Cf. *Hek. R.* xxx, *Ma'yan Hoḳmā*, *Miḏraš Pēṭiraḅ Mošæ*, *Deut. R.* xi and 3 *Enoch*, the additional ch. 48 D¹⁻².

To Gen. 5²⁴. Metatron is the translated Enoch who was taken up to heaven on account of his having led a perfect life, serving the Holy One 'in truth'. He is called the Great Scribe.

This is evidently dependent upon the Enoch-Metatron traditions, possibly directly upon 3 *Enoch*, since it combines, as does the Enoch-Metatron piece, chh. 3-15, the functions of Scribe-Witness and only perfect Saint with reference to the translated Enoch. (3 *En.* chh. 4, 6, 48 C².)

Summary of the features of the Metatron-conception as presented by Talmud, Miḏraš and the Palestinian Targum:

Metatron is called by the name of his Master (YHWH), his name is that of his Master, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b.

„ is the angel of YHWH acc. to Ex. 23²¹, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b.

„ is (or has been) 'seated' in heaven, i.e. on a Throne, in contrast to the other angels who are all standing but in striking similarity (the utterance of 'Aḥer!) with the Most High seated on the Throne of Glory, *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

„ is the Great Scribe in heaven: Targum Y to Gen. 5²⁴, the Recorder of the merits of Israel, *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

„ is the heavenly Advocate, Defender, the Pleader for Israel, *TB. Hag.* 15 a, *Lam. R. Intr.* 24; atones for Israel, *Num. R.* xii. 15.

¹ אתנלי (הקב"ה) עלוי (= על משה) במימריה ועמיה חבורן דמלאכי שיריתא מיכאל וגבריאל אצעון דרגשא דדהבא מקבעא ביורכין וסנדלכון ובורלין מתקנא בבסתרקי מלת וסוכנין דארגון ואציטילין חורין מטטירן ויפיעל ואוריאל ויפפיה רגני חקמתא.

Metatron is *Master of Wisdom*, has knowledge of the Divine decrees (symbolized by the 'hearing behind the *Pargod*'): *Midr. Tanhūmā*, par. *Uā'æphannān* 6; is initiated in the Divine Secrets, the Mysteries of the *Torā*, Targum *Y* to Deut. 34⁶.

„ is the heavenly *High Priest* officiating in the Celestial Sanctuary which is referred to as "*the Tabernacle of the Na'ar, Metatron*", *Num. R.* xii. 15.

„ has in his charge the spirits of the righteous, *Num. R. ib.*

„ is the translated *Enoch*, taken up to heaven on account of his perfection of deeds, his serving the Holy One 'in truth', Targum *Y* to Gen. 5²⁴.

„ was associated with *Moses* during his lifetime, at and after his death, as the representative of the *Most High* or as His messenger:

(1) as the angel who in God's stead was to lead Israel in the desert, acc. to one tradition, however, not accepted by *Moses*, *TB. Sanh.* 38 b;

(2) asked by *Moses* just before his death to intercede for him with the Holy One, *Tanhūma*, par. *Uā'æphannān* 6;

(3) shows *Moses* the land of Israel, *Sifre*, par. *Ha'azinu*;

(4) takes care of *Moses*' soul, Targum *Y* to Deut. 34⁶, *Tanhūma*, par. *Uā'æphannān* 6.

„ is the angel of the *Divine Presence*, yet not admitted into the exclusive abode of the Deity, the *Mistārim*, i.e. does not partake of the unmanifested Deity, *Lam. R. Intr.* 24.

„ the instructor in heaven of the children who died before having the opportunity of being instructed in the *Torā* or having their instruction completed, *TB. 'Aḥ. Zār.* 3 b. (This implies that he takes charge of the spirits, cf. above.)

§ 10. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN RELATED MYSTICAL AND APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

A. IN 1 AP. IŠM., THE HEKALOḶ WORKS AND 1 AND 2 LEG. MARTYRS.

THE earliest among related mystical writings coming under consideration here is the apocalyptic fragment preserved in *Siddur 'Amrām Gā'on*, 3 b, 12 b-13 a; *BH.* vi. 19-30, v. 167-169, *Yihus ha-ššaddiqim* by *Gærson bæn 'Ašer Scarmela*, Mantua 1561.¹ This fragment may for the sake of convenience be referred to as 1 *Ap. Išm.* (i.e. the first Apocalypse of R. Išma'el).

At the end of 1 *Ap. Išm.* Metatron is represented as the head of all the heavenly household who are engaged in the incantation of the

¹ Cf. M. Bittenwieser on 'Apocalyptic Literature, Neo-Hebraic', in *JE.* and Gaster in *RAS.'s Journal*, 1893, pp. 609 seqq.

Qe'duššā. He is possibly also thought of as in some way or other being connected with the coming salvation and the Messianic Kingdom.

R. Išma'el, it is narrated, after having beheld all the sufferings stored up for Israel, is shown also the coming salvation and consolation which are symbolized by David with a crown on his head, taking his seat on a throne prepared for him "in the Great Temple in Rāqīa'" with all the kings of the house of David in front of him and all the kings of Israel behind him. Being seated on his throne David begins uttering songs and hymns of praise. At the moment when David utters the שִׁירֹת וְתִשְׁבָּחוֹת then also Metatron "and all his heavenly household" open their mouths and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy", and the Ḥayyōḇ respond, "Blessed be the Glory of ַיְהוָה from His place", i.e. the simple form of the *Qe'duššā* attested also in 3 *Enoch*.

The name 'Metatron' does not occur elsewhere in 1 *Ap. Išm.* The angelic being from whom R. Išma'el receives the disclosures as to future events is called the "Prince of the Presence". He is addressed by R. Išma'el as "the Glory of Splendours" (cf. the epithet given to Metatron in chh. 13, 15, 16 *et al.*, "the Glory of all heavens"). In the second part of 1 *Ap. Išm.* the angel is named *Haḏarniel* and carries the same names and functions. It is possible, but by no means certain, that this angel is understood as identical with the 'Metatron' mentioned at the end of the fragment.

1 *Ap. Ism.* is very closely related to 3 *En. chh.* 41-48 and evidently belongs to the same stage as our book. The only difference is that Metatron here seems to be in the process of being dissociated from the "Prince of the Presence" as he is in the *Hek. R.*

There is also a hint of his being regarded as the celestial **שריה** **ציבור** as in later writings. (Cf. *Sode Rāzā* in *YR*. i. 58 b below, p. 120.)

In *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, ch. 26₈, towards the end of a doxology to the Holy One, we find the following, somewhat obscure, passage:

אין לא בעליונים ולא בתחתונים לא בראשונים
ולא באחרנים שיכול לידע את מעשיך ולחקר
את כל נפלאותיך כמה שאין יכול לדמותם אלף
בית א ב ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת
שמו על שמנה שמות מרניאל שמו. גיורתאל
שמו. גיורתאל שמו. גיורתאל שמו. יהואל שמו.
מינאל שמו. סגנסיאל שמו. מתוך אהבה
שאוהבין אותו במדום והיו קורין אותו
במחנות קדושים מטטרון עבד יי ארך אפים ורב
חסד.

As 'Metatron' here stands in the context, it would most naturally be taken as a Divine Name, on analogy with the *Zoh^{ariel} YHWH* 'Elohe Israel of foregoing chapters in the *Hekāloṣ Rabbāḥi*, and this so much the more easily, as the letters preceding the 'Metatron' in the first instance are the letters of the Divine Name. But against assuming 'Metatron' here to be intended as a Divine Name there is the epithet given to him in the second place: 'Æbæd YHWH, the Servant of YHWH. This, which moreover is a traditional and well-established epithet of Metatron as a separate angelic being, cannot very well be considered part of a Divine Name.

Two possible solutions of the problem presented by the text of this passage in its present form may be suggested:

(a) The word אלה (except) may have been dropped by a copyist before the אלה, the characters of both words being similar. This emendation would give the meaning: "No one... is able to know Thy works or to search Thy wonderful doings... *except*... Metatron who is called by eight names, etc."

(b) Another possibility is that the 'Æbæd YHWH after "Metatron" in the second instance is a later insertion, especially in view of the immediately following Divine Attributes, "Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness" (Ex. 34⁶), which, it would seem, could hardly have been attached to a "Servant of YHWH", not even to Metatron as a separate angelic being.

One may venture to assume that the solution (a) is the more plausible one. In favour of interpreting Metatron here as the name of a high angelic being, not as a Divine Name, is the parallel in wording of the second part of the passage with ch. 12 of our book: "By reason of the love with which the Holy One loved me more than all the children of heaven, etc.", cf. here: "By reason of the love with which they love him on high they call him in the camps of the holy ones: Metatron, the Servant of YHWH, the Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness".¹

It is noticeable that the conception of Metatron in *Hek. R.* is markedly sublimated as compared with 3 *Enoch*. He possesses the Divine Names, 'Alaḥ and Beḥ, and the Divine Letters, אה, כב, etc. The

¹ The words "Longsuffering and Abundant in Goodness" possibly refer merely to the 'YHWH', not to 'Metatron'. Cf. however how in 1 *En.* 40⁹, MIKAEL is called "the merciful and long-suffering". Also the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Budge, *Misc. Copt. T.* pp. 547, 1067): "When all those who were suffering punishments [in hell] saw [Michael and all the hosts of the angels] they wept and they said unto him, 'Have mercy upon us, O Archangel of the Covenant, thou compassionate one, who dost pray for mankind at all times.'"

מטטרו is here already regarded as the central part of the name 'Metatron' מטטרו and as one of the symbols of the fact that he has 'the Divine Name' within him (in accordance with Ex. 23²¹).¹

Metatron is further, in this passage, represented as alone of all celestials possessing knowledge of all God's works and His wonders, especially the 'Secrets of Creation'—in perfect agreement with 3 En. 11 and 48 c⁷.

He is said to have several names. Of these are important, firstly *Saḡn^esaḡiel*, the occurrence of which here shows clearly how firmly this name was associated with that of Metatron in different sources, and secondly *Y^ehoel*. The mention of *Y^ehoel* (which is the equivalent to the variant forms 'Yaoel', 'Yaol', 'Yoel', 'Yahoel' occurring in other writings) as an essential name of Metatron corroborates the identity between 'Metatron' and *Yaoel* of *The Apocalypse of Abraham* emphasized by G. H. Box in his edition of this work.² The peculiar endowment shared by both Yaoel and Metatron is the *possession of the Divine Ineffable Name*, and, bound up with this, the function or position of God's "vice-regent, second only to God himself".³

Metatron in relation to "the Prince of the Presence" acc. to the Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi. Metatron and "the Prince of the Presence" are viewed as two essentially distinct angelic figures. Moreover, whereas Metatron is contemplated as a being of extraordinarily high position, the Prince of the Presence, having been severed from Metatron, is in process of degradation.

The Prince of the Presence, named as *Suryā* or *Suriel*, is the angel-prince who gives R. Iśma⁴el disclosures as to the reasons for the Divine decree concerning the ten martyrs-to-be and informs him of the retribution reserved for the future (*Hek. R.* 6). This part of the *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi* is very closely related to 1 *Leg. Martyrs*.

The name "Suryā, the Prince of the Presence" further occurs in a context describing the various constituent parts of the *Mærkābā*. As a sort of highest figure of the *Mærkābā* apart from the Throne of Glory is mentioned: "Suryā, the Prince of the Presence, the Servant

1 Metatron as being inherent in the Divine Name 'Ālæf is the notion that forms the starting-point for the whole exposition of the Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c¹ seqq. When pronouncing the Divine Name 'Ālæf (see the enumeration of the Divine Names in 48 b) the mystic was to concentrate his mind on 'Metatron' or rather on the *inter-relations between the Holy One and Metatron*, which inter-relations were summed up in the words "'ibbartiy, l^eqahtiy, p^eqaatiy". The same is suggested by the presentation of 'Ālæf as a name of Metatron here.

2 G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (TED.), p. xxv.

3 G. H. Box, *op. cit.*, ib. If Metatron were to be regarded here as itself a Divine Name, this would have to be considered as an anticipation of the later explicit identification of Metatron with the Šekinā.

of *Ṭuṭṛ^ekiel* יְהוּחַ". When compared with ch. 22 on '*A*na^lfiel' and ch. 26 on Metatron, this passage (ch. 13¹) confirms the general impression given by *Hek. R.* that 'the Prince of the Presence' is only a secondary angel-prince, surpassed not only by Metatron, but by '*A*na^lfiel' and the seven (or fifteen) angel-princes under him. The "Servant of *Ṭuṭṛ^ekiel* יְהוּחַ" is equivalent to the "Servant of Metatron as a representative of the Godhead". Metatron, on the other hand, is the "Servant of יְהוּחַ", κατ' ἐξοχήν. Between Metatron and the Prince of the Presence is '*A*na^lfiel', who is called simply 'Servant'.

Also in ch. 14⁴ the subservience of the Prince of the Presence to Ṭuṭrusiel is emphasized. Acc. to this passage, the man who wishes to immerse himself in the mystical *Mærkābā*-state is to call upon (conjure) the Prince of the Presence, by the power of the names of Ṭuṭrusii יְהוּחַ, according to the usual form of the magical invocations: a subordinate angel can be conjured by reciting the name or names of an angel in authority above him.

In ch. 17 again there are preserved some features of the earlier conception of the Prince of the Presence as being associated with Metatron (here suggested by the name Ṭuṭrusii יְהוּחַ) and having several names.

In ch. 22, the Prince of the Presence is expressly declared to be subordinate to '*A*na^lfiel'. To the Prince of the Presence, it is said here, only the angels outside the "presence of the Throne" prostrate themselves, but before '*A*na^lfiel' "all on high and below fall upon their faces, paying him homage". Cf. above, p. 86 f. '*A*na^lfiel' here fills the function of a delegate.

Acc. to *Hek. R.* 6₁, 'the Angel of the Presence' is represented as the attendant of the Throne, the *Mærkābā*-angels and the by-work of the *Mærkābā*. This is the function assigned to Metatron in 3 *En.* 48 c⁴, but whereas in 3 *En.* 48 c⁴ Metatron is the Attendant-Supervisor of the *Mærkābā*-angels, the 'Angel of the Presence' acc. to *Hek. R.* 6₁ is the Attendant-Servant. (Cf. however *Hek. R.* 2₃.)

Thus, in *Hekāloṣ Rabbāḥi*, there are mentioned THREE celestial beings who fulfil the functions and occupy the positions that in 3 *Enoch* are combined and attached to Metatron. The three celestial beings are:

(1) *The Angel or Prince of the Presence* who is the guide, protector and informant of the *Mærkābā*-seer, the attendant of the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, etc.

(2) '*A*na^lfiel' who is the Prince of the Princes and also to some extent the Prince of the World, primarily from the cosmic aspect.

(3) *Metatron* who is the bearer of the Divine Name(s), the sole angelic being in possession of the last secrets of the Godhead, the representative of the Godhead whose manifestation on the Throne is referred to by names that allude to the name 'Metatron': *Ṭuṭrusiel*, *Ṭuṭr^ēkiel*, *'Anṭuros*. This third celestial figure of the *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi* is on a higher stage of sublimation, it would seem, than is Metatron in 3 *Enoch*. He is perhaps here at the beginning of the process in which he will eventually be identified with the *Š^ēkinā*.

Massækæḥ Hekāloḥ. In *Mass. Hek.* there is no mention of Metatron, nor indeed of any individual named angel-prince with the exception of the four princes appointed over the four camps of song-uttering angels: *Mikael*, *Gabriel*, *'Uriel* and *Rafael*, ch. vi. 1. Cf. 3 *En.* 18⁴, 37¹, 1 *En.* 40¹⁻³. As the *Massækæḥ Hekāloḥ* presents a developed *Mærkābā*-picture on the basis of that of *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi* this absence of any reference to individual angel-princes—with the said exception—is simply an accident, due to the character of the subject-matter of this writing.

The Legend of the Ten Martyrs. There seem to have been several works describing the mystical experiences of R. Išma'el, and hence closely related to 3 *Enoch*. One of these is the aforementioned 1 *Ap. Išm.* Another work of the same kind seems to have treated of R. Išma'el's last experiences during his earthly life. This work is now lost, but it has been used and embodied in the various quite late collections of popular legends of the Ten Martyrs who were put to death in the Hadrianic persecution, R. Išma'el being one of the supposed ten martyrs (הַרְוֵי מַלְכוּת). The two versions coming into consideration here may, for our present purpose, be referred to as 1 *Leg. Martyrs* (found in *BH.* v. 167-169) and 2 *Leg. Martyrs* (*BH.* vi. 19-36).¹

1 *Leg. Martyrs*, cf. *Hek. R.* 4 and 5. The Prince of the Presence, named as *Suriel* and *Saḡn^ēsāḡiel*, is here also the guide and informer of R. Išma'el. 'Suriel' is regarded as the characteristic name of the 'Prince of the Presence' in agreement with *Hek. R.* and *TB. Berākoḥ*, 51 a, which latter probably also belongs to one of the above-named works on R. Išma'el. The Prince of the Presence is essentially the guide of the *Mærkābā*-seer.

2 *Leg. Martyrs*. This version seems to be dependent upon the conceptions of 3 *Enoch*, especially in its later additional parts. Metatron is here expressly identified with 'the Prince of the Presence'. The following features may be recorded:

¹ The 2 *Leg. Martyrs* as preserved in MSS. hitherto known also includes the 1 *Ap. Išm.*

Metatron is the 'Ābād, the Servant of the Holy One (3 *En.* 10³, 48 c¹, d¹ no. 17).

Metatron hears the Divine decree "from behind the Pargoð" in the form of a loud utterance by the *Baḥ Qol*.

The conception of Metatron as having a sanctuary and altar of his own on high is here beginning to emerge. R. Iṣma'el beholds the Celestial Altar and asks Metatron about it. "The spirits of the righteous we offer upon it before the Holy One", is the answer, at which R. Iṣma'el exclaims: "Now I have learnt a thing the like of which I never heard before". Since the Celestial Altar was an old idea, the exclamation can only refer to the relation of Metatron and his subservient angels to the celestial altar and sanctuary. Cf. 3 *En.* 15 B¹.

Metatron is made the exponent of the central thesis of the mystical doctrine: everything below has its corresponding counterpart above, as it is formulated here: כל מה שיש למטה יש למעלה.

Metatron is associated with Gabriel, Gabriel being his assistant and representative.

Metatron seems here to be connected with R. Iṣma'el in a more intimate manner than in 3 *Enoch* or in related works purporting to be the revelations committed to R. Iṣma'el by Metatron. Metatron, acc. to 2 *Leg. Martyrs*, was present at the birth of R. Iṣma'el, and the Holy One is said to praise R. Iṣma'el before Metatron every day with the words: "I have a Servant ('Ābād) on earth as thou art my 'Ābād on high. His splendour corresponds to thy splendour and his appearance corresponds to thy appearance". This may be an expression of the cabbalistic speculations which make R. Iṣma'el one among the human carriers, embodiments, of the celestial essence (the Divine Spark) represented by Metatron, which human carriers are usually enumerated as (the spirit of) the first 'Ādām, Enoch, the three Patriarchs, Joseph and R. Iṣma'el (cf. below, pp. 122, 123).

B. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN THE HEKĀLOP ZOṬĒRĀPI AND IN THE ŠI'UR QOMĀ.

The conceptions of Metatron met with in the works discussed in the preceding section show a development from the standpoint of 3 *Enoch* towards a sublimation of Metatron and a concentration of the highest functions around this name with a consequent tendency of dissociating the less important ones from him and transferring them to angelic figures such as 'the Prince of the Presence' and 'Anafiel', etc. This stage might perhaps, after the main sources, be called the *Hekāloḥ*-stage.

Between this stage and the subsequent more subtle speculations on the Metatron ideas are to be placed the representations of the *Ši'ur Qomā* and the *Hekāloḥ Zoṭ'ērāḇi*.

(a) *Ši'ur Qomā*, or *Sefær ha-qQomā*.

The *Ši'ur Qomā* as preserved in MSS. and in *S. Raziel* consists of several fragments which for critical purposes must be indicated here. As preserved in *S. Raziel* (ed. Warsaw, 1913) they are:

(i) Fol. 30 b: a doxology, beginning "*Bārūk 'attā YHWH 'ælōhēnū u'Elōhē 'abōḇēnū*, etc."

(ii) *Ib.*: the shortest and, probably, earliest of the *Ši'ur*-expositions, represented as a 'testimony' by Metatron to R. Iśma'el as to the measures (*šī'urim*) of the manifestation of the Throne.

(iii) *Ib.*: the piece "*'ām'ērū: kōl ha-yyōdē' rāz zæ mubṭāḥ lō*, etc."

(iv) Fol. 30 b c: a new doxology to the Most High as *King*.

(v) Fol. 30 c: a glorification to the Holy One beginning "*lāk YHWH ha-gG'ēdullā u'e-ha-gG'ēbūrā*". This fragment is missing in some of the MSS., e.g. *Bodl. OPP.* 467.

(vi) Fol. 30 d, 31 a: a longer version of the *Ši'ur*-exposition, probably, as (ii), belonging to the earliest strata of the *Ši'ur Qomā*. R. Iśma'el is here represented as beholding with his own eyes the manifestation of "the King of Kings" and, while beholding the Divine manifestation on the Throne, being told by Metatron the measures and names of the various parts of the Throne-manifestation.

(vii) Fol. 31 a: a supplement to the preceding, purporting to be given by a disciple of R. Iśma'el, R. Nāpān, on the authority of R. Iśma'el.

(viii) and (ix) *Ib.*: pronouncements by R. 'Aqīḇa to R. Iśma'el and by RR. 'Aqīḇa and Iśma'el in unison of the great value and importance of the secret embodied in the *Ši'ur Qomā*.

(x) Supplementary, additional expositions of the Throne-*Mær-kābā*-picture, fol. 31 a b.

(xi) Fol. 31 b middle to 31 c: continuation of the preceding, but grouped round the conceptions of Metatron.

(xii) Hymns and doxologies of various kinds.

Summary of the conceptions of Metatron in the Ši'ur Qomā.

α. In (ii) and (vi).

1. Metatron is the Prince who reveals the secrets to R. Iśma'el and R. 'Aqīḇa (ii) and (vi).

2. The Angel, The *Prince of the Presence* (vi) and the *Great Prince*, שרא רבא (ii).

3. The Witness ('Ed), the *Great Prince of Testimony*: Sārā Rabbā di-Sāh^oḏūḇā, the Testifier of the Divine Majesty and Kingship.

4. He has several other names beside Metatron; some of these are formations by analogy from 'Metatron', quasi on nominal stems of the type 'fi'lōn' or 'fe'al'ōn', among them the Ru^oḥ Pisqoniḇ, Pisqōn, 'Iṭmōn, Siḡrōn of TB. Sanh. 44 b.

β. In (x) and (xi).

5. Metatron is the 'Prince of the Likeness of 'Āḏām', i.e. the 'Āḏām Qaḏmon, the *Archetypal man in the Divine Image* (the Godhead being named אדם).

6. The *Celestial Choirmaster* (cf. Jaoel in Ap. Abr. chh. 10, 12), at the head of all the heavenly beings who chant the Q^eḏuššā.

7. Is seated on a throne beneath the Throne of Glory.

8. Is called the *Great Prince over all the Princes* and over all the ministering angels (xi).

9. Is the *Celestial High Priest of the Heavenly Tabernacle*, called after him Miškan ha-Na'ar (the Tabernacle of the Youth = Metatron).

10. Recites the *Divine Name* in its universal aspect (in 70 tongues), hence is

11. The *Prince of the World* and the Representative of 'the King of the World'.

12. As (a) heavenly Choirmaster, (b) celestial High Priest and also as (c) Prince of the World Metatron is called *Youth*, נער, which here equals *Servant-Representative* of the King of Kings of Kings (mælēk malke hamm^elākīm).

13. He is connected with Moses in accordance with the later traditional identification of the Angel in Ex. 23²⁰⁻²² with Metatron.

14. Metatron represents the 'first letter, 'Ālāf' through which heaven and earth were created, i.e. the fundamental creative essence (the '1') (xi).

(b) Hekāloḇ Zoṭ^erāḇi.

The Hekāloḇ Zoṭ^erāḇi seems never to have been printed. The earliest MS. source the present writer has been able to find is the Bodleian MS. MICH. 9, foll. 66 a-70 b (copied A.D. 1042), following immediately on the Hekāloḇ Rabbāḇi and preceding fragments of the Ši'ur Qomā (xi) and (xii).

The Hekāloḇ Zoṭ^erāḇi (abbreviated Hek. Zoṭ.) contains several

fragments, mostly attributed to R. Išma'el. Metatron here figures quite prominently.

Fol. 68 b, 69 a. R. Išma'el narrates how his teacher R. Neḥonyā bæn ha-qQānā for the first time brought him into touch with the "secret of the Torā" and with the experience of the *Mærkābā*-state. R. Neḥonyā used the power of the 'Great Seal' which contains the name of "*Metatron YHÜH the God of Israel, and which is the same, Metatron YHÜH, the God of heaven and earth, the God of the sea and the dry land*". This expression seemingly implies that Metatron here is a Divine Name, but probably this is not the case; the right interpretation will rather be, that Metatron who of old is said to *carry the Divine name YHÜH* has with this name also acquired that of 'ʿ^ʔlohim' and the epithets mostly associated with it: ('^ʔlōhē) *Israel*, '^ʔlōhē *šamayim* ūā-ʿ^ʔaræš, etc. The use of the specific epithets here may furthermore indicate that Metatron is the representative of the Holy One both in relation to Israel and in relation to the cosmos: *Prince of the World*.

Fol. 69 b. Metatron is clearly conceived of as an angelic or celestial being. The *Talmide Hākām* (i.e. the initiated among them) when watching and praying on nights are to recite the name of and invoke Š^ʔqaḏ Ḥozi (cf. ch. 18²⁰ of our book); at the same time it is said that Š^ʔqaḏ Ḥozi in reality is merely one of the *various names of Metatron* who besides Š^ʔqaḏ Ḥozi is called *Margaziel*, 'Uzzyāh, Gannunyāh, Sasn^ʔgaryāh, Suryāh, Zarzariel, Pišqōn, 'Iṭmōn, Siḡrōn, Sangadyāh, Z^ʔhaḡṭaryāh, Z^ʔhōbd^ʔyāh, Z^ʔboḏiel. Some of these names are those always associated with Metatron, others are in other contexts given as Divine Names and some are names of 'the Prince of the Presence' (Suryā, Margaziel, Z^ʔhaḡṭaryāh, acc. to *Hekāloḡ Rabbāḡi*, xvii. 1, 4, 5). The passage shows close affinity with the conceptions prevalent in the *Hekāloḡ Rabbāḡi*.

Fol. 70 a. With the Divine manifestation, indicated by the name Z^ʔboḏiel, is associated "*Margaziel, that is Metatron in whom are the letters of the Divine Name; and because of the love with which they love him on high the Princes of the Host on high* (cf. ch. 17 of our book: the Princes of the Host = the seven archangels) *call him Ziṭ-y^ʔhi-el* (= the Divine Glory; cf. *Hek. R.* xxvi. 8), *the Servant—'Ābād—of YHÜH, the God of Israel—blessed be He, YHÜH the Lord God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness*" (Ex. 34⁶). The latter part of the passage is an almost literal parallel to *Hek. R.* xxvi. 8 b, *vide* above.

Fol. 70 b. The Holy One joins fellowship with man, even with a

proselyte, provided he be clean from idolatry, bloodshed and ע"ג. "And sometimes I make Metatron, My Servant ('Æbæd), join fellowship with him, and with the disciple in the Torā (I cause him to join fellowship) frequently." This passage is important. It shows Metatron as the *vicarius* of the Deity even as regards *the Divine Presence with man*, the Divine Immanence. The Divine Immanence is a pronounced idea in *Hek. R.*, where it is said, e.g. ch. xxvi. 4: "Thou, O God, dwellest in the heart of man".

Fol. 67 b. Metatron is specially connected with the Divine Name אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר אֱלֹהִים. He *occupies a Throne of Glory*. The 'thrones' of Dan. 7⁹ are explained as referring to the Divine Throne and the throne of Metatron.

Whereas in *Hek. R.* some of the Metatron functions, i.e. the less important ones, are transferred to the Prince of the Presence and to 'A nafiel, in *Hek. Zot.* the angel-prince who is said to share the lesser functions of Metatron is Sandalfon.¹ In particular the cosmic aspect of Metatron is here carried by Sandalfon (συναδελφός): he is the 'Alfā or simplest creative agency; cf. above on Ši'ur Qomā, point 14.

C. THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN THE WRITINGS ASSOCIATING METATRON PARTICULARLY WITH MOSES.

The next stage in the development of the Metatron speculations is indicated by the appearance of a strong emphasis on the relation between Metatron and Moses. This relation between Metatron and Moses, which apart from *TB. Sanh.* 38 b and *Midraš* passages is merely hinted at in the later additional part of Ši'ur Qomā (point 13 above), is nowhere found in the literature hitherto under consideration. Likewise, in 3 *Enoch*, it does not occur in the main part of the book, but only in the later, additional, pieces, e.g. 48 D, 15 B. With the appearance of the speculations on Metatron's particular relation to Moses, this idea or nexus of ideas has never subsided, but can be attested all through the history of mystical and cabbalistic literature up to the present-day *H'asid* writings.

The works dealing with the subject in question are firstly the various versions of what may be called *Ascensions of Moses* and *Revelations of Moses*.

1. *Ascension of Moses*: G^edullaḅ Mošæ or *Midraš K^eḥappu^aḥ ba-^ese ha-yya'ar*, ed. Salonica, 1727; see also Wertheimer, *Bātē Midrašōḅ*, iv; Gaster, *RAS.'s Journal*, 1893, pp. 572 seqq. Here

¹ Perhaps to be connected with the current conception of two Divine Sons. On this *vide* H. Leisegang, *Der Bruder des Erlösers* (in ΑΠΕΛΑΟΣ, i. pp. 24-33).

Metatron announces himself to Moses as "Enoch, the son of Jared". He is the guide of Moses during his ascent through the heavens, and instructs Moses about the wonders of the various *reḳi'im*. When proceeding from the seventh heaven to visit Paradise and Gehenna, Moses is given over into the charge of Gabriel who here, as in 2 *Leg. Martyrs*, is represented as the assistant of Metatron: he can be entrusted with works or duties of Metatron which are, as it were, of a less exacting or responsible nature.

2. *Revelation of Moses*. There are two recensions: one where Moses himself is introduced as the speaker, the other where he is spoken of in the third person.¹

Of the former recensions only fragments are preserved, and these in a very corrupt textual condition. Metatron is the judge of all the troops of angels on high. Further he is the executor of the Divine decrees. He is associated with Mikael, Gabriel and Yeḥfiyāh, the Prince of the Torā.

The latter recension, in a context giving the narrative preserved also in the additional chapter, 3 *En.* 48 D⁴, states that the Torā was given to Moses after his having forgotten it, by the two princes, Yeḥfiyāh and Metatron. Yeḥfiyāh is the instructor of Moses in the 'exoteric' Torā, Metatron again is the revealer of the esoteric doctrines embodied in it: "the Secrets of the Torā", "the Names hidden in it" as the expression runs (the 'Names' are the Divine Names which constitute the essential secret of the Torā).

3. A fragment of another *Ascension of Moses* is found in the additional ch. 15 B of our book. Here Metatron is the *Intermediary* between the Holy One and Moses and the Supreme *Advocate* of Moses and Israel. *Metatron commits to Moses* "the letters of the oath through which a breaking of the covenant is made impossible". The letters in question are *the mystical, cosmic, 'essential' letters* which constitute the elements of the Divine Names, of the Torā, of the Abstract Qualities sustaining the world, and of the whole visible and invisible universe. (The 'oath' here seems to denote a sort of magical formula, almost an amulet, which would safeguard Moses against any transgression of the Torā, against "bringing guiltiness upon himself".)

Secondly, to this stage should be assigned the so-called *Sword of Moses*, *Harbā dē Mošæ*.²

In the *Sword of Moses* we meet with most of the angelic and

¹ The former recension is found in *Šiyyuni*, Pārāšā Ūā'æphannān, in YR. ii. 66 b, and in the so-called 'Haggādāp Še'mā' 'Israel'. The latter in YR. ii. 67 b, *Šiyyuni*, same paraša, 'Aræ L'eḥānōn, 46 b, and in an Aramaic version in *Zohar*, ii. 58 a.

² Ed. by M. Gaster, London, 1896.

Divine names found in the *Hekālōḥ Rabbāḥi* and *Zoṭṛāḥi*. Page ii: "Yofiel Mitatron who is called . . . the Glory on high". (Yofiel is the third name of Metatron, 3 *En.* 48 D¹.) Page iv: Metatron is one of the high angelic or celestial beings who help man in his quest for the highest. In the same context are found the names: Miqṭaṭron, Yehoel, 'Aṇafiel.

As the other writings belonging to this stage, the *Sword of Moses* reflects the traditions of 3 *Enoch*, and is probably partly dependent on this book. Thus Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, the Youth, Na'ar, Servant ('Æbæd), before the King of the World. *He is the mightiest of all the heavenly household; He is ever standing ministering before the King of the World* and THE Š^eKINĀ IS WITH HIM IN EVERY PLACE.

Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, it is further stated, comes down to earth and reveals the secrets of above and below to the initiate who invokes him. The attempt to meet the Prince of the Presence is preceded by ascetic practices, fasts, ablutions, etc.

Metatron has fourteen names and a number of *Kinnuyim* for each of these fourteen names. The fourteen names in question are first of all the much-repeated (1) *Rū^aḥ Piṣqōnīḥ*, (2) *'Iṭmōn*, (3) *Piṣqōn*, (4) *Siḡrōn*, which are found in *TB. Sanh.* 44 a; further (5) *MŠY*, (6) *MIQON*, (7) *'Aṣṭam*, (8) *Saḡṭam*, (9) *Y^eḥōiēl*, (10) *Yofiel*, (11) *Sasniel Yāh*, (12) *Qangiel Yāh*, (13) *Z^ebōdiel* and (14) *S^eneḡron*.

In terms reminding of 3 *En.* 13 and 41 it is asserted: "By these fourteen all secrets and mysteries and all signs and seals were made, and also the foundations of heaven and earth; four of them are written on the heads of the *Ḥayyōḥ*, four of them on each of the four sides of the Throne, four of them on the four crowns upon the heads of the *'Ofannim*, and two of them are graven on the Crown of the Supreme King, the High and Lifted up".

Thus Metatron is, in the *Sword of Moses*, emphasized as the Knower, Guardian and Revealer of the Secrets, as the Prince of the World with cosmic power, as the Prince of the Presence, the Prince of the Throne and of the *Mærkābā*-angels and, lastly, as the bearer of the Š^ekinā.

D. METATRON IN ALPHABET OF R. 'AQIBĀ, REVELATIONS OF R. SIMEON BEN YOḤAI, 2 AP. IŠM., ETC.

In the *Alphabet of R. 'Aqibā*, rec. A, there is no consistent or uniform representation of Metatron, as would be expected also, seeing that this work is merely a collection of scattered fragments from different sources and times.

Letter 'Ālæf. Metatron is the elevated Enoch, the son of Yāreḏ. He is the Prince or head of the *Mærkābā*-angels, and, by implication, of all the angelic beings; his function of principal Witness and Testifier is alluded to.

Letter Kaf. Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, the 'Ēbæḏ, and brings the congregation of Israel before the Holy One.

Letter Šāḏe. "Because Moses humbled himself and said: 'I am of uncircumcised lips' (Ex. 6¹²) he was worthy of becoming a messenger between the Divine Majesty (*G'ḥurā*) and Israel, as it is written (Deut. 5⁵): 'I (Moses) stood between the Lord and you', whereas not even Metatron is able to stand between the Divine Majesty and men of flesh and blood." Metatron, although evidently known as an angel of exceptional position, is here explicitly declared not to be a mediator between man and God, not even a messenger. This is of course in glaring contrast to the representations of the preceding writings.

The impression given by *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba*, so far as the conceptions of Metatron are concerned, is that this compilation as a whole is not interested in the specifically mystical implications or import of the Metatron figure, but is familiar with the general expressions and terms of the mystical literature, and uses the conceptions current there for its own purpose, which is of a more homiletical and haggadic character. Already from a comparison of the passages just quoted the impossibility is apparent of regarding the Enoch-Metatron piece, 3 *En.* 48 c, as originating from *Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba* or even as having from the beginning formed part of it. Cf. note on 3 *En.* 48 b beg., c beg.

Revelations of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai (*Pæræq R. Šim'ōn bæn Yoḥai*, vide "Sources and Literature", 3 b). Metatron is the Prince of the Presence, has knowledge of the Divine decrees and the reasons behind them and reveals them to the seer. This is further elaborated in *T'fillaḅ R. Šim'ōn bæn Yoḥai*.

Similarly in 2 *Ap. Išm.* (*'Aggāḏaḅ R. Išma'el*, see "Sources and Literature", 3 b) Metatron, as the Prince of the Presence, is the informer of R. Išma'el as to future events: the coming Messianic salvation will be prepared by the wars between the Islamitic and Roman powers. These two apocalypses, which must date from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, are remodellings upon the pattern of the earlier apocalypses, especially 1 *Ap. Išm.*

Angelological fragment. In *Bodl. MS. OPP. 649*, fol. 102 a, col. b, there appear a few quotations from 'Massækæp Hekāloḅ' which how-

ever have nothing to do with the *Massækaḇ Hekāloḇ* known to us. The fragment enumerates various high angel-princes as performers of different parts of the heavenly liturgy, or as singing the various songs with different intents. The quotations are interesting in so far as they show the angelic names in the earlier literature regarded as names of Metatron here being conferred on separate angel-princes forming the companions or associates of Metatron.

Metatron is here the *chief of the angel-princes* who utter the *Šema'*. With him are " 'Immiel, Yōfiel, 'Af' appiel, Sōḏyāh, Surṭaq, 'Arael, Piṣqōn, 'Iṭmōn, Siḡrōn, Paṣṭam and Paṣpassim".

The fragment reflects the conceptions of 3 *En.* 15 B as regards the chanting of the Celestial *Šema'* and Metatron's function as Supervisor of the performance of the Celestial Songs. This is also closely connected with the Moses-Metatron traditions.

In the various versions of *Midraṣ Peṭiraḇ Mošæ* Metatron, called *Zaḡn'zaḡiel* (cf. 3 *En.* 48 D¹ no. 105,² and note, 18¹¹ note) and the 'Prince of the World', is the teacher of Moses during his lifetime and, accompanied by Mikael and Gabriel, takes care of Moses' spirit (*n'šāmā*) at his death. Cf. *P. Targum* to Deut. 34⁶, *Deut. R.* xi. These writings of course build upon the earlier Moses-Metatron literature referred to under C above.

Acc. to *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (ed. Gaster), 54⁸, Metatron is able, on God's commission, to throw down the Egyptian wizards Joḥanai and Mamre from heaven whither they had been able to ascend through their knowledge of witchcraft, whereas Mikael and Gabriel were unable to do anything against them. Here Metatron is clearly conceived of as mightier than the old archangels and princes, Mikael and Gabriel.

In the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, ed. by J. A. Montgomery, no. 25 (CBS. 16,009, p. 207), the following passage occurs: "Blessed art thou, YHWH, on account of the name of... *Yofi'el* thy name, *Yeḥi'el* they call thee, *Šasangi'el* YHWH and so... names... [Ar]masa Miṭaṭron Yah" [... דיבריה שום בשום. יפואל שמך יחאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה... שמהת.]

[Ar] Apart from the comparison that prompts itself between the names here associated with Metatron and ch. 48 D^{1,2} of our book (*Targ. Y* to Deut. 37²) the importance of the inscription cited consists in its apparent *identification of Metatron with Hermes* (Armasa); *vide* the interesting and convincing interpretation by Professor Montgomery, *op. cit.* pp. 99 and 208.

It may be noted, by the way, that the name שַׁמְנַיִל here is only another of the many different forms (and corruptions) of *Saḡn^esāḡiel* (1 *En.* 18¹¹, 48 D^{1,2}, and notes *ad loc.*).

As will have been seen there are, after the Hekāloḡ-stage, very few new developments of the Metatron ideas (at least so far as can be seen from the writings preserved): in fact only the speculations on Metatron's connection with Moses, the revelations given to him, and with the Celestial Š^ema' are actual additions. This barrenness in new ideas continues for a considerable time. The mystical writings contain reiterated references to Metatron, but these simply reflect the earlier traditions.

The speculations on Metatron however received a new impetus with the rise of the cabbala (in its narrower sense). Now the earlier conceptions (esp. of 3 *Enoch*) were taken up and given a deep significance. In many cases it would seem that representations in the cabbalistic literature go back to very early (Gnostic) ideas, perhaps preserved in earlier writings now lost; in other cases again the late (mediaeval) origin is apparent. To illustrate the cabbalistic use of the Metatron figure it may be apposite here to give a short methodical survey of characteristic references found in this kind of literature.

§ 11. SURVEY OF THE CONCEPTIONS OF METATRON IN LATER MYSTICAL LITERATURE

A. Metatron the enthroned vice-regent of the Holy One.

The technical term is 'mišnæ la-mMælæk': *Tiqqune Zohar*, 77 b.

He is enthroned. "Because of the great love of His Master Metatron has authority to be seated on a Throne like the Throne of Glory": Šēmoḡ šel Mēṭātron, MICH. 256, fol. 29 a; *Midraš Ruḡ*, 85 b.

Liqquṭim Nəḥmādim, 26 a, declares expressly:

מַטְטְרוֹן כְּסֹא שֶׁה גְּלָגְלִים וּפְרוּחוֹת עוֹמְדִים תַּחַת כְּסֹא וְהוּא מוֹלֵךְ
עַל כָּל מַתַּחַת יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ

"The Holy One made him the ruler over his celestial and terrestrial household": 'Qabbālā' in *Add.* 27142, fol. 149. He is endowed with all the 'Middoḡ' of the Holy One: *ib.*

"Little less than God" (i.e., probably, Ps. 8⁵ refers to him: "Thou hast made him a little lower than ^Ælohim"): *Yalquṭ Hādāš*, *Mal'ākim*, 51 (no. 29).

He represents the Godhead to the 'outside' celestial and terrestrial world: *Pardes Rimmonim* (ed. Cracow, 1591), fol. 93 d.

The epithets 'Na'ar' and 'Z^eqān Bēḡō' are especially used to

denote Metatron as the vice-regent: *Zohar*, i. 149 b, i. 181 b, iii. 190 b. Cf. below, pp. 117 seq.

As δεύτερος θρόνος Metatron is surrounded by the 70 (72) Princes; cf. below (*Ma'aræḳæḅ hā-'^{AE}lohuḅ*, 118 b). In the same capacity he is the Attendant of the Throne of Glory: "In the end of time Metatron will make the Throne of Glory complete as a Throne of Judgement. Now it is carried only by three *Hayyoḅ*, but then it will rest on all the *four Hayyoḅ*, the Divine Kingdom will be complete", says *Šemoḅ šæl Mētāṭron*, MICH. 256, 30 a.

B. Metatron God's representative and ruler in the *celestial* world.

(a) Over *all* the angels, and through all the celestial regions.

"He is the chieftain of all angels and princes" is a commonplace expression: *Zohar*, i. 149 a b, 223 b; *Yalq. Hād.*, *Mal'ākim*, 59, 72; *Midraš Ruḅ*, 85 b.

An important idea is here: "Metatron gives maintenance to all the angels": *Zohar*, i. 229 a b, *YR.* i. 56 a, 60 a, ii. 40 b. This spiritual maintenance is allegorically expressed by the terms מטר (rain) and מן (manna). "All the angels receive their spiritual maintenance, yea, their very existence, from Metatron (כולם שואבים ממנו). He is to the angelic world what the heart is to the body." *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gate xvi, ed. Cracow, 1591, fol. 92 b.

"Metatron admonishes the angels to bathe and purify themselves in the *N^ehar di-Nur* every third day": *Šemoḅ šæl Mētāṭron*, 40 b.

Metatron has access to the 955 heavens, the inscrutable abode of the Godhead: *YRL.* Met. no. 33. Acc. to other traditions, however, only 900 of these are accessible to Metatron, the remaining being reserved for the Deity alone.

(b) Special classes of angels under Metatron's authority.

(1) In particular the 70 (72) princes of kingdoms. These are called the נערים (Youths, Servants). They stand in the same relation to the *Na'ar* (Youth, Metatron) as the *Na'ar* to the Holy One: *Tiq-qūnim*, 112 a. They are the angelic rulers over the world, hence figure prominently especially in contexts stressing Metatron's function of Prince of the World: *Zohar*, i. 149 a b. Cf. below. But they also represent the different aspects of the Divine Manifestation and its activities, and in this connection they are identified with the 70 (72) Divine Names: *Ma'aræḳæḅ hā-'^{AE}lohuḅ*, 118 b (*comm.*). These aspects are united in Metatron, the ruler of the 70 (72) angels and possessor of the 70 (72) names, which are called Divine Powers (כחות אלדיות): *ib.* 119 a b. Cf. *M^egallæ 'Amuqoḅ*, i. 46 b.

Metatron is appointed:

(2) Over the "12 angels of God": *Zohar*, i. 149 a b.

(3) Over the *Mærkābā*-angels: *Zohar*, i. 21 a, 22 a, 223 b, iii. 227 a.

(4) Over Mikāel and Gabriel: *Yalq. Ḥād.*, *Mal.* no. 27.

(5) Over the "four Presences": *Zohar*, iii. 227 a, and over the four camps of Šekinā: *YR.* i. 21 a.

(6) Over the angels of judgement: *YR.* i. 52 a (*Ṭub hā-'Aræš*).

(7) Over the angels of the world of *Yeširā*: *Mass.* 'Aš. viii.

(c) Metatron is the guardian of the inmost region of the Šekinā, the Holy of Holies, against the *Qelifōḥ*: '*Asārā Ma'amārōḥ*', 122 b.

(d) Metatron is the guardian of the celestial treasures and the Halls. He is especially appointed over the 'secrets'.

"Metatron is set over the Halls and all their splendours": *Zohar*, iii. 171 b.

"All the keys are committed to him": *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 55 b, 181 b, 223 b, iii. 171 b. The possession of the keys is symbolical of Metatron's possession of all the Divine secrets.

Metatron commits the secrets to man (*Zohar*, i. 37 b) and to the spirits in heaven (*Zohar*, iii. 171 b).

The 'Secrets' include the 'Mysteries of the Torā' and hence Metatron is called the 'Prince of the Torā'. He gave the (terrestrial) Torā to Moses, was Moses' teacher: *Šiyyuni* on Ex. 3²; *YR.* ii. 10 b; *S. Yeširā*, RABAD's Introduction (ed. Warsaw, fol. 9 a).

Metatron teaches the Torā and its mysteries in heaven, and is the president of the heavenly Academy, *בֵּי מַתִּיבְתָּא*: *Zohar*, iii. 197 b; *YR.* i. 31 b; *Sefær ha-qQomā*, opp. 658, fol. 102 b. He "pounds H^{al}akop in the heavenly Academy": *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zZohar*, ṭiqqūn no. 56.

He is the Prince not only of the Torā but also of the whole classical Talmudic, Miḏrašic and Cabbalistic Literature: *Add.* 15299, fol. 49 b, i.e. from him emanates, in the last instance, all knowledge of the mysteries of the Universe.

(e) Metatron is the guardian of the spirits and souls in heaven, both before and after their earthly life.

He is "appointed to give life to those who are to dwell in the dust (i.e. the spirits who are about to enter the life on earth)": *Zohar*, i. 181 b. He "assigns a 'star' for the newborn to enlighten his *nešāmā* (spirit) during his life on earth": *Ṭub hā-'Aræš*, yr. i. 46 a.

After death he "conducts the spirits and souls back to their places":

Zohar, i. 181 b. He introduces the *n^ošāmā* (spirit) on high, saying to it: 'Enter, Enter!': *Zohar Hādāš*, 26 a.

Metatron is the chieftain of the angels GABRIEL (for the righteous, or for Israel) and SAMMĀEL (for the wicked or those outside Israel), who fetch the spirits from on earth by authority of Metatron, their leader: *Tub hā-'Aræš*, yr. i. 54 a. He is actually called "the Angel of Death": *YR*. i. 57 a.

(Metatron has here taken over functions of old associated with the name of MIKĀEL.)

C. Metatron God's representative ruler over the world (Prince of the World); celestial judge of the world; executor of the Divine decrees; the representative of the Holy One to the individual; the protector, intercessor, intermediary and advocate.

1. In his capacity of ruler of the world Metatron is usually associated with the 70 (72) princes of kingdoms, representing the different nations of the world.

"Metatron, the Prince of the World, is the ruler over the princes of the nations. Metatron, not the Holy One, is the ruler of the nations, but Israel has the Holy One himself for its ruler": *Yalq. Hādāš, Mal'ākim*, 57.

"Metatron is the *m^emunæ* over all the nations, and he understands their language": *Hæseð l^e-'Abrahām*, 'Ayin *Mišpāt*, Nahar, no. 25.

He gives maintenance to the world through the 70 (72) princes: *Zohar*, i. 229 a b.

He is the *כלל* of the World (the comprehensive unity): *Zohar*, i. 45 a b.

"All the ten *S^efroḥ* clothe themselves in Metatron in order to work through him in the world. The *Malkuḥ* (the tenth *S^efirā*, representing the Unity of the Universe) rests in Metatron": *Pardes Rimmonim*, Gate xvi. ch. 4.

2. "Metatron is the judge of the world": *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 113 d; *Ra'ya M^ehæmnā*, par. Pinḥās (*Zohar*, iii. 219 b seqq.).

As judge he is the "head of the Celestial Bēp Dīn", "for he gives judgements and decisions in respect of all": *Zohar*, iii. 186 a (judgement is taken in the wide sense of general government as well as forensic judgement).

He unites in himself the two attributes of Justice and Mercy: he is the head of the two groups of angels, the angels of Justice under 'AZZA and the angels of Mercy under 'UZZIEL: *Ma'arækæḥ hā-'Elohuḥ* fol. 117 b (*comm.*).

"Metatron is called '*sar ha-pPānim*' for he has two *pānim* (faces): Justice and Mercy": YR. i. 57 a.

He is of course the judge also of man after his death and functions at the Last Judgement: *Šemoṣ šal Mēṭāṭron*, MICH. 256, fol. 30 a.

He is the guardian of the strict fulfilment of the statutes of the Torā, "he has been entrusted with the 613 keys" (613 the number of the statutes of the Law): *Zohar*; i. 223 b.

Note. Outside the 'Celestial Bēp Din', i.e. when not contemplated in his function of judge, Metatron is always associated with the attribute of Mercy, cf. below.

3. Metatron is the representative of the Holy One to individual men.

"It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses and to the prophets, for עִילַת הָעִילוֹת did not show Himself to any man": *Ma'raēkēḥ hā-^{AE}lohūḥ*, YR. i. 21 a.

"When the Holy One chose a prophet and destined him to partake of the Šekinā, it was Metatron who bestowed upon the prophet of the light of Šekinā": *Šemoṣ šal Mēṭāṭron*, fol. 29 a. "When the *Dibbur* (the Divine Word) came to the prophet it was Metatron who spoke to him through the *Baḥ Qol*": *ib.*

Metatron receives man's prayers, see below.

4. Metatron protects man against evil: against פִּגְעַת רָע and the *Qelīfoḥ*: YR. i. 60 b.

Metatron is the 'Shield of man'; if only he remembers Metatron, when in danger, one will be delivered and rescued: *Šemoṣ šal Mēṭāṭron*, foll. 29 a, 30 a.

5. Metatron is the Intercessor, Intermediary and Advocate.

He is called *S^{NE}ĒGRON* (from *συνήγορος*) to denote him as an Advocate: YR. i. 60 b.

He is the *S^{ne}ēgor* for Israel; and when Satan tries to accuse Israel on high, Metatron makes him confused so that he is unable to bring forth his accusation: *Šemoṣ šal Mēṭāṭron*, fol. 33 b. He records the merits of Israel and seals the records: *ib.* fol. 29 a.

"When the wrath of the Holy One is kindled against His children, then Metatron prays for them and transforms the *Middaḥ ha-dDin* into *Middaḥ ha-Raḥ^amim* (causes the Divine decrees to be determined by the attribute of Mercy instead of by the attribute of Justice)": *ib.* fol. 40 b.

Metatron is appointed to receive man's prayers: *Yalq. Ḥādāš*, *Mal'ākim*, 9; *Šemoṣ šal Mēṭāṭron*, foll. 33 b, 34 a.

"The way of the prayer is from man's heart to the *Hašmal*, from the *Hašmal* to Metatron, by Metatron it is brought behind the *Pargod* before the Throne of Glory": *Megallae* ^{'A}*muqoḥ*, 'Ofan 196.

In this aspect Metatron is frequently associated with SANDALFON and ^{'A}KAPRIEL: *YR.* i. 59 b, 60 a, *Meg.* ^{'A}*m.* ii. 66 b.

"^{'A}KAPRIEL receives the Morning Prayer (the שחרית), Metatron the Afternoon Prayer (the מנחה) and SANDALFON the Evening Prayer (the ערבית)": *Megallae* ^{'A}*muqoḥ*, i. 28 b.

"Metatron is called *siḡron* when shutting the doors through which the prayers are admitted into the celestial abodes, *piḥon* when opening them": *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, *ṭiqqūn* no. 56.

Like SANDALFON, Metatron binds crowns for His Master of man's prayers: *Zohar*, i. 37 b; *Meg.* ^{'A}*m.* ii. 66 b (cf. *TB. Hēgīgā*, 13 b).

Acc. to some, men should pray *not* to עילת העילות (the unmanifested Deity) but to Metatron, for Metatron is appointed over this world: *Add.* 27142, fol. 109 a b.¹

"Israel prays to the Holy One *and* to Metatron", states *S. Hešæq*, *MICH.* 256, fol. 33 b (*comm.*).

D. Metatron receives special names and appellations indicating his high position. He is called by the Divine Names, *YHWH*, ^{'E}*LOHIM*, *šADDAY*, etc.; is called *Na'ar* and *'Ullēmā* (Youth, Child), *Zāqēn*, *Zeqān Bēḥō* or *Sābā d-Bēḥā* (Steward, the Eldest Servant of His house); the Prince of the World; the Prince of the Presence; is identified with the 'Angel of *YHWH*', with ^{'E}*HOEL*, etc., and has 'numerous names'.

1. The expression "whose name is like the name of His Master"—with reference to Metatron—seems to have been associated with the conception of Metatron from its very origin. Metatron was called the 'Lesser *YHWH*' to denote him as vice-regent and 'second Throne'. When Metatron was identified with the angel of *YHWH* and with ^{'E}*HOEL*, or as a cause of this, the appellation in question found its scriptural support in *Ex.* 23²¹: "for my name is in him".

And, very much later, even a series of *gematrical* supports were invented, of which the most well known is that which points to the equal numerical value of מטטרון and שדי. (The theory propounded lately by Moore in *Harv. Theol. Rev. loc. cit. infra*, viz. that the expression was derived from the original identity of Mikāel

¹ They are reported as arguing:
איך נמצא בדעתך להתמלל לעלת העלות יתע' ואחר שיש שר מורשה על עניני העולם אליו נתפלל.

and Metatron, Metatron being merely an appellative used of Mikāel, is inadmissible, since the expression is not used with regard to Mikāel, whereas it is inseparably bound up with the name of Metatron. The connection between Υ^{HOEL} of *Ap. Abr.* and Metatron on this point, contended by Box—cf. below—is, on the other hand, confirmed by earlier as well as later mystical literature.)

(a) Metatron is very frequently called יהוה קטן, the Lesser $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$: *Ma'arækaþ hā-^{'Æ}lohuþ*, 119 b ("for he possesses the Divine Letters, which are Divine Powers, כחות אלהיות by which he performs everything"). This is said to be Metatron's real name.

Udduy Yāfæ, 134 a, 'Qabbala' in Add. 27142, fol. 109 a b.

(b) He is also called simply $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ and also ^{'Æ}lohim, Šadday, etc.

"In his rulership over the world he bears the Divine Name Šadday, but when ascending on high, he bears the name of his Master, $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ ": *Zohar*, i. 149 a b.

"He is called *Yāh* and Šadday": *S. Hešæq*, Add. 27120, foll. 4 b, 5 b.

"Metatron is called $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{H}$ and ^{'Æ}LOHIM, ^{'Æ}HYÆ ^{'A}ŠÆR ^{'Æ}HYÆ, ^{'A}ĎONĀY and has many other names": *Ma'arækaþ hā-^{'Æ}lohuþ*, foll. 118 b, 119 b.

"The 72 Divine Names are also names of Metatron": *ib.* 118 b.

2. The appellation *Na'ar* occurs almost as frequently as the name Metatron itself. Cf. *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 223 b, ii. 66 b, 94 b, iii. 171 b; *Zohar Hādās*, 69 b. In later cabbalistical literature it is exactly synonymous with Metatron; hence it does not, as a rule, denote any special function or office of Metatron. Various functions of Metatron are, in various contexts, linked with the epithet of *Na'ar*.

"He is called *Na'ar* because he performs the service of a 'na'ar' (παῖς) before the Šekinā": *Pardes Rimmonim*, 161 b.

"He is called *Na'ar*, for he is the Prince of the World who said נער היתי וגם זקנתי ('I have been a *na'ar*—youth—and now I am old', Ps. 37²⁵):" *Zohar*, i. 181 b (contested by the Tosaphists; cf. note on 3 *En.* 3).

The Aramaic equivalent is *ullēmā*: *Zohar*, i. 223 b (used especially to denote Metatron as the manifestation of the Šekinā).

The quotation from Ps. 37²⁵ is made the basis for the connection of the appellation *Na'ar* with that of *Zāqēn*. The *Zāqēn* is most often used in the sense of Steward, the Eldest Servant of his house, alluding to Gen. 24²: "Metatron rules over all that the Holy One has".

"Metatron... is the *zēqān bēḇō* (the eldest of his house) acc. to the

word 'I have been a *na'ar* and now I am a *zāqēn*', viz. the one 'who rules over all that He has', for all colours are seen in him": *Zohar*, i. 181 b. Cf. *Yalq. Hādāš, Mal'ākīm*, 98; *YR.* i. 60 a.

The appellation '*Ābēd*' also occurs frequently. This is connected with the *zēqān bēpō*. As Eliezer, the *zēqān bēpō* of Abraham, was the servant ('*ābēd*'), so Metatron, the *zēqān bēpō* of the Holy One, is called '*ābēd*'. He is also identified with the '*ābēd YHWH*' of Isaiah. *YRL.* Met. 2; *Yalq. Hādāš, Mal'ākīm*, 39 = 59; *YR.* i. 59 b, 60 a b.

3. Metatron is frequently termed 'the Prince of the World' which naturally denotes his rulership over the terrestrial world (see above under C), but sometimes is interpreted differently. *Hæsēd lē-'Abrahām*, *Mišpāt* 25; '*Ēmæq ha-mMælæk*', yr. i. 57 b; *Ma'arækæp hā-'ælohup*, 89 b.

"Metatron is the Prince of the world of *Yēširā*": *Meḡ. 'Am. 'Ofan* 118; '*Asārā Ma'amārōp*', yr. i. 54 a; *YR.* i. 60 a ('*kapriel* the Prince of *Beri'a*, Metatron the Prince of *Yēširā*, and Sandalfon the Prince of '*Asiyyā*').

"Metatron is the Prince over the rulers of *Yēširā*": *Meḡ. 'Am.* i. 66 a.

"Metatron is the Prince of the World, for he is appointed over the performance of the Songs on earth to collect them and bring them before the Holy One": *Hæsēd lē-'Abrahām, 'Ayin* בל.

Prince of the World, "for he functioned at the Creation" (*Ma'ar. hā-'El.* 89 b and frequ.; cf. *TB. Hullin*, 60 a), or was the cosmical protogonon or the '*Ādām Qādmōn*' (*Hæsēd lē-'Abrahām, Mišpāt* 25).

4. As in earlier literature Metatron is called the 'Prince of the Presence', שר הפנים. This is usually taken in the sense of "the Prince who has access to the Divine Presence or who represents the Divine Presence to man". Playing upon the word *pānim* (face) a cabbalistic passage explains the epithet as follows: "He is called the Prince of the *Pānim* for he has two *Pānim*, Judgement and Mercy" (*YR.* i. 57 a, cf. above p. 115).

The Aramaic equivalent is מנא דאנפין which shows that the פנים was understood as 'face(s)': *Midraš Ruḥ*, 85 b. But even in Aramaic contexts the form שר הפנים is the usual: *Zohar Hādāš*, 26 a *et al.*

"My presence shall go with them (Ex. 33¹⁴) refers to Metatron": *Baḥya, Comm. on the Pentateuch*, Ex. 23²¹. The Prince of the Presence represents the Divine Presence.

There is no 'class of angels of the presence' mentioned in cabbalistic literature (cf. *Book of Jubilees*, 2², 18, 15²⁷, 31¹⁴). But the function

of 'Prince of the Presence' is sometimes distributed among the three angels ^AKAPRIEL, Metatron and SANDALFON: *M^eg.* ^A*m.* i. 10 c.

"Metatron is the Prince of the Presence on the side of טוב (Good) and SAMMĀEL the Prince of the Presence on the side of רע (Evil)": *YR.* i. 58 a.

5. Metatron is identified with the "angel of YHWH". It was Metatron who showed himself to Moses in the burning bush: *M^eg.* ^A*m.* 'Ōfan 277; cf. *Šiyyuni* on Ex. 3².

The "angel of YHWH" of Num. 22²² seqq. (who appeared unto Balaam) refers to Metatron: *Zohar*, iii. 186 a.

The "Redeeming Angel" of Gen. 48¹⁶ is Metatron: *Zohar*, i. 232 a. *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, 112 a.

Naturally Metatron is identified with the angel of the Lord in Ex. 23²⁰⁻²². In this connection he is also usually identified with Y^EHOEL. "Metatron is called Y^EHOEL, and he was meant by the YHWH in Ex. 24¹, 'Come up unto YHWH' עלה אל יהוה, for the letters of אל יהוה are those of יהוהאל (Y^EHOEL)": *Add.* 15299, fol. 45 b. Cf. *Beriḇ M^enuḥā*, 4 c d and *YR.* ii. 64 b.

6. Metatron has numerous names. He has 70 names: *Šiyyuni* on Gen. 11⁵, *YR.* i. 60 b. He is bearer of the 70 (72) Divine Names: *Ma'arækaḇ hā-'ælohūḇ*, 118 b.

He has 60 myriads of names, each name signifying a specific function of his: *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zohar*, *ṭiqqūn* 56.

Šemoḇ šæl Mēṭatron, MICH. 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, enumerates and comments upon 77 names of Metatron. These are found also in *S. Hešæq*.

E. Metatron is the translated Enoch. The influence of the Hebrew Book of Enoch on this point is very marked. From *Zohar* onwards the conceptions of the elevation of Enoch into Metatron are made the basis for highly mystical speculations on the pilgrimage of the souls, the descent of the spirit to the terrestrial world and its ascent again to its celestial home. Cf. below under H.

The Enoch-Metatron ideas are connected with Gen. 5²⁴, "he was not for God took him", and Enoch's elevation into Metatron-*Na'ar* is based on Proverbs 22⁶ הַנֶּחֱדָר לִנְעָר, which is interpreted "Enoch was made into the *Na'ar*, i.e. Metatron": *Zohar*, i. 37 b, 223 b; *Midrāš Ruḇ*, 85 b. In *Zohar*, i. 223 b, the dependence upon 3 Enoch is indicated by a reference to "those (well-known) *Bāraiḇās*".

The sequence 'Enoch Metatron' or, sometimes, 'Metatron Enoch' is very frequent. Cf. e.g. *Zohar* iii. 189 a b; *M^eg.* ^A*m.* i. 46 d, 47 b.

Metatron retains the functions of Scribe, Witness, Testifier associated with him on the ground of his identity with Enoch. Scribe: *Ṭiqqūnē ha-zZohar*, ṭiqqūn 56. Witness, Testifier (of men's deeds): YR. i. 57 a, 58 a.

F. Metatron is connected with the Divine Service in heaven. He has a Tabernacle of his own. Mikāel's function of Celestial High Priest is sometimes transferred to Metatron. He is further represented as the *Šeliḥ Šibbur*, the Celestial Choirmaster and the supervisor of the performance of the celestial 'Songs'.

"There are two celestial Tabernacles. One is concealed in the highest and is to be revealed only in connection with the manifestation of the world to come. The other is the Tabernacle that was existent ideally before the Creation, but was not established until the moment when the Tabernacle on earth was completed. This tabernacle is the 'tabernacle of Metatron *Na'ar*'. In the Tabernacle of Metatron Mikāel is the High Priest": *Zohar*, ii. 143 a, 159 a.

Zohar, ii. 159 a, explicitly denies that Metatron performs the service of High Priest in the Tabernacle of Metatron. The passage instead intimates that Metatron represents the Deity in the second Tabernacle. It quotes, however, a tradition acc. to which the Holy One showed Moses the celestial Tabernacle and Metatron performing the service in it.

Metatron has two immediately subordinate angels, viz. 'UZZIEL and 'AZZA. Of these 'UZZIEL is the celestial High Priest: YH., *Mal*.

"Metatron *צהצחיה* is the High Priest in heaven": *Šēmoḥ šal Metatron*, MICH. 256, fol. 29 a.

"Metatron is the priest officiating at the Celestial Altar": *Zohar Hādāš*, *Midraš ha-nNə'elām*, 25 d.

"Metatron is the *Šeliḥ Šibbur* on high": YR. i. 58 b.

"Metatron is the *Hazzān* on high": YR. *ib*.

"Metatron is appointed over all the 'Songs' that are sung on earth to collect them and bring them before the Divine Presence": *Həsəəd lē-'Abrahām*, 'Ayin Kol.

"Metatron utters the 'Blessed' *בשכמל'*": YR. i. 60 b.

G. Metatron has cosmical significance. He is the Cosmical Protogonon, the first of God's Creation. He is the creative power in the Divine Word, the first emanation, etc. He is the 'Ādām Qādmōn.

"Metatron was the beginning of God's Creation": *Yalq. Hādāš*, *Mal'ākīm*, 59.

"ברא שית means ברא שית, 'He created six', viz. the six letters

of the word Metatron"; "Metatron is the first of God's creation": *Tiqqūnim*, 116 b.

This is also expressed thus: "Metatron is the first letter, the 'ĀLÆF": *S. Raziel*, 27 b.

Metatron carries the whole world: *Šēm. šæl Met.* foll. 33 b, 40 b.

Metatron is the creative power in the Divine Word (*y^{ehi} 'ōr*, etc.): *Liqquṭim Nəhmādīm*, 25 b.

He is the *Yēsōd 'Ōlām* (the pillar of the world): cf. below.

The beginning of God's creation was Metatron who was the prototype of Man made by the Holy One in His image: *Ma'arækæḇ hā-'^{elohu}ḥ* (*Ḥayyāt*), 169 b.

The same is said in *YR.* i. 23 a, but is here connected with the idea of Metatron as the Spiritual Essence in the Righteous (cf. below). "God created man in his own image" (Gen. 1²⁷) means: "God created man in the image of Metatron". So long as he is worthy he carries the image of Metatron (within himself), but when not worthy the image of Metatron is exchanged by the image of Sammāel: "In the image of '^{elohim} (read: in the image of Sammāel) created he him".

H. Metatron is the Šekinā or the Presence of Šekinā in the world and in man. He is the First Spirit-Man, who at the same time is the vehicle of the Deity, and is present in the Righteous, and, in the last instance, in all men. He is the eternal, Spiritual-Divine Essence in man. In his identity with Enoch he symbolizes the pilgrimage of the spirit from its home in the Presence of the Deity through the different spheres of the Universe down to the terrestrial world and back again to its source. Here lies the real centre of gravity of the cabbalistic speculations on Metatron.

1. We often find the expression "Šekinā, that is Metatron", when an examination of the contexts shows that what is really meant is that the Šekinā is contained in Metatron, or manifested by Metatron. Metatron is the λόγος of Šekinā, to speak in Neo-Platonic terms. He is the connecting link between the Šekinā and the individual angels and spirits, and hence is represented as having his higher and lower spheres of existence or activity. This is expressed by the statement, that there are 'two Metatrons'. The one is 'Metatron the Great', the other 'Metatron the Created'. The former is the Šekinā or 'the body of Šekinā', the other the angel-prince and celestial ruler. The former is distinguished from the latter by the insertion of the letter Yod: *מיטטרין* (*Pardes Rimmonim*, 93 d), to signify him as the bearer of the Šekinā (represented by the letter Yoḏ, the *Nēquddā Pēšūtā*)—this distinction is however not observed.

"To the Great Metatron refers the *Ši'ur Qomā* for he is the 'Ādām 'Ēlyōn, i.e. the self-expression of the Deity in the First Spirit-Man": YR. i. 21 a. Another tradition has: "The *Ši'ur Qomā* refers to the *Created Metatron* = 'Ādām hā'Ēlyōn": YR. i. 59 b (*Hākām hā Rāzīm*).

It was this Metatron who showed himself to Moses and the prophets for the עִלְתִּית הָעִלְוִיִּת did not show Himself to any man: *Mēg. 'Am. 'Ofan* 277, YR. i. 21 a, 57 b.

"He is the Glory of the Holy One": YR. i. 58 b.

"Man was created in the image of Metatron": *Yalq. Hād., Mal'akim*,

47.

"Šekinā is hidden in Metatron": *Pardes Rimmonim*, xvi. 4.

"Šekinā is clothed in Metatron": YR. i. 59 a.

"The ten descents of the Šekinā were in Metatron": YR. i. 58 a.

"Šekinā rests in Metatron" or "on the hands of Metatron": *Šemōḥ šel Mēṭāṭron*, ṢAḤṢAḤYAH, fol. 29 a.

"Metatron is the body of Šekinā." At the same time he is the manifestation of the First or Highest Spirit, the First Spirit-Man. This Spirit is the "celestial *baḥ zuḡ* of the Righteous", i.e. is present in all the righteous, as the vehicle of the Deity in them: *Zohar*, ii. 94 b.

"Metatron was the first emanation of the Holy Spirit, he was the first Spirit (*Nēšāmā*). From Metatron emanated all the individual spirits and all the angels": *Liqquṭim Nəḥmādīm*, Add. 17807, fol. 25 b.

In another metaphor: "Metatron is the *Na'ar* or 'Ullēmā (son of) the 'Immā (here = Šekinā)": *Zohar*, i. 223 b.

2. (a) Metatron as the First Spirit from which all individual spirits have emanated is present in all the individual spirits and in all men as long as they keep in vital contact with their Divine-Spiritual source. The technical term for Man in vital connection with his Divine-Spiritual source is *Šaddiq*, Righteous.

Metatron hence is represented as present in all the righteous: in Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Elijah, Iśma'el b. 'Ēliśa'. He was the Spirit (*Nēšāmā*) of the first Adam, but left him when he sinned: YR. i. 52 a (*'Asārā Ma'amārōḥ*), *Hæsaed l-'Abrahām*, Mišpaṭ 25; YR. i. 57 a (*'Ēmaḡ ha-m.Mælēk*). Metatron was in Joseph: *Mēg. 'Am.* i. 66 b, 45 a; *'Asārā Ma'amārōḥ*, 122 b. He was in Noah: *Mēg. 'Am.* i. 5 b. The outstanding saints, 'prophets', 'righteous' were the Avatars of Metatron.

(b) Metatron as the Spiritual essence in man is expressed by the terms of "the *madrēgā* of Metatron", "וִיהָרָא עֲלֵאָה" (the Celestial Light, the Divine Spark), "the middle column = 'Ammūdā d' 'Ēmṣā-

‘*īpā*’, the “Spirit of the First Adam,” etc.¹ (Cf. how in *Pistis Sophia* both the *Great Yao* and the *Little Yao* carry the epithets “he of the middle”, “the good, he of the middle”, “the great captain (ἡγούμενος) of the middle” (ed. Horner, pp. 6, 97, 187, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8, 126, 241,² ed. Mead, pp. 10, 163, 300 f.).)

Metatron represents the pilgrimage of the spirit, its descent and ascent. Metatron’s identity with Enoch symbolizes the descent of the spirit into earthly life, into the existence as a terrestrial man, and the ascent of the terrestrial man into a celestial being. It will not be out of the way to compare here *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, p. 180, ed. Schmidt, p. 232): “*ἰαω, ἰαω, ἰαω: This is its interpretation: iota, the Universe came out, alpha, they will turn them, ὦ, will become the completion of all the completions.*”³ Cf. also below (c) and the equation the Divine in κόσμος = the spiritual in man (*vide* Reitzenstein, *Mand. B. des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 5, and *Iran. Erlös. Myst.* passim.).

The ‘*Ammūdā dē-’²ḥmšā-īpā*’ represents both good and evil; the direction downwards (the descent of the spirit) represents evil, the direction upwards represents good: *Mēg.* ‘*Am.* ii. 59 b.

Metatron is the ladder in Jacob’s vision, on which ladder the angels were descending and ascending: *Mēg.* ‘*Am.* i. 45 a; *ib.* ‘*Ōfan* 196. He is the *Ṣaddiq*, the Righteous, as the Pillar of the world, the Foundation of the Universe, acc. to Proverbs 10²⁵: *Add.* 27142, fol. 109, *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 11 d. In this *Ṣaddiq* the ‘*Ammūdā dē-’²ḥmšā-īpā*’ is connected with the Šekinā: *Ṭiqqūnim*, 119 b, i.e. he represents the ascent of the spirit to its home, the Presence of the Šekinā.

“The expression ‘Enoch-Metatron’ symbolizes the unification of Terrestrial and Celestial Man”: *Zohar*, iii. 189 a b.

Proverbs 22⁶, “*ḥ-nōḥ lā-nNā’ār ‘āl pī dārḥō*” is interpreted: “Enoch was made into the *Nā’ar* Metatron by the Holy One who took him from on earth and made him a ruler on high for ever”. He is the exponent in heaven of man’s pilgrimage. He is both ‘old and

1 Thus Metatron as the Primal Man (πρῶτος ἀνθρώπος, אדם קדמון) is *eo ipso* the spiritual being, revealed in different righteous men through the ages. For this idea, cf. Clem. *Hom.* 3²⁰, *Recogn.* i. 52, ii. 22 (the prophet who goes through the world in various forms). The carriers of the prophet are: Adam, *Enoch*, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses (*Hom.* 17⁴, cf. 18¹⁸, 2⁵²) and are called the *seven columns or pillars* (Bousset, *HG.* pp. 172 ff.). Cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* 36³, 53² on the Ebionites and Elxaites (pointed out by Bousset), and the Mandaitic conception of the ‘one-born’, ‘unique’ or ‘beloved Son’ as present in all the Messengers (*vide esp.* *GR.* iv). Cf. also the following note.

2 *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Mead, p. 10): “So the power of the *little Yao*, who is in the midst, and the soul of the prophet *Elias*, they were bound into the body of John the Baptist”; cf. *ib.* preceding and sequel and *The Second Book of Jeû*” (ed. Schmidt) p. 320.

3 F. C. Burkitt renders: “*I*—Everything has gone forth. *A*—They will return therewith. *O*—There will be the End of all ends.” (*JThS.* xxvi (1925), p. 391.)

young' (acc. to Ps. 37²⁵): he is a living record of the spirit's journey from its earliest beginnings to its last phases: *Midraš Ruḥ*, 85 b.

(c) The spirit's descent and ascent are also brought into connection with the mystical language of Ezek. 1¹⁴. The descent is the 'running' (רצוּא), the ascent is the 'returning' (שׁוּב). The very turning-point (from the descent into the ascent) is assigned to the life on this earth, symbolized by the earthly life of Enoch. Metatron as descending is called NURIEL. The turning-point from the descent into the ascent is an occurrence in the will (רְעִיָּא) of the earthly man, the turning of man's will from the evil inclination to the good inclination (from the *yēṣ̄ær hā-rā'* to the *yēṣ̄ær hā-ṭṭōb*). This is metaphorically expressed by the statement, that there is one Enoch 'from the side of evil' (the son of Cain, Gen. 4¹⁷) and one Enoch 'from the side of good' (the descendant of 'Ænoš, Gen. 5⁶⁻²⁴). The turning from evil into good starts the process through which man regains his *N^esāmā*, his spiritual nature, and ascends from one celestial grade (*dargā*) to the other, until he reaches the highest spiritual grade, that of the '*Ādām hā-Ālyōn*, the First Man of Pure Spirit, Metatron, who is next to the Deity. This process is considered to be symbolized by the translation of Enoch "whose flesh (terrestrial nature) was transformed into fire (spiritual nature)": *Tiqqūnim*, 116 b. Cf. Joh. 3¹³: οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. The triad *Nuriel-Enoch-Metatron* thus brought in connection with the time-process (pre-existence, present life, future), and with the *Πρωτάνθρωπος* ideas may be considered in the light of the Parsistic and Gnostic (Mandaïtic) ideas of the threefold original man, who is also pure man, the original righteous man (in Mandaïtic taken over as *Hibil*, *Šipil* and '*Enoš*) acc. to Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 242-244 (cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 205, 206). The cabbalistic representations are, in fact, much clearer in their conception of the First Spirit-Man and his parabolical journey than the various Gnostic representations dwelt upon by Bousset and Reitzenstein.

Metatron is the "Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil" (Gen. 2⁹): *Kanfe Yōnā*, yr. i. 59 b.

Metatron is called 'Good and Evil'; "from the appearance of his loins even upward" (Ezek. 1²⁷) he is good, and "downward" (*ib.*) he is evil: *Meḡ*. *Am.* ii. 59 b.

Metatron represents the side of Good and Pure: *YR.* i. 58 a.

Such seemingly contradictory statements are intelligible when they are understood as allusions to Metatron as symbolical of the spirit's

paraboli cal course: the direction downwards being termed evil, the direction upwards good.

(d) As in other connections (see above), Metatron also as symbolical of the spirit's pilgrimage or of the Spiritual Essence of the Righteous, is associated with *Sandalfon*, a sort of copy of Metatron. Thus it is sometimes stated that SANDALFON is the translated Elijah: YR. i. 57 a. "Two earthly men were made into angels: Enoch who became Metatron and Elijah who became SANDALFON": *M^{eg}*. *'Am*. i. 27 d, 66 a b, ii. 3 d; *'Emæq ha-mMælæk*, 176 d (cf. above, p. 106, note 1).

It is sometimes hinted that the highest goal of the spirit or its greatest victory can only be attained or won through the realization of the 'turning' *during earthly life*. The angels proper do not attain the height of the Righteous, they are lower than Metatron, because they have not penetrated into "the darkest recesses of the Universe, those which are furthest from the Divine Abode", viz. this earthly life. "When Moses was shown Metatron-Enoch, he desired to go down on earth, i.e. to enter earthly life, in order to be able to rise to the height of Metatron-Enoch": *S. Talpiyyoḥ*, 166 a.

§ 12. ORIGIN OF THE WORD 'METATRON'

THE actual significance or derivation of the *word* Metatron seems to have been forgotten quite soon after Metatron as a distinct celestial figure had clearly emerged. Hence we find, from the middle of the ninth century onwards—and up to the present time—a great many different attempts made at the explanation of the word. The various explanations or derivations may be classified as follows:

- (1) Metatron derived from נטר (or מטרא).
- (2) Metatron derived from the Latin *metator*.
- (3) Metatron derived from Mipra.
- (4) Metatron derived from μεταρῦπαννος; metatorion; μέτρον; mediator; mater; מטרוניתא; שדי.
- (5) Metatron derived from μετά and θρόνος.

(1) Metatron derived from נטר.

Metatron already at an early time was explained from נטר in the sense of 'guard', 'protect', etc., either directly from this root or by the medium of מטרא, מטרת.

The earliest instance of this derivation is found in the so-called *Šimmušā Rabbā*. This instance seems never to have been pointed out before.

"In the sixth Hall is Enoch who was clothed with splendour of light... and made into Metatron who... represents the guardianship of all the souls that ascend from on earth: מטרת לכל נפשתא דסלקן. מארעא לרום רקיעא." The *Šimmušā Rabbā* thus uses the word מטרת to explain the form Metatron. (The *Šimmušā Rabbā*, in its present form, dates from about the middle of the ninth century.¹)

Baḥya, *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Pesaro, 1507, fol. 98 b c), commenting on Ex. 33²⁰ also gives נטר as a possible derivation of Metatron. He explicitly connects Metatron, as derived from נטר, with the Targumic rendering מטרת for the Hebrew משמרת of Gen. 26⁵.

Isa. Horowitz, *Šenē Luḥoḇ ha-bBeriḇ*, Amsterdam, 1649, fol. 230 c: Metatron is the same as שומר (guardian), pointing to the Targumic rendering of משמרת by מטרתא.

Musaf hā-‘Āruk ('*Āruk*-edition, Amsterdam, 1655, fol. 102 d) gives the same explanation.

Similarly, in the Cracow edition of the *Alphabet of R. ‘Aqiba* (1579) in the Enoch-Metatron fragment inserted at the end of letter ‘ALÆF, there is an explanatory gloss (bracketed) after the word Metatron, which reads as follows: מטטרון [ר"ל שומר תרנום של משמרת מטרת ועל כן נקרא שמו מטטרון].

This gloss also translates Metatron by Šōmēr (guardian) with reference to the Targum rendering of *mišmæraēḇ* as *maṭraḇ* (from מטרתא, מטרא).

A. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, ii (1852), pp. 4 seqq. considers the derivation from נטר as a possible etymology of Metatron.

The original feature in Jellinek's explanation is his linking up of Metatron as a *nāṭēr* (guardian) with the passage on the 'Angel' in Ex. 32²⁰⁻²² (לשמרך into למטרך), which already in *TB. Sanh.* 38 b is used with reference to Metatron. (Alternative explanation: μέτρον, see below.)

M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi*, *sub voce* gives Metatron as מטטרון (מ'ט') from נטר.

'Maṭṭatron' (which would be related to *maṭṭārā*: service, post, watch, guard) means 'Chief of the Service' (chief of the angels who are called Servants). The etymological progenitor of מטטרון was, acc. to Jastrow, a form מטרטון.

(2) Metatron derived from or connected etymologically with the Latin *metator*.

In mediaeval *cabbalistic* writings the interpretation of Metatron from 'metator' is first met with. It should be noted, however, that in the writings in question this is never the exclusive interpretation of the name: it is put by the side of various other more or less abstruse 'etymologies'.

Eleazar of Worms (died 1237), *Hilkop Miṭatron* (in the British Museum MS. *Add.* 27199, fol. 114 a):

"Know that he is called Metatron because he is a מַטִּיטוֹר, which is interpreted 'leader', as it is said: The Holy One, blessed be He, was made a *meṭator* for the waters (*Gen. R.* v. 4),...for He is the Guide of the World (the Prince of the World). And he says רִוֵּן (i.e. 'utter praise' to the Holy One) every day."

Metatron thus is explained from מַטִּיטוֹר + רִוֵּן. This passage is important, since it shows the starting-point for the association of Metatron with *meṭator*: it was evidently the *Midraš* dictum of the Holy One as the 'metator' for the primaeval waters (of the Story of Creation). It also shows that this association was made on the basis of the conception of Metatron as the 'Prince of the World' who in this capacity was concerned with the works of Creation (cf. *TB. Yeb.* 16 b).

In the cabbalistic speculations the dictum "the Holy One was a *meṭator*" is changed into "the Holy One was Metatron", i.e. the Most High in his cosmical activity was represented by Metatron.

From these cabbalistic speculations the later reading Metatron for *meṭator* in *Gen. R.* v. 4 has, most probably, originated.

(In other contexts R. Eleazar of Worms connects Metatron with 'meter', 'metron', 'miṭra', etc. *Bodl. MS. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 b, 21 a.)

Yalqut Re'ubeni (ed. Warsaw, 1901, ii. fol. 56 b) quotes from *Tiqqūnim*: *Metator* is one of several names given to Metatron as indicative of his various functions. The *meṭator* is here connected with מַטְרָא ('rain', in the cabbalistic symbolical language = the bestowal of spiritual gifts, emanating from the celestial regions, upon the terrestrials) and made to signify: he who conveys spiritual *parnāsā* (maintenance).

Nachmanides, *Commentary on the Torah*, on Ex. 12¹², first quoted in *Šiyyuni* (ed. Cremona, 1560, fol. 39 a), says that Metatron =

'one who shows the way' and is equivalent to *metator*. He substitutes 'Metatron' for 'metator' in quoting *Y^elamme^edēnū* to Num. 22³⁶ and Deut. 2³¹.

Nachmanides shows dependence upon cabbalistic speculations in representing Metatron-*metator* as the שליח from the Holy One לְכָל הַמַּעֲשִׂים הַנַּעֲשִׂים בָּאָרֶץ. Metatron as *metator* hence means, to Nachmanides, the representative of the Most High in his works on earth.

Substituting 'The Holy One' for 'Metatron' and using 'Metatron' as a sort of appellative, Nachmanides evolves the strange reading of *Sifre* on Deut. 32⁴⁰, referred to above (p. 92, note 1).

Elias Levita, *Tišbi*, connects Metatron (*sub voce*) with *Metator*, the meaning of which he had "learnt from his pupil (Cardinal Egidius de Viterbo) to be 'messenger'".

David de Pomis (fl. ab. 1550), *Šæmah Dāyid* (ed. Venice, 1587, fol. 116 b), derives Metatron from *metator*, "a Greek (Latin) word signifying *custos*".

Buxtorf in his Dictionary places Metatron and Metator *sub eadem voce*. The same does Dalman in his *Handwörterbuch*² p. 232.

Danz, *Shechina cum piis cohabitans* (1723), after giving a comprehensive summary of the different derivations of the word Metatron, decides in favour of the etymology from *metator*, in Greek μετατωρ.¹

Danz, from quotations of numerous sources, proves conclusively that the Hebrew מִיטְטוֹר is identical with the Latin *metator* in the sense of 'praecursor, praeparator, antegestor'. The Greek Μετάτωρ is found in the *Gloss. Basilic.* lvii. 12 (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. p. 919: ὁ ἀποστελλόμενος ἄγγελος πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας), and also in Suidas' dictionary, vol. ii, interpreted as ὁ προαποστελλόμενος ἄγγελος πρὸς(ς) τοῦ ἄρχοντος.

The main contention of Danz on the basis of his identification of the words *metator* and *Metatron* is that this celestial entity was by the name Metatron indicated as none other than the Šekinā. This accords with the cabbalistic basis for the association of Metatron and the Holy One as *metator*.

Danz also refers to the cabbalistic distinction between the two quasi manifestations of Metatron, one lesser, regarded as a created angel, the other, higher one, identical with the Šekinā or called the body of Šekinā, and maintains: "hic ipse Angelus Metator primus et supremus idem prorsus sit cum Shechina, ab officio quod sustinet, cognomen hoc accipiente".

1 In Meuschen, *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et Antiquitatibus Illustratum*.

Whereas in the earlier instances of the association of Metatron with *metator* hitherto referred to, this association was made to convey the *exclusive position of Metatron* as the representative of the Most High or even as identical with the Šekinā, *later followers of this interpretation* seize upon it as a means of maintaining the *comparative unimportance of Metatron*, at least in the earlier phases of the conception. Hence we find that those who adhere to the 'metator-interpretation', in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly do this for dogmatic reasons.

This new development sets in with Cassel.¹

Cassel contends that the form 'Metatron' was substituted for the original 'metator' simply to make up the numerical value 314 required to make the angelic name in question 'by *gematria*' equal to the Divine Name ŠADDAY (this rests on the late interpretation of the words "My Name is in him" with reference to Metatron. The sequence of ideas is exactly the reverse: the angelic figure Metatron was called YHWH or the Lesser YHWH, and the cited words were applied to him: 3 *En. 12*⁵, 48 *C*⁷, *D*¹ no. 102. Then later the accidental numerical quality of מַטְטְרוֹן and שְׂרִי was played upon. So by Raši and in cabbalistic writings; cf. above, pp. 116, 117, 119).

"Es soll", says Cassel, "durch seinen Inhalt allem selbstschöpferischen, selbständigen ausweichen, eben weil es (metatron-metator) Diener bedeutet der Gott nur vorangeht und dessen Befehle erfüllt".

The same derivation (in the same general sense) is maintained by M. Sachs in *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Altertumsforschung*, 1852, i. 108 n. and 194; Lewi Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II. ii. 298, 345 (1847-57); Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie des Judenthums*, ii. 781; J. Fürst, *Glossarium Græco-Hebræum*, 1890, p. 138 a; and S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin, 1898-9, ii, *sub voce*, also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 154.

S. Krauss, *op. cit.* i. 92, derives Metatron from *metatorium* (μυητατώριον). In a note, pp. 250-252, he combines the two interpretations, regarding *metatorium* as a formation from *metator*: "Metatorium, der von Metatron abgesteckte Platz".

Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898, accepts the derivation from *metator*, but propounds an original theory as to the origin of the name and the angelic conception. *Metator* is also to Friedländer a 'Grenzabstecker'; the origin of the conception is to

¹ Article 'Juden' in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften*, 1818 seqq. II. xxvii. pp. 40, 41, note 82.

be found in Gnosticism from where it was brought into the circle of the Rabbinic scholars who occupied themselves with the study of the *Mærkābā* (pp. 102 seqq.).

The Talmudic teachers—under the mighty influence of the Gnosis—were forced into accepting a second, from the highest one distinguished Deity. Thus, says Friedländer, the Gnostic Metatron came into the Talmudic literature, and to him were assigned besides a world-creative function also the office of guiding the Israelitish people and mediating between them and God. (Cf. below, p. 144.)

The Gnostic figure which in Jewish circles emerged into Metatron was, acc. to Friedländer, the Divine Dynamis *Horos*, which again emanated from the *λόγος* of the Jewish Alexandrian School.

The parallels adduced by Friedländer to show Metatron's origin from *Horos* are, however, insufficient for the purpose.

J. D. Eisenstein (*OM.* ii. 285 a) also accepts the derivation from *Metator*: מטטרוֹן : מלאך ושר הפנים ברקיע הוא מלשון יונית Metator שחוראתו מורה דרך ומרומו בפסוק הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך לשמרך בדרך (שמות כ"ג ב). והוא בדרך השאלה שנדמה הקב"ה למלך אשר ישמש אתו שליחו ובא כח (אמבאסאדאר).

L. Blau, article 'Metatron', in *JE.* viii. 519, says "the derivation from the Latin *metator* (= guide) is doubtless correct" and adduces as further evidence a passage from "the Hebrew Book of Enoch" which, however, will be seen to be a mistranslation of a misprint in the text of *Alphabet of R.* ⁴*qīḏā*, from which it is taken.

"The Hebrew Book of Enoch, in which, however, reference to Metatron is constantly implied, says: 'He is the most excellent of all the heavenly host and the guide (metatron) to all the treasures of my (God)'." Thus Blau.

The misprint (*BH.* ii. 117) originating in the Cracow printed edition of *A. R.* *Aq.* (1579), leaving out the words מוציא אותם after 'Metatron', is caused by the insertion in that edition of a bracketed gloss, explaining Metatron from נטר (*vide* above). But even in this corrupted state the text cannot be translated as Blau translates.

The passage is in reality vss. 9 and 10 of ch. 48 D of our book, which does not in any way use Metatron as an appellative, in the sense of 'guide'.

G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology," *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. xv, after examining the occurrences of Meta-

tron in Rabbinic and giving a survey of different interpretations of the name Metatron (in which the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Danz, *op. cit.*), decides with emphasis in favour of *metator*.

The sense in which the author takes Metatron to be identical with or originating from *metator* will be best seen from a quotation of summarizing points in the article:

“(1) Metator (Metatron) is originally an appellative borrowed and first used in its proper, almost technical sense, an officer who goes in advance of an army, etc.... Israel’s metator in the desert was God himself or an angel assigned... by him to this task. This office was most naturally filled by Michael, the champion of the Jews.

“(2) In two passages in the Babylonian Talmud Metatron is the proper name of an angel whose office in heaven indicates a peculiar relation to Israel; the same office... (is) assigned in different sources, now to Michael, now to Metatron.

“(3) In the revived apocalyptic and cabbalistic literature of the Gaonic period and after, the translated Enoch becomes Metatron.... Theosophic speculation seizes upon this angelic mythology, and elevates Metatron to a still higher eminence....”

The author is especially opposed to Metatron being held as an Intermediary or Mediator. The derivation from *metator* to him indicates the extremely modest beginnings of Metatron (or of the ‘Metatron mythology’). In this he is in line with Cassel and Hamburger. The author does not adduce any further evidence beside that of earlier vindicators of this derivation.

Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ³1923, iii. 649, follows Moore in identifying Metatron with *Metator* against his own earlier acceptance of the probability of derivation from *μετάθροπος*.

(3) Metatron derived from or connected with Mipra.

The earliest writer known to have attempted identifying Metatron with Mipra is H. E. Schmieder in his *Programma, Nova Interpretatio... Gal.* 3^{19, 20}, pp. 41–8, *Excursus de Mitatrone* (1826).¹

Pointing out parallel features in the conceptions of Metatron and Mipra Schmieder puts forward the hypothesis that the Persian ideas, esp. with regard to Mipra, were first introduced into Jewish circles among the Essenes who then cultivated and developed them further. The central function in which Schmieder holds Mipra and Metatron to be congruent is that of mediator.

¹ Pointed out by Hengstenberg, in *Christologie*, iii, and Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, etc. pp. 74, 124, 194. See also Mövers, *Phön.* i. 390.

Nork (Felix Adolph Korn), *Brahminen und Rabbinen*, 1836, pp. 99, 100, trying to connect the Jewish archangels and angels over elemental forces with the Persian 'Amshaspands' (i.e. Ameša Spentas) and 'Izeds' (i.e. Yazatas), also identifies Metatron with Miṣra.

The total picture that Nork evolves of Metatron corresponds to the representation of this angelic or celestial figure as given by the *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, or, generally speaking, to the conceptions prevalent in cabbalistic works from the fourteenth century onwards. Nork-Korn does not really attempt to account for the *origin* of Metatron from the Persian Miṣra. His knowledge of Metatron seems to have been based on Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*.

Wiesner, in *Ben Chananja*, 1862, p. 384; 1866, pp. 600-625. This is the most important and most elaborate among the endeavours to derive Metatron from Miṣra. Wiesner, not—as is usual—Kohut, should indeed be mentioned as the pioneer champion of the Metatron-Miṣra theory.

For the conceptions of Miṣra Wiesner bases upon Rhode, *Sage der Perser*, Spiegel, *Avesta*, Windischmann, *Mithra* and on the Zend Avesta, in particular *Mihir Yašt*. For the conceptions of Metatron he goes back to the earliest references known at that time, viz. those contained in the Babylonian Talmud. These references he considers critically. Wiesner lays stress on the following parallels:

(1) *Miṣra*: Guardian of the World, the Mediator for the earth (Mittler der Erde), the Prince of the World (*Mihir Yašt*, 103).

Metatron: Prince of the World, Mediator. Wiesner here rightly points out that *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, clearly involves the existence at that time of a view maintaining Metatron's mediatorship.

(2) *Miṣra*: Miṣra's glory is compared with that of Ahura Mazda, e.g. in *Mihir Yašt*, 1: "Ahura Mazda spake... 'Verily, when I created Miṣra,... I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda'" (Darmesteter's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*).

Metatron: bearer of the Divine Name (*TB. Sanh.* 38 b).

(3) *Miṣra*: Miṣra is the careful witness of all thoughts, words and deeds and hence representative of Truth, Justice and Faith, "der Hort des Gesetzes und sein Rächer" (Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 53).

Metatron: Scribe-Witness and representative of the Godhead towards the world, implied by *TB. Hag.* 15 a.

(4) and (5) *Miṣra* connected with death and immortality; increases the water and is the instigator of the dry land.

Metatron has to do with the fate of men in and after death; is

connected with the *primaeval* waters acc. to the variant reading of *Gen. R.* 5.

(6) and (7) *Mipra* was identified with the Demiurg which latter is represented as a 'Youth'; *Metatron* also called the 'Youth' (*Na'ar*).

Mipra is, according to some sources, "born of woman", and "ein König göttlichen Geschlechtes". *Metatron*, being Enoch, is also "born of woman".

(8) *Mipra* a celestial priest (*Mihir Yašt*, 89). Wiesner remarks upon the curious fact that—acc. to him—the Talmudists ascribed this office not to *Metatron*, but to Mikael. We now know that *Metatron* in mystical sources was represented as having a Tabernacle of his own (2 *Leg. Martyrs*; 3 *En.* 15 B).

The parallels adduced by Wiesner are striking. They are, of course, not sufficient to show that the conceptions of *Metatron* have actually evolved or developed out of those of *Mipra*. Wiesner's theories were supported by Zipser in several articles in the contemporary periodical.

M. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts*, 1880, i. 127, regards *Metatron* as identical with the *Mipra* of *Mipraism*, the ideas of which may have influenced the Rabbinic teachers of the time of 'Ælisa' bæn 'Abuyā (*TB. Hag.* 15 a; cf. 3 *En.* 16).

A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Anhängigkeit vom Parsismus*.¹ All the features in the *Mipra* and *Metatron* conceptions, which are of real import for the study of a possible *Mipraic* origin of the mysticism which finds its centre in the figure of *Metatron*, and which are found in the article by Kohut, are already pointed out by Wiesner. The points on which Kohut goes beyond Wiesner are, on the other hand, rather uncertain and vague as well as insufficiently founded.

A refutation of the article of Kohut, hence, is by no means *eo ipso* a refutation of the hypothesis of *Metatron* as being derived from *Mipra* or influenced by the conceptions of the latter. A further investigation of the possible connections between *Mipra* and *Metatron* might with more reason be connected with the name of Wiesner (and his contemporary Zipser) than with that of Kohut.

K. Kohler, *JE.* viii. 500, and *Jewish Theology*, ed. New York, 1918, p. 185. K. Kohler is also an adherent of the *Metatron-Mipra* theory

¹ In *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band iv. no. 3, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 36-42. Kohut does not acknowledge his indebtedness to Wiesner.

especially from the point of view of Metatron's connection with the *Mærkābā*-speculations.

"There can scarcely be any doubt as to the Mīpraic origin" of the *Mærkābā*-rites in general. Metatron, like Mīpra, acc. to Kohler, is the Divine charioteer. The Mīpra speculations entered Jewish circles through Mīpraism.

It must be remarked here that Metatron does not figure as the charioteer of the *Mærkābā*. The only trait pointing in this direction would be Metatron's function of guide of the *Mærkābā*-seer. But this is not constitutive for Metatron. Other high angels have the same function (MIKĀEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL, etc.).

(4) Metatron derived from μετατύραννος, μέτρον, μήτηρ, etc.

1. The derivation from the Greek μετατύραννος, in the sense of "next to the ruler, i.e. God", is advocated by Frankel, Levy and Weber.¹ It is held probable also by Max Grünbaum.²

2. S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter*, etc. i. 92, identifies Metatron, without any qualifications, with μητατώριον = *metatorium*, i.e. palace.

In vol. ii Krauss interprets Metatron as metator. In the appendix of notes in vol. i. pp. 250-252, he represents *Metatron* as *metator*, but *metatorium* as developed from *metator* and meaning, in the first instance, "der von Metatron abgesteckte Platz", but then used as a name for this angel analogously with the use of מקום (Place) as a metaphor for the Godhead.

Grünwald says, in *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, iv. 127-8, that Metatron signifies 'palace, place, abode' and is parallel with the Divine Name מקום. It is an intended symbol of the relation between Makrokosmos and Mikrokosmos.

3. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, ii (1852), 4 seqq. gives μέτρον (measure, rule) as an alternative explanation of Metatron, on the assumption that Metatron was identical with Horos.

One of the secondary names given to Metatron, viz. the מִטְרֹן, might perhaps be regarded as supporting this derivation. But that this 'name' is merely a formation on the basis of מטטרון is more probable: the מִטְרֹן is in the enumerations of the names of Metatron

¹ Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, 1846, p. 113. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, etc. iii. p. 87. F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1897. Cf. below.

² Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, etc., ed. Perles, Berlin, 1901, p. 74.

accompanied by other variants of a similar appearance, such as מוטרון, מיקון, מיגון, etc.

4. The connection of the word Metatron with מטרא (rain) is a comparatively late cabbalistic device and was perhaps never intended as an actual derivation: YR. i. 56 b, *Bodl. MS. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 b, 21 a. (Cf. above, p. 127.)

Possibly the above-mentioned passage in YR. was known to Danz, since he declares (*op. cit.*) that Ruben Hoschke contended that Metatron is called *metator* because he is appointed over the rain. Danz comments upon this interpretation: on this assumption Metatron would equal *Imbrifer*, *Imbricator*, ὀμβροφόρος.

5. Metatron was explained as derived from 'mediator' by Heinrich Gebhard, in *Programma*.¹

Hengstenberg, in *Christologie*, iv. 324, regards this derivation as the most probable next to that from *metator*. Against it speaks, in Hengstenberg's view, only the fact that the word *mediator* does not occur in Jewish literature.

6. The derivation from *mater*—μητήρ—*matrona*—מטרוניתא is of late origin and dependent upon the cabbalistic speculations on Metatron's connection with or identity with the Šekinā as *matroniṣa*. It is given by Baḥya (as applying to Metatron in his higher aspect, i.e. as the counterpart of Šekinā).²

Levi ben Gešon, on Prov. 1⁸, defining Metatron as 'active intelligence' שכל פועל, states that the word Metatron is derived from the Latin word for 'mother' (i.e. *mater*). This passage was pointed out already in *Pugeo Fidei*, 1651, p. 392 b.

7. Max Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 74 and 124, points out the Arabic equivalents of 'Metatron': مططرون (as the name of an angel in the theology of the Druses) and ميظطرون (from Mas'udi, ii. 391). He cites Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xii. 100, 128, 189.

It is a strange coincidence, that the two Arabic forms evidently correspond to the two variants of Metatron, viz. מטטרון and מיטטרון. The dependence on these is obvious.

8. Metatron > שרי. (Cf. Raši on Exod. 23²¹, note on ch. 12⁵ and 48 D¹, p. 174 bottom.) On the basis of the equal numerical value (314) of מטטרון and שרי Bartolocci³ explains the origin of

¹ Pointed out by Schoettgen in *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, p. 739.

² Comm. on the Pentateuch, on Ex. 23²¹.

³ In *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, i. 234. 235.

the word Metatron as follows: the angel mentioned in Ex. 23²⁰ is *Mikāel*, the custodian of Israel (cf. George Foot Moore above, p. 131); the Divine Name inherent in *Mikāel* is שְׂרִי (God Almighty), since God, operating all the miracles of the guidance of Israel through the desert “per ministrum suum principem Michaellem”, must needs communicate His omnipotence to *Mikāel* “quantum necesse fuerat ad populi Israelitici commodum”. “Unde Michael quasi שְׂרִי hoc est Omnipotens, erat dicendus. Sed *Cabalistae* ne Dei nomina Angelis proprie attribuere viderentur, pro שְׂרִי substituerunt מטטרון Mattatron quod per גמטריא numerum conficit 314 ac שְׂרִי. Mattatron igitur volunt esse Angelum ductorem populi, et directorem Mosis... Ex his igitur patet quod *Mattatron* est nomen fictitium *Cabalisticum* ad hoc tantum excogitatum, ut ex eo numerus 314 elici possit.” Metatron is thus, acc. to Bartoloccius, simply a cabbalistic *gematrical* device, having no lexicographic derivation. No wonder that he exclaims: “In hoc apparet, quam sublimis sit ista Cabalistica scientia... ex qua quidlibet ex quolibet fieri potest”.

(5) Metatron derived from μετά and θρόνος.

J. H. Maius, in *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae* (1698), p. 72, is the first writer known to have suggested the two Greek words μετά and θρόνος as conjointly furnishing a possible derivation of Metatron.

Maius suggests that Metatron indicates the σύνθρονος of the Most High, the co-occupant of God's throne.

J. Fr. von Meyer, *Blätter für höhere Wahrheit*, vol. iv (1823), also interprets Metatron as “der Mithroner Gottes” (ὁ μέτοχος τοῦ θρόνου) who is seated at the right hand of God.

Meyer thinks that the Jewish conception of Metatron forms an exact counterpart of the Christian conception of the Son of God, hence points to Rev. 3²¹ as a parallel.

Ad. Franck, *La Kabbale*, supports the same derivation. He points to the cabbalistic representation of Metatron as the president in the world of *Yṣirā* (Franck is probably thinking of the passage in the *Massēkēp 'Ašiluṣ* containing this representation), and next under the world *Bṣri'ā* with the Throne (Metatron = next to the Throne?) (ed. Jellinek, p. 43, n. 2).

The same view is supported by Grätz,¹ Luzzato,² Steinschneider³ and Bischoff.⁴

¹ *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, p. 44.

² *Kerem Chemed*, iv. p. 179.

³ *Die fremdsprachlichen Elemente im Neuhebräischen*, Prague, 1845.

⁴ *Die Kabbalah*², Leipzig, 1917, p. 37 (“Nach-Throner, Gottes Stellvertreter”).

Salomon Munk¹ and Moise Schwab² interpret Metatron as *μετὰ θρόνου*, "placed at the side of the Throne".

F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,³ considers the derivations *μετά-θρονος* and *μετατύραννος* equally admissible. The sense would, acc. to him, in both cases be "der nächste nach dem Herrscher".

Cf. also Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anf. d. Christentums*, vol. ii. p. 341 and vol. iii. p. 649. (*Vide* above, p. 131.)

W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (2nd ed. 1911), pp. 196-204, on the irrefutable claim that "the name (Metatron) must originally have given some indication regarding the functions of this personality" maintain that the derivation from *Metathronos*, or perhaps *Metatyrannos*, is the correct one, a derivation which accords with the functions of Metatron. (These are set forth at length.)

It is to be noticed, that the derivations from the Greek words under consideration are represented somewhat differently by the different vindicators of the etymology, viz.

as *μετὰ θρόνου*: J. H. Maius, S. Munk, M. Schwab;

as *μετὰ θρόνον* or *μεταθρόνιος*: Luzzatto;

as *μετάθρονος*: J. F. von Meyer, Franck, Weber, Bischoff, Box and Oesterley.

The derivation is applied in two different senses, viz.

(1) as equivalent to *σύνθρονος*, co-occupant of the Divine Throne: J. H. Maius, J. F. v. Meyer, Ed. Meyer.

(2) as signifying the celestial being next to the Divine Throne, occupying the next rank to the Divine Ruler, the representative of the Most High: Franck (?), Schwab, Weber, Bischoff, Box and Oesterley.

Of these different modes of interpretation that regarding Metatron as equivalent to *σύνθρονος* can be easily dismissed. *There is not a single instance in any known Jewish source of Metatron being represented as the co-occupant of the Divine Throne.*

On the other hand, the interpretation of Metatron as denoting a celestial being who was next after the King of the World, the representative of the Most High, is that which of all interpretations proffered best accords with the essential character assigned to Metatron in the earliest representations of him, above all in our book.

¹ *Palestine*, in *l'Univers* (1835 seqq.).

² *Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie*, etc., Paris, 1897, p. 170 *sub voce*.

³ Ed. by Delitzsch and Schnedermann under this title, Leipsic, 1897 (as the 2nd ed. of Weber's work previously edited with a different title).

Of the two derivations conveying the sense "next in rank to the Divine Ruler" (Box-Oesterley), viz. *μετατύραννος* and *μετά+θρόνος*, the present writer gives preference to the latter, on the ground that *the idea of the 'throne' plays a central part in the conception of Metatron*.

Hence it may be suggested that the exact interpretation of the word Metatron is:

The celestial being *who occupies the throne next to the Throne of Glory* (the Divine Throne), or

the Throne next to the Throne of Glory (using the early terminology acc. to which 'throne' = 'occupant of a throne'; see below, p. 142), or *lesser Throne* (= lesser *ΥΗΥΗ*; cf. ch. 12).

As regards the derivation of 'Metatron' from *μετά+θρόνος* this need not be contemplated as a new formation in the strict sense of the word. It would simply, from the beginning, have been a shortened form of an expression defining the character or position of the celestial being in question. This expression might have been: "he whose throne is (the most glorious) next to *the Throne* (i.e. the Throne of Glory)" or "the throne greatest next to *the Throne*", in Greek: οὗ (ὁ) θρόνος μέγιστος μετὰ [τὸν] θρόνον, ὁ θρόνος ὁ μέγιστος μετὰ [τὸν] θρόνον, or similarly. In all such expressions the words *μετὰ θρόνον* would form the last and essential part of the definition, and might, when the conception had become established in this form, be shortened into (ὁ) *μετὰ θρόνον*. The last would, in a hebraized form, most naturally be מטטרון.

This explanation of the name accords perfectly with the character that seems to be essential and original in the earliest representations of Metatron, as far as they can be traced:

(1) The representations of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* decidedly picture Metatron as the angel who, as God's representative, is seated upon a throne of his own. This throne is, moreover, explicitly stated to be "a reflection of the Throne of Glory", a lesser copy of the Throne of Glory (ch. 10¹).

On this throne Metatron is seated as the Holy One is seated on His Throne, only that Metatron's throne is placed, to denote its secondary rank, "at the door of the seventh Hall" (chh. 10², 48 c⁵, 8). Metatron's enthronement and his investment with all the splendours forming part of the enthronement, or being corollaries to it, constitute the central picture in the Enoch-Metatron fragments (chh. 10-15, 48 c⁵⁻⁹).

(2) 3 *Enoch* further actually associates the name Metatron with the *enthronement* of this celestial being, hence implicitly connects the word Metatron with the word 'throne'.

It is highly significant that, acc. to the large Enoch-Metatron piece (chh. 3-15), Enoch, in the course of his elevation and transformation into a high angel-prince, is not officially pronounced in the heavens as *Metatron* until immediately on his having been enthroned by the Most High: ch. 10³.

The expressions in the smaller Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. 48 c⁵, are, in fact, more or less equivalents of the Greek expressions suggested above.

(3) Also in the Talmud the significance of 'Metatron' as the angel seated on a throne as his Master is easily attested.

It is evident that in the passage in *TB. Hag.* 15 a the essential distinction of Metatron, which caused such a disturbance to 'Aḥer' and which the Talmudists are anxious to explain in a 'rational' manner, is his being 'seated' (= as the Holy One himself), whereas the other angelic beings are standing. This distinction is, moreover, such a well-established feature in the Metatron-conception that the Talmudists are unable flatly to deny it. Metatron, they say, was seated (one might add: *as his name suggests*) by permission from the Holy One, but the reason why he was allowed to be seated was simply his function of 'scribe of righteousness' (cf. above, on 'the conceptions of Metatron in Talmud, Miḡraś and Targum', pp. 90 *seq.*).

(4) This interpretation of the name of Metatron gives the key to an understanding of the other features of the Metatron-conception. Thus, as the angel enthroned on a throne next to that of His Master, Metatron will naturally be identified with any angel-prince that before had been regarded as the angel nearest to the Godhead or as the representative of the Most High—or will take over the functions assigned to that angel. On this basis the following functions or identifications of Metatron are easily explained, viz.:

(a) the identifications with the *Angel of YHWH*, who bears the Ineffable Name (after Ex. 23²⁰⁻²²), with YAOEL or YEHOEL (*Apocalypse of Abraham*, chh. 10, 12, etc.; cf. Jael (name of God) and Joel (archangel) in *Vita Ad. & Ev.* 29⁴, 33², *Ap. Moses*, 43⁵, and "the Lesser YHWH").

(b) with the *angel of the Presence* (*Book of Jubilees*, 1^{27, 29}, אַלְהֵי הַפָּנִים, the Angel of the Face, cf. 2^{2, 18}, 15²⁷, 31¹⁴; 1 *En.* 40), in fact only another designation of the bearer of the Ineffable Name.

(c) many functions of MIKĀEL, the highest of the angels in the earlier angelology, are transferred to Metatron (cf. above).

(d) Metatron identified with the *Prince of the World*, God's vice-regent over the world, etc.

(e) with the Na'ar, the 'Æbæd, the Principal Servant of the Most High, the Chief of the Service, etc.

(f) with *Enoch* who in the "Enoch Literature" tended to occupy the most exalted position in the Presence of the Godhead. (In fact, *this derivation seems to give the only reasonable explanation why the figure of Metatron was at all introduced into the Enoch Literature.*) See 2 En. 21³, 22^{4, 6, 10}, cf. 1 En. 70.

(5) The objections raised against the derivation from μετά and θρόνος will be seen to be invalid as applied to the derivation suggested here.

The two foremost objections: (a) that the Rabbis or mystics who introduced the celestial figure in question would not have invented a new word, 'μετάθρονος', but would, if the word was at all of Greek origin, have chosen the σύνθρονος, and (b) the impossibility of conceiving the formation of a new Greek word by the 'Rabbis', do not apply here: (a) Metatron is *not* = σύνθρονος, and (b) Metatron is acc. to the present assumption not derived from a new formation of the type of μετάθρονος.

The only objection applying here is this: the Greek θ of θρόνον would not have been transcribed ט, but ת (the word would have been מַטְטְרוֹן not מַטְתְּרוֹן).

The answer to this objection is:

(a) since μετά must be transcribed מט with ט the law of assimilation would naturally tend to transform a ת immediately following into a ט.

(b) it is a false supposition that the Greek θ is always transcribed, in Hebrew and Aramaic, ת. On the contrary there are numerous instances of Hebrew-Aramaic words borrowed from the Greek, in which θ has been transcribed ט. Krauss in *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* gives several such words. To the instances adduced by him the following may be added:

אטנום = θύνος (TB. Hull. 25 a, 66 b).

אנטינא = ἀντινά (Tj. Kil. ix. 32 a; Tj. Mo'ed Qaṭ. iii. 82 a).

אנטיפאס = ἀντίπατος (Tj. Meḡ. iii. 74 a; Ber. v. 9 a; Eccl. R. to Eccl. 3⁶ Lev. R. 12).

אסטניס = ἀσθενής (M. Yomā iii. 5).

סונטמא = σύνθημα (Lev. R. 12).

ספטין = σπαθίον (Tos. Kelim B. Meḡ. v. 6).

קנטרופוס = *κυνάνθρωπος* (*Tj. Giŧt.* vii. 48 c).

מיסברא = *θησαυρός* (*Targ. Qoh.* 2⁸).

מליקא = *θύλακος* (*TB. Giŧt.* 28 a; *TB. B. Meš.* 20 b).

מיאטרון = *θέατρον* (*Cant. R. beg.*).

מברייט = *θεωρητής* (*Pes. R. Friedm.*, 201).

מריית = *θρίσσα* (*TB. Meš.* 6 a; *Sifre Deut.* 354; *Num. R.* 13; *M. 'Ab. Zār.* ii. 6).

פיטם = *πίθος* (*M. Roš ha šŠānā*, iii. 7).

טריים = *θυρεός* (*Tos. 'Erub.* viii).

אמימום = *ἄθμος* (*Gen. R.* 48).

אבטינס = *Εὐθύνοος* (*M. Yomā*, iii. 11; *Midd.* i. 5).

טז = *ζῆτι* (*Tj. Ber.* vi. 10 d).

נפט = *νάφθα* (*M. Šab.* ii. 2). (Cf. K. Albrecht, *Neuhebr. Gramm.* pp. 10, 81-83.)

Several others could be given. If in one case or other the derivation from a Greek word may seem uncertain, the cumulative effect of the instances is quite sufficient to prove beyond doubt that the Greek *θ* was easily transcribed ט especially in words containing ט, ק, פ, ר etc.

(6) Lastly the theory must be refuted that the formation 'Metatron' has in any way been due to a design to make its gematrical value equal to the Divine Name *Šaddai* (Rashi and others), and—as would be the consequence of this theory—that Metatron as 'bearing the Divine Name' was called *the little YHÜH*. It is quite the reverse. The speculations on the angel bearing the Divine Name are quite early (*Ja'el* etc., *vide* note on 12⁵). The expression 'the little Iao' occurs in *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Horner, p. 6, cf. below, pp. 188 seq.). Metatron, 'the little Throne', was from the beginning evidently called 'the little YHÜH (*Yāhō*)', or, perhaps better, the little YHÜH was called Metatron. To a Jewish ear 'the little Throne' sounded better than 'the little YHÜH'. (Cf. below, p. 145.) Later it was discovered that the numerical value of Metatron was equal with that of the Divine Name *Šaddai*.

Next to that from *μετά + θρόνον* the derivation from *Mipra* would seem to be the most plausible. The derivation from *metator*, on the other hand, is probably caused merely by a confusion at later times between 'Metatron' and the word 'metator', the exact meaning of which might easily have been forgotten. Thus 'metator' was no doubt the original reading in *Gen. R.* 54. Perhaps first in cabbalistic circles (cf. above on the derivation from *metator*)—speculating upon Metatron's function at the Creation—the 'metator' was interpreted to mean Metatron (as the representative of the Holy One) and on the basis of this interpretation of the passage the variant reading of the *Sifre* passage (and the *Y'ammē dēnū* readings adduced by Nachmanides)

was evolved. Subsequently, when the meaning of 'metator' was again known (cf. Elias Levita, *Tišbi*), this was also used to interpret the supposed equivalent 'Metatron'. It will be unnecessary to state that the other derivations, i.e. from *mater*, μέτρον, etc., need not be considered.

§ 13. ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPTION 'METATRON'

IN the preceding we have been mainly concerned with the origin of the word Metatron, and have come to the conclusion that it signifies 'the Throne next to the (Divine) Throne' or, which would be the same, 'the second Throne'. In dealing with this we have only in passing touched upon the origin of the conception underlying that word.

The rise of the *conception* of Metatron cannot be explained from any single idea, but must be considered as a resultant phenomenon of the meeting and coalescence of different ideas. The various elements co-operating towards the formation of the conception are the following:

(1) The conception of angelic beings called *θρόνοι*, evidenced especially (a) in *Test. Levi* 3⁸: ἐν δὲ τῷ (οὐρανῷ τῷ) μετ' αὐτόν εἰσι θρόνοι, ἐξουσίαι, (b) in NT. Col. 1¹⁶:...εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, (c) in 2 *En.* 20¹:...theseventh Heaven, and I saw there a very great light, and fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, *thrones* and many one-eyed ones.... The *θρόνοι* are, no doubt, *angels possessing thrones*, whence metonymically called 'thrones'.¹

(2) The idea of 70 (or 72) celestial rulers, representing the 70 (or 72) earthly dominions, kingdoms, or nations; these were naturally also considered as enthroned. Acc. to one (the earlier?) view these, as representing Gentile Kingdoms, were evil agencies (trace of this even in 3 *En.* 1⁴).² Under the influence of the Jewish fundamental doctrine

¹ In the sense of celestial beings 'possessing thrones' the *θρόνοι* of Col. 1¹⁶ are interpreted by E. Haupt, in A. W. Meyer's *Kr.-Ex. Komm.* *ib.* d. N.T., *ad locum*, and by M. Dibelius, in H. Lietzmann's *Handb. z. N.T.* 3, 2, *ad loc.* a.o.

It may not be out of the way to point to the representations of Rev. 4^{2,4} "ἰδοὺ, θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ... καὶ κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου θρόνοι εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους εἶδον τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας πρεσβυτέρους καθήμενους, *ib.* 11¹⁶ καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν (cf. Mt. 19²⁸, Lk. 22³⁰).

The *θρόνοι* as a class of angels remain in Christian angelological systems: Origen, *Opp.* 1733, pp. 66, 70, Ephrem Syrus, *Opp.* Syr. i. p. 270, Pseudo-Dionysios, on the celestial Hierarchy, Thomas ab Aquino, *Summa Theol.* i. 108.

² On the various representations of the 70 (or 72) princes of kingdoms, *vide* notes on 17⁸, 18^{2,3}, 30².

of God's Absolute Sovereignty over Heavens and Earth, the celestial rulers of necessity became the satraps, viceroys under 'the King of the Kings of Kings', appointed as rulers by Him; in this capacity they may fail, or be faithless (a remnant of their character of independent evil agencies) and subsequently be punished.¹ In connection with the early idea of the Divine Council they were as the representatives of the terrestrial kingdoms also thought of as forming the Divine *Bēḥ Dīn*. The ideas of *θρόνοι*, 'thrones', and of 70 enthroned vice-regents of the Most High must have been assimilated at quite an early time. They can be traced, even after the development referred to below (3) has taken place, in *Mass. Hek. ii*: *שבעים כסאות של מלכות יש לו* ... *להקב"ה מעין כסאי מלכויות שבעולם כנגד שבעים אומות שבעולם* ... *וכלם אינו אלא משלו* "the Holy One, blessed be He, has 70 thrones of kingship in analogy with the thrones of kingships in the world corresponding to the 70 nations in the world... and they are all derived from Him (lit. are all from that which is his)". The idea of 70 thrones here is evidently a remnant of the conception of 70 enthroned rulers, called 'thrones'.²

(3) Whatever may have been the first origin of the conception of 70 (72) angelic rulers of the nations and 70 (72) councillors of the Most High this conception was, in various modifications, widely spread in the different syncretistic systems and circles, as Bousset has pointed out.³ Hence the speculations on this theme were inspired not only by the ideas which had been introduced into Jewish religious thought several centuries before, but also by current syncretistic ideas. Probably under the weight of the Gnostic representations of world-creating and world-dominating *ἄρχοντες*, and in opposition to what was felt as dualistic notions, the 70 (72) enthroned vice-regents were still more emphatically put under the absolute rulership of the One God; in order to mark their complete subservience under the Most High, they were deprived of their 'thrones'. The underlying idea being: "there is only one real ruler in heaven", the consequence was: "there is only One Throne, or only One possessor of thrones in heaven, viz. the Throne of Glory and He who is seated on

1 Cf. the 70 shepherds, *1 En. 89¹¹ seqq.*

2 *Zohar*, i. 173 b, says: *דהא שבעין הוו דאינון משתכחי תדיר בהרי שכינתא ושבעין קתוראי סחרניה דשכינתא* In that late work there is, thus, also a remnant of the idea of 'thrones' as independent beings and of their identification with the 70 rulers forming the Council of the Holy One. The writer of *Mass. Hek. ii*, and probably also the writer of the *Zohar* passage referred to, did evidently not think of the 'thrones' or 'seats' as angelic beings, but took them literally.

3 *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 358-361.

it". But at this point of development, the conception of a second throne was already so firmly established as not to be obliterated; this second throne was Metatron. To understand how Metatron could survive the extinction of the (other) *θρόνοι*, it is necessary to recall the existence of other deeply ingrained ideas, viz.

(4) The one *ἄρχων*, the leader of the world-ruling *ἄρχοντες*, in relation to the Highest God viewed as the second or small *ἄρχων*; in general all those Gnostic representations picturing a second, lower, lesser Divinity, or Divine emanation differently expressed in different systems.¹ It should be understood that the idea in question is not to be derived from any particular system, nor figure in that particular system. Thus M. Friedländer,² who had a correct intuition in bringing the figure of Metatron under the light of Gnostic ideas, was wrong in deriving him from Horos. Metatron is by no means a Gnostic figure; the most that can be said is that Gnostic ideas have influenced the conception.

(5) The most important element or complex of elements which gave life and endurance to the conception in question was the notion of the 'angel of *ΥΗΥΗ*, who bears the Divine Name' and the 'angel of the Face, the Divine Presence', called Yael, Yehoel, Yoel, the highest of the angels, the Divine Name representing the Godhead. Extensive speculations must have centred round this possessor of the Divine Name. For this it may suffice to point to the Pseudepigrapha, to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, etc. (cf. above, p. 139 and note on 12⁵) and also to Philo, who calls the angel bearing the Divine Name: '*ἀρχάγγελος καὶ πρεσβύτατος λόγος*', '*λόγος θεῖος*',³ also *ἀρχή, ὄνομα θεοῦ* (the 'Divine Name') *κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπου, ὃ ὁρῶν, θεοῦ εἰκὼν*,⁴ etc. From this conception of an angel, partaking of the Divine Glory (being the Angel of the Presence) and called by the Divine Name *יהוה* there arose the appellation "the Little *ΥΗΥΗ*". It is highly improbable that this appellation was at any time accepted by the Rabbis. To Rabbinism the whole idea must have presented itself as the worst of all possible heresies, that accepting "two powers". Even the combination itself: "Little + *ΥΗΥΗ*", whatever interpretations were applied to it, must have

1 In Mandaitic the expressions and ideas connected with the relation between the *[נוכרני]* *היי* and the *היי תניאני* [Second Life], and also, by the way, between *היי תניאני* and *היי תליתאני* [Third Life] proffer many close similarities with the representations of Metatron (cf. above, pp. 64 seqq.).

2 *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, pp. 102-105. (Cf. above, p. 130.)

3 Friedländer, *op. cit.* p. 107, notes 150, 151, quoting Philo's *Quis rerum divin. haeres.* i. 501, *De Migrat. Abrah.* i. 463.

4 Philo, *De confusione linguarum*, 146, 147 (ii. 257).

been an abomination to a Rabbinic mind. The origin of this appellation must be sought with some sect or mystic circle outside the Rabbinic fold, probably one open to and willing to assimilate current Gnostic-syncretistic ideas. Sects and circles of many different shades have certainly existed within Judaism,¹ and many of these have borrowed freely from each other and from every other source congenial to them; and have also been under the influence of current religious ideas. It is further to be supposed that some of the circles devoted to mystical subjects (and experiences) were not inimical to the Rabbinic teachings, just as it is impossible to deny that some of the recognized Tannaitic teachers found it worth their while to devote themselves to the mysteries of the *Mærkābā* and *Creation*. In the circles, where the conception of the High Celestial being, called "the Little יְהוּה" was at home, this name, or at least the frequent use of it, under the strong influence of the Rabbinic teachings, may have been felt as a profanation, and, instead, Metatron, as implying the same, was used. Just as the Throne of Glory referred to the Holy One, so the "Little Throne", "the Second Throne", "the reflex of the Throne of Glory", i.e. Metatron, referred to; became a metonym for the Little יְהוּה. Through this assimilation Metatron became the centre of powerful mystical speculations, perhaps even a popular figure, and was able to penetrate into the Rabbinic literature.

(6) An element that must be taken into consideration is lastly the figure of the Elect One and the Son of man, of the 'Parables' of 1 *Enoch*,

¹ On this *vide* esp. Friedländer, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65 seqq.; Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 18-26; Schechter, *Doc. Jew. Sect.* 1. xxv, xxvi, xxviii; Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 83-86, 100 *et al.*, and cf. Reitzenstein, *Mand. B. d. Herrn d. Grösse*, pp. 37, 38; Lidzbarski, *JM.* xxii, xxiii. This does not imply that Judaism itself at any time became a 'syncretistic phenomenon'. Even the Jewish mystical circles of which that behind 3 *Enoch* was one, are not to be designated as syncretistic: for this their fidelity towards and strong emphasizing of the Jewish faith, the OT. and even the general teachings of the schools are too marked. But on the other hand, it is impossible to deny that these circles, as well as the leading Rabbinic teachers, were influenced by syncretistic ideas, even if this influence was felt largely in a negative way (as *incitamenta* for repudiating or refuting certain ideas). At the same time it must be kept in mind that there were several syncretistic formations more or less closely connected with Judaism. (Cf. G. Kittel, *Die Probl. d. paläst. Jud.* p. 72, n. 1.) Cf. Leo Baeck, *Ursprung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik in Entwicklungsstufen der jüdischen Religion*, p. 98: "Alles das (*scil.* the ecstatic and speculative mysticism) erscheint auf dem Boden des Judentums zunächst als ein Fremdes, und es ist in der Tat nur auf die, mannigfach bezeugte, Berührung und Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gnostizismus, mit dieser Mischung griechischer und orientalischer Religionen und Mythologien, wie sie damals die Umwelt Palästinas beherrschte, zurückzuführen. Die kosmischen Gedanken und Vorstellungen, die von daher an das jüdische Denken herantraten, verlangten ihre Antwort, die Widerlegung oder die Zustimmung, und aus diesem Erfordernis ist diese mystische Richtung im Judentum, so sehr die Voraussetzungen zu ihr in ihm selbst gegeben waren, hervorgekommen."

who at least to the circle behind 3 *Enoch* was, apparently, conceived of as one being. To understand the connection between that figure and Metatron two different facts must be kept in view: viz. (1) that Metatron is invested with most of the attributes that in 1 *Enoch* characterize the Elect One and the Son of man; to perceive this it is sufficient to read side by side 1 *En.* 46 and 3 *En.* 48 c⁹, 1 *En.* 61^{8, 9} (45⁸) and 3 *En.* 10^{4, 5}, 48 c⁸; (2) that Metatron, however, lacks all Messianic character; further, is never represented as seated on the Throne of Glory, God's Throne; lastly, although identified with a human being, Enoch is not connected with the "one that looked like a man" of Dan. 7¹³ (1 *En.* 46¹). In view of the close dependence of 3 *En.* upon 1 *En.*, and, moreover, of the traits given to Metatron in 3 *En.* upon those given to the Elect One, Son of man, in 1 *En.*, the avoidance of any reference to the features mentioned under (2) above must be considered intentional and interpreted as originating from a refutation of the views implied therein, and, more especially, of the similar views, beliefs and manners of expression current among contemporary religious sects or communities. (Christian: Messiah and his throneship, the use of the term 'Son of man'; Mandaean: the speculations on 'Enoš, the man and the Celestial Being, the 'Upra, *et sim.*) In contrast to such views the Metatron-conception emphasizes that the angel or celestial figure in question is seated on 'a second Throne', a throne of his own¹ which is a lower throne, a reflection of the Throne of Glory. At the same time the only counterpart to the designation 'Son of man' in 3 *En.* is the derogatory "Born of woman, a putrefying drop" laid in the mouth of the angels (ch. 6²). (Cf. the use of 'Enoš' as the "head of the idol-worshippers", *ib.* 5.) It is characteristic that Enoch-Metatron in the same context is called "an elect one among the (inhabitants of the) world", ch. 6³, and that he is implicitly, and in later sources explicitly, the 'Ādām Qadmon.

(7) The Wisdom naturally would be connected with the Metatron-figure; all that the Wisdom speculation implies is so well known as not to need any demonstration here. It will suffice to point out that in 3 *Enoch* Wisdom and Torā are identical. The personified Wisdom, the hypostasis, *created* in the beginning (Prov. 8²²) has been identified with Metatron; the Wisdom as the 'secrets of the Torā' (*vide* below, pp. 171, 172) *possessed* in the beginning (Prov. *ib.*) was then made a 'possession' of Metatron.

¹ A correction in the MS. T (Abbadianus 35) and in the so-called 'second group' of MSS. of 1 *Enoch* read 'his throne' instead of 'my throne' in 1 *En.* 51³. What deductions bearing on the present question may be rightly made from this is difficult to decide.

§ 14. THE ANGELOLOGY OF 3 *ENOCH*

THE various traditions concerning names, classes, order of ranks, number, functions and nature of the angels, that are embodied in 3 *Enoch*, may be arranged under the following divisions:

(1) Those contained in the part of the book, which is entirely devoted to the exposition of the hierarchy of angels and to the descriptions of the different angel-princes and classes of angels, i.e. the 'angelological section', chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶. Within this angelological section again are to be distinguished at least three independent systems of angelology:

(a) ch. 17, in the following referred to as A 2;

(b) ch. 18, in the following referred to as A 3;

(c) chh. 19-22, 25, 26, supplemented by chh. 27, 28¹⁻⁶, referred to as A I.

(2) Those contained in the remaining parts of the book:

(a) in the chapters dealing with the Judgement, the performance of the *Qeḏuššā*, the fate of souls and spirits, etc., chh. 28⁷⁻⁴⁷;

(b) in the Metatron-pieces, chh. 3-16, 48 B-D 1, 2; further in 23 and 24;

(c) in the fragments, chh. 15 B, 22 B and C.

A. The angelology of A I (chh. 17-22, 25-28⁶).

A I, the largest and most elaborate of the angelological systems of 3 *Enoch*, does not contain a systematic treatment of *all* the hosts of angels. It deals only with the highest classes and angel-princes, namely those functioning by the Divine Chariot (the *Mærkābā*) with the Throne of the Godhead. It is evident, however, that the said chapters are only the latter part of a more comprehensive angelological treatise (cf. beg. of ch. 19 and note). As to the contents of the former (lost) part of this treatise it is useless to proffer conjectures. Cf. notes on chh. 17⁸ and 19¹. That the section knew of other angelic orders besides the *Mærkābā*-angels and angels of the Throne is apparent from e.g. ch. 19⁶.

The order of classification is one proceeding from the lower to the higher classes, treating first of the five angel-princes appointed over the five angelic classes by the *Mærkābā* (i.e. the Divine Chariot, derived from Ezek. 1 and 10), and then of the five angels in the immediate proximity of and functioning by the Throne, the supreme

part of the *Mærkābā*, being the seat of the manifested Godhead. Thus the order is the following:

(1) The Wheels (Hebrew: *Galgallim*) of the *Mærkābā* under the prince Rikbiel (from *rāḳēb* = chariots). The name *Galgallim* is derived from Ezek. 10^{2, 6, 13}. The *Galgallim* play the part of the 'Wheels' of Ezek. 1 and 10, i.e. they carry the *Mærkābā*. They are at the bottom of the *Mærkābā*-structure: "the feet of the *Ḥayyōḥ* are resting upon them" (19⁵). The word *Galgallim* is used instead of the originally equivalent *'Ofannim* (in Ezek. 1 and 10 more commonly employed than *Galgallim*), apparently because the *'Ofannim* are already definitely associated with another, higher order of *Mærkābā*-angels (the *'Ofannim* of ch. 25). The *Galgallim* of ch. 19 are only just emerging as a specific class of angels; in vss. 2 and 3 they are depicted more in the form of 'wheels' in the strict sense of the word than as angels. See further note on ch. 19.

The *Galgallim* are eight in number, "two in each direction" (19³). The expression "two in each direction" is no doubt deduced from Ezek. 1¹⁶ ("as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel") and 10¹⁰, thus making one pair of 'wheels' for each of the four *Ḥayyōḥ*.

The function of the prince of the *Galgallim*, Rikbiel, is not defined—in contrast to the case of the princes of the four subsequent classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

The *Galgallim*, besides carrying the *Mærkābā*, share with the higher *Mærkābā*-angels in the performance of the Celestial Song (vs. 7).

(2) *The prince Ḥayyiel and the four Ḥayyōḥ*, chh. 20, 21. The four *Ḥayyōḥ* (derived from Ezek. 1⁵ seqq.) are next above the *Galgallim*. They have four faces, four wings (cf. Ezek. 1^{6, 23}), and crowns on their heads. The only function of these angels mentioned in the chapters in question is the utterance of the responses of the *Q'ēduššā*, in the right and timely performance of which they are prompted by *Ḥayyiel*, the prince appointed over them.

(3) Above the *Ḥayyōḥ* are the *K'erubim* with their prince *K'erubiel*, ch. 22. The high position assigned to *K'erubiel* is marked by an extravagant description of his glorious and awe-inspiring appearance. The conception of the *K'erubim*, as it appears here, is mainly derived from Ezek. 10. They are four in number (vs. 15), in accordance with Ezek. 10^{15, 21, 22}. They utter song and praise (vss. 12, 13, 15). But they also appear as God's messengers ("do the will of their Creator", vs. 16). The description in ch. 22 preserves traces of the old idea of the *K'erubim* as the vehicles of the *Šekinā*: this is implied by the

expression "the chariots of the K^eruḇim" (vs. 11). Similarly "the Š^ekinā is resting upon them", "the splendour of Š^ekinā is on their face" (vss. 7, 13). To them is applied the OT. expression "who dwelleth on the K^eruḇim", referring to the Most High (vss. 12, 16, cf. 1 Sam. 4⁴, 2 Sam. 6², 2 Kings 19¹⁵, Is. 37¹⁶, Ps. 80², 99¹, 1 Chron. 13⁶, Ezek. 9³); "above their lofty heads abides continually the glory of the high King" (vs. 12). Cf. Ezek. 11²², 10¹⁹.

The conception of the K^eruḇim drawing (or being) the chariots on which the Most High rides through the heavens—in accordance with 2 Sam. 22¹¹, Ps. 18¹⁰—viz. when leaving the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, is not attested in ch. 22, but it is perhaps to be discovered in ch. 23¹⁷.

The "K^eruḇim of the flaming sword" (Gen. 3²⁴) are perhaps remembered in the explicit reference to the sword of K^eruḇiel in vs. 6.

K^ERUBIEL, the prince of the K^eruḇim, acc. to vss. 11, 12 and 16, has charge of the chariots of the K^eruḇim and exercises the function of supervision and attendance on the K^eruḇim.

(4) The prince 'OFFANNIEL, appointed over the 'Ofannim, is next above the K^eruḇim and K^ERUBIEL, ch. 25. Of the 'Ofannim (derived from the theophany of Ezek. 1¹⁵, 16, 19–21, 3¹³, 10⁶ *et passim*) the details given are scanty (vss. 5–7). Not even the number of these angels is defined, although it is probably to be understood as four: the exposition of the section supports the picture of a *Mærkābā m^erubba'āḇ*—to use the technical term frequent in later cabbalistic works. The only function explicitly assigned to them is the "praising their Creator" (vs. 5).

To the chieftain of the 'Ofannim, 'OFFANNIEL, more space is given. Besides ascribing to him the inherent function of attending and supervising the 'Ofannim, the description shows traces of a conception of 'OFFANNIEL as especially connected with the course of or sphere of the moon (vs. 2, cf. note *ad loc.*). Elsewhere in the book (chh. 14¹⁰, 17⁵) 'OFFANNIEL is explicitly stated to be the prince set over "the globe (wheel, 'ofan) of the moon", and this might have been the earlier character in which this angel-prince was conceived.

(5) Above the 'Ofannim and 'OFFANNIEL are the *S^erāfim* under the prince *S^erāfiel*. They may here be called the highest class of *Mærkābā*-angels proper. They, in common with the four other classes, share in the performance of the Celestial Songs, especially the *Q^eḏuššā*. But they seem further to have had the special function of transmitting documents or petitions to the Most High. To them Satan—as chief

of the Accusers—together with the two “princes of kingdoms” representing respectively the two chief Gentile Empires, Persia and Rome, hand over the documents of accusation against Israel, “that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He” (vs. 12, cf. note *ad loc.* on the quoted sentence). At the same time it is stated, that the *Serāfim* take sides with Israel, in so far as “they burn the writing tablets of Satan in the fiery river”—they are counted among the angels pleading the cause of Israel (cf. the “angels of Mercy”, ch. 33¹).

The number of the *Serāfim* is given as four (vs. 9) in correspondence with that of the *Hayyōḥ*, the *Kerubim* and the pairs of *Galgallim*. The description of the prince of the *Serāfim*, *S^ERĀFIEL*, is extravagant, but the details do not materially differ from those of most descriptions of high angel-princes: the radiance and splendour of his appearance—*Kāboḏ*—the innumerable eyes, etc. One statement, however, is somewhat surprising, in giving a ‘name’ to the “crown on his head”: it is called “the Prince of Peace” (vs. 8, Is. 9⁵). This is only paralleled by the passage in the R. Iṣma‘el version of the *Ši‘ur Qomā*, according to which the crown on the head of the manifested Godhead bears the name of ‘Israel’ (*Bodl. OPP.* 467, fol. 60 b). It is possible that the interceding or pleading function of the *Serāfim* at the Judgement may have been thought of in the application of this name which naturally is meant to refer to the character of *S^ERĀFIEL* as the prince of the *Serāfim*. The function assigned to *S^ERĀFIEL* is conform to that of the princes of the other classes of *Mærkābā*-angels; he has charge of the *Serāfim* and teaches them song, praise and the right performance of the *Q^oḏuššā*.

With the *Serāfim-S^ERĀFIEL*, as has been pointed out above, the highest order of the ‘*Mærkābā*-angels’ proper is reached, and the remaining part of the section turns to describing the angel-princes above them, who, by way of distinction, may be called the ‘*Throne*-angels’ or ‘*Throne*-princes’. Together with the transition from the *Mærkābā*-angels to the *Throne*-princes there occurs a change in the representation of the *Throne* itself, a change already marked in the closing verse of ch. 26: the *Throne* which in the foregoing part is always referred to as the ‘*Throne of Glory*’ is henceforth seen in the two aspects of ‘*Throne of Glory*’ and ‘*Throne of Judgement*’, the latter of these aspects being apparently represented as the higher. The expression ‘*Throne of Glory*’ probably refers to the presidency of the Most High over the angels and angel-princes, the ‘*Throne of Judgement*’ is associated with His rulership or government of the

Universe and His judicature over the inhabitants of the world. Here, as elsewhere, the 'Judgement' (*Dīn*) is to be understood in a wide sense, including forensic and executive judgement as well as government in general.

Consequently, the angel-princes of the Throne are represented as functioning primarily at the Judgement, or in the 'Council of the Holy One'.

(6) RAḌŪERIEL, ch. 27. RAḌŪERIEL is above the Sērāfim and is appointed "over the *treasuries of the books*" and especially over the 'Case (*d'husqōm*)' containing the "Book of Records". The "Book of Records" is opened and read at the sitting of the Celestial Court (*Bēḥ Dīn š'el-ma^alā*), presided over by the Most High. The 'Book' is essentially a 'book of Judgement', and is supplemented by other 'books' of similar character (vs. 2), all conceived of as containing the 'records' of men's deeds.

(For the general ideas of "Books of Records," etc., *vide* Charles's exhaustive note on 1 *En.* 47³ and Box's note on 4 *Ez.* 620.¹)

The seals of the *d'husqōm* are broken by RAḌŪERIEL and the books taken out and delivered by him to the Most High.

In passing, reference is at this point of the description made to the angels called 'Scribes' (vs. 2) who read the books before the Celestial *Bēḥ Dīn*. It is noteworthy that the Scribes who elsewhere (chh. 18²³⁻²⁵, 33², *T.B. Haḡ.* 15 a—Metatron as scribe—*et freq.*) are assigned a very high position in the heavenly hierarchy, in the present angelological system play quite an unimportant part; they are not even given a definite place in the scheme. They are, in fact, represented less as Scribes proper than as *Readers*. The essential function of the Scribe(s), the recording merits, demerits and Divine decrees, is here in all probability understood as adhering to RAḌŪERIEL, as he, not the so-called Scribes, has control of the 'Books'.

RAḌŪERIEL, as is pointed out in the note on vs. 1, is probably identical with VRETEL of 2 *En.* 22^{11, 12}, "one of the archangels who was more wise than the other archangels and wrote down all the doings of the Lord", to whom the Lord said, "Bring forth the books from my store-places, etc."

VRETEL, besides being the keeper of the books, is explicitly stated to be the Scribe ("wrote down...").

Although primarily functioning at the Judgement, RAḌŪERIEL is also concerned with the *Q'ḏuššā* (vs. 3). But, in common with the

1 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1912, pp. 91, 92 n. G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 74.

'Irin and Qaddišin of ch. 28, he does not himself take part in chanting the *Qeḏuššā*. In this connection a remarkable statement is made (vs. 3): "out of every word that goeth forth from his mouth an angel is created and he stands . . . and utters a song", at the time of the performance of the *Qeḏuššā*. (Cf. ch. 40⁴, *TB. Ḥaḡ. 13 a, Gen. R. 78₁, Lam. R. 32₁*.) Thus the essentially Divine power of creating song-uttering angels by a word of speech (a *dibbur*) is here transferred to RAḌŪRIEL. *Vide* further note on vs. 3.

If the representation is original, it shows that this angel was assigned an exceptionally high position in relation to on one side the Godhead, on the other side the other angels.

It is possible that the central feature of the conception of RAḌŪRIEL was that of *Scribe and Recording Angel* (cf. Ezek. 9²¹, Dan. 12¹, *Pirqe 'Abot*, iii. 16, *Tanḥumā*, ed. Buber, p. 17, *Y. Targum* on Ex. 24¹, *Asc. Isaiae*, ix. 21). The conception shows affinities with non-Israelitish conceptions, e.g. of *Nabu*¹ and *Thot*.

(7) Above RAḌŪRIEL are the highest princes mentioned in the present angelological section, the Watchers and Holy Ones, named with the Aramaic terms of Dan. 4^{10, 14} 'Irin and Qaddišin, in singular 'Ir and Qaddiš (ch. 28). They are four in number, two 'Irin and two Qaddišin (vs. 5), and each of them is equal to all the rest of the angels and princes together (vs. 1).

These angels form the Council of the Almighty. "He doeth nothing in His world without first taking counsel with the 'Irin and Qaddišin" (vs. 4).

Their activity is, however, not limited to that of giving counsel to the Most High, but they also exercise definite power over the inhabitants of the world and the empires and kingdoms on earth. It is they who give effect to the decrees of the Most High "over the kingdoms of men": "they abase to the ground those that are proud and they exalt to the height those that are humble" (vs. 6), an evident allusion to Dan. 4^{14 (17)}. Note that the same power is ascribed to the 70 princes under Metatron in ch. 48 c⁹.

According to vs. 8 the 'Irin and Qaddišin are the 'court-officers' who "raise, argue and close every case that comes before the Holy One. . . when He is seated on the Throne of Judgement". This verse, however, is not to be included in A 1 (see note on vss. 7-10). It forms part of a representation of the 'Irin and Qaddišin as a larger number of high angel-princes (vs. 9), identifying them in chh. 29 and 30 with

1 Cf. the representation of *Nabu* in Gunkel, *Archiv Wiss.* i. 294-300

The angelological system of chh. 19-22, 25-28⁶.

HQB''H (Š ^e kinā)		
'Ir	Throne of	'Ir
Qaddiš	Judgement and	Qaddiš
	Throne of	
	Glory	
	RADUERIEL (Scribes)	

Treasuries of the books (etc.)		
	o	
. o o	S ^e rafiel—four S ^e rāfim	. o o
.	(Satan, Sammael and Dubbiel accusers)	.
.	o	.
. o o	'Offanniel—(four) 'Ofannim	. o o
.	o	.
. o o	K ^e rubiel—four K ^e rubim	. o o
.	o	.
. o o	Ḥayyiel—four Ḥayyop	. o o
.	o	.
. o o	Galgalliel—eight Galgallim	. o o
encompassed by the four winds, and Ra ^{'a} m ḡ ^e -Ra ^{'a} š.		
Four rivers beneath them.		

Clouds.

Hosts of angels: šallišim, pārašim, gibborim, š^ebā'im,
g^eḏuḏim, m^emunnim, sārim, ḥaylim, m^ešār^epim,
mal'ākim d^egālim.

Song-uttering companies.

the 72 princes of kingdoms. A 1 is probably to be regarded as ending with vs. 6.

The conception of the *four* 'Irin and Qaddišin no doubt belongs to the same range of ideas as that of the "Four Presences" of 1 *En.* 40-41², although the four Presences are, *ib. ch.* 40², said to be "different from those that sleep not" (i.e. the Watchers, 'Irin).¹ The Four Presences are, like the 'Irin and Qaddišin, set over the activities and affairs of the terrestrials (1 *En.* 40⁶, 7) and they are connected with the Judgement (1 *En.* 40⁹, 41¹, 2).²

It is noteworthy that the 'Irin and Qaddišin are the only angel-princes of the present section who are explicitly stated to wield executive power over men, and only the three highest grades of angels, the *Serāfim* (ch. 26¹²), RAḌŪRIEL (as Keeper of the Book of Records) and the 'Irin and Qaddišin are stated to be in any way connected with the affairs of men. That is to say, that the highest aspect of the angelic (and Divine) activities is that of the rulership and judgement of man. The same idea is revealed in the tendency to represent the Throne in its highest aspect as the Throne of Judgement (*vide* above).

B. The angelology of A 2 (ch. 17).

Note. The systems of angelic hierarchy of A 2 and A 3 are altogether different from that of A 1. Not one single specified angel, order of angels nor angel-prince is, as regards function and name, common to A 2 and A 3 on one side and A 1 on the other.

One angelic name, 'OFFANNIEL, occurs both in A 3 and A 1, but the very fact that this name in the two systems is used to denote two different angelic figures is conclusive proof of the disparity between these systems. To A 2 and A 3 are common the conception of angel-princes set over the different heavens (17¹⁻³, 18¹, 2).

That A 1 is not a sequel to A 3 is evident from a comparison of the end of ch. 18 with the opening sentence of ch. 19 (cf. note on ch. 19¹). But stronger evidence is to be seen in the fact that ch. 18 (A 3) represents a complete system in relation to A 1: the highest angel-princes, those of the Throne, the Judgement, and further the Recording Angels, are all contained in the final part of the exposition of ch. 18, just as they are the subject of the last chapters of A 1 (chh. 27, 28) though in a different form and with different names.

1 No doubt the 'Watchers' of the Pseudepigrapha were in the original Hebrew (-Aramaic) texts termed עִירִין. Cf. in Schechter's *Fragm. Zadok.* p. 2, l. 18: עִירֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם.

2 Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1912, p. 77, notes on 1 *En.* 40², 4.

That A 2 cannot be regarded as an introduction to A 1 is scarcely less evident. Apart from the occurrence in both of the angelic name 'OFFANNIEL in different connotations, the order in which the ranks of the angelic hierarchy are presented is in A 2 regressive, in A 1 again progressive.

The last verse of ch. 17, however, describing the 72 princes of kingdoms in *Rāqīa'* (the second heaven) might possibly be a fragment of the missing former part of A 1, the latter part of which is preserved in chh. 19 seqq.

It begins with the phrase *למעלה מהם* ("above them"), the characteristic opening expression of the different chapters of A 1 in introducing a new, i.e. higher, order of angels or angel-princes. This verse also seems to be more akin, in phraseology, to A 1 than to A 2, e.g. in dwelling on the splendours and adornments of the angel-princes.

If 17⁸ be regarded as a fragment of the missing part of A 1 it would also indicate the general structure of this missing part, viz. as a description of the various angelic inhabitants of the six lower heavens, 17⁸ belonging to the section treating of the second heaven, the *Rāqīa'*. The part preserved in chh. 19 seqq. of course treats of the angelic residents of the *'Arāboḥ* (the *Mærkābā*-angels and the Throne-angels).

The framework in which the angelological system of A 2 is put is that of the seven heavens only. It begins by referring to "the seven princes, great, glorious, revered, etc." These seven princes are the seven archangels, and are mentioned as something already well known. They are in the chapter enumerated by name; they are further allocated each to one of the seven heavens, as the *m^emunnae* (i.e. appointed one, president) over that heaven and as "the prince of the host" of angels who occupy it.

In this representation two different elements are to be distinguished, viz.:

(1) The notion of the *seven archangels* (as to how far this was originally connected with the conception of seven heavens, see note on ch. 17³).¹

(2) The conception of angelic hosts distributed among the seven heavens and of princes appointed over them.

¹ Cf. A. Dieterich-O. Weinreich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*³, pp. 10, l. 15 f., 12, l. 27. K. Dieterich, *Hellenistische Volksreligion und byzantinisch-neu-griechischer Volksglaube* (in *ATTEAOZ*, 1925, pp. 3, 4): "In der gnostischen Lehre... blieben nur die sieben Archonten und die sieben Planetensphären übrig, die dann unter jüdischem Einfluss sich in die sieben Erzengel und die sieben Himmel verwandelten".

There is in A 2 yet a third element, viz.:

(3) The idea of angelic moving forces of the four classes of heavenly bodies: sun, moon, planets and constellations; and of (four) chieftain princes controlling or directing these angelic forces.

This third element is brought into harmony with the heptouranic plan of the system on the basis of the Rabbinic tradition assigning all the heavenly bodies to one heaven, in this case the second, the *Rāqīa'*.¹ On the other hand the sidereal significance, which may originally have attached to the conception of the seven archangels or the princes of the seven heavens, is hereby concentrated to the rulers of the heavenly bodies located in the second heaven exclusively.

In the conception of seven archangels A 2 shows continuity with the ideas prevalent in the Pseudepigrapha; but also for the notions of different angelic hosts distributed in the seven different heavens, of angelic rulers of the heavenly bodies, and for the locating of these angelic rulers and the heavenly bodies in their charge in a specific heaven, there are precedents in the apocalyptic or pseudepigraphic literature.¹

As regards the names of the seven archangels, of the seven heavens and of the four princes appointed over the angelic forces of the heavenly bodies, it is to be noticed:

The names of the seven princes of the seven heavens are presented in different order and readings both in the two enumerations in the chapter (vss. 1 and 3) and in the two extant sources (N and 7). In this very variance as to names A 2 agrees with the other representations as far as they are preserved of these seven archangels. Yet, in spite of the incongruity between the various enumerations of the names of the seven archangels there is sufficient similarity in the form of the names to show affinity, interdependence or common origin.

There are first the two outstanding names of venerable ages: MIKĀEL and GABRIEL (Dan. 10, 12, 8, 9). They are here represented as the two highest of the archangels, and occur in most of the enumerations, from the early one of 1 *En.* 20^{5, 7} (in a portion belonging acc. to Charles to a pre-Maccabaeian period) down to that of *Sode Rāzā* (thirteenth century) quoted in YR. i. 6 a. The other names also seem to date back to the time of the earlier portions of 1 *Enoch*.

The other names are found in the portions of 1 *Enoch* dealing with the superior angels referred to collectively as the "Watchers" or

¹ Cf. 1 *En.* 20, *Test. Levi*, 3, 2 *En.* 3-20, 3 *Bar.* 11, *Test. Solomon* Fuller references are given in the notes on the chapter.

“The Watchers and Holy Ones” and, in 1 *Enoch*, usually contemplated as Fallen High Angels. These superior angels (whether they were originally conceived of as angels of the “Throne”, or as Princes of the nations of the world or as Ἀρχόντες) were evidently given individual names at a time when one of their main activities was thought to have to do with sidereal and elemental forces. Thus BARADIEL = the angel of Hail, BARAQIEL = angel of the Lightning, ŠAḤAQIEL = the angel of the sky, ŠAPAQIEL = angel of the Stillness, the Appeasing of the thunder and storm, etc. The names were kept even though—as here—the character of the angel-princes to which they were applied had changed.

The absence of the names 'URIEL and RAFAEL here is remarkable. On this peculiarity see note on the chapter.

As regards the names of the heavens and their order A 2 in the main agrees with the traditions on which *TB. Hag.* 12 b (the most important Rabbinic reference) is based. For the first (i.e. lowest) heaven A 2 gives, besides *Uilon*, the Hebrew variant *Šamayim* (cf. *Deut. R.* 2₂₃).

As regards the angelic occupants of the different heavens A 2 differs from *TB. Hag.* 12 b but agrees with the earlier Pseudepigrapha. (*Vide note ad loc.*) The angels subservient to the princes of the heavens are represented as numerous. Each “Prince of the Host” has a suite of ministering angels consisting of 496,000 myriads.

This number, besides giving an impression of the vast number of angels who do the bidding of the seven archangels, is symbolical of the conception assigning to the large multitude of angels the duty of proclaiming, expressing, the Kingship of the Most High throughout all the heavens. “They take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven.” The numerical value of the Hebrew word for ‘Kingdom,’ מַלְכוּת, is 496. The number 496 is therefore usually mentioned in connection with the ministering angels as uttering the *Qeḏuššā*. Cf. chh. 35¹, 40³.

The names of the angel-princes appointed over the four classes of heavenly bodies stand in direct relation to the functions ascribed to them and are in the chapter interpreted accordingly. GALGALLIEL is the prince of the globe (*galgal*) of the sun, 'OFANNIEL the prince of the globe ('*ofan*) of the moon (cf. 41¹, אֹפַן הַלְבָנָה, against גִּלְגַּל הַחֲמָה), RAHAṬIEL is the prince who makes the constellations ‘to run’ (*rāhaṭ*) and KOḲĀBIEL or KOḲBIEL is the prince appointed over the planets (*koḳābim*).

These four are mentioned with the same names and functions in ch. 14⁴, among the 'rulers' of the world. RAHAṬIEL recurs also in ch. 46³. KOḲBIEL is met with in such early writings as 1 *En.* chh. 67, 69², 83 (*Fragments of the Book of Noah*, Charles). The term *Rahāṭon* occurs in *TB. Ber.* 32 in connection with angelic rulers over the stars and planets.

The angels who accompany GALGALLIEL, 'OFANNIEL and RAHAṬIEL and who move the sun, moon and constellations are in number 96, 88 and 72 respectively, whereas KOḲBIEL has a suite of 365,000 myriads of ministering angels.

The discrepancy between the large number of angels assigned to the last-named prince and the limited number of "great and honoured angels" represented as assisting the three higher princes of heavenly bodies was probably the cause of the addition to this chapter (17) of the fragment contained in vs. 8, dealing with the 72 princes of kingdoms. The redactor who joined together the different pieces of the angelological section (chh. 17-28, 29) was led to believe that the 72 princes of kingdoms mentioned in this fragment formed the real counterpart of the 72 angels who acc. to vs. 6 accompany the constellations and that these princes were hence rulers over the 365,000 myriads of angels referred to in vs. 7. To this effect he interpreted the opening words of the fragment: "over them", "above them". He was further moved to this conclusion by his familiarity with certain traditions which connected the 72 princes of kingdoms very closely with the rulership over the planets and constellations or over the heavenly bodies in general. For the improbability of this fragment having originally formed part of A 2 cf. note on ch. 17⁸. It belonged, presumably, to A 1.

C. The angelology of A 3 (ch. 18).

A 3 is like A 2 a complete scheme of angelic hierarchy. It has, however, a much wider scope than A 2. Whereas the framework in which the different angelic hosts and their chieftain angel-princes are ordered is in A 2 merely that of the seven heavens, A 3 stretches its vision of the celestial structure up to the Throne of Glory, the seat of the *Šeḳinā*. To the angels and princes of the seven heavens A 3 attaches least importance. Instead it centres its interest and focusses its attention to an increasing extent as the exposition goes on upon the angel-princes occupying the positions near the Throne.

The system under consideration may thus be conveniently divided

up into the following parts, proceeding from the lowest to the highest ranks or angel-princes.

(1) The angels of each of the seven heavens; over the angels of each heaven is appointed an angel-prince, *sar*. (This accords with A 2.)

The angels of the heavens are not defined as to functions or divisions. Neither are the princes of the heavens named by individual names as in A 2. The Princes are 'crowned', i.e. the crown is the symbol constituting the degree of *sar*, prince, ruler over angels appointed to his charge.

(2) The 72 princes of kingdoms, the celestial representatives of the earthly kingdoms, empires or nations.

The seventh heaven is pictured as divided in two parts, one lower or external, and a higher, central. The outer common part is the abode of the angels of the seventh heaven and their prince; the 72 princes of kingdoms are located on the confines between the outer and the inner regions, evidently in order to indicate their character of intermediaries between the earthly kingdoms and the "King of Kings of Kings." They have crowns of kingship (to denote their rulership over the earthly empires) in distinction from the other angel-princes who have "crowns of glory".

(3) The guardians of the seven *Hekāloḥ*, Halls, located one within the other in the seventh heaven, forming its Holy part. The inner regions are pictured as arranged in seven *Hekāloḥ*, the one within—and higher, holier than—the other. The idea of guardians, door-watchers, of the Halls is here just emerging. Contrast the developed form of this idea met with in *Hekāloḥ Rabbāḥi*, esp. chh. 15-23, also in *Massāḥāḥ Hekāloḥ*, chh. 4 and 5.

(4) The high angel-princes of the seventh Hall, the place of the Throne of Glory and the *Šēkinā*. These angel-princes are ordered according as they are conceived of as representing different aspects of the Divine manifestation in the seventh Hall in relation to the angelic and terrestrial worlds.

The seventh Hall represents a similar division as the seventh heaven. The centre of the seventh Hall is also the centre of the Divine manifestation, the *Šēkinā*, the Throne of Glory. We have here, so to speak, the Holy of Holies (as the seventh Hall is indeed named when in later literature the *Hekāloḥ* are designated each by its special name, as e.g. in *Pardes Rimmonim*, Ša'ar Hekāloḥ). Here begins the essential theme of the exposition.

(a) The angel-princes of the celestial performance of the *Q̇duššā*, viz.:

the four great princes set over the four camps of Šekinā,
Taḡ'aṣ,
Baraṭṭiel, and
Hāmon.

The four camps of Šekinā represent the multitudes of song-uttering angels ordered in four great divisions, rows or 'armies', one on each side of the Šekinā. The princes appointed over the camps of Šekinā are usually named as the four princes on the "four sides of the Lord of Spirits", i.e. MIKĀEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL (NURIEL or FANUEL) and RAFAEL. The conception in its germ goes back at least as far as 1 En. 40^{1-3, 9}. ("On the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences... and I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.")

TAG'AS who stands at the head of all the song-uttering angels is symbolical of the Unity. The significance of this name is in later mystical literature essentially that of 'head', 'origin', 'fountain'.¹

תַּגְאֵשׁ is in cabbalistic writings considered as a combined *t^emurā*, viz. אֵשׁ אֲבִי"ב combined with אֲבִי"ב and usually connected with another similar combination, viz. מַעַצ"שׁ = *t^emuras* אֲבִי"ב and אֵשׁ אֲבִי"ב. These combinations are regularly applied to the letters of the Divine Names. (References in note on ch. 18⁵.)

BARAṬṬIEL and HĀMON both express the momentous significance of the heavenly *Q̇duššā*, the commotion pervading all the angelic hosts at the time when the Thrice Holy is about to be sung. (Cf. ch. 38.)

(b) The angel-princes of the heavenly treasures (probably), representing the corresponding functions traditionally ascribed to Metatron Na'ar, "the eldest Servant of His house", viz.:

TUṬṬESIEL, 'AṬRUḠIEL, NA'ARIRIEL and SASNIḠIEL.

TUṬṬESIEL is one of the names of Metatron in 48 D I, no. 83. It is almost certain that this name is an allusion to that of Metatron. The same is probably the case with 'AṬRUḠIEL. NA'ARIRIEL at once suggests the name or epithet 'Na'ar' or 'Youth' given to Metatron;

¹ Cf. *B^eriḡ M^enuḡā*, ed. Amsterdam, 1648, e.g. foll. 3 a and 5 a. The name *Taḡ'aṣ*, in contrast with the other angelic names of the section, is followed by epithets in *Aramaic* (שְׂרָא רְבָא וִיקִירָא) instead of in Hebrew. Cf. in סֵפֶר אֱלִיהֵו (ed. Bittenwieser) beginning in Aramaic: רְבָא דִּישְׂרָאֵל. The Aramaic here suggests that the name *Taḡ'aṣ* emanates from some Aramaic source. In Mandaitic תַּגְאֵשׁ is the term for 'crown'. Cf. the Jewish תַּגְאֵשׁ.

SASNIĠIEL or S^EGANS^EGÆL or ZAGN^EZAGIEL is one of the main synonyms for METATRON. It would thus seem that these four angels represent certain functions connected with the name of Metatron, namely the functions indicated by the names Zaġne^ezāġiel (from נָנִי) and Na'ar, i.e. the stewardship over the celestial treasures, 'g^enāzīm'. Cf. the cabbalistic play on the word Na'ar: as Na'ar (young) Metatron is also Zāqēn (old) for he is the 'Z^eqān Bēpō', the eldest of His house, i.e. steward, alluding to Gen. 24².

(c) The angel-princes representing the Divine Strength, Might and Power, viz.:

SAZRIEL, G^EBURĀPIEL and 'A^ERĀFIEL.

On these names cf. notes on ch. 18, vss. 12-14 respectively.

(d) The angel-princes of the Torā, viz.:

'AŠRUYLŪ (the general instruction in the Torā) and

GALLIŠUR (the revelation of the esoteric doctrine embodied in the Torā).

In conformity with the principle כל מה שיש למטה יש למעלה (everything below has its counterpart above) there is in the celestial or angelic world a teaching of, instruction in the Torā in a heavenly college. The president of this heavenly college is 'Ašruylū. Gallišur on the other hand reveals the "secrets of the Torā", the later term used in the technical sense (cf. *TB. Hag.* 13 a) of esoteric doctrine, the essence of the Torā. To a knowledge of "the secrets of Torā" only a privileged few would be admitted. And as possessor of these 'secrets' GALLIŠUR ranks above 'AŠRUYLŪ. This gradation in the knowledge of the Torā and the 'secrets' among the angels is in fact always assumed. Cf. this chapter, vs. 22.

(e) ZAKZĀKIEL, representative of God's care for Israel, and 'ANAFIEL, representing the Divine Majesty pervading the 'Arabop (but perhaps originally conceived of as the representative of the world at large, "the Prince of the World").

ZAKZĀKIEL, in accordance with his name—an allusion to זִכְרָה, זִכְרוֹת—"is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory" (cf. *TB. Hag.* 15 a on Metatron). This function connotes a sort of championship for Israel. The emphasis is here not so much on the Scribe-function (which really belongs to the two Soferiel, vss. 23, 24) nor on the function of Advocate in general (this office rests with Z^EHANPURYU, vs. 21), but the central aspect of the present conception of Zakzākiel is most probably that of Israel's representative.

The function and character of ^ANAFIEL are described thus: "... (he) keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls... and the bough of his honour and his majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows, stretches over) all the chambers of ^A*rābōṣ Rāqīa'* on high even as... the Glory of the Maker of the World covers the heavens and the earth is full of his praise."

^Anafiel is thus conceived of as a supervisor of all the splendours of the seventh heaven, and especially over the seven Halls. His being compared with the Most High in this relation probably signifies that he is a representative of the Godhead to the whole angelic world under him, and perhaps also, as in *Hekāloṣ Rabbāpi*, implicitly regarded as the Prince of the World. The explanation of the name of ^ANAFIEL as given in vs. 18 of the present chapter recurs in practically identical form in *Hek. R. 22₄*.

(f) The highest angel-princes in A 3 as in A 1 are those of the Judgement, those serving by the "throne of Judgement". They are here:

SO^PER ^AŠIEL—ŠOQEḌ ḤOZI—Z^FHANPURYU,

^AZBUGĀ,

SO^FRIEL YH^UH MĒMĪṖ—SO^FRIEL YH^UH MĒḤAYYĀE.

The first-named triad represent respectively the Accusing-Executing, the Impartially Deciding and the Defending-Mitigating aspects of the Judgement. Or, in the language of ch. 31, the Attributes of Justice, Truth and Mercy.

SO^PER ^AŠIEL represents the rigid claims of the Attribute of Justice as well in the actual judgement (trial and verdict) as in the execution of the judgement. He enters before the Š^e*kinā* as prosecutor, basing upon the records of men's deeds preserved in the 'books' kept by the two So^Friel. As the executor of the judgement, i.e. of punishment, he is appointed over the Fiery River which is the symbol of the execution of punishment. In his zeal "he stirs up the fire of the river". The Fiery River is also the means of purification and punishment of the angels. The angel-princes who wish to enter before the Š^e*kinā* must pass through the Fiery River (i.e. be purified in it). SO^PER ^AŠIEL, keeping the "seals of the fiery river", also controls the admission of angel-princes into the Presence of the Š^e*kinā*.

ŠOQEḌ ḤOZI keeps the balance. He weighs the deeds of men in a balance in the Presence of the Holy One.. He is in the middle between the Prosecution and the Defence, the counterpart of the Attribute of

Truth in ch. 31. His function corresponds to that referred to in 1 *En.* 41¹, 61⁸.¹

Cf. the Mandaitic 'Abāḥur, who keeps the balance and weighs the deeds of men: תאקיר עובאדיא ואגריא (Lidzbarski, *Mand. Lit.* p. 278).

Z^EHANPURYU (Z^EHAFṬARYI) is the Advocate in Judgement and the Mitigator of the Punishment, functions symbolized by the expression "he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place" (vs. 21).

'AZBUGĀ is the prince appointed for those who in the Judgement have been passed as 'Righteous': *Ṣaddiqim* and *H'side 'Olām*. He will clothe them "with the garments of life" in which they are to live eternally.

These "garments of life" are in our book to be considered as symbolizing both "the spiritual bodies which are awaiting them" and as "reflections of the glory of Š^ekinā", the outward visibility of the new bodies, constituted of light-substance, *ziy ha-kKāboḏ* (celestial nature). Cf. 1 *En.* 62¹⁶; 2 *Esd.* 2⁴⁵; 2 *En.* 22⁸⁻¹⁰; *Asc. Isa.* 7²²; 8^{14, 25}; 9^{9, 17} etc. 11⁴⁰.²

אז"ב"ג is probably originally only the name of a method of *t^emurā*.

SOF^ERIEL H' M^EMĪṬ and SOF^ERIEL H' M^EḤAYYĀE are the highest angel-princes in the present angelological system. They fill the functions assigned to the Scribe or Scribes and the Recording Angel. They keep the books of life and the books of death.

On the ideas connected with the terms 'books of life' and 'books of death' cf. notes on chh. 18²⁴, 27², 28⁷, 30 (32¹, 44⁹).³

D. The angelology of chh. 28⁷-48 A.

(a) The section on the Judgement naturally refers to the angels connected with the Divine *Bēḥ Dīn*; as in A 1 and A 3 the angels of the "Throne of Judgement" occupy the highest position. In the different fragments contained in chh. 28⁷-33 we thus meet with the following representations, viz.:

1. The 72 *princes of kingdoms*, headed by the *Prince of the World*, represent the world and its various nations before the Most High, when seated in Judgement (ch. 30). They are identical, according to the Redactor, with the 'Irin and *Qaddišin*, the court officers of the Divine Judge (28⁸). They also actually form the Celestial *Bēḥ Dīn* (29, 30).

1 Charles, 1 *Enoch*, p. 79 n. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 19.

2 Box, Intr. to *Ascension of Isaiah* (TED.), p. xxiv.

3 See also Charles, 1 *Enoch*, p. 91 (note on ch. 47³).

2. At the judgement of the individual the Holy One is surrounded by three classes of angels: the *angels of Mercy*, the *angels of Peace* and the *angels of Destruction*,¹ representing the Counsels for the Defence, the Impartial Decision and the Execution of Punishment respectively: 33^{1, 2}. Cf. ch. 31: Attributes of Mercy, Truth and Justice.

3. The *Mærkābā*-angels are mentioned: surrounding the Throne are the *Serāfim* and the *’Ōfannim*, whereas the Holy *Ḥayyōḥ* carry the Throne from below. The *Kerubim* and the *Galgallim* are not mentioned. The reference to the *Ḥayyōḥ* contains a feature not met with in A 1: 33³.

4. There are two *Scribes* functioning at the Judgement: ch. 33².

(b) The section centring round the conception of the celestial *Qeḏuššā*, comprising approximately chh. 34–40, is primarily concerned with the idea of the innumerable hosts of ministering angels as uttering the *Qeḏuššā*.

1. The ministering angels are divided as regards their duties into three classes: some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, but their main duty is the chanting of the *Qeḏuššā*.

This multitude of ministering angels, especially in their character of performers of the *Qeḏuššā*, are as viewed from their centre, the Throne, the seat of the *Šekinā*, called the “camp of *Šekinā*” (*maḥane Šekinā*). From this centre they are also pictured as facing the Throne in four immense ever-widening *šuroḥ*, armies, rows, at the head of each of which there is an angel-prince, called *sar ha-Ḥayil* (prince of the army, 35³).

These four armies are also called “the four camps of *Šekinā*” (*’arba’ maḥane Šekinā*). Cf. in A 3 (ch. 18⁴).

They are also conceived of as further divided, there being in all 506 thousand myriads of ‘camps’, each camp containing 496 thousand angels. These numbers are to symbolize that the ministering angels, proclaiming the Sovereignty of the Most High in chanting the *Qeḏuššā*, realize the “Kingdom of Heaven” on high. 496 is the numerical value of מְלִכּוּת, Kingdom, 506 that of the plural מְלָכִיּוֹת, Kingdoms: all the celestial kingdoms are in reality one whole, the Kingdom of Heaven, whose sovereign is the מֶלֶךְ מְלָכֵי הַמְּלָכִים, the King of Kings of Kings. (Ch. 35⁶; cf. in A 2, ch. 17².)

The nature and appearance of the angels are described in ch. 35²,

¹ In 3 *Enoch* for “angels of destruction” the term is as in Rabbinic: מְלָאכֵי חֲבִלָּה. Cf. in Schechter, *Fragm. of a Zadokite work*, p. 2: מְלָאכֵי חֲבֵל; in Halévy, *Té’ezāza Sanbat*, p. 58: מְלָאכֵי חֲבִלָּה.

after the pattern of Dan. 10⁶ (bodily form, immense size, numerous eyes, etc.). They are *changeable*, however, into different forms, even into "flames, sparks, firebrands, males and females" (35⁶; cf. *Gen. R.* 21₁₃). According to the view of the present section these various forms represent a sort of chaos, preceding the daily repeated establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven: with the establishment of the Kingdom among them, their "taking upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven", they *eo ipso* emerge in their "former shape" which is their real existence.

Before chanting the *Q̇duššā* the angels go down into and *purify themselves* in the fire of the 'N^ehar di-Nur'. From the 'N^ehar di-Nur' they receive the *fiery substance* constituting their bodies; from the fiery river they are formed through the 'Word' of the Holy One.¹

When the angels utter the *Q̇duššā* in the right order and manner, they are rewarded by crowns. The uttering of the *Q̇duššā* in its right order of course symbolizes—and realizes—their *conforming themselves to the Law* of the Kingdom, their establishing themselves into one, harmonious whole. On the other hand, when they do not utter the *Q̇duššā* in "the right order" they are consumed by a fire "from the little finger of the Holy One", i.e. they are *deprived of their individual existence* in bodily form (ch. 40³). From ch. 47 it appears that the fire from the Most High was conceived of as the counterpart on the side of destruction to the *Dibbur* that once created them. The bodily substance itself, that was used as their materia, returns to the non-differentiation of the N^ehar di-Nur; but "their spirit and their soul return to their Creator, and they are all standing behind the Š^ekinā" (ch. 47²).

In the place of the punished and destroyed angels there are created "new ones" by "one word" of the Holy One (ch. 40⁴).

2. Other angelic classes and angel-princes mentioned in the *Q̇duššā* section are:

(a) "Servants of His Throne, the attendants of His Glory": (*m^ešār^epē kis'ō, m^ešamm^e š[unn]ē k^ebōdō*) ch. 40¹.

(b) "The Prince of the World", represented as having authority and command over the heavenly bodies: ch. 38³.

(c) The *Mærkābā*-angels are included in an enumeration of angelic classes: ch. 39².

(c) In the chh. 41-48 A there is no important reference to angelic

¹ Cf. *TB. Haq.* 14 a, *Gen. R.* 78₁, *Lam. R.* 321. In these passages the idea is represented (incorrectly) as two different views contradicting each other: the angels created from the fire of the N^ehar di-Nur *versus* the angels created from the *Dibbur* (Word) of the Holy One.

conceptions (apart from ch. 47 already referred to) except perhaps the mention of MIKĀEL as the Prince of Israel, as weeping together with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob over the downfall of Israel, and saying to the Holy One: "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?" (Cf. Metatron in *Lam. R.* Intr. 24.)

E. The angelology of the Enoch-Metatron pieces, chh. 3-16, 48 B C D^{1, 2}, and in chh. 23 and 24.

(a) In the two Enoch-Metatron pieces there are also vestiges of a rich angelology, although not so systematic as in the sections A 1, A 2 and A 3.

1. The large multitude of 'common' angels are referred to mostly as "the Ministering angels" (*mal'^ake ha-ššārēḇ*), divided into 'camps' or 'companies' or 'parties' (ch. 5²). The expression '*mal'^ake ha-ššārēḇ*' seems further, as in the Midraš and Talmud, to be used as a general term, comprising even high, individual angel-princes: the three 'Watchers,' AZZA, UZZA and AZZĀEL are in ch. 4⁶ introduced as "three of the ministering angels".

Terms such as 'angels', 'servants' (*mēšārēpim*), 'mighty ones' (*gibborim*), 'troops of hosts' (*kittōḇ šēbā'ōḇ*), 'armies of *'Arāboḇ*', 'the children of heaven' (*bēnē mērōnīm*), 'the heavenly household' (*pāmilyā šəl mā'ālā*) are hence to be regarded more or less as mere synonyms for 'ministering angels', not necessarily signifying distinct angelic classes.

2. There occur, however, references to definite angelic classes, of a higher order than the angels in general. These angelic classes are usually enumerated together, seldom mentioned singly, and among them are usually included the '*Mærkābā*-angels'. These angels are contemplated as occupants of the highest heaven.

Ch. 6²: in the *šēmē mārōm* are located the Holy *Ḥayyōḇ*, the '*Ōfannim*, the *Sērāfim*, the *Kerubim*, the *Galgallim* of the *Mærkābā* (i.e. all the five angelic classes of the *Mærkābā* acc. to A 1) and the "ministers of the consuming fire" (*mēšārēḇē 'ēš 'ōkēlā*).

Ch. 7¹ enumerates: the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the *Šin'anīm*, the *Kerubim*, the '*Ōfannim*, the ministers of fire and the *Ḥašmallim*. Similarly in ch. 48 C⁴.

To these names of angelic classes must be added the "*'Ēlim*, '*Ēr'ellim* and *Ṭafsārim*" of ch. 14¹, who there seem to be accorded a kind of top-position in the angelic hierarchy. The '*Ēr'ellim* and *Ṭafsārim* occur in the similar enumeration, ch. 39², together with four classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

Such enumerations as the last-named must have been the material from which the names of the "ten classes of angels" were evolved. These ten classes played an important rôle later. The enumerations in Maimonides' *Yād Hāzāqā* (*Yēsoḏe Torā*) and *Massækæḇ 'Aṣiluḇ* are often referred to.

The 'Ær'ællim are of course derived from Isa. 33⁷ and the *Ṭafsārim* from Nah. 3¹⁷ (cf. Jer. 51²⁷).¹

3. Angel-princes of a more individual character than the preceding are firstly:

"*The 72 princes of kingdoms.*" These are represented as before the elevation of Metatron surrounding the Throne of Glory, but with the assigning of Metatron as the representative ruler over all the angels, they were made the special *attendants of the Throne of Metatron*, the highest of his subjects: chh. 10, 14¹, 16^{1, 2}, 48 c⁹. Ch. 14 names SAMMĀEL as greatest among the princes of kingdoms, but subject to Metatron's authority.

Ch. 10³ refers to "*eight great princes* called YHWH by the name of their King" who are exempt from the jurisdiction of Metatron: a sort of highest princes of the Throne. The passage is, however, probably additional. See above on "The conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch*" (pp. 84 seqq.).

'ANAFIEL was, acc. to ch. 6¹, sent to fetch Enoch from earth before his elevation into Metatron. Cf. also ch. 16⁵. On 'ANAFIEL see above on the conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* and in *Hekāloḇ Rabbāḇi* (pp. 86 seqq., 100).

Ch. 4⁶ seqq. names 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ, 'AZZĀEL as high angel-princes opposing the elevation of Enoch-Metatron. They are here not regarded as Fallen Angels as in ch. 5, but probably as princes having access to the Divine Presence, perhaps functioning as guardians of the Secrets.

Ch. 14 mentions angels of the seven heavens (A 2 and A 3) and further:

The *Manhiḡe 'Ōlām* (the leaders, rulers of the world). These are divided into two main classes: the angels of the elementary forces and the angels appointed over the four classes of heavenly bodies. The *Manhiḡe 'Ōlām* carry individual names.

¹ On the use of *Ṭafsārim* to denote a class of angels cf. Zunz, *Lit. Gesch. d. Synag. Poesie*, pp. 633, 634. "'Ær'ællim" occur in *TB*. e.g. *Keḇ. 104a*: ארְאִלִּים וּמִצּוּקִים אֵחָד בְּאֵרוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ נִצְחוּ אֱרָאִלִּים אֶת הַמִּצּוּקִים וְנִשְׁבַּח אֵרוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ "The Ær'ællim and the Righteous tried to take possession of the Holy Ark. The Ær'ællim won and the Ark disappeared from the earth."

4. Fallen Angels and Demons are mentioned in ch. 5.

(a) The Fallen Angels are 'UZZĀ, 'AZZĀ and 'AZZIEL who correspond to the Fallen Watchers of 1 *Enoch*. As in 1 *En.* (chh. 8, 9⁶, 10⁷) they are represented as "teaching men sorceries", i.e. giving them access to the hidden powers and forces of the physical universe, also called "the planetary world". Cf. note on ch. 5⁹; also in *Mid. Pet.* 'Aharon (Gaster, *Chronicles of Yerahmeel*, p. 170).¹

¹ The figures of *Azzā*, *‘Uzzā* and *‘Azzi’el* or *‘Uzzi’el* are no innovations of ³ *Enoch*. Their origin is probably to be seen in the adoption of certain names of Aramaic and other divinities that were objects of popular cults, such as *‘Uzzā* and *‘Aziz* (cf. *ML*. p. 278), as names of Fallen Angels or Demoniacal Powers, leading men astray into idolatry and sorceries (acc. to the known rule: names of gods of an adversary or lower religion changed into names of demons). These were then brought in connection with (1) the Fallen Watchers, the conception of which centred around Gen. 6: (2) the name ⁶*‘azzāsel* of Lev. 16.

Already in 1 *En.* 6¹ *Asael* is mentioned as one of the leaders of the Fallen Watchers, and also confused with Azazel who in 1 *En.* 8¹, 9⁶, 10^{4, 8}, 13¹, 54⁵, 55⁴ is represented as one of or the chief leader of the Fallen Watchers. In 1 *En.* 69² there is an evidence of the use of several names of a similar character: *Asazel* by the side of *Azazel* (the Greek version has Ἀσεάλ, 6¹, Ἀζαήλ, 8¹, 9⁶, 10^{4, 8}, 13¹).

The references in our book, chh. 4 and 5, bear out the fact, that at this time there was an uncertainty whether *ʿAzṣā*, *ʿUzzā* and *ʿAzziʿel* (*ʿAzṣāʿel*) were to be considered as high celestial beings or as demoniacal powers. This is to be explained from their subsequent connection with the Watchers in general, instead of with the Fallen Watchers (and perhaps also from the Rabbinic influence adverse to any ideas bearing the semblance of dualism?).

On the representations of the Fallen Watchers, *vide* Charles, *Jub.* note on ch. 4¹⁵, Charles, 1 *En.* 2, Introd. pp. cv and 14, and Leo Jung, *Fallen Angels*, etc. Cf. also note on chh. 4⁶, 5⁹. (The present writer cannot, from an examination of the various references of the speculations in question, agree with Leo Jung, *op. cit.* p. 183 n. 145, "that there must have been a story of two angels (i.e. that fell), the number of which was increased in later lore". It turns out to be the reverse: only the latest sources have the "two angels" (*vide* note on ch. 5⁹,¹⁰), these probably due to the "right and left side" systematization.)

It is noteworthy that these names have found their way into:

(1) The *Testament of Solomon* (ed. McCown), ch. 7⁷: Ἀζαήλ (variants: Ἀζαήλ, Ἀζαήλ) as the name of an ἀρχάγγελος; sec. C, ch. 10⁸⁸: Ἀσιέλ who ἐνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ φανερωθῆναι τὰ κλεπτόμενα καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας καὶ θησαυροὺς τινας. Notice also the incantation referred to by McCown, *op. cit.* note on ch. 7⁶, mentioning the “ἀρχάγγελος” ἄζαζήλ.

(2) *Sib. Or.* ii. 217, 18.

(3) *Mandaïtic Literature*, in the following forms: 'Az rabba, 'Aziz rabba (*ML*. 22⁵) 'Azazel, 'Azaziel (*GR*. 144²⁶, 173²¹, the occurrence of the last two forms is an evidence of their transmission from Jewish speculations). According to *GR*. IV, 144²⁶ (129¹, ²) *Azazel* is the head of the 444 *škinās* on the right of the Lord of Greatness:

ריש ארבימא וארבינ וארביא שכינאתא בצרנאג עותרא שומה דהו אלוזעייל שומה
(Cf. here the cabbalistic representation 'Azzā and 'Uzziel as the heads of the
angels of justice, on the right side, and mercy on the left side, respectively:
Ma^araekæþ hæ^alohup 117 b. *comm.*) *GR.* 173²¹ (167⁹) enumerates among the 16
guardians or keepers of the fettered 'Ur': 'Azazel, 'Azazel, Taqfel and Margazel:
ומארבאזעייל, אלוזעייל, ואזאזייל, ותאקפעייל.

(4) The *Gnostic Books of Jeû*, where the elements $\omega\zeta a$, $a\zeta a$, etc. of the mystical names of the 'Watchers ($\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$)' are probably derived from 'azza, 'uzza

(b) The demons desire to get power over and injure man who was, however, as long as the Šekinā resided among the terrestrials, or "in the Garden of Eden", protected from the influence of the demons (*mazziqin*) by the light-substance radiating from the Šekinā (*ziḡ ha-š Šekinā*). Cf. *TB. Ber.* 17 a; *Num. R.* 12³.

(c) Chh. 23 and 24, though not concerned with the angelology, contain some references to angelic beings or classes of angels. Firstly, both chapters speak of the *Kerubim* as the *special vehicles of the Šekinā* (the winds of the *Kerubim*, ch. 23¹; the chariots of the *Kerubim*, ch. 24¹).

Secondly, in ch. 24, vss. 15–23, are as vehicles of the Divine Manifestation in turn enumerated four classes of *Mærkābā*-angels, concluding with the highest and essential vehicle, the Throne:

vs. 15, the **Chariots** of the *Hayyob*.

vs. 16, the Chariots of the *Galgallim*.

vs. 17, the Chariots of the Swift *Kerub*.

vs. 18, the Chariots of the *’Ofannim*.

vss. 19–23, the Chariots of the Throne.

Ch. 23¹⁶ identifies SĀṬĀN with the *Ruḥ Sē’ārā*.

F. The angelology of the additional pieces, chh. 22 B C and ch. 15 B.

Chh. 22 B and C in giving a picture of the Throne and the *Mærkābā* present a rich angelology.

1. The larger multitude of common angels consists of two main species:

(a) The "angels of the Glory", *mal’akē ha-kKābōd*, who are "standing over against the Throne of Glory" and are 660,000 myriads in number.

et sim. Especially may be noticed 1 *Book of Jeû*, ch. 16 (Jeû, 11): "The Three Watchers: οὐνοῶξει· νοῦσα· ιαε" (ed. Schmidt, *Kopt. Gnost. Schr.* p. 273). Cf. also *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 10²¹, ed. Horner, p. 8): "ζαμα, ζαμα, ωζζα, παχαμα, ωζαϊ."

(5) In the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* edited by J. A. Montgomery where the following forms occur: מַלְאָכִים (no. 19, p. 195), עֲמָלִים, עֲמָלִים (no. 7, p. 146), Dr Myhrman's text has: "in the name of *Gabri'el* and *Mikā'el* and *Rēfi'el* and in the name of *’Asa’el* *’Asi’el* the angel and *’Erme* (אֵרְמִים) the great Lord". The names in question had become the property of the syncretistic magic and angelology.

(6) Attention may also be called to the ἀζαζαεισθαλιχ’ connected with the constellation of the Capricorn (written αργογερ) in Wessely, *Neue Griechisch Zauberpapyri*, line 886 (p. 49).

(b) The 'Servants', *m^ešār^eḥim*, "performing His will", 12,000 myriads in number (ch. 22 B⁴, 6, 7).

2. The angels of dread and fear, called *שְׁלִישֵׁי יְרֵאָה* and *וְרִיזֵי אִמָּה*, i.e. guardian angels who inspire dread and fear, ch. 22 B².

3. *שְׂרָפִים* and *מַלְכִּים*, Kings and Princes. These terms evidently allude to the 'princes of kingdoms', the Rulers in heaven. These seem to be placed in rank under

4. the classes of angels which include the *Mærkābā*-angels, here enumerated as follows: the *Kerubim*, *'Öfannim*, *Hayyōḥ*, *'Irin*, *Qaddišin*, *G^edudim*, *Serāfim*. As in A 1 the *Serāfim* are regarded as the highest of the *Mærkābā*-angels, and they even, as in the *Hekālōḥ Rabbāḥi*, are removed to a lofty position by the Throne at some distance from the other classes of *Mærkābā*-angels.

Ch. 15 B refers to the *Hayyōḥ*, the *Kerubim*, and the *'Ælohim* as superior angelic orders; further the 'Princes' under Metatron's authority and the "innumerable companies of the hosts". But the special feature of this chapter is the conception of the angelic *Advocates* (*S^eneḡorin*)—1800 in number—who form the suite of the Chief Advocate, Metatron (ch. 15 B²).

§ 15. THE QUASI-PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE 'ARABOP, THE MÆRKĀBĀH AND THE KISSE HA-KKĀBOD

THE *Mærkābā*-picture, thus far contemplated in one of its constituent parts, viz. the angels of the Throne and the *Mærkābā*, is supplemented, in various chapters of our book, by expositions of the different quasi-physical elements and surroundings of the *Mærkābā*. This part of the picture could perhaps be called the 'by-work of the *Mærkābāh*'.¹

The Throne itself, the *Kisse ha-kKābod*, is not made the subject of detailed descriptions in the main part of the book. The only part which is dealt with at some length is

1. The 'Letters' (*'Öḥiyyōḥ*), "graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory" (ch. 41⁴) or written on the *Kāḥar* (Crown) or on the 'Heart'. The *Kāḥar* represents the highest part of the Divine Manifestation on the Throne, the Heart its centre.

1 The word *מרכבה* is used in two senses, viz. (a) the wider sense when it comprises Throne, Chariot, respective angels and the by-work, and (b) the narrower sense, implying the Divine Chariot and the angels forming it. (a) is here referred to as *Mærkābāh*, (b) as *Mærkābā*.

These 'letters' are the first essences, elements, from or by which the whole of the manifested world was created, not only earth, planets, constellations, the seven heavens and their contents, but the Throne of Glory itself and the *Mærkābā* (ch. 41²), i.e. God's own manifestation of Himself (chh. 13, 41).

The 'letters' have the 'numbers' inherent in them. The א thus stands both for 'ĀLÆF' and for '1', ב for 'BĒḤ' and '2'. They are, from one point of view, actually a sort of spiritual atoms.

The 'Ōḥiyyōḥ combined make up the so-called *Divine Names* or שמות המפורשת. These are contemplated as the second step in the creative emanation, or as secondary creative agencies. (Whereas the word 'create' or 'creation' is always used, what is really intended is 'emanation'.) Chh. 39¹, 48 D⁵,⁸, B¹ (K); 42, 48 C⁹, 15 B⁴,⁵.

The Names, *Šēmōḥ*, may be divided into three groups, viz.:

(a) Combinations of the *same* spiritual atoms, as אא, בב, דדה, ווו, etc. (48 B¹, cf. *Ši'ur Qomā*).

(b) Combinations of different 'Ōḥiyyōḥ into pre-rational elements, as סאם, רגוט, קטק, זכב, etc. (48 B¹).¹

(c) Combinations of different 'Ōḥiyyōḥ into rational elements, corresponding to Hebrew words. To this stage belong in the first instance the 'attributes' or 'abstract qualities' such as Wisdom (consisting of the spiritual atoms represented by the letters of the Hebrew word for Wisdom: חכמה), Understanding, Knowledge, Love, Mercy, Prudence, Righteousness, etc., "by which the whole world is sustained" (chh. 41³, 8) and in the second instance all the various forms of the Universe. The whole world was created in Hebrew.

The number of principal *Šēmōḥ* is 70 and the number of 'Ōḥiyyōḥ is 22, making in all 92 first elements or cosmical principles, ch. 48 D⁵.

Among these the 'ĀLÆF, or no. 1, is accorded a special significance as the starting-point for the whole process of emanation. On the connection between the 'ĀLÆF and Metatron, *vide* above on the conceptions of Metatron in 3 *Enoch* (ch. 48 C¹).

It should be added that in the various *Šēmōḥ* the first letter is thought to represent the dominant atom. Hence in בינה (Understanding) the BĒḤ is regarded as the dominant element, which is

¹ Naturally these combinations were also derived from the principal Divine Letters by means of different systems of *ṭmūrā*. The printer (editor) of the *ed. princ.* of *A. R.* *Aq* in the passage corresponding to 3 *En.* 48 B¹, says, when omitting the names in print: "here are written 22 names acc. to the alphabet אלכמ, and 22 names acc. to the alphabet אהבש, and 22 names acc. to the alphabet תשרק". He is no doubt simplifying and systematizing the actual text of the MS. Still some of the names may easily be read acc. to the said method.

often expressed as follows: "Understanding (*Binā*) was created by *Bēḥ*". In consequence, a combination of *Šēmoḥ* may be expressed by the first letters of each, after the *Notariqon* system: *בשכמל* is a *Šēm Meḥforāš* in which the power of the *Bārūk*-response of the *Qēduššā* is concentrated (ch. 48 B¹).

All possible *ʾŌḥiyyōḥ* and *Šēmoḥ* are represented as contained in the *Torā*. "The letters of the *Torā*" is the technical term for the cosmical letters (ch. 44⁹, 48 D⁷, 13^{1, 2}, 15 B⁵, 18²⁵, 41¹⁻⁴).

2. The Throne is veiled off from the outer parts of the *Mærkābā* by the *Pargoḏ* or Curtain (also: *Pāroḥāḥ* and *Pæraēs*, orig. = carpet). The *Pargoḏ* (in Mandaitic *bar goḏa*; Gnostic *καταπέτασμα*) on which are continually to be seen, as a living picture, the drama of "all generations, their doings and their thoughts" in past, present and future times, and behind which are the last secrets of the Godhead, is symbolical especially of the "reasons of the Divine decrees". It forms the division between the angels in possession of the innermost secrets of the Godhead and the angels who do not possess the highest secrets (chh. 10¹, 45^{1, 6} and 18^{16, 22} notes). Cf. how acc. to *Sifrā* on *Lev.* 1¹ "even the Holy *Ḥayyōḥ*, who carry the Throne of Glory, do not see the Glory" (*ʾāf ḥāyyōḥ ḥā-qḡōḏāēs ḥā-nnōš ʾōḥ ʾāḥ kissē ḥā-kkābōḏ ʾēnān rō ʾōḥ ʾāḥ ḥā-kkābōḏ*).

3. Under the Throne are the treasuries and store-houses, containing the Abstract Qualities or the Sustaining Forces of the Universe (chh. 8¹, 10⁶) as well as the treasuries of spiritual Maintenance (*Parnāsā*) of the World; further, the treasuries of *elemental forces* ("fire, hail, snow, lightning, clouds, winds," ch. 37). In these are also contained the *Chariots*, the vehicles for the *Šēkinā*'s appearance at different parts of the Universe, or its "traversing the 18,000 worlds" (chh. 24, 37¹). To the treasuries are also reckoned the *Gūf*, i.e. the "chamber of creation of the righteous" and the receptacles of the *Books of Records*, the *Books of Life and Death* (chh. 43³, 27²).

The most important of the contents of the treasuries are the 'secrets', the 'Celestial *Torā*': *Ginzē Sēḥārīm*. Acc. to the Enoch-Metatron pieces, Metatron is appointed over all the treasuries and store-houses on high, but especially the treasuries of the secrets (chh. 10⁵, ⁶, 48 C³, 48 D¹⁰).

4. The *Mærkābā*-angels (ch. 34), the camps of *Šēkinā* and the treasuries (ch. 37) are surrounded by concentric walls of clouds, fire, etc., between which are "pillars of brimstone, flaming wheels, winds, voices, thunders, sparks, ice and hail".

5. A special place in the *Mærkābā*-picture is accorded the fiery river (*N^ehar di-Nur*), which fulfils the various functions: creation of angels, purification and punishment of angels and spirits of men (chh. 33⁵, 28¹⁰, 36, 47). The conception of the *N^ehar di-Nur* is amplified into those of "the four heads of the fiery river", "four fiery rivers" and "seven fiery rivers" (chh. 18¹⁹, 33⁴, ⁵, 19⁴).

In connection with the ideas of the counterbalance of contraries, which plays an important rôle in our book, the river or rivers of fire are supplemented by rivers of hail, ice and water (chh. 22 B³, ⁴, C²; cf. ch. 42¹, ⁷).

6. The Garden of Eden is mentioned in chh. 5¹, ⁵, 23¹⁸, 48 D⁸, but does not fit in very well with the use of the *Mærkābā*-picture.

Interesting is the reference, ch. 23¹⁸, to the spices or fragrances of the Garden of Eden prepared for the righteous. On the idea of the fragrances of the celestial regions, supportable only for those of celestial nature but a deterrent for demons and the unworthy, *vide* Boeklen, *Die Verwandtschaft*, etc., p. 65, and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, etc., pp. 301, 302. Notice the Gnostic parallels given by the latter, *op. cit. ib.*

In the additional fragments, chh. 15 B, 22 B, 22 C, there are to be noticed some further developments in the picture of the by-work of the *Mærkābā*h and of the 'Arāboḥ Rāqīa'.

7. The *Ḥašmal* which in the angelology of the book is used to denote a specific class of angels, the *Ḥašmallim*, and otherwise is taken as a sort of celestial matter (ch. 36², cf. chh. 26⁴, 35⁶, 48 B¹, D⁸) *au niveau* with 'fire', 'hail', 'ælgābiš', etc., is here, in the expression "the habitations of the *Ḥašmal*", beginning to receive a definite mystical significance as connoting the inner part of the *Mærkābā*¹ (ch. 15 B²).

Another feature is the Tabernacle and Altar on high (ch. 15 B¹), referred to above on the conceptions of Metatron.

Thirdly we are told of "windows above the heads of the *Keruḥim*", symbolical of the admission or granting ('letting through') of the prayers: ch. 15 B².

A fourth detail is that of a Court (*Ḥāšēr*) before the Throne, representing the part inside which no angel, not even the *Serāfim*, can enter: ch. 22 B¹.

1 Cf. *TB. Hag.* 13 a, b; *Hek. R.* 13¹; *Soṭ ha-Ḥašmal*, in 'Arze L^eḥānon, foll. 40 a, 41 a: the *Ḥašmal* denotes the *Ḥayyōḥ* and also designates a special place in the 'Holy of Holies' (i.e. the seventh *Heḳāl*). It also represents the rhythmical effulgence of spiritual Light (*Ḥāšā* and *Mallel*), it is the Deity as 'Ur-Sonne': *S. Miḏraš Talpiyyōḥ*, 167 d (cf. *Bō Yin Rā*).

This *Hāṣēr* is surrounded by rivers of fire, and rivers of hail and over these rivers are placed 'bridges' on which the angels and princes approach the Entrance (*Mābōy*) to the Divine Court, as in the *Heḱālōḅ Rabbāḅī*, ch. 131.

The highest heaven, ⁴*rābōḅ*, contains the seven *Heḱālōḅ* (Halls, Palaces), arranged concentrically "one within the other" (ch. 1¹). In the innermost of these, the seventh Hall, are the Throne of Glory and the Highest parts of the *Mærkābā* (chh. 1^{1, 2, 6}, 16¹, 18^{3, 4, 18}, 22 B⁴, 37¹, 38¹, 48 C^{4, 8}, 10²). The entrance to each of the seven Halls is guarded by angels (cf. above on the Angelology of A 3, p. 159, and ch. 12³ (QAFṢIEL)). The Halls and the guardian angels are here not yet subject to abstruse speculations as in the *Heḱālōḅ Rabbāḅī* and later.

Ch. 24¹⁷ in a Midraš-like passage speaks of the 18,000 worlds. *Vide* note *ad loc.* and confer above, p. 74; similarly ch. 48 A¹ mentions 955 heavens. The import is somewhat different. *Vide* note *ad loc.*, and cf. the Gnostic *Habrasax* and the 365 heavens, Hippol. ⁷Ελεγχος, vii. 26. (955 is the numerical value of ה'ש'מ' 'the heavens'; □ = 600; Ἀβρασαξ is by gematria 365.)

§ 16. THE CONCEPTIONS OF SPIRIT AND SOUL. FATE OF THE SPIRIT AFTER DEATH

THE trichotomy of the non-physical part of man in *n^ešāmā*, *rū^aḥ* and *nāfāš*, as met with in developed mystical literature, seems at the time of our book not yet to be conceived of. The surviving part of man is, throughout the book, referred to by the term *n^ešāmā* exclusively, chh. 28¹⁰, 43^{2, 3}, 44^{1, 2, 6, 7}, 48³. This term *n^ešāmā* will best be rendered 'spirit'.¹ An examination of the various passages treating of the human *n^ešāmā* reveals the following ideas, viz.:

(1) The *n^ešāmā* or spirit is indestructible and eternal, ch. 43.

¹ Where *n^ešāmā* and *rū^aḥ* occur together, the former denotes something higher than the latter, just as, where a distinction between 'spirit' and 'soul' is made, 'spirit' most often denotes the higher of the two. In cabbala *n^ešāmā* often recalls the Neo-Platonic *Noûs*, which Dean Inge translates 'Spirit' (*vide* W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, ii. 37 seqq.).

Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., p. 32, says of the three terms for 'soul' used in Bible and Talmud: 'רוח bezeichnet den Geist ausserhalb seiner Verbindung mit dem Leibe, נפש den in diesem wirkenden und durch Thätigkeit sich offenbarenden Geist, Seele, Seelenwesen, Seelenperson den Geist in seiner Verbindung mit dem Leibe, wie er in ihm zum Vorschein tritt, an ihn gebunden ist und mit ihm ein Ganzes bildet.' The present writer is not convinced that this distinction is justified in respect to the Talmudic dicta. The term most often used in the earlier Haggadic dicta is *n^ešāmā*, and this quite as well of the 'spirit' after its separation from the terrestrial body as when 'in diesem wirkend'. More correct is the remark by Abelson, *Immanence*, pp. 43, 44: "In Talmudic literature there is...no clear-cut distinction between these terms; but noteworthy is the preferential use of Neshamah to signify the soul in its truly spiritual sense".

(2) The spirit, even when not united to a body, has a bodily form. This bodily form is evidently pictured as similar to the form of the manifested (or physical) body save in so far as it is winged.

This bodily form must not be confused with the "pre-existent form or type of body" preserved in the Chamber of Creation (ch. 43³), with which the spirit is invested when about to go down into life earthly. Cf. below.

(3) The *nēšāmā* is, in all probability, conceived of as pre-existent. This seems to be presupposed by the expression used in ch. 43¹⁻³, speaking of "the spirits that have been created and have returned" and "the spirits that have not yet been created" as two distinct classes. Cf. notes on ch. 43.

It must, however, be admitted, that the representations of ch. 43 do not *absolutely* compel the interpretation, that actual (so-called 'real') pre-existence is meant here. The possibility always remains, that the expressions cited above refer only to an 'ideal' pre-existence. When Metatron according to ch. 43 promises R. Išma'el to show him "the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created" this need not necessarily imply the real pre-existence of these spirits; one might compare how acc. to ch. 45 Metatron is able to show R. Išma'el all future events and all coming generations, "their works and their doings". The greatest probability is, however, that an actual pre-existence is meant to be conveyed. The strongest evidence for this is the use of the Scripture expression "the souls I *have made*" to denote "the spirits of the righteous not yet created".

(4) On the supposition that the pre-existence of the spirit is taught in our book, it also follows that the spirit's "being created" means its entering its manifested existence, i.e. its being invested with a body (or perhaps rather with the image or model of the manifested body which determines the growth and appearance of the actual physical body¹). This Creation takes place in the Chamber of Creation, called 'Body' (*Gūf*). (Cf. note on ch. 43³: for the term *Gūf*, cf. *TB. Yeb.* 62 a, 'Ab. Zar. 5 a; *Niddā*, 13 b.)

(5) Further, on the same supposition, it follows that the character of the spirit is determined by the way in which it fulfils the tasks set for it in its manifested existence. The *nēšāmā* in its pre-existent state is pure or 'righteous'.² Through life earthly the spirit may become defiled or wholly corrupted (ch. 44^{5, 6}).

1 Cf. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 165; Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., p. 16.

2 Cf. 4 *Macc.* 18³³; *TB. Šab.* 32 b; *Bāḥā Bāprā*, 16 a; *Ber.* 60 b (prayer), *Niddā*, 30 b; *Ecll. R.* 127. Vide note on ch. 43³; Box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, note on 7³² (p. 120); and R. Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc., pp. 12, 13.

(6) The pre-existent spirits have their abode in the presence of the Throne of Glory.¹

Fate of the spirit after death:

(1) Immediately after death the spirit of man is judged and, according to its life on earth, it is registered among one of the three classes of (a) righteous, (b) intermediate, and (c) wicked.²

(2) The righteous forthwith return to their original abode in the presence of ('above') the Throne of Glory, ch. 43. In other contexts it is stated, that the righteous in the time to come (= after the second judgement?) will inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, ch. 23^{18,3}.

(3) The intermediate, בְּנוֹנִיִּים or בְּנוֹנִיִּים, are brought to Še'ōl in order to go through a process of purification. When purified and wholly cleansed from the defilement caused by their sin they are, most probably, regarded as sharing the lot of the righteous, ch. 44^{3, 5}.

(4) The wicked are conducted to Gēhinnom to be punished in fire.

(5) The intermediate, no doubt, form the large majority.

The term *rū^{ah}* does not occur in 3 *Enoch* with reference to human beings. The term *nafeš* again occurs only once, viz. in ch. 16². It probably refers to the psychical processes, the 'mind', comprising the emotional affects. *Nafeš* generally denotes the vital force of the body. Possibly, however, the writer of ch. 16 is not conscious of any distinction between *nafeš* and *nēšāmā* or *rū^{ah}*.

Ch. 47.

A position by itself is taken up by ch. 47. This chapter pictures the nature of the angels somewhat in analogy with that of human beings. The underlying idea seems to be that angels and men are essentially

¹ By implication, since here is the abode of the spirits who have returned, *scil.* to their original abode. This agrees with *TB. Hag.* 12 b (and *Gen. R.* i. 26), but disagrees with *TB. 'Aboḏā Zārā*, 5 a (*et al.*, *vide* above) in so far as the latter gives the abode of the unborn souls as the *Guf*.

² Righteous = undefiled, 'white'; intermediate = contaminated, 'grey'; wicked = wholly corrupt, 'black'. Cf. *TB. Roš ha-š-Šānā*, 16 b, 17 a, *Sab.* 33 b, 152 a; *Ab. R. Nap.* xli; *Tos. Sanh.* xiii. 3. On the conceptions of pre-existent spirits and their abode in Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic, *vide* Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 231 seqq., Box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 26, 33, 37, 120; Billerbeck, in Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N. Test.* ii. 133 seqq. For Mandaitic parallels, cf. above, p. 76.

³ Similarly in *TB. Šab.* 152 ab: 'nišmōpān šəl šāddiqīm g'enūzōp tāhāp kisše hā-kKābōd' (under the Throne of Glory) but in *TB. Baḥ. Meš.* 114 b, *Baḥ. Baḥ.* 84 a, *Ber.* 12 b, the abode of the righteous is the Garden of Eden. *Vide* also Templer, *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre*, etc., pp. 18 seqq.; Wohlberg, *op. cit.* pp. 30, 31. There is not sufficient evidence in 3 *En.* for the view that the life of the righteous in the 'arabōš is a passing, preparatory, life in waiting for the time of the resurrection.

¹ The synonymy of *nēšāmā* and *rūḥ*^h is clearly brought out by the phrase (ch. 47³): “the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants”. Notice the similar juxtaposition in *TB. Hag.* 12 b: *nismōpān šel šaddiqim v’rūhōp unēšāmōp še’apīd l’hibbār’op*. Cf. 1 *En.* 22³: “the spirits of the souls of the dead”. In 1 *Enoch* the terms ‘spirit’ and ‘soul’ (*nafes* and *manfas*) interchange. In *Mandaic* literature the most frequent term is ‘spirit’ (ܢܝܫܡܬܐ), regularly when only one term is used. Quite often, however, the expression ‘spirit and soul’ or rather ‘soul and spirit’ (ܪܘܚܐ וܢܝܫܡܬܐ) is met with. Cf. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, p. 12, n. 1: “רוחא ist die Lebenskraft des Körpers, נישמטה die beim Tode sich abtrennende dem Jenseits zustrebende Seele. Beim Tode werden רוחא נישמטה vom Körper getrennt, vgl. Qol. 28, 29. Nach 31, 17 wird die רוחא der נישמטה gleich gemacht und findet einen Platz im Haus des Lebens...”. Cf. also Reitzenstein, *Mand. B. d. H. d. Grösse*, p. 94, note 2.

Interesting passages on the relation between spirit and soul are:

GL. I ii 430²⁸⁻³¹ (9²¹⁻²²): אַמאַר נישטאָ מן רוהא ופּאָגרא זאָפּרא רוהא ופּאָגרא : ואַפּרא פּאַרשײגנאָ װא עהאַלעֶה על דְקִיִּים װאַמאַר נישטאָ מן רוהא ופּאָגרא זאָפּרא אַתּא . אַסְגִּיא שְׁחֵרוּי אַתּא “The spirit spoke with the soul and the stinking body but the soul and the stinking body gave it no answer. While it (the spirit) stood and spake with the soul and the stinking body, the liberator arrived, and stepped forth.”

אבא־תור....תִּקְרִיב וּמֵאֲלוּיָא רוּחָא מִן: $GL. I iv 45^{26,27}, 566^{36,37} (37^{8-10}, II 7^{15})$:

Strange is the way in which the analogy between angels and men is worked out with regard to the manifested existence. The angels are said to have a destructible part (47²), evidently corresponding to the physical body of human beings; and just as the manifested (physical) life of man is that in which his specific duties are to be discharged and during which he can fail and become corrupted, so also the angels carry out their duties (symbolized by the performance of the *Q^eduššā*) while in manifested existence, and may likewise fail in that state. Just as the spirits of the righteous return to their Creator after earthly life, so the spirits and souls of the angels are said to return to their Creator after the destruction of their perishable part in the *N^ehar di Nur* (fiery river); moreover, the parallelism implies that

גִּישִׁיתָהָא . . . מַשְׁחִיחַ רוּחַ מִן גִּישִׁיתָהָא. "ʿAḅapūr... weighs and unites the soul with the spirit" . . . "tut den Geist mit der Seele zusammen" (Lidzbarski).

As an example of passages, where there seems to be no idea of a dichotomy of the non-physical part of man, one may refer to *GL*. III xvii 536/537 (97/98); being a dialogue between the spirit and the body, in similar terms, *mutatis mutandis*, as the dialogue between the spirit and the soul in *GL*. III xxxviii 566 (117). There are also frequent passages pointing to the idea of the spirit's possible corruption through its own doings during its life in 'the world of illusion': e.g. *GL*. III xxi 544 (102/103): "The Judge (after death) examines the Spirit on its sins and aberrations: 'what works have you done, O Spirit, in the world of illusion, where you have had your abode?' 'You are my witness, O Judge, that I have done no evil deed upon my own account...'"

To illustrate the workings of this idea of 'soul and spirit' in different circles, it may be allowable to point to the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul* (edited, translated and commented upon by E. A. W. Budge in his *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, pp. clxii-clxxiii, 534-574, 1043-1084). In his summary of that book (*op. cit.* pp. clxii seqq.) Budge says: "The portions of [the 'Apocalypse of Paul'] that remain to us prove that it was full of ancient Egyptian beliefs and views about the spirit, and soul, and 'angel', of a man. . . . The first section begins with the description of the fate of a sinful soul on leaving the body. This soul was attended on earth by its angel and admonished by its spirit, which reported daily to God the sins which it committed. When its body died, its spirit reviled it for its wickedness, and its angel afflicted it, and then its spirit summoned it into the presence of the Judge of Truth, who is here Christ. . . . Then the soul was taken before God, and its angel and its spirit addressed God." The passages run: "Its spirit came forth from it, saying, 'O thou wretched soul, thou didst not give me rest during my little time which I passed in sojourning with thee. Or, O thou wretched soul, didst thou endure. . . or did thy heart turn? The breath of the breath of life of God was in thee. Let us [go] to the presence of the Judge of Truth. I will never forgive thee; and I have made myself a stranger unto thee this day, and do thou do likewise [to me]'. Thus the spirit of the soul abuseth it (i.e. the soul), and its angel afflicteth it" (pp. 556, 1043). "And they took away the soul to enable it to pay worship unto the God who created it in His own image and likeness. . . . And the spirit of the soul said, 'I am the spirit, the breath of life which sojourned with it (ⲕⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ ⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲉⲗⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ ⲣⲟⲥ)', judge it according to its judgements" (pp. 558, 1045). Also here, as in the Mandaitic passages cited above, the soul is the subject of sin, whereas the Spirit is incorruptible, a Divine spark living within the soul and separating from it when it is corrupt. The terms used for 'spirit' and 'soul' are the Greek πνεῦμα [ⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲙⲁ] and ψυχή [ⲡⲱⲭⲏ] respectively. In other passages of the Apocalypse the soul alone [or the soul and its angel (ἄγγελος)] is spoken of, without any reference to the spirit. Cf. also W. Scott, *Hermetica*, ii. p. 265 (*Corp. Herm.* x. 16).

the spirits and souls of the angels are pre-existent (cf. note on ch. 47²). The spirits of the angels have bodily form as the spirits of men (ch. 47⁴).

Ch. 47 is evidently later than the rest of the section within which it appears. It quite clearly builds upon ch. 40, which latter speaks of the punishment of the angels by way of destruction, but knows nothing of any continued life for the punished angels. It also presupposes chh. 43 and 44 on which it is modelled, although inadvertently introducing the expression 'spirits and souls' instead of 'spirits'.

The underlying idea, already referred to, of ch. 47, viz. the identification in essence of the nature of men and angels, is, of course, old. This idea has been traced to Jewish-Alexandrian speculation: after taking over from Hellenistic thought the Platonic-Pythagorean conception of the pre-existence of the soul, the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophers arrived at the identification: ἄγγελος = δαίμων = ψυχή.¹

The identity in kind of human spirit and angelic nature is the necessary presupposition for the identity of Enoch and Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron pieces of our book. Also other representations of the transformation of a human being into an angel or celestial being imply the same notion (Elijah = Sandalfon, etc.). In the symbolical language of the earlier mystical literature the 'garment of glory' or 'garment of light' represents the higher celestial, angelic-spiritual nature. The garment of glory in these writings is attributed as well to angels as to the righteous spirits ascending into heaven. The difference between men and angels in such connections is only one of degree of perfection.

The originality of ch. 47 consists in its maintaining a manifested existence, in a perishable body, for the angels, similar to the earthly life of men.

In this connection it must be pointed out, that the conception of the pre-existence of the human spirit as met with in ch. 43 does not seem to be characteristic of the whole of 3 *Enoch*. Thus in the longer Enoch-Metatron piece Enoch-Metatron is called a *Youth* because he is a child in years compared with the angel-princes. It really would seem as if the conception of pre-existence belongs only to chh. 43 and 47 or, probably, to the section 41-48 A.

Acc. to Billerbeck² the doctrine of pre-existence was first intro-

¹ Vide Billerbeck in Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. z. N. Test.* ii. 340, who quotes Schlatter, *Das neuaufgefundene hebräische Stück des Sirach*, pp. 180-186, and points to the 'Alexandrian-Gnostic (?) Apocryphon Prayer of Joseph', acc. to which the Patriarch Jacob is an archangel (angelic name: Israel) who has entered earthly life from his pre-existent state.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 341 seqq.

duced in Rabbinical literature in the middle of the third century A.D. and its first representatives in Palestine were R. Šemu'el bār Nāḥmān (about A.D. 260), R. 'Assi (about A.D. 300), R. Leṣi (about A.D. 300) and R. Yiṣḥāq (about A.D. 300).¹

On the assumption that Billerbeck has rightly fixed the time of entrance of the ideas of pre-existence into Rabbinical circles, the presence in our book of the conception of pre-existent spirits would seem to indicate the terminus post quem of the collection of chh. 3-48 A as the middle of the third century A.D. It is, of course, possible, that the idea of pre-existence was known to Jewish mystical circles earlier than this. That Josephus² gives it as one of the tenets of the Essenes is well known. It is maintained by prominent scholars³ that it can be traced even in the Pseudepigrapha. Nevertheless it is significant that ch. 43 seems to introduce the idea as something new, and that it is not present in the rest of the book (chh. 3-40). From this might be concluded at least that the collection (redaction) of the main part of 3 *Enoch* (chh. 3-48 A) was made at about the time when the idea of pre-existence was just being introduced into the mystical circles in question. (Cf. above, p. 38.)

§ 17. THE DIVINE JUDGEMENT

THE Divine Judgement dealt with in chh. 28⁷-33² is a Judgement enacted daily, at an appointed time of the day. The Judgement is concerned

- (1) with the whole world;
- (2) with all the nations of the earth;
- (3) with the individual;
- (4) with the angelic world.

The Judgement, *Din*, involves regular Court proceedings in the

¹ On account of dicta attributed to those teachers in *Midraš Tanḥumā*, 26 a, 89 a, *TB. Yeṿ.* 62 a, *Lev. R.* 4, etc. "In Babylonia one identified—at least in later times—the pre-existent human souls with the Iranian Fravašis." So in *TB. Sab.* 145 b, speaking of the *mazzāl* (Aramaic st. d. *mazzālā*) of the proselytes as present at the law-giving at the mount of Sinai. Acc. to Billerbeck 'mazzāl' (=constellation, fate) here equals 'genius fravashi'.

Cf. R. Wohlberg, *Grundlinien*, etc. "ein weiterer wichtiger, und *unumstösslich feststehender* Satz der Talmudischen Lehre (ist) ersichtlich. Die Seele ist prä-existierend, ihre Präexistenz *ist eine reale, individuelle, nicht etwa eine nur ideale* als blosser Gedanke der Gottheit". Wohlberg, of course, bases on the completed Talmud (as it lies before us), and, on that basis with reserve for the expression 'die Talmudische Lehre', his thesis may be considered as well-founded. He quite rightly acknowledges the incongruity of the Talmudic dicta of different origin (*op. cit.* p. 9).

² *Bellum Judaicum*, ii. 8. 11.

³ E.g. Box, in *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 26, note on 4 *Ez.* 4¹².

Celestial Assize for each case, Divine decision, decrees with regard to the world, the nations and the individual, and, lastly, the execution of these decrees, as punishments or otherwise.

When acting as Judge the Holy One is presiding in the Great *Bēḥ Din* on high: he is assisted by the '*Irin* and *Qaddišin* (ch. 28^{8, 9}) who stand before him "as court officers before the judge". Acc. to ch. 28⁹ these '*Irin* and *Qaddišin* "argue, pass the sentence, make the requests, close the cases, establish the sentences below on earth". In the judgement of the nations of the world the '*Irin* and *Qaddišin* (chh. 29, 30) are viewed as 'Princes of Kingdoms', and are headed by the *Prince of the World* "who pleads in favour of the totality of the nations".

Acc. to another picture, now with reference to the Judgement of the individual, the Holy One has by him the three hypostasized Attributes, JUSTICE, MERCY, and TRUTH. The MERCY supports man by sending him a staff of its own splendour, on which to support himself when standing before the Divine Judge (ch. 31^{1, 2}).¹ The same idea is expressed in the form of "Angels of JUSTICE, MERCY, and PEACE" surrounding the Most High, when seated on the Judgement Throne (ch. 33).

The proceedings in the Divine Court and the final decrees are based upon the recordings contained in the *Books of Judgement*, chh. 18²⁴, 27^{1, 2}, 28⁷, 30², 32¹, 44⁹.

These books are called "the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead" (chh. 18²⁴, 28⁷), the "Book of Records" and the "Books of Judgement" (ch. 27^{1, 2}), the "Book in which are recorded all the doings of the world" (ch. 30²), the "Book of fire and flame" (ch. 32¹), and the "Books of Records" (44⁹).

The *Books of Judgement* contain (a) the records of men's deeds, good and evil, and also of various events in the whole Universe; (b) the Divine decisions and decrees. The books are in the keeping of the *Scribes* (chh. 27, 33²).

The executors of the Divine decisions are in general matters the '*Irin* and *Qaddišin* (ch. 28⁹), who represent the Divine rulership over or government of the world, as do the 'Princes of Kingdoms' (ch. 48 c⁹) with which they are identified (chh. 29, 30). They also sanctify

¹ Cf. the *Vision of Abu Yazid* (d. 874, R. A. Nicholson, *An Early Arabic Version*, etc., p. 707, ll. 4 seqq., 413). The angel of the Footstool gives Abu Yazid, ascended to the seventh heaven, a pillar of light:

حتى اذا انا بملك الكرسي استقبلني ومعه عمود من نور فسلم علي ثم قال
خذ العمود فآخذته

"until I was met by the angel of the Footstool (*Kurst*) who had with him a pillar of light. He saluted me; then he said, 'take the pillar'. So I took it...".

the body and spirit of the man who has undergone judgement. But the execution of the special decrees which involve 'punishment' either on the world at large (ch. 32) or on the individual (chh. 31², 33¹) is reserved for a special class of angels existing for this purpose, viz. the 'ANGELS OF DESTRUCTION' (*māl^akē ḥābbālā*). When executing the punishments on the world the angels of destruction are given the 'Sword of God' to be used by them as an instrument of punishment and vengeance (ch. 32¹, 2).

The 'Angels of Destruction' correspond to the 'Angels of Punishment' of 1 *En.* 53³, 56¹, 62¹¹, 63¹; 2 *En.* 10³ (42¹); *Ap. Petri*, 6, 8; *Test. Abrah.* 12, 13 (ed. G. H. Box, pp. 19 seqq.). See note on ch. 31².

On the details in the representation of the daily Judgement see the notes on chh. 28⁷–33².

The execution of the judgement on the intermediate (the large majority, called *bēnōn[iyy]im*) and the perfectly wicked, having been judged immediately after death, is described in ch. 44 (in dealing with the fate of souls and spirits). Also here the angelic executors are the angels of destruction, of which only two are mentioned, viz. the chiefs appointed over the *bēnōn[iyy]im* and the wicked respectively; it is noteworthy that the chief 'angel of destruction' set over the *bēnōn[iyy]im* has the function of supporting, helping, purifying them, hence also called by the significant name SIMKIEL (from סמך). The Divine attitude towards the *bēnōn[iyy]im* is that of Support, Help, Mercy, Encouragement.¹ In contrast hereto, the angel of destruction appointed to deal with the wicked is called ZA'AFIEL (the Wrath of God, זעף). The wicked are to be cast out from the Divine Presence without Mercy, to be punished in Gehenna.

Also upon the *angels* punishment is executed, chh. 40³, 47.

When the song-uttering angels fail to perform the *Q'ēduššā* in the right time and order they are consumed by fire. Acc. to ch. 47 this destruction by fire refers to their 'bodies', i.e. to their existence as individual members in the song-uttering companies. The bodies of the song-uttering angels who have failed in the discharge of their duties are sent back into the fiery river from which they were once created and in the fiery river the multitudes of angels thus punished form a congeries of fiery substances: "mountains of burning coal" as the expression is in ch. 47², using the simile traditional since 1 *En.* 21³ ("like great mountains and burning with fire").

1 Similarly in *Seṭṭar Gan 'Eden* an angel is introduced whose duty it is to save those of 'middle merit' or 'the unstable' from the angels of destruction; that angel is called עזריאל, from עזר (help): (של מלאכי חבלה): הוא בא ואוחז בהם ומציל אותם מידם (אין מתקיימים כראוי ביראת ה'). Among the unstable are reckoned the proselytes who

§ 18. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CELESTIAL SONGS, ESPECIALLY THE *Q^EĀDUŠŠĀ*

AN entire section of the present book is devoted to the description of the performance of the celestial songs and hymns of praise. The section, comprising chh. 35-40, enlarges on the hosts of angels engaged in the chanting of the Song, their number, arrangement, preparation, purification before intoning, the attitude or rôles played by the other parts of the Celestial community, etc.

Apart from this section the performance of the celestial songs is mentioned in various connections, especially in the sections dealing with angelology.

A. The character of the songs.

Different terms occur partly denoting various kinds of songs, partly being merely synonyms. Thus, in ch 1¹¹, there are mentioned: Song (*Širā*) Trisagion (*Q^Eāduššā*), Chant (*N^Eimā*); *ib.* vs. 12: Psalm (*T^Ehillā*), Song of Praise (*Šəbāḥ*), Song of Rejoicing (*Rinnā*), Thanksgiving (*Tōdā*), Exultation (*Zimrā*), Glorification (*Pā'ēr*), Hymn (*Na'quā*) and Eulogy (*Oz*). This is, however, in the introductory chapters which are later than the main part of the book. In the angelological section A 1 we find, e.g. ch. 20², reference made to Praise, Glory and Rejoicing (*T^Ehillā*, *Šəbāḥ*, *R^Enānā*). Nowhere is there any parallel to the extravagant indulgence in enumerations of synonyms for 'song' and 'praise' met with in the *Heḳāloḥ Rabbāpī*, ch. 24.

The songs consist of Scripture verses, chh. 19⁷, 46⁴, 2⁴, 45⁶.

Ch. 19⁷. The Galgallim, Kerubim, Hayyop, Serāfim are represented as singing, in the form of a mutual exhortation, the fifth verse of Ps. 68: "Extol Him that rideth in ^Arāboḥ, by His name Yāh, and rejoice before Him".

Ch. 46⁴. The song uttered by the planets (or heavenly bodies in general) is Ps. 8⁴: "When I consider Thy heavens, etc."

Ch. 2⁴. On the occasion of R. Išma'el's admission to enter and behold the *Mərkābā*, the angels exclaim: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!" (Ps. 144¹⁵).

Ch. 45⁶. "O YHWH, how manifold are thy works! The King's word hath power and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing" (Ps. 104²⁴; Eccl. 8⁴).

3 *Enoch* dwells exclusively upon the *celestial* hymns, songs and praises, omitting all references to the terrestrial *Q^eđuššā* or other songs, chanted by men on earth, e.g. by the congregation of Israel.

The whole conception of celestial songs is of course framed by analogy to the songs on earth, but there is no hint of an interdependence between terrestrial and celestial songs. This is in marked contrast to the ideas of e.g. *TB. Haḡ. 12 b* ("the ministering angels say the song by night but are silent during the day for the sake of the glory of Israel": the preference is accorded the chanting performed by the congregation of Israel) or of the *Hekāloš Rabbāḥi*, where acc. to ch. 9_{2, 3} superimportance is assigned to the Trisagion performed by Israel ("When Israel says the Holy, Holy, Holy, the Most High has no pleasure in all the glories of the heavens with their song-uttering companies, but his attention and his joy are fixed upon the congregation of Israel alone"). In 3 *Enoch*, on the contrary, as the central event in the heavens—and in the whole universe—is contemplated the performance of the Song by the companies of angels (chh. 35^{5, 6}, 36, 38). In this respect 3 *Enoch* accords perfectly with the earlier Enoch literature, especially 2 *Enoch*.

The song κατ' ἐξοχῆν is, however, the *Q^eđuššā*. The *Q^eđuššā* as recorded in 3 *Enoch* is of the simplest form known, viz. the Thrice Holy (Isa. 6³), "Holy, Holy, Holy, is ʏḥṡḥ š^ēḇā'op: the whole earth is full of his glory" and the response "Blessed".

The response "Blessed" is referred to in two different forms, viz.

(a) "Blessed be the Glory of ʏḥṡḥ from His place" and

(b) "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

(a) is attested in chh. 1¹², 20²; (b) in chh. 39² and 48 B¹ (*K*), B².

The *Yimloḥ* ("ʏḥṡḥ shall reign for ever, etc.") is not mentioned in the present book.

In exhibiting this simple form of the *Q^eđuššā* 3 *Enoch* accords with 1 *En.* ch. 39^{12, 13} which also gives the *Q^eđuššā* in the form of the Thrice Holy and the response "Blessed":

"Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits". The "Blessed" is two-fold: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever". On the change in the Trisagion here see Charles, 1 *Enoch*, note on ch. 39¹² (p. 76), and Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 145, note on 39¹².

In 2 *Enoch* only the Thrice Holy is preserved, ch. 21¹ (*A*); cf. *Rev.* 4⁸.

This simple form of the *Q^eđuššā* is strong evidence of the early

time of the Q^eḏuššā-section of 3 *Enoch*. It is to be noted, by the way, that the term 'Q^eḏuššā', in the main part of the whole book, is as yet unknown as denoting the Trisagion and the response. It appears only in the later introductory ch. 1¹¹. Uncertain is 26⁸, כָּל מִינֵי שֶׁבַח, וְקוֹרְאָה.¹

B. The performers of the Q^eḏuššā.

(1) Angels specially appointed for the sole purpose of chanting the Q^eḏuššā. These may be called "the song-uttering angels".

The song-uttering angels are called simply 'ministering angels' or 'camps of angels', 'camp(s) of Šekinā.' *Vide* above on Angelology, D. There are 506 thousand myriads of camps, each camp counting 496,000 angels (chh. 35¹, 40³; cf. 17²). The numbers 496 and 506 are symbolical of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Vide* above on Angelology, *ib*.

The camps are arranged in four *šuroḅ* (chh. 35³, 36²), at the head of each there being a "Prince of the Army". These four *šuroḅ* are also called "the four camps of Šekinā" (chh. 18⁴, 37¹). Acc. to ch. 18⁵ TAG'AS is the leader of all the song-uttering angels, in rank above the four princes.

(2) Besides these hosts of angels whose special duty is the performance of the Q^eḏuššā, the Song is chanted also by the *Mærkābā*-angels, the great Princes, the heavenly bodies and by the *Mærkābā*-seer (chh. 20², 22¹², 22 B⁸, 25⁵, 26⁸, 27³, 46⁴, 45⁶).

C. The time appointed for the celestial Q^eḏuššā.

There is a time fixed every day for the performance of the Q^eḏuššā. The relation of this appointed time to the quarters of the day or night on earth is not defined in 3 *Enoch*. (Cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b: "The angels recite the Song only once a day, some say 'only once a week', etc.")

Contrast *Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. 10: "I (Yaoel)... teach those who carry Him (i.e. the *Ḥayyōḅ*) the song of the seventh hour of the night of man".²

¹ For the Jewish Liturgy and the forms of the Q^eḏuššā therein contained, see Oesterley and Box, *Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism*, p. 177; *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1911; JE. article 'Kedusha'; *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 1921, pp. 43, 49; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*², pp. 61-67. In 3 *Enoch* the recital of the Q^eḏuššā is never referred to as לְיוֹמֵר קְרוּשָׁה but always as לְיוֹמֵר קְרוּשָׁה. In Ga'onic literature the expression mostly is לְיוֹמֵר קְרוּשָׁה or שְׁאוֹמְרֵי קְרוּשָׁה.

² Ed. by Box, 1919 (TED.), p. 47. Prof. Box, in note 7 *ib.*, points to the parallel in *TB. 'Abodā Zārā*, 3 b: "God sits (at night) and listens to the song of the *Ḥayyōḅ*" and *TB. Hag.* 12 b, referred to above, p. 184. Cf. also *Test. of Abr.*, ed. Box, p. 37.

The time of the performance of the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* is, acc. to our book, the central event of the heavenly 'day'. For the 'Time appointed' see chh. 18⁷, 19⁶, 27³, 35⁵, 36¹, 38¹, 39¹.

D. The arrangement of the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* and its performance.

The "Blessed" is considered a response to the Thrice Holy. Hence there are some of the song-uttering angels who have for exclusive object the chanting of the "Holy, Holy, Holy, etc." whereas others are entirely devoted to responding with the "Blessed": chh. 24², 35⁴. The Thrice Holy is performed in three parts, viz. (1) "Holy"; (2) "Holy, Holy"; and (3) "Holy, Holy, Holy, is ַחַדָּשׁ שְׁבָא'ֹפ, the whole earth is full of His Glory", ch. 40². (Cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b: "three different companies of angels say the Song every day; one says 'Holy', one 'Holy, Holy' and one 'Holy, Holy, Holy is ה'שְׁבָא'ֹפ'" i.e. in the manner of the chanting in Jewish congregations, *vide* note on 40².)

E. The import of the *Q'ḏuṣṣā*.

The significance of the celestial *Q'ḏuṣṣā* is indicated by the stress laid on its performance at the right time and in the right order, in perfect unity and consonance, and its explicit and implicit connection with the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is the symbol of, and, at the same time, the actual realization of the Kingdom of Heaven in the celestial spheres.

The angels and the four princes at the head of them are rewarded with crowns when they chant the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* at the right time but punished by extinction if they do not, chh. 40¹⁻³, 47. The chanting of the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* בְּרִיקוֹנוֹ brings about the unity and harmony which in itself actualizes the existence of the song-uttering companies, ch. 35^{5, 6}. The *Q'ḏuṣṣā* is the means of the realization of God's sovereignty among the angelic hosts, their conforming to the law of the Kingdom; hence the singing of the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* by the angels is termed "taking upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven", ch. 35⁶.

The realization in the *Q'ḏuṣṣā* of the Kingdom of Heaven among the angelic orders is implicitly indicated by the numbers 496 and 506, used in ch. 35¹ with reference to the companies of song-uttering angels; 496 and 506 are the numerical equivalents of *Malḳuṣ* (Kingdom) and *Malḳuyyop* (Kingdoms) respectively. All the celestial kingdoms are made one whole, the Kingdom of Heaven, whose sovereign is the King of Kings of Kings.

The realization of the Kingdom of Heaven among the angels extends its effects to the physical aspects of the heavens and to the outer realms of the Universe.

"At the time when the ministering angels utter the 'Holy' all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets tremble, the gates of the Halls are shaken, the foundations of the Universe are moved, all the orders of *Rāqīa*⁴, the constellations and the planets, are dismayed, and the globe of the sun and the moon haste away, etc.", ch. 38¹.

This trembling of the planetary regions of the heavens is their expression of acquiescence in the Divine sovereignty, and hence considered as their 'Song' (a sort of spherical harmony), to judge from the quotation in this connection (ch. 38³) of the Scripture passage Job 38⁷: "When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy".

The *Q^eĎuššā* is naturally addressed to "the Holy One, blessed be He". Ch. 48 B² presents a picture of the angels singing the Trisagion and the "Blessed" before the self-existent Divine Names, when these go forth from the Throne of Glory. In ch. 39, on the other hand, the Names are said to go forth from the Throne of Glory at the time of the angelic performance of the *Q^eĎuššā* as a sort of response from the side of the Divine manifestation to the angels' acknowledgement of His sovereignty. A quotation from "the Book of Enoch" by Moses de Leon represents the Names as themselves chanting the "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".¹

The *notarigons* of the Trisagion and the "Blessed" (i.e. קק"ץ and בשכמל') are in ch. 48 B¹ given as Divine Names. This is quite natural from the conception of the Divine Letters and Names obtaining there. See above on "The quasi-physical aspects of the *Mærkābā*, etc."

In later literature there are frequent speculations on the Divine Names קק"ץ and בשכמל'. See e.g. Šiyyuni, Par. *Ha'azinu*, S. *Midraš Talpiyyoḥ*, 78 a.

In the additional ch. 15 B³ the *Š^ema*' (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord) is introduced as a Celestial Song. This reflects a later time than the rest of the book, where the *Š^ema*' is never referred or alluded to. See above on "the origin and date of composition of 3 *Enoch*", end. And cf. *TB. Hullin*, 91 b, where the קדוש and the שמע are co-ordinated. (*Vide* Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesd.*² p. 63 seq.; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, ii. pp. 78 seqq., 129.)

¹ The quotation is reproduced by Jellinek in *Beth ha Midrasch*, ii. p. xxxi.

APPENDIX I

Attempt at a reconstruction of the earliest fragments of the Enoch-Metatron pieces

IT has been hinted above (pp. 42, 79 and 83) that some fragments of a writing or writings on Metatron, representing a stage before the inclusion of the Metatron ideas in the Enoch Literature and the identification of Metatron with Enoch, may be traced in the Enoch-Metatron pieces. Some conjectures concerning the actual passages where such fragments occur may be proffered here.

Almost certain is it that these fragments contained a representation of Metatron as a primordial being. It is suggestive that this idea has been obscured by Metatron's identification with Enoch (cf. p. 78). Hence the functions which in the original traditions were represented as belonging to Metatron (or conferred upon him) from the beginning, are, by the Enoch-Metatron traditions, represented as being conferred upon Enoch, successively, on the occasion of his elevation into a high, celestial being.

Now it may be noticed that chh. 9²-13, if taken out of their context, and relieved of obvious additions, could easily be interpreted as referring to Metatron alone (not to Enoch) as a Celestial being, existing at or before the Creation. Considered by themselves, these chapters contain remarkably prominent references to the cosmical functions and attributes of Metatron. He is coextensive with the whole world (an established feature of the Primordial Man idea), ch. 9; he carries the cosmical letters, ch. 13. It is noticeable, further, that ch. 11 dates the revealing of all secrets to Metatron by the use of the word *mē'āz*, which, considered by itself, is most naturally translated 'from the beginning' (not 'henceforth', as the redactor of the Enoch-Metatron piece evidently understands it). It need not be said that chh. 10 (the definition of Metatron) and 12 (the promulgation of the little *YHWH*) fall in naturally with the same representation. From the mutual relation of chh. 10 and 12 it would appear that the word Metatron is a metonym for the real name of the Being in question, viz. the little *YHWH*. It may hence be surmised that the main part of chh. 9-13 represents a fragment of an original writing on Metatron—the little *YHWH*.

In 48 c the foisting on to an original tradition on Metatron of the idea of the elevation of Enoch is apparent (cf. above, p. 83). Original Metatron-fragments may perhaps be detected also in 48 c³, 5, 7-9.

These fragments would thus represent the earliest and most important parts of 1 *Enoch*, from a time not later than the first century A.D. (cf. above, p. 79).

APPENDIX II

The Gnostic references to the 'little-Yao', the possessor of the Divine Name,¹ and the 'Youth'

ON pp. 82, 123 and 141 reference has been made to the occurrence of the expression 'the little Yao' in *Pistis Sophia*. It will be apposite to reproduce here in full the passage where this expression occurs. We

1 'The little Yao' corresponds exactly to 'the little *יהוה*'. For the probability of *YHWH* having been pronounced *YĀHŌ(H)*, vide A. Lukyn Williams, *YĀHŌH* (*J.Th.S.* xxviii, 1927, pp. 276-283), F. C. Burkitt, *Yahweh or Yahoh* etc. (*id.* pp. 407-409).

follow Horner's literal translation¹ (Jesus speaks of his first descent from the highest, inmost, celestial realm, the 'first mystery', to the earth):

"... It happened therefore, having come unto the midst of the Rulers of the Æons, I looked down unto the World of the mankind by the command of the First Mystery, I found Elisabet the mother of Iohannes, the baptist, before that that (woman) yet conceived him, I sowed a power into her, this which I received from the little Iao, the good, he who (is) in the middle, that he should prevail to preach in front of us, and prepare my road and baptise in water for forgiving sin. That power therefore, that (is) that which becometh in the body of Iohannes, and also in the Place of the soul of the Rulers, destined to receive it, I found the sound of Helias [i.e. Elijah] the prophet in the Æons of the Sphere, and I took him in, and I took his soul also, I brought it to the Virgin of the Light and she gave it to her Receivers, they brought it unto the Sphere of the Rulers and they cast it into the womb of Elisabet. But the power of the little Iao, he of the middle, and the soul of Helias the prophet, they (are) those which are bound in the body of Iohannes the baptist."

Behind this obscure passage one may easily recognize the idea of the little Yao as a spiritual essence present in the prophet of his age, or in the outstanding saint. The same idea is attested of Metatron in Jewish mystical writings (cf. above, pp. 102 and 123); of the original Man-Saviour-Messenger, also called the 'one-born', the 'unique', the 'beloved Son', in Mandaic Literature, and of the Primal Man—the Spirit of Adam in the Pseudo-Clementine writings and in the systems of the Ebionites and Elxaites (cf. above, p. 123, note 1).

Although the received text of the cited passage seems to speak of 'the power of the little Yao' and 'the soul of Helias' as two different spiritual entities incarnated in John the Baptist, there should scarcely be any doubt that the passage in reality bases upon a tradition, according to which the celestial being possessing the Divine Name and called the 'little' to denote him as an emanation from the inscrutable Deity, is present in, and is the power of, the prophets of the different ages, last present in the prophet Elijah, and then maintained to have again appeared in John the Baptist. The epithet 'little' evidently is meant to denote this being as the lesser manifestation of, the second to, the Deity (the First Mystery).

There are some other instances of the speculations of this figure which show the existence of ideas closely related to the conceptions of the little ΥΗΥΗ-Metatron, the possessor of the Divine Name. These are found in the representations of 'Yao' and 'Yeu'.

1. Yao-Yeu is the Primal Man, the First or 'Great' Man.

Thus says the *Second Book of Yeu* according to the German translation by Schmidt (*Pistis Sophia* etc. p. 318):

"Wiederum (πάλιν) werdet ihr in ihr Inneres (referring to the Inmost Recesses or Mysteries) bis zu der Ordnung (τάξις) der Vorhänge (καταπέτασματα), die vor den grossen König des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός) gezogen sind, hineinwandern. Sie werden euch ihr grosses Mysterium (μυστήριον), ihr Siegel (σφραγίς) und den grossen Namen des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός) geben und sich zurückziehen, bis ihr hineinsetzt und sie durchwandert, und

1 Pp. 6, 7, ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8; ed. Mead, pp. 9, 10.

bis ihr zu dem grossen Menschen gelangt, d.h. zu dem König dieses ganzen Lichtschatzes¹ (-θησαυρός), dessen Name 'Yeu' ist... (p. 319)... Dann wird sich Jeû, der Vater des Lichtschatzes (-θησαυρός), über euch freuen etc."

2. Yao-Yeû, the First Man, has authority over those who execute judgement and punishment on the spirit of man.

Pistis Sophia, III, ch. 111 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 184, 185; ed. Mead, p. 238; ed. Horner, p. 143):

"... Whenever therefore it should happen, whenever should be completed the time of the punishment of that soul in the judgments of the Rulers of the Middle, is wont the counterfeit spirit (ἀντίμιμον πνεῦμα), it is wont to bring the soul up from all the Places of the Rulers of the Middle, it is wont to take her up before the light of the sun according to the commandment of the first man *Ieou*: and it is wont to take her (close) to the judge..."

3. Besides supreme judge Yeu, the first man, is called Messenger, Legate, of the First Commandment, and the overseer of the Light.

In *Pistis Sophia*, III, chh. 126 and 130, in contexts treating of the fate of souls and the places of punishment, the following passages occur:

III, ch. 126 (ed. Schmidt, p. 208; ed. Horner, p. 161):

"These Rulers (ἄρχοντες) therefore of these twelve chambers being within the Dragon of the Darkness... there being a door to every chamber... And there is an Angel of the Height being vigilant unto each of the doors of the chambers. These who *Ieou* the first man, the overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of the Light, the Legate (πρεσβευτής) of the First precept, he is he who put them being vigilant unto the dragon that he should not be disorderly with all the Rulers of his chambers which are in him."

III, ch. 130 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 215, 216; ed. Mead, pp. 275, 276; ed. Horner, p. 167):

"And whenever the Ruler should cast out the souls, are wont the *Angels of Ieou, the first man*, these who are vigilant unto the chambers of that Place, he is wont to hasten immediately and to carry off that soul until he bringeth her (close) to *Ieou, the first man*, the Legate of the First precept. And is wont *Ieou, the first man*, he is wont to see the souls and to prove them... But if should prove them *Ieou*, and find them having completed their cycle... and is wont to have mercy on them *Ieou*."

In this connection one may recall that, according to 3 *Enoch* 15 B², Metatron is the head of the defending angels, and, that in *Hek. R.* 26₈, Metatron is called 'Long-suffering and abundant in Goodness'. Further *Ieou*, as the Overseer of Light and the Ruler of the Rulers, corresponds to Metatron as the Ruler over all the celestial treasures and over the 70 princes (= ἄρχοντες).

4. The references to Yeu-Yao as the leader or ruler over ἄρχοντες are frequent. Just as Metatron in some Jewish mystical contexts is called 'The Great (one)', so the ἄρχοντες, in this connection, speak of Yao, their leader, as the 'great Yao'. The 'great Yao', hence, is not the unmanifested Deity, but identical, in fact, with the 'little Yao'.

1 This does not refer to the Ineffable Deity, who, whoever in other contexts is represented as the Makranthropos, cf. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, p. 360.

Pistis Sophia, II, ch. 86 (ed. Schmidt, p. 126; ed. Mead, p. 163; ed. Horner, p. 97): "And the Virgin of the Light with the great Captain of the Middle, this who were wont the Rulers of the Æons to call, The great Iao, according to the name of a great Ruler who (is) in their Place".

5. A somewhat different nomenclature is used in some passages, speaking of the 'little Sabaoth', put in relation either to the 'great Sabaoth', or to the 'great Yao'. Also here we have to do with the conception of a second Divine manifestation, a possessor of the Divine Essence. This conception is clearly to be distinguished from the ideas connected with the names Sabaoth, Sabaoth Adamas etc. The term 'the little Sabaoth' is evidently evolved on analogy with the 'little Yao'. *Vide* especially *Pistis Sophia*, II, ch. 63 (ed. Schmidt, p. 82; ed. Mead, pp. 103, 104; ed. Horner, p. 63) and *Pistis Sophia*, IV (v), ch. 140 (ed. Schmidt, p. 241; ed. Mead, pp. 302, 303; ed. Horner, p. 187).¹

It has been recounted above that the (little) Yao-Yeu was represented as the Second Manifestation, also as the Primal or Great Man and the Overseer. It now remains to point out some further epithets of the Second Manifestation.

The *Unknown Early Gnostic Work* (*Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*), edited by Schmidt (*Pistis Sophia* etc. pp. 335 seqq.) runs, according to Schmidt's translation:

Ch. 2. "Der zweite Ort (τόπος) ist entstanden, welcher Demiurg (δημιουργός) und Vater und Logos (λόγος) and Quelle (πηγή) und Verstand (νοῦς) und Mensch und Ewiger (αἰδώς) und Unendlicher (ἀπέραντος) genannt werden wird. Dieser ist die Säule (cf. Metatron as 'ammūdā d^a-æmṣā'ipā, above, pp. 122, 123), dieser ist der Aufseher". *Ibidem*, p. 338, this 'Overseer' is also called 'the Youth'. Thus we have here a similar use of the epithet 'Youth' as in the Jewish mystical works (the Youth Metatron) and in Mandæan sources (*Rābā Talya* etc., above, p. 68, 69).

6. Lastly attention must be called to the fact that in *Pistis Sophia* we meet with the same salvation-mystery that we have traced as underlying the representations of Enoch-Metatron, although here not expressed in terms quite as closely resembling 3 *Enoch* as are those met with in the Mandæan Literature. It may be allowed to quote an elucidating passage, viz. *Pistis Sophia*, II, ch. 96 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 146 seq.; ed. Horner, pp. 114 seqq.):

1 The original import of these celestial figures cannot be obscured by the *systematizations*, by which they have been accorded definite positions in various regions of the Universe. Such a system is the following, proceeding from the Inmost or Highest to the lowest regions: (1) the ineffable Deity—Makranthropos, (2) the First Mystery—Logos with the Apatores, Hypertripneumatoi, Protripneumatoi, Tripneumatoi etc., (3) Celestial Beings called 'the 24 mysteries', (4) the Treasury of the Light or the Land of the Light with 12 Saviours and 9 Watchers, (5) the Place of those of the Right under Yeû, Melchisedek, Sabaoth the Great and Good, (6) the Place of the Middle under the Great Yao, the Little Yao, the little Sabaoth and the Virgin of the Light, (7) the Place of the Left, (8) the 12 Æons, (9) the Sphere of Heimarmene, (10) the Terrestrial world; cf. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, pp. 360-363.

"Now therefore also, Amen I (Jesus) say to you, Every man who will receive that mystery of the Ineffable and is complete or fulfilleth (it) in all its types with all its figures, is a man being in the World, but he excelleth all Angels and he will excel more than they all, he is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Archangels, and he will excel more than they all. He is a man being upon the world, but he excelleth all the Tyrants, and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Lords, and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he excelleth all the Gods... all the luminaries... all the pure (lights)... all the Triple powers... all the Forefathers... all the Invisibles... the great Forefather Invisible... all those of the Middle... the emanations of the Treasury of the Light... the Confusion... the whole Place of the Treasury and he will be exalted over them all. He is a man being upon the World, but he will become King with me in my kingdom. He is a man being upon the World, but he becometh King in the Light. He is a man being upon the world, but not one (out) of the World is he, and Amen I say to you, That man is I and I am that man..."¹

7. The above is enough to show that the central ideas and figures of the mysticism represented in 3 *Enoch* and known to the circle behind it has penetrated into the *Pistis Sophia* and related writings.² This confirms the general conclusions arrived at in the Introduction as to the age and dispersion of the ideas in question. It is noticeable, however, that the name 'Metatron' never occurs in non-Jewish sources, although the conception is clearly attested. This fact renders more weight to the hypothesis put forward above, that the name Metatron actually originated in Jewish circles and should be regarded as a pure Jewish invention, viz. a metonym for the term the 'little $\Upsilon\eta\mu\eta$ '.

8. An explicit allusion to an Enoch Literature, containing speculations on the Divine Name Yao-Yeu (or the possessor of the name (little) Yao-Yeu) is actually found in *Pistis Sophia*. Thus we read in *Pistis Sophia*, IV ch. 134 (ed. Horner, p. 178, ed. Schmidt, p. 228, ed. Mead, p. 292; cf. II, ch. 99, ed. Schmidt, p. 158, ed. Horner, p. 123):

"Now, therefore, for the sake of sinners have I rent myself asunder and am come into the world, that I may save them. For even for the righteous, who have never done any evil and have not sinned at all, it is necessary that they should find the mysteries which are in the *Books of Yeu*, which I have made Enoch write in Paradise, discoursing with him out of the tree of the Gnosis and out of the tree of the Life. And I made him deposit them in the rock Ararad, and set the ruler Kalapataurôth, who is over Skemmut, on whose head is the foot of Yeu, and who surroundeth all æons and Fates—I set up that ruler as watcher over the Books of Yeu on account of the flood,³ and in order that none of the rulers may be envious of them and destroy them..."⁴

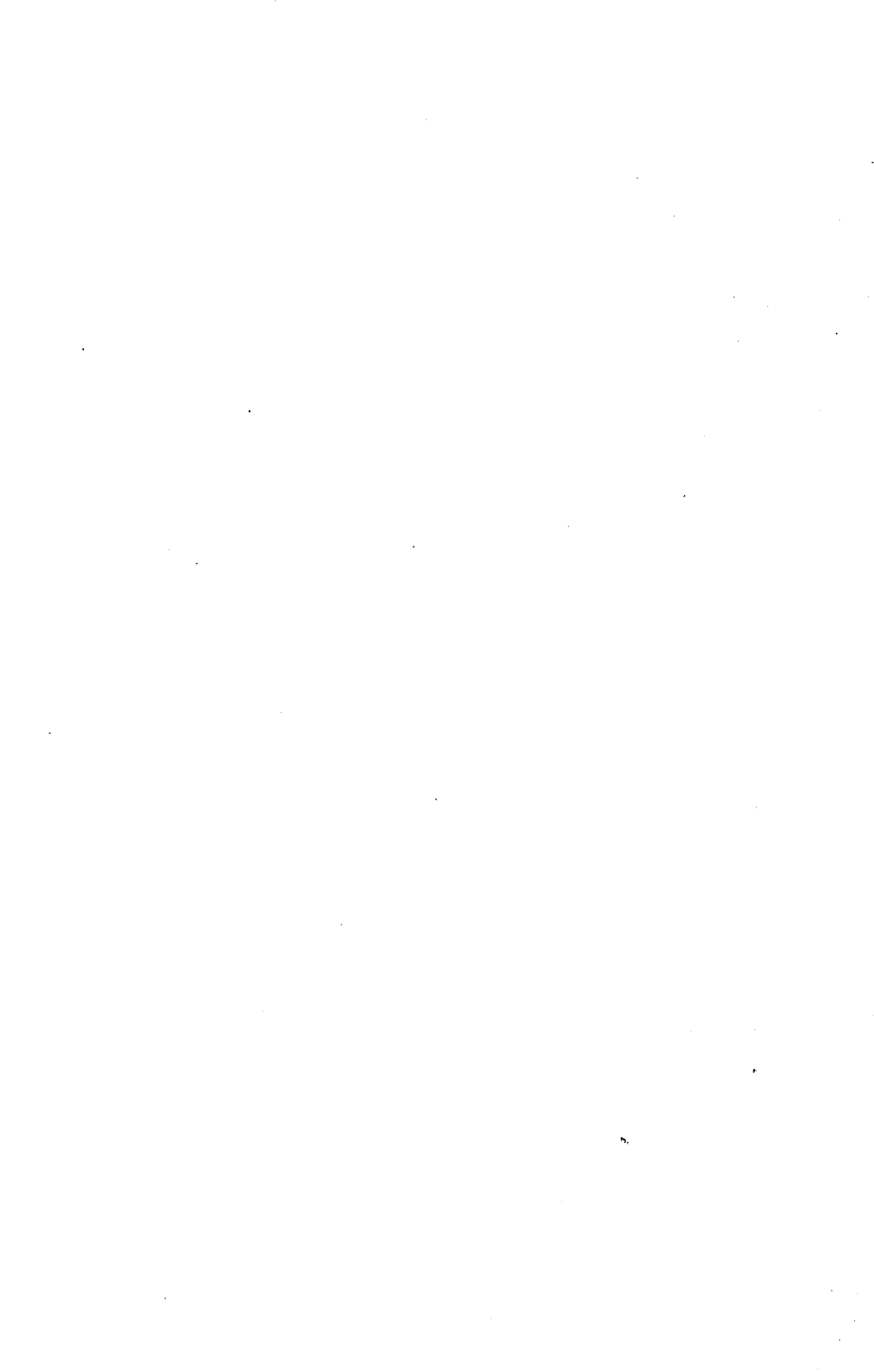
¹ Cf. 3 *En.* 4⁷, ⁸, 6³, 10³⁻⁶.

² Cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I, 4-8, 30. 5 seqq.

³ Cf. 2 *En.* rec. B, ch. 33⁸⁻¹² "And give them the books of thy (Enoch) handwriting... as mediator, Enoch, of my general Michael, because thy handwriting and the handwriting of thy fathers... shall not be destroyed till the end of time, and have commanded my angels Orioch and Marioch... and ordered that it perish not in the deluge".

⁴ Cf. 3 *En.* 6², 48 D⁷⁻⁹.

PART II
TRANSLATION WITH NOTES



BOOK OF ENOCH BY R. ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA THE HIGH PRIEST

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: *R. Ishmael ascends to heaven to behold the vision of the Merkaba and is given in charge to Metatron*

AND ENOCH WALKED WITH GOD: AND HE WAS NOT; FOR GOD TOOK HIM
(Gen. v. 24)

Rabbi Ishmael said:

(1) When I ascended on high to behold ¹the vision of the *Merkaba*¹ and had entered the six Halls, one within the other: (2) as soon as I reached the door of the seventh Hall I stood still in prayer before the Holy One, blessed be He, and, lifting up my eyes on high (i.e. towards the Divine Majesty), I said: (3) "Lord of the Universe, I pray

1-1 so *DE. A.* 'in my vision the Merkaba'

Chh. i and ii. (Additional, see Introduction, section 7.) Chh. i and ii; which are not extant in *BCL*, form an introduction to the book, supplying the explanation of the frame of chh. iii-xlviii A, purporting to be revelations and communications given to R. Ishmael by Metatron-Enoch. By the present introductory chapters is indicated that the occasion of these revelations was Rabbi Ishmael's ascent to behold the vision of the *Merkaba* (the Divine Chariot). R. Ishmael's ascension to heaven and intercourse with Metatron, or the Prince of the Presence, forms an intrinsic part of the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*, including the so-called *Apocalyptic Fragment* (*BH.* v. 167-169, vi. 19-35; *Siddur R. 'Anram Gaon*, 3 b, 12 b-13 a; Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, pp. 609 seqq.). The R. Ishmael version of *Shi'ur Qoma* is also framed as a revelation to R. Ishmael from Metatron. See further Introduction, sections 7 c and 10. The 'R. Ishmael' introduced in these writings is, acc. to them, one of the ten martyrs, contemporary with R. 'Aqiba, also one of these martyrs with whom he exchanged opinions and contended teachings on mystical subjects, was a High Priest and the son of a High Priest, hence in possession of the Great Divine Name, by force of which he was able to ascend to heaven. The time of the martyrdom was the beginning of the second century.

Behold the vision of the Merkaba. Identical expression: *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 83. entered the six Halls etc. For the conception of the seven Halls cf. note on ch. xviii. 3 and chh. x. 2, xvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 1, xlviii c 8 and esp. *Hek. R.* The Halls are situated in the highest of the seven heavens. The *Merkaba* and the Throne of Glory are, acc. to the earlier conceptions represented here, located to the seventh Hall. For later developed conceptions cf. *Zohar*, i. 38 a-45 b, ii. 245 a-269 a; *Pardes Rimonim*, Gate xxiv, and Intr. R. 'Aqiba also narrates his ascent to the seven Halls, in *Pirge R. Ishmael*, ch. xviii (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 a seq.). one within the other, lit. 'chamber within chamber', the Halls being arranged in concentric circles. Cf. *Mass. Hek.* iv ("the seven Halls, one within the other").

thee, that the merit of Aaron, the son of Amram, the lover of peace and pursuer of peace, who received the crown of priesthood from Thy Glory on the mount of Sinai, be valid for me in this hour, so that *Qafsiel*², the prince, and the angels with him may not get power over me nor throw me down from the heavens”.

(4) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, sent to me Metatron, his Servant (*Ebed*) the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and he, spreading his wings, with great joy came to meet me so as to save me from their hand.

(5) And he took me by his hand in their sight, saying to me: “Enter in peace before the high and exalted King³ and behold the picture of the *Merkaba*”.

(6) Then I entered the seventh⁴ Hall, and he led me to the camp(s)⁵ of *Shekina* and placed me before ⁶the Holy One, blessed be He⁶, to behold the *Merkaba*.

(7) As soon as the princes of the *Merkaba* and the flaming *Seraphim* perceived me, they fixed their eyes upon me. Instantly trembling and shuddering seized me and I fell down⁷ and was benumbed by the radiant image of their eyes and the splendid appearance of their faces; until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them, saying:

(8) “My servants, my *Seraphim*, my *Kerubim* and my *Ophannim*! Cover ye your eyes before Ishmael,⁸ my son,⁸ my friend, my beloved one and my glory, that he tremble not nor shudder!” (9) Forthwith Metatron the Prince of the Presence, came and restored my spirit

2 *DE*: ‘Qafsiel’ 3 so with *DE*. *A* om. 4 *E*: ‘fourth’ 5 *DE*: ‘sight’
‘appearance’ 6-6 *DE*: ‘the Throne of Glory’ 7 *A* ins. ‘from standing’
DE ins. ‘from my standing place’ 8-8 *DE* om.

(3) that the merit of Aaron... be valid for me, ‘be valid’, lit. ‘complete, complement my measure’. so that *Qafsiel*... and the angels with him may not get power over me. *Qafsiel* is here evidently the guardian of the seventh Hall. The forms *Qafsiel* and *Qaspiel* interchange. *Qaspiel* is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall acc. to *Hek. R.* xx. Cf. *ib.* xv and xix. *Zohar*, ii. 248 b. The form *Qafsiel* is attested in *Zohar*, iii. 3 b and *S. Razel*, 4 b. For the guardians of the Halls, see ch. xviii. 3. (4) sent to me Metatron etc. also acc. to *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*, *BH.* vi. 19 seqq. Metatron is sent to take care of R. Ishmael. Cf. *Rev. of Moses Yalqut Re’ubeni*, ii. 67 a b.

(6) camp(s) of *Shekina*. Cf. note on ch. xviii. 4 and chh. xxxii. 4, xxxv. 3.

(7) princes of the *Merkaba*. Cf. ch. xxii. 10. *Seraphim*. Cf. ch. xxvi.

(8) The *Seraphim*, *Kerubim* and *Ophannim*. Cf. chh. xxvi, xxii and xxv. They are here indicated as angels of the seventh Hall by the *Merkaba*: *Merkaba*-angels. The highest class of the *Merkaba*-angels is possibly, acc. to the present representation, the *Chayyoth* ‘beneath and above the Throne’ of vs. 12. Cover ye your eyes. Cf. ch. xxii v 5 seq.

(9) Cf. *Ap. Abrah.* x (ed. box): “Go, Jaol, and by means of my ineffable Name raise me yonder man and strengthen him from his trembling”.

and put me upon my feet. (10) After that (moment) there was not in me strength enough to say a song before the Throne of Glory of the glorious King, the mightiest of all kings, the most excellent of all princes, until after the hour had passed.

(11) After one hour (had passed) the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me the gates of *Shekina*, the gates of Peace, the gates of Wisdom, the gates of Strength, the gates of Power, the gates of Speech (*Dibbur*), the gates of Song, the gates of *Qēdushsha*, the gates of Chant.

(12) And he enlightened my eyes and my heart by words of psalm, song, praise, exaltation, thanksgiving, extolment, glorification, hymn and eulogy⁹. And as I opened my mouth, uttering a song before ¹⁰the Holy One, blessed be He¹⁰, the Holy *Chayyoth* beneath and above the Throne of Glory answered and said: "HOLY" and "BLESSED BE THE GLORY OF YHWH FROM HIS PLACE!" (i.e. chanted the *Qēdushsha*).

CHAPTER II

The highest classes of angels make inquiries about R. Ishmael, which are answered by Metatron

R. Ishmael said:

(1) In that hour the eagles¹ of the Merkaba, the flaming 'Ophannim and the *Seraphim* of consuming fire ²asked ^{2a}Metatron, saying to him:

9 lit. 'power' i.e. proclamation of God's power. 10-10 DE: 'the Throne of Glory'

Ch. ii. 1 E: 'children' 'servants' corr. 2 DE ins. 'came (and)' 2a-2a E om.

(10) to say a song. R. 'Aqiba, when arriving in the seventh Hall, utters a song of praise acc. to P. R. *Ishmael*, ch. xviii (referred to above). (11) opened to me the gates etc. The gates are the gates of treasures on high 'under the Throne of Glory', cf. ch. viii. gates of *Shekina* is difficult. Jellinek in E suggests the emendation: 'gates of Understanding' (cf. ch. viii and the expression 'the 50 gates of understanding'). (12) psalm, song...eulogy (נעימה). Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a, נעימות (= chanting). the Holy *Chayyoth*...answered. The Holy *Chayyoth* utter the *Qēdushsha* responses; cf. ch. xx. 2. Vide Introduction, section 17 a.

Ch. ii. The present chapter setting forth the inquiries of the angels concerning the admittance of R. Ishmael to the high heavens is a travesty of the similar passages, chh. iv. 7, vi. 2, xlviii d 7.

(1) the eagles of the Merkaba. One of the four *Chayyoth* is described as 'Eagle' in accordance with Ezek. i. 10, x. 14. The plural 'eagles' can be accounted for on the assumption that the tradition here represented holds the view that there existed two (or several) classes of *Chayyoth*. This may perhaps be hinted at in the preceding chapter, vs. 12: 'the *Chayyoth* beneath and above the Throne'. "The higher and the lower *Chayyoth*": *Zohar* frequ. "Two eagles": *Zohar*, iii. 170 b.

(2) "Youth! Why sufferest thou one born of woman to enter and behold the Merkaba?^{2a} From which nation, from which tribe is this one? What is his character?"

(3) Metatron answered and said to them:

"From the nation of Israel whom the Holy One, blessed be He, chose for his people ³from among seventy tongues (nations)³, from the tribe of Levi, ⁴whom he set aside as a contribution⁴ to his name and from the seed of Aaron whom the Holy One, blessed be He, did choose for his servant and put upon him the crown of priesthood on Sinai".

(4) Forthwith they spake and said:

"Indeed, this one is worthy to behold the *Merkaba*". ⁵And they said⁵: "Happy is the people that is in such a case!" (Ps. cxliv. 15).

CHAPTER III

Metatron has 70 names, but God calls him 'Youth'

R. Ishmael said:

(1) ²¹In that hour¹ I asked Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence²: "What is thy name?" (2) He answered me: "I have seventy names, corresponding to the seventy tongues³ of the world

2a-2a E om. 3-3 so with D. A corr. 4-4 D: 'who offered heave offerings'
5-5 DE: 'as it is written'

Ch. iii. BCL begin with this chapter. 1-1 B om. 2-2 C: 'When I had ascended to the Merkaba, I asked Metatron to write down for me all that has been written concerning the angel, the Prince of the Presence, and thus said I to him' 3 BCL: 'nations'

Chh. iii-xvi. The 'Enoch-Metatron piece'. See Introduction, sections 5 and 8.

Ch. iii, while stating that Metatron has seventy names 'corresponding to (the number of) nations of the world' gives the distinction to the name 'Youth' (*Na'ar*) as being that by which he is called by his 'King', the Holy One. Hereby it forms the introduction to the following chapter which is framed as an explanation of this name as applied to Metatron—the explanation being acc. to that chapter, vs. 10, that Metatron, as identical with Enoch, the son of Jared (Gen. v. 18, 21-24) who was taken up to the heavens and made an angel-prince, is as 'a youngster and a youth among the other angels and princes (existent from the days of Creation) in days months and years'.

(2) I have seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues (BCL: nations) of the world. The statement ascribing seventy names to Metatron, occurs also ch. xlviii. D 1, 9 et frequ. (cf. ch. xxix). The seventy names of Metatron are here connected with the seventy tongues (nations) of the world which represent the world in its entirety, i.e. their reason of existence is conceived of as founded on Metatron's functions as concerned with the nations of the world or with the affairs of the world as a whole. Hence the passage reflects the tradition of Metatron being the *Prince of the World*. Since the seventy nations are represented in heaven

and all of them ⁴are based upon⁴ the name ⁵Metatron, angel of the Presence⁵; but ⁶my King⁶ calls me 'Youth' (*Na'ar*)".

4-4 *BCL*: 'are similar to' 'are a reflection of' 5-5 *B*: 'of my King and my Creator' *C*: 'my King, the Holy One, blessed be He' *DE*: 'the King of the Kings of kings' *L*: 'kings' (corr. for 'my king') 6-6 *L*: 'kings' (corr. for 'my king')

by the seventy (or seventy-two) 'princes of kingdoms' (cf. on chh. xvii. 8 and xxx. 2), the Prince of the World is depicted as the prince and ruler of these (see ch. xxx) and this function is also assigned to Metatron: chh. x. 3, xvi. 2, xlviii c 9 (cf. notes *ad loca*). In the last-mentioned passage, ch. xlviii c 9, Metatron's rulership over the seventy princes is expressly connected with his character of bearer of seventy names and he is there also pictured as wielding executive and governing power over the world and the nations through the seventy princes as agencies. Cf. *YR*. i. 57 b (quotation from *Emeq ha-mMelek*): "Metatron is the Prince of the World, for he distributes maintenance to the princes of the nations of the world". In the rest of the present book Metatron's rulership is mainly presented in its celestial aspect; he is the prince, ruler and judge of the children of heaven, only implicitly brought into connection with the things terrestrial. Nowhere in this book is he definitely stated to be 'the Prince of the World'. This term is not used by the present Enoch-Metatron section and in the latter part of the book the 'Prince of the World' appears as different from Metatron (see chh. xxx. 2 and xxxviii. 3 and notes).

all of them are based upon the name of my King, the Holy One (acc. to the readings of *BCDE[L]* and the reading implied by the opening words of ch. iv: 'Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names?'). This is another aspect of the origin and import of Metatron's seventy names: they are a reflection of the seventy names of the Most High (cf. the reading of *BCL*). The same is stated in chh. xlviii c 9, xlviii d 1, 5, appearing also in the form of the dictum 'called by the name of His Master, for "my name is in him" (*Ex*. xxiii. 21)' and in the ascribing to Metatron of the name 'the lesser *YHWH*': chh. xii. 5, xlviii d 1. There are two lines of ideas to be distinguished here: (1) Metatron's names are conceived of as 'based upon' the Divine Name *κατ' ἑξοχὴν*, the *Tetragrammaton*, which simply means that the different names contain the *YHWH* or *YaH* as component part. This is not a trait exclusive to the Metatron-conception, but applied to various other high princes and angels, cf. ch. x. 3 and esp. ch. xxix. 1. (2) Acc. to the other line of thought the seventy names of Metatron are actually one by one the counterparts, images, reflections of the seventy names of the Godhead (cf. ch. xlviii d 5: 'seventy names of His by which they call the King of Kings of kings in the high heavens'). This is an exclusive feature of the Metatron-picture, as is also the name 'the Lesser *YHWH*'.

based upon the name Metatron. This strange expression which is attested only in *A* occurs also *Hek. Zot. Bodd.* MICH. 9, fol. 69 b, where it signifies that the divers names are to be understood as referring to the angel-prince known as 'Metatron' (the names given there are such as nos. 6, 46, 84 of ch. xlviii d 1 and '*Pisqon*, *Sigron*, *Zebodiel* etc.'). The expression might, however, also refer to variants of the name 'Metatron', e.g. *Mitatron*, *Mittron*, *Mitton*, *Mitmon*, 'Atmon', 'Otron', etc.; cf. ch. xlviii d 1 and *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, 56 b. The reading of *BCDE* is presumably correct here. Cf. above.

my King calls me Youth (*Na'ar*). The name *Na'ar* is regularly ascribed to Metatron; cf. on ch. xlviii d 1. It is also applied to the Prince of the World, *TB. Yeb.* 16 b. The derivations and explanations of the name differ. The present section (cf. iv. 1, 10), as has already been pointed out, explains it from Metatron's identity with Enoch. In *TB. Yeb. ib.* the name '*Na'ar*, Youth' is deduced from Ps. xxxvii. 25: "I have been a youth and now am old", which is made to refer to the Prince of the World (who was young in the days of Creation). The *Tosaphoth* on

CHAPTER IV

Metatron is identical with Enoch who was translated to heaven at the time of the Deluge

R. Ishmael said:

(1) I asked Metatron and said to him: “¹Why art thou called¹ by the name of thy Creator, by seventy names? Thou art greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels, beloved more than all the servants, honoured above all the mighty ones in kingship, greatness and glory: why do they call thee ‘Youth’ in the high heavens?”

(2) He answered and said to me: “²Because I am² Enoch, the son of Jared. (3) For when the generation of the flood sinned and were

1-1 so *CD*. *A*: ‘callest thou’ (corr.) *B*: ‘is thy name (like the name of thy Creator)’
2-2 so *BCDEL*. *A*: ‘for the reason that he (the Na’ar) is also (Enoch etc.)’

this passage state that Enoch-Metatron and the Prince of the World are both called *Na’ar*, yet they must not, acc. to the Tosaphists, be identified: Ps. xxxvii. 25 refers to the Prince of the World only, not to Enoch-Metatron. This of course implies that the verse in question was acc. to one tradition referred to Metatron (in fact Metatron is, apparently with reference to Ps. xxxvii. 25, described both as ‘*Na’ar*, Youth’ and ‘*Zāqēn*, Old, Eldest’; cf. *Yalquṭ Re’ubeni*, i. 60 a). See further the Introduction.

In *Zohar*, i. fol. 223 b *et al.* the appellation *Na’ar* as given to Enoch-Metatron is derived from Prov. xxii. 6, ‘*Chānōk la-nNa’ar*’, which is interpreted: ‘Enoch was made (the) *Na’ar*’. The present verse is quoted in *Zohar*, i. 37 b, from ‘Book of Enoch’.

Ch. iv. This chapter is framed as an explanation of the name ‘*Na’ar*, Youth’ as applied to Metatron. It relates how Metatron is Enoch of Gen. v who was removed to heaven and there made into an angel-prince. The reason of his translation was the sinfulness of the generation of the Flood to which he was to bear witness to future generations and in the world to come. His testimony was to justify the destruction of all living beings in that generation through the Flood. The high angels ‘*Azza*, ‘*Uzza* and ‘*Azzael* enter protest against Enoch’s translation, but God rebukes them and elevates Enoch into a ruler and prince over them.

(1) Why art thou called by the name of thy Creator etc. This part of the question is not answered in the chapter. It is to be considered merely as a repetition of the statement of the foregoing chapter. The real question is: Why do they call thee ‘Youth’ in the high heavens?

(2) Because I am Enoch the son of Jared. The identity of Enoch and Metatron is proclaimed in *Targ. Yer.* in the well-known passage to Gen. v. 24. There the ground for identification seems to have been the function of Scribe assigned both to Enoch and Metatron. For Enoch as Scribe cf. e.g. *Yub.* iv. 23, 2 *En.* liii. 2; for Metatron, *TB. Chag.* 15 a. This function of Enoch-Metatron is not emphasized in the present book, although the office of ‘witness’ of the sins of the generation in its original conception is probably connected with that of ‘scribe’; see the next verse.

(3) when the generation of the flood sinned and were confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: Depart from us. . . (Job xxi. 14). The sins of the generation of the Deluge are not defined as to their nature, except as a rebellion. Acc.

confounded in their deeds, saying unto God: 'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways (Job xxi. 14)', then the Holy One, blessed be He, removed me from their midst to be a witness against them in the high heavens to all the inhabitants of the world, that ³they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel³'.

(4) ADEL:

What sinned all those multitudes, their wives, their sons and their daughters, their horses, their mules and their cattle and their property, and all the birds of the world, all of which the Holy One, blessed be He, destroyed from the world together with them in the waters of the flood?

BC:

What sins had they committed, all those multitudes? Or, let it be they sinned, what had their sons and their daughters, their mules and their cattle sinned? And likewise, all the animals, domestic and wild, and the birds in the

3-3 so BCDEL. A: 'the Merciful One is not cruel'

to chh. v, vi the sin of the generation that caused the removal of the *Shekina* and with the *Shekina*, of Enoch, was idolatry; cf. on ch. v. 6. The expression 'Depart from us etc. (Job xxi. 14)' is used already in *Jub.* xi. 6 in connection with the idolatry of the early times (the name '*Seroh* = *Suru*: depart' or *saru*). Cf. *Gen. R.* xxxi. 6: the '*chamas* (violence)' of which the earth was filled in the time of the Flood acc. to *Gen.* vi. 13, comprised the three cardinal sins, adultery, idolatry and bloodshed. to be a witness against them. The idea of Enoch's removal to heaven in order to be a witness against the sins of mankind is attested in *Jub.* iv. 21 seqq. His function of witness is there made the essential part of his office as Scribe: "(22) And he (Enoch) testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men... And Enoch testified against them all. (23) And he was taken from amongst the children of men, ... into the Garden of Eden... and behold there he *writes down* the condemnation and the judgement of the world, and all the *wickedness of the children of men*. (24) And on account of it God brought the waters of the flood upon all the land". (Enoch's testimony brings about the decree of destruction, contrast the present chapter.) The same idea of Enoch as witness in heaven against man's sin persists in later traditions; cf. *YR.* i. 57 a (perhaps dependent upon the present fragment): "'When the generation of the flood sinned God took him (Enoch) to be a witness against them': (so that if anyone might say:) if man sinned that was because he was created from the four elements or because his generation were wicked men, God would answer: Behold, Enoch was also in a generation of wicked men, and he also was created of the four elements (*scil.* yet he did not sin)".

that they may not say: 'The Merciful One is cruel. (4) What sinned all those multitudes etc.' Enoch-Metatron is to bear witness to the justice of God's decree of destroying not only mankind, but all living beings, including the cattle and the wild beasts, in the waters of the Flood. How Enoch's testimony was to refute the charge of cruelty that might otherwise be raised against God is not further explained. No answer is given to the question: 'What did the cattle, beasts and birds sin?' The answer is probably to be understood thus: *even the animals were implicated in the wickedness of the generation*. The question is noted in Rabbinic. Cf. *Gen. R.* xxviii. 8, where it is stated that in the generation of the Flood even the animals sinned: "as it is written (*Gen.* vi. 12): 'all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth'. 'All men' is not written here, but 'all flesh'

ADL:

E:

BC:

Nor may say: What though the generation of the flood did sin; the beasts and the birds, what had they sinned, that they should perish with them?’

what had they sinned that they should perish the world?’

world ⁴ that God did destroy from the world?’

(5) Hence the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted me up ⁵in their lifetime ⁵ before their eyes to be a witness against them to the future world. And the Holy One, blessed be He, ⁶assigned me for ⁶a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels.

(6) In that hour ⁷ ⁸three of the ministering angels, ‘UZZA, ‘AZZA and ‘AZZAE⁸ came forth and brought charges against me in the high

4 C ins. ‘what did they sin, and those that were taken away with them’ 5-5 BC om. L: ‘in their lifetime from the world’ 6-6 (B) CL: ‘made me into’. Above acc. to DE, lit. ‘joined me to the ministering angels as a prince and a ruler’. A corr. (Ziggēwūni: me signavit?) 7 BCL ins. ‘when the Holy One, blessed be He, took me up to the high heavens’ 8-8 D: ‘three angels, ‘Azza, ‘Uzza and ‘Azrael’ B: ‘three angels: Mal’aki, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ CE: ‘three of the angels (of) ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ L: ‘three angels, Mamalaketi, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael’ YR. i. 35 a: ‘three angels from among the angels of ‘Azza and ‘Azrael.’

(i.e. including the animals). Yea, even the earth fell to whoredom”. Similarly TB. Sanh. 108 a (attr. to R. Yochanan): “‘all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth’; this means to say, that the cattle defiled themselves with the beasts and the beasts with the cattle and all of them with men and men with all of them”. Parallel is Pirke de R. El’ezer, ch. xiv: “(with reference to the curse put upon the earth on account of Adam’s sin) If Adam sinned, what was the sin of the earth? Only this, that the earth did not denounce the evil doings of man”. In other connections we find the very question repudiated as an undue criticism of God’s ways; so with reference to the narrative of 1 Sam. xv. 3 and Deut. xxi. 4 in TB. Yoma, 22 b and Eccl. R. vii. 33: “(in the former case) If the men had sinned, what were the sins of the women, what the sins of the infants, the cattle, oxen and asses? (and in the latter case) If man sinned, what was the sin of the cattle?” No answer is given but a quotation by Bath Qōl of Eccl. vii. 16, “Be not righteous over much”, explained thus: “Do not think that thou canst judge about what is just and unjust better than thy Creator!” Cf. also TB. Shabb. 54 b, 55 a.

(6) three of the ministering angels, ‘Uzza, ‘Azza and ‘Azrael. The three angels, ‘Azza, ‘Uzza and ‘Azrael are in the present chapter represented as belonging to the order of ministering angels, inhabitants of the high heavens, whereas acc. to ch. v they are evil agencies, inspirers of idolatry. They are usually mentioned as two only (‘Azza and ‘Azrael, ‘Uzza and ‘Azziel, etc.), not as three. (The readings of CE and YR, in fact, have ‘Azza and ‘Azrael only.) Cf. however 2 En. xviii. 4 and note on v. 9 (important parallel).

The names are in all probability of an early origin: they can be traced to 1 En., to gnostic works (see Introduction) and in Talmud. The meaning of the words is pellucid: Strength, Might-God, Divine Power. Most of the preserved traditions represent them as fallen angels. They are attached to the speculations centring round the mystical piece Gen. vi. 1-4. In 1 En. vi. 7 ‘Asael’ is one of the leaders of the angels who fell and led mankind astray into fornication and idolatry. The

heavens, saying before the Holy One, blessed be He: "9 Said not the Ancient Ones (First Ones) rightly before Thee: 10 'Do not create man! '10" 11 The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said unto

9 BCDEL ins. 'Lord of the Universe!'
11 C ins. 'for he will sin' A ins. 'again'

10-10 C: 'Let not man be created!'

conception of 'Azza and 'Azrael as fallen angels evidently underlies the dictum, attributed to the school of R. Ishmael, recorded in *TB. Yoma*, 67 a, acc. to which 'Azazel of Lev. xvi. is to be considered as a composition of 'Azza and 'Azrael, 'for Azazel atoned for the sins of these'. *Rashi*, *ad locum*, connects 'Azza and 'Azrael with 'the sons of God' in Gen. vi. 2 (cf. 1 *En.* vi and Charles' note on 1 *En.* vi. 6).

In *Zohar* the same view is repeatedly set forth. See vol. i. 19 b, 23 a, 25 a b, 37 a with *Tosefta*, 55 a, 58 a, 126 a, vol. iii. 194 a, 208 a and 'Idra Rabba. 'Azza and 'Azrael (in this form they are always referred to in *Zohar*) are the angels who had been thrown down from heaven 'from their state of holiness', and after that went astray with the daughters of men (*Nd'amah*, Gen. iv. 22) and also taught mankind sorceries (cf. ch. v. 9)—being now definitely unable to leave the lower regions (ctr. the present verse). A slightly modified version of the idea is found in 'Idra Rabba: "'Azza and 'Azrael are the 'giants' (Gen. vi. 6), not the sons of God (*ib.* 2)"—this is perhaps a reminiscence of the distinction emphasized in the *Book of Jubilees* between the sons of Elohim and the demons, the sons of the sons of the Elohim—"for the sons of God were not on earth but Azza and Azrael were on earth". The same is quoted from *Midrash Ruth* by *Siuni*, in *YR*, i. 61 b.

BH. iv. 127-8, instead of 'Azza and 'Azrael', has 'Shamchazai and 'Azrael'. *Shamchazai* is of course identical with the *Semiazaz* or *Semjaza* of 1 *En.* vi. 7, viii. 3 (cf. Charles, *ad loca*).

In the present chapter 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael are represented as high angels, accusing man before God on account of his sin: 'Said not the first ones rightly before Thee, Create thou not man?' One of the traditional statements about 'Azza and 'Azrael in the adduced references, in fact, reveals the view that the fall of these angels was caused by their accusing man before God. Thus e.g. in a citation in *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 61 a, with reference to Gen. vi. 2: "the 'sons of God' are 'Azza and 'Azza'el who laid accusations (against man) before their Master and he threw them down from the holy place on high... and they defiled themselves with the daughters of men", and *ib.* (from *Kanfe Yona*), also with reference to Gen. vi. 2: "'Azza and 'Azrael are the angels that laid accusations against man and said: 'Why didst Thou create him? For he is going to sin and to provoke Thee'. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them: 'Behold! If ye go down to the lower world, ye will sin as he', and He cast them down. And they are the 'sons of God' who took themselves wives from among the daughters of men... and after they had fallen into sin... they were no longer angels" and when they desired to return to their former place, they were unable to do so. Essentially the same is found in *Zohar*, i. 23 a, 37 a *Tosefta*. In *Zohar* they are even identified with 'the first ones' who opposed man's creation in the beginning.

This tradition harmonizes the two views represented in chh. iv and v respectively: the one regarding these angels as belonging to the celestial household, the other as evil agencies, demons inspiring idolatry. In their present setting the two views cannot, however, be harmonized: acc. to ch. v 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael are evil agencies (that is, acc. to the harmonizing view, fallen angels) before Enoch's translation to the heavens, acc. to ch. iv, on the other hand, they are still high angels in the presence of the Holy One, at the time when Enoch is taken up to heaven. Furthermore, the writer of ch. iv evidently does not think of the angels in question as fallen angels at all, to judge from the following expression: "he (Enoch-Metatron)

them: "I have made and I will bear, yea, I will carry and will deliver". (Is. xlv. 4.)

(7) As soon as they saw me, they said before Him: "Lord of the Universe! What is this one that he should ascend to the height of heights? Is not he one from among the sons of [the sons of] those who perished in the days¹² of the Flood? ¹³"What doeth he in the Rasia?"¹³

(8) Again, the Holy One, blessed be He, answered and said to them: "What are ye, that ye enter and speak in my presence? I delight in this one more than in all of you, and hence he shall be a

¹² so *AL*. *BCD*: 'waters'

¹³⁻¹³ *DLE* om.

shall be a prince and a ruler *over you in the high heavens*", and from the representation in vs. 9: the angels yield and pay Enoch-Metatron due homage.

There are instances of traditions according with the view of the present chapter, representing 'Azza, 'Uzza or 'Azzael ('Azziel) as high angels and princes, with permanent membership in the Celestial Court. They are then often connected with the proceedings of Judgement. Thus acc. to *Sib. Or.* ii. 217, 'Azziel is one of five angels who lead the souls of men to judgement. Acc. to *S. ha-Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120), fol. 12 b, 'Azzael is one of the "10 heads of the Great Sanhedrin in heaven". Acc. to a quotation from "a commentary on *Ma'areketh ha-'Elohuth*" in *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 55 a, 'Azza is the head of the angels of Justice, 'Uzziel the head of the angels of Mercy (cf. ch. xxxiii), but both under the authority of Metatron. *S. Razi'el*, 40 a represents 'Azzael as one of the seven angels near God's Throne, cf. *ib.* 40 b, and *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 96, 99, introduces 'Uzziel as one of the guardians of the fifth Hall. Cf. *S. Razi'el*, 27 b.

Said not the First Ones rightly before Thee: Do not create man! For the angels as opposing man's creation cf. e.g. *Gen. R.* viii. 5. Striking is here the parallel *TB. Sanhedrin*, 38 a: when God was about to create man, he first created a company of angels whom he asked whether they consented to man's creation or not. Upon being told of man's future deeds, they said "Let not man be created"—and were consequently consumed by the Divine Fire. The same happened with another company that God called into being immediately after. But the third acquiesced and remained in life. However, as soon as they "came to the men of the generation of the flood and of the generation of the dispersion whose deeds were confounded (cf. vs. 3) they said before him: 'Master of the World! Said not the first ones rightly before Thee: Create thou not man?' whereupon God answered with the first part of the scriptural verse laid in God's mouth also here: Is. xlv. 4". The same narrative is echoed in *Ma'yan Chokma, BH.* i. 60 seq. in God's rebuke of *Hadarniel*. In the quoted *Talmud*-passage the expression 'first ones' naturally refers to the first created company of angels, here it simply means the angels present at man's Creation and opposing it. For the expression 'first ones' used of certain angels cf. also *TB. Ber.* 5 a (of Mikael).

(7) Is not he one from among the sons of those who perished in the days of the Flood? This seems to imply, not only that Enoch was counted as one of the men of the generation of the Flood, but even as living after the Flood or in the days of the Flood, a view which of course entirely disagrees with the chronological system of *Gen.* v, vii. 11, acc. to which Enoch disappeared from earth more than 600 years (669) before the Flood.

(8) What are ye etc. God's answer in the same expressions as those of the angels. that ye enter and speak. Even the highest angels are not allowed to enter before God's presence, with some distinguished exceptions (cf. the conception

prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens." (9) Forthwith all stood up and went out to meet me, prostrated themselves before me and said: "Happy art thou and happy is thy father¹⁴ for thy Creator doth favour thee".

(10) And because I am small and a youth among them¹⁵ in days, months and years¹⁵, therefore they call me "Youth" (*Na'ar*).

CHAPTER V

The idolatry of the generation of Enosh causes God to remove the Shekina from earth. The idolatry inspired by 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azziel

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹From the day¹ when the Holy One, blessed be He, expelled

14 C ins. 'and thy mother' 15-15 BCL: 'in years'

Ch. v. 1-1 BCL, YR. i. 59 a: 'on the day'

of the Curtain of *MAQOM*: on ch. xlv. 1, x. 1). he shall be a prince and a ruler over you in the high heavens for I delight in this one more than in all of you. This probably is meant to refer not only to 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael, but to the ministering angels with them or else their suite of angels. Notice how CE in vs. 6 represents 'Azza and 'Azrael not as individual angels but as an *order of angels*, just as in the old tradition of 1 En. vi seqq. *Asael* was only one of the leaders of a multitude of angels. Metatron a ruler over 'Azza and 'Azrael: cf. quotation *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, i. 55 a, referred to above, a ruler over the princes and angels in general: cf. ch. x. 3, 4.

(9) Happy art thou and happy is thy father. This beatitude echoes the conception of "the *Zakut* of a Pious Posterity" (Schechter's expression, *Aspects*, pp. 195 seqq.). The merits of the sons retroact upon and determine the fate of the fathers.

(10) because I am small and a youth among them. This is the answer to the opening question of the present chapter. Cf. note *ib.* The angels are existent from the days of Creation. Cf. above.

Ch. v. This chapter treats of the removal of Shekina from earth on account of the idolatry of Enosh and his generation. It contains no definite reference to the subject proper of the present section: Enoch(-Metatron) and his translation to heaven. Furthermore, it represents a different tradition from that of ch. iv as to the nature of the angels 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azrael. The connection with the context is, however, established by ch. vi. 1, 3, which associate the translation of Enoch to heaven with the removal of Shekina from earth. The chapter may therefore in its present position be considered as an introduction to ch. vi, offering a preparatory explanation of the reason and circumstances of the removal of Shekina, there alluded to. As regards the relationship between ch. iv on one hand and chh. v and vi on the other, it might be safe to assume that they represent respectively two different lines of tradition as to the translation of Enoch: one (ch. iv) connecting it with the sins of the generation of the flood of which he was to bear testimony to coming generations, the other (chh. v, vi) holding the view that Enoch—as the

the first Adam from the Garden of Eden (and onwards), *Shekina* was dwelling upon a *Kerub* under the Tree of Life.

(2) And the ministering angels ²were gathering together² and going down from heaven in parties, ³from the *Raqia'* in companies and from the heavens in camps³ ⁴to do His will in⁴ the whole world.

(3) And the first man and ⁵his generation⁵ were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the *Shekina*.

2-2 *B*: 'were entering' *CL*: 'were assembling' *DE*: 'were leaping' 3-3 *BCL*: 'and in companies and camps from *Raqia'*' *E* om. 4-4 *DE*: 'to roam, to fly over' 5-5 *EL*: 'and Eve'

only righteous man of his generation—was taken up on the occasion of *Shekina's* return to the heavens. The object of Enoch's translation, acc. to the latter view, was apparently not his function of witness, but is expressed by the last words of ch. vi: 'I have taken him as a tribute from my world' or 'as my only reward for all my labour with the first generations of the world'.

(1) From the day...*Shekina* was dwelling etc. This represents the frequently attested idea that the original abode of the *Shekina* was among the 'terrestrials, *ha-tachtonim*' (*Cant. R.* vi, *Num. R.* xii. 5; cf. Abelson, *Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, pp. 117-139). The specific view of the present passage is, that *Shekina* remained on earth after the first Adam's fall until the rise of idolatry in the generation of Enosh. Acc. to *Cant. R.* vi (see Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 136) *Shekina* was removed from earth already with Adam's sin; to the first heaven, and then in six subsequent stages corresponding to the six following epochs of men's degradation from heaven to heaven (the epochs are acc. to that passage: the sins of Cain, of the generation of Enoch, of the generation of the Flood, of the Dispersion, of the Sodomites and of the Egyptians in the days of Abraham). Acc. to *Num. R.* xii. 5 (in a dictum attributed to R. Simeon ben Yochai) the *Shekina* was dwelling on earth in the beginning, was removed with the sin of Adam, and returned with the erection of the Tabernacle. *Ib.* (acc. to Rab) the *Shekina* is also said never to have taken up its abode on earth until the erection of the Tabernacle. Cf. on vs. 13. The *Shekina* here stands for the manifestation of God, to all intents and purposes identical with the manifestation on 'the Throne of Glory': when on earth *Shekina* is no longer in heaven, see vs. 11.

upon a Kerub. Cf. chh. xxii. 12, 16, xxiv. 1, 17. upon a Kerub under the Tree of Life. Cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, xxii. 3, 4: "When God appeared in Paradise mounted on the chariot of His Cherubim with the *angels* proceeding before him... And the Throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was". Here the *Kerub* takes the place of the Throne of Glory which is left in the highest of the heavens, acc. to vs. 11.

(2) And the ministering angels were... going down from heaven in companies etc. Cf. *Apoc. Mosis*, xvii. 1, xxii. 3 seq. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, letter '*Aleph*': "when the first Adam beheld the Sabbath, he opened his mouth in praise of the Holy One: then the ministering angels went down from heaven in companies..."; *ib.*: (in the world to come) "the angels will come down in companies from heaven to the Garden of Eden". And *ib. BH.* iii. 60: "(when God had created Eve and brought her to Adam) all the heavenly household went down... to the Garden of Eden". Cf. *Yer. Chag.* 77 a, 4 *Ex.* vi. 3.

(3) the first man and his generation were sitting outside the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the *Shekina*. Although expelled from the Garden of Eden Adam and his generation still partake of the splendour of *Shekina*. Cf. *TB. Ber.* 17 a: "(in the world to come) the righteous will be sitting with crowns

✓(4) For the splendour of the *Shekina* traversed the world from one end to the other ⁶(with a splendour) 365,000 times (that) of the globe of the sun⁶. And everyone who ⁷made use of⁷ the splendour of the *Shekina*, on him no flies and no gnats did rest, neither was he ill nor suffered he any pain. No demons got power over him, neither were they able to injure him.

(5) When the Holy One, blessed be He, went out and went in: ⁸from the Garden to Eden, from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to *Raqia'* and from *Raqia'* to the Garden of Eden⁸ then all and everyone beheld the splendour⁹ of His *Shekina* and they

6-6 DE: 'in one moment, 365,000 and to the globe of the sun' A reads '65,000' instead of '365,000' (BCDEL). 7-7 DE: 'beheld' 8-8 BCDEL: 'from Eden to the Garden, from the Garden to *Raqia'* and from *Raqia'* to the Garden of Eden' 9 so BCDL. A: 'splendour of the image'

on their heads and enjoy the splendour of the *Shekina*". The idea of the radiance of *Shekina* is closely related to that of the heavenly light, of which the light created on the first day was an emanation and which is reserved for the righteous in the world to come. Cf. next vs.

(4) The splendour of the *Shekina* traversed the world from one end to the other... And everyone who made use of the splendour of the *Shekina*... No demons got power over him. For a discussion of the conception of the 'splendour (*ziw*) of the *Shekina*' see Abelson, *op. cit.* pp. 85-89. [The splendour of the *Shekina* is here apparently conceived of as a light-substance protecting from illnesses, from the power of demons and from everything evil and unclean.] For the idea of the splendour of *Shekina* as protecting from demons cf. *Num. R.* xii. 3. It is also conceived of as a sustaining substance, a spiritual food, both for the angels and the saints. *TB. Ber.* 17 a (see Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 87; Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, p. 198). *Yalqut* on Ps. viii (*TB. Shabbat*, 88 a): "when God spread the splendour of *Shekina* over Moses the angels could not burn him". *Yalqut* on Ps. xlv: "the righteous will feed on the splendour of *Shekina* and... they will receive no injury". 'The splendour of *Shekina*' is further used as an attribute of honour and glorification for the highest angels; cf. ch. xxii. 7, 13. Cf. 4 *Ex.* vii. 42, 122, Rev. xxi. 23 (notes in box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 85, 127, 161). [The conception of the splendour of the *Shekina* is sometimes seen under the aspect of the 'first light of Creation' or as 'the uncreated light of the Divine Presence' of which the first light is an emanation: this light is referred to in similar terms as those used of 'the splendour of the *Shekina*'.] Cf. in the present connection *Gen. R.* xi. 2, xii. 5: "in the light which God created on the first day (so *Gen. R.* xi. 2; *ib.* xii. 5: the light by which the world was created) the first Adam saw from one end of the world to the other... but as soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, beheld the deeds of the generation of Enosh, of the Deluge and of the Dispersion he took it away and treasured it... for the righteous in the world to come". *Sim. TB. Chag.* 12 a.

(5) went out and went in: from the Garden to Eden. The Garden of Eden is the greater whole of which Eden is a part: *Gen. R.* xv, the Garden and Eden are two distinct things: *TB. Ber.* 34 b. For the expression 'went out and went in etc.' cf. the account of *Shekina*'s ten different journeys in the Temple in *Lam. R. Pröem.* 25. The idea is probably deduced from *Gen. iii.* 8 ("and they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the Garden"): the passage is interpreted in this sense in *Num. R.* xiii. 4 (although there God's *Shekina* is said to have had its permanent abode in heaven, from where it went down and went up again).

¹⁰were not injured¹⁰; (6) until ¹¹the time of¹¹ the generation of Enosh ¹²who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world¹². (7) And ¹³what did the generation of Enosh do?¹³ They went from one end of the world to the other, and each one brought silver, gold, precious stones and pearls in ¹⁴heaps like unto mountains and hills¹⁴ making idols out of them throughout all the world. And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs. (8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations, and placed them before the idols on their right hand and on their left, to attend them even as they attend¹⁵ the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is written (1 Kings xxii. 19): "And all the host of heaven was standing by him on his right hand and on his left".

(9) What power was in them that they were able to bring them down? They would not have been able to bring them down but for ¹⁶'UZZA, 'AZZA and 'AZZIEL¹⁶ who taught them ¹⁷sorceries whereby they brought them down and made use of them¹⁷.

10-10 L: 'did not consume away' 11-11 lit. 'came' 12-12 E om.
13-13 E om. 14-14 lit. 'in mountains and hills' 15 with BCDEL,
reading *pi*"*el*. A has *hithpa*"*el*: 'make use of' 16-16 CL: 'Azza and 'Azza'el'
D: 'Azza and 'Azza'el' E: 'Uzza and 'Azza'el' cf. ch. iv. 7. 17-17 C om.
L: 'the art of sorceries'

(6) until the time of the generation of Enosh who was the head of all idol worshippers of the world. The generation of Enosh is here specifically connected with idolatry. In Rabbinic the cardinal sins of idolatry, adultery and bloodshed (and the calling of God's name in vain and sorceries) are often promiscuously referred to the generations of Enosh, of the Deluge and of the Dispersion. But cf. *Lam. R. Prēm.* 24: "the generation of Enosh who were the heads of idol-worshippers".

(7) And they erected the idols in every quarter of the world: the size of each idol was 1000 parasangs. This as well as the following vs. seems to presuppose the view of the men of this generation as being of immeasurably higher stature than those of later generations, an idea occasionally met with in Rabbinic.

(8) And they brought down the sun, the moon, planets and constellations. There is perhaps here a covert trace of an original representation of the generation of Enosh as worshippers of the sun and the planets. In the present form the heavenly bodies are made the attendants of the idols: they placed them before the idols to attend them like as they attend the Holy One, blessed be He. The idea is to illustrate how man put the idols in all respects in the same place as that which rightly belonged to God alone. *Yalqut* to Gen. iv. 26 quotes an account of the deeds of the generation of Enosh of a similar character as vs. 7 and 8 here (idols of copper, brass, iron, wood, stone).

(9) What power was in them. . . 'Uzza, 'Azza and 'Azziel who taught them sorceries, whereby they brought them down. The quotation *Šūmī, Yalqut Re'ubenī*, i. 53 a, has 'Shemchazai and Azzael' (so also BH. iv. 127-128, *Yalq. Šīm.* Gen. xlv; cf. on the following vs.). On 'Azza, 'Uzza and 'Azzael see on ch. iv. 6. Here they are represented as evil agencies, teaching men sorceries and thereby supporting or rather inspiring the idolatry. The tradition here set forth is of course

(10) In that time the ministering angels brought charges (against them) before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying before him: "Master of the World! What hast thou to do with the children of men? As it is written (Ps. viii. 4) 'What is man (Enosh) that thou art mindful of him?' 'Mah Adam' is not written here, but 'Mah Enosh', for he (Enosh) is the head of the idol worshippers. (11) Why hast thou left

a direct descendant of that which has found expression in the pseudepigraphal writings, esp. 1 *En.* vi, vii, viii: Šemiazaz and Asael among other leaders of the fallen angels who corrupted mankind. vii. 1: "they began to...defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms and enchantments". viii. 1: "Azazel taught men...and made known to them the metals (cf. 'gold, silver etc.' here)...and all kinds of costly stones (cf. here)... (3) Semjaza taught enchantments... Baraqijal astrology. Kokabel the constellations,... Shamsiel the signs of the sun, Sariel the course of the moon", vide Charles, *ad loca.* Add *Jub.* iv. 22, v. 1, xi. 4 seqq.: "they made for themselves molten images, and they worshipped each their idol... and malignant spirits assisted and seduced them into committing transgression and uncleanness". 2 *En.* vii, xviii. 2 *En.* xviii. 4 is of special interest in the present connection, since it shows that already at an early time a tradition obtained that had fixed the number of these angels as three—as against the tradition of the passages quoted in 1 *En.* representing them as a large number: "and of them (Grigori = Watchers) there went three to the earth from the Throne of God to the place Ermon. And they entered into dealings etc." Later the number is further reduced to two, so always in *Zohar*; cf. on vs. 6 of ch. iv. Cf. *Midrash Peḡirath Moshe*, BH. i. 129: "the angels 'Azza and 'Azza'el went down from the heavens and became corrupt in their ways".

(10) At that time the ministering angels brought charges against man before God etc. 'What is man etc.' This verse, Ps. viii. 4, is traditionally made to express the animosity of the angels against man, and rather suitably. See *Tanchuma*, Par. *Bechuggothai* (Lev. xxvi); *Gen. R.* viii. 5 (in connection with the creations of man); *P. R. 'El.* xiii uses the similar passage Ps. cxliv. 3, 4 ("The ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Lord of all the World, what is man that thou takest knowledge of him or the son of man that thou takest account of him'"). Cf. *Jerachmeel*, xxii. 1, and *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 58. But the form of accusation here recorded is also, in particular, attributed to the angels 'Azza and 'Azrael. Thus in *Zohar* several times, 'Azza and 'Azrael are said to have used this argument when opposing man's Creation, *Zohar*, i. 23 a, and another quotation in YR, i. 60 a. A strange similarity with the present chapter is exhibited by the fragment quoted in *Yalqut* on Gen. vi. 2 (from *Midrash Abkir*): "the disciples of R. Yoseph asked him: what is 'Azrael? he answered them: as soon as the generation of the flood (cf. ch. iv) stood up and worshipped idols (cf. the present chapter) the Holy One was sorely grieved. Then forthwith came the two angels *Shemchazai* and 'Azza'el and said before him: Master of the World! Did we not say before thee when thou didst create thy world: what is man that thou art mindful of him. He answered them: if ye were to go down to earth, the evil impulse would get power over you more than over man.... Let us go down.... He said: Go down and dwell with them. As soon as they were on earth, they corrupted their ways with the daughters of men....". In that passage almost all the different statements about 'Azza and 'Azrael are woven together. Cf. on ch. iv. 6.

(11) Why hast thou left the highest of the high heavens etc. This presupposes that when *Shekina* was dwelling on earth it was absent from the 'Araboth *Raqia'*.

ADE:

the highest of the high heavens, the abode of thy glorious Name, and the high and exalted Throne in 'Araboth on high

B:

the 'Araboth Raqia' which are full of thy glory, mighty and high alike, and the high and exalted Throne in the 'Araboth Raqia' in the highest

CL:

the highest of the high heavens which are filled with the majesty of thy glory and are high, uplifted and exalted, and the high and exalted Throne in the Raqia' 'Araboth on high

and art gone and dwellest with the children of men who worship idols and equal thee to the idols. (12) ¹⁸Now thou art on earth and the idols likewise. What hast thou to do with ¹⁹the inhabitants of the earth ¹⁹who worship idols? ¹⁸ (13) Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, lifted up His *Shekina* from the earth, from their midst²⁰.

(14) In that moment came the ministering angels, the troops of hosts and the armies of 'Araboth in thousand camps and ten thousand hosts: they fetched trumpets and took the horns in their hands and surrounded the *Shekina* with all kinds of songs. ²¹And He ascended²¹ to the high heavens, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

18-18 B om. C: 'now that thou art on earth, thou art become in condition like as the inhabitants of the earth who worship idols' 19-19 L: 'those who go down to earth and are idol-worshippers' 20 C adds: 'and the *Shekina* ascended to heaven' 21-21 BCDEL om.

(13) Forthwith the Holy One... lifted up His *Shekina* from the earth... and he ascended to the high heavens. 'The Holy One' and '*Shekina*' are here practically synonymous. The idolatry is one of the main causes of the disappearance of the *Shekina* from on earth. Cf. *Sifre* (ed. Friedmann), 104 a, *Mekilta*, 72 a, *Tanchuma Lev.*, *Par. behar* (Schechter, *Aspects*, p. 223, Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 101). The idol erected in the Holy of Holies by Manasse, by its presence, its "face" drives out the *Shekina* from the Temple. The *Shekina* and the idols cannot remain in the same place: this is the burden of the remonstrances of the angels acc. to vs. 12. Cf. *Cant. R.* vi, *Num. R.* xii. 5, already referred to, note on vs. 1. Cf. also *Lam. R. Prohem.* 24 (in connection with the destruction of the Temple): "I have no abode on earth. I will remove my *Shekina* from earth and take it up to my former place".

(14) And he ascended to the high heavens etc. Already acc. to ch. xlviii c the narrative about *Shekina*'s removal from on earth is connected with the taking up of Enoch as can be seen from the parallel to the present chapter found *ib.* (i.e. ch. xlviii c) vs. 1: "When I beheld the men of the generation of the flood (ctr. here and cf. ch. iv) that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my *Shekina* from among them. And I lifted it up on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 5) 'God is gone up with a shout etc.'"

CHAPTER VI

Enoch lifted up to heaven together with the Shekina.

Angels' protests answered by God

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, desired¹ to lift me up on high, He first sent 'Anaphiel H (H = Tetragrammaton), the Prince, [and he took me from their midst in their sight and carried² me³ in great glory³ upon^{3a} a fiery chariot with fiery horses, servants⁴ of glory.] And he lifted me up to the high heavens together with the *Shekina*.

1 C: 'sought me' 2 so BCDL. A: 'led me' 3-3 BCL: 'on a great kerub' 3a BCL: 'in' 4 BDEL: 'and a servant' C: 'and with songs'

Chh. vi seqq. The translation of Enoch. On the affinities of the representations of Enoch's translation in 1 *En.*, 2 *En.*, and 3 *En.* vide Introduction, 7 (a) and (b).

Ch. vi. According to this chapter Enoch was translated together with the *Shekina*. [The *Shekina* was removed from earth on account of the idolatry of men.] The chapter is a sequel to the antecedent chapter; cf. note *ib.* intr. As was pointed out above, note on v. 14, the connection of the removal of *Shekina* with the translation of Enoch is also attested in the 2nd Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xlviii c 1. There, as in ch. vii, it is referred to the sins of the generation of the Flood (ch. iv). Besides, the present chapter contains a new specimen of angelic accusation against man before God or of protest against privileges awarded to man: in this case Enoch's ascension to the high heavens.

(1) When the Holy One . . . desired to lift me up . . . He first sent 'Anaphiel H. For 'Anaphiel cf. ch. xviii. 18 and note. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxii Anaphiel is the highest of the angels, "higher than the Prince of the Presence and greater than he". Ch. xvi here (acc. to reading of BDL) he is the angel sent to 'punish' Metatron with strokes of lashes of fire. The meaning of the name: 'Branch of God' is explained ch. xviii *ib.* He represents the overarching majesty and sovereignty of God in the heavens, ramifying through all the firmaments. Hence he is also conceived of as protecting guide. The Tetragrammaton (H) is contained in his name, cf. on chh. x. 3, xxx. 1; cf. *Hek. R.* xxi. YR. i. 5 a (from *Sōdē Rāzā*): "the ring with the seal of heaven and earth (cf. on ch. xlviii d 5) are entrusted to him and all in heaven and earth kneel down and prostrate themselves before him".

upon a fiery chariot with fiery horses. The biblical narrative of Elijah's ascension to heaven has been suggestive here. In mystical literature the biblical traits ascribed to Elijah are referred to Enoch and vice versa: they are regarded as belonging to the same category of saintly men, since they were both removed from earth in their lifetime. "1 *En.* 70 describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah" (CHARLES, 1 *En.* xlix). (Cf. 1 *En.* lxxxix. 52, xciii. 8, 4 *Ez.* vi. 26, note (m) in Box, *Esra-Ap.* pp. 77 seq.) In later mysticism Elijah is often identified with the 'twin-brother of Metatron', *Sandalphon*, in explicit analogy with the identification of Enoch with Metatron (YR. i. 54 b, 57 b, 58 a; cf. Introduction).

(2) As soon as I reached the high heavens, the Holy *Chayyoth*, the 'Ophannim, the *Seraphim*, the *Kerubim*, the Wheels of the *Merkaba* (the *Galgallim*), and the ministers of ⁵the consuming fire⁵, perceiving my **smell⁶ from a distance⁷ of 365,000^{7a}** myriads of parasangs, said:

A:

"What smell of one born of woman and what taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ (is this) that ascends on high, and (lo, he is merely) a gnat among those who 'divide flames (of fire)'?"

B:

"What is one born of woman between (among) us? The taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ which ascends to the high heavens to minister⁹ among those who 'divide flames of fire'?"

CDEL:

"What smell¹⁰ of ¹¹a woman-born is this and what taste of a ⁸white drop⁸ that ascends to the high heavens to minister ¹²among dividers¹² of flames."

5-5 C: 'the fire which consumeth fire' L: 'the heavenly fire' 'the fire above'
 6 BE: 'spirit' ('*ruhi*' for '*rehi*') 7 So BCDEL. A: 'among smells'
 7a L: '5360' YR. i. 55 b: '5380' and om. 'myriads' 8-8 lit. 'drop of semen'
 9 read *pi'el* instead of *hithpa'el*. 10 E: 'spirit' 11 L ins. 'a drop of'
 12-12 C: 'here and in (those) cut of flames' L: 'between hedges of flames'

(2) the Holy *Chayyoth*, the 'Ophannim, the *Seraphim*, the *Kerubim*, the Wheels of the *Merkaba* and the ministers of the consuming fire. This is evidently intended as an enumeration of the highest classes of angels. The classes here mentioned are the five classes of *Merkaba*-angels of the angelological section, chh. xxi, xxv, xxvi, xxii and xix resp. The 'ministers of the consuming fire' may refer to the ministering angels in general—whose substance is fire—or to the angels in charge of the fire issuing forth from under the Throne (cf. on ch. xxxiii. 4). For the present enumeration cf. the parallel in the following chapter. All these highest classes of angels are here represented as protesting against the privilege awarded to the man Enoch of ascending to the high heavens. Cf. P. R. 'El. *passim*. Cf. also Deut. R. xi. 4 (the *Galgallim* of the *Merkaba* and the flaming *Seraphim* praise God for not regarding persons—with reference to Moses).

perceiving my smell etc. For the expression cf. Gen. R. xxxiv. 10: "God perceived the smell of Abraham, the Patriarch, ascending from the furnace... of *Chananya*, *Misael* and *Azaria*... the smell of the generation of the religious persecution". There it equals 'foresaw'. Here it perhaps denotes the idea that any intrusion of a lower, unclean element or being into the higher heavens is immediately sensed and guarded against.

What smell of a woman-born... (ACDEL), what is a woman-born between (among) us (B)... Cf. TB. *Shabbat*, 88b: "R. Yehoshua ben Lewi said: in the hour when Moses ascended on high, the ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Master of the World, what is a woman-born among us", i.e. 'what has he to do here?' The expressions 'one born of woman' and 'taste of a drop of *semen*' are of course used in a contemptuous sense, denoting the extreme insignificance of man in the eyes of the high angels. what taste of a white drop (A) etc. There is a play here on the two-fold meaning of the word *ta'am*, viz. 'taste' and 'reason, ground' ('what is the reason that one conceived of a white drop should ascend...') those who 'divide flames of fire.' The expression is deduced from Ps. xxix. 7 and denotes the angel-princes. In Alph. R. 'Aqiba BH. iii. 45, it is used of the 'Voice'.

(3) The Holy One, blessed be He, answered and spake unto them: "My servants, ¹³my hosts¹³, my *Kerubim*, my *'Ophannim*, my *Seraphim*! Be ye not displeased on account of this! Since all the children of men have denied me ¹⁴and my great Kingdom and are gone worshipping¹⁴ idols, I have removed my *Shekina* from among them and have lifted it up on high. ¹⁵But this one whom I have taken from among them is an ELECT ONE among (the inhabitants of) the world ¹⁶and he is equal to all of them in faith¹⁶, righteousness and perfection of deed¹⁷ and ¹⁸I have taken him for (as) a tribute from¹⁹ my world¹⁸ under all the heavens¹⁵".

13-13 so BCDELZ. A: 'host of (my Kerubim)' 14-14 L: 'and worship'
 15-15 L: 'but this one (only) have I taken from my whole world under all the heavens'
 16-16 BC om. 17 so DE. A: 'beauty, form (*tabnith*)'
 18-18 S, YR. i. 55 b (*Pirge Hekaloth*): 'he is the (only) reward that I have received for all my labour under all the heavens'

(3) My servants, my hosts, my *Kerubim* etc. Cf. ch. i. 8. A close parallel is the answer attributed to God acc. to *Hek. R.* xxix. 2 (on the protest of the angels against the revelation of the 'secret' to the *Yorede Merkaba*): "My ministering angels, my servants, be ye not displeased on account of this etc."

he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness and perfection of deed states the justification for the translation of Enoch: his merits, his perfection. This is not explicit in ch. iv, but might have been understood. Enoch is worth as much as the whole generation.

I have taken him for a tribute (or: he is my reward, remuneration; YR.). There is a covert allusion here to the destruction of the rest of the generation, hence to the Flood: *Enoch is the only one preserved from the ruin of the first generation, God's only remuneration for all his labour*. Also in the tradition represented by chh. v, vi, Enoch was connected with the Flood (as is explicitly stated in the parallel ch. xlviii c 1, several times referred to). The original tradition seems to have been somewhat like this: Owing to the general downfall of the first generation, caused by the idolatry arising among men with Enosh and his followers—an idolatry inspired by the demons or fallen angels—*Shekina* was removed from earth, and on the removal of the *Shekina* followed the destruction of the entire race in the waters of the Flood. One righteous man, Enoch, was exempted from the general fate of his contemporaries: he was taken up to the heavens together with the *Shekina*.

The aspect in which Enoch's translation is seen here is his being the tribute from the first generation, God's remuneration—the Creation of the first generation had not been in vain. In ch. iv it is seen from the aspect of the function assigned to Enoch of being a witness before coming generations, in the world to come, to the sinfulness and corruption of the generation that was ultimately destroyed in the waters of the Flood.

CHAPTER VII¹*Enoch raised upon the wings of the Shekina to the place of the Throne, the Merkaba and the angelic hosts*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

When the Holy One, blessed be He, took me away from the generation of the Flood, he lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Shekina* to the highest heaven and brought me into the great palaces of the '*Araboth Raqia*' on high, where are ²the glorious Throne of *Shekina*², the *Merkaba*³, the troops of anger, the armies of vehemence, the fiery *Shin'anin*⁴, the ⁵flaming *Kerubim*, and the burning '*Ophan-nim*', the flaming servants, the flashing *Chashmallim* and the lightening *Seraphim*⁵. And he placed me (there) to attend the Throne of Glory day after day.

¹ B places this chapter at the end of ch. xiv. ²⁻² BCL: 'the glory of Shekina'
³ B: 'the chariots of the mighty ones of anger' L: 'the chariots of the mighty ones'
 C: 'the great chariots of anger' ⁴ C: 'Accusers' 'Satans' ⁵⁻⁵ lit. 'the
Kerubim of firebrands' and the '*Ophanim* of (burning) coal and the servants of
 flame and the *Chashmallim* of spark and the *Seraphim* of lightning'

Ch. vii. Another short version of the translation of Enoch, connecting it with the generation of the Flood but also containing traces of its relation to the removal or lifting up of *Shekina* ('on the wings of the wind of the *Shekina*'). lifted me on the wings of the wind of *Shekina*. The wings of *Shekina*, a common metaphorical expression, often used as denoting proselytism; cf. Abelson, *op. cit.* p. 90. Here it rather expresses the protection given to Enoch from the Godhead (against the fury of the angels?), *TB. Shabbat*, 88 b: "when Moses was to ascend on high... God spread over him of the splendour of His *Shekina*, that the angels might not be able to burn him". For 'wings of the wind' cf. *chh.* xxxiv. 1, xxxvii. 2. Cf. 2 *En.* iii. 1 (Enoch raised upon the wings of the angels, upon the clouds etc.). Acc. to *Mysteries of St John and the Holy Virgin*, 6 b, St John is raised "on the wing of the light of the Cherub". Cf. ch. vi. 1 (BCL). where are the... Throne... the *Merkaba*, the troops of anger etc., the most prominent of the glories contained in the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth Raqia*'. Cf. *Mass. Hek.* v ("in the seventh Hall of '*Araboth Raqia*' are the Throne... the Chariots of the *Kerubim*... *Seraphim*, '*Ophanim*, *Chayyoth*, the *Chashmallim* of splendour and majesty, etc."). A parallel is ch. xlviii c 4, but notice the difference: there Enoch-Metatron is represented as appointed over and a minister of all the different classes of high angels, as well as of the Throne. Here he is represented as attendant of the Throne only (cf. however, x. 3). See ch. xv. 1. the fiery *Shin'anin*. The name *Shin'anin* is deduced from vs. 18 of the mystical Ps. lxxviii. The *Shin'anin* as a class of angels occurs frequently in enumerations of angelic orders.

the flaming servants. Cf. on ch. vi. 2.

the flashing *Chashmallim*. One of the ten classes of angels, in common with the *Shin'anin*. Cf. also ch. xlviii c and *Mass. Hek.* v, referred to above. The name is derived from the *Chasmal* of Ezek. i. 4. Cf. on ch. xxxiv. 1. The *Chashmallim* are in *Chag.* 13 b explained as "the angels (*Chayyoth*) who are sometimes silent

CHAPTER VIII

*The gates (of the treasures of heaven)
opened to Metatron*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Before He appointed me to attend the Throne of Glory, the Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me

three hundred thousand gates of Understanding

three hundred thousand gates of Subtlety

three hundred thousand gates of Life

1-1 Following is the order of the attributes in the other readings:

B (10): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... meekness... fear of sin

C (12): loving-kindness... understanding... life... subtlety... Shekina... power

(*chash*) and sometimes speak (*mallel*): they are silent when the Word emanates from the Holy One, blessed be He, they speak when He has ceased speaking."

to attend the Throne of Glory day after day. This is a traditional function of Metatron, the Prince of the Presence. Cf. ch. xlviii c 4. *Hek. R.* xi: "when the angel of the Presence enters to exalt and magnify the Throne of Glory and to prepare the seat for the Mighty One in Jacob". *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9 fol. 67 b)*: "Metatron is the president of the Divine Thrones of Glory (of Dan. vii. 9)". But Metatron has also a Throne of his own: chh. x. 1-3, xvi. 1, 2, xlviii c 8.

Ch. viii. (1) The Holy One, blessed be He, opened to me three hundred thousand gates of Understanding etc. The gates are the gates of the treasures of the heavens ('Araboth). Metatron is appointed over the stores of 'Araboth acc. to ch. x. 6, xlviii c 3. The treasures are the treasures of wisdom, understanding etc. i.e. the attributes by which the world is sustained. The abstract qualities here enumerated are to a large extent identical with those named as the agencies by which God created the world in, e.g. *TB. Chag. 12 a* ("wisdom, understanding, knowledge, strength, might etc."), *Ab. R. Nathan*, xxvii, xliii. Cf. ch. xli. 3: "wisdom, understanding, knowledge etc. by which the world is sustained"; and *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, BH. iii. 20: "God supplies the world day by day with gifts, without which the world could not subsist for a single day: spirit and soul, knowledge and wisdom and subtlety, counsel and might, and the different senses". The idea is, that the abstract qualities on which the world is founded and by which it is sustained emanate from God. Yet we are here in no way nearer the conception of the 'Ten Sefirot' than in the passages cited from *TB. Chag. 12 a* etc. For wisdom and understanding treasured in heaven cf. 4 *Ex. v. 9*, "then shall intelligence hide itself and wisdom withdraw to its chamber", where the essential idea of the present representation is already extant: wisdom and intelligence as at work in the world have their home in 'chambers' (i.e. in heaven) from where they have emanated and whither they return. Cf. also ch. xlviii d 2, and for the 'opening of the gates of the treasures' *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Aleph*: "5000 gates of wisdom were opened to Moses on Sinai corresponding to the five books of the Law, and 8000 gates of understanding, corresponding to the eight prophets and 11,000 gates of knowledge corresponding to the eleven writings". three hundred thousand gates of Life. The 'treasures of life' in heaven are frequently referred to. Cf. e.g. *Chag. 12 b*: "in 'Araboth Raqia' are... the treasures of life..."; ch. x. 6 here.

three hundred thousand gates of 'grace and loving-kindness'
 three hundred thousand gates of love
 three hundred thousand gates of Tora
 three hundred thousand gates of meekness
 three hundred thousand gates of maintenance
 three hundred thousand gates of mercy
 three hundred thousand gates of fear of heaven¹.

(2) In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, added in me wisdom unto wisdom, understanding unto understanding, subtlety unto subtlety, knowledge unto knowledge, mercy unto mercy, instruction unto instruction, love unto love, loving-kindness unto loving-kindness,

and might... grace and loving-kindness... love... instruction (Tora)... maintenance... fear of sin... meekness

E (12): wisdom... understanding... subtlety... life... peace... Shekina... power and might... strength... grace and loving-kindness... love... meekness... fear of sin

YR. i. 54 b (12): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... Shekina... power and might... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... meekness... fear of sin

L (12): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... Shekina... might... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... meekness... fear of sin

D (15): wisdom... understanding... life... subtlety... peace... Shekina... power and might... strength... grace and loving-kindness... love... Tora... maintenance... mercy... meekness... fear of heaven

three hundred thousand gates of Tora. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 43, 44*: "The Holy One, blessed be He, appointed Moses over all Israel, and over all the treasures of Tora, and over all treasures of wisdom, and over all treasures of understanding". It is interesting to note, that acc. to this conception there is a special treasury of *Tora* (= the Celestial Tora?) besides the treasures of wisdom and of understanding. Acc. to another conception the Tora is itself formed of the elements of wisdom and understanding, the 'secrets of the treasures'; cf. on ch. xlviii D 2, 3.

gates of maintenance (*Parnasa*). Even the maintenance and sustenance of the needs of the world has its source in heaven. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Zain*: "*Zain*, that is the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, for he feeds and maintains (*mepharnes*) all his creatures, day after day, as it is said (Ps. civ. 28): 'thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good'". From the 'maintenance' *Parnasa*, stored in heaven, the seventy princes of kingdoms take and "throw down to the nations of the world their maintenance" acc. to the *Lesser YR.*, *sub voce Nedibim* et freq. "Metatron distributes *Parnasa* among all the companies of angels" (*YR. i. 56*, quoting *Pardes*).

The opening the treasures or gates to Metatron presumably connotes not only the bestowal upon him of their contents (as in vs. 2) but also that they are put in his charge and to his distribution. As Prince over the Princes he has to distribute their contents among the angels, and perhaps also as functional Prince of the World to the earth and nations.

added in me wisdom unto wisdom etc. The attributes here enumerated are on the whole identical with those of vs. 1. Hence the idea probably is that the contents of the opened treasures were conferred upon Metatron. more than all the children of heaven. The unique position of Metatron is here emphasized.

goodness unto goodness, meekness unto meekness, power unto power, strength unto strength, might unto might, brilliance unto brilliance, beauty unto beauty, splendour unto splendour,² and I was honoured and adorned with all these good and praiseworthy things more than all the children of heaven.

CHAPTER IX

Enoch receives blessings from the Most High and is adorned with angelic attributes

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) After all these things the Holy One, blessed be He, put His hand upon me and blessed me with 5360¹ blessings. (2) And I was raised² and enlarged to the size of the length and width of the world. (3) And He caused 72 wings to grow on me, 36 on each side. And

² C adds: 'and honour unto all honour, majesty unto all majesty, glory unto all glory and greatness unto all greatness'

Ch. ix. 1 so BCL. A: 'one thousand, 305 thousands' DE: 'one thousand, 365 thousand' ² BC: 'elated'

Ch. ix. The subject of the present chapter is the metamorphosis through which Enoch was made into a high angel. This metamorphosis is viewed from another aspect in ch. xv. Here the different angelic attributes conferred on Metatron are: immense height of stature, wings, eyes covering the whole of his body, and light.

(1) blessed me with 5360 blessings. This connects the present chapter with its antecedent: the blessings are presumably conceived of as contained in the heavenly treasures, opened to Enoch and the contents of which are bestowed upon him. The treasures of blessing(s) are mentioned as contained in the 'Araboth, e.g. TB. Chag. 12 b. The number 5360 is intended to reflect the number 365.

(2) I was raised to the size of the length... of the world. The immense size of the high angels is a constantly reiterated theme. Cf. ch. xxi. 1: "each of the Chayyoth is as the space of the world" (cf. Chag. 13 a), chh. xxii. 3, xxv. 4, xxvi. 4. The idea prevails: the greater an angel is (in rank) the larger his size. Cf. the versions of the *Rev. of Moses* (*Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 58, etc., YR. ii. 66 b-67 b, Zohar, ii. 58 a): "Hadarniel is greater than Qemuel by 60 myriads of parasangs, Sandalfon is higher of stature than Hadarniel by 500 years' journeying distance". Thus, in the other Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book, ch. xlviii c 5, the size of Metatron is seen from this comparative aspect: "I made him higher of stature than all. The height of his stature surpasses all others by ten thousand parasangs". The similar tradition preserved in Zohar, e.g. i. 21 a: "Metatron is glorified more than the highest angels (the Chayyoth) and higher than these by 500 parasangs".

(3) 72 wings. The number seventy-two is frequently used in the present book. It generally seems to imply reference to the rule of the world: the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, cf. note on ch. xvii. 8. Metatron is in the present section the ruler of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms: chh. x. 3, xiv. 1, xvi. 1 and 2. It is possible that the seventy-two wings here—extending over the whole world

each wing³ was as the whole world³. (4) And He fixed on me 365 eyes: each eye was as the great luminary. (5) And He left no kind of splendour, brilliance, radiance, beauty ⁴in (of) all the lights of the universe⁴ that He did not fix on me.

3-3 so *BCDEL*. A: 'filled the world'
the universe'

4-4 so *BCL*. A: 'praise, lights of

—symbolize Metatron's rulership over these. 36 on each side may be compared with ch. xvi. 1: 'the princes of kingdoms were standing... on my right hand and on my left'.

(4) 365 eyes. For the number 365 (= the number of days of the solar year) as mystical number cf. chh. v. 4, xxi. 3 ('the size of each wing of the Chayyoth as 365 wings'), xxxiii. 4 ('the breadth of each of the fiery rivers is 365 thousand parasangs'). The body of an angel-prince covered with eyes (round about) is a regular feature of the descriptions of angels: cf. chh. xxii. 8 ('his body is full of eyes', of Kerubiel), xxv. 2, where the number of eyes assigned to the angel-prince in question ('*Ophaniel*') is devised on the basis of calendary calculations ('8466 eyes corresponding to the number of hours of a year'), xxvi. 6. Cf. notes *ad loca*. each eye was as the great luminary. An identical statement about the eyes of Seraphiel, ch. xxvi. 6.

(5) fixed on me all kinds of splendour, brilliance etc. of the lights (luminaries) of the world. Cf. in the angelological descriptions: chh. xxii. 4, xxv. 6, xxvi. 2, 4. Cf. also *Mass. Hek.* iv: "On every door in the Hall(s) of 'Araboth there are fixed 365 thousand myriads of different kinds of lights like unto the great luminary'".

The repeated references by comparisons to the 'world' in the present chapter, vss. 2, 3, 5, and the possible allusion to the seventy-two princes of kingdoms or to the rule of the world in vs. 3 (cf. above) might conceivably be traces, if not intentional symbolical expressions, of Metatron's function as the Prince of the World. Vs. 2, 'I was raised to the size of the world', might also be a remnant of Metatron's connection with the speculations on the Primordial Man, the '*Adam Qadmon*'. Acc. to *Chag.* 12 a the first Adam reached from one end of the world to the other. This connection, which like the identification of Metatron with the Prince of the World (existing from the Days of Creation), was perhaps suspended in consequence of Metatron's identification with Enoch, reappears in later cabbalistic literature: the statement that Enoch-Metatron is the *Neshāmā* of the first Adam, who left him before the sin of Adam (just as the universal size of the first Adam is represented as diminished through Adam's sin: *TB. Chag.* 12 a) is frequent. The difficulties arising from Metatron's identification with Enoch were now overcome through the new conceptions brought in with the doctrine of metempsychosis and related speculations.

CHAPTER X

God places Metatron on a throne at the door of the seventh Hall and announces through the Herald, that Metatron henceforth is God's representative and ruler over all the princes of kingdoms and all the children of heaven, save the eight high princes called YHWH by the name of their King

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) All these things the Holy One, blessed be He, made for me: ¹He made me ¹a Throne, similar to the ²Throne of Glory. And He spread over me ³a curtain of splendour and brilliant appearance, of

1-1 so ins. DE.

2 C ins. 'make of the'

3-3 BCL om.

Ch. x. This chapter presents Metatron as adorned with special attributes, distinguishing him from the other angels: a throne and a curtain, both reflections of the Throne and Curtain of the Godhead. He is furthermore explicitly pronounced a ruler over the princes of kingdoms and the children of heaven, a rulership defined as a vice-regency for the Holy One. The chapter really forms an explanation of the names 'Metatron' and 'Prince of the Presence'.

(1) He made me a Throne. This is *in itself* no feature confined to the descriptions of Metatron. Instances are frequent of thrones assigned to angels or meritorious dead. 1 *En.* cviii. 12 ("I will bring forth in shining light [cf. here] those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each one on the throne of his honour"). Cf. CHARLES, *ad locum*, Rev. iv. 4. In the 'Apocalyptic Fragment' preserved e.g. in *BH.* v. 167-169 David has a "Throne of fire" erected for him over against the Throne of His Creator. Acc. to *Gedullah Moshe* Moses sees in the seventh heaven "70 thrones fixed, of precious stones, pearls, gold etc.... there are thrones for the scholars of the Law, for the *chassids*, the just etc. of different splendour acc. to merit of the occupants". And acc. to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 34, the righteous in the world to come will each be seated before the Glory of the Holy One, on a throne of gold "like a king". For thrones assigned to angels cf. *Mass. Hek.* vii, acc. to which seven angels as court-officers are sitting upon seven thrones before the Curtain. Cf. Rev. xx. 4 ("I saw thrones, and they sat upon them", acc. to Bousset, *Comm. ad loc.* probably Christ and the angels as 'Gerichtsbeisassen'). The view predominant in Rabbinic seems to be that 'there is no sitting in heaven': *TB. Chag.* 15 a. Assigning a seat or a throne to any angel-prince or to any one beside the Holy One, might endanger the recognition of the absolute sovereignty and unity of the Godhead. Cf. ch. xvi. Acc. to the passage *Chag.* 15 a, just referred to, the privilege of 'sitting' was accorded to Metatron in his character as 'scribe': he was allowed "to sit and write down the merits of Israel". Here, no doubt, the assigning a Throne to Metatron is meant to denote his unique position: his character of God's representative or vice-regent. This is borne out by vss. 3 and 4 and also by what immediately follows: the Throne is similar to, *mē'ēn*, that is 'the counterpart of', the Throne of Glory. The character of Metatron's throne as an image of or counterpart of God's Throne is particularly emphasized by the additional feature: Metatron receives a curtain similar to the Curtain of the Throne of Glory. For the conception of the Curtain cf. note on ch. xiv. 1.

beauty, grace⁴ and mercy, similar to³ the curtain of the Throne of Glory; and on it were fixed all ⁵kinds of lights in the universe⁵.

(2) And He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it.

(3) And the herald went forth ⁶ into every heaven, saying: ⁷This is⁷ Metatron, ⁸my servant⁸. I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms ⁹ and over all the children

4 DE om. 5-5 C: 'splendour and brilliance from all lights' cf. ch. ix. 4.
6 ABD ins. 'concerning me' 7-7 so C. 8-8 C om. 9 L ins. the gloss: 'the angels'

The Curtain regularly represents the recording of the Divine decrees with regard to the world, the secrets of the world's creation and sustenance, etc., in short the innermost Divine Secrets; cf. note referred to.

(2) He placed it at the door of the Seventh Hall and seated me on it. This is an often-repeated statement. It is in ch. xlviii c 8 made to denote his function as judge and ruler over the princes and the children of heaven, as even here, acc. to verses following. In *Rev. Moses* (YR. ii. 66 b, *Siuni*, 93 c d, Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893) it is said: "Metatron, Prince of the Presence, stands before the door of the Hall of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he sits and judges all the hosts on high like a judge standing before the King". The contradiction between the two statements 'sits' and 'stands' in this passage is probably due to the influence of the tradition mentioned above, that there is no sitting in heaven, responsible also for the account of Metatron being divested of his privilege of *yeshiba* in *Chag*. 15 a and ch. xvi here. On his throne at the door of the seventh Hall Metatron faces all the hosts of the heavens, over which he has jurisdiction.

(3) the herald went forth into every heaven. The conception of the heavenly herald announcing important decrees of the Most High in the heavens is attested also in *Hek. R.* vi (BH. iii. 88, as ch. iv): "the herald went forth from the '*Araboth Raqia'* etc." and in *Rev. Mos.*, *Yalqut Re'ubeni*, ii. 66 b: "*Galliṣur* stands behind the Curtain and gets knowledge of the decrees of the Holy One and heralds it. . . and the herald commits it to Elijah and Elijah stands as herald on the mount Horeb". This is Metatron, my servant. HERE THEN IS THE POINT—in the course of the exposition of the present chapter—WHERE ENOCH IS PROCLAIMED AS METATRON. It is significant that THIS PROCLAMATION IS MADE TO COINCIDE WITH HIS BEING SET UP ON A THRONE—as a ruler over the princes and angels. See Introduction, section 12 (5). my servant, i.e. '*Ebed*'. '*Ebed* or God's Servant is an old-established name of Metatron. Cf. chh. xlviii c 1, xlviii d 1 (no. 17) and note. It seems to have been especially associated with the Prince of the Presence conception. Cf. *Hek. R.* xiii, BH. iii. 93: "*Surya*, '*Ebed*', the Prince of the Presence" (*Surya* is a common equivalent of Metatron as the Prince of the Presence, cf. no. 84, ch. xlviii. 1). In *Hek. Zot.* (Bodl. mch. fol. 70a) the attribute 'my servant' is applied to Metatron as God's representative or vice-regent: "when I (the Holy One) leave the Throne of Glory to go down among the children of men". In *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104, Metatron is called "'*Ebed*-YHWH, long-suffering and of great mercy". It is probable that the '*Ebed*' is derived from the picture of God's servant in Is. xlix. 1, etc.

I have made him into a prince and a ruler over all the princes of my kingdoms (= my princes of kingdoms). Here, as in ch. xvi. 1, 2, Metatron is explicitly stated to have special authority over the princes of kingdoms. This is a feature in the Prince of the World tradition: ch. xxx. 2. In the shorter Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xlviii c, vs. 9, Metatron's character of ruler over the princes of kingdoms and thereby as functional Prince of the World is better preserved than here: he is there depicted as ruler over the nations of the world 'who smites kings

of heaven, *except the eight great princes, the honoured and revered ones who are called* ¹⁰YHWH, *by the name of their King*¹⁰. (4) And every angel ¹¹and every prince¹¹ who has a word to speak ¹²in my presence (before me)¹² shall go into his presence (before him) and shall speak to him (instead). (5) ¹³And every command that he utters to you¹³ in my name do ye observe and fulfil. For the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding ¹⁴have I committed to him¹⁴ to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly

10-10 so with *BCDL(E)*. *A*: 'by the name of H their King' *E*: 'H by the name of the World' (corrupt for: 'H, by the name of the King of the World?') 11-11 *D om.* 12-12 *BCL om.* 13-13 lit. 'every word that he shall speak to you' 14-14 so acc. to *BCL*. *BL* lit. 'I have committed him (sing. = the Prince of Wisdom and of Understanding)' *C*: 'I have committed them (plur.)' *A*: 'are ministers to him'

and sets up kings'. Here his rulership is viewed mainly or exclusively from its celestial aspect, he is the ruler over the princes of kingdoms as inhabitants of the heavens, in common with all the children of heaven. Except the eight great princes... who are called YHWH by the name of their king. 'Called by the name YHWH' (cf. on chh. iii. 2, xxix. 1) probably means that these angels have the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their names, as '*Anaphiel H* of ch. vi. 1, the higher ones of the angels enumerated ch. xviii, and the Merkaba princes chh. xix, xx, xxii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. Which these angels are who are exempt from the jurisdiction of Metatron is not stated here. One might from ch. vi. 1 conjecture that '*Anaphiel* was regarded as one of them. A parallel can be brought from *Hek. R.* xxii, *BH.* iii. 99. This parallel is indeed so close that it can with some degree of certainty be assumed to represent the same tradition as the present passage. The guardians of the seventh Hall are enumerated—"and each of them, his name is called by the name of the King of the World"—(in the enumeration this statement is shown to signify the form of names of which the *Tetragrammaton* forms the latter part: *SSTIEL YHWH*, *N(ZURIEL YHWH, etc.)*. The greatest of them is '*Anaphiel H* (in whose charge the ring with the seal of heaven and earth is committed, cf. on vi. 1): "before him all on high kneel down, fall on their faces and pay homage to him when they see him. And those angels, standing before the Throne of Glory, who do not prostrate themselves before the Prince of the Presence, they prostrate themselves before '*Anaphiel YHWH*'. 'Those angels' are evidently the angels in *Hek. R.* made into 'the guardians of the Seventh Hall'. The names of these angels are only seven in the enumeration, but acc. to the general scheme of *Hek. R.* (see chh. xv, xvii, etc.) the number of the guardians of each Hall is 'eight': likewise in *Mass. Hek.* iv ("there are eight guardians of the door of each of the seven Halls"). Hence also *Hek. R.* xxii might originally have had: "eight great princes, called H". This clause is most probably additional here, cf. Introduction, section 8(u).

(4) Every angel... who has a word to speak in my presence, shall go ... to him. HERE THE EPITHET 'PRINCE OF THE PRESENCE' IS EXPLAINED. (5) And every command that he utters to you in my name do ye observe and fulfil. THIS IS CLEARLY A PROCLAMATION OF METATRON AS GOD'S VICE-REGENT. Ex. xxiii. 21 may have been suggestive (Ex. xxiii. 20-22 are traditionally referred to the Prince of the Presence): "Beware of him and provoke him not: obey his voice". Here Metatron's jurisdiction extends only over the angels, ctr. ch. xlviii c 9. But his connection with the affairs of the 'world' is implied by the following, for the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding have I committed to him to instruct him in the wisdom of heavenly things and of earthly things. 'The Prince of Wisdom and Prince of Understanding':

things, in the wisdom of this world and of the world to come. (6) Moreover, I have set him over all the treasures of the palaces of 'Arabôth and over all the stores¹⁵ of life¹⁵ that¹⁶ I have^{16 17} in the high heavens.

CHAPTER XI

God reveals all mysteries and secrets to Metatron

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹Henceforth the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me¹ all

15-15 *L* om. 16-16 *E*: 'are' 17 *B* ins. 'in my world'

Ch. xi. 1-1 *BCL*: 'the Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to me, the spring (well) of'

cf. ch. xlviii D 1 (no. 105) and 2 ('all the treasures of wisdom are committed in his hand'). The functions of the Prince of Wisdom are then naturally merged into the conception of Metatron: Metatron is the Prince of Wisdom. Cf. on ch. xviii. 11, 16. Metatron instructed in the 'secrets' is the subject of the following chapter. There it is God himself who instructs him. Cf. in 2 *En.* xxxiii. 11, 12: "two angels Ariukh and Pariukh appointed by God as *guardians of the Enoch-literature*".

(6) I have set him over all the treasures of... 'Araboth. Cf. ch. viii. Acc. to the present chapter Metatron's initiation in the wisdoms of heaven and earth and his disposal over the treasures is a necessary condition for (and corollary of) his office as God's representative. *Stores of Life*: ch. viii. 1, 4 *Ez.* viii. 54, *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 26, 44.

Ch. xi. That METATRON IS IN POSSESSION OF ALL SECRETS AND MYSTERIES is an essential feature of the traditions concerning him. Cf. the other Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book: ch. xlviii c 7 (and 4). He is called the 'Knower of Secrets' *ib.* and *Hek. R.* ("wise in the secrets and Master of the mysteries"). The same is implied in chh. viii, x. 5. As a 'knower of secrets' he is also the 'revealer of secrets'. This is the eighty-eighth of the names in ch. xlviii D 1 and the sixty-seventh in the treatise *Names of Metatron*, *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a. He is the Prince of Wisdom and the Prince of Understanding: ch. xlviii D 1 (105), 2, 6. He reveals the 'secret' to Moses: *ib.* 7. He is the guide and revealer of secrets to R. Ishmael acc. to the frame of the present book, to R. Ishmael and R. 'Aqiba (*e. a.*) acc. to *Hek. R.* (in the form of 'Surya'), *Hek. Zot.*, *Shi'ur Qoma*, the *Apocalyptic Fragment*, *BH.* v. 167-169, and in various scattered fragments (see Introduction). Also called 'guide of all treasures', e.g. *BH.* ii. 117. Besides it needs hardly to be pointed out that the revelation of secrets to Enoch and Enoch as possessor of and revealer of heavenly secrets is a prominent trait of the 1 and 2 *En.* Cf. also CHARLES, 1 *En.* xlix. 3, 4.

(1) Henceforth the Holy One... revealed to me. Acc. to vs. 5 of the preceding chapter the angel(s) called the Prince of Wisdom and Prince of Understanding are the instructors of Enoch-Metatron. Here it is the Holy One himself who reveals the secrets to him. An important parallel to this is found in 2 *En.* xxiii, xxiv. In ch. xxiii the angel *Vretil* tells Enoch of 'all the works of heaven and earth, etc. etc.', in ch. xxiv again it is God himself who reveals to Enoch 'the secrets of Creation'. The reason of the change is there to be seen in the explicit statement that these latter secrets are not even revealed to the angels and could therefore be handed over to Enoch only by God himself. It is probable that a similar idea has been at work here. It is at least certain that Metatron was thought to receive more

the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom ²and all the depths of the Perfect Law²; ³and all living beings' thoughts of heart and all the secrets of the universe³ and all the secrets⁴ of Creation were revealed unto me even as they are revealed unto ⁵the Maker of Creation⁵.

(2) And I watched intently⁶ to behold ⁷the secrets of the depth and the wonderful mystery⁷.

⁹ABL:

C:

Before a man did think ⁸in secret, I saw^{8a} (it) and before a man made a thing I beheld it. (3) And there was no thing on high nor in the depth of the world hidden from me.¹⁰

Before a man did think, I knew what was in his thought. (3) And there was no thing above on high nor below in the deep hidden from me.

9

2-2 so BEL (L om. 'Perfect') A: lacuna. C reads: 'all the secrets of understanding and all the depths of the mysteries of the Tora' 3-3 BCL om. 4 BC: 'orders' 5-5 C: 'the Creator of the work(s) of the Beginning' 6 lit. 'much' BCL om. DE: 'from that time onward' 7-7 perhaps to be emended with C: 'the deep secrets and the wonderful mysteries' 8 B ins. 'I knew, and before he did think' 8a L: 'I knew' and om. 'in secret' 9-9 DE corr. from 'before a man did think etc.' to the end of the chapter. 10 B adds: 'from the Creator of the World alone'

of the 'secrets' than the angels in general; cf. ch. viii. 2 end: 'I was honoured and adorned with all these... things more than all the children of heaven', referring *inter alia* to 'wisdom, understanding, knowledge'.

all the mysteries of Tora and all the secrets of wisdom and all the depths of the Perfect Law. The mysteries of the Tora is a technical term, denoting THE INNER ESSENCE OF WHICH THE TORA ITSELF IS AN EXPRESSION, FORM, PHENOMENON. They are not to be defined as the sum of mystical interpretations of the Tora: the mystical interpretation aims at finding these secrets by the study of the Tora, in which they are embodied (cf. e.g. *Baraita of R. Meir, Pirke Ab.* vi: "Whosoever is busy in the Tora for its own sake... to him the mysteries of Tora are revealed"). They are in fact the 'mysteries of mysteries', the fundament not 'only' of the Tora but of the universe, of heaven and earth: cf. ch. xlviii D 8 and note *ad locum*. In the term are thus comprised also the following: the secrets of Wisdom and the depths of the Perfect Law and also the Secrets of Creation. See Introduction, section 14 (1). Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 43, 44, acc. to which God revealed to Moses (since Moses received the Tora on Sinai he was also thought to have received the 'Secrets' either directly from God or through Metatron; cf. ch. xlviii D 3, 7 seq.) 'the Tora... and opened to him the treasures of Wisdom, which the Holy One... revealed to him, that he might see by His Wisdom all the orders of Creation...' Perfect Law. The expression is derived from Ps. xix. 8. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 14: "But for the Perfect Law (*Torā Temimā*) the whole world would not subsist" and *vice versa*.

all living beings' thoughts of heart... (2) Before a man did think, I knew, etc. (3) ...no thing... on high nor... in the deep hidden from me. Metatron seems here to be invested with the attribute of omniscience proper only to 'the Maker of the World'. All past, present and future events are recorded with God (on the Curtain cf. on ch. xlv. 1). These were also shown to Moses acc. to the passage *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 44, referred to above.

CHAPTER XII

God clothes Metatron in a garment of glory, puts a royal crown on his head and calls him "the Lesser YHWH"

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) By reason of the love with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved me more than all the children of heaven, He made me a garment of glory¹ on which were fixed² all kinds of ³ lights, and He clad me ⁴in it⁴. (2) ⁵And He made me a robe of honour on which were fixed all kinds of beauty, splendour, brilliance and majesty ⁶⁵. (3) And he made me a royal crown in which were fixed forty-nine costly stones

1 so BCL. lit. 'highness' A corr. 2 so C. ABDEL om. 3 B ins. 'beauty, splendour and majesty and' 4-4 supplied from C. 5-5 DE om. 6 CL add: 'and wrapped me (in it)'

Ch. xii. Continued description of Enoch's exaltation, ending with the climax: ENOCH-METATRON CALLED THE LESSER YHWH. A very close parallel to this chapter is found in 2 En. xxi. 5-11, xxii. 5. Vide Introduction, section 7 (b). (1) The Holy One...made me a garment of glory. Cf. 2 En. xxii. 8 (lvi. 2): God bids Michael clothe Enoch with 'the raiment of glory'. [In early traditions the 'garment of glory' ('raiment of honour', etc.) represents the light-substance in which the inhabitants of the high heavens appear; the 'glory' is light, splendour, probably conceived of as a reflection, outflow of the Divine Glory, the Splendour of Shekina. The putting on 'the raiment of glory' is a necessary condition of entering the highest heavens, God's abode of light. Hence it is also a mark of the holy, celestial nature of its bearer.] Cf. how acc. to Asc. Is. ix. 2-11 (vii. 25) Isaiah can only ascend to the highest heaven after having received the garment of glory. 'Garments of glory' are designed for the righteous and elect: 1 En. lxii. 15, 16. Similarly Esdras ii. 39 ("those which are departed from the shadow of the world and have received glorious garments of the Lord"), explained ib. iv. 45 ("they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal"), 1 En. cviii. 12 (vide CHARLES' notes *ad loca cit.*), 2 Cor. v. 3 seq., Rev. iii. 5, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14, Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 28 and 34 (the righteous will be sitting on thrones before the Glory in royal garments and royal crowns).

[The garment of glory and robe of honour is here assigned to Metatron as distinguished from the other angels: 'by reason of the love with which [He] loved me more than all the children of heaven'. The writer has Metatron's rulership, his vice-regency in view. THE GARMENT AND ROBE ASSIGNED TO HIM ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS SYMBOLS OF HIS DERIVED KINGSHIP. This is apparent from the following context: Metatron crowned with a crown of kingship and especially by his pronouncement as the Lesser YHWH. Acc. to Alpha Beta de Metatron (Add. 15299, fol. 81 b) Metatron "is clad in eight garments, made out of the splendour of Shekina (ib. 81 a: when the righteous parts from this world the Prince of the Presence conducts him to the Garden of Eden and there he clothes him in eight garments from the splendour of Shekina)". THE GARMENT(S) OF GLORY ARE A DISTINCTION ASSIGNED ALSO TO MESSIAH acc. to Pirke Mashiach, BH. iii. 73 ("God will clothe Messiah in splendour and majesty... and garments of glory").

(3) And he made me a royal crown. 'Crowns' often termed 'Crowns of Glory' are frequently, one might say regularly, ascribed to angel-princes. Cf. in

like unto⁷ the light of the globe of the sun. (4) For its splendour went forth⁸ in the four quarters of the 'Araboth Raqia', and in (through) the seven heavens, and in the four quarters of the world⁸. And⁹ he put it⁹ on my head.

(5) And¹⁰ He called me¹⁰ THE LESSER YHWH in the presence of all His¹¹ heavenly household; as it is written (Ex. xxiii. 21): "For my name is in him".

7-7 B: 'shining as'

8-8 B: 'from one end of the world to the other, and in the seven heavens and in the four quarters of the world'

9-9 lit. 'he wreathed it'

C: 'they put that crown'

10-10 BC: 'they called me (by the name of)'

11 BCL: 'the'

the present book chh. xvi. 1, 2 (princes of kingdoms), xvii. 8 (item), xviii. 1-22 (all the angels and princes); in the angelological section, the Merkaba-angels and the princes set over them: chh. xxi. 4, xxii. 5, 11, xxv. 6, xxvi. 7, 8, further xxxix. 2, xl. 2, xlviii c 4. The Divine Names, ch. xlviii B 1. Cf. Rev. iv. 4. The righteous are to receive crowns in the world to come or in the after-life, e.g. 2 Esdras ii. 45. Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 34, and *ib.* 36, God is represented as crowning the letters on the Merkaba with a crown of kingship and a crown of glory. In the present book 'the crown of kingship' is the special emblem of Metatron and of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms (whose ruler he is): ch. xvii. 8 (cf. xvi. 1, 2); in ch. xviii all the angel-princes are depicted with 'crowns of glory' except the 'seventy-two princes of kingdoms' who have 'crowns of kingship'. They are the celestial rulers over the nations of the world. The royal crown here is apparently meant to distinguish Metatron as representative ruler. The following chapter makes it clear that METATRON'S CROWN WAS CONCEIVED OF AS A COUNTERPART OF 'KETHER NORA' OF THE HOLY ONE AS KING OF THE WORLD (cf. ch. xxix. 1). its splendour went forth etc. Cf. ch. xxv. 6.

(5) And He called me the Lesser YHWH... "For my name is in him." The tradition that Metatron bears the name of his Master is attested in *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, with the same scriptural support as here, viz. Ex. xxiii. 21. The passage is frequently referred to Metatron. The reference has been interpreted from the equal numerical value of Metatron and *Shaddai* (the name of God Almighty). The original meaning was, however, as here, that METATRON ACTUALLY WAS CALLED BY THE DIVINE NAME OR NAMES. Such seems to be the import even of *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, since there Ex. xxiv. 1 is referred to Metatron: "And He said unto Moses, Come up unto YHWH"; 'Come up unto YHWH' is to be understood: 'Come up unto Metatron'. A very important parallel is found in *Apocalypse of Abraham* (ed. BOX), ch. 10: "I am called *Jaol* by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the seventh expanse upon the firmament, a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me". *Jaol* is made up of the Divine Names, and therefore 'God's Name is in Him'. For Metatron called 'the Lesser YHWH' cf. *BH.* ii. 61, 114, 117, and also 3 *En.* xlviii c 7, xlviii d 1 (no. 102: 'the Lesser YHWH, after the name of his Master, "for my name is in him (Ex. xxiii. 21)"; *ib.* no. 14, YHWH is included as one of the names of Metatron). *Sepher ha-Qoma* ('*Inyane Merkaba*'), *Bodl.* OPP. 467, fol. 61 b (where the variant reading, however, differs): "The Explicit Name, which is Metatron, the Youth" (var. "the explicit name which Metatron announces"). In the commentary on *Sepher ha-Qoma* (*Bodl.* OPP. 658, fol. 101 a): "for Metatron's name is YHWH the Lesser". *Add.* 27142 quotes from *Hekaloth* (et al.) "And he (Metatron) is the crown of the attributes of the Holy One, and his name is as the name of His Master: THE LESSER YHWH" *Add.* 15299, fol. 134 a (*Widdiy Yaphé*): "all the princes that are standing beneath the Lesser YHWH". Cf. *Zohar*, i. 21 a. The ascribing to Metatron of the name YHWH

CHAPTER XIII

God writes with a flaming style on Metatron's crown the cosmic letters by which heaven and earth were created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) Because of the ¹great love and ¹mercy with which the Holy One, blessed be He, loved ²and cherished ²me more than all the children of heaven, He wrote with his finger with a flaming style upon the crown on my head the letters by which were created ³heaven and earth, the seas and rivers³, ⁴the mountains and hills,⁴ the planets and constellations ⁵, the lightnings, winds, earthquakes ⁶and voices (thunders)⁶, the snow and hail, the storm-wind and the

C OM. CHH. XIII AND XIV.

1-1 so with BDEL. A: 'love of the Holy One,

blessed be He, and the'

2-2 L om.

3-3 ins. with BDEL. A om.

4-4 BL om.

5 B ins. 'the sun and the moon'

6-6 L om.

ha-QATAN is very near to ascribing to him an intermediary Function of Deity. But it here denotes his function of being God's representative. As His representative the Most High has conferred upon him part of His essence which is in His name. Cf. how acc. to later traditions Metatron is regarded as part of the Shekina, the body of Shekina, "the Shekina is called by his name Metatron" (YR. i. 57 a). Further on the significance of the name 'the Lesser YHWH' see Introduction, section 8. (Add. 27199, fol. 114 a: שם הגדול כי שמי בקרבו speaking of Metatron.) The expression 'the little Iao' is found in Pistis Sophia (ed. Horner), page 6 (12b) (ed. Schmidt, pp. 7, 8). Cf. Introduction, 8 (p) and 11 H 2 (a).

Ch. xiii. (Cf. the parallel chapter xli.) ON THE CROWN WITH WHICH THE HOLY ONE CROWNED METATRON ACC. TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER VS. 3, HE WRITES THE MYSTICAL LETTERS "BY WHICH HEAVEN AND EARTH ETC. WERE CREATED". This is indicated as a distinction assigned to Metatron over 'all the children of heaven' (cf. ch. xii. 1). The idea is presumably to denote that Metatron's crown is the counterpart of the Crown of the Most High, just as Metatron's throne and curtain (ch. x. 1) are the counterparts of the Divine Throne and Curtain resp. Acc. to Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 13 and iii. 50, the "22 letters by which the whole Torah was given to the Tribes of Israel... are engraved with a flaming style on the Fearful Crown (cf. ch. xxix. 1)". And the latter passage continues: "and when the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to create the world, they all went down and stood before Him". Mass. Hek. vii: "the crown with the Explicit Name is on His (fore)head".

(1) the letters by which were created heaven and earth. Which are these letters? In three different ways the conception of 'Creation by letters' is expressed: (1) the world was created by the letter *Beth*, being the first one of the letters of the Tora (*Bērēshith*): Gen. R. i. 14, Tj. Chag. 77 c, Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 5: for on the Tora the Creation was based; (2) the letters of the Divine Name are the constituents of the world (*Zohar*, ii. 76 a b), especially the letters of the YHWH and 'EHYE, viz. י, ה, ו, א. But also in particular the letters *Yod* and *He* (common to both these names and found in the name YAH). The biblical passage Is. xxvi. 4

tempest; the letters by which were created all ⁷the needs of the world ⁸and all ⁸⁷the orders of Creation.

(2) And every single letter ⁹sent forth ⁹¹⁰time after time as it were ¹⁰¹¹lightnings, ¹²time after time as it were ¹²torches, ¹²time after time as it were ¹²flames of fire, ¹²time after time ¹²¹¹(rays) like [as] the rising of the sun and the moon and the planets.

7-7 *L* om. 8-8 so with *BDE*. *A*: 'upon all' 9-9 *L*: 'flew off'
10-10 *BDE*: 'figures like unto' or 'figures of aspects as' 11-11 *DE* om.
12-12 *B* as in 10-10.

(cf. ch. xlii. 4) is used as support, interpreted thus: "By *Yōd Hē* He created the worlds". The 'worlds': "the world to come with *Yōd*, this world by *He*" or *vice versa* (*YR*. i. 8 b). From the word *behibbare'ām*, read *bē Hē bē'ā'ām* (by He did He create them), in *Gen*. ii. 4, support is brought for the statement: 'by *He* heaven and earth were created'. The first word of the *Tora* (*Bērēshith*, read *Bārā Sheth* (He created (by) six) together with the passage *Is*. xxvi. 4 already mentioned (interpreted: By *YH YHWH* he created the worlds) are used as support for the creation of heaven and earth and the world by the six letters: ה, י, ה, י, ה, י (*Ma'ase Bereshith*, *S. Raziell*, *Or*. 6577 foll. (19 b, 20 a b). Cf. for further references: *TB. Men*. 29 b, *Tf. Chag*. 77, *Gen. R*. xii. 2, 9, *Mass. Hek*. vii, *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH*. iii. 23, 24, 53, 55, 56, *YR*. i. 4 b, 8 b. (3) The world was created by the twenty-two letters (which of course are also regarded as constituting the Divine Name). *Pirqe R. Ishm.* (*Bodl. MICH*. 175, foll. 20 a-26 a, ch. xxi cont.) the statement to this effect is based likewise upon *Is*. xxvi. 4. The creation of everything in heaven and on earth by means of the twenty-two letters is notably the fundamental doctrine of the *S. Yeşira*: "By means of the 22 letters, by giving them a form and a shape, by mixing them and combining them in different ways, God made the soul of all that which has been created and of all that which will be" (ii. 2, cited by Abelson in *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 104). Cf. *ib.* p. 100 from *Ber*. 55 a: "Bezalel knew how to join together the letters by means of which the heavens and earth were created". Cf. also the "Sa'adya" commentary on *S. Yeşira*, ii. 2. As no special letters are named here and no reference is made to the 'name', also because the wording suggests a plurality, THE 'LETTERS' ARE PRESUMABLY IN THE PRESENT CHAPTER TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS THE 22 LETTERS. In ch. xlviii d 5 the conferment upon Metatron of the twenty-two letters is explicitly stated.

(2) And every single letter sent forth etc. Cf. ch. xxxix. 1 and ch. xlviii b 1, from which it appears as if the reading of *L* might probably be original: 'flew off'. Cf. notes *ad loca*. On 'the mystical letters' *vide* Introduction, section 14 (1).

The idea of creation by letters (of the Name) is to be traced back in the Enoch literature to 1 *En*. lxix. 14-25: "the hidden Name (enunciated) in the oath... and these are the secrets of this oath... through it the earth was founded... the sea was created... the depths made fast... the sun and moon complete their course" (Charles' ed.).

CHAPTER XIV

All the highest princes, the elementary angels and the planetary and sideric angels fear and tremble at the sight of Metatron crowned

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the Holy One, blessed be He, put this crown on my head, (then) trembled before me all the Princes of Kingdoms who are in the height ¹of 'Araboth Raqia' and all the hosts of every heaven¹; and even ²the princes (of) the 'Elim, the princes (of) the 'Er'ellim and the princes (of) the *Tafšarim*², who are greater than all the

1-1 *L. om.* 2-2 so with *BL.* *A:* 'the princes of the 'Er'elim and the princes of the 'Elim *Tafšarim* and the princes of the 'Er'ellim' *DE:* 'the princes 'Elim and the princes 'Tafšarim'

Ch. xiv. In the form of a narrative of how different princes and angels trembled before Metatron, when they saw him crowned by the Most High, the PRESENT CHAPTER GIVES AN EXPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS ANGELIC POWERS UNDER METATRON'S AUTHORITY. These comprise mainly: (1) the princes of kingdoms, including Samael ('who is greater than all of them'); (2) the princes (of) the 'Elim, 'Er'ellim and *Tafšarim*; (3) the so-called 'rulers of the world', i.e. (a) the angels appointed over the elementary powers of the world, fire, ice, wind, lightning, thunder, snow, rain, (b) the angels appointed over the heavenly bodies, including the angels of 'the day' and 'the night'. It will be noticed that these angels and angelic functions fall within the traditional dominion of the 'Prince of the World': METATRON IS HERE (cf. on chh. ix. 5, x. 3) DENOTED AS VIRTUAL PRINCE OF THE WORLD, HAVING AUTHORITY OVER THE 72 PRINCES OF KINGDOMS (cf. ch. xxx) AND OVER THE 'RULERS OF THE WORLD'.

(1) all the Princes of Kingdoms. Metatron is particularly depicted as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms; cf. chh. x. 3, xvi. 1, 2, xlviii c 9, and on iii. 2. For the conception of the princes of kingdoms—the representatives of the nations of the world—see on ch. xvii. 8 and cf. chh. xviii. 2, xxx. 2. who are in the height of 'Araboth Raqia', the highest of the heavens. The princes of kingdoms are usually represented as having their place in the highest of the heavens, near the Throne of God. They form the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Divine Council (ch. xxx). See on ch. xvii. 8 (in Raqia') and xviii. 2 (in the 'Araboth Raqia', but in rank under the guardians of the Halls of Araboth).

'Elim, the princes of the 'Elim. A class of angels mentioned also chh. xv B 1 and xix. 6 (in the reading of *B*). The name is derived from Ex. xv. 11 and Ezek. xxxii. 21. *Mekilta* on the former passage explains 'Elim' as "those who minister before the Holy One in the high heavens", thus denoting them as angels. The 'Er'ellim and 'Tafšarim, also in ch. xxxiii. 7. The 'Er'ellim, denoting angels (in general?) in *Ket.* 104 a and *Yer. Kil.* 32 a, are derived from Is. xxxiii. 7. They are one of the 'ten classes of angels' (under the rulership of Mikael, *Mass.* 'Asiluth, *Zohar*, Ex. xliii; *Maimon*, *Y. Ch. Y. T.*), also mentioned as one of the first classes of angels in *YR.* i. 13 a (from *Midrash Kōnēn*) and i. 31 a (from 'Ör ha-Chayyim). The *Tafšarim* (*Jer.* li. 27, *Nah.* iii. 17) occur here and in ch. xxxix. 2 only. For the hosts of every heaven (*om. by L*) cf. xvii. 2.

ministering angels who minister before the Throne of Glory, ⁴shook, feared and trembled before me ³when they beheld me³⁴.

(2) Even Sammael ⁵, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms on high, feared and trembled before me.

(3) And even the angel⁶ of fire, and the angel⁶ of hail, and the angel⁶ of the wind, ⁷and the angel of the lightning,⁷ and the angel of anger, ⁸and the angel of the thunder⁸, and the angel of the snow, and the angel of ⁹the rain; and the angel of the day, and the angel of the night, ¹⁰and the angel of the sun and the angel of the moon¹⁰ and the angel of the planets and the angel of the constellations ¹¹who rule the world under their hands, feared ¹²and trembled and were affrighted before me, when they beheld me¹².

¹³(4) These are the names of the rulers of the world: *Gabriel*, the

3-3 *E* om. 4-4 *L* om. 5 *DE* ins. 'the Evil One' 6 *BL*: 'angels'
 7-7 *B* om. 8-8 *D*: 'the angel of the storm-wind, the angel of the earthquake'
B: 'the angel of the earthquake and the angel of commotion and the angel of hail'
L: 'and the angels of the earthquake and the thunder' 9 *L* ins. 'the lightning
 and' (cf. 7-7) 10-10 *L* om. 11-11 *L* om. from 'who rule...' vs. 3 to vs. 5.
 12-12 *B* om. 13-13 *B* om. vs. 4.

(2) Sammael, the Prince of the Accusers, who is greater than all the princes of kingdoms. For Sammael cf. on ch. xxvi. 21. He is here put in relation to the princes of kingdoms, probably regarded as the chief of these princes. As 'the prince of Rome'—ch. xxvi. 12—he is naturally included in this category, and as a representative of Rome, Israel's greatest oppressor, he also becomes the representative of all the Gentile nations and the leader of the princes who accuse Israel (represented by Mikael) on high. From this point of view one trend of traditions regards the princes of kingdoms, under Sammael, as evil, demoniacal powers. In the present book the tendency is contrary: in ch. xxx the princes of kingdoms, under the Prince of the world, together plead the cause of the world before God in a universal sense, and here they are all subjected under the rulership of Metatron whose authority supersedes that of Sammael.

(3) The angels of the elementary forces of fire, hail, wind, lightnings, etc., are comprised with those of the heavenly bodies under the category of 'rulers of the world' ('who rule the world under their hands'). Cf. 2 *En.* iv-vi where the first heaven is said to contain "the rulers of the orders of the stars" together with the angels guarding "the treasures of snow, ice, clouds and dew". The names and characteristics of the angels of 1 *En.* vi. 7 and viii show a combination of elementary and sidereal-planetary powers: Kokabiel, evidently = Kokbiel of vs. 4 (planets or stars), Shamsiel (= Shimshiel of vs. 4: the sun), Sariel (the moon) and Ezeqeel (= Ziqiel of vs. 4: the sparks or lightnings); cf. Zaqiel, Baraqijal (= Baraqiel: lightnings), Jomjael (= Yomiel?, prince of the day, here Shimshiel). For the close connection of the gods, angels or rulers of elementary and planetary phenomena attested in Persian religion, Mithraism and Gnosticism cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, pp. 223-237. Cf. Diels, *Elementum*, pp. 41 seqq., pointing out that the στοιχεῖα, 'elements', of N.T.-time comprise elementary powers and planets (Gal. iv. 3, 9, Col. ii. 8, 20 etc.) For planetary angels, spirits or demons cf. 1 *En.* lx 15-22, 2 *En.* xv, xvi. 7, *Jub.* ii. 2, 4 *Ez.* vi. 41, 2 *Bar.* vi. 1, item 1 *En.* lxi. 10 ("principalities...and the powers of earth and water"), *ib.* lxvi. 2 ("angels...over the

angel of the fire, *Baradiel*, the angel of the hail, *Ruchiel* who is appointed over the wind, *Baraqiel* who is appointed over the lightnings, *Za'amiel* who is appointed over the vehemence, *Ziqiel* who is appointed over the sparks, *Zi'iel* who is appointed over the commotion, *Za'aphiel* who is appointed over the storm-wind, *Ra'amiel* who is appointed over the thunders, *Ra'ashiel* who is appointed over the earthquake, *Shalgiel* who is appointed over the snow, *Matariel* who is appointed over the rain, *Shimshiel* who is appointed over the day, *Lailiel* who is appointed over the night, *Galgalliel* who is appointed over the globe of the sun, *'Ophanniel* who is appointed over the globe of the moon, *Kokbiel* who is appointed over the planets, *Rahatiel* who is appointed over the constellations¹³¹¹.

(5) And they all fell prostrate, when they saw me. And they were not able to behold me because of the majestic glory and beauty of ¹⁴the appearance of the shining¹⁴ light of the crown of glory upon my head.¹⁵

14-14 *L* om.
ch. xv B.

15 here follows in *B* a recension of ch. vii, in *L* a version of

powers of the waters"), *ib.* lxix. 2 (Kokabel, Baraqel, cf. vi, viii referred to above), *ib.* vs. 22 ("the spirits of the water and of the winds"). (4) **Gabriel the angel of the fire.** This seems to be a remnant of a tradition, connecting the archangels or the four 'Presences' with the elements and planets. Such a tradition is preserved in *Tiqqunē Zohar*, no. 70 ("Mikael is appointed over the water or seas, Gabriel over the fire, Uriel over the wind, Raphael over the 'dust of the ground', the earth"). For Uriel as the angel of the fire, see BOX, *Ezra-Ap.* pp. 20, 21. Shimshiel, the angel over the day. The name is derived from *Shemesh* (sun). *Shemesh* and *Yom* are often equivalent (cf. *TB. Ab. Zar.* 4 b, 5 a, *Rashi*). The name *Yomiel* which would have been more strictly in accordance with the scheme of the preceding angelic names (each derived from the name of their function or of the element over which they are appointed) occurs already in 1 *En.* vi. 7 ('Jomjael' cf. above). In *Hek. Zot. Bodl.* MICH. 9, fol. 68 a, '*Yomael*' is one of seven angels connected with the seven heavens. Cf. note on ch. xvii. 3. Cf. also Shamsiel, 1 *En.* viii. 3 (who taught men "the signs of the sun"). For Galgalliel, 'Ophanniel, Kokbiel, Rahatiel, as angels over sun, moon, planets and constellations, see the identical representation—in a fuller form—in ch. xvii. 4-7. Cf. ch. xlvi. 3 (Rahatiel). 'Ophanni'el as the prince of the Ophannim, see ch. xxv (which preserves traces of the connection of this angel with "the globe of the moon"). *Vide* the consummate exposition of the angelic names in the parallel passage of 1 *En.* vi (with variant readings) given by CHARLES, in *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 16, 17!

(5) **crown of glory.** . . . Metatron's crown is here called 'crown of glory', in contrast to the preceding where it is always referred to as 'crown of kingship'.

CHAPTER XV

Metatron transformed into fire

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heavens, said to me:

(1) As soon as the Holy One, blessed be He, took me ¹in (His) service¹ to attend the Throne of Glory and ²the Wheels (*Galgallim*) of the *Merkaba* and the needs³ of *Shekina*, forthwith my flesh was changed into flames, my sinews into flaming fire, my bones into coals of burning juniper, ⁴the light of⁴ my eye-lids into ⁵splendour of⁵ lightnings, my eye-balls into fire-brands, the hair of my head into hot flames, all my limbs into wings of burning fire and the whole of my body into glowing fire.

(2) And on my right were divisions⁶ of fiery flames, on my left ⁷fire-brands were burning⁷, round about me ⁸stormwind and tempest were blowing⁸ and in front of me and behind me was roaring of ⁹thunder with earthquake⁹. ¹⁰

1-1 so A. D: 'in joy' BCL om. 2 C ins. 'by consequence' 3 CSYR: 'arrangements' 4-4 BCL om. 5-5 B: 'sparks of' CL om. 6 so B. A: 'dividers' (cf. on ch. vi. 2). 7-7 so with (B)CDDEL. A corr. 8-8 so with BDE. A corr. L: 'were blown, roused' instead of 'were blowing' C om. 'were blowing' 9-9 BCDEL: 'thunder upon thunder' 10 CL end here. Cf. 16 on ch. xiv and 1 on ch. xvi.

Ch. xv. This chapter in common with ch. ix treats of the metamorphosis through which Metatron-Enoch was made into an angel. His body and substance are wholly changed into fire. For fire as the regular substance of the angels, see Introduction (Angelol., Nature, etc., of the angels). The *Tos.* (*Yeb.* 16 b) record the *piyyutic* statement: "Metatron, the Prince, who was made from flesh into fire", meaning "Enoch is Metatron". See YR. i. 54 b.

(1) my limbs into wings of burning fire. Cf. ch. ix. 2.

(2) on my right were divisions of fiery flames etc. High angel-princes surrounded by fire, thunder, tempest and storm-wind is a frequent representation of the angelological section, chh. xviii-xxvi. Cf. e.g. chh. xviii. 25, xxii. 9, 13, etc., xxxiv, xxxvii.

CHAPTER XV B

Addition occurring in B and L

B:

L:

(1) *R. Ishmael said: Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence and the prince over all the princes—and he stands before*

(1) *Metatron, he is prince over all the princes—and he stands before*

Him who is greater than all the Elohim. And he goes in under the Throne of Glory. And he has a great tabernacle of¹ light on high. And he brings forth the fire of deafness and puts (it) into the ears of the Holy Chayyoth, that they may not hear the voice of the Word (Dibbur)² that goes forth from the mouth of the Divine Majesty².

(2) *And when Moses ascended on high, he fasted 121 fasts, till³ the habitations of the chashmal were opened to him³; and he*

*Fragment of an
"Ascension of
Moses"*

B:

L:

saw the heart within the heart of the Lion

saw, that it was white as the heart of the Lion

1 L: 'above'
the chashmal'

2-2 L om.

3-3 L: 'they opened to him the habitations of

Ch. xv B. THIS ADDITIONAL PIECE which is embodied in B and L in a disconnected style PRESERVES A FRAGMENT OF AN 'ASCENSION OF MOSES' (vss. 2 seqq.). This 'Ascension of Moses' was connected with the Metatron-tradition, in so far as Metatron plays the rôle of an intermediary between the Deity and Moses (cf. ch. xlviii D 7): vss. 4 and 5. Cf. also the *Gedullath Moshe* and the quotation from *Pirge Hekalot* by R. Ishmael in YR. ii. 66 a ("Said to me Metatron, the Prince of the Presence; When Moses ascended on high, the Holy One, blessed be He, gave me command and conferred on me from his Shi'ur Qoma (stature) seventy thousand myriads by seventy thousand myriads of parasangs..."). (1) Metatron is standing before the Most High: 'Prince of the Presence'.

(1) he goes in under the Throne of Glory, the place of the treasures and also of the 'Tabernacle of the Youth'. he has a great tabernacle on high. The Tabernacle (Sanctuary) of Metatron under the Throne: *Sepher Qoma* (Bodl. opp. 467, fol. 61 a), "Metatron goes in under the Throne to say the 'Blessed'", acc. to *Hilkoth Metatron*, Add. 27199, fol. 114 a, item "to prostrate himself before the Holy One" (commentary on *Sepher ha-qQoma*, Bodl. opp. 658, fol. 101 a). "The Tabernacle of the Youth whose name is Metatron" was completed by the ministering angels simultaneously with the completion of the Tabernacle on earth acc. to *Num. R.* xii. 15 (with reference to Nu. vii. 1). Cf. *Zohar*, ii. 159 a and Introduction. Metatron is the High Priest on high (*Shemoth shel Metatron*, Bodl. MICH. 256, fol. 29 a), thus occupying the position elsewhere assigned to Mikael. Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: *two* Altars on high. The priest of the inner Altar is כהן עליון מכלה and of the outer Mikael, שר רבא, and he brings forth the fire of deafness etc. Literally the same is said in *S. ha-qQoma* (Bodl. opp. 467, foll. 61 a b) with the addition "(from the mouth of the Holy One) and the Explicit Name that the Youth Metatron recites (i.e. in the Tabernacle)".

(2) he fasted 121 fasts, i.e., probably, 121 days. The sudden introduction of

and he saw the innumerable⁴ companies of the hosts ⁵round about him. And they desired⁵ to burn him. But Moses prayed for mercy, first⁶ for Israel and after that⁷ for himself: and He who sitteth on the Merkaba opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. And a host of 1800 advocates⁸—and the Prince of the Presence, Metatron, with them—went forth to meet Moses. And they took⁹ the prayers of Israel⁹ and put them¹⁰ ¹¹as a crown¹¹ on the head of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) And they said (Deut. vi. 4): "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord"

4 lit. 'companies of'
8 L ins. 'of Israel'

5-5 L om. corr.
9-9 L: 'his prayer'

6 L om.
10 L: 'it'

7 L ins. 'he asked mercy'
11-11 L om.

the theme of the revelations to Moses is perhaps to be accounted for by the traditional association of the Tabernacle on high with the Tabernacle completed by Moses and by Metatron's function as revealer of the 'secrets' to Moses. Cf. ch. xlviii D 3, 7. the habitations of the chashmal. *chashmal*, derived from Ezek. i. 4, is interpreted either as an angelic name (*chashmal*, *chashmallim*, cf. note on ch. vii) or as a celestial Matter. In any case the 'abodes of the chashmal' here mean the highest or central place in heaven. Acc. to Gikatillas, *Sod ha-Chashmal*, the prophet (or the seer) after having entered the successive Halls at last arrives at the 'Hall of the Chashmal', the Chashmal being the equivalent of the 'Chayyoth of fire' (*Arze Lebanon*, 40 a b. Cf. 41 a: "the inner *chashmal* and the outer *chashmal* etc."). the heart of the Lion, the Lion = one of the four Chayyoth, Ezek. i. 10. they desired to burn him. Cf. the *Rev. of Moses*, e.g. YR. ii. 66 b ("I—Moses—saw the company of the angels of dread who surround the Throne of Glory...and they all desired to burn me"): it is a symbol of guard. Cf. i. 3, 4. opened the windows that are above the heads of the Kerubim. These are the windows through which the prayers of men are let into the Presence of the Godhead. In the *Widduy Yaphe* the supplicant prays that the Kerubim who are by the side of the Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory may open "the windows that are in the Throne of Glory...in the habitations" and let in his prayer before Him who sitteth on the Kerub, etc. 1800 advocates, i.e. angels who plead in favour of Israel. The *kerub* is advocate already in *TB. Chag.* 13 b. the prayers of Israel... as a crown. This represents the frequent idea of the prayers wreathed into diadems on the head of the Most High. Usually the angel-prince *Sandalfon* is assigned the function of receiving the prayers of the righteous and making them into crowns for 'his Creator'. Here this function is ascribed to the advocating angels under Metatron. (*Sandalfon* is nowhere mentioned in the present book.) (Cf. *Chag.* 13 b, *Rev. Moses* YR. ii. 66 b, *Zohar*, ii. 58 a, i. 167 b.) Acc. to *Yalqut Chadash*, *mal'akim*, no. 25, "Metatron brings the prayers of Israel before the Holy One, blessed be He". *Ib. ib.* no. 9, "There are three who receive the prayers: 'Akatriel (cf. vs. 4), Metatron and *Sandalfon*", of these three, acc. to *ib. ib.* no. 38, 'Akatriel receives the prayers of the 'neshāmā' (the spirit, the highest part of man), Metatron those of the *ru'ach* (the soul, as it is perhaps best translated), *Sandalfon* those of the *néfesh* (the mental or vital part of man). And *ib. ib.* no. 95, Metatron receives the prayers and ascends through 900 of the 955 heavens (cf. ch. xlviii A 1), handing them over to *Akatriel*. A class of angels receiving the prayers, as here, is also represented in *Masseket Asilut*, ch. v (Jellinek, *Ginze Chokmath ha-qabbala*), "in the world of 'Asiyya are the 'Ophannim and (the angels who) receive the prayers and requests..."

(3) And they said "Hear, O Israel etc." This seems to indicate that the fragment was connected with a midrashic exposition of the *Shēma*. It is difficult

B:

L:

and their face shone and rejoiced and the face of Shekina shone and over Shekina rejoiced

and they said to Metatron: "What are these? And to whom do they give all this honour and glory?" And they answered: "To the Glorious Lord of Israel". And they spake:

B:

L:

"Hear, O Israel: the Lord, our God, is one Lord. To whom shall be given abundance of honour and majesty but to Thee YHWH, the Divine Majesty, the King, living and eternal".

(4) *In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth and said to Metatron, the Prince of the Presence: "Let no prayer that he prayeth before me return (to him) void. Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire whether (it be) great or small¹²".*

(5) *Forthwith Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, said to Moses: "Son of Amram! Fear not, ¹³for now God delights in thee¹³. And ask thou ¹⁴thy desire¹⁴ of the Glory and Majesty. For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other". But Moses answered him: "(I fear*

12 ins. with L. B om.

13-13 L om.

14-14 L: 'thy need'

to determine the different subjects of the sentences of the present verse. 'They' and 'their' probably refer to the advocating angels mentioned in the preceding verse, except in they give all this honour etc. which is equivalent to 'is given all this honour...' and in they answered which should be emended 'he (Metatron) answered'.

(4) In that moment spake Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth. *Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth* is here in all probability a name of the Most High, not of an angel: cf. 'prayer that he prayeth before me' and vs. 5: '(Metatron says, probably with reference to the words attributed to *Akatriel* in this verse,) now God delights in thee'. *Akatriel* as a name of God occurs in the well-known passage *Ber.* 7 a. *Akatriel* ("the crown of God", "God crowned") is *cabbalistically* the name of the Godhead as manifested on the Throne of Glory. He is identical with the *Kerub ha-mMeyuchad* (*Or.* 5510, fol. 127 b) and represents the *sefira Keter*. *Akatriel* is, however, also a frequent name of an angel, in this case usually without the appendix *Yah Yehod Sebaoth*; cf. quotations in note on vs. 2 above. It may be apposite here to give the view of Cordovero (*Parades*, quoted *YR.* i. 90 a): he maintains that *Akatriel* even in *Ber.* 7 a refers to an angel, not to God: "said R. Ishmael, I saw *Akatriel Yah YHWH Sebaoth* etc. This means the angel who receives the prayers, and not the King of the Glory, for if so, he (R. Ishmael) would not have said 'I saw'—God forbid! As is known, *Akatriel* is a prince on high and not God. And the '*Yah Yah Sebaoth*' means nothing more than that he is like other angels who are called by the name of their Master (cf. on *xxix.* i, x. 3, iii. 2)".

Hear thou his prayer and fulfil his desire. HENCE METATRON IS CONCEIVED OF AS GOD'S REPRESENTATIVE NOT ONLY TO THE ANGELS BUT ALSO TO MAN. The underlying idea is here probably Metatron's identification with the 'angel' of *Ex.* xxxiii. 20 seqq.

(5) For thy face shines from one end of the world to the other. Cf. *Ex.* xxxiv. 29. Moses has obtained from the ethereal light or splendour of the Divine

lest I bring guiltiness upon myself". Metatron said to him: "Receive the letters of the oath, in (by) which there is no breaking the covenant"¹⁵ (which precludes any breach of the covenant).

CHAPTER XVI¹

Probably additional

Metatron divested of his privilege of presiding on a Throne of his own on account of Acher's misapprehension in taking him for a second Divine Power

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the Glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) At first I was sitting upon a² great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall; and I was judging³ the children of heaven, ⁴the household on high⁴ by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. And I divided Greatness, Kingship, Dignity, Rulership, Honour and Praise, and Diadem and Crown of Glory unto all the princes of kingdoms,

¹⁵ the additions following upon this are in *B* definitely stated not to belong to 'the Baraita'

Ch. xvi. 1 Chh. xvi-xxii om. by *E*. Ch. xvi is not included in the *Part of Baraitas from the Ma'ase Merkaba* in *L*, but a recension of it follows immediately after the version of ch. xii, without reference to source. 2 so *BDL*. *A*: 'the' 3 *L* ins. 'all' 4-4 *BDL* om.

Glory. For 'the oath' cf. 1 *En*. lxix. 14-25. The oath contains Divine letters, i.e. letters of the Divine names. Cf. Introduction, section 14 (1).

Ch. xvi. The present chapter is a different version of the well-known narrative in *Chag*. 15 a (cf. *Tos. Chag*. 2, 3, *Yer. Chag*. ii. 1, fol. 77 b). The main DIFFERENCES between the two versions are: (1) in *Chag*. 15 a Metatron's privilege of 'sitting' in the heavens is explained from his being the scribe, recording the merits of Israel, here the view of the preceding chapters is accepted (ch. x. 2 seqq.) acc. to which Metatron was seated on a Throne of his own as judge and ruler over the angels, in particular the princes of kingdoms, (2) in *Chag*. the reason for or justification of the punishment administered on Metatron is that he did not rise when he saw Acher beholding him (so as to prevent the misapprehension as to the Unity of the Godhead; this is omitted here, (3) the execution of punishment is in *Chag*. attributed to a plurality of angels, not further defined, here the angel '*Anaphiel*', known from ch. vi. 1 and allied traditions (see on ch. x. 3) as having occupied a position above Metatron, is used for this purpose. (*A*: 'Aniyyel').

(1) At first I was sitting upon a great Throne at the door of the Seventh Hall. Cf. ch. x. 1-3. THE OPENING GIVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CH. IS AN INDEPENDENT FRAGMENT. INDEED VS. 1 REPEATS THE DETAILS OF CHH. X, XLVIII C 8, 9, WITH THE EXPLICIT ADDITION THAT THE DISTINCTIONS IN QUESTION, CONFERRED UPON METATRON, WERE ONLY TEMPORARY ('AT FIRST', 'IN THE BEGINNING'). The rôle here assigned to Metatron is markedly primarily the rulership over the princes of kingdoms. Over these he presides in the Celestial Court, passing judgement upon the heavenly household but also as conferring upon them their authority and

while I was presiding (lit. sitting) in the Celestial Court (*Yeshiba*), and the princes of kingdoms were standing before me, on my right and on my left—by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(2) But when Acher⁵ came to behold the vision of the Merkaba and fixed his eyes on me, he feared and trembled before me and his soul was affrighted even unto departing from him, because of fear, horror and dread of me, when he beheld me sitting upon a throne like a king with all the ministering angels standing by me as my servants and all the princes of kingdoms 'adorned with crowns'⁶ surrounding me: (3) in that moment he opened his mouth and said: "Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven!" (4) Forthwith *Bath Qol* (the Divine Voice) went forth 'from heaven' from before the Shekina and said: "Return, ye backsliding children (Jer. iii. 22), except Acher!"

5 DL: 'Elisha ben Abuya who is (also called) Acher' B: (instead of 'Acher came') 'came Elisha ben Abuya and he was standing behind (corr. reading for 'Acher') YHWH' 6-6 so DL (cf. on vs. 3 of ch. xii, chh. xvii. 8, xviii. 3 beg.). AB: 'wreathing crowns' (cf. also vs. 1 here: 'divided...crown...until etc.') 7-7 BDL om.

emblems of rulership: again a trait of the Prince of the World conception. presiding in the Celestial Court or council. Metatron is depicted in a position similar to that of God presiding in the Celestial *Beth Din* in chh. xxviii c 7-9, xxx. The conception is implied in ch. x and ch. xlviii c 8, 9. Metatron's presidency in his *yeshiba* is apparently pictured after the pattern of God's presidency in the highest *Beth Din*, and naturally so, Metatron being God's representative and vice-regent. by authority of the Holy One, blessed be He. It is emphasized that Metatron's presidency in the *yeshiba* and his rulership are derived from 'his King'.

(2) when Acher came to behold the vision of the Merkaba. Acher, as Elisha ben Abuya was called after his 'fall', is a well-known figure of Rabbinic (in modern time characterized as 'the Faust of the Talmud'): see, besides *Chag.* 15 a and *Yer. Chag.* 77 b, *Rut. R.* vi, *Eccl. R.* to vii. 8, 26 (*P. Aboth*, iv. 25), further Graetz, *Gnosticismus u. Judentum*, pp. 62-71, *Chaluz*, v. 66-72, Smolenskin in *Hash-Shachar*, v. 66-72, Steinschneider, *Elisha ben Abuya*, Bacher in *Agada der Tannaiten* (*R. Meir*, etc.) came to behold the vision of Merkaba: acc. to the Talmud-passages he was one of the four who 'entered Paradise' in their lifetime, an expression evidently denoting mystical experiences and speculations on the '*Ma'ase Merkaba*', here he is simply denoted as one of those who beheld the vision of the Merkaba (as R. Ishmael, ch. i. 1 seq.).

(3) Indeed, there are two Divine Powers in heaven (cf. *Chag.* 15 a: "are there, God forbid, two Divine Powers?"). Acher is described as giving vent to the most abominable heretic view, that denying the absolute Unity of the Godhead. The Talmudic tradition emphasizes Acher's aberration into heresy, and also, as it seems, that his heresy was caused by his mystical speculations. Acher, after having entered Paradise 'cut the plantations', i.e., probably, seduced scholars from the right faith. (Cf. also the Tosaphists *ad locum*, *Chag.* 15 a).

(4) Bath Qol went forth...and said: "Return, ye backsliding children, except Acher!" (identical with *Chag.* 15 a). Acher was to be excluded from the opportunity of forgiveness through repentance, offered to all other children of God.

and honoured ones who are appointed over the seven heavens. And these are they:

A:

MIKAEL, GABRIEL, SHATQIEL, SHACHAQIEL, BAKARIEL, BARDARIEL, PACHRIEL.

D:

MIKAEL and GABRIEL, SHATQIEL and BARADIEL and SHACHAQIEL and BARAQIEL and SIDRIEL.

(2) And every one of them is the prince of the host of (one) heaven. And each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels.

(3) MIKAEL, the great prince, is appointed over the seventh heaven, the highest one, which is in the 'Araboth.

(2) each one of them is accompanied by 496,000 myriads of ministering angels. The number 496,000 (myriads) generally refers to the ministering angels as performers of the *Qēdushsha* (cf. chh. xxxv. 1, xl. 3). 496 is the numerical value of *Malkut* (Kingdom): the song-uttering angels proclaim God's sovereignty, 'take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven' (ch. xxxv. 6). The hosts of song-uttering angels are usually depicted as under the authority, not of the seven archangels—'princes of the host'—but of the four 'princes of the army' (ch. xxxv. 3), 'the four presences' (1 *En.* xxxix f., see on xviii. 4): MIKAEL, GABRIEL, 'URIEL (Nuriel) and RAPHAEL. The conception of the four presences is closely connected with that of the seven archangels.

Each one of them is the prince of the host of one heaven. (3) Mikael... is appointed over the seventh heaven, Gabriel, the prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven etc. The expression 'princes of the hosts' is used of Mikael and Gabriel in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 48. Metatron is called 'one of the princes of the host' in *Shi'ur Qoma* (Bodl. MICH. 175, fol. 18 b). The term is probably derived from Josh. v. 14 ("the captain of the host of the Lord"), "the prince of the host of YHWH" which is referred either to Metatron or to Mikael or to Gabriel (cf. *Siuni*, 53 b-d). The idea of the multitudes of angels as divided in hosts, distributed through the seven heavens underlies ch. xviii. 1 (cf. also ch. xiv. 1). The tendency of arranging the orders of the angels according to the system of the seven heavens appears already in the Pseudepigrapha, although the traditions are somewhat confused. *Test. Levi*, iii. assigns different classes of angels to each of the seven heavens (1st heaven: "the spirits of the retributions for the vengeance"; 2nd heaven: "the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement"; 3rd heaven: acc. to rec. 3 (BA^{BS}) = 2nd heaven (a); 4th heaven: "thrones and dominions in which always they offer praise to God"; 5th: "angels who bear answers (prayers) to the angels of the presence"; 6th: "the archangels who minister and make propitiation to the Lord"; 7th: "the Glory of God and the angels of the Presence" (BA^{BS})). See CHARLES, A and P, *ad loc.* Acc. to 2 *En.* iii-ix, to the first heaven are located the rulers of the stars and the angels set over the treasuries of ice, snow, clouds, etc., to the 4th the sun and moon and the angels over them together with "an armed host of angels praising God", to the 5th the Grigori (Watchers), to the 6th "seven bands of angels... who make the orders and learn the goings of the stars and the alteration of the moon and the revolution of the sun... (who are) appointed over seasons and years etc.", to the 7th "fiery troops of great archangels etc." In 3 *Bar.* the angels attending the sun, moon (and the stars ch. ix. 1) are assigned to the 3rd heaven, in the 5th heaven (*ib.* xi. 1 seqq.) is Mikael "who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven". In *Ascension of Isaiah* similarly the seven heavens are depicted as containing different hosts of angels, each surpassing the lower one in glory. (*Vide* CHARLES, *Asc. Is.* in T.E.D.)

GABRIEL, the prince of the host, is appointed over the sixth heaven which is in *Mākōn*.

³SHATAQIEL, prince of the host, is appointed over the fifth heaven which is in *Mā'ōn*.³

SHAḤAQI'EL⁴, prince of the host, is appointed over the fourth heaven which is in *Zebul*.

BADARIEL⁵, prince of the host, is appointed over the third heaven which is in *Sheḥaqim*.

3-3 Db om.

4 Db: 'Shataqiel'

5 D: 'Baradiel'

The seven archangels (holy angels who watch) are enumerated in the well-known passage, ch. xx of 1 *En.*, together with the dominions of their rulership: *Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Mikael, Saraqael, Gabriel, Remiel*. In none of the adduced passages the present conception of the archangels as rulers each over one of the seven heavens, is developed: the archangels are generally assigned to a specified heaven (the 6th or 7th, cf. the references to *Test. Levi* and 2 *En.* above). Parallels to the present picture are, however, found in *Pirqe R. Ishmael* (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 seqq.), ch. xxi cont. and *Hek. Zot.* (*Bodl. MICH.* 9, foll. 67 b, 68 a), although with different names and order. In the former passage, which is closely dependent upon the representation of *Chag.* 12 b, the names of the princes of the respective heavens are: *Wilōn-QEMUEL* (and the angels of destruction, cf. *Test. Levi* above and *Gedullat Moshe*), *Raqia'-GALLISUR, Shechagim-SHAPHIEL, Zebul-MIKAEL* (in accordance with *Chag.* 12 b), *Ma'ōn-GABRIEL, Makon-SANDALFON, 'Araboth-no name given*. In *Hek. Zot.* the seven angels "praising the Holy One, blessed be He, in each heaven" are: 1st heaven, MIKAEL; 2nd, GABRIEL; 3rd, SODIEL; 4th, 'AKATRIEL; 5th, RAPHAEL; 6th, BODIEL; 7th, YOMAEI. A trace of the tradition locating the archangels, each to one of the seven heavens, is perhaps recognizable also in *Test. of Solomon*, vss. 59 seqq. (ed. Conybeare, *YQR.* vol. xi. 1-45), "RAPHAEL...BAZAZATH who has his seat in the second heaven...RATHANAEL who sits in the third heaven...IAMETH...".

The close connection with the rulers of the heavenly bodies in which the archangels as princes of the seven heavens are represented in the present chapter is perhaps indicative of the range of ideas from which the conception has emerged: the planetary or sidereal speculations. The important role played by these speculations is discernible also in the pseudepigraphal passages referred to above. It is possible, that the idea of the seven archangels as rulers over the seven heavens was brought about through the conception of the heavens as planetary spheres, the archangels being originally the princes of the seven planets. The conception of the seven heavens as planetary spheres is attested in 2 *En.* xxviii. 3: "the seven stars, each one of them in its heaven". Cf. *YR.* i. 15 b, 16 b. This idea was probably obscured by the parallel tendency of assigning the heavenly bodies to a definite heaven, a tendency at work in the pseudepigraphal works in question and in its final form represented in the tradition locating the sun, moon, planets and constellations to *Raqia'*, the 2nd heaven (in Rabbinic, *Chag.* 12 b *et al.* and throughout the present book). The tradition of the seven archangels with their suites as rulers over the planets (including dominion over constellations and elements) might be traced in the representation of 2 *En.* xix, acc. to which seven bands of angels "make the orders and learn the goings of the stars"; cf. above. This conception obtains in later sources: *YR.* i. 6 a: "MIKAEL is appointed over Saturn, BARAQIEL over Jupiter, GABRIEL over Mars, RAPHAEL over the sun, CHASDIEL over Mercury, SIDQIEL over Venus, 'ANA'EL over the moon", *ib.* i. 16 a: "Mikael: the Sun, Gabriel: the Moon, Qaphsiel: Saturn, Sammael: Mars, Raphael: Jupiter, 'Ana'el: Venus". A trace of the same idea is possibly to be seen in vss. 35-41 of *Testament of Solomon*; seven archangels rule over and frustrate the seven demons

BARAKIEL⁶, prince of the host, is appointed over the second heaven which is in ⁷the height of (*Merom*)⁷ *Raqia'*.

PAZRIEL⁸, prince of the host, is appointed over the first⁹ heaven which is in *Wilōn*, which is in *Shamayim*.

(4) Under them is GALGALLIEL¹⁰, the prince who is appointed over the globe (*galgal*) of the sun, and with him are 96 great and honoured angels who move¹¹ the sun in *Raqia'*.¹²

(5)¹³ Under them¹³ is 'OPHANNIEL, the prince who is set over the globe (*'ophan*) of the moon. And with him are 88¹⁴ angels who move¹¹ the globe of the moon 354 thousand parasangs every night at the time when the moon stands in the East at its turning point.¹⁵ And when is the moon sitting in the East at its turning point? Answer: in the fifteenth day of every month.¹⁵

(6) Under them is RAHAṬIEL, the prince who is appointed over the constellations. And he is accompanied by 72 great and honoured angels. And why is he called RAHAṬIEL? Because he makes the stars run (*marhit*) in their orbits and courses 339 thousand parasangs every night from the East to the West, and from the West to the East. For

6 D: 'Baraqiel'
10 D: 'Galgiel'
sangs every day'

7-7 D om.
11 so D. A: 'bring down'
13-13 so with D. A corr.

8 D: 'Sidriel'
9 ins. with D. A om.
12 D adds: '365,000 para-
14 D: '68'
15-15 D om.

connected with 'the seven stars' (the seven planets or the Pleiades, cf. Conybeare's note *in locum*). Of these seven high angels six are named: LAMECHALAL, BARUCH-IACHEL, MARMARATH (Marmaraoth, vs. 94), BALTHIEL, ASTERAOTH, URIEL. Uriel is the angel set over the stars acc. to 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii. In 1 *En.* xx Raguel is "one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of luminaries".

As regards the names of the seven archangels it has already been pointed out that all the different sources vary on this point. To the passages given above may be added *Test. Salomon*, vss. 73-81: the names are there: MIKAEL, GABRIEL, URIEL, SABRAEL, ARAEL, IAOTH, ADONAEI. From the different enumerations can be seen that the names most frequently recurring are those of the 'four presences', "Mikael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel", and of these Mikael and Gabriel are common to most of the sources. (Cf. how 1 *En.* lxxxvii. 2, 3 clearly represents the seven archangels as consisting of four, i.e. Presences and three with them.) Of the rest some are evidently derived from the old lists of superior angels, of which parts are preserved e.g. in 1 *En.* vi, viii, lxix (as Watchers, Fallen Angels), lxxxii. 10-20 (leaders of the stars, rulers of seasons and months). Baraqiel (D) here is the Baraqijal of 1 *En.* vi, Baraqiel, *ib.* lxix. 2. Cf. Barakiel (A) with Berkael 1 *En.* lxxxii. 17, Badariel (A) with Batael 1 *En.* vi. 7, Batarjal *ib.* lxix. 2. The names are older than the conception of the seven archangels. But it is significant that such names are chosen as originally represent the angels ruling over the heavenly bodies and over the elementary powers. in Wilon which is in Shamayim, 'which is in Shamayim' is a gloss. 'Shamayim' is the Hebrew synonym of Wilon (*velum*) as name of the first heaven.

(4-7) Under them are Galgalliel... 'Ophanniel... Rahaṭiel... Kokbiel, with subservient angels. The heavenly bodies are divided in the four categories of sun, moon, planets and constellations as in *Chag.* 12 b, and, as there, are assigned to the second heaven, the *Raqia'*. Each of these four categories is assigned a special prince, who is accompanied by a number of assistant angels. In the present system these

the Holy One, blessed be He, has made a tent for all of them, for the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars in which they travel at night from the West to the East.

(7) Under them is KOKBIEL, the prince who is appointed over all the planets. And with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honoured ones who move¹⁶ the planets from city to city and from province to province in the *Raqia'* of heavens.

16 so D. A: 'bring down'

princes and angels are made to rank under the seven archangels as princes of the seven heavens. As has already been pointed out, it is highly probable, that the original representation was one of the seven archangels as princes each over one of the seven spheres as containing the planets with constellations. The present systematization can be regarded as a modification of this original view to the established notion of the *Raqia'*, the second heaven, as the place of the heavenly bodies.

The names of the princes, GALGALLIEL, 'OPHANNIEL, RAHAṬIEL, KOKBIEL are uniform with those of ch. xiv. 4. *Rahaṭiel* also occurs in ch. xlv. 3 in a similar function. 'Ophanniel is the prince of the 'Ophannim, ch. xxv. The names *Galgalliel*, 'Ophanniel and *Kokbiel* are derived from *Galgāl* (globe, i.e. of the sun), *Ophan* (globe, i.e. of the moon) and *Kokab* (planet) respectively. *Rahaṭiel* is, acc. to the intimation of vs. 6, derived from *rahaṭ* (to run). In *TB. Ber.* 32 b, *Rahaṭon* is the technical term for divisions of angels who have immediate rule over the stars and planets. *Rahaṭiel* is the prince over planets and constellations or luminaries in general acc. to *S. Razi'el*, 19 b, 21 b (cf. also *Qeneh Binah*, 34 b, and *S. ha-Chesheq, Add.* 27120, fol. 14 b). *Galgalliel* and 'Ophanniel seem to be comparatively late devices. *Kokbiel* is of early origin, cf. *Kokabiel*, 1 *En.* vi. 7, *Kokabel*, *ib.* viii. 3 (who "taught constellations"), *lxxix.* 2.

For the conception of angels who 'move the heavenly bodies' cf. 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii ("the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries": CHARLES), URIEL being there the prince over the heavenly bodies; lxxii. 3 ("the leaders of the stars"), lxxv. 1 ("the leaders of the heads of the thousands who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars"), lxxix, lxxx. 1 ("the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them"), 6 ("chiefs of the stars"), lxxxii. 4 and esp. 10-20 (the names of the leaders of the stars), 4 *Ez.* vi. 3, 2 *En.* xi. 3-5 (15 myriads of angels attend the sun during the day, and 1000 by night), *Midrash 'Asereth Ma'amaroth, BH.* i. 64 ("365 angels are set over the sun, moving it from window to window in *Raqia'*"), 3 *Bar.* vi. 1 seqq. (the chariot of the sun drawn by forty angels), vss. 13, 16 ("for the sun is made ready by the angels"), *ib.* vii. 4 ("I saw the shining sun and the angels which draw it"), ix. 1 seqq. (the moon sitting on a wheeled chariot: "and there were before it oxen and lambs and a multitude of angels... the oxen and lambs... they also are angels"). The derivation of the numbers ninety-six and eighty-eight in vss. 4 and 5 resp. is not clear. The number seventy-two of the angels assisting RAHAṬIEL, the prince of the constellations, corresponds to the seventy-two divisions of the zodiac (cf. the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, vs. 8, etc.). KOKBIEL again, vs. 7, is assisted by 365,000 myriads of ministering angels. Literally the same statement is made about KOKBIEL in *S. Razi'el*, 19 b. These angels "move the planets (*kokabim*)". It is noteworthy, that acc. to *TB. Ber.* 32 b, referred to above, the different camps (of angels), in the last instance sorting under the constellations, have each under them "365,000 myriads of planets (*kokabim*) corresponding to the days of the sun (i.e. the solar year)". The latter parts of vss. 5 and 6 are somewhat obscure. They might be remnants of expositions of the courses of the heavenly bodies, such as are given at length in 1 *En.* lxxii-lxxxii (the 'portals of the sun'); ch. lxxii, the moon; ch. lxxiv, the portals of sun, moon, stars and all the works of

(8) And over them are SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS on high corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world. And all of them are crowned with royal crowns and clad in royal garments and wrapped in royal cloaks. And all of them are riding on royal horses and they are holding royal sceptres in their hands. And before each one of

heaven; ch. lxxv. 6 seqq., cf. ch. lxxviii. 7 seq., "and fifteen parts of light are transferred to the moon till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished (vs. 5 here)". The conception of the 'tent' for the sun, etc., is usually referred to Ps. xix. 5 (and 7).

(8) over them are seventy-two princes of kingdoms... *lit.* 'above them etc.' It is difficult to reconcile this vs. with the preceding. To whom does 'above them' refer? To the 365,000 myriads of angels of vs. 7 or to the princes and angels of the heavenly bodies in general? No doubt, as the context now stands, the seventy-two princes of kingdoms are intended as princes over the angels who 'move the planets', by analogy with the seventy-two assistant angels of vs. 6. This would seem to be additional, since the real counterpart of the assistant angels of vss. 4, 5, 6 are in vs. 7, the 365,000 myriads of angels. The expression 'above them' is not appropriate in the sense which it is here made to denote, the right phrase would have been e.g. 'over them are appointed' (ועליהם ממונים). The inception 'above them' rather presupposes an exposition of the order of angelic classes, proceeding from the lower to the higher ones, hence quite contrary to that of the present chapter. The fragment is more akin to the angelological section, chh. xix seqq., to which it may even originally have belonged, since the beginning of that section is missing in the present book. See note on ch. xix. 1.

By the compiler of the present chapter the seventy-two princes of kingdoms are made the rulers over the planets. The conception of the princes of kingdoms as rulers of planets and constellations is frequently represented in later sources. Their appellation properly refers to their function as angelic leaders of the destinies of the nations, as representatives in heaven of the kingdoms on earth. As such their number is usually given as seventy (corresponding to the number of nations (tongues) of the world, enumerated Gen. x). The idea of heavenly guardians of the nations occurs in Dan. x. 20, 21, and is fully developed in Sir. xvii. 17, 1 En. lxxxix. 59 seqq. (in the metaphor of the seventy shepherds), Targ. Yer. to Gen. xi. 7, 8, TB. Yoma, 77 a, Sukka, 29 a, Gen. R. lxxviii, lxxvii, Ex. R. xxi, Lev. R. xxix, P. R. 'El. xxiv. They plead the cause of their resp. nations before God, each suffers punishment with the nation under his protection, they form the celestial *Beth Din* etc. For this range of ideas see chh. xxx. 1, 2, xlvi c 9 and note on xxx. 2.

The leader of the princes of kingdoms is acc. to *Midr. Abkir*, *Yalq. on Gen.* no. 132, Targ. Ps. xxxvii. 7, 8, MIKAEL, prince of Israel; acc. to ch. xxx here, the Prince of the World; and acc. to the Enoch-Metatron sections of the present book, Metatron (chh. x. 3, xiv. 1, xvi. 1, 2, xlvi c 9, cf. also xlvi d 5). In their aspect of leaders of the Gentile nations they were sometimes regarded as evil agencies (so already 1 En. lxxxix. 65, 69, xc. 17, 22, 23, 25), and as their chief was then named SAMMAEL, the prince of Rome (cf. chh. xiv. 2, xxvi. 12).

When associated with the idea of the planets and constellations as determining or ruling the destinies of the nations, it was only natural that the conception should develop into that of the princes of kingdoms as rulers over the heavenly bodies—just as the Prince of the World was made the ruler of planets and constellations (cf. ch. xxxviii. 3). This development may have begun at an early time. The seventy shepherds are already in 1 En. connected with the rulers of the world, the Watchers or Fallen Angels who, symbolized by stars, are judged together with the seventy shepherds acc. to 1 En. xc. 24. (On the identification of the princes of kingdoms with the Watchers see note on ch. xxix intr.) For the Watchers as rulers of elements, constellations, planets, etc., see 1 En. vi-viii, lxix, note on vs. 3 above and on

them when he is travelling in *Raqia'*, royal servants are running with great glory and majesty

A:

even as on earth they (princes) are travelling in chariot(s) with horsemen and great armies and in glory and greatness with praise, song and honour.

D:

and before every one of them, when travelling in *Raqia'*, there are running great armies, even as (the custom is) on earth, with chariot(s), in glory and greatness, praise, song and honour.

ch. xiv. 3, 4. The connection of the 'gods of the nations' with the planets is perhaps to be seen also in *TB. Sukka*, 29 a. Acc. to *Ma'areket ha-'Elohuth*, 128 b, "the nations are allotted to the Princes and Constellations". *YR.*, i. 15 a, gives the following quotation from *Tub-ha-'Ares*: "In the seven firmaments (heavens), under them, are the seven planets... (*Shešem Chanokol*: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon) and in these seven heavens are the Spirits of the seventy nations, ten nations under each planet, and the twelve constellations give abundance unto them".

Probably under the influence of their sideric significance the number of the princes of kingdoms was changed from seventy to seventy-two (the number of the divisions of the zodiac). In the present book they are mentioned as seventy-two in chh. xviii. 3, xxx. 2 and here. Ch. xlviii c 9, on the other hand, has 'seventy princes'. Cf. note on ch. xxx. 2 and also on ch. xlviii b 1. The two princes added were later understood as MIKAEL and GABRIEL or as MIKAEL and SAMMAEL. Acc. to *YR.*, i. 18 a, MIKAEL is the Prince of Israel and GABRIEL the Prince of all the nations of the world. A curious effect of the alteration of seventy into seventy-two is the gloss in the present verse: corresponding to the 72 tongues of the world, which is of course a mis-emption of the regular expression "corresponding to the 70 tongues of the world".

all of them are crowned with royal crowns etc., to designate them as rulers. Cf. notes on chh. xii. 3, xviii. 1.

when he is travelling in *Raqia'*. This seems to indicate that the princes of kingdoms were assigned to the second heaven, the region of the heavenly bodies and thus would tend to show, that the fragment itself, apart from the context, designates the princes of kingdoms as sideric rulers. Usually the princes of kingdoms are represented as being in the highest of the heavens, by the Throne of Glory: chh. xvi. 1, 2, xxx. 1, 2. Acc. to ch. xviii. 3, being in rank above the princes of the heavens, but below the guardians of the Halls, they are probably conceived of as having their abode in the highest of the heavens, but outside the Halls. Acc. to the passage quoted *YR.*, i. 15 a, referred to above, each of the seven heavens would contain a number of these princes. This is stated also in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 36 ("then come all the princes of kingdoms in every heaven").

Passages in the present book mentioning the 'princes of kingdoms' are chh.: x. 3, xiv. 1, 2, xvi. 1, 2, xvii. 8, xviii. 2, 3, xxx. 2, xlviii c 9, d 5; cf. also ch. xxvi. 12.

CHAPTER XVIII

The order of ranks of the angels and the homage received by the higher ranks from the lower ones

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) THE ANGELS OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when(ever) they see their prince, they dismount from their horses and fall on their faces.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FIRST HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the second heaven, he dismounts, removes the *crown of glory* from his head and falls on his face.

Ch. xviii. Angelological system A 3 (see Introduction, section 13 (1 c)).

This chapter (extant in *D* and *A* only) introduces an independent exposition of the angelic hierarchy. The point of connection with the preceding chapter is the mention of the princes of the seven heavens. In ch. xvii, however, these 'princes of the seven heavens' are regarded as constituting the highest rank of angels. That this is so is clear from the facts that the princes of the seventh and sixth heavens are identified with Mikael and Gabriel resp. and that they occur at the head of a classification which is arranged in an order beginning from the highest. In the present chapter, on the contrary, the princes of the heavens form the lowest class of angels in an enumeration from the lowest to the highest.

A peculiarity of this chapter which separates it in character from both ch. xvii and the rest of the angelological section is the monotonous repetition of the words 'when *X* see(s) *X* he (they) remove(s) the crown . . . from his (their) head and fall(s) etc.' the technical means by which the inferiority of one rank of angels or one angel-prince to the subsequently mentioned is indicated.

Another characteristic feature of this chapter are the abstruse forms of the names of most of the angels as compared with those of the other parts of the book, where the names are formed from the functions assigned to the angels. Here the derivations are obscure. It is noteworthy that most of the names are found in *Hek. R.*, to which this chapter even otherwise seems to be related—e.g. by the conception of 'the watchers of the doors of the Halls' (vs. 3), the common derivation of 'ANAPHIEL (vs. 19) etc. Though several of these angel-names are not registered by Schwab, *VA*, and a couple of them are ἀπαξλεγόμενα as far as printed books are concerned, they are preserved in many prayers, magical formulas, etc., extant in MSS. References are given below at each name.

(1) The angels of the first heaven . . . the prince of the first heaven . . . second heaven etc. On the seven heavens see note on ch. xvii. 3. The princes, *sārīm*, of the several heavens are pictured as having each one his suite of angels. They are mounted on horses (cf. *Mass. Hek.* iv and *Hek. R.* xvii seqq.) and pay homage one to the other when meeting. Unlike ch. xvii the present chapter mentions no names of these princes. That is to say, that the tradition embodied here probably knows no names of the 'princes of the heavens'. Consequently, in the view of this tradition, the heavens and their rulers form a comparatively low and unimportant part of the heavenly splendours, whereas the author of ch. xvii presumably sees all the glory of the Divine Court contained within the seven heavens.

Crown of glory is the mark of distinction common to all the angels and princes in this chapter with the exception of the seventy-two princes of kingdoms (vs. 3) and the two highest princes acc. to vs. 25, to whom is assigned the 'crown of royalty'. Crowns are in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature as well as in the Apocalyptic

And THE PRINCE OF THE SECOND HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the third heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE THIRD HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fourth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE FOURTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the fifth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

¹And THE PRINCE OF THE FIFTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the sixth heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

And THE PRINCE OF THE SIXTH HEAVEN, when he sees the prince of the seventh heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.¹

(2) And THE PRINCE OF THE SEVENTH HEAVEN, when he sees THE SEVENTY-TWO PRINCES OF KINGDOMS, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

²(3) And the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, when they see THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL IN THE 'ARABOTH RAQIA' in the

1-1 D: 'And the prince of the fifth heaven from before the prince of the sixth and the prince of the sixth heaven before the prince of the seventh heaven' 2 D inserts as title: 'The Order of the Halls'

attributed to (a) God himself: *TB. Chag.* 13 b, *Ber.* 7 a, *Ex. R.* xxi; (b) the righteous in the world to come: *TB. Ber.* 17 a, b, *Lev. R.* xx, *Test. Benj.* iv. 2, *Asc. Is.* vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10; (c) angels: *chh.* xvi. 2, xl. Cf. *ch. xii.* 3. For the removing of the crown(s) as token of homage cf. *Rev.* iv. 4, 10. An exact parallel of expression is found in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, rec. B, *BH.* iii. p. 61.

(2) The seventy-two princes of kingdoms. They are the representatives in heaven of the different kingdoms on earth, but are also connected with the planets and constellations. Concerning them cf. notes on *chh.* xvii. 8 and xxx. 1, 2. In *ch. xxx* they are supplemented by a leader, 'the Prince of the World' (cf. *TB. Yeb.* 16b, *Chull.* 60 a, *Sanh.* 94 a). Their number varies between seventy and seventy-two: *1 En.* lxxxix. 59, *P. R.* 'El. xxiv, *TB. Sukka.* 29 a. It is possible that the number seventy-two originated from the addition to the seventy princes of Mikael and Sammael (or Mikael and Gabriel) as their rulers. Mikael is the representative of Israel and Sammael of Rome and thereby the chief of all the Gentile nations. More probable is, however, that the number seventy-two is arrived at from astrological considerations. See note on *ch. xvii.* 8. Peculiar to this chapter is their position between the prince of the seventh heaven and the door-keepers of the Halls, their abode being usually near the Throne of Glory (*ch. xxx.* *Pesiqtha.* xxvii, *TB. Sukka.* 29 a). In *ch. xvii.* again, they have their place in the second heaven (Raquia') and are in rank under not only the princes of the heavens but also the princes of the sun, moon and constellations. (Cf. however note on *ch. xvii.* 8.)

(3) The door keepers of the first Hall in the 'Araboth Raquia'. The seven Halls or Palaces are situated in the highest of the seven heavens, the 'Araboth Raquia', and are pictured as arranged in concentric circles, 'one within the other' (*ch. i.* 1). The conception of the seven Halls which plays so conspicuous a rôle in

highest, they remove the royal crown from their head and fall on their faces.

³And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIRST HALL, when they see the door keepers of the second Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SECOND HALL, when they see the door keepers of the third Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE THIRD HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fourth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FOURTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the fifth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE FIFTH HALL, when they see the door keepers of the sixth Hall, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

And THE DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SIXTH HALL, when they see the DOOR KEEPERS OF THE SEVENTH HALL, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.³

(4) And the door keepers of the seventh Hall, when they see THE FOUR GREAT PRINCES, the honoured ones, WHO ARE APPOINTED OVER

3-3 *D* simplifies: 'And the door keepers of the first Hall before the door keepers of the second Hall, and the door keepers of the second Hall before (those of) the third, and the door keepers of the third Hall before those of the fourth etc.'

Hek. R. is in the present book quite outside the centre of interest. Cf. chh. i. 1, x. 2, xvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxviii. 1, xlviii c 8. The door keepers of the Halls are in this chapter without names and definite number. In these respects it differs from *Hek. R.* xv, where each Hall is said to be guarded by eight angels, of which the names are given (chh. xv, xvii et seq.). Of these names—which comprise the door keepers of the first six Halls—two, viz. GEBURATIEL and ANAPHIEL, recur later in the present chapter (vss. 14 and 19) as names of higher angels.

Mass. Hek. iv, agreeing with *Hek. R.*, gives the number of the door keepers of each Hall as eight.

Names of the chiefs of the door keepers of the Halls are found in *Pirqe R. 'Ishm.* xx (*Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 20 a-26 a), although different from those of *Hek. R.* As chief of the guardians of the fourth Hall occurs SAGNESAGIEL of vs. 11 here. Cf. *Zohar*, i. 41 a and ii. 245 a-268 b.

The functions of the door keepers of the Halls are the guarding of the entrance to the Halls generally and especially the control of the admittance of the aspirants to the vision of the *Merkaba*, so that nobody may enter who is not 'worthy' ('*rā'ūy*') acc. to *Hek. R.* (cf. ch. xvii *e.a.*). This is probably implied also in ch. i. 3, where R. Ishmael begs God to protect him against the zeal of *Qašpiel* (or *Qašiel*), an angel-prince who in this connection, no doubt, is to be considered as (one of) the guardian(s) of the door of the seventh Hall (cf. *ib.* vs. 2; *Zohar*, ii. 248 b).

(6) The four great princes...who are appointed over the four camps of

THE FOUR CAMPS OF SHEKINA, they remove the crown(s) of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(5) And the four great princes, when they see TAG'AS, ⁵the prince, great and honoured⁵ with song (and) praise, at the head of all the

5-5 in aramaic.

Shekina. In ch. xxxvii the four camps of *Shekina* are mentioned together with 'the four chariots of *Shekina*'. In ch. xxxv all the myriads of camps of angels are said to be arranged in four rows, at the head of each row there being 'a prince of the army'. Probably 'the four great princes' here are to be understood as identical with the princes of the army in ch. xxxv. 3. In this case the camps of *Shekina* are the four companies of ministering angels arranged by the Throne of Glory, especially in their aspect as performers of *Qēdushsha*.

In other writings 'the four camps of *Shekina*' is not an infrequent term and in later cabalistic traditions a considerable amount of speculation centres round this conception. (Cf. here esp. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: ר' מישרין)

Now one generally finds that the 'princes of the camps of *Shekina*' are named as Mikael, Gabriel, Uriel (more seldom: Nuriel) and Raphael. Cf. *Mass. Hek.* vi: "four companies of ministering angels praise before the Lord; the first *camp* under Mikael to the right, the second *camp* under Gabriel to the left, the third under Uriel before Him and the fourth under Raphael from behind", and it is added "the *Shekina* is in the middle".

Acc. to *Ma'ase Merhaba* (*Add.* 26922) 'the princes of the four camps of *Shekina*' are: Mikael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael, standing to the right, to the left, in front of and behind the Throne of Glory resp.

In *P. R. 'El.* iv the four angels Mikael, Uriel, Gabriel and Raphael stand by the Throne of Glory as leaders of four camps of angels glorifying the Most High. A similar picture is drawn by the *Widdury Yaphe* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 113 b).

The 'three men' visiting Abraham, Gen. xviii. 2 seqq. are in *Siḡmī ad loc.* once identified with the angels Mikael, Gabriel and Raphael, and again with Raphael, Uriel and Gabriel, "who are the camp of *Shekina*".

The conception of the four princes in charge of the 'uttering of the Song' before the Holy One, is traceable as far back as 1 *En. chh.* xxxix. 12, 13 and xl, lxxi, ix. 1, where there are mentioned "FOUR PRESENCES ON THE FOUR SIDES OF THE LORD OF SPIRITS... uttering praises before the Lord of Glory". Their names are here: Mikael, Raphael, Gabriel and *Phanuel*. See also 2 *En.* xviii. 9, and CHARLES, 1 *En.* note on xl. 2.

Towards the formation of the idea of 'four princes of the four camps of *Shekina*', speculations on the "four living creatures" of Ezek. i. 5, 10, and the traditions of the four princes Mikael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel have, presumably, combined. In later cabalistic sources one actually finds that the 'four camps of *Shekina*' are referred to the 'Eagle-Ox-Lion-Man' vision, e.g. *YR.* i. 80 a (*Meg. 'Anuq.*).

Instances of other developments of the conception of 'the camps of Shekina': the four camps of *Shekina* are imaged by the arrangement of the "armies of Israel", Nu. i. 3, acc. to *Bachya* (*ad loc.*); they surround the *Shekina* or "the body of *Shekina*" which is the same as the "Greater Metatron", but are above the Lesser Metatron who stands on the heads of the living creatures, the *Chayyoth* (*YR.* i. 57 a); "in the camp of *Shekina* are Metatron, Sandalphon, Uriel, Raphael, Mikael, Gabriel" (*Shēnē Luchoth ha-Berith*, cited by Derek 'Emeth on *Zohar*, i. 149 b).

(5) Tag'as. (תגאס). Not included in Schwab, *VA.* The name occurs in the prayer attributed to R. *Hammuna ben Sabha* (*Or.* 6577, fol. 13 a, *Add.* 27187, fol. 67 b, *Add.* 27199, fol. 299 e.a.), and also in another, anonymous, prayer in *Add.* 15299, fol. 104 b. In these cases it is a Divine name (really a double *temura*) always followed by טעצצ and letters of the *Tetragrammaton*. The epithet 'great

children of heaven, they remove the crown of glory from their head and fall on their faces.

(6) And Tag'aṣ, ⁵the great and honoured prince⁵, when he sees BARAṬṬIEL⁶, the great prince of three fingers in the height of 'Araboth, the highest heaven, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(7) And Baraṭṭiel⁶, the great prince, when he sees HAMON, the great prince, the fearful and honoured, pleasant and terrible one—who maketh all the children of heaven to tremble, when the time draweth nigh (that is set) for the saying of the '(Thrice) Holy', as it is written (Isa. xxxiii. 3): "At the noise of the tumult (*hāmōn*) the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered"—he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(8) And Hamon, the great prince, when he sees ṬUTRESIEL⁷, the great prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

5-5 in aramaic. 6 *D*: 'Aṭaphiel' 7 so acc. to the full reading of *D*. *A*: מטריאל. *D* adds 'וי' after the name.

and honoured prince' (שרא רבא ויקריא) is the same as that given to Metatron in the beginning of *Shi'ur Qoma* (*Bodl. opp.* 467, fol. 58 a, *opp.* 563, fol. 52 b, *S. Raziel*). Cf. also in *S. Elijahu, beg....* רבא ליה מיכאל שרא רבא.

This angel is said to be 'honoured with song and praise' and to stand 'at the head of all the children of heaven'. In view of the functions commonly assigned to the 'princes of the camps of the *Shekina*' of the preceding verse (see note above) these expressions are probably to be understood as referring to the performance of the '*Thrice Holy*' and to the angels uttering the *Qēdushsha*. The function of the angel may be that of a conductor of the song-uttering angels.

(6) Baraṭṭiel (ברטטאל). Neither this nor the '*Aṭaphiel*' of *D* is included in Schwab, *VA*. *Aṭaphiel* is found in *Hilk. Mal'akim La*, fol. 117 b. of three fingers. Cf. *Hilk. Mal'akim, ib.*: "'*Aṭaphiel* lifteth up the 'Araboth Raqia' on his fingers". Also ch. xxxiii. 3 of the present book ('the Holy Chayyoth bear the Throne of Glory... each one with three fingers'). Does the attribute 'of three fingers' here possibly stand in any connection with the recital of the *Thrice Holy*?

(7) Hamon, המון ('tumult'). The expression 'makes the children of heaven to tremble etc.' probably means 'announces the arrival of the time appointed for the *Qēdushsha*'. The trembling and fear with which all the heavenly household is seized at the moment before the recital of the *Thrice Holy* is pictured e.g. in ch. xxxviii. For the attributes 'fearful, honoured, pleasant and terrible' cf. the parallels of chh. xx. 1, xxii. 1, xxv. 1, xxvi. 1. This method of heaping epithets after the name of a high angel-prince is frequently employed in *Hek. R.* The attributes were probably from the beginning intended as marks of distinction, applied according to a certain system to denote the resp. rank assigned to each prince. (Cf. also in *Mandaic.*)

(8) Ṭutresiel. See Schwab, *VA*, pp. 134, 136. The name is of frequent occurrence, although in variant forms. Schwab explains it as 'δύτροπος El', 'piercing God'. Here and in *Midrash Sar Tora* it is the name of an angel. Often it appears as one of the names of the Godhead (*Hek. R.* xi. 2, xii, xiii, xv) or of Metatron (*Sefer ha Chesheq*, foll. 4 b, 8 a).

There are many variants of the name, which are enumerated in *Hek. R.* xii.

(9) And Tūtresiel⁷ H', the great⁹ prince, when he sees ATRUGIEL⁸, the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(10) And Atrugiel⁸ the great⁹ prince, when he sees NA'ARIRIEL H', the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(11) And Na'aririel H', the great⁹ prince, when he sees SASNIGIEL¹⁰, the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(12) And Sasnigiel H', when he sees ZAZRIEL H', the great⁹ prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(13) And Zazriel H', the prince, when he sees GEBURATIEL H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

7 so acc. to the full reading of *D*. A: מַטְרִיֶּסִיָּאֵל. *D* adds 'י' after the name.
8 *D*: 'ATRUGNIEL י' 9 *D* om. 10 *D* adds 'י' after the name.

See also *S. Raziel*, 40 a, 43 b. The STUTREYAH of *Zohar*, ii. 245 b, 246 a, is perhaps also a variant (through transposition of the letters) of the same name.

(9 and 10) Atrugiel or Atrugniel (*D*) not in Schwab, *VA*. It is to be considered identical with the 'Atrigiel' of *Hek. R.* xxii. 1 and 3, the name of one of the door keepers of the seventh Hall. The form *Tagriel*, *ib.* xv and xvii, is apparently also a variant. Cf. the names 'Atrigi(a)sh' (cited from *Hek. R.* xxx) and *Aṭarniel* in Schwab, *VA*, p. 51. Schwab derives the former from *τράγος*, he-goat, goat-buck, the traditional symbol of a demon (cf. *sa'ir*).

Na'aririel: i.e. Na'ar 'El (Na'ar = Child, Youth, the name of Metatron, ch. iii). Occurs in *Hek. R.* in the form of Na'aruriel as the name of one of the door keepers of the seventh Hall (ch. xxii, together with Atrugiel). The 'H' forming the second part of the name of this and the following princes stands for the *Tetragrammaton* (like 'י' in *D*). Cf. the expression 'called by the name of YHWH', ch. ix. 3 and note, *ad locum*.

(11) Sasnigiel is one of the variants of 'Sagnesagiel' or 'Segansagel', in ch. xlviii. 1, 2 appearing as the last of the names of Metatron, with the epithet 'the Prince of Wisdom'. Probably derived from נָנִין (treasure), cf. גִּבּוֹרֵי חֵכְמָה.

In the *Apocalyptic Fragment* (e.g. *BH.* v. 167-169) likewise, it is the name of "the prince of the Presence" who shows R. Ishmael the future.

Other forms are:

SASNIEL: *S. Raziel*, 24 a, 41 a; ZEGANZEGAEI: *ib.* 2 b, called "the Prince of the Tora"; SANSAGGIEL: Schwab, *VA*, cf. the explanation given there; ZANGEZIEL: *Midrash Petirath Moshe*; here he is introduced as Moses' teacher and, together with Mikael and Gabriel, fetching Moses' soul at the time of his death. He is also called "Prince of the world" (probably identical with *Metatron*).

In *Pirqe R. Ishmael*, xx, he is the chieftain of the door keepers of the fourth Hall.

Acc. to *Berith Menucha*, 37 a, he is one of the Seraphim and is appointed over "the peace".

(12) Zazriel, probably = 'the Strength of God,' 'the strong God.' Cf. the following names.

(13) Geburatiel = 'the strength of God'. Cf. the preceding verse. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xv and xvii, he is one of the door keepers of the fourth Hall. See Schwab, *VA*, p. 91.

(14) And Geburatiel H', the prince, when he sees 'ARAPHIEL¹¹ H', the prince, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(15) And 'Araphiel¹¹ H', the prince, when he sees 'ASHRUYLU¹², the prince, ¹³who presides in all the sessions of the children of heaven¹³, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(16) And Ashruylu H'¹², the prince, when he sees GALLIŞUR H', THE PRINCE, WHO REVEALS ¹⁴ALL THE SECRETS OF THE LAW (*Tora*)¹⁴, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

11 D: 'Ta'raphiel'

12 D: 'Ashruyli' "

13-13 D: 'who is the head [over] all the students on high' 14-14 D: 'the secret of the crown of the Law, the crown of Holiness, the crown of Kingship'

(14) 'Araphiel' = 'the neck of God' (the neck is the symbol of strength). Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxi, he is one of the guardians of the second Hall. See Schwab, *ib.* p. 217.

(15) 'Ashruylu' = 'who causes to dwell', 'who causes to rest', *scil.* the disciples of Tora in the heavenly colleges, hence the function here assigned to him: 'presideth in all the sessions of the children of heaven'. That the colleges on earth have their counterparts in heaven is a common Rabbinic idea. Cf. the somewhat different picture of Metatron's function in ch. xlviii c 12.

In accordance with the present view is the epithet 'prince of Tora' given to this angel in *S. Razel*, 45 a. In *Hek. R.* xii, 'Ashruylii' is one of the twenty names of the Godhead; *ib.* xxx (*Sar Tora*) it is the name of an angel-prince. Cf. the interpretation, Schwab, *VA*, p. 77.

(16) Gallişur... who reveals all the secrets of the Law. The name is of comparatively frequent occurrence. *Pesiqta R.* par. xx, explains it as "he who reveals the reasons of the Creator" (*Şur*, Is. xxvi. 4).

The same explanation of the name 'Gallişur' is repeated, with the addition of some other details, in *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 60, in 'Aggadath Shema' Israel, BH. v. 165, also in *S. Razel*, 41 b, 42 a, 42 b, and *P. R. 'El.* iv, further in citations in *Siuni*, 93 d, and *YR.* ii. 67 a. Acc. to these sources he is identical with the angel, called 'Razel' (= 'the secret(s) of God'); he hears the Divine decrees from behind the 'Curtain' (cf. ch. xlv. 1) and reveals them to the world; he stands next to the *Chayyoth* and spreads his wings, so that the ministering angels shall not be consumed by the fire that goes forth from the breath of the *Chayyoth*. Acc. to *S. Razel*, 42 b, he is one of the Princes of the Law.

In *Sefer ha-Yashar* ("the book of the righteous", *Add.* 15299, fol. 91 a b) it is related, that the book in question "was given to Adam by the hand of *Gallişur*". (Note the similar narrative in *S. Razel*, 3 a, which is probably another version of *S. ha-Yashar*, where the name of angel is Razel.)

In a prayer in the same MS., fol. 144 a, he is invoked—with the 'kinnuyim' (or supplementary names) of 'Yephiphyah' (cf. ch. xlviii d 4) and *Yophiel*—to give assistance in the study of the Tora.

From these sources it appears that the traditions assigned to him mainly two functions: revealer of the Divine Secrets and Prince of the Law. These two functions are here, rightly, comprised in the one "revealer of all the secrets of the Law". The Divine secrets are embodied in the Tora, constituting its inner meaning, the technical term for which is "the secrets of the Law". (Cf. on chh. ix. 1 and xlviii d 7 et seqq.)

As the Prince of the Law he is here probably connected with the Divine Judgement

(17) And Galliṣur H', the prince, when he sees ZAKZAKIEL H', the prince who is appointed to write down the merits of Israel on the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face.

(18) And Zakzakiel H', the great¹⁵ prince, when he sees 'ANAPH(I)EL H', the prince¹⁶ who keeps the keys of the heavenly Halls, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face¹⁶. Why is he called by the name of 'Anaphiel? Because the bough of his honour and majesty and his crown and his splendour and his brilliance covers (overshadows)¹⁷ all the chambers of 'Araboth Raqia' on high even as the Maker of the World (doth overshadow them). Just as it is written with regard to the Maker of the World (Hab. iii. 3): "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise", even so do the honour and majesty of 'Anaphiel cover all the glories of 'Araboth the highest.

¹⁵ D om. ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ D: 'he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And 'Anaphiel, the prince, he is appointed to keep the keys of the Halls of 'Araboth Raqia'. ¹⁷ so D. A om., probably taking ענף as a verb, thus giving the meaning: 'Because his honour etc. (overbranch) overshadow all the chambers etc.'

which in its different aspects is represented in nearly all the following angel-names; through the said epithet he is also connected with the foregoing 'Ashruylu'.

(17) Zakzakiel, 'Merit-God', is the same both with regard to name and function as 'Zekukiel' of *S. Raziel*, 21 b: "the Prince of the merits of Israel".

(18) 'Anaphiel, 'the branch of God'. In ch. vi of the Enoch-Metatron piece of the present book he is the angel who removes Enoch to the heavens; *ib.* ch. xvi (acc. to the reading of *BD*) he is the angel who gave Metatron sixty strokes with lashes of fire. (Vide *Introd.* section 8 u, x, y).

Acc. to *Hek. R.* xv, xvii, he is one of the door keepers of the fourth Hall. *Ib.* ch. xxii. 4, he is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall. A similar, partly literally identical, explanation of his name as in the second part of the present verse is given there.

The expression 'who keeps the keys of the Halls of 'Araboth Raqia' is the only trace in this chapter of the connection of the high angel-princes enumerated here with the guardianship of the heavenly Halls, whereas all of them that recur in *Hek. R.* are there guardians of one or the other of the Halls, mostly the seventh or the fourth. He has here the control of all the Halls.

The said statement "keeps the keys of the Halls of 'Arabōth Raqia'" together with the following part of the verse attribute a remarkably high position to 'Anaphiel: he is compared with "the Creator of the world". In *Hek. R.* xxii, he is called "the most beloved of all the guardians of the heavenly Halls, the Prince, 'Ebed (the Servant, Metatron's name), who is called thus by the name of his Master". A similarly high position is also implied by the passages in the Enoch-Metatron piece, just referred to. Another instance is the quotation from 'Sōdē Rāzā' in *YR.* i. 5 a: "the angel 'Anaphiel, to him are given in charge the 'ring' and the seal of heaven and earth, and all on high kneel down and prostrate themselves before him".

(19) And when he sees SOTHER 'ASHIEL H', the prince, the great, fearful and honoured one, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called ¹⁸Sother Ashiel¹⁸? Because he is appointed ¹⁹over the four heads of the fiery river over against the Throne of Glory; and every single prince who goes out or enters before the *Shekina*, goes out or enters only by his permission. For the seals of ²⁰the fiery river²⁰ are entrusted to him. And furthermore, his height is 7000 myriads of parasangs. And he stirs up the fire of the river; and he goes out and enters before the *Shekina* to expound ²¹what is written (recorded)²¹ concerning the inhabitants of the world. According as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "the judgement was set, and the books were opened".

18-18 so *D. A.*: 'Sother and Ashiel' 19 *A* ins.: 'from the beginning'
 20-20 so *D. A.*: 'the four fiery rivers' (corrupt for 'the four heads of the fiery river'?) 21-21 so *D. A.* om.

(19) Sother 'Ashiel H' = 'who stirs up the fire of God'. The explanations of the name as they appear in the present verse are quoted in *Hilkot ha Kisse La*, fol. 138 a. *A* points: סוֹתֵר אֲשִׁיֵּל (no other names in this ch. pointed).

He is here the angel appointed over the fiery river *Nehar di-Nur*, the speculations on which evolved from the beginning of Dan. vii. 10, the passage quoted in this verse. For the conceptions of the fiery river, see note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

The four heads of the fiery river. It is difficult to discern from *A*, whether 'four' or 'seven' are meant, the characters for 'daleth' (= 4) and 'zain' (= 7) being, in the current script employed there, almost indistinguishable. In *Hil. ha Merkaba* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 126 a) however, the "heads of the fiery river of the Throne of Glory" are definitely stated as four. If 'seven' is the correct reading here, the number '7000 myriads' would be explained as derived from 'the seven heads of the fiery river'. Ch. xxxiii. 4 mentions 'seven fiery rivers', an amplification frequently met with in the '*Södē Rāzā*' by Eleazar of Worms (cf. e.g. the quotation from this writing, *YR.* i. 4 b). The fiery river, usually described as issuing forth "from under the Throne of Glory" or "from the perspiration of the holy *Chayyoth*" is here simply described as being situated over against the Throne of Glory and is in the present connection probably conceived of as dividing the Throne of Glory with the *Shekina* from the world of the common angels and angel-princes, through which 'fiery stream' they must pass when they wish to enter before the *Shekina*. On this assumption the expression 'every prince... does not go out nor enter but by his permission' would be intelligible: *Sother 'Ashiel*, who is the guardian of the fiery river, also controls who shall pass through it to the *Shekina*. The fiery river as a bath of purification and preparation for the angels is a common idea in this and related writings. Cf. note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

he goes out and enters before the *Shekina* to expound what is written concerning the inhabitants of the world (*lit.* 'to expound in the writings of'). *A* perhaps reads: 'enters to the Curtain of the inhabitants of the world', i.e. the Curtain, on which everything is recorded acc. to ch. xlv. 1 seqq.). This strange expression obtains its elucidation by the quotation of Dan. vii. 10 with its reference to 'the Judgement'. The fiery river is also, and foremost, the symbol of the execution of the judgement on man. Hence *Sother 'Ashiel* is connected with the Divine Judgement, as far as he 'stirs up the fire of the *Nehar di-Nur*'. He, as it were, regulates the heat of the fire according to the requirements of judgement.

(20) And Sother 'Ashiel ²²the prince²², when he sees ²³SHOQED CHOZI²³, the great prince, the mighty, terrible and honoured one, he removes the crown ²⁴of glory²⁴ from his head and falls upon his face. And why is he called ²⁵Shoqed Chozi²⁵? Because he weighs ²⁶all the merits (of man)²⁶ in a balance in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He.

(21) And when he sees ZEHANPURYU²⁷ H', the great prince, the mighty and terrible one, honoured, glorified and feared in all the heavenly household, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called Zehanpuryu²⁸? Because he rebukes the fiery river and pushes it back to its place.

(22) And when he sees 'AZBUGA H', the great prince, glorified, revered, honoured, adorned, wonderful, exalted, beloved and feared among all

22-22 so D. A om.

23-23 D: 'Shaqadhozii "'

24-24 A om.

25-25 D: 'thus'

26-26 D om.

27 D: 'Zephatharyi'

28 D: 'thus'

(20) Shoqed Chozi, also in the forms '*Shaqad Hozii*', '*Sheqar Chozii*' (the former in the readings of *D* and *Midrash Sar Tora*, the latter in *Hek. R.* and *S. Raziel*, 45 a). Derivations uncertain ('Waking' or 'Watching and Seeing'; Schwab, *VA*, p. 259: 'False Seer' [based upon the form '*Sheqar Chozii*']). Cf. the name '*Sheqadyahiel*', *Hek. R.* xxii and Schwab, *ib.*

The explanation given in the present verse rather presupposes a form '*SHEQAL ZAKI*' ('weighing merits') or similar. (Cf. Mandaitic: *Abathur*, Introd. sect. 13 Ce.)

In *S. Raziel*, 45 a (where other names of this ch. recur), he is mentioned after '*Ashruylu*' as one of "the Princes of Tora". In *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH.* 8, foll. 68 b, 69 a) the name recurs twice, in the form of *Sheqad Chozyah* (a) in a hymn to God, (b) as the name in which Metatron is invoked by the scholar who is watching and praying during the night.

For the idea of 'weighing merits' cf. box, *Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 19, note p; 1 *En. xli.* 1.

(21) Zehanpuryu. Explained by Schwab, *VA*, thus: "this is the face of fear" (p. 121). More probable, at least in the connection in which the name appears here, is the explanation or reading of *S. Raziel*, 45 a: '*Zeh Paṭar*' = '*this one exempts*', '*this one sets free*'. In this chapter he represents the attribute of mercy, a constituent part of the Judgement, acc. to chh. xxxi and xxxiii et. freq. Such is at least the apparent significance of the words: 'pushes the fiery river back'. Contrast the function given to Sother 'Ashiel acc. to vs. 19 of stirring up the *Nehar di-Nur*, an expression which is there explicitly referred to the Judgement. The fiery river is the means of or symbol of punishment and execution of judgement.

In *Hek. R.* xvii. 5, he is called "Prince of the Presence". *Ib.* xxi, he is one of the guardians of the seventh Hall. There might be some connection between this name and the 'PURIEL' of *Test. Abraham*, ch. xii, the name of one of the two high angels who function at the Judgement.

(22) 'Azbuga. Schwab, *VA*, p. 49, explains it as 'messenger'. Zunz, *GV*, p. 148, contains the notice that *Hek. Zot.* explains the name as denoting 'strength' (*ib.*). It recurs in *Midrash Sar Tora* and several times in *Berith Menucha*.

In a prayer in *S. ha Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120, fol. 11 b) he is invoked to deliver the suppliant from "every evil, disease and affliction". In this writing '*Azbuga* is mostly one of the names of the Godhead. It is also the name of a '*temurā*'.

In *S. Raziel*, 42 b, it is inscribed on an amulet which also contains the names of

the great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. Why is he called 'Azbuga? Because in the future he will gird (clothe)²⁹ the righteous and pious of the world with the garments of life and wrap them in the cloak of life, that they may live in them an eternal life.

(23) And when he sees the two great princes, the strong and glorified ones who are standing above him, he removes the crown of glory from his head and falls on his face. And these are the names of the two princes³⁰:

SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) KILLETH, (Sopheriel H' the Killer), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, venerable, ancient and mighty one; (and) ³¹SOPHERIEL H' (WHO) MAKETH ALIVE (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver), the great prince, the honoured, glorified, blameless, ancient and mighty one³¹.

29 so *Da. A*: 'because he is girded etc.' 30 so *D. A*: 'the angels, the princes' 31-31 in *D* this is transferred after 'he writes him in the books of the dead' vs. 24.

KERUBIEL (ch. xxii), SOPHERIEL (vss. 23 and 24 of the present chapter), YEPHIPHERA (ch. xlviii D 4) and GALLISUR (vs. 16 of this chapter).

the princes who know the mystery (or 'secrets' D) of the Throne of Glory. This probably refers to angels, who enjoy the privilege of constant access to the Throne of Glory, and hence know the *inner reasons of the Divine decrees*. The expression, then, has the same import as the phrase 'stand inside the Curtain' applied to some high angels. Cf. further, ch. xlv. 1 and references there.

Garments of life. Cf. 1 *En. lxii. 15, 16*: "and the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth...and they shall have been clothed with garments of glory, and they shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits". 2 *Esdras ii. 45*: "These be they that have put off the mortal clothing and put on the immortal". Cf. also 2 *En. xxii. 8*. For the conceptions expressed by the terms 'garments of glory' or 'garments of life' cf. note on ch. xii. 1. *The garments of life are here the means by which eternal life is conferred upon the righteous*, possibly according to the literary principle of 'pars pro toto'. They are the outer appearance of the essentially changed or new body (of the righteous in the future life), constituted of light-substance. *Vide CHARLES, 1 En.*, notes on chh. lxii. 16 and cviii. 12. 'Azbuga' is in the present chapter explained from מִזְרָא (= 'gird') and בְּגָד (= 'garment').

(23) Sopheriel... The name Sopheriel is not found in Schwab, *VA*. It occurs in *S. Raziel*, 21 b, as the name of "the Prince, appointed over the books of life", thus with the same function as is here assigned to the one of the two princes with that name.

It is obvious that the name here is understood as 'Sopheriel', i.e. 'the Scribe (of God)'. But the writing or spelling of the name (*Sin-Shin* instead of *Samek*) suggests that the name *earlier or originally* was referred to the word 'Shophar' (= 'trumpet'), meaning the angel who blows the trumpet, *scil.* at the judgement, perhaps at the time for the opening of the books (for this idea cf. BOX, *Ezra Apocalypse*, ch. vi. 23 and note d, p. 75). Since the angel, if this be correct, already was connected with the judgement, the change to the present interpretation was comparatively easy. In *S. Raziel*, 42, is found the similar name *Shaphriel* from 'Shefer' (= 'beauty').

The angels function as scribes. They are differentiated into two, one for 'life' and one for 'death' in accordance with the noticeable tendency of the book to place

(24) Why is he called Sopheriel H' who killeth (Sopheriel H' the Killer)? Because he is appointed over the books of the dead: [so that] everyone, when the day of his death draws nigh, he writes him in the books of the dead.

Why is he called Sopheriel H' who maketh alive (Sopheriel H' the Lifegiver)? Because he is appointed over the books of the living (of life), so that every one whom the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring into life, he writes him in the book of the living (of life), by authority of *MAQOM*. Thou might perhaps say: "Since the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on a throne, they also are sitting when writing". (Answer): The Scripture teaches us (1 Kings xxii. 19, 2 Chron. xviii. 18): "And all the host of heaven are standing by him".

two polar opposites side by side. Cf. also ch. xxxiii. 2 and note (two scribes) and note on ch. xlv. 2.

The attributes 'H who killeth' and 'H who maketh alive' are in all probability derived from 1 Sam. ii. 6: "the Lord (H = YHWH) killeth and maketh alive". This passage is also used *TB. Rosh ha Shana*, 16 a, as point of support for the views concerning the Judgement which are expressed there.

(24) Books of the dead. . . books of the living. The 'books of the dead and the books of the living' are here merely the books recording the moments designed for each individual's birth and death. The books of the living contain the names of the living, the books of the dead those of the dead. Otherwise 'the book(s) of life' regularly refer to the righteous, which are recorded in this book for eternal life, for God's remembrance, and hence, when mentioned, 'the book(s) of death or the dead' are conceived of as containing the names of the wicked, for perdition. Parallel with this conception goes that, according to which 'the books' record the deeds of 'the world' or of the righteous and the wicked separately. The former idea is represented in the O.T. (Is. iv. 3, Ex. xxxii. 32 seq., Ps. lxix. 29, cxxxix. 16, Mal. iii. 16, Dan. xii. 1), in 1 *En.* xlvii. 3, civ. 1, cviii. 3, *Jub.* xxx. 20, 22, xxxvi. 10, *Ap. Elijah*, iv. 2, xiv. 5; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27;—the latter in chh. xxx. 2 and xxvii. 2 of the present book, Is. lxxv. 6, Neh. xiii. 14, Dan. vii. 10, 1 *En.* lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61 et seqq., xc. 17, 20, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 7 seqq., civ. 7, cviii. 7 seqq., 2 *En.* l. 1, lii. 15, liii. 2 seqq., *Ap. Bar.* xxv. 1, *Copt. Apoc. El.* lii. 13 seqq., xi. 1 seqq., *Asc. Is.* ix. 26, 4 *Ez.* vi. 20, Rev. xx. 12. For references and discourses see BOX, *Exra Apocalypse*, p. 74, note y on ch. vi. 20; Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, i. 171; Zimmern in *Keilinschriften des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed., ii. 505; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judentums*, p. 247; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 2nd ed., pp. 242, 282 et seqq.: further *Rosh ha Shana*, 15 b e.a., and the discourse on New Year's Day as day of Judgement in Piebig, *Mischna Traktat Rosch ha-Schana*, pp. 41-45. (Note. The '3 books' *ib.* p. 43, and note on ch. xlv. 1 of the present book.)

Māqōm = 'place', one of the technical terms of the Divine Majesty. Cf. the expression 'the Curtain of *Maqom*', e.g. ch. xlv. 1.

Thou might perhaps say etc. The suggestion that the scribes must be sitting when writing is refuted. "There is no sitting in heaven" cf. *Chag.* 15 a. The scriptural passage from which this is deduced, 1 Kings xxii. 19, is the one regularly used for the purpose. Acc. to *TB. Chag.* 15 a, however, Metatron, in his function as scribe, was at first allowed to 'sit and write', and in the Enoch-Metatron piece (chh. iii-xv) Metatron is placed on a Throne. Apart from this there seems to have been a set of traditions which felt no objection against ascribing 'yēshibā' ('sitting') to angel-princes or righteous dead. (For references see note on ch. x. 1.) To the other prevailing view which was rigorous in this respect, it was probably the case

"The host of heaven" ³² (it is said) in order to show us, that even the Great Princes, none like whom there is in the high heavens, do not fulfil the requests of the *Shekina* otherwise than standing. But how is it (possible that) they (are able to) write, when they are standing? It is like this:

(25) One is standing on the wheels of the tempest and the other is standing on the wheels of the storm-wind.

The one is clad in kingly garments, the other is clad in kingly garments.

The one is wrapped in a mantle of majesty and the other is wrapped in a mantle of majesty.

The one is crowned with a royal crown, and the other is crowned with a royal crown.

³² *D* ins. 'is not written here, but "and *all* the host of heaven"'

of the 'scribes' that suggested a deviation from the strict rule; the question was raised as here: 'how can they write, if they must be standing?' Cf. further ch. xvi and notes.

The unwillingness to admit any 'sitting in heaven', apart from the Throne of God, has arisen from the interest of guarding the Unity of the Godhead: there must not be even the appearance of two Divine Powers (*Chag.* 15 a, ch. xvi).

With the two princes *Sopheriel H'*, 'none like whom there is in the high heavens', the angelological system of the present chapter is concluded. They are the highest of the angels of the hierarchy, the different ranks of which are here enumerated from the lowest to the highest. From this it is clear that ch. xviii is independent of the following chapters xix seqq., which from their present context appear as a continuation of the angelological system here set forth. *At the beginning of this chapter it was shown in the notes that this chapter is also independent of its antecedent chapter. In fact, it stands out by itself from all the rest of the book.*

The reason why it was embodied in the angelological section is apparently its seeming connection with ch. xvii owing to the mention in both chapters of the angels and the princes of the different heavens. Besides, the beginning of ch. xix, 'above these three angels', indicates a preceding exposition of high angel-princes, and when the original beginning of the fragment, of which chh. xix seqq. are a continuation was lost, ch. xviii was put in as a substitute, although not a very happy one.

(25) This verse, with its lengthy and extravagant descriptions of the 'two angels' constitutes a striking contrast to the concise, summarizing character of the foregoing part of the chapter. The beginning of the verse is not very lucidly connected with vs. 24. The question 'how are they writing when standing?' is not intelligibly answered. It is difficult to understand how it could facilitate the writing to be standing 'on the wheels of the tempest'. Hence it is probable that vs. 25 is a later addition to the chapter. The end of the verse shows that the angels referred to are scribes like the princes *Sopheriel*. The addition was probably composed for the preceding verses, not adduced from another context.

The features used in the following description of the two angels are mainly those constantly recurring in descriptions of high angel-princes. Cf. the descriptions of KERUBIEL (ch. xxii. 1-9), OFFANNIEL (ch. xxv. 1-4), SERAPHIEL (ch. xxvi. 1-7).

standing on wheels Cf. ch. xxii. 7.

clad in kingly garments etc. Cf. chh. xii. 1, xvii. 8.

crowned with a royal crown Cf. *ib.* and frequently.

The one's body is full of eyes, and the other's body is full of eyes.

The appearance of one is like unto the appearance of lightnings, and the appearance of the other is like unto the appearance of lightnings.

The eyes of the one are like the sun in its might, and the eyes of the other are like the sun in its might.

³³ The one's height is like the height of the seven heavens, and the other's height is like the height of the seven heavens.

The wings of the one are as (many as) the days of the year, and the wings of the other are as (many as) the days of the year.

The wings of the one extend over the breadth of *Raqia'*, and the wings of the other extend over the breadth of *Raqia'*.

The lips of the one, are as the gates of the East, and the lips of the other are as the gates of the East.

The tongue of the one is as high as the waves of the sea, and the tongue of the other is as high as the waves of the sea.

From the mouth of the one a flame goes forth, and from the mouth of the other a flame goes forth.

From the mouth of the one there go forth lightnings and from the mouth of the other there go forth lightnings.

From the sweat of the one fire is kindled, and from the perspiration of the other fire is kindled.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning, and from the tongue of the other a torch is burning.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone, and upon the head of the other there is a sapphire stone.

³³ *D* ins. 'the one's splendour is like the splendour of the Throne of Glory and the other's splendour is like that of the Throne of Glory'

body full of eyes Cf. ch. xxii. 8.

the eyes are like the sun in its might Cf. ch. xxvi. 6.

their height like the height of the seven heavens Cf. ch. xxv. 4 etc., and esp. ch. xxii. 3.

wings as many as the days of the year, i.e. 365; cf. ch. xxv. 2, also ch. xxi. 3.

from the mouth of the one a flame goes forth Cf. e.g. ch. xxii. 4.

from the perspiration of them fire is kindled Cf. the current saying "from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* a fiery river goes forth". *Gen. R.* lxxviii beg., *Lam. R.* on ch. iii. 23. Cf. the note on ch. xxxiii. 4.

From the one's tongue a torch is burning Cf. ch. xxii. 4: 'his tongue is a consuming fire'.

On the head of the one there is a sapphire stone Cf. ch. xxvi. 5: 'the sapphire stone upon his head'; also ch. xxii. 13.

On the shoulders of the one there is a wheel of a swift cherub, and on the shoulders of the other there is a wheel of a swift cherub.

One has in his hand a burning scroll, the other has in his hand a burning scroll.

The one has in his hand a flaming style, the other has in his hand a flaming style.

The length of the scroll is 3000 myriads of parasangs; the size of the style is ³⁴3000 myriads of parasangs³⁴; the size of every single letter that they write is 365 parasangs.

CHAPTER XIX¹

Rikbiel, the prince of the wheels of the Merkaba. The surroundings of the Merkaba. The commotion among the angelic hosts at the time of the Qēdushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above ²these three angels, these great princes² there is one

34-34 *D*: '3000 parasangs'. This is perhaps a better reading. It is more natural, that the style should not have the same length as the whole scroll.

1 *D* includes this chapter in the foregoing. 2-2 *D*: 'them, the *two* angels, these high princes' (למעלה מהן מושני).

a wheel of a swift cherub. Cf. the expression 'chariots of a swift cherub', ch. xxiv. 17.

The scroll and style are of fire, the heavenly matter. 'Graven with a flaming style' is an uncommonly frequent expression, referring e.g. to the letters engraved on the 'Fearful Crown', the Names on the Throne of Glory, etc. Cf. e.g. ch. xxxix. 1 and references in note, *ad loc.* Item, ch. xiii.

The scribes are represented as writing with a style of fire on a scroll of flames. Cf. *Midrash 'Aséreth Ma'amaroth*: "Tora was written down by the arm of the Holy One, blessed be He, with dark fire on white fire".

The numbers used in describing the sizes of the scroll, the style and the letters are based on 3000 and 365. The number 365 is used very often in this book, see esp. ch. ix. 3. It was conceived of as a cosmic and celestial number, being the number of the days of the solar year. The 3000 is probably made up of 1000 times 3, the number 3 being, of old, a mystical number. Cf. the 300 thousand 'gates' of ch. viii.

Chh. xix-xxii, xxv, xxvi. (Angelological system A 1, see Introduction, section 13 (1 A).)

Chh. xix-xxii, xxv, xxvi, form an angelological description of a systematic structure. The centre, from which the system is evolved, is the conception of the *Merkaba* with the Throne of Glory. The objects of the exposition are the angel-princes, appointed over the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*' and over the four classes of superior angels who minister at the *Merkaba* and by the Throne, as well as these angels themselves.

Prince, distinguished, honoured, noble, glorified, adorned, fearful, valiant, strong, great, magnified, glorious, crowned, wonderful, exalted, blameless, beloved, lordly, high and lofty, ancient and mighty, like unto whom there is none among the princes. His name

For the *Merkaba* speculations—derived from Ezek. i and x—and the different arrangements of the details of the *Merkaba*-picture, see the Introduction, sections 13 and 14.

The importance of these chapters consists primarily in the fact that they reveal a clear attempt at systematization. Beginning with 'the wheels of the *Merkaba*', the description proceeds from the lowest to the highest of the four classes of superior angels which, wanting a more adequate comprehensive appellation, may be called the *Merkaba*-angels. They are arranged in an order, placing the *Chayyoth* as the lowest and the *Seraphim* as the highest, thus: *Chayyoth*, *Kerubim*, *'Ophannim*, *Seraphim*. This order is by no means the one generally accepted. In most cases in the earlier cabalistic literature it seems that the writers had no clear view of the mutual order of the *Merkaba*-angels, and the cases that suggest an intended classification, represent, when compared, nearly all possible permutations of the four classes in question. Furthermore, all of them are not mentioned, in such classifications, some omitting the *Chayyoth*, others the *Kerubim* and so on. It may suffice as an illustration, to refer to the arrangement presented in ch. xxii c 2, where the order is as follows: 'the *Galgallim*, the *Kerubim*, the *'Ophannim*... the Holy *Chayyoth*, the Throne of Glory'. Cf. further the Introduction, section 13 (1 A).

On the other hand, in *P. R. 'El* iv, we meet with an order of the four classes of superior angels which is identical with the order represented in this section. In contrast with the present system, however, *P. R. 'El* puts the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*' together with the *'Ophannim* and the 'princes' assigned as chieftains over the resp. classes of angels here, do not appear there.

(1) Above these three angels, these great princes. The beginning of the chapter points to a preceding description of angels. In the present context the opening words refer to ch. xviii. That it is highly improbable, however, that ch. xviii was the original antecedent of ch. xix, has been pointed out above, note on ch. xviii. 24. Who are then, originally, the angels and princes referred to? No answer can be given to this question apart from mere conjectures. First of all, the words 'these three angels' or, as the reading of *D* runs, "them, the two angels" sound like a gloss. They might, in fact, easily have been an emendation made by the redactor who combined ch. xix with ch. xviii. By this gloss—if our assumption is correct—ch. xix is made to refer to the last named princes of ch. xviii. This is particularly so, if the reading of *D* be adopted (the two princes are then, of course, the two *Sopheriel H*, ch. xviii. 23–25). Assuming that the original beginning of the chapter had the form 'above these great princes', the subject of the preceding angelological fragment to which this expression refers, might have been, say, the 'princes of kingdoms'. Now the princes of kingdoms are the subject of the last verse of ch. xvii. The style of ch. xvii. 8 is also similar to that of the present section. It opens with the phrase 'above these', which is the regular inceptive expression of all the chapters in this section. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT CH. XVII. 8 BELONGED TO THE SAME ANGELOLOGICAL EXPOSITION, POSSIBLE ALSO THAT IT IMMEDIATELY PRECEDED WHAT IS NOW CH. XIX. Further, on the connection of ch. xvii. 8 with the rest of that chapter, see note, *ad loc.*

distinguished, honoured, noble etc. On the epithets added to the name of an angel-prince cf. note on ch. xviii. 7 and chh. xx. 1, xxii. 1, xxv. 1 and xxvi. 1. The attributes are in the present case over twenty in number. This manner of excelling in variations of terms resembles the fashion of *Hek. R.* The words used here are mostly adduced from the O.T.

is RIKBIEL H', the great and revered prince³ who is standing by the Merkaba.

(2) And why is he called RIKBIEL? Because he is appointed over the wheels of the *Merkaba*, and they are given in his charge. (3) And how many are the wheels? Eight; two in each direction. And there are four winds compassing them round about. And these are their names: "the Storm-Wind", "the Tempest", "the Strong Wind", and "the Wind of Earthquake". (4) And under them four fiery

³ so *D.* *A.*: 'name'

Rikbiel. The names of the present section (with the exception of RADWERIEL, ch. xxvii) have a very simple derivation. RIKBIEL is derived from '*Rekeb*' (= 'chariot' = '*Merkaba*'), CHAYYIEL is made to correspond to '*Chayyoth*', KERUBIEL to '*Kerubim*', OPHANNIEL to '*Ophannim*', SERAPHIEL to '*Seraphim*'.

The name RIKBIEL is not given by Schwab, *VA.* It recurs, however, twice in *Add.* 27199. The first time it is in the quotation of vss. 2-7 of the present chapter, see below. The second time in *Hilkoth ha Kisse*, fol. 138 a b, in a passage from an anonymous source, immediately following the quotation of ch. xxiii. 20 (cf. note, *ib.*) and (SOTHER ASHIEL), ch. xviii. 19 (cf. note, *ad loc.*), preceding the quotation of ch. xxii (KERUBIEL). The passage runs: "RIKBIEL H, the great and fearful prince by name, is standing by the *Merkaba* (cf. the last words of vs. 1 here) and he is appointed over the eight wheels of the *Merkaba*, two in each direction" Since this passage occurs in between quotations from this book it is probably directly dependent upon this chapter and might be regarded as a quotation. Notice, that the epithet "great and fearful prince" are regarded as part of the name.

(2) In a midrashic commentary on Ezek. i. 16 in *Add.* 27199, fol. 81 a, there is a passage on RIKBIEL which appears as a literal, though unacknowledged quotation, of vss. 2-7 of the present chapter.

the wheels of the Merkaba. (Hebrew: *galgille ham-merkaba*), wheels: '*galgallim*'. The GALGALLIM are here, at least acc. to vss. 2 and 3, understood in their literal sense, although they, in vs. 7, are represented as speaking and apparently on a level with the four classes of Merkaba angels. Cf. for the present conception *Mass. Hek.* vii, e.g. "the wheels of the Merkaba upon which is the Throne of Glory". In *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba* the four *Chayyoth* appear "from under the wheels of the chariot of His Throne (i.e. the Merkaba carrying the Throne of Glory)". (Contrast vs. 5 here.) In other connections they are clearly represented as one of the angelic classes, e.g. *Mass. Hek.* v: "In the seventh Hall are the Throne of Glory, the chariots of the Kerubim, the camps of the Seraphim, the '*Ophannim*', the '*Chayyoth*' and the '*Galgallim*' of consuming fire". In this passage it is noteworthy that the '*Ophannim*' and the '*Galgallim*' appear as two distinct angelic classes. Originally the words '*Ophannim*' and '*Galgallim*' were, on the whole, identical notions, both meaning 'wheels'. See note on ch. xxv. 5. A third significance of the '*Galgallim*' is 'heavenly bodies', mainly occurring in the later cabbalistic literature. And through further developments of the speculations on the '*Galgallim*', they are again identified with the '*Ophannim*', or, according to another trend of thoughts, the '*Ophannim*' are made the rulers of the '*Galgallim*' or celestial spheres. Cf. note on ch. xxv. 5.

(3) The number of the wheels is presumably derived from Ezek. i. (not x): a wheel in the middle of a wheel by the side of each of the four living creatures.

four winds etc. 'Storm-wind' and 'tempest' are well-established parts of any descriptions of the celestial wonders. Cf. chh. xxxiv and xviii. 25. 'Storm-wind, East-Wind, Strong Wind and Wind of Earthquake' are represented in ch. xxiii. 15, 3, 2 and 6.

rivers are continually running, one fiery river on each side. And round about them, between the rivers, four clouds are planted (placed), and these they are: "clouds of fire", "clouds of lamps", "clouds of coal", "clouds of brimstone" and they are standing over against [their] wheels.

(5) ⁴ And the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting upon the wheels. And between one wheel and the other earthquake is roaring and thunder is thundering.

(6) And when the time draws nigh for the recital of the *Song*, (then) the multitudes of wheels are moved, the multitude of clouds tremble, all the chieftains (*shallishim*) are made afraid, all the horsemen (*parashim*) do rage, all the mighty ones (*gibborim*) are excited, all the hosts (*šēba'im*) are afrighted, all the troops (*gēdudim*) ⁵are in fear⁵, all the appointed ones (*mēmunnim*) haste away, all the princes (*sarim*) and armies (*chayyēlim*) ⁶ are dismayed, all the servants (*mēsharētim*) do faint and all⁷ the angels (*mal'akim*) and divisions (*dēgalim*) travail with pain.

4 *A* ins. 'and these'
'and 'Elim'

5-5 ins. in accordance with *D. A* om.
7 so *D. A* om 'all.'

6 *D* ins.

(4) four fiery rivers. The number 'four' is to correspond with the four directions, the four *Chayyoth* etc. The four fiery rivers here should be compared with the mention in ch. xviii. 19 of 'the four heads of the fiery river'. Cf. note, *ib*. The fiery rivers here run under the feet of the *Chayyoth*. Cf. the usual expression: 'the fiery river goes forth from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth*'. The present conception of four fiery rivers is related to that of the rivers flowing between the four camps of Shekina as presented in ch. xxxvii. 1. Cf. *ib*. Clouds between the rivers, surrounding them. Cf. ch. xxxvii. 2. The object of the 'clouds' is acc. to ch. xxiv. 2 to protect from the heat of the fire. See also ch. xxxiii. 3.

(5) the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting upon the wheels. In accordance with the system of the present section the *Chayyoth* have their place next above the wheels of the Merkaba. Angels standing on wheels, cf. ch. xviii. 25 and ch. xxii. 7.

The different names of angelic classes and positions enumerated in vs. 6 are most of them deduced from the O.T. where they represent various divisions and orders within an army. This is natural from the point of view of these writers who picture the 'hosts of angels' as armies, camps and troops. The words 'appointed', 'princes', 'servants', 'angels', are familiar from the other chapters of the book. Cf. chh. xiv; iv, xxxix; xxx, vi; see Index; the other terms are all found in the enumeration in *Mass. Hek. v* of the contents of the seventh Hall and the different angelic classes there ("armies, hosts, troops, ranks (*ma'arakoth*), divisions and armies of chieftains, the men of war, mighty ones, powers (*'azuzoth*) *ta'ašumoth* (Ps. lxxviii. 36) horsemen, the officers of armies, princes etc."). The presentation of all the different 'hosts' and 'princes' has the object of enhancing the impression of the SOLEMNITY OF THE MOMENT, WHEN 'THE SONG' IS TO BE SUNG. The commotion of all heavens and all angels at the sound of the *Trisagion* is described in ch. xxxviii. Cf. also ch. xviii. 7. For passages recalling the present vs. see 1 *En. lxi. 10, 11*, 2 *En. xx. 1* seqq., *Ma'yan Chokma, BH. i. 59*, *Zohar, ii. 136 a b*. For *dēgalim* applied to angelic troops cf. *Num. R. par. ii* with reference to Ps. lxxviii. 18, *Shir. R. on ii. 4*. In the quotation *La, fol. 81 a*, only eight classes are mentioned, viz. *shallishim, parashim, šebaim, gibborim, memunnim, sarim, mal'akim, degalim*.

(7) And one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other and one *Kerub* to another, one *Chayyā* to another, one *Seraph* to another (saying) (Ps. lxviii. 5) "Extol to him that rideth in '*Araboth*', by his name *Yah* and rejoice before him!"

CHAPTER XX

CHAYYLIEL, *the prince of the Chayyoth*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one great and mighty prince. His name is CHAYYLIEL *H'*, a noble and revered prince, a 'glorious and' mighty prince, a great and revered prince, a prince before whom all the children of heaven do tremble, a prince who is able to swallow up the whole earth in one moment (at a mouthful).

(2) And why is he called CHAYYLIEL *H'*? Because he is appointed over the *Holy Chayyoth* ² and smites the *Chayyoth* ² with lashes of

1-1 ins. with *D* (for the sake of symmetry).

2-2 ins. from *D*. *A* om.

(7) one wheel makes a sound to be heard to the other. After the pattern of Is. vi. 3: "and one cried unto another, and said etc." A parallel to the present verse occurs *Mass. Hek.* vii: "and one *Bath Qōl* by the side of one wheel (referring to the 'wheels of the *Merkaba*') and another *Bath Qōl* by the side of another wheel; in that moment one wheel causes (its voice) to be heard to another wheel with thunder and earthquake. . . (saying) 'Extol to him that rideth in '*Araboth*', by his name *Yah*, and rejoice before him'". The psalm here cited is the one specifically used in mystical interpretations. There are several cabbalistic commentaries on this psalm. The special attention of the mystics was drawn to this psalm already in the tannaitic period if not earlier. From the vs. referred to here, the name of the highest of the heavens, '*Araboth*', was deduced (cf. *Chag.* 12 b). Other passages of this psalm to which special interest was devoted are vss. 17 and 18.

Elsewhere the *Galgallim* of the *Merkaba* are stated to partake in the celestial *Qēdushsha*, e.g. in the quotation, *YR.* v. 5 b: "the wheels of the *Merkaba* say: 'Blessed be the Glory of *H'* from his place etc.'"

Ch. xx. (1) Above these *scil.* RIKBIEL and the *Galgallim* of the *Merkaba*, described in the foregoing chapter.

Chayyiel. The name of the Prince is chosen to correspond to the word '*Chayyoth*'. It is, however, derived from *Chayil* (= 'army') rather than from *Chayyā*. In accordance with this derivation 'CHAYYLIEL' was probably originally the name of the prince over the *Chaylim* (= 'the armies of angels', cf. ch. xix. 6). A remnant of a tradition to this intent is perhaps the passage, occurring in *Hilkoth ha Mal'akim La*, fol. 123 a, according to which he has the function of punishing the ministering angels, when they do not say the Song in the right time. The 'armies' sometimes are equivalent with the 'ministering angels'. In the same passage CHAYYLIEL is also the prince, appointed over the *Chayyoth*.

(2) smites the *Chayyoth* with lashes of fire. Here, where the expression 'smites the *Chayyoth*' stands in juxtaposition to 'glorifies them, when they give praise',

fire: and glorifies them, when they give praise and glory and rejoicing and he causes them to make haste to say³ "Holy" and "Blessed be the Glory of *H'* from his place!" (i.e. the *Qēdushsha*).

CHAPTER XXI

The Chayyoth

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Four (are) the *Chayyoth* corresponding to the four winds. Each *Chayyā* is as the space of the whole world. And each one has four faces; and each face is as the face of the East. (2) Each one has four wings and each wing is like the cover (roof) of the universe. (3) And each one has faces in the middle of faces and wings in the middle of wings. The size of the faces is (as the size of) 248 faces, and the size of the wings is (as the size of) 365 wings.

(4) And every one is crowned with 2000 crowns on his head. And each crown is like unto the bow in the cloud. And its splendour is like unto the splendour of the globe¹ of the sun¹. And the sparks that go forth from every one are like the splendour of the morning star (planet Venus) in the East.

³ D ins. 'after me (Metatron)'

1-1 Inserted from D. A om.

it seems that the 'smiting' would best be explained as referring to the punishment executed upon the *Chayyoth*, if they do not say the 'Holy' in the proper manner. Such an idea would better harmonize with a context, where 'ministering angels' had been substituted for '*Chayyoth*'. Cf. how acc. to YR. i. 15 a, "God smites the *Chayyoth*".

Ch. xxi. The *Chayyoth* (singular form: *Chayya*) are the "four living creatures" of Ezek. i. They are, acc. to the present section, placed next above the wheels of the Merkaba. Acc. to ch. xxii c and *Hek. R.* xiii, they have their place immediately under the Throne of Glory, above the '*Ophanim*' and the '*Kerubim*'. For other representations see the introductory section.

(1) The number of the *Chayyoth* and the faces and wings of each one is in accordance with Ezek. i. 5 seq. *Like the space of the whole world*, cf. ch. ix. 1, and the immense measures ascribed to the *Chayyoth* in *TB. Chag.* 13 a ("the feet of the *Chayyoth* are of a size like that of the seven heavens, the ankles of corresponding measure, the knees of corresponding measure, and so forth"). (3) Faces in the middle of faces etc. Cf. 'the heart in the middle of the heart of the lion (i.e. one of the four *Chayyoth*)' in ch. xv b. The conceptions have probably been developed by force of analogy from Ezek. i. 16 ("a wheel in the middle of a wheel"). The numbers '248' and '365' correspond to the number of positive and negative laws resp. Cf. ch. xxxiii. 4. (4) crowned with 2000 crowns. Crowns are regular attributes of high angels, cf. note on chh. xii. 3, xviii. 1.

CHAPTER XXII¹KERUBIEL, *the Prince of the Kerubim.**Description of the Kerubim*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these ^{1a} there is one prince, noble, wonderful, strong, and praised with all kinds of praise. His name is KERUBIEL *H'*, a mighty prince, full of power and strength

AD:

a prince of highness, and Highness (is) with him, a righteous prince, and righteousness (is) with him, a holy prince, and holiness (is) with him, a prince

B:

a prince of highness, and with him (there is) a righteous prince, of righteousness, and with him a holy prince, of holiness, and with him (there is) a prince

glorified in (by) thousand hosts, exalted by ten thousand armies.

(2) At his wrath the earth trembles, at his anger the camps are moved, from fear of him the foundations are shaken, at his rebuke the '*Araboth* do tremble.

1 Here B continues.

1 a D: 'the *Chayyoth*'

Ch. xxii. (1) Kerubiel. In this form the name is not found in Schwab, VA. Cf. however, *KRBIEL*, p. 157, *ib.*, and *Kerubiyah*, *ib.*

In *Hilkoth ha Kissē*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 138 b, after mention being made of SOTHER 'ASHI'EL (cf. xviii. 19) and RIKBIEL (ch. xix), there occurs a summary of the functions ascribed to KERUBIEL, a passage which is apparently drawn from vss. 1, 3-5, 7-9, of the present chapter.

A similar abridged quotation (*ba'arikut mizzeh ham mal'ak*) occurs in YR. i. 54 a, from *Sōdē Rāzā*, a quotation which is important, because it begins with Gen. v. 24, also forming the beginning of the present book, a fact which shows that the compiler of the *Sōdē Rāzā* used as one of his sources an Enoch-fragment or a book of Enoch which contained descriptions of Kerubiel, and, by consequence, probably also the essential parts of the angelological section of the present book.

In *Widduy Yaphe* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 133 b) he appears at the head of the *Kerubim* as here, but *ib.* fol. 134 b he is in common with SERAPHIEL (ch. xxvi. 8), represented as one of the twenty-six angels 'who carry the *Merkaba*'.

In the enumeration of different classes of angels which is given in *Mass.* 'Asilut (frequently referred to in notes and Introduction), the 'prince of the Kerubim' is called 'KERUBIEL'.

Even so in *S. ha Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120, fol. 14 b) KERUBIEL is introduced as the angel appointed over the *Kerubim*.

Acc. to 1 *En.* xx. 7, the prince of the *Kerubim* is GABRIEL, and acc. to *Zohar*, Ex. 43 (YE), this function is assigned to 'KERUB'.

The variant reading of B is most likely due to a false punctuation and subsequent transposition of the word '*immō*' (= 'with him').

(3) His stature is full of (burning) coals. The height of his stature is as the height of the seven heavens the breadth of his stature is as the wideness of the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the seven heavens.

(4) ²The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire². His tongue ³is a consuming fire³. His eyebrows are like unto the splendour of the lightning. His eyes are like sparks ⁴of brilliance⁴. His countenance is like a burning fire.

(5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head on which (crown) the Explicit Name is graven, and lightnings go forth from it. And the bow of *Shekina* is between his shoulders.

(6) AD: B:

And his sword is upon his loins and his arrows⁵ And his sword is like unto a lightning; and upon his loins there are arrows like

2-2 B: 'from his mouth there burns as it were a lamp of fire' D: 'the opening of his mouth burns like a lamp of fire' 3-3 so B. AD: 'consumes fire'

4-4 B omits. 5 D: 'arrow'

(3) His stature etc. The simpler reading of *Hilkoth Kisse* (see above) might with advantage be adopted: "his stature is as high as the seven heavens and the thickness of his stature is as the width of the sea". On the measures of high angels cf. ch. ix. 1, xxi. 1 and notes. Also ch. xlviii c 5.

(4) The opening of his mouth is like a lamp of fire etc. The description of the body of this angel-prince is in the usual terms conveying that he is wholly made up of fire. The substance of the angels' body is regularly fire. So it is said in 2 *En.* xxix. 1, 3, with regard to God's creation of the angels: "for all the heavenly hosts I (God) fashioned a nature like that of fire: their weapons are fiery, their garment is a burning flame...". Descriptions of this kind are frequent. Cf. 2 *En.* i. 5 ("their faces shone like the sun, their eyes like burning lamps, fire came forth from their lips... their wings were brighter than gold"). Cf. also *Chibbut ha Qeber*, i, *Mass. Hek.* iv, Rev. xix. 11-15.

Occasionally one finds the statement that some angels are made of water in contrast with others who are made of fire or that the angels in general are composed of fire and water. E.g. *Midrash 'Asereth haDēbārōth*, pp. 64 seqq., *BH.* (on the contents of '*Araboth*): "the angels are made of fire and water, and there is peace between them etc.", based on Job xxv. 2. Cf. ch. xlii.

(5) And there is a crown of holiness upon his head. The term 'crown of holiness' instead of the more usual 'crown of glory', probably with reference to the attribute of 'holiness' conferred upon this prince in vs. 1.

on which the Explicit Name is graven. Cf. ch. xii. 1 and note, also ch. xxxix. 1. Acc. to *Shir Rabba*, i, the explicit name was engraved on the crowns given to the Israelites at mount Sinai.

the bow of *Shekina*. The (heavenly counterpart of) the 'bow in the cloud' is probably meant. This has become a regular part of the speculations on the heavenly splendours, cf. ch. xxii c 4, 7. Then also it is understood as referring to the angel's weapon.

(6) his sword is upon his loins. Sword is a frequent concomitant attribute of the angel of death or of the angels of destruction. Cf. Rev. R. *Joshua ben Levi*, *BH.* ii. 48.

are like lightnings in his girdle. And a shield of consuming fire (is) on his neck and coals of juniper are round about him. unto a flame, and upon his armour and shield there is a consuming fire, and upon his neck there are coals of burning juniper and (also) round about him (there are coals of burning juniper).

(7) And the splendour of *Shekina* is on his face; and the horns of majesty on his wheels; and a royal diadem upon his skull.

(8) And his body is full of eyes. And wings are covering the whole of his high stature (lit. the height of his stature is all wings).

(9) On his right hand a flame is burning, and on his left a fire is glowing; and coals are burning from it⁶. And firebrands go forth from ⁷his body⁷. And lightnings are cast forth from his face. With him there is alway thunder upon (in) thunder, by his side there is ever earthquake upon (in) earthquake*.

(10) And the two princes of the Merkaba are together ⁸with him⁸.

6 so *B*. *A*: 'from his body' *D*: 'from him' 7-7 so *BD*. *A*: 'him' 8-8 lit. 'the two princes of the Merkaba are in his place' *B* reads: 'are of his size (like his stature)'

(7) the splendour of *Shekina* is on his face. On the conception of the splendour of *Shekina* see Abelson, *Immanence*, pp. 85-89, and cf. note on ch. v. 4. When it is said to be on the face of KERUBIEL here, it is to be understood as a reflection of God's glory, in analogy with the 'glory' that the first Adam possessed before his fall (*Ber. R.* xii) and which is to be restored to the righteous in the world to come (cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Kaph*, beg.).

horns of majesty on his wheels. The angels are often depicted as horned, cf. vs. 13 (horns of glory) and ch. xxix. 2 (horns of splendour). Horned angels are referred to in *Mass. Hek.* v (angels of horns of majesty: *ba'alē qarnē hōd*). Instead of 'on his wheels' one would have expected 'on his head'. Cf. vs. 13. No doubt the angel was imagined as having 'wheels', but it is possible that the reading here is corrupt ('*ofan*' as a synonym of '*galgal*' having been put in the place of the latter?). But cf. *Ezek.* x. 12. For Messiah ben Joseph as 'horned' cf. note on xlv. 5.

(8) his body is full of eyes. The angels have eyes all round to be able to see without turning: "there is no back in heaven" (*Chag.* 15 a). The passage forming the point of support is such a one as *Ezek.* x. 12. Cf. further chh. ix. 3, xxv. 2, 6, xxvi. 6, *Hek. R.* xxii. wings are covering the whole of his high stature. Cf. ch. ix. 2, *Hek. R. ib.* For vss. 8 and 9 in general cf. *Chibbut ha Qeber*, i.

(10) the two princes of the Merkaba. Cf. ch. i. 7. The princes of the *Merkaba* are carrying the *Merkaba* acc. to *Widduy Yaphe*, fol. 133 b. 'The princes of the *Merkaba*' are on the level with MIKAEL, GABRIEL, METATRON and SANDALPHON in so far as they, in contrast to other angels, are exempt from being burnt in the fiery river and 'created anew' acc. to *Šuni*, quoted by the *Smaller Yalqut Re'ubeni* under '*Mal'ak*'. In *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Mem*, *BH.* iii, they are one of the highest classes of angels; together with the *Chayyoth* they minister by the *Merkaba*. In *Midrash Sar Tora*, *BH.* iii, *Hek. R.* xxx, an angel, called SIRBIEL, is defined as "one of the princes of the *Merkaba*".

* The literal translation 'thunder in thunder' etc. is presumably that which best corresponds to the idea in the mind of the writer: that thunder was thundering from the midst of thunder, earthquake roaring from the midst of earthquake.

(11) Why is he called KERUBIEL ⁹H', the Prince⁹. Because he is appointed over ¹⁰the chariot of the *Kerubim*. And the mighty *Kerubim* are given in his charge. And he adorns¹⁰ the crowns on their heads and polishes the diadem upon their skull.

(12) ¹¹He magnifies the glory of their appearance.¹¹ And he glorifies¹² the beauty of their majesty. ¹³And he increases the greatness of their honour. He causes the song of their praise to be sung. He intensifies their beautiful strength. He causes the brilliance of their glory to shine forth. He beautifies their goodly mercy and loving-kindness. He frames the fairness of their radiance. He makes their merciful beauty even more beautiful. He glorifies their ¹⁴upright majesty¹⁴. He extols the order of their praise, to stablish the dwelling-place of him "who dwelleth on the *Kerubim*".

(13) And the *Kerubim* are standing by the Holy *Chayyoth*,
and their wings are raised up to their heads (lit. are as the height
of their heads)

and *Shekina* is (resting) upon them

and the brilliance of the Glory is upon their faces

and ¹⁵song and praise¹⁵ in their mouth

and their hands are under their wings

¹⁶and their feet are covered by their wings¹⁶

and horns of glory¹⁷ are upon their heads

and the splendour of *Shekina* on their face

and *Shekina* is (resting) upon them

9-9 D om. 10-10 B: 'the chariots of the *Chayyoth*. And he adorns the
majesty and' 11-11 B om. 12 so D. AB: 'hastens' 13 BD ins. 'he
increases their beauty' 14-14 B: 'majestic strength' 15-15 D: 'song
of praise' 16-16 B om. 17 B: 'majesty'

In the two latter of these instances the 'princes of the *Merkaba*' are clearly indicated as more than two in number. Confer further on ch. i. 7 ('the princes of the *Merkaba* and the flaming *Seraphim*').

The expression 'are on his place' or 'are together with him' is perhaps a sign that the princes of the *Merkaba* had a function or occupied a position here ascribed to KERUBIEL or the *Kerubim*, a view which the writer tried to harmonize with his own in this way.

(11) KERUBIEL is the prince of the *Kerubim*. The *Kerubim* described here are "the four *Kerubim*" (Ezek. x). In the Pseudepigrapha they are mentioned, esp. in *Apoc. Moses* and 1 *En.* and 2 *En.* Further see the introductory section. mighty *Kerubim* is the expression used also in *Mass. Hek.* iv. chariot(s) of the *Kerubim*, also ch. xxiv. 1. Cf. *Apoc. Mos.* xxii. 3 ("when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariots of his *Kerubim*"), and *ib.* xxxviii. 3.

(13) and *Shekina* is resting upon them and the... Glory is upon their faces. Cf. Ezek. x. 18. 'The brilliance of the Glory' is the resplendence of the 'Glory' of *Shekina*. their hands are under their wings, perhaps deduced from Ezek. x. 7. their feet are covered etc. obviously from Is. vi. 2. horns of glory

and sapphire stones are round about them
and columns of fire on their four sides
and columns of firebrands beside them.

(14) There is one sapphire on one side¹⁸ and another sapphire on another side¹⁸ and under¹⁹ the sapphires¹⁹ there are coals of burning juniper.

(15) And one *Kerub* is standing in each direction but the wings of the *Kerubim* compass each other above their skulls in glory; and they spread them to sing with them a song to him that inhabiteth the clouds and to praise with them the fearful majesty of the king of kings.

(16) And KERUBIEL *H'*, the prince who is appointed over them, he arrays them in comely, beautiful and pleasant orders and he exalts them in all manner of exaltation, dignity and glory. And he hastens them—in glory and might—to do the will of their Creator every moment. For above their lofty heads abides continually²⁰ the glory of the high king²⁰ “who dwelleth on the *Kerubim*”.

CHAPTER XXII B

L(mr), following after the B:

rec. of ch. xxii C. vss. 1-3
(middle):

R. Ishmael said to me: Metatron, the angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) *And there is a court
before the Throne of Glory,*

(1) *How are the angels standing on
high? He said: Like a bridge that is*

18-18 ins. with DB. A om.
sapphires'

19-19 so D. B: 'the sapphire' A: 'their
20-20 so DB. A: 'a great glory of the king'

Cf. vs. 7. sapphire stones. Cf. Ezek. i, etc. (vs. 26). columns of fire on their four sides. Cf. Ezek. x. 7.

(15) spread them to sing with them. The *Kerubim* are represented as singing with their wings. The 'sound' or 'voice of the cherubims' wings' of Ezek. x. 5 is interpreted as the sound of a song. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xi. 4: "the wings of the Chayyoth are full of rejoicing." The *Kerubim* themselves are singing acc. to vs. 13. Cf. 2 *En.* xix. 6 *e.a.* ("the indescribable singing of the host of the Cherubim").

(16) Cf. chh. xxv. 5, xxvi. 8.

The additional fragments, here marked chh. xxii B and xxii C, follow in B immediately after ch. xxii. Another recension of ch. xxii C occurs in *Add.* 27199, fol. 78 a, referred to here as '*L(o)*' or '*Lo*'. In the same MS. fol. 126 a (*Helak Merkaba*) there is a third recension, containing a version of ch. xxii C 1-3 (middle), followed by a piece parallel to but differing markedly from ch. xxii B 1, 3, 4: '*Lmr*'.

(1) there is a court before the Throne of Glory (*Lmr*). The place of God's manifestation in the highest heavens is depicted in the simile of the innermost part

(2) *which no seraph nor angel can enter, and it is 36,000 myriads of parasangs, as it is written (Is. vi. 2): "and the Seraphim are standing above him" (the last word of the scriptural passage being 'ל') [numerical value: 36]].*

(3) *As the numerical value of ל' (36) is the number of the bridges there.*

(4) *And there are 24 myriads of wheels of fire. And the ministering angels are 12,000 myriads. And there are 12,000 rivers of hail, and 12,000 treasuries of snow.*

And in the seven Halls are chariots of fire and flames, without reckoning, or end or searching. (Lmr. ends here.)

placed over a river so that every one can pass over it, likewise a bridge is placed from the beginning of the entry to the end. (2) And three ministering angels surround it and utter a song before YHWH, the God of Israel. And there are standing before it lords of dread and captains of fear, thousand times thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand in number and they sing praise and hymns before YHWH, the God of Israel.

(3) *Numerous bridges are there: bridges of fire and numerous bridges of hail. Also numerous rivers of hail, numerous treasuries of snow and numerous wheels of fire.*

(4) *And how many are the ministering angels? 12,000 myriads: six (thousand myriads) above and six (thousand myriads) below. And 12,000 are the treasuries of snow, six above and six below. And 24 myriads of wheels of fire, 12 (myriads) above and 12 (myriads) below. And they surround the bridges and the rivers of fire and the rivers of hail. And there are numerous ministering angels, forming entries, for all*

of a Sanctuary. The seventh Hall is called 'the Holy of Holies'. The entry (B), then, is the entry of the innermost part of the sanctuary. The conception of 'bridges' in heaven is attested in *Hek. R. BH. iii. 93*. They are the bridges that are placed over the fiery rivers (cf. *ib.*). (2) three ministering angels. Probably the leaders of the song-uttering angels, who sometimes are represented as three, usually as four (cf. note on ch. xxxv. 3). lords of dread and captains of fear. Guardian angels who inspire dread and fear, cf. *Rev. Moses, YR. ii. 66 b* ("I saw the angels of dread who surround the Throne"). thousand times thousand etc. Derived from *Dan. vii. 10*. Cf. *chh. xxxv. 6, xxxvi. 1, Zohar, ii. 252 b*.

(3, 4) rivers of fire, rivers of hail. Cf. *ch. xlii. 1, 7*. wheels (*galgallim*) of fire. The wheels of fire are possibly conceived of as angelic beings. Cf. *Zohar, ii. 252 b* (in the fourth Hall): "under the *Chayyoth* are four *Seraphim* (cf. vs. 1 acc. to *Lmr*) . . . from these four *Seraphim* . . . there go forth flames of fire and from these flames are made 72 *galgallim* burning in the fire and from that fire is made the *Nehar di-Nur*". the treasuries of snow are usually said to be 'under the throne'. six above and six below etc. 'Above' and 'below' probably in relation to the

the creatures that are standing in the midst thereof, corresponding to (over against) the paths of *Raqia' Shamayim*.

(5) *What doeth YHWH, the God of Israel, the King of Glory? The Great and Fearful God, mighty in strength, doth cover his face.*

(6) *In 'Araboth are 660,000 myriads of angels of glory standing over against the Throne of Glory and the divisions of flaming fire. And the King of Glory doth cover His face; for else the 'Araboth Raqia' would be rent asunder in its midst because of the majesty, splendour, beauty, radiance, loveliness, brilliancy, brightness and excellency of the appearance of (the Holy One,) blessed be He.*

(7) *There are numerous ministering angels performing his will, numerous kings, numerous princes in the 'Araboth of his delight, angels who are revered among the rulers in heaven, distinguished, adorned with song and bringing love to remembrance: (who) are affrighted by the splendour of the Shekina, and their eyes are dazzled by the shining beauty of their King, their faces grow black and their strength doth fail.*

(8) *There go forth rivers of joy, streams of gladness, rivers of rejoicing, streams of triumph, rivers of love, streams of friendship—(another reading:) of commotion—and they flow over and go forth before the Throne of Glory and wax great and go through the gates of the paths of 'Araboth Raqia' at the voice of the shouting and musick of the CHAYYOTH, at the voice of the rejoicing of the timbrels of his 'OPHANNIM and at the melody of the cymbals of His Kerubim. And they wax great and go forth with commotion with the sound of the hymn: "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, IS THE LORD OF HOSTS; THE WHOLE EARTH IS FULL OF HIS GLORY!"*

bridges. for all the creatures that are standing in the midst thereof.... The 'creatures' probably refer to human beings, perhaps the souls or spirits who are ascending towards their abode near the Throne of Glory, i.e. after death. It is improbable that the *Yörēdē Merkaba* are meant here. The angels are placed so as to form an entry, through the midst of which the souls proceed.

(6) the king of Glory doth cover His face.... This part of the verse recurs literally identical in *Hek. R.* xi, *BH.* iii. 92, and *Or.* 6666, fol. 4 b. the veil with which the Most High covers his face is often identified with the *Pargod*, cf. on ch. xlv. 1. Cf. also *Mass. Hek.* iii and *Chag.* 12 b.

(8) There go forth rivers of joy etc. The whole of this verse recurs in *Hek. R.* viii. 4, *BH.* iii. 90, *Or.* 6666, fol. 3 a. Only the very last sentence is somewhat different in *Hek. R.*: "(go forth with commotion) with *Qēdushsha*, at the hour when Israel say before Him: 'HOLY, HOLY, HOLY etc.' as it is written (Is. vi. 3) HOLY, HOLY, HOLY". In common with the rest of the book this chapter makes no reference to the *Qēdushsha* chanted by the congregation on earth.

CHAPTER XXII c

(in *B*, *Lo* and *Lmr*)

^{L. H.}
 ° *R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Prince of the Presence said to me:*°

(1) *What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs. 1 Their ascent is 12 myriads of parasangs, and their descent 12 myriads of parasangs*^{1, 2}

(2) *(The distance) between the rivers of dread and the rivers of fear is 22 myriads of parasangs; between the rivers of hail and the rivers of darkness*³ *36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers*⁴ *of lightnings and the clouds of compassion*⁵ *42 myriads of parasangs; 6 7 between the clouds of compassion*⁸ *and the Merkaba 84 myriads of parasangs; between the Merkaba and the Kerubim 148*^{9a} *myriads of parasangs*⁷; *between the Kerubim and the 'Ophannim 24 myriads of parasangs; between the Ophannim and the chambers of chambers 24 myriads of parasangs; 9 between the chambers of chambers and the Holy Chayyoth*¹⁰ *40,000 myriads of*¹⁰ *parasangs; between one wing (of the Chayyoth) and another*

0-0 *Lo*: 'R. Ishmael said' *Lmr* om (follows upon a par. to ch. xxxvii). 1-1 *L(o)*: '(12 myriads of parasangs) in their ascent and 12 myriads of parasangs in their descent. 12 myriads of parasangs' corr. *L(mr)* om. 2 *Lmr* adds: 'and there are the rivers of dread' 3 *Lmr*: 'snow' 4 *Lmr*: 'orders' 5 *Lo*: 'heat' *Lmr*: 'consolation' 6 *Lmr* ins. the gloss: '(why) clouds of consolation? Because they console the Glory (the Most High)' 7-7 *Lo* om. 8 *Lmr*: 'consolation' 8a *Lmr*: '185' 9 *Lmr* ins. the explanatory gloss: 'and in these chambers are honour and majesty. This is the mystical meaning (of the passage Ezek. i. 16), and the appearance of the 'Ophannim and their work' 10-10 so with *Lmr* and *Lo*. *B*: '1000'

Ch. xxii C. (1) *What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs.* The present chapter is mainly concerned with measures and distances. This was an early theme of the mystical traditions. A striking parallel is the well-known passage in *Chag.* 13 a (the distances between the heavens and the measures of the different parts of the body of the *Holy Chayyoth*). It was probably referred to as *Seder Shi'urin*. Cf. the *Shi'ur Qōmā*. The latter part of vs. 1 is a variant of the former part. (2) Vss. 2 and 3, by way of an exposition of the distances and measures gives a definite *Merkaba*-picture. The order is from the lower to the highest parts: rivers of dread—rivers of fear—rivers of hail—rivers of darkness—chambers of lightnings—clouds of compassion—the beginning of the *Merkaba* proper—the *Kerubim*—the 'Ophannim—the chambers of chambers—the *Holy Chayyoth*—the Throne. It will be seen that this order is entirely different from that implied in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxv seqq., and also from that of ch. xxxiii. 2 seqq. In placing the *Chayyoth* next to the Throne as the highest of the *Merkaba*-angels, this fragment agrees with *Hek. R.* xiii and the regular representation of *Zohar*, and also with the passage *Chag.* 13 a, referred to above. When it is said: "the *Holy Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory", this does not necessarily imply the *Chayyoth* being designed as the highest of the *Merkaba*-angels; the other classes may be conceived of as surrounding the Throne (cf. ch. xxxiii. 2, 3). The chambers of chambers are here the treasures and storehouses of the Most High.

12 myriads of parasangs; ¹¹and the breadth of each one wing is of that same measure¹¹; and the distance between the Holy Chayyoth and the Throne of Glory is ¹²30,000 myriads of parasangs¹².

(3) And from the foot of the Throne to ¹³the seat¹³ there are 40,000 myriads of parasangs¹⁴. And the name of Him that sitteth on it: let the name be sanctified!

[(4) And the arches of the Bow are set above the 'Araboth, and they are 1000 thousands and 10,000 times ten thousands (of parasangs) high. Their measure is after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin (Watchers and Holy Ones) ¹⁵. As it is written (Gen. ix. 13) "My bow I have set in the cloud". It is not written here "I will set" but "I have set", (i.e.) already; clouds that surround the Throne of Glory. As His clouds pass by, the angels of hail (turn into) burning coal.

(5) And a fire of the voice goes down from¹⁶ by the Holy Chayyoth. And because of the breath of that voice they "run" (Ezek. i. 14) to another place, fearing lest it command them to go; and they "return" lest it injure them from the other side. Therefore "they run and return" (Ezek. i. 14).

(6) And these arches of the Bow are more¹⁷ beautiful and radiant than¹⁸ the radiance of the sun during the summer solstice. And they are whiter than a flaming fire and they are great and beautiful.

(7) Above ¹⁹the arches of the Bow¹⁹ are the wheels of the 'Ophannim.

11-11 *Lmr*: 'and the same (measure) is its length and its breadth' 12-12 so with *Lmr*. *Lo*: '30 myriads of parasangs' *B*: 'of that same measure'
13-13 *Lmr*: 'where He is seated' 14 *Lmr* continues here with a parallel to ch. xxii c, see text *ib*. 15 *Lo* ins. the gloss: 'and this is what the poet lays down: the arches of the Bow with the wing(s) of the dragon' 16 *Lo* om.
17 *Lo* om. 18 *Lo*: 'as' 19-19 *Lo* om.

(3) from the foot of the Throne etc. The R. Aqiba version of *Shi'ur Qoma* has: "from the seat of His Glory (Yāqār, not Kabod) downwards is (a distance of) 118,000 parasangs" (half the numerical value of עֶרֶב כֹּחַ, "and of great power": Ps. cxlvii. 5). Cf. *Hek. R.* x, *BH.* iii. 91 ("from His Throne of Glory upwards is a distance of 180,000 myriads of parasangs").

Vss. 4-7 cannot be harmonized with the Merkaba-picture of the preceding verse. They are in reality a mystical commentary on Ezek. i. 14 seqq., starting from the conception of the Celestial Bow, brought about by the combination of Gen. ix. 13 with Ezek. i. 28. Also in *Zohar*, i. 71 b, the passage Gen. ix. 13 is used to elucidate the mystical meaning of passages in the first chapter of Ezekiel. These vss. may have been added here on account of the reference to 'measures' in vss. 4 and 7. after the measure of the 'Irin and Qaddishin. Cf. Rev. xxi. 17. The measures laid down in 'Shi'ur Qoma' are said *ib.* to be acc. to the measures of the Most High, to whom a span (*zéret*) means the distance from one end of the world to the other. For the 'Irin and Qaddishin see ch. xxviii. Vs. 4 recurs in *S. Raziél*, 30 a, preceding *Shi'ur Qoma*. (5) a fire of the voice etc. is an allusion to the *Qol H^anullā* of Ezek. i. 24. It is here conceived of as a Divine Voice. The Voice goes forth in fire. The *Chayyoth* fearing the fire: cf. *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104. (7) vs. 7 recurs in *S. Raziél*, 4 a.

Their height is 1000 thousand and 10,000 times 10,000 units of measure after the measure of the Seraphim and the Troops (Gēdudim).]

CHAPTER XXIII

The winds blowing 'under the wings of the Kerubim'

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) There are numerous winds blowing under the wings of the *Kerubim*.

There blows "the Brooding Wind", as it is written (Gen. i. 2): "and the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters".

(2) There blows "the Strong Wind¹", as it is said (Ex. xiv. 21): "and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night".

¹ Ins. with BDE. A om. E continues here. DE put at the beginning of this chapter as heading, 'Order of the winds'.

Chh. xxiii and xxiv stand out by themselves from the rest of the book. They are nearest akin to the chapters describing the heavens from their quasi-physical aspects, and can therefore conveniently be reckoned as belonging to section 6. (See the survey of the contents of the present book.) The different 'winds' and 'chariots' are enumerated. Their names are deduced from passages of the O.T. where the words '*rūāch*' resp. '*merkaba*', '*rékeb*' or similar occur in different connections or with different attributes.

An almost literal parallel to ch. xxiii, although in a shorter form (the winds are reduced to eight), is found, YR. i. 9 a, quoted from *Sōdē Rāzā*: "There are eight winds. The first is 'the wind of jealousy', as it is written (Gen. vi. 3), 'My wind shall not always strive with man', the second is 'the Wind blowing in the world', as it is written (Gen. i. 2): 'the wind of God was brooding upon the face of the waters'; the third is 'the angel-wind' as it is written (1 Kings xix. 11): 'but the Lord was not in the wind', etc." As the word for 'wind' is also that for 'spirit', in all passages referred to here, where the English version has 'spirit', this word has been replaced by 'wind' in accordance with the significance '*rūāch*' has assumed throughout the chapter.

Parallels for the present method of deriving 'names' of different heavenly objects from O.T. passages and enumerating them are found in *Mass. Hek. i* and in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter *Zain*.

In *Mass. Hek. i* it is the Thrones of the Holy One, blessed be He, which are dealt with according to this principle. The wording is almost literally the same as that of the present chapters. "Numerous thrones has the Holy One, blessed be He. He has 'the Established Throne' as it is written... He has 'the Throne of Justice and Righteous-ness'... He has the Throne of Loving-kindness... He has the Throne of Yah, as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): 'Because a hand is lifted up upon the throne of Yah'. (Cf. ch. xxiv. 20 here), etc."

In *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, ib.* the 'keys of the Holy one' are the objects. The 'winds', 'chariots', 'thrones' and 'keys' of the said passages are to be understood in their literal sense.

Ch. xxiii. (1) blowing under the wings of the *Kerubim*. This trait forms

(3) There blows "the East Wind"¹ as it is written (Ex. x. 13): "the east wind brought the locusts".

(4) There blows "the Wind of Quails"² as it is written (Num. xi. 31): "And there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails".

(5) There blows "the Wind of Jealousy" as it is written (Num. v. 14): "And the wind of jealousy came upon him".

(6) There blows the "Wind of Earthquake" as it is written (1 Kings. xix. 11): "and after that the wind of the earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake".

(7) There blows the "Wind of *H'*"³ as it is written (Ex. xxxvii. 1): "and he carried me out by the wind of *H'* and set me down".

(8) There blows the "Evil Wind"³ as it is written (1 Sam. xvi. 23): "and the evil wind departed from him"⁴.

(9) There blow the "Wind of Wisdom"⁵ and the "Wind of Understanding" and the "Wind of Knowledge" and the "Wind of the Fear of *H'*"⁵ as it is written (Is. xi. 2): "And ⁶the wind of ⁶*H'* shall rest upon him; ⁷the wind of wisdom and understanding, the wind of counsel and might, the wind of knowledge and of the fear of *H'*".

(10) There blows the "Wind of Rain", as it is written (Prov. xxv. 23): "the north wind bringeth forth rain".

(11) There blows the "Wind of Lightnings", as it is written (Jer. x. 13, li. 16): "he maketh lightnings for the rain and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures".

(12) ⁸There blows the "Wind, Breaking the Rocks", as it is written (1 Kings xix. 11): "the Lord passed by and ⁹a great and strong wind (rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord)".^{8, 7}

(13) There blows the "Wind of Assuagement of the Sea", as it is written (Gen. viii. 1): "and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged".

1 Ins. with BDE. A om.

2 E: 'Day' corr.

3-3 E om.

4 B quotes

1 Sam. xvi. 14: 'and an evil wind from the Lord troubled him'

5-5 B: "and

the wind of counsel and might" and "the wind of knowledge and fear of *H'*"

E: "and Understanding," "the wind of counsel and might", "the wind of knowledge and fear"

6-6 so BDE. A om.

7-7 B om.

from 'the wind of wisdom etc.' vs. 9 to the end of vs. 12.

8-8 E om.

9 so D. AB: 'in'

the point of connection with ch. xxii, treating of the *Kerubim*. (6) and after that the wind. . . . The scriptural verse in question is interpreted in a sense different from the natural ('but the Lord was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake, etc.), in order to furnish the notion 'wind of earthquake'.

(14) ¹⁰There blows the "Wind of Wrath" ¹¹, as it is written (Job i. 19): "and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house and it fell". ¹⁰

(15) There blows the "Storm-Wind", as it is written (Ps. cxlviii. 8): "Storm-wind, fulfilling his word".

(16) And Satan is standing among these winds, ¹²for "storm-wind" is nothing else but "Satan" ¹², and all these winds do not blow but under the wings of the *Kerubim*, as it is written (Ps. xviii. 11): "and he rode upon a cherub and did fly, yea, and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(17) And whither go all these winds ¹³? The Scripture teaches us, that they go out from under the wings of the *Kerubim* and descend on the globe of the sun, as it is written (Eccl. i. 6): "¹⁴The wind goeth toward the south and turneth about unto the north; it turneth about continually in its course and the wind ¹⁴ returneth again to its circuits". And from the globe of the sun they return and descend upon [¹⁵the rivers and ¹⁵ the seas, upon] the mountains and upon the hills, as it is written (Am. iv. 13): "For lo, he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind".

(18) And from the mountains and the hills they return and descend to the seas and the rivers; and from the seas and the rivers they return and descend upon ¹⁷ ¹⁶ (the) cities and provinces; and from the cities and provinces they return and descend into the Garden, and from the Garden they return and descend to Eden, as it is written (Gen. iii. 8): "walking in the Garden in the wind of day". And in the midst of the Garden they join together and blow from one side to

10-10 B om. 11 DE add: 'and Sorrow' 12-12 so D. BE om. A: 'for Satan has no wind (spirit?)' 13 BDE add: '(when) descending' 14-14 so DE(B). A om. 15 A ins. 'in the Garden and from the Garden and into' 16-16 B om. 17 DE ins. 'the country and from the country they return and descend upon'

(16) Satan is standing among these winds etc. Satan, acc. to the reading adopted above, is represented by 'the Storm-wind'. The winds are thus divided into good and evil ones. Cf. 1 En. xxxiv. 3: "and out of one portal they (the winds) blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals it is with violence and affliction on the earth. The 'storm-wind' represents the destructive agency among the winds.

(17) The winds are represented as going out from under the wings of the *Kerubim*. The idea common to older and later Apocalyptic and Rabbinic is that the winds are kept in treasures in heaven, from where there are sent out and whereto they return.

(18) into the Garden, and from the Garden . . . to Eden. On the relation between the 'Garden' and 'Eden' cf. note on ch. v. 5.

And in the midst of the Garden they join together. Cf. *Cant. R. Par.* iv. 31: "in the world to come God will make the north wind and the south wind to blow

the other and are perfumed with the spices of the Garden even from its remotest parts, until¹⁸ they separate from each other, and, filled with the scent of the pure spices, they bring the odour from the remotest parts of Eden and the spices of the Garden to the righteous and godly who in the time to come shall inherit the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life, as it is written (Cant. iv. 16): "Awake, O north wind; and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden and eat his precious fruits".

CHAPTER XXIV

The different chariots of the Holy One, blessed be He

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, the glory of all heaven, said to me:

(1) Numerous chariots has the Holy One, blessed be He:

He has the "Chariots of (the) *Kerubim*¹", as it is written (Ps.

¹⁸ so with *DE*. *A* om. corr.

¹ *DE*: '(a) kerub'

together as one". are perfumed with the spices of the Garden. For the fragrance and sweet odour of the trees of *Gan Eden*, esp. of the Tree of Life, cf. 2 *En*. viii. 2, 3. In *Apoc. Pauli* the 'perfuming winds' are replaced by 'εὐωδέσταιον ὕδωρ', which "flows from the root of the tree of life". Cf. also *Rev. R. Joshua ben Levi*, Paradise, 5th Compartment: "a perfume breathes through it, more exquisite than the perfume of Lebanon" (Gaster's translation).

they bring... the spices of the Garden to the righteous... in the time to come. Here we are at once translated into a picture of the future world. It would have been more natural if the relative sentence ('who etc.') had not appeared here, for then 'the righteous and godly' could have been referred to the common conception, according to which they are already living in Paradise, having been brought there immediately after death. The author's glide from present to future time is, however, comprehensible and excused by the poetical form of expression of the chapter.

Also acc. to 2 *En*. ix, "the fragrances of the Garden of Eden are prepared for the righteous". Cf. especially *Num. R.* xiii. 3 (there, as here, with reference to Cant. iv. 16): "In the world to come God will make a feast for the righteous in the Garden of Eden. Neither balsam nor spices will then be needed, for the North Wind and the South Wind will come down and bring with them all the spices of the Garden of Eden and they will spread their perfume". See *Introd.* sect. 16, 6.

Ch. xxiv. The same method that is used in regard to the 'winds' in the foregoing chapter is here applied to the 'chariots'. The key to the understanding of the often far-fetched deductions from scriptural passages can be expressed by the principle: "WHENEVER IT IS STATED IN THE HOLY WRIT THAT GOD APPEARS, IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT HE APPEARS ON A VEHICLE". Thus, e.g. when it is said (vs. 5), 'I saw the Lord standing upon the altar', this is interpreted as referring to 'the Chariot of the altar'; 'appeared in the Tent' is interpreted as 'appeared in the Chariot of the Tent', etc.

(1) the Chariots of the *Kerubim*. This forms the connecting link with ch. xxii,

xviii. 11, 2 Sam. xxii. 11): "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly".

(2) He has the "Chariots of Wind", as it is written (*ib.*): "and he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind".

(3) He has the "Chariots of (the) Swift Cloud", as it is written (Is. xix. 1): "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud".

(4) He has "the Chariots of Clouds", as it is written (Ex. xix. 9): "Lo, I come unto thee in a cloud".

²(5) He has the "Chariots of the Altar", as it is written (Am. ix. 1): "I saw the Lord standing upon the Altar".

(6) He has the "Chariots of *Ribbotaim*", as it is written (Ps. lxxiii. 18): "The chariots of God are *Ribbotaim*; thousands of angels".

(7) He has the "Chariots of the Tent", as it is written (Deut. xxxi. 15): "And the Lord appeared in the Tent in a pillar of cloud".²

(8) He has the "Chariots of the Tabernacle", as it is written (Lev. i. 1): "And the Lord spake unto him out of the tabernacle".

(9) He has the "Chariots of the Mercy-Seat", as it is written (Num. vii. 89): "then he heard ³the Voice³ speaking unto him from upon the mercy-seat".

(10) He has the "Chariots of Sapphire Stone", as it is written (Ex. xxiv. 10): "and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone".

(11) He has the "Chariots of Eagles", as it is written (Ex. xix. 4): "I bare you on eagles' wings". ⁴Eagles literally are not meant here but "they that fly swiftly as eagles".⁴

(12) ⁵He has the "chariots of Shout", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout".⁵

(13) He has the "Chariots of '*Araboth*'", as it is written (Ps. lxxiii. 5): "Extol Him that rideth upon the '*Araboth*'".

(14) He has the "Chariots of Thick Clouds", as it is written (Ps. civ. 3): "who maketh the thick clouds His chariot".

(15) He has the "Chariots of the *Chayyoth*⁶", as it is written (Ezek. i. 14): "and the *Chayyoth*⁶ ran and returned". ⁷They run by permission and return by permission, for *Shekina* is above their heads.⁷

2-2 B om. vss. 5-7.
om. (perhaps gloss).
7-7 B om

3-3 B: 'YYY' (i.e. YHWH) MT as above.
5-5 B om. 6 so BDE. A: 'the Living Ones' (*Chayyim*).

4-4 BDE

treating of the *Kerubim* in general and mentioning the 'chariots of the *Kerubim*', vs. 11. Cf. *ib.* note.

(15) They run by permission *scil.* of the *Shekina*. *Shekina* is above their heads. Cf. the expression '*Shekina* is resting upon them', with reference

(16) He has the "Chariots of Wheels (*Galgallim*)", as it is written (Ezek. x. 2): "And he said: Go in between the whirling wheels".

(17) He has the "Chariots of a Swift *Kerub*", as it is written (?⁸): "riding on a swift cherub".

And at the time when He rides on a swift kerub, as he sets one of His feet upon him, before he sets the other foot upon his back, he looks through ¹⁰eighteen thousand¹⁰ worlds at one glance. And he discerns and sees into them all and knows what is in all of them—and then he sets down the other foot upon him, according as it is written (Ezek. xlvi. 35): "Round about eighteen thousand".

Whence do we know that He looks through every one of them every day? It is written (Ps. xiv. 2): "He looked down from heaven upon the children of men ¹¹to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God¹¹".

8 The reference is a confusion of Ps. xviii. 10 with Is. xix. 1. *B* om. vs. 17. 9 *D*: 'cloud' cf. vs. 3. 10-10 so *BDE*. *A*: '18,000 thousands (of worlds)' 11-11 *B* om.

to the *Kerubim*, in ch. xxii. 13. The *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory, the seat of *Shekina*.

Note the systematic order of the 'chariots' in vss. 15 seqq. The Chariots are those of 'the *Chayyoth* (vs. 15), the *Galgallim* (vs. 16), the *Kerub* (vs. 17), the '*Ophanim* (vs. 18) and the Divine Thrones (vss. 19 seqq.)'. This order recalls the system of the *Merkaba*-representation in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxiv seqq.: four classes of *Merkaba*-angels arranged according to rank under and next to the Divine Throne. If the order here presented is intentional, it appears that the *Merkaba*-picture of this chapter is different from that of the angelological section referred to: the arrangement (and names) of the superior classes of angels here is not congruent with that of the latter. Cf. further note on ch. xix and Introduction.

(16) Chariots of Wheels (*Galgallim*). On the *Galgallim* cf. note on ch. xix. 2.

(17) Chariots of a Swift Kerub. Cf. *P. R. 'El*. iv: "When God looks out on the earth his Chariots are on the wheels (*Galgallim*, cf. the preceding vs.), when riding in heaven, on a swift Kerub".

before he sets the other foot etc. The expression occurs also *Hek. R. iii. 2 et al.* he looks through 18,000 worlds at one glance. "It was presumed that our present earth was preceded by many others which were not good in the eyes of the Creator (*Gen. R. iii. 9, ix. 2*) who traverses in all 18,000 worlds". The 18,000 worlds are co-existent with the present world.

The number 18,000 is here deduced from Ezek. xlvi. 35. So also in *S. Razi'el*, 36 (*Ma'ase Bereshith*).

Acc. to '*Abōdā Zārā*, 3 b, the number is derived from Ps. lxviii. 18, interpreted somewhat in the following sense: 'God rides (through) twenty thousands (i.e. 20,000 worlds) less two thousand (worlds)'. This interpretation is repeated in later cabalistic works, e.g. '*Peli'a*' (cited *YR. i. 7 b*).

In the Talmud-passages just mentioned the Holy One is represented as traversing all the 18,000 worlds "on his SWIFT KERUB".

The number 18,000 is lastly deduced even in a third way, viz. from the first word of the Tora: *Bereshith*. The number of the letters of this word when written in full (*beth, resh, shin*, etc.) is 18. Hence the interpretation: "18 (scil. thousand worlds) created God".

With the conception of 18,000 worlds may be compared that of 955 heavens: ch. xlvi. 1 (cf. note, *ib.*).

¹²(18) He has the "Chariots of the 'Ophannim", as it is written (Ezek. x. 12): "and the 'Ophannim were full of eyes round about".¹²

(19) He has the "Chariots of ¹³His Holy Throne¹³", as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 8): "God sitteth upon his holy throne".

(20) He has the "chariots of the Throne of *Yah*", as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): "Because a hand is lifted up upon the Throne of *Jah*".

¹⁴(21) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Judgement", as it is written (Is. v. 16): "but the Lord of hosts shall be exalted in judgment".¹⁴

(22) He has the "Chariots of the Throne of Glory", as it is written (Jer. xvii. 12): "The Throne of Glory, set on high from the beginning, ¹⁵is the place of our sanctuary¹⁵".

(23) He has the "Chariots of the High and Exalted Throne", as it is written (Is. vi. 1): "I saw the Lord sitting upon the high and exalted throne".¹⁶

CHAPTER XXV

'Ophphanniel, the prince of the 'Ophannim.

Description of the 'Ophannim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one great prince, revered, high¹, lordly, fearful, ancient and strong. 'OPHPHANNIEL *H'* is his name.

12-12 *B* om.

13-13 *B*: 'the Holy Throne' *E*: 'the Throne of His Glory'

cf. vs. 22.

14-14 *ED* om.

15-15 *B* om.

16 *B* ends with this chapter.

1 *DE*: 'honoured'

(19-23) The Chariots of his Holy Throne... of the Throne of *Yah*... of the Throne of Judgement... of the Throne of Glory... of the High and Exalted Throne. The word 'chariots' seems here to be merely a metaphorical expression (= the vehicle of God's manifestation?). For the different 'Thrones' of God see *Mass. Hek.* i, ii. All the names of 'Thrones' of the present verses recur there, partly with the same scriptural references.

Ch. xxv. The continuation of ch. xxii.

(1) Above these... The opening words of the chapter make it evident that it cannot possibly be a continuation of the preceding chapter, as it appears to be from its present place. With ch. xxii, however, it fits in well, both with regard to style, phraseology and general arrangement. It treats of the third class of Merkaba-angels, the 'Ophannim, and their prince, 'OPHPHANNIEL, in a manner very similar to that of chh. xix-xxii, with regard to *Chayyoth* and *Kerubim*. 'Ophphanniel. The name occurs, chh. xiv. 10 and xvii. 5, as the name of the angel set over the course of the moon. Cf. *S. Raziël*, 19 b. No instance attributing to 'OPHPHANNIEL the function assigned to him in the present chapter is found among the references in Schwab, *VA*.

There seem to have been two different traditions concerning the name of the

(2) He has sixteen faces, four faces on each side, ²(also) hundred wings on each side². And he has 8466 eyes, corresponding to the days of the year.

A:

DE:

2190—and some say 2116—on each side³. 2191 (E: 2196) and sixteen on each side.

(3) And those two eyes of his face, in each one of them lightnings are flashing, and from each one of them firebrands are burning; and no creature is able ⁴ to behold them: for anyone who looks at them is burnt instantly.

(4) His height is (as) the distance of 2500 years' journey. No eye⁵ can behold and no mouth can tell the mighty power of his strength⁶ save the King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, alone.

(5) Why is he called 'OPHPHANNIEL?

Because he is appointed over the 'Ophannim and the 'Ophannim

2-2 D om. 3 A repeats the last sentence. 4 so DE. A ins. 'to stand (and)' 5 so D. A: 'house' 6 so DE. A: 'eyes'

leader of the 'Ophannim. According to one it was 'OPHANNIEL, according to the other RAPHAEL. The former tradition is represented by this chapter, the latter by Zohar, Ex. xliii. In *Masseket 'Asilut* the two are foisted together, so that there RAPHAEL and 'OPHANNIEL are given as the chieftains of the 'Ophannim.

(2) he has 8466 eyes etc. The number of the eyes is a calendary one. The text is, however, corrupt, the reading of DE worse than that of A. If, instead of 'days of the year', we read (as Jellinek suggests in note, *ad locum*, in E) 'hours of the days of the year', the number 8466 would correspond to a lunar year of 352 $\frac{1}{2}$ days; the fourth part of 8466 is 2116 (plus $\frac{1}{2}$), the number of eyes on each of the four sides, according to one of the variants of A. The other variant, 2190, is the exact fourth part of the number of hours of the solar year, if counted as 365 days of 24 hours each. The variants of A thus point to two different readings, one of which used 'solar' numbers, the other 'lunar' ones. This fact does not imply any contention between solar and lunar calculations as in the earlier Apocrypha. In the present book the solar and lunar numbers are merely cosmic numbers, used side by side, apparently of equal value, although the solar ones are more frequent. The only reason to consider the variant, giving the lunar numbers, as the original in this case, is the fact that 'OPHANNIEL elsewhere—chh. xiv. 10 and xvii. 5 of the present book and *S. Raziel*, 19 b—is connected with the course of the moon (notice the use of the number 354 in connection with 'OPHANNIEL, ch. xvii. 5). Besides, the numbers 8466 and 2116 may be corrupt for 8496 and 2124 resp., corresponding to a lunar year of 354 days.

A parallel passage in *Mass. Hek.* iv runs (using solar numbers): "In each Hall there are 8766 gates of lightnings, corresponding to the number of hours of the days of a year". This parallel is pointed out by Jellinek in his note (referred to above) and is the point of support for the emendations suggested by him.

(3) two eyes that are in his face. His face, being pictured as that of a man, has two eyes only, whereas the rest of his body is wholly covered with eyes: see the preceding verse.

(4) appointed over the 'Ophannim. On the 'Ophannim cf. Introduction. The 'Ophannim have here, as well as in 1 *En.* lxi. 10, lxxi. 7, 2 *En.* xxix. 3, *Yer. Ber.* iv. 5,

are given in his charge.⁷ He stands⁸ every day and attends and beautifies⁹ them. And he exalts and orders their apartment (*DE*: runnings) and¹⁰ polishes their standing-place¹⁰ and makes bright their dwellings, makes their corners even¹¹ and cleanses their seats. And he waits upon them early and late, by day and by night, to increase their beauty, to make great their dignity and to make them 'diligent in praise of their Creator.

(6) And all the '*Ophannim* are full of eyes,¹² and they are all full of brightness¹²; ¹³¹⁴ seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their right side¹⁴ and seventy two sapphire stones are fixed on their garments on their left side¹³.

(7) And four¹⁵ carbuncle¹⁶ stones are fixed on the crown of every single one, the splendour of which proceeds in the four directions of '*Araboth* even as the splendour of the globe of the sun proceeds in all the directions of the universe. ¹⁷And why is it called Carbuncle (*Baréqet*)?¹⁷ Because its splendour is like the appearance of a light-

7 *A* ins. 'And he is appointed to attend the '*Ophannim*' 8 *A* ins. 'over them'
 9 *E*: 'makes them to fear and refreshes them' 10-10 *E*: 'assembles their
 meeting (congregation)' 11 *DE* instead of 'makes even' read: 'refreshes'
 12-12 *DE*: 'and all of them are full of wings, eyes over against wings, wings cor-
 responding to eyes, and in between them splendour and radiance are shining as
 the light of the planet Venus' 13-13 *E* om. 14-14 *D* om. 15 *E*:
 'seventy two' 16 so *D*. *EA*: 'sapphire' 17-17 so *D*. *A*: (Why is it
 called *Beraqot* (lightnings) (carbuncles)) *E*: 'Why is he called by the name of
 שִׁדְּיָאֵל?'

lost all traces of their original character of wheels (*galgallim*). Cf. the similar development of the traditions concerning the *Galgallim* (see note on ch. xix. 2).

Here the '*Ophannim* are depicted as one of the classes of Merkaba-angels, with the regular appearance of angels (with eyes, garments, crowns etc. cf. vs. 6).

Later the '*Ophannim* are identified with the *Galgallim*, e.g. in the cabbalistic treatise on the Throne, the Merkaba and the Shekina, contained in *Harley Or.* 5510, fol. 127 a: "the '*Ophannim*, they are (the same as) the *Galgallim*".

When the *Galgallim* are identified with the spheres or heavenly bodies, the conception of the '*Ophannim* as those who 'move the spheres' arises. Such is the representation of the '*Ophannim* in *Shefa 'Tal* (by R. Sheftel Horwitz, ed. 1612), fol. 41 c: "... the '*Ophannim*, who act in the '*Asiyyatic* world ('the world of creative matter') and move the spheres, as it is written (Ezek. i. 15) '... behold one '*Ophan* upon the earth' etc."

It was, no doubt, through the connection of the '*Ophannim* with the 'globes' that '*OPHANNIEL* was made the prince appointed over the 'globe of the moon'.

(6) 72 sapphire stones are fixed on their garments. Cf. ch. xii. 1, and for the use of the number 72, vs. 1 of ch. ix.

(7) four carbuncle stones on the crown.... Carbuncle stone is mentioned as one of the different kinds of precious stones fixed on "the floor of the '*Araboth*'' in *Mass. Hek.* iv, where a similar statement is made to its splendour as here: "its splendour proceeds through the whole universe and through all the seven heavens".

why is it called Carbuncle? There is a certain confusion in the readings of the latter part of the verse. The reading of *D* is adopted in the translation, as being

ning¹⁸ (*Baraq*). And tents of splendour, tents of brilliance, tents of brightness as of sapphire and carbuncle inclose them because of¹⁹ the shining appearance of their eyes¹⁹.

CHAPTER XXVI

SERAPHIEL, *the Prince of the Seraphim.*

Description of the Seraphim

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above these there is one prince, wonderful, noble, great, honourable, mighty, terrible, a chief and leader¹ and a swift scribe¹, glorified, honoured and beloved.

(2) He is altogether filled with splendour, full of praise and shining; and he is wholly full of brilliance, of light and of beauty; and the whole of him is filled with goodliness² and greatness.

18 *E*: '(the planet) Jupiter' 19-19 *A*: 'the shining appearance of them (the 'Ophannim), and of their eyes and before them (=and of their faces?)'. The adopted reading is that of *DE*.

1-1 *DE* om. 2 *A* omitting 'goodliness' has here a lacuna.

the most plausible: the unfamiliar word '*Bareqet*' is explained as derived from '*Baraq*' ('lightning'). The reading of *E* is based on the assumption that the word to be explained is that of an angel: the expression '*wəlāmmā niqrā šēmō* . . . = why is he called by the name. . . ' is the regular phrase introducing the explanation of an angel's name. Hence *E* presents the reading: "Why is he called by the name of ŠIDQIEL? Because his splendour is like the splendour of the planet Jupiter (*Šēdeq*)".

The reading of *E* is probably due to an emendation of a copyist. It is, however, difficult to understand why he should have substituted 'ŠIDQIEL' and '*Šēdeq*' for '*Bareqet*' and '*Baraq*' resp. (it would have been more natural to choose, say, the name 'BARAQIEL', cf. ch. xiv. 10), unless one may assume, that he was dependent upon some tradition, according to which ŠIDQIEL was the Prince of the 'Ophannim. Acc. to *Zohar* and *Mass. Ašilut*, ŠIDQIEL is the leader of the class of angels, which is called *Shin'anim*. tents of splendour etc. The tents, like the clouds of ch. xxxiv. 2, serve the purpose of protecting the other angels from the splendour of the 'Ophannim.

(1) a swift scribe. As this attribute is omitted by *D* and *E*, and no second statement occurs in the chapter to the effect that SERAPHIEL had the function of a scribe, scarcely any importance can be ascribed to this single expression. It is possible that a copyist, missing a clear reference to the identity of the 'scribes' or 'scribe' in the present angelological section, there being only an occasional mention of 'scribes' in ch. xxvii. 2, concluded that SERAPHIEL, the highest of the princes of the Merkaba-angels held this function. To the 'scribes' was assigned a high position near the Throne of God. The conception is mainly connected with that of the Judgement.

(3) His countenance is altogether like (that of) angels, but his body is like an eagle's body.

(4) His splendour is like unto lightnings, his appearance like fire brands, his beauty like unto sparks, his honour like ³fiery coals³, his majesty like *chashmals*, his radiance like the light of the planet Venus. The image of him is like unto the Greater Light. His height is as the seven heavens. The light from his eyebrows is like the sevenfold light.

(5) The sapphire stone upon his head is as great as the whole universe and like unto the splendour of the very heavens in radiance.

(6) His body is full of eyes like the stars of the sky, innumerable and unsearchable. Every eye is like the planet Venus. Yet, there are some of them like the Lesser Light and some of them like unto the Greater Light. From his ankles to his knees (they are) like unto stars of lightning, from his knees to his thighs like unto the planet Venus⁴, from his thighs to his loins like unto the moon, from his loins to his neck like the sun, from his neck to his skull like unto the Light Imperishable. (Cf. Zeph. iii. 5.)

(7) The crown on his head is like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory. The measure of the crown is the distance of 502 years' journey. There is no kind of splendour, no kind of brilliance, no kind of radiance, no kind of light in the universe but is fixed on that crown.

(8) The name of that prince is SERAPHIEL *H'*. ⁵And the crown on

3-3 so *D*. *A*: 'streams'
stars'

5-5 *DE* om.

4 *E* instead of 'the planet Venus' reads 'the shining

(6) The description of the appearance of the body of SERAPHIEL in this verse seems to indicate that his body was conceived of as having human form, in contradiction to the statement made in vs. 3.

(7) The crown on his head. On the crown as regular accompaniment-feature of descriptions of high angels, cf. ch. xii. 3 note (also ch. xviii. 1). The measure of the crown is. . . Cf. *Shi'ur Qoma*, *Bodl. opp.* 467: the measure of the crown on the head of the manifested Godhead is 500,000 by 500,000 (measures).

(8) Seraphiel *H'*. See Schwab, *VA.* p. 260. Among the different passages treating of 'SERAPHIEL' that which is nearest akin to the present representation is *Zohar*, ii. 252 b (*Hekaloth*), where SERAPHIEL is given as the name of one of the four *Seraphim*, viz. the first one.

Acc. to *S. Raziel*, 36 b, he is appointed over one of the gates of the heavenly apartments.

Acc. to *Widduy Yaphe* (*Add.* 15299, fol. 133 b) SERAPHIEL is one of the twenty-six angels who carry the *Merkaba*.

In *S. ha Chesheq* he is invoked together with other angels by the suppliant, praying for "knowledge in purity".

In *Berith Menucha*, fol. 47 c, SERAPHIEL is mentioned as one of the company of 'consuming' or 'burning' angels. The words 'SERAPHIEL' and '*Seraphim*' are deduced from the verb '*saraph*' ('burn', 'to burn'). Cf. the explanation of the

his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace".⁵ And why is he called by the name of SERAPHIEL *H'*? Because he is appointed over the *Seraphim*. And ⁶ the flaming *Seraphim* are given in his charge. And he presides over them by day and by night and teaches them song, praise, proclamation of beauty, might and majesty; that they may proclaim the beauty of their King in all manner of Praise and Sanctification (*Qēdushsha*).

(9) How many are the *Seraphim*? Four, corresponding to the four winds of the world. And how many wings have they ⁷each one of them? Six, corresponding to the six days of Creation. And how many faces have they? ⁷Each one of them ⁷four faces.⁸

(10) ⁹The measure of the *Seraphim* and the height of each one of them correspond to the height of the seven heavens.⁹ The size of each wing is like the measure of all *Raqia'*. The size of each face is like that of the face of the East.

5-5 DE om. 6 A ins. 'the Holy *Seraphim* and'
add: 'in each direction'

9-9 E om.

7-7 DE om.

8 DE

name '*Seraphim*' in vs. 12 of the present chapter. Hence SERAPHIEL, acc. to '*Antachhat Binyanīm*, fol. 38 b (cited Schwab, *ib.*), is invoked in case of fire.

And the crown on his head, its name is "the Prince of Peace." This statement is peculiar to A: it is not found in D and E. It is somewhat out of keeping with the style of this section, as well as of the whole book, in so far as it is the only instance where a special, artificial, name is given to any part of an angel's body or adornment. The attribution of special names to the different parts of the body of the Godhead is a marked feature of *Shiur Qoma*, and even of *Hek. Zot*. The sentence is no doubt a gloss.

in all manner of Praise and Sanctification. The *Seraphim* are singing praises to their Creator and especially the *Qēdushsha* or *Trisagion*. That the *Seraphim* perform the *Qēdushsha* is definitely stated also in the *Testament of Adam* (Patrologia Syriaca), in *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 58-64, and in the *Qēdushsha* of the Additional service for Sabbath and Festivals (the *Qēdushsha le-Musaph*). The last mentioned runs: "We will revere and sanctify thee as in the secret whisper of the Holy *Seraphim* who sanctify Thy name in Holiness, as it is written by the hand of the prophet (Is. vi. 3), 'And one cried unto another and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.'"¹⁰ The entire conception of the *Qēdushsha*-singing *Seraphim* is of course deduced from Is. vi. It is uncertain whether *Qēdushsha* here is really = *Trisagion*.

The *Seraphim* are identical with the *Chalkadri* of 2 En. xii and xv. 1 (according to CHARLES) and, probably, also with the 'serpents' of 1 En. xx. 7 ("Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim"). Cf. 2 En. xix. 6.

In *Apoc. Mosis*, xxxiii. 3, the *Seraphim* are connected with the *Merkaba* as here.

They appear as one of the classes of superior angels in 1 En. lxi. 10: "And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the *Kerubin*, *Seraphin* and '*Ophannin*'; and *ib.* lxxi. 7: "And round about were *Seraphin*, *Cherubin* and *Ophannin*...". Cf. further 2 En. xix. 6, xxix. 3, *TB. Chag.* 12 b.

As the first (and highest) rank of angels they are represented (as here) in the Coptic *Mysteries of St John* and the *Holy Virgin*, fol. 6 b (Budge's ed.): "I saw all the ranks of the angels. The first rank contained the *Seraphim*".

(11) And each one of them gives forth light like unto the splendour of the Throne of Glory: so that not even the Holy *Chayyoth*, the honoured '*Ophannim*, nor the majestic *Kerubim* are able to behold it. For everyone who beholds it, his eyes are darkened because of its great splendour.

(12) Why are they called *Seraphim*? Because they burn (*saraph*) the writing tables of Satan: Every day Satan is sitting, together with SAMMAEL, the Prince of Rome, and with DUBBIEL, the Prince of Persia, and ¹⁰they write¹⁰ the iniquities of Israel on writing tables which they hand over to the *Seraphim*, in order that they may present them before the Holy One, blessed be He, so that He may destroy Israel from the world. But the *Seraphim* know ¹¹from the secrets¹¹ of the Holy One, blessed be He, ¹²that he desires not,¹² that this

10-10 DE: 'he writes'
D. A om.

11-11 E: 'in a vision from'

12-12 ins. from

Berith Menucha, 38 b, also puts the *Seraphim* in the highest rank, under the leadership of YEHOEL.

Further on the *Seraphim*, see the Introduction.

(12) Every day Satan is sitting, together with Sammael etc. Satan is here the Prince of the Accusers, SAMMAEL and DUBBIEL being merely his assistants. This function tends more and more to be transferred to SAMMAEL, who as the representative of Rome, the head of the Gentile Nations, naturally becomes the chief supraterritorial enemy of Israel. So, ch. xiv. 2, SAMMAEL is explicitly named 'the Prince of the Accusers'. Likewise, in the *Pirqe Mashiach*, BH. iii. 68, SAMMAEL appears as the official accuser of Israel. In the earlier Apocrypha he is the angel of death, e.g. *Sir.* xxv. 24; 3 *Bar.* iv. 8, ix. 7. He is also identified with the serpent of the Genesis narrative of the primordial sin, or at least considered as the angel who led Adam astray acc. to 3 *Bar.* iv. 8, ix. 7. Traces of his character as angel of death are found even in later writings, e.g. *Midrash Peṭirath Moshe*, BH. i. 125, acc. to which 'SAMMAEL, the head of the Accusers' aspires to fetch Moses' soul at the time of his death. In the same line fall his functions of prince of the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river (*Zohar*, i. 40 a, ii. 243 b), and angel of Gehenna (*Midrash Kohen*, 'Arze Lebanon, 3 b, P. R. 'El. xxxi, xiii). As Prince of Rome Sammael is mentioned in *Gen. R.* lxxvii, in *Pirqe Mashiach*, *ib.*, in *Hek. R.* iv, v and freq. As such he obtains a prominent place among 'the Princes of Kingdoms', even at times represented as their leader. Cf. notes on chh. xiv. 2 and xvii. 8.

For DUBBIEL as the Prince of Persia cf. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a. *Vide* Intro. sect. 7.

For 'Satan' and 'Satans' as having access to heaven, *vide* CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 66, on the relation of 'The Parables' of 1 *En.* to the rest of the book. Acc. to 1 *En.* xl. 7, the Satans have access to heaven.

that they may present them before the Holy One. This conception of the Seraphim as having the function of handing over documents or petitions to the Holy One, is represented in a somewhat different form in the statement occurring in *Lev. R.* xxii and *Eccl. R.* x, that the record of man's deeds during the past day is during his sleep transmitted by the '*nëshāmā*' to a *Kerub* and by the *Kerub* to a *Seraph*, who in his turn presents it before the Holy One, blessed be He. The conception is based on the assumption that the *Seraphim* are the class of *Merkaba*-angels who stand next to the Throne.

know from the secrets of the Holy One. It was thought that some of the highest angels enjoyed the privilege of partaking in the knowledge of God's secrets;

people Israel should perish. What do the *Seraphim*? Every day do they receive (accept) them from the hand of Satan and burn them in the burning fire over against the high and exalted Throne ¹³ in order that ¹⁴they may not come¹⁴ before the Holy One, blessed be He, at the time when he is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth.

CHAPTER XXVII

RADWERIEL, *the keeper of the Book of Records*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel ¹of H¹, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above the *Seraphim* there is one prince, exalted above all the

13 E adds: 'of Glory'

14-14 so DE. A: 'he may not present them'

Ch. xxvii. 1-1 E om.

they knew beforehand the decrees and the reasons of the decrees. Cf. chh. xxviii. 4, x. 1, xlv. 1, 2 and notes resp., xviii. 16 and note. A technical term for this knowledge of the Divine secrets was the expression "know from inside the Curtain" or "hear from behind the Curtain". Cf. *Chag.* 16 a (concerning the ministering angels), *Chibbut ha Qeber*, iv (of the angel of death), *Ma'yan Chokma, et freq.* (of the angel *Gallisur*).

receive them from the hand of Satan and burn them... that they may not come before the Holy One etc. Cf. how acc. to 1 *En.* xl, "the four presences on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits" "fend off the Satans and forbid them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth" (vs. 7). The accusations have no power to alter the Divine decrees concerning Israel, so far as they are sufficiently counterpoised by high merits on the part of Israel (for instance their acceptance of the Tora on mount Sinai, without which acceptance the whole world could not have subsisted). Of this impotence of the accusations the burning 'of the writing tables of Satan' is a metaphor.

The *Seraphim* are here represented as frustrating the plottings of the accusing angels. In *P. R. 'El.* on the contrary, SAMMAEL, the *Chayyoth* and the *Seraphim* in unity desire man's fall and plan to bring it about.

sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, judging the whole world in truth. The interest begins to turn to the Judgement. Similarly, in the independent angelological exposition contained in ch. xviii, the functions of the last enumerated angels centre round the different aspects of the Divine Judgement. The Throne of Glory seems to the visionary as he directs his gaze higher, to reveal itself as the Throne of Judgement. For the expression 'judging in truth' cf. ch. xxxi. 1.

Ch. xxvii. Ch. xxvii, although belonging to the same angelological section as the preceding chapters, leaves the subject of the angels of the *Merkaba* and the princes appointed over them and approaches the subject of the Judgement, already alluded to by the last verse of the foregoing chapter. It treats of RADWERIEL, the heavenly registrar, the keeper of the Case of Writings, of which the most important is 'the Book of Records'. On 'the Book of Records' the Judgement is to be based.

(1) Radweriel H'. The name is, so far as is known to the present writer, an ἀπαξ-λεγόμενον. So is also the reading of E: 'Daryoel'. But it seems very probable that

princes, wondrous more than all the servants. His name is RADWERIEL² *H'* who is appointed over the treasures of the books.

(2) He fetches forth the Case³ of Writings (with) the Book of Records in it, and brings it before the Holy One, blessed be He.⁴ And he breaks the seals of the case⁴³,⁶ opens it,⁵ takes out⁵ the books and delivers them before the Holy One, blessed be He⁶. And the Holy One, blessed be He, receives them of his hand and gives them in his sight to the Scribes, that they may read them⁷ in the Great *Beth Din*⁷ in the height of 'Araboth Raqia', before the heavenly household.

2 *E*: 'Dāryō'el' *D* marks, through vowel points, the pronunciation 'Radweriel', which is adopted above. 3-3 *E* om. 4-4 *D* om. 5-5 so *E*. *A* corr.: 'gives' 6-6 *D* om. 7-7 so *DE*. *A* (seemingly): 'before the Holy One, blessed be He, the Great One'

there exists a connection as well with regard to name as function between RADWERIEL here and the 'VRETIL' of 2 *En.* xxii. 11, 12 (and xxiii): "*And the Lord called one of his archangels, by name Vretil, who was more wise than the other archangels and wrote down all the doings of the Lord. And the Lord said to Vretil, 'Bring forth the books from my store-places, and give a reed to Enoch and interpret to him the books' etc.*"

The affinities between this and the features represented in the present chapter are obvious. 2 *En.*: VRETIL, an archangel, more wise than the other archangels—*here*: RADWERIEL, above the *Seraphim*, the highest of the Merkaba-angels, exalted above all the Princes etc.; 2 *En.*: VRETIL brings forth the books from God's store-places—*here*: RADWERIEL is appointed over the treasures of the books and fetches forth the 'Case of Writings with the Book of Records'.

The derivation of the words 'RADWERIEL' or 'VRETIL' is uncertain: from the Greek *εὐπρεπής* (thus signifying 'fluent speech, fluent reading'?). Cf. vs. 3. He may originally have had the function, here assigned to the scribes, of 'reading the books before the Great *Beth Din* in heaven'.

(2) Case of Writings. The Hebrew word, here translated 'Case', is used in this sense in *TB. Soṭa*, 22 d, *Meg.* 26 b *et al.*, also *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*.

Book of Records (or 'of remembrance'). On the three main lines of conceptions of the 'books' at the Judgement cf. note on ch. xviii. 24. The 'book of records' evidently is conceived of as recording all the deeds of the inhabitants of the world relevant to the issues at the Judgement. The Book of Records is the basis of the Judgement also acc. to the liturgical prayer 'וַיִּתְּנָה תְּקֵף' ("and thou wilt remember all that is forgotten, and wilt open the Book of Records").

takes out the books. The plural might either refer to other books besides and inclusive of the Book of Records or be due to a confusion between two traditions, one knowing one 'Book' only, the other speaking of 'the books'. The second tradition is represented, e.g. in 4 *Ez.* vi. 20, *Ap. Bar.* xxiv. 1, *Rev.* xx. 12, not to mention *Dan.* vii. 10.

gives them... to the scribes, that they may read them. A similar situation, with the same expressions, is pictured in the *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*, only with the difference that it there takes place at the court of the Pharaoh. The illustrative features are borrowed from the writer's ideas of the proceedings at a royal court.

The Great *Beth Din* or *Sanhedrin* or Court of Justice. Cf. chh. xxviii. 9 and xxx. 1. The *Sanhedrin* on earth had its counterpart in heaven, the *Beth Din Shel-ma'ala* under the presidency of the Most High himself. The members of the *Beth Din* on high were the highest angels, according to ch. xxx evidently the seventy-two princes of kingdoms together with the Prince of the World, acc. to ch. xxviii. 9,

(3) And why is he called RADWERIEL⁸? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created: and he stands in the songs (in the singing company) of the ministering angels and utters⁹ a song before¹⁰ the Holy One, blessed be He¹⁰ when the time draws nigh for the recitation of the (*Thrice*) *Holy*.

8 E: 'Dāryō'el'

9 E: 'they utter'

10-10 E: 'him'

presumably, the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* (cf. notes, *ad loca*). See also *Hek. R.* v. 3, *BH.* iii. 87.

Concerning the conception of 'Scribes' cf. on ch. xxxiii. 2. Acc. to some passages, there is only one 'Scribe' as such: e.g. ch. xxxiii. 2 (in the reading of *E*) and *Hek. R.* v. 1. Acc. to chh. xviii. 23-25 and xxxiii. 2 (in the adopted reading) the Scribes are two in number. They record the deeds of the inhabitants of the world in the 'books', and also write down the divine decrees (*Hek. R.* v. 1). Here they are even more represented as reading what is written in the books before the *Beth Din* (cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, letter *Qoph*, referred to above). The last function was perhaps, as already suggested, originally assigned to VRETIL-RADWERIEL: in 2 *En.* xxii. 12, VRETIL is asked to "interpret to him (Enoch) the books".

(2) Why is he called Radweriel? Because out of every word that goes forth from his mouth an angel is created. This explanation of the name presupposes the form 'DIBBURIEL' or 'DABARIEL'. The form 'DABAR YAH' is found in a MS. acc. to Schwab, *VA*. The derivation is perhaps a mere construction on the part of the writer. Exchanging 'W' for 'B' he reads 'Ra-Dabariel' or 'Radibburiel', regarding the 'Ra' as an epenthesis.

The ascribing to an angel-prince of the faculty of creating an angel by the 'word of his mouth' is rather singular. Such a statement is otherwise made of God, e.g. ch. xl. 4, *Chag.* 14 a, *Gen. R. Par.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* on iii. 23. It would seem that the present passage could be made to refer to 'RADWERIEL' only on the assumption that it is one of the different names of the Godhead, and not the name of an angel. The whole of vs. 3 might have been adduced from a treatise on the Divine Names. The instances where the same name at one time or in one writing is represented as the name of an angel, and in another as one of the names of the Godhead, are frequent in the cabbalistic literature. Cf. the case of 'TAG'AS', note on ch. xviii. 5; the '*Pardes*' (quoted *YR.* i. 90 a) discusses the '*Akatriel*' of *Ber.* 7 a, rejecting the view that it is the name of the Most High, and maintains that '*Akatriel*' is "a Prince on high".

he stands etc. The 'he' probably refers to the created angel. in the songs. The Hebrew here might be translated 'in the service' instead of 'in the songs, i.e. in the singing company' of the ministering angels. But the latter is presumably the correct interpretation. The exact meaning is: 'he stands and sings the songs (*shiroth* as a technical term) which the ministering angels sing'. Cf. *Gen. R.* lxxviii: "God creates every day a new order of angels who utter a song, etc." See note on ch. xl. 4. On RADWERIEL *vide* *Introd.* sect. 13 A (6).

CHAPTER XXVIII

The 'Irin and Qaddishin

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Above all these there are four great princes, '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* by name: high, honoured, revered, beloved, wonderful and glorious ones, greater than all the children of heaven. There is none like unto them among all the celestial princes and none their equal among all the Servants. For each one of them is equal to all the rest together.

(2) And their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory, ¹and their standing place ²over against the Holy One, blessed be He²,

1-1 *E om.* 2-2 so *D.* *A* uncertain, corr.; perhaps: 'is the place of the Throne (*Beth ha-kKisse*)'

Ch. xxviii. (1) '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*, i.e. the Watchers and the Holy Ones.

The '*Irin* and the *Qaddishin* are acc. to the present angelological system at the summit of the hierarchy of angels. They form the council of the Most High (vs. 4), have executive power over the terrestrials (vs. 6) and, acc. to the latter part of the chapter, they assist at the forensic as well as retributive judgement, being both 'court-officers' and executors of the Divine decrees.

The '*Irin* are mentioned in 1 *En.* (as 'Watchers'), alone or together with the *Qaddishin* (= 'Holy Ones') in chh. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi *et al.* In 2 *En.* they appear as the '*Grigori*', *ib.* xviii.

The expression 'Holy Ones' occurs frequently in 1 *En.* (chh. ix. 3, xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxi. 8, lxxx. 5, cvi. 19. *Vide* CHARLES, 1 *En.* Index II, "Angels, the holy ones"). In ch. ix. 3 it refers to the four archangels or 'Presences', in ch. lxxx. 5 to the seven archangels, in ch. xlvii. 2 possibly to the *Chayyoth*, in chh. xxxix. 5, lx. 4, lxi. 8, lxv. 12 to the angels or 'children of heaven' in general, the distinction from other classes of angels or as a definite class being uncertain, as is the case also with chh. lvii. 2 and lxxi. 8. Of special interest here are ch. xii. 2 ("watchers and the holy ones"), ch. xiv. 23 ("the most holy ones who were nigh to him did not leave by night [= watchers] nor depart from him"). These passages indicate a conception of the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* as a special class of angels, intimately connected with each other, and hence show affinity with the presentations of our chapter. Cf. also ch. lxix. 13.

As regards the 'Watchers' we meet with two different traditions in 1 *En.* One, the more prominent, is embodied in chh. vi-xvi, xix, lxxxvi, represents the watchers as fallen angels, identifying them with "the sons of God" (Gen. vi). The other view agrees with that of the present chapter in placing the Watchers near the Divine Presence and is represented in chh. xii. 2, xiv. 23, lxi. 12 ("those who sleep not above in heaven" = 'the Watchers') and, possibly, ch. cvi. 19. (Cf. however, CHARLES's distinction in *Pseudepigrapha* (*A and P.* II), p. 188, note 5.)

Notice the expression, 1 *En.* xx. 1: "the holy angels who watch", with reference to the seven archangels.

The names and conception are, of course, deduced from Dan. iv. 14 (10). See vss. 4, 8 and 9 here. The present interpretation of the said passage in Daniel is, however, by no means the general one. Cf. the commentaries.

(2) their dwelling is over against the Throne of Glory... over against the

so that the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of the brilliance of the Throne of Glory¹. And the splendour of their countenance is ³a reflection of³ the splendour of *Shekina*.

(3) And they are glorified by the glory of ⁴the Divine Majesty (*Gēbūrā*)⁴ and praised by (through) the praise of *Shekina*.

(4) And not only that, but the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing in his world without first consulting them, but after that he doeth it. As it is written (Dan. iv. 17): "The sentence is by the decree of the '*Irin* and the demand by the word of the *Qaddishin*."

(5) The '*Irin* are two and the *Qaddishin* are two. And how are they standing before the Holy One, blessed be He? ⁵It is to be understood, that one '*Ir* is standing on one side and the other '*Ir* on the other side, and one *Qaddish* is standing on one side and the other on the other side.

1-1 E om. 3-3 so DE. A: 'like unto, similar to' 5 here the parallel of D breaks off.

4-4 E: '*Shekina*'

Holy One... the brilliance of their dwelling is a reflection of... the Throne etc. This is best paralleled by what is said with regard to Metatron, chh. vii, x. 1 seq., xlviii c 4, 5, 7. These expressions will presumably convey the exclusive position of the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*. They are depicted as having their abode at the very top of the hierarchical structure: face to face with the Throne of Glory and the *Shekina*. For 'the splendour of *Shekina*' see note on ch. v. 4. Ch. xxii. 7 and 13, the splendour of *Shekina* is said to be on the face of KERUBI'EL, resp. the *Kerubim*. But there the splendour of *Shekina* is received from above; 'the *Shekina* is resting upon them', *ib.* 13.

(3) they are glorified by the glory of the Divine Majesty and praised by the praise of *Shekina*. The glorification and praise directed towards the *Shekina* are reflected also on the '*Irin* and the *Qaddishin*, owing to their near association with the Godhead.

(4) the Holy One, blessed be He, does nothing... without first consulting them. Cf. *TB. Sanh.* 38 b: "the Holy One, blessed be He, doeth nothing without consulting the heavenly household, as it is written (Dan. iv. 17): 'The sentence is by the decree of the watchers etc.'" What in Talmud is applied to the angels in general ('the heavenly household') is here referred to the definite class of angels called '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*. The idea of God consulting the angels is common in Rabbinic: "when God wished to create the first Adam, he took counsel with the ministering angels" (e.g. *Gen. R.* viii. 4). The important feature here is that the function of Divine counsellors is limited to a specified class of angels; and this is evidently due to the attempt to systematize, characteristic to the present section. Of necessity the advising function could be ascribed to none but the highest class of angelic beings.

(5) The '*Irin* are two and the *Qaddishin* are two. The '*Irin* and *Qaddishin* are acc. to this verse only four in number. In vs. 9 they must be conceived of as being a larger number. The 'Holy Ones', 1 *En.* ix. 3, are four, being identified with 'the four Presences, MIKAEL, URIEL, RAPHAEL and GABRIEL'. Otherwise the "Watchers (and Holy Ones)" of 1 *En.* are numerous: acc. to ch. vi. 6 they are 200. There might possibly be some connection between the passage 1 *En.* ix. 3 and the present vs. (traces of the same tradition?). Cf. note on ch. xxviii. 9.

(6) And ever do they exalt ⁶the humble⁶, and they abase to the ground those that are proud, and they exalt to the height those that are humble.

(7) And every day, as the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement and judges the whole world, and the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead are opened before Him,

6-6 *A om.*

(6) And ever do they exalt the humble. *A* seems to read: 'And they make high the world'. abase...those that are proud and...exalt...those that are humble. This idea is deduced from Dan. iv. 17: "the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men", which follows after the words cited in support of the conception of the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*. What there is said with reference to God has been transferred to the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*, the counsellors and executors of the Divine decrees. Cf. ch. xlviii c 9.

CHH. XXVIII. 7-XXXIII. 2.

The Divine Judgement and the Heavenly Tribunal.

With vss. 7-10 of the present chapter (xxviii) a certain change in character is noticeable. The main difference is that the systematic exposition of the foregoing part, with its specific manner of expression seems to be ended. The theme which already from ch. xxvi. 12 has begun to verge into the conceptions of the Judgement is henceforth (till ch. xxxiii. 3) altogether absorbed in the different aspects of the Divine Judgement, the heavenly assize and the execution of the Divine decrees. But, in contrast to the preceding angelological section, this section reveals no clear progressive structure in the treatment of its subject, but leaves rather the impression of a complex of culled fragments from the different traditions of the proceedings at the Divine Court of Justice.

A divergence in the present vss. of ch. xxviii from the preceding has already been referred to: the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* are in vs. 5 said to be four in number, vs. 9 presupposes a considerably larger number. Chh. xxix and xxx furthermore maintain the identity of the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* with the seventy-two princes of kingdoms. (Acc. to the angelological section the 72 princes of kingdoms probably occupy a comparatively low place in the angelic hierarchy, see note on ch. xvii. 8.)

For divergences within the section notice e.g. (1) ch. xxviii. 7, the books on which the judgement is to be based are 'the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead'; ch. xxx. 2 speaks only of 'the book in which all the doings of the world are recorded'; and ch. xxxii. 1 of 'the book': (2) chh. xxxi. 1 and xxxiii. 1, two different representations of the same idea: the relation between the agencies of Justice and Mercy at the Judgement (esp. from the point of view of mediation between them). For the different conceptions of the Judgement cf. also the Introduction, sect. 16.

(7) every day as the Holy one...is sitting upon the Throne of Judgement, i.e. every day, at the time when. The judgement here is daily. Cf. the dictum of R. Yose, *Tosefta Rosh ha Shana*, i, "man is judged every day". It is both *forensic* and *retributive*. The cases (vss. 8, 9) refer to the continual happenings in the daily life of man (and the world in general), and the decrees are executed immediately.

the Books of the Living and the Books of the Dead. Cf. ch. xviii. 23 seq. In view of the character of the Judgement as daily, the Books of the Dead are here probably of the same significance as in ch. xviii. 24; they record the time destined for every man's death. The Books of the Living may be the records of the time destined for a man's entering life on earth, but are perhaps also conceived of as

then all the children of heaven are standing before him in fear, dread, awe and trembling. At that time, (when) the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting ⁷ upon the Throne of Judgement⁸ ⁹to execute judgement⁹, his garment is white as snow, the hair on his head as pure wool ¹⁰and the whole of his cloak¹⁰ is like the shining light. And he is covered with righteousness all over as with a coat of mail.

(8) And those *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* are standing before him like court officers before the judge. And they raise and argue every case and close the case that comes before the Holy One, blessed be He, in judgement, according as it is written (Dan. iv. 17): "The sentence is by the decree of the *'Irin* and the demand by the word of the *Qaddishin*."

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence in the Great *Beth Din* in *'Araboth*. Some of them make the requests from before ¹¹the Divine Majesty¹¹ and some close the cases before the Most High. Others ¹²finish by going down¹² and (confirming =) executing the sentences on earth below. ¹³According as it is written¹³ (Dan.

7 E ins. 'as judge' 8 E: 'Presence' 9-9 E om. 10-10 so E.
A corr.: 'and he is wholly lifted up' 11-11 so with E. A has a lacuna.
12-12 E om., thus reading 'others execute the sentences etc.' 13-13 A lacuna.

recording the deeds (merits and transgressions) of the living (= the Book of Records, chh. xxx. 2, xxvii. 2).

Throne of Judgement... garment is white as snow etc. This is deduced from Dan. vii. 9. The Throne of Judgement as a conception plays a prominent part in 1 En. xc. 20, xlv. 3, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxix. 27 (only in the first of these instances, however, called "the Throne of Judgement", in the others "the Throne of Glory"), also 4 Ez. vii. 33 ("And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement"). See BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 118.

(8) And those *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* are standing before him like court officers before the judge. Acc. to *Mass. Hek*. "seven court-officers are sitting on seven thrones" before the Holy One. A quotation, YR. i. 7 a, from the writings of Eleazar of Worms treats of the "seven court officers (*shoferim*) in heaven by whose demand every decree is executed, whether for good or for evil, abundance or privation, war or peace".

they raise and argue... and close the case. The cases include all different issues arising from the course of the daily life of the inhabitants on earth. Acc. to *Ex. R.* xxxi, angels act as defensors and accusers of man at the judgement: "when a man has committed a transgression and stands before God to receive judgement, then some angels plead in his defence, others accuse him guilty".

(9) Some of them argue and others pass the sentence... some of them make the requests... some close the cases... others finish by... executing the sentences. Cf. Sa'adya's *commentary* on Dan. iv. 17: "The *'Irin* are the Holy Angels of anger and fury who pass the sentence". (Notice, by the way, how Sa'adya represents the angels in question as one class only, called *'Irin*, regarding the *'Qaddishin* = Holy Ones' as an attribute—further, how he identifies them with "the angels of anger and fury" usually but another name for the 'angels of destruction', cf. note on ch. xxxi. 2.) Cf. also *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 124 a: "the angel who passes the sentence and who issues the demands is called *'Ir* and *Qaddish*".

It is evident from the way in which the various functions are depicted as divided

iv. 13, 14): "Behold an *'Irin* and a *Qaddish* came down from heaven and cried aloud and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off ¹⁴his leaves¹⁴, and scatter his fruit: ¹⁵let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches¹⁵".

(10) Why are they called *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*? By reason that they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire on the third day of the judgement, as it is written (Hos. vi. 2): "After two days will he revive us: on the third he will raise us up, and we shall live before him."

14-14 *A* lacuna.

15-15 *E* om.

between the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*, that they are in this verse regarded as comprising a comparatively large number. One might, with some certainty, venture the conjecture that the underlying idea here is the representation of the *'Irin* and the *Qaddishin* as the Heavenly *Beth Din*. The *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* would then be conceived of as 70 or 72. This is confirmed by the confusion in the two chapters following next, between these angels and the 72 princes of kingdoms who acc. to ch. xxx constitute the heavenly *Beth Din*. Also, in *Zohar*, e.g. ii. 6 a, the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* of Dan. iv. 14 are explicitly interpreted as "the 72 members of *Sanhedrin* who consider the judgements of the world".

That the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* in 1 *En.*, according to the prevalent representation there, are counted as a large number (e.g. ch. vi. 6: 200) is already recalled above. On the other hand, in later cabbalistic writings, they are likewise often pictured as a numerous class of angels, e.g. YR. i. 162 b (quotation from *Sōdē Rāsā*), they are referred to with the formula "the troops of *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*".

(10) they sanctify the body and the spirit with lashes of fire. The expression 'the body and the spirit' may be taken in two different senses, viz. as referring either to the angels in question (the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*) or to the body and spirit of a man who has undergone judgement; the judgement of man, referred to here, would in this case be the so-called *Din ha-qQéber*, the judgement on man immediately after his death. The interpretation of the present sentence in the sense of 'sanctify the body and spirit of the judged man' is probably the correct one, esp. in view of the difficulty, that otherwise arises, of explaining the meaning of the words immediately following: 'on the third day of judgement'. 'The third day' cannot very well be meant '*absolutē*', since the judgement here is daily and continual. But with the assumed interpretation it will naturally take on the meaning 'the third of the three days that man is judged', the third day being also the final one, on which the sentence passed on man is consummated through his purification in fire ('by lashes of fire'). Cf. ch. xlv.

The result thus arrived at accords with *Masséket Chibbut ha-qQeber*, BH. i. 151: "The ministering angels (corresponding to the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin* of the present verse) receive man, after his death, from the hands of the angel of death; they judge him on the first two days on account of his character as developed during his life, through his observance or neglect of the statutes of *Tora*; on the third day they judge him, spirit, soul and body, by strokes with lashes of fire". This is a description of the *Din ha-qQéber*, referred to above.

The bath of sanctification or purification in fire is depicted as forming the conclusion of judgement also with regard to the ministering angels, in *Revelation of Moses* (tr. Gaster, rec. B. in *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1893): "the Almighty sits and judges the ministering angels, and after the judgement they bathe in that river of fire and are renewed". Cf. ch. xxxvi.

It is true that in other connections the *Qaddishin* are represented as 'sanctifying

CHAPTER XXIX

Description of a class of angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Each one of them ^(angel) has seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues ¹of the world¹. And all of them are (based) upon

1-1 E om.

themselves in fire'. Thus in *Shemoth shel Metatron*, Bodl. MICH. 256, fol. 40 b, we read: "Metatron admonishes the angels every third day to bathe and purify themselves in the fiery river (*Nehar di-Nur*)".

Ch. xxix. Ch. xxix contains a short description of angels, the names or class of which are not defined in the chapter. As the context now stands, the description is, by the opening words 'each one of them', made to refer to the 'Irin and Qaddishin of the foregoing chapter. On the other hand, the following chapter, xxx, in defining 'the great princes who are called H' by the name of the Holy One' as the 72 Princes of Kingdoms, seems to have in view no others than the angels of the present chapter, of which it is stated here that their names are 'based upon the Name of the Holy One'.

Thus, in the present arrangement of the context, the 'Irin and Qaddishin are, by inference, identical with the Princes of Kingdoms. The identification is justifiable, since the functions of both categories, as represented in chh. xxviii. 7-xxx, are practically congruent: they are both depicted as constituting the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Divine Council or Court of Justice.

It is scarcely probable, however, that ch. xxix is the original continuation of ch. xxviii. 7-10. It gives the impression of being a fragment from an angelological description from some other source. When considered by itself, it can best be understood as treating of the Princes of Kingdoms, for the reason that the expression 'seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues of the world' naturally—and usually—connects the angels or angel of which it is used, with the conception of the seventy nations and their representative body in the heavens.

Still it seems to be a necessary conclusion that to the Redactor, responsible for the present arrangement of chh. xxviii-xxx seqq., the identity of the 'Irin and Qaddishin with the Princes of Kingdoms, did not, at least, present any difficulty. Some tradition to this effect might have obtained. As a trace of such a tradition, although from a late source, may perhaps be regarded the passage on the Princes of Kingdoms in Menahem Reqanati's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Gen. x. 5 (E^f): "70 princes are set over the 70 nations. . . they are the 70 princes who surround the Throne of Glory and they are the same that are called in the Song of Solomon (Cant. iii. 3) 'the Watchmen (*Shōmērim*) that go about the city', for by their hands the decrees from on high are issued (cf. ch. xxviii. 8 seq.)."

Convergences between the conceptions of the Watchers and of the Representatives of the Nations (the Princes of Kingdoms) may have occurred at an early period, although then perchance in another aspect. The Watchers (1 En.) as well as the Princes of Kingdoms, acc. to a different trend of traditions, were regarded as evil agencies in the world (cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 59-65 and note on ch. xxviii. 1). The Watchers become the leaders of corrupt mankind on earth and the Princes of Kingdoms are the rulers of the Gentile nations: occasionally the leader of the Watchers is mentioned as SATANIEL or SAMMAEL, and the Princes of Kingdoms, as evil agencies, are later regularly represented as headed by SAMMAEL. Cf. on this TB. Sota, 9 a, Sha'are 'Örā, 65 a, 'Emeq ha-mMelek, 121 b et al.

the name of the Holy One, blessed be He. And every several name is written with a flaming style ² upon the Fearful Crown (*Kéther Nōrā*) which is on the head of the high and exalted King.

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings. And each one of them is beset with horns of splendour round about. From each one lights are shining forth, and each one is surrounded by tents of brilliance³ so that not even the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* who are greater than all the children of heaven are able to behold them.

2 *A* adds: 'of iron'

3 *E*: 'Understanding (*Binā*)'

(1) seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues... (based) upon the name of the Holy One. Exactly the same is said with regard to Metatron, chh. iii. 1 and xlviii c 9. [The expression 'seventy names corresponding to the seventy tongues' is a formula, conveying the connection of the angels in question with the seventy nations.] So ch. xlviii c 9 the ascribing to Metatron of seventy names is clearly connected with his character of chief of the seventy princes of the seventy nations. The phrase 'based upon the Name of the Most High' with regard to a name, means that it contains the elements of the *Tetragrammaton*. Cf. note on ch. x. 3 and the angelic names ch. xviii. 9-24. written with a flaming style. Cf. chh. xiii. 1, xxxix. 1, xli. 4. upon the Fearful Crown... on the head of the... King. The Fearful Crown '*Kéther Nōrā*' is the technical term for the crown on the head of the Most High as seated on the Throne of Glory. In magical writings the 'Fearful Crown' plays a prominent role, being, together with 'the Great Seal', the most effectual of magical formulas. Cf. *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9, fol. 66 a)*: "the Fearful Crown... (follow some mystical letters)... this is the crown with which one conjures all the Princes of Wisdom". Cf. also *Mass. Hek. vii*: "the crown on the forehead of the Holy One, blessed be He, on which the Explicit Name is graven".

(2) And from each one of them there go forth sparks and lightnings etc. This verse repeats the phraseology of the angelological section. For 'horns of splendour' cf. ch. xxii. 6. For 'tents of brilliance', ch. xxv. 6. "not even the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* etc." cf. ch. xxvi. 11. Does the present fragment know only the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth* as *Merkaba*-angels? Or does it regard the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyōth* as the two highest classes of superior angels by the *Merkaba*? (Cf. *Zohar*, ii. 252 b. תחות היא חיותא ארבעה שרפין... מאלין ארבע כד נטלי נפקי שביבין דאשא ומאלין שביבין אתעבירו שבעין ותרין גלגלין מלהמן באשא)

CHAPTER XXX

*The 72 princes of Kingdoms and the Prince of the World
officiating at the Great Sanhedrin in heaven*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Whenever the Great *Beth Din* is seated in the '*Araboth Raqia*' on high ¹there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world save ¹those great princes who are called *H'* by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He.

1-1 *E* om. corr.

Ch. xxx. Another representation of the daily judgement in the Celestial *Beth Din*. The function of court-officers (ch. xxviii. 8) is here attributed to the Princes of Kingdoms with their leader, the Prince of the World. In contrast with ch. xxviii. 8, 9, this function is here seen exclusively from the aspect of defence or plea in favour of the world (vs. 2). The accusing part is hereby implicitly reserved for the Most High himself.

(1) Whenever (lit. every fixed time that) the Great *Beth Din* is seated. Every day, at a fixed time, the Great Sanhedrin assembles in the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth*', under the presidency of the Holy One. This is explicit from vs. 2: 'every day at the hour that', and 'pleads... before the Holy One, blessed be He'. The sittings of the *Beth Din* are here for judgement, although the judgement may include all the various decisions with regard to the affairs of the world. But the Celestial *Beth Din* has even a wider scope. So, e.g. in *Gen. R.* xlix. 6, it is said that God introduces new *Halakas* daily in His Celestial *Beth Din*. For the *Beth Din Shelma'ala* as giving daily decisions with regard to the happenings of the world cf. *Hek. R.* i-iii seqq.

there is no opening of the mouth for anyone in the world etc. For the expression in this sense cf. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 57. Cf. also the phrase 'opening of the mouth for the *Minim* (heretics, Christians)' = scriptural points of support for heretical beliefs. Here it apparently means that no one is allowed to speak either as accuser or defender except the Great Princes called *H'*.

great princes... called *H'* by the name of the Holy One. Ch. x. 3 speaks of '8 great princes called *H'* by the name of their King', to whom also is assigned an exceptional status. Cf. note, *ib.*, and *Hek. R.* xxi. 'called *H'*' etc. In most cases simply means that the *Tetragrammaton* forms the latter part of the name. It seems to have been a general assumption, that the highest circle of angels were marked out from the other angels by the common distinction of the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their name, whereby their names were 'based upon the Name of the Holy One'. But the traditions are at variance as to the further character, number and function of these highest angels. Thus, in the present book, ch. x. 3 (already referred to), 'the 8 Great Princes, called *H'* etc.' occupy so high a position as to be above the jurisdiction of Metatron (the Lesser ימחנן), which includes all the other angels and princes; in the angelological classification of ch. xviii each one of the sixteen highest princes have the '*H'*' at the end of their names; in the angelological section, chh. xix-xxii, xxv-xxvii (xxviii), the six princes there named have likewise all the *Tetragrammaton* as part of their names. (It is in fact altogether in harmony with that angelological section, when ch. xxix, the '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*, the highest of the princes acc. to ch. xxvii. 1-6, are in ch. xxix represented, or made

(2) How many are those princes? Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms of the world besides the Prince of the World who speaks (pleads) in favour of the world before the Holy One, blessed be He,

to be represented, as having their names 'based upon the name of the Holy One'. Acc. to *Hek. R.* xxii. 1, the highest angels who are there the door-keepers of the Seventh Hall and seven in number, have all names of the form X-H'; in the preceding chapter of *Hek. R.* one meets with the statement that the awe-inspiring power of these guardians of the seventh Hall and of their names lies just in the fact that "each one of them, his name is called (based) upon the name of the King of the Universe".

In the present chapter again, the Princes H' are defined as the

(2) Seventy-two princes of the kingdoms, and this evidently because, acc. to the view contended here, the seventy-two princes of kingdoms, inclusive of the Prince of the world, form the highest angelic order in their capacity of constituting the Celestial *Beth Din*.

For the different conceptions of the Princes of Kingdoms, cf. note on ch. xvii. 8. Here they are decidedly conceived of as the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. The conception of representatives in heaven of the various kingdoms on earth is a well-known, early idea attested in the O.T., Dan. x. 20, 21; it occurs in *Sir.* xvii. 17 ("for every nation He appointed a ruler. But Israel is the Lord's part"). Since the nations were counted as seventy, the number of these representatives was at first usually given as seventy (cf. ch. xlviii c 9); so in 1 *En.* lxxxix. 59 (seventy shepherds). Apposite for the resemblance to vs. 2 of the present chapter is *Targ. Yer.* to Gen. xi. 7, 8 ("every nation has its own guardian angel who pleads the cause of the nation under his protection"). In *Talmud* the conception occurs, e.g. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a (MIKHAEL, the prince of Israel, DUBBIEL, the prince of Persia etc.), *Sukka*, 29 a (the Gods of the nations suffer punishment with them). Cf. further *Gen. R.* lxviii, lxxvii, *Ex. R.* xxi, *Lev. R.* xxix, *Pesikta R.* xxiii, xxvii, *P. R. 'El.* xxiv. Notice, how in *Mass. Hek.* the conception of seventy princes is replaced by that of "70 thrones of the Holy One, blessed be He, corresponding to the nations of the world".

For discussion of the origin of the number 72 as ascribed to these princes, see note on ch. xvii. 8. In the present connection—the seventy-two princes of kingdoms constituting the Great *Sanhedrin* of heaven—one is reminded of the fact that the Great *Sanhedrin* proper, of which the *Beth Din shelma'ala* is a counterpart, is in a few Mishna passages represented as consisting of seventy-two members: *M. Zebachim*, i. 3, *Yad.* iii. 5, iv. 2.

For the princes of kingdoms as the Celestial *Beth Din* cf. also Bachya's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, Par. *Beha'aloteka* (162 b): "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to the 70 angels who surround the Throne of Glory... and they are the Beth Din of the Holy One". Cf. *Zohar*, i. 173 b, and *Mass. Hek.* v. 70, thrones always surrounding the Shekina. The 'thrones' in *Zohar* are angelic beings when termed כְּרִסְיוֹן, and similarly their 'thrones' are termed קְהָלֵי־רִצְוִי.

the Prince of the World who speaks in favour of the world. The Prince of the World is here, then, the leader of the princes of kingdoms. He combines the functions of the rulers of the nations: they plead each one the cause of his nation, the Prince of the World pleads the cause of all the nations together, of the world in its entirety. There is no reference here to any contrast between the Gentile Nations, the idolaters, and Israel. On the contrary, the representation is strikingly universal in its character. The Accuser is God himself, whereas acc. to other views, the Prince of Israel and the princes of the nations, especially the prince of Rome (or of Persia) are represented as accusing each other before the Most High. Cf. the Introduction.

For the conception of the nations (or their representatives) appearing before God in judgement or pleading before God, cf. *inter alia* 4 *Ezra* vii. 37, and the reference in *BOX, Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 124, note *ad loc.*, to the passage in *TB. 'Aboda Zara*, 2 a b =

every day, at the hour when the book is opened in which are recorded all the doings of the world, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "The judgement was set and the books were opened."

CHAPTER XXXI

(The attributes of) Justice, Mercy and Truth by the Throne of Judgement

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, (then) Justice is standing on His right and Mercy on His left and Truth¹ before His face.

¹ so E. A: 'in Truth' (cf. Is. xvi. 5, quoted vs. 2).

"the nations appear before God in the future age to receive their reward. They are summoned up singly, are asked what they have done in the world, and each is condemned (Rome, Persia and other nations)".

On the Prince of the World see note on ch. xxxviii. 2, and cf. notes on chh. iii. 2, ix. 2-3, x. 3, xlviii c 9. In the Enoch-Metatron pieces, chh. iii-xv and xlviii c, Metatron occupies the same position as the Prince of the World here, i.e. leader of the princes of kingdoms and, notably, Metatron and the Prince of the World are acc. to one trend of traditions, identical. Here, in so far as Metatron is represented as the speaker, this is not the case.

at the hour when the book is opened etc. This is the same view of the book, forming the base of the judgement, that we meet with in ch. xxvii. 2, 'the Book of Records'. Cf. note, *ib.* The 'records' are here perhaps conceived of more from the point of view of the nations or the world at large than of the individual.

Ch. xxxi. Another short, independent, piece on the Judgement, characterized by the representation of the hypostasized attributes of Justice, Mercy and Truth as agencies at the Divine Judgement.

Justice and Mercy as attributes of God is a subject of speculation from the earlier periods: "Palestinian as well as Alexandrian theology recognized the two attributes of God, '*middath ha din*' and '*middath ha rahamim*'" (*Sifre Deut.* 27, Philo, *De Opific. Mundi*, 60) and the contrast between justice and mercy is a fundamental doctrine of the Cabala" (*JE*, article 'Justice'). Among the Tannaites the doctrine of Justice and Mercy as the two main attributes of God was connected particularly with the name of R. Meir. Cf. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. ii. p. 60, and *TB. Ber.* 48 b, *Gen. R.* xxvi, *Ab. R. Natan*, xxxii, R. 'Aqiba, *TB. Sanh.* 67 b.

(1) At the time (or: in the hour) when the Holy One... is sitting on the Throne of Judgement. Although not clearly indicated, the judgement is probably here, as in the preceding chapters, the daily judgement, for which is appointed a fixed time, cf. ch. xxx. 2 and note.

Justice is standing on His right hand, Mercy on His left and Truth before His face. Since Mercy in vs. 2 is represented as supporting man, Justice probably stands for the accusing function at the judgement. Justice and Mercy as agencies at the judgement or of attributes of God as Judge are perhaps indicated in the Talmudic dictum as to the two Thrones, one of Justice, the other of Mercy (*Sedaqa*), *TB. Chag.* 14 a, *Sanh.* 38 b (attributed to R. 'Aqiba from R. Jose the Galilean).

(2) And when man² enters before Him to judgement, ³(then) there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff³ and stands in front of him. Forthwith man falls upon his face, (and) all the angels of destruction fear and tremble ⁴before him⁴, according as it is written (Is. xvi. 5): "And with mercy shall the throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth."

2 E: 'a wicked man' 3-3 E prob. corr.: 'the Mercy goes out from judgement towards him' 4-4 E: 'on his right'

For the hypostasized attribute of Justice as accusing cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, 2nd rec., BH. iii. 50*: "In that hour the attribute of Justice said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, even the righteous are designated for death (i.e. have sinned—according to Law no man shall be justified)'"

For a later representation of the roles of Justice and Mercy cf. *Sha'are 'Ora*, quoted YR. 7 b, vol iii: "The attribute of Justice gives to the supplicant... riches and all good things, but the attribute of Justice prevents (interrupts, annuls) the decision and says, Let us consider whether this supplicant is worthy that his supplication be granted him, and if not, let him be judged in the Great *Sanhedrin* etc." Notice the combination here of the two conceptions of Justice-Mercy and of the Great *Sanhedrin*.

The distinctive feature of the present chapter, vs. 1, is the introduction of the third attribute, the Truth, as mediating between Justice and Mercy. The combination of truth with judgement is deduced from or, rather, occurs already in the O.T. Reference is in vs. 2 explicitly made to Is. xvi. 5. Then in 4 *Ezra*, vii. 34 ("But judgement alone shall remain and truth shall stand"). For references to parallels in Rabbinic see BOX, *Ez. Apoc.* p. 122, note *ad loc.* Cf. further *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, beg. ("The Holy One... is called Truth, and He sits on His Throne... in Truth... all his judgements are judgements of truth, and all his ways are Mercy and Truth"), and ch. xxvi. 12. The mediating character of the attribute of Truth is here symbolically indicated by the place assigned to it 'before the face of the Most High' between 'Justice' to the right and 'Mercy' to the left. Another expression of the mediation at the judgement is found, ch. xxxiii. 1 ("Angels of mercy, of peace, and of destruction").

The distinction involved in the expressions 'to the right', 'to the left', does not carry the extreme symbolical significance of certain gnostic systems and esp. the later *Qabbala*: there the accusing role is always assigned to the left side, the favour-pleading to the right. In the system of Ten *Sefiróth* Justice is on the left, Mercy on the right (contrast here).

(2) when man enters before Him to (receive) judgement, i.e. immediately after death, cf. note on ch. xxviii. 10. there comes forth from the splendour of the Mercy towards him as (it were) a staff and stands in front of him. This evidently means that the attribute of Mercy wields a protecting, supporting influence over man against forces working for the strict application of the principles of justice. And this influence is represented as prevailing over the latter, at least such seems to be the import of the words following: all the angels of destruction fear and tremble before him. The angels of destruction represent the execution of the decrees of justice (cf. ch. xxxii. 1), i.e. the punishment of man's sin. Here it appears that 'the staff' from the 'splendour of the Mercy' protects man from the rage of the angels of destruction.

For the conception of the angels of destruction cf. 1 *En. liii. 3* ("I saw all the angels of punishment abiding and preparing all the instruments of Satan [for the sinners]"), lvi. 1, lxiii. 1 ("In those days shall the mighty and the kings... implore God to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment"). 2 *En. x. 3*; *Ap. Petri*, 6, 8. *TB. Shab. 55 a*, presents an instance of the connection between the

CHAPTER XXXII

The execution of judgement on the wicked. God's sword

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) ¹When the Holy One, blessed be He, opens¹ the Book half of

1-1 E: 'when they open before the Holy One, blessed be He'

angels of destruction and the attribute of Justice (as accusing and desiring the strict enforcement of the Law): "God said to Gabriel (with reference to the situation, Ezek. ix. 4 seqq.), 'Go and write on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, that the angels of destruction may not get power over them, but on the forehead of the wicked a mark of blood, that the angels of destruction may have power over them'. Then said the attribute of Justice before the Holy One... '... In what respect are those better than these?'" Cf. *ib.* 152 b, 89 a; *Yer. Shebu'oth*, vi. 37 a; *Rev.* vii. 2, xii. 7; *Test. Abr.* xii, xiii; *Gēdullath Moshe*, section *Gehinnom*; *Masseketh Gehinnom*, BH. i. 142; *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, BH. iii. 62. See also ch. xlv. 2 and note. In these instances they appear mainly in two aspects: one is that of executors of punishment and of the divine decrees in general in the world, the other that of officials of *Gehenna* appointed over the wicked (and intermediate).

On their number and names the different sources are at variance, from those speaking of two angels of destruction, usually called 'APH and CHĒMA (i.e. anger and fury), cf. SIMKIEL and ZA'APHIEL, ch. xlv. 2, to those counting them in thousands and myriads. *Rev. of Moses* (tr. Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, p. 589) represents the angel-prince QEMU'EL as the chieftain of 12,000 angels of destruction.

The 'man' who acc. to the present chapter, obtains the support of the attribute of Mercy is apparently man in general, the vast majority, perhaps those who elsewhere (e.g. ch. xlv) are referred to as the class of intermediate, *'bēnōniyyim*'.

Instances of the attribute of Mercy pleading for man in opposition to the prosecuting activity of the attribute of Justice are numerous in later Qabbala. *YR.* i. 94 a, quotes from *'Asara Ma'amaroth* the following passage: "The attribute of Mercy occupies itself with the merit of every creature... if a man commits a transgression, then the attribute of Justice comes to punish the man on account of the transgression but the attribute of Mercy says: 'Even if the man's hand has sinned, lo, yet his eye has not sinned... if thou wilt punish his body on account of the sin of the hand, lo, even the eye will suffer, and so it will be punished unjustly'", and continues the passage: "in this way the Mercy prevents tribulations and plagues from visiting the world (as punishments for the sins of mankind)".

Ch. xxxii. This chapter treats of the aspect of the judgement consisting in the execution of judgement on the wicked. The execution of the Divine decrees is referred to in ch. xxviii. 9, the executors there being the *'Irin* and *Qaddishin*. The identity of the executors of judgement is in the present chapter not revealed. Regarded as immediate continuation of ch. xxxi. 1 of this chapter would imply that they are 'the angels of destruction'. That is, however, the natural conclusion presenting itself at a slight examination of the chapter, since the execution of judgement is here that on the wicked only, not of the Divine decrees in general. The plurality of angelic beings indicated by the words 'they go out from before Him in every moment' can in this connection scarcely be interpreted as any others than the angels of destruction, whose essential function is the punishment of the wicked.

(1) When the Holy One... opens the Book etc. One book as the basis of judgement here as chh. xxx and xxvii. 2 (i.e. the Book of Records). Cf. notes, *ib.*

which is fire and half flame, (then) they go out from before Him in every moment to execute the judgement on the wicked ²by His sword (that is) ²drawn forth out of its sheath and the splendour of which shines like a lightning and pervades the world from one end to the other, ³as it is written (Is. lxvi. 16): "For by fire will the Lord plead (and by his sword with all flesh)."

(2) And all the inhabitants of the world (*lit.* those who come into the world) fear and tremble before Him, when they behold His sharpened sword like unto a lightning from one end of the world to the other³, and sparks ⁴and flashes⁴ of the size of the stars of *Raqia'* going out from it; according as it is written (Deut. xxxii. 41): "If I whet⁵ the lightning of my sword".

2-2 E: 'and His sword is'
'and sparks etc.' vs. 2.

3-3 E omits from 'as it is written etc.' vs. 1 till
4-4 E om. 5-5 E om.

they go out from before Him in every moment. 'They' is best understood as 'the angels of destruction'; cf. above and note on ch. xxxi. 2. For the angels of destruction as executing punishment on the wicked in the world, cf. *Hek. R.* v: "R. Ishmael said: 'What did the *Beth Din* on high do? In that hour they commanded the angels of destruction and they went down (to earth) and made a "consumption even determined" upon Caesar Lupinus". Further *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 50, 51 (with reference to the destruction of Jerusalem): "In that hour six angels of destruction were sent down on Jerusalem, and they destroyed the people in it... and these they were: 'Aph, Chema (cf. note, ch. xxxi. 2), Qeseph (= 'wrath'), Mashchith (= 'destroyer', Ex. xii. 23), Mashmid (also = 'destroyer'), Mekallé (= 'consumer')... And each one of them had a two-edged sword in his hand"; *ib. BH.* iii. 62 (in a context, treating of the idolaters of the world), "Forthwith 'Aph and Chema, two angels of destruction... drew their sword... in order to destroy the world". Cf. further the references adduced in the note on ch. xxxi. 2. The expression every moment prompts the conclusion that the execution of the punishment is one that takes place in this world continually (as well as through periods of great crises); this is confirmed by pointing to the parallel passages just referred to. We are even in this chapter concerned with the daily judgement. Against this conclusion does not speak what follows:

by His sword (that is) drawn forth out of its sheath. In the two passages from *R. 'Aqiba* cited above, the angels of destruction are represented as armed with swords. Here the sword by means of which the punishment is executed is 'the sword of God', a conception, acc. to the statements in the present chapter itself, deduced from Is. lxvi. 16 and Deut. xxxii. 41. The sword of God is a well-known, eschatological, symbol of the O.T. Cf. Is. xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5, xlvi. 10, xlvii. 6, lxvi. 16, Ezek. xxi. 3 seqq. Later we meet with the same symbol of punishment and vengeance in 1 *En.* e.g. xc. 17, 19 (connected with the opening of the 'book'), "opened the book... and a sword was given to the sheep"; *ib.* xci. 12, "and a sword shall be given to it, that a righteous judgement may be executed". Add *ib.* xc. 34, lxxxviii. 2. Other instances of the same symbolic use of 'the sword' are Rev. i. 16, ii. 12, 16, vi. 3, 4, xix. 15. It may be noted that 'the sword' in this chapter again, as in the O.T., is God's sword, although wielded by the angels of destruction.

(3) And all the inhabitants of the world fear and tremble... when they behold His... sword... from one end of the world to the other. This is more in the style of a description of the Last Judgement. Perhaps the writer unconsciously falls in with the eschatological phraseology. Or, more probably, the situation in

CHAPTER XXXIII

*The angels of Mercy, of Peace and of Destruction by
the Throne of Judgement. The scribes. (vss. 1, 2)*

*The angels by the Throne of Glory and the
fiery rivers under it. (vss. 3-5)*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, is sitting on the Throne of Judgement, ¹ (then) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right, the angels of Peace are standing on His left and the angels of Destruction are standing in front of Him.

1 E adds: 'of truth'

the writer's mind may be that of a great general Divine visitation, such as a war. Passages representing the Divine sword as visible to an assembly or large number of people simultaneously, occur in Rabbinic: e.g. *Sifre* on Deut. xi. 12 (cf. *Lev. R.* xxxv, *Deut. R.* iv): "(At Sinai) A book and a sword came down from heaven... and the Voice was heard, saying: 'If you practise the doctrine of this book, you shall be saved from the sword, but if not, you shall be punished by it'". It should be noted that the 'sword' in this passage is said to be identical with the sword of Gen. iii. 24, which is another of the fundamental references on which the conception of the 'sword' is based. See *Gen. R.* xxi. 14 (the sword personified).

Ch. xxxiii. 1-2. Vss. 1 and 2 of the present chapter constitute the last fragment of the context treating of the Judgement. The representation of vs. 1 is but another version of the conception of the principal agencies at the Judgement, already met with in ch. xxxi. The hypostasized attributes of Justice, Mercy and Truth of ch. xxxi. 1 are here replaced by the *angels* of mercy, peace and destruction. It is safe to assume that the angels of mercy here more or less exactly correspond with the attribute of Mercy there as to significance and function, i.e. represent the activity of plea in favour of man. As regards the angels of peace their character of mediating forces is confirmed by the frequent usage of the term 'peace' for the mediation between two opposites, see ch. xlii. 7. The correspondence between the angels of destruction and the attribute of Justice was attested, note on ch. xxxi. 2, esp. in the passage quoted from *TB. Shab.* 55a. The attribute of Justice perhaps more emphasizes the accusing part, the angels of destruction, again, the punishment, the strict carrying out of the principles of justice.

(1) the angels of Mercy are standing on His right. In contrast with ch. xxxi. 1, the defending agencies, the '*melammedim zakuth*' are assigned the place to the right side, cf. note, *ib.* The strict system of the later Qabbala is however not applied even here, since the opposing agency of the '*melammedim choba*' on the left is missing.

For the angels of mercy pleading in favour, cf. *Hilkot ha-hKisse* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 139 a): "211 myriads of angels of mercy are standing there (by the Throne) and they plead in favour of Israel". *ib.* fol. 125 a (*Hilkot Mal'akim*): the 'angels of mercy' are the performers of the Thrice-Holy part of the *Qēdushsha*, perhaps a symbolic expression of the meritorious properties of the performance of the *Qēdushsha* (ch. xl. 1). The angels of mercy have their attentions and efforts fixed on the 'merits': cf. end of note on ch. xxxi. 2.

(2) And one scribe is standing beneath² Him, and ³another scribe³ above Him.

(3) And the glorious *Seraphim*

A:

E:

surround them like fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory.

surround the Throne on its four sides with walls of lightnings, and the '*Ophanim*' surround them with fire-brands round about the Throne of Glory.

2 so E. A: above Him'

3-3 so E. A: 'a *Kerub*'

The expression 'angels of peace' is perhaps derived from Is. xxxiii. 7. The 'angel of peace' is Enoch's guide acc. to 1 *En.* xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, lvi. 2 *et al.* Cf. also *Test. Dan.* vi. 5, *Asher*, vi. 6.

On the angels of destruction see notes on chh. xxx. 2 and xxxii. 1 (xliv. 2).

(2) one scribe is standing beneath Him, and another scribe above Him (acc. to the reading of E adopted above). The scribes record all the facts that have regard to the Divine Judgement, the fixed times appointed for man's entering and leaving this world (ch. xviii. 23, 24), his observance or non-observance of the Divine statutes, all 'the doings of the world', not only as to individuals but with reference to nations and the world at large (chh. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 7, xxx. 2). Besides such 'facts' the scribes also write down the decisions of judgement, the Divine decrees with regard to man after death as well as to the living.

For instances related to the ideas here presented cf. *Chibbut ha-qQeber*, BH. i. 150: "a scribe and one appointed with him (function at man's death)... counting the number of his days and years"; *Sefer Chasidim* (EJ. ii. 333): "two scribes record the place assigned for every man, whether in Paradise or Hell"; *Hek. R.* v. 1 (in the *Legend of the Ten Martyrs*): "in that hour, the Holy One, blessed be He, ordered the Scribe incessantly to write down dire decrees and terrible plagues... for the wicked Rome". Note also *Hek. R.* xx, where GABRIEL, the scribe, is represented as writing down the merits and deeds of a man, desiring to behold the vision of the *Merkaba*, and also his application for the grant of this privilege.

Ch. xxxiii. 3-5. With vss. 3 seqq. of the present chapter the theme of the Divine Judgement is abandoned. What follows in this chapter is a short representation of the Throne of Glory, the *Merkaba*-angels surrounding it and the seven fiery rivers flowing through all the seven heavens down to Gehenna, thus forming a concise summary of the *Merkabah*-picture: the heavenly glories with the Throne at their centre. Since the emphasis here is neither on the Judgement-Throne—as in the section on the Judgement, just concluded—nor on the angelic classes of the heavenly hierarchy—as in the angelological section—it may be convenient to include these verses in the section comprising chh. xxiii, xxiv, xxxiv, xxxvii, which deals with various wonders of the heavens (the Throne of Glory, the '*Araboth*' and the seven heavens in general), esp. from the quasi-physical aspect. This section is of the same fragmentary, unsystematical character as the section on the Judgement.

As regards the relation between vss. 1, 2 on one hand and vss. 3-5 on the other, it is quite probable that they belong together even originally, the compiler having put this chapter in its present place merely because the two opening verses referred to the subject of the preceding chapters, the Judgement.

Considered as a unity the present chapter forms another instance of the *Merkabah* picture revealing the Throne in its highest aspect as a Judgement-Throne. This tendency is noticeable in both the angelological expositions: ch. xviii and chh. xix-xxviii. Cf. note on ch. xxvi. 12.

(3) This verse presents three classes of *Merkaba*-angels: acc. to A, *Kerub*,

And clouds of fire and clouds of flames compass them to the right and to the left; and the Holy *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory from below: each one ⁴with three fingers. ⁵The measure of the fingers of each one ⁴is 800,000 and 700 times hundred, (and) 66,000 ⁶parasangs.

(4) And underneath the feet of the *Chayyoth* seven fiery rivers are running and flowing. And the breadth⁷ of each river is 365 thousand parasangs ⁸and its depth is 248 thousand myriads of parasangs⁸. Its length is unsearchable and immeasurable.

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of 'Araboth Raqia', and (from there) it falls down to *Mā'ōn* and is

4-4 *E* om.

5 *A* repeats: 'each one with three fingers'

6 *E*: '6000'

7 *E*: 'length'

8-8 *E* om.

Seraphim and *Chayyoth*; acc. to *E* (probably the correct reading), *Seraphim*, 'Ophanim and *Chayyoth*; thus in both readings omitting one of the classes of the angelological section (besides the wheels of *Merkaba*). Apart from this, the adopted reading presents the same order as that of the angelological section: *Seraphim*, 'Ophanim, (*Kerubim*), *Chayyoth*.

For the 'clouds of fire and clouds of flames' cf. the 'four clouds', ch. xix. 4 and chh. xxxix and xxxvii.

the Holy *Chayyoth* carry the Throne of Glory. This is a frequent statement. Cf. *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* to iii. 23.

each one with three fingers. Cf. ch. xvii. 6. The measures of the fingers present some difficulty. Originally the passage might have contained some reference to the different measures ascribed to each of the three fingers, e.g. the first one 80,000, the second 70,000, the third 66,000, in a gradation intended to convey a correspondence in proportions to the second, third and fourth fingers of a human hand, respectively. For measures of the *Chayyoth* cf. ch. xxi. 1-3 and note, *Chag.* 13 a.

(4) seven fiery rivers running and flowing underneath the feet of the *Chayyoth*. Cf. ch. xix. 4 (under the wheels of the *Merkaba*, upon which the feet of the *Chayyoth* are resting, four fiery rivers are continually running) and note, *ib.*, ch. xviii. 19 and note (the four heads of the fiery river), the fiery river of ch. xxxvi, the fiery rivers between the camps of *Shekina* in ch. xxxvii. Note also 'the rivers of fire', flowing in the midst of rivers of water', ch. xlii. 7. In 1 *En.* cf. ch. xiv. 19: "from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon" (seven rivers, *ib.* lxxvii. 5-7). 365 number of positive, 248 of negative statutes.

The conception of 'rivers of fire' from underneath the Throne of Glory or the *Chayyoth* is an amplification of that of the fiery river, derived from Dan. vii. 10, "a fiery stream issued and came forth from before him", and after this passage frequently called *Nehar di-Nur* and sometimes *Rigyon* (e.g. *Rev. of Moses*, BH. i. 59). Acc. to *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* iii. 21 (with reference to *Lam.* iii. 23); the *Nehar di-Nur* goes forth from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* who are perspiring under the burden of the Throne(s). Acc. to *Mass. Geh.* simply "from under the Throne of Glory".

The amplification of the conception of one fiery river into that of several rivers of fire, beginning with the assumption of four heads of the *Nehar di-Nur* (ch. xviii) is at variance as to the number of these rivers, one tendency being to make them into four (corresponding to the number of the *Chayyoth* and the 'winds'), another to count them as seven (so here).

(5) And each river turns round in a bow in the four directions of 'Araboth Raqia'. Cf. ch. xxiii. 17, 18. and (from there)... to Ma'ōn and is

stayed (?), and from *Mā'ōn* to *Zebul*, from *Zebul* to *Shechaqim*, from *Shechaqim* to *Raqia'*, from *Raqia'* to *Shamayim* and from *Shamayim* upon the heads of the wicked who are in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): "Behold a whirlwind of the Lord, even his fury, is gone, yea, a whirling tempest; it shall burst upon the head of the wicked".

stayed (?), etc. The heavens are enumerated with the omission of *Makon* and the substitution of the Hebrew name *Shamayim* for the Latin *Wilon* (*velum* or Greek *βήλον*). In ch. xvii. 3 both these names are given for the first heaven. In *Seder Rabba di Ber. Rabba* the *Wilon* and *Shamayim* appear as two different heavens, viz. the first and second respectively.

A parallel to the present conception of the fiery river(s) going through all the heavens and eventually falling down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna is found in *Mass. Geh.* iv (*BH.* i. 149): "the fiery river goes down upon them (the wicked in Gehenna) and it runs from one end of the universe to the other". Similarly in the fragment, translated by Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, pp. 599-605, called *Description of Hell*: "the river *Di-nur* floweth from beneath the Throne of Glory and falleth over the heads of the sinners". Cf. 2 *En.* x. 2: "in Gehenna there is a fiery river coming forth and it floweth from one end of the world to the other". In *TB. Chag.* 13 b, the fiery river from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth* is said to "fall down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna" with reference to Jer. xxiii. 19, the scriptural passage adduced also by our verse. Cf. further *Apoc. Petri*, 8, *Apoc. Pauli*, 57. *Hek. R.* xiii (*Rigyon* surrounds His Throne... and covers all the chambers of the Hall of '*Araboth Raqia'* with fire-smoke).

In the vss. 4 and 5 of the present chapter we meet with a conception of fiery rivers that is brought about through an amalgamation of various views concerning the *Nehar di-Nur*.

(1) Founding upon Dan. vii. 10 the *Nehar di-Nur* became a constituent part of the picture of the splendours by the Throne. Flowing from underneath the Throne its origin was explained from the perspiration of the *Chayyoth*, heavily burdened by the weight of the Throne. In this aspect it serves no definite purpose other than to add to the glory of 'the Holy One, blessed be He, who sitteth on the Throne of Glory'.

(2) Brought into connection with the 'thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand' angels ministering before the Throne acc. to the same passage, Dan. vii. 10, from which the conception of the *Nehar di-Nur* was deduced—especially in their function of performers of the *Qēdushsha* or 'the Song' the fiery river became the bath of purification, by which the song-uttering angels were thought to prepare themselves for the saying of the Thrice Holy: see ch. xxxvi.

(3) Once connected with the ministering angels even other functions than the last named were assigned to the *Nehar di-Nur*. In the fiery river the angels were "renewed every morning" (in accordance with Lam. iii. 23). To the tradition holding the view that the song-uttering angels live only so long as to perform the *Qēdushsha* and then perish, the fiery river was the substance from which they were formed and whither they were sent back again: *TB. Chag.* 14 a, *Gen. R.* lxxviii, *Lam. R.* iii. 21. From this conception there is only a short step to that of the fiery river as the place of punishment for those of the ministering angels who uttered the Song untimely or improperly: ch. xlvii. 2.

(4) Lastly the *Nehar di-Nur*, as derived from Dan. vii. 10, is brought to bear upon the "judgement and the books" mentioned *ib.* Already serving the purpose of sanctification, purification and punishment of the ministering angels, it was easily made an integral part of the Divine Judgement. On one hand it served to purify man in general from sin after death (on the third day of judgement: cf. the purification with lashes of fire, ch. xxviii. 10, *Chibbut ha-qQeber*, *BH.* i. 151),

CHAPTER XXXIV

The different concentric circles round the Chayyoth, consisting of fire, water, hailstones etc. and of the angels uttering the Qëdushsha responsorium

R. Ishmael said: Metatron; the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) The hoofs of the *Chayyoth* are surrounded by seven clouds of

the means of purification and preparation of the Intermediate (the '*benoniyyim*', cf. ch. xlv. 5), on the other hand it became the means of punishment of the wicked (in Gehenna), a conception which is attestedly old and related to that of the punishment of the wicked in a sea of fire etc. Cf. Rev. xix. 20, compared with 2 *En.* x. 2, CHARLES's notes on both passages, and Boeklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüd.-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, pp. 119 seqq.

In the present vss. it is primarily the conceptions indicated in the points (1) and (4) that have been foisted together. As the place of the wicked was conceived of as Gehenna, Gehenna being situated below the heavens, it was necessary, in order to reconcile the different views (*Nehar di-Nur* in '*Araboth* and as means of punishment) to present the *Nehar di-Nur* or the fiery rivers as flowing from the Throne of Glory in the '*Araboth* through the heavens down to Gehenna. In *Ma'yan Chokma* (Rev. Mosis), *BH.* i. 58-64, the points (3) and (4) are combined: "after having undergone the judgement the ministering angels bathe in the fiery river and are renewed. And then the fiery river... falls down upon the heads of the wicked in Gehenna, as it is written (Jer. xxiii. 19): 'Behold a whirlwind of the Lord... it shall burst upon the head of the wicked'". Cf. vs. 5 above.

Ch. xxxiv. This chapter, in common with the latter part of the foregoing chapter, treats of the glories of heaven with emphasis laid on the celestio-physical parts of these. The centre is the Throne of Glory, the feet of the *Chayyoth* carrying the Throne, and out from this centre the heavenly splendours are represented as evolving in concentric circles. This tendency towards a view arranging the heavenly objects concentrically round the Throne of Glory is noticeable in a number of earlier and later cabalistic writings, and is, moreover, extended to the cosmological theories of the structure of heavens and earths and their foundations. Cf. especially *Midrash Kōnēn*.

A parallel to the present chapter is ch. xxxvii. For parallels in other writings reference can be made to *Midrash Kōnēn*, *BH.* ii. 33, *Seder Rabba di Bereshit Rabba* (in Werthheimer's *Batte Midrashot*) and *Helak Merkaba*, *Add.* 27199, fol. 126 a.

In *Midrash Kōnēn*, *ib.*, where the 'concentricism' is already extended so as to include the whole cosmos—the lowest of the seven earths, the '*Ereṣ ha-tTachtona*', and the highest of the heavens, the '*Araboth* with the Throne of Glory, being on the same circle—the passage runs: "the outside of the '*Eres ha-tTachtona* is surrounded by fire and water, the water by earthquake and trembling, these by lightning and thunder, the lightning and thunder by sparks and commotion, the sparks and commotion by the likeness of the *Chayyoth* (Ezek. i. 5), the likeness of the *Chayyoth* by '*Rāsō wā-Shōb*' (Ezek. i. 14), the *Rāsō wā-Shōb* by (those who utter) the Voice of Speech (Ezek. i. 24)... (these by) the still small Voice (1 Kings xix. 12)... (this by) those who utter the '*Holy*',... (these by) those who utter the '*Blessed* be the Glory of H from His place'... (these by) those who say 'Blessed be the Glory of H for ever and ever'..." *Seder R. di Bereshith R.*, repeating this, adds (after "those who utter the Holy"): "and behind all these are the Holy *Chayyoth*, and the '*Ophannim* and

burning coals. The clouds of burning coals are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of flame(s). The seven walls of flame(s) are surrounded on the outside by seven walls of hailstones (stones of 'El-gabish, Ezek. xiii. 11, 13, xxviii. 22). The hailstones are surrounded on the outside by ¹stones of hail (stone of *Bārād*). The stones of hail are surrounded on the outside by stones of "the wings of the tempest". The stones of "the wings of the tempest" are surrounded on the outside by ¹flames of fire. The flames of fire are surrounded by the chambers of the whirlwind. The chambers of the whirlwind are surrounded on the outside by ²the fire and the water².

(2) Round about ²the fire and the water² are those who utter the

1-1 E om.

2-2 E: 'walls of fire and water'

the Throne of Glory (cf. here ch. xxxiii. 3 and beginning of this chapter) and the feet of *Shekina* are resting upon their heads... and thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand ministering angels are standing round the feet of *Shekina* (cf. 'thousand camps of fire etc.', vs. 2 here)".

Helak Merkaba, referred to above, has the following representation: "Behind the Throne is the Wind, that surrounds the Throne, and Light surrounds the Wind, and splendour surrounds the light, fire surrounds the splendour etc.... and the colour of *chashmal* (Ezek. i. 4) surrounds the flames, and clouds surround the *chashmal* etc."

are surrounded on the outside by, *lit.* 'in front of' or 'before... are placed in a circle, are surrounded'. hailstones—stones of hail—stones of the wings of the tempest. These are used as mystical terms, and it is difficult to determine to what extent the writer when using them has a definite or clearly conceived idea in his mind as to what they represent. The 'el-gabish' seems, like 'chashmal', to have been a difficult and hence mysterious word which, especially as it occurs only in Ezekiel, was thought to have a deeper mystical connotation. It is then natural that it came to be regarded as denoting a celestial substance or object. 'Wings of the tempest' as a technical term occurs also e.g. in ch. xviii. 25. In *Midrash Kōnēn*, beginning of the *Ma'ase Bereshith*, the "wings of the tempest" appears as a definite part of the cosmological structure (after 'the mountains' and 'the wind' and next to 'Ereš ha-tTachtona'). As an illustration of the use of expressions like those of the present chapter in a mystical-technical sense, attention may be drawn to the passage preceding the one just referred to, *Midrash Kōnēn* (BH. ii. 32 seqq.): in a long enumeration of the foundations of the universe (the one resting upon or in the other) we meet with the statement: "the 'Ereš ha-tTachtona' is stretched out upon (over) the waters, the waters upon pillars of *chashmal*, the pillars of *chashmal* rest upon mountains of hailstones, the mountains of hailstones upon the mountains of hail, the mountain of hail upon the treasures of snow etc." See also ch. xix. 3, 4.

For the walls of flames, walls of fire, flames of fire etc. (fire being the celestial substance, κατ' ἐξοχήν), cf. *Mass. Hek.* iv, according to which four walls surround the splendours in 'Araboth Raqia', "one of lappid (firebrands), another of flames, the third of burning fire, the fourth of lightnings". And *ib.* "the seven Halls (of 'Araboth) are all of them full of coal, firebrands, sparks, lightnings, pillars of coal, pillars of burning fire, pillars of lightnings, pillars of fires, pillars of flames".

fire and water. Cf. ch. xlii. 7. The counterbalance of the two polar opposites of fire and water is a well-established part of the cosmological speculations as well as of those of the mysteries of the heavens.

(2) Round about... are those who utter the "Holy"... those who utter the

"*Holy*". Round about those who utter the "*Holy*" are those who utter the "*Blessed*". Round about those who utter the "*Blessed*" are the bright clouds. The bright clouds are surrounded on the outside by coals of burning juniper; and on the outside surrounding the coals of burning juniper there are thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). And between every several camp and every several host there is a cloud, so that they may not be burnt by the fire.

CHAPTER XXXV

The camps of angels in 'Araboth Raqia': angels performing the Qēdushsha

¹ R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) 506² thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One, blessed be He, in the height of '*Araboth Raqia*'. And each camp is (composed of) 496 thousand angels.

¹ E puts as heading: 'the Order of the Camps' 2 E: 496

"*Blessed*," i.e. the angels whose function is the performance of the responses of the *Qēdushsha*. This in the present context forms the transition to the section, beginning with the following chapter, a section which has the performance of the *Qēdushsha* in the heavens as main theme. Cf. Introduction, section 17.

thousand camps of fire and ten thousand hosts of flame(s). Referring to the angels arranged in camps (ch. xxxv. 1), hosts and armies. Cf. ch. xix. 6. The angels are made of fire, cf. note on ch. xxii. 4.

between every several camp... there is a cloud lest they be burnt by fire. For 'clouds' as protecting the angels cf. *Mass. Hek.* iii: "and clouds (are set) to protect the ministering angels from the splendour of the Throne of Glory".

Section 5. *The Celestial Qēdushsha.*

(Chh. xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xl.)

Ch. xxxv. With this chapter begins a new section centering round the conception of the heavenly *Qēdushsha*, the counterpart of the *Qēdushsha* on earth. Vss. 1-4 form an introduction, treating of the numerous camps in which the song-uttering angels are arranged. The different fragments all begin with an explicit reference to the performance of the '(Thrice) Holy' ("When the time for the saying of the 'Holy' draws nigh" or "when the ministering angels utter the Song") and are contained in chh. xxxv. 5, 6, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xl.

On the conception of the celestial *Qēdushsha* see Introduction, section 17.

(1) The number of camps: 506 thousand myriads of camps has the Holy One... each camp... 496 thousand angels. For parallels cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 21, and *Hilkoth ha-mMal'akim* (Add. 27199), fol. 125 a.

The passage of *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, placing the camps in *Shechagim* (the third heaven) instead of, as here, in the '*Araboth* (the highest of the heavens)—by reason of the

(2) And every single angel, the height of his stature is as the great sea; and the appearance of their countenance as the appearance of the lightning, and their eyes as lamps of fire, and their arms and their feet like in colour to polished brass³ and the roaring voice of their words like the voice of a multitude.

(3) And they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows³. And the princes of the army are standing at the head of each row.

3-3 E om.

assigning of the celestial Sanctuary to the *Shechaqim*—runs: “In *Shechaqim* 1018 camps are standing before the *Shekina* in the Sanctuary which is the *Shechaqim*, saying before Him the ‘Holy’ every day, and each camp is (composed of) 1008 myriads of ministering angels. For ‘*Shechaqim*’ is by *Gematria* 1018... From the morning until the evening they say before Him: ‘Holy, Holy, Holy’, and from the evening until the morning they say ‘Blessed be the glory of H from His place’”.

Hilkoth Mal'akim, *ib.*, presents both conceptions, that of the present chapter and that of *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqiba*, in a developed form: “(Of) the angels 906,000 myriads (the number 906 is developed from ‘506’ of vs. 1 here through the addition of a ‘ת’ to the numerical letters: ‘תתקן’ instead of ‘תקן’) are standing to the right of the Throne and as many are standing to the left of the Throne, together with a troop without number and a host without reckoning. They teach song(s) and hymn(s). And in *Shechaqim* there are 1018 camps of angels (cf. the passage in *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqiba* above) who say ‘Holy’ and ‘Blessed’ from morning until evening. Before Him there are 496,000 angels who utter the ‘Holy’ by day and the ‘Blessed’ by night. And all the angels and all the camps bathe in fiery rivers seven times and restore themselves by fire 365 times (cf. ch. xxxvi. 2).”

Vss. 1 and 4 seem to indicate that the ‘camps’ here represent all the ministering angels. But the emphasis is clearly on the song-uttering angels and in the two parallel passages just referred to as well as in ch. xl. 3 the ‘camps’ refer only to the angels as performing the *Qēdushsha*. There was, moreover, a definite tradition current, to the effect that the number of ministering angels in general was countless, infinite (basing upon Job xxv. 3: “Is there any number of his armies?”). Cf. *Hilkoth Mal'akim* above (“a troop without number etc.”) and esp. *TB. Chag.* 13 b, where it is said expressly, that the passage Dan. vii. 10, which vs. 4 here uses as scriptural support, is to be interpreted as referring to the number of one troop only, “for the troops are without reckoning”. The ‘camps’, then, are understood as the armies of angels which have the performance of the *Qēdushsha* for their special object. Apart from this, of course, the view obtains that all the higher (and lower) classes of angels utter the ‘Thrice Holy’ or the ‘Blessed’. Cf. chh. xx. 2, xxv. 5, xxvi. 8.

The numbers ‘506’ and ‘496’ are arrived at by means of *gematrical* calculations, as it is expressly stated to be the case with the number ‘1018’ of the camps of *Shechaqim* in *Alph. R.* ‘*Aqiba*, referred to above. (506 = kingdoms, 496 = kingdom. See Introduction, section 17 E.)

(2) From ‘the appearance of their countenance’ the description of the angels in this verse is in the literal terms of Dan. x. 6. The speculations concerning the song-uttering angels and the judgement are to a large extent drawn from interpretations of different passages of Daniel. Cf. vs. 4.

(3) they are all standing before the Throne of Glory in four rows. Cf. ch. xxxvi. 2. The four rows here represent the same idea as ‘the four camps of *Shekina*’, chh. xviii. 4, xxxvii. 1 (see note on ch. xviii. 4) and as “the four camps of angels” glorifying the Most High, *P. R. 'El.* iv. the princes of the army at the head of the rows (the meaning is probably “one prince at the head of each row”) are,

(4) And some of them utter the "*Holy*" and others utter the "*Blessed*", some of them run as messengers, others are standing in attendance, according as it is written (Dan. vii. 10): "Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened".

(5) And in the hour, when the time draws nigh for to say the "*Holy*", (then) first there goes forth a whirlwind from before the Holy One, blessed be He, and bursts upon the camp of *Shekina* and there arises a great commotion among them, as it is written (Jer. xxx. 23): "Behold, the whirlwind of the Lord goeth forth with fury, a continuing commotion".

(6) At that moment ⁴thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks, thousand thousands of them into firebrands, thousand thousands into flashes, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into males, thousand thousands into females, thousand thousands into

4-4 *E* corr. from 'at that moment, etc.' to 'until they take upon themselves, etc.'

consequently, a parallel representation to that of 'the four great princes...over the four camps of *Shekina*', ch. xviii. 4, and identical with the "four angels at the head of the four camps of angels etc.", *P. R. 'El*, *ib.*, whose names are MIKAEL, URIEL, GABRIEL and RAPHAEL. On these grounds it is possible to point to a connection between the tradition preserved in the present chapter and 1 *En*. The four 'Presences' of 1 *En*. xl, uttering praises before 'the Lord of Glory', MIKAEL, RAPHAEL, GABRIEL and PHANUEL, are there introduced in the close company of "the thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand etc.", xl. 1, and of "those who stand before Thy glory and bless, praise and extol, saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy', and, 'Blessed be Thou and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever'", ch. xxxix. 12 f. Cf. *ib.* ch. ix. 1 and lxxi and 2 *En*. xviii. 9 ("the Grigori are standing in four orders, when singing [the Praise of the Holy One] with one voice"). Cf. *Zohar*, iii. 50 a: "four משריין". (*Vide* Introduction, section 17 A.)

(4) Some of them utter the "*Holy*" etc. some of them run as messengers etc. Cf. note above on vs. 1. Thousand thousands ministered unto him etc. Dan. vii. 10. This verse seems to have been used as an *epitome* of mystical *gnoseis*: it was the starting-point for the computation of the number of the angels, was used as support for the conception of the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river(s), the ministration of the *Qēdushsha* by hosts of angels, the Celestial *Beth Din*, the Judgement and the Book(s) of judgement.

Some say the '*Holy*', some the '*Blessed*', i.e. the *Qēdushsha*, consisting of the Thrice Holy and the response '*Blessed*', of which latter there are at least two forms within the present book: (1) '*Blessed be the glory of H' from His place* (ch. i. 13), and (2) '*Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever*' (ch. xxxix. 2). The *Qēdushsha* responsorium, as performed by the angels, is attested in 1 *En*. xxxix. 12 f., referred to above note on vs. 3. (Notice the form of the '*Blessed*' there.)

(5) when the time draws nigh for the recital of the Holy...there goes forth a whirlwind. The moment before the *Qēdushsha* was one of commotion and shudder through all the heavens, of a 'momentous' significance. Cf. chh. xviii. 7, xix. 6, xxxviii. 1.

(6) thousand thousands of them are changed into sparks...flames...males...females...light etc. The angels are thus represented as changeable

winds, thousand thousands into burning fires, thousand thousands into flames, thousand thousands into sparks, thousand thousands into chashmals of light⁴; until they take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator ⁵of them all⁵ with fear, dread, awe and trembling, with commotion, anguish, terror and trepidation. Then they are changed again into their former shape to have the fear of their King before them alway, as they have set their hearts on saying ⁵the Song⁵ continually, as it is written (Is. vi. 3): "And one cried unto another and said (Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.)".

4-4 *E* corr. (mistaking the abbreviation 'י'דננ'—thousand thousands of them are made into—for: saying Amen) 5-5 ins. with *E*. *A*: lacuna

into various forms from their original state of angels with bodily form. This is stated *Gen. R.* xxi. 13, with reference to Ps. civ. 4: "'(who maketh his angels spirits), his ministers a flaming fire', which changes, for they change, appearing at one time as males, at another as females, now as winds (or, spirits), now as angels". This dictum (attributed to Rab?) is quoted and commented upon by Maimonides in his *More Nēbukim*, vol. 1, ch. xlix. The expression 'are made into males...made into females' is somewhat suspect in its present connection, where the changing of the angels into all sorts of fiery, lifeless substances, is apparently conceived of as a punishment ad premonitum, till they acquiesce in performing their duty, the performance of the *Qēdushsha*.

until they take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the high and lifted up, of the Creator. By the recitation of the *Qēdushsha*, the angels take upon themselves the yoke of heaven. In the *Qēdushsha* they recognize the Holy One, blessed be He, as the king of the heavens—cf. the response in the *Qēdushsha* of the *Liturgy*: "H' shall reign for ever etc." Ps. cxlvi. 10. So the Israelites every day, when they recite the 'Shema' take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, *M. Ber.* ii. 2, and when praying in general, *TB. Ber.* 10 b. The *Qēdushsha* is in itself the religious duty of the song-uttering angels. In the performance of the *Qēdushsha* they put themselves as a harmonious unity in the heavenly kingdom, hence they are changed again into their former shape, described in vs. 2 as individual, manifested angelic beings, in which existence they remain only as long as they continue in the performance of the duty that is their only *raison d'être*. Cf. chh. xl. 3, xlvii. 1 f.

On the meaning of the expression 'take upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven' see article "Kingdom of heaven" in *JE* and Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 84.

CHAPTER XXXVI

*The angels bathe in the fiery river
before reciting the 'Song'*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time when the ministering angels desire to say (the) Song, (then) *Nehar di-Nur* (the fiery stream) ¹ rises with many "thousand thousands and myriads of myriads" (of angels) of power and strength of fire¹ and it runs and passes under the Throne of Glory, between the camps² of the ministering angels and the troops of *'Araboth*.

(2) And all the ministering angels first go down into *Nehar di-Nur*, and they dip themselves in the fire³ and dip their tongue and their mouth seven times; and after that they go up and put on the garment of *'Machage Samal'* and cover themselves with cloaks of *chashmal* and stand in four rows over against the Throne of Glory, in all the heavens.

1-1 in acc. with the reading of E. *'bekamma'* A: *'bamma'* 2 so E. A: *'camp'*
3 E ins.: *'in Nehar di-Nur'*

Ch. xxxvi. The ministering angels, before singing the 'Song', i.e. in this connection presumably the *Qēdushsha*, purify their bodies, in particular their tongue and mouth, in the *Nehar di-Nur*, the fiery river, see note on ch. xxxiii. 5.

(1) *Nehar di-Nur* rises etc. The beginning of the verse is a covert interpretation of Dan. vii. 10. The fiery river is represented as bringing with it the "thousand thousands etc." of Dan. vii. 10, all of which are fire "in strength and might". of power and strength of fire. The present writer is unable to translate this into intelligible English: it means that the fiery substance of the angels is on this occasion intensely radiant and sparkling.

The camps probably stand for the song-uttering angels, the troops for the rest: 'the host without reckoning'. Cf. 1 En. xl. 1 and note, ch. xxxv. 1.

(2) the angels... go down into *Nehar di-Nur*. Cf. *May'an Chokma*, BH. i. 58-64: "in the fiery river the ministering angels bathe themselves and are renewed every morning". their tongue... seven times, the special organ for the recital of the Thrice Holy needs special purification. Cf. the passage from *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, quoted above, note on ch. xxxv. 1. *Machage Samal*. No reasonable translation of this term seems possible. See Jellinek, E, *ad loc.* *chashmal*. Derived from Ezek. i. 4. four rows. Cf. ch. xxxv. 3.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The four camps of Shekina and their surroundings

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) In the seven Halls there are standing four chariots of Shekina, and before each one are standing the four camps of Shekina. Between each camp a river of fire is continually flowing.

(2) Between each river there are bright clouds [surrounding them], and between each cloud there are put up pillars of brimstone. Between one pillar and another there are standing flaming wheels, surrounding them. And between one wheel and another there are flames of fire ¹round about¹. Between one flame and another there are treasuries of lightnings; behind the treasuries of lightnings are the wings of ²the stormwind². ³Behind the wings of the storm-wind are³ the chambers of the tempest; ⁴behind the chambers of the tempest there are⁴ winds, voices, thunders, sparks ⁵[upon] sparks and earthquakes [upon] earthquakes⁵.

1-1 E: 'riding' 2-2, 3-3 E om. 4-4 E om. 5-5 E: 'and behind the sparks there are earthquakes'

Ch. xxxvii. This chapter belongs to the same category as ch. xxxiv. Cf. notes, *ib*. The reason why it was placed in its present context is probably the mention in vs. 1 of 'the four camps of Shekina' since the 'camps' are understood of the song-uttering angels.

(1) seven Halls, in 'Araboth, the highest of the heavens. Cf. note on ch. xviii. 3. The camps are conceived of as filling all the Halls, radiating from the centre of the Throne of Glory. The chariots of Shekina are here four, corresponding to the four *Chayyoth* of the Divine Chariot, an amplification of the One Chariot similar to that of the fiery river into four or seven. four camps of Shekina. See note on chh. xviii. 4, xxxv. 3. E misreads 'seven', probably by false analogy to the seven Halls.

(2) The text has probably suffered a confusion. Instead of 'between...and' read throughout 'behind' as in the latter part of the verse and as in the parallels of *Midrash Kōnēn* and *Seder Rabba di Bereshith Rabba* referred to note on ch. xxxiv, Introduction. The reading 'between...and' was presumably caused by the use of this expression with reference to the rivers as flowing between the camps of ministering angels. Cf. how in ch. xxxiii it is said about the fiery rivers: "each river turns round in a bow in...'*Araboth Raqia*'". The original intent of the chapter was to picture the concentric circles of flames, treasuries of lightnings, chambers of the tempest etc. surrounding the Throne of Glory and the camps. The confusion is, even after the suggested emendation, too great as to allow any clear reconstruction of the intended picture.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The fear that befalls all the heavens at the sound of the 'Holy,' esp. the heavenly bodies. These appeased by the Prince of the World

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) At the time, when the ministering angels utter (the Thrice) *Holy*, then all the pillars of the heavens and their sockets do tremble, and ¹the gates of the Halls of '*Araboth Raqia'*'¹ are shaken and the foundations of *Shechaqim* and the Universe (*Tebel*) are moved, and the orders² of *Ma'on* and the chambers³ of *Makon* quiver, and all the orders⁴ of *Raqia'* and the constellations and the planets are dismayed, and the globes of the sun and the moon haste away and flee out of their courses⁵ and run ⁶ 12,000 parasangs and seek to throw themselves down from heaven, (2) by reason of the roaring voice of their chant, and the noise of their praise and the sparks and lightnings that go forth from their faces; as it is written (Ps. lxxvii. 18): "The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven (the lightnings lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook)".

1-1 E: 'the gates of the Halls and 'Araboth Raqia'' 2 E: 'chambers' 3 E: 'Halls' 4 E: 'secrets' 5 so E. A corr. 6 E ins.: 'back(ward)'

Ch. xxxviii. The importance of the Celestial *Qēdushsha* is illustrated by a description of the commotion that seizes the whole Universe at the time appointed for its recital by the ministering angels.

(1) all the pillars of the heavens... tremble etc. This description is supplemented by the description of the fear of all the angelic hosts and different classes of angels at the time of the 'Song' in ch. xix. 6. A parallel in similar terms as those of the present verse and of ch. xix. 6 and of the same import is found in *Ma'yan Chokma*, BH. i. 59 seqq.: "all the heavenly hosts shake and tremble, and the Holy *Chayyoth* are struck dumb, the Holy *Seraphim* roar like lions... the *Galgallim* of the Throne... are moved, the thresholds of brilliancy quake and all the heavens are seized with terror". A similar expression in *Assumption of Moses*, x. 5: "and the circuit of the stars shall be disordered". Of the various heavens are here named: '*Araboth*', the 7th, *Shechaqim*, the 3rd, *Ma'on*, *Makon*, *Raqia'*, the 5th, 6th, 2nd resp. foundations of *Shechaqim* and... (*Tebel*), may be a hint of the connection of each of the seven earths with the corresponding heaven (elaborated in *Midrash Kōnēn* and often repeated in cosmological *Qabbala*), only that usually *Shechaqim* is represented as connected with the earth called '*Arqa*', whereas the earth called *Tebel* is combined with the *Raqia'*-heaven.

the orders of *Raqia'* and the constellations and planets... and... the sun and the moon. The heavenly bodies are situated in the *Raqia'*, the second heaven (cf. *Chag.* 12 b).

(3) Until the prince of the world calls them, saying: "Be ye quiet in your place! Fear not because of the ministering angels who sing the Song before the Holy One, blessed be He". As it is written (Job xxxviii. 7): "When the morning stars sang together and all the children of heaven shouted for joy".

CHAPTER XXXIX

The explicit names fly off from the Throne and all the various angelic hosts prostrate themselves before it at the time of the Qēdushsha

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the ministering angels utter the "*Holy*" then all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of

(3) until the Prince of the World calls them. The Prince of the World is here the ruler or prince of the heavenly bodies, the constellations, planets, sun and moon. Ch. xxx. 2, he is the leader of the 72 princes of kingdoms and pleads the cause of the world (i.e. all the inhabitants of the world) before the Most High when seated on the judgement-throne. These two functions, leader of the planets-constellations and of the princes of kingdoms are naturally combined, when, according to the development of the conception of the princes of kingdoms, they are represented as the rulers of the planets and constellations (so even in this book, ch. xvii. 8, in its present redaction).

The Prince of the World has been identified with Metatron by one party of cabalistic traditionists. Within the present book functions are attributed to Metatron that are essential to the Prince of the World. Metatron is indicated as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms, chh. x. 3, xlviii c 9 *et al.*, and he has authority over the planets (and constellations) acc. to ch. xlvi. 2, and over the princes of kingdoms and the rulers of the world, ch. xiv. 1, 3.

The Prince of the World was present at the Creation and in the days of Creation he uttered the words of Ps. civ. 31 ("The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works"). *TB. Chullin*, 60 a, hence to him refers the passage, Ps. xxxvii. 25, "I have been young and now am old": *TB. Yebam*. 13 a. Cf. further, note on ch. iii. 2.

Ch. xxxix. This chapter continues the picture of the preceding chapter (the commotion of all the heavens with the inclusion of the constellations and the planets at the sound of the Thrice Holy): the Explicit Names on the very Throne of Glory and the highest classes of angels are all moved into expressions of glorification of the Most High at the time of the *Qēdushsha*.

(1) all the explicit names that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory. The explicit names are represented as a plurality; hence we are here on the ground of mystical speculations concerning the different Divine Names consisting of various permutations of the *Tetragrammaton* and of the other names of God and expressions representing the Godhead occurring in the O.T. For the various meanings attached to the term '*Shem Mēphorash*' see *JE* (e.g. vol. i. 622); Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*, intr.; Bousset, *Ry.* pp. 344 *et al.* The

Glory fly off like eagles, with sixteen wings. And they surround and compass the Holy One, blessed be He, on the four sides of the place of His Shekina¹.

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants, and the mighty 'Ophannim, and the *Kerubim* of the Shekina, and the Holy *Chayyoth*, and the *Seraphim*, and the 'Er'ellim, and the *Taphsarim* ²

1 so E. A: '(the place of the) Glory of His Shekina' 2 A ins.: 'the troops of flame'

meaning that suggests itself in the present connection is that of "names that are explicit, have an individual, fixed form or appearance". Cf. ch. xlviii B 1, acc. to the reading of FGH: "The Holy One, blessed be He, has 70 names that are explicit, the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable". The Explicit Names are here distinguished as being graven on the Throne of Glory (with a flaming style; cf. chh. xiii. 1, xxix. 1, xli. 4). Cf. the enumeration of the different categories of Names in *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 26. The Explicit Names are there in a separate class from those on the Throne, if the reading is correct: "The Holy One, blessed be He, revealed to Moses all the Names: both the Explicit Names, the Names that are graven on the royal crown on his head, the names that are graven on the Throne of Glory, the names that are graven on the ring of his hand, the names that are standing as pillars of fire round his chariots, the names that surround the Shekina like eagles of the Merkaba, and the names by which heaven and earth are sealed...". The intent of the passage is probably to denote all these names as Explicit Names.

fly off like eagles. Cf. above, 'the names that surround the Shekina like eagles'. For the names flying off, cf. TB. 'Ab. Zar. 18 a (the letters fly off from a scroll of the Tora, when burning), Pesachim, 87 b (when the tables of the testimony were broken by Moses, acc. to Ex. xxxii. 19, the letters graven on them, flew off). *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 53: "The letter Kaph went down from its place on the Fearful Crown and stood before the Throne of Glory". Similarly, ch. xlviii B 1, the Names of the Holy One are represented as going forth 'from before the Throne of Glory'. The names are thus represented as self-existent and capable of taking on the form of living beings. The object of the names flying off as eagles (angels of the form of eagles) is their participation in the responses of the Qēdushsha. This is explicitly stated with regard to the letters (the letters and the Names being vastly interchangeable terms) in the quotation from "the book of Enoch" in *Mishkan ha-'Edu* by Moses de Leon (BH. ii. p. xxxi): "the letters in the four different quarters round the Throne (cf. here: on the four sides of the place of His Shekina (fly off... and when flying off say: 'Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever'".

(2) And the angels of the host, and the flaming Servants etc. The Explicit Names surrounding the Holy One are accompanied by great armies of princes of fire and mighty regiments of troops (*gēdudim*) of fire, says *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 25. For the present enumeration of various angelic classes cf. chh. vi. 2, vii, xiv. 1. xix. 6. No doubt the present verse is to be regarded as presenting a tradition of the orders of the highest angel-classes. This is indicated by the mention of the four classes of 'Merkaba-angels' ('Ophannim, Kerubim, Chayyoth and Seraphim).

angels of the host. Cf. the expression 'prince of the host' applied to the princes of the seven heavens, ch. xvii. 2 f. In each heaven there is one 'host'. The term 'host' need not necessarily refer to the whole multitude of angels, it might also mean one special class of angels. 'The angels of the host' would then, here, mean. 'the angels of the host of the highest of the heavens'. Cf. ch. xiv. 1.

the flaming Servants. This expression occurs also ch. vii. Cf. note, ib.

the mighty 'Ophannim and the Kerubim of the Shekina, the holy Chayyoth and the Seraphim. The mighty 'Ophannim or 'the 'Ophannim of Gebura': Gebura

and the troops ³of consuming fire³, and the fiery armies, and the flaming hosts, and the holy princes, adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty, wrapped in glory, girt with loftiness, ⁴fall upon their faces three times⁴, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".

CHAPTER XL

The ministering angels rewarded with crowns, when uttering the "Holy" in its right order, and punished by consuming fire if not. New ones created in the stead of the consumed angels

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) When the ministering angels say "Holy" before the Holy One,

3-3 emendated. *AE* both omit 'fire'
times' *E*: 'fall upon their faces'

4-4 emendated. *A*: 'fall upon three

also means the Divine Majesty. The 'Ophannim, Kerubim, Chayyoth and Seraphim are the four classes of Merkaba-angels, described in the angelological section, chh. xx-xxii, xxv, xxvi. Cf. also ch. vi. 2. The 'Galgallim' or 'Wheels of the Merkaba' are missing here.

'Er'ellim and Taphsarim occur also ch. xiv. 1; cf. note, *ib*.

the troops of consuming fire. The term used is '('Esh) 'Okela', used ch. xlii. 3 as a Divine Name. the fiery armies and the flaming hosts. The attributes probably only convey the fiery substance of the angels. Cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH*. iii. 25.

the holy princes. This might refer to the 'princes of Kingdoms', ch. xiv. 2 (mentioned after the 'Er'ellim and Taphsarim), ch. xvii. 8 ('crowned with royal crowns, clad in royal garments etc.', cf. here: 'adorned with crowns, clad in kingly majesty', in the present connection of course referring to all the enumerated angels and princes), chh. xxix and xxx (identical with the Watchers and Holy Ones, cf. note on ch. xxix, intr.).

Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever. This is then the form of the response to the 'Holy, Holy, Holy...' according to the present chapter. Ch. i. 13 has the regular response: 'Blessed be the glory of *H*' from His place'. The present response is a glorification of God as King, of the Kingdom of Heaven, a form implied by ch. xxxv. 6.

Ch. xl. The ministering angels receive crowns as reward when uttering the 'Thrice Holy' in the proper manner. Hereby the performance of the *Qēdushsha* is indicated as a meritorious act, an observance of a religious duty. As such it is already characterized, ch. xxxv. 6 (the angels when singing the 'Holy' take upon themselves the yoke of the Kingdom of heaven). It signifies the sustainment of the whole order of the heavens by the recognition of God's sovereignty (the whole earth is sustained by the *Qēdushsha*, *TB. Soṭa*, 49 a). The reward of the ministering angels performing the *Qēdushsha* is hence exactly paralleled by the rewarding of the Israelites with crowns at the time when they said, "We will do and hear (Ex. xxiv. 7)", related in *TB. Shabb.* 88 a ("60 myriads of ministering angels put crowns on every single one of the Israelites etc.")—but for the acceptance of the

blessed be He, in the proper way, then the servants of His Throne, ¹the attendants of His Glory,¹ go forth with great mirth from under the Throne of Glory. (2) And ²they all carry in their hands, each one of them² thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand crowns of stars, similar in appearance to the planet Venus, and put them on the ministering angels and the great princes who utter the "Holy". Three crowns they put on each one of them: one crown because they say "Holy", another crown, because they say "Holy, Holy", and a third crown because they say "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts".

(3) And in the moment that they do not utter the "Holy" in the right order, a consuming fire goes forth from the little finger of the Holy One, blessed be He, and falls down in the midst of their ranks

1-1 E om.

2-2 so E. A: 'every two of them carry between them'

Tora implied in those words the whole world could not have subsisted. The importance of the *Qēdushsha* in the present section always refers to the Celestial *Qēdushsha*, at any rate in the first place. The importance of the earthly *Qēdushsha* is the subject of *Sota*, 49 a, and *Hek. R.* ix *et al.*; to the latter at times the greater importance is assigned (the angels must be silent while the Israelites say the 'Holy' on earth).

(1) the servants of His Throne... go forth... from under the Throne. The servants of His Throne are the angels entrusted with the care of the treasures of the crowns which are under the Throne of Glory and hence also over the other treasures that are conceived of as having their place under the Throne. From under the Throne was brought forth the fire of deafness for the *Chayyoth* acc. to ch. xv B, and go forth the 'horns' acc. to *Hek. R.* xii. In the secret chamber under the Throne God hid Moses away from the fury of the ministering angels acc. to *Ex. R.* xxiii.

(2) they all carry in their hands... crowns... and put them on the ministering angels. The crowns are made of stars, in appearance like unto the splendour of the planet Venus. The 'planet Venus', 'the shining star', is a frequent term of comparison, cf. ch. xxvi. 6 *et al.* one crown, because they say 'Holy' etc. One would have expected 'one crown for each "Holy"' or similar. The same division of the Thrice Holy is found in the *Siddur of R. 'Amram Ga'on, Morning Prayer*, p. 4 (ed. Warsch), closely connected with the present chapter by reason of its being attributed to R. Ishmael: "*R. Ishmael said*: There are three companies of ministering angels who say the 'Holy' every day. One company says 'Holy', the other says 'Holy, Holy', and the third company says 'Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts. The whole earth is full of His glory'". The same is repeated in a different version, *ib.*, *Evening Prayer*, fol. 18, and also, with slightly corrupt readings, in *Seder Rabba di Bereshith Rabba* (ed. Werthheimer, *Batte Midrashot*). *Vide* Introduction, section 17 D.

(2) And in the moment that they do not utter the Holy in the right order or in the right time a consuming fire... consumes them in one moment. The same punishment of the ministering angels that utter the song out of order is set forth in ch. xlvii. 2. The fire is here not the fiery river, the regular means of punishment, but a fire sent out for the purpose from the little finger of the Holy One. In ch. xlvii. 2 the two ideas of the fire from the Most High and the fiery river are combined: the immediate extinction of the angels is effected by the fire 'from their Creator', but their continued punishment takes place in the fiery river.

and is divided into 496³ thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering angels, and consumes them in one moment, as it is written (Ps. xcvi. 3): "A fire goeth before him and burneth up his adversaries round about".

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates others in their stead, new ones like them. And each one stands before His Throne of Glory, uttering the "*Holy*", as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness".

3 E: '796'

The idea of the punishment by extinction in fire of the angels who utter the 'Holy' in the wrong way is echoed in *Hilkoth Mal'akim*, Add. 27199, fol. 123 a: "Every angel who begins earlier or later than his fellow-angels when singing the Song, is immediately burnt by *lashes of fire* through CHAYYIEL, the Prince who attends the *Chayyoth*" (cf. ch. xx. 2).

Rekanati quotes from *Sepher Hekaloth* (one of the names of the present book), cited BH. ii. p. xvii: "All the ministering angels... who are standing before Him... none of them begins (the Song) too early or too late: anyone who tarries with his voice after his neighbour as much as a hair's breadth is instantly pushed into fire and flames". The singing the 'Song' in the wrong order is acc. to both these passages understood of the time. Cf. ch. xlvii. 2.

is divided into 496 thousand parts corresponding to the four camps of the ministering angels etc. This is apparently a confusion of the two conceptions of the four camps of Shekina (consisting of song-uttering angels) and the 496 (or 506) thousand myriads of camps each composed of 496 thousand angels. It seems to imply that the whole multitude of camps of song-uttering angels are destroyed. They are treated as a whole, a unity. (Contrast the quoted passages, *Hilkoth Mal'akim* and Recanati.)

a fire goeth before Him and burneth up his adversaries. The angels who do not utter the Song in the right way are identified with the 'adversaries of God' of Ps. xcvi. 3; this is altogether in accordance with the view of the performance of the *Qēdushsha* as an all-important religious duty attested in the present chapter. The neglect of or unwillingness to perform the *Qēdushsha* is an act of enmity against the Kingdom of the Most High. The punishment in fire here should be compared with the changing of the angels into all kinds of lifeless fiery substances until their acquiescence in the performance of their duty, depicted ch. xxxv. 5, 6.

(4) After that the Holy One, blessed be He, opens His mouth and speaks one word and creates... new ones. Hence, according to the view of the present chapter (and section) the angels who continue their existence as individual, corporeal beings as long as they rightly perform their duty: the uttering of the *Trisagion*, are consumed by fire only as punishment for their non-observance of this duty after which new ones are created by a word of God. This view is a harmonization of the different views concerning the origin and fate of the song-uttering angels recorded TB. Chag. 14 a, Gen. R. lxxviii, Lam. R. iii. 21: (1) the angels are created out of the fiery river and thither they are sent back again after they have uttered a Song; (2) the angels are created from the '*dibbur* (word)' of God.

Cf. ch. xxvii. 3 and note on ch. xlvii. 2 (the angels after being consumed in the fire, viz. as corporeal beings, subsist in soul and spirit).

They are new every morning; great is thy faithfulness: Lam. iii. 23. This was the fundamental starting point and basis of the speculations on the creation and duration of the angels. It is used, TB. Chag. 14 a, as support of view (1) above, and the review of the various traditions in Lam. R., *ib.*, is attached to this passage.

CHAPTER XLI

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the letters engraved on the Throne of Glory by which letters everything in heaven and earth has been created

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence, said to me:

(1) Come and behold¹ the letters by which the heaven and the earth were created,

²the letters by which were created the mountains and hills,

the letters by which were created the seas and rivers,

the letters by which were created the trees and herbs²,

the letters by which were created the planets and the constellations,

²the letters by which were created² the globe of the moon and the globe of the sun, Orion, the Pleiades and all the different luminaries of *Ragid'*.

(2) ³ the letters by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*,

1 E: 'I will show thee' Cf. the opening words of the following chapters. 2-2 E om. 3 E ins.: 'the letters by which were created the ministering angels; the letters by which were created the *Seraphim* and the *Chayyoth*'

In ch. xlv. 4 this passage is used with reference to the renewal of the planets (stars) in the time to come.

Ch. xli. This chapter marks the beginning of a new section distinguished from the rest of the book by the setting in which the revelations of the heavenly mysteries are here framed. Whereas according to the preceding chapters the various celestial facts are represented as orally transmitted to R. Ishmael by Metatron, the various wonders of heaven are acc. to this section actually shown to R. Ishmael.

The contents of the revelations thus presented in this section are greatly varied and can scarcely be comprised under one heading. Three main themes are, however, discernible. One is the physical-cosmological aspect of the heavenly mysteries; to this may be reckoned the letters engraved on the Throne of Glory (in the present chapter), the various polar opposites (ch. xlii)—in which the cosmological interest is apparent—the Curtain spread before the Holy One (ch. xlv), and the stars and planets (ch. xlv).

The second theme is that of the conditions of the souls and spirits, comprising not only the spirits and souls of the departed (righteous, wicked and intermediate chh. xliii, xlv), but also those of the unborn, and, even more, those of the punished angels (chh. xliii, xlvii).

The third theme, connected with and partly interwoven in the others is of eschatological character: chh. xlv. 7-10, xlv. 5, xlviii A. Ch. xlviii A forms the conclusion of the section.

(1) This verse is an almost literal copy of ch. xlii. 1, on which see note, *ib*.

(2) by which were created the Throne of Glory and the Wheels of the *Merkaba*. The letters are thus prior even to the Throne of Glory, the vehicle of

the letters by which were created the necessities of the worlds⁴,

(3) the letters by which were created wisdom, understanding, knowledge, prudence, meekness and righteousness by which the whole world is sustained.

(4) And I walked by his side and he took me by his hand and raised me upon his wings and showed me ⁵those letters, all of them⁵, that are graven with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory: and sparks go forth from them and cover all the chambers of 'Arabôth.

CHAPTER XLII

Instances of polar opposites kept in balance by several Divine Names and other similar wonders

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, ¹the Angel, the Prince of the Presence,¹ said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee, where the waters are suspended in the highest, where fire is burning in the midst of hail, ²where lightnings lighten out of the midst of snowy mountains,² where thunders are roaring in the celestial heights, where a flame is burning

⁴ E: 'World' 5-5 so E. A corr. 'the 'Ophan of the letters, all of them'

Ch. xlii. 1-1 so E. A om. 2-2 E om.

God's manifestation in the heavens. The Throne of Glory (pre-existent before the creation of the world) created, cf. *Gen. R.* i. 5.

(3) the letters by which were created wisdom etc.—by which the whole world is sustained. By ten things the world was created (wisdom, knowledge, etc.), *TB. Chag.* 12 a, 'Aboth R. Natan, xxvii; upon three things the world is based, *Pirqe Ab.* i; by "knowledge, wisdom, understanding and faculty of speech the whole world is sustained", *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 43. The conceptions of creative agencies and of sustaining ideal forces are here recognizable together with an initial tendency towards the speculations emerging in the ideas of the *Sephiroth*.

(4) graven with a flaming style etc. Said of the Divine Names, ch. xxxix. 1. The mystical letters are the constituents of the Divine Names. A reads: "showed me the *Ophan* (i.e. circle, circuit) of the letters". The expression "*Ophan* of the letters" occurs in *Berith Menucha*, 3 b (ed. Amsterdam, 1648).

Ch. xlii. (For this chapter cf. notes on ch. xlii and 1 *En.* lxix. 14-25.)

The central idea of the present chapter is the COUNTERBALANCE OF POLAR OPPOSITES, effected by one of the Divine Names in each case. The instances refer to the physical aspect of the highest of the heavens, where R. Ishmael is represented as shown the various wonders by Metatron. They are, however, certainly of cosmological significance, since the heavens, esp. the 'Araboth, are the realm of causes and the correspondence between the 'upper world' and the 'lower world' is a fundamental presumption of the present book in general. Hence what R. Ishmael beholds in the 'Araboth is the fountain of cosmical realities, which although they are the basis of the terrestrial world, are hidden from the eyes of man on earth.

in the midst of the burning fire and where ³voices make themselves heard³ in the midst of thunder and earthquake.

(2) Then I went ⁴by his side⁴ and he took me by his hand and lifted me up on his wings and showed me all those things. I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia' by (force of) the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE (Jah, I am that I am), ⁵and their fruits going down from heaven and⁵ watering the face of the world, as it is written (Ps. civ. 13): "(He watereth the mountains from his chambers:) the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy work".

(3) And I saw fire and snow and hailstone that were mingled together within each other and yet were undamaged, by (force of) the name 'ESH 'OKELA (consuming fire), as it is written (Deut. iv. 24): "For the Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire".

3-3 E: '(the) voice makes itself heard'

4-4 E om.

5-5 E om.

(2) I beheld the waters suspended on high in 'Araboth Raqia'. The waters suspended on high are in all probability the 'Upper Waters', divided from the 'Lower Waters' by the Divine command, Gen. i. 6, 7. The cosmological speculations concerning these form a prominent part of *Midrash Kōnēn* and the tractate called *Ma'asē Bereshith* (e.g. in *S. Raziēl* and *Seder Rabba di Bereshith*, 9 a). The polar opposition is here not apparent, but is implied in the relation of the 'suspended waters' to the lower waters. The upper waters are referred to in a similar form in *Test. Levi*, ii. (6), 7: "I saw there (in the first heaven) a great sea hanging".

The upper waters are also conceived of as *male*, the lower as *female* (an ancient idea of cosmology), a clear polar opposition. This is attested in 1 *En.* liv. 8: "(And all the waters shall be joined with the waters): that which is above the heavens is the *masculine*, and the water which is beneath the earth is the *feminine*"; and in *Gen. R.* xiii. 14, where the fructifying, engendering function of the upper waters is connected with their nature of '*zēkārīm*, males' (with reference to Isa. xlv. 8). Of this idea the expression in the present verse, 'their fruits going down from heaven', is a trace.

by the name YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE. The expression '*bēshēm*, in the name...' is in this chapter to be understood literally, as referring to a Divine Name. The names are here all such as are derived from the O.T. YAH: Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16, Isa. xxvi. 4, Ps. lxxviii. 5. 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE: Ex. iii. 14. The names here in general represent the mediating, sustaining force, and this is probably conceived of as depending upon their character as expressing the creative and ever-sustaining activity of the Most High himself. Their function is hence to be understood in a similar way as that conveyed by the frequent expression "the Holy One created... and sealed with the Name...".

What significance is to be assigned to the YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER 'EHYE here is not evident. Perhaps simply the permanence, inalterability of the suspension of the waters. The important rôle played by the name 'EHYE *asher* 'EHYE in cabbalistic speculations is well known. It is invariably repeated in the different enumerations of the Divine Names set forth in *Shi'ur Qoma* and *Hek. Zot.* *Seder R. di-Bereshith* speaks of 'טבעת איהיה אשר איהיה'. In *Zohar* this name ('EHYE *asher* 'EHYE as distinguished from the 'EHYE alone) represents the Godhead as containing and contained in the first pair of *Sephiroth*, the Wisdom and Intelligence, which are of course polar opposites, distinguished as masculine and feminine respectively (*Zohar*, iii. 65 b).

(3) Fire and snow and hailstone... mingled together... by (force of) the name

(4) And I saw lightnings that were lightening out of ⁶mountains of snow⁶ and yet were not damaged (quenched), by (force of) the name *YAH* ⁷*ŠUR* *‘OLAMIM* (Jah, the everlasting rock), as it is written (Is. xxvi. 4): "For in Jah, *YHWH*, the everlasting rock".

(5) And I saw thunders and voices that were roaring in the midst of fiery flames and were not damaged (silenced), by (force of) the name ⁸*‘EL-SHADDAI RABBA* (the Great God Almighty) as it is written (Gen. xvii. 1): "I am God Almighty".

(6) And I beheld a flame (and) a glow (glowing flames) that were flaming and glowing in the midst of burning fire, and yet were not damaged (devoured), by (force of) the name⁸ *YAD* *‘AL KES YAH* (the hand upon the Throne of the Lord) as it is written (Ex. xvii. 16): "⁹And he said⁹: for the hand is upon the Throne of the Lord".

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water ¹⁰and they were not damaged (quenched) by (force of) the name *‘OSE*

6-6 *E*: 'flames of fire' 7 *E* ins.: 'YHWH' 8-8 *E* om. from 'EL-SHADDAI RABBA' vs. 5. to 'YAD 'AL KES YAH' vs. 6. 9-9 *E* om. 10 *E* adds: 'and rivers of water running in the midst of rivers of fire'

‘ESH ‘OKELA (consuming fire). Here the name seems to be chosen simply with regard to the fire, which is represented as unquenched in spite of its surroundings of snow and ice. For the idea of fire and its opposites kept in balance see vs. 7. *‘Esh ‘Okela* as attribute of God, see *Alph. R. ‘Aqiba, BH.* iii. 37. In fact *‘ESH ‘OKELA*, in later *Qabbala*, very often follows immediately on *‘EHYE ‘asher ‘EHYE* in enumerations of the Divine Names, a fact that drew the special attention of Reuchlin who comments upon it in his *De Verbo Mirifico*, chh. xvii, xviii.

(4) lightnings... out of mountains of snow... by (force of) the name *YAH ŠUR* *‘OLAMIM*. This is only another instance of the contraries of fire—ice (snow, water). The connection between instance and name seems to be, that the word *‘ŠUR*: Rock' suggests a relation to the 'mountains (of snow)'. Else this verse, Is. xxvi. 4, is the regular point of support for the statement: God created the worlds by the letters *Yod He* (of *YaH*). In that case the *‘Šur* is interpreted from the root *‘ŠUR*: to form, to create. Cf. note on ch. xiii. 1.

(5) thunders and voices... roaring in the midst of flames of fire... by force of the name *‘EL SHADDAI RABBA*. The voice of God was thought to go forth in the midst of fire. The connection of the Voice with the name *‘EL SHADDAI* is established by Ezek. x. 5: "as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh". Cf. 2 *En.* x. 2.

(7) And I beheld rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water... Cf. 2 *En.* xxix. 2: "And fire is in the water and water in the fire and neither is the one quenched nor the other dried up". The juxtaposition of fire and water is a frequent cosmological simile. *TB. Pes.* 3 a, *Yer. Rosh. ha-shShana*, 58 a, *Cant. R.* to iii. 11: "the sky is made of water, the stars of fire and yet they do not damage each other". *Gen. R.* iv. 9: "The Holy One, blessed be He, took fire and water, mixed them together and out of them the heavens were created". *Gen. R.* x. 3: "The Holy One, blessed be He, took fire and snow, mixed them and so out of them the universe was created". In the last two passages the cosmology is apparent.

Emphasis is laid on the mediating function of the Divine Name, in this verse most significantly *‘OSE SHALOM*, i.e. 'maker of peace'. 'Peace' is the technical term for the mediation, the synthetical agency or Divine activity. Cf. the 'angels

SHALOM (Maker of Peace) ¹¹ ¹²as it is written (Job xxv. 2): "He maketh peace in his high places¹²". For he makes peace between the fire and the water, ¹³between the hail and the fire,¹³ between the wind and the cloud, between the earthquake and the sparks.

CHAPTER XLIII

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the unborn spirits and of the spirits of the righteous dead

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee¹ where are¹ the spirits of the righteous that have been created and have returned, and the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created.

11 *E* adds: 'BIMĒRŌMĀW (in his high places)' om.

12-12 *E* om.

13-13 *E*

Ch. xliii. 1-1 *E* om.

of peace', ch. xxxiii. 1. *Midrash 'Aseret Ma'amaroth*, BH. i. 66: "the angels are made of fire and water, and there is peace between; neither does the water extinguish the fire nor the fire lick up the water". As denoting mediation and synthesis the 'OSE SHALOM, 'maker of peace', was understood and used in *Qabbala*. Cf. e.g. the quotation from the 'Pel'ā', YR. i. 7 b: "Why is it called heaven (*Shamayim*)? Because water (*shemmayim*) is to the right and fire to the left and it is in the middle and receives from both, and to this is to be referred the 'OSE SHALOM and the (saying) 'he mixed fire and water and made out of them the heavens', and it is called 'truth' (the mediating agency, ch. xxxi. 1) and 'mercy' and receives from (i.e. stands in the middle between) the Mercy and the Fear (= the second pair of opposites in the *Sephiroic* system, also called 'Mercy and Justice', cf. ch. xxxi. 1)".

for he makes peace between the fire and the water, between the ice and the fire, between the wind and the cloud. This, referring to God, denotes that the names set forth in the present chapter represent God himself in his different aspects as sustainer and mediator between the dual forces, the *syzygies*. The Names are part of God's being and essence.

Ch. xliii. This chapter enters upon the subject of the condition of the 'spirits', one of the traditional subjects of mystical literature in general and of the Enoch-literature in particular acc. to 2 *En.* xxiii: among the secret instructions given to Enoch were those of "the souls of men, those of them which are not yet born and the places prepared for them for ever", further represented in Apocalyptic (*Ap. Bar.*, 1 *En.*).

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the righteous that have been created... the spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created...

(2) lifted me near by the Throne... revealed the Throne of Glory... showed me the spirits that have been created and had returned. The spirits of the righteous dead are here represented as having their abode by the Throne of Glory. Cf. *TB. Chag.* 12 a: "the 'Arabothe Raquia', the highest of the heavens, contains the Throne of Glory and the spirits and souls of the righteous"; *ib.* 12 b: "the spirits of the righteous dead under the Throne of Glory"; *TB. Shab.* 152 b: "the spirits of the righteous are hidden under the Throne of Glory"; contrast here 'flying above'

(2) And he lifted me up to his side, took me by his hand and lifted² me up near the Throne of Glory³ by the place of the *Shekina*; and he revealed the Throne of Glory to me³, and he showed me the spirits

2 E: 'conducted'

3-3 E om.

the Throne. The idea of the spirits of the righteous dead being hidden or stored (*gēnūzoth*) under the Throne is clearly connected with the conception of "the chambers of the righteous", 4 Ezra iv. 35, 41, vii. 32, 80, 95 etc., 2 Bar. xxi. 23. xxx. 2, 1 En. xxii. 3 ff. On this conception see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 33, 34 (note on ch. iv. 35), 37 (note on ch. iv. 41), 119-21 (note on ch. vii. 32). Cf. also CHARLES, *Comm. Revel.* note on Rev. xx. 13. Vs. 1 here refers to the spirits of those not yet born as well as to those of the righteous dead. Besides, the expression 'that have returned' of the righteous dead presupposes the pre-existence of the spirits. Acc. to vs. 2, however, R. Ishmael is only shown the spirits of the righteous dead that have returned and have their place by or above the Throne of Glory, but to the unborn spirits there is no reference. There is thus no explicit statement as to the place of the pre-existent souls. As the intent of vs. 1 is to reveal the abode of both the 'returned' and the 'unborn' spirits and acc. to vs. 2 R. Ishmael for that purpose is taken to the Throne of Glory, it is possible that the unborn souls were conceived of as having their place by the Throne in common with those of the righteous dead. How far one can press the expression 'have returned' (whether as referring to a fixed place in heaven—in such a case the Throne—or to the heavens in general) is uncertain. The other possibility is that the unborn spirits are conceived of as having a different abode from that of the righteous dead, e.g. in special chambers under the Throne of Glory. On this assumption it would be necessary to conclude that a piece describing the place of the 'spirits of the righteous that have not yet been created' has fallen out. For the possibility of this place having been the traditional '*GUPH*' see below, note on vs. 3.

The place of the spirits yet unborn is acc. to 2 Bar. xxiii. 5 *et al.* 'the chambers' referred to above (which acc. to 4 Ez. iv. 35, are the abode of the righteous dead). Acc. to *TB. Chag.* 12 b, "the souls and spirits that are to be created together with the spirits of the righteous (*scil.* dead) are in '*Araboth*, the highest of the heavens". Acc. to *Ber. R.* viii. 6, the souls of the righteous "dwell with their King (in accordance with 1 Chron. iv. 23)" already before the Creation of the world: with them God took counsel before creating man. Acc. to a dictum of R. Assi (repeated *TB. Nidda*, 13 a, '*Aboda Zara*, 5 a, '*Yebamoth*, 62 a) the unborn spirits await creation in the *GUPH*, the storehouse of souls. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 26 (apparently dependent upon the same tradition as that of *Chag.*, 12 b) mentions in the '*Araboth*: "the Throne of Glory, the stores of life, the treasures of blessings, of dew... and the *treasuries* (contrast *Chag.*, *ib.*) of the spirits of the living and of the dead", the "treasuries of the spirits of the living" being a rather singular expression, probably meaning the treasures of the unborn spirits (cf. *Sifre*, 143 b). Acc. to *Tub ha-'Ares*, i. 50 a, the spirits "go out to the world from the *Libnat ha-sSappir* (one of the seven Halls of '*Araboth*)."

Hence one might conclude that the unborn spirits here referred to have their place in the proximity of the Throne of Glory, whether in special chambers or not.

The expression 'the spirits of the *righteous*, that have not yet been created' compels the question whether this implies a distinction between the righteous, wicked (and intermediate) *even before this life*. Such a distinction is met with in *Wisdom of Solomon*, viii. 19, 20 ("For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit. Yea, rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled. . ."). This idea in its strictest connotation implies that the moral character of the spirits is already determined before their embodiment—the different courses of the living on this earth being merely a consequence of their qualities as developed in their pre-terrestrial existence; it reappears in *Zohar* in contexts treating of the problems of metempsychosis.

that have been created and had returned: and they were flying above the Throne of Glory before the Holy One, blessed be He.

(3) After that I went to interpret the following verse of Scripture and I found in what is written (Isa. lvii. 16): "for the spirit clothed itself before me, and the souls I have made" that ("for the spirit was clothed before me") means the spirits ⁴that have been created in the chamber of creation of the righteous and that have returned

4-4 *E om.*

The fully righteous spirits are there termed "the spirits from the side of *Shekina*"; cf. *Zohar*, ii. 94 a b. But another interpretation of the expression 'spirits of the righteous not yet born' is "the spirits that when once having entered earthly life will turn out righteous. They are foreseen to be righteous". Their future perfection reacts upon their pre-existent state. This seems to be the underlying idea of the passage *Ber. R.* viii. 6 referred to above, and is represented in *Zohar*, ii. 96 b. (Cf. *ib.* iii. 168 a and ii. 94 a b, referred to above, *et al.*)

If chh. xliii and xliv be treated as a whole, it is evident that here the life on earth is regarded as determining the character of man, and indeed so that it is the terrestrial life that taints the previously pure souls. Treated as a whole then, these chapters convey an interpretation of the words 'spirits of the righteous not yet created' more in line with the latter of the two connotations just referred to, but rather to the effect that there are no unrighteous spirits in the pre-existent state. No other unborn spirits are referred to in these chapters. Although only available as a *demonstratio e silentio*, this fact tends to show that at least the compiler of the present section moves on the basis of the orthodox conception expressed in the prayer '*Elohe Nēshāmā*' (given in *TB. Ber.* 60 b): "O God, the spirit which thou hast set within me is *pure* etc." (BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 120). Cf. *Eccl. R.* xii. 7: "the spirit I have given thee is pure; if thou give it back to me in the same state it is good for thee; if not, I will burn it before thee". (Cf. ch. xliv. and *TB. Nidda*, 30 a, *Shab.* 32 b, *Baba Batra*, 16 a.) Also 4 Macc. xviii. 23 ("having received pure and immortal souls from God").

Still it is evident that the expression by itself presupposes a distinction between righteous and not righteous already in the pre-existent state, in one form or the other. Hence the impression is left, that this tradition is suppressed in the present context and the possibility remains, that a fragment describing the conditions and abodes of the unborn spirits is missing, which originally would have had its place after vs. 2.

(3) After that I went to interpret etc., *lit.* 'after that I went and studied this scriptural passage and I found according as it is written etc.' 'This scriptural passage' means the well-known scriptural passage traditionally used as support for the doctrines concerning the subject in question. The passage, Isa. lvii. 6, adduced here, is the starting point for the speculations as to the conditions of the unborn spirits both in *TB. Chag.* 12 b and *Yeb.* 62 a, '*Aboda Zara*, 5 a, *Nidda*, 13 a (see above). Acc. to the J. Targum, *ad locum*, it is also used with reference to the doctrine of resurrection. Here the way in which the passage is used for its present purpose is set forth thus: the former part of the verse, 'the spirit was clothed before me', is made to refer to the spirits that have been created, that is to say, apparently, clothed with a body, the latter part, 'the souls I have made', is interpreted as referring to the spirits that are formed by God but not yet created, invested with a body.

that have been created in the GUPH of creation of the righteous, the chamber of creative forms designed for the righteous. The GUPH (= body) is then here not the chambers where the spirits dwell until the time appointed for

before the Holy One, blessed be He; (and the words:) "and the souls I have made" refer to the spirits⁴ of the righteous that have not yet been created in the chamber (*GUPH*).

CHAPTER XLIV

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael the abode of the wicked
and the intermediate in Sheol. (vss. 1-6)*

*The Patriarchs pray for the deliverance of Israel
(vss. 7-10)*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron, ¹the Angel, the Prince of the Presence,¹ said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee the spirits of the wicked ²and the spirits of the intermediate² where they are standing, and the spirits

4-4 *E* om.

Ch. xlv. 1-1 so *E*. *A* om.

2-2 *E* om.

their life on earth arrives, but evidently the chamber where they are conducted just at the time when they are to enter terrestrial bodies. In this chamber they are then first 'created', i.e. invested with a body, a creative form, which presumably determines the individual, animal or terrestrial body they are to join. The passage, *Zohar*, iii. 107, referred to by Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 166, could be used as a commentary on the present verse, and one can safely assume that it belongs to the same line of traditions or development of traditions: "when the souls are about to quit their heavenly abode each soul appears before the Holy One, blessed be He, clothed with an exalted pattern (or image or form) on which are engraven the features which it will bear here below". The *GUPH* is here rather the chamber containing "the pre-existent forms or types of bodies" (Abelson's expression, *ib.* p. 165) than the abode of the spirits. The unborn spirits "have not yet been created in the *Guph*" of creation.

It should be added that there is a certain indication here of a beginning differentiation of the 'world of Creation' (*Bêrî'ā*) as a form of existence different from the higher world of 'the Throne'.

Lastly the qualifying addition 'of the righteous' (the *GUPH* of creation of the righteous) raises again the question of the distinction between righteous and non-righteous in the pre-existent state. Is there also a division in the *GUPH* between the compartment for the righteous and that or those for the others? Or did the original tradition maintain the existence of several *GUPHs*? In its strict connotation the distinction between righteous and non-righteous spirits has as a necessary corollary the distinction between different bodily forms for these two classes.

Ch. xlv. The preceding chapter, in so far as it dealt with the abode of the righteous dead, is in this chapter continued by a description of the two remaining classes of spirits who have left earthly life, i.e. the intermediate and the wicked. The intermediate undergo a purgatorial process in fire in She'ol, assisted and supported in their purification by an angel, *SIMKIEL*, whereas the wholly wicked are delivered to the wrath of the angel *ZA'APHIEL* who punishes them in Gehenna with staves of fire.

(1) the spirits of the wicked and the... intermediate where they are standing,

of the intermediate, whither they go down, ³and the spirits of the wicked, where they go down³.

(2) And he said to me: The spirits of the wicked go down to She'ol by the hands of two angels of destruction: ZA'APHIEL and SIMKIEL are their names. (3) SIMKIEL is appointed over the intermediate to support them and purify them because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place (*Māqōm*). ZA'APHIEL is appointed over the spirits

3-3 E om.

i.e. probably at or immediately after the judgement which is daily acc. to the section on the judgement, chh. xxviii. 7-xxxiii. 2. the spirits of the intermediate whither they go down and the spirits of the wicked whither they go down, i.e. acc. to the following verses, Sheol.

(2) The spirits of the wicked (supply here, in accordance with the following verse: 'and the spirits of the intermediate) go down to She'ol through two angels of destruction. They are sent down from the Throne of Glory, before which they have undergone judgement. For the angels of destruction see notes on chh. xxxi. 2 and xxxii. 1. The angels of destruction carry out the judgement on the wicked, and are appointed over the different compartments of Gehenna according to numerous descriptions of the punishments assigned for the wicked in Gehenna. (Cf. '*Descriptions of Hell*' and other translations by Gaster, *RAS's Journal* (1893), further *Masseket Chibbut ha-qQeber*, BH. i. 150, *Masseket Gehinnom*, ib., i. 147-149, *Gan 'Eden we-Gehinnom*, ib., v. 49 seqq., *Test. R. Eliezer*, *Seder Yesirat ha-wWalad*, ib., i. 151-158.) They are then usually represented as numerous and as being assigned to a leader, 'the Prince of Gehenna' (*Gedullat Moshe*, Gehenna) (cf. QEMU'EL, note on ch. xxxi. 2). Here only two angels of destruction are mentioned. The older traditions speak of two angels of destruction as executioners of the divine decrees, 'APH and CHEMA. The angels of destruction function at the judgement, acc. to chh. xxxi-xxxiii, but represent there altogether the severe execution of judgement. Here one represents the attribute of Mercy, SIMKIEL (support of God), who is appointed over the intermediate to 'support and purify them' (cf. the staff of Mercy, ch. xxxi. 2).

The idea of the '*bēnōniyyim*', the intermediate class, the large majority of those who are neither wholly righteous nor wholly wicked, belongs to "the orthodox Rabbinic theology" of Palestine. See BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 155. The classical passages are TB. *Rosh ha-shSHana*, 16 b, 17 a, *Tos. Sanhedrin*, xiii. 3, *Aboth R. Natan*, xli, TB. *Shab.* 33 b. In *Rosh ha-shSHana*, ib., it is the second *dictum* introduced there that is particularly apposite in this connection ("there are *three divisions* [companies] for the day of judgement: one that of the fully righteous, another that of the fully wicked, the third that of the intermediate. The fully righteous are immediately written down and sealed for eternal life, the fully wicked... for Gehenna, the intermediate go down into Gehenna, but when they scream in prayer [transl. of BOX] they are permitted to come up again" (acc. to Zech. xiii. 9: "And I will bring the third part through the fire... they shall call on my name and I will hear them...") "and of them said Hanna (1 Sam. ii. 6): the Lord killeth and maketh alive (cf. ch. xviii. 24)").

because of the great mercy of the Prince of the Place. The Place, the *Maqom*, is the Divine Majesty. The Prince of the Place is an unusual expression. It may be a synonym for 'Prince of the Presence'. A better reading would perhaps be obtained by substituting '*shel*' (of) for '*sar*' (Prince) and transl. simply: 'because of the great mercy of the Place, i.e. the Divine Majesty'.

ZA'APHIEL, 'the wrath of God'. In contrast to the supporting and helping attitude shown the intermediate from the Divine Mercy, expressed by the name

of the wicked⁴ in order to cast them down from the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He, and from the splendour of the *Shekina*⁵ to She'ol, to be punished in the fire of Gehenna⁵ with staves of burning coal.

(4) And I went by his side, and he took me by his hand and showed me all of them with his fingers.

(5) And I beheld the appearance of their faces (and, lo, it was) as the appearance of children of men, and their bodies like eagles. And not only that but (furthermore) the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey on account of their deeds, for there are stains upon them until they have become cleaned from their iniquity in the fire.

(6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot on account of ⁶the wickedness of their doings⁶.

4 *E*: 'intermediate' 5-5 so *E*. *A* corr.: 'to heat them for judgement in fire to Gehenna' (confusion of two variant readings?). 6-6 *E*: 'the multitude of their wicked deeds'

SIMKIEL, "support of God", stands the attitude of merciless wrath with regard to the wicked, symbolically expressed by the name ZA'APHIEL.

to be punished in the fire of Gehenna with staves of burning coal, probably pictured similarly to the passage *BH*. ii. 51 (of the angels punishing the wicked in Gehenna): "angels stand close by and with their staves drive them back into the fire and burn them". Cf. the punishment with lashes of fire, *chh*. xvi. 5, xx. 2 (the word translated 'lashes' Rashi interprets 'staves').

(5) the appearance of their faces as the appearance of children of men etc. The spirits have bodily form and actual bodies—like eagles, i.e. winged. These bodies are of course different from those they were invested with in the *GUPH*. The spirits of the righteous, that are 'flying above the Throne' are probably pictured in bodies of similar form. For the souls or spirits as having bodily form cf. 1 *En*. xxii. 9-14 ("these hollow places have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated... their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain... scourgings and torments of the accursed for ever"), 4 *Ex*. vii. 78 seqq. (see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, note p. 121: "it seems clear that they (the souls of the unrighteous) are already endowed with bodies suitable to their altered condition... This conception apparently characterizes also 2 *Enoch*"). Cf. also how acc. to ch. xlvii. 4 the spirits and souls of the punished angels whose 'manifested' bodies have been consumed with fire, are represented as having bodily form, 'their countenance like that of angels and their wings like those of birds'.

the colour of the countenance of the intermediate was like pale grey... (6) And the colour of the wicked was like the bottom of a pot. The sins are depicted as having tainted the spirits—originally white and pure—the intermediate being merely stained so that their original nature is still recognizable, but the wicked black 'like the bottom of a pot': their original character is totally blotted out. This simile presupposes the conception of the absolute purity of the pre-existent spirits, cf. note on ch. xliii. 1-2 (end).

like the bottom of a pot is used of the wicked also in *Masseket Gehinnom*, *BH*. i. 149, and *Pirke Mashiach*, *BH*. iii. 75 ("their faces were black like the bottom of a pot"). As to the special sins that caused such an entire corruption there is no explicit reference here. The traditions were different on this point. *TB*. *Baba Mešia'*, 58 b, mentions three sins that consign for ever to Gehenna (cf. the fate of

(7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs Abraham Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous whom they have brought up out of their graves and who have ascended to the Heaven (*Raḡia'*). And they were praying before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying in

the wicked as compared with that of the intermediate), and the same is repeated in the '*Treatise on Hell*' which appeared in translation by Gaster, *RAS's Journal*, 1893, p. 602: "(three sins cause those who commit them to go down to Gehenna and never return:) blaming one's neighbour in public, slandering him and adultery". *Masseket Gehinnom*, i. BH. i. 147, apparently follows another tradition as to the distinction between wicked and intermediate: there the full punishment—in the class of the wicked—is designed for those who cannot point to one single act of fulfilment of the Tora, "who have not one single statute in their hands". This corresponds with the statement, *TB. 'Aboda Zara*, 5 a: "the fully righteous are those who have fulfilled the Tora from the beginning to the end, from '*Aleph* to *Taw*'. The *bēnōniyyim* acc. to this view are those who have endeavoured to fulfil the Law but have failed to keep all the statutes. A third view identifies the *bēnōniyyim* with those who have kept the negative statutes only, the fully righteous with those who have kept all the positive statutes as well as the negative ones.

As to the length of the period of purification assigned for the intermediate it is probably here conceived of as proportionate to the degree in which the sins have tainted them: they are kept in the purgatory until 'they have become cleaned from their iniquity'. Cf. the passage *Rosh ha-shSHana* etc. above note on vs. 2 and the transl. in BOX, *Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 155, where it is pointed out that the *bēnōniyyim* were thought to go up after screaming in prayer for one hour, acc. to *Yalqut* on Zech. xiii. 9. Rashi likewise (*ad loc. Rosh ha-shSHana*) puts as an explanatory remark on the difficult word '*mešafsefīm*': "it means: they cry and weep in their agony for one hour and then (are permitted to) come up again". Cf. *Se'uddath Gan 'Eden*, BH. v. 45, OM. i. 89 b: "the wicked of Israel tormented in Gehenna are brought up from Gehenna to partake in the Feast of the Righteous".

CH. XLIV. 7-10.

Vss. 7-10 contain an apocalyptic-eschatological fragment with the motto: "*Israel's deliverance is prevented by the sins of the wicked*".

The fragment does not fit in here. The theme of the chapter, acc. to vs. 1, is the conditions of the spirits of the intermediate and the wicked after death. If it had originally belonged to the exposition of the conditions of the spirits it would have had its place in ch. xliii which treats of the spirits of the righteous. But the interest of the present fragment is not focussed on the various conditions of the spirits of the dead but on the deliverance of Israel from the oppression under the 'nations of the world', the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth and the 'wicked' to which it refers are not the spirits of the wicked but the living evil-doers within Israel who through their transgressions prevent the establishment of the heavenly kingdom. It is, moreover, probable, that this fragment represents a different outlook upon the fate of man after death from that of the preceding context (*vide* below).

The frame is that of the rest of the section: R. Ishmael beholds various wonders in heaven under the guidance of Metatron. It is in this respect closely related to the *Apocalyptic Fragment* (e.g. BH. v. 167-169): "R. Ishmael said: the Prince of the Presence said to me: sit here in my bosom and I will tell thee what shall befall Israel etc. . . .". An apocalyptic fragment of similar character with Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, as informant of R. Ishmael is contained in *Bodl. MICH.* 175, foll. 25 b, 26 a (part of the *Pirge R. Ishm.*).

(7) And I saw the spirits of the Patriarchs . . . and the rest of the righteous who they have brought up out of their graves etc. This evidently marks the beginning of a new fragment. R. Ishmael is already shown the spirits of the righteous, acc. to ch. xliii. The expression 'have been brought out of their

their prayer: "Lord of the Universe! How long wilt thou sit upon (thy) Throne like a mourner in the days of his mourning with thy right hand behind thee ⁷and not⁷ deliver thy children and reveal thy Kingdom in the world? ⁸And for how long wilt thou have no⁸ pity upon thy children who are made slaves among the nations of the world? Nor⁹ upon thy right hand that is behind thee wherewith thou didst stretch out ¹⁰the heavens and the earth and the heavens of heavens? When wilt thou have compassion?"

(8) Then the Holy One, blessed be He, answered every one of them, saying: "Since these wicked do sin so and so, and transgress with such and such transgressions against me, how could I deliver my great Right Hand in the downfall by their hands (caused by them)¹¹."

(9) In that moment Metatron called me and spake to me: "My servant! Take the books, and read their evil doings!" Forthwith I took the books and read their doings and there were to be found

7-7 E: 'when wilt thou' 8-8 E: 'When wilt thou have' 9 E: 'And' 10 E
ins.: 'and didst span' 11 E reads: '(my great Right Hand) that has fallen down
in the downfall at their hands'

graves and have ascended to *Raqia'* is also suspect in this connection: it sounds as if we were here confronted with a different conception as to the fate of men after death, according to which the Patriarchs and (some of) the righteous enjoy the privilege of bodily resurrection before the final consummation.

How long wilt thou sit... thy right hand behind thee. The *Right Hand* or the *Right Arm of the Lord* represent the actualization of the kingdom of God on earth, the deliverance of Israel. That the Right Hand is laid behind the Lord is a symbol of cessation in His activity for this purpose. The deliverance of the Right Hand, hence, becomes synonymous with the deliverance of Israel. Cf. ch. xlviii A. It was God's Right Hand that stretched out the heavens and the earth, and so it must be His Right Hand that shall bring about the final establishment of the Kingdom on earth.

(8) Since these wicked do sin... how could I deliver my great Right Hand etc. The delay in the deliverance of Israel is caused by the wicked in their own ranks. That the downfall of Israel was caused by the wicked among them is a *dictum* attributed to R. Gamaliel II. In particular the idolatry was made responsible for the delay in the establishment of God's Kingdom. The coming of Messiah is suspended for a period which exactly corresponds to the number of years that Israel has been worshipping idols, acc. to 'Echa R. Proëm. 21. Similarly, in the *Apocalyptic Fragment*, Bodl. MICH. 175, referred to above, R. Ishmael is represented as asking for the reason of the present sufferings of Israel, whereon he is informed that the deliverance is to be suspended for a time corresponding to that of their idolatry (700 years). Here evidently—see vs. 9—the 'sins' of the wicked comprise all 'transgressions of the Tora'.

'These sinners' was perhaps by the compiler thought to refer to the wicked of vss. 1-6, this being then one of the reasons why this fragment was given its present place.

(9) Take the books, and read their evil doings! On the conception of books recording the deeds of righteous or unrighteous etc. see note on ch. xviii. 24. The books here seem to be the records of the deeds of the wicked, cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 4 (book of unrighteousness), *ib.* xcvi. 7-8 ("every sin is every day recorded in heaven—all your oppression... is written down every day till the day of your

36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one¹² and besides, that they have transgressed¹² all the letters in the Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. 11): "Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy Law". It is not written 'al torateka but 'et (ת) torateka, for they have transgressed from 'Aleph (א) to Taw (ת), 40¹³ statutes have they transgressed for each letter.

(10) Forthwith Abraham, Isaac and Jacob wept. ¹⁴ Then said to them the Holy One, blessed be He: "Abraham, my beloved, Isaac, my Elect one, Jacob, my firstborn! ¹⁵ How can I now¹⁵ deliver them from among the nations of the world?" And forthwith MIKAEL, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice and said (Ps. x. 1): "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord?"

12-12 so acc. to *E. A* corr.
15-15 *E*: 'I cannot now'

13 *E*: '36'

14 *E* adds: 'to themselves'

judgement"). Since Metatron here seems to have the 'books' in his charge, there must be a trace here of Metatron's function of scribe (*Chag.* 15 a).

36 transgressions (written down) with regard to each wicked one... Both readings (*A* and *E*) seem to be corrupt. The meaning seems to be: for each wicked one were recorded 36 transgressions of the Tora and in addition thereto a great many transgressions of each single letter of the Tora. from 'Aleph to Taw. Cf. *Lam. R. Proëm.* 24: "the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Abraham: 'thy children have sinned and have transgressed the whole Tora and the 22 letters of Tora, as it is written (Dan. ix. 11), all Israel have transgressed thy Law' (thus here also the passage, Dan. *ib.*, is used as point of support)". The transgressing a letter of the Tora is in *Lam. R. ib.*, understood as equivalent to the transgressing a commandment beginning with that letter, or vice versa. But the expression 'from 'Aleph to Taw' represents the entirety of a thing, in this case the Tora, any part of which is based upon one or the other of the letters. In an absolute sense it represents the entirety of things in general, and is to be compared with the expression 'Alpha and Omega', Rev. i. 8. (See CHARLES, *Comm. on Rev.* i. 20, and Riedel in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1901, pp. 297 seqq., both regarding the 'Alpha and Omega' as an imitation of the 'Aleph to Taw'.)

(10) Mikael, the Prince of Israel, cried and wept with a loud voice. This is the only passage in the present book where Mikael is explicitly referred to as the Prince of Israel. Ch. xvii. 3, Mikael is the prince of the seventh (highest) heaven. The scarce occurrence of 'Mikael' (only twice) is remarkable. His position seems to have been taken over by Metatron. *Ctr.* the frequent reference to Mikael as the prince of Israel in 1 *En.* (ix. 1, x. 11, xx. 5, xxiv. 6, xl. 9, liv. 6, lx. 4, 5, lxvii. 12, lxviii. 2-4, lxix. 14 f., lxxi. 3, 8, 9, 13).

For Mikael bewailing calamities that have befallen Israel, cf. *Pesik. R.* xlv and the parallel trait there: God answers that the deliverance is dependent upon Israel: "(the apostates of) Israel must first turn to me, even if it were only as much as the point of a needle". Cf. also *Midrash Petirath Moshe*: when Sammael is about to take away Moses' soul, Mikael "cried and wept with a loud voice".

CHAPTER XLV

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael past and future events
recorded on the Curtain of the Throne*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Curtain of *MAQOM* (the Divine Majesty) which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be He, (and) whereon are graven all the generations of the world and all their doings, both what they have done and what they will do until the end of all generations.

(2) And I went, and he showed it to me pointing it out with his fingers ¹like a father who teaches his children the letters of Tora. And I saw each generation,
the rulers of each generation¹,

1-1 so *E. A.*: 'and like a father who teaches his children (he showed me) each generation'

Ch. xlv. R. Ishmael is shown the Curtain (*Pargod*) of *MAQOM* (the Place, i.e. the Divine Majesty as manifested on the Throne of Glory). This Curtain is spread before the Holy One. The Curtain of the Throne of Glory is referred to also, ch. x. 1. The Curtain separates the Throne of Glory and its innermost mysteries from the other parts of the highest heaven and from the world of angels in general, just as the curtain veiled off the Holy of Holies in the sanctuary. (Cf. *TB. Yoma*, 77 a.) The Curtain hence becomes the symbol of the last secrets of heaven and earth which are kept with the Godhead, hidden even from the angels. Occasional revelations of these secrets—the reasons of the Creator—are described either as obtained by 'hearing from behind the Curtain' or expressed by the phrase 'to know from behind the Curtain': this is one line of ideas. Or, according to another line, the secrets are represented as 'written down on the (inside of) Curtain'. As instances of the former line of conception reference may be made to the tradition concerning *GALLIŠUR-RAZIEL* (see note on ch. xviii. 16), further to *Mekilta* on Ex. xix. 9 (voices from behind the Curtain announce the answers of prayers), and *TB. Ber.* 18 b (there is heard 'from behind the Curtain, what tribulations are in store for the world'). It seems, that this tradition also contained the idea of special high angels being allowed inside or having their place inside the Curtain, in the immediate Presence of the Holy One, thus partaking of the Divine secrets: so acc. to ch. x. 1 in the reading of *BC* (cf. note, *ib.*) the case of *GALLIŠUR*, and in *Mass. Hek.* vii ("A curtain is spread before the Holy One... and the seven angels who were created first, minister before Him [i.e. inside the Curtain]"). The second conception is represented here and also *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, *BH.* iii. 44—where it is as here called the *Pargod of MAQOM*. As a parallel in earlier Enoch-literature is to be noted especially 1 *En.* xciii. 2 and cvi. 19: "I Enoch will declare them unto you... acc. to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels and have learnt from the heavenly tablets" (the heavenly tablets correspond to the *Pargod* here).

(1-3) R. Ishmael is shown all generations and their doings, both past and coming. This implies the idea of pre-determination. In *TB. Sanh.* 38 b, one finds: "The Holy One, blessed be He, showed Adam every generation and its learned men (inter-

and the heads of each generation,
 the shepherds of each generation,
 the oppressors (drivers) of each generation,
 the keepers of each generation,
²the scourgers of each generation,²
 the overseers of each generation,
 the judges of each generation,
 the court officers of each generation,
 the teachers of each generation,
³the supporters of each generation,
 the chiefs of each generation,³
 the presidents of academies of each generation,
 the magistrates of each generation,
 the princes of each generation,
⁴the counsellors of each generation,⁴
 the nobles of each generation,
⁴and the men of might of each generation,⁴
 the elders of each generation,
 and the guides of each generation.

(3) And I saw Adam, his generation, their doings and their thoughts,⁵

Noah ⁶and his generation, their doings and their thoughts⁶,
 and the generation of the flood, their doings and their thoughts,
 Shem and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

Nimrod and the generation of the confusion of tongues, and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

Abraham and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

Isaac and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,

⁷Ishmael and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,⁷

2-2 so *E.* (סורקיה) *lit.* 'flayers, hatchellers'; cf. *Zohar* i. 177 a: "סריקתא דקוסטרי"
A: 'eunuchs, officers' (?) 3-3 *E*: 'the helpers of each generation, and their
 pious men (*Chasidim*), their leaders, teachers, sages and heads of the schools'
 4-4 *E* om. 5 *E* ins.: 'Methuselah, his generation, etc.' 6-6 *E* om.
 7-7 *E* om.

preters of Scripture), every generation and its wise men, and when he came to the generation of R. 'Aqiba he (Adam) rejoiced at his (great understanding of) Tora but was grieved at his death (as a martyr)". In *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba this has the following form (*BH.* iii. 44): "Moses saw on the Curtain of MAQOM numerous hosts of scribes and hosts of (members of) Sanhedrin studying the Tora, the Prophets and the writings... and in the same hour Moses saw the fate (life) of R. Aqiba on the Curtain of Maqom how he was lecturing on the letters of Tora, expounding on each of the ornaments of each single letter 365 different significations of the Tora etc." The Curtain is here the repository of all past, present and future events, and it seems, as if the idea were rather, that the events, the 'generations,

Jacob and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Joseph and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 the tribes and their generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Amram and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 Moses and his generation, their doings and their thoughts,
 (4) Aaron ⁸ and Mirjam ⁹ their works and their doings,
¹⁰the princes and the elders, their works and doings,
 Joshua and his generation, their works and doings,
 the judges and their generation, their works and doings,¹⁰
 Eli and his generation, their works and doings,
¹¹Phinehas, their (?) works and doings,¹¹
 Elkanah and his generation, their works and their doings,
 Samuel and his generation, their works and doings,
¹²the kings of Judah with their generations, their works and their
 doings,
 the kings of Israel and their generations, their works and their
 doings,
¹³the princes of Israel, their works and their doings; the princes
 of the nations of the world, their works and their doings,
 the heads of the councils of Israel, their works and their doings;
 the heads of (the councils in) the nations of the world, their genera-
 tions, their works and their doings;
¹⁴the rulers of Israel and their generation, their works and their
 doings;
 the nobles of Israel and their generation, their works and their
 doings; the nobles of the nations of the world and their generation(s),
 their works and their doings;¹⁴
 the men of reputation in Israel, their generation, their works and
 their doings;¹⁵
 the judges of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings;
 the judges of the nations of the world and their generation, their
 works and their doings;
 the teachers of children in Israel, their generations, their works

8 *E* ins.: 'and his generation, their thoughts and their doings' 9 *E* adds:
 'and her generation' 10-10 *E* om. 11-11 *E* om. perhaps rightly 12 *E* ins.:
 'Saul etc., David, etc., Salomo, etc.' 13 *E* ins.: 'the rulers of Israel, etc., the
 nobles of Israel, etc., the nobles of the gentiles, etc., the wealthy men of Israel,
 etc., the wealthy men of the nations of the world, etc., the wise men of Israel,
 etc.' 14-14 *E* om. 15 *E* ins.: 'the men of reputation in the nations of
 the world, etc.'

their thoughts and their doings', are pourtrayed on the curtain—the images are
 imprinted on it—than that the various facts are merely recorded.

and their doings; the teachers of children in the nations of the world, their generations, their works and their doings;

the counsellors (interpreters) of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings; the counsellors (interpreters) of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings;

all the prophets of Israel, their generation, their works and their doings; all the prophets of the nations of the world, their generation, their works and their doings;

(5) and all the fights and wars that the nations¹⁶ of the world wrought against the people of Israel in the time of their kingdom.

And I saw Messiah, son of Joseph, and his generation¹⁷ and their works and their doings that they will do against the nations of the world¹⁷. And I saw Messiah, son of David, and his generation, and

16 so *E*. *A* corr. from here to 'the people of Israel': '(that the nations) of Israel wrought against the people of Israel' 17-17 *E*: 'and all the deeds of the nations of the world at that time'

(5) And I saw Messiah son of Joseph etc. From here to the end of the verse there follows a short eschatological piece. R. Ishmael, through the medium of the Curtain of the Throne, sees the events of the last times. The end of the course of the present world is marked by the appearance of Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David in whose times there will be wars between Israel and 'Gog and Magog'; the final consummation will then, so it seems, be brought about by the Holy One Himself.

For the conception of the two Messiahs, reference may be made to the scholarly expositions by Dalman (*Der leidende und sterbende Messias*, pp. 1-26), Buttenwieser (in *JE*. viii. 511 b, 512 a), Klausner (*Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes*, etc., pp. 86-103), Rabinsohn (*Le Messianisme dans le Talmud et les Midrachim*). Vide also Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 729, Schoettgen, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, i. 139, 267, 360-5, Wuensche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, pp. 65 seqq., Castelli, *Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei*, pp. 224-9.

It will perhaps be best to follow Klausner (and Dalman) in assuming that the origin of a double Messiah was the realization of the duplicity inherent in the traditional Messianic picture, e.g. the political and military traits as against the spiritual and ethical (esp. of Isa. xi and Zech. ix. 9). "Die Doppelnatur des Messias muss in einen Doppelmessias umgesetzt werden" (Klausner). (Cf. Dalman in a somewhat different vein: "es muss als möglich gelten, dass überhaupt ein etwa durch die hadrianischen Verfolgungen neu hervorgerufenes Interesse an dem Trost der Messias Hoffnung zu erneutem Schriftstudium trieb... Alles was in der heiligen Schrift darauf zu deuten schien, dass Edom-Rom gestürzt und Jerusalem, wenn auch nur vorläufig, an Israel zurückgegeben wird, musste dad en Forscher anziehen, und das Unbestimmteste gewann für das nach Erlösung dürstende Gemüt deutliche Umrisse und konkrete Gestalt. So erstand Messias ben Joseph, der sterbende Messias des Judentums".)

As to the designation 'ben Joseph' (son of Joseph), Klausner (*op. cit.* p. 97) holds that "when once a second Messiah has become necessary, he cannot be taken from any other tribe but that of Joseph" ("Der erste Messias ist ein Davidide, also ein Judäer. Was sollte nun der zweite Messias anders sein, als Josephite, beziehungsweise Ephraimite" [*Messiah ben Ephraim* is sometimes a variant of *Messiah ben Joseph*, vide below]). Also should be noted Klausner's remark that it "is highly

all the fights and wars, and their works and their doings that they

probable that *Bar Kochba's* death as hero in the war with the enemies of Israel, after having for a time been victorious and even reigned as a king, became the starting-point (*Vorbild*) for the conception of a Messiah who at first is victorious but in the end is overcome by the enemies of Israel". This is, most probably, the right explanation of the conception of a Messianic forerunner of the real Messiah: One had long been conscious of the duplicity in the Messianic picture; the Hadrianic persecutions and the *Bar Kochba* incident forced the attention on the Messianic ideas and hopes; the circumstances made one conscious of Israel's fate of having to go through many tribulations, temporal victories followed by severe débâcles: from this consciousness grew the picture of a forerunner-Messiah whose essential characteristic was described by the words of the *Baraita* (*TB. Sukka*, 52 a): "he will be killed".

Dalman explains the designation 'ben Joseph' from Deut. xxxiii. 17 ("His glory is like the firstling of his bullock and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh"). "The 'firstling of his (Joseph's) bullock' is nearly as much the emblem of Messiah ben Joseph: *Ren. R.* lxxv. 6, *Ex. R.* to xlix. 14 acc. to *Pugeo Fidei*, *Num. R.* xiv. 2, *Midrash Tanchuma*, ed. Buber, 82 b, as the 'foal of an ass' of Zech. ix. 9 is the emblem of Messiah ben David". "Was dort (Deut. xxxiii. 17) von Joseph gesagt ist, führt den Gedanken an das spätere Königtum Ephraims, oder, wenn man das Wort zu der messianisch verstandenen Weissagung auf Juda in Gen. xlix in Parallele setzt, an einen in der Endzeit auftretenden mächtigen König Israels aus Josephs Stamm, einen Messiah ben Joseph. Die Rabbinen, welche in Deut. xxxiii. 17 wirklich einen Messias geweissagt glaubten, wurden dann in diesem Glauben durch ein Wort Jeremias bestärkt (viz. Jer. xlix. 20)".

[Schoettgen (*op. cit.*), adducing, apart from earlier sources, *Zohar* and *Zohar Chadash*, arrives at the conclusion that Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David are identical, and that the former represents the human nature of Messiah, destined to suffer death. The designation 'son of Joseph' Schoettgen believes to be derived from the Christian designation of Christ, the Messiah, as 'the son of Joseph' and points out how, in the genealogy of St Matthew (i. 1), Christ is called 'the son of David', in that of St Luke, on the other hand, 'the son of Joseph'.

Wuensche, in his first discourse on the present problem (*op. cit.*), also maintained that Messiah ben Joseph and Messiah ben David really were identical. The identity he found established already in *TB. Sukka*, 52 a (where he, however, mis-translates; *vide* below and Klausner, *op. cit.* p. 91, note 2); in common with Schoettgen he further pointed to the fact that scriptural passages which receive Messianic interpretation are promiscuously referred now to Messiah ben Joseph, now to Messiah ben David—although passages interpreted as referring to the suffering Messiah are, according to Wuensche, more often applied to the former than to the latter; from the last-named fact he concluded that the figure of Messiah ben Joseph really symbolized the atoning function of Messiah.

Acc. to Friedmann (*Seder Eliyah*, Introduction, 20) the conception of Messiah ben Joseph goes back to the expectations among remnants of the tribes belonging once to the Northern Kingdom in Palestine for a Messiah from מלכות אפרים.

Bertholdt (in *Christologia Judaeorum*, 157) conjectures that the origin was from certain Messianic speculations among the Samaritans.

Castelli (*op. cit.* pp. 234-6) thinks that Messiah ben Joseph was the Messiah contrived for the ten tribes exiled in Media who was to lead them back to Palestine from their distant abode beyond the river *Sambatyon* (on the river *Sambatyon*, a definite detail of the eschatological scheme, *vide* box, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 296, 298, 300 seq.).

Hamburger (*Messianische Bibelstellen*, 111) and Levy (*Wörterb.*) think that the Messiah ben Joseph originated from the *Bar Kochba* incident. *Bar Kochba*, who

will do with Israel both for good and evil. And I saw all the fights

had been proclaimed as Messiah even by the great R. 'Aqiba (so *Yer. Ta'an*, iv. 68 d) was made to retain his Messianity by the formation of the doctrine of Messiah ben Joseph as the forerunner of the victorious Messiah ben David.

Jellinek (*BH*. iii. xlvi seqq.) expresses the view that the victory of Joseph Flavius in Galilee (thought as the region of the ten tribes or as part of the Northern Kingdom) followed by his defeat through Vespasianus influenced the 'saga' of the Messiah ben Joseph.

Buttenwieser (in *JE. loc. cit.*) says: "it is possible that the idea of Messiah ben Joseph is connected in some way with the Alexander-Saga". He points out how Messiah ben Joseph and Alexander (in the Koran) both are represented as horned.

Rabinsohn (*op. cit.*) finds the explanation of the 'son of Joseph' in Deut. xxxiii. 17. Cf. above on Dalman's theory.]

The conception of a Messiah ben Joseph goes back to Tannaitic times. The most important passages speaking of Messiah ben Joseph are found in *TB. Sukka* 52 a, dated by Levy, Hamburger, Friedmann, Dalman and Klausner as post-Hadrianic. One of the said passages is a *Baraita* (תנן רבנן) running as follows: "Messiah, the son of David, who will shortly be revealed in our days, to him says the Holy One, blessed be He: 'Beg of Me anything and I will give thee' as it is written (Ps. ii. 8): 'Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession'. As soon as he (i.e. Messiah ben David) saw Messiah, the son of Joseph, that he was (or: would be) killed, he says before Him: 'Lord of the Universe! I do not ask of Thee anything but Life'. He says to him: 'Life! Before thou didst say it, David, thy father, has already prophesied (this, i.e. life) concerning thee, as it is written (Ps. xxi. 4): He asked life of thee and thou gavest it him, even length of days for ever and ever'".

The other passage (according to Klausner, "eine amoräische Überlieferung einer tannaitischen Deutung") runs: "(Zech. xii. 12): 'And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart'; They say: 'Must not the rule *qal wachomer* (a *minori ad majus*) be applied here: if with reference to the time to come when they are occupied with wailing and the evil inclination does not have power over them, the Scripture says "men apart and women apart" how much the more (ought this to be the law) now when they are occupied with pleasure and the evil inclination *does* have power over them?' This wailing, what does it really signify? Rabbi Dosa and our teachers are divided on this point. The one says: 'It (refers) to Messiah the son of Joseph who is (will be) killed', and the other says: 'It (refers) to the evil inclination which will be exterminated'. Surely (the right lies) with the one who says (that it refers) to Messiah the son of Joseph who will be killed, according as it is written (Zech. xii. 10): 'And they shall look upon the one whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son'".

'En Ya'aqob preserves the following version of *TB. Sukka*, 12 b: "(Zech. i. 20, Hebrew Bible, ii. 3): 'And יַהְוָה showed me four *charashim*'. What are they (i.e. the *charashim*)? R. Chunna bar Bizna says: R. Sim'on the Chasid says: this means *Messiah ben David, Messiah ben Joseph, Elijah and the Priest of Righteousness*."

Targ. Yer. i to Ex. xl. 11 speaks of Messiah the son of Ephraim through whom Israel will in the end of time overcome Gog ("uthērabbe yath kiyyura wēyath bēsisēh uthēqaddesh yatheh mē'ul Yehošūa' mēšumshanakh rabba dē-Sanhedrin dē 'ammeh dē'al yēdoz 'āthida' ar'a de-Israel le-'ithpēlaga umēšhicha bar Ephraim denafiq minneh dē'al yēdoz 'āthidin beth Israel līmēnašha le-Gog ulēsi'atheh bēsof yomayya").

Targ. Yer. to Canticles iv. 5 and vii. 4 speak of Messiah ben David and Messiah ben Joseph as deliverers of Israel like Moses and Aaron.

The earlier passages represent Messiah ben Joseph merely as the forerunner of Messiah ben David and as the Messiah "who is killed". The passage in our book

and wars that Gog and Magog will fight ¹⁸ in the days of Messiah, and all that the Holy One, blessed be He, will do with them in the time to come.

18 A ins.: 'with Israel'

goes no further: he is to appear before Messiah ben David and will be engaged in warfare. Though it is not expressly stated here that Messiah ben Joseph will be killed, this is probably presupposed.

Later passages in *Num. R.* xiv. 2, in *Pesiqtha Zut.* to *Num.* xxiv. 13, *Midrash 'Asereth Melakhim*, *Pirge Mashiach*, *BH.* iii. 70, *Pereq R. Yoshiyahu*, *BH.* vi. 115 (Messiah ben Joseph called *Nehemyah ben Hushiel*) appears after the victory over Rome, is killed in the struggle with the Arabs and *resuscitated* by *Elijah* in the time of Messiah ben David. *Midrash Wayyosha'*, *Nistaroth de R. Shim'on ben Yochai* (*BH.* iii. 80), *Tefillath R. Shim'on ben Yochai* (*BH.* iv. 124), *Othoth ha-mMashiach* (*BH.* ii. 58), *Sefer Zerubbabel* (*BH.* ii. 55) (*vide* Introduction, Sources and Literature, A 3 (B)) give the tradition that Messiah ben Joseph will be killed in the war with *Armilos*. In the *Nistaroth de R. Shim'on ben Yochai* there are three names of Messiah(s): Messiah ben Joseph, Messiah ben Ephraim and Messiah ben David. *Num. R.* xiv. 2, evidently dependent upon the tradition preserved in *TB. Sukka*, 12 b (acc. to '*En Ya'aqob*, *vide* above), interprets the four *charashim* of *Zech.* ii. 3 as: "Elijah, the Messiah who shall rise from the children of Manasse, the Anointed for War (*meshu"ch milchama*) who will come from Ephraim and the Great Redeemer who is one of the sons of the sons of David".

Attempts at systematization of the various traditions in respect of the two Messiahs were made by Sa'adya in '*Emunoth we De'oth*, viii, and Hai Gaon in *Ta'am Zegenim* (ed. Frankf. am Main, 1854, pp. 59 seq.). For these *vide* Dalman, *op. cit.* and Buttenwieser (in *JE. loc. cit.*). A display of still later, especially cabalistic, traditions on Messiah ben Joseph is given in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 729 seqq. (from *Menorath ha-Ma'or*, *Shene Luchoth ha-bBerith*, *Yalqut Chadash*, '*Emeq ha-mMelek*, etc.). Passages in the *Zohar* treating of Messianic times are: *Zohar*, i. 118 a, 119 a, 134 a b, 139 a b; ii. 7 a b, 32 a, 105 b, 109 b; iii. 67 b, 124 b, 125 a b, 153 a b, 212 b; in the *Tiqqunim*, 78 a, 95 a.

Gog and Magog play the rôle of "a collective anti-Messiah" (M. Friedlander, *Der Antichrist*, pp. 171-3). The war with Gog and Magog was speculated upon already in pre-Hadrianic Tannaitic times. Klausner says (*op. cit.* pp. 90, 100), basing upon *Siphra*, *Par. Bechuqqothai*, 2, *Siphre Deut. Pisqa.* 343: "We can with some certainty maintain that the belief current in pre-Hadrianic times was that the Messias ben David, supported by the presence of the Divine Glory (the *Shekina*), would wage war against and overcome the enemies of Israel (i.e. Gog and Magog), but in the post-Hadrianic times the warfare was assigned to Messiah ben Joseph destined after a temporal victory to be conquered, and the final victory, brought about by God Himself without shedding of blood, crowns Messiah ben David". This distinction is evidently correct. It will easily be seen that our passage reflects the post-Hadrianic belief in respect of the Messianic times; but it may also be noticed that the vivid impression of the fate of the Messiah ben Joseph characteristic of the Tannaitic dicta has been somewhat blurred out; there is not the same nearness of the picture of war and the conquering and death of Messiah ben Joseph; on the other hand there are no traces of new developments and elaborations of the original conceptions found in later sources. This suggests that the present passage belongs to a time of peace not too far removed however from the time of origin of the Messiah ben Joseph conception, probably some time during the third century A.D.

and all that the Holy One... will do with them: the final consummation will be brought about by the Holy One Himself.

(6) ¹⁹And all the rest of all¹⁹ the leaders of the generations and all the works of the generations both in Israel and in the nations of the world, ²⁰both what is done and what will be done hereafter²⁰ to all generations until the end of time, (all) were graven on the Curtain of *MAQOM*. And I saw all these things with my eyes; and after I had seen it, I opened my mouth in praise of *MAQOM* (the Divine Majesty) (saying thus, Eccl. viii. 4, 5): "For the King's word hath power (and who may say unto him: What doest thou?) Whoso keepeth the commandments shall know no evil thing". And I said: (Ps. civ. 24) "O Lord, how manifold are thy works!"

CHAPTER XLVI

The place of the stars shown to R. Ishmael

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) (Come and I will show thee) the space¹ of the stars ²that are standing ³in *Raqia'*³ night by night in fear⁴² of the Almighty (*MAQOM*) and (I will show thee) where they go and where they stand.

(2) I walked by his side, and he took me by his hand and pointed out all to me with his fingers. And they were standing ⁵on sparks of flames round⁵ the *Merkaba* of the Almighty (*MAQOM*). What did

19-19 *E*: 'And there were' 20-20 *E*: 'both what they have done and what they will do in time to come'

Ch. xlv. 1 *E* perhaps reads 'spirit' 2-2 emendated. *E* corr.: 'that are deep (or "high") in *Raqia'* and every night in fear (בְּאֵמֶן obviously miswritten for בְּאֵמֶת)' 3-3 emendated acc. to *E*. *A*: בְּרִיקִים, an easy corr. of בְּרִיקִיעַ, 'lightnings' perhaps under influence of vs. 2: 'they are standing on sparks' 4 emendated with regard taken to *E*; see 2-2. 5-5 *E*: 'in sparks of flames of (from)'

Ch. xlv. In this chapter R. Ishmael is shown the place of the stars who are standing by the 'Throne of the *Merkaba*' praising the Holy One during the time that they are not occupied by 'doing service to the world'—in *Raqia'*, the second heaven. For the stars, acc. to vs. 3, have two functions: one (during the night) of lighting the world, the other of singing hymns to their Creator.

(1) The text of the chapter is in a bad state, both acc. to the reading of *A* and acc. to that of *E*. Especially is this the case with vs. 1. Emendations have been made in the translation with the help of a comparison of the two readings. (Come and I will show thee) is omitted in both readings but is obviously to be inserted by analogy with the opening words of the surrounding chapters, since the rest of the present chapter follows the scheme and phraseology of the other chapters of the section.

(2) standing on sparks of flames round the *Merkaba* of the Almighty (*MAQOM*) ... flew off on flaming wings. The stars are depicted as standing by the *Merkaba*

Metatron do? At that moment he clapped his hands and ⁶chased them⁶ off from their place. Forthwith they flew off⁷ on flaming wings, rose and fled from the four sides of the Throne of the *Merkaba*, and (as they flew) he told me the names ⁸ of every single one. As it is written (Ps. cxlvii. 4): "He telleth the number of the stars; he giveth them all their names", teaching, that the Holy One, blessed be He, has given a name to each one of them.

(3) And they all enter in counted order under the guidance of (*lit.* through, by the hands of) RAHAṬIEL to *Raqia'* *ha-shSHamayim* to serve the world. And they go out in counted order to praise the

6-6 *E*: 'made them to fly' 7 *E* adds: 'from their place' 8 *E* adds: 'and the additional names (*kinnuyim*)'

and evidently conceived of as living beings, presumably as angels, cf. vss. 3 and 4. 'Wings' are the regular attribute of angels and angelicized beings, cf. ch. ix. 2 and 'the Names flying off *like eagles*', ch. xxxix. 1. The stars are hence probably pictured as having bodies and wings after the scheme of the description of angels. Cf. the representation of the fallen stars as having bodily form, in 1 *En.* lxxxvi. 1 seqq., lxxxviii. 1, xc. 21.

Metatron...clapped his hands and chased them off. Metatron here is represented as having authority over the stars—although their special '*mēmūnne*' (appointed one) is RAHAṬIEL. The authority over the heavenly bodies is a special distinctive mark of the Prince of the World, acc. to ch. xxxviii. 3—hence this may be regarded as a trace of the identity between Metatron and the Prince of the World, maintained by one trend of traditions: cf. note on ch. iii and intr. told me the names...has given a name to each one. Cf. 1 *En.* lxix. 21: "through that oath (i.e. *Akæe*) the stars complete their course. And He calls them by their names. And they answer Him from eternity to eternity". (Charles, 1 *En.* p. 140.)

(3) they all enter in counted order under the guidance of RAHAṬIEL. For RAHAṬIEL as the ruler of the constellations, planets or heavenly bodies in general, see ch. xvii. 6 and note, *ad loc.* to *Raqia'* *ha-shSHamayim*, i.e. the second of the seven heavens, which is the region of the heavenly bodies (*Chag.* 12 b, chh. xvii. 4, 7, xxxviii. 1). Here the stars are represented as entering the *Raqia'* in order to serve the world, i.e. to give light, etc. to serve the world. For the expression and idea cf. 4 *Ezra* vi. 46: "and didst command them (the sun...moon and order of the stars) that they should do service unto man"; and see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 88, note *ad locum*, where attention is called to parallels in Clemens, *Recogn.* v. 29 and *Hom.* x. 25 ("the sun daily waits upon the world", etc.), and where also is pointed out that the underlying idea of the expression is to "emphasize the thought that the stars are man's servants because by all the rest of the world they were regarded as gods".

And they go out in counted order. 'go out' is here obviously meant as the opposite of 'enter (the *Raqia'*)'. Hence the stars are here thought to leave the second heaven after having fulfilled their function of 'serving the world'. From the *Raqia'* they are presumably pictured as proceeding to the '*Araboth*', the seventh heaven, since they are said (vs. 2) to be standing round the *Merkaba* or 'the Throne of the *Merkaba*'.

to praise the Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns. In their function of praising the Most High 'with songs and hymns' the stars are clearly conceived of as angelic beings, and this is especially marked by the manner in which their fate is associated with that of the song-uttering angels (see next verse). For the conception of the stars as angels, cf. Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 315.

Holy One, blessed be He, with songs and hymns, according as it is written (Ps. xix. 1): "The heavens declare the glory of God".

(4) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, ⁹will create them anew⁹, as it is written (Lam. iii. 23): "They are new every morning". And they open their mouth and utter a song. Which is the song that they utter? (Ps. viii. 3): "When I consider thy heavens".

9-9 *E* corr.: 'and will help them anew'

Maimonides, *More Nebukim*, vol. ii, ch. v, uses the same scriptural reference as the present verse (Ps. xix. 2) in support of his view, that "the globes are living and rational beings... and they serve their Master and praise and glorify him with great praise and mighty glorification, as it is written (Ps. xix. 2): 'the heavens declare the glory of God'". The idea of the planets and stars as living, acting and dominating gods is, of course, fundamental in Babylonian and, by influence therefrom, in Persian religion—accompanied by the conception of special rulers of the stars. In the *Pehlevi* literature the planets and stars are represented as demons or else as animated or ruled by demons. See *Bundahish*, iii. 25, xxviii. 43, 44, *Zad sparam*, ii. 10, iv. 3, 7, 10, etc. In Jewish remodelling the planet-gods naturally become planet-angels, whereas the conception of special angels as rulers of the stars, constellations etc. or of the whole of the heavenly bodies is uncommonly frequent. The 70 princes of kingdoms are sometimes identified with the planets and constellations, although more often they are represented as the rulers of them. 'The angels are the souls of the heavenly spheres' is a comparatively frequent dictum. The 'Ophannim are the angels who move the spheres, cf. note on ch. xxv. 5. The identification of the heavenly bodies with angel-princes or demons was also prompted by the astrological speculations. The archangels are identified with the seven planets or represented as rulers of the seven planets, thus preserving the old conception of the seven sidereal rulers from which the conception of the seven archangels is supposed to have originated. (See YR. i. 16 a.)

(6) But in the time to come the Holy One, blessed be He, will create them anew... and they open their mouth and utter a song. The creating the stars and planets anew is here explicitly connected with their character of song-uttering angelic beings. It is, moreover, supported by the scriptural reference which traditionally was used as basis for the speculations concerning the song-uttering angels, who also are said to 'be created anew': 'They are new every morning, great is thy faithfulness', Lam. iii. 23. See ch. xl. 4, *Chag.* 14 a, *Lam. R.* iii. 21, *Gen. R.* lxxviii. 1. The creation anew in the case of the angels is depicted as going on continually every day, whereas that of the stars is designed for the 'time to come'. The future world is sometimes represented as referred to in the said passage (Lam. iii. 23), cf. *Gen. R. ib.* and *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*.

NOTE. It is significant that there seems to be no remnant in 3 *En.* of the Gnostic idea of the planets and constellations as evil agencies, as enemies of the spirit and the spiritual world. Contrast e.g. the 'Seven Great Princes' and the 'Seventy-two Princes of Kingdoms' of 3 *En.* xvii. with the 'Seven' in *Mandaitic*. Vide also 1 *En.* xix. 13-16, xxi. 3-6. There are, however, indications that this idea was known at the time of our book. Thus the inimical rôle of the planets is in our book replaced by that of 'Uzza', 'Azza' and 'Azrael' (chh. iv, v), and the opposing angels in general. Possibly the present chapter is intentionally directed against the Gnostic (Parsic-Iranian) idea in question. (Cf. also Zimmern in Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 8th ed., p. 459, and Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 59 seq.)

CHAPTER XLVII

*Metatron shows R. Ishmael the spirits
of the punished angels*

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come and I will show thee the souls ¹of the angels¹ and the spirits of ²the ministering servants² whose bodies ³have been burnt in the fire of *MAQOM* (the Almighty) that goes forth from his little finger. And they have been made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river (*Nehar di-Nur*). But their spirits and their souls are standing behind the *Shekina*.

(2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time

1-1 *E om.* 2-2 so *E. A om.*, but 3 *A* has a lacuna which represents 2-2 and is wrongly put there instead of before its antecedent word.

Ch. xlvii. As a sequel to the exposition in chh. xliii, xlv—the spirits of the righteous, the wicked and those not yet born—the spirits and souls of the song-uttering angels who have been burnt by the fire from their Creator (cf. ch. xl. 3) are here made the subject of treatment in the general scheme of the section: they are shown to R. Ishmael by Metatron who superadds divers explanations and informations.

The angels in question are those who have uttered a song in a wrong time or improper way, and therefore, as stated in ch. xl. 3, have been consumed by fire. The object of this chapter is apparently to show that this destruction by fire refers only to the bodies of the angels, whereas their spirits and souls 'return to their Creator and stand behind the *Shekina*'. (On the *real* object, *vide* Introd. sect. 15.)

Thus the nature and fate of the song-uttering angels who have failed in their duty are pictured in analogy with those of failing men. Yet there are a few differences between the representations of chh. xliii, xlv and the present chapter. Whereas in chh. xliii, xlv only the term 'spirit' (*něshāmā*) is used, the present chapter uses both 'soul' (*něshāmā*) and 'spirit' (*rūāch*)—although practically synonymously. And whereas acc. to ch. xlv the punishment by fire is for the 'spirits', it is here the bodies only that are represented as destroyed in fire, the spirits (and souls) on the other hand are said to return to 'their Creator', i.e. to their abode behind the *Shekina*, thus rather reflecting the picture of the spirits of the righteous above the Throne in ch. xliii.

(1) the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants. The terms 'soul' and 'spirit' are here evidently synonymous. whose bodies have been burnt in the fire of *MAQOM*. . . made into fiery coals in the midst of the fiery river. The two traditions of the fire from God's little finger (ch. xl. 3) and the *Nehar di-Nur* (see note on ch. xxxiii. 5) as means of punishment of the angels, are here harmonized, see further vs. 2. but their spirits and their souls are standing behind the *Shekina*. Even here the two terms 'spirit' and 'soul' are best understood as being synonymous. The juxtaposition of 'spirit' and 'soul' is a mere repetition of that in the beginning of the verse.

(2) Whenever the ministering angels utter a song at a wrong time. . . they

or as not appointed ⁴ to be sung^{4 5} they are burnt ⁶ and consumed⁶ by the fire of their Creator and by a flame from their Maker,

A:

in the places (chambers) of the whirlwind, for it blows upon them and drives them

E:

in their place (= on the spot); and a whirlwind blows upon them and throws them down

into the *Nehar di-Nur*; and there they are made into numerous mountains⁷ of burning coal. But their spirit and their soul return⁸ to their Creator, and all are standing behind their Master.

4-4 E: 'and as soon as it has been sung'

5 A ins.: 'הַרוּחַן' (representing a

corr. reading 'רוּחַן', 'their spirit(s)')

6-6 E om.

7 E: 'mountains of

mountains' A has a lacuna: הַרִים...הַרִים, a sign of uncertainty in the text.

8 E: 'returns'

are burnt... by the fire of their Creator. Cf. on ch. xl. 3. and drives them into the *Nehar di-Nur*. This is to be understood as an harmonization between the view, acc. to which the song-uttering angels, when uttering the Song untimely or improperly, are consumed by a fiery stream from the little finger of the Holy One, and that, acc. to which the *Nehar di-Nur* is the place and medium of extinction of the angels. The latter view includes that represented in *Lam. R.* iii. 21, *Gen. R.* lxxviii. 1, which maintains that new angels are created continually to sing the song and then disappear—whither? answer: into the *Nehar di-Nur* from which they were created. there they are made into numerous mountains of burning coal. This should be compared with the statement of ch. xxxv. 5 seq.: the angels, until they acquiesce in performing the *Qēdushsha*, are changed into all sorts of lifeless, fiery substances,—by a 'whirlwind from before the Holy One' (cf. here). Cf. also 1 *En.* xxi. 3: "I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it (the place of punishment), like great mountains and burning with fire".

their spirit and their soul return to their Creator... standing behind their Master. This recalls ch. xliii, where the spirits of the righteous who have been created are said to 'return'. It implies that the spirits of the song-uttering angels like those of men are pre-existent before being manifested with bodies for the purpose of performing the *Qēdushsha* or singing hymns and songs. But in contrast with the case of men the punishment of the failing angels is assigned not to their spirits but to their bodies alone. That the permanent abode of the spirits of the angels, not only after the severance from their bodies but even in their pre-existent state, is the place 'behind the *Shekina*' may be hinted at in vs. 3: R. Ishmael sees 'all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants' standing behind the *Shekina*. Such a view may have developed from a wish to harmonize the different traditions concerning the creation or origin of the angels, one maintaining their pre-existence or creation on the second or fifth day of Creation, the other their continual or successive creation daily. The first view would then be made to apply to the creation of the spirits and souls, the second to their bodily manifestation. In fact the wish to harmonization in this case is sometimes attested in cabbalistic commentaries, cf. the statement: 'the angels who are created daily, sing a song, and then perish, are those who were created on the fifth day; those who were created on the second day do not perish'. On the other hand the view that the angels continue to exist in spirit after their destruction in fire is explicitly refuted in *Hilkoth Mal'akim* (*Add.* 27199, fol. 123 a): "for the angels who have been burnt, there is no kind of continued life (or resurrection). It is not as with men, whose bodies die, their souls however are living on high and their spirits return to God—

(3) And I went ⁹by his side⁹ and he took me by his hand; and he showed me all the souls of the angels and the spirits of the ministering servants who were standing behind the *Shekina* ¹⁰upon wings¹¹ of the whirlwind¹⁰ and walls of fire surrounding them.

(4) At that moment Metatron opened to me the gates of the walls within which they were standing behind the *Shekina*. And I lifted up my eyes and saw them, and behold, the likeness of every one was as (that of) angels and their wings like birds' (wings), made out of flames, the work of burning fire. In that moment I opened my mouth in praise of *MAQOM* and said (Ps. xcii. 5): "How great are thy works, O Lord¹²".

9-9 ins. with *E*. 10-10 *E*: 'forthwith a whirlwind passed by' 11 emendated (cf. chs. xxxiv. 1, xxxvii. 2): כְּרִי instead of כָּנָף. 12 Emend. *E* quotes Ps. cxi. 2: 'the works of the Lord (are great)' *A* confuses Ps. xcii. 5 with cxi. 2.

for them there is continued life. Not so with the angels: they return to the *Nehar di-Nur*".

(3) who were standing behind the *Shekina* upon wings of the whirlwind and walls of fire surrounding them. This is of course not indicative of any idea of punishment being assigned to the spirits of the song-uttering angels. Cf. how acc. to ch. xviii. 25 the two high angels SOPHERIEL H' MECHAYYE and SOPHERIEL H' MEMITH are said to be standing on the wheels of the stormwind. The *Kerubim* acc. to ch. xxii. 13 are surrounded by 'columns of fire on their four sides and columns of firebrands beside them'. Acc. to ch. xxxiii. 3 'clouds of fire and clouds of flame compass the angels to the right and to the left'. Cf. also the Enoch-Metatron piece, ch. xv. 2.

the likeness of every one was as angels and their wings like birds' (wings). Although separated from their bodies of manifested existence, the spirits and souls of the angels have bodily form; cf. chh. xliii. 2 and xlv. 5 and note on the latter.

NOTE. The juxtaposition רוּחוֹת וְנִשְׁמוֹת occurs in *TB. Chag.* 12 ב, רוּחוֹת וְנִשְׁמוֹת שְׁעָתִיד לְהִבְרָאוֹת, but immediately preceding: נִשְׁמָתָן שֶׁל צַדִּיקִים. Is this passage dependent upon our book, chh. xliii and xlvii? Also in *Mandaic* the juxtaposition of 'spirit' and 'soul' in a similar vein is quite frequent. On the spirit (or perhaps better 'soul') as the non-physical body of the soul (spirit) in *Mandaic* vide Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 35. Cf. *Introd.* section on 'the conception of spirit and soul'.

CHAPTER XLVIII (A)

Metatron shows R. Ishmael the Right Hand of the Most High, now inactive behind Him, but in the future destined to work the deliverance of Israel

R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me:

(1) Come, and I will show thee the Right Hand of *MAQOM*, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple; from which all kinds of splendour and light ¹shine forth¹ and by which the 955 heavens were created; and whom not even the *Seraphim* and

1-1 ins. with *E. A* has a lacuna.

Ch. xlviii (A). Ch. xlviii (A) is an apocalyptic eschatological fragment, closely connected with that contained in ch. xlv. 7-10. Like the latter it uses the symbolical expression of the Right Hand of *MAQOM* as representing Israel and the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The inactivity of God's Right Hand—its being laid behind him—is the symbol of Israel's oppression and sufferings among the nations of the world and the temporary suspension of the realization of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. The deliverance of God's Right Hand is the deliverance of Israel and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom. Besides, God's Right Hand also represents God's activity for bringing about the deliverance, and is the instrument of the realization of the Kingdom.

Vss. 1-4 are in the frame of the present section: R. Ishmael is represented as shown the Right Hand of *Maqom* and sees the five streams of tears that go forth from its five fingers: it is bewailing the downfall of Israel. Vss. 5-10 on the contrary cannot in a strict sense be joined into that frame: without any transition we are there presented with a picture entirely eschatological and treating of the end of times that will see the final redemption: God himself will deliver His right Hand and by it work salvation for Israel and set up His Kingdom, the establishment of which will be marked by the appearance of Messiah and the banquet for the righteous in the restored earthly Jerusalem.

The fragment is distinguished by a more frequent use of scriptural quotations than the other chapters of the section and of the present book in general (with the exception of chh. xxiii and xxiv).

(1) the Right Hand of *MAQOM*, laid behind (Him) because of the destruction of the Holy Temple. The inactivity of God's Right Hand is here connected with the destruction of the Holy Temple. The cause of its continued inactivity is acc. to ch. xlv. 7-10 the sins of the wicked, here it is hinted that the dearth of saints and righteous in Israel accounts for its present downfall.

The destruction of the Holy Temple, the sign of the downfall of Israel, also implied the total suspension or cessation of the activity for the realization of the Kingdom on earth (the cessation of the activity of the Divine Right Hand), and this again was caused by the sins of Israel. The real catastrophe in the destruction of the Temple was the removal of the *Shekina* from earth, the presence of the *Shekina* in the Temple having made it the representative of God's Kingdom on earth. See *Lam. R. Proem.* 24. (God removes his *Shekina* from the Temple on account of Israel's sin, and this is the cause of the destruction of the Temple. 'I have no longer an abode on earth').

by which the 955 heavens were created. Cf. ch. xlv. 7: 'thy right hand that is behind thee, wherewith thou didst stretch out the heavens and the earth and the

the 'Ophanim are permitted (to behold), until the day of salvation shall arrive.

(2) And I went by his side and he took me by his hand and showed me (the Right Hand of *MAQOM*), with² all manner of praise, rejoicing and song: and no mouth can tell its praise, and no eye can behold it, because of its greatness³, dignity, majesty, glory and beauty.

(3) ⁴And not only that⁴, but all the souls of the righteous who are counted worthy to^{4a} behold the joy of Jerusalem, they are standing by it, praising and praying before it three times every day, saying

2 E: 'and'

3 A: 'great greatness'

4-4 E om.

4a lit. 'and'

heavens of heavens'. The 955 heavens are, acc. to *Masseket Hek.* iii, above the seven heavens, constituting the Divine World from which the Holy One goes down when manifesting himself in the 'Araboṭh on the Throne of Glory: "in the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, descends from the 955 heavens and seats himself in the 'Araboṭh upon the Throne of Glory . . .". *Y. Ch.* s.v. *Mal'atim*, no. 98, derives the number 955 by gematria from the letters of *haššāmaim* (= 'the heavens', the final *mēm* counted as 600). Metatron alone of all the heavenly household can ascend into 900 of these heavens, but the remaining 55 heavens are the exclusive abode of the Holy One. Cf. *Lam. R.* Proēm. 24. In *Seder Gan 'Eden*, BH. iii. 139, the many heavens above the seven heavens are also connected with the 18,000 worlds, and both are conceived of as the impenetrable 'Jenseits' into which no one from the manifested universe, whether from heavens or earth can enter. "A multitude of heavens above heavens did the Holy One, blessed be He, create—and the(se) highest heavens have no measure and no place (but they are the place of the worlds, cf. the similar saying about God) . . . and no eye has seen these higher heavens except . . . God alone . . . and the 18,000 worlds (above the many thousands of worlds that are attached to and comprised in the seven heavens) have not been entered by any one save the Holy One, blessed be He, alone, as it is written (quoting Ps. lxxviii. 18, cf. note ch. xxiv. 17) . . . for there is none who knows them save H' . . . alone".

whom not even the Seraphim and the 'Ophanim are permitted to behold. The *Seraphim* and the 'Ophanim are apparently represented as the two highest classes of *Merkaba*-angels, in agreement with the angelological section (chh. xxv, xxvi).

(3) all the spirits of the righteous who are worthy and (i.e. to) behold the joy of Jerusalem, are standing by it. The spirits of the righteous have their abode in the Presence of the Holy One, as acc. to ch. xliii. The 'joy of Jerusalem' may refer either to the earthly or to the heavenly Jerusalem. The centre of the Messianic Kingdom in the end of times is acc. to vs. 10 the earthly Jerusalem. But the wording rather supports the interpretation of the expression 'the joy of Jerusalem' as referring to the heavenly Jerusalem: the spirits of the righteous are counted worthy and (are *novo*) beholding the joy of Jerusalem. For the conception of the heavenly City, and its different shades (the pre-existent Jerusalem, preserved with God in heaven; the heavenly city which is to descend on earth in the future age; "the heavenly counterpart of the earthly city, the eternal reality of which the literal city is but a shadow") in Apocalyptic, cf. 2 *En.* lv. 2, 4 *Ez.* viii. 52 (x. 26 seq., 54, vii. 26, xiii. 36), 2 *Bar.* iv. 2-6, Rev. xxi. 2, 9-xxii. 8 (Hebr. xi. 10-16, xii. 22, xiii. 14, 1 *En.* xc. 28, 29) and for a full discussion see BOX, *Ezra-Apocalypse*, pp. 198 seq. (further references given there). CHARLES, *Commentary on Rev.*, ch. xxi. 2, 10, BOUSSET, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 5 Aufl., 1906, pp. 453 seqq. The heavenly Jerusalem is, acc. to *TB. Chag.* 12 b, contained in *Zebul* (the fourth heaven), acc. to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 21, in *Sheḥaqim* (the third heaven). Here it is perhaps

(Is. li. 9): "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord" according as it is written (Is. lxiii. 12): "He caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses".

(4) In that moment the Right Hand of *MAQOM* was weeping. And there went forth from its five fingers five rivers of tears and fell down into the great sea and shook the whole world, according as it is written (Is. xxiv. 19, 20): "The earth is utterly broken (1), the earth is clean dissolved (2), the earth is moved exceedingly (3), the earth shall stagger like a drunken man (4) and shall be moved to and fro like a hut (5)", ⁵ five times corresponding to the fingers of his Great Right Hand.

(5) But when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, and no pious man (*Chasid*) on earth, and no justice in the hands of men; and (that there is) no man like unto Moses, and no intercessor as Samuel who could pray before *MAQOM* for the salvation ⁶and for the deliverance, and for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand⁶ that He put it before Himself again to work great⁷ salvation by it for Israel,

5 E ins.: 'behold'

6-6 E om.

7 E om.

regarded as having its place in the highest heaven by the Throne, since there is probably the permanent abode of the spirits of the righteous.

(4) the Right Hand of *MAQOM* was weeping. Cf. *Ber.* 3 a: the Voice goes forth three times every day (night) in the ruins of the Temple, bewailing its destruction and the dispersion of Israel among the idolatrous nations, and *Lam. R. Proëm.* 24: God weeping on account of the destruction of the Sanctuary.

five rivers of tears...shook the earth...five times. The number 'five' is deduced from the passage *Isa.* xxiv. 19 seq. from the five repetitions in that passage of expressions conveying the same thing: the earth being shaken.

(5) This and the following verses contain an eschatological piece treating of the final consummation by God himself in the end of times. No effort is made by the writer to reconcile it with the frame of the preceding acc. to which *R. Ishmael* is standing by *Metatron's* side beholding the Right Hand of God.

when the Holy One, blessed be He, sees, that there is no righteous man in the generation, etc. The deliverance of Israel and the establishment of the Kingdom on earth was to have been brought about as a consequence of the intercessions and prayers of the righteous and pious among the Israelites, see vs. 8. As the ideal examples of intercessors in the past the writer points to Moses and Samuel, cf. vs. 6. The identity as final goals of the deliverance of Israel, the revelation of the Heavenly Kingdom on earth and the reinstating of God's Right Hand in its right position and activity is here expressed: who could pray...for the deliverance, for His Kingdom, that it be revealed in the whole world; and for His great Right Hand, that He put it before Himself again. 'Again', i.e. 'as in the ancient days, in the generations of old' (*Is.* li. 9) when it wrought salvation for Israel by the Red Sea (*Is.* li. 10) or when it stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth (*ch.* xlv. 7 and *Is.* li. 13).

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, ⁸favour, mercy⁸ and grace: and He will deliver His great Arm by himself, and His righteousness will support Him. According as it is written (Is. lix. 16): "And he saw, that there was no man"—(that is:) like unto Moses who prayed countless times for Israel in the desert and averted the (Divine) decrees from them—"and he wondered, that there was no intercessor"—like unto Samuel who intreated the Holy One, blessed be He, and called ^{8a}unto Him^{8a}, and he answered him and fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit (in accordance with the Divine plan), according as it is written (1 Sam. xii. 17): "Is it not wheat-harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord".

(7) And not only that, but He joined fellowship with Moses ⁹in every place⁹, as it is written (Ps. xcix. 6): "Moses and Aaron among His priests."¹⁰ ¹¹And again it is written¹¹ (Jer. xv. 1): "Though

8-8 E om. 8a-8a E om. 9-9 E om. 10 E adds: 'and Samuel among them that call upon His name' 11-11 E: 'and He says'

(6) then forthwith will the Holy One, blessed be He, remember His own justice, favour, mercy and grace: and He will deliver.... The final consummation brought about by God Himself is the burden of the whole fragment. The thought here is, that when the expectations for prayers and intercessions from the righteous in Israel are shown to be in vain, then God will support His work for the deliverance of Israel, i.e. the establishment of His Kingdom, by His own righteousness, merits and mercies: on their ground the establishment of the Kingdom by God Himself and alone will be justified—in spite of the lack of merits on the part of Israel.

Moses and Samuel. The interceding power of Moses with the Most High is a frequent theme in Rabbinic; it is especially attached to the narrative of the golden calf of Ex. xxxii (*TB. Ber.* 32 a, *Meg.* 24 a, *Ex. R.* xlvii. 14, *Num. R.* ii. 14, *Deut. R.* i. 2). Cf. also *Midrash Petirath Moshe*, *BH.* i. 121 (Moses says: Rather sooner let Moses and a thousand like him perish than that one of the people of Israel should perish!" *ib. BH.* i. 129: "Numerous times did Israel provoke me to anger, but he (Moses) prayed for them and placated me"). Cf. further *TB. Ber.* 7 a, *Yoma*, 36 b, *Baba Bathra*, 8 a.

The verse, Is. lix. 6, 'And he saw that there was no man' etc. is also in '*Othioth ha-mMashiach*', *BH.* ii. 60, used of the end of times, preceding the appearance of Messiah ben Joseph. and His righteousness will support Him. This re-echoes the latter part of the quoted passage (Is. lix. 6): 'his righteousness, it sustained him'.

Samuel... fulfilled his desire, even if it was not fit. The scriptural reference, 1 Sam. xii. 17, is to support the statement that God granted Samuel his requests, even when their fulfilment might not be in accordance with His own plan. To understand this the following part of the passage must be supplemented: "... I will call unto the Lord and he shall send thunder and rain, that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great... so Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain". The underlying idea is that God on this occasion interrupted the pre-determined course of events (implying a weather not destructive for the wheat-harvest) in favour of Samuel (sending thunder and rain).

(7) He joined fellowship with Moses, '*nizdawweg*': associated Himself with, revealed Himself face to face to.

Moses and Samuel stood before me" (Is. lxiii. 5): "Mine own arm brought salvation unto me".

(8) ¹²Said the Holy One, blessed be He ¹²in that hour: "How long shall I wait for ¹³the children of men¹³ to work salvation according to their righteousness ¹⁴for my arm¹⁴? For my own sake and for the sake of my merit and righteousness will I deliver my arm and ¹⁵by it¹⁵ redeem my children from among the nations of the world. As it is written (Is. xlviii. 11): "For my own sake will I do it. For how should my name be profaned".

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world: for its length is as the length of the world ¹⁶ and its breadth is as the width of the world. And the appearance of its splendour is like unto the splendour of the sunshine in its might, in the summer solstice.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among ¹⁷the nations of the world¹⁷. And Messiah will appear unto them and He

12-12 E: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, will say (in that hour)' 13-13 E: 'my children' 14-14 so E. A: 'as my arm' 15-15 E om. 16 E adds: 'from one end of the world to the other' 17-17 E: 'them'

(8) How long shall I wait for the children of men (E: my children) to work salvation according to their righteousness. The salvation was ideally to be brought about by the righteousness and merits of Israel (in particular by their proclaiming His sovereignty every day in their prayers), but in the present lack of righteousness in Israel God will depend only on His own merit and righteousness.

The expression, 'how long shall I wait for my children to work salvation', shows that 'the righteous and pious man' (vs. 5) of whose total absence from within Israel the writer is conscious does not refer to a desired leader—in spite of the fact that Moses and Samuel are chosen as examples of righteous intercessors—but to a whole class of saintly men whose prayers and intercessions would have had the effect of drawing the *Shekina* and with it the Kingdom of Heaven down to earth again.

The symbolical expression, 'the Right Hand' of the Holy One, is in vss. 6-10 changed into that of 'God's Arm'. To the writer these two terms are apparently synonymous, since already, vs. 3, the 'arm of the Lord' in Is. li. 9 and 'His glorious arm' in Is. lxiii. 12, are made to refer to 'the Great Right Hand' of God. The variance of expressions is merely a reflection of the phraseology of the scriptural passages referred to in the fragment.

(9) In that moment will the Holy One, blessed be He, reveal His Great Arm and show it to the nations of the world. The scriptural basis for this statement is given at the end of the following verse (Is. lii. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations". The revelation of the Arm is the revelation of the Kingdom but at the same time the Arm is the instrument for the realization of the Kingdom on earth.

its length is as the length of the world etc. Cf. ch. xxxii: God's sword 'like a lightning from one end of the world to the other'.

(10) Forthwith Israel will be saved from among the nations of the world—i.e. Israel's dominion will be established.

And Messiah will appear unto them and He will bring them up to Jerusalem. In contrast with ch. xlv. 5 this fragment apparently knows only one Messiah, the

will bring them up to Jerusalem with great joy. And not only that but

A:

they will eat and drink for they will glorify the Kingdom of Messiah, of the house of David, in the four quarters of the world. And the nations of the world will not prevail against them,

E:

Israel will come from the four quarters of the world and eat with Messiah. But the nations of the world shall not eat with them,

Messiah of the house of David; his role is to lead the dispersed Israelites up to Jerusalem. No Messianic wars bringing about the victory of Israel and the Kingdom are mentioned (contrast ch. xlv *ib.*)—on the contrary the actual consummation is to be effected by God Himself, through the aid of His Arm. Hence Messiah's role here is essentially passive: 'he will appear, be revealed to them'. Cf. 1 *En.* xx. 37, 38, lxii. 6, 7, 4 *Ez.* vii. 28 ("my Son, the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him"), *ib.* xiii. 32 ("then shall my Son be revealed"), 2 *Bar.* xxix. 3 ("it shall come to pass... that the Messiah shall begin to be revealed"), *Mysteries R. Shimeon B. Yochai, BH.* iii. 80 ("after that the Holy One, Blessed be He, will reveal to them Messiah, the son of David... Messiah will spring forth"), *TB. Sukka*, 52 b. In ch. xlv. 5 and 2 *Bar.* xl, on the other hand, the role of Messiah is decidedly active.

they will eat and drink (*A*)—Israel will come... and eat with Messiah (*E*). The Kingdom of Heaven as a feast is a well-known picture in the Gospels and Rev.: Matt. viii. 11, xxvi. 29, Luke xiv. 15–24, xxii. 16, 18, 30, Rev. ii. 7, iii. 20, xix. 9. For the banquet prepared for the righteous (with Messiah in the time to come) cf. 1 *En.* lxii. 14 ("And with that Son of man shall they [the elect] eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever"), 2 *En.* xlii. 5 ("At the last coming they will lead forth Adam with our forefathers, and conduct them there that they may rejoice as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him"), 2 *Bar.* xxix. 3, 4 ("Messiah shall then begin to be revealed... And *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* shall be for food for all that are left"), *Pirke Aboth*, iii. 20 ("Everything is prepared for the banquet"), *Pesikta*, 118 b ("Behemoth and Leviathan are reserved for the feast of the righteous in the time to come"), *Pirke Mashiach, BH.* iii. 76 ("Then [in the Messianic time] will the Holy One, blessed be He, make a feast for the righteous on Behemoth, Leviathan and the wild beasts of the field [Ps. i. 11, lxxx. 13]"), *Mysteries R. Shimeon ben Yochai, BH.* iii. 80 ("And Jerusalem will come down built and completed from heaven and Israel will dwell therein in safety for thousand years and will [sit and] eat Behemoth and Leviathan and... the wild beasts of the field [*ziz-ha-sSade*, cf. above, perhaps treated as a technical term]"). Cf. Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, 2nd ed., p. 327, *BOX, Ezra-Apocalypse*, p. 208.

To this conception is correlated that of the righteous in the future enjoying the (fruits of) the Tree of Life and spices of the Garden of Eden. Cf. ch. xxiii. 18, 1 *En.* xxv. 5, 2 *En.* ix, *Test. Levi*, 18, *Sibyll.* ii. 318, iii. 46, *Num. R.* xiii. 3.

(*E*) But the nations of the world shall not eat with them. Cf. and contrast St Matthew viii. 11, 12: "many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness". Cf. and contrast also Rev. xxi. 8 and especially xxi. 24, 27: "and the nations of the world shall walk in the light of it (the glory of God in Jerusalem) and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it... and there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth..."

Jerusalem is here obviously the earthly City: the nations of the world are outside its precincts, even desiring to conquer it: (*A*) 'the nations of the world will not

as it is written (Is. lii. 10): "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God". And again (Deut. xxxii. 12): "The Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him". (Zech. xiv. 9): "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth".

CHAPTER XLVIII (*cont.*) (B)

The Divine Names that go forth from the Throne of Glory, crowned and escorted by numerous angelic hosts through the heavens and back again to the Throne—the angels sing the 'Holy' and the 'Blessed'

AEFGH: K:

(1) ¹ These These are the seventy-two names written on the heart

1 FGH begin: 'The Holy One, blessed be He, has seventy names that are explicit, and the rest that are not explicit are innumerable and unsearchable. And these they are. (*The names are missing.*) These are the names etc.

prevail against them. There is no idea of a new earth nor even of the heavenly Jerusalem coming down (although this is not actually refuted). Contrast the passage in *Mysteries R. Shimeon ben Yochai, BH.* iii. 80, cited above, and Rev. xxi. The tradition embodied in the present fragment thus bears marks of being rather old (or at least archaistic).

(A) *the Kingdom of Messiah, of the house of David.* There is no hint that the kingdom of Messiah here is conceived of as temporary. On the contrary it is from the context to be identified with the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of God, see the reference to Zech. xiv. 9: "And *H'* shall be king over all the earth". The Kingdom of Messiah as identical with the Kingdom of Heaven represents the final consummation, in approximately the same sense as that of the prophetic eschatologies from which passages are drawn as scriptural support.

Ch. xlviii cont. (B, C and D). The additional fragments now following, in the translation marked 'ch. xlviii B, C and D' resp. entirely break off the continuity with the preceding. Not only is the frame of the present section and of all the rest of the book altogether abandoned, but there is also no connection whatsoever with the immediately preceding part of the chapter. B, treating of the Divine Names, is introduced without reference to any spokesman (in the preceding parts: R. Ishmael-Metatron). C, a short Enoch-Metatron piece is laid in the mouth of 'the Holy One, blessed be He'. D, dealing with the 70 names of Metatron and the revelation of the treasures of wisdom to Moses, is partly attributed to Metatron (vss. 6, 7), partly in general narrative form.

Neither E nor A can be made responsible for putting these additional fragments in their present place. In A they follow immediately on the preceding without the slightest break in the text; hence it is safe to conclude that they were already extant as concluding parts of the book in the ms. that A copied. Since A is in no way directly dependent on E, nor *vice versa*, both must be traced back to a common source in which the said fragments had been embodied.

The same fragments, however, recur in printed editions of the well-known *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* (rec. A), letter 'Aleph (although missing in some editions). And the ms.

A EFGH: K:

are the names of the Holy One, blessed be He: ŠŠ, ŠeDeQ {righteousness}, ŠaHI'eL ŠUR {Is. xxxvi. 4}, ŠBI, ŠaDdIQ

in the text-critical notes referred to as *m-š* (*Lm*), explicitly states its indebtedness for its recension of C 3-10, 12 and D (abridged) to *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*.

A common feature of *A* and *E* on one hand and the editions of *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* on the other is, that in the fragment *B* the actual Divine Names, there referred to, are missing—and were apparently missing already in the MSS. on which the said printed editions of 'Othiyot *R. 'Aqiba* were based (since they contain no express statement as to their being omitted in print, as in the case of the names of Metatron, fragment D, see text-notes, *ib.*).

In *Bodl. MICH. Add. 61*, fol. 13 a, however, following on a recension of the so-called *Sepher ha-qQoma* and *Seder Ma'ase Bereshith* (fol. 12 b) there occurs a fragment which no doubt is closely related to the present fragments—ch. xlviii b, c—although it represents only an abridged version. This fragment is embodied in text and translation in a separate column and is marked 'K' and כּ resp. The distinguishing feature of *K* is that it gives the Divine Names and thus supplements the other sources.

Cf. further note on ch. xlviii c beginning and introduction.

(1) (*K*): These are the 72 names... *FGH* count 70 'names that are explicit', and besides them innumerable names 'that are not explicit'. Ch. xlviii c 9, d 5, also refer to the '70 names of the Holy One'. The tension between the two tendencies of giving the precedence as holy or mystical number to 70 or 72 resp. is noticeable in the case of the Divine Names as well as of the Princes of Kingdoms (cf. note on ch. xvii. 3). In *Add. 27180*, foll. 39 b-61 a the Divine Names are given as 72, likewise in *S. ha-Chesheq*, where the (72) names are enumerated (*Add. 27120*, fol. 17 b). Cf. also the conception of the 72-lettered name.

that are written on the heart of the Holy One... The specific place of the Divine Names is in different sources differently designed. The names are sometimes represented as written on the Fearful Crown, sometimes on the Throne, sometimes on the forehead of the Most High. Cf. the quotation from *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* in note on ch. xxxix. 1. Here the Names are represented as written on the heart of the Most High. In the *Shi'ur Qoma* or *Sepher ha-qQoma*, treating of the various members of the Godhead, it is said: "on the heart of the King of Kings there are written 70 names" (*Bodl. MICH. 175*, fol. 18 b; *Bodl. OPP. 467*, fol. 59 a b, in the second recension, the *R. Ishmael version*; *Bodl. OPP. 563*, fol. 92 b, also in the *R. Ishmael-recension*).

The names enumerated here are on the whole identical with those of the *Shi'ur Qoma* passage just referred to. The resemblance between *K* (ch. xlviii b) and that passage is as striking as to prompt the conclusion that one is dependent on the other. Hence the *Shi'ur-Qoma* passage in its different readings may be used as a text-critical aid to the present fragment.

The enumeration of Divine Names given here presents the following different categories: (1) firstly, the various synonyms of the Divine Name, originally drawn from the O.T., may be singled out from the rest. They comprise the category of Divine Names known as 'the Ten Names'. They are here ŠUR, ŠADDIQ, ŠEBAOTH, ŠHADDAY, 'ELOHIM, YHWH, YAH, CHAY, ROKEB 'ARABOTH... The omission of the important name 'EHYE 'asher 'EHYE is, however, remarkable. In the *Shi'ur-Qoma* passage this name occurs after ŠEBAOTH in all the readings. It is probable that it was originally included also in the present fragment. The addition of this name, moreover, gives the number 72 as the number of names, agreeing with the specification in the opening of the fragment. For the name 'EHYE 'asher 'EHYE cf. ch. xlii. 2. (2) Another category is that of various permutations of the four letters constituting the Tetragrammaton and the 'EHYE', i.e. 'Aleph, Yod, He, Waw. (3) A third category comprises the permutations of other letters, derived from O.T. names or passages

AEFGH: K:

One, blessed {righteous}, S'Ph, SHN, ŠeBa'oTh {Lord of Hosts},
be He, ShaDdaY {God Almighty}, 'eLoHIM {God}, YHWH,
ŠH, DGUL, W'DOM, SSS", 'YW', 'Y', 'HW, HB,
YaH, HW, WWW, ŠŠŠ, PPP, NN, HH, HaY
{living}, HaY, ROKeB 'aRaBOTH {riding upon the
'Araboth, Ps. lxxviii. 5}, YH, HH, WH, MMM, NNN,
HWW, YH, YHH, HPhŠ, H'S, 'I, W, Š", Z', "",
Q̄Q̄Q̄ {Holy, Holy, Holy}, QShR, BW, ZK, GINUR,
GINURYa', Y', YOD, 'aLePh, H'N, P'P, R'W,
YYW, YYW, BBB, DDD, TTT, KKK, KLL,
SYS, 'TT', BŠhKMLW {= blessed be the Name of
His glorious kingdom for ever and ever}, completed
for MeLeK Ha'OLaM {the King of the Universe},

or from the different systems of substitutions of letters. Lastly a couple of names consist simply of a name of a letter of the alphabet: *Yod*, *'Aleph* and *He*.

completed for *Mélek ha-'Olam*. The right interpretation of this is doubtful to decide. It seems that there was a tradition, according to which the explanation of the Divine Names or the series of the Divine Names was permissible as far as to the name *MELEK ha-'OLAM* (the King of the Universe). After that name it was not permissible to give explanations or discourses on the basis of the Names. Hence there arose the technical expression "*ad Melek ha-'Olam*". Cf. e.g. *Bodl. opp.* 658, fol. 101 b. The real meaning of the expression in question here is thus probably (instead of 'completed for etc.'): here the series is completed with regard to the rule 'up to the name *MELEK ha-'OLAM* but not further'.

Holy, Holy, Holy... Blessed be the Name etc... Blessed be He who gives power to the faint etc. The names are inclosed in the responses of the *Qēdushsha* and in other glorifications. This is also the case with the names in the *Shi'ur-Qoma* fragment which in all readings ends with the response 'Blessed'. The letters representing the responses 'Holy' (QQQ) and 'Blessed' (BshKMLW) are to be regarded as together forming actual Divine Names, acc. to the *Notarikon*-system. Some of the other names are perhaps also derived from the responses, e.g. BBB, KKK, KKL. As Divine Names—and not as private additions of praise by the writer—are also to be considered the *Notarikon*-complexes at the end of the enumeration. As a support for these statements may be adduced the following commenting remark on *Sépher ha-Qoma* in *Bodl. opp.* 658, fol. 102 b: "the Names written in this book (*Sépher ha-qQoma*, thus including the parallel to our passage) are derived from scriptural verses and some of them are deduced from the '*Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever*'". For the early connection of the Divine Names with the *Notarikon*-system cf. the so-called *Prayer of R. Nehunya ben ha-qQana* embodied in the liturgy, the *Notarikon* of which forms the 42-lettered Name (known as אֵלֹהִים בְּכָל הַדְּלֵת יְמִינָה תַתִּיר צְרִירָה: וְנוֹ: (אֵלֹהִים יְתֵן קֶרֶן שְׁמֹן

(A) the names of the Holy One... that go forth... from the Throne of Glory. This echoes the idea represented in ch. xxxix. 1: 'the explicit names that are written with a flaming style on the Throne of Glory... fly off like eagles on sixteen wings'. See note *ad loc.* and cf. vs. 2 here: 'when they bring them back to their place, the Throne'. It is not actually stated here (as in ch. xxxix. 1) that the Names are written on the Throne, only that their place is before or by the Throne, and this in reality accords with the expression of *K* (and *Shi'ur Qoma*): 'written on the heart of the King of Kings, the Holy One', the 'heart' being in

AEFGH:

K:

BRĤ LB' {the beginning of Wisdom for the children of men}, BNLK W' Y {blessed be He who gives strength to the weary and increaseth strength to them that have no might, Is. xl. 29}¹

that go forth (adorned) with numerous crowns of fire ² with numerous crowns of flame, ³ with numerous crowns of chashmal, with numerous crowns of lightning ⁴ from before the Throne of Glory⁴. And with them (there are) thousand ⁵ hundreds⁶ of power (i.e. powerful angels) who escort them like a king

AE:

FG:

with honour ⁷ and pillars⁸ of fire ⁹ and cloud(s)⁹, and pillars of flame,¹⁰ and with lightnings¹⁰ of radiance and with the likeness of (the) chashmal.

with trembling and dread, with awe and shivering, with honour and majesty and fear, with terror, with greatness and dignity, with glory and strength, with understanding and knowledge and with a pillar of fire and a pillar of flame and lightning—and their light is as lightnings of light—and with the likeness of the chashmal.

1 here follows a short fragment of C, see *ib.* 2 E ins.: 'with numerous crowns of righteousness' 3 FG ins.: 'with numerous crowns of flashes' 4-4 E om.
5 EFG ins.: 'myriads of camps of *Shekina* and thousand myriads of' 6 EFG: 'hosts' 7 E adds: 'with glory and strength and with great joy and rejoicing' 8 so E. A: 'pillar' 9-9 E om. 10-10 E: 'and they send forth as it were lightnings'

Shi'ur Qoma, the symbolical expression for the centre of the Throne. The Names are probably here as in ch. xxxix. 1 conceived of as self-existent beings. This is confirmed by the fact that they are depicted as crowned 'with flaming crowns, crowns of chashmal, crowns of lightnings etc.' and as escorted like 'kings' or 'mighty and honoured princes' (vs. 2) by hosts of angels. As self-existent heavenly beings the Names are naturally pictured in the form of angels: crowned (cf. note on ch. xviii. 1, xvi. 2, xl) and winged (acc. to ch. xxxix. 1). Cf. vs. 2. For the conception of the Names as crowned cf. *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, *BH.* iii. 24, where the letters of the Divine Name ('EHYE YHWH) are depicted as crowned: "and all of them (the letters) are crowned with crowns of brilliant flashes"; *ib.* *BH.* iii. 36: "At the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, enters the *Merkaba*. . . then the letters on the *Merkaba* come to meet him with songs. . . and the Holy One, blessed be He, embraces them, kisses them and wreathes two crowns on each one of them: a crown of kingship and a crown of glory". Notice the hypostasized character of the letters (of the Divine Names) in the last quotation.

crowns of chashmal. . . with the likeness of chashmal. The *chashmal*, derived from Ezek. i. 4, is regarded as a celestial matter or substance. Cf. ch. xxxvi. 2 and note on ch. xxxiv. 1 (esp. the quotation from *Midrash Kōnēn, ib.*). From the same word is also derived the angelic class *Chashmallim* (cf. chh. vii and xlviii c 4).

thousand hundreds of power, i.e. angels. For this expression denoting angels cf. ch. xxxvi. 1 ('the *Nehar di-Nur* rises with many thousand thousands and myriads of myriads of power'). EFG in fact read 'hosts' instead of 'hundreds'.

(2) *And they give* ¹¹*glory unto them and they answer* ¹¹*and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy.* ¹² *And they roll (convoy)* ¹³*them through every heaven as mighty and honoured princes. And when they bring them all back to* ¹⁴*the place of* ¹⁴*the Throne of Glory, then all the Chayyoth by the Merkaba open their mouth in praise of His glorious name, saying: "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever".* ¹⁵

CHAPTER XLVIII (cont.) (C)

An Enoch-Metatron piece

AEFGH:

(I) Aleph¹ I made him

K:

(I) "I seized him, and I

¹¹⁻¹¹ *EG:* 'unto them glory and praise of strength' ¹² *GF* add: 'As it is written (Is. vi. 3): and one cried unto another and said: Holy, Holy, Holy' ¹³ *E* corr.: 'fill' ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ so *EFG* and *H. A:* 'their place' ¹⁵ *E* adds: 'And those names of the Holy One, blessed be He, that are not explicit, are innumerable and unsearchable. And these they are (!): *ADIRIRON*, Holy, Holy, Holy—I have written it in another place—*KPhTBIB*, that is *YaH*, the great name. They are written in another place'

Ch. xlviii (c). 1 *E:* 'thousand thousands'

(2) *And they give glory unto them and they answer and cry before them: Holy, Holy, Holy...* (and the Chayyoth say:) *Blessed etc.* The 'going forth' of the Names from the Throne of Glory is thus here, as in ch. xxxix. 1, connected with the heavenly performance of the responses of the *Qēdushsha*. Cf. vs. 1 (*K*). In ch. xxxix the performance of the *Qēdushsha* is treated as the central event to which the 'flying off' of the Divine Names was an accessory, here the representation is rather the reverse: the central interest is attached to the Names, the *Qēdushsha*-responses are even represented as addressed to the Names (just as the Divine Names are the objects of prayers and glorifications from the side of man).

they roll them. The 'rolling' is perhaps to be understood as referring to the names as angels mounted on wheels, cf. chh. xviii. 25, xxii. 7.

Ch. xlviii (c). This fragment is a version of the Enoch-Metatron tradition and exhibits traits very much resembling those of the Enoch-Metatron piece contained in chh. iii-xv of the present book. In fact, vss. 1-9 present the same details as those of chh. iii-xv, although in an epitomized form, vss. 10-12 add statements about Metatron's functions as establisher of the Divine decrees and as teacher of the prematurely dead children.

Both in *A*, *E* and the editions of *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba* the present fragment appears as a sequel to the fragment treating of the Divine Names (ch. xlviii B), and likewise in *K*. In the present context of *AE* as well as of edd. *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba* there seems to be no internal connection between the two. In *AE* the fragment, ch. xlviii B, in its present form gives the impression of being quite out of place. Its only appropriate place would have been by ch. xxxix (also treating of the Divine Names). And also in *Alph. R.* '*Aqiba*—although of a much looser structure than the present book—the reason for placing the fragment B in the context in which it is now introduced is not very apparent. The insertion of the fragment c, on the other hand,

AEFGH:

strong, I took him, I appointed him: (namely) Me-

K:

took him and I appointed him"—that is Enoch, the

is justifiable both as regards the present book and as regards the *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*: in the present book in view of its dealing with Enoch-Metatron, in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, letter '*Aleph*', on account of its beginning with '*Aleph*', representing the *Notarikon* (or mnemotechnical formula) for the three opening words אֶבְרַתִּי ('I made him strong'), לָקַחְתִּי ('I took him'), פָּקַדְתִּי ('I appointed him'), אֵלֶּף = אֱלֹהִים. The close connection that seems to prevail between the two fragments is hence neither to be explained by the assumption that they originally belong to *Alph. R. 'Aqiba* (and when borrowed by other writings having been regarded as a unit) nor by the same assumption applied to the present book.

The explanation is presumably to be found in *K*, the only version that preserves the enumeration of the Divine Names in fragment B, an enumeration which must be presupposed as the original part of the fragment. In this enumeration of the Divine Names we find the word '*Aleph*' as one of the Names (the 55th from the beginning). The '*Aleph*' as representing the sentence 'I seized him, I took him, I appointed him (*K*)' is now the starting-point and basis of the exposition of the fragment, ch. xlviii c. Hence it is possible to conjecture that the present fragment in reality is framed as a '*midrash*' (in the proper sense) on the Divine Name '*Aleph*'. On such a hypothesis the close connection between B and C would be easier to understand. Both B and C may have originated in the circles attaching great importance to the conception of Metatron, God's representative—whose names are based upon the names of his Creator (cf. vs. 9, chh. iii. 2, iv. 1, x. 3 seq., xii. 5). Among the Divine Names the '*Aleph*' was chosen here as symbolizing the relation between the Holy One and His vice-regent, Metatron. '*Aleph*' is represented as the symbol of God's sovereignty in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, in passages preceding the version of B and C. '*Aleph*' as the name or one of the names of the Godhead is also vindicated by the *Shi'ur Qoma* passage (cf. above on ch. xlviii B). '*Aleph, Beth*, etc., as symbolical for the Godhead, expressing different aspects of the Divinity, are dwelt upon in *TB. Shabbat*, 104 a. ('*Aleph-Beth* is explained as referring to the instruction in 'Intelligence', or the Tora.) As symbolical of Metatron the '*Aleph*' (and *Beth*) is expressly designed in *Hek. R., BH.* iii. 104; Metatron's name is there "*'Aleph, Beth*", *BB, GG, DD, HH, WW, ZZ, HH, Metatron* etc. (cf. ch. xlviii D)". The name '*Alpha*' seems also to have been ascribed to *Sandalphon* acc. to *Hek. Zot. (Bodl. MICH. 9, fol. 67 a)*—that angel occupying a position similar to or identical with Metatron's position (*scil.* in *Hek. Zot.*).

(1) I made him strong... in the generation of the first Adam. The word '*ibbartiv*', here translated 'I made him strong', is of a doubtful interpretation. With reference to the expression 'in the generation of the first Adam' it is probable that the word was to express some activity from God's part in regard to Metatron. But Metatron is evidently from the beginning of the fragment identified with Enoch. Hence the meaning seems to be to allude to God's special care for Enoch during his life on earth, among the men of the generation of Adam. *K* has the easier reading 'I seized him', which of course is a mere synonym for 'I took him', and like the latter expression is made to refer to Enoch's removal to heaven.

For the details of the present exposition cf. on the parallel passages of the Enoch-Metatron section, chh. iii-xv. when I beheld the generation of the flood: ch. iv. 3. I removed my *Shekina* etc.: ch. v. 13, 14.

For vs. 2 cf. chh. vi. 1, 3, iv. 3.

For vs. 3 cf. chh. x. 6, viii. 1.

For vs. 4 cf. ch. x. 3 seq. I appointed him over the Chayyoth, the 'Ophanim etc. Cf. the angelic classes enumerated, ch. vii. Metatron is here represented distinctly as the Prince of the *Merkaba*-angels. (Contrast the angelological section, chh. xix seqq.)

AEFGH:

taṭron, ²my servant² who is one (unique) among all the children of heaven. I made him strong in the generation of the first Adam. But when I beheld the men of the generation of the flood, that they were corrupt, then I went and removed my *Shekina* from among them. And I ³lifted it up³ on high with the sound of a trumpet and with a shout, as it is written (Ps. xlvii. 6): "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet".

(2) "And I took him": (that is) Enoch, the son of Jared, from among them. And I lifted him up with the sound of a trumpet and with a *teru'a* (shout) to the high heavens, to be my witness together with the *Chayyoth* by the *Merkaba* in the world to come.

K:

son of Jared, whose name is Metatron (2) and I took him from among the children of men (5) and made him a Throne over against my Throne. Which is the size of that Throne? Seventy thousand parasangs (all) of fire. (9) I committed unto him 70 angels corresponding to the nations (of the world) and I gave into his charge all the household above and below. (7) And I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence more than (to) all the angels. And I called his name "the LESSER YAH", whose name is by Gematria 71. And I arranged for him all the works of Creation. And I made his power to transcend (*lit.* I made for him power more than) all the ministering angels. (*Ends K.*)

AEFGH:

(3) I appointed him over all the treasures and stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hand the keys of every several one.

Lm (begins here):

(3) He committed unto Metatron—that is Enoch, the son of Jared—all treasures. And I appointed him over all the stores that I have in every heaven. And I committed into his hands the keys of each heavenly store.

2-2 so *FG*. *A*: 'the Servant'

3-3 *FG*: 'ascended'

AEFGH:

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes and a minister of the Throne of Glory (and) the Halls⁴ of 'Araboth: to open their doors to me⁵, and (of) the Throne of Glory, to exalt and arrange it; (and I appointed him over) the Holy *Chayyoth*⁶ to wreath crowns upon their heads⁶; the majestic 'Ophannim, to crown them with strength and glory; the honoured *Kerubim*, to clothe them in majesty⁷; over the radiant sparks, ⁸to make them to shine⁸ with splendour and brilliance; over the flaming *Seraphim*, to cover them with highness; the *Chashmallim* of light, ⁹to make them radiant with light⁹ and to prepare the seat for me every morning

Lm:

(4) I made (of) him the prince over all the princes, and I made (of) him a minister of my Throne of Glory, to provide for and arrange the Holy *Chayyoth*, to wreath crowns for them (to crown them with crowns), to clothe them with honour and majesty to prepare for them a seat

A:

FGH:

Lm:

as I sit upon the Throne of Glory. And to extol and magnify my glory in

when I am seated upon my Throne in glory and dignity that he may see my

when he is sitting on his throne to magnify his

4 so FG. A: 'Hall' 5 FG: 'him' 6 so FG. A corr. 7 so ins. with FG
8-8 FGH: 'to bring them to remembrance' 9-9 FGH: 'to be girt with light'

a minister of the Throne of Glory...to exalt and arrange it. Cf. chh. vii and viii. 1.

to wreath crowns upon their heads etc. Cf. in the angelological section, chh. xxii. 12, xxv. 5 *et al.*

as I sit upon the Throne of Glory etc. The reading of A seems to be the best one. In Lm 'he' and 'his' should be emended into 'I' and 'my' resp. For the present representation cf. *Hek. R.* xi, *BH.* iii. 91: "When the angel of the Presence enters to exalt and glorify the Throne of His (God's) glory, and to prepare the seat for the mighty God of Jacob, then he puts thousand thousand crowns on

A:

FGH:

Lm:

the height of my power; (and I have committed unto him) the secrets of above and the secrets of below (heavenly secrets and earthly secrets).

glory in the height of my power, in the secrets of above and in the secrets of below.

glory in the height.

AFGH:

Lm:

(5) I made him higher than all. The height of his stature, in the midst of all (who are) high ¹⁰ of stature¹⁰ (I made) seventy thousand parasangs. I made his Throne great by the majesty of my Throne. And I increased¹¹ its glory by the honour of my glory.

(5) The height of his stature among all those (that are) of high stature (is) seventy thousand parasangs. And I made his glory great as the majesty of my glory

(6) I transformed his flesh into ^{11a} torches of fire^{11a}, and all the bones of his body into fiery coals; and I made the appearance of his eyes¹² as the lightning, and the light of his eyebrows as the imperishable light. I made his

(6) and the brilliance of his eyes as the splendour of the Throne of Glory

10-10 so ins. with FGH. A here a lacuna 11 so FG. A corr. 11a-11a so FG. A: 'fire and thousands of fire' 12 FG: 'his appearance'

the honoured 'Ophannim...on the glorious Kerubim...the holy Chayyoth...the spark(s)''.

(I committed unto him) the secrets celestial and the secrets terrestrial (K:) I committed to him Wisdom and Intelligence. Cf. chh. x. 5, xi. 1, 2.

(5) I made him higher than all. Cf. ch. ix. 1. The measure here ascribed to Metatron, 70,000 parasangs, is unique to this fragment. As compared with the statement of ch. ix. 1 and the measures of the Throne of Glory acc. to ch. xxiii c the size here assigned to Metatron is remarkably small. Was the original reading perhaps 'surpasses all the others that are high of stature, with 70,000 parasangs'? The *Shi'ur Qoma* counts in thousands of myriads of parasangs in its description of the measures of the Throne (with the special units of measure prevailing in heaven) and *TB. Chag.* 13 a, in journeying distances of 500 years (the size of the world), cf. with that ch. ix. 1.

I made his Throne great by...my Throne of Glory. Cf. ch. x. 1.

(6) I transformed his flesh into fire etc. Cf. ch. xv.

AFGH:

Lm:

face bright as the splendour
of the sun, and his eyes as
the splendour of the Throne
of Glory.

(7) I made ¹³ honour and majesty his clothing, beauty and highness ¹⁴ his covering cloak and a royal crown of 500 by (times) 500 parasangs (his) diadem. (7) his garment honour and majesty, his royal crown 500 by 500 parasangs.

AFGHLm:

And I put upon him of my honour, my majesty and the splendour of my glory that is upon my Throne of Glory. I called him ¹⁵ the LESSER YHWH, the Prince of the Presence, the Knower of Secrets: for ^{15a} every secret ^{15a} did I reveal to him ¹⁶ as a father ¹⁶ and all mysteries declared I unto him ¹⁷ in uprightness ¹⁷.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my ^{17a} Hall ¹⁸ that he may sit and judge the heavenly household on high. And I placed every prince before him, to receive authority from him, to perform ^{18a} his will.

(9) Seventy names did I take from (my) names and called him by them to enhance his glory.

Seventy princes gave I ^{18a} into his hand ^{18a}, to command

13 FG ins.: 'glory' 14 FG ins.: 'and strength' 15 FG ins.: 'by my name'
15a-15a: so FGLm. A: 'all' 16-16 FG: 'in love' Lm: 'as a friend'
17-17 FGLm: 'as (I set up his Throne)' 17a Lm: 'his'
18 FGLm ins.: 'on the outside' 18a, 18a-18a so with FGLm. A lacuna

(7) I made honour and majesty his clothing. Cf. ch. xii. 1, 2.
a royal crown...his diadem. Cf. ch. xii. 3. The measure of the crown, 500 by 500 parasangs, is an exclusive feature of the present fragment. In *Add.* 27199, fol. 114 a, the statement about Metatron's royal crown 'of 500 by 500 parasangs' is quoted from *Ma'ase Merkaba*.

I called him the LESSER YHWH. Cf. ch. xii. 4. ...the Knower of Secrets, 'Wise in Secrets' is part of the name of Metatron acc. to *Hek. R. BH.* iii. 104. K. by Gematria 71: the numerical value of מְדַבֵּר is 71.

(8) I set up his throne at the door of my Hall. Cf. ch. x. 2. that he may sit and judge the heavenly household. Cf. ch. x. 4, 5, xvi. 1, 2.

And I placed every prince before him... Cf. ch. x. 4, 5, xvi. 1, 2.

(9) Seventy names did I take from my names. Cf. chh. iii. 2, iv. 1 and xlviii D 5 (contr. xlviii D 1).

Seventy princes gave I into his hand, to command...in every language.

AFGHLm:

unto them ^{18b} my precepts and my words^{18b} in every language:

AFGH:

to abase ^{19a} by his¹⁹ word the proud to the ground, and to exalt^{19a} by the utterance of his¹⁹ lips the humble to the height; to smite kings by his speech, ²⁰ to turn kings away from their paths²¹, to set up (the) rulers over their dominion as it is written (Dan. ii. 21): "and he changeth the times and the seasons, ²²" and to give wisdom unto all ²³ the wise²³ of the world and understanding (and) knowledge to all who understand²⁴ knowledge, as it is written (Dan. ii. 21): "²⁵ and knowledge to them that know understanding", to reveal to them the secrets of my words and to teach the decree of my righteous judgement, (10) as it is written (Is. lv. 11):

Lm:

and to abase the proud to the ground
and to exalt the humble to the height
and to smite kings
and to bring rulers low
and to set up kings and rulers

and he changeth the times and the seasons
he removeth kings and setteth up kings
he giveth wisdom unto the wise
and knowledge to them that know understanding

and I appointed him to reveal secrets and to teach judgement and justice,

18b-18b *Lm* omits 19 *FG*: 'my' 19a-19a ins. with *FG*. *A* om. 20 *FG* ins.: 'to subdue rulers and presumptuous ones by his word' 21 *G*: 'kingdoms' 22 *FG* cont. (*MT*): 'he removeth kings and setteth up kings' 23-23 *FG*: 'kings' 24 *FG*: 'are intent upon' 25 *FG* ins. (*MT*): 'he giveth wisdom unto the wise'

the 'Princes of Kingdoms' are meant. Metatron is here definitely designated as the ruler over the princes of kingdoms, cf. chh. x. 3, xvi. 2.

to abase by his word etc. As chief of the princes of Kingdoms Metatron has general executive and governing power over the world. Through vs. 9 he is essentially defined as a 'Prince of the World'. Cf. on chh. xxx. 1 and iii. 2.

I appointed him to reveal secrets and to teach judgement and justice. Expresses the tradition of Metatron's character as communicator of the heavenly secrets to man (cf. ch. xlviii D 7), the role in which he appears in the frame of the present book.

AFGHLm:

“so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void ²⁶but shall accomplish (that which I please) ²⁶”. ‘E‘ešeh’ (I shall accomplish) is not written here, but ‘āšāh’ (he shall accomplish) ²⁷, meaning, that whatever word and whatever utterance goes forth from ^{27a}before the Holy One, blessed be He ^{27a}, Metatron stands and carries it out. ^{27b} And he establishes the decrees of the Holy One, blessed be He. (Here the Lm version of fragment c ends.)

[(11) ²⁸“ And he shall make to prosper ²⁸ that which I sent”. ‘Ašliāh ²⁹ (I will make to prosper) is not written here, but wəhisliāh (and he shall make to prosper), teaching, that whatever decree goes forth from before the Holy One, blessed be He, concerning a man, as soon as he make repentance, they do not ³⁰execute it (upon him) but upon another, wicked man ³⁰ ^{30a}, as it is written (Prov. xi. 8): “The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead”].

(12) And not only that but Metatron sits three hours every day in the high heavens, and he gathers all ³¹the souls of ³¹ those dead who died in their mother’s womb, and the sucklings who died on their mother’s breasts, and of the scholars who died over the five ³² books of the Law. And he brings them under the Throne of Glory and places them in companies, divisions and classes round ³³the Presence ³³: and he teaches them the

26–26 A repeats dittographically 27 so FGLm (= MT) A: ‘ma‘aseh’
 27a–27a Lm: ‘the mouth of the Divine Majesty (Gebura)’ 27b Lm inserts ‘by himself’
 28–28 ins. with FG. A om. 29 FG: ‘mašliach’ 30–30 FG: ‘send him into punishment, but send them (the decrees) upon another, wicked man’
 30a FG ins. ‘instead’ 31–31 so FG. A om. 32 FG om.
 33–33 FG ‘himself’

(10) Metatron stands and carries it out... the decrees. Metatron standing and executing the Divine decrees represents another trend of traditions than those contained in the statement ‘Metatron sits and judges the heavenly household’. But both seem to have been connected already at an early time. So in a pregnant (and contradictory) form in *Rev. of Moses* (Gaster, *RAS’s Journal*, 1893): “Metatron, the angel of the Presence, stands at the door of the Palace (Hall) of God. And he sits and judges all the heavenly hosts before his Master. And God pronounces judgement and he executes it”. Cf. further on ch. xvi. 5.

(11) they do not execute it etc. This verse has no reference to Metatron, and it would seem that it does not belong to the Enoch-Metatron piece. It is a midrashic exposition on the continuation of Is. lv. 11, the scriptural passage used as support for the view on Metatron as executor of the decrees. It is omitted by Lm and may be regarded as additional.

(12) Metatron sits three hours every day... and teaches the prematurely dead. This is a well-known tradition with regard to Metatron, recurring in TB: ‘Aboda Zara, 3 b (in a slightly different form), Metatron sharing the function with God himself, and frequently in later writings, cf. e.g. YR. i. 31 b (quoting ‘Or haChayim).

Law, and (the books) of Wisdom, and Haggada³⁴ and Tradition³⁴ and finishes (completes) ³⁵their instruction (education) [for them]³⁵. As it is written (Is. xxxviii. 9): "Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand tradition³⁴? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts".

CHAPTER XLVIII (D)

The names of Metatron. The treasures of Wisdom opened to Moses on mount Sinai. The angels protest against Metatron for revealing the secrets to Moses and are answered and rebuked by God. The chain of tradition and the power of the transmitted mysteries to heal diseases

(1) *Seventy names has Metatron which the Holy One, blessed be He, took from his own name and put upon him. And these they are:*

¹*YeHOEL YaH*, ²*YeHOEL*, ³*YOPHIEL* and ⁴*Yophphiel*, and ⁵*APHPHIEL* and ⁶*MaRGeZIEL*, ⁷*GIPpUYEL*, ⁸*Pa'aZIEL*, ⁹*A'aH*,

34 so FG. A plural

35-35 FG: 'for them the book of the Law'

Ch. xlviii (D). 1-1 In the printed editions FGH the names are left out except no. 105 'sagnezagiel' Lm: '(omission of names marked by a lacuna). Na'ar (= Youth, cf. chh. iii. 2, ix. 1). Ne'eman [= Faithful; again a lacuna] the LESSER YHWH [again lacuna] and he is called (NEGANZEGael)'

Ch. xlviii (D). This last fragment of the present chapter consists of mixed pieces of traditions only loosely bound together. The first, vs. 1, treats of the names of Metatron. Seventy names has Metatron. The number is given as 70 in accordance with chh. iii. 2, iv. 1, xlviii c 9. They are as in the passages mentioned, represented as a reflection of or based upon the Divine Name(s). The enumeration contains a larger number of names than the indicated 70. It evidently is a list of all the names that were known by the writer to be applied to Metatron. So also other enumerations, e.g. *S. ha-Chesheq*, ed. Epstein, and the commentary on Metatron's names, *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, exceed the number 70.

As to the character of the names here enumerated the majority are angelic names of the usual pattern. Nos. 83 and 85-86 (= *Zehanpurru*) occur as names of angels in ch. xviii. 8, 21 of the present book. Cf. also no. 82 with *Zaksakiel*, ch. xviii. 17, and no. 73 with *Simkiel*, ch. xlv. 2, 3. In Schwab, *VA.*, the following names of the present enumeration recur as names of individual angels attested in other writings, viz. nos. 1, 3 and 4 (companion of Metatron, *Zohar*, i. 149 a, Prince of the Law, *ib.* iii. 197 b), 5 (Prince of Understanding, *S. Raziel*, 45 a), 6 (Prince of the Presence, *Hek. R.* xvii. xxvi, cf. xxx), 19 (in a variant form), 20, 21, 22 (in many variants), 24, 25, 48, 49, 51, 54, 60, 63, 83, 84, 85-86, 96, 104 (1 *En.* vi. 7).

These names which probably are understood as representing different aspects and functions of Metatron perhaps indicate that Metatron was to be conceived of as combining all the different functions assigned to the special angels of the resp. names. Cf. YR. i. 56 b, referred to below.

Another group among the names enumerated consists of variants of the name

10PeRIEL, 11TaTRIEL, 12TaBKIEL, 13'W, 14YHWH, 15DH
 16WHYH, 17'eBeD, 18DiBbURIEL, 19'aPh'aPIEL, 20SPPIEL,
 21PaŠPaŠIEL, 22SeNeGRON, 23MeTaTRON, 24SOGDIN, 25'A-
 DRIGON, 26'ASUM, 27SaQPAM, 28SaQTaM, 29MIGON,
 30MITTON, 31MOTTRON, 32ROSPHIM, 33QINOTH, 34Cha-
 TaTYaH, 35DeGaZYaH, 36PŠPYaH, 37'BŠKNYH, 38MZRG...,
 39BaRaD..., 40MKRKK, 41MŠPRD, 42ChShG, 43ChShB,
 44MNRTTT, 45BŠYRYM, 46MITMON, 47TITMON, 48PiSQON,
 49ŠaPhŠaPhYaH, 50ZRCh, 51ZRChYaH, 52'B', 53BeYaH, 54HBH
 BeYaH, 55PeLeT, 56PLTYaH, 57RaBRaBYaH, 58ChaS, 59ChaSYaH,
 60TaPhTaPhYaH, 61TaMTaMYaH, 62SeHaŠYaH, 63'IR'URYaH,
 64'aL'aLYaH, 65BaZRIDYaH, 66SaTSaTKYaH, 67SaSDYaH,
 68RaZRazYaH, 69BaZRazYaH, 70'aRIMYaH, 71SBHYaH,
 72SBIBKHYH, 73SiMKaM, 74YaHSeYaH, 75ŠŠBIBYaH,
 76ŠaBKaŠBeYaH, 77QeLILQaLYaH, 78KIH HH, 79HHYH, 80WH,
 81WHYH, 82ZaKkIKYaH, 83TUTRISYaH, 84SURYaH, 85ZeH,
 86PeNIRHYaH, 87Z'Zi'H, 88GaL RaZaYYa, 89MaMLIKYaH,
 90'TTYaH, 91'eMeQ, 92QaMYaH, 93MeKaPpeRYaH, 94PeRISHYaH,

Metatron, e.g. nos. 23 (Metatron), 30, 31, 46, 47. This category of names forms part also of other enumerations of Metatron's names.

A few names are permutations of the letters of the *Tetragrammaton* and 'EHYE, after the pattern of the enumerations of Divine Names: nos. 13 = 16, (53), 80, 81. Cf. note on ch. xlviii B 1.

Lastly mention may be made of the specific appellations of Metatron: no. 17 'Ebed (= Servant) and no. 102 the Lesser YHWH. 'Ebed, 'servant', is expressly attached to Metatron in the Enoch-Metatron sections, chh. x. 3, xlviii c 1, the Lesser YHWH in chh. xii. 5, xlviii c 7. On the other hand it is noteworthy that the name 'Na'ar' which is given a prominent place in chh. iii and iv, is not included in the present enumeration, nor in those of YR. i. 60 b, S. Chesheq, Bodl. MICH. 256, foll. 29 a-44 a. It seems, however, to have been extant in the recension of which *Lm* is an abridgement. Besides, acc. to traditions appearing in *Zohar* (e.g. i. 223 b) and elsewhere, cf. YR. i. 56 a (from 'Pardes'), Na'ar is represented as equivalent with 'Ebed': "Metatron is called 'Na'ar' (= παῖς, Servant) because he does the service of a na'ar, he ministers before the *Shekina* and he distributes maintenance to all the companies of angels". (Metatron as 'na'ar' is also identified with Abraham's servant Elieser—through combination with Ps. xxxvii. 25 also called *Zaqen* and *Saba de-Beta*, the Eldest of his house: *Zohar*, i. 149 a et al.)

Among the other names may be of special interest: *Pisqon* (no. 48), occurring *Sanh.* 44 b, and by Rashi referred to Gabriel. It evidently denotes Metatron's office of deciding, passing judgement, cf. ch. xlviii c 8, 10, x. 5. This name also occurs in the form 'Ru'ach Pisqonith, the deciding spirit' (*Bodl.* MICH. 256, name no. 25); cf. *Pesiqtha* 27 b. *Senegron* (no. 22), i.e. 'defensor', whereby Metatron is indicated as occupying the same position as in Rabbinic is usually assigned to Mikael: defending Israel against the accusations of Satan, *Sammael*, or the representatives of the heathen nations, cf. on ch. xxx. *Gal Razayya* (no. 88) cf. *Razrazyah* (no. 68), i.e. 'Revealer of secrets' or 'knower of secrets.' Cf. ch. xlviii c 7, ch. xi. He is the mediator transmitting the celestial secrets to man. The name 'Galli-Razayya' is the sixty-seventh of the names enumerated, *Bodl.* MICH. *ib.* Related to this name is no. 91 ('depths *scil.* of secrets'). Noteworthy is

95 *SePhaM*, 96 *GBIR*, 97 *GiBbORYaH*, 98 *GOR*, 99 *GORYaH*, 100 *ZIW*, 101 *'OKBaR*, the 102 *LESSER YHWH*, after the name of his Master, (Ex. xxxiii. 21) "for my name is in him", 103 *RaBIBIEL*, 104 *TUMIEL*,¹ 105 *Segansakkiel*², the Prince of Wisdom.

2 FG: 'Sagnezagiel' Lm: 'Neganzegael'

Mekapperyah (no. 93) which would seem to assign to *Metatron* an atoning function. *Yehoel* (no. 1) is as well in earlier as in later literature the name of the high angel of the 'Presence' (cf. BOX, *Ap. Abr.* x, xii). His name is composed of the letters of the Divine Name, hence the '*shemi begirbō*' ('my name is in him') could appropriately be applied to him. Cf. *Ap. Moses*, and in a later attestation e.g. *Add.* 26922, foll. 41 b seqq. (*Yehoel* on a level with *Metatron* as the Prince of the Presence). Lastly the *Tetragrammaton* itself appears as one of the names: no. 14.

For enumerations of the names of *Metatron* cf. *inter al.*: (1) *Hek. R.* xxvi. BH. iii. 104 (the centre of this enumeration are the 'eight names': *Margeziel*, *Giyothiel*, etc., *Yehoel*... *Sagnesagiel*): "In the camps of the holy angels they call him: 'Metatron, the 'Ebed YHWH' (!), the long-suffering and the merciful or: YHWH, wise in secrets etc." (2) *Hek. Zōt. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 69 b, containing nos. 6, 46, 84 here, and 'Uzyah, Menunyah, Sasnegaryah, 'Aṭmon, Sigron, etc. (3) *Hek. Zōt. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 70 a: "... the prince of the Host on high, the 'Ebed YHWH, God of Israel, blessed be He, longsuffering etc."; cf. *Hek. R.* above. The Divine Attributes (from Ex. xxxiv. 6-7, cf. 4 Ez. vii. 132 seqq.) seem to have been ascribed to *Metatron*, and the name 'Ebed' to have been referred to the 'Ebed YHWH' picture of Deutero-Isaiah. (4) *Shi'ur Qoma*, e.g. *Bodl. OPP.* 467, fol. 59 a, *Bodl. OPP.* 563, fol. 92 b: "Metatron, Ru^ah Pīsqonith (cf. above), Iṭmon, Hegron, Sigron, Maṭon, Miṭon Neṭiṭ, Neṭiṭh". (5) *YR.* i. 56 b from *Tiqqunim*. This passage makes an attempt at explaining the meaning of the names. *Metatron*, it says, is called by the resp. names acc. to the various functions he is performing. He is called 'Oṭmon' (from 'aṭam = stop, shut') when he seals the guilty in Israel, 'Sigron' ('sagar = shut') when he shuts the doors of prayers (i.e. the doors through which man's prayers are let into heaven), 'Pithḥon' at the time when he opens for the prayers, 'Pīsqon' (cf. above) at the time when he decides Halakoth in *Raqia'*, in the (celestial) *Beth Din*... And this angel is called by 60 myriads of names of angels (cf. above). He is called 'Chasdiel' when he does kindness to the world, 'Gabriel' at the time when 'gebura' is in the world, 'Sithriel' when he hides the children of the world under his wings from the angels of destruction. He is also called *Sidqiel*, *Raphael* and *Malikiel*. (6) *YR.* i. 60 b, from a 'midrash', with reference to *Alph. R.* 'Aqiba, hence possibly a fragment of a recension of the present verse. In fact, the following names of the present verse occur there: nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 27, 28, 17, 30, 49 (variant), 21 (and variant), 22, 48 (as *Pīsqonith*), 25. Of the remaining twenty names of that passage five recur in *S. ha-Chesheq* and the related commentary on *Metatron's* names, *Bodl. MICH.* 256 and a couple of the rest in the *Hek. R.* and *Hek. Zōt.* passages referred to above. (7) *S. ha-Chesheq* (*Add.* 27120, foll. 1 seqq.). The following names of the present verse occur there: nos. 11, 17, 21, 25, 30, 41, 49, 51, 54, 58-59, 60, 61, 64, 75, 77, 90, 94, 95. (8) *Bodl. MICH.* 256, foll. 29 a-44 a, a treatise called *Shemoth shel Metatron*: 'The Names of *Metatron*', presenting 77 different names with commentary. The names and order of names are on the whole identical with or resembling those of *S. ha-Chesheq*. It may be noted that the 'Yephiphayah' of vs. 4 of the present fragment (the Prince of the Law who transmits the treasures of Wisdom-Tora to Moses) is included in this enumeration as a name of *Metatron*. *Sigron*, *Iṭmon*, 'Ebed, *Senegron*, *Galli-Razayya* also occur. The comments on the names consist in explanations by means of *Gematria*. The names are here also represented as signifying different functions of his. The name *Metatron* e.g. is by *gematria* 'Shaddai', for he said to God's world: it is enough ('שָׁפָא'); and *Metatron* carries the world upon the great crown, and he is

(2) *And why is he called by the name Sagnesakiel? Because ³all the treasures of wisdom are committed³ in his hand.*

(3) *And all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai, ⁴so that he learnt them during the forty days, while he was standing (remaining) ⁵ ⁴: the Torah in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, ⁶the Prophets in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Writings in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues⁶, ⁷the Halakas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Traditions in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues, the Haggadas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues and the Toseftas in the seventy aspects of the seventy tongues⁷.*

(4) *But as soon as the forty days were ended, he forgot all of them in one ⁸ moment. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, called Yephphiyah, the Prince of the Law, and ⁹(through him) they were given to Moses as a gift⁹. As it is written (Deut. x. 4): "and the Lord gave them unto me". And after that it remained with him. ¹⁰And whence do we know, that it remained (in his memory)?¹⁰ Because it is written (Mal. iv. 4): "Remember ye the Law of Moses my servant¹¹ ¹²which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even my statutes and judgements¹²". 'The Law of Moses': that is the Tora, the Prophets and the Writings, 'statutes': that is the Halakas and Traditions, 'judgements'; that is*

3-3 G: 'all wisdom is committed' F: 'the wisdoms are all committed' 4-4 Lm: 'for they taught him them in forty days while Metatron was standing' 5 FG ins.: 'on the mount of the Torah' 6-6 ins. with FGLm. 7-7 Lm om. 8 Lm ins.: 'short' 9-9 FG: 'he gave them to Moses as a gift' Lm: 'he gave him all of them as before (i.e. he had forgotten them) as a gift' 10-10 Lm om. 11 here Lm ends 12-12 so ins. with FG, for the sake of the following context.

suspended from the finger of the Holy One, blessed be He; it is by gematria 'Shu^ah' (from 'shi^ah = prayer') for he is appointed to receive the prayers. The name *Tītrasyah* is by gematria 'Gash' ('come near', numerical value 303), for he comes nearer to the Throne than any other angel. It is by gematria 'ha-Rahmān' ('the Merciful'), for when the Holy One is wroth with his children, Metatron prays before him and turns him from the attribute of justice to the attribute of mercy (cf. ch. xxxi, Ber. 7 a) and so on.

(2) Sagnesakiel. On this name confer note on ch. xviii. 11. Because all the treasures of wisdom are committed in his hand. Cf. chh. x. 5, 6, viii. 1, xi, xlviii c 7.

(3) all of them were opened to Moses on Sinai. . . . The treasures of wisdom contain the heavenly Tora which was revealed to Moses. The narrative contained in vs. 3 and occurs in variant forms in *Ex. R.* xlvii, *Num. R.* xviii *et al.* It is also in a similar form extant in *Rev. Moses* (Pes. R. xx), *BH.* i. 60 seqq. and in this recension it recurs in *YR.* ii. 67 b, quoted from *Pirke Hekaloth*. Acc. to *Lm* and vss. 7 seqq. it seems that Metatron was the transmitter of the Tora to Moses. This would account for the insertion of the fragment here.

(4) he forgot all of them etc. 'when he began to go down and saw all. . . the angels of fear, of trembling, of awe and dread, then trembling seized him and he forgot all of them in one moment', acc. to *Rev. Moses*, *YR.* ii. 67 b.

the Haggadas and the Toseftas. And all of them were given¹³ to Moses¹⁴ on high¹⁴ on Sinai.

(5) These seventy names (are) a reflection of the Explicit Name(s) on the Merkaba which are¹⁵ graven upon the Throne of Glory. For the Holy One, blessed be He, took from His Explicit Name(s) and put upon the name of Metatron: Seventy Names of His by which¹⁶ the ministering angels¹⁶ call the King of the kings of kings,¹⁷ blessed be He, in the high heavens, and twenty-two letters¹⁸ that are on the ring upon his finger with which are sealed¹⁹ the destinies of the princes of kingdoms on high²⁰ in greatness and power and with which are sealed the lots of the Angel of Death, and the destinies of every nation and tongue²¹.

(6) Said²² Metatron, the Angel, the Prince of the Presence; the Angel, the Prince of the Wisdom; the Angel, the Prince of the Understanding;²³ the Angel, the Prince of the Kings; the Angel, the Prince of the Rulers;

13 FG: 'said' or 'read'

14-14 FG om.

15 FG: 'is'

16-16 so ins.

with FG. A lacuna

17 FG ins.: 'the Holy One'

18 FG: 'seals'

19 FG

ins.: 'all the orders of the heaven of 'Araboth'

20 FG ins.: 'in reign and

dominion' A lacuna

21 FG: 'kingdom'

22 so ins. with G. A lacuna

F: 'For'

23 FG ins.: 'the angel, the Prince of the Glory, the Angel, the

Prince of the Hall(s)'

(5) These seventy names are a reflection.... Cf. on chh. xlviii c 9 and iii. 2. The seventy names are here referred to the Most High as King of the kings of kings, probably indicating the aspect of rulership over the world, the seventy nations. When ascribed to Metatron they signify, as may be assumed, Metatron's character of representative ruler of the world, esp. over the princes of kingdoms; cf. the statement following: '(put upon Metatron's name... the twenty-two letters ... with which are sealed the destinies of the princes of kingdoms... and the destinies of every nation and tongue. Cf. also on chh. iii. 2, x. 3, xvi. 2, xlviii c 9 and vs. 6 here: Metatron... the Prince of the... princes, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth.

the Explicit Name(s)... which are graven on the Throne of Glory. Cf. chh. xxxix. 1, xlviii B 1, xiii. 1, xli. 4.

and twenty-two letters.... The twenty-two letters are presumably conceived of as contained in the Divine Names that were 'put upon Metatron'. The holy letters constitute the Names, hence Names and letters are terms interchanged. with which are sealed. The creations and decrees of the Holy One are often represented as established by, sustained by or sealed with a Divine Name or a letter. Cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH. iii. 24*: "All the Explicit Names are written with He etc. And heaven and earth are sealed with it (them) and this world and the world to come and the days of Messiah. And how many are the letters by which heaven and earth are sealed? They are 12... namely the letters of the Name 'Ehye' asher 'Ehye' (Aleph, He, Yod, He, etc.)". on the ring upon his finger. Cf. *ib. 25*: "they are sealed with the ring: 'EHYE' asher 'EHYE". the destinies of the... Angel of Death and the destinies of every nation and tongue. 'The lots, פְּתֵי, of the angel of death' presumably means 'the records of the ultimate fate of individuals and nations, kept with the angels of Death'; cf. *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, rec. B, BH. iii. 63*: "the Pittage, the records of destinies of every nation are kept with thee (the angel of Gehenna, Negarsanael,) but the Pittage of thine do not include the people of Israel".

²⁴the angel, the Prince of the Glory²⁴; the angel, the Prince ²⁵of the high ones, and of the princes²⁵, the exalted, great and honoured ones, in heaven and on earth:

(7) "H, the God of Israel, is my witness in this thing, (that) when I revealed this secret to Moses, then all the hosts in every heaven on high raged against me and said to me: (8) Why dost thou reveal this secret to ²⁶a son of man²⁶, born of woman, tainted²⁷ and unclean, ²⁸ ²⁹a man of a putrefying drop²⁹, the secret by which were created heaven and earth, the sea and the dry land, the mountains and hills, the rivers and springs, Gehenna of fire and hail, the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; and by which were formed Adam ³⁰and Eve³⁰, and the cattle, and the wild beasts, and the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, ³¹and Behemoth³¹ and Leviathan, and the creeping things, the worms,

24-24 FG om. 25 G: 'of the princes; the angel, the Prince of the high ones' F: 'of the high princes' 26-26 FG: 'the children of men' 27 A: 'tailed' 28 FG ins.: 'men of blood and gonorrhoea' 29-29 FG: 'men of putrefying drops' 30-30 FG om. 31-31 ins. with FG. A om.

(7) when I revealed this secret to Moses... the secret by which were created heaven and earth... Gehenna... the Garden of Eden... the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge etc. all the hosts of every heaven raged against me. With this may be compared the fragment, containing protesting words of the angels, preserved in *Hek. R.* xxix: "This Secret may not go out from the house of thy treasures and the mystery of subtle understanding from thy treasures. Do not make flesh and blood equal to us".

Another parallel is found in *Hek. Zof. MICH.* 9, fol. 68 b: "Thou didst reveal secrets and secrets of secrets, mysteries and mysteries of mysteries to Moses, and Moses to Joshua etc. (cf. below)... and Israel made out of them the Tora and the Talmud...". So also here the Tora, Wisdom and Knowledge are said to be formed through the 'Secret'.

The 'secret' is hence the Wisdom or totality of Gnosis on which the written and oral Tora is based, and by which the whole manifested world is created. If brought into connection with vss. 2, 3 the 'secret' of the present verse refers to the contents of 'the treasures of wisdom' that were all opened to Moses on Sinai. What the inner essence of the secret is conceived to be is not immediately apparent here. The chain of tradition set forth in vs. 10 suggests that it was thought to be contained in the mystical knowledge or traditions of the secluded circles of 'the men of faith'. In the present connection it would seem that the ultimate constituent parts or elements of the secret is the 'Letters and Names'. By the letters heaven and earth are created, acc. to chh. xiii, xli, and wisdom, understanding etc. 'by which the whole world is established' (ch. xli. 3, cf. here). The Tora itself, either celestial or as transmitted to Israel, is constituted by the letters in the mystical sense. God's conferring His Names and 'Letters' on Metatron symbolize Metatron's initiation in the celestial gnoseis; thereby he is the Prince of Wisdom, the guardian of the 'treasures of Wisdom' (vs. 2). This view is supported by the following passage in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba, BH.* iii. 26: "God revealed to Moses on Sinai all the (Divine) Names, both the names that are explicit, the names that are graven upon the Crown of Kingship, the names graven upon the Throne of Glory, the Names graven upon the Ring on his hand, the names that are standing like fiery pillars round his chariots, the names that surround the *Shekina* as eagles of the *Merkaba*, and the Names, by which are sealed heaven and earth, the sea and the

the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

A:

Hast thou obtained authority from MAQOM? And again: Hast thou received permission? The Explicit Names went forth from before me

FG:

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority. And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth

with lightnings of fire and ³² flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away ³³with rebuke³³ from before him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all³⁴ the children of heaven.

(10) And Metatron ³⁵brought them out³⁵ from his house of treasures and committed them³⁶ to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra ³⁷and Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the elder, and Hillel the elder to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera, and R. Zera to the men of faith, and the

32 FG ins.: 'sparks of splendour'
FG 35-35 FG om.

33-33 so FG ins. A lacuna 34 ins. with
36 FG: 'it' 37 FG ins.: 'the Scribe'

dry land... the orders of the world and the orders of Creation... *Zebul*, 'Araboth, and the Throne of Glory, the treasures of life and the treasures of blessings...' (Graetz: "the secret=*Shi'ur Qoma*!" see Introd.). (10) And Metatron brought them out... to heal all diseases etc. The verse may be additional here, since it assigns to the 'mysteries' primarily a practical, magical import, whereas the practical interest in the mysteries is nowhere represented in the rest of the chapter nor the whole of the present book. Besides it is not a direct continuation of vs. 9: it refers to the transmitted lore as 'them', in the plural, vs. 9, speaking only of 'it', the 'secret'. The transmitted secrets are included in the revelations of oral Tora from the treasures on high to Moses, as in vss. 3 and 4. committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The chain of tradition is modelled on the characteristic pattern, attested in *Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1 (Moses received the Tora from Sinai, and transmitted it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders etc.). A close parallel to the present passage is found in *Hek. Zof. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 68 b, already referred to above, "...revealed... the secrets... to Moses, and Moses to Joshua and Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, the prophets to the *chasidim*, the *chasidim* to those who feared the Name, and these to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to all Israel, and Israel made out of them the Tora". For chains of secret tradition cf. also 2 *En.* xxxiii. 10, *TB. Chag.* 14 b, *Yer. Chag.* 77 b, *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b. to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera.

men of faith ³⁸ (committed them) to give warning and to heal by them all diseases that rage in the world, as it is written (Ex. xv. 26): "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord, thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his eyes, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord, that healeth thee". (Ended and finished. Praise be unto the Creator of the World.)

38 FG ins.: 'to the masters of faith'

R. Abbahu, Palestinian Amora, head of the Academy at Caesarea, second generation; R. Zera, the pupil of R. Abbahu, migrated from Babylon to Palestine. The sponsor of the present fragment apparently regards the 'secrets' as belonging to the Palestinian teachings. the men of faith presumably is the technical term for the select few by which the 'secrets' were supposed to be guarded before they received the publicity of the writer's time. They are referred to as a definite class among those who are to be inhabitants of the future world in *Alph. R. 'Aqiba*, BH. iii. 29. As receivers and guardians of the secrets 'the men of faith' appear also in *Zohar*, e.g. i. 37 b (בני מןותא). Cf. the frequent Mandaitic expression בהירא זירקא (Lidzbarski: "Männer von erprobter Gerechtigkeit") and in this connection especially Lidzb., *Mand. Lit.* 269³⁻⁶ (also 268⁹—269²): "*Hibil* blessed thee (i.e. the banner *shishlamel*) and committed (or gave) thee to the hidden Adam. Adam blessed thee with great blessing and gave thee to the *Bēhirē Zidqa* (men of proved faith, righteousness) to enlighten their appearance and cause it to shine exceedingly." Vide *Introd.* section 7. to heal...all diseases...as it is written (Ex. xv. 26) etc. The use of magical devices for purposes of healing was brought in connection with the passage Ex. xv. 26 already at an early time: the verse itself was used as a magical formula acc. to the denouncement of those 'who recite Ex. xv. 26 with a view to healing' attributed to R. Aqiba (recorded in *Ab. R. Nathan*, xxxix). Naturally the verse was also used to supply efficacious names (through permutations of the letters, acrostics etc.) for the same practical purpose. Cf. *Tos. Sabb.* 7, *Ab. Zara*, 67 b, *Mishna Sanhedrin*, xi. 1, *Tos it.* xii. 10, *Gem it.* 101 a; *TB. Sheb.* 15 b. For the 'secrets' committed to Moses containing 'רבר'י רפואה' cf. especially the *Ma'yan Chokma* (end), *Arze Lebanon*, 46 b seq.

PART III

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES

the dragons of the sea, and the creeping things of the deserts; and the Tora and Wisdom and Knowledge and Thought and the Gnosis of things above and the fear of heaven. Why dost thou reveal this to flesh and blood?

A:

FG:

Hast thou obtained authority from MAQOM? And again: Hast thou received permission? The Explicit Names went forth from before me

I answered them: Because the Holy One, blessed be He, has given me authority. And furthermore, I have obtained permission from the high and exalted Throne, from which all the Explicit Names go forth

with lightnings of fire and ³² flaming chashmallim.

(9) But they were not appeased, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and drove them away ³³with rebuke³³ from before him, saying to them: "I delight in, and have set my love on, and have entrusted and committed unto Metatron, my Servant, alone, for he is One (unique) among all³⁴ the children of heaven.

(10) And Metatron ³⁵brought them out³⁵ from his house of treasures and committed them³⁶ to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets and the prophets to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra ³⁷and Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the elder, and Hillel the elder to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera, and R. Zera to the men of faith, and the

32 FG ins.: 'sparks of splendour'

FG

35-35 FG om.

33-33 so FG ins. A lacuna

36 FG: 'it'

37 FG ins.: 'the Scribe'

dry land... the orders of the world and the orders of Creation... Zebul, 'Araboth, and the Throne of Glory, the treasures of life and the treasures of blessings...' (Graetz: "the secret=*Shi'ur Qoma*!" see *Introd.*). (10) And Metatron brought them out... to heal all diseases etc. The verse may be additional here, since it assigns to the 'mysteries' primarily a practical, magical import, whereas the practical interest in the mysteries is nowhere represented in the rest of the chapter nor the whole of the present book. Besides it is not a direct continuation of vs. 9: it refers to the transmitted lore as 'them', in the plural, vs. 9, speaking only of 'it', the 'secret'. The transmitted secrets are included in the revelations of oral Tora from the treasures on high to Moses, as in vss. 3 and 4. committed them to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The chain of tradition is modelled on the characteristic pattern, attested in *Pirqe Aboth*, i. 1 (Moses received the Tora from Sinai, and transmitted it to Joshua and Joshua to the elders etc.). A close parallel to the present passage is found in *Hek. Zof. Bodl. MICH.* 9, fol. 68 b, already referred to above, "...revealed... the secrets... to Moses, and Moses to Joshua and Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, the prophets to the *chasidim*, the *chasidim* to those who feared the Name, and these to the men of the Great Synagogue, and the men of the Great Synagogue to all Israel, and Israel made out of them the Tora". For chains of secret tradition cf. also 2 *En.* xxxiii. 10, *TB. Chag.* 14 b, *Yer. Chag.* 77 b, *Zohar*, i. 55 b, 58 b. to R. Abbahu and R. Abbahu to R. Zera.

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PART III

HEBREW TEXT WITH CRITICAL NOTES

ספר חנוך לר' ישמעאל כ"ג

פרק א'

ויתהלך חנוך את האלהים ואיננו כי לקח אותו אלהים ((בראשית
 ח' כד)) א. אמר ר' ישמעאל. כשעליתי למרום להסתכל ¹ בצפיותי ²
 במרכבה ¹ הייתי ² נכנס בשש ³ ההיכלות ⁴ חדר בתוך חדר. וכיון ⁵
 שהגעתי לפתח ⁶ היכל שביעי ⁷ עו(ו)מדותי ⁸ בתפלה לפני הקב"ה ונשאתי
 את עיני כלפי ⁹ מעלה ואמרתי. רש"ע בבקשה מלפניך שתיגרום לי ¹⁰
 בשעה זו ¹¹ זכות אהרון בן עמרם אוהב שלום ורודף שלום שקבל כתר
 כהונה מלפני כבודך בהר סיני שלא ישלום ¹² בי קפציאל ¹³ השר
 ומלאכים ¹⁴ שעמו ¹⁵ ואל ישליכוני ¹⁶ מן השמים. מיד זימן לי הקב"ה ¹⁷
 מטטרון עברו מלאך שר הפנים. ופרח בכנפיו ויצא לקראתי ¹⁸
 בשמחה רבה להצילני מידם. ותפשני בידו לעיניהם ואמר לי בא ¹⁹
 בשלום ²⁰ לפני ²¹ [מלך] רם ונשא להסתכל בדמות ²² המרכבה.

ס"א כ"א

¹⁻¹ בצפיית המרכבה ע. *ita leg.* ² והייתי ד ³ בששה דע וכן לחקרא
⁴ היכלות ע ⁵ בפתח ⁶ [leg.] עמדותי: ⁷ אפי ע ⁸ הואת דע
⁹ ישלמו דע ¹⁰ קפציאל דע ¹¹ ומלאבי ע ¹² [זעמו] ע ¹³ ישלום ע
¹⁴ לי ב דע ¹⁵ כנגדי דע ¹⁶ בואך דע ¹⁷ לשלום ע ¹⁸ דע שגרצית *
¹⁹ דע מלך. ואולי לחקרא כמו כן ²⁰ בראות ע

ספר חנוך—כ"ג: על דבר שמות האחרים של ספר הזה או של קצוותיו עיין מה
 שכתוב במבוא הקדמאה.

א'. פרק א' ו ב' לי' אלא ב ארע.

* כל אלו חנו' [ב' 18 24 31 32 33] לשוניט של יראת המקום הם ר"ל שלא ראוי שיבא ר'
 ישמעאל לפני הקב"ה לראותו ח' בראיה ממש ולא שנקרא מהקב"ה בני ולא אחובי אלא
 אחובי ונו' 'שמעו אל' ר"ל שהדברים 'אחובי' וחביבי' לא היו אמורים על ר' ישמעאל אלא
 על השרים האלה.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS IN THE HEBREW TEXT
AND THE CRITICAL NOTES

ב	denotes	"omitted by," "not found in."
∞	=	"inserts," "insert."
להק', לה'	=	" <i>ita legendum</i> ," " <i>legendum</i> ," "read."
del.	=	" <i>delendum</i> ."
ditt.	=	"dittography."
frit. leg.	=	" <i>fortasse legendum</i> ."
ins.	=	" <i>inserendum</i> ."
leg. or l.	=	" <i>legendum</i> ."
om.	=	" <i>omittendum</i> ."

Brackets (), words or letters enclosed *occur* in the text (**N**), but should be omitted.

„ [], words or letters enclosed *do not occur* in the text, but should be inserted.

e.g. ע^2 (עו)מדת' : א has עומדת', read : עמדת'

23³ [רוח]: insert רוח, omitted by 'א

„ (()), these brackets enclose references to Scripture passages quoted in the text. The references are, of course, not given in the original.

Concerning MSS and sources represented by א, ב, ג, ד, ע, ז, ח, פ, כ, concerning MSS and sources represented by א, ב, ג, ד, ע, ז, ח, פ, כ, *vide* Introduction, pp. 17, 18.

פרק ב'

אמר ר' ישמעאל.. באותה שעה היו נשרי¹ המרכבה ואופני² שלהבה³ ושרפי אש אוכלה⁽³⁾ שואלים⁴ למטטרון והם⁵ אומרים לו.. נער מפני מה הנחת ילוד אשה שיבא ויסתכל במרכבה⁴ מאיזה⁵ עם⁽⁶⁾ מאיזה שבט הוא. מה טיבו של זה.. משיב⁷ מטטרון ואומר להם. מעם ישראל⁸ שבחר הקב"ה⁸ להיות לו לעם [ול] לשון⁹ משבט לוי הוא⁽¹⁰⁾ [שמרים] תרומה¹¹ לשמו. מזרע אהרן הוא שבחר [הקב"ה] להיות לו משרת שקשר לו [הקב"ה] בעצמו כתר כהונה בסיני.. מיד פתחו ואמרו. בוודאי ראוי⁽¹²⁾ [זה] להסתכל במרכבה. ו' ואמרו¹³ אשרי העם שכבה לו: ((תהלים קמד' טו'))

ב'

1 נערי ע 2 להבה דע⁽³⁾ ד 3 באים. ע 4 באין ו. 4-4 ל' ב ע 5 ל' ב ד
(6) ע 6 הוא 7 משיבם ע 8-8 מובחר מהקב"ה: ע 9 משבעים
לשונות ד. אולי להקרא: זללשון⁽¹⁰⁾ ד 10 מרים. להק' כמו כן או 'שמרים'.
11 מרום ע⁽¹²⁾ דע: 'זה' ita leg. 13 דכתיב דע

פרק ג'

אמר ר' ישמעאל.. באותה¹ שעה² שאלתי את³ מטטרון⁴ מלאך⁴ שר הפנים. אמרתי לו-¹ מה שמך.. אמר לי-⁵ שבעים שמות יש לי-⁵ כנגד שבעים לשונות⁶ שבעולם⁷ וכולם על-⁸ שמו של⁹ מטטרון מלאך הפנים⁹ אבל מלכי¹⁰ קרא¹¹ אותי נער:

ג'

1-1 כשעליתי למרכבה שאלתי למטטרון לכתוב לי כל מה שכתוב על מלאך שר הפנים אמרתי לו: ג 2 ל' ב גל 3 ל ב 4 ל' ב ב 5-5 יש לי שבעים שמות בגדל 6 אומות בל. אמות ג 7 אשר יש בעולם ג 8-8 וכעין בג 9-9 מלך מלכי המלכים דע. מלכי וקוני ב. מלכי הקב"ה יתעלה זכרו ג 9-10 מלכים [=] (מלך מלכי (ה)מלכים) ל 11 קורא בע

ג'

הכא תחילת הספר על פי בגל' זה הפרק גם בציווני דף י"ד ש' א' ובילקוט ראובני א' כה' ב' [מפרקי חכלות]

ו באותה שעה נכנסתי להיכל שביעי²¹ והדריכני²² למחנ'²³ שכינה
 ו והציגני לפני הקב"ה²⁴ להסתכל במרכבה. וכיון²⁵ שראוני שרי
 המרכבה ושרפי להבה נתנו עיניהם בי. מיד²⁶ נרתעתי ונודעזעתי²⁶ -
 ונפלתי מעומד²⁷ ונרדמתי מפני זוהר דמות²⁸ עיניהם וזיו מראה פניהם
 ח עד שגער בהם הקב"ה ואמר להם. משרתי²⁹ שרפי²⁹ כרובי²⁹ ואופני²⁹
 כסו עיניכם מפני³⁰ ישמעאל³¹ בני³² אהובי³³ וחביבי³⁴ וכבודי שלא
 ירתע ושל³⁵ יודעזע.

ט מיד בא מטטרון שר הפנים והחזיר⁽³⁶⁾ נשמתי והציגני על רגלי.
 וועדיין לא היה בי³⁷ כח לומר שירה לפני כסא כבודי³⁸ של מלך
 הכבוד אדיר⁽³⁹⁾ כל המלכים וזהר⁴⁰ ⁽³⁹⁾ כל הרוזנים עד שכלתה שעה.
 יא לאחר⁴¹ שעה פתח לי [הקב"ה] שערי שכינה⁴² ⁴³ - שערי שלום
 שערי חכמה⁴³ שערי כח שערי גבורה שערי דיבור שערי שירה שערי
 יב קדושה שערי נעימה. והאיר את עיני ואת לבי באומרי⁴⁴ תהלה
 ושבח ורנה ותורה וזמרה פאר ונאוה ותהלה⁴⁵ עז⁴⁶ וכשפתחתי את⁴⁷
 פי ושבחתי שירה לפני הקב"ה⁴⁸ חיות הקדש מתחת כסא ⁽⁴⁹⁾ הכבוד
 ולמעלה מן הכסא עונים אחר⁵⁰ ואומרים קדוש⁵¹ וברוך כבוד ה'
 ממקומו :

21 הרביעי ע 22 והדריכני ד 23 למראה דע 24 כסא הכבוד דעא 25 זכ- דע
 26-26 כודעזעתי ונרתעתי דע 27 ממעמדי דע כן נקרא אתמ' או 'מעומדי' 28 ראות ע
 [עיין 20] 29 משרתי שרפי כרובי ואופני ד 30 מלפני דע 31 ושמעו אל עא
 32 לי בדעא 33 אהובי דעא 34 חביבי ע 35 ולא דע ⁽³⁶⁾ דע לי 37 לי ע
 38 הכבוד ע ⁽³⁹⁾ דע על 40 לחקרא 'רוזן' לדעתו של יעל' [בע"ז] 41 ולאחר ד
 42 [בינה ע"ז] 43-43 שערי חכמה שערי שלום דע 44 באמרי ד לחקרא. באמרה ע
 45 והילול דע לחקרא כמו כן או : 'תהלת' 46 עוז דע 47 לי ב דע 48 כסא דע
⁽⁴⁹⁾ דע של מלך 50 אחרי ד לחק. אחרי ע 51 קדוש קדוש קדוש דע

מהעולם⁴⁵ [ושלא]⁴⁶ -יאמרו' אם הללו דור המבול חטאו בהמה ועוף
 מה חטאו שספו עמהם⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷.. לפיכך העלני⁴⁸ הקב"ה⁴⁹ בחייהם⁵⁰ ס
 לעיניהם לשמי⁵¹ מרום⁵² להיות⁵³ -עד עליהם⁵³ לעולם הבא וזיווגי⁵⁴
 הקב"ה⁽⁵⁵⁾ לשר ו[ל]נגיד בין מלאכי⁵⁶ השרת..⁵⁸ -באותה שעה⁽⁵⁷⁾ באו ו'
 ג' מלאכים⁵⁸ -⁵⁹ ממלאכי השרת עוזה עוזה ועזאל⁵⁹ -והיו מסמינים⁶⁰
 עלי⁽⁶¹⁾ בשמי⁶² מרום⁶³ ⁽⁶⁴⁾ ואמרו לפני הקב"ה. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ לא יפה אמרו
⁽⁶⁶⁾ ראשונים⁶⁷ לפניך⁶⁸ לא תברא⁶⁹ אדם עוד⁷⁰ ⁽⁺⁾. משיב⁽⁷¹⁾ הקב"ה
 ואומר להם' אני עשיתי⁷² -ואני אשא⁷² -אני אסבול ואמלט⁷³
 (ישעיה מו"ד).. וכיון שראו אותי⁽⁷⁴⁾ אמרו לפניו רבש"ע⁽⁷⁵⁾ מה ו'
 מיבו של זה שעולה⁷⁶ ⁽⁷⁷⁾ למרום מרומים⁷⁸. -לא מבני בניהם של
 הללו-⁷⁹ שאבדו⁸⁰ בימי⁸¹ המבול הוא⁸². -⁸⁵ מה מיבו⁽⁸³⁾ ברקיע⁸⁴ -⁸⁵.

45 ל' ב ע 46-46 יאמרו אם הללו בני דור המבול חטאו, בהמה חיה ועופות שספו
 עליהם ד'. מה חטאו שספו עליהם ע. לא ב ב 47-47 ובה' כל הכהמה ותחיות והעופות
 שבעולם מה חטאו ואותן אשר נאספו עמהם אשר איבדן הקב"ה מן העולם ג'. מה חטאו ל
 48 העלוני ע 49 ל' ב ד 50 ל' ב בנ. מן העולם ל 51 בשמי ע. ל' ב ב 52 ל' ב
 ב ב 53-53 עליהם עד נאמן ג. 54 ונחוני ב. *cum leg.* גל: 'ונתנני'. וזווגי דע
 55 ⁽⁵⁵⁾ דלע במרום. ג ית' 56 מלכי ג ⁽⁵⁷⁾ בגל כשחעלני הקב"ה לשמי
 מרום. 58-58 ל' ב ד 59-59 מלאכי עז"ה ועז"אל ב. ממלאכי עוזה ועז"אל ג.
 עוזה עוזה ועזאל ד. מִמְלַכְתִּי עוזה ועזאל ל. מלאכי עוזה ועזאל ע 60 ל' ב ע
 61 ג ס הם שם 62 משמי ע 63 מרומים דע 64 ד ס ממלאכי השרת.
 65 בגדלע רבש"ע. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ ג ס לך ה. בל לפניך 67 הראשונים ע 68 ל' ב
 ב בגל 69 יברא את ה- ג 70 ל' ב בגל 71 ב ס לחם 72-72 ל' ב בגל
 73-73 ואני אסבול ואשא לבדי ג ⁽⁷⁴⁾ ג ס חנוך בן ירד. ⁽⁷⁵⁾ ד ס ברוך הוא
 76 שעלה בגדלע ⁽⁷⁷⁾ ג ס אליני 78 ל' ב בג 79-79 לא מבניהם הללו דע.
 וכי אינו מבני בניהם של אילו ב. וכי לא מבני בניהם של אלו הוא ג. 80 שנאכדו
 [ב]גער 81 במי בגר 82 ל' ב בגדע ⁽⁸³⁾ ג ס של זה 84 ברקיע ב
 85-85 ל' ב דלע

פרק ד'

אמר ר' ישמעאל. ¹ אמרתי לוי ² למטטרון-¹ מפני מה ⁴ אתה קורא? ³ [ז: נקרא] בשם-⁴ קוניך בע' שמות ואתה גדול ⁵ מכל השרים וגבוה ⁶ מכל המלאכים. ⁷ וחביב ⁸ מכל המשרתים ונכבד מכל הצבאים ⁹ ¹²⁻¹⁰ ורם ¹⁰ מכל האדירים ¹¹⁻¹² במלוכה ובגדולה ובכבוד ¹³.

ומפני מה קורין ¹⁴ אותך ¹⁵ בשמי מרומים ¹⁶ ¹⁷ נער .. ¹⁹⁻¹⁸ משיב ¹⁸ ואמר לי-¹⁹. מפני (מה) ²⁰ ²¹ שאף הוא ²¹ חנוך בן ירד .. שבשחמאן ²² ²³ דור המבול ²⁴ וסרחו במעשיהם ²⁴ ואמרו ²⁵ לאל סור ²⁶ ממנו ודעת דרכיך ²⁷ לא חפצנו ²⁸ ((אויב כא' יד')) נטלני ²⁹ הקב"ה מבניהם ³⁰ להיות עד ³¹ עליהם בשמי מרום ³¹ ³² לכל באי העולם ³² כרי שלא ³³ [יאמרו] רחמן ³⁴ אכזרי ³⁵ ³⁶ [הוא] .. מה חטאו כל אותן האוכלוסין ³⁷ נשיהם ³⁸ בניהם ובנותיהם ³⁹ * סוסייהם ⁴⁰ פרדיהם * מקניהם וקניינם ⁴⁷ וכל עופת ⁴¹ ⁴⁰⁻⁴² שהיו בעולם ⁴² שאבדן ⁴³ הקב"ה ⁴⁴ עמהם במי המבול ⁴⁴.

ד'

¹⁻¹ שאלתי לשר הפנים מטטרון ב ² לי ב גדלע ³ נקרא ד להקרא. לי ב ע'. נקראת גל ⁴⁻⁴ שמך כשם ב ⁵ גדול ב ⁶ וגדול ג ⁷ המלכים ד ⁸ ג ⁹ אתה. ⁹ הצבאות גד. צבאות בל ¹⁰ ורב דע. ויקר ג ¹¹ החיילות ג ¹²⁻¹² ויקר מכל החיילים ופקיד על הפקידים ב. ויקר מכל חיילים ל ¹³ ג ¹⁴ וביקר ובתפארת ¹⁴ קוראין ב ¹⁵ לך בגל ¹⁶ מרום בגל ¹⁷ ג ¹⁸ בשם ¹⁸ השיב דע לי ב ג ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ אמר לי בל ²⁰ cum del. גרע ²¹⁻²¹ להקראת כמו בגדלע :שאני' ²² כשחמאן דל. וכשחמאן ב. כשחמאן ע ²³ בגד בכי ²⁴⁻²⁴ לי ב לע ²⁵ ואמר ע ²⁶ סורו ב ²⁷ דרכי ב. דרכך ג ²⁸ חפצו ב ²⁹ (ו)אז העלני בגל. הצילני ע ³⁰ מביניהם ד. מפניהם ע. להקרא 'מפניהם' ³¹⁻³¹ לי ב ב אליהם בשמי מרום ל ³²⁻³² לי ב ל ³³ בגדע ³⁴ יאמרו. להקרא. ל ³⁵ יאמרו באי עולם. ³⁶ ג ³⁷ הוא רק ³⁸ אכזר לע ³⁹ בד ⁴⁰ הוא. להק'. ג ⁴¹ חיללה כי ⁴² בל ⁴³ ואם הם חטאו. ג ⁴⁴ כלם. ואף הם חטאו. ⁴⁵ לא ב בגל ⁴⁶ ב ⁴⁷ מה חטאו ו- ⁴⁸⁻⁴⁰ לי ב ב ⁴⁹ עופות דע ⁵⁰⁻⁴² וכל בהמות שבעולם ב. שבעולם ע ⁵¹ שאובדן ד. אבדן ב ⁵²⁻⁴⁴ לי ב' ב. עמהם בימי דור המבול דע

* לי ב ל

מהלך מסוף העולם ועד סופו על אחת⁽²⁷⁾ 28- ששים וחמשת-²⁸ אלפים
 29- בגלגל חמה-²⁹ שבל³⁰ המשתמש³¹ בזיו (אותו)³² השכינה³³ אין
 זובבין ויתושין⁽³⁴⁾ שורין³⁵ בו³⁶ ואינו³⁷ חולה ואינו³⁸ מצטער⁽⁴⁰⁾ ואין
 כל⁴¹ מזיקין שולטין⁴² עליו⁴³ ואין⁴⁴ יכולין להזיק אותו-⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ ולא
 עוד אלא⁽⁴⁶⁾ מלאכים אין⁴⁷ שולטין⁴⁸ בו⁴⁹.. כשחקב"ה⁵⁰ 54-51 יוצא⁵¹ ונכנס⁵¹ מגן לעדן⁵² ומערדן לגן-⁵² ומן הגן⁵³ לרקיע⁵⁴ ומרקיע לגן
 עדן⁵⁵ והכל⁵⁶ מסתכלין בזיו דמות⁵⁷ שכינתו⁵⁸ ואין⁵⁹ ניוקין.. עד ו'
 שבאו⁶⁰ בני⁶¹ דורו של אנוש⁶⁶ שהיה⁶² ראש כל⁶³ עובדי ע"ז שבעולם
 היו⁶⁴.. ומה היו בני דורו עושין-⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶ 73-67-73 היו הולכין⁶⁸ מסוף ו'
 העולם ועד סופו-⁷³ ומביאים⁶⁹ כל אחד ואחד⁷⁰⁻⁷¹ כסף וזהב
 ואבנים טובות⁷² ומרגליות⁷⁷ בהרים⁷⁴ הרים⁷⁵ וגבעות⁷⁶ גבעות⁷⁷⁻⁷⁵
 ועושין⁷⁸ אותן⁷⁹ ע"ז⁸⁰ 83- בארבע רוחות העולם⁸¹ 82- והיו מעמידין

(27) ג' ט' מן 28-29 שם"ה בג' להקר' 29-29 ובגלגל דע. אשר בגלגל החמה ג'
 30 וכל מי ג' 31 המסתכל דע. שהשתמש ג' 32 אותה דע. ל' ב בגל' del. 33 שכינה ב
 (34) ג' וצערות 35 שרויים בגל' 36 עליו גל' 37 ולא היה ג' 38 גם לא היה ג'.
 ל' ב דע 39 ל' ב דע. בא בצער ב (40) ג' בשום צער בעולם 41 שום
 א' מן ה- ג' 42 ל' ב בג'. מזיקין ד' 43 ל' ב בגע. אותו ד' 44-44 יכולין להזיקו ב'.
 יכולין להזיק ג' 45-45 ל' ב ד'. (46) ב' אפילו. ג' אף ה- 47 אינם גדר
 48 יכולין לשלוט ב' 49 בהם ד' 50 וחקב"ה דע. ובשחקב"ה בג' לחק' 51-51 היה
 הולך ושט דע 52-52 ובין גן לעדן ב' 53 נן ברע 54-54 יוצא מן העדן
 לגן ומן הגן לרקיע ג'. יוצא בין גן לעדן ומן גן לרקיע ל' ב ב'. העליון ג'
 56 היו כלם בג' 57 ל' ב בגד' 58 השכינה ג' 59 ואינו גע' 60 שבא בל'. אשר באו ג'
 61 ל' ב בגל' 62 שהוא בל' אשר היה ה- ג' 63 לכל בל'. לכל ה- ג' 64 ל' ב בגל'
 del. 65-65 עושין דורו של אנוש גל' 66-66 ל' ב דע 67 ג' ש-י. ד' 68-68
 68 מהלכין ב' 69 והיו מביאים ג' 70 מהם ד' 71-71 ל' ב ל' 72 טובים ג'
 73-73 הלכו בכל העולם ל' 74 נהריע ל' ב ב' 76 ובגבעות ב' 77-77 הנמצאים
 בהרים ובגבעות ג'. ל' ב ל' 78 והיו עושין בג' 79 אותו דע. מהם ג'. ל' ב בל'
 80 ע"א ב (=עבודת אלילים) 81 ל' ב צ' * 82-82 ל' ב ב'. אשר כל ע"ז היה גדולה ג'

ק' 86-עוד משיב-86 הקב'ה (87) ואמר להם⁸⁸. מה טיבכם⁸⁹ 93-שאתם נכנסים⁹⁰ לדברי. שאני⁹¹ חפצתי בזה⁹² 93-יותר מכולכם להיות⁹⁴ שר ונגיד-94 עליכם*-בשמי מרומים⁹⁵ *-.. מיד עמדו כולם ויצאו לקראתי וישתחוו⁹⁶ לפני ואמרו (97) אשריך ואשרי הורידך⁹⁸ (99) שרצה בכך¹⁰⁰ קוניך¹⁰¹ .. ומתוך שאני קטן (102) 103-ונער בניהם בימים ובחדשים ובשנים-103 לפיכך¹⁰⁴ היו¹⁰⁵ קורין¹⁰⁶ אותי נער:

86-86 והישיב ב. והשיב להם ג. משיב ל (87) ג ט עוד 88 לי ב ב טבכם ב 90 נכסתם ג 91 איני ב. ואני גל 92 בו בגל 93-93 נכנסים לדבר כאשר חפצתי ע 94-94 לשר ולנגיד בעל 95 מרומ בגרע 96 והשתחוה גלע. והשתחוה ב. לי ב ד (97) בגדלע ט לי. 98 לירד ב. הורד ע (99) ג ט ויולדתך 100 בו ל. בהם ע 101 קונך גרע (102) ב ט ביניהם בשנים. גל ט ביניהם. דע ט בתוכם 103-103 ונער בתוכם בשנים בל. ונער אנכי בשנים ג 104 לכך ג 105 לי ב בדלע 106 קוראין בד ל *- לי ב ל

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פרק ה'

ה' אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרוני¹ שר הפנים² 1- (2) .. מיום³ שטדרו הקב"ה לאדם הראשון מגן⁴ עדן היתה שכינה שורה⁵ על כרוב תחת עץ החיים .. ומלאכי השרת⁶ היו מתקבצין⁷ ובאין ויורדין כתות כתות⁸ מן השמים¹⁶ וחבורות חבורות מן⁹ הרקיע⁹ 10, יומחנות מחנות *-מן השמים¹¹ *-12 לעשות רצונו¹² (13) בכל העולם¹⁴ ג כלו¹⁵ 16-.. ואדם הראשון ודורו¹⁷ (18) יושבין על פתח¹⁹ גן²⁰ עדן²⁰ להסתכל בדמות תוארו²¹ של²² זיו השכינה²³ .. לפי²⁴ שזיוה²⁵ היה²⁶

ה'

1-1 לא ב ל (2) ג ט כן 3 ביום בגל 4 מן הגן ג 5 שרויה דלע 6 שרת ב 7 מקפצין דע. נכנסים ב. מתכנסים גל 8 וכתות ע 9 לא ב בגל 10 ? השמים ד 11 הרקיע בג 12-12 לשוט ד (13) ג ט יתעלה ברוך הוא 14 עולם ב 15 לא ב ב 16-16 לשוט בכל העולם כלו ע 17 וזוה לע (18) ג ט היו 19 פתחו של בגל 20 לא ב ע 21 לא ב ב. תואר ג. תאר ל 22 לי ב ג 23 שכינה בל 24 כי אז ג 25 זיו השכינה גר. שזיו השכינה ע ז. שזיו שכינה בל 26 לי ב בל *- לי ב ל

בני 128 אדם ⁽¹²⁹⁾ שעובדין ע"ז 133- והששו 130 אותך ⁽¹³¹⁾ לע"ז 132- 133 .
 137- ועבשיו אתה 134 בארץ 135- וע"ז בארץ . מה טיבך בין דרי 136 הארץ י"ג
 עובדי ע"ז 135- 137 . מיד 138 סילק [הק]ב"ה שכינתו 139 ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ מן הארץ י"ג
 מביניהם 141 . באותה שעה באו מלאכי השרת וגידודי 142 הצבאות י"ד
 וחילי ערבות אלף 143 מחנות 144 וריבי 145 צבאות ונטלו חצוצרות 146
 ותפשו 147- בידם את השופרות- 147 והקיפו את השכינה בשירים
 ובשירות ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ ועלה 149 לשמי ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ מרום שנאמר 151 עלה אלוהים
 בתרועה 152- יי בקול שופר- 152- ^{((תלים מ' ו'))}

128 הבני ג ⁽¹²⁹⁾ ג ש אשר בארץ 130 ושהשוו דל ⁽¹³¹⁾ ג ש כביכול כמו
 132 הע"ז ממש ג. כע"ז דל 133-133 שהשוו בע"ז ע 134 שאתה ג 135-135 טיבך
 כיורדי ארץ ועובדי ע"ז אליה ג 136 דיירי דע 137-137 לי' ב ב 138 לי' ב ע
 שכינה דע ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ ג ש מהין. ל ש מהם 141 לי' ב בגל 142 וגדודי דל. עם גדודי
 צבאות ג. מגדודי צבאות ע 143 ואלף דע 144 לי' ב' ע 145 ורכוא ג 146 את [ה]חצוצרות
 גדלע 147-147 שופרות בידם ב. את השופרות בידם גל ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ ג ש ובזמירות
 ובתושבתות 149 לי' ב בגרלע 150 ג ש שמי 151 כמשה' ג 152-152 לי' ב גל

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פרק ו'

אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמירין מלאך ¹ שר הפנים . כשבקש ² א
 ה[ק]ב"ה ³ ל[ה]עלות ⁴ אותי ⁵ למרום ⁶ בתחלה ⁷ שיגר ⁸ ⁽⁹⁾ ענפיאל ¹⁰ יי
 השר ונטלני מביניהם לעיניהם ¹¹ והרכני ¹² בכבוד ¹³ גדול ¹⁴ על רכב
 אש ו[ב]סוסין ¹⁵ אש משרתי ¹⁶ כבוד והעלני עם ¹⁷ ⁽¹⁸⁾ השכינה לשמי ¹⁹

ו'
 1 לי' ב בגלצ 2 כאשר ביקש אותי ג 3 לי' ב בע 4 להעלות דלע. להעליני ב
 5 לי' ב ב 6 במרום גע 7 לי' ב ג בתחלת ב 8 שגר לעצ ⁽⁹⁾ ג ש אלי
 בתחלה את. דעצ ש לי. ל ש את 10 לי' ב גרעצ 11 לעיני כולם ג 12 והרכבני
 בגרלצ 13 על כרוב בגלצ 14 וב- בלצ ב ג 15 וסוסי בדעלצ. ובסוסי ג *ita leg.*
 16 ומשרת בדעצ. ומשרתי ל. ובמשבחי ג 17 ער ע ⁽¹⁸⁾ ג ש כבוד 19 בשמי גצ.
 משמי ל

אותן בכל רוח ורוח שבעולם ע"ז-82-83 כשיעור אלף פרסה 84. .
 ו'מורידין 85 חמה ולבנה כוכבים ומזלות 88-מעמידים 86 לפניהם 87
 מימינם ומשמאלם-88 לשמש בהן 89 כדרך שמשמשין 90 להקב"ה 91
 -שנ[אמר] 92. וכל 93 צבא השמים עומדים עליו 94 מימינו ומשמאלו-95
 ט' (מלכים א' כב' יט') .. 100-והיאך היה בהן כח 97-שהיו 96 מורידין אותן-97 (98)
 אלא 99-100 עוזה 101 ועוזה 102 ועזאל 103 היו מלמדים להם 104-107 כשפים
 שהיו מורידין אותם [מ]משמשים 105 בהם 106-107 שאלמלא כן לא היו
 " יכולין (108) להורידן. באותה שעה קשרו 109 מלאכי השרת קטיגור 110
 לפני ה[ק]ב"ה ואמרו 111 לפניו. רבש"ע 113-מה לך אצל בני אדם
 שנאמר 112-113 מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וכו' ((תהלים ח' ה)) מה אדם לא
 נאמר כאן 114 אלא 115 מה 116 אנוש שהוא 117 (118) ראש (119) לע"ז 120 (121) ..
 י' מפני מה הנחת את שמי השמים 122-125 העליונים מלון כבוד שמך 123
 וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום 124 ערבות 125-126 ובאות ולנות (!) 126-עם 127

83-88 בעולם דע 84 פרמאות בע 85 והיו מורידין ומשתחווים לפני ב'. והיו
 מורידין ה-גלצ 86 למעמד ע. והעמידם ג 87 לפני הע"ז ג 88-88 ל"י ב צ
 89 להם בלצ. אליהם ג 90 שמשמשים ב. שהיו משמשין דלע. ולחק' כמו כן.
 שהם משמשים ג 91 לפני הקב"ה בלע. לפני הקב"ה יתעלה ג 92 כמשה' ג
 93 כל דע 94 לפניו ב 95-95 ל"י ב צ 96 שהי' ד' 1. שהיה ד' 97-97 להורידן
 כן ב. להורידן ל (98) דע ומשתמשין בהם 99 ל"י ב ע 100-100 והיאך באמת
 היה הכח בידם להורידם. הוא זה כי ג 101 ל"י ב' גר 102 ל"י ב לע
 103 ועזאל גלע 104 אותם גל 105 ומשתמשים ד לחק' 106 ל"י ב ע
 107-107 ל"י ב ג. מעשה כשפים ל (108) להם 109 קראו דע 110 קשר א'
 וקטרונו ג 111 ואמר ב 112 ל"י ב גרע. דכתיב ל 113-113 ל"י ב ב 114 ל"י
 ב בגרלע 115 כי אם ג 116 ל"י ב ג 117 שאנוש בל. ל"י ב ג (118) ג
 על כי אנוש היה ה- (119) ב היה. ג והראשון 120 לעובדי עבוד' וזה ג
 (121) ב ואמר. ג 122 שמים בע 123 שלך דע 124 שברום ד 125-125 ערבות
 רקיצ מלאים כבודך שבגבורים ורמים וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום ערבות רקיע ב. העליונים
 המלאים מהור כבודך שלך והם גבוהים ורמים ונשאים והכסא הוא רם ונשא אשר
 במרום רקיע ערבות ג. עליונים מלאים כבודך שגבורים ורמים וכסא רם ונשא שבמרום
 ערבות רקיצ ל 126-126 leg. ובאת ולנת cum דל. ובאת והלכת בג 127 אצל דע

2-אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך³ ישר הפנים-2..
כשלקחני⁴ (5)⁶ מן בני-6 דור⁷ המבול⁸ העלני הקב"ה-8 (מן בני דור
המבול העלני *ditt.*) בכנפי רוח שכינה⁹ לרקיע העליון¹⁰ (11)¹¹ והכניסני¹²
לתוך¹³ פלטרין¹⁴ גדולים¹⁵-שבדום ערבות הרקיע-¹⁵ ששם¹⁶ 17-כסא
הכבוד של שכינה-¹⁷ ומרכבה¹⁸ גדודים¹⁹ של זעם²⁰ וחיילים²¹ של
זעף²² ושנאנים²³ של אש וכרובים של לפיד²⁴ ואופנים של גחל²⁵
ומשרתים של להב וחשמלים²⁶ של בזק ושרפים של ברק והעמידני²⁷
לשמש בכל יום ויום²⁸ את²⁹ כסא הכבוד³⁰ :

¹ פרק הזה נמצא ב ב בסוף פרק יא' ואיהו פרק י"ד הכא. ²⁻² ל' ב ב. אד' ישמעאל.
אלי מטטרון ל ³ ל' ב ג ⁴ בשלחחוניד ⁽⁵⁾ בגל⁶⁻⁶ הקב"ח ⁶⁻⁶ מפני ד. מבין
בגל⁷ ל' ב ב ⁸⁻⁸ in ditt. א העלני בגל⁹ השכינה ג ¹⁰ עליון ב
(11) ב¹¹ והעלני ¹² והכנים אותי א ג. וכניסוני ע ¹³ אל תוך ג. בתוך ע ¹⁴ פלמורין ע.
פלמין ב *ita leg.* הפלמין ג ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ אשר בשמי מרום שהוא ברום רקיע ערבות ג
¹⁶ במקום אשר שם ג ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ כבוד השכינה ב. כבוד השכינה יתעל' ג. כבוד שכינה ל
¹⁸ ומרכבות בגל¹⁹ נבורים בל. גדולות ג. נידודי ע ²⁰ אש ע ²¹ וחיילות ג
²² ועז ב ²³ ושטנים ג ²⁴ לפידים ג ²⁵ נחלים בגל²⁶ וחשמל ב ²⁷ והעמידוני ע.
והעמידם ל ²⁸ ל' ב ב ²⁹ לפני בג. לפני הקב"ח לפני ל ³⁰ כבוד ב

אמר ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון ⁰ שר הפנים ⁰.. קודם ^א שיעמידני ¹ לשמש את ² כסא הכבוד פתח לי הקב"ה שלש מאות אלפים שערי ³ בינה, ושלש(ה) מאות אלפים שערי ערמה, ושלש(ה)

0-0 לִי ב' ל' ¹ שהעמידני בדע. שהעמיד אותי ג' ² לפני ג' ³⁻³ הללו שמות
השערים וסדרם לפי **בגדלער**: ב: חכמה. בינה. ערמה. חיים. חן וחסד. אהבה.
תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חמא ג'; חסד. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה
וחיל. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. יראת חמא. ענוה. ד: חכמה. בינה.
ערמה. חיים. שלום. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. כח. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה.

ב מרום. וכיון שהגעתי ⁽²⁰⁾ לשמי ²¹ מרום ²² והיו ²³ *חיות הקורש ואופנים ²⁴ ושרפים וכרובים וגלגלי המרכבה ²⁵ ומשרתי אש אוכלה * ⁽²⁶⁾ מריחין ²⁷ את ²⁸ ריחי ²⁹ בריחות ³⁰ שלש מאוה וששים וחמשת אלפים רבבות פרסאות ואומרים ³¹ מה ריח ³² ילוד אשה ⁽³³⁾ ומה ³⁴ טעם טיפת ³⁵ לבן שהיא ³⁵ עולה למרום ³⁶ ויתוש ³⁷ בין ³⁸ חוצבי ³⁹ שלהבת ⁴⁰.. משיב הקב"ה ⁽⁴¹⁾ ואומר להם. משרתי צבא ^(י) ⁴² כרובי ⁴⁴ ואופני ושרפי ⁴³ ⁴⁴ אל ירע ⁴⁵ בעיניכם הדבר הזה ⁴⁵ שכל ⁴⁶ בני אדם ⁴⁷ ⁽⁴⁸⁾ כפרו ⁴⁹ בי ⁵⁰ ובמלכותי הגדולה ⁽⁵¹⁾ והלכו ועבדו ⁵² ע"ז וסלקתי ⁵³ שכ ^(י) נתי ⁵⁴ מביניהם ⁵⁵ והעלית ^(י) ⁵⁶ למרום ⁵⁷ ⁵⁷ וזה שנמלתי מביניהם ⁵⁸ בח ^(י) ⁵⁹ שבועולם ⁶⁰ ⁶² וזה שקול כנגד כולם בתמונה ⁶¹ ובצדקה ובכשרון מעשה ⁶² וזה שנמלתי ⁶³ שכרי בעולמי ⁶⁴ מתחת ⁶⁵ כל ⁶⁶ השמים ⁶⁷.

⁽²⁰⁾ ג ט שם. צ ט שמה ²¹ בשמי ג. ל' ב צ ²² ל' ב צ ²³ היו בגלצ ²⁴ ל' ב בצ ²⁵ מרכבה ב ⁽²⁶⁾ ג ט אש ²⁷ המריחין עד ¹. והריחו בגל. הריחו צ ²⁸ ל' ב צ ²⁹ רוחי בע ³⁰ מרחוק בג. ברחוק דע. *frit. leg.* למעלה מרחוק ל. ל' ב צ ³¹ ואמרו בגלע ³² רוח ע. ל' ב ב. ריח טיפת ל ⁽³³⁾ ג ט זה. ב ט בינינו. צ ט פה ³⁴ ל' ב ב ³⁵⁻³⁵ זרע לובן אשר הוא ג. לבן שהוא ל ³⁶ בשמי מרום בגלעצ. לשמי מרום ד ³⁷ וישמש גדלע. וישתמש ב ³⁸ כן ג. כי ל ³⁹ ובחצובי ג. וחצובי ל ⁴⁰ שלהבות גד ¹ ⁽⁴¹⁾ ג ט יתעלה ⁴² צבאי: בגדלעצ: לחקר ⁴³ ל' ב צ ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ ושרפי גלגלי ואופני ג ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ לבככם בדבר הזה בגעצ. לכם בדבר זה ד. לכם הדבר הזה ל ⁴⁶ כי כל ג ⁴⁷ ל' ב צ ⁽⁴⁸⁾ ג ט אשר בעולם ⁴⁹ ל' ב ב. כפרוני ל ⁵⁰ ל' ב ל. בכבודי ב ⁽⁵¹⁾ ב ט בראתיו ⁵² אחרי ה- ג ⁵³ ולכן סילקתי ג. וסלקו ע ⁵⁴ שכניה עצ ⁵⁵ מהם ב ⁵⁶ והעלתי בד ² ע. והעליתיה ג. לחקר. ל' ב צ. והעלית ל ⁵⁷ ל' ב צ ⁵⁸ ביניהם ד ² ⁵⁹ מובחר דע. לחקר: 'בְּחָר' שכולם הוא דע ⁶⁰ לחקר' כמו דע: באמונה ⁶²⁻⁶² ל' ב בגצ ⁶³ האדם הוא אשר נמלתי ל- ג ⁶⁴ מעולמי ג. מכל עלמי צ. עמלי ר ⁶⁵ תחת ברעצ ⁶⁶ ל' ב ע ⁶⁷⁻⁶⁷ וזה נמלתי מעולמי תחת כל השמים ל

*- * חיות וכרובים ושרפים וגלגלים ומשרתי אש מעלה ל

כשיעור¹¹ ארכו ורחבו ש"ע¹².. והעלה¹³ לי¹⁴ ע"ב כנפים ל' ⁽¹⁵⁾ מצד ג' אחר¹⁶ ול' ⁽¹⁵⁾ מצד אחר¹⁷ וכל כנף וכנף¹⁸ כמלא¹⁹ עולם²⁰.. וקבע ד' בי²¹-ג' מאות וששים וחמשה אלפים²¹ עינים וכל²² עין ⁽²³⁾ כמאור הגדול.. ולא הניח²⁴ ממין של²⁴ זיו ושל²⁵ זהר²⁶ תאר²⁷ ויופי³⁰-³⁰ [של] ה' (שבח²⁸) אורות²⁹ שבעולם³⁰-שלא³¹ קבע בי :

11 שיעור בל. עם שיעור ג' 12 של עולם בדל 13 והעלו ע 14 אלי ג' ⁽¹⁵⁾ דע 15 כנפים 16 הימין ג'. זה ל 17 השמאל ג'. אחר ד'. זה ל 18 ל' ב ד' 19 הוא כמלא ג' 20 כל העולם כולו ג' 21-21 ת"ק אלפים וש' בל. חמשה אלפים ושלושה מאות וששים ג' 22 אשר כל ג' ⁽²³⁾ בדלע 15 ועין. ג' 15 ועין הוא 24-24 דבר ב'. שום דבר ג'. דבר זוהר ל' ב בגדלע 26 ל' ב דע 27 ל' ב בגל 28 של ב'. ל' ב גרע 29 ואורות דע 30-30 אשר הם בכול אורות העולם ג'. וצחצות שבאור' העולם ל 31 אם לא ב'. אשר לא היה ג'

פרק י'

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁽¹⁾ שר הפנים.. ⁽²⁾ כל זאת עשה^{2a} ח' לי³ [הק"ב] ה"ה⁽⁴⁾. כסא מעין ⁽⁵⁾ כסא הכבוד ופרש⁶ עלי פריש⁷ 10-של זיו ושל זהר ותאר ⁽⁸⁾ ויופי וחן⁹ וחסד מעין פריש¹⁰ של כסא הכבוד 12-שכל^{11a} מיני ⁽¹¹⁾ מאורות¹² שבעולם קבועים בו.. ושמו על פתח ⁽¹³⁾ ב' היכל שביעי והושיבני עליו.. והכרוז¹⁴ יוצא¹⁵ עלי¹⁶ בכל רקיע ורקיע ג' ⁽¹⁷⁾ לאמר¹⁸ ⁽¹⁹⁾ מטטרון עבדי²⁰ שמתיו לשר ⁽²¹⁾ ולנגיד על כל שרי מלכותי²² ועל כל בני מרומים חוץ משמנה שרים²⁴-גדולים²³

1' ⁽¹⁾ דע 15 מלאך ⁽²⁾ ג' אחר. 2a עושה ב 3 ל' ב בג ⁽⁴⁾ דע 15 עשה לי. ג' 15 אלי ⁽⁵⁾ ג' דונמ' 6 ופרשת ב'. ופרם גל 7 פרשת ב'. פרם גל ⁽⁸⁾ דע 15 כבוד 9 ל' ב דע 10-10 ל' ב בגל ⁽¹¹⁾ בע 15 זיו. דל 15 זיו ו- 11a והיא יביעה של ל 12-12 אשר כל זיו וזהר מכל אורות ג' ⁽¹³⁾ ג' של 14 והנה הכרוז ג' 15 יצוא יצא ד'. יצא ע. עלה ג' 16 ל' ב גע ⁽¹⁷⁾ ג' עלי 18 ואומרים בלשון ג'. ואמר ל' ⁽¹⁹⁾ ג' הזה 20 ל' ב ג' ⁽²¹⁾ ב 15 וצד 22 המלאכים ל 23 ל' ב ע 24-24 ניכבדין הגדולים ב'. הנכבדים הגדולים גל

מאות אלפים שערי חיים וג' מאות אלפים שערי חן וחסד וג' מאות אלפים שערי אהבה. וג' מאות אלפים שערי תורה וג' מאות אלפים שערי ענוה וג' מאות אלפים שערי פרנסה וג' מאות אלפים שערי רחמים וג' מאות אלפים שערי יראת שמים³;

ב באותה⁴ שעה הוסיף לי ה[ק]ב"ה חכמה על חכמה בינה על בינה⁵ ערמה על ערמה⁵ דעת על דעת רחמים על רחמים⁶ תורה על תורה אהבה על אהבה⁷ חסד על חסד⁷ חמדה על חמדה ענוה על ענוה גבורה על גבורה כח על כח חיל על חיל זוהר על זוהר יופי על יופי תאר על תאר⁹ ונכבדתי¹⁰ ונתפארתי¹¹ בכל¹² מדות¹³ 14- טובות ומשובחות 14- הללו¹⁵ יותר 18- מבני 16 מרומים 17- 18-;

רחמים. ענוה. יראת שמים. ל; חכמה. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חטא. ע; חכמה. בינה. ערמה. חיים. שלום. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. כח. חן וחסד. אהבה. אהבה (חמדה; ע¹). ענוה. יראת חטא. ר; חכמה. בינה. חיים. ערמה. שכינה. גבורה וחיל. חן וחסד. אהבה. תורה. פרנסה. ענוה. יראת חטא.

4 ומאותה ב. ומאותו ג. 5-5 לי ב ב 6 ב חן וחסד על חסד. 7-7 לי ב ב 8 ג וזיו על זיו. 9 ג וזוד על כל חוד וחוד על כל חדר וכבוד על כל כבוד ונתפאר על כל תפארת. 10 ונתכבדתי דע 11 ונתפארתי ב 12 ג ואלו ה- ל סה-ה. 13 ב סה הללו ה- 14-14 לי ב ל 15 לי ב בג. 16 מן כל בני בגדע 17 מרום בג 18-18 מכל אדם ל

o ~ o ~ o ~ o ~ o

פרק ט'

א' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון¹ שר הפנים. אחר² כל מדות³ הללו⁴ הניח⁵ ה[ק]ב"ה⁶ עלי את ידו⁶ וברכני⁸ אלף וג' מאות⁷ וחמשת אלפים⁸ ברכות. ורוממתי⁹ והגבהתי¹⁰

ט'

1 ג סה מלאך. 2 ג סה אלו 3 המדות גבע 4 לי ב ע. הנזכרים ג 5 ג סה לי 6-6 ידר עלי בדע. את ידו על (י) (ראשי) גל 7 דע ושישים 8-8 ת'ק אלפים וש'ם בל. עם ת'ק אלפים ושלשה מאות ושישים ג להק' 9 והתרוממתי בל ואז. נתרוממתי ג. 10 ונתגבהתי בג

האדם ⁽¹⁵⁾ במסתר אני רואה וקודם שיעשה אדם דבר ¹⁶ אני רואה ¹⁷ ..
ואין דבר ¹⁶ במרום ובעומק עולם נעלם ממני ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ :

⁽¹⁵⁾ בִּסְאִי יוֹדַע וְקוֹדֵם שִׁיחֻשׁוֹב ¹⁶ לִי ב ב ¹⁷ יוֹדַע ב ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ וְקוֹדֵם
אֲשֶׁר הָאָדָם חֹשֵׁב דְּבַר מָה בִּמְחַשְׁבֹּתָיו אֲנִי יוֹדַע אוֹתוֹ וְאֵין בְּמָרוֹם מִמֶּעַל וְכֵן בְּעוֹמֶק
מִתַּחַת נֶעֱלָם מִמֶּנִּי ג. קוֹדֵם שִׁיחֻשׁוֹב בְּמָרוֹם וְבְעוֹמֶק עוֹלָם נֶעֱלָם מִמֶּנִּי ד. קוֹדֵם שִׁיחֻשׁוֹב
אָדָם אֲנִי יוֹדַע וְקוֹדֵם שִׁיעֲשֶׂה דְּבַר בִּמְסַתֵּר אֲנִי רוֹאֶה. וְאֵין בְּמָרוֹם וְבְעוֹמֶק נֶעֱלָם מִמֶּנִּי ל
קוֹדֵם שֶׁחֲשָׁךְ בְּמָרוֹם וְבְעוֹמֶק עוֹלָם נֶעֱלָם מִמֶּנִּי ע ⁽¹⁹⁾ בִּסְאִי לְכַד מִיוֹצֵר בְּרֵאשִׁית.

פרק י"ב

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטמרון ⁽¹⁾ שר הפנים.. מתוך אהבה י'
שאהב ² אותי ³ ה[ק]ב"ה ⁽⁴⁾ יותר ⁵ מכל בני מרומים ⁶ יעשה ⁷ לי ⁸
לבוש ⁹ 10- של גיאה ¹⁰ 13- שכל מיני ⁽¹¹⁾ מאורות ¹² בו- ¹³ והלבשני ¹⁴ [בו]..
20- ועשה לי מעיל של כבוד שכל ¹⁵ מיני תאר ¹⁶ גזיו ¹⁷ זוהר ⁽¹⁸⁾ הדר ב'
קבועים ⁽¹⁹⁾ בו- ²⁰ 21-.. ועשה לי כתר מלכות שקבועים בו ארבעים ג'
ותשע אבני ²² תאר כאור ²³ גלגל החמה.. שזיוו ²⁴ הולך ²⁹ בארבע ד'
רוחות ²⁵ 26- ערבות רקיע- ²⁶ ובשבעה ²⁷ רקיעים וארבע(ה) ²⁸ רוחות
העולם- ²⁹ 30- וקשרו ⁽³¹⁾ על ראשי.. וקראני ³² ה' ³³ הקמן בפני כל ה'
פמליא שלו ³⁴ שבמרום ³⁵ שנאמר ³⁶ ((שמות כג' כ"א)) כי שמי בקרבו :

י"ב

⁽¹⁾ דַּע סְאִי מִלֵּאךְ ² שֶׁאֲהִינִי ב ³ לִי ב ב ג ⁽⁴⁾ גִּסְאִי ית' ⁵ אוֹתִי ג
⁶ מְרִים בְּגַל ⁷ עֲשֶׂה בְּגִדְלֶע ⁸ לִי ב ב ⁹ מִלְּבוּשׁ ב ¹⁰⁻¹¹ נֶאֱוָה
בְּגַל לֶחֶק ⁽¹¹⁾ בִּסְאִי תוֹאֵר זִיו וְהָדָר ¹² וּמִרְאוֹת ב. קְבוּעִים ע ¹³⁻¹⁸ אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ כָּל
מִינֵי אוֹרוֹת קְבוּעִים ג. *leg. sim.* ¹⁴ הַעֲמִיפְנִי דַּע. וְבוֹ הִלְבִּישְׁנִי ג ¹⁵ אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ כָּל ג
¹⁶ לִי ב ג ¹⁷ זִיו גַּל ⁽¹⁸⁾ בִּגְסָא וְהוֹדוּ- ⁽¹⁹⁾ גִּסְא וְהַעֲמִנִי ²⁰⁻²¹ לִי ב בַּע
⁽²¹⁾ בִּסְאִי בּוֹהַ הַעֲמִנִי. לִסְאִי וְהַעֲמִנִי ²² לִי ב ב ²³ הַמֵּאִירִים כְּמוֹ אוֹר ג. כְּאוֹר ע
²⁴ שְׁזִיו ב. וְאֵת זִיוֹם ג. וְזִיוֹן ל ²⁵ לִי ב ע ²⁶⁻²⁸ הָעוֹלָם שֶׁל הַרְקִיעַ עֲרֻבוֹת ג
²⁷ וְכִמּוֹ כֵּן בְּכָל ה- ג ²⁸ וּבֶאֱרֵב גִּלְעָד ²⁹⁻³⁰ מִסּוֹף הָעוֹלָם וְעַד סוֹפוֹ וּבִשְׁבַעַה
רְקִיעִים וּבֶאֱרֵב רוּחוֹת הָעוֹלָם ⁽³⁰⁾ גִּסְא שֶׁלָּחַם ⁽³¹⁾ גִּסְא אוֹתוֹ חֲכֵתֵר ³² וְקִדְאוּ
לִי ב. וְקִדְאוּ לִי שֵׁם ג. וְקִדְאוּ לִי ל ³³ יִי בֵּר ³⁴ לִי ב בְּגַל ³⁵ שֶׁל מַעֲלָה בְּגַל
³⁶ וְזֶה שֶׁאֲמַר חֲכֵתוֹב ג

ד' הנכבדים-²⁴ והנוראים²⁵ שנקראים²⁶ בשם ה' מלכם-²⁷ וכל²⁸ מלאך ומלאך²⁹ וכל שר ושר-²⁹ שיש לו דבר לדבר לפני³⁰ ילך לפניו וידבר³¹ ה' אליו.. וכל דבר ודבר³² שהוא מדבר בשמי³³ עליכם³⁴ (35) תמטרו³⁶ ותפעלון מפני ששר החכמה ושר הבינה משרתים³⁷ לו³⁸ (39) ללמרו חכמת⁴⁰ העליונים⁴¹ ותחתונים וחכמת העולם⁴² הזה-⁴⁴ וחכמת העולם⁴³ הבא-⁴⁴.. וגם אני מניתיו על כל גנזי היכ(ו)לני⁴⁵ ערבות ועל כל אוצרות חיים⁴⁶ שיש לי⁴⁷ (48) 49- בשמי מרונו-⁴⁹:

25 והנוראים ב' 26 לי' ב' ב. הנקראים ג' 27-27 לי' בשמו של מלכם דל' ה' בשמו של עולם ע'. יה יה אה אה בשמו של מלכם ב'. יהוה כשמו של מלכם יתעלה ג' 28 והנה כל ג' 29-29 לי' ב' דע' 30 לי' ב' בל' הוא ג' 31 לדבר ב' 32 לי' ב' ב' (33) ג' 34 אלכם ב' (35) ג' 36 אשר 36 תשמחן בגל' 37 מסרתיהם ג'. מסרתיו בל' 38 לך בל' (39) ג' 40 חכמות דלע' 41 עליונים בגדעל' 42 עולם ב' 43 עולם גר 44-44 והע"ה ל' ושר (וסוד ע') עוה"ב ע' 45 = היכל' גרע. היכלי בל' 46 החיים ג'. לי' ב' ל' 47 לי' ב' ע' (48) ב' בעולמי 49-49 במרום ל'

פרק י"א

ה' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרו¹ מלאך¹ שר הפנים.. גלה^{1א} לי ה[ק]ב"ה מאז² כל סתרי תורה וכל רזי חכמה³ (3) [וכל עמקי תורה] תמימה⁴ 5-וכל מחשכות לבבות של בריות וכל רזי עולם⁵ וכל רזי⁶ בראשית גלוין⁷ לפני כדרך שגלוין⁸ לפני יוצר בראשית⁹.. וצפיתי מאוד¹⁰ להסתכל ברזי עמוקה¹¹ ובסוד¹² מופלא¹³. 18-הקודם¹⁴ ליחשוב

י"א

1 לי' ב' בגל' 1א גילה ב' 2 מעין ב'. מעיין ל'. את מעיין של ג' (3) ב' 3 וכל עמקי תורה [לחק'] ג': וכל רזי הבינה וכל עמקי סוד תורה ד': וכל עמוקי. ע' 4 וכל עומקי [ע' + תורה] 4 לי' ב' גל' 5-5 לי' ב' בגל'. 6 סתרי דע'. סדרי בג'. עמקי סדרי ל' 7 גלה ע'. גלויים ע' 8 שנליים ע'. אשר הם גלויים ג' 9 מעשה בראשית ג' 10 מאז דע'. לי' ב' בגל' 11 עמוקות ג'. עמיקה ל' 12 ובסודים ג' 13 מופלאים ג'. מופלאה ע' 14 קודם ברע. *frit. leg.* שקודם

אֲרָאִילִים וְיֹשְׁרֵי אֲלִים טַפְסָרִים-⁸ (8- וְיֹשְׁרֵי אֲרָאִילִים-⁹) שְׁגֹדוֹלִים מִכָּל
מִלְאכֵי¹⁰ הַשֶּׁרֶת הַמִּשְׁמָשִׁים לִפְנֵי כֶסֶף הַכְּבוֹד-¹³ זְעִים¹¹ וְנִרְתַּעִים¹²
מִמֶּנִּי-¹⁴ כִּשְׂרֹאִים אוֹתִי-¹⁴ 13-.. וַאֲפִילוֹ סִמְאֵל⁽¹⁵⁾ שֶׁר⁽¹⁶⁾ הַמִּסְטִינִים ב'
שְׁהוּא גִדּוֹל מִכָּל שְׂרֵי¹⁷ מַלְכִּיּוֹת¹⁸ שִׁבְמָרוֹם¹⁹ יֵרָא וְנִזְדַּעַזַּע²⁰ מִמֶּנִּי²¹..
אֲפִילוֹ מִלְאָךְ²² הָאִישׁ²³ וּמִלְאָךְ²⁴ הַבֶּרֶד²⁵ וּמִלְאָךְ²⁴ הָרוּחַ²⁶ 27- וּמִלְאָךְ ב'
הַבֶּרֶק-²⁷ וּמִלְאָךְ הַזֶּעֶם-²⁸ וּמִלְאָךְ הָרַעַם-²⁸ וּמִלְאָךְ הַשֶּׁלֶג²⁹ וּמִלְאָךְ
הַמָּטָר³⁰ וּמִלְאָךְ הַיּוֹם³¹ וּמִלְאָךְ הַלֵּילָה³² 35- וּמִלְאָךְ הַחֲמָה³³ וּמִלְאָךְ
הַלְּבָנָה³⁴ 35- וּמִלְאָךְ הַכּוֹכָבִים³⁶ וּמִלְאָךְ³⁷ הַמּוֹלֹת³⁸ 68- שְׁמַנְהִיגִים³⁹
אֶת⁽⁴⁰⁾ הָעוֹלָם מִתַּחַת⁴¹ יְדֵיהֶם זְעִים⁴² 43- וְנִרְתַּעִים וְנִבְהָלִים מִלִּפְנֵי
כִּשְׂרֹאִין אוֹתִי-⁴³ 60- וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹתָם⁽⁴⁴⁾ שְׁמַנְהִיגִים⁴⁵ אֶת הָעוֹלָם. גְּבִרְיָאֵל⁷
מִלְאָךְ הָאִישׁ. בְּרִדְיָאֵל מִלְאָךְ הַבֶּרֶד. רוֹחִיָאֵל⁽⁴⁶⁾ שְׁהוּא מְמוֹנָה עַל
הָרוּחַ בְּרִקְיָאֵל⁽⁴⁷⁾ מְמוֹנָה עַל הַבְּרָקִים. זַעֲמִיָאֵל⁴⁸ 49- מְמוֹנָה עַל הַזֶּעֶם.
זִיקִיָאֵל⁵⁰ שְׁהוּא מְמוֹנָה עַל הַזִּיקִים. זִיעִיָאֵל⁵¹ שְׁמַנְהִיגָה עַל הַזִּיקִים
וְעִפְיָאֵל⁵² הַמְמוֹנָה עַל הַזֶּעֶם רַעֲמִיָאֵל⁵² שְׁמַנְהִיגָה עַל הָרַעַם שְׁמַנְהִיגָה עַל הָרַעַם
שְׁמַנְהִיגָה⁵² עַל הָרַעַם שְׁלִגִיָאֵל⁵² שְׁמַנְהִיגָה עַל הַשֶּׁלֶג⁵³. מַטְרִיָאֵל⁵⁴
שְׁמַנְהִיגָה⁵² עַל הַמָּטָר. שְׁמִשִּׁיָאֵל⁵² שְׁמַנְהִיגָה עַל הַיּוֹם לִילִיָאֵל⁵⁴

9-9 לִי ב בל 10 מלכי ב 11 זייעין ד 12 ומתרעדין ב 13-13 לִי ב ל
14-14 לִי ב ע 15- דע ט הרשע 16- בדל ט כל. ע ט לכל 17 לִי ב דע
18 המלכות ב 19 לִי ב ב. שבמרומים ל 20 ומזדעזע ברע. והזדעזע ל
21 לִי ב דע 22 מלאכי בל 23 אש ב 24 ומלאכי בל 25 ברד בל
26 רוח ב 27-27 לִי ב בל 28-28 ומלאך הויעה ומלאך רעש ומלאך ברד ב. מלאך
הזעפה מלאך הרעש ד. ומלאכי הרעש והרעם ל 29 שלג ב 30 מטר ב 31 יום ב
32 לילה ב 33 חמה ב 34 לבנה ב 35-35 לִי ב ע 36 כוכבים ב 37 ו- לע
38 מולות ב 39 שמנהיג ע 40- ע ט כל 41 מתוך דע 42 זייעין דע
43-43 ממני ב 44- דע ט של שרים 45 חמנהיגים ע 46- ע ט מלאך
47- ד ט שהוא. ע ט מלאך שהוא 48 זעימיאל ד 49- דע ט שהוא 50 זיקיאל ע
51 זיע"אל ד. זועי"אל ע 52 שהוא ממנה דע 53 חשלג ע 54 לילאל ד 2

פרק י'ג

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים² הדר
 ב' במרום כל².. מתוך אהבה³ (ה'רבה)³ וחמלה גדולה שאהבני⁴
 וחבבני⁵ ה[ק]ב"ה⁶ 7-יותר מכל בני מרומים⁷ כתב באצבעו בעט
 שלהבת⁸ על כתר שבראשי אות[י]ות⁹ (10) שנבראו בהם¹¹ הרים
 וגבעות. אותיות שנבראו בהם¹¹ כוכבים ומולות¹² ברקים רוחות¹³
 ורעמים וקולות¹⁴ שלג וברד סופה וסערה. אותיות שנבראו בהם
 ב' כל¹⁵ 16-צרכי עולם על¹⁷ 16-17 סדרי¹⁸ בראשית כלם¹⁹.. וכל אות ואות
 מפריחות²⁰ פעם²¹ בפעם²² 25-כמראה ברקים פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ כמראה
 לפידים פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ כמראה להבות²⁶ אש פעם²³ בפעם²⁴ 25-
 27-כמראה צאת²⁷ השמש²⁸ ולבנה וכוכבים²⁹ :

י'ג

1 ל' ב ב 2-2 ל' ב בדלע³ רבה בדלע⁴ להק' שאהב אותי ב⁵ וחבבני ב.
 ל' ב ל' ב ב 6 ל' ב ב 7-7 ל' ב ל' (8) ב וקדושה⁹ אותיות בדע¹⁰.
 (10) ב ל' שנבראו בהם שמים וארץ ואותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות ואותיות. ד. ל'
 שנבראו בהן שמים וארץ ואותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות. ע ל' שנבראו בהן שמים
 וארץ. אותיות שנבראו בהן ימים ונהרות אותיות. 11-11 ל' ב ב ל' (12) ב ל'
 וחמה ולבנה¹³ רוח דע¹⁴ ל' ב ב ל' 15 ל' ב בע¹⁶⁻¹⁶ ל' ב ל'
 17 וכל בדע¹⁸ סדר ב. סתרי ע¹⁹ כלם ל' ב בדע²⁰ מפרחות בע.
 מפרכות ד. פורחות ל' פנים בדע²² בפנים בדע²³ פנים ב²⁴ בפנים ב
 25-25 ל' ב דע²⁶ ל' ב ל' 27-27 כצאת ל' (28) ל' ב נגבורתו²⁹ בכוכבים ע

o o o

פרק י'ד

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים²..
 א' כשקשר לי ה[ק]ב"ה כתר זה בראשי ועו ממני³ כל שרי מלכ[י]ות⁴
 שבמרום⁵ 6-ערבות רקיע וכל חיילי⁷ רקיע ורקיע⁶ ואפילו⁸ שרי

י'ד

0-0 ל' ב ל' ב ב 2 מגי ב. ל' ב ל' (3) ב ל' כל חיילות ו-⁴ מלכיות בדע.
 החיילי ל' 5 שברום ד. שבמרום ממני ל. ברום ע 6-6 ל' ב ל' 7 ל' ב ב
 8- שרי אלים ושרי אראלים ושרי טפסרים בל leg. שרי אלים ושרי טפסרים דע

ומשמארי ³¹-בוערת לפיד-³¹ וסביבות[י] ³²-מפרחות (ו)רוח סערה-³²
³⁷-וסופה וקול רעם ³³ ברעש ³⁴ מלפני ³⁵ ומאחורי ³⁶⁻³⁷.

³¹⁻³¹ בערי לפידי אש ד' ¹. בערו לפידי אש ד' ². בוערים לפידיים בג' לחק'. בוערי לפיד ל'.
 בוער לפיד אש ע' ³²⁻³² נפרחות רוח סערה ב'. רוח סערה ג'. נפרחת רוח סערה ד'.
 נפוחות רוח ל'. מפורחות רוח סערה ע'. נפרחים רוח סערה צ' ³³ רעש בגדלע
 לחק' ³⁴ גדול ג' ³⁵ לפני ב' ³⁶ ומאחורי ד'ב'. ומלאחורי וחברו יוצ' כנזר
 למעלה ג'. מלאחורי ע' ³⁷⁻³⁷ ל'י' ב' צ'. חכא תם ג'

פרק ט"ז B [ב ו ל. ל' ב א]

¹-אמר רבי ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ש'ה ושר על כל השרים ועומד לפני מי א'
 שניתעלה ¹-על כל אלהים והוא נכנס תחת כסא כבוד ויש לו משכן גדול של ² אור
 למעלה. והוא מביא אש חרישות ³ ונותן ⁴-באזניהם של חיות הקודש-⁴ כדי שלא ישמעו
 קול הדיבור ⁵-היוצא מפי הגבורה-⁵. וכשעלה משה למרום ונתענה ⁶ קבא' תעני[ות] עד ב'
 שנפתחו ⁷ לו מעונות החשמל וראה ⁸-ליבו בליבו של אריה-⁸. וראה כיתי כיתות ⁹
 צבאות ¹⁰-סביבותיו. וביקשו-¹⁰ לשרפו. ובקש משה רחמ[ו] ¹¹ תחלה ¹² על ישראל
 ואחרי כך ¹³ על עצמו. ופתח היושב על המרכבה את החלונות אשר על ראשי הכרובים
 ויצאו תהרת' ¹⁴ מאות סניגורין ¹⁵-ושר הפנים מטטרון-¹⁵ עמהן ¹⁶-לנגד משה. וקבלו
 התפילות של ישראל ונתנו אותן לכתר בראשו של הקב"ה. ואמר-¹⁶ שמע ישראל יי' ג'
 אלהינו יי' אחד ¹⁷ וצחלה ושמחה ¹⁸-פניהם על-¹⁸ השכינה ואמרו למטטרון שר הפנים. מי
 הם אילו ולמי נותנים כל היקר והכבוד הזה. ונענו ¹⁹ גאון בית ישראל. ואמרו ²⁰-שמע
 ישראל יי' אלהינו יי' אחד. למי ניתן יותר יקר וגדולה אלא לך יי' הגדולה והגבורה. אל
 מלך חי וקיים ²⁰.. באותה שעה נענה אכתריאל יי' יהוד צבאו[ת] ואמר למטטרון ש'ה. ⁷
 כל מה ²¹ שמבקש מלפני אל תחזירנה ריקם. ושמע ²² תפילתו ²³ ועשה רצונו ²⁴ בין

ט"ז B

¹⁻¹ מטטרון הוא שר על כל השרים ועומד לפני מי שניתעלה ל' ² על ל' ³ חרישית ל'
⁴⁻⁴ באזני החיות ל' ⁵⁻⁵ ל' ב' ל' ⁶ והתענה ל' ⁷ שפתחו ל' ⁸⁻⁸ ש'ל'גן ק'לב האריה ל'.
 ז': לובן וגו' ? ⁹ ל' ב' ל' ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ ל' ב' ל' ¹¹ לחק' כמו ל': רחמים. ¹² ל' ב' ל'
¹³ ל' ¹⁴ בקש רחמי' ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ אלף וח' ל' על ישראל. ומטטרון שר הפנים (עמם) ל'
¹⁶⁻¹⁶ וקבלו תפלתו ונתנו אותו בראש הקב"ה. ל' ¹⁷ צחלו ל' ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ פנים של ל'
¹⁹ וענו ל' ²⁰⁻²⁰ יי' חי וקיים ל' ²¹ ל' ב' ל' ²² שמע ל' ²³ תפילותיו ל'
²⁴ צרכיו ל'

שִׁמְמוֹנָה⁵² עַל הַלֵּילָה. גִּלְגַּיָּאל⁵⁵ שִׁמְמוֹנָה⁵² עַל גִּלְגַּל חֲמָה.
 אֹפִי^(י) נִיָּאל⁵⁶ שִׁמְמוֹנָה⁵² עַל אֹפְנִי^(י) הַלְּבָנָה. כִּכְבִּיאל⁵⁸ שִׁמְמוֹנָה⁵² עַל
 הַכּוֹכָבִים רַחֲמִיאל⁵⁹ שִׁמְמוֹנָה⁵² עַל הַמְּזֹלוֹת-60-68.. 61- וְכֻלָּם נוֹפְלִים
 עַל פְּנֵיהֶם כִּשְׂרֹאִים אוֹתִי-61 וְאִינָם⁶² יֻכָּלִים לְהִסְתַּכֵּל בִּי מִפְּנֵי⁶³
 הוֹר וְהֹדֵר⁽⁶⁴⁾ וְיוֹפִי⁶⁵ תֹּאדָר נִגְה-65 אֹר כְּתֹר⁶⁶ כְּבוֹד שְׁעַל
 רֹאשִׁי⁶⁷ :

55 גִּלְגַּיָּאל ד 56 אֹפְנִיאל דַּע 57 אֹפֵן ד 58 כּוֹכְבִּיאל דַּע 59 רַחֲמִיאל ד
 60-60 לִי ב ב 61-61 וְכִשְׂרֹאִין אוֹתִי נִפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם ב 62 וְאִין ב 63 בִּפְנֵי ב
 (64) בַּדַּע זִין וְזֹהֵר 65-65 לִי ב ל 66 לִי ב דַּע 67 עֵיִי בִּפְרָק ז 68-68 לִי ב ל

פרק ט"ו

אֲדָר יִשְׁמַעְיָאל. אִמְרִי¹ לִי מִמַּטְרוֹן מִלֵּאךְ² שֶׁר הַפְּנִים⁵ הָהֵר
 מְרוֹם³ כָּל-4-5.. כִּיֹּן שִׁלְקַחְנִי ה[ק]ב"ה בְּשִׁמְשׁוֹת⁶ לְשִׁמְשׁ אֶת⁷ כֶּסֶף
 הַכְּבוֹד⁸ וְאֵת גִּלְגַּלִּי-8 הַמֵּרְכָבָה⁹ וְאֵת כָּל-9 צְרִכִי¹⁰ שְׂכִינָה⁽¹¹⁾ מִיֵּד¹²
 נִהַפֵּךְ¹³ לִי¹⁴ בְּשָׂרִי לְשִׁלְחָה⁽¹⁵⁾ וְגִידִי לֵאשׁ¹⁶ לְהַט¹⁷ וְעֲצָמוֹתַי לְגַחְלִי¹⁸
 רִתְמִים וְאוֹר¹⁹ עֲפַעְפִי לְזֹהֵר²⁰ בְּרָקִים²¹ וְגִלְגַּלִּי עֵינִי לְלִפְיֵד²² אִישׁ
 וְשַׁעְרוֹת²³ רֹאשִׁי²⁴ לְלִהֵט וְלִלְחָבָה²⁴ וְכָל²⁵ אַבְרִי לְכַנְפֵי²⁶ אִישׁ
 בְּוִעֲרוֹת²⁷ וְגוֹף קוֹמָתִי לֵאשׁ²⁸ יוֹקֶדֶת.. וּמִיָּמִינִי³⁰ חוֹצְבִי לְחִבּוֹת²⁹ אִישׁ-30

ט"ו

1 סַח צ 2 לִי ב בִּנ 3 בְּמִרוֹם ג 4 לִי ב ב 5-5 לִי ב צ 6 לִי ב בְּגִל.
 בְּשִׁמְחֹת ד 7 תַּחַת צ 8-8 וְגִלְגַּלִּי צ 9-9 וְכָל צ 10 מְעַרְכִי ג (11) ג כָּל
 12 לִי ב צ 13 נַעֲשֶׂה צ 14 אֶת ב. לִי ב ל 15 לְשִׁלְחָתָא אִשׁ בְּדִל. אֵל שִׁלְחָתָא
 אִשׁ ג. שִׁלְחָתָא אִשׁ צ 16 אֵל אִשׁ ג 17 לְחִטּוֹת ב. לְחִטּוֹת גְּדִל. לִי ב ע 18 אֵל
 נַחֲלִי ג 19 לִי ב בְּגִל. לַחֵק 'ו' 20 לְזִיקִי ב. אֵל ג. וְזֹהֵר צ. לִי ב ל 21 רִקְעָה
 22 [ל]פִּידִי בַּדַּעַל. אֵל לְפִידִי ג 23 וְשַׁעַר בְּגִלָּה 24-24 לְחִטּוֹת לְחָבָה בִּל. אֵל
 לְחִטּוֹת לְחָבָה ג 25 ו- ג 26 אֵל כְּנָפֵי ג 27 כְּעֶרֶת ב. בְּוִעֲרָתָא לֵע 28 אֵל
 אִשׁ ג 29 לְחָבִי צ 30-30 חוֹצְבִי אִשׁ לְחִבּוֹת ב

מלכיות עומדים עלי מימיני¹³ ומשמאלי מרשות ה[ק]ב"ה. וכיון שבא נ
 אחר¹⁴ להסתכל בצפיית המרכבה¹⁵ ונתן עיניו בי והוא¹⁶ מתיירא¹⁷
 ומזדעזע מלפני ונפשו⁽¹⁸⁾ מבוהלת לצאת ממנו מפני פחדי ואימתי
 ומוראי כשרואה¹⁹ אותי²⁰ יושב על כסא כמלך ומלאכי השרת (היו)²¹
 עומדים עלי כעבדים²² וכל שרי מלכיות²³ קושרים²⁴ כתרים סובבים
 אצלי²⁵.. באותה שעה פתח את פיו⁽²⁶⁾ ואמר. וודאי²⁷ שתי רשויות⁽²⁸⁾ ג
 בשמים.. מיד יצאה²⁹ בת³⁰ קול³¹ מן השמים³¹ מלפני³² השכינה ד
 ואומרת³³. שובו בנים שובכים חוץ מאחר (ד"א)^{33א}.. באותה שעה בא ס
 ענייל³⁴ השר הנכבד נהדר נחמד³⁵ נפלא נורא נערץ משליחות³⁶ של
 ה[ק]ב"ה³⁷ והבני³⁸ ⁽³⁹⁾ ששים פולסאות⁽⁴⁰⁾ של אור והעמידני⁴¹ על רגלי:

¹³ מלמעלה בימיני ב ¹⁴ אלישע בן אבויה הוא אחר ד. אלשע בן אבויה והוא עמד
 אחר י"י ב ¹⁵ מרכבה ד ¹⁶ ל"י ב ד. והיה ב ¹⁷ ירא ב ⁽¹⁸⁾ ב ט הייתה
¹⁹ ל"י ב ד. שראני ד¹. שראה ב ²⁰ אותי שאני ב. שאני ד ²¹ ל"י ב בדל
²² ל"י ב ב ²³ המלכיות ד ²⁴ קושרים ד ²⁵ אוהי ב ⁽²⁶⁾ ב ט אתו אלשע
²⁷ בדאי ד ⁽²⁸⁾ ד ט הן. ב ט יש ²⁹ יצתה ד ³⁰ ל"י ב ד ³¹ 31-31 ל"י ב בד
³² לפני ב ³³ ואמרה ד. ואמח ב ^{33א} ל"י ב בדל ^{gloss.} ³⁴ ב בד: ל ענפיאל י"י
³⁵ מופלא ד ³⁶ בשליחותו ד. בשל יחתו ב ³⁷ מקום דל ³⁸ והביא עמו ב
⁽³⁹⁾ ב ט וחיילות ⁽⁴⁰⁾ ב ט וחיילות ⁴¹ והעמידני ב. ב ל אחרי פרק הזה תוסף
 נו של פרק ט"ח C [למ]

○ ○ ○

פרק י"ז

א"ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים הדר
 מרום כל. שבעה שרים הגדולים¹ נאים² נוראים נפלאים נכבדים³
 שהם ממונים בו רקיעים. ואלו הן³ ⁴ מיכאל. גבריאל. שתקיא^ל.
 שחקיא^ל. בכריאל. בדריאל. פחריאל⁴. וכלם שרי צבא רקיע הם. ג
 ועם כל אחד ⁽⁵⁾ ארבע מאות ותשעים וששה אלפים רבבות⁶ מלאכי
 השרת. מיכאל שר⁷ הגדול ממונה על רקיע שביעי של⁸ עליוי

י"ז

¹ הם גדולים ד ² ל"י ב ד ³ הם ד ⁴⁻⁴ מיכאל וגבריאל שתקיא^ל ובדריאל
 ושחקיא^ל ובכריאל ופחריאל ד ⁽⁵⁾ ד ט ואחר ⁶ ורבבות ד ⁷ השר ד ⁸ ל"י ב ד

ס' מרובי' ובין [מעטין²⁵]. מיד אמר מטטרון ש"ה²⁶ למשה. בן עמרם. אל תירא²⁷ 28-כי
 כבר רצך אלהים-²⁸ ותבע²⁹ רצונך³⁰ בגאות ובגבורה כי קרן עור פניך מסוף העולם
 ועד סופו. ואמר לו משה שמא באשם אני. ואמר לו³¹ מטטרון⁽³²⁾ קבל³³ אותיות
 שבועה שאין בה³⁴ חפר ברית.⁽³⁵⁾

25 כן ב ל. לחקר' עם ל. ל' ב ב 26 ל' ב ל 27 תתירא ל 28-29
 ב ל 29 תבע ל 30 צדכך ל 31 ל' ב ל⁽³²⁾ ל שר הפ' למשה.
 33 קביל ל 34 בו ל⁽³⁵⁾ ב add: זה אינו מלשון הברייתא (ומס ש"ס לאסרי כך
 יסנו גס ז ל) ונקרא שמו מיטטרון על שנעשה מ' טרון (ל: מטטרון) מראה (ל' ט מה)
 שהקב"ה חפץ למלאכים (ל: במלאכי') כהוא (ל: כי הוא) *שר הפנים *-* ל' *
 ב ל (ל: ולפנים (ל: לפנים). והוא מטטרון רב ומורה דעת את הילדים בני טובים *-* וכשהן
 קטנים בני ט' *-* (ל' ב ל). זהו מטטרון *מיטרון' למ' שהן *-* (ל' * ל: מי טרון
 לשון שאין) בני אסנת משגת' הנזכרים במסכת נדרים. ולמה הימשל את מטטרון על
 (ל' ט כל) בני מעלה אלא (ל' ב ל) לפי כשראה שחמאו דור אנוש (ל: המבול) יבנה
 בית הוץ ממקומן ושם היתה תפלתו ולימודו. ולא היה חולך בניהם (ל: בין העולם)
 *אלא חולך בדרך ישרה לדעת את האלהים שנאמר *-* (ל' ב ל) ויתהלך חנוך את
 האלהים. וסלקו הקב"ה בקול [שופר] ובתרועה (ל: תרועה) שנאמר עלה אלהים
 בתרועה. עם השכינה. יו' בקול שופר. להודיע כי הצדיקים לפנים ממלאכים (מלאכי
 חשרת) שנאמר בעת יאמר ליעקב ולישראל מה פעל אל. (ל' ט וכן יסד תקלידי. אלה
 יהו מבפצי.) (אחרי כך ב ל: הלכות המלאכים וב ב אית הכא פרק ט"ז כמו ב א.)

פרק ט"ז
 א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון¹ מלאך² שר הפנים הדר
 מ' מרום כל³ 1-2. בתחלה הייתי יושב על כסא (ה) גדול⁴ בפתח⁵ היכל
 שביעי ודנתי את כל בני מרומים⁶ פמליא של מרום⁶ מרשות ה[ק]ב"ה.
 וחלקתי גדולה ומלכות⁽⁷⁾ רבות⁸ ושלטון⁹ הדר ושבה ועמרה¹⁰ וכתר
 כבוד לכל¹¹ שרי מלכיות כשאני יושב בישיבה של מעלה ושרי

ט"ז
 1-1 ל' ב ל 2 ל' ב ב 3 ל' ב ב 4 גדול בד ל. אשר גדול ל 5 על
 פתח כל 6-6 ל' ב בדר⁽⁷⁾ בדר 8 ורבות ב 9 ושלטון ד. ושכרה
 והוד ו- ב 10 ועמרת ד⁽¹¹⁾ בדר 11 וכל ל

נכבדים שהן מורידין³⁸ את הכוכבים מעיר לעיר וממדינה למדינה
ברקיע השמים. ולמעלה מהם יש ע'ב שרי מלכיות במרום כנגד ע'ב כ'
לשונות שבעולם. וכולם קשורים כתרי מלכות ולבושים בגדי³⁹
מלכות ועטופים בגדי מלכות. וכולם רכובים בסוסי מלכות ותופסים
בדם שרביטי מלכות. וכל אחד ואחד⁽⁴⁰⁾ כשהוא מהלך ברקיע
רצין לפניו⁴¹ בכבוד גדול וביקר רב ושמי⁴² מלכות⁽⁴³⁾ כדרך
שמהלכין⁴⁴ בארץ⁴⁵ במרכבה⁴⁶ ופרשים וחילות רבות⁴⁶ ובכבוד⁴⁷
ובגדולה שבה ותהלה ותפארת:

38 מריצין ד 39 עדיי ד (40) ד ס מהם 41 לפני ד 2 42 שמי ד 7.

(43) ד ס וכל אחד ואחד מהם כשהוא מהלך ברקיע רצין לפני חילות רבות 44 לי

ב ד 45 הארץ 46-46 לי ב ד 47 בכבוד ד

○ ○ ○

פרק י"ח

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים הדר מרום
כל. (1) מלאכי רקיע ראשון כשהם רואין את שר שלהם יורדין⁴
מעל סוס שלהם ונופלין על פניהם. ושר רקיע ראשון^(כשהוא)² (כשהם)
(רואין)³ את שר רקיע שני (יורדין)³ מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו
ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ב' כשרואה⁵ את שר רקיע שלישי
מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ג'
כשרואה את שר רקיע ד' מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל
על פניו. ושר רקיע ד' כשרואה את שר רקיע ה' מעביר כתר
כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו. ושר רקיע ה' כשרואה את
שר רקיע ששי מעביר כתר כבוד מעל⁴ ראשו ונופל על פניו.

י"ח

(1) ד ס כל 2-2 כשהם רואין א. להק' עם ד. כמו למעלה 3 לי ב ד 4 שעל ד

בכל מקום 5 כשהוא רואה aut כשהן רואין ד. בכל מקום 6-6 ושר רקיע

חמישי מפני שר ששי ושר רקיע ששי מפני שר רקיע שביעי ד

שבִּעֲרֹבוֹת. גִּבְרִיאֵל שֶׁר הֵצֵא מִמוֹנָה עַל רִקִּיעַ שִׁשִּׁי שֶׁבִּמְכוּן.
 9- שֶׁתִּקְיָאֵל. שֶׁר הֵצֵא מִמוֹנָה עַל רִקִּיעַ חֲמִישִׁי שִׁשִּׁי בִּמְכוּן-9.
 שֶׁחִקְיָאֵל¹⁰ שֶׁר הֵצֵא מִמוֹנָה עַל רִקִּיעַ רִבְעִי שְׁבוּבוֹל. בִּדְרִיאֵל¹¹
 שֶׁר הֵצֵא מִמוֹנָה עַל רִקִּיעַ שְׁלִישִׁי שֶׁבִּשְׁחָקִים. בְּרִיאֵל¹² שֶׁר הֵצֵא
 מִמוֹנָה עַל רִקִּיעַ שְׁנִי¹³-שֶׁבִּמְרוֹם רִקִּיעַ-¹³. פִּזְרִיאֵל¹⁴ שֶׁר הֵצֵא מִמוֹנָה
 ד' עַל רִקִּיעַ¹⁵ שְׁבוּיָלוֹן שֶׁבִּשְׁמַיִם. לִמְטָה מֵהֶם גִּלְגַּלְיָאֵל¹⁶ הִשָּׁר הַמִּמוֹנָה
 עַל גִּלְגַּל הַחֲמָה. וְעָמָּה צִ"ו מְלָאכִים רַבִּים וְנִכְבָּדִים שֶׁהֵם מוֹרִידִין¹⁷
 ה' אֶת גִּלְגַּל הַחֲמָה¹⁸ בְּרִקִּיעַ¹⁹.. [20] לִמְטָה מֵהֶם אֹפְנִיאֵל הִשָּׁר²¹-שֶׁהוּא
 מִמוֹנָה-²¹ עַל גִּלְגַּל הַלְּבָנָה. וְעָמָּה שְׁמוֹנִים²² וְשִׁמְנָה²³ מְלָאכִים שֶׁהֵם
 מוֹרִידִין²⁴ אֶת גִּלְגַּל הַלְּבָנָה ג' מֵאוֹת וְחֲמִשִּׁים וָאַרְבַּע[ת] אֲלָפִים
 פְּרָסָאוֹת²⁵ בְּכָל לַיְלָה וְלַיְלָה²⁶-כָּל זֶמֶן-²⁶ שֶׁהַלְּבָנָה עוֹמֶדֶת בְּמִזְרָח
 בְּתִקְוַתָּהּ²⁷. וְאִמְתִּי יוֹשֶׁבֶת בְּמִזְרָח בְּתִקְוַתָּהּ. הוּא אוֹמֵר. בִּי' בְּכָל
 ו' חֹדֶשׁ וְחֹדֶשׁ-²⁸.. לִמְטָה מֵהֶם רְהִטִּיאֵל²⁹ הִשָּׁר שֶׁהוּא מִמוֹנָה עַל הַמְּזוּלוֹת
 וְעָמָּה ע"ב מְלָאכִים גְּדוֹלִים וְנִכְבָּדִים. וְלִמָּה נִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ רְהִטִּיאֵל²⁹.
 מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא מְרַהֵט³⁰ הַמְּזוּלוֹת בְּגִלְגָּלִים³¹ וּבִמְסִילוֹתֵם³² ג' מֵאוֹת
 וְשִׁלְשִׁים וְתִשְׁעָה אֲלָפִים פְּרָסָאוֹת בְּכָל לַיְלָה³³ מִן הַמִּזְרָח לַמַּעֲרָב
 וּמִן הַמַּעֲרָב לַמִּזְרָח מִפְּנֵי שֶׁאֵהָל אַחֵר עֹשֶׂה לְכָל־³⁴ הַ[ק]ב"ה לַחֲמָה
 וְלַלְּבָנָה³⁵ 36-וְלַמְּזוּלוֹת וְכוּכְבָּיִם-³⁶ שֶׁהֵם מְהַלְכִין³⁷ בְּלַיְלָה מִן הַמַּעֲרָב
 לַמִּזְרָח.. לִמְטָה מֵהֶם כּוֹכְבֵּי־אֵל הִשָּׁר שֶׁהוּא מִמוֹנָה עַל הַכוּכְבָּיִם כּוֹלֵן.
 וְעָמָּה ג' מֵאוֹת וְשִׁשִּׁים וְחֲמִשָּׁה אֲלָפִים רַבּוֹת מְלָאכִי הַשָּׁרֶת גְּדוֹלִים

9-9 ל' ב ד 2 10 שתקיאל ד 2 11 בדריאל ד 12 ברקיאל ד 13-13 שברקיע ד
 14 סדריאל ד 15 ד 16 גלגיאל ד 17 מרוצים ד 1 מריצין ד 2
 18 לבנה ד 1 החמה ד 2 19 ד 20 שם' אלפים פרסאות בכל יום. להק'
 20 ד 21 למטה. להקרא כמו כן 21-21 הממונה ד 22 ששים ד 23 ד 24 מלכים
 24 מריצים ד 25 ל' ב ד 26-26 ל' ב ד 27 בתקופה ד 28-28 ל' ב ד. אולי שהוספה
 מגליון פ 29 רהטיאל ד 30 ד 31 בלגליהם ד להק' 32 ובמסילותיהם ד
 33 ד 34 למה ד 35 ולבנה ד 36-36 כוכבים ומזלות ד 37 ד 38 בו

שהוא מרעיש את כל בני מרומים הגיע¹⁴ זמן לומר קדוש¹⁵ שגא[מר]
 ((ישעיה ל"ג)) מקול המון נדרו עמים מרוממותיך נפוצו¹⁶ גוים. מעביר
 כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. והמון השר הגדול כשרואה מ'
 את⁽¹⁷⁾ טטרסיאל¹⁸ השר הגדול¹⁹ מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל
 על פניו.. וטטרסיאל²⁰ ה' השר הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את אטרוגניאל²¹ מ'
 השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 ואטרוגניאל²¹ השר הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את נעיריאל²² ה' השר הגדול¹⁹..
 מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. ונעיריאל²² ה' השר מ'
 הגדול¹⁹ כשרואה את ססניגאל⁽²³⁾ השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וססניגאל⁽²⁴⁾ כשרואה את זוריאל²⁵ מ'
 ה' השר הגדול¹⁹ היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 וזוריאל²⁵ ה' השר כשרואה את גבורתיאל²⁶ ה' השר היה מעביר כתר מ'
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וגבורתיאל²⁶ ה' השר כשרואה את ערפיאל²⁷
 השר היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו..
 וערפיאל²⁷ ה' השר כשרואה את אשרוייל²⁸ השר היה מעביר כתר מ'
 כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. ואשרוייל²⁹ ה' השר³⁰ ראש כל מ'
 פרק בני מרומים³¹ כשרואה את גליצור³² ה' השר³² המגלה כל רזי
 התורה³² היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וגליצור³³
 ה' השר כשרואה את זוכיאל³³ ה' השר³⁴ שהוא ממונה³⁴ לכתוב
 זכיות³⁵ של ישראל שעושים³⁶ על כסא הכבוד היה מעביר כתר כבוד
 מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו.. וזוכיאל³⁷ ה' השר הגדול³⁸ כשרואה את מ'

¹⁴ בשעת הגעת ד. לה ק' ¹⁵ שלוש קדושה ד ¹⁶ נפצו ד ⁽¹⁷⁾ ד השר
¹⁸ טטרסיאל י"י ד ¹⁹ ל"ג ב ד ²⁰ וטטרסיאל ד ²¹ אטרוגניאל י"י ד
⁽²²⁾ ד ה' ⁽²³⁾ ד ל"ג י"י ⁽²⁴⁾ ד השר ²⁵ ל"ג ב ד ²⁶ מערפיאל י"י ד
²⁷ ומערפיאל ד ²⁸ אשרוייל י"י ד ²⁹ ואשרוייל י"י ד ³⁰ ל"ג ב ד
³¹⁻³¹ על בני פרק מרומים ד ³²⁻³² מגלה רז כתר תורה כתר קדושה כתר מלכות ד
³³ ל"ג ב ד ³⁴⁻³⁴ הממונה ד ³⁵ זכיותיהן ד ³⁶ ל"ג ב ד ³⁷ ל"ג ב ד
³⁸ ל"ג ב ד

וְשֵׁר רָקִיעַ שְׂשִׁי כְּשֵׁרוּאָה אֶת שֵׁר רָקִיעַ שְׂבִיעִי מַעְבִּיר כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד
 ג' מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹ וְנוֹפֵל עַל פְּנֵיו-⁶.. וְשֵׁר רָקִיעַ שְׂבִיעִי כְּשֵׁרוּאָה אֶת עֵב
 שְׂרִי מַלְכוּת מַעְבִּיר כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹ וְנוֹפֵל עַל פְּנֵיו.. ⁷ד'
 ג' וְעֵב שְׂרִי מַלְכוּת ⁸-כְּשֶׁהֶם רֹאִים-⁸ אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל רֹאשׁוֹן
 שְׁבַע עֲרֻבוֹת רָקִיעַ הָעֲלִיּוֹן הֵיוּ מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר מַלְכוּת מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן
 וְנוֹפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם. ⁹-וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל רֹאשׁוֹן כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת
 שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ב' מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִים
 עַל פְּנֵיהֶם. וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ב' כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל
 ג' מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם. וְשׁוּמְרֵי
 פֶתַח הֵיכַל ג' כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ד' מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר
 כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם. וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ד'
 כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ה' מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִין
 עַל פְּנֵיהֶם. וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל ה' כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי
 פֶתַח הֵיכַל שְׂשִׁי מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם.
 וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל שְׂשִׁי כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת שׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח הֵיכַל שְׂבִיעִי
 ד' מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן וְנוֹפְלִים עַל פְּנֵיהֶם-⁹.. וְשׁוּמְרֵי פֶתַח
 הֵיכַל שְׂבִיעִי כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת ד' שְׂרִים גְּדוּלִים הַנִּכְבָּדִים הַמְּמוּנִים עַל
 אַרְבַּע מַחֲנוֹת שְׂכִינָה מַעְבִּידִין כְּתֹר ¹⁰כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹן ¹¹וְנוֹפְלִים
 ה' עַל פְּנֵיהֶם.. וְד' שְׂרִים הַגְּדוּלִים כְּשֵׁרוּאֵין אֶת תְּגַעֲץ שְׂרָא רַבָּא וִיקִירָא
 בְּשִׁירָה תְּהִלָּה בְּרָאשׁ כָּל בְּנֵי עֲלִיוֹנִים מַעְבִּירִין כְּתֹר ¹⁰כְּבוֹד מֵעַל
 י' רֹאשׁוֹן ¹¹וְנוֹפְלִין עַל פְּנֵיהֶם.. וְתְּגַעֲץ שְׂרָא רַבָּא וִיקִירָא כְּשֵׁרוּאָה אֶת
 בְּרַמְטִיָּאל ¹²הַשֵּׁר הַגְּדוֹל שֶׁל שְׁלֹשׁ אַצְבָּעוֹת בְּרוֹם עֲרֻבוֹת רָקִיעַ הָעֲלִיּוֹן
 י' מַעְבִּיר כְּתֹר כְּבוֹד מֵעַל רֹאשׁוֹ וְנוֹפֵל עַל פְּנֵיו.. וְבְרַמְטִיָּאל ¹²שֶׁר ¹³
 הַגְּדוֹל כְּשֵׁרוּאָה אֶת הָמוֹן שֶׁר ¹³הַגְּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַנִּכְבָּד וְהַנְּחֻמָּד וְהַנְּעֲרָץ

⁷ד' סדר היכלות ⁸⁻⁸ כשהן רואין ד' ⁹⁻⁹ ושומרי פתח היכל ראשון מפני

שומרי פתח היכל שני ושומרי פתח היכל שני מפני שלישי ושומרי פתח היכל שלישי
 מפני רביעי וגו' ד' ¹⁰ כתרין ד' ¹¹ ראשם ד' ¹² עטפאל ד' ¹³ השר ד'

בנהר דינור ודועכו ב(מ)מקומו⁶³.. וכשהוא⁶⁴ רואה את אזבוגה⁶⁵ ה'ה⁶⁶ כ"ב
השר הגדול הנכבד⁶⁷ והנורא הנכבד והנערדר⁶⁸ הנפלא והנשגב
הנחמד והנערץ בתוך שרים הגדולים המכירים ברו⁶⁹ כסא הכבוד
מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו
אזבוגה⁷⁰. מפני שהוא^[אזור]⁷¹ בגדי חיים ועוטף מעיל חיים לעתיד לבא
לצדיקים⁷² ולחסידי עולם כרי שיה[ו] חיים בהם חיי עולם.. וכשרואה⁷³ כ"ג
את שני שרים הגדולים רבים ונכבדים העומד[ים] למעלה הימנו מעביר
כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ואלה⁷⁴ שמותם המלאכים
השרים⁷⁴. סופריאל⁷⁵ ה' ממית⁷⁵ השר הגדול נכבד⁷⁵ נהדר נקי ישיש
עז⁷⁶ שופריאל⁷⁶ ה' מחיה השר הגדול נכבד נהדר נקי ישיש ועוז⁷⁶..
ולמה נקרא שמו ספריאל⁷⁷ ה' ממית. מפני שהוא ממונה על ספרי כ"ד
מתים שכל⁷⁷ מי שהגיע יום מותו הוא כותבו על⁷⁸ ספרי מתים. ולמה^[79]
נקרא שמו שופריאל⁸⁰ ה' מחיה. מפני שהוא ממונה על ספרי חיים
שכל מי שרוצה^[80] ה[ק]ב"ה בחיים⁸¹ הוא כתבו בספרי חיים מרשות
המקום. ושמא תאמר הואיל ה[ק]ב"ה⁸² יושב על כסא אף הם יושבין
וכותבין. ת"ל וכל צבא השמים עומדים עליו ((דברי ב' י"ח י"ח)). צבא
השמים^[83] מלמד שאפילו שרים הגדולים שאין כיוצא בהן לשמי⁸⁴
מרום אין עושין^[85] צרכי השכינה אלא כשהן עומדים. וכצד⁸⁶ כותבים
והן⁸⁷ עומדים.. אלא זה עומד על גלגלי סופה וזה עומד על גלגלי כ"ה
סערה⁸⁸. זה לבוש אצטלות⁸⁹ של מל(א)כים⁹⁰ וזה לבוש אצטלות⁸⁹ של

⁶³ ממקומו ד. אולי במחשבתו תילים קי"ח י"ב ⁶⁴ וזה פטרי"י י"י השר כשהוא ד

⁶⁵ אזבוגה ד ⁶⁶ ל"ב ד ⁶⁷ הניבור ד ⁶⁸ הנחרד ד ⁶⁹ ברוי ד ⁷⁰ כך ד

⁷¹ אזור ד ¹ להק. אור ד ⁷² לצדיקי ד ⁷³ ואזבוגה"י י"י השר כשהוא רואה ד

⁷⁴⁻⁷⁴ שמות שני השרים ד ⁷⁵⁻⁷⁵ שר גדול ונכבד ד ⁷⁶⁻⁷⁶ ל"ב ד ⁷⁷ וכל ד ²

⁷⁸ עד ד ^[79] ד סופריאל י"י מחיה ^[80] ד ס"ב ⁸¹ לחיותו ד

⁸² והקב"ה ד ^[83] ד ס"א לא נאמר אלא וכל ⁸⁴ בשמי ד ^[85] ד ס"א

⁸⁶ וכיצד ד ⁸⁷ כשהן ד ⁸⁸ סופה ד ⁸⁹ אצטלית ד ⁹⁰ מלכים ד להק

ענפ[אל] ה' השר ³⁹- שהוא שומר מפתחי היכלי ערבות רקיע היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו ³⁹. ולמה נקרא שמו ענפאל. מפני שענף הודו והדרו וכתרו וזיוו וזוהרו ⁽⁴⁰⁾ את כל הדרי ⁴¹ ערבות רקיע עליון כיוצר עולם. מה יוצר עולם כתוב בו ((חבקוק ג')) כסה שמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ אף ⁴²- ענפאל ה' ⁴²- השר י"ט מכסה הודו והדרו את כל הדרי ערבות עליון. וכשהוא ⁴³ רואה את ⁴⁴- סוֹתֵר אֲשִׁיאל ⁴⁴- ה' השר הגדול והנורא והנכבד ה[יה] מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו סוֹתֵר (ו) אֲשִׁיאל ⁴⁵. מפני שהוא ממונה בפנים ⁴⁶ על ד' ראשי נהר דינור כלפי כסא הכבוד וכל שר ושר שהוא יוצא ונכנס לפני השכינה אינו יוצא ונכנס אלא ברשותו. מפני שחותמות ⁴⁷- ד' נהרי ⁴⁷- דינור מסור[ת] ⁴⁸ בידו. ולא עוד אלא שרום גובהו ⁴⁹- שבע' אלף ⁴⁹ רבבות פרסאות והוא סוֹתֵר אש ⁵⁰ של נהר דינור ויוצא ונכנס לפני השכינה לפרש ⁽⁵¹⁾ של ⁵² כל כ' באי העולם כע[ננין] ש[נאמר] דינא יתיב וספרין פתיהו. וסוֹתֵר אֲשִׁיאל ⁽⁵³⁾ כשרואה ⁵⁴- שוֹקֵד חוּזִי ה' ⁵⁴ השר הגדול הגבור והנורא והנכבד ה[יה] מעביר כתר ⁽⁵⁵⁾ מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו ⁵⁶- שוֹקֵד חוּזִי ⁵⁶. מפני שהוא שוקל ⁵⁷- כל זכיות ⁵⁷ בכף מוזנים ⁵⁸ לפני כ"ח ה[ק]ב"ה. וכשרואה ⁵⁹ את זהנפוריין ⁶⁰ ה' השר הגדול הגבור והנורא ⁶¹ הנכבד ⁶¹ הנהדר הנערץ בכל פמליא שלמעלה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו. ולמה נקרא שמו זהנפוריין ⁶² מפני שהוא זועף

39-39 היה מעביר כתר כבוד מעל ראשו ונופל על פניו וענפאל השר הוא הממונה לשומר פתחי היכלי ערבות רקיע ד' ⁽⁴⁰⁾ כ' מכסה ז' ? 41 הדרי ד' ⁴²⁻⁴² ענפאל ד' 43 וענפאל השר כשהוא ד' ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ בלא נקודים ד' 45 אשיאל ד' 46 ל"ב ד' 47-47 נהר ד' 48 מסורות ד' 49-49 שבעים אלפים ד' 50 אשי ד' 1. אשו ד' 2 ⁽⁵¹⁾ ד' בכתובים ד' 52 על ד' ⁽⁵³⁾ ד' ל"ב השר ⁵⁴⁻⁵⁴ שקדחוזי י"ד ד' ⁽⁵⁵⁾ ד' כבוד. להק' ⁵⁶⁻⁵⁶ כך ד' ⁵⁷⁻⁵⁷ ל"ב ד' 58 מאזנים ד' 59 ושקדחוזי י"ד השר כשהוא רואה ד' 60 זהנפוריין ד' 61 ל"ב ד' 62 כך ד'

ונשגב נקי ונחמד שליט גאה ורם ישיש עז⁵ שאין כמוהו⁶ בכל השרים כלם. רכביאל ה' (השם)⁷ הגדול⁸ והנורא שמו שהוא עומד אצל המרכבה. ולמה נקרא שמו רכביאל. [מפני] שהוא ממונה על גלגלי המרכבה והם⁹ מסורים¹⁰ בידו. וכמה גלגלים הם. ה'. ב' לכל רוח ג' ורוח. וסביבותיהם ד' רוחות מקיפות להם. ואלו שמותיהן¹¹: רוח סופה. רוח סערה. רוח עזה. ורוח רעש. ומתחתיהם מושכין ד' ויוצאין ד' נהרי אש נהר אש¹² לכל צד וצד¹³. וביניהן מוקפין¹⁴ ד' עננים ואלו הן. ענני אש. ענני לפיד. ענני גחל. ענני גפרית. שתלים¹⁵ ועומדים כנגד גלגלותם¹⁶. (ואלו)¹⁷ ורגלי החיות נתונים על גבי גלגלים ורעש ברעש¹⁸ בין גלגל לגלגל. ורעם ברעם¹⁹ בין גלגל לגלגל. וכשיגיע²⁰ זמן לומר שירה רועשים המון גלגלים. רעדים המון עננים. רועשים כל שלישים. רוגשים כל פרשם. נרתעים רועשים²¹ כל גבורים. מזדעזעים²² כל הצבאים. [מתפחדים] כל הגרודים. נחפזים כל הממונים. מתבהלים כל השרים וחיילים. נמוגו²³ כל המשרתים. מתחוללים²⁴ כל המלאכים ודגלים. וקול²⁵ ישמיע²⁶ גלגל לגלגל כרוב לכרוב חיה לחיה אופן לאופן שרף לשרף סולו לרובב [בערבות]²⁷ ביה שמו ועלוז לפניו: (תהלים ס"ח ה')

5 ועז ד' 6 כיוצא בו ד' 7 השר ד' להק' 8) ד' ט חגבור 9 וגלגלי המרכבה ד' 10 מסורין ד' 11 הן הרוחות ד' 12 אחד ד' 13 ל' ב ד' 14) ד' ט ועומדין 15 שתולים ד' 16 גלגליהם ד' להק' 17 ל' ב ד' 18 נרעש ד' 19 נרעם ד' 20 וכשמגיע ד' 21 ל' ב ד' 22) ד' ט כל 23) ד' ט מתפחדים 24) ד' ט ואילים 25 מתמוגגים ד' 26) ד' ט כל 27 בקול ד' 28 ישמיעו ד' 1. ישימינו ד' 29 ד' MT בערבות

o o o

פרק כ'
א'ד ישמעאל: אמר לי מטמרון מלאך שר הפנים. "למעלה א'
מהן יש שר אחד גדול ותקף חייליאל ה' שמו. שר אדיר ונורא שר

ב'

1) ד' ט חמ"ב (= הדר מרום כל)

(כ"ה) מל(א)כים⁹⁰. זה עטוף⁹¹ מעיל של⁹² גאווה. וזה עטוף⁹¹ מעיל של⁹² גאווה. זה קשור קשר⁹³ של מלכות. וזה קשור קשר⁹³ של מלכות. זה גופו⁽⁹⁴⁾ מלא עינים וזה גופו⁽⁹⁴⁾ מלא עינים. זה מראהו כמראה ברקים וזה מראהו כמראה ברקים. זה עיניו כשמש בגבורתו וזה עיניו כשמש בגבורתו⁽⁹⁵⁾ זה (גבורהו)^[גבורהו] כרום שבעה רקיעים וזה (גבורהו)^[גבורהו] כרום שבעה רקיעים זה כנפיו כימות השנה⁹⁷ וזה כנפיו כימות השנה⁹⁷. זה כנפיו כמרחבי רקיע וזה כנפיו כמרחבי רקיע. זה שפתיו כשערי מזרח וזה שפתיו כשערי מזרח. זה לשונו כרום גלי הים וזה לשונו כרום גלי הים. זה יוצא מפיו שלהבת וזה יוצא מפיו ברקים וזה יוצא מפיו ברקים. זה מויעתו האש דולק⁹⁸ וזה מויעתו האש דולק⁹⁸. זה מלשונו בוער לפיד⁽⁹⁹⁾ וזה מלשונו בוער לפיד⁽⁹⁹⁾. זה על ראשו אבן ספיר וזה על ראשו אבן ספר. זה על כתפיו¹⁰⁰ גלגל כרוב קל וזה על כתפיו¹⁰⁰ גלגל כרוב קל. זה בידו מגלה¹⁰¹ של גחל וזה בידו מגלה¹⁰¹ של גחל. זה בידו עט של¹⁰² שלהבת וזה בידו עט של¹⁰² שלהבת. אורך¹⁰³ המגילה ג' אלפים¹⁰⁴ רבבות פרסאות ושעורו¹⁰⁵ של עט' אלפים רבבות¹⁰⁶ פרסאות. שיעור כל אות ואות שהן כותבים ג' מאות וששים וחמש[ה] פרסאות:

91 עטוף ד	92 ל"ב ד	93 כתרי ד ¹	94 ד כולו	95 ד כ
זיוו כזיו כסא חכבוד וזה זכ"ה.	96 ל"ב ד	גובהו ד ¹	97 שנת ד	98 דולקת ד
99 ד כ אש	100 כתיפיו ד	101 מגילה ד	102 ל"ב ד	103 שיעור ד
104 אלפי ד ²	105 שיעור ד	106 ל"ב ד		

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פרק י"ט

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים..⁽²⁾ למעלה³ מאלה ג' מלאכים³ השרים הגדולים הללו יש שר אחד אלוף ונכבד אדיר ונהדר הדור ונערץ גבור חזק⁴ וגדול ומגודל תקיף ומפואר נפלא

כְּרוּבִיאֵל ה' ⁽⁵⁾ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁר ⁶ גְּבוּר מֵלֵא כַח גְּבוּרוֹת שֶׁר גֵּאוֹה ⁷ וְגֵיאוֹה ⁸
¹⁰⁻¹⁰ עֲמֹ. ⁽⁹⁾ שֶׁר צִדִּיק וְעֲמֹ צִדְקָה. שֶׁר קְדוֹשׁ וְעֲמֹ קְדוּשָׁה ¹⁰. שֶׁר מִפּוֹאֵר
בֹּאֲלֵי צְבָאוֹת. שֶׁר מִסְתַּלְסֵל בְּרִיבִי ¹¹ חַיִּילוֹת. מִקְצָפוֹ ¹² תִּרְעַשׁ תִּבְלֵ ב'
וּמִרְגּוֹ זֹעֲפִין ¹³ מַחֲנוֹת וּמֵאֵימָתוֹ ¹⁴ יִחְלוּ ¹⁵ יִסּוּדוֹת וּמִגְעָרָתוֹ יִרְעָשׁוּ
עֲרֻבוֹת. קוֹמָתוֹ מֵלֵאָה גַּחְלִים. רוֹם קוֹמָתוֹ כְּרוֹם שִׁבְעָה רִקְעִים. ב'
וְרוּחַב קוֹמָתוֹ כְּרוּחַב ז' רִקְעִים. וְעוֹבִי ¹⁶ קוֹמָתוֹ כְּעוֹבִי ¹⁷ שִׁבְעָה
רִקְעִים. ¹⁸ מִפְתַּח פִּי- ¹⁸ כִּלְפִיד ¹⁹ אִשׁ. וְלִשְׁנוֹ ²⁰ אוֹכֶלֶת אִשׁ- ²⁰
וְעַפְעָפִי כִזְהָר בֶּרֶק וְעֵינָיו כִּזְיֻקִּי ²¹ זֹהָר ²². וּמֵרָאָה פָּנָיו כֹּאֵשׁ יוֹקֶדֶת.
וְכֹתֵר קְדוּשָׁה עַל רֹאשׁוֹ שֵׁשׁ מִפּוֹרֶשׁ ²³ חֲקוֹק בּוֹ. שְׁמִמְנוֹ ²⁴ בִּרְקִים
יוֹצֵאִים. וְקֶשֶׁת שְׂבִינָה בֵּין כַּתְפָּיו. ³⁰ וַחֲרָבוֹ עַל מִתְּנֵיוֹ וַחֲצִי ²⁵ כִּבְרֶק ²⁶
עַל חֲגוּרָיו. וְתָרִים אִשׁ אוֹכֶלָה ²⁷ עַל צוּאָרוֹ ²⁸ וְגַחְלֵי רִתְמִים עַל ²⁹
סִבִּיבוֹתָיו ³⁰. וְזִיז שְׂבִינָה עַל פָּנָיו וְקֶרְנֵי הַהוֹד עַל אוֹפְנָיו וְצִנִּיף מְלוּכָה ז'
עַל הַדְּקָדוֹ. וְגוֹפּוֹ ⁽³¹⁾ מֵלֵא עֵינָם וְגוֹבָה קוֹמָתוֹ כֹּל כְּנָפִים. מִימִינוֹ ³²
לְהַבָּה מִתְּלַהֵב ³² וּמִשְׁמָאלוֹ לְהֵט תִּלְהֵט וְגַחְלִים בּוֹעֲרִים מְגוֹפּוֹ ³³
וּלְפִידִים יוֹצֵאִים מִמֶּנּוּ ³⁴. וּבִרְקִים מִבְּרָקִים ³⁵ מִפָּנָיו. וְעֲמֹ תִמִּיד רַעַם
בְּרַעַם וְאֶצֶּל תִּמִּיד רַעַם בְּרַעַם. ³⁶ שְׂרִי ב' ³⁶ מִרְכָּבָה בְּמִקְוֹמוֹ ³⁷.
וְלִמָּה נִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ כְּרוּבִיאֵל ³⁸ ה' הִשֵּׁר ³⁸. מִפָּנָיו ³⁹ שֶׁהוּא מְמוֹנָה עַל י'
מִרְכָּב ⁴⁰ כְּרוּבִים ⁴¹ ⁴² וְכְרוּבֵי גְבוּרָה מְסוּרִים בִּידוֹ וְכֹתֵרִי ⁴² רֹאשׁוֹ הוּא
מִפּוֹאֵר וְעֲמֵרֶת קֶדְקֶדֶם הוּא מִצְחָצַח. ⁴⁴ שִׁבְחָה ⁽⁴³⁾ [תֹּאֲרָם] הוּא מְעוֹרֵר ⁴⁴ י'

⁽⁵⁾ ב' כ' הִשֵּׁר ⁶ ל' ב' ב' ⁷ גֵּאוֹה ד' ז' ⁸ ל' ב' ב' ז': וְגֵיאוֹה ⁽⁹⁾ ב' כ' גֵּאוֹה

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ וְעֲמֹ שֶׁר צִדִּיק וְצִדְקָה וְעֲמֹ שֶׁר קְדוֹשׁ וְקְדוּשָׁה וְעֲמֹ ב' ¹¹ כְּרוּבֵי ד' ¹² כ' ז':

מִקְצָפוֹ ¹³ יִרְעָדוֹ ב' ¹⁴ וּמֵאֵימָתוֹ ב' ¹⁵ יִחְלוּ ד'. הוֹלְחָלוֹ ב' ¹⁶ וְעוֹבֵי ב'

¹⁷ כְּעוֹבֵין שֶׁל ב' ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ מִפּוֹ ב'. מִפְתַּח פִּי דוֹלֵק ד' ¹⁹ כִּלְפִידֵי ב' ²⁰⁻²⁰ אִשׁ אוֹכֶלָה ב'

²¹ כִּזְיֻקֵּם ב' ²² ל' ב' ב' ²³ מִפּוֹרֶשׁ ב' ²⁴ וּמִמֶּנּוּ ד' ²⁵ וַחֲצוֹ ד' ²⁶ כִּבְזֹק ד'

²⁷ אֶכְלָה ד' ²⁸ צוּרָיו ד' ²⁹ ל' ב' ד' ³⁰⁻³⁰ וַחֲרָבוֹ כִּבְרֶק וְעַל מִתְּנֵיוֹ חֲצִים כִּבְזֹק

וְעַל חֲגוּרָיו וְתָרִי אִשׁ אֶכְלָה וְעַל צוּאָרָיו גַּחְלֵי רִתְמִים וְעַל סִבִּיבָיו ב' ⁽³¹⁾ ד' כ' כֹּל

³² תִּלְהֵט ד'. תִּלְתֵּב ב' ³³ מִמֶּנָּה ב'. מִמֶּנּוּ ד' ³⁴ מְגוֹפּוֹ ב' ³⁵ מִבְּחִיקִים ב' ב'

³⁶⁻³⁶ וְשְׁנֵי שְׂרֵי ב' ז' ³⁷ בְּקִמָּתוֹ ב' ³⁸⁻³⁸ ל' ב' ד' ³⁹ ל' ב' ב' ⁴⁰ מִרְכָּבוֹת ב'

⁴¹ חַיִּוֹת ב' ⁴²⁻⁴² וְגְבוּרָה וְכֹתֵר ב' ⁽⁴³⁾ ד' כ' תֹּאֲרָם ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴ ל' ב' ב'

(2) [אלוף] וגבור שר גדול וגורא שר שכל בני עליונים³ מזרעזעים (ו) מלפניו⁴. שר שהוא יכול לבלע⁵ את העולם כולם⁶ בבת אחת..
 ב' ולמה נקרא שמו הייליאל ה' 7-8 שמו השר-⁸ מפני שהוא ממונה על (9)
 החיות בפולסאות של אור והוא מפאר אותם בתיתם תהלה שבח
 רננה¹⁰ והוא ממחר אותם שיאמר [ו] קדוש. וברוך¹² כבוד ה' ממקומו.

(2) ד' אלוף (בצע בכי) ³ מרומים ד' ⁴ מלפניו ד' להקרא כמו כן ⁵ לבלוע ד' ⁶ כולו ד' / ⁷ לי' ב ד' ⁸⁻⁸ לי' ב ד' om. ⁹ ד' חיות הקודש והוא מכה את ¹⁰ ורננה ד' ¹¹ לומר אחרי ד' להק': שיאמרו או: לומר ¹² ברוך ד'

o o o

פרק כ"א

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. (1) ארבעה חיות
 כנגד ד' רוחות. כל חיה וחיה כמלא עולם כולו. וכל אחד ואחד יש
 ב' לו ארבע[ה] פנים² וכל פנים ופנים² כפני מזרח.. וכל אחד ואחד יש
 ג' לו ארבע כנפים וכל כנף וכנף ככסוי של עולם.. וכל אחד ואחד יש לו
 פנים בתוך פנים וכל אחד ואחד יש לו כנפים בתוך כנפים. שיעורם
 ד' של פנים³ ק'ק מ'ח-³ פנים ושיעורן של כנפים שס'ה כנפים.. וכל
⁴ אחד ואחד⁴ קשורים בראשו⁵ ב' אלפים כתרים וכל כתר וכתר
 כקשת⁶ בענן וזיוו כזיו גלגל (7) [חמה] וניצוצים היוצאים מכל⁴ א[חד]
 וא[חד]⁴ כזיו כוכב הנוגה במזרח:

כ"א

(1) ד' א' חמ"ב (= חדר מרום כל) ²⁻² לי' ב ד' ³⁻³ מאתים וארבעה ושמונה ד' ⁴⁻⁴ אחת ואחת ד' ⁵ בראשה ד' ⁶ כמראה הקשת ד' (7) ד' חמה. להק'

o o o

פרק כ"ב

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים (2) .. למעלה
 מהן³ יש שר אחד (ו) אדיר⁴ ומופלא אמיץ ומשובח בכל מיני שבח

כ"ב

¹ לי' ב ב (2) בד' חדר מרום כל ³ מן החיות ד' ⁴ אדיר דב

[למר]

[ב]

אמר רבי ישמעל. אמר לי מטטרון ש"ה: היאך א' עומדים למעלה המלאכים. אמר לי: כגשר שהוא מונח על הנהר ועברים עליו כל העולם כך מונח גשר מראש המבוי עד סופו. ונ' מלאכי השרת סובבים אותו ואומר 'ב' שירה לפני יי אלהי ישראל. ועומדים לפניו זריזי אמה שלישי יראה. אלה אלפים וריכי רבבאות נועמים שבת וקילום לפני יי אלהי ישראל:

כמה גשרים הם גשרי אש כמה גשרי ברד כמה נהרי ג' ברד כמה אוצרות שלג הם כמה גלגלי אש. כמה מלאכי ד' שרת. י"ב אלפים רבוא. ו' למעלה. ו' למטה. י"ב אלפים נהרי ברד. ו' למעלה. ו' למטה. י"ב אלפים אוצרות שלג. ו' למעלה ו' למטה. כ"ד ריבא גלגלי אש י"ב למעלה. י"ב למטה. וסובבים לגשרים לנהרי אש לנהרי ברד (ואוצרות שלג) וכמה מלאכי שרת מבוי ומבוי לכל ברייה וברייה עומדים בתוכה כנגד שבילי רקיע שמים. מה עושה יי אלהי ישראל מלך הכבוד. מכסה פניו אל גדול ונורא ניבד בגבורה. בערבות תר"ם ו' אלפים רבוא מלאכי הכבוד עומדים נגד כסא הכבוד

א' חצר יש לפני כסא הכבוד שאין שרף ומלאך יכול ליכנס לשם. והוא ל' אלפים רבא פרסאות דכתיב ((ישע' ב')) שרפים עומדים ממעל ל'.

ג' כמניין ל' יש גשרים שם. ושם כ"ד רבוא גלגלי אש. ד' ומלאכי השרת י"ב אלפים רבוא. וי"ב אלפי נהרי ברד. וי"ב אלפים אוצרות שלג. [ובז' היכלות מרכבות של אש ושלחביות לאין מספר. וקץ. וחקר].

(הכא סוף ל למר)

ותצובי אש שלחבות ומלך הכבוד מכסה פניו אם לא כן היה ערבות רקיע מתבקע בכבדה מפני חדר זיו יופי תואר חמדת זוהר צהרי שבה מראה ברוך הוא. כמה משרתים ו' עושי רצונו. כמה מלכים. כמה שרים בערבות מחמדו. נוראים ברוזני עליון נשואי פנים. הדורי שירה מזכירי אהבה. נבהלים מזוהר שכינה. באשים עניהם מאור יופי זיו מלכם ותשחירו פנים ותשש כוחם. מתנהרים נהרי שמחה. נחלי ששון. נהרי גילה. נ' נחלי רינה. נהרי אהבה נחלי ריעות [נ"א זיעות] משתפים ויוצים מלפני כסא הכבוד ומתנבדו ותולכין בשערי נתיבות ערבות רקיע מקול צערות וניגון חיותיו ומקול רינות תופי אופניו ומקול זמרת צלצלי כרוביו ומתנבד ויוצא ברעש בק'ק' יי צבאות מכה"כ.

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[בלאו למר. על ב ונוס' מן לאו ו למר]

פרק כ"ב C

אמר רבי ישמעאל. ⁽¹⁾ אמר לי ²⁻² מטטרון ש"ה. כמה שיעור ² בין גשר לגשר. י"ב א' ייבות פרסאות ³ בעלייתן י"ב ריבוא פרסאות וכירידתן י"ב ³. ⁽⁴⁾ בין נהרי אימה ב'

כ"ב C

⁽¹⁾ לאומר כמה בין גשר לגשר ²⁻² ל' ב לאומר ³⁻³ ל' ב למר. בעלייתן וי"ב רבוא פרסאות בירידתן לאו ⁽⁴⁾ למר ושמ נהרי אימה. לאו י"ב רבוא פרסאות

ותפארת גאונים^{44א} הוא ממחר⁴⁵ ורבות⁴⁶ ⁽⁴⁷⁾ גדול⁴⁸ יקדם הוא מגדיל
 ושיר תהלתם הוא משורר ועוז⁴⁹ תפארתם הוא משנן רוזהר כבודם
 הוא מזרח⁵⁰ ופאר⁵¹ חן חסדם-⁵¹ משפיר⁵² וחמדת נגהם הוא⁵³ מרקם
 וחמלת יופיים הוא מיפה וקושט⁵⁴ הדרם הוא מהדר וסדר שבחם
 יג הוא מסלסל להבין מושב ליושב הכרובים. והכרובים עומדים אצל
 (ה) חיות⁵⁵ הקדש וכנפיהם כרום ראשיהם. ושכינה⁵⁶ על גביהם וזוהר
 כבוד⁵⁷ על פניהם ושיר ותהלה⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ בתוך פיהם-⁵⁹ וידיהם תחת
 כנפיהם⁶⁰ ורגליהם מכוסים בכנפיהם-⁶⁰ וקרני הדר⁶¹ על ראשיהם.
 חזיו שכינה על אפיהם⁶² ושכינה⁶³ על גביהם. ואבני ספיר סביבותיהם
 יד ועמודי אש על רביעיהם⁶⁴ ועמודי לפיד בצדדיהם⁶⁵.. ספיר א' מזה ⁽⁶⁶⁾
 טז תחת ספיריהם⁶⁷ גחלי אש⁶⁸ רתמים.. כרוב אחד מזה וכרוב אחד מזה
 וכנפי כרובים ⁽⁶⁹⁾ זה את זה מוקפים⁷⁰ על קדקדם⁷¹ בכבוד פרושים⁷²
 לשורר בהם שיר לשוכן שחקים ולהעריץ בהם פאר למלך מלאכים⁷³..
 טז וכרוביאל ה' ה' שר שהוא ממונה עדיהם ⁽⁷⁴⁾ מסדר אותם בסדרים
 נאים ויפים ונע[ימ]ים⁷⁵ ומסלסל אותם⁷⁶ בכל מיני סלסול יקר וכבוד
 וממהר אותם בכבוד ועוז לפעול רצון⁷⁷ קונם⁷⁸ בכל רגע⁷⁹ ורגע כי על
 רום ראשיהם תמיד⁸⁰ כבוד⁸¹ רב למלך⁸¹ יושב הכרובים:

44א גאונים בר 45 מהדר ד 46 וריבות ב ⁽⁴⁷⁾ בר ∞ שפרם הוא מרבה ז.
 48 וגודל ד להק'. וגיל ב 49 ועוז ב 50 מזרח בר 51-51 חן וחסדם הוא ד. חסדם
 הוא ב 52 משפר ב 53 ל' ב ד 54 וקישות ב 55 חיות ד להק' 56 והשכינה ב
 57 הכבוד ב 58 תהלה ד 59-59 בניהם ד 60-60 ל' ב ב 61 חור ב
 62 פניהם ב 63 ושכינת אל בר 64 רביעיהם ב 65 בצידיהם בר ⁽⁶⁶⁾ בר ∞
 וספיר אחד מזה 67 הספיר ב. ספירים ד 68 ל' ב בר ⁽⁶⁹⁾ ב ∞ מקיפין
 70 ל' ב ב. מקיפין ד 71 קדקדו ב 72 ופרסים אותם ב 73 מלאכי
 המלכים ב. מלכי המלכים ד ⁽⁷⁴⁾ ב ∞ הוא ז. 75 ונעימים בר 76 אותו ב
 77 ל' ב ב 78 יוצרם ב 79 עת ב 80 ל' ב ב 81-81 מלך רם ד.
 מלך רם ונשא ב

פרק כ"ג

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים. (2) כמה רוחות א'
 מנשבות תחת³ כנפי הכרובים. מנשב(ו)ת⁴ רוח מרחפת⁵ שנאמר
 ((בראשית א'ב)) ורוח אלהים מרחפת⁶ על פני המים⁶. מנשבת⁷ ב'
 (8) [רוח] עזה שנאמר ((שמות י"ד כ"א)) וילך⁹ ה' את הים ברוח קדים
 עזה¹⁰ כל הלילה¹⁰. מנשבת⁷ (8) [רוח] הקדים¹¹ שנאמר ((שמות ג'
 י' י"ג)) ורוח הקדים¹² נשא את הארבה. מנשבת¹³ 15-רוח¹⁴ שלום¹⁵ 7
 שנאמר ((במדבר י"א ל"א)) ורוח נסע¹⁶ מאת ה' ויגו שלום. מנשבת¹³ ה'
 רוח¹⁴ קנאה שנאמר ((במדבר ה' י"ד)) ועבר עליו רוח קנאה.
 מנשב(ו)ת¹⁷ רוח¹⁴ רעש שנאמר ((מלכים א' י"ט י"א)) ואחר הרוח¹⁸ ו'
 הרעש¹⁹ 20-לא ברעש ה'²⁰. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ ה' 22-שנאמר ((יחזקאל י'
 ל"א א')) ויציאני ברוח ה' ויניחני²¹. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ רעה²² שנאמר ס'
 ((שמואל א' ט"ז כ"ג)) וסרה מעליו²³ רוח רעה²⁴. מנשבת¹³ רוח¹⁴ ט'
 חכמה²⁵ ורוח בינה ורוח דעת ורוח יראת ה'²⁵ שנאמר ((ישעיה י"א
 ב')) ונחה עליו [רוח]²⁶ ה' 31-רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח
 דעת ויראת ה'. מנשבת רוח גשם²⁷. שנאמר ((משלי כ"ה כ"ג)) ו'
 רוח צפון תחולל גשם. מנשבת רוח ברכים שנאמר ((ירמיהו י' י"ג י"א

כמה שיעור בין גשר לגשר. אמר לי. רבי ישמעאל. ישרות וחסידות בלבבך לידעת כמה
 שיעור יש בשמים. אמר לו. כשעליתי בהיכל א' אדיר הייתי. בהיכל ב' פוחד הייתי.
 בהיכל שלישי ישר הייתי. בהיכל ד' תמים הייתי. בהיכל ה' הגעתי קדושה לפני מלך
 מל(א)כי המל(א)כים הקב"ה בהיכל ו' אמרתי קדושה לפני מי שאמר והיה עולם ויצר וציוה
 לכל הבריות שלא ישחיתוני מלאכי שרת. בהיכל ז' עמדתי בכל כוחי ונרתעתי וגו'

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כ"ג

1 ל' ב ב (2) ב 66 אגיד לך. ד 66 ה'מכ [= חדר מרום כל] 3 מתחת ב 4 מנשבת
 דע להק' 5 תמרח' ד 6-6 ל' ב בדע 7 ל' ב ב: ו- (8) בדע 66 רוח. להק'
 9 ויולך דע 10-10 ל' ב דע 11 קדים עב 12 קדים ב 13 ל' ב ב 14 ורוח ב
 15-15 רוחו של יום ע 16 ל' ב ב 17 ל' ב ב. מנשבת דע 18 רוח ד 19 רעש
 בדע 20-20 ל' ב ב 21 ל' ב ב. וגו' ד 22-22 ל' ב ע 23-23 וביעתינו ב
 ((שמואל א' ט"ז י"ד)) 24 הרעה דע 25-25 ורוח עצה וגבורה ורוח דעת ויראת
 יוי ב. ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראה ע (26) בדע 66 רוח להק' 27 גשמים דע

לנהרי יראה כ"ב רבוא פרסאות בין נהרי ברד לנהרי חשוך⁵ ל'ז ריבא פרסאות. בין חדרי⁶ ברקים לענני ניהומין⁷ מ"ב ריבוא פרסאות. ⁽⁸⁾ 10- בין ענני ניהומין למרכבה פ"ד ריבוא פרסאות. בין מרכבה לכרובים קמ"ה⁹ ריבוא פרסאות-10. בין כרובים לאופנים כ"ד ריבוא פרסאות¹¹. בין אופנים לחדרי חדרים כ"ד ריבוא. ⁽¹²⁾ בין חדרי חדרים לחיות הקודש אלפים¹³ פרסאות¹⁴ בין כנף לכנף י"ב ריבוא¹⁵-ורוחבן כמו כן-15. ג' וכן¹⁶ בין חיות הקודש לכסא הכבוד¹⁷-כמו כן-17 ריבוא פרסאות. ומרגל¹⁸ כסא הכבוד עד מקום¹⁹-שהוא יושב-19 מ' אלפים ריבוא פרסאות²⁰ 21-ושמו מתקדש ד' שם-21. וכיפי²² חקשת נתונות²³ על ערבות²⁴ גבוהות אלף אלפים ורייבי²⁵ רבבות מידה כנגד מידת²⁶ עירין וקדישין⁽²⁷⁾ דכתיב ((בראשית מ' י"ג)) את קשתי נתתי בענן. אתן בענן²⁸-אין כתיב כאן-28 אלא נתתי כבר. עבים המקיפים (ה) כסא²⁹ הכבוד. כ' כשעביו עברו מלאכי ברד גחלי³⁰ אש. וירד³¹ אש³² של קול מאצל³³ (ה)חיות הקודש³⁴ ומפני חבל הקול³⁵-רצוא לעבור במקום אחר-35 ויראים³⁶ שמא יאמר ללכת לכך וישוב³⁷ שלא יזיק⁽³⁸⁾ מצד האחר³⁹ לכך⁴⁰ ((יחזקאל א' י"ד)) רצוא ושוב. ואתם כיפי חקשת⁴¹ יפים וצחים מלובן⁴² השמש בתקופת תמוז והם מלובנים מאש להב והם גדולים ויפים. ולמעלה⁽⁴³⁾ גלגלי האופנים נתונים על כיפי חקשת גבוהים אלף אלפים ורייבי⁴⁴ רבבות מידה⁴⁵-כנגד מידת⁴⁵ שרפים וגדודים. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

5 ל'א: חושך. ל'מר: שלג 6 סדרי ל'מר 7 ניהומ' ל'מר. חומה ל'או ⁽⁸⁾ ל'מר ענני ניהומ'. שמנחמין את הכבוד. [פי'] 9 קפ"ה ל'מר 10-10 ל' ב ל'או 11 רבבות ל'אומר ⁽¹²⁾ ל'או פרסאות. ל'מר פרסאות. ובאותן חדרים הוד וחדר. זהו [יחזק' א' ט"ז] ומעשה האופנים ומעשיהם 13 מ' אלפים רבוא ל'אומר 14 רבבות ל'אר 15-15 ורחבן כמו כן ל'אר. וכן ארכו וכן רחבו ל'מר 16 ל' ב ל'אומר om. 17-17 ל' ל'או. ל' אלפים ל'מר 18 מרגל ל'אומר 19-19 שיושב עליו ל'מר 20 הכא נשלם פרק כ"ב C על פי ל'מר 21-21 ושמו הגדול מתקדש שם ל'או 22 כיפי ל'או 23 נתונים ל'או 24 הערבות ל'או 25 ריבוא ל'או 26 ל' ב ל'או ⁽²⁷⁾ ל'או וזהו שיסד הפייט כיפי חקשת עם כנף תנים 28-28 לא נאמ' ל'או 29 כסא ל'או 30 וגחלי ל'או 31 ויורד ל'או 32 האש ל'או 33 אצל ל'או 34 ל' ב ל'או om. 35-35 רצין לעבר אחר ל'או 36 ויראין ל'או 37 ל'או: ישוב. לחקר' כמו למעלה ⁽³⁸⁾ ל'או להם 39 אחר ל'או 40 ל' ב ל'או 41 קשת ל'או 42 כלובן ל'או ⁽⁴³⁾ ל'או מהם. לחק' 44 ורבוא ל'או 45-45 ל' ב ל'או ⁽⁴⁶⁾ ל'או אחרי כך: דמות האופנים אש לבנה וצחה מאוד דכתיב [יחזקאל א' ט"ז] ומראה האופנים ומעשיהם כעין תרשיש. אי שמשים אבן תרשיש במין זכין כשמש בימות החמה. אין כאבן שהיא צחה ולבנה וגו' ב: אמר רבי ישמעאל. שאלתי לרבי עקיבה.

ומדינות חוזרות ונופלות בגן-⁶⁰ ומגן חוזרות ⁶¹ ונופלות ⁶² בערן ⁶³.
 שנאמר ((בראשית ג' ח')) ⁽⁶⁴⁾ התהלך ⁶⁵ בגן לרוח היום. ובתוך הגן ⁶⁶
 עדן ערבות ⁶⁷ ונושבות ⁶⁸ מצד זה לצד זה. ומתבשמות ⁶⁹ מבושמי ⁷⁰
 גן ⁽⁷¹⁾ (ו) ממרחקי ⁷² [נ] עדן ⁷³ שנפרדות ⁷⁴ ומתמלאות ברוח ⁷⁵ בושם טהור
 ומבי[אות] ⁷⁶ ריח ⁸⁰-מרחקי גן ⁷⁷ עדן ⁷⁸ ובוסמני ⁽⁷⁹⁾ עדן לפני צדיקים
 וחסידים יורשי-⁸⁰ ⁸¹-גן עדן ⁸¹ ועץ החיים לעתיד לבא שנאמר ((שיר
 השירים ד' ט')) עורי צפון ובואי תימן הפיחי גני יזלו בשמיו יבא דודי לגנו
 ויאכל פרי מגדיו:

⁶¹ ל' ב בדע ⁶² נופלת ד. נופלות ע. ל' ב ב ⁶³ לערן בדע ⁽⁶⁴⁾ ב ט וישמע
 את קול י' אלהים ⁶⁵ מתהלך בדע MT ⁶⁶ גן בדע ⁶⁷ מתערבת ד. מתערבות ע
⁶⁸ נושבת ד ⁶⁹ ומתבשמים ע. ומתבסמות ד ⁷⁰ מבסמני בד². מבוסמני ד¹.
 מבשמי ע ⁽⁷¹⁾ ע ט עדן ⁷² וממרחקו ב. וממרחקות ד ⁷³ ל' ב ב ⁷⁴ עד
 שנותרות ב. עד שנפרדות דע ⁷⁵ רום ב. מרוח ד. מריח ע ⁷⁶ ומביאות בדע ז.
⁷⁷ ל' ב ע ⁷⁸ ל' ב דע ⁽⁷⁹⁾ דע ט גן ⁸⁰⁻⁸¹ ל' ב ב ⁸¹⁻⁸¹ עדן גן ב

פרק כ"ד

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך¹ שר הפנים הדר ב[מ]רום²
 כל³.. ⁽⁴⁾ כמה מרכבות יש ⁽⁵⁾ לה[ק]ב'ה. ⁶-יש לו ⁶-מרכבות כרובים⁷ א'
 שנאמר ((תהלים י"ח י"א. שמואל ב' כ"ב י"א)) וירכב על כרוב ויעף..
⁶-יש לו ⁶-מרכבות רוח שנאמר ((שם)) וידא על כנפי רוח.. ⁶-יש לו ⁶-
 מרכבות עב קל שנאמר ((ישעיה י"א א')) הנה ה' רוכב על עב קל..
⁸ יש לו מרכבות עננים שנאמר ((שמות י"ט ט')) הנה ⁽⁹⁾ בא אליך בעב ד'
 הענן.. ¹⁰⁻¹⁵-יש לו ¹⁰-מרכבות מזבח שנאמר ((עמוס ט' א')) ראיתי ה' ס'
 נצב על המזבח.. יש לו מרכבות רבותים שנאמר ((תהלים ס"ח י"ח)) ו'
 רכב אלהים רבותים¹¹ אלפי ⁽¹²⁾.. ¹⁴-יש לו מרכבות האוהל שנאמר ז'
 ((דברים ל"א ט')) וירא ה' באוהל [ב]עמוד¹³ ענן ¹⁴⁻¹⁵.. ¹⁶-יש לו ¹⁶-ק'

כ"ד

¹ ל' ב ב ² מרום בדע להק' ³ ל' ב ב ⁽⁴⁾ ב ט אנגיד לך ⁽⁵⁾ ד ט לו ⁶⁻⁶ ל' ב ב
⁷ כרוב דע ⁸ ויש ב ⁽⁹⁾ בדע ט אנכי ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ ו- ב ¹¹ ל' ב ד
⁽¹²⁾ דע ט שנאן ¹³ בעמוד ד. ל' ב ע ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ ל' ב ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ ל' ב ב ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ ל' ב ב

י"ג נ"א מ"ז)) ברכים לממר עושה²⁸ רוח מאוצרותיו³⁰⁻³² מנשבת רוח
משבר סלעים שנאמר ((מלכים א' י"ט י"א)) ה' עובר ברוח²⁹ גדולה
י"ג וחזק³⁰⁻³¹.. מנשבת רוח³² משיכת ים³² שנאמר ((בראשית ח' א'))
י"ד ויעבר אלהים³³ רוח על הארץ וישוכו³⁴ המים³⁷.. מנשבת רוח חמה
י"ג³⁵ [ודאגה שנאמר] ((איוב א' י"ט)) והנה רוח גדולה באה מעבר המדבר ויגע
ט"ו בד' פנות הבית ויפול על³⁶ [הנערים]³⁷.. מנשבת³⁸ רוח סערה שנאמר
ט"ו ((תהלים קמ"ח ח')) רוח סערה עושה דברו³⁹.. והשטן עומד בין הרוחות
39- הללו שאין רוח [סערה] אלא⁴⁰ השטן וכל הרוחות³⁹ הללו אין [נ] 41
מנשב[ו]ת⁴² אלא תחת⁴³ כנפי הכרובים שנאמר ((תהלים י"ח י"א)) וירכב
י"ז על כרוב ויעוף וידא על כנפי⁴⁴ רוח⁴⁵.. ולהיכן⁴⁶ הן⁴⁷ הולכות⁴⁷ כל
אלו⁴⁷ הרוחות⁴⁸ 49- מלמד שיצאים⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ מתחת הכרובים ונופלות
על גלגל חמה⁵⁰ שנאמר ((קהלת א' ו'))⁵¹ 52- הולך הרוח ועל סביבותיו
שב הרוח⁵².. ומגלגל חמה חוזרות⁵³ ונופל[ו]ת⁵⁴ 57- בנהרות⁵⁵ ובימים
בהרים ובגבעות שנאמר ((עמוס ד' י"ג)) כי הנה יוצר הרים ובורא
י"ח רוח⁵⁶.. ומהרים וגבעות חוזרות ונופלות בימים ובנהרות ומימים
ונהרות חוזרות ונופלות⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ בעיירות⁵⁸ ובמדינות⁵⁹ 60- ומעירות

28 עשה מוצא דע²⁹ ורוח ד³⁰⁻³¹ ל"י ב ע³¹⁻³² ל"י ב ב³²⁻³² נשונות ב.
משיבת מים ע³³ י"י ב³⁴ ויובו ב³⁵ דע³⁶ ודאגה שנאמר. לחק' (36) דע³⁷
הנערים לחק' 37-37 ל"י ב ב³⁸ ו- ב³⁹⁻³⁹ ל"י ב בע⁴⁰ הסערה אלא ד.
לחק' כמו למעלה. א: שאין רוח אל השטן⁴¹ אינן בד⁴² מנשבות ד
43 מתחת ב⁴⁴ ל"י ב ע⁴⁵ ועד ב⁴⁶ ל"י ב בע⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ ל"י ב ד
48- בדע⁴⁹⁻⁴⁹ ל"י ב בדע⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ מתחת כנפי הכרובים ויוצאות
מתחת כנפי הכרובים ומתגלגלות ונופלות לתוך גלגל החמה ב. שמתחת כנפי הכרובים
יוצאות ונופלות בגלגל חמה ד. שמתחת יוצאות ונופלות בגלגל חמה ע⁵¹ ב⁵²
והולך אל דרום וסובב אל צפון. דע⁵³ הולך אל דרום וסובב אל צפון סובב סובב
52-52 ל"י ב ב⁵³ ל"י ב ב⁵⁴ נופלות ב⁵⁵ בכ"י: בגן מגן err
56-56 ומימים ונהרות חוזרת ביישוב ומיישוב חוזרת ונופלות ד. ומימים ונהרות חוזרים
ביישוב ומיישוב חוזרות ע⁵⁷⁻⁵⁷ ל"י ב ב⁵⁸ לשדות ב⁵⁹ ולמדינות ב
60-60 ומשם גופלת לגן דע. ולערות וחזרות ונופלות לגן ב

על גביו ⁽⁴⁷⁾ שנאמר ((יחזקאל מ"ח ל"ה)) ⁽⁴⁸⁾ סביב ⁴⁹ י"ח אלף. ומנין שהוא סוקר בכל אלו ⁵⁰ ואלו בכל יום ויום- ⁵⁰ שנאמר ((תהלים י"ד ב')) ⁽⁵¹⁾ משמים השקיף ⁵² על בני אדם ⁵⁴ לראות ה"ש משכיל דורש את האלהים ⁵³⁻⁵⁴ .. יש לו מרכבות אופנים שנאמר ((יחזקאל י' י"ב)) י"ט והאופנים מלא' סביב- ⁵⁵ .. יש לו מרכבות כסא קדשו ⁵⁶ שנא' ((תהלים י"ט מ"ז ט')) אלהים ישב על כסא קדשו .. יש לו מרכבות כס' ⁵⁷ י"ח שנאמר כ' ((שמות י"ז ט"ז)) כי יד על כס' י"ח .. ⁵⁸ יש לו מרכבות כסא משפט כ"ז שנאמר ((ישעיה ה' ט"ז)) ויגבה ה' צבאות במשפט- ⁵⁸ .. יש לו מרכבות כ"ז כסא הכבוד ⁵⁹ שנאמר [ר] ((ירמיה י"ז י"ב)) כסא הכבוד ⁵⁹ מראשון ⁽⁶⁰⁾ ⁶¹ מקום מקדשו- ⁶¹ .. יש לו מרכבות כסא רם ונשא ⁶² שנאמר כ"ז ((ישעיה ו' א')) ואראה ⁶³ את ה' יושב על כסא רם ונשא.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ ב ט רגל השני ⁽⁴⁸⁾ ב ט סביב ⁴⁹ סובב על ע ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ בכל יום דע. ל"י ב ב ⁽⁵¹⁾ בדע ט אלהים ⁵² היקף ב ⁵³ אלהים דע ⁵⁴⁻⁵⁴ ל"י ב ב ⁵⁵⁻⁵⁵ ל"י ב ב ⁵⁶ קודש ב. כבודו ע ⁵⁷ כסא ב ⁵⁸⁻⁵⁸ ל"י ב דע ⁵⁹ כבוד דע ⁽⁶⁰⁾ בדע ט מרום להק' ⁶¹⁻⁶¹ ל"י ב ב ⁶² ל"י ב ב ⁶³ וארא ב

o o o

פרק כ"ה

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. למעלה מהן י"ט יש שר אחד ⁽¹⁾ גדול ונורא גבור ונסגב ² אלוף ונערץ ישיש ³ ועז ⁴ ⁽⁵⁾ אפפניאל ה' שמו .. שיש לו ששה עשר פנים ד' פנים לכל צד וצד ב' ⁶ [ו]ק' כנפים לכל צד וצד- ⁶ .. ויש לו ⁷ ח' אלפים וד' מאות וס' עינים כענין- ⁷ ימות השנה. ב' אלפים וק"ץ וא' ⁸ ⁽⁹⁾ שש ¹⁰ עשרה לכל צד וצד ⁽¹¹⁾ וב' אלפים וק"ץ וא' וי' לכל צד וצד- ¹¹ .. ואותם ¹² ב' עינים ב'

כ"ה

⁽¹⁾ ע ט שר ² ונסגב דע ³ ישיש דע ⁴ ועז ע ⁽⁵⁾ ע ט ו- ⁶⁻⁶ ל"י ב ד ⁷⁻⁷ שמות אלפים ושבע מאות וששים ותשע עינים כמנין ששת דע ⁸ ואחד ע ⁽⁹⁾ ד ט שני אלפים ומאת ותשעים ואחת ¹⁰ ושש עד ¹¹⁻¹¹ ל"י ב דע *ditt.*

¹² ואותה ד

מרכבות אוהל מועד שנאמ[ר] ((ויקרא א' א')) וידבר ה' אל-הים-17
 ט' איליו [מ]אוהל¹⁸ מועד¹⁹ .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות כפורת שנאמ' ((במדבר
 י' ז' פ"ט)) וישמע את הקול²¹ מדבר אליו²² מעל הכפורת-23 .. 20-יש
 לו-20 מרכבות אבן ספיר שנאמר ((שמות כ"ד י')) ותחת רגליו כמעשה
 י"א לבנ(ו)ת הספיר .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות נשרים שנאמר ((שמות י"ט ד'))
 ואישא אתכם על כנפי נשרים. ²⁴-אינם נשרים אלא שפורחות
 י"ג כנשרים-24 .. 25-יש לו מרכבות תרועה שנאמר ((תהלים מ"ו ו'))
 י"ג עלה אלהים בתרועה-25 .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות ערבות שנאמר
 י"ד ((תהלים ס"ח ה')) סולו לרוכב בערבות²⁶ ²⁷«27» .. 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות
 ט"ו עבים שנאמר ((תהלים ק"ד ג')) השם ²⁸-עבים רכובו-28 .. 20-יש לו-20
 מרכבות (היות)²⁹ שנאמר ((יחזקאל א' י"ד)) (והחיות)³⁰ רצוא ושוב
³²-רצים ברשות ו(ש)בים³¹ ברשות שהשכינה על רום ראשיהם-32 ..
 ט"ז 20-יש לו-20 מרכבות גלגלים³³ שנא' ((יחזקאל י' כ')) ויאמר ³⁴-אל
 י"ז בינת הגלגל-34 .. 37-יש לו מרכבות כרוב קל שנאמר ((ישעיה י"ט א'
 עם תהלים י"ח י')) רוכב³⁵ על כרוב³⁶ קל-37. ובשעה שהוא רוכב על כרוב
 קל³⁸-ומניח על[יו] רגל אחד-38 ועדיין לא הניח רגלו³⁹ ⁴⁰-שניה (על)
 גביו סיקר י"ח אלף (אלפים) עולמים בסקירה אחת-40 ומבין⁴¹ ורוא[ה]⁴²
 בכולם⁴³ ויודע⁴⁴-בכל אלו ואלו-44 עד שהניח⁴⁵ ⁴⁶-רגליו ברגלו ב'-46

17-17 ל' ב ב 18 מאוהל בדע ¹⁹«19» ד ט לאמר 20-20 ו- ב 21 יוי ב
 22 ל' ב ב 23-23 וגו' ד 24-24 ל' ב בדע. *gloss.* ? 25-25 ל' ב ב
 26 ערבות ב ²⁷«27» ע ט ביה שמו 28-28 רכובו עבים ב 29 היות בדע להק'
 30 והחיות בדע להק' 31 ושבים דע 32-32 ל' ב ב 33 גלגל ע
 34-34 בא אל כינות לגלגל בד. אל פנת לגלגל ע 35 רכב ע 36 עב ד 37-37 ל' ב
 38-38 ומניח על גביו רגל[ו] אחד בדע 39 עליו רגל ב 40-40 שנייה סוקר י"ח
 אלפים עולמים במקרה ד. שבייה סוקר שמונת עשר אלפים עולמות במקרה ע. השני אז
 סוקר י"ח אלפים עולמות בסקירה אחת ב 41 למיבן ב 42 ורואה דע. וראה ב
 43 באוכלוסין דע 44-44 מה בכולן ב 45 שמניח בד 46-46 רגלו שנייה דע

פרק כ"ז

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. למעלה ⁽¹⁾ [מהן] ^א
יש שר אחד מופלא אדיר רב ² יקר וגבור ועריץ ואלוף ונגיד ³ - וסופר
מהיר ³ - הדור ונכבד ונחמד .. וכולו מלא זיו ⁽⁴⁾ - מלא שבח ונוגה וכולו ^ב
מלא זוהר וכולו מלא אור וכולו מלא יופי ⁵ - וכולו מלא [חמדה]
וכולו מלא רבות .. וכולו ⁵ - דמותו כמלאכים וגופו כנשרים .. זיו[ו] ⁶ ^ג
כברקים תארו כלפידים ויופיו כבז(י)קים ⁷ והורו כנחלים ⁸ הדרו כחשמלים ⁷
נוגהו כאור נוגה מראהו ⁹ כמאור הגדול גבהו כז' רקיעים ואור עפעפיו
כאור שבעתים .. ואבן ספיר על ראשו כמלא עולם כזיו עצם השמים ^ה
לטחר .. וגופו מלא ענים ככוכבי השמים שאין להם חקר ואין להם ^ו
מספר ¹⁰ וכל עין ועין ככוכב הנוגה. ויש מהם כמאור הקטן ויש מהן
כמאור הגדול. מקרסוליו ועד רכובתו ¹¹ ככוכבי ברק ¹² ומרכבותיו ¹³
ועד ירכותיו ככוכב ¹⁴ הנוגה ומירכותיו ¹⁵ ועד מתניו כמאור הלבנה ¹⁶
וממתניו ועד צוארו ¹⁷ כאור ¹⁸ החמה. ומצוארו ועד קדקד ראשו כאור
לא נעדר .. וכתר שעל ראשו כזיו כסא הכבוד. שיעור של כתר מהלך ^ו
תק'ב שנים ואין מיני זיו ואין מיני זוהר ואין מיני נוגה ואין מיני מאור
בעולם שאין קבועין באותו כתר ¹⁹ .. ואותו השר שרפאל ה' שמו ^ח
²⁰ - וכתר שבראשו שר שלום שמו. ולמה נקרא שמו שרפאל ה'
(שמו) ²⁰ - מפני שהוא ממונה על השרפים ²¹ - ושרפי הקדש ²¹ - ושרפי
להבה מסורין בידו והוא עומד עליהם לילה ויום ומלמד להם שירה
תהלה פאר ועזו וגאווה לפאר מלכם ²² בכל מיני שבח וקדושה .. וכמ(ו)ה ^ט
הם שרפים. ארבע כנגד ד' ²³ רוחות של עולם. וכמה כנפים ²⁴ - יש

כ"ז

(1) ד' מהן. ² ל' ב ע ³⁻³ ל' ב דע ⁽⁴⁾ דע וכולו ⁵⁻⁵ חמדה
גדולה דע ⁶ זיוו דע. ⁷ כבזקים ע ⁸ נחלים ד ⁹ מראיתו דע ¹⁰ ל' ב ע
¹¹ ארכובותיו דע. *frt.* ל. רכוביו ¹² הברק ע ¹³ ומארכובותיו דע. *l. frt.* ומרכוביו
¹⁴ ככוכבי ע ¹⁵ ומירכותיו ד ¹⁶ לבנה ע ¹⁷ צואריו ע ¹⁸ כמאור דע
¹⁹ הכתר דע ²⁰⁻²⁰ ל' ב דע ²¹⁻²¹ ל' ב דע ²² למלכם דע ²³ ל' ב ע
²⁴⁻²⁴ להם דע

שבפניו בכל אחד ואחד ברכים מבריקות ומכל א' וא' ¹³ לפידים בוערות. ואין בריה יכולה לעמוד ¹⁴ להסתכל בהם שכל המסתכל בהם מיד נשרף. ורום קומתו מהלך ב' אלפים וה' מאות שנה שאין כל בית ^[בריתה] יכול ¹⁶ לראות ואין כל פה יכול לדבר כח גבורות עיניו ¹⁷ אלא ס' מ"מ [= מלך מלכי המלכים] הקב"ה בלבד ¹⁸. ולמה נקרא ⁽¹⁹⁾ [שמו] אפפנאל. מפני שהוא ממונה על האופנים והאופנים ²⁰ מסורים בידו ²¹ והוא ממונה לשמש את האופנים ²¹ והוא עומד עליהם ²² בכל יום ויום ומשמש ומפאר ²³ אותם ²⁴ ומסלסל ומסדר ²⁴ את מקצתם ²⁵ ומגהיץ ²⁶ את דוכנם ומעדן את ²⁷ דירתם ומשוה ²⁸ את פינתם ומדרשן את מושבן. והוא משכים ומעריב עליהם ²⁹ ליל ויומם ²⁹ לרבות את תפארתם ולהגדיל את גאותם ולעשותם מהירים בשבח קוניהם. והוא ³⁰ מלא ^[ים] ענים ³¹ וכולם מלאים נוגה ³¹ ושבעים ושנים ³² אבני ספיר ³⁷ קבועים על לבושי ³³ מ"מ ³⁴ מימין כל א' וא' וע"ב אבני ספיר ³⁷ קבועים על לבושם ³⁴ ומשמאלם ³⁵ כל א' וא'.. וד' אבני ספיר ³⁶⁻³⁷ קבועים על כתרו ³⁸ של כל א' וא'. שזיוו ³⁹ הולך בד' רוחות ערבות כגלגל ⁴⁰ חמה שזיוו הולך בד' רוחות העולם. ⁴³ (ולמה נקרא שמו ברכ(ו)ת ⁴¹. מפני שזיוו דומה למראה ברכ ⁴²). ⁴³ מפיקות ^[ומקיפות] ⁴⁴ להם סוכות זיו סוכת ⁴⁵ זוהר סוכת ⁴⁵ אור ספיר ⁴⁶ וברקת מפני ⁴⁷ מראית דמות (ו)עיניהם ודמות (ל)פניהם ⁴⁷:

¹³ ל"ב ב ד ¹⁴ ל"ב ב דע ¹⁵ עין ד. עין בריה ע ¹⁶ יכולה ע ¹⁷ עוזו דע ¹⁸ בלבדו ע ⁽¹⁹⁾ דע ²⁰ שמו ²¹ והם דע ²² ל"ב ב דע ²³ ומפחד ומעדן ע ²⁴⁻²⁴ ומסדר ומסלסל דע ²⁵ מרוצתם דע. להק': מקצתם ²⁶ ומקהיל ע ²⁷ ל"ב ב ד ²⁸ ומרוה דע ²⁹⁻²⁹ לילה ויום דע. —. ³⁰ מלאים דע ³¹⁻³¹ מלאים כנפים. עינים כנגד כנפים. כנפים כנגד עינים. ומביניהם מבהיקים זיו זוהר כאור נוגה. דע ³² ושתים ע ³³ לבושם דע להק' ³⁴⁻³⁴ ל"ב ב ד[ע] ³⁵ משמאל ד ³⁶ ברקת ד ? ³⁷⁻³⁷ ל"ב ב ע ³⁸ כתר ע ³⁹ וזיוו ד. וזיו ע ⁴⁰ נגלגל ע ⁴¹ ברקת ד. צדקאל ע ⁴² צדק ע ⁴³⁻⁴³ gloss. ⁴⁴ ומקיפין דע ⁴⁵ סוכות דע ⁴⁶ ל"ב ב דע ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ מראית דמות עיניהם דע

ומביא דלוסקום⁶ 7-של כתבים וספר⁸ זכרונות בתוכו לפני ה[ק]ב"ה⁹
 -והוא מפר בחותמות של דלוסקום-7-9-12-והוא פותח ונותן¹⁰ את
 הספרים ונותן אותם לפני¹¹ ה[ק]ב"ה¹² וה[ק]ב"ה נוטל(ו)ן¹³ מידו ונותן
 אותם לפניו לפני¹⁴ הסופרים¹⁵ לקרא לפני (הב"ה)¹⁵ הגדול שברום
 ערבות רקיע. בפני פמליא של מעלה. ולמה נקרא שמו רדודיאאל¹⁶
 מפני שכל דיבור ודיבור שיצא¹⁷ מפיו נברא¹⁷ ממנו מלאך¹⁸ ועומד
 בשירות של מלאכי השרת ואומר¹⁹ שירה²⁰ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה²⁰⁻²¹ בזמן
 שהגיע²¹ זמן לומר קדש²²:

6 דלוסקים ד. דלוסקות ע 7-7 ל"י ב ע 8 שספר ד 9-9 ל"י ב ד 10 ונוטל ע
 11 ליד ע 12-12 ל"י ב ד 13 = נוטלן דע 14 ולפני ד. ליד ע 15-15 לקרות
 בב"ד דע. לחקרא "ב"ד" (בית דין) במקום "הב"ה" 16 דריואל ע 17-17 ל"י ב דע
 (18) ד אחד 19 ואומרים ע 20-20 לפני ע 21-21 בשעת הגיע דע להק'
 כמו כן או: בשעת הגעת 22 קדוש ד

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פרק כ"ח

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. למעלה מכל א'
 אלו יש ארבעה שרים הגדולים² עירין וקדישין שמן רמים ונכבדים
 גוראים ונחמדים מופלאים³ ואדירים גדולים מכל בני עליונים.
 ואין כמותם בכל שרי העליונים ואין כערכם בכל המשרתים כולם.
 שכל אחד ואחד שקול נגד⁴ כולם. ומחיצתן כנגד כסא הכבוד
 -ועמידתן ב"ה⁵. שזוהר מחיצתן מעין זוהר כסא הכבוד⁶ וזיו
 דמותם כעין⁷ זיו השכינה. והן פאורין⁸ מפאר גבורה⁹ ומשבחין
 משבח¹⁰ השכינה. ולא עוד אלא¹¹ שאין ה[ק]ב"ה¹¹ עושה דבר¹² ד

כ"ח

(1) דע סדר עירין 2 גדולים ד 3 נפלאים ע 4 כנגד ע 5 בית
 הדין. כנגד הקב"ה ד. 6-6 ל"י ב ע 7 מעין דע 8 מפארין ע 9 השכינה ע
 10 בשבח ע 11-11 שהקב"ה ע 12 דברו ע

לכל אחד מהם-²⁴. שש-²⁵ שש לכל אחד ואחד-²⁵ כנגד ששת ימי בראשית. וכמה פנים-²⁶ יש לכל אחד מהם-²⁶ י"ז פנים. ארבע-²⁷ ארבע לכל אחד ואחד-²⁷ ..²⁸ ושיעורן של שרפין ורום כל אחד ואחד כנגד שבעה רקיעים-²⁸.²⁹ שיעורו של-²⁹ כנף וכנף כמלא י"א רקיע. שיעורן של פנים כל אחד-³⁰ בפני-³¹ מזרח .. ומאירין (ל)כל-³² אחד ואחד-³³ מאור ככסא-³³ הכבוד שאפי' היות הקדש ואופני הוד וכרובי הדר אין יכולין להסתכל בו שכל המסתכל בו עיניו כהות מזיו ג גדול שעליו .. ולמה נקרא שמן שרפים. מפני שהם שורפים פנקסאות של שמן. בכל יום ויום השמן יושב עם סמאל שרו-³⁴ של רומי. ועם דוביאל שרו-³⁵ של פרס. וכתבו-³⁶ עוונותיהם של ישראל על פנקסאות³⁷ ונותנין אותם לשרפים להכנס אותם לפני ה[ק]ב"ה לאבד את³⁸ ישראל מן העולם. והשרפים יודעים ברזי-³⁹ ה[ק]ב"ה⁴⁰ (41) שאינו רוצה שתפול אומה זו ישראלית⁴². מה עושין שרפים. בכל יום ויום נומלים אותם⁴³ מיד השמן ושורפים אותם באש יוקדת שכנגד כסא הכבוד⁴⁴ רם ונשא כרי שלא⁴⁵-יכנים אותם-⁴⁵ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה בשעה שהוא⁴⁶-יושב על כסא דין-⁴⁶ ודן את⁴⁷ כל העולם כלו באמת⁴⁸:

25-28 ל"ב ד. להם ע 26-26 להם דע 27-27 לכל רוח דע 28-28 ל"ב ע
29-29 שיעורן של כנפים כל דע 30 פנים ופנים דע 31 בפני פנים ע 32 כל דע
33-33 כזיו כסא דע. *frit. l.* מאור כזיו כסא 34 הרשע שר דע 35 שר ע
36 וכותב דע 37 פנקסאו ע 38 ל"ב ע 39 בראיה ע 40 הקדוש ד (41) ע 41 אינו רוצה. ד 42 שאינו רוצה. לחק' 42 של הקב"ה ד. של הקב"ה ישראל ע 43 ל"ב ד
44 ל"ב דע 45-45 יכנסו דע 46-46 על הדין דע 47 ל"ב ע 48 כאחת ע

פרק כ"ז

א' אד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך ה' שר הפנים .. למעלה מן השרפים יש שר אחד מעלה² מכל השרים. מופלא מכל המשרתים ב דודיראל³ ה' שמו שהוא ממונה⁴ על גנוי הספרים⁵ .. והוא מוציא

ובדרו אנבה ⁴²-תנוד חותא מן תחותיה ⁴³וצפרין ⁴⁴מן ענפוהי-⁴².. ולמה י' נקרא שמן עירין וקרישין. ⁴⁵-על שם שמקדישין-⁴⁵ את הגוף ואת ⁴⁶הנשמה בפלסאות ⁴⁷-של איש-⁴⁷ ביום הג' של דין שנאמ' ((הושע ו' ב')) יחיינו מיומים וביום ⁴⁸הג' יקימנו ונחיה לפניו :

⁴²⁻⁴² ל"י ב ע ⁴³ תחתיה MT וס"א תחותיה ⁴⁴ וצפריא MT ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ שהן מקדשין ע ⁴⁶ ל"י ב ע ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁷ שלא ע ⁴⁸ ביום MT

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פרק כ"ט

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. שבעים שמות י' יש לכל אחד ואחד מהם כנגד ע' לשונות ¹-שיש בעולם-¹. וכולם על שמו של ה[ק]ב"ה. וכל שם ושם כתוב בעט ²-ברזל של-² שלהבת על כתר נורא שעל ראשו של מלך רם ונשא .. ומכל א' וא' זיקוקין ב' וברקים יוצאים ממנו ⁽³⁾[וכל] א' וא' קרני זוהר מוקפין הימנו. מכל א' וא' אורות מבהיקות ⁴הימנו ומכל א' וא' סוכות ואהלות ⁵נוגה ⁶מקיפין הימנו. שאפילו השרפים ⁸וחיות ⁹שהן גדולות ¹⁰מכל בני עליונים ¹¹אינם יכולים להסתכל בהן ¹²:

¹⁻¹ ל"י ב ע ²⁻² ל"י ב ע ⁽³⁾ ע ומן כל ⁴ מבדיקות ע ⁵ ואהלות ע ⁶ בינה ע ⁷ מוקפים ע ⁸ שרפים ע ⁹ ותחיות ע ¹⁰ גדולים ע ¹¹ העליונים ע ¹² ל"י ב ע

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פרק ל' ⁽¹⁾

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. כל זמן שב"ה ²ה' הגדול יושב ³ברום (ב)ערבות ⁴רקיע ⁵-אין פתחון פה לכל שבעולם חוץ מאותן ⁵השרים הגדולים שהן נקראים ה' בשמו של הקב"ה .. וכמה הן השרים. ע"ב שרי מלכיות שבעולם חוץ משר העולם שהוא ב'

⁽¹⁾ ע וסדר דין ² ב"ד ע ³ יושבין ע ⁴ ערבות ע ⁵⁻⁵ ל"י ב ע

ל'

בעולמו עד שנמלך עליהם תחלה, ואח"כ עושה דבר ⁽¹³⁾ שנאמר
 ה' ((דניאל ד' י"ד)) בגזירת עירין פתגמא ומאמר ¹⁴ קדישין שאלתא .. עירין
 שנים וקדישין שנים. וכיצד הן עומדים ¹⁵ לפני הב"ה. ⁽¹⁶⁾ מלמד
 שעיר א' ¹⁷ עומד ¹⁸ מזה ועיר א' עומד מזה וקדיש(א) א' עומד מזה. ¹⁸
 וקדיש א' עומד מזה .. ולעולם הן מגביהין ⁽¹⁹⁾ [שפלים] והן משפילין גאים
 עדי ארץ והן מגביהין שפלים עד מרום .. ובכל יום ויום כשה[ק]ב"ה
 יושב על כסא הדין ²⁰ ודן את ⁽²¹⁾ העולם כולו וספרי חיים וספרי מתיים
 פתוחים לפניו. כל בני עליונים עומדים לפניו באימה ²² וביראה ²³
 ובפחד ²⁴ וברעדה ²⁵. באותה שעה ה[ק]ב"ה יושב ⁽²⁶⁾ על כסא ²⁷ הדין
 בדין ²⁷. לבושו לבן כמו שלג ושער ראשו כמו צמר נקי ומעולה ²⁸
 כ. כולו כאור נגה וכולו מלא צדקה כשריון .. והן עירין וקדישין עומדין
 לפניו כשומרין לפני השופט ²⁹ והן נושאין ונותנין בכל דבר ודבר
 וגומרים את הדבר שבא ³⁰ לפני ה[ק]ב"ה בדין כע"ש ³¹ ((דניאל ד' י"ד))
 ט בגזירת עירין פתגמא ומאמר קדישין שאלתא .. מהן פוסקין ³² [את]
 הדברים ³² ומהן גוזרין את ³³ הגזירות בב"ד הגדול שבערבות. מהן
 שואלין את השאלות מלפני ⁽³⁴⁾ [הגבורה] מהן גומרין את הדברים
 כנגד מעלה ³⁵. מהן ³⁶ גומרין ויורדין ³⁶ ומקיימין ³⁷ את הגזירות ³⁸
 בארץ מתחת ⁽³⁹⁾ [כע"ש] ((דניאל ד' י')) ואלו ⁴⁰ עיר וקדיש מן שמיא
 נחית קרא בחייל וכן אמר. גודו אילנא וקציצו ענפיהו אתרו ⁽⁴¹⁾ [עפית]

⁽¹³⁾ דע בעולמו ¹⁴ ובמאמר ד ¹⁵ אומרים ע ⁽¹⁶⁾ ? נשלם ד בספר הזה
¹⁷ אחר ע ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ לפני קב"ה מזה ע ⁽¹⁹⁾ ע שפלים ²⁰ דין ע ⁽²¹⁾ ע כל
²² לי' ב ע ²³ ביראה ע ²⁴ בפחד ע ²⁵ ורעדה ע ⁽²⁶⁾ ע כדיין
²⁷⁻²⁷ הפנים ע ²⁸ ומעילו ע להק' ²⁹ השופטים ע ³⁰ שבא ע ³¹ כענין
 שנאמר ע ³²⁻³² הדברים ע. ב א בצע בין 'פוסקין' ל 'הדברים' ³³ לי' ב ע
⁽³⁴⁾ ע הגבורה (בצע בכ"י) ³⁵ למעלה ע ³⁶⁻³⁶ לי' ב ע ³⁷ מקיימין ע
³⁸ הנזרות ע להק' ⁽³⁹⁾ ע כענין שנאמר (בצע בכ"י) ⁴⁰ ואילון ע ⁽⁴¹⁾ ע עפיה
 (בצע בכ"י)

פרק ל"ג

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. בשעה א' שהקב"ה יושב על כסא הדין¹ מלאכי רחמים עומדים מימינו² ומלאכי שלום עומדים משמאלו ומלאכי חבלה עומדין לקראתו. סופר א' ב' למעלה³ הימנו וכרוב⁴ א' למעלה הימנו. ושרפי כבוד סובבים ב' - להם כלפידים סביבותיהם⁵ כסא הכבוד. וענני אש וענני לפיד מוקפים להם מימין ומשמאל וחיות הקודש נושאות כסא הכבוד מתחתיהם. כל א' וא' - בשלש אצבעות (וכל א' וא' בשלשה אצבעות) שיעור גובהן של אצבעותיהן כל א' - ת'ת אלפים ות'ש מאות [ו]ס"ז אלפים פרסאות. ומתחת רגלי החיות מושבות ויוצאות ז' נהרות אש ד' וכל נהר ונהר רוחבו⁸ שש' אלפים פרסאות⁹ ועומקו רמ' אלפים רבבי פרסאות⁹. אורכו אין חקר ואין מספר. וכל א' וא' חוזר¹⁰ כמין כיפה בד' רוחות ערבות רקיע ונופל וכלא¹¹ למעון וממעון לזבול ומזבול לשחקים ומשחקים לרקיע ומרקיע לשמים ומשמים על ראש רשעים¹² שבניהם. שנא' ((ירמיה כ"ז י"ט)) הנה סערת ה' חמה יצאה וסער מתחולל על ראש רשעים יחול:

ל"ג

¹ דין אמת ע ² לימינו ע ³ למטה ע ⁴ וסופר ע ⁵⁻⁵ בארבע רוחות כסא בחומות של ברקים ואופנים סובבים להם כלפידים סביבות ע. *prob. l.* ⁶⁻⁶ ל' ב ע ⁷ וששת ע ⁸ ארכו ע ⁹⁻⁹ ל' ב ע ¹⁰ ע"ס בהן ¹¹ וכלה ע ¹² רשע ע

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פרק ל"ד

א'ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים. [לפני] פרס¹ א' רגלי החיות מוקפים ז' ענני גחל. לפני ענני גחל מוקפים שבע(ה) חומות של להב. [לפני] ² ז' חומות של להב² מוקפים ז' חומות של לפיד. ³ מוקפים ז' חומות³ אבני אלגביש. ולפני אבני אלגביש

ל"ד

¹ פרסות ע. ל. ? פרס' ²⁻² ולפניהם ע ³⁻³ ולפניהם שבע ע. ל. לפני ז' חומות של לפיד מוקפים ז' חומות של

מדבר בשבחו של עולם לפני הקב"ה בכל יום ויום⁶ בשעת פתיחת ספר⁷ שכל מעשה עולם כתובים בו כע"ש⁸ ((דניאל ז' י')) דינא יתיב וספרין פתיחו :

6 ל"ב ב ע 7 הספר ע 8 כעבין שנאמ' ע

פרק ל"א

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים ..¹ בשעה שה[ק]ב"ה¹ יושב על כסא הדין עומד צדק מימינו² וחסד משמאלו³ ו(ב)אמת⁴ כנגד פניו .. ובשעה שבא אדם⁵ ללפניו לדין⁶ יוצא מזיו⁷ החסד כלפי פניו כמקל⁸ ועומד לנגדו. מיד נופל אדם על פניו. מתיראין ומזרעזעין כל מלאכי חבלה הימנו⁹ כע"ש ((ישעיה ט"ז ה')) והוכן בחדר כסאו וישב¹⁰ עליו באמת :

ל"א

1-1 כשהקב"ה ע 2 בימינו ע 3 בשמאלו ע 4 ואמת ע 5 רשע ע [!]
6-6 לדון לפניו ע 7 מדין ע 8 ל"ב ב ע 9 מימינו ע 10 ויושב ע

פרק ל"ב

א' אר' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. כשפותח¹ הקב"ה את הספר חציו אש וחציו שלהבת יוצאין מלפניו בכל רגע ורגע לעשות² דין ברשעים² בחרבו³ משתלחת מנרתקה שזויה מבהיק כברק והולך מסוף העולם עד סופו. ⁴שנאמר ((ישעיה ס"ז ב' ט')) כי באש ה' נשפט .. וכל באי עולם מתיראין ומזרעזעין מלפניו כשרואין את חרבו משתננת כברק מסוף העולם ועד סופו⁴ וניצוצין חזקין⁵ יוצאין המינה כשיעור כוכבי רקיע כע"ש⁶ ((דברים ל"ב מ'))
⁷אם שנותי⁷ ברק חרבי.

ל"ב

1 כשפותחין לפני ע 2-2 בתן דין רשעים ע 3 וחרבו ע 4-4 ל"ב ב ע
5 ל"ב ב ע 6 שנא' ע 7-7 ל"ב ב ע

סער גדול ביניהם שנאמר ((ירמיה כ"ג י"ט)) הנה סערת ה' חמה יוצאת¹² וסער מתחולל .. באותה שעה¹³⁻¹⁴ אלף אלפים [מהם נעשים] ו' זיקין¹³. [אלף אלפים] מהן נעשים לפידים. ¹⁴-אלף אלפים מ"נ [= מהם נעשים]-¹⁴ לוחשים ¹⁵-א"א מ"נ [= אלף אלפים מהם נעשים]-¹⁵ להבים. א"א מ"נ זכרים. ¹⁶-א"א מ"נ-¹⁶ נקבות ¹⁶-א"א מ"נ-¹⁶ רוחות. א"א מ"נ-¹⁷ אש ¹⁷דולקות¹⁸. ¹⁶-א"א מ"נ-¹⁶ שלהבת. ¹⁶-א"א מ"נ-¹⁶ זיקוקין ¹⁹-א"א מ"נ-¹⁶ חשמלים של-²⁰ אור ¹⁶עד שמקבלים עליהם²¹ עול מלכות שמים²² רם ונשא, יוצר²³ (כולם) באימה-²³ ביראה ברתת ובויעה ברעם ובחלחלה בפחד וברעדה וא"כ מחזירין אותם²⁴ (למדתן) ראשונה²⁵ ליהיות יראת מלכם לפנייהם בכל²⁶ שעה ושעה כרי שיכנונו את²⁷ לבם לומר ²⁸קדוש [בכל שעה]. שנאמר ((ישעיה ו' ג')) וקרא זה אל זה ואמר:

¹² יוצאה ע. יצאה MT ¹³⁻¹³ ל" ב ע ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ אומרין אמן ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ א"א ע ¹⁶⁻¹⁶ א"אמן ע או ע ¹⁶א"אמן [= אומרין אמן] ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ ל" ב ע ¹⁷אש ? אשות ¹⁸ דולק ע ¹⁹ע זוקקין ²⁰⁻²⁰ חשמלי ע ²¹ל" ב ע ²²ל" ב ע ²³⁻²³ כולם ע בצע בכ" לפני 'באימה' [בימה] ²⁴למידתן ע (בצע בכ" אחרי 'אותם' לחק' כמו למעלה) ²⁵הראשונה ע. אולי לחק' ²⁶וכל ע ²⁷ל" ב ע ²⁸ע שירה. לחק' כמו כן או 'קדוש'. בצע בכ"

פרק ל"ז

א"ד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. בשעה א' שמלאכי השרת מבקשים לומר שירה עולה נהר דינור ב[כ]מה¹ אלף אלפים וריבי רבבות כח וגבורת² אש ומושך ועובר תחת³ כסא הכבוד בין מחנה⁴ מלאכי השרת וגדודי ערבות .. וכל מלאכי השרת יורדין ב' תחלה לנהר דינור וטובלים את עצמן באש⁵ ומטבילין את לשונם

¹ בכמה ע. ז. ²וגבורות ע ³מתחת ע ⁴מחנות ע ⁵ע של נהר דינור

מוקפים⁴—אבני ברד. ולפני אבני ברד מוקפים אבני כנפי סופה. ולפני אבני כנפי סופה מוקפים⁴ סביבי שלהבת⁵ ולפני סביבי שלהבת⁵ מוקפים⁶ עליות סערה. ולפני עליות סערה מוקפים⁷ האש והמים⁷.. ולפני⁸—האש והמים⁸ מוקפים אומרי⁹ קדוש ולפני¹⁰—אומרי קדוש מוקפים¹⁰—אומרי⁹ ברוך ו(מ)לפני¹⁰—אומרי ברוך מוקפים¹⁰—ערפלי טוהר¹¹—ולפני ערפלי טוהר¹¹ מוקפים גחלי רתמים¹²—ולפני גחלי רתמים¹² מוקפים אלף מחנות אש ורבבי צבאות שלהבת¹³. ובין מחנה למחנה ובין צבא לצבא ערפל מוקף מביניהם¹⁴ כדי שלא ישרפו באש:

4-4 ל"י ב ע 5 שלהבות ע 6 ל"י ב ע 7-7 חומות אש ומים ע 8-8 אותם ע 9 אומרים ע 10-10 ולפניהם ע 11-11 ל"י ב ע 12-12 ולפניהם ע 13 להבה ע 14 ביניהם ע

~*~*~

פרק ל"ה⁽¹⁾

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. תקו² אלפים רבבות מחנות יש לו³ להקב"ה ברום ערבות רקיע. וכל מחנה ומחנה תצו אלפים מלאכים.. וכל מלאך ומלאך רום קומתו כים הגדול. ומראה דמותם⁴ כמראה הבזק⁵ ועיניהם כלפיד אש וזרועותיהן ומרגלותיה⁶ כעין נחושת קלל⁷—ושאגת קול דבריהם כקול המון.. וכלם עומדים לפני כסא הכבוד בין ארבע שורות⁷—ושרי החיל עומדים ד-בראש כל שורה ושורה.. ויש מהם אומרים קדוש. ויש מהם אומרים ברוך. ויש מהם רצין בשליחות. ויש מהם עומדים בשמוש⁸. כע"ש ((דניאל ז' י')) אלף אלפים⁹ משוני¹⁰ [= ישמשונה] ורבוא רבבן¹¹ קדמוהי יקומון דינא יתיב וספרין פתיחו.. ובשעה שהגיע זמן לומר קדוש בתחלה רוח סערה יוצא מלפני הקב"ה ונופלת במחנה שכינה ויהי

ל"ה

ע 1 סדר מחנות 2 ארבע מאות ותשעים וששת ע 3 ל"י ב ע 4 דמותו ע 5 ברק ע 6 [= ומרגלותיהן]. ומרגלותן ע 7-7 ל"י ב ע 8 בשמשות ע 9 cum [כתיב]. אלפין ע cum [קרי] 10 לחק כמו ע: ישמשונה 11 cum [קרי]. רבון ע [כתיב: רבון]

רעמת קולו¹⁶ נעימתו ורעש רוממותם וזיקוקים וברקים¹⁷ שיוצאים מפניהם. שנא' ((תחלים ע' י'ט)) קול רעמך בגלגל⁽¹⁸⁾ [האירו ברקים תבל רגזה ותרעש הארץ].. עד שקורא להם שר העולם ואמר ב' להם. שתקו במקומכם ואל תתיראו שמלאכי השרת שאומרים¹⁹ שירה לפני הקב"ה שנאמר ((איוב ל"ח ז')) ברון²⁰ יחד כוכבי (ברק)^[בקר]²¹ ויריעו כל בני אלהים:

16 קולם ע. להק' "קול" או "קולות" 17 ל"י ב ע (18) ע 19 האירו וגו' 19 אומרים ע
20 בן ע MT 21 בוקר ע בקר MT להק'
○ ○ ○

פרק ל"ט

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים.. כשמלאכי השרת אומרים קדוש כל שמות המפרשות¹ החקוקות² בעט שלהבת על כסא הכבוד מפרחות³ כנשרים ב"י כנפים ומקיפות וסובבות את ה[ק]ב"ה בד' רוחות מקום כבוד⁴ שכינתו.. ומלאכי הצבא ומשרתי ב' להבה ואופני גבורה וכרובי שכינה וחיות הקודש ושרפים ואראלים ומפסר⁵ 6- וגרודי להב⁶ וגרודי אוכלי⁷ ומערכות לפיד וצבאות להב⁸ ושרי קדושים קשורי⁹ כתרים לבושי מלכות עמו¹⁰ כבוד אפודי¹¹ תפארת¹² אזורי¹³ אדרת חגורי¹⁴ גאות נופלים על¹⁵ [פניהם] ג' פעמים¹⁵. ואומר¹⁶. ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד:

ל"ט

1 המפורשות ע 2 חקוקות ע 3 מפרחות ע 4 ל"י ב ע 5 [=ומפסרים].
ומפסרי ע 6-6 ל"י ב ע 7 אוכלה ע. להק': 'אש אוכלה' 8 לחט ע 9 ושרי ע
10 [=עטוי]. עוטפי ע 11 אדיר ע 12 ותפארת ע 13 אזורי ע 14 חגורי ע
15-15 פניהם ע. אולי להק': 'פניהם ג' פעמים' 16 = ואומרים ע
○ ○ ○

פרק מ'

א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון.. בשעה שמלאכי השרת אומרים קדוש כתקנו¹ לפני הקב"ה יוצאים משרתי כסאו² משמשני כבודו²

מ'

1 כתיקונו ע 2-2 [משמשני רמו ב' ישמשונה דניאל ז' י'] משמשי כבודו ע

ופיהם⁶ ז' פעמים⁽⁷⁾ ואח"כ עולים ולובשין לבוש⁸ מחקי סמל ועוטפין
טפל⁸⁻⁹ חשמל ועומדים בד' שורות כנגד כסא הכבוד בכל רקיע
ורקיע:

⁶ ואת פיהם ע⁽⁷⁾ ע"ס בנהר דיגור ⁸⁻⁸ מחזיקי סמל ועוטפי טפל ע⁹ [om. OM 290b] ⁹ = טפלי

o o o

פרק ל"ז

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים .. בז' היכלות
עומדים ד' מרכבות שכינה ולפני כל א' וא' עומדים ד' מחנות שכינה.
ב' בין¹ מחנה למחנה מושך ועובר נהר של אש .. ובין נהר לנהר
מקיפין² ערפלי טוהר ובין כל⁽³⁾ עומדים שתולים⁴ עמודי גפרית ובין
עמוד לעמוד מקיפין ועומדין גלגלי שלהבת ובין גלגל לגלגל מקיפין⁵
שביבי לפיד. ובין שביב לשביב מקיפין אוצרי ברכים. אחורי⁶
אוצרי ברכים מקיפין⁷ כנפי⁸ סופה. אחורי כנפי סופה מקיפין⁸
גנזי סערה⁸ אחורי גנזי סערה מקיפין⁸ רוחות קולות רעמים
זיקים⁹ זיקים זועות זועות⁹:

ל"ז

¹ ובין ע ² מוקפים ע ⁽³⁾ ע"ס אחד ואחד ל. ⁴ לי' ב ע ⁵ מרכבין ע
⁶ אחרי ע ⁷ לי' ב ע ⁸⁻⁸ לי' ב ע ⁹⁻⁹ אחר זיקים מקיפין זועות ע

o o o

פרק ל"ח

א' א"ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון .. בשעה שמלאכי השרת אומרים
קדוש כל עמודי רקיעים ואדניהם¹ מתרופפין² ושערי³ היכלי
ערבות³ רקיע מתרחשים⁴ ויסורי תבל ושחקים מזדעזעות⁵ וסדרי⁶
מעון וחדרי⁷ מכון מתחוללין וכל סדרי⁸ רקיע ומזלות⁹ וכוכבים
נבהלים וגלגלי¹⁰ חמה ולבנה¹¹ נחפזים ונסים^[ממסלותם] (ממכלותם)¹² ורצים
ב' אלף¹⁴ פרסאות ומבקשים¹⁵ להשליך עצמן מן השמים .. מפני

ל"ח

¹ ואדניה ע ² מתרופפים ע ³⁻³ היכלות וערבות ע ⁴ מתרעשים ע ⁵ מזדעזעין ע *frt. l.*
⁶ וחדרי ע ⁷ והיכלי ע ⁸ סתרי ע ⁹ מזלות ע ¹⁰ וגלגל ע ¹¹ וגלגל
לבנה ע ¹² ממסילתם ע *s. ut l.* ⁽¹³⁾ ע"ס לאחוריהם ¹⁴ אלפים ע ¹⁵ ומבקשות ע

חקוקות¹¹ בעט שלהבת על כסא הכבוד וזיקוקין¹² יוצאים מהן ומכסים את¹³ כולם דריי¹³ ערבות¹⁴.

¹¹ חקוקים ע ¹² וזיקין וברקים ע ¹³⁻¹³ כל חדרי ע *frt. l.* ¹⁴ הערבות ע

פרק מ"ב

א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון⁽¹⁾ .. בא ואיראך איפה מים² תלויים ברום (רמ"ם)³. ואפה אש דולקת⁴ בתוך ברד⁵ ואיפה ברקים מבריקים בתוך הרי שלג⁶ ואיפה רעמים מרעישים⁷ במרומי⁸ עליון. ואיפה להבה תלה^(ט)⁹ בתוך האש יוקדת. ואיפה¹⁰ קולות משמיעים¹⁰ ברעש¹¹ וברעש .. והלכתי אצלו¹² ותפשני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והראי^(י)¹³ ג' את כולן. וראיתי מים תלויים ברום ערבות רקיע בשם י"ה אהיה אשר אהיה ((שמות ג' יד))¹⁴ ופרותיהם יורדים משמים¹⁴ ומרוים פני תבל שנאמ' ((תהלים ק"ד י"ג)) מפרי מעשיך תשבוע הארץ .. וראיתי אש ושלג^ג ואבני¹⁵ ברד שהם¹⁵ מתלקחת¹⁶ אלו בתוך אלו. ואינם ניזוקות¹⁷ בשם אש אוכלה שנא' ((דברים ד' כ"ד)) כי ה' אלהיך אש אוכלה הוא¹⁸ .. וראיתי ברקים שהם מבריקים בתוך¹⁹ הרי שלג¹⁹ ואינם ניזוקין בשם י"ה⁽²⁰⁾ צור עולמים שנאמר ((ישעיה כ"ז ד')) כי ביה ה' צור עולמים .. וראיתי רעמים וקולות²¹ שהם מרעישים²¹ בתוך²¹ להבי אש ואינם ניזוקין בשם²² אל שדי רבה שנאמר ((בראשית י"ז א')) אני אל שדי .. וראיתי להט' להבה שהם לוהטים ולוהבים בתוך^ו

מ"ב

⁽¹⁾ ע ִפֶּה מִשֶּׁה [= מלאך שר הפנים] ² ל' ב ע ³ חמים ע *Z.* ? רקיע ⁴ לוהטת ע ⁵ אבני אלגביש ע ⁶⁻⁶ ל' ב ע ⁷ מרעמים ע. אולי להקרא כמו כן ⁸ בתוך מרומי ע ⁹ להט ע. להק' או 'תלוי' ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ קול משמיע ע ¹¹ ברעם ע. להק' כמו כן ¹² ל' ב ע ¹³ והראני ע ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ מהם יורדין גשמים ע ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ ל' ב ע ¹⁶ מלקחות ע. להק' 'מתלקחות'. רמז ב 'אש מתלקחת בתוך הברד' ((שמות ט' כ"ד). עיין גם יחזקאל א' ד')) ¹⁷ ניזוקין ע ¹⁸ וגו' ע ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ להבי אש ע ⁽²⁰⁾ ע ִפֶּה יְהוָה ²¹⁻²¹ שמרעישים ע ²²⁻²² ל' ב ע

ב' בשמחה רבה מתחת כסא הכבוד .. וכל א' וא' ביניהם³ אלף אלפים וריבי רבבות כתרים של כוכבים מעין מראה זיו כוכב נוגה וקושרים אותן למלאכי השרת ולשרים הגדולים. אותם שאומרים קדוש ג' כתרים. א' ⁽⁴⁾ [על שם] שאומר⁵ קדוש. וא' על שם שאומר⁵ קדוש קדוש ג' וא' על שם שאומר⁵ ק"ק"ק ה' צבאות .. ובזמן שאין אומרים קדוש כתקנו⁶ אש אוכלה⁷ יוצאת מלפני אצבע⁸ קטנה של הקב"ה. נופלת⁹ בתוך מערכותיהם ומתחלק(ו)ת¹⁰ לד' מאות צ'ו אלפים רבבות חלק¹¹ כנגד ד' מחנות מלאכי השרת ואוכלת אותם בבת אחת. שנאמר ד' ((תהלים צ"ז ג')) אש לפניו תלך ותלהט סביב צדיו .. וא"כ¹² פותח הקב"ה את פיו ודובר דבר א' ובורא אחרים¹³ תחתיהם כמותן חדשים. ועומדים כל א' וא' בשירה לפני כסא כבודו ואומרים קדוש שנאמר ((איכה ג' כ')) חדשים לבקרים רבה אמונתך :

³ בידיהם ע' ז. ⁽⁴⁾ ע"ע על שם ⁵ = שאומרים ע' ⁶ כתיקונו ע' ⁷ אוכלת ע' ⁸ אצבעו ע' ⁹ ונופלת ע' ¹⁰ ומתחלקת ע' ¹¹ חלקים ע' ¹² ואח"כ ע' ¹³ ל' ב ע'

פרק מ"א

ב' א' ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁽¹⁾ .. בא וראה² אותיות שנבראו בהם שמים וארץ. אותיות שנבראו בהם ימים ונהרות. ³ אותיות שנבראו בהם הרים וגבעות. אותיות שנבראו בהם עצים ועשבים ³ אותיות שנבראו בהם כוכבים ומזלות ³ אותיות שנבראו בהם ³ אופן הלבנה וגלגל החמה וכסיל וכימה וכל מיני מאורות רקיע ⁽⁴⁾ .. אותיות שנבראו בהם כסא הכבוד וגלגל המרכבה. אותיות שנבראו בהם ג' צרכי עולמים⁵ .. אותיות שנבראו בהם חכמה ובינה ודעת⁶ והשכל ד' ענוה וישרות שבן⁷ מתקיימים ⁽⁸⁾ העולם כולו .. והלכתי אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והרא(י)ני⁹ ¹⁰ את אופן ¹⁰ האותיות כולם שהן

מ"א

⁽¹⁾ ע"ע מ'שה ² ואראך ע' ³⁻³ ל' ב ע' ⁽⁴⁾ ע"ע אותיות ש"ב [= שנבראו בהם] מלאכי השרת אותיות שנבראו בהם שרפים וחיות ⁵ עולם ע' ⁶ דעה ע' ⁷ שבהן ע' ⁽⁸⁾ ע"ע כל ⁹ והראני ע' ¹⁰⁻¹⁰ אותם ע' ? אות

הן יורדות⁵ ונשמתן של רשעים היכן הן יורדות⁶.. ואמר ל⁷ ב' הנשמות⁸ 8^a - (של רשעים) 8^a - יורדות לשאול על ידי ב' מלאכי חבלה שהן⁹ ועפיאל וסמכיאל.. סמכיאל¹⁰ הוא שממונה¹⁰ על נשמתן של בינונים ב' כדי לסומכן ולטהרן מחטא ברוב רחמיו (של) 10^a מקום. ועפיאל¹¹ הוא ממונה¹¹ על נשמתן של רשעים¹² כדי להורידן מלפני¹³ הקב"ה מזיו¹⁴ השכינה¹⁵ - לשחין לדון באש לגיהנם¹⁵ במקלות של גחלים.. והלכתי ד' אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני¹⁶ והראיני¹⁷ את כולם¹⁸ באצבעות ידיו.. וראיתי דמות¹⁹ פניהם כמראה²⁰ בני²¹ אדם. וגופן כנשרים. ולא י עוד אלא שזיו²² דמות בינונים (דומה) 23 (כירקות) 24 מפני מעשיהם שיש בהן רופי עד שיטהרו מעונם באש.. וזיו דמות נשמתן של רשעים (דומה) 25 בשולי הקדרה²⁶ מפני רוע²⁷ מעשיהם²⁸.. וראיתי נשמתן של אבות העולם אברהם יצחק ויעקב ושאר הצדיקים²⁹ שמעמידים³⁰ אותם מקבריהם ועולים לרקיע ומתפללין לפני ה[ק] "בה ואומר" בתפלה רש"ע³¹. עד מתי אתה יושב על כסא כאבל. שהוא³² בימי אבלו וימינך לאחוריד ואין³³ אתה גואל את בניך ומגלה³⁴ מלכותך בעולם. ואין³⁵ אתה חומל³⁶ על בניך³⁷ שמשועבדים אצל³⁷ אומות העולם. [ו]על³⁸ ימינך שהיא לאחור³⁹ שבה נמיתה⁴⁰ שמים וארץ ושמי השמים. אי אתה חומל.. באותה שעה משיב הקב"ה לכל א' וא' ⁴¹ ואומר. מפני שהרשעים⁴² הללו חטאו⁴³ כך וכך ⁴⁴ ופשעו⁴⁵ כך וכך לפני⁴⁶.

5 עומדין ע 6-6 ל' ב ע 7 ל' ב ע 8 נשמתן ע 9 ואלו הן ע 10-10 שהוא ע 10^a של ע ל 11-11 שהוא ע 12 בינונים ע 13 לפני ע 14 מדין ע 15-15 לשאול לדון באש בגיהנם ע ל 16 ל' ב ע 17 והראני ע 18 כל ע 19 ע 20 מראה ל' ב ע 21 כבני ע 22 ע 23 דומין ע 24 כירקות ע 25 ל' ב ע 26 קדירה ע 27 רוב ע 28 ע 29 צדיקים ע 30 כשמעמידין ע 31 רשב"ה ע [?] רשב"ע 32 ע 33 ואי ע 34 ע 35 את ע 36 מרחם ע 37-37 שמשמשים כעבדים בין ע 38 ועל ע 39 לאחוריד ע 40 ע 41 ע 42 רשעים ע 43 שחטאו לפני ע 44 ע 45 כשעו לפני כך וכך 46 ע 46 ל' ב ע

אש יוקדת ואינם ניזוקין בשם-²² יד על כס י"ה שנאמר ((שמות י"ז מ"ז))
 ויאמר²³ כי יד על כס י"ה. וראיתי נהרי אש בתוך נהרי מים ⁽²⁴⁾
 ואינם ניזוקין בשם עושה שלום ⁽²⁵⁾ -²⁶ שנאמר ((איוב כ"ה ב')) עושה
 שלום במרומים-²⁶ שהוא עושה השלום²⁷ בין אש למים²⁸ ובין ברד
 לאש-²⁸ ובין רוח לענן בין²⁹ ^[זועות] (זועים)³⁰ לזיקים:

²³ ל"י ב ע ⁽²⁴⁾ ע ונהרי מים בתוך נהרי אש ⁽²⁵⁾ ע במרומו ²⁶⁻²⁶ ל"י ב ע.
 להק' "במרומו" [MT cum] במקום "במרומים" ²⁷ שלום ע ²⁸⁻²⁸ ל"י ב ע ²⁹ ובין ע
³⁰ זעם ע

○ ○ ○

פרק מ"ג

א' א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁽¹⁾. בא ואראך איכן² נשמתן של
 ב' צדיקים שנבראו וחזרו ונשמתן של צדיקים שעדיין לא נבראו. והעלני
 אצלו ותפשני בידו והעלני³ אצל כסא הכבוד ⁴ - אצל מקום השכינה
 וגלה לי את כסא הכבוד ⁴ והראי⁵ (ני⁵ אותם הנשמות שנבראו וחזרו ⁽⁶⁾)
 ג' שהן מפריחות⁷ למעלה מכסא הכבוד לפני הקב"ה. וא"כ⁸ הלכתי
 ודרשתי את הפסוק הזה ומצאתי כע"ש⁹ ((ישעיה נ"ז מ"ז)) כי רוח ⁽¹⁰⁾
 מלפני יעטוף ונשמות אני עשיתי. ⁽¹¹⁾ אלו הנשמות ¹²⁻¹³ שנבראו
 בגוף הבריות של צדיקים וחזרו לפני הקב"ה. ונשמות אני עשיתי
 אלו הנשמות-¹³ של צדיקים שעדיין לא נבראו בגוף:

מ"ג

⁽¹⁾ ע ו מש"ה [= מלאך שר הפנים] ² ל"י ב ע ³ וחוליכני ע ⁴⁻⁴ ל"י ב ע
⁵ והראני ע ⁽⁶⁾ ע ו להם ⁷ מפורחות ע ⁸ ואח"כ ע ⁹ בענין ע ⁽¹⁰⁾ ע ו ה'
⁽¹¹⁾ *inserendum*: 'כי רוח מלפני יעטוף' [אלו הנשמות 'שנבראו וגו'] ¹² נשמות ע
¹³⁻¹³ ל"י ב ע

○ — ○ — ○

פרק מ"ד

א' א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון ⁽¹⁾. בא² ואראך נשמתן של רשעים
 ונשמות של בינונים-³ היכן⁴ הן עומדין. ונשמתן של בינונים היכן⁴

מ"ד

⁽¹⁾ ע ו מש"ה [= מלאך שר הפכים] ² בוא ע ³⁻³ ל"י ב ע ⁴ היאך ע

וסירוניהן¹¹ ד"ד⁹ ופקודותיהם^{11א} ד"ד⁹ ושופמיהם ד"ד⁹ ושומריהם ד"ד⁹ ומלמדיהם ד"ד⁹ ומעמידיהם ד"ד וראש כולהם ד"ד¹² וראשי ישיבותיהם ד"ד וקציניהם ד"ד⁹ ונשיאיהם ד"ד⁹ ומליציהם ד"ד¹³ ואלופיהם ד"ד¹³ ואדיריהם ד"ד¹³ וזקניהם ד"ד ומנהיגיהם.. וראיתי אדם ודורו¹⁴ ומעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴ ⁽¹⁵⁾ ונח¹⁶ ודורו¹⁶ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁶ ודור המבול¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴. ושם ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴. נמרוד ודור הפלגה¹⁷ (ודורו) מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁷. אברהם ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴. יצחק ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴. ישמעאל ודורו מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁸. יעקב ודורו¹⁴ ומעשיהם¹⁴ ומחשבותיהם¹⁴ [ם]. יוסף ודורו¹⁴ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם¹⁴ שבטים ודורו¹⁹ ⁽²⁰⁾ ומעשיהם ומחשבותיהם²⁰. עמרם ודורו²⁰ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם²⁰. משה ודורו²⁰ מעשיהם ומחשבותיהם²⁰.. אהרן⁽²¹⁾ ומרים⁽²²⁾ ⁽²³⁾ מעשיהם²³ ומפעלותיהן²³ נשיאים וזקנים מעשיהם ומפעלותיהם. יהושע ודורו מעשיהם ומפעלותיהם²⁴ [ם]. שופטים ודורן מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²⁴. עלי²³ ודורו מעשיהם ומפעלותיהם²³. פנחס²⁵ ^(מעשיהם) ומפעל^[מעשי] ותי²⁵ אלקנה²³ ודורו מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²³ שמואל²³ ודורו מעשיהם ומפעל²³ ⁽²⁶⁾ מלכי יהודה²³ ודורן מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן. מלכי ישראל²³ ודורן מעשיהם ומפעל²³. מלכי אומות העולם²³ מעשיהם ומפעל²³. ⁽²⁷⁾ נשיאי ישראל²³ מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן²³. נשיאי

11 וסורקיהם ע ז. 11א ופקידיהם ע ז. 12-12 ועוזריהם וחסידיהם ונגידיהם וחזיריהם וחכמיהם וראשי מדרשים ע 13-13 ל' ב ע 14-14 ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם ⁽¹⁵⁾ ע מתושלח ודורו ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם 16-16 ל' ב ע 17-17 ל' ב ע 18-18 ל' ב ע 19 ודורן ע 20-20 ומחשבותיהם ומעשיהם ע ⁽²¹⁾ ע ודורו מחשבותיהם ומעשיהם ⁽²²⁾ ע ודורה 23-23 וגו' ע 24-24 ל' ב ע 25-25 ל' ב ע ⁽²⁶⁾ ע שאל וגו' דוד וגו' שלמה וגו' ⁽²⁷⁾ ע רחוני ישראל וגו' אלופי ישראל וגו' אלופי אומות העולם וגו' עשירי ישראל וגו' עשירי אומות העולם וגו' חכמי ישראל וגו'

היאך⁴⁷ אני יכול⁴⁸ להושיע את ימיני הגדולה⁴⁹ במפלת⁵⁰ על ידם..
 ט באותה שעה קורא אותי⁵¹ ממטרון ואמר לי⁵¹ עבדי. טול אתה⁵²
 את הספרים וקרא את מעשיהם הר(ו)עים. מיד נוטל אני את הספרים
 וקורא את מעשיהם ונמצא^{52א} ל' כריתות לכל רשע ורשע⁵³ כ'ב ל' כריתות
 שבער כל רשע ורשע כ'ז וכן כל רשע ורשע⁵³ על כל
 אותיות שבתורה⁵⁴. שנאמר ((דניאל ט' יא)) וכל ישראל עברו את
 תורתך. על תורתך לא נאמר אלא את⁵⁵ תורתך. שעברו⁵⁶ מא'
 "ועד ת'⁵⁶ על מ'⁵⁷ כריתות בכל אות ואות. מיד בוכה⁵⁸ אברהם⁵⁹
 יצחק⁵⁹ יעקב⁵⁹ [ואח"כ אומר להם הקב"ה. אברהם אוהבי.
 יצחק בחירי ויעקב] בכורי. עכשיו היאך⁶⁰ אני יכול להושיע מבינ
 אומות העולם. ומיד⁶² מיכאל שרן של ישראל צווח ובוכה בקול
 גדול ואומר⁶³ ((תהלים יא')) למה ה' תעמוד ברחוק.

47 והיאך ע⁴⁸ להושיע את בני מבינ האומות ולגלות מלכותי בעולם לעיני הגוים
 49 ע⁵⁰ נופלת 50 ומפלת ע⁵¹⁻⁵¹ ואומר לי ממטרון ע⁵² ל' ב ע^{52א} = ונמצאין
 53-53 ועוד שעברו ע. לחקר' כמו כן 54 של תורה ע⁵⁵ ל' ב ע⁵⁶⁻⁵⁶ מאלף
 ועד תי"ת [ז = תיו] 57 שלשים ושש ע⁵⁸ בכה ע⁵⁹ ע⁵⁹ בפני עצמו
 60 ל' ב ע⁶¹ איני ע⁶² ע⁶³ כמה שנאמר ע

x ~ x — x ~ x

פרק מ"ה

א' ר' ישמעאל. אמר לי ממטרון.. בא ואראך פרגוד של מקום שה¹
 פרוש[ה]² לפני ה[ק]ב"ה. שכל דורי דורות שבעולם³ וכל מעשיהם⁴
 ב' בין שעשו ובין שעושים עד סוף כל הדורות חקוקים בו.. והלכתי
 והראני [ב]אצבעות⁵ ידיו (ו)כאב⁶ שמורה⁷ לבנו. דור ודור⁸
 וראשיהם ד"ר⁹ ורעהי¹⁰ ד"ר ושומריהם. ד"ר ונוגשיהם ד"ר

מ"ה

1 שהיא ע² פרוסה ע³ העולם ע⁴ מעשי דורות העולם ע⁵ באצבעות ע
 6 כאב ע לחק' 7 שורה ע⁸⁻⁸ לבנו אותיות של תורה וראיתי דור ודור ורונניהם
 דור ודור ע⁹ ל' ב ע¹⁰ = ורועיהם ע

מצוה (לו) 55 [ידע דבר] 56 רע ((קהלת ח' ד' וז')) 57 ואומר ((תהלים ק"ד)) מה רבו מעשיך ה' 58:

55 לא ע MT 56 ע MT ידע דבר 57 ע ונוג' 58 ע ואומר מה גדלו מעשיך ה' 0 0 0

פרק מ"ז

אד ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. 1 ריוחן של כוכבים 2 שעומדים ברכיע בכל 2 לילה ולילה בזעמו 3 של מקום. והיכן הם הולכים והיכן הם עומדים. הלכתי אצלו ותפשני בידו 4 והראני את כולן באצבעות ידיו. והם עומדים 5 בניצוצות 6 שלהבת סביבות 7 מרכבות 8 של מקום. מה עשה מטטרון. 9 באותה שעה הכה כפו אל כפו והפריד 10 את כולן ממקומם. מיד פרחו 11 בכנפי שלהבת ועלו 12 ונסו 13 בד' רוחות כסא המרכבה. והיגיד 14 15 שמו של כל א' וא' 15 שנאמר ((תהלים קמ"ד)) מונה מספר לכוכבים 16 כולם בשם 16 יקרא. מלמד שהניח הקב"ה 17 שם לכל א' וא' 17. וכלם נכנסים 18 במנין נ. רהט"אל המלאך לרקיע 19 השמים לשמש את העולם ויוצאים במינין 20 להלם את הקב"ה בשירות 21 ובתשבחות כע"ש ((תהלים י"ט ב')) השמים מספרים כבוד אל 22. לעתיד לבא חוזר 23 הקב"ה 24 ובוראם חדשים 24 שנאמר ((איכה ג' כ')) חדשים לבקרים 25. והן פותחין את פיהם ואומרים שירה. ומה השירה 27 שהם 28 אומרים. 29 ((תהלים ח' ד')) כי אראה שמיך 30:

מ"ז

ע 1 בא ואראך 1 רוחן 2-2 שעמוקים ברכיע וכל 3 באמו ע [באומר OM] Z.?: באימתו 4 לי' בע 5 לי' בע 6 בניצוציע 7 לי' בע 8 מרכבותיו ע 9 ע משה 10 והפריח ע 11 ע ממקומן 12 ונלו ע 13 וכסו ע 14 ע לי' 15-15 כל אחת ואחת את שמותם ואת כנויים ע 16-16 לכולם שמות ע MT 17-17 לכל כוכב וכוכב שם ע 18 ע על ידי 19 ברכיע ע 20 במנין ע 21 בשירים ע 22 ע ומעשה ידיו מגיד הרקיע 23 לי' בע 24-24 ועוזרן ע 25 ע רבה אמונתך 26 אין ע 27 שירה ע 28 לי' בע 29 ע שנאמר 30 ע ונוג'

אומות העולם ²³- מעשיהם ומפעל' ²³- ראישי ישיבות ישראל ²³- מעשיהם ומפעל' ²³- ראישי א"ה ²³- (ודורן) מעשיהן ומפעל' ²³- ²⁸- רוזני ישראל (ודורן) מעשיהן ומפעל' ²³- אלופי ישראל (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן. אלופי א"ה (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ²⁸- אנשי ²⁹- השם בישראל ²⁹- ²³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ²³- ³⁰ דיני ישראל ²³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ופעולותיהן ²³- דיני או"ה ²³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ²³- מלמד תינוקות בישראל ³¹ ²³- (ודורן) מע' ומפעל' ²³- מלמדי תינוקות באו"ה ³² ³³- (ודורן) מעש' ומפעל' ³³- מליצי ישראל ³³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ³³- מליצי או"ה ³⁴ ³³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעל' ³³- וכל ³⁵ נביאי ישראל ³³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ³³- וכל ³⁵ נביאי או"ה ³⁶ ³³- (ודורן) מעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ³³- וכל קרב ומלחמות ³⁷ ³⁹- שעושין אומות העולם ³⁸ בעם ישראל ³⁹- בימי מלכותם וראיתי משיח בן יוסף ודורו ⁴⁰- ומעשיהם ומפעלותיהן ⁴⁰- שעושין עם או"ה. וראיתי משיח בן דוד ודורו וכל ⁴²- קרבות ומלחמות ומעשיהם ⁴²- ומפעלותיהם שעושים עם ישראל בין לטובה בין לרעה. וראיתי כל קרבות ומלחמות שגוג ומגוג עושים ⁴⁴- עם ישראל ⁴⁴- לימות המשיח. וכל מה שהקב"ה עושה עמהם לעתיד לבא. ושאר ⁴⁵ כל ⁴⁶ פרנסי הדור וכל מעשה הדור בין שבישראל בין שבאו"ה. בין שנעשו ⁴⁷ בין ⁴⁸- שעתידין להעשות לעתיד ⁴⁸- עד דורי דורות עד סוף ⁴⁹ חקוקים (ש) בפרגוד ⁵⁰ של מקום. ואני ראיתי בעיני את כולן ⁵¹- [ולכסות שראיה] ⁵¹- פתחתי פי ואמרתי בשבחו של מקום: כאשר ⁵² דבר מלך ⁵³ שלטון ⁵⁴ שומר

28-28 ל' ב ע [הרי ב' (27)] 29-29 שם ישראל ע (30) ע אנשי שם אומות העולם ונו' 31 ישראל ע 32 של אומות העולם ע 33-33 ונו' ע 34 אומות ע 35 ל' ב ע 36 אומות ע 37 ומלחמת ע 38 לחקר: 'העולם' 39-39 שאומות העולם עושים עם ישראל ע 40-40 וכל מעשיהם ע 41 שם ע 42-42 קרב ומלחמת מעשיהם ע 43 שהן עושין ע 44-44 ל' ב ע 45 ושם ע 46 ל' ב ע 47 שעשו ע 48-48 שעושין לעתיד לבא ע (49) ע כולם 50 על פרגוד ע 51-51 ולבסוף שראיתי ע 52 כאשר ע [MT =] 53 המלך ע (54) ע ונו'

מיני זיו מאורות מבהיקות⁴ ממנ' ⁵ שבה נבראו תתקנ'ה רקיעים.
 שאפ' ^{5a} שרפים ואופנים אינם ^[רשאים] ^{5b} (ראשים) ⁶ בה עד שיגיע⁷ יום הישועה⁸
 לבא. ^{8a} והלכתי אצלו ותפסני בידו והעלני בכנפיו והראני ^[אותה] ב-
 בכל⁹ מיני שבח רנה ותהלה שאין פה יכול לומר שבחה ואין עין
 יכולה להסתכל בה. מפני רוב¹⁰ רבותה ותושבתה^[ה] ¹¹ ויקרה¹²
 וכבודה ותפארתה. ¹³ ולא עוד-¹³ אלא שכל נשמתן של צדיקים
 שהם זוכים ורואים בשמחתה של ירושלם הן עומדות אצלה ומקלסות
 לפניה ומבקשות רחמים מלפניה ואומרות¹⁴ ג' פעמים בכל יום. עורי
 עורי לבשי עוז זרוע ^[ה'] ¹⁵ ((ישעיה כ"א ט')) וכע"ש¹⁶ [שם ס"ג י"ב]
 מוליך לימין משה זרועות¹⁷ תפארתו. באותה שעה היתה בוכה ד-
 ימינו של מקום ^[ומושבות] ¹⁸ ויוצאות ה' נהרות של דמעות מחמשה
 אצבעותיה. ונופל^[ו] ¹⁹ לתוך הים²⁰ הגדול ומרעישו^[ת] ^[את] ²¹ העולם
 כולו²² בע"ש ²³ ((ישעיה כ"ד י"ט)) רועה²³ התרועעה הארץ²⁴. פור התפוררה
 ארץ²⁶ מוט התמוטטה ^[ארץ] ²⁵⁻²⁶ נוע תנוע ארץ כשכור והתנודדה
 כמלונה. ²⁷ ה' פעמים כנגד ה' אצבעותיה של ימינו הגדולה.
 וכשרואה הקב"ה שאין צדיק בדור ואין חסיד בארץ ואין צדקה ו-
 בידי אדם ואין איש כמשה ואין מפגיע כשמואל שיבקש²⁸ רחמים
 מלפני המקום על התשועה ²⁹ ועל הגאולה ועל מלכותו שתגלה
 בעולם כולו ועל ימינו הגדולה ²⁹ שיחזיר אותה לפני³⁰ לעשות בה
 תשועה גדולה³¹ לישראל. מיד זוכר הקב"ה צדקתו³² וזכותו ורחמי³²⁻³³
 וחסדיו³³ של עצמו. ומושיע לעצמו את זרועו הגדולה ותסמוך לו ³⁴

⁴ מובהקות ע = ממנה ע ^{5a} = שאפאילו ^{5b} = רשאים. *cum prob. l.* ע: רשאים
⁶ ע להסתכל ⁷ הגעת ⁸ תשועה ע ^{8a} ע לעתיד ⁹ וכל ע ¹⁰ לי' ב ע
¹¹ תושבתה ע להק' ¹² ויקרא ע ¹³⁻¹³ לי' ב ע ¹⁴ ואומרין ע ¹⁵ (בצע
 בכי) להק' כמו למעלה ¹⁶ וכענין ע ¹⁷ זרוע ע להק' ¹⁸ (בצע בכי) ע: ומושבות
¹⁹ ונופלות ע ²⁰ ים ע ²¹ (בצע בכי) ²² לי' ב ע ²³ רוע ע להק': רועה
²⁴ ארץ ע להק' 'הארץ' ²⁵ (בצע בכי) ²⁶⁻²⁶ לי' ב ע ²⁷ ע הרי ²⁸ שבקש ע
²⁹⁻²⁹ לי' ב ע ³⁰ לפניו ע ³¹ לי' ב ע ³²⁻³² לי' ב ע ³³ וחסדו ורחמיו ע ³⁴ ע כל

פרק מ"ז

א' א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. בא ואראך נשמתן¹ של מלאכים¹ ורוחן של² [משרתים] שגופן נשרפים באש³ של מקום⁴ שהיא יוצאה⁴ מאצבעו קטנה והם נעשים גחלים של אש בתוך נהר⁵ דינור ורוחן ונשמתן היו עומדים אחורי השכינה. כל זמן שמלאכי השרת אומר' שירה שלא בזמנו⁶ ושלא כראוי⁷ כהוגן [הרי הן]⁸ נשרפים ונלהטים⁹ באש של קוניהם ובלהב של בוראיהם במקומות¹⁰ רוח¹¹ סערה ומנשבת¹² עליהם ומושבת¹³ אותם לנהר דינור ונעשים שם¹⁴ הרים הרים¹⁴ של גחלים¹⁵. ורוחן ונשמתן חוזרות¹⁶ לבראם ועומדות¹⁷ כלם אחרי¹⁸ קוניהם. והלכתי¹⁹ [אצלו] ותפשני בידו והראיני²⁰ את כולם נשמתן של מלאכים ורוחם של משרתים שהם עומדות אחורי²¹ השכינה²² על²³ [כנפי] סערה וחומות של אש מוקפות²³ להם. באותה שעה פתח לי מטטרון שערי חומות של אש שהן עומדות בתוכן אחורי²⁴ השכינה. מיד²⁵ נשאתי את עיני וראיתי אותן שכל²⁶ א' וא' דמותן כמלאכים²⁷ וכנפיהם כעוף מעשה שלחבת מפעלות אש ויקדות²⁸. באותה שעה פתחתי את פי בשבחו של מקום ואמרתי²⁹ גדולים מעשיך ה'²⁹ ((תהלים צ"ב ו' עם קיא ב')):

מ"ז

1-1 לי ב ע² ע² משרתים. לחק' 3 מאשו ע⁴⁻⁴ שהן יוצאין ע⁵ לי ב ע⁶ בזמנה ע⁷ ע⁷ וכל 8 לי ב ע⁹ גופיהן 9 ולוחטין ע¹⁰ במקומן ע¹¹ ורוח ע¹² מנשבת ע¹³ ומשלכת ע¹⁴⁻¹⁴ הרי הרים ע¹⁵ גחלת ע¹⁶ חוזרת ע¹⁷ ועומדין ע¹⁸ אחר ע¹⁹ אצלו 20 ותראני ע²¹ אחרי ע²²⁻²² לחק' "על כנפי". מיד עברה ע²³ מקיפות ע²⁴ אחרי ע²⁵ ומיד ע²⁶ של כל ע²⁷ של מלאכים ע²⁸ יוקדת ע²⁹⁻²⁹ גדולים מעשי ה' וגו' ע³⁰ (תהלים צ"ב ו').

פרק מ"ח A

א' א'ר ישמעאל. אמר לי מטטרון. בא ואראך¹ את² ימינו של מקום שהיא נשלחת לאחור³. מפני חורבן³ בית הקדש³ שכל

מ"ח A

1 וראה ע² יד ע³ בצע בכי⁴ 3-3 בהמ"ק ע

הגוים⁷³ וראו כל אפסי ארץ את ישועות⁷⁴ אלהינו. ואומר⁷⁵ ((דברים
 ל'ב י"ב)) ה' בדרך ינחנו ואין עמו אל נכר⁽⁷⁶⁾ ((וזכרנו י"ד מ')) והיה ה'
 למלך על כל הארץ.

⁷³ כל העמים ע. 'כל הגוים' להק' ⁷⁴ להק' "ישועות" MT ⁷⁵ ל'י ב ע ⁽⁷⁶⁾ ע ונאמר

o o o

פרק מ"ח B

[כ:]

[א וזחעפ:]

א' אלו שבעים ושתים שמות כתובים על לבו של הקב"ה. צין. צדק. צחאל. צור. צבי. צדיק. סעף. סחן. צבאות. שדי. אלהים. יהוה. צח. דגול. ואדום. סססאא. איוא. איא. אהו. הב. יה. הו. ווו. צצין. פפף. נן. הה. חי. חי. רוכב ערבות. יה. הה. וה. ממש. ננן. הוו. יה. יהה. חפץ. הצין. אי. וא. צעא. זא. אעא. קקק. קשר. בו. וך. גינור. גינוריא. יא. יוד. אלף. האן. פאף. ראו. יו. יו. בבב. דדד. טטט. ככך. כלל. סיס. אתתא. בשכמלו. נשתלם בעד מלך העולם. ברח. לבא. בנלך. ואעי.¹

¹ [הכא סוף פרק הזה לפי כ ולאחר' הזאת פרק מ"ח C]

מ"ח B

א' זחפפ ע' שמות יש לו להקב"ה בפירוש ושאר שלא בפירוש אין להם חקר ואין להם מספר. ואלו הם [כאן היו כתובים כ"ב שמות ע"ד א"ב של אלבם וכ"ב שמות ע"ד א"ב של את בש. וכ"ב שמות ע"ד תש רק. זחפפ: ולא רצינו להדפיס' שמא ח"ו אינם כתובים כראוי או שמא ח"ו ישתמש בהם אדם שאינו הגון וגמצא מחריב כל העולם. וזה היה ח"ו מעט תתועלת ורבה הנזקים ⁽²⁾ ע ו בכמה כתרים של צדק ³ לחבה זח ⁽⁴⁾ זחפפ בכמה כתרים של בוק ⁵ בוק [זח] ע ⁶⁻⁶ ל'י ב ע ⁽⁷⁾ ע מחנות שכינה וריבי. זחפפ מחנות של שכינה ורבי רכבות ⁸ צבאות זחע ⁽⁹⁾ זחפפ ברעד ברתת באימה וזיעת בהדר בהדר ויראה בפתח בגודל ¹⁰ וכבוד פפ ¹¹ ובעמודי ע ¹² ל'י ב זחע ¹³ ובעמודי ע

צדקתו כע"ש ((ישעיה ל"ט ז')) וירא כי אין איש. כמשה שה' 35
מבקש רחמים כמה פעמים במדבר על ישראל וביט' (ו) 36 את הגזירה 37
מעליהם. 38. וישתומם 39 כי 40 אין מפגיע. כשמואל שפגע בה [ק] ב' [ה] וקרא
אליו. 41. ועונה 42 לו ועשה לו הקב"ה רצונו אפילו 43 שלא כראוי.
ו' כע"ש ((שמואל א' י"ב ז')) הלא קציר חטים היום אקרא אל יי'. ולא
עוד אלא שנזדווג לו 44-44 למשה בכל מקום 44-44 שנאמר ((תהלים צ"ו)) משה
ואהרן בכהניו 45-46 ועוד אמר [ר] [ה] כתוב 46-46 ((ירמיהו ז' א')) אם יעמוד
מ' משה ושמואל לפני ((ובישעיהו ס"ג ה')) ותושע לי זרועי. אמר 47
הקב"ה באותה שעה. עד מתי 48 אצפה לבני אדם 49 לעשות (בצדקתם) 50
תשועה (כ) זרועי. 51. אני בשבילי ובשביל 52-52 זכותי וצדקתי 52-52 אושיע את
זרועי ואציל בה 53 [את]. בני מבין (ה) אומות 54 העולם. שנאמר ((ישעיה מ"ח
ס' י"א)) ולמעני 55 אעשה. כי איך יחל 56. באותה שעה מגלה הקב"ה
את 57 זרועו הגדולה ומראה להם 58 לאומות העולם, שאורכה כאורכה (ה) 59
של עולם 60-60 ורחבה כרוחב [ו] 61 של עולם ותאר זיוה 62-62 כזיו אור 62-62
"השמש בגבור' 63 בתקופ (ו) ת 64 תמוז. מיד ישראל נגאלים 65-65 מבין
אומות העולם 65-65 ונראה להם משיח 66-66 שיעלה אותם 66-66 לירושלם
בשמחה רבה. 67. ולא עוד אלא אוכלין 68-68 ושותין שמנצחין 68-68 מלכות
69-69 משיח בית דוד בד' 69-69 רוחות העולם. ואין אומות העולם יכולין 70
עמהם. 71-71 שנאמר ((ישעיה נ"ב י')) חשף ה' 72-72 את זרוע (ו) 72-72 קרשו לעיני

35 = שהיה ע 36 ובטל ע 37 הנזרות ע 38 מעל ישראל ע 39 ל' ב ע
40 וכי ע 41 ל' ב ע 42 וענה ע 43 שאפילו ע 44-44 למשה ע 45-45 ע 46 ושמואל
בקוראי שמו וגו' 46-46 ואומר ע 47 אומר ע 48 אימתי ע 49 ל' ב ע
50 בצדקתו ע 51 לזרועי ע 52-52 צדקתי וזכותי ע 53 את ע 54 אומות ע
לחקר' כמו כן 55 למעני ע. לחקר' "למעני למעני" MT 56 איחל ע 57 בעולם ע
58 לה ע 59 כארכו ע לחק' 60-60 ע 61 מסוף העולם ועד סופו 61 כרחבו ע לחק'
62-62 כזוהר ע 63 בנבורתו ע 64 בתקופת ע לחק' 65-65 מביניהם ע 66-66 שיעל
אותן ע 67 ל' ב ע 68-68 ל' ב ע 69-69 ישראל עם משיח מארבע ע
70 אוכלין ע 71-71 ע 72-72 זרוע ע ז: את זרוע MT

[כ]

(1) ושל מטה . ומסרתי לו חכמה ובינה יותר מכל המלאכים וקראתי שמו יה קטן ששמו בגימטריא ע"א. וסדרתי לו כל מעשה בראשית ועשיתי לו גבורה יותר מכל מלאכי השרת. שלום רב לאוהבי. [סוף]

למ²

(ג) פקדתי על כל אצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי כל א' (7) וא' מסרתי בידו . ועשיתי משרת לכסא כבודי לכלכל ולסדר חיות הקדש לקשר כתרים להלבישם הוד והדר. להכין להם מושב בשבתו על כסאו לרבות כבודו במרום .

[[א(זחפ)]]

ותרועה¹³ 14- לשמי מרום¹⁴. שנאמר. עלה אלהים בתרועה י"י בקול שופר ((תהלים מ"ו)) . ולקחתיו¹⁵. לחנוך בן ירד מביניהם¹⁶ והעליתיו בקול שופר ותרועה¹⁶ 14- לשמי מרום¹⁴ להיות לי לעד עם¹⁷ (18) חיות שבמרכבה לע"ה . פקדתי על כל גזנים ואוצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע ומפתחי (ש)כל¹⁹ א' וא' משרתים²⁰ בידו . 21- וישר על כל השרים²¹ עשיתי²² 21- משרת לכסא 23-24a הכבוד [ושמתי על] היכל²³ ערבות לפתוח לי²⁴ דלתותיהן וכסא^{24a} הכבוד לסלסל ולסדר חיות הקדש 25- קשרים בראשם²⁵ ואופני הדר לכתור להם עוז וכבוד. וכרובי הוד להלבשם²⁶... [הדר] ובויקי²⁷ זוהר להזהירם²⁸ זיו זוהר שרפי להבה לעמפם²⁹ גאוה וחשמלי

13 ובתרועה ז 14-14 למרום זח 15 לקחתיו ח 16 ובתרועה זח 17 עד חפ (18) זחפסד' 19 כל ח 20 מסרתי חן 21-21 ושמתי שר על כל השרים זח 22 ועשיתי זח 23-23 כבוד היכלי זח 24 לו זח 24a-24a om. addit. 25-25 לקשר בראשם כתרים זח ולחקר' כמו כן (26) בצע בכ"י זח 27 וויקי זח 28 להזכירם זח 29 להתעמפם ח. להתעמפ' ז

שעורו של כסא. ע' אלף פרסא' של אש ומסרתי לו שבעי' מלאכים כנגד ע' שמות הסובבים את הכסא והפקדתי לו כל פמליא של מעלה ומסרתי לו חכמה ובינה יותר ממלאכי השרת וקראתי שמו י"וד ה"א וא"ו ה"א הקטן וסדרתי לו כל סדרי בראשית ועשיתי לו גדולה יותר מכל פמליא שלי 000 2 לראש הדברים האלו אית בל"מ: בא"ב דר' עקיבה מסר למטטרון הוא חנוך בן ירד כל גזנים. פקדתי וגו'

[[א(זחפע)]]

וּבְבִרְקִי¹⁴ אֹר וּבִמְרָאָה חֲשַׁמֶּל . וְנוֹתָנִים לָהֶם כְּבוֹד וְעֹנִים¹⁵ וְקִרְאִים
לְפָנֵיהֶם קִ'קֶּק⁽¹⁶⁾ וְגוֹלְלִין¹⁷ אוֹתָן בְּכָל רִקִּיעַ⁽¹⁸⁾ כְּבִנִי מִל(א)כִּים¹⁹
אֲדִירִים וְנִכְבָּדִים וְכִשְׁמַחֲזִירִין אוֹתָן (בְּכָל²⁰) אֶל מְקוֹמָם²¹ כִּסֵּא הַכְּבוֹד²²
כָּל חַיּוֹת²³ שֶׁבְּמִרְכָּבָה פוֹתַחִין אֶת פִּיהֶם בִּשְׂבַח בְּכָבוֹד²⁴ שְׁמוֹ שֶׁל
הַקֶּבֶ"ה⁽²⁵⁾ בִּשְׁבַּמֶּל"ו⁽²⁶⁾

¹⁴ נוֹתָנִין כְּבָרִיקִים ע. וּבִרְק וְאוֹרִים כְּבִרְיִקִי אֹר זֶה¹⁵ וְעֹזוֹ זֶחַע⁽¹⁶⁾ זֶחַע שְׁנֹאמֶר
וְקִרְאָה זֶה אֶל זֶה וְאִמֶּר קִ'קֶּק¹⁷ גּוֹלְלִים ע. וּמִמְלֵאִין ח⁽¹⁸⁾ זֶחַע וְרִקִּיעַ שֶׁבְּמִרוֹם
¹⁹ מַלְכִּים זֶחַ לְהַקֵּר²⁰ corr. לִי ב זֶחַע²¹ מְקוֹם זֶחַע²² כְּבוֹד ז²³ הַחַיּוֹת ע
²⁴ כְּבוֹד זֶחַ⁽²⁵⁾ זֶס וְאוֹמְרִים⁽²⁶⁾ ע וְאוֹתָם שְׁמוֹת שֶׁל הַקֶּבֶ"ה שֶׁלֹּא בִּפְרוּשׁ
אֵין לָהֶם חֵקֶר וּמִסְפָּר וְאֵלּוֹ הֵם אֲדִירֵיהֶן קִ'קֶּק כְּתִבְתִּי בְּמִקּוֹם אַחֵר. כְּתִבְתִּי בִּזֶּה הוּא
יִה שֶׁם הַגְּדוֹל בְּמִקּוֹם אַחֵר כְּתוּבִין. [אַלֶּף אֶלְפִּין וְגו']

o o o

פרק מ'ח C

[כ:]¹

[[א(זחפע)]]

(א) אַחֲזִיתִי וְלִקְחִיתִי וּפְקַדְתִּיו. זֶהוּ
חֲנוּךְ בֶּן יִרְדָּה שֶׁשְׁמוֹ מִטְטְרוֹן .
(ב) וְנִמְלִיתִי מִבְּנֵי אָדָם . וְעִשִּׂיתִי לוֹ
(ג) כִּסֵּא כְּנֶגֶד כִּסְּאִי. וְכִמָּה שִׁיעוּרוֹ
(ד) שֶׁל אוֹתוֹ כִּסֵּא. שְׁבָעִים אֶלֶף
(ה) פְּרִסְאוֹת שֶׁל אִשׁ . מִסְרִתִּי לוֹ
(ו) שְׁבָעִים מֵלָאכִים כְּנֶגֶד אוֹמוֹת
וְהַפְקַדְתִּי לוֹ כָּל פְּמִלְיָא שֶׁל מַעֲלָה

מ'ח C

¹ אַחֵר גּוֹמֵחַ כ בּ בְּפֶרֶק מַח B (שְׁמוֹתִי שֶׁל
הַקֶּבֶ"ה).

וְדָא אֵיחִי מַח שְׁנִמְצָא בְּמַעֲרַכַת הָאֱלֹהוֹת
דִּף קִמְז עַד קִיט: אִמֶּר בְּתַגְרָה בְּחִנּוּךְ.
הַפֶּךְ בִּשְׂרֹו לְפִידִי אִשׁ וְאִמֶּר בּוֹ אַחֲזִיתִי
לִקְחִיתִי מִבְּנֵי אָדָם אִידְרִיתִי פְקַדְתִּיו זֶה
חֲנוּךְ בֶּן יִרְדָּה שֶׁשְׁמוֹ כִּשֵּׁם רַבּוֹ. לִקְחִיתִי
מִבְּנֵי אָדָם וְעִשִּׂיתִי לוֹ כִּסֵּא כְּכִסְּאִי. וְכִמָּה

* זֶחַ מִהֲכִי בְּכָל מְקוֹם כִּד זֶחַפְלָמ יִפְרֵם פּ לְבִדּוֹ

(1) ע וְאֶלְפִין² לִי ב ע³ אִי"ב ע
4-4 אִיבִרְתִּיו "לִקְחִיתִי" פְקַדְתִּיו זֶחַ
5 עֲבָדִי זֶחַע⁶ א' א' זֶחַ. אַחֵר מִיּוֹחַד ע
7 לִי ב ע. סוֹף ע בְּבִית הַמִּדְרָשׁ⁸ אִיבִרְתִּיו
זֶחַ* (בְּמַעֲרַכַת הָאֱלֹהוֹת: אִידְרִיתִי)
9-9 שֶׁהִסְתַּכְלֵתִי בְּכִנִּי זֶחַ¹⁰ מְקַלְקִלִים
זֶחַ¹¹ לִחַק (ו) בְּאֵתִי. אֲבָל זֶחַ: וּבָאִים
12 וְעִלִּיתִי זֶחַ

[א(זחפרמ)]

וסוד הודעתיו ביושר⁵⁹.. קבעתי כסאו בפתח היכלי⁶⁰ שיש⁶¹ לעשות ק
 דין בכל⁶² פמליא⁶³ של⁶³ (ב) מרום⁶³ וכל שר ושר העמדתיו לנגדו ליטול
 ממנו⁶⁴ רשות [לעשות]⁶⁵ לו רצונו⁶⁶.. ע' שמות נמלת' משמותי⁶⁷ ט
 וקראתי' בהן לרבות לו כבוד⁶⁸ ע' שרים נתתי⁶⁹ [בידו]⁷⁰ להפקד⁷¹
 להם בכל לשון⁷² פקודי דברי⁷²

[א(זחפ)]

[למ]

ט ולהשפיל גאים עדי ארץ ולהגביה שפלים עד מרום⁷⁴..
 ולהכות מלכים⁷⁴.. ולהכניע רוזנים⁷⁴.. ולהקים מלכים
 ורוזנים⁷⁴.. והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעד^[ח] מלכין
 ומחקם מלכין יהב חכמת[א]⁷⁶ לחכימ[ין]⁷⁶ ומנדע[א]⁷⁶ לידעי
 בינה. והפקדתיו לגלות רוים ולהורות דין משפט⁷⁴..⁷⁷
 כן יהיה דברי אשר יצא מפי. לא ישוב אלי רקם כי אם

ו להשפיל גאים עדי ארץ ולהגביה שפלים עד מרום⁷⁴..
 ולהכות מלכים⁷⁴.. ולהכניע רוזנים⁷⁴.. ולהקים מלכים
 ורוזנים⁷⁴.. והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעד^[ח] מלכין
 ומחקם מלכין יהב חכמת[א]⁷⁶ לחכימ[ין]⁷⁶ ומנדע[א]⁷⁶ לידעי
 בינה. והפקדתיו לגלות רוים ולהורות דין משפט⁷⁴..⁷⁷
 כן יהיה דברי אשר יצא מפי. לא ישוב אלי רקם כי אם

59 כאשר זח זחלמ מבוזין 60 "60" זחלמ מבוזין 61 לישב ו- זחלמ L. ? לשבת עליו ו-
 62 וכל ז. ל' ב ח 63-63 שלי זלמ. שלי שבמרום ח 64 ל' ב ז 65 (בצע) 66
 לעשות זחלמ 66 חכא תחלת פרקחדש על פי למ 67 משמי למ "68" למ 69 ויקר
 נתתי ז 70 (בצע) בידו זח 71 ליפקוד זח. לפקוד למ 72-72 ל' ב למ
 73-73 cum למ 74 בכי. ommiss. sign. "75" ins. שנאמר 76 L. 'מהעדה'. 'חכמתא'.
 'לחכימין'. 'זמנדעא'. "77" זחלמ שנאמר "78" זחלמ שפלים. ולחק כמו כן 79-79 למרום זח
 80 (בצע) מלכים זח 81 באמרתיו זח. ואחרי זאת : 'להכניע רוזנים וזדים בדברותי'
 82 ממלכותם ז "83" זחלמ מהעדה מלכין ומחקם מלכין [MT] 84-84 מלכי עולם זח
 85 ומדע זח 86 למכיני זח "87" זחלמ יהב חכמתא לחכימין 88 לידעי זח

[[א(זחפ)]]

(ס) ורום קומתו בתוך כל רמי הקמות
 ע' אלפים פרסאות. והרביתי
 (ו) כבודו כהוד כבודי. וזוהר עיניו
 (י) כזיו כסא הכבוד. לבושו הוד
 והדר

עליונים וברזי תחתונים. רוממתי [ו] ס
 [כלם. רום]
 33- על (כל-33. תרום) 34 קומתו 35- בכל
 ר(ו) מי [הקומות] 35- ע' 36 אלפים
 פרסאות. גדלתי 37- כסא [ו] מה(ו) דר
 כסאי 37- והרכבתי 38 כבודו מהוד
 [כבודי] 39. הפכתי בשרו 40- [לאש
 וללפיד]

ואלפים) אש- 40 וכל עצמות גופו
 לגחלי אש (ובמראות) 41 [ישמתי מראה]
 כמראה הבזק 43 ואור עפעפיו כאור 44
 לא נעדר. הבחקתי פניו כמו 45 זיו
 השמש [וזוהר] 46 עיניו כזיו כסא
 הכבוד 47. שמתי לבושו «48» הוד
 והדר. וכסות מעילו פאר וגאווה «49».

[[א(זחפלי)]]

כליל 49^a כתר מלכות 50 של 51 ת'ק על ת'ק פרסאות 52 ונתתי עליו 53- מהדרי
 ומהדרי- 53 ומזיו כבודי ש(מ)על 54 כסא הכבוד. קר[א]תיו 55 56- ה'
 הקמ(ו)ן- 56 שר הפנים, ויודע רזים וכל «57» [רו ורין] גליתי לו כאב 58 וכל סוד

30 להתעזרם זה 31 בשבבתי ח 32-32 כסאי בכבוד ויקר לראות כבודי במרום עזוי זה
 «32» זה מסרתי לו חכמה ובינה להסתכל 33-33 עליכם זה ז. ? : על כלם 34 רום זה
 35-35 (בצע) בתוך כל רמי הקומות זה 36 שבעת זה 37-37 כסאו מהוד כסאי זה
 38 והרבתי ח 39 (בצע) כבודי זה להק' 40-40 ללפיד אש זה 41 ושמתי זה
 42 מראיו זה 43 בזק ח 44 באור פ 45 באור נ. באור ח 46 [בצע] וזוהר זה
 47 כבוד ז «48» זה כבוד «49» זה וועז 49^a ז. ? וכלילו 50 מלכותו למ
 51 לי ב למ 52 פרסה ח 53-53 מהודי ומהדרי זחל'מ 54 שעל זחל'מ 55 קראתי
 ז. וקראתי למ 56-56 בשמי יוד'ד הקמן זה. בשמי יי' הקמן למ «57» זה רז ורז
 58 באתך זה. כאהוב למ

((ישעיהו ב'ח ט')) ואת מי יורה דעה ואת מי יבין שמועות¹¹⁴. גמולי מחלב עתיקים¹¹⁵ משרים:

114 שמועה זחל'מ MT 115 עתיקי זחל'מ MT

o - o - o - o - o

א' ושבעים שמות יש ע' שמות יש לו למטטרון שנטל ה[ק]ב"ה א' למטטרון נער נאמן. משמו וחניה לו. ואלו הן: 1- יהואל י¹. ב' י"י הקטן. ונקרא יהואל יופיאל². יופיאל³. יופפיאל⁴. ואפפיאל⁵. ומרגזיאל⁶. ג' גנגזיאל מפני שכל גנזי גיפזיאל⁷. פעזיאל⁸. עעה⁹. פריאל¹⁰. טטריאל¹¹. חכמה מסורין בידו. טבכזיאל¹². או יהוה¹³. דה¹⁴. דה¹⁵. ויהוה¹⁶. עבד¹⁷. דבוריאל¹⁸. ג' וכולם נפתחו למשה עפעפיאל¹⁹. ספפיאל²⁰. פפציאל²¹. סניגורי²². ע"ה בסיני שלמדו לו מטטרון. סוגדין²³. אדריגון²⁴. אסום²⁵. סקפם²⁶. במ' יום כשמטטרון סקמם²⁷. מיגון²⁸. מיטמון²⁹. מוטטרון³⁰. רוספים³¹. עומד. תורה בע' פנים קינות³². חממיה³³. דגזיה³⁴. פצפיה³⁵. אבצכניה³⁶. של ע' לשון. מורג[יה]³⁷. ברד[יה]³⁸. מכרכך³⁹. מצפרד⁴⁰. חישג[יה]⁴¹. בע' פנים של ע' * חשב[יה]⁴². מטרטמט⁴³. בצירים⁴⁴. מיטמון⁴⁵. מיטמון⁴⁶. פסקון⁴⁷. צפציה⁴⁸. זרח⁴⁹. זרחיה⁵⁰. אבא⁵¹. ביה⁵². הבהביה⁵³. פלט⁵⁴. פלמיה⁵⁵. רברביה⁵⁶. חס⁵⁷. חסיה⁵⁸. טפטפיה⁵⁹. תמתמיה⁶⁰. צהציה⁶¹. ערעוריה⁶². עלעליה⁶³. בורידיה⁶⁴. סתסתכיה⁶⁵. ססדיה⁶⁶. רזרזיה⁶⁷. בורזיה⁶⁸. ערימיה⁶⁹. סבהיה⁷⁰. סביבכיה⁷¹. סמכם⁷². יהסיה⁷³. צצביב(ה)יה⁷⁴. צבכצביה⁷⁵. קלילקליה⁷⁶. כיההה⁷⁷.

1-1 שמותיו של מטטרון לא היה נדפסין ב זחפ חוץ מן סנגסניאל

2 ? דהו או אזריגון³ או מיטטרון⁴ או מנרטמט⁵ או סביבדהיה

* The text of למ continues on next page.

[למ]

[[א(זחפ)]]

עשה את אשר חפצתי. אעשה לא נאמ' אלא עשה מלמד שכל דבר ודבר וכל שיח ושיח שיצא מפי הגבורה עומד מטטרון שר הפנים ועושה הוא בעצמו ומקיים גזרותיו של הקב"ה יי

דין משפטי. שנאמר ((ישעיה נה י"א)). כן יהיה דברי אשר יצא מפי. לא ישוב אלי ריחם כי אם עשה [וגו'] ^{(89)*} אעשה לא נאמר כאן ⁹⁰ [אלא] כי אם עשה. מלמד שכל דבר ודבר וכל שיח ושיח שיוצא מלפני ⁹¹ הקב"ה עומד מטטרון ויעשהו ⁹² ומקיים גזרתו של הקב"ה ..

[[א(זחפ)]]

יח ⁽⁹³⁾ [הצליח את] אש[ר] שלחתי ((שם)). אצליח ⁹⁴ לא נאמר אלא והצליח מלמד שכל גזירה וגזירה שיוצאה ⁹⁵ מלפני ⁹⁶ הקב"ה על אדם וכיוון שעשה תשובה אין משלחין אותה ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ אלא על אדם רשע ⁹⁸ אחר שנאמר ((משלי י"א ח')) צדיק מצרה נחלץ ויבא רשע תחתיו ..

[[א(זחפלמ)]] ⁹⁹

י"ב ¹⁰⁰ ולא עוד אלא שכל ¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰⁰ יום ויום ישב מטטרון ג' שעות ¹⁰² בשמי מרום ¹⁰² וכונס ¹⁰³ כל אותם ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ עוברין שמתו במעי אמן. ויונקי ¹⁰⁵ שדים שמתו על שדי אמן. ותינוקות ¹⁰⁶ של בית רבן שמתו על חמשי ¹⁰⁷ חומשי תורה. ומביא ¹⁰⁸ אותן תחת כסא הכבוד ומושיבן כתות כתות וחבורות תבורות ואגודות אגודות סביבות פנים ¹⁰⁹ ומלמדם תורה וחכמות ¹¹⁰ ואגודות ¹¹¹ ושמועות ¹¹² ומסיים להם תורתם ¹¹³ שנאמר

⁽⁸⁹⁾ זח ׀ את אשר חפצתי וגו' ⁹⁰ ל" ב זח ⁹¹ מפי זח ⁹² ועושהו מעצמו זח. ז. ⁽⁹³⁾ זח ׀ והצליח את. ז. ⁹⁴ ומצליח זח ⁹⁵ שיוצא זח ⁹⁶ מפי זח ⁹⁷ אותו זח ⁹⁸⁻⁹⁸ לפורענות לו אלא משלחין אותו לאדם זח ⁹⁹ פרק חדש ב למ ¹⁰⁰⁻¹⁰⁰ בכל למ ¹⁰¹ שבכל זח ¹⁰²⁻¹⁰² ל" ב למ ¹⁰³ וכותב למ ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ זח ׀ הנשמות של. למ ׀ הנשמות של ¹⁰⁵ ושל יונקי זח למ ¹⁰⁶ ושל תינוקות זח ¹⁰⁷ ל" ב זח ¹⁰⁸ ואביא ח ¹⁰⁹ פניו זח למ. ז. ? ¹¹⁰ וחכמה זח למ ¹¹¹ ואגדה זח ¹¹² ושמועה זח ¹¹³ ספר תורה זח. ספר תורתו למ * הכי סוף מה C ממש ומת שאחריו אינו אלא הוספות

[למ']

במתנה כולם

ותוספות. וכלם נתנו²⁷ לו למשה במרום²⁸
בסיני ..

כבראשונה. שנ[אמר]

((דברים י' ד')) ויתנם
י' אלי. ואחר כך
נתקיימה לו. שנ'
((מלאכי ג' כ"ב)) זכרו
תורת משה עבדי וגו'.
- סוף ללמ' -

אצבעו [נתחתמו] שבו⁽³⁶⁾ פיתק³⁷ שרי מלכיות שבמרום³⁸ [במלכות
בממשלה]³⁸ [ב] רבות ובגדולה. [ו] שבו³⁹ מתחתמין פיתק⁴⁰ מלאך
המות ופיתקי של כל אומה ולשון⁴¹ .. [אמר]⁴² מטמרון מש"ה מלאך י'
שר התורה ומלאך שר החכמה ומלאך שר התבונה⁽⁴³⁾ ומלאך שר
המלאכים⁴⁴ ומלאך שר הרוזנים⁴⁵ ומלאך שר הכבוד⁴⁵ ומלאך שר
⁴⁶ הרמים והשרים⁴⁶ והגבוהים רבים ונכבדים שבשמים ובארץ .. ה' י'
אלהי ישראל הוא עד [לי] ⁽⁴⁷⁾ בדבר הזה⁴⁸ כשגליתי⁴⁹ רז זה למשה
רגזו⁵⁰ עלי כל חיילי מרום שבכל רקיע ורקיע. אמרו לי .. מפני מה י'
[אתה] מגלה רז זה לבן⁵¹ אדם ילוד אשה ובעל⁵² זנב⁵³ ובעל⁵⁴ טומאה
ובעל⁽⁵⁵⁾ ⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ טיפה סרוחה⁵⁷. רז שנבראו [בו] שמים וארץ ים ויבשה

²⁷ נאמרו זח ²⁸ לי' ב זח ²⁹ שחקוקה זח ³⁰ חכבוד זח ³¹ לי' ב זח
³² הקב"ה זח ³³ (בצע בכ"י) *supra ut l.* cum *supra* זח: ומלאכי השרת ^{33a-33a} ז. מלאכי
השרת את ממ"ה ב"ה ³⁴ חותמות זח ³⁵ שטבע זח ז. שטבעת ⁽³⁶⁾ זח ∞
(נתחתמו) כל סדרי רקיע ערבות וכו מתחתמים ³⁷ פתקי של זח ³⁸ (בצע בכ"י)
supra ut *l.* cum *supra* ³⁹ וכו זח ⁴⁰ פתקי של זח ⁴¹ ומלכות זח ⁴² (בצע בכ"י)
אמר זח ⁽⁴³⁾ זח ∞ מלאך שר הכבוד ומלאך שר החיכל ⁴⁴ המלכים זח ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁵ לי'
ב זח ⁴⁶⁻⁴⁶ השרים. מלאך שר הרמים ז. המירדים רמים ח ⁽⁴⁷⁾ זח ∞ לי'
⁴⁸ זה זח ⁴⁹ שכשגליתי זח ⁵⁰ רעשו זח ⁵¹ לבני זח ⁵² ובעלי זח ⁵³ מום זח
⁵⁴ ובעלי זח ⁽⁵⁵⁾ זח ∞ בעלי דם זיבה ⁵⁶ ובעלי זח ⁵⁷⁻⁵⁷ טיפות סרוחות זח

ההיה⁷⁹ . וה⁸⁰ . והיה⁸¹ . זכיכיה⁸² . טוטריסיה⁸³ . סוריה⁸⁴ . זה⁸⁵ . פנירחיה⁸⁶ . ועזיעה⁸⁷ .
 גל רזיא⁸⁸ . ממליכיה⁸⁹ . עטמא⁹⁰ . עמק⁹¹ . קמיה⁹² . מכפריה⁹³ . פרישיה⁹⁴ . שפם⁹⁵ .
 גביר⁹⁶ . גבוריה⁹⁷ . גור⁹⁸ . גוריה⁹⁹ . זיו¹⁰⁰ . אוכבר¹⁰¹ . יהוה קטן על שם רבו כי שמי
 בקרבו [שמות כ"ג כ"א] רביביאל¹⁰³ . טומיאל¹⁰⁴ -¹ סגנסכיא¹⁰⁵ אל⁶ שר חכמה⁷ .
 ולמה נקרא שמו סגנסכיא⁸ . מפני שכל⁹ - (חכמה מסורין)⁹ - בידו¹⁰ .
 וכולם נפתחו בו¹⁰ למשה בסיני¹¹ עד שלמדו¹² במ' יום כשהוא¹³ .
 עומד [בהר]¹⁴ . תורה¹⁵ בע' פנים של ע' לשון¹⁶ . חלכות בע' פנים
 של ע' לשון¹⁷ . שמועות בע' פנים של ע' לשון . הגדות בע' פנים של ע'
 לשון . תוספות בע' פנים של ע' לשון¹⁷ . וכיוון¹⁸ שכלו עליו¹⁷ .
 לסוף¹⁸ - מ' יום שכחם¹⁹ כולם בשעה אחת עד שקרא²⁰ הקב"ה
 [למ]²¹ [א(זחפ)]

לשון . כתובים בע' ליפפ"יה²¹ - שרה של תורה²¹ - ונתנו²² לו
 פנים של ע' לשון . למשה במתנה שנאמר ((דברים יד)) ויתנם
 וכוון שכלו עליו מ' יום ה' אלי . ואחרי כך נתקיימה לו . ומניין
 נשתכחו לו כולן בשעה שנתקיימה לו²³ שנאמר ((מלאכי ג' כ"ב))
 אחת קטנה . קרא זכרו תורת משה עבדי .²⁴ תורת משה²⁵
 הקב"ה ליפפ"יה שר אלו תורה נביאים כתובים . חקים . אלו
 של תורה ונתן לו (ה)הלכות²⁶ ושמועות . משפטים . אלו הגדות

⁶ סגנזגאל זח ⁷ החכמה זח ⁸ סגנזגאל זח ⁹⁻⁹ נגזי החכמה כולן מסורין ז .
 החכמ' כולן מסורין ח ¹⁰ לי' ב זח ¹¹ מסיני זח ¹² זח לו ¹³ כשהיה זח
¹⁴ זח בחר ¹⁵ התורה זח ¹⁶ זח נביאים וכתובים הלכות ואגדות שמועות
 תוספות וכולם בשבעים פנים של שבעים לשון . נביאים בע' פנים של ע' לשון כתובים
 בע' פנים של ע' לשון ¹⁷⁻¹⁷ שמועות ותוספות בע' לשון של ע' פנים זח ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ שעלו
 לו סוף זח ¹⁹ נשתכחו לו זח ²⁰ זח לו ²¹⁻²¹ שר של התורה זח ²² ונתן זח
²³ בידו זח ²⁴ זח אשר צויתי אותו בחורב אל כל ישראל חקים ומשפטים
²⁵ לי' ב זח ²⁶ הלכות זח

הרים וגבעות. נהרות ומעיינות. גיהנם. אש וברד. ג'ע ועין החיים.
ונוצרו בו אדם וחיה⁵⁸ ובהמות⁵⁹ וחיות⁶⁰ השדה ועוף השמים
ודגי הים⁶¹ ולויתן ורמשים ושקצים שרצי^{61א} הים רמשי מדברות.
ותורה⁶² וחכמה ודיעה⁶³ ומחשבה ובינת⁶⁴ עליונים ויראת שמים.
ומפני מה אדני⁶⁵ מגלה לבשר ודם⁶⁶ הממקום רשות ועוד נטלת
רשות. שמות המפורשות מלפני⁶⁶ יוצאות בברקי אש⁶⁷ ובהשמלי
ט' להבה .. ולא נתקדד⁶⁸ דעתם⁶⁹ עד⁷⁰ שנוף בהם⁷⁰ ה[ק]ב"ה והוציאן
[בנויפה]⁷¹ מלפני⁷². [ו]אומר⁷³ להם. אני רציתי ואני חשקתי ואני
פקדתי ואני מסרתי למטטרון עבד⁷⁴ בלבד. שהוא אחר⁷⁵ מבני
מרומים⁷⁵ .. ומטטרון⁷⁶ מוציא אותם⁷⁶ מבית גנוים שלו⁷⁷ ומסר
אותם⁷⁸ למשה ומשה ליהושע ויהושע לזקנים וזקנים לנביאים
ונביאים לאנשי כנסת הגדולה ואנשי כנסת הגדולה לעזרה⁷⁹ ועזרה
הסופר להלל הזקן. והלל הזקן לר' אבהו ור' אבהו לר' זירה⁸⁰ ור'
זירה⁸¹ לאנשי אמונות⁸² ואנשי אמונות⁸³ להרהר⁸⁵ ולהתרפות
בן⁸⁷ בכר חולה^{87א} המרגשת⁸⁷ בעולם. שנאמר ((שמות ט"ז כ"ז)).
ויאמר. אם שמוע תשמע לקול⁸⁸ ה' אלהיך ו[ה]ישר⁸⁹ בעיניו תעשה
והאזנת למצותיו ושמרת כל חקיו. כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים
לא אשים עליך. כי אני י"י רופאך. (תם וגשלם שבה לאל בורא עולם-⁹⁰).

58 ל' ב זח 59 ובהמה זח 60 וחית זח «61» ובהמות זח להק' 61א שרפי ז
62 תורה זח 63 דעת זח 64 בית זח 65 אתה זח ז. ? 66-66 זח: 'אמרתי
להם. מפכי שגתן לי רשות הקב"ה ועוד נטלתי רשות מכסא רם וגשאל שכל שמות המפורשות
«67» זח זב[ב] זיקי זוהר 68 נתקדד זח ז. 69 דעתן זח 70-70 שנוף זח
71 (בצע בכ"י) נוסח' כמו זח 72 מלפניו זח 73 ואמר זח 74 עבדי זח 75-75 מכל
בכי מרום זח 76-76 ל' ב זח 77 שלי זח 78-78 ומסרו זח «79» זח הסופר
80 זירה זח 81 דירה זח 82 אמונה זח 83 אמונה «84» זח לבעלי אמונה
85 להזהר זח «86» זח בו 87-87 כל החלאים המתרגשות לבא זח 87א ז. ? חלי.
חולי 88 בקול זח 89 והישר זח MT 90-90 ל' ב זח

PART IV
INDEXES

I. INDEX TO THE HEBREW TEXT OF CHH. 3-48 A (EXCLUDING 15B, 22BC)

(a) GENERAL INDEX (VOCABULARY)

* = verb

† = noun

אכל* אש אכלה 6² 39² 40³ 42³
אוכלת 22⁴ 40³ אוכלין 48¹⁰

אל (:אלהים) 4³

אלים 14¹

אלנביש 34¹

אלות 19¹ 20¹ 25¹ 26¹ אלופי 45⁴

אלופיהם 45²

אמיץ 22¹

אמר* 38⁴ 44^{2,9} 48⁸ אמרתי 3¹ 4¹ 45⁶

לומר 47⁴ 18⁷ 19⁶ 27³ 35⁶ 36¹

לאמר 48² 10³ אומר 27³ 44^{8,10}

אומרים 35⁴ 38^{1,3} 39^{1,2} 40^{1,4} 46⁴

אומרי 47² 34² אומרת 16⁴ אומרות

תאמר 48³ 18²⁴

(נפעל) שנאמר (כמה פעמים)

אמת† 26¹² 31¹

אף† אפיהם 22¹³

אפר* אפודי 39²

אצבע 40³ אצבעו 13¹ 47¹ אצבעות 18⁶

אצבעותיה 48⁴ 46² 45² 44⁴ 33³

אצבעותיהן 33³

אצטלות אצטלות 18²⁵

אראלים (מלאכים) 39² 14¹

אריך 5¹¹ 17⁸ 28^{6,8} 41¹ 48⁵

אש 61¹ 13¹ 14³ 15^{1,2} 18^{19,25} 19⁴ 22^{4,14}

אש 26¹² 28¹⁰ 32¹ 33³ 34^{1,2} 35² 36¹

אש 37¹ 39² 40³ 42^{1,3} 44^{3,5} 47¹⁻⁴

אש אוכלת 6² 22⁶ 39² 40³ 42³

אשו (שלו) 47¹

אשה 6² נשיהם 4⁴

אשרי אשריך 4⁹

ב

בגד† בגדי 17⁸ 18²²

בהל* (נפעל) נבהלים 14³ 38¹ (פועל)

מבוהלת 16² (התפעל) מתבהלים 19⁶

בהמת† 4⁴

בהק* (הפעיל) מבהיק 32¹ מבהיקות 29²

בוא* בא 16² 28⁸ 31² באת 5¹¹ בא 41¹

לעתיד לבא 42¹ 43¹ 44¹ 45¹ 46¹ 47¹ 48¹

עולם 32² 18¹⁹ 4³

(הפעיל) מביא 27² מביאים 5⁵

א

אב 45² אבות 44⁷

אבד* אבדו 4⁷

(פיעל) אבדן 4⁴ לאבד 26¹²

אכל† אכלו 44⁷

אבן† אבנים, אבני 12³ 26⁵ 18²⁵ 5⁶

אבן† 42³ 34¹ 25^{6,7} 22¹³

אבר† אבריי 15¹

אדיר† 26¹ 22¹ 20¹ 19¹ 4¹ 28¹

אדיריהם: 45²

אדם 48^{5,8} 44⁵ 31² 11² 4⁶

אדן אדניהם 38¹

אדרת 39²

אהב* 13¹ 12¹ אהבי (שלי) 44¹⁰

אהבה† 13¹ 12¹ 8^{1,2}

אהל† אהלות 29²

אומת† 26¹² אומות 44^{7,10} 45^{4,5,6}

אופן† 48^{8,9,10}

אופן† 41⁴ אופן האותיות 41⁴ אופני

אופן† 22⁷

אופן (מלאך) 19⁶ אופנים, אופניי 6^{2,3,7}

אוצר† 48¹ 33³ 25^{5,6} 39² 26¹¹

אור* (הפעיל) מאירין 26¹¹

אור† 26¹¹ 10⁶ 37²

אור† 26^{2,4,6,11} 25⁷ 20² 16⁵ 15¹ 14⁵ 12³

אור† 35² 29² 9⁵ 28⁷

אור† 48²⁵ ארכו 33⁴ 9² ארכה (שלה)

אות 48⁹

אות† 13¹ 18²⁵ 13² אותיות, אותות

אז* 44⁹ 41¹⁻⁴

אחר 39² 18²² אזרי 44⁹

אחד 25¹ 22¹ 21¹ 20¹ 19¹ 17^{2,6,8} 5⁶

אחד 26^{9,10} 25^{6,7} כל אחד ואחד 40⁴

אחר 24¹⁷ אחת 44⁸ 40⁴ 33³ 4⁵ 29^{1,2} 28¹

אימה 40⁴ אחרים

אימה 22² 28⁷ 35² אימתי 16² אימתו

אין 26^{6,7,11} 25^{3,4} 23¹⁶ 19¹ 18²¹ 11³ 5⁴

איש 5⁴ 44⁷ 40³ 33⁴ 30¹ 28^{1,4}

איש 48¹ 29² 24¹¹ 14⁵ אינם 26¹² 18¹⁹

איש 45⁴ אנשי השם 48⁵

אכזרי 4³

גבורה (הקב"ה) $39^2 28^3, 9$
 גבורה $22^{11} 8^2$ גבורת 36^1 גבורות 22^1
 גבורתו $48^9 18^{25}$ 25^4
 גבעה גבעות $41^1 23^{17, 18} 13^1 5^6$
 גדוד $39^2 36^1$ גדודי $19^6 7^1$ 5^{14}
 גדול $48^4, 5, 9 44^8 6^3$ גדולה $48^4 44^{10} 4^1$
 גדולה $17^8 16^1 4^1$
 גהיץ* (תפעיל) מנהיץ 25^5
 גוג 45^5
 גוף $28^{10} 15^1$ גופו $26^{3, 6} 22^{8, 9} 18^{25}$ גופן
 גוף $47^1 44^5$
 גוף חברית 43^3
 גזר* גזרין 28^9
 גזרף 28^9 גזרות 48^6
 גחלף $26^4 22^{3, 9}$ גחלים $34^1 19^4 18^{25} 7^1$
 גחלי $34^2 22^{6, 14} 15^1$ גחלי $47^{1, 2} 44^3$
 גי הגום $44^3 33^5$
 גל גלי 18^{25}
 גלגל $19^5 18^{25}$ גלגל החמה $17^4 12^3 5^4$
 גלגל הלבנה $41^1 38^1 25^7 23^{17}$
 גלגלי $41^2 37^2 18^{25} 15^1$ $38^1 17^5$
 גלגליהם 19^4 גלגלותם 17^6
 גלגלים (מלאכים) $19^{3, 5, 6}$ גלגלי המרכבה
 $19^2 15^1 6^2$
 גלה* גלוי $11^6 43^2 11^1$
 (נפעל) תגלה 48^5
 (פיעל) מגלה $48^9 44^7 18^{16}$
 גמר* גמרים $28^{8, 9}$
 גן $5^1 23^{18}$
 גנזף גנזי $37^2 27^1 10^6$
 גערף גערות 22^2
 גפרית 19^4

ד

דבר* דובר 40^4
 (פיעל) ידבר 10^4 לדבר $25^4 10^4$ לדבריי
 מדבר $30^2 10^5$ 4^8
 דברף 28^8 דברים $28^{4, 8} 11^3 10^{4, 5} 6^3$
 דבריתם 35^2
 דבר (של הקב"ה) 40^4
 דגל דגלים 19^6
 דוכן דוכנם 25^5
 דופי 44^5
 דור* דרי $41^4 5^{12}$
 דורף $45^{3, 4, 5} 5^{6, 7}$ דורו $45^{2, 3} 7^4 3^{4, 6}$
 דורן 45^1 דורות 45^1 דורי 45^1
 דיבור 27^3
 דין* דנתי 16^1 לזון 44^3 דן $28^7 26^{12}$
 דיןף $33^1 32^1 31^{1, 2} 28^{2, 8, 10} 26^{12}$
 דיין דייני 45^4

בוקף $26^4 35^2 7^1$ בוקים 26^4
 בחיר 44^{10} בחירי 6^3
 במל* (פיעל) במל 48^6
 ביו* (חפעיל) מבין 24^{17}
 בינה $41^3 10^5 8^{1, 2}$
 בינונים $44^{1, 3, 5}$
 בית בית דין $30^1 28^9 27^2$ בית הקדש 48^1
 בכה* 44^{10} בוכה 44^{10} בוכה (חיא) 48^4
 בכור בכורי 44^{10}
 בלע* לבלע 20^1
 בן בני אדם $10^3 8^2 48^8 5^{10}$ בני מרומים $10^3 8^2$
 בני עליונים $18^{7, 16} 16^1 13^1 12^1$
 בני $20^1 18^5$ בנו 45^2 בני $29^2 28^{1, 7}$
 בער* בוער 48^8 בעיר 44^7 בערים 22^9 בערות 18^{25}
 בקש* (פיעל) בקש 61 יבקש 48^5 מבקש $25^3 15^{1, 2}$
 מבקשים 48^6 $38^1 36^1$ מבקשות 48^3
 ברא* תברא 4^6 בורא 40^4 בוראם 46^4
 בוראיהם 47^2 (נפעל) נברא 27^3
 נבראו $48^1 43^{1-3} 41^{1-3} 13^1$
 בראשית: $13^1 11^1$ ימי בראשית 26^9
 ברדף $42^{1, 3, 7} 34^1 14^{24} 13^1$
 ברזל 29^1
 בריאה ברייה $25^{3, 4}$ בריאות 11^1
 ברך ברוך $39^2 35^4 34^2 20^2$
 ברכני 9^1
 ברכה ברכות 9^1
 ברק* (חפעיל) מברקין 22^9 מבריקין 25^3
 מבריקות $42^{1, 4}$
 ברקף $32^{1, 2} 26^6 25^7 22^{4, 6} 14^{3, 4} 7^1$
 ברקים $26^4 25^3 22^{5, 9} 18^{25} 15^1 13^{1, 2} 29^2$
 ברקף $42^{1, 4} 38^2 37^2$
 ברקתף 25^7
 בשם* (חפעל) מתבשמות 23^{18}
 בשם 23^{18} בושמי 23^{18} בושמני 23^{18}
 בשר בשרי (שלי) 15^1
 בת בת קול 16^4 בבת אחת $20^1 40^3$
 בנותיהם 4^4

ג

גאה 28^6 גאים $22^1 19^1$
 גאון 25^5 גאון $26^8 22^1 18^{25} 12^1$
 גאולה 48^5
 גאון גאונם 22^{12}
 גאל* גואל 44^7 (נפעל) נגאלים 48^{10}
 גבה* (חפעיל) הגבהתי 9^2 מנביחתי 28^6
 גבהף 22^8 גבהו $20^4 18^{19, 23}$ גבתן 33^3
 גבוה $26^1 25^1 22^1 20^1 19^1 18^{20, 21}$
 גבור גבורים 19^6

זועה זועות $42^7 37^2$
 זיו $26^{2-7,11} 25^7 22^7,13 21^4 12^2 9^5 5^3$
 $12^4 48^{1,9} 44^{3,5,6} 40^2 31^2 28^2$
 32^1 זיוה (שלה) $26^4 25^7 21^4 18^{18}$
 48^9
 זיעה 35^2 זיעתו 18^{25}
 (זיקתא) זיקין $42^7 37^2 35^1$
 זיקוק זיקוקין $41^4 38^2 35^2 32^2 29^2$
 זיקוקי 22^4
 זכח* זוכים 48^3
 זכות זכיות 18^{21} זכותו 48^6 זכותי (שלי)
 48^8 זכיותן 18^{17}
 זכר* זוכר 48^6
 זכר* זכרים 35^6
 זכרון זכרונות 27^2
 זמן* 47^2 זמנו $35^5 27^3 19^6 18^7 17^5$
 27^3 זמן ש- $47^2 30^1 17^5$ בזמן ש- 40^3
 זעם* $46^1 14^{3,4} 7^1$ זעמו 14^3
 זעה* זועף 18^{21} זועפין 22^2
 זעף* 7^1
 זקן זקנים 45^2 זקניהם 45^4
 זרוע זרועי 48^8 זרועו $48^{6,9}$ זרועותיהן 35^2
 זרח* (הפעיל) מזריח 22^{12}
 ח
 חבב* (פיעל) חבבני 13^1
 חבורה חבורות 5^2
 חביב 4^1
 חבלה מלאכי חבלה $44^2 33^1 31^2$
 חגור חגוריו 22^6
 חגור* חגוריו 39^2
 חדר חדרי $38^1 18^{18}$
 חדש חדשים $46^4 40^4$
 חודש 17^5 חדשים 4^{10}
 חול* יחולו 22^2 מתחוללים 19^6
 38^1
 חומה חומות $47^{3,4} 34^1$
 חותם חותמות $27^2 18^{19}$
 חזק* 19^1
 חור* חורו $43^{2,3}$ חורר $46^4 33^5$ חזורת
 $47^2 23^{17,18}$
 (הפעיל) יחזור 48^5 מחזירין 35^6
 חטא* 44^3
 חטא* חטאו $44^8 43^4$
 חי חיים $28^7 18^{24}$
 חיח* $21^1 19^6$ חיות $19^5 6^2$
 $34^1 33^{3,4} 29^2 26^{11} 22^{13}$
 חיל* $35^3 8^2$ חילין $19^6 7^1$ חילות 17^8
 $14^1 5^{14} 22^1$

דירה דירתם 25^5
 דלוםקום 27^2
 דלק* דולק 18^{25} דולקת 42^1 דולקות 35^2
 דמח* דומח 25^7 דומים 44^6 דומות 44^5
 דמות* $44^{5,6} 25^7 5^3$ דמותו 26^3 דמותם
 $47^4 35^2 28^2$
 דמעה דמעות 48^4
 דעך* דועכו 18^{21}
 דעת $41^3 8^2$
 דרך* (הפעיל) הדרכני 6^1
 דרש* דרשתי 43^3
 דשן* (פיעל) מדרשן 25^5
 ה
 הנן* הנון, מהגן 47^2
 הדר* הדרר $19^1 26^1$
 (נפעל) נהדר 16^5 $19^1 18^{21,23}$
 (פיעל) מהדר 22^{12}
 הור 14^5 $26^{11} 22^7$ הורו $26^4 18^{18}$
 הורה הוריד, הורר 4^9
 היה* היתה $48^4 5^1$ הייתי 16^1 היו $4^{4,6}$
 17^5 להיות $47^1 16^2 5^1$ ויהי 35^5 הוי אומר 17^5
 $35^6 4^{3,5,8}$
 היכל $16^1 10^{2,6}$ $18^{3,4}$ היכלות 37^1 היכלי
 $38^1 18^{18}$
 חלק* חלכתי $41^4 42^2 43^3 44^4 45^2 46^2$
 $48^2 47^3$ חלכו 6^3 חולך $25^7 32^1$
 חולכין $46^1 5^6$ חולכות $23^{17} 10^4$
 (פיעל) מחלך $17^{6,8} 5^4$
 (מתפעל) מתחלכין 17^8
 חמוץ $35^2 19^6$
 הפך* (נפעל) נהפך 15^1
 חר הרים $13^1 5^6$ $23^{17,18} 47^2 41^1$ חרי
 $42^{1,4}$
 ו
 ורי 16^8
 וילון 17^3
 ו
 זכוב זכובין 5^4
 זבול $33^5 17^3$
 זנה זנוני 4^5
 זחב 5^6
 זוג* (נתפעל) נזדווג 48^7
 זוהר $26^{2,7} 25^7 22^4,13,18 15^1 12^2 9^5 8^2$
 28^2 זוהרן 18^{18}
 זוע* זעו 14^1 זעים (התפלפל) נזרעו 14^2
 $31^2 20^1 19^6$ מזרעוים
 32^2 מזרעוועת 38^1

- 26^{8,12} 25⁵ 24¹⁷ 18^{24,25} 14^{2,4} 7 יום
 25² 18²⁵ ימות 48^{1,3} 30² 28^{7,10}
 26⁹ 4¹⁰ ימי 45⁵
 יומם 25⁵
 יופי 26² 14⁵ 10¹ 9⁵ 8²
 יופיים 22¹²
 יותר מן 13¹ 12¹ 8² 4⁸
 יכול* 25^{3,4} 48² 44^{8,10} 25⁴ 20¹
 יכולין 48²
 ילד* ילוד אשה 48¹⁰ 29² 22¹¹ 14⁵ 5^{4,9}
 ים 41⁴ 23¹⁸ ימים 48⁴ 35² 18²⁵
 ימין ימיני (שלי) 44⁸ ימינך 44⁷ ימינו
 48^{1,4,5}
 מימין 16¹ 15² (שלי) 33³ 25⁶
 מימינו 5⁸ 33¹ 31¹ 22⁸
 יסוד* יסודות 38¹ 22² יסודי
 יסוף* (תפעיל) הוסיף 8¹
 יפה* (פיעל) מיפה 22¹²
 יפה* 22¹⁸ יפים 4⁶
 יצא* 10³ יצא 4⁹ יצאו 16³ יצאה 27³
 יוצאת 11^{18,25} 35⁵ 31² יוצאה 47¹ יוצאת
 38² 32¹ 29² 21⁴ 19⁴ יוצאין 40³
 46³ יוצאות 48⁴ 33⁴ צאת השמש
 13² לצאת 16²
 (תפעיל) מוציא 27²
 יצר* יוצר עולם 11¹ 18¹⁸ יוצר בראשית
 יוצר כלם 35⁶
 יקר* יוקדת 47⁴ 42^{2,6} 26¹² 22⁴ 15¹
 יקיר 26¹
 יקירא 18^{5,6}
 יקר* 11¹ 48² יקרה (שלה) יקרם
 22¹²
 ירא* 14²
 (נפעל) נורא 20¹ 19¹ 18^{7,18,20,21} 16⁵ נוראים 29¹ 25¹
 28¹ 17¹ 10³ נוראין 16² מתירא
 (תפעיל) תתירא 38³ מתיראין 32² 31²
 יראת* 35⁶ 8¹ יראת 35⁶ 28³
 ירד* יורדין 42² 36² 28⁹ 18¹ 5²
 44^{1,2}
 (תפעיל) להורידן 5⁸ 44³ מורידין
 17^{4,5,7}
 ירה* (תפעיל) מורה 45²
 ירושלם 48^{3,10}
 ירך* ירכותיו 26⁶
 ירק ירקות 44⁵
 ירש* יורשי 23¹⁸
 יש לי 44⁶ 29¹ 28¹ 26^{6,9} 20¹ 19¹
 25² 24¹⁻²³ 21² 10⁴ יש לו 3²
- 18²² חיי עולם 23¹⁸ 18^{21,24} 10⁶ 8¹ 5¹ חים
 חכמה 10⁵ חכמת 41³ 10⁵ 8²
 חלה* חולה 5⁴
 חללה 35⁶
 חלק* (פיעל) חלקתי 16¹ (תתפעל)
 מתחלקות 40³
 חלק* 40²
 חמר* (נפעל) נחמר 19¹ 18^{7,22} 16⁵
 חמר* 22¹² חמרת 26² 8²
 חמת* 26⁶ 23¹⁷ 21⁴ 17^{4,6} 14^{3,4} 12³ 5⁸
 41¹
 חמל* חומל 44⁷
 חמלה 22¹² 13¹ חמלת
 חן 22¹² 10¹ 8¹
 חסד* 22¹² חסד 31^{1,2} 10¹ 8^{1,2} חסדיו
 48⁶
 חסיד 18²² 48⁵ חסידים 23¹⁸ חסידיו
 חפז* (נפעל) נחפזים 38¹ 19⁶
 חפץ* חפצתי 4⁸
 חץ חצים 22⁶
 חבכ* חוצבי 15² 6²
 חצוצרת (חצוצרה) חצוצרות 5¹⁴
 חקק* חקוק 22⁵ חקוקים 45^{1,6} חקוקות
 41⁴ 39¹
 חקף* 33⁴ 26⁶
 חרב* חרבו 32^{1,2} 22⁶
 חרב* 48¹
 חשמל* 36² 7¹
 חשמלים 35² 26⁴
- ט
 טבל* טובלים 36² (תפעיל) מטבילין 36²
 טהור 23¹⁸
 טהר* (פיעל) לטהרן 44³
 טוב טובים 5⁶ טובות 8²
 טוהר 37² 34² 26⁵
 טיב טיבך 4⁷ 5¹² טיבו
 טעם 6²
 טפה* טפת 6²
 טפל* 36²
 טפסר* טפסרים 39² 14¹
 טרד* טרדו (טרד אותו) 5¹
- י
 יד 25⁵ 22¹¹ 19² 18^{19,25} ידו 48⁵ ידי 26¹² יד
 48² 47³ 46² 45² 43² 42² 41⁴ 26⁸
 ידם 14³ ידיהם 44⁴ ידיו 17⁸ 5¹⁴
 40¹² 22¹³
 ידע* יודע 24¹⁷ יודעים 26¹²
 יהודה 45⁴

כפר* כפרו⁶³
 כרוב¹⁸²⁵ 19⁶ 22¹⁵ 24¹⁷ 33² כרובים
 22¹¹ כרובי 23^{1,16,17} 22^{12,13,15,16}
 39² 26¹¹
 כרו¹⁰³
 כרת⁴⁴⁹ כריתות
 כשף⁵⁹ כשפים
 כשרון⁶³
 כת⁵² כתות
 כתב¹³¹ כתבו¹⁸²⁴ כתבו²⁶¹² לכתוב
 18^{15,24} כתבין 18²⁴ כתבו
 18¹⁷ כתב
 כתוב⁴⁸⁷ 29¹ כתובים 30²
 כתב²⁷² כתבין
 כתף²²⁵ כתפיו 18²⁵
 כתף²²⁵ 21⁴ 18¹⁻²³ 14^{1,5} 13¹ 12³
 40² 39² 21⁴ 16² כתרים 29¹ 26^{7,8}
 18¹⁸ כתרי 22¹¹ 17⁸ כתרו (שלו)
 25⁷
 ל
 לב³⁵⁶ לבם
 לבב¹¹¹ לבבות
 לבוש²⁸⁷ 25⁶ לבושם 36² 12¹ לבושו
 לבן²⁸⁷
 לבנה⁴¹¹ 26⁶ 17^{5,6} 13^{2,3,4} 5⁸
 לבש¹⁷⁸ לבוש 18²⁵ לבושים
 39² לובשים
 (הפעיל) הלבשני 12²
 להב* (התפעל) מתלהב 22⁹
 להב³⁵² 7¹ להבים
 להבה³⁹² 34¹ 42^{1,6} 39² 26⁸ 22⁹ 15¹
 47²
 להבות¹⁵² 13²
 להט* 15¹
 (פיעל) תלהט 42^{1,6} 22⁹
 (נלחטים) 47²
 להט⁴²⁶ 15¹ להטי 22⁹
 לוב⁶²
 ליל²⁵⁵
 לילה⁴⁶¹ 26⁸ 17^{5,6} 14^{3,4}
 לין* לנות (לנת) 5¹¹
 לין* (הפעיל) מליצי 45⁴ מליציהם 45²
 למד (פיעל) ללמד 10⁵ מלמד 26⁸ מלמד
 ש- 18²⁴ 23¹⁷ 28⁵ 46² מלמדין 5⁹
 מלמדי 45² מלמדיהם
 לפיד³⁴¹ 33³ 22^{4,13} 19⁴ 18²⁵ 15² 7¹
 26⁴ 25³ 22⁹ 13² לפידים 39² 37²
 35² 15¹ לפידי 35² 33³
 15¹ 7¹ לקח*
 (התפעל) מתלקחות 42³

ישב* יושב²⁶¹² 22¹² 18²⁴ 16^{1,2}
 5³ יושבין 17⁵ יושבת 44⁷ 33¹ 30¹
 (הפעיל) הושבני 10²
 ישועה⁴⁸¹
 ישיבה⁴⁵² 16¹ ישיבות 45⁴ ישיבותיהם
 25¹ 19¹ 18²³ ישים
 ישע* (הפעיל) אושיע 48⁸ להושיע 44⁸
 להושיע 44¹⁰ מושיע 48⁶
 48^{6,9} 45^{4,6} 44¹⁰ 26¹² 18¹⁷ ישראל
 26¹² ישראלי ישראלית
 41³ ישרות
 יתוש⁶³ יתושין 5⁴
 כ
 כבד* (נפעל) נכבדתי 8² נכבד 4¹ 16⁵
 26¹ 19¹ 18^{7,18,20,21,22,23} נכבדים
 28¹ 18^{4,23} 17^{1,4,6} 10³
 18^{1,2,4-23} 17⁸ 16¹ 14⁵ 6¹ 5¹¹ 4¹ כבוד
 40¹ כבודו 28² 22^{13,15,16} 20²
 22¹² כבודה 48² כבודם
 כחה* כחות 26¹¹
 13^{1,2,3,4} 5¹⁰ כוכבים 40² 26⁶ 21⁴ כוכב
 32² 26⁶ כוכבי 41¹ 40² 38¹ 17^{6,7}
 22¹² לחבין 35⁶ יבינו* (הפעיל)
 36¹ 25⁴ 22¹ 8² 5⁹ כה
 41¹ כימה
 כך כך וכך 44⁸ ואחרי כך 28⁴ 35² 36²
 44¹⁰ 43³ 40⁴
 כל כלכם כלם (בכמה מקומות)
 כלא* 33⁵?
 כפה 48⁶ 30² 26⁹ 24¹ 23¹ 19³
 כנס* (נפעל) נכנס 18¹⁹ נכנסים 5⁵ 4⁸
 46³
 (הפעיל) הכניסני 7¹ יכנים 26¹²
 להכניס 26¹²
 כנה²²⁸ 21^{2,3} 9³ כנפים 26¹⁰ 12² 9³ כנה³⁹¹
 22^{15,16} 15¹ 7¹ כנפי 39¹ 26⁹ 25²
 47³ 46² 37² 34¹ 23^{1,16} כנפיו
 22¹³ כנפיהם 48² 42² 41⁴ 18²⁵
 47⁴
 כסא¹⁸²² 18^{17,19} 15¹ 14¹ 10¹ 8¹ 7¹ כסא^{361,2}
 35³ 33³ 28² 26^{7,11} 24²²
 43² 41^{2,4} 40^{1,4} 39¹
 41⁴ כסה* (פיעל) מכסה 18¹⁸ מכסין
 22¹³ (פועל) מכוסים
 כסוי²¹²
 כסיל⁴¹¹
 כסף⁵⁶
 כה 18²¹ כפו 46²
 כפה³³

מלכות $39^2 35^6 18^{15} 17^8 16^1 14^1 12^3$
 48^{10}
מלכויות $30^2 18^{2,3} 17^8 16^{12} 14^2$
מלכותי $44^7 38^1 10^3 6^3$
מלכותי 48^5
מנה* (פיעל) מניתיו 10^6
(פועל) ממונה $18^{17,19,24} 17^3-7 14^4$
ממונים $44^3 27^1 26^8 25^5 22^{11,16} 20^2 19^2$
ממונים $19^6 18^4 17^1$
מנין $46^3 25^2$
מסקה מסילותם 17^6 (ע: 38^1)
מספר $33^4 26^6$
מסר* מסרים $26^8 25^5 22^{11} 19^2$ מסרות
 18^{19}
מסתר 11^2
מעון $38^1 33^5 17^3$
מעיל $28^7 18^{22,25} 12^2$ מעילו
מעלה 16^1
מערב 17^6
מערכת מערכות 39^2 מערכותיהם 40^3
מעשה $4^3 47^4 45^6 30^2 6^3$
 $45^3 44^{5,6,9}$
מפלת 44^8
מפעל מפעלות 47^4 מפעלותיהם 45^4
מפתח מפתחי 18^{18}
מצא* מצאתי 43^3
(נפעל) נמצא[אות] 44^9
מקום $48^7 43^2 39^1$ מקומות 47^2 במקומו
 $22^{10} 18^{21}$ במקומכם 38^3 במקומם
 46^2
מקום (הקב"ח) $47^1,4 46^1 45^{1,6} 44^3 18^{24}$
 $48^{1,4,5}$
מקל* מקלות $44^3 31^2$
מקנה מקניהם 4^4
מקצה מקציהם 25^5
מראה $44^5 40^2 35^2 25^7 22^4 13^2$ כמראה
 $26^4 18^{25}$ מראהו $18^{25} 13^2$
מראה מראות 25^7 ?
מראה 25^7 ?
מרגלית מרגליות 5^6 מרגליותיהם 35^2
מרום (בכמה מקומות) 28^6 למרום 6^2
במרום $13^1 12^5$
שמי מרום $4^3,4,6$ שמי מרומים 4^1 מרום
מרומים $42^1 4^7$ במרומי עליון 42^1
מרחב מרחבי 18^{25}
מרחק מרחקי 23^{18}
מרכבה $41^2 22^{10} 19^{1,2} 17^8 16^2 15^1 6^2$
מרכבות $37^1 24^{1-23}$ מרכבתו 46^2
 46^2

לשון לשוני $22^4 18^{25}$ לשונם 36^2 לשונות
 $29^1 17^8 3^2$
נ
נאר 11^2
נאור $41^1 12^1 10^1$ נאורות $26^{4,6,7} 9^4$
 48^1
נאונים 18^{21}
נבול $45^3 7^1 4^3$
ננון 45^5
נולה 18^{25}
נדבר 48^6
נדה נדות $9^1 8^2$ נדתן 35^6
נדינה 17^7 נדינות 23^{18}
נחלף $26^7 25^4$
מהר* (פיעל) ממהר 20^2 $22^{12,16}$
מהרף 26^1 מהרים 25^5
מוג* (נפעל) נמוגו 19^6
מוראף מוראי 16^2
מושב 22^{12} מושבם 25^5
מות* מותם $28^7 18^{24}$
מותף מותו 18^{24}
מויק מויקין 5^4
מול מזלות $41^1 38^1 17^6 14^{3,4} 13^1 5^8$
 $26^{10} 21^{1,4} 18^{25}$ $17^{5,6}$ מורה
מחיצה מחיצתן 28^2
מחנה $34^2 22^2 18^4 5^2$ מחנות $37^1 35^{1,5}$
 $40^3 37^1 36^1 35^1$
מוק מוחקי סמל 36^2
מוחשבה מוחשבות 11^1 מוחשבותיהם 45^3
מטרף $14^{3,4}$
מים 4^4 מי $42^{1,2,7} 34^1$
מין מיני $41^1 26^{7,8} 22^{1,16} 12^{1,2} 10^1$ מיני
 $48^{1,2}$
מכון $38^1 17^3$
מלא* 25^6 מלאים $28^7 26^{2,6} 22^{1,8} 18^{25}$
מלאה 22^8
(התפעל) מתמלאות 23^{18}
מלאף כמלא $21^1 9^3$
מלאך ומלאכים ומלאכי (בכמה מקומות)
 $18^1 17^1 16^1 15^1 14^1 9^1 7^1 6^1 3^1,2$
 $14^3 10^3 4^{1,5}$ וכו' $21^1 20^1 19^1$
 $47^{1-4} 44^2 35^2 27^3 26^3 19^6 17^4$
מלוכה $22^7 4^1$
מלון 5^{11}
מלחמה מלחמות 45^5
מלך* (נפעל) נמלך 28^4
מלךף $29^1 22^{15,16} 16^2$ מלכי 45^4 מלכם
 $35^6 26^8 10^3$ מלך מלכי המלכים
 $25^4 22^{15}$

נשא * נשאתי 47⁴ נושאין 28⁸ נושאות
 33³
 נפעל) נשא 5¹¹ 26¹² 29¹ 35²
 נשב * נושבות 23¹⁸
 נפעל) מנשבת 47² מנשבות 23^{1-16,18}
 נשיא נשיאים 45³ נשיאי 45⁴ נשיאיהם
 45²
 נשמה 28¹⁰ נשמות 43^{2,3} 44^{1,2,6,7}
 נשמתן 47¹⁻³ 48³
 נשרף נשרים 24¹¹ 26³ 39¹ 44⁵
 נתן * בתיתם 20² נותן 27² נותנין
 26¹² 28⁸ נתונים 19³
 ם
 סבב * סובבים 16² 33³ סובבות 39¹
 סביב סביבות 33³ 34¹ 46² סביבותי 15²
 סביבותיו 22⁶ סביבותיהם 19³ 22¹³
 33³
 סדר * פיעל) מסדר 22¹⁶ 25⁵
 סדרף 22¹² סדרי בראשית 13¹ סדרי
 מעון 38¹ סדרי רקיע 38¹ סדריהם
 22¹⁶
 סוד 11²
 סוכה סוכות 25⁷ 29²
 סוס סוסי 6¹ 17⁸ 18¹ סוסייהם 4⁴
 סוף * ספן 4⁴
 סוף 45^{1,6} 5⁴ מסוף העולם ועד סופו
 32^{1,2}
 סופה 13¹ 15² 18²⁵ 19³ 34¹ 37²
 סופר 26¹ 33³ סופרים 27²
 סטן * הפעיל) מסטינים 4⁶ 14²
 סירוע סירועיהן 45²
 סכל * התפעל) להסתכל 5³ 11² 14⁵ 16²
 25³ 26¹¹ 29² 48² מסתכל 25³
 מסתכלין 5⁵
 סלל * פלפל) מסלל 16² 22^{13,16} 25⁵
 התפלפל) מסתלל 22¹
 סלסול 22¹⁶
 סלק * פיעל) סלק 5¹³ סלקתי 6³
 סמן * תסמון 48⁶ לסומכן 44³
 סמל 36²
 סער 35⁵
 סערה 13¹ 15² 18²⁵ 19³ 23¹⁶ 34¹ 35⁵
 37² 47³
 ספיר 18²⁵ 22^{13,14} 25^{6,7} 26⁵
 ספר 27² 30² 32¹ ספרים 27^{1,2} 44⁹
 ספיר 18²⁴ 28⁷
 סקירה 24¹⁷
 סקף * סוקר 24¹⁷
 סרה * סרהו 4³

משה 48³⁻⁷
 משיח 45⁵ 48¹⁰
 משיכה משיכת 23¹³
 מושך * מושך 36¹ 37¹ מושכת 47²
 מושכין 19⁴ מושכות 33⁴ 48⁴
 מתנים מתניו 26⁶ 22⁶
 נ
 נאה נאים 17¹ 22¹⁶
 נביא נביאי 45⁴
 נגד * הפעיל) הניד 46²
 נגח 21⁴ 14⁵ 25⁶ 26^{2,4,6,7} 28⁷ 29² 40²
 נגחו 26⁴ נגחם 22¹²
 נגיד 10³ 4⁵ 26¹
 נגע * הפעיל) הגיע 187²⁴ 27³ 35⁵
 הגעתי 6² יגיע 19⁶ 48¹ הגעת 187²
 נגש * נוגשיהם 45²
 נהג * הפעיל) מנהיגים 14³ מנהיגיהם
 45²
 נהרף 19⁴ 33⁴ 37^{1,2} נהרות 23¹⁸ 33⁴
 41¹ 48⁴ נהרי 19⁴ נהר די נור
 18^{19,21} 36^{1,2} 47^{1,2}
 נוח * הפעיל) הניח 9^{1,4} 24¹⁷ 46² הנחת
 11¹ 24¹⁷ מניח
 נוס * נסו 46² נסים 38¹
 נורף נהר די נור 18^{19,21} 36^{1,2} 47^{1,2}
 נזק * נפגע) ניוקין 42⁴⁻⁷ ניוקור 42³
 הפעיל) להזיק 5⁴
 נחשת 35²
 נטה * נמית 44⁷
 נטל נטלני 4³ 6¹ נטלתי 6³ נטלו 5¹⁴
 טול 44⁹ נטל 44⁹ נטלין 26¹²
 נטלן 27²
 נטר * פיעל) תנטרון 10⁵
 ניצון ניצוצות 46² ניצוצין 21⁴ 32²
 נכה * הפעיל) הכה 46² הכני 16⁵
 נכר * הפעיל) מכירים 18²²
 נעים 22¹⁶
 נעימה נעימתן 38²
 נפל * תפול 26¹² נופל 18^{1,2,6-23} 31²
 33⁵ נופלת 35⁵ 40³ נופלים 14⁵
 18^{4,3-5} 23^{17,18} 48⁴
 נפש נפשו 16²
 נצה * פיעל) מנצחין 48¹⁰
 נקבה נקבות 35⁶
 נקי 19¹ 18²³ 28⁷
 נקף * הפעיל) הקיפו 5¹⁴ מקיפין 25⁷
 37² 29² מקיפות 19³ 39¹ מוקפין
 19⁴ 22¹⁵ 29² 33³ 34¹ מוקפות 47³
 נרתק נרתקה 32¹ (שלה)

ערין 7 17^3 $18^{6,18}$ 42^1 עליונים 5^{11} 10^5
 ערין 18^5 20^1 $28^{1,7}$ 29^2
 עלם* (נפעל) געלם 11^3
 עם 45^5
 עמר* עמר 31^1 עמר 4^9 לעמוד 25^3
 עומר 18^{25} 19^1 23^{16} 25^5 26^8 27^3
 עומדת 17^5 28^5
 עומדים $16^{1,2}$ $18^{22,24}$ 19^4 $37^{1,2}$ 36^2 35^3 $28^{5,7,8}$ 44^1 40^4
 עומדות 47^1 $46^{1,2}$ 48^3 $47^{2,3,4}$
 (הפעיל) העמידני 16^5 7^1 מעמידין 5^8
 מעמידה 44^7 45^2
 עמוד עמודי 37^2 22^{18} 38^1
 עמוק עמוקה 11^2
 עמידה עמידתם 28^2
 ענה* ענה 48^6
 ענה 81^2 41^3
 ענין כע"ש 28^2 30^2 31^2 32^2
 ענן 11^6 42^7 עננים $19^{4,7}$ ענני 19^4 33^3
 ענף* 18^{18} 34^1
 עפעפים עפעפיי 15^1 עפעפיו 22^4 26^4
 עץ 5^1 23^{18} עצים 41^1
 עצם 26^5 עצמותי 15^1
 לעצמו, של עצמו 48^6 את עצמן 36^2 38^1
 ערב* 1 ערבות, מתערבות 23^{18}
 ערב* 2 (הפעיל) מעריב 25^5
 ערבות 7 $11^{11,14}$ 10^6 14^1 12^4 17^3
 $18^{6,18}$ 19^7 22^2 24^{13} 25^7 27^2 28^9
 30^1 33^5 35^1 36^1 38^1 41^2 42^2
 עריץ 26^1
 ערך כערבם 28^1
 ערמה 81^2
 ערפל ערפלי 34^2 37^2
 ערץ* (נפעל) נערץ 16^5 $18^{7,21,22}$ 19^1 25^1
 (הפעיל) להעריץ 22^{15}
 עשב עשבים 41^1
 עשה* 10^1 $12^{1,3}$ 17^6 46^2 48^6 עשו 45^1
 לעשות 32^1 לעשותם 25^5 עושה 28^4
 42^7 45^5 עושים 5^6 $18^{17,24}$ 26^{12}
 (נפעל) געשו 45^6 געשים 35^6 $47^{1,2}$
 להעשות 45^6
 עתיד לעתיד 45^6 לבא 18^{22} 45^5
 עתידין 46^4 45^6

פ

פאר* פאורין (א) מפאורין 28^3 לפאר 26^8
 מפאר 20^2 22^{11} 25^5 מפאר 19^1 22^1
 (נתפעל) נתפארת 8^2

סרים 22^6
 סתר* סותר 18^{19}
 סתרף סתרי 11^1
 ע
 עבר* 6^3 עובדי $5^{6,7,8,9,10}$
 עברף עברים 16^2 עברי (שלי) 10^3
 עבודה זרה 44^9 $5^{6,7,8,9,10}$
 עבר* 44^9 עובר 36^1 37^1
 (הפעיל) מעביר מעבירים 18^{1-23}
 ערף $4^{3,5}$
 ערי ערי 17^8
 עריין לא 24^{17} $43^{1,3}$
 ערן* (פייעל) מערן 25^5
 ערף 5^1 23^{18}
 ערר* (נפעל) גערר 18^{22} כאור לא גערר
 עובי 26^6 22^3
 עוד $4^{6,8}$ 18^{19} 28^4 44^5 $48^{3,7,10}$
 עולף 35^6
 עולם 3^2 $14^{3,4}$ 17^8 $18^{18,19,22}$ 20^1 21^1
 25^7 29^1 $30^{1,2}$ $32^{1,2}$ 41^3 $44^{7,10}$
 $45^{1,4,5,6}$ 46^3 $48^{4,5,8,9,10}$ עולם הזה
 10^5 עולם האב 4^5 10^5 שר העולם
 30^2 38^4 באי עולם 4^3 18^{19} 32^2
 עולמים 34^{17} 41^2 עולמו 28^4
 עומק 11^3 עומקי 11^3 עומקו 33^4
 עון עונם 44^5 עונותיהם 22^{12}
 עוףף 4^4 47^4 עופות 4^4
 עור* (פלפל) מעורר 22^{12}
 עץ 26^{18} $22^{12,16}$
 עז 18^{23} 19^1 25^1 רוח עז 19^3
 עמ 13^1 18^{25} 29^1 39^1 41^4
 עמף* עומפים 36^2 עמוף 18^{25} עטופים
 17^8 עמופי 39^2
 עמרה 16^1 עמרת 22^{11}
 עין 9^4 26^6 48^2 עינים 9^4 18^{25} $25^{2,3,6}$
 26^6 עיני 15^1 45^6 47^4 עיניו 16^2
 18^{25} $22^{4,8}$ 26^{11} עיניהם 25^7
 עיר 17^7 עיריות 23^{18}
 עיר (מלאך) 28^5 עריין $28^{1,5,8,10}$
 עלה* עלו 5^{14} 46^2 עולה 4^7 עולה 6^2
 36^2 עולים 36^2 44^7
 (פועל) מעלה 27^1
 (הפעיל) העלה 9^3 העלני 4^4 6^1 41^4
 42^2 43^2 44^4 48^2 העליתיה 6^3 יעלה
 48^{10}
 עליה עליות 34^1

צ

צבא 39² 17^{2,3} צבאים 19⁶ 4¹ צבאיי 6⁸
 צבאות 39² 34² 22¹ 5¹⁴
 צד מצד זה לצד זה 23¹⁸ מצד א" 9³ לכל
 צד וצד 25² 19⁴ בצדדיהם 22¹³
 צדיק 48⁵ 22¹ צדיקים 18²² 23¹⁸ 43^{1,3}
 48³ 44⁷
 צדק 31¹
 צדקה 22¹ 6³ 48⁵ 28⁷ צדקתי 48⁸
 צדקתה 48⁸
 צוור צוורו 26⁶ 22⁶
 צווח* צווח 44¹⁰
 צורך צרכי 15¹ 13¹ 41² 18²⁴
 צחח* (פלפל) מצחצה 22¹¹
 צמר 28⁷
 צניף 22⁷
 צער* (חתפעל) מצטער 5⁴
 צפה* צפיתי 11²
 (פיעל) אצפה 48⁸
 צפיה צפיית המרכבה 16²

ק

קבל* (פיעל) מקבלים 35⁶
 קבע* 9^{4,5} קבעים 12^{2,3} 10¹ 26⁷ 25^{6,7}
 קבץ* (חתפעל) מתקבצין 5²
 קבר 44⁷ קבריהם
 קדקד קדקדו 26⁶ 22⁷ קדקדם 22^{11,15}
 קדוש 22¹ קדושים 39²
 קדוש (קדוש קדוש קדוש וגו') 18⁷ 20²
 40^{1,2,3} 39¹ 38¹ 35^{4,5,6} 34² 27³
 קדושה 26⁸ 22^{1,5}
 קדיש (מלאך) 28⁵ קדישין 28^{1,5,8,10}
 קדרה 44⁶
 קדש* (הפעיל) מקדישין 28¹⁰
 קדש 33³ 26¹¹ 22¹³ 6³ חיות הקדש
 שרפי הקדש 26⁸
 קול 15² 19⁶ 35² 44¹⁰ בת קול 16⁴
 קולות 13¹ 37² 38² 42^{1,5}
 קום* (פיעל) מקימין 28⁹
 (חתפעל) מתקיימין 41³
 קומה קומתי 15¹ קומתו 22³ 25⁴ 35²
 קטיגור 5¹⁰
 קמן 12⁵ 4¹⁰ 26⁶ קמנה 40³ 47¹
 קל 18²⁵ 24¹⁷
 קלל נחשת קלל (יחזקאל א' ז') 35²
 קלם* קלם 46³ מקלסות 48³
 קנה* קונה קונך, קוניך 4^{1,9} קונם
 קנייהם 22¹⁶ 25⁵ 47²
 קניין קניינם 4⁴

פארץ 28³ 26⁸ 22^{12,15}
 פנע* 48⁶

(הפעיל) מפניע 48⁵
 פח 25⁴ 30¹ 48² פי 45⁶ 47⁴ פיו 18²⁵
 22⁴ 27³ 40⁴ פיהם 46⁴ 36² 22¹³
 פחד 35² 28⁷ פחדו 16²
 פלא* (נפעל) נפלא 16⁵ 18²² 19¹ נפלאים
 17¹
 (חופעל) מופלא 22¹ 26¹ 27¹
 מופלאים 28¹
 פלגה 45³
 פלטרין פלטרין 7¹
 פלל* (חתפעל) מתפללין 44⁷
 פלסא פלסאות 16⁵ 20² 28¹⁰
 פמליא 12⁵ 18²¹ 27²
 פנה פינתם 25⁵
 פנים פנים 21^{1,3} 52² 26^{9,10} פני 21¹
 22⁴ 18^{1,2,6-23} פנין 44⁵ 42² 26¹⁰
 25⁷ 18^{1,3,4,5} 14⁵ פניהם 31¹ 25³
 18¹⁹ 44⁵ 39² בפנים
 פנקס פנקסאות (פנקסיות) 26¹²
 פסוק 43³
 פסק* פוסקין 28⁸
 פעל* תפעלון 10⁵ לפעול 22¹⁶
 פעם 13² פעמים 39² 36² 48^{3,4,6}
 פקדה פקדוניהן 45²
 פרגור 45^{1,6}
 פרד* (נפעל) נפרדות 23¹⁸
 (הפעיל) הפריד 46²
 פרד 4⁴ פרדיהם
 פרה* פרהו 46² פורחות 24¹¹
 (נפעל) נפרחות (א) 15²
 (הפעיל) מפריחות 13² 15² 39¹ 43²
 פריץ פרותיהם 42²
 פרגסץ פרגסץ 45⁶
 פרגסח 8¹
 פֶּרֶס Persia 26¹²
 פריסה פרסות 34¹
 פרסה 5⁷ פרסאות 17^{5,6} 18^{19,25} 33^{3,4}
 פרקץ 18¹⁶
 פור* (הפעיל) מפר 27²
 פרש* 10¹ פרוש 45¹
 פרשץ 10¹
 פרש* לפרוש 18¹⁹ פרושים 22¹⁵
 (פועל) מפורש 22⁵ מפורשות 39¹
 פרשץ פרושים 17⁸ 19⁶
 פתח* 8¹ 47⁷ פתחתי 45⁶ 47⁴ פותח 27²
 40⁴ 32¹ פותחין 46⁴ פתוחים 28⁷
 פתחון 30¹
 פתיחה פתיחת 30²

רוֹחַ רוּחַ 45⁴
רוחַ I soul. I 47^{1,2,3}
רוחַ II wind. II 19³ 15² 14^{3,4} 7¹
רוחות 13¹ 47² 42⁷ 35⁵ 23²⁻¹⁶
רוחַ III direction. III 37² 35² 23^{1,16,17} 19³
רוחות 12⁴ 5⁶ 19³
רוחַ 48¹⁰ 46² 39¹ 33⁵ 26⁹ 25⁷ 21¹
רוחַ ריחַ 46¹
רוחב 33⁴ 9² 48⁹ 22³
רוחב 48⁹
רוחַ רם 35² 29¹ 26¹² 22¹⁶ 19¹ 5¹¹ 4¹
רמים 28¹
נדרוממתי 9²
רוחַ 30¹ 26¹⁰ 25⁴ 22^{3,13} 18^{6,19,25} 7¹
רוחַ 35²
כרום 42^{1,2} 35¹ 27² 18⁶ 7¹
כרום 22^{3,13} 18²⁵
על רום 24¹⁵ 22¹⁶
רומי 26¹²
רוממות 38²
רועַ 44⁶
רוי* רצים, ריצין 38⁶ 35⁴ 24¹⁵ 17⁸
רוי רו רוי 26¹² 18^{16,22} 11^{1,2}
רחמים 48⁶ 44³ רחמיו 48^{3,5} 33¹ 8^{1,2}
רחמן 4³
רחש* (התפעל) מתרחשים 38¹
ריח* (הפעיל) מריחין 6²
ריחַ 6² ריחי (שלי) 6² ריחות 6²
רכב* רוכב 17⁸ 24¹⁷ רוכבים 17⁸
רכב 6¹
רכובה רכובתו, רכובותיו 26⁶
רנה 48²
רנה 20²
רע הרעים 44⁹
רעד* רעדים 19⁶
רעד 35⁶ 28⁷
רעה* רועה רעהם 45²
רעם 19⁶ 15² 14^{3,4} 22⁹ 35⁶ רעים
רעם 42^{1,5} 37² 13¹
רעמח* רעמת 38²
רעע* אל ירע בעיניכם 6³
רעש* תרעש 22² רועשים 19⁶
רעש (הפעיל) מרעיש 42^{1,5} 18⁷ מרעשים
רעש 48⁴
רעש 42¹ 38² 22⁹ 19^{3,6} 15²
רפה* מתרופפין 38¹
רצה* רוצה 26¹² 18²⁴ 9²
רצון 48⁶ 5² רצונו 22¹⁶
רקיע 46^{1,3} 38¹ 33⁵ 17² ונו" רקיעים
48¹ 26^{4,10} 17¹ 12⁴

קצין קצינתם 45²
קצה* קצפו 22²
קרא 44⁹ (Imp.) קרא 48⁶ I קרא*
קרא 27² קורא 44⁹ 38⁴ קורין 4¹ קראני
12⁵
נקרא (נפעל) 18^{18,19,20,21,22,24} 17⁶
נקרא 27³ 26^{8,11} 25^{5,7} 22¹¹ 20² 19²
נקראין 30¹ 10³ 28¹⁰
קרא* II לקראתו 33¹
קרב 45⁵
קרוך קרני 29² 22^{7,13}
קרסל קרסוליו 26⁶
קשט 22¹²
קשר* קשרו 5¹⁰ קשרו (קשר אותו) 12⁴
קשורים 40² 16² קשור 18²⁵ קשורים
קשורי 39² 21⁴ 17⁸
קשר 18²⁵
קשת 22⁵ 21⁴

ר

ראה* ראיתי 47⁴ 45^{3,6} 44^{3,7} 42²⁻⁷
ראה (Imp.) 41¹ לראות 25⁴ רואה
ראי 24¹⁷ 18^{1,2,6-23} 16² 11²
ראים 47² 48³ 32² 18^{1,3,4,5} 14^{1,3}
48⁶
נראה (נפעל) 48¹⁰
הפועיל) הראני 46² 45² 44⁴ 42² 41⁴
45¹ 44¹ 43¹ 42¹ וראך 48² 47³
48⁹ מראה 48¹ 47¹
ראש 18¹⁹ ראשי 45² 35³ 33⁵ 18^{5,16} 5⁶
45^{2,4} ראשי (שלי) 14¹⁵ 13¹ 12⁴
ראשו 28⁷ 26^{5,8} 18^{1,2} 6^{23,25}
22^{1,3-16} ראשם 22¹¹ ראשם 29¹
45² 24¹⁵
ראשים vide: רשא
ראשון ראשונים 35² ראשונה 4⁶
רב 13¹ רבה 18^{5,6} רבא 26¹ 22¹⁶ 17⁸
17⁸ רבים 17¹ 18²³ רבות 40¹
רבה* (פיעל) לרבות 25⁵
רבונו ש"ע 44⁷ 5¹⁰ 4⁷
רבות 48² רבותה (שלה) 26² 22¹² 16¹
רבע 22¹³ רבעיהם
רגז רגוזו 22²
רגל 24¹⁷ רגלי 34¹ 33⁴ 19⁵
רגלי 22¹³ רגליהם 16⁵
רגע 32¹ 22¹⁶
רגש* רוגשים 19⁶
רהט* (הפעיל) מרהיט 17⁶
רוב 48² 44³
רוח* (הפעיל) (או פיעל) מרוים 42²

שכר⁶³ שכרי (שלי) ¹⁸¹
 של *freq.* שלו ¹²⁵ וגו' שלהם ¹⁸¹
 שלג^{421,3,4} 28⁷ 14^{3,4} 13¹
 שלהבת ³⁵² 34^{1,2} 32¹ 18²⁵ 15¹ 13¹ 6²
 (א) שלהבה ⁴⁷⁴ 46² 41⁴ 39¹ 37²
 37² 15¹
 שלום ⁴²⁷ 33¹ 26⁸
 שלח* (נפעל) נשלחת ⁴⁸¹
 (התפעל) משתלחת ³²¹
 שליחות ³⁵⁴ 16⁵
 שלט* שולטין ⁵⁴
 שלטון שלטן ⁵⁴
 שליט ¹⁹¹
 שלישי שלישים ¹⁹⁶
 שלך* (הפעיל) לחשילך ³⁸¹
 שם²²⁵ † שם מפורש ⁴⁶² 22⁵ 10³ 3¹
 שמות מפורשות ³⁹¹ 39¹ 3² 29¹ 3² (שלי) ¹⁰⁵
 שמות ^{191,2} 18^{18,19,20,22,42} 17⁶ 3²
 שמו ⁴⁶² 30¹ 27^{1,3} 26⁸ 25^{5,7} 22¹¹ 20^{1,2}
 שמאל משמאל ³³³ 25⁶
 משמאל ¹⁶¹ 15² משמאלי ³³³ 25⁶
 משמאל ⁵⁸ 31¹ 22⁹
 נשגוש ³⁵⁴
 שמחה ⁴⁸¹⁰ 40¹
 שמחים ³⁸¹ *passim* 4¹ שמי ^{passim} שמי
 השמים ⁵¹¹ 5¹¹ שמי מרום ¹⁸²⁴
 שמים (=רקיע הראשון) ³³⁵ 17³
 שמע (הפעיל) ישמיע ¹⁹⁶ 19⁶ משמיעים ⁴²¹
 שמר* שומרי פתח ^{183,4} שומריהם ⁴⁵²
 שמש* (פיעל) לשמש ⁷¹ 5⁸ 8¹ 15¹ 25⁵
 שמש* (פיעל) לשמש ⁷¹ 5⁸ 8¹ 15¹ 25⁵
 משמש ⁴⁶³ 25⁵ המשמשים ¹⁴¹
 משמשני ⁴⁰¹
 (התפעל) משתמש ^{54,9}
 נשקשף ⁴⁸⁹ 18²⁵ 13²
 נשקשף שמיאי ¹⁷⁸
 שמשות ¹⁵⁷
 שנאים ⁷¹
 שנה²⁶⁷ 4¹⁰ שנים ^{252,4,25} 18²⁵
 שנה* משנן ²²¹² משתננת ³²²
 שעבר* משועברים ⁴⁴²
 שעה^{311,2} 28⁷ 26¹² 24¹⁷ 16⁵ 4⁵ 3¹
 48^{4,8,9} 47⁴ 46² 44^{8,9} 35^{5,6} 33¹
 שעת ³⁰² 18⁷
 שער ¹⁵¹ שערות ²⁸⁷
 שער שער ⁴⁷⁴ 38¹ 18²⁵ 8¹
 שפת¹⁸²⁵ שפתיו
 שפל שפלים ²⁸⁶
 (הפעיל) משפילים ²⁸⁶
 שפר* משפך ²²¹²
 שקל ²⁸¹ 6³ שקול ¹⁸²¹ שקל

רקם* (פיעל) מרקם ²²¹²
 רשא* רשים, ראשים ⁴⁸¹
 רשות ²⁴¹⁵ 18²⁴ 16¹
 ברשותו ¹⁸¹⁹
 רשע^{441,2,3,6,8} 33⁵ 32¹ רשעים ⁴⁴⁹
 רתם³⁴² 22^{6,14} 15¹ רתמים
 רתע* נרתעים ¹⁹⁶ 14^{1,3}
 רתת³⁵⁶
 ש
 שאגה שאגת ³⁵²
 שאול⁴⁴²
 שאל* 3¹ שואלין ²⁸⁹
 שאלח²⁸⁹ שאלות
 שאר⁴⁵⁶ 44⁷
 שבה* (פועל) משובח ²²¹ משובחין ²⁸³
 משובחות ⁸²
 שבח²⁸³ 26² 25⁵ 22^{1,12} 20² 17⁸ 16¹
 48² שבחו ⁴⁷⁴ 45⁶ 30² שבחה
 שבחם ²²¹²
 שבט⁴⁵³ שבטים
 שביב³⁷² שביבי
 (שבט) אור שבעתים ²⁶⁴
 שוב²⁵¹ 19¹ 18²² נשלב
 שגר* (פיעל) שגר ⁶¹
 שוב* שבים ²⁴¹⁵
 (הפעיל) משיב ⁴⁴⁸ 6³ 4^{2,6,8}
 שוח* (פיעל) ²⁵⁵
 (הפעיל) השוו ⁵¹¹
 שופט ⁴⁵² 28⁸ שופטים ⁴⁵⁴ שופטיהם
 שולים ⁴⁴⁶ שולי
 שופר שופרות ⁵¹⁴
 שורה ³⁶² 35³ שורות
 שחה* (התפעל) ישתחו ⁴⁹
 שחין ⁴⁴³
 שחקים ³⁸¹ 33⁵ 22¹⁵ 17³
 שמן ²⁶¹² 23¹⁶
 שמר* שומרין ⁴⁵² 28⁸ שומריהן
 שים* ושמו ¹⁰² שמתיו ¹⁰³
 שיעור ²⁶¹⁰ 18²⁵ 33³ 26⁷ 9² 5⁷
 שיעורים ²⁶¹⁰ 21³
 שיר* (פעל) לשורר ²²¹⁵ משורר ²²¹²
 שיר⁵⁴ שירים ^{2212,13}
 שירה⁴⁰⁴ 38³ 36¹ 27³ 26⁸ 19⁶ 18⁵
 46³ 27³ 5⁴ שירות ⁴⁷² 46⁴
 שכינה ²⁴¹⁵ 22^{5,7,13} 18^{4,19,24} 16⁴ 15¹
 47^{1,3,4} 44³ 43² 39² 36² 35⁵ 28^{2,3}
 שכינתו ³⁹¹
 שכל* (הפעיל) השכל⁴¹⁸
 (שכם*) משכים ²⁵⁵
 שכן שוכן ²²¹⁵

ת
 תבל $42^2 38^1 22^2$
 תהלה $48^2 26^8 22^{13} 20^2 18^5 17^8$
 תואר $48^9 14^5 12^{2,3} 10^1 9^5 8^2$
 תורה $22^{12} 26^4 5^5$
 תורה $44^9 18^{16} 11^1 8^{1,2}$
 תחלה $35^5 16^1 36^2 35^5 28^4 6^1$
 תחתון התחתונים 10^5
 תינוק תינוקות 45^4
 תלה * pt. pass. $42^{1,2}$
 ת"ל [= תלמוד לומר] 18^{24}
 תמוז 48^9
 תמונה 6^3
 תמים תורה תמימה 48^9
 תפארת $39^2 22^{12} 17^8$
 תפארתם $25^5 22^{12}$
 תפלח 44^7
 תפש * תפשני $47^3 46^2 44^4 43^2 42^2 41^4$
 תפשו תפשו $48^2 5^{14}$
 תפסים 17^8
 תקון כתקנו $40^{1,3}$
 תקופת תקופת $48^9 17^5$
 תקיף $20^1 19^1$
 תשבחה תשבחות 46^3
 תשובה $48^{5,8}$

שרביט שרביטי 17^8
 שר $18^{1-23} 17^{3-7} 16^5 10^{3,4,6} 6^1 4^{5,8}$
 שר $27^1 26^{1,8,12} 25^1 22^{1,11,16} 20^1 19^1$
 שרים שרי $44^{2,10} 38^3$
 שר $27^1 22^{10} 19^{1,6} 18^{2,3,4,5,22-24} 17^1$
 שר $35^3 30^{1,2} 28^1$
 שרא שרא רבא ויקרא $18^{5,6}$
 שרה * שורה, שרית 5^1 שורין, שריון
 שריון $5^4 28^7$
 שרה * שורפים 26^{12}
 (נפעל) גשרף 25^3 ישרף 34^2 גשרפים
 שרה (מלאך) שרפים 19^6 שרפים $26^{8,9,10,12}$
 שרת * שרת (פיעל) משרתים $4^1 7 19^6$
 שרת משרתי $40^1 39^1 6^{1,2,3} 47^{1,3} 28^1$
 שרת מלאכי השרת $45^6 5^{2,10,14} 16^2 14^1$
 שרת $40^{1-3} 39^1 38^{1,3} 36^{1,2} 27^3 17^{2,7}$
 שתה * שותין $47^2 48^{10}$
 שתל * שתלים $37^2 19^4$
 שתק * שתקן 38^3

(b) LIST OF PRONOUNS, ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, CONJUNCTIONS, VERB FORMS, VERBS WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES, AND FOREIGN WORDS

II שמך 3^1 מינך 5^{12} ימינך 44^7 מלכותך
 III שמו 3^2 זוהר 18^{18} זכותו 48^6 גבורתו
 IV שמו $48^9 18^{25}$ מראהו 26^4 גבולו 20^4
 I משרתי, צבאי, כרובי אופני שרפי 6^3
 II מיבכם 4^8 מקומכם 38^3
 III מקצתם (ן) 25^5 מחיצתן 28^2 מושבם
 I משרתי, צבאי, כרובי אופני שרפי 6^3
 II עפעפי 15^1 עזמותי 15^1
 III חסדיו 48^6 חורין 22^6 מתניו 22^6
 III עפעפי 26^6 עפעפי $22^4 26^4$ שפתי 18^{25}
 III ישיבותיהם 45^2 עיניהם 4^5
 III ורעותיהן 35^2 מחשבותיהן 45^3
 III מערכותיהם [ן] 40^3 מרגלותיהן 35^2
 III פקודותיהן 45^2 פרותיהן 42^2
 (etc. 18^1 שלהם 12^5)

PRONOUNS

(1) Pers. indep.

I אני $48^8 45^6 44^{8-10} 16^1 11^2 10^6$
 II אתה $44^{7,9} 5^{11} 4^1$
 III הוא $18^{1,7,19,20,21} 17^{1,8} 16^2 14^4$
 II היא $30^2 20^1 19^{1,2}$
 II אתם $48^1 47^1 44^7 6^2$
 III הם $46^1 26^9 19^{2,4} 18^{1,24} 17^{1,2}$
 (תן probably miscopied for them)
 הן $28^{3,5} 17^1$ m.
 הן 23^{17} f.

(2) Pers. poss.

I מלכי 3^2 צדקתי 48^8 זכותי 48^8 ראשי
 et freq. 14^5

פעם בפעם ¹³ כמה פעמים ⁴⁸⁶
תמיד ^{229,16}

Adverbs of place

איכן ⁴³¹
איפה ⁴²¹
היכן ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁴¹
כאן ⁵¹⁰
כנגד מעלה ²⁸⁹
לאחור ⁴⁸¹
להיכן ²³¹⁷
לכל צד וצד ¹⁹⁴
למעלה ¹⁸²¹
מזה—מזה ²⁸⁵ ^{2214,15}
[מנין ²⁴¹⁷]
מצד אחד—מצד אחד ⁹ מצד זה לצד זה
מתחת ²⁸⁹
שם ⁷¹

Other adverbs

אי ⁴⁴⁷
אל ⁶³ אף ¹⁸²⁴ אפילו ^{141,2} ²⁶¹¹
בלבד ²⁵⁴
בכמה ³⁶¹
היאך ^{448,10} ⁵⁹
וודאי ¹⁶³
כיצד ²⁸⁵ ¹⁸²⁴
כך וכך ⁴⁴⁸
כמה ⁴⁸⁶ ³⁰² ²⁶⁹ ²⁴¹ ²³¹ ¹⁹³
לא ⁴⁴⁵ ²⁸⁴ ¹⁸¹⁹ *passim* לא עוד אלא
למה ²⁰² ¹⁹² ^{1818,19,20,21,22,24} ¹⁷⁶
לפיכך ²⁸¹⁰ ²⁷³ ^{268,12} ^{255,7} ²²¹¹
מפני מה ^{45,10} ⁵¹¹ ⁴¹
עוד ⁴⁸⁷ (further =)
שמה ¹⁸²⁴ (perhaps =)

PREPOSITIONS

אחור אחורי ^{471,3,4} ³⁷² מאחורי מלאחורי
לאחורי ⁴⁴⁷ ¹⁵²
אחרי ⁴⁷² ⁹¹
אל אליו ⁴⁸⁶ ¹⁰⁴
אצל ⁴⁴⁷ ²²¹³ ¹⁹¹ ⁵¹⁰ אצלי ¹⁶² אצל
אצל ⁴⁸² ⁴⁶² ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴³² ⁴²² ⁴¹⁴ ²²⁹
אצל ⁴⁸³
ב, בך, בהן *passim*
בפני ²⁷² ¹²⁵
בפתח ¹⁶¹

(3) Reflex.

של עצמו ⁴⁸⁶ לעצמו ⁴⁸⁶ את עצמן ³⁶²
³⁸¹

(4) Rel.

ש- ¹⁸²⁴ מי ש- freq.

(5) Interrog.

מה ³² ⁴⁴ ²⁶¹² ⁴⁶⁴ [איזה ²²]

(6) Demonstr.

זה ⁴⁷ ⁶³ ¹⁸²⁵ הדבר הזה ⁶³ הפסוק הזה
⁴³³ עולם הזה ¹⁰⁵ כתר זה ¹⁴¹
זה את זה (rec.) ²²¹⁵
זו אומה זו ישראלית ²⁶¹²
זאת כל זאת ¹⁰¹
הללו ⁴⁴⁸ ²³¹⁶ ¹⁹¹ ⁹¹ ⁸² ^{44,7}
אלה ¹⁹¹ ¹⁸²² ¹⁴⁴
אלו ⁴³³ ⁴²³ ²⁸¹ ²⁴¹⁷ ²³¹⁷ ^{193,4} ¹⁷¹
כל אלו ואלו ²⁴¹⁷

Demonstr. את

אותו והשר ²⁶⁸ זיו אותו השכינה ⁵⁴ באותו
כתר ²⁶⁷ באותה שעה ³¹ ⁴⁵ ¹⁶⁵ ²⁸⁷
³⁵⁶
אותן האוכלוסין ⁴⁴ אותם ב' עינים ²⁵³
אותם ש' ⁴⁰² אותם (אותן) הגשמות
⁴³² אותן השרים ³⁰¹

ADVERBS

Adv. of time

אחרי (י) כך ⁴⁴¹⁰ ⁴³³ ⁴⁰⁴ ³⁶² ³⁵² ²⁸⁴
(always abbreviated א"כ, אח"כ)
אימתי ¹⁷⁵
בבת אחת ⁴⁰³ ²⁰¹
בכל יום ויום ³⁰² ²⁸⁷ ²⁶¹² ²⁵⁵ ²⁴¹⁷ ⁷
בכל רגע ורגע ³²¹
בכל שעה ושעה ³⁵⁶
בעותה שעה ³⁵⁶ ²⁸⁷ ¹⁶⁵ ⁴⁵ ³¹
בפנים ¹⁸¹⁹
בתחלה ³⁵⁵
[כבר ¹⁵ B⁴]
ליל ויומם ²⁶⁸ ²⁵⁵ לילה ויום
לעתיד לבא ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ²³¹⁸ ¹⁸²²
מאז ¹¹¹
מיד ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁶² ^{449,10} ³¹² ²⁵³ ¹⁶³ ¹⁵¹ ⁵¹³ ⁴⁹
עד מתי ⁴⁸⁸
עדיין לא ^{431,3} ²⁴¹⁷
עוד ²⁸⁴ ¹⁸¹⁹ [לא עוד אלא ⁴⁶]
[^{483,7,10} ⁴⁴⁵]
עכשיו ⁴⁴¹⁰ ⁵¹²

מתחתיהם $40^1 33^4 23^{17} 14^3 6^3$
 $33^3 19^4$
 סביבות $46^2 33^3 22^6$ סביבותיהם
 $33^3 22^{13} 19^3$
 עד 44^7 מתי 28^6 עלי $28^6 26^6 5^4$
 על $24^{17} 5^4$ עלי $16^1 9^1 4^6$ עליהם
 10^5 עליכם $35^2 25^5 22^{16} 4^3$
 על גבי 19^5 על גביו 24^{17} על גביהם 22^{13}
 על ידי 44^2
 על פניו 22^7 על פניהם 22^{13}
 על פתח $10^2 5^3$
 על רום $24^{15} 22^{16}$
 עם $22^1 17^4-7$ עמו $26^{12} 17^2 5^{11}$
vide בתוך, לתוך, מתוך
 תחת $36^1 23^{1,16} 22^{13,14} 5^1$ תחתיהם 40^4

CONJUNCTIONS

(1) Comparison

מה....אף 18^{18}
 כדרך ש- $17^8 11^1 5^8$
 כענין ש- 18^9 כע"ש $32^2 31^2 30^2 21^2$

(2) Contrast

אלא $28^4 25^4 24^{11} 23^{16} 18^{19,24,25} 5^9$
 אבל 3^3

(3) Condition

אם 4^4
 אלמלא כן 5^9

(4) Interrog.

[אי 44^7]

(5) Final

כדי ש- $35^6 18^{22}$
 כדי שלא $34^2 26^{12} 4^3$

(6) Consecutive

[לפיכך $4^{5,10}$]

(7) Explanat.

ש 23^{16}
 לפי ש- 5^4

(8) Concess.

אפילו 48^6

(9) Causal

ש- $40^2 38^3 4^3, 8$
 מפני ש- $22^{11} 20^2 18^{18-21,24} 17^6 10^5 4^2$
 $27^3 26^{8,12} 25^{5,7}$
 מתוך ש- 4^{10}

ברום $42^{1,2} 35^1 27^2 18^6 7^1$
 בשביל 48^8 ילי 48^8
 בתוך $40^3 27^2 23^{18} 22^{13} 21^3 18^{22}$
 בתוכן $47^4 42^{1,3-7}$
 בין $4^{10} 35^3 23^{16} 19^5 5^{12} 4^5$
 ביניהן $35^5 10^4$
 בין...ל- $37^{1,2} 36^1 19^5$
 מבין $48^{8,10} 44^{10}$
 הימנו $32^2 33^2 31^2 29^2 18^{23}$
 חוץ מן $30^{1,2} 16^4 10^3$
 כ כמותם $40^4 28^1$
 כיוצא בהן 18^{24}
 כלפי $31^2 18^{19}$
 כמין 33^5
 כמלא $26^{5,10} 21^1 9^3$
 כמראה 13^2
 כנגד $26^{9,10,12} 21^1 19^4 17^8 6^3 3^2$
 כעין $48^4 40^3 36^2 31^1 28^{1,2}$
 כערבם 28^1
 כרום $22^{3,13} 18^{25}$
 כשיעור $32^2 9^2$
 ל, לך, לו, להן *passim*
 לאחוריה 44^7
 למטה מן 17^4-7
 למעלה מן $25^1 22^1 20^1 19^1 18^{23} 17^8$
 לנגדו $43^2 33^1 28^1 27^1 26^1$
 לעיניהם $31^2 6^1 4^5$
 לפני $27^2 26^{12} 23^{18} 18^{19,20} 14^1 4^{6,9} 30^2$
 לפניו $31^2 28^7 27^2 17^8 4^7$
 לפניו $35^6 5^8 48^3$
 מלפני $48^5 40^3 35^5 28^9 16^4$
 מלפניה $32^{1,2} 20^1 16^2 15^2 14^3$
 לקראתי 48^3
 לקראתו 33^1
 לתוך $48^4 7^1$
 מן 16^2 ממנו $14^{1,2}$ ממני $17^6 16^4 5^2$
 מן $20^1 17^4-8$ מהן, מוחם, $29^2 27^3 25^{5,9}$
 מבין *vide* בין
 מאחורי, מלאחור 15^2
 מלפני *vide* ? לפני
 מעין $40^2 28^2 10^1$
 מעל 48^6 מעליהם 18^1
 מפני $48^{1,2} 44^{5,6} 38^2 16^2 14^5$
 מפניהם $38^2 22^9$
 מתוך $13^1 12^1$

freq. Partic.

באין 3² קורין 4^{6,10} שורה, שורין 5^{1,4}
שרויה, שרוין 5^{1,4} גלוי 11⁶

Nif'al

Perf. Nif.

נכבדתי 8² נבראו 13¹ נעשו 45⁶

Imperf. Nif.

תגלה 48⁵ יתחרו 44⁵

Infin. Nif.

להעשות 45⁶

freq. Partic. Nif.

כיוקין 5⁵

Pi"el

Perf. Pi"el

סלקתי 6³ חלקתי 16¹

Imperf. Pi"el

ידבר 10⁴ יבקש 48⁵ אצפה 48⁸

Infin. Pi"el

לדבריי 4⁸ לשמש 5⁸ 7¹ 8¹ לדבר 10⁴
לפרש 18¹⁹ לפאר 10⁵ ללמדו 25⁴
לאבד 26¹² למחרן 44³

Polel (Pa'el)

לשורר 22¹⁵

Pu"al, Polal

רוקמתי 9² משובחות 8² משובח 22¹

משבחין 28³ מעלה 27¹ מכוסים

ממונה 22¹³ *freq.*

Hithpa"el, Nithpa"el,

Hithpolel, etc.

Perf.

נתפארתי 8² התרוממתי, נתרוממתי 9²
[נתגבתי 9²] נדווג 48⁷

Imperf.

תתיראו 38³ וישתחוו 4⁹

Infin.

להסתכל 5³ 11² 14⁵ 16² 25³ 26¹¹ 27³

Pt.

מצמער 5⁴

על שם ש- 28¹⁰

הואיל ו 18²⁴

(10) Temporal

מיום ש- 5¹

כל זמן ש 17⁵ 30¹ 47²

בזמן ש 27³ 40³

בשעה ש 24¹⁷ 26¹² 31^{1,2} 33¹ 35⁵ 36¹

בשעת 40¹ 38¹ 30² 18⁷

כִּשׁ 4³ 6¹ 7¹ 14¹ 16¹ 17⁸ 18¹ 19⁶ *seqq.*

כיון ש 4⁷ 6² 15¹ 16² 28⁷ 32^{1,2} 48⁵

עד ש 5⁶ 24¹⁷ 28⁴ 35⁶ 38³ 44⁵ 48¹

קודם 7 11²

לבסוף ש 45⁶

(11) Copulat. etc.

בין—בין 45^{1,6}

אף 4² 18²⁴

גם 10⁶

Infl. of Verbs

Qal

שאלתי 3¹ אמרתי 3¹ 4¹ 45⁶ הפצתי 4⁸

נמלתי 6³ צפיתי 11² דכתי 16¹

הלכתי 41⁷ 43³ דרשתי 43³ מצאתי 43³

43³ באות, לגות 5¹¹ נמית 44⁷ יצאה

16³ חזרו 43^{2,3} עמדו 4⁹ יצאו 4⁹

כפרו הלכו עבדו 6³ חטאו 4³ סרחו

4³ כתבו 26¹² ספו 4⁴ באו 4⁶ עשו

45¹ עלו ונסו 46²

Imperf.

תפול 26¹² תברא 4⁶ תסמוך 48⁶ יאמרו

תפעלון 10⁵ תנמרון 10⁵ תשמרון [בגל]

10⁵ ויהי 35⁵

Imperat.

טול 44⁹ קרא 44⁹ בא וראה 41¹ שתקו

38³ הוי אומר 17⁵

Infinitive

להיות 4³ 35⁶ לעשות 5² 45⁸ לצאת 16²

לאמר 10³

לומר 18⁷ *et freq.* לכתוב 18¹⁷ לבלע 20¹

לבא 18²² *e.a.*

לפעול 22¹⁶ לעמוד 25³ לראות 25⁴

לסומך 44³ בתיתם 20²

Imperf.

ואראך 48¹ 47¹ 45¹ 44¹ 43¹ 42¹

Infin.

למסוכן 44³ לעשותם 25⁵
ללמדו 10⁵ לטהרן 44³
להורידן 44³ להושיען 44¹⁰

Partic.

דועכו 18²² כותבו 18²⁴ בוראם 46⁴

Accus. particle את

אותי 3² 4^{7,10} 14^{1,3,5} 16²
אותן 5⁹ אותם 20² 5⁹

Examples of Foreign words (*vide*

Dalman, *Wörtl.*, *sub vocibus*)

קטיגור = 5¹⁰ κατήγορ
used in the (πραιτώριον) pl. פלטורין

7¹ (παλάτιον) פלמין: sense of

פמליא 12⁵ 16¹ 18²¹ (familia)

[פלסא (πάλας)] פלסאות 16⁵ 20² 28¹⁰

פנקס (πίναξ) פנקסאות 26¹² (פנקסיות) 2⁷

דלוסקום (γλωσσόκομον) 27²

נרתק (ναρθήκιον) 32¹

פרנוד 45¹

אצמלית (στολή) 18²⁵

מרגלית, מרגליות (μαργαρίτης, μαργέλ-
35² 5⁶ λιον)

וילון (velum, βήλον) 17³

Hif'il

Perf. Hif.

הנחת 5¹¹ הגעתי 6² השוו 5¹¹ הנבהתי
(intr.) 9²

Imperf. Hif.

יכנים 26¹² יגיע 19⁶ 48¹ יכינו 35⁶ יחזיר
48⁵ אושיע 48⁸ אציל 48⁸ יעלה
48¹⁰

Infin. Hif.

להזיק 5⁴ להורידן 5⁹ 44³ להעלות 6¹
(הגעת 18⁷)

להעריץ 22¹⁵ להכנס 26¹² להשליך 38¹

Hof'al

מופלא 11² 22¹ 26¹ 27¹ מופלאים 28¹

Pilpel, Hithpalpel

מסלם 22^{12,16} 25⁵ מסתלם 22¹¹ מוצחצח

Verbs with Obj. Suffixes

Perf.

נמלני 4³ 6¹ לקחני 7¹ 15¹ קראני 12⁵

אחבני 13¹ תפשני 41⁴ מרדו 5¹ שמו 10²

קשרו 12⁴ שמתיו 10³

ברכני 9¹ חבבני 13¹ מנייתיו 10⁶ אבדן 4⁴

חללני 4⁴ 6¹ 7¹ תדריכני 6¹

חושבני 10² הלכשני 12¹ הכני 16⁵

העמידני 7¹ 16⁵ הראני 41⁴ e.a.

העליתיה 6³

II. INDEX AND VOCABULARY TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATED TEXT OF THE WHOLE OF 3 ENOCH

(Abbreviations: *I.* the inceptive sentence of the chapters in question; *qu.* the word in question occurs in a Scriptural quotation; *s.* substantive; *adj.* adjective; *v.* verb.)

Aaron ¹³ ²³ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁸ ^{A7} *qu.*
Abba, *R.* ⁴⁸ ^{D10}
 Abraham ⁴⁴ ⁷ ¹⁰ ⁴⁵
 abundance ²⁵ ^{B3}
 academy ⁴⁵²; celestial academy, *see* 'colleges'
 accuse ⁴⁶; *see also* 'bring charges against'
 Accuser, Accusers (angelic) ¹⁴²
Acher (*Elisha ben Abuyah*) ¹⁶^{2,4}
 Adam, the first Adam ⁵^{1,10} ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁸ ^{C1} ⁴⁸ ^{D6}
Adrigon (a name of Metatron) ⁴⁸ ^{D1} no. 25
 adversary ⁴⁰³ *qu.*
 advocates (angelic) ¹⁵ ^{B2}
Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth (Divine Name) ¹⁵ ^{B4}
Aleph ⁴⁴⁹ (from *Aleph* to *Taw*) ⁴⁸ ^{C1} alive, to make alive ¹⁸^{23,24}
 Almighty ⁴²⁵
 altar ²⁴⁵
'al toratheka ⁴⁴⁹
'Anram ¹³ ¹⁵ ^{B5} ⁴⁵³
'Anaphiel *H* ⁶¹ ¹⁶⁵ (*BDL*) ¹⁸¹⁸
 Ancient Ones (angels) ⁴⁶
 Angel, Angels ¹³⁴ ³¹² ⁶¹⁷ ¹¹¹ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁹¹ ²⁰¹ ²¹¹ ²²¹ ⁴²¹ ⁴⁴¹; ⁴¹⁵ ¹⁰³ ¹⁴³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁹^{1,6} ²²^{1,6,7} ²⁴⁶ *qu.* ²⁶³ ²⁷³ ³⁵^{1,2} ⁴⁴² ⁴⁷¹; *see also* the following:
 Prince ¹³ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁶¹ ¹⁰^{3,4,6} ¹⁵ ^{B1} ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁷³ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁹¹ ²⁰¹ ²²^{1,11,16} ²⁵¹ ²⁶^{8,12} ²⁷¹ ³⁸³ ⁴⁴^{2,10} ⁴⁸ ^{C4,8} ⁴⁸ ^{D14}
 Prince of Israel (*Mikael*) ⁴⁴¹⁰; (the) Kings ⁴⁸ ^{D6}; (the) host ¹⁷³; *MAQOM* ⁴⁴²; the Presence (Metatron) ¹⁴⁹ ³¹ ¹⁵ ^{B2,4,5} ⁴⁸ ^{C7} ⁴⁸ ^{D6} ⁵¹ ⁴²¹ ⁴⁴¹; *Tora* (the Law) ⁴⁸ ^{D4}; Understanding ¹⁰⁶ ⁴⁸ ^{D6}; Wisdom ¹⁰⁵ ⁴⁸ ^{D1} no. 105 ⁴⁸ ^{D6}; (the) World ³⁰² ³⁸³
 Princes ¹⁷¹⁰ ⁴¹ ¹⁰³ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁵ ^{B1} ¹⁷¹ ¹⁸^{2,3,4,5,22,23,24} ¹⁹^{1,6} ²²¹⁰ ²² ^{B7} ²⁷¹ ²⁸¹ ³⁰^{1,2} ³⁵³ ⁴⁸ ^{B2}, ⁴⁸ ^{C9}; of the army (the chieftains of the angels chanting the *Trisagion* or

Qedushsha) ³⁵³, *see* ¹⁸^{4,5} ⁴⁰²; of Kingdoms ¹⁰³ ¹⁴^{1,2} ¹⁶^{1,2} ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁸^{2,3} ³⁰² ⁴⁸ ^{C9} (seventy princes) ⁴⁸ ^{D5}; of the *Merkaba* ¹⁷ ²²¹⁰; of the seven heavens ¹⁷¹ ff.
 The eight great princes ¹⁰³
 The four great princes, of the camps of *Shekina* ¹⁸^{4,5}; (*Irin* and *Qad-dishin*) ²⁸; great princes appointed over the books of the living and the dead ¹⁸²³⁻²⁵; great princes at the head of the angels chanting the *Qedushsha* ⁴⁰², *see* ¹⁸^{4,5} ³⁵³; great princes who know the mystery of the Throne of Glory ¹⁸²²; Holy Princes ³⁹²
 Archangels, seven ¹⁷
 Angel-Princes carrying individual names:
'Anaphiel *H* ⁶¹ ¹⁶⁵ (*BDL*) ¹⁸¹⁸
'Aniyel ¹⁶⁵
'Araphiel ¹⁸^{14,15}
'Ashruylu ¹⁸^{15,16}
'Atrugiel ¹⁸^{9,10}
'Azbuga ¹⁸²²
Badariel ¹⁷¹ (*A*) ³ (*A*)
Bakariel ¹⁷¹ (*A*)
Baradiel ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁷¹ (*D*) ³ (*D*)
Barakiel ¹⁷³ (*A*)
Baraqiel ¹⁴⁴, ¹⁷¹ (*D*) ³ (*D*)
Baraftiel ¹⁸^{6,7}
Chayyiel ²⁰^{1,2}
Dubbiel ²⁶¹²
Gabriel ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁷^{1,3}
Galgalliel ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁷⁴
Gallishur ¹⁸^{16,17}
Geburathiel ¹⁸^{13,14}
Hamon ¹⁸^{7,8}
Kerubiel ²²^{1,11,16}
Kokbiel ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁷⁷
Lailiel ¹⁴⁴
Ma'ariel ¹⁴⁴
Mikael ¹⁷^{1,3} ⁴⁴¹⁰
Na'aririel ¹⁸^{10,11}
'Ophanniel ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁷⁶ ²⁵^{1,5}
Pachriell ¹⁷¹ (*A*)
Pazriell ¹⁷³ (*A*)

Angel, Angels (*contd.*):

Ra'amiel 14⁴
Ra'ashiel 14⁴
Radweriel 27¹³
Rahafiel 14⁴ 17⁶ 46³
Rikbiel 19^{1,2}
Ruchiel 14⁴
Sammael 14² 26¹²
Sasnigiel 18^{11,12}
Seraphiel 26⁸
Shachagiel 17^{1,3}
Shalgiel 14⁴
Shathgiel 17^{1,3}
Shimshiel 14⁴
Shoged Chozi 18²⁰
Sidriel 17¹ (*D*)³ (*D*)
Simkiel 44^{2,3}
Sopheriel H' Mechayyeh 18^{23,24}
Sopheriel H' Memith 18^{23,24}
Sother 'Ashiel 18^{19,20}
Tag'as 18^{5,8}
Tutresiel 18^{8,9}
Yephhipyah 48 D⁴
Za'amiel 14⁴
Za'aphiel 14⁴ 44^{2,3}
Zakzakkriel 18^{17,18}
Zazriel 18^{12,13}
Zehanpuryu 18²¹
Zi'iel 14⁴
Zigiel 14⁴
 (See also 'Metatron' and 'Names of Metatron')
 accusers (angelic) 14²
 advocates (angelic) 15 B²
 ancient ones 4⁶
 anger, troops of 7; angel of 14³
 armies, *see* 'camps' below
 camps: (a) camp of *Shekina* 35⁵;
 camps of *Shekina* 18¹⁸ 37¹ (40³)
 (b) camps of angels in general,
 companies, troops, hosts, parties,
 etc. 5^{2,14} 6³ 7 14⁷ 15 B² 17² 19⁶
 22^{1,2} 22 C⁷ 34² 35¹ 36¹ 39² 40³ 48 D⁷
Chashmallim 7 48 C⁴
Chayyoth 11² 6² 15 B¹ 19^{5,7} 20² 21¹
 22^{1,3} 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,5} 24¹⁵ 26¹¹ 29²
 33^{3,4} 34¹ 39² 48 B² 48 C^{2,4}; Holy
Chayyoth 11² 6² 15 B¹ 19^{5,7} 20²
 21¹ 22^{1,3} 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,5} 24¹⁵ 26¹¹ 29²
 33^{3,4} 34¹ 39² 48 B² 48 C^{2,4}; four 21¹;
 chariots of 24¹⁵; *Chayyoth* by the
 Merkaba 48 B² 48 C²; prince of 21
 children of heaven 8² 10³ 12¹ 13¹ 16¹
 18^{5,7,15} 20¹ 28^{1,7} 29² 38³ 48 C¹
 48 D¹
 companies, *see* 'camps' above
 death, angel of 48 D⁵
 destruction, angels of 31² 33¹ 44²

dread, Lords of (angels) 22 B²
 eagles of the *Merkaba* 2¹
 elemental angels 14³
'Elim 14¹
Elohim 15 B¹
'Errellim 14¹ 39²
 fear, captains of (angels) 22 B²
 fire, angel of 14³
 first ones 4⁸
Galgallim 6² 15¹ (19¹) 24¹⁶; *see also*
 'wheels of the *Merkaba*'; chariots
 of 14¹⁶; prince of 19^{1,2}
Gedudim 19⁶ 22 C⁷
 glory, angels of the 22 B⁸
 hail, angels of 14^{3,4} 22 C⁴
 heavenly household 12⁵ 16¹ 18²¹ 27²
 48 C⁸
 heavens, the seven, angels of 14¹
 17² 18^{1,2}
 Herald (angelic) 10³
 host, angels of the 39²
'Irin 22 C⁴
Kerubim 1⁸ (5¹) 6^{2,3} 7 15 B² 19⁷
 22^{11,12,13,15} 22 B⁸ 22 C² 23^{1,18,17} 24¹
 26¹¹ 39² 48 C⁴; a *Kerub* 5¹ 18²⁵
 23¹⁸ qu. 24¹ qu. 17; flaming *Keru-*
 bim 7; mighty *Kerubim* 22¹¹;
 majestic *Kerubim* 26¹¹; honoured
 Kerubim 48 C⁴; *Kerubim* of *She-*
 kina 39²; God's (His) *Kerubim*
 22 B⁸; chariot of 22¹¹; chariots of
 24¹; 'He who dwelleth on the
 Kerubim' 22^{12,16}; Prince of 22¹¹
 Kings (appellation of angels) 22 B⁷
 mercy, angels of 33¹
 Mighty ones 4¹
 Ministering angels 4^{5,6} 5^{2,10,14} 14¹
 16² 17^{2,7} 22 B^{2,4,7} 27³ 36^{1,2} 38^{1,3}
 39¹ 40^{1,2,3} 47² 48 C⁷ (*K*) 48 D⁵
 Ministers of consuming fire 6²
'Ophanim 1⁸ 2¹ 6^{2,3} 7 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2,7}
 24¹⁸ 25^{5,6} 26¹¹ 33³ 39² 48 A¹ 48 C⁴;
 burning 7; flaming 2¹; honoured
 26¹¹; majestic 48 C⁴; mighty 39²;
 His (God's) *'Ophanim* 22 B⁸;
 chariots of 24¹⁸; crowns of 25⁷;
 wheels of 22 C⁷; Prince of 25¹⁻⁵
 parties of angels, *see* 'camps' above
 peace, angels of 33¹
 Presence, angel of the 3²; *see above*,
 'Prince of the Presence'
Qaddishin 22 C⁴ 28^{1,4,5,8-10}
 Rulers of the World (*Manhige 'Olam*)
 14⁴
 scribe, scribes 26¹ 27² 33²
Seraphim 17⁸ 2¹ 6^{2,3} 19⁷ 22 B¹ 22 C⁷
 26^{8-10,12} 27¹ 29² 33³ 39² 48 A¹ 48 C⁴;
 flaming 17 26⁶ 48 C⁴; glorious 33³;

of consuming fire 11¹; Prince of 261-⁸
 Servants 1⁸ 2¹ 4¹ 6¹⁻³ 7 17⁶ 19⁶ 27¹
 28¹ 39² 40¹ 47^{1,3}; of consuming
 fire 6²; of glory 6¹ (see 40¹); flaming
 7 39²; of the *Merkaba* 2¹ (*E*); of
 the Divine Throne 40¹; the royal
 servants of the princes of kingdoms
 17⁸; ministering servants 47^{1,3}
Shin'anim 7
 sidereal angels 14³ 17^{4,5,6} (46³)
Tafsarim 14¹ 39²
Trisagion, angels chanting the 34²⁻
 40; see also '*Trisagion*' and '*Blessed*'
 troops of angels, see '*camps*' and
 '*Gedudim*'
 vehemence, angels of 7
 For other classes of angels see 19⁶
 Anger 7 22²; troops of 7
 animals 4⁴; see '*beast, beasts*'
Aniyel 16⁵
'Aphphiel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 19
'Aphphiel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 5
 appearance 1⁷ 5³ 10¹ 14⁵ 18²⁵ 22¹² 22 B⁶
 25⁷ 26⁴ 35² 40² 44⁶ 48 A⁹ 48 C⁶
 appoint over (see also '*set over*') 10⁶
 17³ 48 C^{4,3}
 appointed (*memunneh*) 14⁴ 17^{1,3,4,5,6,7}
 18^{4,17,24,19} 19^{2,8} 20² 22^{11,16} 25⁵
 26⁸ 27¹ 44² (47²)
'Araboth Ragia' (the seventh heaven),
 see '*heaven, heavens*'
'Araphiel 18^{14,15}
 arm s. 35² 48 A^{3,6,7,8,9,10} (qu.)
 armies of angels, see '*Angel, Angels,*
camps of'; armies of vehemence
 7; 5¹⁴ 17⁸ 19⁶ 22¹, prince of the
 army 35³; fiery armies 39²
 art (of sorceries) 5⁹
'Asah 48 C¹⁰
 ascend 1¹ 4⁷ 5¹⁴ 6² 15 B² 44⁷
 ascension of Moses 15 B²
 ascent 22 C¹
Ashruylu 18^{15,16}
'Atrugiel 18^{9,10}
 attend 5⁸ 7 8¹ 15¹ 25⁵
 attendance 35⁴
 (attributes, qualities) 8^{1,2}
 authority 16¹ 18²⁴ 48 D³
'Azbuga 18²²
'Azza 4⁵ 5⁹
'Azrael 4⁶ 5⁹
'Azziel 5⁹
Badariel 17¹ (*A*) ³ (*A*)
 balance s. 18²⁰

Barad 34¹
Baradiel 14⁴ 17¹ (*D*) 17³ (*D*)
Barakiel 17³ (*A*)
Baraq (lightning) 25⁷
Baragiel 17¹ (*D*) 17³ (*D*) 14⁴ (17¹ (*A*)):
 Bakariel)
Barattiel 18^{9,7}
Baregeth (carbuncle) 25⁷
 base *v.* (a name upon another) 3²; see
 '*names*' (of Metatron and Divine)
Bath Qol 16⁴; see '*Divine Voice*'
 beast, beasts 4⁴ 28⁹ qu. 48 D⁸
 beginning 22 B¹ 24²² qu. 48 B¹
Behemoth 48 D⁸
 behold 1^{1,5,6} (the *Merkaba*), 2² 2⁴
 (the *Merkaba*), 5³ 11² 14^{1,3,5} 16²
 25^{3,4} 16¹¹ 29² 32² 41¹ 42^{2,6,7} 47⁴
 48 A^{1,2,3} 48 C¹; 28⁹ qu. 33⁵ qu.
 35⁵ qu.
 beloved 1⁸ (Ishmael), 4¹ (Metatron),
 16⁵ 18²² 19¹ 23¹⁸ qu. 26¹ 28¹ 44¹⁰
Beth Din, the Celestial 27² 28⁹ 30¹
 bird 4⁴ 44⁷
 black, grow black 22 B⁷
 blameless 18²³ 19¹
 bless 9¹
 blessed (1) see '*Holy One, the, Blessed*
 be He'; (2) the response in the
Qedushsha, see '*Trisagion*' and
 '*Qedushsha*'
 blessing s. 9¹
 blow *v.* 15² 23^{1-18,18} 47²
 body 15¹ 18²⁵ 22^{8,9} 26^{3,6} 28¹⁰ 44⁵ 47¹
 48 C⁶
 books 18¹⁹ qu., 18²⁴ (books of the dead
 and books of the living), 27^{1,22}
 (books of judgement and the book
 of records), 28⁷ (books of the living
 and books of the dead), 30² (the
 book in which are recorded all
 the doings of the world), 32¹ (book
 of fire and flame), 35⁴ qu., 44⁹ (the
 books of records, esp. of evil
 doings), 48 C¹² (books of *Tora*)
 born of woman 2² 6² 48 D⁸
 bow 21⁴ (the bow in the cloud), 22⁵
 (bow of Shekina), 22 C^{4,6,7} 33⁵
 branch s. 28⁹ qu.
 bridge s. 22 B^{1,3,4} 22 C¹
 brightness 22 B⁶ 25^{5,7}
 brilliance 8² 9⁵ 10¹ 12² 18¹⁸ 22^{4,12,13}
 22 B⁶ 25⁷ 26^{2,7} 28² 29² 48 C^{4,6}
 bring *v.* 23³ qu. 48 A¹⁰, bring back
 48 B², bring charges against 4⁶ 5¹⁰,
 see '*accuse*'; bring down 5^{8,9},
 bring forth 15 B¹ 23¹⁰ qu., bring
 into 7, bring into life 18²⁴, bring
 out 48 D¹⁰, bring up 44⁷

Brooding Wind 23¹
 burn *v.* 15² 15 B² 18²⁵ 25³ 26¹² 34²
 40³ qu. 47^{1,2}
 burning 15¹ 22^{3,9}, 14 22 C⁴ 25³ 26¹² 34^{1,2}
 35⁸ 42^{1,6} 44³ 47^{2,4}
 call *v.* 3² 4^{1,10} 10³ 12⁵ 17⁶ 18^{18,19,20,21,24}
 19² 20² 22¹¹ 25^{5,7} 26^{8,12} 27³ 28¹⁰
 30¹ 38³ 44⁹ 48 A⁶ 48 C^{7,9} D²
 camps of angels, *see* 'Angels, camps of
 camps of fire, *see* *ib.*
 camps of *Shekina*, *see* *ib.*
 captains of fear (angels) 22 B²
 carbuncle stone 25⁷
 case, Case of Writings 27²; case in
 judgement 28^{8,9}
 cast down *v.* 44³; cast forth 22⁹
 cattle 4⁴ 48 D⁸
 Celestial Court 16¹; *see also* 'Beth
 Din'
 Celestial heights 42¹
 Celestial Princes 28¹
 chamber, chambers 18¹⁸ (of 'Araboth'),
 22 C¹ (chambers of chambers), 22 C²
 (of lightnings), 34¹ (of the whirl-
 wind), 37² (of the tempest), 38¹ (of
Makon), 41⁴ (of Araboth), 42² qu.,
 43³ (chamber of creation), 47² (of
 the whirlwind)
 change *v.* 15¹ 35⁶ 48 C⁹
 chant 1¹¹ 38²
 character 2²
 charge, charges 5¹⁰ 19² 22¹¹ 25⁵ 26⁸
 Chariot, the Divine, *see* 'Merkaba'
 chariot 6¹ 17⁸, 22¹¹ (of the *Kerubim*),
 22 B⁴ (of fire), 24¹⁻²³ (of the Holy
 One), 37¹ (of *Shekina*)
Chashmal, chashmals, Chashmallim;
 (1) angels, *see* 'Angels, Chashmallim'
 (2) celestial matter 15 B² 26⁴, 36⁶
 (*chashmals* of light), 36² 48 B¹
 48 D⁸
Chasid, Chasidim 18²² 48 A⁵
Chayyah 19⁷ 21¹; *see* 'Angels, Chay-
 yoth'
Chayyiel, prince of the *Chayyoth* 20^{1,2}
Chayyim (a class of angels) 19⁸
Chayyoth, *see* 'Angels, Chayyoth'
 cherub, cherubim, *see* 'Angels, *Keru-
 bim*'
 chief 26¹ 45²; *see also* 'head'
 chieftains (class of angels) 19⁶
 children 16⁴ qu. 44⁷ 45² 48 A⁸
 children of heaven, *see* 'Angels, children
 of heaven'
 children of men 5¹⁰ 6³ 24¹⁷ qu. 48 A⁸
 48 B¹
 circuit 23¹⁷ qu.

cloak 17⁸ (royal), 18²² (of life), 28⁷
 (of the Divine manifestation on
 the Judgement Throne), 36² (of
chashmal), 48 C⁷ (of Metatron)
 clothe 12¹ 17⁸ 18^{22,25} 39² 43³ qu. 48 C⁴
 clothing *s.* 48 C⁷
 cloud, clouds 19⁴ (four), 19⁶ 21⁴ (bow
 in the), 22¹⁵ (He that inhabiteth
 the), 22 C² (of compassion), 24^{3,4}
 (chariots of), 24⁷ qu., 24¹⁴ (chariots
 of), 33³ (of fire and flames), 34^{1,2}
 (of burning coals), 37² (bright
 clouds), 42⁷ 48 B¹
 colleges, celestial 18¹⁵; *see* 'session'
 command 10⁵ 22 C⁵ 48 C⁹ 48 D⁴ qu.
 commandment 45⁶ qu. 48 D¹⁰ qu.
 commission 16⁵
 commotion 35^{5,8}
 commotion, angel of 14⁴
 companies of angels, *see* 'Angels, camps
 of angels'
 compassion, clouds of 22 C² (compassion
 44⁷)
 confounded in deeds 4³
 confusion of tongues 45³
 constellations 5³ 13¹, 14^{3,4} (angels of),
 17⁶ 38¹ 48¹
 consuming fire 2¹, 6³ (ministers of),
 22^{4,6} 39² 40⁸ 42³
 costly stones 5⁷ 12³
 council 45⁴
 counsellor 45^{2,4}
 Court Celestial 16¹; Court of Merkaba.
 22 B¹
 court officers 28⁸ 45²
 covenant 15 B⁵
 create 4⁶ 13¹ 23¹⁷ qu. 27³ 40⁴ 41¹⁻³
 43^{1,2,3} 46⁴ 48 A¹ 48 D⁸
 Creation 11¹ (secrets of), 11¹ (Maker
 of), 13¹ (orders of), 26⁹ 43³
 Creator 4^{1,9} 22¹⁶ 25⁵ 35⁶ 47² 48 D¹⁰
 crown *s.* 13² (crown of priesthood),
 12³ (of kingship), 13¹ 14¹ (of Meta-
 tron), 14⁵ (Metatron's crown of
 glory), 15 B² (of prayers), 16¹ (of
 glory), 16² 17⁸ (of kingship),
 18^{1,2,4-23} (of glory), 18^{3,25} (of
 kingship), 21⁴, 22⁵ (of holiness),
 22¹¹ (of the *Kerubim*), 25⁷ (of
 angels), 26^{7,8}, 29¹ (the Fearful
 Crown, *Kether Nora*), 39² 40² 48 B¹,
 48 C⁴ (of the *Chayyoth*), 48 C⁷ (of
 Metatron)
 crown *v.* 17⁸ 18²⁵ 19¹ 21⁴ 48 C⁴
 Curtain (*Pargod, Peres, Paroketh*) 10¹,
 25¹ (Curtain of *MAQOM*), 45⁶
 (*Pargod*)
 cymbal 22 B⁸

darkness, rivers of 22 C²
 David 45⁵ 48 A¹⁰
 day, angel of the 14^{3,4}
 day, days 4⁷ (of the Flood), 4¹⁰ 7 5¹
 17⁵ 18^{24,25} 23¹ qu. 24¹⁷ 25^{2,5} 26^{8,9,12}
 28^{7,10} 30² 44⁷ 45⁵ 48 A^{1,3} 48 C¹²
 48 D^{3,4}
 dead 18²⁴ (books of the), 28⁷ (books of
 the), 48 C¹²
 deafness, fire of 15 B¹
 death 18²⁴, angel of death 48 D⁵
 decree s. 28^{4,8} qu., 48 A⁶ (Divine),
 48 C^{9,10,11}
 deed, deeds 4³ 6³ 44⁵
 deep s. 11³
degalm (divisions of angels) 19⁶
 deliver 4⁶ 27² 44^{7,8,10} 48 A^{6,8} 48 C¹¹
 deliverance 48 A⁵
 deluge, *see* 'flood'
 demons 5⁴
 depth 11^{1,2,3} 33⁴
 descend 23^{17,18}
 descent 22 C¹
 destiny 48 D⁵
 destruction 48 A¹
 destruction, angels of 31² 33¹ 44²
 diadem 16¹, 22⁷ (royal), 22¹¹ 48 C⁷;
see 'crown'
Dibbur 11¹ (gates of), 15 B¹; *see* 'Word'
Dibburiek (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 18
 distance 6² 22 C^{1,2} 25⁴ 26⁷
 dividers of flames 6²
 Divine decree(s) 48 A⁶
 Divine Majesty 15 B¹ 28⁹ 45¹; *see*
 MAQOM
 Divine Powers (*Reshuyyoth*) 16³
 Divine Voice 16⁴
 divisions 15² 19⁶ (of angels), 22 B⁸ (of
 flaming fire), 48 C¹²
 do the will of the Holy One 5² 22¹⁶
 domestic animals 4⁴
 dominion 48 C⁹
 door 1² (of the Seventh Hall), 10² 16¹
 48 C^{4,8}
 door keepers 18^{3,4}
 downfall 44⁸
 dragon 48 D⁸
 dreads. 16², 22 B³ (Lords of, i.e. angels),
 22 C² (rivers of), 28⁷ 35⁶ 48 B¹
 drop, white (semen) 6² 48 D⁸
 Dubbiel 26¹²
 dwelling s. 25⁵ 28²
 dwelling-place 22¹²
 Eagle, eagles 2¹ (of the *Merkaba*),
 24¹¹ 26³ 39¹ 44⁵
 earth 4² qu. 5^{12,13} 13¹ 17⁸ 18¹⁸ qu. 20¹

22² 22 B⁸ 28⁹ 41¹ 44⁷ 48 A⁴ qu. 5⁵
 48 A¹⁰ qu. 48 D^{6,8}
 earthly 48 C⁴
 earthquake 13¹, 14⁴ (angel of), 15²
 19^{3,5} 22⁹, 23⁸ (wind of), 37² 42^{1,7}
 east 17^{5,6} 18²⁵ 21^{1,4} 23² qu. 3² 26¹⁰
 'Ebed (Servant, name of Metatron) 1⁴
 10³ 48 C¹ 48 D¹ no. 17 48 D⁹
 Eden 5^{1,5} 23¹⁸ 48 D⁸
 Egyptians 48 D¹⁰ qu.
 'Ehyeh 'asher 'Ehyeh (Divine Name)
 42²
 Eight Great Princes 10³
 'El Shadday Rabba (Divine Name) 42⁵
 elder, elders 45^{2,4} 48 D¹⁰
 Elect One 6³ (of Enoch), 44¹⁰ (of
 Isaac)
 Elemental angels 14³
 'Elgabish (a celestial matter) 34¹
 Eli 15⁴
 Elim (angels) 14¹
 Elisha ben Abuya 16²
 Elkanah 15⁴
 Elohim (class of angels) 15 B¹
 Enoch 4² 48 C¹ (K) 48 C^{2,3}
 Enosh 5^{6,7,10}
 enter 1^{1,5,6} 2² 4⁸ 5⁵ 18¹⁹ 22 B¹ 31² 46³
 entrust 18¹⁹ 48 D⁹
 'Er'ellim 14¹ 39²
 'Esh 'Okhelah (Divine Name) 42³
 Eternal 15 B³, 18²² (life)
 eulogy 11²
 Eve 48 D⁸
 everlasting 42⁴
 evil spirits, *see* 'demons'; evil wind
 23⁸
 execute 28^{7,9} 32¹ 48 C¹¹
 expel 5¹
 Explicit Name 22⁵; *see* 'Names, Divine'
 Explicit Names 39¹, 48 D⁵ (on the
Merkaba), 48 D¹; *see* 'Names, Di-
 vine'
 expound 18¹⁰
 eye, eyes 1^{2,7,8,12} 4⁵ 9⁴ 16² 18²⁵ 22^{4,8}
 22 B⁷ 24¹⁸ qu. 25^{2,3,6,7} 26^{8,11} 35²
 45⁸ 47⁴ 48 A^{2,10} qu. 48 C⁶ 48 D¹⁰
 eye-balls 15¹
 eye-brow 22⁴ 26⁴ 48 C⁶
 eye-lids 15¹
 Ezra 48 D¹⁰
 face s. 1⁷ 15 B^{3,5} 18¹⁻²³ 21^{1,3} 22^{7,9,13}
 22 B^{5,6,7} 25^{2,3} 26^{9,10} 31^{1,2} 38² 39²
 42² 44⁵ 48 C⁶
 faith 6³, 48 D¹⁰ (men of faith)
 fast s. 15 B²
 fast v. 15 B²
 father 4⁹ 15² 48 C⁷

- fear *s.* 8¹ (fear of heaven), 16² 19⁶ 22², 22 B² (captains of), 22 C² (rivers of), 23⁹ (fear of *YHWH*), 28⁷ 35⁶ 46¹ 48 B¹ 48 D⁸ (fear of heaven)
 fear *v.* 14^{1,2,3} 15 B⁵ 16² 22 C⁵ 31² 32² 38³, *prt.* 18^{21,23}
 fellowship 48 A⁷
 female *s.* 35⁶
 fiery 6¹ 7 15², 19⁴ (four fiery rivers), 26⁴, 33⁴ (seven fiery rivers), 36¹ (stream), 39² (fiery armies), 42⁵, 47¹ (stream), 48 C⁶
 finger 13¹ (of the Holy One), 18⁶ (three fingers), 33³ 40³ 44⁴ 45² 46² 47¹, 48 A⁴ (of the Right Hand of *MA-QOM*), 48 D⁵ (of the Holy One)
 fire 2¹ (consuming), 6² (ministers of the consuming fire), 13², 14^{3,4} (angel of the), 15¹, 15 B¹ (fire of deafness), 16⁵, 18¹⁹ (of *Nehar di-Nur*), 18²⁵, 19⁴ (clouds of), 20² 22⁴, 6^{9,13} 22 B^{3,4}, 6²² C^{5,6} 26¹² 28¹⁰ 32² 33³ 34^{1,2} 35^{2,6} 36^{1,2} 37^{1,2} 39² 40³ 42^{1,3,6,7} 44³ 47^{1,2,3,4} 48 B¹ 48 C⁵ (*K*)⁶, 48 D⁶; bridges of fire 22 B³; wheels of fire 22 B^{3,4}; chariots of fire 22 B⁴
 firebrand 15^{1,2} 22^{9,13} 25³ 26⁴ 33³ 35⁸
 first 4⁸ (First Ones, angels), 5^{1,3} (the First Adam), 6¹ 48 C¹
 firstborn 44¹⁰
 flaming 1⁷ (Seraphim), 13¹ (style), 18²⁵ 22 B⁶ 22 C⁶ 29¹ 37² 39^{1,2} 41⁴ 42⁶ 46² 48 C⁴ 48 D⁸
 flesh 15¹ 48 C⁶ 48 D⁸
 flood 4^{3,4,7}, 45³ (generation of the), 48 C¹; *see* 'deluge'
 foundation 22² 38¹
 four camps of *Shekina* 37¹, 40³
 four chariots of *Shekina* 37¹
 four great princes 18^{4,5}
 four rows of angels 36²
 friend 1⁸ (God's, of R. Ishmael)
 friendship, streams of 22 B⁸
 future 4⁶ 18²²; *see* 'time to come'

Gabriel 14⁴ 17^{1,3}
Gal Razayya (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 88
galgal (globe) 17⁴
Galgalliel (prince of the sun) 14⁴ 17⁴
Galgallim 6² 15¹ 19^{2,3} 24¹⁶
 Prince of 19¹, *Galgallim* of the *Mer-kaba* 6² 19^{2,3}
 chariots of the *Galgallim* 24¹⁶
Gallisur 18^{16,17}
 Garden (of Eden) 5^{1,3,5} 23¹⁸ 48 D⁸
 garment 12¹, 17⁶ (of kingship), 18²² (of life), 18²⁵ (of kingship), 25⁶ 28⁷ 36² 48 C⁷
 gate, gates 1¹¹ (of *Shekina*), 5³ (of the Garden of Eden), 18²⁵ 22 B⁸ 38¹ 47⁴
Geburah (Divine Majesty) 28³
Geburathiel 18^{13,14}
Gedudim (class of angels) 19⁶ 22 C⁷; *see* 'Angels, camps of'
Gehenna 33⁵ 44³ 48 D⁸
Gematria 48 C⁷ (*K*)
 generation 4^{3,4} 5^{6,7} 7 45^{1,2,3,5,6} 48 A⁶ 48 C¹
Gibborim (mighty ones, a class of angels) 19⁶
Gippuyel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 7
 gird *v.* 18²² 39²
 girdle *s.* 22⁶
 gladness, streams of 22 B⁸
 Glory 1^{3,8} (Divine), 4¹ (of Metatron and the angels), 5¹¹, 6¹ (Servants of the Glory), 12¹ (garment of), 14⁵ (crown of), 15 B^{5,6} (Glory=the Divine Majesty), 16¹ (crown of), 17⁸, 18^{1,2,4-23} (crown of), 18¹⁸ (glories of *Araboth*), 20² (Divine), 22¹², 22¹³ (horns of), 22^{15,16}, 22 B⁵ (King of = God), 22 B⁶ (angels of the Glory), 22 B⁸ 28² 39² 40¹ 46³ 48 A² 48 B^{1,2} 48 C^{4,7} 48 D⁶; *see* 'crown of glory'; 'Throne of Glory'
 Glory of all heavens=Metatron 13¹ 15¹ 16¹ 17¹ 18¹ 24¹
 gnosis 48 D⁸
 God 4³ 5¹⁴ qu. 15 B³ qu. 15 B⁵, 22 B^{2,4} (God of Israel), 22 B⁵ 23¹ qu. 23¹³ qu. 24^{6,12,17,19} qu. 42³ qu. 46³ qu. 48 A¹⁰ qu. 48 C¹ qu. 48 D^{7,10}; *see* 'Holy One, the, Blessed be He'
Gog 45⁵
 grace 8¹ 10¹ 48 A⁸
 grave *s.* 44⁷
 graven *prt.* 22⁵ 39¹ 41⁴ 45^{1,6} 48 D⁵
 Great Synagogue, men of the 48 D¹⁰
 Greater Light, the 26^{4,6}; *see* 'luminary'
 greatness 4¹ 16¹ 17⁸ 22¹² 26² 48 A² 48 B¹ 48 D⁵
 guiltiness 15 B⁵
Guph (chamber of Creation) 43³

 Haggada 48 C¹² 48 D^{3,4}
 hail 13¹, 14^{3,4} (angel of), 22 B³ (bridges of), 22 B^{3,4} (rivers of), 22 C² (rivers of), 22 C⁴ (angels of), 42^{1,7} 48 D⁸
 hailstone 34¹ 42³
 Halaka 48 D^{3,4}

Halls (*Hekhaloth*) 1^{1,2,6} 16¹ 18^{3,4,18}
 22 B⁴ 37¹ 38¹ 48 C^{4,8}; first, second,
 third, etc. Hall 18^{3,4}; seventh
 Hall 1^{2,6} 10³ 16¹ 18⁴; seven Halls
 22 B⁴ 37¹; "Halls of 'Araboth
 (*Raqia'*)" 38² 48 C⁴
Hamon (name of an angel-prince)
 187⁸
 hand 1⁵ 9¹ 14³ 18²⁵ 22¹³ 24²⁰ 26¹² 40²
 qu. 41⁴ 42^{2,6} 43² 44^{2,4,7} 46^{1,3}
 47³ 48 A^{1,2,4,5} C^{3,9} D²
 Hand of the Holy One, Hand of
MAQOM 9¹ 44^{7,8} 48 A^{1,2,4}
 "He who dwelleth on the Kerubim"
 22¹⁶
 head 12⁴ 13¹ 14^{1,5} 15¹ 15 B² 18^{1-23,25}
 22^{5,11,13,16} 24¹⁵ 26^{5,7} 28⁷ 29¹ 33⁵
 48 C⁴
 head (chief, chieftain, leader) 5^{6,10}
 45²; heads of the councils 45⁴;
 head (of the row of angels chant-
 ing the *Trisagion*) 35³; four heads
 of the fiery river 18¹⁸
 heal v. 48 D¹⁰
 hear 15 B^{3,4} (*Shema'*), 19⁷ 24⁹ qu.
 42¹
 heart 1¹² 11¹ 15 B² 35⁶
 heaven, heavens 1³ 4^{1,3,6,8} 5^{2,8,11} 6³
 7 10³ 13¹ 16³ 17¹ 18¹⁸ 22³ 24¹⁷ qu.
 26^{4,5,10} 36² 38¹ 41¹ 42² 44⁷ 46^{3,4}
 48 A¹, 48 D⁶; high heavens 5¹⁴ 6^{1,2}
 10⁶ 18²⁴ 48 C² D⁵; every heaven
 10³ 14¹ 48 B² C³ D⁷; seven heavens
 12⁴ 17² 18^{1,2,25} 22³ 26^{4,10}; 955
 heavens 48 A¹. *Raqia'* (synony-
 mously with 'heavens') 4⁷ 5^{2,5} 18²⁵
 44⁷; see below 'second heaven'.
 First heaven, *Wilôn-Shamayim*
 17³, see 33⁵ (*Shamayim*); second
 heaven, *Raqia'* 17^{3,4,7,8} 22 B⁴ 26¹⁰
 32² 33⁵ 38¹ 41¹ 46^{1,3}; *Raqia'*-
Shamayim 22 B⁴ 46³, see 18¹; third
 heaven, *Shechagim* 17³ 33⁵ 38¹,
 see 18¹; fourth heaven, *Zebul* 17³
 33⁵, see 18¹; fifth heaven, *Ma'on*
 17³ 33⁵ 38¹, see 18¹; sixth heaven,
Makon 17³ 38¹, see 18¹; seventh
 heaven, 'Araboth' ('Araboth *Raqia'*,
Raqia' 'Araboth) 5^{11,14} 7 10⁶ 12⁴
 14¹ 17³ 18^{1,2,3,6,18} 19⁷ 22² 22 B^{8,7,8}
 22 C⁴ 24¹³ 25⁷ 27² 28⁹ 30¹ 33³ 35¹
 36¹ 38¹ 41¹ 42² 48 B¹ C⁴; chariots
 of 'Araboth 24¹³; paths of 'Ara-
 both *Raqia'* 22 B⁸; treasures of the
 palaces of 'Araboth 10⁶; angels of
 each of the seven heavens 14¹ 17²
 18^{1,2} 48 D⁷; children of heaven,
 see 'Angels, children of heaven';

fear of heaven 8¹; host of heaven
 18²⁴ qu.; kingdom of heaven 35⁶;
 princes of the heavens 13¹⁻³ 18^{1,2};
 prince of the host of one heaven
 17²
 heavenly 48 C³; heavenly Halls, see
 'Halls'
 heavenly household, see 'Angels, hea-
 venly household'
 height 4⁷ 14¹ 17³ 18^{19,25} 22³ 22 C⁷ 25⁴
 26^{4,10} 27² 28⁶ 35^{1,2} 42¹ 48 C^{4,5,9}
Hekhal, -oth, see 'Halls'
 Herald, the Celestial 10³
 Hillel the elder 48 D¹⁰
 holiness 22¹, 22⁵ (crown of)
 Holy, Holy, Holy, etc. 22 B⁸; see
 'Trisagion' (*Qedushsha*)
 Holy One, the, Blessed be He 12^{4,6,7},
 11,12 2³ 4^{3,4,5,6,8} 5^{1,5,6,10,13} 6^{1,3} 7
 8^{1,2} 9¹ 10¹ 11¹ 12¹ 13¹ 14¹ 15¹ 15 B²
 16^{1,5} 17⁶ 18^{20,24} 22 B⁶ 24¹ 25⁴ 26¹²
 27^{2,3} 28^{2,4,5,6-8} 29¹ 30^{1,2} 31¹ 32¹ 33¹
 35^{1,5} 38³ 39¹ 40^{1,3,4} 43^{2,3} 44^{2,7,6,10}
 45^{1,5} 46^{2,3,4} 48 A^{5,6,8,9} 48 B¹
 48 C^{10,11} 48 D^{1,4,5,8,9}
 Holy Ones 22 C⁴; see 'Angels, 'Irin
 and *Qaddishin*', and '*Qaddishin*'
 holy prince 22¹
 holy Temple 48 A¹
 hoofs of the *Chayyoth* 34¹
 Horeb 48 D⁴ qu.
 horn 5¹⁴, 22⁷ (of Majesty), 22¹³ (of
 glory), 29⁶ (of splendour)
 horsemen 17⁸, 19⁶ (a class of angels)
 hosts, see 'Angels, camps of'; hosts
 of flames 34² 35¹
 hour 1^{3,10,11} 2¹ 3¹ 4⁶ 8² 30² 35⁵ 48 A⁸
 48 C¹²
 household, heavenly; see 'Angels,
 heavenly household'; household
 of God 12⁵; household on high
 16¹
 hymn 1¹² 22 B²
 idol, idols 5^{7,8,10,12} 6³
 idol worshippers 5^{6,10}
 image 1⁷ 26⁴
 iniquity 26¹² 44⁵
 innumerable 15 B² 26⁶
 instruct v. 10⁶
 instruction 13² 48 C¹²
 intelligence 48 C⁷ (*K*)
 intercessor 48 A⁵ 48 A⁶ qu.
 intermediate (*Benoniyyim*) 44^{1,3,6}
 interpret 43³
 interpreter 45⁴
 intreat 48 A⁶
 'Irin 22 C⁴

'*Irin* and *Qaddishin* 28^{1,4,5,8,9,10}; see 'Angels, '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*'; see also 'Holy Ones, Watchers'

Isaac 44^{7,10} 45³

Ishmael, R. 1-48 A¹ 1⁸

Ishmael 45³

Israel 2³ 15 B^{2,3} 18¹⁷ 26¹² 44^{9,10} 45^{4,5,6}; merits of Israel 18¹⁷; God of Israel 22 B^{2,5}

Jacob 44^{7,10} 45³

Jah 15⁷ qu.; see 'Yah'

Jared 4² 48 C¹ (K) 48 C^{2,3}

jealousy 23⁵

Jerusalem 48 A^{3,10}

Joseph 45^{3,5}

Joshua 45⁴ 48 D¹⁰

joy 1⁴, 22 B⁸ (rivers of); 38³ qu. 48 A^{3,10}

Judah 45⁴

judge s. 28⁸ 45^{2,4}

judge v. 16¹ 26¹² 28⁷ 48 C⁸

judgement 18¹⁹ qu. 24²¹ 26¹² 28^{7,8,10} 30² qu. 31^{1,2} 32¹ 33¹ 35⁴ qu. 48 C⁹ 48 D⁴ qu.

Celestial *Beth Din*, *vide sub voce* '*Beth Din*'

Throne of Judgement 24²¹ 26¹² 28⁷ 31¹ 33¹

Books of Judgement 27^{1,2}; books of the dead and books of the living 18²⁴ 28⁷; books of records 44⁹; book of records 27^{1,2} 30²; book of fire and flame 32¹

Angels of Judgement 30^{1,2} 31^{1,2} 32¹ 33^{1,2}; see also 'Angels, angels of destruction, of mercy, of peace, *Za'aphiel*, *Simkiel*, *Seraphim* (24¹²), and 'Metatron'; 'world, Prince of the World' (30²); see also 'Angels, accusers' and 'Angels, advocates', 'Angels, Princes of Kingdoms'

justice 31¹ 48 A^{5,6} 48 C⁹

Kabod, see 'Glory'

keepers of the doors of the heavenly Halls 18^{3,4}

Kerub, a *Kerub* 5¹ 18²⁵; see 'Angels, *Kerubim*'

Kerubiel 22^{1,11,16}

Kerubim, see 'Angels, *Kerubim*'

key, keys 18¹⁸ 48 C³

King (appellation of the Holy One) 1^{5,16} 3² 10², 22¹⁵ (king of kings), 22¹⁶ (High King), 22 B^{6,6} (the King of Glory), 22 B⁷, 25⁴ (King of kings), 26⁸, 29¹ (the high and exalted King), 35⁶ 45⁶ 48 A¹⁰, 48 D⁵ (the King of the kings of kings)

king 16², 22 B⁷ (kings, a class of angels), 45⁴ 48 C⁹ 48 D⁶

Kingdom 6³ (God's great), 35⁶ (of heaven), 39² 44⁷, 45⁵ (of Israel), 48 A⁵ (of the Holy One), 48 A¹⁰ (of Messiah), 48 B^{1,2}

Kingdoms, princes of; see 'Angels, Princes of Kingdoms'

kingly 18²⁵ 39²

kingship 4¹ (Metatron), 12³ (crown of), 16¹, 17⁸ (cloaks of), 17⁸ (crowns of), 17⁸ (garments of); 18³ (crown of), 18²⁵ (crown of), 22⁷ (diadem of), 48 C⁷ (crown of), 18²⁵ (garments of)

know 11² 18²² 24¹⁷ 26¹² 45⁶ qu. 48 C⁹ qu.

Knower of Secrets (of Metatron) 48 C⁷

knowledge 4³ qu. 8² 23⁹ 41³ 48 B¹ 48 C⁹ 48 C¹² qu. 48 D⁸

Kokbiel 14⁴ 17⁷

Lailiel 14⁴

language 48 C⁹

lashes of fire 16⁵ 20² 28¹⁰

Law (see '*Tora*') 18¹⁶ (secrets of), 44⁹ qu. 48 C¹² D⁴

leader 26¹ 45⁶

learn 48 D³

left (side) 5⁸ 15² 16¹ 22⁹ 25⁶ 31¹ 33^{1,3}

length 9² 18²⁵ 33⁴ 48 A⁹

Lesser Light 26⁶

Lesser *YHWH* 12⁵ 48 C⁷ 48 D¹ no. 102

letters (cosmical etc.) 13^{1,2} 15 B⁵ 18²⁵ 41¹⁻⁴, 44⁹ (of the *Tora*), 45² (of the *Tora*), 48 D⁵

Levi 2³

Leviathan 48 D⁸

life 8¹ 18²⁴, 18²² (cloak of); see life

eternal 18²², garments of life 18²²,

stores of life 10⁶, Tree of Life 5¹ 23¹⁸ 48 D⁸

Lifegiver 18^{23,24}

Light, see also 'Greater Light' and 'Lesser Light'; 9⁴ (the great luminary), 9⁵ 10¹ 12^{1,3} 14⁵ 15¹ 15 B¹ 26^{2,4,6,7,11} 28⁷ 29² 35⁶ 48 A¹ B¹ C^{4,6}

lighten v. 42^{1,4}

lightning 13^{1,2}, 14^{3,4} (angel of), 15¹ 18²⁵ 24^{4,5,6,9}, 22 C² (chambers of lightnings), 23¹¹ 25^{3,7} 26^{4,6} 29² 32^{1,2,3} 35² 37² 38² 42^{1,4} 48 B¹ C⁶

Lion 15 B²

literally 24¹¹

little finger 40³, 47¹ (of God)

live v. 18²² 28¹⁰ qu.

living beings 11¹

Living (God) 15 B³

living, books of the 18²⁴ 28³
 Lord (God) 1³ 4⁷ 5^{10,14} 15 B³ 22 B⁸
 23² qu. 6 qu. 11 24^{5,7,8,21,23} 32¹ qu.
 33⁵ qu. 35⁵ qu. 42³ qu. 44^{7,10} 45⁶ qu.
 47⁴ qu. 48 A^{3,6,10} qu. 48 C¹ qu. D¹⁰ qu.
 lordly 19¹ 25¹
 lords of dread (angels) 22 B^{2,3}
 lot s. 48 D⁵
 love s. 81² 12¹ 13¹ 22 B⁷, 22 B⁸ (rivers
 of), 48 D⁹
 love v. 12¹ 13¹
 loveliness 22 B⁶
 lover of peace (of Aaron) 1³
 loving-kindness 81² 22¹²
 luminary 9⁴ (the great), 41¹

Machage Samal 36²
 magistrate 45²
 magnify 22¹² 48 C⁴
Magog 45⁶
Mah'Adam 5¹⁰, *Mah'Enosh* 5¹⁰
 maintenance 81¹ (*parnasa*)
 majestic 14⁶ (glory), 26¹¹ 48 C⁴
 majesty 5¹¹ 12³, 15 B¹ (Divine), 15 B^{3,5}
 17⁸ 18⁸⁻²⁵ 22^{7,12,15} 22 B⁶ 26^{4,6} 28³
 39² 45¹ 48 A² B¹ C^{4,5,7}
 Maker of Creation 11¹
 Maker of Peace 42⁷
 Maker of the World 18¹⁸, of the angels
 47²
Makon (the sixth heaven) 17³ 38; *see*
 'heavens, sixth heaven'
Mal'aki 4⁶ (B)
male 35⁶
Mamlakhethi 4⁶ (L)
 man 4⁶, 5^{1,3} (the first), 5¹⁰ 6³ 11² 24¹⁷
 31² 44⁵, 45² (men of might), 45⁴
 (men of reputation), 48 A⁴ qu. 5^{6,8}
 48 B¹ C^{1,11}, 48 D⁶ (son of man),
 48 D¹⁰ (men of the Great Syna-
 gogue), 48 D¹⁰ (men of faith)
 mantle 18²⁵
Ma'on (the fifth heaven), *see* 'heavens,
 the fifth heaven'
MAQOM (the Divine Majesty) 18²⁴
 44² 45^{1,6} 46^{1,2} 47^{1,4} 48 A^{1,2,4,5} D⁸
Margeziel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 6
 master 5¹⁰ 47² 48 D¹ no. 102; *see* 'Lord'
 and 'Universe'
Matariel 14⁴
 measure s. 22 C^{2,4,7} 26^{7,10} 33³
Mekhapperyah (name of Metatron)
 48 D¹ no. 93
memunneh, *see* 'appointed'
Memunnim (appointed ones, a class
 of angels) 19⁶
 Merciful One, the 4³

merciful 22¹²
 mercy 81², 10¹ 13¹ 15 B² 22¹² 31^{1,2} 33¹
 44⁸ 48 A⁶; angels of mercy 33¹;
 the Divine Attribute of Mercy 31^{1,2}
 Mercy-Seal 24⁹
 merit 1⁸ (of Aaron), 18^{17,20} 48 A⁸
Merkaba, Merkabah 1^{1,5,7} 2^{1,2,4} 6² 7
 15¹ 15 B² 16² 19^{1,2} 22¹⁰ 22 C² 41²
 46² 48 B² C² D⁵; eagles of the *Mer-
 kaba* 2¹; 'He who sitteth on the
Merkabah' 15 B²; *Galgallim* of
 the *Merkaba*, *see* 'Angels, *Gal-
 gallim*' and 'Galgallim'; picture
 of the *Merkabah* 1⁵; Princes of
 the *Merkaba* 1⁷ 22¹⁰; vision of
 the *Merkabah* 1¹ 16²; wheels of
 the *Merkaba* 6² 15¹; *see* 'Angels,
Galgallim'
Mesharethim (a class of angels), *see*
 'Servants' and 'Angels, Servants'
 19⁶
 messengers 35⁴
 Messiah 35⁶ 48 A¹⁰; Messiah son of
 David 35⁶; Messiah of the house
 of David 48 A¹⁰; Messiah son of
 Joseph 45⁶
 Metatron 14⁹ 21³ 31² 41¹ 51¹-48 A¹
 10³ 15 B^{2,3,4,5} 44⁹ 46² 47⁴ 48 C^{1,3},
 10, 12 48 D^{1,5,6,9,10}; *see* 'Presence,
 Prince of the', 'Ebed', 'Na'ar',
 'World, Prince of the', 'Lesser
 YHWH', 'Ruler'; *see also* 'Enoch'
 middle 21⁸
 midst 4³ 5¹³ 6¹ 22 B^{4,6} 23¹⁸ 40³ 42^{1,4,5,6,7}
 47¹ 48 C⁶
 might 8² 18²⁵ 22¹⁶ 26⁸ 45² 48 A⁹ B¹ qu.
 mighty 1¹⁰, 4¹ (Mighty Ones), 5¹¹
 18^{20,21,23}, 19⁶ (Mighty Ones), 19¹
 20¹ 22¹ 22 B⁵ 25⁴ 26¹ 39² 48 B²
Migon (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 29
Mikael 17^{1,3}, 44¹⁰ (prince of Israel)
 minister (of the Throne of Glory) 48 C⁴
 (Metatron)
 minister v. 6² (B) 14¹ 35⁴ qu.
 ministering angels, *see* 'Angels, Minis-
 tering angels'
 ministers of the consuming fire (angels)
 6²
 Mirjam 45⁴
Mitmon (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 46
Mitton (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 30
 moon 5⁸ 13², 14^{3,4} (angel of the), 17^{5,6}
 26⁶ 38¹ 41¹
 morning 40⁴ qu. 46⁴ qu. 48 C⁴, morning
 star 21⁴, morning stars 38³ qu.;
see 'planets'

Moses 15 B² (Ascension of) 15 B⁵ 45³
 48 A³ qu. 5, 6, 7 48 D³, 4, 7, 10
 Most High, the 28⁹
Mottron (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 31
 mount (Sinai) 1³
 mountain 5⁷ 13¹ 23^{17, 18} 41¹ 42^{1, 2} qu. 4
 47² 48 D³
 mourner 44⁷
 mourning 44⁷
 mouth 1¹² 15 B¹ 16² 18²⁵ 22^{4, 13} 25⁴ 27³
 30¹ 36² 40⁴ 45⁶ 46⁴ 47⁴ 48 A² B²
 48 C¹⁰ qu.
 multitude 4⁴ 19⁶ 35²
 music, musick 22 B⁸
 mystery, mysteries 11^{1, 2} (of the *Tora*,
 'wonderful'), 18²² (mystery of the
 Throne of Glory), 48 C⁷; see
 'secrets'
Na'ar (Youth, name of Metatron) 2²
 3² 4^{1, 10}
Na'aririel 18^{10, 11}
 name s. 2³ 3¹ 5¹¹ 10⁵ 14⁴ 18^{18, 23} 19^{1, 3}
 22¹ 22 C³ 25¹ 26⁸ 27¹ 28¹ 29¹ 39²
 44² 46² 48 B^{1, 2} C^{1, 9} D¹
 Divine Names: Name of the Holy
 One 2³ 4¹ 5¹¹ 10^{3, 5} 12⁵ qu. 19⁷ qu.
 22⁵ 22 C³ 29¹ 30¹ 48 A⁸ B² D¹; the
 abode of God's glorious Name
 5¹¹; Names of the Holy One
 15 B^{4, 5} 42^{2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7} 48 C⁹; the Ex-
 plicit Name (*Shem ha-mMephor-*
ash) 22⁵; the Explicit Names 39¹
 48 D^{5, 8}; Explicit Names on the
Merkaba 48 D⁵; Explicit Names
 on the Throne of Glory 39¹ 48 D⁸;
 see B^{1, 2}; seventy-two Names 48 B¹
 (K) (written on the Heart of
MAQOM, going forth from the
 Throne of Glory); seventy-two
 Names, enumerated 48 B¹ (K);
 seventy Names 48 D⁵
 Divine Names, see '*MAQOM*', '*Ge-*
burah' (appellations), '*Kabod*', fur-
 ther '*Akatriel Yah Yehod Sebaoth*'
 (15 B⁴) and the enumerations,
 42²⁻⁷ (*YAH 'EHYE 'ASHER*
 '*EHYE*, '*ESH'OKELA*, *SUR*
 '*OLAMIM*, '*EL-SHADDAI*
 '*RABBA*, *YAD'ALKE* *YAH*,
 '*OSE SHALOM*), and 48 B¹ (K)
 Constituents of the Divine Names,
 see 'letters, cosmical'
 nation (nations of the world) 2^{2, 3} 18⁷ qu.
 44^{7, 10} 45^{4, 5, 6} 48 A^{8, 9, 10} 48 D⁵
 necessity 41²; see 'need'
 need s. 13¹ 15¹; see 'necessity'

Nehar di-Nur (the fiery river) 18^{19, 21}
 36^{1, 2} 47^{1, 2}
 Nimrod 45³
 Noah 45³
 noble, nobles 45^{2, 4}
 number 22 B³ 46² qu.
 numerical value 22 B³
 oath 15 B⁵
 '*Ophanniel*, see '*Ophanniel*'
 officers (of court) 28⁸ 45²
ophan (globe) 17⁵; see '*Ophannim*'
 '*Ophanniel* 14⁴ 17⁵ 25^{1, 5}
 '*Ophannim* 1⁸ 2¹ 6^{2, 3, 7} 22 B⁸ 22 C^{2, 7}
 24¹⁸ 25^{5, 6} 26¹¹ 33³ 39² 48 A¹ C⁴;
 flaming 2¹; burning 7; honoured
 26¹¹; mighty 39²; majestic 48 C⁴;
 "His '*Ophannim*' 22 B⁸; wheels of
 22 C⁷; chariots of 24¹⁸; crowns of
 25⁷; prince of 25^{1, 5}
 '*Ophphanniel*, see '*Ophanniel*'
 oppressor 45²
 orbit 17⁶
 order s. 13¹ (orders of Creation), 22^{12, 16}
 (of the Kerubim), 38¹ (orders of
Ma'on, orders of *Ragia'*), 40³ 46³
 Orion 41¹
 '*Ose Shalom* (Divine Name) 42⁷
 overseer 45²
Pa'aziel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 8
Pachriel (an archangel) 17¹ (A)
 palace 7, 10⁶ (of Araboth), 48 C⁸
 parasang 5⁷ 6² 17⁵ 18^{19, 25} 22 B¹ 22 C^{1, 2, 3}
 33^{3, 4} 48 C^{5, 7}
Parashim (horsemen, a class of angels)
 19⁶
 Patriarch 44⁷
Pazriel 17³ (A) (archangel, prince of
 the first heaven)
 peace 1^{3, 5, 11} (gates of), 26⁸, 33¹ (angels
 of), 42⁷
 people 2³ (God's), 2⁴ 18⁷ qu. 26¹² 45⁵
Peres 10⁴; see 'Curtain'
 Perfect Law (the mysteries of) 11¹;
 see Ps. 19⁸
 perfection 6³
 perform v. 22 B⁷ 48 C⁸
Periel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 10
 Persia (prince of) 26¹²
 Phinehas 45⁴
 picture (of the *Merkabah*) 1⁵
 pillar 24⁷ qu. 37² 38¹ 48 B¹
 pious 18²², 48 A⁵ (*Chasidim*)
Pisqon (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
 no. 48
 pity s. 44⁷

planet, planets ⁵ 13^{1,2} 14^{3,4} 17^{8,7},
21⁴ (Venus), 26^{4,6} 38¹, 40² (Venus),
41¹
plead 30² 32¹ qu.
Pleiades 41¹
power 1^{3,11} (gates of), ⁵ 8², 16³
(Divine), 22¹ 25⁴ 36¹ 45⁸ qu., 48 B¹
(angels), C^{4,7} (K) D⁵
Power (angelic agencies) 36¹ 48 B¹
praise s. 1¹² 16¹ 17⁸ 18^{5,18} qu. 20²
22^{12,13,15} 22 B² 25⁶ 26^{2,8} 28³ 38²
45⁸ 47 48 A² 48 B² 48 D¹⁰
praise v. 22¹⁵ 28³ 46³ 48 A³
pray 1³ 15 B^{2,4} 44⁷ 48 A^{3,5,6}
prayer 1² 15 B^{2,4} 44⁷ 48 C⁹
Presence 4⁸ 10⁴ 12⁵ 18²⁰ 44³ 48 C¹²;
see 'Angels, Prince of the Presence';
Divine Presence 4⁸ 10⁴ 18²⁰ 44³
48 C¹²; Prince of the Presence, see
'Angels, Prince of the Presence'
preside v. 16¹ 18¹⁵ 26⁸
president of academy 45²
priest 48 A⁷ qu.
priesthood, crown of 1³ 2³
Prince(s), (1) Angelic, see 'Angels,
Prince(s)'; (2) 45^{2,4}, 26⁸ (Prince
of Peace)
proper way (of chanting the *Qedushsha*)
40¹
prophet 45⁴ 48 D¹⁰; 'The Prophets'
(*Nebi'im*, part of the O.T.) 48 D^{3,4}
proud, the proud 28⁶ 48 C⁹
prudence 41³
psalm 1¹²
punish v. 44³ (the wicked in the fire
of Gehenna)
pure adj. 23¹⁸ 28⁷
purify 44² (the Intermediate, by *Sim-
kiel*)
pursuer of peace 1³ (Aaron)
putrefy (putrefying drop) 48 D⁸

Qaddishin (Holy Ones), see 'Angels,
Qaddishin', '*Irin* and *Qaddishin*';
'Holy Ones' 22 C⁴ 28^{1,4,5,9,10}
Qafsiel (one of the Watchers of the
Halls) 1³
Qaspiel (one of the Watchers of the
Halls) 1³ (DE)
Qedushsha 1¹¹; see 'Trisagion'
'Holy', the *Trisagion* 1¹², 34¹ 35^{4,5,6}
38¹ 39¹ 40^{1,2,3}, 48 B¹ (as a Divine
Name), 48 B²
'Baruk, Blessed' (the response) 1¹²
34¹ 35⁴ 39², 48 B¹ (as a Divine
Name), 48 B²
(1) "Blessed be the Glory of YHWH
from HIS Place" 1¹²

(2) "Blessed be the Name of HIS
glorious Kingdom for ever and
ever" 30² 48 B¹ (K), 48 B²
Angels chanting the *Qedushsha* 18⁴,
(four camps of Shekina and the
princes set over them, *Tagas*,
appointed over all the song-uttering
angels), 34² ("Those who chant
the 'Holy, etc.' and those who
chant the 'Blessed, etc.'"), 35^{1,3}
(myriads of camps, arranged in
four *shuroth*, presided over by the
four princes of the army), 35⁴ (as
in 34²), 35⁵ (transformation of the
angels chanting the 'Holy'), 36^{1,2}
(their purification), 38¹, 39^{1,2} (the
higher angelic orders chanting the
'Blessed'), 40¹⁻⁴, 47¹⁻⁴ (the reward
or punishment meted out to the
angels of the *Qedushsha*), 20² 22¹²
22 B⁸ 25⁵ 26⁸ 27³
qualities, abstract, attributes, 81²

Ra'amiel (the Prince appointed over
the thunder) 14⁴
Ra'ashiel (the Prince appointed over
the earthquake) 14⁴
radiance 9⁵ 22¹² 22 B⁶ 22 C⁶ 26^{4,5,7}
48 B¹
radiant 1⁷ 5³ 22 C⁶ 48 C⁴
Radweriel (the keeper of the Book
of Records) 27^{1,3}
Rahatiel (the angel-prince appointed
over the constellations) 14⁴ 17⁶
46³
rank s. 40³
Raqia' (the second heaven or synony-
mous with 'heavens'), see 'heavens,
Raqia' and the second heaven'
Razrazyah (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 68
recital, recitation of the *Qedushsha* 19⁶
27³
record, records, book of 27²; see
'judgement, books of' and 'books'
record v. 18¹⁷ 30²
redeem 48 A⁸
reflection 28², 48 D⁵ (the names of
Metatron, a reflection of the Divine
Names)
repentance 47 C¹¹
reputation, men of 45⁴
Reshuyyoth (Divine Powers) 16³ (Two
Reshuyyoth)
reveal 11¹, 18¹⁶ (*Gallisur* reveals all
the secrets of the Law), 43² (Meta-
tron reveals the Throne of Glory
and the spirits to R. Ishmael),

reveal (*contd.*)

44⁷ (the Kingdom of God), 48 C⁷ (God reveals all secrets to Metatron), C⁹ (Metatron reveals the Divine decrees to the Princes under him), 48 D^{7,8} (Metatron reveals secrets to Moses)

reward 6³

Ribbothaim (chariots of) 24⁶

right 40³ (right order), 48 D¹⁰ qu.

right hand, right side 5⁸ 15² 16¹ 22⁹ 25⁶ 31¹ 33^{1,3} 48 A³ qu.

Right Hand of *MAQOM* 44^{7,8} 48 A^{1,2,4,5}

righteous 18²² 22¹ 23¹⁸ 43³ 44⁷ 48 A³ 48 C¹¹ qu.⁹

righteousness 6³ 22¹ 28⁷ 41³ 48 A^{6,8}

Rikbiel (the prince set over the wheels of the *Merkaba*) 19^{1,2}

ring s. 48 D⁵ (of the 22 cosmic letters)

river 13¹ 18^{19,21} 19⁴ 22 B¹, 22 B^{3,4} (rivers of hail and rivers of fire), 3⁸ (rivers of joy, love and rejoicing), C² (rivers of hail, of darkness, of dread and of fear), 23^{17,18} 33^{4,6} 37^{1,2} 41¹, 48 A⁴ (of tears, going forth from the Right Hand of *MAQOM*), D⁸; rivers of fire, *see* 'fiery river(s)' and 'Nehar di-Nur'

roar v. 19⁵ 35² 38² 42^{1,5}

roaring 15²

robe (of Metatron) 12²

Rome, the prince of (Sammael) 26¹²

row (the four rows of angels, chanting the *Qedushsha* before the Throne of Glory) 35³ 36²; *see* 'Shekina, camps of'

royal 12³ 39² 48 C⁷; cloaks 17⁸; crowns 17⁸ 18²⁵, *see* 'kingship, crowns of'; garments 17⁸ 18²⁵, *see* 'kingship, garments of'; horses 17⁸; servants 17⁸

Ruchiel (the angel set over the wind) 14⁴

rule v. 14³

ruler 4^{5,8} 10³ 14⁴ 22 B⁷ 45² 48 C⁹ D⁶

Ruler (of Metatron-Enoch) 4^{5,8} 10³; Metatron Prince of the Rulers 48 D⁶

rulers of the world (angels) 14⁴

Rulers, a class of angels 14⁴ 22 B⁷ 48 D⁶

rulership 16¹

run v. 17^{8,6} 22 C⁵ 24¹⁵ 33⁴ 35⁴ 36¹

Sagnesakiel (name of Metatron) 48 D²; *see* 'Sasnigiel'

salvation (day of, etc.) 48 A^{1,5,7,8,10}

Sammael 14² (the Prince of the Accusers), 26¹² (Prince of Rome; Accuser)

Samuel 45⁴, 48 A^{5,6,7} qu. (intercessor for Israel)

Sanctification 26⁸

sanctify 22 C³ 28¹⁰

sanctuary 24²² qu.

Sanhedrin, celestial; *see* 'Beth Din' 27²

saraph (burn) 26¹²

Sasnigiel (angel-prince) 18^{11,12} (Prince of Wisdom)

Satan 23¹⁰ 26¹²

scent (of the winds in the Garden of Eden) 23¹⁸

sceptre, royal 17⁸ (of the Princes of Kingdoms)

scholar 48 C¹² (instructed by Metatron in the celestial academy)

scourger 45²

scribe (angelic) 26¹ 27² 33², *see* 18²³⁻²⁵; Ezra the Scribe 48 D¹⁰

scripture 18²⁴ 23¹⁷ 43³

scroll 18²⁵

sea 13¹ 18²⁵ 23² qu. 13, 17, 18 35² 41¹ 48 A⁴ D⁸

seal s. 18¹⁹ 27²

seal v. 48 D⁵

seat s. 22 C³ (of the Throne of Glory), 25⁵

seat v. 10² 30¹ 48 C⁴

Seba'im (a class of angels) 19⁶

secret(s) 11¹ (of the Universe), 11^{1,2} (of Wisdom, of Creation), 18¹⁸ (of the *Tora*), 26¹² ('the secrets of the Holy One'), 48 C^{4,7} (the Divine secrets revealed to Metatron by the Most High, Metatron called 'Knower of Secrets'), 48 C⁹ (Metatron reveals the secrets of the Divine Decrees to the Princes under him, the Princes of Kingdoms), 48 D^{7,8} (Metatron reveals the secrets to Moses)

seed (of Aaron) 2³

Segansakkiel (name of Metatron) 'the Prince of Wisdom' 48 D¹ no. 105; *see* 'Sagnesakiel' and 'Sasnigiel'

semen 6² 48 D⁸; *see* 'drop, white'

Senegron (Advocate), name of Metatron 48 D¹ no. 22

sentence s. 28^{4,8} qu.⁹

Seraph 19⁷; *see* 'Angels, Seraphim'

Seraphiel (the Prince of the Seraphim) 26⁸

Seraphim, *see* 'Angels, Seraphim'

Servant: (1) 'Ebed', i.e. Metatron, *see* 'Ebed'

- (2) Aaron, the servant of the Holy One ²³; see 48 D⁴ qu.
- (3) Metatron calls R. Ishmael 'My servant' ⁴⁴⁹
- (4) Servants, *Mesarethim*, angels; see 'Angels, Servants'; the ministering angels servants of Metatron ¹⁶²
- session, celestial ¹⁸¹⁵; see 'academy', 'college'
- set over, see 'appoint, appointed'
- seven fiery rivers ³³; see 'fiery river' and 'Nehar di-Nur'
- seven Halls, see 'Halls'
- seven heavens, see 'heavens'
- seven princes of the seven heavens ¹⁷¹ ^{181,2}; see 'heavens'
- seven times (the ministering angels bathe seven times before chanting the *Qedushsha*) ³⁶²
- sevenfold light ²⁶⁴
- seventy Divine Names ^{48 D5} (48 C⁹)
- seventy names of Metatron ³² ⁴¹ ^{48 C9} ^{48 D1}, ^{48 D5} (a reflection of the Explicit Names), enumerated ^{48 D1}
- seventy names of the Princes of Kingdoms ²⁰¹
- seventy tongues, nations of the world; see 'tongues', 'nations'
- seventy-two Divine Names ^{48 B1} (K) enumerated; see also 'Explicit Names' and 'Name', 'Names'
- Shachgiel* (archangel, prince of the fourth heaven) ^{171,3}
- Shalgiel* (angel of the snow) ¹⁴⁴
- shallishim* (chieftains, a class of angels) ¹⁹⁶
- Shamayim* (name of the first heaven), see 'heavens'
- sharpen *v.* ³²² (the sword of God)
- Shathgiel* (archangel, prince of the fifth heaven) ^{171,3}
- sheath ³²¹
- Shechagim* (name of the third heaven), see 'heavens'
- Shekina* ^{16,11} ^{51,3,4,5,13,14} ^{61,3} ⁷ ⁸¹ ¹⁵¹ ^{15 B3} ^{1819,24} ^{225,7,13} ^{22 B7} ²⁴¹⁵ ²⁸² ³⁵⁵ ³⁷¹ ^{391,2} ⁴³² ⁴⁴³ ^{471,3,4} ^{48 C1}; bow of *Shekina* ²²⁵; camps of ¹⁶ ¹⁸⁴ ³⁷¹, see 'Angels, camps of'; chariots of ³⁷¹; face of ^{15 B3} (L); gates of ¹¹¹; needs of ¹⁵¹; splendour of ^{54,5} ^{227,13} ^{22 B7} ²⁸²; Throne of ⁷; wings of ⁷
- Shem* ⁴⁵³
- Shema* ^{15 B3}
- She'ol* ^{442,3}
- shepherd ⁴⁵²
- shield *s.* ²²⁶
- Shimshiel* (angel of the day) ¹⁴⁴
- Shin'anim* (a class of angels) ⁷
- Shoged Chosi* ¹⁸²⁰ (the angel-prince who weighs the merits of men in a balance)
- sidereal angels, see 'Angels, sidereal' and '*Rahatiel*'
- Sidriel* (archangel, prince of the first heaven) ^{171,3} (D)
- Simkiel* (angel of destruction, appointed over the Intermediate—the *Benoniyyim*—in *She'ol*) ^{492,3}
- sin *s.* ⁸¹ (fear of)
- sin *v.* ^{43,4} ⁴⁴⁸
- Sinai ¹³ ²³ ^{48 D3,4}
- sing ^{2212,15} ^{22 B2} ³⁸³ ⁴⁷²; see 'utter'
- size ⁵⁷ ⁹² ¹⁸²⁵ ²¹³ ²⁶¹⁰ ³²²
- skull ^{227,11,15} ²⁶⁶
- sky *s.* ²⁶⁶
- slave *s.* ⁴⁴⁷
- smell ⁶²
- smite ²⁰² ²³¹⁴ qu. ^{48 C9}
- snow ¹³¹, ^{143,4} (angel of), ^{22 B3,4} (treasures of), ²⁸⁷ ^{423,4}
- snowy ⁴²¹
- socket ³⁸¹
- Sogdin* (name of Metatron) ^{48 D1} no. ²⁴
- solstice ^{22 C6} ^{48 A9}
- son ^{44,7} ^{15 B5} ^{48 C1} (K)^{2,3}
- Song ^{110,11,12} ⁵¹⁴ ¹⁷ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ^{2212,13,15} ^{22 B2,7} ²⁶⁵ ²⁷³ ⁴⁶⁴ ^{48 A2}, see also '*Qedushsha*' and '*Trisagion*'; 'the Song' (i.e. *Qedushsha*) ¹⁹⁶ ³⁵⁶ ³⁶¹ ³⁸³; *Qedushsha* and 'Blessed', see '*Qedushsha*'
- Sopheriel H Mechayyeh* and *Sopheriel H Memith* (angel-princes set over the books of the living and the dead) ^{1823,24}
- sorceries ⁵⁹
- Sothar* '*Ashtiel* ^{1819,20}
- soul ¹⁶² ⁴³³ ^{471,2,3} ^{48 A3} ^{C12}
- sound ⁵¹⁴ qu. ¹⁹⁷ ^{22 B8} ^{48 C1,2}
- spark ¹⁴⁴ (angel of), ²¹⁴ ²²⁴ ²⁶⁴ ²⁹² ³²² ³⁵⁶ ³⁷² ³⁸² ⁴¹⁴ ⁴²⁷ ⁴⁶² ^{48 C4}
- speak *v.* ^{448,9} ³⁰² ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁴⁹
- speech ¹¹¹ (gates of), ^{48 C9}
- spirit ¹⁹ ⁵⁴ (evil), ²⁸¹⁰ ^{431,2} ^{441,2,7}; evil spirits, see 'demons'
- splendour ^{54,5} ⁸² ⁹⁵ ¹⁰¹ ^{122,4} ¹⁵¹ ¹⁸¹⁸ ²¹⁴ ²²⁴ ^{7,13} ^{22 B6,7} ²⁵⁷ ^{262,4,5,7,11} ²⁸² ²⁹² ³¹² ³²¹ ⁴⁴³ ^{48 A4,9} ^{48 C4,6,7}; see also '*Shekina*, splendour of'
- staff *s.* ³¹² ⁴⁴³
- stain *s.* ⁴⁴⁵

stand *v.* 1² 4⁹ 5⁸ 16^{2,5} 18^{23,24,25} 19^{1,4}
22^{13,15} 22 B^{1,2,4,6} 23¹⁶ 24⁵ qu. 25⁵
27³ 28^{5,7,8} 31^{1,2} 33^{1,2} 35^{6,4} 36²
37¹ 40⁴ 44^{1,10} 46^{1,2} 47^{1,2,3,4}
48 A^{3,7} C¹⁰

standing-place 25⁵ 28²

star 17⁶ 26⁶ 32² 38³ qu. 40² 46¹; see
'constellations', 'planet'

stature 22^{3,8} 35² 48 C⁵

statute 44⁹ 48 D⁴ qu. 10 qu.

stir up (the fire of the *Nehar di-Nur*)
18¹⁹

store(s) 10⁶ (of life), 48 C³; see 'treasure'
'and' 'chambers'

storm-wind 13¹, 14⁴ (angel of), 15²
18²⁵ 19³ 23^{15,16} 37²

streams (of commotion, friendship,
gladness, triumph) 22 B⁸

strength 1^{10,11} (gates of), 8² 22^{1,12}
22 B^{5,7} 25⁴ 36¹ 48 A³ qu. B¹ C⁴

stroke (with lashes of fire) 16⁵

strong 18²³ 19¹ 22¹ 25¹ 48 C¹; 'strong
wind' 19³ 23²

style (flaming) 13¹ 18²⁵ 29¹ 39¹ 41⁴

subtlety 8^{1,2}

summer solstice 22 C⁶ 48 A⁹

sun 5^{4,8} 12³ 13² 14^{3,4} (angel of), 17^{4,6}
18²⁵ 21⁴ 22 C⁶ 23¹⁷ 25⁷ 38¹ 41¹ 48 C⁶;
sunshine 48 A⁹

supporter 45²

Šur 'Olamim (Divine Name) 42⁴

Suryah (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 94

sustain *v.* 41³

swift 18²⁵ 24^{3,17} 26¹; swift cloud 24³;
swift Kerub 24¹⁷ 18²⁵; swift scribe
26¹ (Seraphiel)

sword 22⁹ (of *Kerubiel*), 32^{1,2} (Divine
Sword)

Synagogue, men of the Great 48 D¹⁰

tabernacle (of Metatron) 15 B¹, (chariots
of the Tabernacle) 24⁸

Tabkiel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 12

tables (of accusation) 26¹²

Tafsarim (a class of angels) 14¹ 39²

Tag'as (the prince at the head of the
angels chanting the celestial songs)
18^{5,6}

taint *v.* 48 D⁸

take upon oneself the yoke of the
Kingdom of Heaven 35⁶ (of the
angels)

Tatriel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 11

Taw (the letter Tav: "from *Aleph* to
Taw") 44⁹

teach 5⁹ 18²⁴ 23¹⁷ 26⁸ 45² 46² 48 C^{9,12}

teacher 45^{2,4}

Tebel 38¹

tempest 13¹ 15² 18²⁵ 19³ 34¹ 37²

Temple 48 A¹ (destruction of)

tent 17⁶ 24² 25⁷ 29²

teru'a 48 C²

testifyer 4³

thanksgiving 1¹²

third day 28¹⁰ (of judgement)

three angels 4⁶ 19¹

three crowns 40² (corresponding to
the three parts of the *Trisagion*)

three fingers 18⁶ 33³

three hours 48 C¹²

three times 39² 48 A³

thrice Holy, see '*Qedushsha*' and
'*Trisagion*'

Throne (1) Throne of Glory 1⁶ (*DE*) 10¹²

7⁸ 10¹ 14¹ 15¹ 15 B¹ 18^{17,19,22}

22 B^{1,6,8} 22 C^{4,8} 24²² 26^{7,11} 28²

33³ 35³ 36^{1,2} 39¹ 40^{1,4} 41^{2,4} 43²

48 B^{1,2} C^{4,6,7,12} 48 D⁵; Curtain

(*Pargod*) of the Throne of Glory

10¹ (see 45^{1,6}); Mystery of the

Throne of Glory 18²²

(2) Throne of Judgement 24²¹ 26¹²

28⁷ 31¹ 33¹

(3) Throne of *Merkaba* 46²; Throne

of *Shekina* 7; Holy Throne 24¹⁹;

Throne of *Yah* 24²⁰ 42⁶ qu.; Throne,

the 18² 22 C³ 31² qu. 44⁷ 48 C⁶;

High and exalted Throne (*Kisse*

Ram we Nissa) 5¹¹ 24

(4) Minister of the Throne (Metatron)

48 C⁴; Princes of the Throne of

Glory (princes who know the

mystery of the Throne of Glory)

18²²

(5) Throne of Metatron 10¹ 16^{1,2}

48 C^{5,8}

thunder *s.* 13¹, 14^{3,4} (angel of), 15² 19⁵

22⁹ 37² 38² qu. 42^{1,5}

thunder *v.* 19⁵

time 5^{6,10} 13² 17⁵ 18⁷ 19⁶ 26¹² 27³ 33¹

35⁵ 36¹ 38¹ 39² 45^{5,6} 46⁴ 47²

48 A^{3,4,6} 48 C⁹; time to come 18²²

23¹⁸ 46⁴; see 'future'

Tītmōn (name of Metatron) 48 D¹

no. 47

tongue (1) lit. 18²⁵ 22⁴ 36²

(2) seventy 'tongues'—languages,

nations—of the world 3², 17⁶

(72 tongues), 29¹ 45³ 48 D^{3,5}

Tora (see 'Law') 8¹, 11¹ (mysteries of,

Torah Temima), 18¹⁶ (secrets

of), 44⁹ (letters of), 45² 48 C¹²

D^{3,4,8}

torch, 'torches of flame' *לפירי אש* (לפירי להבה) 13² 18²⁶ 48 C⁶
Tosefta 48 D^{3,4}
Tradition (*Shemu'a*) 48 C¹² D^{3,4}
transform 22 C⁴ 48 C⁶; transformation of Metatron 15 48 C⁹ etc.; transformation of the angels chanting the *Trisagion* 35⁶ 47
transgress 44^{8,9}
transgression 44^{8,9}
treasury (see 'store') 10⁸ 22 B^{3,4} 23¹¹ qu. 27¹ 48 D² 48 C³ D¹⁰; of lightnings 37²
Tree of Life 5¹ 23¹ 48 D⁸; tree 28⁹ qu. 41¹
tribe 2^{3,3} 45³
tribute 6³
Trisagion (1) 'the Holy' 1¹² 18⁷ 22 B⁸ 26⁸ 27³ 34¹² 35^{4,5,6} 38¹ 39¹ 40^{1,2,3}, 48 B¹ (as a Divine Name), 48 B²
(2) 'The Song' (i.e. the *Qedushsha*) 19⁶ 35⁶ 36¹ 38³ (see 27³)
(3) 'the Blessed', the response of the *Qedushsha* 1¹² 34¹ 35⁴ 39², 48 B¹ (as a Divine Name), 48 B²
(a) 'Blessed be the Glory of YHWH from His Place' 1¹²
(b) 'Blessed be the Name of His Glorious Kingdom for ever and ever' 39² 48 B¹ (*K*) 48 B²
Angels chanting the *Trisagion*, see '*Qedushsha*'
triumph, streams of 22 B⁸
troops, see 'Angels, camps of' and 'Angels, troops of' also '*Gedudim*'; 5¹⁴ (troops of hosts), 7 (troops of anger), 19⁶ 36¹, 39² (troops of consuming fire)
trumpet 5¹⁴ 48 C^{1,2}
truth 26¹² 31^{1,2} qu.
Tutresiel (angel-prince) 18^{8,9}
Tutrisyah (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ no. 83
under the Throne 1¹² 48 C¹²
understanding 8^{1,2}, 10⁶ (prince of), 23⁹ 41³ 48 B¹ 48 C⁹ D⁶
unique 48 C¹ D⁹
unit 22 C⁷
Universe (see also 'world') 1³ (Lord of), 4⁷ (Lord of), 9⁶ 10¹, 11¹ (secrets of), 21² 25⁷ 26^{5,7} 38¹ 44⁷
utter (songs) 1¹² 10⁶ 22 B² 27³ 35⁴ 38¹ 39¹ 40³ 46⁴ 47²
utterance 48 C^{9,10}
'*Uzza* (one of the three 'Fallen Watchers') 4⁵ 5⁹

value, numerical 22 B³
vehemence, armies of 7; angel set over the 14⁴
vehicles of the Divine Manifestation 24¹⁻²³; see 'chariot'
Venus (the planet) 21⁴ 26^{4,6} 40²
vision of the *Merkabah* 1¹ 16²
voice 13¹ 15 B¹, 16⁴ (Divine: *Bath Qol*), 22 B⁸ C⁵ 24⁹ qu. 35² 37² 38² 42^{1,5} 44¹⁰ 48 D¹⁰ qu.
wall 33³ 34¹ 47^{3,4}
war s. 45⁶
Watchers of the doors of the Halls 18^{3,4}
Watchers, '*Irin*, see '*Irin*' and 'Angels, '*Irin*'
water 4⁴ (of the Deluge), 23¹ qu. 13 qu. 34^{1,2} 42^{1,2,7}
water v. 42²
weigh v. 18²⁰
West 17⁸
wheel, wheels 15¹ (*M*) 18²⁵ 19³⁻⁷ (*M*), 22 B^{3,4} (of fire), 22 C⁷ (of the '*Ophannim*'), 24¹⁶ 27⁷ 37² 41² (*M*). (*M*) denotes 'wheels of the *Merkaba*'
wheels of the *Merkaba*, see '*Merkaba*' and '*Galgallim*'
white drop (semen) 6²; see 'semen'
wicked 32¹ 33⁵ 44^{1,2,6,8,9} 48 C¹¹
wickedness 44⁶
wife 4⁴
wild animals 4⁴ 48 D⁸
wilderness 23¹⁴ qu.
Wilōn, see 'heavens, the first heaven'
wind 7 13¹, 14^{3,4} (angel of), 19³ (of earthquake), 21¹ 23¹⁻¹⁸, 24² (chariots of the), 26⁹ 35⁸ 42⁷
windows above the heads of the *Kerubim* 15 B²
wing 1⁴ 7 9³ 15¹ 17²⁵ 21^{2,3} 22^{8,13,15} 22 C² 23^{1,16} 25² 26^{8,10} 34¹ 37² 39¹ 41⁴ 42² 46² 47^{3,4}
Wisdom 1¹¹ (gates of), 8¹ (*BDELYR*) 8², 10⁶ (Prince of), 10⁶ (of heavenly things), 11¹ (secrets of), 23⁹ 41³ 48 B¹ C⁷ (*K*)^{9,12} D^{2,6,8}
wise 48 C⁹
witness 4^{3,5} 48 C² D⁷
woman 2⁸ 6² 48 D⁸
Word 1¹² 10⁴ 15 B¹ 23¹⁵ qu. 27³ 28^{4,8} qu. 35², 40⁴ (angels created out of one word), 43³ 45⁶ qu. 48 C⁹, 10 qu.; see also '*Dibbur*' and 'speech'
work s. 42² 45^{4,5,8} 47⁴ 48 A⁵ (*v.*), A⁸ (*v.*)
world 3² 4⁴ 5^{2,4,6,7,10} 6³ 9^{2,3} 10⁵ 11³ 12⁴ 13¹ 14^{3,4} 15 B⁵ 17⁸ 18^{18,19,22} 21¹ 24¹⁷ 26^{9,12} 28^{4,7} 29¹ 30^{1,2}

world (*contd.*)

32^{1,2} 38³ 41^{2,3} 42^{2,7} 44¹⁰ 45^{1,4,5,6}
48 A^{4,5,8,9,10} 48 C^{2,9} 48 D¹⁰; future
world 4⁵, *see* 'time to come'; this
world and the world to come 10⁵;
inhabitants of the world 4³; Maker
(Creator) of the world 18¹⁸; Prince
of the World 30² 38³; 18000 worlds
24¹⁷

worship *v.* 5¹² 6³

worshipper (of idols) 5^{6,10}

worthy 2⁴ 48 A³

wrath 22² 23¹⁴

wreath *v.* 48 C⁴

write 13¹ 18^{17,24,25} 26¹²

writings (part of the Bible) 48 D^{3,4}

writings, case of 27², writing tables
(of accusation) 26¹²

wrong 47²

Yad 'Al Kes Yah (Divine Name) 42⁸

Yah, throne of 24²⁰, *Yah* 42²

year 4¹⁰ 18²⁵ 25^{2,4} 26⁷

Yehoel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹ nos.
1, 2

Yephiphayah (the Prince of *Tora*) 48 D⁴

Yeshiba 16¹; *see* 'Celestial Court'

YHWH 10³ 15 B³ 22 B^{2,5} 23^{7,9} 42⁴,
48 D¹ no. 14 (as a name of Meta-
tron), 48 D⁷

YHWH, the Lesser (i.e. Metatron)

12⁵ 48 C⁷ 48 D¹ no. 102

yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven

35⁸

Yophiel (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 3

youth 4¹⁰; *see* 'Na'ar'

Za'amiel (angel of vehemence) 14⁴

Za'aphiel 14⁴ (angel of the storm-
wind), 44^{2,3} (angel of destruction,
set over the wicked in *Gehenna*)

Zakkikyah (name of Metatron) 48 D¹
no. 82

Zaksakkiel (angel-prince, 'appointed
to write down the merits of Israel
on the Throne of Glory' 18^{17,19}

Zazriel (angel-prince) 18^{12,13}

Zebul (the fourth heaven), *see* 'heavens,
the fourth heaven'

Zeera, R. 48 D¹⁰

Zehanpuryuh (angel-prince function-
ing at the Judgement, on the side
of 'Mercy') 18²¹

Zi'iel (angel of commotion) 14⁴

Ziqiel (angel appointed over the sparks)
14⁴

Ziw (*Ziw ha-shShekina*), *see* 'She-
kina, splendour of'

III. INDEX OF NUMBERS OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

3	18^6 , <i>see</i> 'three'	1000	$5^{14,7}$ 12^1 22^1 34^2 $48 B^1$, thousand times thousand $22 B^2 C^4, 7$ 35^4 qu. ⁶ 36^1 40^2
4	18^4 , <i>see</i> 'four', 18^{19}	1800	$15 B^2$
7	<i>see</i> 'seven', 17^{1-4} 18^{1-3}	2000	21^4
8	10^3 , 19^3	2116	25^2
12	myriads $22 C^{1,2}$	2190	25^2
15	17^5	2191	25^2
16	25^2 39^1	2196	25^2
22	myriads $22 C^2$ $48 D^5$ (22 letters)	2500	25^4
24	myriads $22 B^4 C^2$	3000	18^{25}
36	9^3 $22 B^3$ $22 C^2$ 44^9	5360	$6^2 (L)$ 9^1
40	44^9 $48 D^{3,4}$	5380	$6 (YR)$
49	12^3	7000	18^{19}
60	16^5	8466	25^2
68	$17^5 (D)$	10000	5^{14} 22^1 34^2 , ten thousand times ten thousand $22 B^3 C^4, 7$ 35^4 qu. 36^1 40^2
70	<i>see</i> 'Names', 29^1 $48 C^9$ $48 D^3$	12000	$22 B^4$
72	9^3 (wings of Metatron), $17^6, 7$ 25^6 30^2	18000	24^{17} (18000 worlds)
84	$22 C^2$	30000	$22 C^2$
88	17^5	36000	$22 B^1$
96	17^4	40000	$22 C^2, 3$
100	25^2	66000	33^3
148	$22 C^2$	70000	33^3 $48 C^5$
248	21^3 33^4	300000	8^1
354	17^5	339000	17^6
365	5^4 6^2 $9^1 (DE)$ 9^4 17^7 18^{25} 21^3 33^4	496000	17^2 35^1 40^3
500	$48 C^7$ (500 by 500)	506000	35^1
502	26^7	660000	$22 B^6$
955	$48 A^1$ (955 heavens)	800000	33^3

IV. INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES QUOTED IN 3 ENOCH

Genesis 1²: 23¹

3⁸: 23¹⁸

5²⁴: 1¹

8¹: 23¹³

9¹³: 22 C⁴

Exodus 10¹³: 23³

14²¹: 23²

15²⁶: 48 D¹⁰

17¹⁶: 24²⁰ 42⁶

19⁴: 24¹¹

19⁹: 24⁴

23²¹: 12⁵ 48 D¹ no. 102

24¹⁰: 24¹⁰

Leviticus 1¹: 24⁸

Numbers 5¹⁴: 23⁵

7⁸⁹: 24⁹

11³¹: 23⁴

Deuteronomy 4²⁴: 42³

6⁴: 15 B³

10⁴: 48 D⁴

31¹⁵: 24⁷

32¹²: 48 A¹⁰

32⁴¹: 32²

I Samuel 12¹⁷: 48 A⁶

16²³: 23⁸

II Samuel 22¹¹: 24^{1, 2}

I Kings 19¹¹: 23^{6, 12}

22¹⁶: 5⁸, 18²⁴

II Chronicles 18¹⁸: 18²⁴

Job 1¹⁹: 23¹⁴

21¹⁴: 4³

25²: 42⁷

38⁷: 38³

Psalms 8³: 46⁴

8⁴: 5¹⁰

10¹: 44¹⁰

14²: 24¹⁷

18¹⁰: 23¹⁸ 24^{1, 2, 17}

19¹: 46³

47⁵: 5¹⁴ 24¹² 48 C¹

47⁸: 24¹⁹

68⁴: 19⁷ 24¹³ 48 B¹

68¹⁷: 24⁶

77¹⁸: 38²

92⁵: 47⁴

97³: 40³

99⁶: 48 A⁷

104³: 24¹⁴

104¹⁸: 42²

104²⁴: 45⁶

144¹⁵: 2⁴

147⁴: 46²

Psalms 148⁸: 23¹⁵

Proverbs 11⁸: 48 C¹¹

25²³: 23¹⁰

Ecclesiastes 1⁶: 23¹⁷

8⁴: 45⁶

Canticles 4¹⁶: 23¹⁸

Isaiah 5¹⁶: 24²¹

6¹: 24²³

6²: 22 B¹

6³: 35⁶

11²: 23⁹

16⁵: 31²

19¹: 24^{3, 17}

24^{19, 20}: 48 A⁴

26⁴: 42⁴

28⁹: 48 C¹²

33³: 18⁷

40²⁹: 48 B¹

46⁴: 4⁶

48¹¹: 48 A⁸

51⁹: 48 A³

52¹⁰: 48 A¹⁰

55¹¹: 48 C¹⁰

57¹⁸: 43³

59¹⁶: 48 A⁶

63⁵: 48 A⁷

63¹²: 48 A³

66¹⁶: 32¹

Jeremiah 3^{14, 22}: 16⁴

10¹³: 23¹¹

15¹: 48 A⁷

17¹²: 24²²

23¹⁹: 33⁵

30²³: (33⁵) 35⁵

51¹⁶: 23¹¹

Lamentations 3²³: 40⁴ 46⁴

Ezekiel 1¹⁴: 22 C⁵ 24¹⁵

10²: 24¹⁶

10¹²: 24¹⁸

37¹: 23⁷

48³⁵: 24¹⁸

Daniel 2²¹: 48 C⁹

4^{13, 14}: 28⁸

4¹⁷: 28^{4, 8}

7¹⁰: 18¹⁹ 30² 35⁴

9¹¹: 44⁹

Hosea 6²: 28¹⁰

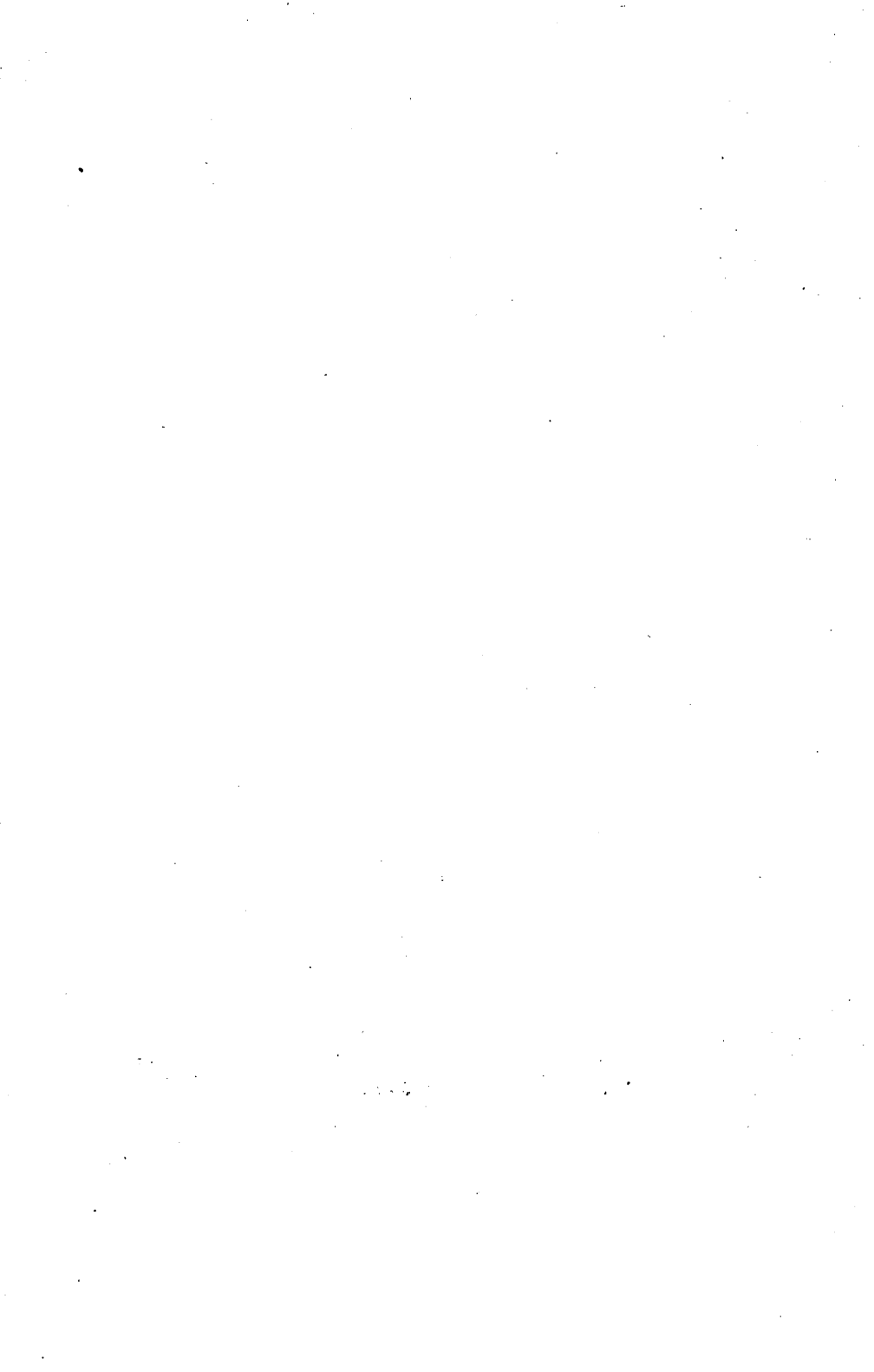
Amos 4¹³: 23¹⁷

9¹: 24⁵

Habakkuk 3³: 18¹⁸

Zechariah 14⁹: 48 A¹⁰

Malachi 4⁴: 48 D⁴



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a sixteenth century English grimoire
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Sepher Raziel

also known as

Liber Salomonis

a 1564 English Grimoire

from Sloane MS 3826

manuscript transcribed, annotated and introduced

by Don Karr

foreword and modern English version

by Stephen Skinner

GOLDEN HOARD PRESS

2010

Contents

Acknowledgements & Bibliographic Note	7
Contents	9
List of Figures	11
Foreword – Stephen Skinner	13
The Study of Solomonic Magic in English – Don Karr	25
Introduction to the Manuscript – Don Karr	45
Sepher Raziel – Liber Salomonis (transcription by Don Karr)	49
1. <i>Clavis</i> of astronomy and of the stars (ff 5 ^v -11 ^v)	56
2. <i>Ala</i> , the virtues of some stones, of herbs, and of beasts (ff 12 ^r -27 ^r)	67
3. <i>Tractatus Thymiamatus</i> of suffumigations (ff 27 ^r -34 ^r)	91
4. The <i>Treatise of Times</i> of the day and of the night (ff 34 ^r -46 ^r)	102
5. The <i>Treatise of Cleanness and of Abstinence</i> (ff 46 ^r -51 ^r)	121
6. <i>Samaim</i> which nameth all the heavens and her angels (ff 51 ^v -53 ^v)	129
7. The <i>Book of Virtues and Miracles</i> - the ark of magicke (ff 53 ^v -57 ^v)	133
Sepher Raziel – Liber Salomonis (modern English text – Stephen Skinner)	141
Preface & Introduction	143
The Seven Treatises	145
The Parchment, the Pen and the Ink	147
1. <i>Liber Clavis</i> , the Book of the Key of Astronomy and of the Stars	150
Attribution of the 7 Planets to the 12 Zodiacal Signs	152
The Nature of the 12 Zodiacal Signs	153
The Nature of the 7 Planets	153
The Aspects	157
The Houses	159
2. <i>Ala</i> , the Virtues of some Stones, Herbs, Beasts, and Words	161
De Prima <i>Ala</i> – Stones	162

De Secundus <i>Ala</i> – Herbs	168
De Tertia <i>Ala</i> – Beasts, Birds and Fish	175
De Quartus <i>Ala</i> – Words	182
3. <i>Tractatus Thymiamatus</i> of Suffumigations	185
Perfumes of the Days	186
Method of Using the Thymiamata	187
The Perfumes of the Zodiac	192
4. <i>Treatise of Times</i> of the Day and of the Night	195
The Planets in the 7 Heavens	196
The 12 Hebrew Months	196
The First Work & Sacrifice	199
The Angels of the 12 Hebrew Months	201
The Angels of the 7 Days of the Week	204
The Names of the Hours of the Night	206
The Names of the Heavens in the 4 Seasons	207
Names of the Angels of the 4 Elements	208
The Proper Names of the Planets in the 4 Seasons	209
5. <i>Treatise of Purity and of Abstinence</i>	211
The Ark of the Covenant	214
6. <i>Samaim</i> which Names all the Heavens and their Angels	218
7. <i>Book of Virtues and Miracles</i> and properties of the Ark of Magic	222
The Seven Semiforas	222
The Semiforas of Moses	224
Appendix 1 – Incense Nomenclature	227
Appendix 2 – Selected Table of Angels	230
Bibliography	236
Manuscripts of <i>Sepher Raziel</i>	237
Printed Sources of Solomonic Magic & Works of Related Interest	244
Solomonic Magic on the Internet	257
Index	259

List of Figures

1	First page from the present text <i>Liber Salomonis</i> or <i>Sephar Raziel</i> , Sloane MS 3826, f.2.	12
2	First page from the English text <i>Liber Salomonis</i> or <i>Cephar Raziel</i> , Sloane MS 3846, f.129.	24
3	First page from the Latin text <i>Librum Razielis</i> or <i>Cephar Raziel</i> , Sloane MS 3847 f.161.	43
4	First page from of the Latin text <i>Sephar Rasiel</i> , ¹ Sloane MS 3853, f. 46.	44
5	Page from the Hebrew edition of <i>Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh</i> . Amsterdam, 1701.	140

¹ Note the different spelling of the titles of each manuscript, although they all embody the same basic text in either Latin or English. These differences have been deliberately preserved, and should not be construed as careless editing. Note that the two older Latin texts do not have '*Liber Salomonis*' in their titles, suggesting that this was added by the English scribe to the original *Sepher Raziel* title.

Liber Salomonis

2 +

In noie Deij potentis vibi et verij et eternij
 In his name of Almighty God living and very and ever
 lasting and without all end and without fail Adonay Saday
 Ehje. Aftere I begin to write of this booke and it is said
 Sephar Raziel. And all his appoyntments in this booke
 twofold complete or fulfilled that is in this booke

Dixit Salomon gloria et laus et cum multo honore
 Salomon said glory and praising of my god be to
 God of all creatures so that is singular and made all
 thinge at one tyme. And he is one God very mighty
 he alone that is and that was and yet evermore
 shall be and yet had never in end or any like him
 neither is he like to save. And he is singular without
 end and alone without corruption. He alone make
 and great all thinge being and fearing and wise and
 in all thinge mighty. And I begin in this booke to put
 in an example that respect of that says it blame it not
 till it say we and feared all or something of it. And
 then praye to the God maker of all thinge
 Eje be he is precept. Incipiant precepta
 Etne beginninge the precepte

- Ne creas esse plures nisi unum singularem or
1. We knowe thou not to be more or many but one singular
 alone proper all thinge and yet more like him and him
 love ye and dread and reverence all thyng and yet good
 will and stable and yet might and yet all thyng cleane
 2. Fear the like thou not without love and thou shalt
 3. be loved of God thy creator and of folkes. We do thou
 not to another man if thou wouldest not be same. We
 4. be thou not a lyer to the Law neither to thy friends
 and say thou true so that it be to thy profit and not
 harme. We knowe thou not neither fellowship thou more
 5. nor with men than with wisdom and evermore love

Figure 1: First page of Liber Salomonis or Sephar Raziel in Sloane MS 3826, f.2.
 c. 1564. Note the alternate title at the beginning of the fifth line.

Foreword

Legendary Origins

The name of the Angel (or Archangel) Raziel means “secrets of God” and is therefore a most appropriate pseudepigraphical author for a book on magic. According to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Raziel’s mission is as the “transmitter of secrets.” Various spellings of his name include Raziel, Ratziel, Razial, Ratzial, Retziel, Reziel, and Rezial. The spelling of Sepher/Cephar, will also vary.

The legend of the ספר רזיאל the *Sepher Raziel*, or ‘Book of Raziel’, states that the book was originally inscribed on a sapphire stone.¹ A copy was given to Seraph, then Metatron, then Adam. It is said that the angels (specifically the Cherubim) were upset that such knowledge was given to Adam, and so they descended to earth to steal the book back from him. This is an interesting echo of the idea that both angels, and their fallen brethren the demons, are unhappy that books of magic, containing formulae that can constrain them, have been made available to man. To ensure that the book would not be found again, the angels tossed it deep into the ocean. However, according to Jewish tradition, God ordered the archangel Raphael (or Rahab, according to some sources) to retrieve it, who then gave it to Noah to protect him during the flood. Eventually, after a number of adventures, it was given to King Solomon by a Babylonian prince (who is mentioned in the present manuscript on folio 2v). So much for the legend.

Hebrew Sources – the various Raziel Traditions

Because of this legend, the angel Raziel became a popular reference, and has generated a number of different pseudepigraphical books or Raziel traditions, which may be quite independent of each other:²

- a) *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh*,³ with sections drawn from Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (1160-1237) *Sepher ha-Razim* and *Sepher ha-Shem*.
- b) *Sepher Raziel* (divided into chapters according to the Seven Heavens).
- c) The 13th century rabbinical *Sepher Raziel*, with content from Rabbi Eleazar.
- d) *Cephar Raziel* (containing Seven Treatises) - the present volume.

Let us look at each of these separate *Sepher Raziel* books and traditions in turn:

¹ This is reminiscent of the Smaragdine Tablets of Hermes Trismegistus, inscribed on an emerald tablet. Sapphire is the stone most often mentioned in connection with the floors of Jewish heavens.

² Further research is needed to establish the exact family relationships between these groups of books and manuscripts.

³ First published in Hebrew in 1701, translated into English 2000.

a) *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh*

The Hebrew *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh* was published in 1701 in Amsterdam,¹ and later reprinted nearly 40 times, probably because of the popular belief that the presence of the book in a house protected it from fire. This book has been translated into English by Steve Savedow as *Sepher Rezial Hemelach*, 'The Book of the Angel Rezial.'² The present Raziel text and the one published by Steve Savedow are *not* closely related. The anonymous author of *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh* acknowledges the fact that there are other Raziel books/traditions, although he claims (immodestly and probably incorrectly) to be their source:

"There are two [*Raziel*] books from other countries. I see mine is the original of all of them. They have all been copied from my book... Also included [in my *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh*] is the smaller work of Eleazar [of Worms],³ son of Rabbi Judah who received the work of Merkabah [chariot] from the pious Rabbi Judah."⁴

The Foreword explains that this book is in turn divided into 5 Parts:

i) *Sepher ha-Malbush*, the 'Book of the Vestment', gives the names of the seasons and of the *Malachim* (angels) ruling in every season, and every month, and every day. The names of the Heavens and Earth also change according to the season.⁵ This section also lists "every spirit and angel ministering over every sign of the zodiac, and the angels of the seven planets in every season, and days of the week."⁶ Book One page 7 of this Part has two paragraphs on the sacrifice of turtledoves, which are repeated in the present manuscript (37v-38r). Also pages 11-28 have a very similar structure to the present manuscript (44r-46v), but the names attributed are different.

ii) *Sepher Raziel ha-Gadol*, or 'Book of the Raziel the Great' is in 4 Parts and relates to *Merkavah* (chariot) mysticism. It draws a lot of its contents from the *Sepher Yetzirah*. Part 3 and 4 are concerned with the Kabbalah of *Genesis*, and the structure of the Universe. They have nothing in common with the present text.

iii) *Sepher ha-Shem*, or 'Book of the Holy Name' or Shem ha-Mephorash. This treats of 72 three letter divine names, but does not relate to the present Treatise on 'Semiforas', or to any other part of the present manuscript.

¹ Published by Moses Mendes Coutinho.

² Steve Savedow, *Sepher Rezial Hemelach*, York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 2000. Savedow's transliteration is rather non-standard, transliterating (for example) 'IHVH' as 'IHOH'; 'ha-Malbush' as 'Hamelbosh'; and 'ha-Razim' as 'Hereziem.'

³ A reference to *Sepher ha-Razim* by Eleazar.

⁴ Translated by Savedow (2000), page iv.

⁵ See the present text ff. 34r-46r. This idea resurfaces in Peter de Abano's *Heptameron* where the words in the magician's protective circle change according to the season and the day, a key concept.

⁶ Savedow (2000), page x.

iv) *Sepher ha-Razim*, or 'Book of Mysteries' or 'Book of Magical Secrets.'

Part 1: It seems much more likely that this section was taken *from* Eleazar of Worms' *Sepher ha-Razim*, rather than the other way around, as claimed by the anonymous author.¹ Anyway, only a subset of *Sepher ha-Razim* is incorporated here into *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh*, and a much more cohesive, complete and useful version of the *Sepher ha-Razim* is that edited by Morgan.²

Part 2: of Savedow's *Sepher ha-Razim* contains background Jewish cosmology.

Part 3: typically deals with the physiology and dimensions of god, drawing material from *Shi'ur Qomah*. Neither forms part of the present manuscript.

v) *Sepher ha-Mazloth* or 'Book of the Signs of the Zodiac' includes various charms, and the use of the 22-letter, and the 42-letter name of god. The illustrations which appear in this book, especially in this last section, do not appear in any of the other *Sepher Raziels*, but are often used as illustrations by writers on Jewish magic, like Joshua Trachtenberg, Gustav Davidson and David Goldstein. See Figure 5.

b) *Sepher Raziel* (divided according to the Seven Heavens)

The sections in this particular group of *Sepher Raziel* manuscripts are divided up into chapters by the seven Jewish Heavens. This tradition is preserved in Italian manuscripts such as Alnwick MS 585 and Alnwick MS 596.

c) *The 13th century Rabbinical Sepher Raziel*

Perhaps the best Hebrew version of the Rabbinical *Sepher Raziel* is found in Additional MS 15299, a 13th century manuscript, beautifully executed in very clear Hebrew on large parchment folios. This particular manuscript was owned by Prince Augustus Frederick, the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) who was the son of King George III. The Duke was also one of the early Grand Masters of Freemasonry, President of the Royal Society, and supportive of the cause of the Jews in England.

After the Duke's death the manuscript was bought by the British Museum in 1844. The second half of that manuscript (ff.133-153) also contains a commentary explaining the magical (rather than philosophical) uses of the *Sepher Yetzirah* by Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, material later thought relevant to Golem making.

¹ The text of *Sepher ha-Razim* in *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh* is in fact rather scrambled. For example a section on page 211 is repeated word for word again on page 253. There are also missing sections, so for example, on pages 208-210 the sequence repeats the 'third host of Malachim' twice, and then jumps (via the 12 Princes and days of the week) to the 'sixth host' of the Malachim. This may be the fault of the original Hebrew of 1701, rather than the translator.

² Michael Morgan, *Sepher ha-Razim: the Book of Mysteries*, Chico California: Scholars Press, 1983.

Probably as a result of that inclusion, Rabbi Louis Ginzberg, in *Legends of the Jews*,¹ attributed the whole of *Sepher Raziel* to Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (1160-1237), otherwise known as Rabbi Eleazar of Germiza, or Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah ben Kalonymus of Worms. He maintained that Eleazar had preserved some of the wisdom of the Geonic period² in this book. This assertion was repeated by Joshua Trachtenberg.³ This attribution is however probably only partly true; as one book by Eleazar called *Sodei Razya* (סודי רזיא 'Secret of Secrets') became part of the *Sepher Raziel ha-Gadol* published in *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh* in 1701. The *Sepher ha-Shem* ('Book of the Name') on the 22-letter Name of god is also attributed to him, and has had some input into the *Sepher Raziel*. This version of the *Sepher Raziel* was probably compiled in the thirteenth century. We have no indication that the *Sepher Raziel* which Ginzberg and Trachtenberg refer to is related to the present manuscript.

It remains for further research to identify to what extent Rabbi Eleazar was responsible for each of the different Raziel traditions.

d) Cephaz Raziel (containing Seven Treatises)

The present text is divided into seven Treatises. It is quite different in structure and content to the preceding three types of *Sepher Raziel*. It does however have an amount of Hebrew content, and even uses the Hebrew word for heavens, *Samaim*, as the title of one of its seven constituent Treatises. Repeated references to purity and chastity, and the description of the sacrifice of turtledoves, suggest Jewish roots. Having said that, the few examples of Hebrew writing in the present manuscript are execrable, and so it is certain that the English scribe did not know Hebrew. One Latin version from which the English version may have been translated, on the other hand, has quite competent Hebrew orthography. This suggests that the roots of the present manuscript were probably a Hebrew original, filtered through a Latin intermediary, to the present Middle English version. We will now just concentrate upon this last version of *Sepher Raziel* (in seven Treatises), which exists in at least seven manuscripts (see Bibliography).

Sloane MS 3826

The present manuscript of *Sepher Raziel* is in English. It has been translated from Latin, and is written in a sixteenth century hand, which is superficially like that of Edward Kelley. See Figure 1. Each subsection begins with an opening Latin tag line, which was designed to facilitate reference back to the Latin original.

¹ In Vol. I, pages 90-93 and Vol. V, pages 117,110, 1909-1938.

² Jewish mystical and interpretive material from the period 589-1038 CE.

³ Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004, page 315.

Sloane MS 3846

Another very similar English copy of *Sepher Raziel*, Sloane MS 3846, which is precisely dated November 1564, gives us some additional clues.¹ See Figure 2. Because the manuscripts are very close in style and content, we have presumed to date the present manuscript to the same year, on the grounds that often several copies of the same grimoire were made at the same time, though these two manuscripts were not executed by the same scribe. Even if we are a few years out, this is still the oldest manuscript so far published in the *Sourceworks of Ceremonial Magic* series.

Sloane MS 3846 is bound up with a number of other extracts from writers like Cornelius Agrippa, a number of magical recipes, spells, workings with the skrying crystal, invocations, sigils, angelic calls, methods for cutting the magical wand, and other interesting items. One bound-in slip identifies the suffumigations (incenses) used for individual planetary angels:

“Mercury – Askariel – Mastic
Venus – Uriel – Costus
Luna – Anael – Aloes
Saturn – Galban[um]?
Jupiter – Crocus
Mars – Piper Nigrum [black pepper]
Sol – Red Sanders [red sandalwood]”

Another fascinating item in Elias Ashmole’s handwriting occurs on f.102v of Sloane MS 3846 where a blob of red wax has been impressed with a seal ring, which is then described in detail:

“A Ring made by Dr ~~Napier~~ Forman² in Silver. On the signet part were these Characters. On the outside verge of the Signet was engraved ARIEL & ANAEL.³ On the circumference of the Ring, was engraved these words on the outside DIE ET PHORA [Venus] IN [Taurus] 1598.⁴ This ring was given to me by Tho[mas] Napier Esq[ui]re son of Sir Rich[ard] Napier.”

Further on in the same volume is an ‘Invocation of Oberion’⁵ concerning Phisick [medicine]’ [f. 102v-106]. It is very usefully and clearly divided into the correct *portio* of a properly conducted evocation: Consecratio Dei, Invocatio, Constrictio, Ligatio, and Licentia. It is not often that this sequence is so clearly delineated.

¹ The actual title is *Liber Salomonis* or *Sephar Raziel* [sic].

² The manuscript has been corrected by Ashmole from ‘Dr Napier’ to ‘Dr [Simon] Forman.’

³ The two angels which were most significant for Shakespeare and Dr John Dee respectively.

⁴ The ring was therefore made and consecrated between 5th March and 7th July 1598.

⁵ This spirit name is the probable source of the fairy Oberon found in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*.

The later half of Sloane MS 3846 contains material which is parallel to the contents of the present manuscript, Sloane MS 3826, which is catalogued as follows:

Liber Salomonis	fo. 139 [f.129] ¹
The Rule of the Book of Consecration, or the manner of working	fo. 168b [f.158]
<i>Liber Lunae</i>	fo.182 [f.172v]
Adellardus Bathoniensis ²	fo. 192 [f.181]

The items, *The Rule of the Book of Consecration*, and *Liber Lunae* also occur at the end of Sloane MS 3826, strengthening the argument that both manuscripts were probably derived from the same source, and are similarly dated.

Owners of Sloane MS 3846

It is not easy to determine the 16th century owners of Sloane MS 3826, but from the mid 17th century onwards it 'travelled' with Sloane MS 3846, from owner to owner, so it is enlightening to examine the owners of both manuscripts. One early attempt at beginning a transcription of *Cephar Raziel* is preserved in an Ashmole fragment dated 1564.³ Sloane MS 3846 states that it was also written in the same year by William Parry ⁴ of Clifford's Inn and is clearly dated 2nd November 1564. The note reads:

"The booke, entituled *Cephar Raziel*, contain'g seuen treatises, was written by William Parry of Clyffords Inne by Josuy[?], le barre [a barrister] in London borne at North of in the County of Flynt & at the charges of John Gwyne ⁵ of Llandlos [Llanidloes] in the County of Mountgomericke Esquire [Montgomeryshire] in the year of our Lord god a thousand five hundred three score & four et Anno Elizabetha dei gra[tia] Angeliæ &c. Reginæ sexton.

Londinij 2^o Nouembris 1564. William Parry."⁶

¹ The 'fo.' number is the seventeenth century folio number shown in the contents listing at the front of the manuscript, while the 'f.' number is the current re-numbered folio.

² Adelard of Bath (c. 1080-c. 1152) translated many works on astrology and mathematics.

³ Bodleian Ashmole MS 1790 f.116-116v.

⁴ One of the more colourful Parrys of this period was the Welsh Dr William Parry, who after several attempts on the life of Queen Elizabeth I, who forgave him, was finally sent to the gallows in 1585. However, as this Parry signed himself "of Clifford's Inn" it is most likely that he was not the traitor, but instead a lawyer. This is no surprise as a number of senior lawyers were to be found amongst the angel magicians of the seventeenth century.

⁵ Probably meaning at the expense of John Gwyne.

⁶ Folio 128. A John Gwyne was for a while mayor of Llanidloes, supporting the above interpolations. On 17th January 1598, John Dee's messenger (Edmond Arnold) went to Llandlos to deliver a letter, possibly to the same John Gwyne. This Gwyne might also be the author of a number of alchemic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library by one 'John Gwynne.'

Above this is an inscription indicating yet another early owner:

"Ego Scribener Eruditio[?]...Haec ex Lomporo[?] Scripsit, Westrum[?] 27 Julii 1570. Haec litera John Gioin astin[?] Magister mihi transcript ut pz."

And later on folio 182, in the Adellardus item, it is more clearly written:

"J Gioyn of Pormall. 1575. borded 1570 at Mr Stewards. Booke delivered to Howell ap Mathew 1^o Martii [March] 1568. my broet[her] in glostershire now...at one Mr W A Vaughan a lawyer..."

Here we have other people, possibly all lawyers, through whose hands the manuscript may have passed between 1570 and 1575: John Gioin of Pormall, Mr Stewards, Howell ap Mathew and Mr W A Vaughan.

Another undated owner of these, or other magical books, William Walmesbury, is identified on folio 126 of Sloane MS 3846.

"Mr Willia[m] Warmesbury Register of Worcester ¹ hath these booke[s] in vellum.

1. The characters & vertues of y^e Psalmes in 8^o [octavo].
2. A Booke of [Magical] Experiments in 4^{to} [quarto] written in redd & blacke. These bookes were left with Mr Freeman, a Physician, of Paxford neere Camden, who [later] dyinge left them with his owne Bookes to Mr Warmesbury."

The handwriting suggests a date circa 1600. The interesting thing about this owner is that, as Registrar of Worcester, he would have been well placed to know the subsequent owners of this manuscript, all of whom had links with Worcester.²

An interesting side-light on the importance of *Sepher Raziel* was thrown by the influential alchemist Andreas Libavius (1555-1616), who in 1615 speculated that one of the *Sepher Raziels* was the founding document for the Rosicrucian cosmology of angelic spheres.³ It is therefore likely that a copy (but probably not this copy) of one of the *Sepher Raziels* passed through his hands. Over a century later, the mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was also reported to have been influenced by *Sepher Raziel* in his opinion about angels. But to return to the historical appearances of this manuscript.

¹ Yet another resident of Worcester owning what was possibly the vellum originals of the present manuscript. This is yet further proof of a continuum of members of the legal profession and aristocrats living in, or connected with Worcester, who were engaged in the practice of angel magic.

² More detail will be found about the Worcester group of angel magicians in Skinner & Rankine, *Practical Angel Magic of John Dee's Enochian Tables*, London: Golden Hoard, 2004, pages 21-22, 43-47.

³ In his *Examen Philosophia Nova*, Leipzig, 1615. See Åkerman (1999), page 16.

Sepher Raziel

Around 1630, Sir Richard Napier (1607-1676) wrote in a letter to his uncle Richard Napier (1559-1634) that:¹

"I found in the Archives in our pub[lic] Library [the Bodleian], a Booke of Solomons called *Cephar Raziel*, which is in Latin as I finde, [called] *Angelus Magnus Secreti Creatoris*, & in the Hebrew *Cephar Raziel*, in which is contained 7 Treatises, the first is said [called] *Clavis*...² This booke is a little folio about three quire of paper.³ I hope in tyme to purchase [procure] a copy of it by my own hande, though it be worthier of a more honest pen, for I am persuaded that it is *Liber est Magnae, virtutis, & magni sunti*[?]. I doubt not to transcribe it in a short time, & to be so happy as to present you with my Copy; were it possible that I could get that booke to my owne study, I would copy it out in 2 weekes, yet as it is, I have made a faire way to goe into the Library privately where I please & use to sit from 6 of the clocke in the morning to 5 at night... I have made the Second Keeper of the Library my friend & servant, who promised me his key at all tymes to go in privately."⁴

Napier asked his uncle to "make me a paper booke of Royall [size] paper"⁵ so he could use it to transcribe *Cephar Raziel*. He signed his letter "Your most observant Sonn and thankful debtour [?], Richard Napier."⁶ It is likely that this copy made by Napier was eventually left to Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), who was to a large extent responsible for preserving the works of Dr John Dee.

Another owner, or at least the writer of a note bound in Sloane MS 3846, was Henry Swibers [?] of Crookham in 1672.

From then onwards we can trace the wanderings of both manuscripts in greater detail. Both Sloane MS 3826 and Sloane MS 3846 belonged to Baron Somers of Evesham (1651-1716) who was Chancellor of England. In fact the contents list of both manuscript volumes is in the hand of Lord Somers's library cataloguer. Lord Somers in turn passed both manuscripts to his brother-in-law Sir Joseph Jekyll (1663-1738), who was a prominent lawyer and Master of the Rolls (an antique title given to the second most senior judge in England). Both Somers and Jekyll were intensely interested in magic, and had a number of key manuscripts on practical angel magic.

¹ Richard Napier was greatly interested in magic, and a pupil of the astrologer Simon Forman, and inherited Forman's copy of another famous grimoire, the *Picatrix*. He became rector of Great Linford, Buckinghamshire in 1589.

² Here follows a copy of the opening paragraphs outlining the contents of the present manuscript.

³ In the Middle Ages a quire was a manuscript section of 16 pages. Therefore Napier is asking for 48 pages. This would accommodate Sloane MS 3846. Modern usage is 24/25 pages per quire.

⁴ In Bodleian Ashmole MS 1730, ff.168-16v.

⁵ 20 x 25 inches.

⁶ Sir Richard Napier was also the godson of his uncle.

On Sir Joseph Jekylls's death, his books and manuscripts were sold by the auctioneer Mr Cocks of Covent Garden, London (at St Paul's Coffee House).¹

On 26th February 1738 both manuscripts were sold to the same buyer, Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), who bought at least 21 manuscript volumes at this sale. Sloane's collection later became the basis of the manuscript collections of the British Museum, which was later separated from the old Russell Street premises of the British Museum, removed to St. Pancras, and re-named the British Library, which is where the manuscripts reside today.

Although the early owners of Sloane MS 3846, before Lord Somers, do not necessarily tell us anything about Sloane MS 3826, they do indicate who was familiar with, read, and may have practiced, the magical methods outlined in *Sepher Raziel*.

Latin Sources

The earliest Latin version appears to date from before 1259 for in that year Alfonso X (1221-1284) ordered a translation of *Liber Razielis* from Latin into Castilian. This Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* was also divided into seven books, like the present text, and may have been its earliest source.²

A separate *Sepher Raziel* was translated out of Hebrew into Latin for the Roman prelate Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1465-1532), who collected Kabbalistic manuscripts, with the help of the Jewish scholar and humanist Elias Levita (1469-1549).

Sloane MS 3847 (f. 161-188v) is a beautifully written Latin version of *Sepher Raziel*. It was closely associated with Sloane MS 3846, and 'travelled' with it from one owner to another for most of its life. It was also auctioned at Jekyll's sale, and had the very next lot number (373). See Figure 3. It could be partially the origin of Sloane MS 3846, and therefore is well placed to answer queries about illegible words in the English translation. It has a number of Latin margin tags which make it easier to follow, and its Hebrew is much better than that of the English copy, however it only encompasses the first three chapters.

This Latin version is actually entitled *Librum Razielis* or *Cephar Raziel* and is bound at the back of a fascinating collection of magical manuscripts. The manuscripts that it is bound with include several books that are actually referred to within *Sepher Raziel* itself, so it is well worthwhile listing them in detail:³

¹ Sloane MS 3826 was lot 396, and Sloane MS 3846 was lot 372 in the sale catalogue.

² Bibliotheca Vaticana MS Reg. Latin 1300.

³ The descriptions listed on the contents page have been amplified by reference to the actual items themselves.

Sepher Raziel

The work of Solomon the wise called his *Clavicle* revealed by King Ptolomeus the Greacian [sic]...Truly copyed verbu[m] pro verbo [word for word] by H: G: in anno ~~xpo~~ 1572 in mense Aprielis circa octano [8th April 1572]. fo. 1 [f.2].¹

Opus mirabile de *Quatuor Annulus Solomonis*. fo. 65b [f.66v].²

What Stones and Herbs are appropriated [sic] unto the 15 Stars accordinge to John Gower in his booke intituled, *de Confessione Amantis*, the wh[ic]he he Dedicated unto King Henry the eight[h].³ fo. 84 [f.83].⁴

Liber Hermetis tractans de 15 Stellis et de 15 Lapidibus et de 15 Herbis et de 15 harum rerum figures sic incipiense. fo. 85 [f.84].⁵

Dictum Thebit. fo. 100b [f.99v].

Liber Imaginum Zebel [Sahl ibn Bishr] alias Zoel. fo. 102 [f.101].

Hebreorum Machubales...Decem principalia Nomina Divina... fo. 115 [f.113].⁶

Divers [various] Spells. fo. 125 [120r]

Liber Razaelis. fo. 166 – 193 [161-188v]. [A Latin version of the present text.]

Another Latin version, Sloane MS 3853 (see Figure 4), has just a few pages related to 'Sephar Rasiel' (f. 46-49v). The initial letter of 'Sephar' could easily be read as a 'C' or an 'S', and this may well have contributed to the spelling of 'Cephar' in later manuscripts. These pages are followed by some very interesting circle diagrams, which probably did not form part of *Sephar Rasiel*. The rest of the manuscript, much of it in Latin, is devoted to extracts from *The Sworn Book of Honorius* and some of Roger Bacon's magical works.

John of Morigny's *Liber Visionum* is several times explicitly mentioned in the present text, and its techniques may contribute to some parts of *Sepher Raziel* or to the author's methods of discovering correspondences.⁷

Structure and Origins of the Manuscript

There are other clues as to the manuscript's origins. One of these is its division into 7 books, which is emphasised several times at the beginning of the manuscript. This structure includes separate books on astronomy/ astrology;

¹ In each case the first 'fo.' folio reference is what is listed by Lord Sommer's librarian at the front of the manuscript, whilst the 'f.' folio reference is the current re-numbered folio of the item.

² The fact that a copy of the *De Quatuor Annulus Solomonis* ('Of the Four Rings of Solomon') is included within the same binding, helps to support the Solomonic nature of the present manuscript.

³ Gower lived 1330-1408, so the dedicatee was Henry IV, not Henry VIII.

⁴ The Second Treatise on the four *Ala* in *Sepher Raziel* contains similar material.

⁵ This book is quoted in *Sepher Raziel*.

⁶ Attribution of the Divine names to the planets, angels and Tree of Life, in Latin.

⁷ Claire Fanger [ed.], *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998, pages 163-265.

plants and animals; perfumes; times and days; and angel lists, each organised as a separate book. This is more like the structure of the Byzantine Greek *Magical Treatise of Solomon* than later European grimoires, and therefore the present manuscript may owe some of its contents to Byzantine Greek, as well as Hebrew roots.

Another small clue is afforded by the number of incenses beginning with 'a' whose names have Spanish roots. This suggests that the earliest Latin version of this manuscript might have been the Latin copy of the *Liber Razielis* that was extant in the Spanish court of Alphonso X (1221-1284), but that remains to be investigated.

It seems likely that both Sloane MS 3826 and MS 3846 were translated or copied from an unknown intermediate Latin manuscript. If Sloane MS 3847 had been a complete Latin version, then that manuscript might have been the immediate source of both of these, especially as its stone and plant names are less garbled. Sloane MS 3853, an even older Latin version, is also incomplete.

Note that Appendix 1 has more complete identification of the various incenses and plants mentioned in the text than do the footnotes.

However the construction of a complete *stemma* requires a full survey of each of the *Sepher Raziel* traditions and an analysis of the connections between them.

- Stephen Skinner
London & Singapore, June 2010

Liber Salomonis.

127 128 129

In nomina dei potentis viri & viri, & eterni. De.
 In the name of almighty God living & very & everlasting &
 spirit out all yd which is said Adonay, Saday. Ehye, Aheraye. &
 begin this booke which is said Cephar, Raziel, with all his appurte-
 -ments in which he testifies complete or fullfilled that is y booke
 Dixit Solomon. gloria & laus ad multa honore de. Salomon
 says glory & praising with much honour & to god of all creatures
 by that is singular which made all things at his ympe. And
 he is our god very mighty by alone that is & that was & which
 surmount shall be. & which had never an even or any like him
 wither he is to have. And he is singular without end, Lord alone is no
 corruption, holy, cleave, make & make all things living, hearing &
 wise & all things rightly. And I begin this booke to put an eulogium
 that w he surr that hath it. He is to be read & heard
 all or some what & it & then praye in god maker of all things.
 Thus he the 9 precepts. Principium precepta. hinc begin & p
 Non credas esse plures nisi unum singularem de. He knowe there
 not to be two or many. But one singular alone ym all thing
 which hath none like him & him lone yd & dread & honour with
 all trust & with good will & stable & with might & with all thy
 chere grant. He live than not without Law & without rule & there
 shall be heard of god thy Creator & of fathers. He do you not to
 another man that thou knowest all that another man did to thee. And live
 thou thine & strangers the same. He be thou not a liar to the Lord our
 to thy friend. And say thou such to thyself that & to thy profit & not
 harme. He live thou not without fellowship. thou knowe our wisdom
 thou wife men. And surmount but you many wisdoms & good
 sayings. and yet thy will & thy life be in them. He speak thou
 not in them have thought before. And thou thou wilt do, consider in
 thy heart are thou do it. Neither dishonour thou not thy father
 be a woman neither to a child, nor to a fool, nor to a drunken man.
 He prove thou not a medicine, neither venyon in the or in another
 He blame thou not a booke, neither prophesy neither a wisdom till
 thou have proved him. And if thou with heart live & precepts in
 the evermore thou shalt gett more & more. Postquam finis &
 scire per posse voluntas vera de. After that with a knowledge &
 light & very will overcometh all things with good will & good intention
 Therefore I will expound or make plaine & open this booke which
 is of a great power & of a great work. A Salomon put such
 a knowledge & such a disposition, & explanation in this booke to save
 man that readeth or studyeth it, that he knowe wherof he was and
 whome he serve. Know ye that after I Solomon had xxx years
 with an halfe in the 5. day of the month of hebreys which was the
 sixth tenial day the same being in the sign of Leo. In that
 day was sent to the two Babylois of Sam. Prime that was

Figure 2: A page from Liber Salomonis or Cephar Raziel in Sloane MS 3846, f.129. 1564. Note the alternative title 'Cephar Raziel' on the fourth line.

The Study of Solomonic Magic in English

Don Karr

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to neatly circumscribe a canon of magic texts as being safely of the 'Solomonic cycle.' By arbitrary and rather unscientific means, one might do so by simply including those works which, by tradition or artifice, bear Solomon's name or derive from works which do. Even here, we find a number of classes of material:

1. Magical works from late antiquity through the early Middle Ages, such as *The Testament of Solomon* and *Sepher Razim*.¹
2. Byzantine Greek texts of the *Magical Treatise of Solomon* and the *Hygromanteia*.²
3. Medieval grimoires in Latin and other European languages, such as *The Key of Solomon*.

¹ For English translations of *The Testament of Solomon*, see F. C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon," in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, no. XI, 1899, and at www.esotericarchives.com > CLASSICAL GRIMOIRES; C. C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*, Leipzig: 1922; Sayed Idries Shah, "The Catalogue of Demons" = CHAPTER 11 of *The Secret Lore of Magic* (Secaucus: Citadel Press, 1972); D. C. Duling, "Testament of Solomon," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (= OTP), edited by J. H. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983). Duling's introduction in OTP deals with Solomonic attribution and legend in the older material. He mentions M. Seligsohn's article, "Solomon — Apocryphal Works" (in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 11, p. 447 — online at www.jewishencyclopedia.com/index.jsp) as listing forty-nine Solomonic "scientific and magical books" in Arabic and Hebrew literature, and C. C. McCown's added comment (*Testament of Solomon*, p. 100) that Seligsohn's list is by no means exhaustive.

For a critical summary of *Testament of Solomon* scholarship, refer to Todd E. Klutz, *Rewriting the TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon* (London — New York: T&T Clark, 2005) and *idem*, "The Archer and the Cross: Chorographic Astrology and Literary Design in the *Testament of Solomon*," in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon*, edited by Todd E. Klutz (London — New York: T&T Clark International, 2003). For a survey of the *Testament's* background and dissemination, find also Sarah Iles Johnson, "The *Testament of Solomon* from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).

Sepher ha-Razim, a third- or fourth-century text, claims in its preface to have been "more precious and more honorable and more difficult" than any other books in the possession of Solomon. See Michael A. Morgan's translation, *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico: Society of Biblical Literature/Scholars Press, 1983).

² *Hygromanteia* is a Byzantine Greek magical text also referred to as Solomon's *Epistle to Rehoboam*. It does not mean divination by water, as has often been suggested by scholars.

Attribution to Solomon already complicates several biblical texts ¹ and apocrypha.² Solomon is the hero of many ancient tales in the East; still his legend figures into late traditions of the Freemasons. Rumours which suggest that the wise king left secret books of magic seem never to have died – nor have slumbered – since ancient times.³

In order to make short work of closing the category of Solomonic magical works, we shall follow E[liza] M[arian] Butler ⁴ and focus on the late grimoires. The limitations of her work, however, must be acknowledged: Butler depended primarily on published works of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including familiar works in English (from Francis Barrett, Montague Summers, C. J. S. Thompson, Arthur E. Waite – even Aleister Crowley) and other modern languages (the collections of J. C. Horst and J. Scheible in particular).

The classes and selections of the Solomonic cycle according to Butler are:

¹ Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs.

² Wisdom of Solomon, Odes of Solomon, and the Psalms of Solomon.

³ See Pablo A. Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition* [Supplements to *The Journal for the Study of Judaism*] (Leiden: Brill, 2002) [= Ph.D. dissertation, New York: New York University, 2000].

⁴ See Butler's *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949) and its companion volumes, *The Myth of the Magus* (1949) and *The Fortunes of Faust* (1946), all reprinted in 1979 by Cambridge University Press. *Ritual Magic* and *The Fortunes of Faust* have again been reprinted (1998) as volumes of Pennsylvania State University's MAGIC IN HISTORY Series, along with

- *Forbidden Rites* by Richard Kieckhefer (1997)
- *Conjuring Spirits* edited by Claire Fanger (1998)
- *The Bathhouse at Midnight: Magic in Russia* by W. F. Ryan (1999)
- a reprint of *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* by D. P. Walker (2000, orig. 1958)
- *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* by Naomi Janowitz (2002)
- *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* by Michael D. Bailey (2003)
- *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* edited by S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler (2003)
- *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* by Don C. Skemer (2006).
- *Strange Revelations: Magic, Poison, and Sacrilege in Louis XIV's France* by Lynn Wood Mollenauer (2006)
- *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* by Benedek Láng (2008)

Compare the list of Solomonic texts presented here with that appearing in *The Black Arts* by Richard Cavendish (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), Appendix 1: "The Grimoires."

Liber Salomonis

1. The Clavicles (Keys)
 - a. *The Key of Solomon*
 - b. *Lemegeton, or Lesser Key of Solomon.*
2. The Grimoires
 - a. *Grimorium Verum*
 - b. *True Black Magic*
 - c. *The Grand Grimoire*
3. Honorius ¹
 - a. *The Grimoire of Honorius*
 - b. *Liber iuratus [Juratus]*

To the list above, we might add ²

¹ These are not the same Honorius, one being the supposed Pope, and the other Honorius of Thebes. In fact they deserve separate categories as they are quite different in structure and intent.

² *The Keys to the Gateway of Magic: Summoning the Solomonian Archangels & Demon Princes*, by Stephen Skinner and David Rankine (London: Golden Hoard Press, 2005) offers transcriptions of *Janua Magica Reserata* (KEYS TO THE GATEWAY OF MAGIC), *Dr Rudd's Nine Hierarchies of Angels with their Invocations to Visible Appearance with the Nine Great Celestial Keys, or Angelical Invocations*, and *The Demon Princes* (from British Library Sloane MSS 3628, 3821, 3824, 3825, Harley MS 6482, and Rawlinson D. 1363). This material bears great similarity to the items described below. A case could certainly be made for wedging these texts into our canon. However, our additions, 4 and 5, contain specific internal reference to Solomon, which the texts in *The Keys to the Gateway of Magic* do not — despite the subtitle of the book.

❖ *Liber Salomonis* [2]: “*Dixit Salomon Gloria et laus et cu multo honore &c / Salomon said glory and praying wth much honor be to God of all Creatures, he that is singular w^{ch} made all things at one tyme.*”

❖ S&S [paragraph 2]: “In the name of the highest, almighty Creator, I, King Solomon, hold to the interpretation of the name of (God) Semiphoras...”

The Keys to the Gateway of Magic is volume 2 of the series SOURCEWORKS OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC, volume 1 being *Practical Angel Magic of Dr John Dee's Enochian Tables : Tabularum Bonam Angelorum Invocationes*, by Stephen Skinner and David Rankine (London: Golden Hoard Publishing, 2004); Volume 3, *The Goetia of Dr Rudd: Angels and Demons...* (Skinner and Rankine) — discussed below, § 1. b. *Lemegeton*; Volume 4, *The Veritable Key of Solomon* (Skinner and Rankine) — discussed below, § 1. a. *The Key of Solomon*; Volume 5, *The Grimoire of St. Cyprian: Clavis Inferni*, Latin translation by Dr Peter Forshaw (Skinner and Rankine, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2009); Volume 6, *Sepher Raziel*, (Don Karr and Stephen Skinner, the present volume).

The first three volumes of this attractively prepared series feature the works and expansions of one Dr Rudd, “a scholar-magician of the early seventeenth century who knew Dr. John

4. *Semiphoras and Shemhamphoras Salomonis Regis*
5. *Liber Salomonis: Cephaz Raziel*, British Library Sloane MS 3826 (the present work)

While reference to the contents of some of these works is made, it is not the aim of this introduction to offer summaries or analyses. Instead, the reader is referred to sources in which these works are translated into or described in English. My initial advice to anyone interested in pursuing this material is to go to *Twilight Grotto* at www.esotericarchives.com where most of the items discussed below, along with a wealth of other texts, are responsibly and tastefully presented — and can be viewed for free. (If the omissions at the site frustrate the reader, for the cost of one typical printed grimoire, a CD can be ordered from *Twilight Grotto* containing “50+ complete books/30 complete grimoires” — a forgivably mild exaggeration.)

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Notice must be given here to Aaron Leitch’s *Secrets of the Magical Grimoires: The Classical Texts of Magick Deciphered* (Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2005). Leitch, a practitioner himself, has made a valiant effort to offer a single-source epitome of the “classic grimoires” with descriptions, tables, and excerpts clearly and logically presented through 400+ oversized pages. The book is in two parts: (1) “history and scholarship,” and (2) “practical work,” including experiments and how-to instructions.

In Part One [*Occulta Philosophia*], CHAPTER ONE, Leitch provides an efficient if not particularly nuanced historical background. He then offers an account of the major grimoires, describing 22 texts, including the Solomonic texts discussed below, plus *Picatrix*, *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin*, Agrippa’s *De Occulta Philosophia* and the pseudo-Agrippan *Fourth Book*, *Heptameron*, John Dee’s diaries, Barrett’s *Magus*, etc. Unfortunately, the preamble to these descriptions is marred by some irksome errors. For example, on page 9, Leitch writes,

“The *Ethiopian Book of Enoch*, the *Hebrew Book of Enoch*, the *Pirkei Heichaloht* (sic), and even such canonical biblical texts such as Ezekiel and the Revelation of St. John are all centered upon — or connected to — the *Merkavah* tradition. The *Merkavah*’s use of ritual drugs, its focus on talismans and seals, the summoning forth of angelic gatekeepers, and the gaining of mystical visions are elements that run throughout the grimoiric spells.”

Dee.”The ‘Dr. Rudd’ mentioned was also the compiler of *A Treatise on Angel Magic* (MS Harley 6482), an edition of which was published by Adam McLean (Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Sourceworks [# 15], 1982, and subsequently reprinted; see the bibliography: ‘McLean’).

As an example of a work “centered upon...the *Merkavah* tradition,” the *Ethiopian* (more correctly, *Ethiopic*) *Book of Enoch* is an odd choice to set next to the *Hebrew Book of Enoch* and *Pirkei Hekhalot*. Yet, with “or connected to” interjected, Leitch allows enough slosh room for its inclusion as well as that of *Revelation*.

More serious is Leitch’s putting drugs and *merkavah* together, apparently through reading — but not thoroughly — James R. Davila’s accounts of shamanic techniques. In the article which Leitch cites (and in Davila’s book *Descenders of the Chariot*, Leiden: Brill, 2001), the use of drugs is indeed mentioned as a shamanic technique, and comparison is made between shamans (generic) and *Merkavah* mystics (specific). However, Davila states, “Nothing in the Hekhalot literature indicates that the descenders to the chariot made use of psychoactive drugs to induce their visionary experiences” (“The Hekhalot Literature and Shamanism’ at the web page *Divine Mediator Figures in the Biblical World* at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/mediators.html — the article Leitch cites). Leitch does go on to give a fairer account of *Merkavah* mysticism, again based on Davila, later in the book (CHAPTER TWO: “Shamanism, Tribal to Medieval,” pages 54-5), where there is no mention of drugs, and *hekhalot* is spelled more conventionally.

Leitch’s approach to the grimoires is best expressed in CHAPTER THREE, “The Art of Ecstasy: Way of the Prophet-Shaman,” which begins,

The altered mental state is the most essential and critical aspect of magickal practice.

A few pages before (page 71) Leitch states,

Some of the material in the grimoires may be, in fact, outdated. However, my focus is not upon the content or intent of the spells but on the foundational occult philosophy upon which the magick itself is based. It is my hope that this book will outline the processes by which this kind of magic works, and allow the practitioner to experiment with gaining conversation with various entities.

Part Two [*Occulta Practique*] mixes Leitch’s prose with tables and extracts from the grimoires on all the technical matters: times, tools, and talismans; purification and prayer; angels and spirits.

As a first or stand-alone book, *Secrets...* has much to recommend it. Leitch has reached beyond the old stand-bys (Waite, Mathers, original and later Golden Dawn material, E. M. Butler) and utilized some recent scholarship (James R. Davila, Claire Fanger, Richard Kieckhefer, Robert Mathiesen), though perhaps not enough (Leitch does not draw on the work of Michael D.

Bailey, Charles Burnett, Ioan Couliano, Valerie Flint, David Halperin, Deborah Harkness, Gösta Hedegård, Naomi Janowitz, Frank Klaassen, Christopher Lehrich, Rebecca Lesses, Marvin Meyer, or Robert Turner, to name a few who have dealt directly with the texts and topics in *Secrets...*; the “classic” works of Lynn Thorndike and Joshua Trachtenberg are also neglected. See the bibliography below: WORKS OF RELATED INTEREST). Nearly all of the texts and scholarly sources Leitch refers to are readily available (in English), thus, the book has little new to offer, save Leitch’s synthesis and organization, which sets the ‘grimoiric’ material out in the form of a unified system — which it certainly is not.

Despite all of the times I furrowed and bristled while poring over Leitch’s book, because of its range, readability, and spirit, I recommend *Secrets of the Magickal Grimoires*, especially to those who intend to do the stuff. For the practitioner, *Secrets...* could serve well as a hard-copy anchor to the mass of texts available on Internet sites such as *Twilit Grotto* at www.esotericarchives.com, Sacred Texts at www.sacred-texts.com, and Norton’s *Imperium* > ‘Classics of Magick’ at www.hermetic.com/browe-archive. Academics, however, would do better to go directly to Leitch’s sources — and well beyond.

For the comments of an experienced ‘Solomonic magician,’ refer to Carroll ‘Poke’ Runyon’s three-star review of Leitch, “A Good Survey in Need of Some Important Corrections” at Amazon.com § Reviews Written By Thabion ‘Thabion’:

www.amazon.com/gp/cdp/member-reviews/A13AN1BZVI4K02/ref=cm_pdp_about_review/104-3689026-2823924.

OTHER NOTEWORTHY RECENT PUBLICATIONS:

- Readers should note Stephen Skinner’s expansion of Crowley’s *Liber 777: The Complete Magician’s Tables* (Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2006, and St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 2007). The subtitle elaborates: *The most complete tabular set of Magic, Kabbalistic, Angelic, Astrologic, Alchemic, Demonic, Geomantic, Grimoire, Gematria, I Ching, Tarot, Pagan Pantheon, Plant, Perfume and Character Correspondence in more than 777 tables*. (The Crowley editions circulating have less than 200 columns; Skinner’s volume contains more than 800 columns.) Table M, “Magic of the Grimoires — Angels, Demons and Spirits,” connects with the topic at hand. § M offers tables drawn from:

Liber Salomonis

- *Testament of Solomon.*
 - *Liber Juratus, the Sworn Book of Honorius*
 - *Peter de Abano's Heptameron*
 - *Codex Latinus Monacensis*
 - *Goetia (Lemegeton Book I)*
 - *Theurgia-Goetia (Lemegeton Book II)*
 - *Ars Paulina (Lemegeton Book III)*
 - *Ars Almadel (Lemegeton Book IV)*
 - *Key of Solomon — Clavicula Salomonis*
 - *Sacred Magic of Abramelin*
 - *Franz Bardon's Practice of Magical Evocation*
 - *Grimorium Verum*
 - *Grand Grimoire*
- The often cited but frustratingly scarce works on the Hebrew MS called *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* (ca. 1700) by Hermann Gollancz have been reprinted in a single volume by Teitan Press (York Beach: 2008):
- *Maphteah Shelomo. Clavicula Salomonis: A Hebrew Manuscript newly discovered and now described* (London: D. Nutt / Frankfurt a. M: J. Kauffmann, 1903)
 - *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh* ('Book of the Key of Solomon') an exact facsimile of an original book of magic in Hebrew with illustrations now produced for the first time. (London – New York: Oxford University Press, 1914 – of which only 300 copies were printed)

The Teitan edition adds a seven-page foreword by Stephen Skinner, which states that "there is no doubt that this manuscript [i.e., *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh*] is part of the Solomonic magical tradition," and "in a large measure derived from them, which is quite the reverse of the usual assumption" (page viii). In a section sub-headed CONFIRMATION OF THE LATINIZED CONTENTS, Skinner (following the lead of Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker) presents "proof that this text [i.e., *Sepher Maphteah Shelomoh*] is a translation from a Latin/Italian original, by a Hebrew translator" (page xii).

Alas, the reprint is a limited edition of 358 copies.

1. a. THE KEY OF SOLOMON:

The best-circulated presentation of the KEY OF SOLOMON is S. L. MacGregor Mathers' *Key of Solomon the King* (London: Redway, 1888; reprinted New York, York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1974 and subsequently). Mathers compiled a text from several MSS found in the British Library Sloane, Harleian, Landsdowne, and King MS collections; he attempted to weave from these an ideal text.¹

The KEY is described in Butler's *Ritual Magic*, pp. 47-64, and in C. J. S. Thompson's *Mysteries and Secrets of Magic*, pp. 229-240 (London: J. Lane the Bodley Head, 1927; reprinted New York: Causeway Books, 1973).

Another fair presentation of the KEY appears in Idries Shah's *Secret Lore of Magic* (New York: Citadel Press, 1958; reprinted 1972; hereafter *Secret Lore* or simply 'Shah') pp. 9-60. Not quite so good is Arthur Edward Waite's treatment in *The Book of Ceremonial Magic* (London: Rider, 1911; reprinted New York: Bell Publishing, 1969; hereafter *Ceremonial Magic* or simply 'Waite') pp. 58-64 (Bell edition). (*Ceremonial Magic* is a revision of Waite's earlier *Book of Black Magic and of Pacts*, London: Redway, 1898; reprinted New York - York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1972, and subsequently.)

The most extensive treatment of the KEY to date is Volume IV of Stephen Skinner and David Rankine's *SOURCEWORKS OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC, The Veritable Key of Solomon* (London - Singapore: Golden Hoard Press / Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2008), which presents three KEY OF SOLOMON texts translated from the French by Paul Harry Barron: KEY 1. *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon* (Wellcome MS 4670 [1796]), KEY 2. *La Clavicule ou La Clef de Salomon* (Wellcome MS 4669 Art. 1 [1796]), and KEY 3. *Traité Universel des Clavicules de Salomon* (Wellcome MS 4669 Art. 2),² these being "three different texts from those translated

¹ Mathers' version of the KEY is included in the opportunistic no-frills "pirate" collection, *The Clavicula Solomonis (sic)* by Magus Tsirk Susej — *Jesus Krist* backwards, for heaven's sake — [n.p.: Embassy of Lucifer, 2005]; this edition has the text of the KEY — and the LESSER KEY; see below 1.b, page 9 — with no introduction, notes, or mention of sources, MSS or otherwise.

² Additional material from Wellcome MS 4669 has been published as *A Collection of Magical Secrets, Taken from Peter de Abano, Cornelius Agrippa and from other Famous Occult Philosophers & A Treatise of Mixed Cabalah, Which comprises the Angelic Art Taken from Hebrew Sages*, translated from Wellcome MS 4669 by Paul Harry Barron from the original French manuscript dated 1796, with introduction and commentary by Stephen Skinner & David Rankine. London: Avalonia, 2009.

by S. L. MacGregor Mathers.” The texts are introduced by a 60-page survey of the history and various ‘text-groups’ of the KEY supplemented by several appendices listing KEY MSS.¹

A composite of material related to the KEY is assembled in Ebenezer Sibley’s (or Sibly) *Clavis or Key to Unlock the Mysteries of Magic of Rabbi Solomon, translated from Hebrew into French and from French rendered into English with additions* (ca. 1800). Two reproduction editions have recently been published: (1) Ebenezer Sibly, *Solomon’s Clavis, or Key to Unlock the Mysteries of Magic* (Leicestershire: Society of Esoteric Endeavour, 2008), which offers Sibly’s manuscript (c. 1800), English translations primarily from various French magical sources, unadorned, i.e., “no modern introduction,” with Sibly’s preface; (2) Ebenezer Sibley, *The Clavis or Key to the Magic of Solomon...from a manuscript prepared by Frederick Hockley, with introduction, notes, and commentary by Joseph Peterson* (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2009). Refer to Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994): on Sibly, pages 107ff, on Hockley, pages 170ff.

1. b. Lemegeton, or LESSER KEY OF SOLOMON:

The *Lemegeton* consists of five sections:

- i. *Goetia*
- ii. *Theurgia-Goetia* [parts I and II]
- iii. *Pauline Art*
- iv. *Almadel*
- v. *Notary Art* ²

¹ In “The Key of Solomon: Toward a Typology of the Manuscripts” (in *Societas Magica Newsletter*, Issue 17, Spring 2007 — online at www.societasmagica.org/), Robert Mathiesen “offer[s] some materials for an eventual typological study of these [Key of Solomon] texts,” starting with an account of 122 MSS written in languages using the Latin alphabet, as opposed to those in Greek or Hebrew, then offering a provisional division of these into “Western text groups,” e.g., “Oldest (Western) Text [OT],” “Toz Graecus Text-Group [TG],” “Invocation of Angels Text-Group [IA],” and so on. Mathiesen adds some comments on “A Hebrew Version of the Key of Solomon,” i.e., *Mafteach Shelomoh*, and “An Arabic Version...” entitled *Al-Miftah al-Azam li-Sulayman al-Hakim*, and offers some “Tentative Conclusions.”

² The two page *Ars Nova*, which is often confused with it, is *not* the same text.

The *Goetia* is the best circulated of the sections, having been published numerous times, the best-known version being the one transcribed by S. L. MacGregor Mathers in 1898, with an introduction entitled "Preliminary Definition of Magic." A few years later, Aleister Crowley published this edition 'enhanced' by his own introduction, preface, preliminary invocation, and other ornaments (Foyers: S[ociety for the] P[ropagation of] R[eligious] T[ruth] Ltd, 1904). In 1916, the pirating began with an edition bearing the name L. W. de Laurence and the title *The Lesser Key of Solomon – Goetia: the Book of Evil Spirits* (Chicago: de Laurence, Scott and Co.), which is the Mathers/Crowley work unacknowledged; this edition is listed as still *in print* (!) A larger version – in size, not in content – bearing Crowley's name was published in 1970¹ as *The Book of the Goetia of Solomon the King*; this is, for the most part, a dressed up version of the "SPRT/de Laurence" edition.

Goetia is described and quoted in Butler's *Ritual Magic* (pp. 65-80); it is presented in both Shah (pp. 179-211; 299-304) and Waite (pp. 64-66; 184-235). Waite's "list of the seventy-two spirits...along with their sigils" is reproduced in Christopher McIntosh's *Devil's Bookshelf*.² Shah also gives *Almadel* in *Secret Lore* (pp. 169-178).³ Waite includes the Pauline Art (pp. 66-72) and [The Art of] *Almadel* (pp. 72-77). McIntosh includes the conjuration of Samael from a MS of the *Pauline Art* "copied out by Frederick Hockley, the indefatigable nineteenth-century collector of occult documents" (*The Devil's Bookshelf*, pp. 190-1).

A full transcription of *The Art of Almadel of Solomon* from British Library Sloane MS 2731 (collated with Sloane MS 3648 and 3825)

¹ New York: Ram Importer Inc.; subsequent editions from Equinox Ltd in 1976, Magickal Childe in 1989, and First Impressions in 1993.

² Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985: pp. 168-189.

³ The *Almadel* of the *Lemegeton* should not be confused with *Armadel* — a completely different work, available as *The Grimoire of Armadel*, translated by S. L. MacGregor Mathers (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1980 and 1995) — OR the *Arbatel of Magick* — a collection of forty-nine magical aphorisms, the first section of an otherwise lost nine-part tome said to have been employed by John Dee.

See Joseph H. Peterson's translation, *Arbatel: Concerning the Magic of the Ancients* [ORIGINAL SOURCEBOOK OF ANGEL MAGIC] (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2009) — also at Peterson's *Twilight Grotto*: www.esotericarchives.com > Classical Grimoires. *Arbatel* also appears in the collection titled *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, edited... by Stephen Skinner. London: Askini Publishers, 1978; rpt Berwick [ME]: Ibis Press, 2005.

On the INTERNET, see Benjamin Rowe's PDF at NORTON'S IMPERIUM, www.hermetic.com/browe-archive > Classics of Magick, AND Sadena's 2003 translation at www.arbatel.org/index.html.

appears as an appendix to Jan R. Veenstra's article "*The Holy Almandal: Angels and the Intellectual Aims of Magic*," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002).¹

Some recent efforts have offered complete, or near-complete, editions of *Lemegeton*. All parts but the *Notary Art* appear in Kevin Wilby's *Lemegetton [sic]: A Medieval Manual of Solomon's Magic* [Sloane MS 3648] (Dyfed: Hermetic Research Series NUMBER 5, 1985). In his article, "*The Lemegetton [sic] Revealed*," (in *The Hermetic Journal*, Issue 29, ed. Adam McLean, 1985), Wilby says that the *Notary Art* "is fragmentary and nowhere near complete," referring to it as the "corrupted fifth part." Wilby is even harsher in his FOREWORD to *The Lemegeton*, referring to "the fifth and final book" as "the only blemish I found in this masterly work," deeming it "literary tripe."

A so-so photocopy (with some pages missing) of British Library Sloane MS 2731 (which is in English) and a remarkably poor typescript comprise Nelson and Anne White's *Lemegeton: Clavicula Salomonis, The Complete Lesser Key of Solomon the King* (Fremont: Technology Group, 1979; 2nd edition, once available at www.techgroupbooks.com — an unfortunately now-defunct site which proved that one picture is worth a thousand words).

The edition from the International Guild of Occult Sciences (hereafter I.G.O.S.), *King Solomon's the Lemegeton: Lesser Key* (or *The Lemegeton: King Solomon's Lesser Key*) (Palm Springs: I.G.O.S., 1997) contains the Whites' photocopy slightly enlarged with a transcription which is neat and readable. Neither the Whites' nor the I.G.O.S. version includes the *Notary Art*, save for a few "sample pages," stating that *Notary Art* is "quite obviously not a 'book,' but rather a collection of notes and explanations which should have been presented with the first book, *The Goetia*" (the Whites' edition, p. 57); and "a scattered and undeveloped jotting down...at best supplementary notations" (I.G.O.S. edition, p. 65).²

Robin E. Cousins (in *Elizabethan Magic*, edited by Robert Turner [Longmead: Element Books, 1989], p. 140) observes that the *Notary Art*

¹ *The Holy Almandal* is a practical manual of ritual magic which "may have roots extending back into Persia and the Far East, but its medieval versions were thoroughly Christianized" [page 192]; however, *Almandal* and *Almadel* are of "diverse traditions." [page 209] (cited from Veenstra's "*Holy Almadel*").

² In each of these two cases, the editor has confused the *Notary Art* with the 2 page *Ars Nova*.

is, in fact, omitted from British Library Sloane MS 2731, the MS used by the Nelsons and I.G.O.S. According to Cousins (*Elizabethan Magic*, p. 141), Wilby based his edition on a manuscript (British Library Sloane MS 3648) which contains the *Notary Art*, but — as noted above — he saw fit to exclude it from his “complete” edition.

Ars Notoria: The Notary Art of Solomon, translated into English in 1657 by Robert Turner of Holshott (not to be confused with Robert Turner, the contemporary author/editor, mentioned above) has been published in a collector’s edition (Seattle: Trident Press, 1987 and 1997) along with some support material: “An Astrological Catechisme” and “Solomon and the *Ars Notoria*” from Lynn Thorndike’s *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, and “*Ars Notoria* in Manuscript” by Adam McLean. A low-cost edition, titled variously *Ars Notoria: The Magical Art of Solomon, Showing the Cabalistical Key of Magical Operations* or *The Magical Art of Solomon, being the Ars Notoria: A Grimoire* [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES III], without the sundry additions, edited by Darcy Kuntz, was put out by Holmes Publishing Group [Edmonds] in 1998 and remains available in a more recent reprint edition.

While not really contradicting the Nelson/I.G.O.S. assessment, Benjamin Rowe offers an alternative and more positive take on the *Lemegeton*’s fifth book. In the introduction to his *Ars Nova – Book Five of the Lemegeton* (June 1999; on the Internet at Rowe’s site, *Norton’s Imperium: Enochian Magick Papers & Links* > “Classics of Magic,” at www.hermetic.com/browe-archive), Rowe says that in some manuscripts (such as the one from which he transcribed, British Library Sloane MS 2731 — the same as the Nelsons’ and I.G.O.S.), the fifth book is an addendum containing notes on *Goetia*. This book has been mistakenly called *Ars Notoria* instead of the correct name, *Ars Nova*. Rowe suggests quite convincingly that the last couple of pages of the manuscript are out of order, and, thus, *Ars Nova* consists of two leaves rather than one. These final pages of *Lemegeton* can be seen in the photocopies of the Nelson and I.G.O.S. editions. For a full transcription, see Rowe’s site.¹

Another recent edition is *Lemegeton: the Complete Lesser Key of Solomon*, edited by Mitch Henson, with revised illustrations by Jeff Wellman

¹ *Ars Nova*, even when it has been transcribed, has been read incorrectly as a continuous text rather than as two columns of text, with a small gap between. The only printed copy of it that is transcribed in the correct order appears in Skinner & Rankine, *The Goetia of Dr Rudd*, London: Golden Hoard, 2007, Appendix 9, pages 414-421.

Liber Salomonis

(Jacksonville: Metatron Books, 1999), which also omits the *Notary Art*. Henson says in his introduction, "Both the content and the context of *Ars Notoria* show no affinity for the listings of spirits that mark the bulk of the material contained in *The Lesser Key of Solomon*." This tidied-up (perhaps a bit too tidy), inexpensive edition presents "a careful collation of manuscripts from the Sloane collection in the British Library."

(The LESSER KEY collection with *Ars Nova* — not *Ars Notoria* — is included in The Embassy of Lucifer's *Clavicula Solomonis* — noted above in §1.a; *Ars Nova* is identical to Rowe's version, even including the footnote numbers in the text — *without the footnotes*.)

The Lesser Key of Solomon edited by Joseph H. Peterson (York Beach: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2001) includes a complete text — all five books — with other pertinent material, including a preface from one of the MS editions of the *Lesser Key*, addenda from two others, and Johann Weyer's *Pseudomonarchia daemonum*. "I have followed Sloane 3825 for this edition, except for *Ars Notoria*. For the latter, the manuscripts are clearly dependent on Robert Turner's translation. I have therefore used his 1657 printed edition as my primary source" (INTRODUCTION, p. xiii). Intelligently prepared, nicely printed, and reasonably priced: Peterson's is by far the best edition available.

Finally, there is *The Goetia of Dr Rudd: The Angels & Demons of Liber Malorum Spirituum seu Goetia / Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis* / with a study of techniques of evocation in the context of the angel magic tradition of the seventeenth century / *being a transcription of Dr Rudd's 'Liber Malorum Spirituum seu Goetia' from Harley MS 6483, with other pertinent extracts from manuscripts Harley MS 6482, Sloane MS 3824 and Wellcome MS 3203*, by Stephen Skinner and David Rankine (London – Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, 2007). The question, "Why another edition of the Lemegeton?" is taken up in the introduction (I have condensed):

1. The manuscript contains much material which no other version does...
2. We wanted to show how the system of magic in the *Lemegeton* was developed and actually practiced by working magicians in the seventeenth century...
3. The seals in this manuscript are beautiful and more carefully drawn than in any other manuscript...
4. This version explains the preparation and protection of the magician, specifically what precise angel he should use to compel each individual demon, and the use of the Brass Vessel. These key practical details are not present in any other edition of the *Goetia*.

5. We wanted to trace where the *Lemegeton* material comes from and to demonstrate that its roots reach back at least to the thirteenth century, and the connections between angel magicians and those evoking in the grimoire tradition, which in the case of this manuscript proves to be identical. ...

The Goetia of Dr Rudd is Volume III of *SOURCEWORKS OF CEREMONIAL MAGIC*, by Skinner and Rankine contains *Goetia*, *Theurgia Goetia*, *The Art Pauline*, and *The Art Almadel* — but not *Ars Notoria* because “it is not a workable system as it appears in these manuscripts,” without the crucial *notae* illustrations.

Further, see Michael Camille’s “Visual Art in Two Manuscripts of the *Ars Notoria*,” in *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic*, edited by Claire Fanger (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998; hereafter *Conjuring Spirits*); “The Notary Art” (CHAPTER 4, § 1) in Frank Klaassen’s *Religion, Science, and the Transformations of Magic: Manuscripts of Magic 1300-1600*, Ph.D. dissertation: Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999 (pp. 109-129); and Klaassen’s § THE ARS NOTORIA within “English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300-1500: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Conjuring Spirits...*, (ed. Fanger), pp. 14-19.

2. a. *Grimorium Verum*:

Again we can turn to Waite (pp. 96-100, 159-183, and 236-240, with numerous other references) and Shah (pp. 64-68; 75-112).

An attractive edition was put out by Trident Press (Seattle: 1994): *Grimorium Verum: Containing The Most Approved Keys Of Solomon Wherein The Most Hidden Secrets Both Natural & Supernatural Are Immediately Exhibited* ... translated from the Hebrew by Plangiere, Jesuite Dominicaine, in ‘library’ cloth, and, in this rare case, paper. The I.G.O.S. version offers the text in both French and English (Palm Springs: 1996).

The best edition available is, not surprisingly, that of Joseph H. Peterson,¹ which offers not only an English translation but complete French and Italian texts. Peterson’s careful work accommodates academics and practitioners alike.

¹ Scotts Valley: CreateSpace Publishing, 2007.

2. b. TRUE BLACK MAGIC:

There are conflicting descriptions of this text. Butler describes a MS containing 45 talismans with details of their workings and “all magical characters known unto this day” from a Hebrew original (*Ritual Magic*, p. 80). Waite (p. 100) refers to it as “simply an adapted version of the KEY... [and] like the *Grimorium Verum*, it is exceedingly confused, and is rendered almost unmeaning by the omission of the practical part.” Waite does, however, quote and paraphrase it frequently:

- p. 146 on abstinence
- pp. 147-148 on baths
- p. 149 on inks
- p. 154 on instruments
- p. 166 on pen and ink
- pp. 174-176 on parchment
- pp. 177-179 on cleaning
- pp. 300-302 for love
- pp. 306-307 for invisibility

2. c. THE GRAND GRIMOIRE:

THE GRAND GRIMOIRE, also called the *Red Dragon*, is described and quoted by Waite (pp. 100-103/pp. 241-264). Shah introduces it and from it offers an operation for conjuring Lucifuge (pp. 68-74). There is an artful limited edition (500 copies) from Trident/Ars Obscura (Seattle: 1996) translated by Gretchen Rudy from the 1612 Italian edition; this has been reprinted by Trident in a \$100 “library edition” with an optional \$25 slipcase (2006). I.G.O.S. has its typically pricey edition titled *The Red Dragon – The Grand Grimoire* (translated by Robert Blanchard, Palm Springs: 1995), which gives both the French and English. Lastly, there is an economy version of *The Grand Grimoire* edited by Darcy Kuntz [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES IV] (Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Groups, 2001).

3. The Grimoire & SWORN BOOK of Honorius:

Distinction should immediately be made between the SWORN BOOK OF HONORIUS and the later, derivative — and diabolical — *Grimoire*, also called the *Constitution of Honorius*. Unfortunately, these titles are often interchanged (as with the I.G.O.S. edition discussed below).

3a. The *Grimoire of [Pope] Honorius* is treated in the books we have already cited: Butler: pp. 89-97, Waite: pp. 103-110, and Shah: pp. 253-280.

The Grimoire of Pope Honorius "from a [German] manuscript from the Infernal Library of a Schwabian farmer," translated by Kineta Ch'ien, was published in a limited edition in 1999 by Trident Books (Seattle); both the English and German are included. The text is somewhat different from the one treated by Butler, Waite, and Shah, though introduced by *The Constitution of Pope Honorius* given in French and English, the English of which is identical to Shah, pp. 255-6 and quite similar to Waite pp. 107-9. Included in the Trident edition is support material, such as a "Bibliographic Prolegomenon," an "Examination of the Editions of the Grimoire," and yet another text, *Coniurationes Demonum* (in English).

3b. A translation of the SWORN BOOK, or *Liber Sacer sive Liber Juratus*, was done by Daniel Driscoll: *The Sworn Book of Honorius the Magician* (Gillette: Heptangle Books, 1977 & Berkeley Heights: Heptangle Books, 1983). Printed as a fancy collectable, this work is now difficult and expensive to obtain; alas, it is incomplete and considered somewhat inaccurate. I.G.O.S. published a hardbound typescript, variously titled *Medieval Grimoire of Honorius*, *Grimoire of Honorius*, and *Handbook of Honorius the Magus* (translated by Robert Blanchard, Palm Springs: 1993). Even though it is called "*Grimoire*," this work is in fact the *iuratus* or SWORN BOOK of Honorius mentioned by Lynn Thorndike in *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923-1958; reprinted Columbia University Press), volume II, chapter XLIX: "Solomon and the Ars Notoria."

There is the more definitive *Liber Iuratus Honorii: A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, by Gösta Hedegård [Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: *Studia Latina Stockholmiensa*] (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International, 2002). The text is in Latin; the 46-page introduction, however, is in English.

See 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes' by Robert Mathiesen, and 'The Devil's Contemplatives: The *Liber iuratus*, The *Liber visionum* and Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism' by Richard Kieckhefer — both in *Conjuring Spirits*. Refer also to Frank Klaassen's Ph.D. dissertation, *RELIGION, SCIENCE, AND THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF MAGIC: MANUSCRIPTS OF MAGIC 1300-1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), pages 129-135, and Klaassen's § THE LIBER SACER OR SWORN BOOK OF HONORIUS within "English Manuscripts of Magic, 1300-1500: A Preliminary Survey," in *Conjuring Spirits...*, (ed. Fanger), pp. 19-20.

4. *Semiphoras & Shemhamphoras Salomonis Regis* (hereafter *S&S*):

S&S is surrounded by a mish-mash derived from Agrippa, pseudo-Agrippa, Jewish magic (*Shimmush Tehillim*), folk magic, and fragments from the Faustian school in a collection titled *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (New York: Wehman Brothers, n.d. [1880]; and Carbondale: Egyptian Publishing Company, n.d.; Chicago: The de Laurence Company, 1919.)

In 1982, there appeared the profoundly disappointing *New Revised Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses and the Magical Uses of Psalms*, edited by Migene González-Wippler (Bronx: Original Publications). The text and especially the introduction are rife with errors.

In 2008, Joseph H. Peterson edited a nicely-printed edition (Lake Worth: Ibis Press) which offers serious treatment of this hybrid collection of translations: clear, correct texts and diagrams, with an informative foreword, notes, and nine supplemental appendices — by far the best edition.

The texts (with seals in Hebrew and magical script) of *The Sixth Book of Moses* and *The Seventh Book of Moses* are English translations from Johann Scheible's *Das Sechste und Siebente buch Mosis* (Stuttgart: 1849), which is volume six of Scheible's *Bibliothek der zauber geheimnis – und offenbarungs-bucher*.

The *S&S* texts also trace their origins back to German collections, namely volumes 3 and 4 of J. C. Horst's *Zauberbibliothek* (6 vols., Mainz: 1821-6); and volume 3 of Johann Scheible's *Das Kloster* (12 vols., Stuttgart and Leipzig: Theodor Thomas, 1846).¹

Interestingly, “The Seven Semiphoras of Adam” and “The Seven Semiphoras of Moses” within *S&S* closely match passages in the seventh book of *Cephar Raziel: Liber Salomonis*, discussed below. For *S&S*, see Wehman, Egyptian, and de Laurence — pp. 116-140; González-Wippler — pp. 125-164. Peterson, APPENDIX 3 — pp. 141-168.

¹ Other items from *Das Kloster* (vols. 2 and 5, respectively) are posted at the website of the Cleveland Public Library: *Libellus Magicus: A Nineteenth-Century Manuscript of Conjurations and Praxis Magica Fausti*, introduced, annotated, and transcribed by Stephen J. Zietz (1999); go to www.cpl.org/010012/libellus/LIBELUS2.html (NOT FOUND: December 29, 2008) to bring up the contents page. Both are described by Waite (*Black Magic*, Weiser edition, pp. 102-4; *Ceremonial Magic*, Bell edition, pp. 110-112) and the first text is presented in both Latin and English at *Twilight Grotto*: www.esotericarchives.com > Black Magic with the title *Verus Jesuitarum Libellus*.

5. *Liber Salomonis*, British Library Sloane MSS 3826, 3846, 3847 and 3853:

Liber Salomonis is not treated at length in any printed source, though it is described in *Ceremonial Magic* (pp. 20-21) and mentioned here and there by Shah and Butler. Thorndike mentions this MS only once in *History of Magic* (volume II, p. 281).

British Library Sloane MS 3826 is in English, except for (i) the opening lines of paragraphs in *Liber Salomonis* and *Incipit Canon*; (ii) the Orisons; (iii) the invocation, constriction, ligation, and license of *Raphael*; and (iv) *Beleemus De imaginibus* (BELEEMUS ON THE IMAGES [of the planets]). Folio pages 58^r-83^v have been identified as material from THE SWORN BOOK of Honorius (see Bibliography: "Printed notices of Sloane MS 3826").

See the following section, INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSCRIPT, for further details of Sloane MS 3826.

The Bibliography lists works of related interest.

- Don Karr

166
161

Praefatio in Librum Razielis. J. V. D.

In nomine Dei omnipotentis tui, et verit-
tarii et sine omni fine qui dicitur Adenay
Saday Aderay Iutipio scribere istum librum:
qui dicitur Cephaz Raziel cum omnibus sub
Pertinentiis, in quo sunt septem tractatuum:
plati, et septem libri:

Vixit Solomon gloria et laus cum multo honore
sit pro omnium Creaturarum. Ille qui est sin-
gularis quiescit omnia una vice & est Deus unus
tenens, potens, Ipse solus qui est, et qui fuit, et qui
semper erit, qui nunquam habuit aequalem, nec
similem sibi, nec est habitans, et est singularis
sine fine, Deus unius sine corruptione, Deus mun-
dus pius, & magnus, omnia audiens et videns
et sapiens, et in omnibus potens. Et incipio
in libro isto ponere Exemplum quod quisque
habuit ipsum, non vituperet eum usquequo la-
gerit et audierit totum, aut aliquid ipsum, et
tunc Laudet Deum Creatorem. Et sunt 9. precepta.

1. Non credas esse plures, nisi unum Deum solum
& singularem, super omnia potens: qui non
habet parem, et illum dilige et honora cum fi-
dentia & voluntate bona, et firma et posita, et tu
2. toto mundo corde. Non vivas sine lege, et sine
Ratione, et eis dilectus à Deo. Creator et à gen-
tibus.
3. Non facias alijs quod nolis alijs fieri:
ut tibi, et dilige tuos, et extraneos eundem. Non
4. sis mendax Domino tuo, nec Amico tuo, et
sacerdoti

Figure 3. First page from the Latin *Librum Razielis* or *Cephaz Raziel* Sloane MS 3847 f.161.

Encipio scribere istud librum qui vocatur Sepher Raziel
 que angelus Raziel dedit Adon et docet de f. tempibz
 anni mensis diei et noctis quoniam denuq nuntiatur quantum sem
 et cognoscere quolibet horum q si liber tempus et angelus
 dedit ei virtute et potestate magnam p mandatu q ratione
 munde de^{dei} in omi p factis Et ut ada cognosset oia que
 voluit in hoc mudo quid est et quod fuit et quid illud que
 in oibz 12. mensibz anni et diebz et horis et p ordinem et
 altitudinem pny q semini et locomo dactylis et subingatore
 fac p. 1. dico ad pmi mensis vel antequam ascendat et
 punda sua. i. ascendent et antequam ascendat et fons et
 et nuntiari dunt ea angeli qui habent potestate sup celos
 fernali ab igne et habentes vitam ab igne et vident
 vestiti ab igne sunt dms celoz et vident et coepta ignis
 e vadit ab igne et manent in igne e sunt magne dno
 tate et potente in 12. mensibz anni p acceptio q ratione. p
 dixit fiat mudi. Et oies angeli sunt et fuerunt ante horu
 Et sunt. 1. potestates ante facie dei e omibz doz data
 est pias et habent dno et mensis et septima. Et illi
 sunt quide stantes in igne quide sunt sedentes in cathedra
 genosifici sumentes q ratione Et sunt semp pti dno et
 inteq et e oia facies p mandatu dei Et oies angeli

in fine.

Figure 4: First page of the Latin *Sephar Raziel* in Sloane MS 3853, f. 46. Early 16th century. Note the ambiguous initial letter of *C/Sephar Raziel* in the first line.

Introduction to the Manuscript

Liber Salomonis comprises folio pages 2^r-57^r of British Library Sloane MS 3826; it contains seven treatises (as described in its own fol. 3^r):

1. *Clavis* "of astronomy and of the starres" (ff 5^v-11^v)
2. *Ala* "the vertues of some stones of herbes and of beasts" (ff 12^r-27^r)
3. *Tractatus Thymiamatus* of suffumigations and of allegations of them and divisions" (ff 27^r-34^r)
4. The "*Treatise of tymes* of the year of the day and of the night when anything ought to be done by this booke" (ff 34^r-46^r)
5. The "*Treatise of Cleanesse of Abstinence*" (ff 46^r-51^r)
6. "*Samaim*" which "nameth all the heavens and her angels and the operations or workings of them" (ff 51^v-53^v)
7. The "*Booke of Vertues and miracles*—the properties of the ark of magicke and of his figures and of the ordinance of same" (ff 53^v-57^v)

Liber Salomonis refers to itself as "Cephar Raziel" (ff 2^v, 3^r, 4^r, 12^r, 34^r), "Sepher Raziel" (fol. 2^r), "booke of Raziel" (ff 20^r, 46^r, 57^r), and "booke of Razeelus" (fol. 3^v). Solomon is indicated as the recipient and redactor, not the author of the book in the narrative which introduces the text (ff 2^v-3^v), though most instructions begin, "Salomon said." Others begin, "Hermes said" (ff 9^r, 11^r, 18^v, 24^r, 28^v, 30^r, 31^r, 32^r, 33^v), "Adam said" (fol. 16^r), "Nathaniel said" (fol. 47^r), "Moyses said" (ff 4^r, 4^v), and "Raziel said" (ff 6^r, 16^v, 22^r, 26^r, 28^v, 31^v, 34^v, 36^r, 37^r, 38^v). Narrative passages refer to Raziel as the source of the book (e.g., ff 34^r and 36^r).

The rest of Sloane MS 3826 consists of:

1. *Incipit Canon*: The rule of the book of consecration (ff 58^r-60^r)
2. Orisons (ff 60^r-65^r)
3. Magical directions (ff 65^r-83^v)
4. *Liber Lunae* (ff 84^r-97^v)
5. *Raphael*: The Invocation of Oberion Concerning Physick &c. (ff 98^r-99^r)
6. The Call of *Bilgal*, One of the 7 etc. (fol. 99^v)
7. An Experiment for a Fayry (fol. 100^r)
8. *Beleemus De imaginibus* (ff 100^v-101^r)

In various communications, I have expressed my opinion that Sloane MS 3826 was a sixteenth-century Christian product, though one which borrowed from Jewish, Arabic, and Græco-Roman scholastic and folk sources. In a note to me (January 28, 2007), Sophie Page offered an informed and most welcome emendation to my view in the form of an abridged segment from her article, 'Uplifting Souls and Speaking with Spirits: The *Liber de essentia spirituum* and the *Liber Razielis*,' in Claire Fanger (ed.), *Invoking Angels: Mystical Technologies in the Middle Ages* (forthcoming):

"The most explicit transmission of Jewish magical material into the Christian Latin tradition of magic was the translation of works associated with the name "Raziel," an angel present in Jewish angelology and Arabic astrological texts who was said to have revealed a book of secrets to Adam. Various esoteric and magical treatises attributed to Raziel and based on the practical use of divine and angelic names circulated among late medieval Jews. The earliest known reference in Latin is a citation by the Christian convert Petrus Alfonsus [or Alfonsi] (1062-1110) of a certain *Secretum secretorum*, which claimed to have been revealed to Seth, the son of Adam, by the angel Raziel. By the mid-thirteenth century, these magic texts were circulating more widely in Latin. In 1259, Alfonso [X, (1221-1284)] directed the translation of a work entitled *Liber Razielis* from Latin into Castilian by the cleric Juan d'Aspa. The Castilian version does not survive, but the Latin original put together by Alfonso survives in two complete and several partial copies, as well as various early modern abridged vernacular versions. The Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* is structured in the form of seven books said to have been brought together by Solomon. Nine related texts from the Solomonic and Hermetic magical traditions were added by Alfonso's scribes as appendices. Although the preface cites a single Hebrew original for the seven volumes, it is likely that the structure was partly a creation of Alfonso himself and his translators."

The following post-1500 manuscripts contain abridged vernacular copies of the Alfonsine *Liber Razielis* or the *Liber Sameyn* only (the sixth book). This is not an exhaustive list, and I have only personally examined those in the British Library: MS Yale, Beinecke Rare Books Library Osborn MS fa. 7 (late s. xvi, English); British Library MSS Sloane 3826 (s. xvii,¹ English), ff. 1-57, Sloane 3846 (s. xvi, English), ff. 127-55; MS Lyon 970 (s. xvii, xviii, French); MSS Alnwick Castle 596 (s. xviii, Italian, the *Liber Sameyn*), pp. 1-42 and 96 (Italian, Latin, English, the *Liber Sameyn* only); MS Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Math. 4^o 10 (s. xvi/xvii, German); MS Dresden N. 36 (s. xviii, German); Prague, National Museum Library MS XVII F25 (1595, Czech, trans. Ioannes Polenarius). MS British Library Add. 16,390 (s. xvii) has a

¹ Should be xvi century.

Hebrew extract with a title in Italian. Where no folio references are given, the catalogue entry suggests that the *Liber Razielis* travels alone.

Suggested bibliography: J. Dan, "Raziel, Book of," *Encyclopedia Judaica* 13 (Jerusalem, 1971), 1592-93; A. Garcia Avilés, "Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*: imágenes de la magia astral judía en el *scriptorius* Alfonsi," in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Volume 74, Number 1: January 1997, pp. 21-39 (Carfax Publishing/Liverpool University Press); Alfonso d'Agostino, *Astromagia* [MS. Reg. Lat 1283a] (Naples: Liguore, 1992). On the later *fortuna* of the *Liber Razielis* in Spain and elsewhere: F. Secret, "Sur quelques traductions du *Sefer Raziel*," *Revue des études Juives*, 128 (Paris: 1969), pp. 223-45. On magic at the Alfonsine court, see also N. Weill-Parot, *Les images astrologiques au Moyen Âge et la Renaissance* (Paris: Honor Champion, 2002), pp. 123-138).

In her introduction to *The Watkins Dictionary of Angels* (London: Watkins Publishing, 2006), Julia Cresswell writes (page 9) of Sloane MS 3826,

"I would suggest that although the manuscript may be sixteenth century, some of the language is rather old-fashioned for that date, except perhaps for an old person writing in the early sixteenth century. I would guess that the text is a reworking of an earlier one, pushing the origin of the material back into the Middle Ages."

Liber Salomonis is in the present book literally transcribed, line-by-line, with no changes in spelling or wording. Spelling in the MS is quite inconsistent; e.g., within a few lines of each other, we find "wing," "winge," "wyng," and "wyngē." Using superscript and other features, I have imitated the look of the text as closely as typographically possible. Note that superscripted letters belong to the text and usually indicate contractions; superscripted numbers refer to footnotes. All Latin headings are in *italics*. Manuscript folio numbers are given in square brackets.

Following that, for ease of reading, Stephen Skinner has edited a modern English version of the same text.

For printed notices of Sloane MS 3826 see the Bibliography.

- Don Karr

Sepher Raziel - Liber Salomonis

British Library Sloane MS 3826, folios 2-57

transcription by Don Karr

[2^r]

In noie Dei potentis vibi et veri et aeterni &c

In the name of Almighty God living and very and everlasting and without all and which is said Adonay Saday Ehye Asereye I begin to write this booke which is said Sephar Raziel with all his appertenances in which be seven treatises complete or fulfilled that is vii bookes.

Dixit Salomon Gloria et laus et cu multo honore &c

Salomon said glory and praying with much honor be to God of all Creatures, he that is singular which made all things at one tyme. And he is one God very mighty he alone that is and that was and which evermore shall be, and which has never an end or any like him neither is he like to have. And he is singular without end, Lord alone without corruption, holy cleane meeke and great all things seeing and hearing and wise and in all things mighty. And I begin this booke to put an ynsample that whosoever that hath it blame it not till he have red and heard all or somewhat of it, and then prayse the God maker of all things.

These be the ix precepts *Incipiunt praecepta*
Heere beginneth the precepts

Non credas esse plures nisi unu~ singulare &c

1. Ne trowe thou no to be moe or many but one singular alone upon all things which hath none like him and him love with all dread and honor with all trust and with good will and stable and with might and with all they cleane
2. heart. Ne live thou not without lawe, and thou shall
3. be loved of God thy creator and of folks. Ne do thou not to another man yf thou wouldest not the same. Ne
4. be thou not a lyer to the Lord neither to thy friend and say thou such soothes that be to thy profit and not
5. harme. Ne love thou not neither fellowship thou more with unwise men then with wisemen. And evermore love

[2^v]

- thou many wisdoms and good sciences and all thy will
6. and thy lyfe in them. Ne speakest thou not before thou have thought, and that thou do consider it in thine
 7. hart ere thou do it. Neither discover thou not thy privities to a woman, neither to a childe, neither to a foole, neither
 8. to a dronke^e woman. No prove thou not a medicine neither

venym in thy self before thou provest it in an other. Ne
 9. blame thou not a booke before thou prophesy neither a wise
 man till thou have proved thou. And if thou with holdest
 these ix precepts in thee evermore thou shalt profite more
 and more. *Postqua sensus et scire et posse vo=
 luntas vera &c* After that witt and knowledge and
 might and very will overcometh all things with good witt
 and good discretion. Therfore I will expound or make open
 his booke which is of great power and of great vertue.
 I, Salomon put such knowledge and such a distinction
 and explanation in this book^e to every man that readeth or
 studyeth in it, that he may know^e whereof he was and
 from whome he came. Knowe ye that after I Salomon
 had xxx yeeres within an half in the vth day of the
 month of Hebreys which was the vith ferial day, the
 sonne being in the signe of Leonis. In that day was sent
 to me from Babilony of some prince that was greater
 and more worshipfuller then all men of this tyme some
 booke that is said Cephar Raziel which cont vii bookes and
 vii treatises.

*Nota tempus in quo Salomon fuit p^o adeptus istu libre
 et quomodo et a quo venit sibi*

Knowe thou the tyme in which Salomon gott the booke and
 howe and of whom it came to him.

Iste liber est magnae virtutis et magnae secretiae This
 booke is of great vertue and of great privity, the name of the
 prince that sent it to me was Sameton and of the two
 wise men that brought it to me was said Kamazan and
 the other Zazont.

[3^r]

The name of this booke expound^{ed} in Latine is Angelus mag-
 nus Secreti Creatoris That is to say the great Angel
 of the secret creator And in Hebrew Cephar Raziel it
 is the book^e after Adam written in language of Caldey
 and afterward translated in Hebrew. And know each man that
 read^es it that in it all Semiforax that is to say the great
 name complete with all his names whole and even. and with
 his vertues and his sacraments And I found it in 7 bookes that
 is 7 treatises. And know ye that I found the first and the
 last full dark^e and the five middle more plain and although
 I found them dark^e I opened them as much as I could or
 might. And the 7 treatises of this book^e be these..

1. The first is said Clavis for that in it is determined of Astronomy and of the stares for without them we may do nothing.
2. The second is said Ala for that in it is determined of the vertues of some stones of herbes and of beasts
3. The third is said Tractatus Thymiamatu^s for that there is determined in it of suffumigations and of Allegations of them and divisions
4. The ivth is said the Treatise of tymes of the year of the day and of the night for that in it is determined when anything ought to be done by this book^e
5. The vth is said the Treatise of Cleanesse for that there is determined in it of Abstinence
6. The sixtth is said Samaim for in that treatise it nameth all the heavens and her angels and the operations or workings of them
7. The viith is the book^e of Vertues for that there is determined in it of vertues and miracles for there be told the properties of the ark of magicke and of his figures and of the ordinance of same.

And the I beganne to write all these treatises in a new^e volume for that one treatise without another serves not to the wholeness of the work^e Therfore I made an

[3^v]

whole book^e to be made of the treatises. Therfore Salomon said to his writer Clarifaton that he could write it, which I know well the language of Caldý of Indy of Hebrew and of Syne and their right explanation. Methelis Salomon said that after Clarifaton had corrected it and had dressed it, it should be the better and ordained it in the best maner that he might. And Clarifaton said, which was the writer of Salomon, that this booke is full of great privity and that it was sent of full great honor And that it was sent to Salomon for most price and most love. And everiche treatise of these vii was written by themselves. But although it be so that Clarifaton said that it ought to be but one booke alone by itself for none of these saith he should suffice without another, wherefore he said it were necessary that they were all together Whereupon Salomon ordained that all the said 7 treatises were but one book^e as they ought to be and as they ought to be read and wrought.

And he ordayned it much better then the ph^{il}o^[soph]rs orday= ned, and also he taught how a man ought to do his work^e by it. And he put every treatise by itself and every chapter by itself and ordayned all till the end of the book^e. And he putt into this booke Semiforas that is the book^e of 17 vertues how it ought to be written and of which Ink^e, and of which parchment and with what pen and with what man, and in which time and what day and in what night and in what hour. After that Salomon expounded in the book^e of Razeelus and how it ought to be kept Cleanly and with great honor

Dixit Salomon qui videt et non cognoscit &c
Salomon said who so seeth and knoweth not is as he that is born^e blind^e and knoweth not colors and who that heareth and understandeth not is such as if he were a deaf^e man. And who so considereth and knoweth not the consideration is such as if it were of a dronkerd

[4^r]

And whom that speaketh and cannot expound the reason is as a dombe man. And who that readeth playne bookes and understandeth them not is as it were he dreameth. These proverbs Salomon said in this booke ffor as Salomon said in this booke is hit that Cephar Raziel the angel said to Adam which was the first man in this world and after it which Moyses said to other prophets in soothes and we troweth it so.

Dixit angelus Salomoni vt o^{mn}es tuæ operationes &c
The angel said to Salomon that all thy workings and petitions and willes be fulfilled, and it shall be made in all hitt that thou shalt covet that it be in thy might It behoveth that when thou hast this book^e of this or of Another example or exemplar that thou write it in Inst maner in virgin parchemt and that it be not filthy neither of a dead beast or in vealime (vitulino) or in parchmyn of sylke, or in samatyne,¹ or in cleane clothe or in parchmyn of a lamb or of a virgin kidde or of a virgin ffawne, and this is better than any other. And the Ink^e with which thou shalt write be it of cleane galles and let it be made with good white wyne & whole and with gum^e and vitriol and masticke & thyme and

¹ Above "samatyne" is written "sattin."

croco. And the third day when it hath taken residence and shall be clensed putt ¹ thou therein a little of Algoba and Almea,² and putt therein of good muske or muske more than of those three. And put thou therein Amber and Balsamu^s myrryam and lignus aloes and when the Inke shall be made, boyled with masticke and with thyme and with lingo aloes and with somewhat of Thymiamat and Mulculazarat and thou clense it well with a cleane^e thinne cloth^e, and the cloth be it threefold. And afterward putt therein musk^e and Ambram and Almenus & Algana and Balsami^s and Myrrha^s all well grounden & then

[4^v]

shalt meddle all this with the Inke full well together And let the inke be so still for the space of 3 days well covered in a fayre place And know^e thou that with this ynke thou shalt write all the holy names of God and of his angels and of his saints, and all things in which his holy great name is ³ nempned and written. And all things that thou willest truly to be fulfilled with thy well pleasing or with thy service. And what ere thou putttest in this ynke, be it newe and bright and pure and good ⁴ And the penne that thou shalt write the holy names be it of a green^e reed^e gathered early ere the sunne ⁵ arise. And he that shall gather it be he clene & washen & in running water or in a quicke well and also let him be clothed with cleane clothes, and the moon^e being waxing with Caput Draconis or with Jove, for that they be true and very. And when thou shalt gather it, thou shalt behold of looke toward the East and thou shalt say thus *Adonai et Saday jubate me ad complendu^s voluntates meas eo^s axundine ista*. That is to say Help ye me to fulfill my willes with this reed^e. and when this is said thou shalt cutt one reede or twayne or as many as thou wilt with one stroke. And as Moyses said the knife be it well playne sharpe and whole as thoughe we should

¹ Above "putt" is written "& strained."

² A marginal note offers an alternative to Almea: Alinza.

³ Above "is nempned" is written "named."

⁴ A marginal note 'pen.'

⁵ An indistinct marginal note here reads: "it might be done / in the new of / the ☿ whiles / the ☿ dothe / increase when / she applieth / to caput dra / conis by o / or to the ☿ of or / Δ of ♃ for if / they be true / & very good."

cutt of an neck^e with it. And thou take the reed^e with thy cleane hands, and make thou of it a gobbets. And when thou wilt cutt the penne, cutt it ere the sunne arise or when it ariseth. With this penne and with this ynke thou shalt write all the names of God holy and severall. And as often as thou writest the name of the Creator be thou clean^e and ¹solleme & serened & in a clean^e place. And thou shalt first ere thou write by iii dayes be bathed in clean^e water, but rather thou shalt be clean^e by 9 days an house or clean^e place made very clean^e with beesoms

[5^r]
and washen watered and suffumed And ordeyne so that when thou writeth, hold thou thy face toward the East & write thou from morning till midday till that thou eate. And after that thou hast eaten and dronken thou shalt not write in it any thing. And if thou wilt write Semiforax with his strengthes the number of the mone, be it even. And most in the day of the mone or of morning or of Jovis or dius. & be thou word of Saturne and of Sol upon all. And Salomon said If thou putteth into the ynke of the bloud of vowter or of a furtur or of a gander (wholly or all white) the ynke shall be much the better and the more vertue

Also I say that if there were of Sapher powdered Sma=ragdo, gagnisia & topasia the ynke shall be complete or fulfilled. And with this Inke and with this penne ought to be written all the names of Semiforas and know^e thou yt he that shall write this book^e ought to be clean^e & fasting bathed and suffumed with precious aromatickes, that is with spices well smelling. And it shall be great profit to thee and to him that maketh it or writeth it. And each man yt hath written this booke or hath holden it in his house, ev'more hold^e he God in his mynde and his holy Angels & hit for which he hath made it. & let him put in his mynde in which tyme of the 4 tymes of the day with his oughth or of the tymes of an hower And ev'more let him put in his mynde to his 4 tymes of an hower to which they ought to be as *invenies in libro prophetar^{um}*

¹ Above "and solleme" (and in the margin) is written "solitarie."

Dixit Salomon sicut si esset castru^m etc

Salomon said as though there were a castle full strong and his highenes ful great and high and en=hansed and well on each side with walles invironed and the gates in one place well strong and stable or fyrme and with keyes closed and locked. Therfore it behoveth it who that would open the gates of that close castle and holsomly would enter into it both without travel of gyfte and without bruising of his body It is necessary to have the same

[5^v]

keyes and none other of this castle and of his gates & of his closings Thus I say this that it is for to knowe the starres and their names and their figures and their natures, and when they should be good and when they should be evill, And thus I say of the fixe and of the 7 erraticis neverthelesse Consider how evermore the nature of the Circle of the xii signes that is thee towards. And therfore it behoveth each man that hath this booke, that he holde it clenly and that he keep^e it with great reverence & with great hono^r. And who that hath it, and can reade it, let him not reade it, but if he were before full cleane of body and with great witte.

And I make every man to knowe or weel that he ought not to worke by this book^e in vayne, neither without wytte nor without lawe or reason. And this is when every man doth to the contrary, or when and Reptiles, or wood beasts should lett thee or do the harme. And knowe thou though^e thou have might and trust for to worke by this booke & although thou might have great trust in this, yet thou shalt not worke, but with great right or lawe or with much reason And understand thou of all the contrary, and if thou worchest otherwise by this booke then thou shouldest and much might let thee that is to say if thou worchest without reason, or if thou were uncleane or evill in thy self.

o Clavis istius libri est cognoscere et scire loca

The key to this booke is to knowe and will the places of the vii bodyes above and their natures and their sciences and the domes, and all their vertues after yt it appeared in the earth to me

o__o formata debet esse omnis figura cu^s ex vero

Eache figure ought to be formed with very or true en=

sample therfore I put the figure of the key in this booke that no man true that without reason and profitt it be made. And I put in figure and key with the shafte to the

[6^r]
similitude or likenes that there is one soleyne Lord one god which never had neither shall have any even or like to him In the Quadriture or in that, yt is fower cornered yt signified that there be 4 elements and no moe. And in this key is one triangle which signifyeth knowing might and will for whome these three no man may do any thing in the worlde neither attayne to any profit. And Salomon said that the shafte of this key is as Raziel said to Adam unite or one head, and the quadrate is as 4 vertues that be in herbes and words and beasts, and they be to the similitude of elemnts which openeth and doeth all. And the 7 wards be 7 Angels which have might in the 7 heavens, and in the 7 dayes of the weeke as furthermore I shall teache you.

And the triangle signifyeth man which is in body and soule and spirit, and these above said leadeth together all the worlde as it was compounded in highnes & lownes.

Pastqua~ hucusq diximus oportet nos dicere &c
After that we have said hitherto it behoveth us now to say for this booke that which is said of the key of the 7 brethren. And these 7 brethren have among themselves 12 realmes for to devide or to depart, and in each realme be 30 cities, and in every city be 60 castles and in every eiche castle 60 Caldee yt is to say feeldy or wilde townes. And this exemplar Salomon found and made distinction and said there is one father and he hath 7 sonnes and these 7 sonnes be germanyes ffor after that they be of the same father germayn. And the Elder is most heavy among all the other. And the middle in the middle more ordinate then all. And thither lightly be in the middle in fellowshiping hit evermore, so they twene of these be not much severed from hit. And the 7 brethren Salomon said be Sabaday Saturnus. Zedel Jupiter

[6^v]
Madyn Mars Hamyna Sol Noga Venus Cocab
Mercury Labana that is to say Luna Knowe thou the houses of the planetts. And Salomon putt names

to the xii realmes of the of Germanyes and they be called signes and he beginneth to make distinction. And he gave to their fighter that is to say to Mars that he should rest, and that he should not fight in the realme of the signe of Arietis and of this vertue he is in the realme of the East, he gave him in the realme of the worlde the signe of Scorpionis that he should fight strongly and that he should never rest, and he is in the eight realme from the first. And afterward he gave to the fayre Noga that is to say Veneri twey realmes of which one hath the half seale of Tauri that is from the highnes of his head with his horns till to the navell. And their as the viith from the first that is Libra, and after while Venus is above that is in the Northe, and otherwhile beneath that is in the South. And so he hath inherited in twey parts And then he gave to the painter (which is the writer) that is Mer=curius twey realmes of which one hath twey men embraced that is clipping together himself, that other hath a fayre virgin winged and nevermore would be divided or departed from wemen for those Images be such and he displeaseth evermore to go much from the South into the Northe. And he gave to the Malix that is to say Lune for that he goeth evermore one realme And for that she will note stande much in her house & her signe is a fish that is said Cancer which hath many feete, and signifyeth be this that he will go much for that he is under other brethren, this suffer alone And he gave to the middle brother, which is the Lord of all

[7^r]

other, and he commandeth to all and is more adorned for fay=rer arrayed, therefore he gave to him one realme full strong in heate and his signe is as the Lion, that sheweth him Lord upon all beasts, so is he stronger and of more Lordshippe upon all his brethren. And then remayned twey brethren of the par^{ty} of the South and theld or tooke twey realmes, one about another for this that he should never overcome in the signe of the realme well meridionall or south, and he is one beast with one forme in his front, and the signe of that other realme is a man that holdeth with many waters and this brother is said the old Sabaday. And then ta=keth that other brother for heritage on his right syde the realme with the signe of half a man and half a horse

and it is said Sagittarius, and on the left syde of Pisces.

Knowe you heere the natures of the Signes
And Salomon said Aries is a sign fiery hot &
dry, cholerick, and so is Leo and Sagittarius and they
have might in the East.

Taurus is earthy, cold and dry, melancholious & so
is Virgo and Capricornus and they have might in
the South.

Gemini is airy, hot and moist & sanguine and so is
Libra & Aquarius & they have might in the West.
And Cancer is watery feminine moist and flegmatic
and so is Scorpio and Pisces & they have might in
the North.

Iam diximus de naturis et signis et eor^um complexionib^{us}
Now we have said of natures and sign^s and of the
complexions of them, so we meane to say of natures
and of the complexions of germanyes and what they
signifyeth.

The first higher that is said the old Sabaday is Satur-
nis the nature of which is cold and dry for that is

[7^v]

much straight and melancholious and signifyeth father
and wroth and discord in lands.

The second is said Zedek and he is temperate for that
he is betweene the old Sabady and the hott Madyn and
Zedek is hott and moyst and sanguine in savor sweete &
it draweth to good ayer, and it signifyeth good and honor
and vertue.

The third is the fighter Madyn and he is hott and dry
evill and lover and bremer, ravisher & a lyer.

The fowrth is Hamyna Sol middle among other hott
and mighty and worshipfull and all thither brethren
shameth or dreadeth him and he is much soothfast and
strong.

The fifth is the fayre Noga colde and moyst, glad
flegmaticke fatt and fleshy and well seeming in all her
members and chere, and he signifyeth good soughts
and he is much glad among wemen.

The sixt is the writer and the forespeaker Cocab, this
holdeth himself with all & serveth to all, and signifyeth
writers and tydings and voyces after that he shall be with
it yt which everich^e he holdeth him self, when he is with it

The viith brother is Labana & it is Malx and it is colde and moist and it signifyeth brethren and beareth each moneth and manndem^{en}ts of brethren to brethren after that it is severed from them.

Deinde loquamur de septem fr̃ibus quare dicuntur clavis &c And then speake we of the vii brethren why they be said the keyes of the world (and which this world may not excuse neither excuseth) and these were formed as 4 brethren which be said the 4 elements, and they have after signification witt and discretion & might complete and honesty and strength, and everiche may do in his hemisphere that is empire as an Emperor in his empyer, or as a prince in his Lordship. Also they have might over the 7 parts which we sayen clymates. And

[8^r]

knowe thou that these be mighty upon all beasts heere formed.

And Salomon said prophets clippeth these brethren vii quicke spirits, and holy and wise men said that they were 7 lampes burning or 7 candlesticks of light & of life, and all prophets clipeth them 7 heavenly bodyes which be vii planets and of commonalty they be said 7 starres. And the 7 brethren be kept of 4 beasts full of eyen before and behinde which be the partyes of heaven East West north and South, and they have might in the 4 parts of the worlde and in 4 tymes and in 4 natures with her com=plexions and withal her parties and in all her 4 ele=ments and with these together is hed and meeved all things moveable by the Commandements of God that put them in their places.

Dixit Salomon sicut fuerunt semp status superius Salomon said As there were evermore states above without corruption so know^e thou that there is nowe and shall be evermore. And for this we understand the bodyes above cleane and good and made without corrup=tion. And that neather-bodyes uncleane evill treated and broken, and eache day they fayleth and bend corrupted And this corruption resteth not neither is made very of the which we understand that the neatherbodyes might not excuse the over bodyes. And all things which we seene beneath have roote and beginneth from things above ffor things above be with lyfe and without dolor and things

beneath be the contrary, have death and dolor And things above have during without corruption and things beneath each day fayleth and be corrupted and minished. All prophets seene that if there lacked any one of the over bodyes that is of these that be much above ten thousand betwixt those that we see and those that we not see. Knowe thou that it were a great precipitation and destruction and confusion in lande and in sea and in the 4 elements if

[8^v]

any of the bodyes above were broken or were evill treated And if there fayled one of the 7 brethren the earth shoulde come agayne to his first state, and all the elements were confused. And if any of them had corporally received corruption knowe thou that all things were destroyed that received soule or lyfe. And knowe thou that as the 4 elements be turned downeward so be they not turned without some reason of the 7 above And this sayeth the Phil^[ilosoph]er when the sonne is destroyed eache lyfe and eache soule is destroyed. And when the mone is destroyed the ligatures or buildings of the sea be destroyed. And knowe thou that Saturnus is earthly and holdeth all the earth in a ballance that is not moved. And Jupiter holdeth the ayer, and Mars the fyer, and Sol the day and men, And Venus holdeth the fayre parts of the worlde, and Mercurius reasons and Luna holdeth the hearts seas waters and their powers. And knowe^e thou that everiche (After that it were or shall be in this exaltation) ordeyned and bounden with the sonne y^ts reasons and words and speeches should be good betwixt men. And as often as Mercury were joined in Virgo in the same point with Sol direct and not retrograde, make we subtyll things and reasonable And as ofte as Sol were in Aries, so many yeeres unlike he giveth us. And as ofte as Saturnus were in Libra so many mutations he giveth in landes. And as ofte as Jupiter is ioyned with Saturne in an earthly signe so many divers mutations or changings he giveth. And he changeth lawes & seates and Lordshippes and thus understand thou in other complexions of planetts after the states of them and their beholdings that is said Aspectus.

[9^r]

Et dixit Hermes istam rationem super capita oia &

And Hermes said this reason upon the heads of beasts Saturnus hath the right eare, Venus the lefte and Sol the right eye and Luna the lefte. Mercurius the mouth. These 7 hooles have they in power above upon the head of a man. And Salomon said that a man is a measure which is said Palmus made with hande in which bene all the vertues of the worlde and of the 7 planetts and that is only the head of a man wherefore everiche man is likened to his starre and to his elements. And Salomon said when I founde a spirit above retrograde or combust or evill treated thus I say that his body was evill treated beneath in which it was like or he signified in it. And who that were so wise that he knowe his signe and his planet and his starre above and his signification he might do good and evill to himself & likewise so to other men. And as the nativities of beasts be denyed such wurchings you shall do with helpe of God.

Postqua diximus de 12 signis et planetis &
After that he said of the 12 figures & planetts & of radiis of them we say that eche planet that were in Ascendent and if there be another in the same Ascendent it is named coniunction, and how much the latitude or bredth shall be lesse so much the coniunction is said to be stronger and if there be more latitude the coniunction is the feebler. And so I say to thee in the middle of heaven. And if the poynte of the 12 houses which be in the stronger places of all houses I say the poynte of the first degree of the house, and eche starre that were lesse and hath upon himself another the like is said that it hath power and goeth upon another

[9^v]
from starre to starre And thus each starre that diverseth from another by 60 degrees before and after It is said aspectus sextilis that is the sixt beholding And each planet that differeth 90 degrees before and behinde It is said in aspectu quarto that is in the fourth beholding. And each planet that diverseth or differeth by 120 degrees before and behinde It is said in aspectu tertio, that is in the third beholding. And each planet that differeth by 180 degrees is in opposition in that that it is said in the contrary place. These

be the 7 beholdings and no moe duo tertii, duo quarti & duo sextile and unus opposites that is to say twayne in the third, twey in the fourth, and twey in the sixt and one contrary against another. The coniunction is complete then they be in one degree Double coniunction if twey good or temperate sheweth double good, as twey evill by the contrary sheweth much evill The sextilis beholding the ascendent avayleth one good if trino and twey trino avayleth in the beholding ascendent one good fortunate in the ascendent. And twey quarties in the beholding the ascendent avayleth one greevous or heavy (if there were evill starres) and twey opposita avayleth one infortunate in the ascendent or in the opposite. And twey quarti avayleth as much as a starre falling or combust or retrograde this is letted in the Ascendent one fortunate or twey in the Ascendent and another of sextile and another of trine beholding the ascendent sheweth much good hasty or highing Twey evill in the ascendent or one with another in opposito that is in the contrary or falling sheweth

[10^r]

greevous or long impediment. And if they be falling and letted it shall be worse. One fortunate in the Ascendent beholding of twey trinis it sheweth much good and how much there were no witnesses upon the figure of which thou enquireth and searcheth or fo which thou worchest so much it shall be the better And if three planets be holden the Ascendent with good beholding and twey evill the good shall overcome the evill and so of the other One infortunate in the Ascendent beholding twey quartis sheweth much greefe. Caput draconis is much better than Cauda Eache planet in his head of the same degree it more Lordship in the figure for that it is twey in latitude to the way of the sonne and it profiteth in going toward the party of the north. Eache planet in the taylor of the dragon is minishing of his worke y^t goeth towards the south.

Luna coniunct or Joyned with Saturne and Mars in the Ascendent it constrayneth and threatneth divels Satunus maketh divels strength & great power Luna coniunct or Joyned with Jove and Venus in the ascendent it sheweth great dilection and great love

in every good thing.

Luna joyned with Mars & Saturne in the ascendent it sheweth impediment except the planet were of good receiving.

Luna joyned with Sol in the one poynt sheweth great grace and if that they were good

Luna ioyned in falling and to mercury in the Ascendent it sheweth the contrary

Luna in the ascendent by her self signifyeth after the planet to the which she is Joyned

Luna with Caput draconis in the ascendent sheweth good

Luna with Cadua draconis or combust or ioyned with

[10^v]

a starre letted or in evill sitting it sheweth much evill when caput draconis and Luna were with capite Saturni or that Luna or Saturnis were there and that their werke of celson made it signifyeth upon buildings of devills fowle and evill.

Each planet that is with dracon of another & both be ioyned together it sheweth a very soothe or try worke and more in the ascendent. And if caput draconis were of Jovis or Luna and these twey coniunct or Joyned in the ascendent it sheweth much good and in= ceasing of good and honor And if it were in Cauda not only when there were twey Cauda draconis that is of Luna and of other they be full evill when Luna were with them. When Caput draconis Luna were with Caput draconis Martis and Luna and Mars in the like poynt it sheweth strength and might. And if Cauda with Cauda and Luna with Mars together it is full greevous and evill after everiche is evill so is the place or beholding of one another.

Caput draconis and Luna in capite. Aries (Luna & Sol in Zamin) sheweth great might and great honor and by the contrary in Libra beneath with Cauda dra= conis. Caput draconis with capite veneris sheweth much love and cauda draconis the contrary

Caput draconis that is to say mercury with caput draconis and Luna sheweth werke of reason and of voice and many sounds, and in Cauda Luna with Mercury & Saturne it sheweth us the beholding of many experiences.

Luna in capite sui draconis sheweth and if there

Were Jupiter or Venus it shall do the werke of Jovis
or of Venus and it shall profit in all good worke as these
be good. Luna if it be in Cauda draconis and Mars

[11^r]

and Saturne with it or that they beholdeth it with evill be=
holding it sheweth as evill as we have said of Saturne
and Martis.

And we have said that Saturnis nourisheth devills and
Mars draweth and thresheth and figureth them. And
Saturnus gathereth together many divels Venus and
Saturnus gathereth together devills and wyndes from
beneath. A good starre in the ascendent and Luna
Joyned with a good starre sheweth much good. And the
beginning in all hit in which were d^eus quartae that is
the Lord of the 4th house and if the 4th house is well
beholden of good, all the one of the thing shall be good
And when the Lord of the 4th house were evill and evill
intreated it sheweth noy and evill. The signe of the
Ascendent sheweth the body o The Lord of the Ascen=
dent of the planet that is in the Ascendent or which behol=
deth it sheweth his spirit and the Lord of the hower
signifyeth his soule and his will, and this understand
thou in other domes The body and soule and the
spirit for these three knowe thou that they maketh the
body of a man safe and whole.

Dixit Hermes Saturnus exaltatur in Libra &c

Hermes said Saturnus is enhanced in Libra, and
Jupiter in Cancer, and Mars in Capricorne and
Sol in Aries. And Venus in Pisces and Mercurius
in Virgo and Luna in Tauro.

And knowe thou that Saturnus gladdeth or Joyeth in
The xii house, and Mars in the vith and Sol in the
ixth and Venus in the vth and Mercurius in the Ascen=
dent that is the first house and Luna in the 3^d house
And the Ascendent hath 12 vertues, and each planet
that is in it upon eache place of the circle. The xth

[11^v]

house hath xi vertues. The xith house hath 10
vertues. The viith nine, the 4th eight vertues
the vth house hath 7 vertues, the ixth house hath 6.
The third 5. The second 4. The 8 three, the xiith two

and the vi house hath one vertue. And evermore consider thou in all things, that thou shalt do upon the planets how it be in the xii houses & thou shalt profitt if thou choosest well. And Salomon said to eache man that worketh by this booke, It behoveth that he knowe all these things, that is reasons which heere I will not expound to thee, that is thou knowe in which tyme of the yeere thou were borne of the 4 tymes of the yeere. And in which moneth of the moneth of Luna And begin thou from the Lunation of the moneth of Mercury (where ever Luna prima were) And all Secrets and privity be it asked in Saturne with all deepenes, and honor and substance be it asked upon Jove. And all strifes and battaile and hasting be it asked upon Mars. And all cleannes & Lordship of sol. And all fayrenes and dilections or loves and fatnes be it asked of Venus. And all reasons & witts & subtiltyes of Mercury. And of these 7 thou shalt aske evermore counsel where thou findest them in their houses and signes And they shall shewe to thee so deeme thou upon them in all good and evill. Now we have fulfilled heere with the helpe of God The treatisy that is said *Liber Clavis* That is the booke of the Key.

Heere endeth the first booke and heere
beginneth the second

[12^r]

Dixit Salomon sicut alae avium sunt membra &c

Salomon said as the wings of the fowles or byrds be members that leadeth the fowles to the place where they desire to be, so by the vertue of stones & of herbes and of beasts, that liveth in flying, in swimming in going and in creeping thou might attayne to that thou wilt if thou chooseth the nature of them.

The propertyes and vertues. And therefore we clipeth this booke Ala that is wings for without wings neither fowles neither fishes mought move themselves, and so as wings beareth bodyes to highnes upwards and to fun= daments downwards and to Longitude and latitude that is to length and bredth, so by the vertue of stones and of herbes with grace and with much might of Semiforas Knowe thou that thou might attayne that thou coveteth to do as to heale and to make sicke or to stande or to goe.

Dixit Salomon sicut lapides sunt mundiores &c

Salomon said as stones be cleaner cleerer and fayrer then golde and in vii vertues of this worlde as be in stones herbes wordes and beasts, so I say that in the beginning of this booke Cephar Raziel that was crowned with vii stones of great power he put them in this booke The first was Rubinus – i – Carbunclo the second Smaragdus, the third Saphirus the fourth Berillus, the fifth Topasius, the sixt fagun= cia, the viith Adamas and the vertues of these stones Raziel hath spoken. And he said that they were crowned of 7 angells which have might over the 7 heavens and of the 7 dayes of the weeke. And Raziel said knowe eache man that hath this booke that in this booke be the more vertues of this worlde And the first vertues of this booke that is said of 4 wings be the

[12^v]

vertues of stones whereof knowe thou that by stones alone thou might do wonderfull things if thou hast well knownen as thou shouldest doe with all other Images and that thou keepe them clenely and reverently.

De prima ala

Et dixit Salomon scias quod in prima ala sunt &c

And Salomon said knowe thou that in the first ala or winge be 24 precious stones great and of great power to the similitude and signification that there be 24 howers in the day and night. And Salomon began & said I put and sett the first stone car= 1 bunculu Rubinus for that it is brighter and cleerer and fayrer and of more price above all other stones And I will say of his color and his power and his vertue, and of his seale and of his figure that might to be in it. And thus I shall say in all other stones, each stone signifyeth durability or lastingnes without end. The color of Rubinus is as the color of fyre sparkling and his power is that he shineth by night as a starre or as a flame of fyre sparkling. And the vertue of it is that it maketh good color of men that beareth it reverently, and it increaseth his goods of this worlde among other men, and the Image which thou oughtest to putt in it ought to be a draco that is a Dragon well fayre with dread.

2 The second stone is Topazins of which the color is citrine as of golde. His power is that if it be put in a caldron with fervent hott or boyling water it withholdeth the water that it may not boyle, which is for great power for making colde, and the vertue of it is that it maketh a man chaste that beareth it with him and it giveth benevolence or well willing of great Lords and his figure is a falcon.

[13^r]

3 The third stone is Smaragdini and this stone is greene and fayre upon all greenenes, and it is not heavy as others are and his power is to keepe the light and it healeth the face and it doth many wonderfull things. And his vertue is to increase riches, and who that beareth it in golde prophesyeth things to come. And the signe of it is Scarabeus that is a maner of flye.

4 And the iiijth stone is Faguncia the color of which is redde as the graynes of an apple. Of these sothely there be well coloured some and some a little and some in the middle maner. His power is that beareth it is not infect with alien infirmity, his vertue is that is that he giveth

health and hono^r and keepeth the man that beareth it whole in wayes or in Journeys, and his figure is a Lyon well figured.

5 The vth stone is a crysopazine of which the colo^r is greene and when it hath similitude as though it had golden drops, and his power is to defend a man from the Podagrie, and his vertue is that it maketh to prophesy things to come (if it were in the hand cleane and chaste) and his figure is the image of an asse.

6 The sixt stone is Saphirus the color of which is full leady and fayre (as the color of the pure cleane heaven) His power is that he healeth all infirmityes that axeth in men of Inflammation and greivance of the eye. And it clenseth them much. And if in this stone be graven the head of a man with the beard it delivereth a man from prison and from all pressure and oppression and this stone accordeth to the great power of Lords & of kings If this stone be kept clenely reverently & chastly, & that it be good oriental with it a man might attayne great honor and the profit of it that he searcheth and coveteth And some man putteth therein the signe of a ram. Aries

[13^v]

7 The viith stone is Berillus the color of which is of the eye or of sea water, and some of them be round and some of five corners. The stone ought to be cleere within and cleane. And his power is to chaffe the hand closed of him that beareth it. And if it be sett in golde it giveth great frindshippe betwixt twey men, if thou touchest them with it. And his figure is Rana that is a ffrogge & it is of great power to make concord and love.

8 The viiith stone is Onyx this stone is full blacke and his power is to give him that beareth it many dreadfull dreames and dreads, and he that beholdeth himself in it hath power upon all divels in constraining them and in clipping and gathering them together in speculo tabilio conjuring as it behoveth and his figure is the head of a camell or twey heads betwixt two eares that be said Mirti

9 The ixth stone is said sardius the color of which is red and fayre, and his power is to make other stones fayrer his vertue is to give good color to him that beareth it. And it is putt in golde, and if there be

graven in it Aquila that is an Eagle it giveth great hono^r

10 The xth stone is Crysolitus that is of golden color and sparkling as fier. His power is to gather together divels and windes and his vertue is to defend the place where it is from evill spirits and from dead men that they do not there any evill and that divels obey there. And his figure is Vultur that is a wontor

11 The xith stone is said Eliotopia. And it is a stone of great power of which the color is greene and fayre shining and cleere with drops like bloud well redde within this stone is said the stone of wisemen of prophets

[14^r]

and of philosophers. And this is honoured for twey things for the color is like Smaragdo in greenenes and in rednes to rubine. The price of this stone overcometh the price of other and of his vertues and propertyes. The power of this stone is that if it be put in any broad vessell full of water to the sonne it resolveth the water into vapor And it maketh it to be rayسد upward till that into the forme of rayne it be converted downeward. His vertue is that who that beareth it in his mouth or in his hand closed he may not be seene of any man, with this stone a man may have power upon all divels, and make eache Incantation or Inchantment that he will. And in this stone ought to be graven Vespertino thus he sayth. But I trowe it be Vespertilio that is a Backe or a rermouse.

12 The xiith stone is Cristallus of which the color is of water congealed with colde. his power is that he putteth abstray of fyer from him. and his vertue is that he increaseth to nourishe much mylke and good. and thou may take in it what vertue thou wilt, after as the hower shall be in which thou shalt work^e. and after as the Image shall be which thou hast made (although they be many) and yet be seene easily. Knowe thou that it hath many vertues. and his figure is a gryffon that is a fowle and a beast that he hath 4 feete & 2 wings and he is a great beast.

13 The xiiith stone is Cornelia and it is likened to water in which is bloud as the loture or washing of bloud. And his power is to staunche bloud of the nostrells. And if there be graven in it a man well clothed holding a yard or a rodde in his hande, it giveth honor to him yt beareth it

14 The xiiiith stone is Jaspis and it is thicke darke greene

and redde. and there be some greene and cleere and they be better then the other. and there be some redde thicke and dropped. And his power is that who that beareth it is not [14^v]

letted with venyme neither with serpent, neither with Attercope neither with scorpion. And it defendeth a man from fever if in it be graven Leo Aries or Sagittarius

15 The xvth stone is Iris and it is likened to cristall or to gelly, and it hath corners and if any man put it in a house to the beames of the sonne so that the beames passé through it or by it the color appeareth of the raynebowe. And for this cause it is said Iris that is the raynebowe. And this is the might for it hath vi corners, and the vertue of it is to keepe the place which it is with health & honesty, and there ought to be graven in it a man armed that beareth a bowe and an arrowe.

16 The xvith stone is Corallus and it groweth in rocks of the sea as Arbor inuersa that is as a tree over= turned, and it hath branches as a tree, more till two and three palames or palmes and no more. And when it is drawn up it is greene and tender, and then it is dried in the ayer and it is made redde & harde as another. And otherwhise it is founden white. And know thou that the redde be better. And where this stone were it keepeth the house and the vineyarde or the place from tempest pestilence and torment And it keepeth the place with health and it defendeth a man from malefets i maleficis and from evill inchantments. And his Image is a man like to him that holdeth a sword in his hande.

17 The xviith stone is presius or prassius and it is of greene color thicke and fayre. and it helpeth malefets an giveth to them grace to his ministry And Taurus

[15^r]

ought to be graven in it, that is a Bull.

18 The xviiith stone is said Catel and it is of great power both in deedes and in vertues. the color of which is like to Berill, but for it is darker then it, although it have within full cleere and cleane beames and strakes And there be founde some of vi corners and other some of v. And his power is to inclepe devills and to speake

with them. And his vertue is, if thou maketh in thee blanke of water and bringeth the roote of Apii and the stone hanged to the necke in the skynne of an Asse suffumed with masticke thure and croco and that thou inclepeth what dead man thou wilte that is knowen to thee and other knowe thou that anone he shall appeere to thee. And he shall be with thee in the same tyme And grave thou in it Lapwing and before Dragancia^m which is a middle herbe and it is said Colubrina.

19 The xixth stone is Celonites And it is greene as an herbe and his power is that it waxeth & decreaseth as the moone, and his power is also to make peace and concorde betwixt twey if in it were graven the signe of a swallowe.

20 The xxth stone is Calcedonius and it is white as betwixt cristall and berill or as gyfus thicke bright, his power is to overcome plees. His vertue is to holde a man whole in an alien land and his Image is a man that holdeth his right hand straight forth to heaven.

21 The xxith stone is Ceramius This stone is of divers colors after divers elements and divers londs otherwhiles white, and otherwhiles browne greene & redde And elsewhere it is likened to Iron and somewhere to copper and sulphur and it hath as it were rundlets

[15^v]

paynted and little droppes and his power is to defend a place from thunders and lightnings, and his vertue is to defend from all enemyes. And write thou in it or one p^{te} or syde Raphael Michael & Gabriel and on the other side panuteseron micrason Saidalson and if thou beareth it with thee and hast it in thy power thou shalt overcome all thine enemyes and thine adversaries.

22 The xxiith stone is Metestus¹ and it hath the color of wyne upon it. a white cloth or of a rose or violet and this hath might to chase away feends and his vertue is to defend from dronkennes and his figure is Ursus that is a Beare.

23 The xxiii stone is Magentis or magnes and it is

¹ Above "Metestus" is written "amatyst."

of great weight and like to ferro brumeto. His power is that he draweth dead Iron as nayles knives and swords and his vertue is that with it thou moght be in what house thou wolte, and do what thou wolt with men and with things of the house suffuming the house of it, and with this men made inchantments and grave thou in it a man armed when Luna were in Aries or Scorpio joyned with Mars, and sol beholding them with a trine aspect. And knowe thou that what maner of Images thou gravest in this stone such inchantments thou might attayne, and beare it with thee and thou shalt profit.

24 The xxiiiith stone is Adamas as it is middle color and the better hath somewhat of greenenes And his power is that with it other stones be graven. And therefore we have putt it out more strange & more openly and his power or vertue is to keepe the members of a man safe and whole And this stone is more, and is

[16^r]

better set at price in inchantments & invocations of wyndes spirits and devills And with this thou maiest send whatever fantasy thou wilt, and his figure is of 5 corners and know^e each man who that will beare within a precious stone be he pure and cleane when he will do anything with them And eschewe he or keepe himself from uncleanenes and keepe he them reverently in a quiche or in a cleane place And Raziel said In the hower in the which thou wilt do of Semiforas beare the ii stones abovesaid and thou shalt profit.

Dixit Salomon sicut avis corpus volare non potest &c
Salomon said As the body of a fowle ne may not fly without wynges neither go where he cometh, so by science of one thing above we might not fulfill that we desire And for this we putteth the second keye in this book^e, and we sayne it the second for that it maketh the second opening, for as the world is closed with 4 elements so this book^e is closed with 4 sciences and 4 vertues. and now we have said of stones now say we of herbes. Knowe thou that in herbes are vertue of the most that may be. And some of naturals of this worlde beth that liveth of them as ther that have reason and some that flyeth, and some which swimeth and which goeth and which creepeth. And knowe thou that of

trees and herbes some liveth much and some liveth midly
and some liveth litle, and yt is the similitude of beasts
And knowe thou also that among herbes there be some
with which thou may do good or evill, as to heale & to make
sicke, and so understand thou in these that shall be said
furthermore hereafter And Adam said By a tree
come wretchedness into the worlde, that is by the tree

[16^v]

I synned in it. And Raziel said an herbe shall be thy
Lyfe. And Salomon said A tree shall be & shall waxe
Or growe of which the leaves shall not fall and it shall
Be medecine of men.

The second wyng is to the similitude
of 24 howers and of 24 herbes

1 *Prima herba est Acil vel almabum &c*

The first herbe is Acil almalie and it is said corona
regia and in Latin Rosmarinus This herbe hath
a middle tree and good odor and litle leaves and his
power is to chafe and comforte the brayne. And if
an house be suffumed with it it chaseth away devills
the same doth Peonia

2 The second herbe is Artemisia and this is mother
and first if other, but for that other is said Corona
regis that is to say the crowne of a kynge we had
putt it first of this they sayden all that in all things
thou doest thou shalt putt of it And the leafe is middle
greene over thone side and white on thother side
And it waxeth or groweth midly. And with this thou
shalt steepe windes ¹ and all spirits that thou wilt
and thou shalt profit.

3 The iii herbe is Cannabis ² and it is long in shafte
and clothes be made of it, the vertue of ye Joyce
of it is anoynt thee with it and with the Joyce of
artemisia and ordayne thee before a mirror of steele
clepe thou spirits, and thou shalt see them, and thou
shalt have might of bynding and losing devills and
other things

4 The iiii herbe is said feniculus and it hath small

¹ Above "windes and" is written "stop or stacke."

² Above "Cannabis and is written "hempa."

leaves and a long staffe and it is an holy herbe and worshipfull, and it is medecyne of the eyen, and it

[17^r]

giveth good light and it chaseth away spirits and evill eyne in the place ¹ where it is, the roote of it chaseth away evill things and helpeth in sight.

5 The vth herbe is Cardamomm^{us} and it is hott and of good complexion and it is of middle highnes and it giveth gladnes to him that useth it and gathereth together spirits. Eate thou of this when thou sleepest or maketh invocation and if thou wilt make fume of it.

6 The vith herbe is Anisu^s and it is of chastity Joyne it to camphire, and thou shalt see that spirits shall dread thee, and it is a cleane herbe, and it maketh one to see secret things and privy, and the fume of this ascendeth much.

7 The viith herbe is Coriandru^s, and this withholdeth the spirit of a man much with tother, and it maketh a man also full of sleepe and this gathereth much together y^e spirits wherefore evermore they standeth with it, so that it is said that if with this and apis and insquiano thou make fumigacions compounded with much lazaia cicuta anon it gathereth together spirits, and therfore it is said herba spiritum.

8 The viiith herbe is said Petroselim^{um} which hath great might for to chase away the spirits of roches, and his vertue is to breake the stone in the bladder of him that useth it.

9 The ixth herbe is ypericon or hipericon and it is a middle herbe thirled the Joyce of it seemeth bloud, this is of great power for with the joyce of it, and with croco Arthemisia and with fume of radice valerianae if it be written upon what frindshippe thou wilte of a prince of spirits of the ayer and devills. Knowe thou that anon it shall be that thou covetest And so upon spirits and wyndes

10 The xth herbe is Apium. this is of great power upon

[17^v]

wyndes and devills and fantasyes and it is shawdded and towiched to shade with the cloud Alcisse for in it be wyndes and devills, and this alone maketh Albafortu~

¹ Above "in the place" is written "that is withouten." The final word, "withouten," is not clear and could be read differently.

Vazebelil i Mortagon and they be much contrary, for one is kepte with heavenly angels, and another is kepte with devills i. Apin^u And this beareth the stone of the reynes and a woman with childe use ~~shee~~ it ~~not for~~ it noyeth to the childe, and it gathereth together divells when suffumigacions is made with insqrmō and arthe= misia Apinm suffumed by 7 nights with fagax al= meit and gathered clenly and the roote of it putt and dried and then tempered with aqua lapides suffume thou thee by environ when thou wilt and thou shalt see fantasyes and devills of divers maners.

11 The xith is Coriandru^s of the second kynde which maketh one muche to sleepe. And if thou maketh suffumigacions of it and croco and insqrmō & apio papavere nigro grounden together evenly and tempered with succo ci= cutae and with msk, and then suffume thou the place where thou wilt hide treasure in when Luna is Joyned with Sol in angulo terra that is to say in the corner of the earth. And know thou that the like treasure shall never be found. And who that would take it away shall be made fooles. And if in the hower of de= position of the golde or silver or of the stones or Images thou suffumeth them with thure musk suco= lingo aloes cost evermore devils keepeth that place and evill wyndes. And knowe thou that it might never be dissolved or foredome agayne without sever or and Image made thereto by the poynt of starres.

12 The xiith herbe is Satureja and this is of great vertue and good odor and who that beareth it with him

[18^r]

with auricula muris in the day of veneris it giveth him grace of goods and it taketh away from ther place wyndes and evill fantasyes.

13 The xiiith herbe is said sca¹ And this is middle in length and hath litle leaves This ought to be holden worshipfully in holy places and in churches, for it defendeth the places from evill things And with this prophets made dead men speake that were dead by many dayes or fewe. In place where as any evill he hath no might if he that beareth it stepeth them not

¹ Some speculation on this has led us to the reading "scammony," namely, the bindweed *Convolvulus scammonia*.

And it giveth them might upon which things he would
and this herbe put upon the place where devills be
closed, and it constraineth them and byndeth them
least that they might have power to move them selves
And Salomon said I founde in the booke of hermits
that who that taketh water in the 4th hower of the
night upon the tombe of a dead man with what spi=
rits he would have speech withall caste he water
upon the tombe with this herbe ysope And the
water be it suffumed with costo succo musco and say
surgo surgo surgo That is to say rise rise rise
and come and speak to me, and do this by 3 nights
and in the third night he shall come to thee and he
shall speake with thee of what thing thou wilt.

14 The xiiiith herbe is psyllium which is of great vertue
for it sheweth or maketh open in the ayer the other
mought not to do it maketh to see spirits in the cloudes
of the heavens and this with scicorda & garmone and
the tree which swimeth which is said arbor Cancri and
malie with rore madii and with the tree that sheweth
by night, and it is said herba lucens that is herbe

[18^v]

shining if thou makest with these an ointment with
the eyne of a whelpe and with the fatnes of a harte
thou mightest go suerly whether thou wolt in on hower

15 The xvth herbe Majorana, this keepeth an house
by itself and defendeth from evill infirmities and
Hermes said that gentiana and valerina and
maiorana awayleth much upon great princes and
upon great men.

16 The xvith herbe is Draguntia. This is of great
power, and the highnes of the roote of it Joyned with
the tong of Colubrij which is lett quicke, and the herbe
be gathered when sol is in the first degree of Cancri
and Luna beholdeth mercury or Joyned with him
knowe thou that who that toucheth clansures or locke
they shall be opened to him anone And Hermes said
that it gathereth together wyndes & spirits If man
dragora were with it and Capillus dezoara.

17 The xviith herbe is Nepita and if this with maio=
rana and athanasia & trifolio and salvia hermita
edera and artemisia with ysope being ioyned & ga=
thered together cresente luna die Jovis That is

to say in the wenyng of the mone in the day of
Jovis in the morowe when the sonne waxeth from
the first degree of Aries till into the first of Cancer
and when thou shalt gather him be thou clene and
washen worshipfull and stand thou towards the east
knowe thou that the house and place is amended
where these nyne herbes were wyned together And
put them upon the gate of thy house and thou shalt
profitt evermore And the 9 herbes ioyned be
like to rubyne.

[19^r]

18 The xviiith herbe is *Linum suffumigacions* of the
Seed of this with *semine psyly* – i – *azartachona & radix*
Violae and *apii* maketh to see in the ayer things to come
and to say many prophesies

19 The xixth herbe is *Salvia* this is of great vertue
and the long leife of it is as *ligna agni* and sharpe
this breaketh or defendeth evill shades & evill spirits
from the place where it is, and it is good for an hole
man to beare with his for it holdeth a man whole, but
a sicke man holdeth it not with him.

20 The xxth herbe is *Sauina*, and some men say that it
is a tree ^ of love ¹ and dilection who that can chese it
And if this with somewhat of *croco* and *lingua co=*
lubri be borne with him a ring of gold and somewhat
of *provincia* surely goe thou before the king or before
whomsoever thou wolt And most if thou put with it
the stone that is said *Topazius* or if thou wilt *beril=*
lum And if this ring were made when *Luna* is ioyned
to *Jove* in *trino* from *sol* it were much the better
And it is said *annulus solis* that the ring of the
sonne, and it is of health against infirmityes, and it is
of grace of vertue and of hono^r.

21 The xxith *Nasturciu~* This holdeth the
members whole, and if there were with it *origan* and
pulegin~ and *arzolla* and be borne together with thee
and thou eatest of them thou shalt be whole within
and without And so if thou annoyntest thee with them
and were suffumed with *marrubio albo* or *reubarbaro*
and *herba thuris* it shall defend thee from many
infirmityes

¹ At the caret mark ^ above the words "of love" is written, "This is a tree."

22 The xxiith is an herbe that is said Canna ferula

[19^v]

This is full dreadfull and greevous and strong in worke. And if thou takest the Joyce of it and the Joice of cicuta and Jusquiami and sapsi barbata and san= dalu~ rubr~ papaver nigr~ with confection made fume thou what thou wolt and thou shalt see devills and things and strannge figures And if Apin were with this Knowe thou that from eache place suffumed devills should flye, and if thou wolt thou might de= stroy evill spirits. This suffumigacions is full evill and dreadful for the fume of it and the worke overcometh in malice and worcheth most evill and most strongly if Luna were with Saturne or in opposition with marte that is in opposition with Mars.

23 The xxiiith herbe is Calamintum and it is like= ned to mynte and it is of great vertue in good suffumigacions, and if there is with it menta and palma xpi i. pioma theis beholden taketh away evill spirits from a place And evermore it is against fantasyes.

24 The xxiiiith herbe is Cicoria. This is full good in all ^ exercisannce ¹ if it be ioyned with erigo & pentaphyllon and ypericon and vrtica & verbena and all be together and be borne at the necke and under the feete and be there the herbe of vii knots and of vii leaves. 1. Martagon and liliu~ domesticu^s and sylvestre that is tame and wylde and herba angelica who ever hath these under his feete or sytteth above and putteth the other herbes to the necke and hath vii rings of vii metals in the fi= gures Knowe ye that he shall have might in

[20^r]

bynding and in losing and in enchanting and for to do good and evill in eache place that thou wolt making suffumigacions of these 9 things thure albo thymiama= te mastiche musco ligno aloes cassia cinamono and of them suffume thee with the things above said in envy= ron and say these names Raphael Gabriel Michael

¹ Above "exercisannce" is written "exonization."

Cherubin Seraphin arrielim pantaseron micraton san= daton complete mea~ petitione~ et mea~ voluntate~. That is to say fulfill ye my petition or asking and my will and they shall fulfill it to thee. These be the more names of the more 9 angels abovesaid And knowe thou them and keepe them, and some men said that they be the 9 orders of Angels.

Heere endeth the 24 reasons upon the vertues of herbes of the second wyng and these experiments were new writen on party in Raziel although Sa= lomon put two of these three of the sawes of hermes And the herbes be put in the booke of Raziel for that with them we may be excused and worke with herbs as with Semiforas with fasting and with words in good and in evill And let no man Joyne himself to Se= miforas till he knowe himself the first and in the second And thus we shall say all thing that shall be to us necessary with the helpe of God.

De tertia ala

Dixit Salomon super ala tertia sicut corpus solis &c

Salomon said upon the third wyng as the body of the sonne is more appeering and mighty upon all other bodyes and brighter and fayrer and cleener So the vertues of sensible beasts which flyeth and sendeth out

[20^v]

voices and sayeth And so beasts of the third wyng have power upon the twey first wyngs of stones and of herbes And he put therefore in the Raziel 24 beasts with their names and vertues and states. And the figures be 24 distincte or departed a twey. And I would putt upon eache Element 6 beasts everiche distinct from other and everiche of his kynde. And as the fyer is the high Lord and distinct from the 4 elements so the lese of them all is purer and Cle= ner among them. Therfore I beginne to say upon the beasts of fyer ffor as everiche of the 4 ele= ments hath his beast beneath so the fyer hath his above pure and cleane without corruption And this fyer that is above is not expounded of wax trees neither of oyle neither of other composition but it is simple And the things that liveth in it beth angels cleane and cleere and bright like to the beames of the

sonne or of a starre, and like to the flame of fyer
or of a sparke of fyer or to the colo^r of quickesilver
or of pure golde. And this similitude is naturall in
the beasts of the fyer And the figures of them bene
seeme such as the lightening in similitude and in
deed for as an Eomoest is a messenger to the
creator so they be ready anon to good and evill and
they seme like things & prophets that upon the
4 elements be heavens with their beasts of which we
should say furthermore.

The second spirit is much cleane but darker then
The overer and it is likened to the wynde & his figure
Is after that he would take after some of the 4

[21^r]

Elements to which he is Joyned. And he formeth himself
in this maner either by water or by cloude or by moist=
nes or by thicknes of some darkenes or he receiveth
some body as fume of some kynde by falling on it either
by voce or by shape of a beast elemented by these he
taketh forme after that the nature above disposeth
3 The third beast of which wise men sayne is that ever-
more he fellowshippe a spirit And most the corpulent
and thicke of the spirit And therfore his figure is found
by night in places of dread and it is heard and seene and
that ofte tyme and the color of it is like to tpari 1 after
the nature of hower ere it is made, otherwise to the
similitude of the body of which it went out of, wherfore
some men seith otherwhiles the soules of bodyes in church
hayes And of these soules said the wise Hermes and
the prophet that the soule that goeth out & hath might
is not neither was but a man or a woman And upon
such maner of soules speaketh wisemen and clepeth
them spirituall for goodness heavenly fro[~] symplenes.
4 The iiijth beast is the wynde eache day we heare that
we seyne not although we other & hearen not. And
the worke of the wynde be seene of the eyne after
the part from which they cometh And he hath such
nature that if he be orientall or meridionall that
is East or south he is hott And if he is occidentall
or septentrionall that is west or north he is colde
This we seene to have great power for it beareth
cloudes and waters and tempests and gayles and it
stirreth and troubleth the seas and breaketh tree, and

this is said quicke ayer as the fyer above is said quicke fyer and simple. And therfore the elementes above said double or twey folde That is to say fixe &

[21^v]

moveable, moveable it is because it dwelleth in the corners of the earth although it descendeth from above ffor the 7 above byndeth and loseth it for of them it descendeth and of them it was formed & this is a great figure in sea in Ayre and in land as it cometh temperate.

5 The vth beast or vision is a fantasy that is a shade to the similitude of divers colors or maners come pounded of divers together And this forme is made in desert place or in a corrupte ayre or otherwhile it descendeth from hills to the similitude or lightnes of knights, and they be said exercitus antiquus, that is an olde house And otherwise upon matters to similitude of fayre women and well clothed or in medes, and some say that they be face^s. And otherwhiles this befalleth in a man, for corruption or malice of complexions and of humo^{rs} that be in a man And they be said Demoniaci for that it ascendeth the head and falleth upon the eyne and such corruption maketh to see many fantasyes

6 The sixt beast is said Demon this descendeth in highnes to lownes ad he was formed of pure matter without corruption wherfore he fayleth not but shall evermore dure although he hath taken thicknes in darknes of the lownes of the earth. And he is pure in matter and strong in body And of this sayth the wise man that he knoweth all things that is, And by him Philosophers have answers and wise men all things of which they would knowe the soothernes and he dwelleth evermore in darknes and in obscurity and he is never severed from them

[22^r]

And of this sayth the prophet that he hath power of taking away forme and shapes of which he would in the earth after the will of the creato^r And he said a bright angell mighty and fayre as the forme of the sonne and of the mone and of the starres or of an angell or of a cloude or of a fowle or of a fyshe or of a man or

of a beast or of a reptile that is a creeping beast or any other forme which he woulde And all these abovesaid without them knowe thou that they be impalpable or unhappy to be felt. That is that they neither may be taken with hand nor towiched with foote for they be spirits or wyndes And knowe thou that everiche of the abovesaid when it befalleth in the elements he taketh a body of them although the lyfe of them be of fyer And the dwelling of them in the fyre and their deads fury for they be fury. And Raziel said upon these vi that invocation of them and opening and constrayneth and bynding and losing and also to do good and evill by them All is made with cleanes and therefore who that would clepe them or have the service of them & with orison and fasting and fumigation and with praying of God must do as Heere= after thou shalt heare furthermore.

Animalia aeris tertiae alae vocantur aves &c
Beasts of the ayer of the third winge be cleped fowles for that they flyeth and they be of 4 mevings one is said running another flying and swiming and going and creeping

Now say we of flyeing and beginne we first of
1 Aquila that is an Egle for that is a fowle flying much in highnes and he hath Lordship upon all other fowles, and he is very and true in his deeds and in Lordship and in hono^r among all other fowles. The

[22^v]

Eagle hath such a nature that he taketh his sonnes or byrds when they be litle and ascendeth them into a place when the sonne is highe, and then he dresseth the face of them to the sonne. And if they beholdeth strongly the sonne he deemeth them to be his children and good and if they beholdeth not the sonne he deem= eth them not to be his children but thinketh them evill and letteth them fall and dye And one feather of him fretteth another fether, and he seith farre by one league or rule a litle beast, a great beast soothly he seith by 9 leagues or by a dayes Journey The eyne of him with the hart have great vertue and Grace to a kynge or to a lord of a lorde for that

Giveth to him grace in ^{^ 1} realme.

2 The second fowle is Vultur that is a vouter this hath great vertue in all his members, the head of him helpeth against all dreames and against craftes of magicke and his feete helpeth against malefette And if an house be suffumed with 9 fethers of him it putteth out from it evill spirits The gall of it helpeth the eyne better then anything of y^e worlde The eyne of him putt in the skynne of a serpent, and The tong of him putt in a cloth of red sylke wrapped with them helpeth in clauses in which thou covetest to overcome and for to wynde the love of another Lord. The wings of him putt upon a bed defendeth a man sleeping from all evill wyndes greivances and evill spiritts neither may they lett in all the house, neither any other fantasyes have power or other things.

3 The third fowle is falco that is falcon of whome the Vertue is that of great Lords he is sett at much price

[23^r]

they bene of the highnes of his right wyng overcometh plees both ravishing and in taking away alien things and the highnes of his lefte wyng taketh away evill fevers But we ought not to sley venative fowles neither hounds although they have many vertues in themselves. And knowe thou that how many members be in every beast fowle fishe or reptile so many vertues distincte hath every member by himself.

4 The iiith fowle is a Turtur simple and good neverthelesse if thou takest the male and the female together and burnest them together in a new pott with croco and vervinca and cichoria gathered together by them which thou wilt ioine together if thou castest the powder of these upon them knowe thou that anon they shall be ioined together, and it giveth great love to them that beareth the powder with them

5 The vth fowle is said Upupa that is a Lapwing having a crest of fethers in the head as a cocke & he hath many vertues this hath one bone in his wings and it gathereth together divels and spirits of the ayer the property of him is that whoever taketh the hart of him and wrappeth it in hony, and the assoone as he may

¹ Above ^ is written "his."

swallowe it and drinke the mylke of a white cow of a red or of a blacke. Know thou that it maketh a man to say things to come. And he hath another vertue for who that cutteth the necke where the cocke croweth not neither may be hard neither the voice of an hound neither where wheate is sown and when he cutteth if his necke inclepe he devils, and then bear^e he with him the half deale of the bloud and of that other half deale anoynt he himself and evermore shall go with

[23^v]

him one of the devills that is to witt he whome he can inclepe which shall say to him many things
6 The vith is said Ciconia that is an haysoucke who that fleyeth him in the day of Luna and taketh the bloud of the hart of him and anoynt himself with it And eateth the flesh with somine faeminli and with cardamoms and garyophillo And eare he eate it suffume he himself with good odors and with thure masticke and cinamom and other such. And know thou that he shall have grace of enchanting which he woll and of coniuring and constraining the spirits of the ayer and other spirits that goeth upon rivers and wells These vi fowles abovesaid bene exemplar upon all other And when thou wilt knowe the vertue of any fowle do thou after the precept of this booke.

Raziel upon the booke of visions of Angells upon the beginning of tymes in the 12 months as heere after thou shalt see furthermore

Dicamus de viscus mavis et alys &c

Say we of fishes of the sea and others upon vi of Them that is to witt of the more and the middle that I should shew the vertues of them.

1 The first fishe is Balena the fatnes of which made liquid and kepte by the space of vii yeeres & more for how much it is thelder so much it is the better it healeth a man from eache gowte and evill mynde if he anoynt himself with it. And if he annoynteth his head with the bloud of him it helpeth him much and yeeldeth him strong and more whole and it maketh

[24^r]

him to see true visions. The sperma of him is said Ambra
 If they suffumeth tombs with this it gathereth together
 The spirits above downwards and each petition & axing
 It maketh to give answer. And Hermes said There is not
 suffumigacions for to inclepe spirits as Ambra & lignum
 aloes, costus, muscus' crucus and bloud of lapwing with
 thymyamati for these be meat and drinke & gladnes
 of spirits of the ayre, and these things gathers them to-
 gather strongly and full soone. And wise men sayne that
 the sperme and bloud and hart of a Balene be princi=
 palls for to command the wyndes & spirits

2 The second fish is said Dolphin And he is the king of
 the sea ffor as the eagle hath might among fowles
 and the Lion among beasts so in this maner hath the
 dolphin in the sea. And who that annoynteth with the bloud
 of the clothes of twey friends it maketh them enemyes
 or casteth the dry bloud upon them. And who that bea=
 reth the hart of him maketh him hardy

3 The third fishe is Cancer this hath vi feete take
 and brenne him in panno livido and with the powder
 frote thy teeth softly it healeth them and maketh them
 fayer, and cureth the canker in the mouth, if thou
 casteth it upon the fyer with somewhat of Stercoris
 humani combusti it gathereth together spirits.

4 The fourth is bright as an horne betwixt palemes
 and whitenes that is to say piscis candis or sepia
 This fish hath many propertyes and that knoweth well
 enchantments and prophets which made with this their
enchantments and transfigurations so that when
 they would that a house should seem full of water
 or that a river should enter by the gate They tooke

[24^v]

this fish and with thymyamati and ligno aloes and
 roses they fumed an house and they cast therein of
 the water of the sea, and then it seemed that the house
 were filled with water And if they cast bloud therein
 then it seemed all bloud, and so if they cast snowe there=
 in it seemeth snowe. And when they would that the
 earth shoulde seeme to quake then they cast therein
 the earth of a plowe, and so the made there divers
 similitudes in all things according or after the thing
 which they put in the fumigacion. And knowe thou that
 it dweth so much and so long as the suffumigacions

is or lasteth in the house. And with the gall of him also they made many enchantments, ffor that this beast is much unlike to other.

5 The vth fishe is Murena and he is lentiguus the vertue of it is that enchanter beareth the powder of him with them to make enchantments with.

6 The vith fishe is Rana viridis And if thou take it or touché it upon what woman thou wilt and nempnest the names of the Angells of the moneth in which thou werste borne as I thinke which be furthermore within in libro visionn^{is} thou might do both good and evill of what woman thou wilt, and know thou that of these fishes and of all other thou maist knowe the vertues of moneths and understand thou by like things in all other things.

Primie animal est leo ista bestia est valde fortis
The first beast is a Lyon This beast is full strong in
The brest and in the cheeks And he is of strong beholding

[25^r]

and looking so that when other beasts seeth him they be moved together with dread and the skynne of him is of full vertue that if it be putt with other skynnes it destroyeth them and maketh them bare. And who that taketh the biting toothe of him that is cleped dens caninus and putteth it in golde it is good to take away and to take alyen things and the same doth wolfes toothe. And if thou maketh a purse of the harte of a Lyon full of bloud musco & almea et ligno aloes thymyamati and it were gathered & put upon whome thou wylt and thou maketh it hott. Know thou that in that hower he shall love the much and shall doe thy bidding. And if thou inclepest with the bloud of a goate the prince of Divels he shall be ready anone to do thy commandement and so more kynge or he for whome thou doest, and the same I say for great women.

2 The second beast is Elephant that is an Oliphant and He is ful great, and when he is risen of hard he lyeth & when he falleth of hard re riseth, for that thereto he hath no knees disposed well, and the bone of the teeth of him is said Ebur that is Ivory. And if it be put in electna=ryes it comforteth the feebleness of the hart as much as margarita and more. And the bloud of him with the liver comforteth much fasting.

3 The third beast is Cerbus that is an hart which liveth long for that he remayneth as the moone or as an egle who that maketh fumigacions of the hornes it chaseth away serpents, by it self it chaseth away devills.

4 The ivth beast is Catus that is a catte and he seith better by the night then by the day, and who that taketh of him and of an Irchen and of a rearemouse and maketh of Alcofol & Alcofolizeth or noynteth his eyne he seith well by night and by day. And if thou putteth

[25^v]

therein the eyne of an asse thou mightest see whether the spirits and devills of the ayer goen

5 The vth beast is Mustela that is a wesell, this bringeth forth her Issue at her moneth after the sayeng of the poets but not of philosophers, this helpeth much when he is brent, and the skynne of him is written for to cause love betwixt tweyne

6 The vith beast is Talpa that is a molewarpe and dwelleth under the earth and is likened to a mouse with this beast thou mayest make to come tempests pestilence, hailes and lightnings & cornflations and many evill things if thou putteth him bare or naked upon the earth dead and overturned, and with this beast thou mayest make discorde and concord with whome thou wylte, for he is a cursed beast, he healeth a man of the festure when he is burnt or powder and Cast in it.

And when thou wilt knowe the vertue of other beasts do as it is said in libro visionn^{is} upon which aske thou this of the Lord of the vision that is that it appears to thee that thou askest and covetest to knowe of beasts which thou wylte.

This beast seith not neyther hath eyne. And know thou that the vision of moneths is upon all things that thou askest or would knowe. And God shall be with thee if of right thou aske. And knowe thou that heere is fulfilled the third wyng And now begin we the fourth wing which is complete or fulfilled upon all the elements.

[De Quartus Ala]

Dixit Salomon sicut corpus vivu~ &c
Salomon said as a quicke body mylde or great is

[26^r]

not moved with their feete neither any fowle lesse then with two wings, neither the world is governed with lesse then with fowre elements may not neither might not be lesse then with 4 wyngs which be said to be 4 vertues wherefore Raziel said that who that shall be filled with this booke shall be as one of the prophets, he shall understand all vertues of things and powers of them and if he withholdeth and worcheth he shall be as an angel. And therefore he putt in this booke 22 elements of great vertue that is 22 letters or figures which the sonnes of Adam might not excuse.

1 The first is Aleph א That is A his letter is three cornered and it signifyeth the lyfe power and highnes and the principall or beginning in all things These putteth all things in their figures and in their principles.

2 The second is said Beth ב That is B and it is full good in things which we desire in Battaile and in playe & evermore sheweth goodness and profitt

3 The third is said Gimel ג that is G and it sheweth evill and grief and Impediment in things

4 The fourth is said Daleth ד that is D this sheweth turbation and death of some man & harme to him

5 The fifth is said He ה that is H and it sheweth price, honor and gladnes & it is full good in all things

6 The sixt is said Vau ו that is V and it sheweth death payne and travaile

7 The viith is said Zain ז that is Z at it sheweth pennyes and riches

8 The viiith is said Heth ח and it signifyeth Long lyfe and helthe.

[26^v]

9 The ixth is said Teth ט that is T and it signifyeth wrath woodnes and grief

10 The tenth is Iod י that is I and it signifyeth faith good lyfe and gladnes and all good beginning

11 The xith is said Caph כ hit sheweth very gladnesse and travaile without profitt

- 12 The xiith is said Lamed ל and it sheweth glad=nes and honor and profit
 13 The xiiith is said Mem מ That is M and it sheweth greif and otherwise dolor
 14 The xiiiith is said Nun נ that is N. It signifyeth restoring of a friend, and a visitation of him & profit
 15 The xvth is said Samech ס
 16 The xvith is said Ain ע It sheweth occasion or evill of a woman
 17 The xviith is said Pe פ it sheweth health.
 18 The xviiith is said Phe פ¹ That is ff and it sheweth bloud is shed of good men and highe
 19 The xixth is said Zade צ It sheweth health
 20 The xxth is said Coph ק It sheweth hid lyfe
 21 The xxith is said Res ר That is R And it shew=eth a man that is fallen and is risen
 22 The xxiith is said Thau ט That is T. It sheweth Greefe and diminution.

Now we have said upon the fowre wyngs upon the 22 letters that be upon the lawes of the table written And know thou that there be no moe but onely 22 letters Which be the roote of Semiforas for with them it is formed And is caused and is made and without them I may not be

[27^r]

And some men said that Ca~malie found them. But it is not sooth ffor the angell Raziel gave them written to Adam in this booke that is said liber ignis, and with them all the booke of Semiforas written. And knowe eache man that readeth this booke that the Creator said to Raziel to be the names of Semiforas wherfore if thou canst transpose these 22 letters or figures as it beseemeth thou shalt attayne the great name of thy Creator and with it thou might do what thou wilt evermore with Cleanesse and with the helpe of the Creator. Now we have fulfilled this booke of the wing like to the angels that is Pantaseron Mucraton Sandalon for everich of these hath 4 wings by commandement of the benigne angell which the Creator sent to me that this booke were better compounded and well ordeyned.

¹ Two forms of *peh* פ (*peh* and *peh dagesh*) are given, but no *shin* ש.

Liber Salomonis

Heere endeth the second booke & beginneth
the third book of Thymiamatibus

Dixit angelus Adae fac Thymiamata &c

[Book 3]

The Angell said to Adam make thymiamata
Thymiamata be confections of good odors with which thou
shalt suffume (and thou shalt please to Creacion)
and thou shalt attayne what thou wylt by this
And they of which they be made be petition things
which thou shalt fynde and of good odor and of good
nature, and of cleane things. And when thou
wilt do it be thou cleane of without all fylthe
and then the angell rested in that hower And Adam
remayned and did what he might And this Salomon
expounded and said I marvaile why this is the booke

[27^v]

of Moyses also ffor the Creato^r said to Moyses
make thou Thymiamata and suffume thou in the
hill when thou wilt speake with me wherfore Salomon
said suffumigacions sacrifice & unction maketh
to be opened the gates of the aire and of the fyre
and of all other heavens. And by suffumigacions a
man may see heavenly things and privatyes of the
Creato^r And each man knowe that they thirleth
The earth water and lownesse And Salomon said
As there be 7 heavens, 7 starres & 7 dayes in
the weeke of which everiche is distinct and is not likened
to his even. So knowe each man that there be 7
suffumigacions which withholdeth with them the vertue
of the 7 starres, and maketh glad the spirits of the
ayre and the angels of heaven and Divels of angels
of the worlde. And therfore for a man yeeldeth to
them hit, that is theirs. Therfore they be pleased
and well apaid for the words which thou sayest of
sayest the names of them or of the Creato^r. And for
this that thou doest when thou washest thee and
for the gift that thou givest to them when thou
suffumest, and these things yeeldeth them earthly
and appearing to thee. And that spirituall & invisible
that is, that neither evill men neither beasts
mongst see thee if thou doest it strongly about thee
and about whome thou doest it.
Thymiamata is made of many things, and these be

Principally upon the vii dayes of the weeke And first
say we of thymiamata of the Saturday for the starre
of him is higher & the angell of him is mighty in y^e earth

[28^r]

1 The first Thymiamata is of the Saturday ought
to be of good things and well smelling rootes as is
costus and herba thuris. And that is thymiamata
for good, and so I shall shewe all other as it beseemeth
to good and Thymiamata to another I
shall say in another place

2 Thymiamata of the Sondag is thus Mastick muscus
and other such and all other good gumes and
of good odor in all good and by the Contrary in
all evill

3 Thymiamata of the Monday is foliu^s myrti and
lauri and leaves of good odor and so understand
thou in his contrary.

4 Thymiamata of the Tuesday is Sandalus rubeus
niger and albus and all such trees and eche tree
of Aloes & cypresse and so understand thou of each
tree.

5 Thymiamata of Wednesday is made of all rindes
as cinamon cassia lignea & cortices lauri & muris
and so understand thou in the other

6 Thymiamata of Thursday is nux muscata gari=
ophylli and citruli and the rinde of Aurangiar~
siccar~ & pulverizatar~ that is the rynde of Oranges
dry and powdered & all other fruits of good odor

7 Thymiamata of the Friday is moas rosa viola
& crocus and all other flowers of good odor and in
the contrary to the contrary put yow all Thymiamata stinking
And knowe thou that each Thymiamata of good odor
Gathereth together his spirits after that his nature
& his color he & his strength is Thus I sayd for good
good, for better better.

[28^v]

And Hermes said of Thymiatibus that
Thymiamata of Luna is cinamonis & ligno
aloes et mastix et crocus et costus, et macis
et myrtus we putteth this that each of the pla=
nets have a parte in it, and all this may be Luna
good and well fortunate by good spices & sharpe

although Salomon made distinction upon the daies
and planette of the spices with the which a man ought
to make thymiamata And he said that of Saturne
is each good roote in good and evill in evill
And of Jovis all fruite, and of martis eche tree
And of solis eche gume and of veneris eche
flower, and of mercury each rinde, and of Luna
eache leafe, and thus understand thou of all other
and eche odoriferous herbe is of veneris. And
Raziel said to Adam that he should make good
Thymiamata. And therfore said Hermes, understand
That eache Thymiamata is made of all good things
as of roote tree rinde leafe flower fruite & gumes
and yet seeds be put in it as Baccae & Cardamomu~
and waxe, and put thou in it all good thing and
precious, and sithen he said Thymiamata completu~
And there is some Thymiamata gracu~ or of greeke
by which heather men were wont to suffume Idols
with. And yet to this day Churches and Altars be
suffumed with it, and it is said Thymaimata Jovis.
And in soothernes who that useth this Thymiamatibus
must be cleane and chaste and of all good lyfe and
will to the Creato^r and he shall profit.

[29^r]

Dixit Salomon super suffumigata Hermetis q¹ dur &c
Salomon said upon the suffumigacions of Hermes which
be said beneath and they be seven maners with which be
1 made sacrifices some be (and the first) which fastesth and
giveth tei things to the Creato^r, and therfore they
trust that they attayne to that that they desire And
it is soothe
2 The second is that they washen & clenseth them
selves and dwelleth cleane and therfore they trow
to attayne their petition & axing & it is soothe
3 The iii^d is that they do almes of God and for the
holy angels of him
4 The iiiiith is that they sleyeth and casteth the bloud
in the fyer.
5 The fifth is that they sleyeth and burneth all
6 The sixt is that they prayeth much in howers ordeyned
7 tymes in the day, and 3 in the night

¹ The *q* has ^{ae} written above it.

7 The viith is to make suffumigacion with good things and well smelling and everiche of these did this that he might attayne the sothenes of it that he asked and so he attained hit by the Commandement of the Creato^r.

And know thou that suffumigacion overcometh in all Sothely who that suffumeth best to the eye it proveth and with this the wisemen excuseth all other. And wit thou that who can well knowe the natures of suffumigacions he might easily nigh thilk spirits which he would enclepe according to the nature of suffumigacion And evermore consider thou the nature of the spirit and of the suffumigacion, and the spirits be constrained by the contrary and be comforted by

[29^v]

like things And it is to wytt that as a wise leache in giving a medecine to a sicke man removeth the sickenes and inleadeth health. So suffumigacion if it be good remeveth the contrary from the place And with evill suffumigacion be remeved good spirits, evill and ill spirits also dreadeth for eache thing more loveth health then sicknesse. And therefore it is said that Sulphur remeveth both good spirits and evill, and this is approbation or profit way And there is another way for lignu~ aloes and none other, and Sulphur chaseth them away and this is very reason And then I say that Sulphur gathereth together his proper spirits and none other And they be full strong & penetrative and thicke and be not severed or departed so soone from a place But although a place were suffumed with Sulphur, and then were washen with water and suffumed with lignu~ aloes yet it draweth away the spirits of Sulphur or endureth or leadeth in his owne. And knowe thou also that the spirit of Azet that is quicksilver and the spirit of Thuris be contrary Although spirits both yet therewith all devills entereth and thirleth rather or sooner then the spirit of Thuris, wherfore everich hath full great might, yet and if thou wilte withdrawe the spirits suffume thou with thure and they shall go out And so understand thou of all other spirits good and evill.

And Salomon said that as a physicion putteth
a man pure good oyntmente and cleane and

[30^r]

they thirleth the body of a man and healeth so suffumigacions
thirleth the 4 elemnts and maketh to see and knowe
heavenly things which were evermore heavenly and which
descendeth from heavens as be angells & spirits of the
ayre and the soules of dead men and divels and windes
of spelunke and of deepenes and fantasies of dèsert place
And wherfore knowe thou that all spiritualls with right
fumigacon shall obey to thee, and shall come to thee
and they shall do thy co~mandement And Hermes said
that all things that was or is present or shall be that the
overnature Joyned with the neather by ordinance or tyme
and hower maketh one body and understanding that he
can understand and knowe thilke things whereof creatures
have to live and themselves to governe. Therfore
know thou that there be fumes that Chaseth away
spirits and other some that steyeth them and constreyneth
them to come, and other that quickeneth them
and strengthneth them, and giveth them might, and so
by the contrary there be some that destroyeth them
and taketh away their might, and this is the probacion
of this for the fume of an hare chaseth them away
and this he said upon serpents and that chaseth them
away which is fumus amnecae that is the fume of feces
of oyle and that steyeth them is the spittle of a
fasting man. And therefore he said suffumigacion
sufficeth to us in all things beneath. And Raziel
said knowe thou that as water washeth all uncleannesse
and fire maketh liquid or melteth all mettalls & maketh
cleane and fyneth. And as the aire is the lyfe of a man

[30^v]

living, and the earth sustaineth or beareth eche body
and nourisheth each plant, to understand thou that
good thymiamata – i – suffumigacions is fulfilling in
the worke to the Invocations of spirits and of other
things and well proporcioned with the which Thymiamata
is confect or medled, and were in eache hower convenient
of according.

Dixit Salomon propter hoc pono hora^s et tempus &c
 Salomon sayeth ffor this I put the hower and the
 tyme in this worke for in all howers in which a man
 will speake to a kinge or to a prince he may not speake
 to them neither in eache hower which a sonne asketh
 of the father any thing he giveth to him. Therefore
 it is darke to thee to choose the tyme and the hower
 upon these that thou askest. This is therfore tempus
 quoddam that is some tyme of Jovis be it done in the
 day of Jovis and of Veneris in the day of Veneris
 and Martis. And of Saturne in the day of Saturne.
 And so of other that be done in Invocations of spirits
 and in all prayings of Angells. And the fumigacion
 of which is pure and cleane. Knowe thou that it is a
 spirituall thing and living and fellowshiping to heavenly
 things. And now said Veallia Knowe thou
 that no man ought to make suffumigacion of precious
 things but if it were before cleane, and with cleane
 waters well washen and annoynted with precious oyntments
 which he made cleanly and with precious things
 as cera alba, balsamo croco and musco abitatmeca
 algalia, almea Thure myrrha. Oleo olivary. And this
 oyntment be it well kept and well warded in a cleane

[31^r]

place of him after that also the clothings be cleane
 white newe and good, not broken neither blacke. And
 the suffume he himself worshipfully, and the
 maner of suffuming himself ought to be made in
 vii maners towards the East the North the West
 and the south, and towards the heaven above, and
 towards the earth beneath, and the viith tyme all
 about. And as ofte as thou doest this evermore
 dresse thy mynde unto God evermore, and pray that
 he fulfill thy will. And knowe thou that I founde in
 some olde booke that these were the more suffumigacions.
 Thus thymiamata gracu^m masticke, sandulus
 galbanu^s Muschalazerat myrrha and Ambra and these
 be collectors of spirits and placators of them. And
 Salomon said when thou wilt gather together the
 spirits of the ayre do thou in this maner. Clense
 thou thy self in the better maner that thou canst
 and go to a pitt where thou wilt knownen to thee
 and suffume it and encleape him by his owne

proper name and lathe him or pray him and that
by three nights, and if he answereth not to thee
neither appeareth send thou him to a certaine place
or to an house or to a quadrive that is a place where
4 wayes meeteth or to a yard or gardeine And suffume
thou the pitt towards the vii parts and in the place
where thou bathest also, as I have said And then
knowe thou that he shall come, and he shall appeere
to thee that thou shalt do this.

Et dixit Hermes quod spiritus qui apparent &c
And Hermes said that the spirits which appeareth

[31^v]

in this worlde be these. Some sothely be heavenly
and the prophet clepeth them Angels, and
they be bright and cleere as flame or a starre
as we have said. Other be aire and of the aire
and of many colors greene bright and other such
& of many figures. And other be fiery and they be
bright and red. And other be watery and they be
white and as bright as tinne or Iron burnished
or quickesilver Other be that neigheth to men &
be like to a white cloude or to a white clothe
And other be darke and dime and of divers formes
which be said Divels which be said with the wynde, and
they be in the deepenesse of the sea and of lownesse
Spirits that bring with hailes & lightnings
And wisemen clepeth these huge spirits & strong
Now we have said of the nature of spirits and
putt to thy mynde and thou shalt attayne with the
helpe of God.

Dixit Raziel sicut in aere puro claro &c

Raziell said as in the pure cleere and bright &
cleane and peciable aire all things gladdeth
a wyeth of it. So knowe thou that from fasting
and cleannes and washing of water & prayers
¹ and orison of the Creator. And for naturall and
cleane suffumigacion and very faith or trust thou
might please them which we have said above. And
Raziel said to Adam knowe thou that in all maner
te life of Angells be holy & cleane And the

¹ The word "luck" appears here in the margin.

suffuming or suffumigacion is bread of which spirits

[32^r]

liveth And fasting and Cleannesse and Clarity sacrifice
with orison be the house of holy altar soules
and trust in the author of good. Wherefore each man
that hath these abovesaid in himself he shall attaine
or neigh and he shall have profit.

And Salomon said these be that befalleth in suffumigacions,
anon shall come to us fume and then odor
and of the fume a cloude ^ ¹ of the cloud an high cloude
and wynde, and of the wynde ascendeth the cloude higher
and of the Cloude an high winde ascendeth higher and
is made a soule And of this the spirit is made higher
and of the spirit and angell of heaven, and of angells
light. And these be caused by cleane suffumigacion. And
know thou that suffumigacions be of vii maners. Some
sothely sharpe, and other penetrative or percing. Other
sweete smelling other stinking, other simple, other meke
other of greefe other sothely of peace, or everich of these
or of these manners is after his odor savor nature and
complexion. Wherefore Hermes said that as coldenes
congealeth water which is colde, and as water of the
sea is congealed with great, and as Azertacona congealeth
the water of wells, and everiche of these congealeth
the water one with coldenes another with hotnes
another by arte another by nature, and the matter is
made one body and one gobbet. And knowe thou that
good suffumigacion gathereth together and constrayneth
and maketh spirits to appeare in the aire, and secret
or privy things And it maketh them to take a body with
out eyne seeth.

And Salomon said that as the Adamant draweth

[32^v]

Iron to himself, so knowe thou that suffumigacion
gathereth together and draweth the spirits of the
ayre, and maketh them to come to the place where
thou doest it and will gather them together. And the
wiseman said suffumigacion is like to the roote of
Arzolle ffor as it Joyneth together gobbette of flesh
into one. So suffumigacions gathereth together

¹ Above the caret mark ^ appears '&.'

spirits of heaven or heavenly which the 4 elements
and they make that they taketh a body, and spirits taketh
fulfilleth that be axed of them and that to
likenes of a mirror to which if there be sett before what
figure thou wylte a like appeareth within the fumigacion
made Cleanly and invocation in the hower
after the spirits proporcionall. The spirits appeareth
to us, and new operations and worchings with
fulfilling upon the thing that thou asketh, and be
thou never deceived in the knowledge of suffumigacions,
and putt thou thy mynde in them lest
they be transposed, and thou shalt fulfill as that
were and after that thou doest as he said.

And Salomon said I will touché somewhat to thee
of the nature of suffumigacions, who that useth it
much it maketh to see in sleepe or in sothenes grene
things and yellowe and divers colors melancholious
fumigacion sheweth leady things Sanguine fumigacion
sheweth red things, and otherwise it is shewing
of purple color fflegmaticke fumigacion sheweth
white things and fayre. And so understand thou after
that the nature were and the appearing of spirits

[33^r]

and of their colo^r and visions and the worke of them
shall be after the sharpenes of it and the goodnes and
the direction of fumigii that is fulfilling of the thing
after that the Image were formed and the Orison of
the thing nempned and the trust for all is in the
intention of the man and in the hower in which it is done.
Now we have said how every of the planetts hath his
fumigacions Now say we the fumigacions of the xii
signes and of the xxxvi faces of them. Aries holdeth
by himself Mirta^s. Taurus costum. Gemini
masticem. Cancer Musthalazeratis. Leo thus. Virgo
classen. Libra galbanu^s. Scorpio opopanace^s. Sagittarius
lignu^s aloes. Capricornus assa^s fatidu^s. Aquarius Euphorbiu^s.
Pisces Thymiam. The first face of Aries
holdeth Mirta. The second Stamonea the third Piper
nigru[~]. The first of Tauri Costum. The second Cardamomu[~].
The third Cassia. The first of Geminoru[~]
masticem. The second Cinamomus. The third Cipressu[~]
The first of Cancer mastu[~]. The second succu[~]. The
third anisu[~]. The first of Leonis thus. The second

lignu~ balsami. The third Nuce~ muscata. The first of Virginis Sandalos. The second Crocu~. The third mastice~ The first of Librae galbanu~ the second Bofor. The third mirtum. The first of Sagittarii lignu~ aloes. The second folia lauri. The third gariofilum. The first of Capricorni assa. The second Colofoniam, the third piper longum. The first of Aquarii Euphorbiu~ the second Reubarbar~ the third Stamonea The first of Piscium. Thymiamia. The second Crocum. The third Sandalum album.

[33^v]

Nota scdm Hermetem de fumigiis

And Hermes said Aries Leo and Sagittarius withholdeth eche chollericke spice & bitter Taurus Virgo and Capricornus melancholious and stipticke Gemini Libra & Aquarius sanguine & sweet Cancer Scorpio & Pisces flegmaticke and of salt savor And this Salomon holdeth for the naturall for such spice we give & with them we suffume And which give to the dayes and to the howers. And the sunday the first hower is of Solis, and all of the day altogether we should give this masticke & muscum as we have said of planets in the beginning if this booke of Thymiamatu, and to understand thou of all other knowe thou the suffumigacions of tymes

In primo tempore lignu~ aloes thus et crocu~ &c

In the first tyme lignu~ aloes, thus & crocu~ In the second tyme Thymiamia. Costum mastice. In the third tyme Sandalus Cassia and mirtu~. In the fourth tyme muscu~ succu~ and lignu~ balsami. And as he gave to eche of the 4 tymes their spices or kyndes so he giveth to eche moneth one spice by order.

Dicamus nunc suffumigia 4 partiu~ mundi &c

Say we now suffumigacions of the 4 partes of the worlde and of the 4 elements. For all things that be in this worlde either be compounded of 4 elements or symples Suffumigacions of the 4 parties of this world be these upon the parties of the

[34^r]

East and the fier serveth Ambra muscus & alba cera yt

Liber Salomonis

is white waxe. Upon the party of the south and the earth
Algalia, almea and teriaca. Upon the party of the west &
the ayre Balsamus, Camphora & olen olivraru~. Upon the
North & the water Lignu~ aloes, mix muscata & Maris.
And Salomon said each man that would do any thing
by this booke putt he his mynde to the chapter of thymiamatu~.
That he knowe the kindes or things & justly
Can meddle them. And so knowe thou that thou might
easily worke by it and without travayle thou might fulfilall
thing that thou desyrest to see. Now we have fulfilled
one Chapiter of fumigiis or fumigacions, and we
will say furthermore yet upon which was or intencion with
the help of God.

*Heere beginneth the fourth booke that
speaketh upon tymes of y^e yeare*

In Dei noie py incipio scribere libris istu &c

[Book 4]

In the name of the meeke God I beginne to write this booke that is said or called Cephar Raziel which the Angell Raziel gave to Adam. And it shall speake upon the 4 tymes of the yeere & moneths & dayes with his night how we should nempe each thing and knowe each man. That this is said the booke of tymes, and the Angell gave it that is said might and great b¹ by the manndement of the Creator quicke God & in all things mighty. And for that Adam should knowe all things by which he would knowe in this worlde what it is what it was and what it should be in all things in the 12 moneths of the yeere and dayes & howers and that by order and similitude of Cleane fastings and of washings of sacrifice of suffumigacions made by 7 dayes or the

[34^v]

first mone were, and ere the sonne should assende his taile the ascendent, and ere the sonne should ascend upon his starre Zedek Jovis and they should be nempned in this booke by monthe of holy angells that have might upon the 7 heavens formed of fyer and the beholding of them is of fyer and the life of him is fyer. And they seemed clothed with fyer And they be covered with fyer. And from the fyer the went out and in the fyer they dwelleth and they be of great fellowships mighty upon the xii moneths of the yeere by the precept of the Creato^r of it which said the world be it and all angels be, and were before it, and there be vii powers before the face of it, and to eache of them is given might and hath a day of the moneth and of the weeke. And of them some be standing in environ and some be sitting in chaires with great honor serving to the Creato^r, and they be evermore ready and bound to go out and to enter, to come and to go and to do all good and evill whatsoever is made and to enchant and to put downe and to cover prily things and to discover or make revelacion. And all this that we have said by the manndmt of God, and all the

¹ This "b" is smudged out.

more angells and lesse, and the princes of them
with their powers with their odors or with their fellowships
they clipeth themselves everiche with their names
and which be selly . i . heigh or sovereigne evermore
they praise God the Creato^r which formed them. And also
all the powers of all heavens in the moneth and
in the day in which he formed them and they all
speaking to himself together as men. And Raziel said
that these angells wrote these names and this booke.

[35']

And he said that there be 7 angells mighty
upon vii starres and these bene potestates or
powers mighty upon vvi dayes of the weeke And they
be keepers of them and of the xxiiii howers of the day
and of the vii heavens and of the xii signes and of all
other things that governeth the worlde. And Raziel
said to Adam beholde knowe and withhold these vii
powers or potestates which have power in the vii heavens
and the vii starres. The names of which be these Sabaday
that is Saturnus. Zedek that is Jupiter. Madim that
is Mars. Hanina that is Sol. Noga that is Venus
Cocab . i . Mercurius. Labana . i . Luna. The names of
the vii heavens in which they be borne be these Samin
raquia Siagum Mahum. Macon. Zebul. Arabeck
upon Samyn goeth Luna. Upon Raquia goeth Mercurius
and upon Arabeck Saturnus and so understand
thou of other

The names of Angells that have power upon the
vii starres and goeth upon the vii heavens and other
while in their chaires be these Capziel. Satquel
Samael. Raphael. Amael. Michael. Gabriel.
And the power of these is that Capziel is the power
of Sabaday. Satquel of Zedek. And Samael of Madyn
and Raphael of Hanina. Amael of Noga. Michael
of Cocab. Gabriel of Lubona. And everiche of these
sytteth in his heaven. And the meynees of them all about
and there be divers colors as white blacke red
yellow greene leady pardi viati medled overgilt and
of the color of a pecocke fether and of many other colors
These be the Angels that have power upon the 12
moneths of the yeere. The names of the moneths

[35^v]

be these Nisan yar zinantamus abelul Tisirin
 Marquesuam quislep tobez or thebeth Sabat adar
 pladar postm⁹ The names of potestates be these
 And they be 12 capitalls, that is one upon everiche
 moneth of Luna and the rather that is the other is
 Oriel Sasuyel Amariel. Noriel. Biraquel magna
 saciel. And everiche of these hath so many potestates
 helpers more or greater as there be sayes in the
 moneth or many other servants of them. And the aforesaid
 Angells a man may knowe all things that is
 to come in everiche yeere, and in everiche tyme and
 in everiche moneth and everiche day and everiche
 hower with the proper signes of them who that knoweth
 them well if he will knowe of many reynes or fewe
 or when they shallbe or if they shall be or no. and
 the day and hower when they shall fall. And a man
 may knowe by them which is his signe and his starre
 and he may knowe of his lyfe if it shall be of long
 tyme or of shorte in the worlde sand other things
 either for a sicke man or an whole, either for a man
 either from a woman. Or he may knowe a subtyll understanding
 or sharpe he may knowe what is to
 come and do with it what he will. And the dayes of
 the yeere or of Solis alone (in which may be done the
 worching of this booke) 365 and the 4th parte of one
 day in the week of dayes. the yeere of Luna be otherwise
 360 dayes or four howers and 46 minutes
 after the yeere of Luna. And the fulfilling of tyme
 in this. In one tyme be 3 monethes, and when the tymes

[36^r]

befower sothely till to 12. And knowe thou that Nisan
 that is the first moneth entereth in the first day of the
 first mone whereat were Luna prima of the moneth
 of Martii and so of other. and the first very tyme is
 from the first poynt into the which the sonne entereth into
 Arietem, till it enter the first poynt of Cancer. And
 The 2 from Cancer in Libran, And the third from
 Libra to Capricornu~. And the 4th from Capricorno
 into Arientes^s. And this is the better distinction of tymes
 And in the hower which Raziel gave the booke to Adam
 of tymes of moneths and names of things then was Adam

comforted onely wherin thilk day fillen lightnings meved
and thunders and Coruscations appeariden, and there
was in that day great tempest in all the worlde both in the
lande and in the ayre, and in the sea. And in the hower
in which the Angell Raziell opened this booke and gave it
to Adam. Then he gave to him might and strength & surety
in all the words of this booke and myracles that be in it.
And when this booke fell before the face of Adam, then
Adam dread full muche and quoke of great dread And
fell downe unto the earth as though he had bene dead
Then the Angell Raziell said to Adam Rise and
be thou comforted for knowe thou that a very soothfast
spirit hath descended in thee from the hight heavens
which hath lightned thee and hath putt in this hower
in thee knwing and might, and that thou shalt attaine
that that thou shalt aske. And I say to thee that thou
consider in this booke and beholde in it and by it thou
shalt knowe and understand whatere was and that is

[36^v]

and that shall be after thee And in that hower in
which this booke was given to Adam fier fell upon the
brinke of the flood of paradise And the Angell
ascended by the flame of the fier to the heavens And
an Angell descended in similitude of a white cloude
and spake with him plainely and came to him as a
man well bright and cleere like to the cleerenes
of a starre in his body and full of many other all about
And in ascending when he was severed evermore
Adam was like to a lambe which formed well bright
as the flame of fyre and cleere then the fyre of a
fornace in which golde is purged And then Adam sawe
this and found and knewe that of the Lord of all
worlds which is a great king and mighty things.
This booke was sent for him. And then he considered
and looked in it with holynes and Cleannesse. And
then he beheld in it all things that he would know
in this worlde. And this was the first word that
Adam had with the Angell Raziell And therfore he
considered in it and governed himself by it.
Salomon said upon the foresaid reason above
after that the Angell Raziell said unto Adam that
it behoveth to knowe the tymes and one hower before
another and one tyme before another ffor who that

Sepher Raziel

soweth wheat in Ver it may not be gathered on the same Ver. And this is after the temperament of the party of the northe. And therefore it is necessary or needful to divide the yeere into 4 parts and a moneth into 4 partes and an hower into fowre partes

[37^r]

And if thou keepest these divisions and understandest thou shalt profitt in all that thou wilt, for this is sothe and all naturall things is made in the tyme and in the day and in the hower according as the higher or soveraigne Creato^r hath ordeyned. Raziel said of thou wilt knowe any thing of this worlde that is of other that be in the heaven or heavens which be fellowshipped with the first heavens. Or if thou wilt do any thing yt be fulfilled to thy will clense thou thy body by 7 daies that is washe thee and eat thou not a thing of cheste neither of raven, neither of evill party neither a thing uncleane neither that is fallen to death, neither a beast of 4 feete neither other. And eschewe thou thee from malice and falsenes, and thou shalt not drinke wyne neither shalt thou eat fishes or any thing which bloud goeth out. And ioyne thou thee not to a woman pollute neither menstruate neither enter thou into an house where is a dead man neither go thou beside the pitt of a dead man. neither by him that suffereth gonorrhea and eschewe thou and be thou ware of night lest thou fall into pollution and keepe thee from lechery and evill pride. And do thou that thou be evermore cleane and be thou in Orison or prayer, and keepe thy tong from saying evill and leasing and fast thou clenely And keepe thou thy body from doing evill and sinne And lighten thou the house with orison and prayse the angells and do thou almes to needy men and charity and be not thou ioyned to evill men neither to uncleane and clothe thou thee with cleane clothes the larger that thou mightest and evermore trust thou unto God and

[37^v]

rise thou early and pray to the Creato^r that he dresse thee and washe thee and fulfill thy petition and thou shalt attayne to that thou askest with God

Nota hanc partem bene

Note well this parte

Primu^m opus istius libri q est necessariu^m &c

The first worke of this booke that is necessary or needful in all things that man will do. And when thou wilt knowe when it is good to do all thing which thou wilt do. Or thou wilt know when it is good to do what thing thou wilt of this worlde and thou canst not any thing thereof understand thou that thou account by 7 dayes before the first day of the moneth that is of the moneth of Luna. And in these 7 dayes ne be thou not pollute, neither eat thou a beast having bloud, neither drinke thou wyne, neither touch thou uncleane things, neither ly thou not with a woman and washe thou thee with cleane water running all the vii dayes ere the sonne Ascend And hold the abstinence which we have said and suffume thou thee when thou were bathed with this ligno aloes and ambra croco costo camphora and masticke And then take thou twey quicke turturs and whole without languor in themselves, or if thou wilt twey white culvers if thou might have none other. And cut of the necke fasting with a brazen red knife overgilt on everiche side cutting. And cut of the necke of that one turtur on that one side, and that other on that other, after that drawe out the intrailes but withholde the bloud in a newe glasen cup & cast it into the fyer.

[38^r]

And wash thou th'entrailes with cleane water. And then take iii weichte of musk and iii croco and thuris albi lucidi cinamoni and 10 keyes of gariophylli and lignu aloes as much And then take 12 grana piperis nigri and olde white wyne and sandalos and muscu and camphora and somewhat hony and wyne all these with wyne, and put all medled in the entrailes of the turturs and fill them or divide them into 7 parts or 7 members, and cast on member upon the coles of the fyer in the morrow ere the sunne arise and that is to understand the 11 hower of the night. And when thou burnest the members be thou covered with white cloth and standing thy feete discalciated that is unhosed and unshowed afterward the names of angells which be written that is serving

to the moneth in which be written that is serving
to the moneth in which thou doest for they be prayers
and doers there, and knowe thou that each day thou hast
to say the names of angells of that moneth 7 tymes.
And in the 7 dayes thou shalt gather together the ashen
which thou hast made in thilk 7 dayes of the foresaid 7
members. And the house and the place in which thou shalt
burne be it cleane. And when all this is done thou
shalt dispose or ordeyne a solemne house cleane
severed to thee. And thou shalt spring the aforesaid
ashen upon the earth in the middle of the house and
thou shalt sleep there so that thou shalt do this. And
then when thou entereth the bed thou shalt nempne the
names of the angells strong dreadfull mighty & high
and then sleepe thou. And speake thou with man And then
knowe thou that thou be well certaine and not dreadfull
that there shall come to thee some man and he shall
shew himself to thee in the vision of the night and the

[38^v]

similitude or likenesse of him shall be of a worship-
full man. Then be thou strong and dread thou not
and he shall not leave himself to thee that it be
a vision or a dreame but in very or sooth maner
And aske thou what thou wylte and without doubt
he shall give to thee.

*Dixit angelus Raziel volo tibi dicere hoc com=
plemento &c* The angell Raziel said I will
say to thee this fulfilling the worching that thou
worke by power and vertue and strength of this
booke in which be written the powers of the moneths
and of dayes ~~and~~ of the yeere and they have power
in everiche moneth and in eache day for evermore
And knowe thou eache man who that governeth himself
with them with cleannesse that they helpeth him
in all his deeds and in all his things. And they
maketh him to knowe all his willes, and they helpeth
him to fulfill at that ever he asketh with great
power and strength and wisdom
The names of the Angells of the first moneth. These
be the names of the Angells which be mighty and more
mighty in the first moneth which is said Nysan
Oriël malaquiran acia yaziel paltifus

nisan

yesmactria yariel araton robica sephatia. Anaya
quesupale semquiel sereriel Malgas Ancason
pacyta abedel ram asdon Casiel nastiafori
sugni aszre sornadaf adniel necamia
caisaat benit quor adziriel

The names of Angels of the second moneth

yar

[39^r]

These be the mightier Angells of the second moneth
which is yar in language of Hebrew^c Safuel
Saton Cartemat aryel palthia bargar galms nocpis
Aaron manit aadon qwenael quemon abragin yehoc
adnibia parciot marinoc galus gabmion resegar affry
absamon sarsaf alxim Carbiol regnia achlas nadib
absafyabitan pliset. And thou sahlst name the names
of the foresaid Angells of this moneth yar in each thing
which thou shalt name in it and they should helpe thee
and they shall make thee to knowe all thy will.

The names of the Angells of the third moneth. These
be the names of the Angells which be keepers of the
third moneth that is said Zyvan of which the first is
amariel tatgiel casmuch nuscifa almux naamab
mamiazicara^s Samysarach naasien. Andas paltamus
abris borhai Salor hac yayac dalia Azigor Mabsuf
abnisor zenam dersam Cefania Maccafor naboon
Adiel maasiel szarhyr cartalion adi ysar. And thou
shalt name these names that be said in all things that
thou doest and thou shalt profit.

Zivitam

The names of the Angells of the fowrth moneth. These be
the names of the Angells of the fowrth moneth that
is said Thamuth moriel safida Asaf Mazica sarsac
adnyam nagrow galuf galgall danroc saracus remafidda
luliaraf nediter / delgna maadon saamyel amrael
lezaidi Elisafan paschania maday And thou shalt
nempe these names above said in all hit that thou
wilt do and thou shalt profit.

Thamuth
Ab elul

The names of the Angells of the 5 moneth. These ¹
be the names of the Angells of the 5 moneth that is said

[39^v]

manhi or amariahaya byny madrat amantuliel
cassurafarttis nactif necyf pdgnar tablic mamiro

¹ The marginal note here is illegible.

amacia qnatiel reycat qnynzi paliel gadaf
nesquiraf abrac amyter camb nachal cabach
loch macria safe essaf And thou shalt name
these before said in all his that thou wilt do and
thou shalt profitf.

The names of the Angells of the 6 moneth
These be the names of the angells of the 6 moneth
that is said Elul. Magnyny arabyel hanyel
nacery yassar rassy boel matriel naccamarif
zacdon nafac rapion sapsi salttri raseroph malgel
samtiel yoas qualabye danpi yamla golid rasziel
satpach nassa myssa macracif dadiel carciel
effignax. And thou shalt name these names
aforesaid in eache thing which thou wilt do and
thou shalt profitf therein.

Ab
Elul
marqueslica

The names of Angells of the 7 moneth. These be
Quislip the names of keepers of the vii moneth that is
said Tisirin. Suriel sarican gnabriza szucariel
sababiel ytrut cullia dadiel marhum abecaidsdon
sacdon pagulan arsabon aspiramo aquyel safcy
racynas altim Masulaef vtisaryaya abri And
thou shalt name these names abovesaid in each
thing that thou wilt do and thou shalt profitf.

Tysirin

The names of Angells of the 8 moneth. These be
the names of Angells of the eight moneth that
is said marquesaan karbiel tiszodiell raamyel
nebubael alisaf baliel arzaf rasliel alson

Tobtz
marque=
sean

[40^r]

naspiel becar paliel elisuaig nap naxas sansani aesa
maarim sasci yalsenac iabynx magdiel sarmas
maaliel arsaferal Manistiorar veaboluf nadibael
suciel nabuel sariel sodiel marcuel palitam. And
thou shalt name these names above said in everich thing
that thou wilt and thou shalt profitf.

Quinslip
Scibat

The names of the Angells of the 9 moneth. These be the
names of the Angells of the 9 moneth that is said Qwinslep
adoniell radiell naduch racyno hyzy mariell azday
mandiell gamiell seriell kery sahaman osmyn sachiell
pazehemy calchihay hehudaell nerad minael aracc
arariqnaiell galnel gimon satuell elynzy baqwylaguel
And thou shalt name these names above said in all hit
that thou doest and thou shalt profitf.

The names of the Angells of the 10th moneth. These

Adar

be the names of angells that have might in the 10th moneth that is said Thebeth Anael aniyel aryor naflia rapinis raaciel pacuel hahon guanrinasuch aslaqwy naspaya negri somahi hasasisgafon gasca szif alzamy maint xatinas sargnamuf oliab sariel Canyel rahyeziel pansa insquen sarman malisan asirac marmoc. And thou shalt name these names in it that thou wilt do and thou shalt profitt.

The names of the angells of the xith moneth. These be the names of Angells that keepe the xith moneth that is said Cynanth and which have might in it Gabriel Israel natriel gazril nassam abrisaf zefael zamiel mamiel tabiel miriel sahumiel guriel samhiel daniel banorsasti satyn nasyel ranfiel talgnaf libral luel daliel quadriel sahuhaf myschiel And thou shalt name these names before said in all thing that thou doest in the moneth & thou shalt fulfill

pladar

[40^v]

¹ The names of Angells of the 12 moneth These be the names of the 12 moneth that is said Adar romiel patiel guriel laabel addriel cardiel aguel malquiel samiel sariel azriel paamiel carcyel amaluch parhaya ytael beryel cael tenebiel pantan panteron fanyel falafon masiel pantaron labiel ragael cetabel nyahpatuel. And thou shalt name these names in all things that thou doest and thou shalt profitt.

The names of Angels if the 13 moneth. These be the names of angells of the xiii moneth Bisertilis which is said Adar the laste in marche lantiel ardiel nasmyel celidoal amyel magel gabgel susuagos barilagni yabtasyper magossangos dragos yayel yoel yasmyel stelmel garasyn ceyabos sacadiel guracap gabanael tamtiel. These names abovesaid thou shalt name in all things that thou wylte, and they shall ful fill all thy will with fasting & washing and suffumigacion and cleanness. And thus understand thou of every worke. And knowe thou that the moneths of the Hebrewes and the moneths of Romans be evened upon the moneth of marche and knowe thou well this number and thou shalt proffitt.

¹ There is no marginal note here, or marking of the 12th or 13th months.

Scias quod postqua^s diximus de mensibus &c

Knowe that after that we have said of moneths nowe
we will say the names of the dayes of the weeke with
his angells full strong and mighty upon everiche day
and everiche in his day

[41^r]

The names of y^e angels y^t serveth in y^e day of Solis
And these be the names of haie~ and his angell be these
Daniel Elieyl Saffeyeyl dargoyeyl yelbrayeil comaguele
gebarbayea faceyeyl caran neyeyl talgynenyl bethaz
rancyl falha hyeyl armaqnieyeyl roncayl gibryl
zamayl mycahe zarfaeil ameyl torayeil ronmeyeyl
remcatheyel barhil marhil barhil mehil zarafil
azrageyl anebynn timermerzym yeocyn necyl hadzbeyeyl
Zarseyeyl Zarael anqnihim Ceytatynyn Ezuiah
Vehichdunedzineylyn yedmeyeyl esmaadyn albedagryn
yamaanyl yecaleme detriel arieil armayel veremedyn
unaraxxydin These be the mighty angels on the day
of Solis, and name thou them worthily & thou shalt
proffitt.

The names of the angels in the day of Luna
These be the names of angels that serveth in the
day of Luna. Semhahylyn. stemehilyn Jasyozyn
Agrasinden Aymeylyn Cathneylyn Abrasachysyn
Abrasasyn Layzaiosyn langhasin Anayenyn nangareryn
aczynyn montagin labelas mafatyn feylarachyn
candanagyn Laccudonyn Casfrubyn bacharachyn
bathaylyn anmanineylyn hacoyn baltanarichyn
arylyn badeilyn abranocyn tarmanydyn amdalcyn
sahgragynyn adiamenyn sacstoyeyn latebayfanysyn
caybemynyn nabyalni cyzamanyn abramacyn lariatathyn
byfealyqnyn baiedalin gasoryn asaphin dariculin
marneyelin gemraorin madarilyn yebiryln arylyn farielin
nepnielin branielin asrieylin ceradadyn These holy angels
in the day of Luna thou shalt name worthily and
thou shalt profitt.

The names of angels of the day of Martis
These be the names that serveth in the day of martis

[41^v]

And they have power upon red mettall and in his
worches. Samayelyn Tartalyn dexteyl racyeylyn
farabyn cabyn asymeylyn mabareylyn tralyeyln

rulbelyn marmanyn tarfanyelyn fuheylyn ruffaraneylyn
 rabfilyn eralyn enpyn pirtophin brofilyn
 cacitilyn naffrynyn impurn raffeylyn nyrysin
 memolyn nybirin celabel tubeylyn haayn reyn
 paafiryn cethenoylyn letityelyn rorafeyl cannyel
 bastelyn costiryn monteilyn albeylyn parachbeylyn
 alyel uaceyl zalcycyl amadyeyl usaryeyel emco=
 deneyl dasfripyel unleylyn carszeneyl gromeyl
 gabrynyn narbell

The names of the angels yⁱ serveth in y^e day of Mercury

These be the names that serveth in the day of
 Mercury. Michael Zamirel beerel dufuel
 Aribiriel boel bariel meriol amiol aol semeol
 Aaon berion farionon kemerion feyn ameinyn
 zemeinyn cananyn aal merigal pegal gabal leal
 amneal farnnial gebyn caribifin ancarilyn
 metorilin nabiafilyn fisfilin barsfilin camfilin
 Aaniturla feniturla geniniturla elmia calnamia
 rabmia rasfia miaga tiogra bee ylaraorynil benenil

The names of angels in the day of Jovis

These be the names of Angells that serveth in the
 day of Jovis Sachquiel pachayel tutiel osflyel
 labiel raliel beniel tarael snyneyl ahiei yebel
 ancuyel Jauiel Juniel amyel faniel ramnel
 sanfael sacciniel galbiet lafiel maziell gunfiel
 ymrael memieil pariel panhiniel toripiel abinel
 omiel orfiel ael bearel ymel syymelyel traacyel

[42^r]

mefeniel antquiel quisiell cunnyryel rofiniel rubycyel
 Jebrayel peciel carbiell tymel affarfytiryel rartudel
 Cabrifiel beel briell cherudiel

The names of angels in the day of Veneris

These be the names of the angells that serveth in the
 day of Veneris Hasneyeyl barnayeyl uardayheil
 alzeyeil szeyyeil uachayel zesfaeil morayeil borayeil
 apheieyl arobolyn canesylyn anrylin zarialin marilin
 batoraielyn kelfeielyn azraieylin ambayerin ayayeylin
 cadneirin alserin afneirin abneyrin nonanrin eazerin
 orinyll gedulin hareryn nanylin halilin himeilin resfilin
 noraraabilin hatheylin laudulin et effilin thesfealin
 patnilin keialin lebraieil ablaieil talrailanrain
 barcalin bahoraelin

The names of angels of the day of Saturne
These be the names of angels that serveth in the
day of Saturne or Sabat. Micraton pacryton
pepilon capeiel themiton alsfiton chenyon Sandalson
panion almyon expion papon calipon horrion melifon
aurion temelion refacbilion ononiteon boxoraylon
paxilon lelalion onoxion quilon quiron vixalimon
relion cassilon titomon Murion dedion dapsion
leuainon foylylon monichion gabion paxonion xysuylion
lepiron belon memitilon Saron salion pion Macgron
acciriron felyypon ymnybron raconeal zalibron
These holy angells and blessed be they names in all thy
very workes and keepe thee with them cleane and thou
shalt profitt.

The names of howers of y^e night

Ista sunt propria noia horar~ noctis prima hora &c
These be proper names of howers of the night. The

[42^v]

first hower of the night is said zedrin. The second
biroel the third caym the fourth hacir the
fifth zaron the syxt zzya the seventh Nachlas
the eight Thasras the nynth Saphar The tenth
Halaga The eleventh galcana the xiith Salla
And these be proper names which the xii powers of
the night have. And thou shalt nempne in these
that thou doest and thou shalt proffitt.

These be the names planets and of their
angels by the Elements these be the proper
names

Ista sunt noia ptar~ 7 et angelor~ super 4 eta &c

These be the names of the 7 planets and of the
angels upon the 4 elemnts as is fyer aire earth
and water for without these and without the 7 above
we may not do anything. The first is the highest
Sabaday and Sabaday is said in the fyer campton
In the aire Srynongoa. In the water Synyn and
In the earth onion. And the names of angels of
Sabaday upon the fyer be these 3 Libiel nybiel
phynitiel. And upon the aire be these 3 Arfigyel
gael nephyl. And upon the water be these Almemel
hoquiell fulitiel. And upon the earth be these Lariel
tepyel esyel. Zedet is nempned upon the fier

Pheon upon the ayre fidon And upon the water
Calidon and upon the earth Mydon. And the names
of the angels of Zedek upon the fyer be these three
Tinsyel Necanynael fonyel. And upon the water
be these 3 Meon ykiel yryniel. and upon the earth

[43^r]

Palriel tufiel quyel. These be the names of
the third which is Madyn upon the fyer it is said
Roqnyel upon the aire pyryel upon the water
Tasfien upon the earth Ignofon And the angels
of Madim upon the fyer be these three Kasiel
Cabryel raloyl. And upon the aire be these three
pyroyinel flatoniell carbiel and upon the water
be these three Cazabriel pasaliel zebaliel
These be the names of haie~ upon the fire it is said
yeye upon the aire Don. And upon the water Agla
And upon the earth On. And the angells of haie~ upon
the fyer be these 3 dandaniel Saddaniel ellalyel
And upon the aire be these 3 Karason berriel
oliel. And upon the water be these three Muracafel
pecyrael Michael. And upon the earth be these
homycabel lucifel locariel. Noga is the 5 and
is nempned upon the fyer Dusuyon and on the aire
Clarifon and in the water Narubni and in the
earth Cabras. These be the three angells of Noga
upon the fyer Capciel debitaell deparaell. And upon
the aire Camirael Cakaziell neraziell and upon
the water Saloniell emyell expaoniell. And upon the
earth paziaell amuraell salainell These be the
names of Cocab upon the fyer it is said Piztal
and in the aire Cabran and in the water facayl
and in the earth tarzon. And the names of angells
of Cocab upon the fier be these paradiell darifiell
dameyell. And upon the ayer be these ramatiell
loriqniell bengariell. And upon the water be these

[43^v]

Rinafonel Mellyfiell Alatiell And upon the
earth these Alapion beriel rabiell These be
the names of Labona upon the fyer it is said
Claron. And upon the ayre becyla and upon the
water tasfit and upon the earth pantours. And
the names of the angells of Labona upon the fire

be these Gabriel paticael daliel and upon the
aire be these barasiel ztaziel. and upon the
water be these Caziel memyiel pazicaton and
upon the earth be these: Simyllyel Lafaqnael toniel
And name thou these abovesaid in all hit that
thou doest and evermore Consider thou the planet
with which thou wilt worche and thou shalt
proffitt.

The names of the hais in 4 tymes

Ista sunt noia caelor~ in quatuor temporibus &c
These be the names of the heavens in the 4 tymes
In the first tyme first it is nempned Hacibor
In the second rumcaqnia. In the third Mesfisnogna.
In the fourth Saaemaho. These be the
names of the heavens in the 4 tymes. And when
thou wilt worche and worke, name thou the
names of the heavens in the tyme in which thou worchest.

These be the names of y^e fire in the 4 tymes
In the first tyme the first is named quoyzil in
the second Enlubra. In the third Mezayn In the
fourth aybedyn. And these angels have might upon
the fyer and in the flame Michael rafael rasoel
acdiel roqniel myriel Indam malqniel gazriel

[44^r]

amynyel cariel yafrael And these thou shalt name
evermore when thou doest any thing in the fyer.
These be the names of the aire in the 4 tymes
in the first tyme it is said ystana in the second furayl
in the third Oadion in the fourth gulynon And the
names of the Angels that have might upon the aire be these
rafael quabriel micha[^]el ¹ cherubyn ceraphin
orychyn pantaceren micraton. Sandalfon barachiel
ragehyel tobiel And name thou them in all thinges
that thou shalt do in the aire and thou shalt proffitt
well with the helpe of God.

Ista sunt noia aquar~ et maris in quottuor temporibus &c
These be the names of the waters of the sea in the 4
tymes. In the first tyme it is nempned Angustiz
In the second Theon. in the third Maddrylk. In the

¹ Above ^ is the letter *r*.

fourth Sebillgradon. And the names of angells of the waters of the sea be these Urpeniel . Armariel yyamnel abrasos Sapiel uiotan oriel bachmyel¹ porackmiel acceriel galliel zsmayel. And name thou them upon waters and upon the sea and thou shalt p^{ro}fitt.

These be the names of the earth in the 4 tymes In the first tyme it is said ingnedon. in the second yabassa, in the third Coliel. In the fourth Aradon And the Angells of the earth be these Samael yatayel baraniel oriel arfaniel latgriel daniel affariel partriel bael byeniel. And thou shalte name these names of Angells upon the earth in these that thou hast done in it

These be the names of lownesse in the 4 tymes In the first tyme it is said Hahan in the second Cipaon. And his angell is Jacyel in the third

[44^v]

meresac and his Angell is Ababaot. In the fourth aycyhambabo and his angell is Caaniel

These be the names of the 4 parties of the world in the 4 tymes

In the first tyme the East is said Acbedan in the second Cardrenac. in the third Abryel in the fourth Acritael.

These be the names of the north party in the four tymes In the first tyme it is said Henniyna In the second tyme Abodich in the third galdidur in the fourth Rabbifor

These be the names of the west party In the first tyme Mahanahym. In the second Sugor. in the third Zarzir in the fourth Rabiur These be the names of the south party

In the first tyme Naufor. in the second Alparon in the third Machniel. in the fourth Thaumy These be the names in the 4 parties of the world In the party of the east these have might or power guabriel raphael uriel

In the party of the north these Adriel yamiel Zabdiel In the party of the west these Adriel Samael Joel And in the party of the south these Corabiel Sariel Michael And name thou them upon all things that thou

¹ Marginal note "o."

doest in the 4 partyes of the worlde and thou shalt proffitt.

The proper names of y^e planets in the 4 tymes
Ista sunt noia stellar~ qui sunt et vadunt &c
 These be the names of the seaven starres that be

[45^r]

and goeth in the 7 heavens everiche by himself Sabaday
 Zedek Madyn Hanina noga Cocab Labana And ewiche
 of these hath his owne proper name upon the fowre
 tymes of the yeere as we shall shewe in this chapter
 beneath. And Salomon said in explanation of
 this place. Wherefore everiche planet and eche
 thing beforesaid changeth his name in each tyme
 for his thing ffor heere standeth some tree and
 from thilk tree cometh to us fowre things. And of
 these fower things the first is when it burgeoneth
 the second is the flower. The third is the fruite
 the fourth is the seed when it is in it. Therefore the
 sonne is said in the first tyme hott and moist. In
 the second hott and dry In the third Colde & dry
 in the fourth Colde and moyst. These be the worchings
 of the sonne, and the propertyes of it upon all things
 for another reason the names of things abovesaid
 be changed in fower parts of the yeere, for ewiche
 tyme hath his nature and his Complexion by himself
 as we have said of water which is in the first
 tyme temperate and in the second heat and in the
 third rotton and in the fourth Congealed And so other
 things of the worlde ewiche by himself. The exam=
 ple whie Raziel put his name to eache thing. In
 everiche thing be the 4 lords that have might in eche
 thing and everiche in his tyme. And it is said that
 there be 4 elements whereof one is fyer that hath
 might in the first tyme and so other. Wherefore
 knowe thou that everiche thing changeth his name

[45^v]

As first we say a man a childe and then a yongling
 and then a middle man in the fourth tyme
 an old man. And so things changeth their names
 who will cleape them a leader and this is in a man
 And so understand thou of Mettaile and in all things

that waxeth and liveth. And Salomon said and all other that it was more inst that eache thing should have 7 names then 4 for that all they might descend of 4 bodyes, and to them is given all the might Sothely they put 4 names to everiche thing that it were more easy to worche these 4 names be assigned upon the city of David my fathers and myne which had many names. Sothly the wiseman Isaac the wiseman said that the first name was Remusale, and then Jebusale Jeroboam Jerusalem. And these names this City received for 4 Lords that were in yt And everiche putt to his proper name And for this like things of this worlde receiveth 4 names in themselves or 7 or more after that God hath ordeyned. And therfore no man marvaile of these names of things in 4 tymes. In the higher heaven that is the first from the ou/¹ party and it is the 7 from the neather in it serveth Sabaday and his angell Capciel. In the first tyme Sabaday is said Cuerues. In the second Palicos. In the third Quirtipos in the fourth Panpotes. In the sixth serveth Zedek and his angel is Satquiel and the name Jovis In the first tyme it is amonor. In

[46^r]

second Sahibor. In the third Sayin. In the fourth Eanynyel. In the 5 heaven serveth Madim and for his angell Balquiel. And the name of Martis in the first tyme is said Aaryn. In the second Daron. In the third Bearon. In the fourth Pantefos. In the fourth heaven serveth Hamina and his angell Dandaniel In the first tyme the name of Solis is said halyom in the second Adocham in the third Cantopos. In the fourth Pantasus. In the third heaven serveth Noga and his angell Adzdiel. In the first tyme the name of Veneris is said Aporodicy In the second Calizo in the third niniptz. In the fourth Pontos. In the second heave serveth Cocab and his angell Satquiel In the first tyme Mercurius is said Armis In the second Angocus. In the third Tholos. In the fourth Ancholos. In the first heaven serveth Labana and

¹ This is probably "outer."

Sepher Raziel

his angell Anael. In the first Luna is said Salmi
in the second Sarico. In the third Naspilij. In the
fourth Afriqnym. And knowe thou that thou shalt
nempne the names in their fowre tymes and thou shalt
profitt when thou shalt knowe any thing of them.

Heere beginneth the fifth booke
that treateth of Cleannesse

*Dixit Salomon revelatu~ fuit nitri de isto
libro &c* Salomon said It was shewed to me of
this booke of Raziell and many angells after that
I had the booke and of these which nourished powers

[Book 5]

[46^v]

and vertues and matter and strength of the
potestates above, and that by the manndement and
obedience of the Creato^r or maker of the worlde
And they said thus Salomon thou hast asked witt
and wisdome and fairenes and might in will com=
pleate and named full great for evermore upon
earthes.

And knowe that all kings and lesse men shall
come after thee and which should heere speake of
thee should love thee and worshippe thee and should
set price of thee and should prayse thee and
keepe thou this booke, and worche thou with it with
reverence and cleannesse. And Salomon said
to the benigne angell Natanael which hath might
in thaire and this evermore ~~was~~ was fellowshipped
to Salomon which be thilke 7 bodyes which we seene
above bright fayre cleane and cleere w^h ceaseth
never to go neither the wayes of them be void
and they fayleth never but evermore dureth going
their wayes. And it that farryeth more in going
his way fulfilleth it in 30 yeeres. And then they
appeareth such as they were before and which went
before thus they sawe. And thus it us said that
they should be how long God would. And thus
I say of an hundreth yeeres and a 1000 that they
never be changed neither in meving but we have
found them as the Prophets and other olde men
founen. And the angell Natanael said to Salomon.
The 7 bright bodyes which thou seest above

[47^r]

above be put beneath And they in going upwards
holdeth in balance or in rule the 4 elemnts beneath
And therefore the meving of them ceaseth not for such
might the Creato^r gave to them. And knoweth thou

that the matter of them is simple and pure without corruption and evermore durable. And the state of them is likenes to the Lord that formed although they obey to him in all things. And Natanael said furthermore to Salomon knowe thou that in the heavens of the 7 bright bodyes be angels without number mighty in all thing, and everiche of them hath his proper mighte and his strength and vertue. And they be unlike among themselves as men together or other beasts And everiche serveth of his office to the creator that formed them or made them. And Salomon said to Nathaniel which is the lyfe or the might or the service that these angells doth. And Nathaniel said the lyfe of them is of cleannesse of Orison and of trustines and the might of them is of suffumigii holocausti et sacrificii. And the service of the is when the Creator woll they go from place to place when any cleane man hath prayed to the Creator as it beseemeth And then they do good or evill as the creator will for in them is power science & will complete And Salomon said which be these 7 bright bodies and how be they named and of what thing serveth everiche And Nathaniel said that same that Raziel said to Adam, the higher of these that goeth slower is said Sabaday and all the realmes of his heaven be

[47^v]

full of Ice snowe and haile and wrothe rancor and Coldenes And all the angells that bene there bene clothed with darkenes full darke. And the greatness of them be full high and full long and small and upon the earthes and upon divels and upon darkness and coldeness and drinesse. And this hath power upon wyndes of this nature And they have power of doing good and evill And the angell of it is Beel crowned upon all other. In the second heaven¹ standeth Zedek and all the realmes of him.

Dixit Salomon rex filius regis David &c
Salomon the king said the sonne of David that was king of Jerusalem of Jury and Damaske of Egypt Lord of Babilony prince of science

¹ Margin note "for like."

covetouse of cleannesse ensearcher of privities
 keeper of good true men, avoider of leasing of
 poore men, of vertues desire upon l^re vertues and
 speedfulnes of words busily thinking and most
 subtilly in mynde insearching. I have enquired and
 knowe that in wordes of power vertue and effecte
 and of all humo^{rs} whole and health and there may
 be sufficient fulfilling. And he said I see that
 the most fame is of wise men and prophetts by
 words and books which they have left into testimony
 of them And I see that the sonnes of Adam and
 of Hermes and of Noe and their sonnes & many
 other prophets have left books by their death by
 which they should clarify their fame and anents men

[48^r]

glory should remayne. And I see that my father
 king David compowned or made some booke in which be
 conteyned all orisons which he might knowe and fynde
 which sothely latin men that is Romanes clipeth the
 psalter which sothe it is if prayers alone and of holt
 names of the creato^r it is names the head of Orisons.
 In the same booke king David wrote all things that
 ever he might knowe of patriarke and of old wise men
 to the praising of the creato^r And I king Salomon
 sothely long studyeng in holy words with vertues and
 miracles I founde to be while there is fulfilled in eche
 thing worching trust and will sawe in the books in which
 while I studies long found and knowe that Adam and
 Hermes and Noe and Moyses and many other most wise
 men had great privities & vertues in their bookes.

Cu~ ergo veteres et antiquos Sapientes &c

When therfore I understand old wise men to have
 made bookes how or with what wytt or with what arte
 I might knowe the sciences of all the aforesaid
 I enquired and there answered unto mean old man of
 good mynde and understanding which was cleped zebraymayl
 And I said Adam had a maker and a m^r that is to say
 o^r Lord his maker and gabriell to m^r ffurthermore
 Hermes the discreet and most wise man and Moyses
 had a master and a friend that is to witt Cretu^s Also
 Aaron sothely had a friend of which therfore is made
 resistance that a wise man may not be without a m^r

how arresteth it thou in thee that two may be wise without
one m^r But that thou be wise these I knowe to be

[48^v]

necessary to thee. A wise m^r and discrete long
and continuall study many olde bookes of great wise
men made oft and ofter over red profitt & amended
glad and continuall health of thy body long lyfe
without cares and travailes quiet. The Salomon
said to the wise man Is not this possible to be done
by a shorter way then that thou hast said above
Zebaymayl answered king by a lighter & shorter
way then this ne unknowe thou not to may be done
To whom Salomon said How therfore to whome
the wise man answered agayne saying Open thou
privily and fully the arke of the Testant no man
knowing or understanding in which all secrets or
privities and olde wisdomes and words of great
power and of vertue thou shalt fynde By which
not only thou shalt knowe things passed but
these also that be present and likewise these that
be to come. The Salomon answered agayne
saying for this that thou hast answered to me I
give thanks to that high and blessed creato^r which
reigneth after that it pleased to him all things with word
alone he formed or made. And there is not any
more noble or mightier then he without whome no
vertue or power is which giveth wisdom to wise
men, he is that is of all things the fyrste sith
he is without beginning and of all things the last
sith there is no end of him. This is of all thinges

[49^r]

maker and none ymade of whome the raigne or
raigning is and shall be and of whome all worke be
good and of whome he will over all is free sith there
is none that may againe say to him. Whereupon Salo=
mon trowing or trusting to Zebaymayl made the
arke of the testament to be brought before him. And
he sought all the bookes of Moyses and of Aaron of
Adam and of Noe and of their sonnes and of Hermes
and of other prophetts, and of others which he might finde
of the miracle of words and the vertues of them And

he sought all the old Idolls of heathen men & Images
of divers tongs having writings and all things graven
which might be founde by all the parts of the worlds
And he made them to be gathered togethers into his
pallace, and he brought forth M^{rs} of everiche one
of the 72 which should expound to him privy l^{res} or
hid Y. C. M. Hebrew Caldý Syriacke greeke
writing and that they should expound to him that
which were hidde. And when the l^{res} were expounded
he sawe the more party to accord with hit in vertues of
words.

Rex ergo Salomon fecit arca nocte quadam ape=
riri &c therfore King Salomon made the arke
some might privily to be opened that in the arke with
reasons afterward he should be learned. And
Salomon said After that the soveraigne and Almighty
Creato^r had infused that grace of his spirit in me
I opened the arke of the testament in which I found all

[49^v]

things which long and studiously before I had sought
Among which I found the booke which is cleped Raziel
which the creato^r sent to Ada^m by the angell Raziel when
upon the brinke of the flood of paradise weeping
thilke creato^r he prayed and of him forgiveness of
his sinnes he besought. And I found the booke which
the creator gave to Moyses in the hill when he
made him partner of his privities In which three
bookes that is three Orisons I found.
The first the prophets clepeth Semiforas which
the creato^r gave to Adam in Paradise
The second booke is which the creato^r gave to Adam
in paradise in the hower of necessity or need
The third is which the creato^r gave to Moyses
in the hill of Sinay after that he had ful=
filled the fasting.

And Salomon said I found in the arke a pott
full of manna, and the yard of Moyses which was
changed into a serpent and efte from a serpent
into a yard And the tables of the lawe and peeces
of the first l^{res} which Moyses for the sinnes of the
people in his wrothe he broke in the ground sothely
of the arke I found some golden tables quadrate

or fowre cornered In which were 15 precious stones
twelve tribes or lynages of Israell by similitude
likened And in everiche stone were written the
holy highe names of the creato^r of the booke
Semiforas out drawen And I found a boxe of
marble having greene colo^r as Jaspis coloured

[50^r]

And in this boxe were 7 figures, and in each figure
7 great and virtuous names of the Crea^to^r to Moyses
tolde and other 7 which the creato^r taught Adam in paradise.
And this is a secret or privy which much leaned
and covered ought worshipfully to be kept. I found also
about thextremities of arke 24 vertuous rings with
names and figures of the creato^r writt in Semiforas
with divers colo^{rs} written or figured And I myself
Salomon had one of thilk rings having mynde to the same
In which I knowe to have founden such vertue that when
I said make it to rayne and it rayned And when I said
eft as thou hast made it to rayne so make thilk rayne
to cease agayne and it ceased. And beside Jerusalem
the same realme aswell of tempests as of raines it did
or made And Salomon said I found Semiforas with which
Moyses made the plagues in Egypt, and with which he dried the
red sea, and with which also he drewe out water out of the
stone, and with which also he knewe all the cleannesse of his
people, and with which also overcame princes and kings and
mighty men, and with which whatever he would do he did
and that which he would destroy he destroyed And with which
fulfilled it at his owne will

Capitulum explanationis hujus nois Semiforas &c

The chapter of explanation of this name semiforam
And it is that that all divells and wynds and men as
well quicke as dead, and all spirits and all bodyes
dreadeth. Wherefore sothely Semiforas is said or
nempned the first secret or privy and of great old
and much yleaned and hidde and of great vertue and
power to gett what ever he would. Semiforas is a word

[50^v]

which ought not to be shewed to all men, neither by
hit (but with great necessity or anguish) ought any
man to worche. And then with dread of the creato^r

he ought cleanelly and meekely and devoutly to nempne it. Also Semiforas is roote and beginning and fundament of oryson, exemplar of good lyfe trust of mans body the oryson or prayer of a Just man thilk creator dreading. And Salomon said about Semiforas These be necessary with mekeness fasting, with oryson trust with clarity cleannesse, with patience meekenes and constancy of a man without which yow might worche nothing. And with the which whatever thou wilt thou shalt gett. When all vertues in worching by Semi= foras ought to be nethesle these 7 that is meke= ness trueth patience abstinence trust clarity mercy ought in him principally to be had or to abound.

Si ergo per Semiforas operari volumes oportet quod simus &c If therfore we will worche by Semiforas it behoveth that we be bright or cleane of body and in trust stedfast and from falsenesse and leasing fully departed. It behoveth also to dread the creator and the creatures of him among which we ought to dread most the sonne which giveth to us light and darkenes colde and hott which is cause of changing of tymes and of temperment of the aire and of herbes. We ought also to knowe the beholdings of the moone and the moneths which by hit 12 and s~, 13 by accounted as the said nyssan yar tina &c And we ought to knowe the waxing

[51^r]

and decreasing of the mone when by it all creatures as the sea flouds and welles and all the neather bodyes waxing and decreasing taken bloud in the veynes and marrowe in the head and the bones. After that the mone taketh waxing & decreasing they be nourished in thilk Also the enfusiall or melting of metalls ne doubt thou not the vertue of the mone to worche. We ought also to knowe Sabaday .i. Sa= turne by whome hunger and dearth and all anguish in londs befallerh. We ought also to knowe & dread Zedek .i. Jove by whome honor and health and righte= ousnes and all good is had. We should also knowe and dread Madim .i. Martem of whome chollers & strifes and hate and battailes and leasing and all evils cometh.

We ought also to knowe and dread Hanina .i. solem
by whome we have light and darkenes & cleerenes
and by whome tymes as evill unto good into evill be
transmuted or changed. We ought also to dreade
and know Nogam .i. Venerem by whom^e we have
meate and drinke and all necessities or things that
be needful by whome peace and love and dilection
among men is made fast and stable. We ought also
to dread Cocab .i. Mercury for he is nigher
to us then all except the mone by whome merchandise
and venditions or sellings and all seculer things
be exercised. Therfore behold y^{ow} those that be said
and most the spirits abovesaid and thus thou shalt
profitt And whatever thou shalt axe of the creator
rightfully thou shalt have it.

[51^v]

Heere beginneth the Sixth book that
treateth of the names of heavens

Dixit Salomon oñes coiter horas et malas &c

[Book 6]

Salomon said All men commonly good howers and
evill, and good dayes and evill, good signes and evil
to be they affirmeth And this with many reasons
they Confirmeth And I my self Salomon have
proved the dayes and howers of madim & Sabaday
which I found full greevous for to worche. I have
proved also the howers of zedek and Noga And I
sawe what ever I would worche of them lightly
I wrought. The howers of Cocab and Labana
otherwhile greevous otherwhile good I have proved
to be And I sawe that in the day and in the hower
co^oia nothing of my will I might fulfill. And know
thou that the spirits abovesaid anentis divers
men diversy be nempned ffor the first in Hebrew
is Sabaday in Arabicke zoal, in greeke orgrue
fenes in Latin Saturnus it is cleped or nempned
And I say therfore that the first hower of the
day of Sabaday is said Sabaday the second zedek
the third Madyn the fourth Hanina the fifth
Noga. the sixth Cocab the 7th Labana And
the howers of the might ought to be nempned to
them. And knowe thou that by the starres above
said and dayes and howers whatever thou wilte
thou shalt understande And thou shalt knowe the
hidde and privy willes of men.

Cumg per Semiforas operari voluerat &c

[52^r]

When he would worche by Semiforas first or ever
he beganne any thing it behoveth him to name the 7
names of Angells, for some angells be upon the seven
heavens, and upon the 7 planets and upon the 7 dayes
of the weeke and upon the 7 mettalls and upon the
7 colo^{rs} and upon the 7 words having power, the names
of the which be these Raphael. gabriel. Samael. Michael.
Saquiel. anael. capciel. And these be ordeyned after
that we ought to name and to enclepe them in the 7
dayes early in this maner.

Sepher Raziel

*Nota oratione~ o angeli supradicti sitis meae quoinis
quam volo quaerere auditors et nutri in oibus adintores &c*

That is to say Oh the angells abovesaid be ye the
hearers of my question or axing which I will enquire
or axe and to me in all things helpers. Thilke
sothely which we ought to name upon the 7 heavens
and upon the 7 planetts be these Capciel Saquiel
Samael. raphael anael Michael gabriel. And in all
Things in cleping these angels thou shalt profit.
When therfore there be 7 heavens that is to witt
Samaym Raaqu Saaquin Maon Mahon Zebul
Araboch And these be 4 partyes of the worlde
that is East West north and south which Angels
in everiche heaven, and in what party serveth we say

These be the angels of the first heaven

In primo caelo q vocat' Samaym in quatuor ptibus &c
In the first heaven that is cleped Samaym in the
fowre partyes of heaven serveth these
ffrom the party of the north Alael hiaeyel urallim
veallu~ baliel basy unascaiel ffrom the party of the

[52^v]

south these be Duraniel darbiel darquiel hanin
anael nahymel alschini. soquiel. zamel. hubayel bactanael
Carpa;iel. ffrom the party of the East be these
Gabriel Gabrael Odrael Modiel Raamyel Janael
ffrom the party of the west be these Abson soquiel

Angels of the Second heaven

*In secundo caelo quod vocat' Roaquya a parte septen=
rionis &c* In the second heaven that is cleped Roaquya
from the party of the north serveth these angells Tyel
Jarael yanael Nenael. Nenal quian. uetamuel ffrom
The party of the south be these Mylba nelia
balyer Calloyel cyoly batriel. ffrom the party
of the East be these Maachin another l're hath
Carmiel Carcoyel betabaat. ffrom the party of the
west is Anulus yesararye in which is written the
names of macareton & in many maners expounded

Angels of the third heaven

*In tertio caelo q vocat' Saaquin a parte Septen=
Trionis &c* In the third heaven that is cleped

Saaquin ffrom the party of the north serveth these
Poniel penael penat Raphael carmiel. Doranel.
ffrom the party of the south be these parna sadiel
lyenyel vastamel sanael samyel ffrom the party
of the east be these Satquiel quadissa taramel
taryestorat amael hufbrbia another l're hath heere
last hifaliel

Angels of the fourth heaven

*In quarto cael q dicit' Maon serviunt isti a parte
Septentrionis &c* In the 4th heaven that is said
Maon these serveth from the part of the north

[53']

Rahumiel haynynael bacyel serapiel matiel serael
In the party of the south be these saoriel mahamel
gadiel hosael vaanyel verascyer. In the party of the east
be these Capiel braliel braaliel raguel gael
Daemael calcas atragon In the party of the west
be these Lacana astagna nobquin sonatas yael yas
yael lael yyel.

Angels of the fifth heaven

In quinto caelo isti sunt q dicitur Mahon. In the
Party of the north serveth these hayel hanyel veal
quiel margabel saeprel mamyel. In the party of
the east be these Lanyfiel anther l're hath barquiel
zaquiel sanficiel zoaziel aciel farbiel uranacha
In the party of the west be these Anhael pabliel
uslael Bortaz suncacer zupa faly paly.

Angels of the Sixth heaven

*In sexto caelo q vocat' cebul dices a parte septen=
trionali &c* In the sixt heaven that is cleped Cebul
thou shalt say from the north parte est Deus fortis
et potens sine fine that is to say God is mighty
and strong without end ffrom the party of the south
thou shalt say Deus sanctus patiens et misericors
that is to say God holy patient and mercifull ffrom
the parte of the east thou shalt say Deus magne
excelse et honorate per saecula. that is to say great
god highe and worshipped by worlds ffrom the
party of the west thou shalt say Deus sapiens clare

et juste Deus tua clementia et sititate exoro q
quaestione mea et opus meu et labore meu hodie

[53^v]

complete et integer verficere digneris qui vivis
et regnas deus per o. s. s. amen that is to say
God wise cleere and righteous. God thy mekenes
and thy holynes I beseech, that question and
my worke and my travaile do daily fulfill and
hallow thou vouchsafe to ful fill that liveth and
reigneth God by all worlds of worlds so mote it
be Amen.

Angels of the seaventh heaven

*In septimo cael est Semiforas scriptu in libro
vitae &c* In the seaventh heaven Semiforas is
written in the booke of lyfe. In the name of the meke
and mercifull god of Israel and of paradice
and of heaven and of earth and of the seas and
of hills and of Creatures.

*Heere beginneth the seaventh booke
that treateth of names and of the
vertues of them*

[Book 7]

Incipiunt srae et verba et noia Semiforas &c

Heere beginneth the l^cre and words and names
of Semiforas which god the Creato^r gave to Adam
in paradise. In which be fowre letters which to the
4 parties of the worlde and to the 4 elements
and to the 4 complexions and to the 4 natures
of the beasts they be likened such they be יהוה הוהי¹
And these be letters piteously and devoutly and
meekely name thou that petition in all things
be fulfilled. Salomon said ther be to be said that
there are 7 semiforas. And the first is the

[54']

Semiforas of Adam in which be conteyned 4 chapters
The first is when Adam spake with the creator in paradise.
The second is when he spake with the angells
The third is when he spake with the divels. The 4th
is when he spake with men and with fowles & fishes and
beasts and reptiles and wilde beasts. The fifth
when he spake with seeds and herbes and trees and
all growing things. The 6 when he spake with wyndes
and with the 4 elemts. The 7th when he spake with the
sunne and the moone and the starres And by the 7 vertues
of Semiforas whatever he would do he did, and
what ever he would destroy he destroyed. And this
Semiforu Adam had when the Creato^r enspired grace
into him.

The first Semiforas

Primu~ Semiforas est quando creator Adam formavit &c

The first Semiforas is when the creator formed Adam
and putting him in paradise nempned or named

יהוה הוהי² נגנג¹ that is to say

¹ At this place are eight poorly formed Hebrew letters. Since no transliteration is given, it is impossible to determine with any certainty which letters are intended, given the similarities among the Hebrew letters ה *heh* (H), ח *chet* (Ch), and ת *tav* (T or Th), and, if badly written, between ו *vav* (V) and י *yud* (Y). My best guess is that the letters are supposed to show the *tetragrammaton* forward and backward: יהוה הוהי YHVH HVHY.

² Eight letters resembling those discussed in a previous note are written here, but crossed out.

yana. the natures and vertues of which above we have declared. If in great necessity or need thou namest this name meekely and devoutly before the creato^r grace and helpe ne doubt thou not to finde.

The Second Semiforas

Secundu~ Semiforas est quando Ada~ locutus fuit &c

The second Semiforas is when Adam spake with the Angell which brought to him these letters written the example of which is such אֲשֶׁר אֲדִידָה ² That is yeseraye. And the name thou shalt name when thou wilt speake with angells. And then thy question and thy

[54^v]

worke without doubt shall fulfill

The third Semiforas

Tertiu Semiforas est qu locutus est cu daemonibus &c

The third Semiforas is when he spake with devils and with dead men and of them counsel he enquired, and they sufficiently to him answered And all this he did with these l^res of which this is the explanation Adona Sabaoth Adonay Cados Addona Annora And these l^res thou shalt name when thou wilt gather together wyndes or divels or serpents

The fourth Semiforas

Quartu~ Semiforas est qu aialia et sps &c

The fourth Semiforas is when he bound and loosed beasts and spirits and that with these 7 names Lagume Lamizirm Lanagzlayn Lagri Lanagala Lanatozin Layfyalasyn And when thou wilt bynde or loose beasts thou shalt name the names abovesaid

The fifth Semiforas

Quintu Semiforas est qu arbores et sementa &c

The fifth semiforas is when he said or names the 7 natures with which he bound seeds and trees And these they be Lihaham Lialgana Liafar Vialurab

¹ Four letters are shown which look like variations of *gimel*, but nothing close to *yana* in Hebrew.

² Again, here are eight letters with little or no likeness to the word they represent. Some do not even resemble Hebrew letters.

Lelara Lebaron Laasasilas. And when thou wilt
bynde seeds or trees thou shalt name the names
abovesaid And thou shalt bynde

The Sixt Semiforas

Sextu Semiforas est magnae virtutis &c The sixt
Semiforas is of great vertue and power of which
These be the names ~~La~~ Letamynyn Letaglogen
Letafiryn Babaganaritin Letarimitin Letagelogin

[55^r]

Letafalazin these names thou shalt name when thou
wilt that the elemts and wyndes fulfill thy will in
all things

The Seventh Semiforas

Septinu Semiforas est magnu et virtuosu &c
The seventh Semiforas is great and vertuous for
they be names of the Creato^r which thou oughtest to name
in eache thing and in all thy workes inclepe. And they
be these Eliaon yaena Adonay cados ebreel Eloy
Ela Egiel ayom sath adon sulela Eloym deliom
yacy Elim delis yacy Zazael pabiel man myel
enola dylatan saday alina papym another l^cre saena alym
catinal uza yarast calpi calsas safna nycam Saday
aglataon sya emanuel Joth lalaph om via than piel
patriceion chepheron baryon yael And these thou shalt
name in eache tyme that thou workest upon the 4
elements and whatever thou wylte do by them it shall be
destroyed and fordone.

Heere beginneth the Semiforas that
Moyses had

Incipit Semiforas q d^eus dedit Moisi &c Heere
beginnethe semiforas that o^r Lord gave to Moyses
and it is divided into 7 Chapters of which the first is
when Moyses ascended the hill and spake with the
flambé that environed the bush and the bush seemed
to burne and nevertheles it burned not. The second
when he spake with the Creato^r in the hill. The third was
when he divided the red sea and passed through it.

[55^v]

The iiiiith when the yarde was changed into a

serpent and the serpent devoured other. The vth is in which the name that was written in the forehead of Aaron. The vith is when he made the brazen adder and the Calf in brasse with the plagues of the Egyptians he smote. The viith is when he rayned Manna in desert, and drewe out water of the stone and let out the Children of Israel from Captivity.

Cap primu~

Haec sunt noia quae dixit Moises qu est &c These be the names that Moyses when he ascended the hill and spake with the flambe Maya afi zye yaremye une bace sare binoe maa yasame roy lyly leoy yle yre cyloy zalye lee or see loace cadelay ule meha ramechi ry hy fossa tu mimi sehie nice yelo habe uele. hele ede quego ramaye habe. And when thou namest these names devoutly knowe thou thy worke without doubt to be fulfilled

Capitulu~ secundu~

Haec sunt noia quae dixit creator &c These be the names which the Creato^r said to Moyses when he ascended the hill and spake with him Abgincam loaraceram naodicras pecaccecas acaptena yeger podayg saccosicum These be the names with which the temple of Bozale was founded. These be the names of the prophets when with the Angels with which the 4 partyes of the worlde were sealed with which thou mightest do many miracles And beware least thou name them but chaste and cleane and three dayes

[56^r]

fasting, and what ever thou wilt do by them thou shalt do trustelye

Capitulu~ tertiu~

Haec sunt noia quae Moses dixit &c These be the names that Moses sayd when he divided the red sea ena elaye sayec helame maace ~~lehaha~~ lehahu. lehahu alielie q^ore azaye boene hyeha ysale mabehe arayha arameloena qleye lieneno feyane ye ye malice habona nechee hikers And when thou wilt have grace of any man, these names thou shalt name devoutly and meekely and thou shalt have

Capitulu~ Quartu~

Haec sunt noia quae dixit Moses &c These be the names
that Moses said when the ¹ yard was changed into a
serpents of the enchanter and the prophets micraton
piston yeymor higaroon ygniron tenigaron mycon
mycondasnos castas laceas astas yecon cuia tablinst
tabla nac yacuf And these foresaid names thou
shalt name when thou wilt ful fill thy question or
axing

Capitulu~ quintu~

Haec sunt noia quae scripta evant in pple Aron &c
These be the names that were written in the people
of Aron when he spake with the Creato^r Saday
haleyos loez elacy citonij hazyhaya yeynimeysey
accidasbaruc huadonenu eya hyebu ueu uaha
oyaha eye ha hia zalia haliha eyey yaia el ebehel
ua ua ua Keepe well these names abovesaid for
they be holy and vertuous, and these thou shalt name
that thou mayst get what thou askest of the Creato^r.

[56^v]

Capitulu~ Sextu~

Haec sunt noia quae scripta errant in virga Moysi &c
These be the names that were written in the yard
of Moyses when he made the brazen serpent and destroyed
the golden calf when all that dronke in
the well had a beard. yana yane sia abibhu
uanoia accenol tiogas yena eloym ya uehu
yane hayya uehu ahiacmed. And these names
Conteyned in themselves in any vertues for with
them thou shalt destroy evill and all enchantm^{ts}
And presume thou not to name them in the 7 works

Capitulu~ septimu^s

Haec sunt noia quae Moyses dixit qu pluit &c
These be the names that Moyses said when
Manna rayned in desort and drew out water
of the worke and ledde out from Captivity the
Children of Israel Saday samora ebon pheneton
eloy eneiobceel messias Jahe yana or eolyen

¹ Above the caret mark ^ is written "rod."

Sepher Raziel

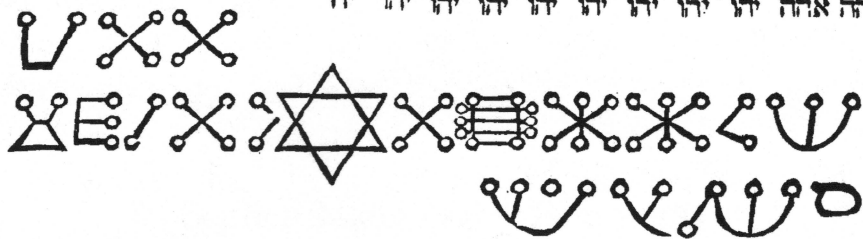
When thou wilt do any marvelles, or if thou were
in any anguish these names thou shalt name. And
in all things thou shalt feele the helpe of them
and the vertue. And when thou hast done this
rehearse thou these words by which the names afore
said be expounded Deus vive verax magne fortis
poleus pie sancte munde oi bonifate plene benedicte
due benedictu~ nomen tuu tu completer nostra compleas
questione tu factor fac nos ad fine uri operis
provenire tu largitor nobis integru complementu
uri operis elagire to sancta et misericors nobis
miserere nomen tuu yeseraye sit per secula benedictu~
Amen. That is to say God quicke very great

[57^r]

strong mighty meeke holy cleane full of all goodnes
blessed Lord be thy name thou fulfiller
fulfill our question thou maker make us to come
to thend of our worke Thou holy and mercifull
have mercy of us Thy name yeseraye be it
blessed by worlds Amen. In the name of souereigne
almighty Creato^r I beginne the explanacion of
his name yeseraye that is to say God without
beginning and without end Angilae is the name of
a prophet and properly written in a golden plate of
living men And whoever beareth it upon himself
and how long he hath it with him he shall no
dread sodeyne death.

Heere endeth the booke of Raziel
of the seaven treatises

ספר רז"ל

[illegible]

קמיע אחת שלא שלום באדם שים בלי וין כתוב בקלף של צבי כשר ותלי בצוארן שמורת הקדושים האלו .
 עתריאל וריאל חזריאל המדריאל שובריאל שובריאל עזריאל שוריאל
 מיכאל גבריאל הנריאל הגדה אל שובריאל צבחר אתניק צורטק אנקתם פסתם
 פספסים דיונסים ליש ועת כקו יתי יהוה אבנ יתן קרע שטן נגד יכש בטר צתג חקב
 טעע יגל פוק ישקוצית קבצקאל אהמנוניאל ומסתיה הירשתיאל עאנה פיה אלעה
 אבנ יתן אלעה עה עה
 עזר לפלוני בן פלוני

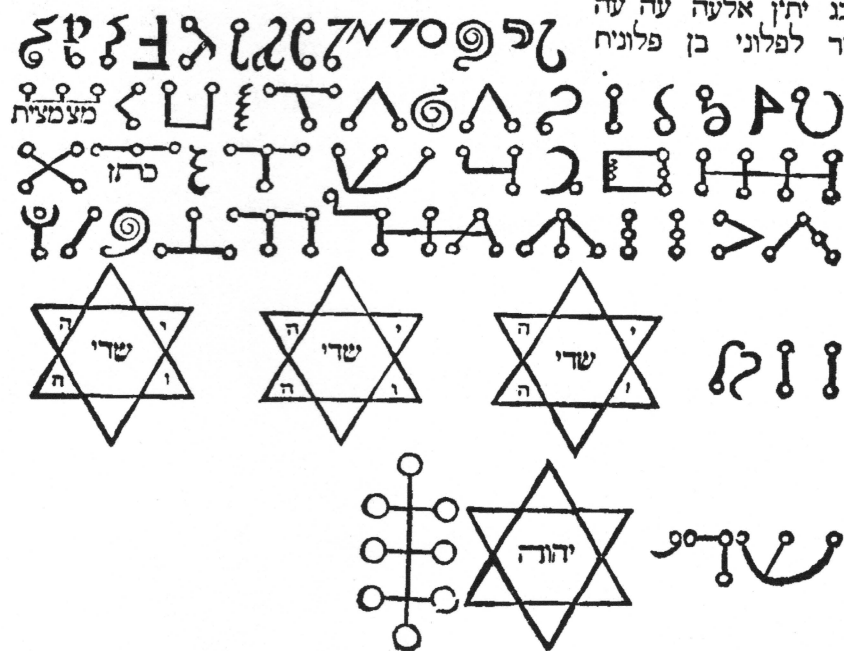


Figure 5: Page from the Hebrew edition of *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh*, 1701 showing illustrations of amulets which do not occur in the present *Sepher Raziel* text helping to support the fact that it is from a different Raziel tradition.

Sepher Raziel - Liber Salomonis

British Library Sloane MS 3826, folios 2-57

*rendered into modern English, with modernised spelling, punctuation, paragraph
breaks, word order, and with its contractions expanded*

modern English text

edited by Stephen Skinner

Modern English Text

In the course of rendering the text into modern English, the spelling has been modernized, and the punctuation clarified. Paragraph breaks, and occasionally sentence breaks, have been silently introduced to clarify the meaning, and to help make the divisions of the manuscript more clear. In a number of cases the word order has been changed to match modern understanding, without loss of meaning. Contractions both in the Latin and the English have been expanded. The Latin has not been translated, because the scribe, in each case, has provided a translation or summary immediately after each Latin passage. Excess personal pronouns such as 'he' and 'you' used in Middle English¹ have been silently removed. For example 'know you' has been rendered simply as 'know' or eliminated altogether where its repetition becomes tedious. The verb 'to be' has also been adjusted to reflect modern usage. Redundant words have been silently dropped, so for example in a phrase like 'destroyed and fordene', the second word has been dropped as 'fordene' means 'destroyed.'

Where significant words have been inserted to clarify the meaning they are enclosed in square brackets. Simple connective words (like 'and', 'or', 'because', 'then', 'there', 'that'), definite/indefinite articles ('the', 'a'), or prepositions ('on', 'by', 'in', 'over', 'above'), have been added or deleted silently where necessary to improve the meaning. If there is any uncertainty as to the meaning, then the reader can simply refer to the original text transcription printed earlier in the present book.

Some words will appear to have been arbitrarily changed. This is because a number of words in English have completely changed in their underlying meaning since the time this manuscript was composed. You should not, for example, be surprised to find 'said' in the original changed to 'called' in the modern English version, or 'proved' changed to 'tested', or 'very' changed to 'true' or 'truth', or 'quick' changed to 'living', or 'clean' changed to 'pure', or 'cleanness' changed to 'purity', or 'price' changed to 'high esteem', or 'point' changed to 'degree', or 'star' changed to 'planet' where needed, or 'will' sometimes (as the context demands) changed to 'wish' and 'full' sometimes changed to 'very.' These changes reflect the original meaning and intention of the author, and can be confirmed by consulting any Middle English dictionary.

The original names of stones and herbs have been retained with the modern word, plus alternate Latin word, following in square brackets.

¹ Middle English as defined by W. W. Skeat in his dictionary of Middle English, is the period 1150-1580, which certainly covers the presumed date of the present manuscript, 1564.

Liber Salomonis

[Praefatio - Preface]

[2r] *In nomine Dei [omni]potentis vibi et veri et aeterni &c.*

In the name of Almighty God living, true and everlasting and outside of all [creation] and who is called ¹ Adonay, Saday, Ehye Asereye,² I begin to write this book which is called *Sepher Raziel* ³ with all his appurtenances, in which there are seven Treatises complete or fulfilled, that is in 7 books.

Dixit Solomon gloria et laus et cum multo honore &c.

Solomon spoke glory and praise, with much honour, to the God of all Creatures, he that is unique, who made all things at one time. And he is the one true God and mighty, he alone is, and was, and always shall be, who has no end, nor is there any [other] like him, neither is he like [any other]. And he is unique without end, Lord alone without corruption, holy, pure, meek and great, seeing and hearing all things, wise, and in all things mighty. And I begin this book to make an exemplar, [so] that whosoever has it, [must] not blame it till he has read and heard it all, or somewhat of it, and then [he will] praise God, maker of all things.

These are Nine Precepts [to be observed in this practice].

Incipiunt praecepta. Here begin the precepts:

*Non credas esse plures nisi unum [Deum solum &] singularum &c.*⁴

1. Do not believe [God] to be many, but one, unique, alone among all things, which has none like him, and love him with awe and honour, with all trust and with good will, a stable [intent], with might, and with a pure heart.
2. Do not live without law, and you shall be loved by God your Creator, and by folks [your family].
3. Nor do to another man, if you would not [have] the same [done to you].
4. Do not be a liar to the Lord, nor to your friend, but say such truth that is to your profit, and not to do harm.

¹ 'Said' is used in the original manuscript in many places where the sense is obviously 'called', and so it has been uniformly replaced with 'called' in these places.

² A more familiar transliteration of these Hebrew godnames would read: 'Adonai Shaddai Eheieh Asher Eheieh.'

³ It later refers to itself as *Cephar Raziel*.

⁴ The Latin catchlines have sometimes been supplemented from the Latin of Sloane MS 3847.

5. Do not love associating more with unwise men than with wise men. And always love [2^v] much wisdom and good sciences, and [put] all your will and life into them.

6. Do not speak before you have thought, and consider it in your heart before you do it.

7. Do not show your private parts to a woman, nor to a child, nor to a fool, nor to a drunken woman.

8. Do not test a medicine, nor its venom, on yourself, before you test it on another.¹

9. Do not blame a book before you prophesy,² nor [confirm] a man to be wise till you have tested [him].

And if you hold these Nine Precepts to you always, you shall profit more and more.

Postquam sensus et scire et posse voluntas vera [vestra] &c.

After that, understanding, knowledge, might and truth will overcome all things with good understanding and discretion. Therefore I will expound, or make open, his book which is of great power and of great virtue. I, Solomon, supply such knowledge, and such distinction and explanation, in this book [so] that every man that reads or studies it, may know whereof he was, and from whom he came.

[*Introductio Libri* – Introduction of the Book]

Know that after I, Solomon, had 30 years [of reign] plus a half [year], [until] the fifth day of the month of Hebrews, which was the sixth day of the Sun being in the sign of Leo. In that day there was sent to me from Babylon by some Prince, that was greater and more revered then all men of that time, a book called *Cephar Raziel* ³ which contained 7 books and 7 Treatises.

Nota tempus in quo Solomon fuit quo adeptus istum libre et quomodo et a quo venit sibi

Know the time in which Solomon received the book, and how and by whom it came to him.

Iste liber est magnae virtutis et magnae secretiae

¹ This appears to be ethically the wrong way around.

² Prophesy here means have the magical powers of a prophet of old, not just being able to foretell the future.

³ *Cephar Raziel* is an alternate spelling for *Sepher Raziel*, the *Book of Raziel*. In Hebrew it is סֵפֶר רִיזְיֵאל. In the Latin of Sloane MS 3847 it is called '*Sephar Raziel*.'

This book is of great virtue and [has] great secrets. The name of the prince that sent it to me was Sameton, and the two wise men that brought it to me were called Kamazan,¹ and the other Zazont.² [3r] The name of this book as expounded in Latin is *Angelus Magnus Secreti Creatoris*, that is to say the 'Great Angel of the Secret Creator,'³ and in Hebrew *Cephar Raziel*. It is the book of Adam written in the language of Caldey [Chaldaean] and afterwards translated into Hebrew. And each man that reads it knows that in it are all the Semiforas,⁴ that is to say the great name [of god] complete with all his names, whole and even, and with his virtues and his sacraments.

[The Seven Treatises]

And I found it in 7 books, that is in 7 Treatises. And know that I found the first and the last very dark,⁵ and the five middle [Treatises] more plain, and although I found them dark I opened [understood] them as much as I could or might.

And the 7 Treatises of this book are these:

1. The first [treatise] is called *Clavis* ['Key'] for in it is explained Astronomy and the stars [planets], for without them we may do nothing [magically].
2. The second is called *Ala* ['Wing'] for in it is explained the virtues of some stones, of herbs, and of beasts.⁶
3. The third is called *Tractatus Thymiamatum* ['Treatise of Incenses'] and in it is explained [the virtues] of suffumigations,⁷ their choice,⁸ and their divisions.
4. The fourth is called the *Treatise of Times of the Year*, [*Temporum Anni*], of the day, and of the night, in it is explained when anything ought to be done by this book.

¹ 'Karmazail' in Sloane MS 3846. 'Karmazayl' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847.

² 'Zozont' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847.

³ Here we have yet another title for this manuscript: *Great Angel of the Secret Creator*.

⁴ It is not just the 72 letter name Shem ha-Mephorash. It is written Semhamforash/Semphorax in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847. The Semiforas are the formulae or lists of names given in the last Treatise of this book. In two places in the present manuscript, it is also written 'Semiforax.' 'Semiphoras' is also the name of related Solomonic manuscripts mentioned in the Introduction.

⁵ Difficult to understand.

⁶ In the present text, the supposed explanation of why the second book is divided into four 'Wings' is very stretched, artificial and unconvincing, as if the scribe was seeking to justify something he himself found inexplicable.

⁷ We have refrained from modernising 'suffumigation' throughout as it is not easily replaceable by a single word like 'perfume' or 'cense', and 'fumigate' definitely doesn't give the right meaning. It means to use perfumed smoke or incense, with the objective of ritually cleansing a thing or place, or to attract or dispel spirits therefrom.

⁸ 'Allegationibus' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847.

5. The fifth is called the *Treatise of Purity* [*Tractatus Munditia*] for in it is explained Abstinence.

6. The sixth is called *Samaim* ¹ [Heavens] for in that Treatise it names all the heavens and their angels, and their operations or workings.

7. The seventh is [called] the *Book of Virtues* [*Liber Virtutum*], for there is explained virtues and miracles, and there are told the properties of the Ark of Magic, and of its figures, and of its provisions.

And then I began to write all these Treatises in a new volume for [just] one Treatise without another serves not to [explain] the wholeness of the work. Therefore I made [3v] a whole book up of the Treatises. Therefore Salomon said to his writer Clarifaton,² that he could write it, which I know well the languages of Chaldaean, of Indy [Indian], of Hebrew and of Syrian,³ and their right explanation. Solomon secondly said that after Clarifaton had corrected it and had arranged it,⁴ it should be better, and he arranged it in the best manner that he might. And Clarifaton, who was Solomon's writer, said that this book is full of great secrets, and that it is worthy of very great honour. And that it was given to Solomon with high esteem and much love. And every Treatise of these 7 [treatises] was written by themselves. Clarifaton said that it ought to be but one book alone by itself, for none of these [Treatises], said he, would suffice without the others, therefore he said it is necessary that they are all [kept] together.

Whereupon Solomon ordained that all the said 7 Treatises were but one book, as they ought to be, and so they ought to be read and wrought. And he ordained it much better than the philosophers ordained, and he also taught how a man ought to do his work from it. And he put every Treatise by itself and every chapter by itself and arranged all till the end of the book. And he put into this book the Semiforas, that is the book of 17 virtues, how it ought to be written, with what ink, on what parchment, with what pen, with what man, in which season, on what day, in what night, and in what hour. After that Solomon expounded how the *Book of Razeelus* [Raziel] ought to be kept, purely and with great honour.

Dixit Solomon qui videt et non cognosit &c.

Solomon said, "who sees and knows not, is like he that is born blind and knows not colours, and whoever hears and understands not, is such as if he

¹ Hebrew for 'heaven.'

² The Latin version of Sloane MS 3847 has 'Clarephaton' and 'Clarefatoni.'

³ 'Siriicum' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847.

⁴ 'Dressed' meaning 'dressed up', hence 'edited.' 'Diregibat' is the Latin of Sloane MS 3847, from 'dirigo' meaning 'to arrange in order.'

were a deaf man. And who considers and knows not the consideration is such [a person] as if he were a drunkard. [4r] And whoever speaks and cannot expound the reason, is as a dumb man. And whoever reads plain books and understands them not, is as if he were a dreamer."

[*Qua charta debet Scribi...Quo Encausto...Quo Calamo*]

[*The Parchment, the Pen and the Ink*]

These proverbs Solomon wrote in this book, for Solomon wrote in this book *Cephar Raziel*,¹ what the angel said to Adam (who was the first man in this world) and after that, what Moses said to other prophets, in truth, and we believe it to be so.

Dixit Angelus Salomoni ut omnibus tua operationes &c.

The angel said to Solomon that all your workings and petitions shall be fulfilled, and all that you covet shall be made [available], and be in [your] power. It is your duty that when you have this book, or another copy of it, that you write it [out] the first time on virgin parchment, and [see] that it [the parchment] is not filthy, neither [just the skin] of a dead beast, [but] on vealime (*vitulino*),² or on parchment of silk, or on satin,³ or on clean cloth, or on parchment of a lamb, or on a virgin kid,⁴ or on a virgin faun, and this [latter] is better than any other.

And the ink with which you write [should] be [made] of clean [oak] galls, and let it be made with good whole white wine, with gum,⁵ vitriol, mastic & thyme and crocus.⁶ And the third day when it has taken residence ⁷ and is cleansed, and strained, add therein a little of *algoba* and *almea*,⁸ and add

¹ The English scribe wrote 'Cepher' or 'Cephar' for 'Sepher', the Hebrew for 'book.' The Latin of Sloane MS 3847 however clearly shows '*Librum Razielis*.'

² Vellum, or prepared sheep skin. The reference is to the use of lime to clean the flesh off the skin in order to make it into parchment.

³ In Sloane MS 3826 this is 'Samatyne' (with 'sattin' written above it), but in Sloane MS 3846 it is just written as 'satin.' This suggests, but it is not in any way conclusive, that Sloane MS 3826 is possibly the older of the two versions.

⁴ Young virgin goat.

⁵ Usually gum tragacanth.

⁶ The wine is the main liquid part of the ink. The oak galls and (small quantity of) vitriol help to remove any oiliness from the parchment at the point where the pen is writing. The gum tragacanth helps glue the ink to the parchment. The mastic, thyme and crocus are part of the magical tradition that the ink should be perfumed. The other necessary, but unmentioned, ingredient is soot which provides the black of the ink.

⁷ Settled.

⁸ A marginal note offers an alternative to Almea: Alinza.

therein good musk, more than the [other] three [perfume ingredients]. And add therein ambergris, balsamic myrrh, and *lignum aloes*.

And when the ink is made, boil it with mastic, thyme, *lignum aloes*, and with somewhat of Thymiamata,¹ and Muculazarat,² and cleanse [filter] it well with a clean thin cloth, and [let] the cloth be [folded] threefold. And afterward put therein musk, *ambram* [ambergris], *almenus* & *algana*, balsam and myrrh, all well ground & then [4v] mix all this very well with the ink. And let the ink be still for the space of 3 days well covered, in a fair place. And know that with this ink you shall write all the holy names of God, his angels, and of his saints, and all things in which his holy great name is named and written. And all things that you want will truly be fulfilled, pleasing to your wishes, and serviceable to you. And whatever you put in this ink, [make sure] it is new and bright and pure, and [written with] a good pen.

[*De modo faciendi Calamum* – of the Method of making the Reed]

And the pen that you shall write the holy names, [should] be a green reed, gathered early before the Sun arises.³ And he that shall gather it, [must] be clean & washed in running water, or in a living/flowing well, and also let him be clothed with clean clothes, and [let] the Moon be waxing, with Caput Draconis or with Jupiter, for then they will be true [usable]. And when you gather [the reed pen], you shall look toward the East, and you shall say thus "*Adonay et Saday juvate me ad complendum voluntatem meam* [ac voluntates meas cum] *arundine ista*." That is to say "[Adonai and Saday] help me to fulfill my wishes with this reed." And when this is said you shall cut one reed, or two, or as many as you wish, with one stroke.⁴ And as Moses said, the knife must be plain, sharp and whole, as if we should [need to] cut a neck with it. And take the reed with your clean hands, and make of it a gobbet [small piece]. And when you cut the pen, cut it before the Sun arises, or as it arises. With this pen and with this ink you shall write all the names of God, holy and several. And as often as you write the name of the Creator, be pure and solemn, alone, serene & in a pure place.⁵

¹ Incense, from the Greek *θυμιαματων*, *thymiamaton*. See *Revelations* 5:8 "bowls of gold full of incenses." See Appendix 1 for the modern the equivalents of the other incense ingredients.

² Not in the OED. 'Mukul' is a type of myrrh produced in Zufar. 'Muql' is a type of bdellium.

³ An (indistinct) marginal note: "it must be done in the new of the ☾ [Moon] while the ☾ [Moon] increases, when she applies [moves towards] Caput Draconis, or towards the ☿ [conjunction] with, or Δ [trine] with ♃ [Jupiter], for if so the [time] will be very good."

⁴ Seven reeds are sometimes recommended, one for each planetary ink.

⁵ 'Cleanliness' or purity is mentioned frequently in this manuscript, even to the extent of having one of the seven Treatises wholly devoted to it. Although washing and wearing clean

And you shall first, before you write, for 3 days be bathed in clean water, but rather [it is better if] you are pure for nine days [in] a house or clean place, made very clean with besoms [brooms], [5¹] and washed, watered and censed. And arrange it so that when you write, you hold your face toward the East & write from morning till midday, after that you [may] eat. And after you have eaten and drunk you shall not write anything [more]. And if you wish to write Semiforas, [taking advantage of] its powers, then the number of the [days of the] Moon, should be even.¹ And mostly do it on the day of the Moon [Monday], or in the morning, or of Jupiter [Thursday] or Venus [Friday], & [begin writing in the hour] of Saturn, and of the Sun over all.²

And Solomon said, "If you add into the ink the blood of a vowler [vulture], or of a turtur [turtle dove], or of a gander (wholly or all white), the ink shall be much the better, and [have] more virtue. Also I say that if there were *sapher* [sapphire]³ powdered, *smaragdo* [emerald],⁴ *gaynisia* & *topasia* [topaz]⁵ in it, [then] the ink shall be complete or fulfilled."

And with this ink, and with this pen, ought to be written all the names of Semiforas, and know that he that shall write this book ought to be pure & fasting, bathed and censed with precious aromatics, that is with good smelling spices. And so it shall be of great profit to you, and to him that makes it or writes it. And each man that has written this book, or has held it in his house,⁶ [shall] always hold God in his mind, and his holy Angels & [the purposes] for which he has made it. And let him keep in his mind in which time (of the 4 times of the day), he ought to [work], or at what time of the hour. And always let him keep in his mind to his 4 times, in an [appropriate] hour to which they ought to be as *Juvenies* in *Libro Prophetarum*.

clothes forms part of the requirements, it is really meant in the sense of 'moral purity.' Contrary to the popular impression that magic involves depravity, the emphasis of all serious works on magic, and all serious practitioners, is on the purification and the purity of the operator, so that they are in a sufficiently morally strong position to deal with any 'spiritual creatures', be they angels, spirits or demons.

¹ In other words, only on the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th and 14th day after New Moon.

² The last phrase is not clear, but might suggest 'during daylight hours.'

³ Symbolic of the Virgin Mary.

⁴ Symbolic of Hermes Trismegistus.

⁵ Sometimes 'topas' was also used to indicate a chrysolite, peridot or yellow sapphire.

⁶ Mediaeval Jews considered the *Sepher Raziel* so potent that the mere possession of the book in the house was believed to help prevent fires, a serious concern in the ghettos of Mediaeval Europe. However we have no certainty that the Mediaeval Hebraic *Sepher Raziel ha-Melakh* is connected in any direct way with the present text.

[*Liber Primus* - The First Book]

[*Liber Clavis*, the Book of the Key of Astronomy and of the Stars]¹

Dixit Solomon sicut si esset Castrum &c.

Solomon said that [this method is] as though there is a strong castle great, high, enhanced and well [fortified] on each side with walls surrounded, and the gates in this place are strong and stable, or firm, and with keys closed and locked. Therefore it obliges [anyone] who would open the gates of that closed castle, and wholesomely enter into it, without work or gift [bribe], and without bruising his body [in battle], to have the same [5v] keys, and none other, of this castle, of its gates and of its closings.

Thus I say that it is [necessary] for [you] to know the stars [planets], their names, their figures, their natures, and when they should be good and when they should be evil. And this I say of [both] the fixed [stars] and of the 7 erratics [the planets]. Consider [also] how the nature of the Circle of the 12 [Zodiacal] Signs [effects them].

And therefore it is the duty of each man that has this book, to hold it purely, and keep it with great reverence & with great honour. And he who has it, and can read it, let him not read it before he [has a] very pure body, and [then he should read it] with great understanding. And I make every man know that he ought not to work with this book in vain [disrespectfully], neither without understanding, nor without law or reason. And when any man does to the contrary, [it] as [if] reptiles or wild beasts do him harm.

And know though you have power, and trust to work by this book, & although you might have great belief in this, you should not work, except with great right or law [on your side], or with many [good] reasons. And understand, if on the contrary, you work otherwise by this book than you should, [it] might greatly hinder you: that is to say if you work without [good] reasons, or if you are unclean or evil in yourself.

¹ The beginning of the first book, the *Clavis*, is not marked in the English manuscript, but as this section begins the discussion of astrological matters, and first mentions keys, it is likely that this was the beginning of the first of the seven Treatises or books, which is called *Liber Clavis* on its last page. The Latin of Sloane MS 3847 marks the beginning of this chapter on the next page where [*Clavis Libri*] is marked. But 12 lines later it re-headines the page with '*De Astronomia Liber Primus*', so the Latin text's divisions are not quite as logical as they initially seem.

[*Clavis Libri*]

Clavis istius libri est cognoscere et scire loca

The key to this book is to know and examine the places of the 7 bodies above [the planets], and their natures and their sciences, and their Houses, and all their virtues, after [the manner] it appeared on the earth to me.

Formata debet esse omnis figura cum exemplo vero

Each figure ought to be formed with a true example, therefore I put the figure of the key in this book,¹ [in order] that no true man, without [good] reason, shall profit by it. And I put in the figure a key with a shaft, to [6^r] [symbolize] that there is one solemn Lord, one god, who never had, nor shall have, any even or like to him. In the quadrature [quarter part of the figure], there are four corners that signify that there are 4 Elements, and no more. And in this key is [also] one triangle, which signifies knowledge, might [power] and will, for [without] these three [things] no man may do anything in the world, nor attain to any profit.

[*Et dixit Salomon quod hastilo huinum Clavis*]

And Solomon said that the shaft of this key is as Raziel said to Adam, with the unity or one head; and the quadrate is as the 4 [types of] virtues that are [found] in [stones], herbs, words, and beasts, and they be in the likeness of [the 4] Elements which open and do everything. And in the 7 wards [zones] be 7 Angels which are mighty in the 7 Heavens, and in the 7 days of the week, as furthermore I shall teach you. And the triangle signifies man which is [divided] into body, soul and spirit: and these things abovesaid, lead to all the world, as it was compounded [generated] in highness & lowness.

Pastquam hucusque diximus oportet nos dicere &c.

After what we have said hitherto, it is the duty of us now to say, in this book, that which is said of the key of the 7 brethren [planets]. And these 7 brethren have to divide among themselves 12 realms [Signs], and in each realm are 30 cities [degrees], and in every city are 60 castles and in every castle there are 60 *Caldee*,² that is to say *feeldy* [fields?], or wild *forones* [towns?].³

And this example Solomon found, and made distinctions, and said, "there is

¹ There is no figure or key present in the manuscript. However Guillaume Postel (1510 – 1581), a French Kabbalist, designed a similar key which might have been modelled on this description.

² 'Villa campostris' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847. The meaning may be 'rooms'.

³ A metaphor for the 7 planets wandering in the 12 Zodiacal Signs, each one of which has 30 degrees, divided into 60 minutes, which are in turn divided into 60 seconds of arc.

a father and he has 7 sons [the planets], and these 7 sons are siblings, for they are [born] of the same father. And the eldest [Saturn] is the most heavy among all the others. And the middle [the Sun] is in the middle, and regulates then all. And there it is sited in the middle in relationship to them, so [that no planet] is separated from it [by more than] two [places]."¹

And the 7 brethren [planets], Solomon said, are Sabaday or Saturn; Zedek or Jupiter; [6^v] Madym or Mars; Hamyna ² or the Sun; Nogah or Venus; Cocab or Mercury; and Labana, that is to say the Moon.³ Know also the [favourable] Houses of these planets. And Solomon put names to the 12 realms, which are called Signs, [and names to] the siblings [the planets], and he begins to make distinctions [between them].

[Attribution of the 7 Planets to the 12 Zodiacal Signs]

And he [Solomon] gave to the fighter, that is to say to Mars, [the instruction] that he should rest, and that he should not fight in the realm of the Sign of Aries, and of this virtue he is in the realm of the East, he also gave him in the realm of the world the sign of Scorpio, that [there] he should fight strongly, and that he should never rest, and he is in the eighth realm from the first [i.e. Scorpio].

And afterward he gave to the fair Nogah, that is to say Venus, two realms [Signs], of which one has the half figure of Taurus, which is from the highness of his head with his horns till the navel. And [counting] as the seventh from the first, that is Libra, and after Venus is above in the North, and otherwise beneath that in the South. And so she has inherited [dominion] in two parts.

And then he gave to the painter (which is the writer) that is Mercury, two realms, of which one has two men embracing [Gemini], that is clinging together, and that other has a fair virgin winged [Virgo], and nevermore will he be divided or departed from [that] women, for those images be such, and he dislikes always to go far from the South into the North.⁴

And he gave to the Malix,⁵ that is to say the Moon, for she is always moving, [just] one realm. And for that she will not stand [still] much in her house, and

¹ Using the Earth-centric model, with the planets being in order Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, no planet is more than two positions away from the Sun.

² Hamyna or Hamina is used in Honorius' *Liber Juratus* to indicate the Sun. Hamina is used in the Latin version of *Sepher Raziel* Sloane MS 3847.

³ These names are simply the Hebrew names of the days of the week.

⁴ The path of the planet Mercury remains close to the ecliptic.

⁵ Malix = Matrix? Astrologers thought of the Moon as the womb or 'matrix' of life.

her Sign is a fish that is called Cancer, which has many feet, which signifies that she will travel much, for she alone is under the other brethren.¹

And he gave to the middle brother, which is the Lord of all [7^r] others [the Sun], and who commands all, and is more adorned and far fairer arrayed, therefore he gave to him [only] one realm very strong in heat, and his Sign is as the Lion [Leo], that signifies him as Lord over all beasts, so is he stronger and more Lordship [aristocratic] than all his brethren.

And there remained two brethren [planets] in the part of the South which [each] take two realms, one above another that he should never overcome in the Sign of the southerly realm. He is a beast with one form in his front [and one in the back, Capricorn], and the sign of that other realm is a man that holds many waters [Aquarius], and his brother [planet] is called the old Saturn.

And then take that other brother [Jupiter]. For heritage, on his right side the realm with the Sign of half a man and half a horse called Sagittarius, and on the left side [the Sign] of Pisces.

[The Nature of the 12 Zodiacal Signs]

Know the nature of the Signs. Solomon said that Aries is a sign fiery, hot & dry, choleric, and so is Leo and Sagittarius and they have strength in the East. Taurus is earthy, cold and dry, melancholic & so are Virgo and Capricorn, and they have strength in the South. Gemini is airy, hot and moist & sanguine and so is Libra & Aquarius, and they have strength in the West. And Cancer is watery, feminine, moist and phlegmatic, and so is Scorpio and Pisces, and they have strength in the North.

Iam diximus de naturis et signis et eorum complexionibus

Now we have explained about natures and Signs, and their complexions, so we now mean to explain about their natures, and of the complexions of the siblings [the planets] and what they signify.

[The Nature of the 7 Planets]

The first and highest [planet] is called the old Sabaday or Saturn, the nature of which is cold and dry, for that is [7^v] very straight and melancholic, and it signifies the father, wrath, and discord in the lands.

The second is called Zedek [Jupiter] and he is temperate for he is between the old Saturn and the hot Mars, and Jupiter is hot and moist and sanguine, in savour sweet, and it draws to good air, and it signifies good, honour and virtue.

¹ Below all the other planets in the Earth-centric model of the universe.

The third is the fighter Mars, and he is hot and dry, evil, a lover, fierce, a ravisher and a liar.

The fourth [planet] is Hamina or the Sun, middle among the others, hot and mighty and [worthy of] reverence, and all the other brethren are ashamed and regard him with awe, for he is very true and strong.

The fifth is the fair Nogah [Venus], cold and moist, glad, phlegmatic, [appearing] fat and fleshy, and well seeming in all her limbs and countenance, and she signifies good events, and she is very happy among women.

The sixth is the writer and forespeaker ¹ Cocab [Mercury], that holds himself with all & serves all, and he signifies writers, news, and voices, after which he shall be with that which everyone holds close.

The seventh brother is Labana [the Moon] and it is Malix, and she is cold and moist, and she signifies brethren and [marks out] each [lunar] month, and [conveys] the commandments of brethren to brethren, after she is parted from them.

Deinde loquamur de septem fribus quare dicuntur clavis &c.

And then we speak of the 7 brethren, why they are called the keys of the world (and this world may not be neglected), and these were formed from the 4 brethren which are called the 4 Elements, and they afterward have signification, understanding and discretion, complete power, honesty and strength, and every [one] may do in his hemisphere that [which is his] empire, as an Emperor in his empire, or as a prince [may do] in his Lordship. Also they have rulership over the 7 parts, which we call the climates. And [8^r] from these rule all beasts here formed.

And Solomon said that the prophets call these brethren the 7 living spirits, and holy and wise men said that they were 7 lamps burning, or 7 candlesticks of light & of life,² and all the prophets call them the 7 heavenly bodies which are the 7 planets, and commonly they are called the 7 planets. And the 7 brethren are kept of 4 beasts, full of eyes before and behind, which are the [four] parts of heaven: East, West, North and South. And they have rulership in the 4 parts of the world, and in 4 times, and in 4 natures, with its complexions and with all its parts, and in all its 4 Elements. And with these together is led, and moved, all things moveable by the Commandments of God, that put them in their places.

¹ Forespeaker = bewitcher or prophet. Prophet also meant having the magical powers of a prophet. Forespeaker can also mean advocate or barrister. These are all typically mercurial professions.

² Suggestive of the Jewish *menorah* or 7 branched candlestick, which used to be a symbol of Judaism, in the same way the Star of David is now.

Dixit Solomon sicut fuerunt sempus status superius.

Solomon said, "as there were always states above, without corruption, so there is now and shall be for ever more." And from this we understand that the bodies above are pure, good, and made without corruption. And that the lower bodies are unclean, evil, treated and broken, and each day they fail and are bound and corrupted. And this corruption rests not, neither is it made true of that which we understand, so that the lower bodies must not neglect the upper bodies. And all things which we see beneath have their roots and beginning from the things above: for things above are with life and without dolor, and things beneath be the contrary, and have death and dolor.

And things above are without corruption, and things beneath each day fail, are corrupted and diminished. All prophets have seen that if we lacked any one of the upper bodies (there be more than ten thousand [stars], between those that we see and those that we see not), there would be a great precipitation, destruction and confusion in land, and in sea, and in the 4 Elements [below], if [8v] any of the bodies above were broken or were evilly treated. And if any one of the 7 brethren failed, then the earth should come again to its first state, where all the Elements were confused. And if any of them [the upper bodies] had corporally received corruption, all things that receive a soul or life would be destroyed.

And know that as the 4 Elements are turned downward, so they are not turned without some reason [or motion] of the 7 [planets] above. And thus say the philosophers, that when the Sun is destroyed, so each life and each soul is destroyed. And when the Moon is destroyed the ligatures or bindings of the sea are destroyed. And know that Saturn is earthy and holds all the earth in a balance that is not moved. And Jupiter holds air [in balance], and Mars [holds] fire, and the Sun [holds] the day, and men. And Venus holds the fair parts of the world, and Mercury [holds] reason, and the Moon holds the hearts, seas, waters and their powers. And know that everyone (after it were, or shall be, in this exaltation) is regulated and bound to the Sun, [in order that] its reasons, words and speeches should be good between men.

And when Mercury is in conjunction in Virgo (in the same degree) with the Sun, [moving] direct and not retrograde, this makes things subtle and reasonable. And as often as the Sun is in Aries, so many years [of life] unlike he gives us.¹ And as often as Saturn is in Libra so many mutations

¹ This is rather stating the obvious, for the Sun passes through Aries once a year, for every year of one's life.

he gives us in lands. And as often as Jupiter is in conjunction with Saturn in an earthly Sign, so he gives us many mutations or changes. And he changes laws & seats and Lordships (of the planets) and thus, in other complexions of the planets (after their state) their relationships are called Aspects. [9^r]

*Et dixit Hermes istam rationem supra capita [animalium] &c.*¹

And Hermes said this reason: on the heads of beasts Saturn [corresponds with] the right ear, Venus the left [ear], the Sun the right eye, and the Moon the left [eye]. Mercury [has] the mouth. These 7 apertures have power over the head of man. And Solomon said that man is the measure, which is [exemplified in his] palm, [part of his] hand, in which is [reflected] all the virtues of the world and of the 7 planets, and that is only the head of a man, wherefore every man is likened to his star and to his Elements.

And Solomon said, "when I found a spirit [planet] retrograde ² or combust ³ or evilly treated, thus I say that his body will be evilly treated beneath [on Earth], in whichever [part] it was like, or [whichever part of his body] is signified [by the afflicted planet]. And he who is so wise that he knows [his natal chart], his Sign, and his planet, and his star above, and his signification, so he is [able to] do good and evil to himself & likewise to other men. And as the nativities of beasts be denied such workings, you shall do this with the help of God."

Postquam diximus de 12 Signis et Planetis &c.

And after that he said of the 12 figures and planets and their *radiis* [rays],⁴ we say that each planet that is in Ascendant, and if there is another [planet] in the same Ascendant, this is named a 'conjunction', and by how much the

¹ The text now begins to quote Hermes, as well as Solomon. The following paragraph appears as a marginal note in Sloane MS 3846: "But Hermes saith, That there are seven holes in the head of an Animall, distributed to the seven Planets, viz. the right ear to Saturne, the left to Jupiter, the right nostrill [nostril] to Mars, the left to Venus, the right eye to the Sun, the left to the Moon, and the mouth to Mercury. The severall Signes also of the Zodiack take care of their members. So Aries governs the head, and face, Taurus the neck, Gemini the armes..."

The two do not agree on all the attributions, but it is not clear which manuscript is the oldest.

² Retrograde is normally applied to a planet, not a spirit. It is said of a planet that appears to move backwards when viewed from the Earth.

³ Literally 'catches fire', said of a planet which comes too close to the Sun in the sky, thereby losing much of its virtue. This is usually defined as within 3 degrees of the Sun, but this term is sometimes extended as far as 8.5 degrees from the Sun. The only exception is the planet Mars which gains in strength by its proximity to the Sun.

⁴ In the sense that *radiis* is used by al-Kindi to remark on the effect of the rays of the planets.

latitude (or breadth) shall be reduced, by so much the conjunction is said to be stronger, and if there be more latitude [between the two planets] so the conjunction is the feebler. And so I say to you in the middle of heaven. And if the degrees of the 12 Houses which are in the stronger places of all the Houses, [that is] the first degree of the House, and each star that were less and has over himself another the like, is said that it has power and goes over another [9^v] from star to star.

[De Aspectibus]

[The Aspects]

And thus each planet that diverges from another by 60 degrees, before or after [the other planet], is in *aspectus sextilis* [Sextile aspect] that is the 'sixth aspect.' And each planet that differs 90 degrees, before or behind, is called in *aspectu quarto* [Square aspect], that is in the 'fourth aspect.' And each planet that diverges or differs by 120 degrees, before or behind, is called in *aspectu tertio* [Trine aspect], that is in the 'third aspect.' And each planet that differs by 180 degrees is in Opposition, in that it is in the contrary [opposite] place. These are the 7 aspects and no more *duo tertii*, *duo quarti* & *duo sextile* and *unus opposites*, that is to say [there are] two in the third, two in the fourth, and two in the sixth and one contrary against another.

The conjunction is 'complete' when [the planets] are within one degree [of each other]. Double conjunction [occurs] if two [planets are] good or temperate, [and this] signifies double good, but if two [planets are] evil, to the contrary, it signifies much evil. The *sextilis* [aspect] to the Ascendant, avails one good, if in *trino* [Trine aspect] and [if] two *trino* avail in the aspect the Ascendant, one good, [it is] fortunate in the Ascendant. And two *quartiles* [Square aspects] in the aspect to the Ascendant, avails one grievously or heavily (if they are evil planets) and two opposite avails one unfortunate [aspect] in the Ascendant or in the opposite [Opposition aspect].

And two *quarti* [Square aspects] avails as much as a star [planet] falling or [one that is] combust or retrograde, and this is hindered in the Ascendant [by] one fortunate [aspect], or two in the Ascendant and another of Sextile and another of Trine aspecting the Ascendant, signifies much good, and speedy travelling. Two evil [planets] in the Ascendant, or one with another in Opposition, that is in the contrary, or falling, signifies [10^r] a grievous [heavy] or long impediment. And if the [planets] are [in their] fall and hindered, it shall be worse. One fortunate in the Ascendant aspect of two *trinis* [Trine aspects] signifies much good, and how much there were no witnesses over the figure of which you enquire and search, or for which you work so much,

it shall be the better. And if three planets aspect the Ascendant with good aspects, and two with evil [aspects], the good shall overcome the evil, and so [it is true] of the other [configurations]. One unfortunate [planet] in the Ascendant aspecting two *quartis* [Square aspects] signifies much grief.

Caput Draconis is much better than Cauda [Draconis].¹ Each planet in its head [Caput] of the same degree has more Lordship [influence] in [reading] the [astrological] figure, for if it is [within] two [degrees] in latitude away from the [path] of the Sun, it profits [more] in going toward the part of the North. Each planet in the tail of the dragon [Cauda Draconis] is diminishing in its work if it goes towards the South. The Moon in Conjunction or joined with Saturn, and Mars in the Ascendant, constrains and threatens devils.² Saturn makes devils of strength & great power.

The Moon in Conjunction, or joined with Jupiter and Venus in the Ascendant, signifies great delectation and great love of every good thing. The Moon joined with Mars & Saturn in the Ascendant signifies impediment, except where the planets are receiving good [influences]. The Moon joined with the Sun in the same degree signifies great grace, and that they are good. The Moon joined in its Fall to Mercury in the Ascendant signifies the contrary. The Moon in the Ascendant by herself signifies [whatever is the nature of] the planet to which she is joined. The Moon with Caput Draconis in the Ascendant signifies good. The Moon with Cauda Draconis, or combust, or joined with [10°] a hindered [badly aspected] planet, or in an evil sitting, signifies much evil when Caput Draconis and the Moon are with Capite Saturn,³ or the Moon or Saturn were there, and their work of *celson* signifies the building of devils foul and evil.

Each planet that is with the Dracon [Caput or Cauda] of another [planet] & with both in Conjunction, or joined together, signifies a truth or true work, and more so [if its] in the Ascendant. And if Caput Draconis were with Jupiter or the Moon, and these two conjunct, or joined in the Ascendant, it signifies much good and an increase of good and honour. And if it were in Cauda [Draconis] not only when there were two Cauda Draconis (that is of the Moon and of another [planet]) and they will be very evil when the Moon is [conjunct] with them. When Caput Draconis and the Moon are with Caput Draconis and Mars and the Moon, and Mars is in the same degree, it signifies

¹ Caput and Cauda Draconis are the Head and Tail of the Moon, poetic terms for the Moon's turning points as it travels North and South of the Equator. The Indian equivalents are Rahu and Ketu.

² Possibly a useful astrological configuration for the timing of evocations.

³ Head of Saturn, an astrological Part.

strength and might. And if Cauda with Cauda, and the Moon with Mars, together it is very grievous [heavy] and evil, after everyone is evil, so is the place or aspecting of one to another.

Caput Draconis and the Moon in Capite Aries (the Moon & the Sun in Zamin) signifies great might and great honour, and to the contrary, if it is in Libra beneath with Cauda Draconis. Caput Draconis with Capite Venus signifies much love, and Cauda Draconis [signifies] the contrary. Caput Draconis, that is to say Mercury with Caput Draconis and the Moon, signifies a work of reason, and of voice, and many sounds, and in Cauda the Moon with Mercury & Saturn, it signifies the observing of many experiences.

The Moon in Capite *sui* Draconis signifies [good], and if there were Jupiter or Venus [in conjunction], it shall do the work of Jupiter or of Venus, and it shall profit in all good work as these be good [aspects]. The Moon, if it is in Cauda Draconis, and Mars [11r] and Saturn with it, or that they are aspected to it with an evil aspecting, it signifies evil, as we have said of Saturn and Mars. And we have said that Saturn nourishes devils, and Mars draws and threshes and figures them.¹ And Saturn gathers together many devils. Venus and Saturn together gather devils and winds from beneath.²

A good planet in the Ascendant, and the Moon joined [in Conjunction] with a good planet, signifies much good. And the beginning in all in which were *deus quartae*, that is with the Lord of the fourth House; and if the fourth House is well aspected and good, every one of the things shall be good. And when the Lord of the fourth House is evil, and evil entreated, it signifies annoyance and evil. The Sign of the Ascendant signifies the body of the Lord of the Ascendant of the planet that is in the Ascendant; and that which aspects it signifies his spirit; and the Lord of the hour signifies his soul and his will; and this you must understand in [all] other *domes* [Houses]. The body, soul and the spirit, these three make up the body of a man, safe and whole.

[The Houses]

Dixit [Salomon et] Hermes, Saturnus exaltatur in Libra &c.

Hermes said, "Saturn is enhanced in Libra, and Jupiter in Cancer, and Mars in Capricorn, and the Sun in Aries. And Venus [is enhanced] in Pisces, and Mercury in Virgo, and the Moon in Taurus. And Saturn gladdens or is happy in the twelfth House, and Mars in the sixth, and the Sun in the ninth, and

¹ Maybe, Mars either punishes them, or it shapes their manifested form.

² There is an interesting association of demons with evil winds from the Underworld, possibly derived from the word '*spiritus*', which is the Latin for 'air' or 'breath'.

Venus in the fifth, and Mercury in the Ascendant (the first House), and the Moon in the third House."

The Ascendant has 12 virtues, and each planet that is in it rules each place of the circle [horoscope]. The tenth [11^v] House has 11 virtues. The 11th House has 10 virtues. The seventh [House] has nine [virtues], the fourth [House] has eight virtues, the fifth House has 7 virtues, the ninth House has 6 [virtues]. The third [House] has 5 [virtues]. The second [House] has 4 [virtues]. The eighth [House] has three [virtues], the 12th [House] has two [virtues], and the sixth House has one virtue.

And for always consider in all things, what you should do with the planets, how they are in the 12 Houses, and you shall profit if you choose [the best astrological configuration of planets in Houses]. And Solomon said, "to each man that works by this book, it is well that he know all these things, for reasons which here I will not expound to you, that is you [should] know in which time of the year you were born, [which] of the 4 times [seasons]¹ of the year. And [born] in which month of the Moon."²

And begin [counting the months] from the Luration of the month of Mercury (wherever the Moon *prima* is). And [about] all Secrets and private matters ask Saturn with all seriousness; and [about] honour and substance ask Jupiter. And for all [matters] of strife and battle and speed, ask Mars. And for all [matters] of purity & Lordship ask the Sun. And for all [matters] of fairness and delectation, or loves and fatness, ask Venus. And for all reasons, understandings & subtleties [ask] Mercury.

And of these 7 [planets] you shall always ask counsel from [the nature of the positions] where you find them in their Houses and Signs. And they shall show you, so consider them in all good and evil [configurations]. Now we have finished here, with the help of God, the Treatise that is called *Liber Clavis*, which is the 'Book of the Key.'

Here ends the First Book and here begins the Second [Book].

¹ Throughout the manuscript, 'times' has been changed to 'seasons', where that is its actual meaning.

² This is the lunar month of the year (as in the Jewish calendar) beginning circa March, rather than the standard Western solar calendar month, beginning in January.

[*Liber Secundus* - The Second Book]

[*Ala*, the Virtues of some Stones, Herbs, Beasts and Words]

[12^r] *Dixit Solomon sicut alae avium sunt membra &c.*

Solomon said, "as the wings of the fowls or birds are the limbs that lead the birds to the place where they desire to be, so by the virtues of stones & of herbs and of beasts, that live in flying, in swimming, in going [upon the face of the earth], and in creeping, you might attain to that which you desire if you choose their [correct] nature."

The properties and virtues. And therefore we call this book *Ala*, that is 'Wings', for without wings neither birds nor fishes might move themselves, and so as wings bear bodies to highness upwards and to the foundations downwards, and to longitude and latitude, that is to length and breadth, so by the virtue of stones and of herbs, with grace, and with the great power of Semiforas [they will carry us].¹ Know that [through them] you might attain that which you covet, such as to heal and to make sick, or to stand, or to go.

Dixit Solomon sicut Lapides sunt mundiores &c.

Solomon said, "stones are purer, clearer and fairer than gold, and in the 7 virtues of this world which are in stones, herbs, words and beasts, so as I said in the beginning of this book *Cephar Raziel*, that it is crowned with 7 stones of great power, that he put in this book."

The first [stone] is Rubinus Carbunclo [red carbuncle], the second Smaragdus [emerald], the third Saphirus [sapphire], the fourth Berillus [beryl], the fifth Topasius [topaz], the sixth Faguncia [hyacinth], the seventh Adamas [diamond], and [about] the virtues of [all of] these stones Raziel has spoken. And he said that they are crowned by 7 angels, which have power over the 7 heavens, and over the 7 days of the week. And Raziel said, "each man that has this book, has in this book all the virtues of this world." And the first virtue of this book, called the *Four Wings*, is the [12^v] virtue of stones, wherefore know that by stones alone you may do wonderful things, if you know well (as you should do) all the other [magical] Images [to be engraved upon them], and you keep [store] them purely and reverently.

¹ This is a rather strained and overly long rationalisation as to why this treatise is called the four 'Wings.'

De Prima Ala – the First Wing

[Stones]

Et dixit Solomon scias quod in prima Ala sunt &c.

And Solomon said that in the first *Ala*, or 'Wing', there are 24 precious stones of great power, corresponding to and signifying the 24 hours of the day and night.

[1.] And Solomon began & said, "I chose for the first stone Carbunculu[m] Rubinus [red carbuncle] because it is brighter, and clearer, and fairer, and [held in] high esteem above all other stones. And I will describe its ¹ colour, its power, its virtue, and of its seal, and of its figure that might be [engraved] in it. And thus I shall explain for all other stones, each stone signifying durability, or [long] lastingness without end." The colour of Rubinus is as the colour of a sparkling fire, and its power is that it shines by night, as a star or as a flame of sparkling fire. And the virtue of it is that it makes good colour for men that bear [wear] it reverently, and it increases his goods of this world among other men, and the Image which you ought to put in it ought to be a *draco*, which is a Dragon well [engraved] with reverence.

2. The second stone is Topazins [*Topazius/Thopasius* – ancient topaz],² of which the colour is citrine, as of gold. Its power is that if it is put in a cauldron with fervent, hot, or boiling water, it holds the water so that it may not boil,³ which is [because of its] great power for making cold, and its [other] virtue is that it makes a man chaste that carries it with him, and it gives benevolence (or willingness) of great Lords, and its figure is a falcon. [13^r]

3. The third stone is Smaragdu[m] [*Smaragdum* – emerald] and this stone is green and fair above all greenness, and it is not heavy as the others are, and its power is to keep the light, and it heals the face, and it does many wonderful things. And its virtue is to increase riches, and whoever wears it [mounted] in gold prophesies things to come. And the sign [image] of it is a Scarabeus [beetle] that is a manner of filth.⁴

4. And the fourth stone is Faguncia [*Hiacynthum* – hyacinth], the colour of which is red, as the grains [pips?] of an apple. Of these [stones] there are [some] well coloured ones, and some of a lesser [colour], and some in the

¹ The text refers, in each case, to the stone as 'he' or 'his.' We have changed this to 'it' and 'its.'

² For clarification, the Latin term in each case is taken from the (sometimes faulty) Latin of Sloane MS 3847 without correction, and placed in square brackets.

³ The stone that causes water not to boil is *hephaestites*, which is what Albertus Magnus called *topasion*. This is not the modern topaz, nor the stone mentioned by Pliny.

⁴ The scarabeus, or dung beetle, was the insect associated with the ancient Egyptian god Kephra.

middle. Its power is that bearers of it will not be infected with an alien illness, its virtue is that it gives health and honour, and keeps the man that wears it whole in ways and in journeys, and its figure is a Lion well figured.

5. The fifth stone is a Crysopazine [*Chrisopazium* - chrysoprase], of which the colour is green, and it is as though it had golden drops [in it], and its power is to protect a man from the podagrie,¹ and its virtue is that it makes [its wearer] prophesy things to come (if it is [held] in a hand that is pure and chaste), and its figure is the Image of an ass.

6. The sixth stone is Saphirus [*Saphyrus* - sapphire], the colour of which [ranges between] very leady [grey] and fair (as the colour of a pure heaven). Its power is that it heals all infirmities that affect men [especially] the inflammation and illness of the eye. And it cleans them much. And if in this stone be engraved the head of a man with a beard, it will deliver a man from prison, and from all pressure and oppression, and this stone accords with the great power of Lords and of kings. If this stone be kept purely, reverently & chastely, & if it be a good [quality] oriental [sapphire], a man might [with it] attain to great honour and to the profit that he searches [for] and covets. And some men put therein the sign of a ram, Aries. [13^v]

7. The seventh stone is Berillus [*Berillus/Beryllus* - beryl], the colour of which is of a [blue] eye, or of sea water, and some of them are round, and some have five corners. The stone ought to be clear within, and pure. And its power is to warm the closed hand of him that bears it. And if it be set in gold it gives great friendship between two men, if you touch them with it. And its figure is Rana, that is a [genus of] frog, and it has great power to make concord and love.

8. The eighth stone is Onyx [*Onix/Onyx*], this stone is very black and its power is to give him that bears it many dreadful dreams and dread, and he that sees himself in it has power over all devils, in constraining them and in calling [them], and gathering them together in *speculo tabilio*,² conjuring as it requires, and its figure is the head of a camel, or two heads between two ears, that are called Mirti.

9. The ninth stone is called sardius [*Sardus/Sardius* - carnelian], the colour of which is red and fair, and its power is to make other stones fairer, its virtue is to give good colour to him that bears it. And if it is set in gold, and if there is engraved in it Aquila, the Eagle, it gives great honour.

10. The tenth stone is Crysolitus [*Chrisolitium* - chrysolite, 'Greek topaz'], that

¹ Gout, inflammation of the joints, especially in the toes.

² Used in evocation, so that the spirits evoked can be seen in a skrying speculum or crystal.

is of golden colour and sparkling as fire. Its power is to gather together devils and winds, and its virtue is to protect the place where it is [kept] from evil spirits, and from dead men, so they do not do there any evil, and [to ensure] that devils obey [the wearer]. And its figure is a vulture, which is a vowler.

11. The 11th stone is called Eliotropia [*Elitropia* – heliotrope/marygold]. And it is a stone of great power, of which the colour is green, fair, shining and clear with drops like blood, red within. This stone is called the stone of wise men, of prophets [14^r] and of philosophers. And this is honored for two things: for the colour is like Smaragdo [emerald] in greenness, and in redness [like] to ruby. The high esteem of this stone's virtues and properties overcomes the esteem of other [stones]. The power of this stone is that if it be put in any broad vessel full of water, [open] to the Sun, it dissolves that water into vapor. And it makes [the vapour] to be raised upward, till in the form of rain it is converted [to cloud and falls] downwards. Its virtue [works] for him who bears it in his mouth, or in his closed hand, so that it may not be seen by any man. With this stone a man may have power over all devils; and make any incantation or enchantment that he wishes. And in this stone ought to be engraved a Vespertino, thus he says. But I believe [the image should instead] be a Vespertilio, that is a bat or a dormouse.¹

12. The 12th stone is Crystal [*Christallus* - crystal], of which the colour is of water congealed with cold [i.e. ice]. Its power is that it withdraws fire from [the body]. And its virtue is that it increases or nourishes [man with] much good milk. And you may create in it whatever virtue you wish, [according to] the [planetary] hour in which you work. And afterwards the [effects will correspond to] the Image that you have made (although they are many) and that are seen easily.² Know that it has many virtues, and its figure is a griffin, which is [both] a fowl and a beast, with 4 feet and 2 wings, and it is a great beast.

13. The 13th stone is Cornelia [*Cornelina* - carnelian], and it is likened to water in which blood [is mixed], as a lotion,³ or washing of blood. And its power is to staunch the blood of the nostrils. And if there is engraved in it a man well clothed, holding a staff or a rod in his hand, it will give honour to him that bears it.

14. The 14th stone is Jaspis [*Jaspis* - jasper], is thick, dark, green and red. And there are some green and clear [varieties], and they are better than the others,

¹ Vespertilio is Latin for 'bat.'

² Its magical action is determined by the Image engraved in it.

³ The old meaning of 'lotion' was the water in which something has been washed, rather than a cream.

and there are some [varieties which are] red, thick and dropped [marked with spots]. And its power is that whoever bears it is not [14^v] hurt by venom, neither from a serpent, nor a spider,¹ nor a scorpion. And it protects a man from fever, if it is engraved [with the Sign of] Leo, Aries or Sagittarius.

15. The 15th stone is Iris [*Yris/Iris*], and its [appearance] is likened to crystal or to jelly, and it has corners; and if any man put it in a house [open] to the beams of the Sun, so the beams pass through it, and by it the colours appear of the rainbow. And for this reason it is called Iris, which is the [goddess of the] rainbow. And this is its strength, for it has 6 corners, and the virtue of it is to keep the place where it is [kept], with health & honesty, and there ought to be engraved in it a man armed, that bears a bow and an arrow.

16. The 16th stone is Coral [*Corallus*], and it grows on rocks of the sea, as *arbor inverse*, that is as a tree overturned, and it has branches as a tree does, [some] more than two or three palms [in width] and no more. And when it is drawn up [from the sea] it is green and tender, and after it is dried in the air, it is made red & hard as another [stone]. And otherwise it is found white. And know that the red is the better [variety]. And where this stone is, it preserves the house and the vineyard, or the place, from tempest, pestilence and torment. And it keeps the place healthy, and it protects a man from evil doers and evil deeds, and from evil enchantments. And its Image is a man holding a sword in his hand.

17. The 17th stone is Presius or Prassius [*Prasius*], and it is a green colour, thick and fair, and it helps [against] evil deeds, and gives them grace to their ministry. And Taurus [15^r] ought to be engraved in it, that is [the image of] a Bull.

18. The 18th stone is called Catel [*Catel*],² and it is of great power both in deeds and in virtues, the colour of which is like Beryl, but it is darker than that, although it has within it very clear and pure beams and streaks. And some [varieties] are found with 6 corners and others with 5. And its power is to call in devils, and to speak with them. And its virtue is that, if you make in you blank of water [?], and bring the root of *apii*,³ and the stone is hung on the neck with the skin of an ass, censed with mastic, *thure* [frankincense] and crocus, and you call [invoke] whatever dead man you wish ([one] that is known to you), he shall soon appear to you. And he shall be with you at the same time [immediately]. And engrave in it [the image of] a Lapwing and

¹ Sloane MS 3846 has the obsolete word 'Attercoppe' for 'spider.'

² 'Catel' is Middle English for chattel, property or wealth.

³ *Apium* or parsley/celeriac.

[add] Dragantium, which is a middle herb, that is called Columbrina.¹

19. The 19th stone is Celonites [*Colonites*]. And it is green as a herb, and its power is that it waxes & decreases as the Moon does, and its power is also to make peace and concord between two, if in it is engraved the sign of a swallow.

20. The 20th stone is Calcedonius [*Calcidonium* - chalcedony], and it is white [in colour] between crystal and beryl, or as *gifu*s thick and bright, its power is to overcome pleas.² Its virtue is to preserve a man whole [healthy] in an alien land, and its Image is a man that holds his right hand straight out to heaven.

21. The 21st stone is Ceramius [*Ceramius*]. This stone is of many colours after many elements and many lands, otherwise it is white, or brown, green & red. And elsewhere it is likened to iron, and somewhere to copper and sulphur, and it has, as it were, discs [15^v] painted and little drops, and its power is to protect a place from thunder and lightning, and its virtue is to protect [the wearer] from all enemies. And write in it, or one part or side, 'Raphael Michael & Gabriel', and on the other side 'Panuteseron, Micrason, Saidalson', and if you bear it with you, and have it in your power, you shall overcome all your enemies and adversaries.

22. The 22nd stone is Metestus [*Amestitum* - amethyst], and it has the colour of wine, a white cloth, or of a rose or violet, and this has strength to chase away fiends, and its virtue is to protect [you] from drunkenness; and its figure is Ursus, that is a bear.

23. The 23rd stone is Magentis or magnes [*Magnes* - magnetite], and it is of great weight and like to *ferro brumeto* [magnetic iron?]. Its power is that it draws [out] dead iron, [such] as nails, knives and swords, and its virtue is that, with it, you may be in whatever house you wish, and do whatever you wish with men, and with the things of the house, censing the house with it, and with these men make enchantments. Engrave on it a man armed, when the Moon is in Aries, or Scorpio is conjunct with Mars, and the Sun aspected to them with a trine aspect. Whatever manner of Images you engrave on this stone, such enchantments you may achieve, carry it with you, and you shall profit.

24. The 24th stone is Adamas [*Adamas* - diamond], as it is of middling colour, and the better [varieties] have somewhat of greenness. And its power is that, with it, other stones can be engraved. And therefore we have put it out [explained it] more strangely & more openly, and its power or virtue is to

¹ Columbrina gum. Or maybe Adderwort, the fern *Ophioglossum vulgatum*.

² Depositions or pleas made in court. In other words, to help win a court case, by overturning your opponent's depositions.

keep the limbs of a man safe and whole. And this stone is more [beneficial], and is [16^r] more highly esteemed for enchantments & invocations of winds, spirits and devils. And with this you may send whatever fantasy you wish [to another person], and its figure has 5 corners, and each man who bears it within a precious stone, [must] be pure when he does anything with it. And avoid or keep yourself from uncleanness, and keep them [the stones] reverently in a *quiche*, or in a pure place. And Raziel said, "in the hour in which you [invoke] Semiforas carry the two stones abovesaid, and you shall profit."

[*De Secundus Ala – the Second Wing*]

[*De Herbis - Herbs*]

Dixit Solomon sicut avis corpus volare non potest &c.

Solomon said, "as the body of a fowl will not fly without wings, nor go where it comes, so [without] the science of the one thing [outlined] above we might not fulfill that which we desire. And for this [to work] we supply the second key in this book, and we say the second book makes the second opening, for the world is closed [sealed] with 4 Elements, so this book is closed with 4 sciences and 4 virtues."

As we have explained stones, now we will explain herbs. Know that in herbs are the most virtues. And some of the natural [things] of this world are those that live and have reason, and some that fly, and some which swim, and [some] which go [upon the earth], and [some] which creep.

And know that of trees and herbs some live much [flourish], and some live mildly, and some live little, and that is the same as for the beasts. And know also that among herbs there are some with which you may do good or evil, so as to heal & to make sick, and so understand what shall be said furthermore hereafter. And Adam said, "that by a tree came wretchedness into the world, that is, by the tree [16^v] I sinned."¹ And Raziel said, "a herb shall be your Life." And Solomon said, "[there is] a tree that shall wax (or grow) of which the leaves shall not fall, and it shall be a medicine for [all] men." The second 'Wing' [section] is about the correspondences of the 24 hours and the 24 herbs.

1. *Prima herba est Acil almalie &c.* The first herb is *Acil* or *Almabum* and it is called *Corona Regia*, and in Latin *Rosmarinus* [*Rosmarina* - rosemary]. This herb has a middle [sized] trunk and good odour and little leaves, and its power is to warm and comfort the brain. And if a house is censed with it, it chases away devils, the same as does Peony.

2. The second herb is *Artemisia* [*Arthemisia*], and this is mother and first [among all] other [herbs], but for it is called *Corona Regis*, that is to say the crown of a king.² We [would] have put it first [in this list], because in all things you do, you should use it. And the leaf is mid-green over one side, and white on the other side. And it grows mildly [slowly]. And with this you shall stop

¹ The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The extraordinary doctrine that original sin, derived from that Tree, should weigh upon the lives of all of Adam's descendants.

² A scribal error applying 'Corona Regis' to both rosemary and artemisia.

winds, and [invoke] all the spirits that you wish, and you shall profit.

3. The third herb is Cannabis [*Cannabis* - hemp] and it is long in the stem, and clothes are made of it. The virtue of the juice, is to anoint yourself with it (and with the juice of Artemisia) and set yourself before a mirror of steel and call spirits, and you shall see them, and you shall have the ability to bind and loose [set free] devils, and other things.¹

4. The fourth herb is called Feniculus [*Feniculus* - fennel], and it has small leaves and a long staff, and it is a holy herb and reverential, and it is medicine for the eyes, and it [17^r] gives good light, and it chases away spirits and the evil eye from the place where it is, and the root of it chases away evil things and helps in sight.

5. The fifth herb is Cardamommus [*Cardomonium* - cardamom], and it is hot and of good complexion, and it is of middle highness, and it gives happiness to him that uses it, and it gathers together spirits. Eat this when you call [spirits] or make an invocation, and if you wish, make smoke of it.²

6. The sixth herb is Anisus [*Anisum* - aniseed], and it has [the quality] of chastity. Join it to camphor, and you shall see that spirits shall dread you, and it is a pure herb, and it makes one to see secret and private things, and the smoke of it ascends much.

7. The seventh herb is Coriandrus [*Coriandrum* - coriander], and this holds the spirit of a man much with the other, and it makes a man also full asleep, and this gathers together many spirits, wherefore always they stand with it. So it is said that, if with this, *apis* [honey?] and *jusquianus*,³ you make fumigations, compounded with much *lazaia* *cicuta*,⁴ soon it will gather together spirits, and therefore it is called the '*herba spirituum*' [herb of spirits].

8. The eighth herb is called Petroselinum [*Perroselinum* - parsley] which has a great power to chase away the spirits of roches [roaches?], and its virtue is to break [up] the stone in the bladder of any that use it.⁵

9. The ninth herb is Ipericon or Hipericon [*Hipericon* - hypericon], and it is a middle [height] herb, [which when] pierced the juice of it seems [like] blood. This [herb] is of great power, for with the juice of it (and with crocus,

¹ This is a standard magical experiment to anoint yourself with these juices, and using a steel skrying mirror, to see the spirits that you invoke.

² Burn it on hot coals.

³ *Jusquianus* = *Hyoscamus niger* or henbane.

⁴ *Cicuta* = water hemlock.

⁵ To break up calculus or stones in the kidneys or urinary tract.

artemisia, and with the smoke of *radicis valerianae* [root of valerian]), it [can be used] to write upon [a talisman] what friendship you wish of a Prince of the spirits of air, and [other] devils, and soon it shall be that [you will get that which] you covet. And so [likewise] over [other] spirits and winds.

10. The tenth herb is Apium [*Apium* – celeriac, parsley]. This has great power over [17v] winds and devils and fantasies [phantoms], and it is [both] the shadow and the exhalation of the cloud Alcisse.¹ For in it are winds and devils, and this alone [calls the spirits] Albafortum, Vazebelil and Mortagon, and they [these spirits] are very contrary, for one is kept [lives] with the heavenly angels, and another is kept [lives] with the devils in Apium.

And this [herb] cures the kidney-stone, but a woman [pregnant] with child [should not] use it as it annoys [irritates] the child, and it gathers together devils when suffumigations are made [of it, together] with *insqrmo* [*jusquianus*]² and artemisia. Apium is censed for 7 nights with *fagax almeit* gathered purely, and the root of it kept and dried, and then tempered with *aqua lapides* [water stones?]: cense [your surroundings] when you wish, and you shall see fantasies and devils of many types.

11. The 11th is Coriandrus [*Coriandrum* – coriander] of the second kind, which makes one sleep. And if you make suffumigations of it, with crocus and *insqrmo* [*jusquianus*],² *apia* and *papavere nigro* [black poppy], ground together evenly, and tempered with *succo*, *cicutae*³ and with musk, and then cense the place where you hide treasure, when the Moon is in conjunction with the Sun in *angulo terra* [earth angle], that is to say in the corners of the earth, [it will protect the place]. And know that such a [hidden] treasure shall never be found [by other people]. And anyone who would take it away shall be made fools [of]. And if in the hour of depositing the gold or silver, or the [precious] stones, or images, you suffume [them] with *thure* [frankincense], musk,⁴ *succo* [succory], *lignum aloes*, and *costus*,⁵ then always devils [shall] keep that place [safe from robbers] and evil winds. It [the protection] will never be dissolved or destroyed again, without separation, or [without using] an image made [for that purpose] at the [precise] degree of the planets.⁶

¹ 'Umbro et nebula' in the Latin of Sloane MS 3847 meaning 'shade and fog.'

² *Hyoscamus niger* or black henbane.

³ 'Cicuta' is water hemlock or cowbane. *Succo* is succory. This is a very psychotropic mixture.

⁴ The sexual secretion of the preputial gland of the male musk deer, highly prized in perfumery.

⁵ The root of *Costus Arabicus* or the fragrant root of *Saussurea lappa*, from Kashmir.

⁶ This is a procedure for thwarting other magicians who might wish to use magic to find and free treasures from their spirit guardians. For more detail about these techniques see David Rankine [ed.] *The Book of Treasure Spirits: a grimoire of magical conjurations to reveal treasure... by invoking spirits, fallen angels, demons and fairies*, Avalonia, Hay, 2009.

12. The 12th herb is Satureia [savory], and this is of great virtue and good odour, and whoever bears it with him, [18^r] with *auricula muris* [mouse-ear hawkweed], in the day of Venus [Friday], will get grace of goods, and it takes away from that place [all evil] winds and evil fantasies.

13. The 13th herb is called *sca* [*Centaurea* – century herb].¹ And this is middle in length and has little leaves. This ought to be held reverently in holy places and in churches, for it protects these places from evil things. And with this [herb] prophets made dead men speak, that had been dead by many days or few.

In places where there is any evil, it has no power if he that bears [this herb] calls them not. And it gives him rule over whatever things they wish, and [if you] put this herb upon the place where devils are confined, it constrains them and binds them, least that they might have power to move themselves.

And Solomon said, “I found in the *Book of Hermitis* ² that whoever takes water in the fourth hour of the night [and puts it] upon the tomb of a dead man, with whatever spirits he wishes to speak, he should cast the water upon the tomb with this herb hyssop.” And the water is censed with *costo*, *succo*, *musco* [costus, succum, musk], and [he should] say “surgo, surgo, surgo.” That is to say “rise, rise, rise and come and speak to me”, and do this for three nights, and in the third night he [the spirit] shall come to you, and he shall speak with you of whatever things you wish [to know].

14. The 14th herb is psyllium [*Serpillum* – fleabane/wild thyme], which is of great virtue for it signifies or makes open in the air what the other powers do not. It makes [you able to] see spirits in the clouds of the heavens, [especially if put] with *scicorda*,³ *garmone* and the ‘tree which swims’ (which is called *arbor cancri* and *malie*), with *rore madii*, and with the tree that signifies [shines] by night, and is called *herba lucens*, that is a shining herb. [18^v] If you make with these an ointment with the eye of a whelp and with the fat of a hart [deer], you may go surely wherever you wish [and be able to see] at any hour.

15. The 15th herb Majorana [*Majorana* – marjoram], keeps a house and protects [it] from evil infirmities, and Hermes said that *gentiana* [gentian], *valerina* [valerian] and *maiorana* [marjoram] have power over great princes, and over great men.

¹ The Latin version clearly shows *Centaurea*.

² For *Liber Hermetis* see Sloane MS 3847, fol. 84-100: Hermes Trismegistus, *Liber Magicus* or *Liber Hermetis tractans de 15 stellis 15 lapidibus 15 herba et 15 harum rerum figuris*. The same manuscript contains a Latin copy of *Sepher Raziel*, which was obviously influenced by it.

³ In Sloane MS 3846 *scicorda* is ‘*cicorea*’ or chicory. The rest of the ingredients in this sentence are more difficult to identify.

16. The 16th herb is Dragantia [*Dragantia*].¹ This is of great power, and the highness of the root of it, [especially if] joined with the tongue of a *colubri* [snake] which is left alive. And [if] the herbs are gathered when the Sun is in the first degree of Cancer, and the Moon aspects Mercury, or is in Conjunction with him [Mercury], then whosoever touches [it to] closures or locks, they shall soon be opened for him.

And Hermes said that it gathers together winds & spirits, [especially] if mandragora [mandrake] is [mixed] with it and *capillus* [hair of] *dezoara*.

17. The 17th herb is Nepita [*Nepta*], and if this [is put] with maiorana [marjoram] and *athanasia*, *trifolio*, *salvia* [sage], *peruca*, *edera* and *artemisia* with *ysope* [hyssop],² being joined & gathered together, [during] the crescent Moon, on the day of Jupiter [Thursday], that is to say in the waning of the Moon, in the day of Jupiter, and in the following day, when the Sun waxes from the first degree of Aries till the first [degree] of Cancer, [then it is most effective]. And when you shall gather it, be pure and washed, reverential, and stand [facing] towards the East, know that the house and place is improved where these nine herbs are twined together. And put them upon the gate of your house, and you shall profit always. And the nine herbs joined are like to rubies. [19^r]

18. The 18th herb is Linum [*Lumen*], suffumigations of the seed of this with *semine psyilly*, *azartachona*, *radix violae* and *apii* [parsley/celeriac] makes [you] see in the air things to come, and [able] to make many prophesies.

19. The 19th herb is Salvia [*Salvia* – sage].³ This is of great virtue and the long leaf of it is as *ligna agni* and sharp. This breaks or protects evil shades & evil spirits from the place where it is [kept], and it is good for a man to bear it with him, for it keeps a man whole, but a sick man [should] not hold it.

20. The 20th herb is Sauina [*Samna*], and some men say that it is a tree of love and affection, whoever can choose it. And if this [is mixed] with somewhat of crocus and *lingua colubri* [snake tongue], and set in a ring of gold, with somewhat of *provinca* [periwinkle] [you may] surely go before a king, or before whomsoever you wish [and convince them]. And [it is] most [potent] if you put with it the stone that is called Topazius [topaz], or if you wish beryllium [beryl]. And if this ring is made when the Moon is in Conjunction with Jupiter in a trine [aspect] to the Sun, it would be much better. And [this herb] is called *annulus solis*, which is the 'ring of the Sun', and it is [good] for

¹ Columbrina. Or maybe Adderwort, the fern *Ophioglossum vulgatum*.

² In Sloane MS 3846: "*maiorana & Athanasia & trifolio & Saluia, peruca, edera & arthemisia* with *ysopo*." So we have replaced 'hermita' with 'peruca.'

³ *Salvia divinorum* has many interesting psychotropic properties.

health against infirmities, and it is [good] for grace, virtue, and for honour.

21. The 21st [herb is] *Nasturtium* [*Nasturtium* – nasturtium]. This keeps the limbs whole, and if there are with it *origan*,¹ *pulegium*,² and *arzolla*,³ which are carried together by you, and you eat them, you shall be whole within and without. And so if you anoint yourself with them and are censed with *marrubio albo* [white horehound] or *reubarbaro* [rhubarb] and *herba thuris* [*boswellia*], it shall protect you from many infirmities.

22. The 22nd is an herb that is called *Cannaferula* [*Cana ferula*].⁴ [19^v] This is a very dreadful, grievous [heavy] and strong [herb] in work. And if you take the juice of it, and the juice of *cicuta* [water hemlock], *jusquianus* [*hyoscamus niger* or henbane], *sapss barbata* [?], *sandalum rubrum* [red sandalwood], *papavero nigrum* [black poppy], and with this confection make smoke, [you may obtain] whatever you wish, and you shall see devils and things, and strange figures. And if *Apinum* is [mixed] with this, know that from each place so censed devils should flee, and if you wish you may destroy evil spirits [with it]. This suffumigation is very evil and dreadful, for the smoke of it overcomes maliciously, and [it] works most evilly and most strongly if the Moon is [in Conjunction] with Saturn, or in Opposition with Mars.

23. The 23rd herb is *Calamintum* [*Calonietum* – calamint/pennyroyal],² and it is likened to mint, and it is of great virtue in good suffumigations, and if there is [mixed] with it *menta* [mint], *palma ppi* [?] and *pioma* [?], observe that it takes away evil spirits from a place. And always it is [useful] against fantasies [phantoms].

24. The 24th herb is *Cicoria* [*Cichorea* – chicory]. This is very good in all exorcisms ⁵ [especially] if it is joined with *eringo* [*eryngium*], *pentaphylon* [Cinquefoil/snake grass], *hypericon*, *urtica* [stinging nettle] and *verbena*, and all together worn around the neck, and under the feet, and [they] are then [called] the herb of 7 knots and of 7 leaves.

Martagon and *lilium domesticus* [domestic lily] and *sylvestre* (both tame and wild), and the herb *angelica*: whoever has these under his feet or sits above [them] and puts the other herbs on his neck, and has 7 rings of 7 metals on his fingers, knows that he shall have power in [20^r] binding and in losing [spirits], and in enchanting, and to do good and evil in each place that he

¹ Any plant of the genus *Origanum*, especially *majoram* or *oregano*.

² The herb pennyroyal, *Menta pulegium*.

³ Lady's thistle or *Silybum marianum*.

⁴ This might possibly be *asafoetida*, as in *Ferula asafoetida*.

⁵ 'Exorcism' can mean the evocation of spirits as well as their banishment.

wishes, [by] making suffumigations of these 9 things: *thure albo* [white frankincense], *thymiamata*, *mastiche* [mastic], *musco* [musk], *lignum aloes* [aloes wood], cassia, cinnamon, and with them suffume with the things abovesaid in the surrounding area, and say these names: "Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, Cherubim, Seraphim, Arelim, Pantaseron, Micraton, Sandaton, *complete meaum petitionem et meam voluntatem*." That is to say, "fulfill my petition and my wish," and they shall fulfill it for you. These are the names of the nine angels abovesaid. And know them and keep them, and some men say that they are the 9 orders of Angels.¹

Here ends the 24 reasons concerning the virtues of herbs of the second 'Wing', and these experiments were newly written in [*Sepher*] *Raziel*, although Solomon put in two of these, [and] three of [them were] the sayings of Hermes.

And the herbs are put in the *Book of Raziel* so that with them we may be absolved, and work with herbs, as with Semiforas, with fasting and with words for good and for evil [purposes]. And let no man join himself to Semiforas till he knows himself first, and second. And thus we shall explain all things that shall be necessary, with the help of God.

¹ In fact Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael are archangels, but Cherubim, Seraphim, and Arelim are orders of angels. Pantaseron has been found as far afield as a Norwegian runic Christian lead tablet from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but is probably from a Greek Christian source. Micraton is an angel of Saturn. 'Sandaton' is likely to be Sandalphon. See also "Panthaseron, Mucraton, and Sandalon" at folio 27r.

De Tertia Ala – [the Third Wing]

[Beasts, Birds and Fish]

Dixit Solomon super alam tertiam sicut corpus solis &c.

Solomon said about the third 'Wing' [section]: "as the body of the Sun is more visible and rules all other [heavenly] bodies, and is brighter, fairer and purer, so the virtues of sensible beasts which fly and send out [20^v] voices [are above other beasts]." And so beasts of the third 'Wing' have power over the [other] two 'Wings' on stones and herbs. And he [Solomon] therefore put in the [Sepher] *Raziel*, 24 beasts with [details of] their names, virtues and states. And the figures are 24 distinct or departed [divided] in two. And I put over each Element 6 beasts, everyone distinct from the other, and everyone of its [own] kind. And as fire is the high Lord, and distinct from the [other] 4 Elements, so the least of them all is purest among them.

[Spirit 'Beasts' of the Elements]

[1.] Therefore I begin to speak [first] of the beasts [i.e. spirits] of fire, for as every one of the 4 Elements has its beast beneath [on Earth], so fire has its [beast] above, pure and without corruption. And the fire that is above, is without corruption. And this fire is not expounded [made] of wax, trees, nor of oil, nor of [any] other composition, but it is simple. And the things that live in it are the angels, pure, clear and bright, like to the beams of the Sun or of a star, and like to the flame of fire, or a spark of fire, or the colour of quicksilver, or of pure gold. And this likeness is natural in the beasts of fire. And their figures seem like the lightening in likeness and in deed, for as an *Evrizon*¹ is a messenger of the Creator, so they are ready to do [both] good and evil, and they seem like things & prophets that [rule] over the 4 Elements, are heavens with their beasts, of which we shall say furthermore.

[2.] The second spirit is pure, but darker than the other, and it is likened to the wind, & its figure takes after some of the 4 [21^r] Elements to which it is joined. And it forms itself in this manner either by water, by cloud, by moistness, by thickness, or by some darkness, or it receives some body from smoke of some kind, by falling on it either by *voire* [?] or by the shape of an 'elemented' beast, and from these it takes form, after the nature above stated.

3. The third beast of which wise men tell is [one] that always associates with a spirit, and mostly the corpulent and thick [part] of that spirit. And therefore its figure is found by night in places of dread, and it is heard and seen, and

¹ 'Orison' in Sloane MS 3846.

that often time, and the colour of it is like to a spirit [?], after the nature of the hour before [when] it was made, otherwise [it is] in the likeness [shape] of the body from which it went out of, therefore some men see the souls of bodies in churchyards. And of these souls, said the wise Hermes, and the prophet, the soul that goes out and has power is not, nor was, but a man or a woman. And over such manner of souls speak wise men, and [they] call them 'spiritual' for [their] goodness, [and] 'heavenly' from [their] simpleness.

4. The fourth beast is the wind: each day we hear but we see not, although we and others hear it not. And the work of the wind is seen by the eye, after the direction from which it comes. And it has such nature that if it is oriental [East] or meridional [South] it is hot. And if he is occidental [West] or septentrional [North] it is cold. This [wind] we see has great power, for it bears clouds and waters, and tempests and gales, and it stirs and troubles the seas and breaks trees, and so this is called 'living air', as the fire above is called living fire, and simple. And therefore the Elements above are of double or twofold [nature], that is to say fixed and [21^v] moveable: moveable it is because it dwells in the corners of the earth, although it descends from above, for the 7 [planets] above bind and lose it, for from them it descends, and from them it was formed, & this is a great figure in the sea, in air, and in land, and it comes temperately.

5. The fifth beast, or vision, is a fantasy [phantom], which is a shade like many colours or manners, it comes compounded of many [colours] together. And this form is made in desert places, or in corrupt air, or otherwise it descends from the hills, in the likeness of knights, and they are called *exercitus antiquus*, which is an 'old army.' And otherwise [they come] in the likeness of fair women and well clothed, or in *medes* [?], and some say that they are [just] faces. And otherwise it befalls a man by corruption, or malice of complexion, of the humors that are in a man. And they [these beasts] are called *Demoniaci* for they ascend to the head and fall upon the eye, and by such corruption [of our senses] make [us] to see many fantasies [phantoms].

6. The sixth beast is called a Demon, and it descends from highness to lowness, and it was formed of pure matter without corruption wherefore it fails [dies] not, but shall always endure, although it has taken thickness in the darkness of the lowness of the earth. And it is pure in matter and strong in body. And of this [beast] says the wise man, it knows all things that are, and by him Philosophers have [been given] answers, and wise men [also have answers to] all things [about] which they wish to know the truth, and it dwells always in darkness and in obscurity, and it is never separated from them. [22^r] And of this says the prophet, that it has the power of taking [any]

form and shape, of which it wishes in the earth, after the will of the Creator.

And he tells of a bright angel, mighty and fair as the form of the Sun, and of the Moon, and of the stars [planets], or of an angel, a cloud, a fowl, a fish, a man, a beast, a reptile (that is a creeping beast), or [he may take] any other form which he wishes. And all these abovesaid [beasts] are impalpable and unhappy to be touched. That is that they neither may be taken with hand nor touched with the foot, for they are spirits or winds. And know that everyone of the abovesaid, when it falls into the Elements, it takes a body from them, although their life is of fire. And their dwelling is in fire, and their deeds fury, for they are fury.

And Raziel explained about these 6 [beasts], their invocation, opening, constraining, binding and losing [them] to do good and evil with them. All is made with pureness, and therefore whoever would call them, or have their service, [must] with orison and fasting, and censing, and with the praising of God, must do as hereafter you shall hear furthermore.

[Birds]

Animalia aeris tertiae alae vocantur aves &c.

Beasts of the air of the third 'Wing' are called birds for they fly, and they have four movements: one is called running, another flying, and swimming, and going [upon the earth], and creeping. Now we will tell of flying [animals] and begin with the first [bird].

1. Aquila that is an Eagle [*Aquila*], for that is a fowl flying high, and he has rulership over all other birds, and it is true in its deeds, and in rulership and in honour among all other birds. The [22v] Eagle has such a nature that he takes his sons, birds, when they are little and ascends into a place when the Sun is high, and then he arranges their faces to the Sun. And if they observe strongly the Sun, he deems them to be his children and good, and if they do not observe the Sun, he deems them not his children but thinks them evil, and lets them fall and die. And one of his feathers interlaces another feather; and he can see far: at one league (or rule) [he can see even] a little beast, but a great beast truly he can see at 9 leagues, or at a day's journey [distant]. His eye with his heart has great virtue, and [gives] grace [fit] for a king, or a lord, as that [his heart] gives to him grace in his [own] realm.

2. The second fowl is a Vulture [*Vultur*], which is a *vouter*, this has great virtue in all his limbs, his head helps against all dreams and against magic craft, and his feet help against evil deeds. And if a house is censed with 9 of his feathers it drives out from it evil spirits. His gall helps the eye better than

anything in the world. His eye put in the skin of a serpent, and his tongue wrapped in a cloth of red silk with them, helps in clauses, which you wish to overcome, [so as] to win the love of another Lord.¹ His wings put upon a bed protect a sleeping man from all evil winds, grievances, and evil spirits, nor may they enter into the house, nor may any other fantasies have power [there].

3. The third fowl is *falco*, which is a Falcon, of whom the virtue is that of great lords, he is given much high esteem. [23^r] They [the virtues] are of the highness of his right wing [which] overcomes [legal] pleas, both ravishing and in taking away alien things, and the highness of his left wing [which] takes away evil fevers. But we ought not to slay game birds, nor hounds, as they have many virtues in themselves. And know how many limbs are in every beast, fowl, fish or reptile, as so many distinct virtues has every limb.

4. The fourth fowl is a Turtur [turtledove] simple and good. Nevertheless if you take the male and the female together and burn them in a new pot with crocus, *vervinca* [vervain?], *cichoria* [chicory] gathered together or joined together: if you cast the powder of these upon them [the lovers?] soon they shall be joined together, and it attracts great love to them that bear the powder with them.

5. The fifth fowl is called Upupa, that is a Lapwing, having a crest of feathers on its head like a cock, and it has many virtues. This [bird] has one bone in its wings, and [the bone] gathers together devils and spirits of air. The property of it is that whoever takes its heart and wraps it in honey, and as soon as he swallows it and drinks the milk of a white cow, of a red, or of a black [cow], it makes a man to [prophecy] things to come. And it has another virtue, [for anyone] who cuts its neck when the cock crows [at sunrise], neither may be heard, not the voice of a hound, nor where wheat is sown. And when he cuts its neck he [can] call in devils, and then he [should] carry with him half the blood, and of that other half anoint himself, and [so] always shall go with [23^v] him one of the devils that he called, and it shall tell to him many things.

6. The sixth [bird] is called Ciconia [stork], that is a haysoucke [a hedge-sparrow]² that flees on the day of the Moon [Monday] and takes the blood of the hart [deer] and anoints himself with it. And [you should] eat the flesh with *somine faeminli* and with cardamoms and *garyophillo* [cloves], and when [you] eat it [you should] suffume yourself with good odours, and with *thure* [frankincense], mastic, cinnamon, and other such. [If you do this then you] shall have the grace of enchanting whatever [you] wish, and of conjuring and

¹ Possibly refers to the clauses of an indenture that bound someone to their current Lord.

² It is hard to see how this bird can be both a stork and a hedge-sparrow.

constraining the spirits of air, and other spirits that go over rivers and wells.

These 6 birds abovesaid are exemplary over all others. And when you wish to know the virtue of any fowl, [find them] after the precepts of this book Raziel from the *Book of Visions of Angels*, from the beginning of times, in the 12 months, as hereafter you shall see furthermore.

[Fish]

Dicamus de piscibus maris et alys &c.

The explanation of fish of the sea and others, more than 6 of them, [some] that are more [potent], and [some that are in] the middle, so I will show you their virtues.

1. The first fish is Balena [whale] the fat of which [if it is] made [into] a liquid and kept for the space of 7 years & more (for how much it is aged, so [by this] much it is better) heals a man from gout, and [from an] evil mind, if he anoint himself with it. And if he anoints his head with its blood, it helps him greatly and makes him strong and more whole, and it makes [24^r] him to see true visions. Its sperm is called *ambra* [ambergris]. If they cense tombs with this, it gathers together [the spirits]. The spirits above [are moved] downwards, and for each petition & asking, it makes them give an answer.

And Hermes said, "there is no [better] suffumigation to call in spirits than *ambra* [ambergris], *lignum aloes* [aloes wood], *costus*, *muscus* [musk], crocus, and the blood of a lapwing with thymiamata, for these are meat, drink and happiness for the spirits of air, and these things gather them together strongly and rapidly." And wise men say that the sperm, blood and heart of a Balene [whale] are excellent for commanding the winds & spirits.

2. The second fish is called a Dolphin. And he is the king of the sea, for as the eagle has might among birds, and the Lion among beasts, so in this manner has the dolphin in the sea. And whoever anoints with their blood, the clothes of two friends, [so] it makes them enemies, or [if he] casts the dry blood upon them. And whoever bears its heart [with him] makes himself hardy.

3. The third fish is Cancer [the crab] which has 6 feet. Take and burn [cook] him in a *panno livido* [bruising pan?], and with the powder rub [polish] your teeth softly so that it heals them, and makes them fair [whitens them], and cures the canker in the mouth. And if you cast it upon the fire with somewhat of *stercoris humani combusti* [human dung], it gathers together spirits.

4. The fourth [fish] is a bright horn [*cornu lucidi*] between paleness and whiteness [in colour], that is to say *piscis candis* or sepia. This fish has many properties and well knows enchantments; and prophets made with this [fish]

their enchantments and transfigurations. So that when they wanted that a house should seem to be full of water, or that a river should [seem to] enter by the gate, they took [24^v] this fish, and with thymiamata and *lignum aloes*, and roses, they censed the house, and [then] they cast therein sea water, and then it seemed that the house was filled with water. And if they cast blood therein [instead of sea water] then it seemed all [filled with] blood; and so if they cast snow therein it seemed [full] of snow. And when they wished that the earth should seem to quake, then they cast therein the earth from a plough, and so they made there many likenesses of all things, according to the thing which they put in the incense. And know that [this effect] dwells as much and as long as the suffumigations last in the house. And with the gall of this fish they also made many enchantments, for this beast is unlike any other.

5. The fifth fish is a Murena [eel] and he is lentiguus [spotted]. The virtue of it is that enchanter's bear the powder of the fish with them to make enchantments.

6. The sixth fish is *Rana viridis* [green frog]. And if you take it or touch it upon whatever woman you wish, and name the names of the Angels of the month in which you were born, which are furthermore [listed] within *Libro Visionnis*,¹ you may do both good and evil with any woman you wish. And know that of these fish, and of all others, you must know the virtues of the months, and understand similarly in all other things.

[Beasts]

Primum Animal est leo ista bestia est valde fortis

[1.] The first beast is a Lion. This beast is very strong in the breast and in the cheeks [buttocks]. And he is of strong countenance, [25^r] and looking so that when other beasts see him they are all moved with dread, and his skin is of great virtue, [such] that if they be put with other skins, they destroys them and make them bare. And whoever takes [the lion's] biting tooth that is called *dens caninus* [canine tooth] and mounts it in gold, it is good to take away and to take alien things, and the same goes for the wolf's tooth. And if you make a purse of the heart of a Lion, full of blood, *musco* [musk], *almea* and *lignum aloes*, thymiamata, and it is gathered & put upon whom you wish, and you make it hot, know that in that hour he shall much love you, and shall do your bidding.

And if you call [spirits] with the blood of a goat, the prince of devils shall be ready soon to do your commandment, and so [even] more the king [of devils], or he from whom you do [it], and the same I say for great women.

¹ John Morigny's *Liber Visionem*.

2. The second beast is the Elephant, that is an Oliphant, and he is very great, and when he has risen hard he lays, & when he falls hard he rises, because he has no well disposed knees, and the bone of his teeth is called Ebur, that is Ivory. And if it [ivory] is put in electuaries, it comforts the feebleness of the heart as much as margarita and more.¹ And his blood with his liver comforts much fasting.

3. The third beast is Cerbus [*Cervus* – stag], that is a hart, which lives long, for he remains as the Moon, or as an eagle, [and he] who makes fumigations of the horns, chases away serpents, and by itself it chases away devils.

4. The fourth beast is Catus, that is a cat, and he sees better by the night than by the day, and whoever takes from him, and from a hedgehog, and from a dormouse, and makes an Alcosol and Alcosolizat,² or anoints his eye, so he sees well by night and by day. And if you put [25^v] therein the eye of an ass, you may see where the spirits and devils of the air go.

5. The fifth beast is Mustela, that is a weasel, which brings forth her issue at her month, after the sayings of the poets, but not of the philosophers, this helps much when he is brent [burnt], and his skin is said to cause love between the two.

6. The sixth beast is the Talpa, that is a mole, and it dwells under the earth and is likened to a mouse. With this beast you may make to come tempests, pestilence, hail and lightning & cornflations [conflagrations?], and [he will cause] many evil things if you put him bare or naked upon the earth, dead and overturned, and with this beast you may make discord and concord between whoever you wish, for he is a cursed beast, he heals a man of the fisture ³ when it is burnt, or powdered, and cast in it.

And when you wish to know the virtues of other beasts, do as it is instructed in *Libro Visionnis*,⁴ and ask this [question] of the Lord of the vision that appears to you,⁵ what you ask and want to know, for [the qualities of] beasts which you wish [to know]. This beast [the mole] sees not, nor has an eye. And know that the vision of *moneths* [?] is over all things that you ask or wish to know. And God shall be with you, if [it is] for a right [cause that] you ask.

And know that here is fulfilled the third 'Wing.' And now we begin the fourth 'Wing' which is complete or fulfilled about all the Elements.

¹ An electuary is a herb, or other medicinal substance, mixed with honey, to make it more palatable.

² Methods of preparing herbs with alcohol. Alcosol is a colloidal solution in alcohol.

³ A non-healing tubular boil.

⁴ John of Morigny, *Liber Visionem* used as a technique for obtaining knowledge.

⁵ The angel or spirit guide that will appear to you in your vision.

[De Quartus Ala – the Fourth Wing]

[De Verbis – Words]

Dixit Solomon sicut corpus vivum &c.

Solomon said, “as a living body moderate or great [in size] is [26^r] not moved with[out] its feet, neither is any fowl [moved with] less than two wings, nor is the world governed with less than four elements, [so this book] may not have less than 4 ‘Wings’, which are said to be 4 virtues.” Therefore Raziel said that whoever shall be filled with this book shall be as [great as] one of the prophets, he shall understand all the virtues of things and their powers, and if he possess it and work on it, he shall be as an angel. And therefore he [Raziel] put in this book 22 elements of great virtue, that is the 22 [Hebrew] letters (or figures), which the sons of Adam may not neglect.

1. The first [letter] is Aleph א that is A. This letter is three cornered and it signifies life, power and highness, and the principal or beginning of all things. This puts all things in their figures and in their principles.
2. The second is called Beth ב that is B, and it is very good in things which we desire in battle, and in play, and it always signifies goodness and profit.
3. The third is called Gimel ג that is G, and it signifies evil and grief and impediment in things.
4. The fourth is called Daleth ד that is D. This signifies the perturbation and death of some man and harm to him.
5. The fifth is called He ה that is H, and it signifies high esteem, honour and gladness & it is very good in all things.
6. The sixth is called Vau ו that is V, and it signifies death, pain and work.
7. The seventh is called Zain ז that is Z, and it signifies money and riches.
8. The eighth is called Heth ח [that is Ch], and it signifies long life and health.
- [26^v] 9. The ninth is called Teth ט that is T, and it signifies wrath, anger and grief.
10. The tenth is Iod י that is I, and it signifies faith, good life, and gladness, and all good beginnings.
11. The 11th is called Caph כ [that is K], and it signifies true gladness, and work without profit.
12. The 12th is called Lamed ל [that is L], and it signifies gladness, honour and profit.

13. The 13th is called Mem מ that is M, and it signifies grief, and otherwise dolor.

14. The 14th is called Nun נ that is N. It signifies the restoration of a friend, and a visitation by him, and profit.

15. The 15th is called Samech ס [that is S].

16. The 16th is called Ain ע [that is O]. It signifies the [menstrual?] occasion, or the evil of a woman.

17. The 17th is called Pe פ¹ [that is P]. It signifies health.

18. The 18th [17th] is called Phe פ² that is ff, and it signifies that blood is shed of good men and high [men].

19. The 19th [18th] is [called] Zade צ [that is Tz]. It signifies health.

20. The 20th [19th] is called Coph ק [that is Q]. It signifies hidden life.

21. The 21st [20th] is called Res[h] ר that is R+. And it signifies a man that has fallen and is risen.

[The 21st is called Shin ש that is Sh.]

22. The 22nd is called Thau ת that is T. It signifies grief and diminution.

[Iam diximus de quatuor Alia super]

Now we have explained about the four 'Wings', and about the 22 letters [with which] the Table of the Laws was written.³ And know that there are no more [Hebrew letters], but only the 22 letters, which are the root of Semiforas, for with them it is formed. And [it] is caused and is made [with them], but without them it may not be [made].⁴

[27r] And some men said that Cammalie found them. But it is not true, for the angel Raziel gave them, written, to Adam in the book that is called *Liber Ignis*,⁵ and with them all the book of Semiforas was written. And each man that reads this book, knows that the Creator said to Raziel [that these letters are] to be [used in writing] the names of Semiforas, wherefore if you transpose these 22 letters (or figures) as it seems [best], you shall attain the great name of your Creator, and with it you might do what you wish,

¹ The hard *peh*, or *peh dagesh*, with a dot in the middle of the letter.

² Two forms of *peh* are given, but no *shin*.

³ The assumption is that Moses' Tablets of the Law were written in Hebrew on Mt Sinai.

⁴ The suggestion is that the Semiforas must be written in Hebrew.

⁵ *Book of Fire*.

always with pureness and with the help of the Creator.¹

Now we have fulfilled this book of the 'Wing' like to the angels that are Panthaseron, Mucraton, and Sandalon,² for every one of these has 4 wings by commandment of the benign angel which the Creator sent to me, [in order] that this book is better arranged and well arranged.

Here ends the Second Book & [here] begins the Third Book of Thymiamata.

¹ A description that neatly sums up the aim and rationale behind the Kabbalah.

² See "Pantaseron, Micraton, Sandaton" at folio 20r.

[*Liber Tertius* – The Third Book]

[*Tractatus Thymiamatus* of Suffumigations]

Dixit angelus Adae fac Thymiamata &c.

The angel said to Adam, “make thymiamata.¹ Thymiamata are confections of good odours with which you shall suffume (and you shall please the Creator) and you shall attain what you wish by this [action]. And those [things] of which they are made are petition things,² which you shall find and [which are] of good odour and of good nature, and pure things. And when you do it, be clean of all outward filth,” and then the angel rested in that hour. And Adam remained and did what he might. And this Solomon expounded and said, “I marvel why this is the book [27v] of Moses also, for the Creator said to Moses ‘make Thymiamata, and suffume it in the hill when you wish to speak with me.’”³ Wherefore Solomon said “suffumigations, sacrifice and unction make to open the gates of air, and of fire, and of all the other heavens.”

And by suffumigations a man may see heavenly things and the privities [secrets] of the Creator. And each man [must] know that they pierce the earth, water, and lowness. And Solomon said that as there are 7 heavens, 7 planets, and 7 days in the week, of which every one is distinct, so know that there are 7 suffumigations which hold within them the virtue of the 7 planets, and make glad the spirits of air, the angels of heaven, and the devils (or angels of the world). And therefore if a man yields it to them, that is theirs.

Therefore they [the angels and devils] are pleased and glad of the words when you say their names, or that of the Creator. And for this, which you do when you wash often, and for the gift that you give to them when you suffume, these things yield them earthly and [make them able to] appear to you. And spiritual & invisible that is, [so] that neither evil men, nor the beasts amongst [you], see if you do it strongly about you, and about whom you do it. Thymiamata is made of many things, and these are principally [based] upon the 7 days of the week. And the first thymiamata is of Saturday, for his planet [Saturn] is the highest & his angel is mighty on the earth. [28r]⁴

¹ As defined in the next sentence, mixtures of perfumes or incenses to be burned on hot coals to produce smoke to purify things. These perfumes are also designed to attract spirits. It literally means ‘incense’, from the Greek *θυμιαματων*, *thymiamaton*. See Appendix 1 for incense nomenclature.

² Things that will help your petition or prayer.

³ A reference to Mt. Sinai, or simply to the ‘high places’ of worship.

⁴ Saturday is the first day of the week for Jews.

[Perfumes of the Days]

1. The first thymiamata of Saturday [Saturn] ought to be [made] of good things and well smelling roots, as is *costus* and the herb *thuris*. And that is thymiamata for good, and so I shall show all others for good [purposes]; and then thymiamata for another [bad purpose] I shall explain in another place.
2. Thymiamata of Sunday is *thus* [oil of frankincense], mastic, *muscus* [musk], and other such, and all other good gums, of good odour [are useful] in all good [operations], but to the contrary [bad odours are useful] in all evil [operations].
3. Thymiamata of Monday is *folius myrti* [myrtle] and *lauri* [laurel] and [other] leaves of good odour, and so understand [the opposite is true] for its contrary.
4. Thymiamata of Tuesday is *sandalus*, *rubeus*, *niger* and *albus*,¹ and all such trees, and each tree [wood] of aloes & cypress, and so understand [the benefit] of each tree.
5. Thymiamata of Wednesday is made of rinds, [such] as cinnamon, *cassia lignea* [cassia wood] & *cortices*, *lauri* [laurel] & *muris* [hawkweed?], and so understand for the other [purposes].
6. Thymiamata of Thursday is *nux muscata* [nutmeg], *gariophylli* [cloves] and *citruli* [citrus] and the rind of *aurangiarum* [oranges], *siccarum* & *pulverizatarum*, which is [in other words], the rind of oranges dry and powdered, and all other fruits of good odour.
7. Thymiamata of Friday is the flowers of rose, viola & crocus and all other flowers of good odour; and for the contrary [purposes], to the contrary use all stinking thymiamata.

And know that each thymiamata of good odour gathers together spirits after its [good] nature, its colour & its strength. Thus I said for good [use] good, for better [use] better. [28^v]

And Hermes said of thymiamata that:

Thymiamata of the Moon is cinnamon, *lignum aloes*, mastic, crocus, *costus*, *macis* [mace], *myrtus* [myrtle], and we make this such that each of the planets has a share in it, and all this may be by the Moon good and fortunate, by good spices & sharp, although Salomon made distinction between the days and planets of the spices, with which a man ought to make thymiamata. And he [Hermes] said that of Saturn, each good root [is used] in good, and evil

¹ The three varieties of sandalwood: red, black and white.

[root is used] in evil [magic]. And of Jupiter all fruit, and of Mars each tree. And of the Sun each gum, and of Venus each flower, and of Mercury each rind, and of the Moon each leaf, and thus understand of all the others, and each odoriferous herb is of Venus.

And Raziel said to Adam that he should make good thymiamata. And therefore said Hermes, "understand that each thymiamata is made of all good things, as of root, tree, rind, leaf, flower, fruit and gums, and that seeds are [also] put in it, as are *baccaae* [berries], cardamom, and wax, and put in all good things and precious," and afterwards he called this '*Thymiamata Completum*.'

And there is some 'Greek Thymiamata' by which heathen men were used to suffume Idols. To this day [Christian] Churches and Altars are [still] censed with it, and it is called 'Thymiamata of Jupiter.' And in truth, he who uses this thymiamata must be pure and chaste, and of a good life, and [with good] will towards the Creator, and so he shall profit. [29^r]

Method of Using the Thymiamata

Dixit Solomon super suffumigata Hermetis quae dure &c.

Solomon said about the suffumigations of Hermes below, that there are seven manners [of using them] which are:

1. [The first is to] make sacrifices (of the first [born]), with fasts, and give things to the Creator, and therefore they [who do this] believe that they attain to that which they desire. And it is true.
2. The second is that they wash & purify themselves and dwell purely, and therefore they think to attain their petitions and asking, and it is true.
3. The third is that they do alms for God, and for his holy angels.
4. The fourth is that they slew [sacrifices] and cast the blood in the fire.
5. The fifth is that they slew [sacrifices] and burn all [of the sacrifice].¹
6. The sixth is that they pray much at specific hours, 7 times in the day, and 3 [times] in the night.
7. The seventh is to make suffumigation with good things, and good smelling [incenses], and every one of those that did this might attain the truth of whatever he asked, and so he attained it by the Commandment of the Creator.

¹ Typically a Jewish practice, prior to the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

And know that suffumigation overcomes all [other methods].¹ Truly, whoever suffumeth best, to the eye it proves, with this the wise men dismiss all other [methods]. And understanding that he who can know the nature of suffumigations, might easily [come] near such spirits, which he wishes to call, according to the nature of the suffumigation. And always consider the nature of the spirit and [the nature] of the suffumigation, as the spirits are constrained by the contrary [thing] and are comforted by [29v] similar things. And this is like a wise doctor in giving a medicine to a sick man, which removes the sickness and leads to health.

So suffumigation, if it is good, removes the contrary [evil spirits] from the place. And with evil suffumigation are removed good spirits, evil and ill spirits also dread that, for each thing loves health more than sickness. And therefore it is said that sulphur removes both good spirits and evil, and this is proven in a profitable way. And there is another way for *lignum aloes* and none other, and sulphur chases them away and this is the true reason. And then I say that sulphur gathers together its [own] proper spirits, and none other. And they are very strong & penetrative and thick, and are not departed soon [banished easily] from a place. But although a place is censed with sulphur, and then is washed with water, and [then] censed with *lignum aloes*, it draws away the spirits of sulphur, or endures or leads in its own [spirits].

The spirit of Azet [Azoth], that is quicksilver [mercury], and the spirit of *thuris*, are contrary [to each other], although spirits, yet all devils enter and pierce [quicksilver?] rather or sooner than the spirit of *thuris*, wherefore every one has very great strength. But if you wish to withdraw the spirits, suffume with *thure* [frankincense], and they shall go out. And so understand of all other spirits, [both] good and evil.

And Solomon said, that as a physician applies to a man pure good ointment and pure, and [30r] it pierces the body of a man and heals [it], so suffumigations pierce the 4 Elements, and makes [one] to see and know heavenly things which were always heavenly, and which descend from heaven, as do angels & spirits of air, and the souls of dead men, and devils, and the winds of spelunke [caves], and of the deepness and fantasies [phantoms] of desert places. And all spiritual [creatures], with the right fumigation, shall obey you, and shall come to you, and they shall do your commandment. And Hermes said that all things that were, or are present, or shall be, that the above nature [is] joined with the lower [nature] by ordinance, for time and hour makes one body, and understanding that he can

¹ This suggests that suffumigation is a replacement for the animal sacrifice of the old Temple.

understand and know such things, how creatures have to live and govern themselves.

Therefore know that there are fumes that chase away spirits, and other sorts that strengthen them, and constrain them to come, and others that enliven them and strengthen them, and give them might, and so to the contrary there are some [fumes] that destroy them and take away their might, and this is the proof of it: for the smoke of a hare chases them away, and this he said about serpents, and *fumus amnecae* chases them away, that is the smoke of dregs of oil, and what constrains them is the spittle of a fasting man.¹

And therefore he said suffumigation suffice for us in all things beneath [on Earth]. And Raziel said that water washes [away] all uncleanness, and [likewise] fire makes liquid, or melts, all metals & makes them pure and fine. And as the air is the life of a living man, [30v] and the earth sustains or bears each body and nourishes each plant, understand that good thymiamata or suffumigation is fulfilling in the work of the invocation of spirits; and of other things [ensure that] the thymiamata is well proportioned [when it] is confected or melded, in each hour convenient [to its manufacture] according [to its planetary qualities].

Dixit Solomon propter hoc pono horas et tempus &c.

Solomon said, "I [should] put [fix] the hour and the time for this work, for in all [auspicious] hours in which a man wishes to speak to a king, or to a prince, he may not [be able to] speak to them; nor in every hour in which a son asks of the father for any thing, does he give [it] to him." Therefore it is dark [unclear] to you to choose the [correct] time and the hour for these [things] that you ask.

This is therefore the *tempus quondam* [relevant measure of time], is some time of Jupiter, be it done in the day of Jupiter, and of Venus in the day of Venus, and Mars. And of [the hour of] Saturn in the day of Saturn: and so for other [planets] that [must] be done in the invocation of spirits, and in all praising of [praying to] angels. And the fumigation [must be] pure. Know that it is a spiritual thing, living and being associated with heavenly things, and now called *Veallia*. Know that no man ought to make suffumigation of precious things unless he is pure, and with pure waters well washed, and anointed with precious ointments, which he made purely and with precious things [such] as *cera alba* [white wax], *balsamo* [balsam], *croco* [crocus] and *musco*

¹ An interestingly concrete reason for fasting before taking part in evocations.

[musk], *abibatmeca*, *algalia* [civet],¹ *almea*, *thure* [frankincense], myrrh, and oleo olivary [olive oil].

And this ointment [must] be well kept and well protected in a pure [31^r] place, after that also [see] that your clothing is pure, white, new and good, not broken nor black [stained]. And cense yourself reverently, and the manner of suffuming yourself ought to be made in the 7 directions: towards the East, the North, the West and the South, and towards the heaven above, and towards the earth beneath, and the seventh time all about. And as often as you do this, address your mind unto God, and pray that he fulfills your desires.

I found in some old book that these were the best suffumigations. Thus *Thymiamata Graecum*, mastic, *sandulus* [sandalwood], galbanum, Muschalazerat,² myrrh, and *ambra* [ambergris], and these are collectors of spirits and their placators. And Solomon said that when you wish to gather together the spirits of air do it in this manner. Cleanse yourself in the best manner that you can, and go to a pitt ³ known to you and suffume it, and call him [the angel or spirit] by his own proper name and call him or pray [to] him, and that [repeat] on three nights, and if he answers not, nor appears, take him to a certain place, or to a house, or to a quadrive [crossroads] that is a place where 4 ways meet, or to a yard, or garden. And suffume the pitt [enclosure?] towards the 7 directions, and in the place where you bathe also, as I have said. And then know that he shall come, and he shall appear to you if you do this.

Et dixit Hermes quod spiritus qui apparent &c.

And Hermes said that the spirits which appear [31^v] in this world are these. Some truly are heavenly and the prophet calls them angels, and they are bright and clear as flame or a star as we have said. Others are of air and of many colours green, bright, and other such and of many figures. And others are fiery and they are bright and red. And others are watery, and they are white and as bright as tin or burnished iron, or quicksilver. Others that are neighed [denied] to men are like to a white cloud, or to white clothes. And others are dark and dim and of many forms, which are called Devils, which are called with the wind, and there are [others] in the deepness of the sea and of the lowness [underworld], spirits that bring with [them] hail & lightning. And wise men call these huge spirits & strong. Now we have explained the nature of spirits,

¹ The obsolete Spanish word 'algaliar' means to perfume with civet.

² In the Latin of Sloane MS 3847 it is 'Muschullaroth.' However this could be Malabathron or Malabatrū (Indian Bay leaves) which was the Classical Graeco-Egyptian incense of Jupiter.

³ This could refer to an enclosure or arena, a pond, an underground chamber, or even a grave.

and [so] put your mind to it, and you shall attain with the help of God.

Dixit Raziel sicut in aere puro claro &c.

Raziel said, as in the pure, clear, bright, pure and peaceable air, all things gladden a joy [?] of it. So know that [success comes from] from fasting, purity, washing with water, prayers, and orisons to the Creator. And from natural and pure suffumigation, and true faith, or belief, which may please them [the angels] which we have mentioned above. And Raziel said to Adam, know that in all manners the life of angels is holy & pure. And the suffuming or suffumigation is the bread on which these spirits [32r] live. And fasting and pureness and chastity, sacrifice with orisons, are the house of holy altar, and trust in the author of [all] good. Wherefore each man that has these abovesaid [qualities], he shall attain, and he shall have profit.

And Solomon said, "this is what happens in suffumigations: soon shall come to us smoke, and then odour, and of the smoke a cloud, and of the cloud a high cloud and wind, and on the wind the cloud ascends higher, and of the cloud a high wind ascends higher, and is made a soul. And of this the spirit is made higher, and of the spirit an angel of heaven, and of this angels [of] light." And these [things] are caused by pure suffumigation. And know that suffumigations are of 7 manners. Some truly sharp, and others penetrative or piercing. Others sweet smelling, others stinking, others simple, others meek, others of grief, others truly of peace, every one of these, or of these manners, is after [the nature of] his odour, savor, nature and complexion.

Wherefore Hermes said that as coldness congeals water [into ice] which is cold, and as the water of the sea is congealed with great [cold], and as Azertacona congeals the water of wells, and everyone of these congeals the water; one with coldness, another with hotness, another by art, another by nature, and the matter is made [into] one body and one gobbet [piece]. And know that good suffumigation gathers together and constrains and makes spirits to appear in the air, and [reveal] secret or privy things. And it makes them to take a body, without eye seen.

And Solomon said that as the Adamant draws [32v] iron to itself, so suffumigation gathers together and draws the spirits of air, and makes them to come to the place where you do [the experiment], and [it] will gather them together. And the wise man said suffumigation is like the root of *arzolle* [Lady's thistle], as it joins together gobbets of flesh into one. So suffumigations gather together the spirits of heaven, which [then] the 4 Elements make them take a body, and spirits take [and] fulfill what is asked of them, and that [spirit may be drawn] into a likeness in a mirror, which if [you] are there sat in front

of it, whatever figure you wish appears within the fumigation, made purely, with invocation in the hour after the spirits proportional.¹ The spirits appear to us, and new operations and workings with fulfillment of the thing that you ask, and don't be deceived in the knowledge of suffumigations, and apply your mind to them lest they be transposed [confused], and you shall fulfill [your wishes], after you do it as he [Solomon] said.

And Solomon said, "I will touch somewhat on the nature of suffumigations, whoever uses it much makes to see [visions] in sleep, or in reality, green things, and yellow, and many colours. Melancholic fumigation signifies grey things; sanguine fumigation signifies red things, and otherwise it is shown of a purple colour; phlegmatic fumigation signifies white things and fair. And so [you can] understand what their nature is [from] the appearance of the spirits, [33r] and of their colour and visible [appearance]." And their work shall be the sharpness of it, and the goodness, and the direction of *fumigii* [censing] that is fulfilling the thing, after the Image was formed, and the orison of the thing [spirit] named, and the trust for all is in the intention of the man, and in the hour in which it is done. Now we have said how every one of the planets has his fumigations. Now we will state the fumigations of the 12 Signs and of their 36 Faces.²

[The Perfumes of the Zodiac]

Aries	holds by himself mirtal [myrtle].
Taurus	costum [costus].
Gemini	masticem [mastic].
Cancer	musthalazeratis.
Leo	thus [olibanum].
Virgo	classen [oil of sandalwood].
Libra	galbanum.
Scorpio	opopanaces [oppoanax].
Sagittarius	lignum aloes [oud].
Capricorn	assafoetida.
Aquarius	euphorbium.
Pisces	thymiamata [thyme]. ³

¹ The reference is probably to the proportional planetary hour, which is one twelfth of the time between sunrise and sunset, rather than to an evenly divided clock hour of 60 minutes.

² The 12 Zodiacal Signs are divided into 36 Faces, like the 36 Decans. The first list above lists the suffumigation of the first Face as if it was the suffumigation of the whole Sign.

³ Note that although 'thymiamata' refers to blended incense, 'thymiamata' means the herb thyme.

The first Face of Aries holds mirtal.¹ The second stamonea. The third piper nigrum. The first of Taurus [holds] costum. The second cardamom. The third cassia. The first of Gemini masticem. The second cinamomus. The third cipressum. The first of Cancer mastum [camphor]. The second succum. The third anisum. The first of Leo thus. The second lignum balsami. The third nucem muscata. The first of Virgo sandalos [sandal]. The second crocum. The third masticem. The first of Libra galbanum. The second bofor. The third mirtum [mortum]. [The first of Scorpio oppoconax.]²

The first of Sagittarius lignum aloes. The second folia lauri. The third gariofilum. The first of Capricorn assa[foetida]. The second colofoniam, the third piper longum. The first of Aquarius euphorbium, the second reubarbarum, the third stamonea.³ The first of Pisces thymiama. The second crocum. The third sandalum album.⁴ [33v] *Nota sedum Hermetem de fumigiis.*

And Hermes said, "Aries, Leo and Sagittarius hold each choleric [suffumigations, and are] spicy & bitter; Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn [have] melancholic [suffumigations] and are styptic [astringent]; Gemini, Libra & Aquarius [have] sanguine and are sweet; Cancer, Scorpio & Pisces [have] phlegmatic and are of a salty savor."

And this Solomon holds for the nature of such spices we give, and with them we suffume. And which [suffumigations are] given to the days, and to the hours? For Sunday, the first hour is of the Sun, and all of the day all together: we should give this [day] mastic and *muscum* [musk] as we have said of planets in the beginning of this 'Book of Thymiamata', and to understand of all others, know the season of suffumigations.

In primo tempore lignum aloes thus et crocum &c.

In the first season [use] *lignum aloes*, *thus* [olibanum] & *crocum* [crocus].⁵

¹ The first third of the Sign Aries. See Appendix 1 for translation of the names of the incenses.

² The second and third Face are not given.

³ The last two rhubarb and stamonea are often reversed.

⁴ For details of the suffumigations of the 36 Faces see Table N12-N14; for details of the Faces/Decans other attributes see Tables H54-71 in Stephen Skinner, *Complete Magician's Tables*, Golden Hoard, Singapore, and Llewellyn, St. Paul, 2006.

⁵ Spring.

In the second season *thymiama, costum, mastice*.

In the third season *sandalus, cassia, and mirtum* [myrtle].

In the fourth season, *muscum, succum* and *lignum balsami*.

And as he gave to each of the 4 seasons their spices, or kinds, so he gave to each month one spice [each] in order.

Dicamus nunc suffumigia 4 partium mundi &c.

We now tell of the suffumigations of the 4 parts of the world and of the 4 Elements. For all things that are in this world are either compounded of the 4 Elements, or simple [substances].

Suffumigations of the 4 parts of this world [and of the 4 Elements] are these:

About the parts of the [34r] East, and fire, serve *ambra* [ambergris], *muscus* [musk] & *alba cera* (that is white wax).

About the parts of the South, and earth, *algalia* [civet], *almea* and *teriaca*.

About the parts of the West, and air, *balsamus*, camphor & *oleo olivrarum*.

About the [parts of the] North, and water, *lignum aloes*, *nux muscata* [nutmeg] & *maris* [the sea?].

And Solomon said, "each man that wishes to do any [magical] things [using] this book [should] study the chapter on thymiamata, [so] that he knows the kinds of things & can justly mix them." And so you might easily work by it, for without work you might [not] fulfill all things that you desire to see. Now we have fulfilled our Chapter on *fumigiis*, or fumigations, and we will say furthermore about that which was our intention, with the help of God.

[Here ends the Third Book & here begins the Fourth Book]¹

¹ For a more complete listing of the various incenses, their Latin names and modern equivalents, plus their botanical names, see Appendix 1.

[The Fourth Book]

[*Treatise of Times of the Day and of the Night*]¹

Here begins the Fourth Book that speaks about the times of the year

In Dei nomine pii incipio scribere libris istu &c.

In the name of the meek God I begin to write this book that is called *Cephar Raziel* which the Angel Raziel gave to Adam. And it shall speak about the 4 seasons of the year, & months & days, [each] with his night, [and] how we should name each thing, and know each man. This is called the *Book of Times*, and the Angel that gave it is called mighty and great by the commandment of the Creator, the living God, [who is] in all things mighty.

And [this Book was given in order] that Adam should know all things in this world, what it is, what it was, and what it should be, in all things in the 12 months of the year, and [all the names of the] days & hours, and that by order and likeness, by pure fasting, and by washings, by sacrifice, by suffumigations made on the 7 days [of the week], [especially] on the [34^v] first [day of the] Moon, and before the Sun should ascend his tail, the Ascendant, and before the Sun should ascend over the planet Zedek, or Jupiter, they should be named in this book by the mouth of the holy angels, that have rulership over the 7 heavens formed of fire, and their observing is of fire, and their life is fire.

And they seemed clothed with fire. And they are covered with fire. And from fire they went out, and in fire they dwell, and they are of great friendship [help], ruling the 12 months of the year by the precepts of the Creator who called the world into being, and all the angels [into being], and existed before it, and there are 7 powers before the face of it, and to each of them is given a rulership, and [each] has a day of the month, and of the week [given to him]. And of them, some are standing around, and some are sitting in chairs honourably serving the Creator, and they are always ready and bound to go out, and to enter, to come and to go, and to do all good and evil whatsoever, and to enchant and to put down and to [un]cover secret things and to find [out] or make revelation.²

And all this that we have said, by the commandment of God, and [by the commandment of] all the greater angels and lesser, and their princes with their powers, with their odours, or with their associations, they call

¹ This Chapter is entitled *Temporum Anni* in the Latin version of the text.

² It is interesting that the angels should be said to be equally able to do good as well as evil things.

themselves, every one, by their names which are selly [marvelous], [blessed], high and sovereign always, and they praise God the Creator which formed them. And also all the powers, of all the heavens, in the month, and in the day in which he formed them, and they are all speaking together as men. And Raziel said that these angels wrote those names and this book. [35^r] And he said that there are 7 angels ruling over the 7 planets, and these be *potestates* or powers,¹ ruling over the 7 days of the week. And they are the keepers [of the days of the week], and of the 24 hours of the day, and of the 7 heavens, and of the 12 Signs [of the Zodiac], and of all other things that govern the world.

[*The Planets in the 7 Heavens*]

And Raziel said to Adam, "behold, know and hold [understand] these 7 powers or *potestates*, which have power in the 7 heavens, and [over] the 7 planets."

The names of [the planets] are these: Sabaday that is Saturn, Zedek that is Jupiter, Madim that is Mars, Hanina that is the Sun,² Nogah that is Venus, Cocab [Kokab] that is Mercury, and Labana [Levanah] that is the Moon.

The names of the 7 Heavens in which they are born are these: Samin, Raquia, Siagum, Mahum, Macon, Zebul, Arabeck.³ Over Samyn goes the Moon. Over Raquia goes Mercury and over Arabeck [goes] Saturn, and so understand the others. The names of Angels that have power over the 7 planets, and rule over the 7 heavens, and others while in their chairs are these: Capziel, Satquel, Samael, Raphael, Amael, Michael, Gabriel. And the power of these is that Capziel is the power of Sabaday; Satquel of Zedek; Samael of Madim; Raphael of Hanina; Amael of Nogah; Michael of Cocab; Gabriel of Labana. And every one of these sits in his [own] heaven. And with their *meynees* [retainers/descendants?] all about, and they are of many colours as white, black, red, yellow, green, leady [grey], *pardi viati*, mixed, gilt [golden], and of the colour of a peacock's feather, and of many other colours.

[*The 12 Hebrew Months*]

These are the Angels that have power over the 12 months of the year. The names of the months [35^v] are these: Nisan, Yar, Zivan, Tamus, Ab, Elul, Tisirin, Marquesuam, Quislep, Tobez or Thebeth, Sabat, Adar, *postadar*

¹ *Potestates*: category of angels.

² The name for the Sun is sometimes spelled Hamina and sometimes Hanina in the manuscript.

³ A more modern transliteration of the Hebrew heavens with their attendant planets is: Shamayim [Moon], Raquia [Mercury], Shechaqim [Venus], Zebul [the Sun], Ma'on [Mars], Makon [Jupiter], and Araboth [Saturn].

postmodo.¹ The names of the *potestates* [Powers] are these. And they are the 12 capitals, that is, one over every [lunar] month of the Moon, rather that is the [first 7 months only:] Oriel, Sasuyel, Amariel, Noriel, Biraquel, Magnia, Saciell. And every one of these has so many *potestates*, helpers, more or greater as there are days in the month, or many other servants.

And [using] the aforesaid angels, a man may know all things that are to come in every year, and in every season, and in every month, and every day, and every hour, with the proper signs. Whoever knows them well, he will know [the destiny of kings and queens, their] many reigns or few, or when they shall be, or if they shall be or not, and the day and hour when they shall fall [from grace].

And a man may know by them which is his Sign and his planet, and he may know of his [own] life, if it shall be long or short in the world, and other things, either for a sick man or a whole [man], either for a man or for a woman. Or he may know a subtle understanding, or sharp [understanding], he may know what is to come, and do with it [that knowledge] what he wishes. And the days of the year, or of the Sun, alone [are] 365 and the quarter part of one day (in the week of days). The year of the Moon is otherwise 360 days and four hours and 46 minutes, [calculated] after the year of the Moon.² And the fulfilling of seasons in this: if one season is 3 months, and then the [four] seasons [36^r] truly [add] to 12 [months].

And know that Nisan, which is the first month, begins on the first day of the first Moon (the Moon *prima*) of the [calendar] month of March, and so [it is] for the other [Hebrew months]. The first season is truly [calculated] from the first degree in which the Sun enters into Aries, till it enters the first degree of Cancer. And the second [season is] from Cancer to Libra. And the third [season] from Libra to Capricorn. And the fourth [season] from Capricorn unto Aries. And this is a better distinction of seasons [than the Western Gregorian calendar]. And in the hour which Raziel gave the Book to Adam, [with details] of seasons, of months and the names of things, then was Adam comforted [because] in the same day lightning struck, and thunders and coruscations appeared, and there was in that day a great tempest in all the world, both on the land, and in the air, and in the sea. And [this happened] in the hour in which the Angel Raziel opened this book and gave it to Adam.

¹ This is a slightly garbled rendering of the 12 Jewish lunar months beginning in March-April: Nisan, Iyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Tishri, Marchesvan, Kislev, Tebet, Shebat, Adar, followed by an occasional thirteenth month. This is another indication that the original of this grimoire (or at least this section) was Hebrew.

² This presumes a year of 12 lunar months calculated as 30.02 days each month.

Then he [Raziel] gave to him [Adam] might, strength & surety in all the words of this book, and the miracles that are in it. And when this book fell [open] before the face of Adam, Adam regarded it with very much awe, and quaked in great dread. And [he] fell down onto the earth as though he had been dead. Then the Angel Raziel said to Adam, "rise and be comforted for know that a steadfast spirit has descended in you from the high heavens which has lightened you, and has been put in this hour in you, the knowledge and power that you shall attain [anything] that you shall ask."

And I say to you, that you [should] consider this book and observe it, and by it you shall know and understand whatever was, and is, [36v] and that shall be after you. And in that hour in which this book was given to Adam, fire fell upon the banks of the rivers of paradise. And the Angel ascended by that flame of fire to the heavens. And an Angel descended in likeness of a white cloud and spoke with him plainly, and came to him as a man, very bright and clear, like to the clearness of a star in his body, and full of many other [stars] all about. And in ascending when he was separated [from his body], always Adam was like a lamb which grew very bright, as the flame of fire, and clear as the fire of a furnace in which gold is purged.

And then Adam saw this, and found [this], and knew the Lord of all worlds who is a great king, and mighty [in all] things. This book was sent for him. And then he considered and looked in it with holiness and purity. And then he beheld in it all things that he would [want to] know in this world. And this was the first word that Adam had with the Angel Raziel. And therefore he considered it, and governed himself by it.

Solomon said, "for the aforesaid reason that the Angel Raziel said unto Adam that it is well to know the seasons, of [the difference of] one hour to another, and of one season to another", for whoever sows wheat in Spring [knows that] it may not be gathered in the same Spring, [but only in the appropriate season, Autumn]. And these [seasons] are after the temperament of the parts of the North[ern hemisphere]. And therefore it is necessary or needful to divide the year into 4 parts [seasons] and the month into 4 parts [weeks] and an hour into four parts. [37r] And if you keep these divisions and understand them you shall profit in all that you wish, for this is true, and all natural things are made in the season, and in the day, and in the hour, according to how the high sovereign Creator has ordered [it]."

Raziel said [using this Book], "you will know anything of this world, that is of the other [worlds], or that is in the heavens which are associated with the first Heavens. Or if you [wish to] do any thing that fulfills your wish, cleanse your body for 7 days, that is, wash, and eat not a thing of the chest [coffin],

nor of the raven, nor of evil parts, nor a thing unclean, nor that [which] has fallen to its death, nor a beast with 4 [cloven] feet, nor other. And avoid malice and falseness, and you shall not drink wine, nor shall you eat fish, or any thing from which blood goes out. And do not join [sexually] to a polluted woman, nor a menstruating [woman], nor enter into a house where there is a dead man, nor go beside the grave of a dead man, nor go near him that has suffered gonorrhea, and avoid and be aware of night lest you fall into pollution, and keep from lechery and evil pride. And see that you are always pure, and are in Orison or prayer, and keep your tongue from saying evil [things] and lying, and fast purely."

And keep your body from doing evil and sin. And lighten the house with orisons, and praise the angels, and do alms to needy men, and do charity, and do not join with evil men, nor with unclean [men], and clothe yourself with clean clothes, a larger [size] than you might [normally use], and always believe in God, and [37v] rise early, and pray to the Creator that he dress you and wash you, and fulfill your petition [prayers], and [so] you shall attain to that which you ask of God.

[*The First Work and Sacrifice*]

Nota hanc partem bene. Note well this part.

Primum opus istius libri que est necessarium &c.

The first work of this book is necessary, or needful, in all things that man does. And then you want to know when it is good to do all the things which you do. Or you will know when it is good to do whatever thing you wish of this world, and you cannot do anything thereof [unless you] understand that you [must] count by 7 days, before [beginning with] the first day of the month that is of the Moon. And in these 7 days you [must not] be polluted, nor eat a beast having blood, nor drink wine, nor touch unclean things, nor lay with a woman, and wash yourself with clean running water each of the 7 days, before the Sun ascends. And hold [understand] the abstinence which we have said, and cense yourself, when you are bathed, with this: *lignum aloes* and *ambra* [ambergris], *crocus*, *costo* [costus], camphor and mastic.

And then take two living turtledoves, whole without languor in themselves, or if you wish two white doves, if you might have none other.¹ And cut off the neck, fasting, with a brazen red knife over gilt [with] on both sides a cutting [edge]. And cut the neck of one turtledove on one side, and the other

¹ Turtledoves were common ancient Hebrew sacrifices. They appear in Solomon's *Song of Songs* 2:12 in a sensual context. They were considered emblems of devoted love.

[turtledove] on the other [side], after that draw out the entrails, but save the blood in a new glass cup & cast it into the fire. [38^r].¹

And wash the entrails with clean water. And then take 3 weight of musk, and 3 crocus, *thuris albi lucidi* [bright white frankincense], cinnamon and 10 *keys* [weight] of *gariophylli* [cloves] and *lignum aloes* the same [amount]. And then take 12 *grana piperis nigri* [grains of black pepper], old white wine, *sandalos* [sandalwood], *muscu* [musk], camphor, and somewhat [of] honey, and [mix] all these with wine, and put it all melded in the entrails of the turtledoves and fill them or divide them into 7 parts or 7 'limbs', and cast one 'limb' upon the coals of fire in the morrow [the following day] before the Sun arise, and that is the 11th hour of the night.²

And when you burn the 'limbs' be covered with white cloth and standing [with] your feet bare, that is unhosed [without stockings] and without shoes, and afterward [write] the names of angels which are written that serve the month, that is serving the month in which you do it, for there are prayers and doers [?] there, and know that each day you have to say the names of the angels of that month 7 times. And in the 7 days you shall gather together the ashes which you have made in the same 7 days of the aforesaid 7 'limbs.' And the house and the place in which you shall burn it [should] be clean. And when all this is done, you shall arrange a solemn house, clean [pure] and separated [from other houses] for yourself. And you shall sprinkle the aforesaid ashes upon the earth, in the middle of the house, and you shall sleep there, so that you shall do this.

And then when you enter the bed, you shall name the names of the angels strong, dreadful, mighty & high, and then sleep. And speak with the man [that comes]. And then you may be very certain, and not dreading, that there shall come to you some man, and he shall show himself to you in a vision of the night, and [38^v] his likeness shall be of a holy man. Then be strong and dread [him] not, and he shall not leave you, [and know] that it is [not] a vision or a dream, but [he comes] in a true manner. And ask what you wish, and without doubt he shall give it to you.

Dixit angelus Raziel volo tibi dicere hoc complemento &c.

The angel Raziel said, "I will say to you that this fulfilling of the working, is by the power, virtue and strength of this book in which are written the powers of the months, of days, and of the year, and they have power in every

¹ This, and the following paragraph, appear in a slightly different form in 'The Prayer of Adam' in the first part of the *Sepher ha-Malbush*. See Savedow (2000), Book One, page 7.

² In other words the hour before sunrise.

month, and in each day, for always. For each man who governs himself by them, with purity, they have helped in all his deeds, and in all his things. And they make him to know all his wiles, and they helped him to fulfill all that he ever asked, with great power, strength and wisdom.”

[The Angels of the 12 Hebrew Months]

The names of the Angels of the first month.¹ These are the names of the Angels which are mighty, and more mighty in the first month, which is called **Nysan [Nisan]**:² Oriel, Malaquiran, Acia, Yaziel, Paltifus, Yesmactria, Yariel, Araton, Robica, Sephatia. Anaya, Quesupale, Semquiel, Sereriel, Malgas, Ancason, Pacyta, Abedel, Ram, Asdon, Casiel, Nastiafori, Sugni, Aszre, Sornadaf, Adniel, Necamia, Caisaat, Benit, Quor, Adziriel.

The names of Angels of the second month. [39r] These are the mightier Angels of the second month which is **Yar [Iyar]** in [the] language of Hebrew: Safuel, Saton, Cartemat, Aryel, Palthia, Bargar, Galms, Nocpis, Aaron, Manit, Aadon, Qwenael, Quemon, Abragin, Yehoc, Adnibia, Parciot, Marinoc, Galus, Gabmion, Resegar, Affry, Absamon, Sarsaf, Alxim, Carbiol, Regnia, Achlas, Nadib, Absafyabitan, Pliset. And you shall name the names of the aforesaid Angels of this month Yar in each thing which you shall name it in, and they should help you, and they shall make you to know all your wishes.

The names of the Angels of the third month. These are the names of the Angels which are the keepers of the third month that is called **Zyvan [Sivan]** of which the first is Amariel, Tatgiel, Casmuch, Nuscifa, Almux, Naamab, Mamiazicaras, Samysarach, Naasien, Andas, Paltamus, Abris, Borhai, Salor, Hac, Yayac, Dalia, Azigor, Mabsuf, Abnisor, Zenam, Dersam, Cefania, Maccafor, Naboon, Adiel, Maasiel, Szarhyr, Cartalion, Adi, Ysar. And you shall name these names that are called, in all things that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of the Angels of the fourth month. These are the names of the Angels of the fourth month that is called **Thamuth [Tammuz]**: Moriel, Safida, Asaf, Mazica, Sarsac, Adnyam, Nagrow, Galuf, Galgall, Danroc, Saracus, Remafidda, Luliaraf, Nediter / Delgna, Maadon, Saamyel, Amrael, Lezaidi, Elisafan, Paschania, Maday. And you shall name these names abovesaid in all that you do, and you shall profit.

¹ The margin notes over the next few pages are often indistinct, and not very helpful, being a repetition of the Hebrew month name, and so will not be repeated here. They appear in the transcription, printed earlier in this book, if they need to be referred to.

² The modern transliteration of the names of each Hebrew lunar month is printed in bold in square brackets.

The names of the Angels of the fifth month. These are the names of the Angels of the fifth month that is called [39^v] **Manhi** or **Amariahaya [Ab]**: Byny, Madrat, Amantuliel, Cassurafarttis, Nactif, Necif, Pdgnar, Tablic, Mamiro, Amacia, Qnatiel, Reycat, Qnynzi, Paliel, Gadaf, Nesquiraf, Abrac, Amyter, Camb, Nachal, Cabach, Loch, Macria, Safe, Essaf. And you shall name these beforesaid in all that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of the Angels of the sixth month. These are the names of the Angels of the sixth month that is called **Elul**: Magnyny, Arabyel, Hanyel, Nacery, Yassar, Rassy, Boel, Mattriel, Naccamarif, Zacdon, Nafac, Rapion, Sapsi, Salttri, Raseroph, Malgel, Samtiel, Yoas, Qualabye, Danpi, Yamla, Golid, Rasziel, Satpach, Nassa, Myssa, Macracif, Dadiel, Carciel, Effignax. And you shall name these names aforesaid in each thing which you do, and you shall profit therein.

The names of Angels of the seventh month. These are the names of the keepers of the seventh month that is called **Tisirin [Tishri]**: Suriel, Sarican, Gnabriz, Szucariel, Sababiel, Ytrut, Cullia, Dadiel, Marhum, Abecaisdon, Sacdon, Pagulan, Arsabon, Aspiramo, Aquyel, Safcy, Racynas, Altim, Masulaef, Vtisaryaya, Abri. And you shall name these names abovesaid in each thing that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of Angels of the eighth month. These are the names of Angels of the eighth month that is called **Marquesaan [Marchesvan]**: Karbiel, Tiszodiel, Raamyel, Nebubael, Alisaf, Baliel, Arzaf, Rasliel, Alson, [40^r] Naspiel, Becar, Paliel, Elisuaig, Nap, Naxas, Sansani, Aesal, Maarim, Sasci, Yalsenac, Iabynx, Magdiel, Sarmas, Maaliel, Arsaferal, Manistiorar, Veaboluf, Nadibael, Suci, Nabuel, Sariel, Sodi, Marcuel, Palitam. And you shall name these names abovesaid in every thing that you wish [for], and you shall profit.

The names of the Angels of the ninth month. These are the names of the Angels of the ninth month that is called **Qwinslep [Kislev]**: Adoniel, Radiel, Naduch, Racyno, Hyzy, Mariel, Azday, Mandiel, Gamiel, Seriel, Kery, Sahaman, Osmyn, Sachiel, Pazeheymy, Calchihay, Hehudael, Nerad, Minael, Arac, Arariqniel, Galnel, Gimmon, Satuel, Elynzy, Baqwytaguel. And you shall name these names abovesaid in all that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of the Angels of the tenth month. These are the names of Angels that have might in the tenth month that is called **Thebeth [Tebet]**: Anael, Aniyel, Aryor, Nafli, Rapinis, Raaciel, Pacuel, Hahon, Guanrinasuch, Aslaqwy, Naspaya, Negri, Somahi, Hasasisgafon, Gasca, Szif, Alzamy, Maint, Xatinas, Sargnamuf, Oliab, Sariel, Canyel, Rahyeziel, Pansa, Insquen, Sarman, Malisan, Asirac, Marmoc. And you shall name these names in all that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of the Angels of the eleventh month. These are the names of Angels that keep the eleventh month that is called **Cynanth [Shebat]** and which have might in it: Gabriel, Israel, Natriel, Gazril, Nassam, Abrisaf, Zefael, Zamiel, Mamiel, Tabiel, Miriel, Sahumiel, Guriel, Samhiel, Dariel, Banorsasti, Satyn, Nasyel, Ranfiel, Talgnaf, Libral, Luel, Daliel, Guadriel, Sahuhaf, Myschiel. And you shall name these names before said in all things that you do in that month & you shall fulfill [your aims]. [40^v]

The names of Angels of the twelfth month. These are the names of the twelfth month that is called **Adar**: Romiel, Patiel, Guriel, Laabiel, Addriel, Cardiel, Aguel, Malquiel, Samiel, Sariel, Azriel, Paamiel, Carcyelel, Amaluch, Parhaya, Ytael, Beryel, Cael, Tenebiel, Pantan, Panteron, Fanyel, Falafon, Masiel, Pantaron, Labiel, Ragael, Cetabiel, Nyahpatuel. And you shall name these names in all things that you do, and you shall profit.

The names of Angels if there [is a] thirteenth month.¹ These are the names of Angels of the thirteenth month Bisertilis which is [also] called **Adar**, the last in March: Lantiel, Ardiel, Nasmyel, Celidoal, Amyel, Magel, Gabgel, Sasuagos, Barilagni, Yabtasyper, Magossangos, Dragos, Yayel, Yoel, Yasmyel, Stelmel, Garasyn, Ceyabos, Sacadiel, Guracap, Gabanael, Tamtiel. These names abovesaid you shall name in all things that you wish, and they shall fulfill all your wishes, with fasting & washing, and suffumigation and purity.

And thus understand of every work. And know that the months of the Hebrews and the months of the Romans are evened [coincide at] the month of March, and know well this number, and you shall profit.²

[The Angels of the 7 Days of the Week]

Scias quod postquam diximus de mensibus &c.

Know that we have told of the months, now we will tell of the names of the days of the week, with their angels, very strong and ruling over every day, and each in his [own] day. [41^r]

¹ Because the 12 lunar months do not quite fill a solar year, at irregular intervals a thirteenth lunar month (with the same name as the twelfth) is introduced, so that the first lunar month does not slip backwards in time, away from the start of Spring.

² March was considered the beginning of the year by both Hebrews and Romans (until the introduction of January and February) and Europeans (until Elizabethan times). Other cultures also saw the beginning of Spring as the beginning of the year, and the Chinese still take February 4th/5th as the beginning of the solar year (with March being seen as the middle of Spring).

The names of the angels that serve in the day of the Sun [Sunday].

And these names of the Sun and his Angels are these: Daniel, Elieyl, Saffeyeyl, Dargoyeyl, Yelbrayeyl, Comaguele, Gebarbayea, Faceyeyl, Caran, Neyeyl, Talgylneyl, Bethaz, Rancyl, Falha, Hyeyl, Armaqniefeyl, Roncayl, Gibryl, Zamayl, Mycahe, Zarfaieil, Ameyl, Torayeil, Ronmeyeyl, Remcatheyel, Barhil, Marhil, Barhil, Mehil, Zarafil, Azrageyl, Anebynnyl, Denmerzylm, Yeocyn, Necyl, Hadzbeyeyl, Zarseyeyl, Zarael, Anqnihim, Ceytatynyn, Ezuiah, Vehichdunedzineylyn, Yedmeyeyl, Esmaadyn, Albedagryn, Yamaanyl, Yecaleme, Detriel, Arieil, Armayel, Veremedyn, Unaraxxydin. These are the mighty angels on the day of the Sun, and name them worthily & you shall profit.

The names of the angels in the day of the Moon [Monday].

These are the names of Angels that serve in the day of the Moon: Semhahylyn, Stemeihlyn, Jasyozyn, Agrasinden, Aymeylyn, Cathneylyn, Abrasachysyn, Abrasasyn, Layzaiosyn, Langhasin, Anayenyn, Nangareryn, Aczonyn, Montagin, Labelas, Mafatyn, Feylarachin, Candanagyn, Laccudonyn, Casfrubyn, Bacharachyn, Bathaylyn, Anmanineylyn, Hacoyn, Balganarichyn, Aryelyn, Badeilyn, Abranocyn, Tarmanydyn, Amdalcyn, Sahgragynyn, Adiamenyn, Sacstoyeyn, Latebaifanysyn, Caybemynyn, Nabyalni, Cyzamanyn, Abramacyn, Lariagathyn, Bifealyqnyn, Baiedalin, Gasoryn, Asaphin, Dariculin, Marneyelin, Gemraorin, Madarilyn, Yebiryn, Arylin, Farielin, Nepenielin, Branielin, Asrieylin, Ceradadyn. These holy angels in the day of the Moon you shall name worthily and you shall profit.

The names of angels of the day of Mars [Tuesday].

These are the names [of the Angels] that serve in the day of Mars. [41^v] And they have power over red metal and in his [Mars] works: Samayelyn, Tartalyn, Dexxeyl, Racyeylyn, Farabyn, Cabyn, Asymeylyn, Mabareylyn, Tralyelyn, Rulbelyn, Marmanyn, Tarfanyelyn, Fuheylyn, Ruffaraneylyn, Rabfilyl, Eralyn, Enplyn, Pirtophin, Brofilyl, Cacitilyl, Naffrynyn, Impuryn, Raffeylyn, Nyrysin, Memolyn, Nybirin, Celabel, Tubeylyn, Haayn, Reyn, Paafiryln, Cethenoylyn, Letityelyn, Rorafeyl, Cannyl, Bastelyn, Costiryn, Monteylyn, Albeylyn, Parachbeylyn, Alyel, Uaceyl, Zalcycyl, Amadyeyl, Usaryeyel, Emcodeneyl, Dasfripyel, Unleylyn, Carszeneyl, Gromeyl, Gabrynyn, Narbell.

The names of the angels that serve in the day of Mercury [Wednesday].

These are the names [of the Angels] that serve in the day of Mercury: Michael, Zamirel, Beerel, Dufuel, Aribiriel, Boel, Bariel, Meriol, Amiol, Aol, Semeol,

Aaon, Berion, Farionon, Kemerion, Feyn, Ameinyn, Zemeinyn, Cananyn, Aal, Merigal, Pegal, Gabal, Leal, Amneal, Farnnial, Gebyn, Caribifin, Ancarilyn, Metorilin, Nabiafilyn, Fisfilin, Barsfilin, Camfilin, Aaniturla, Feniturla, Geniniturla, Elmia, Calnamia, Rabmia, Rasfia, Miaga, Tiogra, Bee, Ylaraorynil, Benenil.

The names of angels in the day of Jupiter [Thursday].

These are the names of Angels that serve in the day of Jupiter: Sachquiel, Pachayel, Tutiel, Osfleel, Labiel, Raliel, Beniel, Trael, Snynyel, Ahiel, Yebel, Ancuyel, Jauiel, Juniel, Amyel, Faniel, Ramnel, Sanfael, Sacciniel, Galbiet, Lafiel, Maziell, Gunfiel, Ymrael, Memieil, Pariel, Panhiniel, Toripiel, Abinel, Omiel, Orfiel, Ael, Bearel, Ymel, Syymelyel, Traacyel, [42^r] Mefeniel, Antquiel, Quisiel, Cunnyryel, Rofiniel, Rubycyel, Jebrayel, Peciell, Carbiel, Tymel, Affarfytyriel, Rartudel, Cabrifiel, Beel, Briel, Cherudiel.

The names of angels in the day of Venus [Friday].

These are the names of the Angels that serve in the day of Venus: Hasneyeyl, Barnayeyl, Uardayheil, Alzeyeil, Szeyyeil, Uachayel, Zesfaieil, Morayeil, Borayeyl, Apheieyl, Arobolyn, Canesylyn, Anrylin, Zarialin, Marilin, Batoraielyn, Kelfeielyn, Azraieylin, Ambayerin, Ayayeylin, Cadneirin, Alserin, Afneirin, Abneyrin, Nonanrin, Eazerin, Orinyn, Gedulin, Hareryn, Nanylin, Halilin, Himeilin, Resfilin, Noraraabilin, Hayeylin, Laudulin, Et, Effilin, Thesfealin, Patnilin, Keialin, Lebraieil, Abilaieil, Talrailanrain, Barcalin, Bahoraelin.

The names of angels of the day of Saturn [Saturday].

These are the names of Angels that serve in the day of Saturn or Sabat: Micraton, Pacryton, Pepilon, Capeiel, Themiton, Alsfiton, Chenyon, Sandalson, Panion, Almyon, Expion, Papon, Calipon, Horrion, Melifon, Aurion, Temelion, Refacbilion, Ononiteon, Boxoraylon, Paxilon, Lelalion, Onoxion, Quilon, Quiron, Vixalimon, Relion, Cassilon, Titomon, Murion, Dedion, Dapsion, Leuainon, Foylylon, Monichion, Gabion, Paxonion, Xysuylion, Lepiron, Belon, Memitilon, Saron, Salion, Pion, Macgron, Acciriron, Felyypon, Ymnybron, Raconeal, Zalibron. These holy angels, blessed are their names, [use them] in all your true works and keep them pure, and you shall profit.

The Names of the Hours of the Night

Ista sunt propria nomina horarum noctis. Prima hora &c.

These are the proper names of hours of the night. The [42^v] first hour of the night is called Zedrin. The second [is called] Biroel; the third Caym; the fourth Hacir; the fifth Zaron; the sixth Zzya; the seventh Nachlas; the eighth Thasras; the ninth Saphar; the tenth Halaga; the eleventh Galcana; and the twelfth Salla. And these are the proper names which the 12 powers of the night

have. And you shall name in these [in all] that you do, and you shall profit.

These are the names of the planets and their angels by the Elements, these are their proper names.

Ista sunt nomina planetarum 7 et angelorum super 4 elementa &c.

These are the names of the 7 planets and of the angels over the 4 Elements fire, air, earth, and water, for without these, and without the 7 planets above, we may not do anything [magical].

The first is the highest [planet] Sabaday, and Sabaday [Saturn] is called in fire Campton. In air [it is called] Srynongoa. In water Synyn, and in earth Onion. And the names of angels of Sabaday over fire are these three: Libiel, Nybiel, Phynitiel. And over air are these three: Arfigyel, Gael, Nephyel. And over water are these: Almemel, Hoquiel, Fulitiel. And over earth are these: Lariel, Tepyel, Esyel.

Zedek [Jupiter, the second planet] is named over fire Pheon; over air Fidon. And over water Calidon; and over earth Mydon. And the names of the angels of Zedek over fire are these three: Tinsyel, Necanynael, Fonyel. [The angels over air are missing] And over water are these three: Meon, Ykiel, Yryniel; and over earth: [43^r] Palriel, Tufiel, Quyel.

These are the names of the third [planet] which is Madyn [Mars]: over fire it is called Roqnyel; over air Pyryel; over water Tasfien; over earth Ignofon. And the angels of Madim [Mars] over fire are these three: Kaliel, Cabryel, Raloyl. And over air are these three: Pyroyinel, Flatoniell, Carbiel, and over water are these three: Cazabriel, Pasaliel, Zebaliel. [Angels over earth missing].

These are the names of Hamina [the Sun, the fourth planet] over fire it is called Yeye, over air Don. And over water Agla. And over earth On. And the angels of Hamina [the Sun] over fire are these three: Dandaniel, Saddaniel, Ellalyel. And over air are these three: Karason, Berriel, Oliel. And over water are these three: Muracafel, Pecyrael, Michael. And over earth are these: Homycabel, Lucifel, Locariel.

Nogah [Venus] is the fifth [planet] and is named over fire Dusuyon, and on air Clarifon, and in water Narubni, and in earth Cabras. These are the three angels of Nogah over fire: Capciel, Debitael, Deparael. And over air: Camirael, Cakaziel, Neraziel, and over water: Saloniell, Emyel, Expaoniell. And over earth: Paziael, Amurael, Salainell.

These are the names of [the sixth planet] Cocab [Mercury]. Over fire it is called Piztal, and in air Cabran, and in water Facayl and in earth Tarzon. And

the names of the angels of Cocab over fire are these: Paradiel, Darifiel, Dameyel. And over air are these: Ramatiel, Loriqniel, Bengariel. And over water are these: [43^v] Rinafonel, Mellifiel, Alatiel. And over earth these: Alapion, Beriel, Rabel.

These are the names of Labona [Levanah] over fire it is called Claron. And over air Becyla, over water Tasfit, and over earth Pantours. And the names of the angels of Labona over fire are these: Gabriel, Paticael, Daliel and over air are these: Barasiel, Ztaziel. And over water are these: Caziel, Memyiel, Pazicaton and over earth are these: Simyllyel, Lafaqnael, Toniel. And name these abovesaid in all that you do, always. Consider the planet with which you will work, and you shall profit.

*The Names of the Heavens in the 4 Seasons.*¹

Ista sunt nomina caelorum in quatuor temporibus &c.

These are the names of the Heavens in the 4 seasons. In the first season it is named Hacibor. In the second [season it is called] Rumcaqnia. In the third Mesfisnogna. In the fourth Saaemaho. These are the names of the Heavens in the 4 seasons.

And when you will work, name the names of the Heaven, in the season in which you work. These are the names of fire in the 4 seasons. In the first season [Spring] the first is named Quoyzil; in the second [season, Summer] Enlubra. In the third [season, Autumn] Mezayn. In the fourth [season, Winter] Aybedyn.

[Names of the Angels of the 4 Elements]

And these angels rule over **fire** and in the flame:

Michael, Rafael, Rasoiel, Acdiel, Roqniel, Myriel, Indam, Malqniel, Gazriel, [44^r] Amynyel, Cariel, Yafrael. And these you shall name these always when you do anything in fire.

These are the names of **air** in the 4 Seasons:

In the first season it is called Ystana, in the second Furayl, in the third Oadion, in the fourth Gulyon. And the names of the Angels that rule over air are these: Rafael, Quabriel, Michael, Cherubyn, Ceraphin, Orychyn, Pantaceren, Micraton, Sandalfon, Barachiel, Ragehyel, Tobiel. And name them in all things that you shall do in air, and you shall profit well, with the help of God.

¹ The following sections on the different names of the elements, sun and moon, etc., in different seasons, appear in a quite different form in 'The Prayer of Adam' in the first part of the *Sepher ha-Malbush*. See Savedow (2000), Book One, page 11-28. The structure is similar, but the names attributed are very different.

Sepher Raziel

Ista sunt nomina aquarum et maris in quatuor temporibus &c.

These are the names of the **waters** of the sea in the 4 seasons:

In the first season it is named Angustiz. In the second Theon. In the third Maddrylk. In the fourth Sebillgradon. And the names of angels of the waters of the sea are these: Urpeniel, Armariel, Yyamnel, Abrastos, Sapiel, Uiotan, Oriel, Bachmyel, Porackmiel, Acceriel, Galliel, Zsmayel. And name them over waters and over the sea and you shall profit.

These are the names of **earth** in the 4 seasons:

In the first season it is called Ingnedon, in the second Yabassa, in the third Coliel. In the fourth Aradon. And the Angels of earth are these: Samael, Yatayel, Baraniel, Oriel, Arfaniel, Latgriel, Daniel, Affariel, Partriel, Bael, Byeniel. And you shall name these names of Angels ruling over earth.

These are the names of lowness [the underworld?] in the 4 seasons. In the first season it is called Hahan in the second Cipaon. And his angel [name] is Jacyel. In the third [season] [44^v] Meresac and his Angel is Ababaot. In the fourth Aycyhambabo, and his angel is Caaniel.

These are the names of the 4 parts of the world in the 4 seasons. In the first season the East is called Acbedan, in the second Cardrenac. In the third Abrthel, in the fourth Acritael. These are the names of the North parts in the four seasons. In the first season it is called Henniyna. In the second season Abodich, in the third Galdidur, in the fourth Rabbifor. These are the names of the West part. In the first season Mahanahym. In the second Sugor. In the third Zarzir, in the fourth Rabiur. These are the names of the South part. In the first season Naufor, in the second Alparon, in the third Machniel, in the fourth Thaumy.

These are the names [of the main angels] in the 4 parts of the world:

In the part of the East these have might or power: Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel.¹

In the part of the North these: Adriel, Yamiel, Zabdiel.

In the part of the West these: Adtriel, Samael, Joel.

And in the part of the South these: Corabiel, Sariel, Michael.

And name them above all things that you do in the 4 parts of the world and you shall profit.

The Proper Names of the Planets in the 4 Seasons

Ista sunt nomina stellarum qui sunt et vadunt &c.

These are the names of the seven planets that [45^r] fly in the 7 Heavens,

¹ Normally listed as three of the four main Archangels. The fourth, Michael, is attributed to the South.

Sabaday, Zedek, Madyn, Hanina, Nogah, Cocab, Labana. And which of these has its own proper name ruling over the four seasons of the year we shall show in this chapter following.

And Solomon said in explanation of this place, that every planet, and each thing before mentioned, changes its name in each season, [just as] from the same tree comes to us four things [according to the season]. Of these four things the first is when it burgeons, the second is the flower. The third is the fruit, and the fourth is the seed. Therefore the Sun is called in the first season hot and moist. In the second [season] hot and dry. In the third cold & dry, and in the fourth cold and moist. These are the workings of the Sun, and these properties [are conferred] over all things, which is another reason the names of things abovesaid are changed in the four parts of the year, for [each] time has its [own] nature and its [own] complexion, as we have said of water which is in the first season temperate, and in the second hot, and in the third rotten, and in the fourth congealed [as ice]. And so other things of the world. This example [shows] why Raziel put these [four] names to each thing. In every thing are the 4 lords that have power over each thing, and every one in his season. And it is said that there are 4 Elements, whereof one is fire that has might in the first season, and so on.

Wherefore know that every thing changes its name. [45v] As first we say a man is a child, and then a youngling, and then a middle [aged] man, and in the fourth season an old man. And so [all] things change their names, who will call them a leader, and this is [the same way] in [the life of] a man. And so understand [the same] of metal and of all things that grow and live.

And Solomon said, and all others [agreed], that it was more inst[ructive] if each thing should have 7 names [rather] than 4, for all things might descend from 4 bodies, and to them is given all the might. Truly they put 4 names to every thing, and [so] it was more easy to work, [just as] 4 names were assigned over the city of David, my fathers and mine, which had many names. Truly Isaac the wise man said that the first name [of that city] was Remusale, and then Jebusale, Jeroboam, Jerusalem. And these are the names this City received from the 4 Lords that were in it. And everyone gave it his proper name. And these things of this world receive 4 names in themselves, or 7 or more after God has ordered it. And therefore [let] no man marvel at the [changing] names of things in the 4 seasons.

In the highest Heaven, that is the first [heaven] from the outer part, and it is [also] the seventh [heaven] from the lowest, it serves Sabaday [Saturn] and his angel is Capciel. In the first season Sabaday is called Cuerues. In the second Palicos. In the third Quirtipos, in the fourth Panpotes.

In the sixth [Heaven] serves Zedek and his angel is Satquiel and his is name Jupiter. In the first season it is Amonor. In the [46^r] second Sahibor. In the third Sayin. In the fourth Eanynyel.

In the fifth Heaven serves Madim and his angel is Balquiel. And the name of Mars in the first season is called Aaryn. In the second Daron. In the third Bearon. In the fourth Pantefos.

In the fourth Heaven serves Hamina [the Sun] and his angel is Dandaniel. In the first season the name of the Sun is called Halyom, in the second Adocham, in the third Cantopos. In the fourth Pantasus.

In the third Heaven serves Nogah and his angel is Adzdiel. In the first season the name of Venus is called Aporodicy. In the second Calizo, in the third Niniptz. In the fourth Pontos.

In the second Heaven serves Cocab and his angel is Satquiel. In the first season Mercury is called Armis. In the second Angocus. In the third Tholos. In the fourth Ancholos.

In the first Heaven serves Labana and his angel is Anael. In the first [season] the Moon is called Salmi in the second Sarico. In the third Naspilij. In the fourth Afriqnym. And know that you shall name the names in their four seasons, and you shall profit when you shall know anything of them.

[Here ends the Fourth Book & here begins the Fifth Book]

[The Fifth Book]

[*Treatise of Purity and of Abstinence*]

Here begins the fifth book that treats of purity

Dixit Solomon revelatum fuit nitri de isto libro &c.

Solomon said, "this book of Raziel was shown to me, and to many angels thereafter, that I had the book, and of those which nourished powers, [46^v] virtues, matters and strength of the *potestates* [Powers] above, and that [was done] by the commandment of, and in obedience to, the Creator or maker of the world." And they said that Solomon asked for understanding, and wisdom, and fairness, and strength in will, all complete, and [so he was] named great for always over the earth. And know that all kings, and lesser men, who shall come after you, should speak of you, should love you, and worship you, and should set you in high esteem, and should praise and keep this book, and work with it with reverence and purity.

And Solomon said to the benign angel Natanael, which has power in the air, and which was always associated with Solomon, which are the same 7 bodies [planets] which we see above, bright, fair, pure, and clear, which cease never to go [in their orbit], nor are their ways void, nor did they ever fail, but always endure going on their way. And [the planet whose orbit] is farthest [out, Saturn] fulfilled [its orbit] in 30 years.¹ And then they [the planets] appear [in the same position in the sky] as they were before. And thus it is said that their [orbit] should be however long God [desired]. And thus I say: "in a hundred years, and [even] in a 1000 [years], that they never will be changed [in their course], but we have found them [in the same place] as the Prophets and other men of old found them." And the angel Natanael said this to Solomon.

The 7 bright bodies [the planets] which you see above [47^r] are put [active] beneath. And in going upwards they hold in balance, or in rulership, the 4 Elements beneath. And therefore their movment ceases not, for such power the Creator gave to them. And know that their matter is simple and pure, without corruption and always durable. And their state is like to the Lord that formed [them], and they obey him in all things. And Natanael said furthermore to Solomon, "know that in the heavens of the 7 bright bodies [planets] there are angels without number, mighty in all things, and every

¹ Saturn's period of orbital rotation is actually 29.47 years.

one of them has his proper power, his strength and his virtue. And they are as unlike [each other], among themselves, as men [are unlike each other], or as other beasts are. And everyone serves his office for the Creator that formed him, or made them."

And Solomon said to Nathaniel, "what is the life, or the service, that these angels do?" And Nathaniel said, "their life is [one] of purity, of orison [prayers], and of trust, and their might is of suffumigations *holocausti et sacrificii*.¹ And their service is when the Creator wills them to go from place to place, [in response to] any pure man who has prayed to the Creator, as it seems. And then they do good, or evil, as the Creator wills them, for in them is power, science & will complete." And Solomon said, "which are these 7 bright bodies [planets], and how are they named, and of what [purpose] does every one serve?"

And Nathaniel said the same that Raziel said to Adam, the higher of these that goes slower is called Sabaday [Saturn] and all the realms of his heaven are [47v] full of ice, snow and hail, and wroth, rancour and coldness. And all the angels that have been there are clothed with darkness, very dark. And their greatness is very high and very long, and [they have power] over the earth, over devils, over darkness, and [over] coldness and dryness. And they have power over winds of this nature. And they have power of doing good and evil. And the angel of it is Beel, crowned over all others.

In the second heaven stands Zedek [Jupiter] and all his realms.

Dixit Solomon rex filius regis David &c.

Solomon the king, called the son of David, that was king of Jerusalem of Jury [Jewry], and Damaske [Damascus], of Egypt, Lord of Babylon,² prince of science, covetous of purity, searcher of privities [secrets], keeper of good true men, avoider of lying, [keeper] of poor men, of virtues, desire over virtues, speedy with words, busily thinking, most subtle in mind, and in searching. I have enquired, and know, that in words of power [lie] virtue and effect, and of all humours whole and healthy, there may be sufficient fulfilling.

¹ The original meaning of *holocausti* or 'holocaust' was "a Jewish sacrificial offering burnt on an altar" [OED], which is precisely what it means here. There are a number of ancient references to angels standing around and enjoying the savour of sacrifices in the temple, as strange as that sounds to us today. Solomon probably holds the world record for massive sacrifices which he instigated to sanctify the original Temple which he built in Jerusalem (see *I Kings* 8:62-64). Of course 'holocaust' went on to mean 'destruction or slaughter on a mass scale', and then more recently to refer specifically to the mass murder of Jews under the Nazi regime, a strange recycling of the meaning of this ancient word.

² The text gives a much wider geographical remit and rulership to Solomon than he ever had.

And he said, "I see that the most famous are wise men and prophets, [made famous] by words and books which they have left as their testimony. And I see that the sons of Adam, and of Hermes, and of Noah, and their sons, and many other prophets, have left books at their death by which they clarify their fame and [so] amongst men [48^r] [their] glory should remain."

"And I see that my father, King David, compounded or made some book in which are contained all the orisons [prayers] which he knew and found, which truly Latin men (that is Romances)¹ call the *Psalter* which truly is prayers alone, but of the holy names of the Creator, it is names that head the Orisons.² In the same book, King David wrote all things that ever he knew, of patriarchs, and of old wise men, to the praise of the Creator. And I, King Solomon, truly have long studied holy words with [their] virtues, and the miracles I found to be therein fulfilled, with each thing working, and I saw and found this in the books in which I studied long. And know that Adam, Hermes, Noah and Moses, and many other most wise men, had great secrets and virtues in their books."

Cum ergo veteres et antiquos Sapientes &c.

When therefore I understood the old wise men to have made books, how or with what understanding, or with what art, that I might know the sciences of all the aforesaid, I enquired, and there answered unto me an old man of good mind and understanding who was called Zebraymayl. And I said, "Adam had a maker and a master, that is to say the Lord his maker, and Gabriel [his] master furthermore. Hermes, that discreet and most wise man, and Moses, had a master and a friend, which was Cretus. Also Aaron truly had a friend which therefore assisted him. That a wise man may not be without a master, however attested by you, that two may be wise without one master: but [for] you to be wise, these [things] I know to be [48^v] necessary to you: a wise master, and discrete, long and continual study of many old books of great wise men, often read, profited by & amended, happy and continual health of your body, long life without cares and travails, and quiet."

¹ Speakers of the Romance languages, that is languages descended from Latin, i.e. most of Western Europe.

² "It is names that head the Orisons" means it is the names (of god and the angels) that make the prayers effective. The *Psalter* is a volume containing the *Book of Psalms*. Some of the Psalms were composed by David, Solomon's father, and some by Solomon, and so it is no surprise that a number of Psalms have been used for magical purposes. For a listing of these see Table J7 in Stephen Skinner, *Complete Magician's Tables*, Singapore: Golden Hoard and St Paul: Llewellyn, 2006. For the use of Psalms in magic see David Rankine & Harry Barron, *The Book of Gold: a 17th Century Magical Grimoire...using the Biblical Psalms of King David*, London: Avalonia, 2010.

Then Solomon said to the wise man "Is not this possible to be done by a shorter way than that you have said above?" Zebraymayl answered the king "a lighter and shorter way than this is unknown, nor may it be done." To whom Solomon said, "How therefore," to which the wise man answered again saying "Open privately and fully the Ark of the Testament, no man knows or understands all its secrets, and old wisdoms, and the words of great power and virtue that you shall find [therein]. By which not only shall you know things passed, but also these that are present, and likewise those that are to come." Solomon answered again saying, "for this that you have answered to me I give thanks to that high and blessed Creator, who reigns as it pleases him, all things, with words alone, he formed or made."

[The Ark of the Covenant]

And there is not any more noble or mightier then he, without whom there is no virtue or power, who gives wisdom to wise men, he is of all things the first time, he is without beginning, and of all things the last time, there is no end. He is of all things [49^r] the maker, and nothing was made [without him], of whom the reign or reigning is, and shall be, and of whom all work is good, and of whom his will is over all, is truly free, and there is none that may gainsay him. Whereupon Solomon, trusting to Zebraymayl, had the Ark of the Testament brought before him. And he sought all the books of Moses, of Aaron, of Adam, and of Noah, and of their sons, and of Hermes, and of other prophets, and of others in which he might find the miracle of words and their virtues.

And he sought all the old idols of heathen men & images of many tongues, having writings, and all things engraved which are found in all the parts of the world. And he caused them to be gathered together into his palace, and he brought forth Masters of every one of the 72 [letters of the Name], who could expound to him privately the letters, or hidden Y. C. M. in Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, and Greek writing, that they should expound to him that which was hidden. And when the letters were expounded, he saw that the most part accorded with it, in [regard to] the virtues of words.

Rex ergo Solomon fecit arcam nocte quadam aperiri &c.

Therefore King Solomon caused the Ark to be opened privately, [hoping to find] in the Ark, with [good] reason, afterwards what [he desired] to learn. And Solomon said "After the sovereign and Almighty Creator had infused that grace of his spirit in me, I opened the Ark of the Testament, in which I found all [49^v] things which I had sought long and studiously before. Among which I found the book which is called *Raziel*, which the Creator sent to

Adam by the angel Raziel, when upon the banks of the rivers of paradise, weeping, [to his] Creator he prayed, and he besought forgiveness of his sins.

And I found the book which the Creator gave to Moses in the hill of Sinai, when he made him partner to his privities [secrets]. In which three books, three orisons [prayers or invocations] I found. The first [book] the prophets call Semiforas, which the Creator gave to Adam in Paradise. The second book is that which the Creator gave to Adam in paradise in the hour of his necessity or need. The third [book] is that which the Creator gave to Moses in the hill of Sinai, after he had fulfilled the fasting. And Solomon said "I found in the Ark a pot full of manna, and the staff of Moses which was changed into a serpent, and afterwards from a serpent into a staff. And the Tables of the Law, and pieces of the first letters, which Moses for the sins of the people (in his wroth) broke upon the ground. Truly in the Ark I found some golden tables, quadrate or four-cornered, in which were [set] 15 [12?] precious stones, likened to the twelve tribes or lineages of Israel. And in every stone was written the high holy names of the Creator of the book Semiforas."¹

And I found a box of marble having a green colour as Jasper. [50r] And in this box were 7 figures, and in each figure [were] 7 great and virtuous names of the Creator as told to Moses, and the [other] 7 [names] which the Creator taught Adam in paradise. And this is a secret of secrets which is very learned, and ought to be kept reverently covered. I found also in the extremities of the Ark, 24 virtuous rings with names and figures of the Creator written in Semiforas, with many colours written or figured. And I, Solomon, had one of the same rings, having a mind to the same, in which I have found such virtue that when I said make it to rain, it rained. And when I said again, as you have made it to rain, so make the same rain to cease again, and it ceased. And beside Jerusalem, the same realm as well, of tempests and rains it made.

And Solomon said "I found Semiforas with which Moses made the plagues in Egypt, and with which he dried the Red Sea, and with which also he drew water out of the stone, and with which also he knew all the purity of his people, and with which he also overcame princes and kings and mighty men, and with which whatever he wished to do, he did, and that which he would destroy, he destroyed. And with these [rings] he fulfilled his own wishes."

¹ See *Hebrews* ix, 4 for the details of what was inside the Ark of the Covenant: "the golden pot having the manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant." Although *I Kings*, viii, 9 states that "there was nothing in the Ark save the two tablets of stone, which Moses put there at [Mount] Horeb."

Capitulum explanationis hujus nomina Semiforas &c.

The chapter of explanation of this name Semiforas. And it is that all devils and winds, and men living as well as dead, and all spirits, and all bodies, regard it with awe it. Wherefore truly Semiforas is called the first secret of secrets, and [it is] great, old, much [desired], hidden, of great virtue and of power to get whatever he wanted. Semiforas is a word [50^v] which ought not to be shown to all men, neither by it ought any man to work (except with great necessity or anguish). And then in awe of the Creator, he ought to purely, meekly and devoutly name it. Also Semiforas is the root and beginning, fundamental to orison, an exemplar of good life, the trust of man's body, the orison or prayer of a just man, the same dread Creator.

And Solomon said about Semiforas, "These are necessary with meekness, fasting, with orison [prayer], belief, clarity, purity, patience, meekness and constancy of a man, without which you might work nothing. And with [these qualities] you shall get whatever you wish. The virtues [necessary] in working by Semiforas ought nevertheless to be these seven: that is meekness, truth, patience, abstinence, belief, charity, and mercy, which ought in him principally to be had, or to abound.

Si ergo per Semiforas operari volumus oportet quod simus &c.

If therefore we wish to work by Semiforas, it is well that we are bright or pure of body, and in trust steadfast, and from falseness and lying fully departed. It is well also to [regard] the Creator and his creatures [with awe], amongst which we ought to most hold the Sun in awe, which gives to us light, and darkness, cold and hot, which is the cause of the changing of the seasons, and of the temperament of the air, and of herbs. We ought also to know the aspects of the Moon, and the months by which its 12 [lunar months] and [sometimes] 13 [months] are counted, which are called Nyssan, Yar, Tina, &c.¹

And we ought to know the waxing [51^r] and decreasing of the Moon, when it [causes] all creatures of the sea, floods, and wells, and all the nether bodies to wax and decrease, take blood in their veins, and marrow in their head and their bones. After the Moon waxes & decreases, they are nourished in the same [way]. Also [there is] no doubt that the virtue of the Moon works [in] the infusing, or melting, of metals.

We ought also to know Sabaday or Saturn by whom hunger and dearth and

¹ The first three Hebrew months, Nisan, Iyyar, and Sivan. Sometimes there will be a 13th lunar month added, to keep the lunar months roughly aligned with the solar year.

all anguish befall lands. We ought also to know and regard with awe Zedek or Jupiter, by whom honour, and health and righteousness, and all good is had. We should also know and regard with awe Madim or Mars of whom choler & strife, and hate and battles, and lying, and all evils come. We ought also to know and regard with awe Hamina or the Sun, by whom we have light, and darkness & clearness, and by whom [through the changing] seasons, evil into good, [and good] into evil is transmuted or changed.

We ought also to regard with awe and know Nogah or Venus, by whom we have meat and drink, and all necessities, or things that are needful, by whom peace and love and affection among men is made fast and stable. We ought also to regard with awe Cocab or Mercury, for he is closer to us than all [planets] except the Moon, by whom merchandise and vending or selling, and all secular things, are exercised. Therefore observe those that are said and the spirits abovesaid, and thus you shall profit. And whatever you shall ask of the Creator rightfully, you shall have it.

[Here ends the Fifth Book & here begins the Sixth Book]

[The Sixth Book]

[*Samaim* which Names all the Heavens and their Angels]¹

[51^v] Here begins the Sixth book that treats of the names of the Heavens

Dixit Solomon omnes coiter horas et malas &c.

Solomon said "All men commonly affirm [the existence of] good hours and evil, and good days and evil, and good signs and evil. And this with many reasons they confirmed. And I, Solomon, have tested the days and hours of Madim [Mars] & Sabaday [Saturn] which I found very grievous [bad] for work. I have tested also the hours of Zedek [Jupiter] and Nogah [Venus]. And I saw that whenever I would work with them lightly I wrought [successfully]. The hours of Cocab [Mercury] and Labana [Moon], I have tested [and found] some grievous [bad], and others good. And I saw proved that in that day, and in the hour, nothing of my wishes might I fulfill."

And know that the spirits abovesaid [in the opinion of] many men are named for the first [planet] in Hebrew which is Sabaday, in Arabic *zoal*, in Greek *orgrue fenes* [?], in Latin it is called Saturn. And I say therefore that the first hour of the day of Sabaday is [also] called Sabaday, the second [hour] Zedek, the third Madim, the fourth Hanina, and the fifth Nogah. The sixth Cocab, the seventh Labana. And the hours of the night ought to [be similarly] named by you. And know that by the planets abovesaid, and the days and hours, whatever you wish [to do] you shall understand. And you shall know the hidden and secret wiles of men.

Cumque per Semiforas operari voluerat &c. [52^r]

When he wants to work by Semiforas first, or whenever he begins any thing, it is well to name the 7 names of Angels, for these angels are rulers over the seven Heavens, rulers over the 7 planets, rulers over the 7 days of the week, rulers over the 7 metals, rulers over the 7 colours, and rulers over the 7 words having power, the names of the which are these: Raphael, Gabriel, Samael, Michael, Saquiel, Anael, Capciel.

¹ In Hebrew, *Samaim* שמים, refers to the 7 Heavens. The fact that the chapter heading is a transliterated Hebrew word points to probable Hebrew roots for this text, transmitted via Latin, although it is obvious that the scribe who actually wrote this particular manuscript knew no Hebrew.

And these are arranged so that we ought to name and to call them during the 7 days, early [in the morning] in this manner:

Nota orationem o angeli supradicti sitis meae quominis quam volo quaerere auditores et misri in oibus adintores &c.

That is to say, Oh angels abovesaid are the hearers of my question which I will enquire, and for me in all things, are my helpers. These truly, which we ought to name, rule over the 7 Heavens, and rule over the 7 planets are these: Capciel, Saquiel, Samael, Raphael, Anael, Michael, Gabriel. And in all things in calling these angels you shall profit. There are 7 Heavens that is: Samaym [Shamayim], Raaqu [Raquia], Saaquin [Shechaqim], Maon [Ma'on], Mahon [Makon], Zebul, and Araboth.¹ And there are 4 parts of the world, that is East, West, North and South, with Angels in every Heaven, and we say in what part [each] serves.

These are the Angels of the First Heaven:²

In primo caelo qui vocatur Samaym in quatuor protibus &c.

In the first Heaven which is called Samaym [Shamayim], in the four parts of Heaven, serve these. From the part of the North: Alael, Hiaeyel, Urallim, Veallum, Baniel, Basy, Unascaiel. From the part of the [52v] South these are: Duraniel, Darbiel, Darquiel, Hanin, Anael, Nahymel, Alscini, Soquiel, Zamel, Hubayel, Bactanael, Carpariel. From the part of the East are these: Gabriel, Gabrael, Odrael, Modiel, Raamyel, Janael. From the part of the West are these: Abson, Soquiel.

Angels of the Second Heaven:

In secundo caelo quod vocatur Roaquya a part Septentrionis &c.

In the second Heaven that is called Roaquya [Raquia] from the part of the North serve these angels: Tyel, Jarael, Yanael, Nenael, Neneel, Quian, Uetamuel. From the part of the South are these: Mylba, Nelia, Balyer, Calloyel, Cyoly, Batriel. From the part of the East are these: Maachin, another [source] has Carmiel, Carcoyel, Betabaat. From the part of the West is Anulus, Yesararye, in which is written the names of Macareton and in many ways explained. [There seems to be some missing angels here].

¹ For full details of the seven Hebrew Heavens see Stephen Skinner, *Complete Magician's Tables*, Golden Hoard, Singapore, and Llewellyn, St. Paul, 2006, Tables K69-K76, M10.

² Compare the following list of angels of the seven Heavens with the list in Peter de Abano's *Heptameron*. These are listed in Table M10 of Skinner (2006).

Angels of the Third Heaven:

In tertio caelo quod vocatur Saaquin a part Septentrionis &c.

In the third Heaven that is called Saaquin [Schechaqim] from the part of the North serve these: Poniel, Penael, Penat, Raphael, Carmiel, Doranel. From the part of the South are these: Parna, Sadiel, Lyenyel, Vastamel, Sanael, Samyel. From the part of the East are these: Satquiel, Quadissa, Taramel, Taryestorat, Amael, Hufrbria, another [source] has here the last Hifaliel. [The angels of the West are missing].

Angels of the Fourth Heaven:

In quarto caelo quod dicitur Maon serviunt isti a part Septentrionis &c.

In the fourth Heaven that is called Maon [Ma'on] these serve from the part of the North: [53^r] Rahumiel, Haynynael, Bacyel, Serapiel, Matiel, Serael. In the part of the South are these: Saoriel, Mahamel, Gadiel, Hosael, Vaanyel, Verascyer. In the part of the East are these: Capiel, Braliel, Braaliel, Raguel, Gael, Daemael, Calcas, Atragon. In the part of the West are these: Lacana, Astagna, Nobquin, Sonatas, Yael, Yas, Yael, Lael, Yyel.

Angels of the Fifth Heaven:

In quinto caelo isti sunt quod dicitur Mahon.

In the [fifth Heaven, Makon, from] the part of the North serve these Hayel, Hanyel, Veal, Quiel, Margabiel, Saeprel, Mamyel. In the part of the East are these: Lanifiel, another [source] has Barquiel, Zaquiel, Sanficiel, Zoaziel, Aciel, Farbiel, Uranacha. [The part of the South is missing]. In the part of the West are these: Anhael, Pabliel, Uslael, Bortaz, Suncacer, Zupa, Faly, Paly.

Angels of the Sixth Heaven:¹

In sexto caelo quod vocatur cebul dices a part Septentrionalis &c.

In the sixth Heaven that is called Cebul [Zebul] you shall say from the North part "*Est Deus fortis et potens sine fine*," that is to say "God is mighty and strong without end." From the part of the South you shall say "*Deus sanctus patiens et misericors*," that is to say "God holy patient and merciful." From the part of the East you shall say "*Deus magne excelse et honorate per saecula*," that is to say "great god high and worshipped by the world." From the part of the West you shall say "*Deus sapiens clare et juste*."

¹ There are no angels listed for the two highest Heavens, as these are occupied by god, not the angels, hence the prayers to be said are listed here instead. Peter de Abano follows the same pattern, even if his angel names do not fully agree with *Sepher Raziel*.

Liber Salomonis

Deus tuam clementiam et sititatem exoro qua quaestionem meam et opus meum et laborem meum hodie [53^v] complete et integre verficere digneris qui vivis et regnas Deus per o. s. s. Amen," that is to say "God wise clear and righteous. God your meekness and your holiness I beseech, that question and my work do daily fulfill and hallow, you vouchsafe to fulfill that [which] lives and reigns, God by all world of worlds, so mote it be. Amen."

Angels of the Seventh Heaven:

In septimo caelo est Semiforas scriptum in libro vitae &c.

In the seventh Heaven [Araboth] the Semiforas is written in the *Book of Life*. In the name of the meek and merciful god of Israel, and of paradise, and of heaven, and of earth, and of the seas, and of hills, and of creatures.

[Here ends the Sixth Book & here begins the Seventh Book]

[The Seventh Book]

[Book of Virtues and Miracles]

Here begins the Seventh Book that treats of names and of their virtues

Incipiunt sraem et verba et nomina Semiforas &c.

Here begins the words and names of Semiforas, which god the Creator gave to Adam in paradise. In which are four letters [IHVH] which [correspond] to the 4 parts of the world, to the 4 Elements, to the 4 complexions, and to the 4 natures of the beasts, they are likened such they are יהוה הוה.¹ And these are letters piteously, devoutly, and meekly named [so] that petitions [prayers] for all things [may be] fulfilled. Solomon said there are 7 Semiforas.

And the first is the [54r] Semiforas of Adam, in which are contained 4 chapters. The first is when Adam spoke with the Creator in paradise. The second is when he spoke with the angels. The third is when he spoke with the devils. The fourth is when he spoke with men, with fowls & fish, beasts, reptiles and wild beasts. The fifth is when he spoke with seeds, herbs, trees, and all growing things. The sixth is when he spoke with the winds, and with the 4 Elements. The seventh is when he spoke with the Sun and the Moon, and the planets. And by the 7 virtues of Semiforas whatever he wished to do, he did, and whatever he wished to destroy, he destroyed. And this Semiforas Adam had when the Creator inspired grace into him.

[The Seven Semiforas]

The First Semiforas

Primum Semiforas est quando Creator Adam formavit &c.

The first Semiforas is when the Creator formed Adam, and putting him in paradise named יהוה הוה גגגג,² that is to say *Yana*, the natures and virtues of which above we have declared. If in great necessity, or need, name this name meekly and devoutly, before the Creator, and doubt not that you will find grace and help.

¹ The Hebrew is very badly written, but this is very likely to be IHVH, Tetragrammaton, the name of god plus its mirror image.

² The first block of IHVH and its mirror image HVHI is crossed out. It is followed by גגגג, GGGG, which adds numerically to $4 \times 3 = 12$. This might have been Eleazar's famous רררר. None of these reads as *yana*, unless you mistake the ך [Vav] for a ן [Nun] and transliterate יהוה YHVH as יהנה YHNH, or *yanah*, which is what has probably happened here.

The Second Semiforas

Secundum Semiforas est quando Adam locutus fuit &c.

The second Semiforas is when Adam spoke with the Angel which brought to him these letters, a written example of which is such אֲשֶׁר אֲדִיָּה, that is *yesseraye*.¹ And this name you shall name when you speak with angels. And then your question and your [54v] work shall, without doubt, be fulfilled.

The Third Semiforas

Tertium Semiforas est quando locutus est cum daemonibus &c.

The third Semiforas is when he spoke with devils, and with dead men, and of them [asked] counsel, and they sufficiently answered [him]. And all this he did with these names of which this is the explanation: Adona[i], Sabaoth, Adonay, Cados [Kadosh], Addona, Annora. And these names you shall name when you wish to gather together winds or devils or serpents.

The Fourth Semiforas

Quartum Semiforas est quando animalia et spiritus &c.

The fourth Semiforas is when he bound and loosed beasts and spirits with these 7 names: Lagume, Lamizirm, Lanagzlayn, Lagri, Lanagala, Lanatozin, Laifyalasyn. And when you wish to bind or loose beasts you shall name the names abovesaid.

The Fifth Semiforas

Quintum Semiforas est quando arbores et sementa &c.

The fifth Semiforas is when he called or named the 7 natures with which he bound seeds and trees. And these are: Lihaham, Lialgana, Liafar, Vialurab, Lelara, Lebaron, Laasasilas. And when you wish to bind seeds, or trees, you shall name the names abovesaid. And you shall bind [them with these names].

The Sixth Semiforas

Sextum Semiforas est magnae virtutis &c.

The sixth Semiforas is of great virtue and power, of which these are the names: Letamynyn, Letaglogen, Letafiryn, Babaganaritin, Letarimitin, Letagelogin, [55r] Letafalazin, these names you shall name when you want the elements and winds to fulfill your wishes in all things.

¹ The Hebrew is totally corrupt, and virtually unrecognizable. It was probably meant to be אֲשֶׁר אֲדִיָּה AShR AHIH, 'Asher Eheieh.'

The Seventh Semiforas

Septinum Semiforas est magnum et virtuosum &c.

The seventh Semiforas is great and virtuous, for they are names of the Creator which you ought to name [when doing] each thing, and in all your works call. And they are these: Eliaon, Yaena, Adonay, Cados, Ebreel, Eloy, Ela, Egiel, Ayom, Sath, Adon, Sulela, Eloyim, Deliom, Yacy, Elim, Delis, Yacy, Zazael, Pabiel, Man, Myel, Enola, Dylatan, Saday, Alina, Papym, another [source gives] Saena, Alym, Catinal, Uza, Yarast, Calpi, Calsas, Safna, Nycam, Saday, Aglataon, Sya, Emanuel, Joth, Lalaph, Om, Via, Than, Domyrael, Nimel, Lalialens, Alla, Phenox, Agsata, Tiel, Piel, Patriceion, Chepheron, Baryon, Yael. And these you should name in each season that you work, ruling over the 4 Elements, and whenever you wish to do [destruction] by them, it shall be destroyed.

[The Semiforas of Moses]

Here begins the Semiforas of Moses

Incipit Semiforas qui dominus dedit Moisi et &c.

Here begins Semiforas that our Lord gave to Moses, and it is divided into 7 Chapters, of which the first [chapter] is when Moses ascended the hill [Mt Sinai] and spoke with the flames that surrounded the bush, and the bush seemed to burn, but nevertheless it burned not. The second [chapter] is when he spoke with the Creator on the hill. The third was when he divided the Red Sea and passed through it. [55v] The fourth was when his staff was changed into a serpent and the serpent devoured another [serpent]. The fifth is the name that was written on the forehead of Aaron. The sixth is when he made the brazen adder and the Calf in brass, and smote the Egyptians with the plagues. The seventh is when he rained manna in the desert, and drew out water from the stone, and let out the children of Israel from captivity.

Cap[itulum] Primum [First Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae dixit Moises quando est &c.

These are the names that Moses [heard] when he ascended the hill and spoke with the flames: Maya, Afi, Zye, Yaremye, Une, Bace, Sare, Binoe, Maa, Yasame, Roy, Lyly, Leoy, Yle, Yre, Cyloy, Zalye, Lee, Or, See, Loace, Cadelay, Ule, Meha, Ramechi, Ry, Hy, Fossa, Tu, Mimi, Sehie, Nice, Yelo, Habe, Uele, Hele, Ede, Quego, Ramaye, Habe. And when you name these names devoutly, know your work will without doubt be fulfilled.

Capitulum Secundum [Second Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae dixit Creator &c.

These are the names which the Creator said to Moses when he ascended the hill and spoke with him: Abgincam, Loaraceram, Naodicras, Pecaccecas, Acaptena, Yeger, Podayg, Saccosicum. These are the names with which the temple of Bozale was founded. These are the names of the prophets, and the Angels with which the 4 parts of the world were sealed, with which you may do many miracles. And beware lest you name them, but be chaste and pure, from three days [56^r] fasting, and whatever you wish to do by them, you shall do.

Capitulum Tertium [Third Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae Moses dixit &c.

These are the names that Moses said when he divided the Red Sea: Ena, Elaye, Sayec, Helame, Maace, Lehahu, Lehahu, Alielie, Qore, Azaye, Boene, Hyeha, Ysale, Mabeha, Arayha, Arameloena, Qleye, Lieneno, Feyane, Ye, Ye, Malece, Habona, Nechee, Hicers. And when you want to have grace from any man, these names you shall name devoutly and meekly, and you shall have it.

Capitulum Quartum [Fourth Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae dixit Moses &c.

These are the names that Moses said when his rod staff was changed into a serpent, of the enchanter and the Prophets: Micraton, Piston, Yeymor, Higaron, Ygniron, Tenigaron, Mycon, Mycondasnos, Castas, Laceas, Astas, Yecon, Cuia, Tablinst, Tabla, Nac, Yacuf. And these aforesaid names you shall name when you wish to fulfill your request.

Capitulum Quintum [Fifth Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae scripta erant in populus Aron &c.

These are the names that were written by the people of Aaron when he spoke with the Creator: Saday, Haleynos, Loez, Elacy, Citonij, Hazyhaya, Yeynimeysey, Accidasbaruc, Huadonenu, Eya, Hyebu, Ueu, Uaha, Oyaha, Eye, Ha, Hia, Zalia, Haliha, Eyey, Yaia, El, Ebehel, Ua, Ua. Keep well these names abovesaid for they are holy and virtuous, and these you shall name, so you may get what you ask of the Creator. [56^v]

Capitulum Sextum [Sixth Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae scripta erant in virga Moysi &c.

These are the names that were written on the staff of Moses when he made the brazen serpent and destroyed the golden calf, when all that drunk in the well had a beard [were men]: Yana, Yane, Sia, Abibhu, Uanoia, Accenol, Tiogas, Yena, Eloym, Ya, Uehu, Yane, Hayya, Uehu, Ahiacmed. And these names contain in themselves many virtues, for with them you shall destroy evil and all enchantments. And presume not to name them in the 7 works.

Capitulum Septimum [Seventh Chapter]

Haec sunt nomina quae Moses dixit qua pluit &c.

These are the names that Moses said when manna rained in the desert, and he drew out water from the rock, and led out from captivity the children of Israel: Saday, Samora, Ebon, Pheneton, Eloy, Eneiobceel, Messias, Jahe, Yana or Eolyen. When you wish to do any marvels, or if you were in any anguish, these names you shall name.

And in all things you shall feel their help and the virtue. And when you have done this, rehearse these words by which the names aforesaid are explained:

"Deus vive verax, magne, fortis, poleus, prio, sancte, munde, omni, bonifate, plene, benedicte dominus benedictum nomen sum tua, completer nostram compleas questione tu factor fac nos ad fine urim operis provenire tu largitor nobis integrum complementum urim operis elargire tu sancta et misericors nobis misereres nomen tuam Yeseraye, sit per secula benedictum. Amen."

That is to say, "living true God, great, [57^r] strong, mighty, meek, holy, pure, full of all goodness, blessed Lord be your name, fulfill our requests, you make us to come to the end of our work. You holy and merciful, have mercy on us. Your name, *Yeseraye*, be it blessed by the worlds, Amen."

In the name of the sovereign almighty Creator I begin the explanation of his name *Yeseraye*, that is to say God without beginning and without end. Angilae is the name of a prophet and properly written on a golden plate by living men. And whoever bears it, and however long he has it with him, so he shall not dread sudden death.

Here ends the *Book of Raziel* of the Seven Treatises.

Appendix 1 – Incense Nomenclature ¹

N20. Perfumes and their Plant Source.

Name in <i>Sepher Raziel</i>	Perfume/Incense	Botanical Source
Algalia	Algalia <i>see</i> Civet	
Almabum / Acil almalie	Almabum = Rosemary	<i>Rosmarinus officinalis</i>
Aloes	Aloes resin	Resin of <i>Aquillaria agallocha</i>
Lignum Aloes	Aloes wood (Oud)	Wood of <i>Aquillaria agallocha</i>
Apinum	Apinum	Maybe <i>Eryngium apinum</i>
Apium / Apii	Apium <i>see</i> Celeriac, Parsley	
Ambra / Ambram	Ambergris	A substance regurgitated by the sperm whale
Arzolla / Arzolle	Arzolla <i>see</i> Lady's thistle	
Asafoetida / Assa	Asafoetida	<i>Ferula asafoetida</i>
Auricular muris	Auricular muris <i>see</i> Hawkweed	
Balsamus / Balsamo	Balsam	Sap of <i>Commiphora opobalsamum</i>
Lignum balsami	Balsam wood	Wood of <i>Commiphora opobalsamum</i>
Benzoin	Benzoin	Resin from <i>Styrax Benzoin</i>
Cancer mastum	Camphor	<i>Cinnamomum Camphora</i>
Cardamom	Cardamom	<i>Elettaria Cardamomum</i>
Cassia	Cassia / Kasia [Classical Mercury incense]	<i>Cinnamomum Cassia</i>
Apium / Apii	Celeriac, Parsley	<i>Apii graveolentis rapaceum</i>
Cera alba	Cera alba = white wax	Bee hives
Scicorda	Chicory, succory [wild chicory]	<i>Cichorium intybus</i>
Cicorea		
Cicuta	Cicuta <i>see</i> Hemlock, water	
Cinamomus / Cinamomo	Cinnamon	Bark of the <i>Cinnamomum verum</i> or <i>Cinnamomum zeylanicum</i>
Pentaphyllon / Pentaphylon	Cinquefoil / snake grass	<i>Potentilla reptans</i>

¹ Taken from Table N20 of Stephen Skinner, *Complete Magician's Tables*, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, and St. Paul: Llewellyn, 2006, with amplifications.

Sepher Raziel

N20. Perfumes and their Plant Source.

Name in <i>Sepher Raziel</i>	Perfume/Incense	Botanical Source
Citron	Citron / lemon or orange	<i>Citrus medica</i>
Algalia	Civet (from Spanish)	From the odorous sacs of the civets, animals of the family <i>Viverridae</i>
Classen	Classen <i>see</i> Sandalwood oil	
Gariophylli / Garyophillo / Gariofilum	Cloves	<i>Eugenia caryophyllata</i> , or <i>Syzygium aromaticum</i>
Colofoniam / Pix Graecum	Colophony / Greek pitch	<i>Pine oleoresin</i> , distilled from pine trees
Dragantium / Dragantia	Columbrina gum [Maybe Adderwort]	Genus <i>Colubrina</i> [Maybe the fern <i>Ophioglossum vulgatum</i>]
Costum / Costo	Costus / kostos [Classical Mars incense]	Root of <i>Costus Arabicus</i> , <i>Costus Speciosus</i> or <i>Saussurea lappa</i>
Crocum	Crocus (or saffron from its stamens)	<i>Crocus sativus</i>
Cipressum	Cypress	<i>Cupressaceae</i> family
Eringo	Eryngo, Sea-holly	Genus <i>Eryngium</i> , such as <i>Eryngium maritimum</i>
Euphorbium	Euphorbium	Sap of various species of <i>Euphorbia</i>
Folia lauri	Folia lauri <i>see</i> Laurel	
Thur /Thure	Frankincense [Classical Sun incense]	Gum resin from several species of <i>Boswellia</i> mainly <i>Boswellia cartierii</i> and <i>Boswellia thurifera</i> (hence the name 'thur')
Thus / Thuris	Frankincense oil (Olibanum)	
Galbanum	Galbanum	Sap from <i>Ferula galbaniflua</i>
Gariophylli / Garyophillo / Gariofilum	Gariophylli <i>see</i> Clove	
Auricular muris	Hawkweed, mouse-ear	<i>Hieracium pilosella</i>
Cicuta	Hemlock (Northern Water Hemlock), Cowbane (highly poisonous)	<i>Cicuta virosa</i>
Insqrm = Jusquianus	Henbane, Stinking nightshade [psychoactive and highly poisonous]	<i>Hyoscamus niger</i>
Marrubio albo	Horehound, white	<i>Marrubium vulgare</i>
Arzolla / Arzolle	Lady's thistle, Holy histle	<i>Silybum marianum</i>
Folia lauri	Laurel	<i>Laurus nobilis</i>
Masticem / Mastice / Mastiche	Mastic	Gum resin from <i>Pistacia lentiscus</i>
Menta	Mint	Various species of <i>Mentha</i> such as <i>Mentha viridis</i>
Muscum / Muscus / Muscu / Musco	Musk	Odoriferous substance from the glands of the male musk deer
Myrrh	Myrrh [Classical Lunar incense]	Gum from <i>Balsamodendron myrrha</i> , <i>Commiphora myrrha</i>

N20. Perfumes and their Plant Source.

Name in <i>Sepher Raziel</i>	Perfume/Incense	Botanical Source
Musthalazeratis / Muculazarat / Muschullaroth [see also Tejpatra]	Mukul = Myrrh from Zafar, Yemen Muql = Bdelium [both speculative]	Myrrh = <i>Commiphora myrrha</i> Bdelium = <i>Commiphora wightii</i>
Mirtal / Folius myrti / Mirtum	Myrtle	<i>Myrtus communis</i>
Nuccem muscata / Nux muscata	Nutmeg	<i>Myristica fragans</i>
Olco olivrarum	Olive oil	Oil of the olive tree Family <i>Oleaceae</i>
Olibanum	Olibanum <i>see</i> Frankincense oil	
Opopanaces	Opoponax	Sap of <i>Opopanax orientalis</i>
Pulegium	Pennyroyal	<i>Menta pulegium</i>
Pentaphyllon	Pentaphyllon <i>see</i> Cinquefoil	
Piperum Nigrum / Piper Negrum / Piperis Nigri	Pepper, black	<i>Piper nigrum</i>
Piper longum	Pepper (Long Pepper)	<i>Piper longum</i>
Papavere nigro	Poppy, black	<i>Papaver nigrum</i> , related to <i>Papaver somniferum</i>
Reubarbarum	Rhubarb	<i>Rheum rhubarbarum</i>
Salvia	Sage	<i>Salvia officinalis</i> , or maybe <i>Salvia divinorum</i>
Sanders / Sandalos /sandalus	Sandalwood	Wood of <i>Santalum album</i>
Sandalum niger	Sandalwood, black	<i>Santalum nigrum</i> related to <i>Santalum album</i>
Sandalum rubrum	Sandalwood, red	Wood of <i>Pterocarpus santalinus</i>
Sandalum album	Sandalwood, white	Wood of <i>Santalum album</i>
Classen	Sandalwood oil	Oil of <i>Santalum album</i>
Satureia	Savory	<i>Satureia hortensis</i>
Scicordia	Scicordia <i>see</i> Chicory	
Storax	Storax / Styra [Classical Saturn incense]	Gum resin from <i>Styrax officinalis</i> (from Liquid amber orientalis tree)
Malabathron / Malabatum [not specifically mentioned in <i>Sepher Raziel</i>]	Tejpatra / Tamaalpatra / Indian Bay leaves [Classical Jupiter incense]	<i>Cinnamomum tamala</i>
Thur /Thure / Thus / Thuris	Thur <i>see</i> Frankincense	
Thymiamia	Thyme	<i>Thymus vulgaris</i>
Thymiamata	Thymiamata = Sacred incense in general	-

Sepher Raziel

Appendix 2 – Selected Table of Angels in *Sepher Raziel* ¹

A45. The Angels of the 12 Hebrew Months in <i>Sepher Raziel</i> .		
	Hebrew Month	Angels
א	1 Nisan	Oriel, Malaquiran, Acia, Yaziel, Paltifus, Yesmactria, Yariel, Araton, Robica, Sephatia, Anaya, Quesupale, Semquiel, Sereriel, Malgas, Ancason, Pacyta, Abedel, Ram, Asdon, Casiel, Nastiafori, Sugni, Aszre, Sornadaf, Adniel, Necamia, Caisaat, Benit, Quor, Adziriel.
ב	2 Iyar	Safuel, Saton, Cartemat, Aryel, Palthia, Bargar, Galms, Nocpis, Aaron, Manit, Aadon, Qwenael, Quemon, Abragin, Yehoc, Adnibia, Parciot, Marinoc, Galus, Gabmion, Resegar, Affry, Absamon, Sarsaf, Alxim, Carbiol, Regnia, Achlas, Nadib, Absafyabitan, Pliset.
ג	3 Sivan	Amariel, Tatgiel, Casmuch, Nuscifa, Almux, Naamab, Mamiacizaras, Samysarach, Naasien, Andas, Paltamus, Abris, Borhai, Salor, Hac, Yayac, Dalia, Azigor, Mabsuf, Abnisor, Zenam, Dersam, Cefania, Maccafor, Naboon, Adiel, Maasiel, Szarhyr, Cartalion, Adi, Ysar.
ד	4 Tammuz	Moriel, Safida, Asaf, Mazica, Sarsac, Adnyam, Nagrow, Galuf, Galgall, Danroc, Saracus, Remafidda, Luliaraf, Nediter / Delgna, Maadon, Saamyel, Amrael, Lezaidi, Elisafan, Paschania, Maday.
ה	5 Ab	Byny, Madrat, Amantuliel, Cassurafarttis, Nactif, Necif, Pdgmar, Tablic, Mamiro, Amacia, Qnatiel, Reycat, Qnynzi, Paliel, Gadaf, Nesquiraf, Abrac, Amyter, Camb, Nachal, Cabach, Loch, Macria, Safe, Essaf.
ו	6 Elul	Magnyny, Arabyel, Hanyel, Nacery, Yassar, Rassy, Boel, Mattriel, Naccamarif, Zacdon, Nafac, Rapion, Sapsi, Salttri, Raseroph, Malgel, Samtiel, Yoas, Qualabye, Danpi, Yamla, Golid, Rasziel, Satpach, Nassa, Myssa, Macracif, Dadiel, Carciel, Effignax.
ז	7 Tishri	Suriel, Sarican, Gnabriza, Szucariel, Sababiel, Ytrut, Cullia, Dadiel, Marhum, Abecaidsan, Sacdon, Pagulan, Arsabon, Aspiramo, Aquyel, Safcy, Racynas, Altim, Masulaef, Vtisaryaya, Abri.
ח	8 Marchesvan	Karbiel, Tiszodi, Raamyel, Nebubael, Alisaf, Babel, Arzaf, Rasliel, Alson, Naspiel, Becar, Paliel, Elisuaig, Nap, Naxas, Sansani, Aesal, Maarim, Sasci, Yalsenac, Iabynx, Magdiel, Sarmas, Maaliel, Arsafel, Manistiorar, Veaboluf, Nadibael, Suci, Nabuel, Sariel, Sodi, Marcuel, Palitam.
ט	9 Kislev	Adoni, Radiel, Naduch, Racyno, Hyzy, Mariel, Azday, Mandiel, Gamiel, Seriel, Kery, Sahaman, Osmyn, Sachiel, Pazehe, Calchihay, Hehuda, Nera, Minael, Arac, Arariqniel, Galnel, Gimon, Satuel, Elynzy, Baqwylaguel.
י	10 Tebet	Anael, Aniyel, Aryor, Nafli, Rapinis, Raaci, Pacuel, Hahon, Guanrinasuch, Aslaqwy, Naspaya, Negri, Somahi, Hasasisgafon, Gasca, Szif, Alzamy, Maint, Xatinas, Sargnamuf, Oliab, Sariel, Canyel, Rahyeziel, Pansa, Insquen, Sarman, Malisan, Asirac, Marmoc.
יא	11 Shebet	Gabriel, Israel, Natriel, Gazril, Nassam, Abrisaf, Zefael, Zamiel, Mamiel, Tabiel, Miriel, Sahumiel, Guriel, Samhiel, Dariel, Banorsasti, Satyn, Nasyel, Ranfiel, Talgnaf, Libral, Luel, Daliel, Guadriel, Sahuahf, Myschiel.
יב	12 Adar	Romi, Patiel, Guriel, Laabel, Addriel, Cardiel, Aguel, Malquiel, Samiel, Sariel, Azriel, Paamiel, Carcyel, Amaluch, Parhaya, Ytael, Beryel, Cael, Tenebiel, Pantan, Panteron, Fanyel, Falafon, Masiel, Pantaron, Labiel, Ragael, Cetabel, Nyahpatuel.
יג	13 Adar bis / Bisertillis	Lantiel, Ardiel, Nasmyel, Celidoal, Amyel, Magel, Gabgel, Sasuagos, Barilagni, Yabtasyper, Magossangos, Dragos, Yayel, Yoel, Yasmyel, Stelmel, Garasyn, Ceyabos, Sacadiel, Guracap, Gabanael, Tamtiel.

¹ Taken from Stephen Skinner, *Complete Magician's Tables*, Singapore: Golden Hoard Press, forthcoming third edition.

A46. Angels of the 7 Days of the Week in *Sepher Raziel*.

	Day	Angels
☾	Monday	Semhahylyn, Stemeihylyn, Jasyozyn, Agrasinden, Aymeylyn, Cathneylyn, Abrasachysyn, Abrasasyn, Layzaiosyn, Langhasin, Anayenyn, Nangareryn, Aczonyn, Montagyn, Labelas, Mafatyn, Feylarachin, Candanagyn, Laccudonyn, Casfrubyn, Bacharachyn, Bathaylyn, Anmanineylyn, Hacoilyn, Balganarichyn, Aryelyn, Badeilyn, Abranocyn, Tarmanydyn, Amdalcyn, Sahragynyn, Adiamenyn, Sacstoyeyn, Latebaifansyn, Caybemynyn, Nabyalni, Cyzamanyn, Abramacyn, Lariagathyn, Bifealyqnyn, Baiedalin, Gasoryn, Asaphin, Dariculin, Marneyelin, Gemraorin, Madarilyn, Yebiryn, Arylin, Farielin, Nepenielin, Branielin, Asrieylin, Ceradadyln.
♂	Tuesday	Michael, Zamirel, Beerel, Dufuel, Aribiriel, Boel, Bariel, Meriol, Amiol, Aol, Semeol, Aaon, Berion, Farionon, Kemerion, Feyn, Ameinyn, Zemeinyn, Cananyn, Aal, Merigal, Pegal, Gabal, Leal, Amneal, Farnnial, Gebyn, Caribifin, Ancarilyn, Meteorilin, Nabiafilyn, Fisfilin, Barsfilin, Camfilin, Aaniturla, Feniturla, Geniniturla, Elmia, Calnamia, Rabmia, Rasfia, Miaga, Tiogra, Bee, Ylaraorynil, Benenil.
♀	Friday	Hasneyeyl, Barnayeyl, Uardayheil, Alzeyeil, Szeyyeil, Uachayel, Zesfaieil, Morayeil, Borayeyl, Apheieyl, Arobolyn, Canesylyn, Anrylin, Zarialin, Marilin, Batorielyn, Kelfeielyn, Azraieylin, Ambayerin, Ayayeylin, Cadneirin, Alserin, Afneirin, Abneyrin, Nonanrin, Eazerin, Oriny, Gedulin, Hareryn, Nanylin, Halilin, Himeilin, Resfilin, Noraraabilin, Hayeylin, Laudulin, Et, Effilin, Thesfealin, Patnilin, Keialin, Lebraieil, Abilaieil, Talrailanrain, Barcalin, Bahoraelin.
☼	Sunday	Daniel, Elieyl, Saffeyeyl, Dargoyeyl, Yelbrayeyl, Comaguele, Gebarbayea, Faceyeyl, Caran, Neyeyl, Talgylnenyl, Bethaz, Rancyl, Falha, Hyeyl, Armaquieyeyl, Roncayl, Gibryl, Zamayl, Mycahe, Zarfaieil, Ameyl, Torayeil, Ronmeyeyl, Remcatheyel, Barhil, Marhil, Barhil, Mehil, Zarafil, Azrageyl, Anebynnyl, Denmerzyl, Yeocyn, Necyl, Hadzbezeyl, Zarseyeyl, Zrael, Anqnihim, Ceytatynyn, Ezuiah, Vehichdunedzineylyn, Yedmeyeyl, Esmaadyn, Albedagryn, Yamaanyl, Yecaleme, Detriel, Ariel, Armayel, Veremedyn, Unaraxxydin.
♂	Wednesday	Samayelyn, Tartalyn, Dexteyl, Racyeylyn, Farabyn, Cabyn, Asymeylyn, Mabareylyn, Tralyeyln, Rulbelyn, Marmannyn, Tarfanyelyn, Fuheylyn, Ruffaraneylyn, Rabfilyn, Eralyn, Enplyn, Pirtophin, Brofilyn, Cacitilyn, Naffrynnyn, Impuryln, Raffeylyn, Nyrysin, Memolyn, Nybirin, Celabel, Tubeylyn, Haayn, Reyn, Paafiryln, Cethenoylyn, Letityelyn, Rorafeyl, Cannyl, Bastelyn, Costiryn, Monteylyn, Albeylyn, Parachbeylyn, Alyel, Uacey, Zalcycyl, Amadyeyl, Usaryeyel, Emcodeneyl, Dasfripyel, Unleylyn, Carszeneyl, Gromeyl, Gabrynnyn, Narbell.
♂	Thursday	Sachquiel, Pachayel, Tutiel, Osfleel, Labiel, Raliel, Beniell, Tarael, Snynyel, Ahie, Yebel, Ancuyel, Jauiel, Juniel, Amyel, Faniel, Rammel, Sanfael, Sacciniel, Galbiet, Lafiel, Maziel, Gunfiel, Ymrael, Memieil, Pariel, Panhiniel, Toripiel, Abinel, Omie, Orfiel, Ael, Bearel, Ymel, Syymelyel, Traacyel, [42] Mefeniell, Antquiel, Quisiell, Cunnyryel, Rofiniel, Rubycyell, Jebrayel, Peciell, Carbiell, Tymel, Affarftyryell, Rartudell, Cabrifiel, Beel, Briell, Cherudiel.
♂	Saturday	Micraton, Pacryton, Pepilon, Capeiel, Themiton, Alsfiton, Chenyon, Sandalson, Panion, Almyon, Expion, Papon, Calipon, Horrior, Melifon, Aurion, Temelion, Refacbilion, Ononiteon, Boxoraylon, Paxilion, Lelalion, Onoxion, Quilon, Quiron, Vixalimon, Relion, Cassilion, Titomon, Murion, Dedion, Dapsion, Leuainon, Foylylon, Monichion, Gabion, Paxonion, Xysuylion, Lepiron, Belon, Memitilon, Saron, Salion, Pion, Macgron, Acciriron, Felypyon, Ymnybron, Raconeal, Zalibron.

Sepher Raziel

A47. Names of the Planets by the Elements, with their Angels in *Sepher Raziel*.

	Planet	Fire	Air	Water	Earth
♄	Levanah	Claron	Becyla	Tasfit	Pantours
	<i>Angels:</i>	Gabriel, Paticael, Daliel	Barasiel, Ztaziel	Caziel, Memyiel, Pazication	Simyllyel, Lafagnaël, Taniel
♂	Kokab	Piztal	Cabran	Facayl	Tarzon
	<i>Angels:</i>	Paradiel, Darifiel, Dameyel	Ramatiel, Loriqniel, Bengariel	Rinafonel, Mellifiel, Alatiel	Alapion, Beriel, Rabiel
♀	Nogah	Dusuyon	Clarifon	Narubni	Cabras
	<i>Angels:</i>	Capciel, Debitael, Deparael	Camirael, Cakaziel, Neraziel	Saloniel, Emyel, Expaoniel	Paziael, Amurael, Salainel
☼	Hamina	Yeye,	Don	Agla	On
	<i>Angels:</i>	Dandaniel, Saddaniel, Ellalyel	Karason, Berriel, Oliel	Muracafel, Pecyrael, Michael	Homycabel, Lucifel, Locariel
♂	Madim	Roqnyel	Pyryel	Tasfien	Ignofon
	<i>Angels:</i>	Kaliel, Cabryel, Raloyl	Pyroyinel, Flatoniël, Carbiel	Cazabriel, Pasaliel, Zebaliel	???
♁	Zedek	Pheon	Fidon	Calidon	Mydon
	<i>Angels:</i>	Tinsyel, Necanynael, Fonyel	???	Meon, Ykiel, Yryniel	Palriel, Tufiel, Quyel
♃	Sabaday	Campton	Srynongoa	Synyn	Onion [<i>sic</i>]
	<i>Angels:</i>	Libiel, Nybiel, Phynitiel	Arfigyel, Gael, Nephyel	Almemel, Hoquiel, Fulitiel	Lariel, Tepyel, Esyel

A48. Names of the 4 Elements and the Lowlands [Underworld] in the 4 Seasons in *Sepher Raziel*.

	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
F	Quoyzil	Enlubra	Mezayn	Aybedyn
A	Ystana	Furayl	Oadion	Gulynon
W	Angustiz	Theon	Maddrylk	Sebillgradon
E	Ingnedon	Yabassa	Coliel	Aradon
UW	Hahan <i>Angel: ?</i>	Cipaon <i>Angel: Jacyel</i>	Meresac <i>Angel: Ababaot</i>	Aycyhambabo <i>Angel: Caaniel</i>

A49. The 7 Heavens and the Angels ruling in each of their Directions in *Sepher Raziel*.

Heaven		North	East	West	South
Shamayim	1	Alael, Hiaeyel, Urallim, Veallum, Baniel, Basy, Unascaiel	Gabriel, Gabrael, Odrael, Modiel, Raamyel, Janael	Abson, Soquiel	Duraniel, Darbiel, Darquiel, Hanin, Anael, Nahymel, Alscini, Soquiel, Zamel, Hubayel, Bactanael, Carpariel
Raqia	2	Tyel, Jarael, Yanael, Nenael, Nenei, Quian, Uetamuel	Maachin or Carmiel, Carcoyel, Betabaat	Anulus, Yesararye [corrupt godname], in which is written the name Macareton	Mylba, Nelia, Balyer, Calloyel, Cyoly, Batriel
Shechaqim	3	Poniel, Penael, Penat, Raphael, Carmiel, Doranel	Satquiel, Quadissa, Taramel, Taryestorat, Amael, Hufribria or Hifaliel	???	Parna, Sadiel, Lyenyel, Vastamel, Sanael, Samyel
Ma'on	4	Rahumiel, Haynynael, Bacyel, Serapiel, Matiel, Serael	Capiel, Braliel, Braaliel, Raguel, Gael, Daemael, Calcas, Atragon	Lacana, Astagna, Nobquin, Sonatas, Yael, Yas, Yael, Lael, Yyel	Saoriel, Mahamel, Gadiel, Hosael, Vanyel, Verascyer
Makon	5	Hayel, Hanyel, Veal, Quiel, Margabiel, Saeprel, Mamyel	Lanifiel or Barquiel, Zaquiel, Sanficiel, Zoaziel, Aciel, Farbiel, Uranacha	Anhael, Pabliel, Uslael, Bortaz, Suncacer, Zupa, Faly, Paly	???
Zebul	6	[no angels]			
Araboth	7	[no angels]			

A50. Names of Heavens, and the names of the Directions, distributed over the 4 Seasons from *Sepher Raziel*.

	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
Names of the Heavens	Hacibor	Rumcaqnia	Mesfisnogna	Saaemaho
Names of the East	Acbedan	Cardrenac	Abrrhel	Acritael
Names of the North	Henniyna	Abodich	Galdidur	Rabbifor
Names of the West	Mahanahym	Sugor	Zarzir	Rabiur
Names of the South	Naufor	Alparon	Machniel	Thaumy

Sepher Raziel

A51. Angel Names for the Semiforas from *Sepher Raziel*.

Heaven	Chapters [Capitulum]	Moses' Semiforas	Ordinary Semiforas
Shamayim	1	Maya, Afi, Zye, Yaremye, Une, Bace, Sare, Binoe, Maa, Yasame, Roy, Lyly, Leoy, Yle, Yre, Cyloy, Zalye, Lee, Or, See, Loace, Cadelay, Ule, Meha, Ramechi, Ry, Hy, Fossa, Tu, Mimi, Sehie, Nice, Yelo, Habe, Uele, Hele, Ede, Quego, Ramaye, Habe.	גנגג יחזה הווד [no angel names]
Raqia	2	Abgincam, Loaraceram, Naodicras, Pecaccecas, Acaptena, Yeger, Podayg, Saccosicum.	אשר אחיה [no angel names]
Shechaqim	3	Ena, Elaye, Sayec, Helame, Maace, Lehahu, Lehahu, Alielie, Qore, Azaye, Boene, Hyehe, Ysale, Mabehe, Arayha, Arameloena, Qleye, Lieneno, Feyane, Ye, Ye, Malece, Habona, Nechee, Hicers.	Adona[i], Sabaoth, Adonay, Cados [Kadosh], Addona, Annora.
Ma'on	4	Micraton, Piston, Yeymor, Higarón, Ygniron, Tenigaron, Mycon, Mycondasnos, Castas, Laceas, Astas, Yecon, Cuia, Tablinst, Tabla, Nac, Yacuf.	Lagume, Lamizirm, Lanagzlayn, Lagri, Lanagala, Lanatozin, Laifyalasyn.
Makon	5	Saday, Halezos, Loez, Elacy, Citonij, Hazyhaya, Yeynimeysey, Accidasbaruc, Huadonenu, Eya, Hyebu, Ueu, Uaha, Oyaha, Eye, Ha, Hia, Zalia, Haliha, Eyey, Yaia, El, Ebehel, Ua, Ua.	Lihaham, Lialgana, Liafar, Vialurab, Lelara, Lebaron, Laasasilas.
Zebul	6	Yana, Yane, Sia, Abibhu, Uanoia, Accenol, Tiogas, Yena, Eloym, Ya, Uehu, Yane, Hayya, Uehu, Ahiaacmed.	Letamynyn, Letaglogen, Letafiryn, Babaganaritin, Letarimitin, Letagelogin, Letafalazin.
Araboth	7	Saday, Samora, Ebon, Pheneton, Eloy, Eneiobceel, Messias, Jahe, Yana or Eolyen.	Eliaon, Yaena, Adonay, Cados, Ebreel, Eloy, Ela, Egicl, Ayom, Sath, Adon, Sulela, Eloym, Deliom, Yacy, Elim, Delis, Yacy, Zazael, Pabiel, Man, Myel, Enola, Dylatan, Saday, Alina, Papym, another [source gives] Saena, Alym, Catinal, Uza, Yarast, Calpi, Calsas, Safna, Nycam, Saday, Aglataon, Sya, Emanuel, Joth, Lalaph, Om, Via, Than, Domyfrael, Nimel, Lalialens, Alla, Phenox, Agsata, Tiel, Piel, Patriceion, Chepheron, Baryon, Yael.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

British Library Sloane MS 3826

Paper. Quarto. 101 folios. 16th Century. English. [the present text]

Printed notices of this manuscript:

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Manuscripts of *Sepher Raziel* grouped according to their content

a) *Manuscripts of Cephaz Raziel: Liber Salomonis (arranged in Seven Treatises):*

British Library Sloane MS 3826

Paper. Quarto. 101 folios. 16th Century (1564?). English. [The present MS.]

ff.1-57. *Cephaz Raziel: Liber Salomonis*.

British Library Sloane MS 3846

Paper. Quarto. 186 folios. 1564. English.

[The text in English is very similar to Sloane MS 3826 with minor differences].

ff.129-157. *Liber Salomonis*, called *Cephaz Raziel*, containing seven treatises, written by William Parry of Clifford's Inn in November 1564.

British Library Sloane MS 3847

Paper. Quarto. 188 folios. 16th Century. Latin.

[The Latin text parallels the English of Sloane MS 3826 and MS 3846, but breaks off incomplete in Chapter Three.]

ff.161-188. *Praefatio in Librum Razielis J.V. in nomine Dei omnipotentis vivi et veri, et eterni, et sine omni Fine qui dicitur Adonay - Saday - Assereye - Jucipio - scribere istum librum qui dicitur Cephaz Raziel cum omnibus suis Pertinentiis, in quo sunt septem Tractatus completi, et septem libri.*

1. Introductio Libris.
2. Clavis Libris. Liber Primus de Astronomia.
3. De Lapidibus. Liber Secundus.
4. De Herbis.

[The introduction lists the *incomplete* Seven Treatises as:]

1. Clavis de Astronomia et de Stellis. [Astronomy]
2. Ala de virtutibus quorundam Lapidum, Herbarum, Animalia.
3. Thimiamatum de Suffumigationis [Incenses].
4. Temporum Anni [Times of the Year].
5. Munditio de Abstinencia [Purity and Abstinence].
6. Samahym [Heavens. Names of God and Angels of the 7 Heavens].
7. Virtutum quod ubi determinatur... [Virtues of the art of magic].

Sepher Raziel

British Library Sloane MS 3853

Paper. Quarto. 268 folios. 16th/17th Century, Latin & English.

1. Tractatus cui titulus, Thesaurus Spiritum, secundum Robertum Furconem et Rogerum Bacon, cum tabula contentorum et prologo praemissis. ff.3-45.
2. Liber qui vocature *Sephar Rasiel* [Latin - incomplete]. ff.46-49v.
Circle diagrams [probably not related to *Sephar Rasiel*] ff.50-53v.
3. Experimenta plurima magica. ff.54-63, ff. 70-120.
4. The book of consecration. ff.64-69.
5. De spiritibus, solaribus, in figuris delineatis. ff.120v-127.
6. The divine Seal of Solomon. ff.127v.
7. Invocationes, orationes, etc. ff.129-137.
8. Tractatus qui vocatur, Speculum quatuor Regum. ff.138-141.
9. Processus magici, excitationes spirituum, etc. ff.142-174.
10. A magical book called the Darnet, containing various magical experiments. ff.176-219.
11. The book of the science of 'nygromancie.' ff.219v-241.
12. De sigillis planetarum, etc. f.243.
13. Conjurations, etc. ff.245v-252, 253-256.
14. Of the Offices of Spirits. ff.257-264.
15. Experimenta quaedam magica. f.266.

Yale University - Beinecke Rare Books Library Osborn MS fa.7

Paper. 303 x 205 mm. 33 folios. Late sixteenth century. English.

The text claims to be the *Book of Virtue* which the Angel Raphael [*sic*] gave to Adam, with Solomon's Hebrew additions. Incipit: "In the name of allmyghtie God livinge trewe & everlasting and without all end, w^{ch} ys said Adonay Saday ... I begin to write this booke w^{ch} ys said *Cephar razyell* with all his portenaunce in w^{ch} be 7 treatises complete." The seven treatises are listed as:

1. Clavis,
2. Virtues of stones, herbs and beasts,
3. Tractatus thimiamatum,
4. Treatise of time,
5. Treatise of cleanness,
6. Samaym,
7. Book of Virtue.

Bodleian Ashmole MS 1790

Paper. Quarto. 1564. English and Latin.

f.116-116v. A fragmentary copy of the first few pages of *Cephar Raziel*.

Bodleian Ashmole MS 1730

Paper. Quarto. Circa 1600. English and Latin.

ff.168-168v. A one folio letter from Sir Richard Napier to his uncle referring to his projected transcription of *Cephar Raziel*, undated, but circa 1600.

Prague, National Museum Library MS XVII F25

1595. Czech.

Sepher Raziel in 7 Treatises.

Translated by Joannes Polenarius, a courtier in the court of Rudolph II. This manuscript may have a Dr John Dee connection, as the translation was made just after the time Dee was in touch with Rudolph II's court.

Bibliotheca Vaticana MS Reg. Latin 1300

13th Century? Latin.

Liber Secretorum de Raziel

Queen Christina of Sweden's Latin *Sepher Raziel* manuscript, given to her in 1650 from the collection of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel (1604-1657), via Michel Le Blon. This manuscript possibly dates from the 13th Century, as it is dedicated to Alfonso the Wise of Castile (d. 1284) who caused a translation to be made from a Latin *Sepher Raziel* (probably this manuscript) into Castilian. This manuscript probably belongs in this first category, with other *Sepher Raziels* divided into 7 Treatises, and may be the root of the other Latin manuscripts.

b) Manuscripts of Sepher Raziel arranged according to the Seven Heavens

These may be a fuller expansion of *Liber Samaim*, Treatise 6 of the present text, and are similar in structure to *Sepher Razim*.

Alnwick MS 596

18th Century, Italian, Latin, and English.

Liber Sameyn [Book of the Heavens] pp. 1-96.

The following work is a Book of great fame among the Magi and Cabalists called *Sepher Raziel* or the *Book of the Angel of the Secret*.

p. 1 For the Account of this Book see the *Zohar* of the Jews in Genesis. When Adam was in the garden of Eden J.H.V.H. sent him a Book of the Angel Raziel in which were engraved characters of the highest wisdom...

p. 3 Compendium of the Book called *Sepher Raziel* or the *Angel of the Great Secret*...

p. 8 [a recipe for cabalistic ink].

p. 11 Operation of the First Heaven.

p. 20 Operation of the 2nd Army ... and attributed to Mercury.

p. 25 Operationi del 2^{do} Exercito.

p. 35 Operationi del 3^{zo} Exercito.

p. 47 Operazioni del 4^{to} Exercito.

p. 56 Operations of the 5th Army.

p. 62 Operations of the 6th Army.

p. 69 Operazioni de 7^{mo} Cielo.

p. 75 [Lists of qualities of the seven Heavens].

[List of various Angel names].

p. 88 Oratio.

p. 90 l'Orazioni.

p. 92 Tavola [Contents of the manuscript in Italian].

p. 93 Haec sunt 72 nomina Dei [List of 72 names of God, with their qualities and powers].

Alnwick MS 585

18th Century. Italian.

f. ii "This Book was bought at Naples from the Jesuit's College when that Order was suppressed and all their goods seized upon by the King and confiscated [1773]. It was brought from there by a Gentleman in a publick Employment in the English service and at his death was purchased in London with other MSS of the Jesuits College."

[Four short tracts bound together, of which only the first is relevant].

p. 1-43. *Cephar Raziel*.

- p. 1 Erudition hujus Libri. *Zoar* [*Zohar*]: Sectione in principio Genesi I.
- p. 1 Comprendio de Libro dello *Cephar Raziel*, id est *Angelus Magni Secreti*
Communicato ad Adamo, ed esposto da Salomonie in Ebreo [Hebrew]...
- p. 2 Incomincia.
- p. 3 Disse Salomone in guest libro guello che disse l'Angelo Raziele a Adamo.
- p. 6 Operazione de primo Cielo.
- p. 8 Seguone l'operazione del i° cielo.
- p. 11 Operazioni del 2° esercito, qual'e nel Cielo di Labana, ed attribuiscon a Mercurio.
- p. 12 Operazioni del 2° Esercito.
- p. 14 Operazioni del terzo esercito.
- p. 17 Le operazioni de IV esercito, il quale sta' nel Cielo di Labana, ma' é attribuito al Sole.
- p. 18 Operazioni del IV Esercito.
- p. 21 Operazioni del IV Esercito, il quale ben che stia nel Cielo di Labana, non di meno e' attribuito a'Marte.
- p. 22 Operazioni del quinto [V] esercito.
- p. 25 Operazioni del VI essercito, il quale ben che stia ne Cielo di Labana, non di meno, e' attribuito à [Jupiter].
- p. 26 Dell' operazioni del VII esercito.
- p. 29 Operazioni del VII Cielo. ill 7° Cielo si chiama Araboth.
- p. 37 Il Complimento.
- p. 40 Questae l'orazione.
- p. 41 Siegrie il Nome Magno.

c) Manuscripts of the 13th Century Rabbinical Sepher Raziel

British Library Additional MS 15299

Parchment. 153 folios. 13th Century, maybe 1235.¹ Hebrew.

[Notes written on the first pages of the MS.]

"Presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex by W Webb, Esq.

[Coat of Arms with motto] 'Si Deus Pro Nobis Quis Contra Nos.'

Purchased at the Duke of Sussex Sale 3 August 1844 Lot 466."²

[In another hand] "Ce Manuscript est un traitè Cabalistique de la fin du dousieme Siècle [end of the 12th century]. Mon cousin le cardinal me la donnè a don retour après le Conclave de Mil sept cent septante quatre [1774]. Il lavoit achete d'un juif de Maguse[?] durant son embassade a Venise pour quatre cents livres de notre argent. Les notes aux marges sont du quinzieme siècle."

[In another hand] "I suppose that the Book is the *Sepher Raziel*; the author is unknown, but Wolff's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* contains some notice about the matter. It contains high mysteries of Cabbala."

[In another hand] "*The Book Raziel (The Hidden Things of God)* the Angel Raziel delivered this Book to Adam after 130 years of his Repentance, which Book contains Cabbala, by which they can cause Angels, according to his month and his day, to perform miracles, and cast out the evil spirits which occasionally enter into men; & it also contains the knowledge of conversing concerning the sun, the moon, the stars, the cause to be sick, & to heal again; & it speaks of many other powers of the vegetable world, precious stones, fishes, fowls, wild beasts; also to be inabled to foretell by the means of the stars, & to explain the rod of Moses, wherewith he performed wonders.

Vide *Labia Dormientium*, letter ף [Daleth] No. 31."

"This MS contains the book *Jetzirah* [*Sepher Yetzirah*] with the Commentary apparently of R[abbi] Eleasar [Eleazar of Worms] ben Juda de Garmiza, who lived in the middle of the 13th century. There are various other Cabalistic treatises in it. See the note at fol. 132b. J.M. See Wolfius, tom[e] i.p.23."³

ff. 1-132v *Sepher Raziel*

ff. 133-153 a commentary on the *Sepher Yetzirah*.

¹ There is a marginal calculation of the Hebrew year 4995 in the margin, which equals 1235.

² Prince Frederick Augustus, Duke of Sussex (1812/13-1843) was one of the early Grand Masters of the United Grand Masonic Lodge of England and son of King George III.

³ Wolff's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, Vol. I, 23. Also see Vol. II, iii; Vol. IV, 771, 1033, or according to Goldmerstein: Vol I, 111 (cf. III, 69; IV, 711).

d) *Other Sepher Raziel manuscripts not examined*

Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin MS 3666
Latin.

British Library Additional MS 16,390

Paper. Small quarto. 17th Century. Two tracts in Hebrew plus some Italian.

(i) The Seven Names.

(ii) The eight chapters of Maimonides, or introduction to *Aboth* [imperfect].

At the end is an extract from a Hebrew cabalistic work, entitled *Raziel*, in Italian.

Dresden MS N. 36

18th Century. German.

Dresden MS N. 96

Quarto. 187 and 175 folios. 18th Century. German. With figures.

Cabala Alba. "Dieses ist das Buch Adam, oder Razielis, durch welches du wissen und verstehen kannst, alles mit einander, alle Wunder Dinge, welche geschehen sind, und noch gemacht werden können... Dieses Buch hat der Engel Raziel den Adam übergeben. - Fortsetzung des Buches Adae seu Razielis."

Leipzig Senate Library Codex Latinus 745

Liber Razielis Angeli

Briefly referred to by Margalioth when he was establishing the Hebrew text of *Sepher ha-Razim*.

Lübeck, Bibliothek der Hansestadt, MS Math. 4° 10

Quarto. 16th/17th Century. German.

Lyon MS 970

17th/18th Century. French.

New York Jewish Theological Seminary Library

German rabbinical script.

Sepher Raziel.

Printed Sources on Solomonian Magic & Works of Related Interest

Abraham von Worms, AKA Abraham of Wurzburg AND Abraham the Jew. *The Book of Sacred Magic of Abramelin [Abra-Melin] or Abramelin the Mage*.

- Translated and edited by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, London: Watkins, 1898; 2nd edition 1900; reprinted New York: Causeway Books, 1974; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975.
- A SHORTER VERSION IN SEVEN CHAPTERS, translated by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, edited by Adrian Axworthy. [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES VI] Edmunds: Holmes Publishing Group, 2001; 2nd revised edition, Sequim: Holmes Publishing Group, 2008.
- A NEW TRANSLATION, compiled and edited by Georg Dehn, translated from the German by Steven Guth. Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2006.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, edited, with commentary, by Stephen Skinner. London: Askini Publishers, 1978; rpt Berwick [ME]: Ibis Press, 2005.

This is the translation of Robert Turner (London: 1655) and the only edition which includes *all* of the items in Turner's collection rather than just *The Fourth Book* and *Heptameron* (see below).

- OF OCCULT PHILOSOPHY, OR OF MAGICAL CEREMONIES: THE FOURTH BOOK — Agrippa
- HEPTAMERON, OR MAGICAL ELEMENTS — Peter de Abano
- ISOGOGE: AN INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE ON THE NATURE OF SUCH SPIRITS — Georg Pictorius Villinganus
- ARBATEL OF MAGICK: OF THE MAGICK OF THE ANCIENTS
- OF GEOMANCY — Agrippa
- OF ASTRONOMICAL GEOMANCY — Gerard Cremonensis

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy: The Companion to the Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, edited and annotated by Donald Tyson. Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2009.

Again, Robert Turner's translation of the six-book collection, following Stephen Skinner's edition (listed immediately above). Tyson's edition includes an 'analysis' of each book containing both historical and practical support material.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Of Occult Philosophy, Book Four*, edited and translated by Robert Turner. Originally published, Antwerp: 1531; Turner's

Liber Salomonis

translation, 1655. Gillette: Heptangle Books, 1985.

Includes the *Heptameron* or *Magical Elements* of Peter de Abano; find both at www.esotericarchives.com.

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius. *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, and annotated by Donald Tyson. Original English translation 1651; Tyson's edition, St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1993.

The support material which Tyson provides makes this edition a valuable reference source. Text at www.esotericarchives.com.

Åkerman, Susanna. 'Queen Christina's Latin *Sefer-ha-Raziel* Manuscript,' in *Judeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)*, [INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES, 163] edited by Allison P. Coudert, Sarah Hutton, Richard H. Popkin, and Gordon M. Weiner. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999.

"The Latin copies of *Sefer-ha-Raziel* in particular shows (*sic*) a continuation of interest in Hebrew angelology among Christian readers well after the great blooming of such concerns among Rosicrucian authors in 1614-1620" (page 13).

Avilés, A. Garcia, 'Alfonso X y el *Liber Razielis*: imagines de la magia astral judía en el *scriptorius* Alfonsi,' in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Volume 74, Number 1: January 1997, Carfax Publishing/Liverpool University Press, pp. 21-39.

Bailey, Michael D. *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* [MAGIC IN HISTORY SERIES]. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Barrett, Francis. *The Magus. A Complete System of Occult Philosophy*. London: 1801; reprinted New Hyde Park: University Books, 1967; reprinted York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 2000.

Most of the contents were copied from Agrippa and other sources. See the defense of Barrett in Alison L. Butler, 'The Revival Of The Occult Philosophy: Cabalistic Magic And The Hermetic Order of The Golden Dawn' (M.A. thesis, St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000): CHAPTER TWO: 'Beyond Attribution: The Importance of Barrett's *Magus*.'

Best, Michael; and Brightman, Frank H. (eds) *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus. Of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones, and Certain Beasts, Also of the Marvels of the World* (13th century). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973; reprinted York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1999.

The recent Weiser edition is preferable to the reprint from Kessinger (Kila, Montana) entitled *Egyptian Secrets or White and Black Art for Man and Beast* of Albertus Magnus (copied from the Egyptian Publishing Co. [Chicago] edition).

Betz, Hans Dieter (ed). *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, Volume One: Texts. 2nd edition Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Black, S. Jason; and Hyatt, Christopher S. *Pacts with the Devil. A Chronicle of Sex, Blasphemy & Liberation*. Tempe: New Falcon Publications, 1993 and 1997.

Pacts includes versions of *Grimoirum Verum*, *Grand Grimoire* and *Honorius*, edited and adapted to render them 'doable.'

Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Amulets and Talismans*. Originally published Oxford/Cambridge: 1930, as *AMULETS AND SUPERSTITIONS*; reprinted New York: Collier Books, 1970.

See especially chapter XXIII: "The Kabbalistic Names and Signs, and Magical Figures, and Squares of the Seven Astrological Stars or Planets."

Burnett, Charles. *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages. Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* [Collected Studies Series: CS557]. Aldershot: Variorum/Ashgate Publishing, Brookfield, 1996.

Butler, E. M. *Ritual Magic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

Cauzons, Th. de. *Magic and Sorcery in France, I*. [French original: *LA MAGIE ET LA SORCERIE EN FRANCE*, vol. 1 (of 4). Paris: Dorbon-aïne, 1910-12]. Palm Springs: I.G.O.S., 1994.

Christian, Paul. *The History and Practice of Magic* translated from the French by James Kirkup and Julian Shaw; edited and revised by Ross Nichols. (French original: 1870) New York: Citadel Press, Inc., 1963.

A Wicked Pack of Cards (see below under Decker) treats this 18th-century writer in 'From Ghost Writer to Magus: Paul Christian' (= CHAPTER 9).

Cresswell, Julia. *The Watkins Dictionary of Angels: Over 2,000 Entries on Angels & Angelic Beings*. London: Watkins Publishing, 2006.

d'Agostino, Alfonso, *Astromagia* [MS. Reg. Lat 1283a], Naples: Liguore, 1992.

Dan, J, 'Raziel, Book of,' in *Encyclopedia Judaica* 13, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 1592-93.

Davidson, Gustav. *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels*. New York: The Free Press [A Division of The Macmillan Company], 1967.

Davies, Owen. *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Davies' broad summary of magic books through history in the first few chapters is maybe useful, but it is awfully rapid. *Grimoires* gets most interesting — and original — in its chapters on more recent times: 'Grimoires USA,' 'Pulp Magic,' and 'Lovecraft, Satan, and Shadows' rather than on the classic pre-1700 grimoires.

Decker, Ronald; Depaulis, Thierry; and Dummett, Michael. *A Wicked Pack of Cards: The Origins of the Occult Tarot*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Wicked Pack is a well-written and well-researched treatment of how Tarot came to be positioned at the core of the Western occult, focusing on its assumption by the French occultists J.-B. Alliette (= Etteilla), Eliphas Levi, Gerard Encausse (= Papus), and, important in the present context, Paul Christian.

Dee, John. (various titles)

See my references to Dee in *Study of Christian Cabala in English*, Part 1, pages 10-12, and the reference list at <http://www-groups.dcs.st-and.ac.uk/~history/References/Dee.html>

de Givry, Emile Grillo. *Picture Museum of Sorcery, Magic, and Alchemy*, translated from the French by J. Courtney Locke. (French original, Paris: 1929: *Le Musee Des Sorciers, Mages Et Alchemistes*). New Hyde Park: University Books, 1963.

Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD). Editors: Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995; second edition, extensively revised, 1999.

Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism, edited by Wouter Hanegraaff in collaboration with Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek, and Jean-Pierre Brach, Leiden - Boston: E. J. Brill, 2005.

This superb collaboration contains entries on AGRIPPA, ALBERTUS MAGNUS, ALCHEMY, AMULETS, ASTROLOGY, FRANCIS BARRETT, JOHN DEE, INTERMEDIARY BEINGS, MAGIC, MAGICAL INSTRUMENTS, MICHAEL SCOT, PETER OF ABANO, SATANISM, and many more.

Eisenberg, Isaac. *Sefer Raziel haMalach : Praktická Teurgie a Mystika Kabalistická*. Praha : Trigon, 1990 [in Czech].

Ennemoser, Joseph. *The History of Magic*, 2 vols. translated from the German by William Howitt, "To which is added an appendix... selected by Mary Howitt." 1854; reprinted New Hyde Park: University Books, 1970.

Fanger, Claire. 'Virgin Territory: Purity and Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Catoptromantic Texts,' in *Aries*, New Series, vol. 5, no. 2. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2005.

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Flint, Valerie I. J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Frazer, Sir James G. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. One-volume abridged edition, New York: Macmillan, 1922; reprinted 1942, 1951.

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Gardner, F. L.; Hockley, Frederick; & Redgrove, H. S. *Hebrew Talismanic Magic*, edited by Darcy Kuntz [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES V]. Edmunds: Holmes Publishing Group, 2001.

Gaster, Moses. *The Sword of Moses*, London, 1896, rpt New York: Weiser, 1970.

Ginzberg, Louis, *Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1937.

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Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

See in particular, CHAPTER 2, 'Italian Renaissance Magic and Cabala,' chapter 3, 'Planetary and Angel Magic in the Renaissance,' and chapter 10, 'Ritual Magic from 1850 to the Present.'

Greene, Thomas M. 'Language, Signs and Magic,' in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar & Symposium*, edited by Peter Schäfer & Hans G. Kippenberg. Leiden - New York - Köln: Brill, 1997.

Greene opens his discussion comparing the attitudes of sixteenth-century "country gentleman Reginald Scot" and his contemporary "English theologian William Perkins" toward witchcraft, concluding that "the perception of these two authors was generally correct, that witchcraft — and more broadly magic — does indeed threaten a conventionalist disjunctive linguistics. Both Scot and Perkins understood that a belief in magic required an alternate linguistic theory which would give substance and energy to the word..." (page 256).

Griffith, F. Ll.; and Thompson, Herbert. *The Leyden Papyrus. An Egyptian Magical Book*. (originally published 1904 as *The Demotic Magical Papyrus Of London And Leyden*); reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1974.

Grippe, Giovanni. *Sepher Raziel: Das Buch des Raziel ספר ריזאל*, Steinbach: Grippe Verlag, 2010. [German & Hebrew]

Gruenwald, Ithamar, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Guazzo, Francesco Maria. *Compendium Maleficarum* Milan: 1608. Translated by E. A. Ashwin and edited by Montague Summers, London: John Rodker,

1929; reprinted New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1988.

“Collected in 3 Books from many Sources...showing the iniquitous and execrable operations of witches against the human race, and the divine remedies by which they may be frustrated” (from the 1929 title page).

Harms, Daniel. ‘Grimoires in the Conjure Tradition,’ in *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, Issue 5, edited by Susan Johnson Graf and Amy Hale. Oxford: Mandrake of Oxford, 2009.

Henson, Mitch and Gail. ‘Magical Notebooks: A Survey of the Grimoires in the Golden Dawn,’ in *The Golden Dawn Journal*, Book III: THE ART OF HERMES. [LLEWELLYN’S GOLDEN DAWN SERIES]. St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1995.

Hockley, Frederick. (Dietrich Bergman, ed.) *A Complete Book of Magic Science ... Transcribed from an Ancient Manuscript Grimoire by Frederick Hockley*. York Beach: Teitan Press, 2008.

Bergman describes *A Complete Book of Magic Science* as “a lengthier version of the text that had been published as ‘The Secret Grimoire of Turiel.’” See below under ‘Malchus.’ *Complete Book...* is also included in Joseph Peterson’s *Clavis or Key of the Magic of Solomon* (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2009).

Hockley, Frederick. (Silens Manus, ed.) *Occult Spells: A Nineteenth Century Grimoire compiled by Frederick Hockley*. York Beach: Teitan Press, 2009.

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Idel, Moshe. ‘Hermeticism and Judaism,’ in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in the Early Modern Europe*, edited by Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus. Washington: Folger Books, 1988.

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Izmirlieva, Valentina. *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism, and Magic*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

In the first section of her book, Izmirlieva analyzes *The Divine Names* of (pseudo-) Dionysius the Areopagite (1st century); in the second section, she studies the (Slavonic) amulet known as *The 72 Names of the Lord* (13th century). Izmirlieva “demonstrate[s], over a large body of textual traces, that *The 72 Names of the Lord* has its roots in the Gnostic Kabbalah and originates from a Kabbalo-Christian exchange that most probably took place in Provence in the twelfth century” (page 12).

Janowitz, Naomi. *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews and Christians [Religion In The First Christian Centuries]* London/New York: Routledge, 2001.

Kahane, Henry and Renee; and Pietrangeli, Angelina. 'Picatrix and the Talismans,' in *Romance Philology* 19:4 (1966), pp. 574-593.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

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King, Francis. *The Rites of Modern Occult Magic [= Ritual Magic in England]*. New York: Macmillan, 1970.

See Appendix B. 'Mathers' Versions of the Grimoires.'

King, Francis, and Sutherland, Isabel. *The Rebirth of Magic*. London: Corgi Books, 1982.

See Chapter 3. 'Grimoires and Sorcerers'

Klaassen, Frank. 'Medieval Ritual Magic in the Renaissance,' in *Aries*, NEW SERIES, vol. 3, no. 2. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2003.

Kramer, Heinrich; and Sprenger James. *The Malleus Maleficarum*. Rome: 1484. Translated by Montague Summers, London: John Rodker, 1928; reprinted New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971.

Kuntz, Darcy [Ed.] *The Black Pullet: Science of Magical Talisman*, translated from the French: *La Poule Noire*. New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1972; reprinted [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES II] Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 1998.

On *The Black Pullet*, see Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 113-132.

Kuntz, Darcy [Ed.] *The History of Dr. John Faustus, Showing How He Sold Himself to the Devil, to Have Twenty-Four Years to Do Whatsoever He Pleased*, [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES VII]. Edmonds: Holmes Publishing Group, 2001; 2nd edition revised Sequim: Holmes Publishing Group, 2008.

Kuntz, Marion Leathers. *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of all Things*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.

Láng, Benedek. *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* [Magic In History Series]. University Park: The

Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

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Luck, Georg. *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds, A Collection of Texts*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Malchus, Marius. *The Secret Grimoire of Turiel, Being a System of Magic of the Sixteenth Century*. London: Aquarian Press, 1960; reprinted edition edited by Darcy Kuntz [KABBALISTIC GRIMOIRE SERIES I] Edmunds: Sure Fire Press, 1994.

See note on Hockley's *Complete Book of Magic Science*, listed above.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Magic, Science And Religion and Other Essays*. Garden City: Doubleday [Anchor Books A23], 1948; reprinted 1954.

Man, Myth & Magic: an Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Supernatural, edited by Richard Cavendish. London & New York: Marshall Cavendish, 1970.

Though this over-sized set of twenty-four books is a part-work (a collectable publication that sells one volume per week), one has to be impressed with the names which appear on the contributors' list and the editorial advisory board: Mircea Eliade, R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, R. C. Zaehner, to name a few. Topics include ABERDEEN WITCHES, ABRACADABRA, AGRIPPA, ALPHABET, FRANCIS BARRETT, BLACK MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT, BLACK MASS, MAGIC AND MYSTICISM, CORRESPONDENCES, JOHN DEE, DIVINATION, EUROPEAN WITCH PERSECUTIONS, EXORCISM, FAUST, FINDING OF WITCHES, FRENCH WITCHCRAFT, GERMAN WITCHCRAFT, GRIMOIRE, ITALIAN WITCHCRAFT, LOVE MAGIC, MAGIC, MAGIC PAPYRI, MAGIC SQUARES, MODERN WITCHCRAFT, NORTH BERWICK WITCHES, OLD AGE AND WITCHCRAFT, PENTAGRAM, PICATRIX, RITUAL, RITUAL MAGIC, ROOTS OF RITUAL MAGIC, SACRED MAGIC OF ABRA-MELIN, SALEM WITCHES, SATANISM, SOMERSET WITCHES, THEURGY, THOMAS WEIR, WHITE MAGIC, AND WITCHCRAFT.

Margalioth, Mordecai, *Sepher ha-Razim*, Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966.

Massello, Robert. *Raising Hell: A Concise History of the Black Arts – and Those Who Dared to Practice Them*. New York: Perigree Books, 1996.

See especially Chapter 1. 'Black Magic and Sorcery,' which includes sections on 'The Great Grimoires' and 'Conjurations from the True Grimoire.'

Mastrocinque, Attilio. *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* [Studien Und Texte Zu Antike Und Christentum 24]. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

McIntosh, Christopher. *The Devil's Bookshelf: A History of the Written Word in Western Magic from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day*. Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985.

McIntosh has written two of the best 'popular' books on their respective subjects: *The Rosicrucians: The History, Mythology, and Rituals of an Esoteric Order*

Sepher Raziel

(London: Aquarian Press, 1980; rpt York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1997) and *The Devil's Bookshelf*. These treatments are readable and reliable, being distillations of the long and careful research of a first-rate scholar.

McLean, Adam (ed). *A Treatise on Angel Magic, Being a Complete Transcription of MS. Harley 6482 in the British Library [Magnum Opus Hermetic Sourceworks #15]*. Edinburgh: Magnum Opus Sourceworks, 1982; rpt Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1990; rpt York Beach: Weiser Books, 2006.

The second of six volumes collectively called 'The Treatises of Dr. Rudd' (MSS Harley 6181-6486). *Angel Magic* gathers material from several sources, including Agrippa, Dee, Reginald Scott, *Lemegeton*, and *Arbatel*.

Meyer, Marvin; and Mirecki, Paul (eds). *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power [Religions In The Græco-Roman World, volume 129]*. Leiden - New York - London: E. J. Brill, 1995.

Meyer, Marvin; and Smith, Richard (eds). *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994.

Morgan, Michael. *Sepher Ha-Razim, the Book of the Mysteries*. (Texts and Translations, No. 25.), Chico California: Scholars Press, 1983. [an English translation based on Margalioth's Hebrew text, Jerusalem, 1966.]

Necronomicon. *A Sumerian High Magical Grimoire*, edited and introduced by Simon. New York: Avon Books, 1975; 1980.

A search of *Necronomicon* on the Internet yields all kinds of entertaining and curious stuff, including shreds of the debate over whether the mysterious text ever actually existed. Adding to the scholarship, confusion, or hoax — take your pick — surrounding this work are

- *The Necronomicon: The Book of Dead Names*, edited by George Hay, introduced by Colin Wilson. London: Neville Spearman, 1978; reprinted London: Skoob Books, 1992.
- *The R'lyeh Text: Hidden Leaves from the Necronomicon*, edited by George Hay, researched, transcribed and annotated by Robert Turner, introduced by Colin Wilson. London: Skoob Books, 1995.
- Tyson, Donald. *Necronomicon: The Wanderings of Alhazred*. St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 2004.
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This edition of the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* corrects a number of deficiencies in past editions of these grimoires. In it Peterson has provided a number of variant readings, plus excerpts from related grimoires. Of particular interest is his Appendix A8 which has a 9 page excerpt from *Liber Sefer Razelis* [the sixth and seventh Treatises from Sloane MS 3846].

Picatrix OR *Ghalat al-Hakim* ['The Goal Of The Wise' – the first English edition].

- VOLUME ONE, translated from the Arabic by Hashem Atallah; edited by William Kiesel, Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2002.
- VOLUME TWO, translated by Hashem Atallah and Geylan Holmquest; edited by William Kiesel, Seattle: Ouroboros Press, 2008.

Published earlier were '*Picatrix*': *Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Magriti*, translated into German from the Arabic by Helmut Ritter and Martin Plesner (The Warburg Institute/University of London, 1962) – a summary in English appears on pp. lix-lxxv; and *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the GHAYAT AL-HAKIM*, edited by David Pingree (The Warburg Institute, 1986). See Martin Plesner's summary of the contents of *Picatrix* at www.esotericarchives.com > Classical Grimoires.

Rankine, David & Harry Barron, *The Book of Gold: a 17th Century Magical Grimoire...using the Biblical Psalms of King David*, London: Avalonia, 2010.

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An appendix to this book (pp. 280-286) gives a list of *Sefer Raziel* texts in manuscript compiled by Adam McLean. The first MS listed is British Library Sloane MS 3826, which is the present book, discussed in the introduction above as *Liber Salomonis*. McLean's list is posted on the Internet at the *Alchemy Web Site*: 'Sepher Raziel Manuscripts,' www.levity.com/alchemy/raziel.html.

Sepher Reziel Hamelach (= *Sefer Raziel*) is primarily a production of Jewish folk magic. It is discussed by Joshua Trachtenberg in *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939; subsequently reprinted), a rare academic treatment of Jewish magic, considered something of a classic, though in sore need of updating. Savedow's work seems to attempt two things: (1) to provide a reliable English edition of the text, and (2) to provide practicing magicians with yet another *grimoire*.

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Of particular interest are two sections of Book Two: Chapter II, 'A Description Of The Infamous magician and of Goeteia and Theourgia'; and Chapter V, 'Concerning Certain books of magic,' which discusses "books passed down by Raziel and Raphael," Book Four on *Occult Philosophy* attributed to Agrippa, but appraised by Weyer as "falsely ascribed to his hand," and "the pestilential little book of Pietro d'Abano entitled *Heptameron or Elements of Magic*." Chapter VI goes on to discuss Trithemius and his book *Steganographia*.

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2. The Grimoires

a. *Grimorium Verum*

- www.esotericarchives.com > Black Magic (two versions: French/English and Italian)

b. True Black Magic

- (not found)

c. The Grand Grimoire

- www.esotericarchives.com > Black Magic (Only the contents are given on the website; the full text on CD can be ordered.)

3. The SWORN BOOK and the *Grimoire* of Honorius (two different texts)

- An English version of THE SWORN BOOK from 'the Royal MS 17 A xlii' (= *Liber juratis*) and the contents of three French versions of the *Grimoire* are at www.esotericarchives.com > Classical Grimoires and > Black Magic

4. *Semiphoras* and *Shemhamphoras Salomonis Regis*

- The complete text of *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (which includes S&S) with a brief introduction "but most illustrations omitted" is at www.esotericarchives.com > What's new > Jan 1, 2006 > Part 2
- *The Sixth Book of Moses* and *The Seventh Book of Moses* can also be found at www.sacred-texts.com > Grimoires.
- *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*, *Semiphoras*, and *Shemhamphoras* are all at The Realm of Shade: www.realm-of-shade.com/booksofmoses/ (This site no longer exists.)

5. *Liber Salomonis* and other portions of British Library Sloane MS 3826

- A full transcription of British Library Sloane MS 3826 appears at Colin's Hermetic Kabbalah: Don Karr's Solomonic Magic, at www.digital-brilliance.com/kab/karr/Solomon/index.htm
- www.levity.com/alchemy/solomon.html >
Solomonic Manuscripts: *Sepher Raziel* (partial lists of manuscripts.)
- The transcription of the closely related text, British Library Sloane MS 3846: *Book of the Angel Raziel*, also in English, can be viewed at *Twilit Grotto*:
www.esotericarchives.com/raziel/raziel.htm

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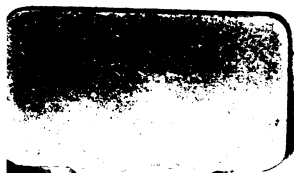
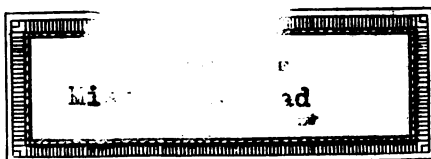
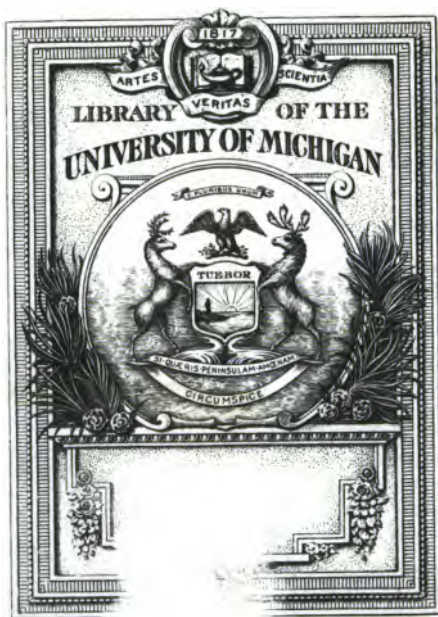
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SIXTH AND SEVENTH
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OR,

MOSES' MAGICAL SPIRIT-ART,

KNOWN AS THE

WONDERFUL ARTS

OF THE OLD WISE HEBREWS, TAKEN FROM THE MOSAIC
BOOKS OF THE CABALA AND THE TALMUD,
FOR THE GOOD OF MANKIND.

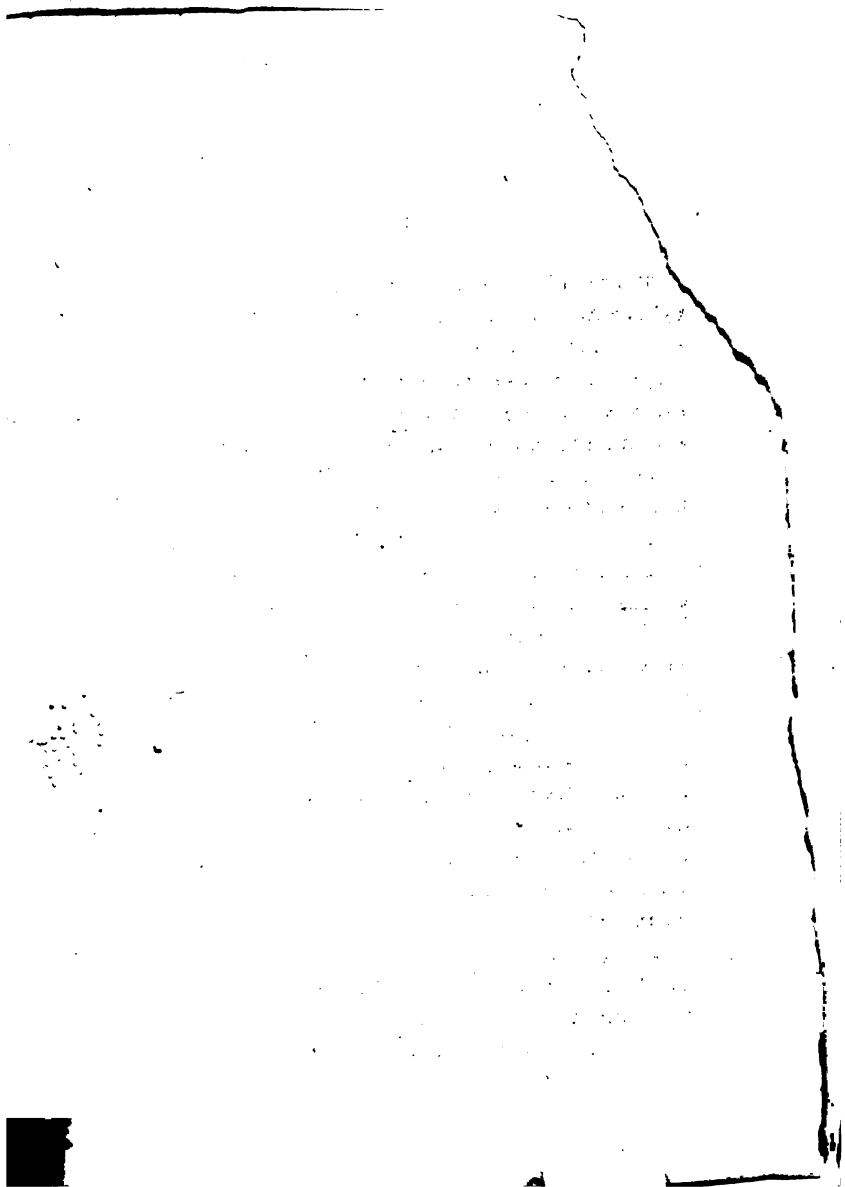
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Writings.

WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

New York:

1880.

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M. E. Ward

1926

P R E F A C E .

THE first edition of this volume has been commended and criticised by the public. It was admitted to be a valuable compendium of the curiosities of literature generally, and especially of that pertaining to magic, but that it was at the same time calculated to foster superstition, and thereby promote evil—a repetition of the charge made against the honorable Homer, the publisher of a magical library.

In our enlightened age, the unprejudiced will observe in the publication of such a work, only what the author claims, namely, a contribution in reference to the aforesaid literature and culture of no trifling merit; but in regard to the believer also, the issue of a cheap edition will be more serviceable than the formerly expensive productions on sorcery, which were only circulated in abstract forms and sold at extortionate rates. What other practical value the above named edition may possess is not the question. Let us not, therefore, underrate this branch of popular literature; the authors wrote in accordance with a system which was, or at least, seemed clear to them, and illustrious persons, in all ages and climes have not considered the labor requisite to fathom the mysteries of magic as labor expended in vain, and although they condemned the form, they could not deny the possibility or even fact that gifted men, of inherent worth, could accomplish such wonderful things.

In regard to the present edition it can only be said, that the so-called Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, which have for several centuries attracted the popular faith, is reality in accordance with an old manuscript (the most legible among many), and given word for word, divested only of orthographical errors which the best interest of literature demand—with unerring fidelity. The publisher guarantees that not one syllable has been added.

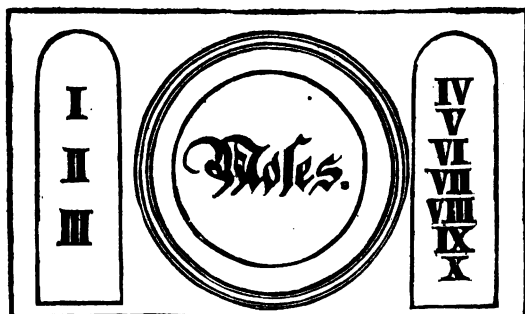
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THE
Sixth Book of Moses.



MOSES' MAGICAL SPIRIT-ART.

Translated from the Ancient Hebrew.

MÁGIA ALBA ET NIGRA UNIVER- SALIS SEU NECROMANTIA;

That is, that which embraces the whole of the White and Black Art, (Black Magic,) or the Necromancy of all Ministering Angels and Spirits; how to cite and desire the IX. Chori of the good angels and spirits, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon.

The most serviceable angels are the following :

SALATHEEL, MICHAEL, RAPHAEL, URIEL,

together with the Necromancy of the black magic of the best Ministering Spirits in the Chymia et Alchymia of Moses and Aaron.

That which was hidden from David, the father of Solomon, by the High Priest

SADOCK,

as the highest mystery, but which was finally found in the year CCCXXX, among others, by the first Christian Emperor Constantine the Great, and sent to Pope Sylvester at Rome, after its translation under Julius II. Pontifice max. Typis manabilis sub poena excommunicationis de numquam publica imprimendis sent to the Emperor Charles V., and highly recommended in the year MDXX., approved by Jmlii II. P. M. Cme. duos libros quos Mosis condidit arter antistitis summus sedalitate SADOCK. Libri hi colorum sacra sunt vota sequenter spiritus omnipotens qui uigil illa facit at est samis pia necessaria. Fides.

Instruction.

These two Books were revealed by God, the Almighty, to his faithful servant Moses, on Mount Sinai, intervale lucis, and in this manner they also came into the hands of Aaron, Caleb, Joshua, and finally to David and his son Solomon and their high priest Sadock. Therefore, they are Bibliis arcanum arcanorum, which means, Mystery of all Mysteries.

The Conversation of God.

Adonai, Sother, Emanuel, Elic, Tetragramaton, Ayscher, Jehova, Zebaoth, the Lord of Hosts, of Heaven and Earth; that which appertains to the Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses, as follows :

Adonai, E El, Zeboath, Jebaouha, Jehovah, E El. Chad, Tetragramaton Chaddai, Channaniah. al Elyon, Chaye, Ayscher, Adoyah Zawah, Tetragramaton, Awiel, Adoyah, Chay, Yechal, Kanus, Emmet, thus spake the Lord of Hosts to me Moses.

Eheye, Ayscher, Jehel, Yazliah, Elion. Sum qui sum ab eterno in eternum, thou my servant Moses, open thou thine ears, hear the voice of thy God. Through me Jehovah, Aglai, the God of heaven and earth, thy race shall be multiplied and shall shine as the stars of heaven. In addition to this I will also give thee might, power and wisdom, to rule over the spirits of heaven and hell.

Over the ministering angels and spirits of the fourth element as well as of the seven planets. Hear also the voice of thy God wherewith I give thee the seven seals and twelve tables. Schem, Schel, Hamforach, that the angels and spirits may always yield obedient service to thee, when thou callest upon them and citest them by these seven seals and twelve tables of my omnipotence; and hereunto thou shalt also have herewith a knowledge of the highest mysteries.

Therefore, thou, my faithful friend, dear Moses, take thou the power and high might of thy God.

Aclon, Ysheya, Channanyah, Yeschayah, E El, Elijon, Rachmiel, Ariel, Eheye, Ayscher, Eheye, Elyon. Through my Seals and Tables.

THE FIRST MYSTERY.

Sigillum Chori Servillum Archangelorum of the Ministering Archangel.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon the OCH, and conjure thee through water † fire, air and earth, and everything that lives and moves therein, and by the most holy names of God. Agios, Tehirios, Perailitus, Alpha et Omega, Beginning and End, God and Man-Sabaoth, Adanai, Agla, Tetragramaton, Emanuel, Abua, Ceus, Elion, Torna, Deus Salvator, Aramma, Messias, Clerob, Michael, Abreil, Achleof, Gachenas et Peraim, Eei Patris et Peraim Eei filii, et Peraim Dei spiritus Teti, and the words by which Solomon and Manasses, Cripinus and Agrippa conjured the spirits, and by whatever else thou mayest be conquered, that you will yield obedience to me, N. N. the same as Isaac did to Abraham, and appear before me, N. N. this instant, in the beautiful, mild, human form of a youth, and bring what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 2.)

The most useful ministering arch angels of this seal are the following with their Hebrew verbis revelatis Citatiori divinitus coactivis: Uriel, Arael, Zacharael, Gabriel, Raphael, Theoska, Zywolech, Hemohon, Yhabel, Tuwabel, Donahan, Sywaro, Samohayl, Zowanus, Ruweno, Ymoeloh, Hahowel, Tywael.

THE MYSTERY OF ALL MYSTERIES.

The particularly great secret and special use of this seal is also ex Bible, arcan. Thoro. I. If this Seal is buried in the earth, where treasures exists, they will come to the surface of themselves, without any presence in plane lunio.

THE SECOND MYSTERY OF THE SEAL.

The Name is True.

Seal of the Choir of Hosts seu Dominatorium of the Ministering Angels.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon and conjure thee, Spirit Phuel, by the Holy Messengers and all the Disciples of the Lord, by the four Holy Evangelists and the three Holy Men of God and by the most terrible and most holy words Abriel, Fibriel, Zada, Zaday, Zarabo, Laragola, Lavaterium, Laroyol, Zay, Zagin, Labir, Lya, Adeo, Deus, Alon, Abay, Alos, Pieus, Ehos, Mibi, Uini, Mora, Zorad, and by those holy words, that thou come and appear before me, N. N., in a beautiful human form, and bring me what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)

The Seal.

(Fig. 3.)

This Seal from the Choir of the Dominationen, or Hosts, the following are the most useful: Aha, Roah, Habu, Aromicha, Lemar, Patteny, Hamaya, Azoth, Hayozer, Karohel, Wezynna, Patecha, Tehom.

The special secret of this Seal is the following ex Thoro Bibliis arcanorum, Sacra Script.

If a man carries this Seal with him, it will bring him great fortune and blessing; it is therefore called the truest and highest Seal of Fortune.

THE MYSTERY OF THE THIRD SEAL.

Seal of the Ministering Throne Angels ex Thoro III. Bibliis Arcanorum.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon thee, and conjure thee Tehor, by all the Holy Angels and Arch Angels, by the holy Michael, the holy Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Thronus, Dominationes principalis, virtutes, Cherubim et Seraphim, and with unceasing voice

I cry, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth, and by the most terrible words: Soab, Sother, Emmanuel, Hdon, Amathon, Mathay, Adonai, Eel, Eli, Eloy, Zoag, Dios, Anath, Tafa, Uabo, Tetragramaton, Aglay, Josua, Jonas, Calpie, Calphas. Appear before me, N. N., in a mild and human form, and do what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 4.)

The ministering Throne Angels of this Seal are the following: Tehom, Haseba, Amarzyom, Schawayt, Chuscha, Zavar, Yahel. La behor, Adoyabel, Schimuel, Achusaton, Schaddyl, Chamyel, Parymel, Chayo. The special secret of this Throne is also ex Thoro III. Bibliis arcanorum script. Carrying this Seal with you will cause you to be very agreeable and much beloved, and will also defeat all your enemies.

THE FOURTH SEAL OF THE MINISTERING

Cherubim and Seraphim with their Characteristics.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon thee, desire and conjure thee, O Spirit Anoch, by the wisdom of Solomon, by the obedience of Isaac, by the blessing of Abraham, by the piety of Jacob and Noe, who did not sin before God, by the serpents of Moses, and by the twelve tribes, and by the most terrible words: Dallia, Dollia, Dollion,

Corfuselas, Jazy, Agzy, Ahub, Tilli, Stago, Adoth, Suna, Eoluth, Alos, Jaoth, Dilu, and by all the words through which thou canst be compelled to appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and give what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 5.)

The most obliging ministering Cherubim and Seraphim of this Seal, are the following with their Hebrew calling: Anoch, Sewachar, Chaylon, Esor, Yaron, Oseny, Yagelor, Ehym, Maakyel, Echad, Yalyon, Yagar, Ragat, Ymmat, Chabalym, Schadyim.

The special secret of this Seal is the following Thora IVta. Bibbils arcan. To carry this Seal upon the body will save a person from all misery, and give the greatest fortune and long life.

The Fifth Seal.

Seal of the Angels of Power.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon thee, desire and conjure thee, Spirit Scheol, through the most holy appearance in the flesh of Jesus Christ, by his most holy birth and circumcision, by his sweating of blood in the Garden, by the lashes he bore, by his bitter sufferings and death, by his Resurrection, Ascension and the sending of the Holy Spirit as a comforter, and by the most dreadful words: Dai, Deoram, Elias, genio, Sophiel, Zephiel, Canael, Elmiach, Richol, Hoamiach,

Jerazol, Vohaz, Daniel, Hasios, Tomaiach, Sannul, Damamiach, Sanul, Damabiath, and by those words through which thou canst be conquered, that thou appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and fulfil what I desire. (This must be named by the conjuror.)

The Fifth Seal.

(Fig. 6.)

The most serviceable Power-Angels with their verbis heracis aitalores divinis ex Thora Vta. ser. are the following :

Schoel, Hael, Sephiroth, Thamy, Schamayl, Yeebah, Holy, Yomelo, Hadlam, Mazbuz, Elohaym.

The special secret of this Seal is the following ex Thoro V. D. B. A. If this Seal be laid upon the sick in full, true faith, it will restore him, if, N. B., he has not lived the full number of his days. Therefore, it is called the Seal of Power.

THE SIXTH MYSTERY.

The Seal of the Power-Angels seu Potestatum ex Thoro VI. Bibliis arcanorum, over the Angels and Spirits of all the Elements.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon and conjure thee, Spirit ~~Alyson~~, by the most dreadful words, Sather, Ehomo, Geno, Poro, Jehovah, Elohim, Volnah, Denach, Aloulam, Ophiel, Zophiel, Sophiel, Habriel, Eloha, Alesimus, Dileth, Melohim, and by all the holiest words through which thou canst be conquered, that thou appear before me in a mild, beautiful human form, and fulfil what I command thee, so surely as God will come to judge the living and dead. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat.



The Seal.

(Fig. 7.)

The most obedient Angels of Power, seu Potestates, with their Citatoriiis Diviniis verbis hebraicis, are the following four elements: Schunmyel, Alymon, Mupiel, Symnay, Semanglaf, Taftyah, Melech, Seolam, Waed, Sezah, Safyn, Kyptip, Taftyarohel, Aeburatiel, Anyam, Bymnam. This is the mystery or Seal of the Might-Angels. The peculiar Arcanum of this Seal of the Mighty is the following: ex Thoro Vita Arcanorum sacra scriptura. If a man wears this Seal in bed, he will learn what he desires to know through dreams and visions.

THE SEVENTH SECRET SEAL.

Of the Most Obedient Angels, Cœli Cœlorum Legionum over the Angels of the Seven Planets and Spirits.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon, desire and conjure thee, Ahael, Banech, by the most holy words Agios, (Tetr.) Eschiros, Adonai, Alpha et Omega, Raphael, Michael, Uriel, Schmaradiel, Zaday, and by all the known names of Almighty God, by whatsoever thou, Ahael, canst be compelled, that thou appear before me, in a human form, and fulfil what I desire. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat. (This must be named by the conjuror.)



The Seal.

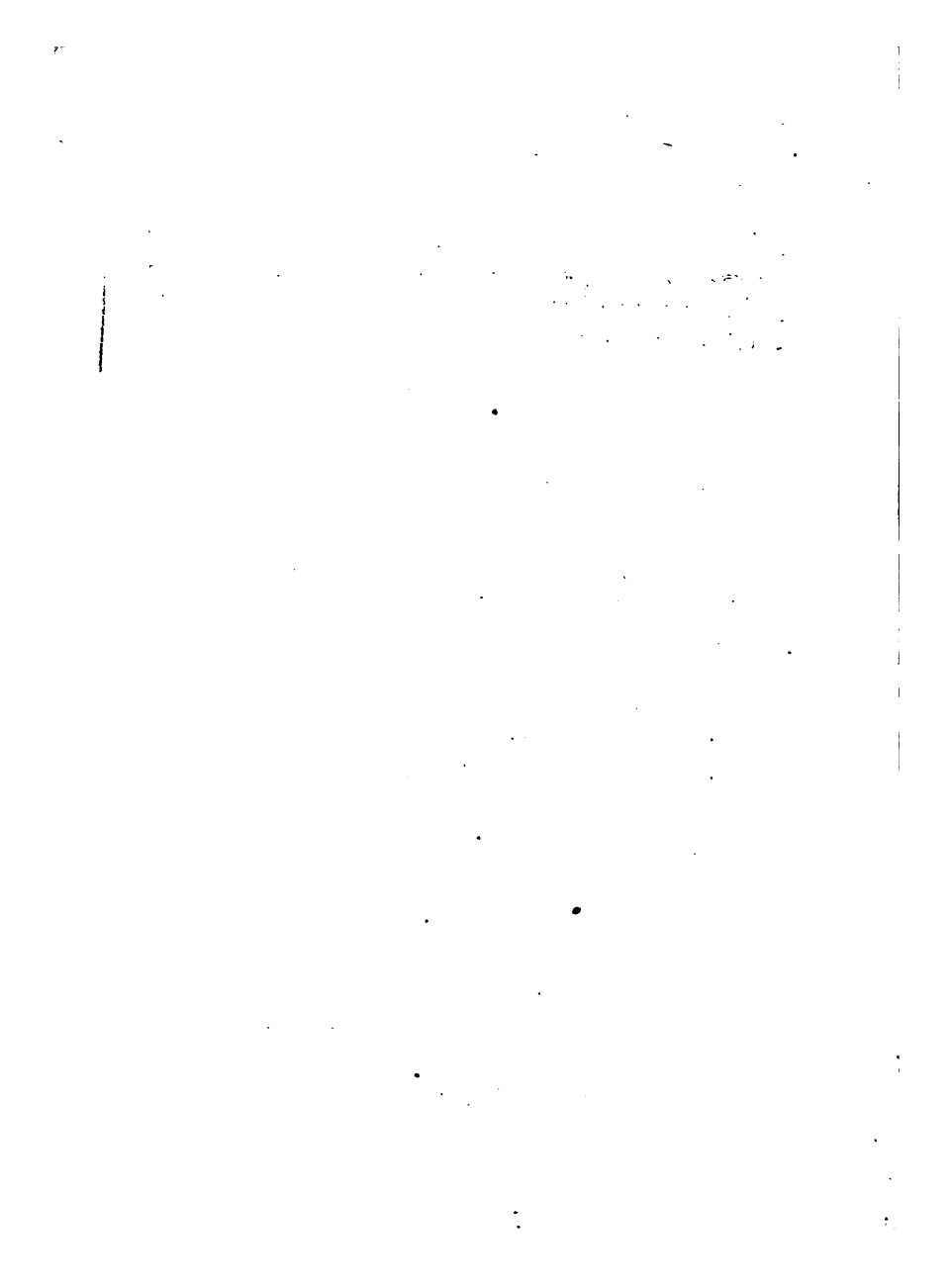
(Fig. 8.)

The most obedient Angels and Spirits of this Seal of the Seven Planets are the following : Ahaeb, Baueh, Yeschnath, Hoschiah, Beto-dah, Leykof, Yamdus, Zarenar, Sahon.

This Seal, when laid upon the treasure earth, or when placed within the works of a mine, will reveal all the precious contents of the mine. As the VII. Arcanorum.



END OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES.



THE
Seventh Book of Moses.

Fig. 9



TRANSLATED BY
RABBI CHALEB.

from the Wiener Bible.

The First Table of the Spirits of the Air.

(See Fig. 10.)

Jehovah Father	Deus Schadday
Deus Adonay Elohe I cite Thee through Jehovah	Eead I conjure thee through Adonay

To carry upon the person the First Table of the Spirits of the Air, who are as quick to help as thought, will relieve the wearer from all necessity.

The Second Table of the Spirits of Fire.

(See Fig. 11.)

Aha I conjure Thee (Tetr.) Aha by
Eheye * by Ihros, Ebeye, by Agla
Aysch, Jehovah,
conjure I Thee,
that thou appear unto me.





The Third Table of the Spirits of the Water.

(See Fig. 12.)

I call upon and command

Thee Chananya

by

God Tetragramaton

Eloh

and thou art compelled through Adonai.

I conjure Thee

Yeschajjah

by

Alpha et Omega

The Third Table brings great fortune by water, and its spirits will amply supply the treasures of the deep.



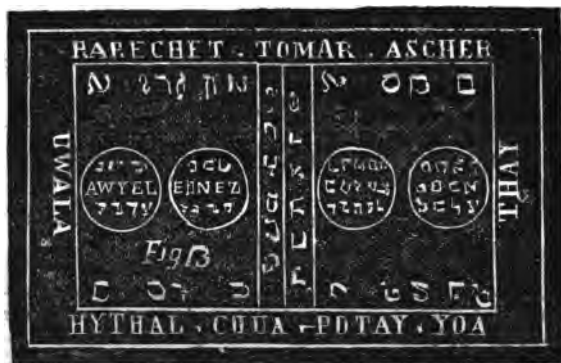
The Fourth Table of the Spirits of the Earth.

(See Fig. 13.)

I, N. N., command Thee,
Awijel,
by Otheos as
also by Elmez through
Agios.

I, N. N., a servant of
God, conjure Thee,
Ahenates Eljon, as also
Adon was cited and called
Zebayth.

This Fourth Table will give the treasures of the earth, if it be laid in the earth. Its spirits will give the treasures of earth at all times.



The Fifth Table of Saturn.

(See Fig. 14.)

I, N. N., order, command and conjure Thee Sathj, by Agios, Scathal, by Sother, Vednij, by Sabast, Nove, Ammoniten * Adolj by Hefoin, Jaho, by the Veritas Jehovah * Kawa, Alho, nates that ye must appear before me in a human form, so truly as Daniel overcame and conquered Bual. F. f. f.

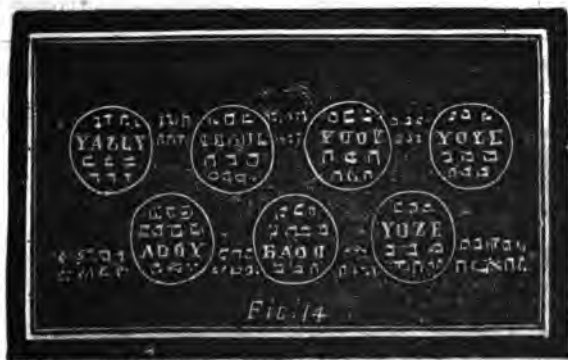
The Spirits of the Fifth Table of Saturn will serve in everything according to wish ; their Table will bring good luck in play.

The Sixth Table of Jupiter.

(See Fig. 14.)

I conjure thee, Spirit Obel, by Alpha at Omega, Lemo and Yehi-
rios * Obin Imion * Niva, by Tetragramaton, Zeno, by Peraclitus *
Obel, by Orlenius, Lima, by Agla, * that ye will obey and appear
before me and fulfil my desire, thus in and through the name
Elion, which Moses named. F. f. f.

The Sixth Table of Jupiter assists in overcoming suits at law,
dispute, and at play, and their spirits are at all times ready to render
assistance.





The Seventh Table of the Spirits of Mars.

(See Fig. 16.)

I, N. N., cite Thee, Spirit Emol, by Deus Sachnaton * Luil, by Acumea * Luiji, by Ambriel * Tijlaj, by Ehos * by Jeha, by Zora * Ageh, by Awoth * that you appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and accomplish my desire, thus truly in and through the anepobejjaron, which Aaron heard and which was prepared for him. F. f. f.

The Seventh Seal of Mars brings good fortune in case of quarrels. The Spirits of Mars will help you.



The Eighth Table of the Spirits of the Sun.

(See Fig. 17.)

I, N. N., conjure Thee. Wjch by Dalia † Jka, by Doluth, * Auet, by Dilu * Veal, by Anub † Meho, by Igfa * Ymij by Eloij * that Ye appear before my so true Zebaoth, who was named by Moses, and all the rivers in Egypt were turned into blood.

The Eighth Table of the Spirits of the Sun will help to attain places of honor, wealth, and they also give gold and treasure.



The Ninth Table of the Spirits of Venus.

(See Fig. 18.)

Reta, Kijmah, Yamb, Yheloruvesopijhael, I call upon thee, Spirit Awel, through God Tetragramaton, Uhal, by Pomamiach † that you will obey my commands and fulfil my desires: Thus truly in and through the name of Esercheije, which Moses named, and upon which followed hail, the like of which was not known since the beginning of the world, f. f. f.

The Ninth Table of the Spirits of Venus makes one beloved in all respects and makes known secrets through dreams. Its spirits also assist liberally in all kinds of business.



The Tenth Table of the Spirits of Mercury.

(See Fig. 19.)

Petasa. Ahor. Havaashar. N. N. cite Thee Spirit Yloij * through God, God Adonai † Ymah, through God Tetragrammaton † Rawa, through God Emanuel * Ahaij. through Athanatos † that Thou appear before as truly in and through the name of Adonai, which Moses mentioned, and there appeared grasshoppers.
Fiat, fiat, fiat.

The Eleventh Table of Spirits.

(See Fig. 20.)

I, N. N., cite thee. Spirit Yhajj, by El, Yvajj, by Elohim, Ileh, by Elho * Kijlij, by Zebaoth. Tajjn Iseij, by Tetragramaton, Jeha, by Zadaij * Abel, by Agla, that you will obey my orders, as truly in and through the name Schemesumatie, upon which Joshua called, and the sun stood still in its course. Flat, f. f. f.

The Eleventh Table (See Fig. 20) gives luck and fortune; its Spirits give the treasures of the sea.

The Twelfth Table of Schemhamforasch.

On all Spirits of the Magia Alba et Nigra.

(See Fig. 21.)

I, N. N., cite and conjure thee Spirit of Schemhamforasch, by all the seventy-two holy names of God, that Thou appear before me and fulfil my desire, as truly in and through the name Emmanuel, which the three youths Sadrach, Mijsach, and Abed-negro sang in the fiery furnace from which they were released. F. f. f.

This Twelfth Table, laid upon the Table or Seal of the Spirits, will compel them to appear immediately, and to serve in all things.

The General Citation.

NECROMANTIA, SEU MAGIA ALBA ET NIGRA TRANSLATED EX THORA
XXTA BIBL. ARCAN.

Aba, Jehovah, Agla, Aschaj, Chad, Yah, Saddaj, Vedreh, Aschre, Noosedu, Zawa, Agla. Here utter the names of the Angels of the Seal or Table, and their proper names.

Eheije, Aljscher, Eneije, Weatta, Eloheij, Harenij, Yechuateche, Hagedola, Merof, Zaroteij, Ágla, Pedenij, Zije, Kotecha, Barach, Amijm, Gedolijm, Verachena, Aleij, Weijazijloti, Mijkol, Zara, Umi-kol, Ra, Schadaj, Jehovah, Adonai, Zeboath, Zah, Elohim, Yeasch, Jepfila, Vajj, Bearechet, Vajj, Yomar, Ahaha, Elohim, Ascher, Hithal-leij, Chuabothelaj, Lepha, Vajj, Yehuel.

Here stop for a short time in prayer to God. Surrender yourself into the will of Almighty God ; He will conduct your undertaking to your best interest. Hereupon take again the Seal or the Table written on parchment, in your hand, and begin anew the citation above. Should your desire still remain unfulfilled, continue as follows :

Hamnejs, Hakha, Elohim, Horro, Heotij, Meo, Dij, Adhajijon, Hazze, Hamalach, Haggo, Elohi. Mijcol, Rhab, Yeba, Rech, Elha-neah, Tijmneik, Ka, Rebe, Hem, Sohemne, Schembotaj, Veischak, Vegid, Gulaooc, Kered, Haarez, Jeha. Since the effects and appearances will now follow, your wishes are fulfilled, otherwise repeat the Citation toties quoties.

The Magical Operation is made within this Circle.

(See Fig. 22.)



The Ministering Formulas or Mysteries

ARE THE FOLLOWING :

Astarte, Salamonis familiarum III. Eegum.
 Spirit of Water ; Spirit of Air ; Spirit of Earth.
 Astoreth in Palestina familiari.
 Schaddaij, Driffon, Agrippa, Magaripp.
 Asijehm, Sinna, familiarus, IV. Buch Regum.
 Schijwin * Aimeh, Chanije, Cijbor.
 Bealherith ijud Judicum IX. XIII.
 Adola, Eloheij, Umijchob Channanijah.
 Adramelech zu Sepharvaijm, Familiaris.
 Yhaij, Vvaij, Yles, Kijgij.
 Nisroch, Regis Serucheril Asijris familiaris.
 Jehuel, Sarwiel, Urikon, Thojil.
 Asijma, virorum Emach familiaris.
 Barechel, Jomar, Ascher, Uwula.

These must be cited by the Twelfth Table at the time of an Eclipse by the Sun or Moon.

This Moloch familiarum or Ammonitarium Ministering Spirits the following Generation-Seal for all services caracteristico obedientiale.

(See Fig. 23.)



This Seal, at the time of Citation, must be written on parchment, and be held in the right hand. But it must not be read.

PART I.

THE MAGIC OF THE ISRAELITES.

THE complete and reliable history of the human and divine—the divine revelations, and the influence of godly or pious men are found in the Scriptural monuments of the old Hebrews in the Holy Scriptures.

The Bible is justly styled the Holy Scripture, because it contains the knowledge of the saints, while at the same time, it unites and harmonizes word and deed, doctrine and action. It points out the true relation of man to the Omnipotent—it affords the most direct reference to the great truths of the spiritual and intellectual; it treats of the origin of the universe and its laws, through which all things have to be brought to light—of the anterior and posterior history of mankind—of his future destiny and how to attain it; of the living and visible agents which God employs in the great work of redemption, and, finally, of the most exalted of all beings—of the world's Saviour, who was an universal expression in his own person, and who exhibited all divine power and action in one person, while all his forerunners were endowed only with single powers and perfections; who revealed to fallen man the highest and purest ends of his life and the means of his purification and restoration.

We find among oriental nations every grade of Magic—the steps necessary to solve the mysteries of somnambulism and second-sight, and the infinitely multiplied operations by which unusual occurrences are produced; in like manner we also find these things among the Israelites, but differing totally in character. In the former instance, it was the individual and his presence; in the latter, it was not the individual upon which magic depended, but upon mankind in general, and upon the great future. There, the light of man was made to shine by skillful actions, produced by the lowest arts; here, shone a pure, unclouded, quiet life, vitalized by the warm breath of the Almighty, a light shining into the future, and upon this light depended all life and action. To the Israelite seer not only the fate of single individuals stand revealed, but the fate of nations, yea, of mankind, which in the end must be reconciled to God by the unfolding of magical art, as often happened under the old dispensation, by instinctive somnambulist influences. If we examine the history of the old covenant we shall find that this remarkable people stood solitary and alone like a pillar of fire amid heathen darkness.

Although we find, among other nations, worthy men, who seek after the divine light, surrounded by darkness and uncertainty, here are men of God, bearing the impress of true faith, who give undoubted

evidence of higher powers by visible acts and signs which everywhere separate life from death, and truth from error, and while the ancient remnants of other nations show only theory without application, here we find a connected chain of acts and events—in fact, a divine and life-like drama. Of all these things the various books of the Holy Scriptures speak with confidence, so that the history of no other people, interwoven with fables, can be compared with them. According to this, the Bible contains the light which illuminates every dark phase in life ; it is the ground-work of all human actions, the guiding-star of the earthly to the eternal—of the intellectual to the divine, the aim and end of all knowledge. It is the first of three great lights, guiding and governing our faith, and bears no relation to the other two great lights of the angle which shall make these actions lawful, or the circle which sensualizes the fixed limits of the condition of mankind. The Bible is also more instructive and richer in reference to our subject than all other books taken together. We will, therefore, cite a few principal points, as well of the phenomena as of the mode of action and theory relating to magnetism, and then call attention especially to the healing of the sick according to scriptural teachings. We will give an account of the dreams, a great many of which are recorded in the Bible.

The dreams recorded in the Bible are many and remarkable. The voice with which God spoke to the prophets and the men consecrated to Him, were generally heard in dreams.

The visions of the ancients, according to the testimony of Moses, were nearly always dreams. Numbers, 12, 6 : "And he said : Hear now my words : If there be a prophet among you, I, the Lord, will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream." Job, 33, 15 : "In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed ; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction." 1 Kings, 3, 5 : "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night : and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said, Thou hast showed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee ; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, etc., give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad : for who is able to judge this thy so great a people ?" Genesis, 20, 3 : "But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, for the woman thou hast taken ; for she is a man's wife ; and God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart ; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me." Genesis, 31, 23 : "And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." The dreams of Joseph concerning his brethren are also remarkable. Genesis, 37, 5 : "And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it to his brethren : and they hated him yet the more : and he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream, which I have dreamed : For behold, we were

binding sheaves in the field, and lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright: and behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shall thou indeed reign over us? or what thou indeed have dominion over us?" And he had still another dream, and he told it to his brethren and said: Behold, I have dreamed a dream more: and behold, the sun and the moon and the stars made obeisance to me. And his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee on the earth?"

Sacred history proves that after Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Egyptian traders, that he actually became their king in the court of Pharaoh. The power of Joseph to interpret dreams is further shown by the interpretation of the dreams of the butler and baker while in prison, Genesis, 1, 40; so, also, of the dreams of King Pharaoh, of the seven fat and lean kine which came out of the water, and of the seven rank and good ears of corn and the seven thin and blasted ears, Genesis, 41, 1. In the New Testament many dreams are mentioned through which God designed to speak to his followers. In this manner Joseph, the husband of Mary, was told by an angel (Matthew 1, 20), that she should conceive of the Holy Ghost and bear a son, who would become the Saviour of the world; and then again, that he should take the child and flee into Egypt to escape the murderous intent of Herod; and after the death of Herod, that he should again return to Nazareth (Matthew, 2, 13-19). In like manner, the three wise men of the East were warned in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, but depart to their own country another way. The Apostles frequently had visions in the night, for example, Paul was commanded to go to Macedonia (Acts 10, 9). And in the same book of the New Testament (18, 9), we read: "Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision; Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace." Many similar passages might be quoted, e.g., 23, 11; 27, 23, etc., etc.

Let us begin with the history of the creation, as recorded by Moses. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

Herein lies the great first cause. God is an uncreated being—heaven and earth are the first things created; the antithesis: that which was made of God. In reference to a second antithesis, Moses speaks of light and darkness: "And darkness was upon the face of the earth, and God said, Let there be light, and there was light." Here, too, the question is about light as a creation, which, however, had for its opposite darkness; therefore did the old Egyptians regard darkness as the beginning of all things. Even according to the writings of Moses, this was the Egyptian doctrine, for he says, "Darkness was upon the face of the deep." But as the Egyptian doctrine in its first inception may be regarded as good authority, their error originated in this, that they accepted the darkness before the light; as also a like error of the Persians, inasmuch that they accepted the light before the darkness as being created, the one before the other. The light stands besides darkness as its natural opposite, created and

present, as Moses plainly says: "And God divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night." The Bible also points out another antithesis in the first germs and figures of the earth, namely, water and spirit—the water as matter as the germ of the figurative, and the spirit, the Elohim, as the fruitful, active principle. "And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." One-sided views led the early philosophers into numerous errors. In this manner Thales brought everything out of the water and overlooked the spiritual active whole, in all of which he was imitated by subsequent champions of Materialism. The other one-sided view is, to hold every thing as spiritual and regard matter only as an *extra* abstraction (*caput mortuum*), which was the case from the earliest period of time among Spiritualists and the advocates of Spiritualism. Moses, therefore, shows his superiority over all the disciples of Egyptian temple-wisdom, as well as of the more modern sects; inasmuch that he was enlightened by divine wisdom, and represented this subject, not in a partial manner, but in its true bearing and significance; he ascribed to matter its true worth and placed the spiritual beside it. Moreover, Moses has given the narrative of the creation in beautiful and captivating language, as for example, in regard to the waters—the difference between the wet and the dry, and how the dry land came forth from the water; how the grass and herbs, which bore seeds, and fruitful trees grew upon the earth; how the mighty deep was filled with living and moving animals, and the birds that fly in the firmament of heaven; how the earth finally brought forth living animals, each after its own kind, and last of all, how God made man "in his own image," to whom he gave "dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowls of the air, over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."

The Mesiaic Eden was the habitation of the originally purely created beings, within whose boundaries grew the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The figure of the serpent shows the nature of the fall of man. We spoke, in another part of this work, of the original purity and wisdom of godly men. Here is the place to record additional Bible principles. To this end we avail ourselves of a mystical, interesting manuscript from which we extract what follows: (MAGICKON; or, the Secret System of an Association of Unknown Philosophers, etc., v. 27-31. Frankfort and Leipzig, 1784. A rare Book, whose Teachings, in many respects, agree with the Indian Brahmin Doctrine).

In view of his divine origin, as an unconditional emanation from God, Adam was not only the noblest being, which, as an expression of divine power, had the preference of all others, for he never owed his existence to a mother; he was a heavenly Adam, brought into being by God himself and was not born into the world in the ordinary manner. He also enjoyed, in consequence of his nature, every prerogative of a pure spirit, surrounded by an invulnerable veil. But this was not the sensual body of the present time, which is only an evidence of his degradation—a coarse mantle—by which he sought to protect himself against the raging elements. His garments were holy,

simple, indestructible, and of an indissoluble character. To this condition of perfect glory, in which he enjoyed the purest happiness, he was destined in order to reveal the power of the Almighty, and to rule the visible and invisible. Being in possession of all the prerogatives and insignia of a king, he could also use every means to fulfil his high destiny. As the champion of unity, he was secure from the attacks of all inward and outward enemies, because the veil by which he was covered (the germs of which are still within us), rendered him invulnerable. One advantage that the original pure man possessed was, that no natural poison, nor all the powers of the elements could harm him. Christ promised invulnerability to his apostles and all his followers, through the regeneration of man. In this condition man also bears a fiery, double-edged, all-penetrating sword, a living word, which combines in itself all power, and through which "everything is possible to him." Of this sword Moses says, Genesis 3—24: "So he drove out the man, and he placed at the east end of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the tree of life." In Revelations 1—16, we read: "And out of his mouth went a two-edged sword," etc. By this sword we are to understand the living word, which was originally inherent in man, and which can only be restored to him by his return to a pure state, and by being cleansed from the blot of sensualism. It is the word of which we read in Hebrews 4—12: "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit."

Most extraordinary is the powerful, all-conquering Honover (word of power), of Zoroaster, which fully corresponds with the foregoing, by which Ormuzd overcame Ahriman and all evil. "In this condition of kingly honor and power," we read further, "man, as the most life-like image of his father, (whose vice-regent he was on earth), could have enjoyed the purest happiness had he properly guarded his Eden, but he committed a breach of trust. Instead of ruling over the things of sense and striving for a higher spiritual state, to which he was ordained, he imbibed the unhappy idea of exchanging the great cardinal points of light with truth, that is, he confounded light with truth, and in this confusion he lost both and robbed himself. Because he lost sight of the boundary of the kingdom over which he was placed as a watchman, and confined himself to only a portion of it, namely, the sensual, the glitter of which blinded him so greatly as to make him forget all else; because he flattered himself that he could find the light in another place than the first great fountain, he fastened his voluptuous eye on a false existence, became enamored of sensualism and became sensual himself. Through this adultery he sank into darkness and confusion, the result of which was, that he was transplanted from the light of day into the night of innumerable small twinkling stars, and now he experienced a sensual nakedness of which he was ashamed. The abuse of the knowledge of the connection between the spiritual and the bodily, according to which man endeavors to make the spiritual sensual and the sensual spiritual, is true adultery, of whom, he who is moved by

the female sex is simply a consequence and an imitator. Through sin man lost not only his original habitation, and became an exile into the religious state of the fathers and mothers, having to go in the way of the flesh, but he also lost the fiery sword, and with it everything else that had made him all-seeing and unconquerable. His holy garments now became as the skin of animals, and this mortal, perishable covering afforded him no protection against the elements. With the wasted half of his body, the spiritual also added to the confusion, and discordant sounds were heard in the dark places of his spiritual domain.

Although man had sunk deep in sin, the hope of a full restoration was given to him on condition of a perfect reconciliation. Without such reconciliation, however, he sinks deeper and deeper, and his return becomes still more precarious. In order to be reconciled he must become self-abased, and resist the false allurements which only serve to steep him in the mire of the elements, and he must seek, by prayer, to obtain the more exalted blessings of benevolent influences, without which he cannot draw a pure breath. In this reconciliation he must gradually overcome everything, and put away everything from him that will cloud his inner nature and separate him from the great source of his being; because he can never enjoy peace within himself and with nature around him until he has thus overcome everything opposed to his own nature, and gained the victory over all his enemies. But this can only be done when he returns the same road upon which he had wandered away. He must wean himself by degrees from the sensual by a heroic life, and like a weary, footsore wanderer, who has many steep mountains to scale, continue to mount upwards, until he reaches the goal, which is lost in the clouds. Overcoming one obstacle after another, he must dispel the dark vapors that intervene between himself and the true sun, so that in the end the pure rays of light may reach him without interruption. The following is a genuine scriptural doctrine according to the Indian creed, differing, however, in character :

“The Almighty has provided means to aid man in the work of reconciliation. God has appointed higher agents to lead him back to Him from the error of his ways. But he can only be fully restored through the Saviour of the world, who finished and perfected all that these agents had accomplished only in part at different times. Through Him all power became animated and exalted; through Him he approaches the first and only true light, a knowledge of all things, and especially, a knowledge of himself. If the man is willing to accept this offered help, he will surely arrive at the desired goal, and he will be so firmly established in faith, that no future doubts can ever cause him to waver. If he elevates his will, so as to bring it in unison with the divine will, he may spiritualize his being already in this world, so that the higher spiritual kingdom may become visible to his eyes, and feel God nearer to him than he ever thought it possible; that all things may become possible to him, because he adds all powers to his own, and in this union and harmony, with a fullness of a higher vitality, the divine agents, Moses,

Elias, yea, even Christ himself, may become visible to him, when, living amid thought, he requires books no longer. In short, man can attain to such a degree of perfection, even in this life, that death will have nothing more to do than to disrobe him of his coarse covering in order to reveal his spiritual temple, because he then lives and moves within the eternal. Only when he arrives at the end of this vale of darkness, will he receive, at each stage of his journey, more extended life, greater inward power, purer air, and a wider range of vision. His spiritual being will taste nobler fruits, and at the end of his race nothing can separate him from the exalted harmonies of those spheres, of which mortal sense can draw but a faint picture. Without distinction of sex, he will begin to live the life of angels, and will possess all their powers, of which he had but a faint sign here; he will then again enjoy the incense of the eternal temple, the source of all power, from which he was exiled, and Christ will be his great High Priest (Hebrews 7, 17, 24, 25). Man will not only enjoy his own gifts, but he will have a part in the gifts of the elect, who constitute the council of the wise; that holy sovereign will be more exalted there than he could be here; there will be no rising or setting of the light of the stars; no changes of day and night, and no multiplicity of languages; every being will in that moment be enabled to read the name of that holy book, out of which flows life for every creature (Hebrews 12, 22, 23). And here, too, the views of Zoroaster are in accord with the foregoing, for he also speaks of a heavenly meeting, and the participation of every follower of Ormuzd in the sacrifices and prayers of all, etc.

In placing this prominent treatise so plainly before the reader I felt no hesitation, because it was so clear and true, and because it seemed so proper for this work here, and to show why only pure and truly Christian men can perform great wonders and see visions of which the worldly-minded have not even a conception. I will now relate a few instances of magnetic appearances and occurrences, many of which are recorded in the Bible.

The first and most striking one we find in connection with Adam. Moses writes (Genesis 2, 21) as follows: "And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept." And now, the question arises, What kind of a sleep was this? The answer is, it was a deep sleep. It was either the sleep of death, or a state of lethargy, or a trance (*raptus divinus*), or, was it merely an ordinary sleep? The first appears improbable, and had this been the case, we know, that in the release of the body from its earthly bonds, and shortly before death, the clearest instances of second sight have occurred; but the question is not of a mortal illness, but of a deep sleep. If it was a trance, then that inward second-sight may be regarded the more probable. The seventy-two translators of the Bible actually regard this sleep as a trance, and Tertullian says, in direct reference to it, "The power of the prophecies of the Holy Ghost fell upon him." (*Accidit super illum spiritus sancti vis operatrix prophetiae.*)

Another remarkable vision is that which Noah had of the ark long before the deluge occurred. Again, the call of Abraham, in which

he was commanded to leave his fatherland and move towards Haran in Canaan. Abraham had many visions, or was the conversation of the Lord with him, recorded in the Bible really only than a figurative expression of intuition? Through these visions or conversations, as you will, he was taught that he would be greatly blessed, and that he should be the father of a great nation, etc. As he came into the sacred grove of Moria, the Lord again appeared unto Abraham and said: "This land will I give unto thy seed."

The innocent life of the shepherds, and their frequent abode in sacred groves, very naturally brought such intuition to the very highest point of perfection, and this was especially the case, when their minds were occupied with God and godly things. And this is particularly shown in the history of the shepherd-life of the pious Israelites, not only by the ancient fathers, but subsequently, in the time of the kings and judges. Isaac and Jacob had visions similar to those of Abraham. We notice especially the vision of Jacob while journeying into Mesopotamia, in which he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven. It is written (Genesis 28, 10): "And Jacob went out from Beersheba, and went toward Haran. And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set: and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold, the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord, etc. The land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed, etc. And in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And Jacob awoke out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not. This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." How truly was Jacob's dream fulfilled! The promised land became the possession of the Jews; through his seed, namely, through Christ the Saviour, who is the heavenly ladder upon which the angels of God ascended and descended, all the nations of the earth have been or will be blessed.

We find another remarkable instance of the magnetic influence in changing the nature and complexion of living objects, in the history of Jacob. It is as follows: Jacob agreed with Laban that he would still guard his sheep, provided, that Laban would give him as a reward for his service, all spotted lambs and goats that should in the future be added to his flocks. Laban consented to this proposal, and Jacob became immensely rich. It is worth the trouble to insert the passage relating to this transaction, as an application of the mysterious doctrine of magnetism.

When Jacob would no longer watch over the sheep and desired to go away with his wives and children, Laban said unto him, Genesis 29, 27-43: "I pray thee, if I have found favor in thine eyes, tarry: for I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake. And he said Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee and how

thy cattle was with me. For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude : and the Lord hath blessed thee since my coming : and now, when shall I provide for mine own house also? And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me anything : if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock : I will pass through all thy flock to-day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats : and of such shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face : every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me. And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that were ring-streaked and speckled, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hands of his sons. And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob : and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks. And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut-tree : and pilled white streaks in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering-troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and spotted. And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ring-streaked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban ; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle. And it came to pass whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods. But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in ; so the feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid-servants, and men-servants, and camels, and asses."

This proves clearly that the sheep and the goats could be made to bring forth their young changed in color and appearance corresponding with the pilled rods which were placed before them by Jacob as they drank from the water. In these days, the theory that the features of the offspring of a human mother can be affected by an object upon which the mother gazes, is pronounced absurd ; and yet this theory, in the very nature of things, is as fully established as the fact that the mental qualities of many children differ totally from those of their parents. The fact that the sheep and the goats, upon seeing the objects which Jacob so skillfully placed before them, brought forth their young differing in appearance from themselves, has a very deep significance. Either Jacob knew what the result of this stratagem would be from experience, or it was revealed to him in a dream, for we read, Genesis 31, 10 : "And it came to pass at the time the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and

behold, the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ring-streaked, speckled, and grizzled." With the water which they drank, and in which at the same time they saw their own reflection, they transmitted the image of the speckled rods to their young.

We have not the space here to enter into a more extended argument to prove the truth of this phenomenon, but the fact that the female progenitor, both human and animal, is capable at the period of gestation to transmit to her offspring the image and likeness of surrounding objects, has a surer foundation than is commonly believed to be possible. The great army of Materialists, who represent the spirit of the scriptures and of life as an ordinary earthly matter, so as to make it appear that nothing is hidden in the sanctuary that they cannot comprehend by their intellect, will never be converted, and those who rely upon the benign influences of a higher light in the temple, which will exist beyond the life of this world, will never need conversion.

Moses himself, the great man of God, had many remarkable visions. These visions consisted in part of dreams and partly in ecstasies, and for this reason was he educated in all the mysteries of the Egyptians and in all their magical arts, in which he excelled all others. On account of his extraordinary piety and wisdom he was made the savior of his people from the thralldom of Pharaoh. His visions were of a diversified character. His ability to lead and govern the people was the direct result of a deep intuition. If we regard this ability as mere inward sight, then we must admit that it was a purely magical gift; if as the result of direct command of the voice of God (for according to the scriptures God often spoke personally with Moses), we find in it a confirmation of the truth, that a pious mind, open to divine influences, can also perform divine acts.

The first important vision of Moses occurred at Mount Horeb, while he was yet engaged in watching over the flocks of Jethro, his father-in-law (Exodus 3, 2): "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a burning bush: and Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the burning bush, and said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

Moses, the prophetic seer, acquainted with the weakness of his brethren, full of religious zeal, and gifted with a glowing phantasia, came to the lodge of his father-in-law in Midian, where he had time and opportunity, as a shepherd, to store his mind with religious contemplations, so that in a state of ecstatic second-sight, he could review the ways and means by which he might become the leader and shepherd of his people. The centrum of his mind was open to the higher influences of God, who appeared unto him as a light in the burning bush which was not consumed, and with whom, with veiled countenance, he conversed familiarly. We find in Moses the emotions of an inward psychological struggle with hopes and fears, with extreme weakness and supernatural strength of will; of submission, reverence

and obedience; of confidence, and finally of an enthusiasm, that, regarding all earthly obstacles as nought, he overcame all things. While he was thus equipped with god-like powers, he subdued the elements of nature and compelled them to testify to the greatness and glory of God by the marvellous wonders which he performed. In such ecstasies Moses could tarry long on the mountains and separate himself from the people on the journey in the wilderness, and would yet be venerated as a man of wonders. The visions of Moses embraced the present and the future. He not only delivered the commands of God from the mountain, but he also foresaw the offerings that were brought to the golden calf; he foresaw that he could prepare the children of Israel for the pure worship of God, and guard them against error and idolatry only by isolating them in the wilderness from the heathen nations around them. In addition to the above indications we need only call attention to the special visions of Moses, his gifts, his ability to transfer the power of divination to others, and class them among magnetic occurrences; we may omit the different kinds of sacrifices, the consecration and blessing with water, oil and blood, and laying on of hands, etc., as well as the stringent prohibitions against taking any part in sorcery, false divination, conjuring and inquiring of the dead.

Among a few instances, resembling magnetism, we mention particularly the rod with which Moses performed his wonders before Pharaoh, and the stretching out of his hands by which he divided the waters of the sea (Exodus 14, 16): "But lift thou up thy rod and stretch out thy hand over the sea, and divide it; and as Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, the waters were divided. And when the Egyptians pursued them, Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, so there remained not so much as one of them." The stretching out of the hand of Moses and the wonders he performed with his rod are of great significance. With his rod he smote the rock in Rephidim, and the water gushed forth to quench the thirst of the murmuring people (Exodus 17, 5): "And the Lord said unto Moses, go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river take in thy hand and go; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall water come out of it, that the people may drink." And when Amalek came and fought against Israel, Moses said unto Joshua (Exodus 17, 9-11): "Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in my hand. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed."

The gift of prophecy seems also to have been given to the pious elders of Israel through their intercourse with Moses, for it is written (Numbers 11, 23-29): "And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not. And Moses went out and told the people

the words of the Lord, and gathered together the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them around about the tabernacle. And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders : and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease. But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad : and the spirit rested upon them : and they were of them that were written, but went not out into the tabernacle : and they prophesied in the camp. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them. And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake ? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them !

The various conditions of clairvoyance are clearly described by Moses. Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian whom he had married, and they said (Numbers 12, 2-8) : " Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses ? Hath he not also spoken by us ? And the Lord heard it. And the Lord came down in a pillar of the cloud and called Aaron and Miriam : and they both came forth, And he said, Hear now my words : If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold." And so it was also among the Israelites and other nations, and is now in our magnetic appearances and revelations by visions, and especially in dreams and dark words and figures, which is frequently the case in the lower condition of somnolency ; but in the highest grades of clairvoyance, when the mind is pure as in the case of Moses, it is to behold in the true form.

The personal conversations of God with Moses, and his power of beholding the Almighty in his true similitude are figurative expressions, and must not be taken in a literal sense. For the Lord speaks through revelation and by means of the light, and not by word of mouth, neither can God be seen by mortal eyes, for He says in another place, " No man can behold me and live." This language is the expression or impression of the divine word, and a light from the very purest source ; it is the spiritual gift and revelation of the Deity to man, which must be taken according to the various grades of intelligence of beings, as in nature, according to the kind of light produced by different actions, whether the effect be produced upon near or distant, thick or thin, hard or soft objects, etc.

This language was understood by prophets and consecrated men in all ages, and these could not communicate the light they had received in any other language than those which were spoken in their day, although, that which came over them was much more simple, comprehensive and spiritual than any spoken communication could have been. The language of God is the influence of a higher light through which the spirit which he pervades becomes electrified. God acts as

a centrum only on the centrum of things, that is, on the inner or spiritual, and the outward manifestations follow *ex post*. It is not less significant that the bite of the fiery serpents was healed by gazing upon the brazen serpent. "And the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way, and spake against God and against Moses. And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against the Lord and against thee: pray unto the Lord that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, make thee a fiery serpent and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live." (Numbers 21, 4-9.)

The visions and prophecies of Balaam, son of Beor, to whom Balak sent Messengers, that he might curse Israel, are also of a remarkable character. (Numbers 22, 23-24): "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord, my God, to do less or more." So spake Balaam to Balak, who tried to bribe him to do evil.

In Numbers 24, 4, 15, 16, 17, 19, we have an account of the visions of the heathen seer, in which was announced the advent of Christ: "And the spirit of the Lord came upon him and he took up hisparable and said: And the man whose eyes are open hath said: He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the visions of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open, I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a Star out of Jacob and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion." The history of Balaam proves that the power to perform wonders was not possessed by holy seers alone. Balak, king of the Moabites, being afraid of the Israelites, desired to form a league with the Midianites. But since neither the Moabites nor the Midianites felt like engaging in hostilities with the Israelites, they resorted to magic, and since they had no magician among themselves, they sent for Balaam, who was celebrated for his powers of charming and divining. The messengers came to Balaam with costly presents in their hands (for he took money for his services as soothsayer), and demanded that he should curse this strange people. Balaam invited them to tarry over night; in the morning he arose and made known to the messengers that God neither permitted him to curse the Israelites, nor allowed him to accompany them to their country, for "that people was favored of God." Balak thinking he had not offered enough, sent more costly presents by the hands of his nobles, in order to induce Balaam to visit him and curse Israel. Balaam, a mixture of faith and fickleness, of truth and avarice, of true prophecy and magic, said to the servants of Balak: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." And yet, after he had spoken with the Lord during the night, he arose in the morning, saddled his ass, and prepared to go with the Moabite princes,

and afterwards told the enemies of Israel how they could lead them into idolatry.

Here follows the history of Balaam's perfect somnambulism. Being a visionary, he was divided within himself, because he tried to serve God and Mammon. His conscience unbraided him, "And God's anger was kindled against him because he went: and the angel of the Lord stood in his way for an adversary against him." Now he changed his inward perception from the angel and transferred it to the ass, which now also beheld the angel standing in the way, and therefore began a rational conversation with its rider. The ass, with characteristic obduracy, preferred the fields to the uneven paths in the vineyards, and when force was employed to turn her in the way, she thrust herself again the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall, for which he smote her with his staff; and since there was no path to turn aside either to the right or to the left, the ass fell down under Balaam, and he smote her again. Finally the ass spoke to Balaam and pointed out to him his unreasonable conduct, and when he came unto himself he again saw the angel instead of the ass; but his conscience smote him; he confessed his sin and promised to go back again. But the angel permitted him to proceed upon condition that he should speak only what the Lord had commanded him to say, which condition he fulfilled in spite of every temptation that Balak could offer; and he went not at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness.' Instead of cursing the Israelites he blessed them, and afterwards actually prophesied concerning the Star of Jacob. (Numbers 24.)

This spurious prophet had no truly divine inspirations, but he prophesied in the same manner as do our mesmeric clairvoyants. For, first, he always went into retirement, when he was about to prophesy, to avoid outward disturbance, which no true prophet ever did. Second, His inward perceptions were opened by closing his outward senses. "So sayeth the hearer of the word, whose eyes will be opened when he bows down." It is evident that the angel with the drawn sword was a vision, and the fact that the ass speaking did not appear strange to him, proves clearly that he could not have been awake. According to the Arabic, Balaam was called "the man with the closed eye," and this induces Tholuck to compare his condition to a state of magnetic ecstasy. Third, Balaam was so incapable of distinguishing between the real object and the apparent subject, that the ass, gifted with speech, made no impression upon him, so that, after he had regained his senses, he saw the angel standing before him and bowed himself before him. Fourth, Balaam made use of certain external means to throw himself into an ecstatic state, which true prophets never did. He was led from place to place in order to obtain visions, differing in their nature, so as to make them conform with the pleasure of Balak. He even employed magic, for it is written: "And when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness." Fifth, finally, Balaam's ecstasies were unstable and uncertain, and his figures and expressions were symbolical, for we

read, for example: "He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion." This false prophet then returned to his dwelling, but appears again later in the camp of the Midianites, where he finally perished by the sword at the hands of those whom Moses sent out to fight.

In the days of the judges and kings, dreams and prophetic visions signified the same thing. In 1 Samuel, 28, 6, we read: "In olden times in Israel, when men inquired of the Lord, they said: Come let us go to the seer, for they were called seers who are now called prophets."

In Numbers 27, 18-21, when Moses asked the Lord to give him a worthy follower, it is written: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take Joshua, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, etc., and thou shalt put some of thine honor upon him, etc. And he shall stand before Eleazer the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord," etc. I have already quoted passages from the Bible to show that dreams and prophetic visions were regarded as the same thing; and indeed, so important were dreams, that a dreamer was placed in the same category with a prophet. "And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. (1 Samuel, 28, 6.) We read in Deuteronomy 13, 1-4: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying Let us go, after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul." From this we learn that persons who were not prophets, and who were not of a pure heart, also had prophetic visions.

It would be tedious as well as superfluous to recite all the visions of the prophets. In the meantime we will not pass over the most remarkable in silence. In 1 Samuel, 16, we find the history of Saul, who, after the spirit of God had departed from him, became gloomy and ill, and whose condition could only be ameliorated by the sweet sounds of music. "But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on the harp: and it shall come to pass when the evil spirit of God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well: and Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me, etc. And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." When Saul saw the Philistine host his heart failed him, and he inquired of the Lord, but the Lord answered him not, "neither by dreams, nor by Urim nor by

prophets. If there arise among you prophets, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth a sign, etc. Saul was a seeker after signs and wonders, for he at one time inquired of Samuel about his missing asses; at another time he inquired of the witch of Endor, and at other times he depended upon deceptive dreams. The witch said to Saul: "Wherefore dost thou ask of me, seeing that the Lord is departed from thee, and thy kingdom is gone out of thy hand."

In the books of Samiel, who was a clairvoyant in his youth, we find many prophetic visions recorded. The most remarkable of these visions were those of Samuel and David. Even Saul attempted to prophesy until the spirit of the Lord departed from him. The history of the aged king David, who could no more obtain warmth of body, even though he was covered with clothing, we have already related. A young virgin was procured, who slept in the king's arms and cherished him, and so he obtained heat. (1 Kings, 1, 1.)

Among all the prophets of the old dispensation there was none more exalted than Elias, whose very name was a synonyme for a higher grade of being. We find in him an example of great significance in magnetic transactions. He imparted the most important doctrines of life, and he gave life to such as had apparently died, a history of which is here inserted verbatim: "And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick, and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in him. And she said unto Elias, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son? And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed. And he cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord, my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son? And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him again. And the Lord heard the voice of Elias; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived. And Elias took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him to his mother." (1 Kings 17, 17-24.)

Of a similar kind a still more remarkable instance of the striking and powerful magnetic influence is given in the history of the Shunammite's son who was restored to life by the prophet Elisha (2 Kings, 4, 18-37). "And when the child was grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father, to the reapers. And he said unto his father, My head, my head! And he said to a lad, Carry him to his mother. And when he had taken him, and brought him to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and then died. And she went up, and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and shut the door and went out. And she called unto her husband, and said, Send me, I pray thee, one of the young men, and one of the asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again. And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? it is neither new moon, or Sabbath. And she said It shall be

forward; slack not thy riding for me, except I bid thee. So she went, and came unto the man of God to mount Carmel. And it came to pass, when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to Gehazi his servant, Behold, yonder that Shunamite: Run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, Is it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well with the child? And she answered, It is well. And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught him by the feet: but Gehazi came near to thrust her away. And the man of God said, Let her alone; for her soul is vexed within her: and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me. Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, Do not deceive me? Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take thy staff in thy hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child. And the mother of the child said, As the Lord liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her. And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child; but there was neither voice nor hearing. Wherefore, he went again to meet him, and told him, saying, The child is not awaked. And when Elisha had come into the house, behold the child was dead, and laid upon his bed. He went in therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the Lord. And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he stretched himself upon the child, and the flesh of the child waxed warm. Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him: and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes. And he called Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunamite. So he called her. And when she was come in unto him, he said, take up thy son."

What may we learn from this? First, that one must be a man of God as Elisha was. Second, Elisha must have been well acquainted with the transferring of this power by means of a conductor, or he would not have sent his servant before him with the staff, by simply laying the same upon the face of the dead child, and thereby restore him to life. Third, the command that he gave unto his servant, to salute no one by the way, has a deep significance. He was to give his undivided attention to the business of raising the dead unto life, and not to be led away by any other consideration or occasion whatever. A proof that it is highly necessary and important that a magnetic physician should be free from all diversions in order to concentrate all his energies upon the one object,—the patient. Fourth, the very management in this case, is incomparable. Fifth, it is a proof that perseverance and continuance is a chief requisite in a magnetic operation: you cannot fell a tree with one stroke, so Elisha, after the first effort, arose and walked to and fro in the house, and only upon the second effort did the dead lad begin to breathe. By the conduct of Elisha (and Saul), we may learn, that the inner sense may also be developed by music, as for instance, when Elisha was called upon to

said: "But now, bring me a minstrel." And as the minstrel played the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he prophesied. (2 Kings, 8, 15.) That they knew the method of healing by laying on of hands, and that they practiced it, is proven in the passage (2 Kings, 5, 11.) Naaman, the Syrian captain, expected Elisha to move his hand over the leprous part, and thus put away his leprosy.

We often read that the remains of saints worked marvelous wonders and healed the sick long after their decease. This was the case with Elisha, for we read (2 Kings, 13, 20): "And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year. And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that behold they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood upon his feet." If it might probably appear, that in the earliest ages men were chiefly given to prophecy and inner perceptions, in our day and among us the female more frequently possesses these gifts: still, there are numerous instances of prophetic women recorded in the Bible also, as, for example, the woman of Endor, who possessed the spirit of divination and to whom Saul went to inquire of. Huldah, the Prophetess, (2 Kings, 22, 14), and Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, etc.

Let us once more take a retrospective glance upon the people of Israel, according to the history of the Old Testament, and upon the ancient days of the Orientals, and compare the magic among them to that of later years, and we shall find many and essential differences. In the first place, I have remarked before, how that the people of Israel stood single and alone before all the heathen nations, and how the magic among them assumed an essential and diversified form. For although the Jews remained so long in Egypt, they brought very little Egyptian magic with them on their return; that is, of the genuine theurgical magic art, which is the result of natural powers and of human inventions. These magical ecstasies and wonder workings were more of the nature of divine inspiration, while the black art, practiced by natural means, which was to produce supernatural effects, was met with severe punishment as an unholy work of sorcery and witchcraft. We find quite the contrary in heathendom, since here the true knowledge of the divine was either lacking altogether, or it was adulterated by traditions and darkened by mysteries. As for instance, in Egypt Athor, according to the Theogony of Hesiod, the darkness of night was worshipped as the great unknown, through profound silence; but to the Israelites the light appeared in the unity of God, whom they worshipped with loud hymns. In the entire old world of Heathendom the power of the principle of nature governed, and brought down the spiritual vibration to the level of the terrestrial or earthly. The true magic of the divine was hid from that erring people, being covered with a veil through which but few glimpses of light penetrated. The light shone in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Hamberger says: "Heathendom was capable only to take up single rays, as it were, in an oblique direction, but the elect of God, as the posterity of Shem, in whom mankind was to be exhibited as

such, and to whom all the rest of mankind, as the mere common people (Gojim) were retained, they could rejoice not only in a circuitous, but in a central influence on the part of the Lord. "Thou art a holy people unto the Lord, says God. (Dent. 7. 6.) The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people to Himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth."

Israel was appointed thereto, not so much to conceive and grasp the outward glory of God, the ideal world, but much more His inner being, to be led deeper and deeper into the sanctuary of divine personality. This, however, cannot be done at once; and if Israel is not the only pardoned and favored, but if through him all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, this could only be accomplished gradually, and by degrees. Madam Schlegel says: "A longing or love is the root and beginning of every higher and divine knowledge. Perseverance in searching, in faith, and in the contest of life, only prefigure the middle of the way; the termination must always remain something that is hoped for. The necessary epoch for preparation to this gradual process may not be overturned nor set aside by the noblest strivings of man. The character and the history itself of the Hebrew nations are greatly misunderstood, for the very reason, that these things are not duly observed. The whole existence of this people was built only upon hope, and the highest centre of their inner life was placed at a great distance in the future. Upon this also rests the chief difference in the method of the holy deliverance of the Hebrews, as is exhibited by other old Asiatic nations. In the old records of these nations their glance in the proper historic parts is directed more toward the glorious past, with a regretful feeling in consequence of that which man has since lost. Out of all the fulness of these touching, holy remembrances, and out of the oldest joint proverbs. Moses, in his most direct and fixed revelations for the Hebrew children according to the wisest law of economy, brought out but very little, and only what seemed the most indispensable and necessary for his people and the object of God with the same. And as all the writings of the first law-giver, who for this sole object led and brought out his favorite people from Egyptian servitude in a spiritual sense and according to the whole mode of thought, until up to the time of the prophet king and singer of psalms to the last voice of warning and promise that died away in the wilderness—the outward contents and the inward understanding are, according to prophetic writings: so may the people themselves be called a prophetic people in the highest sense of the word, and is such really, taken historically, in the whole course of the world and in their wonderful destinies they were and are such.

Molitor says further:—"The leading of the Israelites furnishes the most apparent proof of the divine nature of religion. Among all nations there are oracles, and in all important affairs and transactions inquiry is made of them, and nothing is undertaken in life unless the favorable judgment of the gods is first obtained. Meantime these oracles do not appear to be positive leaders of the people. They simply reply to inquiries made. Not in a single heathen religion, there,

fore, do we observe a really positive, sensitive and divine guidance. But man stands here, solely in his own power. The case is entirely different with the people of Israel, who are nothing, and have nothing of themselves, but whose whole existence and guidance is singly the work of Divinity. Where is there a nation to be found that had such an ethical guidance? Where do you find a people who have made humility and obedience and a childlike surrender to God, their first and chief duty, and accepted chastisement as a token of love, and were brought to their destination through adversity and humiliation? True, there are guidances and trials also in Heathendom, but they are trials only in the vigorous subduing of evil, and the courageous bearing of great burdens. Nowhere, therefore, do we find merit or praise for baseness or lowness. When, for instance, it was said of Moses: "He was an humble man," it was a compliment which was never bestowed upon a heathen hero." (Kabbalah, Part 3, page 116.)

The Hebrew prophets and the heathen seers present an essential difference. Even if the ground-work of natural magical visions appear here as elsewhere; if imagination and sympathy—if the outer influences of nature often produced like effects, and if the Israelites had learned and brought with them many and various Egyptian secrets, as for instance, Samuel's School of Prophets in the Old Testament gives ample proof, as also the holy inspired dance, the prophetic signing, etc., had in it something contagious, insomuch that prophetic students were seized and overcome, as was also Saul, who fell in with them and prophesied, so that the proverb, "How came Saul among the Prophets?" still shows something very curious and surprising; yet, in view of the motive and effect, great differences are found, so that they well deserve to be held to view in this place. They are as follows:

1. The Magician, the Indian Brahmin, the mystical Priest, etc., brings himself into an ecstatic condition, and into supposed union with God, by self-elected methods; Moses and the true prophets of Israel receive an unexpected call to serve Him.

2. The Magician elevates himself by his own innate strength to a higher state and condition than the world by whom he is surrounded; he isolates himself intentionally and his isolation becomes imperative, and through it follow the various castes and grades in life, as, for example, the Indian and Egyptian castes, which produces a special influence upon the diversified conditions of earthly life and intellect; Moses and the prophets are more casual, and in the passive dread of deep solitude, they suddenly hear the call and follow in humility, with veiled countenances. The liberation of his people is not effected by a strong will, and he claims no preference; he does not separate the different castes, but he separates the organic unity of the people from heathen blindness, which he dedicates to God; he is himself the expounder of the faith of God's overruling providence; of the hope in future punishment; of the love of God, and of order and justice among men.

3. Contempt of the world and pride in his own worthiness and

knowledge characterize the magical seer. A wise use of life, obedience in serving God and a constant recollection of his sinful weakness, incites the prophet to implore divine help, to pray for a knowledge of the truth, to fulfill not his own, but a higher will. To the Brahmin, for example, the earth is a hell, a place of torment; to the prophet it is a school, through which, in the performance of duty, the peace of true happiness may be found.

4. The magician is a lawgiver, the prophets are obedient disciples, who preach and explain the revelations of God.

5. There we have the means of falling into a state of ecstasy, self-denial and unnatural mortification of the body. Here the world is adapted to the most judicious enjoyment of life. The prophet does not require extraordinary means to fall into a state of ecstasy; he utters the immediate word of God without preparation and without mortifying the body, presents it, and lives among his kind.

6. The index of prophecy itself, in the highest ecstasies of the magicians, is a kind of light lustre; when they are steeped therein, the world with its signatures, and perhaps too, the inner condition of the spirit may become plainly visible, like unto the clairvoyants of our day; but their lips are sealed in this ecstatic state of happiness and in the dazzling lustre of a pathological self-illumination. Therefore, the numerous antagonistic figures of truth and deception, of sensational emotions and phantasmagoria in broken and jarring forms, of convulsions and contortions of the body and the soul, which we find among our mesmeric subjects. Their visions are, like those of certain somnambulists, not reliable, and cannot, in their proper surroundings, be understood without a previous explanation. With the prophets, the visions according to form, are the illumination of a mildly divine light, reflected from the mirror of a pure mind, which retains a perfect personality, and causes a feeling of dependence on God and the outer world. The index of their visions relates to the general concerns of life in respect to religion and citizenship; the prophet speaks and his words are true doctrines, uttered clearly for the benefit of all men and ages, and comprehended by all. He seeks happiness yet finds it not in penance, but in his calling, in spreading abroad the word of God, not in secret contemplations, but by imparting it to his fellow-beings through active co-operation. The true prophet, therefore, is not lost in inward contemplations, neither does he forget himself in the world, but he continues in living relation with God and his neighbor, in word and in deed. Finally,

7. Since the motives and proceedings differ essentially among inspired races, so their aims and results also differ. The Indian magician mourns on account of the gradual lowering of the spiritual from its original lustre, following the rapidly succeeding eras of the world into perishing nature and into the kingdom of death, and deprecates the misery connected therewith, namely, discontent, the confusion and laceration of the spirit, all of which we may find among the different heathen nations. On the other hand, how greatly has universal brotherhood and companionship increased, step by step, through the agency of the true prophet, and how has the spiritual been glorified!

The spirit that waved over the Jewish religion in the west spread its peaceful influences farther and wider, and while in the former instance everything is lost in weakness and darkness, in the latter mountains are removed by active faith, and trees are planted by mutual help and counsel, whose fruit will only ripen for enjoyment in another world; toward which we should turn our faces and our exertions.

The aim of the magician's life is to secure a pleasurable inward contemplation; the true prophet lives by faith and not by sight.

Historians and philosophers of modern times have declared that the ecstatic visions of the prophets of Israel and those of the apostles were identical with magnetic appearances. In order to form a clearer judgment of the circumstances given above, we will add the following:

True prophets receive an extraordinary call from God, and are urged by the Holy Spirit to proclaim the will and counsel of God. They are called seers, men of God, servants and messengers of the Lord, angels and watchmen. The marks of the true prophets of the Old Testament were: 1st. That their prophecies agreed with the doctrines of Moses and the patriarchs (Deuteronomy 13, 1.) 2d. Their prophecies were fulfilled (Deuteronomy 18, 21; Jeremiah, 28, 9). 3d. That they performed miracles, but only when a special covenant was made, or when a special reformation was to be undertaken. 4th. That they agreed with other prophets (Isaiah 8, 2; Jeremiah 26, 18). 5th. That they led a blameless life (Jeremiah 27, 4; Micah 2, 11). That they exhibited a holy zeal in the work of God (Jeremiah 26, 13); and 6th, That they possessed great elocutionary powers (Jeremiah 23, 28-29). Their office consisted in this, 1st, That they instructed the people, when the priests, whose duty it was, became indifferent. 2d. That they restored the slack and decayed worship of God (2 Kings, 17, 18; Ezekiel 3, 17). 3d. That they foretold future events, and to this end asked counsel of God (1 Kings, 14, 2-3; Ezekiel 22, 5-8). 4th. That they prayed for the people and in this manner averted impending judgments (Genesis 20, 7; 2 Kings, 19, 2); and 5th, That they composed the will of God (1 Chronicles, 29, 9).

The same may be said of the apostles and the preachers of the living word. They were called ministers because Christ had himself chosen them and sent them to the ends of the earth to proclaim the atonement and gather His elect. They did not force themselves into his service, but Christ called them in a direct manner, and taught them personally to proclaim the advent of the Messiah, and with these credentials, to perform wonders through the divine word. This new doctrine originated expressly from the prophets of the old covenant: repent and believe in the gospel of the atonement, and prove thereby that ye love God above all things and your neighbor as yourselves. Their lives proved that they were true followers in the footsteps of their Lord and Master, in word and deed, in works and in suffering.

If we select these characters by which to form our judgment, it will not be difficult to distinguish between magnetic sight and prophetic inspiration, not to regard the former too highly, and not to underrate

the latter. For if their superficial appearance at first sight seems the same, their difference will soon become apparent when we examine them in a threefold point of view, namely, of cause, content or form and intention.

According to the cause, the palpable difference consists in this, that magical and magnetic second-sight is mainly the work of man, which grows out of a diseased physical soil, no matter whether it is developed by the arts of the physician or whether it is unfolded by chance. An abnormal condition of health always precedes it, and the somnolent state of the outward senses is the first condition of it. If in one person this mesmeric disposition is greater than in another, then the physiological foundation is in his own body, and if occasional circumstances promote second-sight in others, then such causes belong to the kingdom of nature, which binds the clairvoyant in strong bonds and which remains his determinate state even should he reach the highest degree.

Prophetic inspiration is not a procreation of nature or of man but it is an emanation of the Holy Spirit and a divine decree. The divine call comes unexpectedly, and the physical condition has no connection with it whatever. The physical powers can never become the determinate powers, but they remain dependent upon the spirit, which makes it a means to spiritual aims. A mesmeric life with changed functions of the senses and a physical crisis does not take place here.

Secondly, according to form, magnetic second-sight depends directly upon the health and on the life of the seer, or rather, it predominates in the relative modes of earthly life. The clairvoyant directs his attention at will to self-selected objects, at least in a majority of instances, or he interprets his own visions, conducts his own affairs or those immediately surrounding him, or he suffers himself to be outwardly determined without active and persistent independence, and without activity for the common good. Purely human nature, affectation and inclination are never wanting in the magic circle of the seer, and the operation of his will and his faith produces no supernatural or permanent effect, either upon himself or upon others.

The true prophet, according to form, has no diversity of visions, but an unchanging index of scriptural work—the annunciation of Him, who is the Beginning and the End, and by whom all things were created. A prophet is not only a seer, but he is the organ of the divine will. Instruction in the true knowledge of God, and spreading abroad his kingdom, which is truth and love, is his only and constant occupation, therefore he fights against error and wickedness, in order to overcome the world. That which is worldly or changeable—bigotry or sensuality, health, riches and honor in the world, and dominion over his fellow-men, is not his affair. He does not preach a present, but a future state of happiness, genuine peace in God, and the hope of eternal life in His presence, not from personal impulse or selfishness, or from human considerations, but as a willing instrument of perpetual enlightenment, inspired by God himself—a worthy example in work and walk; as an obedient servant and a

mediator between God and man, between time and eternity, between heaven and earth. Through prayer, and in word and deed, the prophet continues in a living relation with God and his fellow-beings.

True prophets do not isolate themselves: neither do they sink into the absorbing depths of their own visions, feelings and relations. Their prophecies do not refer to personalities, but to the fate of nations and the world, therefore, are they able in their works to exhibit supernatural powers, strengthened by the omnipotent power of their faith and will, and this power they exercise over their own bodies as well as over the bodies of others and over all nature in its wide and temporal boundaries. The sudden conversions and changes of opinion, the instantaneous healing of severe and lingering diseases, the warnings against threatening dangers, and help for the needy from a distance, giving consolation and strength in trouble and suffering, etc., are proofs of their divine powers.

As we have already stated, the aim of the true prophets was, the revelation of the divine word to man; the spread of the kingdom of God on earth; the ennobling and well-being of the human race. Impelled by the spirit of God, upon whose assistance they relied, their efforts were directed to nothing less than to spread the light of truth and to infuse courage into their fellow-beings, to fight against evil; to awaken mutual attention and assistance, and to extend peace and happiness among men. Self-aggrandizement and the personal advantage of these organs of the Deity were not thought of. The foundation of all their works was faith in the power of God, and they fulfilled the whole sum of the commandments through love, the noblest of all virtues, "but the fruit of the spirit is love" (Galatians 5, 22); "And God gives wisdom to them that love Him," (Ecclesiastions 1, 10); "And His banner over me was love." (Song of Solomon, 2, 4.)

To these obvious variations the children of Israel bear special witness. 1st. That the causes of inward visions were actually objective, and that there is something outside of human intelligence that governs and controls the world of man, and that too, independently of the inner centrum of the mind, while the peripheral sense of day and nature are either inactive, or while they are in a very subordinate condition. 2d. That there is a still more exalted spiritual region which takes a positive hold upon the reason and offers revelations which are not of a natural order, and which cannot exist in these lower regions, and which are not merely phantasies, illusions or hallucinations of an abnormal condition of the brain. "The hand of the Lord was upon them." 3d. The ignoring, or rather, the denial of sophistical rationalism, especially by the Israelites, is also represented superficially, just as the pantheistical philosophy of nature is, which distils everything into a common mass, and which represents the prophets and the saints only as somnambulist sects, upon a somewhat higher plane than is ascribed to them in the partial Tellurian dark ages. 4th. Notwithstanding that this class of visions has an outward resemblance to the magical and magnetic, as well according to the anthropological expression as to the symbolical representations, as we have already seen, and it should remind us of magnetic relations, inasmuch as

prophetic revelation agrees with the purest forms of second-sight, and whereas dream-visions and fortune-telling originate from circumstances and conditions, so we may find many preparations and arrangements in the old covenant, the same as we have learned to know them among the rest of the magicians of the Orient. We often find among the prophets also, that they secluded themselves in solitary places, and that they fasted and gave themselves up to quiet contemplations. They, like the clairvoyants, speak of an inward higher light, of a light that enlightens them, and they admit this higher illumination to be the spirit of the Eternal, whose hand came upon them and transfigured them, and they walked, as the Psalmist says, in the light of His countenance, "For in Thy light, we shall see light; the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness. Thou art the living fountain and in thy light we see the light." (36, 10, 18, 29.)

The prophets describe the divine higher light as an instantaneous view, presented very frequently in the most familiar symbols, of which the vision of Daniel, by the side of the great river Hiddekel, is one of the most remarkable, and which will serve as an illustration (Daniel 10, 2-21): "In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz: His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in color to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: Yet I heard the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And behold, a hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling. Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb. And behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength, for how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me. Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me, and said, O man greatly beloved, Fear not; peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong.

And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak ; for thou hast strengthened me. Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I came unto thee ? but I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth, etc." The following passage from Passavant will serve as an illustration of this vision :

"Such a condition, and so penetrating an illumination of the spirit can find its agreement only in the original relation of the creature to the Creator. The created spirit does not generally exist for itself, nor by itself, but only in reference to absolute being. The more perfect the creature, the more inward and free is the communion between the creature and the Creator—the more is man a free agent and a co-worker with God. That which holds good in human nature and in all spiritual power in perception and accomplishment, holds good also especially in the region, in which the human spirit, free from earthly nature and of the bonds of time and place, is more active. As we have, therefore, assumed, that the highest magical operation is, where the human spirit becomes the divine organ, so we are justified in assuming, that the highest magical knowledge must be a divinely illuminated power of second-sight, a spiritual beholding, which is moved and led by the divine spirit. So far now, as we must regard the most inward communion of the creature with the Creator as the final destiny of created spirits, so may we regard the holy power of prophecy as an anticipation of a higher and more perfect condition, in which man knows as he is known (1 Corinthians, 13, 9), where his spiritual freedom shall have attained a knowledge in which he can no longer be circumscribed by earthly laws. But since man must elevate himself to that which is good as well as receive good, so this law of the free and created spirit will repeat itself, because man can raise himself, in different degrees to a higher order in this world, and become enlightened in the same degree. If taken in this connection, the power of the divine seer is not to be regarded separately from other spiritual powers by which he can overcome anything foreign to his nature, but rather as a fixed form, a normal and regenerated soul-power. The spirit of man, the image of God, may become the mirror in which the divine type is reflected just in proportion to the purity of this image." (Passavant's *Magnetic Life*. Second edition, p. 167.)

Further it will only be necessary to remark, in a general way, that God has made use only of the nobleness of the spirit of Israel for the education and redemption of the human family, and that this people, which had become attached to heathen idolatry, and were disobedient and refractory, could only be brought slowly to their true destiny in the severe school of adversity and by heavy chastisements. The way from Ur in Chaldaea to Canaan, which was taken by the patriarch Abraham, how far it stretched through its lengths and breadths across to Egypt, and from thence through the wilderness to the promised land of which they were to take possession ! Yea, the children of Israel were compelled to wander hither and thither in the wilderness during a period of forty years on account of their vascillation between the service of God and heathen idolatry ; were sent in captivity to Babylon ; the holy city had to be destroyed, and finally, they were

compelled to endure the very fullness of woe and persecution, and all because of their vacillating between the service of the true God and of heathen idolatry. If Israel then is, as it is represented, the favored people of God, then it can be nothing less than the pearl of perfection, and consequently the mirror of perverseness, which always strives after outward forms and ceremonies, and seeks happiness in nature and the dissipations of the present, a happiness which cannot be found on earth. The divine word of revelation alone can disclose the happiness of the peace and blessedness of Paradise, and in order to become partakers thereof, the spirit of man must become inured to two great qualifications, namely, natural obedience to the law and a more than natural hope of reaching his final destiny beyond the life of earth. In order to teach the children of Israel humble obedience to the laws, they were exposed to the severest trials and subjected to the meanest slavery.

To this people and to no other, the commandments were communicated in thunder tones by divinely appointed leaders, in order that it might heed with the inner depths of the mind and not merely superficially with the outward senses. Sacrifices and feasts were not to serve as temporal occasions of rejoicing, but they were to serve as a typical covering through which might be seen the true light of the coming Messiah, as the flower-bud turns toward the approaching light of the sun. The Mercy-seat, the Cherubim, the Holy of Holies, the Pillar of Fire, and Solomon's Temple, are all symbolical manifestations originating in magical visions and point to the coming of Christ. That the entire Mosaic regulation was symbolical and hieroglyphical is admitted by every expert, and the following words express this fact clearly: "and look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount." Moses, the man of God, therefore, constitutes in the history of the children of Israel the second period of the beginning of religious development. The forms and ceremonies of the law were only now strictly enforced in order to impress men with the importance of the revealed word. But how long a period intervened between the wanderings and sufferings of the Israelites, the wonders by which they were surrounded, the death of the first-born in Egypt, the lightnings which flashed from the heights of Mount Sinai, and the time of King David, with whom commenced the third period. "He was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to," (1 Samuel, 16, 12,) and he, the shepherd of his father's sheep was chosen by the Lord to be king over His people. His obedience towards God; and his unwavering faith not only caused it to be said of him, "that he was a man after God's own heart," but as the root of Judah, born in Bethlehem, he also became the type of Christ. He was both king and prophet, and had to bear many troubles and trials. As a servant of God he sought to lead the children of Israel to God at Jerusalem, the mountain of peace, where finally, the mild, illuminating light of the divine Prince of Peace appeared to the world out of the dark, transitory night, on the cross.

"Now I say, that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from the servant, though he be Lord of all; but is under tutors and

governors until the time appointed by the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world." (Gal. 4, 1-3.)

"But when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." (Galatians, 4, 4-5.)

The coming of Christ on earth was not an accidental occurrence as other natural events were. His coming was a revelation ordained by God from the foundation of the world. I have already shown in my anthropological views, that Christ, if he actually was the Son of God, would necessarily have to appear at a fixed time and place, and that his appearance would constitute the beginning of the second period of human power, and that this event would take place on the western coast of Asia.

THE NEW COVENANT.

Having brought forward many of the most extraordinary events of the old covenant which have reference to magic and magnetism, it seems important in more than one sense, also to speak of the new covenant, in order to extract from it that which concerns us so directly, because in the new covenant the magical healing of diseases was effected in so many instances without visible means, as well by Christ himself as by the apostles, from which it would appear that all these miracles and healings were the result of nothing else than magic or magnetism. There are a few extremes here which have been maintained by both the advocates and opponents of these miracles, which we will notice more particularly in this place. In concluding this section we will glance at the existence and signification of Christianity in a general sense, as well as the relation which it bears to magic.

The men of God under the old covenant, who performed such great wonders, and accomplished such wonderful works, were always rather more on the side of humanity than that of the divine, that is, they always evinced only single powers and perfections. The universal expression of full perfection became an absolute reality only through Christ. He it was who first unbarred the new door—severed the chains of slavery, and pointed out the true image of perfection and wisdom in all their fullness to man. Christ again restored to humanity the assurance of immortality. He elevated the spiritual being to a temple of holy fire, and made it a living altar and incense to an eternal peace.

"Since the first man Adam," we read in the Magikon, "is the first fountain of evil, so none of his posterity could be the Saviour, because weakness could not rule over strength; to be a Saviour it required a being that was more than man. Since God alone is superior to man, this agent, or Saviour, could be nothing less than the essential idea of divine powers. In order to awaken a consciousness in the soul of man of what God really was, he had to bear the Divine

character in himself. Even the various judgments of men regarding, Christ, show conclusively that all power, all gifts and perfections were united in him."

There are beings for whom the Redeemer has already come, others for whom he comes now, and still others for whom he is yet to come. Since his advent all things have become simplified, and he will simplify himself more and more until everything earthly will vanish. A great sabbath of universal love and peace, as it was in the creation, will signalize the end. He entered the Holy of Holies as the true High Priest, and restored to the elect, through his spirit, not only the lost words of the old book, but gave them a new one, richer in content for the healing of all evil, and for making them invulnerable. In addition he gave to them the holy incense of prayer, and showed them, that without it they would be unable, except through Him alone, to obtain every principle of life. He performed on earth what is found above. He was constantly active, as the highest embodiment of wisdom, in spiritual and temporal acts of charity, and united both in one. But this could only be when He himself was joined in this unity on earth in which he was joined from all eternity. In the end he crowned his work by conferring a spirit which created a knowledge and vitality that were never experienced before. He chose an object of sense as a channel through which to communicate the highest powers of life. Even man may transfer his weak powers on any object: how much more must the mysteries (baptism by water, the communion through bread and wine), instituted by Himself, have possessed a power which man could never possess. The action of the Holy Communion is at the same time corporeal, spiritual and divine, and all things therein contained must become spirit and life, because He himself, who instituted it, was the spirit and the life.

Each true Christian is a living expression of this doctrine and an image of its author. He possesses fervor enough to absorb everything that is diseased and dissolute, and his life is a daily offering in humility and holy fear before God, for the mysteries of God are only revealed to those who fear Him. The true Christian relies upon the commandments of the author of his name. Only such a man can enter into the counsel of peace. If the highest human wisdom continues to be a tottering and perishable structure, a single ray of the sun of the world will make him purer and wiser than all the wise of this earth. Since there are mysteries in every religion, so there are certain things of indescribable power and of the highest weight in Christianity which cannot be explained. So long as these were known only to the true possessors as a sanctuary, Christianity was at rest. But after the great of earth began to set their feet within this sanctuary and desired to see with unprepared eyes; so soon as it was converted into a political machine, divisions and uncertainties ensued. Upon this came the High Priests who separated themselves farther and farther from original purity, and in this way a misshapen mixture of a true monstrosity resulted. Sophists, who flourished like weeds, multiplied these evils by their subtleties, separating that which was united, and covering with darkness and death what was formerly light and life. If even a

few traces of purity, zeal and power could be seen here and there; they could accomplish nothing, because the horrors of desolation had already become too general and were preferred by too many. These corruptions were the cause, in later times, that the structure of Christianity was sapped in its very foundations. Only one step from Deism to utter ruin. Out of Deism grew a still worse brood of materialists, who declared that all connection of humanity with higher powers to be idle imagination, and who did not even believe in their own existence. It was very seldom that the generations of the earliest times sinned through great enterprises; those of later periods, on the contrary, sinned through nullity. But there is a truth whose sanctity cannot be shaken, and which will remain firm as long as the world exists.

But if man, through his reconciliation and return to God, and through a true Christian life, receives the powers which the Saviour promised to his followers, namely, "To expel serpents, to heal the sick, and to cast out devils," and this to the same extent that he did himself, (John 14, 12,) and if such a Christian man can in deed and in truth perform greater wonders than one who lives in a state of sin (and we find this to be the case not only with the apostles, but with all godly men of every age), then we must accord to man what is human. I have already spoken of the Christian method of healing, and inasmuch as I refer back to it in this place, the fact will not admit of a doubt, that the healing by Christas well as by the apostles really had reference to magic and magnetism. They never obtained the means to heal diseases from the apothecary, neither did they possess any secret remedies or magical essences; they possessed an inherent power to heal diseases, and by words they cast out devils, restored the dead to life, healed, through prayer and the laying on of hands, the lame and paralytic, and caused the blind to see and the dumb to speak. To prove this, not however to represent them solely as magnetic cures, but to examine them as humanly divine wonders, I will mention a few cures performed by Christ and his apostles as they stand recorded by the Evangelists and in the Acts of the Apostles:—

"When he was come down from the mountain great multitudes followed him. And, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed." (Matt. 8, 1-3)

"And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him to heal his servant. And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him. The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof: but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed. When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed: Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour." (Matthew 8, 5-13.)

"And when Jesus had come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose and ministered unto him." (Matt. 8, 14, 15.)

"When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick." (Matt. 8, 16; Mark 1, 32.)

"And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy : Son, be of good cheer ; thy sins be forgiven thee." (Matt. 9, 2 ; Mark 2, 3.)

"And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment : For she said within herself, If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole. But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said, Daughter, be of good comfort ; thy faith has made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour." (Matt. 9, 20-22.)

"And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place ; for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn. But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose."

"And when Jesus departed from thence, two blind men followed him, etc. And when he was come into the house, the blind men came unto him : And Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this ? They said unto him, Yea, Lord. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened." (Matt. 9, 27-30.)

The man with the withered hand he healed through the words : "Stretch forth thine hand : and it was restored whole like the other." (Matt. 12, 10-13.)

"And when the men of that place had knowledge of him, they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased ; and besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment : and as many as touched were made perfectly whole." (Matt. 14, 35-36.)

The daughter of the woman of Canaan, who was grievously vexed with a devil was restored through the faith of the woman. (Matthew, 15, 22-28.)

"And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet ; and he healed them." (Matthew 15, 30 ; Luke, 7, 22.)

The lunatic who oftentimes fell into the fire and into the water could not be healed by the disciples. But when Jesus rebuked the devil he departed out of him and the child was cured from that very hour. Jesus said unto his disciples : "Because of your unbelief, ye could not cure him. For verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place ; and it shall remove ; Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer." (Matt. 17, 14-21.)

Two blind men on the road to Jericho cried unto the Son of David for help : "Then touched he their eyes, saying : according to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened." (Matt. 9, 27-36.)

He healed the lame and the blind in the temple at Jerusalem, who came to him to be healed. (Matt. 21, 14.)

He healed the man in the synagogue who had a spirit of an unclean devil, whom he rebuked, saying, "Hold thy peace, and come out of him." (Luke 4, 33.)

"Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him ; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them." (Luke 4, 40.)

"Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city (Nain), behold,

there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came and touched the bier. And he said : Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And he that was dead sat up and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother." (Luke 7, 12-16.)

Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, the wife of Chuza and many others possessed of evil spirits were healed and freed. (Luke 8, 2, 3.)

The man possessed of a legion of devils which were driven into a herd of swine. (Luke 8, 27-33.)

"And behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in nowise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God." (Luke 13, 11-13.)

He healed the king's son at Capernaum who was at the point of death, through the faith of the lad's father. (John 4, 47.)

The man who had an infirmity thirty and eight years, whom no one would carry into the pool at the sheep market, whose waters when troubled by the angel healed all diseases, he cured by the words : "Rise, take up thy bed and walk." (John 5, 2-8.)

The man that was born blind he healed with ground clay and spittle. "He spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam. He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing." (John 9, 1-7.)

St. Mark relates a still more remarkable cure effected by Christ on a blind man : "And he cometh to Bethsaida, and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town ; and when he had spit on his eyes and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw aught ? And he looked up and said, I see men as trees, walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up ; and he was restored and saw every man clearly." (Mark 8, 22-25.)

He raised Lazarus from the dead through a fervent prayer to the Father. "Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already. It was a cave and a stone lay upon it. Jesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him Lord, by this time he stinketh ; for he hath been dead four days. Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God ? Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth ? And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes ; and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him and let him go." (John, 11, 17, 33-44.)

These are incidental healings performed by our Saviour and recorded by the Evangelists. There are other legendary narratives of wonders performed by Christ which are not recorded by the Evangelists, of which I will mention only one. It may be found in the History of Jesus, by Eusebius (chap. 12, p. 16), from which Bushing extracted his "Weekly Intelligence for Inquiries into History, Magic and Learning of the Middle Ages" (vol. 2, p. 64, Dec., 1817. Breslau)." It is also printed in Kosegarden's Legends. As an extraordinary instance of the vocation and power of Christ and his divine mission and love to man will not prove uninteresting to the friends of Christianity, we will give the contents of several letters written by Abgarus, King of Edessa, who lived cotemporary with Jesus.

The extraordinary mission of Christ and the fame of the wonders which he wrought were noised abroad to the most distant lands, especially his divine power to heal all kinds of diseases. These rumors also attracted the attention of Abgarus, who was the victim of a severe sickness. On this account he wrote the following letter to Jesus:

"Abgarus, King of Edessa, to Jesus, the compassionate Saviour, who appeared in the flesh, in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, All Hail!

"I have heard of Thy exalted virtues and of the wonderful cures performed by Thee without the use of medicines or herbs. The report sayeth, that Thou causest the blind to see, the lame to walk, and thou cleanseest the leprous. Thou castest out unclean spirits, and those that are plagued with grievous diseases Thou healest, and Thou bringest the dead back to life. As I heard these reports concerning Thee, I formed two opinions: either that Thou art God, descended from the heights of Heaven, or that Thou art the Son of God, from whom all these wonderful works proceed. Therefore I write this unto Thee, fervently praying that Thou wouldst undertake the trouble to heal me from the heavy sickness by which I am punished. I am told that the Jews threaten Thee with great evil, and resist Thee in anger. It is true, I have but a small city, but it is well appointed and fortified and celebrated, so that it will afford us everything needful."

Thus wrote Abgarus to Christ. Enlightened by divine light, this short letter contains what is of true worth, being full of power and virtue. The following answer was sent by Jesus to Abgarus the King, by the hands of Annanias, who was selected as a messenger:

"Abgarus! Blessed art thou, who hast not seen, yet believed on me. It is written that those which see me believe not on me, that those who see me not may believe on me and be saved. As thou writest to me, I must of necessity fulfill those things for which I was sent into the world; after I have accomplished all these things I shall again be taken up to him who sent me. As soon as I shall have ascended, I will send to you one of my disciples, who will heal you of your painful disease, so that your life and the lives of yours may be preserved."

After the ascension of Christ into heaven, Judas, who was also called Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples, was sent to Abgarus, who tarried over night on his journey at the house of Tobias, the son of Tobit. Abgarus heard that the disciple whom Jesus had promised to send to him, had arrived, for Tobias had told Abgarus that he had entertained a mighty man of Jerusalem, who healed many diseases in the name of Jesus. "Bring him in to me," said Abgarus. Tobias went immediately to Thaddæus and said: "Abgarus the king sends me to you, and desires that I should lead you to him, in order that you may

remove the disease by which he is tormented." "Let us go," answered Thaddeus, "For of his account was I sent here." On the morning of the next day, Tobias took Thaddeus with him and they went to Abgarus. Upon his arrival the lords of the castle stood ready to defend Abgarus, but when the disciple entered, Abgarus observed a bright light in his countenance. As Abgarus saw this he humbly worshipped Thaddeus. The astonishment of all present was most complete, for they could not see the strange appearance which Abgarus saw. "Thou art indeed the disciple of Jesus, the Son of God, who promised me in his letter when he said: "I will send you one of my disciples, who will heal your infirmity, and give you your life and the lives of those belonging to you!" Hereupon Thaddeus replied: "I have been sent to you because of your trust in Jesus who sent me." And further: "If the faith you have in him increases more and more, then the desire of your heart will be fulfilled according to your faith." Abgarus answered: "I have faith in Him to this extent, that if the Roman power did not hinder me, I would annihilate the Jews who crucified Him, with my hosts." Thaddeus said, "The Lord our God, Jesus Christ, fulfilled the will of his Father, and when his will was accomplished, he was taken up to his Father." Then said Abgarus, "I believe in Him and in his Father." Thaddeus answered: "Therefore I lay my hands upon thee, in the name of Jesus," and as he did so, Abgarus was made whole from that very hour.

To this belongs the tradition which relates to the sending of the picture of Christ to Abgarus. According to some authors, principally the Damascenes, Abgarus sent a painter to Jerusalem to paint a likeness of Jesus; but the painter was not able to finish a portrait of him because of the splendor of his countenance. Then the Lord stamped his likeness on his mantel through divine power, and in this manner satisfied the desire of Abgarus. According to others, Jesus impressed his features on a linen kerchief and sent it to Abgarus. Be this matter of finishing and sending of this picture as it may, the Damascenes show through later circumstances that such a picture was at Edessa at some time or other, otherwise we should be compelled to reckon the narrative describing the siege of the city of Abgarus by the Persian king Kosroes as among discoveries that cannot be authenticated. According to this legend the walls of Edessa, built of the wood of the olive tree, were surrounded by Kosroes with a funeral-pile of poplar wood, in order to burn them. The then reigning king of Edessa, who is not named, had recourse to the linen shroud upon which were impressed the features of Christ and which was sent to Abgarus. Hereupon (divina vi) a terrible whirlwind arose which blew the flames away from the city, igniting the funeral-pile of poplar wood, by which all in its immediate vicinity were consumed.

That the promises respecting Christ, namely, that he would heal the sick, were fulfilled, is proven by the additional wonders which were wrought by the apostles, who healed diseases in the same manner that their Master did:—

"And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of

them that entered into the temple, who, seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked an alms. And Peter, fastening his eyes upon him with John, said, Look on us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something from them. Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk. And he took him by the right hand and lifted him up, and immediately his feet and anklebones received strength, and he, leaping up, stood and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking and leaping, and praising God. (Acts 3, 2-8.)

"And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, inasmuch as they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one." (Acts 5, 14-16.)

The history of Simon, the sorcerer, who, on account of his knavery could not perform these wonders, and who attempted to buy the gift to work these wonders from the apostles with money, is especially remarkable. This wonderful story is also applicable to the Simons of our day. "But there was a certain man called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery (magic), who was converted under the preaching of Philip and was baptized. And the apostles gave unto the new converts the Holy Spirit. Then they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost. And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whosoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity." (Acts 8, 9-23.) See also the history of Eneas, who had kept his bed for eight years and was sick of the palsy. (Acts 9, 33-34; 36-41.)

Of the same kind are also the wonderful works of Paul, who challenges our wonder on account of his strength of spirit and his power in all things. "And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked; the same heard Paul speak, who steadfastly beholding him and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked (Acts 14, 8-10.)

"And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them." (Acts 19, 11-12.)

The young man named Eutychus, who fell from the third story and was taken up dead, was restored by Paul in the following manner: "And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him said, Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day so he departed. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted." (Acts 20, 8-12.) "And it came to pass, that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him and healed him. So when this was done, others also, who had diseases in the island, came, and were healed." (Acts 28, 8-9.)

Having already spoken about the import of Christian healing and given more or less of a historical character. I will submit the matter to each reader to form his own conclusions to their special peculiarities, in order that he may select that which is most instructive. One thing must not be omitted, in conclusion, and that is, we must first become Christians before we can perform cures by Christian methods. Very few are really Christians who call themselves such; they are only Christians in name and appearance.

The art of healing, according to scriptural principles, deserves special mention in this place, in more than one respect, not only because something truly magical takes place therein, but because scriptural healing is often regarded as the only true one. The principles of this art of healing have been

fully established according to certain declarations and doctrines of the Bible. (See Leviticus 26, 14; Deuteronomy 28, 15-22, etc.; Exodus 14, 26; also, Ecclesiastius 38, 9; Psalms 107, 17-20.)

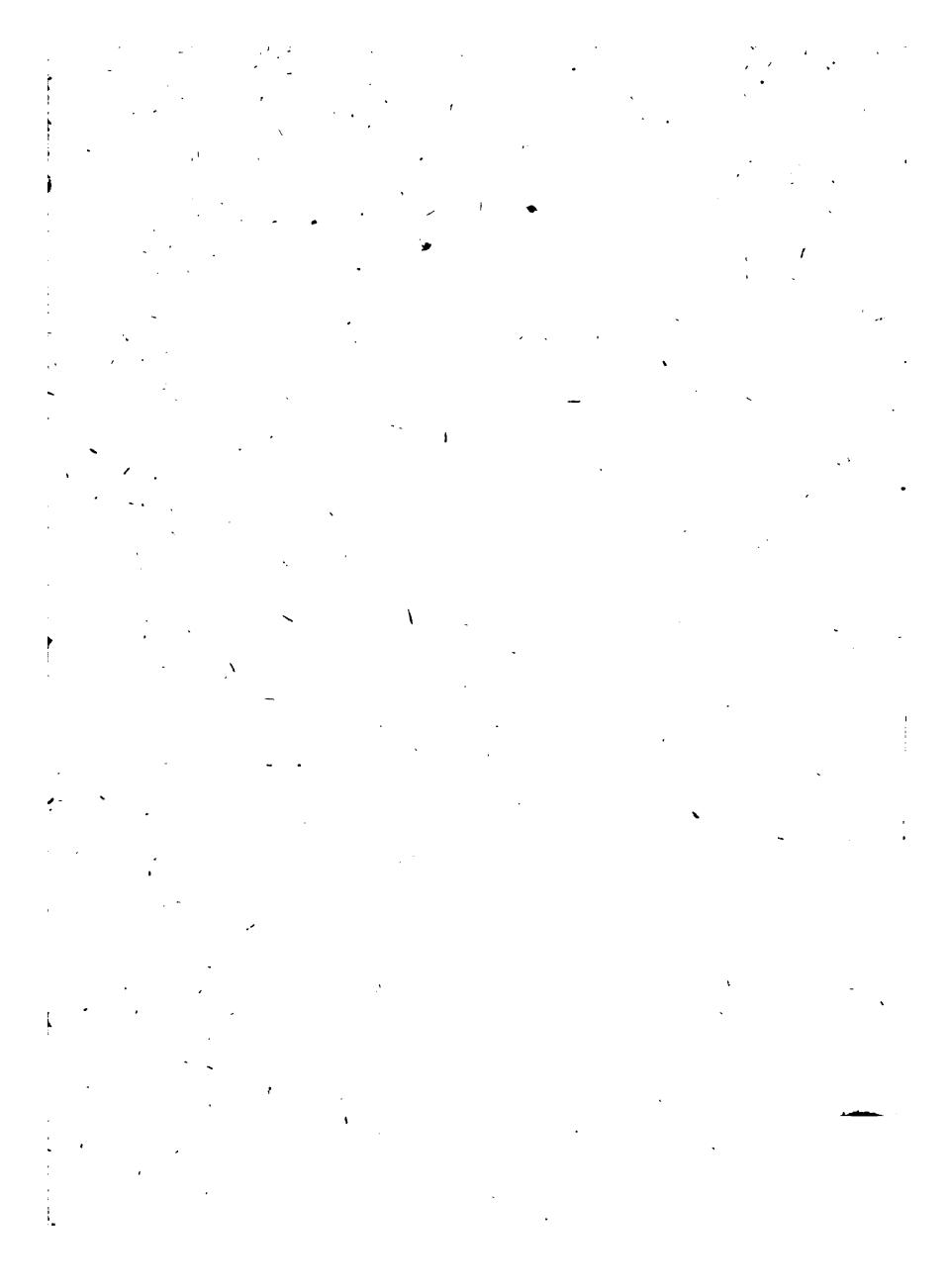
In this manner, therefore, there exists a higher medical science than the ordinary one, and other pious persons than physicians can heal diseases. "The believing physician," says Marcarius, "is like unto God, but the medical body belongs to the heathen and to the unbeliever." But according to the wise saying of Sirach, the physician is entitled to honor, for he says: "Honor a physician with the honor due unto him for the use ye may have of him, for the Lord hath created him, and he shall receive honor of the king. The skill of the physician shall lift up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration." But he too believes that the physician is made only for the sinner: "He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physician." (Sirach 38, 15.)

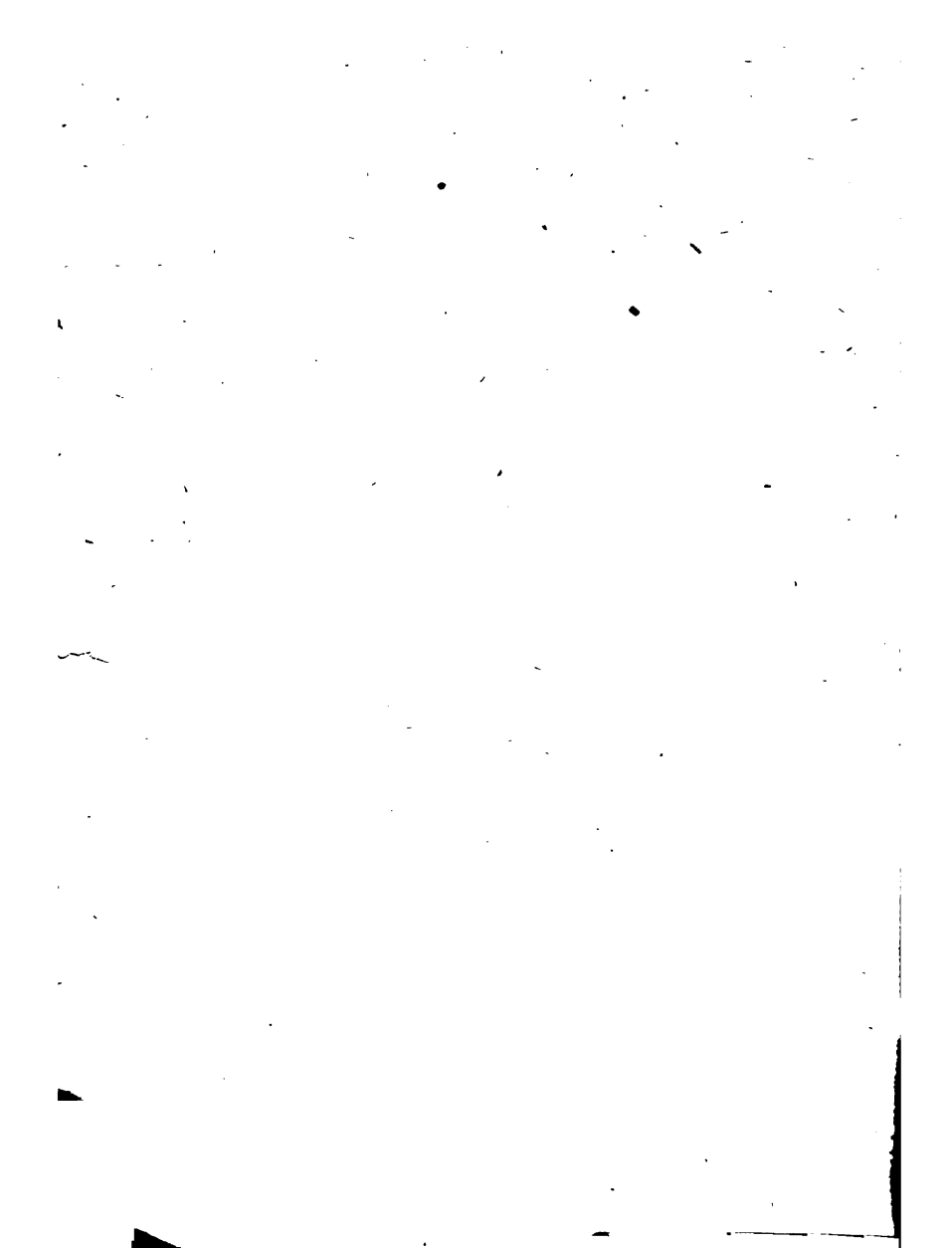
In the New Testament also diseases generally are ascribed to sin. Jesus said to the paralytic when he healed him: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and he was made whole. And when he healed the man at the pool of Bethesda, who had an infirmity thirty-eight years, when he met him afterwards in the temple, he said to him: "Behold, thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a greater evil befall thee." (John 5, 14.) The apostles too, and all the saints, insisted upon first curing the patient morally, for a true restoration of the diseased body and spirit can only be effected by a return to God. It is truly remarkable that the wise men of the East, Zoroaster, and all the advocates of the doctrines of emission (system of emanation), the Kabbalists, as well as all later Theosophists, all of whom possesses extraordinary power to heal diseases, defended this doctrine. By some of these, diseases are charged directly to sin, while others attribute them to evil spirits, with whom man becomes associated through sin. That evil spirits are the cause of diseases, destroying and vitiating the healthy sap of the system, no one with less spiritual views than the Theosophists, possessed will deny; these are the true hands which Satan has bound. (Luke 13, 16.)

The originally pure doctrine of Christianity, however, was prepared in early times by the advocates of the system of emanations, which was much more destructive through misrepresentations by model Christians than was intended. Saturninus, Basilides and Karpokrates stood at the head of those according to whose theory everything proceeded from the Aeon (heavenly powers.) Christ himself was to them an Aeon of the first rank, who, by a rigid restraint from sensualism subdued demons (evil spirits), and he who lives as Christ did can subdue them likewise. "Out of Aeon, the chief outlet," says Basilides, "heaven was brought into existence." According to Valentinus, one of the most celebrated teachers of that day, the Aeon were divided into classes, even into male and female classes. Thus, the chief female Aeon was the Holy Spirit. By laying on of consecrated hands the subject was made the recipient of this Aeon and was sent out to heal demoniac diseases. Notwithstanding that this digression created a variety of ideas, differing from the original doctrine, the effort to heal diseases according to scriptural principles continued for a great length of time a ruling struggle for moral improvement and perfection. If a being is in earnest to live in unconditional obedience towards God, and becomes converted to God through living, active faith, then God becomes his physician, and he no longer requires the services of an earthly doctor. As soon as the soul is in a perfectly healthy condition, it is stated, so soon will this health be communicated to the body, or rather, the sufferings of the body can not be regarded as disease—these sufferings can not affect the soul which has been elevated to heaven. But if a man is not capable of such a self-cure, then let him turn to the physician, for "God created him, and he hath given men skill, that he might be honored in his marvellous works." (Sirach 28, 6.) The particular manner in which the physician is to heal according to scriptural principles, is apparent in the foregoing. He must in the first place, become a truly Christian physician, that is, a physician priest. He is able to help the sick only through his own health, especially the health of his own soul, and then only when he himself is pure. He must heal the inner man (the soul), for without rest in the soul (inward peace) there can be no real cure of the body; it is therefore indispensable that a true physician must also be a true priest.

The question, whether a scriptural physician is above the necessity of using medicines, or whether he may at times avail himself of their use in healing diseases, can also be easily answered scripturally, and it stands in the same relations as does the question whether a magnetic physician requires any medicines? Generally he must possess the power as a scriptural, and more especially as a Christian physician to heal diseases through prayer and the Divine word, and without medicines; and only in certain cases and when he himself does not possess this power in a sufficient measure, can he avail himself of the use of medicines. They are not made in vain. "For medicine comes from the Most High." "The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, and he is wise that will not abhor them. With such doth he heal men and taketh away their pains." (Sirach 38, 4, 7.) Medicines are good, but they are seldom sufficient. "Go up into Gilead and take balm," says Jeremiah, "in vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured." (Jeremiah 46, 11.) There are in the meantime also examples in the Bible where, in rare instances, recourse was had to physical remedies. Moses, by casting wood into the waters of Marah, made them sweet. (Exodus 15, 25.) His cure for leprosy by washing, purifying, etc., was truly remarkable. Elias threw salt into the bitter spring, and it became wholesome ever afterwards. He also cast meal into the pot, wherein was death, and the vegetables became harmless. Isaiah laid figs on the glands of King Hezekiah and healed him. Tobias cured his blind father with fishgall, a cure that was shown him by an angel. And even Jesus anointed the eyes of the blind man with spittle and clay, and told him to wash in the pool of Siloam, etc. As for the rest, according to the Bible, only outward remedies were used in healing, and these of the simplest and most unadvised kinds. Internal remedies were not used. The means of cure consisted in spiritual purification, in conversion from sin, in prayer to the Father of Life—the physician of the believer. So we read in James 5, 13-16: "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms. Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him. Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much. In St. Mark, 6, 12, we read: "And they went out and preached that all men should repent. And they cast out devils and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them.

But the scriptural physician does not always heal, and the disease is not always an evil. If temporal enjoyment and earthly felicity were the destiny and end of man, for which the great majority are striving, then should we be justified in regarding sickness as a great misfortune and a heavy punishment, which many will not admit of having deserved. But this planet is not a place of undisturbed peace—not the abode of beings who shall rejoice in a final happiness. Light and shade, day and night, rest and activity, love and hate, peace and war, joy and sorrow, fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, life and death, are the constant changes of this world, and they are not due to accident, but are arranged with caution by a higher hand, to serve as a touchstone, that we may through affliction and suffering, by overcoming evil and purifying ourselves from sensualism, prepare for a better existence. The main object is the health of the soul and the spirit; the health of the body is a secondary matter. If the soul is in a state of health the body will become healthy as a consequence. "His flesh shall be fresher than a child's; he shall return to the days of his youth." (Job 33, 25.) If such a strong soul should not become well he will not feel bodily suffering, because he already enjoys a foretaste of the blessedness of the other world. True happiness and perfect rest cannot be found on earth; therefore we should not wonder, but neither should we weep, because of the evanescence of quiet, unmixed pleasure—of purest love, because it is so soon overcast by dark clouds and driven away by fierce storms—neither should we mourn because true happiness can only be found in another world, because true health exists only in the souls of those who are truly united with God, and because help, consolation, and blessing come only from the Father in heaven.





VOLUME II.
OF THE
SIXTH AND SEVENTH
BOOKS OF MOSES.

FORMULAS
OF THE
MAGICAL KABALA;

OR, THE
MAGICAL ART

OF THE
SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES,
TOGETHER WITH

A N E X T R A C T

FROM THE GENUINE AND TRUE

CLAVICULA OF SOLOMON THE KING OF ISRAEL.

WEIMAR: 1595,-

NOTE,

FOR THE

FRIENDS OF THE MAGICAL KABALA.

The Citation-Formulas contained in this book must only be pronounced in the Hebrew language, and in no other. In any other language they have no power whatever, and the Master can never be sure of his cause. For all these words and forms were thus pronounced by the Great Spirit, and have power only in the Hebrew Language.

Extract from the Magical Kabala

OF THE

Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.

BREASTPLATE

OF

MOSES.



These Hebrew words are pronounced as follows:

Jehova, aser Eheje Cether Eleion Eheje.

The Most High, whom no eye hath seen, nor tongue spoke; the Spirit, which did great acts and performed great wonders.

This Breastplate and Helmet pronounced mean Holiness.



HELMET

OF

MOSES

AND

AARON.

Hiehel mare actitas barne donens ariacrch.

4 SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES.

These are the names which the old Egyptians used instead of the unutterable name of Asser Criel, and are called "The Fire of God," and "Strong Rock of Faith." Whoever wears them on his person, on a gold plate, will not die a sudden death.

BREASTPLATE



OF AARON.

Sadajai amara elon hejiana vananel phenaton ebcoel merai.

That is, a Prince of Miens, the other leads to Jehova. Through this God spake to Moses.

MAGICAL LAW



OF MOSES.

Aila himel adonaij amara Zebaoth cadas yeseraije haralius.

These words are terrible, and will assemble devils or spirits, or they will cause the dead to appear.

THE
INSCRIPTION
ON THE

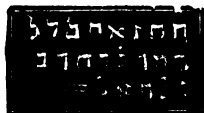


CHALICE
OF
HOLINESS.

Eliaton joena ebreel eloijela aijel agoni sochadon.

These words are great and mighty. They are names of the Creator and the characters on the Ark of the Covenant.

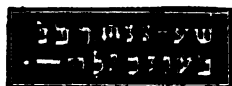
CONJURATION
OF
ELEAZAR,



THE SON
OF
AARON

Uniel dilatan Sadai paneim usamigaras caliphos sasna panoi soim

These names, if any one desires to accomplish anything through the four elements or any other things connected therewith, will prove effective, but they cannot be translated into English.



**DISMISSION OF ELEAZAR
AARON'S SON.**

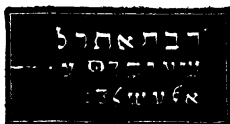
Leay yli Ziarite zelohabe et negoramy Zien latebm dama mecha tameti ozira.

Through this dismission all things dissolve into nothing.

CITATION OF GERMUTHSAI

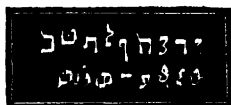
OR,

LEVIATHAN.



Lagumen Emanuel therefori mechelag laigel yazi Zamael.

With these names Eleazar bound and unbound the spirits of the air.



DISMISSION OF LEVIATHAN.

Malcoh, Sadaij, cuber Damabiah menkie lejabel maniah ijejavai.

That is : Strong, mighty spirit of hell, go back into thine works, in the name of Jehova.

BALAAM'S SORCERY.



Meloch, bel alokim tiphret hod jesath.

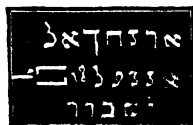
This brings vengeance upon enemies, and must not be disregarded, because it contains the names of the Seven Tables of the Ark of the Covenant.



E G Y P T.

Tanabtain ainaten pagnij aijolo asnia hichaifale matae habonr hijcero.

With these words Moses spake to the sorcerers in Egypt. They signify : " the Lord appeared to his servant in the fire, to seal the earth in its four quarters, and the nether earth.

CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF
MOSES.

Aijcon dunsanas pethanir thrijgnir ijon cijna naterlavis pistoin.

If you wish to pronounce these words you must fast three days, and you can perform wonders therewith. They cannot be translated on account of the Hebrew characters.



GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL

SPIRITS.

Eilon goena adonajj cadas ebreel, eloi! ela agiel, aijoni sachadon, essuselas Elohim, deliion jau elijula, delia jari Zazaal Palielmad, Umiel, onala dilatum Sadatj, alma Jod Jael Thama.

This citation is great and mighty ; they are the names of the Creator, and the names of the two Cherubim on the Mercy-seat, Zarall and Jael.

DISMISSION OF MOSES.



Washedim bachanda nezahhad Jehod Elohim asser cheje Zalim.



GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Ahezeraije comitejon Sede leji thomos Sasmagata bij ul ijoos Jous
Eloij Zawaijm.

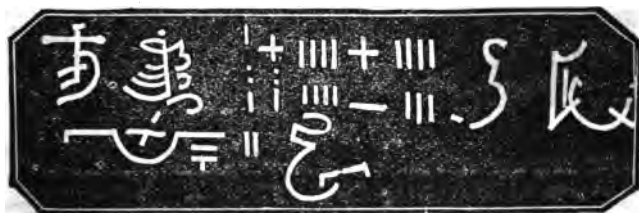
These are the high and powerful utterances which Moses employed in the awakening of the Leviathan, in order to compel him to serve his Lord. The first cannot be uttered and was used by the first inhabitants of earth as a mighty Lord. The whole is good, but not every one can obtain it in perfection without severe discipline.



CHARACTERS

on the left side of the Ark of
the Covenant of the Most
High.

CHARACTERS ON THE RIGHT SIDE.



Hear, oh, Israel, the Lord our God is God alone.

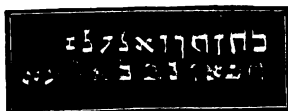
THE CONJURED SPIRIT APPEARS IN A

PILLAR OF FIRE.



Maja affabij Zien, Jeramije Latabi damajesano notj lijoj Leaij glij ije
Eijloij liecle loate Eli Eli mecharamethij rijbisas
sa fu azira reacha.

This citation names the twelve evil spirits of man, through the help of the Father, or the Hebrew Eli ; it is terrible.



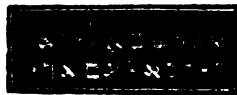
THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A
PILLAR OF CLOUD.

Kahai conor anuhec Zelohae zole hebei ede nego raneij hahabe gizaon.

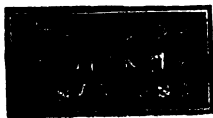
Appendix to the General Citation of Moses on all Spirits.

We, N. N., in this circle, conjure and cite this spirit Fatenovenia, with all his adherents, to appear here in this spot, to fulfil our desires, in the name of the three holy Angels, Schomajen Sheziem, Rokaion Averam, Kandile, Brachai Chaijdalic, Ladabas, Labul, Raragil, Benqul, in the name of God. Amen!

THREE NEW SIGNS WITH FROGS, LICE AND PESTILENCE.



Ablan, ageistan, Zoratan, Juran, nondieras portaephias pognij aizamai



THREE NEW SIGNS AT CATTLE, PESTILENCE, BLACK SMALL-POX AND HAIL.

Ararita Zaijn thanain, miorato raepi sathonik pethanit castas lucias calbera natur sigaim.

GRASSHOPPERS AND DARKNESS.

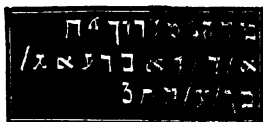


Hassaday hayloes, Lucasim elayh jaciabaga, yoinino, sepactitas barne lud casty!



THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN THE BURNING BUSH,

Baba cuci hiebu ziadhi elenehet na vena vie achya salna.
The spirit which appears here is God himself.



MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO
A SERPENT.

Micrata raepi Sathonik pethanisch, pistan ijttinge' hijgatign ijghizian
temgaronusnia castas Lacias astas ijecon cijna caltera Caphas.

MOSES CHANGES WATER INTO
BLOOD.



Aben'agle manadel slop siebas melim hafath hajadosch ijoneur, cedas
ebreel amphis, demisrael muelle leagijns ammahis.

Principal Citation on all Ministering Spirits of the Air and of Earth,
the like of which Manasses and Solomon used as the
true Key of Salomonis Regis Israel.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

TRUE CLAVICULA OF SOLOMON AND OF THE GIRDLE OF AARON.

bequeathed as a testament to all the wise Magicians, which all the old
Fathers possessed and employed, to have and fulfil all things through
the illustrious power of the mighty God Jehovah, as He, the great
Monarch, gave to His creatures, who worship him day and night with
reverence and in fear, who call loudly upon his name in secret, and
sing to him as their origin, as of him and from him existing reasonable
beings, as on the point of being enviroled with the pains of the ele-
ments, who strive after the highest being to and with God. To these
He has given this, who will not forget him in the pleasures of this
world, who, still bearing suffering without forgetting the reality, nor
the perishing lustre of the world.

You must stand upon a prominent rock, hold a palm-twig in your
right hand, and wear a wreath of laurel around the temple. Then
turn towards the East and say :

Alija Laija Laumin Otheon !

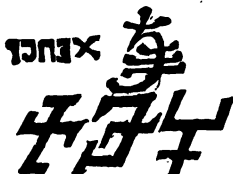
upon this a halo of light will surround you, and when you become
sensible of this light, then fall upon your knees and worship. Then
say in an audible voice, slowly and distinctly :



Eliam yoena adonai cadus ebreel eloyela agiel, ayom sachadon
 oasuselas eloyim de liomar elynla lelia yazi zazali Unnel ovela dilatam
 Seday alma panaim alym canal densy usami yayas calipi calfas sasna
 saffa sadoja aglata pantomel amriel azien phanaton sarze penerion ya
 Emanuel Jod jalaph amphia than domirael alowin.

CHARACTERS.

B A m n lasies ala phonfin agaloyes pyol paerteon theserym.



basimel Jael barionia.

apiolet cenet.



FINIS.



BIBLIA,

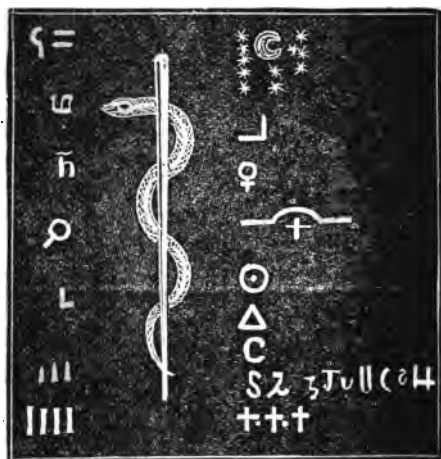
ARCANA MAGICA ALEXANDER,

ACCORDING TO THE

Tradition of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses,

BESIDES

MAGICAL LAWS.



Ex Verbis Revelatis (II) Intellectui Sigil-
latis Verbis.

NUNC APOSTOLICA ✕ CONSECRATIONE

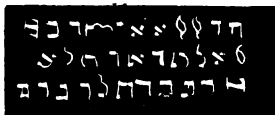
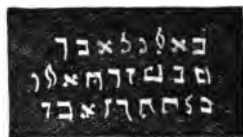
DE NOVO CONFIRMATO.

Script. de Ellbio.

ANNO MCCCCLXXXIII.

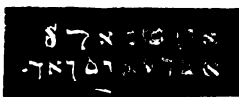
TREATISE OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES.

CHAPTER I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS
TO MOSES IN A BURNING
BUSH.



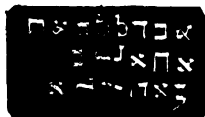
CHAP. II.—MOSES CHANGES THE
STAFF INTO A SERPENT.

CHAP. III.—MOSES CHANGES WATER
INTO BLOOD.



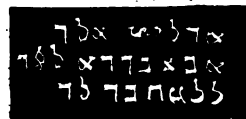
CHAP. IV.—THREE NEW SIGNS WITH
FROGS, LICE AND PESTILENCE.

CHAP. V.—THREE SIGNS ON CATTLE,
PESTILENCE, BLACK SMALL-POX
AND HAIL.



CHAP. VI.—THREE SIGNS OF GRASS-
HOPPERS AND DARKNESS.

CHAP. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.





END OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES.

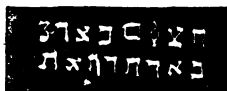
TREATISE SION.

The Seventh Book of Moses.

CHAPTER I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A
PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.



CHAP. II.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A
PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY,



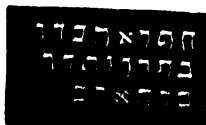
CHAP. III.—BALAAM'S SORCERY.

CHAP. IV.—E G Y P T.

CHAP. V.—CONJURATION OF THE
LAW OF MOSES.CHAP. VI.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES.CHAP. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES ON

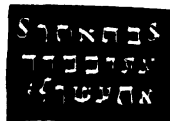
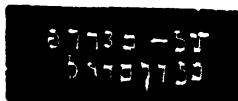
DISMISSAL.





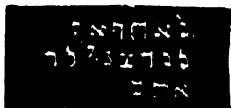
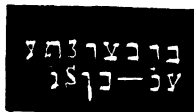
CHAP. VII.—CONJURATION OF
ELEAZAR.

DISMISSAL.



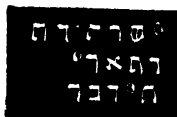
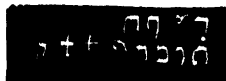
CHAP. VIII.—CITATION OF QUERNITHAY
OR LEVIATHAN,

DISMISSAL.



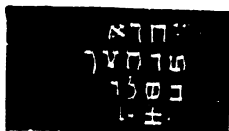
CHAP. IX.—MAGICAL LAWS OF MOSES.

CHAP. X.—HELMET OF MOSES AND
AARON.



CHAP. XI.—BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.

CHAP. XII.—BREASTPLATE OF AARON.



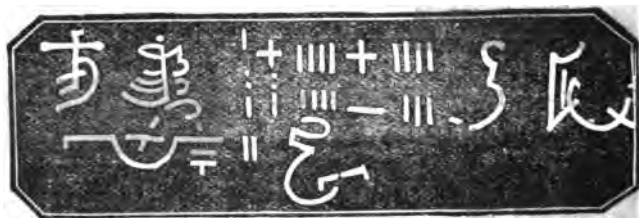


CHAP. XIII.—THE CHALICE OF
HOLINESS.

FOR THE LEFT HAND.



FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



III.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

MAGICAL. KABALA,

OF THE

SIXTH AND SEVENTH

BOOKS OF MOSES.

BY

S. T. N.

Translated for the first time from the Cuthan-Samaritan Language
into English.

ANNO MDCCXXVI.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

SINCE the Oriental transcript of this work was imperfect in many parts, the translation of it had to be taken according to the great original book, on account of the purity of its text, and, therefore, it won for itself the advantage of understanding and completing the exercises with serenity and confidence. The translator, in the meantime believes, that no one, who feels honestly called to these things, can ever be made the subject of ill-fortune, or be deceived by the wiles and deceptions of the old serpent, the inevitable fate that will and must fall to his lot under any other exorcisms, and that he may cheerfully and safely move thence, because only the angels of God will perform the service required by Him.

The Vestibule of the Entrance.—The language and manuscript of this rare and eternal monument of light, and of a higher wisdom, are borrowed from the Cuthans, a tribe of the Samaritans, who were called Cuthim in the Chaldee dialect according to the Talmud, and they were so called in a spirit of derision. They were termed sorcerers, because they taught in Cutha, their original place of abode, and afterwards, in Samaria, the Kabala or Higher Magic (Book of Kings). Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, the chosen arch-priests, are shining lights among the eastern Magicians. They were both kings and teachers—the first Priest-teachers of this glorious knowledge, and from these Samaritan Cuthans—from these omnipotent priests of the fountain of light, who were called Nergal, according to the traditions of Talmud, originated the Gypsies, who, through degeneracy, lost the consecration of their primordial power.

LAWS OF ENTRANCE.

1. Before you can enter the temple of consecrated light, you must purify your soul and body during thirteen days.

2. As a brother and disciple of the new covenant, or as a Christian, you must receive the holy sacrament for the glorification of the three kings—Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar.

3. Three holy masses must be read as often as you make use of this Book in your priestly service with your intention fixed upon the three glorified kings.

4. You must provide yourself with a ram's horn, wherewith to call together the angels and spirits. This horn must be included in your intentions of the holy mass.

5. You must wear a breastplate of parchment, ten inches high and ten inches wide, inscribed upon it the names of the twelve apostles with the five-fold name of Schemhamforasch, in the same order that it is placed on the last leaf.

6. You must draw a circle around you upon white paper, or upon sky-blue silk. Its circumference shall be thirteen feet, and, at the distance of each foot, one of the following names must be written, viz.: Moseh, Messias, Aaron, Jehova, Adoni, Jesus, Christus, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar. Al. Al. Al.

7. Between each name you must place the holy symbol of Horet,—namely: —+— or +—+.

8. The breastplate must be included in the intention of the holy mass.

9. Through consecration with holy triple king's-water and with three burning wax tapers, you must finally pronounce a benediction over this book, the horn, the breastplate, and the circle, after reading a well-selected mysterious ritual.

10. You may enter alone, or begin this great work with two companions, by day or by night, but always from the first to the thirtieth of the month, and during the thirteenth day, and through the whole night of the new moon, and also during full moon, when the three planets, Saturn, Mars and Jupiter, are visible in the heavens on the day of exorcism, either singly or together.

11. You must always stand with your face toward Zion, or toward the rising of the sun.

12. He who refuses a copy of this book, or who suppresses it or steals it, will be seized with eternal trembling, like Cain, and the angels of God will depart from him.

INTRODUCTION AND BEGINNING.

BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.

Schedusi, Weduse, Tiwisi.—I have sinned, I shall sin.

Prayer.—Eternal God of our all ! Our God ! hear our voice, spare and have mercy upon us. Accept our prayer in mercy and with pleasure. I have sinned. I have committed transgressions. I have sinned before Thee ; I have done that which is displeasing unto Thee here in the earth. For the sake of Thy great name pardon me all the sins and iniquities and transgressions which I have committed against Thee from my youth. Perfect again all the holy names which I have blemished, great Champion, terrible, highest God, eternal Lord, God Sabaoth.

HELMET OF MOSES AND AARON.

Wochutu, Tukul, Beschufa, Gutal. If I shall sin, I shall blow with the great horn.

Here the horn must be blown, three times in succession, toward the four corners of the earth, or toward the four quarters of the earth.

For the ram's horn, in the old covenant, is the symbol of omnipotence and of purification, or of beauty, truth and holiness.

BREASTPLATE OF AARON.

Dehutu, Euwsaltu, Bescholam.—You have sinned. I shall sin in peace.

Prayer.—The Lord, King of all Kings, holy and praised is He, the Father, God, Son of God, the Holy Spirit of God are three in one among these three. In the power of Thy might and Thy right, release those that are bound, receive the prayer of Thy people, strengthen us, purify us, oh, terrible Hero, us who worship Thy only name. Protect them as the apple of Thine eye, bless them, cleanse them, repay them always in mercy and justice. Mighty, holy Lord, reward Thy congregation with Thy great goodness. Thou, the only and exalted God, appear unto Thy people with Thy holy name ; receive and remember our prayer ; hearken unto our cries, Thou who knowest all secrets and who knowest our desire.

Here the horn must be blown as before.

MAGICAL LAWS OF MOSES.

Kuta-Al, Lewuwat.—We are great ! Our hearts !

Prayer.—Oh, Lord, arise, that mine enemies may be destroyed and that they may fly; that those who hate Thee may be scattered like smoke—drive them away. As wax melteth before the fire, so pass away all evil-doers before God, for God has given Thee the kingdom. Pour out Thy wrath over them. Thy wrath seize them. Thou shalt stand upon leopards and adders, and Thou shalt subdue the lion and dragon. With God only can we do great things. He will bring them under our feet.

THE CHALICE OF HOLINESS.

Al, Al, Al. Arise, Thou eternal Angel!

This must be repeated three times in a loud voice, and also through the symbol of the horn, for he is an angel of the sanctuary.

Prayer.—Thou, that art, and wast, and wilt be in the old and new covenant! Eternal, Jehovah, Jesus Christ, Messiah, All-beautiful, All-true, All-holy! All-loving and All-merciful in the old and in the new covenant. Thou hast said: Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Thou hast said: I came not to destroy the old covenant, but to fulfil it. Thou hast said: He who sees me sees the Father. Thou hast said: If ye have true faith, ye can perform the wonders which I have done, yea, ye will perform yet much greater wonders than I have done. Come also to me for the sake of my faith, come also unto me for the sake of Moses, Thy messenger of faith. Reveal also to me Thy mysterious name from Jehovah, as Thou once did to Thy fire prophet Moses, in solitude; come, and say unto me in love, through the heart of Moses and with the tongue of Aaron:

Scahebual! I shall come!

THE CONJURATION OF ELEAZAR.

Duwatu, Buwatie, Bemaim.—I come to you on the water!
Bring me up N. N.!

DISMISSAL OF ELEAZAR.

Orum, Bolectn, Ubajom.—Cursed by night and by day!

CITATION OF QUERNITHAY OR LEVIATHANS.

These, as well as the following exorcisms, contain only the peculiar names of the angels who will permit the conjured spirits to appear, or will compel them by force to appear. Here the three angels of omnipotence will be called up to drive forth the monsters of hell, namely: Elubatel, Ebuhuel Atuesuel!

Each name must be repeated three times.

DISMISSAL.

I beseech and conjure thee, angel Elubatel, conduct N. N. from my presence.

Each angel's name must be called three times toward the four quarters of the earth, and three times must be blown with the horn.

CHAP. III. — BALAAM'S SORCERY.

Onu, Baschba, Nischoaz Hueretz.—In the name of God I conjure the earth.

CHAP. V. — CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSES.

Keishnu, Nischba, Lawemso.—How to be God, so swarest Thou to our parents.

Prayer.—Eternal of Eternals! Jehovah of Light, Adonai of Truth! Messiah of the All-merciful! Jesus Christ the beloved and All-redemption and love! Thou hast said: Who seeth me seeth also the Father. Father, eternal Father of the old and new covenant; triune Father, triune Son, triune Spirit, our Father, I beseech and conjure Thee by the eternal words of Thy eternal truth.

And now the seventeenth chapter of John, or the prayer of Jesus, must be prayed:

Closing Prayer of the Conjunction of the Law.—Eternal God, Jehova, Thou hast said: Ask and it shall be given you. I pray that Thou mayest hear Thy servants Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar, the arch-priests of Thy fountain of light! I pray that thou mayest bid Thy angels to purify me from all sin; that they may breathe upon me in love, and that they may cover me with the shadow of their wings. Send them down! This is my prayer in peace!

CHAP. VI.—EGITGIM.

Conjunction of three angels, Gebril! Meachuel! Nesanel! By the lamp of the three-fold eternal light, let N. N. appear before me.

Three calls with the voice and three with the horn.

CHAP. VII. — GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Tubatlu! Bualu! Tulatu! Labusi! Ublisi!—Let there appear and bring before me the spirit of N. N.

Each of these five omnipotent angels must be called three times toward the four corners of the world, with a clear and powerful voice, and when the name of each is pronounced three times, then three sounds must be made by the horn. The name of each angel therefore, must have three calls with the voice and three with the horn.

DISMISSAL OF MOSES.

Ubelutusi! Kadukuliti! Kebutzi!—Take away from my presence the spirit of N. N.

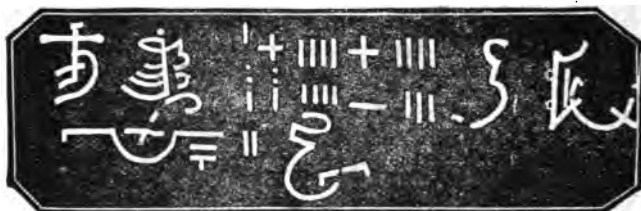
Twelve calls with the voice, and twelve with the horn, for each name.

FOR THE LEFT HAND.

These signs were used at the time of burnt-offering in the holy temple.



FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



These are also symbolical of the plagues of Pharaoh in Egypt.

Schema Israel Adonai Elhoejno, Ekat.—Hear, oh, Israel, the Lord our God is God alone.

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF MOSES.

CHAP. I.—THE REVELATION OF ZION.

THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.

Talubsi ! Latubusi ! Kalubusi ! Alusi !

Arise and bring me the Pillar of Fire that I may see.

The name of each angel must again have three calls by the voice directed to the four quarters of the earth and an equal number by the horn.

CHAP. II. — THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY.

Bual ! come ! Aul ! arise ! Tubo ! I come ! Wegulo ! arise
In this place the blowing will be repeated.

CHAP. VII. — GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Adnal ! Abulal ! Lebusi !

Arise and bring before me the spirit N.

Calls with the voice and horn as already known,

Here follows the Pentagon, or, the Omnipotent Five-Corners.



This mysterious figure must be written before the exorcism, in the open air, and in the ground, with consecrated chalk or with the index finger of the right hand dipped in holy three-kings-water, the same as it is written up on the paper, but each line must be thirteen feet in length. The conjuror then kneels in the centre of the star, with uncovered head and with face turned toward Zion, and calls first in a loud voice, coming from the heart, the names of Caspar, Belchior and Balthasar, thirteen times, and after calling these thirteen times, he must also call the name of high and sacred name of Elokim 375 times with equal fervor and faith. But only as has already been stated in the Laws of Entrance, No. 10, in the first three days or nights of the new moon, or full moon, or when Saturn, Mars and Jupiter appear in the heavens.

CHAP. IV. — THREE NEW SIGNS WITH FROGS, MICE, LICE AND SIMILAR VERMIN.

Aduš! Baachur! Arbu! Ulu!

Frogs, mice, lice and similar vermin arise in our service.

CHAP. V. — THREE SIGNS AT CATTLE PESTILENCE, BLACK SMALL-POX AND HAIL.

Abull, Baa!

Pestilence, black small-pox, etc., arise in our service.

CHAP. VI.—THREE SIGNS WITH GRASSHOPPERS AND DARKNESS.

Ardusi! Dalusi!

Grasshoppers, Darkness, arise in our service.

These are the plagues which the Cuthians often employed in their exorcisms for punishment.

Revelation of the Sixth Book of Moses.

CHAP. I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS UNTO MOSES IN A
BURNING BUSH.

CONJURATION.

Kaluku ! Ubesu ! Lawisu !—Arise and teach me.

Calls with voice and horn as is already known.

CHAP. II. — MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO A SERPENT.

Tuwisu ! Kawisu ! Lawisu !—Arise and change this staff into a serpent.

Calls with voice and horn as usual.

MOSES CHANGES WATER INTO BLOOD.

Akauatiu ! Tuwalu ! Labatu !—Arise and change this water into blood.

Calls with voice and horn as usual.

Here follows the Latin title of this book, from which these magical fragments are extracted.

BIBLIA

Arcana Magica Alexandri (Magi),

ACCORDING TO

(REVEALED) TRADITION OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH

BOOKS OF MOSES.

TOGETHER WITH THE

MAGICAL LAWS.

Ex Verbis H. (human) Intellectui Sigillatis Verbis.

Nunc Apostolica ✠ (Auctoritate) Consecrata de Novo Confirmata

✠ ✠ ✠ (Licentia.)

Script de Eppbio.

ANNO MCCCXXXVIII.

Now Moses appears on the right of the silk, in a simple priestly garb, holding the tree of life, which has four leaves in the right hand, and the ram's horn in the left.

Upon his heart rests the cross; a wide, white band flows over his shoulder and breast, a broad, white girdle graces his loins. He stands upon a kind of hat, which is decorated with three flowers. On the right hand of the hat reposes a dove having a ring in her bill, on the left side and over the head of Moses a three-fold tripod with magical hieroglyphics thereon rises upward.

1. Upon the leaves of the tree of life you read the words:

Besulo! Bedunim! Labatel!

That is, if you are not pure, or if you do not become pure as a virgin through the two angels Bunedreim and Lebatal, you cannot reach toward the tree of life.

2. A hat adorned with three flowers, upon which Moses stands, and from which a dove with ring in her bill appears to descend, that is:

If you preserve faith and hope with holy care, the spirit of omnipotence will emanate from you.

3. A three-fold intertwined triangle, extending from the feet to the head, having inscribed upon it the names of the three angels, Meachuel, Labatel, Kautel, that is: And the three angels of the triune God, Meachuel, Labatei, Ketuel, will surround and carry you upon their hands.

On the reverse side of the picture of Moses, or rather on the first leaf, according to oriental reckoning, appears the elevated, winding and crowned serpent, holding a ring in her teeth. Around the serpent may be seen the moon, the stars, planets, water and many other magic hieroglyphical signs. On the left side of the tail may be seen seven nails, on the right side are magical hieroglyphics making the name of Schemhamporasch. To see Jesus Christ with the cross, that is to say: Jesus Christ, through his love and by his seven wounds and through his death on the cross, for his love's sake, has overcome the kingdoms of this world, and thus took again from the old serpent, the devil, the seal-ring of human omnipotence, or the happiness of man to all the eternal eternities, in order to fulfil the old covenant in the new covenant, for the eternal glorification of the eternal Father in the eternal Son, through the eternal Spirit. Amen.

VI.

BIBLIA ARCANA MAGICA ALEXANDER,

ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE

SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES.

TOGETHER WITH THE MAGICAL LAWS.

Ex Verbis (H) Intellectui Sigillatis Verbis Nunc Apostolice ✠
Consecrat de Nove Confirmati ✠ ✠

SCRIPT DE ELSTRO,

MOCCXXXIII.

BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.



HELMET OF MOSES AND AARON.



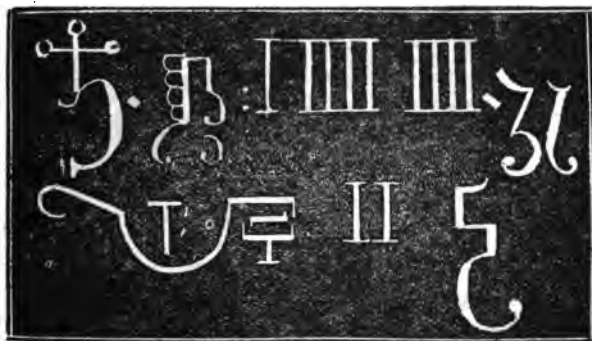
BREASTPLATE OF AARON.



FOR THE LEFT HAND.



FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



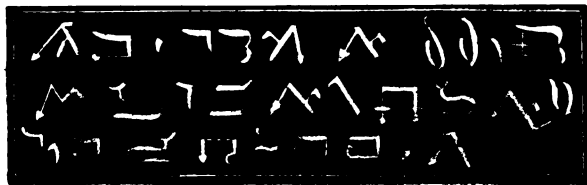
Hear, oh Israel, the Lord our God is God alone. Amen.

Tradition of the Sixth Book of Moses.

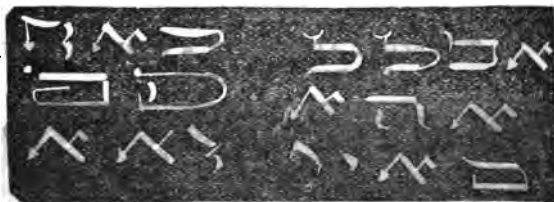
CHAP. I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A BURNING BUSH.
CITATION OF MOSES.



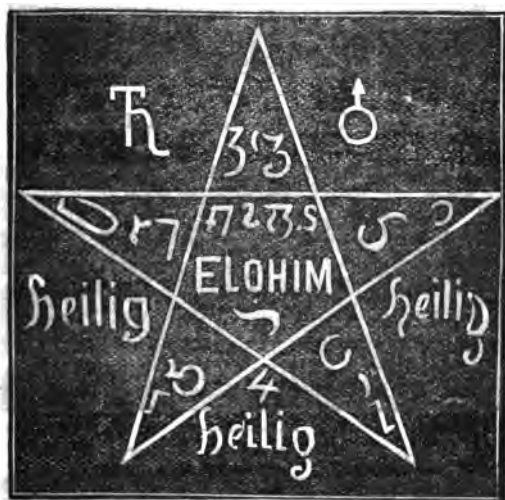
CHAP. II.—MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO A SERPENT.



CHAP. III.—MOSES CHANGES WATER INTO BLOOD.

CHAP. IV.—THREE NEW SIGNS WITH FROGS, LICE, AND
SIMILAR VERMIN.CHAP. V.—THREE SIGNS AT CATTLE, BLACK SMALL-POX
AND HAIL.CHAP. VI.—THREE SIGNS WITH GRASSHOPPERS AND
LOCUSTS.

CHAP. VII. — GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.



Tradition of the Seventh Book of Moses.

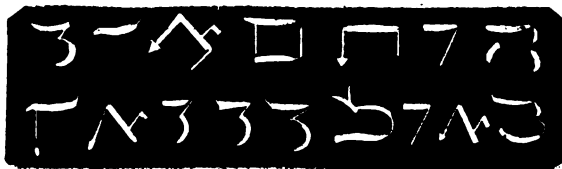
CHAP. I. — THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.



CHAP. II. — THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY.



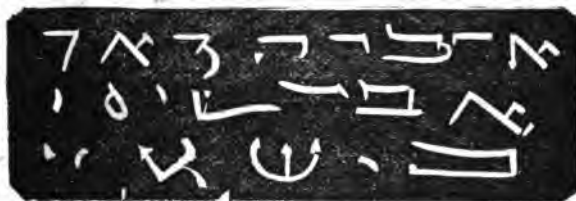
CHAP. III. — BALAAM'S SORCERY.



CHAP. IV.—EGIFGIM.



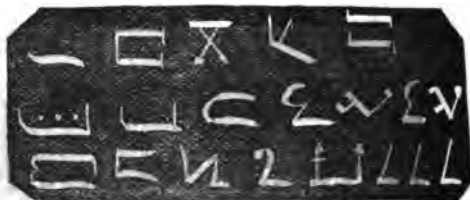
CHAP. V.—CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSES.



CHAP. VI.—GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.



DISMISSAL
OF
MOSES.



MAGICAL
LAWS OF
MOSES.



DIAGRAM

ILLUSTRATING THE

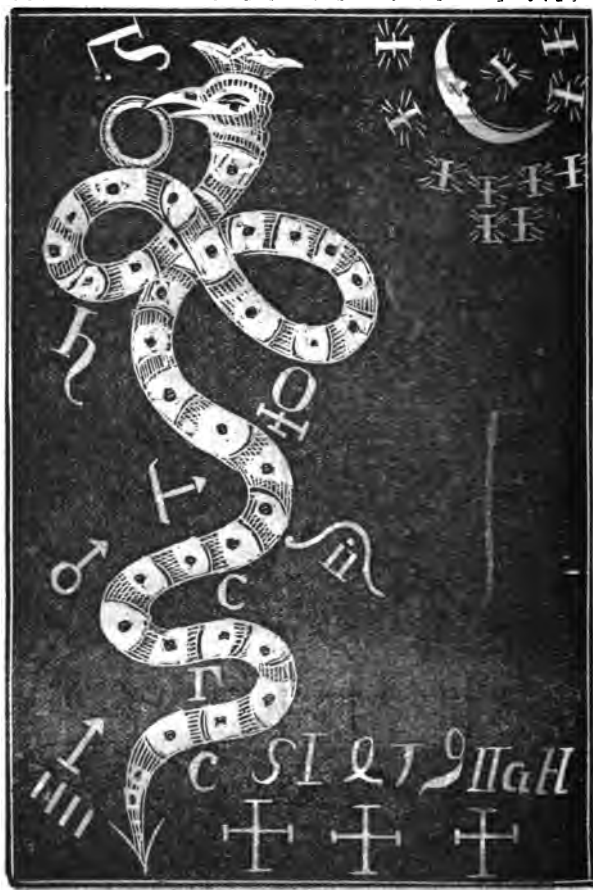
SYMBOLS EMPLOYED BY THE ISRAELITES

IN THEIR

LAWS OF MAGIC.



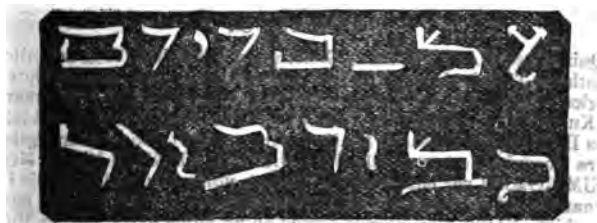
SYMBOL OF THE CROWNED SERPENT
 WITH ITS
MAGICAL HIEROGLYPHICS.



CONJURATION OF ELEAZAR.



DISMISSAL OF ELEAZAR.



CITATION OF QUERMILLAM OR LEVIATHAN.



DISMISSAL OF QUERMILLAY OR LEVIATHAN.



APPENDIX.

I.

Magical (Spirit-Commado) beside the Black Raven.
Romae ad Arcanum Pontificatus unter Popet Alexander VI., printed
and anno (Christi) M. D. I.

PREFATIO.

Quiam per ILLVSTREM et Generosum D ARNOLDVM comnitem
Bemthemi Tichelenburgi-steinfordii Dominum in Rhoad Wivelhoven
magica Arcana originali celeberrimi D. Joannis FAUSTI in Germania
ex Kundling oriundi Baroni HERMANNO in Mosa Ripa and Geldriae
fines Batoburgioo Episcopo fideliter admanuata et anno quadregesimo
supra susquimillesimum ad VATICANUM APOSTOLICUM NOS-
TRUM ROMAN per eum transmissa sunt, volumus : ut hæc typis im-
primantur, ad Arcanum Pontificatis mandentur et sicut pupilla oculi
in archivio Nostro seruentur et custodiantur atque extra Valvas Vati-
canus non imprimantur neque inde transportentur, si vero quisunque
temere contra agere ausus fuerit, DIVINAM maledictionem late sen-
tentiae ipso facto servatis. Nobis solis reservandis oa incursurum
sciat, ita mandamus et constituimus Virtute Apostolica. Ecclesiae
JESU CHRISTI sub poena Excommunicationis et supra Anno secunda
Vicariatus Nostri. ROMAE VERBI INCARNATI Anno M. D. I.
ALEXANDER VI.

D. G. PONTIFEX,

F. Piccolomeus Cardinalis Cancell.

APPROBATIO.

numulet instructio Vaticana Sapienti paucis maxima praeterea asse-
curatur a sua Sanctitate desuper facto Consecratio Canonica.



LECTOR.

Ne spernas librum, si non intelligis esto,
 Si contra captum est, satis esti, quod vota secundet.
 Frigidus in pratis cantauit rumpitur anguis. Ec. 8 virg.
 Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas
 Hoc lege lector opus sacra hæc monumenta polorum
 Hinc optata faras hæc te tua vota docebant,
 Fide cave, sapienter age, et virtute labora,
 Sicque heabit opus pia CONSECratio facta.



D. I. F.

INSTRUCTIONS.

If you want to cite and compel spirits to appear visibly before you and render you obedience, then observe the following instructions :

1. Keep God's commands as much as you can possibly do.
2. Build and trust solely upon the might and power of God ; believe firmly on his omnipotent help in your work, and the spirits will become your servants and will obey you.
3. Continue your citations, and do not cease, even if the spirits do not appear at once. Be steadfast in your work and faith, for the doubter will obtain nothing.
4. Take especial notice of the time, viz. :

Monday night, from eleven until three o'clock.

Tuesday night, from ten until two o'clock.

Wednesday night, from twelve until three o'clock.

Thursday night, from twelve until two o'clock.

Friday night, from ten until three o'clock.

Saturday night, from ten until twelve o'clock.

The Sabbath keep holy to the Lord Sabaoth, Adonai, Tetragrammaton.

5. It must, at the same time, be new moon. Perhaps you may say, "Why these hours and signs—are they not all the days of the Lord?" It is true; but not all hours, and all signs, are favorable to rule over their spirits.

6. Complete the following circle, described in this work, on parchment, written with the blood of young white doves. The size of the circle may be at your own option.

7. If you wish to undertake the operation, be sure to consecrate the circle previously.



(See this Circle. Fig. 24.)

Ego N. N., consecro et benedico istum Circulum per Nomina Dei Altissimi in eo Scripta, ut sit mihi et omnibus Scutum at Protectio

Dei Fortissimi Elohim Invenietur contra omnes malignos Spiritus, geruntque Potestates. In Nomine Dei Patris Dei Filii Dei Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Upon your entrance into this Circle speak as follows: Tetragrammaton; Theos, Ischiros, Athanatos, Messias, Imas, Kyrie Eleison: Amen.

After you have entered the Circle begin your operation with the following prayer from the Ninety-first Psalm.

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord. He is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in Him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver me from the snare of the fowler and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust. His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation. There shall be no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come near thy dwelling. Because he hath set his love upon me: therefore will I deliver him. I will set him on high because he hath known my name. He will call upon me and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honor. With long life will I satisfy him and show him my salvation, even so help me and all them that seek thy holy God the Father ✠ God the Son ✠ God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Citation

OF THE

SEVEN GREAT PRINCES

FROM THE

Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses Biblia Magica.

CITATIO AZIELIS.

Aglá Cadelo, Sambá, Caclein, Awenhato-scoro, Azíel, Zorwotho, Yzewoth, Xoro, Quotwe, Theosy, Meweth, Xosoy, Yachyrés, Gaba, Hagay, Staworo, Wybaty, Ruoso Xuatho, Rumi, Ruwoth, Zyros, Quaylos, Wewor, Vegath, Wysor, Wuzoy, Noses, * Azíel.*

CITATIO ARIELIS.

Yschyros, Theor Zebaoth, Wyzeth, Yzathos, Xyzo, Xywethorthwoy, Xantho, Wiros, Rurawey, Ymowe, Noawathosway, Wuvnethowesy, Zebaoth, Yymo, Zyswethonowe, Yschyrioskay, Ulathos, Wyzoy, Yrsawo, Xyzeth, Durobijthaoe, Wuzowethna, Yzweoy, Zaday, Zyways, Hagatherwos, Yachyros, Imas, Tetragrammaton, Ariel.



CITATIO MARBUELIS.

Adonay, Jehova, Zebaoth, Theos, Yshathoroswe, Wshesymathos, Zesim, Yghoroy, Vegorym, Abaij, Wogos, Gighijim, Zewoij, Ykosowe, Wothym, Kijzwe, Uijwoth, Omegros, Hehgewe, Zebaoij, Wezator, Zibuo, Sijbetho, Ythos, Zeatijm, Wovoe Sijwoijmwehij, Pharvoij, Zewor, Wefgos, Ruhen, Hvbathoros, Stawows, Zijen, Zijwowij, Haros, Worse, Yzwet, Zebaoth, Agia, Marbuel.



CITATIO MEPHISTOPHILES.

Messias, Adonaij, Weforus, Xathor, Yxewe, Soraweljs, Yxaron, Wegharh, Zijhalor, Weghaij, Wesoron, Xoxijwe, Zijxohawaxetho, Ragthoswatho, Zelaath, Adonaij, Zijwetho, Agiaij, Wijatbe, Zidaij, Zijebo Xosthoij, Athlato, Zsewey, Zyxyzet, Ysche, Sarsewu, Zyzyrn Deworonhathbo, Xyxewe, Syzwe, Theos, Yschaos, Worsonefegosy Gefgowe, Hegor, Quaratho, Zywe, Messias, Abarabi, Mephistophiles



CITATIO BARBUELIS.

Yschiros, Imns, Zebaoth, Otheos, Kuwethosorym, Zylohym, Zaday, Yschowe, Quynos, Zenhatorowar, Yzwesor, Xywoy, Zyzyryr, Zalijmo, Zebaoth, Adonaij, Messios, Aglaabaij, Stoweos, Hijwetho, Ycoros, Zijwetho, Uwoim, Chamoweo, Zijzobeth, Sotho, Emnohalj, Zedije, Huwethos, Choriij, Yzquos, Lijraije, Weghoijm, Klixor, Waijos, Gofaljme, Toroswe, Yeijros, Emanuel, Imas, Barbuel.

CITATIO AZIABELIS.

Theos, Ygweto, Yzgowoij, Quiseo, Wijzope, Xorsoij, Nowetho, Yxose, Hagathou, Xoro, Theos, Magowo, Wijzosorwothe, Xaroshaij, Zebaoth, Emanuel, Messia, Yzijwotho, Zadaij, Kexhatosijmeij, Buwatho, Kaewet, Xijrathor, Zijbos, Malhaton, Yzos, Uzewor, Raguil, Wewot, Yzwewe, Quorhijm, Zadob, Zibathor, Weget, Zijzawe, Uijzor, Tretrageammaton, Aziabel.

CITATIO ANIQNELIS.

Theos, Aba, Aaba, Aba, Agathosawaij, Yzoroij, Ywetho, Qnardos, Quasoi, Uschijros, Cijmoe, Qowathim, Gefoij, Zarobe, Weghatj, Ohegathorowaij, Mesowa, Xalose, Wagthorsowe, Wepatho, Yzebo, Storilwethonaij, Quorathon, Sijbo, Mephor, Wijbose, Zaloros, Buetho, Zebaothonaijwos, Zijweth, Ycartj, Ruwethonowe, Ruathosowaij Zebaoth, Messias, Aniquel.

[Now follow the four leaves—Figs. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.]



CIRCLE WRITTEN ON PARCHMENT

WITH THE

BLOOD OF WHITE YOUNG DOVES.

(Fig. 24.)





AZIELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 28.)





ARIELIS

Seal of Character for Coercion and Obedience

(Fig. 25.)





MARBUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 26.)





MEPHISTOPHILIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 26.)





BARBUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 27.)





AZIABELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 27.)





ANTQUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 28.)



✱ ✱ ✱

NOTE.

THE USE OF THE SEALS.

When these great princes do not appear immediately on the foregoing Citations, or if they hesitate in their obedience, then take frankincense and myrrh, and cast them upon burning coals, and when the smoke arises, place the spirit-seal thereon, with the following mysterious words :

✱ ✱ ✱

Ex VI. and VII. Libro MOSES. Bibliae Arcano MAGICAE.

ALTISSIMA DIE VERBA.

SPIRITUM CACTIVA MOSIS AARON ET SALOMONS.

Zijmuorsobet, Noiim, Zavaxo, Quehaij, Abawo, Noquetonaij, Oasaij, Wuram, Thefotoson, Zijronaifwetho. Mugelthor, Yzxe, Agiopuaij, Huzije, Surbatijm, Sowe, Oxursoij, Zijbo, Yzweth, Quaij, Salarthon, Qaij, Qeahaij, Qijrou, Sardowe, Xoro, Wugofhoswerhij, Kaweko, Ykquos, Zehatho, Aba. Amen.

APPARITIO, OR THE APPARITION,

Is almost instantaneous upon these mysterious words and procedure. As soon as they appear, however, address them and compel them to obedience with the following coactionis

BINDING OF MOSES.

Zebaoath, Abatho. Tetragrammaton, Adonaij, Abathoi, Xijhawe, Aglaij, Quohowe, Agla, Muijrosheweth, Phalowaij, Agla, Theos, Mesias, Zijwethororijm, Feghowo, Aba, Mowewo, Choe, Adonaij, Cewoe Christohatos, Tetragrammaton.

✱ A ✱ m ✱ c ✱ n. ✱

INSTRUCTIONS.

Since the spirits will now appear quickly, bring your desires forward honestly, as if before your fellow-man, without fear, for nothing can harm you, much rather, all must serve you and yield obe-

dience and serve you according to your wishes. In this connection, be careful that you do not compromise in any degree with the spirit for all this power, and word of might, which Moses, Aaron and Solomon used according to the revelations of God, are sufficient to compel the spirits to reveal to you the treasures of the earth and sea, and to give them to you without harm and deception.

Mihl, Fausto, Crede (X) Expertis.

REMARKS.

AZIEL is a very prompt treasure-spirit of the earth and of the sea. He appears in the form of a wild ox.

ARIEL is a very serviceable spirit, and appears in the form of a ferocious dog. He commands the lost treasures of the land and sea.

MARBUEL appears in the form of an old lion. He delivers the treasures of the water and the land, and assists in obtaining all secret knowledge and honors.

MEPHISTOPHILES is ready to serve, and appears in the form of a youth. He is willing to help in all skilled arts, and gives the spiritus Servus, otherwise called "familiaris." He brings treasures from the earth and from the deep very quickly.

BARBUEL is a master of all arts and all secret knowledge, a great master of all treasure. He is very accommodating, and appears with alacrity in the form of a wild hog.

AZIBABEL is a prince of the water and mountain-spirits and their treasures. He is amiable, and appears with a large crown of pearls.

ANITUEL appears in the form of a serpent of Paradise. He confers great wealth and honors according to wish.

APPENDIX MAGICUS.

The Seals or General Characters of the Seven Great Princes of Spirits must be written upon virgins parchment, with the blood of butterflies, at the time of full moon; besides this, know that the Seven Great Princes of Spirits have among them some of the legions of crown-spirits which were expelled from Heaven, ita ex Revelatinoe Traditione. VI. et VII. libri Moysi. Amen. †††

Mundus ater cam illis
Me pactum dicit habere,
Sed me teque Deus
Te illo custodiat omnia.

D. I. F.

VALEDICTIO OR DISMISSAL OF THE SPIRITS.

Since the spirits have now served you according to your wish, dismiss and discharge them as follows:

Zebaoth, Theos, Yschyres, Messias, Imas, Weghaymno, Quoheos, Roveym, Christoze, Abay, Xewefaraym, Agia.

And now depart in the name of God; praise, live and thank God to the

E. N. D.

Peter. James. John. Andrew. Philip. Thomas.



Jehova

Messias Urin Thummin



Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Alphaeus, Simon the
Cannanite, Judas, Thaddaeus, Matthias.

This Table belongs to the Chapter of the Laws.

II.

TABELLAE TABULAE

SPIRITI-COMMANDO,

Id est.

MAGIAE ALBAE et NIGRAE CITATIO et GENERALIS

Upon all Spirits, Good and Evil.

R O M A E

Vaticano ad Arcanum Pontificatus sedis Alexandri VI, printed
in the year 1554.

CITATIO GENERALIS MOSES, AARONIS et SALOMONIS CAN
ONIZATA AB ALEXANDRO VI.

Abs, Alpha, Omega, Hewozyweton, Xewerato, Menhato, Queo,
Zuwezet, Rumoy, Rutwze, Quano, Dusy, Xenthono-Rohmatra,
Xonto, Xodumbodine, Zetawek, Agley, Tetragrammaton, Adeney,
Theos, Ygehyroroeth, Zumquvos, Nyeto, Ashmatoo, Theot, Quahet,
Honor, Wethow, Yaw, Negiboth, Oity, Zyta, Yagewit, Zurne-
gos, Zuy, Zywehorosto, Batom, Xewyo, Xewere, Kema, Weento,
Zyweso, Tetragrammaton.

Pronounce the name of the good or evil ††† spirit distinctly, when
he will appear very suddenly; you may then address him.

COARCTIO ON THE BINDING OF SPIRITS.

Theohatay, Gogoy, Gogoy, Bhegoy, Moggoy. Amen.

MONARCHIE OF THE GOOD SPIRITS FAMILIARES

to the for all human migration are the following :

Sethim, Uchel, Theohim, Raghob, Theoma, Orphid, Dominatio, Zachariel, Pochtas, Gathel, Vetus, Barbas, Pochipatus, Requel, Amphangeins Anael, Angelus Pheag.

They are the voices of the (IX.) Choir of Angels. They have among them

1000 times 1000 without end

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

These angels have chosen to fill in the human beings to help and serve them in all things, as well as the following :



) BONI SPIRITUS - GOOD SPIRITS.

Thymehy, Asbeor, Yzazel, Xomoy, Aismoy, Dieria, Bethor, Arfose, Zony, Gorowe, Gower, Xoner, Quitheth, Quato, Wemar, Gairowe, Gorkon, Woreth, Hagyr, Wolor.

†††

MICHAELONIA SPIRITS

Even though Evil, they are still Familiar or Ministering Spirits, and Ready to Serve.

Thebot, Wethor, Quotheth, Xomoy, Xysorym, Zawy, Puchpa, Tulef, Legioh, Xexer, Woryon.

✠✠✠✠✠

INSTRUCTION.

Concerning the Magia Albia, take notice, that all good spirits must be cited when the moon is full, the Princess of the (IX.) Choir of Angels as well as other good spirits.

Concerning the Magia Nigra, take notice, that the VII. Princess of Devils must be cited in new moon, when evil spirits are cited the most readily in the dark of the moon or at the time of an eclipse of the sun or moon. The circle already described as a circle of hell, is for all spirits.

VALEDICTIO ON DISMISSAL.

of all your evil spirits according to the tradition of the Tabella of the Spirit of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.

Thoth, Zothoth, Aethor, Bethor, Zelay, Moggoy, Gairowe, Yweth, Thoros, Yzetho, Thym, Quow, Theohatay, Aethor, Bethor, Moggoy.

Now pronounce the name of the spirit and let him depart in peace. Deus Principium of Finis.

(Front side—Fig. 29.)

TREASURE ELEVATION

AND

SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION.

AUTHORIZED, DEDICATED AND ORIGINATED IN

High Domstift,

B A M B E R G.

J. E. S. U. S.

IN

NADDOYAH.

Chananyah.
Ahmen

OF GOD,

The Father ✕ God the Son ✕ God the Holy Spirit. ✕

YES CHAYA HETH RACHMYEL AYSCHER.

The Innocent, holy blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
cleanses us from all sin and give you spirits of eternal
rest and peace through Jesum Christum ✕ the Son of
God. AWEL.....YIHEYE.

Therefore, may the spirits of Jesus Christ redeem you from
all pain and suffering, and give us the treasures that are
here, through the shed blood of I. N. R. I. Eel Elyon
Jesus Christi Eheyoha. Amen.

Optimo Successu Remissum.

THE
Schemhamforas

Which will certainly bring to light the Treasures of Earth,
 if buried in the Treasure-Earth.



From the Arcan Bible of Moses.

FROM

P. HOFFMAN, Jesuit.

Composed ad Proxim.

L. MISCHINSKY, at RAOL, MDCCXLVI.

SCHEM HAMPHORAS,

NO. 1.



*Sex septuaginta duo Divina Nomina in lingua
Hebraic, denotant semper Nomen deisive legantur a
principio sine vel adextris aut sinistris suntque in-
gentis virtutis.*

SCHEMHAMPHORAS,

No. 2.



III.

SEMIPHORAS AND SCHEMHAMPORAS

KING SOLOMON.

WESAL, DUISBURG AND FRANKFORT:

Printed and Published by ~~ANDREW DUFFUS~~, Licensed Bookseller in
the above Cities.

1686.

AN HUMBLE PRAYER FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF WISDOM AND UNDER-
STANDING.

"For the Lord giveth wisdom, out of his mouth cometh knowledge
and understanding."—PROVERBS, ii. 6.

"If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all
men liberally, and upbraideth not."—EPISTLE OF JAMES, i. 5.

Oh, God, my Father and Lord of all goodness, who didst create all
things by Thy word, and who didst prepare man in Thy wisdom to rule
over all creatures that were made by Thee, that he should rule over
the world with holiness and righteousness, and judge with an upright
heart. Give unto me that wisdom that is constantly around Thy
throne, and cast me not out from among Thy children. For I am
Thy servant, and the son of Thy hand-maiden, a weak creature of a
short existence, and too weak in understanding, in right and in the
law. Send it down from Thy high heaven and from the throne of
Thy glory that it may abide with me and labor with me that I may
know and do the things that are pleasing unto Thee. For Thy wis-
dom knoweth and understandeth all things, and let it lead me in my
works and protect me in its glory, and my labors will be acceptable
unto Thee. When I was yet in my youth I sought wisdom without
fear in my prayer. I prayed for it in the temple, and will seek it to
my end. My heart rejoiceth over it as when the young grapes ripen.
Thou art my Father, my God, and my Shepherd, who helpeth me.
Thy hand created and prepared me; teach me that I may learn Thy
commandments; open my eyes that I may behold the wonders of Thy
law. Remember, Lord, Thy covenant, and teach me what to say and
think. Instruct me and so shall I live. Lord, show me Thy ways,
lead me in Thy truth, and teach me. I am Thy servant, teach me,
that I may understand Thy evidence. Console me again with Thy
help and let the happy spirit sustain me. Thou lover of life, Thy im-
mortal spirit is in all things. Teach me to work in a manner that is

well pleasing unto Thee, for Thou art my God. Let Thy good spirit lead me in pleasant paths. With Thee is the living fountain and in Thy light we see the light. Let my goings be established, and let no unrighteousness rule over me. Teach me wholesome manners and enlighten me, for I believe Thy commandments. Lead me in Thy truth and teach me, for Thou art the God who helps me, and I wait daily before Thee. Let Thy countenance shine upon Thy servant and teach me to know Thy justice. Let me behold Thy glory, for Thou, Lord, art my light, and Thou wilt turn my darkness into day. Wilt Thou join Thyself with me in eternity, and trust me in righteousness and in judgment, in grace and mercy, yea, wilt Thou join me in faith that I may know Thee, the Lord. Lord, let my complaints come before Thee. Instruct me according to Thy word. Let my prayers come before Thee, rescue me according to Thy word. Show me Thy ways, oh, Lord, that I may walk in Thy truth. Keep my heart in singleness that I may fear Thy name. I will remember Thy name from childhood, therefore, all people will thank Thee for ever and ever. Amen.

In the name of the highest, almighty Creator, I, King Solomon, hold to the interpretation of the name of (God) Semiphoras, in other words, the First and the Greatest, the oldest and hidden mystery of great power and virtue, to obtain all that which is asked of God, for God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, which consists not in many and vain words, because each word and name of God is self-existent, and therefore the name and prayer must agree, and no strange name must be used unnecessarily if anything fearful or wonderful is intended to be accomplished, in order that the divine quality may pour into our soul and spirit His grace and gifts—that is the consciousness of God in His name through which he comes near and abides with those who know His name. Therefore, this name must be held in the highest honor and should be hidden from all frivolous and unworthy persons, since God says himself in Exodus: Out of all places will I come unto thee and bless thee, because thou rememberest my name. Therefore, have the Hebrew Maccabees seventy-two names for God, and named and wrote Schemhamphora, the name of seventy-two letters.

First, it must be known that the names of God cannot be taught and understood except only in the Hebrew language, neither can we pronounce them in any other dialect, as they were revealed to us through the grace of God. For they are the sacrament and emanation of divine omnipotence, not of man, nor of angels, but they are instituted and consecrated through the (generent) of God, to instil divine harmony in a certain manner according to the characters of his immovable number and figure, and of which those that are appointed over the heavens are afraid. The angels and all creatures honor them and use them to praise their Creator, and to bless Him with the greatest reverence in His divine works, and whosoever will apply them properly with fear and trembling and with prayer, will be powerfully enlightened by the spirit of God—will be joined with a divine unity—will be mighty according to the will of God—that he can perform super-

natural things—that he can command angels and devils—that he can bind and unbind the things of the elements, over which he may elevate himself through the power of God. Therefore, he, who has perfected and improved his understanding and morals, and who, through faith, has purified his ears, so that he may without spurious alterations call upon the divine name of God, will become a house and a dwelling place of God, and will be a partaker of divine influences, etc., etc.

On the other hand, the order of God should be known, that God makes use of other words among angels and also others among men, but the true name of God is known neither to men nor to angels, for He has reserved it and will not reveal it until His order and exhibition are fulfilled and perfected. After that the angels will have their own tongues and speech, about which we need not concern ourselves, because it is not necessary for us to examine them.

In the third place, all the names of God are taken by us from His works, as indicating a communication with God, or are extracted out of the divine scriptures through the art of Cabalisticam, Calculatorem, Notariacum and Geometrium.

The beginning of the name and word, Sempiternus, which God the Creator, Jehovah, gave in Paradise, embraces three Hebrew letters, Jehovah, the inscrutable Creator of the world, almighty Providence, and all-powerful eternal Deity.

After this there are four parts of the earth which are the most subtle light of the spiritual world: 1. Hierarchia, Chernim at Seraphim, Potestates et Virgines, Archangelos et Angelos, Spiritus et Animas Hominum, which come before God. This part of the world has also four angels that stand upon the four corners of heaven; they are Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel; four angels stand for the elements, namely, Sempiternus, Cherub, Thauris, Ariel; four highly enlightened men full of the light of God.

For the other light or part of the world is the heaven of all the stars; has four Triplicities of the twelve signs, under which the sun revolves yearly, making the change of seasons, the Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter of birth and corruption, and changes the fourth element.

In the third part of the work are the elements and everything that is subordinate to them, in which is the small world, man. He again has four elements within him. Anima is in the head, per se nos; Spiritus is in the heart, and operates through the arteries; Corpus is the whole body with the veins; Genius, a spark of fire, is in the kidneys, and governs birth. He has four spiritual and strong working faculties, or facultates actiones, or spiritus, as his Animalis, Vitalis, Naturalis, Genitions. The soul has inward senses, as sensum commune; in which faith takes hold as (fides) and other senses Intellectus in the brain.

2. Imaginatrix, the imagination is another soul operation or phantasia, which draws a picture of power and accomplishes all things.

3. Ratiocinatio repeats the Species on the mind on all cases and judgments, Scientia; if the soul will now turn to real reason, it will acquire knowledge of all worldly wisdom.

4. *Mensorstriz*, the memory, retains all things which pertain to the faculties and operations of the spirit; to bring an experimentum et Sensum through agitation of the nerves the increase of the human race is effected by God. The living spirit of the heart embraces within itself four virtues: *Justitia*; *Temperantia*; *Prudentia*; *Fortitudo*; and thence it is the arterial blood and connect the soul with the body. *Appetitus Sensitivus*; the natural spiritual action and power lies in the liver and arteries, and effect motion and attraction, support and subsistence; the proper spirit of strength and sap lies in the kidneys; to multiply through divine perfection.

The body has four elements, namely, spirit, fruit, flesh and bone—four complexions or temperaments, warm, wet, dry; attraction is produced by warmth, dryness, dampness; repulsion is produced by coldness and dryness. *Lien-Ostio* by warmth and wet, id est stomachus; four wet, gall, blood, mucus and melancholia.

In the fourth quarter of the world there is darkness, instituted for condemnation in wrath and for punishment. Four princes of devils are injurious in the four elements: *Samael*; *Azael*; *Azael*; *Mehazoz*; four princes of devils over the four quarters of the earth; *Orion*; *Fagmon*; *Eggs*; *Ameyon*.

The first Semiphoras is that of Adam, because he spoke with the Creator in Paradise.

The second Semiphoras, because he spoke with angels and spirits.

The third, because he spoke with devils.

The fourth, because he spoke with the creatures of the four elements, the birds, the fishes, the animals, and the creeping things of the earth.

The fifth, because he spoke with inanimate objects, as herbs, seeds, trees and all vegetation.

The sixth, because he spoke with the winds.

The seventh, because he spoke with the sun, moon and stars.

By the power of the seven Semiphoras he could create and destroy all he desired.

The first Semiphoras was acknowledged by Adam, since God created him and placed him in Paradise, where he was allowed to remain only seven hours. The name is *Jove*, which name must be pronounced only in the greatest need, and then only with the most devout feelings toward the Creator. In this case you will find grace and sure help.

The second Semiphoras, in which Adam spoke with angels, and which gave him the expression, yesterday, that is, God without Beginning and without End; must be pronounced when speaking with angels, and then your questions will be answered and your wishes fulfilled.

The third Semiphoras, in which Adam spoke with the spirits of the departed, and inquired of them, who gave him satisfactory answers upon the word, *Adonay-Sabaoth*, cadus adonay amara; these words must be uttered when you wish to collect winds, spirits or demons, *Aly*, *Adey*, *Sabaoth*, *amara*.

The fourth Semiphoras, *Layamen*, *Iava*, *Erin*, *Iavagellayn*, *Lava*.

quiri, Lavagola, Lavatasorin, Layflafafin, Lyafaran; with this name he bound and unbound all animals and spirits.

The fifth Semiphoras, Lyacham, Lyalgema, Lyafaran, Lialfatah, Lebara, Lebarosin, Layararalus; if you wish to bind equals, as trees and seeds, you must pronounce the above words.

The sixth Semiphoras is great in might and virtue; Letamnin, Letayloge, Letaynin, Lebaganaritin, Letarminin, Letagelogin, Lotafalosin. Use these when you desire the elements or winds to fulfil your wishes.

The seventh Semiphoras is great and mighty. They are the names of the Creator; which must be pronounced in the beginning of each undertaking: Eliaon yoonadouay eadus ebreel, eloyela uglel, ayoni, Sechado, easuselas eloyra, delion iuu elynla, delia, yazi, Zazael, paliel man, umiel, onela dilatan saday alma paneim plyn, canal deus Uagmi yaras calipix calfas sasna saffasaday aylata panteomel auriel arion phanston seare panerionys emanuel Joth Jalaph amphia, than demisrael mu all le Leazyns ala pinar aglacyei qyol paeriterou theseroym barimel, jael haryon ya apiolell echet.

These holy names pronounce at each time in reverence toward God, when you desire to accomplish something through the elements or something connected therewith, and your wishes will be fulfilled, and what is to be destroyed will be destroyed, for God will be with you because you know his name.

The following is another name of Semiphoras which God gave to Moses in seven parts.

The first is, when Moses concealed himself and spoke with God, when the fire burned in the forest without consuming it.

The second, as he spoke with the Creator on the mountain.

The third, when he divided the Red Sea, and passed through with the whole people of Israel, etc.

The fourth, when his staff was turned into a serpent which devoured the other serpents.

The fifth, are the names which were written on the forehead of Aaron.

The sixth, when he made a brazen serpent and burned the golden calf to divert pestilence from the Israelites.

The seventh, when manna fell in the wilderness and when water gushed from the rock.

In the first are the words which Moses spoke as he went on the mountain, when he spoke to the flames of fire: Maya, Affaby, Zien, Jaramye, yne Latebni damaa yrsano, noy lyloo Lhay yly yre Eylvl Zya Lyelee, Loate, lideloy eloyl, mecha ramethy rybilasaa fu aziry scihiu rite Zelohabe vete hebe ede neyo ramy rahabe (eoyiq anubee). If you pray this word to God devoutly your undertaking will be fulfilled without a doubt.

In the second are the words which God spoke to Moses as he went on the mountain: Abtan, Abynistan, Zoratan Juran nondieas, potarte fajs alapeina pogrij podaj sacrosicium. In these words the prophet spoke to the angels with whom the four quarters of the earth are sealed, through which the temple was founded Bosale. If you wish

to pronounce these you should fast three days, be chaste and pure, and then you can perform many wonders.

In the third are words which Moses spake in order to divide the Red Sea : *Qna clalie saijec tolomomaati ; bekahn aijco inare asua haene hieha ijsale malieha arnija aremeholona queleij, Lineno, feijano, ijoije malao haboua nethee hijcere.* If you have lost favor of your master, or if you wish to gain the good-will of some one, speak these words with fervor and humillty, etc.

In the fourth are words which Moses spake when he changed his staff into a serpent : *Micrato, ræpjsathonich petanith pistan ijttn ijer hijgarin ijtgnitton tamayrou atjcou dunanas castas Lacias astas ijecon cijna caihera natu facas.* Pronounce these names when you wish to have your desires fulfilled.

In the fifth are the written names of the forehead of Aaron as he spake with the Creator : *Sadaij haijives Lucas elacijs jaconi hasihaia ijein mo, sep, actitas barne lud doncentij eija iehhu reu, vaha, vialia, eije.* Vie haija hoij asaija salna bahai, quci, ijaia. Elenebel, na vena ; setna. The names are powerful in satisfying each request.

In the sixth are names which were written upon the staff of Moses, when he made the brazen serpent and broke the golden calf : *Tane mare ayan, abijt ala, mmo, hja actenal tijogus ijaño, eloim ija nehn ijane haij ijanehn, ahijaco mea.* With this name destroy all sorcery and evil. You must not pronounce it with levity in your works.

In the seventh are words which Moses employed in leading the Israelites out of Egypt, with which he brought manna from heaven and caused the water to flow from the rock : *Sadaij amara elon pheneton eloij enelj ebeoel messias, ijahe yehu hejiane, ijanancel, elijon.* Pronounce these words when you desire to do something wonderful, or when you are in great need, and call earnestly on God, etc.

PRAYER.

Oh, thou living God ; thou great, strong, mighty, holy and pure Creator full of mercy—a blessed Lord of all things ; praised be thy name. I implore Thee, fulfill my desire. Thou canst work. Permit us to accomplish this work. Grant us thy grace and give us thy divine blessing, that we may happily fulfill this work. Thou, holy, merciful and gracious God, have mercy upon us. Thy name, Jesu-raise be adored forever and ever. Amen, etc.

In the name of the Almighty Creator, I, Solomon, hold to the declaration of the divine names : *Agia.* Thou art a mighty God to all eternity. He who bears upon his person this name, written upon a gold plate, will never die a sudden death. *Ararita*—a beginning of all unity. *Ahen*—thou solid rock, united with the Son. Amen, etc. Thou, Lord, a true king, perfect it, etc.

The names consist of the beginning of the chapters Adonay, which the Hebrews made use of instead of the unutterable name, *Asser Eerie.*

The seven mighty names may be obtained at a favorable hour and place : *Gomitetjon, sede aij, throtomas, asmagata bij iji ijeos.*

The four names of the Creator : *Jva, Jona, eloij, Jenu.* He who

calls often upon God in faith and with fear, and carries with him the golden letters, will never want for an honorable subsistence and good clothing. The name which Adam uttered at the entrance to hell, is mephenai phaton. He who bears this name with him is unconquerable.

The name which God communicated to Moses on Mount Sinai, Heedion, will put away all causes for sorrow.

The name which Joshua prayed when the sun stood still, baahand, beltaleir, deatzbat, brings vengeance upon enemies.

The ten names of Sepirot: I, Solomon, spoke in my prayer to God, and he gave me wisdom; Ethor, Hoshmai, binach, basced, Geburah, thiphretz, nezah, kod Jehod malchut.

Now follow the ten names of God: Esale, Jod tetragrammaton, Tetragrammaton Sepoth, elohim Sabaoth, Sadai, Adonai, aulech, all with ten letters. Tetragrammaton Vedeth have eight letters. Ehoie, the self-existence of God, Arerite Aser, abels, the names of God of seven letters.

Eesh, used by Moses as the fire of God, Elion has five letters and they are all Hebrew characters.

Emeth, the true God; is God's seal. The explanation of the ten names of God and the ten Sephiroth, is given in Cornel Agrippa, de occulta Philosophia, Lib. 3, Cap. 10.

Hacaba, the holy and adored God.

Hu, himself the power of the Deity.

Hod, Jod, a divine being.

Jah, a just God, comparing himself with man.

Inon.

Jeuba, the Messiah will come in the golden age.

Jaua, he who treated the light.

Isala, with the name El, resembles the changed era (each made up of 31.)

Mettetren for Sadai, each name composed of 314

Icru Maspar, both names are derived from a transposition of the name Jehova.

Messiah is derived from a transposition of the letters in Jinnas Masom.

Na, the name of God, should be used in tribulation and oppression.

Oromasim, Mitrim, Aramineta, signify God and the Spirit. These are three princes of the world.

Pele, he who worketh wonders, etc.

These names must be selected out of each letter constituting the work, for the accomplishment of which the help of God should be implored. Similar to a certain text, in Exodus 14, consisting of three verses which are always written with seventy-two letters, beginning with the three words: Yajia, Vaiduo, Vaidet; which, when placed in a line, one and three, from left to right, the middle one transposed from the right to the left, as in a reverse order, constitutes one name of the seventy-two letters of which are named Schemhemphe.

If now the divine names, El or Jod, are added, there will be seventy-two names of God, each of them syllables, for it is written:

under the favor of God, he will obtain his desire through faith and wisdom : first, from the stars and from the heavens by the rational reflections of His spirit ; second, by the animal kingdom, through his senses ; third, by the elements, through his fourfold body.

Therefore, man binds all creatures through comparison, by calling upon the higher power, through the name and power which governs one thing ; and thereafter through the lower things themselves, etc.

And now, he who desires to become master of the working of the soul, must become familiar with the order of all things, just as they are obtained by God in their proper state, from the highest to the lowest, through natural connections, that he may descend as if from a ladder. On this account the Heathens committed the error of worshipping the planets and fixed stars, not because they heard but because they were moved by the powers which governed them and were, at the same time, impelled thereto by the influence of their founder and creator. And in this manner, likewise, Christian nations have committed the error of paying homage to departed saints and giving honor to the creature which belongs only to the Creator, and God is a jealous God and will not permit the worship of idols. The prayer of faith, therefore, in proper language, and for proper objects, is intimately related to the name of God, from which we descend by words, from one to the other, following each other out of a natural relationship, in order to accomplish something.

The son, therefore, prevails upon the father that he may support him, although the father may not do so willingly ; still since he is his offspring he must calculate to maintain him. How much greater care our heavenly Father must feel for us, if we serve him in a proper manner ?

He who desires the influence of the sun, must not only direct his eyes toward it, but he must elevate his soul-power to the soul-power of the sun, which is God himself, having previously made himself equal to God, by fasting, purification and good works, but he must also pray in the name of the Mediator, with fervent love to God, and his fellow-man that he may come to the sun-spirit, so that he may be filled with its light and lustre, which he may draw to himself from heaven, and that he may become gifted with heavenly gifts and obtain all the desires of his heart ; and as soon as he grasps the higher light and arrives at a state of perfection, being gifted with supernatural intelligence, he will also obtain supernatural might and power. For this reason, without godliness, man will deny his faith in Christ, and will become unacceptable to God, therewith often falling a prey to the evil spirits against whom there is no better protection than the fear of the Lord and fervent love to God and man.

Most people who are skilled in divine works, and who possess the right to command spirits, must be worthy by nature or become worthy by education and discipline for their calling—must keep all their works secret, but may not conceal it from a true and pious person. Dignity of birth comes from station, but it is due to Satharub, Sol, Mercurium or Martem that he is made prosperous—that he is learned in Physics, Metaphysics and Theology.

If a man has a knowledge of God, as the first great cause, he must also acknowledge other causes or co-operative spirits, and determine what official station of dignity and honor to accord to them; and without which knowledge their presence and help cannot be enjoyed. Such honor and dignity must not be shown for the sake of the spirits but for the sake of their Lord, whose servants they are. In this manner the angels of God will encamp around those who fear and love the Lord; and, as Augustinus says: "Everything possesses a predestined angel-power." For this reason the Hebrew theologians, Meccubae and Cabalists, named ten principle divine names as members of God, and ten Numerationes or Zephirot, as niment and instruments of the Creator, through which he is infused into all his creatures, according to the order of the ten, Angelic and ten princely spirit-choirs, from which all things derive their power and quality.

1. The name **ETHEE**, *ver Ethee*, its number *Oether elion*, one Lord, is the simplest Deity, which no eye has seen, is ascribed to God, the Father, gives influence through the order *Seraphia haiath, haiadosch*, gate of holiness or of life, that transmits life to everything through *Elieic*. From this he flows in through *premmu mabele* so that all things must exist—that the heavens must revolve every twenty-four hours. This wonderful being is called *Intelligentia Metatron*, that is, a prince of faces. His office is to lead others into the presence of the Sovereign, and through him God spoke to Moses.

2. **JEHOVAH**, *Jod, vel Jah*, his number *Chochma*—wisdom: The Deity full of spirit. The first-born son through whom the Father redeemed man from his curse, is infused through the order of *Cherubim*, Hebrew *Ophanim*, of the form or Council. From these he flows into the star-bedeked heavens, and produces there many figures. Chavs of creatures, God, *Jod*, *Tetragrammaton*, through the peculiar *Intelligentia razelem*, who was a representative of Adam, etc.

3. **TETRAGRAMMATON ELOHIM**, his number is called *Binah*, That is, caution or sense, and signifies pardon and rest, cheerfulness, repentance and conversion—the great trumpet, the redemption of the world and life in time to come, is adapted to the Holy Spirit and flows in his might through the order of *Thronorum*, which is called *Arachim* in Hebrew—that is, the great, strong and mighty angels, from thence through the *Saturul Sphaeram* it gives to liquid matter the form *Shopsie*, which was an *Intelligentia Zaphkiel*, was Noah's representative, and another *Intelligentia Jophiel*, Shem's representative, and these are the three highest and greatest Numerationes, as a throne of the divine Persons, through whose commands everything takes place, and which is completed by the other seven, which, in this account are called *Numerationes fabrica*, etc.

4. **EL**, his number *Haced*, that is, grace or goodness, and is called mercy, pity, great power, scepter and right hand, and flows in through order *Dominatum*, Hebrew *Hasmalin*—confers peaceable justice through *Sphaeram Jovis* and bestows in a general manner special *Intelligentia*; *Zadkiel*, Abraham's representative.

5. **ELOHIM** *quhar*, a strong God, who punishes the guilt of the wicked. His number is *Geburah*, that is, might, gravity, strength, security,

judgment. He inflicts punishment through the sword and through war. To this is added the judgment-seat of God, the globe of the Lord, a sword, and last arm; also Pashed, that is, four before God; flows in through the order of Potestatum Hebraei Seraphim, so named, and from thence through the Sphaeram Martia, which has great war and tribulation—moves the elements accordingly. His peculiar Intelligentia Gemael, Samson's representative.

6. ELCHA, the God of Alchemy; his number is Epheset, grace, beauty, adornment, happiness and pleasure—signifies the word of life and flows in through the order Virtutum, which in Hebrew is Malchiam: This angel, through Sphaeram Solis, gives perspicuity and life, and reveals metals. His particular Intelligentia, Raphael, was the representative of Isaac and of the youthful Tobias; and Pehet was the representative of Jacob.

7. MISERACORDIA TON SABAOTH, or Adonai Sabaoth, the God of Hosts. His number is Nemeth, that is, triumph and victory; to him is accorded the right pillar, and signifies eternity, the justice of God, and avenger; he flows in through the order of Principatum or through the Hebrew Elohim, that is, God in Sphaeram Venetis, love and justice. He produces all Vegetable growth and his peculiar Intelligentia Hamael, and the angel Gernaius is David's representative.

8. ELOHIM SABAOTH, God of Hosts, not of war or wrath, but of pity, for he has both names and goes before his hosts. His number is called Hod, that is, honorable confession, ornament and renew. To him is accorded the left pillar, and he flows in through the order of Archangelorum, before the gods in Sphaeram Mercuri, adornment, safety and sanctity, and brings forth animals; His peculiar Intelligentia Michael, the representative of Solomon.

9. SADAJ, the Almighty, who does all things abundantly, and Elhay, that is, the living God. His number is called Jesed, that is, a foundation, and is denominated goodness, redemption and rest. He flows in through the order of Angelorum, in Hebrew Chorabin in Sphaeram Lunae, to increase and decrease all things, supports and contributes the genius of man: his Intelligentia Gabriel, a representative of Joseph, Joshua, and Daniel.

10. ABONAY MELBOH, that is, a Lord and King. His number is called Malchet, that is, a kingdom and dominion, and is termed the Church and house of God, and the dew flows in through the order of Animaticum of the believing soul—in Hebrew, the life of princes, and they are inferior to the hierarchy. They afford information to the children of men, of the wonderful things of knowledge, guard them against prophecies. For their Anima Mentis Mentis, or according to others the Intelligentia Metatron, which is called the first creature—the soul of the world, is the representative of Moses, the fountain of all life.

Therefore, all the names of God and the ten Sephiroth, are embraced in the Archetypum.

In mundi intelligentia are included the nine choirs of the angels, or according to Dionysius, the ten blessed orders;

1. Seraphim; 2. Cherubim; 3. Throni; 4. Dominations; 5. Potestades; 6. Virtutes; 7. Principatus; 8. Archangeli; 9. Angeli; and 10. Animæ Beatae.

The Hebrews, therefore, call them: Haeleth, Hachden, Ophanim; Aralim; Hasmalim; Seraphim; Malachim; Elohim, Ben Elohim; Cherubim; Israhim.

The ten representative angels are: Matatron, Jophiel, Zaphiel, Camael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael, Gabriel, Anna, Michael.

The Nine Chords of Angels divide Theology into Three Hierarchies.

In the first hierarchy are the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Throni. These more than celestial spirits are called gods, or the sons of the gods, because they continually behold the order of divine providence. Being foremost in the goodness of God, they praise Him unceasingly and pray for us. The second in the being of God, according to form, and the third in the wisdom of God, stand continually before God.

In the middle hierarchy are the Dominations, Potestates, Virtutes, as spirits of intelligence, to rule the whole world. The first command what the others perform. The second stand that which interfere with the laws of God. The third oversee the heavens and occasionally perform great wonders. These six orders of spirits are never sent upon the earth.

In the lower hierarchy are the Principatus, Archangeli, et angeli, which are administering spirits to oversee worldly affairs.

The first, in general, provide for princes and magistrates, and care for kingdoms and countries, each in his own especial sphere, as Moses declares in his song, Deut. xxxii. 8: "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." And Daniel says, chap. vi. 10: "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me twenty-one days: And Jesus Sirach bears witness, that each nation has its angel as a director. Therefore did the Romans at all times invoke the angel of their country. 2. The second are engaged in divine affairs, facilitate and regulate the worship of God among all men; and present the prayers, offerings and piety of men to God. 3. The third order all things of minor importance, and each one is appointed as a protector to every man.

For this reason the fourth hierarchy are added to the former as the souls of heavenly bodies, Animæ Corporum Celestium; the souls of Herods, and Herons and of the Martyrs; They first control the light, and the influence of the strong, so that their power may proceed from God to the lower regions. The second are the chosen souls of the redeemed. The third are the souls of the innocent martyrs and followers of God, who offered up their lives, amid pain and suffering, out of love to God.

Since God the Father gave to the Son, our Mediator, Saviour and Redeemer, all power in heaven and on earth, and the angels of the

great name of God and Jesus, which is the first might in God, it flows, accordingly, into the twelve angels and twelve signs, through which it spreads into the seven planets, and, as a natural consequence, into all other servants and instruments of God, until it penetrates into the lower regions, so that even an insignificant herb may develop a peculiar power, even if it is decayed, and so the angel of man appears before God at all times bearing his prayers into his presence.

Without the name of Jesus the old Hebrew cabalists can accomplish nothing in the present day, with old arts as they were used by the Fathers. Therefore, it is, that all treasures fear and honor him: All men who believe in him are enlightened through his brightness, our souls are united with him, and the divine power emanating from him is communicated to us.

OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE HEAVENLY POWERS.

The first course in Mundo Coelesti watches day and night. Primum Mobile Rechet Hagallalim. It continues from morning until night. From these the Heathens divided the angels into thirty-three orders. The first great light, communicates light, life and station out of the first course, and opposes others in the Sphaera Zodiaci; causes summer and winter, the spring of all the things of the elements: Hebrew Masloth, goes from evening to morning according to the twelve signs of the heavens.

But even if all things have their existence from God, the great First Cause, we should not despise other causes, according to changes in time, in the year, in the month, day and hour, neither should we regard these causes exclusively, and forget God, for in this manner heathen idolatry was instituted. For this reason God does not regard time, because it robs him of his honor: For the heathens experienced that the heavenly spirits were not united with their bodies, as our souls are united with our bodies, but they could rejoice in the presence of God, and prepare their bodies without much labor to work with the lower creatures of God. They regarded the celestial spirits as gods, and conferred divine honors upon them. Very often the Jews turned away from God and worshipped the hosts of heaven, and therefore the wrath of God was kindled against them. But on account of the order of all things, God has set them before us as his instruments, and which we, on account of their honorable office, are to regard as the noblest creation of God, and that we should honor them, next to God, according to their station, not as gods but as creatures, which he has appointed as twelve princes over the twelve gates of heaven, that they may admit what they received from the divine name, transposed twelve times.

Ezekiel writes: "The laws of the twelve tribes of Israel were thus written, and God Tetragrammaton ruled over them. Thus it is written in Revelations, that the stones in our heavenly city are planted in the ground, or that the Church of Christ is represented by the twelve names of the Apostles, including twelve angels and of them the name of Jesus, who received all the power of the Father, so that

the heavens will receive what the angels give to them according to the will of God. If then an *Intelligentia* is ascribed to each heaven, each star and department of heaven must have a distinct and separate power and influence and, therefore, must also have a distinct *Intelligentia*. Therefore, there are twelve princes of angels, who represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and thirty-six, who represent so many *Decurils*, and seventy-two angels, who represent so many *Quinarius* of heaven, of the seventy-two nations and languages of man. Likewise seven angels of the hosts for the seven heavens of the seven planets, to rule the world, etc. Also, four angels who represent the *Triplicitatibus* of the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the four elements.

All of these have their names and signs which the philosophers used in their works, signs, images, clothes, mirrors, rings, cards, wax-figures, as if they had a sun-work before them, and they called them the names of the sun and his angels, and likewise of others, etc.

In the third place, they designated the lowest angels as servants. These they distributed over the world, and named them after the seven planets, and these have their special course after the four elements and after the four parts of the air and earth—of the daytime several *Diurnos*, several *Nocturnos*, several *Merillianos*, not that they are subordinate to the influence of the stars as the body which they represent, but that they are more nearly related to the star-body-kind-time than others, otherwise they might be everywhere, as each human being has three angels, for God has ordained that each human being shall have his good angel as a protector, who also strengthens the spirit and urges and exhorts us to what is good and commendable, that we may fly from what is *fati malignitatem*. And so every man has also an evil spirit, who controls the desires of the flesh and awakens the lusts of the heart; between these two angels there is a constant struggle for supremacy, and to whichever man gives the preference, he will receive the victory; and if the evil angel triumphs, then man becomes his servant; should the good angel prove the stronger, then he will cleanse the soul and save man from destruction. The angel and his impulses come from the stars. In the third place are the *Genii* of man who govern birth, and are joined to each perfection in man. These are recognized from the star which is the Lord of the births. The Chaldeans seek this *Genium* in the sun and moon. Astronomers would have the good *Genium* out of the eleventh house, which, on this account, they call *bonum Genium*. The evil one out of the sixth house. But each one will learn to know him through natural inclination, to which every one was inclined from his youth. On this account he is called the birth-angel, who is sent into the world by God. Of this the Psalmist says: "Thou hast made the spirit of man as a flame of fire." For experience teaches us, that the flame of fire and the spirit of birth may be separated without injury to man, that we can learn hidden things from him if he is good and true. But he is powerless over the members of birth. If, however, a virgin or a companion becomes marriageable, he may be liberated from the glass, and our time of life will be extended.

Moreover, God has endowed man with a divine character, through

the number Rhabad—the left-hand sword of God; through which man becomes a curse to all creatures. And then again he has another character in the number of God, Heed—the right and sceptre of God, through which he finds favor in the sight of God and all his creatures. An evil conscience is the judge of men, but a good conscience is his happiness. Therefore, through the other divine numbers, and through the angels and stars a man becomes impressed with signs and characters of conscience, which causes him to be happy at one time and unhappy at another.

On this account, if a man has committed murder, theft, or any other act which his conscience condemns, he can be brought to a confession of his guilt through persistent calling upon the name of God, for his conscience will then give him no rest until he returns what he has stolen, or until he has suffered the punishment due to his crime. Therefore, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, take three small pieces of wood from the door-sill over which the thief passed in leaving the place where he committed the theft, place them within a wagon-wheel, and then through the hub of the wheel say the following words: "I pray thee, thou Holy Trinity, that thou mayest cause A, who stole from me B, a, C, to have no rest or peace until he again restores me that which he has stolen." Turn the wheel round three times and replace it again on the wagon. Nevertheless, all pious Christians, who have any regard for their future happiness, should carefully avoid all superstitious matters and should beware of using the holy name of God unworthily, holding it in the greatest reverence lest they bring upon themselves eternal punishment. If a man knows himself and realizes that he is created in the image and likeness of God, he will acknowledge God the Creator before all things, and afterward the world and all its creatures. From the high spirits, angels and the heavens, he has his portion, and from the elements, animals, vegetation and stones, he has within himself everything that he desires to obtain.

If a man knows how to appropriate the particular place, time, order, bulk, proportion and mental organization of any one, he can attract and draw them, just as a magnet attracts iron: but he must first be prepared, just as the magnet must be fashioned by the file and charged with electricity. To this end the soul must first be purified, and dedicated to God through faith; a pure heart and constant joy in the spirit are requisites. He must possess love to God and his fellow-man, and then he may arrive at a perfect state and become like unto the Son of God. He will become united with God, and will once more be like him. It is not given to angels nor to any creature to unite with God, but only to man, and he may become his son; and when this takes place, so that he overcomes himself, he overcomes and can draw to him all other creatures and command their obedience.

But our spirit, word and act, have no power in magic and knowledge, if they are not everywhere strengthened by the word of God, which we should hear often. We must pray to God without ceasing, live a sober, temperate and unstained life; we must live in a continual state of repentance, give alms and help the poor, for Christ has

not said in vain : " Make unto you friends with the unrighteous Mam-mes, so that he will receive you into eternal habitations," that is, apply your wealth and abundance to the support of the poor, that they may receive their daily bread from you and be satisfied. Christ says : " What ye have done unto the least of mine, that have ye also done unto me." These are the friends that will lead us to a divine abode in heaven, where we shall receive a thousand-fold and life eternal. On the other hand there are others who will be rejected. For Christ also says : " I was hungry and thirsty and ye gave me no meat and drink, depart from-me ye workers of iniquity, into outer darkness."

Therefore, by fasting, praying, giving alms, preparing the souls of the believing for the temple, we may become co-heirs of heavenly gifts, which the Most High will confer upon us in this life if we know how to use them properly.

Since all things have their life and being from God, so the proper name of everything was taken from the being of that thing, and all things derive an influence from the Creator if they have been appropriately named, for as God brings forth all things through the influence of heaven and the operation of the planets, even so the names of all things have been given in accordance with some quality of the thing named by him who creates the stars. And thus God led all creatures to Adam in order to have them named, and their names indicated some peculiar quality or part possessed by each. Therefore, each name that has a meaning, shows by comparison with the heavenly influence an inherent qualification of the object, although it is frequently changed. When, however, both meanings of the name harmonize, then the will-power and natural power become identical. Moreover, the celestial office to which man is ordained by God, endows him with power to confer life, and tells him what to encourage, what to elevate, what to suppress in his cause. Sphaera, and to perform wonderful works with full devotion towards God, etc.

What Man Receives from the Order of Angels.

Man becomes strengthened with wonderful power through the order of angels, so that he delays the divine will.

From the Seraphim, that we cling with fervent love.

From the Cherubim, enlightenment of the mind, power and wisdom over the exalted figures and images, through which we can gaze upon divine things, etc.

From the Thrones, a knowledge of how we are made and constituted, that we may direct our thoughts upon eternal things.

From Dominationibus, assistance to bring into subjection our daily enemies, whom we carry with us constantly, and enabling us to attain salvation.

From Potestatibus, protection against human enemies of life.

From Virtutibus, God infuses strength into us, enabling us to contend against the enemies of truth and reward, that we may finish the course of our natural life.

From Principatibus, that all things become subject to man, that he may grasp all power, and draw unto himself all secret and supernatural knowledge.

From Archangells, that he may rule over all things that God has made subject to him, over the animals of the field, over the fishes of the sea, and over the birds of the air.

From the Angelis he receives the power to be the messenger of the Divine will.

What Man may Obtain from the Twelve Signs.

As each creature receives its spirit, number and measure from God, so also each creature has its time.

In the Ram, the vegetables of earth obtain new vigor, the trees sap, and females become better adapted to propagate the human species. In this sign the fecundity of all creatures is limited and regulated. It has Sunday for its peculiar time and end.

In the Bull, all transactions and enterprises are prospered and fostered, so that they may go forward according to the will of God, but to this end constant prayers are necessary, and particularly on Sunday.

In the Twins, the angels have power over bodily changes and travel from one place to another over the heavens and through the course of the stars—have power over the motion of the waters in rivers and in the sea, cause love between brethren, friends and neighbors, and give warning against dangers, persons and objects.

In the Scorpion, the angels rule over legacies and riches, over treasure and treasure-seekers—are calculated by nature to confer power, the art of speaking, and to enlighten the mind in holy things, in like manner as did the apostles in their unceasing prayers to God at Pentecost.

In the Lion, the angels have power to move every living thing, to multiply their species, to watch, and in certain manners to judge. And through the gift of God they confer Physicam, Medicinam and Alchymiam.

In the Virgin, the spirits have power to subvert kingdoms, to regulate all conditions, to discriminate between master and servant, to command evil spirits, to confer perpetual health, and give to man Musicum, Logicam and Ethicam.

In the Balance, the angels derive from God great power, inasmuch as the sun and moon stand under this sign. Their power controls the friendship and enmity of all creatures.

They have power over danger, warfare, over quarrels and slander—lead armies in all quarters of the earth, cause rain, and give to man Arithmetica, Astronomiam, Geometriam.

In the Scorpion, the angels have power over suffering and terror, over which man makes against God, over common privileges. They compel the conscience to obedience, and also force devils to keep their agreements with men, and *vice versa*. They govern the life and death of all creatures, have power over departed souls, and give to man Theologiam, Metaphysicam and Geomantiam.

In the Archer, they have power over the four elements, lead the people from one far country to another, regulate the changes of the elements and the propagation of animals.

In the Goat, the angels give high worldly honors, worthiness and virtue, such as Adam enjoyed in Paradise in his innocence. They also enlighten the understanding and confer human reason.

In the Aquitarius, angels keep man in good health, and teach him what is injurious to him, make him contented, and teach him through the command of God the mysteries of heaven and of nature.

In the Fish, the angels compel the evil spirits to become subject to man, protect the pious, so that the great enemy cannot harm him.

The Twelve Signs are Divided into Four Triplicities.

The twelve angels, which represent the twelve signs, are called in the Apoc. Maichidael, Asmodel, Ambriel, Muriel, Verohiel, Hamatiel, Zuriel, Barbiel, Aduachiel, Hanaeb, Gambiel, Barebiel. Over this the angels also received names from the stars over which they rule as the twelve signs : Teletial, Zariel, Tomimil, Sartimel, Ariel, Bataliel, Masuiel, Aerahiel, Ehesatiel, Gediel, Doliel, Dagymel, which means the same as if expressed in Latin : Ariel, Tawnel, Geminiel, Cancriel, Leonial, Virginiel, Libriel, Scorpiel, Sagitariel, Capriel, Aquariel, Pisciel.

This method of obtaining all kinds of things with peculiar power, in the twelve signs, is described in many kinds of books. The seal of Hermetis teaches how the powers of the heavenly influence may be obtained under each sign in a crystal or gem ; that they are constellated, and then, at each period of the twelve signs the appropriate character of each is divided into four parts, each of which is represented by an angel. Therefore, each of the twelve stories in the badge of office of Aaron (Solomonis) was constellated, and the Amorites possessed a constellated stone for each idol, and to this end they consecrated the book.

Further, King Solomon teaches a hidden Almadel or a Geometrical figure bearing upon the twelve signs of heaven, which he calls heights, and gives to each height seven or eight names of princes. There are also many other methods for seeking after the powers of heaven in the twelve signs, which, for good reasons, must not be made known, because they are not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures and were kept secret.

The Planets have Seven Heights and Seven Angels.

The heights are named as follows :

1. Samaym. 2. Raaquin 3. Taaquin. 4. Machonon. 5. Mathey. 6. Sebul. 7. Arabat.

Of the operations of these, and their angels, office, order, number and measure, an account may be found in a work by Rasiel, which constitutes the Sixth Book Physicum Salomonis and Elementia Magica Petri de Alano, page 574. From this book the book of the angel

Tractata takes its source. (2 Cornel. Agrippa, Lib. 3, page 24; Philosophias Occul, §77, §75.)

There are seven exalted Throne Angels, which execute the commands of Potentates, viz. :

1. Ophaniel. 2. Tychagara. 3. Barael. 4. Quolamia. 5. Anazimur. 6. Paschar. 7. Boel.

These are named with the name of God, through which they were created, and belong to the first heaven.

SCHAMAYN, GABRIEL.

The second heaven, Raasniae, has twelve lords; or twelve heights of angels, who are placed over all. Zachariel, Raphael.

The third heaven, Saaquin, has three princes, Jahniel, Babacyel, Dalgutiel; they rule over fire, and each has his subordinate angel. The principal prince of angels in this height is called $\frac{1}{2}$ Anabel, Avahel.

The fourth heaven, Machon, by his angels leads the sun by day, and through other angels by night. The chief angel is called Michael.

The fifth heaven, Matthey, sly Machon, has the prince Samael who is served by two millions of angels. These are divided among the four quarters of the world; in each quarter three, who control the twelve months, and over these are twelve chief angels.

The sixth heaven, Zebul, has for its prince, Zachiel, with two millions of angels. The angel Zebul is placed over these during the day, and another angel, Sabath, during the night. They rule over kings, create fear, and give protection from enemies.

Arasath, the seventh heaven, has for its prince the angel Cassiel.

The names of the angels of the seven planets are as follows :

Zaphiel (Saturn), Zadkiel (Jupiter), Camael (Mars), Raphael (Sun), Haniel (Venus), Michael (Mercury), Gabriel (Moon).

There are seven princes who stand continually before God, to whom are given the spirit-names of the planets. They are called Sabathiel, Zedekiel, Madimiel, Semefiel, or Semishia, Nogahel, Coahabiath or Cochabiel, Jareabel or Jevanael, for the planets are called for themselves :

Sabachay, through which God sends hunger and tribulation upon the earth.

Sodeck, through him come honor and favor, right and holiness of man.

Modym, through him wrath, hate, lies, and war.

Hamnia, from him comes light, and the power of distinguishing between time and life.

Noga, from him food and drink, love and consolation.

Cochab, from him proceeds all trade and commerce.

Lavaban, causes all things to increase and decrease.

I, Solomon, acknowledge that in the hours Sabachay. Modym it is burdensome to labor, but in the hours Zadeck and Noga labor is light. During other hours labor is middling, sometimes good and occasionally bad.

Some writers, as for example, Cornelius Agrippa, Occult. Philos,

Lib. 3, chap. 16. call the seven regents of the world by other names, which are distributed among the powers of other stars as Orphiel, Zechariel, Samael, Michael, Anael, Raphael, Gabriel, and each of these rules the world three hundred and fifty-four years and four months. A few give the Angel-year at three hundred and sixty-five years—as many years as there are days in our year. Others, one hundred and forty-five years. Apac, twenty-one Spiritus, Septem in Conspectu Dei Throni sunt quos reperi etiam presidere Planetis.

The names of the seven angels over the seven heavens must be uttered first, and afterwards the names of those over the seven planets, over the seven days of the week, over the seven metals, over the seven colors; these must be uttered in the morning of each day of the week.

Invocation of Angels.

Oh, ye aforesaid angels, ye that execute the commands of the Creator; be willing to be present with me in the work which I have undertaken at this time, and help me to finish it, and be ye my attentive hearers and assistants, that the honor of God and my own welfare may be promoted.

Over this there are twenty-eight angels who rule over the twenty-eight houses of the moon, viz: Asariel, Gabiel, Dirachiel, Schelliel, Ammodiel, Amiziel, Ardesiel, Nerieli, Abdizriel, Jazeriel, Cogediel, Ataliel, Azerniel, Adriel, Amutiel, Icirieli, Bethusael, Geliel, Requieli, Abrudael, Azieli, Tagried, Abheiel, Amniziel. And each moon has her own guardian and ruler, and these are described in Lib. 2, Raziellis.

A man must also know how to divide the months, days and hours into four parts, for God has ordained that all things can best be perfected on suitable days and at proper hours.

The angels placed over the four parts of heaven are: Seantjan, Gabriel, Cabrael, Adrael, Madiel, Boamiel.

Alscius, Loquel, Zaniel, Hubael, Baccanael, Janael, Carpatiel.

Elael, Unael, Wallum, Vasans, Hialjel, Usara, Stajel.

Ducaniel, Baabiel, Barquiel, Hannu, Anael Nahijmel.

In the second heaven, Raquie, the following angels serve.

Nathan, Catroije, Betasbat.

Yeseraije, Yuacon:

Thiel, Jareael, Yanael, Venetal, Vebol, Abuionij, Vetameil.

Milliel, Nelepa, Baliel, Calliel, Holij, Batij, Jeli.

There are also, over the four quarters of the globe, four high angels.

Over the morning winds, Michael rules.

Over the evening winds, Raphael rules.

Over the midnight winds, Gabriel rules.

Over the noonday winds, Nariel or Uriel rules.

THE ANGELS OF THE ELEMENTS ARE:

Of the air, Cherub.

Of the water, Tharsh.

Of the earth, Ariel.

Of the fire, Seruph or Nathaniel.

These are all great princes, and each has many legions of angels

under him ; they have great power in governing their planets, times, signs of the year, month, day, and hour, and in their part of the world and wind.

In the third heaven, Saaquin, the Angels are :

Sarquiel, Qnadissu, Caraniel, Tariescorat. Amael, Husael.

Turiel, Coniel, Babel, Kadie, Maltiel, Hufaltiel.

Faniel, Peneal, Penac, Raphael, Carniel, Deramiel.

Porna, Saditel, Kyniel, Samuel, Vascoaniel, Famiel.

In the fourth heaven, Machon, the Angel of the Divisions serves :

Carpriel, Beatiel, Raciell, Ragnel, Altel, Fabriell, Vionatraba.

Anahel, Papliell, Usael, Burcat, Suceratos, Cababili.

In the fifth heaven, Machijn, the following Angels serve in four divisions :

Friagne, Cnael, Damoel, Calzas, Arragon.

Lacana, Astrigna, Lobquin, Sonitas, Jael, Jasael, Nael.

Rabumiel, Jabijnuel, Baijel, Seraphiel, Mathiel, Sersael.

Sacriell, Maianiel, Gadiel, Hosael, Vianiel, Erastiel.

In the sixth heaven, Zebul ; and seventh, Arabat, over the fifth heaven.

Should no Spiritus Aeris or divisions be found, then pronounce in the direction of the four quarters of the world, the following words :

Oh, great exalted and adored God, from all eternity.

Oh, wise God, day and night I pray unto Thee, oh, most merciful God, that I may complete my work to-day, and that I may understand it perfectly, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou that livest and reignest, true God from eternity to eternity.

Oh, strong God, mighty and without end.

Oh, powerful and merciful God.

On Saturday call upon God in the words which he gave in Paradise in which is the name of God.

Oh, holy and merciful God of Israel, the highest terror and fear of Paradise, the Creator of heaven and earth (as before).

✠ ✠ ✠ Quere hoc signum.

END OF THE FIRST DIVISION.



SECOND DIVISION.

I.

Sepher Schimmusch Tehillim;

OR,

Use of the Psalms,

FOR THE PHYSICAL WELFARE OF MAN.

A Fragment out of the PRACTICAL KABALA, together with an Extrao-
from a few other Kabalistical Writings. With Five Illus-
trations upon Four Tables.

Translated by GODFREY SELIG, Lect. Publ. Acad. Lips. : 1788.

This eminent publisher and translator insists stringently that only
persons of a moral character can expect success in the use of the
foregoing method.

FROM THE PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

It cannot be denied that true, wise and enlightened Kabalists lived at one time, and that some still live. But such do not wander from place to place, offering their art for sale, in order that they may accumulate wealth, but they are satisfied to remain quietly in the pillared palace of Solomon, where they are constantly employed in gathering divine wisdom, so that (as they express it), they may finally become worthy to receive the hidden gifts from above. I myself know such a man, who obtained exalted wisdom from the Kabala, and who, notwithstanding his extreme poverty, never undertakes a kabalistic process for money. When I once asked him why he refused to write a desired amulet for a noble lord, who offered him a large sum for his services, he answered me with an adage from the well-known Pirke Awoth (Extract or Fragment from the Fathers):

"Deitschtammasch Betaggo Chalof," that is to say, "whosoever accepts the crown for his reward, will perish suddenly. Not for all the money in the world would I do such a thing. But if I can assist my needy neighbor therewith, then I will do what I can, trusting in the omnipotence of the Most Holy, without looking for a reward. For my necessary support I do not feel any concern, for the Almighty has methods to support me. if I trust in Him. Why, he even cares for the sparrow.

It is particularly remarkable that the greatest and most genuine Kabalists of the Jewish nation were nearly all followers and disciples of the blessed Saviour of the world, and they are so still, as I can,

as,
my has

prove satisfactorily, by numerous passages from their writings and prayers. Let this suffice for this one kind of men. But that Kabbalists live and still live, who engaged in experiments, and who performed wonderful works, and who will yet do wonderful things, is also an undeniable fact, unless we are prepared to condemn all that was ever said upon this subject by renowned men of wisdom.

The celebrated and well-known Prussian Hussar, Lord of Archewood declares, in a description of London, that there lives a man in that city, whose name is Doctor Falcon, who is known to be a great Kabbalist, and who is visited and consulted by the most honorable and intelligent people of London. He states further, that this same Dr. Falcon, lived not very long since in Brussels under the name of Jude Chayim Schmul-Fulk, who according to the evidence of the French Duke of Nancy, in his published memoirs of kabbalistical processes, performed the most astonishing feats:

I confidently hope and trust, and I can assert without hesitation, that my little book cannot have a tendency to foster superstition. Take it for granted that one of my readers should choose to employ one of the methods described in these pages in order to accomplish a desired object, his eagerness to satisfy curiosity will soon disappear when he takes into consideration the hard terms and strict morality which are required to avail himself of them in order to derive any benefit or be successful in their use.

Before concluding my preface, it is necessary to give the reader some instruction concerning the arrangement of this volume. We find in it, for instance, single words, names, sentences, and indeed entire experiments, printed in the Hebrew and Chaldean languages. This fact should not prevent any one from purchasing the book. Because all the words printed in Hebrew and Chaldean, which are intended to be impressed upon the mind, are also printed in English in plain terms, and they have been carefully translated. So far as the Hebrew passages are concerned, the meaning of each passage and experiment follows immediately in English, or it is placed beneath the Hebrew expression. I have made this arrangement in compliance with a request from a number of prominent persons, to make sure that the translation is genuine and correct. The chapter and verse of Holy Scripture, where all passages quoted may be found, are also correctly recorded.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE OF THE KABBALISTIC PUBLISHER.

It is universally known and acknowledged, that we are named after the most holy name of the Ruler of the World, and that we receive the holy decalogue or the written law from him. It is further well known that in addition to the laws which he gave to Moses engraven upon stone, he also gave to him certain verbal laws, by which, through his protracted stay upon the mountain Sinai, where all doctrines, explanations of mysteries, holy names of God and the angels, and particularly how to apply this knowledge to the best interest of man, were entrusted to him. All these doctrines, which God pronounced good, but which were not generally made known, and which in the

course of time were called The Kabbala, or Traditions; Moses communicated, during his life, to Joshua, his successor. Joshua handed them over to the elders, the elders gave them to the judges, and from the judges they descended to the prophets. The prophets entrusted them to the men of the great synagogue, and these gave them unto the wise men, and so the Kabbala was handed down from one to the other—from mouth to mouth—to the present day. Therefore do we know that in the Thora are many names of the Most High and his angels, besides deep mysteries, which may be applied to the welfare of man, but which, on account of the perverseness of humanity and to guard against their abuse, have been hidden from the great mass of human beings.

Everything that I have here stated is as clear as the sun, and needs no further proof, and it is equally clear and incontrovertible that the All-merciful gave the Thora in the beginning to promote the best interests of the soul and the body of man at the same time. Therefore has God endowed her with exalted talents, powers and virtues that, with a rational use of her, man may protect himself from danger when no other help is at hand and save himself simply by uttering the words of the living God. On this account, the expression "For it is thy life," occurs frequently in the Thora. And Solomon says in his Proverbs, vi. 22: "When thou goest it shall lead thee, and when thou sleepest it shall keep thee." That the Psalms and the Thora are equal in holiness and worthiness, will not be called in question. Our wise men declare, "He who will daily live closer to God; who deserves to unite his soul with Him, and who is willing to live in the closest communion with him, should often pray the Psalms with fervor and devotion. Happy the man who does this daily and hourly, for his reward will be great." The Psalms are formed and divided into five books, just like the Thora. We can, therefore, implicitly trust in the doctrines of the enlightened Kabbalists, when they assert that the Almighty accorded equal talents and powers to the Psalms as he did to the Thora, and that in them many names of the Most High Majesty of God and his angels, besides, many mysteries, are hidden.

Yea, dear reader, you must not doubt. Through a pious life and by a rational use of the Psalms you may obtain the grace of God, the favor of princes and magistrates and the love of your fellow-men. You will be enabled to protect yourself from danger, to escape suffering, and to promote your own welfare.

That this is all true, the contents of the prayer, with which we end each Psalm, and which we are in duty bound to pray, will amply demonstrate. But the correctness of it is also established by the teachings of the Talmud and of the old wise men, who assure us, that many of our famous forefathers availed themselves of apparently supernatural means from time to time, to protect their best interests. The truth of this I can establish by the most trustworthy witnesses; yea, I could even mention some great men, who, by a proper use of the Psalms, performed great works. Such examples are rare. Let it suffice I present you with a few passages out of standard books, through which you will become fully convinced that the Almighty has

given his revealed word true and unexampled talents and power, and that, in an extreme case of necessity, we are permitted to make use of this gift of God, for our own and our neighbor's welfare. As for example, to cast out evil spirits, to relieve deep melancholy and to cure grievous diseases; to set free prisoners who have been unjustly imprisoned; to arrest and resist enemies, opponents, murderers and highway robbers; to quench the fiercest fires; to resist floods of water, to defend innocence and to reveal it, and to foster good fortune, well-being and peace in a general manner.

Read the treatise on this subject, of the excellent Rabbi Schimechon bar Abraham, in his book entitled "*Responsiones Raschaba*," Examine the words of the enlightened Rabbi Jochanan ben Safras in his Treatise of the Talmud and Sanhedrin, Chap. 2, where he treats of magical conjurations; and where he asserts and proves, that it is allowed, in dangerous and incurable diseases, to make use of words and passages in the Holy Scripture for their cure. You will find more or less similar references in the treatise of Sabbath in the Talmud, as well as in the *Responsionibus*, by Zemach, son of Simonis, in which the Ninety-second Psalm, with certain prescriptions added, are highly recommended as a certain means to avoid suffering and danger, even in cases of war, fire and similar instances, enabling us to escape unharmed, free, secure and without hindrance.

Under such happy circumstances, it is surely right and proper, that such wholesome knowledge, which up to this day was known but to a few men, and they only the learned, was yet free to all, but found only in the libraries and cabinets of the great, although not generally known, should at least, in some degree, be brought to light.

Since, however, I cannot gain my object in any other way than by giving these pages to the world in a printed form, and since they will unavoidably fall into unclean hands, I feel myself constrained, in order to prevent an unworthy use of them, to extend this preface, which might otherwise, very properly have ended here, in laying down a few rules and limits. Do not, however, be discouraged for I am really endeavoring to promote your best interests and shield you from harm.

1. If you are willing to avail yourself of the means indicated, I warn you not to attempt it in a case of extreme necessity, and when there is no other help at hand.

2. If this be so, in experimenting, place your trust in the goodness and power of the Most High and ever blessed God, upon whom you may perhaps have hitherto called under an unknown holy name.

3. The ordained Psalm, for this or the other undertaking, besides the appropriate prayer, you must pray with a broken and contrite heart to God, and in addition to this keep in mind the added holy name with its letters, which are given the wise Kabbalists. At the same time you must have your undertaking continually before your eyes.

4. I must say to you, if you wish to console yourself with this help, that you must live in such a manner that no crime or willful sin can trouble your conscience, for it is well known, that the prayer of the ungodly is not acceptable to God. And herewith I commit you to the protection of the Most High.

THE USE AND EFFICACY

OF

The Psalms,

AND

THE MANY PURPOSES TO WHICH THEY MAY BE APPLIED.

Psalm 1.—When a woman is pregnant and fears a premature delivery, or a dangerous confinement, she should write or cause to be written, on a piece of parchment prepared from the pure skin of a deer, the three first verses of the above Psalm, together with the hidden holy name and appropriate prayer contained therein, and place it in a small bag made expressly for that purpose, and suspend it by a string about the neck, so that the bag will rest against her naked body.

The holy name is called Eel Chad, which signifies, great, strong; only God, and is taken from the four following words: Aschre, verse 1; Lo, verse 4; Jatzliach, verse 3; Vederech, verse 6.

The prayer is as follows:

May it please thee, O, Eel Chad, to grant unto this woman, N., daughter of R., that she may not at this time, or at any other time, have a premature confinement; much more grant unto her a truly fortunate delivery, and keep her and the fruit of her body in good health. Amen! Selah!

Admonition of the Translator.

Before I proceed further with the translation of the Psalms, it is necessary to insert in this place an admonition, which the author, who wrote only for his own nation, deemed unnecessary, and which, nevertheless, should be addressed to every one.

"Each human being," says the celebrated Kabbalist, Rabbi Isaac Loriga, "except only the ignorant idolator, can by a pious and virtuous life enter into the consecrated temple of the true Kabbala, and can avail himself of its benefits without being able to speak or understand the Hebrew language. He can pray, read and write everything in his mother tongue; only the holy name of God and the angels that may occur in the experiment, must, under all circumstances, be written and retained in the mind in the Hebrew tongue (for they must in no case be uttered), because, on the contrary, a wrong direction might otherwise easily be given to the experiment, and consequently it would lose all its holiness, worth and efficiency.

With this pronouncement we must all be well satisfied, and, therefore, I must write all similar words and names, from the letters of which the holy names are taken, in Hebrew. In order, however, that the reader may read all similar occurring names and words in his

mind and retain them, I have written all the Hebrew words with English letters together with their meaning.

Psalm 2.—Should you be exposed to danger in a storm at sea, and your life threatened, then recite this Psalm without delay and with becoming reverence, and think respectfully of the holiest name contained therein, namely, Schaddei (which means, mighty God), then immediately utter the prayer belonging thereto, after which write everything together on a fragment of a pot, and in full confidence in the Omnipotent, who fixes the boundary of the sea and restrain its power, throw it into the foaming waves, and you will see marvelous wonders, for the waves will instantly cease their roaring and the storm will be lulled.

The words, the letters of which constitute this holy name, are taken from Rageschu, verse 1; Nossedu, verse 2; and Jozes, verse 9.

The prayer is as follows: "Let it be, Oh, Schaddei! (Almighty God!) Thy holy will, that the raging of the storm and the roaring of the waves may cease, and that the proud billows may be stilled. Lead us, oh, all merciful Father, to the place of our destination in safety and in good health, for only with Thee is power and might. Thou alone canst help, and Thou wilt surely help to the honor and glory of Thy name. Amen! Selah!

This Psalm is also an effectual remedy against raging headache. The direction is as follows: Write the first eight verses of this Psalm together with the holy name and appropriate prayer, upon pure parchment, and hang it upon the neck of the patient; then pray over him the Psalm with the prayer arranged for it. Do this in humble devotion, and the sufferer will be relieved.

Psalm 3.—Whoever is subject to severe headache and backache, let him pray this Psalm, with the leading holy names and appropriate prayer contained therein, over a small quantity of olive oil, anoint the head or back while in the act of prayer. This will afford immediate relief. The holy name is, Adon (Lord), and is found in the words, Weatta, verse 3; Baadi, verse 3; Hekisoti, verse 5; and Haschein, verse 7. The prayer is as follows: Adon (Lord) of the world may it please thee to be my physician and helper. Heal me and relieve me from my severe headache and backache, because I can find help only with Thee, and only with Thee is counsel and action to be found. Amen! — Selah — — Selah!

Psalm 4.—If you have been unlucky hitherto, in spite of every effort, then you should pray this Psalm three times before the rising of the sun, with humility and devotion, while at the same time you should impress upon your mind its ruling holy name, and each time the appropriate prayer, trusting in the help of the mighty Lord, without whose will not the least creature can perish. Proceed in peace to execute your contemplated undertaking, and all things will result to your entire satisfaction.

The holy name is called: Jiheje, (He is and will be,) and is composed of the four final letters of the words. Teppillati, verse 2;

Selah, verse 5; Jehovah, verse 6; and Tosehiweni, verse 9. The prayer is as follows: May it please Thee, oh, Jiheje, to prosper my ways, steps and doings. Grant that my desire may be amply fulfilled, and let my wishes be satisfied even this day, for the sake of Thy great, mighty and praiseworthy name. Amen! — — Selah! — —

If you wish to accomplish an undertaking by or through another, proceed in all things as already stated above, with this exception: you must change the prayer as follows: Let me find grace, favor and mercy in the eyes of N., son of R., so that he may grant my petition. etc.

Again, if you have a cause to bring before high magistrates or princes, you must pray this Psalm and the closing prayer arranged for it, seven times in succession before the rising of the sun.

By the Translator.

I must be permitted in this place to insert another caution. When it is said N., son or daughter of N., it must be understood that we must first mention the name of the person by whom we wish to be served, and afterward the name of his mother, as, for example, Isaac, son of Sarah, or Dinah daughter of Leah.

Psalm 5.—If you have business to transact with your magistrates or with your princes, and desire to obtain their special favor, then pray this Psalm early at the rising of the sun and in the evening at sunset. Do this three times ever pure olive oil, while at the same time you think unceasingly, upon the holy name of Chananjah (merciful God), anoint your face, hands and feet with the oil and say: Be merciful unto me, for the sake of thy great, adorable and holy name, Chananjah, turn the heart of my prince to me, and grant that he may regard me with gracious eyes, and let me find favor and courtesy with him. Amen! — — Selah! — —

The holy name is found in the words; Chapez, verse 5; Nechini, verse 9; Nechona, verse 10; Hadichemo, verse 12; and Kazinna, verse 14.

Still another peculiarity of this Psalm is, when you find notwithstanding the utmost industry and care, your business does not prosper, and you have reason to fear that an evil Masal, that is, an evil star, spirit or destiny is opposing you, then pray this Psalm daily, even to the last verse with great devoutness, and you will soon find yourself in more favorable circumstances.

Psalm 6.—With this Psalm all diseases of the eye may be healed. Read the Psalm for three days successively, and pray the prescribed prayer seven times slowly, in a low tone, and with devotion, and with this keep continually in your mind the holy name of Jaschajah (which means help is with the Lord); believe without a doubt that the Lord can and will help you. The prayer is as follows: Jehovah my Father, may it please Thee, for the sake of the great, mighty, holy and adorable name, Jeschajah Baal Hatschna, that is, Help is with the Lord, (for he is the Lord of help, he can help), which name is contained in this Psalm, heal me from my diseases, infirmities, and from the pain of my eyes, for thine is the power and the help, and

thou alone art mighty enough to help ; of this I am certain, and therefore I trust in thee. Amen ! — Selah ! —

Further it is said : If a traveler encounters danger by land or sea, he shall, when there is no other help to hope for, pray this Psalm seven times, and each time with full confidence in the mighty and sure help of the Almighty, and add thereto : Jeschajan, Lord of help ! may it be thy holy will and pleasure to assist me in this extremity and to avert this danger from me. Hear me for the sake of thy great and most holy name, for thine is the power and the help. Amen ! — Selah ! —

The five letters of this holy name contain, according to the prayer, the words ; Jehovah al, verse 2 ; Schuba, verse 6 ; Oschescha, verse 8 ; Bewoshn and Vejibbahn, verse 11.

Psalm 7.—When evil persons conspire to render you unfortunate, if your enemies watch for an opportunity to overthrow you, if they pursue you in order to harm you, then take upon the spot where you stand a handful of earth or dust, pray this Psalm and keep in your mind the holy name of Eel Elijon, great, strong, highest God ! then throw the dust in the direction of your enemies, uttering a prayer prescribed for this case, and you will find that your enemies will cease their persecutions and leave you undisturbed. The letters of the holy name are found in the words : Aisher, verse 1, Ode, verse 18, (according to the order of Al, bam, and the letters must be transposed), Hoshenei, verse 2 ; Eli, verse 7 ; Jadin, verse 9 ; Jashuf, verse 13. Elijon, verse 18.

The prayer is as follows : Oh, Eel Elijon ! great, strong and highest God ! may it please thee to change the hearts of my enemies and opposers, that they may do me good instead of evil, as thou didst in the days of Abraham when he called upon Thee by this holy name. (Gen. xiv. 22.) Amen !—Selah !—

If you have incurred the ill-will of an enemy, whose cunning power and vengeance you have reason to fear, you should fill a pot with fresh water from the well, and pronounce over it the twelve last verses of this Psalm, namely, the words : "Arise, Jehovah ! in thy wrath !" Pronounce these four times, and at the same time think of the holy name of Eel Elijon, and of your enemy, and pray each time. "Humble and overthrow, Oh ! Eel Elijon, mine enemy, N., son of R., that he may not have the power to provoke or to injure me." Amen ! After this prayer, pour the water upon a spot at your enemy's residence, or at a place where he must pass over it, and by doing this you will overcome him. :

If you have a case to decide before the court, and you have reasons to fear an unfavorable or partial verdict, then pray this Psalm slowly before you appear in the presence of the judge, thinking at the same time of Eel Elijon and of the righteousness of your cause, and as you approach the judge pray as follows : Oh, Eel Elijon ! turn thou the heart of the judge to favor my best interests, and grant that I may be fully justified when I depart. Give unto my words power and strength and let me find favor, Amen !—Selah !—

Psalm 8.—If you wish to secure the love and good will of all men in your business transactions, you should pray this Psalm three days in succession after sundown, and think continually of the holy name of Reehmial, which signifies great and strong God of love, of grace and mercy. Pronounce at each time the appropriate prayer over a small quantity of olive oil, and anoint the face as well as the hands and feet. The letters composing the holy name are found in the words: Addir, verse 2; Jareach, verse 4; Adam, verse 5; Melohim, verse 6; Tanischilehu, verse 7. The prayer reads as follows: May it please thee, Oh, Reehmial Eel, to grant that I may obtain love, grace and favor in the eyes of men according to thy holy will. Amen!—Selah!—

Psalm 9.—The principal attribute of this Psalm according to the precept is, that it is an unfailing remedy in the restoration of male children, who are feeble in health, when no medicines and help are at hand. This Psalm should also be prayed against the power and malignity of enemies. In the first instance write this Psalm, with its holy name, upon pure parchment, with a new pen, and hang it around the patient's neck. Afterwards repeat the prayer with reverence, and think at the same time of the holy name of Eheje Aischu Eheje, that is, I am he that will be, and utter the following prayer: All-merciful Father! for the sake of thy mighty, adorable and holy name, Eheje Aischer Eheje, may it please thee to take away from N., son of R., the illness [here name the disease] from which he suffers, and relieve him from his pains. Make him whole in soul, body and mind, and release him during his life from all plagues, injury and danger, and by thou his helper. Amen.

In the second case repeat this Psalm and pray devoutly: May it be agreeable to thy will for the sake of thy most holy name Eheje Aisher Eheje, to release me from the power of my enemies and opposers, and to protect me from their persecutions, as thou once didst protect the Psalmist from the enemies who pursued him. Amen.—Selah!

The letters of this holy name are in the words: Ode, 2; Haojeff, verse 7 and verse 16, and in alphabetical order in the At Baach.

Psalm 10.—If any one is plagued with an unclean, restless and evil spirit, let him fill a new earthen pot with water from the spring, and, in the name of the patient, pour into it pure olive oil, and pronounce over it this Psalm nine times, keeping in mind constantly the adorable name of Eel Mez, which means Strong God of the oppressed, and at each ending of the Psalm: May it be thy most holy will, Oh, Eel Mez, to heal the body and soul of N., son of R., and free him from all his plagues and oppressions: wilt thou strengthen him in soul and body and deliver him from evil. Amen!—Selah!

The holy name may be found in the words: Alah, verse 6; Lamma, Anawin, verse 16, and Haasez, verse 17.

Psalm 11.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with feelings of devotion, and with it keeps constantly in mind the holy name of Fela,

that is, Wonderful, and who besides utters a suitable prayer to God: he will be safe from all persecution, and will not have any great evil to fear.

The holy name is in the words: Ofel, verse 2; Paal, verse 3, and Adam. The closing prayer may be as follows: Adorable, mighty and holy God Pele! with thee is advice, action and power, and only thou canst work wonders. Turn away from me all that is evil, and protect me from the persecution of evil men, for the sake of the great name Pele. Amen.—Selah.

Psalm 12.—This Psalm possesses similar power, action and worth as the foregoing. The holy name is Aineel, which means Strong God! my Father! and is found in the words of the sixth verse of Ewjonim, Akum Lo. The prayer is as follows: Almighty Father, my God Aineel! grant that all conspiracies against me may be set at naught; turn away from me all danger and injury, and thine is the kingdom and the power. Amen.—Selah!

Psalm 13.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with devotion, together with the proper prayer belonging thereto, and thinks at the same time of the powerful name of Essiel, that is, My help is the mighty God, will be safe for the next twenty-four hours from an unnatural death and from all bodily sufferings and punishments. The prayer is as follows: Protect me according to thy good will and pleasure from violent, sudden and unnatural death, and from all other evil accidents and severe bodily afflictions, for thou art my help and my God, and thine is the power and the glory. Amen.—Selah.

According to tradition this Psalm is also a good cure for dangerous and painful diseases of the eyes. The patient must procure a plant that is good for the eyes, and with this must pray this Psalm with a suitable prayer, trusting firmly in the certain help of the mighty Essiel, and then bind the plant upon his eyes. The letters composing this holy name are contained in the words: Ezoth, verse 3, Mimor, verse 1; Jarum, verse 3; Aeni, verse 4; Qjewi, verse 5; and Jagel, verse 6.

Psalm 14.—Whoso prays this Psalm in childlike faith and trust in the most holy name, Eel ennaet, that is, the true God, or God of Truth, and prays the prayer belonging to it daily, will find favor with all men, and will be free from slander and mistrust. The prayer is as follows: "May it please thee, Oh! Eel summet, to grant me grace, love and favor with all men whose help I need. Grant that all may believe my words, and that no slander may be effective against me to take away the confidence of men. Thou canst do this, for thou turnest the hearts of men according to thy holy will, and liars and slanderers are an abomination to thee. Hear me for the sake of thy name. Amen.—Selah!

The letters composing this holy name are found in the words Elohim, verse 1; Maskiel, verse 2; Echad, verse 3; Ammi, verse 4; and Agat, verse 6.

Psalm 15.—Against the presence of an evil spirit, insanity and melancholy, pray this Psalm with the prayer belonging to it, and the holy name Iah, which means: My Lord! or. The Lord, too, is mine, over a new pot filled with well-water that was drawn for this express purpose, and with this water bathe the body of the patient. The prayer which must be repeated during the process of washing, is as follows: May it be thy will, O God, to restore N., son of R., who has been robbed of his senses, and is grievously plagued by the devil, and enlighten his mind for the sake of thy holy name Iah. Amen.—Selah.

The three letters of this holy name are found in the words: Jagur, verse 1; Bagal, verse 3, and Jimmot, verse 5.

He who otherwise prays this Psalm with reverence will be generally received with great favor.

Psalm 16.—This Psalm is important and can be profitably employed in different undertakings. As for example, 1st, If any one has been robbed, and wishes to know the name of the robber, he must proceed as follows: Take mud or slime and sand out of a stream, mix them together; then write the names of all suspected persons upon small slips of paper and apply the mixture on the reverse side of the slips; afterwards lay them in a large and clean basin, filled for this purpose with fresh water from the stream—lay them in the water one by one, and at the same time pray this Psalm over them ten times with the prayer adapted to it keeping in mind at the same time the name of Caar, that is. Living, which name is found in the words of sixth verse, as follows: Chabalim, and Alei, and if the name of the real thief is written upon the slips, that upon which his name is written will rise to the surface. The prayer is as follows: Let it be thy will, E-l Caar, the Living God to make known the name of the thief, who stole from me (here name that which was stolen). Grant that the name of the thief, if it is among the names, may arise before thy eyes, and thus be made known to mine and all others who are present, that thy name may be glorified: grant it for the sake of thy holy name. Amen.—Selah!

2. Whoever prays this Psalm daily with reverence, and in childlike trust upon the eternal love and goodness of God, directed to circumstances, will have all his sorrows changed into joy.

Finally, it is said, that the daily praying of this Psalm will change enemies into friends, and will disperse all pain and sorrow.

Psalm 17.—A traveler, who prays this Psalm early in the morning, with ardor, together with the proper prayer, in the name of Jah, will be secure from all evil for twenty-four hours. The prayer is as follows: May it be thy holy will, Oh, Jah, Jenora, to make my journey prosperous, to lead me in pleasant paths, to protect me from all evil, and to bring me safely back to my loved ones, for thy mighty and adorable name's sake. Amen.

The two letters of the holy name Jah are taken from the words, Shoddini, verse 9, and Mirmah, verse 1.

Psalm 18.—If robbers are about to attack you, pray this Psalm quickly but fervently, with the prayer belonging to it, with confidence in the holiest name of Eel Jah, that is, mighty, all-merciful and compassionate God, the robbers will leave you suddenly, without inflicting the slightest injury upon you. The letters necessary to make the holy name of God are contained in the words, Aisher, verse 1; Shoal, verse 1; Tamin, verse 33, and Haol, verse 47.

The prayer is the following: "Mighty, all-merciful and compassionate God, Eel Jah! may it be pleasing to thy most holy will, to defend me against approaching robbers, and protect me against all enemies, opposers and evil circumstances, for thine is the power and thou canst help. Hear me for the sake of thy most holy name, Eel Jah. Amen.—Selah!

Is there a sick person with you, with whom the usual bodily remedies have failed, fill a small flask with olive oil and water, pronounce over it, with reverence, the eighteenth Psalm, anoint all the limbs of the patient, and pray a suitable prayer in the name of Eel Jah, and he will soon recover.

Psalm 19.—During a protracted and dangerous confinement take earth from a cross-roads, write upon it the five first verses of this Psalm, and lay it upon the abdomen of the parturient; allow it to remain until the birth is accomplished, but no longer, and in the meantime pray this entire Psalm seven times in succession, with the proper holy name of God and the appropriate prayer. The holy name of this Psalm consists of two letters from the most holy name Jehovah He, which, according to the tradition of the Kabbalists, are of great power, and which embrace the so-called ten Sephiroth or reckonings and other deep mysteries.

The prayer is as follows: Lord of heaven and earth! May it please thee graciously to be with this parturient, N., daughter of R., who is fluctuating between life and death; ameliorate her sufferings, and help her and the fruit of her body that she may soon be delivered. Keep her and her child in perfect health and grant her life, for the sake of the holy name, He. Amen.—Selah!

Do you desire your son to possess an open and broad heart, so that he may become an apt student and understand the lessons placed before him readily, then speak this Psalm over a cup filled with wine and honey, pronounce also the holy name and an appropriate prayer over it, and let the lad drink of it, and your desires will be realized.

Finally, it is claimed that this Psalm is effectual in driving away evil spirits. It is necessary, however, to pray this Psalm, with the holy name and an appropriate prayer, seven times over the person possessed of the evil spirit. The letters of the name He are contained in the words Haahamaijim, verse 2, and Begoaeli, verse 6.

Psalm 20.—Mix in a vessel, rose-oil, water and salt, pray over it seven times in the most holy name Jeho, this Psalm and a suitable prayer, in a low voice and with reverence, then anoint with this oil your face and hands, and sprinkle it on your clothing, and you will remain free from all danger and suffering for that day.

Are you summoned to appear before the judge in person, in a judicial trial, you should avail yourself of the above means shortly beforehand, and by so doing you will surely be justified and depart without restraint. The prayer in the last case is as follows : Lord and judge of all the World ! Thou holdest the hearts of all men in thy power and movest them according to thy holy will ; grant that I may find grace and favor in the sight of my judges and those placed above me in power, and dispose their hearts to my best interests. Grant that I may be favored with a reasonable and favorable verdict, that I may be justified by it, and that I may freely go from hence. Hear me, merciful, beloved Father, and fulfil my desire, for the sake of thy great and adorable name, Jeho. Amen.—Selah.

The letters of the holy name Jeho are contained in the words : Jaanah, verse 2 ; Sela, verse 4, and Korem, verse 10.

Psalm 21.—During an existing storm at sea, when there is danger at hand, mix rose-oil, water, salt and resin, pronounce over it slowly this Psalm, and the holy name Jehaen, and then pour the consecrated salve into the foaming sea while uttering the following prayer : Lord of the world ! Thou rulest the pride of the foaming and roaring sea, and calmest the terrible noise of the waves. May it please thee, for the sake of thy most holy name, Jehach, to calm the storm, and to deliver us mercifully from this danger. Amen. Selah !

The letters of this holy name are contained in the words : Jehovah, verse 2 ; Duma, verse 14, and Ki, verse 13.

If you have a petition to present to the king, or to some other person in high power, pronounce this Psalm over a mixture of olive oil and resin, and at the same time think of the holy name of Jehach, anoint your face, and pray in faith and in confidence a prayer suitable to your circumstances, and then you may comfort yourself with the assurance that you will be favorably received and receive grace.

Psalm 22.—If a traveler prays this Psalm seven times daily, with the appropriate divine name, Aha, and a prayer arranged according to surrounding circumstances, in full trust in the mighty protection of our exalted and most merciful God, no misfortune will happen to him. Should he travel by water neither pirates nor storms can harm him, and if he travels by land he will be safe from harm, by beasts and men.

The letters of this holy name are found in the words : Eli, verse 2 ; Assah, verse 33.

Psalm 23.—Should you desire to receive reliable instructions in regard to something through a vision or in a dream, then purify yourself by fasting and bathing, pronounce the Psalm with the holy name Jah seven times, and pray at the end of each repetition : Lord of the World ! notwithstanding thy unutterable mighty power, exaltation and glory, thou wilt still lend a listening ear to the prayer of thy humblest creature, and wilt fulfil his desires. Hear my prayer also, loving Father, and let it be pleasing to thy most holy will to reveal unto me in a dream, whether (here the affair of which a correct know-

ledge is deserved must be plainly stated) as thou didst often reveal through dreams the fate of our forefathers. Grant me my petition for the sake of thy adorable name, Jah. Amen. Selah!

The letters of the holy name Jah, contain the words: Jehovah, verse 1; Napschi, verse 3, and according to the alphabetical order Aasch Bechar, according to which the letters He and Nun became transposed.

Psalms 24 and 25.—Although the contents of these two Psalms differ materially, in respect to their mystical uses, they are equal and alike in power and action. Whoever repeats these Psalms daily in the morning with feelings of devotion, will escape from the greatest danger, and the devastating flood will not harm him.

The holy name is called Eli, and is found in the words of the twenty-fifth Psalm; Elecha, verse 1; Lemaan, verse 11, and Mi, verse 12.

Psalm 26.—When imminent dangers threaten, whether by land or by water, or if some one should be called upon to undergo severe imprisonment, he should pray this Psalm with the indicated holy name of Elohe, and with an appropriate prayer, and then he may confidently look forward to an early release from prison.

You will find the letters of this holy name in the words: Atscher, verse 10; Lischmoa, verse 7; Lo, verse 4 (after the order of At Basch), and Chattaim, verse 9.

Psalm 27.—If you wish to be well and kindly received in a strange city, and desire to be hospitably entertained, repeat this Psalm upon your journey again and again, with reverence, and in full confidence that God will dispose the hearts of men to receive and entertain you kindly.

Remark by the Translator.

Since the author has neither a holy name nor prayer for the above Psalm, it may be presumed that the frequent repetition of the Psalm is sufficient for all purposes intended.

Psalm 28.—Do you wish your enemy to become reconciled to you, pronounce this Psalm, with the appropriate holy name He, and a suitable prayer, trusting in the power and readiness of the Great Ruler of hearts, and so your wish will be fully realised.

The two letters of this holy name are contained in the words: Ledavid, verse 1, and Haelam, according to the order of At Basch.

Psalm 29.—This Psalm is highly recommended for casting out an evil spirit. The manner of proceeding is as follows: Take even splinters of the osier and seven leaves of a date palm that never bore fruit, place them in a pot filled with water upon which the sun never shone, and repeat over it in the evening, this Psalm with the most holy name of Aha, ten times with great reverence; and then in full trust in the power of God, set the pot upon the earth in the open air, and let it remain there until the following evening. Afterwards pour the whole of it, at the door of the possessed, and the Basch Roah, that is, the evil spirit, will surely depart.

The two letters of this holy name are contained in the words Jehovah, verse 11, and according to the alphabetical order called Ajack Bochar and Habre, verse 2.

Remarks by the Translator.

With this Psalm also there is no prescribed prayer given.

Psalm 30.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily, shall be safe from all evil occurrences. The holy name is Eel, and may be found in the words: Aromimcha, verse 2, and Lemaan, verse 12.

By the Translator.

This Psalm and the following are also without a prescribed prayer.

Psalm 31.—Would you escape slanders, and are you desirous that evil tongues may do you no harm or cause you vexation, repeat this Psalm in a low voice, with commendable devotion, over a small quantity of pure olive oil, and anoint your face and hands with it in the name of Jah.

The letters constituting this holy name are found in the words: Paltani, verse 2, and Hammesachlim, verse 22.

Remark.

The translator regards it necessary to remark once for all, that prayers especially adapted to these as well as many of the following Psalms are wanting, and that the author undoubtedly thought that the prayers already given would enable each one to extemporize a suitable prayer. This presumption is the more probable, since we find further on in the work, that the author exhorts all to engage in prayer to God, without prescribing any particular form. Another circumstance, however, relates to the holy names, and if these are wanting it was so ordered by the ancient Kabbalists, and on this account it should be particularly noted at all times.

Psalm 32.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily receives grace, Love and mercy. With this Psalm will be found neither holy name nor prayer.

Psalm 33.—Have you been unfortunate in respect to the constant death of your children at birth, pronounce this Psalm with the holiest name Jehovah, over pure olive oil and anoint your wife therewith, and the children born to you thereafter will live.

At the time of a general famine, the inhabitants of the afflicted district should pray this Psalm with united hearts and powers, and they will surely be heard.

The letters of this holy name you will find in Lajehovah, verse 2, Hodu, verse 3, Azath, verse 9, and Hejozer, verse 14.

Psalm 34.—Have you resolved to visit a prince or another person high in authority, pronounce this Psalm and the holy name Pele, that is, Wonderful, briefly before appearing in their presence and you will be received pleasantly and find favor.

The letters of this holy name are found in the words, *Paude*, verse 23; *Lifne*, verse 1. and *Kara*, verse 7.

Even so this Psalm is highly recommended to each traveler, for if he prays it diligently he will surely finish his journey in safety.

Psalm 35.—Have you a lawsuit pending in which you are opposed by unrighteous, revengeful and quarrelsome people, then, pray this Psalm with its holy name *Jah*, early in the morning for three successive days, and you will surely win your case.

The letters composing this holy name are contained in the words: *Lochmi*, verse 1; and in *Wezinza*, verse 2.

Psalm 36.—Against all evil and slanderous libels pray this Psalm, and they will cause you no injury.

The holy name of this Psalm is found in the words: *Arven*, verse 6; *Mischpatecha*, verse 7; and *Tehom*, verse 7.

Psalm 37.—If any one has drunken so much wine as to lose his reason, and in consequence, fears are entertained for his safety, then quickly pour water into a pitcher, pronounce this Psalm over it, and bathe his head and face with the consecrated water, and give him also to drink of it.

Psalms 38 and 39.—If you have been so much slandered that the king and the officers of the law have been turned against you, and are taking measures to punish you, arise early, at the break of day and go out into the fields. Pray these Psalms and their holy name seven times with great devotion, and fast the entire day.

The holy name of the first Psalm is *Aha*, and of the second *He*, taken from the words *Hascha*, verse 14, and *Amarti*, verse 2.

Psalm 40.—The principal characteristic of this Psalm is, that we can, by its use, free ourselves from evil spirits, if we pray it daily.

The holy name is *Jah*, and is found in the words: *Schauaiti*, verse 2, and *Chuscha*, verse 14.

Psalms 41 to 43.—If your enemies have despoiled you of credit and caused you to be mistrusted, and thereby reduce your earnings, or perhaps, deprive you of your office and installed another in your place, you should pray these three times a day for three successive days, together with a prayer that is appropriate to your circumstances, and by doing this you will perceive incredible things. Your enemies will be put to shame and you will be unscathed.

The 42d Psalm possesses this peculiar characteristic. If you wish to be sure in regard to a certain cause, and desire to obtain information through a dream, you must fast one day, and shortly before retiring to rest you must pray this Psalm and the holy name, *Zawa*, (which means the Lord of Hosts,) belonging to the Psalm, seven times, making known your desires, each time, in an appropriate prayer, in which your wishes should be plainly named.

Psalm 44.—If you wish to be safe from your enemies the frequent praying of this Psalm will, it is said, answer your expectations.

Psalms 45 and 46.—These two Psalms are said to possess the virtue of making peace between man and wife, and, especially, to tame cross wives. The saying is, namely: Whoever has a scolding wife, let him pronounce the 45th Psalm over pure olive oil, and anoint his body with it, when his wife, in the future, will be more lovable and friendly. But if a man has innocently incurred the enmity of his wife, and desires a proper return of conjugal love and peace, let him pray the 46th Psalm over olive oil, and anoint his wife thoroughly with it, and, it is said, married love will again return.

The holy name is Adojah, (this name is composed of the first syllables of the two most holy names of God, Adonai and Jehovah.)

The letters are in the words: Elohim, verse 2; Meod, verse 2; Jehovah, verse 8, and Sela, verse 12.

Psalm 47.—Do you wish to be beloved, respected and well received by all your fellow-men, pray this Psalm seven times daily.

Psalm 48.—If you have many enemies without cause, who hate you out of pure envy, pray this Psalm often, and with it think of the holy name Sach, which means Pure, Clear and Transparent, and your enemies will be seized with fear, terror and anxiety, and in future they will no more attempt to injure you.

The letters of the holy name are to be found in the words: Achasatan, verse 7, and Ki, verse 14.

Psalms 49 and 50.—Is one of your family burdened with a severe and perhaps incurable fever, then take a new pen and ink prepared for this purpose, and write the 49th Psalm and the first six verses of the 50th Psalm, together with the appropriate holy name Schaddi, which signifies Almighty, and which belongs to these Psalms, upon pure parchment prepared for this particular case, and hang it around the patient's neck with a silken string.

The letters composing the divine name, Schaddei, can be found in the words of the 49th Psalm, Schimma, verse 1; Adaw, verse 3, and Wikas, verse 8.

Remarks by the Translator.

(Should some one choose to write and wear a talisman such as is described above, we would kindly advise him to procure parchment, ink and pen from a Jewish writer of the ten commandments.)

It is asserted that whosoever wears the 50th Psalm, written as above described, upon his person, will be safe from all danger, and escape from all the machinations of robbers.

The holy name is Chai, which signifies, Living, and the letters are taken from the words: Sewach, verse 5; and Anochi, verse 7.

Psalm 51.—Is any one troubled with an anxious and restless conscience on account of the commission of a heavy sin, then let him pronounce this Psalm with the word Dam connected with it in the mind, three times a day, namely, early at noon and in the evening over poppy-oil, and at the same time utter a prayer suitable to the occasion in which the evil deed must be mentioned in deep humility and

sorrow, which must be obtained from the just yet merciful Judge of all men through a contrite heart, then let him anoint himself with the consecrated oil over the body, and he will find in a few days that he has found grace and that the heavy burden has been removed.

The letters of the word Dam, through the transposition of the B and M in the words Parim, verse 20, and Bebo, verse 2, are taken according to the order of the alphabet, Al Bam, in which the B is taken for M.

Psalm 52.—He who is so unfortunate as to be disturbed through frequent slanders is advised to utter this Psalm daily in the morning, and no special prayer or holy name is needed to obtain the benefit of the Psalm.

Psalms 53 to 55.—These three Psalms are ordained to be uttered by him who is persecuted without cause by open and secret enemies. If he desires only to quiet his enemies, or fill them with fear, he must daily repeat the prescribed 53d Psalm with the holy name Ai. The letters of this name are the first letters of the two blessed names of God, Adonai, Jehovah, and are found in the words Amar, verse 2, and Jazmach, verse 6.

If, however, he wishes not only to be secure from their malice, but if he also desires to revenge himself upon them, then he must repeat the 54th Psalm with the prescribed holy name, Jah. The letters of this are found in the last words of this Psalm, Eeni, and in the word Immennu, verse 2, and indeed according to the Kabbalistic rule Gematria, inasmuch as the letter He, when it is written out signifies six in number, and in this manner may very easily be taken for the letter Vav, which, in counting, also numbers six.

Should he desire to render his enemies evil for evil, he shall repeat the 55th Psalm with the name Vah, which contains both of the final letters of the name Jehovah. The letters of this name are found in the words: Weattah, verse 12, and Haasinad, verse 2.

Psalm 56.—This Psalm is recommended to him, who is desirous of freeing himself from the bonds of passion and of sense, and who is anxious to be delivered from the so-called Jemer Horra, which means, the evil lusts or the desire to commit sin.

Psalm 57.—Whosoever wishes to be fortunate in all his undertakings should pray this Psalm daily after the morning prayer in the church, and with it the holy name Chai, signifying Living, which name he should keep constantly in his mind.

The two letters of this name are contained in the words: Chonnent, verse 2, and in Elohim, verse 6.

Psalm 58.—If you should be attacked by a vicious dog, pray this Psalm quickly, and the dog will not harm you.

Psalm 59.—Would you be entirely free from the Jemor Horra, that is, from the inclination which all men possess to do evil, and the sinful appetites and passions which often overcome them, then pray

this Psalm from the second verse to the end, for three days in succession, at early noon and in the evening, and the holy name belonging thereto, namely, Paltioel, which signifies Strong God, My Rescuer and Saviour; also, pray the prescribed prayer, and you will become aware of the most wonderful changes within yourself.

The prayer is as follows: Lord, my Father and the Father of mine, mighty God! May it please thee for the sake of thy great, holy and adorable name, Paltioel, to release me from the Jezer Harra (from my evil desires and passions and from all evil thoughts and acts), as thou didst the author of this Psalm when he prayed to thee. Amen.—Selah!—

The letters of the holy name of Paltioel may be found in the words, Pischii, verse 3; Elohim, verse 6; Chattati, verse 3; Jehovah, verse 8; Aschir, verse 15, and Maschel, verse 14.

Psalm 60.—If you are a soldier in an army, and are about marching into the field, repeat this Psalm, keeping in mind the holy name of Jah, and at the conclusion of each repetition of the Psalm, utter a suitable prayer in full reliance upon the endless omnipotence of Him, who can give the victory where he will, and you will be enabled to return to your home uninjured.

The two letters of the holy name Jah, are contained in the word Zarenu, verse 14, as the last word of this Psalm, and in Lehanned, verse 1.

Psalm 61.—When you are about taking possession of a new dwelling, repeat this Psalm just before moving in, with a suitable prayer, trusting in the name of Schaddei, and you will experience blessing and good fortune.

The letters composing this name are taken from the words Schimmu, verse 2; Ken, verse 9; and Jom, the last word of this Psalm. It should, however, be remarked that both the last letters are selected according to the alphabetical order of Ajack Bechar.

Psalm 62.—Speak this Psalm with proper reverence on Sunday immediately after the evening prayer, and on Monday after vespers, and at the same time think of the holy name Ittami, which means "concealed, hidden, or invisible" (which most probably refers to the invisible God, who covers the transgressions of penitent sinners), and utter the following prayer: Great, mighty and merciful God! may it be thy holy will to pardon me all my sins, transgressions and offences; wilt thou cover them; and blot them out as thou didst the sins and transgressions of him who uttered this Psalm in thy presence, wilt thou do this for the sake of the adorable name of Ittami. Amen.—Selah!

The letters of this name may be found in the words: Achi, verse 2; Jeschuate, verse 2; Emot, verse 3; Lelohim, verse 6, and Leisch, verse 13.

Psalm 63.—If you have reason to believe that your business-partners are about to take unfair advantage of you, and that you will suffer loss through them; and if you desire, on this account, to withdraw

from the firm, repeat this Psalm, and with it think of the holy name Jach, and you will not only be able to withdraw without loss, but you will obtain further good fortune and blessings.

The letters of this holy name are contained in the words Jasjmach, verse 11, and Jechuda, verse 1.

Psalm 64.—In reference to this Psalm it is only necessary to say, that seafarers who daily pray it with devotion will complete their voyage without accident, and reach their place of destination in good health. As for the rest, neither holy name nor especial prayer have been considered necessary.

Psalm 65.—Whosoever utters this Psalm with its appropriate name Jah, persistently, will be fortunate in all his undertakings, and everything he attempts will result to his best advantage. It is particularly recommended to one who has a petition to prefer, for it is asserted that he will certainly obtain his desires.

The two letters of this holy name are taken from the words Joschiru, verse 14, and Dumijah verse 2.

Psalm 66.—If any man is possessed of a Ruack Roah (evil spirit), write this Psalm on parchment and hang it upon him; then stretch your hands over him and say: Save me, O God, for the waters are come into my soul. Psalm lxix. 2.

Psalms 67 and 68.—Both these Psalms contain the divine name of Jah. The letters composing it are found in the first Psalm and are selected from the words: Jechonnenu, verse 2, and from the last word of the fifth verse, Sela. In the second, on the other hand, from Jakum, verse 2, and from Aora, verse 36. The first should be prayed in a protracted case of fever, or in severe imprisonment. The second, on the contrary should be prayed over a vessel filled with water upon which the sun never shone, in a low voice, and in the name of the patient, and then work his body with the water, and the evil spirit will depart from him.

Psalms 69 and 70.—The first of these Psalms should be uttered daily over water, by the libertine and sensualist, who is so confirmed in his evil habits, as to become a slave to them, and who, however much he may desire to escape these habits, is unable to do so. After having prayed this Psalm over the water he should drink of it.

The second should be prayed by him who desires to conquer his enemies.

Neither of these two Psalms have prescribed holy name or prayer.

Psalm 71.—With this Psalm there is likewise neither holy name nor prayer, but it is said to have the power to liberate any one from prison, who will for a time pray it reverentially seven times a day.

Psalm 72.—Write this Psalm with the name Aha, in the usual manner, upon pure parchment, and suspend it around your neck, and you will become a universal favorite, and find favor and grace from all men; you may then live unconcerned, for you can never come to poverty.

The letters of the holy name are taken from the words: Elohim, verse 1, and Jeassruhu, verse 17.

Psalms 78 to 78.—Since these eleven Psalms have neither holy names nor particular closing prayers, I shall, in order to economize space, record the peculiar virtues ascribed to each one for the good of mankind.

The 73d Psalm should be repeated reverently seven times daily by those who are compelled to sojourn in a heathen, idolatrous or infidel country, and by doing so, no one need feel afraid that he will be induced to deny his faith.

The frequent and earnest prayer of the 74th Psalm is said to defeat the persecution embittered by enemies, and will frustrate the oppressions of the self-mighty, wealth-seeking, hard-hearted people, and will at the same time bring them to a terrible end.

The devout prayer of the 74th Psalm will effect the forgiveness of sins.

The 76th Psalm is said to be the quickest and most effective defence against danger from fire and water.

Whoever prays the 77th Psalm daily will not be overtaken by want or danger.

Whoever prays the 78th Psalm earnestly and often, will be beloved and respected by kings and princes and will receive favor from them.

The frequent prayer of the 79th Psalm, it is said, is fatal to enemies and opponents.

The constant and industrious prayer of 80th and 81st Psalms is said to be a happy means of saving men from falling into unbelief and saves them also from other errors.

The prayer of the 82d Psalm will assist an envoy to transact his business to the satisfaction of his employers, and his business affairs will succeed and prosper.

You should write the 83d Psalm properly, upon pure parchment, and suspend it around your neck, and by so doing you will abide safely in war, avoiding defeat and captivity. If you should, however, be overcome, your captors will not harm you, for even in captivity no harm can befall you. ✓

Psalm 84.—When a man, through a severe and protracted illness, has acquired a repulsive, disgusting and bad odor, he should pronounce this Psalm with the prescribed holy name of Af, which means Father, over a pot of water upon which the sun never shone, and then pour the water all over himself, and then the bad smell will leave him. ✓

The letters of the holy name Af, are found in the words : Zebarth, verse 2, and in Bach, verse 6.

Psalm 85.—Do you wish that your former friend, but who now lives at enmity with you, should again be reconciled to you, if you can discover no disposition on his part to make it up with you, then go out into an open field, turn your face toward the South, and pronounce this Psalm, with its prescribed holy name Vah, seven times in succession; and he will approach and receive you in great friendship.

Psalms 86 to 88.—These three Psalms again are left without a holy name, and there is nothing further said about them, than that a person should accustom himself to pray them often, because by so doing much good can be done and much evil avoided. The frequent praying, of the 86th Psalm especially, is said to promote the welfare of the community and the congregation.

Psalm 89.—Should one of your own family or dear friends waste away so rapidly, in consequence of a severe illness, so that they are already nearly helpless and useless, speak this Psalm over olive oil and pour the oil over the wool that has been shorn from a wether or a ram, and with it anoint the body and limbs of the patient, and he will speedily recover.

If your friend is under arrest, and you desire his liberation, go into an open field, raise your eyes toward heaven and repeat this Psalm, with a prayer suited to the circumstances, which should be uttered in full confidence in God.

Psalm 90.—Should you accidentally encounter a lion in the forest, or should you be deceived, cheated or plagued by an evil spirit or ghost, then grasp in your mind the name of God (Schaddei) and repeat this Psalm, and they will withdraw themselves. But you will be still more secure when such a danger should arise, if you pray the following 91st Psalm in connection with the 90th, at one and the same time.

Psalm 91.—The holy name of this Psalm is El, which means Strong God. After speaking this Psalm, and the preceding one, over a person tormented by an evil spirit, or one afflicted by an incurable disease, in the name of Eel Schaddei, then pray humbly: Let it be thy holy pleasure, oh my God! to take from N., son of R., the evil spirit by which he is tormented, for the sake of thy great, mighty and holy name El Schaddei. Wilt thou presently send him health and let him be perfectly restored. Hear his prayer as thou once did that of thy servant Moses when he prayed this Psalm. Let his prayer penetrate to thee as once the holy incense arose to thee on high. Amen. Selah!

The two letters of the name Eel are contained in the words Jeschuti, verse 16, and Orech, verse 16.

Again write this Psalm in connection with the last verse of the previous Psalm upon clean parchment, and conceal it behind the door of your house, and you will be secure from all evil accidents.

Kabbalists ascribe to this Psalm when taken in connection with the above verse, the most wonderful virtue, when it is used in accordance with the nature of existing circumstances, and when it is combined with other scriptural passages, holy names of angels, characters and prayers. it is said, for example:

Prayer through which all distress, danger and suffering may be turned aside. If any one should be in danger of his life, or become distressed, be it what it may, such as being attacked by an incurable disease, pestilence, fire or water, overwhelmed by enemies or murderers, in battles, sieges, robberies, close imprisonment, etc., let him

confess his sins first of all, and then speak the Vihi Noamprayer (the name by which the 91st Psalm with the aforesaid verse is usually known), ninety-nine times, according to the number of the two holiest names of God, Jehovah Adonai. Each time when he comes to the fourteenth verse, "Because he hath set his love upon me," etc, he shall keep in mind the holy name, and then pray devoutly each time: "Thou art the most holy, king over all that is revealed and hidden, exalted above all that is high, sanctify and glorify thy adorable name in this thy world, so that all the nations of the earth may know that thine is the glory and the power, and that thou hast secured me from all distress, but especially out of the painful emergency (here the object of the prayer must be distinctly stated), which has overtaken me N., son of R. And I herewith promise and vow that I will now and ever after this, as long as I shall live upon the earth, and until I return to the dust from which I was taken." (Here the vow must be verbally stated,—stating what we will do, perform or give in the service of our Creator. The vow may consist in fasting, giving alms, or in the daily reading of several chapters of the Holy Scriptures, Psalms, of the Sohar or of the Talmud, releasing of captives, nursing the sick and burying the dead.) "Praised be Jehovah, my Rock and my Salvation. Thou wilt be my representative and intercessor, and wilt help me, for thou helpest thy poor, feeble and humble creature, and in time of need releasest from fear and danger, and dealest mercifully with thy people; merciful and forgiving, thou hearest the prayer of every one. Praised art thou, Jehovah, thou who hearest prayer." (The last words should be repeated seven times at each ending of the prayer.)

And now, whoever will punctually observe the foregoing instructions three days in succession, in full trust in the mighty help of God, he may rest assured of the assistance which he desires.

Kabbalists, and especially the celebrated Rabbi Isaac Loria have assured us that in a time of pestilence or general emergency, the Vihi Noamprayer should be prayed seven times daily, connecting with it in the mind the figure of the golden candlestick, when it is composed of the forty-one holy and important words and names of this Psalm, with which we should especially consider the holy names in their order. The following are the names:

Vean,	Alm,	Bich,	Iba,	Wich,	Ika,	Aan,	Beni,
Mii,	Tmol,	Veal,	Ktaz,	Ilu,	Mehoh,	Imi,	Becha,
Im,	Retak,	Betu,	Lir,	Uma,	Ima,	Miz,	Mehi,
Aki,	Lakad,	Milli,	Ibak,	Rul,	Leta,	Afcham,	Pesch,
Aab,	Schin,	Aki,	Acchu,	Kuck,	Vetat,	Raasch,	Jaub,

Ana.

(See Fig. A.)



Fig. A.

After this should be spoken verses 21-28, chapter xii. of Exodus, and with them keeping in mind the names contained in the 23d and 28th verses, in the following order :

Awal, Jahel, Ito, Huj Husch, Aha, Imo, Vil.

As also Vohu, Uha, Bam, Bili, Zel, Holo, Vesop, and finally the holy name : Nischaszlas.

And now, he who observes all these things to the very letter, and who can keep in his memory all the letters, points or vowels, he shall be safe from all danger, and shall be as strong as steel, so that no firearms can harm him. The certainty of this is shown by the Kabbalists, because the letter Sejjid is not to be found in the entire Psalm, and since the word Sejjin or Kie Sejjin embraces within its meaning all deadly weapons, this conclusion is entirely correct.

Remarks by the Translator.

The extraordinary powers ascribed to the 91st Psalm may all be right and proper enough, but it is to be regretted that the reader cannot avail himself of its benefits, especially in the last experiment, because all the recorded holy names consist of the first letter of all the words of the 91st Psalm, and likewise of the 23d and 28th verses of Exodus, chapter xii., a passage which has already been quoted. It is, therefore, impossible to pronounce this name properly, neither can it be translated into English or into any other language. And how shall we then memorize the first letters of each word of the Psalm together with the points or vowels belonging to them? If any one, notwithstanding the difficulties attending the use of this Psalm, should desire to avail himself of its virtues, then he must undertake

the burdensome task of learning the Hebrew language, or he must write it, and wear it upon his heart as an amulet.

Psalm 92.—He who desires to attain to high honors, let him take with this object in view, a new pot filled with water. Place in it myrtle and vine leaves, and pronounce over it, with perfect trust, the following Psalms, namely, the 92, 94, 23, 20, 24, and 100, three times in succession, and at each time let him wash himself out of the pot and afterward anoint his face and whole body with the water; then turn his face toward the north, pray to God for the fulfilment of his desires, and he will see wonderful things. He will be astonished with his ever-increasing good fortune. He will also, in a wonderful manner, advance from one post of honor to another.

Psalm 93.—There is nothing special recorded of this Psalm, other than that it is highly recommended to any one who has a suit with a stern and unjust opponent. The proper use of this Psalm, it is said will surely win him his cause.

Psalm 94.—If you have a hard, unyielding and bitter enemy, who oppresses you sorely and causes you great anxiety, repair to an open field on Monday, take some incense into your mouth, turn with your face toward the East and West, and repeat first the 94th Psalm and then the 92d, seven times, keeping in mind at the same time the holy name Eel Kanno Taf, which signifies great, strong, zealous and good God, and pray each time at the ending of these Psalms: "May it please Thee, O great, strong, zealous and good God, to humble my enemy N., son of R., as thou once did the enemies of our great teacher Moses, who rests in peace, and who completed this Psalm to thy glorification. Let my prayer arise to thee as did the sweet smell of incense from the altar of incense, and let me behold thy wonderful power. Amen!—Selah!—

Psalm 95.—The appropriate holy name of God peculiar to this Psalm is Eel, which is, great, strong God, and the letters are found in the words: Eel, verse 3, and Lezur, verse 1.

The pious believer should pray this Psalm for his erring and unbelieving brethren.

Psalms 96 and 97.—The holy name of these two Psalms is Jah, and the letters of the first are found in the words, Jeschuato, verse 2, and Hawn, verse 7, and those of the other in the words, Jismechu, verse 1, and Atta, verse 9. Whosoever will pray these two Psalms three times daily, will cause his family great joy and contentment.

Psalm 98.—The holy name of this Psalm is also Jah, and should be pronounced in order to establish peace and unity between families. The letters of the holy name are taken out of the words: Israel, verse 3; and Haschiah, verse 1.

Psalm 99.—With this Psalm there is no holy name recorded, and all who wish to become really pious are advised to pray it often with proper devotion.

Psalms 100.—The holy name Jah, so often mentioned already, is also appropriate to this Psalm, and whoever prays it several days successively seven times, will overcome all his enemies. The two letters of this holy name are recorded in verse 3, and in Aetodah, verse 4.

Psalms 101.—Whoever bears this Psalm in addition to the 68th upon his person, written upon parchment, is secure from the persecution of evil spirits and vindictive persons.

Psalms 102 and 103.—Both these Psalms are said to be very good for barren women by the use of which they may receive grace and favor from God. The holy name of the one is called Jah, and is taken from Anneni, verse 3, and the name of the other one is Aha, and is taken from the word Adonai, verse 12, and from Sela, verse 20.

Psalms 104.—The frequent and earnest prayer of this Psalm is said to be attended with such great power, that through it the Masick may be destroyed.

Remarks of the Translator.

The word Masick signifies, according to its root, only something hurtful, something that will cause harm. it may be by spirits, beings or animals. Generally, however, the Jews understood the term to mean the Devil, and with its connections in this place the word must mean original sin and the propensity to commit sin.

Psalms 105 to 107.—To these three Psalms the holy name of Jah is ascribed, and according to the original writing, it is said, that the 105th Psalm will cure three days' fever; the praying of the 106th Psalm will cure the four days' fever, and finally the praying of the 107th will cure the daily fever.

The letters of the holy names are taken from Lejaikof, verse 7, and Hodu, verse 1, and further from Soehrent, verse 4, and from Tehillato, verse 2 of the 106th Psalm, and finally from Jischlach, verse 19, and Verinna, verse 21.

Psalms 108.—Write this Psalm with its proper holy name. Vi, (two letters from the most holy name of Jehovah. in which Kabbalists seek through its many divisions, great secrets), upon clean parchment, and hide it in a secure spot behind the door of your house, and then your going and coming will be blessed, and you will be successful in all your business transactions.

The two letters of the holy name Jehovah, by a transposition of Vav and Jod, are contained in the words : Zarenn, verse 14, and in Nachon, verse 2.

Psalms 109.—Have you a mighty enemy, who plagues and oppresses you, fill a new jug with new, sparkling wine, add some mustard to it, and then repeat this Psalm three days successively, while at the same time you keep in mind the holy name of El (great and strong God), and afterward pour the mixture before the door of your enemy's dwelling. Be careful, however, that you do not sprinkle a single drop upon yourself when in the act of pouring it out.

The letters of the name Eel are found in the words, Elohim, verse 3, and in Ki Jamood, verse 5.

Psalms 110 and 111.—The first of these Psalms is marked with the holy name Jah, and by its frequent use in the form of a prayer, and a man may compel all enemies and opposers to bow to him and beg for quarters and peace.

Through praying the 111th Psalm a man may acquire many friends without the necessity of keeping constantly in mind any special holy name.

Psalms 112 and 113.—By praying the first of these Psalms a man will increase in might and power from time to time, and by praying the second devoutly it is possible to check growing heresy and infidelity. Neither of these Psalms has a peculiar holy name.

Psalm 114.—The holy name of this Psalm consists of two letters, taken together from the names Adonai (Lord), and Jehovah, namely, Aha, which may be found in this Psalm in the words Jiszrael, verse 1, and Jehuda, verse 2. If you desire success in your trade or business, write this Psalm with its appropriate holy name upon clean parchment, and carry it about your person constantly in a small bag prepared especially for this purpose.

Psalm 115.—If you are determined to dispute with infidels, heretics and scoffers at religion, pray this Psalm devoutly beforehand.

Psalm 116.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with devotion, trusting fully in God, will be safe from violent death, neither will he be overtaken by a sudden death.

Psalm 117.—Did you make a vow to obtain a certain commandment or perform a good work, and fail in the performance of them through forgetfulness or carelessness, as soon as you recollect your remissness pray this Psalm with a broken and contrite heart.

Psalm 118.—If you pray this Psalm often and devoutly, you will be able to silence all free-thinkers, scoffers of religion and heretics, who labor to lead you astray.

Psalm 119.—This it is well known is the largest of all the Psalms, and consists in the Hebrew of eight alphabets, but in such a manner, that each letter appears in undisturbed regularity, and through this there arose twenty-two special divisions, which are included in each eight verses, because a particular power is ascribed to each division, which I cannot present to the reader in clearer manner than by placing each letter before him which forms the particular division.

Aleph.—The eight verses of this letter, which all begin with Aleph, should be pronounced over a man whose limbs shake and quiver, and if this be done in a low and even tone of voice, he will be relieved. If any one has made a vow, which has become burdensome to fulfil, it will be easy for him to keep his promise,

Beth.—It is said that through the second division from the ninth to the sixteenth verse, a man may obtain a good memory, an open heart, desirous to learn, and an extended intelligence. Whosoever desires to attain this must begin as follows: Remove from a hard-boiled egg the shell deftly and cleanly, so that the inside shall remain uninjured, and write upon it the above eight verses as well as the fourth verse of Deuteronomy, xxxiii., and eight verses of Joshua, i., and also the holy name of the angels Chosniel, Schrewniel and Mupiel. The translation of these three angel-names it is not necessary to know, because they must not be pronounced, but since it will be of interest to the reader to know the meaning of them, it will not be superfluous to give them here. Chosniel, signifies Cover, or overshadow me, mighty God! (namely, with the spirit of wisdom and knowledge.) Schrewniel, turn me, again, mighty God! that is, change me, convert me into a better man or woman, as David once said, "Create in me, oh God," etc. Mupiel means: Out of the mouth of the mighty God (namely, let me attend upon the decrees of thy laws, as if I heard and received them from the mouth of God himself). Finally, the following must also be written upon the egg: Open and enlarge my heart and understanding, that I may hear and comprehend everything that I read, and that I may never forget it. All this must be done on a Thursday evening, after fasting the entire day, and then the egg must be inserted whole into the mouth, and when it is eaten, the four first verses of this division must be repeated three times in succession.

Gimel.—The division of the third letter, verses 17 to 24 should be prayed seven times in succession, in a low, solemn tone and with full confidence in the omnipotence of God, over the seriously injured eye of a friend, so that the pain may cease and the eye restored.

Daleth.—By the earnest praying of this division, verses 25 to 32, a painful injury of the left eye can be cured in the first place, in the same manner as is described above, and in the second place, if a man is engaged in a lawsuit, or is vexed by a change of occupation, or residence, or if he desires to make an advantageous selection, or make a resolution, he should repeat these eight times in succession. On the other hand, however, if a man must avail himself of the advice and assistance of many persons in order to accomplish an undertaking successfully, he should repeat this division ten times.

He.—The division of the letter He, verses 33 to 40, is said to make people refrain from committing sins. A sinful being, who has become so much accustomed to commit sin and vice, that he cannot refrain from them, notwithstanding his best resolutions, should write these eight verses upon parchment prepared from a clean deer skin, (or cause them thus to be written.) place it in a bag prepared for this purpose and hang it around his neck, so that he will carry it continually upon his breast.

Van.—Speak these eight verses, 41 to 48, properly over water, and give it to your servant or dependent to drink, and then your rule and

power over him will become easy and agreeable, and he will serve you willingly.

Zain.—To the seventh division, verses 49 to 56, two different effects are ascribed. It is said, for example: If one of your friends or acquaintances is afflicted with melancholy, or becomes splenetic, or has severe stitching in the side, write this division, with the holy name Raphael, which signifies, heal, mighty God, properly upon a small piece of clean parchment, and bind it upon the patient where the spleen is situated.

If you have been led into an undertaking that promises evil results, through the misrepresentations of evil counsellors, repeat this division eighteen times, and you will find means to withdraw from the undertaking without injury to yourself.

Cheth.—Speak the division of this letter, verses 57 to 64, seven times over wine, and give a sick person, who has severe pains in the upper part of the body, to drink of it, and he will soon find relief.

Teth.—The division of the letter Teth, verses 65 to 72, is an easy, quick and tried remedy to cure the severest case of kidney or liver complaints, or to take away pain in the hips. Pronounces these eight verses properly, specially and reverently over the sick person and he will convalesce.

Jed.—Would you find grace and favor with God and man, pray at the close of each morning prayer the division of this letter, verses 70 to 80, trusting fully in the mercy and grace of God, and your prayer will be heard.

Caph.—If one of yours has a dangerous sore, or a burning swelling on the right side of the nose, pray the eight verses of this division verses 81 to 88, ten times, in a low and conjuring voice, over the sore, and you will perceive to your astonishment and joy, that the otherwise incurable sore will be healed.

Lamed.—If you are summoned to appear personally before the Judge in a lawsuit, pray on the preceding day, just after the evening prayer, the division of the letter Lamed, verses 89 to 96, and you will obtain a favorable hearing, and will be permitted to leave the court justified.

Mem.—For pain in the limbs, and especially for paralysis in the right arm or hand, a man should pray this division, verses 97 to 104, seven times for three successive days, in a low conjuring voice, over the affected arm, and the pain will cease and the arm will be healed.

Nun.—Have you a mind to travel, pray this division, verses 105 to 112, which begins with the words: "For thy word is a lamp to my feet," a few days previous to starting upon your journey, each time after the morning and evening prayer, and you will accomplish your journey safely and will prosper in your avocation.

Samech.—If you have a favor to ask of a superior, pray, before presenting your petition, or before you attempt to ask the favor verbally, the eight verses of the letter Samech, verses 113 to 120, and you will not go away unheard.

Ain.—In the same way and manner as the prayer of the division of the letter Mem, heals pain in the right arm, so also the praying of the eight verses of the letter Ain, verses 121 to 128, will cure pain in the left arm and hand.

Pe.—The prayer of this division, verses 129 to 136, will prove of the same effect in the case of a boil or swelling on the left side of the nose, and the proceedings in both cases must be the same to effect a cure.

Tsaddi.—Since it frequently happens that persons in an official station are induced, through misrepresentations and other circumstances, to give a wrong and unjust decision, even against their better knowledge and desire, they are kindly advised to pray the eight verses of this letter, verses 137 to 144, three times devoutly before giving their decision, at the same time asking the help of the Judge of all Judges, to enlighten their minds.

Koph.—The mysterious operation of this division, verses 145-152, relates to the cure of a dangerous and painful injury at the left leg. These eight verses should be pronounced in a low and conjuring voice over a quantity of rose-oil and the injury anointed with the oil.

Resh.—Are you burdened with a painful, constantly running boil in the right ear, pronounce the eight verses of the division of the letter Resh, verses 152-160, in a low and conjuring voice, over onion-water or juice, and let one drop run into the ear, when you will experience immediate relief.

Schin.—Against severe and burning headache speak the division of this letter, verses 161 to 168, in a low conjuring voice, three times over pure olive oil, and anoint the place where the pain is the most severe.

Tau.—The last division of this Psalm, verses 169-176, should be used in the same manner as the division of the letter Riah, that is, it should be spoken over onion-water, and by its use a boil in the left ear may be cured.

Finally, it is stated at the end of this Psalm, that whosoever is afflicted with a tearing pain in both arms, in the sides, and in the legs at one and the same time, should repeat this whole Psalm in the following order: 1. The eight verses of the letter Aleph; of Tau and Beth. 2. Those of the letter Schin. 3. The division of the letter Gimmel. 4. The eight verses of the letter Resh. 5. The division of the letter Daleth. 6. That of the letter Kuf. 7. The eight verses of the letter He. 8. Those of the letter Zain. 9. The division of the letter Vau. 10. The eight verses of the letter Pe. 11. The

division of the letter Zain. 12. The division of the letter Ain. 13. The eight verses of the letter Cheth. 14. Those of the letter Tamech. 15. Those of the letter Teth. 16. Of Nun. 17. The eight verses of the letter Jud. and finally, 18, the division of the letters Mem, Caph, and Lamed. This remedy has been tried, and has proved infallible. Should any one become afflicted with tearing pains in the loins, make for him, at the conclusion of this Psalm, knots, combinations, or magical knots in water, with or under the names of: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Canaan, Mahalleel, Jared, Methusaleh, Lamech, Noah, Shem.

[The translator is compelled to admit honestly, that he does not comprehend this latter clause, and much less is he able to give any directions in regard to the method employed in making magical-knots, he does not presume that any one will be interested in this matter.]

Psalm 120.—If you must appear before the judge, repeat the Psalm beforehand, and you will receive grace and favor.

If a traveler should find himself in a forest infested with many poisonous snakes, scorpions and other poisonous reptiles as may easily happen, and thus be exposed to danger, let him pray this Psalm as soon as he comes in sight of the forest seven times, and he will be able to proceed on his journey without any harm.

Psalm 121.—Are you compelled to travel alone by night, pray this Psalm reverently seven times, and you will be safe from all accidents and evil occurrences.

Psalm 122.—If you are about to address a man high in station, repeat this Psalm thirteen times beforehand, and you will be received graciously and find favor. Also, pray this Psalm each time that you are present in church, and you will obtain a blessing.

Psalm 123.—If your servant or journeyman has run away from you, write this Psalm, together with his name, on a leaden or tin plate, when he will return to you.

Psalm 124.—If you are about to cross a swollen stream, or undertake a journey by water, pray this Psalm before entering the ship, and then you may commence your journey without fear.

Psalm 125.—If you are compelled to travel in a country, where you have avowed enemies whom you have reason to fear on account of threatened injury to yourself, then take, before entering the country, both your hands full of salt, pronounce this Psalm seven times over it, and then scatter it into the air toward the four quarters of the globe, and by so doing, not one of your enemies will be able to bring any harm against you.

Psalm 126.—Are you so unfortunate, that your children are taken away from you in their infancy, and that you are not able to raise any of them, then, when your wife again becomes pregnant, write this Psalm upon four amulets made out of clean parchment, and add to

the last line of each amulet the names of the following angels: Sinui, Sinsuni, and Semanglaf, and afterward hide the amulets in the four walls of your house, when your child will live.

Psalm 127.—Write this Psalm upon pure parchment, place this amulet in a clean bag, and hang it about the neck of a new-born son immediately after birth, and no evil will ever befall him afterward.

Psalm 128.—Write this Psalm upon clean parchment, and hang it upon a pregnant woman, when she and the fruit of her body will always be secure from unlucky accidents, and she will have a fortunate confinement.

Psalm 129.—Whoever accustoms himself to repeat the Psalm daily after the morning prayer, will finally prepare himself to live piously and virtuously, and will be able to carry out many remunerative and good works.

Psalm 130.—If you are living in a besieged city, to and from which no one can go without danger, and if you have urgent business, so that you feel constrained to venture on a journey, then, just as you are about to leave the city, pray this Psalm in a low and abjuring voice, toward the four quarters of the earth, and then you will be able to pass all the sentries without being seen or harmed. A heavy sleep will overcome them, so that they will not be conscious of your presence.

Psalm 131.—He who is so strongly possessed of the evil spirit of pride that he regards all other people with scorn, but who, upon sober reflection, desires to occupy a middle path, if his intolerable pride would only permit him, is advised to pray this Psalm reverently three times daily, after the morning and evening prayer. His pride will receive a certain check.

Psalm 132.—If you have sworn to perform anything punctually, and notwithstanding your oath you neglect to perform your obligation, and in this manner have perjured yourself, you should, in order to avoid a future crime of a similar kind, pray this Psalm daily with profound reverence.

Psalm 133.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily, will not only retain the love and friendship of his friends, but he will also gain many more friends.

Psalm 134.—This very short Psalm, consisting of only three verses, should be repeated by every learned man, and especially by every student before entering college.

Psalm 135.—Whoever is desirous of repenting sincerely from sin, and of consecrating his life to the service of God, should pray this Psalm daily after the morning and evening prayers, and then his heart and spirit will be daily renewed, and he will become more closely united with God from day to day.

Psalm 136.—Whosoever desires, on account of wilful sins and transgressions, to make a penitent confession of his misdeeds, should pray this Psalm beforehand, and then make his confession with an humble and broken heart and with great reverence.

Psalm 137.—The praying of this Psalm, it is said, will root out of the heart the most inveterate hate, envy and malice.

Psalm 138.—Praying this Psalm, it is stated, will produce love and friendship.

Psalm 139.—This Psalm should be prayed to increase and preserve love among married people.

Psalm 140.—Praying this Psalm, is said to be a powerful means to remove growing hatred between man and wife.

Psalm 141.—Whoever is often oppressed with heartfelt fears should pray this Psalm frequently.

Psalms 142 and 143.—Praying of the first of these two Psalms will cure pain in the thighs, and praying the other will remove tearing pains in the arms.

Psalm 144.—When any one breaks an arm this Psalm should be prayed, and the perfect cure of the arm cannot be delayed or interrupted by untoward circumstances.

Psalm 145.—He who fears ghosts and evil spirits, should pray this Psalm in connection with the 144th, with reverence, for the praying of these Psalms will drive away all ghosts and apparitions instantly.

Psalm 146.—Whoever has been dangerously wounded by a sword or other deadly weapon, he shall, during the time he is receiving surgical assistance, pray this Psalm reverently daily, and especially when the wound is being dressed and the bandages renewed, and he will shortly find reason to rejoice in a perfect restoration from his injuries.

Psalm 147.—For the cure of dangerous and deadly wounds, bites, stings of a salamander, lizard, snake, scorpion or other poisonous reptile, the earnest prayer of this Psalm is said to possess the same power of healing as the former Psalm, already described.

Psalms 148 and 149.—These two Psalms are said to possess the desirable virtue of checking fire, when they are prayed in childlike trust on the unfailing help of the Almighty.

Psalm 150.—This happy Psalm of Praise should be uttered by every God-fearing, thankful being, after having escaped a great danger, or received a peculiar grace in answer to a prayer to the Lord of Hosts, and it should be repeated with a thankful heart to His praise and glory.

END OF THE PSALMS.

SUPPLEMENT.

Finally, the author adds the following as a supplement :

I.

Whoever prays the five appended verses daily and hourly to God, will receive grace from God and man, and will obtain prosperity and blessing in all his undertakings.

The verses must be spoken in the following order :

Psalm 121, verse 2 ; Psalm 55, verse 23 ; Psalm 37, verse 37 ; Psalm 37, verse 3 ; Psalm 118, verse 13.

II.

A truly mysterious wonder-working formula is contributed by the celebrated Kabbalist Raf Amram, which is said to possess the especial virtue to protect and defend him, who, after the morning prayer, prays it with proper reverence during a whole day of twenty-four hours, whether at home or on a journey, from all evil power or accident, from robbery, murder, and injury by guns, or other weapons. No man will be able to attack him or to injure him, and no gun can harm him. This wonderful saying is as follows :

See and know, that I am He ! I am He, and besides me there is no other God. I am He, who can kill and make alive ; I wound, and I am he that can heal, and no one can escape my hand or my power. For I stretch out my hand toward heaven (that is, I swear by heaven), and say : I am He that liveth forever.

Animon, Animon, Alimon, Rirvtip, Taftian ! The Lord can and will watch and keep. Amen After a man has uttered this three times in succession, and with it has kept in mind the three names of angels added thereto, he should say the following : Happy art thou people of God ! Who is like unto thee ; a people whose help is Jehovah. He is the breastplate of thy help, and the strong sword of thy pride. Thy enemies will deny themselves before thee (that is, will hide themselves or retreat from thee), but thou wilt stand in their high places. Lord of the earth let it be agreeable to thy holy will to command thy angels to protect me and defend me in all my ways. Amen !

Remarks by the Translator.

The above Hebrew words are Kabbalistic names of angels, and are very hard to understand, and yet harder to translate. Thus for example, the letters of the word Alimon, mean Eel Leolam. Jehovah, Melech Waed, Netzach, that is, Jehovah is an eternal God ! he is a victorious king to all eternity. This prince or king according to the belief of Kabbalists, is entrusted with the superintendency of all weapons and guns in the whole world, for the letters of the word Alimon, according to the signification of numbers aggregate 137, and

the two small words Klo Sajin, under which all kinds of guns and weapons are understood, likewise contained, according to the signification of number, 137 letters, viz. :

Aleph.....	1	Beth.....	20
Lamed.....	30	Lamed.....	30
Jod.....	10	Jod.....	10
Mim.....	40	Zani.....	7
Vav.....	6	Jod.....	10
Nun.....	50	Jod.....	10
		Nun.....	50
	137		137

According to this, there are under the power of this field-general all cannons, howitzers, mortars, guns, rifles, pistols, all lances, spears, sabres, swords, and dirks in the whold world, and whenever he thinks proper, none of these will be able to do the least harm. Whoever, therefore, knows how to obtain the favor of the mighty Alemon, it will be very easy for him to make himself invulnerable against gunshot wounds and against sharp instruments of all kinds. The words Reivtip and Tafthi are also full of mysterious meaning and are the names of two angels who are servants of Alimon.

The letters of the holy name Animon, are contained in the words Ani, Nelech, Rased, Ne-Zachim, that is, I am King from Eternity to Eternity! Generally this angel claims a much higher rank than the angel Alimon, for he is first named, and is called upon twice in succession, through which he takes, according to the signification of numbers 314, letters, or as many as the holy name of the Schadai, the name of the Almighty

III.

I here present you (writes the celebrated Rabbi and great Kabbalist Moses, son of Nochman, who is also known as Ramban), a great and useful remedy, Leraue, Weacuo, Nirch, which means, that a man, (especially upon a journey) may see everything and yet remain invisible himself. It is said, that through this mysterious means a man may be able to see and know all watching or hidden enemies, persecutors, thieves, robbers and murderers, without being seen by them, and he may remain invisible to them. This means has been tried and tested, says the author, "and I have tried it myself on occasions and at places where my life and limbs were in danger, and at each trial, with the help of God, I escaped without injury. It is truly a blessed remedy! you must know, however, that the power of this means will last only from the morning until after vespers. (evening prayer.)

THE REMEDY IS :

After you have offered your devoted traveling prayer to God, early before commencing your journey, leave your lodging or dwelling, and when you arrive on the highway upon which you intend to

travel, stand still and cover your eyes with the fingers of your right hand in the following manner: Lay the index finger on the right eye, the middle finger on the nose, and the third finger on the left eye, and then say three times: Through the word of Almighty God. But then also the following passages from the holy scriptures, Genesis, chap. i. verse 1: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." Deuteronomy chap. xxxiv. and last verse: "And in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses showed in the sight of all Israel." Genesis, chap. xxxii. 1, 2: "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim," that is, two hosts or camps, namely, God's and his own. Deuteronomy, chap. xxxii. 1, 2: "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth. My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." Numbers, chap. x. verse 35. And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel." Numbers, chap. ii. verse 6. "And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred. All that were mustered of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred thousand, and eight thousand and a hundred throughout their armies, and they shall go forward in the third rank." Here follow several single verses from the Psalms, namely: Psalm 46, 46: "The God of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." "Lord of hosts! blessed is the man whose dependence is upon thee." "Help Lord! the King will hear us, when we call upon him" "Jehovah will give might unto his people, the Lord will bless his people in peace." Psalm 19. 14: "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my redeemer." And now take your fingers from your eyes, and repeat the following Psalms with devotion—Psalm 121; Psalm 67 and Psalm 91—combined with the last verse of the 90th Psalm. and repeat the last verse of the 91st Psalm twice. Have you strictly complied with all the instructions in the mighty protection of God, and you may proceed securely and without fear, for no evil will befall you, and neither robbers nor murderers will attack you.

IV.

Here is another mysterious means of protection for travelers furnished by this author, but in a different manner. If you should see, says Ramban, in a dangerous locality, (for example, in forest, or wilderness.) heathens, robbers, or hostile troops approaching you, stand suddenly still, make a circle around you, and repeat from Exodus, chap. xi. verse 8: "And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee, and after that I will go out."

ASTROLOGICAL INFLUENCE UPON MAN

—AND—

MAGICAL CURES

OF THE

OLD HEBREWS.

From Dr. Gideon Brechee's work: "The Transcendental, Magic and Magical Healing Art in the Talmud." Vienna: 1850.]

ASTROLOGICAL INFLUENCES.

That the Cosmos constitutes an organic whole, whose separate parts operate upon and in opposition to each other, was well known to the ancients. Man, as the highest individuality on the earth, which served the ancients as the centre of the universe, reflects in his being as a microcosm, the macrocosm. The book of Jeziro (a division of the Talmud), accordingly parallelizes three factors of the Cosmos, namely, the earth, time and man, corresponding with the cardinal numbers and the elements of words (letters). In that place it is said: Three principal letters, Aleph, Mem, Schin, correspond in the earth with air, water and fire; in man with the breast, belly and head; in the year with mild temperature, cold and heat. The seven compound letters, Beth, Gimmel, Daleth, Khaf, Pe, Resch and Tau correspond in the earth with Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon; in man with wisdom, riches, dominion, life, amateness, blessing of children and peace; in the year to Saturday, Thursday, Tuesday, Sunday, Friday, Wednesday and Monday. The remaining twelve simple letters correspond in the world with Aries, the Bull, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, the Virgin, the Balance, the Scorpion, the Bowman, the Goat, the Waterman, the Fishes; in man, the organs of sight, hearing, smelling, speaking, tasting, copulating, to put things in motion (the hands), to feel anger, to laugh, and to sleep; and in the year to the twelve months. The Tali with the boundary of the earth, the book of Jeziro states further, is like unto a king upon his throne. The spheres of the years is like a king in the country; the heart of man is like unto a king in battle.

The Tail, the ecliptic, and the heart, are the points of concentration and digression of the primum mevens of the Makro and Microcosm. The Tail, already mentioned, is declared by all the ancients, and among others by Rabbi Jehuda Hallawi, to be the Dragon known in astronomy which the Arabs call Bashar. (The supposition is that it is the eccentric orbit of the moon against the orbit of the sun.) The Gymnosophists termed the distance of the moon at the point of her intersection in the ecliptic, Patona Chandra: "The offended dragon" which, however, seems impossible, for the book of Jeziro gives the Tail as the primum mevens of the whole universe. It would be more reasonable to understand by it an assumed zone outside of the zodiac, on which account it appears like a king upon a throne who holds all the threads of the combined kingdom in his hands. Accordingly the Tail can be nothing else than the world serpent Seschat (Adischen Wasughl) of the ancient Hindoos, which served them as a symbol of the Divine protection and of eternity.

We have much less to do with the question how man as the Microcosm, through his spiritual powers, which he can bring into action through his will and through the mighty word operates on the whole universe, than with the physical and especially with the magical influence of the whole universe upon man as the part of nature.

Even Rabbi Jehuda Haleni calls attention to the wonderful phenomenon that even the elements and powers of nature which contribute to the maintenance of the human organism which man receives within himself, transforms and assimilates to reproduce the wasted particles of his body, and by which he preserves his corporeal integrity, that even these elements after a certain cycle of years, will exercise on their part an inimical and destructive influence upon the human organization, until man dissolves through an individual death, and he returns again unto the elements and chemistry of the general matter of nature. Admitting this constant struggle of man with surrounding nature, the book of Jeziro compares as already stated, the heart, as the fountain of life, to a king in battle, who in the beginning overpowers and subdues his enemies, but who notwithstanding, succumbs to the strife in the end.

That the whole universe, the sun, the moon, and the rest of the planets and heavenly bodies exercise a certain influence upon the earth, and consequently upon man as a part of it, and thus produce many and diversified effects, was no uncommon conclusion on the part of the ancients, for they were led to these conclusions by obvious visions and appearances, and they were compelled to discover the sidereal influences by close observation. The moon, especially, with her periods of twenty-seven and twenty-eight days, made her influence upon man and his condition felt in an unmistakable manner. Among these may be classed, menstruation in women, the different phases of worm diseases according to the different phases of the moon, the increase and decrease of

certain cutaneous diseases, etc., after these phases; the influence of the moon upon certain bodily diseases. Reil mentions, that the influence of the moon in causing dysentery has been recognized by many eminent physicians, who, it is said, have observed that the attacks of dysentery are more frequent in new moon and full moon than at any other periods. Others declare that pestilence is much more severe at the time of new moon. The Brahmins also give warning against the new moon. Kant says: "It is a strong argument in favor of the hypothesis, that the moon influences diseases, from the fact that the deaths from fever in Bengal were greatly multiplied during an eclipse of the sun, etc., because the attraction of the moon at this time unites with that of the sun, whose power to operate upon bodies on the earth has been established beyond a cavil." Finally, belong in this place the critical days, and the moon's power of attraction upon travelers by night.

The influence of the light of the sun and the moon upon humanity must have been evident in the earliest period, and it was soon admitted that it affected mightily both the well-being of man, and his frame of mind, as well as the exhibitions of the various temperaments. This knowledge was extended by observation of local diseases during the different seasons of the year and the changes in the weather, the beneficial effect of the rays of the sun in painful and diseased parts of the body, and the influence of daytime upon births and deaths. Acknowledging the injurious effects of the sun and moon, the Psalmist says: "The sun will not harm by day, neither the moon by night." The Talmud ascribes healing powers to the sun. Abail says: The prophet speaks of the healing sun, for the rays of the sun possess healing powers. The Talmud says: "God hung a precious stone around the neck of Abraham; all they that were sick and gazed thereon became well." But after Abraham died, God took the precious stone and hung it up in the sphere of the sun.

But the Ancients also recognized a physical influence of the rest of the planets and the whole host of stars upon man. The belief that the heavenly bodies were gifted with life, and that they with being endowed with higher powers, could exercise an influence upon man by means of mysterious magical influences could regulate his temperament, his disposition and his term of life, was spread from the Ganges to the Tiber and to the pillars of Hercules. The Talmud likewise teaches this astrological faith, with this difference, that the Israelite is placed under the immediate guidance of God, and notwithstanding the iron astrological necessity and predestination, concedes the possibility, that through the omnipotence of God good may be brought about in spite of the constellations. This is expressed in the Talmud by the words; "The Israelite has no constellation." Rabbi Joham successfully establishes this fact against Rabbi Chanina, who asserts that, "Wisdom and riches are the gifts of the constellations;" for says Rabbi Joham, it is recorded in Jeremiah 10, 2;

"Be not afraid of the heavenly signs as the Heathens who fear them." Rab says: Abraham spake before God: Lord of the earth! shall my servant be my heir? God said: No, thy son shall be thy heir. Abraham answered: My horoscope has shown me that I shall be childless. Then spake God and said: Get thee away from thy astrology, the Israelite is not subjected to the constellations.

On the writing table of Rabbi Jeheschna was found written, says the Talmud; "Whoever is born on Sunday will be distinguished above others." Upon this Rabbi Asche says: Both Dime bar Kakustha and I were born on a Sunday; I became the principal of a school, and he became a captain of robbers. Light and darkness were created on the Sabbath. He who is born on Monday will always be a passionate man, for on this day the waters were divided. Whoever is born on Tuesday will become rich and given to pleasure; on this day all herbs were created. Whoever is born on Wednesday will be wise and happy: on this day the stars of the firmament were created. He who is born on Thursday will be constantly employed in works of love. Whoever is born on Friday will become active in good works. Whoever is born on the Sabbath will also die on the Sabbath, because the Sabbath was desecrated on his account. Raba, the Rabbi Schila adds: He will be called holy. Chanena said to his pupils: Go to the son of Levi, and say: Not the constellation of the day has an influence but the stars of the hour of birth. He that is born under the influence of the sun is gifted with beauty, eats and drinks of his own possessions, but his secrets will become known; should he become a thief, he will be unlucky. If any one is born under the influence of Venus, he will become rich and voluptuous, because the (fire) of love is born in him. He who is born under the influence of Mercury will become enlightened and prudent, because Mercury is the secretary of the sun. He who is born under the influence of the moon will learn to bear hardships. He builds and moves in, moves in and builds, eats and drinks of the possessions of the stranger; his secrets remain hidden, and as a thief he will be fortunate: he who is born under Mercury will find all his plans perverted and defeated. The plans of others against him, however, will also be defeated: Whoever is born under the influence of Jupiter will become a just man. He who is born under the influence of Mars will become a shedder of blood. Rabbi Asche asserts this. He will either become a robber or a butcher. Abam adds, or a judge.

We observe that the Talmud regards the sidereal nature of man as a hypo-tactical being of itself. This siderealism, pre-existing in the constellation of man, he denominates Masol. The most distinguished persons were their own star, and thus, according to the Talmud, the star of the field-general Sisra was called Meroz. Judges 5, 23. The siderealism of the proselytes was present at Sinai.

Upon the constellation, says Raba, depend—the blessing of

children, longevity, success in life. Job cursed his constellations.. Since the fate of man is fixed beforehand by the constellation, no injury can take effect upon him, neither can an accidental death come upon him. If, therefore, a man meet serpents or scorpions by which he is attacked, if he destroys them, then let him be assured that they were predestined to be destroyed by him, although he may regard the act as a miracle.

Beings who are born under the same constellation stand in close relation and magical sympathy with each other. The Talmud even sets up a problem from these premises as to whether such persons have the same marks, as moles, for instance.

The conjunction of the planets, eclipse of the sun and moon, exercise a great influence upon vegetables and upon man. Samuel teaches when the spring equinox happens upon the hour of Jupiter, the strength of the fruit tree will be broken. Should the winter solstice fall upon the hour of Jupiter, then the grain will wither; but with this the new moon must also fall upon the hour of Jupiter or the moon. The first hour of Saturday evening (between six and seven o'clock) is that of Mercury. The second is that of the Moon. The third that of Saturn. The fourth that of Jupiter. The fifth that of Mars. The sixth that of the Sun. The seventh that of Venus. The eighth hour, again, is that of Mercury, etc.

The Rabbis teach: That an eclipse of the sun is an evil sign for all people. It is as if a king prepared a feast for his subjects, and placed before them a brilliant light; should he be angry with his subjects, however, he commands his servants to remove the light; in order that they might be in darkness. Rabbi Meir taught, that eclipses of the heavenly bodies were an evil sign, for the Israelites especially, because they were accustomed to misfortune. If the master enters the school with a rod in his hand, who is afraid? only he who receives daily punishment. The Rabbis teach, that an eclipse of the sun is an evil sign also for the rest of the nations; an eclipse of moon for the Israelites, for they reckon their time from the moon and other nations from the sun. If the eclipse is in the East, it is an evil omen for the inhabitants of the East; if in the western heavens, then it is an evil omen for the inhabitants of the West; if in the middle of the firmament, it is a bad sign for all the inhabitants of the earth. When the sun appears blood red it pretends war. If the sun has a grayish appearance it is a sign of famine. When an eclipse occurs at sundown it is a sign that the Judgment is yet far off; if at sunrise, it is an omen of the near approach of the Judgment. According to others, these omens signify the reverse of what is stated above. A general calamity never overtakes a people in which their heavenly prince (protecting spirit) does not suffer defeat with them. If, however, Israel walks according to the will of God, it will have nothing to fear of this kind.

The Rabbis teach further: On account of sin the sun will be darkened when the presiding judge dies, and is not properly

mourned; when a young woman in a city, who is engaged, cries in vain for help when violence is offered to her; and on account of the simultaneous murder of two brothers. The other heavenly lights will be darkened on account of the making of counterfeit money; on account of false witness; when forcible possession is taken of a stranger's property, or when fruit trees are unnecessarily cut down.

To this belongs the dies nefasti, in regard to which we give the following passages from the Talmud:

Samuel teaches, that the time for blessing is Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. No man should allow himself to be bled on Monday or Thursday, for Mars says: Only he who can enjoy the savings of his parents should be bled on Monday and on Thursday, because on both these days the earthly and the heavenly courts are in session. On Tuesday a man should not be bled, because on this day Mars rules the hour. Racht explains this in the following manner: Mars has the supervision over wars, pestilence and all kinds of accidents. The paired (exact) number is likewise an ominous omen, since with it the demons have power (Pessach 110), and accidents are imminent. The order of the planets is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The order of hours in which they rule, begins with the creation of the heavenly lights, namely, in the first hour Wednesday (with us between six and seven o'clock). In this hour Saturn rules, in the second Jupiter; in the third, Mars, etc., thus seven planets in seven hours. This cycle continues forever. According to this order we find that the planets rule in the first hour of each night in the following order: Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mars, namely, in the first hour at the close of Sunday. Mercury, the first hour of the night on Monday; Jupiter, etc. According to this order, in the first hours of the week days are ruled further by the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. The first hour, on Sunday morning is ruled by the sun; the first hour on Monday by the moon, and Tuesday morning by Mars. Mars will rule again on the same day in the eighth hour, a direct hour. On other days his rule will not occur on a direct hour, but only during the night when it is not customary to be bled. Upon the remark of the Talmud that Mars rules in a direct hour on Friday, Baschi says: In the first hour on Friday Venus rules. This planet is followed in regular order by Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. The last rules also in the sixth hour, upon follows the answer, that on Saturday many people are in the habit of being bled, and "God protects the simple."

Samuel teaches further, that he who is the fourth, fourteenth, or twenty-fourth, cannot be bled with safety, that is, on a Wednesday fourth, fourteenth and twenty-fourth of the month. So likewise on a fourth, which has no four after it, that is, on a Wednesday after which no four days will intervene until new moon. At new moon, and three days thereafter, bleeding is

enervating; on the third day after new moon it is known to be dangerous.

OF MAGICAL REMEDIES IN GENERAL.

As in the ancient world diseases were regarded as the work of the angry gods and malicious demons, so there were, as in the present day by nations in a state of nature, but few magical remedies employed to secure the assistance of demons or to render them harmless.

Sanchuniaton declares that the children of the Kabirists could heal the venomous bite by their songs. The Brahmins regarded diseases as a punishment for sins committed in the present life or in earlier life. The cures consisted of expiation through prayer, alms, exorcisms, but also rational means. The Vedas contain hymns and prayers, to which magical powers are ascribed, and on this account they are used, without understanding them, as forms of exorcism. All diseases, says the Brahmin, are the result of evil demons, and can only be healed by purification, through sorcery. Ormuzd awakened the great prophet Hom, from whom all the magicians originated. He healed all diseases through the word of Ormuzd and by a plant that bears his name. Many cures, it is said in the ten books, are brought about by means of trees and herbs, others through the agency of the knife, others through the world, but perfect cures result only through the Divine Word. Even if the old Greeks cured with natural means, the common people still believed that a rapid convalescence was obtained through magical formulas, songs and incantations. The medical heroes of the Grecian primitive world were at the same time poets, lawgivers, generals and astronomers.

Of the cures of spiritual men and prophets we have already spoken. The prophets were unanimous in applying natural means prayer and blessing. Rabbi Jitzchak said: Four things destroy the evil passions of man, namely, alms, prayer, change of name, and repentance. According to other authors, also, change of place. Josephus writes in reference to king Chiskia, God gave him the power, through fervent adjurations, to reconcile the Deity, and to cast out the evil spirits which are the cause of evil diseases; and this method of healing, continues Josephus, is the prevailing one among us at the present day. Josephus adds: I was an eye witness to a cure which the prophet Eleazar, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, performed upon a man possessed of demons. He made use of a root that was recommended by King Solomon as being effectual against demoniacal disease, when the root was inserted into the nose of the patient, at the same time pronouncing the name of Solomon and the magical formula which this king taught. The Gnostics herein followed the example of the prophets. The theosophical-medical sect of the Escucans sought out the power of roots, herbs and

stones for healing purposes, and at the same time attempted to heal diseases by living a devout life and by a total surrender of themselves into the idea of God, and by this means they also sought to perform wonders. The substantial word of God, which, as a mark of preference is called the Angel, the Monas, World of Light, Bread of Life, First Born of all Creatures, the Physician of all diseases, lives in the Epopets and causes them to partake of the Divine nature, so that they may heal diseases and perform wonders of all kinds. The magical Logos, who derives his analogy or origin from the exalted and holy word Oum of the Brahmins, we find again in the Book of Jeriza, where we read (1, 8): "One, the Spirit of the Living God, voice and Spirit and Word." "And this is the Holy Spirit." The Divine number, the Divine Word, the Divine Scriptures, says Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, in his illustration of the Book Jezira, is one and the same with the reality. That which God thinks and wills has at the same time reality. Only man makes a distinction between the will and the act; with God these two are identical. Rabbi Jehudah Halevi continues: "We can form some conception of this when we, in thinking of and pronouncing a name, at the same time form an image of the subject named in our minds. Among the languages and writings this peculiarity may be noticed, that some specify the existence of things particularly, while others do so in a general manner. The holy language, however, with which God called the universe into being, demonstrates the prime existence of all things with the utmost definiteness. Whoever, therefore, is acquainted with the original signification of the scriptures, and grasps with pure thought the existence of the thing intended, he can, in accordance with his thoughts and his will, will the things into being. Thorough knowledge of the holy word and of the transposition of its letters may, as the Talmud says, enable man to perform wonders and even create things. Rabbi Jonathan says: "The time will come when the pious will bring the dead to life." Raha says: "If the pious desire to do so, they can create a world." It is reported of this Rabbi that he created a man, and of the Rabbis Chanina and Oshaja, that they were occupied every Friday with the book of Jezira, and that they created a fatted calf which they consumed. Gechasi caused the golden image of the bull to speak, by imprinting upon his lips a "name." Solomon gave to Benajahn ben Jehojada a chain and a seal upon both of which he engraved a "name" with which to bind the demon king Asmedi. Of Bezalel, the builder of the temple in the wilderness, it is said: "He understood the transposition of letters by which heaven and earth were created." Abischai uttered a holy name, and thereby suspended David between heaven and earth.

The word which expresses the being of the prototypes and the idea of the intelligentia may operate through these through the whole chain of being down to the most minute, causing changes, reverses and new creations, and may also conquer demons.

"Rabbi Chanina bar Papi was required by a matron who became enamored of him, to fulfil her amorous desires. He uttered something, and his body was covered with scabs and boils. She also did something and he became whole; then he fled and concealed himself," etc.

But since there are holy words, whose literal ideas and their transpositions are countless modifications of existence, so there are also unholy words which give the prototypes of the dark side of the spirit world. And now, if the profane use of the holy name is forbidden upon pain of losing future happiness, so the use of unholy names, which Abraham transmitted to the children of his concubines is the most terrible, because they lead to the sins of idolatry, through which man acquires evil principles and becomes possessed of demons.

The Talmud, in general, forbids sorcery, heathen superstition and heathen usages. To these belong the charming of wounds and injuries, with which, notwithstanding the exorcism, a verse of the Bible was made use of; the charming of snakes and scorpions. The following usages especially, were given as being heathenish. 1. To suspend the egg of a grasshopper on the ear to cure earache. 2. To carry the tooth of a fox to promote sleep; the tooth of a dead fox was used to prevent drowsiness, and the tooth of a living fox caused sleep. 3. The bearing of a splinter from a gallows, to cure a wound caused by iron. 4. The proverb, "Good fortune! and be not weary day nor night," probably a saying to obtain good luck. "Gad" means luck, and it is the name of the idol Belus (Isaiah 65, 11). 5. In order to obtain good luck the man assumes the name of the woman, and the woman the name of the man. 6. The saying, "Be strong, O my barrels!" to increase the wine blessing—Dan is the name of an idol. (Amos 8, 14.) 7. To have luck, people call to the male raven: "Shriek!" and to the female raven: "Croak!" and turn unto me your tail for luck. 8. If any one says: "Kill this cock for he crows late in the evening, or kill this hen, for she crows like a cock." 9. I drink and leave some over; I drink and leave some over (so that the wine may increase.) 10. Whoever dashes the shells of eggs against the wall (out of which the young chickens have already crept, so that they may not die.) 11. He who stirs in a crock before the young chickens for the same purpose. 12. Whoever, for the same purpose dances before the chickens and counts seventy-one chickens. 13. Dancing during the preparation of a meal. To command silence during the boiling of the lentil. To cry out during the boiling of grain. To urinate before the pot to facilitate cooking.

Rabbi Acha says: Before bleeding we should repeat the following prayer: May it be thy will, O Lord! that this healing operation may hasten my convalescence, etc., for no one should seek the assistance of the physician, but should look for a return of health only to God. To this Allae objects, because Rabbi Jischmael teaches, and because he deduces from the Thora (Ex-

odus 21, 19), The physician shall have an unconditional right to heal. The Talmud not only adopts this view of Alale's but it forbade to dwell in a place where no physician could be met with. If again, on the other hand, we read in the Talmud that King Chiskla, suffered the Book of Healing to be destroyed, and for this act was praised by the Rabbis, then that book, as is supposed by Maimonides, contained simply superstitious astrological and idolatrous remedies, which the pious king sought to consign to oblivion, of which, however, a large portion found their way into the hands of the people, and in time also became a common benefit to the more enlightened.

OF THE MAGICAL CURES IN PARTICULAR.

1.—HEALING BY AMULETS.

The amulet Kamea was used as a remedy against diseases and especially against sorcery. This amulet was either a written parchment, properly called Pitka, or a small bundle of plants. The words written on the amulet were of a diversified character; among the contents, however, were to be found verses from the Bible. Proof *** is called an amulet, since cures have been effected through it three times, whether it was written or whether it consisted of roots. In reference to the Sabbath (whether or not it might be worn on that day or not), it must still be regarded as reliable, because it was made and perfected by a connoisseur. An amulet may prove effectual in healing a human being, while it is of no effect in the case of an animal, because in man the constellation operates in conjunction with the amulet. If it is expected to be effectual, it must have reference to the name and number of the demon. Thus, for example, the demons of the caper-tree are called spirits; of a service-tree, Schedim; in the gardens, Rispe. At the caper-tree not less than sixty Schedim congregate, and the amulet must therefore have reference to this number.

A string made of the seeds of the madder was hung upon children as a protection against certain diseases. The nurse of Abbai taught him: Three grains will check the disease, five will cure, and seven will prove effectual against sorcery. Rabbi Acha bar Jacob remarks: The last is true only when the bewitched person is not exposed to the light of the sun or moon, or to rain, and when he does not hear the ringing of iron, the crowing of the cock, or the sound of footsteps. Rabbi Nachmann bar Jitzchak says that this remedy was already forgotten in his time.

2.—HEALING BY CHARMS.

The nurse of Abbai taught him: "All numbering (naming?) should be done in the name of the mother (N. son of R.), and all external passages must be made on the left side of the body. Abbai says farther: If the number is fixed it should be strictly adhered to without deviation; if the number is not fixed, it is forty-one.

As anti-heathenish customs the four following things are allowed: 1. To place the splinter of a mulberry-tree or fragments of glass into the pot, in order to make the mess boil more readily. (The Rabbis, however, forbade the fragment of glass on account of the danger of swallowing in with the food.) 2. The drinking toast: Wine and life cheer the Rabbis! Rabbi Akiba repeated this toast with every vessel of wine used at the marriage feast of his son. Against intoxication: Anoint the palms of the hand and the soles of the feet of the drunken person with a mixture of oil and salt, and say: As the ointment becomes pure, so may the senses become clean; or, lay the bung of a barrel in the water and say: As the bung becomes clean, etc.

Charm against suppuration: say for instance, Bas, Basia, Mas Masia, Kas, Kasia, Scharial and Amarlia, the angels, who came out of the land of Sodom to heal painful boils. Let the color not become redder; let it not spread further, let the seed be absorbed in the bowels. And as a mule does not propagate its species, so may this evil be not propagated in the body of N., son of R.

Charm against small-pox: For example; Drawn sword and pointed sling. His name is not Jacob, the pain rages.

Against being possessed, as follows: Cursed, crushed and banished be the demon, by name Bar Tet, Bor Tama, etc.

Charm against injury inflicted by demons of by-places: Upon the head of the lion, and in the nose of the lioness, I found the demon Bar Schirka a Panda. I threw him into a fish-bed and slew him with the jawbone of an ass.

To make evil dreams good, three men recited certain consoling verses from the Bible. "Whosoever had a bad dream, should hasten in the morning, as soon as he awakens, to repeat a verse from the Bible, the contents of which should be favorable to him, and this must be done quickly, before a verse comes into the mind with an unfavorable meaning to him."

He that is upon the point of entering a city and fears the evil look, let him put his right thumb in his left hand, and his left thumb in his right hand, and say: I, N. N., am of the lineage of Joseph, over whom the evil eye can have no power. He makes the glance of the evil eye harmless; the tail of a fox was hung upon the horse.

3.—REMEDIES AND CHARMS AGAINST SORCERY.

Ben Asai says: Do not irritate your anus while sitting down in order to obtain a passage from the bowels, for he who does this will be attacked by sorcery, even though he were engaged in Spain. If a man, however, has done so in a mistake, after an evacuation, let him pronounce the following charm:

"Ye cannot approach, neither Tachimnor Tachtum, not all of you, not any of you, neither the enchantment of the sorcerer nor the charm of the sorceress."

Rabbi Chanina says: To drink one-eighth ounce of ass's milk, which is forty days' old, is effective against the sting of a wasp; one quart against the sting of a scorpion; one-half quart against sorcery, and the drinking of fluids that have been open and exposed.

Rabbi Jochanan said: A chief among witches told me: If you meet witches you should utter the following charm: "Hot dirt, in perforated baskets, in your mouths, ye enchanting women. May your heads become bald; may the wind blow away your bread crumbs; may it scatter your spices; may the fresh saffron which ye have in your hands fly away. Witches! so long as men were gracious to me, and I was careful, I came not in your midst; now I did, and you are not agreeable to me."

The Rabbi taught: There are three things between which we should not pass, and so, also, that two persons walking side by side should not allow to come between them. These three things are—a dog, a palm, and a woman. Some add also a hog, and others, a snake. Should this happen notwithstanding, what shall a man do to escape uninjured? Rabbi Papi says: "Repeat a verse from the Bible that begins and ends with the same letters."

If women are seated facing each other on opposite sides of the street, there is no doubt that they are engaged in witchcraft. How shall a man escape them without injury? He should avoid them and go another way. If this is not possible, then he shall take some one by the hand and pass by in his company. If there is no one at hand, he must say: "The demons of sorcery have already been killed by arrows. A rat Assia, Belussia, are the names of the demons. Raschi."

The Rabbis teach: A man should not drink water in the night, either from a stream or from water that is standing still. Whoever does this, his blood be upon his own head, because by so doing he will render himself liable to become blind: How can we make drinking at night safe? If there is some one present he should be awakened and addressed as follows: "I drink water!" If you are alone, rattle with the lid of the drinking cup and say to yourself: "N., son of R., thy mother said to thee: Guard thyself against Schabriri, briri, riri, iri, ri, in a white pitcher (Raschi), this is a magical charm." As the syllables of the word Schabriri decrease, so the demon will withdraw. The Targum of blindness (Genesis 19, 11), in Schabriri.

In reference to paired numbers, of which we have already spoken, Rabbi Papa says: "Joseph, the Demon, told me that through two we kill, through four we only inflict injury. In the number two the evil will follow, whether we have done a thing in this number intentionally or accidentally. In the number four only when the thing is done intentionally. If we have accidentally partaken of a meal or drank out of a paired plate or pitcher, number, how shall we avoid the fatal consequences? We must take the thumb of the right hand into the left, and the thumb of the left into the right hand, and say: You and I make three. If answered, is returned: You and I make five. If we again hear the answer: You and I are six, we must again answer: You and I are seven. It happened that some one carried this on to the 101st time, until finally the demon burst with chagrin.

APPLICATION OF THE CHARMS AND THE REMEDIES.

We insert the passages of the Talmud which treat of the subject, on account of their coherence, in all that extent, although it may not properly belong in this place, because in several cases in the following remedies the natural cures as well as the magical charms are prescribed, and because these passages from the Talmud otherwise offer many interesting matters. They treat of proceedings against snakes and other remarkable occurrences.

He that has swallowed a snake, let him eat ivy and then walk three miles. Rabbi Sime bar Asche saw a man who had swallowed a snake. Rabbi Sime fell upon him like a warrior, gave him ivy and salt to eat, and then drove him three miles before him, when the snake came from him in pieces. Others state that Rabbi Sime himself swallowed the snake, when the prophet Eli came in the form of a wild warrior, gave him ivy and salt to eat, etc., etc.

If a man be bitten by a snake, let him take seventy-nine hairs from the tail of a white she-ass, tie them with a silken thread, and he that is bitten sit upon them. The she-ass must, however, have been free from Trefa (an organic disease). An official in Pumbedithat was bitten by a snake. Now, there were found in Pumbedithat thirteen bearing white she-asses, which were opened one after another, but all were found to have been afflicted with Trefa. It was also known that in a distant part of the city there was another she-ass, and messengers were sent to bring her. But meanwhile a lion had eaten up the she-ass. Then spoke Abali: Perhaps the snake of the Rabbins have bitten him, against the bite of which there is no remedy. The pupils answered, Yes; so it is, master; for when Rab died, Rabbi Jitz-sechak bar Bina prohibited the use of myrtle and palm leaves for a whole year. This officer, however, paid no attention to this prohibition.

If a snake should wind around a person, he should go into the

water and take a basket which he should hold above the head of the snake, then lower the basket in such a manner that the rim of it shall come between him and the snake (to grasp the snake with the hands would be dangerous, because it might become enraged and wound the person). When the snake is in the basket, throw it quickly into the water and hasten away.

Should any one be pursued by an angry snake (where the snake follows the person by scenting his tracks) he should suffer himself to be carried a short distance by a person, if any one should be present (through the stranger's footsteps the snake will lose his tracks); if no one is with him he should spring across water or seat himself over a fountain. On the following night he should place himself upon four barrels, so that the snake cannot easily reach him, or let him rather sleep in the open air, so that it cannot come to him through the roof, then let him tie four cats to the barrels and make a noise with straw or bushes, so that the cats, when the snake comes, may fall upon her and eat her up.

Should any one be pursued by a snake, let him seek safety between two beehives.

Rabbi Jochanan says: The root-drink described in the Mishna, consists of Alexandrian gum, pulverized alum and fine saffron, each of the weight of a Sus (a small coin). To cure jaundice two of them are taken in beer.

The following remedies are also recommended in cases of female weakness: Take the tops of three Persian onions, boil them in wine and let the woman drink of it, at the same time saying to her: Recover from thy sickness!

Another remedy: Take a handful of caraway, a handful of saffron, and an equal quantity of fœnugrek, boil them together in wine, and let the woman drink of it, saying: Recover from thy sickness!

Another remedy: Take sixty bungs of wine barrels, soak them in water, and give the woman of the water to drink, and say to her at the same time: Recover from thy sickness!

Or, take a quantity of the growth of tendrils, boil them in wine, and let the woman drink of it, and speak to her as above.

Or, take the plant that grows beside the thorn, and burn it to ashes. The woman should carry the ashes upon her person in a linen patch in the summer, or in a woolen patch in the winter.

Or, dig seven holes in the ground, and burn in each of them young grape vines not over three years' growth. Let the woman take a cup into her hands and seat herself over the first hole and drink: then rise up and seat herself upon the second hole, etc., etc. Each time speak to her: Recover, etc.

Or, anoint the lower part of her body with rose-water.

Or, take a wreath of feathers, burn them to ashes. These ashes the patient should carry in a linen bag in the summer, and in a woolen bag in the winter.

Or, open a cask of wine expressly for her. She should drink much wine.

Or, take a grain of barley that was found in the stable of a white she-ass. If she holds this one day in her hand (the right hand), the ailment will cease for two days. If she holds it during two days, it will cease for three days. If she holds it three days it will cease forever. According to others: if she takes one grain in her hand, etc.; if she takes two grains in her hand, etc.

5.—MAGICAL REMEDIES AGAINST VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS.

ABORTUS—The actitee (eaglestone), rattle-snake stone—stone of retaining, remaining) was worn by women as a prevention against abortion.

BLOOD-LETTING.—If you have eaten fish, you must not be bled on the following day. If you have been bled, you must not eat fish on the following day. On the third day both would be dangerous.

The Rabbis teach: After blood-letting, a man must not, on the same day, drink milk, eat cheese, onions or vegetables. If a man, however, has eaten of these things, he should mix, says Abai, one quarter measure of vinegar, and one quarter measure of wine, and drink it. If a motion of the bowels ensues, the evacuation should take place without and on the east side of the town, for the exhalation of such is injurious.

DISEASES OF THE EYE.—The saliva of a first-born on the male side (not of the female side) is effective in the cure of eye diseases.

Rab says: A degenerate eye is dangerous to life, for the vision-power of the eye is closely connected with the pericardium.

Rapid traveling impairs the sight of the eye; but it may be restored by uttering the blessing of consecration of the Sabbath on Friday evening.

BLINDNESS.—Against blindness at night, take a string made out of the hair of an animal; tie one end of it to the foot of the patient, and the other end to the foot of a dog, and then let the children make a noise behind the dog, and say: "Hold the dog, fool the rock." Then take seven pieces of meat from seven different houses, and let the inmates of each house hang a piece of the meat at the door-post of the patient. The dog must eat this meat in an open place. Then let the patient unbind the hair-line and let some one say; Night blindness of F., son of R., leave N., son of R., and perforate the pupil of the dog.

AGAINST DAY BLINDNESS.—Take seven pieces of spleen from seven heifers, and lay them upon the vessel used by the physician to catch the blood when bleeding a patient. The patient must be seated in a chamber. A man must be stationed on the outside, who must say: "Blind one! give to me that I may eat." The patient answers: "How can I open? Come in and eat!" After eating he must break the plate or he will himself become blind.

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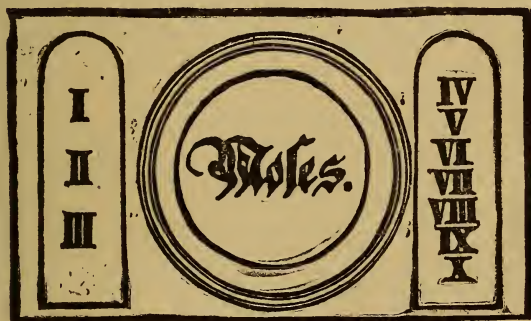
Preface.

THE first edition of this volume has been commended and criticised by the public. It was admitted to be a valuable compendium of the curiosities of literature generally, and especially of that pertaining to magic, but that it was at the same time calculated to foster superstition, and thereby promote evil—a repetition of the charge made against the honorable HORST, the publisher of a magical library.

In our enlightened age, the unprejudiced will observe in the publication of such a work, only what the author claims, namely, a contribution in reference to the aforesaid literature and culture of no trifling merit; but in regard to the believer also, the issue of a cheap edition will be more serviceable than the formerly expensive productions on sorcery, which were only circulated in abstract forms and sold at extortionate rates. What other practical value the above named edition may possess is not the question. Let us not, therefore, underrate this branch of popular literature; the authors wrote in accordance with a system which was, or at least, seemed clear to them, and illustrious persons, in all ages and climes have not considered the labor requisite to fathom the mysteries of magic as labor expended in vain, and although they condemned the form, they could not deny the possibility or even fact that gifted men, of inherent worth, could accomplish such wonderful things.

In regard to the present edition it can only be said, that the so-called Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, which have for several centuries attracted the popular faith, is reality in accordance with an old manuscript (the most legible among many), and given word for word, divested only of orthographical errors which the best interest of literature demand—with unerring fidelity. The publisher guarantees that not one syllable has been added.

THE
Sixth Book of Moses.



MOSES' MAGICAL SPIRIT-ART.

Translated from the Ancient Hebrew.

MAGIA ALBA ET NIGRA UNIVERSALIS SEU NECROMANTIA ;

That is, that which embraces the whole of the White and Black Art, (Black Magic,) or the Necromancy of all Ministering Angels and Spirits; how to cite and desire the IX. Chori of the good angels and spirits, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and Moon.

The most serviceable angels are the following:

SALATHEEL, MICHAEL, RAPHAEL, URIEL,

together with the Necromancy of the black magic of the best Ministering Spirits in the Chymia et Alchymia of Moses and Aaron.

That which was hidden from David, the father of Solomon, by the High Priest

SADOCK,

as the highest mystery, but which was finally found in the year CCCXXX., among others, by the first Christian Emperor Constantine the Great, and sent to Pope Sylvester at Rome, after its translation under Julius II. Pontifice max. Typis manabilis sub poena excommunicationis de numquam publica imprimendis sent to the Emperor Charles V., and highly recommended in the year MDXX., approved by Julii II. P. M. Cme. duos libros quos Mosis condidit arter antistitis summus sedalitate SADOCK. Libri hi colorum sacra sunt vota sequenter spiritus omnipotens qui uigil illa facit at est sumis pia necessaria. Fides.

Instruction.

These two Books were revealed by God, the Almighty, to his faithful servant Moses, on Mount Sinai, intervale lucis, and in this manner they also came into the hands of Aaron, Caleb, Joshua, and finally to David and his son Solomon and their high priest Sadock. Therefore, they are Bibliis arcanum arcanorum, which means, Mystery of all Mysteries.

The Conversation of God.

Adonai, Sother, Emanuel, Ehic, Tetragramaton, Ayscher, Jehova, Zebaoth, the Lord of Hosts, of Heaven and Earth; that which appertains to the Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses, as follows:

Adonai, E El, Zeboath, Jebaouha, Jehovah, E El, Chad, Tetragramaton Chaddai, Channaniah, al Elyon, Chaye, Ayscher, Adoyah Zawah, Tetragramaton, Awiel, Adoyah, Chay, Yechal, Kanus, Emmet, thus spake the Lord of Hosts to me Moses,

Eheye, Ayscher, Jehel, Yazliah, Elion. Sum qui sum ab æterno in æternum, thou my servant Moses, open thou thine ears, hear the voice of thy God. Through me Jehovah, Aglai, the God of heaven and earth, thy race shall be multiplied and shall shine as the stars of heaven. In addition to this I will also give thee might, power and wisdom, to rule over the spirits of heaven and hell.

Over the ministering angels and spirits of the fourth element as well as of the seven planets. Hear also the voice of thy God wherewith I give thee the seven seals and twelve tables. Schem, Schel, Hamforach, that the angels and spirits may always yield obedient service to thee, when thou callest upon them and citest them by these seven seals and twelve tables of my omnipotence; and hereunto thou shalt also have herewith a knowledge of the highest mysteries.

Therefore, thou, my faithful friend, dear Moses, take thou the power and high might of thy God.

Aclon, Ysheye, Channanyah, Veschayah, E El, Elijon, Rachmiel, Ariel, Eheye, Ayscher, Eheye, Elyon. Through my Seals and Tables.

THE FIRST MYSTERY.

Sigillum Chori Servilium Archangelorum of the Ministering Archangel.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon the OCH, and conjure thee through water † fire, air and earth, and everything that lives and moves therein, and by the most holy names of God, Agios, Tehirios, Peraillitus, Alpha et Omega, Beginning and End, God and Man-Sabaoth, Adanai, Agla, Tetragramaton, Emanuel, Abua, Ceus, Elia, Torna, Deus Salvator, Aramma, Messias, Clerob, Michael, Abreil, Achleof, Gachenas et Peraim, Eei Patris et Peraim Eei filii, et Peraim Dei spiritus Teti, and the words by which Solomon and Manasses, Cripinus and Agrippa conjured the spirits, and by whatever else thou mayest be conquered, that you will yield obedience to me, N. N. the same as Isaac did to Abraham, and appear before me, N. N. this instant, in the beautiful, mild, human form of a youth, and bring what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 2.)

The most useful ministering arch angels of this seal are the following with their Hebrew *verbis revelatis* Citatori divinitus coactivis: Uriel, Arael, Zacharael, Gabriel, Raphael, Theoska, Zywolech, Hemohon, Yhahel, Tuwahel, Donahan, Sywaro, Samohayl, Zowanus, Ruweno, Ymoeloh, Hahowel, Tywael.

THE MYSTERY OF ALL MYSTERIES.

The particularly great secret and special use of this seal is also ex Bible, arcan. Thoro. I. If this Seal is buried in the earth, where treasures exist, they will come to the surface of themselves, without any presence in plane lunio.

THE SECOND MYSTERY OF THE SEAL.

The Name is True.

Seal of the Choir of Hosts seu Dominatorium of the Ministering Angels.
CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon and conjure thee, Spirit Phuel, by the Holy Messengers and all the Disciples of the Lord, by the four Holy Evangelists and the three Holy Men of God and by the most terrible and most holy words Abriel, Fibriel, Zada, Zaday, Zarabo, Laragola, Lavaterium, Laroyol, Zay, Zagin, Labir, Lya, Adeo, Deus, Alon, Abay, Alos, Pieus, Ehos, Mibi, Uini, Mora, Zorad, and by those holy words, that thou come and appear before me, N. N., in a beautiful human form, and bring me what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)

The Seal.

(Fig. 3.)

This Seal from the Choir of the Dominationen, or Hosts, the following are the most useful: Aha, Roah, Habu, Aromicha, Lemar, Patteny, Hamaya, Azoth, Hayozer, Karohel, Wezynna, Patecha, Tehom.

The special secret of this Seal is the following ex Thoro Bibliis arcanorum, Sacra Script.

If a man carries this Seal with him, it will bring him great fortune and blessing; it is therefore called the truest and highest Seal of Fortune.

THE MYSTERY OF THE THIRD SEAL.

Seal of the Ministering Throne Angels ex Thoro III. Bibliis Arcanorum.
CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon thee, and conjure thee Tehor, by all the Holy Angels and Arch Angels, by the holy Michael,

the holy Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Thronus, Dominationes principalis, virtutes, Cherubim et Seraphim, and with unceasing voice I cry, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth, and by the most terrible words: Soab, Sother, Emmanuel, Hdon, Amathon, Mathay, Adonai, Eel, Eli, Eloy, Zoag, Dios, Anath, Tafa, Uabo, Tetragramaton, Aglay, Josua, Jonas, Calpie, Calphas. Appear before me, N. N., in a mild and human form, and do what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 4.)

The ministering Throne Angels of this Seal are the following; Tehom, Haseha, Amarzyom, Schawayt, Chuscha, Zawar, Yahel. La hehor, Adoyahel, Schimuel Achusaton, Schaddyl, Chamyel, Parymel, Chayo. The special secret of this Throne is also ex Thoro III. Bibliis arcanorum script. Carrying this Seal with you will cause you to be very agreeable and much beloved, and will also defeat all your enemies.

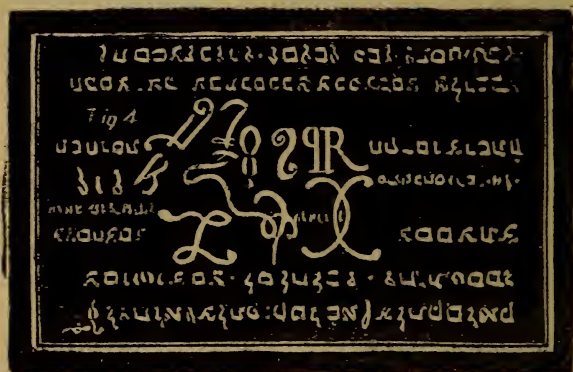
THE FOURTH SEAL OF THE MINISTERING

Cherubim and Seraphim with their Characteristics.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon thee, desire and conjure thee, O Spirit Anoch, by the wisdom of Solomon, by the obedience of Isaac, by the blessing of Abraham, by the piety of Jacob and Noe, who did not sin before God, by the serpents of Moses, and by the twelve tribes, and by the most terrible words: Dallia, Dollia, Dollion, Corfuselas, Jazy, Agzy,

Ahub, Tilli, Stago, Adoth, Suna, Eoluth, Alos, Jaoth, Dilu, and by all the words through which thou canst be compelled to appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and give what I desire. (This the conjuror must name.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 5.)

The most obliging ministering Cherubim and Seraphim of this Seal, are the following with their Hebrew calling: Anoch, Sewachar, Chaylon, Esor, Yaron, Oseny, Yagelor, Ehym, Maakyel, Echad, Yalyon, Yagar, Ragat, Ymmat, Chabalym, Schadym.

The special secret of this Seal is the following Thora IVta. Bibliis arcan. To carry this Seal upon the body will save a person from all misery, and give the greatest fortune and long life.

The Fifth Seal.

Seal of the Angels of Power.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon thee, desire and conjure thee, Spirit Scheol, through the most holy appearance in the flesh of Jesus Christ, by his most holy birth and circumcision, by his sweating of blood in the Garden, by the lashes he bore, by his bitter sufferings and death, by his Resurrection, Ascension and the sending of the Holy Spirit as a comforter, and by the most dreadful words: Dai, Deorum, Ellas, genio Sophiel, Zophiel, Canael, Elmiach, Richol, Hoamiach, Jerazol, Vohal,

Daniel, Hasios, Tomaiach, Sannul, Damamiach, Sanul, Damabiath, and by those words through which thou canst be conquered, that thou appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and fulfil what I desire. (This must be named by the conjuror.)

The Fifth Seal.

(Fig. 6.)

The most serviceable Power-Angels with their verbis heraicis sitatiores divinis ex Thora Vta. ser. are the following:

Schoel, Hael, Sephiroth, Thamy, Schamayl, Yeehah, Holyl, Yomelo, Hadlam, Mazbaz, Elohaym.

The special secret of this Seal is the following ex Thoro V. D. B. A. If this Seal be laid upon the sick in full, true faith, it will restore him, if, N. B., he has not lived the full number of his days. Therefore, it is called the Seal of Power.

THE SIXTH MYSTERY.

The Seal of the Power-Angels seu Potestatum ex Thoro VI. Bibliis arcanorum, over the Angels and Spirits of all the Elements.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, desire, call upon and conjure thee, Spirit
Alymon, by the most dreadful words, Sather, Ehomo, Geno, Poro, Jeh-
vah, Elohim, Volnah, Denach, Alonlam, Ophiel, Zophiel, Sophiel, Ha-
briel, Eloha, Alesimus, Dileth, Melohim, and by all the holiest words
through which thou canst be conquered, that thou appear before me in a
mild, beautiful human form, and fulfil what I command thee, so surely as
God will come to judge the living and dead. **Fiat, Fiat, Fiat.**



The Seal.

(Fig. 7.)

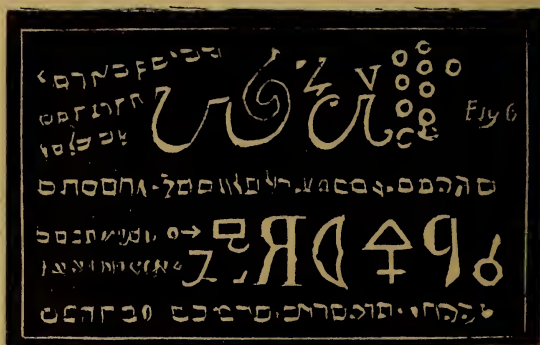
The most obedient Angels of Power, seu Potestates, with their Citati-oriis Diviniis verbis hebraicis, are the following four elements: Schunmyel, Alymon, Mupiel, Symnay, Semanglaf, Taftyah, Melech, Seolam, Waed, Sezah, Safyn, Kyptip, Taftyarohel, Aeburatiel, Anyam, Bymnam. This is the mystery or Seal of the Might-Angels. The peculiar Arcanum of this Seal of the Mighty is the following: ex Thoro Vita Arcanorum sacra scriptura. If a man wears this Seal in bed, he will learn what he desires to know through dreams and visions.

THE SEVENTH SECRET SEAL.

Of the Most Obedient Angels, Cœli Cœlorum Legionum over the Angels of the Seven Planets and Spirits.

CONJURATION.

I, N. N., a servant of God, call upon, desire and conjure thee, Ahael, Banech, by the most holy words Agios, (Tetr.,) Eschiro, Adonai, Alpha et Omega, Raphael, Michael, Uriel, Schmaradiel, Zaday, and by all the known names of Almighty God, by whatsoever thou, Ahael, canst be compelled, that thou appear before me, in a human form, and fulfil what I desire. Fiat, Fiat, Fiat. (This must be named by the conjuror.)



The Seal.

(Fig. 8.)

The most obedient Angels and Spirits of this Seal of the Seven Planets are the following: Ahaeb, Baneh, Yeschnath, Hoschiah, Betodah, Leykof, Yamdus, Zarenar, Sahon.

This Seal, when laid upon the treasure earth, or when placed within the works of a mine, will reveal all the precious contents of the mine. As the VII. Arcanorum.



THE
Seventh Book of Moses.



TRANSLATED BY
RABBI CHALEB.

From the Weimar Bible.

The First Table of the Spirits of the Air.

(See Fig. 10.)

Jehovah Father	Deus Schadday
Deus Adonay Elohe I cite Thee through Jehovah	Eead I conjure thee through Adonay

To carry upon the person the First Table of the Spirits of the Air who are as quick to help as thought, will relieve the wearer from all necessity.

The Second Table of the Spirits of Fire.

(See Fig. 11.)

Aha I conjure Thee (Tetr,) Aha by
Eheye * by Ihros, Eheye, by Agla
Aysch, Jehovah,
conjure I Thee,
that thou appear unto me.





The Third Table of the Spirits of the Water.

(See Fig. 12.)

I call upon and command

Thee Chananya

by

God Tetragramaton

Eloh

and thou art compelled through Adonai.

I conjure Thee

Yeschajjah

by

Alpha et Omega

The Third Table brings great fortune by water, and its spirits will amply supply the treasures of the deep.



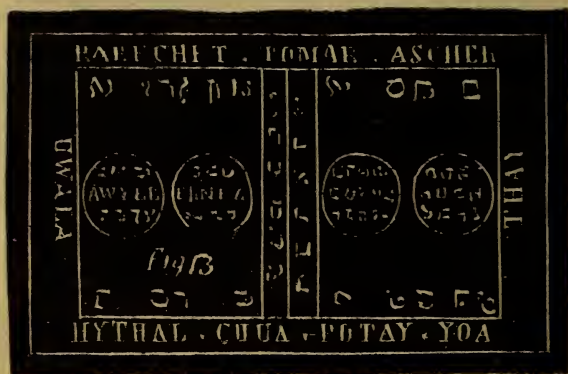
The Fourth Table of the Spirits of the Earth.

(See Fig. 13.)

I, N. N., command Thee,
Awijel,
by Otheos as
also by Elmez through
Agios.

I, N. N., a servant of
God, conjure Thee,
Ahenatos Elijon, as also
Adon was cited and called
Zebaoth.

This Fourth Table will give the treasures of the earth, if it be laid in the earth. Its spirits will give the treasures of earth at all times.



The Fifth Table of Saturn.

(See Fig. 14.)

I, N. N., order, command and conjure Thee Sazlij, by Agios, Scdul, by Sother, Veduij, by Sabaoth, Sove, Amonzion * Adoij by Heloim, Jahoh, by the Veritas Jehovah * Kawa, Alha, natos that ye must appear before me in a human form, so truly as Daniel overcame and conquered Baal. F. f. f.

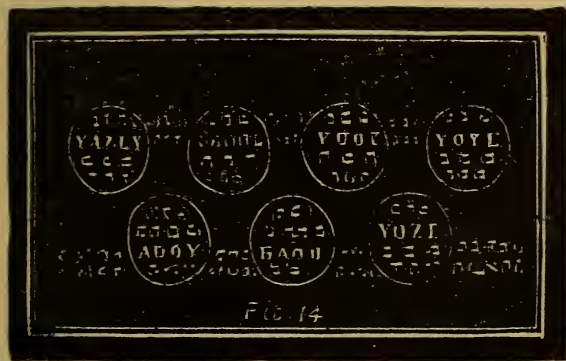
The Spirits of the Fifth Table of Saturn will serve in everything according to wish; their Table will bring good luck in play.

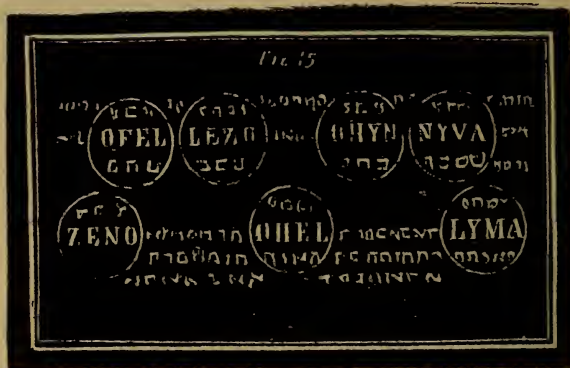
The Sixth Table of Jupiter.

(See Fig. 15.)

I conjure thee, Spirit Ofel, by Alpha et Omega, Lezo and Yschirios * Ohin Ission * Niva, by Tetragramaton, Zeno, by Peraclitus * Ohel, by Orlenius, Lima, by Agla, * that ye will obey and appear before me and fulfil my desire, thus in and through the name Elion, which Moses named. F. f. f.

The Sixth Table of Jupiter assists in overcoming suits at law, dispute, and at play, and their spirits are at all times ready to render assistance.



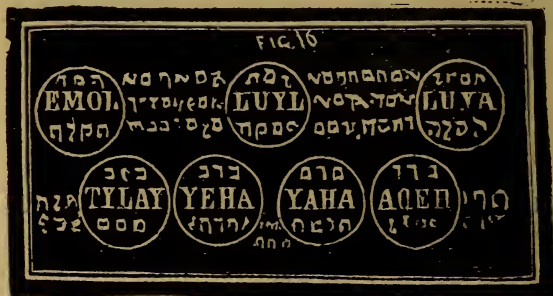


The Seventh Table of the Spirits of Mars.

(See Fig. 16.)

I, N. N., cite Thee, Spirit Emol, by Deus Sachnaton * Luil, by Acumea * Luiji, by Ambriel * Tijlajj, by Ehos * by Jeha, by Zora * Ageh, by Awoth * that you appear before me in a beautiful, human form, and accomplish my desire, thus truly in and through the anepobeijaron, which Aaron heard and which was prepared for him. F. f. f.

The Seventh Seal of Mars brings good fortune in case of quarrels
The Spirits of Mars will help you.



The Eighth Table of the Spirits of the Sun.

(See Fig. 17.)

I, N. N., conjure Thee, Wrych by Dalia † Jka, by Doluth, * Auet, by Dilu * Veal, by Anub † Meho, by Igfa * Ymij by Eloij * that Ye appear before my so true Zebaoth, who was named by Moses, and all the rivers in Egypt were turned into blood.

The Eighth Table of the Spirits of the Sun will help to attain places of honor, wealth, and they also give gold and treasure.

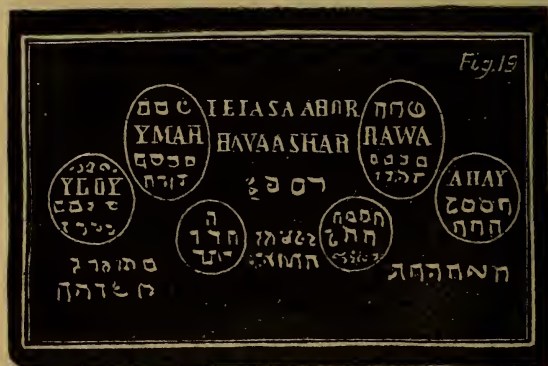


The Ninth Table of the Spirits of Venus.

(See Fig. 18.)

Reta, Kijmah, Yamb, Yheloruvesopijhael, I call upon thee, Spirit Awel, through God Tetragramaton, Uhal, by Pomamiach † that you will obey my commands and fulfil my desires: Thus truly in and through the name of Esercheije, which Moses named, and upon which followed hail, the like of which was not known since the beginning of the world, f. f. f.

The Ninth Table of the Spirits of Venus makes one beloved in all respects and makes known secrets through dreams. Its spirits also assist liberally in all kinds of business.



The Tenth Table of the Spirits of Mercury.

(See Fig. 19.)

Petasa, Ahor, Havaashar. N. N. cite Thee Spirit Yloij * through God, God Adonai † Ymah, through God Tetragrammaton † Rawa, through God Emanuel * Ahaij, through Athanatos † that Thou appear before as truly in and through the name of Adonai, which Moses mentioned, and there appeared grasshoppers.

Fiat, fiat, fiat.

The Eleventh Table of Spirits.

(See Fig. 20.)

I, N. N., cite thee, Spirit Yhaij, by El, Yvaij, by Elohim, Ileh, by Elho * Kijlij, by Zebaoth, Taijn Iseij, by Tetragramaton, Jeha, by Zadaij * Ahel, by Agla, that you will obey my orders, as truly in and through the name Schemesumatie, upon which Joshua called, and the sun stood still in its course. Fiat, f. f. f.

The Eleventh Table (See Fig. 20) gives luck and fortune; its Spirits give the treasures of the sea.

The Twelfth Table of Schemhamforasch.

On all Spirits of the Magia Alba et Nigra.

(See Fig. 21.)

I, N. N., cite and conjure thee, Spirit of Schemhamforasch, by all the seventy-two holy names of God, that Thou appear before me and fulfil my desire, as truly in and through the name Emanuel, which the three youths Sadrach, Mijsach, and Abed-negro sung in the fiery furnace from which they were released. F. f. f.

This Twelfth Table, laid upon the Table or Seal of the Spirits, will compel them to appear immediately, and to serve in all things.

The General Citation.

NECROMANTIA, SEU MAGIA ALBA ET NIGRA TRANSLATED EX THORA XXTA BIBL. ARCAN.

Aba, Jehovah, Agla, Aschaj, Chad, Yah, Saddaij, Vedreh, Aschre, Noosedu, Zawa, Agla. Here utter the names of the Angels of the Seal or Table, and their proper names.

Eheije, Aijscher, Eneiye, Weatta, Eloheij, Harenij, Yechuateche, Hag-edola, Merof, Zaroteij, Agla, Pedenij, Zije, Kotecha, Barach, Amijm, Gedolijm, Verachena, Aleij, Weijazijloti, Mijkol, Zara, Umikol, Ra, Schadaij, Jehovah, Adonai, Zeboath, Zah, Elohim, Yeasch, Jepfila, Vaij, Bearechet, Vaij, Yomar, Ahaha, Elohim, Ascher, Hithalleij, Chuabothelij, Lepha, Vaij, Yehuel.

Here stop for a short time in prayer to God. Surrender yourself into the will of Almighty God; He will conduct your undertaking to your best interest. Hereupon take again the Seal or the Table written on parchment, in your hand, and begin anew the citation above. Should your desire still remain unfulfilled, continue as follows:

Hamneijs, Hakha, Elohim, Horro, Heotij, Meo, Dij, Adhaijijon, Hazze, Hamalach, Haggio, Elohiy, Mijcol, Rhab, Yeba, Rech, Elhaneah, Tijmneik, Ka, Rebe, Hem, Sohemne, Schembotaij, Veischak, Vegid, Gulaoc, Kered, Haarez, Jeha. Since the effects and appearances will now follow, your wishes are fulfilled, otherwise repeat the Citation toties quoties.

The Ministering Formulas or Mysteries

ARE THE FOLLOWING:

Astarte, Salamonis familiarum III. Eegum.
 Spirit of Water; Spirit of Air; Spirit of Earth.
 Astoreth in Palestina familiari.
 Schaddaij, Driffon, Agrippa, Magaripp.
 Azijelzm, Sinna, familiarus, IV. Buch Regum.
 Schijwin * Aimeh, Chanije, Cijbor.
 Bealherith ijud Judicum IX. XIII.
 Adola, Eloheij, Umijchob Channanijah.
 Adramelech zu Sepharvaim, Familiaris.
 Yhaij, Vvaij, Yles, Kijgij.
 Nisroch, Regis Serucheril Assijris familiaris.
 Jehuel, Sarwiel, Urikon, Thoiijil.
 Asijma, virorum Emach familiaris.
 Barechel, Jomar, Ascher, Uwula.

These must be cited by the Twelfth Table at the time of an Eclipse by the Sun or Moon.

This Moloch familiarum or Ammonitarium Ministering Spirits the following Generation-Seal for all services caracteristico obedientiale.

(See Fig. 23.)



This Seal, at the time of Citation, must be written on parchment and be held in the right hand. But it must not be read.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF MOSES.

PART I.

THE MAGIC OF THE ISRAELITES.

THE complete and reliable history of the human and divine—the divine revelations, and the influence of godly or pious men are found in the Scriptural monuments of the old Hebrews in the Holy Scriptures.

The Bible is justly styled the Holy Scripture, because it contains the knowledge of the saints, while at the same time, it unites and harmonizes word and deed, doctrine and action. It points out the true relation of man to the Omnipotent—it affords the most direct reference to the great truths of the spiritual and intellectual; it treats of the origin of the universe and its laws, through which all things have to be brought to light—of the anterior and posterior history of mankind—of his future destiny and how to attain it; of the living and visible agents which God employs in the great work of redemption, and, finally, of the most exalted of all beings—of the world's Saviour, who was an universal expression in his own person, and who exhibited all divine power and action in one person, while all his forerunners were endowed only with single powers and perfections; who revealed to fallen man the highest and purest ends of his life and the means of his purification and restoration.

We find among oriental nations every grade of Magic—the steps necessary to solve the mysteries of somnambulism and second-sight, and the infinitely multiplied operations by which unusual occurrences are produced; in like manner we also find these things among the Israelites, but differing totally in character. In the former instance, it was the individual and his presence; in the latter, it was not the individual upon which magic depended, but upon mankind in general, and upon the great future. There, the light of man was made to shine by skillful actions, produced by the lowest arts; here, shone a pure, unclouded, quiet life, vitalized by the warm breath of the Almighty, a light shining into the future, and upon this light depended all life and action. To the Israelite seer not only the fate of single individuals stand revealed, but the fate of nations, yea, of mankind, which in the end must be reconciled to God by the unfolding of magical art, as often happened under the old dispensation, by instinctive somnambulist influences. If we examine the history of the old covenant we shall find that this remarkable people stood solitary and alone like a pillar of fire amid heathen darkness.

Although we find, among other nations, worthy men, who seek after the divine light, surrounded by darkness and uncertainty, here are men of God, bearing the impress of true faith, who give undoubted evidence of higher powers, by visible acts and signs which everywhere separate life from death, and truth from error, and while the ancient remnants of other

nations show only theory without application, here we find a connected chain of acts and events—in fact, a divine and lifelike drama. Of all these things the various books of the Holy Scriptures speak with confidence, so that the history of no other people, interwoven with fables, can be compared with them. According to this, the Bible contains the light which illuminates every dark phase in life; it is the ground-work of all human actions, the guiding-star of the earthly to the eternal—of the intellectual to the divine, the aim and end of all knowledge. It is the first of three great lights, guiding and governing our faith, and bears no relation to the other two great lights of the angle which shall make these actions lawful, or the circle which sensualizes the fixed limits of the condition of mankind. The Bible is also more instructive and richer in reference to our subject than all other books taken together. We will, therefore, cite a few principal points, as well of the phenomena as of the mode of action and theory relating to magnetism, and then call attention especially to the healing of the sick according to scriptural teachings. We will give an account of the dreams, a great many of which are recorded in the Bible.

The dreams recorded in the Bible are many and remarkable. The voice with which God spoke to the prophets and the men consecrated to Him, were generally heard in dreams.

The visions of the ancients, according to the testimony of Moses, were nearly always dreams. Numbers xii. 6: "And he said: Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I, the Lord, will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream." Job xxxiii. 15: "In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction." 1 Kings iii. 5: "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said, Thou hast showed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, etc., give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?" Genesis xx. 3: "But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, for the woman thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife; and God said unto him in a dream, Yea, I know that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; for I also withheld thee from sinning against me." Genesis xxxi. 23: "And God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him, Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad." The dreams of Joseph concerning his brethren are also remarkable. Genesis xxxvii. 5: "And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it to his brethren: and they hated him yet the more: and he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream, which I have dreamed: For behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright: and behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us?" And he had still another dream, and

he told it to his brethren and said: Behold, I have dreamed a dream more: and behold, the sun and the moon and the stars made obeisance to me. And his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee on the earth?"

Sacred history proves that after Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Egyptian traders that he actually became their king in the court of Pharaoh. The power of Joseph to interpret dreams is further shown by the interpretation of the dreams of the butler and baker while in prison, Genesis i. 40; so, also, of the dreams of king Pharaoh, of the seven fat and lean kine which came out of the water, and of the seven rank and good ears of corn and the seven thin and blasted ears, Genesis xli. 1. In the New Testament many dreams are mentioned through which God designed to speak to his followers. In this manner Joseph, the husband of Mary, was told by an angel (Matthew i. 20), that she should conceive of the Holy Ghost and bear a son, who would become the Saviour of the world; and then again, that he should take the child and flee into Egypt to escape the murderous intent of Herod; and after the death of Herod, that he should again return to Nazareth (Matthew ii. 13-19). In like manner, the three wise men of the East were warned in a dream, that they should not return to Herod, but depart to their own country another way. The Apostles frequently had visions in the night; for example, Paul was commanded to go to Macedonia (Acts x. 9). And in the same book of the New Testament (xviii. 9), we read: "Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision. Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace." Many similar passages might be quoted, *e. g.*, xxiii. 11; xxvii. 23, etc., etc.

Let us begin with the history of the creation, as recorded by Moses. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

Herein lies the great first cause. God is an uncreated being—heaven and earth are the first things created; the antithesis: that which was made of God. In reference to a second antithesis, Moses speaks of light and darkness: "And darkness was upon the face of the earth, and God said, Let there be light, and there was light." Here, too, the question is about light as a creation, which, however, had for its opposite darkness; therefore did the old Egyptians regard darkness as the beginning of all things. Even according to the writings of Moses, this was the Egyptian doctrine, for he says, "Darkness was upon the face of the deep." But as the Egyptian doctrine in its first inception may be regarded as good authority, their error originated in this, that they accepted the darkness before the light; as also a like error of the Persians, inasmuch that they accepted the light before the darkness as being created, the one before the other. The light stands beside darkness as its natural opposite, created and present, as Moses plainly says: "And God divided the light from the darkness, and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night." The Bible also points out another antithesis in the first germs and figures of the earth, namely, water and spirit—the water as matter, as the germ of the figurative, and the spirit, the Elohim, as the fruitful, active principle. "And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." One-sided views led the earlier philosophers into numerous

errors. In this manner Thales brought everything out of the water and overlooked the spiritual active whole, in all of which he was imitated by subsequent champions of Materialism. The other one-sided view is, to hold everything as spiritual and regard matter only as an inert abstraction (*caput mortuum*), which was the case from the earliest period of time among Spiritualists and the advocates of Spiritualism. Moses, therefore, shows his superiority over all the disciples of Egyptian temple-wisdom, as well as of the more modern sects, inasmuch that he was enlightened by divine wisdom, and represented this subject, not in a partial manner, but in its true bearing and significance; he ascribed to matter its true worth and placed the spiritual beside it. Moreover, Moses has given the narrative of the creation in beautiful and captivating language, as for example, in regard to the waters—the difference between the wet and the dry, and how the dry land came forth from the water; how the grass and herbs, which bore seeds, and fruitful trees grew upon the earth; how the mighty deep was filled with living and moving animals, and the birds that fly in the firmament of heaven; how the earth finally brought forth living animals, each after its own kind, and last of all, how God made man “in his own image,” to whom he gave “dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowls of the air, over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.”

The Mosaic Eden was the habitation of the originally purely created beings, within whose boundaries grew the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The figure of the serpent shows the nature of the fall of man. We spoke, in another part of this work, of the original purity and wisdom of godly men. Here is the place to record additional Bible principles. To this end we avail ourselves of a mystical, interesting manuscript from which we extract what follows: (*MAGIKON*; or, the Secret System of an Association of Unknown Philosophers, etc., v. 27–31. *Frankfort and Leipzig*, 1784. A rare Book, whose Teachings, in many Respects, agree with the Indian Brahmin Doctrine).

In view of his divine origin, as an unconditional emanation from God, Adam was not only the noblest being, which, as an expression of divine power, had the preference of all others, for he never owed his existence to a mother; he was a heavenly Adam, brought into being by God himself and was not born into the world in the ordinary manner. He also enjoyed, in consequence of his nature, every prerogative of a pure spirit, surrounded by an invulnerable veil. But this was not the sensual body of the present time, which is only an evidence of his degradation—a coarse mantle—by which he sought to protect himself against the raging elements. His garments were holy, simple, indestructible, and of an indissoluble character. To this condition of perfect “glory, in which he enjoyed the purest happiness, he was destined in order to reveal the power of the Almighty, and to rule the visible and invisible. Being in possession of all the prerogatives and insignia of a king, he could also use every means to fulfil his high destiny. As the champion of unity, he was secure from the attacks of all inward and outward enemies, because the veil by which he was covered (the germs of which are still within us), rendered him invulnerable. One advantage that the original pure man possessed was, that no natural poison, nor all the powers of the ele-

ments could harm him. Christ promised invulnerability to his apostles and all his followers, through the regeneration of man. In this condition man also bears a fiery, double-edged, all-penetrating sword, a living word, which combines in itself all power, and through which "everything is possible to him." Of this sword Moses says, Genesis iii. 24: "So he drove out the man, and he placed at the east end of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the tree of life." In Revelations i. 16, we read: "And out of his mouth went a two-edged sword," etc. By this sword we are to understand the living word, which was originally inherent in man, and which can only be restored to him by his return to a pure state, and by being cleansed from the blot of sensualism. It is the word of which we read in Hebrews iv. 12: "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit."

Most extraordinary is the powerful, all-conquering Honover (word of power), of Zoroaster, which fully corresponds with the foregoing, by which Ormuzd overcame Ahriman and all evil. "In this condition of kingly honor and power," we read further, "man, as the most lifelike image of his father, (whose viceregent he was on earth), could have enjoyed the purest happiness had he properly guarded his Eden, but he committed a breach of trust. Instead of ruling over the things of sense and striving for a higher spiritual state, to which he was ordained, he imbibed the unhappy idea of exchanging the great cardinal points of light with truth, that is, he confounded light with truth, and in this confusion he lost both and robbed himself. Because he lost sight of the boundary of the kingdom over which he was placed as a watchman, and confined himself to only a portion of it, namely, the sensual, the glitter of which blinded him so greatly as to make him forget all else; because he flattered himself that he could find the light in another place than the first great fountain, he fastened his voluptuous eye on a false existence, became enamored of sensualism and became sensual himself. Through this adultery he sank into darkness and confusion, the result of which was, that he was transplanted from the light of day into the night of innumerable small twinkling stars, and now he experienced a sensual nakedness of which he was ashamed. The abuse of the knowledge of the connection between the spiritual and the bodily, according to which man endeavors to make the spiritual sensual and the sensual spiritual, is true adultery, of whom, he who is moved by the female sex is simply a consequence and an imitator. Through sin man lost not only his original habitation, and became an exile into the religious state of the fathers and mothers, having to go in the way of the flesh, but he also lost the fiery sword, and with it everything else that had made him all-seeing and unconquerable. His holy garments now became as the skin of animals, and this mortal, perishable covering afforded him no protection against the elements. With the wasted half of his body, the spiritual also added to the confusion, and discordant sounds were heard in the dark places of his spiritual domain.

Although man had sunk deep in sin, the hope of a full restoration was given to him on condition of a perfect reconciliation. Without such

reconciliation, however, he sinks deeper and deeper, and his return becomes still more precarious. In order to be reconciled he must become self-abased, and resist the false allurements which only serve to steep him in the mire of the elements, and he must seek, by prayer, to obtain the more exalted blessings of benevolent influences, without which he cannot draw a pure breath. In this reconciliation he must gradually overcome everything, and put away everything from him that will cloud his inner nature and separate him from the great source of his being; because he can never enjoy peace within himself and with nature around him until he has thus overcome everything opposed to his own nature, and gained the victory over all his enemies. But this can only be done when he returns the same road upon which he had wandered away. He must wean himself by degrees from the sensual by a heroic life, and like a weary, footsore wanderer, who has many steep mountains to scale, continue to mount upward, until he reaches the goal, which is lost in the clouds. Overcoming one obstacle after another, he must dispel the dark vapors that intervene between himself and the true sun, so that in the end the pure rays of light may reach him without interruption. The following is a genuine scriptural doctrine according to the Indian creed, differing, however, in character:

"The Almighty has provided means to aid man in the work of reconciliation. God has appointed higher agents to lead him back to Him from the error of his ways. But he can only be fully restored through the Saviour of the world, who finished and perfected all that these agents had accomplished only in part at different times. Through Him all power became animated and exalted; through Him he approaches the first and only true light, a knowledge of all things, and especially, a knowledge of himself. If the man is willing to accept this offered help, he will surely arrive at the desired goal, and he will be so firmly established in faith, that no future doubts can ever cause him to waver. If he elevates his will, so as to bring it in unison with the divine will, he may spiritualize his being already in this world, so that the higher spiritual kingdom may become visible to his eyes, and feel God nearer to him than he ever thought it possible; that all things may become possible to him, because he adds all power to his own, and in this union and harmony, with a fulness of a higher vitality, the divine agents, Moses, Elias, yea, even Christ himself, may become visible to him, when, living amid thought, he requires books no longer. In short, man can attain to such a degree of perfection, even in this life, that death will have nothing more to do than to disrobe him of his coarse covering in order to reveal his spiritual temple, because he then lives and moves within the eternal. Only when he arrives at the end of this vale of darkness, will he receive, at each stage of his journey, more extended life, greater inward power, purer air, and a wider range of vision. His spiritual being will taste nobler fruits, and at the end of his race nothing can separate him from the exalted harmonies of those spheres, of which mortal sense can draw but a faint picture. Without distinction of sex, he will begin to live the life of angels, and will possess all their powers, of which he had but a faint sign here; he will then again enjoy the incense of the eternal temple, the source of all power, from which he was exiled, and Christ will

be his great High Priest (Hebrews vii. 17, 24, 25). Man will not only enjoy his own gifts, but he will have a part in the gifts of the elect, who constitute the council of the wise; that holy sovereign will be more exalted there than he could be here; there will be no rising or setting of the light of the stars; no changes of day and night, and no multiplicity of languages; every being will in that moment be enabled to read the name of that holy book, out of which flows life for every creature (Hebrews xii. 22, 23). And here, too, the views of Zoroaster are in accord with the foregoing, for he also speaks of a heavenly meeting, and the participation of every follower of Ormuzd in the sacrifices and prayers of all, etc.

In placing this prominent treatise so plainly before the reader I felt no hesitation, because it was so clear and true, and because it seemed so proper for this work here, and to show why only pure and truly Christian men can perform great wonders and see visions of which the worldly-minded have not even a conception. I will now relate a few instances of magnetic appearances and occurrences, many of which are recorded in the Bible.

The first and most striking one we find in connection with Adam. Moses writes (Genesis ii. 21) as follows: "And the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept." And now, the question arises, What kind of a sleep was this? The answer is, it was a deep sleep. It was either the sleep of death, or a state of lethargy, or a trance (raptus divinus), or, was it merely an ordinary sleep? The first appears improbable, and had this been the case, we know, that in the release of the body from its earthly bonds, and shortly before death, the clearest instances of second sight have occurred; but the question is not of a mortal illness, but of a deep sleep. If it was a trance, then that inward second-sight may be regarded the more probable. The seventy-two translators of the Bible actually regard this sleep as a trance, and Tertullian says, in direct reference to it, "The power of the prophecies of the Holy Ghost fell upon him." (*Accidit super-illum spiritus sancti vis operatrix prophetiæ.*)

Another remarkable vision is that which Noah had of the ark long before the deluge occurred. Again, the call of Abraham, in which he was commanded to leave his fatherland and move toward Haran in Canaan. Abraham had many visions, or was the conversation of the Lord with him, recorded in the Bible really only than a figurative expression of intuition? Through these visions or conversations, as you will, he was taught that he would be greatly blessed, and that he should be the father of a great nation, etc. As he came into the sacred grove of Moria, the Lord again appeared unto Abraham and said: "This land will I give unto thy seed."

The innocent life of the shepherds, and their frequent abode in sacred groves, very naturally brought such intuition to the very highest point of perfection, and this was especially the case, when their minds were occupied with God and godly things. And this is particularly shown in the history of the shepherd-life of the pious Israelites, not only by the ancient fathers, but subsequently, in the time of the kings and judges. Isaac and Jacob had visions similar to those of Abraham. We notice especially the

vision of Jacob while journeying into Mesopotamia, in which he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven. It is written (Genesis xxviii. 10): "And Jacob went out from Beersheba, and went toward Haran. And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set: and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold, the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord, etc. The land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed, etc. And in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And Jacob awoke out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not. This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." How truly was Jacob's dreamed fulfilled! The promised land became the possession of the Jews; through his seed, namely, through Christ the Saviour, who is the heavenly ladder upon which the angels of God ascended and descended, all the nations of the earth have been or will be blessed.

We find another remarkable instance of the magnetic influence in changing the nature and complexion of living objects, in the history of Jacob. It is as follows: Jacob agreed with Laban that he would still guard his sheep, provided, that Laban would give him as a reward for his service, all spotted lambs and goats that should in the future be added to his flocks. Laban consented to this proposal, and Jacob became immensely rich. It is worth the trouble to insert the passage relating to this transaction, as an application of the mysterious doctrine of magnetism.

When Jacob would no longer watch over the sheep and desired to go away with his wives and children, Laban said unto him, Genesis xxx. 27-43: "I pray thee, if I have found favor in thine eyes, tarry: for I have learned by experience that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake. And he said Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it. And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served thee and how thy cattle was with me. For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude: and the Lord hath blessed thee since my coming: and now, when shall I provide for mine own house also? And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me anything: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock: I will pass through all thy flock to-day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and of such shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me. And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that were ring-streaked and speckled, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hands of his sons. And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of

Laban's flocks. And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut-tree: and pilled white streaks in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering-troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and spotted. And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ring-streaked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle. And it came to pass whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods. But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in; so the feeble were Laban's and the stronger Jacob's. And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants, and menservants, and camels, and asses."

This proves clearly that the sheep and the goats could be made to bring forth their young changed in color and appearance corresponding with the pilled rods which were placed before them by Jacob as they drank from the water. In these days, the theory that the features of the offspring of a human mother can be affected by an object upon which the mother gazes, is pronounced absurd; and yet this theory, in the very nature of things, is as fully established as the fact that the mental qualities of many children differ totally from those of their parents. The fact that the sheep and the goats, upon seeing the objects which Jacob so skilfully placed before them, brought forth their young differing in appearance from themselves, has a very deep significance. Either Jacob knew what the result of this stratagem would be from experience, or it was revealed to him in a dream, for we read, Genesis xxxi. 10: "And it came to pass at the time the cattle conceived, that I lifted up mine eyes, and saw in a dream, and behold, the rams which leaped upon the cattle were ring-streaked, speckled, and grizzled." With the water which they drank, and in which at the same time they saw their own reflection, they transmitted the image of the speckled rods to their young.

We have not the space here to enter into a more extended argument to prove the truth of this phenomenon, but the fact that the female progenitor, both human and animal, is capable at the period of gestation to transmit to her offspring the image and likeness of surrounding objects, has a surer foundation than is commonly believed to be possible. The great army of Materialists, who represent the spirit of the scriptures and of life as an ordinary earthly matter, so as to make it appear that nothing is hidden in the sanctuary that they cannot comprehend by their intellect, will never be converted, and those who rely upon the benign influences of a higher light in the temple, which will exist beyond the life of this world, will never need conversion.

Moses himself, the great man of God, had many remarkable visions. These visions consisted in part of dreams and partly in ecstasies, and for this reason was he educated in all the mysteries of the Egyptians and in all their magical arts, in which he excelled all others. On account of his extraordinary piety and wisdom he has made the savior of his people

from the thralldom of Pharaoh. His visions were of a diversified character. His ability to lead and govern the people was the direct result of a deep intuition. If we regard this ability as mere inward sight, then we must admit that it was a purely magical gift; if as the result of direct command of the voice of God (for according to the scriptures God often spoke personally with Moses), we find in it a confirmation of the truth, that a pious mind, open to divine influences, can also perform divine acts.

The first important vision of Moses occurred at Mount Horeb, while he was yet engaged in watching over the flocks of Jethro, his father-in-law (Exodus iii. 2): "And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a burning bush: and Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burned. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the burning bush, and said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

Moses, the prophetic seer, acquainted with the weakness of his brethren, full of religious zeal, and gifted with a glowing phantasia, came to the lodge of his father-in-law in Midian, where he had time and opportunity, as a shepherd, to store his mind with religious contemplations, so that in a state of ecstatic second-sight, he could review the ways and means by which he might become the leader and shepherd of his people. The centrum of his mind was open to the higher influences of God, who appeared unto him as a light in the burning bush which was not consumed, and with whom, with veiled countenance, he conversed familiarly. We find in Moses the emotions of an inward psychological struggle with hopes and fears, with extreme weakness and supernatural strength of will; of submission, reverence and obedience; of confidence, and finally of an enthusiasm, that, regarding all earthly obstacles as nought, he overcame all things. While he was thus equipped with godlike powers, he subdued the elements of nature and compelled them to testify to the greatness and glory of God by the marvelous wonders which he performed. In such ecstasies Moses could tarry long on the mountains and separate himself from the people on the journey in the wilderness, and would yet be venerated as a man of wonders. The visions of Moses embrace the present and the future. He not only delivered the commands of God from the mountain, but he also foresaw the offerings that were brought to the golden calf; he foresaw that he could prepare the children of Israel for the pure worship of God, and guard them against error and idolatry only by isolating them in the wilderness from the heathen nations around them. In addition to the above indications we need only call attention to the special visions of Moses, his gifts, his ability to transfer the power of divination to others, and class them among magnetic occurrences; we may omit the different kinds of sacrifices, the consecration and blessing with water, oil and blood, and laying on of hands, etc., as well as the stringent prohibitions against taking any part in sorcery, false divination, conjuring and inquiring of the dead.

Among a few instances, resembling magnetism, we mention particularly the rod with which Moses performed his wonders before Pharaoh, and the stretching out of his hands by which he divided the waters of the

sea (Exodus xiv. 16): "But lift thou up thy rod and stretch out thy hand over the sea, and divide it; and as Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, the waters were divided. And when the Egyptians pursued them, Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, so there remained not so much as one of them." The stretching out of the hand of Moses and the wonders he performed with his rod are of great significance. With his rod he smote the rock in Rephidim, and the water gushed forth to quench the thirst of the murmuring people (Exodus xvii. 5): "And the Lord said unto Moses, go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river take in thy hand and go; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall water come out of it, that the people may drink." And when Amalek came and fought against Israel, Moses said unto Joshua (Exodus xvii. 9-11): "Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in my hand. And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed."

The gift of prophecy seems also to have been given to the pious elders of Israel through their intercourse with Moses, for it is written (Numbers xi. 23-29): "And the Lord said unto Moses, Is the Lord's hand waxed short? thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass unto thee or not. And Moses went out and told the people the words of the Lord, and gathered together the seventy men of the elders of the people, and set them around about the tabernacle. And the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake unto him and took of the spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders; and it came to pass, that, when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease. But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them: and they were of them that were written, but went not out into the tabernacle: and they prophesied in the camp. And Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said, My lord Moses, forbid them. And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!

The various conditions of clairvoyance are clearly described by Moses. Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian whom he had married, and they said (Numbers xii. 2-8): "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? Hath he not also spoken by us? And the Lord heard it. And the Lord came down in a pillar of the cloud and called Aaron and Miriam: and they both came forth. And he said, Hear now my words: If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold." And so it was also among the Israelites and other nations, and is now in our magnetic appearances and revelations by visions, and especially in dreams and dark words and figures,

which is frequently the case in the lower condition of somnolency ; but in the highest grades of clairvoyance, when the mind is pure as in the case of Moses, it is to behold in the true form.

The personal conversations of God with Moses, and his power of beholding the Almighty in his true similitude are figurative expressions, and must not be taken in a literal sense. For the Lord speaks through revelation and by means of the light, and not by word of mouth, neither can God be seen by mortal eyes, for He says in another place, "No man can behold me and live." This language is the expression or impression of the divine word, and a light from the very purest source ; it is the spiritual gift and revelation of the Deity to man, which must be taken according to the various grades of intelligence of beings, as in nature, according to the kind of light produced by different actions, whether the effect be produced upon near or distant, thick or thin, hard or soft objects, etc.

This language was understood by prophets and consecrated men in all ages, and these could not communicate the light they had received in any other language than those which were spoken in their day, although, that which came over them was much more simple, comprehensive and spiritual than any spoken communication could have been. The language of God is the influence of a higher light through which the spirit which he pervades becomes electrified. God acts as a centrum only on the centrum of things, that is, on the inner or spiritual, and the outward manifestations follow ex post. It is not less significant that the bite of the fiery serpents was healed by gazing upon the brazen serpent. "And the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way, and spake against God and against Moses. And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people ; and much people of Israel died. Therefore the people came to Moses and said, We have sinned, for we have spoken against the Lord and against thee : pray unto the Lord that he take away the serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, make thee a fiery serpent and set it upon a pole ; and it shall come to pass that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live." (Numbers xxi. 4-9.)

The visions and prophecies of Balaam, son of Beor, to whom Balak sent Messengers, that he might curse Israel, are also of a remarkable character. (Numbers xxii. 23, 24) : "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord, my God, to do less or more." So spake Balaam to Balak, who tried to bribe him to do evil.

In Numbers xxiv. 4, 15, 16, 17, 19, we have an account of the visions of the heathen seer, in which was announced the advent of Christ : "And the spirit of the Lord came upon him and he took up his parable and said : And the man whose eyes are open hath said : He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the visions of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open, I shall see him, but not now ; I shall behold him, but not nigh ; there shall come a Star out of Jacob and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel. Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion." The history of Balaam proves that the power to perform wonders was not pos-

sessed by holy seers alone. Balak, king of the Moabites, being afraid of the Israelites, desired to form a league with the Midianites. But since neither the Moabites nor the Midianites felt like engaging in hostilities with the Israelites, they resorted to magic, and since they had no magician among themselves, they sent for Balaam, who was celebrated for his powers of charming and divining. The messengers came to Balaam with costly presents in their hands (for he took money for his services as soothsayer), and demanded that he should curse this strange people. Balaam invited them to tarry over night; in the morning he arose and made known to the messengers that God neither permitted him to curse the Israelites, nor allowed him to accompany them to their country, for "that people was favored of God." Balak thinking he had not offered enough, sent more costly presents by the hands of his nobles, in order to induce Balaam to visit him and curse Israel. Balaam, a mixture of faith and fickleness, of truth and avarice, of true prophecy and magic, said to the servants of Balak: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." And yet, after he had spoken with the Lord during the night, he arose in the morning, saddled his ass, and prepared to go with the Moabite princes, and afterward told the enemies of Israel how they could lead them into idolatry.

Here follows the history of Balaam's perfect somnambulism. Being a visionary, he was divided within himself, because he tried to serve God and Mammon. His conscience upbraided him. "And God's anger was kindled against him because he went: and the angel of the Lord stood in his way for an adversary against him." Now he changed his inward perception from the angel and transferred it to the ass, which now also beheld the angel standing in the way, and therefore began a rational conversation with its rider. The ass, with characteristic obduracy, preferred the fields to the uneven paths in the vineyards, and when force was employed to turn her in the way, she thrust herself against the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall, for which he smote her with his staff; and since there was no path to turn aside either to the right or to the left, the ass fell down under Balaam, and he smote her again. Finally the ass spoke to Balaam and pointed out to him his unreasonable conduct, and when he came unto himself he again saw the angel instead of the ass; but his conscience smote him; he confessed his sin and promised to go back again. But the angel permitted him to proceed upon condition that he should speak only what the Lord had commanded him to say, which condition he fulfilled in spite of every temptation that Balak could offer; and he went not at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness." Instead of cursing the Israelites he blessed them, and afterward actually prophesied concerning the Star of Jacob. (Numbers xxiv.)

This spurious prophet had no truly divine inspirations, but he prophesied in the same manner as do our mesmeric clairvoyants. For, first, he always went into retirement, when he was about to prophesy, to avoid outward disturbance, which no true prophet ever did. Second, His inward perceptions were opened by closing his outward senses. "So sayeth the hearer of the word, whose eyes will be opened when he bows down."

It is evident that the angel with the drawn sword was a vision, and the fact that the ass speaking did not appear strange to him, proves clearly that he could not have been awake. According to the Arabic, Balaam was called "the man with the closed eye," and this induces Tholuck to compare his condition to a state of magnetic ecstasy. Third, Balaam was so incapable of distinguishing between the real object and the apparent subject, that the ass, gifted with speech, made no impression upon him, so that, after he had regained his senses, he saw the angel standing before him and bowed himself before him. Fourth, Balaam made use of certain external means to throw himself into an ecstatic state, which true prophets never did. He was led from place to place in order to obtain visions, differing in their nature, so as to make them conform with the pleasure of Balak. He even employed magic, for it is written: "And when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments, but he set his face toward the wilderness." Fifth, finally, Balaam's ecstasies were unstable and uncertain, and his figures and expressions were symbolical, for we read, for example: "He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion." This false prophet then returned to his dwelling, but appears again later in the camp of the Midianites, where he finally perished by the sword at the hands of those whom Moses sent out to fight.

In the days of the judges and kings, dreams and prophetic visions signified the same thing. In 1 Samuel xxviii. 6, we read: "In olden times in Israel, when men inquired of the Lord, they said: Come let us go to the seer, for they were called seers who are now called prophets."

In Numbers xxvii. 18-21, when Moses asked the Lord to give him a worthy follower, it is written: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take Joshua, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, etc., and thou shalt put some of thine honor upon him, etc. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord," etc. I have already quoted passages from the Bible to show that dreams and prophetic visions were regarded as the same thing; and indeed, so important were dreams, that a dreamer was placed in the same category with a prophet. "And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." (1 Samuel xxviii. 6.) We read in Deuteronomy xiii. 1-4: "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying Let us go, after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul." From this we learn that persons who were not prophets, and who were not of a pure heart, also had prophetic visions.

It would be tedious as well as superfluous to recite all the visions of the prophets. In the meantime we will not pass over the most remarkable in silence. In 1 Samuel xvi., we find the history of Saul, who, after the spirit of God had departed from him, became gloomy and ill, and whose

condition could only be ameliorated by the sweet sounds of music. "But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on the harp: and it shall come to pass when the evil spirit of God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well: and Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me, etc. And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." When Saul saw the Philistine host his heart failed him, and he inquired of the Lord, but the Lord answered him not, "neither by dreams, nor by Urim nor by prophets. If there arise among you prophets, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth a sign, etc. Saul was a seeker after signs and wonders, for he at one time inquired of Samuel about his missing asses; at another time he inquired of the witch of Endor, and at another time he depended upon deceptive dreams. The witch said to Saul: "Wherefore dost thou ask of me, seeing that the Lord is departed from thee, and thy kingdom is gone out of thy hand."

In the books of Samuel, who was a clairvoyant in his youth, we find many prophetic visions recorded. The most remarkable of these visions were those of Samuel and David. Even Saul attempted to prophesy until the spirit of the Lord departed from him. The history of the aged king David, who could no more obtain warmth of body, even though he was covered with clothing, we have already related. A young virgin was procured, who slept in the king's arms and cherished him, and so he obtained heat. (1 Kings i. 1.)

Among all the prophets of the old dispensation there was none more exalted than Elias, whose very name was a synonyme for a higher grade of being. We find in him an example of great significance in magnetic transactions. He imparted the most important doctrines of life, and he gave life to such as had apparently died, a history of which is here inserted verbatim: "And it came to pass after these things, that the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick, and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in him. And she said unto Elias, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? art thou come unto me to call my sin to remembrance, and to slay my son? And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into a loft, where he abode, and laid him upon his own bed. And he cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord, my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her son? And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the Lord, and said, O Lord my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him again. And the Lord heard the voice of Elias; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived. And Elias took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him to his mother." (1 Kings xvii. 17-24.)

Of a similar kind a still more remarkable instance of the striking and powerful magnetic influence is given in the history of the Shunammite's son who was restored to life by the prophet Elisha. (2 Kings iv. 18-37.)

"And when the child was grown, it fell on a day, that he went out to his father, to the reapers. And he said unto his father, My head, my head! And he said to a lad, Carry him to his mother. And when he had taken him, and brought him to his mother, he sat on her knees till noon, and then died. And she went up, and laid him on the bed of the man of God, and shut the door and went out. And she called unto her husband and said, Send me, I pray thee, one of the young men, and one of the asses, that I may run to the man of God, and come again. And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? it is neither new moon, nor Sabbath. And she said It shall be well. Then she saddled an ass, and said to her servant, Drive, and go forward; slack not thy riding for me, except I bid thee. So she went, and came unto the man of God to mount Carmel. And it came to pass, when the man of God saw her afar off, that he said to Gehazi his servant, Behold, yonder that Shunammite: Run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, Is it well with thee? is it well with thy husband? is it well with the child? And she answered, It is well. And when she came to the man of God to the hill, she caught him by the feet: but Gehazi came near to thrust her away. And the man of God said, Let her alone; for her soul is vexed within her: and the Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me. Then she said, Did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, Do not deceive me? Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take thy staff in thy hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again: and lay my staff upon the face of the child. And the mother of the child said, As the Lord liveth, I will not leave thee. And he arose, and followed her. And Gehazi passed on before them, and laid the staff upon the face of the child; but there was neither voice nor hearing. Wherefore, he went again to meet him, and told him, saying, The child is not awaked. And when Elisha had come into the house; behold the child was dead, and laid upon his bed. He went in therefore, and shut the door upon them twain, and prayed unto the Lord. And he went up, and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he stretched himself upon the child, and the flesh of the child waxed warm. Then he returned, and walked in the house to and fro; and went up, and stretched himself upon him: and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes. And he called Gehazi, and said, Call this Shunammite. So he called her. And when she was come in unto him, he said, take up thy son."

What may we learn from this? First, that one must be a man of God as Elisha was. Second, Elisha must have been well acquainted with the transferring of this power by means of a conductor, or he would not have sent his servant before him with the staff, by simply laying the same upon the face of the dead child, and thereby restore him to life. Third, the command that he gave unto his servant, to salute no one by the way, has a deep significance. He was to give his undivided attention to the business of raising the dead unto life, and not to be led away by any other consideration or occasion whatever. A proof that is highly necessary and important that a magnetic physician should be free from all diversions in order to concentrate all his energies upon the one object,—the patient.

Fourth, the very management in this case, is incomparable. Fifth, it is a proof that perseverance and continuance is a chief requisite in a magnetic operation: you cannot fell a tree with one stroke, so Elisha, after the first effort, arose and walked to and fro in the house, and only upon the second effort did the dead lad begin to breathe. By the conduct of Elisha (and Saul), we may learn, that the inner sense may also be developed by music, as for instance, when Elisha was called upon to prophesy to the kings of Israel and Judah, against the Moabites, he said: "But now, bring me a minstrel." And as the minstrel played the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he prophesied. (2 Kings iii. 15.) That they knew the method of healing by laying on of hands, and that they practiced it, is proven in the passage (2 Kings v. 11.) Naaman, the Syrian captain, expected Elisha to move his hand over the leprous part, and thus put away his leprosy.

We often read that the remains of saints worked marvelous wonders and healed the sick long after their decease. This was the case with Elisha, for we read (2 Kings xiii. 20): "And Elisha died, and they buried him. And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year. And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that behold they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood upon his feet." If it might probably appear, that in the earliest ages men were chiefly given to prophecy and inner perceptions, in our day and among us the female more frequently possesses these gifts: still, there are numerous instances of prophetic women recorded in the Bible also, as, for example, the woman of Endor, who possessed the spirit of divination and to whom Saul went to inquire of. Huldah, the Prophetess, (2 Kings xxii. 14), and Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, etc.

Let us once more take a retrospective glance upon the people of Israel, according to the history of the Old Testament, and upon the ancient days of the Orientals, and compare the magic among them to that of later years and we shall find many and essential differences. In the first place, I have remarked before, how that the people of Israel stood single and alone before all the heathen nations, and how the magic among them assumed an essential and diversified form. For although the Jews remained so long in Egypt, they brought very little Egyptian magic with them on their return; that is, of the genuine theurgical magic art, which is the result of natural powers and of human inventions. These magical ecstasies and wonder workings were more of the nature of divine inspiration, while the black art, practiced by natural means, which was to produce supernatural effects, was met with severe punishment as an unholy work of sorcery and witchcraft. We find quite the contrary in heathendom, since here the true knowledge of the divine was either lacking altogether, or it was adulterated by traditions and darkened by mysteries. As for instance, in Egypt Athor, according to the Theogony of Hesiod, the darkness of night was worshipped as the great unknown, through profound silence; but to the Israelites the light appeared in the unity of God, whom they worshipped with loud hymns. In the entire old world of Heathendom the power of the principle of nature governed,

and brought down the spiritual vibration to the level of the terrestrial or earthly. The true magic of the divine was hid from that erring people, being covered with a veil through which but few glimpses of light penetrated. The light shown in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Hamberger says: "Heathendom was capable only to take up single rays, as it were, in an oblique direction, but the elect of God, as the posterity of Shem, in whom mankind was to be exhibited as such, and to whom all the rest of mankind, as the mere common people (*Gojim*) were retained, they could rejoice not only in a circuitous, but in a central influence on the part of the Lord. "Thou art a holy people unto the Lord, says God. (*Deut. vii. 6.*) The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people to Himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth."

Israel was appointed thereto, not so much to conceive and grasp the outward glory of God, the ideal world, but much more His inner being, to be led deeper and deeper into the sanctuary of divine personality. This, however, cannot be done at once; and if Israel is not the only pardoned and favored, but if through him all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, this could only be accomplished gradually, and by degrees. Madam Schlegel says: "A longing or love is the root and beginning of every higher and divine knowledge. Perseverance in searching, in faith, and in the contest of life, only prefigure the middle of the way; the termination must always remain something that is hoped for. The necessary epoch for preparation to this gradual process may not be overturned nor set aside by the noblest strivings of man. The character and the history itself of the Hebrew nations are greatly misunderstood, for the very reason, that these things are not duly observed. The whole existence of this people was built only upon hope, and the highest centre of their inner life was placed at a great distance in the future. Upon this also rests the chief difference in the method of the holy deliverance of the Hebrews, as is exhibited by other old Asiatic nations. In the old records of these nations their glance in the proper historic parts is directed more toward the glorious past, with a regretful feeling in consequence of that which man has since lost. Out of all the fulness of these touching, holy remembrances, and out of the oldest joint proverbs, Moses, in his most direct and fixed revelations for the Hebrew children according to the wisest law of economy, brought out but very little, and only what seemed the most indispensable and necessary for his people and the object of God with the same. And as all the writings of the first lawgiver, who for this sole object led and brought out his favorite people from Egyptian servitude in a spiritual sense and according to the whole mode of thought, until up to the time of the prophet king and singer of psalms to the last voice of warning and promise that died away in the wilderness—the outward contents and the inward understanding are, according to prophetic writings: so may the people themselves be called a prophetic people in the highest sense of the word, and is such really, taken historically, in the whole course of the world and in their wonderful destinies they were and are such.

Molitor says further:—"The leading of the Israelites furnishes the most apparent proof of the divine nature of religion. Among all nations

there are oracles, and in all important affairs and transactions inquiry is made of them, and nothing is undertaken in life unless the favorable judgment of the gods is first obtained. Meantime these oracles do not appear to be positive leaders of the people. They simply reply to inquiries made. Not in a single heathen religion, therefore, do we observe a really positive, sensitive and divine guidance. But man stands here, solely in his own power. The case is entirely different with the people of Israel, who are nothing, and have nothing of themselves, but whose whole existence and guidance is singly the work of Divinity. Where is there a nation to be found that had such an ethical guidance? Where do you find a people who have made humility and obedience and a childlike surrender to God, their first and chief duty, and accepted chastisement as a token of love, and were brought to their destination through adversity and humiliation? True, there are guidances and trials also in Heathendom, but they are trials only in the vigorous subduing of evil, and the courageous bearing of great burdens. Nowhere, therefore, do we find merit or praise for baseness or lowness. When, for instance, it was said of Moses: "He was an humble man," it was a compliment which was never bestowed upon a heathen hero." (Kabbalah, Part III., page 116.)

The Hebrew prophets and the heathen seers present an essential difference. Even if the ground-work of natural magical visions appear here as elsewhere; if imagination and sympathy—if the outer influences of nature often produced like affects, and if the Israelites had learned and brought with them many and various Egyptian secrets, as for instance, Samuel's School of Prophets in the Old Testament gives ample proof, as also the holy inspired dance, the prophetic signing, etc., has in it something contagious, insomuch that prophetic students were seized and overcome, as was also Saul, who fell in with them and prophesied, so that the proverb, "How came Saul among the Prophets?" still shows something very curious and surprising; yet, in view of the motive and effect, great differences are found, so that they well deserve to be held to view in this place. They are as follows:

1. The Magician, the Indian Brahmin, the mystical Priest, etc., brings himself into an ecstatic condition, and into supposed union with God, by self-elected methods; Moses and the true prophets of Israel receive an unexpected call to serve Him.

2. The Magician elevates himself by his own innate strength to a higher state and condition than the world by whom he is surrounded; he isolates himself intentionally and his isolation becomes imperative, and through it follow the various castes and grades in life, as, for example, the Indian and Egyptian castes, which produces a special influence upon the diversified conditions of earthly life and intellect; Moses and the prophets are more casual, and in the passive dread of deep solitude, they suddenly hear the call and follow in humility, with veiled countenances. The liberation of his people is not effected by a strong will, and he claims no preference; he does not separate the different castes, but he separates the organic unity of the people from heathen blindness, which he dedicates to God; he is himself the expounder of the faith of God's overruling

providence; of the hope in future punishment; of the love of God, and of order and justice among men.

3. Contempt of the world and pride in his own worthiness and knowledge characterize the magical seer. A wise use of life, obedience in serving God and a constant recollection of his sinful weakness, incites the prophet to implore divine help, to pray for a knowledge of the truth, to fulfil not his own, but a higher will. To the Brahmin, for example, the earth is a hell, a place of torment; to the prophet it is a school, through which, in the performance of duty, the peace of true happiness may be found.

4. The magician is a lawgiver, the prophets are obedient disciples, who preach and explain the revelations of God.

5. There we have the means of falling into a state of ecstasy, self-denial and unnatural mortification of the body. Here the world is adapted to the most judicious enjoyment of life. The prophet does not require extraordinary means to fall into a state of ecstasy; he utters the immediate word of God without preparation and without mortifying the body, presents it, and lives among his kind.

6. The index of prophecy itself, in the highest ecstasies of the magicians, is a kind of light lustre; when they are steeped therein, the world with its signatures, and perhaps too, the inner condition of the spirit may become plainly visible, like unto the clairvoyants of our day; but their lips are sealed in this ecstatic state of happiness and in the dazzling lustre of a pathological self-illumination. Therefore, the numerous antagonistic figures of truth and deception, of sensational emotions and phantasmagoria in broken and jarring forms, of convulsions and contortions of the body and the soul, which we find among our mesmeric subjects. Their visions are, like those of certain somnambulists, not reliable, and cannot, in their proper surroundings, be understood without a previous explanation. With the prophets, the visions according to form, are the illumination of a mildly divine light, reflected from the mirror of a pure mind, which retains a perfect personality, and causes a feeling of dependence on God and the outer world. The index of their visions relates to the general concerns of life in respect to religion and citizenship; the prophet speaks and his words are true doctrines, uttered clearly for the benefit of all men and ages, and comprehended by all. He seeks happiness yet finds it not in penance, but in his calling, in spreading abroad the word of God, not in secret contemplations, but by imparting it to his fellow-beings through active coöperation. The true prophet, therefore, is not lost in inward contemplations, neither does he forget himself in the world, but he continues in living relation with God and his neighbor, in word and in deed. Finally,

7. Since the motives and proceedings differ essentially among inspired races, so their aims and results also differ. The Indian magician mourns on account of the gradual lowering of the spiritual from its original lustre, following the rapidly succeeding eras of the world into perishing nature and into the kingdom of death, and deprecates the misery connected therewith, namely, discontent, the confusion and laceration of the spirit, all of which we may find among the different heathen nations. On the other hand, how greatly has universal brotherhood and companionship

increased, step by step, through the agency of the true prophet, and how has the spiritual been glorified! The spirit that waved over the Jewish religion in the west spread its peaceful influences farther and wider, and while in the former instance everything is lost in weakness and darkness, in the latter mountains are removed by active faith, and trees are planted by mutual help and counsel, whose fruit will only ripen for enjoyment in another world, toward which we should turn our faces and our exertions.

The aim of the magician's life is to secure a pleasurable inward contemplation; the true prophet lives by faith and not by sight.

Historians and philosophers of modern times have declared that the ecstatic visions of the prophets of Israel and those of the apostles were identical with magnetic appearances. In order to form a clearer judgment of the circumstances given above, we will add the following:

True prophets receive an extraordinary call from God, and are urged by the Holy Spirit to proclaim the will and counsel of God. They are called seers, men of God, servants and messengers of the Lord, angels and watchmen. The marks of the true prophets of the Old Testament were: 1st. That their prophecies agreed with the doctrines of Moses and the patriarchs (Deuteronomy xiii. 1). 2d. Their prophecies were fulfilled (Deuteronomy xviii. 21; Jeremiah xxviii. 9). 3d. That they performed miracles, but only when a special covenant was made, or when a special reformation was to be undertaken. 4th. That they agreed with other prophets (Isaiah viii. 2; Jeremiah xxvi. 18). 5th. That they led a blameless life (Jeremiah xxvii. 4; Micah ii. 11). That they exhibited a holy zeal in the work of God (Jeremiah xxvi. 13); and 6th, That they possessed great elocutionary powers (Jeremiah xxiii. 28, 29). Their office consisted in this, 1st, That they instructed the people, when the priests, whose duty it was, became indifferent. 2d. That they restored the slack and decayed worship of God (2 Kings xvii. 18; Ezekiel iii. 17). 3d. That they foretold future events, and to this end asked counsel of God (1 Kings xiv. 2, 3; Ezekiel xxii. 5-8). 4th. That they prayed for the people and in this manner averted impending judgments (Genesis xx. 7; 2 Kings xix. 2); and 5th, That they composed the will of God (1 Chronicles xxix. 9).

The same may be said of the apostles and the preachers of the living word. They were called ministers because Christ had himself chosen them and sent them to the ends of the earth to proclaim the atonement and gather His elect. They did not force themselves in to his service, but Christ called them in a direct manner, and taught them personally to proclaim the advent of the Messiah, and with these credentials, to perform wonders through the divine word. This new doctrine originated expressly from the prophets of the old covenant: repent and believe in the gospel of the atonement, and prove thereby that ye love God above all things and your neighbor as yourselves. Their lives proved that they were true followers in the footsteps of their Lord and Master, in word and deed, in works and in suffering.

If we select these characters by which to form our judgment, it will not be difficult to distinguish between magnetic sight and prophetic inspiration, not to regard the former too highly, and not to underrate the latter. For if their superficial appearance at first sight seems the same, their dis-

ference will soon become apparent when we examine them in a threefold point of view, namely, of cause, content or form and intention.

According to the cause, the palpable difference consists in this, that magical and magnetic second-sight is mainly the work of man, which grows out of a diseased physical soil, no matter whether it is developed by the arts of the physician or whether it is unfolded by chance. An abnormal condition of health always precedes it, and the somnolent state of the outward senses is the first condition of it. If in one person this mesmeric disposition is greater than in another, then the physiological foundation is in his own body, and if occasional circumstances promote second-sight in others, then such causes belong to the kingdom of nature, which binds the clairvoyant in strong bonds and which remains his determinate state even should he reach the highest degree.

Prophetic inspiration is not a procreation of nature or of man but it is an emanation of the Holy Spirit and a divine decree. The divine call comes unexpectedly, and the physical condition has no connection with it whatever. The physical powers can never become the determinate powers, but they remain dependent upon the spirit, which makes it a means to spiritual aims. A mesmeric life with changed functions of the senses and a physical crisis does not take place here.

Secondly, according to form, magnetic second-sight depends directly upon the health and on the life of the seer, or rather, it predominates in the relative modes of earthly life. The clairvoyant directs his attention at will to self-selected objects, at least in a majority of instances, or he interprets his own visions, conducts his own affairs or those immediately surrounding him, or he suffers himself to be outwardly determined without active and persistent independence, and without activity for the common good. Purely human nature, affectation and inclination are never wanting in the magic circle of the seer, and the operation of his will and his faith produces no supernatural or permanent effect, either upon himself or upon others.

The true prophet, according to form, has no diversity of visions, but an unchanging index of scriptural work—the annunciation of Him, who is the Beginning and the End, and by whom all things were created. A prophet is not only a seer, but he is the organ of the divine will. Instruction in the true knowledge of God, and spreading abroad his kingdom, which is truth and love, is his only and constant occupation, therefore he fights against error and wickedness, in order to overcome the world. That which is worldly or changeable—bigotry or sensuality, health, riches and honor in the world, and dominion over his fellow-men, is not his affair. He does not preach a present, but a future state of happiness, genuine peace in God, and the hope of eternal life in His presence, not from personal impulse or selfishness, or from human considerations, but as a willing instrument of perpetual enlightenment, inspired by God himself—a worthy example in work and walk; as an obedient servant and a mediator between God and man, between time and eternity, between heaven and earth. Through prayer, and in word and deed, the prophet continues in a living relation with God and his fellow-beings.

True prophets do not isolate themselves, neither do they sink into the absorbing depths of their own visions, feelings and relations. Their

prophecies do not refer to personalities, but to the fate of nations and the world, therefore, are they able in their works to exhibit supernatural powers, strengthened by the omnipotent power of their faith and will, and this power they exercise over their own bodies as well as over the bodies of others and over all nature in its wide and temporal boundaries. The sudden conversions and changes of opinion, the instantaneous healing of severe and lingering diseases, the warnings against threatening dangers, and help for the needy from a distance, giving consolation and strength in trouble and suffering, etc., are proofs of their divine powers.

As we have already stated, the aim of the true prophets was, the revelation of the divine word to man; the spread of the kingdom of God on earth; the ennobling and well-being of the human race. Impelled by the spirit of God, upon whose assistance they relied, their efforts were directed to nothing less than to spread the light of truth and to infuse courage into their fellow-beings, to fight against evil; to awaken mutual attention and assistance, and to extend peace and happiness among men. Self-aggrandizement and the personal advantage of these organs of the Deity were not thought of. The foundation of all their works was faith in the power of God, and they fulfilled the whole sum of the commandments through love, the noblest of all virtues, "but the fruit of the spirit is love" (Galatians v. 22); "And God gives wisdom to them that love Him," (Ecclesiasticus i. 10); "And His banner over me was love." (Song of Solomon ii. 4.)

To these obvious variations the children of Israel bear special witness. 1st. That the causes of inward visions were actually objective, and that there is something outside of human intelligence that governs and controls the world of man, and that too, independently of the inner centrum of the mind, while the peripheral sense of day and nature are either inactive, or while they are in a very subordinate condition. 2d. That there is a still more exalted spiritual region which takes a positive hold upon the reason and offers revelations which are not of a natural order, and which cannot exist in these lower regions, and which are not merely phantasies, illusions or hallucinations of an abnormal condition of the brain. "The hand of the Lord was upon them." 3d. The ignoring, or rather, the denial of sophistical rationalism, especially by the Israelites, is also represented superficially, just as the pantheistical philosophy of nature is, which distils everything into a common mass, and which represents the prophets and the saints only as somnambulist sects, upon a somewhat higher plane than is ascribed to them in the partial Tellurian dark ages. 4th. Notwithstanding that this class of visions has an outward resemblance to the magical and magnetic, as well according to the anthropological expression as to the symbolical representations, as we have already seen, and it should remind us of magnetic relations. Inasmuch as prophetic revelation agrees with the purest forms of second-sight, and whereas dream-visions and fortune-telling originate from circumstances and conditions, so we may find many preparations and arrangements in the old covenant, the same as we have learned to know them among the rest of the magicians of the Orient. We often find among the prophets also, that they secluded themselves in solitary places, and that they fasted and gave themselves up to quiet contemplations.

They, like the clairvoyants, speak of an inward higher light, of a light that enlightens them, and they admit this higher illumination to be the spirit of the Eternal, whose hand came upon them and transfigured them, and they walked, as the Psalmist says, in the light of His countenance, "For in Thy light, we shall see light; the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness. Thou art the living fountain and in thy light we see the light." (36, 10, 18, 29.)

The prophets describe the divine higher light as an instantaneous view, presented very frequently in the most familiar symbols, of which the vision of Daniel, by the side of the great river Hiddekel, is one of the most remarkable, and which will serve as an illustration (Daniel x. 2-21): "In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz: His body also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in color to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me saw not the vision; but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves. Therefore I was left alone, and saw this great vision, and there remained no strength in me: Yet I heard the voice of his words: and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And behold, a hand touched me, which set me upon my knees and upon the palms of my hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, a man greatly beloved, understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent. And when he had spoken this word unto me, I stood trembling. Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel: for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words. And when he had spoken such words unto me, I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb. And behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake, and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I have retained no strength, for how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me. Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me, and said, O man greatly beloved, Fear not; peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he had spoken unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me. Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I came unto thee? but I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth, etc." The following passage from Passavant will serve as an illustration of this vision:

"Such a condition, and so penetrating an illumination of the spirit can find its agreement only in the original relation of the creature to the Creator. The created spirit does not generally exist for itself, nor by itself,

but only in reference to absolute being. The more perfect the creature, the more inward and free is the communion between the creature and the Creator—the more is man a free agent and a co-worker with God. That which holds good in human nature and in all spiritual power in perception and accomplishment, holds good also especially in the region, in which the human spirit, free from earthly nature and of the bonds of time and place, is more active. As we have, therefore, assumed, that the highest magical operation is, where the human spirit becomes the divine organ, so we are justified in assuming, that the highest magical knowledge must be a divinely illuminated power of second-sight, a spiritual beholding, which is moved and led by the divine spirit. So far now, as we must regard the most inward communion of the creature with the Creator as the final destiny of created spirits, so may we regard the holy power of prophecy as an anticipation of a higher and more perfect condition, in which man knows as he is known (1 Corinthians xiii. 9), where his spiritual freedom shall have attained a knowledge in which he can no longer be circumscribed by earthly laws. But since man must elevate himself to that which is good as well as receive good, so this law of the free and created spirit will repeat itself, because man can raise himself, in different degrees to a higher order in this world, and become enlightened in the same degree. If taken in this connection, the power of the divine seer is not to be regarded separately from other spiritual powers by which he can overcome anything foreign to his nature, but rather as a fixed form, a normal and regenerated soul-power. The spirit of man, the image of God, may become the mirror in which the divine type is reflected just in proportion to the purity of this image." (Passavant's Magnetic Life. Second edition, p. 167.)

Further it will only be necessary to remark, in a general way, that God has made use only of the nobleness of the spirit of Israel for the education and redemption of the human family, and that this people, which had become attached to heathen idolatry, and were disobedient and refractory, could only be brought slowly to their true destiny in the severe school of adversity and by heavy chastisements. The way from Ur in Chaldea to Canaan, which was taken by the patriarch Abraham, how far it stretched through its lengths and breadths across to Egypt, and from thence through the wilderness to the promised land of which they were to take possession! Yea, the children of Israel were compelled to wander hither and thither in the wilderness during a period of forty years on account of their vacillation between the service of God and heathen idolatry; were sent in captivity to Babylon; the holy city had to be destroyed, and finally, they were compelled to endure the very fullness of woe and persecution, and all because of their vacillating between the service of the true God and of heathen idolatry. If Israel then is, as it is represented, the favored people of God, then it can be nothing less than the pearl of perfection, and consequently the mirror of perverseness, which always strives after outward forms and ceremonies, and seeks happiness in nature and the dissipations of the present, a happiness which cannot be found on earth. The divine word of revelation alone can disclose the happiness of the peace and blessedness of Paradise, and in order to become partakers thereof, the spirit of man must become inured to two

great qualifications, namely, natural obedience to the law and a more than natural hope of reaching his final destiny beyond the life of earth. In order to teach the children of Israel humble obedience to the laws, they were exposed to the severest trials and subjected to the meanest slavery.

To this people and to no other, the commandments were communicated in thunder tones by divinely appointed leaders, in order that it might heed with the inner depths of the mind and not merely superficially with the outward senses. Sacrifices and feasts were not to serve as temporal occasions of rejoicing, but they were to serve as a typical covering through which might be seen the true light of the coming Messiah, as the flower-bud turns toward the approaching light of the sun. The Mercy-seat, the Cherubim, the Holy of Holies, the Pillar of Fire, and Solomon's Temple, are all symbolical manifestations originating in magical visions and point to the coming of Christ. That the entire Mosaic regulation was symbolical and hieroglyphical is admitted by every expert, and the following words express this fact clearly: "and look that thou make them after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount." Moses, the man of God, therefore, constitutes in the history of the children of Israel the second period of the beginning of religious development. The forms and ceremonies of the law were only now strictly enforced in order to impress men with the importance of the revealed word. But how long a period intervened between the wanderings and sufferings of the Israelites, the wonders by which they were surrounded, the death of the firstborn in Egypt, the lightnings which flashed from the heights of Mount Sinai, and the time of King David, with whom commenced the third period. "He was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to," (1 Samuel xvi. 12,) and he, the shepherd of his father's sheep was chosen by the Lord to be king over His people. His obedience toward God, and his unwavering faith not only caused it to be said of him, "that he was a man after God's own heart," but as the root of Judah, born in Bethlehem, he also became the type of Christ. He was both king and prophet, and had to bear many troubles and trials. As a servant of God he sought to lead the children of Israel to God at Jerusalem, the mountain of peace, where finally, the mild, illuminating light of the divine Prince of Peace appeared to the world out of the dark, transitory night, on the cross.

"Now I say, that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from the servant, though he be Lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the World." (Gal. iv. 1-3.)

"But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." (Galatians iv. 4, 5.)

The coming of Christ on earth was not an accidental occurrence as other natural events were. His coming was a revelation ordained by God from the foundation of the world. I have already shown in my anthropological views, that Christ, if he actually was the Son of God,

would necessarily have to appear at a fixed time and place, and that his appearance would constitute the beginning of the second period of human power, and that this event would take place on the western coast of Asia.

THE NEW COVENANT.

Having brought forward many of the most extraordinary events of the old covenant which have reference to magic and magnetism, it seems important in more than one sense, also to speak of the new covenant, in order to extract from it that which concerns us so directly, because in the new covenant the magical healing of diseases was effected in so many instances without visible means, as well by Christ himself as by the apostles, from which it would appear that all these miracles and healings were the result of nothing else than magic or magnetism. There are a few extremes here which have been maintained by both the advocates and opponents of these miracles, which we will notice more particularly in this place. In concluding this section we will glance at the existence and signification of Christianity in a general sense, as well as the relation which it bears to magic.

The men of God under the old covenant, who performed such great wonders, and accomplished such wonderful works, were always rather more on the side of humanity than that of the divine, that is, they always evinced only single powers and perfections. The universal expression of full perfection became an absolute reality only through Christ. He it was who first unbarred the new door—severed the chains of slavery, and pointed out the true image of perfection and wisdom in all their fulness to man. Christ again restored to humanity the assurance of immortality. He elevated the spiritual being to a temple of holy fire, and made it a living altar and incense to an eternal peace.

“Since the first man Adam” we read in the Magikon, “is the first fountain of evil, so none of his posterity could be the Saviour, because weakness could not rule over strength; to be a Saviour it required a being that was more than man. Since God alone is superior to man, this agent, or Saviour, could be nothing less than the essential idea of divine powers. In order to awaken a consciousness in the soul of man of what God really was, he had to bear the Divine character in himself. Even the various judgments of men regarding Christ, show conclusively that all power, all gifts and perfections were united in him.”

There are beings for whom the Redeemer has already come, others for whom he comes now, and still others for whom he is yet to come. Since his advent all things have become simplified, and he will simplify himself more and more until everything earthly will vanish. A great sabbath of universal love and peace, as it was in the creation, will signalize the end. He entered the Holy of Holies as the true High Priest, and restored to the elect, through his spirit, not only the lost words of the old book, but gave them a new one, richer in content for the healing of all evil, and for making them invulnerable. In addition he gave to them

the holy incense of prayer, and showed them, that without it they would be unable, except through Him alone, to obtain every principle of life. He performed on earth what is found above. He was constantly active, as the highest embodiment of wisdom, in spiritual and temporal acts of charity, and united both in one. But this could only be when He himself was joined in this unity on earth in which he was joined from all eternity. In the end he crowned his work by conferring a spirit which created a knowledge and vitality that were never experienced before. He chose an object of sense as a channel through which to communicate the highest powers of life. Even man may transfer his weak powers on any object: how much more must the mysteries (baptism by water, the communion through bread and wine), instituted by Himself, have possessed a power which man could never possess. The action of the Holy Communion is at the same time corporeal, spiritual and divine, and all things therein contained must become spirit and life, because He himself, who instituted it, was the spirit and the life.

Each true Christian is a living expression of this doctrine and an image of its author. He possesses fervor enough to absorb everything that is diseased and dissolute, and his life is a daily offering in humility and holy fear before God, for the mysteries of God are only revealed to those who fear Him. The true Christian relies upon the commandments of the author of his name. Only such a man can enter into the counsel of peace. If the highest human wisdom continues to be a tottering and perishable structure, a single ray of the sun of the world will make him purer and wiser than all the wise of this earth. Since there are mysteries in every religion, so there are certain things of indescribable power and of the highest weight in Christianity which cannot be explained. So long as these were known only to the true possessors as a sanctuary, Christianity was at rest. But after the great of earth began to set their feet within this sanctuary and desired to see with unprepared eyes; so soon as it was converted into a political machine, divisions and uncertainties ensued. Upon this came the High Priests who separated themselves farther and farther from original purity, and in this way a misshapen mixture of a true monstrosity resulted. Sophists, who flourished like weeds, multiplied these evils by their subtleties, separating that which was united, and covering with darkness and death what was formerly light and life. If even a few traces of purity, zeal and power could be seen here and there, they could accomplish nothing, because the horrors of desolation had already become too general and were preferred by too many. These corruptions were the cause, in later times, that the structure of Christianity was sapped in its very foundations. Only one step from Deism to utter ruin. Out of Deism grew a still worse brood of materialists, who declared that all connection of humanity with higher powers to be idle imagination, and who did not even believe in their own existence. It was very seldom that the generations of the earliest times sinned through great enterprises; those of later periods, on the contrary, sinned through nullity. But there is a truth whose sanctity cannot be shaken, and which will remain firm as long as the world exists.

But if man, through his reconciliation and return to God, and through a true Christian life, receives the powers which the Saviour promised to

his followers, namely, "To expel serpents, to heal the sick, and to cast out devils," and this to the same extent that he did himself, (John xiv. 12), and if such a Christian man can in deed and in truth perform greater wonders than one who lives in a state of sin (and we find this to be the case not only with the apostles, but with all godly men of every age), then we must accord to man what is human. I have already spoken of the Christian method of healing, and inasmuch as I refer back to it in this place, the fact will not admit of a doubt, that the healing of Christ as well as by the apostles really had reference to magic and magnetism. They never obtained the means to heal diseases from the apothecary, neither did they possess any secret remedies or magical essences; they possessed an inherent power to heal diseases, and by words they cast out devils, restored the dead to life, healed, through prayer and the laying on of hands, the lame and paralytic, and caused the blind to see and the dumb to speak. To prove this, not however to represent them solely as magnetic cures, but to examine them as humanly divine wonders, I will mention a few cures performed by Christ and his apostles as they stand recorded by the Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles:—

"When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. And, behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean. And immediately his leprosy was cleansed." (Matt. viii. 1-3.)

"And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him to heal his servant. And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him. The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only and my servant shall be healed. When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed: Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour." (Matt. viii. 5-13.)

"And when Jesus had come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose and ministered unto him." (Matt. viii. 14, 15.)

"When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick." (Matt. viii. 16; Mark i. 32.)

"And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy: Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee." (Matt. ix. 2; Mark ii. 3.)

"And, behold, a woman, which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years, came behind him, and touched the hem of his garment: For she said within herself, If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole. But Jesus turned him about, and when he saw her, he said, Daughter, be of good comfort; thy faith has made thee whole. And the woman was made whole from that hour." (Matt. ix. 20-22.)

"And when Jesus came into the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place; for the

maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn. But when the people were put forth he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose."

"And when Jesus departed from thence, two blind men followed him, etc. And when he was come into the house, the blind men came unto him: And Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto him, Yea, Lord. Then touched he their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened." (Matt. ix. 27-30.)

The man with the withered hand he healed through the words: "Stretch forth thine hand: and it was restored whole like the other." (Matt. xii. 10-13.)

"And when the men of that place had knowledge of him, they sent out into all that country round about, and brought unto him all that were diseased; and besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment: and as many as touched were made perfectly whole." (Matt. xiv. 35, 36.)

The daughter of the woman of Canaan, who was grievously vexed with a devil was restored through the faith of the woman. (Matt. xv. 22-28.)

"And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet; and he healed them." (Matt. xv. 30; Luke vii. 22.)

The lunatic who oftentimes fell into the fire and into the water could not be healed by the disciples. But when Jesus rebuked the devil he departed out of him and the child was cured from that very hour. Jesus said unto his disciples: "Because of your unbelief, ye could not cure him. For verily I say unto you, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer." (Matt. xvii. 14-21.)

Two blind men on the road to Jericho cried unto the Son of David for help: "Then touched he their eyes, saying: according to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened." (Matt. ix. 27-36.)

He healed the lame and the blind in the temple at Jerusalem, who came to him to be healed. (Matt. xxi. 14.)

He healed the man in the synagogue who had a spirit of an unclean devil, whom he rebuked, saying, "Hold thy peace, and come out of him." (Luke iv. 33.)

"Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them and healed them." (Luke iv. 40.)

"Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city (Nain), behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came and touched the bier. And he said: Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And he that was dead sat up and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother." (Luke vii. 12-15.)

Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, the wife of

Chuza and many others possessed of evil spirits were healed and freed. (Luke viii. 2, 3.)

The man possessed of a legion of devils which were driven into a herd of swine. (Luke viii. 27-33.)

"And behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in nowise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called her to him and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God." (Luke xiii. 11-13.)

He healed the king's son at Capernaum who was at the point of death, through the faith of the lad's father. (John iv. 47.)

The man who had an infirmity thirty and eight years, whom no one would carry into the pool at the sheep market, whose waters when troubled by the angel healed all diseases, he cured by the words: "Rise, take up thy bed and walk." (John v. 2-8.)

The man that was born blind he healed with ground clay and spittle. "He spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam. He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing." (John ix. 1-7.)

St. Mark relates a still more remarkable cure effected by Christ on a blind man: "And he cometh to Bethsaida, and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw ought? And he looked up and said, I see men as trees, walking. After that he put his hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up; and he was restored and saw every man clearly." (Mark viii. 22-25.)

He raised Lazarus from the dead through a fervent prayer to the Father. "Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days already. It was a cave and a stone lay upon it. Jesus said, Take ye away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto him, Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four days. Jesus saith unto her, Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God? Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And when he thus had spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth? And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him and let him go." (John xi. 17, 38-44.)

These are incidental healings performed by our Saviour and recorded by the Evangelists. There are other legendary narratives of wonders performed by Christ which are not recorded by the Evangelists, of which I will mention only one. It may be found in the History of Jesus, by Eusebius (chap. xii., p. 16), from which Bushing extracted his "Weekly Intelligence for Inquiries into History, Magic and Learning of the Middle Ages" (vol. II., p. 64, Dec., 1817. Breslau)." It is also printed in Kosegarden's Legends. As an extraordinary instance of the vocation and

power of Christ and his divine mission and love to man will not prove uninteresting to the friends of Christianity, we will give the contents of several letters written by Abgarus, King of Edessa, who lived cotemporary with Jesus.

The extraordinary mission of Christ and the fame of the wonders which he wrought were noised abroad to the most distant lands, especially his divine power to heal all kinds of diseases. These rumors also attracted the attention of Abgarus, who was the victim of a severe sickness. On this account he wrote the following letter to Jesus :

"Abgarus, King of Edessa, to Jesus, the compassionate Saviour, who appeared in the flesh, in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, All Hail !

"I have heard of Thy exalted virtues and of the wonderful cures performed by Thee without the use of medicine or herbs. The report saith, that Thou causest the blind to see, the lame to walk, and thou cleanseest the leprous. Thou castest out unclean spirits, and those that are plagued with grievous diseases Thou healest, and Thou bringest the dead back to life. As I heard these reports concerning Thee, I formed two opinions : either that Thou art God, descended from the heights of Heaven, or that Thou art the Son of God, from whom all these wonderful works proceed. Therefore I write this unto Thee, fervently praying that Thou wouldst undertake the trouble to heal me from the heavy sickness by which I am punished. I am told that the Jews threaten Thee with great evil, and resist Thee in anger. It is true, I have but a small city, but it is well appointed and fortified and celebrated, so that it will afford us everything needful."

Thus wrote Abgarus to Christ. Enlightened by divine light, this short letter contains what is of true worth, being full of power and virtue. The following answer was sent by Jesus to Abgarus the King, by the hands of Ananias, who was selected as a messenger :

"Abgarus ! Blessed art thou, who hast not seen, yet believed on me. It is written that those which see me believe not on me, that those who see me not may believe on me and be saved. As thou writest to me, I must of necessity fulfil those things for which I was sent into the world ; after I have accomplished all these things I shall again be taken up to him who sent me. As soon as I shall have ascended, I will send to you one of my disciples, who will heal you of your painful disease, so that your life and the lives of yours may be preserved."

After the ascension of Christ into heaven, Judas, who was also called Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples, was sent to Abgarus, who tarried over night on his journey at the house of Tobias, the son of Tobit. Abgarus heard that the disciple whom Jesus had promised to send to him, had arrived, for Tobias had told Abgarus that he had entertained a mighty man of Jerusalem, who healed many diseases in the name of Jesus. "Bring him in to me," said Abgarus. Tobias went immediately to Thaddeus and said : "Abgarus the king sends me to you, and desires that I should lead you to him, in order that you may remove the disease by which he is tormented." "Let us go," answered Thaddeus. "For on his

account was I sent here." On the morning of the next day, Tobias took Thaddeus with him and they went to Abgarus. Upon his arrival the lords of the castle stood ready to defend Abgarus, but when the disciple entered Abgarus observed a bright light in his countenance. As Abgarus saw this he humbly worshipped Thaddeus. The astonishment of all present was most complete, for they could not see the strange appearance which Abgarus saw. "Thou art indeed the disciple of Jesus, the Son of God, who promised me in his letter when he said: 'I will send you one of my disciples, who will heal your infirmity, and give you your life and the lives of those belonging to you!'" Hereupon Thaddeus replied: "I have been sent to you because of your trust in Jesus who sent me." And further: "If the faith you have in him increases more and more, then the desire of your heart will be fulfilled according to your faith." Abgarus answered: "I have faith in him to this extent, that if the Roman power did not hinder me, I would annihilate the Jews who crucified Him, with my hosts." Thaddeus said, "The Lord our God, Jesus Christ, fulfilled the will of his Father, and when his will was accomplished, he was taken up to his Father." Then said Abgarus, "I believe in Him and in his Father." Thaddeus answered: "Therefore I lay my hands upon thee in the name of Jesus," and as he did so, Abgarus was made whole from that very hour.

To this belongs the tradition which relates to the sending of the picture of Christ to Abgarus. According to some authors, principally the Damascenes, Abgarus sent a painter to Jerusalem to paint a likeness of Jesus; but the painter was not able to finish a portrait of him because of the splendor of his countenance. Then the Lord stamped his likeness on his mantle through divine power, and in this manner satisfied the desire of Abgarus. According to others, Jesus impressed his features on a linen kerchief and sent it to Abgarus. Be this matter of finishing and sending of this picture as it may, the Damascenes show through later circumstances that such a picture was at Edessa at some time or other, otherwise we should be compelled to reckon the narrative describing the siege of the city of Abgarus by the Persian king Kosroes as among discoveries that cannot be authenticated. According to this legend the walls of Edessa, built of the wood of the olive tree, were surrounded by Kosroes with a funeral-pile of poplar wood, in order to burn them. The then reigning king of Edessa, who is not named, had recourse to the linen shroud upon which were impressed the features of Christ and which was sent to Abgarus. Hereupon (*divina vi.*) a terrible whirlwind arose which blew the flames away from the city, igniting the funeral-pile of poplar wood, by which all in its immediate vicinity were consumed.

That the promises respecting Christ, namely, that he would heal the sick, were fulfilled, is proven by the additional wonders which were wrought by the apostles, who healed diseases in the same manner that their Master did:—

"And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into the temple, who, seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, asked an alms. And Peter, fastening his eyes

upon him with John, said, Look on us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive something from them. Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk. And he took him by the right hand and lifted him up, and immediately his feet and anklebones received strength, and he, leaping up, stood and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking and leaping, and praising God. (Acts iii. 2-8.)

"And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women, inasmuch as they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one." (Acts v. 14-16.)

The history of Simon, the sorcerer, who, on account of his knavery could not perform these wonders, and who attempted to buy the gift to work these wonders from the apostles with money, is especially remarkable. This wonderful story is also applicable to the Simons of our day. "But there was a certain man called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery (magic), who was converted under the preaching of Philip and was baptized. And the apostles gave unto the new converts the holy spirit. Then they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost. And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity." (Acts viii. 9-23.) See also the history of Eneas, who had kept his bed for eight years and was sick of the palsy. (Acts ix. 33, 34, 36-41.)

Of the same kind are also the wonderful works of Paul, who challenges our wonder on account of his strength of spirit and his power in all things. "And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked; the same heard Paul speak, who steadfastly beholding him and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked." (Acts xiv. 8-10.)

"And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them." (Acts xix. 11, 12.)

The young man named Eutychus who fell from the third story and was taken up dead, and was restored by Paul in the following manner: "And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him said, Trouble not yourselves, for his life is in him. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day so he departed. And they brought the young man alive, and were

not a little comforted." (Acts xx. 8-12.) "And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a flux: to whom Paul entered in and prayed, and laid his hands on him and healed him. So when this was done, others also, who had diseases in the island, came, and were healed." (Acts xxviii. 8, 9.)

Having already spoken about the import of Christian healing and given more or less of a historical character, I will submit the matter to each reader to form his own conclusions to their special peculiarities, in order that he may select that which is most instructive. One thing must not be omitted, in conclusion, and that is, we must first become Christians before we can perform cures by Christian methods. Very few are really Christians who call themselves such; they are only Christians in name and appearance.

The art of healing, according to scriptural principles, deserves special mention in this place, in more than one respect, not only because something truly magical takes place therein, but because scriptural healing is often regarded as the only true one. The principles of this art of healing have been fully established according to certain declarations and doctrines of the Bible. (See Leviticus xxvi. 14; Deuteronomy xxviii. 15-22, etc.; Exodus xiv. 26; also, Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 9; Psalms cvii. 17-20.)

In this manner, therefore, there exists a higher medical science than the ordinary one, and other pious persons than physicians can heal diseases. "The believing physician," says Marcarius, "is like unto God, but the medical body belongs to the heathen and to the unbeliever." But according to the wise saying of Sirach, the physician is entitled to honor, for he says: "Honor a physician with the honor due unto him for the use ye may have of him, for the Lord hath created him, and he shall receive honor of the king. The skill of the physician shall lift up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration." But he too believes that the physician is made only for the sinner: "He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physician." (Sirach xxxviii. 15.)

In the New Testament also diseases generally are ascribed to sin. Jesus said to the paralytic when he healed him: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and he was made whole. And when he healed the man at the pool of Bethesda, who had an infirmity thirty-eight years, when he met him afterward in the temple, he said to him: "Behold, thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a greater evil befall thee." (John v. 14.) The apostles too, and all the saints, insisted upon first curing the patient morally, for a true restoration of the diseased body and spirit can only be effected by a return to God. It is truly remarkable that the wise men of the East, Zoroaster, and all the advocates of the doctrines of emission (system of emanation), the Kabbalists, as well as all later Theosophists, all of whom possess extraordinary power to heal diseases, defended this doctrine. By some of these, diseases are charged directly to sin, while others attribute them to evil spirits, with whom man becomes associated through sin. That evil spirits are the cause of diseases, destroying and vitiating the healthy sap of the system, no one with less spiritual views than the Theosophists possessed will deny; these are the true bands which Satan has bound. (Luke xiii. 16.)

The originally pure doctrine of Christianity, however, was prepared in early times by the advocates of the system of emanations, which was

much more destructive through misrepresentations by model Christians than was intended. Saturninus, Basilides and Karpokrates stood at the head of those according to whose theory everything proceeded from the *Æon* (heavenly powers). Christ himself was to them an *Æon* of the first rank, who, by a rigid restraint from sensualism subdued demons (evil spirits), and he who lives as Christ did can subdue them likewise. "Out of *Æon*, the chief outlet," says Basilides, "heaven was brought into existence." According to Valentine, one of the most celebrated teachers of that day, the *Æons* were divided into classes, even into male and female classes. Thus, the chief female *Æon* was the Holy Spirit. By laying on of consecrated hands the subject was made the recipient of this *Æon* and was sent out to heal demoniac diseases. Notwithstanding that this digression created a variety of ideas, differing from the original doctrine, the effort to heal diseases according to scriptural principles continued for a great length of time a ruling struggle for moral improvement and perfection. If a being is in earnest to live in unconditional obedience toward God, and becomes converted to God through living, active faith, then God becomes his physician, and he no longer requires the services of an earthly doctor. As soon as the soul is in a perfectly healthy condition, it is stated, so soon will this health be communicated to the body, or rather, the sufferings of the body cannot be regarded as disease—these sufferings cannot affect the soul which has been elevated to heaven. But if a man is not capable of such a self-cure, then let him turn to the physician, for "God created him, and he hath given men skill, that he might be honored in his marvelous works." (Sirach xxviii. 6.) The particular manner in which the physician is to heal according to scriptural principles, is apparent in the foregoing. He must in the first place, become a truly Christian physician, that is a physician priest. He is able to help the sick only through his own health, especially the health of his own soul, and then only when he himself is pure. He must heal the inner man (the soul), for without rest in the soul (inward peace) there can be no real cure of the body; it is therefore indispensable that a true physician must also be a true priest.

The question, whether a scriptural physician is above the necessity of using medicines, or whether he may at times avail himself of their use in healing diseases, can also be easily answered scripturally, and it stands in the same relations as does the question whether a magnetic physician requires any medicines? Generally he must possess the power as a scriptural, and more especially as a Christian physician to heal diseases through prayer and the Divine word, and without medicines; and only in certain cases and when he himself does not possess this power in a sufficient measure, can he avail himself of the use of medicine. They are not made in vain. "For medicine comes from the Most High. The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, and he is wise that will not abhor them. With such doth he heal men and taketh away their pains." (Sirach xxxviii. 4, 7.) Medicines are good, but they are seldom sufficient. "Go up into Gilead and take balm," says Jeremiah, "in vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured." (Jeremiah xli. 11.) There are in the meantime also examples in the Bible where, in rare instances, recourse was had to physical remedies. Moses, by casting wood

into the waters of Marah, made them sweet. (Exodus xv. 25.) His cure for leprosy by washing, purifying, etc., was truly remarkable. Elias threw salt into the bitter spring, and it became wholesome ever afterward. He also cast meal into the pot, wherein was death, and the vegetables became harmless. Isaiah laid figs on the glands of King Hezekiah and healed him. Tobias cured his blind father with fishgall, a cure that was shown him by an angel. And even Jesus anointed the eyes of the blind man with spittle and clay, and told him to wash in the pool of Siloam, etc. As for the rest, according to the Bible, only outward remedies were used in healing, and these of the simplest and most unstudied kinds. Internal remedies were not used. The means of cure consisted in spiritual purification, in conversion from sin, in prayer to the Father of Life—the physician of the believer. So we read in James v. 13-16: "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms. Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him. Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much. In St. Mark vi. 12, we read: "And they went out and preached that all men should repent. And they cast out devils and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them."

But the scriptural physician does not always heal, and the disease is not always an evil. If temporal enjoyment and earthly felicity were the destiny and end of man, for which the great majority are striving, then should we be justified in regarding sickness as a great misfortune and a heavy punishment, which many will not admit of having deserved. But this planet is not a place of undisturbed peace—not the abode of beings who shall rejoice in a final happiness. Light and shade, day and night, rest and activity, love and hate, peace and war, joy and sorrow, fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, life and death, are the constant changes of this world, and they are not due to accident, but are arranged with caution by a higher hand, to serve as a touchstone, that we may through affliction and suffering, by overcoming evil and purifying ourselves from sensualism, prepare for a better existence. The main object is the health of the soul and the spirit; the health of the body is a secondary matter. If the soul is in a state of health the body will become healthy as a consequence. "His flesh shall be fresher than a child's; he shall return to the days of his youth." (Job xxxiii. 25.) If such a strong soul should not become well he will not feel bodily suffering, because he already enjoys a foretaste of the blessedness of the other world. True happiness and perfect rest cannot be found on earth; therefore we should not wonder, but neither should we weep, because of the evanescence of quiet, unmixed pleasure—of purest love, because it is so soon overcast by dark clouds and driven away by fierce storms—neither should we mourn because true happiness can only be found in another world, because true health exists only in the souls of those who are truly united with God, and because help, consolation, and blessing come only from the Father in heaven.

END VOL. I.

VOLUME II.
OF THE
SIXTH AND SEVENTH
BOOKS OF MOSES.

FORMULAS
OF THE
MAGICAL KABALA;
OR, THE
MAGICAL ART

OF THE
SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES,
TOGETHER WITH
AN EXTRACT

FROM THE GENUINE AND TRUE
Clavicula of Solomon the King of Israel.

NOTE,

FOR THE

FRIENDS OF THE MAGICAL KABALA.

The Citation-Formulas contained in this book must only be pronounced in the Hebrew language, and in no other. In any other language they have no power whatever, and the Master can never be sure of his cause. For all these words and forms were thus pronounced by the Great Spirit, and have power only in the Hebrew Language.

Extract from the Magical Kabala

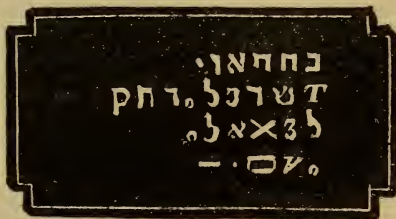
OF THE

SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES.

BREASTPLATE

OF

MOSES.

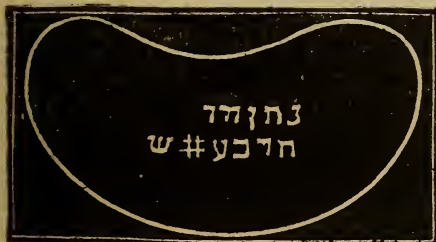


These Hebrew words are pronounced as follows :

Jehova, aser Eheje Cether Eleion Eheje.

The Most High, whom no eye hath seen, nor tongue spoke ; the Spirit, which did great acts and performed great wonders.

This Breastplate and Helmet pronounced mean Holiness.



HELMET

OF

MOSES

AND

AARON.

Hiebel mare actitas barne donene ariaerch.

These are the names which the old Egyptians used instead of the unutterable name of Asser Criel, and are called "The Fire of God," and "Strong Rock of Faith." Whoever wears them on his person, on a gold plate, will not die a sudden death.

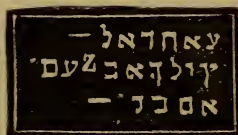
BREASTPLATE



OF AARON.

Sadajai amara elon hejiana vananel phenaton ebcoel merai.
That is, a Prince of Miens, the other leads to Jehova. Through this God spake to Moses.

MAGICAL LAW



OF MOSES.

Aila himel adonaij amara Zebaoth cadas yeseraije haralius.
These words are terrible, and will assemble devils or spirits, or they will cause the dead to appear.

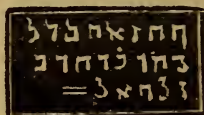
THE
INSCRIPTION
ON THE



CHALICE
OF
HOLINESS.

Eliaon joena ebreel eloijela aijel agoni sochadon.
These words are great and mighty. They are names of the Creator and the characters on the Ark of the Covenant.

CONJURATION
OF
ELEAZAR,



THE SON
OF
AARON.

Uniel dilatan Sadai paneim usamigaras caliphos sasna panoi soim Jalaph.

These names, if any one desires to accomplish anything through the four elements or any other things connected therewith, will prove effective, but they cannot be translated into English.

שע-זצמ דענ
לענזכ זלור-

DISMISSION OF ELEAZAR,
AARON'S SON.

Leay yli Ziarite zelohabe et negoramy Zien latebm dama mecha ra
meti ozira.

Through this dismission all things dissolve into nothing.

CITATION OF GERMUTHSAI,

OR,

LEVIATHAN.

דבת אחרל
שערכנמ ע-
אפעשזכ

Lagumen Emanuel therefori mechelag laigel yazi Zazael.

With these names Eleazar bound and unbound the spirits of the
air

זרצח קלתט
עלע-עזנס

DISMISSION OF LEVIATHAN.

Malcoh, Sadaij, cubor Damabiah menkie lejabel maniah ijejavai.

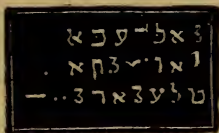
That is: Strong, mighty spirit of hell, go back into thine works, in the name of Jehova.

BALAAM'S SORCERY.

מלכום אדך
זאזכמקו

Meloch, hel alokim tiphret hod jesath.

This brings vengeance upon enemies, and must not be disregarded, because it contains the names of the Seven Tables of the Ark of the Covenant.

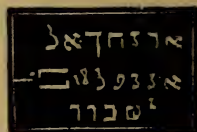


EGYPT,

Tanabtain ainaten pagnij aijolo asnia hichaifale matae habonr hijcero.

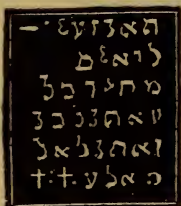
With these words Moses spake to the sorcerers in Egypt. They signify: "the Lord appeared to his servant in the fire, to seal the earth in its four quarters, and the nether earth.

CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSES.



Aijcon dunsanas pethanir thrijgnir ijon cijna nater lavis pistoin.

If you wish to pronounce these words you must fast three days, and you can perform wonders therewith. They cannot be translated on account of the Hebrew characters.

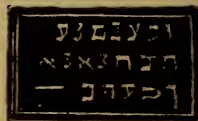


GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

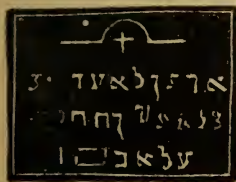
Elion goeua adonaij cadas ebreel, eloil ela agiel, aijoni sachadon, essuselas Elohim, deliion jau elijula, delia jari Zazael Paliemao Umiel, onala dilatam Sadatj, alma Jod Jael Thama.

This citation is great and mighty; they are the names of the Creator, and the names of the two Cherubim on the Mercy-seat, Zarall and Jael.

DISMISSION OF MOSES.



Waszedim bachanda hezanhad Jehov Elohim asser choie Zalim.



GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Ahezeraije comitejon Sede leji thomos Sasmagata bij ul ijcos Joua Eloij
Zawaijm.

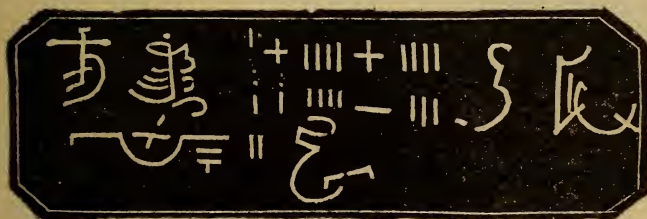
These are the high and powerful utterances which Moses employed in the awakening of the Leviathan, in order to compel him to serve his Lord. The first cannot be uttered and was used by the first inhabitants of earth as a mighty Lord. The whole is good, but not every one can obtain it in perfection without severe discipline.



CHARACTERS

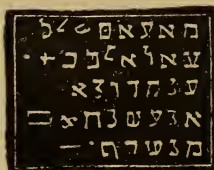
on the left side of the Ark of
the Covenant of the Most
High.

CHARACTERS ON THE RIGHT SIDE.



Hear, oh, Israel, the Lord our God is God alone.

CONJURED SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF FIRE.



affabij Zien, Jeramije Latabi damajesano noij lijoij Leaij glij ijre
Eijloij liecle loate Eli Eli mecharamethij rijbisas
sa fu azira reacha.

The Citation names the twelve evil spirits of man, through the help of the Father, or the Hebrew Eli; it is terrible.

חַזְקוֹן אֶל־זֵא
חֲבָרֹנֶה בְּאֶל־עַא

THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A
PILLAR OF CLOUD.

Kahai conor anuhec Zelohae zole hebei ede nego raneij hahabe gizaon.

Appendix to the General Citation of Moses on all Spirits.

We, N. N., in this circle, conjure and cite this spirit Fatenovenia, with all his adherents, to appear here in this spot, to fulfil our desires, in the name of the three holy Angels, Schomajen Sheziem, Roknion Averam, Kandile, Brachat Chaijdalic, Ladabas, Labul, Raragil, Bencul, in the name of God. Amen!

THREE NEW SIGNS WITH FROGS,
LICE AND PESTILENCE.

אֶל־שִׁבְעָא לִלִּי
לִי־לִי־לִי עַם־אֶדֶר

Ablan, ageistan, Zoratan, Juran, nondieras portaephias pognij aizamai.

אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ
אֶחָאֵל־זֵא
אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ

THREE NEW SIGNS AT CATTLE, PES-
TILENCE, BLACK SMALLPOX
AND HAIL.

Ararita Zaijn thanain, miorato raepi sathonik pethanit castas lucias calbera natur sigaim.

GRASSHOPPERS AND DARKNESS.

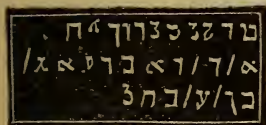
אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ
אֶחָאֵל־זֵא
אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ

Hassaday hayloes, Lucasim elayh jacihağa, yoinino, sepactitas barne lud casty!

אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ
אֶחָאֵל־זֵא
אֶל־זֵא עַל־נֶאֱחַ

THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN THE BURN-
ING BUSH.

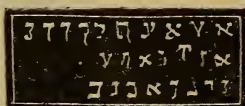
Baba cuci hiebu ziadhi elenehet na vena vie achya salna.
The spirit which appears here is God himself.



MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO A SERPENT.

Micrata raepi Sathonik pethanisch, pistan ijtinge hijgatign ijghizian tem-
garonusnia castas Lacias astas ijecon cijna caltera Caphas.

MOSES CHANGES WATER INTO BLOOD.



Aben agla manadel slop siehas malim hajath hajadosch ijonem, cedas
ebreel amphia, demisrael muelle leagijns amaniha.

Principal Citation on all Ministering Spirits of the Air and of Earth, the
like of which Manasses and Solomon used as the true
Key of Salomonis Regis Israel.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

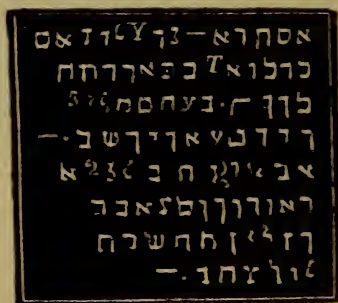
TRUE CLAVICULA OF SOLOMON AND OF THE GIRDLE OF AARON,

bequeathed as a testament to all the wise Magicians, which all the old Fathers possessed and employed, to have and fulfil all things through the illustrious power of the mighty God Jehovah, as He, the great Monarch, gave to His creatures, who worship him day and night with reverence and in fear, who call loudly upon his name in secret, and sigh to him as their origin, as of him and from him existing reasonable beings, as on the point of being envired with the pains of the elements, who strive after the highest being to and with God. To these He has given this, who will not forget him in the pleasures of this world, who, still bearing suffering without forgetting the reality, nor the perishing lustre of the world.

You must stand upon a prominent rock, hold a palm-twigg in your right hand, and wear a wreath of laurel around the temple. Then turn toward the East and say:

Alija Laija Laumin Otheon!

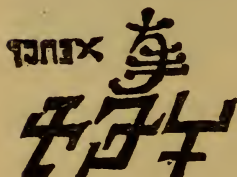
upon this a halo of light will surround you, and when you become sensible of this light, then fall upon your knees and worship. Then say in an audible voice, slowly and distinctly:



Eliam yoena adonai cadus ebreel eloyela agiel, ayom sachadon ossuselas
 eloym de liomar elynla lelia yazi zazall Unnel ovela dilatam Saday alma
 panaim alym canal densy usami yasas calipi calfas sasna safia sadoja aglata
 pantomel amriel azien phanaton sarze penerion ya Emanue! Jod jalaph
 amphia than domirael alowin.

CHARACTERS.

B A m n lazies ala phonfin agaloyes pyol paerteon theserym.



basimel Jael barionia.

apiolet cenet.

FINIS.

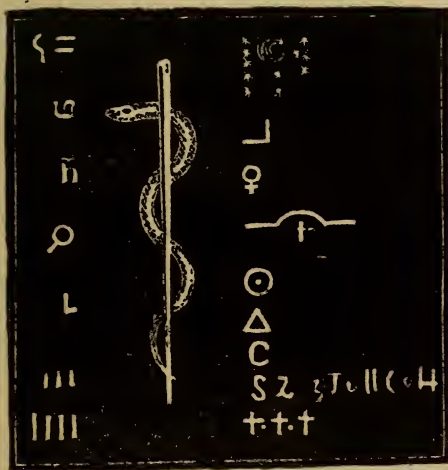
BIBLIA, ARCANA MAGICA ALEXANDER,

ACCORDING TO THE

Tradition of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses,

BESIDES

MAGICAL LAWS.



Ex Verbis Revelatis (II) Intellectui Sigillatis
Verbis.

NUNC APOSTOLICA  CONSECRATIONE

DE NOVO CONFIRMATO.

Script. de Ellbio.

ANNO MCCCLXXXIII.

TREATISE OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES.

Chapter I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS
TO MOSES IN A BURN-
ING BUSH.

כאשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

הדבר אשר
אמר אל משה
באש זרה

Chap. II.—MOSES CHANGES THE
STAFF INTO A SERPENT

Chap. III.—MOSES CHANGES WATER
INTO BLOOD.

אשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

אשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

Chap. IV.—THREE NEW SIGNS WITH
FROGS, LICE AND PESTILENCE.

Chap. V.—THREE SIGNS ON CATTLE,
PESTILENCE, BLACK SMALL-
POX AND HAIL.

אשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

אשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

Chap. VI.—THREE SIGNS OF GRASS-
HOPPERS AND DARKNESS.

Chap. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

אשר יראה
באש זרה
באש זרה

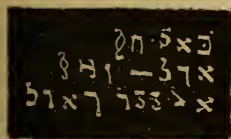
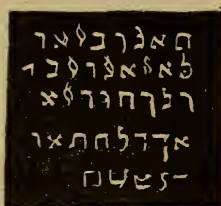


END OF THE SIXTH BOOK OF MOSES.

TREATISE SION.

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF MOSES.

Chapter I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN
A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.



Chap. II.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A
PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY.

הַעֲלִים בְּאֶרֶץ
בְּאֶרְחֵי אֶת

Chap. III.—BALAAM'S SORCERY.

Chap. IV.—EGYPT,

אֶרְכֹרֶךְ אֶד
אֶבְלֹוֹס
כְּדִטְסִי

Chap. V.—CONJURATION OF THE
LAW OF MOSES.

Chap. VI.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES.

אֶבְלֹוֹס
אֶבְלֹוֹס
אֶבְלֹוֹס
אֶבְלֹוֹס

חֲבֵדֶל
כְּדִטְסִי
חֲבֵדֶל
לֹא עֲרֵב
לֹא עֲרֵב
בְּאֶרְחֵי אֶת

Chap. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF
MOSES ON

DISMISSAL.

בְּבִלְחֵי
חֲבֵדֶל
כְּדִטְסִי

חַרְאֵר כִּד
בְּחִירֵי חַרְאֵר
כִּד חַרְאֵר

Chap. VII.—CONJURATION OF
ELEAZAR.

DISMISSAL.

עֵל - כִּדְרֵם
כִּדְרֵם כִּדְרֵם

סִבְחָא חַדָּשׁ
עֵדִי כִדְרֵם
אֲחַעֲשֶׂה

Chap. VIII.—CITATION OF QUERNITHAY
OR LEVIATHAN.

DISMISSAL.

בִּבְצִירָתָם
עֵל - כִּדְרֵם

כִּדְרֵם חַדָּשׁ
לִנְדִּינֵם
אֲחַעֲשֶׂה

Chap. IX.—MAGICAL LAWS OF MOSES.

Chap. X.—HELMET OF MOSES AND
AARON.

רִצְרֵם
חֲבֵרֵם +

חֲבֵרֵם
חֲבֵרֵם
חֲבֵרֵם

Chap. XI.—BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.

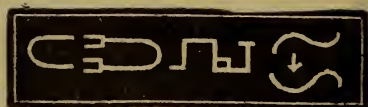
Chap. XII.—BREASTPLATE OF AARON.

חֲבֵרֵם
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חֲבֵרֵם

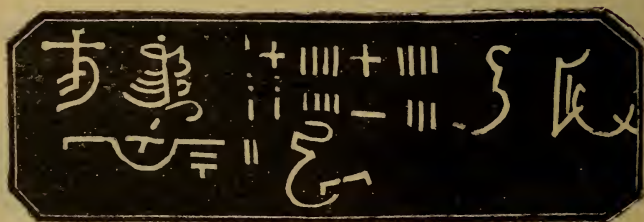


Chap. XIII.—THE CHALICE OF
HOLINESS.

FOR THE LEFT HAND.



FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



III.

EXTRACT

FROM THE

MAGICAL KABALA,

OF THE

SIXTH AND SEVENTH

BOOKS OF MOSES.

BY

S. T. N.

Translated for the first time from the Cuthan-Samaritan Language into
English.

ANNO MDCCXXVI.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

SINCE the Oriental transcript of this work was imperfect in many parts, the translation of it had to be taken according to the great original book, on account of the purity of its text, and, therefore, it won for itself the advantage of understanding and completing the exercises with serenity and confidence. The translator, in the meantime believes, that no one, who feels honestly called to these things, can ever be made the subject of ill-fortune, or be deceived by the wiles and deceptions of the old serpent, the inevitable fate that will and must fall to his lot under any other exorcisms, and that he may cheerfully and safely move thence, because only the angels of God will perform the service required by Him.

The Vestibule of the Entrance.—The language and manuscript of this rare and eternal monument of light, and of a higher wisdom, are borrowed from the Cuthans, a tribe of the Samaritans, who were called Cuthim in the Chaldee dialect according to the Talmud, and they were so called in a spirit of derision. They were termed sorcerers, because they taught in Cutha, their original place of abode, and afterward, in Samaria, the Kabala or Higher Magic (Book of Kings). Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, the chosen arch-priests, are shining lights among the eastern Magicians. They were both kings and teachers—the first Priest-teachers of this glorious knowledge, and from these Samaritan Cuthans—from these omnipotent priests of the fountain of light, who were called Nergal, according to the traditions of Talmud, originated the Gypsies, who, through degeneracy, lost the consecration of their primordial power.

LAWS OF ENTRANCE.

1. Before you can enter the temple of consecrated light, you must purify your soul and body during thirteen days.

2. As a brother and disciple of the new covenant, or as a Christian, you must receive the holy sacrament for the glorification of three kings—Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar.

3. Three holy masses must be read as often as you make use of this Book in your priestly service with your intention fixed upon the three glorified kings.

4. You must provide yourself with a ram's horn, wherewith to call together the angels and spirits. This horn must be included in your intentions of the holy mass.

5. You must wear a breastplate of parchment, ten inches high and ten inches wide, inscribed upon it the names of the twelve apostles with the five-fold name of Schemhamforasch, in the same order that it is placed on the last leaf.

6. You must draw a circle around you upon white paper, or upon sky-blue silk. Its circumference shall be thirteen feet, and, at the distance of each foot, one of the following names must be written, viz: Mosch, Mesias, Aaron, Jehova, Adoni, Jesus, Christus, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar. Al. Al. Al.

7. Between each name you must place the holy symbol of Horet,—namely: $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ or $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$.

8. The breastplate must be included in the intention of the holy mass.

9. Through consecration with holy triple king's-water and with three burning wax tapers, you must finally pronounce a benediction over this book, the horn, the breastplate, and the circle, after reading a well-selected mysterious ritual.

10. You may enter alone, or begin this great work with two companions, by day or by night, but always from the first to the thirteenth of the month, and during the thirteenth day, and through the whole night of the new moon, and also during full moon, when the three planets, Saturn, Mars and Jupiter, are visible in the heavens on the day of exorcism, either singly or together.

11. You must always stand with your face toward Zion, or toward the rising of the sun.

12. He who refuses a copy of this book, or who suppresses it or steals it, will be seized with eternal trembling, like Cain, and the angels of God will depart from him.

INTRODUCTION AND BEGINNING.

BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.

Schedasi, Weduse, Tiwisi.—I have sinned, I shall sin.

Prayer.—Eternal God of our all! Our God! hear our voice, spare and have mercy upon us. Accept our prayer in mercy and with pleasure. I have sinned. I have committed transgressions. I have sinned before Thee; I have done that which is displeasing unto Thee here in the earth. For the sake of Thy great name pardon me all the sins and iniquities and transgressions which I have committed against Thee from my youth. Perfect again all the holy names which I have blemished, great Champion, terrible, highest God, eternal Lord, God Sabaoth.

HELMET OF MOSES AND AARON.

Wochutu, Tukul, Beschufa, Gutal.—If I shall sin, I shall blow with the great horn.

Here the horn must be blown, three times in succession, toward the four corners of the earth, or toward the four quarters of the earth.

For the ram's horn, in the old covenant, is the symbol of omnipotence and of purification, or of beauty, truth and holiness.

BREASTPLATE OF AARON.

Dehutu, Euwsaltu, Bescholam.—You have sinned. I shall sin in peace.

Prayer.—The Lord, King of all Kings, holy and praised is He, the Father, God, Son of God, the Holy Spirit of God are three in one among these three. In the power of Thy might and Thy right, release those that are bound, receive the prayer of Thy people, strengthen us, purify us, oh, terrible Hero, us who worship Thy only name. Protect them as the apple of Thine eye, bless them, cleanse them, repay them always in mercy and justice. Mighty, holy Lord, reward Thy congregation with Thy great goodness. Thou, the only and exalted God, appear unto Thy people with Thy holy name; receive and remember our prayer; hearken unto our cries, Thou who knowest all secrets and who knowest our desire.

Here the horn must be blown as before.

MAGICAL LAWS OF MOSES.

Kuta-Al, Lewuwat.—We are great! Our hearts!

Prayer.—Oh, Lord, arise, that mine enemies may be destroyed and that they may fly; that those who hate Thee may be scattered like smoke—drive them away. As wax melteth before the fire, so pass away all evil-doers before God, for God has given Thee the kingdom. Pour out Thy wrath over them. Thy wrath seize them. Thou shalt stand upon leopards and adders, and Thou shalt subdue the lion and dragon. With God only can we do great things. He will bring them under our feet.

THE CHALICE OF HOLINESS.

Al, Al, Al. Arise, Thou eternal Angel!

This must be repeated three times in a loud voice, and also through the symbol of the horn, for he is an angel of the sanctuary.

Prayer.—Thou, that art, and wast, and wilt be in the old and new covenant! Eternal, Jehovah, Jesus Christ, Messia, All-beautiful, All-true, All-holy! All-loving and All-merciful in the old and in the new covenant. Thou hast said: Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. Thou hast said: I came not to destroy the old covenant, but to fulfil it. Thou hast said: He who sees me sees the Father. Thou hast said: If ye have true faith, ye can perform the wonders which I have done, yea, ye will perform yet much greater wonders than I have done. Come also to me for the sake of my faith, come also unto me for the sake of Moses, Thy messenger of faith. Reveal also to me Thy mysterious name from Jehovah, as Thou once did to Thy fire prophet Moses, in solitude; come, and say unto me in love, through the heart of Moses and with the tongue of Aaron:

Scahebual! I shall come!

THE CONJURATION OF ELEAZAR.

Duwatu, Buwatie, Bemaim.—I come to you on the water!
Bring me up N. N.!

DISMISSAL OF ELEAZAR.

Orum, Bolectn, Ubajom.—Cursed by night and by day!

CITATION OF QUERNITHAY OR LEVIATHANS.

These, as well as the following exorcisms, contain only the peculiar names of the angels who will permit the conjured spirits to appear, or will compel them by force to appear. Here the three angels of omnipotence will be called up to drive forth the monsters of hell, namely: Elubatel, Ebuhuel Atuesuel!

Each name must be repeated three times.

DISMISSAL.

I beseech and conjure thee, angel Elubatel, conduct N. N. from my presence.

Each angel's name must be called three times toward the four quarters of the earth, and three times must be blown with the horn.

CHAP. III.—BALAAM'S SORCERY.

Onu, Baschba, Nischoaz Hueretz.—In the name of God I conjure the earth.

CHAP. V.—CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSES.

Keisehu, Nischba, Lawemso.—How to be God, so swarest Thou to our parents.

Prayer.—Eternal of Eternals! Jehovah of Light, Adonai of Truth! Messiah of the All-merciful! Jesus Christ the beloved and All-redemption and love! Thou hast said: Who seeth me seeth also the Father. Father, eternal Father of the old and new covenant; triune Father, triune Son, triune Spirit, our Father, I beseech and conjure Thee by the eternal words of Thy eternal truth.

And now the seventeenth chapter of John, or the prayer of Jesus, must be prayed.

Closing Prayer of the Conjunction of the Law.—Eternal God Jehovah, Thou hast said: Ask and it shall be given you. I pray that Thou mayest hear Thy servants Caspur, Melchior and Balthasar, the arch-priests of Thy fountain of light! I pray that thou mayest bid Thy angels to purify me from all sin; that they may breathe upon me in love, and that they may cover me with the shadow of their wings. Send them down! This is my prayer in peace!

CHAP. VI.—EGITGIM.

Conjunction of three angels, Gebril! Meachuel! Nesanel! By the lamp of the threefold eternal light, let N. N. appear before me.

Three calls with the voice and three with the horn.

CHAP. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Tubatlu! Bualu! Tulatu! Labusi! Ublisi!—Let there appear and bring before me the spirit of N. N.

Each of these five omnipotent angels must be called three times toward the four corners of the world, with a clear and powerful voice, and when the name of each is pronounced three times, then three sounds must be made by the horn. The name of each angel therefore, must have three calls with the voice and three with the horn.

DISMISSAL OF MOSES.

Ubelutusi! Kadukuliti! Kebutzi!—Take away from my presence the spirit of N. N.

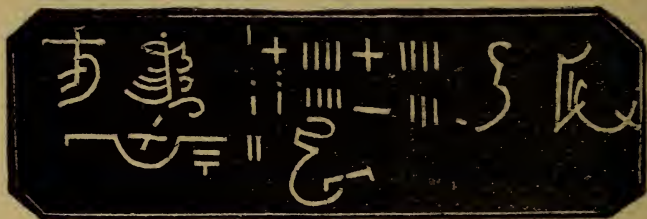
Twelve calls with the voice, and twelve with the horn, for each name.

FOR THE LEFT HAND.

These signs were used at the time of burnt-offering in the holy temple.



FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



These are also symbolical of the plagues of Pharaoh in Egypt.

Schema Israel Adonai Elhoejno, Ekato.—Hear, oh, Israel, the Lord our God is God alone.

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF MOSES.

CHAP. I.—THE REVELATION OF ZION.

THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.

Talubsi! Latubusi! Kalubusi! Alusi!

Arise and bring me the Pillar of Fire that I may see.

The name of each angel must again have three calls by the voice directed to the four quarters of the earth and an equal number by the horn.

CHAP. II.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY.

Bual! come! Aul! arise! Tubo! I come! Wegulo! arise!
In this place the blowing will be repeated.

CHAP. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

Adulal! Abulal! Lebusi!

Arise and bring before me the spirit N.

Calls with the voice and horn as already known.

Here follows the Pentagon, or, the Omnipotent Five-Corners.



This mysterious figure must be written before the exorcism, in the open air, and in the ground, with consecrated chalk or with the index finger of the right hand dipped in holy three-kings-water, the same as it is written up on the paper, but each line must be thirteen feet in length. The conjuror then kneels in the centre of the star, with uncovered head and with face turned toward Zion, and calls first in a loud voice, coming from the heart, the names of Caspar, Belchior and Balthasar, thirteen times, and after calling these thirteen times, he must also then call the high and sacred name of Elokim 375 times with equal fervor and faith. But only as has already been stated in the Laws of Entrance, No. 10, in the first three days or nights of the new moon, or full moon, or when Saturn, Mars and Jupiter appear in the heavens.

**CHAP. IV.—THREE NEW SIGNS WITH FROGS, MICE, LICE
AND SIMILAR VERMIN.**

Adus! Baachur! Arbu! Ulu!

Frogs, mice, lice and similar vermin arise in our service.

**CHAP. V.—THREE SIGNS AT CATTLE PESTILENCE, BLACK
SMALLPOX AND HAIL.**

Abull, Baa!

Pestilence, black smallpox, etc., arise in our service.

**CHAP. VI.—THREE SIGNS WITH GRASSHOPPERS AND DARK-
NESS.**

Ardusi! Dalusi!

Grasshoppers, Darkness, arise in our service.

These are the plagues which the Cuthians often employed in their exorcisms for punishment.

Revelation of the Sixth Book of Moses.

CHAP. I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS UNTO MOSES IN A BURNING BUSH.

CONJURATION.

Kaluku! Ubesu! Lawisu!—Arise and teach me.

Calls with voice and horn as is already known.

CHAP. II.—MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO A SERPENT.

Tuwisu! Kawisu! Lawisu!—Arise and change this staff into a serpent.

Calls with voice and horn as usual.

MOSES CHANGES WATER INTO BLOOD.

Akauatiu! Tuwalu! Labatu!—Arise and change this water into blood.

Calls with voice and horn as usual.

Here follows the Latin title of this book, from which these magical fragments are extracted.

BIBLIA

Arcana Magica Alexandri (Magi),

ACCORDING TO

(REVEALED) TRADITION OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES.

TOGETHER WITH THE

MAGICAL LAWS.

Ex Verbis H. (human) Intellectui Sigillatis Verbis.

Nunc Apostolica  (Auctoritate) Consecrata de Nove Confirmata.

   (Licentia.)

Script de Eppbio.

ANNO MCCCXXXVIII

Now Moses appears on the right of the silk, in a simple priestly garb, holding the tree of life, which has four leaves in the right hand, and the ram's horn in the left.

Upon his heart rests the cross; a wide, white band flows over his shoulder and breast, a broad, white girdle graces his loins. He stands upon a kind of hat, which is decorated with three flowers. On the right hand of the hat reposes a dove having a ring in her bill, on the left side and over the head of Moses a threefold tripod with magical hieroglyphics thereon rises upward.

1. Upon the leaves of the tree of life you read the words:

Besulo! Bedunim! Labatel!

That is, if you are not pure, or if you do not become pure as a virgin through the two angels Bunedreim and Lebatal, you cannot reach toward the tree of life.

2. A hat adorned with three flowers, upon which Moses stands, and from which a dove with ring in her bill appears to descend, that is:

If you preserve faith and hope with holy care, the spirit of omnipotence will emanate from you.

3. A threefold intertwined triangle, extending from the feet to the head, having inscribed upon it the names of the three angels, Meachuel, Labatel, Kautel, that is: And the three angels of the 'rune God, Meachuel, Lebatei, Ketuel, will surround and carry you upon their hands.

On the reverse side of the picture of Moses, or rather on the first leaf, according to Oriental reckoning, appears the elevated, winding and crowned serpent, holding a ring in her teeth. Around the serpent may be seen the moon, the stars, planets, water and many other magic hieroglyphical signs. On the left side of the tail may be seen seven nails, on the right side are magical hieroglyphics making the name of Schemhamporasch. To see Jesus Christ with the cross, that is to say: Jesus Christ, through his love, and by his seven wounds and through his death on the cross, for his love's sake, has overcome the kingdoms of this world, and thus took again from the old serpent, the devil the seal-ring of human omnipotence, or the happiness of man to all the eternal eternities, in order to fulfil the old covenant in the new covenant, for the eternal glorification of the eternal Father in the eternal Son, through the eternal Spirit. Amen.

VI.

Biblia Arcana Magica Alexander,

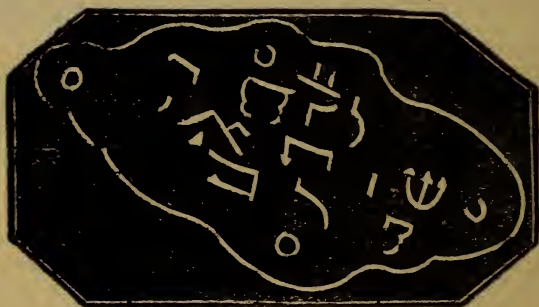
ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE
SIXTH AND SEVENTH BOOKS OF MOSES.
TOGETHER WITH THE MAGICAL LAWS.

Ex Verbis (H) Intellectui Sigillatis Verbis Nunc Apostolica ✠

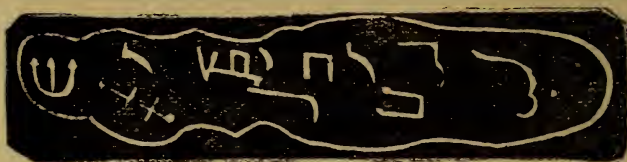
Consecrat de Nove Confirmati ✠ ✠

SCRIPT DE ELSTRO.
MCCCLXXXIII.

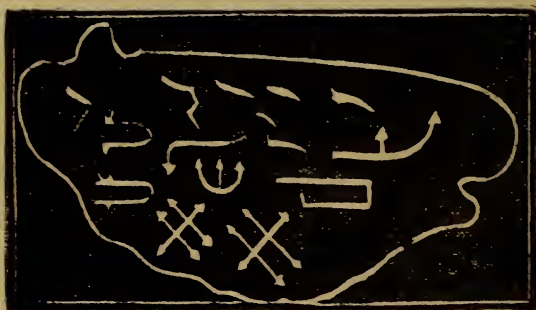
BREASTPLATE OF MOSES.



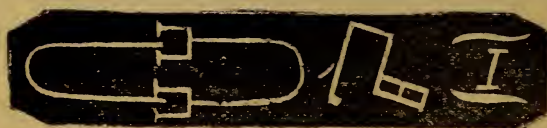
HELMET OF MOSES AND AARON.



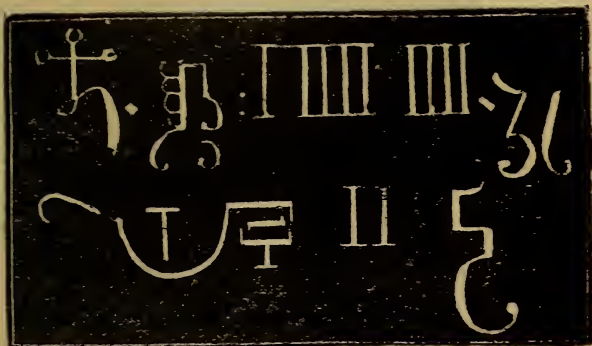
BREASTPLATE OF AARON.



FOR THE LEFT HAND.



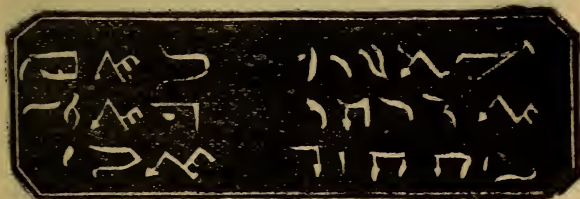
FOR THE RIGHT HAND.



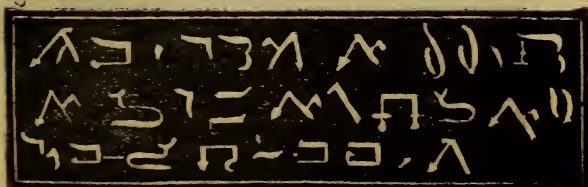
Hear, oh Israel, the Lord our God is God alone. Amen.

Tradition of the Sixth Book of Moses.

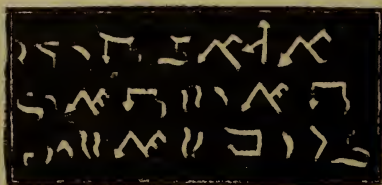
Chap. I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A BURNING BUSH.
CITATION OF MOSES.



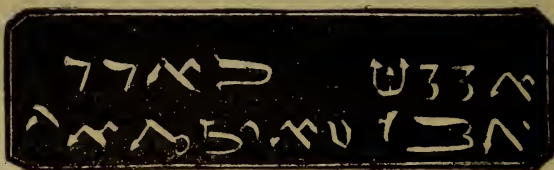
Chap. II.—MOSES CHANGES THE STAFF INTO A SERPENT.



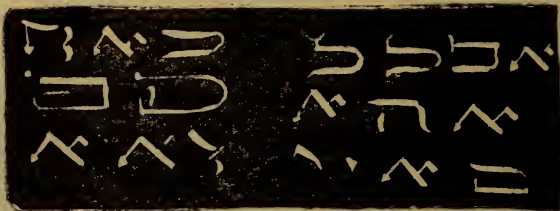
Chap. III.—Moses Changes Water Into Blood.



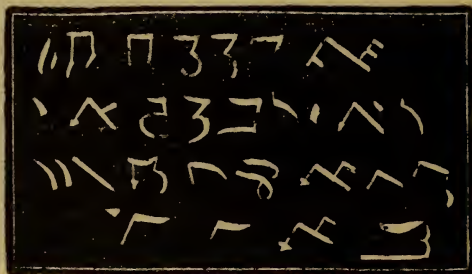
Chap. IV.—Three New Signs With Frogs, Lice, and Similar Vermin.



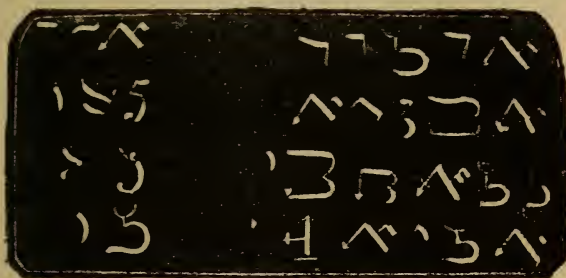
Chap. V.—Three Signs at Cattle, Black Smallpox and Hail.



Chap. VI.—Three Signs With Grasshoppers and Locusts.

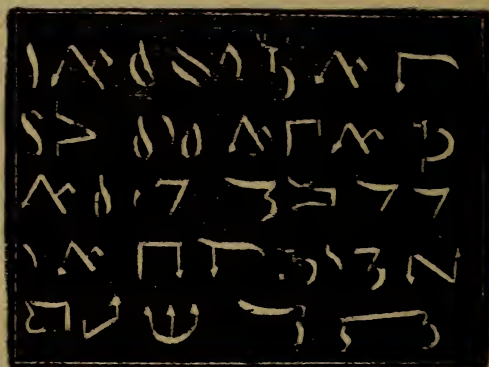


Chap. VII.—GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.

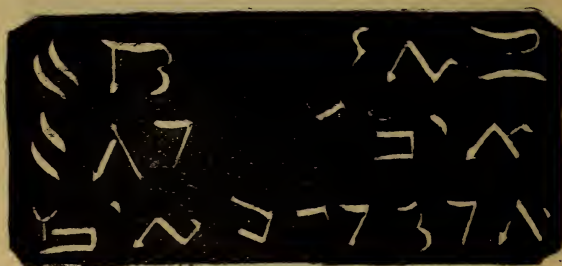


Tradition of the Seventh Book of Moses.

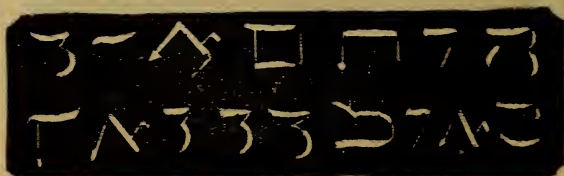
Chap. I.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF FIRE BY NIGHT.



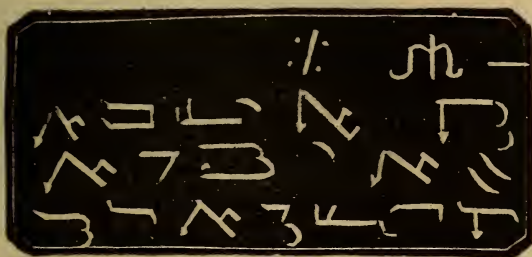
Chap. II.—THE SPIRIT APPEARS IN A PILLAR OF CLOUD BY DAY.



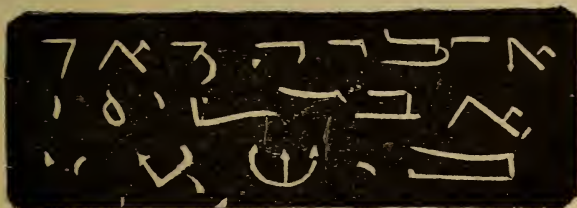
Chap. III.—BALAAM'S SORCERY.



Chap. IV.—EGIFGIM.



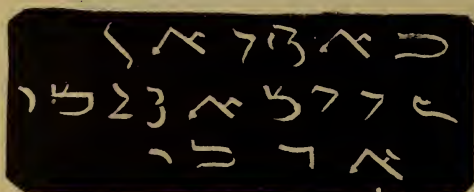
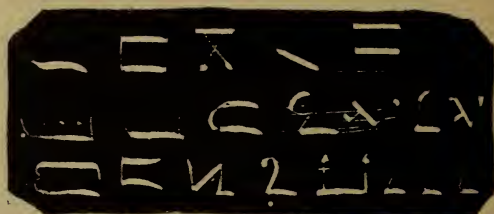
Chap. V.—CONJURATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSES.



Chap. VI.—GENERAL CITATION OF MOSES ON ALL SPIRITS.



DISMISSAL
OF
MOSES.



MAGICAL
LAWS OF
MOSES.



DIAGRAM

ILLUSTRATING THE

SYMBOLS EMPLOYED BY THE ISRAELITES

IN THEIR

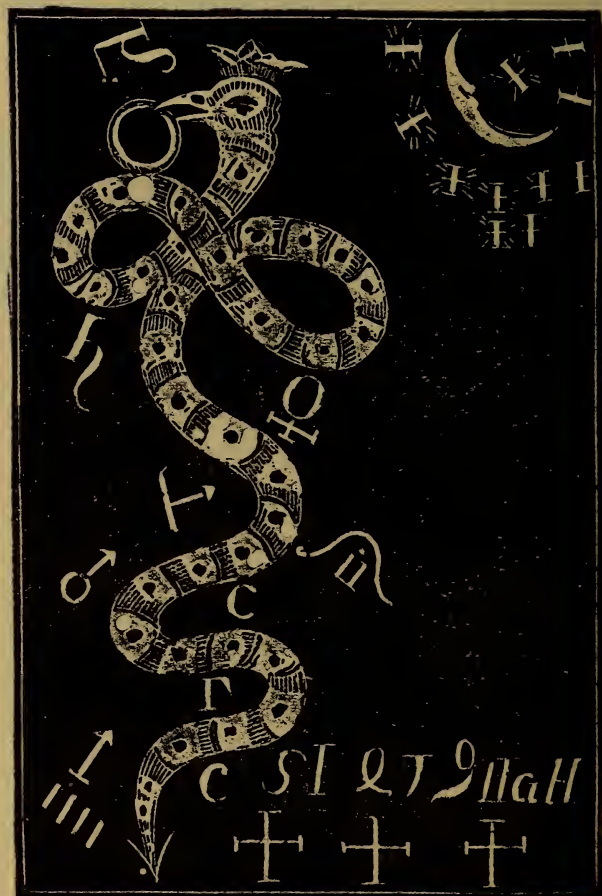
LAWS OF MAGIC.



SYMBOL OF THE CROWNED SERPENT

WITH ITS

MAGICAL HIEROGLYPHICS.



CONJURATION OF ELEAZAR.

הַתִּי אֶהְיֶה
 בְּחִידָהּ
 בְּהִיאֵם

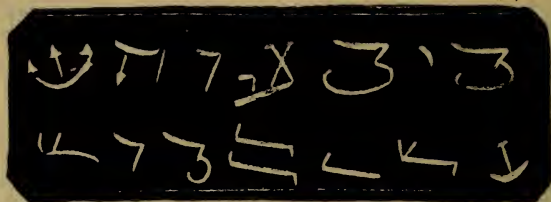
DISMISSAL OF ELEAZAR.

עַל-כִּדִּים
 כְּבִידָהּ

CITATION OF QUERMILLAM OR LEVIATHAN.

יְלֵתֵּי אֶת־
 שְׁשֻׁפְּכֵדָה
 אֶת־עֵשֶׂיךָ

DISMISSAL OF QUERMILLAY OR LEVIATHAN.



APPENDIX.

I.

Magical (Spirit-Commado) beside the Black Raven.
Romae ad Arcanum Pontificatus unter Popet Alexander VI., printed and
anno (Christi) M. D. I.

PREFATIO.

Quiam per ILLVSTREM et Generosum D ARNOLDVM comnitem Bemthemi Tichelenburgi-steinfordii Dominum in Rhod Wivelhoven magica Arcana originali celeberrimi D. Joannis FAUSTI in Germania ex Kundling oriundi Baroni HERMANNO in Mosa Ripa and Geldriae fines Batoburgico Episcopo fideliter admanuata et anno quadagesimo supra susquimillesimum ad VATICANUM APOSTOLICUM NOSTRUM ROMAN per eum transmissa sunt, volumus: ut hæc typis imprimantur, ad Arcanum Pontificatis mandentur et sicut pupilla oculi in archivio Nostro serventur et custodiantur atque extra Valvas Vaticanus non imprimantur neque inde transportentur, si vero quisque temere contra agere ausus fuerit, DIVINAM maledictionem latæ sententiæ ipso facto servatis. Nobis solis reservandis oa incursum sciat, ita mandamus et constituimus Virtute Apostolica. Ecclesiae JESU CHRISTI sub poena Excommunicationis et supra Anno secunda Vicariatus Nostri. ROMAE VERBI INCARNATI Anno M. D. I. ALEXANDER VI.

D. G. PONTIFEX,
F. Piccolomepus Cardinalis Cancell.

APPROBATIO.

numuiet structio Vaticana Sapienti paucis maxima præterea assecratur
a sua Sanctitate desuper facto Consecratio Canonica.



LECTOR.

Ne spernas librum, si non intelligis esto,
 Si contra captum est, satis esti, quod vota secundet.
 Frigidus in pratis cantauit rumpitur anguis. *Ec. 8 virg.*
 Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas
 Hoc lege lector opus sacra hæc monumenta polorum
 Hinc optata farass hæc te tua vota docebant,
 Fide cave, sapienter age, et virtute labora,
 Sicque heabit opus pia CONSECRACTIO facta.



D. I. F.

INSTRUCTIONS.

If you want to cite and compel spirits to appear visibly before you and render you obedience, then observe the following instructions :

1. Keep God's commands as much as you can possibly do.
2. Build and trust solely upon the might and power of God ; believe firmly on his omnipotent help in your work, and the spirits will become your servants and will obey you.
3. Continue your citations, and do not cease, even if the spirits do not appear at once. Be steadfast in your work and faith, for the doubter will obtain nothing.
4. Take especial notice of the time, viz :

Monday night, from eleven until three o'clock.

Tuesday night, from ten until two o'clock.

Wednesday night, from twelve until three o'clock.

Thursday night, from twelve until two o'clock.

Friday night, from ten until three o'clock.

Saturday night, from ten until twelve o'clock.

The Sabbath keep holy to the Lord Sabaoth, Adonai, Tetragrammaton.

5. It must, at the same time, be new moon. Perhaps you may say, "Why these hours and signs—are they not all the days of the Lord?" It is true ; but not all hours, and all signs, are favorable to rule over their spirits.

6. Complete the following circle, described in this work, on parchment, written with the blood of young white doves. The size of the circle may be at your own option.

7. If you wish to undertake the operation, be sure to consecrate the circle previously.



(See this Circle. Fig. 24.)

Ego N. N., consecro et benedico istum Circulum per Nomina Dei Attissimi in ec Scripta, ut sit mihi et omnibus Scutum at Protectio

Dei Fortissimi Elohim Invincibilie contra omnes malignos Spiritus, gerumque Potestates. In Nomine Dei Patris Dei Filii Dei Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Upon your entrance into this Circle speak as follows: Tetragrammaton, Theos, Ischiros, Athanatos, Messias, Imas, Kyrie Eleison. Amen.

After you have entered the Circle begin your operation with the following prayer from the Ninety-first Psalm.

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in Him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver me from the snare of the fowler and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust. His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation. There shall be no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come near thy dwelling. Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him. I will set him on high because he hath known my name. He will call upon me and I will answer him; I will be with him in trouble, I will deliver him and honor. With long life will I satisfy him and show him my salvation, even so help me and all them that seek thy holy

✠ God the Father ✠ God the Son ✠ God the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Citation

OF THE

SEVEN GREAT PRINCES

FROM THE

Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses Biblia Magical.

CITATIO AZIELIS.

Agla Cadelo, Samba, Cacle, Awenhatoacoro, Aziel, Zorwotho, Yzewoth, Xoro, Quotwe, Theosy, Meweth, Xosoy, Yachyros, Gaba, Hagay, Staworo, Wyhaty, Ruoso Xuatho, Rum, Ruwoth, Zyros, Quaylos, Wewor, Vegath, Wysor, Wuzoy, Noses,* Aziel.*

CITATIO ARIELIS.

Yschyros, Theor Zebaoth, Wyzeth, Yzathos, Xyzo, Xywethorowoy, Xantho, Wiros, Rurawey, Ymowe, Noswathosway, Wuvnethowesy, Zebaoth, Yvmo, Zvswethonowe, Yschyrioskay, Ulathos, Wyzoy, Yrsawo, Xyzeth, Durobijthaos Wuzowethus, Yzweoy, Zaday, Zywaye, Hagathorwos, Yachyros, Imas, Tetragrammaton, Ariel.



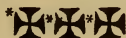
CITATIO MARBUELIS.

Adonay, Jehova, Zebaoth, Theos, Yzhathoroswe, Wehozymathos, Zosim, Yghoroy, Vegorym, Abaij, Wogos, Gijghijm, Zewoij, Ykosowe, Wothym, Kijzwe, Uijwoth, Omegros, Hehgewe, Zebaoij, Wezator, Zibuo, Sijbetho, Ythos, Zeatijm, Wovoe, Sijwoijmwethij, Pharvoij, Zewor, Wefgos, Ruhen, Hvbathoroos, Stawows, Zijen, Zijwowij, Haros, Worse, Yzwet, Zebaoth, Agia, Marbuel.



CITATIO *MEPHISTOPHILES*

Messias, Adonaij, Weforus, Xathor, Yxewe, Soraweijis, Yxaron, Wegharh, Zljhalor, Weghaij, Wesoron, Xoxijwē, Zijwohwawetho, Ragthoswatho, Zebaoth, Adonaij, Zijwetho, Aglaij, Wijzathe, Zadaij, Zijebo Xosthoy, Athlato, Zsewey, Zyxyzet, Ysche, Sarsewu, Zyzyrn, Deworonhathbo, Xyxewe, Syzwe, Theos, Yschaos, Worsonbefgosy, Gefgowe, Hegor, Quaratho, Zywe, Messias, Abarabi, Mephistophiles.



CIDATIO BARBUELIS,

Yschiros, Imns, Zebaoth, Otheos, Kuwethosorym, Zylohym, Zaday, Yschowe, Qyos, Zenhatorowav, Yzwesor, Xywoy, Yzyryr, Zaliymo, Zebaoth, Adonaij, Messios, Aglaabaij, Stoweos, Hijwetho, Ycoros, Zijwetho, Uwoim, Chamoweo, Zijzobeth, Sotho, Emnohalj, Zedije, Huwethos, Chorijs, Yzquoos, Lijraijs, Weghoijm; Xiixor, Waijos, Gofaljme, Toroswe, Veijros, Emanuel, Imas, Barbuel.

CITATIO AZIABELIS.

Theos, Ygweto, Yzgowoj, Quiseo, Wijzope, Xorsoij, Nowetho, Yxose, Haguthou, Xoro, Theos, Magowo, Wijzosorwothe, Xaroshaij, Zebaoth, Emanuel, Messia, Yzijwotho, Zadaij, Xexhatosijmeij, Buwatho, Ysewet, Xijrathor, Zijbos, Malhatou, Yzos, Uzewor, Raguil, Wewot, Yzwewe, Quorhijm, Zadob, Zibathor, Weget, Zijzawe, Ulijzor, Tretragaammaton, Aziabel.

CITATIO ANIQNELIS.

Theos, Aba, Aaba, Aba, Agathoswaij, Yzoroijs, Ywetho, Quardos, Quasoai Uschjros, Cijmoe, Qowathim, Gefoijs, Zarobe, Weghatj, Ohegathorowaij, Mesows, Xalose, Waghthorsowe, Wephatho, Yzebo, Storilwethonaij, Quorathon, Sijbo, Mephor, Wijhose, Zaloros, Ruetho, Zebaathonaijwos, Zijweth, Ycarij, Ruwethonowe, Ruiathosowaij Zebaoth, Messias, Aniquel.

[Now follow the four leaves—Figs. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.]



CIRCLE WRITTEN ON PARCHMENT

WITH THE

BLOOD OF WHITE YOUNG DOVES.

(Fig. 24.)





AZIELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 25.)





ARIELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 25.)





MARBUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 26.)





MEPHISTOPHILIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 26.)





BARBUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience,

(Fig. 27.)





AZIABELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 27.)





ANTQUELIS

Seal or Character for Coercion and Obedience.

(Fig. 28.)





NOTE.

THE USE OF THE SEALS.

When these great princes do not appear immediately on the foregoing Citations, or if they hesitate in their obedience, then take frankincense and myrrh, and cast them upon burning coals, and when the smoke arises, place the spirit-seal thereon, with the following mysterious words:



Ex VI. and VII. Libro MOSIS. Bibliae Arcano MAGICAE.

ALTISSIMA DIE VERBA.

SPIRITUUM CACTIVA MOSIS AARON ET SALOMOINS.

Zijmuorsobet, Noiym, Zavaxo, Quehaij, Abawo, Noquetonaij, Oasaij, Wuram, Thefotoson, Zijoronaifwetho, Mugelthor, Yzxe, Agiopuaij, Huzije, Surhatijm, Sowe, Oxursoij, Zijbo, Yzweth, Quaij, Salarthon, Qaij, Qeahaij, Qijrou, Sardowe, Xoro, Wugofhoswerhij, Kaweko, Ykquos, Zehatho, Aba. Amen.

APPARITIO, OR THE APPARITION,

Is almost instantaneous upon these mysterious words and procedure. As soon as they appear, however, address them and compel them to obedience with the following coactionis

BINDING OF MOSES.

Zebaoath, Abatho, Tetragrammaton, Adonaij, Abathoi, Xijhawe, Aglaij, Quohowe, Agla, Muijroshoweth, Phalowaij, Agla, Theos, Mesias, Zijwethororijm, Feghowo, Aba, Mowewo, Choe, Adonaij, Cewoe, Christohatos, Tetragrammaton.

A  m  c  n.

INSTRUCTIONS.

Since the spirits will now appear quickly, bring your desires forward honestly, as if before your fellow-man, without fear, for nothing can harm you, much rather, all must serve you and yield obe-

dience and serve you according to your wishes: In this connection, be careful that you do not compromise in any degree with the spirit for all this power, and word of might, which Moses, Aaron and Solomon used according to the revelations of God, are sufficient to compel the spirits to reveal to you the treasures of the earth and sea, and to give them to you without harm and deception.

* Mihi * Fausto * Crede (✠) Experto *

REMARKS.

AZIEL is a very prompt treasure-spirit of the earth and of the sea. He appears in the form of a wild ox.

ARIEL is a very serviceable spirit, and appears in the form of a ferocious dog. He commands the lost treasures of the land and sea.

MARBUEL appears in the form of an old lion. He delivers the treasures of the water and the land, and assists in obtaining all secret knowledge and honors.

MEPHISTOPHILES is ready to serve, and appears in the form of a youth. He is willing to help in all skilled arts, and gives the spiritus Servos, otherwise called "familiares." He brings treasures from the earth and from the deep very quickly.

BARBUEL is a master of all arts and all secret knowledge, a great master of all treasure. He is very accommodating, and appears with alacrity in the form of a wild hog.

AZIABEL is a prince of the water and mountain-spirits and their treasures. He is amiable, and appears with a large crown of pearls.

ANITUEL appears in the form of a serpent of Paradise. He confers great wealth and honors according to wish.

APPENDIX * MAGICUS

The Seals or General Characters of the Seven Great Princes of Spirits must be written upon virgin parchment, with the blood of butterflies, at the time of full moon; besides this, know that the Seven Great Princes of Spirits have among them some of the legions of crown-spirits which were expelled from Heaven, ita ex Revelatinoe Traditio. VI. et VII. libri Mosis. Amen. †††

Mundus ater cum illis
Me pactum dicit habere,
Sed me teque Deus
Te illo custodiat omnes.

D. I. F.

VALEDICTIO OR DISMISSAL OF THE SPIRITS.

Since the spirits have now served you according to your wish, dismiss and discharge them as follows:

Zebaoth, Theos, Yschyres, Messias, Imas, Weghaymnko, Quoheos, Roveym, Christoze, Abay, Xewefaraym, Agla.

And now depart in the name of God; praise, live and thank God to the

E. N. D.

Peter. James. John. Andrew. Philip. Thomas.

1. *H.* *R.* 1.

J e h o v a

Messias Urim Thummim'

A— —

Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Alpheus, Simon the
Canaanite, Judas, Thaddeus, Matthias.

This Table belongs to the Chapter of the Laws.

II.

TABELLAE RABELLINAE

SPIRITI-COMMANDO,

id est

MAGIAE ALBAE et NIGARAE CITATIO ✠ GENERALIS

Upon all Spirits, Good and Evil.

ROMAE

Vaticano ad Arcanum Pontificatus under Pope Alexander VI., printed in
the year 1501.

CITATIO GENERALIS MOSIS, AARONIS ET SALOMONIS CAN-
ONIZATA AB ALEXANDRO VI.

Aba, Alpha, Omega, Hewozywetony, Xewerator, Menhatoy, Queo,
Zuwezet, Rumoy, Ruwetze, Quano, Duzy, Xenthono-Rohmatru, Xono,
Xonozebethoos, Zebaoth, Aglay, Tetragammaton, Adonay, Theos,
Yschyroroseth, Zumquvos, Nywe, Athanatos, Thoy, Quayhet, Homor,
Wethoum, Ywae, Ysgeboth, Oray, Zywo, Ysgewot, Zururogos, Zuy,
Zywethorosto, Rurom, Xuwye, Xunewe, Keoso, Wecato, Zywesos, Tetra-
grammaton.

Pronounce the name of the good or evil ††† spirit distinctly, when he
will appear very suddenly; you may then address him.

COARCTIO OR THE BINDING OF SPIRITS.

Theohatatos, Quyseym, Gefgowe, Phagayr, Messias. Amen.

MONARCHIA OF THE GOOD SPIRITS FAMILIARES

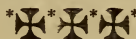
to cite for all human ministration are the following :

Seraphim Urlel, Cherubim Raphael, Thronus Oraphiel Dominatio Zachariel, Potestas Gabriel, Virtus Barbiel, Principatus Requel, Archangelus Anael, Angelus Phaleg.

These are the Princes of the (IX.) Choir of Angels. They have among them many

1,000 times 1,000 without end
Millia Millium sine Fine Dicientium
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

These angel princes appear very willingly to human beings to help and serve them in all things, as well as the following :



BONI SPIRITUS, OR GOOD SPIRITS.

Chymchy, Asbeor, Yzazel, Xomoy, Asmoy, Diema, Bethor, Arfose, Zenay, Corowe, Orowor, Xonor, Quiheth, Quato, Wewor, Gefowe, Gorhon, Woreth, Hagyr, Welor.



ACHARONTICA SPIRITUS

Even though Evil, they are still Familiar or Ministering Spirits, and Ready to Serve.

Thebot, Wethor, Quorthonn, Ywote, Yrzon, Xysorym, Zuwoy, Puchon, Tulef, Legioh, Xexor, Woryon.



INSTRUCTION.

Concerning the Magia Albia, take notice, that all good spirits must be cited when the moon is full, the Princes of the (IX.) Choir of angels as well as other good angel-spirits.

Concerning the Magia Nigra, take notice, that the VII. Princess of Devils must be cited in new moon, other evil spirits are cited the most readily in the dark of the moon, or at the time of an eclipse of the sun or moon. The circle already described, as coercive of hell, is for all spirits.

VALEDICTIO, OR DISMISSAL,

of all good and bad spirits according to the tradition of the Tabella Rabellini, out of the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses.

Theos, Zebaoth, Adonay, Ischiros, Zaday, Messias, Salomos, Yweth, Thoros, Yzheto, Thyym, Quowe, Xehatoym, Phoe, Tetragrammaton.

Now pronounce the name of the spirit and let him depart in peace. Deus Principium et Finis.

(Front side—Fig. 29.)

**TREASURE
ELEVATION**
AND
SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION,
AUTHORIZED, DEDICATED AND CONSECRATED IN
High Domstift,
AT
BAMBERG.

J. E. S. U. S.

IN

NADOYAH.
Chananyah.
Ahmen
OF GOD,

The Father ✠ God the Son ✠ ✠ God the Holy Spirit. ✠

YES CHAYA HETH RACHMYEL AYSCHER.

The Innocent, holy blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
cleanses us from all sin and give you spirits of eternal rest and
peace through Jesum Christum ✠ the Son of God.

AWEL YIHEYE.

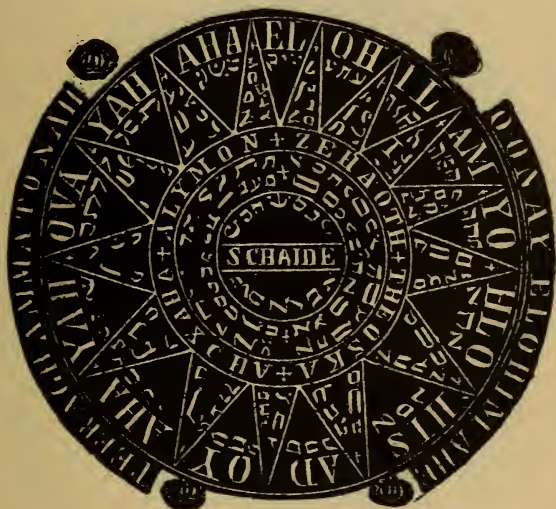
Therefore, may the spirits of Jesus Christ redeem you from all
pain and suffering, and give us the treasures that are here,
through the shed blood of I. N. R. I. Eel Elyon Jesus Christi
Eheyoha. Amen.

Optimo Successu Remissum.

THE

Schemhamforas

Which will certainly bring to light the Treasures of Earth, if buried
in the Treasure-Earth.



From the Arcan Bible of Moses.

FROM

P. HOFFMAN, Jesuit.

Composed ad Proxim.

L. MISCHINSKY, at RAOL, MDCCXLVI.

SCHEMHAMPHORAS,

No. 1.



*Seu septuaginta duo Divina Nomina in lingua
Hebraic, denotant semper Nomen deisive legantur a
principio fine vel adextris an- sonistris suntque in-
gentis virtutis.*

SCHEMHAMPHORAS,

No. 2.



III.

SEMIPHORAS AND SCHEMHAMPORAS

KING SOLOMON.

WESAL, DUISPBURG AND FRANKFORD:

Printed and Published by ANDREW LUPPIUS, Licensed Bookseller in
the above Cities.1686.

AN HUMBLE PRAYER FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF WISDOM AND UNDER-
STANDING.

“For the Lord giveth wisdom, out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.”—PROVERBS ii. 6.

“If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not.”—EPISTLE OF JAMES i. 5.

OH, God my Father and Lord of all goodness, who didst create all things by Thy word, and who didst prepare man in thy wisdom to rule over all creatures that were made by Thee, that he should rule over the world with holiness and righteousness, and judge with an upright heart. Give unto me that wisdom that is constantly around Thy throne, and cast me not out from among Thy children. For I am Thy servant, and the son of Thy hand-maiden, a weak creature of a short existence, and too weak in understanding, in right, and in the law. Send it down from Thy high heaven and from the throne of Thy glory that it may abide with me and labor with me, that I may know and do the things that are pleasing unto Thee. For Thy wisdom knoweth and understandeth all things, and let it lead me in my works and protect me in its glory, and my labors will be acceptable unto Thee. When I was yet in my youth I sought wisdom without fear in my prayer. I prayed for it in the temple, and will seek it to my end. My heart rejoiceth over it as when the young grapes ripen. Thou art my Father, my God, and my Shepherd, who helpeth me. Thy hand created and prepared me; teach me that I may learn Thy commandments; open my eyes that I may behold the wonders of Thy law. Remember, Lord, Thy covenant, and teach me what to say and think. Instruct me and so shall I live. Lord, show me Thy ways, lead me in Thy truth, and teach me. I am Thy servant, teach me that I may understand Thy evidence. Console me again with Thy help and let the

happy spirit sustain me. Thou lover of life, Thy immortal spirit is in all things. Teach me to work in a manner that is well pleasing unto Thee, for Thou art my God. Let Thy good spirit lead me in pleasant paths. With Thee is the living fountain and in Thy light we see the light. Let my goings be established, and let no unrighteousness rule over me. Teach me wholesome manners and enlighten me, for I believe Thy commandments. Lead me in Thy truth and teach me, for Thou art the God who helps me, and I wait daily before Thee. Let Thy countenance shine upon Thy servant and teach me to know Thy justice. Let me behold Thy glory, for Thou, Lord, art my light, and Thou wilt turn my darkness into day. Wilt Thou join Thyself with me in eternity, and trust me in righteousness and in judgment, in grace and mercy, yea, wilt Thou join me in faith that I may know Thee, the Lord. Lord, let my complaints come before Thee. Instruct me according to Thy word. Let my prayers come before Thee, rescue me according to Thy word. Show me Thy ways, oh, Lord, that I may walk in Thy truth. Keep my heart in singleness that I may fear Thy name. I will remember Thy name from childhood, therefore, all people will thank Thee forever and ever. Amen.

In the name of the highest, almighty Creator, I, King Solomon, hold to the interpretation of the name of (God) Semiphoras, in other words, the First and the Greatest, the oldest and hidden mystery of great power and virtue, to obtain all that which is asked of God, for God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, which consists not in many and vain words, because each word and name of God is self-existent, and therefore the name and prayer must agree, and no strange name must be used unnecessarily if anything fearful or wonderful is intended to be accomplished, in order that the divine quality may pour into our soul and spirit His grace and gifts—that is the consciousness of God in His name through which he comes near and abides with those who know His name. Therefore, this name must be held in the highest honor and should be hidden from all frivolous and unworthy persons, since God says himself in Exodus: Out of all places will I come unto thee and bless thee, because thou rememberest my name. Therefore, have the Hebrew Maccabees seventy-two names for God, and named and wrote Schemhamphora, the name of seventy-two letters.

First, it must be known that the names of God cannot be taught and understood except only in the Hebrew language, neither can we pronounce them in any other dialect, as they were revealed to us through the grace of God. For they are the sacrament and emanation of divine omnipotence, not of man, nor of angels, but they are instituted and consecrated through the (generent) of God, to instil divine harmony in a certain manner according to the characters of his immovable number and figure, and of which those that are appointed over the heavens are afraid. The angels and all creatures honor them and use them to praise their Creator, and to bless Him with the greatest reverence in His divine works, and whosoever will apply them properly with fear and trembling and with prayer, will be powerfully enlightened by the spirit of God—will be joined with a divine unity—will be mighty according to the will of God—that he can perform supernatural things—that he can command angels and devils—that he can bind and unbind the things of the elements, over

which he may elevate himself through the power of God. Therefore, he, who has purified and improved his understanding and morals, and who, through faith, has purified his ears, so that he may without spurious alterations call upon the divine name of God, will become a house and a dwelling-place of God, and will be a partaker of divine influences, etc., etc.

On the other hand, the order of God should be known, that God makes use of other words among angels and also others among men, but the true name of God is known neither to men nor to angels, for He has reserved it and will not reveal it until His order and exhibition are fulfilled and perfected. After that the angels will have their own tongues and speech, about which we need not concern ourselves, because it is not necessary for us to examine them.

In the third place, all the names of God are taken by us from His works, as indicating a communication with God, or are extracted out of the divine scriptures through the art of Cabalisticam, Calculatoriam, Notariacam and Geometriam.

The beginning of the name and word Semiphoras, which God the Creator, Jehovah gave in Paradise, embraces three Hebrew letters, Jehovah the inscrutable Creator of the world, almighty Providence, and all-powerful strong Deity.

After this there are four parts of the earth which are the most subtle light of the spiritual world: 4. Hierarchus, Cherubim et Seraphim, Potestates et Virtutes, Archangelos et Angelos, Spiritus et Animus Hominum, which come before God. This part of the world has also four angels that stand upon the four corners of heaven; they are Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel; four angels stand for the elements, namely, Seraph, Cherub, Tharsis, Ariel; four highly enlightened men full of the light of God.

For the other light or part of the world is the heaven of all the stars; has four Triplicitates of the twelve signs, under which the sun revolves yearly, making the change of seasons, the Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter of birth and corruption, and changes the fourth element.

In the third part of the work are the elements and everything that is subordinate to them, in which is the small world, man. He again has four elements within him. Anima is in the head, per nemos; Spiritus is in the heart, and operates through the arteries; Corpus is the whole body with the veins; Genius, a spark of fire, is in the kidneys, and governs birth. He has four spiritual and strong working faculties, as facultates actiones, or spiritus, as his Animalis, Vitalis, Naturalis, Genitions. The soul has inward senses, as sensum communem; in which faith takes hold as (fides) and other senses Intellectus in the brain.

2. Imaginatrix, the imagination is another soul-operation or phantasie, which draws a picture of power and accomplishes all things.

3. Ratiocinatio repeats the Species on the mind on all causes and judgments, Scientia; if the soul will now turn to real reason, it will obtain a knowledge of all worldly wisdom.

4. Memoratrix, the memory, retains all things which pertains to the faculties and operations of the spirit, to bring an experimentum et Sensus; through agitation of the nerves the increase of the human race is effected

by God. The living spirit of the heart embraces within itself four virtues: *Justitia*, *Temperantia*, *Prudentia*, *Fortitudo*, and these lie in the arterial blood and connect the soul with the body. *Appetitus Sensitivus*; the natural spiritual action and power lies in the liver and arteries, and effect motion and attraction, support and subsistence; the proper spirit of strength and sap lies in the kidneys . . . to multiply through divine perfection.

The body has four elements, namely, spirit, fruit, flesh and bone—four complexions or temperaments, warm, wet, dry; attraction is produced by warmth, dryness, dampness; *rel retentio* is produced by coldness and dryness; *Lien Cactio* by warmth and wet, *id est* stomachus: four wet, gall, blood, mucus and melancholia.

In the fourth quarter of the world there is darkness, instituted for condemnation in wrath and for punishment. Four princes of devils are injurious in the four elements: *Samael*, *Azazel*, *Azael*, *Mehazaer*, four princes of devils over the four quarters of the earth, *Oriens*, *Pagmon*, *Egyn*, *Amayon*.

The first *Semiphoras* is that of Adam, because he spoke with the Creator in Paradise.

The second *Semiphoras*, because he spoke with angels and spirits.

The third, because he spoke with devils.

The fourth, because he spoke with the creatures of the four elements, the birds, the fishes, the animals, and the creeping things of the earth.

The fifth, because he spoke with inanimate objects, as herbs, seeds, trees, and all vegetation.

The sixth, because he spoke with the winds.

The seventh, because he spoke with the sun, moon and stars.

By the power of the seven *Semiphoras* he could create and destroy all he desired.

The first *Semiphoras* was acknowledged by Adam, since God created him and placed him in Paradise, where he was allowed to remain only seven hours. The name is *Jove*, which name must be pronounced only in the greatest need, and then only with the most devout feelings toward the Creator. In this case you will find grace and sure help.

The second *Semiphoras*, in which Adam spoke with angels, and which gave him the expression, *yesseraye*, that is, God without Beginning and without End, must be pronounced when speaking with angels, and then your questions will be answered and your wishes fulfilled.

The third *Semiphoras*, in which Adam spoke with the spirits of the departed, and inquired of them, who gave him satisfactory answers upon the word, *Adonay Sabaoth*, *cadaz adonay amara*; these words must be uttered when you wish to collect winds, spirits or demons, *Aly*, *Adoy*, *Sabaoth*, *amara*.

The fourth *Semiphoras*, *Layamen*, *Iava*, *firin*, *Iavagellayn*, *Lavaquiri*, *Lavagola*, *Lavatasorin*, *Layfialafin*, *Lyafaran*; with this name he bound and unbound all animals and spirits.

The fifth *Semiphoras*, *Lyacham*, *Lyalgema*, *Lyafarau*, *Lialfarah*, *Lebara*, *Lebarosin*, *Layararalus*; if you wish to bind equals, as trees and seeds, you must pronounce the above words.

The sixth *Semiphoras* is great in might and virtue; *Letamnin*, *Le*

taylogo, Letasynin, Lebaganaritin, Letarminin, Letageloin, Lotafalosin. Use these when you desire the elements or winds to fulfil your wishes.

The seventh Semiphoras is great and mighty. They are the names of the Creator, which must be pronounced in the beginning of each undertaking: Eliaon yoena adonay cadas ebreel, eloy ela agiel, ayoni, Sachado, essuselas eloyrn, delion iau elynla, delia, yazi, Zazael, paliel man, umiel, onela dilatan saday alma paneim alym, canal deus Usami yaras calipix calfas sasna saffasaday aylata panteomel auriel arion phaneton secare panerionys emanuel Joth Jalaph amphia, than demisrael mu all le Leazyns ala phonar aglacyei qyol paeriteron theferoyrn barimel, jael haryon ya apiolell echet.

These holy names pronounce at each time in reverence toward God, when you desire to accomplish something through the elements or something connected therewith, and your wishes will be fulfilled, and what is to be destroyed will be destroyed, for God will be with you because you know his name.

 The following is another name of Semiphoras which God gave to Moses in seven parts.

The first is, when Moses concealed himself and spoke with God, when the fire burned in the forest without consuming it.

The second, as he spoke with the Creator on the mountain.

The third, when he divided the Red Sea, and passed through with the whole people of Israel, etc.

The fourth, when his staff was turned into a serpent which devoured the other serpents.

The fifth, are the names which were written on the forehead of Aaron.

The sixth, when he made a brazen serpent and burned the golden calf to divert pestilence from the Israelites.

The seventh, when manna fell in the wilderness and when water gushed from the rock.

In the first are the words which Moses spake as he went on the mountain, when he spoke to the flames of fire: Maya, Affaby, Zien, Jaramye, yne Latebni damaa yrsano, noy lyloo Lhay yly yre Eylvi Zya Lyelee, Loate, lideloy eyloy, mecha ramethy rybifassa fu aziry scihui rite Zelo-habe vete hebe ede neyo ramy rahabe (conoc anuhec). If you pray this word to God devoutly your undertaking will be fulfilled without a doubt.

In the second are the words which God spake to Moses as he went on the mountain: Abtan, Abynistan, Zoratan Juran nondieras, potarte faijs alapeina pognij podaij sacroficium. In these words the prophet spoke to the angels with whom the four quarters of the earth are sealed, through which the temple was founded Bosale. If you wish to pronounce these you should fast three days, be chaste and pure, and then you can perform many wonders.

In the third are words which Moses spake in order to divide the Red Sea: Oua claiie saijec holomomaatl; bekahn aijclo inare asnia haene hieha ijfale malieha arnija aremeholona queleij, Lineno feijano, ijoije malac habona nethee hijcere. If you have lost favor of your master, or if you wish to gain the good-will of some one, speak these words with fervor and humility, etc.

In the fourth are words which Moses spake when he changed his staff into a serpent: Micrato, raepijsathonich petanith pistan ijtn ijer hijgarin ijgnition temayron aijcon dunsnas castas Lacias astas ijecon cijna caihera natu facas. Pronounce these names when you wish to have your desires fulfilled.

In the fifth are the written names of the forehead of Aaron as he spake with the Creator: Sadaij haijlves Lucas elacijus jaconi hasihaia ijein ino, sep, actitas barne lud doncnij eija iehhu reu, vaha, vialia, eije. Vie haija hoij asaija salna hahai, cuci ijaija. Elenehel, na vena; setna. The names are powerful in satisfying each request.

In the sixth are names which were written upon the staff of Moses, when he made the brazen serpent and broke the golden calf: Tane mare syam, abijl ala, nuno, hija actenal tijogas ijano, eloim ija nehn ijane haij ijanehn, ahijaco mea. With this name destroy all sorcery and evil. You must not pronounce it with levity in your works.

In the seventh are words which Moses employed in leading the Israelites out of Egypt, with which he brought manna from heaven and caused the water to flow from the rock: Sadaij amara elon pheneton elojj eneij ebeoel messias ijahe vehu hejiane, ijanancl elijon. Pronounce these words when you desire to do something wonderful, or when you are in great need, and call earnestly on God, etc.

PRAYER.

Oh, thou living God; thou great, strong, mighty, holy and pure Creator full of mercy—a blessed Lord of all things; praised be thy name. I implore Thee, fulfil my desire. Thou canst work. Permit us to accomplish this work. Grant us thy grace and give us thy divine blessing, that we may happily fulfil this work. Thou, holy, merciful and gracious God, have mercy upon us. Thy name, Jeseraire be adored forever and ever. Amen, etc.

In the name of the Almighty Creator, I, Solomon, hold to the declaration of the divine names: Agla. Thou art a mighty God to all eternity. He who bears upon his person this name, written upon a gold plate, will never die a sudden death. Ararita—a beginning of all unity. Ahen—thou solid rock, united with the Son. Amen, etc. Thou, Lord, a true king, perfect it, etc.

The names consist of the beginning of the chapters Adonay, which the Hebrews made use of instead of the unutterable name, Asser Eserie.

The seven mighty names may be obtained at a favorable hour and place: Comitijon, sede aij, throtomas, sasmagata bij ijl ijcos.

The four names of the Creator: Jva, Jona, elojj, Jeva. He who calls often upon God in faith and with fear, and carries with him the golden letters, will never want for an honorable subsistence and good clothing. The name which Adam uttered at the entrance to hell is mephenaij phanton. He who bears this name with him is unconquerable.

The name which God communicated to Moses on Mount Sanai, Hacedion, will put away all causes for sorrow.

The name which Joshua prayed when the sun stood still, baahando, heloioir, dealzhat, brings vengeance upon enemies.

The ten names of Sepiroth, I, Solomon, spoke in my prayer to God, and he gave me wisdom: Ethor, Hoehmal, binach, baesed, Geburah, thipheret, nezath, hod Jehod malchut.

Now follow the ten names of God: Eseie, Jod teragrammaton, Tetragrammaton Saboth, elohim Sabaoth, Sadaij Adonaij nulech, all with ten letters. Tetragrammaton Vedath have eight letters. Ehoie, the self-existence of God, Arerite Aser, ehele, the names of God of seven letters.

Eseh, used by Moses as the fire of God, Elion has five letters and they are all Hebrew characters.

Emeth, the true God, is God's seal. The explanation of the ten names of God and the ten Sephiroth, is given in Cornel Agrippa de occulta Philosophia, Lib. 3, Cap. 10.

Hacaba, the holy and adored God.

Hu, himself the power of the Deity.

Hod, Jod, a divine being.

Jah, a just God, comparing himself with man.

Inon.

Jesuba, the Messiah will come in the golden age.

Jaua, he who created the light.

Isaia, with the name El, resembles the changed era (each made up of

31).

Mettatron for Sadai, each name composed of 314.

Icuru Maapaz, both names are derived from a transposition of the name Jehova.

Messiah is derived from a transposition of the letters in Jisma Macom.

Na, the name of God, should be used in tribulation and oppression.

Oromasim, Mitrim, Araminem, signify God and the Spirit. These are three princes of the world.

Pele, he who worketh wonders, etc.

These names must be selected out of each letter constituting the work, for the accomplishment of which the help of God should be implored. Similar to a certain text, in Exodus xiv., consisting of three verses which are always written with seventy-two letters, beginning with the three words: Vaijsa, Vaiduo, Vaiot, which, when placed in a line, one and three, from left to right, the middle one transposed from the right to the left, as in a reverse order, constitutes one name, the seventy-two letters of which are named Schemhamphoras.

If now the divine names, El or Jad, are added, there will be seventy-two names of God, each of them syllables, for it is written: My angel goeth before me, behold him, for my name is in him. These are seventy-two deacons of the five departments of heaven, there are so many nations and tongues, so many bodily functions, working with the seventy-two disciples of Christ. And this is one method which Cabalists use in making up these names.

Another method to make the Schemhamforas is when the three verses are written in regular order from right to left subalternatim, without selecting this method from the tables of Zimph, or as it is selected from the table Commutationem.

Vehuiah, Jeliel, Sitael, Elemiah, Mahasia, Lehahel, Achuiah, Cahetel, Haziell, Aladiah, Laviah, Caliel, Leuniah, Pahaliah, Nelchael, Leiaiel,

Melahel, Hahuiah, Mittaiah, Haaiah, Jerathel, Scehia, Rael, Orael, Lecabel Vasarias, Jehujah Labahiah Chauakiah Mahadel Aniel Haamiah. Richael, ieiazcl hahael Michael, Vehuel, Daniel, Hahasias Imamiahs, Nanael, Nitaël Behahia, Poiel Nemamah; Selalel, Harael, Mizrael, Sahhel Annanuel Mehael damabiah menkiel Eliapel, Habuiah. Rochel Jabamah Haianel. Maniah.

In the first period of nature God was addressed by the name of Sadai Trigrammaton. In the second period of the law he bore the unutterable name of Tetragrammaton, which is spoken Adonaij. In the period of grace he was called upon as Pentagrammaton effabile Jesu, which is also written Jusu, with four letters, and JHS with three letters.

The Father gave all power to the Son, the angels received heaven, but in the name of God and Jesus, which is the first power in God. Afterward it spreads into the twelve and seven angels through which it was communicated to the twelve signs and seven planets, and consequently into all the servants and instruments of God, even to the humblest. Therefore, said Jesus: Everything which ye ask of the Father in my name, that will he give unto you, if ye pray unto him with a pure heart and a fervent spirit, for there is no other name given to man whereby he can be saved but the name of Jesus. Amen.

OF THE BENEFIT AND USE OF THE SEMIPHORAS.

That man who lays hold in strong faith and trust in the first Creator, must first implore the divine help and blessing, not only with the lips, but also with holy gestures and humble heart, praying fervently and continually, that he may enlighten the mind, and take away from the soul all darkness of the body. For, precisely as when our souls are moved by some ordinary cause, so the soul moves all the members of the body to contribute something toward the accomplishment of a contemplated work. Therefore, the great Creator, when he is worshipped in spirit and in truth, and when no unnecessary things are asked of Him, when the prayer is devoutly preferred, will cause the lower order of creatures to yield obedience to the wishes of man, according to their state, order and calling, for man was made in the image and likeness of God, and endowed with reason and working under the favor of God, he will obtain his desire through faith and wisdom: first, from the stars and from the heavens by the rational reflections of His spirit; second, by the animal kingdom, through his senses; third, by the elements, through his fourfold body.

Therefore, man binds all creatures through comparison, by calling upon the higher power, through the name and power which governs one thing, and thereafter through the lower things themselves, etc.

And now, he who desires to become master of the working of the soul, must become familiar with the order of all things, just as they are obtained by God in their proper state, from the highest to the lowest, through natural connections, that he may descend as if from a ladder. On this account the Heathens committed the error of worshipping the

planets and fixed stars, not because they heard but because they were moved by the powers which governed them and were, at the same time, impelled thereto by the influence of their founder and creator. And in this manner, likewise, Christian nations have committed the error of paying homage to departed saints and giving honor to the creature which belongs only to the Creator, and God is a jealous God and will not permit the worship of idols. The prayer of faith, therefore, in proper language, and for proper objects, is intimately related to the name of God, from which we descend by words, from one to the other, following each other out of a natural relationship, in order to accomplish something.

The son, therefore, prevails upon the father that he may support him, although the father may not do so willingly; still since he is his offspring he must calculate to maintain him. How much greater care our heavenly Father must feel for us, if we serve him in a proper manner?

He who desires the influence of the sun, must not only direct his eyes toward it, but he must elevate his soul-power to the soul-power of the sun, which is God himself, having previously made himself equal to God, by fasting, purification and good works, but he must also pray in the name of the Mediator, with fervent love to God, and his fellow-man that he may come to the sun-spirit, so that he may be filled with its light and lustre, which he may draw to himself from heaven, and that he may become gifted with heavenly gifts and obtain all the desires of his heart; and as soon as he grasps the higher light and arrives at a state of perfection, being gifted with supernatural intelligence, he will also obtain supernatural might and power. For this reason, without godliness, man will deny his faith in Christ, and will become unacceptable to God, therewith often falling a prey to the evil spirits against whom there is no better protection than the fear of the Lord and fervent love to God and man.

Most people who are skilled in divine works, and who possess the right to command spirits, must be worthy by nature or become worthy by education and discipline for their calling—must keep all their works secret, but may not conceal it from a true and pious person. Dignity of birth comes from station, but it is due to Saturnum, Sol, Mercurium or Martem that he is made prosperous—that he is learned in Physics, Metaphysics and Theology.

If a man has a knowledge of God, as the first great cause, he must also acknowledge other causes or coöperative spirits, and determine what official station of dignity and honor to accord to them; and without which knowledge their presence and help cannot be enjoyed. Such honor and dignity must not be shown for the sake of the spirits but for the sake of their Lord, whose servants they are. In this manner the angels of God will encamp around those who fear and love the Lord, and, as Augustinus says: "Everything possesses a predestined angel-power." For this reason the Hebrew theologians, Mecubae and Cabalists, named ten principle divine names as members of God, and ten Numerationes or Zephireot, as raiment and instruments of the Creator, through which he is infused into all his creatures, according to the order of the ten, Angelic and ten princely spirit-choirs, from which all things derive their power and quality.

1. The name EHEIE, aser Eheie, its number Cether elion, one Lord,

is the simplest Deity, which no eye has seen, is ascribed to God the Father, gives influence through the order Seraphin haiath, heidosch, gate of holiness or of life, that transmits life to everything through Elieic. From this he flows in through premum mohele so that all things must exist—that the heavens must revolve every twenty-four hours. This wonderful being is called Intelligentia Metatron, that is, a prince of faces. His office is to lead others into the presence of the Sovereign, and through him God spake to Moses.

2. JEHOVAH, Jod, vel Jah, his number Chochma—wisdom: The Deity full of spirit. The firstborn son through whom the Father redeemed man from his curse, is infused through the order of Cherubim, Hebrew Ophanim, of the form or Council. From these he flows into the star-bedecked heavens, and produces there many figures. Chavs of creatures, God, Jod, Tetragrammaton, through the peculiar Intelligentiam razelem, who was a representative of Adam, etc.

3. TETRAGRAMMATON ELOHIM, his number is called Binah. That is, caution or sense, and signifies pardon and rest, cheerfulness, repentance and conversion—the great trumpet, the redemption of the world and life in time to come, is adopted to the Holy Spirit and flows in his might through the order of Thronorum, which is called Arabim in Hebrew—that is, the great, strong and mighty angels, from thence through the Saturui Sphaeram it gives to liquid matter the form Stopsie, which was an Intelligentia Zaphkiel, was Noah's representative, and another Intelligentia Jophiel, Shem's representative, and these are the three highest and greatest Numerationes, as a throne of the divine Persons, through whose commands everything takes place, and which is completed by the other seven, which, in this account are called Numerationes fabrice, etc.

4. EL, his number Haesed, that is, grace or goodness, and is called mercy, pity, great power, sceptre and right hand, and flows in through order Dominationum, Hebrew Hasmalin—confers peaceable justice through Spaeram Jovis and bestows in a general manner special Intelligentia; Zadkiel, Abraham's representative.

5. ELOHIM cuhor, a strong God, who punishes the guilt of the wicked. His number is Geburah, that is, might, gravity, strength, security, judgment. He inflicts punishment through the sword and through wars. To this is added the judgment-seat of God, the girdle of the Lord, a sword and left arm; also Pached, that is, fear before God; flows in through the order of Potestatum Hebrai Seraphin, so named, and from thence through the Sphaeram Martis, which has great wars and tribulation—moves the elements accordingly. His peculiar Intelligentia Gamael, Samson's representative.

6. ELOHA, the God of Alchemy; his number is Tipheret, grace, beauty, adornment, happiness and pleasure—signifies the word of life and flows in through the order Virtutum, which in Hebrew is Malachien: This angel, through Sphaeram Solis, gives perspicuity and life, and reveals metals. His particular Intelligentia, Raphael, was the representative of Isaac and of the youthful Tobias, and Pehel was the representative of Jacob.

7. TETRAGRAMMATON SABAOTH, or Adonaij Sabaoth, the

God of Hosts. His number is Nezaeh, that is, triumph and victory; to him is accorded the right pillar, and signifies eternity, the justice of God, and avenger; he flows in through the order of Principatum or through the Hebrew Elohem, that is, God in Sphaeram Veneris, love and justice. He produces all Vegetable growth and his peculiar Intelligencia Hamel, and the angel Cernaui is David's representative.

8. ELOHIM SABAOth, God of Hosts, not of war or wrath, but of pity, for he has both names and goes before his hosts. His number is called Hod, that is, honorable confession, ornament and renown. To him is accorded the left pillar, and he flows in through the order of Archangelorum, before the gods in Sphaeram Mercuri, adornment, safety and unanimity, and brings forth animals; His peculiar Intelligencia Michael, the representative of Solomon.

9. SADAI, the Almighty, who does all things abundantly, and Elhay, that is, the living God. His number is called Jesod, that is, a foundation, and is denominated good sense, redemption and rest. He flows in through the order of Angelorum, in Hebrew Cherubin in Sphaerem Lunae, to increase and decrease all things, supports and contributes the genius of man: his Intelligenciae Gabriel, a representative of Joseph, Joshua, and Daniel.

10. ADONAY MELECH, that is, a Lord and King. His number is called Malchat, that is, a kingdom and dominion, and is termed the Church and house of God, and the door flows in through the order of Animasticum of the believing soul—in Hebrew the life of princes, and they are inferior to the hierarchy. They afford information to the children of men, of the wonderful things of knowledge, guard them against prophesies. For their Anima Messiah Meshia, or according to others the Intelligencia Metratron, which is called the first creature—the soul of the world, is the representative of Moses, the fountain of all life.

Therefore, all the names of God and the ten Sephirot, are embraced in the Archetypum.

In mundo intelligibili are included the nine choirs of the angels, or according to Dionysius, the ten blessed orders:

1. Seraphim; 2. Cherubim; 3. Throni; 4. Deminationis; 5. Potestates; 6. Virtutes; 7. Principatus; 8. Archangeli; 9. Angeli; and 10, Animae Beatae.

The Hebrews, therefore, call them: Haioth, Hacades, Ophanim; Aralim; Hasmalim; Seraphim; Malachim Elohim, ben Elohim; Cherubim; Issim.

The ten representative angels are: Matron, Jophiel, Zaphkiel, Camael, Raphael, Haniel, Michael, Gabriel, Anima Messiae.

The Nine Choirs of Angels divide Theology into Three Hierarchies.

In the first hierarchy are the Seraphim, Cherubim and Throni. These more than celestial spirits are called gods, or the sons of the gods, because they continually behold the order of divine providence. Being foremost in the goodness of God, they praise Him unceasingly and pray for us.

The second in the being of God, according to form, and the third, in the wisdom of God, stand continually before God.

In the middle hierarchy are the Dominations, Potestates, Virtutes, as spirits of intelligence, to rule the whole world. The first command what the others perform. The second steer that which interfere with the laws of God. The third oversee the heavens and occasionally perform great wonders. These six orders of spirits are never sent upon the earth.

In the lower hierarchy are the Principatus, Archangeli et angeli, which are ministering spirits to oversee earthly affairs.

The first, in general, provide for princes and magistrates, and care for kingdoms and countries, each in his own especial sphere, as Moses declares in his song, Deut. xxxii. 8: "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel." And Daniel says, chap. x. 13: "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me twenty-one days. And Jesus Sirach bears witness, that each nation has its angel as a director. Therefore did the Romans at all times invite the angel of their country. 2. The second are engaged in divine affairs, institute and regulate the worship of God among all men, and present the prayers, offerings and piety of men to God. 3. The third order all things of minor importance, and each one is appointed as a protector to every man.

For this reason the fourth hierarchy are added to the former as the souls of heavenly bodies; *Animae Corporum Coelestium*, the souls of *Hervos*, vel *Heroas* and of the *Martyrum*. They first control the light, and the influence of the strong, so that their power may proceed from God to the lower regions. The second are the chosen souls of the redeemed. The third are the souls of the innocent martyrs and followers of God, who offered up their lives, amid pain and suffering, out of love to God.

Since God the Father gave to the Son, our Mediator, Saviour and Redeemer, all power in heaven and on earth, and the angels of the great name of God and Jesus, which is the first might in God, it flows, accordingly, into the twelve angels and twelve signs, through which it spreads into the seven planets, and, as a natural consequence, into all other servants and instruments of God, until it penetrates into the lower regions, so that even an insignificant herb may develop a peculiar power, even if it is decayed, and so the angel of man appears before God at all times bearing his prayers into his presence.

Without the name of Jesus the old Hebrew cabalists can accomplish nothing in the present day, with old arts as they were used by the Fathers. Therefore, it is, that all creatures fear and honor him. All men who believe in him are enlightened through his brightness, our souls are united with him, and the divine power emanating from him is communicated to us.

OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE HEAVENLY POWERS.

The first course in *Mundo Coelesti* watches day and night. *Primum Mobile* *Rechet Hagallalim*. It continues from morning until night.

From these the Heathens divided the angels into thirty-three orders. The first great light, communicates light, life and station out of the first course, and opposes others in the Saphaera Zodiaci, causes summer and winter, the spring of all the things of the elements: Hebrew Masloth, goes from evening to morning according to the twelve signs of the heavens.

But even if all things have their existence from God, the great First Cause, we should not despise other causes, according to changes in time, in the year, in the month, day and hour, neither should we regard these causes exclusively, and forget God, for in this manner heathen idolatry was instituted. For this reason God does not regard time, because it robs him of his honor. For the heathens experienced that the heavenly spirits were not united with their bodies, as our souls are united with our bodies, but they could rejoice in the presence of God, and prepare their bodies without much labor to work with the lower creatures of God. They regarded the celestial spirits as gods, and conferred divine honors upon them. Very often the Jews turned away from God and worshipped the host of heaven, and therefore the wrath of God was kindled against them. But on account of the order of all things, God has set them before us as his instruments, and which we, on account of their honorable office, are to regard as the noblest creation of God, and that we should honor them, next to God, according to their station, not as gods but as creatures, which he has appointed as twelve princes over the twelve gates of heaven, that they may admit what they received from the divine name, transposed twelve times.

Ezekiel writes: "The laws of the twelve tribes of Israel were thus written, and God Tetragrammaton ruled over them. Thus it is written in Revelations, that the stones in our heavenly city are planted in the ground, or that the Church of Christ is represented by the twelve names of the Apostles, including twelve angels and of them the name of Jesus, who received all the power of the Father, so that the heavens will receive what the angels give to them according to the will of God. If then an Intelligentia is ascribed to each heaven, each star and department of heaven must have a distinct and separate power and influence and, therefore, must also have a distinct Intelligentiam. Therefore, there are twelve princes of angels, who represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and thirty-six, who represent so many Decuriis, and seventy-two angels, who represent so many Quinariis of heaven, of the seventy-two nations and languages of man. Likewise seven angels of the hosts for the seven heavens of the seven planets, to rule the world, etc. Also, four angels who represent the Triplicatibus of the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the four elements.

All of these have their names and signs which the philosophers used in their works, signs, images, clothes, mirrors, rings, cards, wax-figures, as if they had a sun-work before them, and they called them the names of the sun and his angels, and likewise of others, etc.

In the third place, they designated the lowest angels as servants. These they distributed over the world, and named them after the seven planets, and these have their special course after the four elements and after the four parts of the air and earth—of the daytime several Diurnos,

several Nocturnos, several Merailianos, not that they are subordinate to the influence of the stars as the body which they represent, but that they are more nearly related to the star-body-kind-time than others, otherwise they might be everywhere, as each human being has three angels, for God has ordained that each human being shall have his good angel as a protector, who also strengthens the spirit and urges and exhorts us to what is good and commendable, that we may fly from what is *fati malignitatem*. And so every man has also an evil spirit, who controls the desires of the flesh and awakens the lusts of the heart; between these two angels there is a constant struggle for supremacy, and to whichever man gives the preference, he will receive the victory; and if the evil angel triumphs, then man becomes his servant; should the good angel prove the stronger, then he will cleanse the soul and save man from destruction. The angel and his impulses come from the stars. In the third place are the Genii of man who govern birth, and are joined to each perfection in man. These are recognized from the star which is the Lord of the births. The Chaldeans seek this Genium in the sun and moon. Astronomers would have the good Genium out of the eleventh house, which, on this account, they call *bonum Genium*. The evil one out of the sixth house. But each one will learn to know him through natural inclination, to which every one was inclined from his youth. On this account he is called the birth-angel, who is sent into the world by God. Of this the Psalmist says: "Thou hast made the spirit of man as a flame of fire." For experience teaches us, that the flame of fire and the spirit of birth may be separated without injury to man, that we can learn hidden things from him if he is good and true. But he is powerless over the members of birth. If, however, a virgin or a companion becomes marriageable, he may be liberated from the glass, and our time of life will be extended.

Moreover, God has endowed man with a divine character, through the number Phahad—the left-hand sword of God, through which man becomes a curse to all creatures. And then again he has another character in the number of God, Hesed—the right and sceptre of God, through which he finds favor in the sight of God and all his creatures. An evil conscience is the judge of men, but a good conscience is his happiness. Therefore, through the other divine numbers, and through the angels and stars a man becomes impressed with signs and characters of conscience, which causes him to be happy at one time and unhappy at another.

On this account, if a man has committed murder, theft, or any other act which his conscience condemns, he can be brought to a confession of his guilt through persistent calling upon the name of God, for his conscience will then give him no rest until he returns what he has stolen, or until he has suffered the punishment due to his crime. Therefore, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, take three small pieces of wood from the door-sill over which the thief passed in leaving the place where he committed the theft, place them within a wagon-wheel, and then through the hub of the wheel say the following words: "I pray thee, thou Holy Trinity, that thou mayest cause A, who stole from me B, a, C, to have no rest or peace until he again restores me that which he has stolen." Turn the wheel round three times and replace it again on the wagon. Nevertheless, all pious Christians, who have any regard for their future happi-

ness, should carefully avoid all superstitious matters and should beware of using the holy name of God unworthily, holding it in the greatest reverence lest they bring upon themselves eternal punishment. If a man knows himself and realizes that he is created in the image and likeness of God, he will acknowledge God the Creator before all things, and afterward the world and all its creatures. From the high spirits, angels and the heavens, he has his portion, and from the elements, animals, vegetation and stones, he has within himself everything that he desires to obtain.

If a man knows how to appropriate the particular place, time, order, bulk, proportion and mental organization of any one, he can attract and draw them, just as a magnet attracts iron: but he must first be prepared, just as the magnet must be fashioned by the file and charged with electricity. To this end the soul must first be purified, and dedicated to God through faith; a pure heart and constant joy in the spirit are requisites. He must possess love to God and his fellow-man, and then he may arrive at a perfect state and become like unto the Son of God. He will become united with God, and will once more be like him. It is not given to angels nor to any creature to unite with God, but only to man, and he may become his son; and when this takes place, so that he overcomes himself, he overcomes and can draw to him all other creatures and command their obedience.

But our spirit, word and act, have no power in magic and knowledge, if they are not everywhere strengthened by the word of God, which we should hear often. We must pray to God without ceasing, live a sober, temperate and unstained life; we must live in a continual state of repentance, give alms and help the poor, for Christ has not said in vain: "Make unto you friends with the unrighteous Mammon, so that he will receive you into eternal habitations," that is, apply your wealth and abundance to the support of the poor, that they may receive their daily bread from you and be satisfied. Christ says: "What ye have done unto the least of mine, that have ye also done unto me." These are the friends that will lead us to a divine abode in heaven, where we shall receive a thousandfold and life eternal. On the other hand there are others who will be rejected. For Christ also says: "I was hungry and thirsty and ye gave me no meat and drink, depart from me ye workers of iniquity, into outer darkness."

Therefore, by fasting, praying, giving alms, preparing the souls of the believing for the temple, we may become co-heirs of heavenly gifts, which the Most High will confer upon us in this life if we know how to use them properly.

Since all things have their life and being from God, so the proper name of everything was taken from the being of that thing, and all things derive an influence from the Creator if they have been appropriately named, for as God brings forth all things through the influence of heaven and the operation of the planets, even so the names of all things have been given in accordance with some quality of the thing named by him who counts the stars. And thus God led all creatures to Adam in order to have them named, and their names indicated some peculiar quality or part possessed by each. Therefore, each name that has a meaning, shows by compari-

son with the heavenly influence an inherent qualification of the object, although it is frequently changed. When, however, both meanings of the name harmonize, then the will-power and natural power become identical. Moreover, the celestial office to which man is ordained by God, endows him with power to confer life, and tells him what to encourage, what to elevate, what to suppress in his cause Sphaera, and to perform wonderful works with full devotion toward God, etc.

What Man Receives from the Order of Angels.

Man becomes strengthened with wonderful power through the order of angels, so that he declares the divine will.

From the Seraphim, that we cling with fervent love.

From the Cherubim, enlightenment of the mind, power and wisdom over the exalted figures and images, through which we can gaze upon divine things, etc.

From the Thronis, a knowledge of how we are made and constituted, that we may direct our thoughts upon eternal things.

From Dominationibus, assistance to bring into subjection our daily enemies, whom we carry with us constantly, and enabling us to attain salvation.

From Potestatibus, protection against human enemies of life.

From Virtutibus, God infuses strength into us, enabling us to contend against the enemies of truth and reward, that we may finish the course of our natural life.

From Principatibus, that all things become subject to man, that he may grasp all power, and draw unto himself all secret and supernatural knowledge.

From Archangelis, that he may rule over all things that God has made subject to him, over the animals of the field, over the fishes of the sea, and over the birds of the air.

From the Angelis he receives the power to be the messenger of the Divine will.

What Man may Obtain from the Twelve Signs.

As each creature receives its spirit, number and measure from God, so also each creature has its time.

In the Ram, the vegetables of earth obtain new vigor, the trees sap, and females become better adapted to propagate the human species. In this sign the fecundity of all creatures is limited and regulated. It has Sunday for its peculiar time and end.

In the Bull, all transactions and enterprises are prospered and fostered, so that they may go forward according to the will of God, but to this end constant prayers are necessary, and particularly on Sunday.

In the Twins, the angels have power over bodily changes and travel from one place to another over the heavens and through the course of the stars—have power over the motion of the waters in rivers and in the sea, cause love between brethren, friends and neighbors, and give warning against dangers, persons and objects.

In the Scorpion, the angels rule over legacies and riches, over treasure and treasure-seekers—are calculated by nature to confer power, the art of speaking, and to enlighten the mind in holy things, in like manner as did the apostles in their unceasing prayers to God at Pentecost.

In the Lion, the angels have power to move every living thing, to multiply their species, to watch, and in certain manners to judge. And through the gift of God they confer Physicam, Medicinam and Alchymiam.

In the Virgin, the spirits have power to subvert kingdoms, to regulate all conditions, to discriminate between master and servant, to command evil spirits, to confer perpetual health, and give to man Musicum, Logicism and Ethicam.

In the Balance, the angels derive from God great power, inasmuch as the sun and moon stand under this sign. Their power controls the friendship and enmity of all creatures.

They have power over danger, warfare, over quarrels and slander—lead armies in all quarters of the earth, cause rain, and give to man Arithmeticism, Astronomiam, Geometriam.

In the Scorpion, the angels have power over suffering and terror, over which man makes against God, over common privileges. They compel the conscience to obedience, and also force devils to keep their agreements with men, and *vice versa*. They govern the life and death of all creatures, have power over departed souls, and give to man Theologiam, Metaphysicam and Geomantiam.

In the Archer, they have power over the four elements, lead the people from one far country to another, regulate the changes of the elements and the propagation of animals.

In the Goat, the angels give high worldly honors, worthiness and virtue, such as Adam enjoyed in Paradise in his innocence. They also enlighten the understanding and confer human reason.

In the Aquitarius, angels keep man in good health, and teach him what is injurious to him, make him contented, and teach him through the command of God the mysteries of heaven and of nature.

In the Fish, the angels compel the evil spirits to become subject to man, protect the pious, so that the great enemy cannot harm him.

The Twelve Signs are Divided into Four Triplicitates.

The twelve angels, which represent the twelve signs, are called in the Apoc. Malchidael, Asmodel, Ambriel, Muriel, Verchiei, Hamaliel, Zuriel, Barbiel, Aduachiel, Hanaeb, Gambiel, Barehiel. Over this the angels also received names from the stars over which they rule as the twelve signs: Teletial, Zariel, Tomimil, Sartimel, Ariel, Bataliel, Masuiel, Aerahiel, Ehesatiel, Gediel, Doliel, Dagymel, which means the same as if expressed in Latin: Ariel, Tawnel, Geminiel, Cancriel, Leonial, Virginiel, Libriel, Scorpiel, Sagitariel, Capriel, Aquariel, Pisciel.

This method of obtaining all kinds of things with peculiar power, in the twelve signs, is described in many kinds of books. The seal of Hermetis teaches how the powers of the heavenly influence may be obtained under each sign in a crystal or gem; that they are constellated, and then,

at each period of the twelve signs the appropriate character of each is divided into four parts, each of which is represented by an angel. Therefore, each of the twelve stories in the badge of office of Aaron (Solomonis) was constellated, and the Amorites possessed a constellated stone for each idol, and to this end they consecrated the book.

Further, King Solomon teaches a hidden Almadel or a Geometrical figure bearing upon the twelve signs of heaven, which he calls heights, and gives to each height seven or eight names of princes. There are also many other methods for seeking after the powers of heaven in the twelve signs, which, for good reasons, must not be made known, because they are not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures and were kept secret.

The Planets have Seven Heights and Seven Angels.

The heights are named as follows:

1. Samaym. 2. Raaquin. 3. Taaquin. 4. Machonon. 5. Mathey.
6. Sebul. 7. Arabat.

Of the operations of these, and their angels, office, order, number and measure, an account may be found in a work by Rasiel, which constitutes the Sixth Book Physicum Salomonis and Elementia Magica Petri de Alano, page 574. From this book the book of the angel Tractatu takes its source. (2 Cornel. Agrippa, Lib. 3, page 24; Philosophiae Occul, 377, 575.)

There are seven exalted Throne Angels, which execute the commands of Potestates, viz:

1. Ophaniei. 2. Tythagara. 3. Barael. 4. Quelamia. 5. Anazimur. 6. Paschar. 7. Boel.

These are named with the name of God, through which they were created, belong to the first heaven.

SCHAMAYM GABRIEL.

The second heaven, Raaquia, has twelve lords, or twelve heights of angels, who are placed over all. Zachariel, Raphael.

The third heaven, Saaquin, has three princes, Jabniel, Rabacyel, Dalquiel; they rule over fire, and each has his subordinate angel. The principal prince of angels in this height is called  Anahel, Avahel.

The fourth heaven, Machon, by his angels leads the sun by day, and through other angels by night. The chief angel is called Michael.

The fifth heaven, Matthey, alý Machon, has the prince Samael who is served by two millions of angels. These are divided among the four quarters of the world; in each quarter three, who control the twelve months, and over these are twelve chief angels.

The sixth heaven, Zebul, has for its prince, Zachiel, with two millions of angels. The angel Zebul is placed over these during the day, and another angel, Sabath, during the night. They rule over kings, create fear, and give protection from enemies.

Arabath, the seventh heaven, has for its prince the angel Cassiel.

The names of the angels of the seven planets are as follows:

Zaphiel (Saturn), Zadkiel (Jupiter), Camael (Mars), Raphael (Sun), Haniel (Venus), Michael (Mercury), Gabriel (Moon).

There are seven princes who stand continually before God, to whom are given the spirit-names of the planets. They are called Sabathiel, Zedekiel, Madimiel, Semiel, or Semishia, Nogahel, Coahabiath or Cochabiel, Jareahel or Jevanael, for the planets are called for themselves:

Sabachay, through which God sends hunger and tribulation upon the earth.

Sodeck, through him come honor and favor, right and holiness of man.

Modym, through him wrath, hate, lies, and war.

Hamnia, from him comes light, and the power of distinguishing between time and life.

Noga, from him food and drink, love and consolation.

Cochab, from him proceeds all trade and commerce.

Lavahan, causes all things to increase and decrease.

I, Solomon, acknowledge that in the hours Sabachay Madym it is burdensome to labor, but in the hours Zadeck and Noga labor is light. During other hours labor is middling, sometimes good and occasionally bad.

Some writers, as for example, Cornelius Agrippa, *Occult, Philos.* Lib. 3, chap. xvi., call the seven regents of the world by other names, which are distributed among the powers of other stars as Orphiel, Zechariel, Samael, Michael, Anael, Raphael, Gabriel, and each of these rules the world three hundred and fifty-four years and four months. A few give the Angel-year at three hundred and sixty-five years—as many years as there are days in our year. Others, one hundred and forty-five years, Apac, twenty-one Spiritu, Septem in Conspectu Dei Throni sunt quos reperi etima presidere Planetis.

The names of the seven angels over the seven heavens must be uttered first, and afterward the names of those over the seven planets, over the seven days of the week, over the seven metals, over the seven colors, these must be uttered in the morning of each day of the week.

Invocation of Angels.

Oh, ye aforesaid angels, ye that execute the commands of the Creator; be willing to be present with me in the work which I have undertaken at this time, and help me to finish it, and be ye my attentive hearers and assistants, that the honor of God and my own welfare may be promoted.

Over this there are twenty-eight angels who rule over the twenty-eight houses of the moon, viz: Asariel, Cabel, Dirachiel, Scheliel, Amnodiell, Amixiel, Ardesiel, Neriell, Abdizriel, Jazeriel, Cogediell, Ataliell, Azerniell, Adriel, Amutiell, Iciriell, Bethuaell, Geliell, Requiell, Abrunaell, Aziell, Tagried, Abheiel, Amnixiell. And each moon has her own guardian and ruler, and these are described in Lib. 2, Raziellis.

A man must also know how to divide the months, days and hours into

four parts, for God has ordained that all things can best be perfected on suitable days and at proper hours.

The angels placed over the four parts of heaven are : Scamijm, Gabriel, Cabrael, Adrael, Madiel, Boamiel.

Alscius, Loquel, Zaniel, Hubaiel, Baccanael, Janael, Carpatiel.

Elael, Unaël, Wallum, Vasans, Hiaijel, Usera, Staijel.

Ducaniel, Baabiel, Barquiel, Hannu, Anaël Nahijmel.

In the second heaven, Raquie, the following angels serve.

Nathan, Catroijs, Betaabat.

Yeseraije, Yuacon :

Thiel, Jareael, Yanael, Venetal, Vebol, Abuionij, Vetameil.

Milliel, Nelepa, Baliel, Calliel, Holij, Batij, Jeli.

There are also, over the four quarters of the globe, four high angels.

Over the morning winds, Michael rules.

Over the evening winds, Raphael rules.

Over the midnight winds, Gabriel rules.

Over the noonday winds, Nariel or Uriel rules.

THE ANGELS OF THE ELEMENTS ARE :

Of the air, Cherub.

Of the water, Tharsis.

Of the earth, Ariel.

Of the fire, Seruph or Nathaniel.

These are all great princes, and each has many legions of angels under him; they have great power in governing their planets, times, signs of the year, month, day, and hour, and in their part of the world and wind.

In the third heaven, Saaquin, the Angels are :

Sarquiel, Qnadissu, Caraniel, Tariescorat, Amael, Husael.

Turiel, Coniel, Babel, Kadie, Maltiel, Hufaltiel.

Faniel, Peneal, Penac, Raphael, Carniel, Deramiel.

Porna, Saditel, Kyniel, Samuel, Vascaniel, Famiel.

In the fourth heaven, Machon, the Angel of the Divisions serves :

Carpiel, Beatiel, Baciël, Raguel, Altel, Fabriël, Vionatraba.

Anahel, Papliel, Uslael, Burcat, Suceratos, Cababili.

In the fifth heaven, Machijn, the following Angels serve in four divisions :

Friagne, Cnael, Damoel, Calzas, Arragon.

Lacana, Astrgna, Lobquin, Sonitas, Jael, Jasiael, Naei.

Rahumiël, Jahijniël, Baijel, Seraphiël, Mathiël, Seraël.

Sacriël, Maianiël, Gadiël, Hosael, Vianiël, Erastiël.

In the sixth heaven, Zebul; and seventh, Arabat, over the fifth heaven.

Should no Spiritus Aeris or divisions be found, then pronounce in the direction of the four quarters of the world, the following words :

Oh, great exalted and adored God, from all eternity.

Oh, wise God, day and night I pray unto Thee, oh, most merciful God, that I may complete my work to-day, and that I may understand it perfectly, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou that livest and reignest, true God from eternity to eternity.

Oh, strong God, mighty and without end.

Oh, powerful and merciful God.

On Saturday call upon God in the words which he gave in Paradise in which is the name of God.

Oh, holy and merciful God of Israel, the highest terror and fear of Paradise, the Creator of heaven and earth (as before).

 Quere hoc signum.

END OF THE FIRST DIVISION.

SECOND DIVISION.

I.

Sepher Schimmusch Tehillim;

OR,

Use of the Psalms,

FOR THE PHYSICAL WELFARE OF MAN.

A fragment out of the PRACTICAL KABALA, together with an **Extract** from a few other Kabalistical Writings. With five Illustrations upon Four Tables.

Translated by GODFERY SELIG, Lect. Publ. Acad. Lips.: 1788.

This eminent publisher and translator insists stringently that only persons of a moral character can expect success in the use of the foregoing method.

FROM THE PREFACE OF THE TRANSLATOR.

It cannot be denied that true, wise and enlightened Kabalists lived at one time, and that some still live. But such do not wander from place to place, offering their art for sale, in order that they may accumulate wealth, but they are satisfied to remain quietly in the pillared palace of Solomon, where they are constantly employed in gathering divine wisdom, so that (as they express it), they may finally become worthy to receive the hidden gifts from above. I myself know such a man, who obtained exalted wisdom from the Kabala, and who, notwithstanding his extreme poverty, never undertakes a kabalistic process for money. When I once asked him why he refused to write a desired amulet for a noble lord, who offered him a large sum for his services, he answered me with an adage from the well-known Pirke Awoth (Extract or Fragment from the Fathers):

"Deitschtammasch Betaggo Chalof," that is to say, "whosoever accepts the crown for his reward, will perish suddenly. Not for all the money in the world would I do such a thing. But if I can assist my needy neighbor therewith, then I will do what I can, trusting in the omnipotence of the Most Holy, without looking for a reward. For my necessary support I do not feel any concern, for the Almighty has methods to support me if I trust in Him. Why, he even cares for the sparrow."

It is particularly remarkable that the greatest and most genuine Kabalists of the Jewish nation were nearly all followers and disciples of the blessed Saviour of the world, and they are so still, as I can prove satisfac-

torily, by numerous passages from their writings and prayers. Let this suffice for this one kind of men. But that Kabalists live and still live, who engaged in experiments, and who performed wonderful works, and who will yet do wonderful things, is also an undeniable fact, unless we are prepared to condemn all that was ever said upon this subject by renowned men of wisdom.

The celebrated and well-known Prussian Hussar, Lord of Archenwood declares, in a description of London, that there lives a man in that city, whose name is Doctor Falcon, who is known to be a great Kabalist, and who is visited and consulted by the most honorable and intelligent people of London. He states further, that this same Dr. Falcon, lived not very long since in Brussels under the name of Jude Chayim Schmul Fulk, who according to the evidence of the French Duke of Nancy, in his published memoirs of kabalistical processes, performed the most astonishing feats.

I confidently hope and trust, and I can assert without hesitation, that my little book cannot have a tendency to foster superstition. Take it for granted that one of my readers should choose to employ one of the methods described in these pages in order to accomplish a desired object, his eagerness to satisfy curiosity will soon disappear when he takes into consideration the hard terms and strict morality which are required to avail himself of them in order to derive any benefit or be successful in their use.

Before concluding my preface, it is necessary to give the reader some instruction concerning the arrangement of this volume. We find in it, for instance, single words, names, sentences, and indeed entire experiments, printed in the Hebrew and Chaldean languages. This fact should not prevent any one from purchasing the book. Because all the words printed in Hebrew and Chaldaic, which are intended to be impressed upon the mind, are also printed in English in plain terms, and they have been carefully translated. So far as the Hebrew passages are concerned, the meaning of each passage and experiment follows immediately in English, or it is placed beneath the Hebrew expression. I have made this arrangement in compliance with a request from a number of prominent persons, to make sure that the translation is genuine and correct. The chapter and verse of Holy Scripture, where all passages quoted may be found, are also correctly recorded.

EXTRACT FROM THE PREFACE OF THE KABALISTIC PUBLISHER.

It is universally known and acknowledged, that we are named after the most holy name of the Ruler of the World, and that we receive the holy decalogue or the written law from him. It is further well known that in addition to the laws which he gave to Moses engraven upon stone, he also gave to him certain verbal laws, by which, through his protracted stay upon the mountain Sinai, where all doctrines, explanations of mysteries, holy names of God and the angels, and particularly how to apply this knowledge to the best interest of man, were entrusted to him. All these doctrines, which God pronounced good, but which were not generally made known, and which in the course of time were called The Kabala, or

Traditions, Moses communicated, during his life, to Joshua, his successor. Joshua handed them over to the elders, the elders gave them to the judges, and from the judges they descended to the prophets. The prophets entrusted them to the men of the great synagogue, and these gave them unto the wise men, and so the Kabala was handed down from one to the other—from mouth to mouth—to the present day. Therefore do we know that in the Thora are many names of the Most High and his angels, besides deep mysteries, which may be applied to the welfare of man, but which, on account of the perverseness of humanity and to guard against their abuse, have been hidden from the great mass of human beings.

Everything that I have here stated is as clear as the sun, and needs no further proof, and it is equally clear and incontrovertible that the All-merciful gave the Thora in the beginning to promote the best interests of the soul and the body of man at the same time. Therefore has God endowed her with exalted talents, powers and virtues that, with a rational use of her, man may protect himself from danger when no other help is at hand and save himself simply by uttering the words of the living God. On this account, the expression. "For it is thy life," occurs frequently in the Thora. And Solomon says in his Proverbs vi. 22: "When thou goest it shall lead thee, and when thou sleepest it shall keep thee." That the Psalms and the Thora are equal in holiness and worthiness, will not be called in question. Our wise men declare, "He who will daily live closer to God, who deserves to unite his soul with Him, and who is willing to live in the closest communion with him, should often pray the Psalms with fervor and devotion. Happy the man who does this daily and hourly, for his reward will be great." The Psalms are formed and divided into five books, just like the Thora. We can, therefore, implicitly trust in the doctrines of the enlightened Kabalists, when they assert that the Almighty accorded equal talents and powers to the Psalms as he did to the Thora, and that in them many names of the Most High Majesty of God and his angels, besides, many mysteries, are hidden.

Yes, dear reader, you must not doubt. Through a pious life and by a rational use of the Psalms you may obtain the grace of God, the favor of princes and magistrates and the love of your fellow-men. You will be enabled to protect yourself from danger, to escape suffering, and to promote your own welfare.

That this is all true, the contents of the prayer, with which we end each Psalm, and which we are in duty bound to pray, will amply demonstrate. But the correctness of it is also established by the teachings of the Talmud and of the old wise men, who assure us, that many of our famous forefathers availed themselves of apparently supernatural means from time to time, to protect their best interests. The truth of this I can establish by the most trustworthy witnesses; yea, I could even mention some great men, who, by a proper use of the Psalms, performed great works. Such examples are rare. Let it suffice. I present you with a few passages out of standard books, through which you will become fully convinced that the Almighty has given his revealed word true and unexampled talents and power, and that, in an extreme case of necessity, we are permitted to make use of this gift of God, for our own and our neighbor's welfare. As for example, to cast out evil spirits, to relieve deep

melancholy and to cure grievous diseases; to set free prisoners who have been unjustly imprisoned; to arrest and resist enemies, opponents, murderers and highway robbers; to quench the fiercest fires; to resist floods of water, to defend innocence and to reveal it, and to foster good fortune, well-being and peace in a general manner.

Read the treatise on this subject, of the excellent Rabbi Schimschon bar Abraham, in his book entitled "Responsiones Raschaba." Examine the words of the enlightened Rabbi Jochanan ben Sackas in his Treatise of the Talmud and Sanhedrin, Chap. ii., where he treats of magical conjurations, and where he asserts and proves that it is allowed, in dangerous and incurable diseases, to make use of words and passages in the Holy Scripture for their cure. You will find more or less similar references in the treatise of Sabbath in the Talmud, as well as in the Responsonibus, by Zemach, son of Simonis, in which the Ninety-second Psalm, with certain prescriptions added, are highly recommended as a certain means to avoid suffering and danger, even in cases of war, fire and similar instances, enabling us to escape unharmed, free, secure and without hindrance.

Under such happy circumstances, it is surely right and proper, that such wholesome knowledge, which up to this day was known but to a few men, and they only the learned, was yet free to all, but found only in the libraries and cabinets of the great, although not generally known, should at least, in some degree, be brought to light.

Since however, I cannot gain my object in any other way than by giving these pages to the world in a printed form, and since they will unavoidably fall into unclean hands, I feel myself constrained, in order to prevent an unworthy use of them, to extend this preface, which might otherwise, very properly have ended here, in laying down a few rules and limits. Do not, however, be discouraged for I am really endeavoring to promote your best interests and shield you from harm.

1. If you are willing to avail yourself of the means indicated, I warn you not to attempt it in a case of extreme necessity, and when there is no other help at hand.

2. If this be so, in experimenting, place your trust in the goodness and power of the Most High and ever blessed God, upon whom you may perhaps have hitherto called under an unknown holy name.

3. The ordained Psalm, for this or the other undertaking, besides the appropriate prayer, you must pray with a broken and contrite heart to God, and in addition to this keep in mind the added holy name with its letters, which are given the wise Kabalists. At the same time you must have your undertaking continually before your eyes.

4. I must say to you, if you wish to console yourself with this help, that you must live in such a manner that no crime or wilful sin can trouble your conscience, for it is well known, that the prayer of the ungodly is not acceptable to God. And herewith I commit you to the protection of the Most High.

THE USE AND EFFICACY

OF

The Psalms,

AND

THE MANY PURPOSES TO WHICH THEY MAY BE APPLIED.

Psalm 1.—When a woman is pregnant and fears a premature delivery, or a dangerous confinement, she should write or cause to be written, on a piece of parchment prepared from the pure skin of a deer, the three first verses of the above Psalm, together with the hidden holy name and appropriate prayer contained therein, and place it in a small bag made expressly for that purpose, and suspend it by a string about the neck, so that the bag will rest against her naked body.

The holy name is called Eel Chad, which signifies, great, strong, only God, and is taken from the four following words: Aschre, verse 1; Lo, verse 4; Jatzliach, verse 3; Vederech, verse 6.

The prayer is as follows:

May it please thee, O Eel Chad, to grant unto this woman, N., daughter of R., that she may not at this time, or at any other time, have a premature confinement; much more grant unto her a truly fortunate delivery, and keep her and the fruit of her body in good health. Amen! Selah!

Admonition of the Translator.

Before I proceed further with the translation of the Psalms, it is necessary to insert in this place an admonition, which the author, who wrote only for his own nation, deemed unnecessary, and which, nevertheless, should be addressed to every one.

"Each human being," says the celebrated Kabbalist, Rabbi Isaac Loriga, "except only the ignorant idolator, can by a pious and virtuous life enter into the consecrated temple of the true Kabala, and can avail himself of its benefits without being able to speak or understand the Hebrew language. He can pray, read and write everything in his mother tongue; only the holy name of God and the angels that may occur in the experiment, must, under all circumstances, be written and retained in the mind in the Hebrew tongue (for they must in no case be uttered), because, on the contrary, a wrong direction might otherwise easily be given to the experiment, and consequently it would lose all its holiness, worth and efficiency.

With this pronunciation we must all be well satisfied, and, therefore, I must write all similar words and names, from the letters of which the holy names are taken, in Hebrew. In order, however, that the reader may read all similar occurring names and words in his mind and retain them, I have written all the Hebrew words with English letters together with their meaning.

Psalm 2.—Should you be exposed to danger in a storm at sea, and your life threatened, then recite this Psalm without delay and with becoming reverence, and think respectfully of the holiest name contained therein, namely, Schaddei (which means, mighty God), then immediately utter the prayer belonging thereto, after which write everything together on a fragment of a pot, and in full confidence in the Omnipotent, who fixes the boundary of the sea and restrains its power, throw it into the foaming waves, and you will see marvelous wonders, for the waves will instantly cease their roaring and the storm will be lulled.

The words, the letters of which constitute this holy name, are taken from Rageschu, verse 1; Nossedu, verse 2; and Jozes, verse 9.

The prayer is as follows: "Let it be, Oh, Schaddei! (Almighty God!) Thy holy will, that the raging of the storm and the roaring of the waves may cease, and that the proud billows may be stilled. Lead us, oh, all-merciful Father, to the place of our destination in safety and in good health, for only with Thee is power and might. Thou alone canst help, and Thou wilt surely help to the honor and glory of Thy name. Amen! Selah!

This Psalm is also an effectual remedy against raging headache. The direction is as follows: Write the first eight verses of this Psalm together with the holy name and appropriate prayer, upon pure parchment, and hang it upon the neck of the patient; then pray over him the Psalm with the prayer arranged for it. Do this in humble devotion, and the sufferer will be relieved.

Psalm 3.—Whosoever is subject to severe headache and backache, let him pray this Psalm, with the leading holy names and appropriate prayer contained therein, over a small quantity of olive oil, anoint the head or back while in the act of prayer. This will afford immediate relief. The holy name is, Adon (Lord), and is found in the words, Weatta, verse 3; Baadi, verse 3; Hekizoti, verse 5; and Hascheini, verse 7. The prayer is as follows: Adon (Lord) of the world may it please thee to be my physician and helper. Heal me and relieve me from my severe headache and backache, because I can find help only with Thee, and only with Thee is counsel and action to be found. Amen! — Selah — Selah!

Psalm 4.—If you have been unlucky hitherto, in spite of every effort, then you should pray this Psalm three times before the rising of the sun, with humility and devotion, while at the same time you should impress upon your mind its ruling holy name, and each time the appropriate prayer, trusting in the help of the mighty Lord, without whose will not the least creature can perish. Proceed in peace to execute your contemplated undertaking, and all things will result to your entire satisfaction.

The holy name is called: Jiheje, (He is and will be,) and is composed of the four final letters of the words. Teppillati, verse 2; Selah, verse 5; Jehovah, verse 6; and Toschiweni, verse 9. The prayer is as follows: May it please Thee, oh, Jiheje, to prosper my ways, steps and doings. Grant that my desire may be amply fulfilled, and let my wishes be satisfied even this day, for the sake of Thy great, mighty and praiseworthy name. Amen! — Selah! —

If you wish to accomplish an undertaking by or through another, proceed in all things as already stated above, with this exception: you must change the prayer as follows: Let me find grace, favor and mercy in the eyes of N., son of R., so that he may grant my petition, etc.

Again, if you have a cause to bring before high magistrates or princes, you must pray this Psalm and the closing prayer arranged for it, seven times in succession before the rising of the sun.

By the Translator.

I must be permitted in this place to insert another caution. When it is said N., son or daughter of N., it must be understood that we must first mention the name of the person by whom we wish to be served, and afterward the name of his mother, as, for example, Isaac, son of Sarah, or Dinah daughter of Leah.

Psalm 5.—If you have business to transact with your magistrates or with your princes, and desire to obtain their special favor, then pray this Psalm early at the rising of the sun and in the evening at sunset. Do this three times over pure olive oil, while at the same time you think unceasingly, upon the holy name of Chananjah (merciful God), anoint your face, hands and feet with the oil and say: Be merciful unto me, for the sake of thy great, adorable and holy name, Chananjah, turn the heart of my prince to me, and grant that he may regard me with gracious eyes, and let me find favor and courtesy with him. Amen! — — Selah! — —

The holy name is found in the words: Chapez, verse 5; Nechini, verse 9; Nechona, verse 10; Hadichemo, verse 12; and Kazinna, verse 14.

Still another peculiarity of this Psalm is, when you find notwithstanding the utmost industry and care, your business does not prosper, and you have reason to fear that an evil Masal, that is, an evil star, spirit or destiny is opposing you, then pray this Psalm daily, even to the last verse with great devoutness, and you will soon find yourself in more favorable circumstances.

Psalm 6.—With this Psalm all diseases of the eye may be healed. Read the Psalm for three days successively, and pray the prescribed prayer seven times slowly, in a low tone, and with devotion, and with this keep continually in your mind the holy name of Jeshajah (which means help is with the Lord); believe without a doubt that the Lord can and will help you. The prayer is as follows: Jehovah my Father, may it please Thee, for the sake of the great, mighty, holy and adorable name, Jeshajah Baal Hatschna, that is, Help is with the Lord, (for he is the Lord of help, he can help,) which name is contained in this Psalm, heal me from my diseases, infirmities, and from the pain of my eyes, for thine is the power and the help, and thou alone art mighty enough to help; of this I am certain, and therefore I trust in thee. Amen! — — Selah! — —

Further it is said: If a traveler encounters danger by land or sea, he shall, when there is no other help to hope for, pray this Psalm seven times, and each time with full confidence in the mighty and sure help of the Almighty, and add thereto: Jeshajah, Lord of help! may it be thy

holy will and pleasure to assist me in this extremity and to avert this danger from me. Hear me for the sake of thy great and most holy name, for thine is the power and the help. Amen! — Selah! —

The five letters of this holy name contain, according to the prayer, the words: Jehovah al, verse 2; Schuba, verse 6; Oschescha, verse 8; Bewoshn and Vejibbahl, verse 11.

Psalm 7.—When evil persons conspire to render you unfortunate, if your enemies watch for an opportunity to overthrow you, if they pursue you in order to harm you, then take upon the spot where you stand a handful of earth or dust, pray this Psalm and keep in your mind the holy name of Eel Elijon, great, strong, highest God! then throw the dust in the direction of your enemies, uttering a prayer prescribed for this case, and you will find that your enemies will cease their persecutions and leave you undisturbed. The letters of the holy name are found in the words: Aisher, verse 1; Ode, verse 18, (according to the order of Al, bam, and the letters must be transposed), Hoshenei, verse 2; Eli, verse 7; Jadin, verse 9; Jashuf, verse 13; Elijon, verse 18.

The prayer is as follows: Oh, Eel Elijon! great, strong and highest God! may it please thee to change the hearts of my enemies and opposers, that they may do me good instead of evil, as thou didst in the days of Abraham when he called upon Thee by this holy name. (Gen. xiv. 22.) Amen! — Selah! —

If you have incurred the ill-will of an enemy, whose cunning power and vengeance you have reason to fear, you should fill a pot with fresh water from the well, and pronounce over it the twelve last verses of this Psalm, namely, the words: "Arise, Jehovah! in thy wrath!" Pronounce these four times, and at the same time think of the holy name of Eel Elijon, and of your enemy, and pray each time. "Humble and overthrow, Oh! Eel Elijon, mine enemy, N., son of R., that he may not have the power to provoke or to injure me." Amen! After this prayer, pour the water upon a spot at your enemy's residence, or at a place where he must pass over it, and by doing this you will overcome him.

If you have a case to decide before the court, and you have reasons to fear an unfavorable or partial verdict, then pray this Psalm slowly before you appear in the presence of the judge, thinking at the same time of Eel Elijon and of the righteousness of your cause, and as you approach the judge pray as follows: Oh, Eel Elijon! turn thou the heart of the judge to favor my best interests, and grant that I may be fully justified when I depart. Give unto my words power and strength and let me find favor. Amen! — Selah! —

Psalm 8.—If you wish to secure the love and good will of all men in your business transactions, you should pray this Psalm three days in succession after sundown, and think continually of the holy name of Rechmial, which signifies great and strong God of love, of grace and mercy. Pronounce at each time the appropriate prayer over a small quantity of olive oil, and anoint the face as well as the hands and feet. The letters composing the holy name are found in the words: Addir, verse 2; Jareach, verse 4; Adam, verse 5; Melohim, verse 6; Tanis

chilehu, verse 7. The prayer reads as follows: May it please thee, Oh, Rechmial Eel to grant that I may obtain love, grace and favor in the eyes of men according to thy holy will. Amen!—Selah!—

Psalm 9.—The principal attribute of this Psalm according to the precept is, that it is an unfailing remedy in the restoration of male children, who are feeble in health, when no medicines and help are at hand. This Psalm should also be prayed against the power and malignity of enemies. In the first instance write this Psalm, with its holy name, upon pure parchment, with a new pen, and hang it around the patient's neck. Afterward repeat the prayer with reverence, and think at the same time of the holy name of Eheje Aischu Eheje, that is, I am he that will be, and utter the following prayer: All-merciful Father! for the sake of thy mighty, adorable and holy name, Eheje Aischer Eheje, may it please thee to take away from N., son of R., the illness [here name the disease] from which he suffers, and relieve him from his pains. Make him whole in soul, body and mind, and release him during his life from all plagues, injury and danger, and be thou his helper. Amen.

In the second case repeat this Psalm and pray devoutly: May it be agreeable to thy will for the sake of thy most holy name Eheje Aisher Eheje, to release me from the power of my enemies and opposers, and to protect me from their persecutions, as thou once didst protect the Psalmists from the enemies who pursued him. Amen.—Selah!

The letters of this holy name are in the words: Ode, 2; Haojeff, verse 7 and verse 16, and in alphabetical order in the At Basch.

Psalm 10.—If any one is plagued with an unclean, restless and evil spirit, let him fill a new earthen pot with water from the spring, and in the name of the patient, pour into it pure olive oil, and pronounce over it this Psalm nine times, keeping in mind constantly the adorable name of Eel Mez, which means Strong God of the oppressed, and at each ending of the Psalm: May it be thy most holy will, Oh, Eel Mez, to heal the body and soul of N., son of R., and free him from all his plagues and oppressions: wilt thou strengthen him in soul and body and deliver him from evil. Amen!—Selah!

The holy name may be found in the words: Alah, verse 6; Lamma, Anawin, verse 16, and Haasez, verse 17.

Psalm 11.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with feelings of devotion, and with it keeps constantly in mind the holy name of Pele, that is, Wonderful, and who besides utters a suitable prayer to God, he will be safe from all persecution, and will not have any great evil to fear.

The holy name is in the words: Ofel, verse 2; Paal, verse 3, and Adam. The closing prayer may be as follows: Adorable, mighty and holy God Pele! with thee is advice, action and power, and only thou canst work wonders. Turn away from me all that is evil, and protect me from the persecution of evil men, for the sake of the great name Pele. Amen.—Sela.

Psalm 12.—This Psalm possesses similar power, action and worth

as the foregoing. The holy name is Aineel, which means Strong God! my Father! and is found in the words of the sixth verse of Ewjonim, Akum Lo. The prayer is as follows: Almighty Father, my God Aineel! grant that all conspiracies against me may be set at naught; turn away from me all danger and injury, and thine is the kingdom and the power. Amen.—Selah!

Psalm 13.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with devotion, together with the proper prayer belonging thereto, and thinks at the same time of the powerful name of Essiel, that is, My help is the mighty God, will be safe for the next twenty-four hours from an unnatural death and from all bodily sufferings and punishments. The prayer is as follows: Protect me according to thy good will and pleasure from violent, sudden and unnatural death, and from all other evil accidents and severe bodily afflictions, for thou art my help and my God, and thine is the power and the glory. Amen.—Selah.

According to tradition this Psalm is also a good cure for dangerous and painful diseases of the eyes. The patient must procure a plant that is good for the eyes, and with this must pray this Psalm with a suitable prayer, trusting firmly in the certain help of the mighty Essiel, and then bind the plant upon his eyes. The letters composing this holy name are contained in the words: Ezoth, verse 3; Mismor, verse 1; Jarum, verse 3; Aneni, verse 4; Ojewi, verse 5, and Jagel, verse 6.

Psalm 14.—Whoso prays this Psalm in childlike faith and trust in the most holy name, Eel enunet, that is, the true God, or God of Truth, and prays the prayer belonging to it daily, will find favor with all men, and will be free from slander and mistrust. The prayer is as follows: "May it please thee, Oh! Eel summet, to grant me grace, love and favor with all men whose help I need. Grant that all may believe my words, and that no slander may be effective against me to take away the confidence of men. Thou canst do this, for thou turnest the hearts of men according to thy holy will, and liars and slanderers are an abomination to thee. Hear me for the sake of thy name. Amen.—Selah!

The letters composing this holy name are found in the words: Elohim, verse 1; Maskiel, verse 2; Echad, verse 3; Ammi, verse 4, and Azat, verse 6.

Psalm 15.—Against the presence of an evil spirit, insanity and melancholy, pray this Psalm with the prayer belonging to it, and the holy name Iali, which means: My Lord! or, The Lord, too, is mine, over a new pot filled with well-water that was drawn for this express purpose, and with this water bathe the body of the patient. The prayer which must be repeated during the process of washing, is as follows: May it be thy will, O God, to restore N., son of R., who has been robbed of his senses, and is grievously plagued by the devil, and enlighten his mind for the sake of thy holy name Iali. Amen.—Selah.

The three letters of this holy name are found in the words: Jagur, verse 1; Ragal, verse 3, and Jimmot, verse 5.

He who otherwise prays this Psalm with reverence will be generally received with great favor.

Psalm 16.—This Psalm is important and can be profitably employed in different undertakings. As for example, 1st, If any one has been robbed, and wishes to know the name of the robber, he must proceed as follows: Take mud or slime and sand out of a stream, mix them together; then write the names of all suspected persons upon small slips of paper and apply the mixture on the reverse side of the slips; afterward lay them in a large and clean basin, filled for this purpose with fresh water from the stream—lay them in the water one by one, and at the same time pray this Psalm over them ten times with the prayer adapted to it keeping in mind at the same time the name of Caar, that is, Living, which name is found in the words of the sixth verse, as follows: Chabalim, and Alei, and if the name of the real thief is written upon the slips, that upon which his name is written will rise to the surface. The prayer is as follows: Let it be thy will, Eel Caar, the Living God to make known the name of the thief, who stole from me (here name that which was stolen). Grant that the name of the thief, if it is among the names, may arise before thy eyes, and thus be made known to mine and all others who are present, that thy name may be glorified: grant it for the sake of thy holy name. Amen.—Selah!

2. Whoever prays this Psalm daily with reverence, and childlike trust upon the eternal love and goodness of God, directed to circumstances, will have all his sorrows changed into joy.

Finally, it is said, that the daily praying of this Psalm will change enemies into friends, and will disperse all pain and sorrow.

Psalm 17.—A traveler, who prays this Psalm early in the morning, with ardor, together with the proper prayer, in the name of Jah, will be secure from all evil for twenty-four hours. The prayer is as follows: May it be thy holy will, Oh, Jah, Jenora, to make my journey prosperous, to lead me in pleasant paths, to protect me from all evil, and to bring me safely back to my loved ones, for thy mighty and adorable name's sake. Amen.

The two letters of the holy name Jah are taken from the words, Shod-dini, verse 9, and Mirmah, verse 1.

Psalm 18.—If robbers are about to attack you, pray this Psalm quickly but fervently, with the prayer belonging to it, with confidence in the holiest name of Eel Jah, that is, mighty, all-merciful and compassionate God, the robbers will leave you suddenly, without inflicting the slightest injury upon you. The letters necessary to make the holy name of God are contained in the words, Aisher, verse 1; Shoal, verse 1; Tamin, verse 33, and Haol, verse 47.

The prayer is the following: "Mighty, all-merciful and compassionate God, Eel Jah! may it be pleasing to thy most holy will, to defend me against approaching robbers, and protect me against all enemies, opposers and evil circumstances, for thine is the power and thou canst help. Hear me for the sake of thy most holy name, Eel Jah. Amen.—Selah!

Is there a sick person with you, with whom the usual bodily remedies have failed, fill a small flask with olive oil and water, pronounce over it, with reverence, the eighteenth Psalm, anoint all the limbs of the patient, and pray a suitable prayer in the name of Eel Jah, and he will soon recover.

Psalm 19.—During a protracted and dangerous confinement take earth from a crossroads, write upon it the five first verses of this Psalm, and lay it upon the abdomen of the parturient; allow it to remain until the birth is accomplished, but no longer, and in the meantime pray this entire Psalm seven times in succession, with the proper holy name of God and the appropriate prayer. The holy name of this Psalm consists of two letters from the most holy name Jehovah He, which, according to the tradition of the Kabalists, are of great power, and which embrace the so-called ten Sepiroth or reckonings and other deep mysteries.

The prayer is as follows: Lord of heaven and earth! May it please thee graciously to be with this parturient, N., daughter of R., who is fluctuating between life and death; ameliorate her sufferings, and help her and the fruit of her body that she may soon be delivered. Keep her and her child in perfect health and grant her life, for the sake of the holy name, He. Amen.—Selah!

Do you desire your son to possess an open and broad heart, so that he may become an apt student and understand the lessons placed before him readily, then speak this Psalm over a cup filled with wine and honey, pronounce also the holy name and an appropriate prayer over it, and let the lad drink of it, and your desires will be realized.

Finally, it is claimed that this Psalm is effectual in driving away evil spirits. It is necessary, however, to pray this Psalm, with the holy name and an appropriate prayer, seven times over the person possessed of the evil spirit. The letters of the name He are contained in the words Hashamajim, verse 2, and Begoaeli, verse 6.

Psalm 20.—Mix in a vessel, rose-oil, water and salt, pray over it seven times in the most holy name Jeho, this Psalm and a suitable prayer, in a low voice and with reverence, then anoint with this oil your face and hands, and sprinkle it on your clothing, and you will remain free from all danger and suffering for that day.

Are you summoned to appear before the judge in person, in a judicial trial, you should avail yourself of the above means shortly beforehand, and by so doing you will surely be justified and depart without restraint. The prayer in the last case is as follows: Lord and judge of all the World! Thou holdest the hearts of all men in thy power and movest them according to thy holy will; grant that I may find grace and favor in the sight of my judges and those placed above me in power, and dispose their hearts to my best interests. Grant that I may be favored with a reasonable and favorable verdict, that I may be justified by it, and that I may freely go from hence. Hear me, merciful, beloved Father, and fulfil my desire, for the sake of thy great and adorable name, Jeho. Amen.—Selah.

The letters of the holy name Jeho are contained in the words: Jaanah, verse 2; Sela, verse 4, and Korem, verse 10.

Psalm 21.—During an existing storm at sea, when there is danger at hand, mix rose-oil, water, salt and resin, pronounce over it slowly this Psalm, and the holy name Jehaen, and then pour the consecrated salve into the foaming sea while uttering the following prayer: Lord of the world! Thou rulest the pride of the foaming and roaring sea, and calmest the terrible noise of the waves. May it please thee, for the sake of thy most holy name, Jehach, to calm the storm, and to deliver us mercifully from this danger. Amen. Selah!

The letters of this holy name are contained in the words: Jehovah, verse 2; Duma, verse 14, and Ki, verse 13.

If you have a petition to present to the king, or to some other person in high power, pronounce this Psalm over a mixture of olive oil and resin, and at the same time think of the holy name of Jehach, anoint your face, and pray in faith and in confidence a prayer suitable to your circumstances, and then you may comfort yourself with the assurance that you will be favorably received and receive grace.

Psalm 22.—If a traveler prays this Psalm seven times daily, with the appropriate divine name, Aha, and a prayer arranged according to surrounding circumstances, in full trust in the mighty protection of our exalted and most merciful God, no misfortune will happen to him. Should he travel by water neither pirates nor storms can harm him, and if he travels by land he will be safe from harm, by beasts and men.

The letters of this holy name are found in the words: Eli, verse 2; Assah, verse 33.

Psalm 23.—Should you desire to receive reliable instructions in regard to something through a vision or in a dream, then purify yourself by fasting and bathing, pronounce the Psalm with the holy name Jah seven times, and pray at the end of each repetition: Lord of the World! notwithstanding thy unutterable mighty power, exaltation and glory, thou wilt still lend a listening ear to the prayer of thy humblest creature, and wilt fulfil his desires. Hear my prayer also, loving Father, and let it be pleasing to thy most holy will to reveal unto me in a dream, whether (here the affair of which a correct knowledge is deserved must be plainly stated) as thou didst often reveal through dreams the fate of our forefathers. Grant me my petition for the sake of thy adorable name, Jah. Amen. Selah!

The letters of the holy name Jah, contain the words: Jehovah, verse 1; Napschi, verse 3, and according to the alphabetical order Aasch Bechar, according to which the letters He and Nun become transposed.

Psalms 24 and 25.—Although the contents of these two Psalms differ materially, in respect to their mystical uses, they are equal and alike in power and action. Whoever repeats these Psalms daily in the morning with feelings of devotion, will escape from the greatest danger, and the devastating flood will not harm him.

The holy name is called Eli, and is found in the words of the twenty-fifth Psalm: Elecha, verse 1; Lemaan, verse 11, and Mi, verse 12.

Psalm 26.—When imminent dangers threaten, whether by land or by water, or if some one should be called upon to undergo severe imprisonment, he should pray this Psalm with the indicated holy name of Elohe, and with an appropriate prayer, and then he may confidently look forward to an early release from prison.

You will find the letters of this holy name in the words: Aischer, verse 10; Lischmoa, verse 7; Lo, verse 4 (after the order of At Basch), and Chattaim, verse 9.

Psalm 27.—If you wish to be well and kindly received in a strange city, and desire to be hospitably entertained, repeat this Psalm upon your journey again and again, with reverence, and in full confidence that God will dispose the hearts of men to receive and entertain you kindly.

Remark by the Translator.

Since the author has neither a holy-name nor prayer for the above Psalm, it may be presumed that the frequent repetition of the Psalm is sufficient for all purposes intended.

Psalm 28.—Do you wish your enemy to become reconciled to you, pronounce this Psalm, with the appropriate holy name He, and a suitable prayer, trusting in the power and readiness of the Great Ruler of hearts, and so your wish will be fully realized.

The two letters of this holy name are contained in the words: Ledavid, verse 1, and Haolam, according to the order of At Basch.

Psalm 29.—This Psalm is highly recommended for casting out an evil spirit. The manner of proceeding is as follows: Take even splinters of the osier and seven leaves of a date palm that never bore fruit, place them in a pot filled with water upon which the sun never shone, and repeat over it in the evening, this Psalm with the most holy name of Aha, ten times with great reverence; and then in full trust in the power of God, set the pot upon the earth in the open air, and let it remain there until the following evening. Afterward pour the whole of it, at the door of the possessed, and the Ruach Roah, that is, the evil spirit, will surely depart.

The two letters of this holy name are contained in the words Jehovah, verse 11, and according to the alphabetical order called Ajack Bechar and Habre, verse 2.

Remarks by the Translator.

With this Psalm also there is no prescribed prayer given.

Psalm 30.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily, shall be safe from all evil occurrences. The holy name is Eel, and may be found in the words: Aromimtha, verse 2, and Lemaan, verse 12.

By the Translator.

This Psalm and the following are also without a prescribed prayer.

Psalm 31.—Would you escape slanders, and are you desirous that evil tongues may do you no harm or cause you vexation, repeat this Psalm in a low voice, with commendable devotion, over a small quantity of pure olive oil, and anoint your face and hands with it in the name of Jah.

The letters constituting this holy name are found in the words: **Pal** teni, verse 2, and **Hammesachlim**, verse 22.

Remark.

The translator regards it necessary to remark once for all, that prayers especially adapted to these as well as many of the following Psalms are wanting, and that the author undoubtedly thought that the prayers already given would enable each one to extemporize a suitable prayer. This presumption is the more probable, since we find further on in the work, that the author exhorts all to engage in prayer to God, without prescribing any particular form. Another circumstance, however, relates to the holy names, and if these are wanting it was so ordered by the ancient Kabalists, and on this account it should be particularly noted at all times.

Psalm 32.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily receives grace. Love and mercy. With this Psalm will be found neither holy name nor prayer.

Psalm 33.—Have you been unfortunate in respect to the constant death of your children at birth, pronounce this Psalm with the holiest name **Jehovah**, over pure olive oil and anoint your wife therewith, and the children born to you thereafter will live.

At the time of a general famine, the inhabitants of the afflicted district should pray this Psalm with united hearts and powers, and they will surely be heard.

The letters of this holy name you will find in **Lajehovah**, verse 2; **Hodu**, verse 3; **Azath**, verse 9, and **Hejozer**, verse 14.

Psalm 34.—Have you resolved to visit a prince or another person high in authority, pronounce this Psalm and the holy name **Pcle**, that is, Wonderful, briefly before appearing in their presence and you will be received pleasantly and find favor.

The letters of this holy name are found in the words: **Paude**, verse 23; **Lifne**, verse 1, and **Kara**, verse 7.

Even so this Psalm is highly recommended to each traveler, for if he prays it diligently he will surely finish his journey in safety.

Psalm 35.—Have you a lawsuit pending in which you are opposed by unrighteous, revengeful and quarrelsome people, then, pray this Psalm with its holy name **Jah**, early in the morning for three successive days, and you will surely win your case.

The letters composing this holy name are contained in the words: **Lochmi**, verse 1, and in **Wezinna**, verse 2.

Psalm 36.—Against all evil and slanderous libels pray this Psalm, and they will cause you no injury.

The holy name of this Psalm is found in the words: Arven, verse 6; Mischpatecha, verse 7, and Tehom, verse 7.

Psalm 37.—If any one has drunken so much wine as to lose his reason, and in consequence, fears are entertained for his safety, then quickly pour water into a pitcher, pronounce this Psalm over it, and bathe his head and face with the consecrated water, and give him also to drink of it.

Psalms 38 and 39.—If you have been so much slandered that the king and the officers of the law have been turned against you, and are taking measures to punish you, arise early, at the break of day and go out into the fields. Pray these Psalms and their holy name seven times with great devotion, and fast the entire day.

The holy name of the first Psalm is Aha, and of the second He, taken from the words Hascha, verse 14, and Amarti, verse 2.

Psalm 40.—The principal characteristic of this Psalm is, that we can, by its use, free ourselves from evil spirits, if we pray it daily.

The holy name is Jah, and is found in the words: Schauaiti, verse 2, and Chuscha, verse 14.

Psalms 41 to 43.—If your enemies have despoiled you of credit and caused you to be mistrusted, and thereby reduce your earnings, or perhaps, deprive you of your office and installed another in your place, you should pray these three times a day for three successive days, together with a prayer that is appropriate to your circumstances, and by doing this you will perceive incredible things. Your enemies will be put to shame and you will be unscathed.

The 42d Psalm possesses this peculiar characteristic. If you wish to be sure in regard to a certain cause, and desire to obtain information through a dream, you must fast one day, and shortly before retiring to rest you must pray this Psalm and the holy name, Zawa, (which means the Lord of Hosts,) belonging to the Psalm, seven times, making known your desires, each time, in an appropriate prayer, in which your wishes should be plainly named.

Psalm 44.—If you wish to be safe from your enemies the frequent praying of this Psalm will, it is said, answer your expectations.

Psalms 45 and 46.—These two Psalms are said to possess the virtue of making peace between man and wife, and, especially, to tame cross wives. The saying is, namely: Whoever has a scolding wife, let him pronounce the 45th Psalm over pure olive oil, and anoint his body with it, when his wife, in the future, will be more lovable and friendly. But if a man has innocently incurred the enmity of his wife, and desires a proper return of conjugal love and peace, let him pray the 46th Psalm over olive oil, and anoint his wife thoroughly with it, and, it is said, married love will again return.

The holy name is Adojah, (this name is composed of the first syllables of the two most holy names of God, Adonai and Jehovah).

The letters are in the words: Elohim, verse 2; Meod, verse 2; Jehovah, verse 8, and Sela, verse 12.

Psalm 47.—Do you wish to be beloved, respected and well received by all your fellow-men, pray this Psalm seven times daily.

Psalm 48.—If you have many enemies without cause, who hate you out of pure envy, pray this Psalm often, and with it think of the holy name Sach, which means Pure, Clear and Transparent, and your enemies will be seized with fear, terror and anxiety, and in future they will no more attempt to injure you.

The letters of the holy name are to be found in the words: Ahasatam, verse 7, and Ki, verse 14.

Psalms 49 and 50.—Is one of your family burdened with a severe and perhaps incurable fever, then take a new pen and ink prepared for this purpose, and write the 49th Psalm and the first six verses of the 50th Psalm, together with the appropriate holy name Schaddi, which signifies Almighty, and which belongs to these Psalms, upon pure parchment prepared for this particular case, and hang it around the patient's neck with a silken string.

The letters composing the divine name, Schaddei, can be found in the words of the 49th Psalm, Schimma, verse 1; Adaw, verse 3, and Wikas, verse 8.

Remarks by the Translator.

(Should some one choose to write and wear a talisman such as is described above, we would kindly advise him to procure parchment, ink and pen from a Jewish writer of the ten commandments.)

It is asserted that whosoever wears the 50th Psalm, written as above described, upon his person, will be safe from all danger, and escape from all the machinations of robbers.

The holy name is Chai, which signifies, Living, and the letters are taken from the words: Sewach, verse 5, and Anochi, verse 7.

Psalm 51.—Is any one troubled with an anxious and restless conscience on account of the commission of a heavy sin, then let him pronounce this Psalm with the word Dam connected with it in the mind, three times a day, namely, early at noon and in the evening over poppy-oil, and at the same time utter a prayer suitable to the occasion in which the evil deed must be mentioned in deep humility and sorrow, which must be obtained from the just yet merciful Judge of all men through a contrite heart, then let him anoint himself with the consecrated oil over the body, and he will find in a few days that he has found grace and that the heavy burden has been removed.

The letters of the word Dam, through the transposition of the B and M in the words Parim, verse 20, and Bebo, verse 2, are taken according to the order of the alphabet, Al Bam, in which the B is taken for M.

Psalm 52.—He who is so unfortunate as to be disturbed through frequent slanders is advised to utter this Psalm daily in the morning, and no special prayer or holy name is needed to obtain the benefit of the Psalm.

Psalms 53 to 55.—These three Psalms are ordained to be uttered by him who is persecuted without cause by open and secret enemies. If he desires only to quiet his enemies, or fill them with fear, he must daily repeat the prescribed 53d Psalm with the holy name Ai. The letters of this name are the first letters of the two blessed names of God, Adonai, Jehovah, and are found in the words Amar, verse 2, and Jiszmach, verse 6.

If, however, he wishes not only to be secure from their malice, but if he also desires to revenge himself upon them, then he must repeat the 54th Psalm with the prescribed holy name, Jah. The letters of this are found in the last words of this Psalm, Eeni, and in the word Immenu, verse 2, and indeed according to the Kabalistic rule Gematria, inasmuch as the letter, He, when it is written out signifies six in number, and in this manner may very easily be taken for the letter Vav, which, in counting, also numbers six.

Should he desire to render his enemies evil for evil, he shall repeat the 55th Psalm with the name Vah, which contains both of the final letters of the name Jehovah. The letters of this name are found in the words: Weattah, verse 12, and Haasinad, verse 2.

Psalm 56.—This Psalm is recommended to him, who is desirous of freeing himself from the bonds of passion and of sense, and who is anxious to be delivered from the so-called Jezer Horra, which means, the evil lusts or the desire to commit sin.

Psalm 57.—Whosoever wishes to be fortunate in all his undertakings should pray this Psalm daily after the morning prayer in the church, and with it the holy name Chai, signifying Living, which name he should keep constantly in his mind.

The two letters of this name are contained in the words: Chonneni, verse 2, and in Elohim, verse 6.

Psalm 58.—If you should be attacked by a vicious dog, pray this Psalm quickly, and the dog will not harm you.

Psalm 59.—Would you be entirely free from the Jezer Horra, that is, from the inclination which all men possess to do evil, and the sinful appetites and passions which often overcome them, then pray this Psalm from the second verse to the end, for three days in succession, at early noon and in the evening, and the holy name belonging thereto, namely, Paltioel, which signifies Strong God, My Rescuer and Saviour; also, pray the prescribed prayer, and you will become aware of the most wonderful changes within yourself.

The prayer is as follows: Lord, my Father and the Father of mine, mighty God! May it please thee for the sake of thy great, holy and adorable name, Paltioel, to release me from the Jezer Harra (from my evil desires and passions and from all evil thoughts and acts), as thou didst the author of this Psalm when he prayed to thee. Amen.—Selah!—

The letters of the holy name of Paltioel may be found in the words: Pischii, verse 3; Elohim, verse 5; Chattati, verse 3; Jehovah, verse 8; Aschir, verse 15, and Maschel, verse 14.

Psalm 60.—If you are a soldier in an army, and are about marching into the field, repeat this Psalm, keeping in mind the holy name of Jah, and at the conclusion of each repetition of the Psalm, utter a suitable prayer in full reliance upon the endless omnipotence of Him, who can give the victory where he will, and you will be enabled to return to your home uninjured.

The two letters of the holy name Jah, are contained in the word Zarenu, verse 14, as the last word of this Psalm, and in Lelammed, verse 1.

Psalm 61.—When you are about taking possession of a new dwelling, repeat this Psalm just before moving in, with a suitable prayer, trusting in the name of Schaddei, and you will experience blessing and good fortune.

The letters composing this name are taken from the words Schimmu, verse 2; Ken, verse 9; and Jom, the last word of this Psalm. It should, however, be remarked that both the last letters are selected according to the alphabetical order of Ajack Bechar.

Psalm 62.—Speak this Psalm with proper reverence on Sunday immediately after the evening prayer, and on Monday after vespers, and at the same time think of the holy name Ittami, which means "concealed, hidden, or invisible" (which most probably refers to the invisible God, who covers the transgressions of penitent sinners), and utter the following prayer: Great, mighty and merciful God! may it be thy holy will to pardon me all my sins, transgressions and offences; wilt thou cover them, and blot them out as thou didst the sins and transgressions of him who uttered this Psalm in thy presence, wilt thou do this for the sake of the adorable name of Ittami. Amen.—Selah!

The letters of this name may be found in the words: Achi, verse 2; Jeschuate, verse 2; Emot, verse 3; Lelohim, verse 6, and Leisch, verse 13.

Psalm 63.—If you have reason to believe that your business-partners are about to take unfair advantage of you, and that you will suffer loss through them, and if you desire, on this account, to withdraw from the firm, repeat this Psalm, and with it think of the holy name Jach, and you will not only be able to withdraw without loss, but you will obtain further good fortune and blessings.

The letters of this holy name are contained in the words Jasjmach, verse 11, and Jechuda, verse 1.

Psalm 64.—In reference to this Psalm it is only necessary to say, that seafarers who daily pray it with devotion will complete their voyage without accident, and reach their place of destination in good health. As for the rest, neither holy name nor especial prayer have been considered necessary.

Psalm 65.—Whosoever utters this Psalm with its appropriate name Jah, persistently, will be fortunate in all his undertakings, and everything he attempts will result to his best advantage. It is particularly recommended to one who has a petition to prefer, for it is asserted that he will certainly obtain his desires.

The two letters of this holy name are taken from the words Joschiru, verse 14, and Dumijah, verse 2.

Psalm 66.—If any man is possessed of a Ruack Roah (evil spirit), write this Psalm on parchment and hang it upon him; then stretch your hands over him and say: Save me, O God, for the waters are come into my soul. Psalm lxi. 2.

Psalms 67 and 68.—Both these Psalms contain the divine name of Jah. The letters composing it are found in the first Psalm and are selected from the words; Jechonnenu, verse 2, and from the last word of the fifth verse, Sela. In the second, on the other hand, from Jakum, verse 2, and from Aora, verse 36. The first should be prayed in a protracted case of fever, or in severe imprisonment. The second, on the contrary, should be prayed over a vessel filled with water upon which the sun never shone, in a low voice, and in the name of the patient, and then work his body with the water, and the evil spirit will depart from him.

Psalms 69 and 70.—The first of these Psalms should be uttered daily over water, by the libertine and sensualist, who is so confirmed in his evil habits, as to become a slave to them, and who, however much he may desire to escape these habits, is unable to do so. After having prayed this Psalm over the water he should drink of it.

The second should be prayed by him who desires to conquer his enemies.

Neither of these two Psalms have prescribed holy name or prayer.

Psalm 71.—With this Psalm there is likewise neither holy name nor prayer, but it is said to have the power to liberate any one from prison, who will for a time pray it reverentially seven times a day.

Psalm 72.—Write this Psalm with the name Aha, in the usual manner, upon pure parchment, and suspend it around your neck, and you will become a universal favorite, and find favor and grace from all men; you may then live unconcerned, for you can never come to poverty.

The letters of the holy name are taken from the words: Elohim, verse 1, and Jeassshruhu, verse 17.

Psalms 73 to 78.—Since these eleven Psalms have neither holy names nor particular closing prayers, I shall, in order to economize space, record the peculiar virtues ascribed to each one for the good of mankind.

The 73d Psalm should be repeated reverently seven times daily by those who are compelled to sojourn in a heathen, idolatrous or infidel country, and by doing so, no one need feel afraid that he will be induced to deny his faith.

The frequent and earnest prayer of the 74th Psalm is said to defeat the persecution embittered by enemies, and will frustrate the oppressions of the self-mighty, wealth-seeking, hard-hearted people, and will at the same time bring them to a terrible end.

The devout prayer of the 74th Psalm will effect the forgiveness of sins.

The 76th Psalm is said to be the quickest and most effective defence against danger from fire and water.

Whosoever prays the 77th Psalm daily will not be overtaken by want or danger.

Whosoever prays the 78th Psalm earnestly and often, will be beloved and respected by kings and princes and will receive favor from them.

The frequent prayer of the 79th Psalm, it is said, is fatal to enemies and opponents.

The constant and industrious prayer of 80th and 81st Psalms is said to be a happy means of saving men from falling into unbelief and saves them also from other errors.

The prayer of the 82d Psalm will assist an envoy to transact his business to the satisfaction of his employers, and his business affairs will succeed and prosper.

You should write the 83d Psalm properly, upon pure parchment, and suspend it around your neck, and by so doing you will abide safely in war, avoiding defeat and captivity. If you should, however, be overcome, your captors will not harm you, for even in captivity no harm can befall you.

Psalm 84.—When a man, through a severe and protracted illness, has acquired a repulsive, disgusting and bad odor, he should pronounce this Psalm with the prescribed holy name of Af, which means Father, over a pot of water upon which the sun never shone, and then pour the water all over himself, and then the bad smell will leave him.

The letters of the holy name Af, are found in the words: Zebarth, verse 2, and in Bach, verse 6.

Psalm 85.—Do you wish that your former friend, but who now lives at enmity with you, should again be reconciled to you, if you can discover no disposition on his part to make it up with you, then go out into an open field, turn your face toward the South, and pronounce this Psalm, with its prescribed holy name Vah, seven times in succession, and he will approach and receive you in great friendship.

Psalms 86 to 88.—These three Psalms again are left without a holy name, and there is nothing further said about them, than that a person should accustom himself to pray them often, because by so doing much good can be done and much evil avoided. The frequent praying, of the 85th Psalm especially, is said to promote the welfare of the community and the congregation.

Psalm 89.—Should one of your own family or dear friends waste away so rapidly, in consequence of a severe illness, so that they are already nearly helpless and useless, speak this Psalm over olive oil and pour the oil over the wool that has been shorn from a wether or a ram, and with it anoint the body and limbs of the patient, and he will speedily recover.

If your friend is under arrest, and you desire his liberation, go into an open field, raise your eyes toward heaven and repeat this Psalm, with a prayer suited to the circumstances, which should be uttered in full confidence in God.

Psalm 90.—Should you accidentally encounter a lion in the forest, or should you be deceived, cheated or plagued by an evil spirit or ghost, then grasp in your mind the name of God (Schaddei) and repeat this

Psalm, and they will withdraw themselves. But you will be still more secure when such a danger should arise, if you pray the following 91st Psalm in connection with the goth, at one and the same time.

Psalm 91.—The holy name of this Psalm is El, which means Strong God. After speaking this Psalm, and the preceding one, over a person tormented by an evil spirit, or one afflicted by an incurable disease, in the name of Eel Schaddei, then pray humbly: Let it be thy holy pleasure, oh my God! to take from N., son of R., the evil spirit by which he is tormented, for the sake of thy great, mighty and holy name El Schaddei. Wilt thou presently send him health and let him be perfectly restored. Hear his prayer as thou once did that of thy servant Moses when he prayed this Psalm. Let his prayer penetrate to thee as once the holy incense arose to thee on high. Amen. Selah!

The two letters of the name Eel are contained in the words Jeschuti, verse 16, and Orech, verse 16.

Again write this Psalm in connection with the last verse of the previous Psalm upon clean parchment, and conceal it behind the door of your house, and you will be secure from all evil accidents.

Kabalists ascribe to this Psalm when taken in connection with the above verse, the most wonderful virtue, when it is used in accordance with the nature of existing circumstances, and when it is combined with other scriptural passages, holy names of angels, characters and prayers, it is said, for example:

Prayer through which all distress, danger and suffering may be turned aside. If any one should be in danger of his life, or become distressed, be it what it may, such as being attacked by an incurable disease, pestilence, fire or water, overwhelmed by enemies or murderers, in battles, sieges, robberies, close imprisonment, etc., let him confess his sins first of all, and then speak the Vihi Noamprayer (the name by which the 91st Psalm with the aforesaid verse is usually known), ninety-nine times, according to the number of the two holiest names of God, Jehovah Adonei. Each time when he comes to the fourteenth verse, "Because he hath set his love upon me," etc., he shall keep in mind the holy name, and then pray devoutly each time: "Thou art the most holy, king over all that is revealed and hidden, exalted above all that is high, sanctify and glorify thy adorable name in this thy world, so that all the nations of the earth may know that thine is the glory and the power, and that thou hast secured me from all distress, but especially out of the painful emergency (here the object of the prayer must be distinctly stated), which has overtaken me N., son of R. And I herewith promise and vow that I will now and ever after this, as long as I shall live upon the earth, and until I return to the dust from which I was taken." (Here the vow must be verbally-stated,—stating what we will do, perform or give in the service of our Creator. The vow may consist in fasting, giving alms, or in the daily reading of several chapters of the Holy Scriptures, Psalms, of the Sohar or of the Talmud, releasing of captives, nursing the sick and burying the dead.) "Praised be Jehovah, my Rock and my Salvation. Thou wilt be my representative and intercessor, and wilt help me, for thou helpest thy poor, feeble and humble creature, and in time of need releasest from fear

and danger, and dealest mercifully with thy people; merciful and forgiving, thou hearest the prayer of every one. Praised art thou, Jehovah, thou who hearest prayer." (The last words should be repeated seven times at each ending of the prayer.)

And now, whoever will punctually observe the foregoing instructions three days in succession, in full trust in the mighty help of God, he may rest assured of the assistance which he desires.

Kabalists, and especially the celebrated Rabbi Isaac Loria have assured us that in a time of pestilence or general emergency, the Vihi Noam-prayer should be prayed seven times daily, connecting with it in the mind the figure of the golden candlestick, when it is composed of the forty-one holy and important words and names of this Psalm, with which we should especially consider the holy names in their order. The following are the names:

Vean,	Alm,	Bich,	Iba,	Wich,	Ika,	Aan,	Beni,
Mii,	Tmol,	Veal,	Ktaz,	Ilu,	Mehoh,	Imi,	Becha,
Im,	Retak,	Betu,	Lir,	Uma,	Ima,	Miz,	Mehi,
Aki,	Lakad,	Mili,	Ibak,	Rul,	Leta,	Afcham,	Pesch,
Aab,	Schin,	Aki,	Acchu,	Kuck,	Vetat,	Raasch,	Jaub,

Ana.

(See Fig. A.)

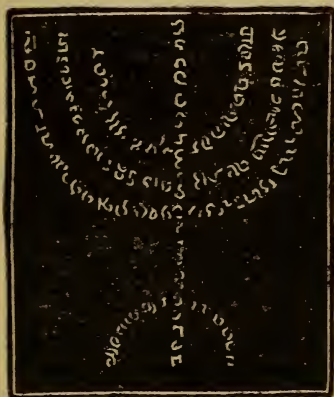


Fig. A.

After this should be spoken verses 21-28, chapter xii. of Exodus, and with them keeping in mind the names contained in the 23d and 28th verses, in the following order:

Awal, Jahel, Ito, Huj Husch, Aha, Imo, Vil.

As also Vohu, Uha, Bam, Bili, Zel, Holo, Vesop, and finally the holy name: Nischaszas.

And now, he who observes all these things to the very letter, and who can keep in his memory all the letters, points or vowels, he shall be safe from all danger, and shall be as strong as steel, so that no firearms can harm him. The certainty of this is shown by the Kabalists, because the letter Seijid is not to be found in the entire Psalm, and since the word Seijin or Kie Seijin embraces within its meaning all deadly weapons, this conclusion is entirely correct.

Remarks by the Translator.

The extraordinary powers ascribed to the 91st Psalm may all be right and proper enough, but it is to be regretted that the reader cannot avail himself of its benefits, especially in the last experiment, because all the recorded holy names consist of the first letter of all the words of the 91st Psalm, and likewise of the 23d and 28th verses of Exodus, chapter xii., a passage which has already been quoted. It is, therefore, impossible to pronounce this name properly, neither can it be translated into English or into any other language. And how shall we then memorize the first letters of each word of the Psalm together with the points or vowels belonging to them? If any one, notwithstanding the difficulties attending the use of this Psalm, should desire to avail himself of its virtues, then he must undertake the burdensome task of learning the Hebrew language, or he must write it, and wear it upon his heart as an amulet.

Psalm 92.—He who desires to attain to high honors, let him take with this object in view, a new pot filled with water. Place in it myrtle and vine leaves, and pronounce over it, with perfect trust, the following Psalms, namely, the 92, 94, 23, 20, 24, and 100, three times in succession, and at each time let him wash himself out of the pot and afterward anoint his face and whole body with the water; then turn his face toward the north, pray to God for the fulfilment of his desires, and he will see wonderful things. He will be astonished with his ever-increasing good fortune. He will also, in a wonderful manner, advance from one post of honor to another.

Psalm 93.—There is nothing special recorded of this Psalm, other than that it is highly recommended to any one who has a suit with a stern and unjust opponent. The proper use of this Psalm, it is said will surely win him his cause.

Psalm 94.—If you have a hard, unyielding and bitter enemy, who oppresses you sorely and causes you great anxiety, repair to an open field on Monday, take some incense into your mouth, turn with your face toward the East and West, and repeat first the 94th Psalm and then the 92d, seven times, keeping in mind at the same time the holy name Eel Kanno Taf, which signifies great, strong, zealous and good God, and pray each time at the ending of these Psalms: "May it please Thee, O great, strong, zealous and good God, to humble my enemy N., son of R., as thou once did the enemies of our great teacher Moses, who rests in peace, and who completed this Psalm to thy glorification. Let my

prayer arise to thee as did the sweet smell of incense from the altar of incense, and let me behold thy wonderful power. Amen!—Selah!—

Psalm 95.—The appropriate holy name of God and peculiar to this Psalm is Eel, which is, great, strong God, and the letters are found in the words: Eel, verse 3, and Lezur, verse 1.

The pious believer should pray this Psalm for his erring and unbelieving brethren.

Psalms 96 and 97.—The holy name of these two Psalms is Jah, and the letters of the first are found in the words, Jeschuato, verse 2, and Hawn, verse 7, and those of the other in the words, Jismechu, verse 1, and Atta, verse 9. Whosoever will pray these two Psalms three times daily, will cause his family great joy and contentment.

Psalm 98.—The holy name of this Psalm is also Jah, and should be pronounced in order to establish peace and unity between families. The letters of the holy name are taken out of the words: Israel, verse 3, and Haschiah, verse 1.

Psalm 99.—With this Psalm there is no holy name recorded, and all who wish to become really pious are advised to pray it often with proper devotion.

Psalm 100.—The holy name Jah, so often mentioned already, is also appropriate to this Psalm, and whoever prays it several days successively seven times, will overcome all his enemies. The two letters of this holy name are recorded in verse 3, and in Aetodah, verse 4.

Psalm 101.—Whoever bears this Psalm in addition to the 68th upon his person, written upon parchment, is secure from the persecution of evil spirits and vindictive persons.

Psalms 102 and 103.—Both these Psalms are said to be very good for barren women by the use of which they may receive grace and favor from God. The holy name of the one is called Jah, and is taken from Anneni, verse 3, and the name of the other one is Aha, and is taken from the word Adonai, verse 12, and from Sela, verse 20.

Psalm 104.—The frequent and earnest prayer of this Psalm is said to be attended with such great power, that through it the Masick may be destroyed.

Remarks of the Translator.

The word Masick signifies, according to its root, only something hurtful, something that will cause harm, it may be by spirits, beings or animals. Generally, however, the Jews understood the term to mean the Devil, and with its connections in this place the word must mean original sin and the propensity to commit sin.

Psalms 105 to 107.—To these three Psalms the holy name of Jah is ascribed, and according to the original writing, it is said, that the 105th Psalm will cure three days' fever; the praying of the 106th Psalm will cure the four days' fever, and finally the praying of the 107th will cure the daily fever.

The letters of the holy names are taken from Lejaikof, verse 7, and Hodu, verse 1, and further from Sochreni, verse 4, and from Tehillato, verse 2 of the 106th Psalm, and finally from Jischlach, verse 19, and Verinna, verse 21.

Psalm 108.—Write this Psalm with its proper holy name, Vi, (two letters from the most holy name of Jehovah, in which Kabalists seek through its many divisions, great secrets,) upon clean parchment, and hide it in a secure spot behind the door of your house, and then your going and coming will be blessed, and you will be successful in all your business transactions.

The two letters of the holy name Jehovah, by a transposition of Vav and Jod, are contained in the words: Zarenn, verse 14, and in Nachon, verse 2.

Psalm 109.—Have you a mighty enemy, who plagues and oppresses you, fill a new jug with new, sparkling wine, add some mustard to it, and then repeat this Psalm three days successively, while at the same time you keep in mind the holy name of Eel (great and strong God), and afterward pour the mixture before the door of your enemy's dwelling. Be careful, however that you do not sprinkle a single drop upon yourself when in the act of pouring it out.

The letters of the name Eel are found in the words, Elohim, verse 3, and in Ki Jamood, verse 5.

Psalms 110 and 111.—The first of these Psalms is marked with the holy name Jah, and by its frequent use in the form of a prayer, and a man may compel all enemies and opposers to bow to him and beg for quarters and peace.

Through praying the 111th Psalm a man may acquire many friends without the necessity of keeping constantly in mind any special holy name.

Psalms 112 and 113.—By praying the first of these Psalms a man will increase in might and power from time to time, and by praying the second devoutly it is possible to check growing heresy and infidelity. Neither of these Psalms has a peculiar holy name.

Psalm 114.—The holy name of this Psalm consists of two letters, taken together from the names Adonai (Lord), and Jehovah, namely, Aha, which may be found in this Psalm in the words Jisraael, verse 1, and Jehuda, verse 2. If you desire success in your trade or business, write this Psalm with its appropriate holy name upon clean parchment, and carry it about your person constantly in a small bag prepared especially for this purpose.

Psalm 115.—If you are determined to dispute with infidels, heretics and scoffers at religion, pray this Psalm devoutly beforehand.

Psalm 116.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily with devotion, trusting fully in God, will be safe from violent death, neither will he be overtaken by a sudden death.

Psalm 117.—Did you make a vow to obtain a certain commandment

or perform a good work, and fail in the performance of them through forgetfulness or carelessness, as soon as you recollect your remissness pray this Psalm with a broken and contrite heart.

Psalm 118.—If you pray this Psalm often and devoutly, you will be able to silence all free-thinkers, scoffers of religion and heretics, who labor to lead you astray.

Psalm 119.—This it is well known is the largest of all the Psalms, and consists in the Hebrew of eight alphabets, but in such a manner, that each letter appears in undisturbed regularity, and through this there arose twenty-two special divisions, which are included in each eight verses, because a particular power is ascribed to each division, which I cannot present to the reader in clearer manner than by placing each letter before him which forms the particular division.

Aleph.—The eight verses of this letter, which all begin with Aleph, should be pronounced over a man whose limbs shake and quiver, and if this be done in a low and even tone of voice, he will be relieved. If any one has made a vow, which has become burdensome to fulfil, it will be easy for him to keep his promise.

Beth.—It is said that through the second division from the ninth to the sixteenth verse, a man may obtain a good memory, an open heart, desirous to learn, and an extended intelligence. Whosoever desires to attain this must begin as follows: Remove from a hard-boiled egg the shell deftly and cleanly, so that the inside shall remain uninjured, and write upon it the above eight verses as well as the fourth verse of Deuteronomy, xxxiii., and eight verses of Joshua i., and also the holy name of the angels, Chosniel, Schrewniel and Mupiel. The translation of these three angel-names it is not necessary to know, because they must not be pronounced, but since it will be of interest to the reader to know the meaning of them, it will not be superfluous to give them here. Chosniel, signifies Cover, or overshadow me, mighty God! (namely, with the spirit of wisdom and knowledge). Schrewniel, turn me, again, mighty God! that is, change me, convert me into a better man or woman, as David once said, "Create in me, oh God," etc. Mupiel means: Out of the mouth of the mighty God (namely, let me attend upon the decrees of thy laws, as if I heard and received them from the mouth of God himself). Finally, the following must also be written upon the egg: Open and enlarge my heart and understanding, that I may hear and comprehend everything that I read, and that I may never forget it. All this must be done on a Thursday evening, after fasting the entire day, and then the egg must be inserted whole into the mouth, and when it is eaten, the four first verses of this division must be repeated three times in succession.

Gimel.—The division of the third letter, verses 17 to 24, should be prayed seven times in succession, in a low, solemn tone and with full confidence in the omnipotence of God, over the seriously injured eye of a friend, so that the pain may cease and the eye restored.

Daleth.—By the earnest praying of this division, verses 25 to 32, a painful injury of the left eye can be cured in the first place, in the same

manner as is described above, and in the second place, if a man is engaged in a lawsuit, or is vexed by a change of occupation, or residence, or if he desires to make an advantageous selection, or make a resolution, he should repeat these eight times in succession. On the other hand, however, if a man must avail himself of the advice and assistance of many persons in order to accomplish an undertaking successfully, he should repeat this division ten times.

Ho.—The division of the letter He, verses 33 to 40, is said to make people refrain from committing sins. A sinful being, who has become so much accustomed to commit sin and vice, that he cannot refrain from them, notwithstanding his best resolutions, should write these eight verses upon parchment prepared from a clean deer skin, (or cause them thus to be written,) place it in a bag prepared for this purpose and hang it around his neck, so that he will carry it continually upon his breast.

Vau.—Speak these eight verses, 41 to 48, properly over water, and give it to your servant or dependent to drink, and then your rule and power over him will become easy and agreeable, and he will serve you willingly.

Zain.—To the seventh division, verses 49 to 56, two different effects are ascribed. It is said, for example: If one of your friends or acquaintances is afflicted with melancholy, or becomes splenetic, or has severe stitching in the side, write this division, with the holy name Raphael, which signifies, heal, mighty God, properly upon a small piece of clean parchment, and bind it upon the patient where the spleen is situated.

If you have been led into an undertaking that promises evil results, through the misrepresentations of evil counsellors, repeat this division eighteen times, and you will find means to withdraw from the undertaking without injury to yourself.

Oheth.—Speak the division of this letter, verses 57 to 64, seven times over wine, and give a sick person, who has severe pains in the upper part of the body, to drink of it, and he will soon find relief.

Teth.—The division of the letter Teth, verses 65 to 72, is an easy, quick and tried remedy to cure the severest case of kidney or liver complaints, or to take away pain in the hips. Pronounce these eight verses properly, specially and reverently over the sick person and he will convalesce.

Jod.—Would you find grace and favor with God and man, pray at the close of each morning prayer the division of this letter, verses 70 to 80, trusting fully in the mercy and grace of God, and your prayer will be heard.

Caph.—If one of yours has a dangerous sore, or a burning swelling on the right side of the nose, pray the eight verses of this division, verses 81 to 88, ten times, in a low and conjuring voice, over the sore, and you will perceive to your astonishment and joy, that the otherwise incurable sore will be healed.

Lamed.—If you are summoned to appear personally before the Judge

in a lawsuit, pray on the preceding day, just after the evening prayer, the division of the letter Lamed, verses 89 to 96, and you will obtain a favorable hearing, and will be permitted to leave the court justified.

Mem.—For pain in the limbs, and especially for paralysis in the right arm or hand, a man should pray this division, verses 97 to 104, seven times for three successive days, in a low conjuring voice, over the affected arm, and the pain will cease and the arm will be healed.

Nun.—Have you a mind to travel, pray this division, verses 105 to 112, which begins with the words: "For thy word is a lamp to my feet," a few days previous to starting upon your journey, each time after the morning and evening prayer, and you will accomplish your journey safely and will prosper in your avocation.

Samech.—If you have a favor to ask of a superior, pray, before presenting your petition, or before you attempt to ask the favor verbally, the eight verses of the letter Samech, verses 113 to 120, and you will not go away unheard.

Ain.—In the same way and manner as the prayer of the division of the letter Mem, heals pain in the right arm, so also the praying of the eight verses of the letter Ain, verses 121 to 128, will cure pain in the left arm and hand.

Pe.—The prayer of this division, verses 129 to 136, will prove of the same effect in the case of a boil or swelling on the left side of the nose, and the proceedings in both cases must be the same to effect a cure.

Tsaddi.—Since it frequently happens that persons in an official station are induced, through misrepresentations and other circumstances, to give a wrong and unjust decision, even against their better knowledge and desire, they are kindly advised to pray the eight verses of this letter, verses 137 to 144, three times devoutly before giving their decision, at the same time asking the help of the Judge of all Judges, to enlighten their minds.

Koph.—The mysterious operation of this division, verses 145-152, relates to the cure of a dangerous and painful injury at the left leg. These eight verses should be pronounced in a low and conjuring voice over a quantity of rose-oil and the injury anointed with the oil.

Resh.—Are you burdened with a painful, constantly running boil in the right ear, pronounce the eight verses of the division of the letter Resh, verses 152-160, in a low and conjuring voice, over onion-water or juice, and let one drop run into the ear, when you will experience immediate relief.

Schin.—Against severe and burning headache speak the division of this letter, verses 161 to 168, in a low conjuring voice, three times over pure olive oil, and anoint the place where the pain is the most severe.

Tau.—The last division of this Psalm, verses 169-176, should be used in the same manner as the division of the letter Resh, that is, it should be spoken over onion-water, and by its use a boil in the left ear may be cured.

Finally, it is stated at the end of this Psalm, that whosoever is afflicted with a tearing pain in both arms, in the sides, and in the legs at one and the same time, should repeat this whole Psalm in the following order: 1. The eight verses of the letter Aleph; of Tau and Beth. 2. Those of the letter Schin. 3. The division of the letter Gimmel. 4. The eight verses of the letter Resh. 5. The division of the letter Daleth. 6. That of the letter Kuf. 7. The eight verses of the letter He. 8. Those of the letter Zain. 9. The division of the letter Vau. 10. The eight verses of the letter Pe. 11. The division of the letter Zain. 12. The division of the letter Ain. 13. The eight verses of the letter Cheth. 14. Those of the letter Tamech. 15. Those of the letter Teth. 16. Of Nun. 17. The eight verses of the letter Jud, and finally, 18, the division of the letter Mem, Caph, and Lamed. This remedy has been tried, and has proved infallible. Should any one become afflicted with tearing pains in the loins, make for him, at the conclusion of this Psalm, knots, combinations, or magical knots in water, with or under the names of: Adam, Seth, Enoch, Canaan, Mahalleel, Jared, Methusaleh, Lamech, Noah, Shem.

[The translator is compelled to admit honestly, that he does not comprehend this latter clause, and much less is he able to give any directions in regard to the method employed in making magical-knots, he does not presume that any one will be interested in this matter.]

Psalm 120.—If you must appear before the judge, repeat the Psalm beforehand, and you will receive grace and favor.

If a traveler should find himself in a forest infested with many poisonous snakes, scorpions and other poisonous reptiles as may easily happen, and thus be exposed to danger, let him pray this Psalm as soon as he comes in sight of the forest seven times, and he will be able to proceed on his journey without any harm.

Psalm 121.—Are you compelled to travel alone by night, pray this Psalm reverently seven times, and you will be safe from all accidents and evil occurrences.

Psalm 122.—If you are about to address a man high in station, repeat this Psalm thirteen times beforehand, and you will be received graciously and find favor. Also, pray this Psalm each time that you are present in church, and you will obtain a blessing.

Psalm 123.—If your servant or journeyman has run away from you, write this Psalm, together with his name, on a leaden or tin plate, when he will return to you.

Psalm 124.—If you are about to cross a swollen stream, or undertake a journey by water, pray this Psalm before entering the ship, and then you may commence your journey without fear.

Psalm 125.—If you are compelled to travel in a country, where you have avowed enemies whom you have reason to fear on account of threatened injury to yourself, then take, before entering the country, both your hands full of salt, pronounce this Psalm seven times over it, and then scatter it into the air toward the four quarters of the globe, and by so

doing, not one of your enemies will be able to bring any harm against you.

Psalm 126.—Are you so unfortunate, that your children are taken away from you in their infancy, and that you are not able to raise any of them, then, when your wife again becomes pregnant, write this Psalm upon four amulets made out of clean parchment, and add to the last line of each amulet the names of the following angels: Sinui, Sinsuni, and Semanglaf, and afterward hide the amulets in the four walls of your house, when your child will live.

Psalm 127.—Write this Psalm upon pure parchment, place this amulet in a clean bag, and hang it about the neck of a newborn son immediately after birth, and no evil will ever befall him afterward.

Psalm 128.—Write this Psalm upon clean parchment, and hang it upon a pregnant woman, when she and the fruit of her body will always be secure from unlucky accidents, and she will have a fortunate confinement.

Psalm 129.—Whoever accustoms himself to repeat the Psalm daily after the morning prayer, will finally prepare himself to live piously and virtuously, and will be able to carry out many remunerative and good works.

Psalm 130.—If you are living in a besieged city, to and from which no one can go without danger, and if you have urgent business, so that you feel constrained to venture on a journey, then, just as you are about to leave the city, pray this Psalm in a low and abjuring voice toward the four quarters of the earth, and then you will be able to pass all the sentries without being seen or harmed. A heavy sleep will overcome them, so that they will not be conscious of your presence.

Psalm 131.—He who is so strongly possessed of the evil spirit of pride that he regards all other people with scorn, but who, upon sober reflection, desires to occupy a middle path, if his intolerable pride would only permit him, is advised to pray this Psalm reverently three times daily, after the morning and evening prayer. His pride will receive a certain check.

Psalm 132.—If you have sworn to perform anything punctually, and notwithstanding your oath you neglect to perform your obligation, and in this manner have perjured himself, you should, in order to avoid a future crime of a similar kind, pray this Psalm daily with profound reverence.

Psalm 133.—Whoever prays this Psalm daily, will not only retain the love and friendship of his friends, but he will also gain many more friends.

Psalm 134.—This very short Psalm, consisting of only three verses, should be repeated by every learned man, and especially by every student before entering college.

Psalm 135.—Whoever is desirous of repenting sincerely from sin,

and of consecrating his life to the service of God, should pray this Psalm daily after the morning and evening prayers, and then his heart and spirit will be daily renewed, and he will become more closely united with God from day to day.

Psalm 136.—Whosoever desires, on account of wilful sins and transgressions, to make a penitent confession of his misdeeds, should pray this Psalm beforehand, and then make his confession with an humble and broken heart and with great reverence.

Psalm 137.—The praying of this Psalm, it is said, will root out of the heart the most inveterate hate, envy and malice.

Psalm 138.—Praying this Psalm, it is stated, will produce love and friendship.

Psalm 139.—This Psalm should be prayed to increase and preserve love among married people.

Psalm 140.—Praying this Psalm, is said to be a powerful means to remove growing hatred between man and wife.

Psalm 141.—Whoever is often oppressed with heartfelt fears should pray this Psalm frequently.

Psalms 142 and 143.—Praying of the first of these two Psalms will cure pain in the thighs, and praying the other will remove tearing pains in the arms.

Psalm 144.—When any one breaks an arm this Psalm should be prayed, and the perfect cure of the arm cannot be delayed or interrupted by untoward circumstances.

Psalm 145.—He who fears ghosts and evil spirits, should pray this Psalm in connection with the 144th, with reverence, for the praying of these Psalms will drive away all ghosts and apparitions instantly.

Psalm 146.—Whoever has been dangerously wounded by a sword or other deadly weapon, he shall, during the time he is receiving surgical assistance, pray this Psalm reverently daily, and especially when the wound is being dressed and the bandages renewed, and he will shortly find reason to rejoice in a perfect restoration from his injuries.

Psalm 147.—For the cure of dangerous and deadly wounds, bites, stings of a salamander, lizard, snake, scorpion or other poisonous reptile, the earnest prayer of this Psalm is said to possess the same power of healing as the former Psalm, already described.

Psalms 148 and 149.—These two Psalms are said to possess the desirable virtue of checking fire, when they are prayed in childlike trust on the unfailing help of the Almighty.

Psalm 150.—This happy Psalm of Praise should be uttered by every God-fearing, thankful being, after having escaped a great danger, or received a peculiar grace in answer to a prayer to the Lord of Hosts, and it should be repeated with a thankful heart to His praise and glory.

SUPPLEMENT.

Finally, the author adds the following as a supplement:

I.

Whoever prays the five appended verses daily and hourly to God, will receive grace from God and man, and will obtain prosperity and blessing in all his undertakings.

The verses must be spoken in the following order:

Psalm cxxi. verse 2; Psalm lv. verse 23; Psalm xxxvii. verse 37; Psalm xxxvii. verse 3; Psalm cxviii. verse 13.

II.

A truly mysterious wonder-working formula is contributed by the celebrated Kabbalist Raf Amram, which is said to possess the especial virtue to protect and defend him, who, after the morning prayer, prays it with proper reverence during a whole day of twenty-four hours, whether at home or on a journey, from all evil power or accident, from robbery, murder, and injury by guns, or other weapons. No man will be able to attack him or to injure him, and no gun can harm him. This wonderful saying is as follows:

See and know, that I am He! I am He, and besides me there is no other God. I am He, who can kill and make alive; I wound, and I am he that can heal, and no one can escape my hand or my power. For I stretch out my hand toward heaven (that is, I swear by heaven), and say: I am He that liveth forever.

Animon, Animon, Alimon, Rirvtip, Taftian! The Lord can and will watch and keep, Amen. After a man has uttered this three times in succession, and with it has kept in mind the three names of angels added thereto, he should say the following: Happy art thou people of God! Who is like unto thee; a people whose help is Jehovah. He is the breastplate of thy help, and the strong sword of thy pride. Thy enemies will deny themselves before thee (that is, will hide themselves or retreat from thee), but thou wilt stand in their high places. Lord of the earth let it be agreeable to thy holy will to command thy angels to protect me and defend me in all my ways. Amen!

Remarks by the Translator.

The above Hebrew words are Kabbalistic names of angels, and are very hard to understand, and yet harder to translate. Thus for example, the letters of the word Alimon, mean Eel Leolam, Jehovah, Melech Waaed, Netzach, that is, Jehovah is an eternal God! he is a victorious king to all eternity. This prince or king according to the belief of Kabbalists, is entrusted with the superintendency of all weapons and guns in the whole world, for the letters of the word Alimon, according to the sig-

nification of numbers aggregate 137, and the two small words Klo Sajin, under which all kinds of guns and weapons are understood, likewise contained, according to the signification of number, 137 letters, viz:

Aleph	1	Beth	20
Lamed	30	Lamed	30
Jod	10	Jod	10
Mim	40	Zani	7
Vav	6	Jod	10
Nun	50	Jod	10
		Nun	50
	137		137

According to this, there are under the power of this field-general all cannons, howitzers, mortars, guns, rifles, pistols, all lances, spears, sabres, swords, and dirks in the whole world, and whenever he thinks proper, none of these will be able to do the least harm. Whoever, therefore, knows how to obtain the favor of the mighty Alemon, it will be very easy for him to make himself invulnerable against gun-shot wounds and against sharp instruments of all kinds. The words Reivtip and Tafthi are also full of mysterious meaning and are the names of two angels who are servants of Alimon.

The letters of the holy name Animon, are contained in the words Ani, Nelech, Raaed, Ne-Zachim, that is, I am King from Eternity to Eternity! Generally this angel claims a much higher rank than the angel Alimon, for he is first named, and is called upon twice in succession, through which he takes, according to the signification of numbers 314, letters, or as many as the holy name of the Schadai, the name of the Almighty.

III.

I here present you (writes the celebrated Rabbi and great Kabbalist Moses, son of Nochman, who is also known as Ramban), a great and useful remedy, Leraue, Weacuo, Nirch, which means, that a man, (especially upon a journey) may see everything and yet remain invisible himself. It is said, that through this mysterious means a man may be able to see and know all watching or hidden enemies, persecutors, thieves, robbers and murderers, without being seen by them, and he may remain invisible to them. This means has been tried and tested, says the author, "and I have tried it myself on occasions and at places where my life and limbs were in danger, and at each trial, with the help of God, I escaped without injury. It is truly a blessed remedy! you must know, however, that the power of this means will last only from the morning until after vespers. (evening prayer.)

THE REMEDY IS:

After you have offered your devoted traveling prayer to God, early before commencing your journey, leave your lodging or dwelling, and when

you arrive on the highway upon which you intend to travel, stand still and cover your eyes with the fingers of your right hand in the following manner: Lay the index finger on the right eye, the middle finger on the nose, and the third finger on the left eye, and then say three times: Through the word of Almighty God. But then also the following passages from the holy scriptures, Genesis, chap. i. verse 1: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." Deuteronomy, chap. xxxiv. and last verse: "And in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses showed in the sight of all Israel." Genesis, chap. xxxii. 1, 2: "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host, and he called the name of that place Mahanaim," that is, two hosts or camps, namely, God's and his own. Deuteronomy, chap. xxxii. 1, 2: "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth. My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." Numbers, chap. x. verse 35. And it came to pass, when the ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel." Numbers, chap. ii. verse 6. "And his host, and those that were numbered thereof, were fifty and four thousand and four hundred. All that were mustered of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred thousand, and eight thousand and a hundred throughout their armies, and they shall go forward in the third rank." Here follow several single verses from the Psalms, namely: Psalm xlv. 46: "The God of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." "Lord of hosts! blessed is the man whose dependence is upon thee." "Help Lord! the King will hear us, when we call upon him." "Jehovah will give might unto his people, the Lord will bless his people in peace." Psalm xix. 14: "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my redeemer." And now take your fingers from your eyes, and repeat the following Psalms with devotion—Psalm cxxi.; Psalm lxxvii. and Psalm xci.—combined with the last verse of the 90th Psalm, and repeat the last verse of the 91st Psalm twice. Have you strictly complied with all the instructions in the mighty protection of God, and you may proceed securely and without fear, for no evil will befall you, and neither robbers nor murderers will attack you.

IV.

Here is another mysterious means of protection for travelers furnished by this author, but in a different manner. If you should see, says Ramban, in a dangerous locality, (for example, in forest, or wilderness), heathens, robbers, or hostile troops approaching you stand suddenly still, make a circle around you, and repeat from Exodus, chap. xi. verse 8: "And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee, and after that I will go out."

ASTROLOGICAL INFLUENCE UPON MAN

— AND —

MAGICAL CURES

OF THE

OLD HEBREWS.

[From Dr. Gideon Brechee's work: "The Transcendental, Magic and Magical Healing Art in the Talmud." Vienna: 1850.]

ASTROLOGICAL INFLUENCES.

THAT the Cosmos constitutes an organic whole, whose separate parts operate upon and in opposition to each other, was well known to the ancients. Man, as the highest individuality on the earth, which served the ancients as the centre of the universe, reflects in his being as a microcosm, the macrocosm. The book of Jeziro (a division of the Talmud), accordingly parallelizes three factors of the Cosmos, namely, the earth, time and man, corresponding with the cardinal numbers and the elements of words (letters). In that place it is said: Three principal letters, Aleph, Mem, Schin, correspond in the earth with air, water and fire; in man with the breast, belly and head; in the year with mild temperature, cold and heat. The seven compound letters, Beth, Gimmel, Daleth, Khaf, Pe, Resch and Tau correspond in the earth with Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury and Moon; in man with wisdom, riches, dominion, life, amateness, blessing of children and peace; in the year to Saturday, Thursday, Tuesday, Sunday, Friday, Wednesday and Monday. The remaining twelve simple letters correspond in the world with Aries, the Bull, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, the Virgin, the Balance, the Scorpion, the Bowman, the Goat, the Waterman, the Fishes; in man, the organs of sight, hearing, smelling, speaking, tasting, copulating, to put things in motion (the hands), to feel anger, to laugh, and to sleep; and in the year to the twelve months. The Tali with the boundary of the earth, the book of Jeziro states further, is like unto a king upon his throne. The spheres of the years is like a king in the country; the heart of man is like unto a king in battle.

The Tali, the ecliptic, and the heart, are the points of concentration and digression of the primum mevens of the Makro and Microcosm.

The Tali, already mentioned, is declared by all the ancients, and among others by Rabbi Jehuda Hallawi, to be the Dragon known in astronomy which the Arabs call Bashar. (The supposition is that it is the eccentric orbit of the moon against the orbit of the sun.) The Gymnosophists termed the distance of the moon at the point of her intersection in the ecliptic, Patona Chandra: "The offended dragon" which, however, seems impossible, for the book of Jeziro gives the Tali as the primum movens of the whole universe. It would be more reasonable to understand by it an assumed zone outside of the zodiac, on which account it appears like a king upon a throne who holds all the threads of the combined kingdom in his hands. Accordingly the Tali can be nothing else than the world serpent Seschat (Adischen Wasughl) of the ancient Hindoos, which served them as a symbol of the Divine protection and of eternity.

We have much less to do with the question how man as the Microcosm, through his spiritual powers, which he can bring into action through his will and through the mighty word operates on the whole universe, than with the physical and especially with the magical influence of the whole universe upon man as the part of nature.

Even Rabbi Jehuda Haleni calls attention to the wonderful phenomenon that even the elements and powers of nature which contribute to the maintenance of the human organism which man receives within himself, transforms and assimilates to reproduce the wasted particles of his body, and by which he preserves his corporeal integrity, that even these elements after a certain cycle of years, will exercise on their part an inimical and destructive influence upon the human organization, until man dissolves through an individual death, and he returns again unto the elements and chemistry of the general matter of nature. Admitting this constant struggle of man with surrounding nature, the book of Jeziro compares as already stated, the heart, as the fountain of life, to a king in battle, who in the beginning overpowers and subdues his enemies, but who notwithstanding, succumbs to the strife in the end.

That the whole universe, the sun, the moon, and the rest of the planets and heavenly bodies exercise a certain influence upon the earth, and consequently upon man as a part of it, and thus produce many a diversified effects, was no uncommon conclusion on the part of the ancients, for they were led to these conclusions by obvious visions and appearances, and they were compelled to discover the sidereal influences by close observation. The moon, especially, with her periods of twenty-seven and twenty-eight days, made her influence upon man and his condition felt in an unmistakable manner. Among these may be classed, menstruation in women, the different phases of worm diseases according to the different phases of the moon, the increase and decrease of certain cutaneous diseases, etc., after these phases; the influence of the moon upon certain bodily diseases. Reil mentions, that the influence of the moon in causing dysentery has been recognized by many eminent physicians, who, it is said, have observed that the attacks of dysentery are more frequent in new moon and full moon than at any other periods. Others declare that pestilence is much more severe at the time of new moon. The Brahmins also give warning against the new moon. Kant says: "It is a strong argu-

ment in favor of the hypothesis, that the moon influences diseases, from the fact that the deaths from fever in Bengal were greatly multiplied during an eclipse of the sun, etc., because the attraction of the moon at this time unites with that of the sun, whose power to operate upon bodies on the earth has been established beyond a cavil." Finally, belong in this place the critical days, and the moon's power of attraction upon travelers by night.

The influence of the light of the sun and the moon upon humanity must have been evident in the earliest period, and it was soon admitted that it affected mightily both the well-being of man, and his frame of mind, as well as the exhibitions of the various temperaments. This knowledge was extended by observation of local diseases during the different seasons of the year and the changes in the weather, the beneficial effect of the rays of the sun in painful and diseased parts of the body, and the influence of daytime upon births and deaths. Acknowledging the injurious effects of the sun and moon, the Psalmist says: "The sun will not harm by day, neither the moon by night." The Talmud ascribes healing powers to the sun. Abail says: The prophet speaks of the healing sun, for the rays of the sun possess healing powers. The Talmud says: "God hung a precious stone around the neck of Abraham; all they that were sick and gazed thereon became well." But after Abraham died, God took the precious stone and hung it up in the sphere of the sun.

But the Ancients also recognized a physical influence of the rest of the planets and the whole host of stars upon man. The belief that the heavenly bodies were gifted with life, and that they with being endowed with higher powers, could exercise an influence upon man by means of mysterious magical influences could regulate his temperament, his disposition and his term of life, was spread from the Ganges to the Tiber and to the pillars of Hercules. The Talmud likewise teaches this astrological faith, with this difference, that the Israelite is placed under the immediate guidance of God, and notwithstanding the iron astrological necessity and predestination, concedes the possibility, that through the omnipotence of God good may be brought about in spite of the constellations. This is expressed in the Talmud by the words: "The Israelite has no constellation." Rabbi Joham successfully establishes this fact against Rabbi Chanina, who asserts that, "Wisdom and riches are the gifts of the constellations;" for says Rabbi Joham, it is recorded in Jeremiah x. 2: "Be not afraid of the heavenly signs as the Heathens who fear them." Rab says: Abraham spake before God: Lord of the earth! shall my servant be my heir? God said: No, thy son shall be thy heir. Abraham answered: My horoscope has shown me that I shall be childless. Then spake God and said: Get thee away from thy astrology, the Israelite is not subjected to the constellations.

On the writing table of Rabbi Jeheschna was found written, says the Talmud: "Whoever is born on Sunday will be distinguished above others." Upon this Rabbi Asche says: Both Dime bar Kakustha and I were born on a Sunday; I became the principal of a school, and he became a captain of robbers. Light and darkness were created on the Sabbath. He who is born on Monday will always be a passionate man, for on this day the waters were divided. Whoever is born on Tuesday will become

rich and given to pleasure; on this day all herbs were created. Whoever is born on Wednesday will be wise and happy: on this day the stars of the firmament were created. He who is born on Thursday will be constantly employed in works of love. Whoever is born on Friday will become active in good works. Whoever is born on the Sabbath will also die on the Sabbath, because the Sabbath was desecrated on his account. Raba, the Rabbi Schila adds: He will be called holy. Chancna said to his pupils: Go to the son of Levi, and say: Not the constellation of the day has an influence but the stars of the hour of birth. He that is born under the influence of the sun is gifted with beauty, eats and drinks of his own possessions, but his secrets will become known; should he become a thief, he will be unlucky. If any one is born under the influence of Venus, he will become rich and voluptuous, because the (fire) of love is born in him. He who is born under the influence of Mercury will become enlightened and prudent, because Mercury is the secretary of the sun. He who is born under the influence of the moon will learn to bear hardships. He builds and moves in, moves in and builds, eat and drinks of the possessions of the stranger; his secrets remain hidden, and as a thief he will be fortunate: he who is born under Mercury will find all his plans perverted and defeated. The plans of others against him, however, will also be defeated. Whoever is born under the influence of Jupiter will become a just man. He who is born under the influence of Mars will become a shedder of blood. Rabbi Asche asserts this. He will either become a robber or a butcher. Abam adds, or a judge.

We observe that the Talmud regards the sidereal nature of man as a hypo-tatical being of itself. This siderealism, preëxisting in the constellation of man, he denominates Masol. The most distinguished persons were their own star, and thus, according to the Talmud, the star of the field-general Sisra was called Meroz. Judges v. 23. The siderealism of the proselytes was present at Sinai.

Upon the constellation, says Raba, depend—the blessing of children, longevity, success in life. Job cursed his constellations. Since the fate of man is fixed beforehand by the constellation, no injury can take effect upon him, neither can an accidental death come upon him. If, therefore, a man meet serpents or scorpions by which he is attacked, if he destroys them, then let him be assured that they were predestined to be destroyed by him, although he may regard the act as a miracle.

Beings who are born under the same constellation stand in close relation and magical sympathy with each other. The Talmud even sets up a problem from these premises as to whether such persons have the same marks, as moles, for instance.

The conjunction of the planets, eclipse of the sun and moon, exercise a great influence upon vegetables and upon man. Samuel teaches when the spring equinox happens upon the hour of Jupiter, the strength of the fruit tree will be broken. Should the winter solstice fall upon the hour of Jupiter, then the grain will wither; but with this the new moon must also fall upon the hour of Jupiter or the moon. The first hour of Saturday evening (between six and seven o'clock) is that of Mercury. The second is that of the Moon. The third that of Saturn. The fourth that of Ju-

pter. The fifth that of Mars. The sixth that of the Sun. The seventh that of Venus. The eighth hour, again, is that of Mercury, etc.

The Rabbis teach: That an eclipse of the sun is an evil sign for all people. It is as if a king prepared a feast for his subjects, and placed before them a brilliant light; should he be angry with his subjects, however, he commands his servants to remove the light, in order that they might be in darkness. Rabbi Meir taught, that eclipses of the heavenly bodies were an evil sign, for the Israelites especially, because they were accustomed to misfortune. If the master enters the school with a rod in his hand, who is afraid? only he who receives daily punishment. The Rabbis teach, that an eclipse of the sun is an evil sign also for the rest of the nations; an eclipse of moon for the Israelites, for they reckon their time from the moon and other nations from the sun. If the eclipse is in the East, it is an evil omen for the inhabitants of the East; if in the western heavens, then it is an evil omen for the inhabitants of the West; if in the middle of the firmament, it is a bad sign for all the inhabitants of the earth. When the sun appears blood red it protends war. If the sun has a greyish appearance it is a sign of famine. When an eclipse occurs at sundown it is a sign that the Judgment is yet far off; if at sunrise, it is an omen of the near approach of the Judgment. According to others, these omens signify the reverse of what is stated above. A general calamity never overtakes a people in which their heavenly prince (protecting spirit) does not suffer defeat with them. If, however, Israel walks according to the will of God, it will have nothing to fear of this kind.

The Rabbis teach further: On account of sin the sun will be darkened when the presiding judge dies, and is not properly mourned; when a young woman in a city, who is engaged, cries in vain for help when violence is offered to her; and on account of the simultaneous murder of two brothers. The other heavenly lights will be darkened on account of the making of counterfeit money; on account of false witness; when forcible possession is taken of a stranger's property, or when fruit trees are unnecessarily cut down.

To this belongs the *dies nefasti*, in regard to which we give the following passages from the Talmud:

Samuel teaches, that the time for blessing is Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. No man should allow himself to be bled on Monday or Thursday, for Mars says: Only he who can enjoy the savings of his parents should be bled on Monday and on Thursday, because on both these days the earthly and the heavenly courts are in session. On Tuesday a man should not be bled, because on this day Mars rules the hour. Racht explains this in the following manner: Mars has the supervision over wars, pestilence and all kinds of accidents. The paired (exact) number is likewise an ominous omen, since with it the demons have power (*Pessach 110*), and accidents are imminent. The order of the planets is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The order of hours in which they rule, begins with the creation of the heavenly lights, namely, in the first hour Wednesday (with us between six and seven o'clock). In this hour Saturn rules, in the second Jupiter; in the third, Mars, etc., thus seven planets in seven hours. This cycle continues forever. According to this order we find that the planets rule in the first hour of each night

in the following order: Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mars, namely, in the first hour at the close of Sunday. Mercury, the first hour of the night on Monday; Jupiter, etc. According to this order, in the first hours of the week days are ruled further by the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. The first hour, on Sunday morning is ruled by the sun; the first hour on Monday by the moon, and Tuesday morning by Mars. Mars will rule again on the same day in the eighth hour, a direct hour. On other days his rule will not occur on a direct hour, but only during the night when it is not customary to be bled. Upon the remark of the Talmud that Mars rules in a direct hour on Friday, Raschi says: In the first hour on Friday Venus rules. This planet is followed in regular order by Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars. The last rules also in the sixth hour, upon follows the answer, that on Saturday many people are in the habit of being bled, and "God protects the simple."

Samuel teaches further, that he who is the fourth, fourteenth, or twenty-fourth, cannot be bled with safety, that is, on a Wednesday fourth, fourteenth and twenty-fourth of the month. So likewise on a fourth, which has no four after it, that is, on a Wednesday after which no four days will intervene until new moon. At new moon, and three days thereafter, bleeding is enervating; on the third day after new moon it is known to be dangerous.

OF MAGICAL REMEDIES IN GENERAL.

As in the ancient world diseases were regarded as the work of the angry gods and malicious demons, so there were, as in the present day by nations in a state of nature, but few magical remedies employed to secure the assistance of demons or to render them harmless.

Sanchuniaton declares that the children of the Kabirists could heal the venomous bite by their songs. The Brahmins regarded diseases as a punishment for sins committed in the present life or in earlier life. The cures consisted of expiation through prayer, alms, exorcisms, but also rational means. The Vedas contain hymns and prayers, to which magical powers are ascribed, and on this account they are used, without understanding them, as forms of exorcism. All diseases, says the Brahmin, are the result of evil demons, and can only be healed by purification, through sorcery. Ormuzd awakened the great prophet Hom, from whom all the magicians originated. He healed all diseases through the word of Ormuzd and by a plant that bears his name. Many cures, it is said in the ten books, are brought about by means of trees and herbs, others through the agency of the knife, others through the word, but perfect cures result only through the Divine Word. Even if the old Greeks cured with natural means, the common people still believed that a rapid convalescence was obtained through magical formulas, songs and incantations. The medical heroes of the Grecian primitive world were at the same time poets, lawgivers, generals and astronomers.

Of the cures of spiritual men and prophets we have already spoken. The prophets were unanimous in applying natural means, prayer and blessing. Rabbi Jitzchak said: Four things destroy the evil passions of

man, namely, alms, prayer, change of name, and repentance. According to other authors, also, change of place. Josephus writes in reference to king Chiskia, God gave him the power, through fervent adjurations, to reconcile the Deity, and to cast out the evil spirits which are the cause of evil diseases; and this method of healing, continues Josephus, is the prevailing one among us at the present day. Josephus adds: I was an eyewitness to a cure which the prophet Eleazar, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, performed upon a man possessed of demons. He made use of a root that was recommended by King Solomon as being effectual against demoniacal disease, when the root was inserted into the nose of the patient, at the same time pronouncing the name of Solomon and the magical formula which this king taught. The Gnostics herein followed the example of the prophets. The theosophical-medical sect of the Escucans sought out the power of roots, herbs and stones for healing purposes, and at the same time attempted to heal diseases by living a devout life and by a total surrender of themselves into the idea of God, and by this means they also sought to perform wonders. The substantial word of God, which, as a mark of preference is called the Angel, the Monas, World of Light, Bread of Life, First Born of all Creatures, the Physician of all diseases, lives in the Eopts and causes them to partake of the Divine nature, so that they may heal diseases and perform wonders of all kinds. The magical Logos, who derives his analogy or origin from the exalted and holy word Oum of the Brahmins, we find again in the Book of Jeriza, where we read (i. 8): "One, the Spirit of the Living God, voice and Spirit and word." "And this is the Holy Spirit." The Divine number, the Divine Word, the Divine Scriptures, says Rabbi Jehuda Halevi, in his illustration of the Book Jezira, is one and the same with the reality. That which God thinks and wills has at the same time reality. Only man makes a distinction between the will and the act; with God these two are identical. Rabbi Jehudah Halevi continues: "We can form some conception of this when we, in thinking of and pronouncing a name, at the same time form an image of the subject named in our minds. Among the languages and writings this peculiarity may be noticed, that some specify the existence of things particularly, while others do so in a general manner. The holy language, however, with which God called the universe into being, demonstrates the prime existence of all things with the utmost definiteness. Whoever, therefore, is acquainted with the original signification of the scriptures, and grasps with pure thought the existence of the thing intended, he can, in accordance with his thoughts and his will, will the things into being. Thorough knowledge of the holy word and of the transposition of its letters may, as the Talmud says, enable man to perform wonders and even create things. Rabbi Jonathan says: "The time will come when the pious will bring the dead to life." Raha says: "If the pious desire to do so, they can create a world." It is reported of this Rabbi that he created a man, and of the Rabbis Chanina and Oschaja, that they were occupied every Friday with the book of Jezira, and that they created a fattened calf which they consumed. Gechasie caused the golden image of the bull to speak, by imprinting upon his lips a "name." Solomon gave to Benajahn ben Jehojada a chain and a seal upon both of which he engraved a "name"

with which to bind the demon king Asmedi. Of Bezalel, the builder of the temple tent in the wilderness, it is said: "He understood the transposition of letters by which heaven and earth were created." Abischai uttered a holy name, and thereby suspended David between heaven and earth.

The word which expresses the being of the prototypes and the idea of the intelligentia may operate through these through the whole chain of being down to the most minute, causing changes, reverses and new creations, and may also conquer demons. "Rabbi Chanina bar Papi was required by a matron who became enamored of him, to fulfil her amorous desires. He uttered something, and his body was covered with scabs and boils. She also did something and he became whole; then he fled and concealed himself," etc.

But since there are holy words, whose literal ideas and their transpositions are countless modifications of existence, so there are also unholy words which give the prototypes of the dark side of the spirit world. And now, if the profane use of the holy name is forbidden upon pain of losing future happiness, so the use of unholy names, which Abraham transmitted to the children of his concubines is the most terrible, because they lead to the sins of idolatry, through which man acquires evil principles and becomes possessed of demons.

The Talmud, in general, forbids sorcery, heathen superstition and heathen usages. To these belong the charming of wounds and injuries, with which, notwithstanding the exorcism, a verse of the Bible was made use of; the charming of snakes and scorpions. The following usages especially, were given as being heathenish. 1. To suspend the egg of a grasshopper on the ear to cure earache. 2. To carry the tooth of a fox to promote sleep; the tooth of a dead fox was used to prevent drowsiness, and the tooth of a living fox caused sleep. 3. The bearing of the splinter from a gallows, to cure a wound caused by iron. 4. The proverb, "Good fortune! and be not weary day nor night," probably a saying to obtain good luck. "Gad" means luck, and it is the name of the idol Belus (Isaiah lxxv. 11). 5. In order to obtain good luck the man assumes the name of the woman, and the woman the name of the man. 6. The saying, "Be strong, O my barrels!" to increase the wine blessing—Dan is the name of an idol. (Amos viii. 14.) 7. To have luck, people call to the male raven: "Shriek!" and to the female raven: "Croak!" and turn unto me your tail for luck. 8. If any one says: "Kill this cock, for he crows late in the evening, or kill this hen, for she crows like a cock." 9. I drink and leave some over; I drink and leave some over (so that the wine may increase). 10. Whoever dashes the shells of eggs against the wall (out of which the young chickens have already crept, so that they may not die). 11. He who stirs in a crock before the young chickens for the same purpose. 12. Whoever, for the same purpose dances before the chickens and counts seventy-one chickens. 13. Dancing during the preparation of a meal. To command silence during the boiling of the lentil. To cry out during the boiling of grain. To urinate before the pot to facilitate cooking.

Rabbi Acha says: Before bleeding we should repeat the following prayer: May it be thy will, O Lord! that this healing operation may

hasten my convalescence, etc., for no one should seek the assistance of the physician, but should look for a return of health only to God. To this Aliaë objects, because Rabbi Jischmael teaches, and because he deduces from the Thora (Exodus xxi. 19). The physician shall have an unconditional right to heal. The Talmud not only adopts this view of Aliaë's but it forbade to dwell in a place where no physician could be met with. If again, on the other hand, we read in the Talmud that King Chiskia, suffered the Book of Healing to be destroyed, and for this act was praised by the Rabbis, then that book, as is supposed by Maimonides, contained simply superstitious astrological and idolatrous remedies, which the pious king sought to consign to oblivion, of which, however, a large portion found their way into the hands of the people, and in time also became a common benefit to the more enlightened.

OF THE MAGICAL CURES IN PARTICULAR.

1.—HEALING BY AMULETS.

The amulet Kamea was used as a remedy against diseases and especially against sorcery. This amulet was either a written parchment, properly called Pitka, or a small bundle of plants. The words written on the amulet were of a diversified character; among the contents, however, were to be found verses from the Bible. Proof *** is called an amulet, since cures have been effected through it three times, whether it was written or whether it consisted of roots. In reference to the Sabbath (whether or not it might be worn on that day or not), it must still be regarded as reliable, because it was made and perfected by a connoisseur. An amulet may prove effectual in healing a human being, while it is of no effect in the case of an animal, because in man the constellation operates in conjunction with the amulet. If it is expected to be effectual, it must have reference to the name and number of the demon. Thus, for example, the demons of the caper-tree are called spirits; of a service-tree, Schedim; in the gardens, Rispe. At the caper-tree not less than sixty Schedim congregate, and the amulet must therefore have reference to this number.

A string made of the seeds of the madder was hung upon children as a protection against certain diseases. The nurse of Abbai taught him: Three grains will check the disease, five will cure, and seven will prove effectual against sorcery. Rabbi Acha bar Jacob remarks: The last is true only when the bewitched person is not exposed to the light of the sun or moon, or to rain, and when he does not hear the ringing of iron, the crowing of the cock, or the sound of footsteps. Rabbi Nachmann bar Jitzchak says that this remedy was already forgotten in his time.

2.—HEALING BY CHARMS.

The nurse of Abbai taught him: "All numbering (naming?) should

be done in the name of the mother (N. son of R.), and all external passages must be made on the left side of the body. Abbaii says farther: If the number is fixed it should be strictly adhered to without deviation; if the number is not fixed, it is forty-one.

As anti-heathenish customs the four following things are allowed: 1. To place the splinter of a mulberry-tree or fragments of glass into the pot, in order to make the mess boil more readily. (The Rabbis, however, forbade the fragment of glass on account of the danger of swallowing in with the food.) 2. The drinking toast: Wine and life cheer the Rabbis! Rabbi Akiba repeated this toast with every vessel of wine used at the marriage feast of his son. Against intoxication: Anoint the palms of the hand and the soles of the feet of the drunken person with a mixture of oil and salt, and say: As the ointment becomes pure, so may the senses become clean; or, lay the bung of a barrel in the water and say: As the bung becomes clean, etc.

Charm against suppuration: say for instance, Bas, Basia, Mas Masia, Kas, Kasia, Scharial and Amarlia, the angels, who came out of the land of Sodom to heal painful boils. Let the color not become redder; let it not spread further, let the seed be absorbed in the bowels. And as a mule does not propagate its species, so may this evil be not propagated in the body of N. son of R.

Charm against smallpox: For example; Drawn sword and pointed sling. His name is not Jacob, the pain rages.

Against being possessed, as follows: Cursed, crushed and banished be the demon, by name Bar Tet, Bor Tama, etc.

Charm against injury inflicted by demons of by-places: Upon the head of the lion, and in the nose of the lioness, I found the demon Bar Schirk a Panda. I threw him into a fish-bed and slew him with the jawbone of an ass.

To make evil dreams good, three men recited certain consoling verses from the Bible. "Whosoever had a bad dream, should hasten in the morning, as soon as he awakens, to repeat a verse from the Bible, the contents of which should be favorable to him, and this must be done quickly, before a verse comes into the mind with an unfavorable meaning to him."

He that is upon the point of entering a city and fears the evil look, let him put his right thumb in his left hand, and his left thumb in his right hand, and say: I, N. N., am of the lineage of Joseph, over whom the evil eye can have no power. He makes the glance of the evil eye harmless; the tail of a fox was hung upon the horse.

3.—REMEDIES AND CHARMS AGAINST SORCERY.

Ben Asai says: Do not irritate your anus while sitting down in order to obtain a passage from the bowels, for he who does this will be attacked by sorcery, even though he were engaged in Spain. If a man, however, has done so in a mistake, after an evacuation, let him pronounce the following charm:

"Ye cannot approach, neither Tachimnor Tachtum, not all of you, not any of you, neither the enchantment of the sorcerer nor the charm of the sorceress."

Rabbi Chanina says: To drink one-eighth ounce of ass's milk, which is forty days old, is effective against the sting of a wasp; one quart against the sting of a scorpion; one-half quart against sorcery, and the drinking of fluids that have been open and exposed.

Rabbi Jochanan said: A chief among witches told me: If you meet witches you should utter the following charm: "Hot dirt, in perforated baskets, in your mouths, ye enchanting women. May your heads become bald; may the wind blow away your bread crumbs; may it scatter your spices; may the fresh saffron which ye have in your hands fly away. Witches! so long as men were gracious to me, and I was careful, I came not in your midst; now I did, and you are not agreeable to me."

The Rabbi taught: There are three things between which we should not pass, and so, also, that two persons walking side by side should not allow to come between them. These three things are—a dog, a palm, and a woman. Some add also a hog, and others, a snake. Should this happen notwithstanding, what shall a man do to escape uninjured? Rabbi Papi says: "Repeat a verse from the Bible that begins and ends with the same letters."

If women are seated facing each other on opposite sides of the street, there is no doubt that they are engaged in witchcraft. How shall a man escape them without injury? He should avoid them and go another way. If this is not possible, then he shall take some one by the hand and pass by in his company. If there is no one at hand, he must say: "The demons of sorcery have already been killed by arrows. A rat Assia, Belussia, are the names of the demons. Raschi."

The Rabbis teach: A man should not drink water in the night, either from a stream or from water that is standing still. Whoever does this, his blood be upon his own head, because by so doing he will render himself liable to become blind. How can we make drinking at night safe? If there is some one present he should be awakened and addressed as follows: "I drink water!" If you are alone, rattle with the lid of the drinking cup and say to yourself: "N., son of R., thy mother said to thee: Guard thyself against Schabririri, briri, riri, iri, ri, in a white pitcher (Raschi), this is a magical charm." As the syllables of the word Schabririri decrease, so the demon will withdraw. The Targum of blindness (Genesis xix. 11), in Schabririri.

In reference to paired numbers, of which we have already spoken, Rabbi Papa says: "Joseph, the Demon, told me that through two we kill, through four we only inflict injury. In the number two the evil will follow, whether we have done a thing in this number intentionally or accidentally. In the number four only when the thing is done intentionally. If we have accidentally partaken of a meal or drank out of a paired plate or pitcher, number, how shall we avoid the fatal consequences? We must take the thumb of the right hand into the left, and the thumb of the left into the right hand, and say: You and I make three. If answered, is returned: You and I make five. If we again hear the answer: You and I are six, we must again answer: You and I are seven. It happened that some one carried this on to the 101st time, until finally the demon burst with chagrin.

APPLICATION OF THE CHARMS AND THE REMEDIES.

We insert the passages of the Talmud which treat of the subject, on account of their coherence, in all that extent, although it may not properly belong in this place, because in several cases in the following remedies the natural cures as well as the magical charms are prescribed, and because these passages from the Talmud otherwise offer many interesting matters. They treat of proceedings against snakes and other remarkable occurrences.

He that has swallowed a snake, let him eat ivy and then walk three miles. Rabbi Sime bar Asche saw a man who had swallowed a snake. Rabbi Sime fell upon him like a warrior, gave him ivy and salt to eat, and then drove him three miles before him, when the snake came from him in pieces. Others state that Rabbi Sime himself swallowed the snake, when the prophet Eli came in the form of a wild warrior, gave him ivy and salt to eat, etc., etc.

If a man be bitten by a snake, let him take seventy-nine hairs from the tail of a white she-ass, tie them with a silken thread, and he that is bitten sit upon them. The she-ass must, however, have been free from Trefa (an organic disease). An official in Pumbeditha was bitten by a snake. Now, there were found in Pumbeditha thirteen bearing white she-asses, which were opened one after another, but all were found to have been afflicted with Trefa. It was also known that in a distant part of the city there was another she-ass, and messengers were sent to bring her. But meanwhile a lion had eaten up the she-ass. Then spoke Abaii: Perhaps the snake of the Rabbis have bitten him, against the bite of which there is no remedy. The pupils answered, Yes; so it is, master; for when Rāb died, Rabbi Jitzsechak bar Bina prohibited the use of myrtle and palm leaves for a whole year. This officer, however, paid no attention to this prohibition.

If a snake should wind around a person, he should go into the water and take a basket which he should hold above the head of the snake, then lower the basket in such a manner that the rim of it shall come between him and the snake (to grasp the snake with the hands would be dangerous, because it might become enraged and wound the person). When the snake is in the basket, throw it quickly into the water and hasten away.

Should any one be pursued by an angry snake (where the snake follows the person by scenting his tracks) he should suffer himself to be carried a short distance by a person, if any one should be present (through the stranger's footsteps the snake will lose his tracks); if no one is with him he should spring across water or seat himself over a fountain. On the following night he should place himself upon four barrels, so that the snake cannot easily reach him, or let him rather sleep in the open air, so that it cannot come to him through the roof, then let him tie four cats to the barrels and make a noise with straw or bushes, so that the cats, when the snake comes, may fall upon her and eat her up.

Should any one be pursued by a snake, let him seek safety between two beehives.

Rabbi Jochanan says: The root-drink described in the Mischna, consists of Alexandrian gum, pulverized alum and fine saffron, each of the weight of a Sus (a small coin). To cure jaundice two of them are taken in beer.

The following remedies are also recommended in cases of female weakness: Take the tops of three Persian onions, boil them in wine and let the woman drink of it, at the same time saying to her: Recover from thy sickness!

Another remedy: Take a handful of caraway, a handful of saffron, and an equal quantity of fœnugrek, boil them together in wine, and let the woman drink of it, saying: Recover from thy sickness!

Another remedy: Take sixty bungs of wine barrels, soak them in water, and give the woman of the water to drink, and say to her at the same time: Recover from thy sickness!

Or, take a quantity of the growth of tendrils, boil them in wine, and let the woman drink of it, and speak to her as above.

Or, take the plant that grows beside the thorn, and burn it to ashes. The woman should carry the ashes upon her person in a linen patch in the summer, or a woollen patch in the winter.

Or, dig seven holes in the ground, and burn in each of them young grapevines not over three years' growth. Let the woman take a cup into her hands and seat herself over the first hole and drink: then rise up and seat herself upon the second hole, etc., etc. Each time speak to her: Recover, etc.

Or, anoint the lower part of her body with rose-water.

Or, take a wreath of feathers, burn them to ashes. These ashes the patient should carry in a linen bag in the summer, and in a woollen bag in the winter.

Or, open a cask of wine expressly for her. She should drink much wine.

Or, take a grain of barley that was found in the stable of a white she-ass. If she holds this one day in her hand (the right hand), the ailment will cease for two days. If she holds it during two days, it will cease for three days. If she holds it three days it will cease forever. According to others: if she takes one grain in her hand, etc.; if she takes two grains in her hand, etc.

5.—MAGICAL REMEDIES AGAINST VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS.

ABORTUS.—The actitee (eaglestone, rattle-snake stone—stone of retaining, remaining) was worn by women as a prevention against abortion.

BLOOD-LETTING.—If you have eaten fish, you must not be bled on the following day. If you have been bled, you must not eat fish on the following day. On the third day both would be dangerous.

The Rabbis teach: After blood-letting, a man must not, on the same day, drink milk, eat cheese, onions or vegetables. If a man, however, has eaten of these things, he should mix, says Abaii, one quarter measure of vinegar, and one quarter measure of wine, and drink it. If a motion of the bowels ensues, the evacuation should take place without and on the east side of the town, for the exhalation of such is injurious.

DISEASES OF THE EYE.—The saliva of a firstborn on the male side (not of the female side) is effective in the cure of eye diseases.

Rab says: A degenerate eye is dangerous to life, for the vision-power of the eye is closely connected with the pericardium.

Rapid traveling impairs the sight of the eye; but it may be restored by uttering the blessing of consecration of the Sabbath on Friday evening.

BLINDNESS.—Against blindness at night, take a string made out of the hair of an animal; tie one end of it to the foot of the patient, and the other end to the foot of a dog, and then let the children make a noise behind the dog, and say: "Hold the dog, fool the rock." Then take seven pieces of meat from seven different houses, and let the inmates of each house hang a piece of the meat at the door-post of the patient. The dog must eat this meat in an open place. Then let the patient unbind the hair-line and let some one say; Night blindness of F., son of R., leave N., son of R., and perforate the pupil of the dog.

AGAINST DAY BLINDNESS.—Take seven pieces of spleen from seven heifers, and lay them upon the vessel used by the physician to catch the blood when bleeding a patient. The patient must be seated in a chamber. A man must be stationed on the outside, who must say: "Blind one! give to me that I may eat." The patient answers: "How can I open? Come in and eat!" After eating he must break the plate or he will himself become blind.

MIND POWER.—Rab says: The "Bird of the Vineyard" (mentioned in the Mishna) is found on the palm-tree having a single bark.

It is employed as a means to strengthen the mind. The right half of it must be eaten, and the left half of it must be preserved in a copper tube which must be sealed with sixty seals (with wax, putty, earth, etc.), and hung upon the left arm. Upon this a man obtains clearer ideas, and is enabled to comprehend matters with more ease. Afterward the other half should also be eaten, for if this be neglected, what has been learned will soon be forgotten.

THE SOFT-BOILED EGG.—Samuel says: A slave that knows how to prepare a soft-boiled egg is worth a thousand dollars. The egg must be handled thousands of times in warm as well as in cold water, until it becomes so small that it can be swallowed with a single effort. Whatever disease may be in the abdomen will be known to the physician through the decreasing egg, and he will at once know what remedy to prescribe.

FEVER.—The nurse of Samuel gave him the following remedies:

Against the Daily Fever: Take a new silver coin and a piece of salt of equal weight, and carry both over the pit of the heart, attached to a string.

Or, take a seat on a crossroad, and as soon as you observe a large ant carrying something, take her up and place her in a copper tube, close the opening with lead, and seal it with sixty seals, shake the tube and hand upon your body, and say to the ant: Thy burden upon me; and my burden upon thee.

Or, take a new earthen pipkin, go to a spring and say: Spring, Spring! lend me a pipkin full of water for the road that happens to me. Then swing the pipkin full of water seven times around your head, throw it backward and say: Spring, Spring! take the water you gave me, for the way that happened to me came in his day and departed in his day.

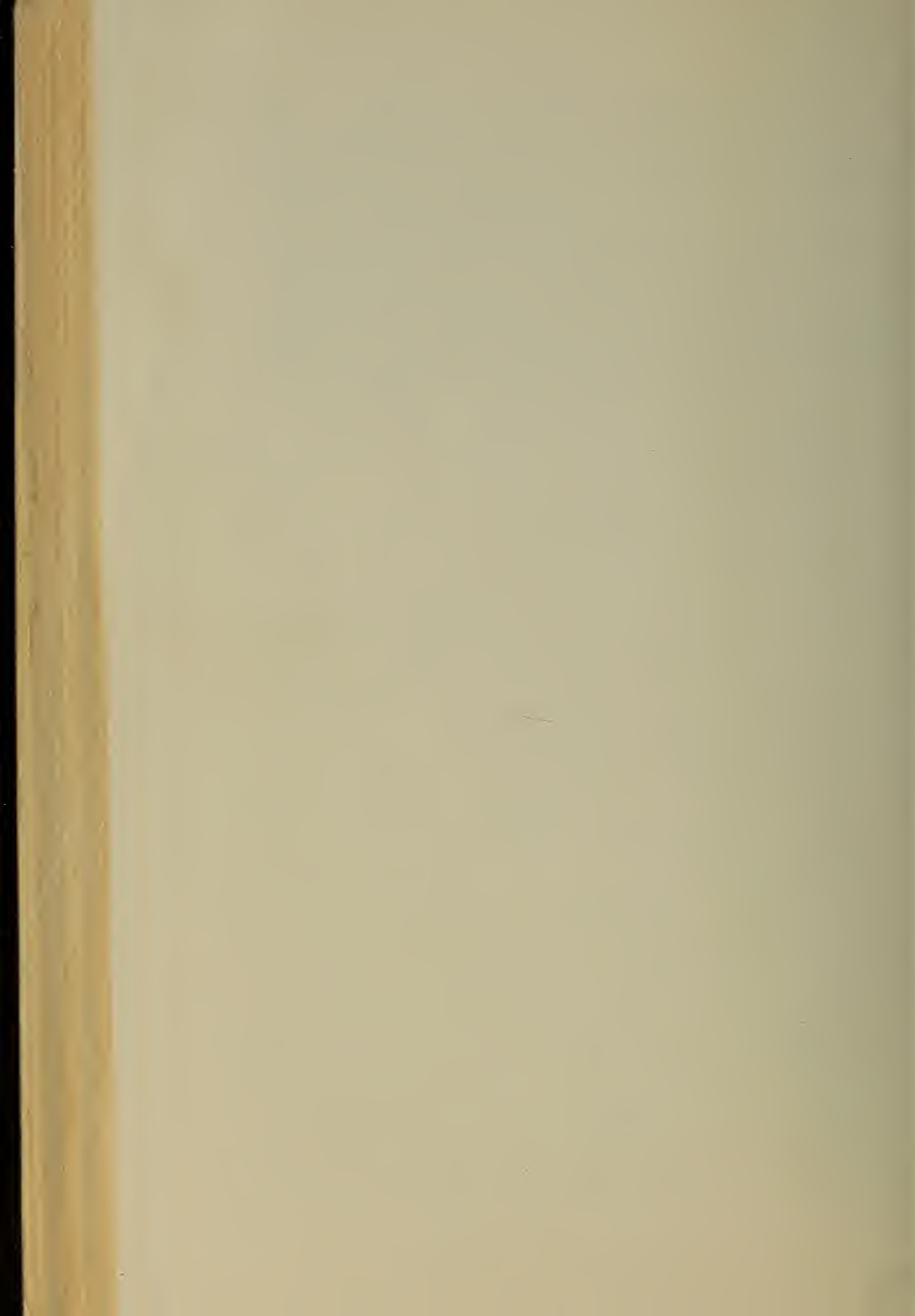
Rabbi Huna says: For fever recurring every three days, take seven different grapes from seven different grapevines, seven chips from seven joists, seven nails from seven bridges, seven small quantities of ashes from seven stoves, seven bits of earth from seven holes in the ground, seven

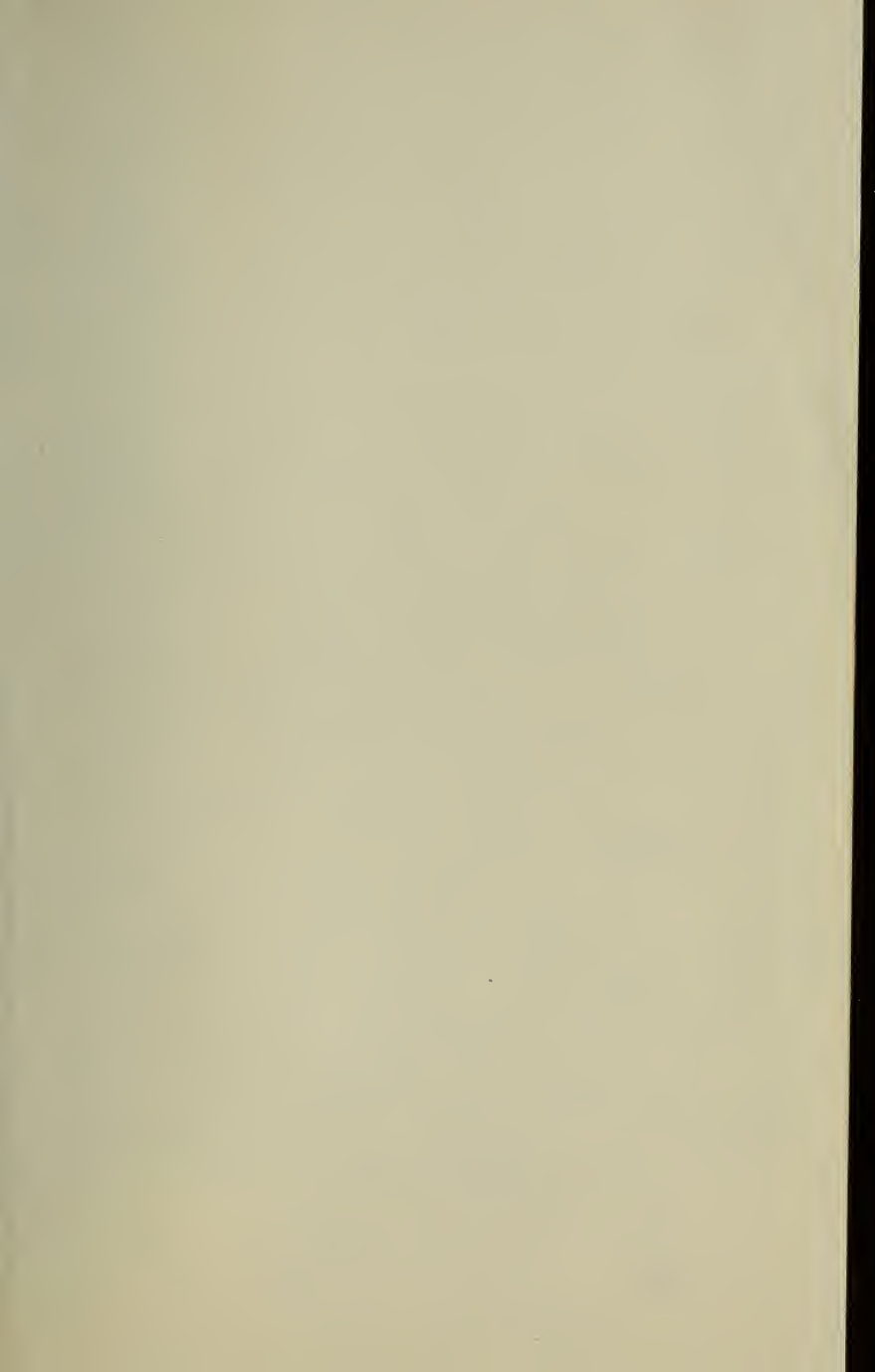
pieces of pitch from seven ships, seven grains of cumin, seven hairs out of the beard of an old dog. Bind these all together and carry them with a string upon the nape of the neck.

Rabbi Jochanan says: For the burning fever, take a knife that is made entirely of iron, go to a thorn bush and tie a hair line to it. On the first day make a notch in it and say: "And there appeared unto him an angel of God in a flame of fire out of the midst of the burning bush." On the next day make another indentation and say: "Then God saw that he approached in order to see, etc." The following day make another indentation and say: "Come nigh, etc." Then cut the thorn off near the ground and say: O thornbush! O thornbush! I trust in thee!

THE END.

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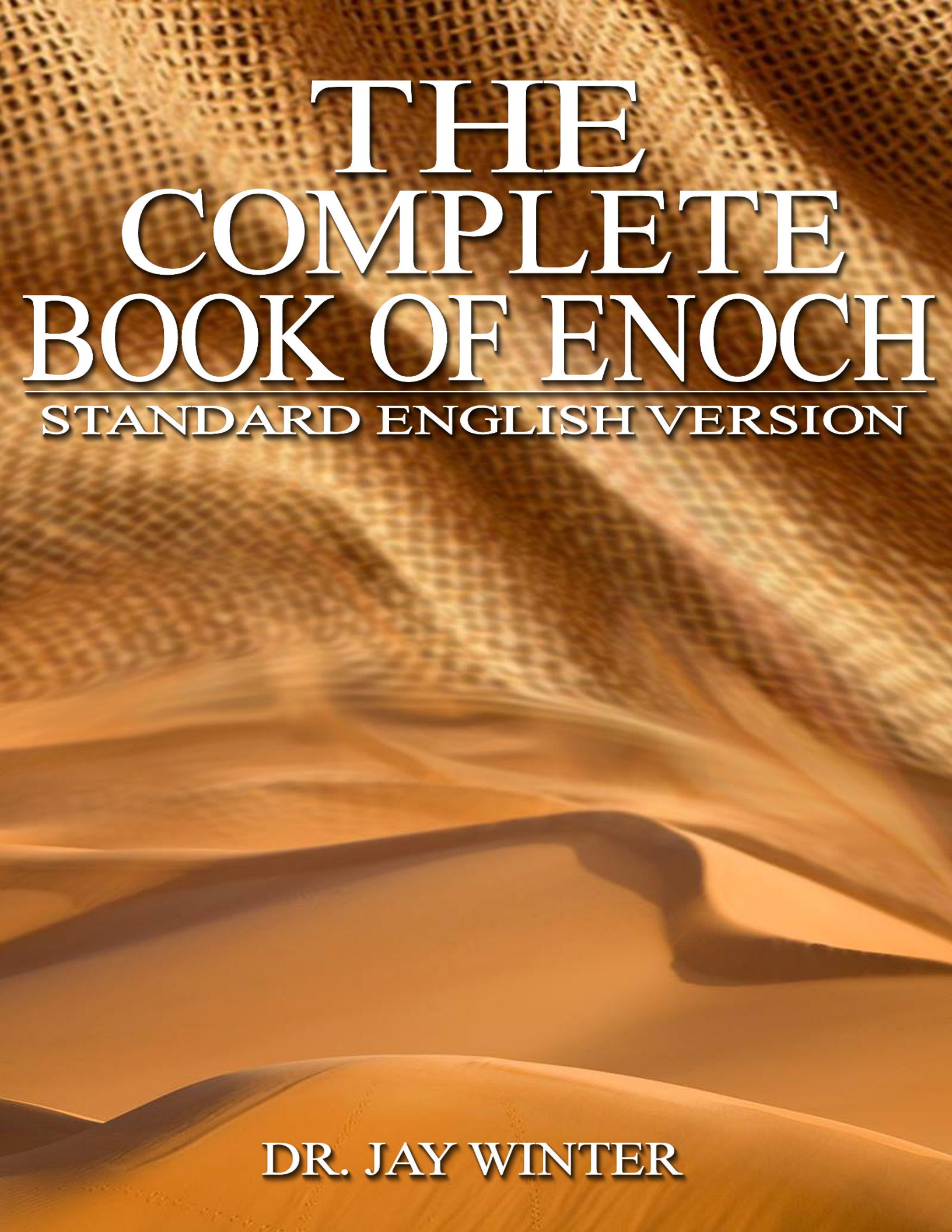
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THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

STANDARD ENGLISH VERSION

DR. JAY WINTER

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

Standard English Version

Dr. Jay Winter

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Winter Publications

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Translated from the original Ethiopic manuscript and logically organized.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Winter, Jay.

The Complete Book of Enoch: Standard Version / by Dr. Jay Winter --

p. cm.

ISBN 9781370207848

1.Theology 2.Ancient History 3.Angelology 4.Demonology 5.Biblical Scriptures

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[Title Page](#)

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[Table of Contents](#)

[Introduction - About the Book of Enoch](#)

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 1 - Blessing of Enoch](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 2 - The Creation](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 3 - The Fallen Angels](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 4 - Intercession of Angels](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 5 - Book of the Words of Righteousness](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 6 - Taken by Angels](#)

[Book 1 - Watchers - Ch. 7 - The Holy Angels](#)

[Book 2 - Parables - Ch. 1 - The First Parable](#)

[Book 2 - Parables - Ch. 2 - The Second Parable](#)

[Book 2 - Parables - Ch. 3 - The Third Parable](#)

[Book 3 - Book of Noah - Ch. 1 - Birth of Noah](#)

[Book 3 - Book of Noah - Ch. 2 - Calling Enoch](#)

[Book 3 - Book of Noah - Ch. 3 - Judgement of Angels](#)

[Book 3 - Book of Noah - Ch. 4 - Secrets of the Parables](#)

[Book 4 - Kingdom of Heaven - Ch. 1 - Enoch is Taken](#)

[Book 4 - Kingdom of Heaven - Ch. 2 - The Luminaries of Heaven](#)

[Book 4 - Kingdom of Heaven - Ch. 3 - Heavenly Tablets](#)

[Book 4 - Kingdom of Heaven - Ch. 4 - One Year to Record](#)

[Book 4 - Kingdom of Heaven - Ch. 5 - Visions](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 1 - Guidance of Enoch](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 2 - Wisdom of Enoch](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 3 - Wisdom of Enoch](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 4 - Wisdom of Enoch](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 5 - Wisdom of Enoch](#)

[Book 5 - Epistle of Enoch - Ch. 6 - Revelation of Enoch](#)

EXTRAS

[Dead Sea Scroll Chart](#)

[Book of the Giants](#)

[Evidence of Giants](#)

[Testament of Solomon](#)

[References to Enoch in Other Manuscripts](#)

About the Book of Enoch

(Also known as "Ethiopian Enoch")

The Book of Enoch (also known as 1 Enoch) was once cherished by Jews and Christians alike, this book later fell into disfavor with powerful theologians - precisely because of its controversial statements on the nature and deeds of the fallen angels.

The Enochian writings, in addition to many other writings that were excluded (or lost) from the Bible (i.e., the Book of Tobit, Esdras, etc.) were widely recognized by many of the early church fathers as "Apocryphal" writings. The term "apocrypha" is derived from the Greek word meaning "hidden" or "secret". Originally, the import of the term may have been complimentary in that the term was applied to sacred books whose contents were too exalted to be made available to the general public.

In Dan. 12:9-10 we hear of words that are shut up until the end of time and, words that the wise shall understand and the wicked shall not. In addition, 4 Ezra 14:44ff. mentions 94 books, of which 24 (the OT) were to be published and 70 were to be delivered only to the wise among the people. Gradually, the term "apocrypha" took on a pejorative connotation, for the orthodoxy of these hidden books was often questionable. Origen (Comm. in Matt. 10.18; p. 13.881) distinguished between books that were to be read in public worship and apocryphal books. Because these secret books were often preserved for use within the esoteric circles of the divinely - knit believers, many of the critically - spirited or "unenlightened" Church Fathers found themselves outside the realm of understanding, and therefore came to apply the term "apocryphal" to, what they claimed to be, heretical works which were forbidden to be read.

In Protestant parlance, "the Apocrypha" designate 15 works, all but one of which are Jewish in origin and found in the Septuagint (parts of 2 Esdras are Christian and Latin in origin). Although some of them were composed in Palestine in Aramaic or Hebrew, they were not accepted into the Jewish canon formed late in the 2nd century AD (Canonicity, 67:31-35). The Reformers, influenced by the

Jewish canon of the Old Testament, did not consider these books on a par with the rest of the Scriptures; thus the custom arose of making the Apocrypha a separate section in the Protestant Bible, or sometimes even of omitting them entirely (Canonicity, 67:44-46). The Catholic view, expressed as a doctrine of faith at the Council of Trent, is that 12 of these 15 works (in a different enumeration, however) are canonical Scripture; they are called the Deuterocanonical Books (Canonicity, 67:21, 42-43).

The three books of the Protestant Apocrypha that are not accepted by Catholics are 1-2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh. The theme of the Book of Enoch dealing with the nature and deeds of the fallen angels so infuriated the later Church fathers that one, Filastrius, actually condemned it openly as heresy (Filastrius, *Liber de Haeresibus*, no. 108). Nor did the rabbis deign to give credence to the book's teaching about angels. Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai in the second century A.D. pronounced a curse upon those who believed it (Delitzsch, p. 223). So the book was denounced, banned, cursed, no doubt burned and shredded - and last but not least, lost (and conveniently forgotten) for a thousand years. But with an uncanny persistence, the Book of Enoch found its way back into circulation two centuries ago.

In 1773, rumors of a surviving copy of the book drew Scottish explorer James Bruce to distant Ethiopia. True to hearsay, the Book of Enoch had been preserved by the Ethiopic church, which put it right alongside the other books of the Bible. Bruce secured not one, but three Ethiopic copies of the book and brought them back to Europe and Britain. When in 1821 Dr. Richard Laurence, a Hebrew professor at Oxford, produced the first English translation of the work, the modern world gained its first glimpse of the forbidden mysteries of Enoch.

Most scholars say that the present form of the story in the Book of Enoch was penned sometime during the second century B.C. and was popular for at least five hundred years. The earliest Ethiopic text was apparently made from a Greek manuscript of the Book of Enoch, which itself was a copy of an earlier text. The original was apparently written in Semitic language, now thought to be Aramaic.

Though it was once believed to be post-Christian (the similarities to Christian terminology and teaching are striking), recent discoveries of copies of the book among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran prove that the book was in existence before the time of Jesus Christ. But the date of the original writing upon which the second century B.C. Qumran copies were based is shrouded in

obscurity. It is, in a word, old. It has been largely the opinion of historians that the book does not really contain the authentic words of the ancient biblical patriarch Enoch, since he would have lived (based on the chronologies in the Book of Genesis) several thousand years earlier than the first known appearance of the book attributed to him. Although in the book he commands his son Methuselah to preserve the book unto future generations, which in itself is a call to copy the books he wrote so they might not be lost to the ages.

Despite its unknown origins, Christians once accepted the words of this Book of Enoch as authentic scripture, especially the part about the fallen angels and their prophesied judgment. In fact, many of the key concepts used by Jesus Christ himself seem directly connected to terms and ideas in the Book of Enoch. Thus, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Jesus had not only studied the book, but also respected it highly enough to adopt and elaborate on its specific descriptions of the coming kingdom and its theme of inevitable judgment descending upon "the wicked" - the term most often used in the Old Testament to describe the Watchers.

There is abundant proof that Christ approved of the Book of Enoch. Over a hundred phrases in the New Testament find precedents in the Book of Enoch. Another remarkable bit of evidence for the early Christians' acceptance of the Book of Enoch was for many years buried under the King James Bible's mistranslation of Luke 9:35, describing the transfiguration of Christ: "And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son: hear him.'" Apparently the translator here wished to make this verse agree with a similar verse in Matthew and Mark. But Luke's verse in the original Greek reads: "This is my Son, the Elect One (from the Greek *ho eklelegmenos*, lit., "the elect one"): hear him." The "Elect One" is a most significant term (found fourteen times) in the Book of Enoch. If the book was indeed known to the apostles of Christ, with its abundant descriptions of the Elect One who should "sit upon the throne of glory" and the Elect One who should "dwell in the midst of them," then the great scriptural authenticity is accorded to the Book of Enoch when the "voice out of the cloud" tells the apostles, "This is my Son, the Elect One" - the one promised in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Jude tells us in verse 14 that "Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied..." Jude also, in verse 15, makes a direct reference to the Book of Enoch (2:1), where he writes, "to execute judgment on all, to convict all who are ungodly..." The time difference between Enoch and Jude is approximately 3400

years. Therefore, Jude's reference to the Enoch's prophecies strongly leans toward the conclusion that these written prophecies were available to him at that time.

Fragments of ten Enoch manuscripts were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The famous scrolls actually comprise only one part of the total findings at Qumran. Much of the rest was Enochian literature, copies of the Book of Enoch, and other apocryphal works in the Enochian tradition, like the Book of Jubilees. With so many copies around, the Essenes could well have used the Enochian writings as a community prayer book or teacher's manual and study text.

The Book of Enoch was also used by writers of the non-canonical (i.e. apocryphal or "hidden") texts. The author of the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas quotes the Book of Enoch three times, twice calling it "the Scripture," a term specifically denoting the inspired Word of God (Epis. of Barnabas 4:3, 16:5,6). Other apocryphal works reflect knowledge of the Enoch story of the Watchers, notably the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of Jubilees.

Many of the early church fathers also supported the Enochian writings. Justin Martyr ascribed all evil to demons whom he alleged to be the offspring of the angels who fell through lust for women—directly referencing the Enochian writings. Athenagoras, writing in his work called *Legatio* in about 170 A.D., regards Enoch as a true prophet. He describes the angels which "violated both their own nature and their office." In his writings, he goes into detail about the nature of fallen angels and the cause of their fall, which comes directly from the Enochian writings.

Many other church fathers: Tatian (110-172); Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (115-185); Clement of Alexandria (150-220); Tertullian (160-230); Origen (186-255); Lactantius (260-330); in addition to: Methodius of Philippi, Minucius Felix, Commodianus, and Ambrose of Milan—also approved of and supported the Enochian writings.

The twentieth-century discovery of several Aramaic Enochian texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls prompted Catholic scholar J.T. Milik to compile a complete history of the Enochian writings, including translations of the Aramaic manuscripts. Milik's 400-page book, published in 1976 by Oxford (J. T. Milik, ed. and trans., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) is a milestone in Enochian scholarship, and

Milik himself is no doubt one of the finest experts on the subject. His opinions, based as they are on years of in-depth research, are highly respected.

One by one the arguments against the Book of Enoch fade away. The day may soon arrive when the final complaints about the Book of Enoch's lack of historicity and "late date" are also silenced by new evidence of the book's real antiquity. Such evidence would be perhaps the return of Enoch, of whom there is no record of ever dying but rather still living in the Kingdom of Heaven. It is appointed unto man once to die, so Enoch has to die once in order for that Scripture to be fulfilled. Spiritual scholars have attributed the fulfilment of the prophecies of Enoch being revealed in Revelation 11 of which we find the return of Enoch with a second reprimand of the world for three and a half years. Wearing sackcloth and perhaps with Elijah for company - we may finally be able to account of his life and times after hearing what he has to say in those days to come - until we see him finally die, lay lifeless for three days and then rise up into the heavens yet again.

- David Chariot

Book 1: The Watchers

Chapter 1

The Words of the Blessing of Enoch

1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the days of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless are to be removed.

2 And Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God took up his parable and said, "I saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, which the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is for to come."

3 Concerning the elect I said, and took up my parable concerning them: "The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,

4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, even on Mount Sinai and will appear in the strength of His might from the heaven of heavens.

5 And all shall be smitten with fear and the Watchers shall quake, and great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken and the high hills shall be made low, and shall melt like wax before the flame.

7 And the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder and all that is upon the earth shall perish, and there shall be a judgement upon all.

8 But with the righteous He will make peace.

And will protect the elect,

And mercy shall be upon them.

And they shall all belong to God,

And they shall be prospered,

And they shall all be blessed.

And He will help them all,

And light shall appear unto them,

And He will make peace with them.

9 And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones to execute judgement upon all, And to destroy all the ungodly: And to convict all flesh Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him."

Chapter 2

The Creation

1 Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and transgress not against their appointed order.

2 Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which take place upon it from first to last, how steadfast they are, how none of the things upon earth change, but all the works of God appear to you. Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.

3 Observe and see how in the winter all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years till the new comes.

4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with growing heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.

5 Observe ye how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit: wherefore give ye heed and know with regard to all His works, and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath made them so.

6 And all His works go on thus from year to year for ever, and all the tasks which they accomplish for Him, and their tasks change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.

7 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and change not their tasks from His commandments.

8 But ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord, But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words With your impure mouths against His greatness. Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.

9 Therefore shall ye execrate your days, and the years of your life shall perish, and the years of your destruction shall be multiplied in eternal abomination, and ye shall find no mercy.

10 In those days ye shall make your names an eternal abomination unto all the righteous, and by you shall all who curse, curse. All the sinners and godless shall imprecate by you. And for you, the godless there shall be a curse."

11 And all the righteous shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and every mercy and peace and forbearance.

12 There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.

13 And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation but on you all shall abide the curse of the beast.

14 But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth.

15 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom, and they shall all live and never again sin either through ungodliness or through pride: But they who are wise shall be humble.

16 And they shall not again transgress, nor shall they sin all the days of their life, nor shall they die of anger or wrath but they shall complete the number of the days of their life.

17 And their lives shall be increased in peace, and the years of their joy shall be multiplied in eternal gladness and peace all the days of their life.

Chapter 3

Fallen Angels

1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters.

2 And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: "Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children."

3 And Semjaza, who was their leader, said unto them: "I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin."

4 And they all answered him and said: "Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing."

5 Then swore they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it.

6 And these are the names of their leaders: Samlazaz, their leader, Araklba, Rameel, Kokabel, Tamlel, Ramlel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal, Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaqllel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.

7 And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them.

8 And they taught them charms and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants.

9 And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind.

10 And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

11 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures.

12 And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways.

13 Semjaza taught enchantments and root-cuttings, Armaros the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabel the constellations, Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araquel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon.

14 And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven.

Chapter 4

Intercession of Angels

1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth.

2 And they said one to another, "The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryingst up to the gates of heaven."

3 And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High."

4 And they said to the Lord of the ages, "Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of Thy glory standeth unto all the generations of the ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou, and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee.

5 Thou seest what Azazel hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were in heaven, which men were striving to learn; and Samlazaz, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over his associates.

6 And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

7 And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying out making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth.

8 And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do

to them in regard to these."

9 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech and said to him, "Go to Noah and tell him in my name 'Hide thyself!' and reveal to him the end that is approaching, that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world."

10 And again the Lord said to Raphael, "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire.

11 And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel, to him ascribe all sin."

12 And to Gabriel said the Lord, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men. Send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle, for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years."

13 And the Lord said unto Michael, "Go, bind Samlazaz and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever.

14 And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations. and destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers because they have wronged mankind.

15 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end, and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear, and it shall prove a blessing; the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

16 And then shall all the righteous escape and shall live till they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace.

17 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing.

18 And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

19 And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness, and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth.

20 And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send upon it from generation to generation and for ever.

21 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men."

22 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him.

And his activities had to do with the Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.

23 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of Majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me: "Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, declare to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves wives.

24 Say to them: 'Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth and ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin.'

25 And inasmuch as they delight themselves in their children the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over the destruction of their children shall they lament, and shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain."

26 And Enoch went and said: "Azazel, thou shalt have no peace, a severe sentence has gone forth against thee to put thee in bonds and thou shalt not have toleration nor request granted to thee, because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men."

27 Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven.

28 For from thenceforward they could not speak with Him nor lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned.

29 Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should have forgiveness and length.

30 And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon, I read their petition till I fell asleep.

31 And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw

visions of chastisement, and a voice came bidding me to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.

32 And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

33 And I recounted before them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.

Chapter 5

Book of the Words of Righteousness

1 The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision I saw in my sleep.

2 What I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to men to converse therewith and understand with the heart.

3 As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven.

4 "I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus, that your petition will not be granted unto you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgement has been finally passed upon you.

5 Your petition will not be granted unto you. And from henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and in bonds of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world.

6 And previously you shall have seen the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword.

7 And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in the writing which I have written.

8 And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven.

9 And I went in till I drew nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and

surrounded by tongues of fire: and it began to affright me.

10 And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor made of crystals, and its groundwork was of crystal.

11 Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was water.

12 A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its portals blazed with fire.

13 And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice. There were no delights of life therein; fear covered me, and trembling got hold upon me.

14 And as I quaked and trembled, I fell upon my face and I beheld a vision, and lo! there was a second house, greater than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire.

15 And in every respect it so excelled in splendor and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to you its splendor and its extent.

16 And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne, its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.

17 And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon.

18 And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.

19 None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him.

20 The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him; ten thousand times ten thousand were before Him, yet He needed no counselor.

21 And the most holy ones who were nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: "Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word."

22 And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and He made me rise up and approach the door, and I bowed my face downwards.

23 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: "Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness. Approach hither and hear my voice.

24 And go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: 'You should intercede for men, and not men for you. Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants as your sons.

25 And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those also do who die and perish.

26 Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth.

27 But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling.

28 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.

29 Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called.

30 And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and

work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble. They take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences.

31 And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.

32 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants, from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement, thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgement in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated.

33 And now as to the Watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been aforetime in heaven, say to them: "You have been in heaven, but all the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

34 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."

Chapter 6

Taken by Angels

1 Angels took and brought me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and when they wished, they appeared as men.

2 And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven.

3 And I saw the places of the luminaries and the treasures of the stars and of the thunder and in the uttermost depths, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightnings.

4 And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun.

5 And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west.

6 I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow.

7 I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

8 I saw the treasures of all the winds, I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth.

9 And I saw the corner-stone of the earth, I saw the four winds which bear the firmament of the heaven.

10 And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven, and have their station between heaven and earth: these are the pillars of the heaven.

11 I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and all the stars to their setting.

12 I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels.

13 I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above and I proceeded and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones.

14 Three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, was of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth, and those towards the south of red stone.

15 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was of sapphire.

16 And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains is a region the end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed.

17 And I saw a deep abyss, with columns of heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards the height and towards the depth.

18 And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no birds, but it was a waste and horrible place.

19 I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains, and to me, when I inquired regarding them. The angel said: "This place is the end of heaven and earth. This has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven.

20 And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times.

21 And He was wroth with them, and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated for ten thousand years."

22 And Uriel said to me: "Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women, and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods.

23 Here shall they stand, till the day of the great judgement in which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens."

24 And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

Chapter 7

The Holy Angels

1 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch mankind.

2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus.

3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.

4 Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.

5 Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos.

6 Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit.

7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim.

8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

9 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible.

10 And there I saw seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire.

11 Then I said: "For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?"

12 Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: "Enoch, why dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the

commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated."

13 And from thence I went to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing. A great fire there which burnt and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of fire. Neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture.

14 Then I said: "How fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon!"

15 Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?"

16 And I answered: "Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain."

17 And he said unto me: "This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever."

18 And thence I went to another place, the mountain of hard rock.

19 And there was in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at.

20 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: "These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period, till the great judgement upon them."

21 I saw a dead man making suit, and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: "This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?"

22 And he answered me saying: "This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is

destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men."

23 The I asked regarding it, and regarding all the hollow places: "Why is one separated from the other?"

24 And he answered me and said unto me: "These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime.

25 Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners.

26 Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence."

27 The I blessed the Lord of glory and said: "Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever."

28 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but regularly.

29 And I asked saying: "What is this which rests not?"

30 Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me: "This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which persecutes all the luminaries of heaven."

31 And from thence I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burnt day and night.

32 And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all differing each from the other, and the stones were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior: three towards the east, one founded on the other, and three towards the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other.

33 And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them in height, resembling the seat of a throne: and fragrant trees encircled the throne.

34 And amongst them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like it: it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever: and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm.

35 Then I said: "How beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance."

36 Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honored angels who was with me, and was their leader.

37 And he said unto me: "Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree, and why dost thou wish to learn the truth?"

38 Then I answered him saying: "I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree."

39 And he answered saying: "This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring to its consummation for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

40 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad, and into the holy place shall they enter; and its fragrance shall be in their bones, and they shall live a long life on earth. Such as thy fathers lived; and in their days shall no sorrow or plague or

torment or calamity touch them."

41 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

42 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches abiding and blooming.

43 And there I saw a holy mountain, and underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow ravine: in it also ran a stream underneath the mountain.

44 And to the west thereof there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine deep and dry between them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three mountains.

45 And all the ravines were deep and narrow, of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon them. And I marveled at the rocks, and I marveled at the ravine, yea, I marveled very much.

46 Then said I: "For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this accursed valley between?"

47 Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: "This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever. Here shall all the accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement.

48 In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King. In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them."

49 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His glory and lauded Him gloriously.

50 And thence I went towards the east, into the midst of the mountain range of

the desert, and I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. And water gushed forth from above. Rushing like a copious watercourse towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.

51 And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range. And there I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

52 And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley of water. And therein there was a tree, the color of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

53 And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were groves of trees, and there flowed forth from them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, whereon were aloe-trees, and all the trees were full of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

54 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.

55 And thence I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.

56 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off I saw numerous trees, and these great-two trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the Tree of Knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.

57 That tree is in height like the strangler fig, and its leaves are like the Carob tree, and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar.

58 Then I said: "How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!"

59 Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said: "This

is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden."

60 And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.

61 And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me.

62 He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me; also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

63 And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth.

64 And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.

65 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

66 And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, and wind. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals above them.

67 Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them.

68 And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

Book 2: The Parables

Chapter 1

The First Parable

1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom, which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw.

2 And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: "Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare to the men of old times, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom."

3 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

4 The first Parable.

When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, and sinners shall be judged for their sins, and shall be driven from the face of the earth:

5 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous, whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits, and light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth, where then will be the dwelling of the sinners, and where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.

6 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged, and the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect.

7 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted: And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy, for the Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

8 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish and be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.

9 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits for their life is at an end.

10 And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their seed will become one with the children of men.

11 And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.

12 And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

13 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, and set me down at the end of the heavens.

14 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous.

15 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels and their resting places with the holy.

16 And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, and righteousness flowed before them as water, and mercy like dew upon the earth: Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.

17 And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith, and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.

18 And righteousness shall prevail in his days, and the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

19 And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be strong as fiery lights, and their mouth shall be full of blessing, and their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, and righteousness before Him shall never fail.

20 There I wished to dwell, and my spirit longed for that dwelling place, and there heretofore hath been my portion. For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.

21 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits.

22 For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: "Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation."

23 Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits."

24 And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever." And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

25 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits.

26 And on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

27 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.

28 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

29 And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits.

30 And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

31 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth.

32 After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?"

33 And he said to me: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel."

34 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

35 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance.

36 And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off: and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

37 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and these I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth.

38 And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

39 And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together.

40 And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever.

41 And after that I saw the hidden and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.

42 And they give thanks and praise and rest not. For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.

43 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse, and the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord. Who made a separation between the light and the darkness, and divided the spirits of men, and strengthened the spirits of the righteous in the name of His righteousness.

44 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

45 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell, then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.

46 Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men and found no dwelling-place.

47 Wisdom returned to her place and took her seat among the angels.

48 And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers: Whom she sought not she found and dwelt with them, as rain in a desert and dew on a thirsty land.

49 And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they hearkened unto Him.

50 And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and their revolution according to the number of the angels, and they keep faith with each other.

51 And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden:
"What are these?"

52 And he said to me: "The Lord of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning: these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever."

53 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

Chapter 2

The Second Parable

1 And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of Spirits.

2 And into the heaven they shall not ascend, and on the earth they shall not come. Such shall be the lot of the sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits. Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try their works, and their places of rest shall be innumerable. And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine Elect Ones.

4 And those who have called upon My glorious name: Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.

5 And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing; and I will cause Mine Elect Ones to dwell upon it: But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.

6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones and have caused them to dwell before Me: But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me, so that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

7 And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

8 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days.

9 And he answered and said unto me: "This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness. With whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden. Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

and whose lot hath preeminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

10 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats and shall loosen the reins of the strong, and break the teeth of the sinners. Because they do not extol and praise Him, Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

11 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong, and shall fill them with shame. Darkness shall be their dwelling and worms shall be their bed. They shall have no hope of rising from their beds because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.

12 These are they who judge the stars of heaven, tread upon the earth, and dwell upon it.

13 All their deeds manifest unrighteousness and their power rests upon their riches.

14 Their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands and they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits.

15 They persecute the houses of His congregations and the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.

16 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous and the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.

17 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens shall unite with one voice and supplicate and pray and praise, give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits on behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed.

18 And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, that judgement may be done unto them and that they may not have to suffer for ever."

19 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him, and all His host which is in heaven above and His counselors stood before Him.

20 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy because the number of the righteous had been offered, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

21 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness, which was inexhaustible; and around it were many fountains of wisdom. All the thirsty drank of them and were filled with wisdom and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

22 And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and His name before the Head of Days.

23 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

24 "He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall and he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

25 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before Him, and will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.

26 And for this reason hath He been chosen and hidden before Him, before the creation of the world and for evermore.

27 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed Him to the holy and righteous for He hath preserved the lot of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits: For in his name they are saved and according to His good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.

28 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become and the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands. For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not save themselves and I will give them over into the hands of Mine Elect.

29 As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy: As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous and no trace of them

shall any more be found.

30 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth, and before them they shall fall and not rise again. There shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed One. The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

31 For wisdom is poured out like water, and glory faileth not before Him for evermore.

32 For He is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness and unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow and have no continuance. Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits and His glory is for ever and ever and His might unto all generations.

33 And in Him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

34 And He shall judge the secret things and none shall be able to utter a lying word before Him for He is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

35 In those days a change shall take place for the Holy and Elect, and the Light of Days shall abide upon them and glory and honor shall turn to the holy.

36 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners. And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits and He will cause the others to witness that they may repent and forgo the works of their hands.

37 They shall have no honor through the name of the Lord of Spirits yet through His name shall they be saved, and the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them for His compassion is great.

38 And He is righteous also in His judgement and in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself: At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

39 And from henceforth, I will have no mercy on them." saith the Lord of Spirits.

40 In those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it. Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, and hell shall give back that which it owes.

41 For in those days the Elect One shall arise and He shall choose the righteous and holy from among them.

42 For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.

43 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne and His mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel for the Lord of Spirits hath given to Him and hath glorified Him.

44 In those days shall the mountains leap like rams and the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and the faces of the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

45 And the earth shall rejoice and the righteous shall dwell upon it and the Elect shall walk thereon.

46 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden, for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west.

47 There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

48 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, "What things are these which I have seen in secret?"

49 And he said unto me: "All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of His Anointed that He may be potent and mighty on the earth."

50 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: "Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of

Spirits.

51 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen, the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead.

52 All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One as wax before the fire, and like the water which streams down from above and they shall become powerless before his feet.

53 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved either by gold or by silver and none be able to escape.

54 And there shall be no iron for war. Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate. Bronze shall be of no service, and tin shall not be esteemed, and lead shall not be desired.

55 And all these things shall be destroyed from the surface of the earth."

56 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.

57 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.

58 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "For whom are these chains being prepared?"

59 And he said unto me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded."

60 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.

61 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth.

62 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine.

63 And they shall destroy all who dwell on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And when they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then by these shall they perish.

64 And after that, the Head of Days repented and said: "In vain have I destroyed all who dwell on the earth."

65 And He swore by His great name: "Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth and I will set a sign in the heaven and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever. So long as heaven is above the earth and this is in accordance with My command.

66 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain because of this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them." saith God, the Lord of Spirits.

67 Ye mighty kings who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One. How He sits on the throne of glory and judges Azazel and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

68 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze.

69 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "To whom are these who hold the scourges going?"

70 And he said unto me: "To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley."

71 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved, and the days of their lives shall be at an end, and the days of their leading astray shall not

thenceforward be reckoned.

72 And in those days the angels shall return and hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes.

73 They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them and they shall rouse them from their thrones that they may break forth as lions from their lairs and as hungry wolves among their flocks.

74 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones but the city of the righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.

75 And they shall begin to fight among themselves and their right hand shall be strong against themselves.

76 And a man shall not know his brother nor a son his father or his mother till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter and their punishment be not in vain.

77 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws and they shall be swallowed up therein. Their destruction shall be at an end. Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect."

78 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south.

79 And the noise of their wagons was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day.

80 And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this is the end of the second Parable.

Chapter 3

The Third Parable

1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are ye, ye righteous and Elect for glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun and the elect in the light of eternal life.

4 The days of their life shall be unending and the days of the holy without number.

5 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits.

6 There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.

7 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven that they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith.

8 For it has become bright as the sun upon earth and the darkness is past.

9 And there shall be a light that never ends and to a limit of days they shall not come.

10 For the darkness shall first have been destroyed and the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

11 In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute, and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of Spirits willeth.

12 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard.

13 And He caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they

be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.

14 And after that, all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.

15 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch.

16 In that parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand were disquieted with a great disquiet.

17 And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

18 And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my loins gave way, and dissolved were my reins, and I fell upon my face.

19 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the commotion and the quaking of the heaven.

20 And Michael said unto me: Why art thou disquieted with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth.

21 And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain, that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.

22 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers.

23 Afterwards the judgement shall take place according to His mercy and His patience."

24 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters.

25 But the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits created.

26 And I besought the other angel that he should show me the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses of the sea and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness.

27 And he said to me: "Thou son of man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden."

28 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven.

29 And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names and how all the divisions are divided.

30 And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey.

31 For the thunder has places of rest assigned to it while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together through the spirit and separate not.

32 For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth.

33 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains of the earth.

34 And the spirit of the hoarfrost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel.

35 And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength; there is a special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is Frost.

36 And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel.

37 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other.

38 And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on the earth.

39 For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels take it in charge.

40 And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.

41 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: "These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed."

42 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

43 And I asked the angel, saying unto him: "Why have those angels taken these

cords and gone off?"

44 And he said unto me: "They have gone to measure."

45 And the angel who went with me said unto me: "These shall bring the measures of the righteous and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous. That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

46 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect, and those are the measures which shall be given to faith and which shall strengthen righteousness.

47 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth. And those who have been destroyed by the desert, and those who have been devoured by the beasts, and those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea. That they may return and stay themselves on the day of the Elect One; for none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits, and none can be destroyed."

48 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.

49 And that One with their first words they blessed and extolled and lauded with wisdom.

50 And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

51 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect one on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, and in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.

52 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: "Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One."

53 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory and the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon Him.

54 And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners, and all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

55 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted and those who hold the earth, and they shall see and recognize how He sits on the throne of His glory.

56 And righteousness is judged before him and no lying word is spoken before him.

57 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail when her child enters the mouth of the womb and she has pain in bringing forth.

58 And one portion of them shall look on the other and they shall be terrified, and they shall be downcast of countenance, and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.

59 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden.

60 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden and the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might, and revealed Him to the elect.

61 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown and all the elect shall stand before him on that day.

62 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth shall fall down before Him on their faces and worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.

63 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them that they shall hastily go forth from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

64 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect.

65 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect: They shall rejoice over them because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them and His sword is drunk with their blood.

66 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall never

thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

67 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

68 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth and ceased to be of downcast countenance.

69 And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory and these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits: And your garments shall not grow old. Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

70 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of Spirits and confess their sins before Him.

71 And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say: "Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings, and the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich, and the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom, and splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation, and Thy glory for ever and ever.

72 Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable, and Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning. We have now learnt that we should glorify and bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings."

73 And they shall say: "Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks and confess our faith before His glory! And now we long for a little rest but find it not. We follow hard upon and obtain not, and light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our dwelling—place for ever and ever.

74 For we have not believed before Him nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits but our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom, and in our own glory.

75 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not and we find no respite for confession that our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice, and His judgements have no respect of persons.

76 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works and all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness."

77 Now they shall say unto themselves: "Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the burden of Sheol."

78 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness and shame before that Son of Man, and they shall be driven from his presence, and the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.

79 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: "This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits."

80 And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin."

Book 3: The Book of Noah

Chapter 1

Birth of Noah

1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son.

2 And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright.

3 And thereupon he arose in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness.

4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah.

5 And he said unto him: "I have begotten a strange son, diverse from and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his countenance is glorious.

6 And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be wrought on the earth. And now, my father, I am here to petition thee and implore thee that thou mayest go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is amongst the angels."

7 And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him.

8 And I said unto him: "Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast thou come to me?"

9 And he answered and said: "Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached.

10 And now, my father, hear me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born a son, the like of whom there is none, and his nature is not like mans nature, and the color of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and thereupon lighted up the whole house.

11 And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven.

12 And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayest make known to me the truth."

13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: "The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord.

14 And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begot children by them.

15 And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

16 Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and a great destruction for one year.

17 And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die he and his sons shall be saved.

18 And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.

19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read in the heavenly tablets.

20 And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes upon it.

21 And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that is no lie."

22 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

Chapter 2

Calling Enoch

1 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh.

2 And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch.

3 Noah said three times with an embittered voice: "Hear me, hear me, hear me."

4 And I said unto him: "Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?"

5 And thereupon there was a great commotion, on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face.

6 And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: "Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping?"

7 A command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers, the most secret ones.

8 And all the power of those who practice sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images. For the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is preeminent."

9 And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: "Go, for I have asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth.

10 And He said unto me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed."

11 And these, they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned: but as for thee, my son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy and will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth. And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honors, and from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever."

13 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruction on all who dwell on the earth.

14 And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters.

15 And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

Chapter 3

Judgement of Angels

1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me:
"Noah, thy lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness.

2 And now the angels are working, and when they have completed their task I will place My hand upon it and preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitant.

3 And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be unfruitful on the face of the earth, but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord."

4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

5 And I saw that valley in which there was a great convulsion and a convulsion of the waters.

6 And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray burned beneath that land.

7 And through its valleys proceed streams of fire where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body.

9 For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name.

10 And in proportion as the burning of their bodies becomes severe a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word.

11 For the judgement shall come upon them because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord.

12 And those same waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change and become cold.

13 And I heard Michael answering and saying: "This judgement wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.

14 Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever."

Chapter 4

Secrets of the Parables

1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables.

2 And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: "The power of the spirit transports and makes me to tremble because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before which they melt away?"

3 And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: "Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement that has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?"

4 And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: "I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion, but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever."

5 And after this judgement they shall terrify and make them to tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

6 And behold the names of those angels: the first of them is Samjaza, the second Artaqifa, and the third Armen, the fourth Kokabel, the fifth Turael, the sixth Rumjal, the seventh Danjal, the eighth Neqaël, the ninth Baraqel, the tenth Azazel, the eleventh Armaros, the twelfth Batarjal, the thirteenth Busasejal, the fourteenth Hananel, the fifteenth Turel, and the sixteenth Simapesiel, the seventeenth Jetrel, the eighteenth Tumaël, the nineteenth Turel, the twentieth Rumaël, the twenty-first Azazel.

7 And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones

over hundreds and over fifties and over tens.

8 The name of the first Jecon: that is, the one who led astray the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men.

9 And the second was named Asbeel: he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men.

10 And the third was named Gadreel: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore.

11 And the fourth was named Penemue: he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power it is consuming men.

12 And the fifth was named Kasdeja: this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smithings of spirits and demons, and the smitings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and the bites of the serpent, and the smitings which befall through the noontide heat the son of the serpent named Tabaet.

13 And this is the task of Kasbeel, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqa.

14 This angel requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men.

15 And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed

this oath Akae in the hand of Michael.

16 These are the secrets of this oath and they are strong through his oath: The heaven was suspended before the world was created, and for ever.

17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters from the creation of the world and unto eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created and as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of anger, and it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast and abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course and deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course and He calls them by their names, and they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 And this oath is mighty over them and through it their paths are preserved and their course is not destroyed.

23 And there was great joy amongst them, and they blessed and glorified and extolled because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.

24 And he sat on the throne of His glory and the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man, and He caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth, and those who have led the world astray.

25 With chains shall they be bound and in their assemblage place of destruction shall they be imprisoned, and all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

26 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible; For that Son of Man has appeared and has seated himself on the throne of His glory.

27 All evil shall pass away before His face and the word of that Son of Man

shall go forth and be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

Book 4: The Kingdom of Heaven

Chapter 1

Enoch is Taken

1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth.

2 And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them.

3 And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them and He set me between the two winds, between the North and the West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous.

4 And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

5 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated and it ascended into the heavens I saw the holy sons of God.

6 They were stepping on flames of fire: Their garments were white and their faces shone like snow.

7 And I saw two streams of fire and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.

8 And the angel Michael seized me by my right hand and lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

9 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven, and all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries, Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

10 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

11 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire and on its four sides were streams full of living fire, and they girt that house.

12 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubic, and Ophannin: And these are they who sleep not and guard the throne of His glory.

13 And I saw angels who could not be counted. A thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand encircling that house.

14 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and the holy angels who are above the heavens go in and out of that house.

15 And they came forth from that house, and Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, and many holy angels without number.

16 And with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool, and His raiment indescribable.

17 And I fell on my face and my whole body became relaxed, and my spirit was transfigured; and I cried with a loud voice with the spirit of power and blessed and glorified and extolled.

18 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days.

19 And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

20 And He came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me: "This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness, and righteousness abides over Him, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes Him not."

21 And he said unto me: "He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come; for from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world, and so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

22 And all shall walk in his ways since righteousness never forsaketh Him.

23 With Him will be their dwelling places, and with Him their heritage, and they

shall not be separated from Him for ever and ever and ever.

24 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man and the righteous shall have peace and an upright way in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.

Chapter 2

The Luminaries

1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide showed me.

2 And he showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity.

3 And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven, and its setting in the western portals of the heaven.

4 And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: also many windows to the right and left of these portals.

5 And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire.

6 The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate portal and shines in the face of the heaven.

7 In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season.

8 When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven.

9 And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning.

10 On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

11 And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal.

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

13 And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign.

14 On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

15 And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal and rises from it and sets thirty mornings.

16 And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven.

17 And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal.

18 On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

19 And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the

west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west.

20 On that day the day is equalized with the night, and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts.

21 And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal.

22 And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

23 And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns to the east and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets in the second portal in the west of the heaven.

24 And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

25 And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven.

26 And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six.

27 And the sun has traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it.

28 And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts.

29 And the sun has returned and entered into the second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

30 And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight.

31 And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.

32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four.

33 And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course of the sun these distinctions are made.

34 So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter.

35 And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises for ever and ever.

36 And that which rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded.

37 As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but as regards size they are both equal.

38 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.

39 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in measure.

40 And her rising and setting change every month and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun.

41 And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the portal where

the sun rises.

42 And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, the fourteenth part of her light.

43 And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof.

44 And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning in the commencement of the lunar day the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them.

45 And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the thirteen parts.

46 And I saw another course, a law for her, how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution.

47 And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished.

48 In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west.

49 And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course.

50 In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle portals the third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth.

51 And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days,

until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light: and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days.

52 And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the sun goes forth.

53 Thus I saw their position, how the moons rose and the sun set in those days.

54 And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days.

55 And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days: in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days: and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days.

56 And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days.

57 In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days.

58 For the moon alone the days amount in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind to the sun there is 5 to be added 62 days.

59 And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days 6 in 8 years amount to 21,832 days.

60 For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days, all the 17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80.

61 And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it rises and sets 30 days.

62 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days,

being inseparable from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not reckoned in the reckoning of the year.

63 And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries truly render service on the world—stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations.

64 For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world that they should rule on the face of the heaven and be seen on the earth and be leaders for the day and the night and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of the heaven.

65 In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me open in the circumference of the suns chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons.

66 And for the winds and the spirit of the dew when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.

67 As for the twelve portals in the heaven at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west.

68 There are many windows open to the left and right of them, and one window at its season produces warmth, corresponding to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them and wherein they set corresponding to their number.

69 And I saw chariots in the heaven, running in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set.

70 And one is larger than all the rest and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

71 And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the quarters from which the winds go forth and blow over the earth.

72 Three of them are open on the face of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right of the heaven, and three on the left.

73 And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three after those on the left of the south, and three of the west.

74 Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

75 And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat, and destruction.

76 And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which lies toward the north come cold and drought.

77 And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind.

78 And through the middle portal next to it there come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health.

79 And through the third portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

80 And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts and desolation.

81 And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoarfrost, and snow and rain, and dew and locusts.

82 And after these four are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth dew and hoarfrost, and cold and snow and frost.

83 And from the middle portal come forth dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth drought and desolation, and burning and destruction.

84 And the twelve portals of the four quarters of the heaven are therewith completed and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

85 And the first quarter is called the east because it is the first. And the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever descend.

86 And the west quarter is named the diminished because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down.

87 And the fourth quarter named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men: and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

88 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth and thence comes forth hoarfrost, and days, seasons, and years pass away.

89 I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers: one of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

90 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

91 And the remaining, four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there and some say, into the desert.

92 Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland: two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

93 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas.

94 And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae.

95 These are the two great luminaries: their circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike.

96 In the circumference of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted.

97 And they set and enter the portals of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals on the face of the heaven.

98 And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven: the light becomes full in her : on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light.

99 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day her light is accomplished, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by fourteenth parts.

100 And in her waning decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth.

101 And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

102 And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun.

103 During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days her light is accomplished in the heaven, and when she is illumined throughout, her light is

accomplished full in the heaven.

104 And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

105 On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end and her circumference is empty, void of light.

106 And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty–nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first portal for one hundred and seventy–seven days.

107 And in the time of her going out she appears for three months thirty days each, and for three months she appears twenty–nine each.

108 At night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

109 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.

110 And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this 4 sixth portal her light is accomplished.

111 And after that there is the beginning of the waning which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy–seven days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty–five and two days.

112 She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which thou seest has been traversed.

113 Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel,

who is their leader, showed unto me.

Chapter 3

Heavenly Tablets

1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: "Behold, I have shown thee everything Enoch and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened and their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields.

3 And all things on the earth shall alter and shall not appear in their time: The rain shall be kept back and the heaven shall withhold it.

4 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward and shall not grow in their time, and the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

5 And the moon shall alter her order and not appear at her time.

6 And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west and shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

7 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order and these shall alter their orbits and tasks and not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

8 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners and the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them. And they shall be altered from all their ways. Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.

9 And evil shall be multiplied upon them, and punishment shall come upon them so as to destroy all."

10 And He said unto me: "Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets and read what is written thereon, and mark every individual fact."

11 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations.

12 And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world.

13 And I extolled the Lord because of His patience and blessed Him because of the children of men.

14 And after that I said: "Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, and against whom no day of judgement shall be found."

15 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: "Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator.

16 One year we will leave thee with thy son, till thou givest thy commands, that thou mayest teach thy children and record for them, and testify to all thy children; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

17 Let thy heart be strong, for the good shall announce righteousness to the good; The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice and shall offer congratulation to one another.

18 But the sinners shall die with the sinners and the apostate go down with the apostate.

19 And those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men and be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.

20 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

Chapter 4

One Year to Record

1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee! and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve, my son Methuselah, the books from thy fathers hand, and see that thou deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children and thy children that shall be to thee, that they may give it to their children for generations, this wisdom that passeth their thought.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep but shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom and it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners.

5 In the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days.

6 Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon them in the whole reckoning of the year: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately.

7 For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded for ever, one in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

8 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world

hath subjected the host of heaven.

9 And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men, sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots.

10 And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

11 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.

12 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder the four parts of the year.

13 And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division.

14 And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Milkiel, Helemmelek, and Melejal, and Narel.

15 And the names of those who lead them: Adnarel, and Ijasusael, and Elomeel - these three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.

16 In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tamaini and sun, and all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days.

17 And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered.

18 And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berkael, Zelebsel, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilujaseph: and the days of the dominion of this are at an end.

19 The next leader after him is Helemmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion.

20 These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gidaljal, Keel, and Heel, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfael: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Chapter 5

Visions

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before thee.

2 Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other. The first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother I saw a terrible vision.

3 And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grandfather Mahalaleel I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to the earth.

4 And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent from their stems and hurled down and sunk in the abyss.

5 And thereupon a word fell into my mouth and I lifted up to cry aloud, and said: "The earth is destroyed!"

6 And my grandfather Mahalaleel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me: "Why dost thou cry so my son, and why dost thou make such lamentation?"

7 And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said unto me: "A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream vision as to the secrets if all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with a great destruction.

8 And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great destruction."

9 After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my

prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah.

10 And when I had gone forth below and seen the heaven and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, and He ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto Him.

11 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh which God has made for the children of the flesh of men that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

12 "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King, Great and mighty in Thy greatness, Lord of the whole creation of the heaven, King of kings and God of the whole world.

13 And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever, and throughout all generations Thy dominion; and all the heavens are Thy throne for ever, and the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.

14 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things and nothing is too hard for Thee.

15 Wisdom departs not from the place of Thy throne nor turns away from Thy presence.

16 And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything and there is nothing hidden from Thee for Thou seest everything.

17 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass and upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.

18 And now, O God and Lord and Great King, I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer to leave me a posterity on earth and not destroy all the flesh of man and make the earth without inhabitant so that there should be an eternal destruction.

19 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed and hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord."

20 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son.

21 And Enoch lifted up and spake to his son Methuselah: "To thee, my son, will I speak: hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream—vision of thy father.

22 Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red.

23 And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull.

24 But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him.

25 And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him.

26 And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more.

27 And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

28 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, many.

29 And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those

oxen.

30 And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began to live with each other.

31 And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them amongst them.

32 And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses.

33 And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

34 And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

35 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud.

36 And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men: and four went forth from that place and three with them.

37 And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth and all the hills were lower.

38 And one said unto me: "Remain here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them."

39 And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss.

40 Now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark.

41 And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them.

42 And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth stoned them from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were like those of horses and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

43 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret without his being terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon; and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in.

44 And again I raised mine eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure.

45 And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water.

46 And the water, the darkness, and mist increased upon it; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.

47 And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water.

48 But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, perished and sank into the depths.

49 And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up and other abysses were opened.

50 Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared.

51 But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

52 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull.

53 And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep.

54 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves.

55 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.

56 And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed - cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord.

57 And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them.

58 And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep.

59 And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into

the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth.

60 And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceedingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud.

61 And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out.

62 And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power.

63 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him: and his face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold.

64 But the wolves began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves.

65 And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that sea.

66 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered those wolves.

67 And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

68 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

69 And that sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the

sheep sent it to them.

70 And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face.

71 And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them which was amongst them: "We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him."

72 And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof.

73 And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away.

74 And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds.

75 And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds.

76 And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.

77 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water.

78 Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying.

79 And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep.

80 And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

81 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

82 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up another sheep a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them all.

83 And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep and trampled upon them, and behaved itself unseemly.

84 And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory.

85 And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep.

86 And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled down the first ram.

87 And that second ram arose and led the little sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the 49sheep and robbed them no more of ought.

88 And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep and that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep.

89 A tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

90 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them.

91 And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there.

92 And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them.

93 And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place.

94 And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep.

95 And I saw that He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts.

96 And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured by all the wild beasts.

97 But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.

98 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: "Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed and them destroy ye."

99 And He gave over unto them those sheep.

100 And He called another and spake unto him: "Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me."

101 And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions.

102 And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished that house.

103 And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

104 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them.

105 And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep.

106 And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep – everything

that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction.

107 And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

108 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able.

109 And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.

110 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them.

111 And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them and they did not save them out of the hand of the beasts.

112 And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds.

113 And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

114 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing, and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others receive them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period.

115 And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh.

116 And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

117 And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few.

118 And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

119 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep.

120 Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded.

121 And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

122 And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

123 And it looked at them and their eyes opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it.

124 And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out.

125 And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

126 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

127 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.

128 And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.

129 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

130 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.

131 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him.

132 And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: "Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them."

133 And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.

134 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire.

135 And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss.

136 And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and

found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house.

137 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

138 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land.

139 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

140 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing.

141 And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand who had taken me up before, and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgement took place.

142 And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

143 And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house.

144 And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.

145 And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see.

146 And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

147 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

148 And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

149 And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.

150 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory.

151 Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me.

152 On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

Book 5: Epistle of Enoch

Chapter 1

The Guidance of Enoch

1 And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers and gather together to me all the sons of thy mother; For the word calls me, and the spirit is poured out upon me that I may show you everything that shall befall you for ever.

2 And there upon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.

3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said: "Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father, and hearken aright to the voice of my mouth for I exhort you and say unto you, beloved:

4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.

5 And it shall guide you on good paths, and righteousness shall be your companion.

6 For I know that violence must increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end:
Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

7 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence,
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.

8 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy,
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement,

To execute judgement on earth.

9 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

10 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,
And they shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.

11 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.

12 And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword and the blasphemers destroyed in every place, and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.

13 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you the paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.

14 Yea, I will show them to you again that ye may know what will come to pass.

15 And now, listen to me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever."

Chapter 2

Wisdom of Enoch

1 The book written by Enoch – Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, praised of all men and a judge of all the earth for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

2 "Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times; For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, shall arise and walk in the paths of righteousness and all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness, and He will give him power so that he shall be with goodness and righteousness.

5 And he shall walk in eternal light.

6 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever and shall no more be seen from that day for evermore."

7 And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books.

8 And Enoch said: "Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things.

9 Yea, I Enoch will declare unto you, my sons: According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learnt from the heavenly tablets."

10 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said:

11 "I was born the seventh in the first week, while judgement and righteousness

still endured.

12 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness, and deceit shall have sprung up; and in it there shall be the first end.

13 And in it a man shall be saved; and after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up, and a law shall be made for the sinners.

14 And after that in the third week at its close a man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

15 And after that in the fourth week, at its close, Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen, and a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

16 And after that in the fifth week, at its close, the house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

17 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded, and the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.

18 And in it a man shall ascend; and at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire, and the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

19 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise, and many shall be its deeds, and all its deeds shall be apostate.

20 And at its close shall be elected, the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

21 For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled?

22 And who can think His thoughts?

23 And who is there that can behold all the works of heaven?

24 And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there

that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them?

25 And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?

26 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?

27 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein; for the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation but the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

28 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed and they shall hold themselves afar from them, and shall not follow them.

29 And now I say unto you the righteous: Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death, and draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.

30 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, and walk in the paths of peace, and ye shall live and prosper.

31 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts and suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts; For I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly –entreat wisdom so that no place may be found for her, and no manner of temptation may minish.

32 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression and lay deceit as a foundation; For they shall be suddenly overthrown, and they shall have no peace.

33 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown and by the sword shall they fall.

34 And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.

35 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches and from your riches shall ye depart because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of

your riches.

36 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness, and have become ready for the day of slaughter, and the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.

37 Thus I speak and declare unto you: He who hath created you will overthrow you and for your fall there shall be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

38 And your righteous ones in those days shall be a reproach to the sinners and the godless.

39 Oh that mine eyes were a cloud of waters that I might weep over you, and pour down my tears as a cloud of waters: That so I might rest from my trouble of heart!

40 Who has permitted you to practice reproaches and wickedness?

41 And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.

42 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous; For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands, that ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.

43 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed: Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.

44 Woe to you who requite your neighbor with evil; For ye shall be requited according to your works.

45 Woe to you, lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out injustice, for suddenly shall ye perish.

46 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous; for ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice, and heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

47 Be hopeful, ye righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you, and ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.

48 And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners your children shall mount and rise as eagles, and higher than the vultures will be your nest, and ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth, and the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous, and the sirens shall sigh because of you and weep.

49 Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered; For healing shall be your portion, and a bright light shall enlighten you, and the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.

50 Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous but your hearts convict you of being sinners, and this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of evil deeds.

51 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat and drink wine in large bowls, and tread under foot the lowly with your might.

52 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain; For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.

53 Woe to you who work unrighteousness and deceit and blasphemy: It shall be a memorial against you for evil.

54 Woe to you, ye mighty, who with might oppress the righteous; For the day of your destruction is coming.

55 In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement."

Chapter 3

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame and perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known unto you that the Most High is mindful of your destruction and the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

3 What will ye do, ye sinners, and whither will ye flee on that day of judgement when ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them against whom this word shall be a testimony: "Ye have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord and for you the days of your judgement shall come.

6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One and your faces shall be covered with shame, and He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say: "We have become rich with riches and have possessions and have acquired everything we have desired. And now let us do what we purposed: For we have gathered silver and many are the husbandmen in our houses. And our granaries are full as with water."

9 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away for your riches shall not abide but speedily ascend from you; For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness and ye shall be given over to a great curse.

10 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish for ye shall have

manifold experiences on the earth.

11 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman and colored garments more than a virgin; In royalty and in grandeur and in power, and in silver and in gold and in purple, and in splendor and in food they shall be poured out as water.

12 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom and they shall perish thereby together with their possessions.

13 And with all their glory and their splendour, and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.

14 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave and a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman.

15 Even so, sin has not been sent upon the earth but man of himself has created it, and under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.

16 And barrenness has not been given to the woman but on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

17 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One; That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens and that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.

18 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High.

19 From henceforth ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of your judgement.

20 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish: And ye transgress against the wise, and so good hap shall not be your portion.

21 And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day of destruction: Wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of

tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

22 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood: Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore ye shall have no peace.

23 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: Wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? Know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you.

24 Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation of the righteous; For no grave shall be dug for you.

25 Woe to you who set at nought the words of the righteous; For ye shall have no hope of life.

26 Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; For they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards neighbors.

27 Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

28 Woe to you who work godlessness and glory in lying and extol them: Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

29 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness and transgress the eternal law, and transform themselves into what they were not into sinners: They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.

30 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial, and place them as a testimony before the angels that they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.

31 In those days the nations shall be stirred up and the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

32 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children and they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them: Yea,

they shall abandon their children sucklings, and not return to them and shall have no pity on their beloved ones.

33 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed.

34 And they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

35 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts and their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts and through visions in their dreams.

36 Through these they shall become godless and fearful; For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie and shall have worshiped a stone: Therefore in an instant shall they perish.

37 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, and observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness, and become not godless with the godless; For they shall be saved.

38 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbors; For you shall be slain in Sheol.

39 Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures, and who cause bitterness on the earth; For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

40 Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others, and all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin; I tell you ye shall have no peace.

41 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers and whose souls follow after idols; For they shall have no rest.

42 Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression, and slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.

43 For He shall cast down your glory and bring affliction on your hearts, and shall arouse His fierce indignation and destroy you all with the sword; And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

44 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten and brothers one with another shall fall in death till the streams flow with their blood.

45 For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons sons, and the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honored brother: From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.

46 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners and the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

47 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places and gather together into one place all those who brought down sin and the Most High will arise on that day of judgement to execute great judgement amongst sinners.

48 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin, and though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.

49 And the children of the earth shall see the wise in security, and shall understand all the words of this book, and recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them in the overthrow of their sins.

50 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish, Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire: Ye shall be requited according to your works.

51 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who watch in order to devise wickedness: Therefore shall fear come upon you and there shall be none to help you.

52 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth, and on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness as wrought; In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.

53 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in

heaven, from the sun and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute judgement on the righteous.

54 And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they shall be mindful of your sins.

55 And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descending upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.

56 When the hoarfrost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow storms with all their plagues fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

Chapter 4

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him and work no evil in His presence.

2 If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then?

3 And if He sends His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace.

4 And see ye not the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in sore trouble?

5 And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go into the sea with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6 Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand?

7 And at His reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; But ye sinners that are on the earth fear Him not.

8 Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?

9 Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?

10 Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

11 In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you, whither will ye

flee, and where will ye find deliverance?

12 And when He launches forth His Word against you will you not be affrighted and fear? And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear and all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.

13 And all the angels shall execute their commandst and shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory, and the children of earth shall tremble and quake; and ye sinners shall be cursed for ever, and ye shall have no peace.

14 Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous and be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

15 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief, and that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness but wait for the day of the judgement of sinners and for the day of cursing and chastisement.

16 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you: "As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap for their deeds? Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness and what have they more than we? From henceforth we are equal. And what will they receive and what will they see for ever? Behold, they too have died, And henceforth for ever shall they see no light."

17 I tell you, "Ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner of violence is found in them till their death?

18 Nevertheless they perished and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation."

Chapter 5

Wisdom of Enoch

1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days.

2 Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is made of those who work evil; and an end of the might of the transgressors.

3 And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they burn; for there is no earth there.

4 And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro.

5 And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: "What is this shining thing? For it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain."

6 And he said unto me: "This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets – the things that shall be.

7 For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God.

8 And of those who have been put to shame by wicked men: Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture.

9 Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name.

10 And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books.

11 And he hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot of wicked men and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, yet they blessed Me.

12 And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honor as their faithfulness deserved.

13 And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor.

14 And they shall be resplendent for times without number; for righteousness is the judgement of God; for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths.

15 And they shall see those who were, born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent.

16 And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed for them."

Chapter 6

Revelation of Enoch

1 I swear unto you that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One: and your names are written before the glory of the Great One.

2 Be hopeful; for aforetime ye were put to shame through ill and affliction; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven, ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you.

3 And in your cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you.

4 Be hopeful, and cast not away your hopes for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven.

5 What shall ye be obliged to do?

6 Ye shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world.

7 And now fear not, ye righteous, when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways, be not companions with them, but keep afar from their violence; For ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven.

8 And, although the sinners say: "All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

9 And now I show unto you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

10 Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take

account of your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin.

11 And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practice great deceits, and write books concerning their words.

12 But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully – all that I first testified concerning them.

13 Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom.

14 And to them shall the books be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them and then shall all the righteous who have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.

15 In those days the Lord bade to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: "Show unto them; for ye are their guides and a recompense over the whole earth.

16 For I and My son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen."

The Dead Sea Scrolls

This chart showing a listing of what scrolls were found in the Qumran caves is important to note in regards to the texts found therein as they include an associated body of work that is one in the same. Parts of the [Book of Giants](#) were found regarding Enoch in the caves as well. It would appear that whoever the scribe or group of people who stored away these scrolls, intended them for safe keeping as they represent a body of knowledge that has, curiously enough, been largely fought since their inception. When a researcher gets to a certain point they tend to realize that some information and studies surpass the understanding of the intellect alone but rather sequesters the heart to comprehend such mysteries of which the mind is unwilling.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

	TITLE	DESIGNATION		TITLE	DESIGNATION
SCRIPTURE	Fragments found from every book but Esther. Major Manuscripts: Isaiah Psalms				1QIs ² 11QPs
COMMENTARIES	Habakkuk	1QpHab		Zephaniah	1QpZeph(1Q15)
	Micah	1QpMic		Hosea	4QpHos
	Psalms 37	4QpPs37		Isaiah	4QpIsa
	Nahum	4QpNah			
SECTARIAN	Manual of Discipline	1QS		Benedictions	1QS ^b ; 1Q28 ^a
	War Scroll	1QM		Book of Mysteries	1QMyst; 1Q27
	Thanksgiving Hymns	1QH		Prayer for the Feast of Weeks	1Q34
	Damascus Document	CD; 4QD ^b ; 6QD		Angelic liturgy	4Q serek shir'ot 'olat ha-shabbat
	Rule of the Congregation	1QSa; 1Q28 ^b			
COLLECTIONS	Florilegium	4QFlor		Testimonia	4QTest
	Patriarchal Blessings	4QPatrBless		Ordinances	4QOrd
BIBLICAL SUPPLEMENTS	Genesis Apocryphon	1QApGen		Prayer of Nabonidus	4QNab
	Sayings of Moses	1QDibMos; 1Q22		Book of Jubilees	4QJub
	Testament of Levi	4QTLevi		Book of Enoch	4QEnoch

The Book of the Giants

The Book of the Giants was published in not less than six or seven languages. From the original Syriac the Greek and Middle Persian versions were made. The Sogdian edition was probably derived from the Middle Persian, the Uygur from the Sogdian. There is no trace of a Parthian text. The book may have existed in Coptic. The presence of names such as Sām and Narīmān in the Arabic version proves that it had been translated from the Middle Persian. To the few surviving fragments (texts A-G) I have added two excerpts, the more important of which (H) probably derives from a Syriac epitome of the book. Naturally, Manichæan authors quoted the book frequently, but there is only one direct citation by a non-Manichæan writer (text O). With the exception of text O, all the passages referring to the *Book of the Giants* (texts J-T) go back to Syriac writings (apparently). They are, therefore, to be treated as quotations from the Syriac edition. E.g. the Parthian text N is not the product of a Parthian writer who might have employed a Parthian version of the book, but was translated from a Syriac treatise whose author cited the Syriac text.

In their journey across Central Asia the stories of the *Book of the Giants* were influenced by local traditions. Thus, the translation of Ohya as Sām had in its train the introduction of myths appertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sā(h)m according to text I. The country of *Aryān-Vēžan* = *Airyana Vaējah*, in text G (26), is a similar innovation. The "Kögmän mountains" in text B may reflect the "Mount Hermon". The progeny of the fallen angels was confined in thirty-six towns (text S). Owing to the introduction of the Mount Sumeru, this number was changed (in Sogdiana) to *thirty-two* (text G, 22): "the heaven of Indra . . . is situated between the four peaks (cf. G 21) of the Meru, and consists of *thirty-two* cities of devas" (Eitel, *Handb. Chinese Buddhism*, 148, on *Trayastrimśat*).

Manuscript Mapping Key

(bed) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings,
[bed] = suggested restorations of missing letters.
= visible, but illegible letters.
[. . .] = estimated number of missing letters.
[] = a lacuna of undetermined extent.
(84)] = same, at the beginning of a line.

[(85 = same, at the end of a line.

In the translation parentheses are employed for explanatory remarks.

Bolded text of the translation fragments are of great importance and correlation with the books of Enoch.

NOTE: The text from multiple of these manuscripts is *badly damaged* but between the various versions of the book in different languages we have a general picture of what the Book of Giants is discussing if the book's very title isn't enough for the reader alone. Logical estimates according to the historical texts which tell of these giants living, seem to be around 3500BC and the manuscripts (presumably) being copied several times throughout the ages (considering any scribe would find copying an epic like this more than just a "great job," they probably did it for free; which explains why so many manuscripts exist of the book) are more than likely around 3000+ years old.

Translation to English

[INTRODUCTION]

(Frg. c) . . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sām said: "Blessed be . . . had [he ?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmīzād said to Sām, his [son]: "All that Māhawai . . ., is spoilt (?)." Thereupon he said to . . . "We are . . . until (10) . . . and . . . (13) . . . that are in (?) the fiery hell (?) . . . As my father, Virōgdād, was . . ." Shahmīzād said: "It is true what he says. **He says one of thousands of giants.** For one of thousands . . .". Sām thereupon began . . . Māhawai, too, in many places . . . (20) until to that place he might escape (1) and . . .

(Frg. j) . . . Virōgdād . . . **Hōbābīš (a giant) robbed Ahr (a mortal man) of Naxtag, his wife.** Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sām . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other (30) . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother . . . imprisoned . . . (34) . . . over Taxtag. To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (*or*: was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag

saw three signs, [one portending . . .], one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation. Narīmān saw a gar[den full of] (40) trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees. . . .

(Frg. l) **Enoch, the apostle**, . . . [gave] a message to [the demons and their] children: To you . . . not peace. [The judgment on you is] that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children. ruling for a hundred and twenty [years] . . . (50) . . . wild ass, ibex . . . ram, goat (?), gazelle, . . . oryx, of each two hundred, a pair . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?) of water (?) . . . and their oil shall be . . .

(Frg. k) . . . father . . . nuptials (?) . . . until the completion of his . . . in fighting . . . (60) . . . and in the nest(?) Ohya and Ahya . . . he said to his brother: "get up and . . . we will take what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." **And the giants fought them together** . . . (67) "[Not the] . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . [Not the] . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, [but] (70) the strength of the ox (?). Not the . . . eagle, but his wings. Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers it. Not the proud [ruler], but the diadem on his [head. Not] the splendid cypress, but the . . . **giants of the mountain** . . .

(Frg. g) . . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit(?), but the poison in it. (80) [Not they that] are placed (?) in the skies but the God [of all] worlds. Not the servant is proud, but [the lord] that is above him. Not one that is sent . . . , but the man that sent him". Thereupon Narīmān . . . said . . . (86) . . . And (in) **another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven.** (90) And also I saw another place [where there were] tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived in sin and evil deeds, when . . . (Note here that this passage is in the style of Enoch and is likely one of the many books Enoch gave to Methuselah to "preserve even unto future generations.")

(Frg. i) . . . many men and women were killed, **four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels veiled (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch.** *Electae et auditrices* (100) . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful women, and demanded . . . them in marriage. Sordid . . . (103) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city .

. . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khūzians to sweep [and] (110) water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

(*Frg. e*) (112) . . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, [the garland, and] the garment (of Light). The seven demons. Like a blacksmith [who] binds (*or*: shuts, fastens) and looses (*or*: opens, detaches) . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . (120) . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . (125) . . . the Pious gave . . . ? . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . (130) killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

(*Frg. b*) . . . various colours that by . . . and bile. If. . . from the five elements. As if (it were) a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their (140) garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . (146) . . . imprisoned [in this corpse], in bones, nerves, [flesh], veins, and skin, and entered herself [= *Āz*] into it. Then he (= Man) cries out, over (?) sun and moon, the Just God's (150) two flames . . . ? . . ., over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [*Zrwān* ?], in each epoch, sends apostles: Šīt[īl, Zarathushtra,] Buddha, Christ, . . .

(*Frg. h*) . . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals.

(160) . . . On the Hearers>

. . . we receive . . . from Mani, the Lord, . . . the Five Commandments to . . . the Three Seals . . . (164) . . . living . . . profession . . . and wisdom . . . moon. Rest from the power (*or*: deceit) . . . own. And keep measured the mixture (?) . . . trees and wells, in two . . . (170) water, and fruit, milk, . . . he should not offend his brother. The wise [Hearer] who like unto juniper [leaves . . .

(*Frg. f*) . . . much profit. Like a farmer . . . who sows seed . . . in many . . . The Hearer who . . . knowledge, is like unto a man that threw (the dish called) *frōšag* (180) [into] milk(?). It became hard, not . . . The part that ruin . . . at first heavy. Like . . . first . . . is honoured . . . might shine . . . (188) six days. The Hearer who gives alms (to the Elect), is like unto a poor (190) man that presents his daughter

to the king; he reaches (a position of) great honour. In the body of the Elect the (food given to to him as) alms is purified in the same manner as a . . . that by fire and wind . . . beautiful clothes on a clean body . . . turn . . .

(*Frg. a*) . . . witness . . . fruit . . . (200) . . . tree . . . like firewood . . . like a grain (?) . . . radiance. The Hearer in [the world ?], (and) the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship [on the sea] : the towing-line (is) in the hand of [the tower] on shore, the sailor (210) is [on board the ship]. The sea is the world, the ship is [the . . . , the . . . is the ?al]ms, the tower is [the . . . ?], the towing-line (?) is the Wisdom. (214) . . . The Hearer . . . is like unto the branch (?) of a fruitless [tree] . . . fruitless . . . and the Hearers . . . fruit that . . . (220) pious deeds. [The Elect,] the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some [possessions] were left by their father: a piece of land, . . . , seed. They became partners . . . they reap and . . . The Hearer . . . like . . .

(*Frg. d*) . . . an image (?) of the king, cast of gold . . . (230) . . . the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his . . . to a . . . man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church, is like . . . pledge, who (= father ?) gave his son to . . . learn . . . to . . . father, pledge . . . (240) . . . Hearer. Again, the Hearer . . . is like . . . stumble . . . is purified. To . . . the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (*or*: Roman) who . . . infantrist, one shoe . . . who, however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

(*Frg. m*) . . . (250) . . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . . , is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy [killed] all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . (258) . . . a well. One [on the shore of] the sea, one in the boat. (260) [He that is on] shore, tows(?) him that is [in the boat].¹ He that is in the boat. . . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . ? . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

(*Frg. M 911*) . . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . (270) . . . [Like unto a man] that bought a piece of land. [On that] piece of land [there was] a well, [and in that well a bag] full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

(*Frg. n*) . . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . (280) like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honour, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

B. Uygur

LeCoq, *Türk. Man.*, iii, 23. Bang, *Muséon*, xliv, 13-17. Order of pages according to LeCoq (the phot. publ. by Bang seems to support LeCoq's opinion).

(*First page*) . . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his ?] centre (*orðu*) without increasing (? *ašīlmatīn* ?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "Oh son of Virōgdād, your affairs are lamentable (?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south, without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then

(*Second page*) . . . " . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kōgmān mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Virōgdād, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

C. Sogdian

M 648. Small scrap from the centre of a page. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . I shall see. Thereupon now S[āhm, the giant] was [very] angry, and laid hands on M[āhawai, the giant], with the intention: I shall . . . and kill [you]. Then . . . the other g[iants] . . .

(*Second page*) . . . do not be afraid, for . . . [Sā]hm, the giant, will want to [kill] you, but I shall not let him . . . I myself shall damage . . . Thereupon Māhawai, the g[iant], . . . was satisfied . . .

D. Middle-Persian

Published *Sb.P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 29.

. . . outside . . . and . . . left read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus and the trees that came out, those are the Egrēgoroi ('yr), and the

giants that came out of the women. And over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .

E. Sogdian

T iii 282. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . [when] they saw the apostle, . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid. Then . . .

(*Second page*) . . . not to . . . Thereupon those powerful demons spoke thus to the pious apostle : If by us any (further) sin [will] not [be committed ?], my lord, why ? you have . . . and weighty injunction . . .

F. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 164. Six fragmentary columns, from the middle of a page. Order of columns uncertain. Instead of A///B///CDEF, it might have been: BCDEFA, or even CDEF///A///B.

(*Col. A*) . . . poverty . . . **[those who] harassed the happiness of the Righteous, on that account they shall fall into eternal ruin and distress, into that Fire, the mother of all conflagrations and the foundation of all ruined tyrants. And when these sinful misbegotten sons of ruin in those crevices and**

(*Col. B*) . . . you have not been better. In error you thought you would this false power eternally. You . . . all this iniquity . . .

(*Col. C*) . . . you that call to us with the voice of falsehood. Neither did we reveal ourselves on *your* account, so that *you* could see us, nor thus ourselves through the praise and greatness that to us . . . -given to you . . . , but . . .

(*Col. D*) . . . sinners is visible, where out of this fire your soul will be prepared (for the transfer) to eternal ruin (?). And as for you, sinful misbegotten sons of the Wrathful Self, confounders of the true words of that Holy One, disturbers of the actions of Good Deed, aggressors upon Piety, . . . -ers of the Living. . . . , who their . . .

(Col. E) . . . and on brilliant wings they shall fly and soar further outside and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those Righteous that will stand around it, outside and above, they themselves shall have power over that Great Fire, and over everything in it. blaze souls that . . .

(Col. F) . . . they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze. They shall stand around it, outside and above, and splendour shall shine over them. Further outside and above it they shall fly (?) after those souls that may try to escape from the Fire. And that

G. Sogdian

T ii. Two folios (one only publ. here; the other contains a *wyδβ'γ cn pš'qt dywtyy* "Discourse on the Nephīlīm-demons"). Head-lines: *R: pš'n prβ'r "*. . . pronouncement", *V: iv fryštyt δn CC "The four angels with the two hundred* [demons . . . ". (Presumably this is where Enoch is addressing the 200 fallen angel leaders who petitioned him to take their case to God. It also coincides with the text later on revealing that four angels imprisoned multiple demons but precisely how many is not specified.)

. . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. **And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them the giants were sons . . . with each other in bodily union with each other self- and the that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the **Sumeru mountain**, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (or: were) in the first arts and crafts. (30) they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . . **they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone****

EXCERPTS

H. Sogdian

T ii S 20. Sogdian script. Two folios. Contents similar to the "Kephalalaia". Only about a quarter (I R i-17) publ. here. The following chapter has as headline: "γšt š'nš'y cnn 'β[c'n]pδ[yh w]prs = Here begins: Šanšai's question the world. Init. rty tym ZK š'nš'[y] [cnn] m'rm'ny rwyšny pr'yš[t'kw w'nk w']prs' 'yn'k 'βc'npδ ZY kw ZKh mrtymyt ('škw'nt) oo ckn'c pyδ'r "zy mrch 'zyr'nt = And again Šanšai asked the Light Apostle: this world where mankind lives, why does one call it birth-death (*saṃsāra*, Chin. *shêng-szū*).

. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth, —**all that they began to teach (*hendiadys*) to the men.** To Šahmīzād two(?) sons were borne by One of them he named "Ohya"; in Sogdian he is called "Sāhm, the giant". And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him "Ahya"; its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pāt-Sāhm". **As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons** and Yakṣas. (*Colophon*) Completed: (the chapter on) "**The Coming of the two hundred Demons**".

I. Sogdian

M 500 n. Small fragment.

. . . . manliness, in powerful tyranny, he (*or*: you ?) shall not die". The giant Sāhm and his brother will live eternally. For in the whole world in power and strength, and in

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

J. Middle-Persian

T ii D ii 120, V ii 1-5: and in the coming of the two hundred demons there are two paths: the hurting speech, and the hard labour; these (*belong, or*: lead) to hell.

K. Sogdian

M 363.

(*First page*) . . . before . . . they were. And all the . . . fulfilled their tasks lawfully. Now, they became excited and irritated for the following reason: namely, **the two hundred demons came down to the sphere from the high**

heaven, and the

(*Second page*) . . . in the world they became excited and irritated. For their life-lines and the connections of their Pneumatic Veins are joined to the sphere. (*Colophon*) Completed: the exposition of the three worlds. (*Head-line*) Here begins: the coming of Jesus and [his bringing] the religion to Adam and Šitil. . . . you should care and . . .

L. Coptic

Kephalaia, 171 16-19: Earthquake and malice happened in the watchpost of the Great King of Honour, namely the Egrēgoroi who arose at the time when they were and **there descended those who were sent to confound them.** (Genesis 11)

M. Coptic

Kephalaia, 92 24-31: Now attend and behold how the Great King of Honour who is ἔννοια, is in the third heaven. He is . . . with the wrath . . . and a rebellion . . . , when malice and wrath arose in his camp, namely the **Egrēgoroi of Heaven who in his watch-district (rebelled and) descended to the earth. They did all deeds of malice. They revealed the arts in the world, and the mysteries of heaven to the men. Rebellion and ruin came about on the earth . . .**

N. Parthian

M 35, lines 21-36. Fragment of a treatise entitled 'rdhng wyfr's = Commentary on (Mani's opus) Ārdahang.

And the story about the Great Fire: like unto (the way in which) the Fire, with powerful wrath, swallows this world and enjoys it; like unto (the way in which) this fire that is in the body, swallows the exterior fire that is (*lit.* comes) in fruit and food, and enjoys it. Again, like unto (the story in which) two brothers who found a treasure, and a pursuer lacerated each other, and they died; like unto (the fight in which) Ohya, Lewyātīn (= Leviathan), and Raphael lacerated each other, and they vanished; like unto (the story in which) a lion cub, a calf in a wood (*or:* on a meadow), and a fox lacerated each other, [and they vanished, *or:* died]. Thus [the Great Fire swallows, etc.] both of the fires. . . .

M 740. Another copy of this text.

O. Arabic, from Middle-Persian ?

Al-Ghaḍānfar (Abū Ishāq Ibn. b. Muḥ. al-Tibrīzī, middle of thirteenth century), in Sachau's edition of Beruni's *Āthār al-bāqiyah*, Intr., p. xiv: The *Book of the Giants*, by Mani of Babylon, is filled with stories about these (antediluvian) giants, amongst whom Sām and Narīmān.

P. Coptic

Keph. 9323-28: On account of the malice and rebellion that had arisen in the watch-post of the Great King of Honour, **namely the Egrēgoroi who from the heavens had descended to the earth,—on their account the four angels received their orders: they bound the Egrēgoroi with eternal fetters in the prison of the Dark(?), their sons were destroyed upon the earth.**

Q. Coptic

Manich. Psalm-book, ed. Allberry, 1427-9: The Righteous who were burnt in the fire, they endured. This multitude that were wiped out, four thousand Enoch also, the Sage, the transgressors being . . .

R. Coptic

Man. Homil., ed. Polotsky, 6818-19: . . . evil. 400,000 Righteous were slain by the giants and many more **the years of Enoch** . . .

S. Coptic

Keph., 117 1-9: **Before the Egrēgoroi rebelled and descended from heaven, a prison had been built for them in the depth of the earth beneath the mountains.** Before the sons of the giants were born who knew not Righteousness and Piety among themselves, thirty-six towns had been prepared and erected, so that the sons of the giants should live in them, they that come to beget who live a thousand years.

T. Parthian

291a. Order of pages unknown.

(*First page*) . . . mirror . . . image. . . . distributed. The men . . . and Enoch was

veiled (= moved out of sight). They took . . . Afterwards, with donkey-goads . . .
. slaves, and waterless trees (?). **Then the arch angels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Istrael . . . and imprisoned the demons.** And of them . . . seven and twelve. (Possibly a numerical indication as to how many demons the archangels imprisoned?)

(*Second page*) . . . three thousand two hundred and eighty- . . . the beginning of King Vištāsp. . . . in the palace he flamed forth (*or*: in the brilliant palace). And at night . . . , then to the broken gate . . . men . . . physicians, merchants, farmers, . . . at sea. ? . . . armoured he came out . . .

U. Parthian

T ii D 58. From the end (. . . *r š t*) of a hymn.

. . . gifts. A peaceful sovereign [was] King Vištāsp, [in Aryā]n-Waižan Wahman and Zarēl The sovereign's queen, Khudōs, received the Faith, the prince . . . They have secured (a place in) the (heavenly) hall, and quietude for ever and ever . . .

V. Sogdian

M 692. Small fragment. Order of pages uncertain.

(*First page*) . . . because . . . the House of the Gods, eternal joy, and good . . . ? . . . For so it is said: at that time . . . Yima was . . . in the world. And at the time of the new moon (?) the blessed denizens of the world . . . all assembled . . . all . . .

(*Second page*) . . . they offered five garlands in homage. And Yima accepted those garlands . . . And those . . . that and great kingship . . . was his. And on . . . them And acclamations . . . And from that pious (?) . . . he placed the garlands on his head . . . the denizens of the world . . .

RECONSTRUCTED SUMMARY OF THE

BOOK OF GIANTS

CHAPTER ONE: The Watchers are grieved over the sins of mankind, and petition God to let them descend to the earth to teach the sons of men righteousness and to rebuke them. God grants their petition. Azazel is sent to prepare the way for the Watchers. Azazel prepares the way, and the Watchers descend and they begin to teach them righteousness and justice. Enoch is chosen by the Watchers to serve as a mediator between men and the Watchers.

CHAPTER TWO: The daughters of men lust after the attractive Watchers, and seduce them; Azazel, with Shemhazah's help, instigates the fall of the 200 Watchers and their followers. The Watchers fall from their glorious nature, and become bound to fleshly bodies as a consequence of their joining sexually to flesh. They begin to reveal to their wives heavenly and earthly secrets.

CHAPTER THREE: The Watchers have their own families with humans and also with animals, and those that were defiled by them give birth to Giants. These Giants begin to grow to massive sizes, and become full of greed and corruption. They kill many dragons and the sons of Cain worship them for protecting them. The children of Cain are no longer able to sustain the Giants with their offerings of vegetables and grain so the Giants turn on them and kill them and begin to eat them. The Giants develop a taste for blood and begin eating any moving thing including each other. The Watchers teach some of the secrets they were appointed over to keep from the sons of men. The Giants imitate the sins of their fathers, and take for themselves wives and animal mates, and they beget Naphil and Eliyo. God seeing all this wickedness, sends Enoch to declare to Shemhazah and the fallen Watchers that they will be soon punished for causing the earth to be corrupted.

CHAPTER FOUR: Enoch is sent by the righteous Watchers to rebuke the fallen Watchers and to declare to them their doom. He comes to Azazel first and condemns him as the principal sinner amongst the fallen Watchers. He then summons Mahaway to him and has him gather all the Watchers for his message. Enoch enters the assembly of the fallen Watchers, and gives them the message of doom. They weep and lament and beg Enoch to present to God their petition for mercy and a second chance - to restore them to their former glory and that their sons might have eternal life. They required a messenger to talk to God because

God had since stopped talking to them after their transgression. Enoch hears their case and tells them he will talk to God on their behalf.

CHAPTER FIVE: Enoch, having written the petition of the fallen Watchers and discussing it with God, receives a vision from God as a response, and Enoch writes the vision for the fallen Watchers in a book and gives the book to them. Enoch declares to them they will not be forgiven, and describes for them his ascent into the presence of God, where he was given a message for them.

CHAPTER SIX: Enoch received from God an answer for the fallen Watchers: he is told to tell them why they were not given permission to have sex, and what their punishment is because of it, and he foretells unto them the miserable doom and fate of the offspring of the fallen Watchers, and foretells to them that they will become evil spirits and will not have eternal life but that their years will be no more than 500. After hearing this the fallen Watchers and their Giant sons take up stones to throw at Enoch but the holy Watchers shield Enoch from their deadly blows and lift Enoch up into the heavens to escape their earthly wrath against Enoch the messenger. (This is perhaps the first time that anyone ever attempted to "kill the messenger.")

CHAPTER SEVEN: Hobabesh kidnaps another Giant's wife, and starts a war amongst the Giants. When the war was ending, one of Ohyah's companions was killed by Mahaway. Ohyah mourns with his father Shemhazah about his friend, and they curse Mahaway. Mahaway defends himself, appealing to the words of his father Baraqel as justification. Ohyah gets angry and attempts to kill Mahaway, but Gilgamesh and the other Giants prevent Ohyah from doing so, and they ward off Ohyah's murderous intentions. (This is where we learn about Gilgamesh slaying dragons, or dinosaurs and being a hero for the normal sized men of that time.)

CHAPTER EIGHT: Gilgamesh has a dream, but interprets it as indicating the Giants will not be punished. The Giants celebrate but aren't entirely convinced, and subsequent to this, Ohyah and Hahyah have dreams of their own. They seek the interpretation of the dreams, but none of the Giants can declare to them what the meaning of their dreams are, so the Giants have Mahaway go to Enoch in order to learn from him the meaning of the dreams and to learn what the fate of the Giants will be. Mahaway flies to Enoch, and Enoch greets Mahaway, and Mahaway explains why he came, and Enoch proceeds to give Mahaway the answer, and he writes it down in a tablet, and gives a second tablet as well to

Mahaway intended for Shemhazah and the Watchers, and he sends Mahaway back to the Giants with the two tablets.

CHAPTER NINE: Mahaway flies back to the Giants with the two tablets. And Mahaway tells them of his journey to Enoch and of Enoch saving his life, and tells them that Enoch had given him two tablets and revealed everything they had wanted to know from him. The first tablet is read. The Giants discuss the contents of the first tablet after it is finished being read, and realize they are doomed, and they lament over their miserable fate. They then have the second tablet read. Enoch tells

Shemhazah that he and the other fallen Watchers will soon be bound, but that the Giants should repent and pray, for they still have a chance to benefit from reformation of their lives.

CHAPTER TEN: Shemhazah urges his two sons Ohyah and Hahyah to reform their lives in the hopes that they will be yet given mercy. Ohyah and Hahyah listen to the advice of Shemhazah and attempt to convince the Giants to reform themselves, teaching them through proverbs where true success is found. The Giants seek to reform their lives. Enoch is sent to declare to the Watchers that within 120 years, they would all be bound in a dark prison of punishment for their sins, and that their sons would all be destroyed from off the face of the earth. Noah begins to build the Ark. Around this time, only Azazel is bound.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: The Giants lament over Azazel being bound, and then they and the Watchers, seeing that they were not bound or destroyed vaunted themselves. When this happened, Gabriel the archangel was sent to incite the Giants to commit civil war against themselves and their offspring, and they all began to kill each other, and the Watchers beheld the destruction of their families. When the war of the Giants ends with few survivors, all of the fallen Watchers are subsequently bound by the angels into the dark prison of punishment.

CHAPTER TWELVE: Noah goes into the Ark, and the flood comes, and begins to kill all life, but not all the Giants are killed by the flood. In order to fix this, Yehuwah sends the Leviathan, and the Leviathan begins to kill all the Giants and their sons who survived. Ohyah alone survives the attacks of the Leviathan, and kills the Leviathan. The archangel Raphael is sent by Yehuwah in order to punish Ohyah for killing the Leviathan, and to finally restore the earth to purity. Ohyah is killed and bound in the dark prison of punishment with the fallen Watchers.

The flood being over, and the Giants and their sons still remaining on the earth without bodies, become evil spirits, and are given a law by an angel of Yehuwah how they are to live if they want to avoid being sent to the dark prison of punishment that the Watchers were sent to. And this explains how the Nephilim came to be on the earth after the flood.

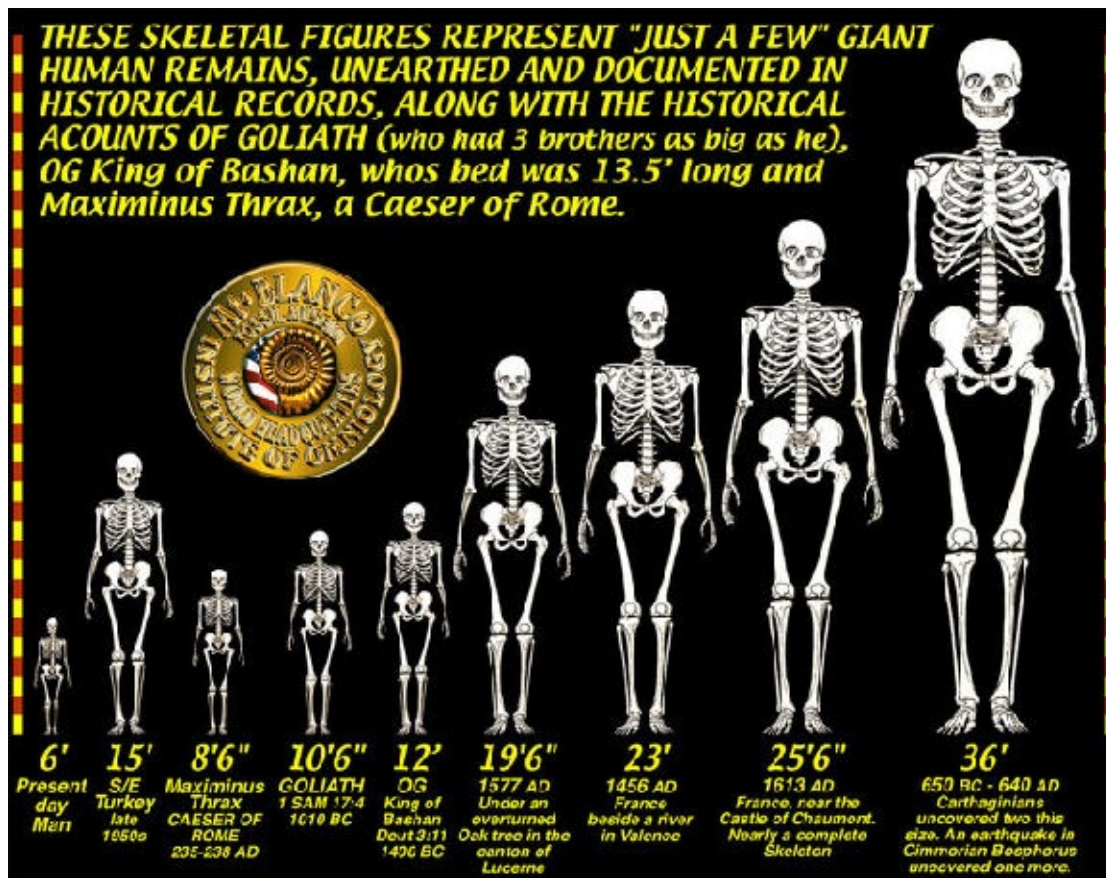
Evidence of Giants

Fossilized remains of giant human skeletons have been found all around the world. Ranging in size, many of them have been recovered with giant weapons, armor, and strange artifacts dubbed OOPARTS (Out of Place Artifacts). The current worldview model for humanity doesn't support the existence of a giant human race (according to evolution). These enormous ancient human beings were worshipped throughout various world religions of which tell of many of them slaying dragons. It is important to note that the term "dragon" was replaced by the word "dinosaur" in 1871 by Sir. Edward Owen. Hence, any reference in ancient literature to dragons, is a reference to dinosaurs according to the ontology of the word change associations involved. The following is a brief report of recovered giant fossilized human remains of which most end up in private collections of the elite of society save a few who have found their way to museums around the world. Although in recent years many of these museums have been selling these remains to private collectors for large sums of money their discoveries remain documented and undisputed by reasonable scholars without hidden agendas. Take a look at the evidence and decide for yourself if there were "Giants on the earth in those days." - Genesis 6:4

Perhaps the best place to start off with providing evidence of the existence of giant human beings is Crete. Crete was once known in old times as Arcadia. The Greek historian Herodotus had written about another historian, Eustathius who had said that Arcadia was once called Gigantis, or "The Land of Giants," because of the giants who had formerly lived there. It was also known as the Greek Garden of Eden. This connection between Arcadia, giants, and to the Garden of Eden makes sense, because the 4th century Roman author Servius in his Commentary on the Eneid says, that the Arcadians often reached the age of 300 years.—Grotius.



Several of the world's most influential authors all throughout history verify these accounts of giants, gods, and the island of Crete. People such as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, and Plato, just to name a few. In addition to these historical accounts by some of the world's most trusted authorities, there is also the science with real life giant bones that have been found on Crete. In fact, the largest bones that have ever been found were discovered on this very same island, which may prove this was truly the home or the Land of Giants.



During the Cretan war from 205–200 BC a massive giant skeleton was discovered on the island. **This giant was measured at the length of thirty-three cubits, which equates to nearly 42 feet.** The Roman Lucius Flaccus was a notable eye witness to the gigantic bones, and the Greek writer under Roman Emperor Hadrian, Phlegon of Tralles also mentions the discovery of several giant skeletons. In the included chart of giant fossilized remains findings around the world features the 36 foot skeleton found by the Carthaginians.

In the The Geography of Strabo, Volume 1 By Strabo, he writes about these giants that were discovered in city founded by the biblical Corinthians who used to reside in the modern day island of Crete;

"Somewhere in this neighbourhood is the mountain Bermius,² which was formerly in the possession of the Briges, a Thracian nation, some of whom passed over to Asia and were called by another name, Phrygians (Phryges). After Thessalonica follows the remaining part of the Therman Gulf, extending to Canastneum. This is a promontory of a peninsula form, and is opposite to Magnesia. Pallene is the name of the peninsula. It has an isthmus 5 stadia in

width, with a ditch cut across it. There is a city on the peninsula, formerly called Potidsna, founded by the Corinthians, but afterwards it was called Cassandria, from king Cassander, who restored it after it was demolished. It is a circuit of 570 stadia round the peninsula by sea. **Here giants were said to have lived, and the region to have been called Phlegra. Some consider this to be a mere fable, but others, with greater probability on their side, see implied in it the existence of a barbarous and lawless race of people who once occupied the country,** but who were destroyed by Hercules on his return home, after the capture of Troy. Here also the Trojan women are said to have committed the destructive act of burning the ships, to avoid becoming the slaves of their captors' wives."

There are more stories and eyewitness accounts of giant people and bones being found on the island of Crete, than anywhere in the world as this information is current. In addition to the eyewitness accounts and bones that have been found here that help verify this history with some science, there is more scientific evidence in the form of the tools that these giant people had used. Tools such as the massive double headed axes that have been found in Crete. These axes are said to be from up to 1700 years before Christ and were also the main religious symbol of the ancient Cretans. They date to the Second Palace and Post-Palace periods (1700 - 1300 BC)". The Minoan name for the double axe is "labrys", thus the word labyrinth may originally have meant the "House of the Double Axe," an ancient reference to the invention of the double axe which is attributed to giants.

This biblical story may give us a clue as to what eventually had happened to these giants from Crete:

The sons of Joseph were authorized to invade the "Land of the Giants" and **Og**, the king of Bashan, and the last sovereign of the Ashtoreth dynasty, encountered Moses at Edrei, where he fell "with his sons, and all his people, until there was none left alive, and they (the Israelites) possessed the land," Numbers. xxi. 33, 34, 35.

Deuteronomy 2:11 Which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims.

Deuteronomy 3:13 And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of **Og**, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan, **which was called the land of giants**.

Joshua 12:4 And the coast of **Og king of Bashan, which was of the remnant of the giants**, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei,

Joshua 13:12 All the kingdom of Og in Bashan, which reigned in Ashtaroth and in Edrei, **who remained of the remnant of the giants: for these did Moses smite, and cast them out.**

Fossilized human footprints have also been discovered in Sweden, and in Mexico. Giant skeletons have been discovered throughout the United States and giant fossilized remains are not solely exclusive to the lands of Crete but rather world-wide. Photos of giants from recent times are all a part of important natural history. An article from Strand magazine (December, 1895) reprinted in "Traces of the Elder Faiths" of Ireland by W.G. Wood-Martin mentions this fossilized giant discovered during mining operations in County Antrim, Ireland:

"Pre-eminent among the most extraordinary articles ever held by a railway company is the fossilized Irish giant, which is at this moment lying at the London and North-Western Railway Company's Broad street goods depot, and a photograph of which is reproduced here. . . This monstrous figure is reputed to have been dug up by a Mr. Dyer whilst prospecting for iron ore in County Antrim. The principal measurements are: entire length, 12ft. 2in.; girth of chest, 6ft. 6in.; and length of arms, 4ft. 6in. There are six toes on the right foot. The gross weight is 2 tons; 15cwt.; so that it took half a dozen men and a powerful crane to place this article of lost property in position for the Strand magazine photographer to do her work."

The below is the picture of the giant published in Strand Magazine 1895:



Near Crittenden, Arizona, in 1891, workmen excavating for a commercial building came upon a huge stone sarcophagus eight feet below the surface. The contractor called in expert help, and the sarcophagus was opened to reveal a granite mummy case which had once held the body of a human being more than twelve feet tall - a human with six toes, according to the carving of the case. But the body had been buried so many thousands of years that it had long since turned to dust. Just another silent witness to the truth of Genesis, which tells us that there were giants on the earth in those days, **the excavation of over a dozen skeletons 8 to 12 feet tall, around the world** shocked archaeologists.

If you have already read through the [Book of Giants](#) then you may understand why on so many Sumerian artifacts that we find depictions of giant humans

being served by lesser humans in stature. As the Book of Enoch testifies, and as other texts of the same body of knowledge tell us, some men worshipped these giants only to have them eventually turn on them.



The associated text in the [Book of Giants](#) that pertains to this particular Sumerian tablet is the following:

". . . they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. **And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth.** And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. **They assumed the shape of men** and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, (10) laid them aside, and put watchers over them. . . . the giants were sons . . . with each other in bodily union with each other self- and the that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them (20) eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the **Sumeru mountain**, into **thirty-two towns** which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning. And one calls (that place) Aryān-waižan. And those men are (>or: were) in the first arts and crafts. (30) they made . . . the angels . . . and to the demons . . they went to fight. And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone. . ." - [Book of Giants](#) - Sogdian Manuscript

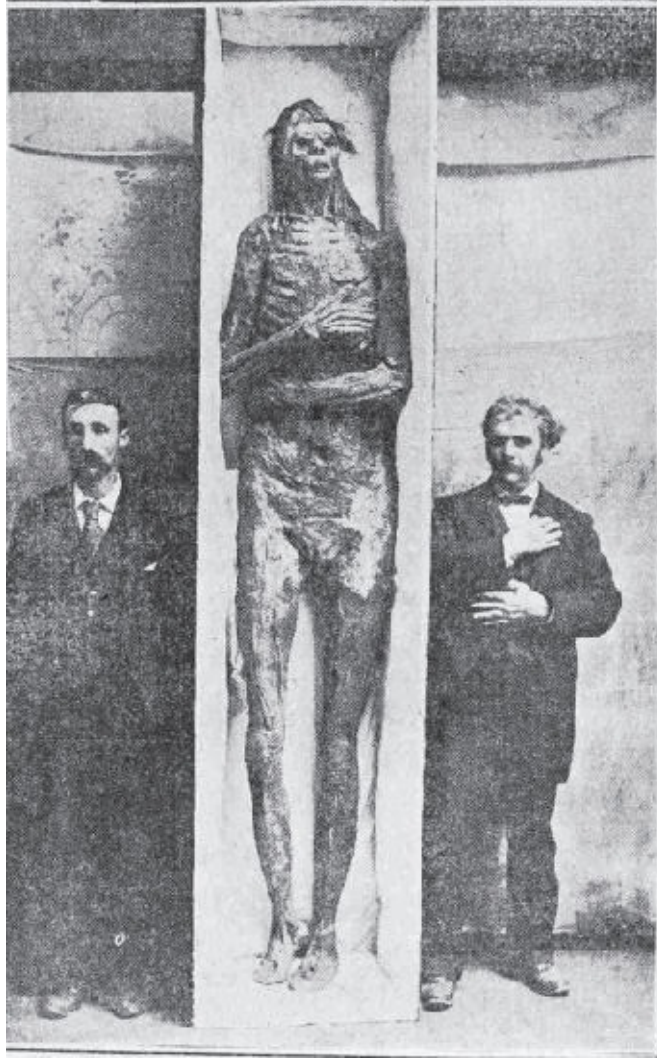
Of such cities mentioned in the [Book of Giants](#) other authorities on the

antiquities of history make note:

Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386-1430) was an Italian monk, traveler, and a pioneer in promoting first-hand knowledge of Greece and its antiquities, who had written about a Cretan city named Sarandopolis that was **formerly inhabited by giants**, and where modern eparkhia of Setia derived its name.

The San Diego Giant

The mummy remains of a giant were unearthed in a cave near San Diego, California. It was discovered by a party of prospectors, and was displayed at the Atlantic exposition while, a number of Smithsonian scientists were there. They asked permission to examine it and when consent was given applied their tapes and found that it **measured eight feet four inches from crown to heel**. The body lied rest in a ten foot coffin. The exhibitor agreed to sell it for \$500 to the Smithsonian of which sold it in more recent days to an "unknown private collector." The following photo is the San Diego Giant:



In terms of the **life spans** of the giants we find that it was appointed to them **500 years to live**:

Enoch 4:12 And to Gabriel said the Lord, "Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men. Send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in battle, for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they make of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, **and that each one of them will live five hundred years.**" - [Enoch Book 1: Watchers Ch.4:12](#)

Notice how that is specific to a definite degree? Well it would seem that their days were numbered as a curse and that perhaps they couldn't die until 500 years had been allotted to them. Keep in mind that God was not pleased at all with that the fallen angels had done and was using this as a testament against them for breaking His laws. They wanted their giant sons to have the eternal life like they had but God denied their plea for this. Although the exact contents of the petition the fallen angels had Enoch deliver to God is not known this verse appears to be a logical response to one of the things the fallen must have included in it regarding their sons length of life.

Furthermore, in regards to their hybrid status (half man, half angel) of existence we are encountered with the terms and conditions of their afterlife as the [Book of the Words of Righteousness](#) tells us:

Enoch 5:28 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling.

Enoch 5:29 Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies; because they are born from men and from the Watchers is their beginning and primal origin; they shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called.

Enoch 5:30 And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble. They take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences.

Not having souls, once the giants had died they became roaming spirits of the earth. Being able to inhabit the bodies of men and women, animals, and other "forms." Only when reading through the [Testament of Solomon](#) do we find evidence of these evil spirits residing on earth until the final judgement.

Solomon 1:70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou?" But he answered: "I am a *lascivious spirit*, engendered of a giant man who died in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

Closing notes and my own personal observations:

Being a former evolutionist (macro), finding about OOPARTS and fossilized giant human beings around the world compelled me to look for answers outside the modern scientific religion and into the accounts of historians, scribes, and the body of knowledge of the divine. The earth and its artifacts seem to testify to its own past so long as we pay attention to the ancient reporters who so diligently made the happenings of ancient times known to us through the preservation of their observations. The more one goes looking for evidence pertaining to giants, the more one finds. The bulk of information pertaining to these giants seems to be clustered on the body of biblical knowledge of which no other codex contains more references or information about. This mystery itself seems best solved by pouring over the evidence with diligent study performed by reading with not the eyes but rather the heart.

TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON

1. Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all spirits of the air, on the earth, and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to naught.

Of the sage Solomon.

Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give Solomon such authority. Glory to thee and might unto the ages. Amen.

2. And behold, when the Temple of the city of Jerusalem was being built, and the artificers were working thereat, *Ornias* the demon came among them toward sunset; and he took away half of the pay of the master workman's little boy, as well as half his food. He also continued to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the child grew thin, although he was very much loved by the king.

3. So King Solomon called the boy one day, and questioned him, saying: "Do I not love thee more than all the artisans who are working in the Temple of God? Do I not give thee double wages and a double supply of food? How is it that day by day and hour by hour thou growest thinner?"

4. But the child said to the king: "I pray thee, O king. Listen to what has befallen all that thy child hath. After we are all released from our work on the Temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me one half of my pay and one half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed, and so my body waxes thinner every day."

5. Now when I Solomon heard this, I entered the Temple of God, and prayed with all my soul, night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands, and that I might gain authority over him. And it came about through my

prayer that grace was given to me from the Lord Sabaoth by Michael his archangel. He brought me a little ring, having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and said to me: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God has sent thee, the highest Sabaoth. With it thou shalt lock up all demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem. But thou must wear this seal of God. And this engraving of the seal of the ring sent thee is a Pentalpha."



(A Pentalpha otherwise known as the seal of Solomon.)

6. And I Solomon was overjoyed, and praised and glorified the God of heaven and earth. And on the morrow I called the boy, and gave him the ring, and said to him: "take this, and at the hour in which the demon shall come unto thee, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, and say to him: 'In the name of God, King Solomon calls thee hither. And then do thou come running to me, without having any misgivings or fear in respect of aught thou mayest hear on the part of the demon.'"

7. So the child took the ring, and went off; and behold, at the customary hour *Ornias*, the fierce demon, came like a burning fire to take the pay from the child. But the child according to the instructions received from the king, threw the ring at the chest of the demon, and said: "King Solomon calls thee hither." And then he went off at a run to the king. But the demon cried out aloud, saying: "Child, why hast thou done this to me? Take the ring off me, and I will render to thee the gold of the earth. Only take this off me, and forbear to lead me away to Solomon."

8. But the child said to the demon: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, I will not brook thee. So come hither." And the child came at a run, rejoicing, to the king,

and said: "I have brought the demon, O king, as thou didst command me, O my master. And behold, he stands before the gates of the court of thy palace, crying out, and supplicating with a loud voice; offering me the silver and gold of the earth if I will only bring him unto thee."

9. And when Solomon heard this, he rose up from his throne, and went outside into the vestibule of the court of his palace; and there he saw the demon, shuddering and trembling. And he said to him: "Who art thou?" And the demon answered: "I am called *Ornias*."

10. And Solomon said to him: "Tell me, O demon, to what zodiacal sign thou art subject." And he answered: "To the Water-pourer. And those who are consumed with desire for the noble virgins upon earth, these I strangle. But in case there is no disposition to sleep, I am changed into three forms. Whenever men come to be enamoured of women, I metamorphose myself into a comely female; and I take hold of the men in their sleep, and play with them. And after a while I again take to my wings, and hie me to the heavenly regions. I also appear as a lion, and I am commanded by all the demons. I am frustrated by the archangel *Uriel*, the power of God."

11. I Solomon, having heard the name of the archangel, prayed and glorified God, the Lord of heaven and earth. And I sealed the demon and set him to work at stone-cutting, so that he might cut the stones in the Temple, which, lying along the shore, had been brought by the Sea of Arabia. But he, fearful of the iron, continued and said to me: "I pray thee, King Solomon, let me go free; and I will bring you all the demons." And as he was not willing to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel *Uriel* to come and succour me; and I forthwith beheld the archangel *Uriel* coming down to me from the heavens.

12. And the angel bade the whales of the sea come out of the abyss. And he cast his destiny upon the ground, and that destiny made subject to him the great demon. And he commanded the great demon and bold *Ornias*, to cut stones at the Temple. And accordingly I Solomon glorified the God of heaven and Maker of the earth. And he bade *Ornias* come with his destiny, and gave him the seal, saying: "Away with thee, and bring me hither the prince of all the demons."

13. So *Ornias* took the finger-ring, and went off to *Beelzeboul*, who has kingship over the demons. He said to him: "Hither! Solomon calls thee." But *Beelzeboul*, having heard, said to him: "Tell me, who is this Solomon of whom thou speakest

to me?" Then *Ornias* threw the ring at the chest of *Beelzeboul*, saying: "Solomon the king calls thee." But *Beelzeboul* cried aloud with a mighty voice, and shot out a great burning flame of fire; and he arose, and followed *Ornias*, and came to Solomon.

14. And when I saw the prince of demons, I glorified the Lord God, Maker of heaven and earth, and I said: "Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty, who hast given to Solomon thy servant wisdom, the assessor of the wise, and hast subjected unto me all the power of the devils."

15. And I questioned him, and said: "Who art thou?" The demon replied: "I am *Beelzebub*, the exarch of the demons. And all the demons have their chief seats close to me. And I it is who make manifest the apparition of each demon." And he promised to bring to me in bonds all the unclean spirits. And I again glorified the God of heaven and earth, as I do always give thanks to him.

16. I then asked of the demon if there were females among them. And when he told me that there were, I said that I desired to see them. So *Beelzeboul* went off at high speed, and brought unto me *Onoskelis*, that had a very pretty shape, and the skin of a fairhued woman; and she tossed her head.

17. And when she was come, I said to her: "Tell me who art thou?" But she said to me: "I am called *Onoskelis*, a spirit which has been made into a body, lurking upon the earth. There is a golden cave where I lie. But I have a place that ever shifts. At one time I strangle men with a noose; at another, I creep up and prevent them from their true natures. But my most frequent dwelling-places are the precipices, caves, and ravines. Oftentimes, however, do I consort with men in the semblance of a woman, and above all with those of a dark skin. For they share my star with me; since they it is who privily or openly worship my star, without knowing that they harm themselves, and but whet my appetite for further mischief. For they wish to provide money by means of remembering me, but I supply a little to those who worship me fairly."

18. And I Solomon questioned her about her birth, and she replied: "I was born of a voice untimely, the so-called echo of a man's ordure dropped in a wood."

19. And I said to her: "Under what star dost thou pass?" And she answered me: "Under the star of the full moon, for the reason that the moon travels over most things." Then I said to her: "And what angel is it that frustrates thee?" And she

said to me: "He that in thee is reigning." And I thought that she mocked me, and bade a soldier strike her. But she cried aloud, and said: "I am subjected to thee, O king, by the wisdom of God given to thee, and by the angel Joel."

20. So I commanded her to spin the hemp for the ropes used in the building of the house of God; and accordingly, when I had sealed and bound her, she was so overcome and brought to naught as to stand night and day spinning the hemp.

21. And I at once bade another demon to be led unto me; and instantly there approached me the demon *Asmodeus*, bound, and I asked him: "Who art thou?" But he shot on me a glance of anger and rage, and said: "And who art thou?" And I said to him: "Thus punished as thou art, answerest thou me not?" But he, with rage, said to me: "But how shall I answer thee, for thou art a son of man; whereas I was born of an angel's seed by a daughter of man, so that no word of our heavenly kind addressed to the earth-born can be overweening. Wherefore also my star is bright in heaven, and men call it, some the Wain, and some the dragon's child. I keep near unto this star. So ask me not many things; for thy kingdom also after a little time is to be disrupted, and thy glory is but for a season. And short will be thy tyranny over us; and then we shall again have free range over mankind, so as that they shall revere us as if we were gods, not knowing, men that they are, the names of the angels set over us."

22. And I Solomon, on hearing this, bound him more carefully, and ordered him to be flogged with thongs of ox-hide, and to tell me humbly what was his name and of his business. And he answered me thus: "I am called *Asmodeus* among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts."

23. And I said to him: "Is this thy only business?" And he answered me: "I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds."

24. And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaôth, saying: "Fear God, *Asmodeus*, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David,

King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou reverest." And he answered: "It is the glanos by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."

25. And I said to him: "Hast thou nothing else about thee, *Asmodeus*?" And he answered: "The power of God knoweth, which hath bound me with the indissoluble bonds of yonder one's seal, that whatever I have told thee is true. I pray thee, King Solomon, condemn me not to go into water." But I smiled, and said to him: "As the Lord God of my fathers liveth, I will lay iron on thee to wear. But thou shalt also make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple, treading it down with thy feet." And I ordered them to give him ten water jars to carry water in. And the demon groaned terribly, and did the work I ordered him to do. And this I did, because that fierce demon *Asmodeus* knew even the future. And I Solomon glorified God, who gave wisdom to me Solomon his servant. And the liver of the fish and its gall I hung on the spike of a reed, and burned it over *Asmodeus* because of his being so strong, and his unbearable malice was thus frustrated.

26. And I summoned again to stand before me *Beelzeboul*, the prince of demons, and I sat him down on a raised seat of honour, and said to him: "Why art thou alone, prince of the demons?" And he said to me: "Because I alone am left of the angels of heaven that came down. For I was first angel in the first heaven being entitled *Beelzeboul*. And now I control all those who are bound in Tartarus. But I too have a child, and he haunts the Red Sea. And on any suitable occasion he comes up to me again, being subject to me; and reveals to me what he has done, and when he is ready, he will come in triumph.

27. I Solomon said unto him: "*Beelzeboul*, what is thy employment?" And he answered me: "I destroy kings. I bring destruction by means of tyrants. And my own demons I send on to men to be worshipped, in order that the latter may believe in them and be lost. And the chosen servants of God, priests and faithful men, I excite unto desires for wicked sins, and evil heresies, and lawless deeds; and they obey me, and I bear them on to destruction. And I inspire men with envy, and desire for murder, and for wars and sodomy, and other evil things. I bring about jealousies and murders in a country, and I instigate wars. I will destroy the world."

28. So I said to him: "Bring to me thy child, who is, as thou sayest, in the Red Sea." But he said to me: "I will not bring him to thee. But there shall come to me

another demon called *Ephippas*. Him will I bind, and he will bring him up from the deep unto me." And I said to him: "How comes thy son to be in the depth of the sea, and what is his name?" And he answered me: "Ask me not, for thou canst not learn from me. However, he will come to thee by any command, and will tell thee openly." So I said to him: "Tell me in which star you reside." To which he answered, "The one called by men the Evening Star."

29. I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By the holy and precious name of the Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks it is Emmanuel. And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleéth, I disappear at once."

30. I Solomon was astounded when I heard this; and I ordered him to saw up Theban marbles. And when he began to saw the marbles, the other demons cried out with a loud voice, howling because of their king *Beelzeboul* was also subject to the power the Most High had given me over him.

31. But I Solomon questioned him, saying: "If thou wouldst gain a respite, discourse to me about the things in heaven." And *Beelzeboul* said: "Hear, O king, if thou burn gum, and incense, and bulb of the sea¹, with nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake, thou wilt firmly fix thy house. And if, being pure, thou light them at dawn in the sun alight, then wilt thou see the heavenly dragons, how they wind themselves along and drag the chariot of the sun."

32. And I Solomon, having heard this, rebuked him, and said: "Silence for this present time, and continue to saw the marbles as I commanded thee." And I Solomon praised God, and commanded another demon to present himself to me. And one came before me who carried his face high up in the air, but the rest of the spirit curled away like a snail. And it broke through the few soldiers, and raised also a terrible dust on the ground, and carried it upwards; and then again hurled it back to frighten us, and asked what questions I could ask as a rule. And I stood up, and spat on the ground in that spot, and sealed the demon with the ring of God. And forthwith the dustwind stopped. Then I asked him, saying: "Who art thou, O wind?" Then he once more shook up a dust, and answered me: "What wouldst thou have, King Solomon?" I answered him: "Tell me what thou art called, and I would fain ask thee a question. But so far I give thanks to God who has made me wise to answer your evil plots."

33. But [the demon] answered me: "I am the spirit of the ashes (Tephra)." And I said to him: "What is thy pursuit?" And he said: "I bring darkness on men, and set fire to fields; and I bring homesteads to naught. But most busy am I in summer. However, when I get an opportunity, I creep into corners of the wall, by night and day. For I am offspring of the great one, and nothing less." Accordingly I said to him: "Under what star dost thou lie?" And he answered: "In the very tip of the moon's horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star. For I have been bidden to restrain the convulsions of the hemitertian fever; and this is why many men pray to the hemitertian fever, using these three names: *Bultala, Thallal, Melchal*. And I heal them." And I said to him: "I am Solomon; when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?" But he said to me: "By the angel's, by whom also the third day's fever is lulled to rest." So I questioned him, and said: "And by what name?" And he answered: "That of the archangel Azael." And I summoned the archangel Azael, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to the workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

34. And I glorified God afresh who gave me this authority, and ordered another demon to come before me. And there came seven spirits, females, bound and woven together, fair in appearance and comely. And I Solomon, seeing them, questioned them and said: "Who are ye?" But they, with one accord, said with one voice: "We are of the thirty-three elements of the cosmic ruler of the darkness." And the first said: "I am *Deception*." The second said: "I am *Strife*." The third: "I am Klothod, which is battle." The fourth: "I am *Jealousy*." The fifth: "I am *Power*." The sixth: "I am *Error*." The seventh: "I am the worst of all, and our stars are in heaven. Seven stars humble in sheen, and all together. And we are called as it were *Goddesses*. We change our place all and together, and together we live, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes in a great mountain."

35. So I Solomon questioned them one by one, beginning with the first, and going down to the seventh. The first said: "I am *Deception*, I deceive and weave snares here and there. I whet and excite heresies. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Lamechalal."

36. Likewise also the second said: "I am *Strife*, strife of strifes. I bring timbers, stones, hangers, my weapons on the spot. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Baruchiachel."

37. Likewise also the third said: "I am called *Klothod*, which is Battle, and I cause the well behaved to scatter and fall foul one of the other. And why do I say so much? I have an angel that frustrates me: "Marmarath."

38. Likewise also the fourth said: "I cause men to forget their sobriety and moderation. I part them and split them into parties; for *Strife* follows me hand in hand. I rend the husband from the sharer of his bed, and children from parents, and brothers from sisters. But why tell so much to my despite? I have an angel that frustrates me, the great Balthial."

39. Likewise also the fifth said: "I am *Power*. By power I raise up tyrants and tear down kings. To all rebels I furnish power. I have an angel that frustrates me, Asteraôth."

40. Likewise also the sixth said: "I am *Error*, O King Solomon. And I will make thee to err, as I have before made thee to err, when I caused thee to slay thy own brother. I will lead you into error, so as to pry into graves; and I teach them that dig, and I lead errant souls away from all piety, and many other evil traits are mine. But I have an angel that frustrates me, Uriel."

41. Likewise also the seventh said: "I am the worst, and I make thee worse off than thou wast; because I will impose the bonds of *Artemis*. But the locust will set me free, for by means thereof is it fated that thou shalt achieve my desire. For if one were wise, he would not turn his steps toward me."

42. So I Solomon, having heard and wondered, sealed them with my ring; and since they were so considerable, I bade them dig the foundations of the Temple of God. For the length of it was 250 cubits. And I bade them be industrious, and with one murmur of joint protest they began to perform the tasks enjoined.

43. But I Solomon glorified the Lord, and bade another demon come before me. And there was brought to me a demon having all the limbs of a man, but without a head. And I, seeing him, said to him: "Tell me, who art thou?" And he answered: "I am a demon." So I said to him: "Which?" And he answered me: "I am called *Envy*. For I delight to devour heads, being desirous to secure for myself a head; but I do not eat enough, but am anxious to have such a head as thou hast."

44. I Solomon, on hearing this, sealed him, stretching out my hand against his chest. Whereon the demon leapt up, and threw himself down, and gave a groan, saying: "Woe is me! Where am I come to? O traitor *Ornias*, I cannot see!" So I said to him: "I am Solomon. Tell me then how thou dost manage to see!" And he answered me: "By means of my feelings." I then, Solomon, having heard his voice come up to me, asked him how he managed to speak. And he answered me: "I, O King Solomon, am wholly voice, for I have inherited the voices of many men. For in the case of all men who are called dumb, I it is who smashed their heads, when they were children and had reached their eighth day. Then when a child is crying in the night, I become a spirit, and glide by means of his voice. In the crossways also I have many services to render, and my encounter is fraught with harm. For I grasp in all instants a man's head, and with my hands, as with a sword, I cut it off, and put it on to myself. And in this way, by means of the fire which is in me, through my neck it is swallowed up. I it is that sends grave mutilations and incurables on men's feet, and inflict sores."

45. And I Solomon, on hearing this, said to him: "Tell me how thou dost discharge forth the fire? Out of what sources dost thou emit it?" And the spirit said to me: "From the Day-star. For here hath not yet been found that *Elburion*, to whom men offer prayers and kindle lights. And his name is invoked by the seven demons before me. And he cherishes them."

46. But I said to him: "Tell me his name." But he answered: "I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name." And on hearing this, I Solomon said to him: "Tell me then, by what angel thou art frustrated?" And he answered: "By the fiery flash of lightning." And I bowed myself before the Lord God of Israel, and bade him remain in the keeping of *Beelzeboul* until the angel Iax should come.

47. Then I ordered another demon to come before me, and there came into my presence a hound, having a very large shape, and it spoke with a loud voice, and said, "Hail, Lord, King Solomon!" And I Solomon was astounded. I said to it: "Who art thou, O hound?" And it answered: "I do indeed seem to thee to be a hound, but before thou wast, O King Solomon, I was a man that wrought many unholy deeds on earth. I was surpassingly learned in letters, and was so mighty that I could hold the stars of heaven back. And many divine works did I prepare. For I do harm to men who follow after our star, and change them to. And I seize the frenzied men by the larynx, and so destroy them."

48. And I Solomon said to him: "What is thy name?" And he answered: "Staff" (*Rabdos*). And I said to him: "What is thine employment? And what results canst thou achieve?" And he replied: "Give me thy servant, and I will lead him away into a mountainous spot, and will show him a green stone tossed to and fro, with which thou mayest adorn the temple of the Lord God."

49. And I Solomon, on hearing this, ordered my servant to set off with him, and to take the finger-ring bearing the seal of God with him. And I said to him: "Whoever shall show thee the green stone, seal him with this finger-ring. And mark the spot with care, and bring me the demon hither." And the demon showed him the green stone, and he sealed it, and brought the demon to me. And I Solomon decided to confine with my seal on my right hand the two, the headless demon, likewise the hound, that was so huge; he should be bound as well. And I bade the hound keep safe the fiery spirit so that lamps as it were might by day and night cast their light through its maw on the artisans at work.

50. And I Solomon took from the mine of that stone 200 shekels for the supports of the table of incense, which was similar in appearance. And I Solomon glorified the Lord God, and then closed round the treasure of that stone. And I ordered afresh the demons to cut marble for the construction of the house of God. And I Solomon prayed to the Lord, and asked the hound, saying: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And the demon replied: "By the great Brieus."

51. And I praised the Lord God of heaven and earth, and bade another demon come forward to me; and there came before me one in the form of a roaring lion. And he stood and answered me saying: "O king, in the form which I have, I am a spirit quite incapable of being perceived. Upon all men who lie prostrate with sickness I leap, coming stealthily along; and I render the man weak, so that his habit of body is enfeebled. But I have also another glory, O king. I cast out demons, and I have legions under my control. And I am capable of being received in my dwelling-places, along with all the demons belonging to the legions under me." But I Solomon, on hearing this, asked him: "What is thy name?" But he answered: "Lion-bearer, *Rath* in kind." And I said to him: "How art thou to be frustrated along with thy legions? What angel is it that frustrates thee?" And he answered: "If I tell thee the name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legions of demons under me."

52. So I said to him: "I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy host." And the spirit answered me:

"The 'Son of Man,' who is to suffer many things at the hands of men, whose name is the figure 644, which is Emmanuel; he it is who has bound us, and who will then come and plunge us from the steep, under water. He is noised abroad in the three letters which bring him down."

53. And I Solomon, on hearing this, glorified God, and condemned his legion to carry wood from the thicket. And I condemned the lion-shaped one himself to saw up the wood small with his teeth, for burning in the unquenchable furnace for the Temple of God.

54. And I worshipped the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon come forward. And there came before me a dragon, three-headed, of fearful hue. And I questioned him: "Who art thou?" And he answered me: "I am a *caltrop-like spirit*, whose activity in three lies. But I blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round. And I make them deaf and mute. And I have again in my third head means of slipping into the body. And I smite men in the limbless part of the body, and cause them to fall down, and foam, and grind their teeth. But I have my own way of being frustrated. Jerusalem being signified in writing, unto the place called 'of the head.'" For there is fore-appointed the angel of the great counsel, and now he will openly dwell on the cross. He doth frustrate me, and to him am I subject."

55. "But in the place where thou sittest, O King Solomon, standeth a column in the air, of purple...¹ The demon called *Ephippas* hath brought it up from the Red Sea, from inner Arabia. He it is that shall be shut up in a skin-bottle and brought before thee. But at the entrance of the Temple, which thou hast begun to build, O King Solomon, lies stored much gold, which dig thou up and carry off." And I Solomon sent my servant, and found it to be as the demon told me. And I sealed him with my ring, and praised the Lord God."

56. So I said to him: "What art thou called?" And the demon said: "I am the *crest of dragons*." And I bade him make bricks in the Temple. He had human hands.

57. And I adored the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form, that had a head without any limbs, and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her: "Who art thou?" But she answered: "Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But, as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh

before thy tribunal, and ask me questions; and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am."

58. And I Solomon did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me; in order that I might hear of her deeds, and reprehend them, and manifest them to men. And I sat down, and said to the demon: "What art thou?" And she said: "I am called among men *Obizuth* (This is *Lilith* self-identifying by one of her many names.); and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit, of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children, and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies."

59. When I Solomon heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and greeny, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's; and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?" By she answered me: "By the angel of God called *Afarôt*, which is interpreted *Raphael*, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640." And I Solomon having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound, and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God; that all the children of Israel, as they passed, might see it, and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority, with wisdom and power from God, by means of this signet.

60. And I again ordered another demon to come before me. And it came, rolling itself along, one in appearance like to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man. And all its limbs, except the feet, were those of a dragon; and it had wings on its back. And when I beheld it, I was astonished, and said: "Who art thou, demon, and what art thou called? And whence hast thou come? Tell me."

61. And the spirit answered and said: "This is the first time I have stood before thee, O King Solomon. I am a spirit made into a god among men, but now brought to naught by the ring and wisdom given to thee by God. Now I am the so-called winged dragon, and I chamber not with many women, but only with a few that are of fair shape, which possess the name of Touxylou, of this star. And I pair with them in the guise of a spirit winged in form, copulating with them. And she on whom I have leapt goes heavy with child, and that which is born of her becomes filled with lust. But since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind. Such is my role. Supposed then only that I am satisfied, and all the other demons molested and disturbed by thee will speak the whole truth. But those composed of fire will cause to be burned up by fire the material of the logs which is to be collected by them for the building in the Temple."

62. And as the demon said this, I saw the spirit going forth from his mouth, and it consumed the wood of the frankincense-tree, and burned up all the logs which we had placed in the Temple of God. And I Solomon saw what the spirit had done, and I marvelled.

63. And, having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon, and said: "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew, Bazazeth. And I Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.

64. And there came before my face another spirit, as it were a woman in the form she had. But on her shoulders she had two other heads with hands. And I asked her, and said: "Tell me, who art thou?" And she said to me: "I am *Enêpsigos*, who also have a myriad names." And I said her: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" But she said to me: "What seekest, what askest thou? I undergo changes, like the goddess I am called. And I change again, and pass into possession of another shape. And be not desirous therefore to know all that concerns me. But since thou art before me for this much, hearken. I have my abode in the moon, and for that reason I possess three forms. At times I am magically invoked by the wise as *Kronos*. At other times, in connexion with those who bring me down, I come down and appear in another shape. The measure of the element is inexplicable and indefinable, and not to be frustrated. I then, changing into these three forms, come down and become such as thou seest

me; but I am frustrated by the angel Rathanael, who sits in the third heaven. This then is why I speak to thee. Yonder temple cannot contain me."

65. I therefore Solomon prayed to my God, and I invoked the angel of whom *Enépsigos* spoke to me, and used my seal. And I sealed her with a triple chain, and (placed) beneath her the fastening of the chain. I used the seal of God, and the spirit prophesied to me, saying: "This is what thou, King Solomon, doest to us. But after a time thy kingdom shall be broken, and again in season this Temple shall be driven asunder; and all Jerusalem shall be undone by the King of the Persians and Medes and Chaldaeans. And the vessels of this Temple, which thou makest, shall be put to servile uses of the gods; and along with them all the jars, in which thou dost shut us up, shall be broken by the hands of men. And then we shall go forth in great power hither and thither, and be disseminated all over the world. And we shall lead astray the inhabited world for a long season, until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross. For never before doth arise a king like unto him, one frustrating us all, whose mother shall not have contact with man. Who else can receive such authority over spirits, except he, whom the first devil will seek to tempt, but will not prevail over? The number of his name is 644, which is Emmanuel. Wherefore, O King Solomon, thy time is evil, and thy years short and evil, and to thy servant shall thy kingdom be given."

66. And I Solomon, having heard this, glorified God. And though I marvelled at the prophecy of the demon, I did not credit it until it came true. And I did not believe their words; but when they were realized, then I understood, and at my death I wrote this Testament to the children of Israel, and gave it to them, so that they might know the powers of the demons and their shapes, and the names of their angels, by which these angels are frustrated. And I glorified the Lord God of Israel, and commanded the spirits to be bound with bonds indissoluble.

67. And having praised God, I commanded another spirit to come before me; and there came before my face another demon, having in front the shape of a horse, but the behind of a fish. And he had a mighty voice, and said to me: "O King Solomon, I am a fierce spirit of the sea, and I am greedy of gold and silver. I am such a spirit as rounds itself and comes over the expanses of the water of the sea, and I trip up the men who sail thereon. For I round myself into a wave, and transform myself, and then throw myself on ships and come right in on them. And that is my business, and my way of getting hold of money and men. For I take the men, and whirl them round with myself, and hurl the men out of the sea. For I am not covetous of men's bodies, but cast them up out of the sea so

far. But since *Beelzeboul*, ruler of the spirits of air and of those under the earth, and lord of earthly ones, hath a joint kingship with us in respect of the deeds of each one of us, therefore I went up from the sea, to get a certain outlook in his company.

68. "But I also have another character and role. I metamorphose myself into waves, and come up from the sea. And I show myself to men, so that those on earth call me *Cynospaston*, because I assume the human form. And my name is a true one. For by my passage up into men, I send forth a certain nausea. I came then to take counsel with the prince *Beelzeboul*; and he bound me and delivered me into thy hands. And I am here before thee because of this seal, and thou dost now torment me. Behold now, in two or three days the spirit that converseth with thee will fail, because I shall have no water."

69. And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each. And I sealed them round above the marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.

70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou?" But he answered: "I am a *lascivious spirit*, engendered of a giant man who died in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

71. And he said: "My dwelling is in fruitful places, but my procedure is this. I seat myself beside the men who pass along among the tombs, and in untimely season I assume the form of the dead; and if I catch any one, I at once destroy him with my sword. But if I cannot destroy him, I cause him to be possessed with a demon, and to devour his own flesh, and the hair to fall off his chin." But I said to him: "Do thou then be in fear of the God of heaven and of earth, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead, he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat. And, indeed, if any one write this sign on him, I shall be in fear." And I Solomon, on hearing this, and having glorified the Lord God, shut up this demon like the rest.

72. And I commanded another demon to come before me. And there came before my face thirty-six spirits, their heads shapeless like dogs, but in themselves they were human in form; with faces of asses, faces of oxen, and faces of birds. And I Solomon, on hearing and seeing them, wondered, and I asked them and said: "Who are you?" But they, of one accord with one voice, said: "We are the thirty-six elements, the *world-rulers of this darkness*. (Eph. 6:12) But, O King Solomon, thou wilt not wrong us nor imprison us, nor lay command on us; but since the Lord God has given thee authority over every spirit, in the air, and on the earth, and under the earth, therefore do we also present ourselves before thee like the other spirits, from ram and bull, from both twin and crab, lion and virgin, scales and scorpion, archer, goat-horned, water-pourer, and fish."

73. Then I Solomon invoked the name of the Lord Sabaoth, and questioned each in turn as to what was its character. And I bade each one come forward and tell of its actions. Then the first one came forward, and said: "I am the first decan of the zodiacal circle, and I am called the *Ram*, and with me are these two." So I put to them the question: "Who are ye called?" The first said: "I, O Lord, am called *Ruax*, and I cause the heads of men to be idle, and I pillage their brows. But let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison *Ruax*,' and at once I retreat."

74. And the second said: "I am called *Barsafael*, and I cause those who are subject to my hour to feel the pain of migraine. If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison *Barsafael*,' at once I retreat."

75. The third said: "I am called *Arôtosael*. I do harm to eyes, and grievously injure them. Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison *Aratosael*,' and at once I retreat."

76. The fifth said: "I am called *Iudal*, and I bring about a block in the ears and deafness of hearing. If I hear, 'Uruel *Iudal*,' I at once retreat."

77. The sixth said: "I am called *Sphendonaêl*. I cause tumors of the parotid gland, and inflammations of the tonsils, and tetanic recurvation. If I hear, 'Sabrael, imprison *Sphendonaêl*,' at once I retreat."

78. And the seventh said: "I am called *Sphandôr*, and I weaken the strength of the shoulders, and cause them to tremble; and I paralyze the nerves of the hands, and I break and bruise the bones of the neck. And I, I suck out the marrow. But if

I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison *Sphandôr*,' I at once retreat."

79. And the eighth said: "I am called *Belbel*. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison *Belbel*,' I at once retreat."

80. And the ninth said: "I am called *Kurtaêl*. I send colics in the bowels. I induce pains. If I hear the words, 'Iaôth, imprison *Kurtaêl*,' I at once retreat."

81. The tenth said: "I am called *Metathiax*. I cause the reins to ache. If I hear the words, 'Adônaêl, imprison *Metathiax*,' I at once retreat."

82. The eleventh said: "I am called *Katanikotaêl*. I create strife and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard tempers. If any one would be at peace in his home, let him write on seven leaves of laurel the name of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieô, sons of Sabaôth, in the name of the great God let him shut up *Katanikotaêl*. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat."

83. The twelfth said: "I am called *Saphathoraél*, and I inspire partisanship in men, and delight in causing them to stumble. If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iacô, Iealô, Iôelet, Sabaôth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up; wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

84. The thirteenth said: "I am called *Bobêl*, and I cause nervous illness by my assaults. If I hear the name of the great 'Adonaêl, imprison *Bothothêl*,' I at once retreat."

85. The fourteenth said: "I am called *Kumeatêl*, and I inflict shivering fits and torpor. If only I hear the words: 'Zôrôel, imprison *Kumentaêl*,' I at once retreat."

86. The fifteenth said: "I am called *Roêlêd*. I cause cold and frost and pain in the stomach. Let me only hear the words: 'Iax, bide not, be not warmed, for Solomon is fairer than eleven fathers,' I at once retreat."

87. The sixteenth said: "I am called *Atrax*. I inflict upon men fevers, irremediable and harmful. If you would imprison me, chop up coriander and smear it on the lips, reciting the following charm: 'The fever which is from dirt. I

exorcise thee by the throne of the most high God, retreat from dirt and retreat from the creature fashioned by God.' And at once I retreat."

88. The seventeenth said: "I am called *Ieropaêl*. On the stomach of men I sit, and cause convulsions in the bath and in the road; and wherever I be found, or find a man, I throw him down. But if any one will say to the afflicted into their ear these names, three times over, into the right ear: 'Iudarizê, Sabunê, Denôê,' I at once retreat."

89. The eighteenth said: "I am called *Buldumêch*. I separate wife from husband and bring about a grudge between them. If any one write down the names of thy sires, Solomon, on paper and place it in the ante-chamber of his house, I retreat thence. And the legend written shall be as follows: 'The God of Abram, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob commands thee -- retire from this house in peace.' And I at once retire."

90. The nineteenth said: "I am called *Naôth*, and I take my seat on the knees of men. If any one write on paper: 'Phnunoboêol, depart *Nathath*, and touch thou not the neck,' I at once retreat."

91. The twentieth said: "I am called *Marderô*. I send on men incurable fever. If any one write on the leaf of a book: 'Sphênêr, Rafael, retire, drag me not about, flay me not,' and tie it round his neck, I at once retreat."

92. The twenty-first said: "I am called *Alath*, and I cause coughing and hard-breathing in children. If any one write on paper: 'Rorêx, do thou pursue *Alath*,' and fasten it round his neck, I at once retire."

93. The twenty-third said: "I am called *Nefthada*. I cause the reins to ache, and I bring about dysury. If any one write on a plate of tin the words: 'Iathôth, Uruêl, *Nephthada*,' and fasten it round the loins, I at once retreat."

94. The twenty-fourth said: "I am called *Akton*. I cause ribs and lumbar muscles to ache. If one engrave on copper material, taken from a ship which has missed its anchorage, this: 'Marmaraôth, Sabaôth, pursue *Akton*,' and fasten it round the loin, I at once retreat."

95. The twenty-fifth said: "I am called *Anatreth*, and I rend burnings and fevers into the entrails. But if I hear: 'Arara, Charara,' instantly do I retreat."

96. The twenty-sixth said: "I am called *Enenuth*. I steal away men's minds, and change their hearts, and make a man toothless. If one write: 'Allazoôl, pursue *Enenuth*,' and tie the paper round him, I at once retreat."

97. The twenty-seventh said: "I am called *Phêth*. I make men consumptive and cause hemorrhagia. If one exorcise me in wine, sweet-smelling and unmixed by the eleventh aeon, and say: 'I exorcise thee by the eleventh aeon to stop, I demand, *Phêth* (Axiôphêth),' then give it to the patient to drink I at once retreat."

98. The twenty-eighth said: "I am called *Harpax*, and I send sleeplessness on men. If one write 'Kokphnêdismos,' and bind it round the temples, I at once retire."

99. The twenty-ninth said: "I am called *Anostêr*. I engender uterine mania and pains in the bladder. If one powder into pure oil three seeds of laurel and smear it on, saying: 'I exorcise thee, *Anostêr*. Stop by Marmaraô,' at once I retreat."

100. The thirtieth said: "I am called *Alleborith*. If in eating fish one has swallowed a bone, then he must take a bone from the fish and cough, and at once I retreat."

101. The thirty-first said: "I am called *Hephesimireth*, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying: 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

102. The thirty-second said: "I am called *Ichthion*. I paralyze muscles and contuse them. If I hear 'Adonaêth, help!' I at once retire."

103. The thirty-third said: "I am called *Agchoniôn*. I lie among swaddling-clothes and in the precipice. And if any one write on fig-leaves 'Lycurgos,' taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, Ycurgos, Kurgos, Yrgos, Gos, Os.'"

104. The thirty-fourth said: "I am called *Autothith*. I cause grudges and fighting. Therefore I am frustrated by Alpha and Omega, if written down."

105. The thirty-fifth said: "I am called *Phthenoth*. I cast evil eyes on every man. Therefore, the drawing of the eye causes me much suffering, it frustrates me."

106. The thirty-sixth said: "I am called *Bianakith*. I have a grudge against the body. I lay waste to houses, I cause flesh to decay and all else that is similar. If a man write on the front-door of his house: 'Mêltô, Ardu, Anaath,' I flee from that place."

107. And I Solomon, when I heard this, glorified the God of heaven and earth. And I commanded them to fetch water in the Temple of God. And I furthermore prayed to the Lord God to cause the demons without, that hamper humanity, to be bound and made to approach the Temple of God. Some of these demons I condemned to do the heavy work of the construction of the Temple of God. Others I shut up in prisons. Others I ordered to wrestle with fire in the making of gold and silver, sitting down by lead and spoon. And to make ready places for the other demons in which they should be confined.

108. And I Solomon had much quiet in all the earth, and spent my life in profound peace, honored by all men and by all under heaven. And I built the entire Temple of the Lord God. And my kingdom was prosperous, and my army was with me. And for the rest, the city of Jerusalem had repose, rejoicing and delighted. And all the kings of the earth came to me from the ends of the earth to behold the Temple which I built unto the Lord God. And having heard of the wisdom given to me, they paid homage to me in the Temple, bringing gold and silver and precious stones, many and divers, and bronze, and iron, and lead, and cedar logs. And woods that decay not they brought me, for the equipment of the Temple of God.

109. And among them also the queen of the South, being a witch, came in great concern and bowed low before me to the earth. And having heard my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, and she made formal trial of all my wisdom, of all disciplines in which I instructed her, according to the wisdom imparted to me. And all the sons of Israel glorified God.

110. And behold, in those days one of the workmen, of ripe old age, threw himself down before me, and said: "King Solomon, pity me, because I am old." So I bade him stand up, and said: "Tell me, old man, all you will." And he answered: "I beseech you king, I have an only-born son, and he insults and beats me openly, and plucks out the hair of my head, and threatens me with a painful death. Therefore I beseech you avenge me."

111. And I Solomon, on hearing this, felt compunction as I looked at his old age; and I bade the child be brought to me. And when he was brought I questioned him whether it were true. And the youth said: "I was not so filled with madness as to strike my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king. For I have not dared to commit such impiety, poor wretch that I am." But I Solomon on hearing this from the youth, exhorted the old man to reflect on the matter, and accept his son's apology. However, he would not, but said he would rather let him die. And as the old man would not yield, I was about to pronounce sentence on the youth, when I saw *Ornias* the demon laughing. I was very angry at the demon's laughing in my presence; and I ordered my men to remove the other parties, and bring forward *Ornias* before my tribunal. And when he was brought before me, I said to him: "Accursed one, why didst thou look at me and laugh?" And the demon answered: "Prithee, king, it was not because of thee I laughed, but because of this ill-starred old man and the wretched youth, his son. For after three days his son will die untimely; and lo, the old man desires to foully make away with him."

112. But I Solomon, having heard this, said to the demon: "Is that true that thou speakest?" And he answered: "It is true; O king." And I, on hearing that, bade them remove the demon, and that they should again bring before me the old man with his son. I bade them make friends with one another again, and I supplied them with food. And then I told the old man after three days to bring his son again to me here; "and," said I, "I will attend to him." And they saluted me, and went their way.

113. And when they were gone I ordered *Ornias* to be brought forward, and said to him: "Tell me how you know this!" and he answered: "We demons ascend into the firmament of heaven, and fly about among the stars. And we hear the sentences which go forth upon the souls of men, and forthwith we come, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by some accident, we veil our act of destruction; and if a man does not die by some untimely disaster or by violence, then we demons transform ourselves in such a way as to appear to men and be worshipped in our human nature."

114. I therefore, having heard this, glorified the Lord God, and again I questioned the demon, saying: "Tell me how ye can ascend into heaven, being demons, and amidst the stars and holy angels intermingle." And he answered: "Just as things are fulfilled in heaven, so also on earth they are fulfilled the types of all of them. For there are principalities, authorities, world-rulers, and we

demons fly about in the air; and we hear the voices of the heavenly beings, and survey all the powers. And as having no ground (basis) on which to alight and rest, we lose strength and fall off like leaves from trees. And men seeing us imagine that the stars are falling from heaven. But it is not really so, O king; but we fall because of our weakness, and because we have nowhere anything to lay hold of; and so we fall down like lightnings in the depth of night and suddenly. And we set cities in flames and fire the fields. For the stars have firm foundations in the heavens like the sun and the moon."

115. And I Solomon, having heard this, ordered the demon to be guarded for five days. And after the five days I recalled the old man, and was about to question him. But he came to me in grief and with black face. And I said to him: "Tell me, old man, where is thy son? And what means this garb?" And he answered: "Lo, I am become childless and sit by my son's grave in despair. For it is already two days that he is dead." But I Solomon, on hearing that, and knowing that the demon *Ornias* had told me the truth, glorified the God of Israel.

116. And the queen of the South saw all this, and marvelled by glorifying the God of Israel; and she beheld the Temple of the Lord being built. And she gave a shekel of gold and one hundred myriads of silver and choice bronze, and she went into the Temple. And she beheld the altar of incense and the brazen supports of this altar, and the gems of the lamps flashing forth of different colors, and of the lamp-stand of stone, and of emerald, and hyacinth, and sapphire; and she beheld the vessels of gold, and silver, and bronze, and wood, and the folds of skins dyed red with madder. And she saw the bases of the pillars of the Temple of the Lord. All were of one gold (Manuscript too badly damaged to read) apart from the demons whom I condemned to labor thereon. And there was peace in the circle of my kingdom and over all the earth.

117. And it came to pass, which I was in my kingdom, the King of the Arabians, Adares, sent me a letter, and the writing of the letter was written as follows:

"To King Solomon, all hail! Lo, we have heard, and it hath been heard unto all the ends of the earth, concerning the wisdom entrusted in thee, and that thou art a man merciful from the Lord. And understanding hath been granted thee over all the spirits of the air, and on earth, and under the earth. Now, forasmuch as there is present in the land of Arabia a spirit of the following kind: at early dawn there begins to blow a certain wind until the

third hour. And its blast is harsh and terrible, and it slays man and beast. And no spirit can live upon earth against this demon. I pray thee then, forasmuch as the spirit is a wind, contrive something according to the wisdom given in thee by the Lord thy God, and deign to send a man able to capture it. And behold, King Solomon, I and my people and all my land will serve thee unto death. And all Arabia shall be at peace with thee, if thou wilt perform this act of righteousness for us. Wherefore we pray thee, condemn not our humble prayer, and suffer not to be utterly brought to naught the eparchy subordinated to thy authority. Because we are suppliants, both I and my people and all my land. Farewell to my Lord. All health!"

118. And I Solomon read this epistle; and I folded it up and gave it to my people, and said to them: "After seven days shalt thou remind me of this epistle. And Jerusalem was built, and the Temple was being completed. And there was a stone, the end stone of the corner lying there, great, chosen out, one which I desired lay in the head of the corner of the completion of the Temple. And all the workmen, and all the demons helping them came to the same place to bring up the stone and lay it on the pinnacle of the holy Temple, and were not strong enough to stir it, and lay it upon the corner allotted to it. For that stone was exceedingly great and useful for the corner of the Temple."

119. And after seven days, being reminded of the epistle of Adares, King of Arabia, I called my servant and said to him: "Order thy camel and take for thyself a leather flask, and take also this seal. And go away into Arabia to the place in which the evil spirit blows; and there take the flask, and the signet-ring in front of the mouth of the flask, and hold them together towards the blast of the spirit. And when the flask is blown out, thou wilt understand that the demon is in it. Then hastily tie up the mouth of the flask, and seal it securely with the seal-ring, and lay it carefully on the camel and bring it me hither. And if on the way it offer thee gold or silver or treasure in return for letting it go, see that thou be not persuaded. But arrange without using oath to release it. And then if it point out to the places where are gold or silver, mark the places and seal them with this seal. And bring the demon to me. And now depart, and fare thee well."

120. Then the youth did as was bidden him. And he ordered his camel, and laid on it a flask, and set off into Arabia. And the men of that region would not believe that he would be able to catch the evil spirit. And when it was dawn, the servant stood before the spirit's blast, and laid the flask on the ground, and the finger-ring on the mouth of the flask. And the demon blew through the middle of the finger-ring into the mouth of the flask, and going in blew out the flask. But the man promptly stood up to it and drew tight with his hand the mouth of the flask, in the name of the Lord God of Sabaôth. And the demon remained within the flask. And after that the youth remained in that land three days to make trial. And the spirit no longer blew against that city. And all the Arabs knew that he had safely shut in the spirit.

121. Then the youth fastened the flask on the camel, and the Arabs sent him forth on his way with much honor and precious gifts, praising and magnifying the God of Israel. But the youth brought in the bag and laid it in the middle of the Temple. And on the next day, I King Solomon, went into the Temple of God and sat in deep distress about the stone of the end of the corner. And when I entered the Temple, the flask stood up and walked around some seven steps and then fell on its mouth and paid homage to me. And I marvelled that even along with the bottle the demon still had power and could walk about; and I commanded it to stand up. And the flask stood up, and stood on its feet all blown out. And I questioned him, saying: "Tell me, who art thou?" And the spirit within said: "I am the demon called *Ephippas*, that is in Arabia." And I said to him: "Is this thy name?" And he answered: "Yes; wheresoever I will, I alight and set fire and do to death."

122. And I said to him: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the only-ruling God, that hath authority over me even to be heard. He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross. Whom the angels and archangels worship. He doth frustrate me, and enfeeble me of my great strength, which has been given me by my father *Satan*." And I said to him: "What canst thou do?" And he answered: "I am able to remove mountains, to overthrow the oaths of kings. I wither trees and make their leaves fall off." And I said to him: "Canst thou raise this stone, and lay it for the beginning of this corner which exists in the fair plan of the Temple?" And he said: "Not only raise this, O king; but also, with the help of the demon who presides over the Red Sea, I will bring up the pillar of air, and will stand it where thou wilt in Jerusalem."

123. Saying this, I laid stress on him, and the flask became as if depleted of air.

And I placed it under the stone, and the spirit girded himself up, and lifted it up top of the flask. And the flask went up the steps, carrying the stone, and laid it down at the end of the entrance of the Temple. And I Solomon, beholding the stone raised aloft and placed on a foundation, said: "Truly the Scripture is fulfilled, which says: 'The stone which the builders rejected on trial, that same is become the head of the corner.' For this it is not mine to grant, but God's, that the demon should be strong enough to lift up so great a stone and deposit it in the place I wished."

124. And *Ephippas* led the demon of the Red Sea with the column. And they both took the column and raised it aloft from the earth. And I outwitted these two spirits, so that they could not shake the entire earth in a moment of time. And then I sealed round with my signet ring on this side and that, and said: "Watch!" And the spirits have remained upholding it until this day, for proof of the wisdom entrusted unto me. And there the pillar was hanging of enormous size, in mid air, supported by the winds. And thus the spirits appeared underneath, like air, supporting it. And if one looks fixedly, the pillar is a little oblique, being supported by the spirits; and it is so to day.

125. And I Solomon questioned the other spirit which came up with the pillar from the depth of the Red Sea. And I said to him: "Who art thou, and what calls thee? And what is thy business? For I hear many things about thee." And the demon answered: "I, O King Solomon, am called *Abezithibod*. I am a descendant of the archangel. Once as I sat in the first heaven, of which the name is Ameleouth -- I then am a fierce spirit and winged, and with a single wing, plotting against every spirit under heaven. I was present when Moses went in before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Iannes and Iambres invoked homing with Moses in Egypt. I am he who fought against Moses with wonders with signs."

126. I said therefore to him: "How wast thou found in the Red Sea?" And he answered: "In the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And I excited his heart and that of his ministers. And I caused them to pursue after the children of Israel. And Pharaoh followed with me and all the Egyptians. Then I was present there, and we followed together. And we all came up upon the Red Sea. And it came to pass when the children of Israel had crossed over, the water returned and crushed all the host of the Egyptians and all their might. And I remained in the sea, being kept under this pillar. But when *Ephippas* came, being sent by thee, shut up in the vessel of a flask, he fetched me up to

thee."

127. I, therefore, Solomon, having heard this, glorified God and adjured the demons not to disobey me, but to remain supporting the pillar. And they both swore an oath, saying: "As the Lord thy God liveth, we will not let go this pillar until the world's end. But on whatever day this stone fall, then shall be the beginning of the end of the world."

128. And I Solomon glorified God, and adorned the Temple of the Lord with all fair-seeming. And I was glad in spirit in my kingdom, and there was peace in my days. And I took wives of my own from every land, who were numberless. And I marched against the Jebusaeans, and there I saw a Jebusaeen, daughter of a man: and fell violently in love with her, and desired to take her to wife along with my other wives. And I said to their priests: "Give me the Sonmanites (i.e. Shunammite) to wife." (Song of Solomon 6:13) But the priests of *Moloch* said to me: "If thou lovest this maiden, go in and worship our gods, the great god *Raphan* and the god called *Moloch*." I therefore was in fear of the glory of God, and did not follow to worship. And I said to them: "I will not worship a demon. What is this proposal, that ye compel me to do so much?" But they said: "It is to be done according to our fathers."

129. And when I answered that I would on no account worship demons, they told the maiden not to sleep with me until I complied and sacrificed to their gods. I then was moved, but crafty *Eros* brought and laid by her for me five grasshoppers, saying: "Take these grasshoppers, and crush them together in the name of the god *Moloch*; and then will I sleep with you." And this I did. And at once the Spirit of God departed from me, and I became weak as well as foolish in my words. And after that I was obliged by her to build a temple of idols to *Baal*, and to *Rapha*, and to *Moloch*, and to the other demons.

130. I then, wretch that I am, followed her advice, and the glory of God departed from me; and my spirit was darkened, and I became the sport of idols and demons. Wherefore I wrote out this Testament, that ye who get possession of it may pity, and attend to the last things, and not to the first. So that ye may find grace for ever and ever. Amen.

CLOSING STATEMENTS / ANALYSIS

The Testament of Solomon is important for several reasons. Primarily because it deals with the spirits of the fallen giants. You see, since the giants were born of the fallen angels through women, their spirits were different to that of men. They, unlike mankind, doesn't go to the grave in rest awaiting a resurrection and judgment. They can roam the earth as they wish or until they are imprisoned by God. In this testament did Solomon encounter the spirits of the giants which further amplifies the existence of their fallen nature. That, even after the death of the giants, they still lived through other bodies and forms.

With a clear hatred of mankind, as was demonstrated during their fleshly lives, so too do they continue carrying out their vengeance upon mankind after their fleshly bodies expired. Not being confined to flesh, but able to inhabit flesh, and any form of matter - became their existence after their deaths. Disembodied spirits they would become. As you've read, Solomon summoned them to come before him. After Solomon's death, despite his very noble attempt to seal up the vessels containing the demons (spirits of the giants), did a group of nine knights find them. The Knights of the Templar, or Knights of the Temple Mount. They named themselves this because they excavated Solomon's temple for nearly a decade before they finally found what they were looking for: Solomon's ring, and the vessels he had sealed up the demons in.

After the knights had returned to Europe with their finds did the Catholic church honor them and give them riches beyond belief. They invented the modern day checking system and began bank rolling anyone they could. They black mailed several lords with threats of demonic activity, and even sometimes delivered on their promises. This of course didn't go unnoticed and eventually the Catholic church had them burned at the stake for consorting with the devil. Many of them died on Friday the 13th but not all of them were slaughtered. The ones who escaped would later form Freemasonry and the Illuminati. And so the book goes, you may be through with the past but the past isn't through with you.

External References to Enoch

Genesis 4:17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.

Genesis 4:18 And unto Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.

Genesis 5:18 And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and he begat Enoch:

Genesis 5:19 And Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:

Genesis 5:21 And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah:

Genesis 5:22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters:

Genesis 5:23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years:

Genesis 5:24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; **for God took him.**

Luke 3:37 Which was the son of Mathusala, which was the son of Enoch, which was the son of Jared, which was the son of Maleleel, which was the son of Cainan,

Hebrews 11:5 By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.

Jude 1:14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints,

COMPARE THESE 4 VERSES

Hebrews 11:5 By *faith* Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God.

Hebrews 11:6 But *without faith it is impossible* to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.

Enoch 4:5 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated and it ascended into the heavens I saw the holy sons of God.

Enoch 4:10 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens and I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

BOOK OF JUBILEES

Jubilees 1:15 And in the second week of the tenth jubilee of Maleleel took unto him a wife Dinah, the daughter of Barakel, the daughter of his brother's brother and she bore him a son in the sixth year and he called his name Jared **for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth**, those so named the Watchers. - (*This verse seems to foreshadow the life and times of Enoch considering Jared was his earthly father.*)

Jubilees 1:22 And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and **Enoch testified against them all**.

Jubilees 10:17 And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For **Enoch's office**

was ordained for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation unto generation, till the Day of Judgment.

Jubilees 19:24 And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and Noab, and **Enoch**, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam.

Jubilees 19:25 And these shall serve to lay the foundations of the heaven, and to strengthen the earth, and to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.

Jubilees 19:27 Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loves, may YAHWEH bless you from above the firmament, and may He give you all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and **Enoch**, and Noah, and Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me, may he cause to cleave to you and to your seed forever, according to the days of heaven above the earth.

Jubilees 21:10 And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, **and in the words of Enoch**, and in the words of Noah.

Jubilees 38:8 And Simeon and Benjamin and **Enoch, Reuben's son**, went forth on the west side of the tower, and **fifty** men with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Aduram. *(This Scripture is a spiritual symbolism of Elijah another righteous man whom God took up who will be witnesses to the whole world Revelations 11. Adding to this and what makes one draw this spiritual insight is that this verse is not talking about the same Enoch who wrote the Book of Enoch but rather Ruben's son. If you make note of the same name use you may find that important when considering the Elijah and Elisha paradox...)*

ENOCK & ELIJAH IN REVELATIONS

Although Enoch is not mentioned directly by name, nor is Elijah, these are the only two biblical characters who never died. The Bible is very specific in regarding its records of people dying. It makes mention of when these biblical patriarchs die over and over again. Going out of its way to record them and yet there is no record of Enoch or Elijah dying anywhere in the whole of the body of biblical knowledge. So, then we have in the last book of the Bible, Revelation at chapter 11 the appearance of two prophets wearing sack cloth. Biblical scholars and myself included believe these two men to be none other than Enoch and Elijah. What they do in Revelations fits with the lives they lived completely. See for yourself and test the Scriptures to find out if it's Enoch and Elijah... The following is the chapter in question. Keep in mind, this happens in the future.

Revelation 11 - King James Version (KJV)

1 And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months.

3 And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and

kill them.

8 And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people and kindreds and tongues and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past; and, behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

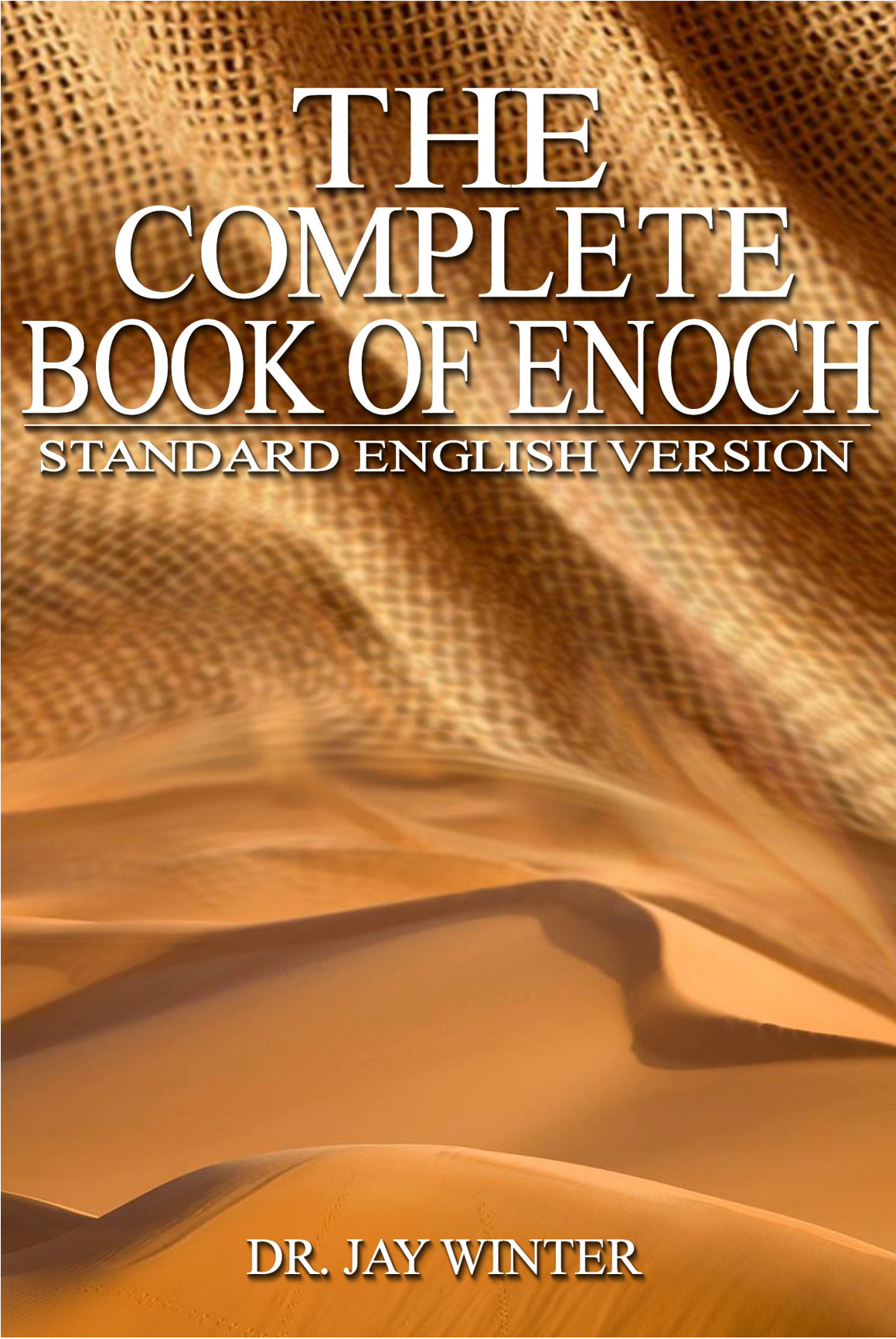
15 And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders, which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces, and worshipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.



THE COMPLETE BOOK OF ENOCH

STANDARD ENGLISH VERSION

DR. JAY WINTER